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10 ORIENTATION--information especially likely to be needed by users of a file as a frame of reference for understanding the materials classified elsewhere; organization of the file, special coding decisions, and evaluation of the file

GUIDE TO THE AZ2 ANDAMANS FILE

[In the following discussion, the term "Andaman Islanders" will refer to all the indigenous Negrito peoples of the Andaman Islands, whereas the term "Andamanese" will refer specifically to the 10 tribes of the Great Andaman Group. This nomenclature has been adopted for reasons of clarity and simplicity. It may be noted that both Sarkar and Sen use the term "Andamanese" in the sense defined above, while the equivalent term used by Cipriani is "Arioto."

No attempt will be made to summarize the main cultural patterns of the Andaman Islanders since two good cultural summaries are, or soon will be, available: Elman R. Service, A profile of primitive culture (1958): chap. 3 - which focuses on the Andamanese; and Moni Nag, "Andamanese," in F. LeBar, Ethnic groups of Insular Southeast Asia (forthcoming) - which covers all the Andaman Islanders.

The Andaman Islands, consisting of four main islands plus some 200 small islands, are located in the eastern part of the Bay of Bengal. Formerly under British administration, these islands, together with the Nicobar Islands, now form one of the states of India. The four main islands are generally divided into two groups called Great Andaman and Little Andaman. Great Andaman consists of three large islands (sometimes considered a single island intersected by narrow, irregular waterways) named North Andaman, Middle Andaman, and South Andaman. Little Andaman is one smaller island located some distance to the south of the main group.

The Andaman Islanders are considered to be a classic example of a "pure" hunting and gathering society, which has evidently been due to their long isolation from other cultural groups. They speak a variety of dialects and/or languages which are as yet unrelated by linguists to any other known language family or phylum. After the establishment of continuous British administration in 1858, government officials such as Man began to provide the first substantial information on these peoples.

They were found to be divided into 12 or 13 "tribes" or tribal units, most of whom differed mainly in dialect. On the basis of more pronounced linguistic and cultural differences, these tribes are usually clustered

into two major groups correlating roughly with the main geographical division noted above, namely, a Great Andaman Group and a Little Andaman Group. The latter group consists of only two or three tribes, while the former consists of 10 tribes, who in turn may be divided into two sub-groups varying somewhat in cultural and linguistic features. The tribes and their groupings are listed in the following table which is based primarily on 1: Radcliffe-Brown (p. 13), supplemented by data from 2: Man (map facing p. 224) and 3: Temple (p. 49). The tribal nomenclature follows Radcliffe-Brown, but variant tribal names used by Man and Temple are indicated in parentheses. The map in 2: Man, cited above, presents an excellent delineation of tribal distributions.

Table 1. The Andaman Islanders: Tribes and Tribal Groupings.

Major Groups	Sub-groups	Tribes
I. Great Andaman Group or "Andamanese"	A. Northern or Aka Yerewa Group	1. Aka-Cari (Aka-Chariar)
		2. Aka-Kora
		3. Aka-Bo (Aka-Tabo)
		4. Aka-Jeru (Aka-Yere)
		5. Aka-Kede
	B. Southern or Bojigngiji Group	6. Aka-Kol
		7. Oko-Juwoi (Aka-Jawai)
		8. A-Pucikwar (Aka-Bojigyab)
		9. Akar-Bale (Aka-Balawa)
		10. Aka-Bea
II. Little Andaman Group	(none)	1. Jarawa
		2. Onge
		3. North Sentinelese

This classification differs from Radcliffe-Brown's in one particular; he places the Aka-Kede within the Southern Group, whereas, in accordance with Man and Temple, they are placed here within the Northern Group. Furthermore, the cultural-geographical correlation breaks down with respect to the Jarawa. Culturally and linguistically they belong with the Onge, but they are located within the Great Andaman, particularly in the western interior of South Andaman. Finally, many authorities such as Man classify the North Sentinelese population as Jarawa rather than as a distinct tribe. But there does not seem to be sufficient data on which to base any definitive decision, so they are best listed separately for the time being.

Eleven sources, all in English, have been processed for this file. These sources fall roughly into two groups on the basis of field dates and tribes studied. The earliest group contains the two major monographs in the file, 1: Radcliffe-Brown and 2: Man, plus a third monograph, 3: Temple. These works focus primarily on the Andamanese tribes of Great Andaman.

2: Man is the first important study. It is by a government official who observed the Andamanese during the period 1869-1880 when their social and cultural life was still largely intact. Man's data pertain mainly to the Aka-Bea tribe of South Andaman, with a coverage of general ethnography, physical anthropology, and language. 3: Temple is also by a government official who was in the area at the turn of the century (1901). His data are primarily on demography and geography, but include some ethnography and linguistics, drawing heavily on Man's work for the latter. 1: Radcliffe-Brown is by a distinguished social anthropologist who presents a functional analysis of social organization, religio-magical beliefs and practices, and mythology. Unfortunately, by the time of Radcliffe-Brown's field work in 1906-1908, the Andamanese were at an advanced stage of population decline and sociocultural disintegration, so he was unable to get a clear, detailed picture of the traditional society in operation. Also, Radcliffe-Brown studied mainly the North Andaman tribes, plus the A-Pucikwar and Akar-Bale of the Southern Group, so most of his data cannot be directly coordinated with that of Man.

The remaining eight sources are all recent, ranging in field date from 1948 to 1955. By this time the Andamanese were nearly extinct, and these sources deal primarily with the Onge and Jarawa. These two tribes, plus the North Sentinelese, although undergoing some decline in population, have remained demographically and culturally viable. But much less is known about them than about the Andamanese. Probably the main reason for their continued viability as well as for our lack of knowledge, has been their long, implacable hostility to all outsiders. It is only in recent years that the Onge have become friendly, thus allowing some direct field studies. But the Jarawa and North Sentinelese remain hostile and relatively unknown.

Cipriani, a social anthropologist, may have been the principal authority on the Onge, but his posthumously published monograph, 11: Cipriani, is a very disappointing work containing little ethnographic data. It is a general book on the Andaman Islands, in which most of the primary data refers to the Onge. 6: Cipriani covers Onge hygienic and medical practices. Additional data on Onge population composition and the location of settlements are provided in 7: Sarkar, while serological data on the Onge, Jarawa, Andamanese, and Nicobarese may be found in 5: Sarkar.

Although Sarkar is a physical anthropologist, he presents in 9: Sarkar a synthesis of the scant data available on the Jarawa and North Sentinelese, drawing both from the literature and his own field work. His field data, however, are based almost entirely on the observation of abandoned settlement sites and random items of material culture which he managed to retrieve, since he was never able to actually contact any of the Jarawa people.

Sources concerning the islands in general include 4: Guha, an anthropological survey focusing on settlement patterns and the population composition of local groups, and 10: Sen, a survey of physical geography incorporating a cultural summary of each of the main tribal divisions, and a sketch of the culture history of the islands. Finally, 8: Heine-Geldern reviews the field work done among the Andaman Islanders, and lists the principal publications.

Thus far the data in this file are rather thin, and the coverage of the major aspects of culture is uneven. Best described are some of the Andamanese tribes who are now extinct. Processing of additional extant sources may help to fill out some of the needed information, but there is an urgent need for intensive ethnographic field work among the Onge, Jarawa, and North Sentinelese so that we may gain more adequate knowledge and understanding of this classic case of a truly "primitive" hunting and gathering cultural type.]

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[Information on the regional divisions of the Indian sub-continent will be found in Chapter XIII, 6: Spate AW1 India.]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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619 The natives of the Great Andaman Group are divided into tribes, of which there are ten, each with its own distinctive language or dialect, and with a name. The following is a list of these tribes, passing from north to south:—*Aka-Čari*, *Aka-Kọra*, *Aka-Bo*, *Aka-J̌eru*, *Aka-Kede*, *Aka-Kọl*, *Ọkọ-J̌uwọi*, *A-Pučikwar*, *Akar-Bale*, and *Aka-Bea*. In each case the name is given in the form in which it is used by the tribe itself. Thus the *Aka-Bea* speak of the *A-Pučikwar* as *Aka-Bojig-yab*, and refer to the *Akar-Bale* as *Aka-Bala-wa*, and there are similar variants of other tribal names.

●101 The natives of the Little Andaman refer to themselves as *Ọnge* (men). It is probable that the so-called *J̌ạrawa* of the South Andaman have the same word. In a vocabulary obtained by Colebrooke in 1790 from a *J̌ạrawa* near Port Blair, the word *Mincopie* is given as meaning a native of the Andaman Islands. This would seem to be simply the same phrase as the Little Andaman *M'ọnge-bi* = I am *Ọnge*, or I am a "man." The word *J̌ạrawa* is apparently derived from the *Aka-Bea* language, but is now used by all the friendly natives (i.e. the natives of the Great Andaman Group) to denote those of the Little Andaman Group. In the official publications dealing with the Andamans, however, the term *J̌ạrawa* has come to be applied solely to the hostile natives of the Great Andaman. It is in this sense that the word is used in the present work, the name *Ọnge* being reserved for the natives of the Little Andaman. It must be remembered, however, that the so-called *J̌ạrawa* probably call themselves *Ọnge*, while the *Ọnge* of the Little Andaman are called *J̌ạrawa* by the natives of the friendly tribes of the Great Andaman. The name *Mincopie* was at one time common in ethnological literature as a term for the Andaman Islanders.

619 It is convenient to divide the tribes of the Great Andaman Group into two subdivisions, to be spoken of as the Northern Group (including the first four tribes mentioned above) and the Southern Group (including the other six tribes). Between these two divisions there are a number of differences of culture. They have, for example, different forms of bow, and different kinds of baskets. The differences between them are much slighter than those between the Great Andaman tribes and

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880) 1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

immediate neighbours the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*, and we have every reason to believe that crews of vessels shipwrecked on any portion of the Great Andaman coast would not only escape molestation and attack, but would receive such assistance as it might be in the power of these savages to render. That their animosity in past years was not unfounded is attested by the reports of Captain Miller and Père Barbe, both of which will be found quoted at some length in the "Journal of the Anthropological Institute" for 1882–3, p. 339.[1]

On referring to the accompanying map of the Andamans it will be seen that according to our present knowledge[2] the aboriginal inhabitants are divided into no less than nine tribes, viz.:

.bō·jig-ngī·ji-	..	South Andaman.
.bal·awa- ..	..	Archipelago.
.bō·jig-yâb- *.ô-ko-.jū·wai-* *.â·kà-.ked·e-* *.â·kà-.kôl-*	..	Middle Andaman.
.â·kà-.jāro- *.â·kà-.châ·riar-*	..	North Andaman.
jār·awa- ..	..	Inhabitating Little Andaman and southern portions of Great Andaman.[4]

Although the *.bō·jig-ngī.ji-* are here shown, and in the following pages are described, as the natives of South Andaman—including Rutland and Labyrinth Island—there is no evidence to prove that they have ever been in undisputed possession of the whole of this territory; indeed, the scattered encampments of *jār·awa-*, which are marked on the map as occupying certain portions within their territory give substance to the belief that before our advent they suffered from the inroads of their marauding neighbours, whose occupancy is proved to be of no recent date by the *jār·awa* kitchen-middens,[5] evidently of

[1] *Vide* Part III, "Trade, &c.," p. 119.

[2] How erroneous were the views formerly held may be gathered from the following extracts:—"The Andamans . . . do not even exist in a state of tribedom" (Figuier). "They have no tribal distinctions" (Wood). "In Great Andaman there is only one tribe" (Mouat).

[3] These are the names by which they are designated by the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*, who, being our immediate neighbours, are the best known of all the tribes.

[4] As these communities possess many, if not all, the characteristics of the inhabitants of Little Andaman, and are presumed to have had constant communication with them in past years, they are designated by the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* by the name of *jār·awa*.

[5] These are distinguished from those of the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* with readiness by members of the latter tribe, on account of the presence of the valves of certain molluscs, which they assert were never (according to tradition) considered as articles of diet by their own immediate ancestors.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

101 619 remote origin, which are found in and near the harbour of Port Blair.

197 No one who has had the opportunity of seeing the natives of the various islands forming Great Andaman can fail to be struck with the similarity which marks their general appearance,[1] and to be convinced that, however much they may differ in many respects, they must at least claim a common origin. Any reasonable doubt on the subject has been removed by the discovery that although each of the several tribes possesses a distinct dialect, these are traceable to the same source, and are all in the same—*i.e.*, the agglutinative—stage of development; further, it has been ascertained that among all, or at least among the natives of Middle and South Andaman and the Archipelago, a coincidence of legends and customs is to be found, and that though the points of dissimilarity between the inhabitants of Great and Little Andaman are more marked, especially in regard to their weapons and implements, they are by no means such as would justify the belief that the latter are descendants of another branch of the Negrito family.

From what has been already said it will be understood that we are not yet in a position to decide whether one and the same dialect is spoken by all the communities designated as *jār·awa-*, or whether, like the people of North and Middle Andaman, they must be regarded on linguistic grounds as representing two or more tribes.

The dialects of Great Andaman may be grouped into three classes, viz.:—

I. The *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* and *.bal·awa-*.
II. The *.bō·jig-yâb-* and *.á·kà-.kôl-* and *.ô·ko-.jū·wai-*.
III. The *.á·kà-.ked·e-* and the two tribes of North Andaman.

But it must not be supposed that the similarity between the dialect of any of these groups is so great that a knowledge of one would enable a person to converse intelligibly with members of the other tribes in the same classification, for such is not the case; now, however, that intercommunication is less restricted it is not unusual to find that members of the various communities are sufficiently acquainted with the dialect spoken by their immediate neighbours as to hold intercourse with them.

172 Little which throws light on their past history can be gathered from the Andamanese or from their traditions, but from a study

[1] I have been told by the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* that they can distinguish a *.bal·awa-* from members of the other tribes by his high cheek-bones, and the shape of his skull, which they describe as more dolichocephalic than those of other tribesmen; but as this tribe is now well-nigh extinct, it is impossible to determine the amount of credence which may be placed on this strange statement.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

●101 In the records of certain Arabian travellers of the ninth century we appear to find the first mention that is made of these islands being inhabited by negritos, and Marco Polo, some four hundred years later, bears out their statement, while it would seem that the islands themselves were known to Ptolemy, who speaks of a group in the Bay of Bengal as *Insulae bonae fortunae.*

As regards the derivation of the name "Andaman," there seems to be some uncertainty. Colonel Yule, in his well known work on Marco Polo, mentions that, to his knowledge, Nicolo Conti, who calls it the "Island of Gold," is the only person who has attempted to give it a meaning. Colonel Yule's suggestion is that Angamanain (the name used by Marco Polo) is an Arabic (oblique) dual indicating "The Two Andamans," viz., The Great and The Little, while the origin of the name (Angaman) may be traced to Ptolemy's reference to these islands, which he describes as those of *Good Fortune*, Ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος, whence may have sprung the forms Agdaman, Angaman, and ultimately Andaman.

144 With regard to the origin of the race, many conflicting opinions have, from time to time, been entertained; but, from the knowledge we now possess, the questions raised on the following points may, I think, be considered as more or less satisfactorily set at rest, viz.:—

I. That they are Negritos, *not* Papuans.[1]

II. That they are the original inhabitants, whose occupancy dates from pre-historic times; and that racial affinity—if there be any—may possibly some day be found to exist between them and the Semangs of the Malayan Peninsula,[2] or the Aëtas of the Philippine Islands.[3]

III. That all the tribes, as at present known to us, undoubtedly belong to the same race, and are of unmixed origin, the differences which occur among them being attributable as much to their constitutional peculiarities of jealousy and distrust in all dealings with strangers as to the natural barriers

[1] Figuier speaks of them as "pure Papuans, whose isolated position has kept them from intermixture with other races."

[2] *Vide* Wallace's "Malay Archipelago," 2nd Ed., vol. ii, pp. 278-79, and "Journ. Indian Archipelago," vol. iv, p. 427.

[3] If similarity of moral and social characteristics afforded a sufficient basis in ethnological researches among races not otherwise widely distinguished, a theory of affinity between the extinct negroid race of Tasmanians and the Andamanese might be regarded as not altogether untenable, for the descriptions given of the former by some writers are found applicable in many particulars to the race under consideration; notably is this the case in the account given by Mr. J. E. Calder, which I have deemed of sufficient interest in this connection to make a somewhat lengthy extract, and this will form the subject of one of the Appendices. (*Vide* Appendix D.)

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans A-Z2

presented by their densely wooded and hilly country, which facts have combined to isolate the various communities, and to check freedom of intercourse among them; further, in the case of Little Andaman, it may fairly be assumed that the peculiar bee-hive form of their huts, as well as certain modifications of their domestic habits and customs, have been borrowed from their neighbours, the Car Nicobarese, upon whom, in the last century, they made some hostile raids. 144 [177]

IV. That, in spite of all our endeavours to protect them, contact with civilisation has been marked with the usual lamentable result of reducing the aboriginal population; indeed, the death-rate, among those within the area of our influence, during the past twenty years has so far exceeded the birth-rate, as to compel the belief that before many decades have passed, the race, at least that portion of it which inhabits Great Andaman, will be well-nigh extinct. 165

In view of their probable early extermination, and the rapidity with which they are being meantime reduced to the standard of civilised manners, it seems very desirable that, ere it be too late, all possible information respecting their habits, customs, physical characteristics, etc., should be obtained, more especially as many of the errors which, excusably enough, found their way into the early accounts, having been allowed to pass unchallenged, are accepted as trustworthy, and false ethnological theories are built on these most imperfect bases.

Almost all accounts which have been written regarding these islanders speak of them as *Mincopies*, in explanation of which it is asserted that it is thus "these people style themselves;" but this is far from being the case, for not only is the name, or any at all resembling it, unknown to the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*,[1] *i.e.*, the inhabitants of South Andaman, but the other six tribes with which we are acquainted are in a like state of ignorance as to its origin and significance. The only sounds at all approximating it in the South Andaman dialect at the present day being *min kaich!* (come here!) and *kâ·min kâ·pi!* (stand here!). The former of these being in common use may have given rise to the term (*Mincopie*) as a nickname, to which, indeed, it may possibly have borne a more striking similarity of sound in the language spoken at the period when this name was first adopted; for each generation cannot fail to produce changes more remarkable, and even of greater importance in the phonology of an unwritten language, such as this, depending as 101

[1] For the list of symbols adopted for denoting the sounds in this language *see* Appendix A; this list has been finally adopted in accordance with the kind advice of Mr. A. J. Ellis, F.R.S., whose valuable assistance I would here again gratefully acknowledge.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

●10 it must entirely on the delicacy of ear, and correctness of individual articulation.

The following remarks, except where otherwise specified, must be understood as referring to the eight tribes of Great Andaman, for the continued and inveterate hostility with which the inhabitants of Little Andaman, known as *jārawa-*, have hitherto met all our advances and attempts to establish an *entente cordiale* has rendered it extremely difficult to obtain, much less substantiate, any information concerning them.

Form and Size.—1. Those of my readers who have studied the various accounts which have appeared regarding the physical characteristics of the Andamanese cannot fail to have been struck with their divergence. For the sake of others, however, to whom the race is comparatively unknown, it is necessary that I should here quote, on the subject of their form and size a few writers, commencing with the Mahomedan travellers of the ninth century, already mentioned, who stated that "their complexion is black, their hair frizzled, their countenance and eyes frightful, their feet very large and almost a cubit in length, and they go quite naked;" while Marco Polo (cir. 1285) appears to have been still less favourably impressed, for he says "the people . . . . are no better than wild beasts, and I assure you all the men of this island of Angamanain have heads like dogs, and teeth and eyes likewise; in fact, in the face, they are all just like big mastiff dogs!" Next we find Colonel Colebrooke, towards the close of the last century, describing "their limbs as ill-formed and slender, their bellies prominent, and, like the Africans, as having woolly heads, thick lips, and flat noses." In opposition to the foregoing we have Dr. Mouat, than whom no better judge could be desired, giving it as his opinion, that "they are the most perfectly formed little beings in existence. In proportion to their size, their general framework is well constructed, and their limbs present a remarkably good muscular development, and . . . . the whole form is as elegant as that of any European," in which opinion he is supported by the eminent craniologist, Dr. J. Barnard Davis, recently deceased, who, after careful study of a number of Andamanese skulls and skeletons, affirmed that they were "most beautifully proportioned."[1]

2. From my own observations I would remark, that though it is quite true that there are found among them individuals whose "abdomens are protuberant,[2] and whose limbs are dispropor-

[1] A peculiarity which I have observed is that the males have in many cases as marked a bend in the small of the back as the females. (*Vide* figure on the left of group in Plate III, Fig 1.)

[2] "From childhood they gram their stomachs with an immense amount of bulky food in a short period, and they do literally 'swell visibly' after their

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791 savage tribes,[1] imagine themselves gifted with superior wisdom, and can hardly be blamed if they endeavour to turn their talents to account by imposing a little on the credulity of their neighbours.

Tribal Distribution.—1. The inhabitants of these islands are
101 divided into at least nine tribes,[2] linguistically distinguished,
171 even if we reckon as one those communities to which I have
197 already alluded under the title of *järawa-*, among whom it is not improbable further divisions and dialects may eventually be
619 discovered. The conjecture that they are one is merely based on the assertions of the people of South Andaman, and on the circumstance that all the weapons, utensils, huts, &c., of the *järawa-*, which we have been able to examine, appear to be constructed invariably on the same model, while all such members of the various scattered communities as we have had the opportunity of observing, resemble each other in abstaining from the practice, so general among all the eight Great Andaman tribes, of shaving their heads and tattooing their persons. Still, these outward similarities are manifestly insufficient, affording as they do mere negative evidence, whereas our present knowledge, so tardily acquired, of there being inland communities, called *ē·rem-tâ·ga-*, dwelling in the heart of South and Middle Andaman, who are allied in all respects, save in their mode of life, with the *ârŷô·to-*, or coast communities of their respective tribes, would seem to justify the belief that hereafter the aborigines of Little Andaman will be found to present not only distinctions of this nature but differences also of dialect, as is the case with the inhabitants of both North and Middle Andaman, which are known to be divided into no less than six tribes.

2. As to the numerical strength of these several tribes it is
164 impossible to speak with any degree of certainty, for, as you are
619 aware, there is no part of the country which is not covered with jungle, more or less impenetrable to any but the aborigines themselves, while their capacity for estimating and expressing numbers is wholly inadequate to assist us in forming any conclusions on the subject. The surmise that the entire group contains about 4,000 souls is based on the calculation that the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* tribe with whom we are most intimate do not at the present day exceed 400, though at the time of our advent in 1858, they are believed to have numbered about 1,000.

133 **Topography.**—1. The chief geographical landmarks of these islands are :—

1st. *Saddle Peak*, a massive hill rising to the height of

[1] *Vide* Lubbock, "On the Origin of Civilisation," &c., 4th Ed., pp. 250–1.

[2] For the names of the various tribes, and the localities they occupy, the reader is referred to the accompanying map.

137 occur, sometimes over large tracts, conspicuous in the dry season when the leaves are off the trees. The huge buttressing of several species is a peculiar feature, and so is the growth of the forest in certain parts in belts, dependent apparently on the soil below: *e.g.*, the tracts of the bamboo (*bambusa schizostachyoides*) which almost exclusively occupy the indurated chloritic rock. Aborescent *euphorbias*, screw-pines (*pandanus odoratissimus*), and large cycads give on the coasts a remarkable appearance to the forests. Several palms are commonly seen, though the cocoanut is not indigenous. The general character of the forests is Burmese, with an admixture of Malay types. In the cleared places about Port Blair the grazing appears to be abundant, but is not really so, owing to the action of two destructive weeds: the needle bearing grass (*avena fatua*), which is pretty but not edible by any kind of food animal and being of a stronger growth than ordinary grazing grass supplants it wherever it is not rigourously kept down; and the sensitive plant (*mimosa pudica*), an imported nuisance, which rapidly covers all open and low lying places and is edibile only by goats.

IV. History.

175 **Ancient Notices of the Islands.**—The existence of the islands now known as the Andamans has, owing to the ancient course of trade, been reported from quite early times, though which of Ptolemy's island names ought properly to be attached to them may still be regarded as a moot point. Gerini, in his ingenious paper, *Notes on the Early Geography of Indo-China*, (*J. R. A. S.* 1897, p. 551ff) gives Bazakata for the Great Andaman, Khaline for the Little Andaman, Maniola for Car Nicobar, and Agathodaimonos for Great Nicobar. In the mediæval Latin editions of Ptolemy a remark somewhat as follows often appears opposite Bazakata:—"*cuius incolæ vocantur Aginalæ qui suai semper degere feruntur, in hac conchæ sunt multæ.*" While it is on Maniola that the people are called *anthropophagi*. Even if one is inclined to accept this plausible theory, it is nevertheless, as will be seen from what follows, probable that Yule is right in his conjecture that Ptolemy's *Agathou daimonos nesos* preserves a misunderstanding, as perhaps does also the contemporary Aginatæ (with its later corruptions Allegate, Alegada on maps) for its inhabitants, of some sailors' term near to the modern Andaman. The old error that Ptolemy's maps were drawn by Agathodæmon, the grammarian of the 5th Century, A.D., is repeated in Portman's *History of our Relations with the Andamanese*, 1899, p. 50 and elsewhere.

Little Andaman, as a name, has a curious and obscure history on the old maps. In some of them we find Isle d'Andemaon (and Andaman) and also Isle de Maon (and Man), as if "Andaman" was the Great Andaman and "Man" the Little Andaman. Then in maps we have Chitre Andaman 1595, 1642: Chique Andemaon 1710: Cite Andemaon 1720, 1720 and Crita I, 1720 obviously corrupted out of Chitre, Chique and Cite. I have seen also Cite d'Andaman responsible for a town or city in the Andamans! And it is just possible that Chique Andemaon is responsible for the modern Cinque Islands between Great and Little Andaman, which are not five but obviously two islands. Chetty Andaman survived till 1858. Little Andaman, in its modern form, does not appear till the maps of Blair in 1790 odd.

175 **Origin of the name.**—The Chinese and Japanese knew the Islands respectively as Yeng-t'o-mang and Andaban in the first millenium A.D. (*vide* 101 Takakasu's Edition of I-tsing pp. xxx and xxviii ff) which clearly represent the Andaman of the *Arab Relations* of 851 A.D. Then comes Marco Polo with his Arabic dual form Angamanain in 1292. After which we have Nicolo Conti in 1430 with Andemania, and after him almost every eastern traveller and mapmaker with some form of "Andaman." All these terms seem obviously to be based on the Malay name for the islands, as the Malays of the Peninsula have, for many centuries, used the islands for their piratical practices and for a trade in Andamanese slaves to their own country and Siam (this up to about 1860) and have known them by the term Handuman, which most likely preserves the very ancient Hanuman (monkey, *scil.*, savage aborginal antagonist of the Aryans) so well-known to the Indian Epics and carried down to the Malays in story and translations.

In the great Tanjore inscription of 1050 A.D. the Andamans are mentioned under a translated name along with the Nicobars, as Timaittivu, "Islands of Impurity" and as the abode of cannibals. In the Chinese *History of the T'ang Dynasty* (618-906 A.D.) they are called the land of the Rakshasas, and the Andamanese are to-day regarded as Rakshasas (or ogres, *i.e.*, traditional savage antagonists of the Aryans) by the Natives of India on being first seen, and were so called at once when they appeared in the streets on a visit to Calcutta in 1883. As the abode of the Rakshasas the Andamans were also known to the Southern Indians in mediæval times and this persistence in regarding the Andamanese as the Rakshasas or their descendants confirms the ancient derivation of "Andaman" as a name from Hanuman through Malay Handuman.

The Andamanese have returned the compliment and know all Orientals as Chauga or ancestral ghosts, *i.e.*, demons, and have preserved an ancient knowledge of them in a term for trepang or sea-slug as the "Oriental's slug," the collection of this valuable edible and of the equally valuable birds'-nests being one object of the visits of the Malays, Burmese and Chinese in days gone by, in addition to trapping slaves, which last practice no doubt had something to do with the savage hostility of the Andamanese towards all who landed on their shores.

Mediæval and Modern Notices of the Islands.—The notices of the Islands by the old travellers are continuous, and they regularly appear in some shape or other on all maps from the "Ptolemies" of the 15th-16th Century onwards, till we reach the middle of the 18th Century, when the East India Company's and Royal Naval commanders and surveyors began to make accurate reports of parts of the coasts in charts preserved for us in the works of the indefatigable Dalrymple. Owing to the piracies and ill-treatment of shipwrecked and distressed crews, the Company under Lord Cornwallis commissioned the great surveyor Archibald Blair in 1788 to start a Settlement on the ordinary lines, to which convicts were afterwards sent as labourers. Blair, with the acuteness he shows in all his work, fixed upon the harbour he called Port Cornwallis, but now known as Port Blair, for the Settlement and began his labours there in 1789. The Settlement flourished under him at that spot, but was removed in 1792 for strategical reasons to the present Port Cornwallis, where it gradually perished miserably in 1796 from the effects of a bad, unhealthy site and want of experience of the climate. Here it was under Major Kyd. Blair's and Kyd's *Reports* have all been preserved in the *Bengal Consultations* and are published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vols. xxviii *et seq.*

Modern History of the Islands and People.—Thereafter notices of the Andamans are not numerous, but they must have occupied the Government attention, for a formal *résumé* of information was officially drawn up in 1802. In 1824 the fleet, formed for the attack on Burma, made its rendezvous at Port Cornwallis. In 1825 J. E. Alexander, *Travels from India to England*, gives an interesting account of a landing at the Little Andaman. In 1836, Malcom, the missionary, notices the Andamans in his *Travels in Southern Asia*. In 1839, Dr. Helfer, the geologist, was murdered north of Port Cornwallis. In 1844 the transports *Briton* and *Runnymede*, from Sydney and Gravesend, respectively, were wrecked together on the Archipelago in a cyclone on 12th November. They contained detachments of the 10th, 50th and 80th Regiments, and the full record of the occurrence that has been left affords a fine example of pluck, endurance and resource in a great emergency. In 1850, a Mr. Quigley from Moulmein wrote a misleading and mischievous account of a visit to Interview Island. There is preserved an interesting account of the wreck of the *Emily* in 1849 off the West Coast and of the subsequent efforts to assist the crew. On this occasion the second mate was murdered by the aborigines, and there are records at this period of other murders dating before 1848 and continuing on till 1856. These led to the second occupation of the Islands, a step which was hastened by the outbreak of the Mutiny in 1857. This event threw a large number of mutineers, deserters and rebels on the hands of the Government, with whom it was difficult to deal, and in November of that year it was finally decided to send them to the Andamans to start the Settlement. The Government sent the "Andaman Committee" to make a preliminary exploration, with Dr. Mouat as president, and this Committee, in a *Report* remarkable for its common sense, fixed upon Port Blair as the site of the Settlement. Upon this report and an

172 The largest and traditionally the oldest, the original, home of the race by a consensus of Andamanese opinion and worth scientific exploration (any other to be greatly deprecated), is the kitchen-midden of Wota-Emi on Baratang in Elphinstone Harbour on the east coast of the South Andaman.

In reference to the kitchen-middens it is worth noting that all Andamanese tradition commences with the cataclysm accompanied by a subsidence of a large portion of the surface of their old country already noticed, and the people point to certain ancient kitchen-middens, such as that at Port Mouat, on the sea level to prove it. They say that these were commenced by the survivors of the cataclysm and that the sites were previously high up on the mountain sides, where no one could build a kitchen-midden.

175 **Early Descriptions.**—I-Tsing, the Chinese Buddhist monk, in 672 A. D. (Takakasu's Ed. p. xxx) mixed up in his account of his travels the Andamanese with the Nicobarese, and describes them thus:—

"The men are entirely naked while the women veil their person with some leaves. If the merchants in joke offer them their clothes, they wave their hands (to tell that) they do not use them."

But the earliest distinct notice of the Andamanese is in that remarkable collection of early Arab notes on India and China (851 A. D.), which was translated by Eus. Renaudot and again in our own time by M. Reinaud. It accurately represents the view entertained of this people by mariners down to our own time.

175 266 "The inhabitants of these islands eat men alive. They are black with woolly hair and in their eyes and countenances there is something quite frightful * * * they go naked and have no boats. If they had they would devour all who passed near them. Sometimes ships that are windbound and have exhausted their provision of water touch here and apply to the natives for it; in such cases the crews sometimes fall into the hands of the latter and most of them are massacred."

This traditional charge of cannibalism still persists, though it is now, and almost certainly has always been, entirely untrue. Of the massacre of shipwrecked crews up till quite recent times there is no doubt; but the policy of conciliation, which has been unremittingly pursued for the last forty years, has made the coasts quite safe for the shipwrecked, except at points where the Jarawas touch the coast and the wilder Onges reside, the south and west of Little Andaman, the North Sentinel Island, south of Rutland Island and Hut Bay on its western coast, Port Campbell and some few miles to the north of it on the west coast of the South Andaman. Everywhere else shipwrecked mariners would find the people not only friendly and helpful, but likely to give notice to Port Blair at once of their predicament.

[766] **Charge of Cannibalism.**—The charge of cannibalism seems to have arisen from three observations of the old mariners. The Andamanese attacked and murdered without provocation every stranger they could on his landing; they burnt his body (as they did in fact that of every enemy); and they had weird all-night dances round fires. Combine these three observations with the unprovoked murder of one of themselves and the fear aroused by such occurrences in a far land in ignorant mariners' minds, century after century, and a persistent charge of cannibalism is almost certain to be the result.

● 101 **Language of the Aka-Beada Tribe used in the Report.**—The tribe occupying the shores of the Harbour of Port Blair and its islands at the British occupation in 1858 was, in its own tongue, the Aka-Bea-da. Its language was the first to be studied and its customs the first to be ascertained. It may still be called the tribe that is the best known and understood.

Every tribe has its own name for itself and its neighbours, and it is therefore necessary for the purposes of this *Report* to adopt one set of names only throughout, and the set most convenient is naturally that of the Aka-Bea-da. In this language *aka* is a prefix with small variations to nearly all tribal names and *da* is a suffix used with almost every isolated noun. For the sake of brevity I have throughout this *Report* discarded both these affixes and used the roots only of tribal names. But it must be understood that in actual speech an Aka-Bea would, in answering such a question as "what is your tribe?", reply

"Aka-Bea-da;" and in using his tribal name in the course of a sentence he would say "Aka-Bea." In this way the full and abbreviated forms of the Andamanese Tribes as named by the Aka-Bea Tribe are as under:— 101

The Andamanese Tribal Names according to the Aka-Bea Language.

Full.	Abbreviated.
Aka-Chariar-(da)	Chariar.
Aka-Kora-(da)	Kora.
Aka-Tabo (da)	Tabo.
Aka-Yere (da) (also Aka-Jaro-da)	Yere.
Oko-Juwai-(da)	Juwai.
Aka-Kol-(da)	Kol.
Aka-Bojigyab-(da)	Bojigyab.
Aka-Balawa-(da)	Balawa.
Aka-Bea-(da)	Bea.
Ônge	Ônge.
Jarawa-(da)	Jarawa.

Below is given a table of the names given to themselves and each other by the five South Andaman Tribes or Bojigngiji Group, traditionally sprung from one tribe. It brings out the following facts:—in each language of the Group the prefixes and suffixes differ much and the roots remain practically the same throughout for the same sense. These facts strongly indicate one fundamental tongue for this group of languages.

Table of the names for themselves and each other used by the five South Andaman tribes or Bojigngiji group.

Sense.	Tribe.	Bea.	Balawa.	Bojigyab.	Juwai.	Kol.
Fresh-water	*Bea*	Aka-Bea-da	Akat-Bea	O-Bea-da	Oko-Beye-lekile.	O-Bea-che.
Opposite-side	*Balawa*	Aka-Balawa-da.	Akat-Bale	O-Pole-da	Oko-Pole-lekile.	O-Pole-che.
Speak the language	*Bojigyab*	Aka-Bojigyab-da.	Akat-Bojigyab-nga.	O-Puchikwar-da.	Oko-Puchikyar-lekile.	O-Puchikwar-che.
Patterns cut on bows	*Juwai*	Aka-Juwai-da.	Akat-Juwai	O-Juwai-da	Oko-Juwai lekile.	O-Juwai-che.
Bitter or salt taste	*Kol*	Aka-Kol-da	Akat-Kol	O-Kol-da	Oko-Kol-lekile.	O-Kol-che.

So too Yêre, Jeru or Jâro for the Aka-Yere Tribe means a (sort of) "canoe" in all the languages and Ônge means "a man" in its own language.

The Twelve Tribes.—An Andamanese individual, as the people themselves recognise, belongs to a family, which belongs to a Sept, which belongs to a Tribe, which belongs to a group of tribes or division of the race. The first two of these without being specifically named are recognised, the last two have specific names. 619

The Census proved the existence of twelve tribes of the Andamanese, each with its clearly defined locality or rather "run," with its own language, and to a certain extent its own separate habits. The tribes are from north to south: Chariar, Kora, Tabo, Yere, Kede, Juwai, Kol, Bojigyab, Balawa, Bea, on the Great Andaman. The Ônge-Jarawa occupies, with its Jarawa division, the interior of the South Andaman, the North Sentinel, and parts of Rutland Island; with its Ônge division parts of Rutland Island and the Little Andaman. In the Archipelago is the Balawa tribe. Portman in his *History* divides the Andamanese into twelve tribes, necessarily omitting the Kora and Tabo, but dividing the Jarawas into three tribes according as they inhabit South Andaman, Rutland Island, and the North Sentinel. It is to that painstaking and accurate observer, Mr. E. H. Man, that we are indebted for the true differentiation of the tribes.

In their present depopulated condition the friendly tribes have amalgamated, as so many savages have done before them elsewhere in other parts of the world in similar circumstances. Thus, though the Kora, Tabo and Yere still keep more aloof than the rest in the jungles of the North Andaman, the whole of the remainder are thoroughly mixed up at the Home and practically throughout the Great Andaman and the Archipelago. This is a matter of the generation

726 **Fighting Capacity.**—The Andamanese are bad fighters and never attack unless certain of success. During hostilities they never take any precautions as to their own safety by sentries, works, armour, or ruses of any kind, nor in the attack beyond taking advantage of cover. The only ideas of protection yet met with are among the Jarawas, who use trunk-armour consisting of a wide belt of bark and well devised sentry stations on the paths round their permanent communal huts.

619 **The Hostile Tribe of Jarawas.**—The Jarawas and some Onges kill every stranger at sight, but the Jarawas only are in these days entirely hostile, and on the whole the Onges are friendly, the friendliness dating from the capture and subsequent judicious treatment of 24 men, women and children on the Cinque Islands in January 1883. The only positively dangerous people are thus the Jarawas, and this is to be accounted for in this way. The ancient (as proved by old separate kitchen-middens) incursion from the Little Andaman through Rutland Island of that section of the Onge tribe, which is now known as the Jarawas, into the South Andaman set up an implacable tribal hostility between them and the Beas, its other occupants, which has been extended to the foreign settlers in Port Blair, and has nowadays become an undying distrust of all strangers and an hereditary hostility towards them.

But Colebrooke, reporting in 1790, gives a vocabulary of a people, now identified with the Onge-Jarawa tribe by its speech, and as theories have been built up on this fact, it is as well to see carefully when and where Colebrooke met the natives and who they were.

175 **Colebrooke's Knowledge of them (1789).**—Colebrooke left Diamond Island (Cape Negrais) on December 20th, 1789, and reached Port Cornwallis (now Port Blair) on December 23rd. On the 24th he went up the harbour and saw some natives (Jarawa Tribe) on Dundas Point. On the 26th he went up the harbour with Commodore Cornwallis (brother of the Governor-General), accompanied by a native who had been wounded in a skirmish with his tribe, found to be very hostile by the people of the snow *Viper*, and was kept on board the *Ranger*, Cornwallis's ship. He is described as "very cheerful and quite reconciled to his captivity." They went up the Bumlitan Creek as far as Bumlitan and met another native (Jarawa) who ran away. They dined (lunched) on "Mount Pleasant," a hill on the harbour near Viper Island, and met another Jarawa who exchanged his bow and arrows for a knife. On the 27th the wounded native, who had been on the *Ranger* three weeks, was put ashore by the Commodore, who uniformly treated the savages with extreme consideration. On the 28th they met the Jarawa on Dundas Point whom they had seen before, with a woman and a girl and found him again friendly. On the 29th there was trouble with the Bea Tribe at Phœnix Bay and with the Jarawas at Ariel Creek.

Colebrooke then went to the Nicobars and returned to Port Blair on February 20th, 1790, starting up north on 21st February. On the 23rd March at Port Meadows he saw some of the Bea Tribe leaving Entrance Island and saw some more hostile Beas, whom the party frightened off, coming from the North. On the 26th he went to the Archipelago, and met some hostile Balawas. On the 27th he went into Colebrooke Passage and saw some Bojigyab huts and some more of the tribe, who ran away in Elphinstone Harbour on the 29th. On the 30th they met some hostile Kols in the east entrance to Homfray's Strait and some more on the 31st off the north end of Long Island. On the 3rd and 4th April they found the Yere Tribe in Stewart Sound extremely hostile. On the 6th Blair himself met some Koras at the foot of Saddle Peak, who ran away. On the 7th Blair discovered the present Port Cornwallis and Colebrooke left for India.

It is clear from this that the only native from whom Colebrooke could have procured his *Vocabulary* was the wounded man on the *Ranger* and that man, as the *Vocabulary* shows, was a Jarawa. The tribes of all sorts—Jarawa, Bea, Bojigyab, Balawa, Kol, Yere, Kora, whom Colebrooke met, except in the case of one Jarawa and his family, exhibited either extreme fear or hostility.

175 101 **Explanation of the name Mincopie for the Andamanese.**—The first word in Colebrooke's *Vocabulary*, the first ever made of any Andaman tongue, is Mincopie for "Andaman Island or native country," whence Mincopie has

become a persistent book-name for the Andamanese. It has been a great puzzle to scientific men ever since, though it is now to be identified, as will be seen later, with "Mongebe, I am (an) Onge," a phrase, which was perhaps pronounced and at any rate sounded in Colebrooke's ears as "Minggobie." His informant, in using it, apparently meant to explain that he was an Onge, or as the Jarawas seem to pronounce the name,—an Inggo. 175 101

Relations with the English.—Since the establishment of the Penal Settlement in 1858 an Andamanese Home has been created in Port Blair for the use of the aborigines, and several attempts have been made to civilise some of them and to bring up the children to a Christian education. These attempts have met with no reasonable success, the "civilised" returning to their original savagery at the first opportunity, the children deserting the schools and, except in an instance here and there, retaining nothing of their early education in after life. The existing use of the Home is that of a free asylum to which every Andamanese that likes is admitted. He may stay as long as he pleases and go when it suits him. While there he is housed, fed and taken care of, and for the sick there is a good and properly maintained hospital. From the Home, too, are taken such little necessaries and luxuries as the people desire to friends at a distance and during each of the many tours taken round the coasts by the officials. In return the Andamanese of the Home are employed to help in catching runaway convicts, in collecting edible birds'-nests and trepang and other natural produce, and in making "Andamanese curios," from which a small income is derived and expended on them. They have never succeeded in acquiring any true idea of money for themselves and all their earnings have to be administered for them. It is indeed against local rules to give them money, as it is at once spent in intoxicants. The present policy, in short, is to leave them alone and to do what is possible in the conditions to ameliorate their lives. The administrative objects gained by establishing friendly relations with the tribes are the cessation of the former and much too frequent murder of shipwrecked crews, the external peace of the Settlement and the creation of a jungle police to prevent escapes of convicts, and the recapture of runaways. 175 439

In the days of Blair and Kyd, 1789—96, the tribes showed themselves to be practically uniformly hostile, despite the conspicuous consideration these early officials exhibited, and remained continuously so after the commencement of the re-establishment of the Settlement in 1858, attacking the working parties of convicts, just as the Jarawas do still, for iron and articles suitable to them and robbing the gardens started for food supplies. These practices had to be repressed by force, and efforts towards friendly relations had to be postponed until respect for the settlers was established. The procedure officially then adopted and carried out with such success in the end by Messrs. Corbyn, Homfray, Man, Godwin-Austen, and Portman in succession was the simple one of providing the Home and visiting the people in their own haunts, as opportunity arose, with suitable presents.

In Appendix B will be found an abstract of the Jarawa raids on the Settlement, which have been continuous since 1872, when they were first differentiated. In the interval they have attacked convicts, usually at their work, on 20 occasions and friendly Andamanese Camps on 12 occasions. That is, they have made 32 attacks in 30 years. In these attacks 27 convicts and 4 Andamanese have been killed; 7 convicts, 2 police constables, and 5 Andamanese have been wounded. In counter expeditions and searches for the raiders 3 Jarawas have been killed, 9 wounded, and 20 captured. Of the captured 18 have been released in a short time and 2 have died. It will be seen thus that the hostility of the tribe is towards all strangers, including their own people, and that the policy of capture, kindness in captivity, and release with presents has not up to date borne any good fruit whatever. This is a very different story to that of their almost equally wild congeners the Onges.

II. Physical Characteristics.

Portman's and Molesworth's Enquiries.—The physical characteristics of the Andamanese have been considerably studied by Mr. M. V. Portman and Major W. S. Molesworth, and as their work has never been published, the 141

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ÖNGE-JARAWA RADICAL PREFIXES.

Jarawa	Önge
ingo-, ingi-, inga-, onke-, öng-, ö-	öni-, öna-, öno-, öno-, önan-, ina-, ine-, eng-, eni-, öngo-
uni-	u-
o-, i-, ö-	ö-, ö-, a-, e-
i-	eje-, ichin-, e-
ji-	ibi-, ebe-
i-	akwa-, akwe-, ako-, ik-, ig-, i-
aha-, a-	aha-, a-
omo-	omo-
sto-	are-
	alan-

Of these, as prefixes relating to mankind and the human body, the following occur :—

	öni-, a general prefix of the body and then,	
Class I	öni-	head, lip, neck, nose, navel, hip, testicles, stomach.
Class II	ik-, ig-, i-	cheek, ear.
Class III	ibi-	chin.
Class IV	e-	fist, knee, nail, throat.
Class V	alan	teeth.

That the relation between concrete words for the parts of the body and those for ideas belonging to them is shown by the prefixes, comes out neatly in *ik-kuca-pe*, ear : *ik-aibewe*, deaf. So, too, the words *ichin-da-nge* and *i-lo-nge* given for "bone" probably refer to a bone of Class II.

Proof of the Identity of Önge-Jarawa with the other Groups.—Among an untutored people, so long isolated even from the other Andamanese, one would hardly look for many roots now in common with them, but the following, which occur in such short lists as those available, sufficiently establish a common origin for the Family.

SOME COMMON ROOTS IN THE ANDAMAN LANGUAGES.

English	Onge-Jarawa	Remaining Languages
bat	witwi	wöt, wat, wut.
cold	choma	choki (Ben).
red ochre	gyalap	bilap, ujla.
net	chi	chi.
meene	che, chi	chiba (Ben, Balawa).
"God"	Ulugu : (*Ulugu*, thunder)	Pulugu, Bilak (Ben *wul-ugu*, storm).
turtle	chibe	chokbe (Kede, Chariar).
water	i, ig	im (Ben, Balawa).
bone	to	ta, tea (Ben, Balawa).
wood	ta, da	ta, ton, to.

Colebrooke showed all sorts of impossible things to his Jarawa to name, and one interesting result is the following :—

English	Jarawa	Önge
cotton cloth } paper }	pe—nge——be flat—become—is	be—nge——be flat—become—is

Of course, no Jarawa had ever seen before anything approaching to either object, and this man's one expression for both means "it is (has been) flattened," which is what the savage meant to convey when asked anything so impossible as to name them.

In Appendix B will be found a further list of Önge words to aid in the study of this interesting language.

101

Derivation of Mincopie.—We are now in a position to solve a great puzzle of ethnographists for a century and more: why were the Andamanese called Mincopie by Europeans? What word does this transcription represent? It can now be split up thus—

M—ö——nge—be.
I—man-kind-am
(I am an Önge)

Or, as the the Jarawas perhaps pronounce the expression "M-inggo—be" or even "M-injo-be," I am an Inggo (Injo). The name given by the Onges to

themselves is a "verbal noun" *ə-nge*, man-being. So that when questioned as to himself by Colebrooke, this Jarawa replied "M'inggobe," or something like it, which compound expression by mistranscription and misapprehension has become the well-known Mincopie of the general ethnological books in many languages for an Andamanese. The Ônges call their own home, the Little Andaman, Gwabe-l'Ônge. Jārawa is a modern Bea term, possibly radically identical with Yorewa, the Bea name for the Northern Group of Tribes. 101

It is just possible that Colebrooke's Jarawa misunderstood what was wanted altogether and simply said, "I am (will be, would be) drinking: *m-inggo-be*, I-drink-do."

I have now to record a great disappointment. The proof that the method herein adopted for recovering the Jarawa Language was correct lay in the fact that the word *i-nge* for "water" was ascertained from a little Jarawa boy captured in February, 1902, and the identical word was quite independently unearthed from Colebrooke's and Portman's Vocabularies as Ônge-Jarawa for "water." The only other word clearly ascertained from the boy *wala-ay* for "pig," has not been gathered independently as yet. This little boy was the last of the prisoners left, who were captured on that occasion (*vide* Ch. III, Appx. C.) as the women and small children and girls were all returned and only two boys kept back for a while in order to get their language, etc., from them. Of these, the elder died of fever and on the very day that their language was fairly recovered, and we were in a position to set to work to learn quickly from him, the younger died very suddenly, without warning illness, of pneumonia.

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Report of a Survey of the Inhabitants of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands during 1948-49

[P1]

By

B. S. Guha

Director, Department of Anthropology

About the end of the year 1946, Mr H. J. Stooks, Deputy Secretary to the Ministry of Home Affairs, consulted me with regard to proposals made by Sri A. V. Thakkar of the Bharatiya Adim Jati Sevak Sangh for undertaking work for the amelioration of the conditions of the inhabitants of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands on the same lines as the Sangh has been doing among the Bhils and other tribes of Central India. The problem of the Aborigines of the Andaman Islands, however, is not the same as that of the other primitive tribes of India. These people are some of the most ancient remnants of the human race still surviving in any part of the world, who had been very little affected from contact with other people and subsist principally on fishing and hunting. The need among them is not so much the spread of education and social uplift as the arrest of the decline in population which has been most alarming. Since the establishment of the Penal Settlement at Port Blair in 1858, the condition of the "Friendly Tribes" among these inhabitants have been most distressing. Due in the beginning to armed encounters with the forces of the Government, and also as a result of ravages from diseases like tuberculosis and syphilis contracted from Indian convicts, there has been a continuous decline in the Andamanese population. From an estimated figure of about 10,000 people in 1779 the tribe has been reduced to only 70 in 1931, and at the time of our visit there were probably not more than 37 individuals still living. Whether it will be possible to save the Andamanese from the fate of the Tasmanians whose last surviving representative passed away about 1770 is extremely doubtful.

The hostile branch of the Andamanese tribes known as the Jarawa-Onge-Sentinelese group, fortunately has been spared the fate of their more "friendly" kinsmen, and as a result of implacable hostility and comparative isolation have survived to a much larger extent. In the western forest belts of Middle and South Andamans, the Little Andaman, and the North Sentinel Islands they have resisted all intrusions from outsiders and were known to have lived in these places comparatively unmolested. No accurate census of these tribes however, was ever taken, but from estimates made by people who had some knowledge of the tribes, it does not seem possible that the total strength of these people could be more than a few hundred souls altogether before the last war. What has happened since and how far these people, specially the Jarawas, have suffered from Japanese occupation cannot accurately be determined. It is known that there had been some bombing by the Japanese in the Jarawa tract, but whether any Jarawa was killed is not known. I, therefore, suggested to Mr Stooks that an anthropological survey of the Islands was essential and a probable estimate of the surviving settlements of the population made before the question of any social welfare work can be considered.

114 while its culture was already in the process of disintegration.
[161] Moreover, MAN dealt almost exclusively with the South Andaman
[182] tribes, mainly with the Aka-Bea, while RADCLIFFE-BROWN's researches were centered mainly on some of the northernmost tribes. As a result, not all the tribes were given equal attention. This is regrettable since their religious concepts and myths were by no means uniform. Therefore one cannot say that our information about the ten Great Andaman tribes is as full and up to modern standards as would be desirable. There is, of course, no more hope of ever filling the existing gaps in our knowledge. It is the more necessary that the still relatively intact groups of Andamanese be thoroughly studied before it is too late.

Ongi (Onge)

161 The Ongi of Little Andaman owe their survival to their isolation
[101] and to the fact that they remained hostile until the end of the 1880's
[648] and even thirty years ago were not yet considered as quite reliable. Nevertheless, their numbers are constantly decreasing as the following estimates in the various Census Reports seem to indicate

1901 . . . 672
1911 . . . 631
1921 . . . 346
1931 . . . 250

161 Of course, these figures, being mere estimates, are not reliable,
114 and the last two are too low. As Professor LIDIO CIPRIANI of Florence, who spent many months with the Ongi in 1952, 1953, and 1954, kindly informed us, he came to different results. In his letter, dated May 2nd, 1958, he writes:

" I visited all communal huts with aim of taking a census of the Ongi. Every family has a bed in a communal hut, i. e. a kind of 'ritual' bed on which they marry and under which they are buried when they die. I prepared a list of persons using each bed. This added up to about 500 Ongi, but I saw less than 200 of them. The majority is still very shy and, when approached, ready to disappear into the jungle. The names of the absent persons were given to me by other Ongi. I left this list of personal names with the Department of Anthropology, Indian Museum, Calcutta, but kept a copy".

161 This would seem to indicate that the situation is not quite as bad as appears from the Census Reports. But even so, it is very serious and is constantly deteriorating. The Census Report of 1931
[164] says that "the numbers decrease year by year mainly from infection
[182] such as influenza introduced at times of contact with civilization. Some septs have almost completely disappeared during the last years".

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Lidio Cipriani, *Report on a Survey of Little Andaman during 1951—53*, Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology, Vol. II, No. 1, Calcutta, 1953, pp. 61—82.

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A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *Notes on the Languages of the Andaman Islands*, Anthropos, Vol. IX, 1914, pp. 36—52.
The Andaman Islanders, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1933, pp. 413—415, 419—422, 436, 439—440, 461—463, 481—482, 484, 491.

Randhir Kumar De, *The Onge of Little Andaman*, Vanyajati, Vol. V, No. 1, 1957, pp. 12—17.

Jarawa

101 [197] [194] [648] [161]

Although the Jarawa inhabit the jungles of South and Middle Andaman, they do not belong to the Great Andaman group of tribes, but are culturally and linguistically related to the Ongi. It is assumed that they originally came from Little Andaman. The Jarawa owe their survival to their having remained isolated as a result of their implacable hostility toward the British (now Indian) colonial settlement. Information on their raids and the punitive expeditions against them will be found in the respective volumes of the Census of India. In 1931 their number was estimated at either 70 (Bonington) or 120 (Hutton). Their culture conforms to the general Andamanese pattern, but differs in various respects from that of their former neighbours, the extinct Great Andaman tribes. Except for their communal huts and such of their material possessions as were found during punitive expeditions, practically nothing is known about it. Our knowledge of their language is restricted to lists of words col-

Our knowledge
c4 Their language is restricted to lists of words col- 114
lected from captive Jarawas by COLEBROOK in 1789—90 and by PORT- 648
MAN in the 19th century.

Research on the Jarawa would by highly desirable, but will be impossible as long as they remain hostile.

Census of India, 1901, Vol. III, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by Sir RICHARD C. TEMPLE, pp. 4, 52—53, 68—90, 117—121. 113

Census of India, 1911, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by R. F. LOWIS, pp. 7, 31—39, 82—83.

Census of India, 1921, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by R. F. LOWIS, pp. 5, 39—43.

Census of India, 1931, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by M. C. C. BONINGTON, pp. 8—9, 15—16, 23.

A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN, *Notes on the Languages of the Andaman Islands*, Anthropos, vol. IX, 1914, pp. 38—39.
The Andaman Islanders, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1933, pp. 86, 410, 413—415, 423, 432—433, 439—440.

North Sentinel Island

North Sentinel is an island of about 30 square miles west of the 101
southern tip of Great Andaman. It has been briefly visited by Govern- [131]
ment officers on various occasions, but it seems that no contacts were [648]
ever made with the natives, except on December 27th, 1886, when the Ongi, who accompanied PORTMAN on his trip, "caught" some of them (Census of India, 1901, p. 92). From PORTMAN's report it does not become clear whether or not he saw these temporary captives himself. Our knowledge of the culture is restricted to a few observations on their material possessions. The communal huts differ from those of the rest of the Andamanese. The canoes differ from those of both Great and Little Andaman, but are more like those of the latter. The bows resemble those of the Jarawa and Ongi. On the [197]
basis of this it is assumed that the natives are related to the Jarawa and Ongi, but PORTMAN's Ongi companions are said to have found that the persons whom they had caught talked "an entirely different language".

In 1901 the number of the natives was estimated as 117. This 161
estimate was based on the area of the island and the assumption that the density of the population was approximately the same as that of great Andaman in precolonial times. The figure was not changed in either 1911 or 1921. In 1931 the number was estimated as 50 "on conclusions arrived at from several visits during the last decade and after counting the number of huts found and the sleeping places", but it is said that this does not necessarily mean a decrease in population. "It is believed that the population is stationary, for

[P.670]

The Jarawa of the Andaman Islands

By S. S. Sarkar (Calcutta)

Introduction

101 131 The Jarawa of the Andaman Islands are confined along the western coast of South Andaman, where their movements are restricted – roughly speaking – between Port Anson on the north and Constance Bay on the south (fig. 1). They are also reported from the southwestern part of the island of Baratang – an island completely separated from South and Middle Andaman. The latter group must, therefore, use some kind of watercraft to cross over from one island to the other. The extreme northern tip of the South Andaman [501] Island was until recently used by the Jarawa for crossing over to Middle Andaman through the two intervening Islands of Spike and Bluff with the help of bamboo rafts (Sarkar, 1954). This route has now been checked owing to the establishment of a police picket on Bluff Island.

101 131 501 The Jarawa also appear to have used some sort of watercraft to migrate into North Sentinel Island in the distant past. Their craft may have been similar to the outrigger canoes described by Bonig (1912) on the occasion of his visit to this island. The distance from Port Mouat to North Sentinel is about 24 miles and although Bonig says that "the boats are not very seaworthy" this distance must at one time have been crossed by the ancestors of the present-day inhabitants of North Sentinel Island. Bonnington (1932) used the term Sentinelese for them, while Lowrs (1912, 1923) preferred to call them Jarawa. It appears from what little is known about them that they are more akin to the Jarawa of South Andaman than to the other Negrito groups. No canoes are reported from among the Jarawa of South Andaman ; it appears that the bamboo raft is enough for their transport on water. The Jarawa [184] outrigger canoes of North Sentinel Island, which Bonig mentions as somewhat different from those of the Onge or the Andamanese, indicate a somewhat higher cultural status of the former as compared with the groups living on South Andaman.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P. ix]

INTRODUCTION

A group of north-south running islands as they are, the Andaman Islands have as many as 204 small islands where the impact of civilisation and growth has been little and the human history has been one of stagnation rather than of chequered career. Being a land of aborigines, the foreign intrusion has been quite feeble though mention about these islands is found in the early records of the travellers. Though the knowledge about the islands is derived from the notes which date back to 2nd Century A.D., the contacts with the foreigners have been all the time transient and extremely feeble. Before the formation of the penal settlement, the islands have been known as an island of horror because of the presence of such tribal people who would eat up the man they encounter and as regards the wealth there has been imaginary illusion, sometimes being called as the Island of Gold. The historical record of the islands which can be built with a fair degree of precision is since the formation of the penal settlement. There has been the search for resources as well as their exploitation. However, all the attempts for finding minerals and the geological explorations have shown the possibility of the existence of some poor quality coal, copper etc. Virtually there has been a conspicuous lack of efforts for the development of the islands. The penal settlement which grew up in Port Blair did not have any considerable influence on the overall development of the islands. Nevertheless with the more intimate knowledge about the islands, the forest exploitation had increased and the land around Port Blair was cleared for agriculture. The little amount of agriculture that was started and fostered by the local-borns in and around Port Blair never expanded considerably and it remained confined to a few areas of South Andaman only. The aborigines were very much widespread and in the beginning they had exercised hostility and arrogance which had in course of time given place to a very friendly and amicable terms with some of the tribal groups i.e. the Onges and the Andamanese. The Jarawas, however, still now maintain their hostility and the attempts for bringing them under amicable terms have so long proved futile.

Nothing more deserves a special note in the islands than the aboriginal population. Because of the insular nature of the islands, the aboriginal population is considered to be one of the purest type though the foreign intrusion has brought about an extremely rapid impoverishment and decay only during the last few decades of contact with these aborigines.

10:Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

161 Of the two main groups of aborigines. the Great Andaman Group and
177 the Little Andaman Group. the former being the most widespread and
182 numerous in the Great Andamans has become completely non-existent depicting the example of the decay within an extremely short time, especially since the impact of the foreign people. The fate of the later group is also quite shattering—the Jarawas have experienced both numerical decay and territorial shrinkage and the Onges are the only tribes who live exclusively in the Little Andaman but they have been also facing the signs of decay.

133 A glance at the map of the Andaman islands and adjacent countries shows the continuity of these islands with the Arakan Yoma of Burma in the north and with the Indonesian islands in the south. The islands of both the Andaman and Nicobar groups are primarily of sedimentary formations of the Eccene period with occasional igneous intrusions. Later formations of coral are also quite widespread. The surface topography of the regions is typically flat-topped being typical of the sandstone regions and the peaks are in most cases formed of igneous intrusions. The islands are comprised of a number of longitudinal ranges running from the north to the south and in between the ranges short streams flow. The heights of the hills are generally 1000′ and never exceed 2500′.

132 The islands experience a high annual temperature and the yearly rainfall is as high as 130 inches in Port Blair and the amount decreases as one moves to the north and the east. The ameliorating influence of the sea is quite appreciable.

131 With an area of 2508 square miles and the number of islands being as many as 204. only 4 main islands, North Andaman (490.20 sq miles), Middle Andaman (561.00 sq miles), South Andaman (359.51 sq miles) and Little Andaman (289.90 sq miles) have an area of more than 100 sq miles and the rest are sufficiently small in size either to command human settlement or economic activity.

101 The economy of the tribal people is of the primitive form of hunting and collecting though the precise modes of living vary to some extent depending upon the nature of environment under which they have to live. The knowledge of distribution and of actual number of these aborigines is far from accurate. The Andamanese were the most widespread in all parts of the Great Andamans and in the South Andaman they (Aka bea) had to remain vigilant against the possible attacks and territorial expansion of the Jarawas. The Andamanese, as said earlier, have completely died out. The Jarawas, though have dwindled to a negligible number,

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

have been pushed into the western jungle infested areas of South Andaman by the foreign settlers and even now attempts of establishing contacts and maintaining good will have proved completely futile. The Onges at present, inhabit the island of Little Andaman, 40 miles from South Andaman and they have come under very negotiable and friendly terms. A detailed account of these aboriginal population has been given in a chapter on the aboriginal population.

Leaving aside the aboriginal population, the islands are being inhabited by the local-borns or the Andaman Indians who have settled in and around the urban centre of Port Blair. The convicts of the penal settlement have settled in these areas by bringing their family members from the mainland or by getting married with the convict women and to-day they are the Andaman Indians. The Andaman Indians drawn from different parts of India and having different languages have become an integrated homogeneous community with Hindi as their spoken language and Urdu as their written script. Such a formation of homogeneous community is verily an example of fusion of different groups under a geographical setting with a common economic and social background. These people shared the major merit of development of the islands. Though agricultural development was attempted, it remained confined to a few areas only. The Andaman Indians being mostly non-agriculturists have shown a reluctance to agricultural practices which is evident from the gradual inflow of these people from agricultural to non-agricultural pursuits, especially in the Government services. The absence of any genuine attempt, to a great extent because of the lack of Government help, has told immensely on the relatively poor development of agriculture. These people are getting fairly educated at Schools in Port Blair and have the collegiate education in the mainland. The educational attainments have, however, been quite upto the satisfaction of meeting the demands of the institutions at Port Blair and in the islands.

Apart from the aboriginal population, a few groups of Bhantus and Mapillas, two criminal tribes of India, and a few Burmans and Karens have settled in the islands. Excepting the Karens who have settled through free enterprise in the north of Middle Andaman, all the groups were brought to the islands to serve the terms of their conviction. However, all these groups have settled quite peacefully in the islands with agriculture as their basis of economy. A limited number of people come to the islands for serving in the administration but they have no interest to settle in the islands and even to-day, the service in the Govt. offices

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans
Nicobars AZ7

The Nicobar group of islands being separated off from the Andaman Islands by the Ten Degree Channel, though constitute a part of the continuation of the island in the north, the geographical entity of these islands are conspicuously different from that of the others. The Nicobar Islands have an area of 635 sq. miles and have 19 islands, out of which 12 islands are inhabited. The human habitats are exceedingly interesting and these people are distinctly different from the aborigines of the Andamans not only in their physical characteristics but also in their cultural attributes. Material life is much more improved and they have been all the time experiencing a healthy growth in comparison to the rapid decay of the Andaman aborigines. Culturally the affinity seems to be closer with the Indonesian islands. Shom Pens, the highlanders of the Great Nicobar, live in perfect isolation and have an extremely primitive economy. The staple crop is coconut and a number of fruit trees and yam are also grown. Some of the islands have become extremely overcrowded and need immediate dispersal to some of the less crowded islands. A detailed geographical treatment would require much more words to say about these thriving people and their contact with the foreigners than those of the Andamans. However it remains incomplete if the study of the Nicobar Islands is not incorporated in that of the Andaman islands. Therefore, in spite of the distinct geographical contrast with the Andamans, a short geographical summary has been given at the end of the book.[1]

131 101 178 241 433 161 000

[1] [not processed. - Analyst]

[p. xvi is blank]

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

that, "it should be remembered that it was to the interest of the pirates 175
who made the Andamans a headquarters of their raids and also en- 648
slaved the aborigines, to exaggerate the real dangers they encountered and spread such tales regarding the Andamans as would keep them away." The islands have been ravaged by the Malay sea pirates from very early times. They used to come to collect shells and to carry on the slave-trade. These sea-pirates, through their exaggerated propeganda, made the islands a monopoly ground of their own and, in consequence, people used to know it as a land of horror. The slaves brought by the pirates used to find their way in the courts of Siam, Cambodia and Indo-China for many centuries, thus bringing about the deepest distrust and hostility on the part of the aborigines to all the visitors to the islands.

The name '*Andamans*' of the islands is a corrupt form of the name 101
'*Hanuman*' or 'Monkey peoples', the aboriginal antagonists of the 175
Aryan immigrants in India. In the earliest Hindu mythology, the 648
Ramayana, these islands were believed to be a land of the *Hanumans*. Malayans used to refer to them as '*Handuman*' which is even a corrupt form of *Hanuman* and from Malay the knowledge about the Andamans first spread into the different parts of the world. Hence the '*Handuman*' has further evolved into '*Andaman*'.

(2) *The British Regime and the Period of Foreign Intrusion and Settlements Since 1788.*

Factual records of the history of the Andamans can only be had 175
since 1877 with the steps taken by the British Government of India to 648
found a penal colony in the islands. The disturbing activities of the Malay pirates and the frequent massacres of the ship-wrecked crews around the Andaman Sea necessitated the Government of India to form a penal colony in the islands. For the materialisation of such a proposal, Lord Cornwallis sent Lt. Blair and Lt. Colebrook to investigate into the possibilities of such a colonisation in the islands in the year 1788. In accordance with their investigations, the first settlement was established on Chatham Island* at Port Cornwallis (now Port Blair) consisting of a free colony. It was found that the North East harbour (now Port Cornwallis) was a better place for settlement because of its fine harbour and nearness to Calcutta. So, in 1792, the settlement was transferred

* Chatham Islands is the port of the Port Blair town and is a very small island.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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CHAPTER VIII

THE PEOPLE

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The study of the people of the Andamans is rendered extremely interesting by virtue of the great diversities in the types of population. Obviously for the islands like the Andamans the diversities of population are far out of proportion. The islands remained as an abode of the aborigines, the negritoes, in complete seclusion and the only outside interference that had tampered the islands were the occasional raids by the sea pirates from Malaya. The beliefs about the occasional exchanges of commodities and ideas of the pirates with the Andamanese [114] and the trade of the Andamanese for being sold as slaves in the courts of Siam and Cambodia are still now questions of doubt. However, it 563 was only at the end of the 18th century, with the attempt of the formation of settlements and later on, of the penal settlement, that there began an influx of foreign peoples, mainly from the different parts of the 167 144 mainland of India. With the formation of the penal colony, convicts 101 were brought over to the islands in numbers and also a few attempts of free colonisation by some people from Burma and India were made. The convicts who were from the different parts of India and the free colonizors who were diverse enough in their social and cultural traits gave a character of heterogeneity to the islands. It was only after the attainment of the independence that the settlement of the East Bengal refugees and of some people from South India is taking place in the Andamans. This is going to add further to the cultural diversity of the islands. This scheme of colonisation of the East Bengal refugees and of some people from South India is the first attempt of some importance for the permanent colonization in the islands.

Such a variety in the types of people, can be broadly divided into 144 three groups. 563 101

(a) The aboriginal population.
(b) The Later Settlers, and
(c) The New Settlers.

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The aboriginal population belongs to the negrito stock and therefore, 101 has an affinity with the Semangs and Sakais of Malaya, the Veddas of [144] Ceylon and the other negrito groups of Southeast Asia. Some attribute the origin of these aborigines to the settlement of some Portuguese negro slaves who had survived by coming to these islands after a ship-

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

174 wreck. However, this idea is totally untenable. On the other hand
101 there are sufficient grounds to believe that these aborigines came down from the lower region of Burma. On their arrival at the islands, they moved to the different parts of the islands and very likely, because of the different types of physical environment they developed different traits and as such a few groups of the population are discernible. They are the

(a) The Jarawas,
(b) " Onges,
(c) " Andamanese, and
(d) " Sentinelese.

101 All these groups, though physically akin to each other, have deve-
131 loped different social and economic traits and the ways of earning their food and constructing their shelters are conditioned by their immediate environment. These aborigines who had spread over the different parts of the Great Andamans are experiencing a gradual shrinkage in their areas of command because of the gradual expansion of the areas of the new settlers. The Jarawas are to-day confined to the western part of the South and Middle Andaman, the Andamanese, who are extremely limited in number are along the coastal areas, the Onges in the Little Andaman and Rutland Is. and the Sentinelese in the Sentinel islands. The relation of aborigines with the foreign people became one of deep distrust and hostility with some of the groups, especially the Jarawas and the Sentinelese, which has been very rightly explained by M. V. Portman as an outcome of the unfriendly attitude of the foreigners. The Onges and the Andamanese have however become very friendly with the foreigners. The number of the aboriginal population of the Andamans, is undoubtedly a matter of considerable speculation and it is more so in the case of the Jarawas and the Sentinelese whereas, for the Onges and the Andamanese the estimate is fairly correct.

161 The aboriginal population of the Andamans is fast declining in number and there is apprehension that inspite of the best of attempts, the chances of the survival of the aborigines for long ages are extremely limited. Undoubtedly, the aboriginal population of the Andamans is an object of interesting study. Such an interest grows out of its being the only purest negrito group in the world and the modes of their life depict very well the nature of symbiotic relationship existing between
[178] man and environment. Such a primitive economy of hunting and collecting has not changed appreciably inspite of the impact with the foreigners except imbibing some foreign vices.

10:Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

105 177 439 of all these things, locally not available, was felt by the aborigines only due to their slight contact with the later settlers.

However, a broad two-fold division of the aboriginal population can be made.

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1. Aborigines of the Great Andaman Group—All the aborigines of the Great Andamans with the exception of the Jarawas, the most hostile aborigines living in the southwestern part of the Andamans.

2. Aborigines of the Little Andaman Group—the Onges of the Little Andaman, the Jarawas of the South Andaman & the Sentinelese of the North Sentinel island.

As to how these two groups came into being and their areas of distribution, various theories have been put forward. Long after the attainment of the individual traits of these two groups, a continuous northward movement of the aborigines from the Little Andaman was in vogue and one such party had arrived in the Great Andamans who have been lately known as the Jarawas, who were all along subjected to pressure of the local natives belonging to the Great Andaman Group, the *Aka bea* of South Andaman. The very development of the hostility of the Jarawas and their complete seclusion from the other aboriginal groups owe to their being continuously subjected to the adversities. B. V. Eickstedt[1] has been of the opinion that the aborigines of the Andamans entered into the Great Andamans in two groups—the earlier group comprises the Onge, Jarawas and the Sentinelese while to the later group belong the ancestors of the Great Andaman Group. The passage of the Great Andaman Group has led to a constant southward push of the earlier group which has ultimately led to their habitation in the islands of the south i.e., the Little Andaman, Rutland Island and a part of the South Andaman. Cipriani has been emphatic enough in justifying the views of Brown that the Jarawas reached the Great Andamans from the south. Though they are supposed to have come from the Great Andamans by canoes, the art of constructing canoes and of using them have been completely forgotten and Cipriani believes that such instances of the loss of knowledge of the construction of canoes and their uses are many. A list of the names of the camps, given by Cipriani in the 1951 census, dating back to antiquity and having a good supply of drinking water and of

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1 Eickstedt, B. V—Die Negrite der Andaman (Autho Ans).

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

food lie in a chain running from north to south along the islands between Little and Great Andamans. This has been one of the most convincing proofs of the movement of the aborigines from the south to the north. Cipriani writes, 'All these organisations, with geographical names, camps, places for water and food, indicate an ancient navigating experience moving from the south to the north. About a century and half ago the Jarawas are said to have still been in possession of canoes and the same is said of the savage inhabitants of the North Sentinel Island less than 50 years ago. In a surprisingly short period the technique of making canoes seems to have been completely forgotten as a result of the difficulties of using them.'[2]

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THE ABORIGINES OF THE GREAT ANDAMAN GROUP

Andamanese, as they are called, were the most widespread and the largest in number. They had split up ultimately into a few sub-groups from the north to the south. The different groups are *Aka-kora, Aka-boa, Aka-jeru and Aka-bea.* There has been a deplorable decline in the number of these aborigines who in the bygone ages exceeded all other groups in number. At present the number is only 23, a considerable reduction from the number 625 only in the beginning of the 20th century. Though the present importance of the Andamanese because of the extremely poor number is far from significant, they are of no small interest for the study of the anthropologist, especially the impact of these people with the later settlers.

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The consequences of the impact of the outsiders on the Andamanese have been far from satisfactory. With the formation of the penal colony, the aborigines continued to develop feud and on the 14th of May, 1959 a clash between the aborigines and the Govt. occurred which is known as the Battle of Aberdeen. Aberdeen is at the heart of the town of Port Blair. Efforts of pacifying these aborigines were made and for bringing them into closer terms of amity, the 'Andamanese Home' was started in 1863 by Rev. H. Corbyn Chaplain. They were employed for working with the convicts taught to speak English and wear clothes. The consequence of such an impact has been alarmingly devastating because of the infiltration of a number of vices and diseases which only paved the way for their impoverishment and decay (For further particulars see demographic characteristics).

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2 Cipriani, L — On the origin of the Andamanese, Andaman & Nicobar Islands, Census of India, 1951.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

105 For the fact that the Andamanese inhabits the coastal areas of the
177 Andamans, the fishing is an well-known art to them. The pristine cul-
182 ture is virtually lost and the few who are still now surviving have been brought under the folds of government help. Still now the headmen
[225] of the Andamanese in the Middle Andaman, *Loka* is found doing turtle
[48] hunting in their canoes and climbing up the coconut trees without the help of any rope. Still now they are found dancing in groups but they are few and far between. All of them wear clothes and live in the huts made by the Forest Department.

THE ABORIGINES OF THE LITTLE ANDAMAN GROUP.

101 The Onges, the Jarawas and the Sentinelese belong to this group.

The Jarawas

177 Of all these three groups, the Jarawas only live in the Great Anda-
648 mans and their occurrence in the Great Andamans has been explained
[101] by many authorities, as has been explained earlier. The Jarawas are
[18] implacably hostile and the best of efforts to bring them under terms of amity have proved furtile. Lt. Colebrook and Archibald Blair first came in contact with the Jarawas and in course of time, the Aka-beas, belonging to the Great Andaman Group, living in the South Andaman became friendly with the foreigners while the hostility of the Jarawas remained unabated. The Jarawa hostility has been always increasing and it was more so since 1921. In 1923, 37 Jarawas were shot and in 1938, a Jarawa woman and her 4 children were captured. So the chances of meeting the Jarawas have been few and far between and the great decline in their number has in all practical senses stopped the apprehension of their raids in the new settlement areas. Still now, of course a person penetrating deep into the forests of the eastern parts of South Andaman should always be on the guard against an attack from the Jarawas.

The Onges.

The Onges, having experienced the impact of the foreigners at the latest period, are at present the most widesprend of all the aborigines of the Andamans. They do not have the truculence of the Jarawas and the attempts for bringing them under closer ties and terms of amity with the foreigners have proved successful, though the essential traits of their social, cultural and material life remain unaltered.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

the felling of the tree, chiselling the lumber and processing it further to give the shape of a canoe. Buckets of wood are also constructed by them from the softwood tree. Two types of baskets are made, the smaller ones are more well-finished than the bigger ones. The former is known as *toleoaga* and the later *tole-laya*. Such activities have introduced the use of dahs, chisels, and iron files among the Onges, from the iron pieces derived from the sea shores. The other important pieces of their craftsmanship are the beautiful weavings of fibre, tussel of yellow fibre used by the women in their front. However, the art of making the earthen pots has been completely forgotten.

The leisure in their lives has helped the development of some amount of aesthetic senses among the Onges. All the Onges men and women shave their heads with flakes of glass, obtained from the sea-borne glass bottles. The body of the Onges are also painted with white clay which save their skin from insect-bite while red paint serves medicinal purposes if some individual is having fever. In times of mourning, red orchre paint is a taboo.[1]

Early marriage is the custom. The widows are looked down upon by the society. Some incidents of widow murder and drowning are heard. In the married life, the husband is devoted to his wife and both the husband and wife work for collecting their food.

Dances and songs are in vogue and there are practically songs for every occasion and activity. Most of their songs are more plaintive than joyous.

There are three broad divisions of the Onges of the Little Andaman:

(1) *Giremeka-Gobeule* group inhabiting the northeastern coast of the island;

(2) *Engakwale group* live in the interior of the islands; and

(3) *Gireraragobeule group* live in the southern and western coasts of the islands.

In spite of all the limitations, the Onges have been considered as one of the happiest people of the world with plenty of food and water to eat and drink and with very few social cankers to fight with. But as is common to all other aborigines of the Andamans, a decline in their number is discernible.

The Sentinelese

The Sentinelese are the least known of all the aborigines of the Anda-

1 The Onge of the Little Andaman—A short guide book; Anthropological Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

10:Sen K-3,4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

101 mans. They live in the North Sentinel island and Portman had only made a few observations in the abandoned settlement of these aborigines. In 1886, Portman contacted a few Sentinelese with the help of a few [197] Onges. The affinity of the Sentinelese with the Onges have been detected but the language of the Sentinelese is different from the Onges. However, only later researches can reveal more facts about their lives.

PRESENT DAY DISTRIBUTION OF THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION

101 161 361 The islands, though remained essentially a land of the aborigines, have a present day distribution which is very much discrete in nature. The nature of the distribution was very likely much more widespread in different parts of the islands but the great decline in their number coupled with gradual expansion of the area of the later settlers led to a continued recession of the aborigines in the more desolate areas. Thus there has been a great shrinkage in the territory of the aborigines of the South Andaman where no settlements of any importance had developed.

There are only a few Andamanese (23) who are still now surviving in [197] the Middle and North Andamans and they live in the huts built up by the Forest Department.

The exact areas of inhabitation of the Jarawas are anybody's guess. Though the Jarawas have suffered a considerable decline in their number, no evidences of their distribution beyond the South Andaman are in view. Living under the cold patronage and hostility of the neighbours, the *Aka-beas*, a sub-group of the Andamanese, the Jarawas were always subjected to all their efforts of territorial expansion. Though their exact areas of distribution have not been traced so far, it is probable that they live in the dense forests of the South Andaman, especially in the least disturbed and unhaunted forest areas of the west. However, their biggest concentration is believed to be between Port Constance, Port Meadows and Shaol Bay.

The Sentinelese inhabit the North Sentinel Island and only further exploration in the island can furnish an idea about their exact spots of distribution.

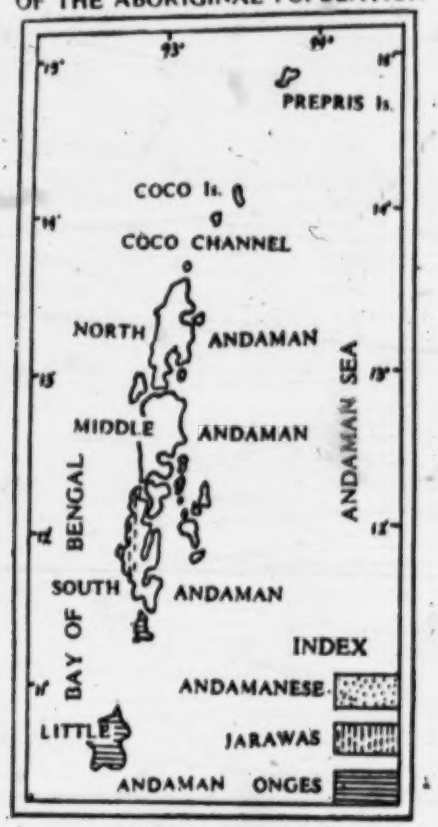
The most predominant in number are the Onges who inhabit the [484] island of Little Andaman. However they make occasional voyages to the Rutland and Cinque Island where some of them live. The areas of distribution of the Onges in Little Andaman are mainly in the coastal areas of the northeast, south and west and also in the interior.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

This speaks very well how in some isolated spots of the islands a 101
remnant of the widespread negrito of the past stand on the verge of 161
imminent decay.

AREAS OF DISTRIBUTION
OF THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION

101
102
131
361



SCALE 1 TO 70 MILES

DEMOGRAPHIC SET UP

A group of aborigines with their pristine culture in these isolated 161
islands are sharing the same fate with many other aboriginal population
of the world, of a considerable decline and impoverishment. It is be-

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

161 yond doubt that the impact of the people having better material culture on the aboriginal population has resulted in an acceleration of their decay. The aborigines of the Great Andaman Group are the first people in the islands to come in contact with the later settlers and the early incorporation of many of the vices of these new comers have resulted in the furtherance of their decay. Such devastating effects are also observed in the case of many other aboriginal groups. The Red Indians of U.S.A. and the native population of Malanesia are only a few among the many others who are such victims of decline, more so immediately after the impact of the later settlers.

101 161 162 Whatever inadequate data are available about the number of aborigines and the other demographic characteristics, they show the nature of imbalance which stands in the way of their successful growth.

Table No. 1*

The aboriginal population.

Tribe	1858	1885	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951
	100		39	36	17	7		
Karo	500		96	71	48	24		
Tabo	200		48	62	18	6		
Yeve	700		218	180	101	46		
Kede	500		59	34	6	2		
Juwai	300	2000	48	9	5	0		23
Koj	100		11	2	0	0		
Bojigyab	300		50	36	9	1		
Bea	500		37	19	1	0		
Belawa	300		19	15	4	2		
			625	464	209	88		23
Onge	700	1250	672	631	346	350		600
Jarawa	600		585	231	231	170		350
	4800	3250	1882	1326	786	608		973

114 161 In spite of the fact that the data of the aboriginal population, as given in the Table No. 1, is far from accurate, a very good idea of the nature of decline of the aboriginal population can be assessed. As is evident from the Table, the population of 4800 in 1858 has reduced to 608 in 1931 in less than 75 years.

* The figures are not at all accurate.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

162 The population of the Andamans, on the other hand, is now almost entirely of recent immigration: there are no Europeans permanently resident, but a large number of colonists of Indian, Burmese or Malayan origin have made their home in the islands. In the Indian census of 1951, the entire stable population of the Andamans and Nicobars was assessed at thirty thousand, 18,962 in the Andamans and 12,009 in the Nicobars, not counting the Shom-Pen. The few aboriginals remaining in the Andamans are anthropologically of extreme importance. Classified among the Negritos, or Asiatic pygmies, they are one of the few surviving groups of pygmies who in the past were widely scattered all over the world. They can be divided into three groups, clearly distinguished one from the other by their mode of life, their present genetic isolation (although they certainly all originated from a common stock) and their attitude towards outsiders:

101 162 131 648

1 The Arioto, the friendly Andamanese, once very numerous along the coast of Great Andaman and now reduced to only twenty-three individuals of pure stock; now almost completely sterile, they are near to extinction. They manage to survive only because of the help given to them by the Indian Government, which has established small camps along the coasts of Middle Andaman.

2 The Jarawas, still implacably hostile to foreigners, living a nomadic existence in South and Middle Andaman. One solitary group occupies a tiny island thirty miles west of South Andaman, surrounded by seas so stormy that they are frequently impassable. This is known as North Sentinel, to distinguish it from South Sentinel, twenty miles to the south and uninhabited. Landing on North Sentinel, as indeed penetrating anywhere on Great Andaman, has hitherto always entailed vicious fighting with the Jarawas, who are determined to repulse any stranger from their last refuge. They are well sheltered by an unbelievably dense forest, which has so far made it impossible to subdue them, though there are today probably no more than two hundred surviving.

3 The Onges, sole inhabitants of Little Andaman, into which they have withdrawn. There are not more than five hundred surviving today, and these are in a state of serious demographic decline. It is probable that before 1952 no one had ever approached their camps in the interior of the island. Until the present day, they

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

have always been protected by the sea, which is almost invariably rough, and by a thick tropical forest which extends without a break over more than a thousand square kilometres, unpenetrated by outsiders and almost impenetrable.

THE ARIOTO

The decline of the Andamanese began with the first landing of foreigners on the island and is similar to that of so many other primitive peoples who have come into contact with civilization; a detailed account of their decline would be long and pitiful. In the case of the Andamanese, however, demographic influences arising thousands of years ago must also be taken into account. Cut off by circumstances into small groups and separated at random by large expanses of sea or by the impenetrable forest, they gradually developed somatic and cultural differences of the greatest scientific interest. Among other things, languages became modified to such an extent that members of different groups are unable to understand one another. The Onges, for example, who in my opinion are the nearest relations of the Jarawas, are quite unable to understand their language.

The peoples of Great Andaman were the first to encounter civilization, when from 1858 onwards the Indian Government, then in English hands, decided to institute at Port Blair a penitentiary for the many political prisoners after the famous 1857 mutiny. Subsequently the government sent over convicts serving long or life sentences. The life of the deportees was atrocious during the first few years, owing to malaria and the absence of medical supplies. To the majority, therefore, deportation to the Andamans meant a death sentence. Even today the only large brick building in the Andamans and Nicobars is the penitentiary at Port Blair.

Before the building of the penitentiary the English had made several desultory expeditions to the Andamans, and even before then other foreigners had landed on the archipelago. It is known that Marco Polo, probably passing within sight of the archipelago in 1292, gave it the name of Angaman, and declared the inhabitants to be ferocious cannibals with dogs' heads. As a result, even the Asian pirates were for centuries afraid to land on the islands. The barbarous forays of Arab slave traders later awoke in the islanders

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Arioto

175 a furious aversion to foreigners. This hatred has been rekindled
179 during the last hundred years by a number of unfortunate incidents,
648 but at one time the islanders were favourably disposed towards seafarers passing by, if we are to believe Niccolo dei Conti and Cesare Federici, fleeting visitors to the islands in 1440 and 1569. They both wrote of the peaceful native canoes that approached their ships, and this is confirmed by other travellers, like the Italians Fra Odorico da Pordenone in 1332 and Giovan Francesco Gemelli Caresi in 1709.

Violent clashes with the coastal tribes only became frequent when the English began to take an interest in the Andamans as a possible penal colony. The first prisoners to be sent there were some Indians, in 1788. In 1796 the colony was abolished owing to the swift death of nearly all the prisoners from tropical diseases. The attempt was repeated in 1858 after a mission entrusted to F. Mouat, and this time the seeds of decline for the islanders were sown. Efforts were begun to approach the coastal peoples, and even, strangely enough, those of the forests, the now ferocious Jarawas. Some of these tentative overtures were well received, but once the islanders came to think they had been betrayed it was enough to rekindle the hatred of strangers which they have retained ever since.

166 The evidence obtainable from archaeological excavations shows
[172] that for thousands of years the people encountered by the English in the coastal areas were the sole inhabitants of Great Andaman, living by fishing rather than by hunting or cultivation in the forests. The Jarawas arrived later. Migration from Little Andaman, imposed in relatively recent times by lack of food, brought them to Great Andaman. Since the entire coastal region was already occupied, the new arrivals took refuge in the forests of the hinterland. There they were happy, for they found an abundance of wild honey
[628] and fruit which amply fulfilled their needs. A spontaneous equilibrium was established between the coast-people and the forest-people, and both prospered.

175 The arrival of an appreciable number of foreigners in 1858 im-
179 mediately changed the situation. The peoples of the coast, who
648 were the most anxious to make friends with the strangers, paid for
16 this fatal error with virtual extermination. When the foreigners had
101 definitely established themselves, the coastal Andamanese – *Arioto*
563

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Arioto

in the local language, as opposed to the people of the interior, the *Eremtaga* – appear to have numbered between six and eight thousand. Over the years their place has been taken by more than thirteen thousand foreigners, most of whom were deportees, enjoying relative liberty as servants of government officials, farmers and foresters. The settlers, voluntarily or involuntarily, introduced the islanders to alcohol and tobacco, forcing them to turn to the foreigners in order to satisfy their craving. In the famous and extremely frank work of the English explorer M. V. Portman (*A History of our Relations with the Andamanese*, Calcutta, 1899) official letters are reproduced which give precise instructions in the matter to government officials. The result of these instructions was to transform the Arioto into alcohol and tobacco addicts. Syphilis was passed to the native women by the deportees, and from them to their men. When, a few years after the mass importation of prisoners, the government authorities became aware of the infection among the Arioto, not one of them had escaped. The miserable twenty-three survivors of the eight to nine thousand of a century ago show the ultimate result only too well, and their final extinction is imminent.

Before the advent of the new civilization, the Arioto had divided up into at least ten distinct communities, but without any true tribal organization. They respected a form of chief, chosen by tacit consent for his personal qualities rather than by name or by birth-right; but the chiefs acted merely as paternal advisers, to be respected in times of trouble, with no illusions of authority. No one commanded, and none obeyed: all were content to follow the whim of the moment, with no conception of social obligation.

When the foreigners arrived, there were five main groups of Arioto on North Andaman, the Cari, Chede, Cora, Jeru and Tabo. Another five groups were in South Andaman, the Balawa, Bea, Bogig-iab, Joi and Col. With the numerical decline of the Arioto, who had always been endogamous within their group, a tendency arose for the survivors to merge and inter-marry, so that the twenty-three alive today are in fact the result of the mixing of the northern and southern Arioto, and of these with Indians and Burmese. The chief of these twenty-three individuals is Loca, a name in itself an indication of this ethnic mixture. Loca means 'whiskers', and he himself has a moustache, whereas pure Negritos have no body or facial hair.

Semang ANT
Andamans AZ2
Oceanic Negritos 05

ON 141 be wrong to assume that the Negritos are brachycephalic. He believes that the mixed Negrito peoples are brachycephalic; the less mixed, the lower their cephalic index (proportional relation between width and length of skull) S 141 and thus, the less brachycephalic. The cephalic index of the Semangs of the Malay Peninsula is given as only 78-79; therefore, these people are not brachycephalic but mesocephalic.

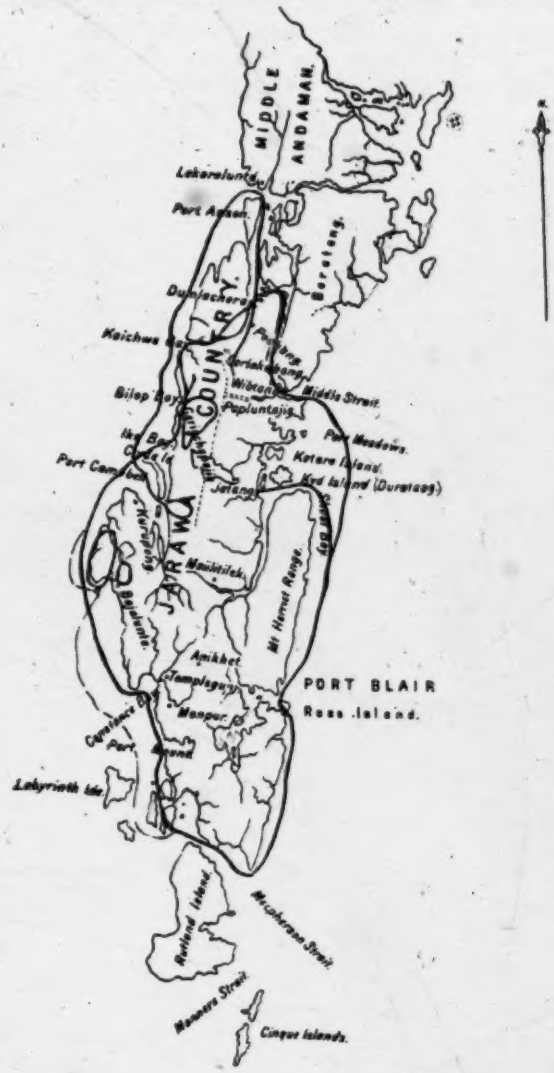
A 141 [101] Although the Mincopies of the Andaman Islands have been known for quite a long time, they have as yet not been sufficiently studied from an anthropological viewpoint. /103/ However, from the few data which are available, we may assume that the average height of a man is 148.3 centimeters and 139 for the average woman. The cephalic index has been calculated to be 82.5 (in the south) and 83.0 in the north. Thus the Mincopies appear to be clearly brachycephalic, although the dolichocephalic skull is definitely not lacking A 144 among them. Dixon, therefore, regards the Mincopies as a mainly brachycephalic Negrito-Palae-Alpine racial element, however with a slight admixture of the dolichocephalic Proto-Negroid type (Fig. 12).

S 101 141 The Semangs, who are living in the Malay Peninsula, namely in North Perak, in Kedah, Rahman, Ranga and Kelantan, are somewhat taller than the Mincopies. Their average height has been measured to be 152.0 centimeters. (1)

1. However, Skeat and Blagden mention as average height of the Semangs 149.1 centimeters for men and 140.0 for women.

102

Map illustrating the journeys of Messrs Vaux and Rogers in the Jarawa Country in the SOUTH ANDAMAN in January and February 1902.



[facing p. 88]

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

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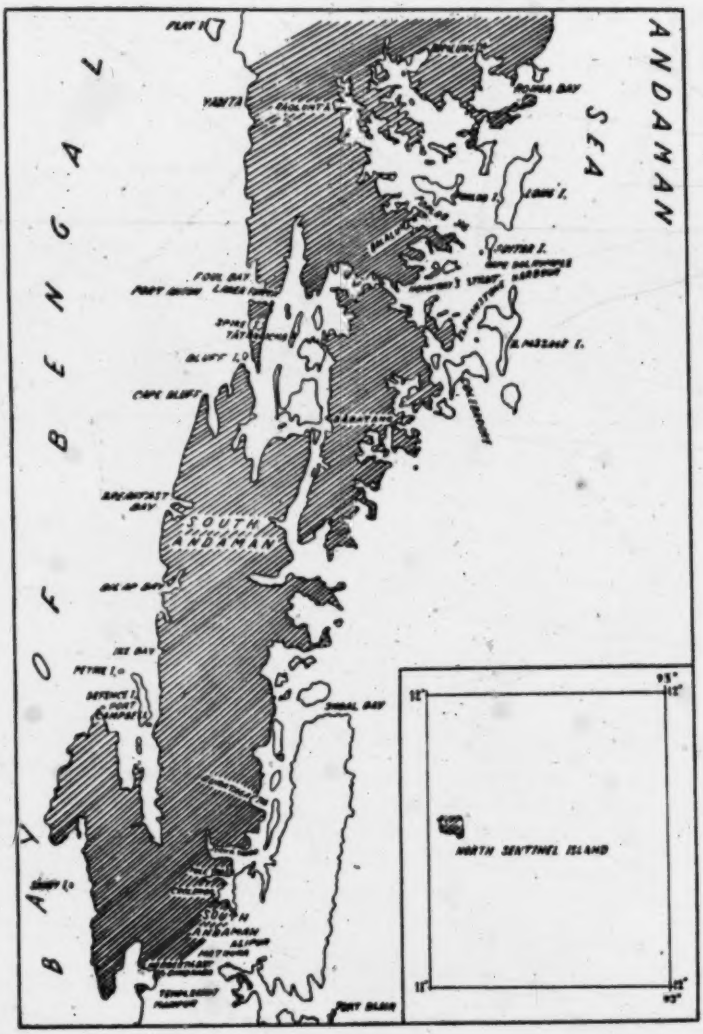
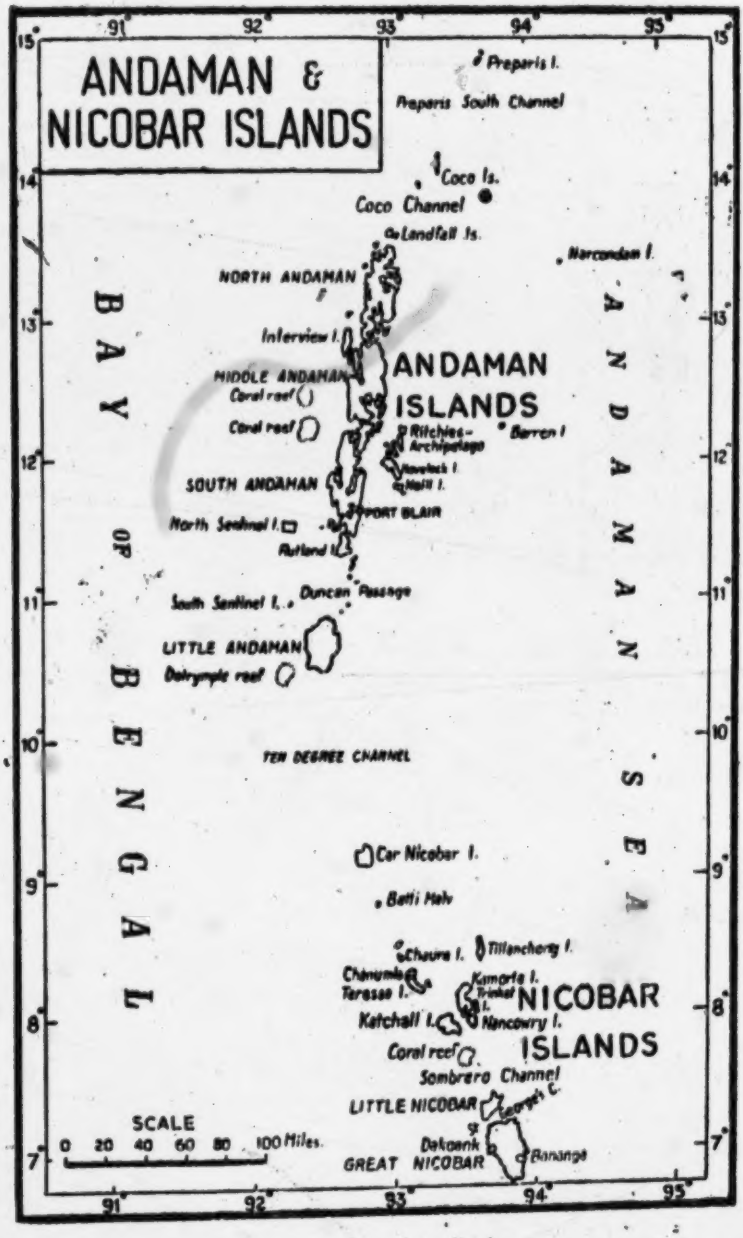


Fig. 1

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Nicobars AZ7

[p vii]

NA 102 131



10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Nicobars AZ7

[P. viii]

NA
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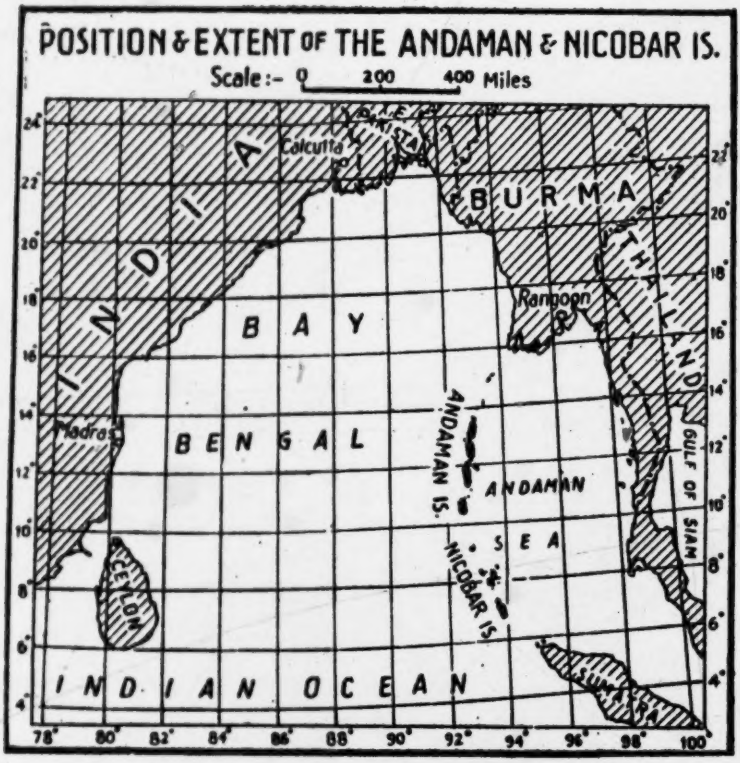

Refer to Chapter No. 1., Page No. 1.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

MAP OF THE GEOLOGY OF THE ANDAMANS

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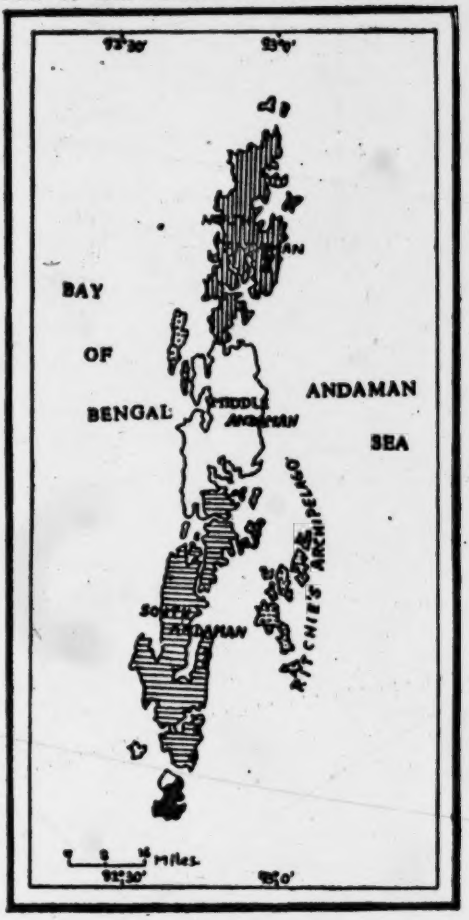

INDEX

- UNSURVEYED
- MIOCENE CLAYS OF RITCHIE'S ARCHIPELAGO.
- MIOCENE BURDIGALIAN FORAMINIFERAL LIMESTONES.
- SANDSTONE OF SOUTH ANDAMANS.
- EOCENE CONGLOMERATES OF N. & M. ANDAMANS.
- CRETACEOUS. SERPENTINE SERIES.

10:Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

131 The Andamans consist of 204 islands of which the important islands of the main body from north to south are North Andaman, Middle Andaman, Baratang Island, South Andaman, Rutland and Little Andaman. Another group of islands lie some 15-20 miles off the east coast of Middle Andaman and they are primarily a group of a few islands-Neill, Havelock, Peet Is, Wilson Is, John Lawrence Is, Henry Lawrence Is, known as Ritchie's Archipelago.

PHYSIOGRAPHY OF THE ANDAMANS

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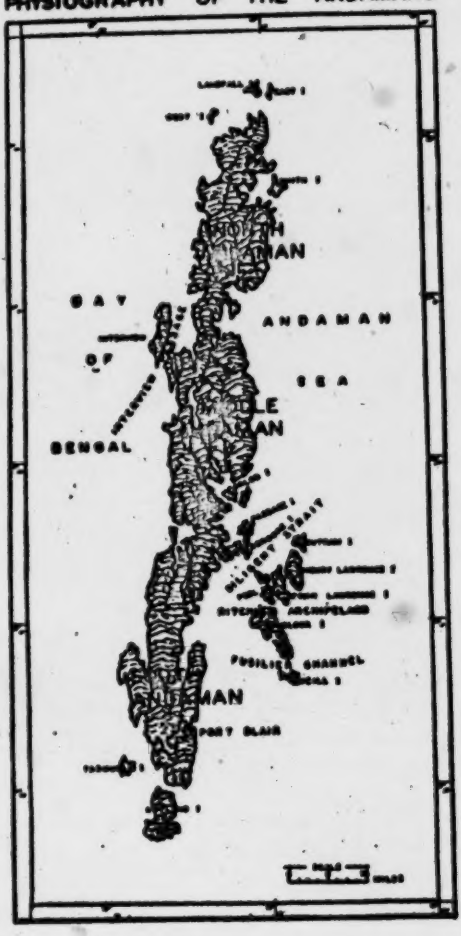

10:Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PHYSIOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS OF THE ANDAMANS

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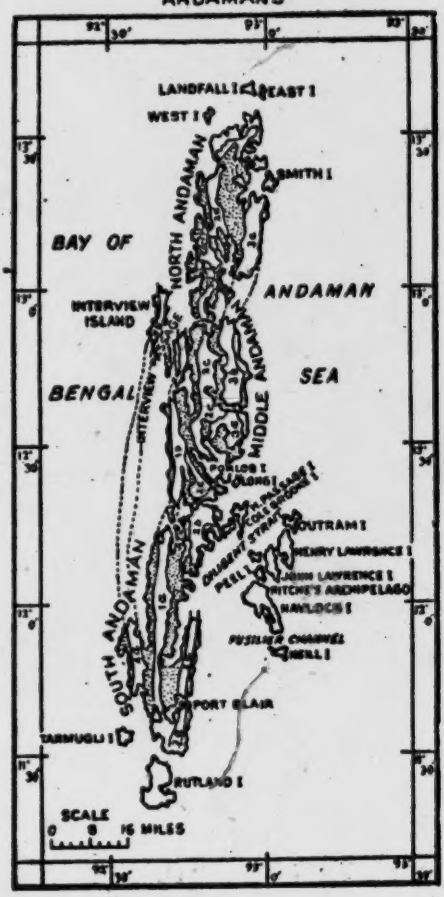


133 According to Swell, these variations in height are due to (1) an alteration of the pitch of the axis or (2) a variation in the rate of weathering and denudation in different regions. Swell says "A gradual fall towards the south and a subsequent rise in the level of the ridge, the differences between the highest peaks at each end, which rise to well over 8000' and the lowest of the peaks in the middle, namely, the island of Batti Malv which is only 150' above sea-level, is at the least some 8000' or approximately

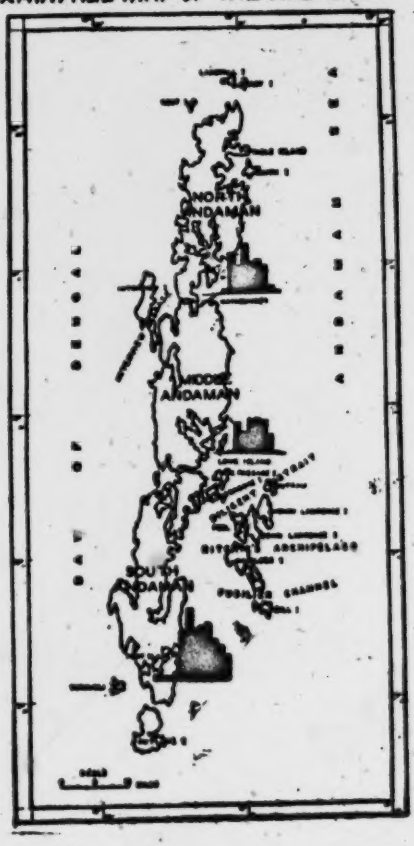
10:Sen K-3,4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Rainfall Conditions

132 The islands experience fairly good rainfall, as already said, from both the southwest and northeast monsoons. The southwest monsoon brings the maximum amount of rainfall. The regional distribution of the rainfall is very uneven. The Table Island situated in the northeast part of the islands has an annual average of 76", Long Island off the east coast of the Middle Andaman 55.95", Mayabunder 69.12" and Port Blair in the South Andaman 123". Broadly speaking, the amount of rainfall decreases as one goes towards the north as well as to the northeast. The southwest region experiences the maximum amount

RAINFALL MAP OF THE ANDAMANS

[102]



10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

This speaks very well how in some isolated spots of the islands a 101
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AREAS OF DISTRIBUTION
OF THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION

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102
131
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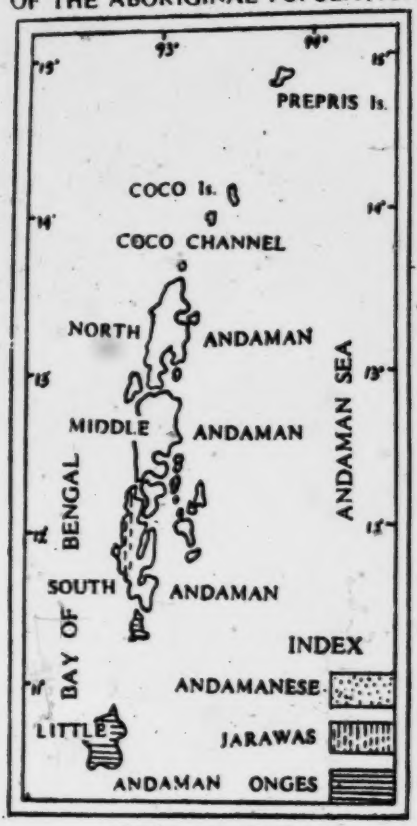

SCALE 1 TO 70 MILES

DEMOGRAPHIC SET UP

A group of aborigines with their pristine culture in these isolated 161
islands are sharing the same fate with many other aboriginal population
of the world, of a considerable decline and impoverishment. It is be-

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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The ANDAMAN ISLANDS

[P. xiii]
[P. xiv is blank]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

133 2,400 feet, situated in North Andaman, and visible at a distance of 60 miles.

2nd. *Narcondam*,[1] a small hilly island, containing an extinct volcano, with an elevation of 2,330 feet, lying about 70 miles east of North Andaman.

3rd. *Barren Island*, 75 miles S.S.W. of *Narcondam*, and about 42 miles east of the nearest island of the Great Andaman group, from no portion of the coast of which is it visible. It contains an active volcano, the height of which is about 1,015 feet.

[501] 2. Until recent years[2] the first only of these was known to the aborigines, probably owing to the circumstance that they, at least the natives of Great Andaman, have never been seen to venture far out to sea in their frail and clumsy canoes. The name borne by this hill is *Pū·luga lâ·kà bang-* (*lit.* Creator his mouth), referring apparently to its size and inaccessibility, and to a large ravine running down its side. There is also a belief that Saddle Peak was the place of *Pū·luga-*'s[3] residence prior to the deluge.

823 825 3. The formation of rocks, valleys, hills, &c., they attribute to the will of *Pū·luga-*, but they assign the sources of the streams containing oxide of iron, *kòi·ob-chū·lnga-*, and the olive-coloured mineral, *chū·lnga-*, to the action of a poisonous snake, called *lâ·raba-*, well known to them.[4]

● 103 4. The names they give to the natural forms of land and water are as follows :—

Cape (point)—*tô·ko-chô·ronga-* [*chô·ronga-* = nose].
Isthmus—*tô·to-kī·nab-* [*kī·nab-* = waist].
Mountain—*bô·roin-*.
Valley—*pâ·rag-*.
Strait—*teg-pâ·rag-*.
Coast (shore)—*īgô·ra-* [*gō·ra-* = strong].
Fore-shore—*kē·wad-* and *bô·roga-*.
Island—*tàrchô·na-*.
Islet—*tōt-kai·cha-*.
Harbour—*elàrū·la-*.
Bay—*kō·bunga-*.
Creek—*jīg-*.[5]

[1] The probable derivation of this name will be given in Part II.

[2] Since amicable relations have been established with the South and Middle Andamanese, several members of these tribes have visited Barren Island by accompanying us in the station steamer The name by which it is now known to them is *.môla-tàrchô·na-* (*lit.*, Smoke Island), in allusion to the smoke which is almost always to be seen rising from the volcano, and which they account for by saying that it must be due to a fire which *Pū·luga-* kindled.

[3] *Pū·luga* represents to them The Creator. *Vide* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 7.

[4] *Vide post* "Superstitions," paragraph 21.

[5] The legendary belief regarding the formation of creeks will be found under "Mythology."

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

neighbouring coast of Burmah, much less of the world at large, and consequently imagined that their islands formed almost the entire terrene area, and that they themselves comprised the bulk of the inhabitants.

7. The few voyagers who from time to time ventured near their shores were regarded as deceased ancestors, who, by some dispensation, had been permitted to re-visit the earth, and who were supposed to live on some small island in the vicinity of their *ē·rema-*, *i.e.*, world. In confirmation of this may be cited the name by which natives of India are to this day called, viz., *chàw·gala* (*lit.* departed spirits).

Etymology.—1. From the following list of some of the numerous encampments of the natives of South Andaman,[1] it will be observed that the names are usually derived from some circumstance peculiar to the spot, or from some tree overshadowing the site:—

.tâ-bô·roga-, coral (*tâ-*), shore (*bô·roga-*).
.tigbang-, rock-hole, there being at that place a hole in a large rock through which a canoe can pass.
.tàrmū·gu-.[2] West (island).
.yū·kala-chàng-, grassy (*yū·kala-*), camp (*chàng-*).
.dū·mla-paicha-òng-, anchorage (*òng-*), in neighbourhood (*paicha-*), of the (*la*), *Dūm-* tree.
.lē·kera-bar·nga-, a row (*bar·nga-*) of *Lēkera-* trees.
.ū·dala lâr chū·lnga-, the spring (*chū·lnga-*), at the (*lâr*, *lit.* of the) *.ū·dala-* tree (*Pandanus verus*).
.chē·la- dôk·nga-, the dragging (*dôk·nga-*) of the ship (*chē·lewa-*). A ship was once wrecked there.
.būd lōt deg·ranga-. Defeat camp; the defeat (*deg·ranga-*) at the (*lōt*, *lit.* of the) camp (*būd-*). There was once a severe fight there.

2. There are a few place-names which are unintelligible to the present inhabitants, *e.g.*, *.lū·rwa-*, *.tū·rubūn-*, though it is believed that they conveyed a meaning to former generations. Many of the names show an old, but unmistakable form of the present language, while others, again, might be judged to be of recent adoption, but they are not so in point of fact.

Tribal Communities.—1. It is no matter of surprise that, during the *first* years of our present occupation, when our acquaintance with the aborigines was so limited, we should

[1] A fairly complete list of the names of these encampments, and the meanings of the greater number of them, will be found in a short paper, entitled "Note on two Maps of the Andaman Islands," by E. H. Man and R. C. Temple, which was published in the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," 1880.

[2] *Vide* "Astronomy," paragraph 5. (*West*, the disappearing face place.)

APPENDIX D.

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List of places visited by the Census Party.

English Name.	Andamanese Name.
Kyd Island.	Dura-téng.
Colebrooke Island S. Bay.	Pâr-l'on-tâ.
" " N. Coast.	Târa-chélaga.
Havelock Island.	Pâlugu-l'âr-mûgu-ôrma.
" on N. W. Coast of	Pôlu-l'untâ.
" Strait between Sir W. Peel and	Tadma Jûru.
John Lawrence Island.	Parkit-ôrma.
Kwangtung Strait.	Gerang-lêbar.
Outram Harbour.	Târ-mûga.
Bason Bay.	Târa-chiro.
Stewart Sound.	Miriti-râ-pong.
Austin Strait.	Pôrong-chiro.
Camp Bay.	Lâu-tiche.
Cadell Point (W. Bay).	Chaka-mit-koita.
" " (N. Bay).	Tâ-burongo.
Lâmia Bay, S. extremity of	Rengo-to-tia.
Port Cornwallis.	Tâloon-tong.
" " Chatham Island.	Tôbi-chiro.
Turtle Island.	Koto-par.
Cadell Bay.	Tôbi-chiroh.
Landfall Island.	Tâu-râ-mika.
West Island.	Karung-mâo.
Whitecliff Island.	Tar-boro.
Thornhill Island.	Bâ-pong.
Reef Island.	Ti-kô-dung.
" " N. E. Encampment.	Taumo-tât.
Paget "	Kâratu-tât-chiro.
Cazuarina Bay.	Tôrup-tot-chôta.
" " N. E. Encampment.	Tôbi-chiro.
North Reef Island.	Ina-ta-râ-jôle.
Pembroke Bay W. Coast.	Rengo-l'un-tâ.
Interview Island S. Encampment.	Karung-to-ng-tâ-chiro. Lêkwâ-l'on-tâ.
Kwangtung Harbour.	Karo-ping.
Port Campbell.	Tâm-chang.
" Mount, "Home" st.	Gerang-l-âkachâti-jûru.
Cinque Island.	Jortâ.
Little Andaman.	Willma-târa.

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Statement of the detailed population of the Andaman Islands.

Name of Tribe.		Adults.		Children.		Total.
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
Bea	seen	14	12	3	3	32
"	not seen	...	4	...	1	
Balawa	seen	3	7	1	1	19
"	not seen	9	3	3	...	
Bojigyâb	seen	17	6	3	...	40
"	not seen	14	5	...	1	
Jâwai	seen	13	14	3	...	48
"	not seen	6	5	4	1	
Kôl	seen	3	...	...	...	11
"	not seen	4	3	3	...	
Kede	seen	21	21	3	2	59
"	not seen	3	9	...	...	
Yêre	seen	76	57	21	8	213
"	not seen	22	23	3	6	
Tabô	seen	2	...	...	...	48
"	not seen—estimated	13	16	7	10	
Kîrâ	seen	21	20	8	13	96
"	not seen	10	19	6	4	
Chârâkr	seen	18	15	6	3	39
"	not seen	...	...	...	...	
Ongo	estimated	203	273	23	33	672
Jâruwa	estimated	280	210	15	40	885
Total		644	717	128	129	1,562

APPENDIX G.

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Tribal Distribution and Place Names, Andaman Islands.

1	2	3	4	5	6
No. on map.	Name of island, locality or encampment.	Andamanese name.	Tribal Territory.	Where situated.	REMARKS.
	East Island	Tăa-kăt	Chăriăr	The following islands off the north and north-west coast of North Andaman, viz.:—East Island, Landfall Island, West Island, Whitecliff Island, Thornhill Island, Reef Island, Paget Island, Point Island and Sugar-loaf Island.	The Coco Islands are known to this tribe by the name Dik-i-raichend.
	Landfall Island	Tĕbi-chirch	"		
	Clough Passage	Lăn-chirch	"		
	West Island	Tăa-rĕ-mĕra	"		
	Thornhill Island	Tar-bŏle	"		
	Whitecliff Island	Karong-mĕo	"		
	Reef Island	Bă-pong	"		
	Paget Island	Tanmo-tăt	"		
1	Paget Island (encampment on)	Kăra-bŏronga	"		
	Point Island	Mărs-bŏle	"		
	Sugar-loaf Island	Chă-ŏlo	"		
	Temple Sound	Tarĕ to le-chirch	...		
	Cape Price	Pĕro-jŏe	Kŏrĕ	From bay opposite Craggy Island (East Coast of North Andaman) to Cape Price and thence along the North and West Coast to the North side of Cassarina Bay, together with all the Islands off the Coast except Craggy Island and those constituting the territory of the Chăriăr tribe.	
	Peacock Island	Kĕl-che	"		
	Cadell Bay	Kĕto-par	"		
	Excelsior Island	Tăa-rĕ-mĕra	"		
	Port Cornwallis	Tolobu-ting	"		
1	Do. (Rose Island at mouth of)	Po-chumbo (also Bo-pang)	"		
	Chatham Island (Port Cornwallis)	Tĕbi-chire	"		
1	Trilby Island	Cho-ă-pŏng	"		
1	Encampment on N. E. of N. Andaman near Reef Island	Ti-kŏ-dung	"		
1	Island encampment between Port Cornwallis and Temple Sound	Bŏi-pŏll	"	The interior is occupied by the Tăbĕ tribe.	
	Craggy Island	Rŏrĕ	...		
	Cassarina Bay	Kăraro-tăt-chire	Tĕre	*E. Coast.* From above opposite Craggy Island in North Andaman Stream situated between Cooke Point and Kinnerley Point in Middle Andaman, together with the islands of the Coast including Craggy Island.	
	Snark (? Shark) Island	Chiro-mĕo	"		
1	Cassarina Bay (encampment on N. side of)	Tĕrup-tot-chĕte	"		
	South extremity of Lamia Bay	Rongo-to-tin	"		
	Point between Yalik and Lamia Bay	Ko-no	"		
	Do. North of Tara-bait	Yolik	"		
	Eileen Bay	Pĕrĕ	"	*W. Coast.* From North side of Cassarina Bay in North Andaman to Marumika-bolis in the same island, together with the islands of the Coast. [This tribe has the Kŏrĕ tribal territory on its north side and the Kede on the south with the Tăbĕ in the interior.]	
1	Cadell Point, North of	Tă-burongo	"		
1	Do. (Territory within a radius of few miles of)	Mĕn-pang	"		
	Do. Point (Bay W. of)	Chuka-mit-kŏtto	"		
1	Camp Bay	Lan-tiche	"		
1	Wreck Point	Chŏlop-rĕ	"		
	Dot Island	Andĕto	"		
	Kwangtung Island	Karĕne-tŏe	"		
	Pembroke Bay	Tăa-kăt-chire	"		
1	Encampment at S. W. of Pembroke Bay	Ina-ta-rĕ-jŏle	"		
1	Latouche Island	Ar-bil	"		
	N. Reef Island	Tĕbi-chire	"		
1	Saddle Peak	Pĕroto-mĕra	"		
1	Do. (Adjacent hill on N. side of)	Jire-mĕra	"		
	Stewart Island	Miriti-ri pong	"		
	Sound Island	Thal'ke-mĕra	"		
	Austin Strait	Pĕrĕng-chire	"		
1	Do. (encampment at E. end of)	Tăa-chin	"		
	Brown Point	Ilemata	"		
	Bason Bay	Tăra-chire	"		
1	Avon Island (also Berkeley group)	Tăkla	"		
1	Cassarina Bay (encampment on S. side of)	Chăbalo-rĕ-chĕte	"		

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Tribal Distribution and Place Names, Andaman Islands—contd.

1	2	3	4	5	6
No. on map.	Name of island, locality or encampment.	Andamanese name.	Tribal Territory.	Where situated.	REMARKS.
1	Interview Island	Tha-tara-mâra, also Ti-tara-mâra, or in Bâa dialect, Thu-l'a-mâga	Kede	*E. Coast.* From southern border of the Yâra territory (Middle Andaman) to Emej l'ar-tat. (Middle Andaman.)	
	Sea Serpent Island	Thra-bele	"		
	Do. (Island adjacent to)	Thla-bashe	"		
	Boodeville Island	Jara-bîpula	"		
	Bennett Island	Chârul-tong	"	*W. Coast.* From Mannaika-bella (North Andaman) to stream opposite N. E. point of Flat Island (Middle Andaman) with all islands from Interview to Flat Island inclusive (as shown on map).	
	Andrews Island	Tîtro-tark-shîn	"		
	South Reef Island	Ti-pe-tâ	"		
	Encampment on South Extremity of Interview Island opposite Reef Island	Bragu-l'ur-tâ	"		
	Tuft Island	Burala	"		
	Hump Island	Lorem	"		
	Flat Island	Tîbe-chîra	"		
	Island between Middle Andaman and Long Island	Pîr-lob	Eîl	*E. Coast.* From Emej-l'ir-tat to Homfray Strait with intervening islands (as shown in chart).	
	Long Island	Mal-l-ding	"		
1	Do. (Encampment on)	Tyu-ding-tâ	"		
1	Encampment in Yet jig	Burlu-chong	"		
	Do. Burala-jig	Pîll-ordugu	"		
	Guitar Island	Tîll-ikie	"		
	Kwangtung Harbour (Encampment on N. side of)	Mîte-kîbea	Bejig-yâb	*N.* side of Homfray Strait with Bâratâng and the islands bordering the East and West Coasts of that island. [Jâraowa have in recent years occupied the interior of Bâratâng at intervals.]	
1	Encampment on N. side of Homfray Strait	Tîlli-chîbest	"		
	Site of ancient kitchen-midden near N. E. point of Bâratâng opposite North Passage Island	Wîte-o-uni	"		
	Large island between Homfray Strait and Middle Strait	Bâratâng	"		
	North Passage Island	Tuba-drama	"		
	Colebrooke Island	Pîch-l'âka-chîbea	"		
1	Do. (Encampment near N. W. point of)	Thau-chîlaga	"		
1	Do. (Encampment in S. Bay of)	Pîr-l'ur-tâ	"		
	Do. Passage (Encampment near S. end of)	Ôwpa-chîlaga	"		
	Strait Island	Gereng kaicha	"		
	Diligent Strait	Burula-jîra	"		
	Homfray Strait	Chîra-jîra	"		
	Andaman (or Middle) Strait	Godam-jîra	"		
1	Barren Island	Talli-chîpa	"		
	Narcondam	Chîro-l'ig-bang	—		
	Duncan (or Entry) Island	Kaichawa	Bîa	The whole of South Andaman and Rutland Island except where occupied by Jâraowa (*vide* map) also the Labyrinth Island, Strike Island and S. W. corner of Middle Andaman, as shown in map.	
1	Inlet at mouth of Lara-jig inlet	Chîr-tot-kaicha	"		
	Kwangtung Harbour	Karang-ding-chîbira	"		
1	Do. (Encampment near W. mouth of)	Lebert-l'ur-tâ	"		
	Kyd Island	Dura-tâng	"		
	Fort Campbell	Kara-pîng	"		
	Do. Mount	Gerengl'ara-châ-chîjîra	"		
	Rutland Island	Tîkra-pîti (Bâa) Gatin-o-Kwa-(Onge)	"		
	North Button Island	Chîngu-l'ur-jing	Balawa	The Archipelago and the three Button Islands.	
	Middle Button "	Kaicha-wa	"		
	South Button "	Aga-l'ot-bang	"		
	Outram Island	Tâ-o-tgu	"		
	Henry Lawrence Island	Chârla-drama	"		
	John Lawrence Island	Parkîs-drama	"		
	East (or Iroglis) Island	Jîla-drama	"		
	Wilson Island	Bîrula-drama	"		
	Nicholson Island	Kaichawa-drama	"		

3: Temple G-5 (1901) 1903 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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Tribal Distribution and Place Names, Andaman Islands—concld.

1	2	3	4	5	6
No. on map.	Name of island, locality or encampment.	Andamanese name.	Tribal Territory.	Where situated.	Remarks.
	Havelock Island	Pilugo-l'ko-ub-gu-lerome	Bulawa	North Sentinel and the interior of the northern half of South Andaman and Baratang and Rutland Island, as shown in map.	
	Sir W. Peel Island	Ti-lerome	"		
	Neill Island	Tob-jiru	"		
	Sir Hugh Rose Island	Kiteluwa-bar	"		
	North Sentinel	Pitting	Jirawa		
	Little Andaman	Willum-tiru (Bea) Gwibo-l'lugo (Onge)	Onge	Little Andaman and the islands between that island and Rutland, also South Sentinel.	
	Bumila Creek (north of Little Andaman)	Kawite-ayibe (Onge)	—		
	South Brother	Gwaicha-ufkwe (Onge)	—		
	North Brother	Ti-a-ki (Onge)	—		
	Sister Island (small)	Badgi-l'a-ctan (Bea) Ta-jeun-da (Onge)	—		
	Do. (large)	Pitab-ching (Bea) Go-to-kwite (Onge)	—		
	Passage Island	Alabe-ching (Bea) Chingada (Onge)	—		
	Cinque Island (North)	Jir-ch (Bea) Gwa-la (Onge)	—		
	Do. (South)	Jirth (Bea) Ga-to-kwe (Onge)	—		
	South Sentinel	Tikli-l'lg bang (Bea) Inding-ga-gwa (Onge)	—		

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

now follow them, often ignoring their original significance and symbolism. Among the Onge, spirits are feared but not loved ; the same applies to God Himself. 775

The Onge bury their dead in trenches, no deeper than three feet. Earth is tightly packed over the graves in order to prevent exhalations. Full details on the subject of Onge burial customs appear in the book that I am writing about the Onge. I slept with the Onge in communal huts that contained fresh graves, without suffering any inconvenience from the smell of the corpses. This recalls the palaeolithic sepulchral caves, where man probably lived as the Onge live in their sepulchral huts today. 764

There are no latrines near Onge camps – whether permanent or temporary. Excrements are spread carelessly all around, lightly covered with leaves and earth. Flies lay eggs on them. The Onge's only precaution is not to defecate where drinking water might be found after rainfall. With so many opportunities for reproduction, in some places flies form such clouds as to impress the natives themselves. In the north of Little Andaman a creek was named after the flies : Bumila Creek, which means "fly creek". Smells also occasionally inspire geographical names : Tambe-é-bùie, on the north-east coast of Little Andaman, means "the smelly place" in the Onge language. Flies, fleas and ticks are tolerated by the Onge who do not fight them. Fortunately, the hymenoptera collect flies for their nests, not, however, in quantities large enough to compete with the fertility of the species. 514 [912] 736 825 [103]

2. Clothing and personal care

The only garment worn by Little Andaman women is the *naquinēghē*, a scanty grasslike apron covering the genitals. In addition, during menstrual periods, Onge women wear the *bataghē*, for hygienic purposes. This is a simple cluster of long, soft green leaves cut by the husband for his wife from special trees : Myristica longifolia and others. The only leaves used are those from the end of a stalk, a section of which is left attached to the leaves. The stalk is slipped under the *naquinēghē*, while the long leaves are passed between the thighs to be fastened at the back above the buttocks. It is curious to see Onge women in such myristical attire ! The *bataghē* is ethnographical news, new not only as regards the Andamans : it is an interesting indication of the hygienic measures employed by primitive people, and can probably be traced to prehistoric practices in analogous circumstances. The continental and insular regions nearest to the Andamans have retained no similar custom ; their only practice is the strict isolation of menstruating women. Among the Onge, on the other hand, they are allowed free circulation. Washing is unknown to the Onge : they never wash their bodies intentionally. Brushing through the thick forest and diving into the sea or the river to collect food substitute adequately for washing. The Little Andaman forest is nearly always dripping ; moving among the trees, specially in the early morning, is equivalent to bathing. The contact of wet leaves when walking cleans the Onge's skin, for they go naked ; and as they constantly dive into the sea and rivers, they do not smell. Actually they give an impression of cleanliness – as opposed to many other dark-skinned 291 841 [824] [171] 515 [147]

7: Sarkar D-4, 5 (1948) 1960 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

161 the actual Onge population. He has estimated the population instead of giving a simple
162 population figure for each of the Onge settlements he visited. His estimates are based
114 on the number of sleeping places in a hut, though nothing definite could be found either with regard to the total number of communal huts or the sleeping places. Then, to find out the sex of the individuals from the sleeping places seems preposterous. CIPRIANI (1956) estimates the total Onge population to be 607, comprising "229 adult men, 241 adult women and 137 children". He was able to determine the sex of the children in about 80 % of the cases, since immediately after the above quotation, he states: "Of the latter 48 are boys, 62 girls, and of 27 sex could not be ascertained". In the same paper and just two sentences before, where he gave the above figures, he mentioned a total of 497 individuals, comprising 242 men and 255 women. If the latter figures are meant only for adults then with the addition of 137 children to the above adult population of 497, the total Onge population appears to be 634. Even then the discrepancies in the adult population remain to be explained; it adds up to 470 (229 males, 241 females) once and to 497 (242 males, 255 females) another time.

The only thing that has some value in the demography of the Onges is that he has collected personal names of 107 adult males and 105 adult females. It is not known why the children have been excluded. At any rate, the personal names indicate a slightly higher number of males (50.5 %) than females while the total estimate for adults shows a hitherto unknown Onge sex ratio. With an adult population of 229 males and 241 females, the sex ratio works up to 48.7 % males and 51.3 % females.

Population estimates are always hazardous and, from all reports, the Onges appear to be a dwindling population. R. F. LOWIS, the Census Superintendent for the Andamans during 1911 and 1921 was frank enough to admit in 1921 that his 1911 estimate was "too high", though he gave one for 1921.

It is surprising that neither the Andaman Government nor the Department of Anthropology provided CIPRIANI with an assistant, trained among aboriginal people, who could have been of much help to him. At least the Onges could have been counted in each of the localities visited.

361 Settlements. — The typical Onge settlement is the communal hut, which is
[342] usually located on the beach. CIPRIANI mentions the communal huts in the interior of the island, but does not describe their details.

During the 1911 and 1921 Censuses coastal trips round the island were made and the former Census provides a very good map with the names of twenty settlements
[103] scattered on the island. The names are: 1) *Tambeibui* [4], 2) Uede, 3) *Nachuge*, 4) Tochiewe, 5) Tochengedu, 6) Quoname, 7) *Geejege*, 8) *Ingoi-tijala*, 9) *Endea-geleda*, 10) To-to-bwe (unoccupied), 11) *Titugalante*, 12) *Toibalawe*, 13) Tordeada (unoccupied), 14) *Kwante-tu-huage*, 15) Koreale, 16) Porale, 17) *Chetamale*, 18) *Titaiye*, 19) Ogechai, 20) Obate.

The names of the settlements visited during the 1921 Census are given at the beginning of this paper. It was also mentioned that 14 huts were seen in comparison to 19 (this will probably be 20) in 1911. The names of 15 settlements could be gathered from the Census Report of 1931 and the 10 settlements italicized above can be rather easily correlated with those of 1911.

114 CIPRIANI's map is again difficult to follow. Firstly, he has not given any idea of the
361 medium of language by which he communicated with the Onges. He has located in his map 18 existing coastal huts, of which the name of one between Otirubara and Benyaboi is missing. The position of the "supposed" huts within the jungle is misleading. Was he equipped with surveying instruments? Then he mentions 11 huts which are "no more in existence". How were they recognized? In what earlier context have they been identified as such? Only five of the eleven names (Obate, Palalankwe [or Kwalalanque, according to CIPRIANI], Ogechai, Ingoi-tijala and Chetamale) could be correlated with earlier records. Of the 20 coastal huts listed by him four (Nachuge, Geejege [or Gaje, according to CIPRIANI], Titaje and Tambeibui) could be correlated with the names of the 1921 Census map.

[4] So spelt in the 1911 Census.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

As has already been said, main Andaman group of islands is of Eocene formation (with sandstones in the South and conglomerates in the North) and the Ritchie's Archipelago is of later formation i.e. of Miocene age, built up of clays and forminiferal limestones. From a symmetry of the alignment of the mountain ranges, the Andamans can be divided into a few physiographic regions. 133

(1) The Cholunga Range in South Andaman (it lies in the middle of the South Andamans) and its continuation through the mountain ranges along the west coast of Middle Andaman to Ranger Island.

(2) The Mount Harriet Range along the east of the South Aadaman continue through the Baratang range to the hill range of North Andaman.

(3) The West Coast Range has its continuation in the Interview Island.

(4) East Coast range of North Andaman runs down towards the south to the East Coast ranges of Middle Aadaman.

(5) Intervening lowlands in between these longitudinal mountain ranges.

(6) Coastal Lowlands.

Regarding the mountain ranges, on the whole, some peculiarities have been observed. It is observed that this range of mountain system which is a continuation of the Arakan Yoma and runs right upto Sumatra has a gradual decrease and then an increase in height from north to south. A list of important mountains in series from north to south are as follows:— 103 133

	Name of the peak		Height above the sea level	
Arakan Range, Burma	Chypotong	...	8386	feet
	Chinsikiatong	...	6012	"
	Mengootsan	...	3600	"
Andaman-Nicobar ridge	North Andaman	...	2902	"
	Middle "	...	1678	"
	Little "	...	600	"
	Car Nicobar	...	200	"
	Batti Malv	...	150	"
	Choura	...	343	"
	Katchal	...	835	"
	Little Nicobar	...	1428	"
	Great Nicobar	...	2705	"
Sumatra	Batu Mukurah	...	6371	"
	Sinobong	...	12,140	"

• 104, 113 Andamans AZ2

[For definitions and explanations of native terms see Index, category 116, 6: Spate AW1 India, pp. 789-821.]

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

Sri Gupta, in conclusion, has been tempted to emphasise with firm conviction that the Andamanese are, therefore, very probably a remnant of the dwellers on the marshes of Bengal and the uplands of Santhal Paragana or the dense forests of Burma and Malaya. 174

As regards the native appellations and phonetic similarity, such apparent similarity is possibly evidenced in many groups separated from each other by long distances. Similarly, the diet of raw meat and fish is and was common to all hunting and collecting tribes of the world. Independent evolution of many tribes has been akin to each other and therefore, the further geological studies and studies in anthropology can only confirm the idea.

Since the arrival of the Andamanese in the islands, a gradual separation has taken place among the different branches of population who had moved to different parts of the islands. The micro-environment has exerted considerable influence in moulding these people ultimately giving birth to a number of sub-groups. However, the broad generalisations are their hunting and collecting economy, complete ignorance about the domestication of the plants and the animals, except the Onges who have learnt only for the last 30 years the domestication of dogs. Family is the smallest social unit and a few families constitute the communal hut. Each tribal sub-group has its hunting territory, within which it maintains a more or less nomadic life till they return to the main settlement where they have a communal hut. 105 174 [592] [423]

The doctrine of the environmental determinism exemplifies itself in the adaptation of the aborigines to the local environment. In their life, they never look beyond their local geography and the materials for houses, the food, the ornaments and every thing that they are in need of, are collected from the small territory in which a community lives. So the obvious conclusion may be drawn that the coastal tribes are dependent on fishing, turtle hunting and gathering of shells and oysters and the interior tribes on hunting. This type of primitive economy, based on hunting and collecting, cannot support more than two to four persons per square mile as against more than 300 per square mile in agricultural lands and again the density varies to a great extent according to the type of agriculture practised e.g., rice-growing regions support the maximum density of population. In spite of their all-round self-sufficiency they have some connections with the later settlers. For the want of iron, tobacco, distilled liquor, opium etc., these aborigines (jarawas) either make periodic raids on the settlements (Onges and Andamanese) or have established friendly relations with the settlers. The necessity 105 105 177 439

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

105 177 439 of all these things, locally not available, was felt by the aborigines only due to their slight contact with the later settlers.

However, a broad two-fold division of the aboriginal population can be made.

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1. Aborigines of the Great Andaman Group — All the aborigines of the Great Andamans with the exception of the Jarawas, the most hostile aborigines living in the southwestern part of the Andamans.

2. Aborigines of the Little Andaman Group — the Onges of the Little Andaman, the Jarawas of the South Andaman & the Sentinelese of the North Sentinel island.

As to how these two groups came into being and their areas of distribution, various theories have been put forward. Long after the attainment of the individual traits of these two groups, a continuous northward movement of the aborigines from the Little Andaman was in vogue and one such party had arrived in the Great Andamans who have been lately known as the Jarawas, who were all along subjected to pressure of the local natives belonging to the Great Andaman Group, the *Aka bea* of South Andaman. The very development of the hostility of the Jarawas and their complete seclusion from the other aboriginal groups owe to their being continuously subjected to the adversities. B. V. Eickstedt[1] has been of the opinion that the aborigines of the Andamans entered into the Great Andamans in two groups—the earlier group comprises the Onge, Jarawas and the Sentinelese while to the later group belong the ancestors of the Great Andaman Group. The passage of the Great Andaman Group has led to a constant southward push of the earlier group which has ultimately led to their habitation in the islands of the south i.e., the Little Andaman, Rutland Island and a part of the South Andaman. Cipriani has been emphatic enough in justifying the views of Brown that the Jarawas reached the Great Andamans from the south. Though they are supposed to have come from the Great Andamans by canoes, the art of constructing canoes and of using them have been completely forgotten and Cipriani believes that such instances of the loss of knowledge of the construction of canoes and their uses are many. A list of the names of the camps, given by Cipriani in the 1951 census, dating back to antiquity and having a good supply of drinking water and of

101 174 182 501

[113]

1 Eickstedt, B. V — Die Negrite der Andaman (Autho Ans).

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

105 For the fact that the Andamanese inhabits the coastal areas of the
177 Andamans, the fishing is an well-known art to them. The pristine cul-
182 ture is virtually lost and the few who are still now surviving have been brought under the folds of government help. Still now the headmen
225 of the Andamanese in the Middle Andaman, *Loka* is found doing turtle
481 hunting in their canoes and climbing up the coconut trees without the help of any rope. Still now they are found dancing in groups but they are few and far between. All of them wear clothes and live in the huts made by the Forest Department.

THE ABORIGINES OF THE LITTLE ANDAMAN GROUP.

101 The Onges, the Jarawas and the Sentinelese belong to this group.

The Jarawas

177 Of all these three groups, the Jarawas only live in the Great Anda-
648 mans and their occurrence in the Great Andamans has been explained
101 by many authorities, as has been explained earlier. The Jarawas are
181 implacably hostile and the best of efforts to bring them under terms of amity have proved furtile. Lt. Colebrook and Archibald Blair first came in contact with the Jarawas and in course of time, the Aka-beas, belonging to the Great Andaman Group, living in the South Andaman became friendly with the foreigners while the hostility of the Jarawas remained unabated. The Jarawa hostility has been always increasing and it was more so since 1921. In 1923, 37 Jarawas were shot and in 1938, a Jarawa woman and her 4 children were captured. So the chances of meeting the Jarawas have been few and far between and the great decline in their number has in all practical senses stopped the apprehension of their raids in the new settlement areas. Still now, of course a person penetrating deep into the forests of the eastern parts of South Andaman should always be on the guard against an attack from the Jarawas.

The Onges.

The Onges, having experienced the impact of the foreigners at the latest period, are at present the most widesprend of all the aborigines of the Andamans. They do not have the truculence of the Jarawas and the attempts for bringing them under closer ties and terms of amity with the foreigners have proved successful, though the essential traits of their social, cultural and material life remain unaltered.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

and particularly of Oceania, but not with that of the Indian peninsula – a fact which is highly significant in any reconstructive study of the migration of flora and fauna to the archipelago. 137

The most recent phase in the spread of vegetation within the Andamans is less than a hundred years old; it began on Great Andaman, but none of the species has yet reached Little Andaman. The coconut has reached it during the last few years, but when I was there, there were not more than five wild palms in the whole island. The original coconuts must have floated from Great Andaman, or even the Nicobars. The Onges at once realized that they were edible, and called them *marele*. Now, however, there is a plantation of over five hundred trees to the north of Labanar, which I established by degrees on a number of occasions as a gift to the Onges. [262] [123]

The absence of any cultivated plants on Little Andaman led me to try pawpaws and bananas, as well as coconuts. In 1952 the Governor himself suggested a plant whose leaves are said to cure ringworm, so widespread among the Onges. The Onges, however, were not remotely interested, nor were they any more interested in the pawpaws and bananas. The pawpaws were left to lie on the ground and groves of young plants sprang up, far too close together, crowding the original tree and not sturdy enough to fruit. It was useless to show the Onges what to do. The bananas would have grown well, but their leaves were ripped to pieces by the storms. Possibly they would fare better in Great Andaman, where the hills would afford some shelter from the wind. 241 100

A rather different result, but equally unfortunate, followed the importation of grass seed into Great Andaman to improve grazing. The seed, imported from Europe, must have been contaminated with *Mimosa pudica*, which has spread widely, as it did in India and the rest of southern Asia, and within a few years has destroyed the grass so widely and become so much of a pest that in some areas it is doubtful whether it can be eradicated. The area round Port Blair is full of it, but for the moment Little Andaman remains free. 137

Culturally, the peoples of the Andamans remain today, unlike their kin in Malaysia and the Philippines, at a level almost identical with that of their ancestors thousands of years ago. They represented then, and in great measure represent today, a pure hunting and 105

105 gathering society; it is extremely probable that a study of their daily life today is virtually equivalent to a study of their life as it was in ancient times.

231 241 177 So near are the Andamanese to their original state that they show no signs of ever having had any real agriculture. The Indian Government has tried in vain to induce the surviving Arioto to keep chickens by presenting them with birds and food for them; the gifts were accepted out of politeness, but there the matter ended. Among the remaining Negritos, however, particularly in the Philippines, there are noticeable signs of the awakening of some agricultural sense, even to the extent of some commerce, and regular attendance at markets. But on Little Andaman, for example, I saw in 1952 various ginger trees growing, brought there by some unknown means and at Entigheh there was also a pumpkin. In 1953 and subsequent years there were no pumpkins at all on the island, and although the gingers were still thriving they were clearly doing so by chance, without any attention from the Onges, who ate some of the small red fruit, and seemed to like the piquant flavour, but still showed no signs of wanting to perpetuate it. In several places both on the coast and inland I saw, too, clumps of the slender native bamboo, hardly planted intentionally; the ground sites of some huts now abandoned, like Bugheneh and Odadda, were covered in them. The inhabitants had apparently wanted to procure a supply of material for roofing mats, or the drying platforms used by a few groups, and so the plantations were completely stripped – and killed.

245 177 In order to plant coconut trees for the benefit of the islanders I had even to do the planting myself, so utterly ignorant were they of agricultural methods; we even had to do all the clearing of the undergrowth in a patch of forest, and prepare the ground. The Onges watched curiously but were quite uninterested. Why should they care for a tree for ten years to get its nuts when the island and seas around are teaming with food for the taking?

824 825 In their continual search for food the Onges have acquired botanical and zoological knowledge which seems almost innate, and they know of properties in plants and animals of which we are quite unaware. Nearly every day on Little Andaman I came across examples of this. I only had to draw a rough sketch of an animal and they knew at once where it could be found; it was only thanks

178 also acquired more recent additions, so that any primitive ignor-
392 ance on their part of an art so ancient and generally advantageous as that of making fire is hardly credible. One thing is, however, certain: they do not today know how to produce fire.

174 In order to explain their ignorance, one must remember the
178 surprising speed with which primitive peoples forget even essential facts, even details of their own life. They can forget their father's or mother's name, or both, and important events of less than fifty years ago are sometimes forgotten by those who took part in them. Cultural regression following the forgetting of ethnographical facts, even essential facts such as the making of fire, is a phenomenon widespread in every continent. Widely differing elements of culture spread out from a number of centres and were forced to adapt to natural surroundings often incomparably different from the centre from which they spread. Sometimes these cultural migrations led to progress, but more often to regression. Particularly in the marginal areas furthest from the centres of culture, enforced modifications were profound, with ensuing cultural impoverishment. The Andamanese, probably arriving from areas to the east, remain as survivors of a series of disasters both biological and non-biological, in one of the marginal areas which, although a natural paradise, has been most affected by adverse circumstances. It is, therefore, hardly surprising if, like the Eskimos, they no longer reflect the brilliance of the past, either biologically or culturally. A similar situation is to be found in populations much larger and more advanced than the Andamanese.

●105 It is not strictly accurate to define the Onges as primitive; they should more properly be regarded as involuted. They possess certain essentials which almost entitle them to recognition as a civilized people: religious concepts are not unknown, they bury their dead, they are monogamous, and they have their own language. While they are unable to produce fire they can preserve it and know how to use it, they make excellent bows, arrows, harpoons and canoes, and they know how to produce pottery.

Nevertheless, they have no agriculture, and do not keep domestic animals except the dog, introduced only within living memory and to them a faithful friend. They have no idea of the use of metals, and make no stone implements apart from the tiny splinters used for shaving. They have never developed any graphic arts and have

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

only a crude form of body decoration based on geometrical designs. 105

They are, therefore, to be included among the most backward peoples of mankind, who have remained in a very simple form of social structure. They have never progressed to any elementary [614] organization of themselves into 'clans', or even 'tribes'. They have, [619] in short, the psychological outlook and concepts of other primitive peoples, modified by local conditions. The evidence in favour of the Onges of today being the product of cultural development over [174] a very long period appears to me overwhelming, though their development has already been hindered by involution and, we must presume, a series of setbacks.

The Onges have thus remained culturally isolated and this has 105 deprived them of the opportunities offered to the rest of the world. 174 The time came when they ceased to receive or to elaborate new concepts, and from that point regression was inevitable. There is abundant evidence that their culture dates back to Palaeolithic times, so that they now represent the last and decadent expression of a very lengthy stage of biological and cultural development, a point of arrival, and not one of departure. Everywhere in the Andamans there are signs of an ancient culture which must once have spread over much of the world. It is neither logical nor practical to explain the similarity of many concepts as a series of convergences, all of independent origin; ideas must have spread outwards with the passage of time and the gradual population of habitable areas.

No study of present-day life on the Andamans can be complete 172 without an attempt to build up a valid picture of the islands as they were centuries ago, and this we can do with some accuracy by a study of the kitchen-middens. These abound on Great Andaman, but few have been excavated, and then only briefly reported. Those of Little Andaman have not, for obvious reasons, previously been investigated, but they are of considerable importance for the light they cast on their own development and history, and on that of similar mounds outside the Andamans. It is only on Little Andaman that they are still being built up, continually increasing in size, forming a unique, direct and continuous link with life on the island thousands of years ago.

Provided they have not been damaged – for example by rain or

111

AZ2 Andamans

1: Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. The Andaman Islanders: A Study in Social Anthropology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922.

Pp. xiv, 504; 20 plates, 2 maps

Yale: Nkd72 I314 922b

[The standard anthropological treatment of the Andaman Islanders, this book contains material on the social organization, ceremony, religious and magical beliefs, mythology, and material culture of the area as well as background material. In addition, the author provides a functional interpretation of the customs, beliefs, and myths of the people. The final portion of the book attempts, in part, to say something about the archaic culture of the group by comparing their material culture with that of similar groups. --Analyst]

Field date: 1906-1908
Analyst: James Leary

Evaluation: Social Anthropologist-5
Processed in 1957

2: Man, Edward Horace. On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands. London: The Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1932.

Pp. xxxii, 256; 17 plates; 1 folded map; preface; index.

Yale: Nkd72 I314 883mb

[Originally published in 1885, this work is a basic study on the Andaman Islanders. Written by a government official who was in charge of public homes for the natives, the book covers most aspects of their material and non-material culture, as well as the physical anthropology of the people. There is an additional article in the rear of the book, Report of Researches into the Language of the South Andaman Island, written by Alexander J. Ellis, using the materials of E. H. Man and R. C. Temple. This article was originally published in the Transactions of the Philological Society, 1882-3-4, pp. 44-73. The article has been repaginated pp. 225-256 for technical reasons. --Analyst]

Field date: 1869-1880
Analyst: James Leary

Evaluation: Government official-5
Processed in 1957

111 AZ2 Andamans

3: Temple, Richard C. The Andaman and Nicobar Islands. Census of India, 1901, Vol. 3, pp. 1-137. Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1903.

Pp. xi, 137; 1 plate; 3 charts; 11 maps.

Yale: Nak30 A901 + Bv.3

[A Census of India Report, written by a government official, this work has as its primary purpose an enumeration of the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands. Thus, portions of the text deal with the methods whereby the census was carried out, and diaries of the census parties. There is a good descriptive section on the geography of the area, and a concise chapter on ethnography. The final portion of the text consists of a study of Andamanese grammar. --Analyst]

Field date: 1901 Evaluation: Government Official-5
Analyst: James Leary Processed in 1957

4: Guha, B.S. Report of a Survey of the Inhabitants of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands during 1948-49. Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology, Vol. 1, Pp. 1-7. Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1953.

7 plates containing 16 photographs; bibliography.

Yale: Nk10 In2 1 1

[This is a discursive, superficial report of brief observations made in the course of an attempted anthropological survey of the Andaman Islands. Perhaps the most valuable information provided is the scattered data on settlement patterns and the population composition of local groups. Evidently some extensive interviewing was conducted with available informants, and various biological data and field specimen were collected, but very little concrete information about these is included in this report. Also, despite the title, no data at all are presented concerning the Nicobarese. One especially interesting item is the passing mention on pp. 5-6 of a village of 400 Karen who migrated from Bassein to the Andamans in 1924. --Analyst]

Field date: 1948-1949
Analyst: Robert O. Lagacé

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1962.

5: Sarkar, S.S. Blood Groups from the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology, Vol. 1, pp. 25-30. Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1953.

1 diagram; 1 plate containing 8 photographs; bibliography.

Yale: Nk10 In2 1 1

[Blood groups were obtained from 196 individuals representing 4 tribal groups: the Onges (34), Jarawas (4), and Andamanese (22) of the Andaman Islands, and the Nicobarese (136). No sampling techniques seem to have been used, and except for the Jarawa cases (all siblings), no specific genealogical data are provided. The Nicobarese data are particularly interesting on two counts: first, for the high frequency of type O; and second, for the segregation and comparison of blood groups from individuals who contracted infantile paralysis during a recent epidemic with those of individuals who were not affected. Comparative data are included from earlier sources on these tribes and from other Oceanic and Southeast Asian peoples, and the author draws some historical inferences concerning racial affiliations and population migrations and mixtures.--Analyst]

Field date: 1948 Evaluation: Physical Anthropologist-5
Analyst: Robert O. Lagacé Processed in 1962

6: Cipriani, Lidio. Hygiene and Medical Practices among the Onge (Little Andaman), Anthropos, Vol. 56, pp. 481-500, Posieux (Freiburg), Switzerland: Anthropos-Institut, 1961.

8 plates

HRAF copy

[This study of the hygiene and medical practices among the Onge is based on the author's participant observations in 1951-53. Hygienic conditions related to habitation, clothing, food and personal care are discussed together with their illnesses and curative methods. --Analyst]

Field date: 1951-1953
Analyst: Hesung C. Koh

Evaluation: Social Anthropologist-5
Processed in 1962

7: Sarkar, S. S. Onge Population and Settlements. Anthropos, Vol. 55, pp. 561-563. Posieux (Freiburg): Anthropos-Institut, 1960.

HRAF copy.

/This source provides information on the composition of the Onge population and location of settlements. The author also comments on and criticizes the methods of census taking used./

Field date: 1948
Analyst: Joan Steffens

Evaluation: Physical Anthropologist-4,5
Processed in 1963, 1965

8: Heine-Geldern, Robert, editor and Anna Hohenwart-Gerlachstein, associate editor. Andaman Islands, in, A Special List of Tribes of Primitive Hunters and Food-Gatherers. Bulletin of the International Committee on Urgent Anthropological and Ethnological Research, No. 1. pp. 13-47. Vienna, 1958.

HRAF copy.

/Only pp. 23-30 have been processed for this file./

/This source reviews the field work done in the area and lists the published material. Some demographic material is also included./

Field date: no date
Analyst: Joan Steffens

Evaluation: Ethnologists-4
Processed in 1963, 1965

9: Sarkar, S.S. The Jarawa of the Andaman Islands. Anthropos, Vol. 57, pp. 670-677. Freiburg (Switzerland): Paulusdruckerei for the Anthropos-Institut, 1962.

4 text figures (including 1 map); bibliography.

HRAF Copy.

/This source is a synthesis of what few data are available on the Jarawa of the Andaman Islands (including the North Sentinel and South Andaman Jarawa), obtained from the writings of other authors, and from Sarkar's own field observations made on two separate but very brief trips to the Jarawa area in 1948. On these field trips the author never actually came into face-to-face contact with any of the Jarawa, but instead recorded his observations on their material culture from the artifacts left behind by these people in their travels--tools, weapons, containers, rafts, shelters, etc. Frequent references are made throughout the text to the government's method of dealing with Jarawa raiding activities (via punitive expeditions against them), and the author makes several suggestions as to possible ways and means of

9: Sarkar, S.S.

improving relationships with these people (e.g. air-dropping of gifts, etc.). /

Field date: 1948
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Physical Anthropologist-5
Processed in 1965

10: Sen, Probhat Kumar. Land & Peoples of the Andamans: A Geographical & Socio-Economical Study with a Short Account of the Nicobar Islands. Calcutta: The Post-Graduate Book Mart, 1962.

Pp. xix, 197; foreword; preface; 17 maps and diagrams; 10 photographic plates; bibliography; index.

Yale: DS491 A5 S45.

/Only the introductory material (5 pp.), pp. i-xix, and 1-76 have been processed for this file./

/This source provides a very thorough survey of the physical geography of the Andaman Islands--location and topography, climate, geology, soils, vegetation and mineral resources, and in addition presents a general cultural summary of the various aboriginal groups inhabiting these islands, such as the Jarawa, Onge, Andamanese, and Sentinelese. In these pages the author also presents a brief summary of Andaman culture history which he divides into four periods, that prior to 1788--the period of seclusion and piratical

10: Sen, Probhat Kumar.

disturbances, 1788-1942--the British regime, 1942-1945 the Japanese regime, and the Post Independence Period following 1945.

This work was originally written in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Science at Calcutta University, and has been further supplemented for publication with additional updated material. /

Field date: ca. 1955
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Geographer-3,4
Processed in 1965

11: Cipriani, Lidio. The Andaman Islanders. Edited and translated by D. Tayler Cox assisted by Linda Cole. New York, Washington: Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1966.

Pp. xiv, 159; 12 plates (19 photographs); 1 map.

Yale: Nkd72 I314 966Cg. DLC: DS491.A5C513. DLC card no.: 66-20312.

[After a review of the history of contacts between the Andaman Islanders and outside peoples the author gives a lengthy and detailed description of the topography, flora, and fauna of the islands. The book contains only a modest amount of data on physical anthropology and archeological sites, few and very generalized data on the culture and society of the Andamanese, but many conjectural statements. Most of the firsthand material on the Andamanese here refers to the Onge of Little Andaman, since the author was unable to visit the Jarawa of Great Andaman. The editor first saw this material after Cipriani's death and some misapprehensions of the author's intent may have crept in.]

Field date: 1951-1955
Analyst: Sigrid Khera

Evaluation: Ethnologist-3
Processed in 1967

Kloss, C. Borden. In the Andamans and Nicobars. The Narrative of a Cruise in the Schooner "Terrapin" with notices of the Islands, their Fauna, Ethnology, Etc.. London: John Murray, 1903.

Pp. 373

Yale: Ema 701

[This source contains little accurate ethnographic information, being mostly concerned with zoology. The ethnographic material was compiled mostly from other writers. The author himself states, "I cannot but regard the illustrations, which are a selection from my series of photographs, as the most valuable part of this work, ----". Much of the data incorporated is on the Nicobar Islands. --Analyst]

Mouat, Frederic J. Adventures and Researches among the Andaman Islanders. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1863.

Pp. 367

Yale: Ema 857

[This source was not processed because it contains little or no information not covered in later and more accurate accounts of the Andamans. Its chief value lies in the fact that it describes the Andamanese before any appreciable amount of contact with whites had occurred. A short appendix on the zoology of the Andamans by Edward Blyth was prepared after a settlement of convicts had been established by the British, so its value as a pre-contact document is less than the book itself. -- Analyst]

[For full bibliographical references see category 116, 6: Spate AW1 India, entire source and bibliographical notes at the end of each chapter.]

133, 113 Andamans AZ2

[For a regional division of the Indian sub-continent see Chapter XIII, 6: Spate AW1 India.]

128, 113 Andamans AZ2

[For information pertaining to literary devices and conventions, abbreviations and explanations of numerations used by the author, see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. xxi-xxiii, and xxv.]

133, 113 Andamans AZ2

[For a description and discussion of the structure and relief of the entire Indian sub-continent, see 6: Spate, AW1 India, category 116, pp. 3-36.]

132, 113 Andamans AZ2

[For a description of climate regions of the Indian sub-continent and its general effects on agriculture and health, see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. 40-62.]

133, 113 Andamans AZ2

[For general information on the distribution of various types of flora and its relation to climate and soil, see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. 63-92.]

134, 113

Andamans AZ2

[For general information on the distribution of soil types in India see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. 80-92.]

231, 113 Andamans AZ2

[For a general discussion of animal husbandry in India, see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. 228-231.]

[For definitions and explanations of native terms see Index, category 116, 6: Spate AW1 India, pp. 789-821.]

[For an index of authors and works cited, see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. 822-827.]

3: Temple G-5 (1901) 1903 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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[p. V]

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1780. Dunn.
1809, and onwards. Horsburgh.
1874, onwards. Taylor.
1892, onwards. Bay of Bengal Pilot.

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

namely, that they are a very dark pigmy tribe, with short round head and infantile features. The hair of the head is wholly of the distinctly "peppercorn" pattern, *i.e.*, it grows in small tufts with intervening vacant spaces between (*see* Plate VII). The women were noticed to possess steotopygia in a markedly developed form (*see* Plate II, Fig. 2). 142

Freiherr von Eickstedt who visited the Islands in December 1926, claimed that he was the first scientist to observe these two traits among the Andamanese. His contentions, however, cannot stand scrutiny, for in a paper read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh on February 2, 1880, entitled "Remarks on the Aborigines of the Andaman Islands" and published in the Proceedings of that Society, Surgeon E. S. Brander, who was stationed at Port Blair as Second Medical Officer, speaking about the general features of the Andamanese women, remarked that they "undergo exceptional enlargement of the gluteal region, the appearance of which is enhanced by their custom of attaching branches of twigs to their waist bands, so as to hang over this region. This large development of abdomen, hip and buttocks, added to a very waddling style of gait, gives these women in progression a most grotesque appearance". Eight years after, in a paper published in the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography, Maurice Portman, who was the Officer-in-Charge of the Andamanese, in describing his visit to the Little Andaman, wrote about "the Hottentot Venus order of beauty" of the Onge women. The Hottentot Venus, as is well-known, is noted for her steotopygic development. These two papers appeared over 40 years before von Eickstedt's publication. 114 142 [293] [481]

A detailed comparative review of the somatic traits of the Onges based on the measurements taken by members of this Department will be published in the next issue of the Bulletin. Mr S. S. Sarkar's analysis of the blood group data is, however, published in this issue. 114

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7:Sarkar D-4, 5 (1948) 1960 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

Onge Population and Settlements. — Introduction. — Since the opening of the Andaman sub-station of the Department of Anthropology, Government of India, the Little Andaman Island has been visited several times by anthropological experts but the sum-total of knowledge has been rather meagre. We have not yet been able to know accurately the total Onge population. The recent paper by CIPRIANI [1] (1956), on the other hand, gives a hitherto unknown picture of the biology of the Onge population. The latter appears to show, as will be obvious from the data presented below, a high masculinity while CIPRIANI's method of population census shows high feminine population. 162 114

Earlier Data. — In a discussion of this nature we can leave aside the Onge population *estimated* at the decennial Censuses and take into account those actually seen and counted. In 1911 the number of Onges actually seen comprised : 161 162

adult male	118,	adult female	78
child male	62,	child female	28
	180		106

thus giving a total of 286 individuals. This shows a 10.20 % excess of males in the case of adults and an excess of 18.89 % males in the case of children.

During the Census of 1921, a total number of 99 individuals was counted at the following places :

	Rutland Island	Tochiewe	Toibalawe	Teresdda [2]	Total
Adult male	27	6	6	5	44
Adult female	18	–	5	3	26
Child male	8	1	3	5	17
Child female	8	–	2	2	12
	61	7	16	15	99

Eighty Onges were counted in 1911 on Rutland Island, which number decreased by about 24 % to 61 in 1921. No Onges were reported from the same island during the Census of 1931 and at present there appears to be none, either. The details of the 80 Onges reported in 1911 are unknown.

The Rutland population of 1921, however, shows an excess of 10 % adult males while the child population shows the two sexes in equal numbers. The total population, actually seen in 1921, shows an excess of 12.86 % adult males while it is 8.62 % in the case of children. Compared with the 1911 population it appears that the adult male excess has increased by 2.66 % in 1921 while the child population shows a favourable decrease by 10.37 %.

Recent Data. — On February 25, 1948 during the first trip of the Department of Anthropology [3], 38 individuals were counted before the communal hut of Tambebui, which comprised 17 adult males, 15 adult females and 6 children, 4 males and 2 females. The higher number of males among both the adults and children is apparent in this small sample. The above 38 individuals comprised 4 persons, 2 males and 2 females, from the communal hut of Laito, which had been visited by the above party the day before. The total population of the communal hut of Tambebui is probably 34, which is in striking contrast to the population of 4 souls for the communal hut of Laito.

GUHA also mentions the January, 1949 trip by the Department of Anthropology into Hut Bay, towards the south of the island, where 11 individuals, comprising 2 adult males, 6 adult females and 3 children (sex not mentioned) were seen in the local communal hut. The latter contained 9 sleeping places only.

The 1952 and 1953 parties of the Department of Anthropology were led by LIDIO CIPRIANI. His account is difficult to follow. There are very few relevant data regarding [114]

[1] LIDIO CIPRIANI, Report on a Survey of the Little Andaman during 1951-53. Bull. Dept. Anth. 2. 1956, pp. 61-82. [113]
[2] So spelt in the 1921 Census.
[3] B. S. GUHA, Report of a Survey of the Inhabitants of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands during 1948-49, I. Calcutta 1952, pp. 1-7. [113]

7:Sarkar D-4, 5 (1948) 1960 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

and seven with those of the 1911 Census. The total number of twenty existing huts, 114
however, agree in both CIPRIANI's map and the 1911 Census map; only names differ. It 361
would have added greatly to our knowledge had CIPRIANI based his investigations on the 1911 Census map and commented on each of the place names given therein. He also mentions two huts in ruins besides eleven "no more in existence". There is no mention of any newly built hut. All this proves the decadent condition of the Onges. The coastal huts are probably more numerous than those within the jungles and their total number appears to be constant both in 1911 and in 1953.

The Onges have, in recent years, been visited so many times by anthropologists 114
that a well-directed effort could have brought the whole population into a few genealogies — an elementary task in anthropology.

Postscript. — CIPRIANI has now (1959) published[8] the Census figures of the 161
different communal huts. Instead of clarifying the earlier anomalies stated above, his 162
recent population figures have raised further complications, as will be discussed below.

CIPRIANI now (1959) mentions in a footnote on p. 89 of his paper that 125 individuals, comprising 48 adult males, 44 adult females, 22 boys and 11 girls, *have beds in different communal huts*. He gives a total population figure of 394 (130 adult males, 129 adult females, 65 boys and 70 girls) obtained by actual Census from 21 communal huts. To this total figure of 394 he adds another total of 175 individuals (adult males and females 74 each, and 27 children, the latter shown as "males" on p. 90 but as "siblings" on p. 76) estimated for another 7 communal huts. Thus according to a Census of 21 huts and an estimate of 7 others, CIPRIANI now finds a total Onge population of 596, in comparison to his earlier variable figures stated above. There is no attempt to explain the discrepancies in the population figures. It is also unknown why the population of the 7 huts could not be censused, although all of them were visited between March 22 and April 4, 1953.

It is now apparent that his method of Census of the Onges is untenable since about 31.7 % (125 out of 394) of the population have beds in different communal huts. This is in harmony with the roving nature of the Onges, but it shows that only about one third [361]
of the population is migratory and about two thirds sedentary. This is probably not true for the Onges. At least, the fixed nature of beds in the communal huts loses its significance and is probably an uncertain criterion for an Onge Census.

As to a recalculation of the Census figures for each of the 21 huts, it is seen that the total population appears to be 382 (129 adult males, 126 adult females, 64 boys and 63 girls) instead of 394 given by CIPRIANI. This definitely shows high masculinity not only among adults but also among the children. With an adult population of 129 males and 126 females the sex ratio works up to 50.6 % males and 49.4 % females, the excess of 1.2 % being statistically significant.

In the present publication CIPRIANI has published personal names of 133 adult [553]
males and 140 female adults, but the Onge habit of frequently changing names, mentioned by him on p. 70, has not been substantiated. Since the same issue of the journal contains an anthropometric study of the Onges, in which names of the individuals measured were noted, it would have been worth while testing how far the Onges practise the above custom. As will be obvious from the foregoing as well as from this P. S., CIPRIANI has not started with the known to unravel the unknown.

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[8] L. CIPRIANI, A Survey of Little Andaman during 1954. Bull. Dept. of Anthr. 3. 1959, pp. 66-94. [113]

fieldwork among the Ongi is the language problem. Dr. DATTA-MAJUMDER writes: 114 124

"It should be noted that very little information about the social organization of the Onge has been gathered so far on account of the barrier of language. Not a single interpreter knowing Onge language is available. We came across only two Onge men who knew just a few words of Hindi as a result of their occasional visits to Port Blair".

This was confirmed by Professor CIPRIANI who, in his letter, also mentions the two Ongi who know a little Hindi and adds: "No real Ongi interpreter is, as yet, available". RADCLIFFE-BROWN's experience had been similar. He found only two Ongi men who knew about 20 words of Hindustani.

PORTMAN seems to have been more fortunate in 1886—87. He mentions having had Ongi interpreters. These may have been members of a group of eleven persons who had been captured in the Cinque Islands, between Great and Little Andaman, in 1885 and who had been brought to Port Blair. It would be of great help for anthropological research if a few Ongi could be induced to stay some time in Port Blair and to learn either Hindi or English. In any 114
case, however, an anthropologist wishing to do serious work on Little 122
Andaman will have to remain long enough on the island to acquire sufficient knowledge of the language. He could prepare himself in advance for this task through a thorough study of the available literature on the Great Andaman languages (MAN, PORTMAN, TEMPLE, BASU). Although the languages are different, they are related, and 197
their structure is probably more or less similar. For the Ongi language itself, we have only RADCLIFFE-BROWN's "Notes on the Languages of the Andaman Islands", the list of Ongi words in PORTMAN's "Manual of the Andamanese Languages" (1887) — which RADCLIFFE-BROWN found "of no service whatever" — and a vocabulary of the Ongi language, compiled by M. C. C. BONIG in 1903 and published in Port Blair.

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●113 B. K. Chaterjee, *The Onges of Little Andaman*, Vanyajati, Vol. I, No. 4, 1953, pp. 86—93.

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Randhir Kumar De, *The Onge of Little Andaman*, Vanyajati, Vol. V, No. 1, 1957, pp. 12—17.

Jarawa

101 Although the Jarawa inhabit the jungles of South and Middle
[197] Andaman, they do not belong to the Great Andaman group of tribes,
but are culturally and linguistically related to the Ongi. It is assumed
[174] that they originally came from Little Andaman. The Jarawa owe
their survival to their having remained isolated as a result of their
[648] implacable hostility toward the British (now Indian) colonial settlement. Information on their raids and the punitive expeditions against
them will be found in the respective volumes of the Census of India.
[161] In 1931 their number was estimated at either 70 (Bonington) or
120 (Hutton). Their culture conforms to the general Andamanese
pattern, but differs in various respects from that of their former
neighbours, the extinct Great Andaman tribes. Except for their
communal huts and such of their material possessions as were found
during punitive expeditions, practically nothing is known about it.
Our knowledge of their language is restricted to lists of words col-

Our knowledge of their language is restricted to lists of words col- 114
lected from captive Jarawas by COLEBROOK in 1789—90 and by PORT- 648
MAN in the 19th century.

Research on the Jarawa would by highly desirable, but will be impossible as long as they remain hostile.

Census of India, 1901, Vol. III, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by Sir RICHARD C. TEMPLE, pp. 4, 52—53, 68—90, 117—121. 113

Census of India, 1911, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by R. F. LOWIS, pp. 7, 31—39, 82—83.

Census of India, 1921, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by R. F. LOWIS, pp. 5, 39—43.

Census of India, 1931, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by M. C. C. BONINGTON, pp. 8—9, 15—16, 23.

A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN, *Notes on the Languages of the Andaman Islands*, Anthropos, vol. IX, 1914, pp. 38—39.
The Andaman Islanders, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1933, pp. 86, 410, 413—415, 423, 432—433, 439—440.

North Sentinel Island

North Sentinel is an island of about 30 square miles west of the 101
southern tip of Great Andaman. It has been briefly visited by Govern- [131]
ment officers on various occasions, but it seems that no contacts were [648]
ever made with the natives, except on December 27th, 1886, when the Ongi, who accompanied PORTMAN on his trip, "caught" some of them (Census of India, 1901, p. 92). From PORTMAN's report it does not become clear whether or not he saw these temporary captives himself. Our knowledge of the culture is restricted to a few observations on their material possessions. The communal huts differ from those of the rest of the Andamanese. The canoes differ from those of both Great and Little Andaman, but are more like those of the latter. The bows resemble those of the Jarawa and Ongi. On the [197]
basis of this it is assumed that the natives are related to the Jarawa and Ongi, but PORTMAN's Ongi companions are said to have found that the persons whom they had caught talked "an entirely different language".

In 1901 the number of the natives was estimated as 117. This 161
estimate was based on the area of the island and the assumption that the density of the population was approximately the same as that of great Andaman in precolonial times. The figure was not changed in either 1911 or 1921. In 1931 the number was estimated as 50 "on conclusions arrived at from several visits during the last decade and after counting the number of huts found and the sleeping places", but it is said that this does not necessarily mean a decrease in population. "It is believed that the population is stationary, for

161 the Sentinel islanders have been kept free from direct contact with civilization".

114 181 [48] In the Census Report of 1931 it is said that the natives "like the Jarawas are entirely hostile", but no reason is given for this statement. Previous visitors found them exceedingly shy, but not hostile. When seeing foreigners, they simply fled into the jungle. M. C. C. BONIG who visited North Sentinel Island on the 10th of March, 1911, in the course of that year's Census operations, wrote:

"The people appear very timid and it seems not unlikely that if they are approached frequently with presents, they will become friendly of their own accord".

114 No information on North Sentinel Island more recent than the 1931 Census Report has come to our knowledge. If the situation has not changed since then, the culture of its natives should be completely intact and untouched by outer influences — a unique case among the primitive tribes of southern Asia. Here, therefore, is a truly ideal opportunity for anthropological research.

113

Census of India, 1901, Vol. III, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by Sir RICHARD C. TEMPLE, pp. 4, 92 (PORTMAN's visit).

Census of India, 1911, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by R. F. LOWIS, pp. 28—29 (BONIG's Report).

Census of India, 1931, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by M. C. C. BONINGTON, pp. 22—23.

A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN, *The Andaman Islanders*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1933, pp. 412—413, 422—423, 491—492.

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

language could have been learnt by now since they are friendly. There has not been any attempt to communicate with the Jarawa through the medium of the Onge language, which could be tried with the help of loudspeakers installed at suitable places in reply to the buttress beatings of the Jarawa. Prior to this an aerial survey of the Jarawa villages or camps would be necessary. Some food, clothing or other such articles might be air-dropped during this aerial survey. Along with the articles to be air-dropped some pictures showing symbols of friendship, such as the Andamanese and the Onge way of sitting upon one another's laps, might be included. Some pictures showing the Indian manner of greeting one another, for instance that of saluting each other with folded hands, might also be considered.

The local government appears to be very much in favour of capturing the Jarawa alive and then letting them off with presents after kind treatment. Since the capture of the Jarawa from South Andaman is not an easy problem – as may be seen from the Census Reports of the last sixty years – we might try this method of approach with the Jarawa of North Sentinel Island, where such captures appear to be comparatively easier.

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10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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(1) *The Period of Seclusion and Piratical Disturbances*

In this period of seclusion, people had some knowledge of these islands from the travellers, traders and sea-pirates owing to the central position of the islands on the trade routes of India, Burma and the Far East. The islands were inhabited exclusively by the aborigines. Mention of these islands dates back to the 2nd Century A. D. in the writings of Claude Ptolemy. The map referred to, in his writings, indicates the Islands of Buzacata to be in the place of the Andaman Islands and it is said that this island produces quantities of shells and the inhabitants go naked and are called Agmatae. It is believed that the Island of Buzacata means to refer to the Andaman Islands and such a peculiar name (Buzacata) has been achieved through the originality of the cartographer.

Later mentions of these islands are found in the collection of early Arab notes of the 9th Century on India and China which were translated by Eus. Renaudat and the people of the Andamans have been called Angamanians. Further mention of the islands is made by two Mohammedan travellers (Pemberton's General Collection of voyages and travels), Chinese Buddhist Monk I'Tsing (672 A.D.), Marco Polo (1286 A.D.), Friar Odcric (1322 A.D.), Nicolo Conti (1430) etc. From most of their writings it was evident that the islands were inhabited by very ugly brutes who would eat up any man whom they could lay hands on. Nevertheless, this was a land of riches and was named the "Island of Gold." An idea of the knowledge of these islands in the early days can be had from the notes of Marco Polo, a portion of which is quoted below.

"Angamanian is a very long island. The people are without a king and are idolaters and no better than wild beasts. All the men of this island of Angamanian have heads like dogs, and teeth and eye likewise; in fact, in the face they are just like big mastiff dogs. They have a quantity of species; but they are a most cruel generation, and eat everybody that they can catch, if not of their own race. They live on flesh and rice and milk and have fruits different from any of ours."

[648] These types of early notes by different travellers are largely written from second hand knowledge and tales current in the neighbouring countries of the Andamans viz. Malaya, Siam, etc. Mr. Portman[1] opines

[113] 1 Portman, M. V.—A history of our relations with the Andamanese.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P. 11]

CHAPTER III

PHYSICAL SET-UP

The Andaman & Nicobar Islands form a part of the continuous ridge which runs form the Cape Negrais of Burma through the Preparis and Coco Islands to the Andamans and continues further to the Nicobars and Sumatra. The whole ridge has a geological affinity with the Arakan Yoma of Burma and Sumatra and Java. The ridge is primarily of Eocene formation and forms a part of the great Alpine-Himalayan system. Prof. Gregory holds the view that "the main line continues eastward through the Himalaya until the resistance of the Chinese plateau has traced it southward and part of it now lies beneath the Bay of Bengal, it reappears in Sumatra and continues through Java and across the Malaya Archipelago."[1] But some modifications of Gregory's view have been achieved and presently it is believed that this ridge is a loop of the main Himalayan axis comparable to the Persian loop in western Asia and Apennine loop in Europe.[2] The ridge is not continuous but is interrupted in many places, of which the 3 main channels are worth considering. The depth of the channels increases from north to south. 133

(1) Preparis channel in between north and south Preparis islands has a depth of over 500 fathoms.

(2) The Degree Channel, between the Andamans and the Nicobars, is approximately 400 fathoms deep.

(3) Great Channel lying between Great Nicobar Island and Sumatra is about 750 to 800 fathoms deep.

The peaks of the mountains now form the islands and in some places the coastline slopes very steeply to the ocean.

GEOLOGY OF THE ANDAMANS

The present knowledge of the geology of the islands is largely the outcome of the investigations done by R. D. Oldham (1885), Kurz (1868), Gee, and G. H. Tipper. Even at present a thorough geological knowledge of the islands has not been achieved and this has been due to a number [114]

1. Gregory, J. W.—The Structure of Asia, London, Methuen.
2. Swell, R. B. (1925)—Geography of the Andaman Basin, Geographic and Oceanographic Researches in Indian waters, Mem. Asiatic. Soc Bengal IX, No. 1. [113]

[text continues on p. 13]

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

of reasons. Firstly, a thorough survey of the islands is very difficult because of the dense forests and hostile aborigines. Secondly, the Government also cared little to take pains for initiating such a work. Regarding the inconveniences of geologising Tipper writes "the thickness of the jungles may be judged from the fact that our rate of progress varied from half a mile to a mile an hour. The dense jungle with a lack of exposures made geologising very difficult."[1] 133 114

Rink first postulated that the Andaman-Nicobar ridge was elevated to its present height from ocean bottom. He describes the chain of islands as consisting "partly of those stratified deposits which occupied the level bottom of the sea before their appearance. and partly of plutonic rocks which pierced through the former and came to the surface through upheaval. 133

To the two above-mentioned formations has to be added a third. which is the result of the chemical and mechanical destruction of the plutonic masses; it is local and consists of clays and pebbles derived from the underlying strata."

On the whole, the mountain ranges of the Andamans are of sandstones of Eocene Age with intensive rocks of serpentine in places. Large parts of the North Andaman have been grouped under the Archipelago Series by Oldham. Tipper considers the conglomerates of North and Middle Andamans as a facies of the Eocene deposit. Between the mountain ranges which run north to south, some undulating ground is found which often consists of impermeable blue clay beds, indurated shales and conglomerates containing pebbles of quartz and jasper. Coral reefs and the raised beaches form the recent and sub-recent formation of the Andamans. The formation of the Andaman-Nicobar ridge has been assigned to late Cretaceous age.

Oldham has distinguished two sedimentary formations in the Andamans besides serpentine series. He named them as

(1) Port Blair Series, &

(2) Archipelago Series[2]

The Port Blair series is so named because it is dominant in and around Port Blair, i.e., in the South Andaman. The rock types are gray sandstones with interbedded slaty shales, frequently consisting nests

1. Tipper, G. H.—The geology of the Andaman Islands with reference to the Nicobars. Mem. Geol. Sur. Ind., Vol 35. Part 4. [113]

2. Oldham, R. D.—Notes on the Geology of the Andaman Islands, Rec. Geol. Sur. of Ind., Vol. 18, Part 3, 1885.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Hence the formation of the coral reefs and raised beaches can be accounted for only if we believe in the recent upheaval of the Andaman-Nicobar ridge. Let us see the evidences that are in favour of this upheaval and those against it. Swell and Tipper believe that the Andaman-Nicobar ridge has experienced an apparent elevation of land which is only possible through the eustatic change of water-level. They have put forward a number of arguments that are as follows: 133

(1) The formation of coral reefs is possible only if there be an apparent or true elevation of the land.

(2) Throughout the tropical belt there are evidences of an apparent elevation of land in comparatively recent times.

(3) At the South West corner of Rutland Island in the Andaman Group, there is a raised pebble beach, situated 5'-6" above the top-level.

(4) At the southwest end of the westermost of the Twin Islands, off the west side of the Rutland Island, is a raised beach of shingle-conglomerates, about 6' ft. above high water-mark. This apparent upheaval of the land i.e. fall of the sea-level is believed to have been caused by the climatic fluctuations in the Quaternary period causing glacial and interglacial periods which resulted in a fall and rise of the water-level respectively.

But Kurz (1868) does not believe in the recent upheaval of the Andamans, but he holds the opposite view. The advocacy of Kurz in favour of the sinking of the Andamans is also due to a number of reasons.

Kurz had his conclusion from the botanical aspect of the coastal region. Kurz says, "some of the stumps of the trees (along the shore) proved to belong to such species as never grew in the mangrove swamps, and in any locality such as that in which they are now standing. They appeared to me to belong to *Pongamia, Erythrina, Thesperia* and even to *Manusops Indica,* accompanied by strongly buttressed trunks. Also trunks of *Bruguiera-gymnarhiza* are frequent and of a larger size than those which grow close to the shores but apparently agreeing with those which are everywhere found further up the creeks. All these (except the last mentioned) are trees which never occur in the mangrove swamps, but in the sandy soil just behind them or else bordering the sea where the shores are very steep and not adapted to the formation of mangrove swamps."[1] This evidently leads one to believe that the 133 137

1. Kurz. S—On the vegetation of the Andaman Islands, Calcutta.

[113]

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

133 [137] Andamans are sinking so that the trees which are found in the sandy soils behind the mangrove swampo are seen to be amidst them.

The sinking state of the Andamans has been further shown by quoting the reports of the Andaman Committee (1858)[2]. It is stated that the sea had encroached upon some 40′ or 50′ feet since the first settlement at Chatham Island in Port Cornwallis so that the store house that stood up there has been destroyed by the sea since the abandonment of the place since 1796. Again the Hamfray's strait changed a good deal in a very short margin of time. The easiness with which Helfer[3] in 1858 sailed through the strait became unnavigable later on except for small boats, as pointed out by the Andaman Committee. These facts not only prove the sinking state of the islands but also the rapidity with which the sinking is taking place. But the view has been strongly disputed by Tipper and Swell. Swell believes that whatever evidence that is found in favour of sinking is completely due to local change of level and Tipper argues that the coastal regions have slipped downwards to the sea giving rise to the evidences of sinking. He says that the structure of the Andamans may allow such slips into the sea.

Thus the enigma of the problem remains unsolved. Even in recent years the Ross Island off the Port Blair coast has been found to sink down into the sea. We have to scrutinize that this sinking which is evidenced in many parts of the Andamans is whether due to a new phase of sinking after the cessation of the upheaval of the islands which created the coral reefs, raised beaches etc. or due to the slip of the coastal region into the sea.

The direct connection of the Andaman and Nicobar islands with the mainland is still a controversial matter. But it is held by Mr. Kurz that the Andamans were connected with the mainlands which he concluded largely from his observations of the botanical aspect of the islands. In describing the flora of the Andamans he remarks "one may presume that a great number of species which originally grew in countries now submerged between these islands, Burmah and Hindoostan, have been repelled by the advancing sea and vegetation has thus become comparatively richer in generic types as the area grew smaller." Swell argues if at all any land connection of the islands with the mainland would have occurred, it would have surely been broken before the evolution of

[113] 2. Bonington, M.C.C.—The Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Census of India, 1931.

3. Helfer, a Russian geologist, while prospecting the islands in search of gold was killed by the aborigines.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

313 492 power in the forests. The net revenue of the forests from 1869 amounted to Rs. 45,65,764 inclusive of a capital asset of Rs. 21,39,983.

313 The present day forest exploitation has to some extent been revitalised with the introduction of regenerating processes and use of disel engines for the trams carrying logs from the spot of exploitation to the jetty wherefrom it is carried down to Port Blair for sawing and finally exported to the mainland and London. The working of the forest in the Andamans and its preparation for marketing undergo a number of stages. After a proper survey, a spot of exploitation is selected where a forest camp is opened near the jetty with a sufficient strength of imported labourers from India. The forest camps are erected with local timber and the exploitation proceeds from the spot in the immediate neighbourhood of the jetty (exclusive of the mangrove forests) to the interior regions. Along with the expansion of the exploitation area, tram lines are laid down from the jetty onwards. The felling is done by chiselling the trunk of the trees and then it is pulled by a few elephants for breaking it down. This completes the felling of the tree and after properly cutting all the branches, the logs are carried by an elephant with the help of his trunk and are unloaded from the tram. Afterwards, it is taken to the jetty where 313 505 the logs are again unloaded and rafted in a tank-landing craft to make them ready for transportation to Chatham Island where it is shown into standard size (not always) and is exported to the markets. The transportation of the logs from the spot of exploitation to Port Blair is always done on water ways. The success in the transportation of the logs have been facilitated by the innumerable harbours and creeks making easy the passage of the boat into the interior parts of the islands and it is found that the average drag seldom exceeds a mile and at the same time exploitation requires some experience of local conditions and foresight, as the coastal areas are exposed to the open seas and advantage has to be taken of the different seasons of the year to work in different tracts.

313 433 The yield of merchantable timber is only 15 tons per acre. An assessment of the future potentialities of merchantable timber with the introduction of the present method of regeneration has been given by Sri Chengapa[1]. The sustained or perpetual yield of the forests is about 135,000 tons per year and according to him, with the introduction of the present method of regeneration, the yield per acre is expected to be as much as 75 tons per acre, a five fold increase of the present yield. The

[113] 1 Chengapa, B. S. — The Andaman forests and their development; Census of India, 1951, Volume XVII, Andaman & Nicobar Islands by A. K. Ghosh.

10:Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

313 (4) The amount of exploitation of timber in the Andamans reflects the nature of demand and its amount. The demand being highly elastic so long, the exploitation, in consequence, has suffered. The sale system of timber is far from satisfactory as the prices of the timbers are informed by the farms who buy them and on this basis the prices of the timbers are fixed and Sri Shivdasani writes[1] that "the purchasers themselves are the suppliers of information on which the department fixes the price. The effect of refusal to sell to anyone who wants the produce is to eliminate one of the main price determining factors i.e., extent of demand. The tendency of selected purchasers who become middlemen and pass on the timber to consumers after keeping a profit for themselves is to be more interested in buying those varieties of timber produced that have the best market. At the hands of the selected purchasers the marketing of Andaman timber cannot receive the attention required to ensure that as many categories as possible are sold. The interests and profit of the selected purchasers came first. Not only are they in a position to obtain disproportionate profit but the fixing of the price of such an important commodity being left to negotiations between one officer and interested purchasers is fraught with other dangers also."

(5) The problem of labour supply is also not satisfactory. Local labourers are not available because of their reluctance to do all these jobs. Labourers are to be brought from the mainland and they are either Ranchi or South Indian labourers.

The immediate steps that should be taken for the proper working of the forest are the fundamental change in the sale-system, addition of transports facilities from the Andamans to the mainland, formation of a permanent source of local labourers and proper surveys before the forests are worked. Regeneration of the forests have been introduced in recent times. The over importance given by the Forest Department to a few farms in the sale of Andaman timbers has led the department to be a tool in the hands of the farms. The sale of these timbers should be made to any farm found suitable by the Forest Department after proper consideration and the fixation of the price should also be determined by the department.

Unless the transportation facilities of timbers from the islands to the mainland are increased, the amount of forest working can hardly

[113] 1 Shivdasani, H. R.—Report on the possibilities of Colonization and development of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, 1949.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P. 46]

CHAPTER VII

MINERAL RESOURCES

135 The mineral resources in the Andamans were believed to be bountiful. There had been mentions in the earlier notes of many travellers and historians (e.g. Nicolo Conti) about the richness of the islands in gold and they have gone so far as to call these islands as the "Island of Gold". But unfortunately no gold has yet been found in the Andamans nor is there any reason to suppose that it will be found. In this [648] connection it may be recalled that Dr. Helfer, a Russian Geologist was killed by the aborigines while he was making geological prospecting in search of gold. M. V. Portman discovered specimens of various minerals in the neighbourhood of Port Blair and they are chromium, copper, iron and sulphur. As such the land seemed to be sufficiently promising and Mr. Mallet[1] proceeded to Port Blair for further investigations. But unfortunately no important deposit of any mineral has been found to occur except some nests of lignite and bands of pure limestone in scattered places and in the serpentine rocks specially in the northeast part of Rutland occur small crystals of bronzite.

A few miles south of Port Blair near about Rangachang, highly altered and eruptive rocks are found being traversed by veins, the main constituent of which is hematite, but which consist of a considerable portion of pyrite (iron pyrites) and chalcopyrite (copper pyrite) in much smaller quantity.

Of the above-mentioned minerals, none are found to be economically exploitable. It has been argued that the Andamans cannot be rich in minerals because the Arakan Yoma of Burma also shows a barrenness in minerals and the only ores which need be noticed for practical purposes are those of tin, iron, lead, copper, antimony, none of which save iron, are known west of Sittang. But the apparent barrenness of the Arakan hills, however, can not be taken as conclusively proving that the Andamans are equally unproductive. It is believed that the Japanese carried out a full mineral survey of the islands and are reported to have found deposits including coal, iron and precious stones.

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[113] 1. Mallet, F. L. On some of the mineral reasources of the Andaman Islands in the neighbourhood of Port Blair, Rec. G.S.I. Vol. XVII, 1884.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

original type can still be found in the Little Andaman. The similarity of the arrows are also striking and this has been rightly observed by Dr. Cipriani,[1] 'Similarity also with the arrows. This consists of a barbed detachable head connected to the shaft by a string. The harpoon arrow like its near relative and probable forefather, the harpoon spears, offers an interesting question in ethnography. Although the Andamans are widely separated from Malaya and Malaya from the Philippines, the three groups of negritoes have harpoon arrows, while such weapons do not seem to be present in other regions of Asia.' The huts of the Andamanese are also the outcome of further improvements over the original negrito shelter found among the other negrito groups.

In the general habits and the modes of living, a good deal of similarity if not identity is maintained with the other negritoes. But changes and modifications have crept up among the different groups in response to the different environments. Some of the original habits have been totally forgotten and some equipments have been further improved upon or in some cases, totally forgotten. The Jarawas, who are believed to have arrived in the Great Andamans from the South had the knowledge of construction and use of the canoes which served as the means of their movement from the south to the north, have totally forgotten both the construction and use of it.

Though the changes brought about among the Andamanese in response to the environment and time is in no way inconsiderable to give them an impress of individuality, little room for doubt is left that they belong to the big family of the negritoes whose remnants are only found to-day scattered over the different parts of southeast Asia.

Origin of the Andamanese

The presence of such a small group of negritoes in the deep solitude of physical separation from the other countries obviously arouses the question as to how and wherefrom they came. The attributes of the Andamanese, prove very well their affinity with the negrito groups. Much to the curiosity of the observers, the tribal people of the Nicobar Islands do not show any affinity with the Andamanese culturally or materially and such contrasts are important aspects of anthropological study. However, the distribution of the negrito group in these isolated islands have been explained by some as the passage of the people from the Lower reaches of Burma and it is accepted with greater unanimity be-

1 Cipriani, L—On the origin of the Andamanese, Andaman & Nicobar Islands, Census of India, 1961.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

is not in accordance with the opinion that the Andamanese are descendants of shipwrecked Portuguese Negro slaves.' Though this process seems to be very crude for the determination of the exact date of the arrival of the Andamanese, a rough guess can very well be made. Cipriani has also advocated the measurement of the residual radioactivity of charcoal at different levels for the determination of the antiquity of the Andamanese. It is quite obvious that further research in these lines in the future can only give us a more precise idea about the date of the arrival of the aborigines. 172 174

The region wherefrom the oborigines arrived and the route of their migration are also matters of considerable controversy. It is believed that the Andaman and Nicobar islands were connected by land with the Arakan folds of Burma in the late Tertiary period, but this is also not very certain. According to Brown, the authority on the anthropology of the Andamans, the negritoes migrated from the Arakan region of Burma if there had been any land connection and if not, they migrated, not by land, but by sea from the Burmese coast (Pegu or Arakan). Brown says, 'The N. E. Monsoon could drift them thence on to the Andamans. It is conceivable that they might have travelled from Sumatra by the way of the Nicobars but the N. E. Monsoon would have appeased their progress in this direction while the S. W. Monsoon would have driven them to the coast of the Andamans. It is hardly possible to imagine them coming from the Malaya Peninsula across the wide stretch of the Andaman Sea. The balance of possibility is in favour of the view that the Andamans were peopled either by land or by sea, from the region of the Lower Burma.'[1] It is probable that the negritoes moved from Burma either at a time when a direct land connection was achieved or when shallow waters in the sea facilitated movement by the rafts of the aborigines, but the former has been considered to be thoroughly untenable because of the absence of any mammalia in the Andamans and this proves that if at all there had been any land connection of Burma and Andamans, it must have been before the evolution of the mammalia. The deep sea researches of Molengraaf (1921) have been utilised by Kaudern (1939)[2] to interpret the probable routes of migration of the negritoes into the Andaman Islands. In the Quaternary period, there had been alternating glacial and interglacial periods because of the 174 174 133

1 Brown, A. R—The Andaman Islands.

2 Kaudern, W—Notes on the geographical distribution of the pygmies and their possible afflicties; Etno. Stud. 8, 1939. [113]

10:Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

174 133 change of the climate. In the glacial period, there had been a fall in the level of the sea because of the fact that a great volume of water of the sea had transformed into ice. Hence in one such glacial period, as believed by Kaudern, there was a fall of 300 metres in the sea-level which established a direct contact with Burma facilitating the movement of the negritoes into the islands. But the absence of the Negrito group in the Nicobar Islands, only about 100 miles off the Andamans, invokes inquiry. This conspicuous absence of the negritoes in the Nicobars has been explained by Kaudern in this way:

'If the pygmies, when they migrated from the continent towards the south, were able to reach the former (the Andamans) but not the latter islands (the Nicobars), it meant that there has been at some time a fall of sea level of nearly 300 metres, but not as much as 800 metres in these tracts.'[1] As the Ten Degree channel exists between the Andamans and the Nicobars, the movement of the Negritoes further south was stopped.

174 There has been an attempt of linking up some of the tales of Hindu Mythology, Ramayana with the land and people of the Andamans. Detection of such a link has been speculated in search of the origin of the aboriginal population. Though there is no room for doubt of the affinity of the aborigines of the Andamans with the negritoes, as established from the studies of the physical and cultural anthropology, Shri S. K. Gupta, though not an anthropologist, has been a strong advocate of the opinion that the aborigines of the Andamans are the 'kiratas' of Ramayana. He writes, 'According to modern anthropology they are of the negrito stock. But according to Ramayana they are kiratas. These kiratas have been described in our literature as shiny black, with a copper coloured head of hair (Tamramurdhaja), bulging eyes, strong teeth. The description recorded several thousands years ago, holds good to-day All these tribes have copper coloured curly short hair growing as it were in separate insulated tufts."[2] Further knowledge about them is that they live on meat and fish.

The affinity of the Andamanese has been further confirmed by citing some native appellations of the Andamanese which show a striking phonetical similarity to those of the kiratas e.g., *Aka-kora* (*da*). *Aka-kede* (*da*), *Aka-kol* (*da*) etc and also the phonetical similarity of the Onge word *Boan* with Santal word *Bonga* both signifying God.

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[113] 1 Kaudern, W—Notes on the geographical distribution of the pygmies etc, Etno. Stud. 9, 1939.

2 Gupta, S. K—Andaman & Nicobar Islands, 1951.

10:Sen K-3,4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

105 177 439 of all these things, locally not available, was felt by the aborigines only due to their slight contact with the later settlers.

However, a broad two-fold division of the aboriginal population can be made.

101 174

1. Aborigines of the Great Andaman Group—All the aborigines of the Great Andamans with the exception of the Jarawas, the most hostile aborigines living in the southwestern part of the Andamans.

2. Aborigines of the Little Andaman Group—the Onges of the Little Andaman, the Jarawas of the South Andaman & the Sentinelese of the North Sentinel island.

As to how these two groups came into being and their areas of distribution, various theories have been put forward. Long after the attainment of the individual traits of these two groups, a continuous northward movement of the aborigines from the Little Andaman was in vogue and one such party had arrived in the Great Andamans who have been lately known as the Jarawas, who were all along subjected to pressure of the local natives belonging to the Great Andaman Group, the *Aka bea* of South Andaman. The very development of the hostility of the Jarawas and their complete seclusion from the other aboriginal groups owe to their being continuously subjected to the adversities. B. V. Eickstedt[1] has been of the opinion that the aborigines of the Andamans entered into the Great Andamans in two groups—the earlier group comprises the Onge, Jarawas and the Sentinelese while to the later group belong the ancestors of the Great Andaman Group. The passage of the Great Andaman Group has led to a constant southward push of the earlier group which has ultimately led to their habitation in the islands of the south i.e., the Little Andaman, Rutland Island and a part of the South Andaman. Cipriani has been emphatic enough in justifying the views of Brown that the Jarawas reached the Great Andamans from the south. Though they are supposed to have come from the Great Andamans by canoes, the art of constructing canoes and of using them have been completely forgotten and Cipriani believes that such instances of the loss of knowledge of the construction of canoes and their uses are many. A list of the names of the camps, given by Cipriani in the 1951 census, dating back to antiquity and having a good supply of drinking water and of

101 174 182 501

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1 Eickstedt, B. V—Die Negrite der Andaman (Anthro Ans).

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge.

621 rather than order is given by the leader. Cipriani observes.[1] "For
622 instance, it is very amusing for them to think that a man gives orders to others. This means that they have no real chiefs. A so-called Onge
[592] chief, or raja, is only the head of a group of families living in the same communal hut, and giving not orders but only advice. It is the most experienced man who is considered chief in the hut, but his authority if at all never goes beyond that hut. In other words no real chief exists in the Little Andaman. Notwithstanding this, there is a perfect order in the island, because nobody interferes with the work or encroches upon what can be considered the rights of others."

124 As is common to most of the aborigines, the Onges are generally
162 not very receptive when the questions about their numbers and other groups are enquired. The headman says that there are many many fifty Onges. However the number of the Onges are approximately 600.

22 As regards the mode of living of the Onges, the hunting and collec-
231 ting are the basis of their economy. The domestication of the plants
241 i.e. art of agriculture is not known to them and it is only 30 years back, the dogs arrived in the island and have been domesticated by the Onges for chasing the pigs, their main prey. In the absence of agriculture, the natural products of the sea and the forest provide them with all
[262] their items of diet. Animal and vegetable products and honey are the main items of their diet and there has been, so far, no introduction of salt in their diet. The most important victims of their hunting are pigs and turtles, the former is chased by dogs and are killed with great
252 cruelty. The cooking of the fish, meat, roots, tubers, jackfruits etc are
251 done by putting them under fire. Preservation of foodstuffs is not widely practised except the jackfruit seeds which are tied up in a small net inside water on the bank of some stream and taken out during rainy season, when the other vegetable foodstuffs are not available. On
146 the whole, the Onges have a very balanced diet with a fair richness of all the nutrients. In this connection the observations of Dr. Cipriani during his survey in the Little Andaman throws considerable light in
[157] their conditions of life. He has estimated the Onges as one of the happiest people of the world, who in spite of their primitive economy, are not the miserable victims of poor health, ill nutrition and oddities of life.

396 Some amount of artistry and craftsmanship have developed among these people. A canoe can be constructed by a man, all by himself from

[113] 1 Cipriani, L—Survey of Little Andaman during 1954; Bul. Dept. Anth.,

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
ONGE

the felling of the tree, chiselling the lumber and processing it further to give the shape of a canoe. Buckets of wood are also constructed by them from the softwood tree. Two types of baskets are made, the smaller ones are more well-finished than the bigger ones. The former is known as *tolcoaga* and the later *tole-laya*. Such activities have introduced the use of dahs, chisels, and iron files among the Onges, from the iron pieces derived from the sea shores. The other important pieces of their craftsmanship are the beautiful weavings of fibre, tussel of yellow fibre used by the women in their front. However, the art of making the earthen pots has been completely forgotten.

The leisure in their lives has helped the development of some amount of aesthetic senses among the Onges. All the Onges men and women shave their heads with flakes of glass, obtained from the sea-borne glass bottles. The body of the Onges are also painted with white clay which save their skin from insect-bite while red paint serves medicinal purposes if some individual is having fever. In times of mourning, red orchre paint is a taboo.[1]

Early marriage is the custom. The widows are looked down upon by the society. Some incidents of widow murder and drowning are heard. In the married life, the husband is devoted to his wife and both the husband and wife work for collecting their food.

Dances and songs are in vogue and there are practically songs for every occasion and activity. Most of their songs are more plaintive than joyous.

There are three broad divisions of the Onges of the Little Andaman :

(1) *Giremeka-Gobeule* group inhabiting the northeastern coast of the island ;

(2) *Engakwale group* live in the interior of the islands ; and

(3) *Gireraragobeule group* live in the southern and western coasts of the islands.

In spite of all the limitations, the Onges have been considered as one of the happiest people of the world with plenty of food and water to eat and drink and with very few social cankers to fight with. But as is common to all other aborigines of the Andamans, a decline in their number is discernible.

The Sentinelese

The Sentinelese are the least known of all the aborigines of the Anda-

1 The Onge of the Little Andaman—A short guide book ; Anthropological Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

The Andamanese are almost non-existent and at present only 23 are surviving. Sri Shivdasani writes,[1] "I met only 20 of them in the camp at Long Island and was surprised to see that the youngest child there was about 9 years old, possibly a half breed". This goes a long way to prove the extremely poor fertility of the Andamanese. This has been further substantiated by Dr. Sarkar on analysis of the reproductive capacities of 100 aboriginal women of the Andamans from the original data collected by Portman. 163

Table No. 2

Reproductive lives of the Andamanese Women.

	North Andamanese	South Andamanese
No. of women	50	50
Less married	4	1
	46	49
Unproductive marriages	21	17
	25	32
Average children per mother	2.86	2.81
Average living children per mother	0.92	0.38
Sex-ratio	39m : 20f	52m : 38f
Net reproductive index	0.36	0.16

Source. Sarkar, S. S.—The origin and migration of the Negritoes in the Andaman Islands, Man in India, Vol. 33, No. 4, Oct-Dec, 1953. [113]

As is evident from the above table, of the 100 women, 38 had unproductive marriages and 5 remained unmarried. The case of 43 women out of 100 can easily be set apart because of their unproductivity. This high percentage of unproductivity is really an alarming factor and the average number of children per mother is 2.83 but the average number of living children per mother is less. This ultimately results in a decline in the population number.

The Jarawa population, according to the 1951 census, is estimated in between 300 and 400. Further details about their demographic characteristics are not available. 162

1 Shivdasani, H. R. Report of the possibilities of colonisation and development of the Andaman & Nicobar Islands, 1949.

10:Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

162 114 The Onge population has been estimated by various authorities and the surveys of Dr. Cipriani have brought to light some important characteristics of the Onge population. Cipriani has ascertained the total Onge population to be 607, of which 229 are adult males, 241 are adult women and 137 children. Of the 137 children, he has detected 48 boys and 62 girls and about the rest he is not sure. However, the procedure followed by Cipriani and the conclusions derived by him, which are contrary to the previous knowledge, have been vehemently criticised by Dr. Sarkar.[1] Sarkar opines that the procedure of enumeration by counting the number of sleeping places in a communal hut is liable to gross errors because of the roving nature of the Onges of whom an appreciable number has no sleeping place. The determination of the sex-ratio from the communal huts are also more difficult. As a matter of fact the precision of enumeration, as is apparent from the census of Cipriani, cannot be attained and the deficiencies in the procedure of Cipriani have very well been brought to light by questioning and ultimate rejection by arguments. He writes that, 'His (Cipriani's) account is difficult to follow. There are very few relevant data regarding the actual Onge population. He has estimated the population instead of giving a simple population figure for each of the Onge settlements he visited. His estimates are based on the number of sleeping places in a hut, though nothing definite could be found either with regard to the total number of communal huts or the sleeping places. Then to find out the sex of the individuals from the sleeping places seems preposterous. Cipriani (1956) estimates the total Onge population to be 607, comprising 229 adult males, 241 adult women and 137 children. He was able to determine the sex of the children in about 80% of the cases, since immediately after the above quotation he states: 'Of the latter 48 are boys, 62 girls and of 27 sex could not be ascertained.' In the same paper and just two sentences before, where he gave the above figures, he mentioned a total of 497 individuals, comprising 242 men and 255 women. If the latter figures are meant only for adults then with the addition of 137 children to the above adult population of 497, the total Onge population appears to be 634. Even then the discrepancies in the adult population remain to be explained; it adds up to 470 (229 males, 241 females) once and to 497 (242 males, 255 females) another time.

Secondly, the enumeration of Cipriani shows a higher feminine population, whereas as analysed by Dr. Sarkar, all the previous estimates

1 Sarkar, S. S—Analecta et Additamenta, Anthropos 55, 1960.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

of the Onges actually seen, show a predominance of males. The determination of sex-ratio by Cipriani is no doubt very much speculative in nature and as is evident from the extract of the comment of Dr. Sarkar, Cipriani himself has been contrary to his own versions, at times. All the previous censuses of the actual Onges met and counted show a predominance of males and this happens to be the logical argument of Dr. Sarkar to conclude that the Onges population has been characterised by high masculinity. High masculinity always imply a very high predominance of males over females but never in the previous censuses we find such a high predominance. The census of Cipriani shows a slightly higher number of females than males and the attainment of such a slight predominance of females over males is never a physical impossibility. As such we may believe that there may be a slight predominance of females over males though the procedure adopted by Cipriani is by no means a precise one. 162 114

Dr. Sarkar, though apparently justified, totally rejects the procedure of Cipriani. Census of population is in itself a very difficult job and it is always liable to errors even in the advanced countries. Therefore, the enumeration of Dr. Cipriani is highly praiseworthy and because of the difficulties of contacting all the Onges the enumeration of the communal huts and the number of sleeping beds are no doubt very important clues for an intelligent guess about their number.

Though Dr. Sarkar pleads for the predominance of males by taking into account the number of Onges actually seen and counted (which show a predominance of males), the research expeditions undertaken by Sri R. C. Nigam[1] under the auspices of the Anthropological Survey of India in March, 1955 and December, 1956 made him fairly well-acquainted with the island of Little Andaman. From his own actual counting, a higher number of females have been counted than males. He was able to contact 161 Onge individuals of which 138 belonged to the 45 family units and the rest were 'unattached'[2] individuals i.e., widows, unmarried 162

1 Nigam, R. C.—Little known tribes of the Andaman Islands—Their problems and prospect; Vanyajati; Vol. VIII, January, 1960, No. 1; Vol. VIII, April, 1960, No. 2 and Vol. VIII, July, 1960, No. 3. [113]

2 A family is considered to be comprised of parents and children whereas, if the father or mother of a family is dead, the members have been called as 'unattached' type by R. C. Nigam.

166 All the evidence points to this being far more than mere supposi-
[174] tion and even today the Onges persist in their tendency to expand towards the north. In 1953 I could find no trace of a number of Onges whom I had known in 1952; the others told me they were all 'dead', but it seems probable that they had migrated to the islands further north. And in 1954 nearly all the canoes belonging to the communal huts in the south-west of Little Andaman, which I had seen in 1953, had vanished and were said to have gone with the 'dead'. It is probable that they too had migrated to Great Andaman, becoming 'Jarawas'.

166 This is physically quite possible. Between Little Andaman and
484 Great Andaman the Onges have a line of transit camps, still in use,
[485] where food and water are easily available. All have a name, and I
[501] followed the line myself. With the help of their fragile but very fast canoes, and without carrying food or water (which they know will be available at the next transit camp), they can travel very quickly.
[372] They take fire with them in the canoes in the form of a burning torch and while they are at sea, unlike the lazy pace of their normal attitude to life, they seem possessed by the desire to reach the next stopping point on terra firma.

174 Moreover, one may deduce from the fact that the names of these
166 transit camps are all in the Onge language that the migrations have always been from south to north. Little Andaman, formed as it is mainly of coral banks and only projecting a short way above the sea, disappears from view in the tropical mists a few kilometres from the shore; from Rutland it is invisible, and as the Andamanese only travel by sea with land in sight or when its existence and direction is well known, no one from the north would have dared to travel south into the unknown.

We have already seen that the ignorance of the present-day Jarawas as regards the sea is no bar to a hypothesis of their original
[175] arrival in Great Andaman by sea. Colebrook, a hundred and fifty
[501] years ago, actually saw them with canoes, and Gilbert Rogers[1]
[178] recorded seeing canoes on the coasts of North Sentinel very similar to those of the Onges today. The accumulation, therefore, of this
[184] evidence and the general similarity of culture throughout the archipelago all adds up to inescapable conclusions.

000 Even the unique dances enjoyed by the Onges are to be seen

[113] [1] *Andaman and Nicobar Gazetteer*, 2 January 1904.

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1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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PREFACE

122 THIS book contains some part of the results of anthropological research carried out in the Andaman Islands in the years 1906 to 1908, under the terms of the Anthony Wilkin Studentship in Ethnology of the University of Cambridge. The funds supplied by the studentship were supplemented by grants from the Royal Society and from the government of India. In its original form the monograph was presented as a fellowship thesis at Trinity College. The work of rewriting it was interrupted by absence from England and was only completed in 1914. There has since been a long delay in publication as a result of the war.

127 The book deals with the social institutions of the tribes of the Great Andaman. These had previously been studied by Mr E. H. Man to whose work I have been obliged to make many references in order that my account may be as complete as 114 possible. I should have preferred to devote my attention almost exclusively to the natives of the Little Andaman, about whom very little is known. I found, however, that it was not possible in the time at my disposal to do any satisfactory work amongst these people owing to the difficulty of language. The natives of [197] the Little Andaman know no language but their own, and that is so little related to the languages of the Great Andaman that even a thorough knowledge of the latter is of almost no use in an attempt to learn the former. I spent nearly three months camped with natives of the Little Andaman, giving most of the time to learning their language. No one who has not actually made the attempt to learn the language of a savage people without the help of an interpreter, can form an adequate idea of the difficulties of the task. At the end of three months I found that at the same rate of progress it would take me two or three years to learn to speak the language sufficiently well to begin to

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114 question the natives about their customs and beliefs and understand their answers. I was therefore regretfully compelled to give up the idea of making a study of the people of the Little Andaman, and devoted the remainder of my time to the study of the tribes of the Great Andaman, particularly those of the North Andaman among whom Mr Man had not worked. I kept one boy from the Little Andaman with me for some months in the hope that he would learn sufficient Hindustani to act as an interpreter and so enable any future investigator to begin work with the great advantage that I had lacked.

124 [191] In my work amongst the natives of the Great Andaman I at first made use of Hindustani, which the younger men and women all speak more or less imperfectly, and gradually acquired a knowledge of the dialects of the North Andaman. Towards the end of my stay in the islands I was able to obtain the services as interpreter of a man of the *Akar-Bale* tribe who spoke English well and was of considerable intelligence. He is shown in the photographs of Plates V and XIII. With his help I was able to do some work with the *Akar-Bale* and *A-Pučikwar* tribes, and I found that with such an interpreter I was able to obtain much fuller and more reliable results than I could by using my own knowledge of the native language supplemented by Hindustani. If I had had his services from the outset my work would have been much easier and more thorough.

128 The results of my researches on the physical anthropology of the Andaman Islanders have not been published. I hoped to be able to obtain the services of some one more competent in such matters than myself to assist or direct me in the measurement and study of the collection of skulls and skeletons that I brought to England and that is now in the Anthropological Museum at Cambridge. In this I was disappointed, and absence from England has prevented me from completing my work in this branch of research.

The languages of the Andaman Islands are chiefly of interest as affording material for the study of comparative grammar and

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177 are employed in collecting trepang (bêche de mer) under the direction of petty officers, who are natives of India or Burma. The trepang, together with wild honey and shells collected by the Andamanese, is sold, and the money is devoted to the service of the Andamanese Department. There is also a grant of money from the Government of India, in return for which the Officer in Charge must, when necessary, provide Andamanese to track and capture any convicts who may run away from the Penal Settlement. The funds thus made available serve to provide the natives with blankets, cloth, iron tools and scrap iron, rice, sugar, tea and tobacco. The result of this system is that there is a free circulation of natives in all parts of the Great Andaman. Whereas, formerly, the natives kept carefully to their own part of the country, they now make long journeys, either in their own canoes, or in Government launches, and members of the northern tribes are to be found at Port Blair and elsewhere in the south, while men and women of the southern tribes are to be found engaged in collecting trepang in the north.

The natives of the Little Andaman have as yet scarcely been affected by these changes. Within recent years, however, some of the natives of the northern part of the Little Andaman have been in the habit of making periodical visits to Rutland Island in their canoes, and occasionally come as far as Port Blair. Their chief reason for visiting the Settlement is to obtain iron for their arrows and adzes, but they have also begun to appreciate sugar and tobacco.

•114 The manners and customs of the Andaman Islanders have formed the subject of a number of writings. By far the most important of these is a work by Mr E. H. Man, who was for some years an officer of the Penal Settlement of Port Blair, and for four years of that time was in charge of the Andamanese Home. Mr Man made a special study of the language of the *Aka-Bea* tribe and compiled an extensive vocabulary, which, however, has never been published. His observations on the manners and customs of this tribe and others of the South Andaman were published in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* of the year 1882 (Volume XII), and were reprinted in the form of a book *On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the*

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Andaman Islands. As the reprint is difficult to obtain, the references to Mr Man's work in the chapters that follow are all to the pages of the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Volume XII. 114

Another writer on the Andamanese is Mr M. V. Portman, who was for some years an officer of the Andaman Commission, and was for a long time in charge of the Andamanese. His *Manual of the Andamanese Languages*, London, 1887, is full of errors and entirely unreliable. A later work, entitled *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes*, Calcutta, 1898, is of much greater value, and though not entirely free from errors, is on the whole useful and accurate. Mr Portman has also compiled *A History of Our Relations with the Andamanese* (2 volumes, Calcutta, 1899), which contains a mass of information on the subject with which it deals, but does not add very much to our knowledge of the Andamanese themselves. The British Museum possesses an excellent collection of photographs of the Andamanese taken by Mr Portman.

A good general description of the islands and of their inhabitants by Colonel Sir Richard Temple, who was for many years Chief Commissioner of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, is contained in Volume III of the *Census of India*, 1901, here referred to as "Census Report" 1901.

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PREFACE.

In a paper which I was invited to read before the Anthropological Institute on 24th May, 1880, I mentioned that it was my purpose to submit to their Council a monograph then in course of preparation on the aboriginal inhabitants of the Andaman Islands which would embody the results of observations which I had made during my residence in those Islands from 1869–1880. 114

The exceptional advantages I enjoyed for making careful and systematic study of various matters of ethnological interest will be readily recognised when it is known that for four successive years I had charge of the "Homes" erected by Government with a view to establishing more cordial relations between the aborigines and ourselves, and reclaiming them, if possible, to some degree of civilisation.

Being thus thrown constantly in contact, in the performance of my duties, with members of the various tribes who from time to time visited the Homes, special facilities were afforded me of preparing a vocabulary[1] of the language, which eventually contained some 6,000 words, of the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*, or South Andaman dialect with numerous illustrative phrases and a comparative table of several hundred words of most of the other dialects spoken in Great Andaman. Having thus acquired a colloquial knowledge of the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* language, I proceeded to collect as much information as possible in respect to the habits and customs of these savages, regarding whom only a few brief descriptive memoirs had appeared, leaving therefore a wide field for further research. In this interesting task I was greatly assisted by the excellent Manual of Anthropological Notes and

[1] This I hope to arrange for publication as soon as I can find sufficient leisure for the purpose.

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114 Queries drawn up by a committee appointed in 1872 by the British Association for the Advancement of Science; for I was thereby enabled to work on clearly defined lines.

The value of such systematic guidance as is afforded by this Manual can only be appreciated by those who have endeavoured to collect information from savages concerning the multifarious subjects possessing interest to ethnologists. I can but express my grateful acknowledgments to Lieut.-General Pitt Rivers, F.R.S. (secretary to the committee above referred to, and one of the principal contributors to the Manual) for having made me acquainted with the volume soon after the appearance of the first edition, which fortunately was coincident with my first experiencing the need of such a work.

I think it is due to the reader as well as to myself to explain that on all points where there appeared the least risk of falling into error, by directing inquiries among those long resident in our midst, I took the precaution of substantiating my observations by seeking information on such matters from natives of distant villages who from time to time happened to visit our Settlement; but in every instance, whatever the nature of the communication or the character of my informant, I recognised the necessity and importance of testing through other channels the truth and accuracy of every detail before finally accepting it.

000 During 1882[1] three evenings of the Anthropological Institute's session were devoted to the reading and discussion of portions of the paper which I had by that time prepared, and these have since appeared *in extenso* in the Institute's Journal for August and November, 1882, and February of the following year.

The division of the work into three parts[2] will thus be explained to the reader, while for convenience' sake I have, with the concurrence of the Council—to whom I am mainly indebted for the publication as a separate volume of this reprint from

[1] Viz., March 7th, April 25th, June 27th, 1882.

[2] In consequence of this arrangement it was found necessary to number the paragraphs so as to allow of references to the several sections in Parts 1, 2, and 3, the pagination of which it would have been impossible to ascertain in time for purposes of citation.

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PART II.

Language—Adoption—Relationships—Proper Names—Initiatory Ceremonies—Marriage—Death and Burial—Meeting and Parting, &c.—Fire—Superstitions—Religious Beliefs and Demonology—Mythology.

BEFORE we enter upon the consideration of the marital relations 197
customs, superstitions, traditions, and beliefs of these aborigines, I wish to say a few words in reference to the dialects or languages spoken by the various tribes, more especially the language spoken by the *bōjig-ngīji-*, or South Andaman tribe. As I shall presently show, the people themselves have a legend[1] to account for the linguistical distinctions existing in their midst; but, on a subject of such importance as the origin of an unwritten language, the traditions current among the savages who speak it have rarely, if ever, I believe, been known to throw any light.

Language.—1. A few short lists of Andamanese words have 192
been prepared from time to time, commencing, I think, with 114
Colebrooke, who visited the islands nearly a century ago; but

[1] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraphs 14 and 22.

[p. 49]

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192 owing to a variety of circumstances, not the least of which was the absence of any system of representing the sounds in the ●184 language—each author having chosen to employ a phonetic code best understood by himself and capable of varying interpretation by others—the result has been, to say the least, unsatisfactory, and the words for the most part are, in their printed form, either wholly unrecognisable by the people themselves, or possess a meaning differing very much from that given.

2. I do not make these remarks with a view of depreciating the efforts of others, for I fully recognise the difficulties with which they had to contend, and am aware that these exceeded any I have had to overcome, consequent on the improved relations which have subsisted between ourselves and the aborigines in recent years.

3. It must also be borne in mind that time necessarily works vast changes in all savage languages, which depend so entirely upon the oral correctness of the whole population for their accurate transmission.

128 4. As my knowledge of the other dialects is not as yet sufficient for me to be able to describe them comparatively at any length—leisure having failed me to obtain more than a few hundred words of five of the seven remaining tribes of Great Andaman—I wish it to be understood that, except where otherwise stated, my remarks refer to the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*, or South Andaman dialect.

192 5. The Andamanese are, as a rule, very conservative, and prefer to coin from their own resources rather than to borrow from aliens, words expressing ideas or objects which are new to them. To give only one of many examples:—having themselves no forms of worship, they had no word for "prayer," but since seeing the Mahomedans at their daily devotions, and learning that they are addressing an Invisible Being, they express the act by a compound word, *â·rlalik-yâ·b-*, signifying "daily repetition" (viz.: *â·rla-* daily, and *ik-yâ·b-* repetition).

533 6. They have also a distinct poetical dialect, and in their 195 songs subordinate everything to rhythm, the greatest liberties being thereby taken not only with the forms of their words, but even with the grammatical construction of the sentences. For instance the chorus of one of their songs runs thus:—

chēklū yâ lak·u mēj·rà?

which means "who missed the hard (backed) turtle?" the prose construction of the sentence being *mija yâ·dī chē·balen lâ·kàchī·re?* It will be at once noticed how great is the difference between the two versions, for in this, as in most of their songs,

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but widows generally marry again when the prescribed term has passed: this is not altogether due to inconstancy on the part of the fair (!) sex, but to the custom, to which allusion has before been made, which all but compels a bachelor or widower to propose to the childless widow of his elder brother or cousin (if she be not past her prime),[1] while she has no choice beyond remaining single or accepting him; should she have no younger brother-in-law (or cousin by marriage), however, she is free to wed whom she will.[2] 587 589

17. A young widow who is childless usually returns to the home of her girlhood; but, if elderly, she lives in one of the huts set apart for spinsters, and those who, situated like herself, are eligible for matrimony; during the period of her widowhood it devolves on one of her senior male relatives to act as her guardian; it is not considered decorous that any fresh alliance should be contracted until about a year has elapsed from the date of bereavement.

18. In the case of a widow who has children, it is customary for her to remain in the same community and keep house for her family; during widowhood—if her husband had been a chief or elder—she continues to enjoy the privileges accorded her in his lifetime. Should she re-marry and her husband happen to be a bachelor, or widower "without encumbrances," it is usual for him to join her community, and live in her hut, but if they both have families it becomes a matter of arrangement between them which establishment shall be given up. [591]

19. Some idea of the erroneous views formerly held respecting their marital relations will be gathered from the following extracts:—(*a*) "There is promiscuous intercourse save with the parent, which only ceases in regard to the woman when she is allotted as wife to a man, but is retained as the prerogative of the male sex."[3] (*b*) "Marriage, as we understand the word, is unknown to them, and there seem to be few restrictions of consanguinity, a mother and her daughter being sometimes the wives of the same husband."[4] A similar statement appears in Dr. Brown's work, and the source of both is probably to be found in the following passage in Dr. Mouat's book, in which he publishes several extraordinary stories told by an escaped 114

[1] It should be added that marriage with a deceased wife's younger sister is equally a matter of necessity on the part of a *childless* widower.

[2] A case of this kind came under my notice where a young man living at one of the homes was reluctantly married to the widow of an elder brother, or cousin, who was considerably his senior, and innocent of any attractions. This *mariage de convenance* proved by no means a happy one, though, so far as could be judged, neither had any just cause of complaint against the other.

[3] *Vide* Mouat.

[4] *Vide* Wood.

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114 convict Sepoy, named *Dúdhnáth*,[1] who had apparently spent about thirteen months with the aborigines, during the first two years of our settlement at Port Blair (1858-59):—"A man named *Pooteeah*, who doubtless considered him (*Dúdhnáth*) a desirable match, offered to bestow upon him, in what they called wedlock, his daughter *Hessa*, a young woman of twenty years of age, whose attractions were doubtless regarded as considerable among her native tribe, and a mere girl named *Zigah*, a daughter of *Hessa*, who, in that eastern part of the world, was considered quite old enough[2] for the state of marriage. As they were by no means troubled with an uneasy amount of virtue they made no objection to being assigned to the Brahmin soldier in the most unceremonious manner. The two, mother and daughter, at once recognised him as their husband." . . . .

20. The main feature of interest in this story is, however, somewhat marred when it is discovered that the woman (*.lī·pa*[3]), who was well known to us for many years subsequent to the establishment of the homes, was a girl of not more than seventeen at the time of *Dúdhnáth*'s escape, and that she had never been a mother prior to her marriage with him.[4] The child (*.yē·ga*, not *Zigah*) was merely living under *Lī·pa's* protection, and was employed, like all children, in helping to supply the wants of her guardians. The fact of child marriages—not to mention bigamy and concubinage—being quite unknown among them, affords additional support to this statement, which is the result of careful inquiry.

21. *Dúdhnáth* being of course aware of the ignorance which prevailed at the time regarding the habits and customs of the Andamanese, appears to have availed himself of the opportunity thus afforded him of drawing largely on his imagination, probably with the object of exciting as much interest as possible in his adventures, and perhaps also of amusing himself with the wonder created by his narrative. Some of his unrecorded[5] stories seem, however, to have been still more

[1] Of all who absconded on this occasion it appears that he was so fortunate as to be the only one who was spared by the aborigines, his companions being shot down as soon as they were discovered.

[2] *Vide ante*, "Development and Decay," paragraph 3, and "Reproduction," paragraph 1.

[3] This was her name. There is no name at all resembling *Hessa* in the language (*vide* Appendix H).

[4] In his report for the month of December, 1866, the officer in charge of the Andaman homes stated that on *Dúdhnáth's* desertion of her "she was called *Modo*, which signifies a deserted bride, or a woman that has lost her husband while young, and before becoming a mother." [N.B.—*.mō·da* (not *Modo*) is one of the twelve "flower" names borne by all young women (married and single) until they become mothers (*vide* "Proper Names," paragraph 3, and Appendix H.)]

[5] "Our friend the Sepoy tells some remarkable exploits of the Mincopie in

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highly coloured, and failed, therefore, in imposing on the almost excusable credulity which existed at a time when next to nothing of a trustworthy nature was known concerning these savages. 114

22. With regard to a deceased husband's property, the widow disposes of everything, which she does not require for her personal use, among his male relatives. 768

23. It seems superfluous to add that no such custom as *suttee* prevails or has ever been known to exist among them. 764

Death and Burial.—1. Amongst other erroneous opinions held regarding these tribes is that which declares that "no lamentation is publicly made at death," whereas, in point of fact, the demonstrations of grief on such occasions are generally excessive, and are shared, in a greater or less degree, by every member of the community in which the melancholy event occurs. 763

2. In the case of an infant, the parents and relatives remain weeping for hours beside the corpse; afterwards they smear their persons with a wash composed of *ōg-* (the common olive-coloured clay) and water, and, after shaving their heads, place a lump of the same, called *del·a-*, just above their foreheads,[1] where it hardens, and is left, much to the individual's discomfort, until the expiration of the days of mourning;[2] should it fall off in the meantime it is renewed. 765 766

3. The burial usually takes place within 18 hours of the decease, which time is spent by the mother in painting the head, neck, wrists, and knees of her dead child with *kòi·ob-* and *tâ·la-ōg-*; she also shaves off the hair, and folds the little limbs so as to occupy the least possible space,[3] the knees being brought up to the chin and the fists close to the shoulders; the body is then enveloped in large leaves, called *kâ·pa-*,[4] which are secured with cords or strips of cane. The father meantime employs himself in digging a grave with an adze (*wō·lo-*[5]), in the place where his hut fire usually burns; when all is prepared the little head is uncovered, and the parents gently blow upon the face 766

fishing, which, as they seem to indicate a Munchausen-like facility of exaggeration in the narrator we decline to repeat" (Mouat).

[1] This applies to men, for women usually place the *del·a-* on the top of the head. It is worn by neither sex until after they have attained maturity, and only for a father, mother, husband, wife, brother, sister, son, or daughter, the *ōg-* wash alone being deemed sufficient "mourning" in the case of other relatives or friends.

[2] The term *á·kà-ōg-* is therefore applied to mourners, since they are prohibited from the use of *kòi·ob-*.

[3] "If we knew no further details as to the opinions of the intellectually gifted Hottentots, formerly so greatly underrated, it would be enough that, previous to burial, they place the body of the deceased in the same position which it once occupied as an embryo in the mother's womb" (Peschel).

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 74.

[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 15.

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to beat a log of this description on a stone or other hard substance a few times before it breaks up into as small pieces as are needed. 372

6. In each hut that is occupied there is invariably a fire, the object of which is to keep the owner warm, to drive away insects, and to cook food, while the smoke is useful in preserving the store of provisions, which are placed about two feet above it for that purpose.[1] [251]

7. Council fires, or fires burnt on special occasions, are not among their institutions; even the household fire is not held sacred, or regarded as symbolical of family ties, and no rites are connected with it; there are no superstitious beliefs in reference to its extinction or pollution, and it is never employed literally or figuratively as a means of purification from uncleanness, blood, death, or moral guilt.

8. Fires are generally kindled by fanning the embers with a frond of the *Asplenium nidus* (*pâ·tla-*), and they are extinguished by pressing the burning logs against some such object as a tree, canoe, or stone.

9. Reference must here be made to the mis-statement which has found its way into several papers concerning the existence of so-called "oven-trees" among the Andamanese. The belief appears to have originated in the practice which prevails among them of taking advantage, during brief halts, of the natural shelter afforded by the peculiar formation of the roots of the *Pterocarpus dalbergioides*, and trees of the *Ficus* genus, so common in these islands, and which, extending like buttresses on all sides of the trunk, are, especially when roofed over with a light thatch such as these people are accustomed to make in a few minutes, capable of accommodating small parties suddenly overtaken by a storm, or needing a temporary resting-place: the traces of fires lighted by successive parties against these trees, and the hollows thus caused, having been noticed, the opinion was formed, and, without sufficient corroborative evidence, promulgated, that they were "purposely charred," and that "great pains is taken in their preservation."[2] As a matter of fact, the Andamanese no more employ oven-trees than do the gypsies in Bulgaria, alluded to by General Pitt-Rivers, F.R.S.,[3] who, using constantly the same trees, have formed a semi-cylindrical chimney, which might reasonably be regarded, by one unacquainted with their habits, as an attempt to form an oven. 114

10. While it is the women's business to collect the wood, the duty of maintaining the fires, whether at home or while travelling 372

[1] *Vide ante* "Habitations" paragraph 5.
[2] *Vide* Mouat, pp. 308–9.
[3] *Vide* Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi. pp. 273 and 290 (Appendix I).

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Report of a Survey of the Inhabitants of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands during 1948-49

[P1]

By

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About the end of the year 1946, Mr H. J. Stooks, Deputy Secretary to the Ministry of Home Affairs, consulted me with regard to proposals made by Sri A. V. Thakkar of the Bharatiya Adim Jati Sevak Sangh for undertaking work for the amelioration of the conditions of the inhabitants of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands on the same lines as the Sangh has been doing among the Bhils and other tribes of Central India. The problem of the Aborigines of the Andaman Islands, however, is not the same as that of the other primitive tribes of India. These people are some of the most ancient remnants of the human race still surviving in any part of the world, who had been very little affected from contact with other people and subsist principally on fishing and hunting. The need among them is not so much the spread of education and social uplift as the arrest of the decline in population which has been most alarming. Since the establishment of the Penal Settlement at Port Blair in 1858, the condition of the "Friendly Tribes" among these inhabitants have been most distressing. Due in the beginning to armed encounters with the forces of the Government, and also as a result of ravages from diseases like tuberculosis and syphilis contracted from Indian convicts, there has been a continuous decline in the Andamanese population. From an estimated figure of about 10,000 people in 1779 the tribe has been reduced to only 70 in 1931, and at the time of our visit there were probably not more than 37 individuals still living. Whether it will be possible to save the Andamanese from the fate of the Tasmanians whose last surviving representative passed away about 1770 is extremely doubtful.

The hostile branch of the Andamanese tribes known as the Jarawa-Onge-Sentinelese group, fortunately has been spared the fate of their more "friendly" kinsmen, and as a result of implacable hostility and comparative isolation have survived to a much larger extent. In the western forest belts of Middle and South Andamans, the Little Andaman, and the North Sentinel Islands they have resisted all intrusions from outsiders and were known to have lived in these places comparatively unmolested. No accurate census of these tribes however, was ever taken, but from estimates made by people who had some knowledge of the tribes, it does not seem possible that the total strength of these people could be more than a few hundred souls altogether before the last war. What has happened since and how far these people, specially the Jarawas, have suffered from Japanese occupation cannot accurately be determined. It is known that there had been some bombing by the Japanese in the Jarawa tract, but whether any Jarawa was killed is not known. I, therefore, suggested to Mr Stooks that an anthropological survey of the Islands was essential and a probable estimate of the surviving settlements of the population made before the question of any social welfare work can be

Mr Subramanian of the Forest Department and Mr Majid's young son also accompanied us. We reached Bumila Creek on the north eastern coast of the Little Andaman at about 3 P.M. and having sighted an Andamanese hut we decided to anchor the launch there. The beach was about 2 miles from the place of anchorage. We took out a small boat and rowed to the beach and reached the hut at about 4 P.M. It was found to be abandoned but there were signs of human occupation and within a few yards a water-hole was discovered. A broken canoe, with a single out-rigger was found close to the hut (*see* Plate I, Fig. 1). Burnt coal and smouldering ashes in the centre of the hut showed that it was probably deserted by the Aborigines as soon as they had sighted us. After making a careful inspection of the place we returned to our launch and decided to anchor there for the night. Unfortunately the choppy sea and the strong current coming from the Bumila Creek tossed our small boat throughout the whole night, as a result of which all of us had an uncomfortable time.

We left southwards towards Hut Bay early in the morning and as we moved along the coast we sighted another Onge hut. This did not seem to be deserted as we saw a few people moving about. We decided to stop there and investigate. We took out a boat and moved towards the coast with such presents as we had brought from Port Blair on the advice of the Chief Commissioner. When we got near the coast, we left the boat and walked for about a furlong through coral beds finally reaching the shore. The hut was found to be circular in shape and not too large, and was occupied by 2 adult females, 1 adult male and a young boy. The adult male, *Ukla*, was the father of the young boy and husband of the younger woman. The older woman was his mother-in-law. These people appeared very friendly. We gave them presents we had brought and took photographs and made drawings of their hut. In addition, full anthropometric measurements were taken by me and blood was taken from fingers for typing by Mr Sarkar. Ukla was able to speak a few Hindi words and we gathered that he had been to Port Blair and knew Mr Bonington, formerly of the Forest Department, Andaman Islands. We found in front of the hut, hanging from a large tree the skull and mandible of a Dugong (*see* Plate I, Figs. 3 & 4). We enquired about its significance from Ukla, but unfortunately his knowledge of Hindi was not sufficient to explain it to us. We learned from him, however, that the name of the village was *Laito*. After making friendly gestures, we returned to 'Molly' and proceeded immediately towards Hut Bay. At about noon time while we were having our lunch, we suddenly saw three outrigger canoes (of single outrigger type) coming towards us, each carrying about 4 Onges. We signalled to them and they came to our launch and tied their canoes with it and came on board. The men appeared to be friendly and not afraid of us. Our greatest difficulty, however, was language, as we could not make ourselves understood as none of the crew or any other member including Mr Subramaniam of the Forest Department knew that language. There was one man who seemed to occupy a position of authority among these men, and was painted with red and yellow ochre on the forehead, arms and breast. The

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Karen AP7

for such a fairly long period, it was decided to give up the idea of continuing our survey of the Little Andaman that year.

At the suggestion of Mr Majid it was finally decided instead to pay a visit to the surviving members of the Friendly Andamanese tribes at Neil and Havelock Islands where they had now been transferred and settled. Unfortunately, as it was March and the closing month of the financial year, I had to return to my headquarters at Banaras and leave Mr Sarkar in charge of the party to carry on further surveys in the North and Middle Andamans as far as this was found possible.

Accordingly Mr Sarkar with his party left Port Blair on 6-3-48 on the Forest Motor Launch "Lindsay" and arrived at Long Island at about 8 A.M. on the following day. Mr Sarkar was met by Mr Joseph, T. S. D. O. who brought "Loka" and his party of four Andamanese. They were studied by him. The party left Long Island on the Forest Launch "Kokhari" at about 7-30 A.M. on the following day. Mr Joseph accompanied the party, who halted at the Guitar Island where some of Loka's associates were hunting turtles with harpoons. After leaving Guitar Island, the launch passed through Homfray Strait. Mr Joseph showed the spot where the Jarawas in 1925 attacked his camp. This is near the place from where the Jarawas usually crossed from the Baratang Island to the Middle Andamans. Proceeding further westwards, Mr Sarkar and his party reached the north-east end of the Spike Island. This is another route of migration of the Jarawas from the South to North Andamans. Usually they come from the South Andaman and cross over to Bluff Island and then reach the Spike Island opposite to it. Loka gave the information that it was about this place that several Jarawas were shot sometime back and their bodies were buried in the Bluff Island. The party went along the coast of Neil Island and anchored off Foul Bay. Human footprints identified by Mr Joseph and Loka as belonging to the Jarawas were found in the sand. Following the footprints the party found the remnants of burnt ashes and cinder in a spot in the jungle. There were also vessels made of leaves for carrying water which were still wet. These were collected as specimens of Jarawa objects for the Department's collections. No traces of Jarawas themselves could however be found who must have moved into the jungles just prior to our party's visit. Our men then crossed over to Bluff Island and searched for the Jarawa skeletons, but none were found. On the 9th of March the "Kokhari" returned to Long Island, where it anchored. Loka brought his party of 21 individuals who were now settled in Neil Island. These people were carefully studied by Mr Sarkar and notes taken regarding their geneology, family structure and physical state, etc. On the 9th the Deputy Chief Commissioner, Mr S. C. Gupta with his wife arrived at Long Island. Mr Sarkar and his party accompanied him to Stewart Sound in his boat "Elsa". Unfortunately the few Andamanese who were living there happened to have gone out in their canoes for fishing and could not be contacted (*see* Plate I, Fig. 5).

They then went with Mr Gupta to the Karen village called *Webi* situated at a short distance from Stewart Sound. There were no Andamanese there,

There were no Andamanese There,
but 400 people consisting of 133 males and 130 females who migrated from Bassein in 1924. They were Karen Christians who had settled there. After returning to Long Island on the 12th, Mr Sarkar and party left in the motor boat "Return" for a short cruise along the Jarawa country. Besides Mr Joseph, there were Mr Pooviah and a few of his Burman Bush Police armed with rifles and guns. The party passed through the Homfray's Strait and anchored at the north eastern corner of the Spike Island. Loka and his party of three Andamanese accompanied them in their two canoes. They came to the shore in one of the Andamanese canoes and after entering the forest they found bundles of bamboos piled up at one corner. This was identified as a Jarawa raft. There were also three paddles made out of a palm tree. These specimens were procured for the Department. After proceeding some distance in the jungle, 19 small fire places were counted in scattered manner. A temporary hut was also noticed at a short distance. A number of objects usually used by the Andamanese tribes for household purposes was found including a sling for carrying babies. A beautiful specimen of a Jarawa Bow painted in red in geometrical designs was also found. Photographs were taken of the settlements of the Jarawa camp and objects collected for the Museum. In another place at *Yeratiajig* remnants of a Jarawa camp including pottery and bones of animals, etc., were found. The party returned to Long Island on 14-3-48 and examined 8 of the remaining members of Loka's party. It left the same day for Port Blair where it arrived at 10 P.M. On the 25th Mr Sarkar and his party with the Deputy Chief Commissioner Mr Gupta, left for Kar Nicobar where it arrived on the following day. It returned to Port Blair after staying for a few days. During this time in Kar Nicobar, besides studying the Nicobarese of the Island Mr Sarkar met two Jarawa children who were captured and brought over there and placed in a local Mission School for education.

In the following year in January 1949, another small party was sent under Dr A. K. Mitra with Messrs H. K. Bose and A. Bhattacharyya, to continue the survey of the Little Andaman further along the eastern coast. They visited *Hut Bay* on the 28th and went to the Onge settlement there. A large circular hut similar to that seen by us at Tambebui was observed. It contained nine cots with a fire place in the centre. There were also two outrigger canoes, one in front of the hut and another on the beach. Altogether 11 Onges were found consisting of 2 adult males, 6 females and 3 young children between the ages of 6 to 15. The 8 adults and the adolescent boys were carefully measured and observations noted about their special somatic characters. After leaving Hut Bay they went as far as the South Point which is the southernmost point on the eastern coast of the Little Andaman, but did not see any other Onge settlement. They had to return on the 31st as the launch could not be spared any further.

The Onges were found to be strong and healthy and free from venereal disease, a scourge, which along with tuberculosis were chiefly responsible for the rapid depopulation of the Andamanese tribes. Our observations agree with the accounts of the Negritos of the Andaman Islands published before

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

namely, that they are a very dark pigmy tribe, with short round head and infantile features. The hair of the head is wholly of the distinctly "peppercorn" pattern, *i.e.*, it grows in small tufts with intervening vacant spaces between (*see* Plate VII). The women were noticed to possess steotopygia in a markedly developed form (*see* Plate II, Fig. 2). 142

Freiherr von Eickstedt who visited the Islands in December 1926, claimed that he was the first scientist to observe these two traits among the Andamanese. His contentions, however, cannot stand scrutiny, for in a paper read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh on February 2, 1880, entitled "Remarks on the Aborigines of the Andaman Islands" and published in the Proceedings of that Society, Surgeon E. S. Brander, who was stationed at Port Blair as Second Medical Officer, speaking about the general features of the Andamanese women, remarked that they "undergo exceptional enlargement of the gluteal region, the appearance of which is enhanced by their custom of attaching branches of twigs to their waist bands, so as to hang over this region. This large development of abdomen, hip and buttocks, added to a very waddling style of gait, gives these women in progression a most grotesque appearance". Eight years after, in a paper published in the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography, Maurice Portman, who was the Officer-in-Charge of the Andamanese, in describing his visit to the Little Andaman, wrote about "the Hottentot Venus order of beauty" of the Onge women. The Hottentot Venus, as is well-known, is noted for her steotopygic development. These two papers appeared over 40 years before von Eickstedt's publication. 114 142 [293] [481]

A detailed comparative review of the somatic traits of the Onges based on the measurements taken by members of this Department will be published in the next issue of the Bulletin. Mr S. S. Sarkar's analysis of the blood group data is, however, published in this issue. 114

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5: Sarkar D-5 (1948)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Blood Groups from the Andaman and Nicobar Islands

By

S. S. Sarkar

The following blood group data were collected during the months of February-April, 1948 in the course of a visit to Little Andaman, Long Island and Car Nicobar by a party under Dr B. S. Guha from the Department of Anthropology, of which the present writer was a member. The data grouped according to the different tribes are as follows :— 143 121 114 [128]

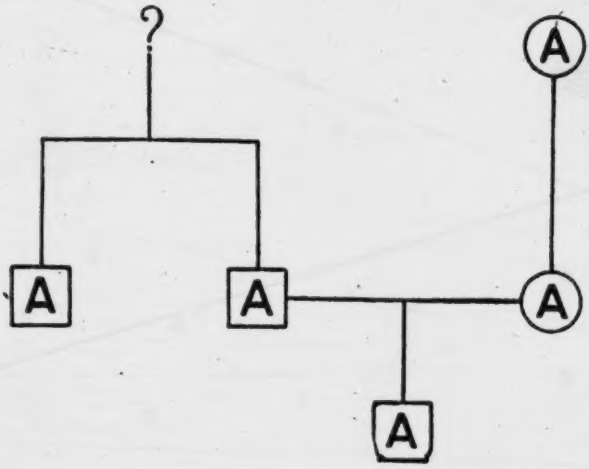
Onges

34 Onges, 19 males and 15 females, were grouped from the island of Little Andaman. They were collected from the settlements round about Bumila Creek, Dugong Creek and the village Tambebui on the N. E. part of the island. The blood group distribution is as follows :— 125 361 143

O	5	14·71%
A	23	67·65%
B	2	5·88%
AB	4	11·76%
	34	

The predominance of group A was already noticeable from Chaudhuri's (Gates, 1940) earlier study of 5 Onges, 3 of whom belonged to A and 1 each to Group O and B.

This will be also apparent from the following pedigree, where three generations show only A. [601]



[p. 25]

A 114 143 580

Owing to linguistic difficulties it was not possible to find out the relationships in the majority of cases. It is, however, evident that inbreeding must be very high in such a small, isolated and closed population.

Jarawas

A 114 143

Gates (1940, 1948) reported blood groups of the five Jarawas captured at Bluff Island in September, 1938. Of these five, the adult woman and her eldest son died at Port Blair during Japanese occupation. It appears that Chaudhuri did not group the blood of the 4th son born at Port Blair to the above captured woman, since that would have made the total number 6 (mother +4 sons + 1 unrelated girl) instead of 5. This boy (Pl. IX, Fig. 3) is now 13 years old and was found like his mother and brothers to be belonging to Group O. The blood samples of the other three children were found to be O. The children (Pl. IX) are now living in a Car Nicobar mission.

Andamanese

A 161 A 125 143

The Andamanese population has undergone very serious depletion. The total strength was estimated to be about 37 as compared with 90 of the census figure of 1931. Only 21 of these people could be tested from the islands of Havelock and Neil. Their blood groups are :—

O	2	9·52%
A	12	57·14%
B	5	23·81%
AB	2	9·52%
	21	

Nicobarese

N 361 N 125 164 143

The majority of the Nicobarese were grouped at the Car Nicobar island. A group of 15 people from Chaura and a patient suffering from infantile paralysis from Nankauri were included in the sample. All the 16 of the latter group belonged to Group O.

The Nicobarese blood group distribution is as follows :—

	O	A	B	AB	p	q	r	D/σ
	117	5	14	0				
%	86·03	3·68	10·29	..	·019	·054	·928	0·5

N 164 N 734 125

Car Nicobar was visited towards the decline of the infantile paralysis epidemic. There were only 24 patients in the hospital. A good number, however, of those who escaped death but were otherwise invalidated were examined.

5: Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Nicobars AZ7

A
114 Gates (1948) is of opinion that : " The blood groups of Negritos and Australoids must have been very different then, as they are now, the former being
144 high in B, the latter having A without B".
143

Earlier Negrito data from other sources, as also the results of this investigation, do not support the above contention. Both the Australoids and the Negritos have been found to be high in A. The Negrito peoples of the
A 143 Andaman Islands, although they are now isolated in the different islands,
144 probably all belong to the same ethnic stock and when their blood group data are pooled together the following percentages are obtained :—

	O	A	B	AB	Total
Total . . .	13	36	7	6	62
Negritos*(Andaman Islands) . . %	20·97	58·07	11·29	9·67	

A
[162] The total number of 62 consists of 34 Onges from Little Andaman, 22 Andamanese, 6 Jarawas. When the 22 Andamanese, who are definitely known to be mixed, are exempted from the above total, the position is as follows :—

	O	A	B	AB	Total
	11	23	2	4	40
%	27·50	57·50	5·00	10·00	

It thus appears that more than half the Negrito population belong to group A and their similarity with the Australians in this respect, associated with the enormous differences in physical features between the two, still remains to be satisfactorily explained.

Nicobarese Blood Groups

N
144 The Nicobarese blood groups present a picture so far unknown to S.-E.
Asia. The high frequency of O is characteristic of the American Indians.
143 The Nicobarese are believed to have migrated into their present habitat from
[174] Lower Burma. Little is known of blood group distribution from Burma.
000 Mollison and Reddy (1946) have published a set of data from 229 peoples, comprising 155 pure Burmans, 57 Karens, 13 Chins and 4 Kachins. They show the following blood group distribution :—

O	A	B	AB
36·2	26·2	29·7	7·9

* Chaudhuri's sample of 5 Onges (Gates, 1940) could not be combined with the present author's sample lest the same person is included in both the data. There are chances of such duplication in small populations as such.

5: Sarkar D-5 (1948)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Nicobars AZ7
Maori OZ4

The Nicobarese values thus differ widely from the above. It will not be out of place here to mention of Eickstedt's samples from Upper Burma (Steffan, 1932) which gives 60% of O and 40% of B and stands somewhat closer to the Nicobarese data than the above figures of Mollison and Reddy.

In spite of the close cultural affinities of the Nicobarese with those of Malaya and Indo-China, in respect of their aversion to milk, the outrigger canoe, artificial deformation of head, the Malayan form of sniffing cheeks (Malay kiss), etc., the Nicobarese have so far remained ignorant of agriculture. It appears, therefore, that the Nicobarese migrated from a habitat where agriculture was unknown and it is among such peoples that their close congeners could be found.

Negritos, Australians and Polynesians

The above three ethnic stocks, though widely varying in physical features have in common the high element of blood group A. It remains to be seen how they stand in respect of the sub-groups of A and the MN factors. So far only the Australians have been subjected to the study of MN factors (Birdsell and Boyd, 1940).

The similarity of the above three peoples in respect of the blood groups was pointed out to some extent by Howells (1934) and as such Gates' statement (p. 28) is probably unjustified. The percentages of B come to 14·1 in the case of Negritos of the Philippines (Grove, 1926), to 5·00 in the case of those from the Andaman Islands and to 2·2 in the case of the Hawaiians* (Nigg, 1930). Samoa with its fairly large content of B of 19·4% (Shapiro, 1940) is already a problem. The paucity of B among the Australians is already well-known. All these appear to show that B is a later instrusion in this area and A was predominant among the Negritos and the Australoids as it is now. The Polynesian movements began towards the dawn of Christian era from Indonesia when B did not probably reach there. This might have influenced the Nicobarese as well and the 3·68% of A may be Polynesian in origin.

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* Time is ripe enough for discarding Phillips Maori data by now (see Shapiro, Howells, Graydon and Simmons, and Godley). They are compared with the recent data below :—

O	A	B	AB	
47·5%	39·5%	1·0%	12·0%	(Phillips, 1931 n=200)
41·2%	58·1%	0·7%	0	(Graydon & Simmons, 1)945 ; n=267)
45·26%	48·74%	4·07%	1·91%	(Godley, 1946-47 ; n=835)
44·27%	52·96%	1·57%	1·20%	(Paddock, 1946 ; n=1335)

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

Hygiene and Medical Practices among the Onge (Little Andaman)

By Lidio Cipriani

Contents:

Preliminary Note
I. Hygienic Conditions
1. Habitation
2. Clothing and personal care
3. Food
II. Effects on the People's Lives
III. Illnesses and Onge Curative Methods

Preliminary Note

I went to Little Andaman several times, from 1951 onwards, for the sole purpose of studying the Onge. At that time the interior of the island was completely unknown and it was considered dangerous to violate it owing to the hostility of some groups of natives. Some friendly Onge themselves tried to dissuade me from leaving my coastal camp to explore their thick jungle. It was only in 1952 that I succeeded in what proved to be a difficult trip through virgin forest from the east to the west coast of Little Andaman, across its maximum breadth. The enthusiasm of the people accompanying me (fifteen altogether, including some faithful Oraons from the Indian district of Bihar, Burmese policemen and some Onge) enabled us to advance with a speed beyond our hopes. Forest difficulties prevented us from carrying heavy loads. Only the Oraons had some small baggage, which they hung in such a way as to leave both hands free to carve their way through the jungle with a *dah* (long Malayan knife), when necessary. No camping material could be brought, not even beds or tents, beyond the essentials for scientific work and for cooking, which were kept in specially prepared small, water-proof metallic containers. We camped in the forest and marked every camp with the incision of letters, 20 cms high and 5 cms deep, in the bark of gigantic trees, far from the ground, so as to have all the itinerary well indicated. An Oraon who was entrusted with this particular job wrote the meaningful sigla "Anthropos", sometimes also my name, as at Nachugé on the west coast, as well as the date. I did this to facilitate further investigations. All my itineraries in Little Andaman, from 1952 onwards, are marked like this and may be easily found again by the Onge or by my Oraons. Hunting, fishing, collecting wild fruits, edible roots and honey supplied us with food ; no vegetarian can live in such a country because, very often, only pork is available there. Of that we had plenty every day, sometimes with nothing else. My men were eager to run and find an acceptable halting place as soon as possible, just to receive cartridges for hunting with me before dark ; but we also had

114 122 114

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

122 torches for hunting by night. There were pigs everywhere. In half an hour we often got
114 six or more of them. At Chemalé, far from the coast, we had eleven in a few minutes for
[36] distribution to everybody, including roaming Onge. Pigeons and ducks also were often plentiful. The simple pleasures of hunting incited everyone to a spontaneous daily struggle through the dense forest; and so, every month, I managed to carry out many times the work I could have done had I not kept all the men glad to follow me. On seven different occasions I spent 162 days in Little Andaman, out of a total of 634 days altogether in the Andamanese Archipelago – all of them given up to Onge research. These trips are recorded
128 in Port Blair Government offices. A few details on the subject are published in the "Bul-
114 letin of the Department of Anthropology", Government of India, starting in Vol. II, No. 1, 1953 (issued in 1956) and extended to other issues. Such papers were hurriedly prepared by me while I was halting in Calcutta on my way from the Andamans to Europe. Press proofs could never be submitted to me; there are, consequently, many misprints, particularly in the figures relating to my Onge Census. The misprints are so obvious that they could only influence a most biased critic: to be discussed in future papers and while my Onge book is in preparation. In Port Blair (South Andaman) I started an Onge Museum with material collected by me. I had the honour of inaugurating it on 6 July, 1953 in the presence of the Chief Commissioner for Andamans and Nicobars, Mr. A. K. Ghosh, one of the kindest and most intelligent Indian gentlemen that it was my pleasure to meet in Asia. On 9 March, 1954 Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD, President of the Republic of India, also visited the Museum. On that occasion I introduced to him 30 of my Onge friends (wives, husbands and children) in their most natural attire. The President questioned me at length on Onge anthropology and ethnology with the pertinence of a specialist.

123 While in Little Andaman I tried to study all possible aspects of Onge life. I also
[121] tried to count the natives: a very difficult task for they are a nomadic people, ready to vanish into the jungle at any moment. Often I was surrounded by them without seeing a single one. In the darkness of their jungle, the small, black, naked Onge easily disappear. They see us but we do not see them. They can only be counted in their sleeping quarters
[361] in communal huts; even so, results are misleading. I found a number of communal huts in the interior regions of Little Andaman, whereas previously they were said to exist
[126] only on the coast. The larger, more solidly built huts are in the forest. With the help of my Indian assistants I obtained plans and photographs of all the huts that I saw.
[178] Unfortunately the number of Onge communal huts is rapidly diminishing – a very
[361] significant fact. Many are in ruins, many more completely destroyed. Only kitchen-middens and occasional clusters of planted bamboo indicate their former location. Through an interpreter, and with two Onge speaking a little Hindi, I was able to gather information
[124] on these and other matters. Direct observation, however, proved the best way of gaining knowledge. In some places there was nothing to help me, and I was compelled to guess about communal huts whose inmates chose to hide in the jungle. Of the many personal
[551] names that I collected I must say that they are reliable only for a short period: the Onge like to change their names from time to time. All this, in addition to the Onge's nomadic
[553] way of life, causes great confusion and makes a proper Census almost impossible. Frequent
[597] changing of names also hinders the establishment of genealogies. Furthermore, the Onge custom of adopting children shifts many of them from one family to another, and adoptive parents invariably claim them as their own offspring. The parents themselves, who are ignorant of numbers, not infrequently forget how many children they have, who these children are and where they are located. It was almost useless to follow previous information concerning communal huts; and so I decided to consider mainly the situation
[114] existing at the time of my visits. The result of my Census may be imperfect, but before criticizing it it would be advisable to know the conditions that prevail in anthropological work among the Onge. Something more than merely counting people, anyhow, was achieved by me in Little Andaman.

In this short paper I am pleased to present a peculiar aspect of Onge life, an aspect that these innocent and once hostile people did not attempt to hide from me, though they also told me nothing about it. Only direct observation could help, and it involved pro-

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

3. Food

In the absence of men, women also are good at fishing inside the coral reefs. They do this with two small nets used together. Their catch generally consists of brilliantly coloured fish with yellow, red, green, blue, black and white stripes forming varied and attractive designs. The Onge eat all fish without discrimination. My Indian collaborators, on the other hand, considered the coloured fish dangerous to their health and refused to cook them ; the Sacred Vedas, in fact, advise the avoidance of brigthly hued fish and of fish without scales. I wanted to try both kinds, and found them perfectly palatable, tasty and harmless.

No tool, used for any purpose by the Onge, ever gets a cleaning. Cleanliness, I repeat, is unknown in Little Andaman. See how food is prepared and disposed of ! Care is taken only not to throw big pieces of meat intended for cooking directly on the bare ground ; but once it is cooked, food is treated with the utmost disregard for dirt, dust, cobwebs and other such things. It is usually left lying around on large leaves spread out for the purpose. The remains of the Onge's orgiastic meals are kept out of reach of the dogs on the ceiling of the huts, to be covered with flies when no fire is lit directly below. Sand and grit may get wedged annoyingly in the teeth, but not such impalpable things as dust or cobwebs. The use of unclean food is not repugnant to the Onge. The same can be said for water polluted by dogs drinking and bathing in it, or by the presence of putrefying carcases. In the west of Little Andaman I saw some Onge avidly drinking from pools of a blackish water with a revolting sulphurous smell. After thoroughly filtering and boiling it, I too used such water, for it was the only water available in the neighborhood. This caused no ill effects. My Indian men considered it perfectly healthy and invigorating, and drank it safely in its natural condition.

The Onge eat with their unwashed fingers, without the help of tools. On rare occasions they use platters made of the flattened-out stems – or bracts – of *areca* palms. They sometimes carry these platters when travelling, but of course never wash them although they become coated in rancid, greasy filth. They soon assume a dark colour and a truly revolting appearance – aside from the awful smell. A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN's statement – that the Andamanese paint their bodies to neutralize the unpleasant smell of food that clings to them after their orgiastic feedings – shows only indirect knowledge of the life and manners of those people. Even the horrible flatulence that follows their pork orgies is not considered an inconvenience ; yet it is much more revolting than all the other body odours.

Although the Onge observe few hygienic precautions they do follow a number of medical practices, not all devoid of beneficial effects. Here are a few more remarks on their eating and drinking habits. For about six months of the year, between November and April, water is scarce in Little Andaman. Every kind of fresh water is then considered good by the Onge, regardless of whether it is a murky infusion of rotting leaves or afloat with the putrefied

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

262 and therefore dangerous to offend by cooking them. Luckily they accepted
123 fish of almost every description, and vegetables. To convince them of our
[775] good intentions concerning their food, at Port Blair an Onge observer was
[825] stationed permanently near the kitchen to watch the preparation of meals. Nevertheless, within a few days all 30 Onge fell ill as a consequence of the different food and climate. In their island they sleep, completely naked and
513 uncovered, lying directly on beds made of rough branches. Their only precau-
123 tion, as I mentioned before, is to keep a fire permanently burning close to the bed. This was not feasible in the rooms with wooden floors that were provided for them in Port Blair, and blankets did not avail. So the 30 Onge developed a fever and we were obliged to take them urgently back to Little Andaman, where they promptly recovered. The incident gave me a further opportunity to observe the curative methods of the Onge.

262 With regard to their care to avoid illness from food, I must point out the
114 fact that misleading information has been published on the subject even in reputed papers on the Andamans. I will discuss them in my Onge book, but I wish here to briefly stress a few points: the Onge, and the present residual coastal or forest Andamanese, refuse to eat – besides birds and fish such as shark, ray, eel or muraenae – some other animals such as paradoxurus, bats, rats, varanus and snakes. The contrary is affirmed in those papers. To quote the well-known book by A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN ("The Andaman Islanders", pp. 37, 91 and 389), all Andaman Islanders, including the Onge, consider the above-mentioned species edible. Varanus is supposed to be acceptable for its
[832] lustful habits that make of it an aphrodisiac. My direct and protracted experience both in Little and in Great Andaman compels me to state that such information is false. It is true, however, that the Andaman Islanders believe
261 they acquire some of the properties of their devoured victims. This occurs
252 only if the animals are cut up alive. Therefore turtles, pigs and dugongs are
[231] cruelly sectioned while still alive, and the Onge also believe that their health and energy profit by it. Cannibalism may be founded on such beliefs, but it is
266 completely unknown to Andaman Islanders of all times and places. Young
262 sucking-pigs are avoided, as food, by men, and even withheld from the dogs; but the Onge are partial to other things which, in our opinion, are far worse: crickets, and the fat larvae of coleoptera that collect in tree trunks.

Without giving here a full list of the foods that are considered harmful or curative, I shall add just a few remarks on the subject. The healthiest, as well as the tastiest part of the pig is supposed to be the kidney and its surrounding fat. It is offered to old or distinguished people, as a sign of favour. As I
[888] helped the Onge, as much as possible, with gifts of tools and medicines, they
123 found it complimentary to name me after their favorite titbit, intending thereby
553 to honour me as a friend and healer. By such a name I came to be known in Little Andaman, and this made my work easier. In the Onge language the word for kidney fat is *cue-changhēghē*; I was delighted with it, for it proclaimed the high esteem I was held in by my Onge friends.

262 Foods considered healthy by the Onge include honey, yams, several
751 succulent roots and the fat of turtle and dugong. Pteropus, a giant bat very
[825]

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

common in the Andamans, said by RADCLIFFE-BROWN (p. 273) to be eaten by the Andaman Islanders as a protection against rheumatism, is never killed. For some superstitious reason the Onge are simply horrified at the thought of touching such an enormous flying bat. Among the fruits, those of a plant whose wood has such a revolting smell that it is known, in English, as "stool-tree", are believed to have exceptional protective properties for the human body. The fruits themselves smell even worse than the wood, but this, to the Onge, makes them appetizing rather than disgusting. Concerning honey, and the many sugary fruits of the jungle that are available all the year round, the Onge luckily ignore the simple method of distilling alcohol. No intoxicating drink reaches Little Andaman from the outer world, whereas in Great Andaman alcohol, together with imported syphilis, was one of the main causes of depopulation. No syphilis appears as yet to have reached Little Andaman. This is also confirmed by the research carried out by Dr. HERMANN LEHMANN of London's St. Bartholomew's Hospital, during February 1953 in my Onge camp in Labanare (north-east coast of Little Andaman).

II. Effects on the People's Lives

The islanders die young, specially the men. The majority of them succumb before reaching the age of 20; most of the survivors die between 20 and 40; the rest – with a very few exceptions – before 50. Women, after marriage, follow a similar pattern: the death rate among women, however, is slightly different owing to a less corrosive sexual life. Some women may live to the age of sixty, but both sexes age soon, appearing older than their years when still in their twenties. The short Onge span of life recalls conditions which apparently prevailed among prehistoric and protohistoric men. Palaeolithic man died at an earlier age than modern man. The Onge today, in many respects, behaves as palaeolithic man behaved countless centuries ago. – Infant mortality is high; the first five days of life are the most critical for the Onge, owing, in part, to the hard life led by mothers even during pregnancy, which often causes functional damage to the placenta. Delivery is generally easy and traumatic injury rarely occurs; but premature births are common, and so are malformations and other anomalies. Imperfect infants are quickly eliminated by their parents. As a result, only a small number of children are allowed to grow up, but these appear normal. There are no blind and no deaf-and-dumb people in Little Andaman. I saw only two instances of incipient lameness: in an unmarried boy of about twenty and in a young married woman. Only robust infants can survive.

The Onge, so careful about their food, are completely indifferent to something else that is considered very harmful in continental and insular regions close to the Andamans. There, menstruating women are often segregated and considered harmful to the entire community. Not so in Little Andaman, where the remedies applied in the circumstance are extremely primitive (cf. supra) and could probably be traced to palaeolithic man. I saw nothing

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

262 immense quantities of it together with pork. I was with them three times when
this recurred, so I could observe their behaviour exhaustively. With their
517 bellies full, the natives rest. Their only activity is body painting, performed by
302 the women on the skin of their peacefully sleeping husbands. Designs change
178 from time to time as I said before, according to the women's inventiveness.
Each family challenges the others in renewing their patterns. The best are later
reproduced until the next change. From year to year I noticed no real evolution
in this rudimentary art, but a cyclical fashion, with temporary preference, in
males and females alike, for some geometrical designs, unconnected with what-
ever kind of food they had been eating. This contradicts the published af-
114 firmations of several authors, who allege that the Andamanese paint special
302 patterns in special colours for different kinds of food. There is nothing more
false, at least with reference to the Onge. Merry feasting, whether on pork
[262] turtle, dugong, fish or honey, leads to a period of rest and body decoration –
[751] always in similar patterns and colours – with the unique purpose of preventing
illness. We might say that painting the body is equal to cleaning it, but this
[515] is quite unintentional. A curious exception to the Onge's filthy habits is the
264 practice of sweeping the floor after solemn banquets in communal huts. The
surface of the floor consists of unpacked earth hardened by casual tramping.
356 When it is dry, sweeping raises a heavy dust that fills the hut to the ceiling.
342 It deposits there on the wooden beams where the Onge like to store cooked
251 victuals. So they eat their food, as I said before, coated with dust, no matter
262 how thick. A brush without a handle is used to sweep the floor ; it is 80 cms
412 long and no thicker than a man's wrist. It is one of the nicest tools made by
the Onge, and consists of strong, hard, elastic palm fibres bound together with
strips of rattan. The dirt is simply thrown out all around the hut, by pushing
356 it under the roof mats that never reach the ground.

These notes offer a first glimpse into a peculiar aspect of Onge life. It is
114 to be deplored that these vanishing people have not yet been exhaustively
studied, notwithstanding their anthropological interest and high biological
significance.

7:Sarkar D-4, 5 (1948) 1960 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

Onge Population and Settlements. — **Introduction.** — Since the opening of the Andaman sub-station of the Department of Anthropology, Government of India, the Little Andaman Island has been visited several times by anthropological experts but the sum-total of knowledge has been rather meagre. We have not yet been able to know accurately the total Onge population. The recent paper by CIPRIANI [1] (1956), on the other hand, gives a hitherto unknown picture of the biology of the Onge population. The latter appears to show, as will be obvious from the data presented below, a high masculinity while CIPRIANI's method of population census shows high feminine population. 162 114

Earlier Data. — In a discussion of this nature we can leave aside the Onge population *estimated* at the decennial Censuses and take into account those actually seen and counted. In 1911 the number of Onges actually seen comprised : 161 162

adult male	118,	adult female	78
child male	62,	child female	28
	180		106

thus giving a total of 286 individuals. This shows a 10.20 % excess of males in the case of adults and an excess of 18.89 % males in the case of children.

During the Census of 1921, a total number of 99 individuals was counted at the following places :

	Rutland Island	Tochiewe	Toibalawe	Teresadda [2]	Total
Adult male	27	6	6	5	44
Adult female	18	–	5	3	26
Child male	8	1	3	5	17
Child female	8	–	2	2	12
	61	7	16	15	99

Eighty Onges were counted in 1911 on Rutland Island, which number decreased by about 24 % to 61 in 1921. No Onges were reported from the same island during the Census of 1931 and at present there appears to be none, either. The details of the 80 Onges reported in 1911 are unknown.

The Rutland population of 1921, however, shows an excess of 10 % adult males while the child population shows the two sexes in equal numbers. The total population, actually seen in 1921, shows an excess of 12.86 % adult males while it is 8.62 % in the case of children. Compared with the 1911 population it appears that the adult male excess has increased by 2.66 % in 1921 while the child population shows a favourable decrease by 10.37 %.

Recent Data. — On February 25, 1948 during the first trip of the Department of Anthropology [3], 38 individuals were counted before the communal hut of Tambebui, which comprised 17 adult males, 15 adult females and 6 children, 4 males and 2 females. The higher number of males among both the adults and children is apparent in this small sample. The above 38 individuals comprised 4 persons, 2 males and 2 females, from the communal hut of Laito, which had been visited by the above party the day before. The total population of the communal hut of Tambebui is probably 34, which is in striking contrast to the population of 4 souls for the communal hut of Laito.

GUHA also mentions the January, 1949 trip by the Department of Anthropology into Hut Bay, towards the south of the island, where 11 individuals, comprising 2 adult males, 6 adult females and 3 children (sex not mentioned) were seen in the local communal hut. The latter contained 9 sleeping places only.

The 1952 and 1953 parties of the Department of Anthropology were led by LIDIO CIPRIANI. His account is difficult to follow. There are very few relevant data regarding [114]

[1] LIDIO CIPRIANI, Report on a Survey of the Little Andaman during 1951-53. Bull. Dept. Anth. 2. 1956, pp. 61-82. [113]

[2] So spelt in the 1921 Census.

[3] B. S. GUHA, Report of a Survey of the Inhabitants of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands during 1948-49, I. Calcutta 1952, pp. 1-7. [113]

7: Sarkar D-4, 5 (1948) 1960 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

161 the actual Onge population. He has estimated the population instead of giving a simple
162 population figure for each of the Onge settlements he visited. His estimates are based
114 on the number of sleeping places in a hut, though nothing definite could be found either with regard to the total number of communal huts or the sleeping places. Then, to find out the sex of the individuals from the sleeping places seems preposterous. CIPRIANI (1956) estimates the total Onge population to be 607, comprising "229 adult men, 241 adult women and 137 children". He was able to determine the sex of the children in about 80 % of the cases, since immediately after the above quotation, he states: "Of the latter 48 are boys, 62 girls, and of 27 sex could not be ascertained". In the same paper and just two sentences before, where he gave the above figures, he mentioned a total of 497 individuals, comprising 242 men and 255 women. If the latter figures are meant only for adults then with the addition of 137 children to the above adult population of 497, the total Onge population appears to be 634. Even then the discrepancies in the adult population remain to be explained; it adds up to 470 (229 males, 241 females) once and to 497 (242 males, 255 females) another time.

The only thing that has some value in the demography of the Onges is that he has collected personal names of 107 adult males and 105 adult females. It is not known why the children have been excluded. At any rate, the personal names indicate a slightly higher number of males (50.5 %) than females while the total estimate for adults shows a hitherto unknown Onge sex ratio. With an adult population of 229 males and 241 females, the sex ratio works up to 48.7 % males and 51.3 % females.

Population estimates are always hazardous and, from all reports, the Onges appear to be a dwindling population. R. F. LOWIS, the Census Superintendent for the Andamans during 1911 and 1921 was frank enough to admit in 1921 that his 1911 estimate was "too high", though he gave one for 1921.

It is surprising that neither the Andaman Government nor the Department of Anthropology provided CIPRIANI with an assistant, trained among aboriginal people, who could have been of much help to him. At least the Onges could have been counted in each of the localities visited.

361 Settlements. — The typical Onge settlement is the communal hut, which is
[342] usually located on the beach. CIPRIANI mentions the communal huts in the interior of the island, but does not describe their details.

During the 1911 and 1921 Censuses coastal trips round the island were made and the former Census provides a very good map with the names of twenty settlements
[103] scattered on the island. The names are: 1) *Tambeibui* [4], 2) Uede, 3) *Nachuge*, 4) Tochiewo, 5) Tochengedu, 6) Quoname, 7) *Geejege*, 8) *Ingoi-tijala*, 9) *Endea-geleda*, 10) To-to-bwe (unoccupied), 11) *Titugalaute*, 12) *Toibalawe*, 13) Tordeada (unoccupied), 14) *Kwante-tu-huage*, 15) Koreale, 16) Porale, 17) *Chetamale*, 18) *Titaiye*, 19) Ogechai, 20) Obate.

The names of the settlements visited during the 1921 Census are given at the beginning of this paper. It was also mentioned that 14 huts were seen in comparison to 19 (this will probably be 20) in 1911. The names of 15 settlements could be gathered from the Census Report of 1931 and the 10 settlements italicized above can be rather easily correlated with those of 1911.

114 CIPRIANI's map is again difficult to follow. Firstly, he has not given any idea of the
361 medium of language by which he communicated with the Onges. He has located in his map 18 existing coastal huts, of which the name of one between Otirubara and Benyaboi is missing. The position of the "supposed" huts within the jungle is misleading. Was he equipped with surveying instruments? Then he mentions 11 huts which are "no more in existence". How were they recognized? In what earlier context have they been identified as such? Only five of the eleven names (Obate, Palalankwe [or Kwalalanque, according to CIPRIANI], Ogechai, Ingoi-tijala and Chetamale) could be correlated with earlier records. Of the 20 coastal huts listed by him four (Nachuge, Geejege [or Gaje, according to CIPRIANI], Titaje and Tambeibui) could be correlated with the names of the 1931 Census map,

[4] So spelt in the 1911 Census.

7:Sarkar D-4,5 (1948) 1960 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
.Onge

and seven with those of the 1911 Census. The total number of twenty existing huts, however, agree in both CIPRIANI's map and the 1911 Census map; only names differ. It would have added greatly to our knowledge had CIPRIANI based his investigations on the 1911 Census map and commented on each of the place names given therein. He also mentions two huts in ruins besides eleven "no more in existence". There is no mention of any newly built hut. All this proves the decadent condition of the Onges. The coastal huts are probably more numerous than those within the jungles and their total number appears to be constant both in 1911 and in 1953. 114 36

The Onges have, in recent years, been visited so many times by anthropologists that a well-directed effort could have brought the whole population into a few genealogies — an elementary task in anthropology. 114

Postscript. — CIPRIANI has now (1959) published[8] the Census figures of the different communal huts. Instead of clarifying the earlier anomalies stated above, his recent population figures have raised further complications, as will be discussed below. 161 162

CIPRIANI now (1959) mentions in a footnote on p. 89 of his paper that 125 individuals, comprising 48 adult males, 44 adult females, 22 boys and 11 girls, *have beds in different communal huts*. He gives a total population figure of 394 (130 adult males, 129 adult females, 65 boys and 70 girls) obtained by actual Census from 21 communal huts. To this total figure of 394 he adds another total of 175 individuals (adult males and females 74 each, and 27 children, the latter shown as "males" on p. 90 but as "siblings" on p. 76) estimated for another 7 communal huts. Thus according to a Census of 21 huts and an estimate of 7 others, CIPRIANI now finds a total Onge population of 596, in comparison to his earlier variable figures stated above. There is no attempt to explain the discrepancies in the population figures. It is also unknown why the population of the 7 huts could not be censused, although all of them were visited between March 22 and April 4, 1953. 114

It is now apparent that his method of Census of the Onges is untenable since about 31.7 % (125 out of 394) of the population have beds in different communal huts. This is in harmony with the roving nature of the Onges, but it shows that only about one third of the population is migratory and about two thirds sedentary. This is probably not true for the Onges. At least, the fixed nature of beds in the communal huts loses its significance and is probably an uncertain criterion for an Onge Census. [361]

As to a recalculation of the Census figures for each of the 21 huts, it is seen that the total population appears to be 382 (129 adult males, 126 adult females, 64 boys and 63 girls) instead of 394 given by CIPRIANI. This definitely shows high masculinity not only among adults but also among the children. With an adult population of 129 males and 126 females the sex ratio works up to 50.6 % males and 49.4 % females, the excess of 1.2 % being statistically significant.

In the present publication CIPRIANI has published personal names of 133 adult males and 140 female adults, but the Onge habit of frequently changing names, mentioned by him on p. 70, has not been substantiated. Since the same issue of the journal contains an anthropometric study of the Onges, in which names of the individuals measured were noted, it would have been worth while testing how far the Onges practise the above custom. As will be obvious from the foregoing as well as from this P. S., CIPRIANI has not started with the known to unravel the unknown. [553]

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[8] L. CIPRIANI, A Survey of Little Andaman during 1954. Bull. Dept. of Anthr. 3. 1959, pp. 66-94. [113]

sedentary existence based on primitive agriculture, and abandonment of a nomad life as gatherers of wild sago and other forest products ... Although agriculture is now important, there is no doubt that the Sulungs are at heart food-gatherers and hunters, who infinitely prefer a nomadic life in the forest to the more sedentary way of life they are now taking to .... There is a good case for assuming the Sulungs to have been entirely sago-gatherers when they first came under outside domination: borne out by their own traditions that they learnt cereal cultivation from the Daflas, by the identity of technique with that tribe, and above all by their being at the present day at a stage transitional between the practice of fixed cultivation and that of food-gathering".

STONOR thought that the Sulung "are probably the only people of Mongolian stock on the Asiatic mainland who still maintain an economy based largely on food-gathering and hunting", and that "they may well be the most primitive of Mongolian tribes surviving anywhere". This is, of course, an error. Apart from the Raji of Kumaon, who are in a transitional stage to a certain extent comparable to that of the Sulung, we know the mongoloid Phi Tong Luang or Yumbri of northern Siam, who are still pure primitive food-gatherers and hunters. It is precisely their wide distribution which gives these small scattered tribes particular importance, since it sheds some light on the racial history of southern Asia and on the early cultural stages of the great mongoloid race.

STONOR estimates the number of Sulung at perhaps six or seven thousand.

CHRISTOPH VON FÜRER-HAIMENDORF, *Culture Types in Assam Himalayas*, Indian Geographical Journal, Vol. XXI, No. 2, 1946.

C. R. STONOR, *The Sulung Tribe of the Assam Himalayas*, Anthropos, Vol. XLVII, 1952, pp. 947—962.

Andaman Islands

The ten tribes of the Great Andaman group are practically extinct as a result of their contact with civilization. At the time of Dr. B. S. GUHA's visit, in 1948, only 31 persons survived. We are fortunate in having two outstanding monographs on these tribes, EDWARD HORACE MAN's *On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands*, first published in the "Journal of the Anthropological Institute" in 1882, and later as a book, and A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN's *The Andaman Islanders*, Cambridge, 1922 (2nd edition 1933). Yet, it should not be forgotten that MAN, although an excellent and conscientious observer, was not a trained anthropologist, and that at the time RADCLIFFE-BROWN was in the Andamans, 1906 to 1908, the native population had shrunk to a fraction of its original size,

114 while its culture was already in the process of disintegration.
[161] Moreover, MAN dealt almost exclusively with the South Andaman
[182] tribes, mainly with the Aka-Bea, while RADCLIFFE-BROWN's researches were centered mainly on some of the northernmost tribes. As a result, not all the tribes were given equal attention. This is regrettable since their religious concepts and myths were by no means uniform. Therefore one cannot say that our information about the ten Great Andaman tribes is as full and up to modern standards as would be desirable. There is, of course, no more hope of ever filling the existing gaps in our knowledge. It is the more necessary that the still relatively intact groups of Andamanese be thoroughly studied before it is too late.

Ongi (Onge)

161 The Ongi of Little Andaman owe their survival to their isolation
[101] and to the fact that they remained hostile until the end of the 1880's
[648] and even thirty years ago were not yet considered as quite reliable. Nevertheless, their numbers are constantly decreasing as the following estimates in the various Census Reports seem to indicate

1901 . . . 672
1911 . . . 631
1921 . . . 346
1931 . . . 250

161 Of course, these figures, being mere estimates, are not reliable,
114 and the last two are too low. As Professor LIDIO CIPRIANI of Florence, who spent many months with the Ongi in 1952, 1953, and 1954, kindly informed us, he came to different results. In his letter, dated May 2nd, 1958, he writes:

" I visited all communal huts with aim of taking a census of the Ongi. Every family has a bed in a communal hut, i. e. a kind of 'ritual' bed on which they marry and under which they are buried when they die. I prepared a list of persons using each bed. This added up to about 500 Ongi, but I saw less than 200 of them. The majority is still very shy and, when approached, ready to disappear into the jungle. The names of the absent persons were given to me by other Ongi. I left this list of personal names with the Department of Anthropology, Indian Museum, Calcutta, but kept a copy".

161 This would seem to indicate that the situation is not quite as bad as appears from the Census Reports. But even so, it is very serious and is constantly deteriorating. The Census Report of 1931
[164] says that "the numbers decrease year by year mainly from infection
[182] such as influenza introduced at times of contact with civilization. Some septs have almost completely disappeared during the last years".

In a recent paper Dr. N. DATTA-MAJUMDER, Director, Department of Anthropology, Government of India, writes: 163

"From a study of 34 Onge families contacted by us, it is found that the average size of the family is only 3.15. Thirteen families out of 34 are childless. That is, 38.2% of the married couples are sterile".

When, in 1946, proposals were made for undertaking work for the amelioration of the conditions of the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands along the same line as had been done among the Bhil and other tribes of Central India, Dr. B. S. GUHA, at that time Director of the Department of Anthropology, very reasonably observed that "the problem of the aborigines of the Andaman Islands is not the same as that of the other primitive tribes of India", and that "the need among them is not so much the spread of education and social uplift as the arrest in the decline in population which has been most alarming". 648 161 177

The Ongi have been in sporadic contact with the outside world for many years. They have been visiting Port Blair, particularly since some of them moved to Rutland Island on the southern tip of Great Andaman. This contact with civilization was bound to affect their material culture, as well as their whole mentality. We may again quote Dr. DATTA-MAJUMDER who says: 177 166

"As a result of this long contact the Onge have already come to appreciate a number of foreign articles, for example, tobacco leaves, tea leaves, sugar, matches, aluminium utensils and implements made of iron (especially bill-hooks and files). In order to secure these articles, they often barter away their valuable honey and shells. The afore-mentioned changes in material culture have at present touched only the fringe of Onge culture. But the demand for these articles (especially tobacco leaves and safety matches) is becoming so great that Onge culture is likely to be vitally affected in the near future". 276

Dr. DATTA-MAJUMDER came to the conclusion that "the hunting and food-gathering Onge culture, which had been an autonomous cultural system in the past, is now breaking down". 22 182

The Ongi were repeatedly visited by government officers, but the resulting information is paltry. PORTMAN spent several months among the coastal groups of Little Andaman in 1886 and 1887 and collected a few hundred words of their language. In 1901, C. BODEN KLOSS visited a group of Ongi on Rutland Island and one on Little Andaman, both only for a few hours. At some time between 1906 and 1908, A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN went to Little Andaman for several weeks and made a preliminary study of the Ongi language. In 1928, EGON VON EICKSTEDT spent a few weeks among the Ongi on Rutland Island and visited briefly several groups on the coast of Little Andaman for the sake of physical anthropological research. 114

114 Brief reconnaissance tours among the Ongi were made by Indian anthropologists in 1948 (Dr. B. S. GUHA and assistants), 1949 (Dr. A. K. MITRA and assistants) and 1955 (Dr. N. DATTA-MAJUMDER). Professor LIDIO CIPRIANI is the only scholar who engaged in prolonged research among the Ongi of Little Andaman, and this not only on the coast, but also in the interior of the island. In March, 1952, he crossed the island from the East to the West Coast. He was again among the Ongi from February to May, 1953, and from February to May, 1954. A brief report on his 1952 and 1953 expeditions was published in the Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology, Calcutta. He is planning to publish his results in a book. In 1953 and 1954, he was accompanied by a young Bengali, Mr. PRONAB GANGULI, who collected about 400 Ongi words.

[124] When all of Professor CIPRIANI's results are published we shall, no doubt, be well informed about the Ongi's physical anthropology, their material culture and such aspects of their customs as can be observed without a knowledge of their language and without an adequate interpreter. However, as he himself remarks in the letter mentioned above, "the barrier of language makes it difficult to analyze many Ongi facts". Therefore we cannot expect a deeper insight into the Ongi's social organization, religion, myths and customs.

[161] To sum up: We are confronted here with a group that is in danger of disappearing in the not very distant future. It may survive [182] for several decades in ever diminishing numbers, but its extermination may at any time be accelerated by epidemics. Moreover, its culture is already beginning to undergo substantial changes and may disintegrate very fast. If ever there was a case for urgent research, it is that of the Ongi. When, in the Census Report of 1931, BONINGTON observed with regard to them that here "a vast field of research awaits the anthropologist of the future", the Director General of the Census, J. H. HUTTON, significantly added in a footnote: "Provided, that is, that the Onge survives long enough".

The task is not only urgent, but unusually promising. An ambitious and well trained anthropologist who decides to spend the necessary time among the Ongi of Little Andaman will find an almost virgin field of research and one of the most archaic cultures still extant, a culture which, though already threatened. is at present still essentially intact. He can be sure that his researches, if properly done, will yield results of the first importance which, when published, may rank with EDWARD HORACE MAN's and RADCLIFFE-BROWN's classic works on the great Andaman tribes.

[124] Dr. CIPRIANI's experiences show that a prolonged sojourn on Little Andaman is perfectly feasible. The greatest obstacle to

fieldwork among the Ongi is the language problem. Dr. DATTA-MAJUMDER writes: 114 124

"It should be noted that very little information about the social organization of the Onge has been gathered so far on account of the barrier of language. Not a single interpreter knowing Onge language is available. We came across only two Onge men who knew just a few words of Hindi as a result of their occasional visits to Port Blair".

This was confirmed by Professor CIPRIANI who, in his letter, also mentions the two Ongi who know a little Hindi and adds: "No real Ongi interpreter is, as yet, available". RADCLIFFE-BROWN's experience had been similar. He found only two Ongi men who knew about 20 words of Hindustani.

PORTMAN seems to have been more fortunate in 1886—87. He mentions having had Ongi interpreters. These may have been members of a group of eleven persons who had been captured in the Cinque Islands, between Great and Little Andaman, in 1885 and who had been brought to Port Blair. It would be of great help for anthropological research if a few Ongi could be induced to stay some time in Port Blair and to learn either Hindi or English. In any 114 case, however, an anthropologist wishing to do serious work on Little 122 Andaman will have to remain long enough on the island to acquire sufficient knowledge of the language. He could prepare himself in advance for this task through a thorough study of the available literature on the Great Andaman languages (MAN, PORTMAN, TEMPLE, BASU). Although the languages are different, they are related, and 197 their structure is probably more or less similar. For the Ongi language itself, we have only RADCLIFFE-BROWN's "Notes on the Languages of the Andaman Islands", the list of Ongi words in PORTMAN's "Manual of the Andamanese Languages" (1887) — which RADCLIFFE-BROWN found "of no service whatever" — and a vocabulary of the Ongi language, compiled by M. C. C. BONIG in 1903 and published in Port Blair.

M. C. C. BONIG, (Vocabulary of the Onge Language, exact title 113 not available), Port Blair, 1903.

Census of India, 1901, Vol. III, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by R. C. TEMPLE, pp. 91—95 (PORTMAN's report), 117—120 (language).

Census of India, 1911, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by R. F. LOWIS, pp. 6, 27—29, 81—82, 88.

Census of India, 1931, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by R. F. LOWIS, pp. 2—5, 14—15.

Census of India, 1931, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by M. C. C. BONINGTON, pp. 8—11, 16—19, 22.

81 Heine-Geldern & Hohenwart-Gerlachstein E-4 (no date) 1958
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Our knowledge of their language is restricted to lists of words collected from captive Jarawas by COLEBROOK in 1789—90 and by PORTMAN in the 19th century. 114 648

Research on the Jarawa would by highly desirable, but will be impossible as long as they remain hostile.

Census of India, 1901, Vol. III, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by Sir RICHARD C. TEMPLE, pp. 4, 52—53, 68—90, 117—121. 113

Census of India, 1911, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by R. F. LOWIS, pp. 7, 31—39, 82—83.

Census of India, 1921, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by R. F. LOWIS, pp. 5, 39—43.

Census of India, 1931, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by M. C. C. BONINGTON, pp. 8—9, 15—16, 23.

A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN, *Notes on the Languages of the Andaman Islands*, Anthropos, vol. IX, 1914, pp. 38—39.
The Andaman Islanders, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1933, pp. 86, 410, 413—415, 423, 432—433, 439—440.

North Sentinel Island

North Sentinel is an island of about 30 square miles west of the southern tip of Great Andaman. It has been briefly visited by Government officers on various occasions, but it seems that no contacts were ever made with the natives, except on December 27th, 1886, when the Ongi, who accompanied PORTMAN on his trip, "caught" some of them (Census of India, 1901, p. 92). From PORTMAN's report it does not become clear whether or not he saw these temporary captives himself. Our knowledge of the culture is restricted to a few observations on their material possessions. The communal huts differ from those of the rest of the Andamanese. The canoes differ from those of both Great and Little Andaman, but are more like those of the latter. The bows resemble those of the Jarawa and Ongi. On the basis of this it is assumed that the natives are related to the Jarawa and Ongi, but PORTMAN's Ongi companions are said to have found that the persons whom they had caught talked "an entirely different language". 101 [131] [648] [197]

In 1901 the number of the natives was estimated as 117. This estimate was based on the area of the island and the assumption that the density of the population was approximately the same as that of great Andaman in precolonial times. The figure was not changed in either 1911 or 1921. In 1931 the number was estimated as 50 "on conclusions arrived at from several visits during the last decade and after counting the number of huts found and the sleeping places", but it is said that this does not necessarily mean a decrease in population. "It is believed that the population is stationary, for 161

161 the Sentinel islanders have been kept free from direct contact with civilization".

●114 181 [648] In the Census Report of 1931 it is said that the natives "like the Jarawas are entirely hostile", but no reason is given for this statement. Previous visitors found them exceedingly shy, but not hostile. When seeing foreigners, they simply fled into the jungle. M. C. C. BONIG who visited North Sentinel Island on the 10th of March, 1911, in the course of that year's Census operations, wrote:

"The people appear very timid and it seems not unlikely that if they are approached frequently with presents, they will become friendly of their own accord".

114 No information on North Sentinel Island more recent than the 1931 Census Report has come to our knowledge. If the situation has not changed since then, the culture of its natives should be completely intact and untouched by outer influences — a unique case among the primitive tribes of southern Asia. Here, therefore, is a truly ideal opportunity for anthropological research.

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Census of India, 1901, Vol. III, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by Sir RICHARD C. TEMPLE, pp. 4, 92 (PORTMAN'S visit).

Census of India, 1911, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by R. F. LOWIS, pp. 28—29 (BONIG'S Report).

Census of India, 1931, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by M. C. C. BONINGTON, pp. 22—23.

A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN, *The Andaman Islanders*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1933, pp. 412—413, 422—423, 491—492.

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

The North Sentinel Jarawa

648 175 The taming of the South Andaman Jarawa has been a moot problem of the local government in view of their occasional raids on the forest camps and offices. On this score the North Sentinel Jarawa appear to have an important function. Nothing is known of the length of their isolation on this little island of about 15 square miles but it is probably unaffected by the punitive expeditions, that are undertaken from time to time by the local government against the South Andaman Jarawa. When BONIG and his party landed on the west coast of North Sentinel Island on March 9th 1911, they were not received with volleys of arrows, but instead the "eight men on the beach and another five in two canoes" disappeared in the jungle. The same was true of those seen previously on the east coast. BONIG and his party visited some huts, which [342] were of the lean-to type, and also went some miles inland without being troubled. BONIG therefore rightly concludes the following:

"The people appear very timid and it seems not unlikely that if they are approached frequently with presents, they will become friendly of their own accord. If this fails the small area of the island and the open nature of the forest would also make it easy to capture some, and after kind treatment let them go again".

000 As far as the present writer's knowledge goes this method has not yet been tried, but its utility lies perhaps in taming their South Andaman congeners. They could be made to settle round Port Campbell and other suitable areas on the west coast. A few communal huts built according to the plan and style of the South Andaman Jarawa should first of all be provided. They should be given all chances of expanding their population. Such an opportunity they are likely to seize if they suffer in any way from population pressure or from shortage of food and shelter. If their canoes are not seaworthy they should be provided with suitable water transport so that there may be frequent intercourse between the two islands.

The South Andaman Jarawa

● 114 Although no systematic ethnographic studies on the Jarawa have been undertaken, RADCLIFFE BROWN (1922) gave sufficient hints regarding the unity of the material culture of the Negritos as a whole. Physically they belong to the Negrito race, as can be seen from the few natives captured from time to time by the local government (SARKAR, 1952). The punitive expeditions 648 have also brought to light some important facts of their material culture.

342 Thus, during the punitive expedition of March 1911 (LOWIS, 1912) near Pap-lunta-jig a big communal hut was found which had been erected on the ridge of a hill and which measured 45′ × 30′ × 15′. It was raised high above the ground and was supported by a number of stout piles. The structure [184] was different from the Onge communal huts in that the floor was raised, while in the latter the floor is just the surface of the earth. The eves of the Onge communal hut touch the ground.

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

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141

Right arm ... 2 feet 4 inches
Right index finger ... 4 inches
Right toe ... 2 inches
Length of right leg ... 2 feet 11 inches
Length of right foot ... 9 ½ inches

726 411 177 The iron blade of the arrowhead is 17 cm long and 4.9 cm broad at the base. It is mounted on a wooden shaft 86.7 cm long. The barb at the base consists of an ordinary iron nail which is bent at its sharp end and fixed with bark threads impregnated with resin. It must have been obtained from a forest camp during some raid.

726 114 According to GUPTA (1955) the above mentioned incident was not a premeditated raid. He thinks – after a careful inquiry into the above incident – that the Jarawa "came out in the open, early in the morning and walked right into the camp and did not attempt to shoot, [which] would warrant a presumption that they meant a friendly visit".

648 Since the last few years the Andaman Government has not encouraged any punitive expedition among the Jarawa. This is also evident from one of the Senior Officer's opinion quoted above. The forest workers, on the other hand, still have to face the Jarawa. They think that since no punitive action is taken against them they are gradually getting bolder. It is reported that the Jarawa beat the trunks of trees within their hearing. Consequently all these buttress beatings are immediately reported to the higher authorities and armed guards protecting the forest workers are alerted. If that is the case then the Jarawa do not attack without a warning! But who knows what they really mean? Do they want to communicate with us? Or is it a means of communication among themselves?

The Jarawa Problem

648 114 It has already been hinted at the problem of taming the Jarawa. It was one of the special aims of the Government of India to arrange a substation of its Department of Anthropology. As a result of this the present writer visited the Andaman Islands twice and was of the opinion that the substation of the Department of Anthropology should be stationed at Long Island and not at Port Blair. There were no express plans but to carry out anthropological studies of the aborigines of the various islands. It has not yet been possible to census the friendly Onge properly (SARKAR, 1960).

The primary desideratum appears to be a knowledge of the native language. As far as the present writer knows, there is no one in the various Government departments who is acquainted with the Andamanese language, 000 not to mention the other languages spoken on the varius islands. The Onge

[4] A Jarawa vocabulary was collected from the captive pregnant Jarawa woman by Mrs. CHENGAPPA and Mrs. CHAUDHURI, and it has been published by the Andaman Government.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[Introductory, p. ii]

FOREWORD

Shri Probhat Kumar Sen, M.SC. has brought out an interesting monograph on the Land and People of the Andamans based on his field work for a number of years. As a post-graduate student Shri Sen selected this area for geographical study and prepared a thesis for his Master's degree. This appears to be the revised and detailed version of his thesis. The Andaman and Nicobar islands are in the Bay of Bengal, and prove to be an ideal spot for rehabilitating surplus population of India, provided it is done on a planned basis, keeping an eye to the potential wealth of the islands specially in its virgin forests. Shri Sen has referred to the salient features of the regional geography of the islands and traced the growth of population in these islands since the eighties of the last century. 114

I hope that this important treatise will focus the attention of all concerned to this relatively unknown underdeveloped islands, which have immense possibility of playing an important role in the economy of India.

Dept. of Geography
Calcutta University
11th May, 1962

S. P. CHATTERJEE

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[Introductory, P. iV]
[Introductory, P. iii, is blank]

PREFACE

The dearth of literature but considerable curiosity about the islands 114
because of the presence of the aborigines, the development of the 121
penal colony and in recent years the colonisation of the refugees, have inspired the author to write a geographical treatise of these islands covering almost all their physical and socio-economic aspects. The interest of the author about these islands of course dates back to some 8 or 9 years for preparing a thesis about these islands as a part fulfilment of his M. Sc. course and the author with the limited time and money made some personal enquiries for the collection of data and the assessment of the situation. The access to the data and the 122
other research materials and the visits to the different parts of the islands were possible through the kind permission and help of the-then Chief Commissioner Sri S. N. Maitra, the Forest Officers, the Head Master of Port Blair High School. Dr. L. Cipriani besides a host of other officers and friends in the islands and also at Calcutta. How- 128
ever the ultimate preparation of the thesis became possible for the kind guidance of Dr. S. P. Chatterjee, Head of the Dept of Geography, Calcutta University.

Anybody faces a tremendous problem in conducting a thorough sur- 114
vey of the islands arising out of the poor communication facilities both on land and water, and more so on account of the very few literatures on the islands. The author cannot demand a thorough enquiry in all parts of the islands and his analysis of the different aspects has been derived more from the conclusions of sample survey.

Though a long time has elapsed since the preparation of the thesis 128
in the year 1955, the author has been, on the whole, eager to incorporate all the latest informations of the islands. The present book is partially a reproduction of his previous thesis with some additional facts and informations and the objective of such changes has been to prepare a comprehensive geographical treatise rather than focussing one particular aspect as was done in the thesis i.e. the colonisation problems of the islands. Besides this, additional chapters on the aboriginal population, the overall assessment and also a geographical account on the Nicobar Islands have been added. The Nicobar Islands, though form only a sidelight of the book, also command a separate geographical treat-

10: Sen .K-3, 4 (ca. .1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Island	*Area*
131 Havelock and 6 other islands in the Ritchie's Archipelago Group	94.20
Rutland and 3 other islands in the South Andaman group of islands	73.86
Tarmughli and 4 other islands in the Labyrnth island	12.20
Little Andaman	289.90
166 other islands	430.97

131 But regarding the above statistics, Sri H. R. Shivdasani, I.C.S. writes as follows:—

● 114 'Obviously the area of 430.97 square miles for the other small islands is incorrect and far too much. It gives an average area of 2 square miles per island in which case they deserve individual mention when other islands of less than 1 square mile in area have come to special notice. Forest officers themselves admit that these 166 small islands cannot have a total area of 1430.97 square miles. We may assume that the information of the Punjab Delegation[1] is correct. Even so it would seem that if out of the other islands (735 square miles) we exclude Baratang, 90 square miles, and Little Andaman 290 square miles, there will be 200 small islands with a total area of 335 square miles'.[2]

131 The Andamans lie 590 miles from the Hooghly mouth, 120 miles from
177 Cape Negrais of Burma and 340 miles from the northern extremity of Sumatra. In spite of the very close situation of the islands to the crowded countries like the mainland of India, Burma and the Indonesian countries, the contact has been quite feeble.

1 The Punjab Delegation went to the Andamans to explore the possibility of colonisation in the islands.

2 Shivdasani was sent to the Andamans with a party by the Government of India to study the aspect of colonisation in the islands in the year 1949.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P. 11]

CHAPTER III

PHYSICAL SET-UP

The Andaman & Nicobar Islands form a part of the continuous ridge which runs form the Cape Negrais of Burma through the Preparis and Coco Islands to the Andamans and continues further to the Nicobars and Sumatra. The whole ridge has a geological affinity with the Arakan Yoma of Burma and Sumatra and Java. The ridge is primarily of Eocene formation and forms a part of the great Alpine-Himalayan system. Prof. Gregory holds the view that "the main line continues eastward through the Himalaya until the resistance of the Chinese plateau has traced it southward and part of it now lies beneath the Bay of Bengal, it reappears in Sumatra and continues through Java and across the Malaya Archipelago."[1] But some modifications of Gregory's view have been achieved and presently it is believed that this ridge is a loop of the main Himalayan axis comparable to the Persian loop in western Asia and Apennine loop in Europe.[2] The ridge is not continuous but is interrupted in many places, of which the 3 main channels are worth considering. The depth of the channels increases from north to south. 133

(1) Preparis channel in between north and south Preparis islands has a depth of over 500 fathoms.

(2) The Degree Channel, between the Andamans and the Nicobars, is approximately 400 fathoms deep.

(3) Great Channel lying between Great Nicobar Island and Sumatra is about 750 to 800 fathoms deep.

The peaks of the mountains now form the islands and in some places the coastline slopes very steeply to the ocean.

GEOLOGY OF THE ANDAMANS

The present knowledge of the geology of the islands is largely the outcome of the investigations done by R. D. Oldham (1885), Kurz (1868), Gee, and G. H. Tipper. Even at present a thorough geological knowledge of the islands has not been achieved and this has been due to a number [114]

1. Gregory, J. W.—The Structure of Asia, London, Methuen.
2. Swell, R. B. (1925)—Geography of the Andaman Basin, Geographic and Oceanographic Researches in Indian waters, Mem. Asiatic. Soc Bengal IX, No. 1. [113]

[text continues on p. 13]

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

of reasons. Firstly, a thorough survey of the islands is very difficult 133
because of the dense forests and hostile aborigines. Secondly, the 114
Government also cared little to take pains for initiating such a work. Regarding the inconveniences of geologising Tipper writes "the thickness of the jungles may be judged from the fact that our rate of progress varied from half a mile to a mile an hour. The dense jungle with a lack of exposures made geologising very difficult."[1]

Rink first postulated that the Andaman-Nicobar ridge was elevated 133
to its present height from ocean bottom. He describes the chain of islands as consisting "partly of those stratified deposits which occupied the level bottom of the sea before their appearance, and partly of plutonic rocks which pierced through the former and came to the surface through upheaval.

To the two above-mentioned formations has to be added a third, which is the result of the chemical and mechanical destruction of the plutonic masses; it is local and consists of clays and pebbles derived from the underlying strata."

On the whole, the mountain ranges of the Andamans are of sandstones of Eocene Age with intensive rocks of serpentine in places. Large parts of the North Andaman have been grouped under the Archipelago Series by Oldham. Tipper considers the conglomerates of North and Middle Andamans as a facies of the Eocene deposit. Between the mountain ranges which run north to south, some undulating ground is found which often consists of impermeable blue clay beds, indurated shales and conglomerates containing pebbles of quartz and jasper. Coral reefs and the raised beaches form the recent and sub-recent formation of the Andamans. The formation of the Andaman-Nicobar ridge has been assigned to late Cretaceous age.

Oldham has distinguished two sedimentary formations in the Andamans besides serpentine series. He named them as

(1) Port Blair Series, &
(2) Archipelago Series[2]

The Port Blair series is so named because it is dominant in and around Port Blair, i.e., in the South Andaman. The rock types are gray sandstones with interbedded slaty shales, frequently consisting nests

1. Tipper, G. H.—The geology of the Andaman Islands with reference to the Nicobars. Mem. Geol. Sur. Ind., Vol 35. Part 4. [113]

2. Oldham, R. D.—Notes on the Geology of the Andaman Islands, Rec. Geol. Sur. of Ind., Vol. 18, Part 3, 1885.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

133 of coaly matter and occasionally beds of conglomerate and pale gray limestone as subsidiary members.

The Archipelago series, as the name implies, is dominant in the islands of the Archipelago group. It consists of soft limestones formed of coral and shell—and, soft calcareous sandstones and soft white clays with occasionally a band of conglomerates.

Later on G. H. Tipper further clarified the geology of the Andamans and as analysed by Tipper, the 'Port Blair Series' and 'Archipelago Series' of Oldham correspond to Eocene (Lower Lutetian) and Miocene formations respectively. According to Tipper, the greatest authority of the geology of the Andamans, the following formations have been distinguished in the Andamans:—

Recent and sub-recent	... Raised beaches and coral reef etc.
Miocene	... Clays of Ritchie's Archipelago.
Miocene (Burdigalian)	... Foraminiferal limestones, shell marks of Paget Island.
Eocene (Lower Lutetian)	... Conglomerates of the North and Middle Islands. Sandstones of the South Islands.
Cretaceous	... Serpentine Series.
Pre-tertiary	... In part lower Cretaceous, scattered expanses of quartzites, jaspers and porcellanic limestones.

Of all formations, the Eocene rocks are most widely prevalent. They occupy the 3 main islands i.e., North, Middle and South Andamans and have got two facies of the same deposit. In the North and part of the Middle Andamans the prevailing rock is conglomerate while in the South Andaman it is sandstone.

The Sandstone Area of the South.

The sandstones of the South are even-grained blue grey micaceous sandstones but are sometimes non-micaceous and calcareous intercalated slabs are frequent. Conglomerates also occur in white quartz pebbles of sandy matrix. The rocks have experienced honey-comb weathering because of the irregular distribution of the cementing materials.

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[114] It should be remembered that the geological survey of the Middle Andaman has not been done properly.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P 51]

CHAPTER VIII

THE PEOPLE

101 144 563

The study of the people of the Andamans is rendered extremely interesting by virtue of the great diversities in the types of population. Obviously for the islands like the Andamans the diversities of population are far out of proportion. The islands remained as an abode of the aborigines, the negritoes, in complete seclusion and the only outside interference that had tampered the islands were the occasional raids by the sea pirates from Malaya. The beliefs about the occasional exchanges of commodities and ideas of the pirates with the Andamanese [114] and the trade of the Andamanese for being sold as slaves in the courts of Siam and Cambodia are still now questions of doubt. However, it 563 was only at the end of the 18th century, with the attempt of the formation of settlements and later on, of the penal settlement, that there began an influx of foreign peoples, mainly from the different parts of the 167 144 mainland of India. With the formation of the penal colony, convicts 101 were brought over to the islands in numbers and also a few attempts of free colonisation by some people from Burma and India were made. The convicts who were from the different parts of India and the free colonizors who were diverse enough in their social and cultural traits gave a character of heterogeneity to the islands. It was only after the attainment of the independence that the settlement of the East Bengal refugees and of some people from South India is taking place in the Andamans. This is going to add further to the cultural diversity of the islands. This scheme of colonisation of the East Bengal refugees and of some people from South India is the first attempt of some importance for the permanent colonization in the islands.

Such a variety in the types of people, can be broadly divided into 144 three groups. 563 101

(a) The aboriginal population.
(b) The Later Settlers, and
(c) The New Settlers.

174 101 [144]

The aboriginal population belongs to the negrito stock and therefore, has an affinity with the Semangs and Sakais of Malaya, the Veddas of Ceylon and the other negrito groups of Southeast Asia. Some attribute the origin of these aborigines to the settlement of some Portuguese negro slaves who had survived by coming to these islands after a ship-

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

161 yond doubt that the impact of the people having better material culture on the aboriginal population has resulted in an acceleration of their decay. The aborigines of the Great Andaman Group are the first people in the islands to come in contact with the later settlers and the early incorporation of many of the vices of these new comers have resulted in the furtherance of their decay. Such devastating effects are also observed in the case of many other aboriginal groups. The Red Indians of U.S.A. and the native population of Malanesia are only a few among the many others who are such victims of decline, more so immediately after the impact of the later settlers.

101 161 162 Whatever inadequate data are available about the number of aborigines and the other demographic characteristics, they show the nature of imbalance which stands in the way of their successful growth.

Table No. 1*

The aboriginal population.

Tribe	1858	1885	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951
	100		39	36	17	7		
Karo	500		96	71	48	24		
Tabo	200		48	62	18	6		
Yeve	700		218	180	101	46		
Kede	500		59	34	6	2		
Juwai	300	2000	48	9	5	0		23
Koj	100		11	2	0	0		
Bojigyab	300		50	36	9	1		
Bea	500		37	19	1	0		
Belawa	300		19	15	4	2		
			625	464	209	88		23
Onge	700	1250	672	631	346	350		600
Jarawa	600		585	231	231	170		350
	4800	3250	1882	1326	786	608		973

114 161 In spite of the fact that the data of the aboriginal population, as given in the Table No. 1, is far from accurate, a very good idea of the nature of decline of the aboriginal population can be assessed. As is evident from the Table, the population of 4800 in 1858 has reduced to 608 in 1931 in less than 75 years.

* The figures are not at all accurate.

10:Sen K-3,4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

162 114 The Onge population has been estimated by various authorities and the surveys of Dr. Cipriani have brought to light some important characteristics of the Onge population. Cipriani has ascertained the total Onge population to be 607, of which 229 are adult males, 241 are adult women and 137 children. Of the 137 children, he has detected 48 boys and 62 girls and about the rest he is not sure. However, the procedure followed by Cipriani and the conclusions derived by him, which are contrary to the previous knowledge, have been vehemently criticised by Dr. Sarkar.[1] Sarkar opines that the procedure of enumeration by counting the number of sleeping places in a communal hut is liable to gross errors because of the roving nature of the Onges of whom an appreciable number has no sleeping place. The determination of the sex-ratio from the communal huts are also more difficult. As a matter of fact the precision of enumeration, as is apparent from the census of Cipriani, cannot be attained and the deficiencies in the procedure of Cipriani have very well been brought to light by questioning and ultimate rejection by arguments. He writes that, 'His (Cipriani's) account is difficult to follow. There are very few relevant data regarding the actual Onge population. He has estimated the population instead of giving a simple population figure for each of the Onge settlements he visited. His estimates are based on the number of sleeping places in a hut, though nothing definite could be found either with regard to the total number of communal huts or the sleeping places. Then to find out the sex of the individuals from the sleeping places seems preposterous. Cipriani (1956) estimates the total Onge population to be 607, comprising 229 adult males, 241 adult women and 137 children. He was able to determine the sex of the children in about 80% of the cases, since immediately after the above quotation he states: 'Of the latter 48 are boys, 62 girls and of 27 sex could not be ascertained.' In the same paper and just two sentences before, where he gave the above figures, he mentioned a total of 497 individuals, comprising 242 men and 255 women. If the latter figures are meant only for adults then with the addition of 137 children to the above adult population of 497, the total Onge population appears to be 634. Even then the discrepancies in the adult population remain to be explained; it adds up to 470 (229 males, 241 females) once and to 497 (242 males, 255 females) another time.

Secondly, the enumeration of Cipriani shows a higher feminine population, whereas as analysed by Dr. Sarkar, all the previous estimates

[113] 1 Sarkar, S. S—Analecta et Additamenta, Anthropos 55, 1960.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

of the Onges actually seen, show a predominance of males. The determination of sex-ratio by Cipriani is no doubt very much speculative in nature and as is evident from the extract of the comment of Dr. Sarkar, Cipriani himself has been contrary to his own versions, at times. All the previous censuses of the actual Onges met and counted show a predominance of males and this happens to be the logical argument of Dr. Sarkar to conclude that the Onges population has been characterised by high masculinity. High masculinity always imply a very high predominance of males over females but never in the previous censuses we find such a high predominance. The census of Cipriani shows a slightly higher number of females than males and the attainment of such a slight predominance of females over males is never a physical impossibility. As such we may believe that there may be a slight predominance of females over males though the procedure adopted by Cipriani is by no means a precise one. 162 114

Dr. Sarkar, though apparently justified, totally rejects the procedure of Cipriani. Census of population is in itself a very difficult job and it is always liable to errors even in the advanced countries. Therefore, the enumeration of Dr. Cipriani is highly praiseworthy and because of the difficulties of contacting all the Onges the enumeration of the communal huts and the number of sleeping beds are no doubt very important clues for an intelligent guess about their number.

Though Dr. Sarkar pleads for the predominance of males by taking into account the number of Onges actually seen and counted (which show a predominance of males), the research expeditions undertaken by Sri R. C. Nigam[1] under the auspices of the Anthropological Survey of India in March, 1955 and December, 1956 made him fairly well-acquainted with the island of Little Andaman. From his own actual counting, a higher number of females have been counted than males. He was able to contact 161 Onge individuals of which 138 belonged to the 45 family units and the rest were 'unattached'[2] individuals i.e., widows, unmarried 162

1 Nigam, R. C.—Little known tribes of the Andaman Islands—Their problems and prospect; Vanyajati; Vol. VIII, January, 1960, No. 1; Vol. VIII, April, 1960, No. 2 and Vol. VIII, July, 1960, No. 3. [113]

2 A family is considered to be comprised of parents and children whereas, if the father or mother of a family is dead, the members have been called as 'unattached' type by R. C. Nigam.

THE ANDAMAN ISLANDERS

has a moustache, whereas pure Negritos have no body or facial hair.

THE JARAWAS

648 For obvious reasons I was unable to carry out any studies on the [114] Jarawas. Apart from a restricted area around Port Blair, on the east [137] coast of Great Andaman, the whole island is a tangle of tropical vegetation, in many places impenetrable, or at most passable only [491] by hacking a way through. A few roads radiate from Port Blair, but none penetrate more than twenty kilometres or so from the township. To the north of the town is a well-maintained police cordon that stretches right across the island from east to west to prevent infiltration by the Jarawas; those in the south were all rounded up some time ago. Only beyond the cordon do the Jarawas maintain [142] their rule over the virgin forest almost unchallenged. Like all the Andamanese they are Negritos, small in stature and extremely dark skinned. Obsessed by a fierce hatred for anyone outside their own group, enemies even of the other Andamanese, they roam through the forest with their deadly arrows. Shot from their powerful bows, [411] their dagger-sharp arrows penetrate deep into the body of the victim – they can transfix a man's chest. The bloody skirmishing which has gone on for the last hundred years shows no signs of lessening even today.

175 The Jarawa ferocity increased as the result of grave mishandling 648 of the situation by the foreigners. In this connection the following sentences from Portman's *History* may be quoted: 'On our arrival the Jarawas were quiet and inoffensive towards us, nor did they ever disturb us, until we took to continuously molesting them by inciting the coastal Andamanese against them. After a few years of this disturbance, the life of the Jarawas became very hard and in retaliation they began to attack us.' As the author in part recognizes, 'It was our fault if the Jarawas became hostile'. This was a fundamental error. Petty pilfering committed in perfect innocence by the Jarawas, ignorant of Western ideas of individual property, led to vicious punitive expeditions. To this end fire-arms were given to the hereditary enemies of the Jarawas, the Arioto. Elated by their unexpected power, they at once began slaughtering any Jarawa within sight, and enjoyed themselves hugely.

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Jarawas

Portman, who was for a long time the English administrator in the Andamans, is one of the greatest authorities on the islands; in his excellent history he refers, with frank sincerity and detail, to the methods adopted in the anti-Jarawa wars. He tells of the payment of the Arioto with food, tobacco and alcohol, arms and ammunition for their ruthless fight against their forest kin. Since at one time the struggle seemed to the outsiders to be lacking in ardour and intensity, Portman received an order in 1884 to deprive the Arioto of all provisions, starting with food. This he was forced to obey, perhaps unwillingly. He certainly loved the Andamanese, and he understood and honestly appreciated their needs. 175 648

As he later did on Little Andaman, Portman then tried to approach the Jarawas; not on Great Andaman where they had become too dangerous, but on North Sentinel. He proposed to improve upon the work already initiated (with disastrous results) by Homfray who went to the island in March 1867, escorted by police and by a small group of Arioto. The hostility between Andamanese from different localities immediately made even the Sentinellese keenly resentful of the foreigners who were trying to make friends with them under the protection of their age-old enemies. The foreigners would in fact probably have been quite well received if they had not taken Arioto with them.

Homfray referred to naked men on the beach who fled with loud cries into the forest when pursued by Arioto. Portman repeated the same mistake. In his photographs, still to be seen in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, he actually uses the expression 'Hunting Jarawas' among the captions to the pictures he took on North Sentinel.

After several abortive expeditions by Portman, visits to North Sentinel were very few and far between until recent years. In 1926 a German, whose name became anglicized to Bonington, an intelligent timber merchant at Port Blair, became a government official in the Andamans once he had assumed British nationality. He reports having seen some Jarawas, who rapidly disappeared into the forest uttering such wild cries that they hardly seemed human. In 1953 other Indian government officials approached the island, and a lone Jarawa on the beach threatened them with an arrow. I myself planned to make a landing on 20 April 1954, but was prevented by a rough sea. I went right round the island, but no Jarawas appeared. 114

THE ANDAMAN ISLANDERS

114 This was a pity, as I knew that my Indian and Burmese companions were ready to run any risk with the prudence they had already shown in Little Andaman towards the Onges. Since North Sentinel is flat and its forest not impassable, a peace mission led by men accustomed to dealing with people like the Andamanese, though it would certainly need more than a brief stay, would probably be ultimately successful.

124 114 [648] My sole source of local information on the Jarawas was the wife of a government official, who had tended a pregnant woman and four children who were captured during one of the punitive expeditions on Bluff Island. She gave me a great deal of useful information, and indeed the greater part of our scanty ethnographical and linguistic data on the Jarawas has been obtained through her.

THE ONGES

177 648 114 133 Until 1952 the attitude of the various groups of Onges was very similar. Along the coast, however, they had already had some contact many years ago with a limited number of outsiders. Compared with the Jarawas they have been uniquely fortunate among surviving primitive peoples in that their extremely fertile territory has remained immune from invasion. In this they have been helped by their geographical isolation as much as by their own ferocity. Indeed Little Andaman, surrounded by an ocean that frequently turns into the proverbial boiling cauldron, presents grave risks to anyone trying to land. I had considerable experience of this myself; on many occasions I nearly gave up when the boat was overturned by giant breakers. On one occasion on the south coast of the island we were flung into the sea, and the empty boat capsized and dragged me down. No one was in a position to come to my rescue, but the momentary relief of an enormous return wave enabled me to extricate myself. The previous day the breakers had crashed down one after another and smashed us against the coral reef which runs right round Little Andaman. Our baggage and provisions had disappeared, and until help arrived we were forced to remain for two gruelling days without water or food, with no protection from the sun and in constant danger of being attacked by the Onges.

OOD During the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries

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Editor's Note

The editing and publication of any posthumous work is inevitably a difficult task, and the preparation of the present volume has been made the more so as the material came into our hands only after Professor Cipriani's death, and was clearly intended to become a final expression of his scientific and philosophical experience. 114

Among the readers of this book there may be scientists who will deplore on principle any attempt to present scientific observations in a form attractive to the general reader. Happily, their numbers are dwindling rapidly, and we make no apology for trying to bring to as wide a public as possible observations which, quite apart from any intrinsic scientific value, may help in some measure to remedy the paucity of material so far published on the peoples of the Andaman Islands, and stimulate the further research which Cipriani himself felt to be so urgently needed.

On going through the mass of data left by Professor Cipriani it became abundantly clear that not only did he intend the scientific matter to be published in detail in various scientific journals, but that this resumé of his observations was intended to be a framework within which he hoped to set out the views to which he had been led by his experiences as an anthropologist over a period of many years. It was equally clear that not everyone would feel in sympathy with these views, and the philosophy which they express. While, therefore, there is no doubt that Professor Cipriani would have been fully able and prepared to support them scientifically, I have not felt competent to do so, nor, frankly, would I feel it my province as a layman to engage in controversy over 'big bang' and 'steady state' theories of evolution. The present volume, therefore,

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114 does not and cannot claim to be other than a record of the late Professor Cipriani's observations and experiences in the Andamans, and as such let it be judged.

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Foreword

The following pages represent a brief account of my observations during a period of nearly two years which I spent in the Andaman Islands, living for part of the time with the Onges, who provide the major part of my material.

I had for a long time been interested in the vexed question of the origins of the pygmies, and after spending some years studying them in Africa and in Asia I came to the conclusion that the peoples of the Andaman archipelago might well represent the 'purest' living example of Negrito stock and culture, remaining as they have in complete isolation until very recently. After a brief visit to the Islands in 1951, therefore, and with the warm co-operation of all the officials and government departments concerned, I was able, beginning in 1952, to spend a total of 634 days in the Islands, 162 of them living in the forests of Little Andaman with the Onges.

It would be impossible to list individually the Indian government officials who aided me in every way, but I wish to record here my deepest appreciation of the courtesy and help extended to me by all the departments and individuals with whom I had dealings, both in the Andamans and in India itself. To all of them, whatever their rank or station, are due my warmest thanks – without their help these notes, incomplete as they are, could never have been written.

Armed with gifts of mirrors, glass beads, cloth and, above all, tobacco, I was able to make friends with the reputedly ferocious people of the Andamans and to make observations which, though but a beginning, will I hope lead others to carry further the work which I was able to begin. During my visits to the Islands I was able to set up a museum at Port Blair, where I hope ultimately to

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Onges

175 colonel who had accompanied him. After a series of similar inci-
648 dents involving other people Portman went to Bumila Creek on 10 November 1891, for revenge. A number of Onges, including the one responsible for wounding the colonel, were captured and taken to Port Blair.

Other visits by various people followed, always very brief and always limited to the coast, but there were no landings of note. Various expeditions visited the coast of the island for a few days and even made contact with some of the Onges, but the interior
114 of the island remained as unknown as before. In February 1951 I
122 accompanied one of these expeditions, which again did not go beyond the coast. Those five days on Little Andaman were most revealing, and enabled me to plan the landing I subsequently made in 1952. I saw that the island was teeming with game, that wild
[136] fruit and edible roots were plentiful, and that the sea round the island was full of fish, lobsters, huge crabs and turtles. Moreover, the turtles laid eggs in the sand where it was very easy to find them by following the beasts' tracks. I realized that it would be unnecessary to bring in provisions, and that it would be possible to enter the forest unencumbered with anything more than guns, cartridges and a few cooking utensils. Every day during this short stay I went with a police escort as far as possible into the forest in order to reconnoitre. In some places I noticed recent traces of small bare feet, but no Onges appeared.

122 Realizing that mobility was essential for any expedition into the interior of the island, I prepared at Port Blair a number of small watertight metal boxes to hang from the shoulder, to take a minimum of necessities. The largest items in my own personal baggage were a mosquito-net, a very light hammock and note-books. Cartridges were to be divided among the boxes. Tents, camp-beds and other large equipment would have to be left in a base camp, which would be established on the coast and left under police guard with radio transmission apparatus for communication with Port Blair. If necessary, a portable radio could follow us.

121 Several factors made me want to return. There was the mystery of the unknown interior of the island. There was the prevailing lack of information of any kind about the Onges, even of their numbers. I wanted too to carry out an investigation of their somatic characteristics, using the greatest possible number of individuals.

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Onges

After submitting my programme for the approval of the various Indian authorities, I finally left Calcutta in the motor vessel *Maharaja* and arrived in Port Blair on the evening of 11 December 1951. 122

Once arrived on Great Andaman I began to make preparations, but for some time the sea remained so rough that the crossing to Little Andaman was impossible. In order not to lose time, I went as far as Middle Andaman, where I started excavating an ancient kitchen-midden left by a group which has now disappeared.[1] Eventually, in March 1952, there began for me what was to become a fascinating if dangerous adventure, which continued for several years, in the dry seasons, and which I hope will prove to have been of some value. 114

Even now we know little of the anthropology of the Onges. They are Negritos, and therefore people of small stature. They are not, however, as small as the African pygmies, or Negrillos, who are the tiniest people in the world and who are in many respects very different from the Asiatic Negritos. Among the latter, individuals of over 4 feet are giants, while the normal height is substantially less. 142

In their somatic and cultural characteristics the Andamanese differ from all Asiatics, including their closest connections the Semang of the Malaccan peninsula and the Aetà of the Philippines. There is however some similarity between the three groups, indicating a distinctive common ancestry. The Negritos of today constitute the sole and fragmentary remains of a people who in ancient times were spread over a large part of Asia, and there is no lack of evidence to support their former presence much farther east and south, well into Oceania. 144

The word Negrito means 'small negro', but the name is inappropriate. It was originally given to these people because of the colour of their skin and the woolly texture of their hair. In their bodily proportions, however, as well as in the morphology of the head as a whole, and in particular the structure of the mouth, they resemble the Negroes considerably less than do African pygmies, who are in their turn quite a distinct type. The Negritos have some superficial affinity to peoples of small stature in New Guinea and Melanesia, such as the Tapiro, the Cameveca, the Cai and the Pesechem (or

[1] See page 69.

Many Onges, in fact, have fine features,
142 and some of the women have a certain beauty and grace of move-
[481] ment, with a dignified walk and restrained gestures, despite their utter lack of any sense of shame. The sclera are very white, and the highly characteristic contrast between the intense black of the skin and the startling white of the eyes gives the Andamanese a ferocious appearance, which on smiling turns into a curiously childish ex-
151 pression (see further, p. 19). It is a curious fact that although the
145 Onges have remarkable sight (p. 47), few of them can close each eye separately, although they are all completely ambidextrous.

144 In examining the child I had particularly in mind the very short
142 stature of the pygmies both of Asia and Africa, which is regarded
164 by some as pathological. The Andamanese have been described as Negroes who have degenerated through genetical isolation. This theory holds that they are descended from slaves who fled from the Portuguese after a shipwreck. I do not regard this as tenable. Pygmies in general, and the Andamanese in particular, are well-proportioned and physically outwardly normal. One cannot speak of dwarfism as determining their characteristics: this implies abnormal development as the result of hypophyseal disorder or
[143] thyroid imbalance. Cases of achondroplastic dwarfism are known among the pygmies of Africa, particularly where there has been mixing with Negroes, and these patients are sometimes taller than their normal kinfolk, but I found no cases among the pygmies of Asia.

142 One characteristic of the Bushmen which does occur among the Andamanese is steatopigia in both males and females. This is nor-
[114] mally much more prevalent in females, and indeed before my visit to the Andamans von Eickstedt held that it was non-existent in males. I had always disagreed with this view, and was able to verify its occurrence in both males and females.

Dobson in the nineteenth century recorded in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* of London, the unusual appearance of the buttocks in the Andamanese, although he did not specifically refer to the phenomenon as steatopygia, and went only so far as to suppose it the result of an unusual accumulation of fat in the gluteal area. To him, however, must go the credit for the first observation.

114 His observation led scientists – in my view wrongly – to compare
142 the Andamanese with the Bushmen. The presence of steatopygia,
144

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and the 'peppercorn' hair (disposed in tufts with bare areas) do indeed recall the Bushmen, but superficial resemblances are not enough to classify the two peoples as at all closely related. There is an important difference between the two in the structure and cross-section of the hair. Hairs from the Onges which were examined in Calcutta were remarkably uniform, indicating the racial purity of the people, unlike those of the Arioto, which showed considerable variation in cross-section, from the almost circular straight hair of the Mongoloid type, to the flattened, almost remiform hair of the original Negritos.

Different, too, is the shape of the head; I have never seen in the Negritos the typical Bushmen head, with the prominent occiput, and I saw no Andamanese with the pseudo-mongoloid appearance of the eyes which occurs in Bushmen.

The hands and feet are also different. Among the Kung women of the northern Kalahari in particular I saw delicate hands with very long metacarpals and a very small thumb, the elongated metacarpals displacing the thumb towards the wrist. None of the Negritos appear to have anything resembling this; their hands are always rather broad. Moreover, the feet of the male Onges are nearly always flat while those of the women tend to turn in, recalling the small peoples of Indonesia and New Guinea, but not the Bushmen.

An interesting though not congenital abnormality in the Andamanese results from the carrying of weights slung from the head from too early an age. Loads are always carried on their backs by a rope made of bark, the weight being taken on the forehead. The rope presses on the head in the region of the bregma and creates the so-called bregmatic furrow. This is more marked in females, as the women normally do most of the carrying. Even the children travel on their parents' backs, hanging like parcels, until the age of five or six when they are old enough to follow the group on their own.

The Abor, a mongoloid people of small stature in the mountains of North-West Assam, carry loads in the same way, but with no resulting head furrow. The Andamanese have softer cranial bones, and the result of load-bearing is therefore clearly visible. As it occurs in both sexes, it is often hard if not impossible to determine sex from skulls if the pelvis is absent. The long bones are not of

142 147 482 much assistance in this respect, as the muscular insertions are exaggerated in both sexes, both being subjected to continued physical effort resulting in muscular bulk.

142 147 164 [304] [515] One quite outstanding physical feature in the Onges is their teeth. The palate is unusually arched, unlike that of the African pygmies or the Bushmen. The teeth, which are never filed or cut, as many primitive peoples do for decorative purposes, are very white; caries is rare, and although never cleaned the teeth are retained till late in life. A common abnormality is that the lateral incisors are as pointed as the canines. This, with the whiteness of the teeth and eyes against the blackness of the skin, gives the Onges a sinister appearance, which may account for the old description of the Andamanese as men with ferocious dogs' heads. The only 142 515 (summary) cleaning the Onge teeth receive is the use of toothpicks, thinner and rather longer than the European variety and made from the tough, flexible bark of a certain reed. After use, they are carefully thrust into the hair for future occasions. Every Onge has one or more threaded through the hair on top of the head.

142 147 [264] [514] The strength of the Onge teeth enables their owners to champ their way through what are for us inconceivable quantities of food, both animal and vegetable, which is chewed slowly and determinedly, dust, earth, sand and all, and then swallowed without apparent ill effects, other than the flatulence arising from overconsumption of animal matter. But the Onges use their teeth for other purposes besides eating. In time the teeth become worn down by the inevitable grinding of dirt and grit, but this does not prevent the Onges from continuing to chew the bark of trees and cords, which is a lifelong occupation. This duty falls mainly on the women, and I have seen aged women, their teeth worn almost to the gums, doggedly chewing bark as their contribution to the communal life of the group. The strength of the teeth is unbelievable – I have seen children of ten to fifteen years crush nails up to two millimetres thick, and dent lumps of iron.

● 114 123 142 147 [37] I myself once had good cause to be grateful for their power. My party and I found ourselves stranded in the forest on South Brother without guns or even knives, and without cooking utensils. There were large clutches of turtle eggs buried in the sand nearby and my two Onge companions pointed out a coconut tree loaded with nuts (which turned out to be the only one on the islands, seeded

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Onges

from a nut carried by the sea from some tree hundreds of miles away). There was thus ample food for several days, if only the coconuts could be opened. The Onges' teeth solved the problem. They attacked the nuts close to the stalk, stripping off great chunks of the fibrous outer covering until they had uncovered the three 'eyes'. These they dug out with a sharp piece of stick, so that we were able to drink the juice and then break up the nuts to get at the flesh. Never did coconuts taste so good!

Round the base of the tree I saw a thick layer of broken pieces of coconut, the remains of nuts opened by the Onges' teeth over the years. The strength of their bite resembles that of the African pygmies, whom I have seen hanging by their teeth from the lianas and who can dent the barrel of a gun.

The average life span of the Onges, and indeed of the Andamanese in general, is fairly short. On Little Andaman there are probably no individuals over the age of sixty, and most die before fifty. Here again they differ from African peoples of similar stature; Bushmen have been known to live to a hundred, and I saw one in Natal, incredibly wrinkled, but not shrunken, who was certainly near that age if not, as he claimed, over it. This is quite unknown in the Andamanese. There are none with white hair; although a few white hairs can sometimes be found on the head of an old woman, there are none to be seen in the men, who die younger than the women. There is no baldness, which is by no means rare in Negroes, particularly in southern Africa.

Precise age is not easy to determine in the Onges. Visual assessment is hampered by the absence of the signs of ageing common in Europeans. Moreover, a particularly child-like expression often lasts into adult life. In May 1952 I saw on Car Nicobar two Jarawa youths, small but robust, whose age by our standards one would have estimated at ten or twelve years. One turned out to be fourteen, however, and the other at least two years older, and both were adolescent, despite their childish appearance.

Males appear to reach their maximum height at about eighteen, and females at about sixteen; both sexes reach full maturity at about twenty-three. At forty-five they are old: their hard life, their unbalanced diet, with its enormous quantities of fat meat eaten in excess, and complete absence of salt, and their unrestrained sexual activity, may all be contributing factors. The slightly greater age

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222 784 776 824 twining up into the trees, and the shorter-stemmed yams, are never disturbed. The Onges merely dig down, at a respectful distance from the plant, certain of finding what they want. On no account must there be any signs of the theft for the spirit to see, so they quietly take off roots or tubers some way from the main stem and leave the rest, patting the earth down afterwards and covering the place with leaves. The guardian spirit, not, apparently, all-seeing, notices nothing, as the plant continues to flourish, improved by the root pruning. Everyone, guardian spirit and Onges alike, is happy.

[185] [114] This unconscious preservation may well be the result of a decree, in some remote past, by an Onge seer who realized the danger of killing off the entire plants and invented the guardian spirits as a deterrent. The Negritos still make similar use of roots and tubers; [171] Skeet and Blagden fifty years ago referred to the Semang eating poisonous wild yams, having removed the toxic substances.[1]

241 174 It is interesting that both in the past and even today a number of peoples at a very early stage of cultural development have progressed from the gathering of the wild yams of South-East Asia to the first signs of cultivation and agriculture. It is possible that they were the first plants ever to be cultivated by primitive Man, the Negritos with their digging sticks delving then as they do now; the genus is certainly a very ancient one, and some species, such as *Dioscorea alata*, may have spread from Asia to Africa and Oceania, and even to America, with the beginning of cultivation. But this is a stage of development which the peoples of the Andaman never reached.

412 [177] [222] The digging stick, the only implement the Onges have with which to get at the roots and tubers, has in recent times been affected, though to a very limited extent by the spread of iron. Only a few individuals possess a primitive iron tool, half a metre long, cylindrical in shape and usually not more than one and a half centimetres in diameter and flattened into a form of blade at one end. The vast majority still have only the age-old stick made of hard wood, hardly recognizable as a tool and crudely fashioned into a point at one end. This tool, so primitive that it can easily be mistaken for an odd

[1] It is interesting that the American Aborigines, especially in Brazil, do the same with manioc, but I saw nothing of this nature in the Andamans.

TOO, so primitive that it can easily be mistaken for an all

piece of wood, has definite uses, and none of the nomadic forest peoples anywhere in the world are without it. Everywhere it is found it is effective in filling huge baskets with food – baskets equally simply and equally quickly made. I have already described (see p. 93) the baskets made by the Onges for purely temporary use on their hunting expeditions. In the communal huts, however, the making of real baskets involves hours of careful plaiting, working the supple fibres from the strong bark of selected rushes, and expert finishing. These baskets are an invariable and prized part of every family's inheritance and are preserved for as long as possible. Nowhere in the collection of basketry from Great Andaman are there baskets with more craftsmanship than the permanent ones of the Onges.[1] All the baskets are the shape of half an egg. There is little variation in size, all being about forty centimetres in diameter at the top, and about forty-five centimetres deep, unlike the temporary carriers, which vary considerably in size, according to whether they are to be carried by men, women, or even children, and what is to be carried.

412 171 285 285 [42.8]

At the opposite extreme from the underground harvest of roots, men and women alike use long thin hooked poles to hook down fruit from the trees, climbing up into the trees when necessary to strip the highest branches and then hiding the poles in the forest until they are next required (no attempt is ever made to carry them about). When the tree is not too large, it is ruthlessly chopped down and stripped as it lies on the ground. I was horrified in the first fortnight of April to see this happen to trees which the Onges call *dangbecciò*, which bear blackish-red fruit about the size of a pigeon's egg. The attraction is the flavour of the pulp, but there is little of it, surrounding a large nut. To get at the pulp a thick, hard case has to be cracked, but to the formidable Onge teeth this is no problem and the case cracks comparatively easily. The nut itself is not edible; the honey-coloured pulp is sweetish, but there is so little that it takes ten fruits to provide ten grams of it. The fruits hang in bunches at the end of branches covered with leaves rather like a chestnut. As the wood is very soft, the Onges usually hack the trees down; large ones may merely have their branches lopped

222 [412] [185]

[1] Editor's note: The author indicated in manuscript at this point his intention of giving a full description of the way in which these are made, but unfortunately died before he was able to do so. [114]

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their hunting and fishing, or contacts with strangers, which are loudly chanted, accompanied by miming and dancing, during their nocturnal celebrations. One was sung and danced in my honour; Cendubai,[1] head of the Lulera hut, much struck by the sight of me in my hammock slung between two trees on nylon cords, delivered himself of a warning over the danger I was running using such thin cords. At the end of each 'verse' the refrain '*cuł-cian-ghéghełhłe-chéle*' (he will hurt himself) repeated his fear of the cords breaking.

Hunting and fishing episodes are to the Onges less interesting than themes like my safety, because to them they lack the repetitive refrain. In their dances, on the other hand, they prefer something else, to us monotonous, but for them always new, and even exciting; more than anything they love to dance the stages of courtship to its culmination, with the help of words and extraordinarily (to Western eyes regrettably) vivid gestures.

Birds, to the Onges, harbour the spirits of the dead, and it is for this reason that they are never eaten, contrary to the assertions of Brown.[2] Similar fears extend to lizards, the jungle cats, bats, rats and snakes. I have confirmed this among both the Onges and the Arioto. The latter even refused to eat some fat pigeons which I offered them not knowing of the taboo; they accepted the gifts, but the pigeons were eventually eaten by my own men. And the Onges whom I took with me to Port Blair for a few days refused point blank to eat pigeon or chicken.

The spirits select the Onges' food for them, in the sense that they regard everything as edible or poisonous, according to whether the guardian spirit is benign or malevolent. Given the curious adaptability of the spirits and the intensely practical way in which they operate it is hardly surprising that their benevolence or malignity coincides remarkably well with those foods which tend to promote normal health!

[1] I was sorry to learn that Cendubai died suddenly in 1955 aged barely forty.

[2] Curiously enough, while the Onges' fears lead them to reject out of hand any food of animal origin which is unknown to them, the same does not apply to vegetable foods. They ate half-rotten fruit, which I offered them, even though they had never seen it before, and they clamoured for rice and tea, so much so that in order to prevent them becoming addicted to the rice, as so often happens when primitive peoples meet a new food, I insisted on receiving equal quantities of yams in exchange for the rice and very sweet tea, to slow down their demands.

To truly primitive peoples like the Onges, European medical practices are fascinating. Men and women will refuse literally nothing once they are convinced of our intention to do them good and cure their ills. Although they have a rudimentary form of medicine, they recognize the superiority of European methods, and medical aid has therefore become our most powerful means of making contact with uncivilized peoples.

While I was busy trying to alleviate their ailments I became aware of the power which 'medicine' has over them, and I was also able to observe their own methods of dealing with their ills. Understandably, disease, death and birth are all attributed to particular supernatural beings, or to the spirits of the dead. They try not to offend these beings, but strive nevertheless, in their own way, at least to cure disease. Once primitive peoples see our methods they respect them, and are eager to be treated; strange though it all seems, they develop a blind faith in the omnipotence of the new ways.

There is little actual disease among the Onges and they have equally few vices. They are still unaware of the existence of alcohol, and have not learned how to ferment sugar substances, such as the honey in which the Little Andaman abounds. Tobacco is a recent introduction, and the Onges at once became wildly addicted to it; the tobacco leaves I had taken with me were in fact my best means of making my way peacefully into the island. A few Onges have acquired a supply of opium from Burmese and Chinese smugglers along the north coast, but instead of smoking it they seem to limit themselves to chewing it mixed with tobacco, and have fortunately no means of replenishing their stock.

Polio, tuberculosis, smallpox and cancer seem unknown, but for some unknown reason the islands have on a number of occasions been struck by disastrous epidemics of measles. These epidemics struck nearly every member of some of the communal huts, judging from survivors' reports, and the sites were afterwards abandoned, leaving the huts to be destroyed by termites.

The census of 1931 includes a personal observation by Portman of congenital syphilis in several Onges. This has since been proved wrong and in 1952 I found only one young man with nasal malformation possibly attributable to the disease, half-moon incisors, and abnormality of the skull and palate. I was not able to find him

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on later visits. Dr H. Lehmann found no evidence of syphilis in the fifty-two individuals of both sexes from whom he took blood samples in my presence.

Although the Onges are normally healthy and look outwardly robust, they have very little actual resistance to disease and succumb very quickly. Twenty-eight of them, whole families, young and old, whom I took with me to Port Blair in 1954 to present them to the President of the Republic of India, all developed a high fever owing to the change in their way of life during the few days it took from Little Andaman to Great Andaman, and we had to take them back hastily to their own island immediately after the official visit. Even minor feverish complaints of no importance seem to depress and terrify them so that they die very quickly, and I sometimes heard that young Onge friends whom I had left in excellent health had died suddenly from, so I was told, some febrile complaint. The Onge women have better resistance than their menfolk to disease as a whole, which may also help to explain their greater longevity.

On the other hand wounds heal surprisingly quickly in both sexes, although in some of the old men I saw purulent leg sores, slow to heal even when treated with antiseptics which I applied myself. I saw none of these in women, but they seem to be more severely attacked by ringworm, especially on the abdomen and round the umbilicus. Few of the Onges were free from ringworm but none of them bothered to treat it, and it did not seem to cause them any noticeable disturbance. In one woman I noticed whitish patches on the fingers and lips, due to leucoderma.

Diseases of the nervous system and mental illnesses seem very rare, although a few individuals are subject to attacks of epilepsy, watched reverently by all present! The Onges regard epileptics as possessed by a spirit capable of giving important information and question them like the oracle. A number of the Onge leaders, among them Giota of Tambe-e-buiè, go from time to time into a state of trance, which has every appearance of an epileptic attack. I saw one case of dementia in a middle-aged woman, but it was mild enough to allow her to go about her work reasonably well, and at regular intervals she produced normal children.

Sight and hearing in the Onges are particularly acute, as has often been reported in primitive peoples and attributed to the

151 regular exercise of the two faculties required by their existence in direct contact with the natural world; anyone, it is said, who lived such a life would preserve the same keenness of eye and ear. [164] Certainly I saw no myopia among the Onges, nor any of the eye infections common among other inhabitants of the tropics. With the naked eye they can pick out tiny craft far out to sea, or the small, narrow Onge canoes which I could hardly see with field-glasses, which makes me doubt whether constant exercise of the eyes can really be the full explanation of their power of vision. They can pick out quickly and accurately birds immobile among the dense leaves in the darkest part of the forest, invisible to me, even though I was used to looking for them and could see them when they moved. And from the ground they saw high in the trees tiny amphibia which I wanted to catch, after I had caught one by chance which had proved to be a new species. These amphibia, [126] perfect mimics, become almost invisible when they attach themselves to the bark of the trees, but the Onges pointed them out to me from a distance with absolute accuracy, and I was in fact able in 1954 to catch over two hundred in a week.[1]

825 The Onges can also pick out reptiles on the ground, or among 151 the foliage, distinguishing with long practice the poisonous 114 varieties which abound in the islands, and I found it very useful to send Onges ahead of me in the forest to look out for these snakes. When any of my Indians were bitten it was always because they thought they could do as well as the local scouts! The Onges themselves are, however, occasionally bitten, with serious consequences. One of them, aged twenty-five, climbed into a very high tree after honey, and unwittingly put his left hand on a snake hidden in the leaves, where it had climbed to search for birds' eggs. It bit just above the elbow, causing an alarming swelling of the arm with severe pain and fever. He was brought to me semi-conscious, with the whole limb swollen to the size of a rugby ball. The unfortunate [752] man's neck had been bound with the usual strands of *Ficus* bark, and not surprisingly he was groaning desperately, and clearly on the point of death.

752 The Onges have no specific remedies for snake bites, and their 123

[136] [1] These amphibia were examined in 1954 at the Institute of Zoology of the University of Genoa and given the name of *Kaloula baleata ghoshi*, in honour of Mr A. K. Ghosh, then Governor of the Andamans.

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mothers offering it to the waiting children one after another in strict order. This alone would be enough to explain the spread of the devastating measles epidemics which can attack every member of a hut.

While they love the liquid fat, they despise the broth left behind, and once the meat has been eaten, a thick yellowish soup, not unpleasant, is left in the drum. The dogs love this, and rush for it, putting their paws right into the drum, fighting and snarling in their eagerness to get at it. When they have finished licking, the drum is shining clean and ready for use, with no washing up to do! Clouds of flies descend on the drums, packing into a black swarm all over the bottom and sides, eager to finish off the dogs' work. Sea or river water is often only a yard or two from camp, but no one would dream of washing anything.

Once the meat or fish is cooked, it is often hung in the roof of the hut, out of reach of the dogs. The fact that the roof is dusty and covered in spiders to foul the meat, does not matter; earth and sand get in the way of the teeth, dust and spiders do not. The Onges happily eat contaminated flesh and drink water from pools in which animal carcasses are rotting or dogs are bathing and drinking; the dogs share literally everything with their masters.

On my visits to the island I always had to fence off the wells I had dug out, to avoid a constant battle with the dogs. I always found water only a few metres down, and the dogs revelled in it. In the east, near Nachuge, I saw Onges and dogs together avidly drinking [illegible] brackish pools which stank of sulphur, although I must confess that after repeated filtration and boiling the water lost its smell and I was myself able to use it without any ill effects. My men thought it was good for the health to drink it as it was.

During all Onge orgies, and particularly the honey feasts, there is, if possible, even less regard for hygiene. Although the honey is full of wax, larvae, and a few odd bees, their brush-stick only picks up the honey itself. They have another even better way of getting out the honey. A strip of bark about one metre long and as wide as the palm of the hand is taken from a *Ficus*. This is well chewed to make it pliable, and when this is dipped into the honey mixture it emerges dripping with pure honey. Everyone bites at it avidly, young and old, men, women and children, one after another, to the last drop.

were approaching an Onge camp. Everywhere they go they are accompanied by flies of all sizes, and in Little Andaman the swarms are so bad that the first stranger to land called a river after them, Bumila Creek, or fly river. Their flies betray the Onges long before the barking of their dogs – no human voice ever betrays their silent presence.

On Little Andaman today the Onges' tacit divisions of territory are of little importance, so heavy has been the fall in population, but they still keep out of areas belonging to other 'huts', even if the huts themselves have been abandoned. I never saw any disputes over territory, or the ownership of the area in which a pig was caught (and hence ownership of the pig). The Onges who accompanied me, possibly encouraged by the prestige value of a European with them, hunted wherever we went without anyone raising any protests. Nevertheless, I always took the precaution of giving anything I or my Indians took to the Onges of the nearest hut, invariably much to their delight.

Contrary to established opinion, communal huts on Little Andaman are not found only along the coasts; the majority, and certainly the best constructed, are in the interior. Togalanghe is one, and there are a number of permanently abandoned temporary camps near it.

Both the permanent and temporary huts or shelters of the Andamans resemble those of the Semang. The latter are extremely simple, especially in the dry season; there are no walls and only a very sloping roof of leaves, high at the front and very low at the back, the beds being put so that the feet face the low part of the roof. With the Semang and Aeta the beds may be made of bamboo; this is never the case in the Andamans, as there are no large bamboos in the archipelago (Brown was wrong in this respect. The few slender bamboos on Little Andaman are only usable for making drying racks, which are found only round the hut at Beniabol in the south. As the people were away when I went there, and the site was consequently completely deserted, I was unable to establish visually what they dried, but traces of fish, particularly pilchards, were indication enough.)

These temporary shelters are put up extremely quickly. Two poles less than two metres long for the front, and two more, thirty to forty centimetres long, for the back, are fixed firmly into the

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114
142
291
854
482

1 The author with two adult islanders

[facing P. 66, A]

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and Totamaddulù, the first a day's journey into the forest from Berié-Abdalù, the second two days from Labanar, and the others both near Togalanghe. 172

On both Great Andaman and Little Andaman the kitchen-middens yield a vast quantity of animal remains, bones and a great number of shells, with very little earth. The shells diminish in the upper levels, to be replaced by bones of *Sus andamanensis*, the wild pig of the islands, the change coinciding with the arrival of the dog in the islands; the revolution which this introduction brought into the life of the islanders is at once evident. [177]

My first excavations in 1951 were limited to establishing which mounds looked promising for future digs. I made soundings in the north, middle and south of Great Andaman and found that near each midden there were invariably abundant food supplies, as well as fresh water, sometimes running, sometimes in pools. The excavations went on for sixty days, aided by a first-class gang of men from Bihar, who even agreed, in view of the necessity of concentrated digging, to forgo their customary feast days. To these preliminary excavations I returned later on a number of occasions,[1] using them as controls.

My first real dig began on 5 January 1952 in a fine midden on Middle Andaman, a few hours' march from the forest station of Long Island, at a place known as Beehive Hill, or Golpahar in Hindi. The water pipe installed for the benefit of the colonists on Long Island draws from a spring, and on its way to the reservoir on the shore it runs right through the centre of the midden. Emerging, it runs for a hundred and fifty metres through a mangrove swamp stinking with vile black mud, which in fact served as an excellent means of dating the layers, by relating them to the rise and fall in the ground level of the swamp over the last few thousands of years. 172 114

The whole of the time we were there we had to work with look-outs posted ready for any Jarawas trying an ambush; to the north of the midden the grave of a Burmese killed by them a short time before was a grim warning. We did a great deal of shooting, but fortunately only for game. Fallow deer descended from imported 114 136

[1] With a number of young Indians very kindly allocated to my assistance by the anthropological service of the Government of India, and to all of whom I am greatly indebted for their enthusiastic help, often under the most trying conditions. [114]

114 136 beasts were plentiful, and used to come right up to the camp out of curiosity, in spite of the noise of the shooting, and my men took so many that they were able to dry and smoke some for future use. There were flocks of pigeons after the fruit in the *Ficus* trees, and another rather smaller bird with green wings (*àriel* in Hindi). There were always large fish lying quietly on the surface of the sea, only two hundred metres from the dig, so that we could shoot these as well. The Jarawas were kept at bay, we all fed very well, and everyone was highly satisfied!

The camp was surrounded night and day by a chorus of frogs, and the lights of the camp attracted a whole army of hermit crabs; in the dry season they made an incredible noise parading up and down the dry leaves, even rummaging round our beds inside the tents while we were trying to get to sleep. They disappeared, suddenly and completely, immediately the rains came. Like the rest of their species they use their claws to close the shells in which they have made their home. Usually the large claw was able to do the job alone, but in case of difficulty they would bring the other claw and even their legs into the battle, until they managed to close the shell completely (my men enjoyed these struggles immensely). They in fact use various shells, and squeeze into them somehow, even into the cowries. Some varieties use nothing but cowries and their claws and legs have become very slender in adapting themselves to the narrow shell.

Unlike the hermit crabs, the rats were not affected by the seasons [126] and came after our stores in hordes. I collected a number of species, but I was never able to catch one kind which particularly interested me. It was a jumping variety, graceful and rather larger than our mouse, with big ears, and a very pointed muzzle. The front feet were short, almost atrophied, and the back ones long, with strong, powerfully muscled haunches, so that the creature was rather like the rats of the pyramids in miniature. I often surprised them round my tent if I shone a torch suddenly, but they would bound away out of reach on their hind legs and no traps seemed to attract them. This variety does not seem to have been reported, at least in the Andamans, and it was the only one I was never able to catch.

When the rains came the disappearance of the hermit crabs was matched by the equally sudden appearance of curious cicadas, which chirped intermittently like all those in the Andamans. By the

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end of June 1953 there were legions of them. In contrast to the frogs, who were completely silent unless the atmosphere was calm, these cicadas only chirped when it was pouring with rain and blowing a gale, and then only at dawn and at dusk. Unlike other Asiatic species, they hopped from tree to tree between their momentary bursts of chirping, so that from minute to minute the chirping moved en bloc and made it almost impossible to catch them. When they were silent they were completely invisible against the branches, so that although we knew they were motionless we were still unable to catch them.

Surrounded by these diversions we began digging seriously. I must make it clear from the outset that in recording my findings I make no claim to saying the last word on the subject. All I hope to do is to report what I have been able to deduce from the combination of my personal observations of islanders as they are today and the evidence which I found in their kitchen-middens both of the past and of the present.

Though not as large as some I found later, the midden at Golpahar, like all the rest, was a truncated cone, beaten into a dome by the monsoons, and at the time of my excavation it was about five metres high with a circumference of a hundred and ten metres and a diameter of thirty-six metres. I removed half, leaving the other half so that others might later check my findings.

Ninety per cent of the contents proved to be shells, chiefly bivalves, and mainly *Cyrena*. As the shell content was clearly fairly constant I tried to calculate the total in the whole midden; and by taking into account the nomadic life of the present-day inhabitants of the island, and their eating habits, it was possible to reach a reasonable estimate of the age of the deposit.

Each midden can be regarded as attributable to the food refuse of groups of thirty to forty people, living at the site for forty to fifty days a year or less. Shellfish can never have been the islanders' sole diet. They are certainly not today – shellfish of any kind are only eaten when there is nothing else to be had, and then only in certain localities where it is not too much trouble to carry them to the camp. In other words, although shells formed the greater part of the deposit, they will only have been added to it sporadically. In the absence of some complete change of habits, unlikely in such cautious people as the Andamanese, we may deduce that the midden

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been cooked in the same way; the bones are never charred, but always have the appearance of being cooked in an earth oven. The direct roasting of large game over the fire, postulated by some authorities, including Brown, was never practised; the islanders preferred to go on as they had done since time immemorial, because it was more efficient – witness the traces of the earth oven which are to be found all over the world, including Europe. In Polynesia and Micronesia, and among the pygmies of Asia and Africa, it was widely used; variations when they arose did so as the result of local circumstances, like that of throwing water on the fire instead of using fleshy leaves, when there were none in the area. But the basic principle remained the same everywhere, and the use of the earth oven coincides with the geographical distribution of hunting, gathering and burial customs similar to those found in the Andamans.

In April 1954 I excavated the midden at Tambe-e-buiè on Little Andaman, abandoned after the earth tremors of 1951, to investigate the position of the beds. The custom of burying the dead underneath their beds made it possible to trace the latter by the human remains below them, arranged in a circle round the periphery. The Onges themselves helped in the work, sometimes even trying to recognize the remains as they came to light.[1] There were clear signs of reburial. The body is buried immediately after death at least one metre deep; whereas after exhumation, cleaning and colouring, it is never re-interred more than thirty centimetres below the floor of the hut. When another death makes it necessary for a new grave to be dug under the bed, the piles of bones from the second are disturbed, so that in time a form of ossuary develops. In this it is not possible to identify the various remains of individuals unless some change in the position of the hut, even by a few metres, preserves the bones from disturbance by fresh graves. Traces of the graves always remain, however, as they are invariably filled with fresh earth.

We have already seen that on Little Andaman the introduction of the dog reduced the consumption of shellfish (and hence the rate

[1] The material recovered is now in the Anthropological Museum of the Andamans and Nicobars, which I helped to establish at Port Blair. The museum was inaugurated on 6 June 1955 in the presence of the Governor, Mr A. K. Ghosh and the chief Indian officials of the town.

171 184 411 two have added feathers, and poisoned tips, in imitation of neighbouring peoples.

For the capture of large fish and animals such as turtles, dolphins 184 and dugong, the Onges and Arioto use not the arrow harpoon but 411 the spear harpoon. Brown saw none of these among the Onges he ● 114 studied in Rutland, and consequently assumed its absence on Little 22 Andaman. The Onges carry as little as possible on their sea voyages [484] for the sake of speed, and would not therefore take spear harpoons (used only for marine hunting) with them on trips to Rutland, which they visit only for the purpose of hunting pigs and not to fish, or to hunt marine animals. They certainly have, and use, spear harpoons even today; I myself have been with the Onges and seen their harpoons used from the canoes. I had ample opportunity to admire both the effectiveness of the weapons and the accuracy of the throwers.

411 The greater structural and operational simplicity of the spear harpoon, in comparison with the arrow harpoon, leads one to [283] suppose it the older of the two. Its cord is made of tough *Hibiscus* fibres, and with the aid of these and a straight shaft about six metres long and little over four centimetres in diameter, even the humblest of nails, seven centimetres long and three millimetres in diameter, [824] can become the point of a spear harpoon. It is fixed into the shaft (usually of mangrove wood) which is hollowed out at the thinner end to take it, and with a cord up to a hundred metres long or more attached to the nail two centimetres from the head, the spear harpoon is ready for use – shaft, point and cord.

411 225 When the harpoon is to be used for turtles, no barbs are needed, as the point is driven so firmly into the shell that blocks of wood have to be carried in the canoes to knock it out for re-use.

The harpoon throwers stand ready on the platform jutting out fore and aft of the canoes (see p. 122), the free end of the cord is tied to one of the booms to prevent it being jerked out of the canoe as the victim tries to escape, and the slack is coiled in the bottom of the canoe. The thrower holds the cord against the harpoon as he waits for the right moment and then throws. As the harpoon strikes, the point detaches from the shaft, which floats on the water till picked up – often to be used as a punt-pole in the shallow waters of the coral reefs as the canoe follows the victim, now held firmly on the end of the cord.

197 comparatively rapid variation and it is now difficult to establish their linguistic connections outside the Andamans, but Africa can certainly be discounted, in view of the general weight of evidence against any Negro ancestry.

619 Like the Onges the Jarawas are divided into endogamous groups, each with its own name, corresponding to their communal huts, and each with their own territory for the purposes of hunting, fishing and gathering food. There is little reliable information [144] about their daily life or even their numbers; it is, however, certain and I cannot overstress this, that the Jarawas are Negrito in type,[1] with the same admixture as in the Onges.

000 Whoever or whatever they may be, the replacement of primitive expeditions by genuine attempts at pacification would, quite apart from the obvious humanitarian considerations involved, afford a unique opportunity for detailed study of a dying population in regeneration, and the refusal of an otherwise irrevocable progress towards final extinction.

174 But the problem of the Jarawas is merely one aspect of the problem of the Andamanese in general, and their connection with the Negritos both past and present. The Semang and the Aetà, as we have seen, resemble each other, and together resemble the Andamanese, in a number of essential points. Recent contacts with other influences in Malacca and the Philippines respectively have produced variations – such as the Semang use of traps and snares with which they take small animals, and also birds, which the Andamanese never touch. They have also taken to making refuges in the trees as a defence against wild animals, non-existent in the Andamans. Traps, poison, agriculture, fish-hooks, animal nets, are all late acquisitions, not found among the original Negritos. It was [114] thought by Brown that spears, used by the Semang, were also [41] unknown among the peoples of the Andamans, but I have myself [126] seen them used by the Onges, though admittedly I saw only a few, and very rough specimens; I did, however, manage to bring some back with me.

000 In the case of the canoes, the Semang and the Aetà seem to have

[1] On 11 January 1951 a Jarawa was killed at Lekeralarta on Middle Andaman and [142] the head is now in the Indian Museum in Calcutta. This head shows signs of beard, unlike those of two Jarawas held in the Nicobars since the September 1958 incident. Short, muscularly well-developed, strong and very black, Jarawas are normally beardless, as is usual in Negritos.

thought they were weeds and pulled them up. I never managed to see the plant in flower in the wild state, as this occurs at the height of the rainy season, and as no final definition is possible in the absence of the flower it remains unidentified.

The Onges take full advantage of the plant's properties as a bee-deterrent and in mid-March they eat honey, paint themselves, and dance, twenty-four hours a day. During these orgies I have seen a group of about sixty Onges demolish in a few days ten pigs and a dozen large, wooden vessels full of honey, with basket after basket of fish, caught every night by the women, who were apparently not in the least tired by the long daily treks into the forest after the honey. I can never look back on the Onges without a feeling of profound respect for their powers of digestion!

Yet another source of food for the islanders is the cicada. On Little Andaman there are a few species a little larger than the European variety and others rather smaller. The Onges collect the pupae as they emerge from the ground, usually in the mornings, and roast them as a great treat. They are actually very clean insects, which develop slowly under the earth over a period of years sucking lymph from the roots of the trees. When they emerge from the ground the pupae become leathery, but this presents no problem to the indomitable teeth of the Onges. Inside the cicada chrysalids are a mass of delicate tissues, so white and clean that one can understand the Onges' predilection for them.

On Little Andaman the cicadas chirp intermittently, with long silences; most of the day one hears nothing of them and when they suddenly start up the Onges fall absolutely quiet, terrified of frightening them away and losing their chrysalids.[1] In a few moments the whole forest suddenly echoes with a chorus of cicadas, as they all start up as one and then, a minute later, fall silent. Their intermittent chirping is not confined to the Andamans; it is a feature of several species throughout southern Asia. At Golpahar when I was in the middle of the forest excavating kitchen-middens I heard cicadas start up every day at 6.30 p.m., and then stop until the following day. In the mountains of South India, on the slopes

[1] The Onges do not seem to share the superstitions reported by Man and Brown among the Arioto, who appear to believe in fantastic connections between cicadas, the sun, and storms.

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I examined a number of canoes drawn up on the beach. They 501
varied in size from some eight to ten metres long, built to carry twenty people, to small single-manned craft three to four metres long, and there were some very small ones clearly intended to encourage the children to set out on their own. The very large canoes are, however, rare. The beam also varied considerably from some barely wide enough to admit a man's knees to others of one and a half metres or more.[1]

In the shallows, contrary to some assertions, paddles are never used; the booms would make alternate paddling extremely difficult. Reversed harpoon shafts are instead used as punt poles and oars, [824] usually made of *Myristica longifolia*, are used only in deep water. They are sometimes but not always lashed into the holes in the gunwale through which the booms pass. They are short, not more than 1·3 metres long and are always rowed forwards (obviously there would be a danger of stubbing a reef if the European style of rowing was used). Like the canoes, the oars vary somewhat in size. Very roughly made they consist of a handle ninety centimetres long and a forty-centimetre blade. The grip tapers almost to a point and increases gradually in diameter towards the blade, which is long, narrow, blunt-ended and flat-convex in section. Usually it is [237] merely roughly shaped with the Onges' crude hatchet, but occa- [412] sionally it is smoothed off with a sharp *Cyrena* shell. The helmsman and pilot stand on the two platforms, guiding the canoe with oars. As far as possible the rowers avoid the side bearing the outrigger mechanism; any deviation of course caused by the unilateral rowing is corrected by the two steersmen.

When they first launch a canoe the Onges decorate it with ochre 501
designs like those on their bodies and the hollowed logs used to 531
hold honey, although they are washed off as soon as the craft enters the water. As usual the men do all the work up to that point [462] and the women do the painting. The initial painting is the only form of ornament on the canoes; there is not even a mark of owner- [422] ship, although each canoe is curiously enough recognized as the [126] property of one man, despite the fact that everyone has helped to

[1] I am unable to agree with Brown that the Onge canoes are extremely small, that they have bow and stern, and that their floats are inefficient. My own experiences of travelling in the canoes has led me to the opinion that on these and other points Brown was wrong, possibly partly because he never actually visited Little Andaman. [114]

136 for them and feeding them on the table. As soon as they saw worms
126 wriggling, they would move cautiously towards them and then snap them up like lightning. They became used to sitting in my hand quite undisturbed, looking round in two directions at once in an interested way. Flies held by the wings fascinated them more than anything, and they used to stare at the insects as though hoping to mesmerize them. They made delightful pets.

136 More prosaically, they are very good fried. Outside Little Anda-
114 man I found hundreds every day near Golpahar on Middle Andaman, and as the fish market in Port Blair was over a day's journey away we used many for non-scientific purposes.

136 Dugong, monitors, snakes, jungle cats, bats, leeches – all abound in Little Andaman and I had ample opportunities to study them. The dugong are well known to the Onges, but I only saw them at Bumila Creek (Cuateniabo) and Jackson Creek, where I did not have the time to catch any; the Onges tried, but without result.

Dugong (from the Malayan *Dyong*, introduced into scientific Latin as the family Dugongidae), are large mammals of the order *Sirenia*. They have a short fish-like body, with closeable nostrils above a cavernous mouth, which is surrounded by short bristly whiskers and armed with a brush-like, horny plate. In the male two short tusks hang down each side of the mouth, like a miniature hippopotamus, giving the animals a cumbersome, ugly look. The
[225] Onges prize the dugong, but rarely manage to capture one; when they do, there is great feasting. I was never able to try it, or even acquire any really close observations of the creatures.

136 Monitors or dragon-lizards, on the other hand were under my
126 feet every day, although the islanders never eat them. I used to put out as bait fish or pig carcasses rejected by the Onges as being too
[262] lean, and we could then shoot as many as we wanted as they rushed to the bait from all sides. I collected their skins for various museums, using the carcasses as further bait.

136 The Andamanese variety is well known and it closely resembles *Varanus niloticus*, the Nile monitor, to which it is related. The largest can be two metres long, including the long, very tapering tail. As they approach their prey, sniffing at it, their forked tongue, twice the length of the head, flashes in and out of its sheath with incredible speed. Although they have strong legs they move slowly and it is easy to catch them by the tail, providing one takes care to

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in the division of all meat. Certain cuts are the property of the hunter, of his helpers, and of his relations and after them, in order, of the remaining members of the group; everyone knows his position in advance. Each portion is tied round with a reed fibre, which is allowed to dangle out over the top of the communal cooking-pot ready to haul the meat out when required.

In the case of pork the prized cut is one which comprises the kidneys and the surrounding fat; this fat is called *cian*,[1] and is very highly esteemed. Some authors (Brown, for example) have stated that turtles and pigs are always cut up with the head ritually pointing towards the sea as otherwise the meat would be considered inedible. This is certainly not the case on Little Andaman, and I have never seen any such directional ritual among any of the Negritos, all of whom practise division of meat according to a prescribed order of precedence. Turtles at any rate are slaughtered facing up the sloping beach simply because it is then easier to hold the beast from behind and avoid its bite. Ritual there is, but usually with a good practical basis.

More ritual attaches to the way in which the game is carried back to the camp, and the wood to be used for the cooking fire. Pigs, killed and gutted, are tied in ropes made of *Ficus laccifera* and carried somehow on the back of the victorious hunter. If it is not far to the camp he will not bother to tie up the snout and feet, but otherwise the front and back legs are tied, and one long cord joins both pairs to the snout – again a practical ritual, giving the hunter a more compact weight to carry.

Man, Portman, Brown and others all say that each type of game has to be cooked over a fire of a particular wood. My own observations showed that whereas the ritual of dissection is inviolable, the Onges always use the first wood that comes to hand, regardless of its source, taking as usual the line of least resistance. This is again in keeping with the tendency of primitive peoples to expend only the very minimum of energy to achieve their object. Their religious beliefs and superstitions are not carried to the limit, simply because

[1] It is interesting that in their very restricted world the Onges have few standards of comparison or words to express condemnation or approval, and this word *cian* is used as one of high praise, applied to inanimate objects, animals, and people alike. The precise qualities which are conveyed by the word are difficult to evaluate in the absence of fuller knowledge of the Onge language.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Brown states that dugong skulls are found among the hunting trophies of the Andamanese. I can myself vouch for the fact that this is not the case among the Onges or the twenty-three surviving Arioto; both keep dugong jaws and long bones, but the skulls of only pigs and turtles. The Andamanese in general do not regard animal bones as having the same protective powers as human; the existence in the Andamans of any magical practices connected with either animal or human bones has not, in my view, been adequately proved. In the absence of such proof I feel unable to agree with the authors who assert that these practices do exist, and I am inclined to feel that the cultural level of the peoples of the Andamans is so low as to rule out the existence of magic or witchcraft in any form.

From the mass of data of all kinds I was able to collect on my trips to the Andamans, a general pattern emerges from which it is possible to draw substantial conclusions as to the cultural and somatic origins of the Onges and hence of the other peoples of the archipelago. To summarize these conclusions must inevitably involve some repetition of what has been said in previous chapters.

Taking first the people of the Nicobar Islands, the nearest geographically to the Andamanese, it is generally accepted that with the exception of the Shom-Pen of Great Nicobar the Nicobarese are culturally closely similar. Although there are no pure Negrito types in the Nicobars there are evident crosses, similar to those which appear in one area of Sumatra to the east, where a small Negrito component exists among a predominantly mongoloid type. This may well be the result of the Negritos having spread at one time over a very wide area and there is in fact cultural evidence in support of the suggestion.

The mongoloid somatic type of the Nicobars appears in the general shape and proportions of the body, skin colour, facial contours, and the hair, which is long and straight, unlike that of the Negritos. Both types, however, have scant body hair, and differ in this respect from the pygmies of Africa.

Although the size and skin colour of most Nicobarese is very different from the Onges, a few are strikingly like them in facial contours, size, and woolly hair. There are also legends of a people who lived in the Nicobars long ago, small, very black, with tight

171 776 way in which the spirits are invoked against enemies, involving the use of some personal possession – an example is the invariable destruction of the used *naquinegbe*, or of hair after shaving. The same fear of the night induced by the idea of spirits walking abroad led to the making of torches from rolled palm leaves containing a mixture of embers and resin.

[262] [825] From the Andamans to Oceania the chief spirit is generally imagined in the form of a giant lizard, living at the top of the sky and ruling the storms; none of the peoples who believe in him ever eat any lizard or lizard-like creature. All of them have the same 171 535 776 825 sexually suggestive dances, both male and female, sometimes inspired by the monitor or dragon-lizard, symbol of desire, and often associated with miming and dramatic representations of real and imaginary scenes. These dances, with their *joie de vivre*, are accompanied by the smoking of aromatic leaves in pipes which are frequently made from natural objects such as the claws of crustacea. 171 276 [535] [172] The Onges in fact have since very ancient times used only this type as shown in the lower levels of the kitchen-middens dating back at least five thousand years. Everywhere, pipes of this kind are used indiscriminately by both sexes, passing from mouth to mouth. Pipes identical in every way with those of the Onges are found to the east of the archipelago, well into Oceania, and I have myself also seen them on Melville Island, north of Australia, always with the same notches for the teeth to grip. This undeniable evidence of the spread of identical pipes over so wide an area long before the possibility of European contacts cannot in my opinion be attributed other than to migration over vast distances in very ancient times.

171 114 411 Similar coincidences apply in the case of the arrow harpoon and indeed harpoons in general. I cannot agree with Brown in his assertion that the harpoon dates from the arrival of European influences, which brought the use of iron; the harpoon points made by long and patient working of *Tridacna* shells which I found in the kitchen-middens of the Andamans are in my view enough to refute the theory.

171 501 The canoes from which these harpoons are used, with the absence of distinction between bow and stern and the single float on the lee side, are extremely typical. They are identical in peoples which have been widely separated for a very long time and appear not only on the Andamans, and as far as Oceania, but also in North

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

dead were buried securely bound in a knee-to-chest position, still the custom among the Andamanese). The Onges go no further than this and the idea of a Lord of the Spirits who rules all things, although on Great Andaman there has been some progress towards more anthropomorphic concepts. The complete absence of any form of cult, prayer, representation, or votive offering cannot, I feel, be the result of cultural decline from a more advanced age; this would have resulted in gross distortion and illogical superstition, but not in complete absence of any 'religious' practices of any kind.

18 SACRIFICE

No sacrifices of any kind are practised in the Andamans, nor is there any concept of propitiation, although there is evidence that even in the late Palaeolithic era some form of ritual sacrifice was practised, at least in Europe and probably over a much wider area. One would assume from this, and from paragraph 17 above, that the Andamanese is an even older culture.

19 TABOOS

Although my own experiences among the Onges have led me to think that taboos do not exist, some authors have asserted (in my view wrongly) their existence on Great Andaman. It is not, however, possible to draw any reliable conclusions on this point.

20 CEREMONIAL

The complete absence of any form of ritual surrounding birth, the purification of women, initiation, etc., or evidence of any such ritual in the past, is striking, in view of the prevalence in all the surrounding areas of strictly observed ceremonial for many occasions. As in the case of religion, such complete absence can only mean that the Andamanese became isolated before the idea of ritual spread to the area.

21 MEASUREMENT

The Andamanese have no means of counting, and no words to express gradations of time or size; to them everything is either 'small' or 'big'. They take no interest in the passing of years, and have no idea of their own age. To them life is but the passing of the seasons and the harvests of game and fish and fruits that they bring. This utter lack of any sense

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

fishing and turtling expeditions, at one or other of the homes, for several years, have become sufficiently skilled in these pursuits to escape the ridicule of the genuine *àryô·to-*, while these in their turn have made themselves almost as well acquainted with the interior of the jungles as were the original occupants, from whom they are, therefore, scarcely distinguishable. 184

5. It will be of interest to note in this place the nicknames employed by the "junglees" and the coastmen when quizzing each other, as they serve to indicate the peculiarities which are held to be their distinguishing characteristics. The *ē·remtâ·ga-* sometimes chaffingly address an *àryô·to-* as *ēr-châ·tâknga-*,[1] *i.e.*, one who loses his way; *ēr-lō·inga-ba*, *i.e.*, one who cannot find his way in the jungle; or, *ūn-pâg-ī·knga-ba*, *i.e.*, one who cannot follow tracks; while the terms which the coastmen will, under similar circumstances, employ towards the jungle men are *ab-mū·lwa-* and *gū·gma-tòng-*, the first implying a deaf person, for only the practised ear of an *àryô·to-* can judge of the distance of a turtle so correctly as to be able to harpoon it in pitch darkness; the second meaning "leaf of the *Trigonostemon longifolius*," in allusion to the practice, current among the inland tribes,[2] of using these leaves for the cure of fever, but to which the *àryô·to-* rarely have recourse, as they believe the scent prevents turtles from approaching a canoe in which there are any persons who have recently employed this remedy. 184 829

6. The intermingling of the members of the inland and coast communities in and near our settlement has naturally resulted in such a marked modification of many of the characteristics which distinguish them in their primitive condition that, for reliable information respecting the same, it is necessary to seek among the more distant encampments, where similar influences have not as yet been at work. 184

7. Amongst those who have now for some years resided at the principal home at Port Blair, there is a young *ē·remtâ·ga-*, named *Wō·i*, of the *.ôko-jū·wai-* tribe, who, till the end of 1875, had been living in the depths of the Middle Andaman jungle, and who then, with a few others of his village, received a message from *mai·a .lī·pa*, chief of *.bàrtâ·kàbīl-*, an encampment on the coast, inviting them to accompany him in a trip he was about to make, by way of Port Mouat, for the purpose of seeing the officer in charge of the home, and procuring some presents from him. *Wō·i* and his friends gladly availed themselves of the opportunity of visiting what must have been to them a new 184 115

[1] By way of mock respect *mai·a* (*i.e.*, Mr.) is occasionally prefixed to these epithets when used in this way.

[2] *Vide* "Medicine," paragraph 2.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

184 world: on their arrival at Viper Island, they saw, for the first
●115 time, Europeans, and a mode of living of which they could have previously formed no idea. *Wō·ī*'s companions returned to their tribe after spending a few months with us, but he, having lost his heart to one of the South Andaman houris, was without difficulty induced to remain behind, and settle down in our midst as a married man. As he speedily acquired a knowledge of the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* dialect, we were enabled to question him on various points, besides those referred to in the statement which forms one of the appendices to this volume,[1] and thus learned much that was before unknown concerning the habits of the inland branch of the *.ôko-jū·wai-* tribe: the information thus obtained, when compared with the result of our own observations of the customs and mode of living of the communities in the vicinity of our settlement, afforded convincing proof of the universality of the customs and practices of the respective classes of *àryô·to-* and *ē·remtâ·ga-* throughout Middle and South Andaman.

8. In Dr. Mouat's book mention is made of the capture of a youth, nicknamed "Jack," after a hostile encounter with some of the natives of Interview Island, from which circumstance it may be inferred that the lad belonged to the *.âkà-.ked·e-* tribe, only one member of which had, till 1879, stayed amongst us, and he is an *e·remtâ·ga-*, who had travelled out of curiosity as far as Middle Strait, and from thence had been persuaded by the chief of that district to accompany him to Port Blair. He proved himself very intelligent and active in all jungle accomplishments, but was entirely ignorant of fishing and turtling After remaining with us a few months he was taken (in March, 1879), at his own request, to a point on the north-west coast of Middle Andaman, and landed with a heap of presents: his home, he informed us, was situated midway between that place and the east coast.

361 **Nomadism.**—1. Nomadism appears to be almost, if not
[768] entirely, confined to the *àryô·to-*, and even among them there are hamlets which are only abandoned temporarily, as with
221 the *ē·remtâ·ga-*, in consequence of a death, or of a *jeg-* (*i.e.*,
166 "corroboree"), at some neighbouring encampment.

2. The nature of the temporary migrations which take place among the *ē·remtâ·ga-* during the dry season, as well as of those necessitated by a death, will be explained in subsequent sections. In the case of the *àryô·to-*, migrations are occasioned by a variety of circumstances, as, for instance, fishing operations being rendered impossible by a change in the wind, the

[1] *Vide* Appendix F, a free translation of which will be found in "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xi, pp. 284–2.

for such a fairly long period, it was decided to give up the idea of continuing our survey of the Little Andaman that year. A 122

At the suggestion of Mr Majid it was finally decided instead to pay a visit to the surviving members of the Friendly Andamanese tribes at Neil and Havelock Islands where they had now been transferred and settled. Unfortunately, as it was March and the closing month of the financial year, I had to return to my headquarters at Banaras and leave Mr Sarkar in charge of the party to carry on further surveys in the North and Middle Andamans as far as this was found possible. A 121 [131]

Accordingly Mr Sarkar with his party left Port Blair on 6-3-48 on the Forest Motor Launch "Lindsay" and arrived at Long Island at about 8 A.M. on the following day. Mr Sarkar was met by Mr Joseph, T. S. D. O. who brought "Loka" and his party of four Andamanese. They were studied by him. The party left Long Island on the Forest Launch "Kokhari" at about 7-30 A.M. on the following day. Mr Joseph accompanied the party, who halted at the Guitar Island where some of Loka's associates were hunting turtles with harpoons. After leaving Guitar Island, the launch passed through Homfray Strait. Mr Joseph showed the spot where the Jarawas in 1925 attacked his camp. This is near the place from where the Jarawas usually crossed from the Baratang Island to the Middle Andamans. Proceeding further westwards, Mr Sarkar and his party reached the north-east end of the Spike Island. This is another route of migration of the Jarawas from the South to North Andamans. Usually they come from the South Andaman and cross over to Bluff Island and then reach the Spike Island opposite to it. Loka gave the information that it was about this place that several Jarawas were shot sometime back and their bodies were buried in the Bluff Island. The party went along the coast of Neil Island and anchored off Foul Bay. Human footprints identified by Mr Joseph and Loka as belonging to the Jarawas were found in the sand. Following the footprints the party found the remnants of burnt ashes and cinder in a spot in the jungle. There were also vessels made of leaves for carrying water which were still wet. These were collected as specimens of Jarawa objects for the Department's collections. No traces of Jarawas themselves could however be found who must have moved into the jungles just prior to our party's visit. Our men then crossed over to Bluff Island and searched for the Jarawa skeletons, but none were found. On the 9th of March the "Kokhari" returned to Long Island, where it anchored. Loka brought his party of 21 individuals who were now settled in Neil Island. These people were carefully studied by Mr Sarkar and notes taken regarding their geneology, family structure and physical state, etc. On the 9th the Deputy Chief Commissioner, Mr S. C. Gupta with his wife arrived at Long Island. Mr Sarkar and his party accompanied him to Stewart Sound in his boat "Elsa". Unfortunately the few Andamanese who were living there happened to have gone out in their canoes for fishing and could not be contacted (*see* Plate I, Fig. 5). A 115 A 114 A [225] [411] A 115 [106] A [115]

They then went with Mr Gupta to the Karen village called *Webi* situated at a short distance from Stewart Sound. There were no Andamanese there, K 361

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An Andaman Islander shooting fish with bow and arrow on the reefs at Port Blair

Frontispiece

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THE
ANDAMAN ISLANDERS

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THE ANDAMAN ISLANDERS

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A STUDY IN SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

(ANTHONY WILKIN STUDENTSHIP RESEARCH, 1906)

BY

A. R. BROWN, M.A.

FORMERLY FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

CAMBRIDGE
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
1922

[p. III]

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TO

DR A. C. HADDON, F.R.S.

AND

DR W. H. R. RIVERS, F.R.S.

TO WHOSE INSTRUCTION AND KIND ENCOURAGEMENT IS DUE WHATEVER VALUE IT MAY POSSESS, THIS WORK OF APPRENTICESHIP IS DEDICATED.

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PREFACE

122 THIS book contains some part of the results of anthropological research carried out in the Andaman Islands in the years 1906 to 1908, under the terms of the Anthony Wilkin Studentship in Ethnology of the University of Cambridge. The funds supplied by the studentship were supplemented by grants from the Royal Society and from the government of India. In its original form the monograph was presented as a fellowship thesis at Trinity College. The work of rewriting it was interrupted by absence from England and was only completed in 1914. There has since been a long delay in publication as a result of the war.

127 The book deals with the social institutions of the tribes of the Great Andaman. These had previously been studied by Mr E. H. Man to whose work I have been obliged to make many references in order that my account may be as complete as
114 possible. I should have preferred to devote my attention almost exclusively to the natives of the Little Andaman, about whom very little is known. I found, however, that it was not possible in the time at my disposal to do any satisfactory work amongst these people owing to the difficulty of language. The natives of
[197] the Little Andaman know no language but their own, and that is so little related to the languages of the Great Andaman that even a thorough knowledge of the latter is of almost no use in an attempt to learn the former. I spent nearly three months camped with natives of the Little Andaman, giving most of the time to learning their language. No one who has not actually made the attempt to learn the language of a savage people without the help of an interpreter, can form an adequate idea of the difficulties of the task. At the end of three months I found that at the same rate of progress it would take me two or three years to learn to speak the language sufficiently well to begin to

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114 question the natives about their customs and beliefs and understand their answers. I was therefore regretfully compelled to give up the idea of making a study of the people of the Little Andaman, and devoted the remainder of my time to the study of the tribes of the Great Andaman, particularly those of the North Andaman among whom Mr Man had not worked. I kept one boy from the Little Andaman with me for some months in the hope that he would learn sufficient Hindustani to act as an interpreter and so enable any future investigator to begin work with the great advantage that I had lacked.

124 [191] In my work amongst the natives of the Great Andaman I at first made use of Hindustani, which the younger men and women all speak more or less imperfectly, and gradually acquired a knowledge of the dialects of the North Andaman. Towards the end of my stay in the islands I was able to obtain the services as interpreter of a man of the *Akar-Bale* tribe who spoke English well and was of considerable intelligence. He is shown in the photographs of Plates V and XIII. With his help I was able to do some work with the *Akar-Bale* and *A-Pučikwar* tribes, and I found that with such an interpreter I was able to obtain much fuller and more reliable results than I could by using my own knowledge of the native language supplemented by Hindustani. If I had had his services from the outset my work would have been much easier and more thorough.

128 The results of my researches on the physical anthropology of the Andaman Islanders have not been published. I hoped to be able to obtain the services of some one more competent in such matters than myself to assist or direct me in the measurement and study of the collection of skulls and skeletons that I brought to England and that is now in the Anthropological Museum at Cambridge. In this I was disappointed, and absence from England has prevented me from completing my work in this branch of research.

The languages of the Andaman Islands are chiefly of interest as affording material for the study of comparative grammar and

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the psychology of language. I had hoped to be able to make /128 some use of the large mass of linguistic material collected by Mr E. H. Man and arranged by Sir Richard Temple, which the latter was so kind as to permit me to examine. Mr Man, however, expressed the intention of publishing that material himself. Therefore, rather than delay longer, I began the publication of my own linguistic studies in a series of papers in the journal *Anthropos*, of which, however, only the first had appeared when the outbreak of war interrupted them[1]. I cannot say when the publication of these notes will be resumed.

Chapters V and VI of the present work contain an attempt /128 at an interpretation of the Andamanese customs and beliefs, /121 which I regard as the most important and hope will be the most valuable part of the book. It is some years since they were written and although they have undergone some revision they now seem to me so inadequately to express my thought that I could wish to rewrite them entirely. At the time they were written (1910) they exhibited an attempt to develop a new method in the interpretation of the institutions of a primitive people. That method will not perhaps seem so novel now as it would have done then. However, I hope that the two chapters will still have value as an example of the method which I believe to be fundamental in the science that has lately come to be known as social anthropology[2].

Of the many imperfections of the book I am, I think, only too well aware. It is indeed an apprentice work, for it was through my work in the Andamans that I really learnt anthropology. However good may be his preliminary training (and mine under Drs Haddon, Rivers and Duckworth at Cambridge

[1] "Notes on the Languages of the Andaman Islands," by A. R. Brown, *Anthropos*, Vol. IX, 1914, pp. 36—52 with map. This paper contains notes on I, The Relations of the Andamanese Languages, and II, The Formation of Words in the Language of the Little Andaman.

[2] I hope to be able to publish shortly the first volume of a work in which the same method is applied to the interpretation of the social institutions of the natives of Australia.

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was, I think, as thorough as possible) it is only by actually living with and working amongst a primitive people that the social anthropologist can acquire his real training. Naturally work done while learning how to do it must necessarily be faulty.

It is very late now to place on record my obligations to the officers of the settlement of Port Blair, particularly to Colonel Herbert and Colonel Browning, the successive chief commissioners, for their kindness and help during my stay in the islands.

To Dr Haddon and Dr Rivers I am obliged for reading the proofs and for many helpful suggestions.

A. R. BROWN.

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN,
January 1922.

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INTRODUCTION

THE Andaman Islands are part of a chain of islands stretching from Cape Negrais in Burma to Achin Head in Sumatra. This line of islands forms a single geographical system, as it were a submarine range of mountains, the highest points rising here and there above the surface of the ocean. Some 80 miles or so from Cape Negrais lies the first of the islands in the chain, Preparis Island, between which and the mainland the sea depth does not exceed 100 fathoms. Southwards of this the submarine ridge sinks to a depth of about 150 fathoms, rising again to form the small group of islands known as the Cocos, some 50 miles from Preparis. Geographically the Cocos may be regarded as part of the Andaman Group. Landfall Island, the most northerly point of the Andamans proper, is only distant from them some 30 miles, and the sea depth between does not exceed 45 fathoms. The Andaman Group itself consists of the Great and Little Andaman with their outlying islets, and occupies a distance approximately north and south of about 210 miles. Eighty miles to the south of the Andamans lie the Nicobar Islands, a scattered archipelago occupying a distance of about 160 miles from north to south. The sea between the Andamans and the Nicobars is over 700 fathoms deep. Deep sea also divides the Nicobars from Sumatra, which is about 110 miles distant from the most southerly point of Great Nicobar. 131 133

This line of islands is part of a long fold extending from the eastern end of the Himalayas, which includes the Arakan Yomah Range of Burma and the Andaman and Nicobar

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131 133 Islands and finds its continuation in the islands off the west coast of Sumatra[1].

On the west the Andamans are separated from the coast of Madras, 700 miles distant, by the Sea of Bengal. On the east the Andaman Sea, a depression with a depth of over 1000 fathoms, separates the Andamans and Nicobars from the Malay Isthmus and Peninsula. Across the Andaman Sea, less than 100 miles distant from the Andamans, there runs a line of volcanic activity, marked by two small islands, Barren Island in Lat. 12° 15′ N. and Long. 93° 50′ E., and Narkondam in Lat. 13° 26′ N. and Long. 95° 15′ E.[2]

The Cocos, the Andamans and the Nicobars are now part of the Indian Empire. The Cocos Islands are occupied by a station for wireless telegraphy. In the Andaman Islands there is a penal settlement at Port Blair, to which are sent the criminals of India and Burma. The Nicobars are treated as one with the Andamans for administrative purposes.

144 Until the nineteenth century the Cocos Islands were uninhabited. The Andamans and the Nicobars have for many centuries been inhabited by two entirely different races. The Andamanese belong to that branch of the human species known to anthropologists as the Negrito race. They are short of stature with black skins and frizzy hair. The Nicobarese, on the other hand, resemble the races of Indo-China and Malaya, and have brown skins and lank hair, and are of medium stature.

131 133 The Andaman Islands consist of the Great Andaman and the Little Andaman, and a number of smaller islands. The Great Andaman may be regarded as one island, although it is divided by narrow sea water creeks into four areas, often spoken of as separate islands and called North Andaman,

[1] The formation of the Arakan Fold (including the Andaman and Nicobar Islands), dates from the middle of the Tertiary Period, and was apparently connected with the great movements that produced the Himalaya-Alpine mountain system and the Circum-Pacific Fold. The Andaman Sea, in the later Tertiary period, was prolonged much further to the north, over the region now occupied by the Pegu Yomah.

[2] This line of volcanic activity is a minor continuation of the Sunda Range of volcanoes of Java and Sumatra. It is continued northward, parallel to the Arakan Fold, as far as the extinct volcano of Puppadoung, east of Pagan, not far from Lat. 21°.

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Middle Andaman, Baratang and South Andaman. It is a long narrow stretch of land with a much indented coast, surrounded by many smaller islands, of which the most important are Interview Island off the west coast, Ritchie's Archipelago on the east, Rutland Island at the extreme south, and the outlying North Sentinel Island. The length of the Great Andaman with Rutland Island is nearly 160 miles, while the breadth from sea to sea is nowhere more than 20 miles. The Little Andaman lies to the south of the Great Andaman, about 30 miles distant from Rutland Island, from which it is separated by a shallow strait with a maximum depth of only 21 fathoms. The island is about 26 miles long from north to south and about 16 miles wide. 131 133

Viewed from the sea the islands appear as a series of hills, nowhere of any great height, covered from sky-line to high-water mark with dense and lofty forest. The hill-ranges run approximately north and south, in the same direction as the islands themselves, and attain a greater elevation on the east than on the west. The highest point of the North Andaman is Saddle Peak (2402 feet), that of Middle Andaman is Mt Diavolo (1678 feet), while the South Andaman has the Mt Harriett Range (1505 feet), and in Rutland Island there is Mt Foord (1422 feet). There are no streams of any size. The water drains from the hills into tidal creeks running through mangrove swamps, often many miles in length. The coast is broken by a number of magnificent harbours. The shores are fringed with extensive coral reefs, and on these and in the creeks there is abundance of fish and molluscs. 133

The islands, save for the clearings of the Penal Settlement, are covered with dense tropical forest. There are few mammals, the only two of any size being a species of pig (*Sus andamanensis*, Blyth) and a civet-cat (*Paradoxurus tytlerii*, Tytler). The other mammals are a few species of rats, a tree-shrew and some species of bats. Of birds there are many different species, some of them peculiar to the islands. The reptiles include a considerable number of species of snakes, and a few species of lizards, of which the most noteworthy is the large Monitor lizard (*Varanus salvator*). 136

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132 The climate is warm and moist, and fairly uniform throughout the year. The mean temperature for the year at Port Blair is about 86° F. (80° F. on the wet bulb thermometer). The lowest temperatures are recorded in January and February, and the highest in March, April, or May. The average lowest temperature in the South Andaman over a period of seven years is 66·7° F., the minimum during that period being 63° F. The average highest temperature in the shade for the same period was 96° F., the maximum being 97°. The average diurnal variation is 10°.

The average rainfall of seven stations in the Penal Settlement of Port Blair, for a period of seven years, was 138 inches per annum, the averages of the different stations varying from 104 to 172 inches. For the same period the average number of rainy days in the year was 177, the minimum being 160 and the maximum 196.

The islands are sufficiently far from the Equator to have a single well-defined rainy season. The greater part of the rain falls during the south-west monsoon, which lasts from the middle of May to the middle of November. The north-east monsoon extends over the other six months of the year, which include the dry and hot seasons.

The average weather can be shown most conveniently by means of a calendar.

January. Cool; little or no rain; wind N.N.E.; nights sometimes foggy.

February. Cool; little or no rain; wind N.N.E.; very clear; light airs.

March. Hot by day, cool nights; little or no rain; wind N.N.E.; light airs, occasional haze; the weather gets hotter as the month passes.

April. Very hot; little or no rain; wind variable, off-shore at night and on-shore by day; calm and hazy.

May. The first half of the month like April; the south-west monsoon sets in about the 15th; the remainder of the month cooler and with wind W.S.W.

June. Fairly cool; heavy rains; wind W.S.W., squally.

July.
August. } Do. do. do. do.
September.

October. Variable wind and weather; generally some calm weather; waterspouts may occur.

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November. During the first half of the month the wind and weather are very uncertain; a cyclone may occur; after the middle of the month the north-east monsoon sets in. 132

December. Fairly cool; not much rain; wind N.N.E.

Many of the violent cyclonic storms that sweep across the Sea of Bengal seem to form themselves a little to the south of the Andamans. Cyclones of exceptional violence struck Port Cornwallis in 1844 and Port Blair in 1864 and 1891.

The aborigines of the Andaman Islands have been in their present home for a great many centuries. It is not possible to say with any degree of certainty how or when they first reached the islands. Geological and other evidence would seem to show that the Andamans were united to the mainland along the line of the Arakan Fold in later Tertiary times, but even this is perhaps not quite certain[1]. In any case the period of past land connection seems to be so remote that it had probably ceased to exist at the time when the islands were peopled by the ancestors of the present natives. If the ancestors of the Andamanese reached the islands at the time of a past land connection, they can only have done so from the Arakan region of Burma. On the other hand, if they travelled by sea they must almost certainly have started from the Burmese coast (Pegu or Arakan). The north-east monsoon would drift them thence on to the Andamans. It is conceivable that they might have travelled from Sumatra by way of the Nicobars, but the north-east monsoon would have opposed their progress in this direction, while the south-west monsoon would have driven them to the east of the Andamans[2]. It is hardly possible to imagine them coming from the Malay Peninsula across the wide 174

[1] The flora of the Andamans and Cocos contains a number of species, the presence of which can only be explained by the supposition of a past land connection with the Arakan region. (See Prain, "The Vegetation of the Coco Group," *Journ. Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, Vol. LX, Part II, pp. 283—406.) On the other hand, the paucity of mammalian fauna is such as to lead to the conclusion that the islands were isolated at a period when the mammals now typical of the mainland did not exist there. (See Miller, "Mammals of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands," *Proc. National Museum, U.S.A.* Vol. XXIV.)

[2] There is no evidence of the former existence of Negritos in the Nicobars, but on the other hand, there is equally no direct evidence of their former presence in Lower Burma.

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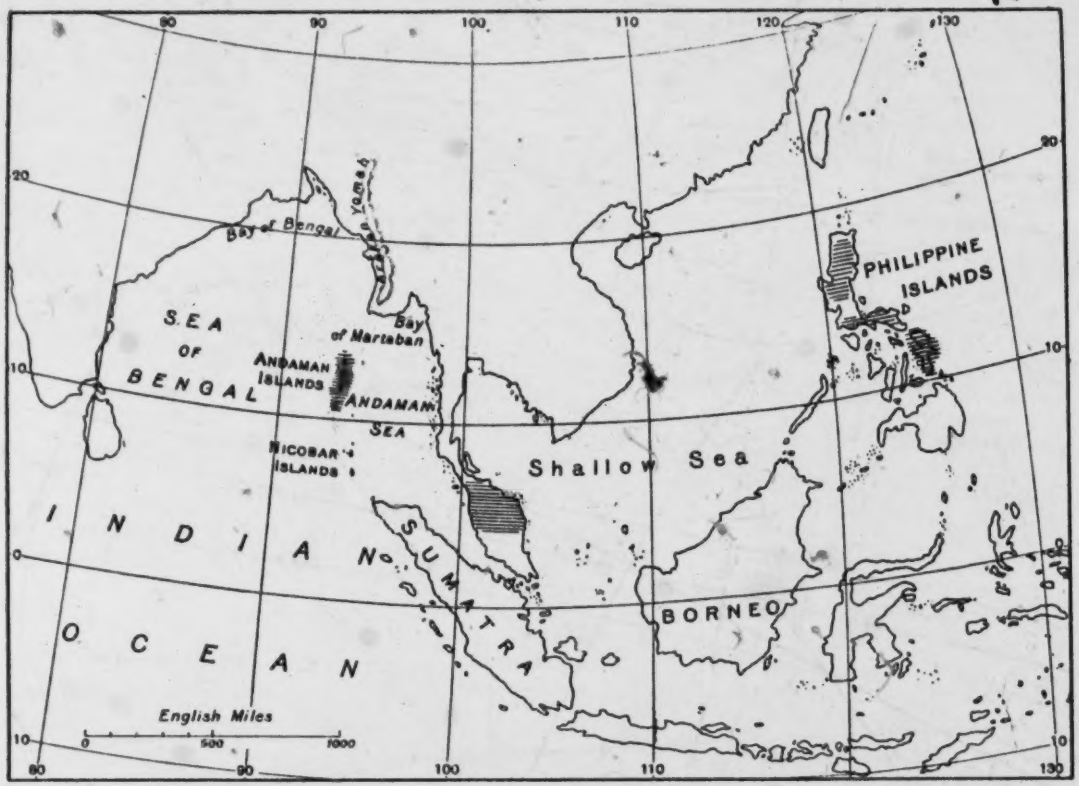
MAP I



South-eastern Asia, showing the present distribution of the Negrito Race

[facing p. 6]

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174 stretch of the Andaman Sea. The balance of probability is in favour of the view that the Andamans were peopled, either by sea or by land, from the region of Lower Burma.

144 Of the Negrito race, to which the Andamanese belong, there are two other branches still in existence. The first of 174 these consists of the people who may be conveniently spoken of as the Semang, inhabiting the interior of the Malay Peninsula between 5° and 7° N. Latitude. The other branch of this primitive race is found in the interior of the Philippine Islands. From their present distribution it is clear that the Negritos must at some long past time have wandered over a wide area in south-eastern Asia. The connection between the Andamanese and the Semang can only have been either through Sumatra and the Nicobars, or, more probably, by way of Lower Burma. Communication between the Malay Peninsula and the Philippine Islands must have been either by way of Borneo or Celebes, or else by way of Annam and Cochin China. It is certainly many centuries, and probably many thousands of years, since the three surviving branches of the race were cut off from all communication with each other[1].

In the Malay Peninsula and in the Philippines the Negritos have for a long time been living in contact with other races. They have been driven back from the coasts and fertile valleys into the less accessible districts. There is ample evidence that they have adopted many of the customs of the races around them, and have even adopted to a great extent the language of their alien neighbours. The original Negrito culture and language and even perhaps the original physical type have been modified in these two branches of the race.

In the case of the Andaman Islanders it is possible that they have been entirely isolated in their island home, and have not been affected by contact with other races, but have been free to develop their own culture in adaptation to their own environment. If a hypothesis to this effect were accepted we should see in the Andamanese the direct descendants, in physical character, in language, and in culture, of the original Negrito race.

[1] On the accompanying map of south-eastern Asia the regions now occupied by the Negritos are shown by the shading.

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race. In historical times it is known that the islands have been avoided by mariners navigating the adjacent seas, owing to the fact that the natives attacked all strangers who landed or were wrecked upon their shores. Moreover, the islands offered little inducement to visitors or settlers. The coconut, which is one of the mainstays of life in tropical islands, was not found in the Andamans prior to the first European settlement.

The earliest authentic reference to the Andaman Islands seems to be that of two Arab travellers dating from A.D. 871. In the eighteenth century the Abbé Renaudot translated the account of these travels. Of the Andamans we read, "Au dela de ces deux Isles on trouve la mer appellée d'Andeman. Les peuples qui habitent sur la coste, mangent de la chair humaine, toute cruë. Ils sont noirs, ils ont les cheveux crespus, le visage et les yeux affreux, les pieds fort grands et presque longs d'une coudée, et ils vont tout nuds. Ils n'ont point de barques, et s'ils en avoient ils ne mangeroient pas tous les passants qu'ils peuvent attraper. Les vaissaux se trouvant retardez dans leur route par les vents contraires, sont souvent obligez dans ces mers de mouiller à la coste où sont ces Barbares pour y faire de l'eau, lors qu'ils ont consommé celle qu'ils avoient a bord. Ils en attrapent souvent quelques-uns, mais la pluspart se sauvent[1]."

It would seem that the Chinese and Japanese knew the islands in the first millenium A.D., and referred to them by the names Yeng-t'o-mang and Andaban respectively[2]. Marco Polo gives a brief notice of the islands. "Angaman is a very large island, not governed by a king. The inhabitants are idolaters, and are a most brutish and savage race, having heads, eyes, and teeth resembling those of the canine species. Their dispositions are cruel, and every person, not being of their own nation, whom they can lay their hands upon, they kill and eat[3]." Some of Marco Polo's statements about the Andamans, as that the natives

[1] *Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine*; De Deux Voyageurs Mahometans, qui y allerent dans le neuvième siècle; Traduites d'Arabe (par M. l'Abbé Renaudot). Paris, MDCCXVIII, pp. 5 and 6.

[2] Takakasu's Edition of I-tsing, pp. xxviii seq.

[3] *The Travels of Marco Polo*, Edited by John Masefield, *Everyman's Library*, 1908, p. 347.

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175 live on rice and milk, and that they have coconuts, and plantains, are incorrect. It is evident that all he knew of the islands was derived from hearsay. The passage quoted is only of importance as showing that the reputation of the Andamanese was such as to cause them to be feared and avoided.

A more trustworthy account is that of Master Caesar Frederike, who passed near the Nicobars in 1566. "From Nicubar to Pegu is, as it were, a row or chain of an infinite number of islands, of which many are inhabited with wild people; and they call those islands the Islands of Andemaon, and they call their people savage or wild, because they eat one another: also, these islands have war one with another, for they have small barques, and with them they take one another, and so eat one another: and if by evil chance any ship be lost on those islands, as many have been, there is not one man of those ships lost there that escapeth uneaten or unslain. These people have not any acquaintance with any other people, neither have they trade with any, but live only of such fruits as those islands yield[1]."

There are numerous references to the Andamans in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, and all of them show that the islands were feared and avoided. During these and the previous centuries wrecks must have occurred in considerable numbers, and it is probable, from what is now known of the natives, that the mariners would be immediately slain. Visits were also paid by ships whose water supply had run out, and by Malay pirates. There is evidence that boats, either Malay or Chinese, sometimes visited the islands in search of edible birds' nests and trepang. In some cases Andamanese were captured and carried off as slaves. It is extremely improbable

[1] Extracts of Master Caesar Frederike: his Eighteene Yeeres' Indian Observations, *Purchas: his Pilgrimes*, London, 1625; Vol. II, p. 1710. In spite of the repeated descriptions of the Andamanese by early writers as ferocious cannibals, there is good reason to think that they have not deserved quite so evil a reputation. If they had ever been cannibals they had certainly abandoned the custom by the time the islands were occupied in 1858. It is improbable that such inveterate man-eaters, as they are supposed to have been, would have entirely altered their ways in the course of a century or two. The legend probably had its origin in the fact that the Andamanese attacked all strangers who landed on their coasts, and (in the North Andaman, at any rate) often disposed of the bodies of slain enemies by cutting them in pieces and burning them on a fire.

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that such visitors ever succeeded in establishing friendly relations with the islanders. 175

There is one way in which the life of the Andamanese was affected by the vessels that visited or were wrecked upon their shores, since it was by this means that they learnt the use of iron.

It is impossible now to determine the date at which they became acquainted with the metal. The earliest reference to the subject is in an account of a visit to the Andamans in 1771, where it is shown that the natives were at that time aware of the value of iron[1]. Until the middle of the nineteenth century the only supply of the metal was from wrecks, of which there have always been a fair number.

Until the end of the eighteenth century there was no attempt made to open up communication with the Andaman Islands, although the Nicobar Islands were the scene of several attempts to establish a colony. In 1788, owing to the menace to shipping constituted by the islands and their inhabitants, the East India Company, under Lord Cornwallis, commissioned Archibald Blair to start a settlement, convicts being sent as labourers. The settlement was founded in September, 1789, in the harbour now known as Port Blair, but then called Port Cornwallis. In spite of the hostility of the natives the colony seems to have been successful. In 1792 it was transferred from the first site to the harbour in the North Andaman now known as Port Cornwallis. The transfer was made with the idea of creating a naval base, for which the spot chosen was well adapted. Unfortunately the new site proved to be very unhealthy, and in 1796 the scheme was abandoned, the convicts were transferred to Penang, and the settlers returned to India.

[1] The account is that of a visit to the Andamans in 1771 by John Ritchie, published in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXX, 1901, pp. 232 seq. Two natives came off to the ship in a canoe, and Ritchie writes: "I gave them some nails and bits of old iron which pleased them much; and about three in the afternoon, they went into the canoe, and tried hard to pull the chain plates from the vessel's side. They went astern when this would not do, and dragged strongly and long at the rudder chains; but these were too well fixed; and at last, they went towards the shore at an easy rate, looking at their nails, and singing all the way."

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MAP II

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The Andaman Islands, showing the distribution of tribes

[facing p. 10]

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175 During the next sixty years the islands remained unoccupied save by the aborigines. There were a number of wrecks in different parts of the islands, and in some cases the crews were slain. In 1839 a geologist, Dr Helfer, visited the islands in the hope of finding minerals, and was killed by the natives. In 1844 two transports, the *Briton* and the *Runnymede*, were wrecked in a cyclone on Ritchie's Archipelago, one of the ships being thrown high up over a reef into a mangrove swamp. The crew and soldiers were safely landed, and were eventually rescued with hardly any loss of life. As they were a large party they were safe from the possible attacks of the natives, and they lived on stores rescued from the wrecks.

In view of the number of wrecks that occurred on the islands and the desirability of establishing there some harbour where vessels might safely call for water or shelter from storms, the East India Company again considered the question of colonizing the Andamans. When the Company, at the end of the Indian Mutiny, found themselves with a large number of prisoners on their hands, it was decided to create a new Penal Settlement, and the site of the settlement of 1788 was chosen for this purpose, and renamed Port Blair.

175 648 The Penal Settlement was established in March 1858, and has been in existence ever since. The aborigines were hostile from the outset, and gave much trouble by their raids. They made a determined effort to oust the invaders from their country. To establish friendly relations with them an institution known as the Andamanese Homes was founded, to provide free rations and lodging, and medical attendance, to such of them as could be induced to visit the Settlement. Through the efforts of successive officers in charge of these Homes friendly relations were established, first of all with the *Aka-Bea* tribe in the neighbourhood of Port Blair, then with other tribes of the South Andaman, and at a later date with the inhabitants of the North Andaman and the Little Andaman. At the present day there is only one body of Andamanese still persistently hostile, and these are the so-called *Jarawa* of the interior of the South Andaman. These *Jarawa*, since about 1870, have made repeated attacks on isolated parties of convicts and forest

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175 workers and on the friendly Andamanese. Punitive expeditions
648 have been sent against them on several occasions, and attempts to set up friendly relations with them have been made by leaving presents in their huts, and by capturing some of them and keeping them for a time at Port Blair. At the present time the *J̌ạrawa* are as hostile as ever.

619 Although of one race throughout, the Andaman Islanders are divided into several groups, with differences of language and culture. There are two main divisions, which will be spoken of as the Great Andaman Group and the Little Andaman Group respectively. The Great Andaman Group includes all the natives of the Great Andaman with the exception of those of the interior of the South Andaman who are known as *J̌ạrawa*. The Little Andaman Group includes all the inhabitants of the Little Andaman, those of the North Sentinel Island and the *J̌ạrawa* of the South Andaman.

619 These two different divisions exhibit many differences of language and culture. All the languages of the Great Andaman
197 Group are closely related to one another. They have the same grammatical structure, and a large number of roots are the same in all or in several of them. In the same way the language of the *J̌ạrawa*, so far as it is known, is very similar to that of the natives of the Little Andaman. On the other hand when the language of the Little Andaman is compared with the Great Andaman languages there is a very striking difference. Of a vocabulary of several hundred words collected in the Little Andaman there were less than a dozen in which the root or stem was clearly the same as that of words in the Great Andaman. While the grammatical structure of the languages of the two groups is fundamentally the same, this can only be shown in a somewhat detailed analysis, and there are many important differences.

619 With regard to technical culture the same grouping appears. There is a general similarity between all the tribes of the Great Andaman Group, while the *J̌ạrawa* and the inhabitants of the Little Andaman have a technical culture of their own that is markedly different from that of the other division.

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619 The natives of the Great Andaman Group are divided into tribes, of which there are ten, each with its own distinctive language or dialect, and with a name. The following is a list of these tribes, passing from north to south:—*Aka-Čari*, *Aka-Kọra*, *Aka-Bo*, *Aka-J̌eru*, *Aka-Kede*, *Aka-Kọl*, *Ọkọ-J̌uwọi*, *A-Pučikwar*, *Akar-Bale*, and *Aka-Bea*. In each case the name is given in the form in which it is used by the tribe itself. Thus the *Aka-Bea* speak of the *A-Pučikwar* as *Aka-Bojig-yab*, and refer to the *Akar-Bale* as *Aka-Bala-wa*, and there are similar variants of other tribal names.

101 The natives of the Little Andaman refer to themselves as *Ọnge* (men). It is probable that the so-called *J̌ạrawa* of the South Andaman have the same word. In a vocabulary obtained by Colebrooke in 1790 from a *J̌ạrawa* near Port Blair, the word *Mincopie* is given as meaning a native of the Andaman Islands. This would seem to be simply the same phrase as the Little Andaman *M'ọnge-bi* = I am *Ọnge*, or I am a "man." The word *J̌ạrawa* is apparently derived from the *Aka-Bea* language, but is now used by all the friendly natives (i.e. the natives of the Great Andaman Group) to denote those of the Little Andaman Group. In the official publications dealing with the Andamans, however, the term *J̌ạrawa* has come to be applied solely to the hostile natives of the Great Andaman. It is in this sense that the word is used in the present work, the name *Ọnge* being reserved for the natives of the Little Andaman. It must be remembered, however, that the so-called *J̌ạrawa* probably call themselves *Ọnge*, while the *Ọnge* of the Little Andaman are called *J̌ạrawa* by the natives of the friendly tribes of the Great Andaman. The name *Mincopie* was at one time common in ethnological literature as a term for the Andaman Islanders.

619 It is convenient to divide the tribes of the Great Andaman Group into two subdivisions, to be spoken of as the Northern Group (including the first four tribes mentioned above) and the Southern Group (including the other six tribes). Between these two divisions there are a number of differences of culture. They have, for example, different forms of bow, and different kinds of baskets. The differences between them are much slighter than those between the Great Andaman tribes and

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the natives of the Little Andaman, but they are of sufficient importance to make it necessary to distinguish them from one another. 619

The different divisions of the Andamanese may for convenience be set out in the form of a table.

I. GREAT ANDAMAN GROUP.

A. Northern Group, including the tribes:—

Aka-Čari,
Aka-Kora,
Aka-Bo,
Aka-Jeru.

B. Southern Group, including the tribes:—

Aka-Kede,
Aka-Kol,
Ok-Juwoi
A-Pučikwar,
Akar-Bale,
Aka-Bea.

II. LITTLE ANDAMAN GROUP.

A. The inhabitants of the Little Andaman (*Onge*).
B. The *Jarawa* of the South Andaman.
C. The inhabitants of the North Sentinel Island.

The distribution of these different groups as it was in 1858 is shown on the map.

There is one important feature of this distribution that requires a few words of explanation, and that is the presence in the South Andaman of the *Jarawa* who are allied by language and technical culture to the natives of the Little Andaman. There can be no doubt that the *Jarawa* are the descendants of emigrants who at some time in the past made their way across from the Little Andaman and thrust themselves in upon the inhabitants of Rutland Island and the South Andaman, maintaining their footing in the new country by force of arms. 619 174

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The identity of the flora and fauna of the Little Andaman with those of the Great Andaman and the shallowness of the strait between the islands, suggests that at no very remote period they have been united by a continuous land connection. Whether or not this connection existed at the time when the islands were first peopled, it is at any rate reasonable to suppose that the original ancestors of the present Andamanese had one language and one culture. Once the Little Andaman was peopled, the strait between it and the Great Andaman seems to have acted as an effective barrier, to keep the two divisions of the race apart for many centuries. During the period of this separation each division followed its own line of development, with the result that there arose the considerable differences of language and culture that now exist.

At a much later date than this separation of the Andamanese into two isolated groups, and after the typical differences of language and culture had been developed, a party of natives must have made their way by canoe from the north of the Little Andaman to Rutland Island. They would have found that country occupied by natives of the Great Andaman Group. In spite of this they succeeded in establishing themselves in the South Andaman, and became the progenitors of the present *Jarawa*. Owing to the difference of language all communication between the Little Andaman invaders and those already occupying the invaded country would be impossible. (At the present day a native of the Little Andaman cannot make himself understood to a native of one of the Great Andaman tribes.) The result has been that the *Jarawa* have lived in a state of constant warfare with their neighbours, and this hostility has lasted down to the present day.

It is only on the above hypothesis, that it is possible to explain how it comes about that we find in the South Andaman people with language and technical culture very similar to that of the Little Andaman, and differing from that of the remaining inhabitants of the Great Andaman. It is impossible to say how long it is since this invasion from the Little Andaman took place. At the end of the eighteenth century the *Jarawa* were to be found in the neighbourhood of Port Blair. Lieutenant

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Colebrooke in 1790 came across an individual of this tribe and obtained from him a vocabulary. A comparison of this vocabulary with the language of the Little Andaman shows it to be essentially the same language[1]. 619 174

A few words must be said on the position of the natives of the North Sentinel Island. Almost nothing is known of these people. What little information is available concerning their weapons and implements seems to point to their belonging to the Little Andaman Division. There is no communication between them and either the Great Andaman or the Little Andaman. It is possible that they have been separated from the other Andamanese as long as those of the Little Andaman have been separated from those of the Great Andaman, and would therefore constitute a third separate division. The South Sentinel Island is uninhabited.

The total area of the Andamans is estimated to be about 2500 square miles. This area is divided as follows:— 131 619

	Sq. miles.
North Andaman, being the territory of the four tribes Aka-Cari, Aka-Kora, Aka-Bo, and Aka-Jeru	540
Middle Andaman and Baratang, occupied by four tribes, Aka-Kede, Aka-Kol, Oko-Juwoi and A-Pucikwar	790
The Archipelago, occupied by the Akar-Bale tribe	140
The South Andaman, occupied by the Aka-Bea and the Jarawa	630
North Sentinel Island	30
Little Andaman	370
	2500

It is not possible to give accurately the area occupied by each tribe, as the boundaries are difficult to discover. The *Aka-Bea* is in an exceptional position, as there was no definite boundary between them and the *Jarawa*. The two parties of natives lived in the same territory at enmity with each other. It would seem that the *Aka-Bea* kept on the whole more to the coast, while the *Jarawa* lived in the interior.

[1] In 1906 some Little Andaman visitors to Rutland Island captured a *Jarawa* of that part. They told me that though he spoke differently from them, they could understand him fairly well.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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131

Leaving aside the *Aka-Bea*, the largest of the Great Andaman tribes, as regards area of territory, was the *Aka-Kede*, which possessed over 300 square miles. After this tribe in order of size come the *A-Pučikwar*, *Aka-J̌eru* and *Aka-Kọra* tribes, while the smaller ones are the *Ọkọ-J̌uwọi*, *Aka-Kọl*, *Aka-Bo*, *Akar-Bale* and *Aka-Čari*, the last being perhaps the smallest of all.

161

In 1901 an enumeration of the natives of the Great Andaman was attempted in connection with the census of India. Such an enumeration was of course very difficult, and liable to considerable error. The results are given in the following table:—

Name of Tribe	Adults		Children		Total
	Males	Females	Males	Females	
Aka-Cari	16	15	6	2	39
Aka-Kora	31	32	14	19	96
Aka-Bo	15	16	7	10	48
Aka-Jeru	98	80	26	14	218
Aka-Kede	24	30	3	2	59
Aka-Kol	6	2	3		11
Oko-Juwoi	21	19	7	1	48
A-Pucikwar	31	14	2	3	50
Akar-Bale	5	10	3	1	19
Aka-Bea	14	16	3	4	37
Total	261	234	74	56	625

These figures are likely to be more accurate for the southern tribes (the last five on the list) than for the northern tribes. It is probable that, in the North Andaman, some of the persons enumerated were entered under the wrong tribe. For many years the officers of the Andamans did not know of the existence of the *Aka-Kọra* and *Aka-Bo* tribes, and members of these tribes have fallen into the habit of describing themselves to Europeans as either *Aka-J̌eru* or *Aka-Čari*. My own opinion is that the numbers given for the *Aka-J̌eru* tribe are too large, while those of the *Aka-Kọra* and *Aka-Bo*, and perhaps also the *Aka-Kede*, are too small.

For the census of 1901 an attempt was made to estimate the numbers of the *J̌ạrawa* and the natives of the Little Andaman, any attempt at enumeration being impossible. The estimate given was as follows:—

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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Little Andaman	672
South Andaman Jarawa . .	117
Rutland Island Jarawa . .	351
North Sentinel Island. . .	117
Total . .	1257

This estimate is not of any great value. As regards the Little Andaman, my own information would lead me to estimate their numbers at between 600 and 700, thus agreeing with the estimate above. Concerning the North Sentinel Island nothing is known on which a satisfactory estimate could be based. The figures for the Rutland Island *J̌arawa* are certainly very much too high. In 1907 I spent some weeks on Rutland Island trying to get into touch with the *J̌arawa* there. At that time there were certainly not more than 50 all told on the island. I was only able to discover one camp, and that had been deserted just before it was discovered, but had not contained a dozen persons. The Rutland Island *J̌arawa* have been cut off from the other *J̌arawa* by the spread of the convict Settlement since about 1885. The majority of the *J̌arawa* now inhabit the interior and western coast of the South Andaman north of Port Blair.

During the last fifty years the numbers of the Andamanese have been greatly diminished. This has been the result of the European occupation of the islands, and is chiefly due to new diseases that have been introduced amongst them. Syphilis was introduced among the tribes of the South Andaman about 1870, and this has now spread among all the Great Andaman tribes (that is, excluding the hostile *J̌arawa*). A large number of natives are infected, and the disease is responsible directly and indirectly for a considerable increase in the death-rate. In March, 1877, an epidemic of measles broke out among the Andamanese, introduced with a batch of convicts from Madras, and spread rapidly from one end of the Great Andaman to the other. In six weeks 51 out of 184 cases treated in hospital proved fatal. It is almost certain that the proportion of deaths was much greater in the case of those, the vast majority, to whom no medical aid could be given. A writer on the Andamans[1] has

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[1] Portman, M. V., *A History of Our Relations with the Andamanese*, Calcutta, 1899.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

164 estimated that the mortality from measles and its sequelae was
165 one-half if not two-thirds of the whole population of the Great Andaman. Other diseases which were formerly unknown to the islands seem also to have been introduced, including influenza.

163 While the death-rate amongst the friendly Andamanese has been enormously increased, the birth-rate has at the same time fallen to almost nothing. This is evident from the proportion of adults to children in the population table given above. In 1907, out of a total of about 500 natives whom I saw at different times, there were not more than a dozen children of less than five years old. A birth is a rare occurrence, and of the children born very few survive infancy.

165 This decrease of population has not as yet affected the
619 Little Andaman. The natives of this island have had very little contact with the Penal Settlement or with the tribes of the Great Andaman, and have thus escaped the diseases which are mainly responsible for the depopulation of the larger island.

Several attempts have been made to estimate the former population of the Andamans. In the "Census Report" for 1901 the estimate given is 4800 for the whole group. Mr M. V. Portman has given an estimate of 8000. It seemed to me that one of these is too small and the other too large. Judging from what it is possible to learn about the habits of the natives, and the food supply available, I should estimate that the former population of the islands (in 1858) was about 5500[1]. An estimate for the proportion of the different groups is as follows:—

	Estimated former population.	Density per square mile.
North Andaman (four tribes)	1500	2·75
Middle Andaman with Baratang and Ritchie's Archipelago	2250	2·5
South Andaman (Aka-Bea and Jarawa)	1200	2·0
Little Andaman and North Sentinel	700	1·75
Total	5650	2·25

[1] This estimate is based on what the Andamanese were able to tell me of the conditions under which they formerly lived. Of course such an estimate can only be of small value. I think it is more probable that I have underestimated the former population than that I have overestimated it.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

With regard to the comparative density per square mile of the different groups it may be pointed out that the reason for the smaller density of the South Andaman is the fact that the *Aka-Bea* and *Jarawa* were living there at war with one another, and the territory was therefore probably not so fully occupied as in other parts of the islands where boundaries between neighbouring tribes were well defined. The food supply of the Little Andaman does not seem to be so abundant as that of the Great Andaman in proportion to its area. It must be remembered that length of coast-line is of more importance to the Andamanese than the actual area of their country. The natives of the Little Andaman are not able to harpoon turtle and large fish, which constitute an important element of the food supply of the tribes of the Great Andaman. 619 165

If the figures of the above estimate be correct, it will be seen that the population of the North Andaman has been reduced in less than fifty years (1858–1901) to about 27 per cent. of its former volume, while in the same period the population of the Middle Andaman and South Andaman has been reduced to about 18 per cent. As the tribes in the south were the first to come into contact with the Settlement, their numbers have diminished more rapidly than those of the northern tribes. It is probable that in another fifty years the natives of the Great Andaman tribes will be extinct.

The diminution of population has combined with other causes to alter considerably the mode of life of the islanders. What were formerly distinct and often hostile communities are now merged together. The different languages have become corrupt, and some tribes have adopted customs of other tribes and have abandoned their own. Most of the younger men and women of the friendly tribes of the Great Andaman now speak a little Hindustani (Urdu) in a somewhat corrupt form. The friendly natives are under the charge of an officer of the Settlement, known as the Officer in Charge of the Andamanese. A Home and Hospital are provided for them in Port Blair, and natives from all parts, even from the extreme north, go there either to be treated in the Hospital or to stay at the Home. During certain parts of the year some of the natives 177

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

177 are employed in collecting trepang (bêche de mer) under the direction of petty officers, who are natives of India or Burma. The trepang, together with wild honey and shells collected by the Andamanese, is sold, and the money is devoted to the service of the Andamanese Department. There is also a grant of money from the Government of India, in return for which the Officer in Charge must, when necessary, provide Andamanese to track and capture any convicts who may run away from the Penal Settlement. The funds thus made available serve to provide the natives with blankets, cloth, iron tools and scrap iron, rice, sugar, tea and tobacco. The result of this system is that there is a free circulation of natives in all parts of the Great Andaman. Whereas, formerly, the natives kept carefully to their own part of the country, they now make long journeys, either in their own canoes, or in Government launches, and members of the northern tribes are to be found at Port Blair and elsewhere in the south, while men and women of the southern tribes are to be found engaged in collecting trepang in the north.

The natives of the Little Andaman have as yet scarcely been affected by these changes. Within recent years, however, some of the natives of the northern part of the Little Andaman have been in the habit of making periodical visits to Rutland Island in their canoes, and occasionally come as far as Port Blair. Their chief reason for visiting the Settlement is to obtain iron for their arrows and adzes, but they have also begun to appreciate sugar and tobacco.

114 The manners and customs of the Andaman Islanders have formed the subject of a number of writings. By far the most important of these is a work by Mr E. H. Man, who was for some years an officer of the Penal Settlement of Port Blair, and for four years of that time was in charge of the Andamanese Home. Mr Man made a special study of the language of the *Aka-Bea* tribe and compiled an extensive vocabulary, which, however, has never been published. His observations on the manners and customs of this tribe and others of the South Andaman were published in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* of the year 1882 (Volume XII), and were reprinted in the form of a book *On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the*

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Andaman Islands. As the reprint is difficult to obtain, the references to Mr Man's work in the chapters that follow are all to the pages of the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Volume XII. 114

Another writer on the Andamanese is Mr M. V. Portman, who was for some years an officer of the Andaman Commission, and was for a long time in charge of the Andamanese. His *Manual of the Andamanese Languages*, London, 1887, is full of errors and entirely unreliable. A later work, entitled *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes*, Calcutta, 1898, is of much greater value, and though not entirely free from errors, is on the whole useful and accurate. Mr Portman has also compiled *A History of Our Relations with the Andamanese* (2 volumes, Calcutta, 1899), which contains a mass of information on the subject with which it deals, but does not add very much to our knowledge of the Andamanese themselves. The British Museum possesses an excellent collection of photographs of the Andamanese taken by Mr Portman.

A good general description of the islands and of their inhabitants by Colonel Sir Richard Temple, who was for many years Chief Commissioner of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, is contained in Volume III of the *Census of India*, 1901, here referred to as "Census Report" 1901.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

CHAPTER I

THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION

000 In the present chapter we are to deal with the customs and institutions by which the natives of the Great Andaman regulate the conduct of persons one to another. At the outset it is necessary to get as clear an idea as possible of the structure of the Andamanese society. That structure, as will be shown, is extremely simple.

What is really of interest to the ethnologist is the social organisation of these tribes as it existed before the European occupation of the islands. The changes that have taken place in recent years have been extensive, the most important being the great diminution in numbers and the merging together of what were formerly distinct and often hostile communities. It is fairly easy, however, to discover from the natives themselves what was the constitution of the society in former times, though there remain a few points about which no satisfactory information can be obtained.

621 [361] When the islands were first occupied by the British, before depopulation had affected their institutions, the natives of the Great Andaman were to be found living in small communities scattered over the islands, mostly on the coast, but some of them in the forest of the interior of the island. Each such community, which will be spoken of as a "local group," was independent and autonomous, leading its own life and regulating its own affairs. Each group had occasional relations with other neighbouring groups; visitors might pass from one to another; or the two groups might meet together for a few days and join in feasting and dancing. On the other hand

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

On the other hand [628] 621

there were often quarrels between neighbouring groups, which might result in a state of feud between them for many months. Between communities separated from one another by a distance of only 50 miles or even less there were no direct relations whatever. The members of one community kept to their own part of the country, only leaving it to visit their friends within a narrow radius.

These local groups were united into what are here called tribes. A tribe consisted of a number of local groups all speaking what the natives themselves regard as one language, each tribe having its own language and its name. The tribe was of very little importance in regulating the social life, and was merely a loose aggregate of independent local groups. 619 197

The local groups are further distinguished by the natives themselves as being of two kinds according as they lived on the coast or inland. This division was independent of that into tribes. Some tribes consisted of coast-dwellers only, while others included both coast-dwellers and forest-dwellers. 619 616

Within the local group the only division was that into families. A family consists of a man and his wife and their unmarried children own or adopted. 594

These were the only social divisions existing among the Andamanese, who were without any of those divisions known as "clans" which are characteristic of many primitive societies.

The natives of the Great Andaman (leaving aside the *ǰarawa*, who by language and culture belong to the Little Andaman division of the race) are divided into ten tribes, each occupying a certain area of country. Each tribe consists of a number of persons who speak what is regarded by the natives themselves as one language. That the tribe is fundamentally a linguistic group is shown by the tribal names. These are all formed from a stem with the prefix *aka-*, which prefix is used in the languages of the Great Andaman to convey a reference to the mouth and thereby to the function of speech. Thus in the *Aka-J̌eru* language the stem *poŋ* means "a hole of any kind," and *aka-poŋ* means "the mouth," there being no other word for that part of the body. In the same language the stem *-ar-* meaning "to talk" can only be used 619 197 196

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

619 with the prefix *aka-*, as *ak'-ar-ka*, "he says." The prefix
197 which is characteristic of the tribal names, indicates, therefore,
196 that these are really the names of languages.

The meanings or derivations of some of the tribal names have not been ascertained with certainty. The name *Aka-Čari* is derived from the word *čari* meaning "salt water," and therefore means "the salt-water language." Similarly the name *Aka-Jeru* is derived from *jeru*, a species of Sterculia from which canoes are made. In the Northern languages the word *ot-bo* means "the back" of anything, and *oŋ-kọra* means "the hand." It is possible that the names *Aka-Bo* and *Aka-Kọra* are derived from these stems (the *ot-* and the *oŋ-* being prefixes), but there is no evidence that they are associated with them in the minds of the natives of the present day. Among the Southern tribes the name *Akar-Bale* is derived from a word meaning "the other side" of a creek or strait, thus referring to their position in the Archipelago. The name *A-Pučik-war* (of which the *Aka-Bea* equivalent is *Aka-Bojig-yab*) means "those who speak our own language," from a stem *pučik* (*Aka-Bea*, *bojig*) which means "belonging to ourselves" as opposed to strangers of the same race. Mr Portman[1] gives the following meanings of the other tribal names of the South and Middle Andaman, but the derivations are somewhat doubtful.

Aka-Bea	Fresh water.
Ọkọ-Juwọi	They cut patterns on their bows.
Aka-Kọl	Bitter or salt taste.

I may take this opportunity of pointing out two errors in the names of the tribes given in the "Census Report" of 1901. The name *Aka-Čari* is given as *Aka-Chariar*; the stem *-ar-* means "to talk" and is not an essential part of the tribal name; *Aka-Čari-ar-bom* means "he talks the *Čari* language." The name *Aka-Bo* is given as *Aka-Tabo*; *t'a-Bo* means "I (am) *Aka-Bo*," just as *t'a-Jeru* means "I (am) *Aka-Jeru*," the prefix *aka-* being contracted to *a-* after the personal pronoun *t'* = I or my.

619 Although the natives themselves thus recognize and give
197 names to ten distinct languages, all of them are closely related. There is, on the whole, not a great deal of difference between

[1] *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes*, p. 27.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

two neighbouring languages. A man of the *Aka-J̌eru* tribe could understand without any great difficulty a man speaking *Aka-Bo*. On the other hand many of the languages included two or even more distinct dialects. In the *Akar-Bale* tribe there were two dialects, one in the southern half of the Archipelago, which was allied to *Aka-Bea*, and the other in the northern half, showing affinities with *A-Pučikwar*. Even in such a small tribe as the *Aka-Čari* it would seem that there were differences of dialect. Thus, even from the point of view of language, the tribe was not entirely homogeneous. 619 197

Leaving aside the *Aka-Bea*, the average extent of territory occupied by a tribe was about 165 square miles. Of the nine tribes the largest, as regards area, was the *Aka-Kede*, with over 300 square miles, while the smallest was probably the *Aka-Čari*, with less than 100 square miles. Save in the case of the *Akar-Bale* tribe, which occupied the islands of Ritchie's Archipelago, it is difficult to find any marked geographical features that might be supposed to have determined the extent and the boundaries of the different tribes. 619 161

The *Aka-Bea* tribe was in an abnormal position as there was no recognized boundary between them and the *J̌aṛawa*. Together, these two divisions of the Andamanese occupied an area of about 600 square miles. The *Aka-Bea* seem to have kept more to the coast while the *J̌aṛawa* occupied the interior of the South Andaman and Rutland Island.

If the estimate previously given[1] of the former population of the islands be correct, the nine tribes (leaving aside the *Aka-Bea*) would have formerly contained about 3750 persons of all ages. At the present time the four tribes of the North Andaman number altogether about 400, of whom about 100 or less are children. The other six tribes taken together (including the almost extinct *Aka-Bea*) number about 200, of whom not more than 30 are children. Mr Man estimated the numbers of the *Aka-Bea* tribe (called by him *Bojig-ŋiji-da*) in 1882 at about 400, and supposes them to have numbered about 1000 in 1858. In 1901 that tribe consisted of only 37 persons.

[1] Page 18 above.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

616 184 Besides the division into tribes, and independent of it, the Andamanese recognize another division into coast-dwellers and forest-dwellers. In the *Aka-Bea* language the coast-dwellers are called *Ar-yoto*, while the forest-dwellers are called *Erem-taga*. The difference between them is due solely to the difference of their food supply. The *Ar-yoto* obtain much of their food from the sea. They are expert in fishing and turtle hunting. They make canoes and use them not only for hunting but also for travelling from one camp to another. Some portion of their food they also obtain from the forest, edible roots and fruits and the flesh of the wild pig being the chief. On the other hand the *Erem-taga* rely solely on the forest and the inland creeks for their food supply. Their only use for canoes is in the creeks. They are entirely ignorant of such matters as turtle or dugong hunting, but they are more at home than the coast-dwellers in the forest, and are generally more skilful at pig-hunting. The advantage certainly rests with the coast-dwellers, for they have both the sea and the forest to draw upon for their sustenance.

619 616 184 Some tribes consist only of coast-dwellers, such as the *Aka-Čari*, the *Akar-Bale* and perhaps the *Aka-Kọl*. On the other hand the *Aka-Bo*, although their territory includes a part of the west coast, are, by their occupations and mode of life, forest-dwellers, and the same seems to have been the case of the *Ọkọ-J̌uwọi*. The *A-Pučikwar*, the *Aka-Kede*, the *Aka-J̌eru* and perhaps also the *Aka-Kọra* tribes contained both coast-dwellers and forest-dwellers.

621 [42] Each tribe formerly consisted of a number of independent local groups. The local group, and not the tribe, was the land-owning group, each one owning or exercising hunting rights over a certain recognized area. At the present time, owing to the breakdown of the local organisation, through the settlement of the islands and the resulting decrease of population, it is difficult to ascertain what area of country was occupied by each of these local groups. In many cases it would seem that the boundaries between two neighbouring groups are not very clearly defined, there being portions of forest over which the members of both hunted when the

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE I

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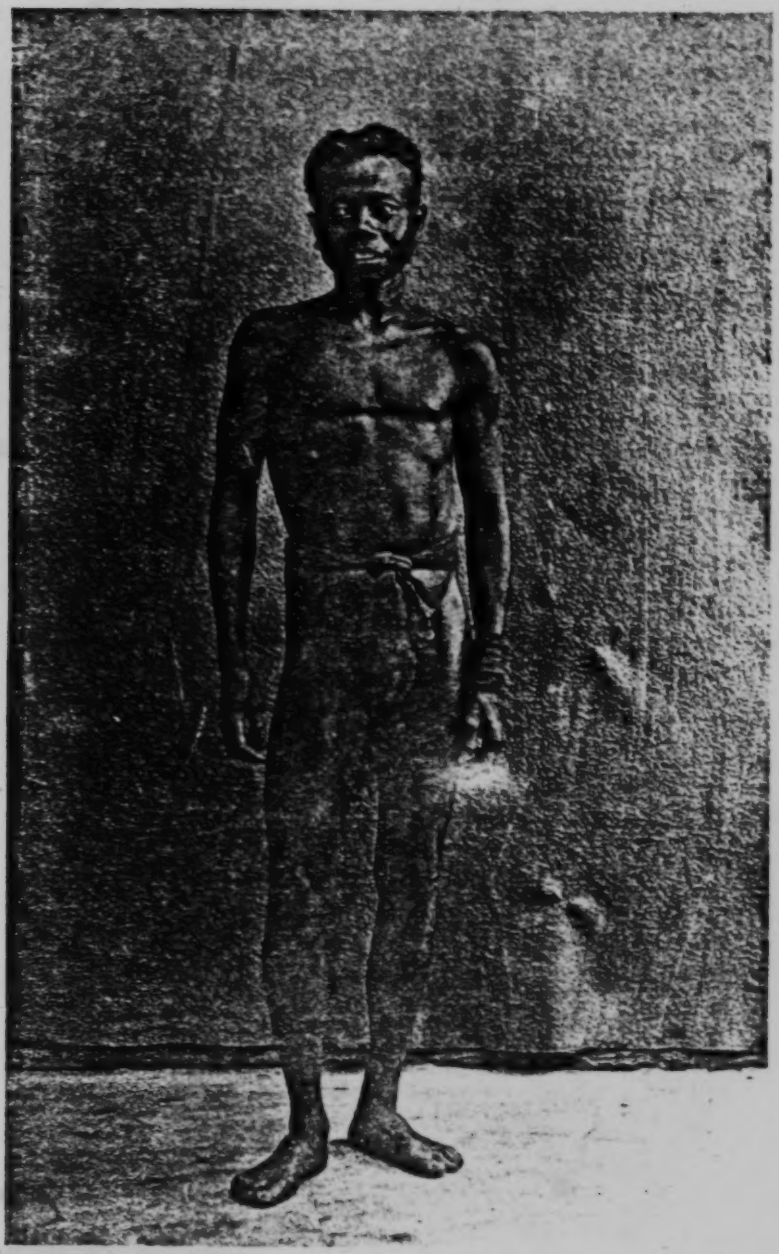

A young man of the North Andaman

[P. 26H]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE II

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A young married woman

[p. 26B]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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[361]

groups were at peace[1]. There is no doubt that in the more favourable localities, particularly on the coast, the country occupied by a single group was smaller than in places of less abundant food supply. It is probable that the forest-dwelling local groups occupied considerably larger areas in each case than the coast groups. Some of the coast-dwelling groups seem to have occupied areas of less than ten square miles.

It is not easy to discover at this time exactly what number of persons would have been included in one local group. Mouat, who visited the islands in 1857–8, says of the natives, "They are rarely or never seen living alone, several of their little huts being raised in the same locality, where they dwell together in numbers varying between thirty and three hundred[2]." In another passage he states, "They are generally divided into small groups, the numbers of which vary considerably, some not containing more than ten individuals, while in others as many as two or three hundred may be found. The great majority of these groups of the natives consist on an average of from thirty to fifty men, women, and children, although sometimes as many as three hundred are found together[3]." It is probable that, if so small a party as ten were seen, they were a hunting party spending a day or a few days away from the main camp. On the other hand so large a number as three hundred could only be found together on the occasion of one of the periodical meetings of several local groups for purposes of festivity. Mouat's statement that the groups consisted on the average of from thirty to fifty persons, agrees very well with the statements of the natives themselves, and may be taken as being fairly accurate. Mr Man, writing in 1882, speaks of the Andamanese as divided into communities "each consisting of from twenty to fifty individuals," and elsewhere says that "permanent encampments vary in size and

[1] A few small areas were not occupied at all, for example the greater part of Saddle Peak in the North Andaman, which is covered with dense jungle and is supposed by the natives to be the haunt of large and deadly snakes and of evil spirits.

[2] Mouat, F. J., *Adventures and Researches among the Andaman Islanders*, London, 1863, p. 313.

[3] *Loc. cit.* p. 300.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

621 consist of several huts, which in all are rarely inhabited by more than from fifty to eighty persons[1]."

619 From the information that I was able to obtain from the natives themselves I came to the conclusion that an average 621 local group consisted of from 40 to 50 persons of all ages, the average number of local groups to a tribe being about 10. This would give the average extent of country occupied by each local group as about 16 square miles, but some groups certainly had a larger territory than this and some had smaller.

Mr M. V. Portman speaks of the tribes of the southern part of the Great Andaman as being divided into what he calls "septs," but he does not explain what he means by that term. He states that the *Aka-Bea* were divided into seven septs, the *A-Pučikwar* into four, the *Akar-Bale* into two, while the *Aka-Kọl* and *Ọkọ-J̌uwọi* had no real subdivisions[2]. Whatever Mr Portman may have meant by the term sept, it is clear that he did not use it to denote what is here called a local group, but some larger subdivision of the tribe. What these septs seem to have been are groups consisting each of four or five local groups having friendly relations with one another and meeting together occasionally at the festival gatherings to be described later in the present chapter.

621 There were, strictly speaking, no distinctive names for the local groups. A local group might be denoted by a reference to the district that it occupied or to one of its chief camping places. Thus, in the *Akar-Bale* tribe, those occupying the island of *Teb-ǰuru* were spoken of as *Teb-ǰuru-wa*, the word *wa* meaning "people," and the inhabitants of the east coast of Havelock Island were similarly denoted as *Puluga-l'ar-mugu-wa* from the name of the district that they occupied. In the tribes of the North Andaman the word equivalent to *wa* of the South is *koloko*. Some of the local groups of the *Aka-Bo* tribe were distinguished as *Teraut buliu koloko*, *Kelera buliu koloko*, *Teradikili buliu koloko* etc., from the names of the creeks (*buliu*) that they occupied. In the *Aka-Čari* tribe the local group occupying the island of *Tọnmuket* and the

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. XII, pp. 107 and 108.

[2] Portman, *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes*, p. 23.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[p. 28A]

PLATE III

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A man of the North Andaman and his son. (The man's height is 1438 mm., 4 feet 8 inches)

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE IV

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301

A married woman of the Great Andaman wearing belts of *Pandanus* leaf and ornaments of *Dentalium* shell

[p. 28 B]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

adjoining mainland were called *Tarotęlo koloko*. When a man was asked to what part of the country he belonged he would generally answer by mentioning one of the chief camping places of his local group. Thus a man of the *Tarotęlo koloko* might say that he belonged to *Laropuli*, this being one of the chief camps of that country. A man of the *Teraut buliu koloko* might similarly say that he belonged to the village of *Čaičue*. 621

A man or woman is generally regarded as belonging to the local group in the country of which he or she was born. There is nothing, however, to prevent a person from taking up his residence with any other local group if he so wishes, and if the members of that group are willing to welcome him. It would seem that there were a fair number of such cases in which a man or a woman left his or her own local group to join another. In particular, when two young people belonging to different groups got married they might fix their residence either with his or with her parents. [591]

The local group, as stated above, was characterised as the land-owning group. A man might hunt over the country of his own group at all times, but he might not hunt over the country of another group without the permission of the members of that group. Even at the present day, when the local organisation has largely broken down, some of these hunting rights are still observed. I noticed a case in which some of the men asked and obtained permission to hunt pig in a certain part from a man who was explained to be the owner of that part of the country, being one of the few survivors of the local group to which it belonged. It would, in former times, have been an offence that might easily have led to a serious quarrel for the men of one group to hunt or fish in the country or the waters of another group without having been granted permission to do so. 621 421 224 [628]

Within the territory of each local group there are a number of recognized camping places. During the greater part of every year the members of the local group would be found living together at one or other of these. Some of these camping-grounds have been in use for many centuries, as is shown by 361

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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PLATE V

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A man of the *Akar-Bale* tribe with South Andaman bow and arrows, wearing belt and necklace of netting and *Dentalium* shell. (Height 1494 mm., 4 feet 9 inches)

[facing p. 30]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

361 the heaps of refuse many feet deep, chiefly consisting of the shells of molluscs and the bones of animals. Such kitchen-middens, as they have been called, are to be found in numbers all around the coasts of the islands.

In the case of the coast-dwelling communities the camping sites are always close to the sea-shore or to a creek, so that they can be reached by canoe. In the case of those dwelling [312] inland this is of course not so. In any case one of the chief factors determining the choice of the site is the existence of a supply of fresh water. This is of extreme importance in the case of a site to be occupied during the dry season when fresh water becomes scarce.

221 Within their own territory the local group is what we may 361 speak of as semi-nomadic. The coast-dwellers rarely reside continuously at the same spot for more than a few months, but [268] shift from one camp to another, moved by different causes. If a death occurs the camp is deserted for several months and a new one is occupied. A change of camp often takes place at a change of season, some spots presenting particular advantages, such as shelter from the prevailing wind, or better hunting or fishing, at certain times of the year. Another cause of the [364] abandonment of a camp by the coast-dwellers is that all refuse is thrown away close to the camp, and after a few months the decaying animal matter thus accumulated renders the spot uninhabitable. The natives seem to find it easier to move their camp than to clear away their refuse. The truth is, perhaps, that they are so accustomed to change their camp from one spot to another, in order to make the best use of the natural resources available, that there is no necessity for them to take those sanitary measures that would be essential if they wished to remain for many months continuously at the same place.

The forest-dwellers are less nomadic in their habits than the coast-dwellers. One of the reasons for this is that as they cannot convey their belongings from one place to another by canoe, but must carry them overland, the moving of a camp is a more tiresome business with them than it is with the coast-dwellers. During a great part of the year the forest-dwellers

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

221 361 were accustomed to remain at one camp, which was thus the chief camp of the group. In particular they would spend there the whole of the rainy season. During the cool and hot seasons they would leave the chief camp for a few months, leading during that time a more nomadic life, living in temporary hunting camps and paying visits to their friends in other groups. At the opening of the rainy season they would return once more to the main camp.

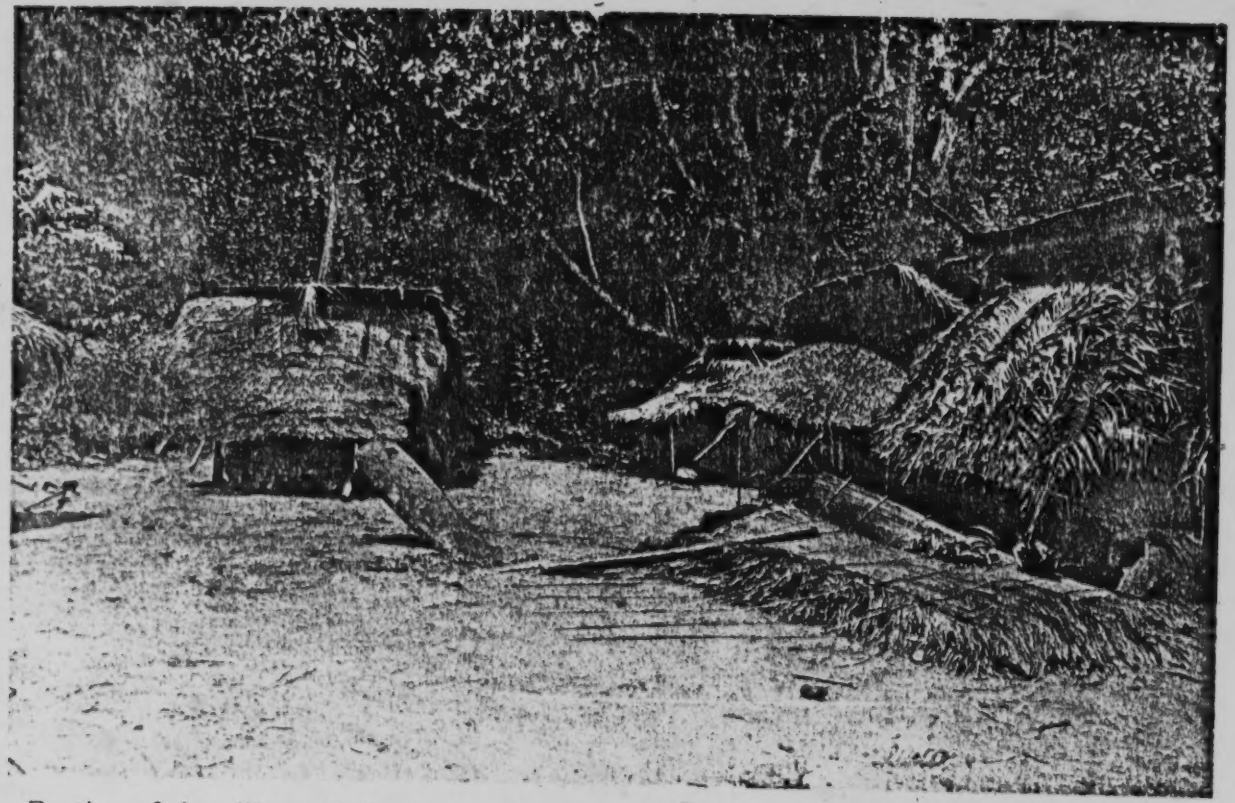
361 342 The camps of the natives of the Great Andaman may be distinguished as being of three kinds. Of the first kind are what may be spoken of as permanent encampments. Certainly every group of the forest-dwellers, and probably every group of the coast-dwellers had its permanent encampment, which was, so to speak, the headquarters of the group. At this spot there would be erected either a communal hut, or a carefully built village. Communal huts have in recent times fallen into disuse, as the natives now wander about the islands much more freely than was their wont. I did not see a single one in the Great Andaman during my visit, though I was told of one that was falling to ruins in the interior of the Middle Andaman. One such communal hut was photographed in 1895 by M. L. Lapicque, at a spot called *Lekera-l'un-ta*[1]. It was perhaps the last that the natives of the Great Andaman erected. What the communal hut was like it is possible to discover both from the statements of the natives and also from the fact that they are still to the present day used by the natives of the Little Andaman and by the *Jarawa*. The hut was roughly circular in form and might be as big as 60 feet in diameter and 20 or 30 feet high at the centre. The shape was somewhat that of a beehive. Two concentric circles, one of tall posts near the centre and the other of shorter posts near the circumference, were connected by horizontal and sloping roof-timbers, and on these were laid and fastened a number of mats of palm-leaves. These mats reached, as a rule, as far as the ground, a small doorway being left on one side.

Such communal huts, while still used in the Little Andaman

[1] The photograph is reproduced in *Le Tour du Monde*, 1895, p. 447.

I: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE VI



Portion of the village of Moi-lepto, *Akar-Bale* tribe. On the right is an unfinished mat of palm leaves for the roof of a new hut

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[facing p. 32]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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and by the *Jarawa*, and formerly used by the forest-dwellers of the Great Andaman, were apparently not often erected by the coast-dwellers of the larger island at the time the islands were occupied in 1858. Mr Man seems to have regarded them as being peculiarly characteristic of the *Jarawa* and the natives of the Little Andaman[1]. There is evidence, however, that even the coast-dwellers formerly erected such huts, for in the *Akar-Bale* tribe there are several places with names such as *Parung Bud* and *Golugma Bud*, which show that communal huts existed there at some time. The word *bud* is used to denote a communal hut, as compared with a village, which is called *baraij*.

A large communal hut took some little time to erect. The posts had to be cut and erected, this being the work of the men, and the palm-leaves had to be collected and then made into mats by the women. Once the hut was built it would last for several years, and if it were in fairly constant use, particularly if it were not abandoned in the rains, it might be used, with a little occasional patching, for ten years or even more.

Among the coast-dwellers it was more usual to erect at the headquarters a semi-permanent village. A portion of such a village is shown in the photographs reproduced in Plates VI and VII.

The village occupied a small clearing in the forest close to the sea-shore at a place called *Moi-lepto* in the country of the *Akar-Bale* tribe. A spring or soak close to the village provided the fresh water. The site is a favourite one as it is well sheltered, and is within convenient distance of good fishing and turtle hunting grounds. It was formerly one of the chief camping places of the local group known as the *Boroin wa* (Hill people).

The village was composed of eight huts, ranged round a central open space, and all of them facing inwards towards the centre. This open space is kept clear and clean for dancing, and is simply the village dancing ground. Each of the single huts was occupied by a family group, consisting of

[1] See *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. XII, p. 71.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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a man and his wife with their children and dependants. One hut was occupied by an old widower and a bachelor.

The way the huts are built can be seen in the photographs. In the simplest form the hut consists of a sloping roof made of palm-leaves, erected on four posts, two taller ones at the front and two short ones at the back. A hut of this kind is shown in Plate VII. If more shelter is required a second roof is added in such a way that the top of one overhangs the top of the other. In some cases a third roof may be added on one side. In Plates VI and VII two mats of palm-leaf are shown in the course of construction, lying on the ground.

Huts such as these, in which the leaves are first made into a mat which is then attached to the rafters, will last for some time. Even if the village be deserted for several weeks, at any rate in the dry weather, very little work will be needed to make it habitable again when the occupants return to it.

A second kind of camp was made when the natives did not intend to stay more than two to three months. Such camps were erected by the forest folk during the dry season, or at any time when they were compelled to leave their chief camp through the death there of one of their number. Such a temporary camp is always put up in the form of a village, and never as a communal hut. The huts are similar to those already described, but are made more carelessly. The thatching leaves, instead of being made into mats, are simply tied in bundles on to the rafters. A hut of this kind will last quite well for three months or so and it can be built very rapidly at any place where there is a sufficient supply of thatching leaves. At the present day the natives rarely build a permanent camp for themselves, but are contented with temporary camps of the kind here described.

A third kind of camp remains to be briefly mentioned, which we may call the hunting camp. A hunting party (which may include women as well as men) spending a few days away from one of the main camps will erect for themselves a few huts or shelters consisting of nothing more than a simple lean-to of leaves.

Caves or rock shelters suitable for human occupation are

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE VII

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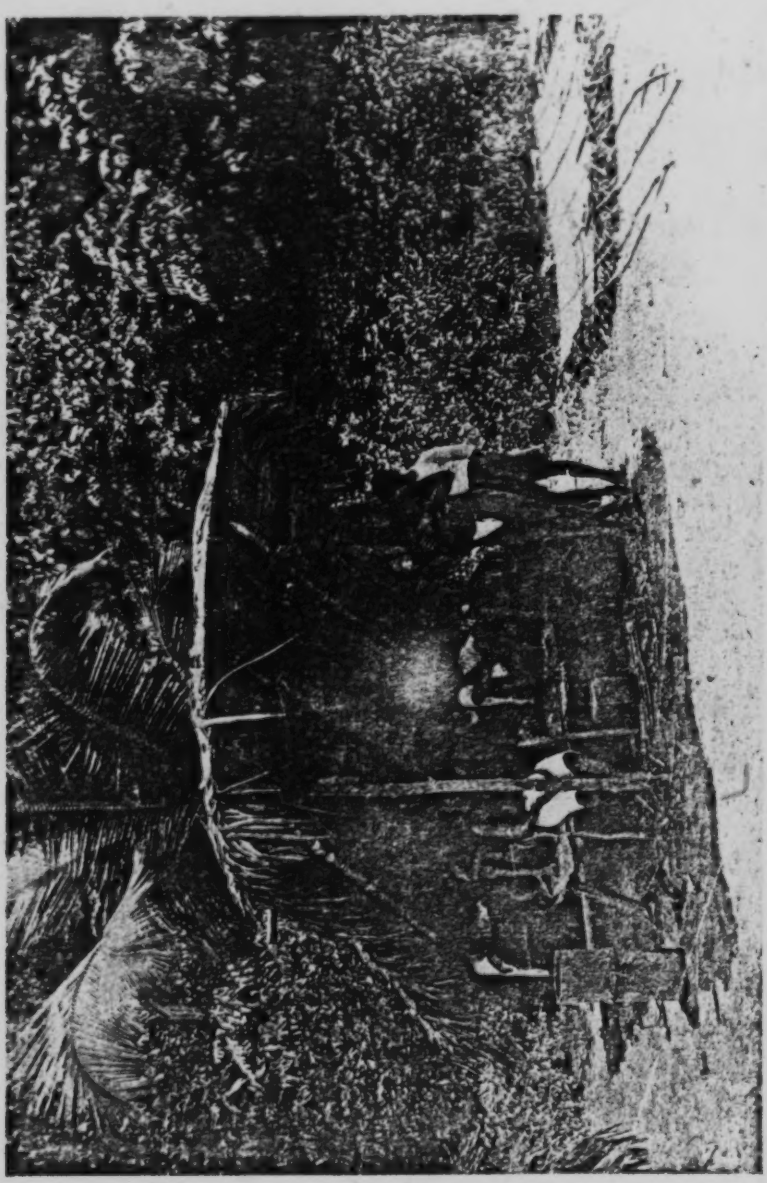


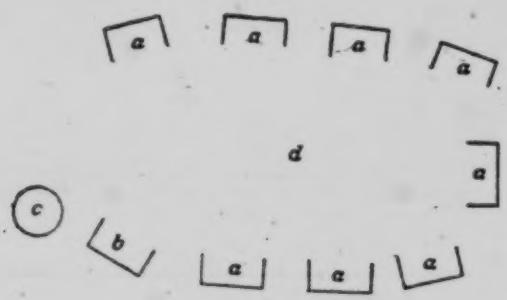
A hut in the village of Moi-lepto, showing the mode of construction

[facing p. 34]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

361 almost unknown in the Andamans. In the Archipelago there are
342 one or two small rock shelters that are occasionally used by a hunting party away from home for a night. I was told by the natives that on one of the islands off the west coast of the North Andaman there is a rock shelter of a fair size that was formerly used as one of their chief camps.

The following figure will give an idea of the Andamanese village and its arrangement. In hunting camps which are intended only to be occupied for a few days or a few weeks, this arrangement is not observed, but the huts or shelters are placed



Plan of Andamanese Village

a. Huts of married people.
b. Bachelors' hut.
c. Public cooking place.
d. Dancing ground.

so as to give shelter from the prevailing wind with no particular regard to the respective position of the different units.

361 The constitution of the local group is illustrated by the
621 arrangement of the village. The whole village consists of a number of separate huts, each hut occupied by a family. A family consists of a man and his wife and such of their children own or adopted as are not of an age to be independent. Besides the families each group necessarily contains a small number of unmarried men and widowers and some unmarried girls and widows. The unmarried men and widowers without children occupy a separate hut (or huts) which we may speak of as the bachelors' hut. Mr Man states that the spinsters (i.e., the

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

361 unmarried women who are of marriageable age) and widows
621 occupy a hut of their own similarly to the bachelors[1]. In the camps that I visited I did not find any such spinsters' hut. What unmarried females there were, I found attached to one or other of the families of the village, each one living in the hut of some married relative, generally the parent or foster-parent.

All the huts face inwards towards an open space which is the dancing ground of the village, and, except in exposed situations, are generally entirely open in front. At some convenient spot on one side of the dancing ground is to be found the communal cooking place of the village. This is generally close to the bachelors' hut, as it is the bachelors who attend to such cooking as is carried on there. Besides the public cooking place each family has its own fireplace in its own hut, on which a fire is kept continually alight. In the village two or
[592] more families may build their huts adjoining one another in such a way that they become for all practical purposes one hut, of which each family retains its own special portion. Two brothers will thus often make a sort of common household.

361 The communal hut, in the way in which it is arranged,
621 and even in the way in which it is built, is really a village with all the huts drawn together so that each one is joined to the one
342 next to it and the roofs meet in the middle. In the centre of the hut there is an open space corresponding to the dancing ground of the village. It is even used as a dancing ground, though for this purpose it is somewhat small. It is the public part of the hut. Around this are arranged the different families, each occupying its own special portion of the hut, which is marked off by means of short lengths of wood laid on the floor. The public cooking place is sometimes inside the hut, and there is the space marked off for the unmarried men. The advantage of the communal hut is that it affords a better protection from the weather; its disadvantage is that it leaves almost no room for dancing.

361 Thus it may be seen that the arrangement of the camp shows
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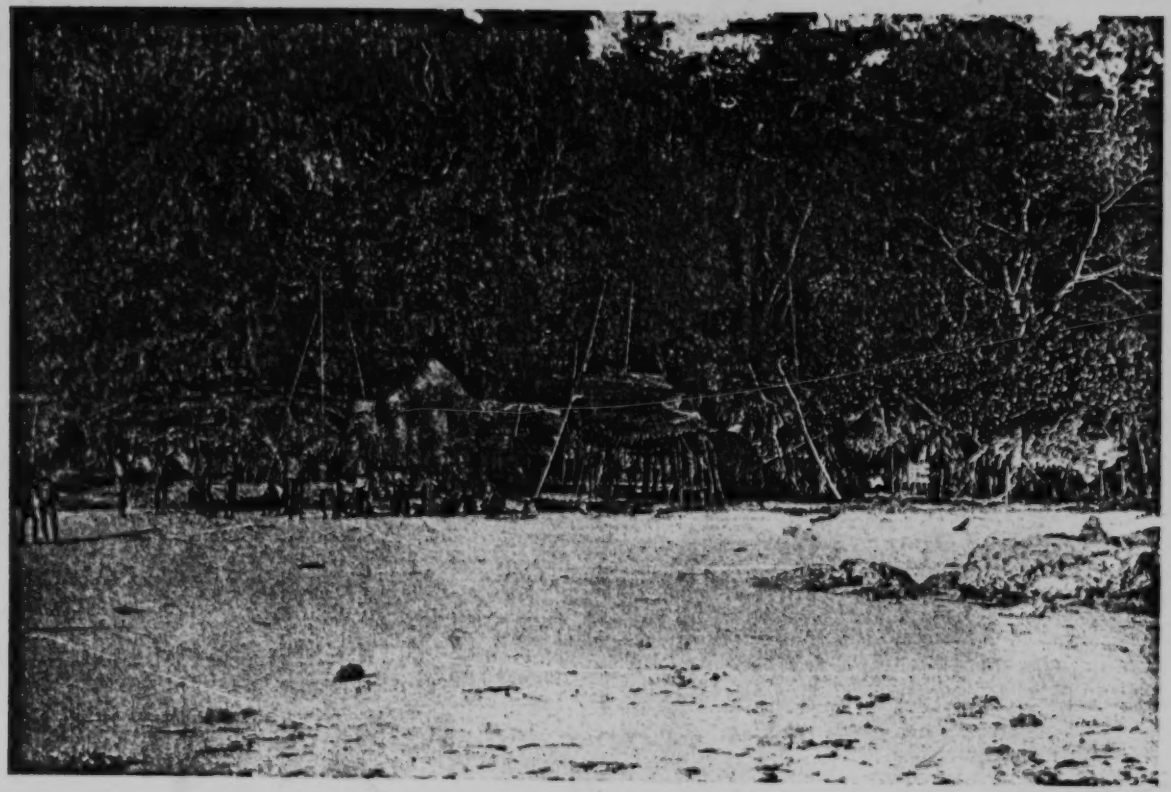
[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 108.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE VIII



A village of the Middle Andaman

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361

[facing p. 36]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

361 very plainly the constitution of a local group, consisting as it
62 does of a few families. Each group seems to have contained, on an average, about ten families, with a few unmarried males and females.

262 The Andaman Islanders depend for their subsistence entirely on the natural products of the sea and the forest. From the sea they obtain dugong, turtle (both green and hawksbill), an enormous variety of different sorts of fish, crustaceans (crabs, crayfish and prawns) and molluscs. Fish and crabs are also to be found in the salt-water creeks which in many places penetrate inland for some miles. From the forest they obtain the flesh of the wild pig, wild honey, and a large number of vegetable foods—roots, fruits, and seeds.

512 The life of the forest folk is more simple and uniform than that of the coast people and we may therefore consider it first. During the rainy season, which lasts from the middle of May to the end of September, the local group lives at its headquarters camp, which, as we have seen, formerly often took the form of a
[262] communal hut. During this season animal food is plentiful, as the jungle animals are in good condition; on the other hand there is not much vegetable food to be obtained. The following brief account will give an idea of how the day is spent in such a camp at that time of year. Some time after sunrise the camp begins to be astir. The various members of the community make a
512 meal of any food that may have been saved from the day before.
227 The men start off for the day's hunting. At the present time
[23] dogs are used for pig-hunting. These dogs were obtained in the first instance from the Settlement of Port Blair, and their use in pig-hunting was learnt from the Burmese convicts. Nowadays every married man has at least one dog[1]. Before the dogs were obtained, hunting was a pursuit requiring a great deal more skill than it does at present. A hunting party consists of from two to five men. Each man carries his bow and two or three pig arrows, and one of the party carries a smouldering fire-brand. They make their way through the jungle until they find the fresh tracks of a pig, or follow up some of the usual pig runs

[1] In the North Andaman the times before the Settlement are spoken of as the time when there were no dogs, *Bibi paiye* = "Dog not."

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

512 until they come upon the animal feeding. In former days much
224 skill was required to creep noiselessly through the jungle until they were sufficiently near either to discharge an arrow, or, if the jungle were more open, to rush in upon the animal shouting and shoot it before it could escape. At the present day it is the dogs that scent out the pig and bring it to bay, when the natives shoot it with their arrows.

512 When a pig has been killed it may be tied up and carried to the camp on the shoulders of one of the hunters, or a fire may
252 be lighted then and there and the pig eviscerated and roasted. A cut is made in the abdomen and the viscera removed. The cavity is filled with leaves, the joints of the legs are half severed and the carcase is placed on the fire and turned over and shifted until every part is evenly roasted. It is then removed from the fire, the burnt skin is scraped clean and the meat is cut up. Meanwhile the intestines or some of the internal organs are cooked and eaten by the hunters. The meat is tied up in leaves and is carried to the camp. If the pig be carried home whole the process of roasting it and cutting it up is performed in exactly the same way at the public cooking place of the camp, the meat being distributed only after it has been thus partially cooked.

512 If the hunting party should come across a civet cat (*Paradoxurus*) or a monitor lizard they would endeavour to kill
223 it[1], but the main object of every hunting party is to obtain pork. Snakes and even rats are killed and eaten. Birds, though plentiful in the islands are not often obtained, for the density of the jungle and the height of the trees in which the birds conceal themselves, make it very difficult for the natives to shoot them with their bows and arrows. A man does not care to risk the loss of his arrow in a chance shot at a bird. The Andamanese do not trap either birds or animals, though some of the birds, particularly the rail, might be very easily caught in traps.

512 As the hunting party traverses the forest they may come
222 across roots or fruits or seeds, or wild honey, and these are collected and carried home. In the rainy season only small

[1] They are only eaten in the rainy season.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

512 combs of black honey are to be found[1], and these are generally
222 consumed by the hunters on the spot.

The provision of the vegetable food of the community is the work of the women, who must also supply the camp with firewood and water. While the men are away hunting the
462 women, attended by the children, cut and carry the firewood,
512 and either remain in the camp making baskets or nets or other
222 objects, or else go into the forest to look for fruits and seeds. Thus by midday the camp may be quite deserted, save perhaps for one or two old men and women, and a few of the children.

In the afternoon the women return with what food they have
512 obtained and then the men come in with their provision. The
252 camp, unless the hunters have been unsuccessful, is then busy with the preparation of the evening meal, which is the chief meal of the day. If a pig has been brought home whole it is cooked at the public cooking place and is then cut up. The meat is distributed amongst the members of the community and the woman of each family then proceeds to cook the family meal. The pork, after it has been roasted and cut up, is further cooked by being boiled. The family meal is prepared at the fire that each family has in its hut. The meal is a family one, partaken
[264] by a man and his wife and children. The bachelors cook and eat their own meal, and the unmarried women also eat by themselves.

512 After the meal is over, darkness having by this time fallen, the
[535] men may spend an hour or two in dancing to the accompaniment of a song sung by one of them with the help of a chorus of women.
537 In that case they would probably eat another meal after the dance was over. Another favourite amusement for the evening is what may be called "yarning." A man sits down with a few listeners and tells them, with few words, and with many dramatic gestures, how he killed a pig. The same man may go on with
512 tale after tale, till, by the time he finishes he has killed twenty or thirty pigs. Finally the whole camp retires to rest and nothing

[1] There are two kinds of wild bee in the Andamans. A small species makes black honeycombs in hollow trees, and these may be found at any time of the year. A larger species of bee builds white combs suspended from the underside of branches in tall trees. Such combs are found in abundance only in the hot season, and not at all in the middle of the rainy season.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

is to be seen but the dim light of the little fires burning in each 512
hut or in each of the family quarters.

On a day when there is plenty of food left from the day before, or on a day of stormy weather even when food is not too plentiful, the men may remain in camp instead of going hunting. They busy themselves with making weapons and implements, such as bows, arrows, adzes, etc.

On occasions when game is not very plentiful a party of hunters may stay away from the camp for a few days, not returning till they have been successful in obtaining a fair supply of food. The women and children and old men, with perhaps a few of the able bodied men also, remain at home and provide for themselves as well as they can, the women devoting their time to collecting what vegetable foods are in season.

At the end of the rainy season there comes a brief period 221
of unsettled weather, called by the natives of the North Andaman 262
Kimil, and by those of the South, *Gumul*. During this season some of the vegetable foods begin to be available, though not in any quantities. At this time of the year the natives are able to obtain and feast upon what they regard as great delicacies, the larvae of the cicada and of the great capricornis beetle. The cool season, when fruits and roots are plentiful, begins at the end of November. The forest dwellers leave their main encampment during this season. Some of them go off to pay visits [574]
to their friends of other local groups. Such visits may last two
or three months. Those who remain occupy temporary camps 221
in convenient places. The men join the women in looking for 222
roots and fruits, and do not spend so much of their time in 262
hunting. Some of the men visit the main camp at intervals of a few days to see that it is all right. As the cool season gives way to the hot season (March to May) honey begins to be plentiful. At that time hunting for pig is almost abandoned. The pigs are in poor condition, and even when one is killed it is often left in the jungle by the natives as not being good enough to eat. On the other hand everyone is busy collecting honey. [462]
This is work in which both men and women join, though it is the men who climb up the trees and cut down the honeycomb. The natives have no means of keeping the honey for more than

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

221
222 a very short time, as it rapidly ferments. While it is plentiful
262 they almost live on it, supplementing it with roots and fruits and with fish, if they are near a creek. Towards the end of the hot season the fruit of the *Artocarpus chaplasha*, which is a favourite food of the natives, becomes ripe. The men and women, at this time, spend much of their time collecting the fruit. When it is collected the fruit is broken open and each of the seeds is sucked to obtain the juicy pulp or aril with which it is surrounded, and which has a very pleasant taste. The seeds are then partly boiled and are buried in the ground to remain there for a few weeks, when they will be dug up again and cooked and eaten. Any natives who may have been away from home on a visit, return before the *Artocarpus* comes into fruit in order to take their share in collecting it and providing a supply of the seeds for consumption in the rainy season. The natives then return to the headquarters camp and make any necessary repairs to the hut in preparation for the rainy season, which begins about the middle of May.

221 The coast-dwellers are not quite so much influenced by the seasons as the forest-dwellers. They can fish and collect
262 molluscs all the year round. In the rainy season they divide their time between hunting pig in the forest and fishing or turtle hunting. They do not need, however, to remain at the same camp during the whole of the rainy season, but after a month or two at one place can move to what they hope to find better hunting grounds. During the cool and hot seasons they pay visits to one another. In the fine weather the men often go off on turtle-hunting expeditions for several days, leaving the women and children and older men in the village, where they provide for themselves with vegetable food and with fish and molluscs from the reefs.

000 It is during the fine weather that there take place the meetings of two or more local groups that are an important feature of the social life of the Andaman Islanders. These meetings will be described later in the present chapter.

462 Besides their food, which they must find from day to day, the natives have need of nothing save their weapons and implements. Of these each person makes his own, each man making his

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

own bow, arrows, adze, etc., while the wife makes her baskets, nets and so on. 462

The economic life of the local group, though in effect it approaches to a sort of communism, is yet based on the notion of private property. Land is the only thing that is owned in common. The hunting grounds of a local group belong to the whole group, and all the members have an equal right to hunt over any part of it. There exists, however, a certain private ownership of trees. A man of one of the local groups of the coast may notice in the jungle a tree suitable for a canoe. He will tell the others that he has noticed such a tree, describing it and its whereabouts. Thenceforward that tree is regarded as his property, and even if some years should elapse, and he has made no use of it, yet another man would not cut it down without first asking the owner to give him the tree. In a similar way certain men claim to possess certain *Artocarpus* trees, though how the ownership in these cases had arisen I was unable to determine. No one would pick the fruit off such a tree without the permission of the owner, and having received permission and gathered the fruit he would give some part of it to the owner of the tree. 421

A pig belongs to the man whose arrow first strikes it, though if the arrow merely glanced off and did not remain in the wound it would not give any claim to ownership. A turtle or a dugong or big fish belongs to the man who throws the harpoon with which it is taken. A honeycomb belongs to the man who climbs the tree and cuts it down. The fish that a man shoots belong to him, and to a woman belong the roots she digs up, the seeds that she collects, the fish or prawns that she takes in her net or the molluscs that she brings from the reefs. Any weapon that a man makes belongs to him alone to do what he pleases with, and anything that a woman makes is her own property. A man is not free to dispose of the personal property of his wife without her permission. [562]

In the village each family erects and keeps in repair its own hut, and the wife provides the hut with the firewood and water needed. In the case of a communal hut it would seem that this is really an example of a possession common to the whole group. 421 594 342

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

421 This is so, however, only in appearance. The hut is built by all
594 the different families, but each family is regarded as owning
342 a certain portion of the hut when it is finished, and it is the family that keeps this part of the hut in repair.

421 A canoe is cut by a number of men together. From the
501 outset, however, it is the property of one man, who selects the tree and superintends the operation of cutting it into shape.
476 He is always one of the older men, and he enlists the services of the younger men to help him. When finished the canoe is his property, and he can do with it what he pleases, giving it away, if he wishes, and no one has any share of ownership in a canoe on the ground that he helped to make it.

421 While all portable property is thus owned by individuals, the
431 Andamanese have customs which result in an approach to communism. One of these is the custom of constantly exchanging
574 presents with one another. When two friends meet who have not seen each other for some time, one of the first things they do is to exchange presents with one another. Even in the ordinary everyday life of the village there is a constant giving and receiving of presents. A younger man or woman may give some article to an older one without expecting or receiving any return, but between equals a person who gives a present always expects that he will receive something of equal value in exchange. At the meetings that take place between neighbouring local groups the exchange of presents is of great importance. Each of the visitors brings with him a number of articles that he distributes amongst the members of the group that he visits. When the visitors depart they are loaded with presents received from their hosts. It requires a good deal of tact on the part of everyone concerned to avoid the unpleasantness that may arise if a man thinks that he has not received things as valuable as he has given, or if he fancies that he has not received quite the same amount of attention as has been accorded to others.

431 It is considered a breach of good manners ever to refuse
576 the request of another. Thus if a man be asked by another to give him anything that he may possess, he will immediately do so. If the two men are equals a return of about the same value will have to be made. As between an older married man

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and a bachelor or a young married man, however, the younger would not make any request of such a nature, and if the older man asked the younger for anything the latter would give it without always expecting a return. 431 576

Almost every object that the Andamanese possess is thus constantly changing hands. Even canoes may be given away, but it is more usual for these to be lent by the owner to his friends. 431 [426]

It has been stated above that all food is private property and belongs to the man or woman who has obtained it. Every one who has food is expected, however, to give to those who have none. An older married man will reserve for himself sufficient for his family, and will then give the rest to his friends. A younger man is expected to give away the best of what he gets to the older men. This is particularly the case with the bachelors. Should a young unmarried man kill a pig he must be content to see it distributed by one of the older men, all the best parts going to the seniors, while he and his companions must be satisfied with the inferior parts. The result of these customs is that practically all the food obtained is evenly distributed through the whole camp, the only inequality being that the younger men do not fare so well as their elders. Generosity is esteemed by the Andaman Islanders one of the highest of virtues and is unremittingly practised by the majority of them. 421 431 [577]

Within the local group there is no such thing as a division of labour save as between the two sexes. In the coastal groups every man is expected to be able to hunt pig, to harpoon turtle and to catch fish, and also to cut a canoe, to make bows and arrows and all the other objects that are made by men. It happens that some men are more skilful in certain pursuits than in others. A skilful turtle-hunter, for example, may be an indifferent pig-hunter, and such a man will naturally prefer to devote himself to the pursuit in which he appears to most advantage. 462

The division of labour between the sexes is fairly clearly marked. A man hunts and fishes, using the bow and arrow and the harpoon; he makes his own bows and arrows, his adze and knife, cuts canoes and makes rope for harpoon lines. A woman

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462 collects fruits and digs up roots with her digging stick; she catches prawns and crabs and small fish with her small fishing net; she provides the firewood and the water of the family and does the cooking (i.e. the family cooking, but not the common cooking, which is entirely done by men); she makes all such objects as baskets, nets of thread, and personal ornaments either for herself or her husband.

888 There is no organised government in an Andamanese village. The affairs of the community are regulated entirely by the older 623 men and women. The younger members of the community are brought up to pay respect to their elders and to submit to them in many ways. It has already been shown how, in the distribution of food, the elders get the best share. When it is a question of shifting camp to some better hunting ground the opinion of the older men would weigh against that of the younger if they disagreed. It must not be thought, however, that the older men are tyrannical or selfish. I only once heard a young man complain of the older men getting so much the best of everything. The respect for seniority is kept alive partly by tradition and partly by the fact that the older men have had a greater experience than the younger. It could probably not be maintained if it regularly gave rise to any tyrannical treatment of the younger by the elder.

888 The respect for seniors is shown in the existence of special terms of address which men and women use when speaking 576 to their elders. In the languages of the North Andaman there are two such terms, *Mai* or *Maia*, applied to men, with a meaning equivalent to "Sir," and *Mimi*, applied to women. These words may be used either alone or prefixed to the personal name of the person addressed. A younger man speaking to an older one whose name was *Bora* would address him either as *Mai* (Sir), or as *Maia Bora* (Sir Bora).

In the tribes of the South Andaman there are exactly similar terms. In the *Aka-Bea* tribe *Maia* or *Maiola* is used in addressing men and *Čana* or *Čanola* in speaking to women. In *Akar-Bale* the equivalent terms are *Da* and *In*. Besides these terms there is in these tribes another, *Mam*, *Mama* or *Mamola*, which may be used in speaking to either men or women, and which

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implies a higher degree of respect than *Maia* or *Čana*. In these tribes also there is a special way of showing respect by adding the suffix *-la* to the name of the person addressed, as *Bia*, *Biala*, *Woičo*, *Woičo-la*, etc. 888 576

In the legends of the Andamanese these titles are nearly always prefixed to the names of the legendary ancestors, as *Maia Putpu* and *Mimi Biliku* in *Aka-Jeru*, or *Da Duku* and *In Bain* in *Akar-Bale*. The moon is similarly spoken of as Sir Moon (*Maia Ogar* in *Aka-Bea*) and the sun as Lady Sun (*Čana Bodo*).

Besides the respect for seniority there is another important factor in the regulation of the social life, namely the respect for certain personal qualities. These qualities are skill in hunting and in warfare, generosity and kindness, and freedom from bad temper. A man possessing them inevitably acquires a position of influence in the community. His opinion on any subject carries more weight than that of another even older man. The younger men attach themselves to him, are anxious to please him by giving him any presents that they can, or by helping him in such work as cutting a canoe, and to join him in hunting parties or turtle expeditions. In each local group there was usually to be found one man who thus by his influence could control and direct others. Amongst the chief men of several friendly local groups it would generally happen that one of them, by reason of his personal qualities, would attain to a position of higher rank than the others. Younger men would be desirous of joining the local group to which he belonged. He would find himself popular and respected at the annual meetings of the different groups, and his influence would thus spread beyond the narrow limits of his own small community. 554 623 622

There was no special word to denote such men and distinguish them from others. In the languages of the North Andaman they were spoken of as *er-kuro* = "big."

Such men might perhaps be spoken of as "chiefs," but the term is somewhat misleading, as it makes us think of the organised chieftainship of other savage races.

The above statement is not quite in agreement with what has been written by Mr Man on the same subject, and what he 623 622

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says is therefore reproduced here. "Their domestic policy may be described as a communism modified by the authority, more or less nominal, of the chief. The head chief of a tribe is called *maia igla*, and the elders, or sub-chiefs, i.e. those in authority over each community, consisting of from 20 to 50 individuals, *maiola*. The head chief, who usually resides at a permanent encampment, has authority over all the sub-chiefs, but his power, like theirs, is very limited. It is exercised mainly in organising meetings between the various communities belonging to his tribe, and in exerting influence in all questions affecting the welfare of his followers. It is the chief alone, as may be supposed, who directs the movements of a party while on hunting and fishing expeditions, or when migrating. It is usually through his intervention that disputes are settled, but he possesses no power to punish or enforce obedience to his wishes, it being left to all alike to take the law into their own hands when aggrieved. The *aryoto* and *eremtaga* in each tribe have their own head chief, who are independent the one of the other. As might be assumed from the results of observations made of other savage races, whose sole or chief occupation consists in hunting or fishing, the power of the chiefs is very limited, and not necessarily hereditary, though, in the event of a grown-up son being left who was qualified for the post, he would, in most instances, be selected to succeed his father in preference to any other individual of equal efficiency. At the death of a chief there is no difficulty in appointing a successor, there being always at least one who is considered his deputy or right-hand man. As they are usually, on these occasions, unanimous in their choice, no formal election takes place; however, should any be found to dissent, the question is decided by the wishes of the majority, it being always open to malcontents to transfer their allegiance to another chief, since there is no such thing as forced submission to the authority of one who is not a general favourite. Social status being dependent not merely on the accident of relationship, but on skill in hunting, fishing, etc., and on a reputation for generosity and hospitality, the chiefs and elders are almost invariably superior in every respect to the rest. They and their wives are at liberty to enjoy immunity from the

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drudgery incidental to their mode of life, all such acts being voluntarily performed for them by the young unmarried persons living under their headship[1]." 623 622

Where Mr Man speaks of the "authority" of the chiefs it would be better to speak of "influence." Of authority the leading men have little or none, but of influence they have a good deal. Should any one venture to oppose a popular chief he would find the majority of the natives, including many of his friends, siding against him. The words "chief" and "authority" seem to imply some sort of organised rule and procedure, and of this there is nothing in the Andamans. Mr Man also implies that in each tribe there is always one recognized headman, but in reality each tribe may possess two or three leading men in different parts of the country, each with his own following. In any case a man's influence is largely confined to his own local group, for it is only at the annual meetings that the men of other groups come in contact with him.

The early officers of the Andamanese Homes (before the time of Mr Man) established a system of chieftainship in the islands by selecting a few of the more trustworthy and intelligent men, whom they dignified with the title of *raja*, and who acted as the intermediaries between the Officer in Charge of the Andamanese and the natives. This system has been continued to the present day, and the natives have adopted the title *raja* for these men, having themselves no word for a chief. Where a man is selected who is already respected and esteemed by the natives his influence is considerably increased through the position thus assigned to him. The natives themselves do not recognize that he has any authority over them, but if he be a man of generosity and tact, the majority will always support him, and his advice in any matters of moment will be readily followed.

Women may occupy a position of influence similar to that of the men. The wife of a leading man generally exercises the same sort of influence over the women as her husband does over the men. A woman, however, would not exercise any influence over the men in matters connected with hunting. They do have 623 567

[1] Man, in *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. XII, p. 108.

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623 a good deal of influence in connection with quarrels either of
562 individuals or of local groups.

There are certain men, and possibly sometimes women, who
756 have an influence over their fellows owing to their being credited with the possession of supernatural powers. These men, called in *Aka-Jeru oko-jumu* (literally "one who speaks from dreams"), will be described in a later chapter. As they are believed to have command over the powers that produce and cure sickness everyone tries to be on good terms with them, avoiding giving them offence in any way, and seeking their favour by presents of food or other things. It sometimes happens that a chief (the leading man of a local group) is at the same time a medicine-man or *oko-jumu*, but the two positions are entirely distinct and separate, and a man may be a medicine-man who possesses none of the qualities that are necessary for a head man.

673 There does not appear to have been in the Andamans any such thing as the punishment of crime. We may distinguish two kinds of anti-social actions which are regarded by the natives as being wrong. The first kind are those actions which injure in some way a private individual. The second are those, which, while they do not injure any particular person, are yet regarded with disapproval by the society in general.

Amongst the anti-social actions of the first kind are murder, or wounding, theft and adultery, and wilful damage of the property of another.

578 No case of one Andamanese killing another has occurred in
recent years. Quarrels sometimes occur between two men of
627 the same camp. A good deal of hard swearing goes on, and
sometimes one of the men will work himself up to a high pitch
682 of anger, in which he may seize his bow and discharge an arrow
152 near to the one who has offended him, or may vent his ill-temper by destroying any property that he can lay his hands on, including not only that of his enemy but also that of other persons and even his own. At such a display of anger the women and children flee into the jungle in terror, and if the angry man be at all a formidable person the men occasionally do the same. It apparently requires more courage than the natives usually possess to endeavour to allay such a storm of

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anger. Yet I found that the slightest show of authority would immediately bring such a scene to an end. A man of influence in his village was probably generally equal to the task of keeping order and preventing any serious damage from taking place. It was probably rare for a man so far to give way to his anger as to kill his opponent.

Such murders did, however, occasionally take place[1]. The murderer would, as a rule, leave the camp and hide himself in the jungle, where he might be joined by such of his friends as were ready to take his part. It was left to the relatives and friends of the dead man to exact vengeance if they wished and if they could. If the murderer was a man who was much feared it is probable that he would escape. In any case the anger of the Andamanese is short-lived, and if for a few months he could keep out of the way of those who might seek revenge, it is probable that at the end of that time he would find their anger cooled.

A man who is liable to outbursts of violent anger is feared by his fellows, and unless he has other counterbalancing qualities, he is never likely to become popular. He is treated with outward respect, for every one is afraid of offending him, but he never acquires the esteem of others. There is a special nickname, *Tarenjek*, in the North Andaman, to denote such a man[2].

Quarrels were more likely to occur at the meetings of different local groups that took place in the fine weather, and such quarrels might occasionally end in the murder of some one. In such a case the quarrel would be taken up by the group

[1] The natives of the North Andaman were able to tell me of a few cases of murder which had occurred within the memory of those still living.

Mr Portman in his *History of Our Relations with the Andamanese* records a certain number of murders which occurred while he was in charge of the Andamanese. One man, who had been imprisoned at Port Blair for murder, committed another soon after his release and was hanged. Since that date there has been no case of murder among the Great Andaman tribes. This is perhaps in part due to the punishment with which they are now threatened by the Government, but another cause is probably the breakdown of the old social organisation which has in this respect rather improved their morals than the opposite.

[2] The nickname is applied, however, not only to those who deserve it by their character, but also to others; for instance, one man was called *Tarenjek* because his maternal uncle was a man of violent temper.

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628 of the murdered man, and a feud would be set up between them
682 and the local group to which the murderer belonged. Such was one of the common causes of origin of the petty warfare that formerly existed in the Andamans, which will be referred to later in the present chapter.

627 Cases of theft seem to have been rare. It was left to the
685 aggrieved person to take vengeance upon the thief, but if he killed him or seriously wounded him he would have to expect the possible vengeance of the relatives and friends. Adultery
627 was regarded as a form of theft. I gathered that a man had the
684 right to punish his wife for unfaithfulness, but if the punishment were too severe it would be an occasion for a quarrel with her relatives. It was difficult for the aggrieved husband to punish the man who had offended against him. If he killed him he would lay himself open to the revenge of the relatives. The most he could do was to vent his anger in violent words.

578 Women also occasionally quarrel with one another and swear forcibly at one another, or even get so far as to destroy one
626 another's belongings, or to fight with their fists or sticks. The men hesitate to interfere, and the quarrel can only be stopped by some woman of influence.

The frequent occurrence of serious quarrels is prevented both by the influence of the older men and by the fear that everyone has of the possible vengeance of others should he in any way offend them.

183 There are a number of actions which, while they do not offend any particular person, are regarded as being anti-social.
626 One of these is laziness. Every man is expected to take his proper share in providing both himself and others with food. Should a man shirk this obligation, nothing would be said to him, unless he were a young unmarried man, and he would still be given food by others, but he would find himself occupying a position of inferiority in the camp, and would entirely lose the esteem of his fellows. Other qualities or actions that result in a similar loss of esteem are marital unfaithfulness, lack of respect to others and particularly to elders, meanness or niggardliness, and bad temper. One man was mentioned to me as being a bad man because he refused to take a wife after he had

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reached the age when it is considered proper for a man to marry. In recent times at least one young man has refused to undergo the privations connected with the initiation ceremonies. This was of course a case of gross rebellion against the customs of the tribe, but there was no way of punishing him or of compelling him to conform, save by showing him that he was an object of contempt and ridicule to others. Probably such a refusal to conform to tribal customs could not have taken place before the British occupation of the islands. 183 626

Another class of wrong actions consists in the breaking of ritual prohibitions. There are, for example, as will be shown in a later chapter, a number of actions which it is believed may cause bad weather, such as burning bees'-wax or killing a cicada. There is, however, no punishment that can be meted out to any one who does any of these things. The punishment, if we may call it so, is a purely supernatural one, and it strikes not only the offender but every one else as well. In the legends of the Andamanese there are one or two stories related of how one of the ancestors, being angry, deliberately performed one of the forbidden actions and thus brought a storm that destroyed many human beings[1]. There are other ritual prohibitions the non-observance of which is supposed to bring its own punishment on the offender, who, it is believed, will be ill. 784 626

The medicine-men (*oko-jumu*) are credited with the power to work evil magic, and by its means to make other people ill, and even to kill them. A man suspected of evil magic might be liable to the vengeance of those who thought that they had been injured by him, but though the practice was regarded as reprehensible it does not seem that the society ever acted as a whole to punish a man suspected of it. 756

Children are reproved for improper behaviour, but they are never punished. During their years of infancy they are much spoilt, not only by their parents but by every one. During the period of adolescence every boy and girl has to undergo a somewhat severe discipline, to be described in a later chapter. 861 882

[1] See below, Chap. IV.

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882 This probation, if it may be so called, is enforced by a unanimous public opinion. The discipline lasts until the man or woman is married and a parent, or if childless as so many now are, until he or she has settled down to a position of responsibility.

627 Thus, though the Andaman Islanders had a well developed social conscience, that is, a system of moral notions as to what is right and wrong, there was no such thing as the punishment of a crime by the society. If one person injured another it was left to the injured one to seek vengeance if he wished and if he dared. There were probably always some who would side with the criminal, their attachment to him overcoming their disapproval of his actions. The only painful result of anti-social 626 actions was the loss of the esteem of others. This in itself was a punishment that the Andamanese, with their great personal vanity, would feel keenly, and it was in most instances sufficient to prevent such actions. For the rest, good order depended largely on the influence of the more prominent men and women.

000 We have so far considered only the general regulation of conduct in the local group, without giving any attention to the more special regulations dependent on relationships by blood and by marriage. In all human societies there is a system of rights and duties regulating the conduct towards one another of persons who are related either by consanguinity or through marriage. In primitive societies these particular rights and duties occupy a position of preponderating importance, owing, no doubt, to the small number of persons with whom any single person comes into effective social contact. When a large proportion of the men and women with whom any person comes in contact are related to him, it is clear that relationship must count for a good deal in regulating the everyday life of the people.

Different societies have different systems of relationship. This means, not only that they attach different duties to particular relations, but also that they have different ways of reckoning the relationships themselves. The vast majority of primitive peoples have some one or other form of what is known to ethnologists

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as the "classificatory system of relationship[1]." This system is intimately connected with the existence of the social divisions known as "clans." In the Andamans there are no clans, and the system of relationship is fundamentally different from all the classificatory systems.

To understand the Andamanese system it is necessary to examine the terms by which they denote the different kinds of relationship which are recognized[2]. In many societies having the classificatory system of relationship the terms which are used to denote relationship are also used as terms of address, just as we use the terms "Father" and "Mother." In the Andamans this is not so. There are special words that are used as terms of address, but these do not imply any relationship between the speaker and the person spoken to. In the North Andaman those terms are *Maia* (= Sir) and *Mimi* (= Lady). These are used by younger men and women in speaking to older persons. For the rest, persons are addressed freely by their personal names. There are no terms of address that imply any relationship of consanguinity between the person speaking and the person whom he addresses. This is an important feature of the Andamanese system, distinguishing it from the systems of many other primitive societies.

The following is a list of terms used to denote relationship in the North Andaman. There seems to be very little difference in this matter between the four tribes of the North (*Aka-Čari*, *Aka-Kora*, *Aka-Bo* and *Aka-J̌eru*).

[1] The classificatory system of relationship was first studied and named by Lewis H. Morgan, in *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1871. The subject is also discussed in the same author's *Ancient Society*. Although there has been a good deal of attention paid to the systems of relationship of savage tribes since the time of Morgan, there is no general work on the subject that supersedes these two books.

[2] The terms used in any society to denote relationships are of interest to the ethnologist as an important means to the discovery of the relationship system (i.e. the system of juridical and moral institutions) existing in the same society. Without a thorough knowledge of the terms in use and their exact meanings it is impossible to discover the rights and duties of relatives one to another. It is, however, sometimes forgotten that the study of terms of relationship is not an end in itself but a means to a more important study.

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aka-mai	his father
aka-mimi	his mother
ot-tire	his child
ot-otoatue	his older brother
ot-otoatue-čip	his older sister
ot-arai-čulute	his younger brother
ot-arai-čulute-čip	his younger sister
ot-e-bui or *e-bui*	his wife (her husband)
e-pota-čiu	his father-in-law
e-pota-čip	his mother-in-law
ot-otone	his son-in-law.

Aka-mai and *aka-mimi.* The words for "father" and "mother" are derived from the terms of address *Maia* and *Mimi* by the addition in each case of the prefix *aka-*. By itself the term *Maia* is used by any man or woman in speaking to a man older than himself or herself without implying any relation between them beyond that of respective age. The addition of the prefix *aka-* changes the word, giving it the meaning "the father of somebody." Thus *Maia Bora* means "Mr Bora" or "Sir Bora," if we may so translate it, but *Bora aka-mai* means "Bora's father," and *aka-mai Bora* means "his or her father Bora." The *Aka-Jeru* equivalent for "my father" is *t'a-mai*, the *t'* being the personal pronoun "my," after which the prefix *aka-* is contracted to *a-*. Similarly "thy father" is *ŋ'a-mai* and "their father" or "their fathers" is *n'a-mai.* The word *aka-mimi* is in every respect exactly parallel to *aka-mai.* These two terms are only used when it is necessary to refer to the actual father or mother of anybody. For example, if a man be asked *Ačiu ŋ'a-mai bi?* (Who your father is?), he will reply by giving the name of his own father.

The stem *maia* clearly relates to the social position of the father of a family. A man who is a father, or while not having any children, is married and occupies an equivalent social position to a father, is addressed by the term which shows his social position, *Maia.* When I call a man *Maia,* I do not imply that he is *my* father nor that he is related to me at all, but only that he is *a* father. On the other hand, the prefix *aka-* added to the stem makes a possessive form, so that *aka-mai* means "his father" and *t'a-mai* means "my father." The word *mimi*

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is exactly parallel. By itself, the stem simply shows that the person addressed is *a* mother, while *aka-mimi* means "*his* mother."

Ot-tire. The word "child," when there is no reference to the child of some particular person, is translated *e-tire*, *-tire* being the stem and *e-* the prefix[1]. With a change of prefix from *-e* to *ot-*, a possessive form is made, so that *ot-tire* always means "his or her child," with reference to some particular person understood. Thus *Bora ot-tire* would mean "the child of Bora," while *Bora e-tire* or *e-tire Bora* would mean "the child Bora." The phrase *t'ot-tire* (my child) is used by either a man or a woman to denote his or her child.

Ot-otoatue and *ot-arai-čulute.* I was unable to find in the languages of the North Andaman any words which could properly be translated "brother" or "sister." The two words here given are used by the Andamanese to denote persons older or younger than the speaker, whether they be brothers and sisters or not. The derivation of *ot-otoatue* could not be ascertained, but the word means "he who was born before me," and it is used in this sense to denote any person of the speaker's generation who is older than himself. If it is necessary to emphasise the female sex of the person spoken of, the suffix *-čip* is added. An alternative word of exactly the same meaning is *ot-areupu* (fem. *ot-arep-čip*). The word *ot-arai-čulute* is formed from the stem *čulu* or *čulutu* meaning "following" or "after," which always takes the prefix *arai-*. (This prefix conveys a reference to position in time or space.) The stem is found in such phrases as *tio ŋ'arai-čulutu-bom*, "I will follow you" (literally *tio* = I, *ŋ'* = thou, *čulutu* = after, and *-bom*, verbal suffix), and *tarai-čulik* "afterwards" (*t-arai-čulu-ik*). The prefix *ot-*

[1] In the Andamanese languages a large number of words are formed from a stem and a prefix. *E-*, *ot-*, *aka-*, *ara-*, *ab-* etc. are prefixes of this kind. The function of the prefixes is (1) to show that the object denoted by the word is in a dependent relation to some other object understood, as for instance that it is part of that other object, and (2) to modify the reference of the stem, as for instance while *e-tire* means the offspring of an animal or an human being, *era-tire* means the offspring of a tree or plant (the young shoots). For a description of these prefixes the reader may be referred to the work of Mr Portman, *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes.*

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601 added in front of the usual prefix *arai-* determines the particular use of the word as referring to human beings. Thus the word *ot-arai-čulute* means, literally, "he or she who was born after me." It is used in this sense by a man or woman to denote any person of the same generation who is younger than himself. The suffix *-čip* may be added to denote a female. Alternative words of the same meaning are *ot-ara-liču* and *ot-ara-bela*.

These words are not, properly speaking, terms of relationship, but serve only to denote the respective ages of two persons. I did not discover any terms whatever by which a man can distinguish his own brother or sister from any other man or woman of the same age.

Ot-e-bui. The stem *-bui* means "to marry," as in *n' e-bui-om* = they are married. "My husband" or "my wife" is simply *t'e-bui* or *t'ot-e-bui*.

E-pota-čiu and *e-pota-čip*. The derivation of these words was not discovered. They are the terms by which a man distinguishes his wife's father and mother, and a woman her husband's father and mother.

Ot-otone. The word and its meaning are somewhat doubtful. It was sometimes used by a man to denote his daughter's husband, and perhaps also his son's wife. I once heard it applied to a younger sister's husband. It may be compared with the same word as used in the South Andaman to be mentioned presently.

So far as could be discovered, there are no words in the languages of the North Andaman for grandfather, grandmother, uncle, aunt, cousin, etc. The terms given above can be combined to describe relatives of this kind, as

T'a-mimi aka-mai	my mother's father
Ot-e-bui ot-arai-čulute	his wife's younger brother
Y'ot-a-mai ot-arai-čulute	thy father's younger brother
T'ot-otoatue ot-tire	my older brother's child.

These compound terms are not often used, however.

The terms of relationship of the *Akar-Bale* tribe may be taken as representative of the tribes of the South Andaman. The following list contains all the more important of them.

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da	father
ab-atr	father
in	mother
ar-bua	child
ar-kodire	child (father speaking)
ab-atet	child (mother speaking)
mama	grandparent
jat	grandchild
en-toaka-ya	older brother or sister
ar-dotot	younger brother or sister
otoni	son-in-law
oten	daughter-in-law
ab-i-ya	consort (husband or wife)
aka-yat	parent of child's consort
aka-bua	consort's younger brother or sister
ep-taruo-ya	step relative
ot-čat-ya	relative by adoption
aka-kuam	younger relative
ab-čuga	older relative (male)
ab-čupal	older relative (female).

Da and *in*. *Da* is the common term of address used when speaking to an older man to whom the speaker wishes to show respect. A man will speak of his own father as *dege da*, *dege* being the personal pronoun "my" as used before a word that has no prefix. The term *In* is the common term of address used in speaking to women. A man or woman will refer to his or her own mother as *deg' in*. The use of these two terms as applied to parents is very similar to the use of *aka-mai* and *aka-mimi* in the North Andaman, with the difference that in *Akar-Bale* the stem *da* or *in* does not take a prefix to modify its meaning. While the use of the terms *Da* and *In* as terms of address does not in the least imply that there is any relationship between the person speaking and the person addressed, yet the phrase *dege da* would in general be understood as referring to the speaker's own father. 601 576

Ab-atr. This is a word descriptive of the relationship of a father to his child. I never heard a man refer to his own father by this term, but it is heard in such phrases as *deg' in l'ab-atr* = my mother's father. It conveys a definite notion of the physiological relation between a father and his children, and might be translated "he who caused me to be conceived." There is 601

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601 probably a feminine equivalent meaning "mother," but it was not noted.

Ar-bua, *ar-kodire* and *ab-atet*. The *Akar-Bale* word for "infant" is *ab-liga* or *ab-dareka*. The latter word is the phonetic equivalent of the *e-tire* of the Northern languages. A parent often speaks of his or her infant son as *d'ab-bula*, and of his infant daughter as *d'ab-pal*, *ab-bula* and *ab-pal* being the terms for "male" and "female[1]." The exact use of the term *ar-bua* is difficult to determine. The stem *-bua* may be used by itself without a prefix. *Dege bua* (my child) would refer, I believe, only to the child of the speaker. On the other hand, a man would use the term *d'ar-bua* as referring not only to his own child but also to the child of a brother or a sister, or even to a person who was not related to him at all. So far as it could be determined, it seems that a man or woman might apply this term (*ar-bua*) to any person of the same generation as his or her children, whether a relative or not. It thus means "a person of the same generation as my own children," and describes, not relationship, but respective age. The word *ar-kodire* refers to the own child of a man, and *ab-atet* similarly refers to the own child of a woman. The two words together are thus equivalent to the *ot-tire* of the North Andaman, the *Akar-Bale* distinguishing between the offspring of a man (*ar-kodire*) and the offspring of a woman (*ab-atet*).

Mama. The word is translated above as meaning "grandparent," but it has a wider meaning than this. It is used as a term of address to convey more respect than is conveyed by the terms *Da* and *In*, and is thus used in addressing any man or woman who is considerably older than the speaker. With the personal pronoun, *dege mama*, it may be applied by a man or woman to any of his grandparents, and also to his father-in-law and mother-in-law, and to other senior relatives.

Jat. The word was explained to me by the natives as meaning "grandchild." It seems to be a sort of reciprocal of *mama*, and is apparently applicable by any old man or woman to any child of the same generation as his or her own grandchildren.

[1] *Dege bula* and *dege pal* mean "my husband" and "my wife" respectively.

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En-toaka-ŋa and *ar-dotot*. These two words are used in exactly the same way as the words *ot-otoatue* and *ot-arai-čulutė* of the North Andaman. They are not properly terms of relationship, but may be equally used in referring to non-relatives. *En-toaka-ŋa* means "he who was born before me," and *ar-dotot* means "he who was born after me." I was not able to discover any word by which a person could distinguish his own brother or sister from others of the same age. It is not certain, however, that such a word does not exist.

Otoni and *oten*. These are masculine and feminine forms of the same word, and are used to denote a daughter's husband and a son's wife. *Otoni* is also applied to a younger sister's husband, and *oten* to a younger brother's wife. The derivation of the words was not discovered.

Aka-yat. This is the native name for the relationship subsisting between a person's parents and his parents-in-law. My own mother or father is *aka-yat* to my wife's father or mother.

Aka-bua. The word is derived from the stem *bua*, meaning "child." It is applied by a man to the younger brothers and sisters of his wife, and by a woman to the younger brothers and sisters of her husband.

Ab-i-ŋa. The word is translated "consort," and means either husband or wife. It is derived from the verbal stem *-i-* meaning "to marry" (*on-i-re*), *ab-* being the prefix, and *-ŋa* the verbal suffix.

Ep-taruo-ŋa. The word is used to denote a step-child, or a younger step-brother or sister.

Ot-čat-ŋa. The word means "adopted." "My adopted child" is simply expressed as *d'ot-čat-ŋa*, while "my foster father" is *dege da ot-čat-ŋa*. The stem is *-čat-*, *-ŋa* being the verbal suffix and *ot-* the prefix.

Aka-kuam. In spite of several enquiries, I was unable to ascertain the significance of this word. I heard it applied on different occasions to a younger brother or sister, to a younger first cousin, and to the brothers and sisters of a wife. The only suitable translation would seem to be "my younger relative," but it is not certain that it even implies any relationship at all.

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601 It is perhaps really a term denoting respective social status and is used by a married man to denote other married men who are somewhat younger than himself, and with whom he is on friendly terms.

Ab-čuga and *ab-čupal*. These are the masculine and feminine forms of one word. Mr Portman[1] gives them as meaning "married man" and "married woman." I heard them used, however, with the personal pronoun. Thus a man applied the term *ab-čuga* to his older brother, his older sister's husband, and to his father's brother. In this usage these two terms seem to be in a sense reciprocal to *aka-kuam*. A younger married man will refer to older married men and women as his *ab-čuga* and *ab-čupal*, while they will call him *aka-kuam*.

In his work on the Andamanese, Mr E. H. Man gives a long list of terms of relationship for the *Aka-Bea* tribe[2]. It will be of some interest to compare the terms there given with those of the *Akar-Bale* tribe described above.

D'ab-maiola (*D'ab-mai-ola*). This is translated by Mr Man as "father." In *Aka-Bea* the term *Maia* is the term of address corresponding to the *Da* of *Akar-Bale* and to the *Mai* of the North Andaman. The suffix *-ola*, added to this and other terms of address serves to convey additional respect, as *Maia*, *Mai-ola*, *Čana*, *Čan-ola*, *Mama*, *Mam-ola*. Thus *ab-mai-ola* corresponds to the *aka-mai* of the Northern languages.

Dia Maia. This is given by Mr Man as applicable to the following relatives:—my father's brother, my mother's brother, my father's sister's husband, my mother's sister's husband, my father's father's brother's (or sister's) son, my husband's grandfather, my wife's grandfather, my wife's sister's husband (if elder), my husband's sister's husband (if elder).

Dia maiola. My grandfather, my grandfather's brother, my grandmother's brother, my elder sister's husband.

It must be remembered that these terms are not properly terms of relationship at all. Any man who is older than the speaker is *Maia* or *Mai-ola* to him, the latter implying a slightly

[1] *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes.*

[2] Man, *op. cit.* p. 421. The *dia*, or the *d'* before a prefix, in the words of this list is the pronoun "my."

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higher degree of respect than the former. It is probable that the three different terms given above are not used by the natives with the very precise distinctions that are drawn by Mr Man. It may be noted that Mr Portman writes in this connection:—"*Maia* is an Honorific, equivalent to the English 'Sir,' and is used when addressing a male elder. A son calls his father 'Sir,' and uses no other word in speaking to, or of, him. A pronoun emphasises the relationship, as: *D'ia maiola*, "My Father"[1].

D' ab-čanola. Given by Mr Man as meaning "my mother." It is the feminine equivalent of *d'ab-mai-ola, Čana* being the feminine of *Maia*, and corresponding to the *In* of *Akar-Bale* and the *Mimi* of *Aka-Jeru.*

Dia čanola. This is given as the *Aka-Bea* translation of the following:—my father's sister, my mother's sister, my father's brother's wife, my mother's brother's wife, my grandmother, my great aunt, my father's father's sister's daughter, my mother's mother's sister's daughter, my husband's grandmother, my wife's grandmother, my husband's sister (if senior and a mother), my elder brother's wife (if a mother). In its formation the term is the feminine equivalent of *dia mai-ola*, while in its use it is the equivalent both of this term and of *dia maia.* This serves to show that there is no real precise distinction between *dia maia* and *dia mai-ola*, such as Mr Man's list would seem to imply. *Dia čan-ola* is not, properly speaking, a term of relationship. Any married woman senior to the speaker is entitled to be addressed as *Čana* or *Čan-ola.*

D'ab-čabil. Mr Man gives this as translating "my father, my step-father." The feminine equivalent would seem to be *d'ab-čanola*, which is given for "my mother" and "my step-mother." Mr Portman gives *ab-čabil* and *ab-čana* as the *Aka-Bea* terms for "married man" and "married woman[2]." The two words are the equivalents of the *Akar-Bale ab-čuga* and *ab-čupal.*

D'ar-odi-ŋa. This word is given by Mr Man as one of the equivalents for "my father." It is parallel to the *Akar-Bale*

[1] Portman, *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes*, p. 255.
[2] *Op. cit.* p. 100.

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601 term *ab-atr*, and is strictly a term of physiological relationship, meaning "he who caused me to be conceived."

D'ab-eti-ya. This is translated by Mr Man as "my mother." It is the corresponding term to *d'ar-odi-ya*, and refers to the physiological relationship.

D'ab-weji-ya or *d'ab-wejeri-ya.* This also means "my mother," and is only an alternative word for the above. The stems *eti* and *weji* or *wejeri* seem to be two stems meaning the same thing.

D'ar-odi-re or *d'ar-odi-yate.* Given by Mr Man as meaning "my son" (if over three years of age, father speaking). It is the equivalent of the *Akar-Bale ar-kodire.*

D'ab-eti-re, d'ab-eti-yate, d'ab-weji-re, d'ab-weji-yate, d'ab-wejeri-re, d'ab-wejeri-yate. These are all given by Mr Man as translating "my son" (if over three years of age, mother speaking). They are equivalent to the *Akar-Bale ab-atet.*

The above words seem to be derived from three stems, *-odi-*, *-eti-*, and *-weji-* (or *-wejeri-*), the stems *-eti-* and *-weji-* having exactly the same meaning, and belonging, perhaps, to different dialects. The words are formed by the addition of the prefixes *ar-* and *ab-*, and the verbal suffixes *-ya*, *-re*, *-yate.* Thus we have *ar-odi-ya*, "father," and *ar-odi-re* or *ar-odi-yate*, "son." Similarly we have *ab-eti-ya*, "mother," and *ab-eti-re* or *ab-eti-yate*, "son" (mother speaking), while similar equivalents are made from the stem *-weji-*. The words given as meaning "son" may also be used to mean "daughter," but when it is necessary to emphasise the female sex, the suffix *-pail* (meaning "female") is added, as *d'ar-odi-re-pail, d'ab-eti-re-pail.*

Dia ota and *dia kata.* These are given by Mr Man as meaning respectively "my son" and "my daughter" (if under three years of age, either parent speaking). *Ota* and *kata* are the terms for the male and female genitals.

Dia ba. This is given by Mr Man as meaning "my daughter" (if over three years of age, either parent speaking). It is the phonetic equivalent of *dege bua* in *Akar-Bale.*

Dia ba-lola. Given as the equivalent of:—my grandson (either grandparent speaking), my brother's grandson (male or female speaking), my sister's grandson (male or female speaking).

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The same phrase with the addition of *-pail*, meaning "female," is given as equivalent to:—my granddaughter, my brother's granddaughter, and my sister's granddaughter (male or female speaking). 601

D'ar-ba. According to Mr Man this term is applicable by a male or female to the son of a brother, a sister, a half-brother, a half-sister, or of a male or female first cousin. With the addition of *-pail*, meaning "female," it is applicable to the daughter of any of the above.

Ad en-toba-re, ad en-toba-ya, ad en-toka-re, ad en-toka-ya. These terms are given by Mr Man as alternative equivalents for "my elder brother (male or female speaking)." The stem is *-toba-* or *-toka-*, with the prefix *en-* and the verbal suffix *-re* or *-ya*. The *ad* is a special form of the first personal pronoun, generally *d'*. With the addition of *-pail*, meaning "female," the term is applicable to an elder sister. The word corresponds, both phonetically and in meaning, to the *Akar-Bale en-toaka-ya.*

D'ar-doati-ya. Given as meaning "my younger brother (male or female speaking)." With the addition of *-pail*, it is applied to a younger sister. Mr Man gives the word as being also applicable to a first cousin, if younger than the speaker.

D'ar-weji-ya or *d'ar-wejeri-ya.* These are given by Mr Man as alternative terms for "younger brother," and, with the addition of *-pail*, for "younger sister." It is to be noted that the stem *-weji-* or *-wejeri-* is the same that occurs in one of the terms for "mother," but that the prefix is different, being in this case *ar-* instead of *ab-*.

Dia mama. This is given as meaning "my wife's brother, or my husband's brother (if of equal standing)."

Dia mam-ola. Given as the equivalent of the following:—my husband's father, my husband's mother, my wife's father, my wife's mother, my husband's elder brother, my wife's brother (if older), my husband's sister's husband (if older), my wife's sister (if older and a mother), my husband's brother's wife (if older), my wife's brother's wife (if older).

Mama and *Mam-ola* are terms of address in *Aka-Bea. Mam-ola* implies a somewhat greater degree of respect than

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601 *Mama*, and this in its turn is more respectful than *Mai-ola* or *Maia*.

D'aka-kam. Mr Man gives this as a term applicable to the following relatives:—my younger brother, my younger half-brother. With the addition of *-pail*, it is applicable to a younger sister or half-sister.

Dia otoniya and *dia otin*. The first of these terms is given as meaning:—my son-in-law (male or female speaking), and my younger sister's husband (male or female speaking). The second term is feminine, and is given as applicable to the following:—daughter-in-law, husband's sister (if younger), husband's brother's wife (if younger), wife's brother's wife (if younger). The terms are thus equivalent, phonetically and in meaning, to the *Akar-Bale* terms *otoni* and *oten*.

Aka-yakat. This is given as the relationship subsisting between a married couple's fathers-in-law, and between their mothers-in-law. It is the equivalent of the *Akar-Bale* word *aka-yat*.

D'aka-ba-bula and *d'aka-ba-pail*. The meaning of the first of these is given as "my husband's brother (if younger)," and of the second as "my younger brother's wife." The suffixes *-bula* and *-pail* mean "male" and "female" respectively. The term *aka-ba* is the phonetic equivalent of the *Akar-Bale* word *aka-bua*. The latter seems to be applied to the younger brothers and sisters of a man's wife or of a woman's husband, and to these alone. The use of these terms and of the terms *otoni* and *oten*, as recorded from the *Akar-Bale* tribe, may be compared with the usage stated by Mr Man, as there is some disagreement. In the following table the *Aka-Bea* terms are given as they are found in Mr Man's list, while those of the *Akar-Bale* tribe are given from my own information.

	Aka-Bea	Akar-Bale
Husband's younger brother	*aka-ba-bula*	*aka-bua*
Husband's younger sister	*otin*	*aka-bua*
Wife's younger brother	.....	*aka-bua*
Wife's younger sister	.....	*aka-bua*
Younger brother's wife	*aka-ba-pail*	*oten*
Younger sister's husband	*otoniya*	*otoni*.

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It will be observed that the *Akar-Bale* list is consistent and logical throughout. It seems probable that there is an error in Mr Man's list, and that "husband's younger sister" should be *aka-ba-pail* instead of *otin*, while "younger brother's wife" should be *otin* instead of *aka-ba-pail*. This would make the *Aka-Bea* list consistent with itself and with the *Akar-Bale* list.

Mr Man gives, in addition to the terms discussed above, a number of compound terms, which we may examine briefly.

D'ar-čabil-entoba-re. This is given as applicable to any first cousin or half-brother who is older than the speaker. The feminine form is given as *d'ar-čanol-a-entoba-yate.*

D'ar-čabil-entoba-re lai-ik-yate. This is applicable to the wife of any first cousin or half-brother, if older than the speaker. As *lai-ik-yate* means "his wife," this is a descriptive term. There is a similar term *dia čanol a-entoba-yate lai-ik-yate* for the husband of an older female cousin or half-sister.

D'ar-ba lai-ik-yate. This means "the wife of my *ar-ba*," and is therefore applicable to the wife of the son of a brother or sister or cousin, and to the husband of a daughter of a brother or sister or cousin.

There are a few other similar compounds that need not be given.

In Mr Man's list a step-son is given as *eb-aden-ire.* The word for adoption is *ot-čat-ŋa, d'ot-cat-ŋa* meaning "my adopted child" and *d'ab-mai-ot-čat-ŋa* "my adopted father."

The system of terms of relationship of the Andamanese is of great interest as being fundamentally different from the systems of other uncivilized peoples. It is by no means easy to discover the exact usage of the different terms that are mentioned above. It is, however, possible to gain a general idea, probably accurate in essentials, of the way in which the Andamanese languages express the notions of kinship.

We may consider first the terms of address and the terms of relationship formed from them. The terms of address are :—

Aka-Jeru	Aka-Bea	Akar-Bale	
Maia or *Mai*	*Da*	*Maia*	Sir
Mimi	*In*	*Cana*	Lady
.....	*Mama*	*Mama* or *mamola.*	

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601 The first of these is used in addressing males and the second in addressing females, while the third may be used either for males or for females and implies a higher degree of respect than the others.

In all the languages of the Great Andaman a man refers to his own father and mother by adding a personal pronoun to the words meaning "Sir" and "Lady." In *Aka-J̌eru* a man speaks of his father as *t'a-mai*, and of his mother as *t'a-mimi*, the *a-* being a contracted form of the prefix *aka-*. This prefix is always used in this way in the Northern languages. It is not possible to say *tičo maia*, which would be the literal equivalent of *dege da* in *Akar-Bale*. In the *Akar-Bale* language the translation of "my father" and "my mother" is *dege da* and *deg' in*, the *dege* being the personal pronoun "my" as used before a word that has no prefix. The same formation is present also in the *A-Pučikwar* and *Aka-Kọl* languages. For example in *Aka-Kọl* "my father" is *tiye tao*, and "my mother" *tiye in*. In the *Aka-Bea* language, according to the information given by Mr Man, the word *maia* (or *maiola*) may be used combined with a prefix, as in *d'ab-maiola* = "my father," or it may be used simply with the personal pronoun as *dia maia* or *dia maiola*. According to Mr Man these last two terms are applied not to a man's own father, but to the other persons whom he addresses as *maia*. This is contradicted by Mr Portman who gives *dia maiola* as the *Aka-Bea* for "my father."

601 576 In the *Aka-Bea* and *Akar-Bale* languages (as also in *A-Pučikwar* and *Aka-Kọl*) a man always addresses his grandparent or his father-in-law or mother-in-law by the term *Mama* or *Mamola*. He is therefore able to refer to these persons by adding the personal pronoun to the term of address, as *dege mama* in *Akar-Bale*. This cannot, however, be regarded as properly a term denoting relationship, for a man may apply the term *Mama* to a man or woman to whom he is not related at all[1].

The next kind of words that we may consider are those that describe the respective social position of two persons. Such are the words *ot-otoatue* and *ot-arai-čulute* in *Aka-J̌eru*, meaning

[1] The natives commonly applied the term to me, in the form *Mam-jula*.

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"he who was born before me" and "he who was born after me" respectively. These terms do not, strictly speaking, convey any idea of consanguinity, although they are commonly used to refer to a brother or a sister. Exactly equivalent terms are found in all the languages, for example the *en-toaka-ya* and *ar-dot-ot* of *Akar-Bale*. I was not able to discover in *Aka-Jeru* nor yet in *Akar-Bale* any term to denote a brother or a sister. In *Aka-Bea*, however, Mr Man records the term *ar-weji-ya* or *ar-wejeri-ya*. The stem *-weji-* or *-wejeri-*, as we shall shortly see, is a verbal stem referring to the act of birth, *-ya* is a verbal suffix, and the prefix *ar-* conveys a reference to position in space or time. The whole word seems to mean "he or she who was born in the same womb as myself," and is therefore strictly a word meaning "brother or sister." It is possible that similar words exist in *Akar-Jeru* and *Akar-Bale*, but I never came across them. 601 576

Other terms descriptive of social status are the *Akar-Bale* terms *ab-čuga* and *ab-čupal* which refer to married men and women particularly those older than the speaker. These also are not properly terms of relationship, though a man may refer to some of his relatives as *d'ab-čuga*, adding the personal pronoun to what is properly a word descriptive of the social position of the person in question. In *Aka-Bea* the equivalent terms are *ab-čabil* and *ab-čana*. It would seem that the term *aka-kuam* (*aka-kam* in *Aka-Bea*) is of the same kind, being applicable by an older married man to a younger. At any rate I was unable to discover that it conveyed to the natives any notion of relationship.

There are a certain number of terms that are descriptive of definite relationships. In the North *ot-e-bui*, and in *Akar-Bale ab-i-ya* are both of them derived from verbal stems meaning "to marry" and are used to denote a husband or a wife. In the North I did not discover any term descriptive of a father or a mother save those derived from the terms of address. In *Akar-Bale* and *Aka-Bea* there are such terms; *ab-atr* in *Akar-Bale* means "father" while the word for "mother" was not noted; in *Aka-Bea* a father is *ar-odi-ya*, and a mother is *ab-eti-ya*. These words are descriptive of the physiological relation between a 601 597

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601 parent and a child. A man's adopted mother could not be his
597 *ab-cti-ya*, for this term applies only to the woman from whose womb he issued. Similarly an adopted father or a step-father could not be *ab-atr* or *ar-odi-ya*. There are similar words for child, which also refer to the physiological relation of a child to its parent. In the North the stem *-tire* means "offspring." The offspring of a plant, that is the young shoots, are denoted by the term *era-tire*, the prefix *era-* serving to convey a reference to trees and plants. The offspring of an animal or of a human being is *e-tire*. The word *e-tire* means "the child of somebody" without reference to any particular person as the parent. In the form *ot-tire* the word means "his or her child" with reference to some person understood. A man or woman cannot in strict accuracy apply the term *ot-tire* to his adopted child, though I believe that it might be used in this loose sense at times. An adopted child is "he whom I have adopted" *t'oi-čolo-kom*. In *Akar-Bale* and *Aka-Bea* there are different terms for "child" according as the reference is to the child of a man or to that of a woman. Thus in *Akar-Bale* the child (in the physiological sense) of a father is *ar-kodire*, and the child of a mother is *ab-atet*. In *Aka-Bea* the physiological relation of a father and child is denoted by the verbal stem *-odi-*. This stem takes the prefix *ar-*. The word for father is formed by adding the verbal suffix *-ya* (*ar-odi-ya*). The word for child (father speaking) is formed by means of the verbal suffix *-re* or *-yate* (*ar-odi-re* or *ar-odi-yate*). We may translate *d'ar-odi-ya* as meaning "he who caused me to be conceived" while *d'ar-odi-re* or *d'ar-odi-yate* means "him whom I caused to be conceived." In the same language the physiological relation of a mother and a child is denoted by the stem *-eti-*. This stem takes the prefix *ab-*. A mother is *ab-eti-ya*, and the child of a mother is *ab-eti-re* or *ab-eti-yate*, the verbal suffixes being used in a way similar to that in the case of the terms for father and child. In *Aka-Bea* there is also a stem *-weji-* or *-wejeri-* which has exactly the same meaning as *-eti-* and can be substituted for it in the terms meaning mother and child, as *ab-weji-ya* = mother, *ab-weji-re* = child.

601 Other descriptive words used to denote specific relationships

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are *e-pota-čiu* and *e-pota-čip* and *ot-otone* in the Northern languages. The derivations of these words has not been ascertained. Similar terms in *Akar-Bale* are *otoni* and *oten* and *aka-yat*. In this language I did not discover any word descriptive of the relationship of father-in-law or mother-in-law. Finally there are such terms as *ot-čat-ŋa* (adopted) and *ep-taruo-ŋa* (step-relative). 601

The most noteworthy feature of these terms is that it is impossible by means of them to deal with relationships that are at all distant. Thus there is no term by which a man can describe his grandfather. In *Akar-Bale* the phrase *dege mama* might mean a grandfather, but it might equally refer to a father-in-law. It is true that the simple terms may be combined as *Aka-Jeru* "*aka-mimi aka-mai*" = "his mother's father," or *Akar-Bale* "*deg' in l'ab-atr*" = "my mother's father," but these compounded terms are apparently not often used by the natives. A second noteworthy feature is the existence of terms to denote physiological relationships (as opposed to merely juridical relationships) such as the *Aka-Bea ar-odi-ŋa*, etc. Finally there is the apparent entire absence, so far as could be determined, of any classification of relatives such as is characteristic of the classificatory systems of relationship. Where there does seem to be some sort of approach to such classification, as in the use of the *Akar-Bale* term *dege mama*, we find that it is really based not on relationships of consanguinity and marriage, but on respective social status[1].

As, in the languages of the Andamans, there are few 602
words serving to denote relationship, and on the contrary a 601

[1] The systems of relationship of savage peoples are often very difficult to study, even with a thorough mastery of the native language. My account of the Andamanese system is not perhaps complete and is therefore open to error. Since the above account was written I have had the opportunity of studying in Australia several examples of "classificatory" systems of relationship, and can now say very definitely that such a system presents an extreme contrast to the system of the Andamans. My failure fully to comprehend the Andamanese system was partly due to the difficulties of the language, in which I did not have time to become expert, and partly to the nature of the Andamanese terms, of which it is by no means easy to discover the meaning, even with careful observation.

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602 developed system of terms denoting social status, so in the
601 social organisation of the Andamans there are very few special duties between relatives, and the conduct of persons to one another is chiefly determined by their respective social positions. This will become evident as we proceed, and it will thus be shown that there is a close connection between the way the natives denote relationships and the way in which their social life is affected by questions of relationship.

581 We have already seen that in the Andamanese social
594 organisation the family is of great importance. A family is constituted by a permanent union between one man and one woman. In one of its aspects this union is a sexual one. By marriage a man acquires the sole right to sexual congress with the woman who becomes his wife. At the same time it is the duty of a married man to avoid sexual relations with other women whether married or unmarried. Promiscuous intercourse
836 between the sexes is the rule before marriage, and no harm is
584 thought of it. The love affairs of the boys and girls are carried on in secret, but the older members of the camp are generally fully aware of all that goes on. What generally happens is that after a time a youth forms an attachment with some girl and a marriage between them results from their love affair.

837 It is impossible, at the present time, to discover exactly how the Andamanese formerly regarded infidelity on the part of a wife or husband. In the Great Andaman there is great laxity in this matter at the present day. Quarrels sometimes arise when a husband discovers an intrigue between his wife and another man, but very often the husband seems to condone the adultery of his wife. Mr E. H. Man, writing on this subject, says that "conjugal fidelity till death is not the exception, but the rule," and adds, "It is undoubtedly true that breaches of morality have occasionally taken place among a few of the married persons who have resided for any length of time at Port Blair, but this is only what might be expected from constant association with the Indian convict attendants at the various homes; justice, however, demands that in judging of their moral characteristics we should consider only those who have been

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uninfluenced by the vices or virtues of alien races[1]." At the present time conjugal infidelity is very common and is lightly regarded. It is almost certain that the establishment of the Penal Settlement amongst them has affected their morals in this particular, but there does not seem to be any very satisfactory evidence that their former morality was quite so strict as Mr Man would have us believe. One piece of evidence in this matter is that the spread of syphilis, when it was first introduced amongst them seems to have been very rapid, and yet this was before many of the tribes had been very seriously affected by the Settlement. 837

Besides the special sexual relation between a husband and wife there is a special economic relation, if we may speak of it as such. The two share one hut between them, or one portion of a communal hut. It is the duty of the wife to provide the fire-wood and the water for cooking and drinking, and to cook the meals at the family fire. It is the duty of the husband to provide flesh food for himself and for his wife, while it is her duty to provide and prepare vegetable food. 594 581

A marriage is not regarded as fully consummated until the birth of a child. Mr Man states that the survivor of a childless couple is not looked upon as the chief mourner. A father who has been away from home greets his wife first on his return and then greets his other relatives; but if no child has been born to him a husband first greets his blood-relatives (father, mother, brothers, etc.) and only after that does he visit his wife. 581 576 851

The only regulation of marriage is on the basis of relationship. Marriage is forbidden between near *consanguinei*. The exact rules, in this matter, if indeed there be any exact rules, are difficult to discover. It is quite clear that a man would not be permitted to marry his sister or half-sister, nor his father's or mother's sister, nor his brother's or sister's daughter. The question is more difficult when it comes to the matter of cousins. In 1908 I only found one pair of first cousins who were married to one another, this being in the *Aka-Bo* tribe. The husband 582 605

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 135. He speaks of the wives as "models of constancy."

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582 605 and wife were the son and daughter of two brothers. Mr E. H. Man writes that "marriage is only permissible between those who are known to be not even distantly connected, except by wedlock, with each other; so inexorable, indeed is this rule, that it extends and applies equally to such as are related merely by the custom of adoption." He adds that marriage between first cousins is forbidden. I was not able to satisfy myself on this point, but it seemed to me that while such a marriage as that of first cousins was not actually regarded as wrong, and therefore forbidden, it was regarded as preferable that a man should marry a woman not so nearly related to him. No distinction is made between different kinds of cousin[1].

582 597 My observations did not confirm Mr Man's statement that persons related by adoption are forbidden to marry. It is necessary, however, to distinguish two different kinds of adoption. When the parents of a child of less than six or seven years of age die, the child is adopted into some other family. We may call this "orphan adoption." As will be explained later, there is another custom by which children of over seven or eight are adopted by a married couple belonging to a local group other than that of the parents, and live with them till they come of age. The parents of the child are still alive and they visit him or her at frequent intervals. No bar to marriage is set up by this kind of adoption. An adopted son may marry the daughter of his foster-parents. Indeed when children are betrothed it is the rule for the girl to be adopted by the boy's parents, at any rate for a time. On the other hand it is quite possible that a child adopted when of tender years (as an orphan) would not be permitted to marry a child of his or her foster-parents. I was unable to satisfy myself on this point.

582 There seems to be a prejudice against a woman marrying a man younger than herself. Some of the women with whom I talked expressed strong contempt at the idea of marrying a man younger than themselves. Unfortunately, I neglected

[1] I collected a number of genealogies from the natives, but unfortunately my own inexperience in the use of the genealogical method, and my consequent inability to surmount the difficulties with which I met, made this branch of my investigations a failure.

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to obtain statistics as to the frequency with which such marriages occur, if they occur at all. 582

Beyond the prohibition of the marriage of near kin, I could not find any restriction on marriage. A man may marry a woman from his own local group or from another, from his own or from another tribe. That marriages between persons belonging to the same local group did occur in former times I was able to ascertain with certainty but I was not able to determine the proportion of such marriages to the whole number. It is probable that the majority of marriages, or at any rate a large proportion, were between persons belonging to different local groups.

Marriages are arranged by the older men and women. 584
Children are sometimes betrothed by their parents while they are still infants. I found one such case in the North Andaman, and the betrothed couple, though they were yet small children, were spoken of as being "married." Such betrothals are not very common at the present time.

When the parents of a youth who is of suitable age to be married perceive that he has formed an attachment with a girl, they take it upon them to arrange a marriage. The matter is first of all talked over between the young man and his parents. The man's parents do not themselves speak to the girl's parents of the matter, but request some one or more of their friends to do so. From the moment that the possibility of a marriage exists the man's parents avoid speaking to the girl's parents. Any communication between them is carried on through a third person. They send presents to each other, of food and other objects. The recipient of such a present hastens to make a return of equal value. If the marriage is arranged the parents on each side become related to one another by the relationship denoted in *Akar-Bale* by the word *aka-yat*. The duties implied by this relationship will be described later.

When a marriage has finally been arranged an evening 585
is appointed for the ceremony. In the North Andaman this is as follows. The bride is seated on a mat at one end of the dancing ground, her relatives and friends sitting near her. Torches or heaps of resin are lighted near by, so that the

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585 ceremony may be seen by the on-lookers. The bridegroom is seated with his friends at the other end of the dancing ground. One of the older and more respected men addresses the bride, telling her that she must make a good wife, must provide for her husband such things as it is the duty of a wife to obtain or make, must see that he does not run after other women, and must herself remain faithful to him. He then addresses the bridegroom to the same effect, and taking him by the hand or arm, leads him to where the bride is seated and makes him sit down beside her. The relatives and friends weep loudly, and the young couple look very self-conscious and uncomfortable. The shyness of the young man is such that he often attempts to run away, but he is caught by his friends, who are prepared for such an attempt. After some minutes the officiating elder takes the arms of the bride and bridegroom and places them around each other's necks. After a further interval he again approaches and makes the bridegroom sit on the bride's lap[1]. They sit so for some minutes and the ceremony is over. The other members of the community generally have a dance on such an occasion, but in this the newly wedded pair do not join. A hut has already been prepared for them, and all their friends [431] make them presents of useful objects with which to start house-keeping. They retire shyly to their new hut, while their friends continue dancing. The day after the ceremony the bride and bridegroom are decorated by their friends with white clay. For a few days the newly married couple are very shy of each other, hardly venturing to speak to or look at one another: but they soon settle down to their new position in the life of the community. During the early days of their marriage they are abundantly supplied with food by their friends. They are not addressed or spoken of by name, but if their names be A and B, the husband is [557] called "the husband of B" while the wife is called "the wife of A."

In the South Andaman the ceremony is much the same as in the North, the only difference being that the bridegroom is led to where the bride is sitting and is made to sit on her lap straightway, remaining there for a few minutes.

[1] When a husband and wife greet one another the man sits on the lap of the wife.

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When a husband dies his widow may marry again if she wishes. As a rule I believe that it is not considered fitting that she should take another husband before the end of her mourning for her former one. Mr Man says "it is not considered decorous that any fresh alliance should be contracted until about a year had elapsed from the date of bereavement[1]." I knew of one case, however, of a woman with a young child who married again only a fortnight or so after her husband's death. 587 765

Mr Man speaks of a custom "which all but compels a bachelor or widower to propose to the childless widow of his elder brother or cousin (if she be not past her prime), while she has no choice beyond remaining single or accepting him; should she have no younger brother-in-law (or cousin by marriage), however, she is free to wed whom she will. It should be added that marriage with a deceased wife's younger sister is equally a matter of necessity on the part of a *childless* widower[2]." 587

I was not able to come across a case in which a man had actually married his elder brother's widow in recent years. The natives whom I questioned confirmed Mr Man's statement, which, moreover, was based on at least one instance known to him as having occurred. It may be noted that in his description of this instance Mr Man says that the woman married her husband's "brother or cousin," leaving us in doubt as to which of these two relatives it really was. There is an ambiguity in the use of the term "younger brother," for the Andamanese have no word meaning simply "younger brother," but only such terms as *ot-arai-čulute* and the equivalents in other languages, which apply to any younger person, whether actually a brother or cousin or not.

The recent changes in the social life of the Andamanese render it difficult to determine what was the former practice in matters of this sort, but I believe that the custom was this, that when a man of a local group died the older men selected one of the unmarried men and required him to marry the widow. They selected a man who was younger than the deceased, that is who was his *ot-arai-čulute*, and gave the preference to an unmarried younger brother if there were one, or to a relative of the deceased, such as a father's brother's son.

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 139. [2] *Ibid.*

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587 It may be noted that this custom may conflict with the other custom, previously mentioned, that a woman objects to marrying a man younger than herself. In the case mentioned by Mr Man a young man was compelled to marry a woman who was considerably his senior[1].

I believe that, in connection with, or underlying this custom there was an objection against a widow marrying a man who was older than her former husband (and who would therefore be his *ot-otoatue*). I regret that I cannot speak with certainty on these matters.

854 We may turn now to the duties to one another of parents and children. During their infancy the children are in the care of the mother. Children are, however, such favourites with the Andamanese that a child is played with and petted and nursed not only by his own father and mother but by everyone in the village. A woman with an unweaned child will often give suck [853] to the children of other women. Babies are not weaned till they are three or four years old.

[482] Before the children can walk, they are carried about by the mother, and sometimes by the father or other persons, in a bark sling (called *čiba* in *Aka-Jeru*), which is shown in Plate XIV. 857 After they can walk the children generally accompany their mothers in their expeditions near the camp for firewood or vegetables. When they are not with their mothers they amuse themselves with games in the village or on the beach. All the children of the coast villages learn to swim when they are very young, in fact almost as soon as they learn to walk, and many of their games are conducted in the water.

868 When a boy reaches the age of five or six his father makes him a toy bow and arrows, and sometimes a toy canoe. From this time the boy begins to learn the occupations of men and begins to pick up knowledge about the animals and trees and fishes of his country. The girl, accompanying her mother on her expeditions to gather roots and seeds, or to catch fish or pick up molluscs on the reefs, learns what it is necessary for women to know.

855 Until the age of about eight to ten a child lives with his

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 139.

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parents, having a place in the family hut, and a share of the family meal. The children are treated with extreme kindness, and are never punished, and hardly ever scolded. Should the parents die the children are adopted by friends or relatives, and such adopted children are treated by the foster-parents in exactly the same way as their own children. 855

At the age of ten, or a little before, a change is often brought about in the life of a child, owing to the custom of adoption. Mr Man writes of this custom as follows: 597

"It is said to be of rare occurrence to find any child above six or seven years of age residing with its parents, and this because it is considered a compliment and also a mark of friendship for a married man, after paying a visit, to ask his hosts to allow him to adopt one of their children. The request is usually complied with, and thenceforth the child's home is with his (or her) foster-father: though the parents in their turn adopt the children of other friends, they nevertheless pay continual visits to their own child, and occasionally ask permission (!) to take him (or her) away with them for a few days. A man is entirely at liberty to please himself in the number of children he adopts, but he must treat them with kindness and consideration, and in every respect as his own sons and daughters, and they, on their part, render him filial affection and obedience. It not unfrequently happens that in course of time permission to adopt a foster-child is sought by a friend of the *soi-disant* father, and is at once granted (unless any exceptional circumstance should render it personally inconvenient), without even the formality of a reference to the actual parents, who are merely informed of the change, in order that they may be enabled to pay their periodical visits[1]."

The above passage is quoted because Mr Man had better opportunities of observation in this matter than myself. At the present day there are not many children in the Andamans, and this is an obstacle in the way of this custom of adoption. From my own observation, however, I should put the age at which it is customary for children to be adopted at higher than six or seven. I found children of about seven or eight still

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 125.

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597 living with their own parents. The usual age of adoption seemed to me to be from nine or ten years upwards.

A man and his wife adopt in this way children belonging to a local group other than their own. The adopted child lives with his or her foster-parents, having a place in their hut and a share of their meals. From about the age of ten children of both sexes begin to be of service to their parents or foster-parents in many ways. The foster-parents treat their adopted children in exactly the same way that they would treat their own children, and the children on the other hand show the same regard and affection to their foster-parents that they do to their own parents, and assist them in every way that they can. Their own parents come to visit them at regular intervals.

881 882 The period of childhood is brought to an end at about the age of puberty by certain ceremonies to be described in the next chapter. After the beginning of these ceremonies a boy ceases to live in the hut of his parents or his foster-parents, and must live with the young unmarried men and widowers in what has been called the bachelors' hut. From this time until he marries, his services are constantly required by his parents or by his foster-parents, and he is expected to obey them and help them in any way he can, It is only after his marriage that he becomes relatively independent and free to please himself in his own actions, and even then he is required to provide his parents or his foster-parents with food, and to serve them in any way they may need.

A girl, during the period between the beginning of the initiation ceremonies and her marriage, continues, at any rate, in some cases, and in these days, to live with her parents or with foster-parents. Mr Man states that the unmarried women and girls occupy a spinsters' hut similar to the bachelors' hut. It is possible that this was the former custom. I found instances of an unmarried girl occupying a place in the hut of a married couple who made use of her services and controlled her conduct, regarding her in the light of a foster-daughter. On one occasion I found two unmarried girls occupying a separate hut adjoining that of a married couple, who looked after the girls who occupied it.

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The position of an unmarried girl is very similar to that of an unmarried youth. She is required to help her elders, in particular either her parents or her foster-parents, i.e. the married couple under whose care she is for the time being. 881 882

After marriage a son continues to help his parents, providing them with food and seeing that they are comfortable. If either a man or a woman lives in a local group other than that of his or her parents, he or she pays frequent visits to them. 593

From the time that a youth or girl ceases to belong to the family household, his or her duties to the parents are really only the same in kind as the duties that every young man and woman owes to all the older men and women. Though there is no difference in kind, yet a man or woman is expected to show more affection and respect for his or her own parents than to other persons of the same social standing.

The only other relationship, besides that of husband and wife and that of parents and children, which exists inside the family, is that between children of the same parents. The conduct of brothers to one another depends on their respective ages. The younger is expected to give way to the elder, while the latter protects and looks after the former. The relation of sisters to one another is similar.

The duties of a man and woman to his or her relatives, other than those to parents, brothers and sisters. and even to some extent the duties to these near relatives, are not distinguishable in kind from the duties he or she owes to other persons who are not relatives. Thus a young married man owes certain duties to all the older married men of about the age of his father. These duties are the same in kind as those towards his own father and his foster-father, the only difference being that he must defer more to his own father than to other men, and must be more constant in his attentions to him. I could not discover any way in which a man distinguished, in his dealings with them, his father's brother from his mother's brother. They are both of them older men whom he must respect and to whom he must make presents of food. Similarly a father's sister is not distinguished, so far as I could discover, from a mother's sister. A man treats both of them in much the same way that he treats 602

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602 his own mother, or any other woman of the same age. There is only a slight difference in connection with parents-in-law. A man would not be so familiar with his parents-in-law as he would with his parents or their brothers or sisters, and treats them with more deference and respect. This is borne out by the *Akar-Bale* custom of applying to a father-in-law or mother-in-law the same term of address (*Mama*) that is used in speaking to grandparents and others to whom it is required to show particular deference.

602 572 In the same way there is very little difference between the way a man conducts himself towards his elder brother and his conduct towards any other man of the same age. Brothers are often close comrades, putting their huts next to one another in the same village, joining together whenever possible in hunting or fishing expeditions, and so on; but a man may have a comrade who is not his brother, whom he will treat in exactly the same way.

602 The general attitude of a married man to other married men somewhat younger than himself is very much that towards a younger brother. As between men and women one special duty appears in this connection. A married man may not and will not have any close dealings with the wife of a man younger than himself. It is not considered fitting that he should speak to her. If he wished to have any communication with her, he would do so through some third person. It would be regarded as a wrong thing to do if he were ever to touch her. The only explanation that the natives give of this custom is by saying that a man feels "shy" or "ashamed" towards his younger brother's or friend's wife. The custom is exactly the same with respect to the wife of any younger man, whether a brother, a cousin, or a stranger.

This custom depends on the distinction between older and younger. A man may be on terms of familiarity with the wife of a man older than himself, whom he would treat much as he would an elder sister.

601 602 There is one special relationship which has peculiar duties attaching to it, and this is the relationship between the father and mother of a man on the one hand and the father and

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mother of the man's wife on the other. In the *Akar-Bale* language such persons are said to be *aka-yat* to one another. A man or a woman will not have any immediate dealings with a person who is his *aka-yat*. He will not speak to him, and if they should meet or be sitting near to one another they would avoid looking at each other. On the other hand a man is constantly sending presents to his *aka-yat*. The natives say that two persons in this relation feel "shy" or "ashamed." (There is only one word in Andamanese for these two English words, *ot-jete* in *Aka-Jeru*.) The shyness begins at the moment when a marriage between their respective children is first discussed as a possibility, and lasts apparently till death. 601 602 [431]

As throwing a little light on this peculiar relation it may be mentioned that a similar relation exists between two men who have been through either the turtle-eating ceremony or the pig-eating ceremony (to be described in the next chapter) on the same occasion. Two such men will avoid any contact with one another, not speaking to nor looking at each other when they chance to meet, but on the other hand they will be constantly giving each other presents of all kinds, sending them through some third person. 608 881 [431]

The main features of the relationship system of the Andaman Islanders may be briefly summed up. The duties that one person owes to another are determined much less by their relation to one another by consanguinity and marriage, than by their respective ages and social status. Even within the family, which nevertheless is of importance, the duty of a child to a parent is very little different from his duty to any other person of the same age. There is very little of any special customs relating to conduct towards different kinds of relatives. Corresponding to this we find very few terms to denote relationships and a considerable development of the terms which denote age and social status. Thus a man's duties to his elder brother are much the same as those towards the other men of the same age, and we find that there is no word for "elder brother" but only a term by which a man distinguishes all the men of his own generation older than himself from those who are younger. Similarly there are no duties that a man owes to his father's 602

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602 brother or to his mother's brother which he does not also owe, in perhaps a less degree, to other men of the same age, and there is no term by which he can distinguish his father's brother from those others.

If this account of the system of relationship be accurate it will be seen that the Andamanese society contrasts very strongly, in this matter, with other primitive societies[1].

621 It remains for us only to examine the social relations between the different local groups. Two neighbouring groups, whether of the same tribe or of different tribes, might be either friendly towards one another or unfriendly. Friendly relations [582 were kept alive by several of the customs of the Andamanese, 591 by the intermarriage of members of different groups, by the 597] adoption of children from one group to another, and by the fact that a man of one group might take up his residence more or less permanently with another (particularly when he married a woman of that group, or was adopted when a boy by one of the men belonging to it). All these customs served to bind some persons in the one group to persons in the other, and thus prevent the two groups from becoming entirely unfriendly to one another.

621 When two neighbouring local groups were friendly to one another communication between them was kept up by visitors 574 from one group to another, and by occasional meetings of the whole of the two groups.

Either a single person or a family might at any time pay a visit to another camp, staying a few days or weeks or even longer. A man would, however, only go visiting when he was sure of a welcome. Such visits were most frequent in the fine months of the year (December to May). As a husband and wife in many instances belonged to different local groups they

[1] It would not be safe, however, to base any arguments of importance to sociology on the above description of the Andamanese system of relationship alone. Although I tried to learn all that I could on the subject, it is quite certain that I did not learn all that was to be learnt, and it is possible that further enquiry might have shown that I was mistaken in some of my observations. The difficulty of being really sure on these matters is due (1) to the fact that the breaking-up of the old local organisation has produced many changes in their customs, and (2) to the difficulty of questioning the natives on matters connected with relationships when they have no words in their language to denote any but the simplest relationships.

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would, if living with the man's parents, pay a visit every year to the parents or other relatives of the wife. The parents of a child that had been adopted by a member of another local group would make a point of visiting the child when they could. Visitors to a camp would always take with them presents to be given to their hosts. A visitor was hospitably entertained, being given the best of the food, and joined his hosts in their hunting and fishing expeditions. The duty of hospitality is one upon which the Andamanese lay stress. 621 574

The meetings of two or more local groups were organised from time to time by the more prominent men. The time and place of the meeting would be fixed and invitations sent out to the neighbours. The visitors, men, women and children, would arrive at the appointed time, and would be accommodated as well as possible by the hosts. During the first few hours, as the natives themselves told me, everyone would feel a little shy and perhaps frightened, and it would take some time for this feeling to wear off. The visitors would bring with them various objects, such as bows, arrows, adzes, baskets, nets, red paint, white clay, and so on. These were given by the visitors to their hosts, and other presents were received in return. Although the natives themselves regarded the objects thus given as being presents, yet when a man gave a present to another he expected that he would receive something of equal value in return, and would be very angry if the return present did not come up to his expectations. A man would sometimes mention, when giving his present, that he would like some particular object in exchange, but this was the exception and not the rule, and the process cannot be spoken of as barter. In certain cases it undoubtedly served a useful economic purpose. Thus if a local group had no red ochre or white clay in their own country they could obtain these commodities by exchange with others who had. In the case of a meeting between forest and coast dwellers, the former could obtain such things as shells, red paint made with turtle fat, and other objects with which they could not provide themselves in any other way. It was in this way also that the iron obtained from a wreck on one part of the coast would be spread over a large area. For the most part, however, as 621 574 431 437

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621 each local group, and indeed each family, was able to provide
574 itself with everything that it needed in the way of weapons and
431 utensils, the exchange of presents did not serve the same
437 purpose as trade and barter in more developed communities.

The purpose that it did serve was a moral one. The object
621 of the exchange was to produce a friendly feeling between the two
574 persons concerned, and unless it did this it failed of its purpose.
It gave great scope for the exercise of tact and courtesy. No
431 one was free to refuse a present that was offered to him. Each man and woman tried to out-do the others in generosity. There was a sort of amiable rivalry as to who could give away the greatest number of valuable presents.

The visitors remained with their hosts for a few days. The
574 time was spent in hunting, feasting and dancing, and in the
621 exchange of presents above described. The hosts made every
527 effort to provide the camp with plenty of good things. The guests took their share in the hunting and fishing expeditions. Every evening was spent in singing and dancing. Some of the men were sure to have composed new songs for such an occasion.

Such meetings as these were sometimes the means of bring-
574 ing to an end past quarrels between the local groups, but
621 occasionally they were the cause of new quarrels. The hosts, or
628 some of them, might think that they had been shabbily treated in the matter of presents, or the guests might complain that they were not well enough entertained. It often needed a man of strong influence to maintain harmony in the camp. Angry words might lead to the rapid breaking up of a meeting, and even result in a feud between the two groups.

621 Quarrels between individuals, as we have seen, were often
taken up by friends on each side. This was particularly the
628 case when the two opponents belonged to different local groups. Before the days of the settlement of the islands there often arose in this way petty quarrels between neighbouring local groups. In some instances there appear to have been feuds of long standing; in others there was a quarrel, a fight or two, and the enemies made peace with one another, until a fresh cause of disagreement should arise.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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It does not seem that there was ever such a thing as a stand-up fight between two parties. The whole art of fighting was to come upon your enemies by surprise, kill one or two of them and then retreat. A local group that had some grievance against another would decide to make an attack. They might seek and obtain the aid of friends from other local groups. The men who were to take part in the expedition would paint themselves and put on various ornaments and join in a dance[1]. They would then set out, either by land or by sea, in the direction of the encampment they meant to attack. Their weapons consisted of bows and arrows, and they carried no shields or other defensive weapons. They would not venture to attack the enemy's camp unless they were certain of taking it by surprise. For this reason such attacks were generally made either in the evening when the camp would be busy with the preparation of the evening meal, or at early dawn, when every one would be asleep. The attacking party would rush the camp and shoot as many men as they could. If they met with any serious resistance or lost one of their own number they would immediately retire. Those attacked, if they were really taken by surprise, were generally compelled to save themselves by flight. Though the aim of the attacking party was to kill the men, it often happened that women or children were killed. The whole fight would last only a few minutes, ending either with the retirement of the attackers before resistance, or the flight of those attacked into the jungle. A wounded enemy would be killed if found.

Such attacks and counter-attacks might be continued for some years, thus establishing a feud between two neighbouring local groups. More usually, however, after one or two such fights peace would be made. In the tribes of the North Andaman there was a special peace-making ceremony, that will be described in the next chapter. All peace negotiations were conducted through the women. One or two of the women of the one group would be sent to interview the women of the other group to see if they were willing to forget the past and make friends. It seems that it was largely the rancour of the

[1] The dance is described in the next chapter.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

621 women over their slain relatives that kept the feud alive, the
628 men of the two parties being willing to make friends much more readily than the women.

An example of a long-continued feud, which, to all appearance, has been in existence for several centuries, is that between the *Aka-Bea* and the *Jarawa* of the South Andaman. The *Jarawa* have the advantage over the *Aka-Bea* that their camps are situated in the dense forest and are difficult to find, while the camps of the *Aka-Bea* are mostly along the sea-coast. At the present day the *Jarawa* take some precautions against being surprised in their camp by a hostile party. The camp is often placed on the top of a hill and the trees in the neighbourhood are cut down so that they have a good view. The paths leading to the camp are also cleared and made wider than is usual in a native path. At times it would seem that they keep sentries on the look-out.

The *Aka-Bea* and the *Jarawa* were inveterate enemies. Whenever two parties of them met by any chance, or came in the neighbourhood of one another, the larger party would attack the other. When the Settlement of Port Blair was established, friendly relations were set up with the *Aka-Bea*, and since that time the hostility of the *Jarawa* has been directed not only against the friendly Andamanese (*Aka-Bea*, etc.) but also against the inhabitants of the Settlement[1].

621 Such a thing as fighting on a large scale seems to have been
721 unknown amongst the Andamanese. In the early days of the Penal Settlement of Port Blair, the natives of the South Andaman

[1] In the years 1872 to 1902 inclusive the *Jarawa* made eight attacks on camps of the friendly Andamanese in different places, in which two of the friendly Andamanese men and one girl were killed and three men and one boy were wounded. There were also one or two casual meetings between *Jarawa* and friendly Andamanese. One of the friendlies was surprised and killed while turtle hunting in 1894. During the same years the *Jarawa* made on different occasions about twenty attacks on parties of convicts or on separate individuals, killing altogether 27 convicts and two police constables, and wounding six other convicts. In these skirmishes and in the expeditions to which they gave rise three *Jarawa* were killed and seven wounded on various occasions, and several times *Jarawa* men, women or children were captured and afterwards released. A number of convicts have at different times run away from the Settlement and as some of those were never after heard of they may be supposed to have been killed by the *Jarawa*. For an official record of dealings with the *Jarawa* see the "Census Report" 1901, pp. 68—90.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

combined in large numbers to make an attack on the Settlement, but this seems to have been an unusual course of action in order to meet what was to them an altogether unusual contingency, their territory having been invaded by a large force of foreigners. Their only fights amongst themselves seem to have been the brief and far from bloody skirmishes described above, where only a handful of warriors were engaged on each side and rarely more than one or two were killed. Of such a thing as a war in which the whole of one tribe joined to fight with another tribe I could not find any evidence in what the natives were able to tell me of their former customs. 621 721

As showing within what narrow limits the different local groups held communication with one another, it may be mentioned that till the year 1875 the *Aka-Bea* natives of Port Blair did not know of the existence of the *Aka-Kol* tribe, less than fifty miles distant, nor of any of the tribes further north. As a general rule it may be said that no man knew anything of any of the natives living more than twenty miles from his own part of the country. 621

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CHAPTER II

CEREMONIAL CUSTOMS

128 IN such a society as that of the Andaman Islanders it is possible to distinguish three different ways in which the actions of individuals are regulated or determined by the society. There are, first of all, what we may distinguish as "moral customs," whereby the actions of individuals in relation to one another are regulated on principles of right and wrong conduct. It was with customs of this kind that we were concerned in the last chapter. Secondly, the activities by which the natives obtain their food and make the various objects of which they have need are determined by tradition. Such activities are purely utilitarian and they are regulated, not by commandments similar to those of the moral law, but by accumulated technical knowledge as to the means by which a particular object may be attained. These we may speak of as the "technical customs" of the society.

There are customs of a third kind which are distinguishable both from moral customs and from technical customs. For example, when a man dies, his near relatives observe certain mourning customs, such as covering their bodies with clay. Such customs are distinguished from technical customs by having no utilitarian purpose. They are distinguished from moral customs by this, that they are not immediately concerned with the effects of the action of one person upon another.

It is difficult to find a satisfactory name for all the customs of this kind. A large number of them may be spoken of as "ceremonial customs," and it is this that explains the title of the present chapter.

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It is not pretended that this division of social customs into three different kinds is of any great or permanent value, and it is only introduced as an aid to the exposition of the customs of the Andamanese. It will be argued in a later chapter that many of the customs described in the present chapter have a common psychological basis. 000

Of any customs in connection with the birth of children I was able to learn very little, as no births at which I could be present occurred during my stay at the islands. Earlier writers have given very little information on this subject. 844 843 262

During the latter part of the period of pregnancy, and for about a month after the birth of the child, the mother and father must observe certain restrictions. In particular there are certain foods that they may not eat. The statements of different informants on this matter did not quite agree with each other, and it seems that there were slightly different rules in different tribes. According to an *Akar-Bale* informant the man and woman may not eat dugong, honey and yams; they may eat the flesh of small but not of full-grown pigs and turtle. An informant of one of the Northern tribes said that the woman may not eat full-grown pig, *Paradoxurus*, turtle, dugong, the fish *komar*, monitor lizard, honey and yams; her husband may eat these things but must carefully avoid eating certain fishes.

The natives give two different reasons for these rules. One is that if these foods be eaten by the parents the child will be ill. The other is that the parents themselves will be ill. The latter is the explanation most commonly offered.

The baby is named some time before it is born, and from that time the parents are not addressed or spoken of by name. For example, if the name chosen be *Rea*, the father will be spoken of as *Rea aka-mai* (Rea's father) instead of by his own name. The mother may be referred to as *Rea it-pet*, from the word *it-pet* meaning "belly." This practice is continued till some weeks after the birth, when the use of the names of the parents is once more resumed. 551 553

In child-birth the woman is assisted by the matrons of the camp. She is seated in her hut in the village on fresh leaves, and a piece of wood is placed at her back for her to lean against. 844

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844 Her legs are flexed so that her knees may be clasped by her arms. The only manipulation is pressure exerted on the upper part of the abdomen by one of the attendant women. The umbilical cord is severed with a knife, formerly of cane or bamboo, but in these days of iron. The after-birth is buried in the jungle. The infant is washed and then scraped with a *Cyrena* shell. After a few days he (or she) is given a coating of clay (*ōdu*).

[846]

844 775 If a baby dies and within a year or two the mother again becomes pregnant, it is said that it is the same baby born again, and the name of the deceased child is given to it. Thus one woman had three children of the same name, the first two having died soon after birth. According to the native ideas this was really the same child born three times. It is only those who die in infancy that are thus reincarnated.

843 In the Northern tribes it is believed that a woman can tell the sex of her unborn child. If she feels it on the left side it is a male, because men hold the bow (the typical masculine implement) in the left hand. If she feels it on the right side it is a female, because it is in her right hand that a woman holds her fishing net.

842 A married man who is childless and desires a child will wear a *čiba* (sling of bark used for carrying children) round his shoulders when he is sitting in camp. The *čiba* and the way it is used for carrying children may be seen in the photograph in Plate XIV. If a childless woman wishes to have a child she may catch, cook and eat a certain species of small frog.

842 775 At a place called *Tonmuket* in the North Andaman there is a spot to which it is said that women may resort if they wish to become pregnant. On the reef at this spot there are a large number of stones which, according to the legend, were once little children. The woman who desires a child walks out on to the reef when the tide is low and stands upon these stones. It is believed that one of the baby souls will enter her body and become incarnate[1].

[1] I could not obtain any definite legend about these stones, but one informant said that when *Biliku* got angry and destroyed the world (see later, Chap. IV) the children all became stones at this place.

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In the North Andaman there is some sort of association 842
between the unborn souls of babies, the green pigeon and the 775
Ficus laccifera tree. The same name, *Reyko*, is used to denote 784
both the green pigeon and also the *Ficus laccifera*, of the fruit of which the pigeon is very fond. The belief of the natives is sometimes stated by saying that the souls of unborn children live in the *Ficus* trees, and that if a baby dies before it has been weaned its soul goes back to the tree. Another statement of the natives is that it is when the green pigeon is calling that the soul of a baby goes into its mother. The *Ficus* is to a certain extent tabu. I was told that the tree must not be cut or damaged. Nevertheless the natives do cut the tree in order to obtain the bark of the aerial roots from which they prepare a fibre that they use for making personal ornaments. There is no tabu in connection with the green pigeon, which may be killed and eaten.

In most primitive societies, if not in all, there are ritual or 000
ceremonial observances in connection with the change by which a boy or girl becomes a man or woman. The ceremonies that are performed to mark this change are commonly spoken of in ethnological literature as "initiation ceremonies." The term is not perhaps the best that could be chosen, but usage has rendered it familiar.

The life of an Andaman Islander is divided into three well- 561
marked periods, corresponding roughly with the physiological periods of childhood, adolescence, and maturity. The first period lasts from birth till about the advent of puberty; the second lasts from puberty till after marriage; the third extends from marriage to death.

During the period of childhood the boy or girl lives with his 858
or her parents, or, in the later years of the period, with adopted 882
parents, having a place in the family hut and a share in the family meal. A girl continues to live with her parents or with her adopted parents until she marries. When boys have finished growing, and have reached the condition of young men, they cease to live with their parents or adopted parents and, until they are married, they occupy a bachelors' hut of their own, and have their own meal.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

852 304 Every boy and girl has to undergo the operation of scarification. This is begun when the child is quite young, and a small portion of the body is operated on. The operation is repeated at intervals during childhood, until the whole body has been scarified. A small flake of quartz or glass is used, and a series of fine incisions are made in the skin. The usual method is to cover a small portion of the skin with a number of parallel rows of short cuts. The choice of the design (if it can be called such) rests entirely with the person who performs the operation, who is in all cases a woman. The incisions leave scars that can usually only be seen when close to the person. In the photograph of Plate XV a pattern of scars may be seen. In this case the incisions became infected and raised scars were produced, and it is for this reason that they are visible in the photograph. In ordinary cases raised scars are not produced and the scarification is hardly visible in a photograph.

The only reason that the natives give for this custom is either that it improves the personal appearance, or else that it helps to make the child grow strong.

881 In the case of a girl the period of childhood is brought to a close by a ceremony that takes place on the occasion of her first menstrual discharge. The ceremony I describe is that in use in the Northern tribes, but I believe that the ceremony of the Southern tribes is very similar. On the occurrence of the first menstrual discharge the girl tells her parents, who weep over her. She must then go and bathe in the sea for an hour [343] or two by herself. After that she goes back to her parents' hut or to a special shelter that is put up for the occasion. She is 881 not required to go away from the camp. All ornaments are 292 removed from her, only a single belt of *Pandanus* leaf being left, with an apron of *čainyo* leaves. Strips of *Pandanus* leaf are attached round her arms near the shoulders and round her wrists, and others are placed as bands crossing her chest from the shoulder to the waist on the opposite side, and crossing her abdomen from the iliac crest on the one side to the trochanter on the other. These are so attached that the long loose ends hang down at the girl's side. Bunches of leaves, either *čelmo* (*Tetranthera lancœfolia*) or, if these be not obtainable, *poramo* (*Myristica longifolia*) are

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

fastened beneath her belt before and behind. Other leaves of the same kind are placed for her to sit upon. The strips of *Pandanus* leaf and the bundle of leaves are visible in the photograph reproduced in Plate XVI. 881 292

Thus covered with leaves the girl must sit in the hut allotted to her, with her legs doubled up beneath her and her arms folded. A piece of wood or bamboo is placed at her back for her to lean against, as she may not lie down. If she is cramped she may stretch one of her legs or one of her arms, but not both arms or both legs at the same time. To feed herself she may release one of her hands, but she must not take up the food with her fingers; a skewer of *čainyo* wood[1] is given her with which to feed herself. She may not speak nor sleep for 24 hours. Her wants are attended to by her parents and their friends, who sit near her to keep her from falling asleep. 881 784

The girl sits thus for three days. Early every morning she leaves the hut to bathe for an hour in the sea. At the end of the three days she resumes her life in the village. For a month following she must bathe in the sea every morning at dawn. [783]

During the ceremony and for a short time afterwards the girl is not addressed or spoken of by name, but is referred to as *Alebe* or *Toto*. The meaning of the first word is not known. *Toto* is the name of the species of *Pandanus* from which women's belts are made and the leaves of which are used in the ceremony. On the occasion of this ceremony the girl is given a new name, her "flower-name," and from this time till after the birth of her first child she is never addressed or spoken of by the name which she had as a child, but only by the name given to her at this ceremony. The name given is that of a plant or tree which is in flower at the time. If the ceremony takes place when the *jili* is in flower she is called *J̌ili*; if when the *jeru* is in flower she is named *J̌eru*, and so on. These names will be mentioned again later in the present chapter. 881 784 551

[1] This is the plant (not identified) of which the leaves were, till recent times, worn by the women of the North Andaman to cover the pudenda. In the South Andaman the leaves of the *Mimusops littoralis* are in use for this purpose, and the Northern tribes have recently given up their own custom and adopted that of the South.

[On first menstruation – Analyst]

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881 After this ceremony the girl is said to be *aka-ndu-kolot*. For
784 some time afterwards she must not have her head shaved, and she must not use red paint or white clay.

841 I was not able to learn much about the native ideas in connection with the menstrual function. According to the
784 account given me by one informant I gathered that the girl's first menstrual discharge is supposed to be due to sexual intercourse. The man's breath goes into her nose and this produces the discharge. It is believed that if a man were to touch a girl during this period, either during the ceremony or for some time after it, his arm would swell up.

At every recurrence of the menstrual period a woman is required to abstain from eating certain foods. According to an *Akar-Bale* informant these are, in that tribe, pork, turtle, *Paradoxurus*, honey and yams. An *Aka-Čari* informant added to the above list dugong, monitor lizard, and the fish *komar*. If she ate any of these things at such a time she would be ill. This continues throughout her life till the climacteric. A menstruating woman is not required to leave the camp, as she is in many savage communities.

From the moment of the ceremony* just described the girl enters a new condition which is denoted in the *Aka-Jeru* language by the word *aka-op* (*aka-yaba* in *Aka-Bea*). This word means that the person to whom it is applied is under certain ritual restrictions, chiefly concerned with foods that may not be eaten.

881 In the case of a boy there is no physiological event so clearly marked as there is in that of a girl. It rests with
304 the relatives and friends to decide when the boy is to become *aka-op*. It would seem that in the Southern tribes there is no ceremony on this occasion. Among the Northern tribes the boy is made *aka-op* by means of a ceremony that consists of making the scars on his back that are customary in these tribes[1].

When the friends and relatives of a boy decide that he is old enough to have the incisions made in his back a dance is held in the evening, and the boy is required to dance through the

[1] Unfortunately I was not able to see this ceremony performed, and my information is therefore derived from the statements of the natives.

* [See pp. 92-94, cat. 116 — Analyst.]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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whole night till he is tired. As soon as morning breaks he is made to bathe in the sea for two hours or so. He is then seated in some convenient place, not in a hut. The boy kneels down and bends forward till his elbows rest on the ground in front. One of the older men takes a pig-arrow and with the sharpened blade makes a series of cuts on the boy's back. Each cut is horizontal, and they are arranged in three vertical rows, each row consisting of from 20 to 30 cuts. When the cutting is finished the boy sits up, with a fire at his back, until the bleeding stops. During the operation and for a few hours following it the boy must remain silent. There is no treatment of the wounds to produce raised scars. The scars are much more noticeable on some men than on others. 881 304

The boy does not receive a new name on this occasion, but for a few weeks his own name is dropped and he is addressed and spoken of as *Ejido*. From this time the boy is described as being *oko-taliŋ-kolot*, this being the masculine term corresponding to *aka-ndu-kolot* for giris. From the time the cuts are made on his back the boy becomes *aka-op* and is under certain restrictions as to what foods he may eat. [551]

When the wounds on his back are thoroughly healed similar cuts are made on his chest. I found a certain number of men who had no visible scars on their chests, but in the North Andaman every man has the three rows of scars on his back. Some of the women of the North Andaman have similar scars on their chests and a very few have them also on the back. These scars on women are not regularly made as part of the initiation ceremonies, and may be made after the woman has been married for some years.

During the period that a boy or girl is *aka-op* he or she is required by the customs of the tribe to abstain from eating certain foods. The exact rules in this matter differ from tribe to tribe. More particularly there are important differences between the coast-dwellers on the one hand and the jungle-dwellers on the other. The general principle, however, is in all cases the same. The boy (or girl) must abstain from all the chief foods of the people, and since he could not abstain from them all at one time without starving, he takes them in 881 262

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turn. It is in the order in which the different foods are forbidden that the chief differences occur.

In the *Aka-Čari* tribe of the North Andaman, where all are coast-dwellers, the boy or girl, during the first part of the *aka-op* period must not eat turtle, dugong, porpoise, *komar* (a fish), hawksbill turtle, the two kinds of edible grubs (*pata* and *čokele*), the monitor lizard, the flying fox (*Pteropus*), certain birds (perhaps all birds), certain shell-fish, the four varieties of mangrove seed (*kao*, *čimi*, *kabal* and *kaplo*), three edible roots (*mino*, *labo* and *mikulu*), and a large number of other vegetable foods, including *loitok*, *poroto* (if cooked, but it may be eaten raw), *bijo*, *čoroŋo*, *celet*, *buroŋ*, *bui*, *bakle*, *čo*, *čatali*, and *kata*. A certain number of fishes must be added to this list. This period is brought to a end by the turtle-eating ceremony which will be presently described. After this ceremony, turtle, which is one of the chief foods of the *Aka-Čari*, may be eaten, although certain parts of the turtle (such as the intestinal fat) are still forbidden, and the youth is also allowed to eat many of the other foods previously forbidden. On the other hand he is now required not to eat pork and a number of other foods both animal and vegetable. During this second period certain minor ceremonies take place, as for instance on the first occasion on which turtle's eggs are eaten. This period is brought to an end by the pig-eating ceremony. After that the youth is again free to eat pork. As turtle and pork are the two most important foods the ceremonies and observances in connection with these occupy a position of greater importance. After the pig-eating ceremony the youth is made free of one food after another, until some time after he is married he becomes free to partake of any of the foods available. In the case of some of the more important foods, such as honey, dugong, porpoise, the fish *komar*, etc., there is a sort of minor ceremony. The only ceremonies of any great importance in this tribe are the turtle-eating and the pig-eating ceremonies.

In the forest-dwelling communities of the North Andaman things are necessarily different. These people only eat such foods as turtle, dugong, etc. when they are visiting their friends on the coast. The three most important ceremonies amongst these people are the *ńyuri*-eating, the pig-eating and the

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honey-eating ceremonies. (The *ńyuri* is a fish that is found in the creeks.) According to my informants of the *Aka-Bo* tribe the foods that must be avoided during the first part of the abstention period are all species of fish found in inland creeks (*ńyuri, burto, bari, bol, kuato*), the monitor lizard, sucking-pig, two species of snake (*or-čubi* and *uluku-čubi*), a number of vegetable foods and also honey. After the *ńyuri*-eating ceremony the different kinds of fish mentioned may be eaten, but the youth or girl must then abstain from pork.

These examples, without entering into further details, will suffice to show what is the nature of the *aka-op* period. During that period the youth must abstain for a certain length of time from each one of the more important foods of his community. After a certain period of abstention he is permitted to eat the particular food. On each occasion of thus eating a food for the first time after the abstention, there are certain ritual customs that must be observed, and these customs are more important in some cases (such as pig, turtle and honey) than in others. In the case of some of the foods the only ritual observed is that the food must be given by an older man, who is himself free to eat it, that it must be eaten in silence, and that the man must be painted afterwards with clay (*odu*). In the case of pork and turtle, however, there are fairly elaborate ceremonies. The ceremonies are very similar in different parts of the islands. The description given below applies to the coast-dwellers of the North Andaman. In these communities the period of abstention from turtle and other foods begins in the case of a girl at the first menstruation, and in the case of a boy when his back is cut. It may last only one year or several years, according to circumstances, and is brought to a close by the turtle-eating ceremony. The details of this are exactly the same in the case of a girl and a boy.

When the older men decide that it is time for a boy who has been abstaining from turtle to be released from the restriction, a turtle-hunting expedition is arranged, and this is continued until a fair number of good turtle are captured. The best of these is selected, killed, and cooked. The youth is seated in a hut, either that of his parents, or one placed at his disposal by

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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a friend or one specially built[1]. All his ornaments are removed. (In the case of a girl one belt of *Pandanus* leaf is retained.) He is seated on leaves of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, or if these be not obtainable, on those of the *Myristica longifolia*, and a bundle of the same leaves is placed under his folded arms so as to cover his belly, while another bundle is placed at his back where there is some sort of rest provided for him to lean against. He must sit still with folded arms and with legs stretched out in front, the two big toes clasping each other. He sits facing towards the open sea, and a fire is placed near him, generally just beyond his feet.

Some man is chosen to take charge of the ceremony. This may be one of the older men of the community to which the youth belongs or a distinguished visitor, if there be any such present in the camp at the time. This man selects some of the meat and fat of the cooked turtle, placing them in a wooden dish. He comes to where the youth is seated, while the friends and relatives gather round. Taking some of the fat he rubs it first over the lips and then over the whole body of the youth, while the female relatives of the latter sit near and weep loudly. When the youth's body is thoroughly covered with fat the man who is performing the ceremony takes some burnt oxide of iron, such as is used for making red paint, and rubs it over the youth's whole body, except the hair of his head. He then takes a piece of turtle fat and places it in the youth's mouth, feeding him thus with a few mouthfuls which the youth eats in silence. At this point the weeping of the relatives is taken up again with renewed vigour and then gradually comes to an end. Having fed the youth the man then proceeds to massage him. He first stands behind him and placing his hands on his shoulders presses down on them with all his weight. Then he seizes a roll of flesh on each side of the youth's belly and shakes it up and down as though to shake down what has been eaten. The arms are next massaged and the wrists and knuckles are forcibly flexed so as to make the joints "crack." The legs are similarly massaged, either with the hands or with the feet, the performer

[1] There is no secrecy about any of the proceedings; the whole ceremony is performed in the village and may be witnessed by anybody.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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(in the latter case) standing on the outstretched legs of the youth and rolling the muscles beneath his feet[1]. The joints of the toes are forcibly bent with the hand to make them "crack" if possible. A mixture of clay (*odu*) and water has been prepared in a wooden dish. The performer dips his hands into this and spatters it over the youth's body from head to foot, either by holding his hands near the youth and clapping them together, or by jerking the clay off his fingers with a flicking motion. During the whole of these proceedings the youth sits passive and silent.

The first part of the ceremony is now over. The food tray containing turtle meat and fat, cut into small pieces, is placed beside the youth and he is provided with a skewer of the wood of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, as he may not touch the meat with his fingers. He must sit in the same position with legs outstretched and arms folded and surrounded with *Hibiscus* leaves. To feed himself he may unloose one arm, and when his legs are cramped he may double them up beneath him. He may not lie down nor speak nor sleep for 48 hours. During this period he may eat nothing but turtle and drink nothing but water[2]. The man in charge of the ceremony sits behind him and gives him instructions as to what foods he may and what he may not eat after the ceremony. Some of the men and women take it in turn to sit beside the youth, attending to his wants and talking or singing to keep him awake.

On the morning of the third day a belt and necklace are made of pieces of the creeper called *terkobito-balo*, i.e. "centipede creeper" (*Pothos scandens*), and these are placed round the youth's waist and neck. On this day he is permitted to sleep. Either on the same day, or early the next morning, he has a bath in the sea, to remove some of the red paint and clay, and he is then decorated with red paint made of red ochre and turtle fat, and with white clay (*tol-odu*). The red paint is put on in stripes over his body, and his ears are daubed with it. The white clay

[1] In the Southern tribes large stones are placed on the youth's thighs.

[2] In these days the natives are very fond of tea, which they obtain from the Andamanese Homes; during the ceremony described above the youth or girl is not permitted to drink tea.

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is put on in a zig-zag pattern to be described later, the lines of white clay alternating with those of red paint. This decoration is done by female relatives.

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Early on the morning of the fourth day, soon after daybreak, the whole village is astir. One of the older men takes his stand by the sounding-board used for marking time at dances, and the women sit down near him. The youth comes out from his hut and stands in the middle of the dancing ground, and five or six men stand round him in a circle, each of them facing towards the youth. Each of the men, including the youth, holds in each hand a bundle of twigs of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus* or, if such be not obtainable, of the *Myristica longifolia*. The man at the sounding-board sings a song, beating time with his foot, in the usual way, on the sounding-board, and at the chorus the women join in and mark the time by clapping their hands on their thighs. The song may be on any subject and is selected by the singer from his own repertory. A song referring to turtle-hunting is preferred. During the first song the dancers stand at their positions on the dancing ground, lifting up their leaf bundles at short intervals and bringing them down against their knees. The singer then commences a new song or repeats the former one, and when the song comes to an end the youth and those with him begin their dance. Each dancer flexes his hips so that his back is nearly horizontal. He raises his hands to the back of his neck so that the two bundles of leaves in his hands rest on his back. With knees flexed he leaps from the ground with both feet, keeping time to the beating of the sounding-board, which is about 144 beats to the minute. At the end of every eight jumps or so, the dancer brings his hands forwards, downwards and backwards, giving a vigorous sweep with the bundles of leaves, which scrape the ground at each side of his feet, and then brings back the bundles to their former position. They dance thus for 15 or 30 seconds and then pause to rest. The dance is repeated several times, until the youth is tired out. As the dance is extremely fatiguing this does not take long[1].

[1] I believe that the dance is intended to imitate the movement of a turtle as it swims through the water.

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The youth then returns to his hut and resumes his former position. He may now, if he wishes, talk to his friends and he may sleep. He must retain the bundles of *Hibiscus* leaves and the necklace and belt of *Pothos* leaves. The dance is sometimes repeated in the afternoon. It is in any case repeated on each of the two days following, and after that the youth resumes his ordinary life. For a week or two he may not touch a bow and arrow. The *Pothos* leaves are worn till they are faded and are then discarded. The paint on the body wears off and is not renewed, but his ears are kept painted with red paint. For some weeks the youth is supposed to be in an abnormal condition and is carefully watched by his friends. 881

At the turtle-eating ceremony a new name is given to the youth. This name, however, never seems to be used afterwards either in speaking of or to the person to whom it belongs. A youth of the *Aka-J̌eru* tribe whose birth name was *Čop* (from a species of tree) and whose nick-name or second name was *Komar* (from a species of fish) had two new names given to him on the occasion of the turtle-eating ceremony, *Čokbi-čiro* (meaning turtle-liver) and *Pilečar* (high-tide). Neither of these names was ever used in addressing him. 881 553

The turtle-eating ceremony is called in the Northern tribes either *Čokbi-ǰo*, *Čokbi-kimil*, or *Kimil-ǰo*. The word *čokbi* means "turtle," and *ǰo* means "eating." The word *kimil* is more difficult to translate. With the prefix *ot-* or *er-* it means "hot" as in *T'ot-kimil-bom*, "I am hot." From the time of the commencement of the ceremony the youth or girl is said to be in a condition denoted by the word *aka-kimil*. During this time, i.e. during the ceremony and for some months afterwards, he or she is not addressed or spoken of by name but is referred to as "*Kimil*," the word being thus used as a term of address or a substitute for the personal name. A person who is in this condition is described as *aka-kimil-kolọt*. (Before the ceremony the youth is *oko-taliŋ-kolọt* and the girl is *aka-ndu-kolọt*.) In the *Aka-Bea* tribe the turtle-eating ceremony is called *Yadi-gumul* or *Gumul-leke*, *yadi* being the word for "turtle" in that language, and *leke* being the equivalent of the *ǰo* of *Aka-J̌eru*, that is "eating." A youth or girl who is passing or has recently 881 [551]

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passed through the ceremony is said to be *aka-gumul*, and is addressed and spoken of, not by name, but by the term *Guma*[1].

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In the coast-dwelling communities of the Northern tribes, the youth or girl who has passed through the turtle-eating ceremony is thereafter free to eat turtle flesh (though not the liver nor the intestinal fat of the turtle) and a certain number of the other foods that were previously forbidden. On the other hand, he or she is now forbidden to eat pork and a number of other foods which previously were permitted. The period during which these new prohibitions are in force may last for a few months or for a year or even longer. It is, however, generally shorter than the first period of abstention from turtle. It is brought to an end by a pig-eating ceremony which is similar in many ways to the turtle-eating ceremony already described. A boar must be killed if the initiate be a youth, or a sow if it be a girl who is to go through the ceremony. The youth is seated in a hut on leaves of the *čelmo* (*Tetranthera*) and the carcase of the boar is brought and pressed upon the youth's shoulders and back by one of the men. The girl is not treated in this way. The pork is then cooked and the youth is first anointed and then fed with some of the fat. He is then rubbed with red ochre, massaged and splashed with clay, just as in the turtle-eating ceremony. He must sit silent with arms crossed, and covered with *Tetranthera* leaves for a day and a night. During this time he may only eat pork, and must not touch his food with his hands but must use a skewer of *Tetranthera* wood. On the following day he is decorated with white clay (*tol-odu*) and with red paint, and takes part in a dance. The dance is almost exactly the same as the dance on the occasion of the turtle-eating ceremony, the only differences being that instead of *Hibiscus* leaves those of the *Tetranthera* are used, and that the dancer does not leap with both feet from the ground, but raises one foot and stamps with it.

In the Northern tribes these are the two most important ceremonies. After the pig-eating ceremony the youth is free to eat pork and a certain number of previously forbidden foods.

[1] The meaning of the word *kimil* (or *gumul*) will be discussed in a later chapter.

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There remain a considerable number of foods, however, which he is still forbidden. In connection with each of these there is some sort of minor ceremony. The older men, when occasion arises, offer the youth or girl some of the forbidden food, first rubbing it over his or her mouth. The food is then eaten in silence. I only saw one such ceremony, when a man ate for the first time after his abstention the intestinal fat of the turtle. The man was about 24 years of age and had long since been through the chief ceremonies, and was married. The ceremony is perhaps more elaborate in the case of the similar first eating of honey, dugong and a few other foods. One after another of the food prohibitions is removed until the man or woman is free to eat anything. There is no regular order in which this takes place, as in each case it is determined by chance circumstances. The only order that is rigorously observed is that of the two chief ceremonies connected with pork and turtle. These two are the principal meat foods of the coast-dwellers.

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The above description applies strictly only to the coast-dwellers of the North Andaman (*Aka-Čari*, *Aka-J̌eru* and *Aka-Kora*). I was not able to see any ceremonies performed by the jungle-dwellers. The old men of the *Aka-Bo* tribe told me that the period of abstention begins when a boy or girl is forbidden to eat the fish *ńyuri* (*Plotosus sp.* probably *P. arab*), and a certain number of other foods, not including pork. The first ceremony is the eating of the *ńyuri*. The boy or girl is seated on leaves (*kibir* or *tare* or *ra-čiro*) and bundles of these are placed in his belt before and behind. A belt of *Pandanus* leaf is worn by the boys at this ceremony as well as by the girls. The initiate sits with his legs doubled up beneath him, and is fed with the fish. The ceremony lasts only one day. There is no special dance, but the initiate joins in an ordinary dance at the end of the ceremony, being decorated for this purpose with white clay. After this ceremony the youth must abstain from pork and other foods. The pig-eating ceremony, which closes this period of abstention, lasts altogether for three or four days, the initiate remaining awake for one night. The leaves used are the same as those of the first (fish-eating) ceremony. The third important ceremony of these communities is the

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honey-eating. The initiate sits cross-legged and honey is rubbed over his or her shoulders and chest, and he or she is fed with it.

I was told by one of my informants that in the *Aka-Kede* tribe the pig-eating ceremony precedes the turtle-eating, but I could not obtain reliable information about the ceremonies of this tribe.

My informants of the *Akar-Bale* tribe, which consists of coast-dwelling communities only, told me that the period of abstention begins with turtle, honey, turtle's eggs, yams, and a number of fruits and seeds. This period lasts for three or four years. Then comes the turtle-eating ceremony, which is said to be similar in its details to that already described from the North Andaman. After this ceremony the initiate may not eat dugong, porpoise and a considerable number of fishes (including *Tetrodon sp.*, *Plotosus sp.*, *Anguilla bengalensis*, *Trygon bleekari*, *T. siphen*, *Urogymnus asperrimus*, *Carcharias gangeticus*, etc.). He must also abstain from turtle's eggs, pig, yams, honey, and certain fruits (e.g. *Artocarpus chaplasha*, *Mimusops littoralis*, *Baccaurea sapida*, etc.). A few months after the turtle-eating ceremony there is a minor ceremony of eating turtle's eggs, the eggs being eaten in silence and the meal followed by a dance. After another period follows the ceremony of eating pig's kidney-fat. Then, as opportunity occurs, the initiate eats dugong, honey and the other forbidden foods, one after another. The ceremony in each case is not elaborate except in connection with such important foods as dugong and honey.

Mr E. H. Man has given a description of the ceremonies of the *Aka-Bea* tribe, which shows that they are essentially similar to those of the North. He does not distinguish between the ceremonies of the *aryoto* (coast-dwellers) and those of the *eremtaga* (jungle-dwellers). He states that the fasting period (*aka-yaba*) is divided into three parts, the first ending with the *yadi-* (turtle) *gumul*, the second with the *aja-* (honey) *gumul*, and the third with the *reg-jiri-* (kidney-fat of pig) *gumul*.

As I was not able to witness the honey-eating ceremony, I venture to reproduce below the description that Mr Man gives of this ceremony as it is conducted in the *Aka-Bea* tribe.

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"When the honey fast is to be broken a quantity of honey-combs, according to the number assembled, are on the appointed day procured: the *aka-yab* being placed in the midst of the group, the chief or other elder goes to him with a large honey-comb wrapped in leaves; after helping the novice to a large mouthful, which he does by means of a bamboo or iron knife, he presents the remainder to him, and then leaves him to devour it in silence: this he does, not, however, by the ordinary method, for it is an essential part of the ceremony that he should not use his fingers to break off pieces, but eat it bear-fashion, by holding the comb up to his mouth and attacking it with his teeth and lips. After satisfying his present requirements, he wraps what is left of the comb in leaves for later consumption. The chief then takes another comb and anoints the youth by squeezing it over his head, rubbing the honey well into his body as it trickles down. The proceedings at this stage are interrupted by a bath, in order to remove all traces of the honey, which would otherwise be a source of considerable inconvenience by attracting ants. Beyond the observance of silence, and continued abstention from *reg-jiri* (pig's kidney-fat), the youth is under no special restrictions, being able to eat, drink and sleep as much as he pleases. Early the following morning the lad decorates himself with leaves of a species of *Alpinia*, called *jini*[1], and then, in the presence of his friends, goes into the sea (or, if he be an *eremtaga*, into a creek) up to his waist, where, locking his thumbs together, he splashes as much water as possible over himself and the bystanders, occasionally ducking his head under the surface as well. This is considered a safeguard or charm against *snakes*, and the onlookers cry "*ọto-pedike, kinig wara-jobo lọtike*" (Go and splash yourself, or *Wara-jobo*[2] will get inside you), for they imagine that unless they go through this splashing performance, this snake will by some means enter their stomachs and so cause death. The only difference between the sexes with respect to the *aja-gumul* is that with females it cannot take place until

[1] This plant is selected because it is associated with honey-gathering; its bitter sap, being extremely obnoxious to bees, is smeared over their persons when taking a comb, and enables them to escape scot free with their prize. (Note by Mr Man.)

[2] This is believed to be the *Ophiophagus elaps*. (Note by Mr Man.)

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881 262 after the birth of the first child; they are also required to abstain from honey during each subsequent pregnancy; and in their case, too, a chief or elder (preferably a relative) officiates, and not a woman[1]."

753 761 We may now proceed to the ritual customs connected with death and burial. In all the Great Andaman tribes disease and death are supposed to be due to the spirits of the jungle and the sea. The subject will be dealt with in the next chapter.

764 On the occurrence of a death the news quickly spreads through the camp, and all the women collect round the body and, sitting down, weep loudly until they are exhausted. The women then retire and the men come and weep over the corpse. All the adult members of the community then proceed to cover themselves with a wash of common clay smeared evenly over their bodies and limbs. This clay is of the kind called *odu* in *Aka-Jeru* and *og* in *Aka-Bea*. The nearer relatives and more intimate friends of the deceased also plaster some of the same clay on their heads.

Some of the women, generally, but not necessarily, relatives, remove any ornaments the dead person may have been wearing, shave the head and decorate the body. This decoration consists of lines of fine pattern in white clay alternating with bands of red paint. A band of red paint is placed across the upper lip passing from ear to ear and the ears themselves are smeared with the pigment. The greater the estimation in which the deceased person is held the greater is the care lavished upon this the last decoration.

Thus decorated the body is prepared for burial. The legs and arms are flexed so that the knees come up under the chin and the fists rest against the cheeks. A *Cyrena* shell (or sometimes in these days a steel knife) is placed in the closed hand. A sleeping mat is wrapped round the body, and over this a number of the large palm leaves known as *kobo* (*Aka-Jeru*) are arranged and the whole is made into a bundle and tied up with rope. Before the ropes are all tied the relatives of the dead person take their last farewell by gently blowing on the face of the corpse.

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 133.

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The male relatives and friends then proceed to the spot selected for the burial, one of them carrying the corpse slung on his back. If the burial place can be reached by canoe, no hesitation is shown in making use of a canoe for the purpose. There are not, so far as could be discovered, any rules as to which of the men shall undertake the burial. Such relatives as brother, father, son or husband generally take the leading part. The women take no part in the actual burial. There are two modes of disposing of the body, in a grave dug in the ground, or upon a platform placed in a tree. The latter is considered the more honourable form of burial, and is only adopted in the case of a man or woman dying in the prime of life. The same grave is not used twice, in the case of interment, though a new grave may be made close to an old one. The natives said that the same tree might be used several times for platform-burial, but there was no opportunity of proving this statement. There are not, generally speaking, any regular burying grounds. Any convenient spot may be chosen so long as it is at some little distance from the camp. It does happen, however, that certain spots are fairly regularly used. In the case of one burial that I witnessed the spot chosen was about a mile distant from the camp, the journey being made in a canoe, and there were already five or six graves at the same place.

In the case of interment a hole is dug three or four feet in depth, the digging being done with an adze and a digging stick, and sometimes a wooden dish is used to scoop out the soil. The body is placed in the hole and the ropes tied round it are severed. The body is placed slightly on its side facing the east. I asked some of the natives the reason for this orientation, and was told that if the custom were not observed the sun would not rise and the world would be left in darkness. A pillow of wood is placed under the head, and a log of wood at each side of the corpse. Sometimes some object that has been worn by the deceased, such as a belt or necklace, is placed in the grave. The soil is then replaced, all present helping. Beside the grave a fire is lighted and some water contained in a bamboo vessel or in a nautilus shell is left for the corpse. In some cases the bow belonging to the deceased, if it be a man, and a few

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764 arrows are placed on the grave. In the *Aka-Čari* tribe a harpoon and line are substituted for the bow and arrows, and a bamboo harpoon shaft is erected vertically in the grave near the right hand of the body. In the same tribe it is usual to suspend near the grave a bundle of the prepared fibre of *Anadendron paniculatum* such as is used for making thread. There are probably slight variations of custom in this respect in different tribes or even in different cases in the same tribe.

In the case of platform-burial a platform of sticks is erected in a tree, twelve feet or so above the ground, and the body is placed thereon, lying sideways facing the east. Water and fire are placed beneath the tree. Mr Man states that in cases of tree-burial they are careful not to select a fruit tree or one of a species used for the manufacture of their canoes, bows and other implements. Such natives as I questioned on this point said that this was not so and that they would use any suitable tree whether one that was useful or not. I was unable definitely to prove the point, as I did not see a single instance of tree-burial during my stay in the islands. A tree that is sometimes used for this purpose is the *Ficus laccifera*, which as we have seen has a special connection with the spirits of new-born children. On the coast, mangrove trees, such as the *Rhizophora* or *Bruguiera*, are said to be used.

765 When the burial is completed, whether in a grave or a tree, plumes made of shredded palm-leaf stem *koro* (*Aka-J̌eru*) or *ara* (*Aka-Bea*) are attached near the graves to the branches of trees or shrubs or to sticks put up for the purpose. This is done, it is said, to show any native, who might inadvertently approach, that there has been a burial at the spot. The undergrowth is cleared for a short distance round the grave.

The men then return to the camp, where the women have been busy packing up all belongings. Plumes of shredded palm-leaf stem (*koro*) are put up at the entrance to the camp, to show chance visitors that there has been a death. The camp is then deserted, the natives moving to some other camping ground until the period of mourning is over, when they may, if they wish, return to the deserted village. No one goes near the grave again until the period of mourning is over.

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In the case of very young children the burial ceremony is different. There is no general mourning of the whole camp. Only the father and mother and a few other relatives weep over the dead body. The head of the corpse is shaved and the body is decorated in the same way as that of an adult. The body is wrapped up in palm leaves (*Licuala*), the limbs being flexed. The fire is then removed from its customary place and a grave is dug there in the floor of the hut. In this the child's body is placed, the grave is filled in and the fire replaced above it. Not only is the camp not deserted, but there seems to be an obligation on the parents not to leave the place until the bones have been dug up, or at any rate for some weeks after the death. If the mother went away, the natives say, the baby would cry for its mother's milk. This is the custom of the Northern tribes. Referring to the Southern tribes, Mr Man says that the baby is buried beneath the fireplace and the camp is then deserted, the mother placing beside the grave a shell containing some milk squeezed from her breasts. Some of my informants of the Southern tribes (*Akar-Bale*, etc.) told me however that the camp would not be deserted in the case of the death of an infant, thus contradicting Mr Man's statement. As there was no opportunity of testing the point by reference to an actual case, it must be left as doubtful. In the Northern tribes when an older child dies the body is buried away from the camp, but the latter is not, at any rate in all instances, deserted, though the hut in which the death occurred may be destroyed and a new one built a short distance away. It is only in the case of the death of an adult that the camp is abandoned.

766 [765]

In connection with the burial of a baby beneath the hearth there is a belief that the soul of the dead baby may re-enter the mother and be born again. This would seem to be one of the reasons why the mother does not leave the camp when her baby dies.

Should a person die while on a visit, he or she is buried in the usual way and news of the death and place of burial is sent to the relatives. A stranger who dies or is killed is buried unceremoniously or is cast into the sea. Among the Northern tribes the body of such a one used in former days to be disposed

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766 of by cutting it into pieces and burning it on a fire. The natives say that if this be done the 'blood' and the 'fat' of the dead man go up to the sky and this removes all danger to the living from the dead man. The blood of persons so burnt is seen in the sky at sunset. If a man were killed in a fight between two communities and his body remained with the enemy, they would dispose of it in this way. If the friends secured the body they would bury it in the usual way. It may be worthy of remark 766 that this custom of burning the bodies of slain enemies is 266 perhaps the real origin of the belief that the Andamanese are or were cannibals. We can well imagine that when, as must have often happened, sailors venturing to land on the islands have been killed and the survivors have seen the bodies of their companions cut up and placed on fires, they would readily conclude that they were witnessing a cannibal feast. There can be no doubt whatever that since the islands were occupied in 1858 the inhabitants have not practised cannibalism, and there is no good reason to suppose that they once followed the custom and then abandoned it.

764 The burial is conducted, if possible, on the day of the death. If it has to be deferred till the morrow all the inhabitants of the camp keep awake. The relatives sit round the corpse weeping at intervals, while some of the men take it in turn to sing songs during the hours of darkness. This, so they say, is to keep away the spirits that have caused the death, and so prevent them from further mischief. When a man or woman dies in the prime of [152] life after a short illness the friends and relatives often break out in anger which they express in different ways. A man will shout threats and curses at the spirits that he conceives to be responsible for the death of his friend. He may pick up his bow and discharge his arrows in all directions, or in some other way give expression to his angry feelings. On the occasion of a death in one of the *Akar-Bale* villages the relatives expressed their grief by cutting down a coconut tree that grew there.

765 The period of mourning for near relatives—parent, adult child, consort, brother or sister—lasts for several months. In the case of a young child only the parents mourn. The essentials

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The essentials of mourning are (1) the use of clay (*odu*), and (2) abstention from certain foods, from dancing, and from the use of white clay (*tol*) and red paint. As stated above, every adult in the camp covers himself or herself with clay on the death of an adult member of the community, but when this wears off, or is washed off in the course of two or three days, it is not renewed. The near relatives retain this covering of clay for many weeks, constantly renewing it. The clay is smeared evenly over the body, and is not put on in patterns, as on other occasions. The relatives, but not the others, plaster some of the same clay on their heads. A widow mourning for her husband covers her whole head with a thick layer of clay, renewing it from time to time. For a lesser degree of mourning, the custom is to plaster clay on the forehead only. After some weeks or months of mourning, the near relatives discontinue the use of clay on their bodies, but retain a band of clay over the forehead as shown in Plates IX, X, and XVII. 765 302

The name of the clay thus used is *odu* in the Northern languages, and a mourner is called *aka-odu*. In the *Aka-Bea* language the name of the clay is *og* and the term for a mourner is *aka-og*.

During the period of mourning the name of the dead person is carefully avoided and no one uses it. If it is necessary to refer to the dead this is done by using some such phrase as "he who is buried by the big rock" or "he who is laid in the fig tree" or by mentioning the name of the place of burial. There is no prohibition against mentioning the name itself in other connections. Thus if a man were called *Buio*, from the name of a species of *Mucuna*, it is not necessary to avoid the word *buio* when speaking of the plant. Further if there is another person alive of the same name as the dead man it is not necessary to avoid the name in referring to the living individual. The custom is that a dead person must not be spoken of unless it is absolutely necessary, and then must not be spoken of by name. After the period of mourning is over the dead person may again be spoken of by name. 765 551

During the period of mourning a near relative of the deceased is never addressed or spoken of by name. There are certain 765

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765 terms which are used for this purpose, being terms of address that can be substituted for the names that are avoided. Thus in the *Aka-Jeru* language one such term is *Bolok*, meaning "orphan," used in addressing or speaking of a person who has lately lost a parent. Another term of the same language is *Ropuč*, applicable to one who has lost a brother or sister. After the period of mourning is over the use of the personal name of the mourner is resumed.

765 784 During the period of mourning the near relatives of the deceased are required by custom to abstain from dancing and from using red paint or white clay. The white clay here referred to is that called *tol* or *tol-odu* in *Aka-Jeru* and *tala-og* in *Aka-Bea*, and is used for decorating the body on ceremonial occasions, such as that of a big dance. Further, the mourners must abstain from eating certain foods. The customs with regard to the foods to be avoided are different in different parts. There is however the universal rule that coast-dwellers must not eat turtle, and jungle-dwellers must avoid pork. Other foods that are included amongst those to be avoided are dugong, certain fishes such as that called *komar* in *Aka-Jeru*, and in some parts yams and honey.

765 The exact duration of the period of mourning is difficult to discover. It seems to vary considerably in different cases. In all cases it must last long enough for the flesh to decay from the bones. The proceedings at the end of mourning consist of (1) digging up the bones of the dead man or woman and (2) a dance in which all the mourners join. The bones are generally dug up by the men who performed the burial. They cover themselves with clay (*odu*) and proceed to the grave or tree and dig up or take down the bones and weep over them. These are then washed in the sea or a creek and are taken back to camp. Here they are received by the women who weep over them in their turn. The skull and jawbone are decorated with red paint and white clay, and each separately has a band of ornamental netting attached to it so that it may be worn around the neck. Additional ornament is frequently added in the form of strings of *Dentalium* or other shells. The skulls and jawbones of deceased relatives are preserved for a long time, and are worn

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765 535 "the shedding of tears." The object of this ceremony is to release the mourners from the restrictions that they have had to observe. The ceremony takes place in the evening, and an occasion is chosen when there are plenty of people in the camp. The mourners, male and female, remove the *odu* clay from their foreheads and decorate themselves with red paint and white clay in the way described in connection with dancing. They also put on what ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf or netting and *Dentalium* shell they may possess or be able to borrow. When all the members of the camp are assembled around the dancing ground one of the male mourners takes his stand at the sounding-board and sings a song. This song does not refer in any way to the dead man or woman; it is just an ordinary song of hunting or canoe-cutting or any other subject, though it may have been specially composed for the occasion. Those women who are not in mourning sit near the singer and take up the chorus. When the song is fairly started the mourners, male and female, begin to dance. There is nothing special about the dance, which is exactly like any other dance. After dancing for a short time the mourners seat themselves at one end of the dancing ground and their friends begin to weep and wail. Everybody present joins in the lamentation until they are tired. The mourners then rise and again dance. After a time the women retire and seat themselves with the chorus, but the men continue the dance (in which they are joined by the other men present), till they are tired, which often means till near dawn. After this ceremony the mourners are free to eat any of the foods up till then forbidden, and are free once more to use red paint and white clay and to take their part in all dances and other festivities.

262 It has been seen from the preceding descriptions that the Andamanese have a number of ritual customs relating to food. There are certain occasions in the life of every individual when he or she must abstain from eating certain foods. A person mourning for the death of a relative is subjected to restrictions of this kind, and so are the parents of a new-born child for a short period before and after the birth. A woman must not eat certain things when she is menstruating. Restrictions

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as to diet are imposed by custom on all persons who are ill. 262
The most important restrictions, however, are those imposed on every boy and girl during the period of adolescence. During this period of life, as we have seen, the initiate is required to abstain for a longer or shorter period from all the most important foods of the Andamanese.

Mr Man states that "every Andamanese man or woman is prohibited all through life from eating some one (or more) fish or animal: in most cases the forbidden dainty is one which in childhood was observed (or imagined) by the mother to occasion some functional derangement; when of an age to understand it the circumstance is explained, and cause and effect being clearly demonstrated, the individual in question thenceforth considers that particular meat his *yat-tub*, and avoids it carefully. In cases where no evil consequences have resulted from partaking of any kind of food, the fortunate person is privileged to select his own *yat-tub*, and is of course shrewd enough to decide upon some fish, such as shark or skate, which is little relished, and to abstain from which consequently entails no exercise of self-denial[1]."

Although I made repeated enquiries amongst the natives of both the North and the South Andaman I was not able to confirm this observation of Mr Man. It is quite true that if a certain food is observed to disagree with a child he or she is taught to avoid that food for the rest of life, but it is not necessary for every person to have some forbidden food. Many men told me that they were under no such prohibition and might eat any food they liked, apart from the restrictions on special occasions. On a minor point it may be noted that skate and even shark are not by any means so little relished as the statement of Mr Man would imply. The liver of skates and rays, and even the liver of sharks is rather regarded as a delicacy.

I noticed on several occasions that men would not eat certain foods when they were away from their own part of the islands.

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 354. Mr Man adds in a note that "it is believed that *Puluga* would punish severely any person who might be guilty of eating his *yat-tub*, either by causing his skin to peel off (*wainyake*) or by turning his hair white and flaying him alive." On *Puluga* see later, Chaps. III and IV.

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262 Thus one man of the North Andaman told me that he would not eat dugong when he was with me in the South Andaman. Another said that though he would eat the fish *komar* when he was at home, he would not eat it when he was in a strange place, as at the Settlement of Port Blair, for fear that it would make him ill.

In the North Andaman I was told that when a dugong is caught and the people feast on it they do not leave the camp till some hours after the meat is all finished, either to go fishing or hunting. The reason they give for this is that the spirits of the jungle and the sea may smell them, attracted by the odour of the food they have eaten and may cause them to be ill. They therefore remain in the camp and eat up all the dugong and do not venture out till they begin to feel hungry and must go in search of food. I believe that the same custom is observed in the South Andaman also.

A few other customs connected with food may be mentioned here. There is only one way in which a turtle may be killed[1]. It must be laid on its back with its head pointing towards the open sea, and a skewer of wood is then thrust through the eye-socket into the brain. The natives say that if a turtle were killed in any other way than this, the meat would be "bad," i.e., uneatable.

252 Turtle meat may only be cooked on a fire of the wood of the
262 *Hibiscus tiliaceus.*

A pig is killed as it runs, without ceremony, but there is one special way in which it must be cut up. The pig is first disembowelled, and the joints of the legs are severed. The abdominal cavity is then filled with leaves, of which only certain special kinds are used. It is placed on a fire and roasted whole, and is then cut up. Should the carcase be cut up by any other than the traditional method, the natives believe that the meat would be "bad," and they would not eat it.

A number of beliefs relating to vegetable foods will be mentioned in the next chapter.

576 In several of the ceremonies described in this chapter it
201 will be noticed that the weeping of relatives and friends occurs

[1] Turtle are captured alive by means of harpoons, and may be kept alive several days before they are killed and eaten.

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as an essential part of the ceremony. The female relatives of a youth or girl who is being initiated come and weep over him or her at the turtle-eating ceremony. Their friends weep over, or with, the mourners at the dance at the end of mourning. The friends of a bride and bridegroom weep over them when they are married. The friends and relatives weep over a corpse before it is buried and over the bones when they are recovered. In all cases it is real weeping. The man or woman sits down and wails or howls, and the tears stream down his or her face. On one occasion I asked the natives to show how it was done and two or three of them sat down and were immediately weeping real tears at my request. The weeping in this way is really a ceremony or rite. When two friends or relatives meet who have been separated from one another for a few weeks or longer, they greet each other by sitting down, one on the lap of the other, with their arms around each other's necks, and weeping and wailing for two or three minutes till they are tired. Two brothers greet each other in this way, and so do father and son, mother and son, mother and daughter, and husband and wife. When husband and wife meet, it is the man who sits on the lap of the woman. When two friends part from one another, one of them lifts up the hand of the other towards his mouth and gently blows on it.

Reference has already been made in this chapter to a number of customs relating to personal names. It will be useful to bring together the scattered references, and give a general account of the whole matter.

Every Andaman Islander has a personal name that is given to him or her before birth, and which we may speak of as the birth-name. As soon as a woman realises that she is pregnant, she and her husband begin to think of a name for the child. The name is selected by the parents, but the suggestions of their friends and relatives are always considered. It is regarded as a compliment to name the child after some man or woman. Sometimes a man may request the parents that the child shall be named after him, and such a request is rarely, if ever, refused. The names given before birth are of course applicable to both sexes, there being no difference between

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551 the names of men and those of women. There are a considerable
553 number of names in common use, but some of them are more popular at a given time and place than others. It therefore happens that there are several persons, both men and women, bearing the same name.

551 Each of the names in common use has a meaning, but it is not always easy to obtain an adequate and accurate explanation of the meaning from the natives themselves[1]. In a certain number the derivation is obvious. Many names are the names of objects such as trees, fish or other animals, or even such objects as rope or mats. A few examples from the North Andaman are:—

Buio	*Mucuna sp.*, a plant with edible beans.
Bol	*Hibiscus tiliaceus.*
Čop	a tree with edible nuts.
Konmo	*Dioscorea sp.*
Čokbi	turtle.
Maro	honey.
Meo	a stone.
Čeo	a knife.
Pani	the oriole.

In the case of a number of names it is not possible to discover with certainty the derivation, and the statements of the natives regarding them do not always agree. Such names in the North Andaman, with their meanings as stated by the natives, are:—

Kea	one who turns in his sleep.
Boičo	one who wrestles.
Elpe	one who comes and goes.
Kijeri	one who walks backwards and forwards.
Nimi	one who catches hold.

Some time after a child is born it is given a nick-name. Nick-names may be given at any time of life, and some persons may have several nick-names given to them at different times. New nick-names are from time to time invented, but there are

[1] Mr M. V. Portman gives a list of personal names in use in the South Andaman in his *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes*, p. 70. The derivations of many of the names as there given, are, however, of doubtful accuracy.

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a certain number of recognized names from which a choice is usually made. A few examples from the North Andaman are :— 551

Ra-t'ot-betč	pig's hair.
Renya-čope	much baggage, or many possessions.
Poičo-tomo	the wood (literally flesh) of the *Sterculia* (*poičo*) tree.
Lau-tei	spirit blood.
Luremo	rope.
Remu-toi	a piece of iron.
Čokbi-čiro	turtle liver.
Tarenjek	angry.

During childhood boys and girls are addressed by either the birth-name or the nick-name.

When a girl reaches the age of puberty she receives a new name. This is one of a limited number of names, each of which is the name of a tree or plant. The name given to the girl is that of the tree or plant that is in flower at the time of her first menstruation. 551 553 824

There is a succession of trees and plants flowering one after another throughout the year. The natives describe the different parts of the year by reference to the plants in flower at the time. The plants selected as typical of the different seasons all have flowers from which the native bees make honey. Each of them has a distinctive scent and gives to the honey made from it a distinctive flavour. The flower-names are given below in *Aka-Bea* and *Aka-Jeru*.

Aka-Bea	Aka-Jeru	
Čilipa	*Čelibi*	From the middle of November to the middle of February.
Moda	*Mukui*	From the middle of February to the middle of May, in order.
Ora	*Okor*	
Jidga		
Yere	*Jeru*	
Pataka	*Botek*	
Balya	*Puliu*	
Reče	*Re*	From the middle of May to the end of August.
Čagara	*Čokoro*	
Čarapa	*Čarap*	September, October and the first half of November.
Čenra	*Torok?*	
Yulu	*Jili*	

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551 From the time that a girl receives her flower-name her birth-
553 name and nick-name fall entirely out of use. No one would address an unmarried girl by any name except the flower-name. This continues until some time after the girl is married. Properly speaking a woman should be known by her flower-name from the advent of puberty until after the birth of her first child. In these days of childless women the flower-name drops out of use after a few years of married life. After the birth of her first child the woman is known by her birth-name or by a nick-name. Thus a woman who was named before her birth *Kaba* (from *kabal*, a species of mangrove) was called by that name until puberty; thereafter she was called *J̌ili* (her flower-name) until the birth of her first child; after this event she is again called *Kaba*, and no one would think of addressing her as *J̌ili*. A woman named *Ele* (lightning) at birth was known by this name until puberty, and thereafter was called *Bǫtek*. When I knew her she had been married for three years or so, but had not had a child. A few of the younger men and women addressed her as *Ele*, but the older people still called her *Bǫtek*. If she should bear a child, the name *Bǫtek* would fall entirely out of use and she would be known as *Ele* by both her juniors and her seniors.

In the case of a boy there is nothing corresponding to the flower-names of girls. He continues to be known by his birth-name and his nick-name from the time he is born until he dies. During adolescence a youth has to pass through certain ceremonies of initiation as described in the present chapter. At the turtle-eating ceremony the youth is given a new name, of the nature of a nick-name. The name given in this way is never used either in addressing the youth or in speaking of him. It is possible that he also receives a new name on the occasion of the pig-eating ceremony, but of this I am not sure. Though girls pass through the same ceremonies as boys, I did not discover whether or not they also are given new names on these occasions.

551 Names are used freely in speaking of and to one another. An older person always speaks of or to the younger one by the name alone. When a younger person is speaking to an older one it is customary and polite to use one of the terms of address,

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PLATE IX

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Woman decorated with *odu* clay

[p. 120A]

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PLATE X

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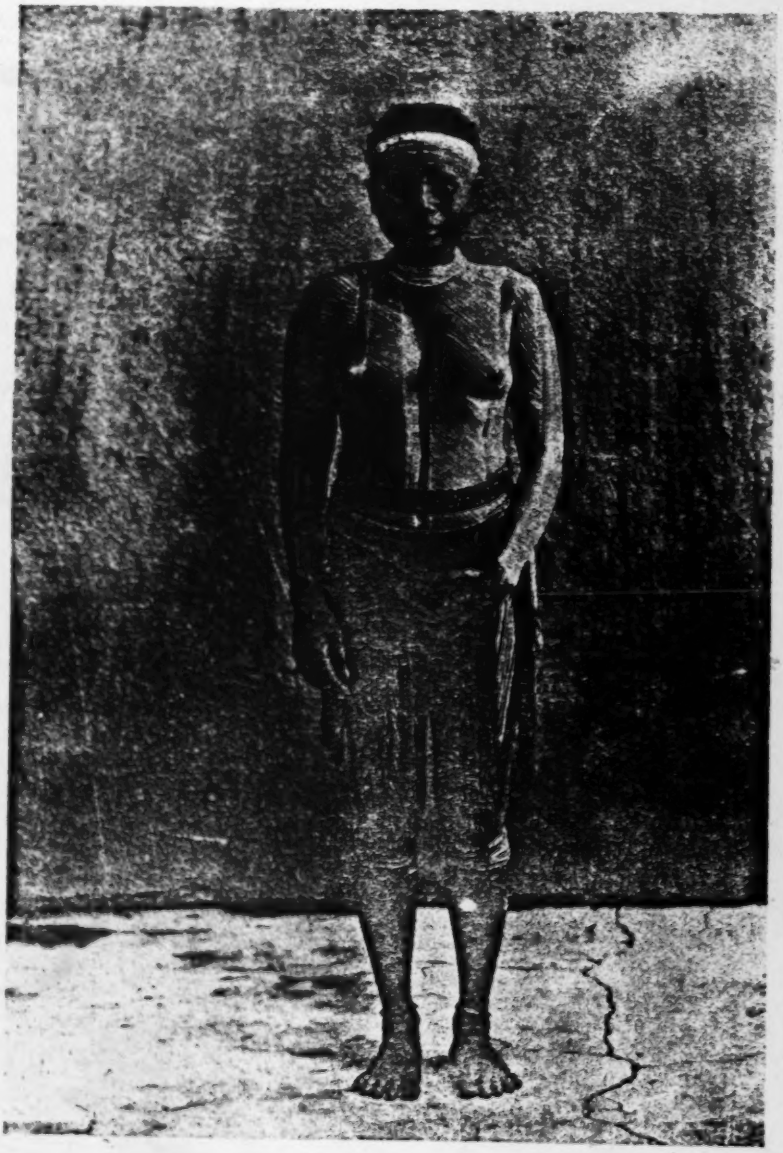

Woman decorated with *odu* clay

[p. 120B]

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either by itself, or prefixed to the name of the person spoken to, as *Maia Buio*, *Mimi Kaba*, etc. A native generally hesitates to tell his own name, and if asked the question "What is your name?" often asks a bystander to give the required information. There is, however, no hesitation about mentioning the name of any other person, except under certain special conditions. 551

There are certain occasions when the name of a man or woman is temporarily avoided. After the death of a relative and during the period of mourning, a mourner's name is not mentioned, either in speaking to him or of him. There are a few terms that may be used instead. One who has lost a parent is addressed as *Bolok*, one who has lost a brother or sister as *Ropuč*. For a short time before and after the birth of a child the names of the father and mother are not mentioned. A bride and bridegroom are not addressed or spoken of by name for a short period after their marriage, though if their names be A and B there seems to be no harm in referring to A as "the husband of B," or to B as "the wife of A." During the initiation ceremonies through which every boy and girl must pass, the name of the initiate is avoided. Thus on the occasion of the turtle-eating ceremony or the pig-eating ceremony, during the few days the ceremony lasts and for a few weeks afterwards, the youth or girl is never addressed or spoken of by name, but is referred to as *Kimil*. During the ceremony that takes place on the occasion of the advent of puberty, and for some weeks after, a girl is not spoken of or to either by her birth-name or her flower-name, but is called *Toto*. When a boy, in the Northern tribes, has the scars made on his back, which show him to be no longer a child, his name is avoided for a few weeks and he is called *Ejido*. 551 784

The name of a dead man or woman is not mentioned during the period of mourning, which lasts for some months after the death.

In the preceding portions of the chapter reference has been made several times to the ornamentation of the body with clay and pigment. In the Great Andaman three different substances are used for painting the body. These are (1) a common clay of which different specimens are gray, yellow or pink, called *odu* 302

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302 in *Aka-Jeru* and *og* in *Aka-Bea*; (2) a fine white pipe-clay which is rarer than the common clay and is more highly prized, called *tol* or *tol-odu* in *Aka-Jeru* and *tala-og* in *Aka-Bea*; (3) a red pigment made by mixing burnt oxide of iron with animal or vegetable fat or oil, called *keyip* in *Aka-Jeru* and *koiob* in *Aka-Bea*.

The common clay (*odu*) is used in three different ways. After the death of a relative a man or woman smears himself all over with this clay and plasters it on his head. From this custom a person who is mourning for a dead relative is called *aka-odu* in *Aka-Jeru* or *aka-og* in *Aka-Bea*. The same clay is used at a certain stage of the initiation ceremonies, as described above, being spattered over the initiate in the turtle-eating and pig-eating ceremonies. The third and most common use of this clay is to decorate the bodies of men and women with patterns called (in *Aka-Jeru*) *era-puli*. These patterns are always made by the women, who decorate each other and their male relatives. The clay is mixed with water in a wooden dish or a shell and the mixture is applied to the body with the fingers. There is an almost indefinite variety in the patterns employed, although there are a certain number of what may be called usual designs. Each woman vies with others in her endeavours to produce some novelty of detail in her designs, and a successful innovation is immediately copied by others. I was able to watch the rise and development and ultimate disappearance of "fashions" in this connection in one of the camps of the North Andaman.

The design is made in one of two ways. It may, in some cases, be formed by painting with the finger on the body, that is by tracing white (or gray) lines on a black surface. A design of this kind is shown on the back of the man on the right in the photograph of Plate XI. On the other hand, an equally common method is to cover a part of the body with an even smear of clay and then to scrape it away either with the fingers or with a small fish-bone or with a little instrument made of small strips of bamboo, so as to leave a design of black lines where the skin shows through the smeared clay. Two not very striking designs of this kind are shown in Plates IX and X. As a rule the designs are more or less symmetrical, the right

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302 and the left sides of the body being treated alike, but in a few cases different patterns are made on the two sides, and I have seen a man with one side of his body painted and the other not. The painting may cover the whole of the body and limbs with the exception of the hands and feet, or it may be confined to the front and back of the trunk, or it may be on the front only. The face is often painted, the designs being made with greater care than those on the body.

These patterns are made in the afternoon after the men return from their day's hunting, and always either just before or just after a meal.

If a man be asked what pattern he is painted with, he replies by mentioning the food that he has just eaten. A man who has been eating turtle will say that the painting on his body is *čokbi-t'ęra-puli*, turtle pattern, while if he has been eating pork he will call it *ra-t'ęra-puli*, pig pattern. There is not, however, a strict uniformity in the use of particular patterns in connection with special foods. When the whole camp has been feasting on turtle many different and (apparently) unrelated designs are to be seen on the bodies of the men and women. I did not find it possible, even after a study of the matter, to distinguish by means of the design a man who has been eating turtle from one who has been eating pork. There is one design, or group of closely related designs, that seemed to be based on the pattern of the plates on a turtle's carapace. A pattern of this distinctive kind was never, so far as my experience went, used except after eating turtle. Other patterns, however, which were used after eating turtle, did not seem to me to be related in any way to what I may call the specific turtle pattern. In some of the patterns used after eating pork I noticed a tendency to make use of vertical lines or bands on the back and chest. There may be a connection here with the longitudinal markings on the back of the wild pig.

Of special patterns I was only able to discover two. One of these is called *kimil-t'ęra-puli* and is only used to paint a person who is *aka-kimil*, i.e., who has just been through one of the initiation ceremonies. This pattern is shown on the back of a man in the photograph reproduced as Plate XI (the second

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PLATE XI

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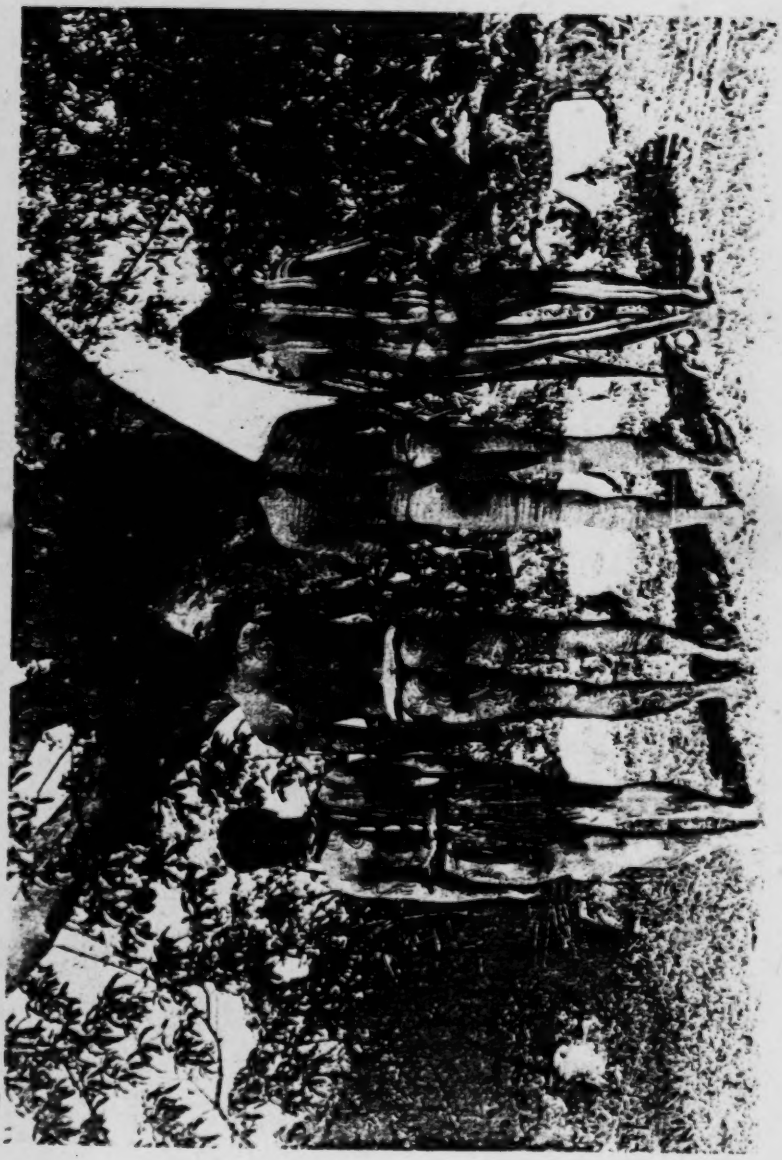

Three men and a young woman decorated with *ōdu* clay

[Facing p. 122]

1. Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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302 figure from the left). Another special pattern is called *toto-t̪era-puli* (*Pandanus* pattern), and is used, I believe, to decorate a girl after the ceremony at her first menstruation.

The fine white clay called *t̪ol-odu* in *Aka-J̌eru* is used in a different way and on different occasions. When it is used to ornament the body it is always applied in one customary pattern. The name of this pattern in *Aka-J̌eru* is *o̱r-čubi-t̪era-bat*, from the name of a species of snake, *o̱r-čubi*. Exactly the same name is used in *A-Pučikwar*, *wara-čupi-t̪ar-par*. Mr Man gives the *Aka-Bea* name as *jobo-tartaya*, from *jobo* the name for snake in general. A man decorated with this "snake pattern," as it may be called, is shown in Plate XII, and a pattern of the same kind is shown on the head of the man in Plate XIII. The pattern is built up of zig-zag lines. They are made by taking a little of the clay mixed with water between the thumb and first finger; by a movement of the thumb the space between the nail and the skin of the finger is filled with the clay, and the end of the finger is then applied to the skin so that it leaves a short and fine line of clay. A zig-zag line is thus built up of short lines each a finger's breadth in length. A second line is then added, not parallel to the first, but opposed to it, so that the two lines together form a row of lozenges. A third and sometimes a fourth or fifth line are similarly added. As shown in Plate XII the lines of pattern are carried down the front of the body, down the sides of the arms, and down the front of the legs, and they are similarly worked on the back of the body, and the back of the legs. The face also is decorated. These patterns are made by the women. It is one of the duties of a wife to decorate her husband in this way when occasion requires.

The only reason that the natives give for ornamenting themselves in this way is that it makes them "look well." On the occasion of a big dance many of the performers are thus ornamented. This is always so at the dances held when two or more local groups meet together. There are certain special occasions, already mentioned in this chapter, when the use of the "snake pattern" is required by custom. One of these is the dance at the end of mourning. During the period of mourning the mourners are forbidden to make use of this form of decoration.

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PLATE XII

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A young man decorated with white clay in readiness for a dance [p. 124A]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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PLATE XIII

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A man with a pattern of white clay on his face

[p. 124 B]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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The same pattern is used to decorate a bride and bridegroom after their marriage. In the initiation ceremonies the youth or girl is decorated in this way before the dances at the turtle-eating and pig-eating ceremonies. The same pattern is also made on a corpse before burial. 302

In all these cases the whole body is decorated. On less ceremonial occasions, such as an ordinary dance when there are no visitors of importance in the camp, a man frequently has his face alone decorated with white clay, as in the photograph of Plate XIII.

The third kind of material used for painting the body is red paint. This is applied in two different ways. When a man or woman is ill he or she is generally to be seen with some part of his body smeared with red paint. For colds and coughs the chest and neck are painted. In fevers red paint is smeared on the upper lip. Besides the medical use of red paint, if we may call it so, there is a ceremonial use, the pigment being used in combination with white clay, lines of red paint being applied to the body between the lines of clay of the snake pattern. It is used in this way to decorate the body of a dead person for burial, and on ceremonial occasions such as the dance at the end of mourning and the dances in connection with the initiation ceremonies. 302 755

Most of the ornaments worn at various times by the Andaman Islanders have a ceremonial or a magical purpose. The only things worn by men that can be considered to have a utilitarian value are the belt of rope and the necklet of string. The belt may be a plain piece of rope, or it may be ornamented with the yellow skin of a species of *Dendrobium*. It serves as a receptacle in which the natives carry such things as adzes, fish, roots, or even arrows. It is the one object that is constantly worn by men. The string necklet is simply a length of thin string tied round the neck. It serves as a means of carrying a knife and skewer. The knife, in former days made of a slip of cane, but in these times from a piece of scrap iron, is attached to a skewer of *Areca* wood by a short length of rope or stout string. By sliding either the knife or the skewer under the necklet at the back of the neck the double implement hangs securely in 301

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AZ2 Andamans AZ2

301 a position where it is not likely to get lost when running through the jungle, and where it is immediately accessible when wanted. The necklet also serves as a means of carrying bees'-wax, which is in constant use amongst the natives, a small ball of the wax being attached to one of the ends of the string of which the necklet is made.

291 As a rule, in everyday life, the men wear only a belt, or a belt and necklace. Those natives who visit the Settlement of 177 Port Blair have been required by the European officers to wear 834 a strip of cloth over the genitals. It has now become the rule to wear such a loin cloth whenever they are in the neighbourhood of a European. This, however, is a modern custom, and in former times the men went freely with no covering whatever, as do the inhabitants of the Little Andaman at the present time. As showing the extent to which the natives have been influenced in this matter by outside opinion, it may be mentioned that at the present day many of the younger men, particularly those who have been brought up at Port Blair, regard it as very immodest to be seen without some covering over the genitals.

301 On ceremonial occasions, such as the dance at the end of mourning, or a big dance-meeting, the men put on a number of ornaments. A common costume on such occasions consists of a belt, necklace, bracelets, and garters of netting and *Dentalium* shell. A belt and necklace of this kind are to be seen in Plate V, and garters are worn by the woman in Plate IX. An alternative costume for men consists of a set of ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf (belt, chaplet, bracelets and garters), decorated with *Dentalium* and other shells. Garters of this kind are shown in Plate XII.

301 Other objects are worn by the natives for magical purposes. 755 Chief amongst these are the strings made of human bones which 751 are worn to prevent and cure sickness. The bones are attached to a length of rope, and this is generally decorated with shells or with *Dendrobium* skin. These strings of bones are worn most commonly as chaplets, necklaces or belts, but they may also be made into garters and bracelets. The bones of animals, such as pig, turtle, dugong, etc., are treated in exactly the same way

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PLATE XIV

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A woman with her child

[p.126A]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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PLATE XV

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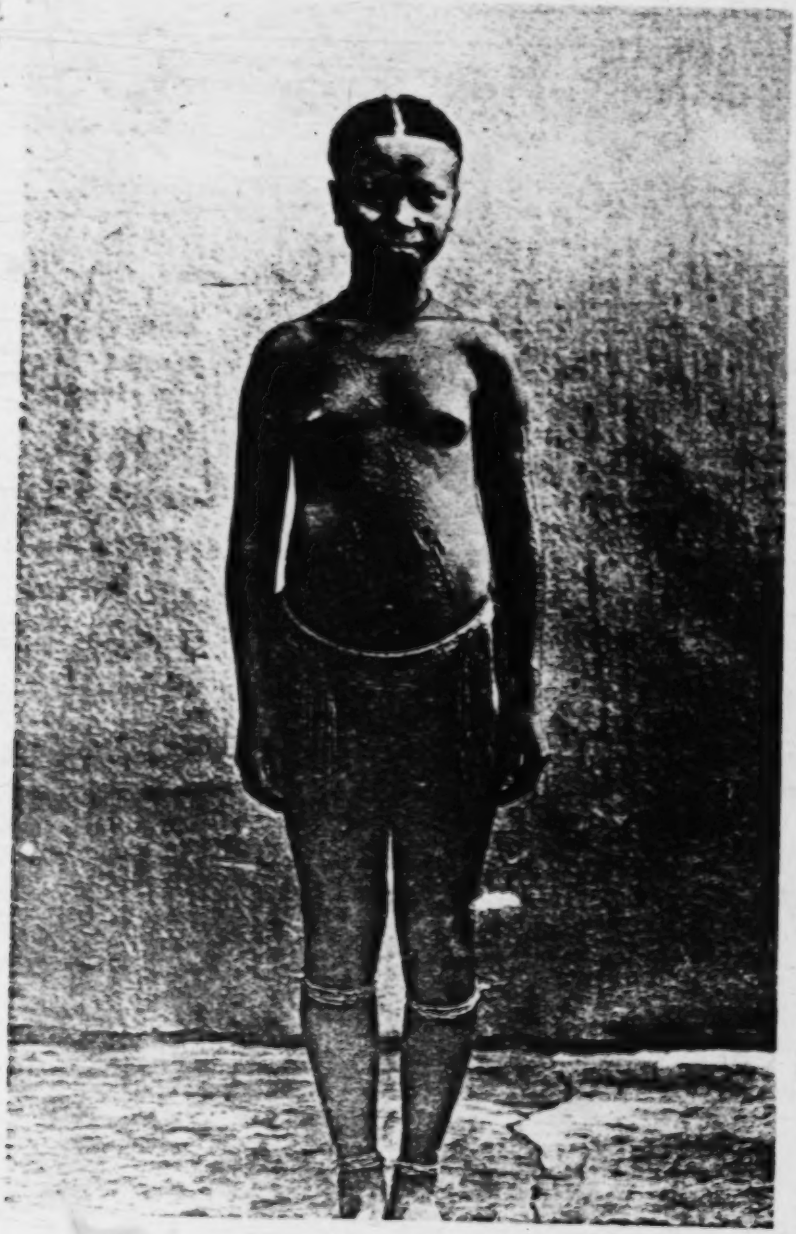

A young married woman, showing pattern scarified on body and arms

[p. 126B]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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as human bones, and ornaments made of them are commonly worn. 301

There are a number of other ornaments that are commonly worn, not only on ceremonial occasions, which, unlike the strings of human bones, do not obviously have a magical purpose. Such are necklaces made of various kinds of shells, and of mangrove seeds. At the present time the natives obtain beads from Port Blair and make ornaments of these. 301

The ordinary costume of the women is different from that of the men. Every woman and girl wears at least one belt of *Pandanus* leaf. There is one kind of belt that is always worn by married women and which may not be worn by unmarried girls. There is another kind of belt that may only be worn by unmarried girls. The women of the Southern tribes wear a bundle of leaves of the *Mimusops littoralis* laid one over another suspended from the front of the belt so as to cover the pudenda. In the Northern tribes it was formerly the custom for the women to wear a similar apron of the leaves of a plant called *čainyo*, and over this they also wore a tassel of shredded palm-leaf stem (*koro*). Within recent years the Northern tribes have given up their own custom in this matter and have adopted the custom of the Southern tribes. 291

Women often wear round the neck a piece of string similar to that worn by the men, but as they do not carry knives it does not serve the same purpose. It is more usual for a woman to wear a necklace of some sort. Nowadays they are rather fond of necklaces of beads which they obtain from the Settlement at Port Blair. In former times different kinds of shells were used, such as the *Dentalium octogonum*. 301

With the exception that men wear the belt of rope, and women wear the belt of *Pandanus* leaf and the apron of leaves, there is no difference between the ornaments worn by men and by women. On the occasion of a dance or other ceremony a woman may wear any of the objects described as being worn by men on such occasions. They also wear in the same way strings of human or animal bones.

One object which would seem to have a purely utilitarian purpose is the sling used for carrying children (called in *Aka-* 301 482

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

301 482 *Jeru čiba*). This object, however, seems to have its ceremonial uses also. In one of the initiation ceremonies that I saw, the man who was officiating wore such a sling round his shoulders during the ceremony.

535 In the earlier parts of this chapter reference has been made several times to the dance of the Andaman Islanders. For the natives the dance is both a means of enjoyment and also a ceremony. The period of mourning for the dead is brought to a close by a dance, in which all the mourners join. As will be shown later, a dance was generally held before a fight, in former times when fights occurred. The ceremony by which two hostile local groups made peace with one another was a dance.

In the initiation ceremonies there are special dances, which have already been described, in connection with the pig-eating and turtle-eating ceremonies. With the exception of these special dances, and the peace-making dance to be described later, there is only one kind of dance in any given tribe. Thus the dance at the end of mourning, or before setting out on an attack on enemies, is in all essentials exactly the same as the dance in which the natives indulge when the day's hunting has been successful and the evening is fine.

The time for dancing, except in connection with certain ceremonies, is at night, after the evening meal. The dance takes place on the open ground in the centre of the village. This is swept clean by the women and the younger men. One or two fires are lighted, and little heaps of resin are placed in convenient situations to provide lights. These have to be replenished from time to time as the dance proceeds. Near one end of the [534] dancing ground is placed a sounding-board, upon which it is the duty of one man to beat time with his foot. A sounding-board is a piece of wood somewhat of the shape of a large shield, cut from the hard *Pterocarpus* tree. One is shown in Plate VI. Behind the sounding-board, or a little to one side of it, the women, who form the chorus, sit in a row, with their legs stretched out in front of them, facing the dancing-ground. The men who intend to dance sit or stand round the edge of the space reserved for the dance.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

When all is ready a man who has volunteered to sing the first song takes his stand at the sounding-board, and sings his song through. When he reaches the chorus the women take it up and repeat it after him, and as they do so each woman marks time by clapping her hands on the hollow formed by her thighs, the legs being crossed one over the other at the ankle. The singer continues to sing, thus leading the chorus, and at the same time marks the time of the song by beating on the sounding-board with his foot. As soon as the chorus begins the dancers begin to dance. The step of each dancer is the same, but there is very little attempt to form a figure. When the singer and the chorus get tired, the singing ceases, but the man at the sounding-board continues to mark time for the dancers. The singer repeats his song several times, and he may sing several songs, each repeated several times. When he gets tired he is relieved by another man. In a dance that lasts for any time, one singer succeeds another, and the singing and dancing are kept up continuously, sometimes for five or six hours.

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The above description applies to all the tribes of the Great Andaman, but there are some differences between the four tribes of the North Andaman, and the tribes of the Middle and South Andaman.

In the North Andaman the song is sung through once from beginning to end by the singer, and is then repeated three or four times by the chorus. In the South Andaman each song consists of one verse and a refrain, if we may speak of them thus. The singer sings the verse and the refrain, and then the refrain only is repeated an indefinite number of times by the chorus.

In the dance of the Southern tribes, each dancer dances alternately on the right foot or on the left. When dancing on the right foot the first movement is a slight hop with the right foot, then the left foot is raised and brought down with a backward scrape along the ground, then another hop on the right foot. These three movements, which occupy the time of two beats of the song, are repeated until the right leg is tired, and the dancer then changes the movement to a hop with the left foot, followed by a scrape with the right and another hop with the left. The time of the movement is as follows, the upper line being the

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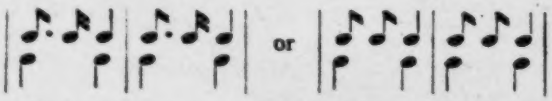
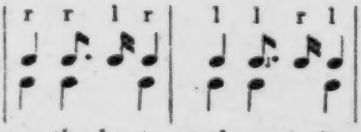
rhythm of the dance, while the lower line shows the beats of the song, which is marked on the sounding-board and by the clapping of the women.



The body of the dancer is bent slightly forward from the hips, the legs being flexed at the knees and the back being curved well inwards. There are several ways of holding the hands and arms, one of the commonest being to hold the arms outstretched in front on a level with the shoulders, while the thumb and forefinger of one hand are interlocked with those of the other. When a man does not wish to cease altogether from dancing but desires to have a short rest, he marks the time by raising each heel alternately from the ground. As a man dances he remains in one spot for a short time, and then, still continuing the same step, moves for a yard or two around the circle of the dancing ground. Every now and then a dancer is to be seen trotting from one position to another across the dancing ground, abandoning the step of the dance, but still keeping time to the song.

The Northern tribes have now adopted the same kind of dance as the tribes of the South, but formerly their dance was slightly different. There was a little more attempt at forming a figure, the dancers moving for the most part in a circle, some in one direction and others in the other. The step was as follows : a step forward with the right foot, a hop on the right foot, a scrape with the left, then another hop with the right, a step forward with the left foot, a hop with the left, a scrape with the right and a hop with the left. The rhythm is as follows :—



The lower line shows the beats on the sounding-board.

Some of the dancers occasionally break into the regular Southern step. A dancer sometimes changes from the usual

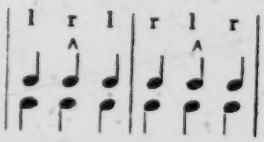
1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

step to another called *koi*, in which each foot is alternately struck on the ground and scraped backwards. Other slight variations of the movement may be introduced. 535 533

In both the Southern and the Northern dance each dancer pleases himself as to the direction in which he moves, and the step that he adopts at any given moment. All the dancers, however independently of one another they dance, keep strict time to the music.

Women do not, as a rule, join in the ordinary dances held in the evening. Their share in the entertainment consists of forming the chorus. When they do dance, as they do on certain occasions, such as the dance at the end of mourning, their step is different from that of the men. In the Southern tribes the female dancer stands at one spot with knees flexed and lifts her heels alternately from the ground in time to the music, thus producing a slight swaying or swinging motion of the hips. After dancing thus at one spot for a few moments, she moves forward a few steps to a new position, keeping time to the music in all her movements, and then repeats the same performance. The arms are swung in time to the dance, or else are held before the breast with one wrist crossed over the other.

In the Northern tribes the common dance of the women is a sort of modification of that of the men. A woman advances across the ground in regular time, but at every third step she gives a peculiar little hop which has something of the effect of a bobbing curtsey. The time is as follows :—



l and r standing for left and right foot, and the accent indicating the hop or curtsey. Every now and then a dancer stops and remains at one spot, alternately scraping each foot backwards, holding her knees flexed, and swinging both arms together.

The ordinary dance of the Andamanese, as described above, must always be accompanied by a song, and the purpose of every song is to serve as the accompaniment to a dance. Every man 533

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE XVIII

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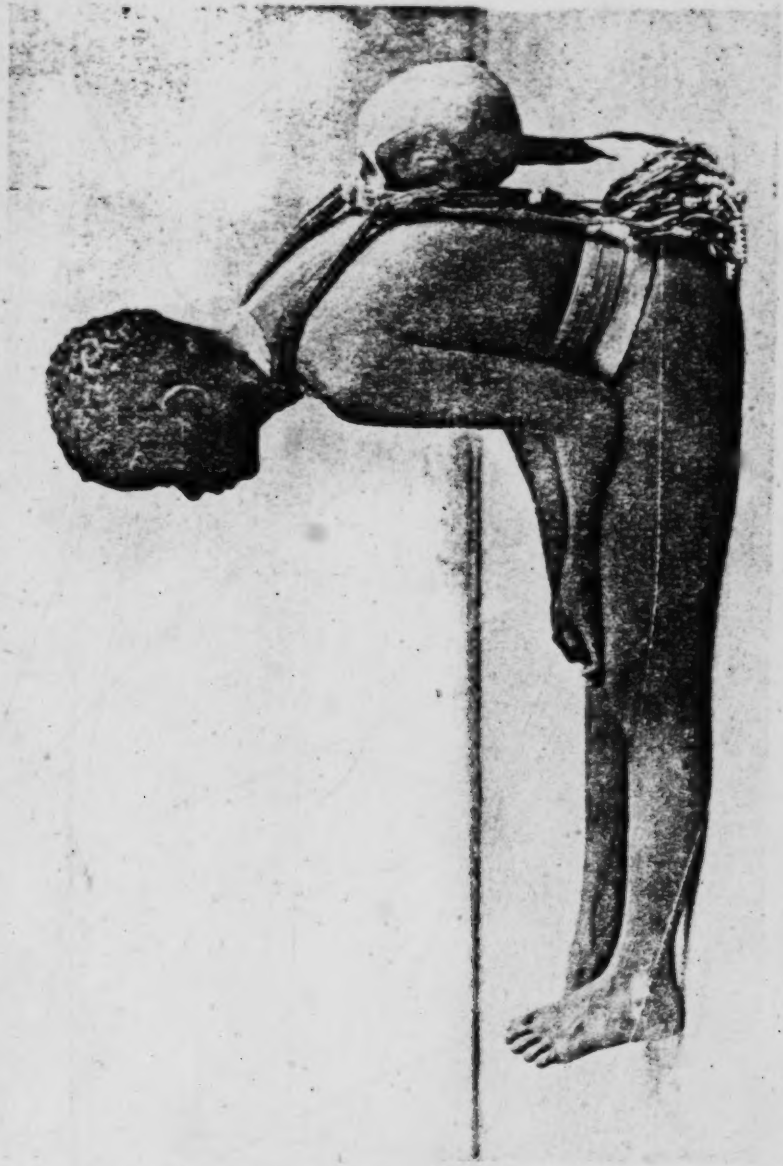

A girl wearing her sister's skull

[Facing p. 132]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

533 composes his own songs. No one would ever sing (at a dance) a song composed by any other person. There are no traditional songs. Women occasionally compose songs, but I never heard a woman sing at a dance except in the chorus.

Every man composes songs, and the boys begin to practise themselves in the art of composition when they are still young. A man composes his song as he cuts a canoe or a bow or as he paddles a canoe, singing it over softly to himself, until he is satisfied with it. He then awaits an opportunity to sing it in public, and for this he has to wait for a dance. Before the dance he takes care to teach the chorus to one or two of his female relatives so that they can lead the chorus of women. He sings his song, and if it is successful he repeats it several times, and thereafter it becomes part of his repertory, for every man of any age has a repertory of songs that he is prepared to repeat at any time. If the song is not successful, if the chorus and dancers do not like it, the composer abandons it and does not repeat it. Some men are recognized as being more skilful song-makers than others.

The songs all deal with everyday subjects such as hunting or cutting a canoe. The important thing about a song is not its sense, but its sound, i.e., its rhythm and melody. A translation of an *Akar-Bale* song, which is quite typical, is "*Poio*, the son of *Mam Golat*, wants to know when I am going to finish my canoe. He comes every day. That is why I make haste to get it launched as soon as possible." Another on the same subject runs: "Knots are very hard to cut with an adze. They blunt the edge of the adze. How hard I am working cutting these knots." The singer here refers to the cutting of a canoe. A number of songs in the native languages with translations, are given by Mr Portman[1]. To these the reader may refer for further information.

535 628 301 According to the statements of the natives it was formerly the custom to have a dance before setting out to a fight. There was no special war-dance, the warriors joining in an ordinary dance such as has just been described. Those who intended

[1] Portman, *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes*, pp. 166—188.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

535 628 301 to take part in the attack on their enemies, i.e., all the able-bodied adult males, decorated themselves with red paint and white clay, and put on ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf or netting and shells. Each man held in his hands or placed in his belt or head-dress plumes of shredded *Tetranthera* wood (called *čelmo* in *Aka-Jeru*, *uj* in *Aka-Bea*). These plumes of shredded wood are now often worn or carried in an ordinary dance, but I believe that in former times they were the distinctive sign of a war-dance. To make them, a short length of the wood is taken (generally a piece of an old broken pig-arrow) and the wood is carefully shredded with a *Cyrena* shell, care being taken not to break any of the longitudinal fibres. One end is then tied with a piece of string or fibre. Similar plumes are made from *Pandanus* wood, and are carried or worn in a similar manner.

When the attacking party set out from their village each man wears a plume of shredded *Tetranthera* wood thrust into the back of his belt. They rub their bows with the shredded wood, [789] and say that this has the effect of making their own bows shoot well and those of their enemies shoot badly.

682 784 If a man kills another in a fight between two villages, or in a private quarrel, he leaves his village and goes to live by himself in the jungle, where he must stay for some weeks, or even months. His wife, and one or two of his friends may live with him or visit him and attend to his wants. For some weeks the homicide must observe a rigorous tabu. He must not handle a bow or arrow. He must not feed himself or touch any food with his hands, but must be fed by his wife or a friend. He must keep his neck and upper lip covered with red paint, and must wear plumes of shredded *Tetranthera* wood (*čelmo*) in his belt before and behind, and in his necklace at the back of his neck. If he breaks any of these rules it is supposed that the spirit of the man he has killed will cause him to be ill. At the end of a few weeks the homicide undergoes a sort of purifica- [783] tion ceremony. His hands are first rubbed with white clay (*tol-odu*) and then with red paint. After this he may wash his hands and may then feed himself with his hands and may handle bows and arrows. He retains the plumes of shredded wood for a year or so.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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In the North Andaman, and possibly in the South also, there was a ceremony by which two hostile local groups made peace with one another. When the two groups have agreed to make friends and bring their quarrel to an end, arrangements are made for this ceremony. The arrangements are made through the women of the two parties. A day is fixed for the ceremony, which takes place in the country of the group that made the last attack. In the village of this group the dancing ground is prepared, and across it is erected what is called a *koro-čop*. Posts are put up in a line, to the tops of these is attached a length of strong cane, and from the cane are suspended bundles of shredded palm-leaf (*koro*). The appearance of this construction may be seen from the photograph reproduced in Plate XIX. The women of the camp keep a look-out for the approach of the visitors. When they are known to be near the camp, the women sit down on one side of the dancing ground, and the men take up positions in front of the decorated cane. Each man stands with his back against the *koro-čop*, with his arms stretched out sideways along the top of it. None of them has any weapons.

The visitors, who are, if we may so put it, the forgiving party, while the home party are those who have committed the last act of hostility, advance into the camp dancing, the step being that of the ordinary dance. The women of the home party mark the time of the dance by clapping their hands on their thighs. I was told that the visitors carry their weapons with them, but when the dance was performed at my request the dancers were without weapons. The visitors dance forward in front of the men standing at the *koro-čop*, and then, still dancing all the time, pass backwards and forwards between the standing men, bending their heads as they pass beneath the suspended cane. The dancers make threatening gestures at the men standing at the *koro-čop*, and every now and then break into a shrill shout. The men at the *koro* stand silent and motionless, and are expected to show no sign of fear.

After they have been dancing thus for a little time, the leader of the dancers approaches the man at one end of the *koro* and, taking him by the shoulders from the front, leaps vigorously

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

621 up and down to the time of the dance, thus giving the man
535 he holds a good shaking. The leader then passes on to the next
728 man in the row while another of the dancers goes through the same performance with the first man. This is continued until each of the dancers has "shaken" each of the standing men. The dancers then pass under the *koro* and shake their enemies in the same manner from the back. After a little more dancing the dancers retire, and the women of the visiting group come forward and dance in much the same way that the men have done, each woman giving each of the men of the other group a good shaking.

When the women have been through their dance the two parties of men and women sit down and weep together.

The two groups remain camped together for a few days, spending the time in hunting and dancing together. Presents
[431] are exchanged, as at the ordinary meetings of different groups. The men of the two groups exchange bows with one another.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

CHAPTER III

RELIGIOUS AND MAGICAL BELIEFS

775 THE Andaman Islanders believe in the existence of a class of supernatural beings which I propose to denote by the term "spirits." The native name for these spirits is *lau*, *lao* or *yau* in the languages of the North and Middle Andaman, and *čauga* in the South Andaman. While all spirits are denoted together by the term *lau* or *čauga*, there are certain special classes of spirits. There are, for instance, spirits that haunt the jungles of the islands. These are called in the North Andaman *Ti-miku Lau*, from the word *ti-miku* meaning the forest, or more accurately "land." (The only land known to the Andamanese is covered with forest.) In *Aka-Bea* the name for these jungle spirits is *Erem Čauga*, the word *erem* being the equivalent in that language of the Northern *ti-miku*. In the North Andaman the *Ti-miku Lau* are often called *Bido Teč Lau*, i.e., spirits of the *Calamus* leaf, *bido* being the name of the *Calamus tigrinus*. This cane is armed with strong thorns, and in some parts of the jungle forms absolutely impenetrable thickets. The natives say that the spirits haunt these thickets, and hence their name.

There are other spirits that live in the sea. Although these may be included under the term *Lau* or *Čauga*, when it is used in a general sense, yet there is a special name for the sea spirits, *Jurua* in the North Andaman, and *Juruwin* in *Aka-Bea*. The *Jurua* are beings of the same nature as the *Ti-miku Lau*, with the difference that they live in the sea, while the latter live in the forest.

In the South Andaman the natives also speak of another class of spirits who live in the sky and are called *Morua* or *Morowin*.

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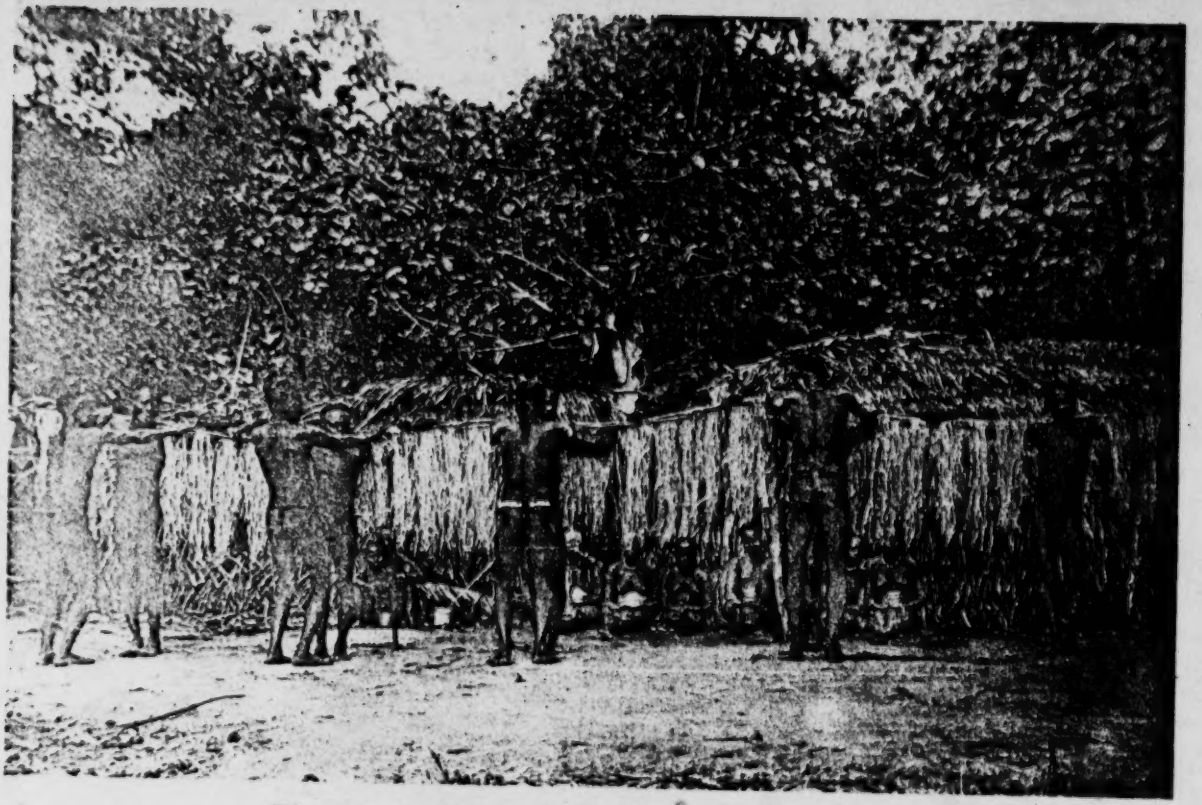
PLATE XIX



The peace-making dance of the North Andaman

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[Facing p. 134]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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When an Andamanese man or woman dies he or she becomes a spirit, i.e., a *Lau* or *Čauga*. The bones of a dead person, which are dug up after the flesh has decayed, are called *Lau ṭọi* in the North Andaman, *ṭọi* being the word for "bone." The skull is *Lau t'ẹr-čo*, from the word *ẹr-čo* meaning "head." Exactly similar terms are in use in *Aka-Bea*, the bones of a dead man being called *Čauga ta* (spirit bones). 775

The Andamanese relate legends, to be described in the next chapter, which concern the doings of mythical ancestors. As all Andamanese, when they die, become *Lau*, these ancestors are of course included under that term. They are often distinguished from the spirits of persons recently dead by being denoted as *Lau t'ẹr-kuro*, from the word *ẹr-kuro* meaning "big," and applied to human beings to denote importance of social position. Just as a man who occupies a prominent position in his tribe is called a "big" man (*ẹr-kuro*), so the ancestors of the Andamanese legends are called "big" spirits. The *Aka-Bea* use a similar term, *Čauga tabaŋa*, to distinguish the ancestors from the spirits of ordinary persons.

The name *Lau* or *Čauga* is also applied by the Andamanese to the natives of India and Burma whom they see in the Penal Settlement of Port Blair. The *Aka-J̌eru* name for the Penal Settlement is *Lau-t'ara-nyu*, literally "the village of the spirits." At the present time the term *Lau* or *Čauga* is not applied to Europeans, who are generally spoken of in the North Andaman by the Hindustani word "sahib." Natives of the North Andaman told me that in former times (before 1875) they applied the term *Lau* to Europeans also not distinguishing them from other light-skinned aliens. The necessity for distinguishing between Asiatics, such as natives of India, and Europeans, has only arisen since they have come to have dealings with the Penal Settlement. 186 775

The term *Lau* is not applied by the Andamanese to aliens of their own race. Nor would it be applied, I believe, to men of other black races such as the African negro. I showed the natives photographs of Semang from the Malay Peninsula and also of natives of Africa and New Guinea, and in all cases they called them *J̌aṛawa*, that being the term applied by the Great

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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186 Andaman tribes to the natives of the Little Andaman. On the
775 other hand they called Polynesians *Lau*.

For many centuries the Andaman Islanders have been accustomed to see light-skinned men visit their shores in ships, Europeans, natives from the coasts of India, Burma and Malaya, and occasionally perhaps Chinese. To these aliens they gave the name of *Lau*, apparently regarding them as visitors from the only other world they knew of, the world of spirits[1]. The clothes that these "spirits" wore they called *Lau ot-julu*, the word *ot-julu* meaning "cold."

775 The spirits of the forest and the sea are believed to be generally invisible, but there are tales of men and women who have seen them, and their personal appearance is sometimes described. The descriptions vary considerably from one informant to another. One of the commonest statements is that they are light or white skinned. (The Andamanese vocabulary does not allow of any distinction between white and a light gray or a light shade of colour.) One man, however, said that the forest spirits are black (or dark), while the sea spirits are white (or light). I was told several times that the spirits have long hair and beards (the Andamanese having, as a rule, no beard, and their hair, being frizzy, never growing to any length). Their arms and legs are said to be abnormally long, while they have only small bodies. Though there is no uniformity in the way in which the natives describe the spirits of the jungle and the sea, there is a notable tendency to associate them with the grotesque, the ugly, and the fearful. There is a common belief that the spirits, both of the jungle and of the sea, carry about with them lights, which several men and women claim to have seen.

In reply to the question as to how the spirits of the forest and the sea originated, the natives all agree in saying that they are the spirits of dead men and women.

791 The jungle spirits live in a village (or villages) in the forest.
775 There is a belief that mortals wandering by themselves in the jungle have been captured by the spirits. Should the captive

[1] A similar custom is found in many savage tribes. Thus in many parts of Australia the aborigines call white men by the same name that they apply to the spirits of the dead.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

show any fear, my informants said, the spirits would kill him, but 791
if he were brave they would take him to their village, detaining 775
him for a time, and then releasing him to return to his friends. A man to whom such an adventure has happened will be endowed for the rest of his life with power to perform magic. He will pay occasional visits to his friends the spirits. The natives told me of one such man who died not many years ago. At irregular intervals he used to wander off into the jungle by himself and remain absent for a few hours, sometimes for a day or two. He returned to the village after such an absence looking strange and wearing ornaments of shredded palm-leaf (*koro*) which he claimed had been placed upon him by the spirits.

Save for persons who have made friends with them, and have 753
thereby become endowed with magical powers, all contact with 775
the spirits of the jungle and the sea, or with the spirit of a dead man, is dangerous. The spirits are believed to be the cause of all sickness and of all deaths resulting from sickness. As a man wanders in the jungle or by the sea, the spirits come invisibly and strike him, whereupon he falls ill, and may die. A man or woman is more likely to be attacked by the spirits if he or she is alone, and it is therefore always better to be in company when away from the village. The spirits rarely venture into the village itself, though they may prowl round it, particularly at night. They are more dangerous at night than during the day.

There are many objects that are believed to have the power 751
of keeping spirits at a distance, and thus of preserving human 775
beings from the danger of sickness. Amongst the most important of these are fire, arrows, human bones, bees'-wax, and red paint. A man or a woman leaving a hut to go only a few yards at night will always carry a fire-brand as a protection against spirits that may be prowling in the neighbourhood. If the night be dark a torch is carried in addition to the fire-stick.

The Andamanese will never whistle at night, as they believe [784]
that the noise of whistling would attract spirits. On the other hand they believe that singing will keep the spirits away.

The spirits that haunt the woods and waters of a man's own 775
home are regarded as being less dangerous to him than those of

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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775 a country in which he is a stranger. A man of the *Aka-Čari* tribe who was with me in Rutland Island had a cold on his chest. He asked me for permission to return to his own country, explaining that the spirits of Rutland Island were, so to speak, at enmity with him, and that if he stayed longer he would be seriously ill, and perhaps die, while on the other hand, the spirits of his own country were friendly towards him, and once he was amongst them he would quickly recover.

There is a belief that the spirits feed on the flesh of dead men and women. The jungle spirits eat those who are buried on land, and the *J̌urua* devour those who are drowned or otherwise lost in the sea.

Mr Man's account of the spirits of the jungle and sea contains an important error, which needs to be pointed out. He writes as though there were only one *Ṉrem Čauga* (jungle spirit) and only one *J̌uruwin* (sea spirit), whereas each of these names is the name not of a single individual but of a class of supernatural beings of which there is an indefinite number. The following is Mr Man's account:—*Ṉrem-čauga-la*, the "evil spirit of the woods, has a numerous progeny by his wife *Čana Badgi-lola*, who remains at home with her daughters and younger children, while her husband and grown up sons roam about the jungles with a lighted torch attached to their left legs, in order that the former may injure any unhappy wights who may meet them unprotected, and in the dark; he generally makes his victims ill, or kills them by wounding them internally with invisible arrows, and if he is successful in causing death, it is supposed that they feast upon the raw flesh." "As regards *J̌uruwin*, the evil spirit of the sea, they say that he too is invisible, and lives in the sea with his wife and children, who help him to devour the bodies of those who are drowned or buried at sea; fish constitute the staple of his food, but he also occasionally, by way of variety, attacks the aborigines he finds fishing on the shores or by the creeks. The weapon he uses is a spear, and persons who are seized with cramp or any sudden illness, on returning from, or while on the water are said to have been 'speared' by *J̌uruwin*. He has various submarine residences, and boats for travelling under the surface of the sea, while he carries with him a net, in

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

which he places all the victims, human or piscine, he may succeed in capturing[1]." 775

Mr Portman correctly translates the word *Juruwin* as meaning "the spirits of the sea" using the plural and not the singular[2].

Further references to the Andamanese beliefs about the spirits will be found later in the chapter. It is necessary at this point to consider an entirely different class of beings.

The Andaman Islanders personify the phenomena of nature with which they are acquainted, such as the sun and the moon. Before relating in detail what could be learnt about their beliefs on these matters, it is necessary to call attention to one feature of these beliefs. Different statements, not only of different informants, but even of the same informant, are often quite contradictory. For example, it is sometimes said that lightning is a person, and at other times it is said that lightning is a fire-brand thrown across the sky by a mythical being named *Biliku*. These two statements, which to all logical thinking are incompatible, are both given, and apparently both equally believed, by the same person. Many examples of such contradictions will be found in what follows, and it is important to point out their existence beforehand. 776 821

About the sun and moon, the most usual statement in all the tribes is that the sun is the wife of the moon and the stars are their children. In the North Andaman the moon is *Maia Dula* (*Aka-Čari*) or *Maia Čirikli* (*Aka-Jeru*), the sun is *Mimi Diu* and their children the stars are *Čatlo*, the larger ones, and *Katań* the smaller. *Čatlo* is the name of a species of finely marked beetle, and *katań* is the name of the common fire-fly. Individual stars or constellations are not recognized.

Another version from the same tribes is that the moon (*Dula*) is female, and has a husband named *Maia Tok*, while the sun (*Diu* or *Tọrodiu*) is male.

In the *Aka-Jeru* tribe there is a belief that the moon (*Maia Čirikli*) can, when he wishes, turn himself into a pig, and come down to earth and feed on the things that the pigs eat. There

[1] Man, *op. cit.* pp. 158, 159.
[2] Portman, *Notes on the Languages*, etc. p. 183.

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776 821 is a legend that on one occasion the moon thus turned himself into a pig and came down to earth to eat the *čuei* fruit. A man named *Maia Čoinyop* met the moon (in the form of a pig) in the forest, and shot him with an arrow. *Čirikli* (the moon) took out his knife and killed the unfortunate *Čoinyop*, cutting off his head, which he left behind, and taking the body up to the sky where he ate it.

In the *A-Pučikwar* tribe the most common statement is that the moon (*Puki*) is male and that the sun (*Puto*) is his wife. A different statement from the same tribe is that the moon is female and is the wife of a being named *Tomo*. *Tomo* seems to be to some extent identified with the sun. Thus one informant said that it is *Tomo* who sends the fine weather, and that it is he who sends the daylight every day. Where *Tomo* lives, in the sky, it is always day and is always fine. When the natives die their spirits go up to the sky and live with *Tomo*. We shall see in the next chapter that, according to some of the legends, *Tomo* is the first ancestor of the Andamanese.

Yet another version is that the moon was made by *Tomo* out of opalescent stone, and it is *Tomo* who, in some way, regulates its passage across the sky.

784 776 821 A belief about the moon which is found in all the tribes, both of the North and the South, is that he will be very angry if there is any fire, or any bright light, visible when he rises in the evening shortly after sundown. At such times the natives are careful to cover up their fires so that they only smoulder without flame. Mr Man refers to this custom. "From fear of displeasing *Maia Ogar* (Mr Moon), during the first few evenings of the third quarter, when he rises after sundown, they preserve silence, cease from any work on which they may be engaged—even halting should they be travelling—and almost extinguishing any light or fire that may be burning. This is owing to the belief that he is jealous of attention being distracted to other objects than himself at such a time, or of any other light being employed than that which he had been graciously pleased to afford so abundantly. By the time the moon has ascended a few degrees, however, they restore their fires and resume their former occupations, as they consider that they have sufficiently

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complied with *Maia Ogar's* wishes and requirements. The glowing aspect of the full moon on its first appearance above the horizon is supposed to indicate that *Maia Ogar* is enraged at finding some persons neglecting to observe these conciliatory measures; there is also an idea that, if he be greatly annoyed, he will punish them by withdrawing or diminishing the light of his countenance[1]."

As regards the waxing and waning of the moon, Mr Man says that these are explained by the *Aka-Bea* "by saying that they are occasioned by 'his' applying a coating of cloud to his person by degrees, after the manner of their own use of *koiob* (red paint) and *tala-og* (white clay) and then gradually wiping it off[2]." In the *Aka-Kede* tribe the natives say that as *Maia Čirike* (Sir Moon) goes across the sky, his tongue hangs out of his mouth, sometimes more, sometimes less, and that it is the tongue that is visible, that gives the light. I did not hear any explanation of the waxing and waning of the moon in the tribes of the North Andaman. In these tribes the new moon is called *Dula e-tire*, i.e. the "baby moon," the word *e-tire* denoting the young offspring of an animal or a human being.

With regard to a lunar eclipse Mr Man writes that "in case *Maia Ogar* should be so ill-advised as permanently to withhold his light or render himself in other ways still more disagreeable, whenever the moon is eclipsed some persons at once seize their bows and twang them as rapidly as possible, thereby producing a rattling sound as if discharging a large number of arrows, while others commence at once sharpening their *rata* (arrows). Of course this hostile demonstration is never lost upon the moon, who does not venture to hurt those who show themselves ready to give him so uncomfortable a reception. Their immunity from harm on these occasions has given rise to some joking at the expense of the luminary in question, for, during the continuance of the eclipse, they shout in inviting tones to the hidden orb as follows:—*Ogar, laden balak ban lebe y'idoati! dcati! doati!* (O Moon, I will give you the seed of the *balak!* show yourself! appear! appear!) This is said derisively, for, although these

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 152. [2] *Ibid.* p. 160.

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seeds are largely consumed by the pigs, the aborigines do not consider them fit for food[1]."

It may be noted that the invitation to the moon to eat *balak* seeds is not perhaps derisive, but may be connected with the belief that the moon can turn himself into a pig in order to feed on the things that pigs eat.

There was no eclipse of the moon during my stay in the islands. The natives of the North Andaman told me that on such an occasion they frighten the moon into showing himself again by lighting the end of a bamboo arrow-shaft, and shooting it from a bow in the direction of the moon. Another custom of which they told me is to take plumes of shredded *Tetranthera* wood (*čelmo* or *uj*) and blow on them towards the moon.

Mr Man states that "a solar eclipse alarms them too much to allow of their indulging in jests or threats, &c.: during the time it lasts they all remain silent and motionless, as if in momentary expectation of some calamity[2]."

There are several different accounts in the North Andaman of the phenomena of day and night. The night is often personified and is called *Mimi Bat* (Lady Night). One version is that it is she who makes the night while *Maia Tọrodiu* makes the day. *Diu* is the name of the sun, and *tọro-diu* really means "the full sun" and refers to the middle part of the day when the sun is well up in the sky.

Another Northern version is that the daylight is made by a being named *Tautọbitatmo* who lives in the sky. He shuts up the day under a stone every evening and lets it out every morning. Of *Tautọbitatmọ* I was told that he is sometimes to be seen in the evening sky, but I was not able to discover to what natural phenomenon reference was made. I was also unable to discover the meaning of the name, which is a compound, *tau* being the sky.

Still another version from the same tribes is that it is a being named *Maia Čara* who makes the daylight. *Čara* seems to be the equivalent of the *Tomo* of the *A-Pučikwar* and other Southern tribes. He is sometimes said to have been the first ancestor, and sometimes the creator, of the Andamanese. He lives in the sky.

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 160. [2] *Ibid.* p. 161.

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Another belief about the night connects it with the spirits. The *Lau* (spirits) in the sky, wrap up the night in a cloth or mat. When they unroll the cloth it becomes dark. The natives of the North Andaman formerly called cloth *lau-ot-julu*, from a stem *-julu* meaning "cold." They were only acquainted with cloth through seeing it used by the aliens who visited their shores, and whom they called spirits (*Lau*). 776 821

In the North Andaman thunder and lightning are commonly personified. The lightning is *Ele* or *Ali*, and the thunder is *Korude* or *Korule*. Some of the natives spoke of *Mimi Ele* (female) and others of *Maia Ele* (male). He lives in the sky, which is regarded as being made of stone (or rock) and is called *tau-meo* (the sky-stone). The lightning is due to his shaking his foot. One rather obscure statement was to the effect that *Ele* spends most of his time asleep or lying down and doing nothing. When the weather gets bad *Lato* (a being that I could not identify), comes and worries *Ele* and wakes him up. Then *Ele* gets angry and shakes his leg. This is the lightning.

Thunder (*Korude*) also lives in the sky. It is said that he makes the thunder by means of a large round stone. One account is that he rolls the stone about over the sky. Another is that he makes the stone hot, and this produces the thunder.

An entirely different explanation of thunder and lightning, which is found in all the tribes, is that they are made by two beings named *Tarai* and *Biliku*, to be described later on in this chapter.

I never heard the rain (*jičer*) spoken of as a person in the same way as thunder and lightning. One explanation of rain is that the sky-stone (*tau-meo*) gets cold, and this turns the mist (*milite*) into rain. Another is that in the sky there is a large hollow or pool, which gets filled with water and then overflows. Still another version is that the rain is made by a being (or beings) named *Čaitoŋ*, who seems to be female and lives in the sky. I could not obtain any satisfactory information about her.

In all parts of the islands the rainbow is believed to have some connection with the spirits of the jungle or of the sea. One very common statement is that it is a bridge of cane that stretches between this world and the world of departed spirits.

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776 821 It is along the rainbow that the spirits travel when they visit the earth. It is necessary to correct a statement by Mr Portman on this matter. In connection with the *Aka-Bea* word for the rainbow, *pidga-l'ar-čauga*, he says "The root *pidga* (a rainbow) must not be confounded with the root *pidga* 'a cane' or 'rattan.' The Andamanese have certain legends regarding the uses of the rainbow, and these have been hitherto understood as referring to 'canes.' *Pidga-l'ar-čauga* means 'the rainbow (bridge) by which the spirits (cross)'[1]." Mr Portman is in error. The word *pidga* means "cane" and the whole word means "the cane of the spirits." It is the whole word that is the name of the rainbow, and not the word *pidga*. An exactly similar compound name for the rainbow exists in each of the languages of the Great Andaman. The name of the particular species of large cane varies, being *pidga* in *Aka-Bea*, *peta* in *A-Pučikwar*, *pir* in *Aka-Jeru*, and so on. Apart from the fact that the natives themselves say that the rainbow is a "cane," Mr Portman would have us believe that in each of the different languages there are two exactly similar words, different in the different languages, one of which means "cane" and the other "rainbow," while there is no connection between the words. Thus *Aka-Bea* would have *pidga* meaning "a kind of cane" and *pidga* meaning "a rainbow." *Aka-Jeru* would have *pir* meaning "cane" and *pir* meaning "rainbow."

The rainbow is generally regarded as an evil omen, being believed to be a precursor of sickness. One *Aka-Jeru* statement is that it is made by a being called *Tolitoŋ* and that when it appears somebody will be ill.

776 823 The only explanation of the tides that I heard was to the effect that they are caused by a fish, a species of *Tetrodon*, called *čolmo* in *Aka-Jeru* and *pit* in *Aka-Kede*, which drinks up the water and then lets it out again.

The Andaman Islands are occasionally visited by earthquakes. An *Aka-Kede* account of how earthquakes are caused is that when a man dies he goes to the spirit world which is beneath the earth. The spirits hold a ceremony. My informant spoke of the ceremony as *Kimil*, which is the name of the

[1] Portman, *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman*, p. 328.

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initiation ceremonies. At this ceremony they have a dance similar to the peace-making dance described in the last chapter, but instead of erecting a screen such as is used in that ceremony, they make use of the rainbow. As they shake the rainbow in dancing this causes earthquakes. The ceremony which newly-arrived spirits have to undergo in the world after death is a *poṛoto kimil*, i.e., the initiate eats *poṛoto* (*Caryota sobolifera*). 776 823

Among the most important of the Andamanese beliefs are those relating to the weather and the seasons. These are under the control of two beings named *Biliku*, *Bilik* or *Puluga*, and *Tarai*, *Teriya*, or *Daria*. There are a certain number of points in which the statements of one informant may differ from those of another in connection with these two mythical beings, but there are also a certain number of points on which there is absolute unanimity in all the tribes of the Great Andaman. 776 821

The first belief in which there is entire unanimity is that of the connection of *Biliku* and *Tarai* with the two chief winds that are known in the Andamans. *Biliku* lives in the north-east and is connected with the north-east monsoon. *Tarai* lives in the south-west and is connected with the south-west monsoon. The connection is shown in the names of these winds, which are as follows :—

Language	N. E. Wind	S. W. Wind
Aka-Cari, *Aka-Bo*, *Aka-Kora*, *Aka-Jeru*	*Biliku boto*	*Tarai boto*
Oko-Juwoi, *Aka-Kol* and *A-Pucikwar*	*Bilik to*	*Teriya*
Akar-Bale	*Puluga toa*	*Daria*
Aka-Bea	*Puluga ta*	*Deria*

In the Northern tribes the word *boto* means "wind." *Biliku boto* must be translated "the *Biliku* wind," and *Tarai boto* is similarly "the *Tarai* wind." It would be incorrect to translate the name *Biliku boto* as "the wind of *Biliku*," for this would be rendered in *Aka-Jeru* by *Biliku ičo boto*. In *A-Pučikwar* the south-west wind is called *Teriya* simply, the name of the mythical being connected with the wind being used as the name of the wind itself, just as is the case with the name *Ele* (lightning). On the other hand the north-east wind is called not *Bilik* but *Bilik to*. The same thing occurs also in the *Akar-Bale* and *Aka-Bea* languages.

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Mr Portman translates the *Aka-Bea* term *Puluga ta* as "God's wind," and he adds, in explanation, "*Puluga ta* means 'God's wind,' and the reason for the name is not known. Some vague ideas regarding the direction of God's dwelling in the sky are the probable origin of the term[1]." As regards the translation of the Andamanese name *Puluga* by the English "God" more will be said later. Leaving that aside, it is important to note that *Puluga ta* does not mean "*Puluga's* wind." The word for wind in *Aka-Bea* is given by Mr Portman himself as *wul-ŋa*, and the *Akar-Bale* and *A-Pučikwar* equivalents are *poat-ŋa* and *pọte*, being forms of the same stem as the Northern *bọto*. The translation of "*Puluga's* wind" in *A-Pučikwar* would be *Bilik l'iye pọte*, but this is not a phrase that the natives ever use. It is not possible to translate "*Puluga's* wind" accurately in *Akar-Bale*. *Puluga poat-ŋa* would mean "*Puluga* blowing" the *-ŋa* being a verbal ending. In any case *Bilik tọ*, and *Puluga toa* are not to be translated as meaning "*Puluga's* wind."

It may be observed, in reference to Mr Portman's statement, that the notions of the Andamanese as to the direction of the dwelling of *Puluga* in the sky are very far from vague. The natives all agree that *Puluga* or *Biliku* lives in the direction from which the north-east wind blows, really N.N.E. This is shown in geographical names. For example the side of Havelock Island that faces north-east is called *Puluga-l'ar-mugu*, meaning "the side that faces *Puluga*," from *ar-mugu* meaning "front" or "face."

There are two matters, then, on which there is absolute unanimity in all the tribes of the Great Andaman, one being the connection of *Biliku* (or *Puluga*) with the north-east and of *Tarai* (or *Deria*) with the south-west, and the other being the connection of these two beings with the winds that blow from these two opposite points of the compass.

The connection of these two beings with winds is shown in another way in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe, where the winds are divided into two divisions. One division contains only the south-west wind, which is of extreme regularity, and blows steadily for about five months in every year. This wind is

[1] Portman, *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman*, p. 314.

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called *Teriya*. The other division contains all the other winds, and they are collectively denoted by the term *Bilik*. They are distinguished by names, as *J̌ila Bilik* (the east *Bilik*, from *ǰila*, east) *Ko̧ico Bilik* (the west *Bilik*), *Mẹtepur Bilik*, *Čo̧liatum Bilik*, *Rartear Bilik*, and *Ko̧ičor-to̧ŋ Bilik*. Here we find the name *Bilik* used not as the name of a single person, but as a common name for a class of beings who are the winds personified. The same use of the term is found also in the *Aka-Ko̧l* tribe. 776 821

Even in the *Akar-Bale* tribe something of the same kind is found. One *Akar-Bale* man said that *Puluga* has two brothers, *J̌ila Puluga* (East *Puluga*) and *Koaičo Puluga* (West *Puluga*); the one sends all the easterly winds and the other all the westerly ones.

In the Andamans the year is divided into two nearly equal portions. During the season of the south-west monsoon, which lasts from May to September, the wind blows steadily from the south-west. This is the rainy season. Violent storms never or only very rarely occur during the season of the south-west wind. From December to March the wind blows mostly from the N.N.E., occasionally changing to E.N.E. or N.E. In the periods at the change of the monsoon (from N.E. to S.W. in April and May, and from S.W. to N.E. in October and November) the wind is variable, and may blow at times from E.S.E. or W.N.W. 821 132 805

The south-west wind (properly speaking W.S.W.) is identified, as we have seen with *Tarai* (*Deria*). Although *Biliku* (*Puluga*) is specially connected with the north-east wind, yet all the winds other than the south-west are commonly supposed to be sent by *Biliku*. Thus we have seen that in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe the different winds are named, each of them (with the exception of the south-west) being a *Bilik*. 776 821 132 805

It comes about, in this way, that the year is divided into two portions, one of which is specially connected with *Biliku* (*Puluga*), while the other is specially connected with *Tarai* (*Deria*). These two seasons are not quite of equal length. The *Tarai* season lasts only while the south-west monsoon is blowing, which, in an average year, is between four and five months. The other seven months are connected with *Biliku* and are divided into three portions, (1) the stormy season of October

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and November, (2) the cold season of December to February, and (3) the hot season of March and April.

There are many points relating to *Biliku* and *Tarai* about which there is no general agreement amongst the tribes, or, in some cases, even within the same tribe. In the North Andaman *Biliku* is regarded as female, and is called *Mimi Biliku*, while *Tarai* is male and is called *Maia Tarai*. This is so in all the four tribes, *Aka-Čari*, *Aka-Bo*, *Aka-Kọra* and *Aka-J̌eru*. A statement that is frequently made by the natives of these tribes is that *Tarai* and *Biliku* are husband and wife. While this is the most common statement, there are, however, other versions of the matter. In order to show the lack of uniformity in statements about *Biliku* and *Tarai* in the Northern tribes I reproduce a few extracts from my note-books written down exactly as they were given to me.

(1) *Biliku* is the wife of *Tarai* and they have a child named *Perǰido*. (This statement was made to me a great many times in the North Andaman, and may be regarded as the most usual form of the belief.)

(2) *Biliku* is the wife of *Tarai*. Their children are the sun and moon. (Heard only once.)

(3) The husband of *Biliku* is *Perǰido* and her children are *Totaimo*, *Mite* (cicada) and *Tarai*.

(4) *Biliku* is unmarried, but she has a son *Perǰido*, and her other children are *Tọrọi*, *Čelene*, *Čotọt*, and *Čerei*. These four are the names of birds.

(5) *Biliku* is the wife of *Tarai*. Their children are *Tọrọi*, *Taka*, *Čotọt*, *Poruatọko*, *Kelil*, *Cọpcura*, *Benye*, *Biratkoro*, *Čereo*, *Milidu*, *Bobelo*, *Kọlo*. These are all names of birds.

(6) *Biliku* has a husband *Tọrọi* (a bird). *Tarai* has a wife *Kelil* (a bird).

In the *Aka-Kede* tribe the most common statement, at any rate in the northern part of the tribe, is that *Bilika* is female, and that *Tarai* is male. One *Aka-Kede* man, from the southern part of the tribe said that *Bilika* was male.

In the *Aka-Kọl* and *A-Pučikwar* tribes *Bilik* is generally spoken of as being male, and *Teriya* is also male. Other versions from these tribes are as follows:—

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(1) *Bilik* is female and *Teriya* is her husband. Their children are the winds, *Čoliatum Bilik*, *Mętepur Bilik*, and *Wǫičo-l'arpat Bilik*.

(2) There is a male *Bilik* and a female *Bilik*, who are husband and wife. Their children are *Kǫičǫr-tǫy Bilik*, *Kǫičo Bilik*, *Jila Bilik*, *Mętepur Bilik*, *Rartear Bilik*, and *Teriya*. These are the winds.

(3) *Bilik* is male. His wife is *In Čaria*, and their children are *Kao* (prawn) and *Mǫrua* (the sky).

In the *Akar-Bale* tribe the most usual statement is that both *Puluga* and *Daria* are male, and this was apparently also the common belief of the *Aka-Bea*.

In the North Andaman the name *Biliku* is also the word for "spider," but no meaning (save as the name of the mythical being) was discovered for the name *Tarai*. In the South and Middle Andaman no meaning was discovered, either for the name *Bilik* or *Puluga*, or for the name *Teriya* or *Deria*. Although this book does not deal with the Little Andaman, it is worth while to mention that there also the natives believe in a mythical person who lives in the north-east and sends the storms. This being is female and is named *Öluga*. The monitor lizard is also called *ōluga* in the language of the Little Andaman. It is obvious, however, that the names *Biliku*, *Puluga*, *Öluga* are all of them different forms of the same word.

As we have already seen, it is *Biliku* and *Tarai* who send the winds. *Tarai* sends the south-west wind, which brings the rain. *Biliku* sends the other winds which bring either fine weather, or, at times, violent storms. One *Akar-Bale* account of the matter (literally translated as told to me) is as follows. "Once upon a time *Puluga* and *Daria* were great friends, but they quarrelled. *Puluga* said that he was the bigger (more important). *Daria* said that he was. So now they are always quarrelling. *Puluga* sends the wind for one period. Then *Daria* sends his wind."

According to the statement of an *Akar-Bale* man, *Puluga* makes the wind by fanning with a very large *kwar-toy* leaf.

Rain and thunder and lightning that come with the south-west wind are believed to be due to *Tarai*. Storms that come

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776 821 during the season connected with *Biliku* are made by *Biliku* and are due to her anger. When a big storm comes the natives say "*Biliku* is angry." Lightning is explained as being a fire-brand thrown by *Biliku* across the sky when she is angry, and thunder is said to be her voice growling. Another explanation of lightning is that it is a pearl-shell, called *be* in the North Andaman, thrown by *Biliku*, the bright flash of the mother-of-pearl being seen as it crosses the sky. Still another statement from the North Andaman is that *Biliku* makes the lightning by striking a pearl-shell (*be*) against a stone.

Although *Biliku* is generally mentioned when a native is asked about lightning, yet *Tarai* also wields the lightning and the thunder. On one occasion when I was talking to a native I referred to the thunder and lightning that were at the moment coming up from the south-west, making a remark to the effect that *Biliku* was getting angry about something, and was corrected by him with "No, that is *Tarai*."

776 821 784 There are a certain number of actions that are believed by the natives to arouse the anger of *Biliku* (*Puluga*), and thereby cause storms. There are three of these that are of importance.

(1) Burning or melting bees'-wax.

(2) Killing a cicada, or making a noise, particularly a noise of cutting or banging wood, during the time that the cicada is "singing" in the morning and evening.

(3) The use of certain articles of food, of which the chief are the seeds of the *Entada scandens*, the pith of the *Caryota sobolifera*, two species of *Dioscorea* (yam), and certain edible roots, of which may be mentioned those called in *Aka-Jeru labo*, *mikulu*, *ji* and *loito*.

In this matter there is an entire unanimity of belief in all the tribes of the Great Andaman. All the natives agree in saying that any of these three actions causes the anger of *Biliku* or *Puluga* and so brings bad weather.

The natives do, as a matter of fact, melt all the bees'-wax they obtain, in order to purify it, and render it suitable for use in the various ways in which they employ it. Also they do make use of all the plants mentioned under (3) whenever they are in season. They give various explanations of this variance

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between their precepts and their actions. Some of my informants said that though these actions may bring rain and storms, yet they would rather submit to the bad weather than go without some of their most prized vegetable foods. Others again say that there is always a chance that *Biliku* may not notice that the plants have been disturbed, particularly if no fragments are left lying about the camp, and if, when taking the roots, the creepers are not disturbed. Another statement is that it is really only during the season of storms, called the *Kimil* season in *Aka-Jeru*, that it is dangerous to eat these foods, that is, during the months of October and November. After this season has passed there is no longer any danger of violent storms and the foods in question may be freely eaten. Nevertheless the natives do eat these foods in the months of October and November.

Mr Man records the native beliefs about bees'-wax and the plants in question. "There is an idea current that if during the first half of the rainy season they eat the *Caryota sobolifera*, or pluck or eat the seeds of the *Entada pursætha*, or gather yams or other edible roots, another deluge would be the consequence, for *Puluga* is supposed to require these for his own consumption at that period of the year; the restriction, however does not extend to the fallen seeds of the *Entada pursætha*, which may be collected and eaten at any time with impunity. Another of the offences visited by *Puluga* with storms is the burning of bee's wax, the smell of which is said to be peculiarly obnoxious to him. Owing to this belief it is a common practice secretly to burn wax when a person against whom they bear ill-will is engaged in fishing, hunting, or the like, the object being to spoil his sport and cause him as much discomfort as possible; hence arises the saying amongst them, when suddenly overtaken by a storm, that some one must be burning wax[1]."

It must be noted that it is not only the "burning," but also the melting of bees'-wax that angers *Puluga*. As regards the plants mentioned by Mr Man none of these is available for food during the early part of the rainy season. At that time the yams are not formed, the pith of the *Caryota* palm is not ripe

[1] Man, *op. cit.* pp. 153, 154.

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and is uneatable, and the only available seeds of the *Entada* would be those of the last season that had not fallen from the pods or that had lain on the ground without having germinated. Thus the prohibition as stated by Mr Man amounts to nothing. The subject will be discussed in a later chapter. It may be remarked, however, that it is a fact easily to be observed that the natives do regard the gathering of these vegetable foods during the later portion of the rainy season and during the first part of the cool season (i.e. from October to December), as being an action that may offend *Biliku*. I was myself able to observe this on several occasions, as when once, at the very end of the rainy season, I, not then knowing the belief, asked a native to cut for me one of the pods of the *Entada* as a botanical specimen, whereupon the native, after fulfilling my request, explained to me that there would probably be a storm next day as the result of our action.

In all the tribes of the Great Andaman I found a belief that *Biliku* or *Puluga* will be angry if anybody makes a noise, particularly a noise of chopping, breaking or banging wood, during the time the cicada is singing. The cicada "sings" as the natives call it, during the short interval between dawn and sunrise, and during that between sunset and darkness. It is at these times that no noise may be made. The Andamanese do observe this custom, and refrain from making any noise at such times. For instance, if a man were singing, he would cease until the cicada were silent again. In all the tribes I found that this prohibition was connected in the minds of the natives with *Puluga*, the reason of the custom being always explained to me by saying that any breach of it would infallibly bring bad weather. In the North Andaman the cicada (*mite*) is commonly spoken of as the "child" of *Biliku*, *Biliku ot-tire*.

Mr Man refers to this custom. In one place he says that the first parents of the Andamanese were told by *Puluga* "that, though they were to work in the wet months, they must not do so after sundown, because by doing so they would worry the *butu*, which are under *Puluga's* special protection. Any noise, such as working (*kopke*) with an adze, would cause the *butu's* head to ache, and that would be a serious matter. During the

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cold and dry seasons work may be carried on day and night, as the *butu* is then seldom seen, and cannot be disturbed[1]." 776

The *butu* here mentioned is the cicada. The prohibition is not, however, as Mr Man says, against working, but against making a noise. Nor does the prohibition against noise extend to the whole night, but only to the short interval between sunset and darkness, for it is during this interval that the cicada is singing. As soon as the cicada is silent you may make as much noise as you please. 784 821

Another reference by Mr Man to the same custom is as follows: "Between dawn and sunrise they will do no work, save what is noiseless, lest the sun should be offended and cause an eclipse, storm, or other misfortune to overtake them. If, therefore, they have occasion to start on a journey or hunting expedition at so early an hour, they proceed as quietly as possible, and refrain from the practice, observed at other times of the day, of testing the strength of their bow-strings, as the snapping noise caused thereby is one of those to which the sun objects[2]."

This is really the same prohibition as that already mentioned, against making a noise when the cicada is singing. The interesting point, which will be discussed in a later chapter, is that Mr Man's informant associated the prohibition not with *Puluga*, but with the sun. All the natives with whom I talked on the matter said that they would make no noise at such a time for fear of offending the cicada, and therefore *Puluga* or *Biliku*, and so bringing a storm.

As regards the prohibition against killing the cicada, this seems to refer only to the imago. So far as I was able to observe, the natives do carefully avoid killing the cicada in its full-grown form. On the other hand the grub of the cicada is regularly killed and eaten, being regarded as a delicacy. It is only eaten during the months of October and November.

In connection with the cicada, and with the weather, there is a rite which was described to me, but which I did not see performed. According to the account given of this rite, which is called "killing the cicada," its purpose is to produce fine weather. It takes place in December, at the end of the season 776 821 796

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 165. [2] *Ibid.* p. 153.

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776 821 796 during which they eat the grub. When the time agreed upon for the performance of the ceremony arrives, all the members of the community are careful to be in the camp before sunset. As soon as the sun sets and the cicadæ begin their shrill cry, all the men, women and children present begin to make as much noise as they possibly can, by banging on the sounding-board, striking the ground with bamboos, beating pieces of wood together, or hammering on the sides of canoes, while at the same time shouting. They continue the noise, which entirely drowns that of the cicada, until after darkness has fallen. The rite may be performed, I believe, two or more times, on successive evenings. My informant explained the rite by saying that the natives have been eating the cicada, and the rite is intended to "kill" those that are left. After the rite the cicada disappears and is not seen or heard for some weeks, and there follow four months of fine weather with little rain.

776 821 784 The beliefs relating to bees'-wax, to the various edible roots, and to the cicada, are the same in all the Great Andaman tribes, and are by far the most important of those connected with *Biliku*. In the North Andaman *Biliku* is supposed to be angry if any one kills a *biliku* (spider) a *rro* (a species of insect making a noise like a cicada, during the daytime, which I often heard, but never saw), or a *čatlo* (a species of beetle). There is also a bird, which I was not able to identify, called *tǫrǫi*, which belongs to *Biliku* and may not be killed.

In the *A-Pučikwar* tribe it is said that two species of fish, called *unakoro* and *liwat* belong to *Bilik* and may not be killed. A mollusc, called *towa*, also belongs to *Bilik*, and is for that reason never eaten. A bird called *Bilik-l'ar-dala* (probably the same bird that is called *tǫrǫi* in the North Andaman) may not be killed.

In the *Akar-Bale* tribe I was told that two kinds of wood, *bukura* and *worago*, must not be used for firewood, for fear of offending *Puluga*, to whom they belong. *Bukura* is a species of *Diospyros* (ebony).

776 821 789 The only punishment that *Biliku* ever inflicts on human beings when she is angry with them for any reason, is to send violent storms. The way to stop a storm seems to be to frighten

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Biliku. One means of doing this is to throw the leaves of the *Mimusops littoralis* in the fire. These leaves explode with the heating of the juices and make a crackling or popping noise, which it is said that *Biliku* dislikes. I believe, however, that if any one were thus to burn *Mimusops* leaves during fine weather, it would be regarded as likely to cause a storm. The most efficacious means of stopping a storm is to do some of the things that *Biliku* most dislikes. To burn bees'-wax, or to go into the jungle and damage or destroy the creepers that belong to her, these are the heroic remedies against *Biliku's* anger. 776 821 789

The question of the Andamanese beliefs about storms is complicated by the fact that although all storms are said to be made by *Puluga* or *Biliku*, yet there is an alternative and contradictory belief that storms are made by the spirits of the sea (*Jurua*). It is said that if a piece of the *Anadendron paniculatum* creeper were to be burnt there would be a great cyclone, but this appears to be associated, not with *Biliku*, but with the spirits of the sea. It will be shown later that there is a special connection between the *Jurua* and this plant. The belief that a storm will arise if turtle fat be allowed to burn in the fire seems also to be connected with the *Jurua* and not with *Biliku*. The same is probably the case with a belief that rain will come if a *Ficus laccifera* tree be damaged. 776 821 784

Some of the methods used to stop storms are also probably connected with the spirits and not with *Biliku*. One such method is to go into the sea and swish arrows about in the water. One *oko-jumu* (medicine-man) of the North Andaman is reputed to have stopped a big cyclone by taking a few pieces of *Anadendron paniculatum* and crushing them, and then diving into the sea and placing the crushed creeper under a stone. An *oko-jumu* who died while I was in the islands is supposed to have been able to stop a storm by similarly placing leaves and twigs of the *Ficus laccifera* (*reŋko*) under a rock in the sea. 776 821 789

To complete the account of this part of the Andamanese beliefs it is necessary to quote what Mr Man writes about the tribes of the South Andaman. Mr Man describes *Puluga* as a "Supreme Being" and says that some of the beliefs of the Andamanese relating to him "approximate closely to the true 776

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776 faith concerning the Deity." Mr Portman, following Mr Man, in this as in many other matters, translates the name *Puluga* by the English word "God." Mr Man's statements are as follows :—

"Of *Puluga* they say that—

"I. Though His appearance is like fire, yet He is (nowadays) invisible.

"II. He was never born and is immortal.

"III. By him the world and all objects, animate and inanimate were created, excepting only the powers of evil.

"IV. He is regarded as omniscient while it is day, knowing even the thoughts of their hearts.

"V. He is angered by the commission of certain sins, while to those in pain or distress he is pitiful, and sometimes deigns to afford relief.

[775] "VI. He is the Judge from whom each soul receives its sentence after death, and to some extent, the hope of escape from the torments of *J̌ereg-l'ar-mugu* is said to affect their course of action in the present life.

"*Puluga* is believed to live in a large stone house in the sky, with a wife whom he created for himself: she is green in appearance and has two names, *Čana Aulola* (Mother Fresh-water Shrimp), and *Čana Palak* (Mother Eel); by her he has a large family, all, except the eldest, being girls; these last, known as *morowin* (sky spirits or angels), are said to be black in appearance, and, with their mother, amuse themselves from time to time by throwing fish and prawns into the streams and sea for the use of the inhabitants of the world. *Puluga*'s son is called *Pijčor*: he is regarded as a sort of archangel, and is alone permitted to live with his father, whose orders it is his duty to make known to the *morowin*.

"*Puluga* is said to eat and drink, and, during the dry months of the year, to pass much of his time in sleep, as is proved by his voice (thunder) being rarely heard at that season; he is the source whence they receive all their supplies of animals, birds, and turtles; when they anger him he comes out of his house and blows, and growls, and hurls burning faggots at them—in other words, visits their offences with violent thunderstorms and heavy squalls; except for this purpose he seldom leaves home,

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unless it be during the rains, when he descends to earth to provide himself with certain kinds of food; how often this happens they do not know since, nowadays, he is invisible[1]." 776

Mr Man's comparison between the Andamanese belief in *Puluga* and the Christian belief in a God, will be discussed in a later chapter when we come to deal with the interpretation of the Andamanese beliefs. It is to be noted that Mr Man does not make any reference to *Deria* (*Tarai*), nor does he mention the association of *Puluga* with the north-east.

As regards the personal appearance of *Puluga*, the statements of different informants are not in agreement. One *A-Pučikwar* man described *Bilik* as being very big, about the height of one of the posts of my hut (which was eighteen feet), white-skinned like a European, having a long beard, and carrying a bow of the *Jarawa* type.

The legends connecting *Puluga* with the creation of the world will be given in the next chapter.

I am not able to confirm Mr Man's statement that *Puluga* is omniscient, and in fact there are some customs of the natives that are in contradiction with any such belief. When they dig up yams (which belong to *Puluga*) they take the tuber and replace the "crown" with the attached stem in the ground, and explain this by saying that if they do so *Puluga* will not notice that the yam has been taken. Whenever they do any of the things that displease *Puluga*, they seem to believe that there is a possibility that *Puluga* may not discover what has been done. It may be noted that there is no means of distinguishing in Andamanese between "all" and "a great deal." Thus a statement the *Puluga* knows "everything" may be equally well translated "*Puluga* knows a great deal." Between these two statements there is no difference for the Andamanese, but there is a great difference for us, and for this reason the use of the word "omniscient" is misleading. [784]

Mr Man says that *Puluga* "is angered by the commission of certain sins." In this connection it is necessary to refer to another passage in Mr Man's work. "That they are not entirely devoid of moral consciousness may, I think, in some

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 157.

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776 measure, be demonstrated by the fact of their possessing a word, *yub-da*, signifying sin or wrong-doing, which is used in connection with falsehood, theft, grave assault, murder, adultery, and—burning wax (!), which deeds are believed to anger *Puluga-la*, the Creator[1]." Although I made very careful and repeated enquiries, I was unable to meet with a single native who believed that such actions as the murder of one man by another, or adultery, aroused the anger of *Puluga*. The only actions at which *Puluga* is angry are those purely ritual offences, such as burning or melting wax, killing a cicada, digging up yams, etc., which have already been mentioned.

The Andamanese beliefs connected with the life after death will be described later in the present chapter.

As regards the "stone house" in which *Puluga* is said to live, this really means, I believe, a cave. In the North Andaman *Biliku* is frequently spoken of as living in a cave (*ɛra-poŋ*). Also, it may be recalled, the sky is generally regarded as consisting of stone or rock, and it is in the sky the *Puluga* lives.

The son of *Puluga*, mentioned by Mr Man, *Pijčor*, is a being about whom I was able to learn very little. In the North Andaman the same being is named *Perǰido*, and is said to be the son of *Biliku*. The *Morowin*, whom Mr Man describes as the daughters of *Puluga*, are sky spirits. The most usual belief in the South Andaman is that there are both male and female *Morowin*. They are beings of somewhat the same nature as the jungle spirits and the sea spirits. An *Akar-Bale* informant told me, "The *Morua* are sky spirits. They eat only pork and nothing else. They are angry if pork is roasted, and make the people ill. They used to live in the big *baja* (*Sterculia*) trees, but now they live in the sky."

776 784 In this connection it may be mentioned that there is a belief throughout the Andamans that it is dangerous to roast pork. In the North Andaman the natives commonly say that the spirits of the jungle are angry if pork be roasted, and may be attracted to the spot and cause the natives to be ill. An *Akar-Bale* belief, connecting the danger with the spirits of the sky has just been mentioned. Mr Man's version of the matter is as follows :—

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 112.

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"...there is a company of evil spirits who are called *čol*, and who are much dreaded. They are believed to be descendants of *Maia Čol* who lived in antediluvian times. They generally punish those who offend them by baking or roasting pig's flesh, the smell of which is particularly obnoxious to them, as it is also to *Puluga*, who therefore, often assists them in discovering the delinquent; the same risk does not attend *boiling* pork, which the olfactory nerves of the fastidious *čol* are not keen enough to detect. While the Andamanese say that they are liable to be struck by *Erem-čauga-la* or *Juruwin* at any time or in any place, the *čol* strike those only who offend them, and that during the day while they are stationary, this being necessitated by the distance from the earth of their abode, whence they hurl their darts; an invisible spear is the weapon they always use, and this is thrown with unerring aim at the head of their victims, and is invariably fatal. As these demons are considered especially dangerous on the hottest days, they are apparently held accountable for the deaths from sunstroke which happen from time to time[1]."

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It may be remarked that *Čol* is the name of a species of bird (probably the racket-tailed drongo), which is named from its call—*čol, čol, čol.* I did not hear the name used to denote what Mr Man calls demons, except in so far as the birds themselves are supposed to have supernatural powers. There is, perhaps, some sort of connection between the *čol* (the birds, that is) and the sky-spirits, *Morowin* or *Morua*, but I was not able to satisfy myself on the point. The connection of them both with *Puluga* is still more obscure.

Another belief in connection with pigs is that any person who cuts up a pig badly is liable to be punished. Mr Man states, on this subject, "*Puluga* never himself puts any one to death, but he objects so strongly to seeing a pig badly quartered and carved that he invariably points out those who offend him in this respect to a class of malevolent spirits called *Čol*, one of whom forthwith despatches the unfortunate individual[2]."

I was not able to find any evidence that *Puluga* is believed to be angry if a pig is badly quartered. From the natives with

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 159. [2] *Ibid.* p. 158.

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776 whom I talked on the subject I received two different statements.
784 One was to the effect that if a pig is badly cut up the meat will be bad and anyone who eats it will be ill. The other was that if a pig is badly cut up the spirits of the jungle will be angry and will punish the offender. In neither case was there any reference to *Puluga* or *Biliku*.

In general it may be said that the natives believe that the only punishment that *Puluga* or *Biliku* ever sends against those who offend him or her in any way is bad weather, and I did not myself meet with any exception to this rule.

One other observation by Mr Man may be mentioned. He says, "When they see a dark cloud approaching at a time when rain would prove very inconvenient, as when hunting, travelling, etc., they advise *Puluga* to divert its course by shouting '*Wara-Jobo kopke, kopke, kopke*' (*Wara-Jobo* will bite, bite, bite (you)). If in spite of this a shower falls they imagine that *Puluga* is undeterred by their warning[1]."

It is clear from the above discussion of the matter that there is not any complete agreement in the beliefs concerning *Puluga* (*Biliku*) even in any one tribe of the Andamans. There are many different statements about this being which cannot be made consistent with one another without doing violence to the evidence. At the same time, amid all the differences and inconsistencies there are a certain number of points about which there is a general agreement throughout the whole of the tribes of the Great Andaman. One of these is the connection of *Puluga* and *Daria* with the weather, with the two chief winds, and with the points of the compass from which these winds blow. The other is the belief that certain actions, such as melting bees'-wax, digging up yams, etc., are disliked by *Puluga*, and are punished by him (or her) with stormy weather. On these matters there is entire agreement amongst the natives of all the tribes, and they are to the natives themselves by far the most important part of the beliefs concerning *Puluga*.

776 We have seen that the Andamanese believe in two different
775 kinds of what may be called, for want of a better term, super-

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 153.

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natural beings. In the first place there are the spirits, the *Lau* or *Čauga*, and the *Jurua*, inhabiting the forest and the sea respectively. These are all associated by the natives with ghosts, i.e. with the spirits of dead men and women. In the second place there are other beings connected with the sun and moon, lightning and thunder and the monsoons (*Biliku* and *Tarai*). These are all associated with the phenomena of nature. There are many points of contact between these two classes of beings. Thus there are two alternative explanations of bad weather, one that it is due to the spirits (particularly the spirits of the sea), the other that it is due to the anger of *Biliku*. This is a point that will be referred to again in a later chapter.

It is possible that there are beliefs in other supernatural beings who are neither spirits of the dead nor connected with natural phenomena. The only being of such a nature that I was able to discover anything about is one called *Nila* or *Ńila*. This is the name of an evil being who is supposed to live in hollow *Pterocarpus* trees. When he smells human beings near his tree he comes out and kills them with his knife. I found this belief in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe, but was not able to find any trace of a similar belief in the North Andaman, though of course I cannot say that it does not exist there. Mr Man mentions this same being. "This spirit *Nila* is supposed to live in ant-hills, and to have neither wife nor child; he is not regarded as such a malevolent personage as *Erem-čauga-la*, and, though he is always armed with a knife, he rarely injures human beings with it, or when he does so, it is not in order to feed upon their bodies, for he is said to eat earth only[1]." Mr Man adds, in a footnote that "cases have been cited of persons who have been found stabbed, whose deaths have been attributed to *Nila*: the possibility of the individuals in question having been murdered is scouted."

The version given by Mr Man is not quite in agreement with the information given to me, but I was unfortunately not able to learn anything more about the nature of *Nila*.

As throwing some additional light on the way in which the Andamanese think of the supernatural beings that have been

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 159.

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mentioned above, I add here a brief description of a sort of dramatic or pantomimic dance that I witnessed in the North Andaman. Many savage tribes in different parts of the world are in the habit of performing dances or pantomimes in which the performer represents a supernatural being. In the Andamans there are no regular performances of this kind. The solitary one that I witnessed was entirely exceptional.

The performer was a man named *Kobo*. This man, according to the statements of the natives, had, at one time of his life, died and come back to life again. Owing to this fact he was endowed with special magical powers, and had some reputation as a magician or medicine-man (*oko-jumu*). During the time that he was dead (probably a few hours of unconsciousness), he is supposed to have visited the world of spirits, and while there he saw many things and learnt much about the spirits. Among other things he witnessed a dance in which the spirits and other supernatural beings took part. All these things he was able to remember when he returned to life.

The performance was given one afternoon on the ordinary dancing ground of the village. The performer sat on his haunches in a hut at one end of the dancing ground. Thrust into the back of his belt he wore a bunch of leaves sticking out somewhat after the manner of a cock's tail, but he had no other ornament. The spectators, consisting of men, women and children, were seated round the edge of the dancing ground, which had been swept clean. On one side sat a few women who acted as chorus. There was no sounding-board.

The performer began to sing a song, composed on the model of the songs of the South Andaman (with a short refrain) which has now for some years been adopted by the Northern tribes in preference to their own. As he finished the song the women of the chorus took up the refrain, repeating it over and over again, and marking time by clapping their hands on their thighs. The performer came out of his hut and performed a dance. At a signal from him the chorus ceased and he returned to his hut. In this way he sang several songs, repeating each one several times, and performed a number of short dances. In nearly every case the step of the dance was some simple modification

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of the step in common use at an ordinary dance. Thus in one dance he danced very violently and pretended to hurt his leg through the violence of his dancing, making angry signs to the chorus to stop their clapping, of which, of course, they took no notice. In another dance he stopped at short intervals and violently scratched his sides and then doubled himself up with laughter. In yet another, he danced with the step of the women's dance, covering his face with his hands and pretending to be very bashful. In still another he stood on tiptoe on the right foot and stamped with his left foot in time to the chorus of women. In some of the dances he walked round the open space within the circle of spectators, sometimes in a crouching attitude, and at other times in other attitudes. All these dances aroused great amusement amongst the spectators. It was unfortunately impossible for me to understand them all or to obtain an adequate explanation of them either at the time or later.

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Of the songs that were sung one was "The tide has gone down over the reef. I walk round the world. There is great wind and rain."

Some of these dances I was able to understand even without explanation. One of them represented *Biliku*. The performer held in his right hand a shell, and as he danced grotesquely round the open space he looked fiercely at the spectators and threatened to throw the shell at them. Many of the women and children could not prevent themselves from starting backwards when he thus threatened them, but their fears were immediately dispelled in laughter. The shell was not a pearl-shell (*be*) but a *Cyrena* shell (*bun*), but I believe that this was because there was no pearl-shell available. The representation of *Biliku* was thus reduced to a single gesture, that of threatening the natives with her pearl-shell (lightning).

Another dance represented the jungle spirits (*Bido-teč Lau*). In this he first hid himself behind a screen of *bido* leaves (*Calamus tigrinus*) that had been prepared, singing a song. The leaves represented a clump of the *Calamus* palm such as is supposed to be the favourite haunt of the jungle spirits. After having sung for some time behind his screen of leaves, he came

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776 out with a bow and arrow in his hand, and as he danced in front
535 of the spectators he pretended to shoot at them.

In another dance he represented *Ele*, the lightning. He sat on a stone that had been placed in the middle of the open space, swinging his arms to the time of the chorus, and every now and then shaking his leg.

This observation is an important one in several ways. Although I asked the man to repeat it, in order that I might make fuller notes and obtain explanations of many obscure points, and although he grudgingly said that he would, yet he did not do so. He was, moreover, very reserved over the matter, and not very willing to talk about his own performance.

I believe that the performance was an entirely exceptional affair. I never at any other time either saw or heard of one man or even several men, giving a dance for the amusement of others. I think that the whole thing was entirely the invention of the performer. He had given the same performance, or one very similar, at least once before the occasion on which I saw it.

We may now turn to the Andamanese beliefs relating to the soul and the life after death.

761 The vital principle is at different times identified by the
775 Andamanese with the pulse, the breath, with the blood and with
766 the fat, particularly the kidney-fat. Thus the body of a slain enemy is burnt so that the blood and fat may be consumed in smoke and ascend to the sky where they will no longer be a danger to those who have slain him.

822 The nearest approach to our notion of a soul that the natives
828 possess is their belief concerning the double or reflection seen in
774 a mirror. In the Northern tribes the word *ot-ǰumulo* means "reflection," and also "shadow," and is also nowadays applied to a photograph. The word *ot-ǰumu*, in the same languages, means "a dream" or "to dream." We may perhaps translate the word *ot-ǰumulo* as meaning "soul." In the *Aka-Bea* language *ot-yolo* is "reflection," while there is a different word, *ot-diya* or *ot-lere*, for "shadow," and neither of the words has any connection with the word "dream" which is *taraba*. Mr Man translates the word *ot-yolo* as "soul."

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The fact that the words for dream and reflection, double or shadow are from the same root in the Northern languages is of interest. Dreams are sometimes explained by saying that the sleeper's double (*ot-ǰumulo*) has left his body and is wandering elsewhere. Dreams are regarded as being veridical, or at any rate, as having importance. One man told me how, in a dream the night before, his *ot-ǰumulo* had travelled from where we were to his own country and had there seen the death of the baby of a woman of his own tribe. He was fully convinced that the baby must really have died. 828 774

An Andamanese will never, or only with the very greatest reluctance, awaken another from sleep. One explanation of this that was given to me was that the *ot-ǰumulo* or double of the sleeper may be wandering far from his body, and to waken him suddenly might cause him to be ill. [513]

The principle on which dreams are interpreted is a very simple one. All unpleasant dreams are bad, all pleasant ones are good. The natives believe that sickness is often caused by dreams. A man in the early stages of an attack of fever, for instance, may have a bad dream. When the fever develops he explains it as due to the dream. If a man has a painful dream he will often not venture out of the camp the following day, but will stay at home until the effect has worn off. The natives believe that they can communicate in dreams with the spirits, but the power to do this regularly is the privilege of certain special individuals, known as *oko-ǰumu* (dreamers). However, an ordinary individual may occasionally have dreams of this kind. 787 828

I found that any attempt to study the dreams of such a people as the Andamanese is made very difficult by the fact that it is never possible to tell how far the original dream has been arranged and altered by the waking imagination. So far as my observations went the majority of dreams are either visual or motor, or both. Further reference to dreams will be made later in connection with magic.

When a man or woman dies the double (or as some of the natives explain it, the breath) leaves the body and becomes a spirit (*lau* or *čauga*). By death a man ceases to exist as a man, and begins a new existence as a spirit. 775

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775 Whenever I asked the natives whence came the spirits of the jungle and the sea I received the answer that they are the spirits of dead men and women. On the other hand, when I put in another form what might seem to be the same question, and asked what became of a man's spirit after his death, I received many different and inconsistent answers. As it would take too much space to transcribe every answer that I received to this question, a number of typical ones are selected. Any attempt to reconcile the statements of different men or of the same men on different occasions can only produce a false impression of the real condition of the native beliefs, and therefore the statements are kept separate, and each one is given as it was taken down.

The first is from the Northern tribes. Exactly similar statements were made to me by men of several tribes. "When a man dies he becomes a *Lau* and wanders about the jungle. At first he keeps near the grave or the place where he died, but after a while he finds that is no good, and so he goes to live with the other spirits. If he is drowned he becomes a *J̌urua*." A second account, varying from the above in only one particular, is also from one of the Northern tribes (*Aka-Čari*). "When a man dies he becomes a *Lau* or a *J̌urua* and lives with the other spirits. If he be a jungle-dweller he becomes a *Lau* and lives in the jungle. If he be a coast-dweller he becomes a *J̌urua* and lives in the sea. All the *Aka-Čari* become *J̌urua* when they die. The spirit stays in his own country. The spirits of a man's own country (whether *Lau* or *J̌urua*) are friendly to him, but those of another country are dangerous and will make him ill."

An entirely different statement frequently made to me by men of the Northern tribes is that when a man dies the spirit (*Lau*) either immediately, or after the lapse of some time, goes to another world that lies under this one and is called *Maramiku*. This world of spirits is said to be just like the actual world, with forest and sea, and all the familiar animal and vegetable species. The inhabitants spend their time just as the Andamanese do on earth, hunting, fishing and dancing.

Still another statement that is commonly made in the North is that the spirits of the dead go to live in the sky. Two such

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statements are as follows: "When a man dies his *ot-ǰumulo* (double) goes up to the sky and becomes a *Lau* (spirit)." "A man's spirit wanders in the jungle till the flesh has rotted from the bones, and then goes away to the sky." Other statements were very similar to these two. 775

Turning now to the Southern tribes, one informant of the *A-Pučikwar* tribe gave me the following account: "When a man or woman dies the spirit goes away to the east or north-east and goes over the edge of the world, remaining in a place called *Lau-ʃuŋ-ciŋ* (Spirit's House) where there is a large hut in a jungle similar to that on earth. There they live just as men do on earth, hunting and fishing, and so on. Beyond the home of the spirits is *Puta-kọiča*, the home of the sun and moon. The rainbow is the path by which the spirits come to visit their friends on earth, which they do in dreams. The rainbow is made of canes (? a cane)."

Another version from the same tribe was to the effect that after death the spirits of the dead go to live in the sky with a mythical being named *Tomo*. This *Tomo*, according to some of the legends, was the first ancestor of the Andamanese. By one of my best informants he was identified to some extent with the sun, and consequently with light and with fine weather. This man stated that in the world of the spirits it is never night as *Tomo* is always there. The spirits always have plenty of pork and turtle, and spend their time dancing and enjoying themselves.

One old man of the *A-Pučikwar* tribe, who had some reputation as a medicine-man, said that the spirits of medicine-men lived apart from the spirits of ordinary men and women, and are called not *Lau* but *Bilik*. He told me how he had been visited in a dream by *Bọičo Bilik*, that is by the spirit of one *Bọičo* who had, when he lived, been a great medicine-man, and who, now that he was dead, had become a *Bilik*, as distinguished from an ordinary *Lau*. It is the *Bilik* who control the weather. They can also cause or cure sickness in living men. The *Bọičo* mentioned above was alive when my informant was a young man.

In the *Akar-Bale* tribe one man told me that the breath (*ig-peti*) of a dying person goes up to the sky and becomes

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115 a spirit. Another belief of the same tribe is that the spirits of the dead go to *Jereg-l'ar-mugu*, which is under the earth. From the same tribe comes the following account: "When a man or woman dies, the spirit first of all goes southward to the country of the *Aka-Bea*, and then returns to *Gudna-l'ar-boŋ* in *Kuaičo-bur* (in the *Akar-Bale* country). It then goes to *Jila-buaro* in *Jila* (East Island) and from there to *Kere-tuaur*. The inhabitants of the last-named place are warned of the approach of the spirit by the cries of the birds *tao* (*Eudynamis honorata*, Indian koel or brain-fever bird) and *bil* (Australian goggle-eyed plover). At one time the people of *Luŋ-tauar* used to catch the spirits in big nets made for the purpose. They were taught to do this by a wise woman named *In Golat*. The spirits try to run away, but they get caught at the place called *Guamo-leber*. The people then throw them into the sea, and they (the spirits) then go to *Čauga-l'uŋ-jiŋa* (Spirit's Home) and remain there." The above is given exactly as it was translated to me by an *Akar-Bale* man who knew English and who acted as my interpreter on the occasion. There is much in it that I do not understand and that my questions failed to elucidate. It is given as an example of the nature of some of the more obscure of the Andamanese beliefs. To understand fully many of their statements on this and other matters would need a more complete knowledge of the language than I possessed, and a longer time than I was able to give.

The various examples given above are sufficient to show the general nature of the Andamanese beliefs. In every tribe there are alternative and inconsistent beliefs as to the place where spirits go, which by different accounts is in the sky, beneath the earth, out to the east where the sun and moon take their rise, or in the jungle and sea of their own country. One thing is clear, that the Andamanese ideas on the subject are floating and lacking in precision. There is no fixity or unanimity of belief amongst them.

To these various accounts from the natives themselves, must be added the description of the beliefs of the *Aka-Bea* tribe as recorded by Mr Man. This may best be given in the writer's own words. "The world, exclusive of the sea, is declared to be

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flat and to rest on an immense palm-tree (*Caryota sobolifera*) called *barata*, which stands in the midst of a jungle comprising the whole area under the earth. This jungle, *čaitan* (Hades) is a gloomy place, for, though visited in turn by the sun and moon, it can, in consequence of its situation, be only partially lighted: it is hither the spirits (*čauga*) of the departed are sent by *Puluga* to await the Resurrection.

"No change takes place in *čaitan* in respect to growth or age; all remain as they were at the time of their departure from the earth, and the adults are represented as engaged in hunting, after a manner peculiar to disembodied spirits. In order to furnish them with sport the spirits of animals and birds are also sent to *čaitan*, but as there is no sea there, the *čauga* of fish and turtle remain in their native element and are preyed upon by *juruwin*. The spirits (*čauga*) and souls (*ot-yolo*) of all children who die before they cease to be entirely dependent on their parents (i.e. under six years of age) go to *čaitan*, and are placed under a *rau* tree (*Ficus laccifera*) on the fruit of which they subsist. As none can quit *čaitan* who have once entered, they support their stories regarding it by a tradition that in ages long past an *oko-paiad* was favoured in a dream with a vision of the regions and of the pursuits of the disembodied spirits.

"Between the earth and the eastern sky there stretches an invisible cane bridge (*pidga-l'ar-čauga*) which steadies the former and connects it with *jereg* (paradise); over this bridge the souls (*ot-yolo*) of the departed pass into paradise, or to *jereg-l'ar-mugu*, which is situated below it: this latter place might be described as purgatory, for it is a place of punishment for those who have been guilty of heinous sins, such as murder. Like Dante, they depict it as very cold, and therefore a most undesirable region for mortals to inhabit. From all this it will be gathered that these despised savages believe in a future state, in the resurrection, and in the threefold constitution of man.

"In serious illness the sufferer's spirit (*čauga*) is said to be hovering between this world and Hades, but does not remain permanently in the latter place until some time after death, during which interval it haunts the abode of the deceased and the spot where the remains have been deposited. In dreams

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775 it is the soul which, having taken its departure through the nostrils, sees or is engaged in the manner represented to the sleeper.

"The Andamanese do not regard their shadows but their reflections (in any mirror) as their souls. The colour of the soul is said to be red, and that of the spirit black, and, though invisible to human eyes, they partake of the form of the person to whom they belong. Evil emanates from the soul, and all good from the spirit; at the resurrection they will be re-united and live permanently on the new earth, for the souls of the wicked will then have been reformed by the punishments inflicted on them during their residence in *jereg-l'ar-mugu*.

"The future life will be but a repetition of the present, but all will then remain in the prime of life, sickness and death will be unknown, and there will be no more marrying or giving in marriage. The animals, birds, and fish will also re-appear in the new world in their present form.

"This blissful state will be inaugurated by a great earthquake, which, occurring by *Puluga's* command, will break the *pidga-l'ar-ĉauga* and cause the earth to turn over: all alive at the time will perish, exchanging places with their deceased ancestors[1]."

This account given by Mr Man, must, I think, be received with great caution. To one who has talked to the Andamanese on these subjects it seems probable that Mr Man has here combined into a single consistent version, a number of independent statements, which, as the natives believe them, are not parts of an organised doctrine, but are separate from and often inconsistent with each other. Added to this there is the fact that Mr Man has so written down the native beliefs as to bring out the greatest possible degree of resemblance to the Christian mythology. This is clear from his use of the words Hades, paradise, etc. Allowance must therefore be made for the fact that Mr Man evidently found some pleasure in tracing analogies between the mythology of the Andamanese and the Christian doctrines.

Owing to the importance attaching to all Mr Man's statements it is necessary to examine critically the account tran-

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 161.

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scribed above. We may begin with what is said of the doctrine of the threefold nature of man. By this it would seem to be meant that man is regarded as composed of body, soul and spirit. It is quite certain that the Andamanese mean different things by the words *ot-yolo* (reflection) here translated "soul," and *čauga* translated "spirit." The difference is this, that a man, while he is still alive, *has* a "double" or "soul" if the latter word be preferred, while when he is dead he *becomes* a spirit. Thus the spirit is not a part of a man while he is alive. The word *čauga* (or *lau*) is simply the name of a particular class of beings which includes all dead men and women. The bones of a man become "spirit-bones" (*čauga-ta*) when he dies, just as he becomes a spirit. To compare the Andamanese belief with the Christian doctrine that each man possesses, while he is alive, both a soul and a spirit, these being different things, is therefore misleading. For this reason it is perhaps unfortunate to translate the Andamanese *čauga* as meaning spirit, but there does not seem to be any other convenient English word.

Mr Man's account would seem to imply that the native belief is that at death the soul (reflection) of a man goes to one place (*J̌ereg* or *J̌ereg-l'ar-mugu*) while his spirit goes elsewhere (to *Čaitan*). In the case of children however, Mr Man makes a difference, for both the souls and spirits of children go to *Čaitan*. Mr Man compares *Čaitan* to Hades, *J̌ereg* to paradise and *J̌ereg-l'ar-mugu* to purgatory.

I do not think that the Andamanese have any such complicated doctrine as this. It seems to me almost certain that Mr Man has received from the natives several different statements, similar to some of those given earlier, and that he has combined and reconciled them as well as he could. Some of his informants, apparently, described the world after death as being beneath the earth, and gave the name of it as *Čaitan*[1]. Other informants seem to have spoken of *J̌ereg* or *J̌ereg-l'ar-mugu*. I think it improbable that any one native should have stated, as Mr Man's account would seem to imply, that the *soul* of a dead

[1] I could not obtain any information about the word that Mr Man gives as *chaitan*. Some men of the South Andaman whom I questioned did not seem to recognize the word, except as their way of pronouncing the Urdu word *shaitan* = devil.

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man goes to one place, while the man himself (now a *spirit*) goes somewhere else. Mr Man's description of *Čaitan* corresponds almost exactly to the descriptions given to me by the *Akar-Bale* and *A-Pučikwar* of *Jereg-l'ar-mugu*, and to the descriptions of *Maramiku* given by the Northern tribes. If *Čaitan* be really an *Aka-Bea* word, it would seem to be only another name for *Jereg-l'ar-mugu*.

One of the most important points in Mr Man's statement is that while the souls of good men go to paradise as he puts it, the souls of bad men are condemned to torture in purgatory[1]. In my own enquiries I did not come across any definite belief of this nature, but I am not prepared to deny its existence. All that I can say is that I did not find any evidence whatever that good men and bad men (in any meanings in which those words could be used by the natives) receive different treatment after death. In talking to men of the *Akar-Bale* and *A-Pučikwar* tribes I did not hear of *Jereg* as a distinct place from *Jereg-l'ar-mugu*. The latter name is of course a compound, from *ar-mugu* = front, and might mean either "the place fronting or facing *Jereg*" or "the place *Jereg*, fronting us."

Mr Man states that the souls and spirits of young children go to *Čaitan* where they subsist on the fruit of a *rau* tree (*Ficus laccifera*). In the North Andaman I found a belief that the souls of children, before they are born, live in the *Ficus* trees, but these are the real trees on earth that are in question, and not a mythical tree in the next world. It is commonly believed that if a baby dies the soul enters the mother again and is born a second time. It is possible that what Mr Man relates as to the souls of children after death living in a *Ficus* tree in *Čaitan* may really refer to real fig trees on earth.

As regards the resurrection spoken of by Mr Man, I was also so unfortunate as to obtain no information. As will be shown in a later chapter, there are several myths of the world coming to an end and starting afresh, and these myths are generally

[1] In the "Census Report" 1901, p. 62, Sir Richard Temple writes, "The Andamanese have an idea that the 'soul' will go under the earth by an aerial bridge after death, but there is no heaven nor hell nor any idea of a corporeal resurrection in a religious sense."

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associated with *Puluga* or *Biliku*. All the versions that I heard, 775
however, referred to the past and not to the future[1].

The Andamanese speak of unconsciousness as "death," and 761
regard a person who has been unconscious for some time as 828
having been dead and returned to life again. I was once told that an old man in the village was "dead" and found him in a state of coma from which he recovered and lived for several days. There are stories of persons having returned to life even after they have been buried. One such tale was told me in the North Andaman. A man died and was buried. As his friends and relatives, after packing up their belongings, were leaving the camp in their canoes, the man's voice was heard calling. His wife and mother turned back and met him and took him in their canoe. He lived for some time after this and then he died and was buried again. Again the same thing happened, the dead man re-appearing just as they were setting off in their canoes from the camp that they were deserting on account of his death. Finally the man died a third time. When he was buried this time the men dug a very deep hole some distance from the camp, and then hurried back to the camp and hastily gathered up their belongings and left it. Nothing more was seen of the dead man, but when, after the lapse of some months, they went to dig up the bones, they found the mat and leaves and rope in which the corpse had been bound, but there were no bones.

Amongst the coast-dwellers of the North Andaman I found 761
a belief that the soul of a dying man goes out with the ebbing 775
tide.

There are, amongst the Andamanese, certain individuals who 756
are distinguished from their fellows by the supposed possession 791
of supernatural powers. These specially favoured persons

[1] It may be noted that in the Andamanese languages there is no future tense of the verb, and it is often very difficult to know whether a speaker is referring to the present or to the future. Further, although there is a past tense, a native often uses the present tense in a narrative relating to the past, so that a statement relating to the past and one relating to the future may have exactly the same grammatical form. Mr Ellis, writing in the *Journal of the Philological Society* (1882) from information supplied by Mr Man, gives a verbal suffix *-ngabo* denoting the future in the *Aka-Bea* language. Mr Portman points out that this is an error. (*Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman*, p. 88.)

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756 791 correspond, to some degree, with the medicine-men, magicians or shamans of other primitive societies. The name for these medicine-men in the North Andaman is *oko-jumu*, meaning literally "dreamer" or "one who speaks from dreams" from a stem *-jumu* the primary meaning of which refers to the phenomena of dreams. In *Aka-Bea* the corresponding term is *oko-paiad*, and according to Mr Man, this term also means "dreamer." Mr Portman, however, gives *taraba* as the *Aka-Bea* word for "dream" or "to dream."

According to a statement by Mr Man, only men can possess the powers that entitle them to be regarded as *oko-paiad*[1]. The natives whom I questioned told me that a woman may possess the same powers, though it is more usual for men to become famous in this way than women. There is no very clear dividing line between those who are *oko-jumu* or *oko-poiad* and those who are not; one person may possess the powers in only a slight degree, so as scarcely to differentiate him from others, while another may be much more highly gifted.

At the present time it is no longer possible to obtain full and satisfactory information on this subject. Most of the old *oko-jumu* and *oko-paiad* are now dead. Amongst the younger men there are a few who pretend to the position, but the recent intercourse with foreigners has produced a degree of scepticism in such matters that makes it difficult or nearly impossible to obtain any reliable information as to the former beliefs from any but the very old men. To this difficulty must be added that in talking to some of the very few old men who could have given more valuable information I had to make use of an interpreter, and though they might have been willing to confide to me some of the secrets of their profession they would not do so before a younger man of their own race.

791 161 156 775 The powers of a dreamer, supernatural as they are, can only be acquired by supernatural means, through contact in one way or another with the spirits (i.e. the *Lau* or *Čauga*). One way of coming into contact with the spirits is by death. If a man should, as the natives put it, die and then come back to life again,

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 96.

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he is, by that adventure, endowed with the power that makes a 791
medicine-man. One man of the *Aka-Kora* tribe was pointed out 761
to me as having obtained his powers in this way. It would seem 756
that during a serious illness he was unconscious for some twelve 775
hours or so, and his friends thought that he was dead. A medicine-man whom I met with in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe was said to have died and come to life again three times. Another man, whom I did not meet, was described to me as a great *oko-jumu*, and from the description given it seemed to me that he was subject to epileptic fits. As against this, however, Mr Man states that "epilepsy is a recognised form of malady, but the fits are not regarded in a superstitious light[1]."

Another way in which a man can acquire magical powers is 791
by direct communication with the spirits. A man who died a 756
few years ago was believed by the natives to have once met with 775
some spirits in the jungle, and to have acquired in this way the powers of an *oko-jumu*. He used to go off into the jungle by himself at intervals and hold communication with the spirits with whom he had made friends. From such a visit he had returned with his head decorated with shredded palm-leaf fibre (*koro*) which had, so he said, been placed on him by the spirits. This man had a reputation as a powerful *oko-jumu*.

In a less degree the powers of an *oko-jumu* may be ob- 756
tained through dreams. It is believed that certain men have 791
the power of communicating with the spirits in dreams, and such 828
men are *oko-jumu*. If a man or boy experiences dreams that are 787
in any way extraordinary, particularly if, in his dreams he sees spirits, either the spirits of dead persons known to him when alive, or spirits of the forest or the sea, he may acquire in time the reputation of a medicine-man.

A man may claim some degree of magical power, and yet 756
his claims may not be recognized by others. Each *oko-jumu* 791
has to make his own reputation, and to sustain it when made. This he can only do by demonstrating his power to others. Once this reputation is his, he not only receives the respect of others but also makes a considerable personal profit. Every one is anxious to be on good terms with one who is believed to

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 83.

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756 have extraordinary powers. Hence a man who is an acknowledged
791 *oko-jumu* is sure to receive a good share of the game caught by others, and presents of all kinds from those who seek his good-will.

756 As the name implies, and in whatever way his power may have
791 been obtained, an *oko-jumu* is privileged to dream in a way that less favoured persons do not. In his dreams he can communicate
828 with the spirits of the dead. In dreams, also, so the natives say,
787 he is able to cause the illness of an enemy or to cure that of a friend.

755 By his communication with the spirits, in dreams, or in waking life, the *oko-jumu* acquires magical knowledge that he is able to turn to account in curing illness and in preventing bad weather. When a person is ill the *oko-jumu* is often consulted as to the best means of treating the patient. His treatment is often limited to the recommendation, or the application, of some one or other of the recognized remedies. He may undertake to dispel the spirits that are supposed to be the cause of the disease, which he does by addressing them and conjuring them to go away, or by the use of one or other of the substances and objects that are believed to have the power of keeping spirits at a distance. Sometimes the *oko-jumu* will promise to cure the patient by means of dreams. It is believed that in his dreams he can communicate with the spirits and can persuade them to help him to cure the sick person.

791 Besides their power of causing or curing sickness, the *oko-jumu* are credited with being able to control the weather.
821 As has been shown, the Andamanese believe that the weather is under the control of two beings named *Biliku* and *Tarai*. There
756 is, however, an alternative and contradictory belief, which is also held, that the weather is controlled by the spirits, and particularly by those of the sea. The means taken by magicians or others to prevent bad weather can be divided into two kinds according as they are directed against *Biliku* or *Tarai*, or against the spirits of the sea. As an example of the very simple rites which are performed for this purpose, two cases may be quoted. One of the *oko-jumu* of the Northern tribes, now dead, once stopped a very violent storm by crushing between two stones

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a piece of the *Anadendron paniculatum* and diving with it into the sea where he placed it under a rock on the reef. A more recent example is very similar. A man still living, named *Jire Pilečar*, who was, in a way, the successor of the man formerly mentioned, is said to have stopped a violent storm by using the leaves and bark of the *Ficus laccifera* in the same way, that is by crushing them and placing them under a rock in the sea. In both these cases it would seem that the rite was directed not against *Biliku* and *Tarai*, but against the *Jurua*. 791 821 756

Apart from his power to communicate directly with the spirits, the *oko-jumu* owes his position to a superior knowledge of the magical properties of common substances and objects. This knowledge he is supposed to obtain from the spirits. However, a lesser degree of knowledge on such matters is possessed by everybody. Thus in the treatment of sickness there are a number of magical remedies of which anyone can make use without consulting an *oko-jumu*. 756 791 [755]

A complete enumeration of all the things that are believed to possess magical properties is, of course, not possible, but the following notes refer to all the most important.

We may consider first of all the magical properties of mineral substances. One of the most important of these is red ochre. Yellow ochre, which is found in pockets in many parts of the islands, is collected and burnt, when it turns red, and the powder so obtained is either used by itself or is made into a paint with pig or turtle fat. The powder is mixed with water and taken internally. Red paint is applied to the throat and chest for coughs and colds and sore throats, and round the ear for ear-ache. When a man feels unwell he often smears red paint on his upper lip just below his nostrils. In this way, the natives say, the "smell" of the paint cures his sickness. The paint is sometimes used as a dressing for wounds or centipede bites. Its use for ornamenting the body on ceremonial occasions has already been noted in the last chapter. 755 278 823

In the North Andaman a soft red stone is found, called *talar*. This is used as a substitute for red paint. It is rubbed on the body, or it is powdered and the powder is mixed with water and taken internally.

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755 White clay (*tol-odu* in *Aka-Jeru*) is sometimes used medi-
278 cinally, both externally and internally. The commoner clay
823 (*odu* in *Aka-Jeru*) is plastered on sores, and has the effect of keeping off flies, if it does nothing else.

An olive-coloured earth (called *čulya* in *Aka-Bea*), found in certain springs, is prized as a remedy. It is mixed with water and taken internally as a general remedy for all sorts of complaints.

824 Turning now to the magical properties of vegetable sub-
784 stances, there are a large number of these, and some of them have not been botanically identified.

The *Anadendron paniculatum* is a plant from which the Andamanese obtain a valuable fibre, which they use for their bow-strings, and for thread with which to make their arrows and harpoons. A number of magical properties are attributed to this
[753] plant. Rheumatism is supposed to be due to the "smell" of the plant getting into the system when the fibre is being prepared[1]. The "smell" of the green plant, or of the fibre until it has been thoroughly dried for some days, is believed to frighten away turtle. A man who has been preparing the fibre would not dream of joining a turtle-hunting expedition, for his presence in the canoe would be sufficient to drive away all the turtle. A turtle-hunting expedition would be a failure if a piece of the green creeper were in the canoe. A man who has been handling the plant may not cook turtle, for the meat would be "bad," i.e., uneatable. The same thing would happen if turtle meat accidentally came in contact with a piece of the plant. All this applies only to the green creeper, and not to the fibre after it has been properly prepared and dried. The fibre itself is used for binding the heads of turtle-harpoons, so it is evidently regarded as harmless.

If a piece of the *Anadendron* creeper were burnt in the fire the natives believe that it would drive all the turtle away from the neighbourhood, or, according to another statement, that there would be a great storm.

000 So far we have considered the properties of the plant only in

[1] In preparing the fibre, the skin or bark of the young shoots of the plant is torn off in strips and these are placed on the thigh and scraped with a *Cyrena* shell.

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so far we have considered the properties of the plant only in so far as they make it dangerous to handle. It has other and beneficial properties. It is said that a man swimming in waters infested with sharks would be safe from them if he had a piece of the *Anadendron* creeper with him, in his belt or necklace. The creeper is also supposed to preserve anyone who carries it from the attacks of the sea spirits (*Jurua*). 751 824

The *Hibiscus tiliaceus* is a small tree from which the natives obtain the fibre which they make into rope, used now for harpoon lines and in former times for turtle-nets. The leaves of this tree are believed to have the power of keeping away the spirits of the sea. They have no efficacy, however, against the spirits of the forest. Leaves of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus* are used in the turtle-eating ceremony described in the last chapter. For cooking turtle the only wood that may be used is the *Hibiscus*. If any other wood were used the meat would not be good. In this connection it is necessary to point out an error in the statements of Mr Man. He says that the wood of the *alaba* must never be used for cooking turtle, though it may be used for cooking pig, and that *Puluga* is angry if this commandment is not observed and sends either the sun or moon to punish the offender[1]. There is evidently an error here. The *alaba* is the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*. Mr Man identifies it with the *Melochia velutina*, but this is an error. Now the custom in connection with the *Hibiscus* (*alaba*) is not that it may not be used for cooking turtle, but that no other kind of wood must be used. It is difficult to see how Mr Man fell into the error, unless he mistook a statement regarding the *yolba* (*Anadendron paniculatum*) for a statement relating to *alaba* (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*). We have just seen that if the *Anadendron* comes in contact with turtle meat the meat will be bad, and that if it is burnt there will be a storm. 824 784

Another plant that provides fibre for thread is the *Gnetum edule*. There is a belief that the green creeper of this plant will drive away turtle, if a piece of it be taken in a canoe.

Magical properties are attributed to the *Ficus laccifera* tree. These trees are believed to be the home of the yet unborn souls of children. I was told in the North Andaman that if a tree of

[1] Man, *op. cit.* pp. 153 and 172.

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824 784 the species were cut there would be a storm. The bark of the aerial roots of the tree affords a fibre used in the Little Andaman for bow-strings, but only used in the Great Andaman for making personal ornaments. It is possible that some magical properties are attributed to the ornaments made from this fibre.

The *Pterocarpus dalbergioides* is one of the most striking trees of the Andamans. It has a very hard red wood, from which the natives make their sounding-boards. There is an obscure belief in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe (and possibly also in other tribes) that it is dangerous to look at the tree when it is in flower. I was twice told a story of how some people were affected by looking at the flowers, and either went mad or died. On one occasion my interpreter translated the words of my informant by saying "They saw the flowers, and went giddy, and they all went to hell (*Jereg-l'ar-mugu*)." Men must be careful when the tree is in flower, not to look at it too long. In the North Andaman I was told that string games (*jipre*) must not be played when the *Pterocarpus* tree is in flower. They may be indulged in with safety at any other time of the year. (String games, according to one statement, were invented by the *Lau*, while another account attributes the invention to the crab.)

824 751 The *Tetranthera lancœfolia* is a small tree from which the natives obtain the wood for the shafts of their pig arrows. The leaves of this tree are believed to have the power to keep away the spirits of the forest. They are used in the pig-eating ceremony described in the last chapter. The wood is shredded and made into plumes, and these plumes are believed to have magical properties. They are worn by a man who has killed another, and are believed to protect him from the vengeance of the spirit of the dead man.

824 278 757 A common remedy for sickness of different kinds is a small tree called *gugma* in *Aka-Bea*, which Mr Man identifies as being *Trigonostemon longifolius*. The leaves of this tree are made into a bed for the patient to lie upon. They are also crushed and rubbed over the patient's body, or he is made to inhale the odour of the crushed leaves. The natives say that it is the "smell" of the plant that possesses medical properties. The

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"smell" will drive away turtle, and leaves should therefore not be taken in a canoe. A man who has been handling the leaves would not go turtle-hunting. 824 278 757

Another remedy is a species of *Alpinia*. The leaves and stems of this plant are chewed and the juice swallowed for certain ailments. The plant is also used when taking honey. A man takes some of the leaves in his mouth and chews them well. Before taking the honeycomb he sprays the saliva from his mouth over and around it. He may also rub the chewed leaves over his body. The natives say that in this way they are able to prevent the bees from stinging them.

Magical properties are attributed to a number of plants that have not been botanically identified. Thus the leaves of a small tree called *tare* in *Aka-Jeru* are crushed and moistened with water and rubbed over the body as a remedy for illness. A strip of bark from the same tree is tied round the chest of a man with a pain in his chest. The bark of two trees called (in *Aka-Jeru*) *tip* and *laro* is crushed and moistened and rubbed over a sick man's body. The leaves of a plant called *pare* are crushed with water and the infusion is drunk by persons suffering from diarrhœa and abdominal pains. A creeper called *korotli* is crushed and tied round a limb in cases of snake-bite. The seeds of the *Entada scandens* are heated in the fire and applied (while hot) to such wounds as that from the tusk of a boar.

There are a certain number of trees and plants about which the natives say that any person cutting them will become blind. The names of four of these in *Aka-Jeru* are *jin*, *burut*, *dey*, and *mit*.

We may turn now to animals and animal substances. Magical properties are attributed to bees'-wax, particularly to black bees'-wax. In a case of pleurisy black bees'-wax was heated until it was soft, and then smeared over the man's chest. Bees'-wax is believed to keep away the spirits of the forest. 825 278 755

If a man be bitten by a snake and the snake be killed it is skinned and the inner surface of the skin is applied to the wound.

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827 A hiccough is supposed to be the result of inadvertently swallowing a tree lizard, whose call rather resembles the sound of a person hiccoughing.

The condition popularly called "pins and needles" or described as an arm or leg "going to sleep" is believed by the Andamanese to be due to the bite of a rat. If a man wakes up in the night with one of his limbs benumbed in this way, he believes that a rat has bitten him while he slept.

The Andamanese say that the bite of a civet-cat (*Paradoxurus*) will produce cramp. I was once told that if a man eats the flesh of the civet-cat and then goes into the water he will become "lame." This means, I think, that he will have cramp, and so will be unable to swim.

278 The flesh and particularly the fat of the flying fox (*Pteropus*) is believed to be a remedy for rheumatism. An old man who was suffering from this ailment once asked me to shoot for him some of these bats, which he cooked and ate.

784 If turtle-fat be permitted to burn in the fire there will be a storm.

751 755 Mention has already been made of the magical value attributed to human bones. They are esteemed as a means of driving away spirits, and therefore of curing or preventing sickness. A human jaw-bone was hanging in my hut in such a position that it could swing in the wind. The natives attributed to this the illness from which I and several of them were suffering at the time, and asked me to put the bone away in a basket, where it could not move.

Bones of animals are made into ornaments in the same way as human bones, and magical properties of a similar kind seem to be attributed to them.

755 372 Of other objects possessing magical properties the most important is fire. Fire is believed to have the power of keeping away spirits of the sea and of the forest. A fire is always kept alight beside a sick man or woman. For dysentery stones are heated in a fire and the patient is required to defecate on to these.

000 In conclusion, mention must be made of one favourite remedy

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In conclusion, mention must be made of one favourite remedy of the Andamanese, namely scarification. The part of the body that is the seat of pain is scarified, as the forehead for headaches, the cheek for toothache. A number of very small incisions are made in the skin close together, with a sharp flake of quartz or glass. The incisions are just deep enough to cut through the skin and cause a little blood to ooze out, but not so deep as to produce a flow of blood. The operation is the work of women. It is probably more frequently used than any other remedy except red paint and human bones. 304 755

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CHAPTER IV

MYTHS AND LEGENDS

713 THE Andamanese have a number of stories which are told to the younger people by their elders and relate to the doings of their ancestors in a time long ago. Some of these stories are recorded in the present chapter. A difficulty in the way of giving any clear and readable account of them is the fact that there are many slightly different versions of one and the same legend. To some extent the variations are local, each tribe, and even each portion of a tribe having its own set of legendary stories. Besides these local variations there are also individual variations. Two men of the same tribe may relate what is substantially the same story, yet each chooses his own words and gestures, and to some extent they may even arrange the incidents differently.

713 In the last chapter it was mentioned that there are certain individuals, known as *oko-jumu* in the North Andaman and 791 *oko-paiad* in the South, who are believed to have special know-756 ledge as to the spirits and as to the magical efficacy of remedies for sickness. It is these *oko-jumu* also who are the authorities on the legendary lore of the Andamanese. In the case of magical remedies there is a certain common stock of beliefs as to the efficacy to be attributed to different substances, such as leaves of different plants, and on the basis of these beliefs the *oko-jumu* elaborates the remedies that he uses in particular cases. Each *oko-jumu*, however, prides himself on being, to some extent, original. An example of this has been already mentioned. When a great storm arose an *oko-jumu* of one of the Northern tribes succeeded in stopping it (in the belief of

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the natives) by placing a piece of the crushed stem of the *Anadendron* creeper under a particular stone in the sea. On a later occasion another storm arose, and the successor of the first-mentioned *oko-jumu* was appealed to that he might exert his powers. He did not simply imitate his predecessor, but he placed a piece of crushed bark and twigs of the *Ficus laccifera* in the sea under a different stone. In very much the same way there is a common stock of beliefs as to the events that took place in the time of the ancestors, but each *oko-jumu* builds up on this basis his own particular set of legends, so that it is rarely that two of them tell the same story in the same way. An *oko-jumu* may obtain for himself a reputation by relating legends of the ancestors in a vivid and amusing way. Such a man would be able to invent new stories by combining together in his own way some of the traditional incidents. The desire on the part of each *oko-jumu* to be original and so to enhance his own reputation is a fertile source of variation in the legends.

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This lack of traditional form, which is a very important characteristic of the Andamanese mythology, may be compared with their lack of traditional songs. Just as every man composes his own songs, so, within certain limits, every *oko-jumu* relates in his own way the legends of his tribe. But whereas every man is a composer of songs, only a certain number are regarded as having authority to speak on the legends.

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Underlying the legends of any tribe there are a certain number of beliefs or representations with which every native is familiar. It is on the basis of these that the *oko-jumu* elaborates his own doctrine, if we may call it so, which he hands on to his followers, who in turn may become *oko-jumu* and produce further slight modifications of their own. Thus the legends are continually being changed, though in any one generation the changes introduced are slight, and it would take a long time for important changes in belief to be brought about. There is evidence, however, that a succession of leading men in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe have succeeded in introducing a new doctrine as to the weather, making *Bilik* the name of a class of beings instead of the name of a single being, and that this

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773 doctrine, while it has not entirely ousted the former beliefs, has yet succeeded in gaining currency not only in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe, but also in the *Aka-Kol* and *Oko-Juwoi* tribes.

At the present time it is only possible to recover a small part of the many different legends with their variants. The introduction of many new interests into the lives of the natives, through the European settlement and the many changes it has produced, has caused the ancient legends to be neglected. Most of the old *oko-jumu* have died without leaving any followers to take their place. Many of the legends recorded here are merely what some of the men not specially skilled in legendary lore can remember of the stories told them in former days by *oko-jumu* who are now dead.

One feature of the legends that must be pointed out is their unsystematic nature. The same informant may give, on different occasions, two entirely different versions of such a thing as the origin of fire, or the beginning of the human race. The Andamanese, to all appearance, regard each little story as independent, and do not consciously compare one with another. They thus seem to be entirely unconscious of what are obvious contradictions to the student of the legends. It is necessary to emphasise the fragmentary and unsystematic nature of the Andaman mythology because Mr Man, in his work on the Andamanese, has brought together a number of legends from the tribes of the South Andaman and has combined them into a continuous and fairly consistent narrative, and has thus, undoubtedly not intentionally, given a wrong impression to the reader of what the nature of the disconnected stories really is. While each of the stories included in Mr Man's account is derived directly from the natives, it would seem certain that the arrangement of them into a more or less consistent narrative is due to Mr Man.

In recording the legends in this chapter, only the English translation is given. In some cases the legends were translated on the spot and written down in English. In other cases they were written down in the native language and then translated. When I was recording the legends I very frequently had to ask what was meant by a particular statement, the meaning of

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which might be quite clear to a native, but which was obscure to one not accustomed to thinking in the same way as the natives. In some cases I could obtain no satisfactory explanation, and such legends are given in this chapter in as nearly as possible an exact literal translation of the original. In other cases the explanations given by the natives have been incorporated in the translation itself. 773

In order to give the reader a fair idea of the nature of the legends as they are told, one is here given in the native language (*Aka-Čari*) with a word-for-word translation. 539 773

A Maia Dik ijokoduko; *o kǫnmo teč injuktertǫia;*
Sir Prawn makes fire; yam leaf catches fire;

kǫnmo teč bi ikterbie; *kete uijoko;* *uijokobiko;*
yam leaf is dry; that one it burns; he makes a fire;

Maia Dik ubenoba; *Maia Totemo emato;* *ujokil uektebalo;*
Sir Pravn slept; Sir Kingfisher takes; he fire with he runs away

Maia Totemo jokobiko; *Maia Totemo tajeo ubiko;*
Sir Kingfisher makes a fire; Sir Kingfisher fish (food) cooks;

upetil ueno; *Maia Mite juktebalo uemato.*
his belly in he sleeps; Sir Dove runs away taking.

The above translation is hardly comprehensible without a little explanation. The word *ijoko* means "something burns," the word *ubiko* means "he cooks (by roasting)." The compound *ijokobiko* may mean either "he makes a fire and cooks something at it" or it may simply mean "he makes up a fire (by adding firewood)." The word *ijokoduko* has a quite different meaning, "to produce fire." The derivation of *injuktertǫia* is uncertain, as I am not sure of the proper use of *er-tǫia*; it is translated on the basis of the explanation given me by the man who told the story. The word *ikterbie* is descriptive of the dryness of dead leaves.

A free translation would be as follows: "It was Sir Prawn who first produced or obtained fire. Some yam leaves, being shrivelled and dry by reason of the hot weather, caught fire and burnt. The prawn made a fire with some firewood and

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539 713 went to sleep. The kingfisher stole fire and ran away with it. He made a fire and cooked some fish. When he had filled his belly he went to sleep. The dove stole fire from the kingfisher and ran away." It is implied that it was the dove who gave the fire to the ancestors of the Andamanese.

773 Versions of legends of the origin of fire are given by Mr Portman, in each of the languages of the Southern group of tribes[1].

All the legends relate to events that are supposed to have happened in the past, and deal with the doings of the ancestors of the Andamanese. In the North Andaman the ancestors are sometimes called *Lau t'er-kuro*, i.e. the big spirits, "big" being used in the sense of our word "chief." Another term for them is *N'a-mai-koloko*, from *n'* or *nio* = they, *aka-mai* = father, and *koloko* = people, so that the phrase literally means "the father people," or the ancestors. In the South Andaman the ancestors are sometimes called *Čauga tabaŋa*, which is the equivalent of *Lau t'er-kuro*. Mr Man seems to have misunderstood the exact meaning of this term. He writes: "*Lači Lora-lola*, the chief of the survivors from the Deluge[2], gave, at his death, the name of *Čauga tabaŋa* to their descendants.....The *Čauga tabaŋa* are described as fine tall men with large beards, and they are said to have been long lived, but, in other respects and in their mode of living they did not differ from the present inhabitants. The name seems to have been borne till comparatively recent times, as a few still living are said to remember having seen the last of the so-called *Čauga tabaŋa*[3]."

Mr Man has evidently not realised that the term *čauga* cannot be applied to any living Andamanese, but may be applied to every dead one. The *Čauga* are the spirits of dead natives, and new *Čauga* are continually coming into existence by death. Any person who is of such importance when alive as to form the subject of legends or stories after his death may be distinguished (after his death only) as a *Čauga tabaŋa*. The name may thus be applied to the purely mythical ancestors of the legends, and also to the spirits of men recently dead

[1] Portman, *Notes on the Languages*, etc. p. 97.
[2] The legend will be given later.
[3] Man, *op. cit.* p. 169.

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whose memory is preserved owing to fame acquired in some way when they were alive. It is thus possible that some of the natives with whom Mr Man formerly conversed are now *Čauga tabaŋa*, i.e. big spirits, having been "big men" when they were alive. 773

Another name sometimes used in the South Andaman to denote the ancestors is *Tomo-la*[1]. This word, however, is sometimes used in the singular to denote the mythical first man. Its use is thus similar to that of the name *Bilik* in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe, which is used both as the name of a single mythical being and also as the name of a class of beings. Only the early ancestors of the Andamanese, i.e. those about whom the legends are related, can be called *Tomo-la*.

Among the ancestors who appear in the legends there are a few who bear names that are used as personal names of men and women at the present time, and who appear in the legends simply as men and women. The larger number of the ancestors, however, bear names that are those of species of animals. In each case the ancestor is identified with the species which bears the same name. Yet others of the mythical ancestors have names that are neither personal names at the present day, nor names of animals. It may perhaps be supposed that in all such cases the name has some sort of meaning, but in many instances it was not found possible to discover the meaning with certainty.

When speaking of the ancestors, the natives generally add to the name the appropriate title. These titles are, in the North Andaman *Maia* (Sir) and *Mimi* (Lady), in Akar-Bale *Da* (Sir) and *In* (Lady), and in Aka-Bea *Maia* and *Čana*.

There are legends as to the origin of mankind, i.e., of their own race, for they did not recognize, until recently, the existence of any men of other races than their own, calling aliens *Lau* (spirits). There is, however, no unanimity in their beliefs as to how mankind originated, even in any one tribe. An *Aka-Bo* legend is as follows:

[1] The suffix *-la* is added to personal names and to terms of address in order to express respect.

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"The first man was *Jutpu*[1]. He was born inside the joint of a big bamboo, just like a bird in an egg[2]. The bamboo split and he came out. He was a little child. When it rained he made a small hut for himself and lived in it. He made little bows and arrows. As he grew bigger he made bigger huts, and bigger bows and arrows. One day he found a lump of quartz and with it he scarified himself. *Jutpu* was lonely, living all by himself. He took some clay (*kot*) from a nest of the white ants and moulded it into the shape of a woman. She became alive and became his wife. She was called *Kot*. They lived together at *Teraut-buliu*. Afterwards *Jutpu* made other people out of clay. These were the ancestors. *Jutpu* taught them how to make canoes and bows and arrows, and how to hunt and fish. His wife taught the women how to make baskets and nets and mats and belts, and how to use clay for making patterns on the body."

The same story was told me by *Aka-Jeru* men, the only difference being that they gave the name of the place where *Jutpu* lived differently, mentioning a spot in the *Aka-Jeru* country.

From the *Aka-Jeru* I also obtained what is really another version of the same legend, though the name of the first ancestor is given differently. "The first man came out of the buttress of a *poičo* (*Sterculia*) tree, and was called *Poičotobut* (*Sterculia* buttress). He had no wife, so he cohabited with an ant's nest (*kot*) and thus obtained a large number of children. These were the first Andamanese, and *Poičotobut* taught them all their arts and customs. *Poičotobut* lived at *Borog Buliu* (in *Aka-Jeru* country)."

The association between the origin of the Andamanese and an ant's nest (*kot*) is retained in another legend, told by an *Aka-Jeru* man. "*Tarai* (the south-west monsoon) was the first man. His wife was *Kot*. They lived at *Tarai-era-*

[1] The name seems to mean "alone."

[2] The giant bamboo does not grow in the Andamans, but pieces of it are often drifted ashore, having come from the coast of Burma. The natives pick up these drift-wood bamboos and make buckets of them. It is possible that the bamboo from which the first man was born was just such a piece drifted up from the sea. Unfortunately I neglected to enquire on this point when taking down the legend.

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pog[1]. Their children were *Tau* (the sky), *Boto* (wind), *Piribi* (storm), and *Air* (the foam on a rough sea)." 773 539

An entirely different legend, of which, however, I could not obtain a detailed version, is also found in the *Aka-Jeru* tribe. This is to the effect that the first living being was *Maia Čara*[2]. He made the earth, and caused it to be peopled with inhabitants. He also made the sun and moon. In the last chapter *Čara* was mentioned as a mythical being associated with the sun, with daylight and with fine weather. One of my informants of the *Aka-Jeru* tribe said that *Čara* had a wife named *Nimi* (a common personal name), and that his children were *Čeo* (knife), *Ino* (water), *Loto*, and *Luk*. It is *Maia Čara*, according to one commonly received account, who makes the daylight every day.

I could not obtain any *Aka-Kede* legend as to the origin of mankind. One informant of that tribe said that it was *Bilika* (the north-east monsoon) who made the world and the first men and women, but he could give me no detailed legend.

In the *Aka-Kol* and *A-Pučikwar* tribes there are several versions of a legend that makes the monitor lizard (*Varanus salvator*) the progenitor of the Andaman race. In all the versions there is no mention of how the lizard himself originated. The following was told me by an *Aka-Kol* man. "When *Ta Peti* (Sir Monitor Lizard) was *aka-goi* (i.e. unmarried, but having completed the initiation ceremonies), he went into the jungle to hunt pig. He climbed up a *Dipterocarpus* tree, and got stuck there[3]. *Beyan* (civet-cat, *Paradoxurus*) found him there, stuck in the tree. She released him and helped him to get down. The two got married. Their children were the *Tomo-la* (i.e. the ancestors)."

Another legend telling how the monitor lizard obtained a wife was related to me on more than one occasion by *A-Pučikwar* men. "The first of the ancestors (*Tomo-la*) was *Ta Petie* (Sir Monitor Lizard). He lived at *Tomo-la-tog*. At first he had

[1] The meaning of the name is "the cave of *Tarai*"; I believe that this is the name of a spot in the *Aka-Jeru* country.

[2] The meaning of the name was not discovered.

[3] The lizard was caught in some way by his genital organs, but I was unable to understand the story completely.

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no wife. One day, when he was out fishing, he found a piece of black wood of the kind called *kọlotat* (*Diospyros* sp.). He found it in the creek, and brought it to his hut, where he put it on the little platform over the fire[1]. He sat down by the fire and set to work over an arrow that he was making. As he bent over his work he did not see what was happening. By and by he heard some one laugh, and looked up. Then he saw that the piece of wood had turned into a woman. He got up and took her down from the platform. She sat down with him and became his wife. They had a son named *Pọi* (a species of small bird, possibly a woodpecker), and afterwards many other children. They lived together for a long time at *Tomo-la-tog*. One day *Ta Pẹtie* went fishing and was drowned in the creek. He turned into a *kara-duku*."

There is some doubt about the translation of the word *kara-duku*. It is an *Aka-Bea* word, although it was used as given above, by an *A-Pučikwar* man. Mr Man translates it "cachalot." Mr Portman says that *kara-duku* is "crocodile," but that the cachalot, the proper name of which is *biriga-ta*, is also sometimes called *kara-duku*[2]. The only authority for the existence of crocodiles in the Andamans is the statement of Mr Portman, who says that the natives killed one in the Middle Andaman and brought the bones to him. Although I was in many of the creeks of the Andamans at different times I never saw a crocodile, and none of the other officers of the Settlement, who have repeatedly explored a large part of the islands, ever seems to have seen one, so that the one recorded by Mr Portman may possibly have been a single one that had come oversea from the mainland of Asia.

Another *A-Pučikwar* account of the origin of the first woman *Kọlotat*, is as follows: "At first there were no women, only men. A man called *Kọlotat* came to live in the *A-Pučikwar* country. *Ta Pẹtie* (Sir Monitor Lizard) caught him and cut off his genitals and made him into a woman. She became his wife. Their children were the first of the ancestors (*Tomo-la*)."

[1] This is the small platform of sticks placed near or above the fire, on which the natives keep their food, and on which they often place objects that they desire to dry.

[2] *Notes on the Languages*, etc. p. 227.

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Another account given by members of the *A-Pučikwar* tribe is that the first man was *Tomo*, or *Tomo-la*. One version that I heard is that *Tomo* made the world and peopled it with the ancestors. He made the moon (*Puki*) who is his wife. *Tomo* and his wife invented all the arts of the Andamanese and taught them to the ancestors. After his death *Tomo* went to live in the sky, where he now is. It is *Tomo* who sends the fine weather, while *Bilik* sends the bad weather. In the world where *Tomo* now lives it is always daylight and is always fine. When men die their spirits go up to the sky and live with *Tomo*. The man who gave me this version said that he did not know how *Tomo* originated, but was quite sure that he was not made by *Bilik*. *Tomo* came first and *Bilik* came afterwards. The Andamanese are all the children of *Tomo*[1].

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In disagreement with this story, another man of the same tribe said that *Tomo* was made by *Bilik*. He (i.e., *Tomo*) had a wife *Mita* (Dove), and they were the ancestors of the Andamanese. Yet another informant said: "*Ta Tomo* was the first man. He made bows and arrows and canoes. His canoes were made of the wood of the Pandanus tree. *Mita* (Dove) was his wife. It was she who first made nets and baskets and discovered the uses of red paint and white clay." When I asked how *Tomo* and his wife originated my informant replied that he did not know.

A species of bird (perhaps a woodpecker), called *Pǫi* in *A-Pučikwar* and *Kǫio* in *Aka-Kǫl*, is often said to have been the son of *Tomo*. I was once told that *Kǫio* was the first of the Andamanese, from whom they are all descended, and that his wife was *Mita*. Another informant said that *Pętie* (Monitor Lizard) was the first man and *Mita* was his wife, while still another stated that *Ta Mita* (Sir Dove) was the progenitor of the race, making the dove male instead of female. These different versions will give some idea of the

[1] When an old man of the *A-Pučikwar* tribe was giving me the information repeated above, an Andamanese man was with us who had been brought up as a Christian and had some knowledge of the doctrines of that faith. He explained to me that *Tomo* is the equivalent of the Christian God. This man belonged to the *Akar-Bale* tribe.

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contradictory nature of the statements of the Andamanese. All of them come from only two tribes, the *A-Pučikwar* and the *Aka-Kol*.

From the *Akar-Bale* tribe I obtained the following legend. "*Puluga* made the first of the ancestors. He made one man and one woman called *Nyali* and *Irap*[1]. He gave them fire, and taught them how to hunt and fish, and how to make bows and arrows and baskets and nets. The place where they lived is called *Irap* because they lived there[2]."

Another *Akar-Bale* version is that the first man was *Da Duku* (Sir Monitor Lizard), and that his wife was *In Bain* (Lady Civet-cat).

Mr E. H. Man, in his account of the South Andaman, says that there are a few discrepancies in their accounts of the creation and origin of the human species, but in the main features all the natives with whom he spoke are agreed. The world was created by *Puluga*, who then made a man named *Tomo*, the first of the human race. *Tomo* was black, like the present Andamanese, but was much taller and bearded. *Puluga* showed him the various fruit-trees in the jungle, which then existed only at *Wota-emi*, a spot in the country of the *A-Pučikwar* tribe. The wife of *Tomo* was *Čana Elewadi* (Lady Crab), and as to her origin there are different legends. According to some, *Puluga* created her after he had taught *Tomo* how to sustain life; others say that *Tomo* saw her swimming near his home and called to her, whereupon she landed and lived with him; while a third story represents her as coming pregnant to Kyd Island, where she gave birth to several male and female children, who subsequently became the progenitors of the present race. *Tomo* had two sons and two daughters by *Čana Elewadi*; the names of the former were *Biro-la* and *Boro-la*, and of the latter *Rie-la* and *Čormi-la*.

A story that tells how *Tomo* came to his end states that

[1] These names are common personal names among the aborigines of the present day. Mr Portman derives *Nyali* from *nam-da*, the name of a tree, and *Irap* from *pira-da* meaning "scattered," but these derivations are far from being authenticated. (Portman, *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes*, p. 70.)

[2] The place called *Irap* is at the north end of Havelock Island.

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one day, while hunting, he fell into the creek called *Yara-tig-jig* and was drowned. He was at once transformed into a *kara-duku* (which Mr Man translates as "cachalot"). *Čana Elewadi*, ignorant of the accident that had befallen her husband, went in a canoe with some of her grandchildren to ascertain the cause of his continued absence; on seeing them, *Kara-duku* upset their skiff and drowned his wife and most of her companions. She became a small crab, of a description still named after her, *elewadi*, and the others were transformed into lizards (*duku*). Another version of this story is that, wearied with an unsuccessful day's hunting, *Tomo* went to the shore, where he found a *čidi* (Pinna) shell-fish; while playing with it, it fastened on him, and he was unable to free himself until a *baian* (Paradoxurus) seized the *čidi* and liberated him at the expense of one of his members. Shortly after this he saw his wife and some of their children coming after him in a canoe; unwilling that they should become aware of the misfortune that had befallen him he upset the canoe, drowning its occupants and himself. He then became *kara-duku*, and the others *duku*, which are now plentiful in the jungles[1].

In some of the preceding legends reference is made to *Biliku* or *Puluga*. There is a very general belief, in all parts of the islands, that in the time of the ancestors, *Biliku* or *Puluga* lived on earth. Each tribe has at least one spot in its territory that is pointed out as the place where *Biliku* (or *Puluga*) lived. In some tribes there are three or four such places, each of which is claimed as the original home of *Biliku* by the people living in the neighbourhood. In many cases the name of the spot contains a reference to the legend, as *Puluga l'od-baraiǰ* (the village of *Puluga*) in *Akar-Bale* or *Biliku era-poŋ* (the cave of *Biliku*) in the North Andaman.

I was able to obtain a few legends relating to the time when *Biliku* lived on earth, though there were probably many more that I was not fortunate enough to hear.

The following is an *Aka-Jeru* legend:

"In the time of the ancestors *Biliku* lived at *Ar-kol*. One day the people caught a turtle and brought it to the camp.

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 164.

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Biliku was sitting there. They asked her if she would eat some of it. She said 'No.' They put the meat in the roof of the hut and went away. When they had gone *Biliku* ate the whole turtle. Then she went to sleep. The people came back and found the turtle gone. They said '*Biliku* has eaten it.' They left the camp and all went to *Tebi-čiro*. They left *Biliku* asleep. Some of the people went to hunt for turtle. Their canoe passed near *Ar-kọl*. *Biliku* saw the people in the canoe. She called to them and asked to be taken with them. The people refused saying 'You ate up all the turtle.' *Biliku* had a round stone and several *be* shells (pearl shells). She threw the shells at the people in the canoe. The first shell did not hit them but came back and fell at her feet; and so also with the second. Then *Biliku* got very angry and threw a third time. The shell struck the canoe and killed all the people in it. The canoe and its occupants became a reef of rocks that is still there. The other people at *Tebi-čiro* called across to *Biliku* saying 'Come over here.' She answered 'Very well! I am coming.' She took the stone that she had and put it in the sea, and it floated. She got on to it to cross over. When she had got half way across *Biliku* and her stone sank in the sea. They became two big rocks that are there still." This legend refers to the west coast of the North Andaman. The pearl shells that *Biliku* throws seem to be lightning, and the round stone the one that she rolls about to make thunder.

A few other statements about *Biliku* and *Tarai* from the four tribes of the North Andaman are given below just as they were taken down in my note-books.

(1) "*Biliku* lived at *Pura-'ra-poŋ* in the time of the ancestors. Her husband was *Perjido* and her children *Totaimo*, *Mite* (cicada) and *Tarai*. She made the sun and the moon. It was she who first invented all the things that are now made and used by women, such as baskets, nets, etc., and it was she who discovered fire, and who first discovered the use of edible roots such as *kọnmo* and *mino* (two species of *Dioscorea*)."

(2) "*Biliku* used to live at *Čaura*. She had a husband

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Tarai and a son *Pęrjido*, and a daughter *Mite*. She used to live only on certain vegetable foods, *lǫito*, *pata*, *bui*, *čo*, *kǫnmo* and *mino* and others. It was *Biliku* who made the earth (the forest, *ti-miku*). She began at *Čaura*." 773 539

(3) "*Biliku* lived at *Ar-Kol* in the time of the ancestors. Her husband was *Tarai* and their children were the birds, *Tǫrǫi*, *Taka*, *Čotǫt*, *Poruatoko*, *Kelil*, *Mite*, *Čǫpčura*, *Benye*, *Biratkoro*, *Čereo*, *Milidu*, *Bobelo*, *Kǫlo*, and *Teo*." (*Aka-Jeru*.)

(4) "*Biliku* lived at *Poroket*. She was unmarried. She had a son *Pęrjido*, and her other children were *Tǫrǫi*, *Čelene*, *Čotǫt* and *Čerei*. (These four are the names of birds.) It was *Pęrjido* who invented all the arts of the Andamanese such as their bows and arrows, etc." (*Aka-Bo*?.)

(5) "*Biliku* used to live at *Peč-meo* with her husband *Tǫrǫi* (a bird). She used to eat *lǫito*, and when anyone else ate that root she was angry. *Tárai* lived at *Čaroŋa* with his wife *Kelil* (a bird). He ate only *mikulu*." (*Aka-Kǫra*.)

(6) "*Tarai* has very long legs and a short body. He used to live on a small island beyond Interview Island, which is now submerged. When *Tarai* goes to sleep he breathes very heavily and this makes the wind."

The next is an *Aka-Kede* legend. "In the days of the ancestors *Bilika* lived at *Purum-at-čape* in the *Aka-Kede* country, with her husband *Pǫrǫkul*. One day *Pǫrǫkul* was out hunting. He returned with a pig that he had killed and came to the creek on the other side of which was his home (*Cǫti-tęr-buli Buliu*). Laden as he was with the pig he could not swim across the creek. *Bilika* was sleeping, but her children were playing near and saw their father on the other side of the creek. They ran and told their mother that their father was coming but could not cross the creek. *Bilika* went and lay down on one bank of the creek and stretched out her leg so that it reached the other bank. *Pǫrǫkul* walked across her leg and so reached home."

While it is clear from this legend that *Bilika* was of superhuman size, the same was also true of her husband, if we may judge from another legend. "*Pǫrǫkul* made for himself a bow (of the large southern pattern), with which to shoot pig. At

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this time the sky was low down near the earth, only just above the tops of the trees. When *Pǫrǫkul* had finished his bow he lifted it upright. The top of it struck the sky and lifted it up to its present position where it has remained ever since."

In another legend from another part of the *Aka-Kede* tribe *Bilika* is spoken of as being male. "*Bilika* lived at *Pǫrǫŋ-et-čo* with his wife *Mite*. They had a child. The ancestors ate *Bilika's* food, *lǫito* and *kata* and other plants. *Bilika* was very angry. He used to smell their mouths to see if they had eaten his food. When he found a man or woman who had done so he would cut his throat. The ancestors were very angry with *Bilika*, because he killed the men and women when they ate his foods. They all came together and killed *Bilika* and his wife *Mite*. *Maia Burto* (a species of fish) took the child (of *Bilika*) away to the north-east."

Owing to my lack of knowledge of the *Aka-Kede* language there are some points of the above legend that remain obscure. I think that the child of *Bilika* is also named *Bilika*, and that it is he (or she) who now lives in the north-east and sends the storms. The plants (*lǫito*, *kata*, etc.), called here the "food" of *Bilika*, are those mentioned in the last chapter as specially belonging to *Bilika*, who is angry when the natives eat them. As regards the name, *Mite*, of *Bilika's* wife, I do not know whether this is the name of the bronze-winged dove, or of the cicada. In some of the Andamanese languages the names of these two are very similar, the only difference being a very slight one in the way of pronouncing the two vowels.

The *A-Pučikwar* people who live on the east coast of Baratang Island say that in the beginning the ancestors lived at a place called *Wota-emi*, and *Bilik* lived opposite to them across the strait at a place called *Tǫl-l'oko-tima*. In a rock at *Wota-emi* there is a large peculiarly shaped hollow. This is said to be where *Bilik* used to sit when he was on earth.

An *Akar-Bale* legend is as follows. "In the days of the ancestors *Puluga* lived at *J̌ila* off the east coast of Henry Lawrence Island and the ancestors lived at *Puluga l'od-baraij* (the village of *Puluga*) on the main island just opposite to *J̌ila*. *Puluga* was always getting angry with the ancestors,

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because they dug up yams and ate *čakan* (*Entada scandens*) and *barata* (*Caryota sobolifera*). When he was angry he used to destroy their huts and property. So the people sent him out of the world, saying 'We do not want you here. You are always angry with us.' *Puluga* went away to the north-east."

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It is worth while to note that *J̌ila* is north-east from *Puluga l'od-baraij*, just as *Tọl-l'oko-tima* is north-east from *Wota-emi*. In both cases there is a narrow strait between the place where the ancestors lived and the home of *Puluga* or *Bilik*.

There are a number of different legends that relate how the ancestors first obtained fire[1]. In many of these legends there is a reference to *Biliku* or *Puluga*. A common statement in the North Andaman is that "Fire was stolen from *Biliku* by *Maia Tiritmo* (Sir Kingfisher)." Some of the legends give further details. An *Aka-Čari* legend is as follows:

"*Biliku* had a red stone and a pearl shell (*be*). She struck them together and obtained fire. She collected firewood and made a fire. She went to sleep. *Mite* (the bronze-winged dove) came and stole fire. He made a fire for himself. He gave fire to all the people in the village. Afterwards fire was given to all the places. Each village had its own."

The next is an *Aka-J̌eru* version.

"In the days of the ancestors they had no fire. *Biliku* had fire. While *Biliku* slept *Maia Lirčitmo* (Sir Kingfisher) came and stole fire. As he was taking the fire *Biliku* awoke and saw him. *Lirčitmo* swallowed the fire. *Biliku* took a pearl shell (*be*) and threw it at *Lirčitmo* and cut off his head. The fire came out (of his neck). The ancestors got the fire. *Lirčitmo* became a bird."

The next is also, I believe, an *Aka-J̌eru* story. "*Maia Tiritmo* (Sir Kingfisher) lived at *Tolepar Buruin*. He had no fire. When he caught fish he had no fire with which to cook it. He went to the place where *Čọkčura* (heron) lived. There was no fire there. *Tiritmo* took some rotten wood of the *piń*

[1] Until the settlement of Europeans on the islands the Andamanese had no knowledge of any means of producing fire. It is necessary to remember this to understand some of their legends which relate how in the time of the ancestors the fire was very nearly lost in a heavy storm.

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tree and hit it on a rock, and thus made fire. He gave fire to *Čokčura*. *Čokčura* gave fire to *Totemo* (a species of kingfisher). *Totemo* gave it to all the others.

A slightly different and less detailed version of the same story is as follows:

"*Tiritmo* made fire. *Totemo* stole fire (from *Tiritmo*) and gave it to *Moičo* (Rail). *Moičo* gave fire to all the people."

The next version, which was taken down in *Aka-J̌eru*, I did not fully understand.

"Some one shot an arrow. The arrow hit the hill of fire. *Tiriṅ* (a species of kingfisher) found the arrow. It was on fire. He took the fire to his camp. He would not give fire to any one. The others asked him. They went to their homes. At night they came to *Tiriṅ's* hut and stole fire. They went away, each to his own place."

There is a certain amount of obscurity about two other versions, which are given in a translation as nearly literal as possible. "*Maia Dik* (Sir Prawn) made fire. Some *konmo* (yam) leaves caught fire, being dry. *Maia Dik* made a fire. *Maia Dik* slept. *Maia Totemo* (Sir Kingfisher) stole fire and ran away. *Maia Totemo* made a fire. He cooked fish. When he had eaten, he slept. *Maia Mite* (Sir Dove) stole fire (from *Totemo*) and ran away.

The other is as follows. "*Piribi* got fire from a stone. He threw fire at *Bilika*. It set some *konmo* (yam) leaves on fire. *Čorolo* (Parrot) got fire (from the burning leaves). He gave it to the ancestors."

These two legends were taken down in *Aka-Čari*, but they are perhaps really *Aka-Kora* or *Aka-J̌eru* stories. I have the word *piribi* in my notes as meaning a storm, but the translation is doubtful.

The next is an *Aka-Kede* version of what is the most widespread of the legends.

"The ancestors had no fire. *Bilika* had fire. The ancestors tried to steal fire from *Bilika*. *Lirtit* (Kingfisher) went one night while *Bilika* was sleeping and stole fire. *Bilika* awoke and saw him going away with the fire. She threw a pearl shell (*ba*) at him, which cut off his wings and his tail. *Lirtit* dived

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into the water and swam with the fire to *Bet-'ra-kudu* and gave it to *Tępe*. *Tępe* gave fire to *Mite* (the bronze-winged dove). *Mite* gave it to the others[1]."

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An *Aka-Kede* legend of the origin of the sun may conveniently be given in this place, as it is connected with the possession of fire by *Bilika*. "*Bilika* made fire of *purum* wood. One day, when she was very angry, she started throwing fire about. One large fire-brand she threw into the sky, and there t became the sun." This legend explains the name of the place *Purum-at-čape*, at which *Bilika* is said to have lived when on earth. *Purum* is the name of a tree, not identified; *at* means either "fire" or "fire-wood," and *čape* means a village or a hut. The whole word therefore means "*Purum* fire village."

I did not obtain any legend of the origin of fire from the *Okǫ-Juwǫi* and *Aka-Kǫl* tribes, but a version from each of these tribes has been given by Mr Portman. A translation of Mr Portman's *Okǫ-Juwǫi* story is as follows[2]. "*Mǫm Mirit*[3] stole a fire-brand from *Kuro-t'on-mika* while *Bilik* was sleeping. He gave the brand to the late *Leč*, who then made fire at *Karat-tatak-emi*."

Mr Portman's *Aka-Kǫl* story is somewhat obscure. "*Bilik* was sleeping at *Tǫl-t'oko-tima*. *Luratut* (Kingfisher) took away fire to *Oko-emi*. *Kǫlotat* went to *Min-tǫŋ-ta* (taking with him fire from *Oko-emi*). At *Min-tǫŋ-ta* the fire went out. *Kǫlotat* broke up the charred firewood and made fire again (by blowing up the embers). They (the people there) became alive. Owing to the fire they became alive. The ancestors (*Jaŋil*) thus got fire at *Min-tǫŋ-ta* village."

From the *A-Pučikwar* tribe I only obtained one version of the fire legend. "When the ancestors lived at *Wota-emi*, *Bilik* lived at *Tǫl-t'oko-tima* across the strait. In those days the ancestors had no fire. *Bilik* took some wood of the tree called *pęrat* and broke it and made fire for himself. *Luratut* (Kingfisher) came to *Tǫl-t'oko-tima* while *Bilik* was sleeping and stole some fire. *Bilik* awoke and saw *Luratut*. He (*Bilik*) took

[1] I understood that *Lirtit*, by the loss of his wings and tail, became a man.
[2] Portman, *loc. cit.*
[3] *Mom* is a title indicating respect, and *Mirit* is the imperial pigeon.

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up a lighted brand and threw it at *Luratut*. It hit him in the back of the neck and burnt him. *Luratut* gave the fire to the people at *Wota-emi*. *Bilik* was very angry about this and went away to live in the sky."

The kingfisher of the story (*Alcedo beavani*?) has a patch of bright red feathers on its neck. This is where it was burnt by the brand thrown by *Bilik*.

Mr Portman gives a slightly different version from the same tribe[1]. "*Bilik* was sleeping at *Tọl-l'okoːtima*. *Luratut* went to bring fire. He caught hold of the fire, and in doing so burnt *Bilik*. *Bilik* awoke and seized some fire. He hit *Luratut* with the fire. Then he hit *Tarčal* (a fish) with the fire. *Čalter* (another species of kingfisher) caught hold of the fire. He gave it to the ancestors at *Wota-emi*. The ancestors made fires."

From the *Akar-Bale* tribe I obtained the following legend: "The people had no fire. *Dim-dọri* (a fish) went and fetched fire from *J̌ereg-l'ar-mugu* (the place of departed spirits). He came back and threw the fire at the people and burnt them, and marked them all. The people ran into the sea and became fishes. *Dim-dọri* went to shoot them with his bow and arrows, and he also became a fish." This story is supposed to account for the bright colouring of certain species of fish.

Mr Portman gives a somewhat similar version from the same tribe[2]. *Dim-dọra* (a fish), a very long time ago, at *Keri-l'oŋ-tower*, was bringing fire from *Puluga's* platform (fire-place). He, taking the fire, burnt everybody with it. *Bolub* and *Tarkọr* and *Biličau* fell into the sea and became fishes. They took the fire to *Rokwa-l'ar-toŋa* village and made fires there."

Another *Akar-Bale* legend is that fire was given to the first ancestors (*Da Duku* and *In Bain*) by *Puluga*. Still another is that fire was obtained by the ancestors from *Aga*, the skink (*Mabuia tytleri*). The mist that is often seen hanging over the jungle in small patches, after rain or at dawn, is said to be the smoke of *Aga's* fire. An island in the Archipelago is called *Aga l'od-baraij*, *Aga's* village.

[1] Portman, *loc. cit.* [2] *Ibid.*

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Mr Portman gives an *Aka-Bea* legend, which, however, relates that the events took place at *Wota-emi* in the *A-Pučikwar* country[1].

"*Puluga* was asleep at *Tọl-ł oko-tima*. *Luratut* came, stealing fire. The fire burnt *Puluga*. *Puluga* awoke. *Puluga* seized some fire. Taking the fire he burnt *Luratut* with it. *Luratut* took the fire. He burnt *Tar-čeker* (another kind of kingfisher) with it in *Wota-emi* village. The ancestors lit fires. They (the ancestors) were the *Tomo-la*."

Mr Man gives three different versions of legends as to the origin of fire. According to the first of these, *Puluga*, after he had made the first man, *Tomo*, gave him fire and taught him its use. *Puluga* obtained fire by stacking in alternate layers two kinds of wood known as *cọr* and *ber*, and then bidding the sun to come and sit on or near the pile until she ignited it, after which she returned to her place in the sky[2]. The second version is that *Puluga* came to *Tomo* with a spirit named *Lači Puŋa Ablola* to instruct *Tomo*, who at his direction, prepared a pyre and then struck it, on which the fire was kindled and *Puŋa Ablola* proceeded to teach him how to cook food[3]. This legend contains an obvious contradiction. *Lači Puŋa Ablola*, as is shown by the name itself (*Lači* = the late), is the name of some one who is supposed to have lived and died and so become a spirit. Yet at the same time *Tomo* is supposed to have been the first of the Andamanese. There is the possibility, however, that this inconsistency is due not to the natives themselves, but to Mr Man's transcription. It is possible that the legend is that fire was discovered and was given to the ancestors (the *Tomo*) by a person who, being dead, is now *Lači Puŋa Ablola*, but who was then alive and one of the ancestors (*Tomo*) themselves.

A third legend about fire given by Mr Man is associated by him with another legend about a flood that once overwhelmed the ancestors. According to Mr Man's version the fires were all extinguished by the flood, so that the few survivors were left without fire. "At this juncture one of their recently deceased

[1] Portman, *loc. cit.* [2] Man, *op. cit.* p. 164. [3] *Ibid.*

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friends appeared in their midst in the form of a bird named *Luratut*. Seeing their distress he flew up to *Moro*, the sky, where he discovered *Puluga* seated beside his fire; he thereupon seized and attempted to carry away in his beak a burning log, but the heat, or weight, or both, rendered the task impossible, and the blazing brand fell on *Puluga*, who, incensed with pain, hurled it at the intruder; happily for those concerned, the missile missed its mark and fell near the very spot where the survivors were deploring their condition. As *Luratut* alighted in their midst at the same moment, he gained the full credit for having removed the chief cause of their distress[1]."

We may now consider a group of legends that relate how a great catastrophe overwhelmed the ancestors. In many of the versions the legend relates how the ancestors were transformed into animals. Some of the legends are connected with *Biliku* or *Puluga* and others are connected with the first discovery of fire. Beginning with the North Andaman, the following is, I believe, an *Aka-Jeru* version. "*Mimi Čara* once broke some firewood in the evening (while the cicada was singing). A great storm came and killed many people, who were turned into fishes and birds. The water rose up till it covered the trees. *Mimi Čara* and *Mimi Kota* took the fire and went up the hill to the cave at *Ŋaram*. They carried the fire under a cooking-pot. They kept the fire alight in the cave, until the storm was over."

Another *Aka-Jeru* legend was taken down hurriedly and the full details were not obtained. "The people made a noise in the evening when *Mite* (the cicada) was singing. *Mite* went to see her mother *Biliku*. Her mother saw her eyes and face. She looked bad. Her eyes were red (with weeping). *Biliku* was very angry. There was a big storm and heavy rain. *Biliku* threw her pearl shells (lightning). She went mad. She destroyed the whole world. *Biliku* went up to live in the sky. The earth was bare (literally, empty). One day *Biliku* dropped a *Dipterocarpus* seed from the sky. Out of this all the different kinds of tree grew, and the earth was again covered with

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 167.

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forest." There was more of the legend, which I was unable at the time to understand, and which I did not hear again. My informant added "It was on this occasion that *Maia Taolu* saved the fire."

An *Aka-Čari* legend relates how the birds and beasts and fishes arose. "*Maia Dik* (Sir Prawn) once got angry and threw fire at the people (the ancestors). They all turned into birds and fishes. The birds flew into the jungle. The fishes jumped into the sea. *Maia Dik*[1] himself became a large prawn which is still called by the same name." In connection with this legend it must be remembered that it was *Maia Dik*, according to one legend, who first discovered the use of fire. One version of the story said that he made fire by striking a piece of *parayo* wood. Then he threw the burning wood about amongst the ancestors and they turned into birds and fishes.

An *Aka-J̌eru* version is very similar. "The people were all asleep. *Maia Kọlo* (Sir Sea-eagle) came and threw fire amongst them. They awoke in a fright and all ran in different directions. Some ran into the sea and became fishes and turtle; others ran into the jungle and became birds."

The *Aka-Kede* version of the catastrophe that overtook the ancestors is as follows. "It was at the place called *Čilpet*. The people collected a lot of honey. They refused to give any to *Kọpo-tera-wat* (a bird, not identified). The latter got very angry, and in the evening, when the cicadæ were singing he made a great noise and disturbed their song. Then there arose a great storm, and it rained very heavily, and the sea rose over the land. It rose very rapidly till only the top of a big *Dipterocarpus* tree showed above the water. The people took refuge in the branches of this tree. *Mima Mite* (Lady Dove) managed to rescue some fire and keep it alight under a cooking pot. The waters at length subsided. Then the people did not know how to get down from the tree. *Mima Čarami-lebek* made a long piece of string and with this she lowered the people

[1] *Dik* was one of the ancestors. He was a giant and was so big that he could go into the deepest water and never needed a canoe. He used to shoot dugong and porpoise with his bow and arrow. (The natives shoot small fish with a bow and arrows, but large fish and dugong and porpoise they take with harpoons.)

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safely to the ground." The *čarami-lebek*, which was not identified, is a species of bird that lives, so the natives say, only at the top of the very tallest trees of the forest.

An *Aka-Kọl* version of the same legend is as follows: "At first there were no birds in the jungle and no fish in the sea. The ancestors were playing one evening and making a noise while the *peti* (cicada) was singing. Then *Bilik* got angry and sent a great cyclone. All the people were turned into birds and fishes and turtles and jungle beasts."

There is an *A-Pučikwar* legend that, in the days of the ancestors, there was a big cyclone. There was a flood at *Wota-emi* and the water rose up over the trees. Some of the ancestors climbed up into a big *Dipterocarpus* tree and remained there till the waters had subsided. I was not able to hear any more detailed version of the legend.

The following legend explaining how the ancestors were turned into animals was told me by an *A-Pučikwar* man, but it is probably really of *Akar-Bale* origin.

"It was in the days of the ancestors. *Ta Kọlwọt* (Sir Tree-lizard) went over to a big meeting at *Teb-juru* (in the Archipelago). There was a lot of dancing. *Kọlwọt* decided to give a big dancing party of his own. He invited everybody and they all came to his place. *Kọlwọt* danced a great deal. He began to get wild. All the people were afraid, because he was very strong. They caught hold of him by the arms. *Kọlwọt* got very angry. He threw the people from him. He threw them so violently that some fell in the sea and became fishes and turtle. Others fell on different islands and became birds and animals. No one could hold *Kọlwọt*. At last *Berep* (a species of crab) caught hold of his arm and would not let go. And thus *Berep* stopped him. Before this there had been no birds in the jungles nor any fish in the sea."

A more complete version of this story was obtained from the *Akar-Bale* tribe. "*Da Tigbul* (Sir Dugong) took all the people to dance at *Kwaičo*. *In Bain* (Lady Civet-cat) told *Da Kwọkọl* (Sir Tree-lizard) that people were coming from *Tar-mugu* to dance and that *Da Karami*[1] would quarrel with

[1] *Karami* is the name of a bird that was not identified.

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him. *Da Kwǫkǫl* replied 'Oh! I don't care. I can fight all those people easily enough.' All the people came together for the dance and *Karami* quarrelled with *Kwǫkǫl*. The latter got very angry. The people were afraid. *Tigbul* (Dugong) caught hold of *Kwǫkǫl* by the arm. *Kwǫkǫl* threw him from him with such force that *Tigbul* fell into the sea and became a dugong. Then *Kočurag-boa* caught hold of *Kwǫkǫl* and *Kwǫkǫl* threw him into the jungle[1]. *Kwǫkǫl* threw all the people into the sea or into the jungle and they became birds and beasts and fishes. No one could hold him. *Da Kwǫkǫl* went away to *Teb-juru*. The people told *Da Berag* (Sir Crab) what had happened at *Kwaičo* and how no one could hold *Da Kwǫkǫl*. *Da Berag* went after him to *Teb-juru*. *Da Kwǫkǫl* had covered himself with *kǫiob* (red paint)[2]. *Da Berag* pretended that he wanted some paint to put on his upper lip, saying that he was sick. There was no more red paint in the place, so *Da Kwǫkǫl* said 'You had better come and take some off me.' *Da Berag* put his nose to *Kwǫkǫl's* arm as though to get some paint, and bit deeply into *Kwǫkǫl's* shoulder. *Kwǫkǫl* could not get loose, and so he died. The people at *Teb-juru* attacked *Da Berag* and beat him. They could not kill him, because his skin was too hard, so they threw him into the sea. When *Kwǫkǫl's* mother, *Kegŋa*, came and found her son dead she was very angry. She wept for a long time. Then she went into the jungle and cut the plant *tǫkul* which belongs to *Puluga*. *Puluga* was angry because the *tǫkul* was cut and sent a big storm which killed *Kegŋa* and all the other people in that place."

Mr Man records another version of this legend.

"To explain the origin of certain fish, they say that one day before the Deluge, *Maia Kǫlwǫt* went to visit an encampment of the *Tomola* situated in the Archipelago. While engaged in his song the women, through inattention to his instructions, marred the effect of the chorus, so, to punish them, he seized

[1] *Kočurag-boa* is the *Akar-Bale* name for a huge legendary animal.

[2] When a man has killed another, either in a personal or a tribal quarrel, he has to observe several customs of which one is to keep himself painted with red paint for several weeks.

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his bow, whereupon the whole party in terror fled in all directions; some escaping into the sea were changed into dugongs, porpoises, sharks, and various other fish which till then had not been seen[1]."

Mr Man gives still another version of the same story. "One day, at the commencement of the rainy season, a *tomola* named *Berebi* came to visit *Kolwot's* mother, *Čana Erep*, with the express intention of seeing her son, of whom he was extremely jealous. When he appeared *Berebi* treacherously bit him in the arm, but his teeth became fixed in the flesh and he was therefore unable to detach himself from his victim, whose friends promptly avenged his murder, and disposed of the corpses by throwing them into the sea. (*Kolwot*, after death, was transformed into a species of tree-lizard, which is still named after him, and *Berebi* became a fish called *Koŋo*, which is armed with a row of poisonous barbs in its back.) The bereaved mother, in her rage, grief and despair, committed various acts, against which *Tomo* had been warned by *Puluga*, and while so doing incited others to follow her example by the following words:—

e, e, e, dia ra-gumul ʼab-dala,
e, e, e, ŋul kaja pij pugatken,
e, e, e, ŋul čoaken toaiken,
e, e, e, ŋul boarato aga-kolaken,
e, e, e, ŋul gono boaŋken,
e, e, e, ŋul toŋ čoara boaŋken,
e, e, e, ŋig arlot pulaijoken.

The translation of which is:—

e, e, e (sobbing)—My grown-up handsome son,
" " Burn the wax,
" " Grind the seed of the *čakan* (*Entada*),
" " Destroy the *barata* (*Caryota*),
" " Dig up the *gono* (yam),
" " Dig up the *čati* (yam),
" " Destroy everything."

Thereupon *Puluga* was exceeding wroth, and sent the flood, that which destroyed all living things with the exception of two men and two women.

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 171.

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"This tradition is preserved in the following lines:—

Keledoat ibaji lar čora,
Ra-gumul ab-gorga en ig-boadi
Ra-gumul le liga koarna
Ra-gumul ab-gorka
Toala arbo eb dagan čoarpo.

The meaning of which is:—

Bring the boat to the beach
I will see your fine grown-up son,
The grown-up son who threw the youths (into the sea)
The fine grown-up son,
My adze is rusty, I will stain my lips with his blood.

In this, as in all their songs and chants, a good deal is left to the imagination, but from their explanations which have been given by the aborigines, the following appear to afford some light on the subject:—*Berebi*, being jealous of the renown *Kolwot* had won for himself by his numerous accomplishments and grea strength, took advantage of meeting him and his mother one day on the water to ask them to let him enter their boat. On their complying with his request, he provided himself with a rusty adze and hone, remarking on the rusty condition of the former; then taking *Kolwot* by the arm he sniffed it from the wrist to the shoulder as if admiring the development of the muscles; while doing so he muttered the threat of staining his lips with blood, which he shortly after fulfilled in the manner already described[1]."

As the songs given in this legend are in the *Akar-Bale* language (Southern dialect), it is probable that the legend is an *Akar-Bale* one. It is really another version of the legend already given.

Another *Akar-Bale* story tells how the first ancestors *Duku*, the monitor lizard, and *Bain* the civet-cat, managed to keep the fire alight when a flood overwhelmed them. "One day in the time of the ancestors there came a great storm, and the water rose over the land. The rain put out the fires. *Da Duku* (Sir Monitor Lizard) took a smouldering log and tried to climb up a tree with it. He could not climb with the fire in his hand. His wife *In Bain* (Lady Civet-cat) took the fire from him and took it

[1] Man, *op. cit.* pp. 167—169.

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up to the top of a hill and there kept it alight till the rain stopped and the water went away. The hill is called *Bain l'it-čapa* (Bain's fire) to the present day." The hill is a rather steep-sided hill of no great height in Havelock Island.

Mr Portman[1] connects the story of the flood with the story of the dispersion of the ancestors over the islands. Referring to the names of the tribes he says, "The Andamanese state that these names were given to the different tribes by *Maia Tomo-la* when they were dispersed after a cataclysm. They have a tradition that this group of tribes was once all one tribe, and that the Andaman Islands were much larger than at present. Some great cataclysm occurred during which part of the islands subsided and many aborigines were drowned, the remainder being separated into different territories as at present by the orders of *Maia Tomo-la*, apparently the chief at that time of the collected tribe. (The above is of course a matter-of-fact version of the fanciful and impossible legends of the Andamanese.)"

The dispersion legend in the South Andaman is connected with the name of the *A-Pučikwar* tribe. The name (of which the *Aka-Bea* equivalent is *Aka-Bojig-yab*) means "those who talk the original language," it being believed that the *A-Pučikwar* language was the one originally spoken by the ancestors.

The only version of the dispersion legend that I heard was from the *Aka-Kede* tribe. It was to the effect that *Bilika* once seized all the ancestors and put them in a netted bag (such as the natives use for carrying small objects of various kinds). She (or he) took them out a few at a time and put them in different parts of the country, where their descendants have been ever since.

Mr Man speaks of a legend of how the tribes came to be dispersed over the islands. From his account it would seem that there were two different dispersions, one before the Deluge, and a second after it. Mr Man's account is as follows. "*Tomo* lived to a great age, but even before his death his offspring became so numerous that their home could no longer accommodate them. At *Puluga's* bidding they were furnished with all necessary weapons, implements, and fire, and then scattered in

[1] *Notes on the Languages*, etc. p. 27.

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pairs all over the country. When this exodus occurred *Puluga* provided each party with a distinct dialect. It would almost seem that, without straining the legend to suit facts, we might discern in this a faint echo of the Biblical account of the confusion of tongues and dispersion at Babel[1]."

"Consequent on the disappearance of *Tomo* and his wife, the duties of headship over the community at *Wota-emi* devolved on one of their grandchildren, named *Kọlwọt*, who was distinguished by being the first to spear and catch turtles. The *tomola* remained on the islands long after *Tomo's* transformation, but after *Kọlwọt's* death, according to one legend, they grew disobedient, and as *Puluga* ceased to visit them, became more and more remiss in their observance of the commands given at the creation. At last *Puluga's* anger burst forth, and, without any warning, he sent a great flood that covered the whole land, and destroyed all living. Four persons (two men, *Lọra-lola* and *Pọi-lola*, and two women, *Ka-lola* and *Rima-lola*), who happened to be in a canoe when the catastrophe occurred, were able to effect an escape. When the waters subsided, they found themselves near *Wota-emi*, where they landed and discovered that every living thing on earth had perished; but *Puluga* re-created the animals, birds, etc.[2]."

"When, for the second time in their history, their numbers had increased to so great an extent that it became impossible for them to remain together in one spot, an exodus, similar to the first, took place; each party being furnished with fire and every other essential, started in a different direction, and on settling down adopted a new and distinct dialect. They each received a tribal name, and from them have sprung the various tribes still existing on the islands[3]."

In the Southern tribes there is a legend to account for the origin of night. The following version was obtained from the *A-Pučikwar* tribe. "In the early days of the world, in the time of the ancestors, there was no night; it was always day. *Ta Pẹtie* (Sir Monitor Lizard) went into the jungle to dig up yams. He found some yams. He also found some resin (*teki*), and a cicada (*rọto*). He brought them to the camp of the ancestors at

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 166.
[2] Man, *op. cit.* p. 169.
[3] *Ibid.*

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Wota-emi. He sat down and the people came round him. *Ta Petie* took the cicada and rubbed it between his hands and crushed it. As he did this the cicada uttered its cry. Then the day went away and it was dark. It remained dark for several days. The ancestors came together and tried to get back the day. They made torches of resin, and danced and sang songs. First *Kotare* (a bird) sang a song, but he could not get back the daylight. Then *Bumu* (a beetle?) sang, but the day would not come. Then *Pecerol* (the bulbul, *Otocompsia emeria*) sang, and after him *Koio* (a bird), but both in vain. Then *Koyoro* (a species of ant) sang a song and morning came. After that, day and night followed one another alternately."

A similar legend was obtained from the *Akar-Bale* tribe. "*Da Teyat*[1] lived at *Golugma Bud.* He went fishing one day and got only one small fish of the kind called *čelau* (*Glyphidodon sordidus*?). He turned to go home, and as he went he shot his arrows before him into the jungle[2]. Then he went after his arrows to find them again. As he went he spoke to the fruits of the jungle, asking them their names. In those days the ancestors did not know the names of the fruits and trees. First he asked the *puiam*, and then the *guluba*, and then the *čakli*, but none of them replied to him. Then he found his first arrow. It was stuck fast in a big yam (*gono*). He took the arrow and said to the yam 'What is your name?' At first the yam did not answer. *Teyat* turned to go away. He had gone a few steps when the yam called him back, saying 'My name is *gono*.' *Teyat* replied 'Oh! I did not know. Why did not you say so before?' He dug up the yam, which was a very big one. He went off to look for his second arrow. As he went he spoke to the stones of the jungle, asking their names, but none of them replied. Then he found his second arrow fixed in a large lump of resin (*tug*)[3]. He took the arrow, and as he was going away

[1] This is the name of some creature that I did not identify, perhaps a kind of spider.

[2] An Andaman Islander will often, when walking along the shore, shoot his arrows before him, either aiming at some object, or trying to send each one as far as possible. I have never seen them do this in the jungle, for they might easily lose the arrows.

[3] The Andamanese classify resin as a "stone" although they know its vegetable origin.

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the resin called him back, saying 'Here! my name is *tug*; you can take me along with you.' So *Teŋat* took the resin. Then *Teŋat* found a cicada (*rita*), and he took that also. When *Teŋat* got to the hut (*bud*), everyone came to look at the things he had brought. He showed them the yam. He told them its name and showed them how to cook it. This was the first time that the ancestors ate *gono*. Then *Teŋat* took in his hand the cicada and squashed it between his palms. As he killed it the cicada uttered its cry and the whole world became dark. When the people saw that it was dark they tried to bring back the daylight. *Teŋat* took some of the resin and made torches. He taught the people how to dance and sing. When *Da Koŋoro* (Sir Ant) sang a song the day came back. After that the day and night came alternately."

Mr Man records a different version of this story.

"The manner in which the world was illuminated at the beginning is not clearly to be ascertained from their legends, for one story states that the sun and moon were subsequently created at *Tomo's* request, as he found that, under the then existing circumstances, it was impossible to catch fish by night or to hunt by day; while, in direct disagreement with this, another story tells us that night was a punishment brought upon mankind by certain individuals who angered *Puluga* by killing a caterpillar. The tale informs us that the sun, one day, burned so fiercely as to cause great distress. Two women named *Ćana Limi* and *Ćana Jaraŋud*, became exceedingly irritable, and while in this unhappy frame of mind they discovered a caterpillar (*gurug*) and a certain plant called *utura*. By way of venting their spleen, one crushed the helpless grub, and the other destroyed the plant. These wanton acts so displeased *Puluga* that he determined to punish them, and to teach them to appreciate the privilege of daylight, which they had hitherto uninterruptedly enjoyed. He accordingly visited the earth with a long-continued darkness, which caused every one much inconvenience and distress. At last their chief, *Maia Kolwot*, to whom reference has already been made, hit upon a happy expedient of inducing *Puluga* to restore the former state of things by trying to assure him that they were quite unconcerned, and could enjoy

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themselves in spite of light being withheld from them. To accomplish this, he invented the custom of dancing and singing, the result of which was that *Puluga*, finding that they had frustrated his intention, granted, as a first concession alternate periods of day and night, and subsequently, moved by the difficulties often occasioned by the latter, created the moon to mitigate their troubles. It is in this way that they account for the same word being used to denote a caterpillar and night[1]."

From the *Akar-Bale* tribe I obtained a legend about the origin of death. No other version of the same legend was obtained.

"At *Joyo-l'ar-boy* lived *In Kalwadi* with her sons *Yaramurud* and *Toau*[2]. *Yaramurud* went to hunt pig for his mother, but was unsuccessful. When he came home his mother brought him some pork that was in the hut. As he took his knife from the back of his neck to cut the meat with it, he cut himself[3]. Then his mother knew that he was dead. She said to him 'You are dead now. You had better go away. We do not want you here any more.' She took him up and carried him into the jungle and buried him, returning home. Very soon *Yaramurud* returned. His mother exclaimed 'Oh! I thought you had gone.' He replied 'Mother, I did not die. Why did you bury me?' But she knew he was dead, so she took him and buried him again. He came back again. This happened three times. Then *Kalwadi* took him into the jungle to a big *ăumla* tree (*Pisonia excelsa*), in which there was a big hole. She kicked the tree with her foot and said 'You go in there.' *Yaramurud* went inside. 'Well! Have you gone?' his mother asked. He answered 'Yes!' 'Tell me how the spirits (*ĕauga*) talk' she asked him, and he replied '*To kit*[4].' Then his mother knew that he was with the spirits, and said 'Oh! my child, you are

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 172.

[2] *Kalwadi* is a small crab, *yaramurud* is the crow pheasant (*Centropus andamanensis*), and *toau* is the hawksbill turtle.

[3] Knives are generally carried slipped into a string that is tied round the neck, the knife, with a skewer of sharpened wood that is attached to it, hanging at the back of the neck, where it is easily accessible and not likely to get lost.

[4] I could obtain no explanation of the phrase, or word, *to kit*. My informant only said "That is the way the spirits talk."

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finished now. You will never come back again.' After a few days *Yaramurud* came back (as a spirit) to see his brother *Toau*. *Toau* was busy building a hut. When *Yaramurud* saw him he killed him. Before this there had been no death. But *In Kalwadi* told the people, saying 'You see what has happened; well, we shall all of us die like this, like these two have done'."

There is a widespread legend to account for the origin of creeks and islands. The following is an *A-Pučikwar* version.

"At first there was only one big island with the sea all round it. There were no small islands and no creeks. *Koŋoro* (a species of ant) made a turtle net and went fishing. He caught a very big fish of the kind called *koro-ŋiti-čau* in his net, and dived down and attached a rope to its tail. The fish got very angry and made furious plunges to get away, striking the land in its struggles, and each time knocking off a bit of the land or making a long split. This is the origin of the smaller islands and the creeks."

Mr Man records the same legend, but says it was *Tomo* who caught the fish[1]. In an *Akar-Bale* version it was *Da Pečerol* who caught the fish (*koroŋadi*). *Pečerol* is the bulbul (*Otocompsia emeria*). I have the name *koroŋadi* in my notes as being *Sphyraena acutipinnis*, but the identification is a doubtful one. In the *Aka-Kede* tribe there is a version in which it is stated that one of the ancestors captured a fish called *talepo*. This does not seem to be the same species of fish as that called *koro-ŋiti-čau* or *koroŋadi* in the South. In the North Andaman the legend is that *Perjido*, the son of *Biliku*, shot a large eel (*bol*) with an arrow, and in its endeavours to get free from the arrow the eel wriggled about till it made all the creeks.

In the Southern tribes there is a legend that relates how the pig first got its senses. A version from the *A-Pučikwar* tribe is as follows.

"*Ta Mita* (Sir Dove) went into the jungle and found a lot of pigs. They did not run away when he came because they had no eyes to see him, no ears to hear, and no nostrils with which to smell. They had no mouths. *Mita* made mouths for them and gave them tusks which he made of *tobur* wood. He made

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 165.

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eyes and ears and nostrils in their heads and taught them how to grunt and how to sneeze[1]."

Another version from the same tribe is as follows.

"At first the pigs had neither nose nor ears nor eyes. They used to stand about at *Wota-emi* when the ancestors lived there. The people ate a great many of them. They were such a nuisance that *Mita* (Dove), the wife of *Tomo*, thought of a plan to get them out of the way. She bored holes in their heads, two for eyes, two for ears, and two for nostrils. The pigs ran off into the forest where they have been ever since."

I did not obtain any version of this legend from the Northern tribes. The *Aka-Kede* have a different legend about the pigs.

"At first there were no pigs. One of the ancestors, *Mimi Čau* (Lady Civet-cat), invented a new game, and made the ancestors run on all fours and grunt. Those playing were turned into pigs, and went to live in the jungle. *Mimi Čau* became a civet-cat (*čau*)."

In the North Andaman there is a legend connected with the pig which explains the origin of the dugong.

"*Pe̱rjido* was the first man to catch a pig. He went into the forest and found a pig. *Pe̱rjido* was hungry. He caught the pig and took it home. The pig had no eyes nor ears nor mouth. *Pe̱rjido* did not disembowel the pig, nor did he sever the joints of its legs[2]. He made a fire and put the pig on it. The pig swelled up in the heat of the fire and burst. This made holes in the pig's head, two for ears, two for eyes, two for nostrils. The pig perceived that it was being burnt. It jumped up from the fire and ran away. *Pe̱rjido* threw a *ko̱bo* (*Licuala*) leaf at it. The pig ran into the sea and became a dugong. The leaf became its flipper."

In the *Aka-Čari* tribe there is a legend describing the origin of turtles.

"At first there was only one big turtle. He came to the camp of the *Aka-Čari* people and called them, saying 'Bring your canoes and catch me.' They got into their canoes and

[1] The sneezing (the word is translated literally) is a sort of whistling noise that the wild pigs make when they suspect danger.

[2] The Andamanese always disembowel a pig and sever the joints of its legs before they place it on a fire.

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followed the turtle. They could not catch him. The turtle swam away and the canoes followed. When the canoes were far from land the big turtle came and upset the canoes. The men were all turned into turtles of the same kind and size as those that are seen now. The canoes (and the big turtle?) were turned into a reef." 773 539

In the South Andaman it is supposed that the custom of scarifying the skin was invented by the first ancestor of the Andamanese, the monitor lizard. An *Akar-Bale* version of the story is as follows. 773 539 304

"*Duku* (Monitor Lizard) lived with his wife *Bain* (Civet-cat). *Duku* said 'I am going to scarify myself.' His wife tried to dissuade him. He would not listen to her. He went into the jungle and found a piece of *tolma*[1] (quartz) and scarified himself all over. His wife was very angry and asked him why he had done it. *Duku* replied 'I look very well like this, and you will see, all the other people will do the same'."

Mr Man gives a version of the same legend.

"*Maia Duku*, who appears to be identical with *Tomo*, is said to have been the first to tattoo himself. One day, while out on a fishing expedition, he shot an arrow; missing its object it struck a hard substance which proved to be a piece of iron, the first ever found. With it *Duku* made an arrow-head and tattooed himself, after which he sang the ditty:—

Toŋ ma lir pireŋa? toŋ yitiken! toŋ yitiken!
toŋ ma lir pireŋa? toŋ yitiken!

the interpretation of which is

'What can now strike me?
I am tattooed, I am tattooed!' etc. (Da capo)[1]."

It would seem that Mr Man, or else his informant, was not very clear about the details of the legend. In the South Andaman scarification is never performed with an arrow-head, nor with any instrument of iron, but with a flake of quartz or glass. It is only in the North and Middle Andaman that an arrow-head is used for such a purpose, and even then it is only so used to make the big scars on the back and chest, the ordinary scarifica-

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 170.

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773 tion being performed with a flake of stone or glass. The legend
539 is certainly a Southern one, and the song given is in the *Aka-Bea*
304 language. The accuracy of the transcription of the legend therefore seems very doubtful.

773 Yams and honey, being two of the most important foods of
539 the Andaman Islanders, are the subject of several legends. A common belief about yams is that they were made, or their qualities were first discovered, by *Biliku* or *Puluga*. We have already seen that there is a special connection between *Biliku* (or *Puluga*) and the yams and other edible roots. There are also other legends, however, on the same subject. An account of the first discovery of the yam called *gono* is contained in the *Akar-Bale* legend of the origin of night, already given[1].

In the North Andaman the following tale is told about the discovery of one kind of yam.

"*Maia Dik* (Sir Prawn) discovered *kǫnmo* (*Dioscorea* sp.). He was very hungry and went to look for something to eat. He found a very large *kǫnmo*. There was only one *kǫnmo*. He cooked it in the fire and ate as much as he could. He dashed the remainder on a rock, and the fragments scattered everywhere and grew into fresh plants. After this there were plenty of *kǫnmo* everywhere."

A legend is also told in the North Andaman about the first discovery of another kind of yam.

"*Maia Pulimu* (Sir Fly) and *Maia Mǫičo* (Sir Rail) went to hunt pig. They killed one pig. There was nothing to tie up the pig (to carry it home). *Maia Pulimu* went to look for a creeper (with which to tie up the pig). He caught hold of a creeper and pulled it and found it was a *mino* (*Dioscorea* sp.). *Maia Pulimu* was a long time away. *Maia Mǫičo* went and found some creeper for himself and tied up the pig and carried it home. When *Maia Pulimu* came back he found that *Maia Mǫičo* had gone and taken the pig. He followed him and went home. He showed the ancestors how to cook and eat *mino*."

I believe that there is a fuller version of this legend, which I was unable, however, to obtain. Another of my informants told me the story as follows.

[1] Page 214.

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"*Mimi Mǫičo* (Lady Rail) had a son *Pulimu* (Fly). *Pulimu* found a *mino* in the forest and brought it to his mother. They roasted it in the fire." 773 539

Mr Man gives a story from the South Andaman.

"Another of their antediluvian ancestors was famous for propagating yams. This was *Maia Bumroag*, who in shooting an arrow, struck the creeper belonging to the favourite variety called *gono*; his curiosity being excited he dug up the root, and tasted it: the result being satisfactory, he informed his friends of his discovery, and they all feasted upon it; when they had had sufficient, he scattered the remains in different directions; this apparent waste so angered his mother that, on pretence of shaving him, she split his head open with a flint. After his death it was found that the act for which he had suffered had tended to the spread of the plant which is now plentiful[1]."

In the North Andaman it is supposed that honey was discovered by *Pǫrjido* the son of *Biliku*.

"*Pǫrjido* was the first to eat honey. One day he went to shoot fish. He saw a *nyuri* (*Plotosus* sp.). The *nyuri* disappeared amongst the roots of the mangrove trees. *Pǫrjido* was looking for the fish. There was a honeycomb in a mangrove tree. *Pǫrjido* saw its reflection in the water. He took some fire and tried to get the honey out of the water[2]. The water put out the fire. He could not get the honey. He went home and told his mother what he had been doing. She went with him and saw the honey. 'What a fool you are' she said, 'don't you see that it is in the trees.' *Pǫrjido* took some fire and smoked out the bees and took the honey. After that *Pǫrjido* used to go and collect honey. He ate it all himself. He did not tell the others (the ancestors) about it. *Maia Pǫrubi* (Sir Frog) found out that *Pǫrjido* was getting honey and eating it. He went in to the forest to look for some. He found five or six combs. He ate them all and brought none home to his children. *Bǫrǫt* (a smaller species of frog) was the child of *Pǫrubi*. One day *Bǫrǫt* said to his father 'Bring us some honey.' The children went with their father and showed him the combs in the trees.

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 170.

[2] In taking a honeycomb the natives often drive away the bees with fire or smoke.

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Pǫrubi went up the tree, and each time he ate the honey in the tree and did not bring any of it down for his children. Then *Bęręt* saw another honeycomb in a very tall tree. He pointed it out to his father. *Pǫrubi* went up to get it. *Bęręt* cut the creeper up which his father had climbed[1]. *Pǫrubi* wrapped up the honeycomb to bring it down. *Bęręt* said 'Father, this creeper is bad. How will you come down?' *Pǫrubi* replied 'How can it be bad, when I have just climbed up it?' *Bęręt* made some sharp stakes of *čǫm* (*Areca*) wood, and put them round the tree. *Pǫrubi* jumped (or fell) from the tree on to the stakes and was killed. *Bęręt* took the honey and ran away home."

In the *Aka-Čari* tribe there is another legend connected with the frog (*pǫrubi*) which may conveniently be given here.

"The ancestors were at enmity with *Maia Pǫrubi*. They went to kill him. They shot him with their arrows, but they could not kill him. *Maia Pǫrubi* caught hold of them all in his arms, and jumped into the sea. He jumped from the hill called *Čauanara*. He found a big round stone (boulder) and put the people under it and left them there. All the people turned into stone, and may be seen there now. The next night some more of the people went to hunt turtle near *Maia Pǫrubi's* place. They caught a turtle and shouted[2]. *Maia Pǫrubi* heard them shouting. 'They are coming again to kill me,' he said. While they were catching turtle he threw a round stone at them. The stone sank the canoe. The canoe and the people in it were turned to stone."

A story in which there is a connection between honey and a toad is given by Mr Man.

"Another curious fable is told to account for a drought from which their early ancestors suffered: it relates that once upon a time, in the dry season, a woodpecker discovered a black honeycomb in the hollow of a tree; while regaling himself on this dainty he observed a toad eyeing him wistfully from below, so he invited him to join in the feast; the toad gladly accepted, whereupon the woodpecker lowered a creeper, giving instructions to

[1] In climbing a tall tree the Andamanese choose a stout cane or other creeper depending from one of the branches of the tree, and climb up it.

[2] The natives express their joy at a success in hunting by shouting.

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his guest to fasten his bucket (*dakar*) thereto, and then to seat himself in it, so that he might be drawn up. The toad complied with the directions and the woodpecker proceeded to haul him up; but just when he had brought him near the comb he mischievously let go the creeper, and his confiding and expectant guest experienced an unpleasant fall. The trick so exasperated him that he at once repaired to the streams far and near in the island and drained them, the result of which was that great distress was occasioned to all the birds, as well as to the rest of the animate creation. The success of his revenge so delighted the toad that, to show his satisfaction, and to add to the annoyance of his enemies, he thoughtlessly began to dance, whereupon all the water flowed from him, and the drought soon terminated[1]."

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One of the incidents of the North Andaman story of the frog (*Pǫrubi*) and his son (*Bęret*) appears in a different story from the South and Middle Andaman. The following is an *Aka-Kǫl* version of this legend.

"*Ta Mita* (Sir Dove) and *Ta Kǫio* (a species of small bird) went hunting together and got a great number of pigs. *Ta Kǫio* told *Ta Mita* to get some canes to tie up all the pigs. As soon as *Ta Mita* had gone to look for the cane, *Ta Kǫio* went up a big *Dipterocarpus* tree, taking half the pigs with him. He came down and took the rest of the pigs. He stayed up in the tree with the pigs. When *Ta Mita* came back he found that the pigs had disappeared. He was very angry and went home. As there was nothing to eat, *Mita* and his two children, *Čada* and *Čoda* (two species of fish) went fishing. *Kǫio* was still up the tree. He was cooking the pigs up there. *Mita* and his children passed under the tree and some burning resin[2] fell on them. In this way they discovered that *Kǫio* was in the tree. *Mita* planned to punish *Kǫio*. He cut a great number of sharp stakes of *Areca* wood and fixed them all round the tree, pointing upwards. *Kǫio* was asleep. *Mita* made the tree sink into the ground. As soon as it was low enough he took some water and threw it into the

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 173.

[2] The narrator said "resin." The *Dipterocarpus* tree does not produce resin, but a sort of oil. The marks on the two fishes owe their origin to this incident.

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ear of the sleeping *Kọio*, who awoke in a fright and jumped from the tree. He was impaled on the stakes of wood and so died."

Another version of the same tale was obtained from the *Akar-Bale* tribe.

"*Da Bumu* (a species of bird) went hunting pig with *Da Berakwe* (another species of bird), and they got a large number of pigs. Then *Berakwe* said to *Bumu* 'We want some cane to tie up all these pigs. You go and get it.' When *Bumu* had gone *Berakwe* climbed up into a big *Dipterocarpus* tree, taking all the pigs with him, except one very small one which he left behind. When *Bumu* came back with the cane he found only one small pig, and he was very angry. He went home with the pig. *Bumu's* wife *Yakoŋ* (a species of fish) said 'I am very hungry. We will go and get some fish by night.' At night *Yakoŋ* went out to get some fish and she passed under the tree where *Berakwe* was cooking his pigs. Some burning resin fell on her and burnt her. She looked up and saw *Berakwe* and said 'Oh! there you are; you stole all my husband's pigs.' She went home and told *Bumu*. In the morning *Bumu* got up very early and cut a number of pointed stakes of *Areca* (*čam*) wood, and fixed them all round the tree where *Berakwe* was, with the sharp points upwards. Then *Bumu* made the tree sink gradually into the ground. *Berakwe* fell from the tree on to the stakes and so was killed. *Bumu* and his wife got the pigs."

Mr Man records a version of the same story.

"The legend regarding the origin of the evil spirits known as *Čọl* is as follows:—Their ancestor, *Maia Čọl*, one day stole a pig which had been captured by *Maia Kọlwọt*, and climbed up into a gurjon-tree with his prize. Now *Maia Kọlwọt* was remarkable for his great strength, and being enraged, determined to revenge himself; he thereupon planted a number of spikes all round the tree in which the thief had taken refuge, and then proceeded to force it into the ground. On finding that if he remained where he was, he must inevitably be buried alive, *Maia Čọl* sprang off the tree, and thereby met a more terrible fate, for he was impaled on the spikes, and perished miserably. His disembodied spirit did not pass to *Čaitan* (Hades), but took up its abode on the invisible bridge, where, by *Puluga's* orders, numbers of his

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descendants were sent to join him, in the form of black birds with long tails[1]." 773 539

In reference to this version it may be noted that the *Čǫl* are not "spirits" if that word is used to translate the native term *čauga* or *lau*. *Čǫl* is the name of a species of bird, which I believe is the racket-tailed drongo. These birds, though according to Mr Man they live on the rainbow, are to be seen every day in the jungle, and may be heard calling *čǫl! čǫl! čǫl!*

Throughout the Great Andaman there is a belief in a huge animal that haunts the jungles, or that haunted them in the days of the ancestors. In the North Andaman this beast is called *ǰirmu*. In the days of the ancestors it is supposed to have lived at *Ulibi-tay*, where it attacked and killed any men and women who came in its way. No detailed legend about the *ǰirmu* was obtained.

In the *Akar-Bale* language *Kočurag-boa* is the name of the same or a similar monster. In the *A-Pučikwar* language it is called *Uču*. This is the name applied to two rocks of limestone which are situated about two or three miles south of *Wota-emi*, one being in a mangrove swamp, and the other some little way out in the sea. The following legend is told about these rocks.

"In the early days of the Andamanese, *Ta Pętie* (Sir Monitor Lizard), the first ancestor, went into the jungle and found a *čǫti* tree, up which he climbed to eat the fruit. The other people (who lived with him at *Wota-emi*) came and found him, and *Ta Pętie* threw down some of the fruit to them, which they ate. The people began to bully *Pętie* to make him throw down more of the fruit. *Pętie* got angry and said 'If you bully me like that I will call the *Uču*, and they will kill you all.' The people only laughed at him. *Pętie* called the *Uču*, calling '*Dire! dire!*' The *Uču* came, one male and one female. They caught all the people and ate them. Only *Pętie* they did not eat because he was up in the high tree. The *Uču* went off to cross the strait to *Tǫl-l'oko-tima*. They had eaten so much that they were very heavy and stuck in the sand and mud at the edge of the mangrove swamp. When *Pętie* came down from the tree he found all the people gone. He said 'Hallo! the *Uču* must have eaten

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 173.

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them all.' He went to look. He found the *Uču* stuck fast at the edge of the mangrove swamp, so that they could not move. He cut open their bellies and all the people came out, for the *Uču* had swallowed them whole. The *Uču* are there to this day."

When elephants were first introduced into the Andamans for the use of the Forest Department, they were named *Uču* by the natives, and have ever since retained that name. Similarly the natives of the Northern tribes call them *ǰirmu*.

In the *Akar-Bale* tribe there is a legend to account for the origin of a rock standing in the sea at a place called *Kwaičo-bur*.

"*Ra-gumul Kwọkọl* went fishing with his bow and arrows in the sea. His bow and arrows and he himself were turned into stone, and may be seen there to the present day."

Kwọkọl is the common tree-lizard. *Ra-gumul* is the term applied to a youth or girl who has just passed through the pig-eating ceremony described in Chap. II. A youth is not permitted to handle a bow for some days after the ceremony in question. A version of the same legend is recorded by Mr Man.

"The story regarding certain *Tomola* who failed to observe the rules for neophytes, states that, on the day after they broke their fast of *reg-ǰiri* (kidney-fat of pig), they left the encampment without giving notice of their intention to their friends, and the result was that, when they were missed and searched for, it was found that they had gone to the shore to fish, and had there met a sad fate; the body of one was discovered adhering to a large boulder, and turned into stone, while the other, likewise in a state of petrifaction, was standing erect beside it[1]."

A reef on the east side of Ritchie's Archipelago is said to have originated as follows.

"The people of *Kwaičo* went to *ǰila* to hunt turtle, taking two canoes. While they were away their wives made up a big fire in the evening at *Kwaičo*. The hunters and their canoes were turned to stone, and formed the reefs that are now there."

I believe that the explanation of this story is the belief that the moon is angry when a bright fire is visible at the time when he rises in the evening shortly after sunset[2].

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 169. [2] *Vide supra*, p. 142.

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There seems to be a legend relating to a large snake called *ǫr-čubi* in the North Andaman, but I was not able to obtain a detailed version. The following was told me in *Aka-ǰeru*. 773 539

"At *Dalamio*, in the time of the ancestors, there used to be a big snake of the kind called *ǫr-čubi*. He used to catch men and women when they were gathering honey, and kill them and eat them."

An *Akar-Bale* version is a little fuller.

"There was a man named *Biča* who went to look for honey in the jungle. He saw a big snake (*wara-ǰobo*) and from its neck was hanging a honeycomb. The snake was as big as a tree. 'Why don't you make your honey in the trees?' *Biča* said to the bees. He went home and called several of the men. They took their bows and arrows. They found the snake, and shot it with a great many arrows. They could not kill the snake, which ran away and was never seen again."

An *Akar-Bale* story relates how the first murder came to pass.

"*Da Ko* (Sir Crow) was the first of the Andamanese. He lived at *Kared-čar-buaro* with his wife *In Mud* (Lady Dove). He had a friend, *Badgi-beria* (Hawk). *Badgi-beria* had no wife and was jealous of *Da Ko* and wanted to get his wife. When *Da Ko* knew this he was very angry. He went into the jungle and hid himself. By and by he saw *Badgi-beria* and *Mud* coming along the path together. He took his bow and arrows and killed them."

Another *Akar-Bale* story about the dove is as follows.

"*Mud* and *Kulal* were cooking pig and got very hot. They went to bathe and were turned into birds."

Mud is the bronze-winged dove, *Chalcophaps indica*, and *kulal* is the teal, *Nettium albigulare*.

In the North Andaman there are tales about the sea-eagle (*kǫlo*). One is to the effect that at first he used *kǫbo* (*Licuala*) leaves to fly with. This was before he had wings of his own. Another story is as follows.

"*Maia Kǫlo* (Sir Sea-eagle) lived at *Čona* in *Tau-'ra-miku*. He had a hut in the top of a *tǫrǫktato* tree. He was unmarried.

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773 539 When the men went fishing he used to steal their wives. He would only take good-looking girls. He would call out to a girl to come and catch hold of his foot, saying 'I have a fish for you.' If an old or ugly woman came, he would say 'No! not you; go away.' When a young woman came and caught hold of his foot he flew away with her to his hut in the tree."

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CHAPTER V

THE INTERPRETATION OF ANDAMANESE CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS: CEREMONIAL

THE present chapter is devoted to an attempt to interpret some of the beliefs and customs of the Andaman Islanders, as they have been described in the earlier part of this work. By the interpretation of a custom is meant the discovery, not of its origin, but of its meaning. The system of beliefs and customs that exists to-day in the Andamans is the result of a long process of evolution. To seek the origin of these customs, as the word origin is here used, is to seek to know the details of the historical process by which they have come into existence. In the absence of all historical records, the most that we could do would be to attempt to make a hypothetical reconstruction of the past, which, in the present state of ethnological science, would be of very doubtful utility[1].

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It is otherwise with the meaning of these customs. Every custom and belief of a primitive society plays some determinate part in the social life of the community, just as every organ of a living body plays some part in the general life of the organism. The mass of institutions, customs and beliefs forms a single whole or system that determines the life of the society, and the life of a society is not less real, or less subject to natural laws, than the

[1] The making of such hypothetical reconstructions of the past has been regarded by a number of writers as the principal if not the sole task of ethnology. My own view is that such studies can never be of any great *scientific* value. Although, within narrow limits, particularly when the method is applied to the facts of language and material culture, it is possible to reach conclusions of some degree of probability, yet by their very nature all such hypotheses are incapable of verification. Moreover, the purpose of scientific studies is to discover general laws, and hypotheses as to events in the past of which we have and can have no certain knowledge will not provide suitable material from which to draw generalisations.

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life of an organism. To continue the analogy, the study of the meaning of savage customs is a sort of social physiology, and is to be distinguished from the study of origins, or changes of custom in just the same way that animal physiology is distinguished from the biology that deals with the origin of species, the causes of variation, and the general laws of evolution.

The problems that this chapter presents are therefore not historical but psychological or sociological. We have to explain why it is that the Andamanese think and act in certain ways. The explanation of each single custom is provided by showing what is its relation to the other customs of the Andamanese and to their general system of ideas and sentiments.

Thus the subject of the present chapter is not in any way affected by questions of the historical origin of the customs with which it deals, but is concerned only with those customs as they exist at the present day. Nor are we concerned with the comparison of the customs of the Andamanese with those of other savage races. Such comparisons are not only valueless for our purpose, but might be misleading. To draw any valid conclusion from the comparison of two apparently similar customs in two different societies, we must be sure that they are really similar, and to do this we need to know the true meaning of each of them considered by itself. The true comparative method consists of the comparison, not of one isolated custom of one society with a similar custom of another, but of the whole system of institutions, customs and beliefs of one society with that of another. In a word, what we need to compare is not institutions but social systems or types.

It is often urged that in ethnology description and interpretation should be most carefully separated. So far as this means that the facts observed by the ethnologist should be recorded free from all bias of interpretation, the necessity cannot be too often or too strongly urged. If, however, it is meant to imply that efforts at interpretation are to be excluded from works of descriptive ethnology, there is much to be said against such an opinion. In trying to interpret the institutions of a primitive society the field ethnologist has a great advantage over those who know the facts only at second hand. However exact and

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detailed the description of a primitive people may be, there remains much that cannot be put into such a description. Living, as he must, in daily contact with the people he is studying, the field ethnologist comes gradually to "understand" them, if we may use the term. He acquires a series of multitudinous impressions, each slight and often vague, that guide him in his dealings with them. The better the observer the more accurate will be his general impression of the mental peculiarities of the race. This general impression it is impossible to analyse, and so to record and convey to others. Yet it may be of the greatest service when it comes to interpreting the beliefs and practices of a primitive society. If it does not give any positive aid towards a correct interpretation, it at least prevents errors into which it is only too easy for those to fall who have not the same immediate knowledge of the people and their ways. Indeed it may be urged, with some reason, that attempts to interpret the beliefs of savages without any first-hand knowledge of the people whose beliefs are in question, are at the best unsatisfactory and open to many possibilities of error.

The present position of ethnological studies may well be regarded as anomalous. Many of the observers engaged in recording the customs of primitive people are very imperfectly acquainted with modern theories of sociology. One result of this is that they often neglect to record anything concerning matters that are of fundamental importance for the theorist[1]. On the other hand those engaged in elaborating hypotheses do not, as a rule, observe for themselves the facts to be explained, but have to rely on what are in many cases imperfect documents, being thus unwittingly led into errors that might have been avoided. In this science, as in others, if progress is to be made, the elaboration of hypotheses and the observation and classification of facts must be carried on as interdependent parts of one process, and no advantage, but rather great disadvantage, results from the false division of labour whereby theorists and observers

[1] It may be worth while to mention that the interpretation of Andamanese customs given in this chapter was not worked out until after I had left the islands. Had it been otherwise I should have made careful enquiries into subjects which, as it was, escaped my notice.

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work independently and without systematic cooperation. The most urgent need of ethnology at the present time is a series of investigations of the kind here attempted, in which the observation and the analysis and interpretation of the institutions of some one primitive people are carried on together by the ethnologist working in the field.

It is clear that such studies need to be based on a scientific and carefully elaborated method. Unfortunately ethnologists are not yet agreed as to the methods of their science. The question of method is therefore, at the present time, of the greatest importance, and for this reason I have tried, in the present chapter, to present the argument in such a way that the various steps of the analysis shall be immediately apparent, so that the reader may be able not only to judge the value of the conclusions, but also to form a clear idea of the psychological methods by which they are reached.

Any attempt to explain or interpret the particular beliefs and customs of a savage people is necessarily based on some general psychological hypothesis as to the real nature of the phenomena to be explained. The sound rule of method is therefore to formulate clearly and explicitly the working hypothesis on which the interpretation is based. It is only in this way that its value can be properly tested.

The hypothesis that seems to be most usually adopted by English writers on anthropology is that the beliefs of savage peoples are due to attempts on the part of primitive man to explain to himself the phenomena of life and nature. The student of human customs, examining his own mind, finds that one of the motives most constantly present in his consciousness is the desire to understand, to explain—in other words what we call scientific curiosity. He concludes that this motive is equally insistent in the mind of primitive man. Thus he supposes that primitive man, wishing to explain the phenomena of death and of sleep and dreams, framed a hypothesis that every man possesses a soul or spiritual double[1]. The hypothesis, once formulated, is supposed to have been accepted and believed

[1] Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I, 387.

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because it satisfied this need of comprehension. On this view the belief in a soul (animism) is exactly similar in character to the scientific belief in atoms, let us say. The same general hypothesis appears in the explanation of totemism as having arisen as a theory invented by primitive man in order to explain the phenomena of pregnancy and childbirth[1].

On this hypothesis the beliefs are primary, arising first merely as beliefs and then acquiring the power to influence action and so giving rise to all sorts of ceremonies and customs. Thus these customs are only to be explained by showing that they depend on particular beliefs. This hypothesis, which we may call the intellectualist hypothesis, has never, so far as I am aware, been very clearly formulated or defended, but it does seem to underlie many of the explanations of the customs of primitive man to be found in works on ethnology.

A second hypothesis explains the beliefs of primitive man as being due to emotions of surprise and terror[2], or of awe and wonder[3] aroused by the contemplation of the phenomena of nature.

Both these hypotheses may be held together, one being used to explain some primitive beliefs and the other to explain others[4].

Doubtless there are other psychological hypotheses underlying the many attempts that have been made to explain the customs of primitive peoples, but these two seem to be the most important and the most widespread. They are mentioned here, not in order to criticise them, but in order to contrast them with the hypothesis to be formulated in the present chapter[5].

Stated as briefly as possible the working hypothesis here adopted is as follows. (1) A society depends for its existence on the presence in the minds of its members of a certain system of

[1] Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, IV.

[2] Max Müller, *Physical Religion*, p. 119.

[3] Marett, *Threshold of Religion*.

[4] McDougall, *Introduction to Social Psychology*, Chap. XIII, seems to combine the two hypotheses.

[5] For a criticism of the hypotheses of animism and naturism as explanations of primitive religion see Durkheim, *Les Formes Élémentaires de la Vie Religieuse*, Book I, chapters 2 and 3.

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sentiments[1] by which the conduct of the individual is regulated in conformity with the needs of the society. (2) Every feature of the social system itself and every event or object that in any way affects the well-being or the cohesion of the society becomes an object of this system of sentiments. (3) In human society the sentiments in question are not innate but are developed in the individual by the action of the society upon him. (4) The ceremonial customs of a society are a means by which the sentiments in question are given collective expression on appropriate occasions. (5) The ceremonial (i.e. collective) expression of any sentiment serves both to maintain it at the requisite degree of intensity in the mind of the individual and to transmit it from one generation to another. Without such expression the sentiments involved could not exist.

Using the term "social function" to denote the effects of an institution (custom or belief) in so far as they concern the society and its solidarity or cohesion, the hypothesis of this chapter may be more briefly resumed in the statement that the social function of the ceremonial customs of the Andaman Islanders is to maintain and to transmit from one generation to another the emotional dispositions on which the society (as it is constituted) depends for its existence.

The present chapter contains an attempt to apply this hypothesis to the ceremonial customs of the Andaman Islanders. An attempt will be made to show that there is a correspondence between the customs and beliefs of the Andamanese and a certain system of social sentiments, and that there is also a correspondence between these sentiments and the manner in which the society is constituted. It is an attempt to discover necessary connections between the different characters of a society as they exist in the present. No attempt will be made to discover or imagine the historical process by which these customs have come into existence.

For the clearer understanding of the argument it is necessary to draw attention to a few rules of method that will be observed. (1) In explaining any given custom it is necessary to take

[1] Sentiment,—an organised system of emotional tendencies centred about some object.

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into account the explanation given by the natives themselves. Although these explanations are not of the same kind as the scientific explanations that are the objects of our search yet they are of great importance as data. Like the civilised man of Western Europe the savage of the Andamans seeks to rationalise his behaviour; being impelled to certain actions by mental dispositions of whose origin and real nature he is unaware, he seeks to formulate reasons for his conduct, or even if he does not so when left to himself he is compelled to when the enquiring ethnologist attacks him with questions. Such a reason as is produced by this process of rationalisation is rarely if ever identical with the psychological cause of the action that it justifies, yet it will nearly always help us in our search for the cause. At any rate the reason given as explaining an action is so intimately connected with the action itself that we cannot regard any hypothesis as to the meaning of a custom as being satisfactory unless it explains not only the custom but also the reasons that the natives give for following it. (2) The assumption is made that when the same or a similar custom is practised on different occasions it has the same or a similar meaning in all of them. For example, there are different occasions on which a personal name is avoided; it is assumed that there is something in common to all these occasions and that the meaning of the custom is to be discovered by ascertaining what that common element is. (3) It is assumed that when different customs are practised together on one and the same occasion there is a common element in the customs. This rule is the inverse of the last. As an example may be mentioned the different customs observed by mourners, which may be assumed to be all related to one another. The discovery of what is common to them all will explain the meaning of each. (4) I have avoided, as being misleading as well as unnecessary, any comparison of Andamanese customs with similar customs of other races. Only in one or two instances have I broken this rule, and in those I believe I am justified by special considerations.

We can conveniently begin by considering the Andamanese marriage ceremony, which is one of the simplest and most easily understood. The main feature of it is that the bride and bride-

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groom are required publicly to embrace each other. In the North Andaman the embrace is made gradually, by stages as it were, each stage being more intimate than the preceding. At first the two sit side by side, then their arms are placed around each other, and finally the bridegroom is made to sit on the bride's lap[1].

Everywhere in human life the embrace is employed as an expression of such feelings as love, affection, friendship, i.e. of feelings of attachment between persons. There is no need to enquire into the psycho-physical basis of this expression. It is probably intimately related to the nursing of the infant by the mother, and is certainly very closely connected with the development of the sex instinct. It is sufficient for our purpose to satisfy ourselves that the embrace in all its forms does always express feelings of one generic kind. Nor is it necessary for us to consider the peculiar form of the Andamanese embrace, in which one person sits down and extends his or her legs, while the other person sits on the lap so formed and the two wrap their arms round one another's necks and shoulders.

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The meaning of the marriage ceremony is readily seen. By marriage the man and woman are brought into a special and intimate relation to one another; they are, as we say, united. The social union is symbolised or expressed by the physical union of the embrace. The ceremony brings vividly to the minds of the young couple and also to those of the spectators the consciousness that the two are entering upon a new social relation of which the essential feature is the affection in which they must hold one another.

The rite has two aspects according as we regard it from the standpoint of the witnesses or from that of the couple themselves. The witnesses, by their presence, give their sanction to the union that is thus enacted before them. The man who conducts the ceremony is merely the active representative of the community; in what he does and says he acts as a deputy and not as a private individual. Thus the ceremony serves to make it clear that the marriage is a matter which concerns not only those who are entering into it, but the whole community,

[1] See p. 73 above.

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and its occasional performance serves to keep alive this sentiment with regard to marriage in general. The existence of the sentiment is shown in the reprobation felt and often expressed at an irregular marriage, in which the couple unite without a ceremony; such a union showing a contemptuous or careless thrusting aside of an important social principle. 182x 585

For the witnesses, then, the ceremony serves to awaken to activity and to express this sentiment; but it also serves as a recognition on their part of the change of status of the marrying pair. It makes them realise that henceforward the young couple must be treated no longer as children but as responsible adults, and it is thus the occasion of a change of sentiment towards those whose social position is being changed. For in the society of the Andamans there is a very marked division between married and unmarried persons in the way in which they are regarded by others, and in respect of their place in the community.

The married couple are made to realise, in a different way and with a much greater intensity of feeling, these same two things; first, that their union in marriage is a matter that concerns the whole community, and second, that they are entering a new condition, with new privileges but also with new duties and obligations. For them, indeed, the ceremony is a sort of ordeal from which they would only too gladly escape, and which, by the powerful emotions it evokes in them very vividly impresses upon them what their marriage means.

The wedding gifts that are bestowed upon the young couple are an expression of the general good-will towards them. The giving of presents is a common method of expressing friendship in the Andamans. Thus when two friends meet after separation, the first thing they do after having embraced and wept together, is to give one another presents. In most instances the giving is reciprocal, and is therefore really an exchange. If a present be given as a sign of good-will the giver expects to receive a present of about equal value in return. The reason for this is obvious; the one has expressed his good-will towards the other, and if the feeling is reciprocated a return present must be given in order to express it. So also it would be an insult to refuse a 182x 431

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present offered, for to do so would be equivalent to rejecting the good-will it represents. At marriage the giving is one-sided, no return being expected, for it is an expression not of personal friendship on the part of the givers, but of the general social good-will and approval. It is for this reason that it is the duty of everybody who is present to make some gift to the newly-married pair.

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In another simple ceremony, the peace-making ceremony of the North Andaman[1], the meaning is again easily discovered; the symbolism of the dance being indeed at once obvious to a witness, though perhaps not quite so obvious from the description given. The dancers are divided into two parties. The actions of the one party throughout are expressions of their aggressive feelings towards the other. This is clear enough in the shouting, the threatening gestures, and the way in which each member of the "attacking" party gives a good shaking to each member of the other party. On the other side what is expressed may be described as complete passivity; the performers stand quite still throughout the whole dance, taking care to show neither fear nor resentment at the treatment to which they have to submit. Thus those of the one side give collective expression to their collective anger, which is thereby appeased. The others, by passively submitting to this, humbling themselves before the just wrath of their enemies, expiate their wrongs. Anger appeased dies down; wrongs expiated are forgiven and forgotten; the enmity is at an end.

The screen of fibre against which the passive participants in the ceremony stand has a peculiar symbolic meaning that will be explained later in the chapter. The only other elements of the ceremony are the weeping together, which will be dealt with very soon, and the exchange of weapons, which is simply a special form of the rite of exchanging presents as an expression of good-will. The special form is particularly appropriate as it would seem to ensure at least some months of friendship, for you cannot go out to fight a man with his weapons while he has yours.

The purpose of the ceremony is clearly to produce a change

[1] Page 134.

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in the feelings of the two parties towards one another, feelings of enmity being replaced through it by feelings of friendship and solidarity. It depends for its effect on the fact that anger and similar aggressive feelings may be appeased by being freely expressed. Its social function is to restore the condition of solidarity between two local groups that has been destroyed by some act of offence. 182x 728

The marriage ceremony and the peace-making dance both afford examples of the custom which the Andamanese have of weeping together under certain circumstances. The principal occasions of this ceremonial weeping are as follows: (1) when two friends or relatives meet after having been for some time parted, they embrace each other and weep together; (2) at the peace-making ceremony the two parties of former enemies weep together, embracing each other; (3) at the end of the period of mourning the friends of the mourners (who have not themselves been mourning) weep with the latter; (4) after a death the relatives and friends embrace the corpse and weep over it; (5) when the bones of a dead man or woman are recovered from the grave they are wept over; (6) on the occasion of a marriage the relatives of each weep over the bride and bridegroom; (7) at various stages of the initiation ceremonies the female relatives of a youth or girl weep over him or her. 182x 728 201

First of all it is necessary to note that not in any of the above-mentioned instances is the weeping simply a spontaneous expression of feeling. It is always a rite the proper performance of which is demanded by custom. (As mentioned in an earlier chapter, the Andamanese are able to sit down and shed tears at will.) Nor can we explain the weeping as being an expression of sorrow. It is true that some of the occasions are such as to produce sorrowful feelings (4 and 5, for example), but there are others on which there would seem to be no reason for sorrow but rather for joy. The Andamanese do weep from sorrow and spontaneously. A child cries when he is scolded or hurt; a widow weeps thinking of her recently dead husband. Men rarely weep spontaneously for any reason, though they shed tears abundantly when taking part in the rite. The weeping on the occasions enumerated is therefore not a spontaneous expression 182x 201

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of individual emotion but is an example of what I have called ceremonial customs. In certain circumstances men and women are required by custom to embrace one another and weep, and if they neglected to do so it would be an offence condemned by all right-thinking persons.

According to the postulate of method laid down at the beginning of the chapter we have to seek such an explanation of this custom as will account for all the different occasions on which the rite is performed, since we must assume that one and the same rite has the same meaning in whatever circumstances it may take place. It must be noted, however, that there are two varieties of the rite. In the first three instances enumerated above the rite is reciprocal, i.e. two persons or two distinct groups of persons weep together and embrace each other, both parties to the rite being active. In the other four instances it is one-sided; a person or group of persons weeps over another person (or the relics of a person) who has only a passive part in the ceremony. Any explanation, to be satisfactory, must take account of the difference between these two varieties.

I would explain the rite as being an expression of that feeling of attachment between persons which is of such importance in the almost domestic life of the Andaman society. In other words the purpose of the rite is to affirm the existence of a social bond between two or more persons.

There are two elements in the ceremony, the embrace and the weeping. We have already seen that the embrace is an expression, in the Andamans as elsewhere, of the feeling of attachment, i.e. the feeling of which love, friendship, affection are varieties. Turning to the second element of the ceremony, we are accustomed to think of weeping as more particularly an expression of sorrow. We are familiar, however, with tears of joy, and I have myself observed tears that were the result neither of joy nor of sorrow but of a sudden overwhelming feeling of affection. I believe that we may describe weeping as being a means by which the mind obtains relief from a condition of emotional tension, and that it is because such conditions of tension are most common in feelings of grief and pain that

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weeping comes to be associated with painful feelings. It is impossible here to discuss this subject, and I am therefore compelled to assume without proof this proposition on which my explanation of the rite is based[1]. My own conclusion, based on careful observation, is that in this rite the weeping is an expression of what has been called the tender emotion[2]. Without doubt, on some of the occasions of the rite, as when weeping over a dead friend, the participants are suffering a painful emotion, but this is evidently not so on all occasions. It is true, however, as I shall show, that on every occasion of the rite there is a condition of emotional tension due to the sudden calling into activity of the sentiment of personal attachment.

When two friends or relatives meet after having been separated, the social relation between them that has been interrupted is about to be renewed. This social relation implies or depends upon the existence of a specific bond of solidarity between them. The weeping rite (together with the subsequent exchange of presents) is the affirmation of this bond. The rite, which, it must be remembered, is obligatory, compels the two participants to act as though they felt certain emotions, and thereby does, to some extent, produce those emotions in them. When the two friends meet their first feeling seems to be one of shyness mingled with pleasure at seeing each other again. This is according to the statements of the natives as well as my own observation. Now this shyness (the Andamanese use the same word as they do for "shame") is itself a condition of emotional tension, which has to be relieved in some way. The embrace awakens to full activity that feeling of affection or friendship that has been dormant and which it is the business of the rite to renew. The weeping gives relief to the emotional tension just noted, and also reinforces the effect of the embrace. This it does owing to the fact that a strong feeling of personal attachment is always produced when two persons join together in sharing and simul-

[1] In a few words the psycho-physical theory here assumed is that weeping is a substitute for motor activity when the kinetic system of the body (motor centres, thyroid, suprarenals, etc.) is stimulated but no effective action in direct response to the stimulus is possible at the moment. When a sentiment is stimulated and action to which it might lead is frustrated, the resultant emotional state is usually painful, and hence weeping is commonly associated with painful states.

[2] McDougall, *Social Psychology*.

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X 182 201 taneously expressing one and the same emotion[1]. The little ceremony thus serves to dispel the initial feeling of shyness and to reinstate the condition of intimacy and affection that existed before the separation.

X 182 201 728 In the peace-making ceremony the purpose of the whole rite is to abolish a condition of enmity and replace it by one of friendship. The once friendly relations between the two groups have been interrupted by a longer or shorter period of antagonism. We have seen that the effect of the dance is to dispel the wrath of the one group by giving it free expression. The weeping that follows is the renewal of the friendship. The rite is here exactly parallel to that on the meeting of two friends, except that not two individuals but two groups are concerned, and that owing to the number of persons involved the emotional condition is one of much greater intensity[2]. Here therefore also we see that the rite is an affirmation of solidarity or social union, in this instance between the groups, and that the rule is in its nature such as to make the participants feel that they are bound to each other by ties of friendship.

X 182 765 201 We now come to a more difficult example of the rite, that at the end of mourning. It will be shown later in the chapter that during the period of mourning the mourners are cut off from the ordinary life of the community. By reason of the ties that still bind them to the dead person they are placed, as it were, outside the society and the bonds that unite them to their group are temporarily loosened. At the end of the mourning period they re-enter the society and take up once more their place in the social life. Their return to the community is the occasion on which they and their friends weep together. In this instance also, therefore, the rite may be explained as having for its purpose the renewal of the social relations that have been interrupted. This explanation will seem more convincing when we have considered in detail the customs of mourning. If it be accepted, then it

[1] Active sympathy, the habitual sharing of joyful and painful emotions, is of the utmost importance in the formation of sentiments of personal attachment.

[2] It is a commonplace of psychology that a collective emotion, i.e. one felt and expressed at the same moment by a number of persons, is felt much more intensely than an unshared emotion of the same kind.

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may be seen that in the first three instances of the rite of weeping (those in which the action is reciprocal) we have conditions in which social relations that have been interrupted are about to be renewed, and the rite serves as a ceremony of aggregation. 182x 765 201

Let us now consider the second variety of the rite, and first of all its meaning as part of the ceremony of marriage. By marriage the social bonds that have to that time united the bride and bridegroom to their respective relatives, particularly their female relatives such as mother, mother's sister, father's sister and adopted mother, are modified. The unmarried youth or girl is in a position of dependence upon his or her older relatives, and by the marriage this dependence is partly abolished. Whereas the principal duties of the bride were formerly those towards her mother and older female relatives, henceforth her chief duties in life will be towards her husband. The position of the bridegroom is similar, and it must be noted that his social relations with his male relatives are less affected by his marriage than those with his female relatives. Yet, though the ties that have bound the bride and bridegroom to their relatives are about to be modified or partially destroyed by the new ties of marriage with its new duties and rights they will still continue to exist in a weakened and changed condition. The rite of weeping is the expression of this. It serves to make real (by feeling), in those taking part in it, the presence of the social ties that are being modified. 182x 201 585

When the mother of the bride or bridegroom weeps at a marriage she feels that her son or daughter is being taken from her care. She has the sorrow of a partial separation and she consoles herself by expressing in the rite her continued feeling of tenderness and affection towards him in the new condition that he is entering upon. For her the chief result of the rite is to make her feel that her child is still an object of her affection, still bound to her by close ties, in spite of the fact that he or she is being taken from her care.

Exactly the same explanation holds with regard to the weeping at the initiation ceremonies. By these ceremonies the youth (or girl) is gradually withdrawn from a condition of dependence on his mother and older female relatives and is made an independent 182x 201 881

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member of the community. The initiation is a long process that is only completed by marriage. At every stage of the lengthy ceremonies therefore, the social ties that unite the initiate to these relatives are modified or weakened, and the rite of weeping is the means by which the significance of the change is impressed upon those taking part in it. For the mother the weeping expresses her resignation at her necessary loss, and acts as a consolation by making her feel that her son is still hers, though now being withdrawn from her care. For the boy the rite has a different meaning. He realises that he is no longer merely a child, dependent upon his mother, but is now entering upon manhood. His former feelings towards his mother must be modified. That he is being separated from her is, for him, the most important aspect of the matter, and therefore while she weeps he must give no sign of tenderness in return but must sit passive and silent. So also in the marriage ceremony, the rite serves to impress upon the young man and woman that they are, by reason of the new ties that they are forming with one another, severing their ties with their families.

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When a person dies the social bonds that unite him to the survivors are profoundly modified. They are not in an instant utterly destroyed, as we shall see better when we deal with the funeral and mourning customs, for the friends and relatives still feel towards the dead person that affection in which they held him when alive, and this has now become a source of deep grief. It is this affection still binding them to him that they express in the rite of weeping over the corpse. Here rite and natural expression of emotion coincide, but it must be noted that the weeping is obligatory, a matter of duty. In this instance, then, the rite is similar to that at marriage and initiation. The man is by death cut off from the society to which he belonged, and from association with his friends, but the latter still feel towards him that attachment that bound them together while he lived, and it is this attachment that they express when they embrace the lifeless corpse and weep over it.

There remains only one more instance of the rite to be considered. When the period of mourning for a dead person is over and the bones are recovered the modification in the relations

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between the dead and the living, which begins at death, and is, as we shall see, carried out by the mourning customs and ceremonies, is finally accomplished. The dead person is now entirely cut off from the world of the living, save that his bones are to be treasured as relics and amulets. The weeping over the bones must be taken, I think, as a rite of aggregation whereby the bones as representative of the dead person (all that is left of him) are received back into the society henceforth to fill a special place in the social life. It really constitutes a renewal of social relations with the dead person, after a period during which all active social relations have been interrupted owing to the danger in all contact between the living and the dead. By the rite the affection that was once felt towards the dead person is revived and is now directed to the skeletal relics of the man or woman that once was their object. If this explanation seem unsatisfactory, I would ask the reader to suspend his judgment until the funeral customs of the Andamans have been discussed, and then to return to this point. 182x 201 765

The proffered explanation of the rite of weeping should now be plain. I regard it as being the affirmation of a bond of social solidarity between those taking part in it, and as producing in them a realisation of that bond by arousing the sentiment of attachment. In some instances the rite therefore serves to renew social relations when they have been interrupted, and in such instances the rite is reciprocal. In others it serves to show the continued existence of the social bond when it is being weakened or modified, as by marriage, initiation or death. In all instances we may say that the purpose of the rite is to bring about a new state of the affective dispositions that regulate the conduct of persons to one another, either by reviving sentiments that have lain dormant, or producing a recognition of a change in the condition of personal relations. 182x 201

The study of these simple ceremonies has shown us several things of importance. (1) In every instance the ceremony is the expression of an affective state of mind shared by two or more persons. Thus the weeping rite expresses feelings of solidarity, the exchange of presents expresses good-will. (2) But the ceremonies are not spontaneous expressions of feeling; they are all 182x

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customary actions to which the sentiment of obligation attaches, which it is the duty of persons to perform on certain definite occasions. It is the duty of everyone in a community to give presents at a wedding; it is the duty of relatives to weep together when they meet. (3) In every instance the ceremony is to be explained by reference to fundamental laws regulating the affective life of human beings. It is not our business here to analyse these phenomena but only to satisfy ourselves that they are real. That weeping is an outlet for emotional excitement, that the free expression of aggressive feelings causes them to die out instead of smouldering on, that an embrace is an expression of feelings of attachment between persons: these are the psychological generalisations upon which are based the explanations given above of various ceremonies of the Andamanese. (4) Finally, we have seen that each of the ceremonies serves to renew or to modify in the minds of those taking part in it some one or more of the social sentiments. The peace-making ceremony is a method by which feelings of enmity are exchanged for feelings of friendship. The marriage rite serves to arouse in the minds of the marrying pair a sense of their obligations as married folk, and to bring about in the minds of the witnesses a change of feeling towards the young people such as should properly accompany their change of social status. The weeping and exchange of presents when friends come together is a means of renewing their feelings of attachment to one another. The weeping at marriage, at initiation, and on the occasion of a death is a reaction of defence or compensation when feelings of solidarity are attacked by a partial breaking of the social ties that bind persons to one another.

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In the ceremonial life of the Andamans some part is played by dancing, and it will be convenient to consider next the meaning and function of the dance. It is necessary, however, to deal very briefly with this subject and omit much that would have to be included in an exhaustive study. Thus the ordinary Andaman dance may be looked upon as a form of play; it also shows us the beginnings of the arts of dancing, music and poetry; and therefore in any study pretending to completeness it would be necessary to discuss the difficult problem of the relation between art, play and ceremonial in social life, a subject of too wide a

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scope to be handled in such an essay as this. For our present purpose we are concerned with the dance only as a form of social ceremonial. 182X 535

If an Andaman Islander is asked why he dances he gives an answer that amounts to saying that he does so because he enjoys it. Dancing is therefore in general a means of enjoyment. It is frequently a rejoicing. The Andaman Islanders dance after a successful day of hunting; they do not dance if their day has been one of disappointment.

Pleasurable mental excitement finds its natural expression in bodily activity, as we see most plainly in young children and in some animals. And in its turn mere muscular activity is itself a source of pleasure. The individual shouts and jumps for joy; the society turns the jump into a dance, the shout into a song.

The essential character of all dancing is that it is rhythmical, and it is fairly evident that the primary function of this rhythmical nature of the dance is to enable a number of persons to join in the same actions and perform them as one body. In the Andamans at any rate it is clear that the spectacular dance (such as the performance described on page 164) is a late development out of the common dance. And it is probable that the history of the dance is everywhere the same, that it began as a common dance in which all present take some active part, and from this first form (still surviving in our ball-room dances) arose the spectacular dance in which one or more dancers perform before spectators who take no part themselves.

In the Andamans the song is an accompaniment of the dance. The dancing and singing and the marking of the rhythm by clapping and by stamping on the sounding-board are all parts of the one common action in which all join and which for convenience is here spoken of as the dance. It is probable that here again the Andamanese practice shows us the earliest stage in the development of the song, that song and music at first had no independent existence but together with dancing formed one activity. It is reasonable to suppose that the song first came into general use in human society because it provides a means by which a number of persons can utter the same series of sounds 182X 533

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X 182 533 together and as with one voice, this being made possible by the fixed rhythm and the fixed pitch of the whole song and of each part of it (i.e. by melody). Once the art of song was in existence its further development was doubtless largely dependent upon the esthetic pleasure that it is able to give. But in the Andamans the esthetic pleasure that the natives get from their simple and monotonous songs seems to me of quite secondary importance as compared with the value of the song as a joint social activity.

X 182 535 The movements of the ordinary Great Andaman dance do not seem to me to be in themselves expressive, or at any rate they are not obviously mimetic like the movements of the dances of many primitive folk. Their function seems to be to bring into activity as many of the muscles of the body as possible. The bending of the body at the hips and of the legs at the knees, with the slightly backward poise of the head and the common position of the arms held in line with the shoulders with the elbows crooked and the thumb and first finger of each hand clasping those of the other, produce a condition of tension of a great number of the muscles of the trunk and limbs. The attitude is one in which all the main joints of the body are between complete flexion and complete extension so that there is approximately an equal tension in the opposing groups of flexor and extensor muscles. Thus the whole body of the dancer is full of active forces balanced one against another, resulting in a condition of flexibility and alertness without strain.

While the dance thus brings into play the whole muscular system of the dancer it also requires the activity of the two chief senses, that of sight to guide the dancer in his movements amongst the others and that of hearing to enable him to keep time with the music. Thus the dancer is in a condition in which all the bodily and mental activities are harmoniously directed to one end.

Finally, in order to understand the function of the Andamanese dance it must be noted that every adult member of the community takes some part in it. All the able-bodied men join in the dance itself; all the women join in the chorus. If anyone through ill-health or old age is unable to take any active part,

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he or she is at least necessarily a spectator, for the dance takes place in the centre of the village in the open space towards which the huts usually face[1].

The Andamanese dance (with its accompanying song) may therefore be described as an activity in which, by virtue of the effects of rhythm and melody, all the members of a community are able harmoniously to cooperate and act in unity; which requires on the part of the dancer a continual condition of tension free from strain; and which produces in those taking part in it a high degree of pleasure. We must now proceed to examine very briefly the chief effects on the mental condition of those taking part[2].

First let us consider some of the effects of rhythm. Any marked rhythm exercises over those submitted to its influence a constraint, impelling them to yield to it and to permit it to direct and regulate the movements of the body and even those of the mind. If one does not yield to this constraining influence it produces a state of restlessness that may become markedly unpleasant. One who yields himself utterly to it, as does the dancer when he joins in the dance, still continues to feel the constraint, but so far from being unpleasant it now produces a pleasure of a quite distinct quality. The first point for us to note therefore is that through the effect of rhythm the dance affords an experience of a constraint or force of a peculiar kind acting upon the individual and inducing in him when he yields himself to it a pleasure of self-surrender. The peculiarity of the force in question is that it seems to act upon the individual both from without (since it is the sight of his friends dancing and the sound of the singing and marking time that occasions it), and also from within (since the impulse to yield himself to the constraining rhythm comes from his own organism).

A second effect of the rhythm of the dance is due to the well-known fact that a series of actions performed rhythmically

[1] It will be shown later in the chapter that when individuals are excluded from participation in the dance it is because they are in a condition of partial exclusion from the common life.

[2] The psychology of dancing offers a wide field for study that has as yet, so far as I know, been barely touched. The following brief notes are therefore necessarily incomplete and somewhat unsatisfactory.

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produces very much less fatigue than actions not rhythmical requiring the same expenditure of muscular energy. So the dancer feels that in and through the dance he obtains such an increase of his personal energy that he is able to accomplish strenuous exertions with a minimum of fatigue. This effect of rhythm is reinforced by the excitement produced by the rapid movements of the dancers, the loud sounds of the song and clapping and sounding-board, and intensified, as all collective states of emotion are intensified, by reason of being collective; with the result that the Andaman Islanders are able to continue their strenuous dancing through many hours of the night[1].

There is yet a third most important effect of rhythm. Recent psychology shows that what are called the esthetic emotions are largely dependent upon motor images. We call a form beautiful when, through the movements of the eye in following it, we feel it as movement, and as movement of a particular kind which we can only describe at present by using such a word as 'harmonious.' Similarly our esthetic appreciation of music seems to be largely dependent on our feeling the music as movement, the sounds appealing not to the ear only but to stored-up unconscious motor memories. With regard to dancing, our pleasure in watching the graceful, rhythmical and harmonious movements of the dancer is an esthetic pleasure of similar nature to that obtained from the contemplation of beautiful shapes or listening to music. But when the individual is himself dancing it does not seem quite fitting to call his pleasure esthetic. Yet the dance, even the simple dance of the Andamans, does make, in the dancer himself, partly by the effect of rhythm, partly by the effect of the harmonious and balanced tension of the muscles, a direct appeal to that motor sense to which the contemplation of beautiful forms and movements makes only an indirect appeal. In other words the dancer actually feels within himself that harmonious action of balanced and directed forces which, in the contemplation of a beautiful form we feel as though it were in the object at which we look. Hence such dancing as that of the Andaman

[1] I have known a dance to be continued for seven or eight hours, each dancer taking only short periods of rest; and it must be remembered that the Andamanese dance is more strenuous than our ball-room dances.

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Islanders may be looked upon as an early step in the training of the esthetic sense, and to recognize all that the dance means we must make allowance for this fact that the mental state of the dancer is closely related to the mental state that we call esthetic enjoyment.

Let us now consider the effects of the dance as a social or collective activity. First, the dance affords an opportunity for the individual to exhibit before others his skill and agility and so to gratify his personal vanity. It is very easy to observe the action of this harmless vanity in the dancers, and particularly in the man who takes the place at the sounding-board and acts as soloist or leader of the chorus. The dancer seeks to feel, and does feel, that he is the object of the approbation and admiration of his friends. His self-regarding sentiments are pleasantly stimulated, so that he becomes conscious, in a state of self-satisfaction and elation, of his own personal value. This stimulation of the self-regarding sentiment is an important factor in the total effect produced by the dance.

Secondly, the dance, at the same time that it stimulates pleasantly the self-regarding sentiment, also affects the sentiments of the dancer towards his fellows. The pleasure that the dancer feels irradiates itself over everything around him and he is filled with geniality and good-will towards his companions. The sharing with others of an intense pleasure, or rather the sharing in a collective expression of pleasure, must ever incline us to such expansive feelings. It is certainly a readily observable fact that in the Andamans the dance does produce a condition of warm good-fellowship in those taking part in it. There is no need to enquire more closely into the mental mechanisms by which this is brought about.

The Andaman dance, then, is a complete activity of the whole community, in which every able-bodied adult takes some part, and is also an activity in which, so far as the dancer himself is concerned, the whole personality is involved, by the innervation of all the muscles of the body, by the concentration of attention required, and by its action on the personal sentiments. In the dance the individual submits to the action upon him of the community; he is constrained, by the immediate effect of

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X 182 535 rhythm as well as by custom, to join in, and he is required to conform in his own actions and movements to the needs of the common activity. The surrender of the individual to this constraint or obligation is not felt as painful, but on the contrary as highly pleasurable. As the dancer loses himself in the dance, as he becomes absorbed in the unified community, he reaches a state of elation in which he feels himself filled with energy or force immensely beyond his ordinary state, and so finds himself able to perform prodigies of exertion. This state of intoxication, as it might almost be called, is accompanied by a pleasant stimulation of the self-regarding sentiment, so that the dancer comes to feel a great increase in his personal force and value. And at the same time, finding himself in complete and ecstatic harmony with all the fellow-members of his community, experiences a great increase in his feelings of amity and attachment towards them.

In this way the dance produces a condition in which the unity, harmony and concord of the community are at a maximum, and in which they are intensely felt by every member. It is to produce this condition, I would maintain, that is the primary social function of the dance. The well-being, or indeed the existence, of the society depends on the unity and harmony that obtain in it, and the dance, by making that unity intensely felt, is a means of maintaining it. For the dance affords an opportunity for the direct action of the community upon the individual, and we have seen that it exercises in the individual those sentiments by which the social harmony is maintained.

X 182 535 628 It was formerly the custom, I was told, always to have a dance before setting out to a fight. The reason for this should now be clear. When a group engages in a fight with another it is to revenge some injury that has been done to the whole group. The group is to act as a group and not merely as a collection of individuals, and it is therefore necessary that the group should be conscious of its unity and solidarity. Now we have seen that the chief function of the dance is to arouse in the mind of every individual a sense of the unity of the social group of which he is a member, and its function before setting out to a fight is therefore apparent. A secondary effect of the dance before a fight is

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to intensify the collective anger against the hostile group, and thereby and in other ways to produce a state of excitement and elation which has an important influence on the fighting quality of the Andaman warrior. 182X 535 628

An important feature of the social life of the Andamans in former times was the dance-meetings that were regularly held and at which two or more local groups met together for a few days. Each local group lived for the greater part of the year comparatively isolated from others. What little solidarity there was between neighbouring groups therefore tended to become weakened. Social relations between two groups were for the most part only kept up by visits of individuals from one group to another, but such visits did not constitute a relation between group and group. The function of the dance-meetings was therefore to bring the two groups into contact and renew the social relations between them and in that way to maintain the solidarity between them. Those meetings, apart from the provision of the necessary food, were entirely devoted to the exchange of presents and to dancing, the two or more parties of men and women joining together every night in a dance. We have already seen that the exchange of presents is a means of expressing solidarity or mutual good-will. It is now clear that the dance serves to unite the two or more groups into one body, and to make that unity felt by every individual, so creating for a few days a condition of close solidarity. The effects of the meeting would gradually wear out as months went by, and therefore it was necessary to repeat the meeting at suitable intervals. 182X 535 621 574

Thus it appears that not only the ordinary dance, but also the war-dance, and the dance-meetings owe their place in the life of the Andaman Islanders to the fact that dancing is a means of uniting individuals into a harmonious whole and at the same time making them actually and intensely experience their relation to that unity of which they are the members. The special dances at initiation ceremonies and on other occasions will be dealt with later in the chapter, on the basis of the general explanation given above. 182X 535

On the occasion of a dance, particularly if it be a dance of

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X 182 535 some importance, such as a war-dance, or a dance of two groups together, the dancers decorate themselves by putting on various ornaments and by painting their bodies with red paint and white clay. The explanation of the dance cannot therefore be regarded as complete till we have considered the meaning of this personal adornment connected with it.

X 182 535 301 302 If the Andaman Islander be asked why he adorns himself for the dance, his reply is invariably that he wishes to look well, to improve his personal appearance. In other words his conscious motive is personal vanity.

One of the features of the dance, and a not unimportant one, is that it offers an opportunity for the gratification of personal vanity. The dancer, painted, and hung over with ornaments, becomes pleasantly conscious of himself, of his own skill and agility, and of his striking or at least satisfactory appearance, and so he becomes also conscious of his relation to others, of their admiration, actual or possible, and of the approval and good-will that go with admiration. In brief, the ornamented dancer is pleasantly conscious of his own personal value. We may therefore say that the most important function of any such adorning of the body is to express or mark the personal value of the decorated individual.

X 182 301 302 This explanation only applies to certain bodily ornaments and to certain ways of painting the body. It applies to the painting of white clay, with or without red paint, that is adopted at dances and on other ceremonial occasions. It applies to such personal ornaments as those made of netting and *Dentalium* shell which constitute what may be called the ceremonial costume of the Andamanese. It is of these that the natives say that they use them in order to look well.

The occasions on which such personal decoration is used are strictly defined by custom. In other words the society dictates to the individual when and how he shall be permitted to express his own personal value. It is obvious that personal vanity is of great importance in directing the conduct of the individual in his dealings with his fellows, and much more amongst a primitive people such as the Andamanese than amongst ourselves, and it is therefore necessary that the society should have some means of

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controlling the sentiment and directing it towards social ends. We have seen that the dance is the expression of the unity and harmony of the society, and by permitting at the dance the free expression of personal vanity the society ensures that the individual shall learn to feel, even if only subconsciously, that his personal value depends upon the harmony between himself and his fellows. 182X 301 302

The bride and bridegroom are painted with white clay, and wear ornaments of *Dentalium* shell on the day following their marriage. We have seen that marriage involves a change of social status, and we may say that it gives an increased social value to the married pair, the social position of a married man or woman being of greater importance and dignity than that of a bachelor or spinster. They are, after marriage, the objects of higher regard on the part of their fellows than they were before. It is therefore appropriate that the personal value of the bride and bridegroom should be expressed so that both they themselves and their fellows should have their attention drawn to it, and this is clearly the function of the painting and ornaments.

After the completion of any of the more important of the initiation ceremonies, such as the eating of turtle, the initiate is painted with white clay and red paint and wears ornaments of *Dentalium* shell. This is exactly parallel to the painting of the bride and bridegroom. The initiate, by reason of the ceremony he has been through, has acquired new dignity and importance, and by having fulfilled the requirements of custom has deserved the approval of his fellows. The decoration of his body after the ceremony is thus the expression of his increased social value.

A corpse, before burial, is decorated in the same manner as the body of a dancer. This, we may take it, is the means by which the surviving relatives and friends express their regard for the dead, i.e. their sense of his value. We need not suppose that they believe the dead man to be conscious of what they are doing. It is to satisfy themselves that they decorate the corpse, not to satisfy the spirit. When a man is painted he feels that he has the regard and good-will of his fellows, and those who see him, at any rate in the instance of a bridegroom or initiate, 182X 302 764

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realise that he has deserved their regard. So, to express their regard for the dead man they paint the inanimate body. Hence it is that the greater the esteem in which the dead man or woman is held, the greater is the care bestowed on the last painting.

We may conclude therefore that the painting of the body with white clay and the wearing of ornaments of *Dentalium* shell is a rite or ceremony by which the value of the individual to the society is expressed on appropriate occasions. We shall find confirmation of this later in the chapter.

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Before passing on to consider the meaning of other methods of decorating the body there is one matter that is worthy of mention. It is often assumed or stated that both personal ornament and dancing, amongst uncivilised peoples, are connected with sexual emotion. It is, of course, extremely difficult to disprove a statement of this sort. So far as the Andamanese are concerned I was unable to find any trace whatever of a definitely sexual element in either their dances or their personal adornment. It may be recalled that both men and women wear exactly the same ornaments on ceremonial occasions, and this is to some extent evidence that such have no sexual value. It is possible that some observers might see in the dance of the women (which is only performed on rare occasions) a suggestion of something of a sexual nature. I was unable to find that the natives themselves consider that there is anything suggestive of sex in either the dance of the men or that of the women. If it were true that the most important feature of the dance was that it appealed in some way to sexual feelings it is difficult to see how we are to explain the different occasions on which dancing takes place, as before a fight, at the end of mourning, etc., whereas these are adequately accounted for by the hypothesis that the dance is a method of expressing the unity and harmony of the society. Similarly the explanation of personal ornament as being connected with sexual feeling would fail to account for the occasions on which it is regarded as obligatory. There is therefore, I believe, no special connection between the dancing and personal ornament of the Andamanese and sexual feeling. It would still be possible to hold that there is a general

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connection of great importance between the affective dispositions underlying these and other customs and the complex affective disposition that we call the sex instinct. The nature of that connection, important as it is, lies outside the scope of this work.

I remarked above that the explanation which I have given of the meaning of personal ornament does not apply to all the objects that the Andaman Islanders wear on their body, but only to certain of them. If an Andaman Islander be asked why he paints himself with white clay, or why he wears a belt or necklace of *Dentalium* shell he replies that he does so in order to look well; but if he be asked why he wears a string of human bones round his head or neck or waist, he gives quite a different answer, to the effect that he does so in order to protect himself from dangers of a special kind. According to circumstances he will say either that he is wearing the bones to cure himself of illness, or else that he wears them as a protection against spirits. Thus while some things are worn on the body in order to improve the personal appearance, and consequently, as explained above, to give the individual a sense of his own value, others are worn because they are believed to have a protective power, and thereby arouse in the person a sense of security. Exactly the some sort of protective power is attributed to things that cannot be worn on the body, such as fire, and it will therefore be convenient to consider together all the things that afford this kind of protection, whether they can be worn on the body or not.

The interpretation here offered is that the customs connected with this belief in the protective power of objects of various kinds are means by which is expressed and thereby maintained at the necessary degree of energy a very important social sentiment, which, for lack of a better term, I shall call the sentiment of dependence. In such a primitive society as that of the Andamans one of the most powerful means of maintaining the cohesion of the society and of enforcing that conformity to custom and tradition without which social life is impossible, is the recognition by the individual that for his security and well-being he depends entirely upon the society. Now for the Andaman Islander the society is not sufficiently concrete and particular

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to act as the object of such a sentiment, and he therefore feels his dependence upon the society not directly but in a number of indirect ways. The particular way with which we are now concerned is that the individual experiences this feeling of dependence towards every important possession of the society, towards every object which for the society has constant and important uses.

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The most prominent example of such an object is fire. It may be said to be the one object on which the society most of all depends for its well-being. It provides warmth on cold nights; it is the means whereby they prepare their food, for they eat nothing raw save a few fruits; it is a possession that has to be constantly guarded, for they have no means of producing it, and must therefore take care to keep it always alight; it is the first thing they think of carrying with them when they go on a journey by land or sea; it is the centre around which the social life moves, the family hearth being the centr. of the family life, while the communal cooking place is the centre round which the men often gather after the day's hunting is over. To the mind of the Andaman Islander, therefore, the social life of which his own life is a fragment, the social well-being which is the source of his own happiness, depend upon the possession of fire, without which the society could not exist. In this way it comes about that his dependence on the society appears in his consciousness as a sense of dependence upon fire and a belief that it possesses power to protect him from dangers of all kinds.

The belief in the protective power of fire is very strong. A man would never move even a few yards out of camp at night without a fire-stick. More than any other object fire is believed to keep away the spirits that cause disease and death. This belief, it is here maintained, is one of the ways in which the individual is made to feel his dependence upon the society.

Now this hypothesis is capable of being very strictly tested by the facts, for if it is true we must expect to find that the same protective power is attributed to every object on which the social life depends. An examination of the Andamanese beliefs shows that this is so, and thereby confirms the hypothesis.

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In their daily life the Andamanese depend on the instrinsic qualities of the materials they use for their bows and arrows and

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harpoons and other hunting implements, and it can be shown that they do attribute to these implements and to the materials from which they are made powers of protection against evil. Moreover it is even possible to apply a quantitative test and show that the more important the place a thing occupies in the social life the greater is the degree of protective power attributed to it. Finally I shall be able to show that as different materials are used for special purposes so they are supposed to have certain special powers of protection against certain sorts of danger. Thus the hypothesis I have stated is capable of being as nearly demonstrated as is possible in such psychological enquiries as the one we are engaged in.

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A man carrying his bow and arrows is supposed to be less likely to fall a victim to the spirits than one who has no weapons with him. One way of stopping a violent storm is to go into the sea (storms being supposed to be due to the spirits of the sea) and swish the water about with arrows. The natives sometimes wear a necklace formed of short lengths of the bamboo shaft of a fish-arrow. All the examples of such necklaces that I met with had been made from an old arrow. I asked a native to make one for me, and although he could readily have made one from bamboo that had never served as an arrow he did not do so, but used the shaft of one of his arrows. Such a necklace may therefore be described as an arrow in such a form that it can be worn round the neck and thus carried continually without trouble. The protective power of the bow is at first sight not quite so evident, but the material used for the string is regarded as possessing protective power, and to this I shall return shortly.

The best demonstration of the truth of the explanation offered is to be found by considering the different vegetable fibres of which use is made. The most important of these are the *Anadendron paniculatum* (used for bow-strings and for fine string), the *Hibiscus tiliaceus* (used for rope) and the *Gnetum edule* (used for string, and inferior to the *Anadendron*). All these fibres are believed to possess power to keep away dangers, but there is a sort of specialisation in their use.

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The fibre of the *Hibiscus* is used mainly in the hunting of turtle and big fish. Consequently the tree itself from which the

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fibre is obtained is believed to possess the power of warding off all dangers connected with turtle and the sea. There is a custom that turtle flesh may only be cooked with wood of the *Hibiscus*, otherwise it will be uneatable. In the turtle-eating ceremony the initiate who, as we shall see later, is in a condition of danger by reason of having eaten turtle for the first time after a period of abstention, is seated on *Hibiscus* leaves and holds a bundle of the same leaves before him. At the same ceremony the leaves of this tree are used in the dance, and the initiate is given a skewer made from its wood with which to feed himself. If for any reason the leaves of the *Hibiscus* are not obtainable when the ceremony is performed those of the *Myristica longifolia* are used instead. Now this is the tree from which the natives always make their canoe paddles, which, like ropes of *Hibiscus* fibre, are used in hunting turtle. This specialisation is therefore easy to understand; the natives habitually make use of the *Hibiscus* and the *Myristica* in turtle-hunting; they use the intrinsic qualities of these trees in their actual struggles with turtle and large fish, and by means of these qualities they are able to succeed in overcoming their prey; they therefore come to believe that these trees possess special powers which not only enable them to conquer the turtle itself but also are able to protect them from the evil influences that they believe (for reasons to be explained later) result from the eating of its flesh.

This explanation is readily verified by considering an exactly parallel instance. In the pig-eating ceremony at initiation the leaves of the *Hibiscus* or the *Myristica* are not used, and are regarded as valueless. Paddles and ropes are of no use in hunting pigs. The leaves that are used in this ceremony are those of the *Tetranthera lancæfolia*. It is from this tree that are obtained the shafts of pig-arrows. Hence the relation of the tree to the pig is exactly parallel to that of the *Hibiscus* to turtle. It is by making use of the qualities of the wood that they are able to destroy the pig and so they believe that its leaves will enable them to destroy the dangers that result from the eating of the animal.

The leaves of the *Tetranthera* are also used, however, in the ceremony at a girl's first menstruation, and I cannot pass over this without an explanation. It is to be found in the fact that

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pig-arrows are used in fighting, so that the tree comes to have a special relation to the shedding of blood. Plumes of shredded *Tetranthera* wood (made from an old arrow-shaft) must be worn by a homicide during the period of "purification" as a protection against the dangers that are believed to threaten him because he has shed blood. The same plumes were formerly always carried in a dance preceding a fight, and at such times the natives used to rub their bows with the shredded wood in order to ensure success in battle. Thus it is clear that there is a special connection between this tree and the shedding of blood, due to the fact that pig-arrows, of which the shafts are made from it, are used in fighting as well as for killing pigs and other animals. It is probable that this is the explanation of the use of the leaves during the ceremony at a girl's first menstruation.

These examples afford a crucial test of the hypothesis here maintained. Not only is the protective power of these substances explicable by the fact that they are things on which the society depends in its daily life, but the special uses of each of them as amulets are only explicable when we consider the different uses to which they are put as materials.

The fibre of the *Anadendron paniculatum* is used for making thread, bow-strings, the cords of pig-arrows, and for binding the heads and barbs of harpoons and arrows. It has therefore no special relation to either pig or turtle. There is a belief, however, that the plant does possess special protective powers that make it efficacious against certain dangers coming from the sea. A piece of the plant tied round the neck or worn in the belt of a swimmer is believed to protect him from sharks and other dangerous fish. A piece of it crushed and placed in the sea is said to have stopped a violent storm on one occasion. Thus the *Anadendron* seems to possess a special power which makes it a source of protection against dangers from the sea. The same is true of the *Gnetum edule*, though, as this fibre is less valued than that of the *Anadendron*, it is not supposed to be so powerful in its effects. In regard to the specialisation in the use of these two plants as amulets it seems likely that it is due to a notion of opposition between the things of the forest and the things of the sea. The Andamanese live in a double environment; the jungle-

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X 182 751 824 dwellers live entirely in the forest and have dealings with forest things; they develop knowledge and powers that make them better woodsmen than the coast-dwellers. The latter live by the sea and are chiefly occupied with things of the sea, being skilled in the occupations of fishing and canoeing. There is thus a contrast or opposition between the life of the forest and the life of the shore that runs through all the social life, and I believe that it is this opposition which explains the belief that the *Anadendron* and the *Gnetum*, which are essentially forest things, are possessed of a quality that makes them contrary or opposed to all things of the sea.

X 182 751 824 301 Personal ornaments are made from the fibres that have been mentioned (*Hibiscus*, *Anadendron*, *Gnetum*), and we are justified, I think, in regarding such ornaments as being to some extent amulets. I purchased from a man in the Little Andaman a charm that was hanging round his neck, which he seemed to value highly. I imagined that it might contain a human bone, but when I had unwound the ornamental thread with which it was bound and opened out the covering of bark I found inside the parcel only a carefully folded length of rope made from *Hibiscus* fibre.

There is one fibre from which the natives of the Great Andaman make themselves ornaments, which they do not regularly use in any other way, namely that of the *Ficus laccifera*. We may perhaps regard this as a genuine and demonstrable example of a survival in custom. The natives of the Little Andaman, who, until their recent contact with those of the Great Andaman, did not know the use of the *Anadendron*, use the fibre of the *Ficus* for their bow-strings. We are justified in assuming, I believe, that the natives of the Great Andaman made a similar use of the same fibre before they had learnt to use the *Anadendron*. In those days much of the power that is now attributed to the *Anadendron*, because of its service as the material for bow-strings, must then have been attributed to the *Ficus*. When the substitution of the superior *Anadendron* fibre came about, the belief in the efficacy of the *Ficus* did not disappear, although the ground of the belief (if we may call it so) had ceased to exist. If this be so, then the present use of the *Ficus* fibre as an amulet

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is an example of survival. It may be noted that the qualities of the *Ficus* are supposed to be similar to those of the *Anadendron*. Thus while one medicine-man stopped a storm with *Anadendron*, another did the same thing on another occasion with *Ficus*. 182x 751 824 301

The above examples are sufficient to justify the generalisation that the Andamanese attribute protective power to all those substances on the strength and other qualities of which they rely in order to obtain their food or overcome their enemies. 182x 751 There are one or two other positive instances that have not been mentioned. Bees'-wax, which is used for waxing thread and bow-strings, is believed to have power to keep spirits away and to cure sickness. Cane, which is used by the natives for many different purposes, seems also to have its use as an amulet, for belts and other personal ornaments are made of pieces of cane attached to a length of rope.

Negative instances are more difficult to discover. When I was in the Andamans I had not formulated the explanation that is offered here, and I therefore did not make any search for negative instances that might have afforded a means of testing the value of the hypothesis. I have no satisfactory evidence that protective power is attributed to iron, or to the shells that were formerly used, as iron now is, for the heads and barbs of arrows, but it is quite possible that I may have overlooked evidence that was really there. I do not think that any particular protective properties are attributed to such things as the materials from which baskets are made and the clay that is used for pottery. These things, however, may be regarded as luxuries rather than necessities; they are not of the same immediate service to the society in its fundamental activity (that of providing food) as are weapons and the materials used in them.

There are still two important kinds of amulets that remain to be considered. First, protective power is attributed to the bones of animals, which are made into personal ornaments; these cannot be dealt with until we have considered some of the beliefs relating to food. Secondly, a very high degree of protective power is attributed to human bones, but the discussion of this belief must wait till we have discovered the meaning of the funeral customs of the Andamanese.

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To conclude the present argument, it would seem that the function of the belief in the protective power of such things as fire and the materials from which weapons are made is to maintain in the mind of the individual the feeling of his dependence upon the society; but viewed from another aspect the beliefs in question may be regarded as expressing the social value of the things to which they relate. This term—social value—will be used repeatedly in the later part of this chapter, and it is therefore necessary to give an exact definition. By the social value of anything I mean the way in which that thing affects or is capable of affecting the social life. Value may be either positive or negative, positive value being possessed by any thing that contributes to the well-being of the society, negative value by anything that can adversely affect that well-being.

The social value of a thing (such as fire) is a matter of immediate experience to every member of the society, but the individual does not of necessity consciously and directly realise that value. He is made to realise it indirectly through the belief, impressed upon him by tradition, that the thing in question affords protection against danger. A belief or sentiment which finds regular outlet in action is a very different thing from a belief which rarely or never influences conduct. Thus, though the Andaman Islander might have a vague realisation of the value of *Hibiscus*, for example, that would be something very different from the result on the mind of the individual of the regular use of the leaves of that tree in initiation ceremonies as a protection against unseen dangers. So that the protective uses of such things are really rites or ceremonies by means of which the individual is made to realise (1) his own dependence on the society and its possessions, and (2) the social value of the things in question.

I have had to postpone to the later parts of the chapter the consideration of some of the objects possessing protective power, but I venture to state here three propositions some part of the evidence for which has already been examined, and which will be sufficiently demonstrated, I hope, before the end of the chapter. They are as follows: (1) any object that contributes to the well-being of the society is believed to afford protection

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against evil; (2) the degree of protective power it is believed to possess depends on the importance of the services it actually renders to the society; (3) the kind of special protection it is supposed to afford is often related to the kind of special service that it does actually render. 182x 751

We were led to the consideration of the protective power of objects through an attempt to understand the meaning of the methods of ornamenting the body in the Andamans. We have seen that some ornaments are worn in order to express the personal value of the individual, while others are worn for the sake of the protection they are believed to afford. We have also seen that one method of painting the body (with white clay) is a means of expressing the personal value of the painted individual. We will next consider the use of the clay called *odu*. This clay is painted on the body of a mourner and is the outward sign of mourning; it is used at certain stages of the initiation ceremonies; it is also regularly used for painting the body with the designs known as *era-puli*. According to the rule of method laid down at the beginning of the chapter we must seek some common explanation of these different uses of the same substance. 182x 751 302

We may consider, first of all, the patterns (*era-puli*) that are made with this clay on the body and face after eating certain foods such as pork and turtle.

Mr Man gives two explanations of the use of these paintings of clay. During the hot season, he says, the natives "endeavour to lessen the discomfort caused by the heat by smearing their bodies with a white-wash of common white clay and water." He adds: "it has long been erroneously believed that they have recourse to this expedient in order to allay the inconvenience which they would otherwise suffer from the bites of mosquitoes and other jungle pests; but the true reason for the practice is, I am well assured, that which I have given above[1]." In another place he says: "After eating pork or turtle they are in the habit of smearing *og* over their bodies with their fingers, in the belief that it affects their breath, and that evil spirits will be unable to detect, and therefore will not be attracted to, them by the

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 76.

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savoury smell of the food of which they have partaken. Again, when heated by travelling or by hunting or dancing, they have recourse to the same wash, but in these cases it is applied thinly[1]."

There are here two explanations of fundamentally different character. First the Andamanese practice of painting their bodies with clay is explained as having a purely utilitarian purpose, being intended to cool them when they are heated. In the second statement the explanation given is that the custom is intended to protect them from danger.

My own observations do not altogether agree with the statements of Mr Man. I found that the natives painted themselves just as much in the cold season as in the hot season. The principal, if not the sole, occasion on which the clay is used is after or immediately before a meal, and therefore generally in the late afternoon or evening when the heat of the day is past. I do not feel so satisfied as Mr Man appears to be, that the clay really has the effect of keeping a person cool, particularly when it is remembered that the painting may consist of a few lines each as broad as a finger. Moreover, Mr Man's explanation does not afford any reason for the fact that the clay is always applied in some sort of pattern. If it were merely to keep himself cool, we should expect to see a man cover himself all over with a plain coating evenly spread over the body. Such an even coating is never used, in the Great Andaman tribes, except by persons mourning for the dead, and is the essential mark of a mourner.

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It is easy to explain how Mr Man has fallen into an error in this matter. On many occasions, when I questioned the natives as to their reason for painting themselves with clay I received the answer, "When we have eaten pork or turtle or dugong, we become *ot-kimil* and so we take clay and paint ourselves." Now the word *ot-kimil* in the *Aka-Jeru* language is the word that the natives use to express what we mean by the word "hot." But while "hot" may always be translated by *ot-kimil* or *er-kimil*, the latter word cannot always be adequately rendered in English by the word "hot." Mr Man seems to have supposed that when an Andaman Islander says "hot" he means by the word only what we mean, whereas he really means a great deal more.

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 333.

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Let us examine briefly the word in question. In the languages of the North Andaman the stem is *-kimil*. With the prefix *ot-* or *er-* it is used to mean "hot" as in *T'ot-kimil-bom*, "I am hot," or *Ino ot-kimil bi* or *Ino er-kimil bi*, "The water is hot." Used by itself the stem *kimil* is the name of the latter part of the rainy season, when the weather is not hot but cool. A youth or girl who is passing through the initiation ceremonies is said to be *aka-kimil*, and is addressed or spoken of as *Kimil*, instead of by his or her proper name. The turtle-eating ceremony is called *čokbi-kimil*, or *čokbi-jo* or *kimil-jo*, *čokbi* meaning "turtle" and *jo* meaning "eating." The word "hot" is used by the natives in several unusual ways when they are talking their own language or Hindustani. Thus a stormy or rough sea is said to be "hot," and one native in describing to me (in Hindustani) the cessation of a cyclone said "the sea became cold." A person who is ill is said to be hot, and getting well is expressed by the phrase "getting cool."

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In the *Aka-Bea* language the word "hot" is translated by Mr Portman by the stem *uya*. The stem *kimil* appears in the form *gumul* in only some of the uses it has in the Northern languages. *Gumul* is the name of the latter part of the rainy season. A youth passing through the initiation ceremonies is said to be *aka-gumul* and is addressed or spoken of as *Guma*. The turtle-eating ceremony is called *gumul-le-ke*, *le-ke* meaning "eating." The word thus means "the *gumul* eating" and is the literal equivalent of the *kimil-jo* of the North.

The uses of the word *kimil* may be summarised as follows:

(1) to mean "hot" in the sense of the English word;

(2) in connection with illness;

(3) in speaking of stormy weather;

(4) as the name of the latter part of the rainy season;

(5) to denote the condition of a youth or girl who is passing through or has recently passed through the initiation ceremonies, and to denote the ceremonies themselves;

(6) to denote a condition in a person consequent on eating certain foods, and perhaps sometimes due to other causes, to remedy or obviate which the natives make use of clay painted in patterns on their bodies.

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It is probable, then, that when a native says that after eating food he is *ot-limil* and therefore paints himself with clay he does not mean simply that he is hot. This will be still more evident when we consider the second explanation of the custom that is given by the natives. Many of those whom I questioned stated that after eating dugong, pork, turtle, etc., the body emits an odour, that this odour may attract the spirits of the jungle or the sea, and that to obviate this they paint themselves with clay. This agrees exactly with what Mr Man says in the second passage quoted above. It is confirmed by other customs. I was told that a man who has eaten dugong will not leave the camp until some time after the dugong meat is all finished, for fear that the spirits may smell him and do him harm. It is to be noted in passing that painting the body with clay does not by any means remove the odour that does actually characterise a native after he has been eating fat meat of any kind. We must be careful, in this instance also, not to assume that an Andaman Islander means by "smell" exactly what we mean by it and nothing more. It will be shown later in the chapter that the Andamanese identify the smell of an object with its active magical principle. One example may be given here to show this. The origin of rheumatism in the legs is explained by the natives as being the result of the common practice of preparing the fibre of the *Anadendron paniculatum* by scraping it on the thigh. During this process, they say, the "smell" of the plant enters the thigh and is the cause of rheumatic or sciatic pains.

The natives give yet a third statement of their reasons for using clay. On many occasions I asked them what would happen if they ate pork or turtle and did not paint themselves. In every case I received the reply that any man who did such a thing would almost certainly be ill.

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When a number of persons give three different reasons for one and the same action, and are equally sincere throughout, it is to be presumed that the three different statements are so many different ways of saying one and the same thing. We may therefore conclude that the Andaman Islanders believe that there is a peculiar power in foods (or in some foods) which makes it dangerous to eat them. This danger may be expressed by saying that

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the person who has eaten food will, unless he takes certain precautions, be liable to be ill. Now sickness is believed to be caused by the spirits of the jungle and the sea, and therefore an alternative or equivalent statement of the same belief is that after a person has eaten food he is in danger from the spirits. We may therefore conclude that the word *ot-kimil*, when it is used to describe the condition of a person who has eaten food, denotes simply this condition of danger, and nothing more. For this we shall find ample confirmation later on. Subject to such later confirmation I will here state what has been maintained, which is (1) that the *ga-puli* patterns are to be explained as being protective, (2) that the eating of food is regarded as dangerous, and (3) that this danger is associated in the minds of the natives with sickness and with the spirits. It will be convenient to leave the first of these three propositions for later discussion and take up the second, seeking to find the meaning of this belief in the dangerous properties of food.

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Not all foods are equally dangerous. I was able to establish roughly a sort of scale. The most dangerous foods are dugong; the fish called *komar*; some of the snakes; the internal fat such as the kidney-fat or the intestinal fat of pig, turtle, monitor lizard and *Paradoxurus*; the liver of sharks, sting-rays and *Plotosus*; and honey. Next in order come the flesh of pigs, turtle, monitor lizard and *Paradoxurus* and of the fishes mentioned above; also the eggs of turtle. To these should perhaps be added the edible grubs and some vegetable foods such as the yams and the *Artocarpus* fruit and seed. Lowest in the scale, that is, least dangerous, are molluscs and the commoner sorts of fish and vegetable foods.

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The principles underlying this grading of foods are two. Those foods that are difficult or dangerous to procure are considered more dangerous than others. Thus all the fishes that are thought most dangerous to eat are actually dangerous, such as the sharks, the sting-rays, the armed *Plotosus*, and the fish *komar* that has a powerful spike on its head with which it can inflict a dangerous wound. Secondly the foods that are most prized are regarded as being more dangerous than those that are less prized. The internal fat of animals is regarded as a great delicacy and therefore occupies a high place in the scale. It is this also that explains

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the position of honey and of the edible grubs. The dugong, which is of all foods the most difficult and dangerous to procure, and is at the same time more highly prized than any other, is regarded as more dangerous to eat than any other.

It is this difference in the danger attributed to different foods that gives the clue to the explanation of the beliefs relating to them. The hypothesis I wish to put forward is that the custom of painting the body after eating food is an expression of the social value of food.

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In a simple community such as that of the Andaman Islands, in which the necessary food has to be provided from day to day, food occupies a predominant position, and is the chief source of those variations or oscillations between conditions of euphoria and dysphoria that constitute the emotional life of the society. Food is obtainable only by the expenditure of effort, and the effort is a communal one. The obtaining of food is the principal social activity and it is an activity in which every able-bodied member of the community is required by custom to join. A man's first duty to the society may be defined as the duty of providing food for himself and others, and no one is looked on with more contempt than one who is lazy or careless in this respect. On the contrary the man who stands highest in the esteem of others is the skilful hunter who is generous in distributing to others the food he obtains. The food provides the community with its chief joys and sorrows. When food is scarce the whole community suffers. The men spend all their time in hunting but are disappointed. They have to fall back upon foods that are little relished, such as the commoner kinds of molluscs. On the contrary when there is plenty of food the whole society rejoices together. Every one has as much as he or she can eat. Hunting and fishing become pleasant sports instead of arduous labour.

Viewing the matter from its relation to the feelings of the individual we may say that it is particularly in connection with food that he is made to feel that he is a member of the community, sharing with others their joys and sorrows, taking part in a common activity, often dependent upon others for the satisfaction of his hunger, and obliged by custom to share with those others what he himself obtains. Thus food is, for the Andaman Islander,

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the one object above all others that serves to awaken in him day after day the feeling of his relation to his fellows. It is also the source of a very large proportion of his joys and sorrows, his excitements and disappointments. Thus it is that when the natives wish to amuse each other it is by tales of hunting that they do so, and a large proportion of their songs relate to the getting of food.

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It is thus clear that food becomes an important secondary object of the fundamental affective dispositions that regulate the emotional attitude of the individual to the society to which he belongs. It is connected very closely with the feeling of moral obligation; the most valued moral qualities in the Andaman Islands are energy in providing food and generosity in distributing it; among the worst faults are laziness in hunting and meanness in giving to others. Similarly food is closely associated with the feeling of dependence. During childhood, particularly, the individual has to depend on others for his food; even later in life the food that a man eats is more often provided by others than by himself; he depends on the community even for his daily nourishment.

Different foods have different social values. Thus a dugong provides a large supply of a highly-prized delicacy, but on the other hand can only be obtained by strenuous and dangerous efforts of skilful hunters. At the other end of the scale the social value of shell-fish is very little. They are not relished and are only eaten when there is nothing better, while the labour of obtaining them is simply one of drudgery requiring little skill.

Finally it must be pointed out that the value of food is both positive and negative. It is the source of conditions of social euphoria when it is plentiful; while it is equally the source of social dysphoria when it is lacking. In other words, on different occasions it is the source of both pleasurable and painful states of the fundamental social sentiments.

All these experiences connected with food organise themselves around the notion that foods, or the animals that are used for food, are things to be treated carefully, with respect, or, in other words, with ritual precautions. The sense of the social value of food reveals itself as a belief that food may be a source of danger

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unless it is approached with circumspection, and this belief, translated into action, gives rise to the rite of painting the body after eating. This does not mean that when the Andaman Islander eats turtle he is actually in a state of fear; he feels that he would have reason to be afraid if it were not that the society has provided him with a means of avoiding the dangers of turtle eating. What he does feel, then, as I have tried to show, is not a fear of food but a sense of the value of food.

This interpretation will, I hope, be amply justified later, and the psychological processes assumed by it will be further illustrated. One point needs to be emphasised here, namely that the suggested interpretation affords, as no other would seem to do, an explanation of the fact that some foods are believed to be more dangerous than others, and that while it is obligatory to paint the body after eating the more dangerous foods, it is not necessary to do so after eating those that are less dangerous. If the rite is simply the expression of the social value of foods, it will follow that different food substances, having different social values, must be subject to differences in ritual treatment.

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There are a few other customs connected with food, recorded in an earlier chapter, which show that in general food is regarded as something that may only be approached with ritual precautions. A turtle must be killed with its head towards the open sea, and must be cut up in one particular way, otherwise the meat would be "bad." A pig must also be cut up in a particular way, and must be stuffed with certain leaves before it is roasted. A man will not eat certain foods when he is away from his own country, as he is afraid that to do so might make him ill. (This corresponds to the belief that there is less chance of illness in one's own country than away from it, and that the spirits of a strange place are more dangerous than those that haunt the jungles and the waters of a man's own home.) All these customs, I believe, are so many different expressions of the social value of food.

I have maintained earlier in the chapter that the sense of the social value of such things as fire and the materials used for weapons translates itself into the belief that these things afford protection against danger. This would seem, at first sight, to be

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contradicted by the explanation that I have just given of the belief in the danger of food. The apparent contradiction must be faced and resolved before we can proceed further.

First, it can be shown that the various things that are regarded as affording protection when used according to custom, are also believed to be dangerous, just in the same way that food is dangerous. One example of this will suffice. The fibre of the *Anadendron paniculatum*, which is used for bow-strings and other purposes, has been shown to possess a power which gives it efficacy against dangers of the sea such as sharks. This same power, however, may have injurious effects if the plant is handled without proper precautions. Thus, if a piece of the green creeper, or a person who has recently been handling it, should be in a canoe, it would be impossible to capture turtle from that canoe, as they would be driven away by the "smell" of the plant. If a piece of the creeper were burnt in the fire there would be a great storm, according to one statement, or all the turtle would be driven away from the vicinity, according to another. The handling of the plant in the preparation of the fibre, by scraping it on the thigh, is believed to be the cause of rheumatism. Turtle meat that might by accident come in contact with the plant would be dangerous and would therefore not be eaten. These different beliefs show us that while this plant possesses powers that make it of service to the society, both directly as a material for weapons, and indirectly as a magical protection against evil, it is also dangerous, i.e. it will produce undesirable effects unless treated with the proper ritual precautions.

Now just as materials such as the *Anadendron* are dangerous but may yet be used protectively, so it can be shown that the things used for food are also capable of affording protection against evil. It may be recalled that an important element of the treatment of sickness is by the use of special foods. Yams, honey, the fat of turtle and dugong and other foods are believed to possess curative properties. The flesh of the flying-fox is used as a remedy for rheumatism. But the clearest evidence is provided by the custom of wearing ornaments made of the bones of animals that have been eaten. These ornaments are believed to possess protective powers of the same kind as those attributed to

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human bones, but they are considered to be more particularly of value to the hunter when he is in the forest or on the sea. They are made chiefly from the bones of those animals that are believed to be most dangerous to eat. These animals are difficult and often dangerous to capture or kill. When obtained they become very important sources of well-being to the society. The Andamanese express their sense of the social value of these animals in the belief that it is necessary to adopt certain measures of ritual precaution in dealing with them. When these due precautions are taken, however, then the society is able to make use of the flesh to serve its own ends. So, when an animal has been eaten, and has thus been made to serve as a source of advantage, of strength, the bones, which are the permanent remains of the feast, acquire a symbolic value as evidence of past social well-being, and omens of future security. They are a visible proof of the ability of the society to protect itself and its members from the dangers that are believed to threaten the human being in the most important activity of his life, the obtaining and eating of food.

Formerly the Andamanese preserved the skulls of all large animals such as pigs, turtle and dugong. At the present day they no longer preserve the skulls of pigs, giving as their reason that owing to the dogs obtained from Europeans they now have little difficulty in killing pigs; but they still preserve the skulls of dugongs, and a fair proportion of the skulls of turtle. The *jarawa* still seem to preserve with great care the skulls of all the pigs they kill, going to the pains of enclosing each one in a case of basket-work. These skulls, we must conclude, are more than mere trophies of the chase. As visible proofs of the ability of the society in the past to overcome the hostile powers of nature, they form, as it were, the guarantee of a similar ability in the future, and I believe that their preservation is regarded as a means of ensuring success in hunting as well as protection for the hunters. The turtle skulls that are often suspended under the forward platform of a canoe, are, I believe, intended both to protect the occupants of the canoe from the dangers of the sea and to help them to obtain a good catch.

The Andamanese belief in the power of the bones of animals

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to protect them from danger and to bring them luck, is therefore very similar to their belief in the protective power of the materials used for weapons and implements. The consideration of the apparent contradiction mentioned above has led us to a more exact statement of the real beliefs in these matters. They believe, we may say, that all the things from the jungle and the sea of which they make use as food or as materials, are dangerous unless approached with proper ritual precautions, but when so approached they become sources of strength and well-being and also of protection from unseen dangers.

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To return to the main argument, which was concerned with the meaning of the patterns of clay painted on the body after eating the more dangerous foods, it would seem that this action is really a rite or ceremony, of the same general character as other ceremonial customs of the Andamans. It is an action required by custom, the performance of which on appropriate occasions serves to keep alive in the mind of the individual a certain system of sentiments necessary for the regulation of conduct in conformity to the needs of the society. By it the individual is made to feel (or to act as though he felt) that his life is one of continually repeated dangers from which he can only be preserved by conforming to the customs of the society as they have been handed down by tradition. He is made to feel that the eating of food is not merely the satisfaction of an animal appetite, but an act of communion, that the food itself is something "sacred" (if we may use that word in the sense of the original Latin "sacer"). It serves also, like any other rite in which all join, to make the individual feel the solidarity and unity of the community; all share in the common repast and the common danger, and each man sees on his neighbour the clay with which he himself is daubed.

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Of course it is probable that the Andamanese custom of painting the body after eating, like our own grace before and after meat, with which it is parallel, tends to become a formality accompanied by little real feeling, but it can be shown, I believe, that such customs do possess a real value—a real psychological function—in keeping alive ideas and sentiments that will on occasion play an important part in influencing conduct.

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We have not yet completed the study of the Andamanese beliefs about food. To do so we must examine the initiation ceremonies. I hope to show that these ceremonies are the means by which the society powerfully impresses upon the initiate the sense of the social value of food, and keeps the same sense alive in the minds of the spectators of the ceremony.

The position in the social life occupied by a child is different from that of an adult; the child is dependent upon and closely united to his parents, and is not an independent member of the community. To this difference in social position there corresponds a difference in the attitude of a person towards a child and towards an adult, and also a difference in the attitude of a child and that of an adult towards the society. As the child grows up a change takes place in his position in the social life, and this must be accompanied by a change in the emotional dispositions of the child himself in so far as these regulate his attitude towards the society, and by a change in the attitude towards the child of the other members of the group. The initiation ceremonies are the means by which these changes are brought about, and by which, therefore, the child is made an independent member of the society.

The ceremonies have two aspects according as we regard them from the point of view of the society or from that of the initiate. For the society they are to be described as the recognition of the change of status of the initiate, just as the marriage ceremony is the social recognition of the change of status by marriage. For the initiate they constitute a sort of moral or social education.

To fit a child for his proper place in the community he needs to be educated. Part of the process consists of learning how to hunt, how to make bows and arrows, and so on. This necessary knowledge he acquires gradually by imitation of his elders, in which he is guided and encouraged by them. But in addition to this he has to acquire those sentiments or emotional dispositions which regulate the conduct of members of the society and constitute morality. Part of this education in morality, this education of the sentiments, takes place gradually as the child grows up, less by any actual instruction than by processes of imitation and suggestion; but in this connection an extremely important part is played by the initiation ceremonies. That the long series of

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abstentions and ceremonies does have a very powerful emotional effect on the youth or girl may be readily observed by an eye-witness; that their permanent effect is to create in his or her mind a number of sentiments that previously existed not at all or only in an undeveloped condition will be shown in the course of the present argument. 182X 881 262

Since in the life of the Andamans by far the most important social activity is the getting of food, and it is in connection with food that the social sentiments are most frequently called into action, it is therefore appropriate that it should be through his relation to food that the child should be taught his relation to the society, and thus have those sentiments implanted in him or brought to the necessary degree of strength. During his infancy the child is almost entirely unrestrained and acts with great comparative freedom. He does not realise, in any adequate manner, that the food with which he is freely provided (for children are the last to suffer hunger) is only obtained by skill and effort, nor does he realise that he will one day be required to labour to supply food for others. There follows a period of restraint, during which the growing boy or girl has to give up eating certain relished foods, and has to pass through a number of ceremonies, some of them painful, and all solemn and awe-inspiring. These restraints on the action of the individual are not imposed by one person, but by the whole society backed by the whole force of tradition. Through a series of years, just at what is, for physiological reasons, the most impressionable age, the individual learns to subordinate his own desires to the requirements of the society or of custom, as explained to him by his elders. He is thus impressed, in a forcible manner, with the importance of the moral law, and at the same time he is impressed with a sense of the social value of food. The ceremonies thus afford a moral education adapted to the requirements of life as it is lived in the Andamans. It would need a very lengthy analysis to show all the effects of the ceremonies on the emotional life of those who undergo them, and for the purpose of this chapter such an analysis is unnecessary. It will suffice merely to mention a few of the more important. As stated above, the ceremonies teach the boy or girl self-control or self-restraint, and they do so in relation to one of the two [853]

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fundamental human instincts,—hunger. The cutting of the boy's back in the North Andaman gives a still sharper lesson in self-control in the endurance of pain. Secondly the ceremonies teach the initiate, for the first time in life, to view life and its duties and obligations seriously. The various ceremonies are all very solemn affairs for the initiate. Again, the growing boy or girl is made to feel very strongly the importance of conforming to the customs of the community to which he belongs, thus having implanted in his mind what is certainly one of the most powerful of the sentiments that regulate conduct in the Andamans. In this connection there may also be mentioned the respect for elders which is a most important element in the regulation of social life in all savage communities, and which is strongly impressed on the initiate throughout the ceremonies. And yet again, the ceremonies awaken and develop in the adolescent that fear of unseen danger which, as we shall see later, has a very important place in the mental life of the Andamanese and an important function in their moral life. Finally, the whole series of abstentions and ceremonies serves to develop in the mind of every new member of the society that sense of the social value of foods with which our argument has been concerned, which may be briefly described as being a realisation that food is a possession of the society, that not only the power to obtain food, but also the power to use it without danger is something that the individual owes to the society, and that the bestowal upon him of this power involves the acceptance on his part of corresponding obligations.

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We may say, to look at the matter under another aspect, that the initiation ceremonies teach the youth or girl to realise what is implied in being a member of the society by putting him or her during the period of adolescence in an exceptional position, and, as it were, outside the society. The youth is no longer a child and may not act as a child; but he is not yet an adult and may not act as adults do. He feels himself cut off, as it were, from the ordinary life of the group, having as yet no share in it. As a child he was not yet aware of what it means to be a member of a society, but now, by means of the ceremonies, his attention is directed to the society and its life, by his being placed in a position of isolation outside it. He begins to look forward to the

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time when he will take his proper place as an adult, and his share in the common life of the camp. At each step of the ceremonies he feels that he is brought a little closer, until at last he can feel himself a man amongst men. Thus he is brought to a consciousness of all that it must mean to him to be a member of the community; he is taught the significance and value of social communion.

Since the greater part of social life is the getting and eating of food, to place a person outside the social life would be to forbid him from partaking of the food that is obtained by the society and consumed by it. This, however, would result in his starvation. The same object is attained, however, by making the initiate abstain for a period from a number of the most important and relished foods, and then making him abstain for a second period from the others. This is not the only way however in which the initiate is cut off from social communion. A youth or girl who is *aka-op* is not permitted to dance, nor to be decorated with red paint and white clay. It is in the dance that the community expresses most completely its own unity. Being forbidden to join in the dance is therefore to be excluded from the common life. Painting the body with red paint and white clay is, as we have seen, a way of expressing that the individual is aware of his own position as a member of the group having the approval and good-will of his fellows. Thus these other prohibitions reinforce and supplement the prohibition against eating certain foods during the period of adolescence, and the consideration of them serves to confirm the interpretation just given. I believe that the *aka-op* is also forbidden to use *odu* clay as a sign of mourning, and if this be so it is of considerable significance, as will be evident after we have considered the meaning of this use of clay. Unfortunately I am not quite sure of the facts, and so the point must be left.

To discuss in detail all the features of these ceremonies would take much space. I propose therefore to take as typical of the others the ceremony of turtle-eating and to explain its various features. When this ceremony is performed the youth has been compelled for many months to abstain from eating turtle, and has thus learnt to realise the social value of food in general and

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of turtle in particular. He is now to have the same lesson impressed upon him in a different way. The previous part of his education has been the continuous action over a long period of a not very powerful emotion. He has had to sit quietly while others regaled themselves with turtle meat and to be satisfied with less tasty food. At times he has probably gone hungry because the only food in camp was of kinds that were forbidden to him. The ceremony he is now to go through acts by producing in the space of a few days a very intense emotional experience. We have seen that the sense of the social value of food takes the form of a belief that food is dangerous to eat, and that its dangers may only be avoided by ritual precautions. At the turtle-eating ceremony the initiate is eating turtle for the first time as an adult, and is therefore exposed to great danger which makes it necessary to guard him with every possible ritual precaution. This, at any rate, is what the initiate himself is made to feel, and it is through this that the ceremony has its emotional effects. The initiate is not, of course, himself possessed by a simple feeling of fear, though the emotional state of his mind is built up on the basis of the fear instinct. What he is about to do is a matter of great danger to himself, but at the same time the precautions that are to be taken are such as entirely to remedy that danger if they are properly observed. Thus what he experiences is an intense feeling of the importance and solemnity of the ritual in which he is to take part.

All the details of the ceremony are readily to be explained as so many different ways of warding off the danger that threatens the initiate. He is seated on leaves of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, which, as we have seen, possess special efficacy against dangers connected with turtle. Leaves of the same kind are placed under his arms so as to cover his belly, where, we may suppose, the danger is most intense. A fire is placed near him, between him and the open sea. It has already been shown that fire is believed to afford protection against dangers of this sort, and the appropriateness of the position is due to the fact that in this instance it is from the sea and the things of the sea that danger is to be feared. He may not feed himself with his fingers, but must use a skewer of *Hibiscus* wood. This is clearly only one more pre-

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caution against danger, though the ideas connected with it are somewhat obscure. At the beginning of the ceremony the initiate is fed with turtle by a man who conducts the ceremony and who represents the society, that latter fact being sometimes symbolised by his wearing round his shoulders a bark sling such as is used for carrying children. This means, I think, that it is the society that "gives" the food to the initiate, giving him at the same time the power to use it with safety. The older man hands on to the younger the right and the power to eat which he himself possesses. He makes himself responsible, as it were, for the action of the initiate. At one stage of the performance the initiate is rubbed over with red ochre. This is to be understood by recalling that red ochre and red paint are regarded by the natives as valuable remedies against sickness and against the spirits that cause sickness. Immediately afterwards the body of the initiate is spattered with *odu* clay. The use of this clay after eating food was explained as a method of avoiding the dangers supposed to result from eating such foods as turtle. It is clear that exactly the same explanation will apply to its use in the initiation ceremonies. I have not found a satisfactory explanation of the peculiar manner in which it is applied. That the youth is not allowed to sleep for the first two days of the ceremony will be explained later in the chapter, when it will be shown that sleep itself is regarded as a condition of danger.

A notable incident is that at the beginning of the ceremony the female relatives of the initiate are required by custom to come and weep over him. An explanation of this has already been given, but may well be repeated. At each stage of the initiation ceremonies the initiate is withdrawn from the position of dependence that the child necessarily occupies, and as children are, for the most part, under the care of their elder female relatives, the ceremonies result in a partial destruction of those bonds that unite the initiate to his mother or his foster-mother and her sisters or to his own elder sisters. The weeping of the female relatives is as it were a reaction against this lessening of solidarity. It is evident why the rite is necessarily one-sided. The female relatives need to feel that they are not being entirely cut off from the initiate, and so they affirm their attachment to him by weeping

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over him. On the other hand the important thing for the initiate himself is to feel that the bonds that united him as a child to the women who cared for him are now severed or modified ; he must no longer depend on them but must learn to depend on himself; hence it is necessary that he should not weep but should remain passive and as it were indifferent under the tears that are shed over him.

The last part of the ceremony consists of a dance, in which the youth dances in the middle surrounded by a ring of men. As we have seen that dancing is in general an affirmation of solidarity between those taking part, and an expression of the unity of the society, we may well regard this dance as an affirmation of the solidarity that now exists between the youth and the other dancers, who are representatives of the society of adults. There is something more in the dance than this however. I pointed out that one of the results of taking part in a dance is to produce in the individual an experience of increased personal force, and it is obvious that this is a very appropriate feeling for the initiate, who, by his long abstention from turtle, and by the ceremony he has just been through, has acquired an increase of personal force, an addition to his social personality. Before the dance the initiate is decorated with white clay (the snake pattern) and red paint. I have explained this particular method of painting the body as being a means of expressing and so producing or reinforcing the feeling of elation accompanying the recognition by an individual of his own social value, of the fact that he has deserved and obtained the good-will and regard of his fellows. The youth who has been through the period of restraint and the ordeal of the ceremony has done his duty and has earned the approbation of his friends. It is for this reason that he alone of the dancers is decorated with the painting that serves to express or arouse the elation or self-satisfaction that it is right for him to feel. The painting is the mark of the increase in social value of the initiate brought about by the turtle-eating ceremony.

There is one aspect of the dance that may be mentioned as being of importance, and which will be referred to again later, namely that the movements seem to be in a way imitative of the

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movements of turtle in the water. The leaves used in the dance are those that possess magical efficacy against dangers from turtle.

I have not been able to satisfy myself as to the meaning of the belt and necklace of *Pothos scandens* worn by the initiate in the dance and for some days afterwards. It is probable that the clue to this lies in the resemblance of the leaves to the shape of a phallus, but I have no clear evidence that this is the real explanation, and therefore offer it as merely a surmise.

If the natives be asked the reason for these ceremonies they often reply that their purpose is to make the youth or girl grow up strong. By this word "strong" they seem to mean in the first instance able-bodied, skilful (in hunting, etc.) and above all able to avoid or resist disease. They believe that anyone who did not pass through the ceremonies would be certain to die at an early age, and they recall the instance of one young man who refused to submit to the ceremonies who died before reaching maturity. Now, since the danger that they fear in eating food is said to be sickness, we may translate their statement into other terms by saying that the purpose of the initiation ceremonies is to endow the initiate with the power to eat the dangerous foods with comparative safety.

It would seem that an infant, being completely dependent upon his parents, is protected by that dependence from the danger of foods, but the adult is only able to make use of food with safety by reason of the possession within himself of a special power with which it is the purpose of the initiation ceremonies to endow him. Each kind of food has its own kind of dangerous power, and therefore every individual needs to be endowed with the special power to avoid each kind of danger. For this reason there is a separate ceremony for each of the important kinds of food. Thus we see very clearly that, for the Andamanese, food, or the power to make use of food without danger, is essentially a possession of the society, and one function of the initiation ceremonies is to keep alive this sentiment.

But there is a further meaning, I think, lying behind the statement that the initiation ceremonies endow the youth or girl with strength. I have already argued that all the most

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important social sentiments are closely associated with the sense of the social value of food, and although the initiation ceremonies are chiefly concerned with food, that is only because that is the easiest way by which to get at the main system of social sentiments. So that behind the special meaning of the ceremonies with relation to food we must look for a more general meaning in relation to the social life in general. This may be conveniently stated by saying that the purpose of the ceremonies is to endow the individual with a social personality. By the social personality of a person I mean the sum of those qualities by which he is able to affect the society. It is, in other words, what gives him his social value. The social personality depends in the first place on the social status of the individual. A young child seems to be regarded as having no social personality. He is not an independent member of the society, and therefore has no immediate social value, no direct effect on the general social life. At any rate the social personality of a child is something very different from that of an adult. So, since the initiation ceremonies provide the passage from childhood to manhood or womanhood we may describe them as the means by which the society endows the child with an adult social personality.

But the social personality of an individual also depends on his personal qualities, his strength and intelligence, his skill as a hunter, and on his moral qualities, whether he is mean or generous, quarrelsome or good-tempered, and so on, for all these things help to determine the place he occupies in the social life and the effects he has upon it. Above all, the social personality depends upon the development in the individual of those sentiments by which the social life is regulated and by which the social cohesion is preserved. Now we have seen that the initiation ceremonies do serve to develop these sentiments in the mind of the initiate, and we may therefore say that in this respect also it is true that the initiation ceremonies serve to develop in the child the social personality of an adult.

The consideration of the initiation ceremonies has served to confirm the hypothesis that the Andamanese customs relating to food are all of them different modes of expressing the social value of foods. We have now to consider the nature of the

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dangers that are supposed to accrue from the eating of food if due precautions be not taken. One statement of the natives is that the danger they fear is sickness. Now sickness of all kinds is believed by the Andamanese to be caused by certain supernatural beings called *Lau* or *Čauga*,—the spirits of the dead; and further, we have seen that the danger connected with food is sometimes said to be the danger of an attack by the spirits. So that it is evident that to understand the meaning of the fear of foods it is first of all necessary to understand the notions they have about the spirits, and to do this we shall have to consider the various customs relating to death and burial.

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For the society a death is the loss of one of its members, one of its constituent parts. A person occupies a definite position in society, has a certain share in the social life, is one of the supports of the network of social relations. His death constitutes a partial destruction of the social cohesion, the normal social life is disorganised, the social equilibrium is disturbed. After the death the society has to organise itself anew and reach a new condition of equilibrium. In reference to the small community of the Andamans we may translate the above statement into terms of personal feeling by saying that the death removes a person who was the object of feelings of affection and attachment on the part of others and is thus a direct offence against those sentiments in the survivors.

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Though the dead man has ceased to exist as a member of the society, it is clear that he has by no means ceased to influence the society. On the contrary he has become the source of intense painful emotions. Where the affection that was felt towards him was previously a source of pleasure it now becomes a source of pain. Defining the "social personality" of an individual as being the sum of characteristics by which he has an effect upon the social life and therefore on the social sentiments of others, we may say that by death the social personality is not annihilated but undergoes a profound change, so that from being an object of pleasurable states of the social sentiments it becomes an object of painful states. This is expressed by the Andamanese by saying that by death a man or woman becomes a *Lau*.

The burial customs of the Andaman Islanders, however, are

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x 182 764 The burial customs of the Andaman Islanders, however, are not to be regarded as simply the expression of natural personal feeling. They are a collective and ritual expression of a collective feeling. This is evident from the fact that they are regulated in every detail by custom. It is the duty of the relatives and friends to mourn, whether they feel sorrow or not, and it is equally their duty to mourn only for a certain period.

The cohesion of a social group, by which is maintained its existence as a group, depends directly on the existence of a collective system of sentiments or affective dispositions that bind every member to every other. The death, or removal by any other means, of a member of the group is a direct attack against these sentiments. Now whenever a sentiment of any kind is subjected to an attack of such a kind as this there are only two possible alternatives; either the sentiment must suffer a diminution of its intrinsic energy, and thus be less capable of controlling behaviour in the future; or it must find an outlet in an expressive action of some sort which serves as a reaction of defence or compensation and restores the sentiment to its former condition of strength. The typical example of such an emotional reaction is anger; anything that wounds our self-regarding feelings arouses our anger; if it did not do so those feelings would gradually weaken. This law holds true of collective sentiments as well as of individual sentiments. If the society permitted its solidarity to be attacked, whether by death or by any other means, without reacting in such a way as to give relief to wounded social feelings and so to reinstate them in their former condition, these sentiments would lose their strength and the society its cohesion. The burial customs of the Andamanese are to be explained, I believe, as a collective reaction against the attack on the collective feeling of solidarity constituted by the death of a member of the social group.

The man being dead, the first thing that the society does is to sever its connection with him, and the first step in this process is to get rid of the body by burying it or placing it in a tree, to abandon the camp at which he died, and temporarily to drop the use of his name. It is often supposed that customs such as these, which are found in many primitive societies, are due to the fear of the dead man's spirit. That there is an element of

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fear present is undoubtedly true, but this fear does not seem to be by any means instinctive, and therefore comparable to the fear that some animals exhibit towards the dead body of one of their species. On the contrary the fear itself needs to be explained, and this will have to be attempted later.

There is one group of facts which show very clearly that the burial customs are not solely due to an instinctive fear of dead bodies, namely that the customs vary according to the social position of the deceased. A child plays very little part in the general life of the community; hence on the death of a child the camp is not deserted and only the parents are subjected to the mourning ritual. Similarly the death of a person who has for long been so ill as not to be able to take any important part in social life has very little effect on the community as a whole; the body of such a one is disposed of with scant ceremony and mourning is perfunctory. On the other hand the death of a noted hunter in the prime of life, of a man who is esteemed as a leader, is a much greater loss; the whole community mourns for him; his body is placed on a tree instead of in the ground, showing that his death is regarded as something different from the death of a person who is interred. The body of a stranger who dies or is killed is not buried, but is thrown into the sea or cut up and burnt. The explanation that the natives give of this custom of burning the body is that it serves to dispel danger that might accrue from the presence of the dead body of a stranger. The blood and the fat of the dead man, from which they appear to fear evil influences, are, they say, driven up to the sky in the smoke of the fire and are thus rendered harmless.

There is, then, a close correspondence between the manner of burial and the social value of the person buried, and it is evident that the differences in the mode of disposing of the body are quite inexplicable on the assumption that the funeral customs are solely due to the fear of the dead.

Before burial the corpse is decorated with white clay and red paint. We have already seen that this is an expression on the part of the survivors of their regard for the deceased. A living man or woman is decorated in this way when, for some special reason, it is desired to express the fact that he or she has the

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X 182 764 good-will and regard of others, and it is applied to the dead body with exactly the same meaning. Fire and water are placed beside the grave. It is not necessary to suppose that the Andamanese believe that the spirit of the dead man makes any use of these, any more than it is necessary for us to believe that the spirit enjoys the flowers that it is our custom to place upon the grave. The action in each case is symbolical.

X 182 765 The dead man was bound by ties of solidarity to those still living. Now that he is dead those ties have not ceased to exist, but continue until the society has recovered from the effects of the death, for they are based on deep-seated and elaborately organised sentiments. I believe that the mourning customs of the Andamanese are to be explained on this basis, as being the means by which the social sentiments of the survivors are slowly reorganised and adapted to the new condition produced by the death. The severance of the dead man from the society is not a sudden but a gradual process, during which his relatives and friends, being still attached to him by social ties, are in an abnormal condition which may be defined as a partial separation from the world of living men and women and a partial aggregation to the world of the dead (i.e. the spirit world). This abnormal condition of the mourner is shown chiefly in his or her withdrawal from participation in the ordinary life of the society. We have seen that the eating of food is, for the Andamanese, one of the most important of social actions, a kind of communion of the society, and that during the period of adolescence a youth is separated or withdrawn from the common life of the group by being forbidden to eat certain foods. So, in strict conformity with the same set of notions, the mourner is separated from the normal life of the society by being forbidden to eat pork or turtle, these being the most important foods that the Andamanese have[1]. Like the *aka-op*, also, the mourner is

[1] In a number of tribes of Western Australia I found an exactly similar custom. It was formerly the rule that after the death of a near relative the mourner must abstain from eating kangaroo, that being the largest game animal. Since the establishment of sheep stations in their country, with the consequent great decrease in numbers of the kangaroo, it has come about that the animal which now provides their most important supply of meat is the sheep, and the modern rule is that a mourner must not eat mutton.

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forbidden to take part in a dance, or to decorate himself with red paint and white clay, for by these actions the Andaman Islander becomes conscious of his position as a member of a closely unified group, and it is necessary for the mourner, as for the *aka-op*, to feel that for the time being he is cut off from the ordinary life of the group. The disuse, during the period of mourning, of the name of a mourner is to be explained, as we shall see more plainly later, on the same principle, the personal name being what marks the person's position in the social life, so that the temporary dropping of the name shows that for the time being the person is not occupying his normal social position. 182x 765

The distinctive sign of a mourner is the use of clay, which is smeared over the body and head, and from the name of this clay is derived the term that denotes a mourner (*aka-odu*). It is possible to explain this also as a symbolic expression of the separation of the mourner from the world of living men and his aggregation to the world of the dead. In his everyday life the Andaman Islander is black from head to foot. During mourning he turns himself as nearly as possible white from head to foot, by covering his body all over with clay. It must be remembered that the spirits of the dead are said to be white or light in colour. This is undoubtedly one of the reasons why the (light-coloured) natives of India are called spirits (*Lau*), while men of such a dark-coloured race as the African negroes are not referred to by this term. The use of clay would therefore seem to serve not only to make the mourner unlike his ordinary self, but to make him like the spirits of the dead.

Of course, the natives explain all these customs of mourning as being expressions of sorrow for their loss, and this is, from the simple standpoint of everyday life, an adequate and true explanation. From the standpoint of psychology, however, what we need to know is why the sorrow is expressed in just these ways and no others. Moreover, the natives give as a further reason for the mourning customs that if they did not observe them they would be liable to sickness or even death.

I have said that the Andamanese believe that by death a man or woman becomes a *Lau*, but there is a little uncertainty 182x 765 775

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X182 in the statements of the natives as to whether he becomes a
765 spirit at once, immediately after the death, or whether he does
775 so only after the flesh of the body has decayed. Both statements are sometimes made, but it seems common to think of the dead person during the period of mourning not as a spirit (*Lau*) but as a dead man (*empilo*). We may best express the ideas of the natives by saying that the process by which a man becomes a spirit is one that takes some months to complete, and is only ended when the bones are dug up. An interesting insight into their notions in this matter is afforded by a belief, about which unfortunately I have very scanty information, to the effect that when a man dies he is initiated into the world of the dead by a ceremony resembling the ceremonies by which a youth is initiated into manhood. In the statement of an *Aka-Kede* informant the ceremony was spoken of by the term *kimil*, which is generally used for the initiation ceremonies, and was described as a *poroto-kimil*, i.e., a ceremony in which the dead man ate *poroto* (*Caryota sobolifera*) in just the same way that a youth eats turtle (*čokbi*) at the *čokbi-kimil*. There is independent evidence that there is a special connection between the spirits of the dead and the *Caryota* palm[1].

X182 The description of this ceremony (of initiation into the world
824 of the dead) that was given to me stated that in it the shredded
784 fibre named *koro* was used in just the same way as the leaves of the *Hibiscus* are used in the turtle-eating ceremony. Further, as in the peace-making ceremony men stand against a suspended cane from which depend bunches of this same *koro*, so in the initiation into the spirit world the initiate has to stand against the rainbow while the dancing spirits shake it and him. It is this shaking of the rainbow (according to my informant) that causes earthquakes. It may be recalled that the rainbow is regarded as a sort of bridge between this world and the spirit world, and that its name is "the spirit's cane," so that it would seem that it is regarded as like a cane with *koro* fibre suspended from it, such as is used in the peace-making ceremony.

The explanation of the use of this *koro* fibre was postponed earlier in the chapter, and may well be undertaken here. It serves

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as a sign that the spot where it is placed is tabu, or, in more precise terms, that the spot must be avoided because of the presence there of a force or power that makes things dangerous. This force is present at the grave of a dead man, and therefore the fibre is placed at the grave to mark the fact, while a bunch is similarly suspended at the entrance to a village that is deserted after a death. In the peace-making ceremony the members of the one party stand against a suspended cane to which are attached strips of the fibre. The meaning of this, I think, is that it thus forbids the members of the other party from attacking them. If a man were to leave the screen of *koro*, he would, I believe, be liable to be killed by the enemy party; it is only as long as he stands against it with his arms outstretched that he is safe, because while there he is tabu. 182X 824 784

How then does this belief in the fibre as a mark of tabu come about? The fibre is worn by the women of the Little Andaman to cover their pudenda, and it was formerly worn in this way by the women of the North Andaman. We may conclude that this was an old element in the Andaman culture dating back to the remote period when the inhabitants of the Little Andaman became separated from those of the Great Andaman. Now in a very special sense the sexual organs of women are tabu, and, without discussing the matter in detail, we may suppose that the Andaman Islander regards the genitals of women as a spot in which resides the same sort of force or power that makes the spirits, or the body of a dead man, dangerous. One point may be mentioned as throwing light on this subject, and helping forward the argument, namely that the natives of the North Andaman often use the expression *Lau-buku* (meaning literally "spirit-women" or "female spirits") to denote women collectively instead of the phrase that might be expected—*n'e-buku*. It would seem that by reason of their sex and the special ideas that are associated with it, women are regarded as having a very special relation with the world of spirits. We may conclude that the *koro* fibre, being a convenient material for the purpose, was first used as a covering for the women, and in this way came to be used as a sign of tabu in general, or else that for some unknown reason the fibre was selected as a suitable material to mark any kind of tabu, and 182X 824 784 831

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so came to be used both as a covering for women and also as a sign of warning at the grave and the village that has been visited by death[1].

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To return from this digression to the question of the initiation of the dead man into the world of spirits, it is clear that since such ceremonies take time to accomplish there is a period during which the dead man is in an indeterminate position; he is no longer a member of the society of the living, and has not yet become a member of the society of the dead. As long as he is thus situated his relatives and friends are still attached to him, so that he still remains as it were in partial contact with the living. During this time the society is still suffering the ill effects of the death, and the process of readjustment by means of the customs of mourning is still taking place. At the end of it the dead man becomes completely absorbed in the spirit world, and as a spirit he has no more part in or influence over the social life than any other spirit, and the mourning is brought to a close by means of a ceremony.

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This ceremony has two parts. One is the recovery of the bones and their reaggregation to the society, a rite which we may regard as the final settling of the dead man in his proper place. All that is left of him, who was once a source of strength to the community, who had once—as it is here expressed—a social value, are the bones, his name, and the memory of him that his friends retain. We may suppose that the bones still have something of the value that originally attached to their owner, and indeed it is evident that they have, for after they are recovered they are affectionately treasured as relics by the relatives. By the end of the period of mourning the painful feelings aroused by the death have died down, so that the dead man is now the object only of memories that are pleasant, or, at the worst, bitter-sweet. The bones, then, are visible evidences of the fact that the society has recovered from the disruptive shock of the death, and this is why they are dug up as soon as the recovery is complete, or rather in order to complete it, and are thereafter treasured.

[1] The brakes formed by the cane (*bido*) from the leaves of which the *bero* fibre is obtained seem to be regarded as lurking places of the spirits. The natives often speak of the *Bido-tei-lau* (*Calamus* leaf spirits).

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It should now be clear why the Andamanese attribute to the bones of dead persons the power to protect them from unseen dangers. Like the bones of animals that have been eaten they are visible and wearable signs of past dangers overcome through the protective action of the society itself, and are therefore a guarantee of similar protection in the future. And as the death of a member is an enormously more important event for the community than the mere killing and eating of a dugong, so an enormously greater protective power is attributed to the human bones than to those of any animal.

The bones, then, are dug up, and brought into camp, where they are wept over just as a friend who has been absent is wept over. All that is left of the former person returns to the social life, henceforward to occupy a definite place in it, and the weeping is the rite of aggregation, the expression of the attachment of those who weep to the bones that now return to them from the grave. The skull and jawbone and the long bones are then decorated with red paint and white clay, this being the way in which the relatives express their sense of the value of them. The other bones are made up into strings and distributed to be used on occasion as amulets.

Soon after the digging up of the bones the other part of the ceremony of the end of mourning takes place. We have seen that while the dead man was in an indeterminate position his relatives were still attached to him by social bonds, but now that he has finally become a spirit, and is for ever definitely cut off from the human society, these bonds cease to exist. The mourners, therefore, who have been cut off from the normal social life are free to return to it and even if they should not so desire, yet it is their duty to do so. The return of the mourners to the society is marked by a dance. The clay that has marked their condition is taken off, and they are decorated with white clay and red paint and all the ornaments usual on ceremonial occasions. Thus decorated they dance, the women on this occasion being required to dance as well as the men. The dance is interrupted shortly after it is begun in order that those who have not been mourning may weep with the mourners. The weeping, according to the explanation at the beginning of the chapter is a rite of aggregation by

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X 182 765 which the mourners are welcomed back to the society, just as returning friends are welcomed after an absence. It has nothing whatever to do, I believe, with the dead person for whom they have been mourning, but is merely an expression of solidarity between those still alive. Dancing and the decorations used in the dance, I have argued, are means by which the society expresses its own unity, and makes the individual realise what it means to be one of a group, so that in this dance we see the society once more coming together to continue its common life, and compelling those who have been cut off from it to feel, even against their inclinations, that they have become once more units of the social body. After this ceremony the mourners are relieved from the restrictions to which they were subjected.

X 182 765 773 551 In order to complete this discussion of the burial customs it is necessary to explain why a person's name should be dropped from use after his death, and although this will require a digression of some length, this seems the most convenient point at which to deal with it. There is a very special relation between the name of anything and its fundamental characteristics, which in logic we describe by saying that the latter are included in the connotation of the name. The way in which the Andamanese represent this relation to themselves is shown in one of the legends. At a time when the ancestors did not know either the names or the uses of the different objects to be found in their country, one of them, *Da Teyat* by name, walked through the forest enquiring of the objects he met what were their names. From most of them he received no reply, but the yam and the resin replied to him and gave him their names. The legend shows that as soon as the hero of the tale knew the name of the yam he immediately knew that it was of use as a food and that it required to be cooked in a particular way, although he was till then ignorant of those important properties. Similarly, having discovered the name of the resin he knew that it could be made into a torch and so used to give light.

X 182 551 There is, to the mind of the Andaman Islander, a somewhat similar and very important connection between a person's name and what is here called his social personality, and this is exhibited in the customs whereby the name is avoided on certain

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occasions. A consideration of the different instances will show, I think, that the name is always avoided whenever the owner is for any reason prevented from taking his or her usual place in the life of the society. At such times the social personality is as it were suppressed, and the name which represents it is therefore also suppressed. 182X 551

From the moment of her first menstruation to the date of her marriage, or more strictly to the date of her first parturition, the birth-name of a woman is dropped from use and she is called by her flower-name. A woman only attains her complete social personality as a mother. As a child she has not the power to become a mother. She acquires that power at her first menstruation and therefore from that time until this new virtue is actively exercised she is in a position in which one of her virtues, one of the qualities making up her social personality, is in abeyance. Therefore her name (her birth-name) is not used and she is given a temporary name in its place, a flower-name. She is, as it were, in blossom, and only when her body ripens to its fruit is she a complete woman. 182X 551 881

At certain stages of the initiation ceremonies the name of a youth or of a girl (the flower-name in this instance) is avoided for a certain period. Such occasions are during, and for some time after, any of the more important ceremonies, such as the cutting of the boy's back, the puberty ceremony of the girl, the turtle-eating and pig-eating ceremonies. After a boy's back is cut he is addressed and spoken of for some time as *Ejido*, his own name not being spoken. Similarly during and after the turtle-eating or the pig-eating ceremony he is addressed and spoken of by the name *Kimil*. The explanation of these customs is that at these times the initiate is in an abnormal position by reason of the ceremony that has taken place, and is not permitted to take an ordinary part in social life. After the initiation ceremony, for example, the youth is not permitted to handle a bow for some weeks (the bow being the typical masculine implement).

The names of a newly-married couple are avoided for a few days after their marriage. Marriage produces an important change in the social personality, and this change is expressed in the marriage ceremony, but all such changes take time, and it is some days at 182X 551 585

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X 182 551 585 least before the married couple can be expected to have settled down in their new positions. For these days, therefore, their names are not used. The same sort of explanation will hold for the custom of dropping the names of a father and mother before and after the birth of a child, particularly the first born.

X 182 551 881 At the turtle-eating ceremony of the North Andaman coast-dwellers the youth is given a new name. It is possible that a girl is also given a new name at this time, and that another name is also given to the youth at the pig-eating ceremony, but on these points I neglected to make sufficient enquiry. The name given at the turtle-eating ceremony is never used and is not likely to be known except to those who were present at the ceremony, and therefore serves no such purpose as the flower-name of the girl. The giving of the name is simply the mark of the change of social personality brought about by the ceremony. The youth receives an addition to his personality and therefore receives an additional name. It is significant that all the names given at this ceremony have reference to the sea and to things of the sea, particularly to turtle, such as *Čokbi-čiro*, turtle-liver, *Čokbi-tci*, turtle-blood, etc.

X 182 551 765 During the period of mourning, when, as we have seen, the mourner is withdrawn from the ordinary life of the society, his name is not used, showing that during this period his social personality is in a state of partial suppression. After the mourning period is over the mourner, when he resumes his social personality, resumes at the same time his name.

Now death is the most fundamental modification of the social personality that is possible and therefore the name of a person recently dead is strictly avoided. Death, however, does not destroy the social personality utterly and for ever, but produces in it a profound change, which begins at the death itself and is only completed at the end of and by means of the customs of mourning. After the mourning is over the virtues of the dead man affect the survivors through memory, and his bones form a precious possession of the community, thus constituting for him a new social value, a new personality. During the period of change, while the personality does not exist in the same form as before the death, but does not yet exist in the form in which

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it will when he lives only in the memory of his friends, the name is not used. After the mourning period is over the name may again be used. 182 X 551 765

In general then, it may be said that at any period in which a person is undergoing a critical change in his condition in so far as it affects the society his name falls out of use, to be resumed when the period of change is over. The reason for this is that during such periods of change the social personality is suppressed or latent and therefore the name which is closely associated with the social personality must be suppressed also.

The customs of burial and mourning are therefore seen to be not simply the result of natural feelings of fear and sorrow but ritual actions performed under a sense of obligation and strictly regulated by tradition. They are means by which the society acts upon its members, compelling them to feel emotions appropriate to the occasion. Since the dead person has, by his death, become a cause of social disruption, all contact with him must be avoided. But the dead man had a certain value to the society, and as a thing of any kind cannot be valued unless its loss is felt as a source of pain, so if the community did not mourn when it lost one of its members that feeling of the social value of individuals on which the existence of the society depends would soon diminish in strength, thereby weakening the social cohesion.

It is now possible for us to understand the Andamanese beliefs about the spirits. The basis of these beliefs, I wish to maintain, is the fact that at the death of an individual his social personality (as defined above) is not annihilated, but is suddenly changed. This continuance after death is a fact of immediate experience to the Andaman Islanders and not in any way a deduction. The person has not ceased to exist. For one thing his body is still there. But above all he is still the object of the social sentiments of the survivors, and thereby he continues to act upon the society. The removal of a member of the group is felt not as something negative but as the positive cause of great social disturbance. 182 X 775

The spirits are feared or regarded as dangerous. The basis of this fear is the fact that the spirit (i.e. the social personality of a person recently dead) is obviously a source of weakness and disruption to the community, affecting the survivors through their

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X 182 775 attachment to him, and producing a condition of dysphoria, of diminished social activity. The natural impulse of the Andaman Islander or of any other human being, would be, I believe, not to shun the dead body of a loved one, but to remain near it as long as possible. It is the society, acting under a quite different set of impulses, that compels the relatives to separate themselves from the remains of the one they loved. The death of a small child has very little influence on the general activity of the community, and the motive for severing connection with the dead that is present in the case of an adult, either does not exist or is so weak as to be overruled by the private feelings of affection, and so the child is buried in the hut of the parents, that they may continue to keep it near them. This affords a good test of the hypothesis, and gives strong support to the view that the fear of the dead man (his body and his spirit) is a collective feeling induced in the society by the fact that by death he has become the object of a dysphoric condition of the collective consciousness.

X 182 775 761 753 If the Andamanese are asked what they fear from the spirit of a dead man they reply that they fear sickness or death, and that if the burial and mourning customs are not properly observed the relatives of the dead person will fall sick and perhaps die.

The basis of this notion of the spirits is that the near relatives of the deceased, being bound to him by close social ties, are influenced by everything that happens to him, and share in his good or evil fortune. So that when by sickness and resulting death he is removed from the community, they are as it were drawn after him. For this reason they are, during the period of mourning, between life and death, being still attached to the dead man. Contact with the world of the dead is therefore regarded as dangerous for the living because it is believed that they may be drawn completely into that world. Death is a process by which a person leaves the living world and enters the world of the spirits, and since no one dies willingly he is conceived as being under a compulsive force acting from the world of spirits. Now sickness is a condition that often ends in death, a first stage of the way leading to the world of spirits. Hence sickness is conceived by the Andamanese as a condition of partial contact

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with that world. This is what is meant by the statement that sickness and death come from the spirits. 182X 775

The way the Andamanese think about the spirits is shown in the *Akar-Bale* legend of the origin of death[1]. *Yaramurud*, having died through an accident, self-caused, becomes a spirit, but he does so only under the compulsion exercised upon him by his mother, who, now that he is dead, insists that he must go away from the world of the living and become a spirit. The spirit then comes back to see his brother and by this contact causes the brother's death. The story implies that it was not because *Yaramurud* was evilly disposed towards his brother that he killed him, but on the contrary it was his attachment to his relative that caused him to return to visit him, and death followed as a result of this contact of the living man with the spirit. Since that time deaths have continued to occur in the same way. Thus it appears that the Andamanese conceive that the spirits do not cause death and sickness through evil intention, but through their mere proximity, and, as the legend very clearly shows, the burial customs are intended to cut off the unwilling spirit from contact with the living. This explains also why during the period of mourning the relatives of a dead person are thought to be in danger of sickness, and have more to fear from the spirit than others, for since it is they who were most attached to him during life it is they who are most likely to suffer from contact with him after he is dead. It was *Yaramurud's* brother who was the first to die through the influence of the spirits. 761 753

The feelings of the living towards the spirits of the dead are therefore ambivalent, compounded of affection and fear, and this must be clearly recognized if we are to understand all the Andamanese beliefs and customs. We may compare the relation between the society of the living and the society of the dead to that between two hostile communities having occasional friendly relations. That the Andamanese themselves look upon it in some such way is shown by the belief that the ceremony by which a dead man is initiated into the world of spirits resembles the peace-making ceremony. The dead man, up to the time of his death, has been living in a state of enmity with the spirits, and before he can enter their community and share their life he 182X 775

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has to make peace with them in the same way that men make peace with one another after they have been at war.

This notion of hostility between the society and the world of spirits is found in other primitive societies, and seems everywhere to have a definite social function. The removal of a member of the community either by death or otherwise is a direct attack on the social solidarity and produces in primitive societies an emotional reaction of the same general character as anger. This collective anger, if freely expressed, serves as a compensating mechanism, satisfying and restoring the damaged sentiment[1]. But this can only happen if there is some object against which the anger can be directed. In the instance of homicide the social anger is directed against the person responsible for the death and against the social group to which he belongs. In the instance of death from sickness some other object has to be found, and amongst primitive peoples there are two chief ways in which this is done. An example of one method is afforded by the tribes of Australia, amongst whom there is a strong and constant hostility between neighbouring local groups, with a result that the anger at a death from sickness directs itself against some community with which the group of the dead man is at enmity and it is believed that some member of that community has caused the death by magic. The Andamans afford an example of the second method. Amongst them it would seem that the enmity between different local groups (except as concerns the *Jarawa* in the South Andaman) was never very strong and the belief in evil magic was not highly developed, so that the anger at a death is directed against the spirits, and sometimes find expression in violent railings against them, accompanied by all the bodily manifestations of extreme rage and hatred.

Now though the Andamanese regard the spirits with fear and hatred, and believe that all contact with them is dangerous for living men, yet they do not look on them as essentially evil, for that would conflict with their own feelings of attachment to their dead friends.

[1] The psychological function of individual anger is to restore to their normal condition the wounded self-regarding sentiments. The function of collective anger is similarly to restore the collective sentiments on which the solidarity of the society depends.

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I gathered a few hints that they even believe that at times the spirits can and will help them. Thus a man will call on the sea-spirits of his own country to send plenty of turtle (over which the spirits seem to be assumed to have power) when he is going hunting. A very important fact in this connection is the different way in which a native regards the spirits of his own country and of other parts, the latter being thought to be much more dangerous than the former because presumably they are the spirits not of relatives and friends but of strangers at the best or enemies at the worst. 182x

There is other evidence that the Andamanese do not regard the power that is possessed by the spirits as being essentially evil. This power, whereby the spirits are able to cause sickness, seems to be shared by the bones of dead men. Indeed the Andamanese call such bones "spirit-bones" (*lau-ṭoi, čauga-ta*). Now this power in the bones (though it may at times be supposed to cause sickness) is more commonly made use of in order to prevent or cure it.

The most conclusive evidence that the power of the spirits is not intrinsically evil, but may be used to produce both good and evil is afforded by the beliefs about medicine-men or dreamers (*oko-jumu*). There are three ways in which a man can become a medicine-man. The first is (as the natives put it) by dying and coming back to life. Now when a man dies he becomes a spirit and therefore acquires the peculiar powers and qualities of a spirit, which he retains if he returns to life. Secondly, if a man straying in the jungle by himself be affronted by the spirits, and if he show no fear (for if he is afraid they will kill him) they may keep him with them for a time and then let him go. Such a man, on his return, is regarded as being a medicine-man, and possessing all the powers of medicine-men. I was told of one man who became a medicine-man in this way within living memory, and it was stated that when he returned from the forest where he had been kept by the spirits for two or three days he was decorated with *ḳoro* fibre. We have seen that this fibre is used by the spirits in the ceremony by which they initiate dead men, and its presence on the returned warrior was perhaps accepted by his friends as evidence that he had been initiated by the spirits. The third and last way in which a man may become a medicine-man is by having 182x 791 756

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intercourse with the spirits in his dreams. This is a point to which it will be necessary to return later. For the present it is sufficient to note that in every instance the power of the medicine-man is believed to be derived from his contact with the spirits in one of the three possible ways.

We are justified in concluding that the special power of the medicine-man, by which he is distinguished from his fellows, is simply the same power that is possessed by the spirits, from contact with whom he has obtained it. The medicine-man is believed to be able both to cause and to cure sickness, to arouse and to dispel storms. In other words he has power for both good and evil, and we must conclude that the spirits have the same. Moreover, it is commonly said that the medicine-man is able to produce the effects he does, whether they be harmful or beneficial to his fellows, by communicating with the spirits in dreams and enlisting their aid. This would seem to prove the point that I am here concerned with, that the power possessed by the spirits, though contact with it is always dangerous, may yet in certain circumstances be of benefit to the society, and is therefore not essentially evil in nature.

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The Andamanese believe that a medicine-man communicates with the spirits in sleep, and this is not the only evidence that they believe sleep to be a condition in which contact with the world of spirits is easier than in waking life. It is believed that sickness is more likely to begin during sleep than when awake. During the initiation ceremonies the initiate is required to abstain from sleep after eating pork or turtle, and this would seem to be because sleep is regarded as generally dangerous and therefore to be avoided on such occasions as this when every precaution needs to be taken.

The explanation of this belief seems to lie in the fact that sleep is a condition of diminished social activity, in which the individual is withdrawn from active social life, and is therefore also withdrawn from the protection of the society. After eating turtle the initiate is in urgent need of the protection of the society, which would be lost to him if he were permitted to sleep. After a death, when the corpse remains in the camp all night the people remain awake, and since there is no other common activity in

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which they can join, they sing, and thus protect themselves from the spirits that are present as the cause of the death.

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This explanation implies that all conditions of diminished social activity on the part of an individual are dangerous. One example of such a condition is sickness, in which the sick person is unable to pursue his ordinary occupations. Other examples are afforded by a mother, and to a certain extent a father during the period preceding and following the birth of a child, and by a woman during the menstrual period. All these, as various customs show, are believed by the Andamanese to be conditions of danger in which it is necessary to take ritual or magical precautions. A better example for our purpose is that of an adolescent during the period covered by the initiation ceremonies, when, as we have seen, he is as it were cut off from the society, and there is abundant evidence that the Andamanese believe this to be a state of danger. Another example is the condition of a homicide during the period of his isolation. Lastly, we have seen that a mourner is cut off from the ordinary social life, and it may now be noted that the native explanation of the restrictions observed in that state is that if things were not done thus the mourner would be ill; in other words the condition of mourning is one of danger, and the ritual referring to it is the means by which the danger (from the spirit world) is avoided. This explanation does not conflict with the one previously given but on the contrary we can now see that the notion that the mourner is in a position partly withdrawn from active participation in social life necessarily involves the belief that he is in a condition of danger.

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We may conclude that every condition in which the individual is withdrawn from full participation in active social life is regarded as dangerous for him, and that this is at least one of the reasons why sleep is so regarded. We have already noted that all conditions of danger tend to be thought of as due to contact with the spirits, and sleep is therefore supposed to be a state in which such contact is easier than in waking life. Now sleep is visited by dreams and it comes about that the dream-life, by reason of its contrast with waking-life, is seized upon by the Andamanese as a means by which the nature of the spirit world may be represented to the imagination.

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The Andaman Islander seems to regard the dream-world as a world of shadows or reflections, for he uses the same word to denote a shadow, a reflection in a mirror, and a dream (the stem *-jumu* in *Aka-Jeru*). Now when a man enters this shadow-world in sleep he is, as we have seen, conceived as coming into partial contact with the world of spirits. Hence the Andaman Islander believes that in dreams he may communicate with the spirits, that dreams may be a cause of sickness, and that in dreams a medicine-man can cause or cure sickness in his fellows. In this shadow-world the man himself becomes as it were a shadow, a mere reflection of himself; it is not he that lives and acts in his dreams but his *ot-jumulo*, his double, his shadow-self, or, as we might say, his soul. It is but a step from this to the representation of the spirit-world as a similar world of shadows and dream-shapes, and to the conclusion that when a man dies it is his *ot-jumulo* that becomes the spirit.

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To summarise the argument, the belief in the world of spirits rests on the actual fact that a dead person continues to affect the society. As the effect is one of disorganisation, whereby the social sentiments are wounded, the dead are avoided and the spirits are regarded with fear. But as a recently dead person is still regarded with feelings of attachment by his friends, the resulting final attitude towards the spirits is ambivalent. By a simple step the spirits come to be regarded as the cause of sickness and death, and therefore as hostile to living men. Yet, as the beliefs about medicine-men show, it is possible for exceptional individuals to be on terms of friendship with the spirits. Finally, the dream-life affords a means by which the spirit-world may be represented in a simple and concrete manner. This last feature (the association of the spirits with dreams) I believe to be a secondary elaboration of the primary or fundamental belief which shows itself in the ritual of death and mourning, serving only to rationalise it and make it more concrete. This need of concrete representation of the spirit-world shows itself in other beliefs, in which may be seen the tendency to become self-contradictory that is often the mark of ideas that arise as the result of attempts to rationalise conative and affective impulses. The spirits are, on the one hand, as it were shadows or images

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of living men, and yet, since they are feared and disliked, they are often represented as being repulsive and inhuman, with long legs and short bodies, with long beards and ugly faces[1]. The spirits must be thought of as somewhere, but there is no consistency in the statements as to where that somewhere is; one man will say that they live in the sky, another that they are under the earth, a third will point to a particular island as their home; at the same time it is evident from other statements that they vaguely conceive them as being everywhere, in the forest and the sea. 182X 775

We are now in a position to understand what the Andaman Islander means when he says that the danger he fears from food is from the spirits. The greatest evil that can happen to the community is the sickness or death of its members, and these are believed to be the work of the spirits. The sense of the social value of food takes the form of a belief that food is dangerous, and inevitably the danger comes to be conceived as that of sickness or death, and is therefore associated in their minds with the spirits.

But there is a more fundamental reason than this. I have tried to show that it is because food has such important effects for good and evil on the social life that it is believed to be endued with a peculiar power which makes it necessary to approach it with ritual precautions. If this thesis be valid it should be capable of generalisation, and we should find the same power attributed to every object or being that is capable of affecting in important ways the well-being of the society. We should expect that the Andamanese would attribute this power not only to the more important things used for food but also to such things as the weather and dead men (i.e., the spirits). Now this, if the argument has been correct, is exactly what we do find, and we have here the reason why the Andaman Islander, when asked what he fears from eating dangerous foods, replies that he fears sickness or the spirits of the dead. 182X 778

We may formulate in precise language the beliefs that underlie the ceremonial, remembering always that the Andaman Islanders

[1] I once drew a few grotesque figures for the amusement of some Andamanese children, and they at once pronounced them to be "spirits."

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themselves are quite incapable of expressing these beliefs in words and are probably only vaguely conscious of them. (1) There is a power or force in all objects or beings that in any way affect the social life. (2) It is by virtue of this power that such things are able to aid or harm the society. (3) The power, no matter what may be the object or being in which it is present, is never either essentially good or essentially evil, but is able to produce both good and evil results. (4) Any contact with the power is dangerous, but the danger is avoided by ritual precautions. (5) The degree of power possessed by anything is directly proportioned to the importance of the effects that it has on the social life. (6) The power in one thing may be used to counteract the danger due to contact with the power in some other thing.

We have studied this power in the animals and plants used for food and the things used as materials. It is this that makes turtle dangerous to eat and *Anadendron* fibre dangerous to prepare, and it is this also that makes animal bones or the leaves of *Hibiscus* available for protection. We have now seen that the same power is present in dead men, in their bodies, their bones, and in the spirit-world to which dead men go. All contact with the world of the dead is highly dangerous, and yet we have seen that human bones may be used for protection and that even the spirits may be induced to heal sickness or allay storms. We have also seen that the same power is present in the *oko-jumu*, and we have made the important discovery that it is through contact with the spirits that he acquires the power. This reveals another important principle. (7) If an individual comes into contact with the power in any thing and successfully avoids the danger of such contact, he becomes himself endowed with power of the same kind as that with which he is in contact. Now although the *oko-jumu* possesses a very special social value, yet every man and woman has some social value, some of that power which makes any being capable of affecting the society for good or ill, and we can now see that the initiation ceremonies are the means by which the individual is endowed with power (or, as the natives say, made strong) by being brought into contact with the special power present in each of the important kinds of food. The initiation of the ordinary man or woman is parallel to the initiation

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of the *oko-jumu* save that in one instance it is the power in foods and in the other that in the spirits with which the initiation is concerned.

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It has been held in this chapter that the society or the social life itself is the chief source of protection against danger for the individual. If this be so then the society itself possesses this same power with which we are dealing, and we must expect to find that contact with this power is also dangerous for the individual. Now the occasion on which the individual comes into contact with the power in the society is in the dance, and I found evidence that the natives believe that dancing is dangerous in exactly the same way as eating food. Confirmation of this will appear later.

It would seem that for the Andaman Islander the social life is a process of complex interaction of powers or forces present in the society itself, in each individual, in animals and plants and the phenomena of nature, and in the world of spirits, and on these powers the well-being of the society and its members depends. By the action of the principle of opposition the society —the world of the living—comes to be opposed to the spirits—the world of the dead. The society itself is the chief source of protection to the individual; the spirits are the chief source of danger. Hence all protection tends to be referred to the society and all danger to the spirits. In the initiation ceremonies it is the society that protects the initiate against the dangers of food and those dangers are referred, generally if not quite consistently, to the spirits, with which at first sight they would seem to have nothing to do.

It is now at last possible to understand the uses of the word *ōt-kimil* which were first discussed on page 267 above. When the word is used in reference to a person who has just partaken of food it denotes a condition of danger produced by contact with the power in foods. This condition results at any time from the eating of any of the more important foods, but is clearly produced in an extreme form when a food such as turtle or pork is being eaten for the first time at a ceremony of initiation. Hence the initiate is most intensely *kimil* and is therefore addressed and spoken of by that term, or as we might say "the *kimil* person."

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Used in reference to sickness the word denotes a condition of danger due to contact with that power (in the spirits or in food) which is the cause of sickness. Used in reference to storms it again denotes a condition of danger for the society. Storms are sometimes said to be caused by the spirits[1]. This is also the explanation of the use of the word to denote a particular season of the year. The *Kimil* season is by no means hot, but cool; it is, however, the season at which violent cyclones are most likely to occur, being the period of the change from the south-west to the north-east monsoon. It is therefore a season of danger to the society from that power which produces storms.

Finally, a man who has joined in a dance is said to be *ot-kimil* and seems to be regarded as being in a condition of danger similar to that produced by food. It might be thought that in this instance the word is only used in its literal meaning of "hot," but I believe that this is not so. The dance is the occasion on which the individual comes most closely into contact with the power in the society itself, and I believe that this contact is regarded as dangerous and therefore as making the individual *ot-kimil.*

Thus we see that in its various uses the word *ot-kimil* denotes a condition of danger due to contact with that power on the interaction of the different manifestations of which the well-being of the society depends.

How is it then that to denote this condition the Andamanese use a word which, primarily, seems to mean "heat"? The answer is that they conceive the qualities that give to objects their social values as being the manifestations of a kind of energy, and as being similar to the kind of energy which they know best, that of heat. The psychological basis of this is not difficult to discover. The eating of food is productive of bodily heat (the Andamanese live in a hot climate and eat much fat, it must be remembered), so that the power present in foods is inevitably thought of as a sort of heat or heat-producing energy. In the dance the Andaman Islander experiences, as we have seen, an increase in his own personal force or energy, and this also is associated with

[1] The Andamanese beliefs about storms and the weather generally will be dealt with in the next chapter.

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the sensation of bodily heat produced by dancing. All other bodily activities result in the sensation of heat (in hunting and work of all kinds) and as it is in his activities that the social value of the individual is manifested this value is itself conceived as a sort of heat-producing energy. Further the Andamanese seem to associate with the idea of heat all conditions of mental activity and excitement. We ourselves do the same, as shown by such words as "ardour," "zeal," etc. and such phrases as "the heat of anger, or enthusiasm," and there is good ground for thinking that all such associations or symbolisms (sensory metaphors) have a physiological basis. Finally, fire which (as we shall see better in the next chapter) is regarded by the Andamanese as the most important possession of the society, and which (as we have already seen) has in a very high degree the power that makes objects capable of affecting the society, is for this reason in a suitable position to become the archetype of all forms of energy, activity or force. This system of notions of the Andamanese that the world is the arena of a continual struggle of forces present in the society itself, in each individual, in the substances that are used for foods and materials, in fire, in storms and sunshine, and in the spirits and bones of the dead, is, as I have tried to show, the result not of any process of reasoning but of the immediate social experience, and as it is in the heat of his own body, and in states of excitement of his own mind, that the individual does actually experience the effects of these forces upon himself he uses the same word to denote all conditions of heat and all conditions of the manifestation of this energy, organising around that word as well as he can his somewhat vague conceptions.

In case this symbolism should still seem strange, and the explanation of it unsatisfactory, it is as well to show by means of a couple of quotations that in other primitive societies differing widely from the Andamanese similar uses of the words hot and heat are to be found. In his work on the Achehnese (Vol. I, p. 305) C. Snouck Hurgronje writes thus of the natives of the Malay Archipelago: "In the native language of the E. Archipelago all happiness, rest and well-being are united under the concept of 'coolness,' while the words 'hot' and 'heat' typify

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all the powers of evil. Thus when a person has either just endured the attack of a 'hot' influence or has luckily contrived to escape it, the adat prescribes methods of 'cooling' in order to confirm him in the well-being which he has recovered or escaped losing. The same methods are also adopted for charming away evil things and baneful influences, the removal of which is regarded as an imperative necessity. For instance, the completion of a house, and various domestic festivities, are made the occasion for a process of 'cooling'; so also with a ship when newly built or after holding of a kanduri on board; and before the padi is planted out the ground must be purified from 'hot' or dangerous influences." In this instance we find the word "hot" used only in reference to evil forces. In the Andamans there is no line drawn between good and evil forces. In spite of the differences between them it is clear that the same mental process is responsible for the symbolic use of the word "hot" in the Andamans and in the Malay Archipelago.

In Codrington's *The Melanesians*, p. 191, we find an example of the same mode of thought. "That invisible power which is believed by the natives to cause all such effects as transcend their conception of the regular course of nature and to reside in spiritual beings, whether in the spiritual part of living men or in the ghosts of the dead, being imparted by them to their names and to various things that belong to them, such as stones, snakes, and indeed objects of all sorts, is that generally known as mana. By means of this men are able to control or direct the forces of nature, to make rain or sunshine, wind or calm, to cause sickness or remove it, to know what is far off in time and space, to bring good luck or prosperity or to blast and curse. In the New Hebrides, the Banks' Islands, the Solomon Islands about Florida as in New Zealand and many of the Pacific Islands the word in use is mana. In Santa Cruz a different word malete is used, which bears however the same meaning. At Saa in Malanta all persons and things in which this supernatural power resides are said to be saka, that is, hot. Ghosts that are powerful are saka; a man who has knowledge of the things which have spiritual power is himself saka; one who knows a charm which is saka mutters it over water, saru'e and makes the water 'hot,' ha'asaka.

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The people of Mala Masiki, the lesser part of the island, which is cut in two not far from its south-eastern end by a narrow channel, think that the men of the larger part, Mala Paina, are very saka. If one of these visiting the Saa people points with his finger, suisui, there is danger of death or calamity; if one of them spits on a man he dies at once." Here again there are important differences, as might be expected in such different cultures as those of Melanesia and the Andamans, and yet it is clear that there is a fundamental similarity of mental process.

The nature of this symbolic representation of the forces that affect the social life may be made clear by considering another example. The natives say that they use *odu* clay after eating because their bodies give off an odour which would attract the spirits if they did not paint themselves. The power of an object, by virtue of which it has what may be called magical efficacy, is sometimes identified with its odour. A number of the plants that are used as remedies for sickness, such as the *Trigonostemon*, are possessed of strong and characteristic odours, and the natives think that it is through the odour that they effect a cure. Similarly the powerful properties attributed to the *Anadendron*, whereby it will cause rheumatism, keep away sharks and spirits, and turn turtle-meat bad, or stop a storm, are all said to be the results of its "smell." The stimulating power of olfactory sensations probably has much to do with the development of these beliefs, but the discussion of their psycho-physiological basis would lead us too far away from the main subject, interesting as it would be.

In the jungles of the Andamans it is possible to recognize a distinct succession of odours during a considerable part of the year as one after another the commoner trees and lianas come into flower. When, for example, the species of *Sterculia* called in the North Andaman *jeru* comes into blossom, it is almost impossible to get away from the smell of it except on the sea-shore when the wind is from the sea. Moreover these various flowers give their scent to the honey that is made from them, so that there is also a succession of differently flavoured kinds of honey. The Andamanese have therefore adopted an original method of marking the different periods of the year by means of

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the different odoriferous flowers that are in bloom at different times. Their calendar is a calendar of scents[1].

Now they seem to regard each flower-period as possessing its own particular kind of force, of which the scent is the manifest sign, and to think that the succession of these different forces produces the succession of different fruits, the whole generative energy of nature being conceived as the result not of one force but of many, following one another in regular rotation. When a girl reaches puberty the natives think of her as having blossomed as it were, the later ripening being the birth of her children, and so she, like the plants of the jungle, is under the influence of the same natural forces that produce the successive blossoming and fruiting of the different species. Therefore, when a girl reaches her blossoming time she is given, for a name, to be used until she bears her fruit, the name of that particular odoriferous plant that is in flower at the time, it being this particular one of the successive forces of the forest life that has brought her childhood to an end.

Under the influence of muscular exertion the human body gives off a characteristic odour, of one generic kind, but differing somewhat in every individual. The odour of the body, being the immediate result of activity, may therefore well be regarded by the Andamanese as being closely connected with the virtue or energy of the person. Further, the eating of certain foods, such as dugong, turtle and pork, causes the body of the Andaman Islander to give out a noticeable and recognizable odour, different from that of mere perspiration. The natives themselves seem to distinguish different odours for these different foods, but I was not myself able to appreciate such differences. The Andamanese see in this odour given off after eating a manifestation of the energy that has been absorbed with the food, which energy it is that makes the food both necessary for life and also a source of danger. This seems to be the meaning of the belief that the spirits are attracted to a man by the odour of the food he has eaten unless he paint himself with clay.

We can now at last return to the rite of painting the body with *odu* clay after eating. I have suggested that the use of this

[1] See above, p. 119.

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clay in mourning is a means by which the mourner marks the fact that he is in a peculiar relation to the spirit-world, spirits being believed to be light in colour. The mourner is in contact with the spirit-world through his connection with the dead person, and to mark his condition he paints himself to resemble the spirits, thereby affirming his solidarity with them. The clay protects him from the danger that results from any contact with the spirit-world. According to the rule of method laid down at the beginning of the chapter we must find a similar explanation of the use of *odu* after eating.

We have seen that it is the same kind of force in the spirits and in the animals used for food that makes them both dangerous. Yet at the same time there is a sense in which it is true that each kind of thing has its own peculiar kind of force. The ceremony of turtle-eating endows a youth with power to avoid the dangers of turtle but it does not give him the power to avoid the dangers of pork. *Hibiscus* leaves are efficacious against turtle, but against the pig *Tetranthera* leaves must be used. In describing the patterns painted on the body after eating it was stated that there is a tendency to connect particular types of pattern with particular kinds of food. Thus a design commonly used after eating turtle suggests the plates of the turtle's carapace, and a pattern used after eating pork similarly suggests the longitudinal markings on the pig's back. This would seem to indicate that when a man has eaten turtle he paints himself so as to identify himself with the animal he has eaten, and similarly with other foods, just as in mourning he paints himself so as to identify himself with the spirit-world. In other words, the painting of the body with *odu* serves to show that there is a relation between the individual and some source of power, which relation can best be described as one of solidarity with the species, whether of animals or supernatural beings, in which the power resides. The mourner is in contact with the dangerous powers of the world of death, and by expressing his solidarity with that world he avoids the dangers that might result from his condition. For the fear of any being and a feeling of solidarity towards that being are incompatible with one another. Similarly a man who has eaten turtle is in contact with the power that

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resides in the turtle species, a power that may be dangerous, but which when mastered and made use of by proper precautions is a source of well-being, of strength. By painting himself with a pattern that reminds him in some way of the turtle he expresses his solidarity with the turtle species and so obviates the dangers of his condition.

This interpretation is made more probable by the consideration of the dances of the initiation ceremonies. In the dance at the turtle-eating ceremony the movements of the dancers suggest the movements of a turtle swimming. If the resemblance be not imaginary we may regard this as another method of affirming the solidarity of the dancers with the turtle species. We should then have to conclude that the dance at the pig-eating ceremony is similarly imitative of the movements of a pig, and though this is quite possible it is not so obvious.

This same kind of clay is used in the initiation ceremonies. At the turtle-eating and pig-eating ceremonies it is spattered over the body of the initiate from head to foot. I have no explanation to offer for this peculiar method of application. After the ceremony is over the initiate is painted with clay in a pattern called *kimil-t̪era-puli* which consists of a background of the clay on which a pattern of separate spirals is made with the finger. The pattern is to be seen in Plate XI. I cannot put forward with any confidence the explanation I have to offer of this pattern, for I have no means of confirming it, and it is therefore little more than a guess. It is that the spiral or circle is a symbol of the camp and therefore of the society and the social life in general, the basis of the symbolism being the roughly circular or elliptical form of the village or communal hut, and the circular form of the dance (more noticeable in the Little Andaman than in the Great Andaman). If this be really the meaning of the symbol then the explanation of its use in the initiation ceremonies would be that in these ceremonies the youth is preserved from danger by the force inherent in the society, which affords protection to all its members, and the use of the symbol of the society would therefore be most appropriate.

The act of painting the body with *odu* clay is therefore a rite which advertises the fact that an individual is in intimate

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contact with some source of that power which belongs to the things that affect the social life, and it thereby serves to keep alive the sentiments associated with that notion of power. The painting after eating reminds the individual of his dependence upon and obligation towards the society, and, since all join in the rite, it serves also to maintain the unity of the community. 182X 778

We may now return to the question of the meaning of personal ornament in general. It is a commonplace of psychology that the development of the sense of self is closely connected with the perception of one's own body. It is also generally recognized that the development of the moral and social sentiments in man is dependent upon the development of self-consciousness, of the sense of self. These two important principles will help us to appreciate the hypothesis to which the discussion has now led, that in the Andamans the customary regulation of personal ornament is a means by which the society acts upon, modifies, and regulates the sense of self in the individual. 182X 304 301 302

There are three methods of ornamenting the body in the Andamans, (1) by scarification, (2) by painting, and (3) by the putting on of ornaments.

The natives give two reasons for the custom of scarification, that it improves the personal appearance and that it makes the boy or girl grow up strong. Both these mean that scarification gives or marks an added value. The explanation of the rite would therefore seem to be that it marks the passage from childhood to manhood and is a means by which the society bestows upon the individual that power, or social value, which is possessed by the adult but not by the child. The individual is made to feel that his value—his strength and the qualities of which he may be proud—is not his by nature but is received by him from the society to which he is admitted. The scars on his body are the visible marks of his admission. The individual is proud or vain of the scars which are the mark of his manhood, and thus the society makes use of the very powerful sentiment of personal vanity to strengthen the social sentiments. 182X 304

Turning now to the painting of the body, we have seen that the pattern of white clay serves to make both the painted individual and those who see him feel his social value, and we 182X 302

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have seen that this interpretation explains the occasions on which such painting is used. To complete the argument it is necessary to consider the occasions on which the use of white clay is forbidden.

Those to whom this prohibition applies are (1) a youth or girl who is *aka-op*, i.e., who is abstaining from certain foods during the initiation period, (2) a mourner, (3) a homicide during the period of isolation, and (4) a person who is ill. All these persons are excluded from full participation in the active social life, and therefore the social value of each of them is diminished. It would obviously be wrong for a person in such a condition to express by decorating himself a social value that he did not at the time possess.

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The occasions on which this style of painting is used or forbidden are thus all satisfactorily explained by our hypothesis. It remains to consider the nature of the painting itself, and how far it is an appropriate means of expression. To do this we must discuss very briefly some of the processes of symbolic thought of the Andamanese. Conditions of well-being (both individual and social) are associated in the minds of the Andamanese with fine weather, both directly (through physiological action) and indirectly (through the effect of fine weather on the social life). Hence *Tomo*, who, as we shall see in the next chapter, is a personification of fine weather, is a being who is connected with goodness and happiness. With fine weather, and therefore with individual and social well-being, the Andamanese associate brightness and whiteness (for which they have only one word) and any bright or light colour. The association of light and dark with euphoric and dysphoric conditions respectively has a psycho-physical basis, for it seems to be universal in human nature. Now the clay that the Andamanese call *tol-odu* is the whitest substance they know, and is for this reason fitted to be symbolical of conditions of well-being. Fine weather is associated, in the minds of the Andamanese with honey, because in the season of fine weather honey is plentiful, and is also associated for a similar reason with snakes. Sweetness itself is universally associated with pleasant things, again through a psycho-physical link. The Andamanese believe in a special con-

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nection between honey and a species of large snake called *wara-jobo* or *or-čubi*[1], so that this snake comes to be representative of fine weather and sweetness and therefore generally of states of well-being. Now, throughout the Great Andaman the pattern in which white clay is painted on the body is called after this snake, and the zig-zags of which the pattern is composed may be supposed to be representative of the snake itself. When, therefore, a man paints himself with white clay in a pattern which he regards as representing the snake *wara-jobo*, it is evident that the painting is meant to express a condition of well-being, with which the snake itself, and whiteness, are, by a number of links, closely associated. This is not all, however. The Andamanese, we may not doubt, derive from the painted pattern an esthetic pleasure due to its rhythmical character, its shape as an arrangement of lines and spaces. Further it provides the pleasure that we obtain from a thing elegantly and skilfully made, and this explains why so much care is taken in the making of the pattern. This pleasure at what we may call the beauty of the pattern heightens the effect produced by its symbolic references. The real value of the pattern, its pleasure-giving quality, is transferred to the man on whose body it is executed. He himself is pleased with it, proud of it, and so becomes pleased with and proud of himself, for the pattern by being imprinted on his body becomes part of him. The sense of self attaches to it, as with us the sense of self attaches to our clothes.

It would be interesting to carry the analysis of the mental processes involved in all this a stage or two further, but enough has been said, I hope, to show that the nature of the painting with clay is appropriate to its use as marking or expressing value.

Patterns are sometimes painted with this same white clay on the face alone, such patterns being built up either of the zig-zags of the snake pattern, or of rhythmically arranged series of short lines. The use of such paintings is regulated by a sort of etiquette. By so having his face decorated a man expresses that he is pleased with himself, and obviously there are occasions on which it is appropriate and others on which it is inappropriate

[1] See p. 227.

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that he should feel thus. A man who has been successful in the day's hunting, for example, is quite justified in having his face ornamented in this way, and it is on such occasions as this that the custom is observed.

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When a man is painted for a dance, or on any other ceremonial occasion, with white clay, he is also painted at the same time with red paint. In these instances we must suppose that the red paint serves the same purpose as the pattern of white clay with which it is combined, namely to make the decorated person pleasantly aware of his or her social value. Red paint is also used, however, in sickness, and on other occasions, as affording protection against evil, particularly evil from the spirit-world.

This double use of red paint is to be explained by reference to the colour symbolism of the Andaman Islanders. For them the colour red is pre-eminently the colour of blood and of fire. There is ample evidence of this which it is perhaps not necessary to state. Now blood is identified with the warmth of the body and with life; the blood and the fat are sometimes spoken of as the two vital principles. Fire, as I have already shown, is taken as a symbol of activity and of mental excitement. Thus the colour comes to be associated in the minds of the Andamanese with all euphoric conditions, with excitement, vitality, mental and bodily activity, and with energy or force in general. It is possible that this symbolism, which seems to be much the same in all divisions of mankind, has a psycho-physical basis in the stimulating dynamogenic power of sensations of redness.

When a person is sick he is in need of vitality, of energy, and so his body is daubed with the red paint that is a symbol of the things that he needs, and by a simple mental process he comes to believe that by applying the paint to his body he increases his energy and vitality, and so helps himself to get rid of the sickness. At a dance, or on other ceremonial occasions, it is required that the individual shall have a sense of his own value, and for this he must experience that sense of personal force and vitality that is produced, as we have seen, by the action of the dance. This effect is reinforced by the use of the red paint which is the symbol of that condition of energy and vitality that it is

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(for some special reason) necessary for him to feel. As the value of the individual depends upon his strength or force, the red paint is thus a suitable means of expressing the value of him on whose body it is painted, and really expresses, though by different means, exactly the same thing as the pattern of white clay with which it is combined. 182x 302 822

We are now in a position to understand the use of white clay and red paint in the purification of a homicide. This takes place at the end of a period of isolation, during which the man is entirely cut off from the social life, and lives in a condition of supposed extreme danger on account of the blood that he has shed. During this time he may not use his hands to touch food, and at the end his hands are purified by the application to them of red paint and white clay. It is clearly because these two substances are both of them in different ways symbols of conditions of well-being that magical virtue is ascribed to their use in this instance. It is perhaps worth while to recall that both red ochre and white clay are sometimes given internally as remedies against sickness.

For the sake of the argument it has been necessary to separate the two motives underlying the use of personal ornament, the desire for protection and the desire for display. But we now see that these two motives are very intimately related and are really both involved in every kind of ornament. All ornament in some way marks the relation of the individual to the society and to that force or power in the society to which he owes his well-being and happiness. When painting or ornament is used to give protection, it is, as we have seen, the protective power of the society itself that is appealed to, and what is expressed is the dependence of the individual on the society. When ornament or paint is used for display it is again the dependence on the society that is expressed, though in a different way and on occasions of a different kind. We have seen that scarification is also a means of marking the dependence of the individual on the society, and it is very important to note that the Andamanese sometimes explain it as due to the desire for display and sometimes to the need of protection (enabling the child to grow strong and so avoid the dangers of sickness), showing very clearly that there is some 182x 301 302 304

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intimate connection between these two motives, or at any rate that one and the same method of ornamentation can satisfy both. There is the further example of red paint, which is combined with the pattern of white clay for purposes of display, and is also constantly used in many ways as affording protection.

We are thus brought to the final conclusion that the scarification and painting of the body and the wearing of most if not all of the customary ornaments are rites which have the function of marking the fact that the individual is in a particular permanent or temporary relation to that power in the society and in all things that affect the social life, the notion of which we have seen to underlie so much of the Andaman ceremonial.

The scarification of a boy or girl leaves permanent marks of the permanent relation between the adult and the society. By means of it and the initiation ceremonies that follow or accompany it, and of which it may really be considered to be a part, the society gives the individual his social value, of which the scars remain as a visible sign for him to be proud of, and at the same time endows him with the power to avoid the dangers with which his life is beset.

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The paintings of clay after food mark the temporary relation between the individual and the power present in the food he has eaten. It is chiefly thought of by the natives themselves as protective, as we have seen, but it also gives an opportunity for the exercise of personal vanity, for much care is taken in the designing and execution of the pattern, which therefore affords the painted individual much the same sort of satisfaction as the snake pattern of white clay. It calls his attention to his own appearance, and makes him feel pleased or satisfied with himself, conscious of his own personal value. A condition of unity and harmony is produced in the community by a feast as well as by a dance, and in each instance that harmony is expressed by the painting of every member with the same material in a similar design. The relation of the individual to the society is made visible on his body. By means of the paintings after food the society not only protects itself from danger but also rejoices in the well-being that is produced by a supply of relished food.

Inversely it can now also be shown that the painting of white

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clay and red paint worn at a dance and after marriage and initiation is not only a means of display but is also protective. Both red paint and white clay are used to give protection in sickness, and they are similarly used in the purification of the hands of a homicide. Moreover we have seen, in reference to the word *ot-kimil*, that the dance is a condition of danger by reason of the contact it involves between the individual and the power of the society. The few days following an initiation ceremony are definitely believed to be a period of danger for the initiate, and during this time the pattern of white clay and red paint must not be washed off but must be allowed to wear off. By the time the last traces of the pattern have disappeared the danger is considered to be over. There is evidence that the first few days of marriage are regarded as a period of danger. It would seem that the natives do attribute to the painting with white clay and red paint some power of protection, but this is hidden under the importance of such painting as a means of display. 182x 302

Of the various ornaments that are worn on the body some would seem to be worn almost solely for purposes of display, because they are pleasing to the eye. Such are the necklaces and other ornaments of small shells. It would seem that the same motive is also responsible for the use of the yellow skin of the *Dendrobium* of which the Andamanese are so fond. The ornaments of netting and shell seem to be worn primarily for display, but it is quite possible that some protective power is attributed to them, as to the paintings of white clay with which they are regularly worn. The belts of *Pandanus* leaf that are worn by women are a mark of the sex, and the style of belt worn differs with the social status of the woman. They thus serve to exhibit the special social value of the woman in so far as it depends upon her sex and her social status, but I believe that the Andamanese attribute to the belt and to the apron of leaves worn with it a power of protection against the special dangers to which women are believed to be subject. Ths is suggested by the use of the *Pandanus* leaf in the ceremony at a girl's first menstruation[1]. I failed to discover any special ideas connected 182x 301

[1] I am unfortunately obliged to leave a big gap in this chapter and in the book, owing to my inability to discuss the Andamanese notions about sex. The natives of 831

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with the ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf that are sometimes worn by both men and women at dances. The ornaments that are worn primarily for their protective power are those made of human and animal bones and those of pieces of canes or of fibres of *Hibiscus* or *Ficus*. These are always made decorative by the addition of shells and yellow *Dendrobium* skin, and therefore besides their primary function also serve as means of display.

It is clear then that in the various methods of ornamenting the body the two chief motives that we have considered are so combined that they can hardly be estimated separately, and it is this mingling of motives that has led us to the final understanding of the meaning and social function of bodily ornament. Each of the different kinds of ornament serves to make manifest the existence of some special relation between the individual and the society, and therefore of some special relation between him and that system of powers on which the welfare of the society and of the individual depends. One of the most important aspects of the relation of the individual to the society is his dependence upon it for his safety and well-being and this is revealed in all painting and ornament worn for protection. But the society not only protects the individual from danger; it is the direct source of his well-being; and this makes itself felt in the customary regulation by which the use of the more important ornaments used for display is confined to occasions on which it is quite clear that his happiness is directly due to the society, such as a dance or feast. Thus the customs relating to the ornamentation of the body are of the kind that I have here called ceremonial. They are means by which the society exercises on

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the Great Andaman at the present time show an unusual prudery in their conversation and dealings with white men, but there is good reason to suspect that this is due to the influence of officers who have been in charge of the Andaman Home in former years. At the present time all the men except a few of the oldest in remote parts are very careful never to appear before a white man without some covering although formerly they wore nothing. In their conversation in the presence of a white man they are careful to avoid reference to sexual matters. The men of the Little Andaman who have not come under the influence of the Andamanese Homes, still go naked and unashamed, and indulge in obscene gestures and jokes. At the time I was in the Andamans I failed to realise the very great importance of a thorough knowledge of the notions of a primitive people on matters of sex in any attempt to understand their customs, and therefore failed to make the necessary enquiries.

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appropriate occasions some of the important social sentiments, thereby maintaining them at the necessary degree of energy required to maintain the social cohesion.

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To complete the discussion of ornament in general it is necessary to refer very briefly to the ornamentation of objects such as bows, canoes and baskets. Such ornamentation consists of (1) incised patterns (on bows, etc.), which may be compared with the scarification of the body, (2) painting with red paint and white clay (bows, canoes, skulls, etc.), or with prepared wax (Nautilus shell cups, etc.), (3) patterns made with the yellow skin of the *Dendrobium* (baskets, etc.), and (4) shells attached by thread (baskets, baby-sling, etc.). The important point to note is that the decoration applied to utensils is of the same character throughout as that which, when applied to the body, has been shown to be an expression of the social value of the person. Thus the pattern painted on a canoe with white clay and red paint is the same as that on the body of a dancer. It would seem, therefore, that the ornamentation of utensils is a means of expressing or marking the social value of the decorated object, and it might even be held that the application of ornament to utensils is really a matter of ceremonial. Just as a newly married man is painted with the snake pattern which wears off and is not renewed, so a new canoe or a new South Andaman bow is painted with the same pattern as soon as it is finished, and after this pattern wears off it is not renewed. It is the act of bringing a new canoe or bow into use that is the occasion of the ceremonial expression of its value, if we may so regard the painting. A new relation is established between the society and an object, which thereby acquires a special social value, just as a youth acquires a special new social value at the conclusion of one of the initiation ceremonies. This example is sufficient to show that at least there is nothing in the ornamentation of utensils that conflicts with the explanation of bodily ornament given in this chapter[1].

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[1] In order to carry the analysis further it would be necessary to consider in detail the whole question of the relation of art and ceremonial, and that of the social function of art which is involved in it, and also to deal with the notion of "value" as it appears in primitive societies. The material from the Andaman Islands is not suitable for the discussion of these problems.

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It is time to bring the argument to a conclusion. It should now, I hope, be evident that the ceremonial customs of the Andaman Islands form a closely connected system, and that we cannot understand their meaning if we only consider each one by itself, but must study the whole system to arrive at an interpretation. This in itself I regard as a most important conclusion, for it justifies the contention that we must substitute for the old method of dealing with the customs of primitive people,—the comparative method by which isolated customs from different social types were brought together and conclusions drawn from their similarity,—a new method by which all the institutions of one society or social type are studied together so as to exhibit their intimate relations as parts of an organic system.

I have tried to show that the ceremonial customs are the means by which the society acts upon its individual members and keeps alive in their minds a certain system of sentiments. Without the ceremonial those sentiments would not exist, and without them the social organisation in its actual form could not exist. There is great difficulty, however, in finding a suitable method of describing these sentiments. In attempting to put into precise words the vague *feelings* of the Andaman Islander there is always the danger that we may attribute to him *conceptions* that he does not possess. For he is not himself capable of thinking about his own sentiments.

In the attempt to exhibit the meaning of the ceremonial I have shown that it implies a complex system of beliefs about what I have called power, and have stated those beliefs in more or less precise terms. But the Andaman Islander is of course quite incapable of making similar statements or even of understanding them. In his consciousness appear only the very vaguest conceptions, such as those associated with the word *kimil* or with odours. We, in order to understand his customs must substitute for such vague notions others capable of precise statement, must formulate in words the beliefs that are revealed in his actions, but we must be careful not to fall into the error of attributing to him the conceptions by which we make clear to ourselves his indefinite sentiments and notions and the ceremonies in which they are expressed.

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With this qualification, then, the ceremonial of the Andaman Islands may be said to involve the assumption of a power of a peculiar kind, and we have been able to formulate certain principles which, although the native is quite incapable of stating them as principles, are revealed in the ceremonial. This power, though in itself neither good nor evil, is the source of all good and all evil in human life. It is present in the society itself and in everything that can affect in important ways the social life. All occasions of special contact with it are dangerous, i.e., are subject to ritual precautions.

It should already, from the course of the argument, be plain that this power or force, the interaction of whose different manifestations constitutes the process of social life, is not imaginary, is not even something the existence of which is surmised as the result of intellectual processes, but is real, an object of actual experience. It is, in a few words, the moral power of the society acting upon the individual directly or indirectly and felt by him in innumerable ways throughout the whole course of his life[1].

One of the most important ways in which the individual experiences the moral force of the society of which he is a member is through the feeling of moral obligation, which gives him the experience of a power compelling him to subordinate his egoistic desires to the demands of social custom. The individual feels this force acting upon him both from outside and from inside himself. For he recognizes that it is the society with its traditions and customs that constrains him through the force of public opinion, and yet the conflict between customary duty and selfish inclination takes place in his own mind and is experienced as the clash of antagonistic mental forces. The moral sense within impels towards the same end as the social opinion without.

This force of moral obligation is felt not only in relation to right and wrong conduct towards other persons, but is also felt in all ritual, whether negative or positive.

[1] The exposition of this important thesis can only be given here in the most abbreviated form. The thesis itself, as applied to primitive ritual in general, owes its origin to Professor Émile Durkheim, and has been expounded by him (more particularly in his work *Les Formes élémentaires de la Vie religieuse*) and by Messieurs H. Hubert and M. Mauss.

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The moral force of the society is also felt, in a quite different way, in all states of intense collective emotion, of which the dance affords a good example. I have shown how in the dance the individual feels the society acting upon him, constraining him to join in the common activity and regulate his actions to conform with those of others, and, when he so acts in harmony with them, giving him the experience of a great increase of his own personal force or energy. All ceremonies in which the whole community takes part give the individual the experience of the moral force of the society acting upon him in somewhat the same way as the dance.

Thus in these and other ways the individual does experience the action of the society upon himself as a sort of force, not however as a physical force, but as a moral force, acting directly in his own mind and yet clearly felt as something outside his own self, and with which that self may be in conflict.

How is it, then, that this force comes to be projected into the world of nature? The answer to that question, which can only be very briefly indicated here, is to be found in the conclusions at which we have arrived with regard to social values. The moral force of the society is experienced by the individual not only directly but also as acting upon him indirectly through every object that has social value. The best example of this process is found in the things used for food. Thus, in the Andamans, food is very closely connected with the feeling of moral obligation, as we have seen. Further, food is one of the principal sources of those alternations of social euphoria and dysphoria in which, through the action of the collective emotion, the individual experiences the action of the society upon his own well-being. When food is plentiful happiness spreads through the community and the time is spent in dancing and feasting so that the individual feels a great increase in his own personal force coming to him from the society or from the food. On the other hand, when food is scarce and hunting unsuccessful the community feels itself thwarted and restrained and experiences a sense of weakness, which collective feeling has for its immediate object the food the lack of which is its origin.

Similarly with the phenomena of the weather and all other

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objects that have social value, they are all associated in the mind of the individual with his experience of the action of the society upon himself, so that the moral force of the society is actually felt as acting through them.

But it is really through the ceremonial that this is mainly brought about. It is in the initiation ceremonies that the moral force of the society acting through foods is chiefly felt, and the same experience is repeated in a less intense form in the rite of painting the body after food. It is similarly through the protective use of the materials used for weapons and through the various ritual prohibitions connected with them that the moral force of the society acting through them is chiefly felt. The argument has been that it is by means of the ceremonial that the individual is made to feel the social value of the various things with which the ceremonial is concerned. Putting this in other words we can now define the ceremonial as the means by which the individual is made to feel the moral force of the society acting upon him either directly, or in some instances indirectly through those things that have important effects on the social life. By its action upon the individual the ceremonial develops and maintains in existence in his mind an organised system of dispositions by which the social life, in the particular form it takes in the Andamans, is made possible, using for the purpose of maintaining the social cohesion all the instinctive tendencies of human nature, modifying and combining them according to its needs.

As an example of such modification of primary instincts let us briefly consider that of fear, to which, from the time of Petronius[1] to the present day, so much importance has been attributed in relation to the origin of religion. In childhood any fear of danger makes the child run to its mother or father for protection, and thus the instinct of fear becomes an important component of that feeling of dependence that the child has towards its parents. The primitive society uses the fear instinct in much the same way. The Andaman Islander, through the ceremonies and customs of his people, is made to feel that he is in a world full of unseen dangers,—dangers from the foods he

[1] Primus in orbe deos fecit timor.

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eats, from the sea, the weather, the forest and its animals, but above all from the spirits of the dead,—which can only be avoided by the help of the society and by conformity with social custom. As men press close to one another in danger, the belief in and fear of the spirit-world make the Andaman Islander cling more firmly to his fellows, and make him feel more intensely his own dependence on the society to which he belongs, just as the fear of danger makes the child feel its dependence upon its parents. So the belief in the spirit-world serves directly to increase the cohesion of the society through its action on the mind of the individual. An important law of sociology is that the solidarity of a group is increased when the group as a whole finds itself opposed to some other group; so, enmity between two tribes or nations increases the solidarity of each; and so also, the antagonism between the society of the living and the world of the dead increases the solidarity of the former.

The argument is now concluded. I have examined, as fully as space would permit, all the more important features of the Andaman ceremonial, and have tried to show what part they play in the social life of the Andamans. At the end of our enquiry it is well to ask if any definition of ceremonial can be given more exact than the vague one with which we started. The chapter has shown that what I have denoted as ceremonial consists of (1) collective actions, (2) required by custom, (3) performed on occasions of changes in the course of social life, and (4) expressing the collective sentiments relating to such social change. By the first part of the definition we exclude the magical practices of the medicine-men, which however it has been convenient to consider in connection with the ceremonial, as it has helped us to understand some of the ideas underlying both magic and ceremonial. If we are not to exclude the rite of painting after eating food we must regard the obtaining of a good supply of food as being a change in the course of social life even though it occurs very frequently, and even every day for weeks together. It must be admitted, however, that the definition does not give us any very clear dividing line between ceremonial and art, play, or morals. The painting of the body with white clay after marriage or initiation must, I think, be regarded as ceremonial, while the painting

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of a new bow or canoe with the same clay in the same pattern should perhaps more conveniently be called art. But what are we to say of the painting worn at a dance or the face-painting that a man occasionally wears when there is no special reason? The dance at the end of mourning is clearly a ceremony, but can we say the same of the ordinary dance after a successful hunt? And if it be not ceremonial, shall we call it art or play? When friends are required to give presents to a newly-married couple are we to call this obligation one of ceremonial, of etiquette or of morals? These and similar questions are perhaps incapable of a satisfactory answer, nor does it seem necessary to attempt to find one. Those elements of culture that we now differentiate and call by different names were, in primitive societies, undifferentiated and not clearly to be distinguished from one another, and a striving after too great a precision of definition in dealing with such a culture as that of the Andamans leads, I think, not to a clearer understanding, but to the opposite. The main thing is to keep close to the facts. In this chapter I have examined a number of facts which are plainly related and the question of how we are to label them is one that may well be left till such time as we shall have acquired a more profound insight into the nature of culture in general and the complex forces involved in its existence and growth. For the present, some vagueness in our provisional classifications need not greatly perturb us.

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CHAPTER VI

THE INTERPRETATION OF ANDAMANESE CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS: MYTHS AND LEGENDS

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IN the last chapter I tried to explain, by reference to psychological principles, the more important ritual and ceremonial observances of the Andamanese; in the present chapter I shall deal in a similar manner with the legends recorded in Chapter IV. That is to say, I propose to explain, not how the legends arose, but what they mean, what part they play at the present time in the mental life of the Andaman Islander. Customs that seem at first sight meaningless or ridiculous have been shown to fulfil most important functions in the social economy, and similarly I hope to prove that the tales that might seem merely the products of a somewhat childish fancy are very far indeed from being merely fanciful and are the means by which the Andamanese express and systematise their fundamental notions of life and nature and the sentiments attaching to those notions.

I propose to analyse a few of the more important legends, and will begin with the *Akar-Bale* story of the origin of night and day[1]. The explanation of this story depends on the connection of day and night with the cicada. This species of cicada, of which I do not know the scientific name, always makes a noise ("sings" as the natives say) during the short interval of twilight between sunset and darkness and between dawn and sunrise. It is possible that individual insects of the species make a noise at other times of the day and night, but I do not remember to have heard them, and it is only at the beginning and end of the day that they are all to be heard singing together.

[1] Page 214.

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The song of the cicada, as day gives place to night and as night changes to day is one of the most familiar of all natural phenomena to the Andamanese. Another fact that is made use of in the legend is that if one of these insects be crushed as was the cicada of the story, or even if it be taken up in the hand, it will utter its shrill and plaintive note, not unlike the cry of a human being in pain. Finally, fully to understand the tale, it is necessary to remember that in all the tribes of the Great Andaman Division there is a prohibition against killing the cicada. The meaning of this prohibition will have to be discussed in connection with the legend.

The facts stated above enable us to understand what may be called the skeleton of the legend. One of the ancestors killed a cicada (a forbidden act), the cicada uttered its cry (as it does when hurt), and as a result, darkness covered the world (as it always does when the cicada sings in the evening). Leaving aside, for the present, the rest of the story, we may try to make clear to ourselves just what this part of it expresses. The explanation that I propose is to the effect that the legend is simply an expression or a statement of the "social value" of the phenomenon of the alternation of day and night. By the social value of anything I mean, as explained in the last chapter, the way in which that thing affects the life of the society (either beneficially or adversely) and therefore the way in which it affects the social sentiments of the individuals who compose the society. There is no need to discuss at length and in all its bearings, the way in which the alternation of day and night affects the social life of the Andamanese. The one outstanding feature of first importance is that the day is the time of social activity whereas the night is a period when the society is, as a rule, not active. It was shown in the last chapter that one of the most important elements in the mental complex revealed by a study of the ceremonial is the recognition of the fact that it is on the activity of the society that the individual depends for his security and well-being. So long as he can feel that he is an active member of an active community the individual feels that he has for his support (morally and physically) a great force on which he can rely. If, for any reason, he is temporarily cut off

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from the society and from participation in its life, he is in a position of insecurity, and believes himself to be in danger from the powers of the world of spirits. It is an inevitable result of this that the daytime, when the society is active, should be felt to be a period of comparative security, while the night, when all social activity ceases, should be felt to be a period of comparative insecurity. That the day and night are so regarded is shown in the belief of the natives that the spirits are more to be dreaded during the night than during the day.

The Andaman Islander, like many other savages, is afraid of the dark. It might perhaps be thought that this fear is immediate and instinctive, a result of the physiology of the human nervous system, but that, I think, would be a false assumption. Many infants would seem not to be at first afraid of darkness, but to learn to fear it, as they learn to fear many other things. It is not possible here to enter into a discussion of the matter, but I would hold that in the Andaman Islanders and probably in other savages, the fear of darkness, of night, is a secondary or induced feeling, not by any means instinctive, and is in large part due to the social sentiments, to the fact that at night the social life ceases. The savage feels, and rightly so, that for everything he has and is, for the safety and well-being of his body and the comfort of his soul, he depends on the communal life in which his own life is merged. When, at the close of day, the social life ceases, he feels, should anything occur to direct his attention to his own condition, less secure than when the social life is proceeding actively around him[1].

The interpretation that I would offer of the *Akar-Balc* legend is that it is an expression of these sentiments relating to the night, an expression that takes advantage of the connection between the song of the cicada and the alternation of night and day. One feature of the manner of expression will be explained later in the chapter, namely that it takes the form of a story relating to a mythical period of the past. For the present the necessity of this particular form must be accepted

[1] We have seen, in the last chapter, that any condition of the individual in which he is withdrawn from active participation in the common life is regarded as one of danger from magico-religious forces antagonistic to the society.

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as a postulate. Granting this it remains only to show that the legend does express the social value of night as defined above.

The fear of night, or rather, since that fear is rarely more than potential, the feeling that night is a time of insecurity, is part of the general attitude of fear or respect towards the forces of nature that are believed to be possible sources of danger to the society. Now it has been shown that this particular attitude to nature finds expression in ritual prohibitions of various kinds. For instance, the Andaman Islander translates his feeling of the social value of food substances into the belief that such things must be treated with ritual precautions. Applying this to the case before us, we must first recognize that to the Andaman Islander the alternation of day and night and the singing of the cicada are not separate phenomena but are two parts or aspects of one and the same recurring event. Now, the night and the day are things that cannot be handled, i.e., cannot be immediately subject to the actions of human beings, while the cicada can be handled. Hence it is to the cicada that the need of precaution is referred. Any interference with the cicada is forbidden, and this prohibition serves as a mark or expression of the social value of that alternation of night and day with which the cicada is so intimately associated[1].

The legend of the *Akar-Bale* tribe is simply an elaboration of this theme. In the beginning there was no night, no darkness. Social life was continuous and was not subject to periods of diminished intensity. Then one of the ancestors (apparently in a fit of temper owing to his lack of success in fishing) crushed a cicada, and the cry of the insect brought darkness upon the world. The darkness, with its inhibition of activity, is clearly regarded as an evil, i.e., as a manifestation of force hostile to the society, and this accords with the definition of the social value of night given above, where it was shown that this value is negative, that night is a source of social dysphoria.

[1] It will be shown later in the chapter that some part of the respect paid to the cicada is due to its connection not with the day and night but with the seasons of the year.

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This interpretation is confirmed by the statements about the night made in the North Andaman (where this legend does not seem to exist), such as that the night is made by the spirits (*Lau*) who draw a mat or cloth across the sky. When we remember that the spirits are the embodiment of the forces hostile to the society we see how this statement expresses the feeling that night is the time when such hostile forces are in the ascendant.

The *Akar-Bale* story, besides giving an account of the origin of night, relates the invention of singing and dancing. There is no specific reference to dancing in the story as recorded from my *Akar-Bale* informant. The reference is found, however, in the version recorded by Mr Man[1] and it is implicit even in the *Akar-Bale* version. Dancing is always accompanied by a song, and every song is composed with the express intention of being sung at a dance. Thus, for the Andamanese, singing and dancing are merely two aspects of one and the same activity.

Dancing, except on a few special ceremonial occasions, always takes place at night. Night, as we have seen, is a source of social dysphoria. It prevents the pursuit of the common social activities, such as hunting or making canoes or weapons. The condition produced by darkness can be neutralised by means of singing and dancing, the dance being a condition of intense social euphoria, in which social activity is at its maximum, and all the social sentiments are pleasurably and intensely excited.

This belief that dancing and singing are means by which the evil influence of darkness can be overcome is shown in the custom observed when a corpse remains in a camp all night, of sitting round it and singing, in order (so the natives say) to keep away the spirits that have caused the death. They do not dance, because the pleasurable excitement of the more intense activity would be incompatible with the condition naturally resulting from a death. This custom affords clear evidence that singing, and in a yet higher degree the combined activity of singing and dancing, possess magical efficacy against the dangers prevalent at night.

[1] Page 215.

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This relation between the (negative) social value of night and the (positive) social value of dancing and singing is simply and clearly expressed in the legend. It was the "singing" of the cicada that produced the darkness. The ancestors, finding themselves overwhelmed with darkness, set to work to remedy this evil by singing (and, it is to be presumed, by dancing to the song). One after another they sang a song, just as at a dance one man after another sings until he is tired. Finally, after the dance had gone on for a number of hours, *Koyoro* took his turn at singing and the night came to an end and day appeared. So effectual was the means adopted of neutralising the evils of darkness that it finally resulted in the return of the daylight in which ordinary social life is possible.

The reference to resin in the legend can be easily understood. The Andamanese use resin to provide the light by which they dance, as well as for torches for fishing on dark nights. It is their only artificial light, and without resin a dance would be a very poor affair. Thus the social value of resin is that it affords a means of neutralising to a certain extent the effects of darkness.

These are, I think, all the essential elements of the story. One of the ancestors, under the influence of an anti-social passion, killed a cicada, which uttered its cry, and thereupon the world was covered with darkness. The ancestors then made torches of resin which enabled them to neutralise the darkness to some extent. They then invented dancing and singing and after they had continued for a number of hours the light came back. Since that time day and night regularly alternate with one another, and the cicada sings at each period of change. Men have learnt how to use resin for artificial light, and how to remedy the effects of darkness by dancing and singing.

The legend is thus simply the expression in a particular form of the relation between the society and a certain natural phenomenon in terms of what have been called social values. We find expressed the social values of night and of resin and dancing. It may be noted that the legend also gives a special social value to the ancestors, different from and greater than that of men or women at the present day. The ancestors of the Andamanese were able to do many things that men cannot do

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now; they were able to affect the processes of nature in a way that is no longer possible. This notion of the social value of the ancestors, of the past, will be shown to be one of the most important elements in the legends, it being this that is responsible for the general form of the stories. The consideration of this subject, however, must be postponed.

There are still a number of points of the legend that have not been considered. It is not easy to account for the inclusion in this story of the discovery of the yam. It is possible that there is some ground of association between the yam and the cicada, but I do not certainly know of any such. There is a legend recorded by Mr Man from the *Aka-Bea* tribe, and given above[1], in which an account is given of the lucky discovery of the first yam by the chance shooting of an arrow. It is therefore quite likely that the yam story first existed quite independently, and that it has become incorporated in the legend of the origin of night on account of the fact that the incident of the shooting of an arrow was found in both of them.

There is one reason for the inclusion of the yam incident that it is worth while to note. By its means it is told how *Da Teŋat* discovered a new object of each of the three kinds—animal, vegetable, and mineral. The new animal was the cicada, the new vegetable was the yam, and the new mineral was the resin, which, as the story shows, the natives classify as a "stone," although they know its vegetable origin. The story is thus rounded off and given an air of completeness and symmetry.

The incident of the shooting of the three arrows is of some interest as giving us an idea of how the Andamanese think of chance or luck. Arrows, it must be remembered, are regarded as being possessed of magical power. Further, the ancestors themselves possessed powers that do not belong to living men, as is shown repeatedly in the legends. The ancestor shoots an arrow, and, by reason of his power and that of the arrow, it strikes an important object and leads him to a discovery. The mere striking of the object by the arrow seems to give him a certain degree of power over the object, whereby he forces it to reveal its name. (We have already seen, by a reference to this very

[1] Page 221.

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story, that there is an important connection between the name of an object and its social value[1].) Thus, in common with other primitive peoples, the Andaman Islanders regard what we call luck or chance as due to the action of the magical powers possessed by objects and by human beings.

There is one point that is not very plain in the *Akar-Bale* version, but I think we must take it that *Da Teyat* was disgusted at his lack of success in fishing. His irritation was not diminished but rather increased by the fact that he did succeed in procuring one small and worthless fish. His shooting of the arrows must be regarded, I think, as the result of his anger. He might be supposed to address his arrows as follows: "You have not succeeded in hitting any fish at which I aimed you; let me see if you can hit anything on your own account, when I take no aim." In this way he was led to the discovery of the yam, the resin and the cicada, for though it is not explicit, it is evident that it was the third arrow that led him to the cicada. His irritation was not yet appeased however, and he crushed the cicada, thus bringing darkness over the world. We must infer that he was aware of what he was doing, for as soon as he had discovered the yam and the resin he learnt their names and thereby learnt all there was to know about them and their properties, and we must suppose that he similarly learnt the name of the cicada, and that to injure it would cause darkness. In the *Aka-Bea* legend recorded by Mr Man it is expressly stated that the ancestors who performed the actions that led to the first darkness did so because they were annoyed by the continuous heat of the sun[2].

Now we have here a very important feature of the legend which it will not do to overlook. We shall find that it is a principle of the Andaman legends that evil results follow from evil actions. Night, which, by reason of its negative social value, is regarded as an evil, is shown to be the result of the misbehaviour of one of the ancestors in giving way to anti-social feelings of anger or annoyance. It is a case of like producing like. When an individual gives way to such feelings as anger he becomes a source of danger to the society, or at any rate a

[1] Page 294. [2] Page 215.

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source of social dysphoria by disturbing the harmony of the community. Thus, in the legend, it was the wickedness of the ancestor in giving way to his feeling of irritation that led to the social disaster. Inversely, it was through the combined effort of the ancestors joining in a harmonious action (singing and dancing) that the day was brought back.

The events of the legend are supposed to have taken place at a spot named *Golugma*. I only visited this spot once and did not take particular note of it, nor have I information about the position it occupied in the social life of that part of the island in former times. We do know, however, from the name *Golugma Bud*, that at one time it was the site of a communal hut and was therefore an important camping place. It may have been a place at which dance-meetings were frequently held, and this would be a sufficient reason for its selection as the legendary site of the first dance.

One of the minor motives of the *Akar-Bale* version of this story is the identity of the ancestor who appears as the chief actor. I regret to say that I have never found the exact meaning of the word *teyat*. Though I asked the natives to bring me a specimen they did not do so. It is probably either a species of spider or of ant. However, even if I had succeeded in identifying the *teyat*, it is possible that I should not have discovered the reason why this particular creature was selected as the hero of the story. This can be shown by considering another of the incidents of the story. All the ancestors who sang and tried to bring back the day failed except the *koyoro*. This is a species of small red ant. Whenever I heard this story told or referred to, this particular incident (the successful singing of *koyoro*) caused great amusement amongst the listeners. It was obvious that it was a good joke. Yet in spite of my endeavours on more than one occasion I was unable to see what the joke was.

In the *A-Pučikwar* version of the same legend[1] it was *Pętie*, the monitor lizard, who crushed the cicada and brought darkness. This is to be explained not on the basis of any particular characteristic of the lizard, but as being due to the position that

[1] Page 213.

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this animal occupies in the *A-Pučikwar* mythology in general as the first ancestor of the Andamanese. As the first progenitor he is made responsible for the origin of all sorts of things. The story of the origin of night must have a chief actor, and in the absence of any important ground for selecting any other of the ancestors the *A-Pučikwar* story-teller falls back on the monitor lizard. 182X

In the above analysis I have drawn a distinction between what may be called major and minor motives of the story. The validity of the interpretation of the legends offered in this chapter depends on the validity of this distinction, and it is therefore important to provide a method by which we can separate major from minor motives. This can only be done when there are several versions of the same legend. Major motives may be defined as those which appear in all the versions of one legend, while minor motives are those which may vary from one version to another without producing any fundamental change in the legend itself. Thus, by a comparison of the *Akar-Bale* and the *A-Pučikwar* versions it can be shown that the identity of the chief actor is a minor and not a major motive.

If we compare the *Akar-Bale* legend with the *Aka-Bea* version recorded by Mr Man we see that they have in common (1) the explanation of the origin of night as due to the breaking of a rule, (2) the tracing back of the trouble to the anti-social passion of anger on the part of the actor or actors, (3) the account of the origin of dancing and singing as a means of neutralising the effects of darkness. All the other elements of the story are different in the two versions. In the *Aka-Bea* story it is the killing of a grub (*gurug*) that brings on the night, which is itself called *gurug*. What the meaning of this may be I cannot say. I did not hear this version of the story, and was not able to make any enquiries concerning it. All that it is necessary to note is that both the legends express the social value of night, and they both express it in very much the same way, the difference being that the *Akar-Bale* version makes use of the connection between night and day and the cicada, while the *Aka-Bea* story makes a similar use of some connection (not yet explained) between the night and a grub.

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Thus the comparison of different versions confirms the interpretation here given. The legend expresses the negative social value of night as a period when social activity is diminished and the power of protection of the society therefore lessened. It does so by telling how the night first arose as the result of disobedience to a ritual prohibition, i.e., of meddling with the forces of nature. It traces the original cause yet further back to the anger of one of the ancestors, anger being itself a source of social disturbance. It passes on to express the social value of the dance, with its accompanying song, and exhibits the relation, within the system of social values, of dancing and darkness. Thus, although the manner of expression may differ, yet what is expressed is the same in both versions, and we are therefore justified in regarding this as the essential content of them.

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An exactly parallel explanation can be given of the Andaman notions relating to the moon. The social value of moonlight is due to the fact that it enables the natives to fish and catch turtle and dugong by night. A clear moonlight night affords the best opportunity for harpooning dugong. During the second quarter the light of the moon steadily increases, and the period of moonlight falls in the first part of the night. After the change to the third quarter the light steadily diminishes, and moreover there is a gradually increasing period of complete darkness at the beginning of the night. The natives do not care to get up in the middle of the night to go fishing or hunting turtle. Therefore the second quarter is the time when they undertake such expeditions, and after the change to the third quarter they abandon them largely or entirely, and if they do go out they have to depend on torches. Therefore we may say that during the second quarter the moon gives valuable help to the natives, but during the third quarter withdraws that help.

At the beginning of the third quarter the moon rises in the evening, with a ruddy hue. The natives explain this red and swollen appearance by saying that the moon is angry. When a man does something that hurts or damages another it is generally (in Andamanese life) because he is angry. So to say that the moon is angry is equivalent to saying that he is damaging or hurting someone, as he is indeed damaging the society by with-

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drawing the light by which for the past week or so they have been able to capture fish and turtle. The phenomena of the change of the moon in so far as they affect the social life are represented as if they were the actions of a human being. We may describe this briefly by saying that the moon is personified, using that term in a special sense to be defined more exactly later. Amongst the Andamanese, as amongst ourselves, anger is associated with heat, and this explains why the red glow of the moon when he rises during the first few nights of the third quarter is regarded as the visible sign of his anger. 182X 821

Even the moon, however, is not to be expected to be angry without a cause. The natives say that the anger is due to some bright light having been visible at the time the moon rises. The personification is thus further elaborated. The moon gives the light by which fishing and turtle hunting at night are possible. This light has a positive social value, and its withdrawal is an evil. They therefore regard the moon as jealous, so jealous that if anyone makes use of an artificial light, as of a fire or torch or burning resin, the moon immediately is consumed with anger and withdraws the light that has been of so much use and has not been sufficiently appreciated. This belief is a means by which the value of the moonlight is recognized. Thus the beliefs about the moon can be interpreted in exactly the same way as the legend about night; both express, in accordance with the same psychological laws, the social values of natural phenomena.

I will next consider not a single legend but a number of different stories, running through all of which we can find a single major motive. I have recorded[1] three legends which relate, with some differences of detail, how in the beginning the ancestors had no fire, how fire was introduced by one of them, and how many of them, being burnt or frightened, were turned into animals of different kinds. In one version[2] the sea-eagle came into the camp of the ancestors and threw fire amongst them; whereby many of them being frightened were turned into animals. Another version is very similar, the chief actor, however, being the prawn[3]. In an *Akar-Bale* version *Dim-dori*, now 182X

[1] Pages 207 and 204. [2] Page 207. [3] *Ibid.*

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a fish, obtained the fire and burnt some of the ancestors with it so that they became fishes[1].

This legend is a widespread one, being found both in the north and in the south of the islands. The fact that the actor is different in the three recorded versions proves that the identity of the hero of the tale is a minor motive, i.e., one that may be varied without affecting the essential meaning of the myth.

The story serves as an explanation of the markings on birds and fishes, these being where the ancestor who became the species was burnt by the fire. Thus the legend is of the kind that is often called etiological. The common method of explaining such legends is to say that they are crude attempts on the part of primitive man to explain the natural phenomena with which they deal, in this case the bright colours of birds and fishes. Such an interpretation cannot be regarded as adequate. Why should the Andaman Islanders want to explain the markings of animals? Why should they explain them in the form of a legend, and why should the legend take this peculiar form?

The clue to the true interpretation of the three stories mentioned must be sought in the social value of fire. It was shown in the last chapter that fire is regarded as the symbol of social life and social activity, the centre around which the social life revolves, the source from which it draws its force. We may say, in a word, that it is the possession of fire that makes social life (as the Andamanese know it) possible. It was shown that it is on account of this relation of the society to fire that the latter is believed to be a source of security, of protection against the spirits. Now amongst all the creatures that inhabit the world, man is the only one that possesses and makes use of fire. Here, then, is the fundamental notion that is expressed in these legends. At first, so the story runs, animals and human beings were one, were not distinguished. Then came the discovery of fire. Some of the (undifferentiated) ancestors fled from the fire, because they were afraid of it, or because it burnt them. They became birds and beasts and fishes, retaining their fear of the fire, and being cut off for ever from the human society which, from that moment, constitutes itself around the fire. It is the

[1] Page 204.

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possession of the fire that makes human beings what they are, that makes life as they live it possible. It is equally (according to the legend) the lack of fire, or the lack of ability to make use of fire, that makes the animals what they are, that cuts them off from participation in human life. 182X

This, briefly, is the way I would explain the legend mentioned above, and ample confirmation will be forthcoming when we consider some of the other legends. Attention may be called here to a very significant phrase in a version of the fire legend recorded by Mr Portman[1] to the effect that "it was on account of the fire (i.e. of the possession of fire) that the ancestors became alive."

The three stories considered above contain three motives. (1) They express the social value of fire, by making the foundation of human society (through the differentiation of men and animals) depend on the discovery of fire. (2) They express a peculiar notion as to the relation of the human species to other animals, which is found also in other legends. (3) They give a legendary explanation of some of the characteristics of animals, such as the bright colours of certain birds and fishes.

It would seem that these same motives are present in many of the legends relating to the origin of fire. In the common version of the fire legend the fire is stolen from *Biliku* (*Puluga*) by the kingfisher. This bird has a patch of bright red feathers at the neck and these are explained as being where he was struck by the fire or the pearl-shell (lightning) flung by *Biliku*. In one variant the kingfisher swallowed the fire and had his head cut off by the lightning, whereupon the fire came out of his neck where the red feathers now are. In most of the versions it would seem to be implied that though the kingfisher succeeded in obtaining fire for the use of the ancestors, he was himself unable to profit by his own exertions, for he was turned into a bird condemned to eat his fish raw for ever. In one story, however, from the *Aka-Kede* tribe, it would seem that the kingfisher, by the possession of fire, and through the loss of his wings and tail, became a man. There is a lack of logic here which it is worth while to note. Although the kingfisher became a man

[1] Page 203.

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yet the legend is clearly based on the explanation of the red feathers of the bird's neck as due to the action of the fire. The psychological significance of such inconsistencies as this will have to be discussed later on.

Let us now consider another group of legends. We have seen that one explanation (in the mythological sense) of how the birds arose is that they were ancestors who fled from the fire. There are other stories that give a different account and relate that the animals came into existence through a great flood or storm that overwhelmed the ancestors. Both of these legends are to be found in the same tribes. Their incompatibility does not prevent them from being both equally accepted. If it can be shown that the story of the flood is simply an alternative method of expressing the same set of representations that underlie the story of the origin of the animals through the discovery of fire, the interpretation of the latter will be in some degree confirmed.

One account of the flood or storm, variants of which were obtained from both the north and south of the islands, tells how the ancestors only with great difficulty succeeded in saving the fire. Although it is not explicitly stated, we may conclude, I think, that it was because some of the ancestors kept their fire alight that they remained human, while those who lost their fire were turned into animals. If my personal impressions are of any value, this is really the idea that does underlie the legend in the native mind. Thus it would appear that this version of the flood myth is simply a reversal of the fire legend previously considered. They both express the same thing in different ways. They both make the possession of fire the thing on which social (i.e., human) life depends, the fundamental difference between man and animals.

It may be objected to this interpretation that in some of the versions of the flood myth there is no reference to the ancestors being turned into animals, while in others there is no reference to the saving of the fire. The reply to this is that if we are to understand the legends we must not consider each separately, but must seek out the connections between the different stories, connections that are not always obvious. Thus, as there are, in

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each of the tribes, different versions of a flood myth it might be supposed that the natives believe in several different floods having taken place in the times of the ancestors. Mr Man seems to have come to the conclusion that there were two distinct floods. I am fully satisfied, from personal knowledge, that the natives think of only one flood or catastrophe, and refer to it all the different legends. Sometimes a man will relate how the flood came and the fire was nearly lost, but will make no mention of the origin of animals at this time. At another time the same man will relate how the flood turned the ancestors into animals, but will make no mention of the saving of the fire. To understand the meaning of the legends we must connect these different stories together, for we know that they are connected in the minds of the Andaman Islanders themselves. Every native knows that it was at the time of the flood that the animals came into existence and he may remember this fact when he hears the story of how the fire was nearly lost. Similarly, when he hears the story of how the animals came into existence he remembers the other story of how the fire was nearly lost. Thus one man gave me a legend of the flood which explained the origin of the animals, and at the very end he mentioned as an afterthought "It was at this time that the fire was saved by *Maia Taolu*."

When we thus connect the different stories relating to the flood we see that they express a definite system of representations or beliefs, which are found in all the tribes, and that this system is sometimes completely and sometimes partially expressed in the different versions. On the interpretation here suggested the major motives of the flood myth are (1) the social value of fire as expressed by making the difference between man and the animals depend on its possession by the former and not by the latter, and (2) the notion of the animals as having once been one with the ancestors. These two motives are both present in the legends of the origin of fire that were previously considered. It can be shown that even the third motive of the fire legend manages to creep into the flood story. In the *Aka-Kede* version[1] the dove is mentioned as having saved the

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fire. The connection between the dove and the fire (which appears in other legends)[1] would seem to have its basis in the shining plumage of the bird, just as the kingfisher is connected with the fire through the red feathers of its neck.

The details of the legends may be briefly mentioned. One *Aka-Jeru* version[2] explains how one of the ancestors made a noise by breaking firewood while the cicada was singing and so raised a great storm, in which the fire was nearly lost, and in which many of the ancestors were turned into animals. This version is a fairly complete expression of the fundamental representations on which the whole group of legends is based. There is an elaboration of one point in that an account is given of how the cyclone was brought about. This is a separate motive which will be discussed and explained later in connection with the *Biliku* myth.

Another legend from the same tribe[3] relates to a storm that was caused in the same way, and that resulted in the destruction of the whole world. The fire, which was nearly extinguished, was saved by one of the ancestors. No mention was made of the ancestors being turned into animals. This version, however, as I have recorded it, is incomplete. I was unfortunately unable to understand some of what the narrator told me.

The *Aka-Kede* version[4] similarly does not distinctly state that the ancestors who were destroyed by the flood were turned into animals, but the fact that the three persons mentioned in the legend are all birds suggests that it was at this time that the birds originated. The bird called *čarami-lebek*, having lowered the surviving ancestors to the ground with their fire, remained at the top of the *Dipterocarpus* tree and has been there ever since. The *Aka-Kol* version of the same story[5] simply states that the ancestors were turned into animals in a cyclone, but contains no mention of the rescue of the fire.

In a number of these legends it is stated that the ancestors saved themselves by climbing up into a tall tree or into the trees. This is to be explained by the fact that the birds all live up in the trees, and a great many of them can never be seen save overhead. The top of the forest is where the birds live, it

[1] Page 202. [2] Page 206. [3] *Ibid.* [4] Page 207. [5] Page 208.

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is their world, raised above the world of men and women. The flood drove the inhabitants up to the tops of the trees. The birds remained there and only the human beings came down again. As the original inhabitants were driven up into the trees by water covering the land we may complete the myth by saying that those who failed to reach the upper world were on that account compelled to spend the rest of their existence in the water as fish and turtle. This is, I think, what the legend really means. Thus the story of the flood gives a picture of a threefold world, the waters below with their inhabitants the fishes and turtle and other marine creatures, the solid earth, and the upper region of the top of the forest where the flowers bloom and the butterflies and other insects and the birds pass their lives. This representation of the top of the forest as a world in itself may seem strange to one who has never seen a tropical forest, but to one who has spent months beneath it the forest-top of the Andamans does seem a world in itself, near yet inaccessible, a world where there is a gay and interesting life in the sunshine above, of which the wanderer in the deep shade beneath can only catch occasional glimpses as he gazes up through the tangle of boughs and leaves. For the natives of the islands therefore the top of the forest is an alien world into which they can only penetrate with extreme difficulty, by climbing, and with the life of which they have little to do. Similarly the waters of the sea are another world into which they can only penetrate for a few moments at a time by diving[1].

It may be said that, on this view, no allowance is made for the existence of terrestrial animals. That is true, but it must be remembered that there are very few such animals in the Andamans. The civet-cat and the monitor lizard and some of the snakes are as much arboreal in their habits as they are terrestrial. There remain only the pig and the rat as true terrestrial animals, and it may be noted that neither of these two animals ever figures in the legends as an ancestor. There are independent legends that relate to the origin of the pig, and the

[1] The same threefold division of the world is seen in the beliefs about the three kinds of spirits, those of the forest, those of the sea, and the *Morua* who, while spoken of as spirits of the sky, are often thought of as living in the tops of the tall trees.

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rat seems to be of so little importance that no explanation of its origin would seem to be necessary. Moreover the monitor lizard and the civet-cat, which are partly terrestrial, occupy for this reason exceptional positions in the legends. Thus there is a legend recorded from the *Aka-Kede* tribe which accounts for the simultaneous origin of the civet-cat and the pigs through a game of the ancestors[1]. The monitor lizard is in an altogether exceptional position in that it is equally at home in the trees, on the ground and in the water of a creek. It is in a way free of all the three divisions of the world. This helps us to understand why in some of the tribes the monitor lizard is regarded as the original ancestor not only of the Andamanese but also of all the animals, including the birds of the forest and the fishes of the sea. The civet-cat cannot live in the water as the lizard can[2], but can climb trees and run on the ground. In many of the legends the civet-cat is said to be the wife of the monitor lizard. It will be remembered that in the *Akar-Bale* story it is the civet-cat, the wife of the first ancestor (the monitor lizard), who saved the fire from the flood by climbing up to the top of a steep hill with it. Thus it may be seen that the position of the monitor lizard and the civet-cat in the legends of the Andamanese is partly determined by the position that these two animals occupy in relation to the threefold division of the world revealed in the story of the flood.

The repeated mention of the *Dipterocarpus* tree in these legends would seem to indicate that it is a motive of importance. The tree is the tallest tree of the Andaman forests, and is very common, but it is probable that this does not afford an adequate explanation, and that there are other ideas connected with it in the minds of the Andamanese that would justify the place it occupies in the mythology. In one *Aka-Jeru* story the whole forest is said to have sprung from a *Dipterocarpus* seed dropped by *Biliku* after she had destroyed the original forest in her anger. It may be noted in passing that in the languages of the North Andaman the word for this tree is the same as the word for dugong.

[1] Page 218.

[2] It is worth while to recall here the belief that if a man goes into the water after eating civet-cat he will not be able to swim.

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Let us now briefly examine the story of the origin of animals as recorded from the *Akar-Bale* tribe[1]. There are three variants of this story. The one recorded from an *A-Pučikwar* informant[2] must really be regarded, I believe, as an imperfect reproduction of the *Akar-Bale* version. The version given by Mr Man[3] is also of *Akar-Bale* origin, as is shown by the fact that the phrases in it are in the *Akar-Bale* language. A comparison of these variants shows that the main purpose of the story is to relate how a great storm or cyclone visited the islands in the times of the ancestors and turned many of them into animals. The storm was brought about by the action of one of the ancestors who in anger did some of the things that are known to anger *Puluga* and cause a storm.

In some of the other legends we find the same motive. Thus in an *Aka-Jeru* legend[4] the flood is said to have been caused by one of the ancestors breaking firewood while the cicada was singing. In an *Aka-Kede* version[5] this part of the story is further elaborated, and a reason is given for this action on the part of the ancestor. *Kopo-tera-wat* was angry with the rest of the ancestors because they refused to give him any of the honey they had collected, and he therefore deliberately performed the action that brought the storm. The purpose of these elements of the legend is to explain how the great flood came about, by tracing it to the anti-social action of some one or more of the ancestors, just as the night is supposed to have been produced by an ancestor who performed a forbidden action. In the *Aka-Kede* version and also, as we shall see, in the *Akar-Bale* story, the matter is traced still further back and the anti-social action of the ancestor is explained as being caused by his anger which had been aroused by a disagreement with the ancestors. The origin of the catastrophe that separated the once united ancestors into animals and human beings is thus traced to the fact that they could not live together sociably and in harmony.

In the *Akar-Bale* story the part which explains how one of the ancestors came to give way to anger is highly elaborated. It starts with the quarrel of the tree-lizard with some of the ancestors. (It may be noted in passing that the tree-lizard is quarrelsome in reality.) This leads to the death of the lizard (or

[1] Page 208. [2] *Ibid.* [3] Page 209. [4] Page 206. [5] Page 207.

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his transformation into an animal that still bears the name), and so to the grief of his mother and her anger against the ancestors who have killed her son. This elaboration of one part of the story tends to obscure the meaning of the whole. This is particularly the case in the version recorded by myself in which the anger of the tree-lizard is the direct cause of the change of some of the ancestors into animals. The narrator sets out to explain how a flood or cyclone came and turned the ancestors into fishes and birds. He elaborates the details of the first part of the story to such an extent that he loses sight of the conclusion. The purpose of the story as explaining the origin of animals remains in his mind, however, and gives rise to the description of how some of the animals had their origin as animals (i.e., were cut off from the human society) by being thrown by the lizard into the forest or into the sea. The legend in this form may therefore be regarded as giving an alternative explanation of the separation of the animals from the human society, the cause of the separation being a great quarrel in which they were all involved. In other words, human society is only possible if personal anger be subordinated to the need of good order; the animals are cut off from human society because they could not live peaceably together without quarrelling.

The examination of the variants of the flood-myth has taken us away from the main argument. In the various stories there are two separable elements. There is first the explanation of how a disastrous flood or storm was caused by the non-observance of ritual prohibitions connected with *Biliku* (*Puluga*). This element will have to be considered in relation to the *Biliku* myth. There is secondly the account of how through the flood or storm the birds and fishes became separated from the human race, and the three regions of the world, as the Andaman Islander knows it, became established. It is this second element that I have sought to explain. To repeat the argument, I would hold that it is really through the loss of the fire that the birds and fishes became cut off from mankind, and that therefore this element of the legends of the flood expresses exactly the same notion as the legend of the catastrophe that followed the discovery of fire. The two groups of legends result from the way the

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Andaman Islander feels about the fire as being the one thing on which the society most completely depends for its welfare. 182X

The preceding analysis has shown that the legends relating to the origin of animals, whether through the action of fire, or by the flood, serve to express the social value of fire. If this interpretation be correct we have a close parallel to the explanation of the story of the origin of night. In both cases, it has been argued, what the legend really expresses is the way in which a particular phenomenon (fire, in one case, the alternation of day and night in the other) affects the life of the society and the sentiments on which that life depends. The legends of the catastrophe, however, obviously contain another element of importance, revealing as they do a certain way of thinking about the animals. This element has not yet been explained. The representation of the birds, etc., as ancestors is not confined to one particular legend or group of legends, but runs through them all. Its explanation is therefore better postponed until we come to deal with the general features of the mythology, and will then have to be undertaken.

Let us now turn to the legends that concern *Biliku* (*Puluga*) and *Tarai* (*Deria*), which are of capital importance in the Andaman mythology. The clue to the understanding of them lies in the Andamanese notions about the weather and the seasons. In the Andaman Islands the year may be divided into four seasons. There is the cool season lasting from the beginning of December to the middle of February; immediately following this is the hot season from February to the middle of May; then comes the rainy season, from May to the end of September; October and November constitute a short season to themselves. In the cool season the weather is uniformly cool; there is very little rain, and storms are almost unknown; the wind blows uniformly from the N.E. In the hot season there is little or no rain; the wind is generally N.E., but may be variable; summer lightning is frequent, but there are no violent storms except at the very end of the season. During the rainy season, after a short period of uncertain stormy weather with which it begins, the wind blows uniformly from the S.W.; it rains heavily, sometimes every day for weeks together, but 182X 132 776

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X182 violent storms (cyclones) are very rare. Between the rainy
132 season proper and the cool season there is a period of six
776 or eight weeks in which the weather is unsettled; the wind is variable; fine weather alternates with storms that are sometimes of terrific violence; waterspouts are frequent; it is at this season that violent cyclonic storms are likely to occur. This season is called by the Andamanese *Kimil* (*Gumul* of *Aka-Bea*). We have seen in the last chapter that the word *kimil* denotes a condition of social danger, or of contact with the power possessed by all things that can affect the life and safety of the society. It is obviously in this sense, and not as meaning "hot," that it is applied to the season in question, for the months of October and November are fairly cool, certainly very much cooler than February and March. We shall find that this is an important point in connection with the *Biliku* myth.

The life of the Andaman Islander is profoundly affected by the alternation of the seasons. There are, first of all, the violent cyclonic storms that occasionally occur. Such a storm may uproot the jungle for miles, making it impassable for years to come, and thus destroying some of the native hunting grounds. The wind is sometimes so violent as to tear every leaf from the trees in its path. While the storm lasts there is danger to the lives of the natives. An old man recounted to me how on the occasion of a violent cyclone he and the others of his village took refuge in the sea and on the open shore from the danger of falling trees, and remained there till the violence of the storm had
[821] abated. The usual name for a cyclone in *Aka-Jeru* is *toko-pur*, i.e. "falling wood" or "falling trees." Even if all the natives escape the danger of death or injury, there is still the extreme fear and discomfort of the experience. If a storm lasts for any length of time the natives, who are unable or afraid to go out hunting, have to do without food until it is over. Incidentally the storm may destroy their huts, canoes, and other property and thus cause loss that has to be made up by toil.

X182 The second important effect of the seasons on the life of the
132 Andamanese is through the food supply. During the cool
221 season, and the succeeding hot season, a number of vegetable foods, including the very important roots, and some of the most

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prized fruits, are available. On the other hand, during these seasons the land animals are in poor condition. In the hot season, at any rate, lizards, snakes and the civet-cat are not eaten. Pigs are breeding and are in such poor condition that often a pig that has been killed is left in the jungle as being not good enough to eat. The hot season is pre-eminently the season of honey, which is so abundant that the natives are able to obtain much more than they can consume. In the rainy season there are few vegetable foods and very little honey, but on the other hand the jungle animals are in good condition and flesh food is abundant; fish are more plentiful in this season than during the dry weather. In the *Kimil* season (October and November) the natives add to their food supply two varieties of grub (the larvæ of the cicada and of a beetle) which are regarded as great delicacies. Roughly we can say that the rainy season is the season of flesh food, the *Kimil* season is the season of grubs, the cool season is the season of fruits and roots, and the hot season is the season of honey.

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By reference to the prevailing wind the year may be divided into two parts, the N.E. monsoon from November to May, and the S.W. monsoon from May to November.

I propose to show that the Andaman Islanders express the social value of the phenomena of the weather and the seasons, i.e., the way these phenomena affect the social life and the social sentiments, by means of legends and beliefs relating to the two mythical beings whom they call *Biliku* and *Tarai*. Using the word personification in a sense to be defined later in the chapter, we may say that the Andamanese personify the weather and the seasons in the persons of *Biliku* and *Tarai*. *Biliku* is associated with the N.E. monsoon; she lives in the N.E.; the wind from that quarter is called "the *Biliku* wind"; to *Biliku*, therefore, belong the cool and the hot seasons, these being the seasons of the N.E. monsoon. *Tarai* is associated with the S.W. monsoon; he lives in the S.W.; the wind from that quarter is called "the *Tarai* wind," or, in *Aka-Bea*, simply *Deria*; to *Tarai* therefore belongs the rainy season. It is possible to show that the Andaman Islanders associate with these two beings all the phenomena of the weather and the seasons, and are able to

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represent the changes of the latter as though they were the actions of human or anthropomorphic beings.

In the mass of beliefs and stories relating to *Biliku* and *Tarai* there are some elements on which there is absolute agreement in all the tribes of the Great Andaman Division. I propose to treat these as being the most important elements. There is absolute unanimity, for instance, as to the connection of *Biliku* and *Tarai* with the N.E. and the S.W. respectively, and with the winds that blow from these two points of the compass. Further, this belief does not conflict in any way with any other belief of the Andamanese. There is similar unanimity in the beliefs that *Biliku* is angry at the digging up of yams, and at the melting of bees'-wax. There are other matters on which the agreement is fairly general but not absolute. For instance, there is a common belief that it was *Biliku* who first discovered fire, but there are also legends as to the origin of fire in which *Biliku* does not figure. I propose to treat such elements as these as being of secondary importance. Finally there are other elements with regard to which the beliefs of different tribes are not in agreement. For instance, in the South Andaman *Puluga* is regarded as male, while in the North Andaman *Biliku* is female. I propose to regard such elements as being of only minor importance, i.e., as not being closely connected with the central notion or notions expressed in the myth.

Applying the strict method outlined above, we may begin by noting that there is complete unanimity in regard to the connection of *Biliku* and *Tarai* with the N.E. and the S.W. respectively, and therefore with the monsoons. No interpretation of the myth can be adequate unless it sets out from this fact. The connection is so firmly fixed that it appears in the names of the winds themselves[1]. Even in this matter of the winds, however, there is a slight difference in the detail of the beliefs in different tribes. In the North Andaman it would seem that only the two principal winds are recognized: the S.W. wind (more accurately W.S.W.) is called "the *Tarai*

[1] It appears also in geographical names. *Puluga-l'ar-mugu*, meaning 'the Puluga front' is the name of a part of the Archipelago facing the N.E. and means 'the side facing Puluga.'

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wind" (not, be it noted, "the wind of *Tarai*"); the N.E. (or more accurately N.N.E.) wind is called "the *Biliku* wind." These two winds are by far the most important, as the former blows steadily throughout the rainy season and the latter blows with almost equal steadiness throughout a good part of the cool and hot seasons. In the *Aka-Bea* and *Akar-Bale* tribes the general belief seems to be precisely the same as in the North Andaman. Only the two principal winds are considered to be of importance and one is associated with *Deria* and the other with *Puluga*. In these two tribes, as in the North Andaman, practically no notice is taken of the existence of winds from other quarters. In the *A-Pučikwar* tribe there is a notable difference, of great importance to the true interpretation of the legend. There is a dual division of the winds; the S.W. wind is called *Teria*; the other winds (of which a number are recognized) are all called *Bilik*. Thus *Bilik* is a generic name for a number of winds, namely for all the northerly or easterly winds, including not only the N.E., but also the N.W. and S.E. winds. The S.W. wind is called by a simple name, *Teria*, or as it would be better rendered in English "the *Teria*." The other winds are called by compound names such as *Mętepur Bilik*, *Koičo Bilik*, etc., which we can only translate as "the N.E. *Bilik*," "the East *Bilik*," etc.

Two things of importance are shown by the consideration of these facts. The first is that there is a sense in which it may be said that the Andaman Islanders personify the winds in the persons of *Biliku* and *Tarai*; they apply to the natural phenomenon a name which is also the name of a mythological person, and they apply it directly and not in a possessive form, i.e., they say "the *Bilik*" or "the *Biliku* wind" and not "*Biliku's* wind." The second is that only the S.W. wind is associated with *Tarai* and all the other winds are associated with *Biliku*.

The last point is one of considerable importance in the interpretation of the myth. If we divide the year by reference to the prevailing winds, then the rainy season, with the exception of its beginning and its end, belongs to the S.W. wind; the hot season (save its end) and the cool season may be regarded as belonging to the N.E. wind, though the wind may be variable in the hot season; there remain two portions of the year, at the

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change of the monsoon, when the wind is variable, which cannot be classified as belonging strictly to the S.W. or to the N.E. wind. The fact that all these variable winds are denoted in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe by the name *Bilik* shows that in this tribe they are all classified with the N.E. wind. In this way the year is divided into two slightly unequal parts, one belonging to *Teria* or *Tarai* including the whole of the rainy season except the end and the very beginning, the other belonging to *Bilik* (*Biliku*) including the *Kimil* season, the cool season, the hot season, and even the first few days of the rainy season. This strict division only appears in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe, but it will be shown that an approximation to the same notion is found in the other tribes.

There is general agreement in all the tribes in the belief that storms are due to *Biliku* or *Tarai*. Both of them send rain and thunder and lightning, but whenever mention is made in the legends of a violent storm it is always *Biliku* who is mentioned as causing it, and never by any chance *Tarai*. Thus, in regard to this matter of storms, it is evident that *Biliku* is more important than *Tarai*, and this is only one example of the preponderance of *Biliku* over her consort. This preponderance will need to be explained as one of the essentials of the myth[1].

We have already seen how the Andaman Islander represents any natural phenomenon having negative social value as though it were the result of the action of a person in anger, this being the one anti-social passion with which he is most familiar in his own life. Thus the withdrawing of the light of the moon after the full is explained as being due to the anger of the moon. The negative social value of a violent storm is obvious. In accordance with the general principles of his mythology the Andaman Islander therefore explains the storm as being due to the anger of a personal mythical being. But storms are intimately connected with the winds, so that it must be *Biliku* and *Tarai* (in whom the winds are personified) who are responsible for the storms. Further, in the Andāmans, violent storms are very rare except at two special periods of the year, at the

[1] Although it is generally believed that storms (or more exactly, violent storms or cyclones) are the results of the anger of *Biliku*, yet there is a conflicting belief that storms are made by the spirits, particularly the spirits of the sea.

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change of the monsoon. This gives a further ground of association with *Biliku* and *Tarai* between whom the seasons are divided. We have seen that in classifying the winds the natives (of one tribe at any rate) associate with *Tarai* only the steady S.W. wind which brings not cyclones and violent storms but steady rain, while all the other winds are associated with *Biliku*. If this be so it is clear that a cyclone, with its wind veering from one quarter to another, must be the work of *Biliku*. Further, if the *Biliku* season be regarded as including all the periods of variable northerly and easterly winds as well as the period of the steady N.E., then we can say that it is only in the *Biliku* period that violent storms are likely to occur. It is evident therefore that an examination of the natural phenomena themselves gives us an adequate reason for the preponderance of *Biliku* over *Tarai* in the legends. This will be made even more evident as we proceed.

Another law of the Andaman mythology is that a person, such as the moon, is never angry without cause. There are a number of actions that are believed by the Andamanese to cause the anger of *Biliku*; of these there are three of extreme importance, all the others being certainly of much less importance. It is necessary, therefore, to examine these three carefully and find their meaning.

There is absolute agreement in all the tribes with regard to the belief that *Biliku* is angry and sends bad weather when bees'-wax is melted or burnt. The season of honey is the hot season from February to May. During the rainy season scarcely any honey is to be found and that only of the inferior (black) variety. It is clear therefore that honey belongs particularly to the *Biliku* portion of the year. During the hot season honey is abundant and large quantities are collected. As the natives make use of the wax, and as this is useless till it has been melted, this is the special season of the melting of bees'-wax. At the beginning of the season the *Biliku* wind blows calmly from the N.N.E. As the season draws to a close the wind becomes variable, uncertain, and in some years violent storms occur ushering in the rains of the S.W. monsoon. Year after year the wax-melting season comes to a close in stormy weather.

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Now stormy weather and the anger of *Biliku* are, for the Andaman Islander, one and the same thing, so that to say that the anger of *Biliku* follows the melting of bees'-wax is in one sense simply a statement of actual observable fact.

Another belief about which there is absolute unanimity in all parts of the Islands is that *Biliku* is angry when certain plants are cut down or dug up. These plants include some of the most valuable vegetable foods of the Andamanese, such as the yams and the pith of the *Caryota* palm. Amongst the roots and fruits associated with *Biliku* there are one or two that were not botanically identified. All of them, however, about which I was able to obtain any information whatever, are available as food during the cool and hot seasons, and either not at all or in very small quantities during the rainy season. On the other hand, of the vegetable foods that are available during the rainy season, not one is ever mentioned as being in any way connected with *Biliku*. Further, amongst all the foods of the cool and hot seasons only those are intimately connected with *Biliku* which begin to be available during the *Kimil* season. A few examples may be mentioned. The yams and other edible roots are not found at all in the rainy season, but the tubers begin to form in the *Kimil* season (October and November) and small quantities of these roots are available for food at that time. By the time the cool season has set in the roots become abundant, and they continue to be found until well on into the hot season. All these roots are regarded as being specially connected with *Biliku* and are spoken of as her foods. The same thing applies to the *Caryota sobolifera* of which the pith is eaten either raw or cooked. The pith begins to form in the *Kimil* season, and this highly prized food is available right through the cool season. The fruit of the *Cycas*, which is another of those belonging to *Biliku*, also begins to ripen at the beginning of the cool weather. As regards the *Entada scandens*, Kurz, in his *Burmese Flora*, mentions it as seeding in the "cold season." I neglected to take note of the relation of this plant to the seasons, but the statement of Kurz may be relied on. Thus it is seen that the vegetable foods that are associated with *Biliku* are those that begin to be available for food during the *Kimil* season and are

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abundant during the cool season. Now the *Kimil* season, which is really the opening of the N.E. or *Biliku* monsoon, is the season at which cyclonic storms are likely to occur. Here again therefore, as in the case of bees'-wax, there is a definite ground of association in familiar natural phenomena. Year after year, as these foods begin to ripen and to be eaten, the islands are visited with stormy weather, sometimes of exceptional violence. When the Andaman Islander says that the stormy weather which is the sign of the anger of *Biliku* follows the digging up of yams and the cutting down of the *Caryota* palm or the gathering of the seeds of the *Cycas* or *Entada*, he is stating what is an actual fact.

The case of these vegetable foods is in one way different from that of bees'-wax. The melting of the wax goes on for some weeks before the anger of *Biliku* is finally aroused, when storms come to punish the offenders, and the change of season cuts short the supply of honey. In the case of the roots, etc., it would seem that it is only the first step that counts. The danger lies in the beginning of the season. Once the anger of *Biliku* has burst forth the bad weather ceases, the danger is past, and weeks of fine weather ensue, during which the natives may eat freely of the foods in question without fear of consequences. In this connection considerable importance may be attached to a statement made to me on more than one occasion, to the effect that the most efficient way of stopping a storm is to go into the forest and destroy the plants that belong to *Biliku*, i.e., do the very things that make her angry. We may apply this to the events of the *Kimil* season. The natives begin to dig up yams and collect other vegetable foods, and thereupon *Biliku* becomes angry and stormy weather follows. All that the natives have to do is to show sufficient persistence in continuing to eat yams, etc., and the anger of *Biliku* is bound to subside and the stormy weather to cease.

There is a third belief that is generally accepted in all parts of the Great Andaman, that *Biliku* is angry if a cicada be killed, or if a noise be made while the cicada is singing in the morning or the evening. The interpretation of this belief is made difficult by the fact that there is also an association between the cicada and the day and night. Thus Mr Man states that the prohibition

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against making a noise at dawn (while the cicada is singing) is associated not with *Puluga* but with the sun[1].

The grub of the cicada is eaten during the *Kimil* season, and at no other time of the year. Here the association is simple enough. The killing of the cicada (grub) takes place only during a brief season, and this is the season when cyclones occur. However, the grub of a beetle is eaten at the same season and yet I never heard of any connection between *Biliku* and this other grub. Certainly if there is a belief in such a connection it is very much less important than the belief relating to the cicada. Further, there is the belief that if the imago of the cicada be killed or if a noise be made while the cicada is singing, *Biliku* will be angry and will send bad weather, which is obviously not simply the result of the custom of eating the grub of the cicada during the *Kimil* season.

The relation of the cicada to *Biliku* is almost certainly due to the connection of the insect with the seasons. Unfortunately, not then recognizing the importance of the matter, I did not, while in the Andamans, take particular note of the relation of the life-cycle of the cicada to the revolution of the seasons, and I am reluctant to trust to vague memories of matters to which I did not pay special attention. Mr Man states, apparently on the authority of a native, that during the cold and dry seasons the cicada is seldom seen (and is therefore presumably also seldom heard). What I believe to be the life-cycle of the insect is as follows. During the rainy season only the adult insects are to be found. They lay their eggs at some period during the rainy season, possibly towards the end. In October and November the eggs have developed into pupæ, and it is these that the natives eat; but apparently the adult insects, or some of them, still survive at this time and are to be seen and heard. By about December the last of the adult insects die out and the grubs have not yet attained the adult form, so that there is a period during which no adult insects are either seen or heard. It is probable that the new generation makes its first appearance in adult form as soon as the first rains of the rainy season begin.

[1] Page 154.

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The essential point, on which we can base an interpretation of the myth, is that the cicada is not seen or heard during the fine weather (December to March). It probably, as stated above, makes its reappearance just at the period of the stormy weather that ushers in the rainy season. Similarly, it does not disappear until after the end of the stormy period of the *Kimil* season. (I have certainly heard and seen the insect in October, and to the best of my recollection in November also.) Thus the cicada is definitely associated with the part of the year including the rainy season and the two stormy periods at its beginning and end. I believe that this is the fundamental fact that explains the Andamanese beliefs about the connection of the insect with the weather.

I was told of a ceremony that was held at the end of the *Kimil* season in the *Akar-Bale* tribe (and possibly in other tribes also) the purpose of which was said to be to ensure fine weather for some months and which is called "Killing the cicada." The ceremony consists of doing the very thing that is believed to produce storms, viz., making a noise while the cicada is singing in the evening. As soon as the cicadæ begin to sing all the persons in camp make as much noise as they can by banging bamboos on the ground, striking the sounding-board, or hammering on the sides of canoes, thus making just the kinds of noise that are said to be most disliked by the cicada. According to the statement of my informant this ceremony results in "killing" all the cicadæ so that they are not heard again for many weeks, and while this silence lasts fine weather is assured. The meaning of this little ceremony is plain when we recall the fact that though the digging up of yams and the cutting down of the *Caryota* palm anger *Biliku* and result in storms yet sufficient persistence in these actions, and therefore in any others that are displeasing to *Biliku*, results in dispelling the bad weather. Thus it is seen that although the matter is a little more complicated, yet the belief in the connection of the cicada with *Biliku* and with bad weather can be explained on exactly the same lines as the beliefs about bees'-wax and vegetable foods. The fact that the same explanation can be given of the three most important prohibitions connected

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with *Biliku* gives a high degree of probability to the interpretation here offered. These three beliefs are the only ones of real importance. I am unable to explain the connection of *Biliku* with the species of fish, the bird and the two kinds of wood mentioned on page 156. In the North Andaman there is a definite association between *Biliku* and spiders, the generic name for "spider" being *biliku*. I believe that this could be explained on the same basis as the connection with the cicada, i.e., through the connection of spiders with the changes of the seasons, but as I unfortunately neglected to take note of the habits of the spiders of the Andamans I cannot speak with any certainty and therefore prefer not to enter into a discussion of the subject[1].

The explanation that I have to offer of these beliefs relating to *Biliku* and to the things that offend her is that they are simply the statement in a special form of observable facts of nature. The rainy season comes to an end, the wind becomes variable, yams and other vegetable products begin to ripen and are used for food, and stormy weather comes, some years bringing cyclones of exceptional violence. Then follows a period of steady N.E. winds with fine weather and abundance of vegetable foods, during which the noise of the cicada is not to be heard. Then comes the honey season, when everyone is busy collecting honey and melting bees'-wax. The wind becomes very variable, storms come, the fine weather comes to an end and the rainy season begins again. These facts affect the feelings of the Andaman Islander and he expresses his impressions by regarding all these happenings as if they were the actions of an anthropomorphic being. The vegetable products, the cicada, and the honey all belong to *Biliku*. When the yams are dug up she is angry, or in other words, storms occur; a storm

[1] The application of the name *biliku* to the spider is clearly a minor motive, and probably a late accretion. The name of the N.E. monsoon is the same in all the divisions of the Andamans about which we have information, with dialectic differences only. In the Little Andaman the form of the name is *Öluga*, and the same name is given to the monitor lizard. Presumably, therefore, there was originally one name throughout the Andamans for the N.E. monsoon (*Öluga*, *Puluga*, *Bilik*, *Bilika*, *Biliku*) and later this name was applied to the spider in the North Andaman and to the monitor lizard in the Little Andaman. It may be noted that the name of the monitor lizard varies from one language to another in the Great Andaman.

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is the anger of *Biliku*. The cessation of the song of the cicada removes one of the possible causes of the anger of *Biliku*, and therefore marks the period of fine weather. That anger appears once more when the natives busy themselves with melting bees'-wax.

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It may be noted that these beliefs about *Biliku* give an expression of the social value of honey and bees'-wax and of vegetable foods such as yams. The Andaman Islands provide few fruits containing natural sugar. Yet the natives are inordinately fond of sweet things; they greatly enjoy the sugar that they now obtain from the Settlement of Port Blair. Honey, which was almost their only sweet food in former times, was therefore very greatly valued. Apart from the yams and other foods associated with *Biliku* there are very few productions of the Andamans containing starch in a palatable form. To the native who has been living during the rainy season almost entirely on meat and fish, the starchy foods of the stormy season (yams, *Caryota*, etc.) are of great value, and they are very highly prized. Thus the foods associated with *Biliku* all have a high value.

We all know how the value of an object is increased if, in order to obtain it, we have to make some considerable effort or sacrifice, or put ourselves in danger of some evil. Reversing this mental process, the Andaman Islander expresses his sense of the value of honey and yams by the statement that to obtain them he must be prepared to risk the anger of *Biliku* with its results. It was shown in the last chapter that the value of food in general is expressed in the belief that all food is more or less dangerous to eat, and that ritual precautions must be observed if the danger is to be avoided. Here in the *Biliku* myth, we have a further example of the same sort of mental process, in relation not to all foods in general but to a few foods of special value. Yet another example may be given. Roast pork is highly relished by the natives, and they believe that the roasting of pork offends certain spirits of the sky and is therefore dangerous[1].

[1] It is to be noted that these tabus connected with *Biliku* are not absolute prohibitions; they are beliefs that if certain things are done *Biliku* will be angry (i.e., there may be storms); if you do these things you must risk the danger. It is exactly the same with the roasting of pork.

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Returning now to the subject of *Biliku* as the sender of cyclones, it is necessary for the argument, even at the risk of repetition, to show (1) that this is by far the most important attribute of *Biliku*, and (2) that it follows immediately from her connection with the N.E. monsoon.

Taking the second point first, we may note, in the first place, that while *Tarai* is associated with the steady S.W. wind which blows with very little variation for months at a time, *Biliku* is associated with the variable winds of the hot season. Now a characteristic of a cyclonic storm is the way in which the wind

The line represents the position of the Andaman Islands. The larger arrows show the direction in which the cyclonic disturbance is moving. The smaller arrows show the direction of the wind.

veers from one quarter to another. Further, as most of the cyclones that cross the Andamans travel from the south-east in a north-westerly direction, and the movement of the cyclone is in a counter-clockwise direction, the first wind of a cyclonic storm when it strikes the islands comes from the north-east. This may be seen from the accompanying diagram. It is only at the very end of the storm, when the storm centre has passed, that the wind blows from the south-west. Thus it is clear that the association of cyclones with *Biliku* and not with *Tarai* is determined by the nature of the phenomena which the *Biliku-Tarai* myth sets out to explain.

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That the most important attribute of *Biliku* is her connection with the cyclones is evident when we consider the legends in which she is mentioned. In most of the legends in which her name occurs[1] she is spoken of as being angry with the ancestors, and we know that a cyclone and the anger of *Biliku* are, for the Andaman Islander, one and the same thing. In some of the stories mention is made of a great storm that *Biliku* sent which nearly destroyed the world. All through the legends we find her pictured as a being whose anger is to be feared, who has the power to destroy human life and human property. *Tarai* is never mentioned in this way, for the rains of the south-west monsoon themselves have no such power.

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We are now in a position to compare the characters of *Biliku* and *Tarai* and explain their relative positions in the myth. The reason for the preponderance of *Biliku* lies in the fact that it is she who sends cyclones, while *Tarai* sends nothing more than heavy showers of rain. *Tarai* is never responsible for the destruction of life and property, whereas *Biliku* is. Thus the preponderance of *Biliku* follows from the essentials of the myth. Secondly, *Tarai* is constant, ever the same, whereas *Biliku* is changeable. The rainy season of one year is exactly like that of another, and during the time it lasts the weather is consistent throughout. On the contrary, one year the *Biliku* season brings a terrific storm, and another year it is much less violent, while, from day to day during certain parts of the *Biliku* season the weather is unsettled, so that you cannot tell what the morrow will bring with it. It is obvious that this uncertainty about the actions of *Biliku*, the fact that she cannot altogether be reckoned with, would tend to make her of greater importance in the eyes of the Andamanese than her consort *Tarai*.

Let us now consider the question of the sex of *Biliku*. On this matter there is a lack of agreement. In the North Andaman *Tarai* is declared to be male and *Biliku* female. It can readily be shown that this results from the position of *Biliku* and *Tarai*

[1] See, for instance, the Aka-Jeru legend on pages 197—198, the Aka-Kede on page 200 and that from the Akar-Bale tribe on pages 200—201, and also the legends on pages 207, 208.

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as regulating the seasons. *Tarai* rules over the rainy season, in which the chief food is the flesh of animals of the land and of the sea; it is the business of men to provide flesh-food. On the contrary *Biliku* rules over the seasons in which the chief foods are vegetable products of different kinds; it is the business of women to provide such foods. It is only men who go out hunting for pigs or turtle or who harpoon or shoot fish, and it is always the men who attend to the first part of the cooking of pig, turtle and dugong; it is the women who dig up the yams and collect the fruits and seeds, and it is the women also who cook them. There is a very real sense, then, in which flesh foods may be called the foods of men, and vegetable foods may be called the foods of women, and, since flesh foods are the foods of *Tarai* and vegetable foods are the foods of *Biliku*, there is a sound reason for calling *Tarai* male and *Biliku* female.

This way of thinking of *Biliku* as female is in harmony with her character as outlined above. Women (in the Andamans) are notoriously uncertain, changeable creatures. You can always reckon fairly well what a man will do, but not so with a woman. Moreover, when the Andaman Islander wishes to picture to himself a pair of closely associated beings, it is natural that he should compare them to the most closely associated couple with which he is familiar,—husband and wife. This tendency leads him to make the sun and moon man and wife in many of his legends, and it may well be expected to have its influence on the *Biliku* myth also.

In the South Andaman however, both *Puluga* and *Daria* are said to be male. It can be shown that this view is also appropriate in its way. The *Akar-Bale* say that *Puluga* and *Daria* were once friends, but have quarrelled and now live at opposite ends of the earth and are perpetually renewing their quarrel. *Daria* has things to himself for a few months (the S.W. monsoon) and sends his wind; then *Puluga* makes an attack on him; some weeks of unsettled weather ensue while they are fighting, until *Daria* is beaten and *Puluga* takes over the control of the weather and sends the N.E. wind. By and by, however, *Daria* shows himself again and there is another quarrel, with its unsettled and stormy weather, which ends in the

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defeat of *Puluga* and the reinstatement for a period of *Daria*. Even the bald language in which it is stated does not quite hide the poetical grandeur of this conception of the world as the arena of two battling giants in a never-ending quarrel. Those who have lived through a tropical cyclone with its wind changing from one quarter to another, its consummate violence, its sudden onslaught, its pause (that is felt to be merely a pause) as the centre of the disturbance reaches and passes you, and then its sudden renewal of the mad combat with the wind coming now from the opposite quarter, cannot but recognize in the *Akar-Bale* myth a successful attempt to describe such a storm in figurative language.

Such a combat could only be pictured by the Andamanese as taking place between two men, and the myth in this form therefore necessarily involves the belief that both *Puluga* and *Daria* are male. It is evident, therefore, that this view has some justification, that it does enable the Andaman Islander to express the feelings and impressions evoked in him by the phenomena of the weather. I venture to think, however, that the southern myth is not quite so satisfactory as the northern one, does not translate quite so well all the different features of the natural phenomena with which it deals[1].

A most important element of the myth is the connection of *Biliku* (*Puluga*) with fire. In all the tribes there are legends that represent *Biliku* as the first possessor of fire, which was, according to some versions, given by her to the ancestors, and according to others stolen from her by one of them. There can be no doubt that these legends owe their origin to the connection between *Biliku* the storm-sender and lightning.

There are several different beliefs about the lightning. According to one of these the lightning (*Ele*) and the thunder (*Korude*) are persons, who produce the phenomena of the same name. Another belief is that thunder and lightning are produced by *Biliku* and *Tarai*. On the whole, it would seem that

[1] In a paper in *Folk-lore*, vol. XX, 1909, I put forward the hypothesis that probably at one time all the tribes of the Andamans regarded *Biliku* (*Puluga*) as female, and *Tarai* (*Daria*) as male. I am still inclined to think that there is some evidence for this, but a discussion of what the Andamanese beliefs may have been in the past is entirely outside the scope of this chapter and is therefore omitted.

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the latter belief is the one which is most frequently present to the minds of the natives. A man seeing lightning in the sky will say, according to the season, the prevailing wind, etc., *Biliku čatobom*, or *Tarai čatobom*; "*Biliku* (or *Tarai*) is at work." There are different accounts, however, of the way in which *Biliku* makes the lightning. One belief is that it is a fire-brand flung by her through the sky; a second is that it is a mother-of-pearl shell (*be*) similarly flung; yet a third statement is that she produces the lightning by striking a pearl shell (*be*) on a red stone.

There is no doubt that the Andamanese regard lightning as fire; the charring of trees struck by it is sufficient to convince them of this. Thus lightning and the sun are the only two natural fires that they know. (With the relation of *Biliku* to the sun I shall deal later.) As the wielder of lightning *Biliku* thus becomes the possessor of fire. The simplest of the different beliefs, the one following immediately from the natural phenomena, would be, therefore, that which makes the lightning a fire-brand. This is, on the whole, the one that is most usually expressed, at any rate in the South Andaman.

The explanation of lightning as a shell depends not only upon the pearly lustre of this kind of shell, but also on other features of it. The shell in question (*be*) is used by women alone, and its use is confined to slicing yams and other vegetables in preparing them for food. Its association with *Biliku* therefore follows from the view of *Biliku* as female and as being especially associated with yams and other vegetable foods. Granting this fundamental connection, then the brightness of the shell, its keen edge and the way in which it can be made to skim through the air, will explain the statement that lightning is just such a shell thrown by *Biliku*. In the South Andaman, where *Puluga* is regarded as male, this belief about the pearl shell would be out of harmony with the rest of the myth, and, as we should expect, it is not found. However, the *Aka-Bea* word for lightning (*be-iya*, the *-iya* or *-ya* being a suffix) suggests that they may have had a similar belief in the past[1].

In the North Andaman the two views of lightning as a fire-brand and as a shell are both held, because they both, in

[1] The stem *be* seems to be connected with the idea of cutting.

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different ways, fit in well with the rest of the myth. There is yet a third view in which these two contradictory beliefs are, as it were, reconciled. This is that *Biliku* produces lightning by striking a pearl shell against a red stone. 182X 821 776

In the North Andaman the action of throwing a shell or a fire-brand is regarded as typical of *Biliku*; this is the way in which she is pictured by the native, and in which she would doubtless be portrayed if the Andamanese had a pictorial art. In the dance described in an earlier chapter, in which the dancer gave representations of various mythical beings, *Biliku* was represented by the dancer holding a shell in his hand and dancing round threatening to throw the shell at the spectators. 182X 776

The representation of *Biliku* or *Puluga* as throwing her lightning in the form of a fire-brand or a shell appears in several of the legends of the origin of fire, and in particular in the legend of which different versions are found in all parts of the islands that tells how the kingfisher stole fire from *Biliku* and how the latter flung a fire-brand or a shell at the thief.

The most usual form of the fire legend, and the only one that I ever heard, is that in which the fire is stolen. Mr Man has recorded a version in which *Puluga* is represented as *giving* the fire to the ancestors. Considerable importance attaches to this motive of the story as it reveals to us the way in which the Andamanese usually think of *Biliku* and of their own relation to her. She is not, so far as these stories go, a benefactress who by the invention of fire has earned the gratitude of men, but rather a person with whom the human society, both in the time of the ancestors and at the present day, is in a condition of opposition. Though *Biliku* had fire, yet she kept it for herself and it was only obtained from her by stealth. She was angry when her fire was stolen and tried to punish the offender.

This opposition between *Biliku* and the ancestors is shown in other legends. In some of the stories she is represented not as living with the ancestors, but as living on one side of a narrow strait while the ancestors lived on the other, as in the *Akar-Bale* and *A-Pučikwar* legends. She is thus separated from the ancestors in the minds of the natives. In the *Aka-Kede* legend the ancestors eat the foods that *Bilika* regards as

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specially belonging to her, and she kills them. As a result the ancestors join together and kill *Bilika*. In the *Akar-Bale* version something of the same sort appears; *Puluga* is always getting angry with the ancestors because they eat vegetable foods, and in his anger he destroys their huts and other property (as a cyclone does, and as an Andaman Islander is sometimes known to do in a fit of temper); at last the ancestors send him away out of the world. In the *A-Pučikwar* legend *Bilik* goes away from the world in anger because the ancestors steal his fire. In the *Aka-J̌eru* version *Biliku* eats up all the food of the ancestors, and so they go away and leave her; she then destroys them with her shells (lightning) and finally perishes in an attempt to cross the sea on a stone. All these legends seem to express much the same thing in different ways, namely the existence of a condition of hostility between *Biliku* and human beings, based on the fact that the latter venture to make use of the things (yams, etc.) that *Biliku* regards as peculiarly her property. There can be no doubt that this is the usual way in which the Andamanese conceive the relation between *Biliku* and the ancestors, and therefore, since the ancestors represent the society in its beginnings, between *Biliku* and themselves. This relation is quite in agreement with what we have seen to be the essential basis of the myth. The natives obtain from the N.F. monsoon things highly valued, such as yams and honey, but they are given as it were grudgingly after a period of storms, and finally taken away in another period of storms.

This view of *Biliku* as hostile to mankind is not, however, absolutely universal if we are to accept Mr Man's account of the myths of the South Andaman. Mr Man describes *Puluga* as the creator of the world and the beneficent ruler of mankind. Although I could not find a native who held exactly the same views about *Puluga* as those that Mr Man represents as being the views commonly held in the tribes he studied (*Aka-Bea* and *A-Pučikwar*), yet there is no doubt that at times, and more particularly in the southern tribes, the natives do regard *Puluga* as the benefactor and even the creator of the human race[1].

[1] In dealing with the account given by Mr Man of the Andaman mythology it is necessary to remember that he was undoubtedly influenced by a very strong desire to

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The representation of *Biliku* as hostile to mankind depends upon her position as the angry storm-sender, and this, as the legends show, does seem to be the more usual way of regarding her. But there is another and contrary aspect of *Biliku*. The revolution of the seasons brings to the Andamanese new supplies of relished foods,—the grubs of the *Kimil* season, the yams and honey of the cool and hot seasons. One of the Andamanese names for the season of the N.E. monsoon means "the season of abundance." Therefore *Biliku*, as the personification of this season, is herself the giver of good things. This aspect finds a partial expression in the legends. *Biliku* is regarded as having created or discovered the use of all the natural productions associated with her. (In one legend it is *Perjido*, the son of *Biliku*, who discovers honey with his mother's help.) She thus occupies a position similar to that of the other ancestors, towards whom the men of the present feel grateful for the benefits they have bestowed on mankind. This view of *Biliku* as benefactress is often extended in the North Andaman to the belief that it was she who invented all the arts now practised by women, and there are traces of a belief that it was her son *Perjido* who was similarly responsible for the arts practised by men.

This view of *Biliku* as a benefactress, although it conflicts to some extent with the view of her as on the whole hostile to mankind, yet, since it springs from the essential basis of the myth, cannot be overlooked. During the stormy season the Andaman Islander may well forget every aspect of *Biliku* save that she is responsible for the storms of which he goes in fear, but during the fine weather of the N.E. monsoon, when there is no longer any fear of a violent storm and when he is enjoying an abundance of the good things that he regards as especially belonging to *Biliku*, his feeling towards her must be of a very different nature; she is then the being who gives him the fine weather, the relished foods. Thus, contrary though they be,

show that the beliefs of the Andamanese about *Puluga* were really fundamentally the same as the beliefs of the Christian about his God. It may be taken as certain that he did not consciously allow this wish to affect his record of the Andaman beliefs, but it is very improbable that it did not unconsciously have a great deal of influence both on Mr Man and on his informants.

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these two aspects of *Biliku* are both integral parts of the myth.

But *Biliku* is also the first possessor of fire, and we have seen that fire is regarded by the Andamanese as the source of the life of society, and therefore, in a way, of all life. *Biliku* as the source from which comes the fire is also the source of life. This view of *Biliku* is certainly to be found in all parts of the islands, though it has been developed more in the South than in the North. *Biliku* thus becomes responsible for the beginning of the society, and since the whole universe centres in the society, of the whole universe. She becomes the being who created or arranged the order in which men live.

For the honour of this position *Biliku* has, however, a competitor. Besides the lightning there is another natural source of fire, the sun. We find therefore two different (and contrary) developments of the myth of the beginning of the world. In one of these the sun is associated with *Biliku*, is regarded as belonging to her or made by her. For instance, in an *Aka-Kede* legend, she is stated to have made the sun by throwing a flaming brand into the sky. By this means *Biliku* becomes the sole source of fire and therefore of life. This is the position that *Puluga* occupies in the versions of the legends recorded by Mr Man. In those legends *Puluga* gives fire to the first human beings by making the sun come down to earth and ignite a pile of wood. The alternative development makes the sun independent of *Biliku* and it is then the sun, or a mythical person associated directly with the sun, who becomes the maker of the world, the source of life. Unfortunately, I did not obtain much detailed information about this development of the myth. In the North Andaman the being named *Čara* is associated with the sun and with fine weather, and is certainly sometimes regarded as the maker of the world. In the South Andaman it is *Tomo* who is associated with the sun. Men and women, when they die, go to live with *Tomo* in the sky. It is *Tomo* who is responsible for all things being as they are. He was the first being; it was he who arranged the order of nature; and similarly it was he who created the social order, so that a question as to why some custom is observed is often answered by saying that it was

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Tomo who made it so. In Mr Man's account *Tomo* is degraded to the position of being merely the first man made by *Puluga*, but in the accounts that were given to me by the natives of the *Akar-Bale* and *A-Pučikwar* tribes *Tomo* was a rival of *Puluga*; sometimes one and sometimes the other was spoken of as being the supreme maker of all things. An *Akar-Bale* man of very high intelligence, who had been educated as a Christian, in trying to explain to me statements about *Tomo* made by another *Akar-Bale* who was regarded as an authority on the legends of his tribe, said that *Tomo* was the same thing to the *Akar-Bale* that God is to the Christian. When I asked him if it was not rather *Puluga* who was the Andaman equivalent of God, he said that some people might think so, but that according to the old man to whom I was talking it was *Tomo* and not *Puluga* who occupied the position[1].

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There is only one more point that needs to be discussed, and that is the connection of *Biliku* with the spirits. It is clear that *Biliku* and *Tarai* must be distinguished from the spirits (*Lau*), yet at the same time *Biliku* is brought into relation with the spirits by the existence of two alternative explanations of bad weather. One of the explanations is that storms are due to *Biliku*, while the other is that they are due to the spirits, particularly the spirits of the sea. Both these beliefs, contradictory as they seem, are held by the Andamanese. The connection of the spirits with the weather is due to the fact that

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[1] To complete the discussion of this part of the subject it would be necessary to deal with many points in the legends of the real meaning of which I do not feel satisfied. I have, for instance, given no explanation of the position of *Perjido* in the *Biliku-Tarai* myth, although this is probably an important matter. Nor have I traced to its source the connection of *Biliku* (with her net, and her hole, or cave, in which she shuts herself up to sleep and from which she comes out to bring rain and storm) with the spider. Besides *Tomo*, *Biliku* has yet another competitor for the position of control over the fine weather of the hot season, namely the snake, *or-čubi* (*wara-jobo*), which is regarded as being in some way the guardian of honey and of fine weather. There are legends that show the connection of this snake with honey (page 227) and the same connection is shown in the honey-eating ceremony (page 105). According to Mr Man, when the natives of the South Andaman see a dark cloud approaching and they do not wish it to rain they threaten *Puluga* that they will call up the *wara-jobo* to bite him. The snake, like other snakes, is only to be seen during the hot weather of the honey season. It may be remembered that it is from this snake that the pattern used in decorating the body with white clay is named.

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the weather is a thing that can limit the activity of the society, and we saw in the last chapter that there is a tendency to associate with the spirits of the dead all things that in any way interfere with the smooth progress of social life. When it is said that a storm can be stopped by swishing arrows in the sea, or by placing in the sea a piece of *Anadendron* creeper, it is to the spirits of the sea, who are afraid of arrows and of the *Anadendron*, that the storm is attributed, and not to *Biliku*.

In the *A-Pučikwar* tribe I found an association of *Bilik* with the spirits. One man of this tribe (a medicine-man or dreamer) stated that the *Bilik* are a distinct class of spirits, distinct from the *Lau* and the *Jurua*, yet similar to them. It is the *Bilik* who control the weather. Certain men, when they die, become not *Lau* or *Jurua*, but *Bilik*. Thus in one of his dreams that he related to me he met and conversed with the spirit of a deceased friend whom he spoke of as *Boičo Bilik*, *Boičo* having been his name when he was alive. A medicine-man is able to control the weather through his communication with the *Bilik* in dreams. In this tribe therefore we find a doctrine according to which *Bilik* is not the name of a single being but of a class of beings similar in essentials to the other two classes of spirits. It seemed to me possible that these beliefs are a comparatively late introduction by some of the medicine-men of the tribe. The *Boičo* about whom my informant *Tora* dreamed seemed to have had some part in the development of the doctrine. This does not, however, in the least detract from its value as affording us an insight into the beliefs of the Andamanese.

These beliefs clearly spring from an attempt to distinguish from one another the different northerly and easterly winds, each of the recognizable winds being regarded as a separate person, and from the merging together of the two contrary beliefs in the weather as regulated by spirits and by *Bilik* and *Teria*. The general system of beliefs about spirits as being responsible for all things that may affect human well-being inevitably leads to the notion that the weather is controlled by the spirits, and this is implied also in the belief that a medicine-man (whose power is derived from contact with the spirits) is also able to influence the weather to some extent. This doctrine, however,

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conflicts with the view of the weather and the seasons as controlled by *Biliku* and *Tarai*, who are not spirits but personifications of natural phenomena. It is perhaps this conflict between doctrines, both of them important and indeed necessary, that has led to the elaboration of the peculiar beliefs met with in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe. 182X 776 775 821

I have dealt with most of the more important details of the *Biliku-Tarai* myth, and have tried to show that the whole myth is an expression of the social value of the phenomena of the weather and the seasons. These phenomena affect the social life in certain definite ways and thereby become the objects of certain sentiments; these sentiments are expressed in the legends. *Biliku* and *Tarai* are personifications of the N.E. and S.W. monsoons; as such they are responsible for the weather; feelings awakened by the weather are therefore referred to *Biliku* and *Tarai*; thus the fear of a cyclone at certain periods of the year is expressed as a fear of the anger of *Biliku*. Since the time when men go in fear of storms is also the time when they are just beginning to dig up yams and eat them, the myth connects the anger of *Biliku* with the digging up of yams, and similarly in the cases of honey and the cicada. As *Biliku* is associated with vegetable foods, and these are things with which women chiefly have to do, *Biliku* (in the North Andaman) is regarded as female; *Tarai*, being associated with flesh foods, is male; the two are therefore conceived as wife and husband. As the maker of storms *Biliku* is responsible for the lightning and is therefore possessed of fire. She thus comes to be regarded as the first possessor of fire. This gives rise to stories of how the ancestors obtained their fire from *Biliku*, and as she is generally regarded as being hostile rather than friendly towards mankind, the stories relate how the fire was stolen from her. But besides being the maker of storms *Biliku* is also the dispenser of the good things of the season of the N.E. monsoon and when this aspect of the procession of the seasons is prominent before their minds the natives think of *Biliku* as a benefactress of mankind. As she is the possessor of fire, and as fire is the source of the life of the society, she comes to be regarded as herself the source of life, though there is an 182X 776

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alternative myth that gives this position to a being associated with the sun.

Such is a brief outline of the explanation that I have tried to demonstrate. It may be objected that there are a few important details and several minor details that I have not explained. To that extent my explanation is incomplete, but I hope that I have given sufficient evidence for it to justify us in using it as an integral part of the explanation of the meaning and function of the Andaman mythology in general.

It is not necessary, for the purpose of this chapter, to examine one by one all the legends recorded. Indeed, there are many details of the Andaman mythology that I cannot explain, owing simply, I believe, to my lack of insight into the ways of thought of the natives. The examples already considered are sufficient for the argument. If the interpretations given of these be correct we can base on them certain general conclusions.

I have explained some of the more important of the legends as being expressions or statements of the social value of natural phenomena. The alternation of day and night, for example, affects the life of the society in a certain definite manner and this gives rise to a certain way of thinking and feeling about the phenomenon in question. These thoughts and feelings, however, remain vague and without fixity until they are formulated and expressed either in the form of some definite rule of behaviour, such as the prohibition against noise while the cicada is singing, or in some concrete statement, such as that afforded by the legend of the origin of night. Similarly the legends relating to the origin of fire or the saving of the fire during the flood serve to give definite and permanent form to the vague feelings that result from the way in which the possession of fire affects the social life. Finally, I have tried to show that the myths relating to *Biliku* and *Tarai* are nothing but the expression in concrete form of the ideas and feelings that result from the effects of the weather and the seasons on the life of the Andaman Islanders. From these examples I now propose to draw a general conclusion. All the legends, I wish to maintain, are simply the expression in concrete form of the feelings and ideas aroused by things of all

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kinds as the result of the way in which these things affect the moral and social life of the Andaman Islanders. In other words the legends have for their function to express the social values of different objects,—to express in general the system of social values that is characteristic of the Andaman social organisation. To justify this general statement it will be necessary to show how it comes about that these representations are expressed in the form of myths and legends dealing with the ancestors and with such anthropomorphic beings as *Biliku* and *Tarai*.

Throughout the myths we meet with examples of what I have called the personification of natural phenomena. It is now necessary to give a more exact definition of this term. By it I mean the association of a natural phenomenon with the idea of a person in such a way that the characteristics of the phenomenon may be regarded as though they were actions or characteristics of the person. The simplest form is that in which the phenomenon itself is spoken of and thought of as if it were an actual person. Thus the sun and the moon are spoken of as Lady Sun and Sir Moon. Similarly, in the North Andaman, the night is personified and is called Lady Night (*Mimi Bat*). In many cases of personification however, while the person may or may not possess the same name as the phenomenon, the latter is said to be produced by the former. Thus, in the North Andaman, *Ele* is the name of the lightning, and *Ele* is spoken of as a person; yet, if we enquire further, we are told that *Ele* (the person) produces the lightning by shaking his leg. A somewhat similar case is that of *Biliku* and *Tarai*. These two beings are said to produce the winds that blow from the different quarters of the compass. But when we enquire as to the names of the winds, we find that in the South Andaman (*A-Pučikwar* tribe) the S.W. wind is called *Teria*, and the other winds are all called *Bilik*. Thus the name of the person is also used as the name of the phenomenon of which he is (in the phraseology here used) the personification. In the North Andaman we find a difference, the winds being called "the *Biliku* wind" and "the *Tarai* wind." It is necessary to insist on this translation of the native *Biliku boto* and *Tarai boto*. We should expect, if *Biliku* were simply a person who produced the

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X182 776 winds, that the latter would be called "the wind of *Biliku*," a possessive form (*Biliku ičo boto*) being used, but this is not so, and the phrase habitually used can only be properly translated "the *Biliku* wind" just as we might say "the north wind." Thus, even in the North Andaman *Biliku* and *Tarai* are used as the names of the two chief winds.

In all these cases, sun and moon, *Biliku* and *Tarai*, etc., I propose to use the term personification, as being the most convenient and not liable to be misunderstood after having been carefully defined. We have now to seek an explanation of this process of personification. A great deal has been written on the subject of personification in mythology, and it is therefore not without diffidence that I venture to put forward an explanation which can only be very briefly stated in this place and would require for its full exhibition a lengthy psychological explanation.

X182 An insight into the process of personification is afforded by considering our own use of figurative language. We talk of the angry storm, the raging sea. In such cases we allow ourselves for a moment to regard the natural phenomenon as if it were a person or the action of a person, and we do not even trouble distinctly to express the "as if." We use such phrases in order to attain a more forcible expression of our thoughts and feelings. How is it that such expressions succeed in the purpose for which they are used?

The reason would seem to be that our knowledge and understanding of persons is much more intimate than our knowledge of things. The fact that we are able, by the action of sympathy, to know what persons with whom we are in contact are feeling, gives us an understanding of them that we can never reach with inanimate objects.

In all human society the most important elements of the experience of the individual are due to his relations with other persons. In the development of the emotional life of the child, persons intervene at every turn, and there is thus built up a system of sentiments and representations which forms the very foundation of the individual's affective life. In other words the first organised experience that the individual attains is all connected with persons and their relations to himself. This

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early experience provides a basis on which we may and do organise later experiences. The perception of the leaping waves and lashing spray of a sea in tempest arouses in us a vague emotional reaction, but it is an experience that we have not learned to formulate exactly. The feeling awakened in us is, so to speak, unclassified, there is no exact word by which we can express it. We therefore fall back upon that system of affective experiences that have been classified, and for which we do have adequate words, and we apply the word "angry" to the scene before us. At the utterance of the word, with its appeal to infantile memories and to the long series of experiences that have been associated with it, the emotion becomes more definite, if not more intense. We are thus enabled to classify our present experience, to associate it with past experiences that have been arranged in our minds in an organised system, and to find a place for it in that system.

Applying this to the case of the myths we must first of all note that the Andaman Islander has no interest in nature save in so far as it directly affects the social life. Scientific and artistic interest in nature are products of civilisation. The Andaman Islander has no desire to understand the processes of nature as a scientist would wish to do, nor has he any conception of nature as a subject of esthetic contemplation. Natural phenomena affect him immediately by their influence on his own life and on the life of his fellows, and are thereby the source of a number of emotional experiences. In order to express these he has to make use of that part of his own experience that is already thoroughly organised, namely, that relating to the actions of one person as affecting another or as affecting the society. Only in this way is he able to organise his experiences arising from the processes of nature, to classify and render definite the vague impressions that are aroused in him. He interprets nature in terms of the world with which he is most familiar, the world of persons, being enabled to do so by the presence within him of a regulated and definite body of experience which he has derived from his relations with persons from the time of his first awakening to the consciousness of the external world.

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There is a parallelism here, as in many other matters, between the psychological development of the individual and that of the race. The fundamental need for the child is to learn to accommodate himself to his environment. In this environment by far the most important objects are persons—parents and other children—and the first business of the growing child is to learn to adapt his actions to the requirements of this intercourse with persons. This is so overwhelmingly important that the other need (of adapting himself to inanimate objects) is quite overshadowed by it. The child has to make experiments and observations upon persons, to learn how they will act. He meets with such a phenomenon as anger, for example, the anger of a parent, or of another child, and by means of a succession of experiences he comes to a satisfactory understanding of this particular thing, and what it means with reference to himself and his actions. This notion of the anger of a parent becomes the nucleus around which is organised the experience of similar phenomena. In play or sometimes in earnest, the child treats all sorts of inanimate objects and events connected with them as if they were persons or the actions of persons. By this means, and by this means alone, he is able to exercise himself in his newly acquired experience and to extend and organise it yet further.

In the history of the race the development of society depends upon the organisation of personal relations. The task of man in primitive society is therefore similar to the task of the child. The needs of his life compel him above everything else to devote himself to organising that part of his experience that relates to the actions of persons upon one another; all else is subordinated to this supreme need; and just as the child organises and develops his experience by treating inanimate objects as if they were persons in such a way that we can hardly tell if he is in play or in earnest, so primitive man, in exactly the same way, organises and develops his social experience by conceiving the whole universe as if it were the interaction of personal forces.

This explanation of the nature of personification helps us to understand some of the Andamanese beliefs. Natural

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phenomena such as the alternation of day and night, the changes of the moon, the procession of the seasons, and variations of the weather, have important effects on the welfare of the society. The latter, in so far as it is regulated from within, depends on the adaptation of persons to one another. Men must learn to live in harmony, to sacrifice their own desires at times to the needs of others, to avoid occasions of giving offence, and not readily to give way to anger when offence is given. The Andaman Islander represents this fundamental law of the society as though it were the fundamental law of the whole universe. When any evil befalls the society it is as though some personal power were in question, as though some one were angry at some offence. Thus the moon and *Biliku* are represented as persons who can be offended and whose anger has unpleasant results. Conversely when all goes well it is because there is harmony or solidarity between men and the nature beings which affect men's lives. In a word, the forces with which the Andaman Islander is most familiar as affecting his welfare are those of solidarity and opposition; it is solidarity that maintains the harmony of social life, opposition that destroys it. The forces of nature in so far as they affect the society are therefore represented as being of the same nature; there can be either solidarity or opposition between men and nature; the former leads to well-being, the latter to misfortune.

Thus the personification of natural phenomena is one of the methods by which the Andaman Islander projects into the world of nature the moral forces that he experiences in the society. The process is essentially similar to that described in the last chapter in connection with the ceremonial, save that there the forces we were considering were largely impersonal. Perhaps, rather than speaking of it as a projection of moral forces into nature, we should regard it as a process of bringing within the circle of the social life those aspects of nature that are of importance to the well-being of the society, making the moon and the monsoons a part of the social order and therefore subject to the same moral forces that have sway therein.

The personification of natural phenomena is not, however, the only method by which their social value can be expressed.

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X182 The *Akar-Bale* legend of the origin of day and night, as we saw at the beginning of the chapter, expresses the social value of the alternation of light and darkness by means of a story of how it originated in the time of the ancestors. If we seek to understand all that this legend means we must ask why the Andaman Islanders believe in the existence of the ancestors, and why they attribute to them the characteristics that are exhibited in the stories they tell about them. The ground of the belief in the ancestors is to be found in the existence of a sentiment fundamental in all human society, which I shall call the feeling of tradition. When an Andaman Islander is asked the question "Why do you do so and so?" he very frequently replies "Because our fathers did so before us." This answer expresses in its simplest form the feeling of tradition. In all his actions, in the way he obtains and cooks his food, in the way in which he makes his various implements and weapons, in the moral and ritual customs that he is required to observe, the native acts in accordance with tradition. If he should ever feel inclined to deviate from it he finds himself in conflict with a powerful compulsive force. In tradition, therefore, the individual is aware of a force stronger than himself, to which he must submit whether he will or not. Further, he is aware that the power which he possesses, as a member of the society, whereby he is able to face the hostile or at best indifferent forces of nature and provide himself with food and maintain himself in security and happiness, is not simply a product of his own personality, but is derived by him from the past. Towards this past, therefore, on which his own life so obviously depends, he feels a grateful dependence. So long as he acts in conformity with tradition he can enjoy safety and happiness, because he is relying on something much greater than his own qualities of mind and body.

To put the matter in a few words, the individual finds himself in relation with an ordered system—the social order—to which he has to adapt himself. The two chief moments in his affective attitude towards that order are his sense of his own dependence upon it and of the need of conforming to its requirements in his actions. It is this,—his sense of his own relation

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to the social order,—that the Andaman Islander expresses in the legends about the ancestors, which recount how that order came into existence as the result of actions of anthropomorphic beings. 182X

Some of the legends recount the invention of weapons or implements or the discovery of the uses of natural objects. In one of the North Andaman stories it is said that all the weapons and implements now used by men were invented by the first man, whose name, *Jutpu*, probably means "alone," i.e., the man who was at first by himself. This first man made himself a wife from the nest of the white ant. The regulated society of the ants, and the numerous population that a nest contains, give this story its symbolic meaning.

Besides what may be called general culture legends, of which the story of *Jutpu* is an example, there are several special culture legends relating to various discoveries and inventions, such as the tale of how the use of yams for food was first discovered, or that which tells how the monitor lizard discovered quartz and scarified himself with it. By means of these legends the Andaman Islander expresses his sense of his own dependence on the past. He pictures a time when the social order as it now is had not begun, or was just beginning; the knowledge he now possesses was then being acquired, the weapons he uses were being invented, the moral and ritual laws that he obeys were in process of being formulated.

It is obvious that the Andaman Islander cannot regard the ancestors as being persons exactly like himself, for they were responsible for the establishment of the social order to which he merely conforms and of which he has the advantage. He says, therefore, that they were bigger men than himself, meaning by this that they were bigger mentally or spiritually, rather than physically, that they were endowed with powers much greater than those even of the medicine-men of the present time. This explains the magical powers that are attributed to many, or indeed to all, of the ancestors; the belief in the existence in the past of men or beings endowed with what we may almost call supernatural powers is the inevitable result of the way in which the man of to-day feels towards the men of the past on

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whose inventions and discoveries he is dependent for his daily nourishment[1].

Besides the social order there is another, the order of nature, which is constantly acting upon the social order. To this also the individual has to adapt himself, and his knowledge of how to do so is equally derived from the past. The order of nature only affects him through the social order, and the two therefore necessarily seem to him merely two parts of one whole,—the order of the universe. In the legends he tells how not only the social order but also the order of nature came into existence; an example is the story of the origin of night.

The Andaman Islander finds himself in an ordered world, a world subject to law, controlled by unseen forces. The laws are not to him what natural laws are to the scientist of to-day, they are rather of the nature of moral laws. He recognizes only one meaning of the word right and of the word wrong; right action is that which is in conformity with law, wrong action is that in opposition to the law; it is wrong to give way to anger, it is wrong to kill a cicada, or to have a bright light in camp when the moon is rising in the third quarter, and it is wrong also to try and use unsuitable material for an implement or weapon. Wrong actions always lead to harm; if you use unsuitable wood for your bow it will break and your labour be wasted; if you kill a cicada it will rain heavily; if you give way to anger readily you will earn the dislike of your fellows that may some day lead to your undoing. Right and wrong mean acting in accordance with the laws of the world or in opposition to them, and this means acting in accordance with or in opposition to custom. Custom and law are indeed here two words for the same thing.

The forces of the world, as the Andaman Islander conceives them, are not the blind mechanical forces of modern science: rather are they moral forces. Their action upon human beings is not only to be witnessed in external events, but is to be

[1] In the last chapter it was shown that the attribution of magical force to such things as foods and human bones is simply the means by which the social values of these things are represented and recognized. Similarly here the magical powers of the ancestors are simply the representation of their social value, i.e. of the social value of tradition.

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experienced in the man's own consciousness or conscience. He feels within himself their compulsion when he would run counter to them, and their support when he leans upon them. The law of the world, then, is a moral law, its forces are moral forces, its values moral values; its order is a moral order. 182X

This view of the world is the immediate and inevitable result of the experience of man in society. It is a philosophy not reached by painful intellectual effort, by the searching out of meanings and reasons and causes; it is impressed upon him in all the happenings of his life, is assumed in all his actions; it needs only to be formulated. And the argument of this chapter has been that it is as the expression or formulation of this view of the world as an order regulated by law that the legends have their meaning, fulfil their function.

The legends of the Andamanese then, as I understand them, set out to give an account of how the order of the world came into existence. But the Andaman Islander has no interest in any part of it except in so far as it affects his own life. He is interested in the procession of the seasons or the alternation of day and night, or the phases of the moon, only in so far as these things have effects upon the community. In other words he is interested in natural phenomena only in so far as such phenomena are really parts of the social order. This I have expressed earlier in the chapter by saying that the legends deal not with all aspects of natural phenomena but only with their social values.

A fundamental character of the natural order (as of the social order) is uniformity; the same processes are for ever repeated. This character of nature the legends take for granted; they assume that if a force is once set into action it will continue to act indefinitely. They assume also a period in which the present order did not exist. Anything that happened in that period has gone on happening ever since. One of the ancestors discovered how to cook yams, and men have been cooking yams in the same way down to the present day. A cicada was crushed and cried out and the night came, and since then the darkness has come every evening as soon as the cicada sings. In one of the legends the tree lizard was

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quarrelsome, and has remained so. Thus the legends represent the social order, including such natural phenomena as may be said to belong to it, as being due to the interaction of forces of a special character that came into existence in the beginning and have continued to act uniformly ever since. In this way they express two most important conceptions, that of uniformity (or law) and that of the dependence of the present on the past.

It is the need of expressing these two conceptions that gives the legends their function. They are not merely theoretical principles but are both intensely practical. The law of uniformity means that certain actions must be done and others not done if life is to run smoothly; any deviation from uniformity in conduct is dangerous as being contrary to the law that regulates the universe. What actions are to be done and what are to be left undone was determined once for all in the past when the present order came into existence. The knowledge of what to do and what to avoid doing is what constitutes the tradition of the society, to which every individual is required to conform.

The legends, then, set out to express and to justify these two fundamental conceptions. They do so by telling how the social order itself came into existence, and how, also, all those natural phenomena that have any bearing on the social well-being came to be as they are and came to have the relation to the society that they possess.

One group of facts that have an obvious relation to the society consists of the geographical features of the islands. The more notable features of the part of the country in which a man lives, and which he regards as his own, are intimately connected with his moral sentiments. His attachment to his group necessarily involves an attachment to the country of the group. The same sort of thing exists amongst ourselves. This attachment of the members of a group to their own country explains, I think, the part played by what may be called "local motives" in the legends of the Andamanese. Such motives are of considerable importance, of much more importance than would appear from the stories that I have transcribed. The recent

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changes in their mode of life have had far more influence on the local organisation of the tribes than on any other part of their social organisation, and this has not been without its effect on the legends. We may say, briefly, that the local motives of the legends serve to express the social values of localities. In general each locality has its own versions of the legends, in which the events related are supposed to have taken place at some spot or other in the neighbourhood. Thus all the more prominent features of a locality are associated with the events of the legends. In some cases tales are told that explain these features as having come into existence when the ancestors were alive; a reef of rocks was formerly a canoe, for instance. A few such legends were recorded in an earlier chapter, but it is probable that there were a vast number of similar tales that I did not hear. In some cases a locality has a special social value and therefore a special place in the legends. Thus *Woia-Emi* was the great meeting-place for the natives who lived on Baratang and on parts of the South Andaman and the Middle Andaman, and was also sometimes visited by the natives of the Archipelago. Consequently *Wota-Emi* is represented in the legends of the *A-Pučikwar* tribe as being the great meeting-place or dwelling-place of the ancestors. The effect of these associations between the places with which he is familiar and the events of the legendary epoch in the mind of the Andaman Islander probably is similar to the effect on ourselves of the historical associations of our own country; they serve to make him aware of his attachment to his country or to express his sense of that attachment.

There still remains a most important feature of the legends which has not yet been explained, namely the position of the animals as ancestors. Many of the actors in the legends bear the names of animals but at the same time are spoken of as though they were human beings. Many of the legends explain how some species of animal arose from some one of the ancestors who became an animal and the progenitor of the species. Thus, in the North Andaman, *Kolo* was one of the ancestors; he made wings for himself out of palm-leaves, and so was able to fly; he lived a solitary life in his home at the top

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X 182 of a tree, and was in the habit of stealing men's wives; in the end he became the sea-eagle, and this species still bears the name *kolo*. It is necessary to define as exactly as possible what meaning these stories have to the natives. It is not simply that the legendary person is a man with the name and some of the characteristics of an animal; nor is it simply that the legendary person is the ancestor of the species of which he bears the name. We can only adequately express the thought of the Andamanese by saying that he regards the whole species as if it were a human being. When, in the legends, he speaks of "Sea-eagle" he is thereby personifying the species in the sense in which the word personification has been used throughout this chapter; he is regarding the characteristics of the species as if they were characteristics or actions or results of actions of a person. Admittedly this is a vague description, but the vagueness is in the mental phenomenon described; the Andamanese do not, in this matter, think clearly and analyse their own thoughts. However, we can help ourselves to understand their thoughts by recalling the tales that amused us as children, in which the fox or the rabbit of the tale was an embodiment of the whole species.

The part played in the legends by any particular animal is determined either immediately or indirectly by its observable characteristics. Thus the connection of the kingfisher with fire is due to the fact that he is a fish-eating bird, and that he has a patch of bright red feathers, red being, in the Andamanese mind, always associated with fire. The other birds that are mentioned in the different versions of the fire legend either possess remarkable plumage (as the dove, and the parrot) or are fish-eating birds. The Andamanese regard fish as the fundamental human food, having only one word for "food" and "fish," and they never eat their fish raw as the kingfisher does. In the *Akar-Bale* story of the origin of the animals the tree lizard is characterised by his quarrelsomeness, and by the fact that he is very difficult to catch hold of; these are both actual characteristics of the animal itself. The crab appears in the same legend as a person with a very powerful grip, and with a hard shell to his body. The monitor lizard has

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his place in the legends determined by the fact that he can climb trees, run on the ground and swim in the water, and is thus equally at home at the top of the trees, on the ground, or in the creek. I have already given this as one of the reasons why he is chosen as the first ancestor of all the animals and of human beings. The lizard also seems to be regarded by the Andamanese as a particularly libidinous animal, and is therefore regarded as the inventor of sexual intercourse and of procreation. Why he should have this sexual reputation I do not know[1]. The tale of how the lizard invented scarification depends on the fact that the marks on the lizard's skin bear a strong resemblance to the marks that the natives make on their own skins with sharp fragments of quartz. The position of the *Paradoxurus* or civet-cat in the stories in which she appears is due to the fact that while she can live in the trees or on the ground she cannot swim; hence, when the flood came, she fled from the water and climbed a steep hill and thus kept the fire alight. In the light of these examples we are justified, I think, in assuming that in all cases, even when the meaning is not clear, the part played by any animal in the legends is due to some actual characteristic of it.

There is thus a parallelism between the personification of natural phenomena and the personification of animal species. I have shown that the characteristics of such beings as *Biliku* and *Tarai* are all to be explained by a consideration of the actual characteristics of the phenomena of which they are the personification (the winds) and of the phenomena immediately connected therewith. The same thing has now been shown to be true with regard to the personified animals. The process of personification is carried out in exactly the same way in the two different classes of cases. I gave as the reason for personifying natural phenomena the fact that in this way, and in this way only, the Andaman Islander is able to express the sentiments that are aroused in him by them. We must see

[1] In Central Australia it is believed that if a boy who has not been initiated eats large lizards he will develop an abnormal and diseased craving for sexual intercourse. (Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 471.) A friend who has observed the monitor lizard in Australia tells me that the animal fully deserves its reputation.

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if we can justify the personification of animals by a similar argument.

The habits of observation fostered in the mind of the Andaman Islander by his method of winning his sustenance lead him to take a lively interest in all the creatures of the jungle and the sea, about whose ways he therefore has a great store of knowledge. Every tree and plant of the forest, every bird and insect, every creature that lives in the sea or on the reef has its name. His interest, however, in the case of many of the animals has little or no relation to practical life, for he does not make use of them for food or in any other way. There is here therefore something that contradicts the fundamental assumption of the philosophy that is expressed in the legends, there is a lack of mental unity. These interests in the birds and insects are not correlated with the central mass of interests that control the Andamanese mind and give it its unity. Although his philosophy assumes that everything in which he takes an interest has some meaning in reference to his own life, yet here are things that at first sight have no such meaning. The correlation that is lacking in his experience is brought about by means of the legends; a meaning is provided for the apparently meaningless. The fundamental interest of the Andaman Islander, as of all men in primitive societies, is his interest in persons and personal relations. By regarding the animals as persons and relating stories about them he is able to correlate his interest in them with the fundamental basis of his mental life.

This explanation does not perhaps sound very satisfactory. We do not at present understand the forces that compel the normal mind to strive after unity in its experience. Let us examine the matter a little more closely. All the thoughts and feelings of the Andaman Islander (or at any rate all those that are expressed in the legends) centre in the society; for him the world is merely a stage on which the social drama is perpetually enacted. He coordinates all his thoughts, emotions, and interests around the society, and in the legends he builds up a picture showing the connection between the society and those phenomena of nature that affect it. The majority of the animals (the birds,

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the insects, and innumerable kinds of fish), not being used for food, or in any other way, bear no apparent relation to the social life. Yet by reason of the woodcraft developed by the necessities of his life he is compelled to take notice of these creatures and to become interested in their ways. Here, therefore, are two conflicting elements in his consciousness, (1) his belief that the whole of nature derives its meaning and interest from its relation to the society, and (2) his consciousness of an alien world (of the birds, etc.) which seems to have no direct relation to the society, and which nevertheless he cannot help being constantly aware of. The Andaman Islander, as I have stated more than once, does not possess any scientific or abstract interest in nature. He never asks himself "What is the meaning of this?" in the same way that a scientist of our own civilisation might do. He asks "What is the meaning of this thing in relation to me and my interests and feelings, and to the social life of which my life is a fragment?" It is because he does feel the need of answers to questions of this kind that the conflict we have noticed arises. This conflict has to be resolved, and there are apparently three alternatives: (1) to admit that there is a meaning in nature apart from its relation to the society, (2) to refuse to take any interest in birds and insects, (3) to explain away the apparent lack of relation. It is this third alternative that is chosen by the Andaman Islander, and there are obvious reasons why it should be so. The explanation is accomplished in a direct and simple manner. In the beginning men and animals were one; then came an event or series of events (the discovery of fire, the great flood, or a great quarrel amongst the ancestors) whereby the men and the animals became cut off from one another, to live henceforward in the same world, but separated by an unseen barrier.

The argument may be put in another way that may perhaps be more convincing. The actual sentiment that is aroused in the mind of the native by the animals is that here is an important and interesting part of the universe that is alien to him, from which he is cut off in some strange way. It is this real sentiment, itself the inevitable result of his life and his

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X/182 surroundings, that is expressed in the belief in the animals as ancestors.

If this explanation be correct we should expect to find that the animals that figure in the legends are those that have no immediate social value either as food or in any other way, while on the other hand the animals that are used for food will not appear in the legends, or will occupy therein a very different place from the others. The only land animal that is regularly used for food is the pig. It is therefore a confirmation of the explanation that we find that the pig is never under any circumstances regarded as one of the ancestors, that is to say, is never personified in the same way that other animals are. One legend about the pig[1] explains, not how the animal came into existence (that seems to be assumed), but how it acquired its senses. Another legend[2] tells how the civet-cat persuaded some of the ancestors to play a game in which they pretended to be pigs, and they were turned into these animals. Here we are clearly dealing with something different from the ordinary process of personification, for we have not one ancestor in whom the species is personified, but a number of persons who were suddenly changed from men and women into pigs by the magical performance of the civet-cat. In the sea there are several animals that are regularly used for food. The dugong is spoken of as an ancestor in an *Akar-Bale* legend, but in the North Andaman there is a story of how the dugong originated from a pig that *Perjido* tried to roast without first disembowelling it and cutting the joints of its legs. There is also in the North Andaman a story of how turtles originated[3]. The existence of these legends shows that the pig, the turtle and the dugong occupy a different position in the minds of the Andamanese from that of the other animals. This serves, in some measure, to confirm the explanation given above.

We may briefly consider what may be regarded as a kind of negative instance by which to test the argument. The world of the stars constitutes a part of the universe just as alien, just as devoid of apparent meaning as that of the birds. We may ask therefore how it is that the Andaman Islanders have no star

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myths of the kind that are common in other primitive societies. The answer is, I think, that the Andamanese do not have their attention called to the stars. As their camps are in the dense forest there are very few occasions on which they see the sky at night. When fishing at night on the reefs or in canoes they are too busy to pay much attention to the stars. They have not learnt to relate the procession of the stars and the change of the seasons, nor have they learnt to tell the time at night from their declination. Their navigation is only along the coast and they have therefore no use for the stars as guides of direction. On the contrary, wherever we find a developed star-mythology we find that the stars are studied either as guides to navigation or journeying overland, or as giving indications of the changes of the seasons.

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We have considered all the more important aspects of the subject matter of the legends; it remains for us to turn to the form and enquire how it comes about that the representations which analysis reveals are expressed in just the way they are, in a word, why the expression takes the form of a story. It is obvious that in this place no attempt can be made to deal with the general problems of the psychology of story-telling. All that I wish to do is to point out one or two reasons why the legend is an appropriate form (perhaps we might say, the only possible form) for the expression of the view of the world that is revealed in the Andaman mythology.

The Andamanese, like other savages, have not acquired the power of thinking abstractly. All their thought necessarily deals with concrete things. Now the story form provides a means of expressing concretely what could otherwise only be put in an abstract statement. (A large part of the interpretation of the legends, as here undertaken, consists in restating the content of the legends in abstract terms.) Moreover, even if the Andaman Islanders were capable of thinking abstractly, yet, since what they need to express are not thoughts so much as feelings (not intellectual so much as affective processes), they would still need a concrete form of expression. For it is a familiar fact that the concrete has a much greater power of awakening or appealing to our feelings than has the abstract.

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X/82 In particular the story has ever been a popular medium by which to appeal to sentiments of all kinds.

The chief ground for the interest in stories shown by children and by savages is, I believe, that they afford the means of exercising the imagination in certain specific directions and thereby play an important part in enabling the individual to organise his experience. The course of the development of the human mind (from childhood to adolescence, and from the earliest human ancestor to ourselves) depends upon or involves the existence at certain stages of growth (and to a certain extent throughout the whole process) of a conscious egoistic interest. Mankind, to develop what we call character and conscience, must learn to take a conscious interest in himself, in his own actions, and their motives. The development of this self-consciousness in children is a process of great interest to the psychologist and has already been studied in an imperfect fashion. You have only to watch a child playing a game in which he or she enacts some imaginary part to see how such games afford a means by which the child develops and widens his interest in himself. Children, and many grown-up people (particularly during conditions of lessened mental activity), indulge in what are called daydreams, which take the form of an imaginary succession of adventures of which the dreamer is always the hero. The character of daydreams is that they are always frankly egoistic and boastful. Now this sort of interest in stories is found in the Andamanese, though not in the legends. At the end of a day a group of Andamanese may often be seen seated round a fire listening while one of them recounts adventures. The narration may be merely an exaggerated account of real happenings, but is more often purely fictitious. The narrator will tell, with few words, but with many expressive gestures, how he harpooned a turtle or shot a pig. He may, if his hearers are content to remain and listen, as they sometimes are, go on killing pig after pig for an hour or two together. The point to be noted is that these tales are always frankly egoistic and boastful, and it is for this reason that they may well be compared with the daydreams of the more civilised.

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Besides this egoistic interest in stories there is another that is closely connected with it in origin and function. The necessities of social life, particularly in childhood and in primitive societies where a small number of people are constantly reacting upon one another, involve an intense degree of interest in persons and personal qualities. This interest is aroused and fostered by the constant play of personal forces in the social life. Its strength accounts, I believe, for the power of appeal to sentiments that is possessed by stories. 182X

It is a commonplace that in many forms of play the child or the adult (and it is also true of animals) exercises faculties that are important parts of the system of habits or dispositions by which the individual adapts himself to his surroundings. We may regard the interest in stories as similar to play-interests in general. Life in society requires the individual to develop a faculty of what may be called character-estimation, whereby he may judge the motives that are likely to influence the conduct of another person. I have myself noticed that savages such as the Andaman Islanders and the Australian aborigines are as a rule good judges of character. They can quickly estimate how to adapt their conduct and conversation to the character of a person they meet for the first time. They are often excellent mimics, being able to imitate exactly the tone of voice or manner of walking or any other idiosyncrasy of a person whom they have only seen for a short time. I believe, then, that the legends of the Andamanese may be regarded as a means whereby they give exercise to their interest in human character, just as in other kinds of play they exercise other interests and faculties that are integral parts of their adaptation to their environment. By means of the personification of natural phenomena and of species of animals, and through the assumption of the existence of the ancestors and their times, they are able to develop a special kind of unwritten literature, which has for them just the same sort of appeal that much of our own literature has for us. Doubtless it is not a very polished form of art; the characterisation that it exhibits is simple and even crude; the story is not told very skilfully, and indeed the story-teller relies much on his use of expressive gesture to convey his

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X 182 meaning; nevertheless it does fulfil amongst the Andamanese the same sort of function that more developed literary art does in civilised society.

There remains one other matter to be dealt with briefly. I have pointed out on several occasions that the legends contain inconsistencies. Some of these only appear when the real meaning of the legend is discovered, but others are on the surface. It is clear that the Andamanese do not always apply to their legends the laws of logical consistency. It must not, however, be supposed that they are equally illogical in other matters, for this is not so. In matters of everyday practical life the Andamanese show just as much sound commonsense as the inhabitants of a civilised country. They are excellent observers of natural phenomena and are capable of putting their observations to practical use. In any attempt to explain their mythology, therefore, it is necessary to show why in this sphere they do not apply their powers of reasoning. We can understand this when we recall the purpose of the legends as here described, which is, not to give rational explanations, but to express sentiments. When there are two alternative rational explanations of a phenomenon between which we cannot definitely choose we say that either one or other is probably true. In those mental processes in which the purpose is to find a symbolic expression for sentiments or desires, the *either-or* relation is inadmissible owing to the very nature of the thought-process itself. If two expressions of the same sentiment are present, both equally adequate, we must either reject one of them or by making use of both on different occasions admit the possibility of inconsistency. Where the inconsistency becomes more or less obvious we expect the reason to step in and insist that a choice shall be made. But a mind intent on expressing certain feelings, faced with two alternative and equally satisfactory but inconsistent symbols, will hesitate to choose between them even at the command of the desire for logical consistency. It will cling as long as possible to both of them. This is just what the Andaman Islander seems to do in his mythology. The view of lightning as a person who shakes his leg seems to express in some way certain notions of the

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natives about the lightning. The alternative explanation of lightning as a fire-brand thrown by *Biliku* also satisfies in some way his need of expressing the impressions that the phenomena make upon him. In spite of the inconsistency he clings to both symbols as best he can. 182X

The very existence of inconsistencies of this kind proves without any doubt that the mental processes underlying the legends of the Andamanese are not similar to those that we ourselves follow when we attempt to understand intelligently the facts of nature and of life, but rather are to be compared to those that are to be found in dreams and in art,—processes of what might conveniently be called symbolic thought. It would perhaps hardly be necessary to point this out were it not that many ethnologists still try to interpret the beliefs of savages as being the result of attempts to *understand* natural facts, such as dreams, death, birth, etc. Such writers assume that the savage is impelled by the same motive that so strongly dominates themselves, the desire to understand,—scientific curiosity—and that such beliefs as animism or totemism are of the nature of scientific hypotheses invented to explain the facts of dreaming and of death on the one hand and of conception and birth on the other. If this view of the nature of primitive thought were correct it would be impossible to conceive how such inconsistencies as those that we meet with among the Andamanese could be permitted. On the view that the myths of primitive societies are merely the result of an endeavour to express certain ways of thinking and feeling about the facts of life which are brought into existence by the manner in which life is regulated in society, the presence of such inconsistencies need not in the least surprise us, for the myths satisfactorily fulfil their function not by any appeal to the reasoning powers of the intellect but by appealing, through the imagination, to the mind's affective dispositions.

The thesis of this chapter has been that the legends are the expression of social values of objects of different kinds. By the social value of an object is meant the way in which it affects the life of the society, and therefore, since every one is interested in the welfare of the society to which he belongs, the way in

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X182 which it affects the social sentiments of the individual. The system of social values of a society obviously depends upon the manner in which the society is constituted, and therefore the legends can only be understood by constant reference to the mode of life of the Andamanese.

The legends give us in the first place a simple and crude valuation of human actions. Anger, quarrelsomeness, carelessness in observing ritual requirements are exhibited as resulting in harm. This is the moral element of the stories strictly so called, and is to be observed in many of them. The young men who failed to observe the rules laid down for those who have recently been through one of the initiation ceremonies were turned to stone. The quarrelsomeness of the lizard led to the ancestors being turned into animals. The bad temper of one of the ancestors resulted in darkness covering the earth, or in a great cyclone in which many were destroyed.

Secondly, the legends as a whole give expression to the social value of the past, of all that is derived from tradition, whether it be the knowledge by which men win their sustenance, or the customs that they observe. In the wonderful times of the ancestors all things were ordered, all necessary knowledge was acquired, and the rules that must guide conduct were discovered. It remains for the individual of the present only to observe the customs with which his elders are familiar.

The legends of a man's own tribe serve also to give a social value to the places with which he is familiar. The creeks and hills that he knows, the camping sites at which he lives, the reefs and rocks that act as landmarks by reason of any striking feature they may present, are all for him possessed of a historic interest that makes them dear to him. The very names, in many cases, recall events of the far-off legendary epoch.

Again, many of the legends express the social value of natural phenomena. By reference to *Biliku* and *Tarai*, for instance, the native can express what he feels with respect to the weather and the seasonal changes that so profoundly affect the common life. Finally, in the legends he is able to express what he feels about the bright plumaged birds and the other creatures with which he is constantly meeting in the jungles, which are a source of

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perennial interest, and are yet so clearly a part of the world cut off from himself and his life, having no immediately discernible influence upon his welfare. 182x

This system of social values, or rather this system of sentiments, that we find expressed in the legends is an essential part of the life of the Andamanese; without it they could not have organised their social life in the way they have. Moreover the sentiments in question need to be regularly expressed in some way or another if they are to be kept alive and passed on from one generation to another. The legends, which are related by the elders to the young folk, are one of the means (the various ceremonial customs analysed in the last chapter being another) by which they are so expressed, and by which their existence is maintained.

Although the term "social value" has been used as a convenient expression, yet the meaning of the legends might be expressed in other ways. We may say, for instance, that they give a representation of the world as regulated by law. The conception of law which they reveal is not, however, that to which we are accustomed when we think of natural law. We may perhaps adequately state the Andaman notion by saying that moral law and natural law are not distinguished from one another. The welfare of the society depends upon right actions; wrong actions inevitably lead to evil results. Giving way to anger is a wrong action, as being a cause of social disturbance. In the legends the catastrophes that overwhelmed the ancestors are in many instances represented as being caused by some one giving way to anger. There is a right way and a wrong way to set about making such a thing as a bow. We should explain this by saying that the right way will give a good serviceable weapon, whereas the wrong way will give an inferior or useless one. The Andaman Islander tends to look at the matter from a different angle; the right way is right because it is the one that has been followed from time immemorial, and any other way is wrong, is contrary to custom, to law. Law, for the Andaman Islander, means that there is an order of the universe, characterised by absolute uniformity; this order was established once for all in the time of the ancestors, and is not to be

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X/82 interfered with, the results of any such interference being evil, ranging from merely minor ills such as disappointment or discomfort to great calamities. The law of compensation is absolute. Any deviation from law or custom will inevitably bring its results, and inversely any evil that befalls must be the result of some lack of observance. The legends reveal to our analysis a conception of the universe as a moral order.

Here I must conclude my attempt to interpret the customs and beliefs of the Andaman Islanders, but in doing so I wish to point out, though indeed it must already be fairly obvious, that if my interpretation be correct, then the meaning of the customs of other primitive peoples is to be discovered by similar methods and in accordance with the same psychological principles. It is because I have satisfied myself of the soundness of these methods and principles, by applying them to the interpretation of other cultures, that I put forward the hypotheses of these two chapters with an assurance that would not perhaps be justified if I relied solely on a study of the Andamanese. To put the matter in another way, I have assumed a certain working hypothesis, and I have shown that on the basis of this hypothesis there can be built up a satisfactory explanation of the customs and beliefs of the Andamanese. But the hypothesis is of such a nature, stating or involving as it does certain sociological or psychological laws and principles, that if it be true for one primitive people it must be true for others, and indeed, with necessary modifications, must be true of all human society. Such a hypothesis, it is obvious, cannot be adequately tested by reference only to one limited set of facts, and it will therefore be necessary, if it is to become something more than a hypothesis, to test its application over a wider range of ethnological facts.

The matter is so important that it is necessary, even at the risk of wearisome repetition, to give a final statement of the hypothesis that, in this chapter and the last, has been applied to and tested by the facts known to us concerning the Andaman Islanders.

In an enquiry such as this, we are studying, I take it, not isolated facts, but a "culture," understanding by that word the whole mass of institutions, customs and beliefs of a given people.

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For a culture to exist at all, and to continue to exist, it must conform to certain conditions. It must provide a mode of subsistence adequate to the environment and the existing density of population; it must provide for the continuance of the society by the proper care of children; it must provide means for maintaining the cohesion of the society. All these things involve the regulation of individual conduct in certain definite ways; they involve, that is, a certain system of moral customs. 182X

Each type of social organisation has its own system of moral customs, and these could be explained by showing how they serve to maintain the society in existence. Such an explanation would be of the psychological, not of the historical type; it would give not the cause of origin of any custom, but its social function. For example it is easy to see the function of the very strong feelings of the Andamanese as to the value of generosity in the distribution of food and of energy in obtaining it, and as to the highly reprehensible nature of laziness and greediness (meaning by the latter word, eating much when others have little). It has only been by the cultivation of these virtues, or by the eradication of the opposite vices, that the Andaman society has maintained itself in existence in an environment where food is only obtainable by individual effort, where it cannot be preserved from day to day, and where there are occasional times of scarcity. It could be shown, to take a further example, how the manner in which the life of the family is organised is closely related to certain fundamental social needs. If we were attempting an explanation of the Andamanese culture as a whole and in all its details it would be necessary to examine all the moral customs of the people and show their relations one to another and to the fundamental basis on which the society is organised.

The necessary regulation of conduct in a given society depends upon the existence in each individual of an organised system of sentiments. That system of sentiments or motives will clearly be different in different cultures, just as the system of moral rules is different in societies of different types. Yet there is, so to speak, a general substratum that is the same in

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all human societies. No matter how the society may be organised there must be in the individual a strong feeling of attachment to his own group, to the social division (nation, village, clan, tribe, caste, or what not) to which he belongs. The particular way in which that sentiment is revealed in thought and action will depend upon the nature of the group to which it refers. Similarly, no society can exist without the presence in the minds of its members of some form or other of the sentiment of moral obligation—the sentiment that certain things must be done, certain other things must not be done, because those are right, good, virtuous, these are wrong, bad, vicious or sinful. Further, though perhaps less important, yet not less necessary, there is the sentiment of dependence in its various forms—dependence on others, on the society, on tradition or custom.

For a culture to exist, then, these sentiments (and others connected with them, that need not be enumerated) must exist in the minds of individuals in certain definite forms, capable of influencing action in the direction required to maintain the cohesion of the society on its actual basis of organisation. This, we may say, is the social function of these sentiments.

Leaving aside altogether the question of how sentiments of these kinds come into existence, we may note that they involve the existence of an experience of a particular type. The individual experiences the action upon himself of a power or force—constraining him to act in certain ways not always pleasant, supporting him in his weakness, binding him to his fellows, to his group. This force is clearly something not himself—something outside of him therefore, and yet equally clearly it makes itself felt not as mere external compulsion or support, but as something within his own consciousness—within himself, therefore. If we would give a name to this force we can only call it the moral force of society. The very existence of a human society, the argument has run, necessarily involves the existence of this actual experience of a moral force, acting through the society upon the individual, and yet acting within his own consciousness. The experience, then, is there, but it does not follow that the primitive man can analyse his own

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experience; it is obvious enough that such analysis is beyond him. Still the experience does lead him to form certain notions or representations, and it is possible to show how these notions are psychologically related to the experience of a moral force. 182 X

The experience of this moral force comes to the individual in definite concrete experiences only. We first learn to experience our own dependence in our dealings with our parents, and thus we derive the concrete form in which we clothe our later adult feeling of our dependence upon our God. Or, to take an example from the vast number provided by the customs of the Andamanese, the Andaman Islander, like other savages, the main concern of whose lives is the getting and eating of food, inevitably finds his experience of a moral force most intimately associated with the things he uses for food. Inevitably, therefore, he regards food as a substance in which, in some way, the moral force is inherent, since it is often through food that the force actually affects him and his actions. The psychology of the matter can be traced, I hope, in the arguments of the last chapter. From the analysis there given of different customs and beliefs it should be obvious that the way in which the Andaman Islander regards all the things that influence the social life is due to the way in which they are associated with his experience of the moral force of the society.

In this way there arises in the mind of primitive man, as the result of his social life and the play of feeling that it involves, the more or less crude and undefined notion of a power in society and in nature having certain attributes. It is this power that is responsible for all conditions of social euphoria or dysphoria because in all such conditions the power itself is actually experienced. It is the same power that compels the individual to conform to custom in his conduct, acting upon him both within as the force of conscience and without as the force of opinion. It is the same force on which the individual feels himself to be dependent, as a source of inner strength to him in times of need. It is this force also that carries him away during periods of social excitement such as dances, ceremonies 182 X 778

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X,182 or fights, and which gives him the feeling of a sudden great addition to his own personal force.

778 The Andamanese have not reached the point of recognizing by a special name this power of which they are thus aware. I have shown that in some of its manifestations they regard it, symbolically, as being a sort of heat, or a force similar to that which they know in fire and heat. In more developed societies, however, we find a nearer approach to a definite recognition of this power or force in its different manifestations by means of a single name. The power denoted by the word *mana* in Melanesia, and by the words *orenda*, *wakan*, *nauala*, etc., amongst different tribes of North America, is this same power of which I have tried to show that the notion arises from the actual experience of the moral force of the society.

X,182 These sentiments and the representations connected with them, upon the existence of which, as we have seen, the very existence of the society depends, need to be kept alive, to be maintained at a given degree of intensity. Apart from the necessity that exists of keeping them alive in the mind of the individual, there is the necessity of impressing them upon each new individual added to the society, upon each child as he or she develops into an adult. Even individual sentiments do not remain in existence in the mind unless they are exercised by being expressed. Much more is this the case with collective sentiments, those shared by a number of persons. The only possible way by which such collective sentiments can be maintained is by giving them regular and adequate expression.

Here then, according to the argument of the last chapter, we find the function of the ceremonial customs of primitive peoples such as the Andamanese. All these customs are simply means by which certain ways of feeling about the different aspects of social life are regularly expressed, and, through expression, kept alive and passed on from one generation to another. Thus the customs connected with foods serve to maintain in existence certain ways of feeling about foods and the moral duties connected with them, and similarly with other customs.

Affective modes of experience (sentiments, feelings or

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emotions) can be expressed not only in bodily movements but also by means of language. I have tried to show that the function of the myths and legends of the Andamanese is exactly parallel to that of the ritual and ceremonial. They serve to express certain ways of thinking and feeling about the society and its relation to the world of nature, and thereby to maintain these ways of thought and feeling and pass them on to succeeding generations. In the case of both ritual and myth the sentiments expressed are those that are essential to the existence of the society. 182X

Throughout these two chapters I have avoided the use of the term religion. My reason for this is that I have not been able to find a definition of this term which would render it suitable for use in a scientific discussion of the beliefs of such primitive peoples as the Andamanese.

When we use the term religion we inevitably think first of what we understand by that term in civilised society. It is not possible, I believe, to give an exact definition which shall retain all the connotations of the word as commonly used and which shall at the same time help us in the study of the customs of undeveloped societies. The definition of religion that seems to me on the whole most satisfactory is that it consists of (1) a belief in a great moral force or power (whether personal or not) existing in nature, and (2) an organised relation between man and this Higher Power. If this definition be accepted it is clear that the Andamanese have religious beliefs and customs. They do believe in a moral power regulating the universe, and they have organised their relations to that power by means of some of their simple ceremonies. Yet it does not seem possible to draw a sharp dividing line between those beliefs and customs that properly deserve to be called religious, and others which do not deserve the adjective. It is not possible, in the Andamans, to separate a definite entity which we can call religion from things that may more appropriately be regarded as art, morality, play, or social ceremonial.

Nevertheless the purpose of these two chapters has been to explain the nature and function of the Andamanese religion.

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X92 Amongst the fundamental conditions that must be fulfilled if human beings are to live together in society is the existence of this thing that we call religion, the belief in a great Unseen Power, between which and ourselves it must ever be the great concern of life to establish and maintain harmony. The Andaman Islander with his somewhat childish faith, the Australian blackfellow decorated with paint and feathers impersonating his totemic ancestor, the Polynesian sacrificing human victims on the *marae* of his god, the Buddhist following the Holy Eight-Staged Path, are all following in however different ways the same eternal quest.

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APPENDIX A

THE TECHNICAL CULTURE OF THE ANDAMAN ISLANDERS

In this appendix I shall give a brief account of the technical culture of the Andaman Islanders, with a few comparative notes on the technology of the Semang of the Malay Peninsula and the Negritos of the Philippine Islands. The Andamanese, the Semang and the Philippine Negritos are so similar in physical characteristics that it is reasonable to suppose that they are descended from a single stock. It is on the basis of this hypothesis that they are all spoken of as belonging to one race, the Negrito race. It is therefore of some interest to compare the culture of these three different peoples to see if we can determine what was the culture of their ancestors. 174 171

In such hypothetical reconstructions of the past it is necessary to proceed with extreme caution, as there is no means of controlling results. The method I have adopted is to compare first of all the different types of technological products or activities found in different parts of the Andamans in order to determine as far as possible what was the technical culture of the ancestors of the Andamanese when they first reached the islands, and what changes have taken place since the islands were occupied. It is only this primitive or generalised Andamanese culture that can be compared with that of the Semang or the Philippine Negritos. 174

From the point of view of technical culture the natives of the Andamans must be separated into two main divisions, which will be spoken of as the Great Andaman Division and the Little Andaman Division respectively[1]. The most plausible explanation of the differences of culture and language between these two divisions has been mentioned already. We must assume that when the islands were first peopled, or at some later time, the inhabitants of the Little Andaman became isolated from those of the Great Andaman. The language and the

[1] See Introduction, p. 12.

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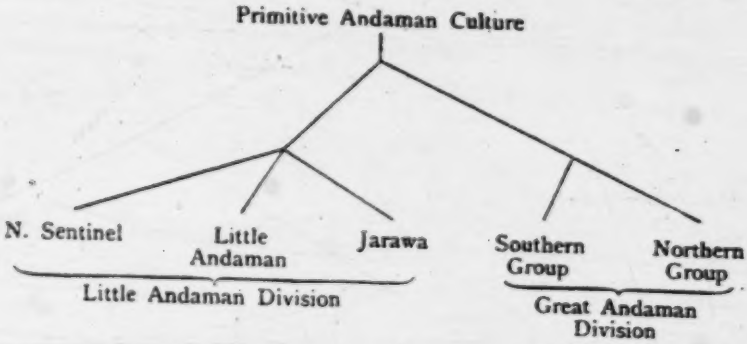
174 technical culture of each of the two groups underwent a number of changes during the many centuries that followed. At a much later date, after the differences between the two divisions had been developed, and probably not many centuries ago, a party or several parties of natives must have made their way from the Little Andaman as far as Rutland Island. Here they came in conflict with the natives of the Great Andaman Division, and in this way arose the antagonism between the Jarawa (the immigrants from the Little Andaman) and the other natives of the South Andaman (who formed in 1858 the Aka-Bea tribe), which has lasted down to the present day. We shall find that the technical culture of the Jarawa has been only very slightly influenced by contact with the natives of the Great Andaman Division, and therefore differs very little from that of the Little Andaman at the present day.



I have provisionally included the natives of the North Sentinel Island in the Little Andaman Division. The ground for so doing is that the form of bow in use in the North Sentinel Island is similar to that of the Little Andaman and unlike that of the Great Andaman. Unfortunately, almost nothing is known about the technology of the North Sentinel, and nothing whatever about the language. It is possible that the natives of this outlying islet have been isolated for many centuries from both the Little Andaman and the Great Andaman, and further information about them might show that their technology is different in important respects from that of the Little Andaman.

Within the Great Andaman Division there are a number of differences in technology between the tribes of the North Andaman and those of the South Andaman and Middle Andaman.

In order to render the exposition and argument that follows more easily understood the supposed relations of the different types of culture

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are shown in the form of a diagram or tree. The justification for this 174
arrangement will appear as we proceed.

There is only very scanty information available about the technical 171
culture of the Negritos of the Malay Peninsula, whom we may speak of
as the Semang. There are differences of technology between the 174
Semang of different parts, and a careful study of these differences would serve to throw much light on changes that have been introduced since the Semang were isolated from the rest of their race. There is no doubt that the Semang have adopted many elements of their present culture from their neighbours the Sakai and others. In some instances it is possible to trace this external influence, but in others it is doubtful whether we are dealing with a primitive Semang form or with a form adopted from their neighbours[1].

The same thing must be said about the Philippine Negritos. Our information is not sufficient to enable us to discuss the local differences, nor to determine what elements of the culture have been introduced by contact with other races[2].

HABITATIONS.

The huts of the Andamanese are best understood by considering 342
first of all the simplest and most temporary structures. A man away from the main camp at night (on a hunting expedition) erects for himself a simple shelter of leaves. Such hunting shelters vary considerably according to circumstances. In the rainy season they are built much more substantially than in the dry season. Sometimes shelter is found between the buttresses of large trees, a few leaves being added. There is, however, one type of hunting shelter that is usual. Two poles are cut and erected perpendicularly in the ground so that they stand about four feet apart and about four feet high. To the top of these is tied, with cane or creeper, a horizontal pole. A few poles or sticks of sufficient length are placed so as to lean against the horizontal pole at an angle of about 45°, the ends resting on the ground. On these are placed any leaves that can be obtained,

[1] The information here given as to the Semang is derived from two works, Skeat and Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, vol. I, quoted as *Skeat*, and Rudolf Martin, *Die Inlandstämme der Malayischen Halbinsel*, 1905, quoted as *Martin*.

[2] The information about the Philippine Negritos is derived from Reed, *Negritos of Zambales*, Manila, 1904, quoted as *Reed*, and A. B. Meyer, *Die Philippinen, II, Die Negritos*, Dresden, 1893, quoted as *Meyer*.

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342 preferably the leaves of canes and other palms. The shelter thus consists of a single rectangular roof, one end of which rests on the ground, while the other rests on a horizontal bar attached to the top of two perpendicular supports. The shelter is built facing to leeward.

The usual family hut of the Andamans is built on exactly the same principles as a hunter's shelter, but, being intended for occupation for some weeks or even months, is more carefully built. For a small hut, to be occupied by one family, four posts are erected, two at the back being from two to four feet high above the ground, while two at the front are from five to seven feet high. Two horizontal poles are attached, one to the top of the front posts and the other to the back posts, with strips of cane. If poles of a convenient size and forked at the top are available these may be used for the posts of the hut, the horizontal poles being supported in the forks, but a native would not trouble to search for such timbers, being satisfied with an unforked post. A few slender timbers, preferably of mangrove wood (*Bruguiera*), are placed on the two horizontal poles and bound to them with cane. These rafters, as they may be called, project for a foot or two above or beyond the higher horizontal, and similarly project a foot beyond the lower one so as almost to reach the ground.

In the better kind of hut a mat is made of palm leaves, and this mat is placed on the rafters and tied to them with strips of cane. To make a mat a number of strips of bamboo or cane of sufficient length are taken and placed on the ground parallel to each other. Leaves of a species of cane are collected and each leaf is divided into two parts down the middle. These half-leaves are then attached to the strips of bamboo or cane, by means of strips of the outside of canes, the technique being wrapped-twined work. The half-leaves are attached so that the leaflets, which are attached to the leaf-stem at an angle, incline alternately to one side and the other. The photograph reproduced in Plate VII shows a hut of the kind here described. Mats in course of making are shown lying on the ground in Plates VI and VII.

A quicker, but less efficient way of thatching the hut is to take the half-leaves such as are used for making a mat and fasten them in bundles of five or six directly to the rafters.

Huts of this type, each occupied by a single family, are built by the natives of the Great Andaman Division in the form of villages. The Jarawa and the natives of the Little Andaman build similar huts in their hunting camps, occupied during the fine weather.

Some huts of this type are provided with a floor raised above the

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ground. Such a floor is erected on short posts, and may be made of 342
bamboos or of planks or pieces of broken-up canoes. A floor of this kind, raised a foot or so above the ground, is shown in Plate VII. Huts are sometimes to be seen with a floor raised as much as three feet above the ground.

The simple Andaman hut as above described is entirely open at the front and on each side. In an exposed situation screens of palm-leaves may be erected at the side. If still more shelter is required, a hut may be built with two roofs. Such a hut requires six posts, two taller ones six or seven feet high, and four shorter ones, two on each side. For such a hut two mats are made, and are so attached that one mat projects above the other. No attempt is made to fasten the two mats together at the top, but on the contrary a space of several inches is left between them to allow the smoke of the fire to escape, rain being excluded by the overhang of one of the mats. Huts of this type may be seen in Plate VI.

Each of the huts hitherto described is occupied by a single family. 361
In order to understand the communal huts it is necessary to consider the arrangement of small huts in a camp or village. In the tribes of the Great Andaman there are two main types of such arrangement. The first type is that of the hunting camp, which is occupied for a few nights only. In this all the huts are placed facing in the same direction (to leeward) and in a line with one another. The second type is that of a village to be occupied for some weeks or months. In this the huts are arranged round an open space, all facing inwards, as described earlier in this book[1]. All encampments in the Great Andaman tend to conform to one or other of these types, but variations are introduced according to the nature of the site occupied. Thus in a hunting camp the site may not permit of the erection of the huts in one line. A village is, as a rule, only put up at a spot that has been used from time immemorial, where there is an open space of sufficient size, but if, for any reason, a site is selected where there is not room to arrange all the huts around the dancing ground, the arrangement of the village may be irregular.

The hunting camps of the Jarawa are sometimes arranged on the same principle as those of the tribes of the Great Andaman Division, i.e., all facing in one direction and as nearly in one line side by side as the site will allow.

The natives of the Little Andaman erect hunting camps in the fine

[1] See p. 34.

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361 weather. In the only one that I have seen the huts were arranged irregularly so as to make the best use of the available space.

A few words must be said on the sites chosen for encampments. It must be remembered that the islands are entirely covered with forest. The natives will not, if they can avoid it, put their camp under high trees, for fear of the danger of falling branches in a storm. At the same time they prefer a situation where there is an open space surrounded with forest so that they are sheltered from the wind. The coast-dwellers always camp immediately within the jungle on the shore of the sea or of a creek. The forest-dwellers usually choose a position on a hill or ridge, and this is particularly the case with the Jarawa. The camp must be close to a supply of fresh water. In the tribes of the Great Andaman Division no precautions are taken against a possible attack by enemies, but the Jarawa do take precautions, clearing the trees around their camps so that they have a good view of the approaches, and even, apparently, placing look-out stations at the tops of the paths[1].

Amongst the coast-dwelling tribes there are sites that have been used for encampments for many centuries. At these spots there are found heaps of refuse that have accumulated year by year. These kitchen-middens, as they are sometimes called, consist of the shells of molluscs, bones of animals, stones that have been used for cooking, fragments of pottery, and loam produced from decayed wood and other refuse.

342 361 The two types of camp arrangement which are seen in the village and the hunting camp are exhibited in two different types of communal hut. One of these, corresponding to the hunting camp, may be termed the long shelter. It is apparently only used in the North Sentinel Island. A hut of this type was seen by Mr Gilbert Rogers in 1903. It was rectangular, 40 feet long and 12 feet wide. The roof was supported on three rows of small posts ranging in height from 3 feet at the back to 6 feet at the front of the hut. The roof projected about 2 feet in either direction beyond the posts and was about 2 feet from the ground at the back and 7 feet above the ground at the front. There were twelve places for fires, six in front and six at the back of the hut, and near each, on the right-hand side, was a platform supported on four sticks, of the usual Andamanese type, for keeping food. There were two rows of sleeping places which were separated by small poles, making rectangles on the ground about 5 feet

[1] See *Census Report*, 1901.

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by 4 feet, each of which was probably occupied by a man and his wife and small children[1]. 342 361

The relation of this type of communal hut, in which all the members of one local group are brought together under a single roof of one slope, to the ordinary family hut of the Andamans, and the arrangement of the hunting camp in a line, is obvious.

To the arrangement of huts in a village around a central open space corresponds the second type of communal hut, which may be called the round hut. Communal huts of this type were formerly built by the natives of the Great Andaman Division, but have fallen into disuse in recent times, owing to the natives having become much more migratory in their habits. Huts of the same type are built at the present day by the natives of the Little Andaman and by the Jarawa.

In its typical form this kind of hut is built by erecting two circles of posts, a smaller circle of tall posts, and a wider circle of shorter posts. The tops of these posts are connected by horizontal and sloping timbers, which make the framework of the roof. The roof is made of a number of mats of palm-leaves, which are laid on the rafters and tied to them with strips of cane. The mats are made in exactly the same way as the smaller mats used for the small huts and already described. They are sometimes rectangular in shape, though occasionally an attempt is made to make them narrower at the top and broader at the bottom. They are arranged on the roof so as to overlap one another and thus make the hut rain-proof. They are not joined in the centre, but a small space is left for the smoke of the fires to escape, and the rain is prevented from entering by letting one or two of the mats overhang the others at the top. 342

In the round huts of the Jarawa and the Little Andaman there is no centre-post, and according to the statements made to me by the natives of the Great Andaman they did not use a centre-post for their huts. In the description attached to a photograph in the British Museum Mr Portman speaks of the centre-post of a communal hut, which is shown in the photograph still standing, although the hut had been pulled down. It would therefore seem that in the Great Andaman the natives did sometimes erect a centre-post for their round huts. The typical round hut, however, has no centre-post.

It is clear that the round hut has been developed from the village. If all the small huts of a village be drawn together so as to touch each

[1] Supplement to the *Andaman and Nicobar Gazette*, January 2, 1904.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

342 other, and if the mats of thatching be lengthened so as to meet and overlap in the middle, we have a round hut in its typical form. The evidence that this is so is afforded by the thatching, consisting of separate mats, often rectangular in shape (like the mats used for family huts), placed so as to overlap one another. This crude way of thatching could hardly have originated in any other way. Further evidence is afforded, as we shall see, by the internal arrangement of the hut.

Although the hut is here called a round hut, it must not be supposed that the shape is always regularly circular. It may be somewhat oval, and in any case is rarely very regularly constructed. In general, however, the shape approaches more or less nearly to a circle.

Huts of this kind vary in size according to the number of families occupying them. The height in the middle may be as much as 30 feet and the diameter may be 60 feet. The smallest I have seen was a Jarawa hut on Rutland Island, which was only nine feet high and 15 feet maximum diameter. In exposed situations the mats of thatching reach as far as the ground, but huts are sometimes built in sheltered situations with a space of a foot or two left between the ends of the thatch and the ground. A low doorway is provided on one side.

Within the hut there is a central space that is the common part of the hut and corresponds to the dancing ground of the village. In the wet season the communal fire is situated in this open space, and here the communal cooking is performed. In Jarawa huts the roof of the central part of the hut is hung with trophies of the chase consisting of pigs' skulls bound with cane. In former times the natives of the Great Andaman Division hung similar trophies in their round huts. Around the central space are the spaces allotted to the different families, these being marked off by means of short lengths of wood laid on the ground.

It is thus clear that the basis of Andamanese architecture is the use of a single rectangular roof giving a shelter open at the front. This is the usual form of the hunter's shelter and of the family hut in the village. For additional shelter two such roofs may be used, but no attempt is made to join them, one being made to overlap the other. There are two customary modes of arranging huts, either side by side facing in the same direction or round an open space facing inwards. Where, instead of separate roofs for each family, we have a united roof, these two arrangements of the camp give rise to two different types of communal hut, the long hut and the round hut.

*1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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In a village each hut is occupied by one family. In the communal hut (of either type) each family has a special portion of the hut marked off for its special use. Whether in a village or in a communal hut each family has its own small fire, at which the family meals are prepared. At one side of this fire is erected a small platform about a foot above the ground, supported on either three or four upright sticks. This platform is used for storing food. The natives of the Little Andaman erect low bamboo platforms to serve as beds, arranged round the communal hut, each family having its own. In the Great Andaman the natives, as a rule, make a bed of leaves on the ground and lay a sleeping mat on the top of this. In damp situations, however, they sometimes, as already mentioned, make a floor to the hut, raised a foot or two above the ground, and sleep on that. The Jarawa have a habit of sleeping in the wood-ashes of their fires in their cold weather hunting camps. 342 352

Turning now to the Semang, we find some differences in respect to their habitations. Those of the Semang who have not been influenced to a great extent by their neighbours and have not settled down to agricultural pursuits, never camp in the same spot for more than a few days, and have therefore no need to build anything except temporary shelters[1]. 171 342

The Semang often erect their shelters in trees, well above the surface of the ground. This is a feature which distinguishes them from the Andamanese. It seems probable that these tree-shelters have been adopted by the Semang as a protection against wild beasts[2]. As there are no dangerous beasts in the Andamans, the extra labour involved in building a shelter in the branches of a tree instead of on the ground would serve no useful purpose. The difference in this respect between the Semang and the Andamanese is therefore due to a difference in the circumstances in which they live.

The typical form of Semang shelter, occupied by one family, is erected by planting three or four stout sticks or poles in the ground in a row at an angle of about 60° or 75° and lashing palm-leaves across these. The screen or roof thus formed is further supported, if necessary, with one or two poles used as props in front[3]. These shelters are similar to the Andaman shelters in having a single sloping rectangular roof, but differ from them in being supported, not by upright posts, but in an altogether less adequate manner.

[1] Skeat, p. 172. [2] Skeat, p. 174.

[3] Skeat, p. 176, and plate. See also Annandale, *Fasciculi Malayensis, Anthropology*, Part I, Plate IV.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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However, the Semang shelters are apparently very easy to erect, and as they are only occupied for a night or two there is no inducement to the natives to make them more substantial.

The Semang sometimes make a shelter by planting a number of palm-leaves in the ground in a semicircle so that the overhanging ends meet in the centre[1].

As the Semang are constantly moving from place to place, they have little use for a communal hut of substantial build. One communal shelter has been described, which contained eleven sleeping-places arranged in two long rows. The upright timbers of the shelter consisted of young saplings planted in two opposite rows, across them being lashed the leaves of a palm. There were, besides, two central posts or pillars, each about a third of the distance from either end of the shelter, and a dozen poles placed as props or wind-braces in various positions and at various angles, in order to strengthen the structure and keep it from being blown over in a high wind. The two slopes of the roof were not united over a ridge-pole, but a longitudinal aperture was left between them for about two-thirds of the entire length of the roof, and through the gap thus caused the greater part of the smoke from the many fireplaces issued. All round the walls were ranged a number of bamboo sleeping-platforms, five to six feet in length by about three feet in breadth. The owner of each sleeping-platform or family unit possessed a separate fire or hearth[2].

We have only scanty information about the huts of the Philippine Negritos. In Zambales (Luzon) a certain number of the Negritos have adopted a settled mode of life and depend on agriculture for some part of their subsistence. The most advanced of these have adopted the form of hut common amongst their neighbours. The less settled Negritos of Zambales erect huts which are almost exactly the same as the family huts of the Andamanese. Two short upright posts are erected for the back of the hut, and two taller ones for the front, and on these four posts a rectangular roof of one slope is erected. A bamboo floor or platform is erected a foot or so above the ground, just as in some Andaman huts[3]. In the Zambales huts the upright posts are forked and the horizontal poles are supported in the fork.

At Casiguran the Negritos erect palm-leaf shelters similar to those of the Semang. A few poles are thrust into the ground at an angle and in a row and palm-leaves are attached to these, the screen being further supported with props[4].

[1] Skeat, p. 174. [2] Skeat, p. 177. [3] Reed, Plate XXXVIII. [4] Meyer, Plate X.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

A comparison of the three branches of the Negrito race in the light of present information shows that the usual form of habitation amongst them is a sloping roof or screen of palm-leaves. One form of this, the simplest to construct, but only suitable as a temporary shelter, is in common use amongst the Semang and is found amongst the Negritos of Casiguran. The other form, more permanent but requiring more labour to erect, is in common use in the Andamans and amongst the Negritos of Zambales. Of communal huts we have no evidence in the Philippines. The communal shelter of the Semang consists of two screens leaning towards one another. The two types of communal hut of the Andamans are both derived from the family hut. 171 342

HUNTING, FISHING, ETC.

The Andaman Islanders depend for their subsistence entirely upon the natural productions of the forest and the sea. They make no attempt whatever to cultivate the soil. Until the introduction of dogs in 1858 they had no domestic animals. Young pigs are occasionally kept in captivity till they are grown, but they are killed for food and are not bred in captivity. Thus the Andamanese provide themselves with food by three different forms of activity: (1) collecting such things as roots and fruits and honey, (2) fishing in the sea and in the creeks, (3) hunting the wild animals of the forest. 231 241

For hunting the Andamanese rely entirely on the bow and arrow. Since they have had dogs they occasionally make hunting spears, but they did not do so in former times. They make no use whatever of any method of trapping game or birds. For fishing they also make use of the bow and arrow, wading out on to the reefs and shooting the fish, and in this they are very skilful. Crustaceans, such as crabs and crayfish, are captured in the same way. In the North Andaman a sort of shoal fish spear was formerly in use as an occasional substitute for the bow and arrow. In all parts of the islands small nets are used by the women for catching small fish and prawns. In the Great Andaman large nets were formerly used for capturing turtle, dugong and large fish near the shore. At the present time the natives of the Great Andaman Division make use of harpoons with which they capture turtle, dugong and large fish from their canoes. Harpoons are not used in the Little Andaman. The Andamanese are also aware of methods of poisoning or stupefying fish in pools by means of certain plants that they crush and place in the water, but I have never seen them use this method of 224 411 227 226

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

227 fishing, although they say that they formerly did so. They have no
226 fish hooks and no fish traps. At the present time a few of the natives have learnt to take fish with hook and line, but they are unable to make hooks for themselves, and have to obtain them from the Settlement at Port Blair.

222 In collecting roots a digging stick is used, and a hooked pole is
412 used for gathering fruit, but they have no other special implements in use in collecting natural productions, and have no need of any. The adze is used for obtaining molluscs and for cutting honey-combs from hollow trees.

411 It is thus clear that by far the most important utensil of the Andamanese is the bow and arrow. We may say that they are essentially a bow and arrow people. This is even more true of the natives of the Little Andaman Division than of those of the Great Andaman Division.

It may be noted here that the Andamanese have no weapons that are used only for fighting. They fight with their chief hunting weapon, the bow and arrow. Nor have they any special defensive weapons, the shield being unknown.

171 The Semang in their natural condition depend for their subsistence on collecting roots and fruits from the forest, on catching fish in the streams, and on hunting animals. Their mode of subsistence is thus essentially the same as that of the Andamanese. One difference is that they have not the sea from which to draw supplies, and another is that the forests in which they live afford a much larger variety of game. A number of the Semang now practice a little rude agriculture which they have undoubtedly adopted in imitation of their neighbours of other races[1].

The principal weapon of the Semang, as of the Andamanese, is the bow and arrow. In hunting they also use spears[2], thus showing a difference from the Andamanese. Some of the Semang make use of the blow-pipe with poisoned darts, but it is practically certain that they have adopted the use of this weapon from their neighbours the Sakai[3]. They also make use to some extent of traps with which to capture jungle animals and birds. The wilder Semang living in the mountains have little opportunity of obtaining fish. Those of them that dwell near rivers use fish-spears and harpoons for catching large fish, and a small basket-work scoop for catching small fry[4]. They also fish with

[1] Skeat, p. 341.
[2] Skeat, p. 270.
[3] Skeat, p. 280.
[4] Skeat, p. 205.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

rod and line, the hooks being, as a rule, roughly manufactured from bits of brass or other wire[1]. The Semang have no special fighting weapons either offensive or defensive. 171

In the Philippines some of the Negritos practice a little rude agriculture[2]. It is practically certain that they have only adopted this mode of subsistence through contact with agricultural peoples of other races. They originally depended entirely upon collecting, fishing and hunting, and even those who now grow a few scanty crops devote a large part of their energies to hunting and collecting the natural products of the jungles[3]. The chief weapon of the Negritos of the Philippines, as of the Andamanese and the Semang, is the bow and arrow. They use the bow and arrow for shooting fish, having special fish-arrows[4]. It seems doubtful if they use spears, unless they have adopted them from their neighbours. In hunting deer the Negritos of Zambales use large nets like fish nets. They are acquainted with the use of traps for game but they seem to prefer to depend on the bow and arrow[5]. In the larger streams of Zambales they make fishing weirs of bamboo, after the manner of the Christianised natives of the same part[6].

As the most important weapon of the Andamanese, and indeed of the Negritos in general, is the bow, we may consider this first. Different kinds of bow are in use in different parts of the Andamans, but by a careful comparison of them it is possible to show how they are all derived from one original pattern. 411

The first kind of bow to be described is that in use in the Little Andaman. These bows are all made of a reddish-brown wood (possibly *Mimusops littoralis*). They are cut with an adze from a straight piece of wood, and are planed but not polished. The length varies within fairly wide limits. Six specimens selected as typical have lengths of 131, 150, 159·5, 163, 168 and 188 centimetres, giving an average of about 160 centimetres (= 63 inches). In section the bow is markedly convex on the one side and slightly convex on the other. The two figures (Fig. 1) show the section at the middle and at a point 7 cm. from the end of a typical specimen. The shape in section varies a little from one example to another, and the dimensions of breadth and thickness also vary. At the broadest point, which is in the middle, the average breadth of six bows is 3·2 cm., the broadest being 3·7 cm., and the narrowest 2·3 cm. The average thickness in the middle is 1·8 cm.,

[1] Skeat, p. 205. [2] Reed, p. 44. [3] Reed, p. 44.
[4] Reed, p. 47. [5] Reed, p. 47. [6] Reed, p. 48.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 the actual figures ranging from 2·1 to 1·3 cm. From the middle the bow tapers slightly towards each end. At a distance of 7 cm. from the end of the bow the average breadth is 1·8 cm., and the average thickness 1·2 cm.

The flatter side is the inside of the bow. Referring to the figures, the side marked *A* is that which faces a man as he holds the bow ready to shoot (called here the inside). *C* is thus the right-hand side and *D* the left-hand. By breadth is meant the distance from *C* to *D*, and by thickness the distance from *A* to *B*.

At each end of the bow there is a shoulder, as shown in Fig. 2. The length from the shoulder to the end of the bow, i.e. the length of

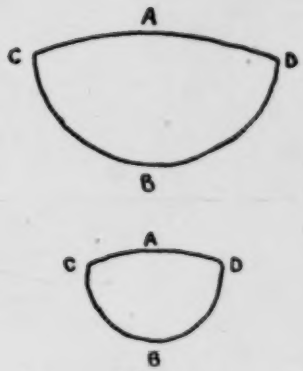

Fig. 1

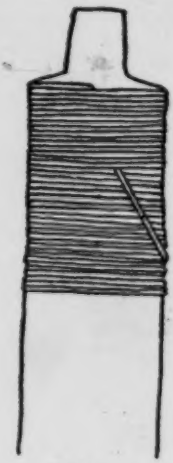

Fig. 2

Fig. 1. Section of Little Andaman bow, in the middle and near the end
Fig. 2. Shoulder of Little Andaman bow

the point on which the string is looped, is about 10 to 12 mm. Both ends are the same. For a few centimetres below the shoulder the bow is served over with string or fibre. In a carefully finished bow the serving is usually done with ornamental string, i.e. with string round which is twisted the dried yellow skin of the *Dendrobium*. In other examples plain string is used, or a strip of twisted *Ficus* fibre, or even nowadays a twisted strip of cotton cloth.

Bows are never ornamented in the Little Andaman either with paint or with incised patterns.

411 283 The bow-string of the Little Andaman is made of strips of the bark of the *Ficus laccifera*. The number and width of the strips used

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

depend on the size of the bow. In a small bow now in the Cambridge Museum the string is made of a single strip of bark about 1 cm. in width. This strip is simply twisted, the twist being that of a right-hand or male screw. When two strips are used they are not twisted around one another in the way that a two-ply rope is made, but are laid flat together and twisted together, so that when the string is finished only one of the strips is visible, the other being inside. In a stout string for a large bow three or four strips may be twisted together in this way. The bow-string is not a rope, but a twisted strand (Fig. 3.) 411 283

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 3. Bow-string of twisted fibre, Little Andaman
Fig. 4. Diagram showing the method of making the loop in the end of the Little Andaman bow-string

At one end of the string a loop is made, as shown in Fig. 4. The end is doubled over to make a loop of the right size, a round turn is made over the standing part (*A*) and the end (*B*) is twisted in with the standing part by untwisting the latter, laying the end in, and twisting up again. If this splicing, as it may perhaps be loosely called, be not sufficiently secure, it is served over or stopped with finer fibre of the same kind. This loop is of sufficient size to slip down over the shoulders. At the other end the string is attached to the peg either with a knot, or else by means of a small loop (just large enough to go over the peg, but not large enough to slip over the shoulder) made in 411 [284]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 exactly the same way as the loop already described. When the bow is to be strung the larger loop is slipped over the peg at the top end of the bow and is pushed down over the shoulder. The other end (with the smaller loop) is then slipped on the peg at the lower end, resting on the shoulder. The lower end is placed on the ground, while the top end is held in the hand. The man places his foot against the middle of the bow and draws the top towards him until he is able to slip the top loop of the string up over the shoulder so that it catches the peg or tip. The bow is then ready for use.

Toy bows are made for small boys of exactly the same general pattern as the large bows. A toy bow of this kind, now in the Cambridge Museum, is 107 cm. long and 18 mm. broad in the middle.

The next type of bow to be considered is that used by the natives of the North Sentinel Island. I have only been able to see one specimen

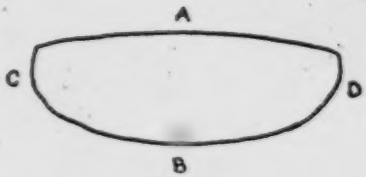

Fig. 5

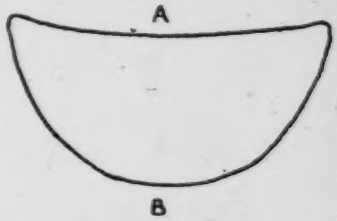

Fig. 6

Fig. 5. Section of bow from North Sentinel Island
Fig. 6. Section of Jarawa bow

of this type, which is in the British Museum. It is made of a different kind of wood from that used in the Little Andaman. The length is 155·5 cm., and the breadth at the middle is 4·3 cm. The section in the middle, which is shown in Fig. 5, is slightly different from that of the average Little Andaman bow, but it has the same feature of greater convexity on the outside and less convexity on the inside, and it lies just within the range of variation of the Little Andaman type. The ends of the bow are shaped in the same way as those of the Little Andaman bow. The breadth at the shoulder, however, is 2·5 cm., which is greater than the corresponding measurement of the Little Andaman bow. The bow is not ornamented either with a painted or incised pattern. The string is missing. There is no binding at the ends below the shoulders, but this has possibly been present and come off, as the specimen is one that has been thrown away by its owner owing to the wood having split. So far as we can tell from this single specimen

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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the bow of the North Sentinel differs very little from that of the Little Andaman. 411

We now come to the bows of the Jarawa of the South Andaman. The Jarawa of Rutland Island, of whom there are now very few, but of whom there were a larger number twenty or thirty years ago, make bows exactly like those of the Little Andaman, and apparently do not make any other kind. The Jarawa to the north of Port Blair, who have been driven northwards by the spread of the Penal Settlement, also make bows of this type, which it is not possible to distinguish from Little Andaman bows. These northern Jarawa, however, also make bows of a different kind. These will be spoken of as belonging to the "modified Jarawa type." They are larger than Little Andaman bows, having an average length of about 185 cm., with a breadth of about 5 cm. The section, throughout the greater part of the length, is either plano-convex, or, more frequently, concavo-convex. The section of a typical example is shown in Fig. 6. At the middle of the bow, where it is held in the

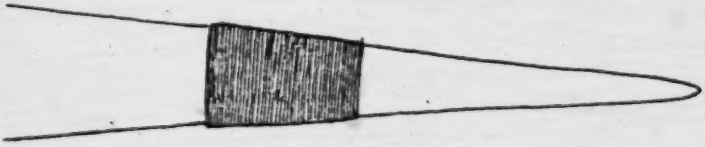

Fig. 7. Upper end of South Andaman bow

hand, there is a slight thickening produced by a protuberance on the inside, i.e. on the flat or concave side. In a certain number of specimens the bow, instead of being straight, is slightly recurved outwards. Finally, the wood from which these bows are cut is not the same as that used in the Little Andaman.

The Little Andaman bow, the North Sentinel bow and the Jarawa bow are all varieties of one type. The Little Andaman form is probably nearest to the original of the type, and I shall show later how the modifications found in the modified Jarawa type came to be adopted.

We now come to bows of a different type, of which there are two varieties, one used in the South and Middle Andaman, and the other used in the North Andaman.

The bow of the South Andaman tribes is not cut from a straight piece of wood, but is cut from a tree that has bent in the course of its growth into a suitable curve. A tree has to be found that will provide a piece of wood of the required shape. From this the bow is shaped with an adze, and is finished by planing with a boar's tusk.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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411 Bows of this kind vary in length between 180 and 210 cm., the most usual length being between 190 and 195 cm. At the upper end the bow is brought to a point approximately circular in section. From this point it broadens out until, at a distance of about 50 or 55 cm., or between one-quarter and one-third of the length of the bow, it reaches its maximum breadth, which is, on the average, about 5·5 cm. The section of the bow at this point is convex on the outer side, while on the inner side it may be flat or slightly concave, or even in rare instances slightly convex. In many specimens there is a very slightly raised keel running down the middle of the inside of the bow. The thickness of the bow at the point mentioned is usually 1·5 to 1·75 cm., and there is little variation in this respect in different specimens. (See Fig. 8.)

At the middle the bow decreases in breadth and increases in thickness to form a handle. At the handle the usual section may be described as pear-shaped, the greatest diameter being the thickness (from inside to outside) and not the breadth.

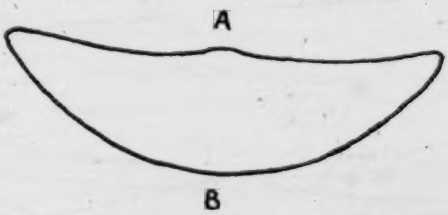

Fig. 8. Section across the blade of a South Andaman bow

From the handle towards the lower end the bow again increases in breadth, so that the lower portion is about the same breadth and thickness as the upper portion. At the lower end it tapers to a point, circular in section, but the point is blunter than at the upper end.

Thus the whole bow consists of a leaf-shaped upper portion or blade which is straight (i.e. neither curved inwards nor outwards), a waist or handle, and a lower blade that is curved backwards or outwards at about its middle, this being the position of the bend in the wood from which it is cut. A bow of this type is shown in Plate v.

Near each end the bow is served over with string for a distance of 3 or 4 cm., leaving a bare point at the upper end of about 7 cm. long, and a point at the lower end of about 1·5 cm. (Fig. 7.)

411 283 A bow-string is made from the fibre of the *Anadendron*. A number of strands of the fibre are taken and are waxed with black bees'-wax. Four of these strands are taken, three of them are placed together and

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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the fourth is wound spirally round them. When the end of the active strand (the one being twisted round the others) is neared, a new strand is taken and laid in. The twisting is continued for a few turns and the newly inserted one is then taken, the end of the first active strand being laid in and wound over in its turn. The process continues in this way, new strands being added until a cord of sufficient length has been made. This is again waxed over on the outside. 411 283

At one end of the cord a knot is tied. At the other end a loop or eye is formed. To make this eye, when the cord is of sufficient length, the end of it is bent over to form a loop of about 1 cm. or a little more in diameter. This loop is then served over with thread made of *Anadendron* fibre. The serving is continued over the neck of the loop for about 1·5 cm. This gives an eye with the appearance shown in Fig. 9. A loose strand of fibre is left at the neck of the loop. This is wound spirally over the cord, as described before, new strands being added one after another until the cord has been treated in this way for about 35 cm. from the eye. It is then stopped by serving it over for 411 284

Fig. 9. Loop of bow-string, South Andaman

about 2 cm. with *Anadendron* thread. It is clear from this description that the cord is somewhat thicker for about 35 cm. from the end with the eye than it is in the rest of its length.

To string the bow the knotted end of the bow-string is fastened round the top end of the bow with a slip knot, so that it rests on the top of the string serving. The bow is then turned upside down and the top end (now temporarily at the bottom) is fixed in the ground or against a stone, so that it will not slip. The other end of the bow is taken by the left hand, while the cord is held in the right, the right foot is placed against the handle or middle of the bow and the bow is bent, the end held by the hand being drawn towards the operator until he is able to slip over it the eye or loop at the end of the string. 411

After the bow has been strung the upper portion, which before was straight, is now curved inwards, and the bow therefore appears as S-shaped when seen from the side. When a man starts out hunting or fishing he strings his bow and tests it, and it remains strung till he returns, when he unstrings it and places it in his hut.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 The advantage of having a knot at one end of the string seems to be that should the string be stretched by use it can be tightened by altering the position of the knot.

At the point where the nock of the arrow is placed when the bow is drawn, it is usual to serve the string over with thread of *Anadendron* fibre.

The peculiar features of the South Andaman bow depend on the fact that the bow takes advantage of the greater toughness and elasticity of wood that has been compressed in the course of its growth. When the bow is drawn the strain does not fall evenly, but, by reason of the shape of the bow, is concentrated on one portion, namely the lower portion of the bow where it is curved outwards. This is easily seen when a bow is strongly drawn, for from the S-shape that it has before, it becomes very nearly true arc-shaped when fully drawn. The lower portion of the bow works as though hinged, and thus the strain is largely borne by the curved portion of the bow. Now this portion is cut from the concave side of a tree that has been bent while growing, and consequently the fibres of the wood are here stronger, tougher and

[531]

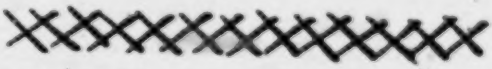


Fig. 10. Ornament on South Andaman bow

more elastic. The result is that for a given amount of energy spent in drawing the bow a greater force of propulsion is given to the arrow than with a bow of the Little Andaman type.

The breadth of the bow is necessitated by its shape, for if it were narrow the string would slip round on to the outside of the bow. The narrowing at the handle is necessary for holding the bow. The adoption of tapered ends instead of shoulders is a definite improvement as it makes the bow less liable to split at the ends.

411 The bows of the South Andaman group of tribes are always decorated with incised patterns. The conventional pattern is shown in
531 Fig. 10. One line of such pattern runs down each edge of both the inside and the outside of the bow, and on the inside a similar line of pattern runs down the middle. When bows are newly made they are often also decorated with designs in red paint and white clay, particularly if they are intended as gifts. These painted designs soon wear off and are not renewed.

411 In these tribes bows are sometimes made of a size so large as to be almost useless for hunting. One such bow, now in the Cambridge

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Museum, is 220 cm. long and with a maximum breadth of 10 cm. Such bows are very carefully made and decorated and are intended as gifts. A man generally makes such a bow with the deliberate intention of giving it to some person whom he wishes to please. The bow that I have was specially made to give to me in this way. A man who possessed such a bow would not dream of using it in hunting, but he might use it in a shooting match, in order to show his skill. 411

In the South Andaman tribes toy bows are made for boys of somewhat the same shape as the ordinary hunting bow. An example of such a bow, now in the Cambridge Museum, is 121 cm. long. It is cut from a bent piece of wood in such a way that the lower portion is curved outwards. The section in the middle is plano-convex, very nearly the half of a circle, the breadth being 26 mm. and the thickness 13 mm. It is broadest in the middle, and tapers towards each end. When strung it assumes the typical S-shape of the South Andaman bow. It is served over with thread at one end and with a strip of

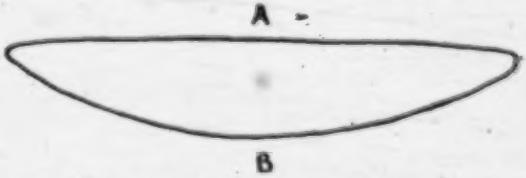


Fig. 11. Section across the blade of a North Andaman bow

cotton cloth at the other, leaving two points for the string. The latter is of the usual South Andaman type, but of smaller dimensions.

We must turn now to the bow used by the four tribes of the North Andaman, which is of a somewhat different pattern from that just described. It is, in the first place, shorter, lighter and more slenderly made. Of ten typical specimens the shortest is 153 cm. long, and the longest is 182 cm. The usual length is about 160 to 165 cm. In its broadest part the North Andaman bow is broader than the South Andaman bow, the breadth varying from 6·5 to 7·5 cm. in different specimens.

Although the North Andaman bow is, as a rule, cut from a curved piece of wood, it may, on occasion, be cut from a piece that is practically straight.

At the upper end of the bow there is a long point. In a specimen that is in every way typical, at about 5 cm. from the point the section is circular and the diameter is about 5 mm.; at about 30 cm.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 from the end the section is slightly flattened or oval, and the maximum diameter (the breadth from side to side) is about 1·5 cm. From this the bow broadens fairly rapidly, until at a distance of about 60 cm. from the end it is 7 cm. broad. The section at a point 60 cm. from the end is shown in Fig. 11, where it may be seen to be convex on the outside and only very slightly convex on the inside. At about 75 cm. from the end the bow narrows in breadth to form a handle, at the same time increasing slightly in thickness. The handle is approximately circular in section in the middle, which is about 95 cm. from the upper end, and about 80 cm. from the lower end, the diameter being about 2·2 cm. Below the handle the bow broadens out once more into a lower blade which in shape and section is similar to the upper blade. At a distance of about 30 cm. from the lower end the bow once more narrows off to a point approximately circular in section. The lower point of the bow is not so long or so tapering as the upper point.

The whole bow thus consists of two blade-shaped portions tapering to a point at each end, and with a waist or handle between them. The upper blade is straight, i.e. is not curved either outwards or inwards. The lower blade is curved outwards (like that of the South Andaman bow) in nearly every newly made bow and in every bow that has been in use.

The upper part of the bow is served over with string for about 1·5 cm. (at a distance of 15·5 cm. from the end in the bow that has been described), and the lower end is similarly served (at a distance of 6 cm. from the end). The general shape of the bow as seen from inside is shown in Fig. 12.

283 411 The bow-string of the North Andaman is made from *Anadendron* fibre in much the same way as described in connection with the South Andaman bow, but in the North there is a loop or eye at both ends of the string. As soon as the first few centimetres of the cord have been made (by the method previously described) it is bent over into a loop, and this loop is served with *Anadendron* thread, just as in the case of the South Andaman string. The making of the string then proceeds in the usual way until a sufficient length has been made, this depending, of course, on the length of the bow for which it is intended. The end is then bent over into a loop, and this loop is served over with thread. The loose end of fibre is not in this case (as it is in the South Andaman string) twisted round the standing part of the cord, but is laid beside it, and the thread that has been used for serving is wound spirally round them both for a distance of about 10 cm. from the neck of the loop, so that the end is stopped.

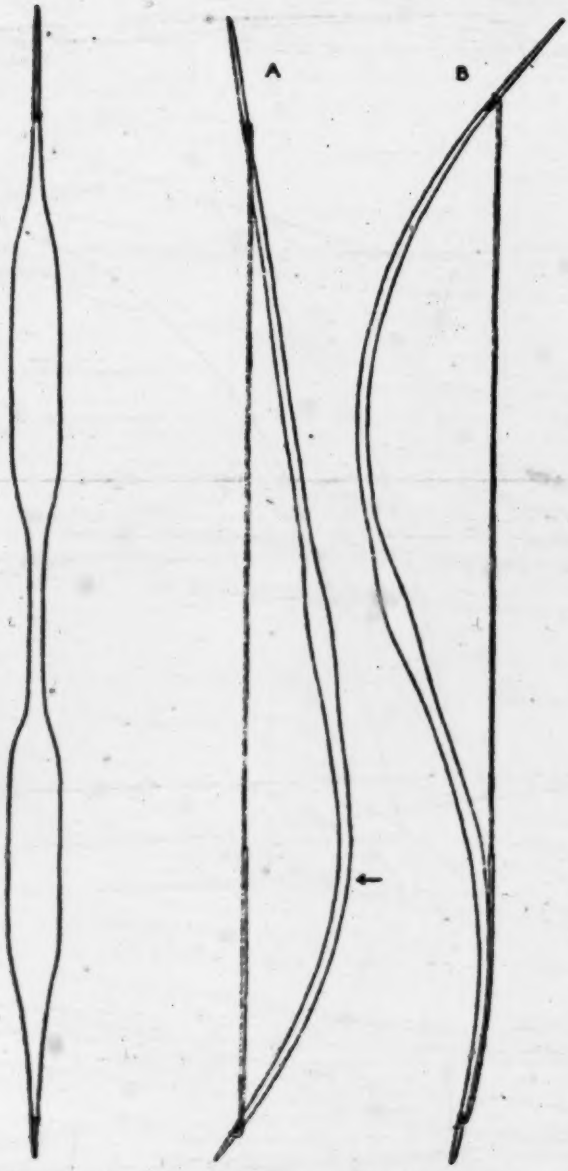


Fig. 12 Fig. 13

Fig. 12. North Andaman bow seen from the front

Fig. 13. North Andaman bow; *A*, in the half-strung or reversed position, *B*, in the fully strung position. The arrow shows the point where the bow is seasoned over the fire.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 When the bow is to be strung the first made loop is slipped over the top end of the bow so that it rests on the thread serving already mentioned, the neck of the loop being on the inside of the bow. The bow is then laid on the ground, inside downwards, a foot is placed on the middle, and the lower end of the bow is bent upwards (and therefore outwards) far enough to allow the other loop of the cord to be slipped over the end. The bow is now in what may be called the half-strung position, and in order to understand the mechanical principles of this type of bow it is necessary to make quite clear what this position is. It is shown in Fig. 13, *A*. The string passes from the top to the bottom on the outside of the bow, so that the bow is, so to speak, reversed, and is subjected to a strain that causes it to curve outwards. In most bows, when they are first made, there is an outward curve in the lower portion, owing to the bow having been cut from a curved piece of wood. When the bow is half strung this outward curvature is increased. If a bow be made from a straight piece of wood, an outward curve is produced by the operation of stringing it, as described above.

As soon as a bow is completed it is strung in the reversed position described, and is then placed over a fire, in such a position that the lower (curved) blade is immediately above the fire. The smoke and heat of the fire season the wood of this portion of the bow. Any specimen of a bow of this type, unless it has been newly made and not seasoned, is blackened on the inner surface of its lower part. The bow is left to season in this way for some time. A man places his bow over the fire of his own hut, which is kept constantly burning day and night. It must be remembered that all the time it is being seasoned the bow is subjected to a slight strain curving it outwards.

After the bow has been sufficiently seasoned it is brought into use. When a bow that is half strung or strung in a reversed way is to be used, it is taken by the handle in the left hand, with the string away from the body, the bow being upside down. The lower part of the bow (i.e. what is really the top of the bow when it is in its normal position) is rested against the thigh. The string is taken in the right hand and pulled over towards the body, so that the bow reverses itself and appears in the fully strung position shown in Fig. 13, *B*. It is then ready for immediate use.

A bow of this type is hardly ever entirely unstrung. When a man has finished with his bow for the time being, he puts it once more in the half-strung position, by an action the reverse of that described above, and then hangs the bow over the fire. Thus while the bow is in active

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

use it is in the fully strung position, and at all other times it is kept in the half-strung position. 411

It is clear that the North Andaman bow depends on a principle that is not made use of in the South Andaman bow, which we may state by saying that if a piece of wood be subjected to the influence of heat and smoke while it is bent in one position it will acquire greater strength and elasticity to react against a strain that bends it in the opposite direction. When the bow is fully strung it is S-shaped. When it is drawn the greater part of the strain falls on the lower portion where it is curved outwards. It is this portion of the bow that is strengthened by seasoning. 411 823

The North Andaman bow is very much lighter than the South Andaman bow and is much more elastic. I always found it very difficult to shoot with a South Andaman bow, but on the other hand I found the North Andaman bow very easy to use. In drawing it only a slight pull is required in order to send an arrow with considerable velocity. The disadvantage of the northern bow is that, owing to its slighter build, it does not last very long, and is liable to be broken. However, it only takes a man a few days to make a new bow, string included, and the very definite superiority of the North Andaman bow over that of the South Andaman amply compensates for its shorter life. 411

Bows of exactly the same shape but of smaller dimensions are made in the North Andaman for boys, the length varying from about 90 cm. to about 120 cm. For very small boys toy bows of a different pattern are made. The bow is formed of a piece of wood about 90 cm. long and from 2 to 2·5 cm. broad in the middle. The section in the middle is convexo-convex, with a high degree of convexity on the outside and a much slighter convexity on the inside. The bow tapers to a point at each end, but it tapers more gradually at the top than at the bottom. The bow-string is a simple piece of string (two-ply) made of *Anadendron* fibre. It is tied to the lower end of the bow at a distance of 1·5 to 3 cm. from the end, and at the top it is tied at from 4 to 7 cm. from the end. The shape of a toy bow of this kind as seen from the side is shown in Fig. 14. It is not S-shaped, like the toy bow of the South Andaman previously described, but the curvature is asymmetrical.

I obtained a specimen of a toy bow made of bamboo. Unfortunately there was no string, but it was probably intended to be strung in the fashion of the North Andaman toy bow just described. The outer surface of the bamboo was the outside of the bow, with the result that in section the inner side of the bow was more convex than the outer

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 side. This is the only bow in the whole of the Andamans in which I ever saw this feature. In all other bows of whatever type the outer side is markedly convex and the inner side is either concave, flat or only slightly convex.

It is now possible to compare one with another the different forms of bow in use in the Andamans. It would seem almost certain that the North Andaman bow can only have been derived from the form in use in the South Andaman or from one very similar to it. It is only after they were in the habit of making bows with an outward curve in the lower portion that the natives could have devised the method of seasoning this portion of the bow and keeping it in the reversed or half-strung position. It is unnecessary to argue the matter in detail, and we may conclude that the North Andaman type is derived from the South Andaman type.

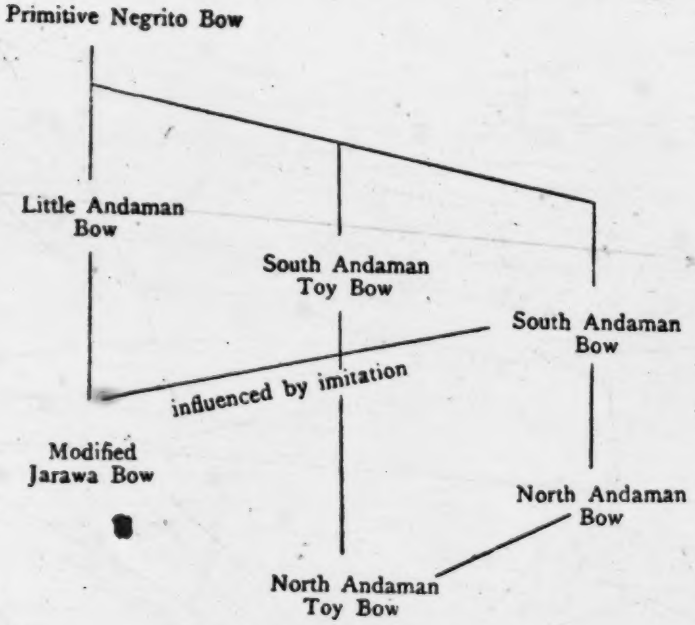
It is less certain, but still highly probable, that the South Andaman form was derived from a bow similar to that still in use in the Little Andaman. The South Andaman toy bow shows a stage intermediate between the Little Andaman bow and the usual South Andaman form. The section of this toy bow is very similar to that of the Little Andaman bow. It has no blades, and therefore no waist for the handle. The shape, however, is asymmetrical. Owing to the different method of stringing it, the shoulder at the end of the bow is unnecessary, and the bow is strengthened (prevented from splitting so easily) by tapering the end to a point instead. The difference between the toy bow and the general South Andaman bow is the presence in the latter of the two blades and the waist. The broadening of the bow into the blades is necessary in order to prevent it from accidentally reversing itself.

411 171 We have still to consider the modified form of the Jarawa bow. The origin of this is easy to discover by the examination of a few typical specimens. Since the Jarawa have been in the South Andaman they have been in hostile contact with the tribes of

Fig. 14. Toy bow of the North Andaman

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

the South Andaman Division. They have had opportunities of handling bows of the kind made by these tribes, and they have apparently discovered that these bows are more efficient than their own, but they have had no opportunity, such as only friendly intercourse would give, of discovering the principles on which the South Andaman bow is made. They have attempted to imitate it to the best of their ability, and this they have done (1) by making their bows longer and broader, (2) by making them concavo-convex in section instead of convexo-convex, (3) by cutting them occasionally from wood that gives them an outward curve in the



lower portion, (4) by imitating the shape of the handle without, however, giving the bow a waist, (5) by serving over the bow-string with thread at the point where the arrow touches it, (6) by ornamenting their bows with incised and painted patterns. These are the only differences between the modified Jarawa type and the Little Andaman type, and all these may be explained as attempts to imitate the bows of the South Andaman Division. In not a single one of the modified Jarawa bows that I have seen is the fundamental principle of the South Andaman bow successfully applied.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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We may conclude that the ancestors of the Andamanese at one time used a bow resembling that in use in the Little Andaman at the present day, and that the S-shaped bow of the Great Andaman has been invented since the separation of the two main divisions of the race.

It is not possible, owing to lack of sufficient information, to determine exactly the types of bow used by the Semang. The following notes are based on only six specimens, two of which are in the Museum of Ethnology at Cambridge[1], while the others are in the British Museum. Four of the specimens are sufficiently similar to one another to be regarded as belonging to one type, which seems to be the usual type of Semang bow. In length they are 165, 174·5, 182 and 197·5 cm., and at the middle they vary in breadth between 2·5 and 3 cm. Three are of palm-wood, and the other is of a light-coloured

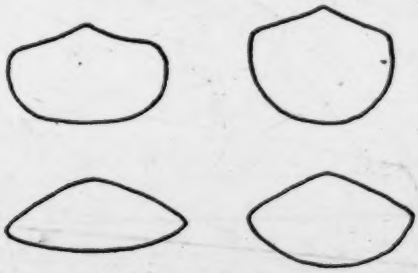

Fig. 15. Section across the middle of four Semang bows

but tough kind of wood. The shape of the section in the middle of the bow varies considerably in the different specimens, as shown in Fig. 15. There is some uncertainty as to which is the inside, and which is the outside of the bow. At each end there is a shoulder, the point or tip at one end being in every instance considerably longer than the other. The string in each case is a three-ply rope, having a spliced eye at one end and being fastened to the bow with a knot at the other end.

The other two specimens do not conform to this type. One is of wood, 134 cm. long, and 3·5 cm. broad in the middle. One end is provided with a notch on each side for the string, while the other end has three pairs of notches. The string is a three-ply cord with a loop or eye at each end. The other specimen is made of bamboo, and is 147 cm. long and 2·25 cm. broad in the middle. One end has one

[1] For information about the two specimens at Cambridge I am indebted to the kindness of Mr J. W. Layard.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

pair of notches and the other has two pairs. The string is two-ply with a loop at each end. 411 171

What we may perhaps regard as the usual type of Semang bow thus differs from the bow of the Little Andaman in three important respects, (1) in having a longer point at one end than at the other[1], (2) in having a string of three-ply rope instead of a strand of twisted fibre, and (3) in the variations in the section at the middle. From the four specimens available it is not possible to determine around what norm or norms the section of different specimens varies.

Turning to the Negritos of the Philippine Islands, although a number of bows have been described by Meyer[2], the available information is not sufficient to enable us to determine what are the different types, and what is their relation one to another. Amongst the different varieties of bow used by the Negritos there is one which is very similar to the bow of the Little Andaman. It has a rounded or convex outer side, and a flattened inner side. The string loops on to a point at each end, and the string itself is formed of twisted fibre.

From a study of the available material it seems that we are justified in concluding that the primitive Negrito bow was made of wood, with a shoulder at each end, probably with a section rounded on one side and flattened or keeled on the other, and that it had a string of twisted fibre with a loop or eye at one end, the other end being attached with a knot.

The Andaman Islanders use two different kinds of arrows, one for shooting fish and the other for shooting pigs. 411

The common fish-arrow, as at present used in all parts of the Great Andaman Division, consists of three parts—a shaft, a fore-shaft, and a point. The shaft is a length of bamboo straightened by means of heat, and may vary in length from 70 to 110 cm. At one end the bamboo is cut off about 3 cm. beyond one of the nodes, and a nock is made (Fig. 16). At this end the shaft is roughened with a *Cyrena* shell so as to give a firm grip for the fingers. At the other end the shaft is tapered for about a centimetre. At this end the bamboo is roughened with a shell to give a hold to the thread with which it is bound. The fore-shaft is a length of wood from 15 to 40 cm. long. One end is slightly tapered so that it fits tightly into the end of the bamboo shaft. The other end is tapered to a point, which is flattened on one side. The

[1] According to Skeat the end with the longer point is the lower end of the bow (Skeat, p. 273), but Martin (p. 785) describes a bow of this type and states that the longer point is the upper end.

[2] Meyer, pp. 13—17 and Plates VI—VIII.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 fore-shaft is inserted into the end of the shaft and the joint is bound over for a distance of about 2·5 cm. with thread. The point consists of a piece of iron wire, sharply pointed at both ends. This is laid against the flattened side of the fore-shaft and is bound to it with thread in such a way that one point projects at the back to form a barb (Fig. 16). When the binding is completed it is covered entirely over with a composition made by melting together bees'-wax, resin and red ochre. The composition is melted over a fire, is applied with a short piece of wood and is then smoothed over with a hot *Cyrena* shell. Only the binding attaching the point to the fore-shaft is covered with composition, and not that at the joining of the fore-shaft and the shaft.

Arrows of this kind are used for shooting fish, but they also serve to shoot snakes or rats and on rare occasions birds.

Similar fish-arrows are made in the Little Andaman, but they are larger (i.e. both longer and thicker) than those of the Great Andaman Division. The two ends of the bamboo shaft are not roughened, and the binding attaching the point to the fore-shaft is not covered with composition (which seems to be unknown in the Little Andaman) but with bees'-wax only.

This seems to be the traditional form of fish-arrow of the Andamans. Before iron was plentiful the point consisted either of the serrated bone from the tail of the sting-ray or of a piece of the tibia of a pig ground down to the requisite dimensions on a piece of stone, and sharpened at each end.

In the Little Andaman fish-arrows are sometimes used with two or four prongs attached to a bamboo shaft. In the British Museum there is an arrow from the North Sentinel Island with four prongs tied on to a wooden shaft, each prong being barbed by a detached piece of wood at the end.

A simple form of arrow is made in both the Great Andaman and the Little Andaman consisting of a bamboo shaft with a pointed wooden head, the point being hardened in the fire. Such arrows are now very rarely used, save for shooting at a mark, but it is probable that before iron was plentiful they were used as a substitute for the fish-arrow described above, being easier to make although less serviceable.

The pig-arrow in use in the Great Andaman consists of a shaft, and a fore-shaft to which is attached a head. The shaft is a piece of the wood of the *Tetranthera lancæfolia*, cut from the tree and straightened by means of heat. At the narrower end a nock about 1 cm. deep is

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Fig. 16

Fig. 17

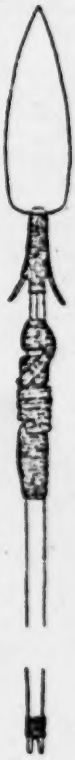

Fig. 18

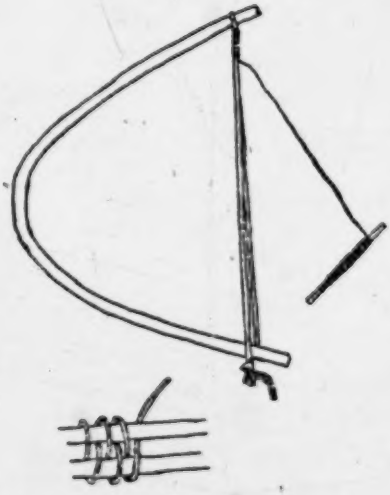

Fig. 19

Fig. 16. Fish-arrow of the Great Andaman
Fig. 17. Head of pig-arrow, Great Andaman
Fig. 18. Pig-arrow with detachable head, Great Andaman
Fig. 19. Method of making the cord of the Great Andaman pig-arrow

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 cut, and the arrow is served with thread of *Anadendron* fibre for about 1·6 cm. above the nock, in order to prevent splitting. At the other end the shaft is hollowed out to a depth of about a centimetre. This hollowing is done with the point of a fish-arrow or other similar piece of pointed iron. For a distance of about 1·5 cm. the end of the shaft is served over with thread of *Anadendron* fibre, so as to prevent it from splitting.

The fore-shaft consists of a piece of tough wood one end of which is cut to such a size that it will fit fairly tightly into the hollow at the end of the shaft. At the other end it is split so as to admit the head.

411 325 The head[1] consists of a piece of iron broken into shape with the aid of a stone hammer and then ground down and sharpened on a whetstone or with a file if one be obtainable. The usual shape is shown in Fig. 17. The head is inserted into the split end of the fore-shaft and the end of the latter is then served over with thread. A few centimetres below the head either one or two sharp-pointed pieces of iron wire are placed against the fore-shaft in the same plane as the head and are bound firmly to it with the thread, so as to provide a barb or barbs.

411 283 A cord is made and one end of it is attached to the shaft and the other end to the fore-shaft. This cord is made as follows. A number of strands of *Anadendron* fibre are taken and waxed with bees'-wax. These are made into a cord by the same method as that described in connection with the Great Andaman bow-string, one strand being wrapped round the others. About 40 cm. of single cord is made in this way and the two ends are tied together. A piece of elastic wood is bent into the form of an arc and the loop of cord is placed over this so that it is stretched tight. A length of thread (of *Anadendron* fibre) is made and wound on to a fine netting needle or on to a thin slip of wood, and the two cords as they are stretched side by side are bound together with this thread by the process known as "nippering" (Fig. 19). In this way a firm and strong flattened cord is produced. One end of this is fastened to the fore-shaft immediately above the end that fits into the shaft. The other end is fastened to the shaft a few centimetres from the end, leaving a short length of the shaft around which the cord may be spirally wound when the arrow is in use. (Fig. 18.)

411 Finally, the thread on the fore-shaft, i.e. that which holds the head and barbs in place, and also that which serves to attach the end of the cord, are covered with the composition already described as used on fish-arrows.

[1] [Head of pig-arrow — Analyst]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Arrows of this kind are used in pig-hunting. The fore-shaft is inserted into the end of the shaft, the cord attaching the two being wound spirally round the end of the shaft. When a pig is struck the barbs prevent the head from coming out of the wound. As the pig attempts to run away the shaft catches against the undergrowth of the jungle and comes loose from the fore-shaft. Sooner or later the shaft becomes entangled in the undergrowth and holds the wounded pig fast till the hunters can come up with it and despatch it. It is obvious that the cord of the arrow needs to be so strong that the pig cannot break it. 411

The natives of the Great Andaman tribes say that before they had plenty of iron they made similar pig-arrows with heads of shell and barbs of pig's bone. [177]

The natives of the Little Andaman make a pig-arrow very similar to that of the Great Andaman tribes, but on the average somewhat longer. The cord attaching the fore-shaft to the shaft consists of a length of double two-ply rope of *Hibiscus* fibre. The binding of the arrow is done with thread of the *Gnetum* fibre instead of *Anadendron*, and is not coated with composition but is smeared with bees'-wax. The barb (there being usually only one) is not fixed in the same plane as the head, but in the plane at right angles to it. (Fig. 20.)

Amongst the Jarawa the head of the pig-arrow is attached to the fore-shaft by a different method, holes being made in the iron through which the thread that holds it is passed. (Fig. 21.)

Another kind of pig-arrow is sometimes made in the Great Andaman that has not a detachable head. The shaft is a length of bamboo into one end of which is fitted a fore-shaft of wood. The end of this fore-shaft is split and a head of iron is inserted into it and bound there. Such an arrow may be without barbs or may have one or two barbs of iron. It is used only rarely and then chiefly for despatching a pig that has already been struck by an arrow of the usual kind. The natives say that in former times arrows of this kind were used in fighting in preference to ordinary pig-arrows, which, however, were also used.

In former times the natives of the Great Andaman, according to their own statements, made an arrow consisting of a bamboo shaft at the end of which was inserted a head made of *Areca* wood. An arrow of this kind, made for me by a native, is shown in Fig. 22.

None of the arrows made in any part of the Andamans is feathered.

In a comparison of the arrows of the Andamanese with those of the Semang and the Philippine Negritos the most interesting point is that 411 171

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Fig. 20

Fig. 21

Fig. 22

Fig. 23

Fig. 20. Pig-arrow, Little Andaman
Fig. 21. Head of Jarawa pig-arrow
Fig. 22. Arrow with head of *Areca* wood, Great Andaman
Fig. 23. Harpoon, Great Andaman

[p. 440]

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all three branches of the Negrito race use arrows with detachable heads. Arrows of this kind from the Philippines are described by Meyer[1]. 441 171

An important point of difference would seem to be that while the Andamanese do not feather their arrows the Semang and the Negritos of the Philippines do so. It would seem, however, from the account of Semang arrows given by Skeat[2] that the feathering is such that it is of no actual service in directing the flight of the weapon, and that it is doubtful whether the Semang really understand the principle of feathering, or whether they do not employ it as the mutilated survival of more intelligent methods or perhaps make use of it for solely magical purposes.

Another important point of difference is that the Semang poison their arrows, while the Andamanese do not. In this connection it must be remembered that the former people have for long been neighbours of people who use blow-pipes with poisoned darts.

After the bow and arrow the most important hunting weapon of the Great Andaman is the harpoon which is used in capturing dugong, turtle, porpoise, and large fish. The harpoon consists of a head, a shaft and a line. The line is a length of rope of *Hibiscus* fibre of as much as twenty fathoms or more in length. The shaft is a bamboo of about 18 feet in length. One end is cut off fairly near a node and is then served over with thread, and slightly hollowed. The head consists of a long piece of iron, such as a stout nail, brought to a sharp point at one end. The other end is served over with thread in such a way as to make it fit fairly tightly into the end of the bamboo shaft. Some distance from the point of the head two barbs of iron are attached by thread, and between this point and the lower end the line is attached. (See Fig. 23.) 441

A man using the harpoon stands on the forward platform of the canoe, holding the bamboo shaft in his hand. The head is inserted in the upper end of this, and the line passes over his shoulder and is coiled in the bottom of the canoe, the other end being attached to the forward out-rigger boom or to the thwart that takes its place in a large canoe. He poles the canoe along the reef with the harpoon shaft. When about to make a throw he raises the shaft till he can hold the butt end in his right hand, with the point directed towards the fish or turtle, and he then leaps forward so that if he succeeds in his aim the weapon strikes with all the force of his weight behind it. When the turtle or fish is struck the bamboo shaft floats loose and this is secured 441 225

[1] Meyer, Plates VI and VIII.

[2] Skeat, p. 274.

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by the man in the water, who returns to the canoe. It may be necessary to strike the prey with a second harpoon, but if the first was well thrown the animal is firmly held by the line.

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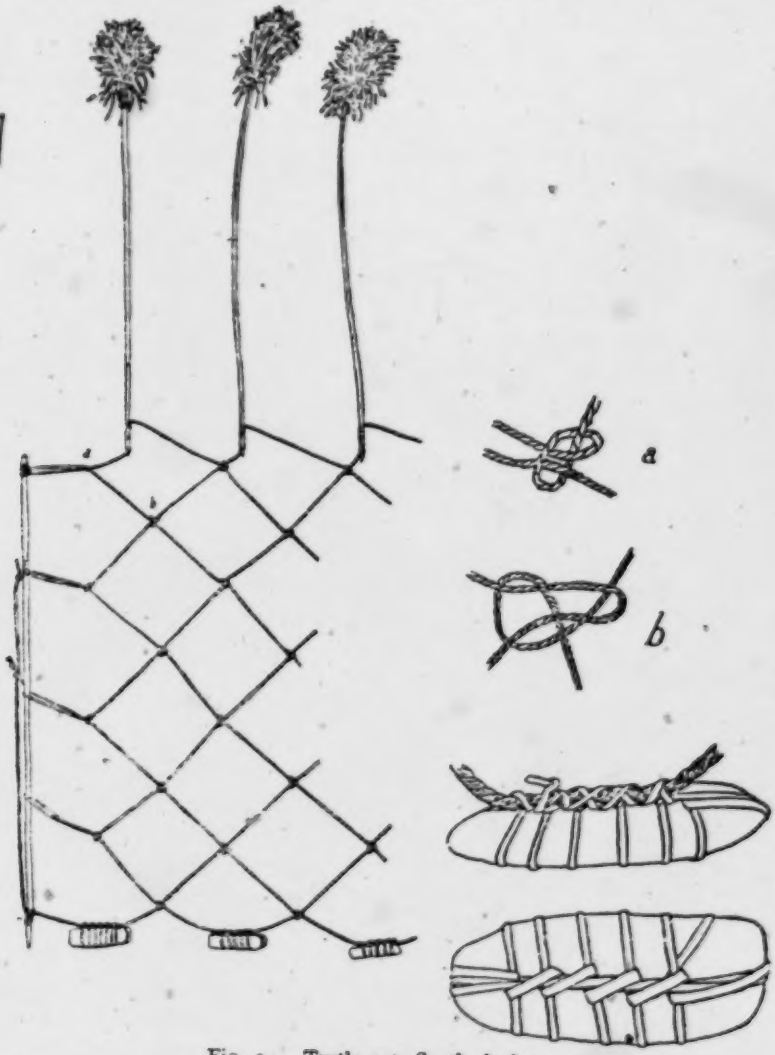

Fig. 24. Turtle net, South Andaman

Harpoons are not used in the Little Andaman. The natives of the Great Andaman say that they themselves have only used them since

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they were able to obtain iron and that before that time they could only capture turtle and dugong in nets. It would seem therefore that the harpoon has been invented or adopted by the tribes of the Great Andaman Division in comparatively recent times, and was not an element of the primitive Andamanese culture. 411 225

The turtle net is no longer used, as the natives prefer the harpoon and have all the iron they need. Such nets were formerly made of rope of *Hibiscus* fibre. A net was about 150 cm. in width and of variable length. One specimen that was made for me had an open mesh of about 25 cm. square, while another had a smaller mesh. The knot used in a net from the South Andaman is the ordinary fisherman's knot shown in Fig. 24 *b*. In a net from the North Andaman the knot used is a slip-knot, one strand being tied with an overhand knot over another which it crosses at right angles as shown in Fig. 25. 225 286 284

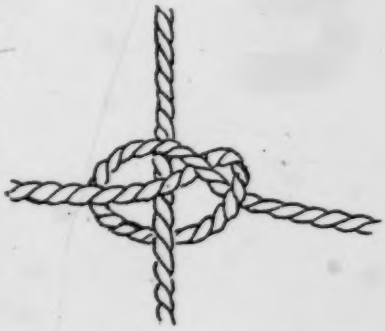

Fig. 25. Knot used in making the North Andaman turtle net

Each end of the turtle net is attached to a stake pointed at the lower end. The lower edge of the net is weighted with stones attached as shown in Fig. 24, while to the upper edge are attached a number of floats, each consisting of a long thin stick of *Hibiscus* wood to the upper end of which is attached a tassel of fibre.

The net was placed in shallow water so that the stones rested on the bottom while the tassels at the upper ends of the floats appeared above the surface. As soon as a turtle was entangled in the net the agitation could be observed by those watching who would proceed to the spot to secure their capture.

So far as is known it would seem that nets of this description are not used in the Little Andaman.

The Andamanese make practically no use of spears. At the present time the natives of the Great Andaman Division sometimes make pig-spears of a length of stout cane or rattan with a head of iron attached. The natives themselves say that such spears have only been made since the occupation of the islands, and it is probable that they were first made in imitation of spears used by Burmese convicts for pig-hunting. They are hardly ever used, the pig-arrow being preferred. 411

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441 The true fish-spear is unknown in the Andamans though use is sometimes made of a harpoon similar to the turtle harpoon, but of smaller dimensions and with a finer line, for harpooning fish.

227 In the North Andaman a sort of fish-gig was formerly in use made of about twelve pieces of *Areca* wood of about 105 to 110 cm. long and 1 cm. or less broad and with tapered and sharp-pointed ends. These were fastened side by side by means of a strip of wood near one end, as shown in Fig. 26. This weapon was used for spearing small fish in pools on the reef.

Fig. 26. North Andaman fish-gig

CUTTING IMPLEMENTS.

412 At the present time the Andamanese make use of iron for their cutting implements. It is uncertain when 177 they first learnt the use of iron, but it was certainly before the end of the eighteenth century. What iron they had was obtained from wrecks, of which there have always been a number on the Andamans. The metal has only become plentiful since the European settlement of 1858.

412 It is highly probaole that the Andamanese, though they may have learnt the use of iron from implements 325 used by visitors to their shores, have not learnt from any other people the method of working the metal. Even at the present day they do not make any use of heat in the manufacture of their iron implements, the metal being worked cold. It seems highly probable that they have simply adopted in connection with iron the methods they formerly used in dealing with other materials, particularly shells.

The materials used by the Andamanese, apart from iron, are wood, bone, shell and stone. We may begin by considering their use of stone.

412 In former times quartz flakes were used by the Andamanese for the two purposes of shaving and scarifying the skin, and for hardly any 324 other purpose. (Among minor uses of stone flakes may be mentioned those of cutting the finger-nails, and sharpening boars' tusks.) A quartz pebble is held in the left hand and is struck with a hard rounded pebble of any suitable kind. A flake is thus knocked off and falls into the palm of the left hand. The flake is examined, and if it be suitable it is

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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at once used. If it be unsuitable it is thrown away and another made. 412
For shaving, flakes with a sharp blade-like edge are required; for scarifying, flakes with a fine point are preferred. A flake is used till its fine 324
edge is lost and is then thrown away and another made. Thus a woman who is shaving some one's head may use as many as twenty flakes one after another, and to obtain twenty suitable flakes she probably makes as many as forty or even more. The kitchen-middens or heaps of refuse that are found on the sites of old encampments contain thousands of quartz pebbles that have been used as cores, and thousands of flakes.

Besides quartz there is a flinty kind of stone that is used in much the same way for making flakes. Suitable pieces of the stone are obtained and are placed in the fire for a few hours. They are taken out, and when they are cold are used in exactly the same way as a quartz pebble.

At the present time quartz is hardly ever used in this way, for the natives greatly prefer glass, and they obtain sufficient old bottles from Port Blair to satisfy their requirements. The bottom of a bottle is treated in every way as though it was a quartz pebble, a flake being knocked off and used, and then another and so on till the operation in hand (whether shaving or scarifying) is completed. The flake is held between the thumb and first finger when it is being used. In no case is a flake of quartz or glass ever kept. It is only made when required and after having been used is thrown away.

The natives themselves say that they formerly never made any use of stone for cutting purposes save in the case of stone flakes as described above. As against this there are three statements that must be considered. Colebrooke, who visited the islands in 1789, says of the Andamanese that "their canoes are hollowed out of the trunks of trees by means of fire and instruments of stone, having no iron in use amongst them, except such utensils as they have procured from the Europeans and sailors who have lately visited these islands; or from the wrecks of vessels formerly stranded on their coasts." The accuracy of Colebrooke's statement is made doubtful by the fact that at the present time (since 1858) the natives do not use fire in making their canoes, and it seems improbable that if they had this custom in 1789 they should have discontinued it and have entirely forgotten that it ever existed. Further if they used implements of stone in 1789 it is certainly strange that by 1858 they should have entirely forgotten that they ever did so. When Mr Man was making his enquiries

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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412 the oldest men all agreed in stating that they never used stone
324 for their adzes. We may conclude that Colebrooke's statement is untrustworthy.

Stoliczka records the finding in the South Andaman of a stone celt and a stone arrow-head in the kitchen-middens of the South Andaman. The chief reason for doubting the value of this find is that Stoliczka states that these implements were made of tertiary sandstone, which it is very hard to believe would be of any use whatever. We may therefore adopt the opinion of M. Lapicque[1] that Stoliczka had found fragments of a whet-stone of sandstone and had been mislead into thinking that he had found an axe and an arrow-head.

A third statement that needs to be considered is one by Mr Portman, who presented to the British Museum an arrow with a head of stone made specially for him by a native of the North Andaman who stated that in former times such arrow-heads were used by the Andamanese. At the present time the arrow-head is broken and it would seem to be so fragile as to be entirely worthless for the purpose to which it was supposed to be put. The natives of the North Andaman whom I questioned stated that they did not use stone for their arrow-heads, but shell. We may therefore hold that the evidence given by Mr Portman is not at all satisfactory.

In the Akar-Bale tribe I heard a legend that at a certain spot there is a kind of stone which was used by the ancestors for making adzes. I visited the spot and the stone was pointed out to me. Unfortunately the specimen that I took was lost and I am therefore unable to state what the stone was, but it was such that it would have been utterly impossible to make any sort of adze out of it. It was of a crystalline nature and was easily fractured by a blow against even a soft substance such as wood. It was clear that the native statements about it were merely a legend having no historical value.

We may justifiably conclude that it is probable that the statement of the natives to the effect that before they possessed iron in any quantity they made their adzes and arrow-heads out of shell and not out of stone, is correct. Their use of stone for cutting was therefore confined to the flakes which have been described.

412 The most important material to the Andamanese seems to have
321 been shell. Mollusc shells were used in the natural form or after having been manufactured. The chief shell used in its natural form is

[1] Lapicque, "Ethnographie des Iles Andaman," *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, 1894, p. 370.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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the *Cyrena* which serves at the present time as a knife, a scraper and a spoon. Even when they have knives of iron and steel they still use the *Cyrena* shell in preference for some purposes. It is used as a scraper in preparing fibres for rope and thread, in making arrows, as a knife for cutting thatching leaves and cane and even thread and rope, and for making incised patterns on bows and arrows. The shells are always to be found lying about their encampments, and a few are always carried with them when they migrate to a fresh camp. Those living inland obtain their supply of shells from their friends on the coast.

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When in use the shell is clasped between the thumb and first finger, the thumb passing over the convex side and the finger round the hinged edge. The remaining fingers are used to clasp the object that is being scraped or cut. In cutting, the motion is away from the body, being produced by a twist of the wrist. In scraping the motion is away from the body, or from left to right. A knife of iron or steel is held in this way by the natives whenever it is used for any purpose for which they formerly would have used a shell. The blade is clasped near the handle between the thumb and first finger, the back of the blade pressing against the root of the thumb, and the handle away from the body.

Another shell that is used in its natural form is a small whelk shell that is used as a scraper for scraping off the outer skin of mangrove seeds in preparing them for food.

A shell that is used in very nearly its natural form is a kind of pearl shell that grows along creeks through the mangrove swamps. The shell is only very slightly curved and it is for this reason that it is selected as suitable. The weak edge or lip of the valve is broken away, and the edge is then slightly ground on a stone. This implement is used by women for slicing yams and certain other vegetables such as some kinds of seeds when they are being prepared for food.

The natives say that before iron was plentiful they used shells for the heads of their pig-arrows. Several different species of shell seem to have been used, the chief concern being to obtain a piece of sufficient size that was as nearly flat as possible. Such shells are those belonging to the larger bivalves. The natives state that their method of working the shell was to break it roughly into shape with stones and then grind it down on a whet-stone until it was given a sufficiently sharp point and edge. Some arrow-heads of shell were made for me by this method at my request by one of the old men of the North Andaman.

The natives state that before they had iron they made their adzes of shell. Two different men of the North Andaman made two shell adzes

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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for me, one of *Pinna* shell, and the other of a shell that I omitted to identify. The *Pinna* shell adze seemed to me only suitable for light work such as finishing off a bow or a canoe, as it seemed likely to break under a strong blow. The other adze was much stronger and therefore capable of heavy work, and although the edge seemed to me to make it a poor implement with which to cut down a tree yet it certainly did not seem less suitable than the stone adzes used by many primitive peoples. If I were given a choice of implements with which to fell a tree, between the shell adze of the Andamanese and a stone axe of South-western Australia I should certainly choose the former.

According to the natives they formerly used bone for the points of their fish-arrows and for the barbs of their pig-arrows. For both of these purposes they now use iron. The bone was broken into a piece of suitable length and then ground down with a whet-stone. Apparently the bone most frequently used was the tibia of the pig. For their fish-arrows they also made use of the bone of the tail of the sting-ray,—its "sting." When the fish was caught the bone was knocked off and reserved for use. It required no treatment whatever, being simply bound on to the point of the fore-shaft in the same way that an iron point is now attached.

Colebrooke, in 1709, described their arrows as "headed with fish-bones or the tusks of wild hogs, sometimes merely with a sharp bit of wood hardened in the fire." By fish-bone he probably means the bone of the sting-ray. Where he writes the tusks of wild hogs we should probably read "the bones." A boar's tusk is curved, and it seems impossible to imagine how it could possibly be used as an arrow-head or arrow-point.

The boar's tusk is used by the Andamanese as an implement, however, making a very efficient sort of spokeshave. The edge which is used is kept sharp by scraping with a quartz or glass flake or with a *Cyrena* shell. The edge is near the point (at *a* in Fig. 27) and the tusk is clasped at the other end between the forefinger and the root of the thumb (at *b* in Fig. 27), the movement being away from the body. It is used for planing bows and paddles, and in the

Fig. 27. Boar's tusk, used as a spokeshave

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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412
hands of an Andaman Islander is a very efficient implement, producing 321
a beautifully smooth and even surface.

Of wood the Andamanese formerly made knives and arrow-points. 412
The knives were made of a slip of bamboo or cane shaped and 322
sharpened with a *Cyrena* shell. Such knives were used for cutting meat and apparently for no other purpose. A knife was always attached by a short length of cord to a skewer of pointed *Areca* wood. The double implement was used in cooking and eating, the skewer serving to lift pieces of meat in and out of a pot, while the knife served to cut them. At the present time the cane or bamboo knife is replaced by a knife made from hoop-iron, but the shape of the original implement is retained as nearly as possible and a skewer of *Areca* wood is generally attached to it.

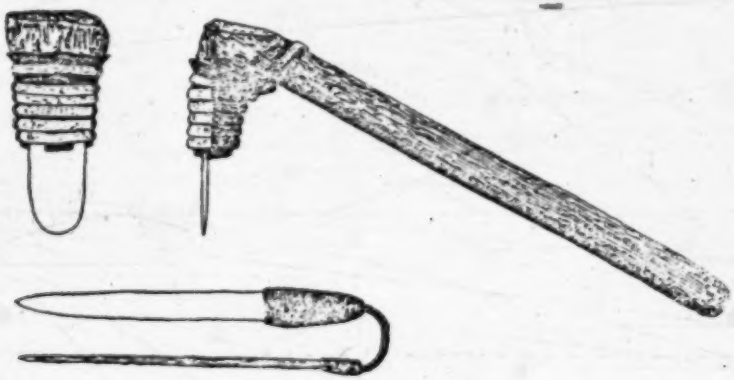

Fig. 28. Adze and knife

As has been already stated the Andamanese formerly used hard wood such as that of the *Areca* palm for the points and heads of their arrows. They do not seem to have made use of bamboo in this way.

At the present time iron is used for the blades of adzes, for the 411
heads and barbs of pig-arrows, the points of fish-arrows, the heads of 412
harpoons, and for knives. The method of working the metal is 325
apparently exactly the same as the method they formerly used for working shell and bone. For the head of a pig-arrow a suitable piece of iron is taken and a fragment of about the right size is broken off by means of a stone hammer. This is then roughly broken into the required shape, no heat being used, and no advantage being taken of the malleability of the metal. The next process is to grind it on a

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411 whet-stone. The natives are always eager to obtain files which enable
412 them to do this part of the work much more rapidly. When the arrow-
325 head has been ground into shape the edges are sharpened. Blades for adzes are made in exactly the same way from any suitable piece of iron or steel, such as a cutlass or an old file or a piece of thick hoop-iron. The adze-blade is attached to a handle of mangrove wood by the method shown in Fig. 28.

The barbs of pig-arrows and the points of fish-arrows are made in the same way by breaking the metal into a suitable shape and then grinding it on a whet-stone. It is probable that this was the method that was formerly used for dealing with bone for these purposes.

In the case of the knife, iron or steel is now substituted for cane or bamboo, but the knife has retained its shape in spite of the change of material. The shape of a knife, whether of cane or of iron, with its attached skewer of *Areca* wood is shown in Fig. 28.

In the case of the harpoon the native tradition is that this implement was only made after they had discovered the use of iron.

177 At the present time both the Semang and the Negritos of the
325 Philippines make use of iron. The Semang heat the iron until it is red-hot and then batter it into shape between two stones[1]. The shapes of the iron weapons and implements which they make follow fairly closely those made by the Malays.

In an attempt to reconstruct the primitive Negrito culture it would seem that the most reasonable hypothesis is that the primitive Negritos had no knowledge of iron and had not learnt to fashion implements out of stone, but relied entirely on such materials as wood, bone and shell. The Andamanese, becoming possessed of iron through wrecks upon their islands, applied to it the technique that they had developed for dealing with shell, and thereby invented their present method of working iron without heating it. The Semang and the Negritos of the Philippines probably first learnt the use of iron from their neighbours of other races. There is not at present any evidence to show that the Negritos ever had any method of working stone except the very simple one at present in use in the Andamans for making flakes.

STRING, ROPE, MATS, BASKETS, AND NETTING.

283 For string, rope and thread the Andaman Islanders make use of a number of different vegetable substances, but they make no use what-

[1] Skeat, p. 383.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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ever of any animal substances. Some of the more important fibres, with their uses and the methods of preparing them, are mentioned below. 283

The bark of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, which occurs in the beach vegetation in all parts of the islands, provides the Andamanese with one of their most important fibres. By the coast-dwellers of the Great and Little Andaman Divisions it is used for making rope. In the Great Andaman Division the rope made from it was formerly used for making turtle nets, and is now used for the lines of turtle harpoons, and for hawsers to attach a canoe either to a stone used as an anchor or to a tree. No other fibre is used for these purposes. The *Hibiscus* rope does not seem to be much affected by salt water. The forest-dwellers of the Great Andaman have less use for rope, and at the same time are not able to obtain so readily the *Hibiscus* fibre. What rope they do have is therefore obtained from the coast-dwellers or is made of some other fibre. In the Little Andaman the *Hibiscus* is regularly used for rope. It is also used for the short cord by which the detachable head of the pig-arrow is attached to the shaft. In the Great Andaman a strip of the bark of the *Hibiscus* is used for the sling in which children are carried. Strips of the bark are worn by the women of the Little Andaman across their shoulders and breasts, as a sort of ornament. 283 824

To obtain the fibre young straight shoots of about 120 cm. in length are cut from the tree, those free from gnarls, and having a smooth bark, being chosen. The bark (inner and outer layers) is peeled off in strips of from 1·5 to 3 cm. in width. The inner or liber layer is then separated from the outer layer of the bark, is well scraped with a *Cyrena* shell and dried in the sun or over a fire. When dry it is worked in the hands until the various layers of fibre separate one from another. It is then ready to be made into rope. The fibre is interlacing, and when freshly made is a lustrous greyish brown. After exposure to salt water it turns a dark brown.

Mr E. H. Man, in his work on the Andamans, speaks of the *Melochia velutina* as providing fibre for rope. This is an error. The tree to which Mr Man refers is the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*. It is extremely common on the shores of the islands, as it is in many other parts of the tropics. It is very easily identified, as it bears its characteristic yellow flowers for a long time every year. There is no doubt whatever that this is the tree from which the natives regularly obtain the fibre for the rope they use in turtle-hunting and fishing and in their canoes. Other writers, following Mr Man, have repeated his error in calling it

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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the *Melochia velutina*, for example Sir Richard Temple and Mr Portman. In Mr Portman's collection of photographs in the British Museum there is a good photograph of a *Hibiscus tiliaceus* tree labelled "*Melochia velutina*." I looked carefully in the Andaman jungles for the *Melochia velutina* but was unable to find it, and I am quite certain that in any case, even if it be found there, it is not commonly used by the natives for rope.

The bark of a number of other trees provides fibre of which the natives occasionally make use. Amongst these are one or more species of *Sterculia* (*S. villosa* ?), and a tree that I identified somewhat doubtfully as *Grewia laevigata*. The coarse fibre of the liber layer of these trees may be made into rope by the same method as that employed in dealing with *Hibiscus tiliaceus*. Very little actual use is made of them however. A fibre which looks very like that obtained from one species of *Sterculia* is frequently used by the natives of the Little Andaman (and also by the Jarawa) for their personal ornaments. Mr Portman says that this fibre is obtained from the *Celtis cinnamonea*.

A species of *Hibiscus*, which I believe is *Hibiscus scandens*, growing in the jungles and not along the shore, provides a fibre that is prized by the natives of the Great Andaman tribes for making string or fine rope. The fibre is less easily obtained than that of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, but owing to its quality (it is not so interlacing) is capable of being made into finer rope and string. It is often made into string and then used for making netted bags. I did not find this fibre in use in the Little Andaman, but as it is not very often met with even in the Great Andaman, it may possibly be used in the Little Andaman.

There are several species of *Ficus* in the Andaman forests, and the natives know that they can obtain fibre from the bark of these trees. The only one that is regularly made use of is the *Ficus laccifera*. The natives of the Great Andaman Division use the bark of this tree for making their personal ornaments. In the Little Andaman it is used for bow-strings. A fibre called in the Little Andaman *ulu*, and said by Mr Portman to be obtained from the *Ficus hispida*, is used in that island, and by the Jarawa, for making personal ornaments.

The *Gnetum edule*, a climbing plant that is fairly common, is used in all parts of the Andamans for thread and string. The creeper is cut into short lengths at the nodes and is dried for a few days. The outer layer of bark is then scraped off with a *Cyrena* shell, and the liber layer beneath it is peeled off in fine strips and these are made into thread or string. This string is used in the Great Andaman Division for making

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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netted bags and fishing nets. In the Little Andaman it is used for binding their arrows, as well as for netting. 824 283

The most valuable fibre of the Great Andaman tribes is that of the *Anadendron paniculatum*, which is used for string and thread and for bow-strings. Until recent times the method of preparing the fibre was not known to the natives of the Little Andaman, but they have now learnt it from the natives of the Great Andaman with whom they have been brought in contact, and the use of the fibre for string and thread is coming in amongst them.

The fibre is not easy to prepare. Long thin branches of the creeper are cut, which must be neither too young nor too old. To obtain these it is often necessary to climb up into high trees, for the *Anadendron* is a climbing plant. The creeper is cut into lengths of from 20 to 40 cm. The bark (inner and outer layers) is peeled off these in strips of from 7 to 10 mm. in width. A strip of the bark is taken and placed on the thigh, inner surface downwards, and is scraped with a *Cyrena* shell until the outer bark is entirely removed and the fibres remain clean and separate. These are dried in the sun or over a fire and, if not needed for immediate use, are stored for future occasion. The fibre is fine and of a light greyish brown colour. In its qualities it somewhat resembles ramie fibre. It is extremely strong.

There are a number of other trees and plants that are known by the natives to afford fibre, but they are not used, or if they are, it is extremely rarely.

The Andaman jungles have a number of different species of *Calamus*, and the canes or rattans of these are put to all sorts of uses, such as the making of baskets, the lashings and furnishings of canoes, and in building huts. In the Little Andaman one species of cane is used to provide the fibre for women's belts. The outer skin is removed and the remainder of the cane is divided into fine strips or threads. A bundle of these tied together constitutes the belt worn by the women of the Little Andaman. The outer sheath of the leaf-stem of the *Calamus tigrinus* is used by the natives of the Great Andaman Division for making mats. Lengths of the leaf-stem are cut and the outer skin is removed in strips of about 3 to 5 mm. in width. The still adhering pith is removed with a *Cyrena* shell, and the strips are dried in the sun and then made into mats. 824 285 [501] [291]

The leaf-stem of a species of palm is cut while green and is then shredded into long strips. The fibre thus obtained really consists of the leaflets of the young unopened leaves of the palm. It is used in the 824 291

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824 291 Little Andaman to make the tassel that women wear over the pudenda. The women of the North Andaman formerly wore a tassel of this fibre, but have now discontinued the custom, since their contact with the South Andaman. In the Great Andaman tribes this material has 824 important ceremonial uses. It is called *koro* in Aka-Jeru and *ara* in Aka-Bea, and has been frequently mentioned in this volume. A tassel of the fibre is suspended near the grave of a dead person and at the entrance of the village at which the death took place. In the North Andaman a suspended cane hung with a fringe of the fibre is erected for the peace-making ceremony. (See Plate XIX.)

Two plants that were not identified are used in the North Andaman for making baskets. The methods of preparing these will be described later.

824 291 The natives of the Great Andaman Division make use of the leaves of the *Pandanus Andamanensium* for making belts for women and ornaments that are worn on ceremonial occasions. These leaves do not seem to be used in the Little Andaman.

824 531 The pods of one or more species of *Dendrobium* are collected by the natives of both Great Andaman and Little Andaman. They are roasted in the fire, until the outer skin turns a bright yellow, and this is torn off in strips and used for ornamenting nets, baskets, rope, etc.

824 The above description includes all the more important vegetable substances used by the Andamanese for their rope, string, netting, and basket-work. There are many other substances that they might use if they wished, of the properties of which they are fully aware. Their knowledge of the trees and plants of the forests and of the peculiar properties of each is very extensive. They themselves say that they use only those that best serve their purposes.

283 The Andamanese make rope and string or thread, but in all cases it is only two-ply. Rope is made by men only, and is used for the lines of turtle harpoons, and was formerly used for turtle nets. The ropes made from *Hibiscus* fibre are very strong and durable, being quite as good as the best hempen ropes of the same diameter. In rope-making the *Hibiscus* or other fibre (*Sterculia* or *Grewia*) is taken and twisted into a long strand, either with the fingers, or on the thigh by rolling beneath the palm of the hand, short lengths of fibre being added until a single twisted strand of sufficient length and uniform thickness is produced. The middle of this strand is passed over a piece of wood held by the toes, one half of it being wound on to a reel (*kutobi* in Aka-Jeru) made by tying together crossways two pieces of cane or wood

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each about 20 cm. long and 6 mm. in diameter. The other half of the strand is loose, and is held (near the point where it is tied to the wood held in the toes) between the finger and thumb of the left hand, the rest of it passing across the palm, over the left forearm, under the armpit, across the back and over the right shoulder, hanging down loosely to the worker's right side. This arrangement is in order that the loose strand shall not become entangled or get in the man's way as he works. The reel is held in the right hand and is passed first under the left hand, then back again over it, the two strands being thus twisted into a firm two-ply cord. 283

The natives of the Little Andaman make rope in much the same way, but they pass the reel from right to left over the other strand and back under it, the twist being thus in the opposite direction from that used in the Great Andaman.

String or thread is made by both men and women. It is put to many uses, the chief being for binding the heads of arrows, harpoons and spears and the ends of bows, and in making nets, baskets, mats and personal ornaments. In making string the man or woman sits down with legs outstretched. Thin strands of fibre, varying in thickness according to the thickness of the string required, are taken and each twisted singly by being rolled between the palm of the right hand and the right thigh, the motion being away from the body. When a sufficient number of short single strands has been thus made, two of them are taken and placed together on the thigh, being held at one end in the left hand. The two strands are rolled together beneath the palm of the right hand, the motion being inwards towards the body. A well twisted thread is thus produced. When some 10 cm. or so have been thus twisted, the thread is rolled once beneath the palm of the hand in the opposite direction, i.e. away from the body, this action rendering it more compact. As soon as the end of the two strands that are being twisted is neared, two more are taken and joined on, first one and then the other, by being rolled in with the first two. Fresh strands are thus continually added as the string grows in length. String of any desired length is made in this way, of considerable strength and of surprisingly uniform thickness.

String is made in this way from the fibre of *Anadendron*, *Gnetum* and *Hibiscus scandens* in the Great Andaman Division, and from *Gnetum* and *ulu* fibre in the Little Andaman. In the Great Andaman string made from *Anadendron* fibre is rendered more durable by being waxed with black bee's-wax, but this treatment is not considered

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283 necessary for string made from *Gnetum* fibre or from *Hibiscus scandens*.

Ornamental rope is made for men's belts in the Great Andaman. *Hibiscus* fibre is twisted into a single strand. Around this strand strips of *Dendrobium* skin are wound spirally so that it is entirely covered, and the strand itself is twisted into a two-ply cord.

Two other forms of cord have been already mentioned, namely the bow-string, of twisted fibre of the *Ficus laccifera* in the Little Andaman, and of wrapped fibre of the *Anadendron* in the Great Andaman Division, and the special cord used in the Great Andaman for attaching the head of a pig-arrow to the shaft. The Andamanese make very little use of plaited cord. I have only met with it in personal ornaments made of *Pandanus* leaf in the Great Andaman.

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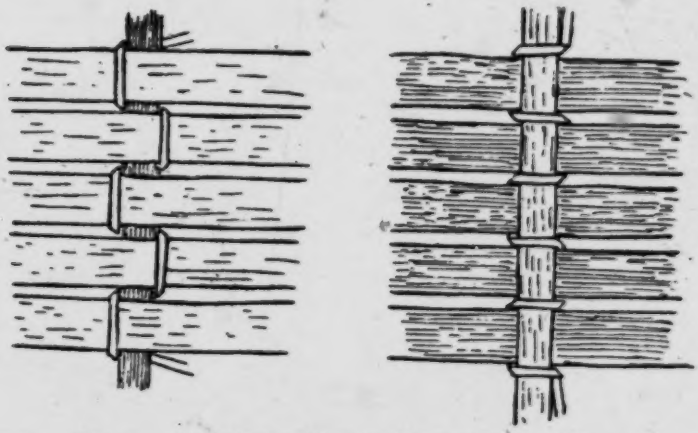

Fig. 29. Method of making bamboo mat, Little Andaman

The mat-work of the Andamanese is very simple. The natives of the Little Andaman make bamboo mats on which they sleep. Strips of bamboo of about 120 cm. in length and ·75 cm. in width are attached by means of thin strips of cane to other strips of bamboo at right angles to the first series. The technique is illustrated in Fig. 29 which shows the back and the front of a portion of such a mat. It is that usually known as wrapped-twined work.

A similar technique is used in both the Little Andaman and the Great Andaman in making thatching of cane-leaves. There is a difference, however, the wrapping used in making thatch being that shown diagrammatically in Fig. 30.

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The natives of the Great Andaman make sleeping mats from the outer sheath of the leaf-stem of the *Calamus tigrinus*. Lengths of the material are prepared and cleaned and are cut to a uniform length, generally about 60 to 80 cm., having a breadth of 3 to 5 mm. A length 285 [352]

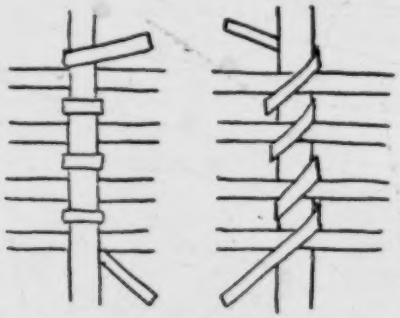

Fig. 30. Diagram showing the technique used in making mats of thatch

of thread, generally of the less valuable *Gnetum* fibre, but occasionally of *Anadendron* fibre, is made and is wound on to two netting needles, one half on each. With this thread the strips of cane-leaf are fastened together. The technique is different in the North Andaman and in the South Andaman.

In the North the technique, which is represented diagrammatically in Fig. 31, *A* is that known as wrapped-twined work. One of the two threads of which the work is composed is held taut, the needle on

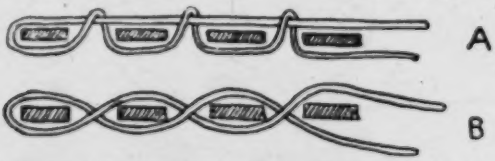

Fig. 31. Diagram showing the technique used in Great Andaman mats
A, North Andaman; *B*, South Andaman

which it is wound being held in the toes, and the other thread is wrapped spirally round it, one of the strips of cane-leaf sheath being enclosed at every turn. Thus the method is exactly the same as that adopted in making mats of thatch.

In the South the technique is that known as twined work or fitching. The two wefts (i.e. the threads) are twisted together in the same direction one under the other, enclosing at each half turn one of the strips of leaf-sheath. This is shown diagrammatically in Fig. 31, *B*.

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285 The mat is made by parallel lines of such twining or wrapped-twining. At each side of the mat the line of threading is quite close to the ends of the strips of which the mat is made. In the South Andaman the work on each side of the mat is different from that in the middle. Each of the two threads is alternately given a complete turn round one of the strips of material.

Mats may be of any length, and examples vary from 1 metre to 10 metres. When in use about a metre and a half is unrolled and the remainder serves as a pillow. If the mat be short a split log does service as a pillow instead, but the full-length mat is certainly a more comfortable bed. When a mat begins to wear or fall to pieces in some part it is not thrown away, but this part is kept rolled up, and an unbroken part of the mat is unrolled to sleep on, the remainder being kept rolled up either at the head, where it forms a pillow, or at the foot. An old mat may be continually increased in length by additions made to it. The work of making these mats is performed by women only.

The Jarawa and the natives of the Little Andaman make mats of a somewhat similar pattern, but I have not been able to secure one so as to see how it is made.

To explain the different forms of the Andamanese baskets, it is most convenient to begin by considering the way in which the natives of the North Andaman tie up their pots. The small cooking-pots of the North Andaman are fragile things and are not easily made, and it is therefore necessary to take care of them. A leaf of the *Licuala* palm is taken. The leaflets are plaited over one another, close to the point of their insertion in the petiole, so as to form a sort of rosette with leaflets radiating from it in every direction (Fig. 32 *a*). This is laid on the ground, the pot is placed on it upside down, and the leaflets are brought up all round the pot so as to meet at the point, and are there roughly fastened. Three strips of cane are then taken and are tied together crossways in the middle so as to form a sort of six-rayed star with six approximately equal angles. This is laid on the ground with the outer surface of the canes downwards, the pot is placed on it upside down, and the strips of cane are bent upwards over the pot so as to meet at the point. The ends of two opposite strips of cane are left projecting for a few centimetres above the point, and the ends of the other four are fastened firmly down. Another strip of cane is now fastened round the middle of the pot, being applied to the six canes previously mentioned by wrapping, i.e. a turn is taken with it round each of the six strips in turn. The pot is now safely tied up and can be hung in the hut or

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carried on a journey without much fear of its coming to grief. To use the pot it is of course necessary to untie it. A pot wrapped up in this way is shown in Fig. 32 *a* and *b*. 285

In the South Andaman the pots have rounded bottoms. They are not tied up in the same way as in the North Andaman, but for purposes of safety and carriage each pot is provided with a rude basket. The basket is made so as to fit the pot. Six strips of cane are taken and tied together in the middle, as previously described. A stout strip of

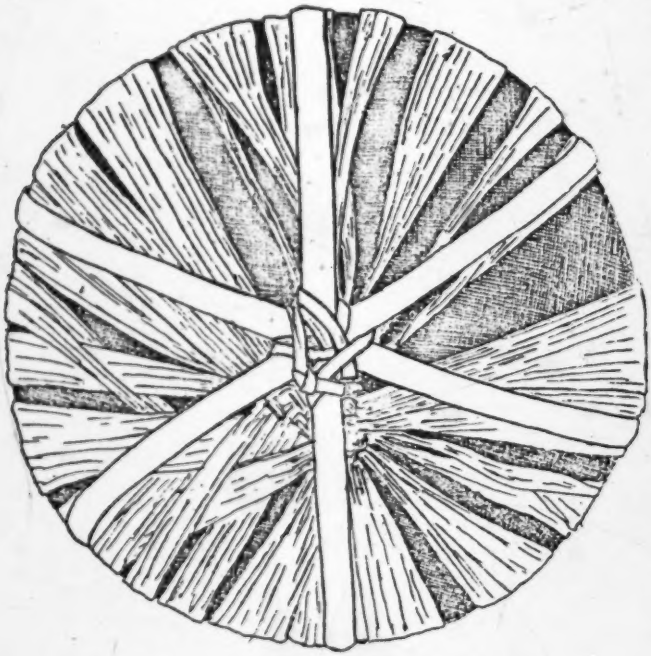

Fig. 32 *a*

cane is then taken and is bent round into a circle so as to be just a little larger than the outside rim of the pot. This, which is to form the rim of the basket, is placed in position and the six strips of cane before mentioned are bent round and attached to it. The manner of attaching the uprights of the basket to the rim is shown in Fig. 33. The strip of cane forming the upright is thinned down beyond the point where it reaches the rim. It is given one turn round the rim, ascending on the outside and descending inside, then a half turn round the standing part of itself, immediately below the rim from left to right, then another

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285 complete turn round the rim ascending inside and descending outside, a half turn behind its own standing part below the rim, a third complete turn round the rim, and the end is fastened with an overhand knot.

A thinner strip of cane is now taken and wound round the six uprights (the warp of the basket) being given a turn round one after

Fig. 32 *b*. Pot, tied up for carrying, North Andaman

another. The technique is that known as wrapped work. If the strip be not long enough another is joined to it with a reef or sailor's knot. The weft (as this thinner strip may be called) is given five or six spiral turns, and thus leaves a very open and rather weak basket. The basket is then further strengthened by other strips of cane attached by one end

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to the rim and carried downwards, with one turn round each of the horizontal canes (weft) and the other end attached to the centre of the bottom of the basket. A strip of cane or bark is attached to the rim by its two ends to provide a strap by which the basket with its pot may be carried on the back. Before the pot is placed in it the basket is lined with the leaflets of the *Licuala* palm. 285

We may now turn to the baskets of the Little Andaman, of which there are two varieties, one made with more care than the other. As regards shape both varieties are the same, and the shape is exactly that of the Little Andaman pots.

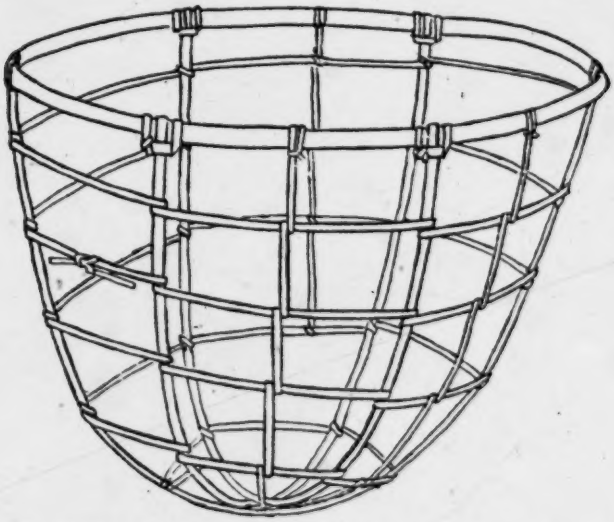

Fig. 33. Basket for carrying pot, South Andaman

The following is a description of a small but typical specimen of the better variety of Little Andaman basket. The foundation consists of twelve whole canes. A little under 80 cm. of the cane is left whole, and at each end it is thinned down to a strip. The twelve canes are taken in four bundles of three each and placed so as to cross each other in the middle. They are bent into a somewhat conical shape, and the ends (where the cane is thinned) are attached to a rim composed of a whole cane bent into a circle and tied. The method by which each of the uprights or stakes is attached to the rim is shown in Fig. 34. It is almost identical with that used in the South Andaman pot basket. The weaving is then begun near the bottom of the basket. A thin strip

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285 of the outside of a cane is taken, and is applied to the uprights (warp or stakes) by wrapped work, i.e. it is given a complete turn round each of them in turn. This wrapped weaving is continued spirally from near the bottom of the basket to near the rim. Near the top of the basket, between 4 and 5 cm. from the rim, the weaving is so arranged that for about three-quarters of the way round the basket there is a gap of about 1·5 cm. between two rows of weft (see Fig. 34). The purpose of this will be mentioned later. The basket now consists of a rim to which are attached twelve uprights forming the warp of the basket, around which a fine strip of cane has been spirally wrapped from the bottom to the top. Twelve fine strips of the outside of a

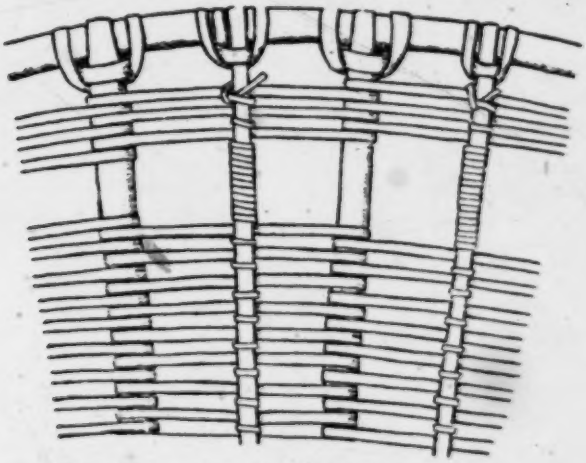

Fig. 34. Portion of basket of Little Andaman

cane are now taken. One end of each is fastened to the rim in between two of the stakes, the mode of fastening being shown in Fig. 34. The strip is then carried down the basket, on the outside, as far as the bottom row of weaving, round which it is doubled, and is then wound spirally, from the bottom to the top of the basket, around its own standing part, including at each spiral turn one of the wefts. Thus each of these twelve strips of cane is attached to the outside of the basket by the process known as wrapped-twined work. The basket is furnished with a handle of bark fibre which is attached by its two ends to the rim on that side where there is no gap between the rows of weft near the top.

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In the less carefully made baskets of the Little Andaman there are a few important differences. The stakes of the basket are not thin whole canes, but are strips of larger canes. The weft is applied in wrapped work, as in the basket already described, but the rows of weft are not so close together and are therefore not so numerous. After the first process, when the basket consists of stakes and horizontal (spiral) weft only, vertical strengthening strips are added, but these are applied, not in wrapped-twined work as in the basket described, but in wrapped work, in exactly the same way as in the South Andaman pot-basket. Thus, apart from its shape, which is that of the Little Andaman pot, the Little Andaman basket of this kind is very similar to the South Andaman pot-basket. 285

The natives of the Little Andaman make pots that are much larger and deeper than those of the South Andaman, and have a more rounded bottom than those of the North Andaman. For every pot a basket is made that exactly fits it, and in this basket it is stored and carried. Every basket that is made in the Little Andaman, whether it be used for carrying a pot or for any other purpose, is made of exactly the same shape.

The purpose of the gap that is left near the top of the basket as described above is in order that strips of string or fibre may be tied across the mouth of the basket, from side to side, in order to keep its contents safe.

We may now return to the Great Andaman and consider the baskets of the South Andaman Group of tribes. These are made from the best canes. From 80 to 120 fine strips of cane are taken which are to form the stakes or uprights. A slight hollow is made in the ground, and the strips of cane are placed crossways across one another in this hollow, the inner surfaces of the canes being downwards. As the strips are being arranged, and when the weaving is begun, the centre, i.e., the point where the strips cross one another in the middle of the hollow, is pressed firmly beneath the heel so as to maintain them in position. The first few strips are sometimes tied together in the middle, but this is not always done. When all the strips are arranged evenly the weaving of the basket is begun with a length of thread, which is slewed in and out between the strips of cane, beginning as near the centre as possible, the stroke being that of ordinary wicker-work. After four or five spiral turns have been taken with the thread it is fastened. The bottom of the basket is then reversed, the stakes being bent over, and the weaving proper is begun with a fine strip of cane.

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285 This is applied by wicker-work nearly as far as the top of the basket. At the top, the weaving is finished off with three or four spiral turns of wrapped-twined work in cane (see Fig. 35). The rim of the basket is formed of a thin piece of wood (circular in section) bent round into a circle of the right size and the two ends tied together. The stakes or uprights are attached to this rim (after the weaving is finished) but a space of about 5 cm. is left between the top of the weaving and

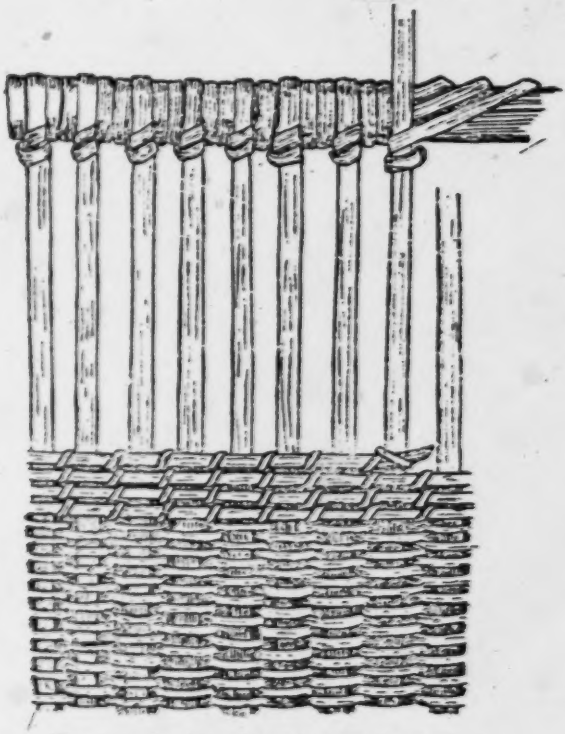

Fig. 35. Portion of basket of South Andaman

the rim. The mode of attaching the uprights to the rim is shown in Fig. 35.

The South Andaman basket is really a conical basket with the bottom reversed or dented inwards to form a "kick" like the kick of a bottle. If it were not for the kick it would be the same shape as the Little Andaman basket. The kick enables it to stand upright, although it is inclined to be top-heavy, but renders it unfit for carrying pots.

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The space between the top of the weaving and the rim is to admit of strings being tied across the mouth of the basket to keep its contents safe. 285

A handle of *Hibiscus* fibre is attached to the rim and rests across the front of the chest when the basket is carried on the back.

South Andaman baskets are sometimes ornamented, in the process of making, with strips of *Dendrobium* skin, applied horizontally by overlaid interlacing. The strip of *Dendrobium* skin is laid over the weft and woven in with it for one turn round the basket. I have never seen ornamentation with *Dendrobium* skin applied to the South Andaman baskets by any method save this one.

Patterns of red paint and white clay are occasionally painted on baskets when they are newly made. Shells are sometimes attached to different parts of the basket by thread, for the purpose of ornament. [531]

In the North Andaman, baskets are made that differ in several important features from those of the South Andaman. They are not made of cane but of two different materials. One of these is the stem of a creeper called *čup-ṭoi*. Lengths of the creeper are cut and dried and then split lengthways into two or three pieces according to their size. The outer bark or skin is then scraped off with a *Cyrena* shell. These strips are to form the stakes or warp of the basket. The other material is another creeper called *bobi*. The long tough tendrils of this plant are taken and the soft outer sheath removed by drawing the tendril through a piece of split cane or bamboo bent double so that the tendril is scraped between the two inner surfaces. The fibre that remains is split longitudinally into two pieces and dried.

A bundle of strips of the *čup-ṭoi* is taken, sufficient in length and number for the required size of basket. The bundle is divided into two equal bundles and these are tied together in the middle crossways with thread. This cross forms the beginning of the basket. The weaving is begun with thread, which is slewed in and out between the warp, from 4 to 7 spiral turns being made. During this process the centre of the basket, i.e., the cross, is pressed beneath the heel into a slight hollow made in the ground, to give it a curve which, in the finished basket, will form the "kick." The thread is tied, the bottom is turned upside down, the stakes are bent back and the weaving is continued, not with thread but with strips of *bobi*, till a short distance from the top of the basket, and then three or four rows of wrapped-twined work are made, the strip of *bobi* being coiled round the basket and attached to the uprights with thread. A rim is made of a strip of cane bent into a circle. This is placed inside the uprights and

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285 tied to them in two or three places. The remaining portion of each of the uprights, projecting above the rim, is bent down outside and slightly obliquely, and tied down by a thread passing over each in turn and round the rim. A very rough and untidy rim is thus produced, and this is again served or bound over with thread. A handle of *Hibiscus* fibre is added.

In the North Andaman baskets, as in those of the South Andaman, a space of a few centimetres is left between the top of the weaving and the rim, there being for that space only warp or uprights and no weft. This allows string to be tied in any direction across the mouth of the basket, so as to keep its contents safe.

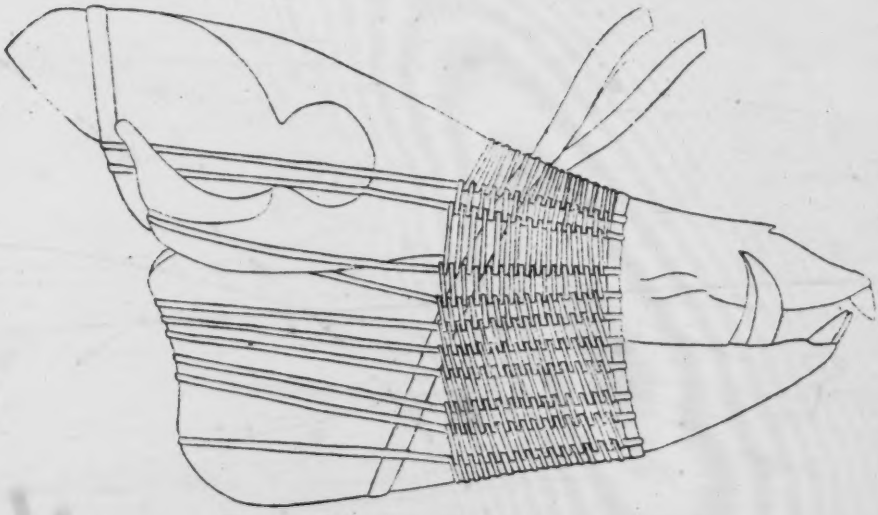

Fig. 36. Pig's skull with basket-work, Jarawa

The shape of the North Andaman baskets is different from that of the southern baskets, the former having a sort of belly at the bottom and narrowing somewhat above. The result is that the northern baskets will stand more firmly, being less top-heavy when either full or empty than those of the south.

In the North Andaman baskets are ornamented as they are made with worked-in strips of *Dendrobium* fibre. There are several different methods of working this ornamentation, resulting in different patterns. Baskets are also ornamented, when new, with painted patterns in white and red, though this is not general, and occasionally shells are attached to them by thread.

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One more form of basket-work remains to be briefly mentioned. 285
The natives of all parts of the islands were formerly in the habit of preserving as trophies the skulls of pigs and turtle that were killed in the chase. The natives of the Great Andaman Division do not now trouble to preserve all the skulls of the pigs they kill, and they give as their reason for this that now that they have dogs the hunting of pigs is not a sport that requires any great skill. The Jarawa however still keep up the old custom, and they go so far as carefully to encase every skull in basket-work. As may be seen from Fig. 36 the basket-work in question is of simple wrapped work, the material being strips of cane.

It is of some interest to consider the different forms of technique 283
used by the Andamanese in dealing with flexible materials. Rope and string are only made two-ply. It would seem that the Andamanese have not discovered that three-ply cord is stronger for a given diameter than two-ply. They have, in the bow-string of the Great Andaman, an interesting form of cord that may perhaps best be described as wrapped cord. The making of a rope involves the twisting of two strands of material around one another. The making of a wrapped cord involves the spiral wrapping of one strand of material round another. This is exactly the same process as "serving," and it is one that is used by the Andamanese in all sorts of ways. In serving their arrows with thread and in serving the ends of bows and the heads of harpoons the Andamanese have several different methods of making fast the ends, and I regret that I did not take more detailed notes on this subject. Their skill in handling this technique is shown in the strength of the binding on their arrows.

This spiral wrapping of one strand round a flexible or rigid object 285
lies at the base of much else in their technique. We have seen that they make considerable use of wrapped-twined work. In this work a strip of material crosses at right angles a number of strips of the same or other material, and a weft is wound round the former, taking in one of the latter at each turn. There are two methods of doing this, either by simple spiral wrapping, as in the mats of thatch, or by what may be called "right and left" or "zig-zag" wrapping, as in the bamboo mat of the Little Andaman. A difference is also made according as the strip of material around which the weft is wrapped is rigid, as in the Little Andaman bamboo mat or in thatching, or flexible, as in the North Andaman mat, where it is one thread while the weft is another thread.

Wrapped work, in which a strip of weft is wound successively round one after another of a number of rigid stakes, is another very simple

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AZ2 Andamans AZ2

285 process that is employed in a number of different ways by the Andamanese. The most important development of wrapped work amongst them is seen in the pot-basket of the South Andaman, in the baskets of the Jarawa and Little Andaman and in the pig's-skull basket-work of the Jarawa.

Simple twined work is rare in the Andamans. There is hardly any example of it except in the mats of the South Andaman. It would seem probable that the North Andaman mat technique of wrapped-twined work is the earlier, being more in agreement with what we may call the technical habits of the Andamanese, and that the South Andaman mat technique is a later elaboration. In this connection it may be remembered that plaiting, in which also several wefts are twisted one over another, is rarely used in the Andamans.

The process of nippering, by which the natives of the Great Andaman make the cord of their pig-arrows, and the somewhat similar process used in the Little Andaman in making personal ornaments, are quite in accordance with the general trend of the technique, but when such a process is applied to a number of parallel strips of material instead of to two only it constitutes a step towards wicker-work. It is notable, however, that it is only in the Great Andaman that wicker-work is used, and this suggests that it has only been invented or adopted since the separation of the two divisions of the Andamanese.

285 171 It is very tempting to regard the different forms of basket, in the order in which they are described above, as so many stages of a process of evolution. It is, at any rate, worth while to state the argument, and to show what the differences between them exactly are. In the North Andaman pot-covering we have (1) the technique simple wrapped work, and (2) the basis six strips of cane tied together in the middle. In the South Andaman pot-basket we have both these features, but the difference in the shape of the pots allows them to be carried in a true basket and we have therefore (3) a rim, with (4) a peculiar method of attaching the uprights to the rim, (5) a number of horizontal (wrapped) wefts instead of one or two, and (6) strengthening strips applied to the horizontal wefts in wrapped work. In the rougher kind of basket made in the Little Andaman we have nearly all the features of the South Andaman pot-basket. The only differences, apart from the shape of the basket, which in each case follows the shape of the pot, are (2) more than six uprights may be used, and (5) the number of horizontal wefts, i.e. the number of spiral turns taken round the basket, is as a rule greater. In the more carefully made Little Andaman basket there are

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several differences. The uprights are fine whole canes instead of strips of split cane. It is undoubtedly more difficult to procure whole canes of the proper size than simply to split up larger canes, but where the technique is wrapped work the circular section of the uprights improves the quality of the resulting basket, as a strip of cane is more easily wound round a whole cane than round a split cane, and there is less chance of it breaking when a strain is put upon it. Another difference is that in the better Little Andaman baskets the rows of weft are as close together as the peculiar technique will allow. This makes a finer and stronger basket, and is an obvious improvement. The third difference is that in these baskets the strengthening strips are applied not in wrapped work, but in wrapped-twined work, which, however, we have seen is a common technique in the Andamans. In the better baskets of the Little Andaman we find a special feature of some interest in the gap that is left in the weaving near the rim, to allow of strings being tied across the mouth.

When we look at the South Andaman basket the first thing that strikes us is that it is really a conical basket of much the same shape as the Little Andaman basket, but with the bottom dented in to make a kick, so allowing the basket to stand on its bottom. This denting is only rendered possible, however, by the fact that the uprights of the South Andaman basket are thin strips of cane that can be easily bent, and this again depends on the use of wicker-work in the basket instead of wrapped work. It must be remembered that the top of the weaving is finished off with three rows of wrapped-twined work, and this suggests that there may possibly have been a stage of development between the Little Andaman basket and the South Andaman form, in which the uprights were thin strips of cane, and the weft was applied in wrapped-twined work from top to bottom. This, however, is only a surmise. It does certainly seem probable that the South Andaman basket is derived immediately from a form of basket similar to that of the Little Andaman, the great difference being the change to wicker-work technique. The method of attaching the uprights to the rim was doubtless introduced owing to the fact that the original method is unsatisfactory when the uprights are thin and easily broken strips, instead of stout ones.

The North Andaman basket seems to have been derived from one similar to that of the South Andaman by the introduction of two changes, (1) the use of different materials, and (2) the change of shape. The materials used in the north are such as to give a basket on the whole stronger and more durable than that of the south. If a heavy

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weight be carried in a southern basket the pressure of the basket on the back tends to crack the canes of which it is composed. In the case of a northern basket it may lose its shape, but the materials of which it is composed will give or bend without cracking so readily. The shape of the northern basket is certainly an improvement, as it avoids the top-heaviness of the southern shape. Both the northern and the southern baskets have a gap between the top of the weaving and the rim, like the basket of the Little Andaman.

Thus every step, or nearly every step, in a hypothetical process of evolution is exhibited in the different forms of basket-work. First we have the pot-covering of the North Andaman, then the pot-basket of the South Andaman, then the rougher kind of Little Andaman basket, of the same shape as the pot, then the South Andaman basket of cane with a kick and finally the basket of the North Andaman. The better kind of Little Andaman basket is simply an independent improvement of the other, involving no new technique.

However much or little probability we may attach to this hypothetical reconstruction of the history of basket-work in the Andamans, one thing does seem fairly certain, and that is that the original ancestors of the Andamanese were not acquainted with wicker-work, or had no use for it. In the Little Andaman Division only wrapped work and wrapped-twined work are used, and the wicker-work of the Great Andaman Division has almost certainly been adopted since the two divisions were separated. The consideration of the general technical bias of the Andamanese in their dealings with flexible materials supports the view that in their case wicker-work is later than wrapped work and wrapped-twined work. It seems more than likely that the Andamanese of the larger island have invented wicker-work in its simplest form on the basis of a previous technique of wrapped and wrapped-twined work. To us wicker-work seems such a simple process as almost to need no inventing. It must be recognized however that the general bias of the Andamanese is against using materials in this way. The Andaman Islander shows a decided preference for those processes in which he uses a single flexible material which he winds or wraps round other rigid or flexible material, as in nippering, or wrapped work or wrapped-twined work.

It is impossible to obtain confirmation of this view, however, from a comparison of the Andamanese with the Semang and the Philippine Negritos. The Semang make mat-work bags and wallets of check, and they make (or use) baskets of hexagonal work. Both check and

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hexagonal work are used by other races in the Malay Peninsula and in Malaysia generally. The present mats and baskets of the Semang cannot therefore be regarded as original Negrito productions. They have almost certainly been adopted through contact with other cultures. 285 171

The same thing would seem to apply to the present basket-work of the Philippine Negritos, of which however we know very little.

Netted bags of string are made by the women of both the Great Andaman and the Little Andaman Divisions, and are used for carrying or storing small objects such as shells, fruit, roots, etc. The string used for these is made from the fibre of the *Gnetum edule* in the Little 286

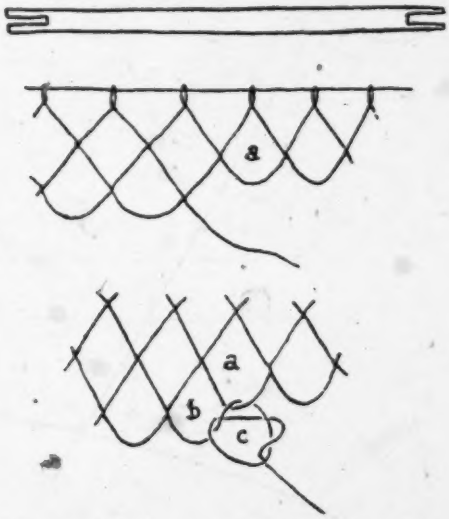

Fig. 37. Diagram showing netting needle, and method of netting

Andaman, and is generally made from the same fibre in the Great Andaman, but in the latter division the fibre of *Hibiscus scandens* is prized for this purpose and is used instead of that of the *Gnetum* when it is available. Small hand fishing nets are made by the women in both divisions from thread of *Gnetum* fibre. In the Great Andaman Division netting is also used for personal ornaments, the thread used for this purpose being generally made from *Anadendron* fibre.

The mode of netting is always the same. Netting needles are used, made from slips of bamboo or cane, and varying in size according to the work for which they are intended. The netting string or thread is wound on to this needle. For the foundation of the net a short

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286 length of string is taken and the two ends tied together, the loop thus formed being placed over the big toe as the woman sits on the ground.

284 The knot used in netting is that known as the fisherman's knot, in use all over the world. The needle is held in the right hand,
286 is passed from above downwards through the loop marked *a* in the figure, and is drawn through far enough to leave a new loop *b* of the required size. This loop is held between the thumb and forefinger of the left hand, the uniformity in mesh being apparently obtained largely by the sense of touch. The needle is then passed through the new loop *b* again from above and is drawn out leaving a loop *c*, through which the needle is passed once more, forming the finished knot, which is then drawn taut.

286 When netting is made for personal apparel it is generally ornamented with strips of *Dendrobium* skin worked in with the thread in the course of the netting. Netting for personal ornaments consists of a sort of bag open at both ends. Each end is tied with a string passed through the ultimate loops, and this string serves to tie the band of net round the waist or neck or wrist or knee.

286 Fishing nets are attached to a handle. The handles of the Little Andaman Division and those of the Great Andaman Division are
227 different in shape. The Great Andaman net with its hoop can be folded up compactly for carriage, while that of the Little Andaman cannot.

The nets of rope formerly used in the Great Andaman for catching turtle have been already described.

Domestic Implements and Utensils.

372 The Andamanese are perhaps the only people in the world who have no method of their own of making fire. At the present time they
177 obtain matches from the Settlement of Port Blair, and a few of them have learnt, either from Burmese or from Nicobarese, a method of making fire by the friction of pieces of split bamboo. Formerly, however, they had no knowledge of any method by which fire could be produced. Fires were and still are carefully kept alive in the village, and are carefully carried when travelling. Every hunting party carries its fire with it. The natives are very skilful in selecting wood that will smoulder for a long time without going out and without breaking into flame.

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The most interesting of the Andamanese domestic utensils is undoubtedly the cooking-pot. Pots are made in all parts of the Andamans where suitable clay is to be found. The clay is obtained and is freed as far as possible from stones and gritty matter with the hands. It is then moistened with water and kneaded on a board consisting of a portion of a broken canoe. It is worked very stiff and after kneading is rolled beneath the palm of the hand into long thin rolls. These are built up into a pot by coiling, the requisite degree of thickness being obtained by pressure of the thumb and first finger. When the pot has been built up to the required size and shape, the surface, inside and out, is moistened and is scraped over in all directions with an *Arca* shell. The pot is dried in the sun for a few hours and is then baked by placing inside and around it pieces of burning wood. The pot often cracks in the baking, and another has to be made. 415 323

Fig. 38. Shape of North Andaman pot; actual diameter 17 cm.

In the North Andaman the pots are made with pointed bottoms, and are generally small, the largest having a capacity of only six or seven pints. They are made by women only. In the South Andaman the pots have rounded bottoms and, on the average, are larger and thicker than those of the North Andaman. They are made by both men and women, the best being made by men. In the Little Andaman the pots are larger, and, particularly, deeper than those of the South Andaman, and have somewhat pointed bottoms. The pots of the Jarawa are similar to those of the Little Andaman.

In the North Andaman pots are not ornamented, but in the South Andaman they are decorated with usually simple patterns of dots and lines made with a small pointed stick. The Little Andaman pots that I have seen were not decorated. [531]

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AZ2 Andamans AZ2

415 The pots are used for cooking, i.e. for boiling meat and vegetables. In the North Andaman small pots are specially made for melting the composition used for covering the binding on the heads of arrows.

415 171 Neither the Semang nor the Philippine Negritos make any kind of pottery. The origin of Andamanese pottery therefore is a problem of some interest. It is almost certain that the early Andamanese were acquainted with pottery before they were divided into the Great Andaman and Little Andaman Divisions. One of the very few words which is the same in all Andamanese languages is the word for pot, *buču* in the Little Andaman, *buǰ* in Aka-Bea and *peč* in Aka-Jeru. The most reasonable hypothesis would therefore seem to be that the Andamanese learnt the method of making pottery by coiling before they reached the Andaman Islands but after they had become separated

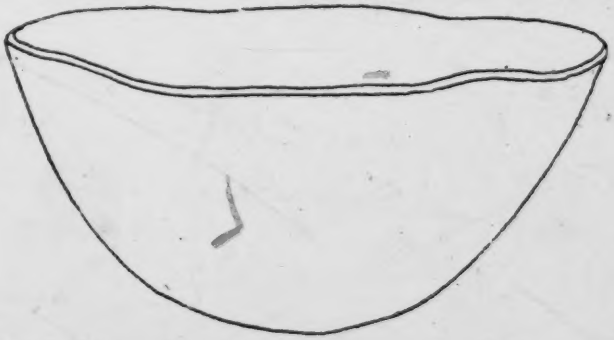

Fig. 39. Shape of South Andaman pot; actual diameter 24 cm.

from that part of the Negrito race from which the Semang and the Philippine Negritos are descended. Of course it is possible that the art of pottery may have been an original possession of the Negritos and that the Semang and Philippine Negritos may have lost it. A people could easily lose the art if they were compelled in the course of their migrations to spend three or four generations in a region that lacked clay suitable for the purpose.

415 [322] The Andamanese make buckets of wood, which they use for carrying and holding a supply of water. A solid piece is cut from the trunk of a soft-wooded tree and is hollowed out with a chisel made by attaching the blade of an adze to a stick. The natural form of the wood is retained, only the bark being removed from the outside while the inside is chiselled out to leave sides of about a centimetre thick and a bottom of somewhat greater thickness. In order to render the bottom

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of the bucket water-tight the natives of the Little Andaman pour over it on the inside melted bees'-wax. The natives of the Great Andaman use for this purpose the same composition with which they cover the bindings of their arrows, which certainly is superior to bees'-wax. 415

A bucket of the shape used in the Great Andaman is shown in Plate VII, on the left. A strip of cane is attached round the middle of the bucket, and to this in turn is attached another strip of cane which, being passed across the front of the chest, enables the bucket to be carried on the back.

The buckets of the Little Andaman are cut with thinner sides than those of the Great Andaman. A strip of cane is fastened round the bucket near the top. From this two other strips of cane are attached by both ends, passing under the bottom, and a third strip is attached which passes over the head and supports the bucket when it is carried on the back. In the Little Andaman the outside of the bucket is charred with fire.

Occasionally pieces of the giant bamboo, which does not grow in the Andamans, are found on the shore, having drifted from the Burma coast. When a sound piece is found it is made into buckets each formed of a single joint.

Water vessels are made from bamboos that do grow in the islands. A length of bamboo of good diameter is cut, containing three joints. The partition of the lowest node is preserved to serve as a bottom, and the other partitions are broken through with an arrow. This is the usual vessel used for carrying water on a journey by land or in a canoe, and for keeping a supply of drinking water in the hut.

A single joint of the same kind of bamboo is used as a cooking vessel. It is cleaned, washed, and dried, and is then filled with meat tightly packed. The top is closed with leaves and the bamboo is placed on the fire until the meat is cooked. Meat is not cooked in this way for immediate consumption. It will keep for twenty-four hours or even longer if not opened. To obtain the contents the bamboo is split open with an adze.

Trays used for food are cut from soft wood of a species of *Sterculia* with an adze. They are shallow and somewhat long and narrow, with pointed ends. [322]

A large *Pinna* shell is occasionally used as a tray or dish for holding food, or for mixing clay with water for painting. A *Nautilus* shell forms a fairly convenient cup or drinking vessel and is frequently used for that purpose, as well as for baling out water from a canoe.

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AZ2 Andamans AZ2

412 Bamboo tongs are made by bending double a piece split from a bamboo, and cutting the ends to the required shape. They are used for lifting from the fire anything too hot to be taken in the hand and are chiefly of service in cooking.

Digging sticks are made from various kinds of wood, being simply pointed at one or both ends. These sticks are not as a rule preserved, but made as required with an adze and thrown away after use. They are used for digging up edible roots.

222 227 Hooks for picking fruit, such as the *Artocarpus*, are made by attaching a small piece of wood to the end of a bamboo. Hooks for catching crabs are made from the wood of the *Rhizophora* by taking advantage of the natural form where a small branch joins a larger one.

352 824 The fan-shaped leaf of a *Licuala* palm is made use of in many ways. The edges of the leaflets are sewn together with fine strips of cane, and the sewn leaf is then used either as a sunshade or umbrella for protection from sunshine or rain, as a sleeping mat if the proper article be lacking, as a screen to make the roof or sides of a hut more wind or rain proof, as a wrapper for making objects of all sorts into bundles, and as a winding sheet for a corpse.

373 Torches are made from resin, which is broken into small pieces and wrapped up in leaves of a species of *Crinum* (? *lorifolium*), a few pieces of smouldering charcoal being added before it is tied up. The torch is then parcelled by marling with a strip of cane or a length of some tough creeper. These resin torches are used in turtle-hunting and fishing expeditions on dark nights.

Other torches are made of fragments of rotten *Dipterocarpus* wood. They are used only in the village.

PERSONAL ORNAMENT; GREAT ANDAMAN.

291 At the present time the natives of the Great Andaman Division obtain from the Settlement of Port Blair cloth which both men and women wear round the loins. They also obtain beads from which they make necklaces.

The following is a list of the various personal ornaments made by the natives of the Great Andaman Division, and worn by them.

Rope girdle. Every man wears some sort of girdle round his waist, and this was formerly the only object that was constantly worn by men. The girdle may consist of a length of rope of *Hibiscus* fibre or a length of ornamental cord made by wrapping the yellow skin of

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the *Dendrobium* over two strands of *Hibiscus* fibre and then twisting these into a two-ply cord. 291

Necklaces and garters of string. Both men and women are often to be seen with a simple piece of string, usually of *Anadendron* fibre, tied round the neck or around the leg just below the knee. 301

Ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf. Every married woman always wears a belt of *Pandanus* leaf which she is never without for even a moment. When the belt she is wearing needs renewing she puts the new one on before taking the other off. To make such a belt two leaves of the *Pandanus Andamanensium* are taken and cut to a sufficient length (about 20 cm.). The thorns at the edge of the leaf are removed by cutting off a strip of about 3 mm. wide from the edge, leaving a strip of leaf about 4 cm. broad. The two leaves are placed one on the other and are wound spirally round in three turns so as to give a belt of six thicknesses of leaf, the upper surface of the leaf being on the outside of the belt. The leaves are secured together by tying with thread at the back where the two ends just overlap. At the point where the leaves are tied one or two bundles of strips of *Pandanus* leaf are attached with thread. The bundle is made of a number of strips of leaf about 90 cm. long and 2·5 cm. broad which are chewed in the mouth to make them soft and then placed together and served over with thread for about 12 cm. in the middle. Belts of this kind are generally worn by married women, but precisely similar belts are worn by men on certain ceremonial occasions. They are called *toto t'er-bua* in Aka-Jeru. 291

A very similar belt is made in exactly the same way save that the tassel of leaves at the back consists of narrow strips of *Pandanus* leaf instead of broad strips. This kind of belt is worn by women only. Examples may be seen in Plate IV (the lower belt of the two) and in Plate XVIII. It is called *toto t'er-nyarab* in Aka-Jeru.

A belt is made in much the same way out of *Pandanus* leaves split in half down the midrib, giving strips of about 2·5 cm. broad. Such belts have only a scanty tassel of thin strips of leaf at the back. They are worn by girls and women only. They are called *kudu* in Aka-Jeru.

Yet another variety of belt is made of whole leaves in exactly the same way as the *toto t'er-bua* but has no tassel at the back. An example may be seen in Plate IV (the upper belt). It is worn by women.

Girdles are made of strips of *Pandanus* leaf of about 1·25 cm. broad without any tassel, but with strings of *Dentalium* shell attached at various points. A girdle of this kind is shown in Plate XV.

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291 Girdles are also made by cutting a number of strips of leaf and softening them by chewing them in the mouth. These strips are laid together and either served over or marled with thread so as to make a girdle of round section. A tassel of leaves similar to that of the *toto t'er-bua* is attached to the back, and very frequently strings of *Dentalium* shell are attached at various points. Such a girdle may be worn by either men or women. It is called *toto t'er-ŋau* in Aka-Jeru.

Yet another kind of girdle is made by splitting *Pandanus* leaves into thin strips and making them into a kind of wrapped cord, one strip being wrapped spirally round one or more others by the same technique as that used in making bow-strings. A number of coils of strands made in this way are tied together with thread at various points and a tassel similar to that of the *toto t'er-bua* is added at the back. Such girdles are usually improved by the addition of a few pendent strings of *Dentalium* shell. They may be worn by either men or women. Their name in Aka-Jeru is *toto t'er-mọi*.

301 Ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf to be worn either round the leg just below the knee or round the wrist are made in exactly the same way as the belt called *toto t'er-bua*, each having a tassel of *Pandanus* leaf strips attached. Such garters and bracelets are worn at a dance by men.

Other ornaments for wearing round the wrist or knee when dancing are made by the same method as the girdle called *toto t'er-ŋau*, each having a tassel of strips of leaf.

Similar dancing ornaments are made by plaiting strips of leaf into a three-plait cord of the right length, a tassel of loose leaf strips being left at each end. These are tied round the wrist or knee.

Ornaments for the knee or wrist, such as those shown on the legs of the man in Plate XII, are made by winding spirally a narrow strip of leaf and sewing it. A number of pendent strings of *Dentalium* shell are attached round it, and often strings are attached at the end of which small shells hang suspended which rattle against one another as the wearer walks or dances.

Chaplets or headdresses worn by men when dancing, and occasionally by women, are made of fairly broad strips of leaf in the same way as the *toto t'er-bua*. Such a chaplet may have a tassel of narrow strips of *Pandanus* leaf at the back to which are attached shells that rattle as the wearer moves, or it may have pendent strings of *Dentalium* shells round the hinder half of its circumference.

In making ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf such as the *toto t'er-bua* the upper surface of the strip of leaf is usually ornamented with a design

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scratched on it with a pointed piece of wood. The design usually covers not only the portion of leaf that is visible when the belt or other object is finished, but also that portion which is not visible, being underneath. Many ornaments of this kind are further decorated when finished with the composition used for covering the bindings of arrows, which is applied with a pointed stick in simple geometrical patterns. The woman shown in Plate x is wearing two belts that have been ornamented with composition in this way. 301

Woman's leaf apron. In the South Andaman the women wear a sort of small apron consisting of a number of leaves of the *Mimusops littoralis* laid one over the other, the stalk ends of the leaves being tucked in between the layers of a belt of *Pandanus* leaf. The leaves thus hang suspended so as to cover, somewhat inadequately, the pudenda. The natives say that the leaves of the *Mimusops* are chosen because they remain green longer than those of any other species. As soon as the leaves fade and turn yellow they are renewed. The appearance of the leaf apron may be seen in Plates IV and XV. 291

The women of the North Andaman have within recent years adopted the fashion of those of the South Andaman in this matter, but formerly they made a similar use of a different kind of leaf from a plant called *čainyo* in Aka-Jeru, and over the top of the leaves they wore a tassel of the fibre called *koro*.

Ornaments of netting and *Dentalium* shells. Bands of netting (in shape of a cylinder or bag open at both ends) are made of suitable size to tie round the waist, the neck, the leg below the knee or the wrist. Such netting is generally ornamented as it is being made with strips of *Dendrobium* skin worked in the net. Along the lower edge of the band of netting are attached a number of threads each having *Dentalium* shells strung on to it like beads. Ornaments of this kind are shown in Plates V and IX. They are worn by both men and women, but usually only on the occasion of a dance or some other ceremony. 301

Ornaments of bone, etc. These are made with human bones, with the bones of such animals as pig, turtle, dugong, *Paradoxurus*, monitor lizard, or with pieces of wood or cane, or of coral, of suitable shape. A length of cord, of the fibre of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus* or of the *Ficus laccifera*, is taken, and the bones are attached to it by thread. As a rule, strips of *Dendrobium* skin are worked in, being laid on the bone and bound over with the thread.

Ornaments of shell. Various kinds of shells are perforated and attached to string and are worn round the neck, the head, the knee, or

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301 the wrist. A necklace of fresh-water shells (*ino kọlo tọi* in Aka-Jeru) is shown in Plate IX. A necklace of small sea-shells is shown in Plate XIII. The favourite shell of the Great Andaman tribes is the *Dentalium octogonum*. The shells are collected from the shore by the women. The closed end of each is bitten off with the teeth and the shells, which thus form cylindrical beads, are strung on to a piece of thread. These strings of shell are worn as necklaces, as shown in Plates IV and XII, and are tied round the wrist and knee and ankle as shown in Plate IV.

Ornaments of seed. The seed-tops of two or three species of mangrove are collected and strung on to thread and worn round the neck. Fig. 40 shows the two kinds of mangrove seed commonly used in this way.

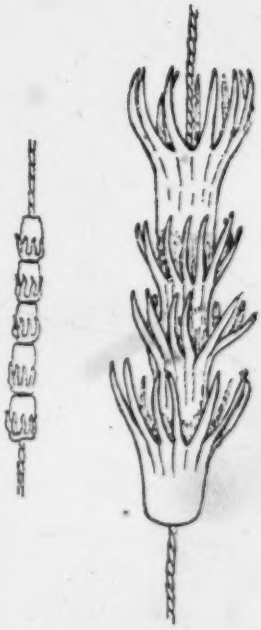

Fig. 40. Necklaces of mangrove seed-tops, Great Andaman

Bamboo necklaces. A necklace is sometimes made of a number of short pieces of bamboo arrow-shaft threaded on to a string. The pieces of bamboo are ornamented with simple designs scratched or cut on them with a shell.

Sling of bark. Another object that may perhaps be mentioned amongst objects of personal ornament is the sling used in carrying children. It is made of a broad strip of the bark of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*. Some slings are covered entirely with netting, while others are ornamented with shells in various ways. Plate XIV shows one with strings of *Dentalium* shell sewn on to it.

Dancing ornaments of *Tetranthera* wood. A piece of *Tetranthera* wood, usually part of the shaft of an old pig-arrow, about 30 to 35 cm. long, is taken and made into shavings with a *Cyrena* shell. The wood is shaved carefully round and round, so as to make a continuous sheet of fibre, as though unwinding a roll of material. A bundle of these shavings is tied at one end and covered with red paint, and forms an object that is carried in the hand or worn in the belt at dances.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PERSONAL ORNAMENT; LITTLE ANDAMAN.

The personal ornaments of the Little Andaman and of the Jarawa are different from those of the Great Andaman Division, and therefore need to be described separately. 301 291

Ornaments of bark. Strips of bark (? *Celtis cinnamonea*) are worn by the men round the waist and round the arm.

Ornamental cord. These are the ornaments most frequently met with both in the Little Andaman and amongst the Jarawa. The basis is a strip of cane, varying in breadth in different examples. On one side of this are laid strips of the yellow skin of the *Dendrobium*, varying in number according to the breadth of the cane, and the whole is served over or bound with thread. The technique in shown in Fig. 41, which represents diagrammatically the method adopted when there are two strips of *Dendrobium* skin. Such ornamental cord is made in pieces of considerable length. Often tassels of thread (of *Ficus hispida* fibre) are attached to it at intervals. The cord is worn wound round the waist, the neck, or the arm. Both men and women wear it.

Woman's girdle. In the Little Andaman this is made of a number of fine strips of cane tied together with thread. At the front is attached

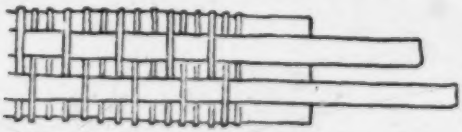

Fig. 41. Diagram showing method of making ornamental cord, Little Andaman

a tassel of fibre made from young unopened palm-leaves (the fibre called *koro* in Aka-Jeru).

Woman's shoulder strap. The women of the Little Andaman wear a strip of bark over the shoulders, crossing over the chest and passing beneath the breasts.

The above brief description of the ornaments of the Andamanese is perhaps sufficient for the purpose of this appendix, which is to determine as far as possible the elements of a primitive Negrito culture. 301 171 Any complete account of the subject would need a large number of figures and a discussion of many comparatively unimportant details. The first point of importance to be noted is that the personal ornaments of the Little Andaman Division differ markedly from those of the Great Andaman Division. One difference is that the *Pandanus* leaf, which is used so much and in so many ways in the Great Andaman,

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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seems not to be used at all in the Little Andaman. Another is that shells, which are much used in the Great Andaman, are used to a far less extent in the Little Andaman. The natives of the Little Andaman told me that they sometimes make ornaments of *Dentalium* shell, but I did not see any such ornament, nor any other ornament of shell, in use. The ornaments of netting worn in the Great Andaman, and forming the usual dancing costume, seem not to be used in the Little Andaman. Finally, perhaps most important of all, there is at present no evidence that the natives of the Little Andaman make ornaments of either human or animal bones. In the Little Andaman the lower jaw of a child is preserved by the parents and is worn by them, but I never saw a human skull (whether of child or adult) so worn, and I was not able to obtain any evidence of the use of strings of human bones such as are constantly seen in a camp of the Great Andaman.

The points of similarity between the ornaments of the Little Andaman and those of the Great Andaman are very few. One of the most striking is the great use that is made in both divisions of the yellow skin of the *Dendrobium*. It seems probable that here we have evidence of one element of a primitive Negrito culture, for the Negritos of the Philippines also are fond of using a yellow vegetable fibre for their personal ornaments. So far as it is possible to judge from the figure and description, the armlet given by Meyer in Plate III, No. 11, seems to be very similar to the ornamental cord of the Little Andaman. It is described as a "mit schwarz und gelben Grasstreifchen umflocktener Bambus-reif."

Another point of resemblance between the Great Andaman and the Little Andaman is that in both very little use is made of feathers or flowers. The natives of the Great Andaman never make use of the feathers of birds. The Jarawa occasionally wear in a chaplet a feather of the king-crow (*Dicrurus macrocercus*) if we may judge from a specimen in the British Museum. The natives of the Little Andaman certainly do not as a rule make any use of feathers. It would seem, from all accounts, that the Semang and the Philippine Negritos do not make any considerable use of feathers for personal ornament. We may perhaps hazard the conclusion that this is a mark of the Negrito culture distinguishing them from such people as the Papuans or Australians in whose personal ornaments the feathers of birds occupy an important place.

In the Great Andaman flowers are not used as personal ornaments. In the British Museum there is an ornament from the Little Andaman consisting of a strip of bark-fibre with a few flowers attached.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

As regards personal ornament, therefore, the only elements of a primitive Negrito culture that we seem to be able to trace in the Andamans at the present day are (1) the use of yellow vegetable fibre, and (2) the absence of any considerable use of feathers. 301 171

One element of a primitive Andamanese culture, though not necessarily of a primitive Negrito culture, would seem to be the use of a tassel of the fibre obtained from an unopened palm-leaf which is used by women to cover their genitals in the Little Andaman, and was similarly used until recently in the North Andaman.

Hair-dressing, Scarification, and Body-painting.

At the present time the usual method of hair-dressing in the Great Andaman is to shave a portion of the scalp all round so as to leave a sort of skull-cap of hair, as may be seen in many of the plates of this volume. In some cases a "parting" is made by shaving a narrow strip over the crown. (See Plate xv, for example.) When the hair grows so long as to be uncomfortable the whole head is shaved, and it is then permitted to grow again. In these days the natives cut their hair whenever they have an opportunity of obtaining a pair of scissors. In the Little Andaman women and old men are frequently to be seen with the head entirely shaved. The younger men shave away the lower edge of the hair all round in the same way as the natives of the Great Andaman, but this may be a recent practice. 302

The fashion of hair-dressing, at any rate for women, has changed within recent times, for Mr Man wrote in 1882 that "the majority of the women every week or ten days shave their heads almost entirely, leaving only two narrow parallel lines of hair, termed *gur*, from the crown to the nape of the neck[1]." At the present time this style of hair-dressing has fallen entirely into disuse, and the women do their hair in the same way as the men.

The operation of shaving, which is done with a flake of glass or quartz, is performed by women, and never, or very rarely, by men.

Mention has been made in an earlier part of the work of the way in which the natives of the Great Andaman scarify the skin of the body and limbs with a flake of glass or quartz. The Semang do not scarify themselves in this way, but some, at any rate, of the Negritos of the Philippines do. 304 171

The natives of the Great Andaman, as described earlier in this work, paint their bodies with a grey clay called *odu* or *og*, with a fine 302

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 77.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

302 white clay, and with red paint made by mixing burnt oxide of iron with fat or oil. The natives of the Little Andaman use the same kind of clay as that called *ōdu* or *ōg* in the Great Andaman, but instead of applying it in patterns they smear it roughly on the back and front of the trunk. They also use red paint, with which they smear their hair, a practice never met with in the Great Andaman.

ORNAMENTATION.

302 531 The Andamanese have simple designs which they paint or incise

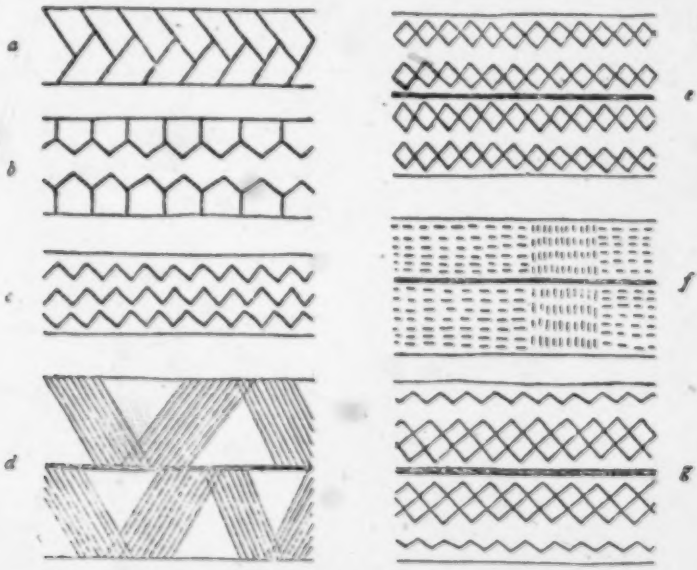

Fig. 42. Designs incised or painted on belts of *Pandanus* leaf, Great Andaman

on their bodies and on a great number of the objects that they make and use. A few typical designs such as are incised or painted on belts of *Pandanus* leaf are shown in Fig. 42. A very large number of designs are based on the zig-zag line. Examples are shown in Fig. 42 *c*, *e*, and *g*. In all parts of the Great Andaman and also in the Little Andaman the zig-zag line is associated with snakes. Thus in the Little Andaman the simple zig-zag line is called *dobo kwolage* (*dobo* = snake). In the North Andaman the design of zig-zag lines painted on the body with white clay is called *or-čubi t'era-bat*, *or-čubi* being the name of a species of large snake.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

A number of other common designs consist of parallel lines of dots or of short strokes, an example of which is shown in Fig. 42 *f*. 302 531

By far the greater number of the Andamanese designs are based on the following elements, (1) parallel lines crossing a surface from side to side at right angles to the edge or else in a sloping direction (about 45°), (2) parallel lines of dots or of short lines, i.e. parallel broken lines, as in Fig. 42 *f*, (3) zig-zag lines, which may be single, or parallel or opposed so as to make lines of lozenges. As an example of the way in which these elements may be combined two designs copied from bamboo necklaces are shown in Fig. 43.

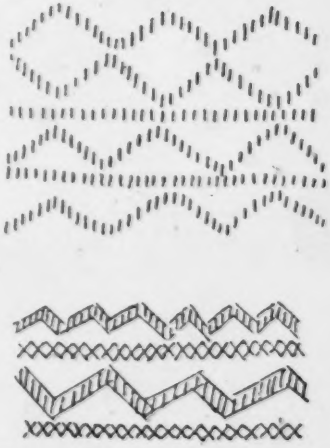

Fig. 43. Designs on bamboo necklace from the North Andaman

It would perhaps be possible to show that there is a real connection between the ornamentation of the Andamanese and that of the Semang, as there is certainly a considerable degree of superficial resemblance, but at present we understand so little the psychological processes underlying the use of ornament amongst primitive peoples that the subject is one of considerable difficulty. [177]

Canoes.

Canoes are in regular use on the coast in all parts of the islands. There are three types of canoe. (1) The Little Andaman canoe, with one outrigger, propelled with paddles or with a pole. (2) The Great Andaman small canoe, with one outrigger, propelled with paddles or with a pole. (3) The Great Andaman large canoe, without outrigger, propelled with oars. 501

The third kind of canoe mentioned above is a recent innovation. The natives themselves say that such canoes have only been made in recent times, since they have been able to obtain a plentiful supply of iron tools, and so have been able to cut down and hollow out large trunks[1]. They seem to have been invented by the natives of the South Andaman, and copied by those of the Middle and North Andaman.

[1] Man, *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* XII, p. 367, note 4.

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501 Canoes of this type are propelled by rowing with short oars, except in shallow water where they are poled. This method of propulsion (rowing as opposed to paddling) was adopted in imitation of the boats with which they have become familiar since the European occupation.

For the small canoe of the Great Andaman five or six species of soft-wooded trees are used, of which three are species of *Sterculia*. A suitable tree is selected near the shore or a creek, and is felled. Care is taken to make it fall in a particular direction. Thus, if the trunk is curved, the convex side of the curve will have to be the bottom of the canoe, and the tree should fall so that this side lies on the ground. Trees are very rarely regular and before beginning the work of cutting the natives have to decide how it should be cut so as to give the best result, i.e., the greatest stability.

396 501 After the tree is felled the trunk is cut to the requisite length. The inside of the canoe is first roughly hollowed out with the adze, no use being made of fire. The bark is then removed from the outside of the trunk and the two ends are shaped. Finally, the inside is carefully finished with the adze so as to reduce the sides and bottom to the requisite thickness.

Except at the stem and stern, the canoe retains the shape of the tree, only the bark being removed, and the sides and bottom being formed of the alburnum or sap-wood. At the stern a small platform is cut projecting over the water, which serves as a seat for the steersman. At the prow a larger platform is cut, on which the harpooner stands when he is harpooning turtle or fish. Below these two platforms the ends are not cut away squarely but are rounded from side to side. The prow of the canoe is in every case the lower and therefore broader end of the trunk. It is only in this way that a sufficiently large platform can be provided for the harpooner.

The trees used for canoes have a pithy core and there is therefore a small patch in both the prow and the stern which would admit the [237] water. In former times these two places were caulked with bees'-wax. At the present time the natives often nail a piece of tin (part of an old kerosene tin, for example), with some rags beneath it, on the outside of the canoe at these two places.

When the hull of the canoe is finished it is moved to the shore or to the bank of a creek and the outrigger is attached. The float is a straight spar of light wood. In the North Andaman the wood of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus* is often used, but Mr Man says that in the South Andaman the float is always made from a species of *Sterculia* (*mai* in

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Aka-Bea)[1]. The ends of the float are only roughly shaped. The broader end of the float is forward.

The float is attached to a number of booms, of which there are never less than three in the smallest canoes, while there may be as many as eight or nine in a large canoe. A medium-sized canoe has five or six booms. The boom is a thin straight piece of tough wood, of which one end is sharpened and thrust right through two holes cut in the gunwales of the canoe opposite to one another, the sharpened end projecting for a few inches on the port side of the canoe. The boom thus projects about three feet on the starboard side on the level of the gunwale.

Where the boom passes through the gunwales of the canoe it is bound with cane, and the cane is bound round the whole of that part of the boom that is within the canoe between the two gunwales. (See

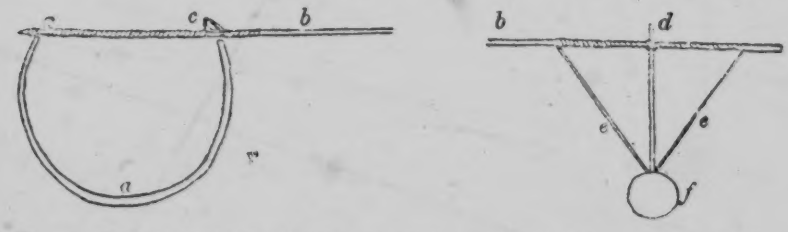

Fig. 44. Transverse section of canoe and outrigger. *a*, hull; *b*, boom; *c*, cane binding over boom; *d*, stick attaching boom to float; *e*, stays of cane; *f*, float

Fig. 44.) This portion of the boom forms a seat for the man paddling the canoe, so that he sits on a level with the gunwale with his feet on the floor of the canoe.

The boom is attached to the float by means of sticks of tough wood. These sticks, having pointed ends, are driven into the float, one perpendicular, and the other two at an angle on each side. The tops of the three sticks are fastened to the boom a few inches from its end by means of a strip of cane. The arrangement of the three sticks is shown in Fig. 45.

The strip of cane with which the sticks are bound to the boom is wound spirally round the boom itself for a few inches and is then carried down round the float and back to the boom again on the other side. The three sticks provide an efficient resistance against a longitudinal thrust (i.e., a thrust in the same direction as the line of the

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 397.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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501 canoe). The strip of cane passing from the boom round the float and
396 back to the boom again provides a resistance against any lateral thrust on the float. The three sticks, being driven in when the wood of the float is dry, do not readily work loose, as the water in which it is constantly immersed keeps the wood swollen. The cane binding, including the stays on each side, may work loose, but can readily be tightened or renewed. Each of the booms is attached to the float in exactly the same way, and the whole arrangement is very efficient in keeping the float rigidly attached to the hull in such a position that it rests on the surface of the water when the hull itself rides freely balanced.

501 Canoes of this type vary in dimensions within wide limits. A small canoe with only three booms, which would carry three persons, measured 4·85 metres in length over all with a beam of about 35 centimetres. A large canoe may measure as much as 9 metres with a proportionate beam.

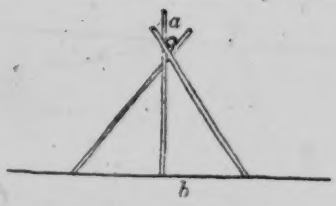

Fig. 45. Showing manner in which the boom (*a*) is connected with the float (*b*).

A well-made canoe will often balance well enough as it stands, but it is sometimes necessary to balance it with ballast of stones or pieces of coral. In any case the canoe is easily overturned in a rough sea unless the occupants can maintain the balance with their bodies. As the canoe is made of light wood it cannot sink even when full of water, and the natives easily right an overturned canoe, bale it out, and get in again, even in a rough sea.

The furniture of a canoe consists of the ballast (of stone), a piece of stone (or sometimes a piece of tin) on which to keep a small fire smouldering, an anchor consisting of a lump of coral or stone attached to a length of rope, a *Nautilus* shell or two for baling out the canoe, a bamboo pole of about 18 feet in length for poling the canoe in shallow water, and paddles.

In the platform overhanging the prow a few holes are cut. These holes are sometimes used to attach the rope by which the canoe is fastened to an anchor. One or more turtle skulls are often attached so as to hang down beneath the platform. In turtle-hunting expeditions on dark nights a torch is slung beneath the forward platform so as to shed its light on the water while the harpooner remains in shadow.

501 When a canoe is finished it is decorated with designs painted on it
531 with red paint and white clay, particularly on the forward platform and

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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along the gunwale. These designs soon wear off when the canoe is in use and are not renewed.

The paddles used by the Andamanese vary considerably in size and to some extent in shape, but the following description with its accompanying figure gives a fair idea of a typical specimen. The whole paddle has a length of 123·5 centimetres, the shaft being 85 centimetres and the blade 38·5 centimetres. The diameter of the shaft from the blade to the middle is 2·6 centimetres, and from the middle towards the handle end it tapers to a point. The shaft is circular in section throughout its length. The blade is leaf-shaped, pointed bluntly at the apex. In section it is plano-convex, with a maximum thickness of 1·3 centimetres and a width of 8·7 centimetres. Paddles are cut with an adze from the wood of the *Myristica longifolia* and planed with a boar's tusk. They are often ornamented, when new, with painted designs in red and white.

Fig. 46. Paddle

In deep water the canoe is paddled. Each of the occupants sits facing forward. The steersman sits on the stern platform. The others sit on the seats provided by the outrigger booms. Each man paddles on which side he chooses. It rests with the steersman to maintain the canoe in its proper course. In shallow water the canoe is propelled with a pole. A man stands on the forward platform and poles the canoe, steering as he does so. In a fairly large canoe a man at the stern may also take a pole and, standing up, help to propel the canoe.

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All the work connected with the making of canoes and paddles is done by men alone, except the painting, which is usually done by women. It is the men also who make most use of canoes.

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The large canoe, that is now made by all the tribes of the Great Andaman Division, is simply a canoe of the same general shape as the Great Andaman outrigger canoe, cut from a larger tree and without the outrigger. The shape of the hull, with its platforms fore and aft, is exactly the same. It seems that when the natives obtained a plentiful supply of iron tools (after 1858) they began to cut down and hollow out larger trees than formerly. Having made these larger canoes they found that they would, when well cut and ballasted with stone, float quite well without an outrigger. (It may be mentioned that the hull of a small canoe is always tested on the water before the outrigger is attached.) Indeed a well cut canoe of large size floats and balances

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1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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501 better in a rough sea than a smaller one with an outrigger. It is possible that at first these large canoes were propelled with paddles just as the outrigger canoes are, the paddlers facing forward. Having learnt to understand the principle of the oar, through their contact with the Penal Settlement, the natives applied this principle to their own canoes. It could not, of course, be applied to the small canoes, as the shape of the canoe and the position of the paddler make the use of an oar impossible. It could be applied very easily, however, to the new large canoes. In these the oarsman does not sit on a level with the gunwale, but sits down in the hull itself on a piece of wood resting on the two sides of the hull a few inches above the floor. The gunwale of the canoe is thus about on a level with the bottom of his sternum. A number of holes are made in the gunwale on each side, and by means of these, loops of cane are attached to the gunwale. The oar, which is shaped in imitation of European oars, but with a short shaft, is thrust through the loop of cane, which serves as a fulcrum or rowlock. The rowers face aft. A man at the stern steers with a paddle. In shallow water the large canoes are propelled with poles in exactly the same way as the smaller canoes.

In the bow, at about the position that would be occupied by the foremost boom in an outrigger canoe, holes are made in the gunwale on each side and a piece of wood is thrust through them as a sort of thwart. This is to provide a means of making fast the end of the harpoon line or the anchor line, and thus serves a purpose that is served by the foremost boom in the outrigger canoe.

225 The large canoes are not quite so useful in turtle-hunting as the smaller outrigger variety, as they cannot be so quickly turned when the pursued turtle doubles. Very often a large canoe and a small canoe are taken together on an expedition, the harpooning being mostly done from the smaller one while the captured turtles are placed in the larger one. A small canoe with three or four men cannot hold more than one or at most two big turtles, whereas as many as ten or a dozen can be stowed in one of the large canoes.

501 505 The chief use of the large canoes is to make journeys from place to place. One of the largest will hold as many as thirty men and women with their baggage, whereas an outrigger canoe would never carry more than nine or ten. Further, there is less chance of an even heavily laden big canoe capsizing in a rough sea than of an outrigger canoe doing so. One result of the introduction of the large canoe has therefore been to enable the natives to move much

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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more freely about the islands than formerly. The passage from the South Andaman to Ritchie's Archipelago, for instance, would only be attempted in an outrigger canoe on a very calm day, whereas in a large canoe it can be successfully accomplished even when there is something of a sea running. 501 505

The small canoe of the Little Andaman is fairly similar to that of the Great Andaman. There are three differences. (1) The stem and stern are squarely cut in the Little Andaman, instead of being rounded off. (2) The outrigger booms are attached to the top of the gunwale by cane binding which passes through holes made in the gunwales, instead of being themselves passed through holes in the gunwale. (3) The float is attached to the booms in a different and less efficient manner. Three pointed hard-wood sticks are driven into the float, but they are all three approximately perpendicular. They are bound at the top to the boom, but there are no stays of cane to maintain the float rigid against a lateral thrust. In other respects the Little Andaman canoe is the same as the Great Andaman canoe. 501

The Jarawa of the South Andaman do not at the present time make use of canoes. This is apparently because, through their hostility with the Aka-Bea, they have been confined to the interior of the island. They make rafts of bamboos lashed together for crossing creeks and inlets. The forest-dwellers of the Great Andaman Division seem also to have made occasional use of similar rafts for the same purpose.

A canoe of the North Sentinel was seen by Mr Gilbert Rogers during a visit to that island in 1903[1]. It had been hollowed out of a tree and was about 15 feet long. The ends of the canoe were cut off perpendicularly to its length leaving a piece of the tree about one inch thick projecting for about three inches beyond either end to form a small but rickety seat. The log from which the canoe was cut was curved so that the ends were slightly higher than the middle. It had a float supported by six booms passing through holes cut in the sides of the canoe. These booms were fastened to smaller pieces of stick fixed into the sides of the canoe beneath them. The outrigger was attached to each boom by two small pointed sticks driven into the float and tied to the boom above with cane. There was one small paddle, a *Nautilus* shell for a baler, and five poles resting on the outrigger booms. These point to the canoe being poled along in the lagoon, which is quite shallow, rather than to its being used for long journeys or outside the reefs which surround the island. The

[1] Supplement to the *Andaman and Nicobar Gazette*, January 2, 1904.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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501 canoe was 18 inches in diameter at the smaller end and perhaps 30 inches wide at the larger end.

This description shows that the canoe of the North Sentinel is on the whole more like that of the Little Andaman than like that of the Great Andaman.

501 171 It seems probable that the Andaman Islands were peopled by sea from the coast of Burma. If this were so, then the original ancestors of the Andamanese must have been in possession of canoes. A consideration of the present Andaman canoes suggests that their ancestors had canoes with a single outrigger on the starboard side, with a number of booms. Of the different methods of attaching the booms to the float, it is possible that the method now in use in the Little Andaman (and apparently also in the North Sentinel) is primitive, and that the Great Andaman attachment is an improvement that has been invented since the separation of the two divisions. On the other hand it is not impossible that the Great Andaman attachment is primitive, and that in the Little Andaman we have a degeneration that might be due to the fact that the Little Andaman (and equally the North Sentinel) provides much less scope for maritime pursuits than the Great Andaman.

The recent invention of the large canoe in the Great Andaman and the adoption of the principle of the oar shows that the Andamanese readily adopt new inventions when these are clearly of service to them.

Turning now to the Semang, as these people live inland they have no use for canoes. They make rafts of bamboos lashed together with which they float down the rivers, returning overland.

Some of the Philippine Negritos seem to live on the coast and possibly have canoes, but nothing is known about these.

CONCLUSION.

171 174 The examination of the technical culture of the Andamanese given above has been sufficient to enable us to make a few statements as to what was probably the culture of the Negritos before they were split up into isolated groups. It is highly probable that they obtained their subsistence solely by hunting and collecting vegetable products. They had bows and arrows, the form of bow being probably fairly similar to that used at the present day in the Little Andaman, while for hunting ~~the larger~~ animals they had arrows with detachable heads. They possibly had no knowledge of any way of making implements of stone,

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908) 1922
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but made use only of such materials as wood, bone, and shell. It is not probable that they possessed the art of making pottery, and their basketry and mat-work were probably confined to very simple forms. In their personal ornaments there is reason to think that they showed a fondness for bright yellow vegetable fibre, and made little or no use of the feathers of birds. The ornamentation of their utensils was probably confined to the use of the simplest forms of geometric design with a preponderance of the zig-zag and the lozenge. Finally their huts consisted of a single sloping roof sufficient to afford shelter for a single family or larger huts consisting of such small huts joined together.

We have seen that since the Andamanese have occupied their present home, or at any rate since the Great Andaman Division and the Little Andaman Division have been separated from one another, many changes, some of considerable importance, have taken place in the Andaman technology. In general it would seem that the technical culture of the Great Andaman has changed more than that of the Little Andaman. Putting aside the effect on the technology of the introduction of iron, there is no evidence that any of the changes that have taken place in the Great Andaman have been due to outside influence. Important modifications have taken place in the form of the bow, in the forms and technique of baskets, and in personal ornaments, and in all these instances there is no reason to think that these changes have not been brought about by the natives themselves without the influence of contact with other people. Their method of working iron, based as it is, to all appearance, on their former method of working shell, shows that even here, though the iron itself came to them from outside, and even though they may have learnt its use from seeing it used by aliens, still they have not learnt from others how to fashion the metal into shape by heating it. Thus, so far as their technical culture is concerned, there is no evidence whatever that the Andamanese have ever been influenced by contact with any other race since the time, now many centuries ago, when they first reached the islands.

On the other hand there is some probability that the ancestors of the Andamanese, before they first reached the islands, or at any rate before the isolation of the Little Andaman from the Great Andaman, had learnt from some other race how to make pottery, and it is possible that at the same time they may have acquired other elements of their culture, such as the outrigger canoe. We may even give a guess as to the particular culture from which the ancestors of the

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Andamanese may have adopted these elements, which may well have been that of a branch of that people of whom an offshoot peopled the Nicobars.

Confirmation of these hypotheses, if confirmation be ever forthcoming, can only be obtained in the study of the history of races and of culture in south-eastern Asia. Until we have much fuller knowledge of the culture of the Semang and the Negritos of the Philippines, any conclusions that may be drawn from the study of the Andamanese alone must be regarded as provisional working hypotheses only, and it is as such that they are here put forward.

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APPENDIX B

THE SPELLING OF ANDAMANESE WORDS

In writing words of the Andaman languages I have used a slightly modified form of the "Anthropos" Alphabet of Father Schmidt[1], which I consider to be by far the most scientific alphabet for writing down the languages of primitive peoples. The consonants are

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k	g		y	ŋ		
		ć	ǰ			
				ń		
t	d			n	l	r
p	b		w	m		

The letter ŋ is used for the nasalised guttural stop (*ng* in English) which should always be written with one letter, since it is a single consonant, quite distinct from the double consonant *ng* of "ungodly." The letter ń stands for a palatalised *n*, something like the sound in French "agneau." The č and ǰ, which, in the "Anthropos" Alphabet represent the sounds in English "church" and "judge" respectively, should, I think, really be written t′ and d′. The t′ is a palatalised *t*, as heard in "Tuesday," whereas the č is a fricative, often regarded as a compound of *t* and *sh*. It is not always easy to distinguish t′ from č and d′ from ǰ, but I believe the Andamanese sounds are really t′ and d′, and this is to some extent confirmed by the fact that they have no s, z, sh or zh in their languages. I have used the č and ǰ because former writers had written these sounds ch and j and it seemed worth while to make some sacrifice of scientific exactness in order to avoid too great a divergence in spelling from previous workers in the same field.

The remaining consonants may be pronounced as in English. I have not distinguished between different varieties of the consonants l, r, t, d, k and g. Further I have not distinguished between p and p̆ (the labial

[1] Published in Vol. II of the journal *Anthropos*, 1907.

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194 fricative). Many of the words of the Northern languages that I have written with a p are often pronounced with a p̌ sound.

The vowels are

i u
e o ö
e̲ o̲
a̲ a̲̲
a

These may be pronounced as follows:

i, intermediate between the vowels of "it" and "eat."
e, as the vowel in "say."
e̲, as the *e* in "error" or the *a* in "Mary."
a̲, as the *a* in "man."
a, as the *a* in French "pas."
a̲̲, as the *a* in "path."
o̲, as the vowel in "not" or in "nought."
o, as in "go."
u, as the vowel in "fool."
ö, nearly as the German ö.

I have not attempted to distinguish all the different varieties of vowel sounds that are found in the different dialects. Slightly different but closely related sounds are represented by the same letter[1].

193 In writing Andamanese words I have followed the practice of separating by hyphens the affixes from the stems in each word. In the Andamanese languages there are two main classes of words. The first class consists of words each of which is a simple stem (without affixes). Such words are the names of what the Andaman Islander regards as simple independent objects or things, such as *roa*, canoe, *baraba*, a mat, *ra*, a pig. The second class consists of words each of which is formed of a stem and a prefix. In the language of the Little Andaman (and in that of the Jarawa as far as known) these prefixes are simple vowels, *i-*, *e-*, *a-*, *o-*, and *u-*. In the languages of the Great Andaman Division they are such as *ot-*, *aka-*, *era-*, *e-*, *u-*, *ab-*, etc. Such words are used to denote dependent objects such as the parts, qualities or actions of a

[1] Although I had acquired some knowledge of phonetics before I went to the Andamans, as a necessary part of the preliminary training of an ethnologist, yet it was not really sufficient to enable me to deal in a thoroughly scientific manner with the problems of Andamanese phonetics, and my further studies of the subject give me reason to believe that my phonetic analysis of the Andaman languages was not as thorough as it might have been.

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thing. Thus while a pig (*ra*) or a canoe (*roa*) is an independent object and is therefore denoted by a simple stem, the head or prow of a pig or canoe, being a part of a "thing," is denoted by a word (*ot-čo*) consisting of a stem (*-čo*) and a prefix (*ot-*). So also the quality of bigness which may belong to a pig or a canoe is denoted by a word (*er-kuro*) consisting of a stem (*-kuro*) and a prefix (*er-*). 193

Thus the second class includes many words that we should call nouns, all the words we should call adjectives and practically all those we should regard as verbs. In the Andamanese languages the distinction between nouns and adjectives is not very clear and even less so is the distinction between adjectives and verbs. Whereas the distinction between things (independent objects) on the one hand, and the parts, qualities, actions, etc. of things on the other, is of the utmost importance. For this reason I have thought it advisable always to separate by a hyphen the prefix and the stem in words of the second class.

In compound words or phrases in which the second word consists of prefix and stem it is common to insert before the prefix a *t* or an *l*. Thus *ra t'er-kuro* is "a big pig" and *ra t'ot-čo* is "a pig's head." In writing such words I have placed an inverted comma between the *t* or *l* and the prefix. This infix *t* must not be confused with the first personal pronoun in the North Andaman, *Tio*, contracted to *T'* before a prefix.

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[For a functional analysis of Andamanese ceremony, belief, and mythology, see category 116, pp. 229-406.]

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[For a functional interpretation of Andamanese mythology see category 116, pp. 330-400.]

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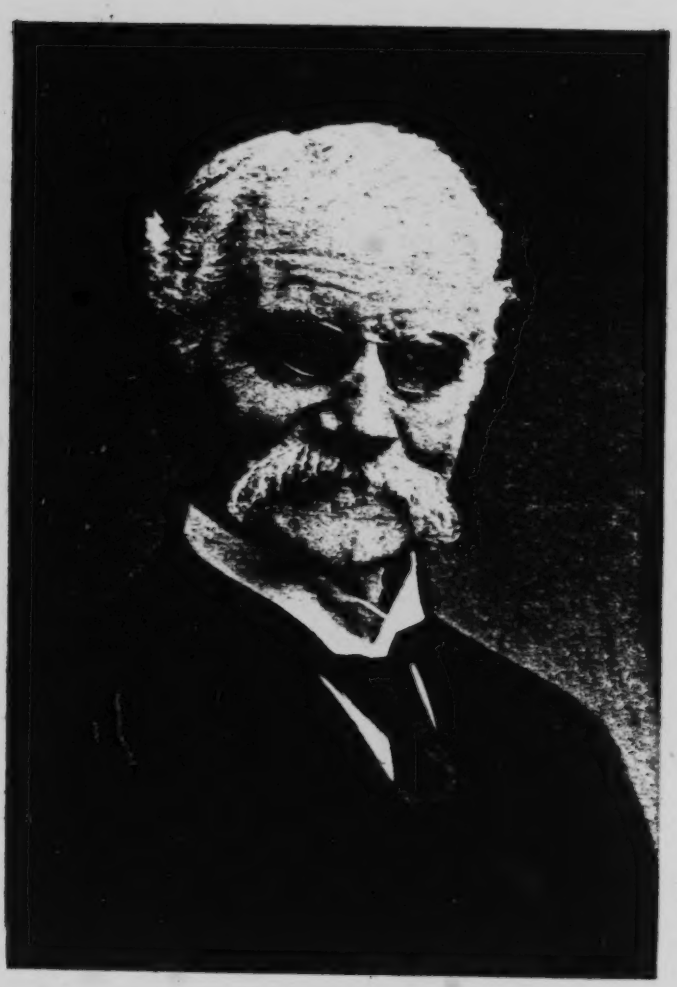

E. H. MAN IN 1913.

[Frontispiece]

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THE ABORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS

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ON THE

ABORIGINAL INHABITANTS

OF THE

ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

000

BY

EDWARD HORACE MAN,

Assistant Superintendent, Andaman and Nicobar Islands; Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society; Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, of the Anthropological Institute, and of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; Corresponding Member of the Società Italiana di Antropologia e di Etnologia.

WITH

REPORT OF RESEARCHES INTO THE LANGUAGE OF THE SOUTH ANDAMAN ISLAND.

BY

A. J. ELLIS, F.R.S., F.S.A.

Reprinted from the Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

LONDON

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OF

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52, UPPER BEDFORD PLACE, W.C. 1

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[p. III]

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TO

MY FATHER

TO WHOSE LOT IT FELL IN JANUARY, 1858, TO TAKE POSSESSION OF THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS IN THE NAME OF HER MAJESTY AND THE HONBLE E. I. Coy, AND WHO, SOME YEARS LATER, WHEN IN CHARGE OF THE YOUNG PENAL COLONY IN THOSE ISLANDS, DEVOTED HIS BEST ENERGIES SO SUCCESSFULLY TOWARDS AMELIORATING THE CONDITION OF THE SETTLEMENT, BOTH SANITARY AND DISCIPLINARY. THIS MONOGRAPH ON THE ABORIGINAL INHABITANTS, UNDERTAKEN AT HIS SUGGESTION, IS DEDICATED.

April, 1885.

Printed by offset in Great Britain by
Billing and Sons Ltd. Guildford and Esher

[p. IV]

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NOTE.

THIS reprint of a work originally published in 1885 by the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland has been reissued by kind permission of the Council. It had been the intention of the author to obtain this permission and to issue a revised edition during his lifetime in order that it might become available for students everywhere, but he was prevented from doing this. It is now republished without the corrections he would probably have made because, as the result of many years' study and labour, it must always remain a standard work of indisputable value, as also the best of memorials to one who spared no effort to make his labours absolutely correct. As the late Sir Richard Carnac Temple, C.B., etc., said: "Mr. Man's work is an exhaustive study conducted with scientific accuracy and systematic care . . . a remarkable work, which is not only a model of anthropological research but is also of unusual interest."

A. F. MAN.

ST. HELEN'S,
PRESTON PARK,
BRIGHTON.
April, 1932.

[p. V]

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PLATE I.

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E. H. MAN IN 1875 WITH NATIVE BOYS, THE FIVE JOINT AUTHORS OF THE "LETTERS TO JAMBU" IN 1879.

(*See* p 60, Alexander J Ellis's Report.)

[facing p. VI]

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PREFACE.

In a paper which I was invited to read before the Anthropological Institute on 24th May, 1880, I mentioned that it was my purpose to submit to their Council a monograph then in course of preparation on the aboriginal inhabitants of the Andaman Islands which would embody the results of observations which I had made during my residence in those Islands from 1869–1880. 114

The exceptional advantages I enjoyed for making careful and systematic study of various matters of ethnological interest will be readily recognised when it is known that for four successive years I had charge of the "Homes" erected by Government with a view to establishing more cordial relations between the aborigines and ourselves, and reclaiming them, if possible, to some degree of civilisation.

Being thus thrown constantly in contact, in the performance of my duties, with members of the various tribes who from time to time visited the Homes, special facilities were afforded me of preparing a vocabulary[1] of the language, which eventually contained some 6,000 words, of the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*, or South Andaman dialect with numerous illustrative phrases and a comparative table of several hundred words of most of the other dialects spoken in Great Andaman. Having thus acquired a colloquial knowledge of the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* language, I proceeded to collect as much information as possible in respect to the habits and customs of these savages, regarding whom only a few brief descriptive memoirs had appeared, leaving therefore a wide field for further research. In this interesting task I was greatly assisted by the excellent Manual of Anthropological Notes and

[1] This I hope to arrange for publication as soon as I can find sufficient leisure for the purpose.

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114 Queries drawn up by a committee appointed in 1872 by the British Association for the Advancement of Science; for I was thereby enabled to work on clearly defined lines.

The value of such systematic guidance as is afforded by this Manual can only be appreciated by those who have endeavoured to collect information from savages concerning the multifarious subjects possessing interest to ethnologists. I can but express my grateful acknowledgments to Lieut.-General Pitt Rivers, F.R.S. (secretary to the committee above referred to, and one of the principal contributors to the Manual) for having made me acquainted with the volume soon after the appearance of the first edition, which fortunately was coincident with my first experiencing the need of such a work.

I think it is due to the reader as well as to myself to explain that on all points where there appeared the least risk of falling into error, by directing inquiries among those long resident in our midst, I took the precaution of substantiating my observations by seeking information on such matters from natives of distant villages who from time to time happened to visit our Settlement; but in every instance, whatever the nature of the communication or the character of my informant, I recognised the necessity and importance of testing through other channels the truth and accuracy of every detail before finally accepting it.

000 During 1882[1] three evenings of the Anthropological Institute's session were devoted to the reading and discussion of portions of the paper which I had by that time prepared, and these have since appeared *in extenso* in the Institute's Journal for August and November, 1882, and February of the following year.

The division of the work into three parts[2] will thus be explained to the reader, while for convenience' sake I have, with the concurrence of the Council—to whom I am mainly indebted for the publication as a separate volume of this reprint from

[1] Viz., March 7th, April 25th, June 27th, 1882.

[2] In consequence of this arrangement it was found necessary to number the paragraphs so as to allow of references to the several sections in Parts 1, 2, and 3, the pagination of which it would have been impossible to ascertain in time for purposes of citation.

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their Journal—adhered as far as possible to the original arrangement of my subject. 000

With the kind consent of the author[1] (Mr. A. J. Ellis, F.R.S.), and the approval of the Council of the Anthropological Institute, I am enabled to append a reprint of a valuable paper which formed part of the Presidential Address to the Philological Society (London) in May, 1882. I acknowledge with pleasure the able treatment which such an important subject as the language of these savages has met with at the hands of one so competent to deal with it, and which will, I am sure, add greatly to the value and interest of this memoir.

I have also to express my acknowledgments to the Council of the Anthropological Institute, first for obtaining the sanction of the Royal Geographical Society for the republication of the Map of the Andaman Islands, which appears in a slightly altered form as Plate I, and secondly, for permitting me to obtain copies of the plates of Andamanese objects which were published in Vols. VII and XI of their Journal, thereby enabling me to illustrate certain sections as well as Appendix B.

The photographs which appear as Plates II, III, and IV, are from my own negatives, and I can but regret that I had none better, of the requisite size, with me in England to offer the Institute.

E. H. MAN.

November, 1883.

[1] With regard to the Andamanese letters transcribed in Mr. Ellis's paper, it may be well to quote the following passage from a letter received at the time from the officer then in charge of the Homes to whom they had been forwarded for communication to Jumbo and other aborigines at the headquarters in Port Blair: "The 'junglees' were delighted with your letter to them; Jumbo has been formally installed as Chief at Brigade Creek."

[PG. XII IS BLANK]

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INTRODUCTION.

000 In considering the habits, customs, and physical peculiarities of a savage race, it is important to acquire as much information as possible regarding the land they inhabit, and also to ascertain the nature and extent of the influences exercised by, or resulting from, their intercourse with other nationalities. It is therefore my purpose to present the reader, by way of introduction, with a brief sketch giving a few of the many points of interest connected with the Andamans, and referring to the writings of Messrs. Ball, Hume, Kurz, and other specialists for information regarding the geology, ornithology, &c., of the islands, which subjects are deemed to lie somewhat outside the scope of this volume.

131 The Andaman Islands, which till within the last hundred years were almost *terræ incognitæ*, are situated in the Bay of Bengal, between the 10th and 14th parallels of N. lat. and near the meridian 93 E. of Greenwich; they comprise what are known as the Great and the Little Andamans, and, together with the Coco and Preparis Islands to the north, and the Nicobar Islands which lie to the south, form a volcanic chain extending between the province of Pegu and the northernmost point of Sumatra.

Great Andaman[1] is about 140 miles long, and includes not only the three main islands known as North, Middle, and South Andaman, but also the Archipelago, Interview, Rutland, and various lesser islets adjacent to its sea-board.[2] At a con-

[1] For the possible derivation of the name "Andaman," the reader is referred to Part I, p 2.

[2] The names of which may be ascertained by reference to the accompanying map.

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131 siderable distance eastward of Great Andaman, but connected with the group, are two small uninhabited islands known as Narcondam and Barren Island, both of which contain volcanoes, though the latter only is active at the present day. To the south, and about midway between Great Andaman and the northernmost point of the Nicobar group, lies Little Andaman, consisting of a single island about 27 miles in length, and varying in breadth from 10 to 16 miles; there are also a few small islets near its coast.

None of the islands exceed 20 miles in breadth, and the area of the entire group is estimated at about 2,508 square miles, four-fifths of which are comprised in Great Andaman.

133 Nearly all the high land occurs in the vicinity of the east coast, shelving gradually towards the west, where few, and those but minor, elevations are to be found. The principal hills are: Saddle Peak[1] (2,400 feet) in North Andaman, overlooking Port Cornwallis; Ford's Peak (1,400 feet) on Rutland Island; and Mount Harriet (1,100 feet) in South Andaman, commanding the harbour of Port Blair.

132 The climate of the Andamans much resembles that of Lower Burmah, and the temperature throughout the year is very uniform; the variation in the shade during the dry season is about 22°, and averages 17° during the remainder of the year; the extreme variation throughout the twelve months may be estimated at 26°, viz., between 70° and 96°. The cool season sets in during the last weeks of December and early part of January, and the hot season lasts through the months of March and April. The S.W. monsoon commences in the latter part of April or early in May, and usually terminates about the end of October, but on the change in the direction of the wind to N.E. heavy showers frequently occur for several weeks, and even, though at rare intervals, in January and February. The average number of wet days in the year is 182, and the rainfall 116 inches; the dry season is usually characterised during the first two months by strong winds from N.E., which cause sickness and prove equally prejudicial to vegetation. Although it has been ascertained that many of the most severe cyclones which have occurred in the Bay of Bengal during the past twenty-five years have had their origin in the immediate vicinity of the Andamans, only one is recorded (viz., in 1864) as having visited the islands themselves; in the same period there have been a few earthquakes, the first of which mention is made took place in August, 1868, and the next in February, 1880, from which time several slight shocks were felt until, in December (31st), 1881, another severe earthquake visited the group, the effects of which were

[1] The only ascent on record of Saddle Peak was made in February, 1882, by Major M. Protheroe, C.S.I., and other officers of Port Blair.

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experienced on both the Indian and Burman coasts; another, 132
though slighter, shock was felt on February 27th, 1882.[1]

Among the many noteworthy features of these islands are the 133
numerous harbours in which, especially on the east coast, safe anchorage can be obtained at all seasons of the year; the most important and best known of these harbours are: Port Blair in South Andaman, and Port Cornwallis[2] in North Andaman; of both it has been said they may be classed among the finest harbours of the world, affording ample accommodation as well as shelter to even "half the British navy," in addition to which, from their central position in the Bay of Bengal, they present great advantages to vessels in need of refitting, and also as ports of refuge.

The water[3] in the harbour of Port Blair has been found to be remarkable for its high density, as is evidenced by the rapid oxidation of iron immersed in it; its extreme clearness has also attracted the notice of many, who have viewed through its pellucid depths the wonderful coral beds which abound in certain parts of the coast. The marvellous variety of the colouring to be found among these corals must be seen to be appreciated, but some idea of their wondrous beauty may be formed from the following extract:—"As we steamed along, visions of the splendours of the submarine world broke upon our view; . . . I feel quite unable to attempt the task of describing, much less conveying an adequate idea of the exquisite assortment of colour, of the varied forms of life which were included in every square yard of these tropical coral reefs. The most gorgeous combination of vegetable and animal life afford but a poor subaërial representation of these submarine gardens."[4] But to return.

[1] On the occasion of the disastrous earthquake in the Straits of Sunda (August 26th, 1883), a report as of a distant signal gun was heard at Port Blair at about 8 P.M. of that day, followed by several similar reports at irregular intervals during the next two days. It was thought at the time that a vessel was wrecked off the coast, and the station steamer was sent out to render assistance; at 7 A.M. on Monday (27th) the sea rose and receded thrice in the course of a few minutes.

[2] This was the harbour selected in 1824 as the rendezvous of the fleet conveying the expedition under Sir Archibald Campbell to Rangoon during the first Burmese war.

[3] The supply of water from the tanks and wells in the Settlement is pronounced on medical authority to be both good and plentiful, and no diseases have ever yet been traced to the use of these waters.

[4] *Vide* "Jungle Life in India," pp. 359 360, by V. Ball, Esq., F.R.S. The vivid description by the same writer of a coral reef at the Nicobars (*vide* p. 202) is so applicable also to those at the Andamans, that I feel the reader will thank me for appending it in this place:—"There are corals which in their living state are of many shades of fawn, buff, pink, and blue, while some are tipped with a majenta-like bloom. Sponges which looked as hard as stone, spread over wide areas, while sprays of coralline added their graceful forms to the picture. Through the vistas so formed, golden-banded and metallic-blue fish meandered, while on the patches of sand here and there the *holothurias* and various molluscs and crustaceans might be seen slowly crawling."

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133 The other harbours which may be mentioned are: Stewart's Sound, Port Campbell, Port Mouat, Kyd Island Bay, Port Audaman, and the Bay between South Andaman and Rutland Island There are besides many good anchorages, and several navigable channels have been discovered by successive commanders of the Settlement steamer, but in the absence of any other guide than Blair's old chart, which as relating to a coral-bound coast must require considerable revision at the present day, and with the knowledge that the extent of the shoals and reefs[1] is only approximately indicated in many parts, those unacquainted with the coast find it necessary to take a circuitous route and to exercise great care in proceeding from one point to another, especially on the northern and western shores, where the coral banks and reefs are known to extend as far as twenty miles seaward. Several creeks on the three main islands of Great Andaman are of a sufficient size to allow of the passage of boats for a considerable distance into the interior, and though of course these are of no little importance in opening up a country like the Andamans, they are chiefly valuable as affording a natural channel for the conveyance of produce from the extensive tracts of rich land[2] in their immediate vicinity, in lieu of the costly and indifferent land carriage which in the absence of such waterway would have to be substituted.[3]

000 The natural beauty of the scenery of the Andamans never fails to awaken the admiration of every visitor, and has been deservedly eulogised by various writers, one of whom (Prof. Ball) says: "Of all the places I have seen in Europe, Killarney can alone convey an idea of these scenes. The blue waters, the luxuriant emerald green vegetation down to the margin of the coast, and the passing showers which brighten all the aspects of nature, have their counterpart here."[4]

Various theories have been advanced with regard to the origin and affinity of the aboriginal population of the Andamans, but no certain information is obtainable in the matter. The statements of the early Arabian travellers, and also of Marco Polo, give grounds for believing that the Andamans were inhabited

[1] These are formed chiefly of *Caryophyllia*, *Madrepora*, *Porites*, *Meandrina*, and other reef-forming corals (Kurz).

[2] By means of a comparatively light embankment, these lands are capable of cultivation to the very borders of the creek.

[3] Probably ignorance, and not disregard of these and other considerations which might be adduced, has led to the suggestion by some visitors (including two able officers of long standing) that the bunding of the deep mouths of such creeks would prove highly advantageous by adding largely to the area of land suitable for paddy cultivation; had, however, their observations been made during the rains instead of during the dry months, their opinions would doubtless have been considerably modified.

[4] *Vide* "Jungle Life in India," by V. Ball, Esq., F.R.S., p. 362 (1880).

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

centuries ago by the progenitors of the present race, and afford (apart from the knowledge that the interior of the Malayan Peninsula, as well as of the Philippine Islands, has been from very distant times occupied by Negritos closely resembling if not also closely allied to the Andamanese) strong *primâ facie* evidence against the somewhat plausible tale which found credence at one time—*i.e.*, that these islands were originally peopled by a cargo of African slaves saved from the wreck of a Portuguese ship. It is surprising that this hypothesis, which has long since been disproved, should have ever been entertained, for, as Professor Owen has observed,[1] "it is to be presumed that the Portuguese would import from the Guinea coast, or other mart of Negro slaves, individuals of the usual stature, and it is incredible that their descendants, enjoying freedom in a tropical region affording such a sufficiency and even abundance of food as the Andamans are testified to supply, should have degenerated in the course of two or three centuries to the characteristic dwarfishness of the otherwise well made, strong, and active natives[2] of the Andaman Islands."[3]

The persistence with which travellers and writers, from the earliest times[4] to a comparatively recent date,[5] have maintained that these aborigines are anthropophagi would be remarkable were it not a common experience that idle tales, especially when of a prejudicial character, have always been readily accepted,

[1] *Vide* "Report of the British Association, 1861."

[2] The following remarks, which appeared in a report of a lecture delivered by Professor W. H. Flower, F.R.S., will be read with interest in this connection:—"It is very possible—but this is purely hypothetical—that the Andamanese, whose geographical position is almost midway between either extremes of the range of the woolly-haired races, may be the unchanged or little modified representatives of a primitive type from whom the African negroes on the one hand, and the Oceanic negroes on the other, have taken their origin, and hence everything connected with their history or structure becomes of the greatest interest to anthropologists" (*vide Brit. Med. Journ.*, May 3, 1879).

[3] Prior to 1879 the theories which had been advanced to account for the colonisation of the Andamans by their present peculiar inhabitants were summed up by Dr. Dobson, F.R.S., as follows:—

The present inhabitants of the Andamans are—

I. The descendants of shipwrecked negroes escaped either from some Arab slave-ship carried out of its course by adverse winds, or from a slave-ship wrecked on the Andamans on its way to the Portuguese Settlement in Pegu (Symes' "Embassy to Ava," *Calcutta Monthly Register*, 1790).

II. Aborigines not connected on any anatomical grounds with the people of any existing continent (Owen).

III. Negritos—negroes (Huxley).

IV. Negritos or Semangs from the Malaya Peninsula (Wallace).

V. Mincopie branch of the Negrito division of an original negro stock (Quatrefages).

[4] *Vide* Colonel Yule's "Marco Polo," vol. ii, p. 251.

[5] *Vide* Mouat, p. 71, and W. W. Hunter, who writes: "During the next half century (*i.e.*, from 1796) the Andamans appear in the records only as a cluster of cannibal islands" (*vide Imperial Gazetteer of India*).

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175 whether they relate to individuals or to races; the origin of the belief in this instance may possibly be traceable to the inveterate hostility which they have manifested towards all strangers approaching their shores, but for which abundant excuse can be found in the accounts given by Capt. Miller[1] of the malpractices of the Malay and Chinese traders who visited these islands in search of *bêche de mer* and edible birds' nests.

To this belief may in all probability be also attributed the fact that these islands were avoided by most voyagers, and hence no records exist with reference to their history prior to the close of the last century, when the Honourable East India Company, recognising the advantages which the group afforded for a penal colony, sent down Lieutenant Blair (who had previously been commissioned to survey and report upon the islands) in charge of a small expedition and with instructions to provide for the reception of prisoners.

A Settlement was accordingly formed at Port Blair, then known as Port Cornwallis, where Blair displayed much energy and skill in his arrangements. After a brief residence of three years, during which the colony enjoyed excellent health, and Blair was able to report favourably of his relations with the aborigines),[2] orders were received from Calcutta for the removal of the entire establishment to the magnificent harbour in North Andaman, where it was proposed to form a Naval Arsenal. The transfer was effected in 1792, and the newly occupied station was named Port Cornwallis, while the recently abandoned Port was styled "Old Harbour," by which name it continued to be known till 1858, when, at Dr. Mouat's suggestion, it was appropriately changed to Port Blair. The new site selected for occupation, despite its apparent natural advantages, proved most unhealthy, and a year had hardly elapsed before it became evident that the change from South Andaman had been ill-advised; it was not, however, till February, 1796, that, in consequence of the continued sickness and high death rate, Government finally decided upon the abandonment of the colony, and the removal of the prisoners (numbering 270) to Penang, while the free settlers and troops were conveyed back to Bengal.

From this date the islands remained unoccupied by aliens for

[1] *Vide* Mouat, p. 22, and "Journ Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xii, No. 42, p. 339.

[2] Both his account and that of Lieutenant R. H. Colebrooke, who visited the islands about the same time (if not actually in each other's company), were published, the latter appearing in vol. iv. of the "Asiatic Researches." Although the accounts furnished by them do not in all respects accord with our present knowledge of the habits of these savages, it must be borne in mind that, apart from the difficulties which attend inquiries prosecuted as were theirs, with but little or no acquaintance with the language spoken by the savages; various changes or modifications have probably occurred during the long lapse of years which may account for many seeming discrepancies.

7/A [Cannibalism]

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sixty-two years, during which period all that is known regarding them or their inhabitants was derived from accounts published of casual visits paid by Government or trading vessels;[1] but as these add little to our information it is unnecessary to particularise them further than to say that they confirm the reports furnished by Colebrooke of the degraded condition of the savages and their inveterate hostility towards all strangers.

The modern history of the Andamans may be said to date from the latter end of 1857, when the scheme of founding a penal settlement and harbour of refuge in these islands, which had been under consideration for a few years, was precipitated by the events connected with the Sepoy mutiny. A Commission, composed of Dr. F. J. Mouat as President, and Dr. G. Playfair, A.M.S., and Lieutenant J. A. Heathcote, of the Indian Navy, as members, was despatched at this time with instructions to explore the coasts of these islands, to examine how far they were adapted for the establishment of a convict station, and to select a suitable site for such a Settlement.

Leaving Calcutta on the 23rd November, and travelling *viâ* Moulmein, Dr. Mouat and his colleagues reached Port Cornwallis on the 11th December; they thence visited in succession Stewart's Sound, Long Island, Barren Island, Old Harbour, McPherson's Strait, Cinque Islands, Labyrinth Islands, Port Mouat, Port Campbell, Middle Strait, and finally Port Andaman, making careful observations at each of these localities, in the course of which many adventures with the aborigines occurred, the only untoward one being at the last stage of the expedition and on the last day of the old year, when an encounter provoked by the savages took place which resulted in a few of them being killed and wounded and one being taken captive.[2] The Commission returned to Calcutta early in the new year (1858), and at once submitted their report; they advocated the selection of Old Harbour as being admirably suited for the purposes of a penal Settlement, and suggested that the name of this harbour might be appropriately changed to "Port Blair," in honour of the distinguished hydrographer.

In recognition of the excellent services performed by the Commission the special thanks of the Supreme Government were

[1] The three chief incidents recorded and mentioned by Mouat are—1. The rendezvous at Port Cornwallis in 1824 of the fleet conveying the troops for the first Burmese war; 2. The visit and treacherous murder in 1839 of Dr. Helfer, a savant engaged in scientific researches; and 3. The extraordinary shipwreck in 1844 at Havelock Island of the troopships "Briton" and "Runnymede."

[2] This lad was taken to Calcutta, where he naturally excited great interest and curiosity. After a short detention he was conveyed back to the very spot which had witnessed his capture, but, owing to the kindness with which he had been treated, he appeared loth to part with his captors.

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PLATE II.

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GREAT ANDAMAN TYPES AT PORT BLAIR HOME.

[facing p. ~~xx~~]

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175 conferred upon Dr. Mouat and his colleagues for the judicious, prompt, and effectual manner in which they had carried out their instructions, and the business-like and practical shape in which they had embodied their investigations.

The Government lost no time in acting upon the recommendation of the Commission, and orders were at once sent to Captain (now General) H. Man, then on duty at Moulmein, to proceed to Port Blair and hoist the British Flag and take possession of the Andaman Islands in the name of the Honourable East India Company; before his return Captain Man was also to make arrangements for the immediate reception of a large party of convict mutineers whom it had been decided to transport thither without delay.

These instructions were duly carried into effect: the flag was hoisted on the 22nd January, and sixteen days later the first party of prisoners, numbering 200, arrived in charge of Dr. J. P. Walker, who had been appointed Superintendent of the new Settlement. During the first decade of the colony (1858–1867) the rate of mortality among the settlers was excessive, the annual average amounting to no less than 18·56 per cent., while in one year (1859) it will be seen from the annexed table to have reached the terrible figure of 63 per cent.

Year.	Death rate per cent.	Year.	Death rate per cent.
1858–59	16·00	1871–72	1·72
1859–60	63·00	1872–73	1·64
1860–61	13·40	1873–74	1·51
1861–62	14·25	1874–75	2·51
1862–63	15·53	1875–76	3·67
1863–64	21·55	1876–77	4·17
1864–65	14·64	1877–78	4·90
1865–66	6·57	1878–79	6·73
1866–67	10·56	1879–80	4·63
1867–68	10·16	1880–81	5·12
1868–69	3·9	1881–82	4·85
1869–70	2·0	1882–83	3·3
1870–71	1·2		

This extraordinary fatality was of course chiefly due to circumstances incidental to the establishment of a penal Settlement in an isolated tropical region peopled by hostile savages and covered by dense jungle largely fringed with mangrove, and rendered extremely malarious by numerous salt and fresh water swamps which are found throughout the group.

The necessity of clearing and occupying without loss of time

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175 the most commanding localities in the fine harbour of Port-Blair, and reclaiming as far as possible the contiguous swamps, naturally led to much sickness, which was aggravated by various other circumstances, of which the following were doubtless the chief:—

1. Transportation of a large number of prisoners unfit either to withstand the climate or to perform the work required of them under the exceptional circumstances in which they were then placed.
2. Want of sufficient nitrogenous food.
3. Absence of a sanatarium for the recovery of invalids.
4. Employment of convict labour on works of every kind throughout the year without respect to the suitability of the season for those involving exposure to malarious influences, as evidenced by the mortality in the rains having about trebled that of the dry months.
5. Difficulties experienced by working parties in consequence of the harassing attacks of the aborigines.

The above facts being at length recognised as calling for stringent measures of reform, active remedial steps were at once taken by the then recently appointed Superintendent,[1] with the remarkable result that the death rate suddenly fell from 10·16 in 1867 to 3·9 in 1868, while an average of 1·6 in the five following years, during which vast clearings of jungle and other important works were accomplished, testified to the vigour and success with which the wise and considerate system which had been inaugurated was carried on.

619 Prior to the formation of our Settlement in 1858, and for some
186 years after, it is clearly shown, from the early records of our relations with the aborigines, that extreme jealousy and distrust prevailed among adjacent tribesmen, and even among scattered communities of the same tribe; these feelings naturally resulted in restricting intercommunication, and it is therefore not surprising to find that in many cases no knowledge was possessed regarding tribes distant only fifteen or twenty miles.[2] Of the *.ô·ko-jū·wai-*, *.â·kà-ked·e-*, *.â·kà-jār·o-*, and *.âkà-.châriàr-* tribes, those living in South Andaman remained in ignorance till 1877, and it was not till 1879–80 that members of all the eight tribes of Great Andaman (*i.e.*, including the *.â-kà-.bal·awa-* of the Archipelago) were able to meet on friendly terms at the various Homes which had then been established for some years.

[1] Colonel (now General) H. Man.

[2] In 1875 it was found that the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* (or South Andaman tribe) had only then recently discovered that Middle Andaman was not, as they had supposed, occupied entirely by the *.ā·kà bō·jig-yâb-*, but that it was shared by another tribe called *.ā·kà-kôl-*; of the territory further north all they were able to say was that it was occupied by the *.yō·rewa-*, a people they seem to dread equally with the natives of Little Andaman.

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177 From the very commencement of the new Settlement, as has been stated, serious difficulties had to be contended with in consequence of the harassing attacks on our working parties by the aborigines, whose cupidity was excited by the iron tools and other implements which in their eyes presented an appearance of adaptability as weapons of the chase; the Government Gardens they likewise freely robbed, until at length stern repressive measures had to be adopted whereby they were instructed for the first time in the laws of private property. A wholesome dread of our power having been duly instilled, efforts were made by Government with a view to the civilisation of the race and the establishment of a better understanding between ourselves and the original possessors of the soil. Homes were accordingly erected in the vicinity of the harbour, where all who needed might obtain protection, shelter, food, and medicine. This step, which was deemed the best, if not the only means of furthering one of the objects which had prompted the re-establishment of the colony—*i.e.*, of reclaiming the savages from their barbarous custom of murdering all strangers who approached their shores—effected a marked improvement in our relations with the tribes in South Andaman[1] by affording them convincing proof of our friendly intentions towards them, so that now, as Dr. Day has stated, "the convicts are left unmolested, the implements of agriculture are not stolen, the fishing stakes are left undisturbed, the gardens are no longer pillaged, runaway convicts have been recaptured, and shipwrecked sailors assisted."

It must not, however, be supposed that these beneficial results were immediately obtained, for it could hardly be expected that the aborigines should at once believe in our goodwill towards them, or forget their resentment against the people who had taken possession of their fine harbour and ousted them from many of their favourite haunts; in process of time, however, the kind and judicious treatment they consistently met with, first from Rev. H. F. Corbyn, and during ten subsequent years from Mr. J. N. Homfray, had the desired effect, and they have learned not only to regard us with favour, but also to assist us in a variety of ways.

[1] Recently (July, 1883) four men and two women were forwarded to Calcutta for the purpose of being modelled for the International Exhibition; while there they were quartered for a few weeks in the Zoological Gardens, where they attracted great crowds of Bengalis, who had never before had an opportunity of seeing the people whom they are said to regard as the descendants of the Rakshasas (!) Circumstances proved that their Port Blair training had not been lost on these representatives of their race, for on being asked by their visitors for a souvenir in the shape of a lock of their corkscrew ringlets, they promptly demanded a rupee before granting the favour; and in like manner the pleasure of witnessing an Andaman dance was not to be obtained previous to some *ik-pū ku-* (money, lit. "slices") having been bestowed upon the performers!

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To Mr. Homfray great credit is due for the zeal and energy he displayed in conciliating the members of the various tribes who visited the Homes: he spared neither time nor his private means in promoting their welfare and gratifying their wants, and so thoroughly identified himself with their concerns and interests as to gain their entire confidence and goodwill; he also acquired a fair colloquial knowledge of the South Andaman language, but abandoned an attempt he made to form a vocabulary. As Mr. Homfray's labours may be fairly said to have paved the way, and rendered easier the task of conducting ethnological and philological researches among the aborigines, it is due to his memory that this slight acknowledgment should be here made of his good services.[1]

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The Homes have effected good by bringing together members of the various tribes, between whom the way has thus been paved for intermarriages, which were of course formerly of rare occurrence; tribal feuds have also here been amicably arranged, while, through visits paid to Port Blair and other Homes by members of all the Great Andaman tribes, as well as by our visits in the station steamer to the more distant encampments, the knowledge of our power, resources, and kindly intentions has spread throughout their respective territories.

It cannot, however, be contended that our attempts to reclaim the Andamanese from their savage state have produced unmixed beneficial results, for it is found that in proportion as they gain in intelligence and tractability, the more fat and indolent do they become, and having no incentive towards exertion frequently lose in great measure their quondam skill in hunting;—availing themselves of the privileges of free board and quarters, they spend their time for days together in singing, dancing, and feasting; the spirit of independence becomes thus less conspicuous, as they learn to depend upon others for the supply of their daily requirements, instead of being compelled to make such provision for themselves. There can, moreover, be no doubt that the effect of our clearances of jungle has been prejudicial to the health of the aborigines, while the excessive tobacco-smoking[2] among members of both sexes, which has been unrestricted, has seriously undermined their already enfeebled constitutions. If the evil ended here there would be ground for regret, but a graver cause exists in the deterioration which has taken place in their morals through

[1] Mr. Homfray died suddenly at Port Blair on February 25th, 1883, after twenty years' service in the Settlement.

[2] It is pitiable to notice the evident disrelish and discomfort endured by one of these savages when first given a pipe of tobacco, yet from sheer determination to share an experience which has such apparent attractions for their compatriots they willingly undergo the misery of nausea for several days till they have habituated themselves to its use.

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177 their unavoidable contact with the alien convict population, the lamentable consequences of which will be found under the head of "Pathology."[1] So widespread is the evil influence that has been exercised, that on no point probably will future writers differ so strongly as on the social and moral virtues of the Andamanese. I wish, therefore, to make it clear to my readers that my remarks and observations on all, and especially on these points, are restricted to those communities who have been found living in their primitive state, and who may therefore be fairly considered as representatives of the race, being unaffected by the virtues or vices of so-called civilisation.

The measure of success which was considered to have attended the establishment of the Homes suggested that further good might be effected by the formation of a school or Orphanage for the education of the younger members of the aboriginal population. Accordingly in 1869 a commencement was made with a few children who had been obtained by Mr. Homfray from their guardians or relatives, and who were now placed under the care of a matron on Ross Island, where the Orphanage was opened. In 1870 two ladies from the Kidderpore Asylum (Calcutta) undertook the charge of the Orphanage, in which there were at that time more than forty children of both sexes. For some months the nature of the instruction given was of course of the simplest, comprising chiefly habits of neatness and cleanliness, the alphabet, and a little needlework and basket-making. It soon became apparent that the children possessed much intelligence and were wonderfully apt with their fingers; they were also very amenable to discipline, and proved therefore in every respect extremely interesting and promising pupils, whose chief fault was found to be the not uncommon one of want of perseverance; nevertheless, during the first year's training the baskets made by the lads and disposed of locally realised Rs. 100, while the girls earned a further sum by their needlework and fancy articles, besides which they made up the clothing for the entire party.[2]

After two or three years' labour in the Orphanage the Kidderpore ladies resigned the charge, and some difficulty was experienced in arranging for the retention of the girls; however some were finally taken by certain residents, who were desirous of training them as servants, while others were speedily married. With regard to the boys the question was less easy of solution, for it was found that those who had been taken in hand at too advanced an age began to pine for a return to their native jungles, and so intense did this desire become, that, in spite of meeting with every discouragement, they were discovered one morning to

[1] *Vide* Part I.
[2] *Vide* Appendix N.

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have settled the matter for themselves by swimming away from the island. 177

The problem as to how the lads trained in the so-called Orphanage shall be disposed of in some profitable manner has been partially solved by training them to serve as domestic servants; but the question as to their marriage remains yet to be dealt with, for of all the girls originally trained in the Orphanage two only have continued in the Settlement, the other survivors having long since resumed the customs of their jungle homes. To encourage the marriage of the lads in question with girls brought up in the jungle, or even in one of the Homes, would probably result in re-associating, the former with those who—so strong is their general inclination towards a jungle life—would wean them from their civilised ways, thereby rendering abortive the many years' training bestowed upon them, and which has moreover unfitted them for the conditions of a savage home.

It has been ascertained that up to about the age of ten or eleven years these aborigines can hold their own with ordinary children of civilised races in respect to mental culture, but after that period further progress seems arrested. Some remarkable instances might be mentioned of boys and girls[1] who at no more than nine or ten years of age were able to read difficult passages from an Urdu book quite fluently, and explain the meaning of any word in ordinary use; it would appear, however, that, physically speaking, training has a deteriorating effect, for of all the children who have passed through the Orphanage, probably not more than ten are alive at the present time, while of those that have been married, two or three only have become parents, and of their children not one has been reared. In respect to morality, too, it must be confessed that they have suffered from contact with the convict population. 177 145

And thus, though the Orphanage, like the Homes, has not accomplished all the good anticipated by its promoters, the kindness and interest taken in their little ones have undoubtedly contributed towards strengthening the friendly relations previously established between the aborigines and ourselves. 177

Friendly intercourse among the tribes has been of late years further encouraged and extended by visits paid in the station

[1] One of these girls (Ruth) was highly trained by Mrs. Homfray, and is able to speak, read and write English, as well as to converse glibly in Hindustani. As she has been with us from infancy, it is hardly necessary to say that she is ignorant of her native tongue. Ruth is also an accomplished needlewoman, and is clever at making designs; she wears the European costume, not excepting bonnets and hats. Some idea of the advance she has made on her fellow-countrymen (who are still in the stone age) may be gathered from the above statements, but further proof is found in the fact of her asking for and obtaining an English dictionary, which she says she finds "very useful" when writing her letters!

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177 steamer to the more distant encampments by the officer in charge of the Homes[1] accompanied by males and females of the Southern tribes.[2] On these occasions dogs, iron, beads, and various other articles highly prized by the aborigines have been deposited in the huts from which the occupants had fled, or presented to such individuals as had courage to approach; stringent measures were at the same time taken to check the almost irresistible propensity of the *bō·jig-ngī·ji-* to appropriate all portable property in the temporarily vacated camping grounds.

177 In these trips Little Andaman has been also visited, but all
721 our efforts to conciliate the *jār·awa-* (or inhabitants of that island) with their offshoot in South Andaman have hitherto proved fruitless. This may in part be due to the summary punishment[3] we have been compelled on two occasions to inflict for cruel murders perpetrated on inoffensive mariners; but it may also be attributable to the exclusiveness and hostility which appear as tribal peculiarities,[3] and which are directed alike against their fellow savages and ourselves, as has been demonstrated by the terror with which they have in recent years inspired the South Andamanese, and in bygone years the Car-Nicobarese,[4] on whom they were formerly in the habit of making raids for purposes of plunder. For a long time now, however, they have desisted from these predatory expeditions, and have confined themselves[5] to the islands and localities which are regarded as their territory; but still, cases have occurred from time to time which keep alive the unpleasant conviction that any unfortunates who might be wrecked, or should venture to land on their coasts without sufficient means of self-defence, would be as mercilessly massacred now as at any date in their history.

177 The various measures already detailed as having been taken in order to benefit the aborigines have convinced all who have come within their influence of our friendly intentions; even the distant communities of Great Andaman are now becoming as well known and as favourably disposed towards us as are our

[1] An account of one of these visits will be found in the form of a private letter which was published in "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. vii.

[2] Experience has taught us that one of the most effective means of inspiring confidence when endeavouring to make acquaintance with these savages, is to show that we are accompanied by women, as they at once infer that whatever may be our intentions, they are at least not hostile.

[3] A further possible cause of the continued disinclination of the *jār·awa-* to accept our advances is believed to be due to one or more runaway convicts, who may have succeeded in settling in their midst, and who in order to lessen their own chances of recapture and punishment, have given unfavourable accounts of us.

[4] How the *jār·awa-* came to discover the distant low-lying island of Car-Nicobar is not known, but it is probably traceable to some trifling circumstance, such as the accidental drifting of a boat far out to sea.

[5] *Vide* Part I., "Tribal Distribution," p. 30, and "Communications," p. 45.

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immediate neighbours the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*, and we have every reason to believe that crews of vessels shipwrecked on any portion of the Great Andaman coast would not only escape molestation and attack, but would receive such assistance as it might be in the power of these savages to render. That their animosity in past years was not unfounded is attested by the reports of Captain Miller and Père Barbe, both of which will be found quoted at some length in the "Journal of the Anthropological Institute" for 1882–3, p. 339.[1]

On referring to the accompanying map of the Andamans it will be seen that according to our present knowledge[2] the aboriginal inhabitants are divided into no less than nine tribes, viz.:

.bō·jig-ngī·ji-	..	South Andaman.
.bal·awa- ..	..	Archipelago.
.bō·jig-yâb- *.ô-ko-.jū·wai-* *.â·kà-.ked·e-* *.â·kà-.kôl-*	..	Middle Andaman.
.â·kà-jāro- *.â·kà-.châ·riar-*	..	North Andaman.
jār·awa- ..	..	Inhabitating Little Andaman and southern portions of Great Andaman.[4]

Although the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* are here shown, and in the following pages are described, as the natives of South Andaman—including Rutland and Labyrinth Island—there is no evidence to prove that they have ever been in undisputed possession of the whole of this territory; indeed, the scattered encampments of *jār·awa-*, which are marked on the map as occupying certain portions within their territory give substance to the belief that before our advent they suffered from the inroads of their marauding neighbours, whose occupancy is proved to be of no recent date by the *jār·awa* kitchen-middens,[5] evidently of

[1] *Vide* Part III, "Trade, &c.," p. 119.

[2] How erroneous were the views formerly held may be gathered from the following extracts:—"The Andamans . . . do not even exist in a state of tribedom" (Figuier). "They have no tribal distinctions" (Wood). "In Great Andaman there is only one tribe" (Mouat).

[3] These are the names by which they are designated by the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*, who, being our immediate neighbours, are the best known of all the tribes.

[4] As these communities possess many, if not all, the characteristics of the inhabitants of Little Andaman, and are presumed to have had constant communication with them in past years, they are designated by the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* by the name of *jār·awa*.

[5] These are distinguished from those of the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* with readiness by members of the latter tribe, on account of the presence of the valves of certain molluscs, which they assert were never (according to tradition) considered as articles of diet by their own immediate ancestors.

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101 619 remote origin, which are found in and near the harbour of Port Blair.

197 No one who has had the opportunity of seeing the natives of the various islands forming Great Andaman can fail to be struck with the similarity which marks their general appearance,[1] and to be convinced that, however much they may differ in many respects, they must at least claim a common origin. Any reasonable doubt on the subject has been removed by the discovery that although each of the several tribes possesses a distinct dialect, these are traceable to the same source, and are all in the same—*i.e.*, the agglutinative—stage of development; further, it has been ascertained that among all, or at least among the natives of Middle and South Andaman and the Archipelago, a coincidence of legends and customs is to be found, and that though the points of dissimilarity between the inhabitants of Great and Little Andaman are more marked, especially in regard to their weapons and implements, they are by no means such as would justify the belief that the latter are descendants of another branch of the Negrito family.

From what has been already said it will be understood that we are not yet in a position to decide whether one and the same dialect is spoken by all the communities designated as *.jār·awa-*, or whether, like the people of North and Middle Andaman, they must be regarded on linguistic grounds as representing two or more tribes.

The dialects of Great Andaman may be grouped into three classes, viz.:—

I. The *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* and *.bal·awa-*.
II. The *.bō·jig-yâb-* and *.á·kà-.kôl-* and *.ô·ko-.jū·vai-*.
III. The *.â·kà-.ked·e-* and the two tribes of North Andaman.

But it must not be supposed that the similarity between the dialect of any of these groups is so great that a knowledge of one would enable a person to converse intelligibly with members of the other tribes in the same classification, for such is not the case; now, however, that intercommunication is less restricted it is not unusual to find that members of the various communities are sufficiently acquainted with the dialect spoken by their immediate neighbours as to hold intercourse with them.

172 Little which throws light on their past history can be gathered from the Andamanese or from their traditions, but from a study

[1] I have been told by the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* that they can distinguish a *.bal·awa-* from members of the other tribes by his high cheek-bones, and the shape of his skull, which they describe as more dolichocephalic than those of other tribesmen; but as this tribe is now well-nigh extinct, it is impossible to determine the amount of credence which may be placed on this strange statement.

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of their kitchen-middens[1] it appears that they must have inhabited these islands, and have remained in much the same state of barbarism for a very considerable period. 172

On the assumption that the members of these tribes lived entirely on the coast, it was till recently believed that the kitchen-middens[1] were always situated close to the sea-shore, and it was even said that the accident of their being found far inland would "indicate that some terrestrial changes in the islands have taken place." The incorrectness of this theory is beyond all question, as we have now ample evidence that not only on the coast, but also in the depth of the jungle, there are permanent encampments throughout the group, where we are assured many of these refuse heaps are to be found bearing traces which testify to the remoteness of their origin.

A change, however, appears to be gradually taking place in respect to the formation of these kitchen-middens, which is accounted for by the fact, that whereas in the olden days they were able to regard the slowly increasing heap with pride as witnessing to the success and skill in hunting and fishing of the community near whose encampment it was situated, nowadays all cause for boasting regarding their achievements is considered at an end in consequence of the material assistance they receive from the dogs we have given them, and the superiority (*sic*) of the weapons they have been able to manufacture from iron obtained from the Homes.

Various estimates have been hazarded as to the probable strength of the aboriginal population; but as no reliable data are procurable it is impossible to speak with any degree of certainty on the subject. From recent observations and the ascertained ravages of certain epidemics it seems hardly likely that the aggregate population of Great Andaman at the present day exceeds 2,000 souls, while the *jārawa*, who inhabit Little Andaman and a few localities in Great Andaman, may perchance number from 1,000 to 1,500 more; amongst these communities the effect of our occupation cannot have had, as yet, the prejudicial influence which has unhappily resulted among the tribes of Great Andaman from contact with alien races, the causes of which, being noticed elsewhere, need not here be particularised, especially as they are chiefly such as have been found to follow 161

[1] Col. (now Gen.) H. Man was the first to open up the kitchen-middens in and near the harbour at Port Blair, and the late M. de Röepstorff subsequently devoted some time to their examination, but it does not appear that he has left any notes as to the results of his investigations; at present all that has been published on this subject is embodied in the late Dr. Stoliczka's paper "Note on the Kjökken-möddings of the Andaman Islands" (*vide* Proc. As. Soc. Bengal, January, 1870).

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ever in the wake of civilisation to the extermination of the savage race.

In closing this paper it will not, I think, be devoid of interest, even to the general reader, if I append a few particulars regarding Port Blair as the centre of the great Indian penal Settlement.

A glance at the map will show that Port Blair is situated near the south-eastern extremity of Great Andaman, and consists of a fine harbour somewhat *F*-shaped, which extends over seven miles in a south-westerly direction; it contains three islands, Ross, Chatham, and Viper. The first of these, containing an area of about 80 acres, is situated in a commanding position at the mouth of the harbour, and has been the site of the head-quarters of the Settlement since its re-establishment in March, 1858; the number of its residents ranges between 2,000 and 3,000, and includes the majority of the civil and military officers, the European troops, and detachments of native infantry and police; the residue consists chiefly of convicts. The Protestant church, Roman Catholic chapel, and a native Christian chapel are on this island.

The second island, Chatham, contains about 12 acres, and is situated midway between Ross and Viper, being visible to both at the bend of the harbour; its population numbers about 500, and is composed for the most part of hospital patients, convalescents, and convicts, who are employed on the steam saw-mills.

Viper, the third island, is about five miles distant by sea from Ross, from which it is hidden by the intervening hills on the so-called "mainland"; its area is slightly larger than that of Ross, but owing to its configuration is not so well adapted for building purposes; the majority of its inhabitants (usually numbering about 1,600 souls) are hospital patients, convalescents, and chain-gang prisoners, these last being confined in the only jail in the Settlement.

Mount Harriet[1] (about 1,100 feet), regarded as the sanitarium of Port Blair, is situated in a commanding position on the north side of the harbour near Chatham Island, and at the eastern extremity of a range of hills running in a northerly direction; its residents are composed of convalescents and weakly convicts and a party of police; round its base, on the western, eastern, and southern sides, various large clearings have been established, barracks and workshops erected, and cultivation and grazing carried on. Similar and more recent clearings exist between Mount Harriet and Port Mouat, where the narrow isthmus (1½ miles wide) dividing the two harbours, though so far distant

[1] It was at the foot of this hill that the late Earl Mayo, then Viceroy of India, was assassinated (when about to return to the flagship) by an Afridi convict.

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from headquarters, was opened up two or three years prior to the important head-land situated between Ross and Viper Islands.

On the other side of Port Mouat, in a south-easterly direction further tracts of land have been cleared and placed under cultivation connecting that part of the Settlement with the principal clearings in Port Blair, known as the Southern District, being that portion of the mainland which lies west and south-west of Ross Island, where two-thirds of all the self-supporting prisoners and more than half the entire convict population are located.

The cultivation of paddy, sugar-cane, Indian corn, fruits, and vegetables, affords occupation to a large number (at present about 1,500) of a self-supporting population, and further industries of this nature have been opened up—chiefly by means of Government labour—by establishing plantations of cocoanut, tea, Liberian coffee, cacao, nutmeg, limes, arrowroot, *Musa textilis*, India-rubber (*Ceara* and *Hevea*), tapioca, indigo, and vanilla, all of which promise to repay well the care bestowed upon them. Cotton and tobacco have likewise been tried; the cultivation of the former was discontinued long since, apparently on account of the inability of the plants to survive the dry season without great expenditure of labour for watering; with regard to the latter, as failure was due only to ignorance of the proper method of curing the leaves, renewed experiments are being made.

The aggregate population at the present day amounts to about 15,000 of all races; nearly four-fifths of this number, as will be shortly shown, include the convict element, which is distributed among some thirty scattered stations and a like number of villages throughout the entire cleared area; the penal Settlement is thus shown to extend all round the harbour, and to embrace the land at Port Mouat on the west coast.

Following the course of the main road, which now encircles the harbour, a distance of about forty miles would be traversed from its north-eastern extremity to its southern end opposite Ross Island; the number of roads intersecting the Settlement and connecting its various parts is of course considerable, and the importance of keeping them at all times in thorough repair is fully recognised, as is shown by the amount of labour annually devoted for this purpose. In connection with this subject it may be added that intercommunication between the most important points in the harbour has been greatly facilitated in recent years by the establishment of signalling posts at the principal police stations, so that messages can be semagraphed at any hour of the day or night, a matter of no small advantage in cases of emergency so liable to occur in a penal Settlement.

Although the aggregate of the convict population appears large

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and capable of ensuring a vast amount of progress in the development of the resources of the country, allowances must be made for the fact of there being but a handful of free servants and labourers in the colony, which necessitates the employment of prisoners in every department; very large deductions have, therefore, to be made on account of those who are ineligible for other than departmental or routine duty, or who from any other cause are not available for Settlement works. This will be better understood when it is explained that about 1,000 men are employed in the Commissariat, Medical, Marine, and Forest Departments; that the self-supporters and servants number about 3,000; hospital patients, the infirm and aged about 1,200; jail servants (or petty officers) about 720; those engaged in manufacturing clothing, in grinding wheat, and in miscellaneous industries 1,400; while of the remaining 4,000 about one-third are required for fixed establishments at the various stations and for conservancy arrangements, the residue being distributed among a vast number of works in all parts of the Settlement.

As in consequence of the continual drain among the self-supporting population on account of deaths and releases their numbers are but slowly increased by the addition of prisoners promoted from the labouring ranks, it must at the present rate of progress be long ere the desire can be realised of the Settlement producing the amount of its requirements even in the one item of rice, while it is certain that wheat, chenna, potatoes, and various other articles of daily consumption—for the cultivation of which the climate is ill-adapted—will always have to be imported; but as a set-off against these it may not be in vain to hope that the day will come when the surplus produce of our cocoanut, tea, Liberian coffee, cacao, nutmeg, and other plantations, together with our exports of timber, will afford substantial compensation by the sums realised in the Indian and home markets. The present average annual cost to Government of every transported convict is believed to amount to about Rs. 105. In proportion as the measures taken to develop the resources and increase the revenue of the Settlement mature, this heavy charge may be reasonably expected to diminish to a material extent.

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PART I.

Derivation of name "Andaman"—Origin of the Race—Form and Size—Anatomy and Physiology—Colour—Odour—Hair—Development and Decay—Crosses—Reproduction—Abnormalities—Pathology — Medicine—Physiognomy—Motions—Physical Powers and Senses—Psychology and Morals—Magic and Witchcraft—Tribal Distribution—Topography — Arithmetic — Etymology — Tribal Communities — Nomadism—Habitations—Government—Covenants, Oaths, Ordeals—Laws—Crimes—Narcotics—Cannibalism—Communications — Chirography and Drawing—Swimming.

MUCH interest has for many years been manifested by ethnologists and others concerning the origin and affinities of the Andamanese, and efforts have been repeatedly made to obtain fuller and more reliable information regarding them, but various causes have hitherto militated against the success of these endeavours. The most important of the many obstacles to be surmounted has been, undoubtedly, ignorance of the language, whereby their biographers—being precluded from correcting by personal intercourse with the aborigines, the current misstatements, based on hearsay, or on the hasty observations of earlier travellers—were betrayed into the repetition of many erroneous assertions as to the social habits and customs which prevail among these tribes: now, however, this difficulty has been practically overcome, and we are in a position to substantiate our inquiries, and to speak on most points with a confidence hitherto impossible. But before we touch upon the physical characteristics and culture of the race, let us glance back for a moment to our earliest information as to the islands, and to the probable origin of the name "Andaman."

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101 In the records of certain Arabian travellers of the ninth century we appear to find the first mention that is made of these islands being inhabited by negritos, and Marco Polo, some four hundred years later, bears out their statement, while it would seem that the islands themselves were known to Ptolemy, who speaks of a group in the Bay of Bengal as *Insulae bonae fortunae.*

As regards the derivation of the name "Andaman," there seems to be some uncertainty. Colonel Yule, in his well known work on Marco Polo, mentions that, to his knowledge, Nicolo Conti, who calls it the "Island of Gold," is the only person who has attempted to give it a meaning. Colonel Yule's suggestion is that Angamanain (the name used by Marco Polo) is an Arabic (oblique) dual indicating "The Two Andamans," viz., The Great and The Little, while the origin of the name (Angaman) may be traced to Ptolemy's reference to these islands, which he describes as those of *Good Fortune*, *Ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος*, whence may have sprung the forms Agdaman, Angaman, and ultimately Andaman.

144 With regard to the origin of the race, many conflicting opinions have, from time to time, been entertained; but, from the knowledge we now possess, the questions raised on the following points may, I think, be considered as more or less satisfactorily set at rest, viz.:—

I. That they are Negritos, *not* Papuans.[1]

II. That they are the original inhabitants, whose occupancy dates from pre-historic times; and that racial affinity—if there be any—may possibly some day be found to exist between them and the Semangs of the Malayan Peninsula,[2] or the Aëtas of the Philippine Islands.[3]

III. That all the tribes, as at present known to us, undoubtedly belong to the same race, and are of unmixed origin, the differences which occur among them being attributable as much to their constitutional peculiarities of jealousy and distrust in all dealings with strangers as to the natural barriers

[1] Figuier speaks of them as "pure Papuans, whose isolated position has kept them from intermixture with other races."

[2] *Vide* Wallace's "Malay Archipelago," 2nd Ed., vol. ii, pp. 278-79, and "Journ. Indian Archipelago," vol. iv, p. 427.

[3] If similarity of moral and social characteristics afforded a sufficient basis in ethnological researches among races not otherwise widely distinguished, a theory of affinity between the extinct negroid race of Tasmanians and the Andamanese might be regarded as not altogether untenable, for the descriptions given of the former by some writers are found applicable in many particulars to the race under consideration; notably is this the case in the account given by Mr. J. E. Calder, which I have deemed of sufficient interest in this connection to make a somewhat lengthy extract, and this will form the subject of one of the Appendices. (*Vide* Appendix D.)

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presented by their densely wooded and hilly country, which facts have combined to isolate the various communities, and to check freedom of intercourse among them; further, in the case of Little Andaman, it may fairly be assumed that the peculiar bee-hive form of their huts, as well as certain modifications of their domestic habits and customs, have been borrowed from their neighbours, the Car Nicobarese, upon whom, in the last century, they made some hostile raids.

IV. That, in spite of all our endeavours to protect them, contact with civilisation has been marked with the usual lamentable result of reducing the aboriginal population; indeed, the death-rate, among those within the area of our influence, during the past twenty years has so far exceeded the birth-rate, as to compel the belief that before many decades have passed, the race, at least that portion of it which inhabits Great Andaman, will be well-nigh extinct.

In view of their probable early extermination, and the rapidity with which they are being meantime reduced to the standard of civilised manners, it seems very desirable that, ere it be too late, all possible information respecting their habits, customs, physical characteristics, etc., should be obtained, more especially as many of the errors which, excusably enough, found their way into the early accounts, having been allowed to pass unchallenged, are accepted as trustworthy, and false ethnological theories are built on these most imperfect bases.

Almost all accounts which have been written regarding these islanders speak of them as *Mincopies*, in explanation of which it is asserted that it is thus "these people style themselves;" but this is far from being the case, for not only is the name, or any at all resembling it, unknown to the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*,[1] *i.e.*, the inhabitants of South Andaman, but the other six tribes with which we are acquainted are in a like state of ignorance as to its origin and significance. The only sounds at all approximating it in the South Andaman dialect at the present day being *min kaich!* (come here!) and *kâ·min kâ·pi!* (stand here!). The former of these being in common use may have given rise to the term (*Mincopie*) as a nickname, to which, indeed, it may possibly have borne a more striking similarity of sound in the language spoken at the period when this name was first adopted; for each generation cannot fail to produce changes more remarkable, and even of greater importance in the phonology of an unwritten language, such as this, depending as

[1] For the list of symbols adopted for denoting the sounds in this language *see* Appendix A; this list has been finally adopted in accordance with the kind advice of Mr. A. J. Ellis, F.R.S., whose valuable assistance I would here again gratefully acknowledge.

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101 it must entirely on the delicacy of ear, and correctness of individual articulation.

The following remarks, except where otherwise specified, must be understood as referring to the eight tribes of Great Andaman, for the continued and inveterate hostility with which the inhabitants of Little Andaman, known as *jārawa-*, have hitherto met all our advances and attempts to establish an *entente cordiale* has rendered it extremely difficult to obtain, much less substantiate, any information concerning them.

Form and Size.—1. Those of my readers who have studied the 142 various accounts which have appeared regarding the physical characteristics of the Andamanese cannot fail to have been struck with their divergence. For the sake of others, however, to whom the race is comparatively unknown, it is necessary that I should here quote, on the subject of their form and size a few writers, commencing with the Mahomedan travellers of the ninth century, already mentioned, who stated that "their complexion is black, their hair frizzled, their countenance and eyes frightful, their feet very large and almost a cubit in length, and they go quite naked;" while Marco Polo (cir. 1285) appears to have been still less favourably impressed, for he says "the people . . . . are no better than wild beasts, and I assure you all the men of this island of Angamanain have heads like dogs, and teeth and eyes likewise; in fact, in the face, they are all just like big mastiff dogs!" Next we find Colonel Colebrooke, towards the close of the last century, describing "their limbs as ill-formed and slender, their bellies prominent, and, like the Africans, as having woolly heads, thick lips, and flat noses." In opposition to the foregoing we have Dr. Mouat, than whom no better judge could be desired, giving it as his opinion, that "they are the most perfectly formed little beings in existence. In proportion to their size, their general framework is well constructed, and their limbs present a remarkably good muscular development, and . . . . the whole form is as elegant as that of any European," in which opinion he is supported by the eminent craniologist, Dr. J. Barnard Davis, recently deceased, who, after careful study of a number of Andamanese skulls and skeletons, affirmed that they were "most beautifully proportioned."[1]

2. From my own observations I would remark, that though it is quite true that there are found among them individuals whose "abdomens are protuberant,[2] and whose limbs are dispropor-

[1] A peculiarity which I have observed is that the males have in many cases as marked a bend in the small of the back as the females. (*Vide* figure on the left of group in Plate III, Fig. 1.)

[2] "From childhood they cram their stomachs with an immense amount of bulky food in a short period, and they do literally 'swell visibly' after their

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tionately slender," such persons no more represent the general type of the race, than the sickly inmates of a London hospital can be regarded as fair specimens of the average Englishman; in point of fact the remark which is commonly made by strangers who see them for the first time, is, "how well these savages are developed." In confirmation of this I would refer you to the photographs, and table of weights and measurements of forty-eight male, and forty-one female adults, which I have prepared,[1] being persuaded that more correct information can be obtained by such means than from any verbal description, however minute and careful. 142

3. Although the Mahomedan travellers, a thousand years ago, described their feet as "very large, and almost a cubit in length," my observations and measurements go to prove that their feet, as well as their hands and ears, are small and well-shaped; the heel in some cases projects slighuly, but never to the extent peculiar to negro races. 141

4. Dr. Dobson, in his valuable paper "On the Andamans and Andamanese" (published in the Anthropological Institute's Journal, vol. iv, p. 464), alleges the existence of a "remarkable contrast between the size of the males and females;"[2] but the example, which he cites in proof, of *maiʻa .bôʻra* and his wife, was quite exceptional, for this man, whom we nicknamed "Moriarty," like many of the Andaman chiefs, was as much above, as his ebon consort was below, the ordinary stature of the race. From the illustrations and lists of measurements, to which reference has already been made, it will be found that the average height of the men is 4 feet 10¾ inches, and of the women 4 feet 7¼ inches,[3] while their average weight is 98⅛ lbs. and 93¼ lbs. respectively—results which cannot be said to indicate a striking disparity between the sexes.

meals. This distended abdominal condition is noticeable in children of both sexes; but as the lads grow up, they take more exercise, and their abdominal, as well as other muscles, become firmer and retain the mechanical distension of the belly. With the women it is different; these latter influences do not exist. . . . ." ("Remarks on the Aborigines of the Andaman Islands," by Surgeon E. S. Brander, late 2nd Medical Officer, Port Blair.)

[1] *Vide* Appendix C.

[2] The following extract from an article in the *Bombay Gazette* of 2nd August, 1881, by an officer stationed for about a year at the Andamans, will show what opposite conclusions are arrived at by those who are content to trust to the accuracy of their individual judgment without reference to actual measurements:—"The women . . . are on the whole bigger than the men, who are, however, particularly well made."

[3]

			ft. in.
Maximum height of the males measured was			5·4¼.
" "	females	"	4·11¼.
Minimum " "	males	"	4·5¾
" "	females	"	4·4.

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141 5. The old statement, so often repeated, that their stature never exceeds 5 feet, must also be noticed, as the list in question shows that fourteen of the forty-eight males who were measured were slightly above that height. I would add, that on a visit paid to North Andaman, about two years ago—by Colonel Cadell, V.C., the present Chief Commissioner—an *.âkà-.châ·riàr-* was seen whose height was estimated at about 5 feet 8 inches; but this must be regarded as very remarkable and exceptional, for the tallest specimen of the race, that had till then been met with, was a chief standing 5 feet 4¼ inches.

142 6. In consequence of their early marriages, the cares of maternity and the nature of the duties which devolve upon them, the women soon lose the graceful figures which many of them possess in their youth, and they often, in their maturer years, become so obese as to be objects of wonder to Europeans.[1]

147 **Anatomy and Physiology.**—1. With the view of forming some idea of the average temperature and rates of pulse and respiration per minute, five youths, fair representatives of the race, were examined, with the following results:—

No.	Age.	Temperature under the axilla.*	Rate per minute		Remarks.
			of pulse.	of respiration.	
1	22	96·9	56	19	The subjects were at rest and in the shade, and had not eaten for several hours previously.
2	20	97·8	62	22	
3	18	97·8	64	24	* The bulb was left undisturbed for five minutes.
4	16	97·8	64	21	
5	17	98·3	74	20	

142 **Colour.**—1. Their skin is naturally smooth, and greasy to the touch, and there is little or no hair or down over the surface,[2] and, with regard to its colour, by the aid of reflected light it has been found that not only are there several shades of colour among this race, ranging between bronze or dark copper colour, sooty, and black, but also that in individuals the complexion of the face and body are different. The distinctions are, however, so slight as to be unnoticed by the people themselves.

2. The results of careful observation go to prove that these

[1] Surgeon Brander, in the paper referred to in the preceding footnote, remarks, that "this condition, I should think, is induced partly by the absence of any proper abdominal support during pregnancy, and is partly due to the distension their stomachs habitually undergo after food."

[2] Even under the axilla it is rarely found, and then only very scantily, but a certain amount of tufted hair is not wanting about the genitals.

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variations in colour are not confined within certain tribal limits, but are alike found in all, whether living inland or on the coast; and it would therefore appear that the cause is not attributable to diet, habits, or, indeed, to any external circumstance. 142

3. The opinion expressed on this subject by Dr. Mouat was that "their hue is remarkably black and lustrous;" while Surgeon-Major Hodder[1] describes them as "extremely black, more so than the African negro, and some have a dull leaden hue like that of a black-leaded stove." In this latter remark I fully concur; indeed, the simile strikes me as an exceedingly happy one, and as exactly expressing the predominating colour of their skin.

4. On examining a number of individuals, and comparing the colour of their skin and eyes with the standard tables prepared by the late M. Broca, it was found that the skin of the face and shoulders of the majority corresponded most nearly with No. 42, the variations tending towards 27 and 28, while that of the trunk, in the generality of cases, agreed with No. 27; and in certain others with No. 49. The prevailing hue of the eyes was found to be most closely represented by No. 16, one exception, which had to be classed under No. 1, being found among those tested.

Odour.—1. The ammoniacal, rancid, goat-like exhalations of the negro are not found among them, and the peculiarity of odour which attaches to their persons is chiefly due to the unguent, called *kòi·ob-da*,[2] composed of red oxide of iron mixed with either turtle or pig's fat, with which they delight to paint themselves. When in health, and under ordinary circumstances, their breath is sweet.[3] 302

Anatomy and Physiology (*continued*).—2. Their powers of abstinence from solid food have never, to our knowledge, been severely tested; but it has been noticed that, on rare occasions, when forced to make a long day's journey through the jungles without a halt, they are in the habit of binding a strip of bark or other substance round their waists, to reduce, as much as possible, the inconvenience and pain which are caused by what they consider a long fast. Whether in exercise or repose they 261

[1] *Vide* "Pall Mall Budget," 20th April, 1877.

[2] Substantives, adjectives, and many adverbs have the termination "da," which, as mentioned in my previous paper, I believe to be traceable to the defective or partially obsolete verb, *edà·ke*, to be; it is dropped before prepositions and in construction generally, but is usually heard when the word occurs alone. Hence, when I write a hyphen at the end of an Andamanese word, I shall mean that in its full form it has *da*. [193]

[3] It is, nevertheless, commonly noticed, that after feasting on turtle and certain kinds of fish, they are unpleasant neighbours, their breath and hands being then highly odoriferous.

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261 cannot apparently abstain from food without inconvenience for more than eight hours at a time.

271 [415] 3. When exerting themselves in any way they perspire freely, which may account for their inordinate thirst. So great, indeed, is their inability to endure any privation in respect to drink, that they seldom leave home on the shortest expedition, whether by land or sea, without providing themselves with one or more bamboo vessels, called *gōḃ-*, containing a supply of fresh water.

513 4. Loss of sleep they can bear well only when under the influence of strong excitement, as in turtle hunting, or at festive gatherings, where singing and dancing are kept up for many successive hours;[1] they have even been known to spend forty-eight hours at such times without taking any rest.

151 5. What little cool weather there is in the latitude of their islands, during December and January, they dislike extremely; in striking evidence of this they are found, as I will elsewhere mention,[2] unconsciously concurring with the great Italian poet in depicting the region of punishment, for the souls of the wicked, as one of intense cold. After this, it will appear somewhat strange to say that, in spite of their aversion to what they consider cold weather—which never registers less than 69° F. 302 on the highest elevation in South Andaman—they are careful, during the hot season, to avoid any lengthened exposure to the direct rays of the sun, and endeavour to lessen the discomfort caused by the heat by smearing their persons with a white-wash of common white clay and water.[3] It has long been erroneously believed that they have recourse to this expedient in order to allay the inconvenience which they would otherwise suffer from the bites of mosquitoes and other jungle pests; but the true reason for the practice is, I am well assured, that which I have above given, for the various insects which might annoy them are, for the most part, kept away by the smoke of the hut fire, beside which a great portion of their time is spent when at rest, or when engaged in any sedentary occupation.

147 6. The voices of the men are usually clear without being deep, while those of the women, especially when raised, are very shrill.

142 7. The mucous membrane of the mouth is stained with pigment to a greater degree than was found to be the case with such of the natives of India as were compared with them.

8. The general excellence of the teeth strikes one as remark-

[1] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraph 32.

[2] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 25.

[3] I would here draw attention to the fact, that while the object in smearing themselves with *ōg-* wash is to keep themselves as cool as possible, they often daub their bodies with *kōi-ob-* after sundown for the opposite reason, *i.e.*, for the sake of warmth.

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able, for not only are no precautions taken for their preservation, but they are used roughly, small bones being broken by them, and food commonly eaten at almost boiling point. The grinding surface of the molars is generally much abraded: five or six tubercles are occasionally observed in the posterior molars, but are not all marked with equal distinctness; in some cases, indeed, they are scarcely distinguishable. The crowns of these teeth frequently present one long and comparatively even surface, and the peculiarity is of course due to the practice above referred to, of grinding hard substances with them. The canines are not longer or more prominent than the other teeth; caries appear to be rare, except with those well advanced in years. The front teeth of the lower jaw are generally the first cut: the first dentition is completed apparently at an earlier age than is usual among ourselves. [145]

Hair.—1. Dr. Allen Thomson, F.R.S., who has kindly examined some of the hair microscopically, gives it as his opinion that the form of the transverse section is *oval*. Having, however, only a small quantity at his disposal, he has not been able to make a sufficient examination as yet, so he adds that, "it may be that some sections are oblique, but a number are certainly transverse, and none of them have a circular outline." In appearance it is extremely frizzly and seems to grow in spiral tufts,[1] but examination proves that the roots are uniformly distributed over the scalp: it is fine in texture and fairly abundant, but lustreless, and seldom more than two or three inches long, or five inches if the actual length when untwisted be measured; in a few instances it has been found to be eight or ten inches long, but the ends were matted, dead-like, and easily broken.

2. The majority of the women every week or ten days shave their heads almost entirely, leaving only two narrow parallel lines of hair, termed *gôr-*, from the crown to the nape of the neck. The *gôr-* is never allowed to exceed one-eighth of an inch in length; therefore, as they have no means of clipping it, it is constantly shaven off, and a fresh *gôr-* is made with the hair which has grown since the last operation.[2] 302

[1] Just ten years ago it was pointed out by Dr. J. Barnard Davis, F.R.S., that the delicate ribbon-like hair of these islanders is exactly similar to that of the now extinct race of Tasmanians ("Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. ii, p. 100).

[2] I would here call attention to some errors of the artist by whom Dr. Mouat's book was illustrated. He has represented the men as shaven and the women with their curly wigs intact, whereas it is the latter only who as a rule shave their heads; and they do not go about entirely nude, but wear leaves, as will be explained in another place (*vide post* "Psychology and Morals," paragraph 8, and "Attire," paragraph 3). They are further incorrectly represented in the same plate as using a gipsy's tripod for cooking purposes.

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PLATE III.

ANDAMANESE CHIEF, WITH BOW AND ARROWS.

ANDAMANESE MAN AND WOMAN, SHOWING PROFILES.

[facing p. 10]

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302 3. Though many of the men were and are in the habit of having their heads shaved like the women, the style of hair-dressing most affected by them before our arrival left only a circular patch of hair, about six or eight inches in diameter, like a skull cap, on the top of the head. Of late, however, they have indulged in many fanciful modes, such as shaving a piece about two or three inches broad between the forehead and the nape of the neck, or making a large tonsure. From this it will be seen that the Andamanese cannot be instanced as a tribe that "goes bald always," as has been asserted.[1]

4. Men will sometimes shave each other's heads, but only when the services of a woman are not available; for it is one of the duties of the fair sex in these tribes to act as barbers, regarding which fact I shall have occasion to make further reference in subsequent sections.[2]

5. When, in consequence of its having attained an unusual length, the hair is found to be oppressively hot and difficult to clean, it is shaved off entirely or in part, clipping, as already mentioned, being impracticable, owing to the lack of a suitable instrument. On these occasions the eyebrows are generally removed, which explains Dr. Day's remark, that "they rarely have eyebrows."

[142] 6. With the exception of the eyelashes and eyebrows, which are of slight growth, hair is only occasionally seen on the face, and then but scantily and in patches on the upper lip and chin, where it has a tendency to grow in spiral tufts: as it is esteemed a decoration it is never shaved or depilated.

7. It has been rumoured[3] that there are tribes of a long-haired race on Interview and also on Rutland Islands; but, with regard to the former, none of the Northerners who have been to Port Blair have possessed this characteristic, or will allow that it is to be met with amongst their communities, while our relations with the inhabitants of the latter enable us to contradict the assertion, which, indeed, can only be explained by supposing that runaway convicts, who have frequently escaped thither, must have been mistaken for aborigines.

[142] 8. That baldness has been known among them may be assumed from their having a word in their language to express it, but such cases would appear to be of very rare occurrence since none have come under my notice.

9. It has been asserted that "they are in the habit of dyeing their hair with red ochre;" but, whatever may have been the custom in former times, this is certainly not now the case, as

[1] *Vide* "Anthropology," p. 238, by Dr. E. B. Tylor, F.R.S.
[2] *Vide post* "Social Relations, &c.," paragraph 3, *and* "Shaving," paragraph 2.
[3] "Encycl. Brit."

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302 they never intentionally interfere with the natural colour, but some of the pigment, *kōi·ob-*, with which they so frequently paint their persons sometimes accidentally adheres to their curly wigs, these being often used for wiping or drying their hands.

142 10. The colour of the hair among different individuals varies between black, greyish-black, and sooty, the last perhaps predominating; it is apparently uninfluenced by, and does not correspond with, the hue of the eye or skin; it commences to turn grey about the fortieth year, but the number of those who exceed that age being small, white hair is seldom seen.

165 **Development and Decay.**—1. The average length of life, owing to excessive infant mortality as well as to the small number that attain old age, can hardly be reckoned as much, if at all, beyond 22 years. Not more than three generations of the same family have ever been known to be alive at the same time.

2. Fifty years is believed to be the extreme limit of age among them, and the majority of those who attain it are women.

145 3. Judging from those whose births have been registered by us, it would seem that physical development takes place at a late age as compared with natives of India, the males not attaining puberty till about the 16th year, and the females not before the 15th,[1] while the maxima of stature and bulk are not reached till two or three years later; should the opinion thus formed be confirmed by further observations, the fact will serve to weaken the theories that have been advanced by some anthropologists to account for the phenomenon hitherto assumed to be of universal application, that "the period of immaturity is curtailed in inverse proportion to the approximation to the equator or the polar circle;"[2] but, as the same writer goes on to say, "probably the latitude of the abode has no reference to this phenomenon; it may more probably have some connection with the darkness of the skin."

141 4. Among the Andamanese, when the head is in the customary position, the line taken by a horizontal plane drawn through the *meatus auditorius* would, in most cases, pass through the apex of the facial angle, or, in exceptional cases, somewhat lower. I cannot entirely concur in the opinion expressed by Dr. Brander regarding the variety of the facial type found among them, as he says that "some faces seem to resemble the Negraic, some the Malayan, and some even the Aryan in character;" it is, however, a curious physiognomical fact, of which there can be little or no question, that a remarkable diversity in this respect *does* exist among them, though it is

[1] The extreme ages for child-bearing appear to be 16 and 35 years.

[2] Peschel.

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141 hardly sufficient to admit of the inference, which might be drawn from the passage just quoted, and on which the incorrect theory might be based, as to their being of mixed descent. I would add that I observed, like Dr. Brander, that these differences are more noticeable among the males than among the females of the population.

144 847 **Crosses.**—1. In a footnote to his interesting paper on the Andamanese, Dr. Day mentions that "some have entirely smooth hair," and he suggests the probability of a portion of the race being of African origin or of mixed African descent.

2. With the exception of three children of mixed parentage,[1] none of whom survived more than seven or eight years, no examples are known of the existence of a cross-breed among these tribes; and, as none but these three children have been known to have had other than the frizzly hair which is one of the distinctive characteristics of the race, I have no doubt that Dr. Day either observed, or was informed of, the peculiarity occurring in their case, and his remarks must, therefore, be taken as applying only to them.

3. Not only would it have been impossible for us to have continued so long in ignorance of the existence of any individuals of this race who differed so widely from their fellow countrymen as to have smooth hair, but additional evidence is afforded by the denial of the Andamanese to every inquiry instituted on this point.

4. Another statement has been published which is also calculated to mislead; it is as follows:—"I agree with Mr. F. Day that the chief of Rutland Island is probably a native of India."[2] The chief here referred to, by name *maia .bī·cla*, but generally called by us *mūnshī .bī·ela*[3] (*vide* Plate II, fig. 2), was one of the best known, as he certainly was the most useful of all our aboriginal acquaintances. He was not only a thorough, though superior, specimen of the race, but his parents were so well known to be of pure Andamanese blood that his intimates were surprised to learn that a doubt regarding the purity of his descent should even for a moment have been entertained, and certainly I, and others who have for many years been associated with the man and his friends, see no grounds for regarding their statements on this point with the least suspicion.

5. Judging from the exceptional cases above mentioned of a cross breed occurring among them, it seems improbable that the existence of a mixed race in their midst would be tolerated, for all three of the children met their death by violence or neglect,

[1] Hindoo fathers and Andamanese mothers.
[2] Dr. Dobson.
[3] He died of measles in April, 1877.

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not at the hands of their mothers, but of the male members of the tribe. 144 847

Reproduction.—1. Marriages never take place till both parties have attained maturity, and generally not till a few years later; the usual age of the bridegroom varies from 18 to 22, and of the bride from 16 to 20. The result of inquiries tends to show that there is a slight predominance of female over male births; three or four is the average number of children born of the same parents. The largest family known consisted of six, three only of whom attained maturity.[1] 582 163

2. Twins are rare, and as no instance can be recalled of both surviving infancy, notwithstanding all possible care being bestowed on them, they are not favourably regarded. No case of triplets has been known to occur. Births out of wedlock are considered discreditable, and in the one known instance of the kind, the parents were married immediately after the event; no difference was made in the treatment which the child received.[2] 845 848

3. The limited fecundity of the women may in some measure be due to the circumstance that they never wean their babies, so long as they are able to suckle them, and it not unfrequently happens that the two youngest children are seen together at their mother's breast.[3] 853

4. The ill success in rearing their offspring is doubtless owing in most part to the injudicious management and petting which each of the mother's friends considers right to bestow on the infant. It is looked upon as a compliment for every woman who may be nursing, to relieve the mother of this duty at frequent intervals; it is, therefore, no matter of surprise that the little one ails and dies.

5. The proportion of deaths from violence and accident, is believed to amount to four or five per cent. 165

6. Barrenness is rare, as are also cases of stillborn children. No drugs or other contrivances are employed in order to increase or limit reproduction. 842

Abnormalities.—1. Excessive development of fat about the gluteal region is frequently observable among the adult women. 142

[1] It is said that more children are born during the rains than at any other season of the year.

[2] *Vide post* "Marriage," paragraph 4.

[3] On this subject Dr. Brander remarks as follows:—

"They mostly possess considerable mammary development, and the glands in many cases seem to be in a chronic state of functional activity. This may be due to the late period to which they suckle their young (even to three or four years), or to another purpose to which the milk is applied. . . ." (*vide post*, "Sharing.") [As will be seen from Plate II, fig. 1, the mammæ are pyriform rather than spherical: with the advance of years they become flaccid and elongated.] [853]

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142 Dr. Dobson, in noticing a marked case of this kind, drew attention to the fact of its differing from steatopyga, thereby distinguishing them in this respect from Hottentots.

2. Albinism and polydactylism are unknown, and only one case of erythrism, and that of a faint type, has been observed, or is known to the natives of our acquaintance.[1]

3. No instance appears of obliquity of vision, of cleft palate, absence of teeth, or of supernumerary teeth, and only one of prognathism[2] and hare-lip respectively. Cases of "Darwin's point" in the ear are constantly met with.

158 **Pathology.**—1. No idiots, maniacs, or lunatics have ever yet been observed among them, and this is not because those so [057] afflicted are killed or confined by their fellows, for the greatest care and attention are invariably paid to the sick, aged, and 732 helpless. Two or three cases of hunchback and lateral curvature of the spine have come under notice, but instances of the kind are evidently very rare.

164 2. It has often been observed, that though the Andamanese waste away very rapidly in sickness, they regain flesh with equal facility when convalescent; but, nevertheless, they possess so little vital power, that they readily succumb to diseases against which others usually struggle successfully;[3] indeed, they appear to suffer as much, if not more, than individuals of alien races from the febrile disorders—mainly attributable to malaria, so prevalent throughout these islands—which frequently lay the foundation of chest complaints, from which they rarely recover.

3. Pulmonary consumption and other forms of pectoral disease are among the chief causes of mortality among these tribes.[4] These disorders do not appear to be confined to, or to be more prevalent in, certain districts, but there is little doubt that they have been most frequent amongst those living in the homes provided for their benefit in and near our settlements in South Andaman.[5]

[1] In no other particular does this case appear to differ from the rest.

[2] As Professor Owen, F.R.S., truly remarks, "their prognathism is not more than is found in most of the Southern Asiatic peoples, and, indeed, in the lower orders of men in all countries, and may be due or relate to the prolonged sucking of the plastic infant." (*Vide* "Brit. Asso. Reports," 1861.)

[3] This not only refers to maladies introduced by the alien population, such as measles, venereal diseases, &c., but to those complaints from which they suffered prior to the establishment of the settlement.

[4] In reference to complaints of this nature, it may interest some to know that Dr. De Jongh's cod liver oil was largely used in the homes, and with considerable benefit to the patients, several recoveries having resulted therefrom. From inquiry it would seem that cases of constipation are comparatively rare, and that diarrhœa is almost the habitual state of their excretory functions.

[5] As this circumstance was traced to the system of giving them clothes to be worn at our various stations, and when visited by Europeans, it was deemed advisable to modify the regulation and to supply them only with drawers, leaving the upper part of the body exposed. A marked improvement in the general health resulted from this change.

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4. Epilepsy is a recognised form of malady, and is considered as peculiar to certain individuals, but the fits are not regarded in a superstitious light. Cutaneous diseases of a scaly character occasionally occur, but do not appear to be of a serious kind. Leprosy is as yet unknown among them. The physical pain caused by injuries seems less acute than that suffered under similar circumstances by Europeans, and all wounds, as a general rule, heal rapidly.

5. A few years ago (1877), an epidemic of ophthalmia occurred, principally among the people of South Andaman, and, during the few months it lasted, about fifty persons were attacked, many of whom suffered entire or partial loss of sight. The origin of the outbreak was obscured in doubt, and it does not appear that the disease was previously known to the aborigines.

6. They have never yet been afflicted with small-pox, and only once with measles, viz., in 1877, when it was computed that nearly 20 per cent. of the sufferers, who comprised a large proportion of the population, succumbed. This disease was introduced by a batch of convicts from Madras, who, in spite of all the precautions that were taken, communicated it to others in the settlement, from whom it spread to the Andamanese. The contagion extended to the people of Middle and North Andaman, but only those patients who were living within a few miles of our settlement could be attended to by our medical officers; the treatment to which the remainder had recourse, was that commonly adopted among them in fever cases.[1] The ravages committed by this epidemic among the unfortunate aborigines can only be compared, though on a small scale, to the effects of a similar outbreak among the Fijians, shortly after the annexation of their islands to the British Crown.[2]

[1] *Vide post* "Medicine," paragraph 2.

[2] Before leaving this part of my subject it is necessary to mention that, within the last eight years, they have been visited for the first time by that terrible scourge, syphilis, the introduction of which was traced to a few Indian convicts whose duties brought them much in contact with the aboriginal inmates of the homes; the ravages already committed have been most lamentable, and there seems now no hope of checking its spread throughout the various islands forming Great Andaman: this is due to a few of the original sufferers having refused to submit to the system of segregation which was determined upon at the principal home at Viper Island, where all those who were known to be affected were placed in a separate building. Although allowed every indulgence short of liberty to associate with those who were in health, a few of them found the restraint too irksome, and effected their escape one night by swimming from the island, and to them have been traced many fresh cases that subsequently occurred in various jungle encampments. Had it not been for this it might have been possible to confine the disease to those first affected (then numbering about 80), for after their isolation from the rest, no fresh cases occurred at Viper. Thus, unhappily, this terrible malady has now extended over a very considerable area, probably not less than two-thirds of Great Andaman. The rapid spread of the contagion has been greatly attributable to the almost universal practice which prevails

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164 **Medicine.**—1. The diseases most common among these tribes are:—

1st, malarial fever (*did·dirya-*).
2nd, catarrh (*ngī·rib-*).
3rd, coughs (*ō·dag-*).
4th, rheumatism (*mŏl-*).
5th, phthisis.
6th, pneumonia.
7th, heart disease.[1]

757 2. In febrile complaints the treatment adopted by those living
278 in the interior, and less frequently by the coast dwellers,[2] is the following:—A bed is made for the patient of the leaves of the *Trigonostemon longifolius* (*gū·gma-*), and his body is rubbed with these leaves, which are sometimes first boiled, while he sniffs at some crushed pieces of the same; after a time *chū·lngâ-*[3] is given him to drink, and then with some of their patent ointment, *kòi·ob-*,[4] which is not used internally, as has been supposed,[5] the upper lip is painted and also the neck, if the invalid be married. When the fever is accompanied by pains in the chest or head, a *chàu·ga-tâ-*[6] is tied tightly round the part affected, as this is [755] believed to act as a charm, internal pains being always ascribed to the malign influence of evil spirits. During the course of the fever, the patient is constantly rubbed with *gū·gma-* leaves by one or more friends, who insist also upon his swallowing large quantities of *chū·lnga-*; scarifying is never practised at such times. As only a small proportion of cases of this kind have a fatal result, great faith is placed in the treatment above described, and, at all events, it is certain that no injurious effects are caused by it.

757 3. The first half of the rainy season is usually the most sickly time with them, as with ourselves, in regard to fever and bowel

among the women of suckling each other's infants; in fact many parents have thus become tainted with the disease, the characteristics of which have in almost every case been most strongly marked, presenting an interesting study to the medical officers who have had charge of the patients. Great benefit was derived from the treatment and remedies (mercury and iodide of potassium) usually employed in Europe, but time alone will show how far our efforts will avail to prevent the disease from infecting the entire population, if, indeed, it do not, as in certain parts of Australia, lead to the early extermination of the race.

[753] Because of the insidious nature, and (to them) mysterious origin, of the last three named diseases, they say that either *ē·rem-chàu·gala* has shot the sufferer, or *jū·ru-rin-* has speared him. Regarding these evil spirits further reference will be found at "Death and Burial," paragraph 25, and "Religious Beliefs and Demonology," paragraphs 12 and 14.

[1] The reason for this will be found under "Tribal Communities," paragraph 5.

[2] *Vide* Appendix B, No. 63.

[3] *Vide* Appendix B, No. 60.

[4] *Vide* Mouat, p. 306.

[5] *Vide* Appendix B, No. 44.

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affections. Those natives who have been long with us, have great faith in our medicines, especially in the efficacy of quinine for curing fever, from which, as exposure is very trying to their constitutions, they suffer greatly when living in the clearings we have made at Port Blair. 757

4. For a cold in the head they merely remain at home and nurse themselves, crouching over the fire; for a cough, sea-water is often drunk, or they will chew the thick portion of the long leaves of a plant called *jī·ni-* (of the *Alpinia* species), and when the bitter juice has been extracted and swallowed, tie the chewed fibre round the neck; if benefit be not derived from this, they then take a piece of the upper portion of the stem of the *Calamosagus laciniosus*, called *pôr-*, and, removing the bark, chew the rest, and swallow the sap. Many cures having been attributed to the wonderful properties of the two descriptions of *chū·lnga-*, one or two quarts daily are prescribed to the unhappy patient, until the cough leaves him. 757 278

5. In cases of rheumatism and paralysis, a *chàu·ga-tâ-* is tied round the parts affected, and *chū·lnga-*, moist as found, is rubbed into them: if no relief is experienced within a day or so, warm water is poured over the suffering members, which are then shampooed; should no improvement result, even after these measures, recourse is had to scarification; this is done with a quartz or glass flake, by a woman, generally the wife or one near of kin to the sufferer. It has been noticed that but few of those who have been attacked by rheumatism in the jungle ever regain the full use of their limbs. 757 304

6. In phthisis, or when any internal organ is diseased, steps are taken by the friends of the patient to defeat the machinations of the evil one, to whom the victim's sufferings are attributed; to this end, one or more *chàu·ga-tâ-* are first fastened tightly over the seat of pain, a lump of black beeswax, *tō·bul-pīd-*,[1] is then held over a fire till it begins to melt, when it is instantly applied, being passed rapidly over the flesh; the wax which adheres is not removed, but wears off in a few days. The patient is also subjected to pressure with the hands by a relative or friend of the same sex, while an attendant frequently sucks the skin. Scarification is the *dernier ressort* when the bad symptoms increase.[2] [755] [278]

7. Every attention is paid to the wants and wishes of the sick, and the friends do all in their power to effect recovery, but no charms, excepting the *chàu·ga-tâ-*, are employed in the hope of 757 751

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, No. 57.

[2] As many bad cases of lung disease among those in the homes have been successfully treated with cod liver oil, they have now great faith in that medicine.

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751 averting or curing illness; after recovery, no ceremonies of purification take place.

751 8. With respect to these necklaces of human bones, it should be stated that it is not considered necessary that the bones used for this purpose should have belonged to an adult, those of a child or of one long since dead, are considered equally efficacious; the belief is that they cure diseases, and shield the wearer in some measure from the machinations of evil spirits, through the intervention of the disembodied spirit, who is supposed to be gratified by, and aware of, the respect thus paid to his memory. Loose teeth obtained from human skulls and jaw bones, are sometimes strung together as necklaces, or, if too few for such a purpose, they are included among the pieces of bone which are broken up to form the *chàwga-tâ-*; turtle bones are also sometimes added under similar circumstances.

9. The skull and jawbone are carried, either separately or together, merely as mementoes, and are not accredited with any peculiar virtues.

843 10. During pregnancy, the women eat in moderation, but delight in as great a variety of food as possible, telling their husbands day by day what to procure for them;[1] they are also in the habit of taking as much active exercise as possible, as they believe it conduces to an easy *accouchement*, and the same reason is given for the custom, common among them, of consuming small quantities of *tâ-la-ōg-*[2] from time to time; but this practice may be traced with more probability to the fact that the appetite of persons in an anæmic condition is generally fanciful and depraved, such substances as "lime, chalk, or slate pencil being sometimes greedily devoured by them."

844 11. When about to be confined, the custom is for the husband, and some of the woman's female friends, to attend on her; she is placed in a sitting posture, the left leg is stretched out, and the right knee brought up, so as to enable her to clasp it with her arms. Her husband supports her back and presses her as desired, while her female friends hold a leaf screen *kâ-pa-jâ-tnga-* over the lower part of her person, and assist her, to the best of their ability, in the delivery and in the removal of the after-birth; the umbilical cord is severed by means of a *Cyrena* shell (now a steel blade is often used), and when the infant has been washed in cold water, its skin is gently scraped with the shell. Publicity is not courted on these occasions, as has been asserted,[3] but all, save those whose services are required, continue
000 their occupations as usual. Soon after the delivery, some warm

[1] Further allusion to this subject will be made under "Tabu."
[2] *Vide* Appendix E, No. 58.
[3] *Vide* Mouat, p. 294.

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Soon after delivery, some warm
water is given to the woman to drink; she is also fed with 846
meat-gravy, and the water in which shell or other fish have been boiled; after a time, should she desire it, fish, shell-fish, yams, or fruit are given her, but no meat.[1] During the first two or three days, she remains in a sitting posture, propped up by articles arranged so as to form a couch. As might be supposed, from the active habits and unsophisticated manners of these people, their women rarely suffer much during labour and child-birth; in fact, no instances of difficult delivery are known.[2]

12. For ear-ache, head-ache, and tooth-ache, recourse is had, in 755
the first instance, to the *chàu·ga-tâ-*, then to scarification, should the pain continue and cause swelling.

13. In cases of skin disease, they afford relief, at least from 757
irritation, by applying to the parts affected a large smooth stone previously warmed over a fire.

14. When a wound is inflicted by a thorn, stone, shell, &c., 752
hot water is poured over it from a *Cyrena* shell, which is then 278
heated and applied to the part as hot as it can be borne; or, if the injury be slight, sea-bathing is prescribed, as it is said to expedite the healing process. In treating a boil, they scarify all round the swelling in order to reduce the inflammation, and afterwards bathe it with *chū·lnga-* "lotion." This substance is also taken internally when suffering from dysentery, while for diarrhœa they swallow small quantities of a whitish clay, called *kôtrē·o-*.

15. The *larvæ* of bees found attached to honeycombs is eaten 757
to correct constipation, or, if in season, the fruits of two trees, 278
ô·ropa- and *chôb-*, which are much relished, and not without reason.

16. Their method of treating a case of epilepsy is to sprinkle 757
the patient with cold water, and then to scarify his brow.

17. When bitten by a snake (especially a venomous one), if 752
they succeed in killing it, they cut it open, and apply the kidney fat to the wound, rubbing it in for some time; should they fail in capturing the reptile, a ligament is tied above the bite, and the surrounding flesh is scarified. Deaths from snake bites, though not unknown, are rare. The late chief of the Middle Strait community died in a few hours from the bite of a certain tree snake called *tâ·ga-jō·bo-*,[3] in September, 1878, and another

[1] During menstruation they abstain from pork, *Paradoxurus*, turtle, honey, and yams, and live upon certain varieties of fish, sour fruits, iguanas, and prawns.

[2] The custom known by the name of *couvade*, or the paternal lying-in, is quite unknown among the Andamanese.

[3] This snake is said to be the most deadly, after which the *lâ·raba-* and *ud·ra-jō·bo-* are the most dreaded. The last appears to be the *Ophiophagus elaps*. Further allusion to the *lâ·raba-* and the *ud·ra-jō·bo-* will be made under "Superstitions."

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752 case of a similar kind occurred a few years since in McPherson's Strait. When bitten by a centipede on the leg or hand, urine is applied; less inconvenience seems to be caused by these injuries to the Andamanese than to the natives of other countries, although the insects are here larger than in many districts, measuring sometimes as much as eight inches. The scorpions, on the other hand, are small and comparatively innocuous; no attention is therefore paid to the bites they inflict.

164 18. Elephantiasis appears never to have occurred among them; but since seeing cases of this complaint among the Nicobarese, they have given it a name, *lâ·pi-*, from *lâ·pike*, to swell (as a bruise).

752 19. Bandages of leaves are applied to gunshot wounds, ulcers, fractures, sprains, or bruises.

201 **Physiognomy.**—1. When an Andamanese is in good spirits, his eyes sparkle and the surrounding skin is slightly wrinkled, while the corners of the mouth, which is partially opened, are drawn back; if he be in low spirits the eyes are directed to the ground, the forehead is transversely wrinkled in the centre, and the lips are closed, but the corners of the mouth are not depressed; under the influence of great grief the nostrils are observed to dilate.

2. In thinking deeply, or while endeavouring to understand the construction of some object, the eyes are fixed intently on it, and a slight elevation of the lower lid is noticeable.

3. Astonishment is expressed by the eyebrows being raised, the mouth opened a little and covered with the left hand, while the right hand is brought smartly to the left side just above the heart; a man will also, on being reminded of an unintentional omission to fulfil some promise, act either in this manner, or he will slap his thigh and then place the hand over his opened mouth. Women show their surprise (and also joy) by striking the thigh, which is raised for the purpose, with the open hand. To this practice may be attributed the mistaken notion entertained by an early writer,[1] that "their salutation is performed by lifting up a leg and smacking with their hand the lower part of the thigh."

4. Indications of slyness, guilt, and jealousy can be detected in the eye only.

5. Disgust is shown by throwing the head back, dilating the nostrils, drawing down the corners of the mouth, and slightly protruding the lower lip: no expiration is, however, made.

6. Shame is evinced by the head being averted, the eyes lowered, and the hands raised so as to conceal the portion of the face exposed to view.

[1] *Vide* Colebrooke.

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7. Defiance is expressed by raising and slightly averting the head, and slowly uttering the word *ârtâ·lō·g-ba*, which is equivalent to "try it on." 201

8. Women and children, when too frightened to run away, throw themselves on their faces on the ground and raise shrill cries, while men, under similar circumstances, show their alarm by falling backwards, with their hands uplifted, and their eyes rolling. Laughter is sometimes carried to such an extreme as to bring tears.

9. When very angry a man does not stamp his foot, but he places his left hand, palm uppermost, between his teeth, and glares fiercely at some object on the ground *near* the offender; he, at the same time, raises some weapon with his right hand, and utters, as well as the position of the other hand permits, words of terrible import.

10. A man, if threatening another, does not clench his fist, but will seize some weapon or missile, and express his intention of inflicting an injury with it.

11. A dogged or obstinate expression is indicated by averting the head, closing the lips, lowering the eyes, as if ignoring the presence of others, and frowning slightly.

12. When sneering, the teeth are clenched, the upper lip slightly curled, and the eyes are fixed on some object *near* the person addressed.

13. Children, when sulky, behave much as those in other lands, for they pout, frown, and utter noises which betoken discontent.

14. When a man wishes to show that he cannot prevent something being done, or cannot himself do something, he averts his head and pouts his lips, but does not shrug his shoulders.

15. In beckoning, the head is nodded vertically and a hand outstretched, the fingers with the knuckles uppermost being waved towards himself.

16. In affirmation the head is nodded vertically, in negation it is shaken laterally.

Motions.—1. The attitudes of these savages are usually easy; the body when in motion is fairly balanced, the leg, if standing, is straightened; the foot is usually evenly planted, with the toes turned slightly outward; when stalking game they go on tiptoe, but, as a rule, the gait is energetic only under momentary excitement. The average length of a man's pace on level ground is 29–30 inches, and of a woman's about 24 inches. The arms (which they swing when walking) are habitually held with the palms turned inward. If pointing to any object, they usually do so with one finger, and not with the open hand. 481 [201]

2. In climbing up a rope or large creeper they proceed hand over hand with great rapidity, assisted by the big and second

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481 toes of each foot; if a tree is branched they will scramble up it almost as quickly as if scaling a ladder, and though when "swarming" a mast or cocoa-nut tree they clasp the trunk in the usual manner with the arms and legs, their movements are more rapid, and they are less easily fatigued, than are the generality of natives of India; in descending also they display the same activity.

516 3. I have observed a peculiar trick among young men and women, after a lengthened rest or after engaging in some sedentary occupation, of twisting their bodies from side to side in order to stretch the muscles of the back. In doing this they produce a succession of sounds like that caused by cracking the joints of one's fingers.

4. Their favourite position in taking temporary rest after any violent or prolonged exertion is the ordinary Oriental posture between sitting and standing, *i.e.*, squatting on their heels; if very much exhausted they either sit or lie down.

513 5. The usual attitude in sleep (*vide* Plate III, fig. 2) is to lie on one side, preferably the right, with the knees bent so as to allow of the hand of the upper arm being placed between the thighs and the other hand under the head, which is raised on some impromptu pillow, such as a bundle or a roll of sleeping mat.

142 6. Many are able to shut one eye without closing the other, but they do not appear to possess the power of moving the ears or scalp. They can extend one finger without opening the hand. No tricks of sleight of hand are known to or attempted by them.

7. Much use is made of the feet in holding and picking up light objects, and the great toe is in a considerable degree [483] opposable. When a heavy load has to be moved they prefer pushing to dragging it.[1]

482 **Physical Powers and Senses.**—1. Though for a short distance heavier loads are often borne, the maximum of a man's burden is about 40 lbs.; this he will on occasion carry for as much as 15 miles through the jungles between sunrise and sunset, a distance rarely exceeded in one day under any circumstances, or for more than two or three days in succession. This has been particularly remarked when they have been in pursuit of runaway convicts, for, if they fail in coming up with them within the third day, they are wont to take a long rest, unless strong inducements are offered by way of inciting them to further efforts.

[1] They do not understand, or, at least, do not carry into practice, the principle of pushing or dragging a weight *simultaneously*, whether in silence or to the sound of the voice.

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2. Unlike the natives of India, the men allow scarce any weight to rest on the head; the entire strain is thrown on the shoulders and back by passing the cord to which the load is attached across the chest. As this mode would with women be attended with inconvenience on account of the *chīp-*,[1] besides causing injury to the breasts, the cord is in their case brought over the head,[2] and the back is bent in order to reduce the pressure. 482

3. In his account of a visit to the Nágá Hills, about ten years ago,[3] Mr. S. E. Peal makes allusion to the "peculiar noise, like a whistle or note on a flute, clear and plain, and seeming to come from the chest, made by Nágánis when carrying loads and distressed." The same peculiarity is noticeable under similar circumstances among the Andamanese of *both* sexes. [142]

4. Running is seldom practised by them except for a short distance, when hunting, &c., and four or five hundred yards appears to be the greatest extent of ground they can cover without halting or slackening speed. Though in running or walking on a good road they are generally passed without difficulty by natives of India, their superiority in the jungles is at once manifest when the beaten track is left; and in the ease and rapidity with which they are able to bound over rocks, fallen trees, mangrove roots, and other obstacles, few, if any, would care, or be able, to compete with them. 481

5. Both coastmen and "junglees" are, as a rule, gifted with extremely keen sight. It was, however, found impossible to gauge their powers by the test papers[4] in consequence of their inability to count; but many satisfactory proofs of their acuteness of vision have been afforded, as, for instance, by the manner in which, while coasting along the shore or when threading their way through the jungle, they detect birds or other objects, so hidden by the dense foliage of their forests as to be hardly distinguishable, even when pointed out, to more than ordinarily sharp-eyed Europeans and others. 151

6. The inland tribes have especially keen scent, and are able from an almost incredible distance to specify, and direct their steps towards, any particular tree that may happen to be in blossom; their sense of taste is also strongly developed, enabling them to discriminate between the various flowers from which the bees have produced their honey.

7. On the other hand, while the coastmen are not deficient in

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, No. 24.

[2] A peculiarity in the conformation of the female skull due to this practice will be hereafter noted, under the heading of "Deformations," paragraph 3.

[3] *Vide* "Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal," vol. xli, part 1, 1872.

[4] Viz., those used in the Army for recruiting purposes.

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151 these points, they are found to surpass the natives of the interior in their sense of hearing, which is so acute that they commonly spear turtles on the darkest nights, though able to direct their aim only by the slight sound made by the animal when rising to the surface to take breath. "*ng'ab-mū·lwa-*" (you deaf person !) is a term of reproach often applied by the coast people to those dwelling inland, in allusion to the admitted inferiority of the latter in this respect.

Psychology and Morals.—1. It has been remarked with regret 577 by all interested in the race, that intercourse with the alien population has, generally speaking, prejudicially affected their morals; and that the candour, veracity, and self-reliance they manifest in their savage and untutored state are, when they become associated with foreigners, to a great extent lost, and habits of untruthfulness, dependence, and sloth engendered.

2. Though there are some grounds for the opinion hitherto held regarding their fearlessness, our more recent relations with them prove that the surprising courage and apparent utter recklessness of life which they manifested in their early encounters with us were due rather to their ignorance of, and disbelief in, any foe more powerful than themselves, or with means of destruction more deadly than their own. Probably nothing short of despair or uncontrollable rage would ever induce any of them to make an attack in which they have not a decided advantage, real or imaginary. All is regarded as fair in war, and cunning and treachery are considered worthy of commendation; in short, the high type of courage common among most civilised, and a few savage, nations appears to be totally lacking among the Andamanese; nevertheless, those who evince courage are much admired, and poltroons are objects of general ridicule.[1] When apprised of the existence of danger, they usually evince extreme caution, and only venture upon an attack when well assured, that, by their superior numbers, they can put the enemy to flight, or will be able, by stealth, to surprise and overpower him.

3. At the same time certain traits which have been noticeable in their dealings with us would give colour to the belief that they are not altogether lacking in the sense of honour, and have some faint idea of the meaning of justice. An amusing incident is related by Dr. Day on this point. It appears that on a certain

[1] Their conduct on occasions of personal risk is, however, generally governed by the consideration that "discretion is the better part of valour," and that

"He who fights and runs away,
May live to fight another day."

They thus resemble the South Sea islanders spoken of by Sir J. Lubbock who, "though not cowards, regard it as much less disgraceful to run away from an enemy with whole bones than to fight and be wounded."

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occasion "they brought in some escaped convicts, whom, however, they first plundered, besides removing every bit of iron from the boat in which they had escaped. On being taxed with this they at first pleaded surprise, then said they would make restitution, and brought a canoe as an exchange for the mischief they had done to the government boat. At first this was not quite understood and the canoe was sent back, but they returned it next day, explaining that they desired it to be kept as a reimbursement for the injury they had done to the government boat, so no longer considered the canoe theirs." 577

4. As another example of the same kind:—when the present penal colony at Port Blair was first established, the aborigines were observed to refrain from shooting at any of the chain-gang prisoners, evidently judging that they at least could not be voluntary invaders of their territory, and to confine their hostility to the petty officers and others not in chains, till these at last, finding themselves in constant danger, sought and obtained permission to carry on their duties in fetters.[1]

5. Much mutual affection is displayed in their social relations, and, in their dealings with strangers, the same characteristic is observable when once a good understanding has been established.

6. It is a noteworthy trait, and one that deserves high commendation, that every care and consideration are paid by all classes to the very young, the weak, the aged, and the helpless, and these, being made special objects of interest and attention, invariably fare better in regard to the comforts and necessaries of daily life than any of the otherwise more fortunate members of the community. [388]

7. Andamanese children are reproved for being impudent and forward, but discipline is not enforced by corporal punish- 861

[1] It may not be unworthy of notice to record here yet another instance of generosity of disposition displayed by one of these savages. In January, 1877, a party of 24 *Bhil* convicts effected their escape: all but some 11 or 12 were soon re-captured. Those still at large proved desperate, showing by their murderous assault on some aborigines, who had unconsciously approached their hiding place in the jungle, that they were prepared to resist capture at all hazards. The chief "*mūnshī*" *.bī'ela* (*vide* Plate II, fig. 2) thereupon headed a party of his tribe and some policemen, and, in spite of the parched condition of the soil—it being then late in February—succeeded in tracking the runaways, who had penetrated several miles into an unfrequented part of the jungle. Refusing to surrender themselves they were attacked, with the result that all were either captured or shot down. On being asked by the Chief Commissioner what reward would be most acceptable for the service the aborigines had performed on this occasion, *.bī'ela* replied that he would prefer to anything else that the Chief Commissioner should remit the remaining portion of the six months' sentence passed on four members of a Middle Andaman tribe, who, a few months before, had been convicted of shooting, at Kyd Island, some Chinamen engaged in collecting edible birds' nests. The prisoners were almost unknown to *.bī'ela*, and their release, therefore, could no more have concerned him personally than did their punishment. His request was granted.

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861 ment; they are early taught to be generous and self-denying, and the special object of the fasting period, regarding which I shall hope to speak to you on another occasion, seems to be to test the fortitude and powers of endurance of the lads and lasses before entering upon the cares and responsibilities of married
867 life. The duties of showing respect and hospitality to friends and visitors being impressed upon them from their early years, all guests are well treated; every attention is paid to their wants, the best food at their host's disposal is set before them, and, ere they take their leave, some tokens of regard or goodwill are bestowed, or, to speak more correctly, interchanged. Strangers visiting an encampment for the first time are welcomed if introduced by some mutual friend.[1]

834 8. It has been observed by ethnologists who have described certain other primitive races, that modesty and morality are not dependent on, or to be gauged by, the amount of covering which is deemed requisite by either sex. The Andamanese present another instance in point; and in the esteem in which they hold these virtues, and the self-respect which characterises their intercourse with each other, may even be said to compare favourably with that existing in certain ranks among civilised races.[2]

461 9. In the manufacture of their weapons, utensils, and other articles, they habitually display a remarkable amount of perseverance and industry, spending hour after hour in laboriously striking pieces of iron with a stone hammer for the purpose of forming spear or arrow-heads, or in improving the shape of a bow, &c., even though there be no necessity, immediate or prospective, to stimulate them to such efforts. The incentive is evidently a spirit of emulation, each one priding himself on being able to produce work which will excel, or at least compare not unfavourably with, that of his neighbours.

431 10. Selfishness is not among their characteristics, for they frequently make presents of the best that they possess, and do not reserve, much less make, weapons, &c., of superior workmanship for their own private use; at the same time it must be

[1] On seeing a stranger at a gathering, it would be asked: *ōl mij'a?* (who is he?) or, if the visitor be senior to the inquirer, *ōl mij'ola?* (who is that elder or chief?)

[2] Women are so modest that they will not renew their leaf aprons in the presence of one another, but retire to a secluded spot for this purpose; even when parting with one of their *ōōd-* appendages to a female friend the delicacy they manifest for the feelings of the bystanders in their mode of removing it almost amounts to prudishness. Coarse conversation appears to be of rare occurrence and to meet with little or no encouragement. Remarks on the personal appearance or peculiarities of friends or blood relatives are considered harmless, but if made in reference to a wife or husband would be regarded as indelicate and objectionable, and resented accordingly.

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confessed that it is tacitly understood that an equivalent should be rendered for every gift. 431

11. Like the Papuans they are merry, talkative, petulant, inquisitive, and restless. Their speech is rapid, with a constant repetition of the same idea, and a joke, if not played in too practical a form, is highly appreciated. 522

12. When out of temper with any one they never defame his relatives or use improper expressions, as is so common a practice among natives of India, but merely indulge in mild terms of abuse, such as the following:— 578

ngab-ted-inga tâ-paya! (You liar!)
ngūn-kâ-maya! (You duffer!)
ngūn-jā-bagya! or *ng'ab-mūgutigpī-chaya!* (You fool!)
ngī-chô-na! (You long head!)
ngig-chô-ronga-lâ-nta! (You long nose!)
ngig-pâ-namaya! (You sunken-eyed one!)
ngid-kī-nabya! or *ngī-gō-robya!* (You skin and bone!)

A quarrel, as may be supposed, generally results from this style of address.[1]

13. With the exception of those who have lived with us away from their friends from birth or early childhood, not a case can be cited in which a preference is not manifested for a jungle life, even after a sojourn of many years at the Orphanage or Homes at Port Blair.

14. Opportunities for comparing the mental capacity of the children with those of other races have been few; but these have tended to show that, up to the age of 12 or 14, they possess quite as much intelligence as ordinary middle-class children of civilised races when competing in subjects in which they have been instructed in common; but the precociousness of intellect which has so often been remarked in the very young does not appear to be long maintained. Dr. Brander, who was for some time in charge of the Andaman Hospital, gave it as his opinion, that as a race "they are not deficient in brain power; it rather lies dormant and unused in their savage state;" and he mentions the case of an aboriginal patient of 12 years of age, who had been educated in the Ross Orphanage School, and who, in spite of his tender years, could yet read English and Urdu fluently, as well as speak and write in both these languages, retaining also a knowledge of his mother tongue. He had, besides, acquired a fair knowledge of arithmetic. I may add that this is not an exceptional case, for I could instance others, and one lad in particular, who was his superior. 145

15. More lengthened observations than have hitherto been

[1] *Vide post* "Laws," paragraph 1.

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000 possible are required before we can speak with certainty regarding the extent, limits, and conditions of heredity among this race; but it has been noticed that, as a general rule, they have excellent memories, especially on those subjects in which the intellects of their ancestors have been consciously or unconsciously exercised or cultivated in the savage state. The following passage will afford an illustration of the intelligence displayed by these people on such subjects. It is taken from the late Mr. Kurz's Report on the Vegetation of the Andaman Islands:—
824 "While I was in the Andamans I was in the habit of consulting people (convicts) from the most different parts of India for the native names of the plants. As a general result, I may state that the Burmans were best acquainted with the flora of the Andamans, but they are by no means equal to the Andamanese in accuracy and certainty of determination. While the Burmans were obliged continually to cut into the bark to recognise the trees, the Andamanese readily gave their names, and I could rely upon their statements, which was not the case at all with those of the Burmese."

787 16. Instances have been observed among them of individuals
158 possessing strong wills and vivid powers of imagination: as a race they do not appear to be subject to trances, illusions, or somnambulism, but, like many other savages, they place implicit faith in dreams, shaping their conduct in superstitious conformity to the warning or advice supposed to have been conveyed therein.

791 **Magic and Witchcraft.**—1. There are, however, certain indi-
754 viduals in these tribes, known as *ôko-pai·ad-* (*lit.*, a dreamer), who are credited with the possession of supernatural powers—
431 such as second sight, expressed by the term *àramū·ga-tâ·rabanga-*, —and of a mysterious influence over the fortunes and lives of their neighbours. It is thought that they can bring trouble, sickness, and death upon those who fail to evince their belief in them in some substantial form;[1] they thus generally manage to obtain the best of everything, for it is considered foolhardy to deny them, and they do not scruple to ask for any article to which they may take a fancy.

791 2. These quasi-seers are invariably of the male sex, and it
431 sometimes even happens that a young boy is looked upon as a "coming" *ôko-pai·ad-*, their position being generally in the first instance attained by relating an extraordinary dream, the details

[1] This reminds one somewhat of the disease makers of Tanna (New Hebrides), who are supposed to cause disease and death by burning *nakak* (rubbish, principally refuse of food), and who are propitiated by continual presents. The practice of burning beeswax, in order to cause annoyance to an enemy, will be mentioned under "Superstitions," paragraph 13.

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of which are declared to have been borne out subsequently by 791
some unforeseen event, as, for instance, a sudden death by 431
accident.

3. In order to maintain his status it is necessary for an *ôko-pai·ad-* to give fresh evidences of his powers from time to time, for, so long as his companions have faith in him, he is the constant recipient of presents of all kinds, which are unblushingly given[1] and accepted as bribes to curry favour.

4. Sometimes, owing to the multiplicity of these gifts, it is inconvenient to the *ôko-pai·ad-* to take charge of them; he then enters into an arrangement with the donors that such articles as he does not at present need shall be available for his use or appropriation whenever he may require them; hence many individuals possess property which is said to be *râ·dare* (*i.e.*, bespoken) by a certain seer, and which is, therefore, not available for presentation to anyone else.

5. If a disaster occur which they think might have been 791
averted had the *ôko-pai·ad-* chosen to exercise his powers, they are said sometimes to conspire to kill him, but so greatly is he feared that not a single instance is known of anyone having ventured to carry such a plan into execution.

6. The position and influence possessed by a seer are not affected by his falling ill, but if some serious misfortune occur to him, such as the death of a child, it is looked upon as a sign that his power is waning, or that he has at least lost a portion of it; they, however, continue to stand in awe of him unless, as time passes, he fails to afford further proof of his supposed superiority. His wife enjoys no distinction, nor is she treated with more respect and consideration than any other woman of the like age in the tribe.

7. The *ôko-pai·ad-* is credited with the power of communicat- 791
ing in dreams with the invisible powers of good and evil, and
also of seeing the spirits of the departed, or of those who are ill. 755
On the occurrence of an epidemic in an encampment, he brandishes a burning log, and bids the evil spirit keep at a distance; sometimes, as a further precaution, he plants stakes a few feet high in front of each hut, painted in stripes with black beeswax (*tō·bul-pīd-*), the smell of which being peculiarly offensive to this demon, called *ē·rem-châu·gala*, insures his speedy departure from their midst.

8. Though we may be disposed to question the belief of the 791
*ôko-pai·ad-*s themselves in the supernatural powers they profess to possess, it is quite possible that they, like sorcerers in other

[1] Especially is this done by those advanced in years for fear of their end being hastened by the *ôko-pai·ad-* whom they fail to propitiate.

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PLATE IV

BARREN ISLAND VOLCANO (HEIGHT, 1,015 FEET)

[facing p. 30]

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791 savage tribes,[1] imagine themselves gifted with superior wisdom, and can hardly be blamed if they endeavour to turn their talents to account by imposing a little on the credulity of their neighbours.

Tribal Distribution.—1. The inhabitants of these islands are
101 divided into at least nine tribes,[2] linguistically distinguished,
171 even if we reckon as one those communities to which I have
197 already alluded under the title of *järawa-*, among whom it is not improbable further divisions and dialects may eventually be
619 discovered. The conjecture that they are one is merely based on the assertions of the people of South Andaman, and on the circumstance that all the weapons, utensils, huts, &c., of the *järawa-*, which we have been able to examine, appear to be constructed invariably on the same model, while all such members of the various scattered communities as we have had the opportunity of observing, resemble each other in abstaining from the practice, so general among all the eight Great Andaman tribes, of shaving their heads and tattooing their persons. Still, these outward similarities are manifestly insufficient, affording as they do mere negative evidence, whereas our present knowledge, so tardily acquired, of there being inland communities, called *ē·rem-tâ·ga-*, dwelling in the heart of South and Middle Andaman, who are allied in all respects, save in their mode of life, with the *àryô·to-*, or coast communities of their respective tribes, would seem to justify the belief that hereafter the aborigines of Little Andaman will be found to present not only distinctions of this nature but differences also of dialect, as is the case with the inhabitants of both North and Middle Andaman, which are known to be divided into no less than six tribes.

161 2. As to the numerical strength of these several tribes it is impossible to speak with any degree of certainty, for, as you are
619 aware, there is no part of the country which is not covered with jungle, more or less impenetrable to any but the aborigines themselves, while their capacity for estimating and expressing numbers is wholly inadequate to assist us in forming any conclusions on the subject. The surmise that the entire group contains about 4,000 souls is based on the calculation that the *.bō·jig-ngīji-* tribe with whom we are most intimate do not at the present day exceed 400, though at the time of our advent in 1858, they are believed to have numbered about 1,000.

133 **Topography.**—1. The chief geographical landmarks of these islands are :—

1st. *Saddle Peak*, a massive hill rising to the height of

[1] *Vide* Lubbock, "On the Origin of Civilisation," &c., 4th Ed., pp. 250–1.

[2] For the names of the various tribes, and the localities they occupy, the reader is referred to the accompanying map.

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133 2,400 feet, situated in North Andaman, and visible at a distance of 60 miles.

2nd. *Narcondam*,[1] a small hilly island, containing an extinct volcano, with an elevation of 2,330 feet, lying about 70 miles east of North Andaman.

3rd. *Barren Island*, 75 miles S.S.W. of *Narcondam*, and about 42 miles east of the nearest island of the Great Andaman group, from no portion of the coast of which is it visible. It contains an active volcano, the height of which is about 1,015 feet.

[501] 2. Until recent years[2] the first only of these was known to the aborigines, probably owing to the circumstance that they, at least the natives of Great Andaman, have never been seen to venture far out to sea in their frail and clumsy canoes. The name borne by this hill is *Pū·luga lâ·kà bang-* (*lit.* Creator his mouth), referring apparently to its size and inaccessibility, and to a large ravine running down its side. There is also a belief that Saddle Peak was the place of *Pū·luga-*'s[3] residence prior to the deluge.

823 825 3. The formation of rocks, valleys, hills, &c., they attribute to the will of *Pū·luga-*, but they assign the sources of the streams containing oxide of iron, *kòi·ob-chū·lnga-*, and the olive-coloured mineral, *chū·lnga-*, to the action of a poisonous snake, called *lâ·raba-*, well known to them.[4]

103 4. The names they give to the natural forms of land and water are as follows :—

Cape (point)—*tô·ko-chô·ronga-* [*chô·ronga-* = nose].
Isthmus—*tô·to-kī·nab-* [*kī·nab-* = waist].
Mountain—*bô·roin-*.
Valley—*pâ·rag-*.
Strait—*teg-pâ·rag-*.
Coast (shore)—*īgô·ra-* [*gō·ra-* = strong].
Fore-shore—*kē·wad-* and *bô·roga-*.
Island—*tàrchô·na-*.
Islet—*tōt-kai·cha-*.
Harbour—*elàrū·la-*.
Bay—*kō·bunga-*.
Creek—*jīg-*.[5]

[1] The probable derivation of this name will be given in Part II.

[2] Since amicable relations have been established with the South and Middle Andamanese, several members of these tribes have visited Barren Island by accompanying us in the station steamer The name by which it is now known to them is *.môla-tàrchô·na-* (*lit.*, Smoke Island), in allusion to the smoke which is almost always to be seen rising from the volcano, and which they account for by saying that it must be due to a fire which *Pū·luga-* kindled.

[3] *Pū·luga* represents to them The Creator. *Vide* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 7.

[4] *Vide post* "Superstitions," paragraph 21.

[5] The legendary belief regarding the formation of creeks will be found under "Mythology."

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802 **Arithmetic.**—1. The utter hopelessness of obtaining from the aborigines any correct idea of the population of the tribes individually and collectively will be readily understood when it is stated that the only numerals in the language are those for denoting "one" and "two," and that they have absolutely no word to express specifically any higher figures, but indulge in some such vague term as "several," "many," "numerous," "innumerable," which seem to convey to their minds an approximate idea of the number intended, but fail to satisfy the requirements of the statistician.[1]

2. When anxious to express a certain small number with exactness, as, for example, nine, the nose is tapped with the tips of the fingers in successive order, and, commencing with the little finger of either hand, "*ū·ba-tū·l-*," (one) is said; with the next finger "*īkpô·r-*" (two), after which with each successive finger "*ɩn-kā·*" (and this) is uttered. When the forefinger of the second hand is reached both are held up, and, the thumb of the second hand being clenched, the necessary number of digits is exposed to view, whereupon the word "*àrdū·ru-*" (all) is pronounced.

3. If ten be the number in question—and this is the highest numeral they attempt to indicate by this or any other method—on reaching the thumb of the second hand, both hands, before being held up, are brought together and then is said, as in the former case, "*àrdū·ru-*."

4. To express "one," they hold up the forefinger of either hand and utter the word *ū·ba-tū·l-* or *ū·ba-dō·ga-;* to denote "two" they hold up the first two fingers and say "*īkpô·r-*."

5. The toes are never used in counting, nor are pebbles, grains, or notches in a stick ever so employed. When it is stated that only the more intelligent are in the habit of computing by even the primitive method I have here described, it is somewhat remarkable to find that their system of denoting ordinals is more comprehensive, as will be seen by reference to Appendix E.

823 6. Before their comparatively recent acquaintance with us, they had not the faintest knowledge of the existence of even the

[1] With regard to human beings, to express a small number, say, from 10 to 20, *àrdū·ru-* would be used, while a somewhat greater number would be implied by the use of *jeg-chàw·-* (*lit.*, collected body), and a still greater assemblage, say of 50 persons, by *jī·baba*, beyond which number *at-ū·baba*, would be used. These words may be translated in a rising scale as follows:—

àrdū·ru-, several; *jeg-chàw·-*, many; *jī·baba*, very many; *at-ū·baba* (or *ū·baba*), innumerable.

As regards animals and inanimate objects the words *àrdū·ru-* implying many, and *ōt-ū·baba* (or *ū·baba*). innumerable, are generally used, and sometimes *jī·baba*, denoting very many.

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823 neighbouring coast of Burmah, much less of the world at large, and consequently imagined that their islands formed almost the entire terrene area, and that they themselves comprised the bulk of the inhabitants.

715 7. The few voyagers who from time to time ventured near their shores were regarded as deceased ancestors, who, by some dispensation, had been permitted to re-visit the earth, and who were supposed to live on some small island in the vicinity of their *ē·rema-*, *i.e.*, world. In confirmation of this may be cited the name by which natives of India are to this day called, viz., *chàw·gala* (*lit.* departed spirits).

103 **Etymology.**—1. From the following list of some of the numerous encampments of the natives of South Andaman,[1] it will be observed that the names are usually derived from some circumstance peculiar to the spot, or from some tree overshadowing the site:—

.tâ-bô·roga-, coral (*tâ-*), shore (*bô·roga-*).
.tigbang·-, rock-hole, there being at that place a hole in a large rock through which a canoe can pass.
.tàrmū·gu-.[2] West (island).
.yū·kala-chàng·-, grassy (*yū·kala-*), camp (*chàng-*).
.dū·mla-paicha-òng·-, anchorage (*òng-*), in neighbourhood (*paicha-*), of the (*la*), *Dūm-* tree.
.lē·kera-bar·nga-, a row (*bar·nga-*) of *Lēkera-* trees.
.ū·dala lâr chū·lnga-, the spring (*chū·lnga-*), at the (*lâr*, *lit.* of the) *.ū·dala-* tree (*Pandanus verus*).
.chē·la- dôk·nga-, the dragging (*dô·knga-*) of the ship (*chē·lewa-*). A ship was once wrecked there.
.būd lōt deg·ranga-. Defeat camp; the defeat (*deg·ranga-*) at the (*lōt*, *lit.* of the) camp (*būd-*). There was once a severe fight there.

2. There are a few place-names which are unintelligible to the present inhabitants, *e.g.*, *.lū·rwa-*, *.tū·rubūn-*, though it is believed that they conveyed a meaning to former generations. Many of the names show an old, but unmistakable form of the present language, while others, again, might be judged to be of recent adoption, but they are not so in point of fact.

361 **Tribal Communities.**—1. It is no matter of surprise that, during the *first* years of our present occupation, when our acquaintance with the aborigines was so limited, we should

[1] A fairly complete list of the names of these encampments, and the meanings of the greater number of them, will be found in a short paper, entitled "Note on two Maps of the Andaman Islands," by E. H. Man and R. C. Temple, which was published in the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," 1880.

[2] *Vide* "Astronomy," paragraph 5. (*West*, the disappearing face place.)

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361 have failed to learn that there are permanent encampments and kitchen-middens in the heart of the jungles of Great Andaman; but, since it has been recently asserted in a paper[1] by one of the officers long resident at Port Blair, that, to quote his words, "No tribe of Negritos in the same stage of existence . . . . as the Andamanese could exist in the Andaman jungles," it is very necessary to expose his error, for repeated inquiries and personal observation prove the accuracy of the account given by one of the inhabitants of the interior of Middle Andaman, named *Wō·i*, that during the entire year the jungles afford them ample sustenance.[2]

829 184 2. All the tribes with which we are acquainted possess terms denoting—1, a coastman; 2, a fisherman; 3, a creek man; and 4, a jungle-man; the two former being applied to those living by the shore, *àryō·to-*, and the two latter to those living inland, *ē·remtâ·ga-*, whose subsistence depends on the spontaneous products of the jungle, which they all agree in describing as amply sufficient for the support of many times their present population.

184 3. The coastmen are divided into two classes, viz., those who are chiefly employed in constructing canoes, turtle-lines, &c., and those who are engaged in fishing and turtling, but each acquires a certain knowledge of the duties of the other, and also of hunting the *Sus Andamanensis:* in the latter accomplishment, as well as in finding their way through trackless portions of the jungle, they are naturally surpassed by the natives of the interior, who display in these, as in other respects, all the dexterity and intelligence peculiar to savages similarly situated in other tropical regions.[3]

4. Although these two distinct sections (*àryō·to-* and *ē·remtâ·ga-*) still exist in a measure among the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*, as among the people of Middle Andaman, many of their more marked characteristics have become so blended or modified, in consequence of the establishment of the homes, that it is difficult in many cases to determine to which class certain individuals originally belonged. This, it will be understood, is because those of the *ē·remtâ·ga-*, who have accompanied parties of the coastmen in

[1] *Vide* "Proceedings Asiat. Soc. Bengal," July, 1876.

[2] With reference to the above, Mr. W. T. Blanford, F.R.S., remarked at the meeting at which the paper in question was read, that "it is very difficult for a civilised human being to understand how savages live, or even to conceive what a marvellous variety of animal and vegetable productions, on which savage man, at any rate, can subsist, are to be found in the forests of all tropical regions." He added, that it was his belief that "man could certainly find food wherever monkeys could exist."

[3] *Vide* "Physical Powers and Senses," paragraphs 5 and 6, and "Communications," &c., paragraphs 4 and 6.

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fishing and turtling expeditions, at one or other of the homes, for several years, have become sufficiently skilled in these pursuits to escape the ridicule of the genuine *àryô·to-*, while these in their turn have made themselves almost as well acquainted with the interior of the jungles as were the original occupants, from whom they are, therefore, scarcely distinguishable. 184

5. It will be of interest to note in this place the nicknames employed by the "junglees" and the coastmen when quizzing each other, as they serve to indicate the peculiarities which are held to be their distinguishing characteristics. The *ē·remtâ·ga-* sometimes chaffingly address an *àryô·to-* as *ēr-châ·tâknga-*,[1] *i.e.*, one who loses his way; *ēr-lō·inga-ba*, *i.e.*, one who cannot find his way in the jungle; or, *ūn-pâg-ī·knga-ba*, *i.e.*, one who cannot follow tracks; while the terms which the coastmen will, under similar circumstances, employ towards the jungle men are *ab-mū·lwa-* and *gū·gma-tòng-*, the first implying a deaf person, for only the practised ear of an *àryô·to-* can judge of the distance of a turtle so correctly as to be able to harpoon it in pitch darkness; the second meaning "leaf of the *Trigonostemon longifolius*," in allusion to the practice, current among the inland tribes,[2] of using these leaves for the cure of fever, but to which the *àryô·to-* rarely have recourse, as they believe the scent prevents turtles from approaching a canoe in which there are any persons who have recently employed this remedy. 184 829

6. The intermingling of the members of the inland and coast communities in and near our settlement has naturally resulted in such a marked modification of many of the characteristics which distinguish them in their primitive condition that, for reliable information respecting the same, it is necessary to seek among the more distant encampments, where similar influences have not as yet been at work. 184

7. Amongst those who have now for some years resided at the principal home at Port Blair, there is a young *ē·remtâ·ga-*, named *Wō·i*, of the *.ôko-jū·wai-* tribe, who, till the end of 1875, had been living in the depths of the Middle Andaman jungle, and who then, with a few others of his village, received a message from *mai·a .lī·pa*, chief of *.bàrlâ·kàbīl-*, an encampment on the coast, inviting them to accompany him in a trip he was about to make, by way of Port Mouat, for the purpose of seeing the officer in charge of the home, and procuring some presents from him. *Wō·i* and his friends gladly availed themselves of the opportunity of visiting what must have been to them a new 184 115

[1] By way of mock respect *mai·a* (*i.e.*, Mr.) is occasionally prefixed to these epithets when used in this way.

[2] *Vide* "Medicine," paragraph 2.

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PLATE 5

COMMUNAL HUT AT MÔT-KŪNU IN PORT ANSON HARBOUR (NORTH-EAST OF SPIKE ISLAND).

[Facing p. 36]

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184 world: on their arrival at Viper Island, they saw, for the first
115 time, Europeans, and a mode of living of which they could have previously formed no idea. *Wō·i*'s companions returned to their tribe after spending a few months with us, but he, having lost his heart to one of the South Andaman houris, was without difficulty induced to remain behind, and settle down in our midst as a married man. As he speedily acquired a knowledge of the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* dialect, we were enabled to question him on various points, besides those referred to in the statement which forms one of the appendices to this volume,[1] and thus learned much that was before unknown concerning the habits of the inland branch of the *.ôko-jū·wai-* tribe: the information thus obtained, when compared with the result of our own observations of the customs and mode of living of the communities in the vicinity of our settlement, afforded convincing proof of the universality of the customs and practices of the respective classes of *àryô·to-* and *ē·remtâ·ga-* throughout Middle and South Andaman.

8. In Dr. Mouat's book mention is made of the capture of a youth, nicknamed "Jack," after a hostile encounter with some of the natives of Interview Island, from which circumstance it may be inferred that the lad belonged to the *.âkà-.ked·e-* tribe, only one member of which had, till 1879, stayed amongst us, and he is an *e·remtâ·ga-*, who had travelled out of curiosity as far as Middle Strait, and from thence had been persuaded by the chief of that district to accompany him to Port Blair. He proved himself very intelligent and active in all jungle accomplishments, but was entirely ignorant of fishing and turtling After remaining with us a few months he was taken (in March, 1879), at his own request, to a point on the north-west coast of Middle Andaman, and landed with a heap of presents: his home, he informed us, was situated midway between that place and the east coast.

361 **Nomadism.**—1. Nomadism appears to be almost, if not
[768] entirely, confined to the *àryô·to-*, and even among them there are hamlets which are only abandoned temporarily, as with
221 the *ē·remtâ·ga-*, in consequence of a death, or of a *jeg-* (*i.e.*,
166 "corroboree"), at some neighbouring encampment.

2. The nature of the temporary migrations which take place among the *ē·remtâ·ga-* during the dry season, as well as of those necessitated by a death, will be explained in subsequent sections. In the case of the *àryô·to-*, migrations are occasioned by a variety of circumstances, as, for instance, fishing operations being rendered impossible by a change in the wind, the

[1] *Vide* Appendix F, a free translation of which will be found in "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xi, pp. 280–2.

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361 suitability of a particular spot for fishing and turtling during
221 certain phases of the moon, on account of the character of the
foreshore, or the configuration of the coast, and the hope of
166 meeting with better luck elsewhere—to these might be added the love of a change, and the prospect of seeing some of their friends; but it must not be supposed that a long journey is thereby involved; the move being generally made to a spot only a mile or two further on, and thus, by short stages, they sometimes proceed along the entire coast-line of their tribal territory, spending a few days or weeks at each halting place, according to the special attractions it may happen to possess in affording good sport on land or sea, or in supplying a rich harvest of fruit, honey, &c.

364 3. The necessity of a migration is also frequently forced on them by the consequences of their neglect to sweep away the refuse of their meals, it being regarded by these *insouciant* and unclean creatures as not worth their while to take so much trouble, when only a short stay is contemplated.

4. That the necessity for observing *some* sanitary measures has long since been recognised by the Andamanese is evident from the existence of numerous kitchen-middens throughout their territory, many of which are doubtless of remote origin. These refuse-heaps are still in course of formation by communities living at a distance from Port Blair, and are invariably found near camping grounds which have been, or are still more or less, permanently occupied. In those sites, where they are not seen, evidence is at once afforded of the temporary nature of the occupancy: the rubbish and refuse of food in these latter places is only swept aside if the ground be needed for a dance, wedding, or other ceremony, so that injury may not befall the revellers through inadvertently treading on a bone, stone, or shell. Crows, hermit-crabs, and, of late years, dogs, are the principal scavengers of these ill-ordered and dirty habitations, the two former performing their useful office as soon as a migration takes place.

342 **Habitations.**—1. We will now pass to the consideration of the three varieties of huts which are commonly met with in the permanent and temporary encampments throughout the territory of the eight Great Andaman tribes, and which are known as *chàng-tē·pinga-*, *chàng-tō·rnga-*, and *chàng-dar·anga*.

2. To commence with the *chàng-tē·pinga-*, which is made by men, and erected in all permanent encampments as being the most durable. No particular kind of wood is used for the posts, which are four in number, two in front and two in rear, the former varying from six to nine feet in height, and the latter from two to three feet; upon these, slender rafters and two light transverse poles are secured, so as to form the framework of

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342 the roof, which is thatched with palm leaves of the variety called *chà·ngta-*. These are neatly plaited together, and fastened with cane, *pī·dga-*, and then placed in rows and tied, so that, when complete, the whole forms a capital roof impervious to the heaviest shower of rain.

[462] 3. The second variety, *chàng-tô·rnga-*,[1] are erected when temporary homes are required, which will last for a few months, as during the period of mourning;[2] they are made by men, and differ only from the *chàng-tē·pinga-* in being generally somewhat smaller, and less neatly thatched; another variety of palm leaf, called *âm-*, is sometimes substituted for the *chà·ngta-*.

4. The *chàng-dar·anga-*, or the third variety, being only intended to serve as shelter during a halt or short visit, is constructed in [462] a yet more simple manner. The duty of erecting dwellings of this class devolves on the women, and from the following description it will be seen that the labour required is not excessive: two slender posts, about five feet long, are driven into the ground about five or six feet apart, and connected by means of a light pole or stick, which is secured to their upper ends. The roof is then formed by placing, stem downwards and firmly fixed in the ground, large palm leaves, which are made to overlap each other in such a way as to provide a fairly rain-proof shelter for one or two persons.[3] The leaves used for the purpose are either the *chà·ngta-*, *kâ·pa-*, or *â·para-*.

[353] 5. Above the small fire, without which no hut is complete, a small wooden platform or shelf, called *châ·pa lī tâ·ga-*, or *yât leb tâ·ga-*, is placed on one or more sticks. On this they deposit [251] their spare food, so that it may be preserved by the smoke from the attacks of insects, &c.[4] By way of adornment, trophies of [353] the chase, such as the skulls of pigs,[5] turtles, dugongs, &c., are suspended from the front of the roof.[6]

6. It seems desirable to draw attention to the following passage in Dr. Dobson's paper, lest, if left unnoticed, some misapprehension should arise on the subject. He states that "the Andamanese, at least the inhabitants of the southern island, erect no kind of house whatever . . . . When walking along the beach in the vicinity of Port Mouat,

[1] This variety is shown in Plate III, fig. 2.

[2] *Vide post* "Death and Burial," paragraph 4.

[3] Similar leaf shelters are erected by the Puris. *Vide* E. B. Tylor's "Anthropology."

[4] *Vide post* "Food," paragraph 31.

[5] This style of decoration is now-a-days falling into disuse, especially in South Andaman, for, with the assistance of dogs, hunting is much less arduous now than formerly, and a large collection of pig skulls is, therefore, easily obtained by the least skilful among them.

[6] Figuier speaks also of "large dried fish tied in bunches" being similarly treated, but no ground for such a statement can be discovered.

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I have often come across one of their temporary habitations, which consists of a hole scooped out in the sand, beneath an over-hanging rock, large enough to contain a single person." As these savages are *never* in the habit of sleeping on the sand, or in holes scooped in the ground, but on a mat, or leaves spread under one or other of the three varieties of huts described above, it is difficult to account for what Dr. Dobson saw, unless they were the resting places of ticket-of leave fishermen or convict runaways. No other explanation than this could be given when some aborigines, and an experienced attendant at the homes, were questioned by me on the subject. One other solution only is possible, and that is, that the "holes scooped out in the sand" were the result of a game of mock burial, which, as I shall mention under "Games and Amusements," is rather a favourite recreation of the *àryô·to-* children. 342 [513]

7. The majority of the Great Andaman huts[1] partake of the character of a lean-to, the only respects in which the three varieties differ being[2] size and durability. They are found either standing alone, or, as is more especially the case in permanent encampments, so joined together as to form (at least, in their owners' eyes) a commodious as well as a weather-proof dwelling; and, constructed, as they usually are, in well-sheltered localities, away from the prevailing wind, they fulfil all the requirements of a savage home.

8. Permanent encampments vary in size, and consist of several huts, which in all are rarely inhabited by more than from 50 to 80 persons, though they are capable of affording accommodation, of a kind, to a much larger number if necessity arise as happens not unfrequently when festive tribal gatherings are arranged in honor of a wedding or other occasion of rejoicing. 361

9. The permanent encampments of the *àryô·to-* are established in those sites which offer special advantages for fishing and turtling at all seasons. Wherever there is a fine stretch of sandy beach, with an extensive foreshore, they will be invariably found, for, at such places, throughout the year the women are able at low tide to catch fish in pools with their hand-nets, and to collect large quantities of shell-fish; while, during the flood

[1] One of the huts in the *jâr·awa-* territory, between Port Blair and Port Campbell, when visited a few years ago, was found to measure 46 feet × 42 feet; and Mr. Homfray, in 1867, described the huts at Little Andaman as capable (*more Andamanico*) of accommodating 100 persons, being 50 feet in diameter and 30 feet in height. The leaf employed by this tribe for thatching purposes appears to be invariably the variety called *âm-*, and not the *châ·ngta-*.

[2] The largest hut of the ordinary type is rarely found capable of accommodating more than six persons. Sometimes these huts are placed together so as to resemble small sheds, but as this has hitherto been seen only in or near South Andaman, it is possible that the form of our barracks gave rise to the idea.

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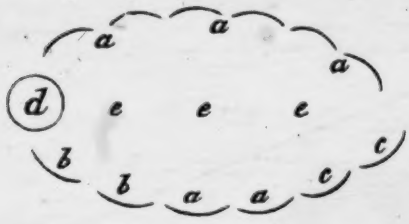
361 tides, the men enjoy exceptional facilities for shooting fish and harpooning turtles, &c.

10. Although the sites selected for occupation are usually well-sheltered, it is not always found possible in tempestuous weather, even in the dense jungle which covers every portion of their country, to obtain shelter sufficient to allow of their huts being so placed as to face inwards towards the *bū·lum-*, or dancing ground. The primary consideration being naturally to secure as much comfort as possible, the sloping roof is at such times presented towards the prevailing wind.

11. The following diagram will give a general idea of the plan commonly adopted in laying out an encampment consisting of several huts, though the form depends much on the nature of the ground, and on the relative position of the surrounding trees, for they do not consider it worth their while to fell these, or to clear away anything but the lightest brushwood for the mere purpose of providing space for their huts, and dancing ground. Another point to be taken into account is the possibility of accidents being caused by falling branches, and, therefore, when erecting their frail dwellings, they are careful to guard against this danger as far as possible, and so much judgment do they display in the matter that accidents of this nature are comparatively unknown.



a. Married persons.[1]
b. Bachelors.[1]
c. Spinsters.[1]
d. Public cooking place.
e. Dancing ground (*bu·lum-*).

619 62 [421] **Government.**—1. The entire country is apportioned among the various tribes, and the territory occupied by each is considered the common property of all its members, and not as belonging exclusively to the chiefs.

2. Their domestic polity may be described as a communism modified by the authority, more or less nominal, of the chief. The head chief of a tribe is called *mai·a-iglā·-*, and the elders, or sub-chiefs, *i.e.*, those in authority over each community, consisting of from 20 to 50 individuals, *mai·ola*.

3. The head chief, who usually resides at a permanent

[1] Even at the homes they are careful to maintain this order, viz.: of placing the bachelors and spinsters at either end of the building, and the married couples in the space between.

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encampment, has authority over all the sub-chiefs, but his power, like theirs, is very limited. It is exercised mainly in organising meetings between the various communities belonging to his tribe, and in exerting influence in all questions affecting the welfare of his followers. It is the chief alone, as may be supposed, who directs the movements of a party while on hunting or fishing expeditions, or when migrating. It is usually through his intervention that disputes are settled, but he possesses no power to punish or enforce obedience to his wishes, it being left to all alike to take the law into their own hands when aggrieved. 622 619

4. The *àryô·to-* and *ē·remtâ·ga-* in each tribe have their own head chief, who are independent the one of the other.

5. As might be assumed from the results of observations made of other savage races, whose sole or chief occupation consists in hunting or fishing, the power of the chiefs is very limited, and not necessarily hereditary, though, in the event of a grown-up son being left who was qualified for the post, he would, in most instances, be selected to succeed his father in preference to any other individual of equal efficiency. 622

6. At the death of a chief there is no difficulty in appointing a successor, even if he leave no son, for there is always at least one who is considered his deputy or right-hand man. As they are usually, on these occasions, unanimous in their choice, no formal election takes place; however should any be found to dissent, the question is decided by the wishes of the majority, it being always open to malcontents to transfer their allegiance to another chief, since there is no such thing as forced submission to the authority of one who is not a general favourite.

7. Social status being dependent not merely on the accident of relationship, but on skill in hunting, fishing, &c., and on a reputation for generosity and hospitality, the chiefs and elders are almost invariably superior in every respect to the rest. They and their wives are at liberty to enjoy immunity from the drudgery incidental to their mode of life, all such acts being voluntarily performed for them by the young unmarried persons living under their headship. [554]

8. Though females, like minors (that is to say youths under 18), cannot be chiefs, the former have a similar position relatively among the women, to that held by their husbands among the men of the tribe. A chief's wife enjoys many privileges, especially if she be a mother, and in virtue of her husband's rank rules over all the young unmarried women and such also of the married ones as are not senior to herself. Should she become a widow she continues to exercise the same rights, unless she re-marries, when her social status depends on that of 622 562

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622 her husband. In the event, however, of the widow of a chief
562 being young and childless, she returns to the home of her maiden days, and is in a measure lost sight of, as she sinks to her former position.

9. It is believed by the people themselves that the system above described has prevailed among them from a remote period.

695 **Covenants, Oaths, Ordeals.**—1. No forms of covenant are to be traced in their dealings with one another, nor is there to be found among them anything of the nature of an oath or of an appeal to a higher power—as Heaven or the Sun—to punish breach of faith, or to bear witness to the truth.

2. They are in too primitive a state to possess any form of trial, or even to have any belief in the efficacy of an ordeal for discovering a guilty person; nor does it appear that any such practice existed in times past.

627 **Laws.**[1]—1. Justice, as I have already said, is administered by the simple method of allowing the aggrieved party to take the law into his own hands, which he usually does, either by flinging a burning faggot, or discharging an arrow, at, or more frequently *near*, the offender, while all who may be present lose no time in beating a retreat, and—taking with them as much of their property as their haste will allow—remain in concealment until sufficient time has elapsed for the settlement of the quarrel. When such an affair seems imminent, and likely to be serious, friends often interpose, seize the disputants, and remove their weapons, which are not restored so long as there appears any risk of their misusing them.

2. Should a man kill his opponent nothing is necessarily said or done to him, though it is permissible for a friend or relative of the deceased to avenge his death; in most cases, however, the murderer succeeds in striking such terror in the minds of the community that no one ventures to assail him or even to express any disapprobation of his conduct while he is within hearing: as conscience, however, makes cowards of us all, the homicide, from prudential motives, not unfrequently absents himself till he is assured that the grief and indignation of his victim's friends have considerably abated.

627 3. These remarks do not now-a-days apply, to the same
177 extent, to those living near us, for the terror inspired by the punishments inflicted in all cases of murder brought to our notice has resulted in materially diminishing crimes of this nature among them. In May, 1880, an Andamanese youth was hanged

[1] As regards laws (!) relating to inheritance, information will be found in a subsequent paper, under the heading of "Property," paragraph 3.

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at Port Blair for the murder of one of his countrymen. He had previously, in 1878, been sentenced to imprisonment for the murder of two children of his tribe, and he committed his last crime soon after his discharge. This has hitherto been the only occasion on which any of these savages has suffered the extreme penalty of British law. It may be added, that this last step was not taken until the unhappy wretch, as well as all his fellow-countrymen in South Andaman, had been repeatedly warned that no other than a capital sentence would in future be passed on those convicted of murder. 627 177

4. It is by no means an uncommon occurrence for a man, or even a boy, to vent his ill-temper, or show his resentment at any act, by destroying his own property as well as that of his neighbours, sparing only the things belonging exclusively to the chief, or other head man. The amount of damage done at such times, to canoes and other articles of more or less value, will often give occasion for several weeks' employment in repairing and replacing to himself and his companions; but as these outbreaks are looked upon as the result of a temporary "possession," and the victim considered, for the time being, dangerous, and unaccountable for his actions, no one ventures to offer any opposition, or impose any restraint upon him. 578 152

5. Women, when in a rage, occasionally act in a similar manner towards one of their own sex, or even to all the females of the encampment, injuring or destroying their nets, baskets, and other articles; at other times they will seize a burning log, and, banging it furiously on the ground, vent their feelings by some such exclamation as *ngig mū·gu jā·bagike!* (May your face become hideous!); or they will struggle and fight till they are forcibly separated by the wife or daughter of their head man. They do not, however, attempt to settle their differences with the stronger sex, but leave it to their husbands or male relatives to obtain redress for their real or fancied grievances.

6. When a chief or elder so far forgets himself as to lose his temper, those of his own standing betake themselves to their huts, while the other members of the community, male and female, beat a hasty retreat to some secluded spot, for no one would venture to find fault with one in authority, and with some reason, for little or no harm usually results to the community, while his own reputation is sure to suffer. Should he, however, wantonly cause loss or injury to any of his people, they would be pretty certain to take an early, though secret, opportunity of repaying him in kind. 622 578 152

Crime.—1. That outcome of civilisation, suicide, is unknown among them; but, since they have seen cases of self-murder among the alien population, they have coined a lengthy com 762

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762 pound word (*ō·yun-tē·mar-tō·liganga-*) in order to express the nature of the act.

673 2. That they are not entirely devoid of moral consciousness may, I think, in some measure, be demonstrated by the fact of their possessing a word, *yū·bda-*, signifying sin or wrong doing, which is used in connection with falsehood, theft, grave assault, murder, adultery, and — burning wax (!),[1] which deeds are believed to anger *Pū·luga-*, the Creator, of whom more will be said hereafter.[2]

627 3. Cases of adultery in their own villages are said to be of rare occurrence. If detected, the injured husband would pro-
837 bably inflict condign punishment on the guilty parties, but at the risk of retaliation on the part of the male offender and his friends; there appears, however, to be an understanding, that the greater the provocation offered the less is the risk incurred of the injured person or his friends avenging the wrong, but no appeal to the chief for redress is ever made.

628 4. If an offence, such as an assault or theft, be committed by one or more members of another tribe during a visit or by
674 stealth, it is regarded as premeditated, and generally resented as a tribal affair, resulting in a feud and more or less bloodshed.

5. Intercourse with Europeans and other foreigners has, it
273 must be confessed, unhappily opened their eyes to the existence
177 of some vices of which they had formerly no knowledge;[3] notably is this the case with regard to drunkenness, for, being, till the time they made our acquaintance, "blessed in the ignorance of spirituous liquors," they had no conception of its effects, and, to express an inebriate, have invented a word (*lē·lēkanga-*) signifying "staggerer." It must, however, be added, that in consequence of the extreme partiality for rum and other intoxicating drinks which they manifest, much care has to be taken to prevent them from gratifying the easily acquired taste.

Narcotics.—1. Prior to our advent they were also entirely
276 ignorant of narcotics in any form; but one of the evil results of
177 their intercourse with us has been the introduction of the practice of smoking, and so rapidly have they (both men and women) acquired the habit, that, when at a distance from the homes and unable to obtain tobacco, they have been seen to fill their short clay pipes, which, it is scarcely necessary to say, have been obtained from us, with *pāu* leaves rather than endure entire deprivation.

[1] *Vide* "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xi, p. 288, and *post*, "Superstitions," paragraph 13.

[2] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs," paragraph 8.

[674] [3] The crimes of abduction, rape, seduction, unnatural offences, &c., appear never to have been committed among them.

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2. I have used the word "evil" advisedly, for there can be no doubt, from observations extending over many years, that the result of their excessive indulgence in smoking has been seriously to impair their constitutions. The attempts that have been made to check the mischief have hitherto failed, as it has been found difficult, if not impossible, to induce them to do a stroke of work without the accompaniment of the "fragrant weed." 276

Cannibalism.—1. The early stories regarding the prevalence of cannibalism among these savages do not at the present day require refutation.[1] No lengthened investigation was needed to disprove the long credited fiction, for not a trace could be discovered of the existence of such a practice in their midst, even in far-off times. 266

2. It is curious, however, to note, that while they express the greatest horror of the custom, and indignantly deny that it ever held a place among their institutions, a very general belief has been entertained by the tribes living in South and Middle Andaman as to its prevalence in other races, and even among their own countrymen inhabiting North and Little Andaman; and to this cause is chiefly ascribed the dread which they and their fathers have, from a distant period, evinced of their neighbours, and the animosity displayed towards strangers who have approached or landed on their shores; but these sentiments are now confined to those individuals who have had but scant opportunity of becoming acquainted with ourselves and other aliens, or with the results of the visits paid by us to the dreaded *yē·rewa-* and *jār·awa-* territories.

Communications, Chirography, and Drawing.—1. The density of the Andaman jungles, and the unsuitability of their canoes for long expeditions by sea, would of themselves be serious hindrances to free intercourse between the various tribes, even were there not the further difficulty—due in great measure to the above circumstances—of difference of language to contend with. 619

2. There are no marked boundaries between the various tribal districts, but a general understanding exists between neighbouring tribes regarding the limits of their respective domains, which are usually defined by such natural barriers as a range of hills, a creek, or even a belt of dense jungle. So careful are they to respect these boundaries, that, before even travelling through, and particularly before hunting or fishing in, the territory of a 619 486

[1] Papuans being regarded as such inveterate anthropophagi, ethnologists will probably agree in considering that the non-existence—nay, even horror—of this custom among the Andamanese furnishes an important item in the array of facts which militate against the theory held by some that the latter form a branch of the great Papuan family.

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619 neighbouring tribe, an express invitation or permission is required,
unless, indeed, the party entering happens to be accompanied by
486 one or more members of the district visited, or when, from long and friendly intercommunication, a right of way has been tacitly sanctioned. In cases where there has been a breach of this observance sharp retribution has generally followed, causing sometimes serious loss of life, and resulting in a long-standing tribal feud.

619 3. Those communities of *ē·rem-tâ·ga-* and *àryô·to-*, living
within a few miles of each other and speaking the same dialect,
~~578~~ arrange from time to time large gatherings—generally numbering
437 about a hundred persons[1]—for purposes of barter, or for the celebration of some particular event. Though not unfrequently on these occasions old enmities are healed and friendships formed, fresh tribal feuds and personal quarrels sometimes originate in consequence of a misunderstanding or dispute over some comparative trifle.[2]

487 4. There are numerous paths intersecting each territory, the result of continuous traffic over the same ground. When, for some reason, a new course is taken through the jungle, the route is indicated to those following by bending the twigs of the brushwood in a *reverse* direction at intervals along the track. This is especially the case during the dry season, when, owing to the parched condition of the soil, there is some difficulty in distinguishing footprints.[3]

212 5. No marks on rocks, trees or other objects, made for purposes of record, are believed by them to exist, and, with the exception of the supposititious hieroglyphics,[4] hereafter to be mentioned, nothing of the nature of writing is to be found among these tribes, nor have they any method of recording the name and exploits of a deceased chief or other individual who may have gained distinction during his life, save the narration —more or less garbled—of the same by their admiring descendants. The messenger who conveys intelligence to a distant encampment bears no outward token with him to testify to the authenticity or character of the communication he has to make.

211 6. Although no method of signs exists, such as tying knots in
a string, making notches in a tally, or figures on wood, bark, or
411 stone, they have means of distinguishing arrows and spears belonging to one another, by certain differences peculiar to each

[1] It is believed that no larger number than 300 has ever been assembled at one time in any place in our vicinity, at least since our advent.

[2] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraphs 24 and 37.

[3] No prejudice exists in respect to crossing water, going by certain paths, or handling particular objects, excepting the *Anodendrum paniculatum*. *Vide post*, Part III, "String," paragraph 3.

[4] *Vide* "Mythology," paragraph 29.

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individual in the method of tying and knotting the string employed in the manufacture of these missiles;[1] these, however, are often so slight that, even when pointed out, they are scarcely to be detected by a stranger, unless he be one who has bestowed careful attention to the subject. 211 441

7. In their savage state they never attempt to represent any object, and, though they do not appear to possess any natural taste for drawing, they differ from the Australians[2] in the intelligence they display in recognising any familiar form depicted in a sketch; and while no such method for indicating the situation of any place is known or employed among themselves, some of them are quick in understanding a chart of their own country, and are able to point out the sites of their various encampments. 532 151

8. It is hardly necessary to state that they have nothing answering to mile-stones or roadside marks. Swamps are never crossed, but in all cases avoided by circuitous routes; experience seems to have taught them the natural line of fords from salient to salient banks, and, when a creek has to be crossed, they always avail themselves of the advantages thus afforded, even making a detour in order to do so.[3] This applies, however, to those occasions when they are not heavily laden, or are carrying articles liable to be damaged by immersion, or which would hinder them from swimming. 487

Swimming.—1. With the exception of some of the *ē-rem-tā-ga-*,[4] a knowledge of the art of swimming is common to members of both sexes; the *children* even, learning almost as soon as they can run, speedily acquire great proficiency. In this accomplishment the Andamanese greatly surpass the majority of Europeans, but it is probable that, in competition with an experienced English swimmer, their best men would be distanced in the first few hundred yards, it being not so much for speed, as for the length of time they can remain in the water, that they are remarkable. 481

[1] With reference to this circumstance, it may be mentioned that, a few years ago (1876), five aborigines, concerned in the murder near Kyd Island of some Chinese traders with whom they had had a dispute, were discovered by means of the arrows found on the spot, as these were identified by some of their acquaintances then living at Port Blair.

[2] Brown. [From remarks, however, contained in a recent article, entitled "The Indo-Chinese and Oceanic Races," by Mr. A. H. Keane, which appeared in "Nature" (Jan. 6th, 1881), it would appear that the low estimate of the Australian intellect formed by certain ethnologists is not shared by all, and "many instances are given of their skill even in drawing, a capacity for which was wholly denied them."]

[3] Wells are not dug, but when encamping, whether for days or months, care is always taken that the spot selected be near some fresh-water stream.

[4] The reason of this is obvious, as it is known that the majority of the creeks are fordable in many places within three miles of the coast, even in the rainy season, and, therefore, the necessity of acquiring the art of natation has never been experienced by those permanently resident in the interior.

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2. The "frog-stroke" is the one in general use; in diving,[1] they invariably leap *feet* foremost into the water, and their skill in recovering any small object which has been thrown into the sea, or which is lying at a considerable depth, equals that displayed by Somali boys.

3. The younger people delight in disporting themselves in the sea, and in displaying their skill in capturing a harpooned turtle or fish by diving after it; but, while they surpass most races in this respect, they are by no means equal to the astounding feat of catching fish—not to mention any larger than themselves—by merely plunging into the sea after them, as was alleged by the ex-sepoy convict, *Dídhnáth*, in one of his many Munchausen-like statements. His allegation, according to Dr. Mouat, was that he had "seen three or four of them dive into deep water, and bring up in their arms a fish six or seven feet in length, which they had seized." A well-known work having been lent me in which the Andamanese are referred to, I took advantage of an opportunity to show them some of the illustrations, amongst others one in which two of their race are represented as rising to the surface with an enormous fish in their arms, while a third person, standing on the shore, is endeavouring to despatch it by repeated blows with a log. Great was the amusement of my Andaman friends, and also of those natives of India, who, from long residence among them in the homes are well aware of the degree of skill they are capable of manifesting in their various pursuits, to learn the wonderful prowess attributed to them, and a hearty laugh was indulged in at the artist's expense, who, however, it will be seen from the foregoing, did not draw entirely upon his fertile imagination for the incident.

[1] Since my return to the Andamans in September, 1882, by way of testing their powers of remaining under water, I timed three *áryó·to-* youths, who were instructed to do their best to distinguish themselves. One reappeared above the water after an interval of forty seconds, and made excuses for himself, while the other two remained down for fully seventy seconds, and could doubtless have held out longer had any sufficient inducement been offered them by way of reward.

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PART II.

Language—Adoption—Relationships—Proper Names—Initiatory Ceremonies—Marriage—Death and Burial—Meeting and Parting, &c.—Fire—Superstitions—Religious Beliefs and Demonology—Mythology.

BEFORE we enter upon the consideration of the marital relations 197
customs, superstitions, traditions, and beliefs of these aborigines, I wish to say a few words in reference to the dialects or languages spoken by the various tribes, more especially the language spoken by the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*, or South Andaman tribe. As I shall presently show, the people themselves have a legend[1] to account for the linguistical distinctions existing in their midst; but, on a subject of such importance as the origin of an unwritten language, the traditions current among the savages who speak it have rarely, if ever, I believe, been known to throw any light.

Language.—1. A few short lists of Andamanese words have 192
been prepared from time to time, commencing, I think, with 114
Colebrooke, who visited the islands nearly a century ago; but

[1] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraphs 14 and 22.

[p. 49]

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192 owing to a variety of circumstances, not the least of which was
the absence of any system of representing the sounds in the
114 language—each author having chosen to employ a phonetic code best understood by himself and capable of varying interpretation by others—the result has been, to say the least, unsatisfactory, and the words for the most part are, in their printed form, either wholly unrecognisable by the people themselves, or possess a meaning differing very much from that given.

2. I do not make these remarks with a view of depreciating the efforts of others, for I fully recognise the difficulties with which they had to contend, and am aware that these exceeded any I have had to overcome, consequent on the improved relations which have subsisted between ourselves and the aborigines in recent years.

3. It must also be borne in mind that time necessarily works vast changes in all savage languages, which depend so entirely upon the oral correctness of the whole population for their accurate transmission.

128 4. As my knowledge of the other dialects is not as yet sufficient for me to be able to describe them comparatively at any length—leisure having failed me to obtain more than a few hundred words of five of the seven remaining tribes of Great Andaman—I wish it to be understood that, except where otherwise stated, my remarks refer to the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*, or South Andaman dialect.

192 5. The Andamanese are, as a rule, very conservative, and prefer to coin from their own resources rather than to borrow from aliens, words expressing ideas or objects which are new to them. To give only one of many examples:—having themselves no forms of worship, they had no word for "prayer," but since seeing the Mahomedans at their daily devotions, and learning that they are addressing an Invisible Being, they express the act by a compound word, *â·rlalik-yâ·b-*, signifying "daily repetition" (viz.: *â·rla-* daily, and *ik-yâ·b-* repetition).

533 6. They have also a distinct poetical dialect, and in their
195 songs subordinate everything to rhythm, the greatest liberties being thereby taken not only with the forms of their words, but even with the grammatical construction of the sentences. For instance the chorus of one of their songs runs thus:—

chēklū yâ lak·u mēj·rà?

which means "who missed the hard (backed) turtle?" the prose construction of the sentence being *mij·a yâ·dī chē·balen lâ·kàchī·re?* It will be at once noticed how great is the difference between the two versions, for in this, as in most of their songs,

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the words in their poetic form are so mutilated to suit the metre as to be scarcely recognisable; indeed, it not unfrequently happens that the composer of a new song has to explain its meaning in the ordinary vernacular to his chorus[1] as well as to the audience in general.

7. It may perhaps interest some of my readers to see a comparative table which I have prepared of the various forms of the possessive pronominal adjectives in most frequent use among five of the eight tribes of Great Andaman:

	.bō·jig-ngī·ji-	*.bō·jig-yâ·b-*	*.â·kà-kó·l-*	*.ôko-jū·wai-*	*.bal·awa-*
my ..	*dī·a-* ..	*tī·ya-* ..	*tī·ya* ..	*tī·ya* ..	*deg·e.*
thy ..	*ngī·a-* .	*ngī·ya-* ..	*ngī·ya* ..	*ngī·ya* ..	*ngeg·e.*
his ..	*ī·a-* ..	*ī·ya-* ..	*ī·ya* ..	*āī·ya* ..	*eg·e.*
our ..	*mē·ta-* ..	*mī·ya-* ..	*mī·ya* ..	*mī·ya* ..	*mâ·tat.*
your ..	*ē·ta-* ..	*ngàrdī·ra-* *lī·ya-* ..	*ngàrdī·ra-* *tē·ya* ..	*ngachâ·par-* *lī·ya* ..	*ngâ·tat.*
their ..	*ó·nta-* ..	*nó·ngtâ·le-* *lī·ya-* ..	*ó·ntâ·le-* *eka-tē·ya* ..	*narâ·ngòich-* *-lī·ya* ..	*â·tat.*

8. There are in each dialect several other forms of possessive pronominal adjectives, each of which must be used with its own class of nouns, but I do not now purpose entering into particulars regarding these. The form which, roughly speaking, is of general application among the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* is, as I have just shown, that of *dī·a-*, *ngī·a-*, &c. Ex.:—*dī·a kâ·ramà-*, my bow; *mē·ta yâ·dī-*, our turtle; the exceptions to its use being, (*a*) those nouns denoting human objects, (*b*) those indicating the various parts of the body,[2] and (*c*) certain other nouns denoting degrees of relationship. To be as brief as possible, I will give but one or two examples of each.

(*a*)

dī·a-, my..	*mē·tat*, our	Ex. *dī·a àbū·la-*,
ngī·a-, thy	*ē·tat*, your	my man.
ī·a-, his	*ó·ntat*, their	*mē·tat at-pail-*,
l'ī.a-, ——'s	*l'ó·ntat*, ——s'	our women.

[1] I cannot here enter into particulars regarding their songs and choruses, an account of which will be hereafter given under "Games and Amusements."

[2] For a complete list of these *vide* Appendix G.

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(*b*)

193 I. Used with words indicating the head, brain, occiput, scalp, neck, nape, chest, lung, heart, &c.

dōt, my	*mō·tot*, our	Ex.: *dōt chē·ta-*,
ngōt, thy..	*ngō·tot*, your	my head.
ōt, his	*ō·tot*, their	*ō·tot lō·ngota-*,
l'ōt, ——'s	*l'ō·tot*, ——s'	their necks.

II. Used with words indicating the hand, finger, wrist, knuckle, nail, foot, toe, heel, ankle, &c.

dōng, my	*mōi·ot*, our	Ex.: *ngōng tō·go-*,
ngōng, thy	*ngōi·ot*, your	thy wrist.
ōng, his	*ōi·ot*, their	*ōi·ot pág-*,
l'ōng, ——'s	*l'ōi·ot*, ——s'	their feet.

III. Used with words indicating the shoulder, arm, breast, face, temple, cheek, nose, ear, eye, gum, tear, tooth, &c.

dig, my	*mit·ig*, our	Ex.: *ngig tō·go-*,
ngig, thy	*ngit·ig*, your	thy shoulder.
ig, his	*it·ig*, their	*mit·ig tūg-*,
l'ig, ——'s	*l'it·ig*, ——s'	our teeth.

(N.B.—The words for eye, eye-lid, and eye-lash, generally take the abbreviated form, *dī*, *ngī*, *ī*, *mit·i*, *ngit·i*, *it·i*.)

IV. Used with words indicating the body, back, spine, thigh, calf of leg, elbow, knee, rib, stomach, spleen, liver, shoulder-blade, &c.

dab, my	*mat*, our	Ex.: *dab chāu-*,
ngab, thy	*ngat*, your	my body.
ab, his	*at*, their	*at pā·retā-*,
l'ab, ——'s	*l'at*, ——s'	their ribs.

V. Used with the words indicating leg, hip, loin, bladder, &c.

dar, my	*mar·at*, our	Ex.: *dar chág-*,
ngar, thy	*ngar·at*, your	my leg.
ar, his	*ar·at*, their .. .	*ar·at chō·rog-*,
l'ar, ——'s	*l'ar·at*, ——s'	their hips.

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VI. Used with words indicating mouth, chin, lip, throat, palate, tongue, gullet, jaw-bone, collar-bone, breath, &c. 193

dá·kà, my	*mak·at*, our	Ex.: *ngá·kà bang-*,
ngá·kà, thy	*ngak·at*, your	thy mouth.
á·kà, his	*ak·at*, their	*ak·at ĕ·kib-*,
l'á·kà, ——'s	*l'ak·at*, ——s'	their jaw-bones.

VII. Used apparently only with the word indicating waist.

dó·to, my	*mó·to*, our	Ex.: *dó·to kĭ·nab-*,
ngó·to, thy	*ngó·to*, your	my waist.
ó·to, his	*ó·to*, their	*mó·to kĭ·nab-*,
l'ó·to, ——'s	*l'ó·to*, ——s'	our waists.

I. (c)

dab, my	*mat*, our	Ex.: *dab mai·ola*,
ngab, thy	*ngat*, your	my father.
ab, his	*at*, their	*dab ĕ·tinga-*,
l'ab, ——'s	*l'at*, ——s'	my mother.

II.

dá·kà, my	*mak·at*, our	Ex.: *dá·kà kám-*,
ngá·kà, thy	*ngak·at*, your	my younger brother.
á·kà, his	*ak·at*, their	
l'á·kà, ——'s	*l'ak·at*, ——s'	

III.

dar or *dár*, my	*mar·at*, our	Ex.: *dar ĕ·dire*,
ngar or *ngár*, thy ..	*ngar·at*, your	my son.
ar or *ár*, his	*ar·at*, their	
l'ar or *l'ár*, —— 's ..	*l'ar·at*, ——s'	

IV.

dai, my	*mĕ·tat*, our	Ex.: *dai ĭk-yá·te-*,
ngai, thy..	*ĕ·tat*, your	my wife.
ai, his	*ó·ntat*, their	*ó·ntat pail-*,
l'ai, ——'s	*l'ó·ntat*, ——s'	their wives.

V.

ad, my	*mĕ·tat*, our	Ex.: *ad ĭk-yá·te-*,
ang, thy	*ĕ·tat*, your	my husband.
á, his	*ó·ntat*, their	*ĕ·tat bŭ·la-*,
l'á, ——'s	*l'ó·ntat*, ——s'	your husbands.

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VI.

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ad-en, my	*am-et*, our	Ex.: *ad-en tó·bare*, my elder brother.
ang-en, thy	*ang-et*, your	*ang-et tó·bare-pail-*, your elder sisters.
d-en, his	*d-et*, their	
l'á-en, ——'s	*l'á-et*, ——s'	

VII.

dōt, my	*mō·tot*, our	Ex.: *dōt chá·tnga-*, my adopted son.
ngōt, thy	*ngō·tot*, your	
ōt, his	*ō·tot*, their	
l'ōt, ——'s	*l'ō·tot*, ——s'	

VIII.

deb, my	*meb·et*, our	Ex: *deb adeu·ire*, my step-son.
ngeb, thy	*ngeb·et*, your	
eb, his	*eb·et*, their	
l'eb, ——'s	*l'eb·et*, ——s'	

9. Lieutenant R. C. Temple, in his Notes on my translation of the Lord's Prayer into *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* quotes some of the remarks made by Dr. Caldwell on the Australian languages, which he considers can with perfect truth be applied to the Andamanese dialects. The grammatical structure exhibits a general agreement with the languages of the Scythian group; in both we find the use of postpositions instead of prepositions; they also agree in the formation of inceptive, causative, and reflective verbs by the addition of certain particles to the root, as well as generally in the agglutinative structure of words and their position in a sentence.

193 197 10. In the same work, six sentences in *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* and *.bō·jig-yá·b-*,[1] such as would occur in daily conversation, are given as examples to illustrate the diversity of speech in two adjacent tribes. Only three out of some thirty words are there

[1] Or, in the language of that district, *.pū·chik-wár-*. Both *yáb-* in South Andaman, and *wár-* in South of Middle Andaman, signify "language." As will shortly be explained under "Mythology," the belief held by all, or the majority of the tribes of Great Andaman, is that the *.bō·jig-yá·b-* is the original language spoken by their remote ancestors, and from which the various other existing dialects have sprung. The word *bō·jig* is used in a special sense to denote "our," or "our style of." Ex.: *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* (the South Andaman tribe's name for itself), literally, *our* friends; *.bō·jig-yá·b-* (their name for the tribe on their northern border), literally, *our* language; *mij·a ngen ká·to bō·jig ká·rama má·nre?* Who gave you that *bō·jig* (*i.e.*, our style of) bow? [As shown in Appendix B, item 1, this term is used to distinguish the description used by the five tribes occupying Middle and South Andaman and the Archipelago, from the bows of the *.yē·rewa-* (*i.e.*, the three North Andaman tribes), and the *.jār·awa-*.]

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shown to be the same in both languages, while they differ in *every inflection*, from which fact it will readily be understood that, apart from the great difficulties of inter-communication, the task of acquiring a knowledge of the dialects of the remaining eight tribes must be one involving considerable sacrifice of time and labour, such as, I fear, it is hopeless to expect any government officer, unless specially deputed for the work, will be able to accomplish during his term of service.

11. Before concluding this part of my subject I will add an extract from a letter received in August, 1881, from my friend and fellow-worker in this branch of my studies, Lieutenant R. C. Temple (cantonment magistrate at Ambála), which he authorises me to publish as embodying his opinion after a careful study of the vocabularies and other data which I have collected and forwarded to him: "The Andaman languages are one group; they are like (*i.e.*, connected with) no other group; they have no affinities by which we might infer their connection with any other known group. The word-construction (the etymology of the old grammarians) is two-fold, *i.e.*, they have affixes and prefixes to the root of a *grammatical* nature. The general principle of word-construction is agglutination pure and simple. In adding their affixes they follow the principles of the ordinary agglutinative tongues; in adding their prefixes they follow the well defined principles of the South African tongues. Hitherto, as far as I know, the two principles in full play have never been found together in any other language. Languages which are found to follow the one have the other in only a rudimentary form present in them. In Andamanese both are fully developed, so much so as to interfere with each other's grammatical functions. The collocation of the words[1] (or 'syntax,' to follow the old nomenclature) is that of the agglutinative languages purely. The presence of the peculiar prefixes does not interfere with this; the only way in which they affect the syntax is to render the frequent use possible of long compounds almost polysynthetic in their nature, or, to put it another way, of long compounds which are sentences in themselves, but the construction of these words is not synthetic but agglutinative, and they are *as words* either compound nouns or verbs taking their place in the sentence, and having the same relation to the other words in it as they would were they to be introduced into a sentence in any other agglutinative language. There are of course many peculiarities of grammar in the Andamanese group, and even in each member of the group, but these are only

[1] For an example of this the reader is referred to "*Wōt*'s statement," which will be found in Appendix F.

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193 197 such as are incidental to the grammar of the other languages, and do not affect its general tenor. I consider, therefore, that the Andamanese languages belong to the agglutinative stage of development, and are distinguished from other groups by the presence in full development of the principle of prefixed and affixed grammatical additions to the roots of words."

12. As it is my intention to arrange and publish at an early date the results of my study of the various Andamanese dialects, I will not detain the reader with any further remarks on the subject. I have the less scruple in here dealing cursorily with this important point, as I have been so fortunate as to interest no less an authority than Mr. A. J. Ellis, F.R.S., who—after examining my vocabulary, containing probably about 6,000 words,[1] with examples of their use, together with a copious treatise on the grammar prepared by Lieutenant Temple from my notes[2]—incorporated a valuable paper on the South Andamanese language in his annual presidential address, which was delivered before the Philological Society on the 19th May, 1882.[3]

000 **Adoption.**—1. I have already pointed out several instances in which we find, on closer acquaintance with the race, that mistaken views have been entertained, and that both astonishment and merriment were evoked from the aborigines by the narration of certain of the habits and customs attributed to them, especially in connection with their social and marital relations.

2. It is generally admitted that one of the surest tests of a man's character may be found in the treatment women meet with at his hands; judged by this standard these savages are qualified to teach a valuable lesson to many of the fellow-countrymen of those who have hastily set them down as "an anomalous race of the most degraded description."

3. In a previous section I have mentioned that self-respect and modesty characterise their intercourse with one another, and

[1] And yet we find it stated by Figuier that "language is extremely limited among them;" and by Surgeon-Major Hodder that it "consists of a few words, and these sound harsh and explosive, and are principally monosyllables;" but it will be sufficient to refer to Mr. Ellis's interesting digest of the Andaman MSS. above mentioned, and to *Wöt*'s statement (Appendix F), to disprove the assertions of these writers.

[2] I would take this opportunity to express my acknowledgments of the great assistance afforded me by Mr. Temple in my philological researches. The result of his study of my vocabulary and notes on the Andamanese languages during a little over two years, is comprised in a large number of MSS. on the Grammar (above referred to) which, from lack of leisure, he has been compelled reluctantly to return to me for completion.

[3] A reprint of which instructive report is, with the kind permission of the author, appended to this monograph.

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that the young are early instructed in the duties of hospitality, 000
while the aged, the suffering, and the helpless are objects of special attention; that their moral code is not confined within these limits will be seen as I proceed.

4. The curious, but by no means uncommon,[1] savage custom 597
of adoption prevails among them, from which, however, it must 572
not be inferred that love of offspring is a characteristic in which they are at all deficient, for this is far from being the case.

5. It is said to be of rare occurrence to find any child above six or seven years of age residing with its parents, and this because it is considered a compliment and also a mark of friendship[2] for a married man, after paying a visit, to ask his hosts to allow him to adopt one of their children. The request is usually complied with, and thenceforth the child's home is with his (or her) foster-father (*mai-ōt-châ·tnga-*): though the parents in their turn adopt the children of other friends, they nevertheless pay continual visits to their own child, and occasionally ask permission (!) to take him (or her) away with them for a few days.

6. A man is entirely at liberty to please himself in the number of children he adopts, but he must treat them with kindness and consideration, and in every respect as his own sons and daughters, and they, on their part, render him filial affection and obedience.

7. It not unfrequently happens that in course of time permission to adopt a foster-child is sought by a friend of the *soi-disant* father, and is at once granted (unless any exceptional circumstance should render it personally inconvenient), without even the formality of a reference to the actual parents, who are merely informed of the change in order that they may be enabled to pay their periodical visits.

8. Foster-parents constantly manifest much opposition to any 597
desire they may observe on the part of the lads they have 882
brought up, to make a home for themselves, for the selfish 572
reason that they are useful in a variety of ways, above all, when they have acquired skill in hunting, turtling, &c.; over the maidens little or no restraint is imposed, as their marriage entails but a trifling loss in a material sense on those who have reared them.

9. Human nature, however, is the same all the world over, 597
and boys will be boys even in the Andaman jungles, so it is not 836
surprising that, in spite of all the precautions taken by their 584
572

[1] *Vide* Lubbock, "On the Origin of Civilization," &c., p. 96.

[2] Whether this be the true explanation of its object and origin or not, there can be little doubt that it has the effect of greatly extending the intercourse between the members of the various encampments.

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572 597 836 584 seniors, a good deal of flirtation, and often something more, is carried on by the young people without arousing any suspicions as to their sentiments for one another, until the affair has become too serious to be broken off, and has to end, sooner or later, in their marriage and start in life on their own account. In some cases, when the guardians have reason to believe that a lad has, notwithstanding his assurances to the contrary, a *sub silentio* attachment, they adopt the following method for testing the truth of his asseveration; on a given day it is arranged by the friends of the suspected couple that they shall (without the knowledge of either) be painted respectively [302] with the red oxide of iron unguent, *kòi·ob-*, and the white clay *tâ·la-ōg-*, for, as they would not meet till night-fall, the risk of their discovering the trap laid for them is reduced to a minimum, while a glance on the following morning would suffice to betray them if guilty, and the guardians' object would be attained, for, from shame at his secret being known, and his falsehood exposed, the youth feels in honour bound to break off his connection with the girl, at least for some time.

582 597 **Relationships.**—1. In all the relations of life the question of propinquity is, in their eyes, of paramount importance, and marriage is only permissible between those who are known to be not even distantly connected, except by wedlock, with each other; so inexorable, indeed, is this rule, that it extends, and applies equally, to such as are related merely by the custom of adoption to which I have just referred.

[605] 601 2. A first cousin, actual or by adoption, is regarded as a half-brother or half-sister, as the case may be, and nephews and nieces almost as sons and daughters, while the terms used to denote a grandfather, grandmother, grandson, and grand-daughter are equally applied to indicate respectively a grand-uncle, grand-aunt, grand-nephew, and grand-niece.

3. Parents, when addressing, or referring to their children and not using their names, employ distinct terms, the father calling his son *dar ō·dire, i.e.*, he that has been begotten by me, and his daughter *dar ō·dire-pail-*; while the mother makes use of the word *dab ē·tire, i.e.*, he whom I have borne, for the former, and *dab ē·tire-pail-* for the latter; similarly, friends in speaking of children to their parents say respectively, *ngar ō·dire*, or *ngab ē·tire* (your son), *ngar ō·dire-pail-*, or *ngab ē·tire-pail-* (your daughter).[1]

4. Uncles and aunts on the father's are not distinguished from those on the mother's side; relationships are traced in both lines, and the system with reference to either sex is identical.

[1] Foster-parents employ the terms *dōt chá·tnga-* and *dōt chá·tnga-pail-* in referring to their adopted son and daughter respectively.

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5. In consequence of the shortness of their lives, their ignorance of any method of maintaining accurate records, and last, not least, the unavoidable complications arising from their system of adoption, it naturally follows that they fail in tracing, and therefore in recognising, relationships beyond the third generation. 601

6. In addressing a senior male relative, the term *mai·a* or *mai·ola* is employed; if of equal standing, and a father, the same; but if not a parent, the term *mar* is prefixed to his name; if junior, he would be addressed by his name only. The same system applies to the females, with whom *chān·a*[1] or *châ·nola* takes the place of *mai·a* and *mai·ola*, and the "flower" name, to which I can now make but a brief allusion,[2] the place of *mar;* these terms, *mai·a*, *chān·a*, &c., are equivalent to Mr., Sir, Mrs., Madam, &c.[3] Sir John Lubbock, in his well known work "On the Origin of Civilization,"[4] points out the existence of a similar custom among the *Telugus* and *Tamils*.

7. In a table I have prepared,[5] and which I believe to be fairly complete, there are about sixty terms, exclusive of equivalents, employed to denote the various degrees of relationship recognised by this race. It will there be seen that, as among the Australians near Sydney, mentioned by the Rev. W. Ridley,[6] brothers and sisters speak of one another by titles that indicate relative age; that is, their words for brother and sister involve the distinction of elder or younger, while a like system is adopted in respect to half-brothers, half-sisters, cousins, brothers-in-law, and sisters-in-law.

8. In addressing the relatives of a wife or husband, or a brother's wife, or sister's husband—provided such be senior to the speaker—the term *mâm*[7] is used.

9. A man or woman may not marry into the family of their brothers- or sisters-in-law, but there is no rule against a man marrying a girl bearing the same name as himself, either in another tribe or in his own community, the *only* bar being that of consanguinity or adoption. 582

10. The nearest of kin to a widow or widower are, (1) the grown-up children, (2) the parents, and (3) the brothers and sisters. 602

Proper Names.—1. One of the alleged[8] peculiarities of the 551

[1] Not "*Chamak*," as given by Dr. Day.
[2] *Vide* next section, paragraph 3.
[3] "According to Williams ('Fiji and the Fijians') their (*i.e.*, the Fijian) languages contain expressions which exactly correspond to the French *Monsieur* and *Madame*." (Peschel, p. 346.)
[4] *Vide* 4th edition, p. 164.
[5] *Vide* Appendix I.
[6] *Vide* "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. ii, p. 266.
[7] This term is likewise employed in addressing a chief.
[8] *Vide* Tickell.

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551 Andamanese is that they have no proper names, whereas their system of naming is, on the contrary, somewhat elaborate, and commences even prior to the child's birth.

2. When there is reason to expect an increase to the family,[1] the parents decide what name the child shall bear; as a compliment they not unfrequently select one which is borne by a relative, friend, or chief; and, since all their proper names[2] are common to both sexes,[3] no difficulty arises on this score.

551 881 3. In illustration of this let us suppose the name chosen in advance to be *.dô·ra*; should the infant prove to be a boy he is called *.dô·ra-ô·ta-*, or, if a girl, *.dô·ra-kâ·ta-*. These terms (*ô·ta-* and *kâ·ta-*[4]) are used only during the first two or three years, after which, until the period of puberty, the lad would be addressed as *.dô·ra-dâ·la-*, and the girl as *.dô·ra-pō·ilola* until she arrived at womanhood, when she is said to be *ūn-lâ·wi-* or *â·kà-lâ·wi-*, and receives a "flower" name[5] as a prefix to her proper or birth name. By this method they are apparently able to determine when their young women become marriageable. There are eighteen prescribed trees[6] which blossom in succession, and the "flower" name bestowed in each case is taken from the one which is in season when the girl attains maturity; if, for example, this should be about the end of August, when the *châ·langa-* (*Pterocarpus dalbergioides*) is in flower, *.dô·ra-pō·ilola* would become *.châ·gara*[7] *.dô·ra*, and this double name would cling

[1] When near her delivery a woman will sometimes be heard saying (assuming the name chosen for the yet unborn child to be *.wō·loga*): *.wō·loga dab-ō·jolike, Wō·loga* is fidgetting me, or *.wō·loga dab-ngó·towake, Wō·loga* is clawing me, or, *.wō·loga ô·to-yárke, Wō·loga* is ready. [During the period of pregnancy, both the woman and her husband are spoken of as *pij-jā·bag-*, which signifies "bad hair;" the only explanation offered for the adoption of such a term is that it is in allusion to the fœtus.] [843]

[2] These number forty. (*Vide* Appendix H.)

[3]

A man calls a male namesake	if his senior,	*mai a ting·la.*
	if his equal or junior	*mar ting·la.*
" " female "		*chán ting·la.*
A man (or woman) calls a child of either sex bearing the same name		*ád ôt-ting-â·te-yâ·te-* (my-name-which-who).
A woman calls a male namesake	if her senior,	*mai·a* (his name) *ting·la.*
	if her equal or junior	*mar* (his name) *ting·la.*
" " female "		if her senior, *chán ting·la.*
" " " "		if her equal or junior (her name) *ting-la.*

Signifying respectively the genitals of the male and female.

[5] Dr. Day writes: "Girls arriving at a marriageable age wear certain flowers to distinguish themselves by"; but, as a fact, the flower is neither worn nor gathered.

[6] Names of these will be found in Appendix H.

[7] Euphonic corruption of *.châ·langa-*.

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to the girl until she married and was a mother,[1] then the "flower" name would give way to the more dignified term *chān·a* (madam or mother) *.dô·ra;* if childless, a woman has generally to pass a few years of married life before she is called *chān·a*,[2] after which no further change is made in her name. 551 881

4. In consequence of this system, as it rarely happens that in one community two women are found bearing the same "flower" *and* birth names, there is little chance of confusion arising. 551

5. Since no equivalent custom exists with regard to men,[3] nicknames are given which generally indicate some personal peculiarity, as, for instance, *.bī·a-pâg-* (*Bī·a-*, foot, he having large feet), *.bal·a-jō·bo-* (*Bal·a-*, snake, he having lost a hand from a snake-bite), *.pū·nga-dâ·la* (*Pū·nga-*, good-looking), and so on. All these names cling to the bearer for life, especially if they refer to some physical deformity.

6. Seniors often address young married persons in a (to us) strange fashion, *i.e.*, calling the husband by the wife's name and prospective designation; for example, in speaking to a man whose name is *.ī·ra*, and who had married a woman called *.tū·ra*, they would say *chān·a .tū·ra;* if the wife were *enceinte* the child's name would be used beforehand to denote its parents; thus, assuming *.wō·loga* to be the name of the yet unborn child, the father would be called by that name, and the expectant mother *.wō·loga-būd-*[4] until after the birth of the infant, when, for several months, the former would still bear the same appellation among his seniors, but would receive from his juniors the more dignified title of *mai·a .wō·loga;* while the latter would be addressed by her seniors as *.wō·loga-ô·ta-* (or *kâ·ta-* in the case of her child being a girl), and by her juniors as *chān·a .wō·loga-ô·ta-* (or *kâ·ta-*).[5]

Initiatory Ceremonies.—1. On or soon after reaching puberty, the fast[6] which has been kept during the few previous years (or in some cases, months) is broken; and instead of the affix *dâ·la*, the prefix *gū·ma*[7] (denoting in this connection a neophyte or 551 881

[1] From the account given under "Marriage," paragraph 4, it will be inferred that in many cases she has not long to wait.

[2] *Vide* section on "Relationships," paragraph 6.

[3] In a few cases nicknames are bestowed on women.

[4] *būd-* signifies house, habitation.

[5] For further information on the subject of proper names and terms applied to men and women, *vide* sections on "Relationships" and "Initiatory Ceremonies," and Appendices I and K.

[6] *Vide* section on "Tabu."

[7] In Dr. Day's paper the following passage occurs:—"The youthful swain eats a peculiar kind of ray-fish termed *goom-dah*, which gives him the title to the appellation of *goo-mo*, signifying, 'a bachelor desirous of marrying.' Girls arriving at a marriageable age . . . . (*vide* footnote 5 on previous page). Before marrying, young men take a species of oath, after which they sit very still for several days, scarcely taking any food." Plausible as this explanation

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557 881 novice) is attached to the boy's birth-name; he is also addressed as *mar*[1] *gū·ma* (master novice) if senior to, and alone with the speaker: this term *gū·ma* is retained until the lad is married and is a father, after which *mai·a*[2] (Mr.)—or, if a chief, *mai·ola*—is adopted in its place, and by this title he would be known for the rest of his life. A young chief, however, attains the honorary designation of *mai·a* as soon as the novitiate terminates.[3]

881 262 2. The *â·kà-yâ·p-*, or fasting period (during which turtle, honey, pork, fish, and a few other favourite articles of food[4] are *choses défendues*), commences between the 11th and 13th year, and varies in length from one to five years; it is observed by both sexes, but lasts longer in the case of girls, with whom, indeed, it is not terminable till some time after matrimony. As an *â·kà-yâ·b-* makes up for these restrictions by eating a larger quantity of other food, he (or she) does not ordinarily suffer in physique during the probationary period. It does not rest with the youth or maiden to determine when he, or she, will resume eating the various articles above mentioned, but with the chief, who decides when each individual's powers of endurance and self-denial have been sufficiently tested. Exceptional cases are cited in which the probationer has expressed a desire to prolong the time of abstinence, it being a cause for boasting when the average period has been exceeded.

3. As at present understood, the *â·kà-yâ·p-* is regarded as a test of the endurance, or, more properly speaking, of the self-denial of young persons, and as affording evidence of their fitness and ability to support a family. It is divided into three periods: 1st, the *yâ·dī-* (turtle) *gū·mul-*; 2nd, the *â·ja-* (honey) *gū·mul-*; and 3rd, the *reg-jī·ri-* (kidney-fat of pig) *gū·mul-*.[5]

4. When the youth is permitted, and agrees, to break his turtle fast, a feast is arranged by his friends, consisting entirely of that delicacy. The chief, or headman present, first boils in a pot (*būj-*[6]) a large piece of turtle-fat, which, when sufficiently cool, he

may appear, there is no connection between *gūm-*, a ray-fish, and *gū·ma* (a youth who has undergone his probationary fast); moreover, as mentioned in a foregoing section (*vide* "Proper Names"), marriageable young women do not derive their "flower" names in the manner here described; in point of fact, no such custom as "wearing flowers" is practised by any class.

[1] *Vide* section on "Relationships," paragraph 6.

[2] As with the term *chāsa* among women, the title is not bestowed for several years if there be no child.

[3] Both before and after the *â·kà-yâ·p-* the individual is said to be *bó·tiga-*.

[4] These comprise the flesh of the iguana and paradoxurus, the larvæ of the Great Capricornis beetle (*ò·gum-*), and a smaller insect called *bū·tu-*.

[5] It will thus be seen that the *gū·mul-* answers very much to the Australian "bora," or ceremony of initiation into the privileges of manhood, spoken of by the Rev. W. Ridley in his Report on Australian Languages and Traditions (*vide* "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. ii, p. 269. 1873).

[6] *Vide* Appendix B, item 18.

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pours over the head of the lad, who remains seated and perfectly still in the midst of his friends while the oil streams over his body. The men present remove any ornaments that he may be wearing, and rub the grease into his person; the women and children meantime occupy themselves with crying, the idea being that, after abstaining from turtle for a long time, madness, illness, or even death, may result from partaking of it again.[1] After this the novice, who may not wash off the oil with which he has been anointed at least until late on the following day, is fed with the flesh of the turtle,[2] of which a certain quantity is reserved for his consumption on the ensuing two or three days, and the remainder is distributed among those assembled. He is then led to his hut and directed to sit cross-legged on a spot covered with leaves of the *Myristica longifolia*, with a support behind him against which he may lean. The turtle flesh, previously cooked and set apart for him, is deposited at his side, and one or more of his friends take it by turns to sit with him, it being their duty to enjoin silence, to supply his wants, and to prevent him from falling asleep by singing from time to time as the night wears away. The following morning his mother, sister, and other female relatives, come and weep[3] over him, and paint, first, his ears and the adjoining parts with *yâ·dī-kòi·ob-*, and afterwards his entire person with alternate stripes of this compound and *tâ·la·ōŋ-*. Some large leaves[4] made into two broom-like bundles are placed in his hands, and other leaves are placed in his waistbelt. Thus provided he rises and dances frantically,[5] swinging his arms at the same time, for an hour or more, while the women, who are seated with legs outstretched, keep time for him by slapping the hollow between their thighs with the palm of the right hand, which is held at the wrist by the other hand; the males look on, or, if they have gone through the ceremony themselves, accompany him in his performance.

5. After an hour or so, when, fatigued with his exertions, the youth stops dancing, the *yâ·dī-gū·mul-* is considered at an end, and the new *gū·ma* mingles with his friends, who, nevertheless,

[1] The same reason is given for the silence which the neophyte has to observe during this ceremony, as well as at the *á·ja-gū·mul-* and *reg-jū·ri-gū·mul-*.

[2] He is then said to *gū·mul māg·ke* (or *gū·mul lē·ke*), *i.e.*, to eat, or devour, the *gū·mul-*.

[3] The reason given for this demonstration of grief is that the youth has now entered upon an important epoch in his life, and is about to experience the trials and vicissitudes incidental thereto.

[4] The leaves of the *Myristica longifolia* (*bō·rowa-*) are usually selected on these occasions, apparently because this tree is associated with turtle-hunting, paddles being made of the wood.

[5] The step is a peculiar one, and is only seen on these occasions: the performer keeps his heels together and stamps on the ground, at the same time he swings his arms violently, holding in his hands the two leaf brooms.

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881 262 continue to watch him carefully for two or three days, lest harm should result from his recent feast, and also because they think evil spirits are not unlikely to do him some injury by taking advantage of his supposed helpless condition to make him deaf, or cause him to forget his way, and thus meet the fate which, on the faith of their traditions, they believe to have overtaken two of their antediluvian ancestors.[1]

881 6. All that has been said of youths in respect to the *yâ·dī-gū·mul-* applies equally to young women, except that matrons remove the novice's ornaments, and all but one or two of her [834] *bōd*-s (waistbelts[2]), and her *ō·bunga-* (leaf apron[3]), which are left for the sake of decency. As, while performing the concluding dance, some difficulty is experienced in regard to the *ō·bunga-*, girls are provided on these occasions with a more substantial apron of leaves, so that the feelings of the most prudish are not violated.

7. The origin of the term *gū·mul-lē·ke* is obscure, and inquiries have failed to elicit any satisfactory explanation regarding it; the literal translation is "rainy-monsoon devour-does," and though the *yâ·dī-gū·mul-* is always celebrated at that season of the year, the term is also applied to the honey feast, which can only take place during the dry montlis. The same equivalents are found in the other tribal dialects, so that the peculiarity is not confined to the *bō·jiŋ-ngī·ji-*. The only reasonable explanation offered is that the expression is in allusion to the sweaty (*gū·mar-*), or rain-like (*yūm-*), appearance of the novice when the melted fat or honey has been poured and smeared over his person.

881 177 262 8. Lengthened intercourse with the alien population in their midst has naturally led to their occasionally betraying some indifference in regard to customs, such as that above described; especially is this the case with those who have been brought up in the orphanage at Ross Island. A few years ago one of these youngsters, who had been named Martin, refused to accede to the wishes of his friends in the jungle home to which he had returned, and persisted in partaking of the articles of food proscribed to all of his age; as he happened shortly after to fall sick and die, they were fully persuaded that he had incurred his fate by failing to comply with the ancient rites and ceremonies as handed down by their fathers.

881 262 9. On the conclusion of the *yâ·dī-gū·mul-*, the youth is said to be an *â·kà·gū·mul-*, and, as before stated, is addressed as *gū·ma*; but this is not the case with the girl, possibly because she, at

[1] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraph 23.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 25.
[3] *Vide* Appendix B, item 79.

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this period of her life, receives a "flower" name,[1] and does not, therefore require any additional designation to denote that she has attained maturity. If more than one become *gū·ma* on the same day they call each other *gū·ma l'àrjō·pinga-*.[2] After the *yà·dī-gū·mul-* turtles' eggs and the kidney-fat of the ray-fish and turtle may, at the bidding of the chief, be again eaten by the novice, and in the first ensuing dry season edible roots, and the heart of the *Caryota sobolifera* may be added to the bill of fare without further ceremony than the observance of strict silence on the first occasion of partaking of them.

10. Between the *yà·dī-gū·mul-* and the *à·ja-gū·mul-* no fruit may be eaten by the novices, who have, moreover, to abstain till after the *reg-jī·ri-gū·mul-* from pig's flesh of any kind.

11. When the honey fast is to be broken, a quantity of honey-combs, according to the number assembled, are on the appointed day procured: the *à·kà-yà·b-* being placed in the midst of the group, the chief or other elder goes to him with a large honey-comb wrapped in leaves; after helping the novice to a large mouthful, which he does by means of a bamboo or iron knife, he presents the remainder to him, and then leaves him to devour it in silence: this he does, not, however, by the ordinary method, for it is an essential part of the ceremony that he should not use his fingers to break off pieces, but eat it bear-fashion, by holding the comb up to his mouth and attacking it with his teeth and lips.[3] After satisfying his present requirements, he wraps what is left of the comb in leaves for later consumption.

12. The chief then takes another comb and anoints the youth by squeezing it over his head, rubbing the honey well into his body as it trickles down. The proceedings at this stage are interrupted by a bath, in order to remove all traces of the honey, which would otherwise be a source of considerable inconvenience by attracting ants. Beyond the observance of silence, and continued abstention from *reg-jī·ri-*, the youth is under no special restrictions, being able to eat, drink, and sleep as much as he pleases.

13. Early the following morning the lad decorates himself with leaves of a species of *Alpinia*, called *jī·ni-*,[4] and then, in the presence of his friends, goes into the sea (or, if he be an *ē·rem-tà·ya-*, into a creek) up to his waist, where, locking his thumbs

[1] *Vide ante* "Proper Names," paragraph 3.

[2] *àrjō·pike*, to share, or to be a partner with another.

[3] This mode of eating is termed *pai·ke* (to use the lips), from *pai-*, the lip.

[4] This plant is selected because it is associated with honey-gathering; its bitter sap, being extremely obnoxious to bees, is smeared over their persons when taking a comb, and enables them to escape scot free with their prize (*vide post* "Food," paragraph 35).

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881 together, with open hands he splashes as much water as possible over himself and the bystanders, occasionally ducking his head under the surface as well. This is considered a safeguard or charm against *snakes*, and the on-lookers cry "*ô·to-ped·ike, kī·nig wâ·ra-jō·bo lô·tike* (Go and splash yourself, or *Wâ·ra-jō·bo*[1] will get inside you), for they imagine that unless they go through this splashing performance, this snake will by some means enter their stomachs and so cause death.

881 262 843 14. The only difference between the sexes with respect to the *â·ja-gū·mul-* is that with females it cannot take place until after the birth of the first child; they are also required to abstain from honey during each subsequent pregnancy; in their case, too, a chief or elder (preferably a relative) officiates, and not a woman.

881 15. A year is generally allowed to elapse between the *yâ·dī-gū·mul-* and the *reg-jī·ri-gū·mul-*. When this final step is determined on, the friends and relatives of the *â·kà-yâ·b-* start on a pig hunt, and, if unsuccessful, the *gū·mul-* has to be postponed for, in the case of a young man, it is necessary that the ceremony be performed with a boar, while for females a sow must be procured.

16. When all is ready, and the party assembled, the chief presses the carcass of the boar heavily on the shoulders, back, and limbs of the young man as he sits on the ground,[2] silent and motionless, this is in token of his hereafter becoming, or proving himself to be, courageous and strong. The animal is then cut up, and when the fat has been melted, as in the previous cases, it is poured over the novice, and rubbed into his person; he is then fed with *reg-jī·ri-*, and if he makes signs for water it is given him, but, until the following day, he may not utter a word, rise, or even sleep. Two or three friends generally remain with him to attend to his requirements, which he makes known to them by gestures.

17. In the morning fresh leaves of a tree called *reg lâ·kà chàl-*—the fruit of which is much eaten by the *Sus And.*—are brought, and a quantity of them are placed in the hands of the youth, and some more in his waistbelt; he then rises and, as at the turtle feast, dances until fairly exhausted. During the month [262] following the *reg-jī·ri-gū·mul-*, the young persons are called *â·kà-gō·i-*, *i.e.*, "one commencing to eat."

18. It should be added that, whatever may have been the intention and practice in former years, it is not necessary at the present day for a youth to undergo these several ordeals before

[1] This is believed to be the *Ophiophagus elaps.*

[2] In the case of the woman, the carcass of the sow is not pressed in this manner on her limbs or body.

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he is permitted to marry:[1] although many remain single until 881
they have undergone these various rites, it is considered almost as binding on those who marry before doing so, to comply with these time-honoured usages at some early opportunity.

Marriage.—1. It has been asserted that the "communal 581
marriage,"[2] system prevails among them, and that "marriage is 586
nothing more than taking a female slave,"[3] but so far from the 837
contract being regarded as a merely temporary arrangement, to be set aside at the will of either party, no incompatibility of temper or other cause is allowed to dissolve the union, and, while bigamy, polygamy, polyandry, and divorce are unknown, conjugal fidelity till death is not the exception, but the rule, and matrimonial differences, which, however, occur but rarely, are easily settled with or without the intervention of friends.

2. It is undoubtedly true that breaches of morality have occasionally taken place among a few of the married persons who have resided for any length of time at Port Blair, but this is only what might be expected from constant association with the Indian convict attendants at the various homes; justice, however, demands that in judging of their moral characteristics we should consider those only who have been uninfluenced by the vices or virtues of alien races.

3. As in various other savage tribes, unchastity[4] is apparently 836
universal among the unmarried of both sexes, and is indeed so 835
entirely disregarded that no reproof is administered, even by the nearest relatives, to those who offend in this manner; notwithstanding this laxity, the girls are strikingly modest and child-like in their demeanour, and when married are good wives and models of constancy, while their husbands do not fall far short of them in this respect. It should, however, be mentioned, that the freedom which exists between the sexes prior to wedlock, is confined to those who are not within the prescribed limits of affinity, as their customs do not permit of the union of any who are known to be even distantly related;[5] the fact of our allowing first cousins to marry seems to them highly objection-

[1] They think highly of a man who defers marriage until he is of full age, and the reverse of a youngster who rushes into matrimony before attaining the mature (!) age of eighteen.

[2] "So absolutely closely allied are the Andaman Islanders in their moral as well as physical life to the lower animals, that it is said by an eminent scientific voyager (Sir Edward Belcher) that the man and woman remain together until the mother ceases to suckle the child, after which they separate as a matter of course, and each seeks a new partner" (Brown).

[3] *Vide* Wood.

[4] "A great many races of mankind are quite indifferent to juvenile unchastity, and only impose strict conduct on their women after marriage" (Peschel).

[5] "It is precisely nations in the most primitive stage which have the greatest abhorrence of incestuous marriages" (Peschel).

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835 able and immoral, which is turning the tables on us with a
836 vengeance.[1]

836 4. In consequence of the lax code of morality prevailing among the unmarried, it not unfrequently happens that a
584 marriage is brought about by the circumstance of the young woman being found *enceinte*. When this is the case, the guardians ascertain from her companions or herself who is the cause of her being in such a condition, and, whether it is an easy matter or not to decide this question with certainty, there never appears to be any difficulty in persuading the youth whom she names
[848] as her lover to become her husband. It thus happens that children are very rarely born out of wedlock.

584 5. Parents and foster-parents have the power of betrothing their children in infancy, and though subsequently, during childhood, they may be parted, the contract must be fulfilled soon after they attain a marriageable age; it is even alleged that, like the Yorubas,[2] the Andamanese look upon a girl betrothed by her parents as so far a wife that with her prematrimonial unfaithfulness is accounted a crime.

6. As soon as the betrothal has been agreed upon, the girl is taken to the hut of her future father-in-law, or foster father-in-law, and the children remain together for several months, in order that the fact of their engagement may become generally known; after this the girl returns to her old home, or is adopted by one of her father's friends. Should either of the betrothed pair die young, the survivor is not called upon to take any part at the obsequies, and is at liberty to form another alliance.

607 7. Until a man attains middle age he evinces great shyness in the presence of the wife of a *younger* brother or cousin, and the feeling is invariably reciprocated; it is, however, otherwise in the case of the elder brother's (or cousin's) wife, who, moreover, should she be many years his senior, receives from him much of the respect accorded to a mother. In the first of the above cases all communications are made through a third person, though under no circumstances would marriage be permissible between them; while in the latter it is almost obligatory, unless the disparity between the ages be very great.

584 8. It is not customary for lovers to intimate their desire of being married, but it is the duty of the guardian, or, in the case of widows and widowers, of the chief of the community, to

[1] On reference to Appendix I, it will be found that the terms which are used to denote *half-brother* and *half-sister*, are also employed to denote *male* and *female cousins*, showing how close they regard the relationship.

[2] Farrer's "Primitive Manners and Customs," p. 201.

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arrange matters for those between whom he observes there is 584
something more than a passing attachment.

9. Although nearly all marriages are brought about by one 588
or other of the above-mentioned modes, it remains to be added that an individual is now and then met with who is regarded as married though he (or she) has not conformed with the prescribed ceremony; this occurs when a bachelor or widower is found asleep in one of the huts occupied by unmarried females; he and the woman beside whom he was seen are then said to be *tigwâ·nga-*, which means that their union has been contracted irregularly. In such cases no ceremony or entertainment takes place, for a certain amount of discredit attaches to a couple thus united; but if their after conduct towards each other be considered satisfactory no unpleasant allusions are made to the past.

10. As they have no idea of invoking the aid or blessing of a 585
Supreme Being, nothing of a religious character attaches itself to the marriage ceremony, which may be briefly described as follows:—On the evening of the eventful day[1] the bridal party assemble at the chief's hut or in one of those occupied by unmarried women. The bride (whether spinster or widow) sits apart, attended by one or two matrons, and the bridegroom takes his place among the bachelors until the chief, or elder, approaches him, whereupon he at once assumes a modest demeanour and simulates reluctance to move; however, after a few encouraging and re-assuring remarks he allows himself to be led slowly, sometimes almost dragged, towards his *fiancée*, who, if she be young, generally indulges in a great display of modesty, weeping and hiding her face, while her female attendants prepare her by straightening her legs; the bridegroom is then made to sit on her thighs, and torches are lighted and brought close to the pair that all present may bear witness to the ceremony having been carried out in the orthodox manner, after which the chief pronounces them duly married, and they are then at liberty to retire to the hut which has been previously prepared for their occupation.

11. Unless they have made arrangements to settle[2] elsewhere,

[1] I can find nothing to account for the statement, which appeared in Dr. Day's paper, to the effect that they "pass their marriage day staring at one another."

[2] From the fact that, sometimes from choice, and sometimes in compliance with the wishes of the bride—should she belong to another tribe—they settle down in another community, it has been inferred in Dr. Day's account that it is customary to spend the honeymoon away from their friends, but such is not the case. The same writer further states that "on the bridegroom's return to the tribe with his bride, *Jeedgo*, crying and dancing are kept up with great spirit." The word here intended is evidently *abjad·i-jō·g-*, but it means *spinster*, the word for *bride* being *abdē·rebil-pail-*. [591]

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585 the newly married couple do not leave the encampment in order to get food, or anything else that they may require, as their friends consider it a duty or privilege to supply all their needs until the shyness, consequent on the marriage, has worn off.

[431] 12. Wedding presents being as much *de rigueur* among these savages as in Mayfair, the happy pair invariably find themselves enriched by their relatives and acquaintances with the various articles of ordinary use, such as nets, buckets, bows, arrows, &c. in honour of the event.

13. On the morning following the marriage the bridegroom's mother, or other near female relative, decorates his person by painting him with *tâ·la-ōg-*, while the bride is similarly ornamented by her friends. It often happens that a young couple will pass several days after their nuptials without exchanging a single word, and to such an extent do they carry their bashfulness that they even avoid looking at each other: in fact their conduct would lead a stranger to suppose that some serious quarrel had caused an estrangement.

[535] 14. When a few days have elapsed, and they are in some measure accustomed to the novelty of their position, they enter upon the duties of life, and conduct themselves like their neighbours: the marriage is then celebrated by a dance, in which all, save the bride and bridegroom, take part.

593 851 15. A certain amount of jealousy usually exists between young people during the first year of their married life;[1] indeed, complete confidence and genuine affection are never entirely established until they become parents or, at least, till the wife is found to be *enceinte*, and even their relationship to each other is not regarded as being so close *prior* to the birth of a child as it is *after* that event. Confirmatory evidence on this point will be given when describing the funeral rites,[2] where it will be noticed that the survivor of a childless couple is not looked upon as chief mourner.

587 589 16. There is no prohibition against second marriages, but greater respect is entertained for those who show their love and esteem for the deceased by remaining single and leading chaste lives (*ō·yun-tē·mar-bar·minga-*). It is by no means unusual for a man, even though he be young at the time of his wife's death, to remain a widower[3] for her sake for many years, or even till death;

[1] It often happens that a man will not at first allow his wife to leave their hut at night for any purpose unless he accompanies her, professedly to protect her from dangers, spiritual and temporal, but in reality to satisfy himself that she has not made an assignation.

[2] *Vide* "Death and Burial," paragraph 20.

[3] It must, however, be admitted that as their customs allow of a widow or widower consorting with the unmarried of the opposite sex, a single life is not of necessity a virtuous one, or evidence of constancy and devotion to the memory of the dear departed.

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but widows generally marry again when the prescribed term has passed: this is not altogether due to inconstancy on the part of the fair (!) sex, but to the custom, to which allusion has before been made, which all but compels a bachelor or widower to propose to the childless widow of his elder brother or cousin (if she be not past her prime),[1] while she has no choice beyond remaining single or accepting him; should she have no younger brother-in-law (or cousin by marriage), however, she is free to wed whom she will.[2] 587 589

17. A young widow who is childless usually returns to the home of her girlhood; but, if elderly, she lives in one of the huts set apart for spinsters, and those who, situated like herself, are eligible for matrimony; during the period of her widowhood it devolves on one of her senior male relatives to act as her guardian; it is not considered decorous that any fresh alliance should be contracted until about a year has elapsed from the date of bereavement.

18. In the case of a widow who has children, it is customary for her to remain in the same community and keep house for her family; during widowhood—if her husband had been a chief or elder—she continues to enjoy the privileges accorded her in his lifetime. Should she re-marry and her husband happen to be a bachelor, or widower "without encumbrances," it is usual for him to join her community, and live in her hut, but if they both have families it becomes a matter of arrangement between them which establishment shall be given up. [591]

19. Some idea of the erroneous views formerly held respecting their marital relations will be gathered from the following extracts:—(*a*) "There is promiscuous intercourse save with the parent, which only ceases in regard to the woman when she is allotted as wife to a man, but is retained as the prerogative of the male sex."[3] (*b*) "Marriage, as we understand the word, is unknown to them, and there seem to be few restrictions of consanguinity, a mother and her daughter being sometimes the wives of the same husband."[4] A similar statement appears in Dr. Brown's work, and the source of both is probably to be found in the following passage in Dr. Mouat's book, in which he publishes several extraordinary stories told by an escaped 114

[1] It should be added that marriage with a deceased wife's younger sister is equally a matter of necessity on the part of a *childless* widower.

[2] A case of this kind came under my notice where a young man living at one of the homes was reluctantly married to the widow of an elder brother, or cousin, who was considerably his senior, and innocent of any attractions. This *mariage de convenance* proved by no means a happy one, though, so far as could be judged, neither had any just cause of complaint against the other.

[3] *Vide* Mouat.

[4] *Vide* Wood.

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114 convict Sepoy, named *Dúdhnáth*,[1] who had apparently spent about thirteen months with the aborigines, during the first two years of our settlement at Port Blair (1858-59):—"A man named *Pooteeah*, who doubtless considered him (*Dúdhnáth*) a desirable match, offered to bestow upon him, in what they called wedlock, his daughter *Hessa*, a young woman of twenty years of age, whose attractions were doubtless regarded as considerable among her native tribe, and a mere girl named *Zigah*, a daughter of *Hessa*, who, in that eastern part of the world, was considered quite old enough[2] for the state of marriage. As they were by no means troubled with an uneasy amount of virtue they made no objection to being assigned to the Brahmin soldier in the most unceremonious manner. The two, mother and daughter, at once recognised him as their husband." . . . .

20. The main feature of interest in this story is, however, somewhat marred when it is discovered that the woman (*.lī·pa*[3]), who was well known to us for many years subsequent to the establishment of the homes, was a girl of not more than seventeen at the time of *Dúdhnáth's* escape, and that she had never been a mother prior to her marriage with him.[4] The child (*.yē·ga*, not *Zigah*) was merely living under *Lī·pa's* protection, and was employed, like all children, in helping to supply the wants of her guardians. The fact of child marriages—not to mention bigamy and concubinage—being quite unknown among them, affords additional support to this statement, which is the result of careful inquiry.

21. *Dúdhnáth* being of course aware of the ignorance which prevailed at the time regarding the habits and customs of the Andamanese, appears to have availed himself of the opportunity thus afforded him of drawing largely on his imagination, probably with the object of exciting as much interest as possible in his adventures, and perhaps also of amusing himself with the wonder created by his narrative. Some of his unrecorded[5] stories seem, however, to have been still more

[1] Of all who absconded on this occasion it appears that he was so fortunate as to be the only one who was spared by the aborigines, his companions being shot down as soon as they were discovered.

[2] *Vide ante*, "Development and Decay," paragraph 3, and "Reproduction," paragraph 1.

[3] This was her name. There is no name at all resembling *Hessa* in the language (*vide* Appendix H).

[4] In his report for the month of December, 1866, the officer in charge of the Andaman homes stated that on *Dúdhnáth's* desertion of her "she was called *Modo*, which signifies a deserted bride, or a woman that has lost her husband while young, and before becoming a mother." [N.B.—*.mō·da* (not *Modo*) is one of the twelve "flower" names borne by all young women (married and single) until they become mothers (*vide* "Proper Names," paragraph 3, and Appendix H.)]

[5] "Our friend the Sepoy tells some remarkable exploits of the Mincopie in

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highly coloured, and failed, therefore, in imposing on the almost excusable credulity which existed at a time when next to nothing of a trustworthy nature was known concerning these savages. 114

22. With regard to a deceased husband's property, the widow disposes of everything, which she does not require for her personal use, among his male relatives. 768

23. It seems superfluous to add that no such custom as *suttee* prevails or has ever been known to exist among them. 764

Death and Burial.—1. Amongst other erroneous opinions held regarding these tribes is that which declares that "no lamentation is publicly made at death," whereas, in point of fact, the demonstrations of grief on such occasions are generally excessive, and are shared, in a greater or less degree, by every member of the community in which the melancholy event occurs. 763

2. In the case of an infant, the parents and relatives remain weeping for hours beside the corpse; afterwards they smear their persons with a wash composed of *ōg-* (the common olive-coloured clay) and water, and, after shaving their heads, place a lump of the same, called *del·a-*, just above their foreheads,[1] where it hardens, and is left, much to the individual's discomfort, until the expiration of the days of mourning;[2] should it fall off in the meantime it is renewed. 765 766

3. The burial usually takes place within 18 hours of the decease, which time is spent by the mother in painting the head, neck, wrists, and knees of her dead child with *kòi·ob-* and *tâ·la-ōg-*; she also shaves off the hair, and folds the little limbs so as to occupy the least possible space,[3] the knees being brought up to the chin and the fists close to the shoulders; the body is then enveloped in large leaves, called *kâ·pa-*,[4] which are secured with cords or strips of cane. The father meantime employs himself in digging a grave with an adze (*wō·lo-*[5]), in the place where his hut fire usually burns; when all is prepared the little head is uncovered, and the parents gently blow upon the face 766

fishing, which, as they seem to indicate a Munchausen-like facility of exaggeration in the narrator we decline to repeat" (Mouat).

[1] This applies to men, for women usually place the *del·a-* on the top of the head. It is worn by neither sex until after they have attained maturity, and only for a father, mother, husband, wife, brother, sister, son, or daughter, the *ōg-* wash alone being deemed sufficient "mourning" in the case of other relatives or friends.

[2] The term *á·kà-ōg-* is therefore applied to mourners, since they are prohibited from the use of *kòi·ob-*.

[3] "If we knew no further details as to the opinions of the intellectually gifted Hottentots, formerly so greatly underrated, it would be enough that, previous to burial, they place the body of the deceased in the same position which it once occupied as an embryo in the mother's womb" (Peschel).

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 74.

[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 15.

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766 two or three times in token of farewell;[1] then, replacing the leaves, they put the corpse into the grave in a sitting posture, and fill in and level the earth; next, having procured a quantity of the young leaves of the common jungle cane, they split them and make long fringe-like wreaths, called *â·ra-*,[2] which they fasten to the trees surrounding the hut, or encircling the entire camping ground, the object being to apprise any stranger or friend who might chance to visit the spot, that a death has recently occurred, and that they would therefore do well to keep away.

[775] 4. After suspending the *â·ra-* the fire is rekindled and the mother places a shell containing some of her own milk beside the grave, obviously in order that the child's spirit, which is believed to haunt its late home for a few days, may not lack nourishment. All in the encampment then pack up those things which are mostly needed and depart to some other camping ground,[3] generally not less than two or three miles distant, where they at once construct huts, usually of the description called *chàng-tô·rnga-*,[4] to serve as shelter during the mourning period, which as a rule lasts about three months; and during which the parents and relatives, naturally enough, refrain from 262 taking any part in the festivities occurring among their neigh- 765 bours. While mourning it is customary for the *ē·rem-tâ·ga-* to abstain from pork, and for the *àryô·to-* to deny themselves turtle as well as other luxuries, in token of the sincerity of their grief, but they never mutilate themselves by cutting off joints of their fingers, &c., as do the Hottentots and the Papuans of the Fiji Islands, nor have they, as has been erroneously asserted in Dr. Day's paper, daily, during periods of deep sorrow, to throw honey-comb, if obtainable, into the fire.[5]

5. At the expiration of the time mutually agreed upon, they all return to the deserted encampment and remove and destroy the *â·ra-*. The parents then exhume the remains, which are taken by the father to the sea-shore, or the nearest creek, there to be cleansed[6] from all putrefying matter: this done, he brings

[1] *Vide* ceremony at parting (*post*, "Meeting and Parting," paragraph 6).

[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 73.

[3] Similarly do the Koi-Koin (Hottentots) "break up their kraals after every case of death, to avoid the proximity of the grave" (Peschel).

[4] *Vide* "Journ. Anthrop Inst.," vol. xi, p. 283, and *ante*, "Habitations," paragraph 3.

[5] The practice here referred to is evidently that of burning beeswax (not honey-comb), the object of which will shortly be explained under "Superstitions," paragraph 13, and is not that here stated.

[6] This repulsive duty is always performed by one of the near *male* relatives of a deceased person. Dr. Day was led to believe that "the extraction of the skull and bones, it is considered, requires great skill and courage," but experience and the statements of all those aborigines who have been questioned on the subject, do not bear out this view.

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the skull and bones back to his hut and breaks up the latter into small pieces suitable for necklaces.[1] The mother, after painting the skull with *kòi·ob-*, and decorating it with small shells attached to pieces of string, hangs it round her neck with a netted chain, called *râb-*.[2] After the first few days her husband often relieves her by wearing it himself. Infants' skulls, being fragile, are generally preserved carefully from risk of injury by being entirely covered with string, but (except temporarily as when travelling, fishing, &c.) these souvenirs are not carried about in a basket. The next few days are spent by the mother in converting the bones into necklaces, called *chàu·ga-tâ-*, and when several have been made, she and her husband pay visits to their friends, among whom they distribute these mementoes, together with any of the pieces that may remain over, in order that they may make additional necklets for themselves. 765

6. Before this distribution takes place, it should be mentioned that the mourners remove from their heads the lump of clay placed there on the day of the child's death; the wife also paints her husband's neck, waist, wrists, and knees with *kòi·ob-* and further adorns him with a stripe of the same compound from his throat to his navel, and afterwards decorates herself in a similar manner. [302]

7. All due preparations having thus been made, the friends assemble round the hut to pay their final visit of condolence; whereupon the bereaved father sings some old song of his, which he last sang, perchance, with his little one alive and well in his arms, on which all except himself express their grief and sympathy by breaking out into loud lamentations. The chorus of the song is chanted by the women while the parents perform a dance which goes by the name of *t'ī-tô·latnga-* (*lit.*, the shedding of tears); when wearied with their exertions they retire to their hut, and cease from any further display of sorrow, whereupon their friends generally take up and continue the melancholy dance and song for many hours, the women being then joined by the men, who, till this stage of the proceedings, have merely acted the part of spectators. It should be explained that the character of this dance does not differ from that which is customary at a wedding or other occasion of rejoicing, except in the doleful appearance of the performers. 765 535

8. On the death of an adult and others, the relatives (as in the case of an infant) smear themselves with *ōg-* and place a lump of the clay on their heads, where it must remain until the *t'ī-tô·latnga-*; any necklaces, waistbelts, &c., which the deceased was wearing are removed; women then paint the 764

[1] *Vide* Appendix B. item 44.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B item 42.

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764 corpse, whose limbs are folded and enwrapped in the manner above described.

9. What the true significance of this practice may be is not quite clear, as such of the aborigines as have been questioned assert that it is merely for convenience in removal; but since the custom is also observed in infant burials which, as I have mentioned, take place in the very hut wherein the death occurred, it seems probable that a deeper meaning underlies the act; and the real reason may be that which Peschel supplies in his reference to the Hottentots, who observe the same custom, *i.e.* "that the dead will mature in the darkness of the earth in preparation for a new birth."[1]

10. As it is not customary for females to attend the funeral, when *their* part is done, they gently blow upon the face, and take their last farewell look.

[766] 11. None save infants are buried within the encampment, all others being carried to some distant and secluded spot in the jungle, and there interred or placed upon a "machán," or platform; it is generally arranged beforehand which of these two methods shall be employed, but the latter is considered the more complimentary, apparently because it involves a little more labour.[2]

12. Arrived at their destination, the corpse, which has been carried by one of the men on his back, is put down, while the final preparations are being made. A spot is selected where there is a boulder or large tree,[3] to mark it, and there, if a grave has been decided on, they dig a hole about 4 or 5 feet deep, with an adze (*wō·lo-*), into which the body is lowered in a sitting posture, facing the east; all present then raise the leaf covering the head, and take leave of their friend by blowing upon his face. Before the grave is filled in the cords or canes are cut, the object being to hasten the process of decomposition by loosening the leaves; a fire is lighted over the spot and a *gōb-*,[4] or nautilus shell, filled with water, as well as some article which belonged to the deceased, is placed beside it: then the surrounding brushwood for some little distance is cleared away, and *â·ra-* are suspended between the trees in the manner and for the purpose before stated.

13. Should it, however, have been determined to dispose of the corpse by the alternative method, a small stage is constructed

[1] This singular practice also prevailed amongst the ancient Peruvians (*vide* "Anthropology of Prehistoric Peru," by T. J. Hutchinson, "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. iv, p. 447, 1875).

[2] Old persons are generally buried.

[3] They never wittingly use the same tree or spot a second time, and are careful to remember those which served on a former occasion.

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 82, and "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xi, p. 269.

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of sticks and boughs, about 8 to 12 feet above the ground, generally between the forked branches of some large tree,[1] and to it the body is lashed. The head is raised slightly, looking eastward, and, though the position of the arms is not altered, the cords are loosened to allow of the legs being straightened, after which the leaves are re-adjusted, so as to cover the entire form, in order to protect it from the attacks of hawks, crows, and vermin. 764

14. Two reasons are given for the practice of placing the corpse with the face towards the rising sun: one being that dissolution may thereby be hastened, the other that *jereg-* or Hades, whither the souls of the departed flee, is situated in the east. [775]

15. The mourners take a last farewell in the manner before described, and fulfil the remaining duties, as related in the former case. The spirit of the deceased being supposed to haunt not only the spot where he has been buried, but also the encampment where the death occurred, the community migrate temporarily to another camping ground immediately after the return of the funeral party, leaving the *â·ra-* to witness to casual visitors of the cause of their absence. 765

16. When the period of mourning has expired, the men who assisted in the funeral rites return to the place of burial, destroy the *â·ra-*, and remove the remains of the deceased to the sea-shore, or to a creek, where the bones are cleaned and afterwards conveyed to the old encampment, whither they all return and restore their camp to its normal condition.

17. As all that has been related regarding the distribution of the bones of a child and the subsequent dance applies equally to all cases, further account of these ceremonies here is unnecessary; for fuller information anent the manufacture of the necklaces, &c., the reader is referred to an interesting paper by Dr. Allen Thomson, F.R.S., which will be found in the Journal of the Anthropological Institute for 1881.[2]

18. Although in the majority of cases the display of grief is thoroughly sincere, there is no doubt that they hope, by testifying to their sorrow in the various ways mentioned, to conciliate the spirits of the departed, and to be by them preserved from many misfortunes which might otherwise befall them.[3]

19. In the case of a young married couple who are childless, if either die, the survivor is not the chief mourner, and does not even assist at the obsequies, which are performed solely by

[1] They are careful not to select a fruit-tree, or one used for the manufacture of their canoes, bows, and other implements.

[2] *Vide* "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xi, p. 295.

[3] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 24.

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PLATE VI.

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GREAT ANDAMAN TYPES AT PORT BLAIR HOME.

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CHANG-TONGA (SECOND-CLASS LEAN-TO) IN SOUTH ANDAMAN: FRIENDS WEEPING TOGETHER AFTER LONG SEPARATION; ATTITUDE IN SLEEP, ETC.

[facing p. 78]

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765 the relatives of the deceased, one of whom subsequently takes possession of the skull, and wears it until he (or she) chooses to part with it, or is asked to do so by another member of the family. It should here be stated that it is by no means obligatory upon the survivor of an elderly couple, or any relative, to carry the bones or skull of the deceased for a lengthened period:[1] except in the event of marrying a brother, sister, or cousin of the deceased, these relics can be given at any time to a friend who may ask for them; thus it not unfrequently happens that the remains of one who was a chief or a favourite in his day, are scattered far and wide among his admirers, but when in course of time they get mislaid or broken, the owner is often easily reconciled to his loss, or makes it good by procuring similar mementoes of another and more recently departed friend.

20. It may be said that as a rule no adult is without at least one *chàw·ga-tâ-* (*i.e.*, a human bone necklace), and the skulls, which are generally to be found in every encampment, are worn by each in turn, if only for a few hours.

[764] 21. The only difference made on the occasion of the death of a chief, his wife, or one of his near relatives, is that *all* the men and lads of the encampment smear themselves with *ōg-*, and attend the funeral; the relations alone, however, are the mourners during the succeeding weeks or months which intervene before the *t'ī-tô·latnga-*, though, as a token of respect for the deceased, and of sympathy with the mourners, other members of the tribe often abstain from some favourite article of food, and take no part in festivities during the same period.

22. If a member of another tribe happen to die while on a visit, the body would be disposed of in one of the modes I have endeavoured to describe, after which intimation would be sent to the friends of the deceased, so that they might know where to seek for the skeleton when the time for disinterment should arrive.

766 23. The body of an enemy, stranger, or captive child would be thrown into the sea, or buried *sans cérémonie*, as the bones would
761 never be in request.

24. A sudden death is at once attributed to the malign influence of *.ē·rem-chàw·gala*, if the deceased had been recently in the jungles, or to *jū·ru-win-*, if he had been on the sea; in either case one of the male relatives of the victim, representing the feelings of the community, approaches the spot where the body

[1] I mention this more especially as the erroneous statement made by some early writer, that "a widow wears her husband's skull suspended round her neck for the rest of her life" has been repeated in more recent accounts, and hitherto remains uncontradicted.

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761 is lying, and shoots several arrows in rapid succession into the
766 surrounding jungle, only taking care to avoid injury to the bystanders, and then, seizing a pig-spear, *ēr-dū·tnga-*,[1] if *.ē·rem-chàu·gala* be the demon suspected, or a turtle-spear, *kowai·a l'ôko dū·tnga-*,[2] if it be *.jū·ru-win-* who is accounted guilty, he pierces the ground all round the corpse, hoping thereby to inflict a mortal injury upon the unseen enemy; while so engaged he vents his grief and indignation in no measured terms of imprecation.

25. When a death which is attributed to *.ē·rem-chàu·gala*'s malignity occurs so late in the day that the burial has to be deferred till the following morning, those who are not mourners sing in turns throughout the night, in the belief that this demon will thus be deterred from doing any further harm in the encampment.

26. At death they say that *.ē·rem-chàu·gala* and his sons feast upon the blood and soft tissues of all who die on land, and that their leavings, excepting of course the bones, are disposed of by worms, *wēn-*, but *jū·ru-win-* is supposed to consume every portion of those who fall into his clutches.

Meeting and Parting, &c.—1. Contrary to the customs of most
576 races, no salutations[3] pass between friends, even after a more or less lengthened separation, such as rubbing noses, kissing[4] shaking hands, &c.; but on meeting they remain silently gazing at each other for, in our eyes, an absurdly long time—unless of course one or both be hurried; the younger then makes some commonplace remark which apparently has the effect of loosening their tongues, for they at once commence hearing and telling the news.[5]

576 2. Relatives, after an absence of a few weeks or months,
152 testify their joy at meeting by sitting with their arms round each other's necks,[6] and weeping and howling[7] in a manner which would lead a stranger to suppose that some great sorrow had befallen them; and, in point of fact, there is no difference observable between their demonstrations of joy on these occasions and those of grief at the death of one of their

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 9.

[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 10.

[3] *Vide* Colebrooke and Anderson.

[4] Kisses are considered indicative of affection, but are only bestowed on infants.

[5] One might imagine that the writer of the article entitled "Chippers of Flint" which appeared in "Cornhill" (vol. xii, p. 200), had heard of or witnessed a rencontre of this description, but had not watched its progress, or he would not have spoken of this race as "all but speechless."

[6] *Vide* Plate III, fig. 2.

[7] This custom resembles that which exists among New Zealanders under the name of the *Tangi*.

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PLATE VII.

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TO SPEED THE PARTING GUEST.

[Facing p. 80]

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576 number. The crying chorus is started by women, but the men
152 speedily chime in, and groups of three or four may thus be seen weeping in concert until, from sheer exhaustion, they are compelled to desist; then, if neither of the parties are in mourning, a dance is got up, in which the females not unfrequently take part, but the style of their performance differs from that of the males.[1]

3. A husband who is *childless*, and has been absent from his home for some time, on his return to the encampment visits first a blood relation (if any), and when *they* have wept together he goes to his own hut, not in order to shed more tears, but to see and talk to his spouse. The same remark applies to a wife similarly circumstanced. But in the case of married couples who are *parents*, the meeting takes place first between them; the wife hangs round her husband's neck sobbing as if her heart would break with joy at their re-union; when she is exhausted with weeping, he leaves her, and, going to one of his relations, gives vent to his pent-up feelings of happiness by bursting into tears.

576 4. It is usual for friends at meeting to give each other something which may happen to be in their hands at the time, and these gifts are regarded as tokens of affection.

[574] 5. Strangers introduced by mutual friends are always warmly welcomed by the whole community: they, in common with all guests, are the first attended on, the best food in the encampment is set before them, and in every way they are well treated; presents also are often given them, especially when about to take their leave.

6. "Speed the parting guest" is an axiom upon which these people invariably act: the departing visitor is accompanied by his host to the landing-place, or, at all events, some distance on his way; when bidding each other farewell the guest takes the hand of his host and blows upon it; when the compliment has been returned, the following dialogue ensues:—

Departing visitor: *kam wai dōl.* I am off (*lit.*, Here indeed I).

Host: *ô, ū·chik wai òn; tain tâ·lik kach òn yâ·te?* Very well, go; when will you come again?

Departing visitor: *ñyâ·tek dō·ngat mīn ī·kke.* I will bring away something for you one of these days.

Host: *jō·bo la ngōng châ·pikok!* May no snake bite you!

Departing visitor: *wai dō ēr-gē·lepke.* I will take good care of that (*lit.*, I will be watchful).

Afterwards they again blow upon each other's hands, and part,

[1] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraphs 27 and 30.

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576 shouting invitations and promises for a future date until beyond earshot.

7. When nearing home, after an unusually successful hunting or fishing expedition, the men raise a shout[1] of triumph in order to apprise their friends of their good fortune, and the women take up the cry and express their delight by yelling[2] and slapping their thighs; but when the encampment is entered, these sounds of rejoicing almost invariably cease for a while, and, after depositing their spoils, the hunters remain speechless for some time ere recounting their adventures and exploits: for this strange practice they appear unable to account.

8. No matutinal greetings pass between friends or between husband and wife, and inquiries relating to health are unusual unless addressed to an invalid.

515 9. When a man is thirsty and wishes also to wash his hands, he first, if alone, stoops down and drinks from the stream, or raises the water to his lips in a leaf or vessel; then, filling his mouth with water, he squirts it over his hands, using his unkempt locks as a towel. Should any one else be present, he would pour the water over his friend's hands as well, not from his mouth, but from a leaf.

10. They do not bathe daily, but at irregular intervals, when oppressed with the heat, or when, from some cause, as, for instance, in gathering honey,[3] their persons become sticky and unpleasant, and ablutions, consistently with comfort at least, cannot be dispensed with. It will be understood that these remarks apply to the *ē·remtâ·ga-*, rather than the *àryô·to-*, who, from the nature of their pursuits, are on the whole fairly clean.[4]

[302] 11. During the hot weather they smear their bodies with common white clay, called *ōg-*,[5] dissolved in water, and avoid, as far as they are able, any lengthened exposure to the direct rays of the sun. If compelled to leave the shelter of the jungle, they are in the habit of holding a large leaf screen, *kâ·pa-jâ·tnga-*,[6] over their heads as a protection (this is also done during a shower); should they be travelling by boat they lessen the discomfort caused by excessive heat by pouring water over themselves, or by plunging overboard and swimming alongside the canoe for some part of the way.

[1] There is a specific term for this description of shouting, viz.: *tē·reblake*, while that of the women in answer thereto is called —

[2] *rō·moke.*

[3] *Vide* Appendix H (*lad·a chàu-*, lit., dirty body).

[4] They never allow vermin to breed on their persons — in fact, such a thing could not possibly occur, owing to the constant shaving of the head, painting of the person, and, in the case of the *àryô·to-*, immersion in the sea while fishing and turtling.

[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 59.

[6] *Vide* Appendix B, item 74.

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372 **Fire.**—1. It would seem that the Andamanese, like the quondam aborigines of Tasmania, have always been ignorant of the art of producing fire.

2. The assertion[1] that these tribes when first discovered, assuming that this refers to either the second or ninth century,[2] were ignorant of the use of fire may or may not be correct; but if any faith can be placed in the traditions held by them on the subject, their acquaintance with it dates from no later period than the Creation![3]

3. The most satisfactory conjecture as to the source whence they first obtained fire appears to me to be based on the fact of there being two islands attached to the group, one of which (Barren Island) contains an active volcano, and the other (Narcondam Island[4]) a now extinct one.

4. Being strangers to any method of producing a flame, they naturally display much care and skill in the measures they adopt for avoiding such inconvenience as might be caused by the extinction of their fires.

5. Both when encamped and while journeying, the means employed are at once simple and effective. When they all leave an encampment with the intention of returning in a few days, besides taking with them one or more smouldering logs, wrapped in leaves if the weather be wet, they place a large burning log or faggot in some sheltered spot, where, owing to the character and condition of the wood invariably selected on these occasions, it smoulders for several days, and can be easily rekindled when [824] required. Decayed pieces of the *Croton argyratus*, and two species of *Diospyros*,[5] and a fourth, called by them *chôr-*, but not yet identified, are chiefly used as fuel. As may be inferred, all labour of splitting and chopping is saved, as it is only necessary

[1] *Vide* Brown.

[2] *Vide* Part I (commencement).

[3] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraphs 5 and 6.

[4] Regarding this island, which is sometimes shown as Narkandam, Colonel Yule, in his "Marco Polo," writes as follows:—

"Abraham Roger tells us that the Coromandel Brahmins used to say that the *Rakshasas* or Demons had their abode 'on the Island of Andaman, lying on the route from Pulicat to Pegu,' and also that they were man-eaters. This would be very curious if it were a genuine old Brahminical *Saga*; but I fear it may have been gathered from the Arab seamen. Still it is remarkable that a strange weird looking island, which rises, covered with forest, a steep and regular volcanic cone, straight out of the deep sea to the eastward of the Andaman group, bears the name of *Narkandam* in which one cannot but recognise नरक, (*Narak*), 'Hell.' Can it be that in old times, but still contemporary with Hindu navigation, this volcano was active, and that some Brahmin St. Brandon recognised in it the mouth of Hell, congenial to the Rakshasas of the adjacent group?"

Colonel Yule adds: "I cannot trace any probable meaning of Andam, yet it looks as if *Narak-andám* and *Andám-án* were akin."

[5] Bastard ebony or marble wood.

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to beat a log of this description on a stone or other hard substance a few times before it breaks up into as small pieces as are needed. 372

6. In each hut that is occupied there is invariably a fire, the object of which is to keep the owner warm, to drive away insects, and to cook food, while the smoke is useful in preserving the store of provisions, which are placed about two feet above it for that purpose.[1] [251]

7. Council fires, or fires burnt on special occasions, are not among their institutions; even the household fire is not held sacred, or regarded as symbolical of family ties, and no rites are connected with it; there are no superstitious beliefs in reference to its extinction or pollution, and it is never employed literally or figuratively as a means of purification from uncleanness, blood, death, or moral guilt.

8. Fires are generally kindled by fanning the embers with a frond of the *Asplenium nidus* (*pâ·tla-*), and they are extinguished by pressing the burning logs against some such object as a tree, canoe, or stone.

9. Reference must here be made to the mis-statement which has found its way into several papers concerning the existence of so-called "oven-trees" among the Andamanese. The belief appears to have originated in the practice which prevails among them of taking advantage, during brief halts, of the natural shelter afforded by the peculiar formation of the roots of the *Pterocarpus dalbergioides*, and trees of the *Ficus* genus, so common in these islands, and which, extending like buttresses on all sides of the trunk, are, especially when roofed over with a light thatch such as these people are accustomed to make in a few minutes, capable of accommodating small parties suddenly overtaken by a storm, or needing a temporary resting-place: the traces of fires lighted by successive parties against these trees, and the hollows thus caused, having been noticed, the opinion was formed, and, without sufficient corroborative evidence, promulgated, that they were "purposely charred," and that "great pains is taken in their preservation."[2] As a matter of fact, the Andamanese no more employ oven-trees than do the gypsies in Bulgaria, alluded to by General Pitt-Rivers, F.R.S.,[3] who, using constantly the same trees, have formed a semi-cylindrical chimney, which might reasonably be regarded, by one unacquainted with their habits, as an attempt to form an oven. 114

10. While it is the women's business to collect the wood, the duty of maintaining the fires, whether at home or while travelling 372

[1] *Vide ante* "Habitations" paragraph 5.
[2] *Vide* Mouat, pp. 308–9.
[3] *Vide* Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi. pp. 273 and 290 (Appendix I).

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372 by land or sea, is not confined to them, but is undertaken by those of either sex who have most leisure or are least burdened.

11. Probably nothing introduced by us so impressed them with the extent of our power and resources as *matches*; that we should be able to produce fire with such ease and by such means was not unnaturally regarded as evidence of our being superhumanly gifted.

372 **Superstitions.**—1. Fire is supposed to possess the power of driving away evil spirits: when, therefore, at night they hear in
776 imagination the approach of the dreaded *.ē·rem-chàu·gala*,[1] they throw burning logs into the jungle surrounding the encampment. Again, should any of the community have occasion to leave their huts at night, no matter how short the distance, he (or she) invariably takes some fire as a protection against any demons that may be in the vicinity; a torch is also taken if it be very dark at the time.

[821] 2. Of darkness they assert that it was instituted on account of the misconduct of two of their ancestors, as will shortly be mentioned.[2]

776 3. From fear of displeasing *mai·a .ō·gar-*[3] (Mr. Moon), during the first few evenings of the third quarter, when he rises after
784 sundown, they preserve silence, cease from any work on which
821 they may be engaged—even halting-should they be travelling—and almost extinguish any light or fire which they may be burning. This is owing to the belief that he is jealous of attention being distracted to other objects than himself at such a time, or of any other light being employed than that which he has been graciously pleased to afford so abundantly. By the time the moon has ascended a few degrees, however, they restore their fires and resume their former occupations, as they consider they have then sufficiently complied with *mai·a .ō·gar-*'s wishes and requirements. The glowing aspect of the full moon on its first appearance above the horizon is supposed to indicate that *mai·a .ō·gar-* is enraged at finding some persons neglecting to observe these conciliatory measures; there is also an idea that, if he be greatly annoyed, he will punish them by withdrawing or diminishing the light of his countenance.

776 4. Regarding meteorolites they appear to possess no superstition. Shooting stars and meteors they view with apprehension,
821 believing them to be lighted faggots hurled into the air by *.ē·rem-chàu·gala* in order to ascertain the whereabouts of any unhappy wight in his vicinity; if, therefore, they happen to be away from

[1] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 12.
[2] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraph 31.
[3] Singing, dancing, and thumping on the sounding board at that hour are, however, not displeasing to him.

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their encampment when the phenomenon occurs, they invariably secrete themselves, at the bottom of a boat, for example, if fishing, and remain silent for a short time before venturing to resume their interrupted employment. 776 821

5. Between dawn and sunrise they will do no work, save what is noiseless, lest the sun should be offended, and cause an eclipse, storm, or other misfortune to overtake them. If, therefore, they have occasion to start on a journey or hunting expedition at so early an hour, they proceed as quietly as possible, and refrain from the practice, observed at other periods of the day, of testing the strength of their bow-strings, as the snapping noise caused thereby is one of those to which the sun objects. 784 821

6. They invariably partake of a meal soon after rising, as it is believed that no luck can attend any one who starts to his day's work on an empty stomach. 777 264

7. They dare not use the wood of the tree called *al·aba-* (the bark of which supplies the fibre used in making harpoon lines and turtle nets) for cooking turtle, for, as will be found elsewhere,[1] this is an act so abhorrent to *mar·a .ō·gar-* that he visits the offenders with summary and condign punishment. 776

8. In tempestuous weather the leaves of the *Mimusops Indica* are constantly thrown on the fires, as the popping sounds thus produced are thought to have the effect of assuaging *Pū·luga-*'s fury and causing the weather to moderate. 821 776 [789]

9. When they see a dark cloud approaching at a time when rain would prove very inconvenient, as when hunting, travelling, &c., they advise *Pū·luga-* to divert its course by shouting "*.wâ·ra-jō·bo kō·pke, kō·pke, kō·pke*" [*Wā·ra-jōbo*[2] will bite, bite, bite (you)]. If in spite of this a shower falls they imagine that *Pū·luga-* is undeterred by their warning.

10. This practice of menacing *Pū·luga-* is probably that to which Colonel Symes alluded when he wrote that "they confess the influence of a malignant Being, and, during the south-west monsoon, when tempests prevail with unusual violence, they deprecate his wrath by wild choruses."

11. Storms are regarded as indications of *Pū·luga-*'s anger; winds are his breath, and are caused to be blown by his will; when it thunders *Pū·luga-* is said to be growling at something which has annoyed him; and lightning, they say, is a burning log flung by him at the object of his wrath.

12. There is an idea current that if during the first half of the rainy season they eat the *Caryota sobolifera*, or pluck and eat the seeds of the *Entada pursætha*, or gather yams or other edible 821 776 262

[1] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraph 32.

[2] This snake, as already mentioned under "Medicine," appears to be the *Ophiophagus elaps*.

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821 776 262 roots, another deluge would be the consequence, for *Pū·luga-* is supposed to require these for his own consumption at that period of the year; the restriction, however, does not extend to the *fallen* seeds of the *Entada pursætha*, which may be collected and eaten at any time with impunity.

821 776 789 13. Another of the offences visited by *Pū·luga-* with storms is the burning of beeswax,[1] the smell of which is said to be peculiarly obnoxious to him. Owing to this belief it is a common practice secretly to burn wax when a person against whom they bear ill-will is engaged in fishing, hunting, or the like, the object being to spoil his sport and cause him as much discomfort as possible; hence arises the saying among them, when suddenly overtaken by a storm, that some one must be burning wax.

776 821 787 14. The rainbow is regarded as *.ē·rem-chàu·gala*'s dancing or sounding board, which is only visible at certain times; its appearance is said to betoken approaching sickness or death to one of their number, and is, therefore, inauspicious.[2]

823 776 15. There are no superstitions anent hills, valleys, rocks, &c., which, as stated in my last paper,[3] *Pū·luga-* is believed to have formed for some purpose of his own. The formation of creeks is attributed to a fortunate accident, the account of which being connected with their traditions must be reserved for that section.[4]

823 775 16. They imagine earthquakes to be caused by some mischievous male spirits of their deceased ancestors, who, in their impatience at the delay in the resurrection, combine to shake the palm-tree on which they believe the earth to rest, in the hope thereby of destroying the cane bridge[5] which stretches between this world and heaven, and alone maintains the former in its present position. These selfish spirits are, however, said to be careful never to indulge in such practices during the dry months, as they imagine that, in consequence of the surface of the earth being then much cracked with heat, there would be considerable risk of its tumbling about their ears and crushing them instead of toppling over in one solid mass. They are said, therefore, never to play at earthquakes except during, or shortly after, the rainy season. But for the intervention of female spirits, who do their utmost to dissuade or prevent their male companions from continued enjoyment of this dangerous pastime, they are persuaded that there would be much cause for alarm on every occurrence of an earthquake.

775 17. They believe that every child which is conceived has had a

[1] *d'ja pid-* (*vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 4, footnote).
[2] The Chippeway Indians call it the dancing spirit (*vide* "Travels in the Interior of North America," by Maximilian, Prince of Wied).
[3] *Vide ante* "Topography," paragraph 3.
[4] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraph 13.
[5] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 25.

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prior existence, but only as an infant. If a woman who has lost a baby is again about to become a mother, the name borne by the deceased is bestowed on the fœtus, in the expectation that it will prove to be the same child born again. Should it be found at birth that the babe is of the same sex as the one who died, the identity is considered to be sufficiently established, but if otherwise the deceased one is said to be under the *ràu-* (*Ficus laccifera*) in *.châ·itâ·n-* (Hades).[1] 775 [557]

18. They have no peculiar ideas in reference to yawning, hiccoughing, spitting, or eructating, and hissing[2] is unknown. 827

19. To sneeze is auspicious, and therefore regarded with favour. When any one sneezes the bystanders ask, "Who is thinking of you?" to which the person replies by naming some absent friend, or, should he be alone when he sneezes, he says, "Here I am at —— " (naming the place).

20. If they have a dream which they regard as bad, as, for instance, that a canoe was dashed on a reef, or that an accident occurred while pig-hunting, or even if, when awake, they hear two canoes bumping against each other while at anchor, they consider it essential to accept such as a warning, and act accordingly, viz., by taking steps to incur no risk of a misadventure: this is generally accomplished by remaining at home for two or three days. 787

21. A small striped snake, called *lâ·raba-*, is supposed to produce the streams of the red oxide of iron, *kòi·ob-chū·lnga-*, and olive-coloured clay, *chū·lnga-*, so much employed by them; the ground for the belief is the alleged fact that this snake, when disturbed, ejects from its tail a whitish fluid, which is of a deadly nature. They declare that the poison is such that it cannot be removed by washing or other means, and that it causes intense pain to the victim, who invariably dies within a few hours. 825

22. There is a small bird, not yet identified, called by them *pī·chrō·l-*, the meeting with which is looked upon as ominous of an approaching death in their midst. When a woodpecker is heard tapping on a tree he is said to be giving warning of the approach of *ū·chu-*,[3] so they proceed in fear and trembling until the danger is supposed to be past. The notes of the *pai-* and *ràtegi-* (two birds not yet identified) are regarded as a sign that there are enemies in the vicinity. When, therefore, either of these are heard, they at once retrace their steps, if they happen to be on the move, or, should they be in an encampment, they 787 825

[1] *Vide ante* "Proper Names," paragraph 1, and *post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraphs 22 and 23.

[2] This is accounted for by the absence of sibilants in their language (*vide* Appendix A).

[3] A legendary elephant, to be spoken of under "Mythology," paragraph 30.

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787 temporarily vacate their huts and remain on the alert with their
825 weapons ready for immediate use. The cry of another bird, called *chē·ra-*, informs them of the approaching visit of a friend. Finally, if while travelling they hear the cawing of a crow, they say they must be near some occupied, or recently abandoned encampment. This belief is doubtless traceable to the fact that these birds are among the principal scavengers of their camping grounds.

776 23. It has been noticed that they will never whistle between sunset and sunrise, and the reason they give is that this sound, more than any other, attracts *ē·rem-chàu·gala* during those hours. When animals behave in an unaccountable manner, especially at night, it is said to be because they see this demon.

773 **Religious Beliefs and Demonology.**—1. I have several times mentioned the Supernatural Beings, *Pū·luga-* and *ē·rem-chàu·gala*, and must now enter more into detail regarding the beliefs held by the Andamanese concerning these and other spirits.

2. Though no forms of worship or religious rites are to be found among them, yet are there certain beliefs regarding powers of good and evil, the Creation, and of a world beyond the grave, which show that even these savages have traditions more or less approximating the truth, but whence derived will ever remain a mystery.

3. It is extremely improbable that their legends were the result of the teaching of missionaries or others who might be supposed to have landed on their shores in by-gone years; for not only have they no tradition of any foreigners having settled in their midst and intermarried with their ancestors, or even of having so far established amicable intercourse as to be able to acquire a knowledge of any one of their languages, but our own records, so far from differing from theirs on these points, tend clearly to show that, from the earliest times till so recently as 1858, these islanders have been more or less universally regarded as cannibals, in consequence of which they were much dreaded by all navigating the adjacent seas. The persistency with which they resisted with showers of arrows all attempts to land on their shores,[1] precludes the belief that any one, prior to our settlement,[2] would from choice have visited these islanders in the vain hope of reclaiming them from their savage state, and in order to teach them the Biblical, Mahomedan, or other versions of the Creation, Fall, Deluge, &c.; while it may surely be

[1] The probable cause of their hostility will be explained in a later section (*vide post* "Trade, &c.," paragraph 1).

[2] In 1870 an orphanage was established at Ross Island (Port Blair) for children of the aborigines, but it is very doubtful whether even the more intelligent of the inmates have obtained, much less retained, more than an elementary knowledge of the outline of the truths of Christianity.

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assumed that if any shipwrecked persons had ever been cast on their coast, they would, in the improbable event of their lives being spared, have left some traces of the fact, such as might be looked for among the customs, in the culture, or physical characteristics of these savages, but these are vainly to be sought in any section of the race. 773

4. Moreover, to regard with suspicion, as some have done, the genuineness of such legends as those in question argues ignorance of the fact that numerous other tribes,[1] in equally remote or isolated localities have, when first discovered, been found to possess similar traditions on the subjects under consideration.

5. Further, on this subject as well as on all others in which there appeared any risk of falling into error, I have taken special care not only to obtain my information on each point from those who are considered by their fellow-tribesmen as authorities, but who, from having had little or no intercourse with other races, were in entire ignorance regarding any save their own legends: I have, besides, in every case, by subsequent inquiry, endeavoured to test their statements, with the trustworthiness of which I am thoroughly satisfied. I may also add that they all agree in stating that their accounts of the Creation, &c., were handed down to them by their first parent *Tô·mo-* (Adam), and his immediate descendants, while they trace all their superstitions and practices to the "days before the Flood!"

6. I shall presently speak of the legends current anent the Creation, and also the Fall and Deluge: the latter will there be seen to have been, *selon eux*, consequent on the former.

7. In spite of their knowledge of, or belief in, a Supreme Being,[2] whom they call *Pū·luga-*, they live in constant fear of certain evil spirits, whom they apprehend to be ever present, and on the watch to do them some bodily injury. 776

8. Of *Pū·luga-* they say that—

I. Though His appearance is like fire, yet He is (now-a-days) invisible.

II. He was never born and is immortal.

III. By him the world and all objects, animate and inanimate, were created, excepting only the powers of evil. [772]

IV. He is regarded as omniscient while it is day, knowing even the thoughts of their hearts.

V. He is angered by the commission of certain sins,[3] while to

[1] A story of the Fall occurs in the myths of the Eskimo, the South Sea Islanders, the Zulus, the Australians and the New Zealanders (*vide* "Biblical Traditions and Savage Myths."—*St. James' Gazette*, July 14th, 1881.)

[2] *Vide* Mouat, pp. 303–4.

[3] *Vide ante* "Crimes," paragraph 2.

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776 those in pain or distress he is pitiful, and sometimes deigns to afford relief.

VI. He is the Judge from whom each soul receives its sentence after death, and, to *some* extent, the hope of escape from the torments of *jer·eg-làr-mū·gu-* (regarding which anon) is said to affect their course of action in the present life.[1]

9. *Pū·luga-* is believed to live in a large stone house in the sky, with a wife whom he created for himself; she is green in appearance, and has two names, *chān·a .àw·lola* (Mother Fresh-water Shrimp), and *chān·a .pâ·lak-* (Mother Eel); by her he has a large family, all, except the eldest, being girls; these last, known as *mô·ro-win-* (sky spirits or angels), are said to be black in appearance, and, with their mother, amuse themselves from time to time by throwing fish and prawns into the streams and sea for the use of the inhabitants of the world. *Pū·luga-*'s son is called *.pīj-chô·r-*: he is regarded as a sort of archangel, and is alone permitted to live with his father, whose orders it is his duty to make known to the *mô·ro-win-*.

[82] 10. *Pū·luga-* is said to eat and drink, and, during the dry months of the year, to pass much of his time in sleep, as is proved by his voice (thunder) being rarely heard at that season; he is the source whence they receive all their supplies of animals, birds, and turtles; when they anger him he comes out of his house and blows, and growls, and hurls burning faggots at them—in other words, visits their offences with violent thunderstorms and heavy squalls; except for this purpose he seldom leaves home, unless it be during the rains, when he descends to earth to provide himself with certain kinds of food; how often this happens they do not know since, now-a-days, he is invisible.

776 761 11. *Pū·luga-* never himself puts any one to death, but he objects so strongly to seeing a pig badly quartered and carved that he invariably points out those who offend him in this respect to a class of malevolent spirits called *.chôl-*, one of whom forthwith despatches the unfortunate individual.

776 761 753 12. *Pū·luga-* has no *authority* over the evil spirits, the most dreaded of which are *.ē·rem-chàw·gala*, *jū·ru-win-*, and *.nī·la-*; they are self-created, and have existed from time immemorial. The first of these, the evil spirit of the woods, has a numerous progeny by his wife *chān·a .bad·gilola*, who remains at home with her daughters and younger children, while her husband and grown-up sons roam about the jungles with a lighted torch

[1] It is from regard to the fact that their beliefs on these points approximate so closely to the true faith concerning the Deity that I have adopted the English method of spelling all equivalents of "God" with an initial capital.

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attached to their left legs, in order that the former may injure any unhappy wights who may meet them unprotected,[1] and in the dark; he generally makes his victims ill, or kills them by wounding them internally with invisible arrows,[2] and, if he is successful in causing death, it is supposed that they feast upon the raw flesh;[3] *.ē·rem-chàu·gala*, indeed, appears to be to the Andamanese much what "*Arlak*"[4] is to the aboriginal Australian: in both cases these evil spirits are represented as afraid of light; *.ē·rem-chàu·gala* is said to be also afraid of, or to avoid, the demon *.nī·la-*. 776 761 753

13. This spirit, *.nī·la-*,[5] is supposed to live in ant-hills, and to have neither wife nor child; he is not regarded as such a malevolent personage as *.ē·rem-chàu·gala*, and, though he is always armed with a knife, he rarely injures human beings with it, or, when he does do so, it is not in order to feed upon their bodies, for he is said to eat earth only.

14. As regards *.jū·ru-win-*, the evil spirit of the sea, they say that he too is invisible, and lives in the sea with his wife and children, who help him to devour the bodies of those who are drowned or buried at sea; fish constitute the staple of his food, but he also occasionally, by way of variety, attacks the aborigines he finds fishing on the shores or by the creeks. The weapon he uses is a spear, and persons who are seized with cramp or any sudden illness, on returning from, or while on the water, are said to have been "speared" by *.jū·ru-win-*. He has various submarine residences, and boats for travelling under the surface of the sea, while he carries with him a net, in which he places all the victims, human or piscine, he may succeed in capturing. 776 753

15. Besides these three chief demons, there is a company of evil spirits who are called *.chôl-*, and who are much dreaded. They are believed to be descendants of *mai·a .chôl-*,[6] who lived in antediluvian times. They generally punish those who offend them by baking or roasting pig's flesh, the smell of which is particularly obnoxious to them, as it is also to *Pū·luga-*, who, therefore, often assists them in discovering the delinquent; the same risk does not attend *boiling* pork,[7] which the olfactory nerves of the fastidious *.chôl-* are not keen enough to detect. 776

[1] *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 1.

[2] *Vide ante* "Medicine," paragraph 1 (foot-note), and "Death and Burial," paragraph 24.

[3] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 26.

[4] *Vide* Wood, "Natural History of Man," p. 92.

[5] Cases have been cited of persons who have been found stabbed, whose deaths are attributed to *Nī·la*: the possibility of the individuals in question having been murdered is scouted.

[6] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraph 33.

[7] *Vide post* "Food," paragraph 27.

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776 753 761 16. While the Andamanese say that they are liable to be struck by *.ē·rem-chàu·gala* or *.jū·ru-win-* at any time or in any place, the *.chôl-* strike those only who offend them, and that during the day while they are stationary, this being necessitated by the distance from the earth of their abode, whence they hurl their darts: an invisible spear is the weapon they always use, and this is thrown with unerring aim at the head of their victim, and is invariably fatal. As these demons are considered especially dangerous on the hottest days, they are apparently held accountable for the deaths from sunstroke which happen from time to time.

776 821 17. The sun, *chān·a .bo·do-*, is the wife of the moon, *mai·a .ō·gar-*, and the stars, *.châ·to-*, which are of both sexes, are their children: the latter go to sleep during the day; the whole family have their meals near *Pū·luga-*'s house, but never enter it; *chān·a .bō·do-* is like fire and covered with thorns, but *mai·a .ō·gar-* is white skinned, and has two long tusks[1] and a big beard; their home is situated somewhere below the eastern horizon, and while the former, after setting, rests till dawn, the latter, probably in consequence of the cares of his numerous family, is obliged to keep very irregular hours. During their passage under the earth to their home, they are believed to afford the blessing of light to the unfortunate spirits in Hades, and also, while sleeping, to shed a "dim religious light" over that region: it is by *Pū·luga-*'s command that the celestial bodies, while crossing the sky, bestow their light.

18. The phenomena of the waning and waxing of the moon is explained by saying that they are occasioned by "his" applying a coating of cloud to his person by degrees, after the manner of their own use of *kòi·ob-* and *tâ·la-ōg-*,[2] and then gradually wiping it off.[3]

19. Reference has already been made to their superstition regarding the cause of a lunar eclipse, but in case *mai·a .ō·gar-* should be so ill-advised as permanently to withhold his light or render himself in other ways still more disagreeable, whenever the moon is eclipsed some persons at once seize their bows and twang them as rapidly as possible, thereby producing a rattling sound as if discharging a large number of arrows, while others commence at once sharpening their *râ·tà-*.[4] Of course this hostile demonstration is never lost upon the moon, who does not venture to hurt those who show themselves ready

[1] The horns of the crescent moon.

[2] *Vide* Appendix B, items 58 and 60.

[3] "The Eskimo say that the sun, which they regard as feminine, smears the face of her brother, the moon, with soot, when he presses his love upon her" (*vide* Peschel, p. 256).

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 2.

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to give him so uncomfortable a reception. Their immunity from harm on these occasions has given rise to some joking at the expense of the luminary in question, for, during the continuance of the eclipse, they shout in inviting tones to the hidden orb as follows:—*.ō·gar-, la den bal·ak ban lē·be ng'ĭdō·ati! dō·ati! dō·ati!*[1] (O moon, I will give you the seed of the *bal·ak!* show yourself! appear! appear!) 776 821

20. This seems to explain the custom which Colonel Symes describes as adoration to the sun and moon, for, as has been stated, no traces of worship or forms of religion, in the common acceptation of the term, exist among these tribes.

21. A solar eclipse alarms them too much to allow of their indulging in jests or threats, &c.: during the time it lasts they all remain silent and motionless, as if in momentary expectation of some calamity.

22. The world, exclusive of the sea, is declared to be flat and to rest on an immense palm-tree (*Caryota sobolifera*) called *bâ·rata-*, which stands in the midst of a jungle comprising the whole area under the earth. This jungle, *.châ·itâ·n-* (Hades), is a gloomy place, for, though visited in turn by the sun and moon, it can, in consequence of its situation, be only partially lighted: it is hither the *spirits* (*chàu·ga-*) of the departed are sent by *Pū·luga-* to await the Resurrection. [823] 775 772

23. No change takes place in *.châ·itâ·n-* in respect to growth or age; all remain as they were at the time of their departure from the earth, and the adults are represented as engaged in hunting, after a manner peculiar to disembodied spirits. In order to furnish them with sport the spirits of animals and birds are also sent to *.châ·itâ·n-*, but as there is no sea there, the *chàu·ga-* of fish and turtle remain in their native element and are preyed upon by *.jū·ru-win-*. The spirits (*chàu·ga-*) and souls (*ōt-yō·lo-*) of all children who die before they cease to be entirely dependent on their parents (*i.e.*, under six years of age) go to *.châ·itâ·n-*, and are placed under a *ràu-*[2] (*Ficus laccifera*) on the fruit of which they subsist. As none can quit *.châ·itâ·n-* who have once entered, they support their stories regarding it by a tradition that in ages long past an *ôko-paí·ad-*[3] was favoured in a dream with a vision of the regions and of the pursuits of the disembodied spirits.

24. Some of their legends, as will be seen elsewhere,[4] appear to bear out the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, as

[1] This is said derisively, for, although these seeds are largely consumed by the pigs, the aborigines themselves do not consider them fit for food.

[2] *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 17.

[3] *Vide ante* "Magic and Witchcraft," paragraph 1.

[4] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraphs 15, 16, 29.

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775 certain of their ancestors (*.tô·mola*) are stated to have vanished from earth in the form of various kinds of animals and fish.
772 The spirits of those not thus transformed, although in Hades, are believed occasionally to assist them in performing tasks of unusual difficulty; and it is thought that all the departed are to some extent conscious of what transpires in the world they once inhabited, and are able to promote the welfare of those who bear them in mind.[1]

25. Between the earth and the eastern sky there stretches an invisible cane bridge (*pī·dga-làr-chàu·ga-*) which steadies the former and connects it with *.jer·eg-* (paradise); over this bridge the *souls* (*ōt-yō·lo-*) of the departed[2] pass into paradise, or to *.jer·eg-làr-mū·gu-*, which is situated below it: this latter place might be described as purgatory, for it is a place of punishment for those who have been guilty of heinous sins, such as murder. Like Dante, they depict it as very cold, and therefore a most undesirable region for mortals to inhabit. From all this it will be gathered that these despised savages believe in a future state, in the resurrection, and in the threefold constitution of man.

26. In serious illness the sufferer's spirit (*chàu·ga-*) is said to be hovering between this world and Hades,[3] but does not remain permanently in the latter place until some time after death, during which interval it haunts the abode of the deceased and the spot where the remains have been deposited.[4] In dreams
774 it is the soul which, having taken its departure through the nostrils, sees or is engaged in the manner represented to the sleeper.

27 The Andamanese do not regard their shadows[5] but their *reflections* (in any mirror) as their souls. The colour of the soul is said to be red, and that of the spirit black, and, though invisible to human eyes,[6] they partake of the form of the person
775 to whom they belong. Evil emanates from the soul, and all good from the spirit; at the resurrection they will be re-united and live permanently on the new earth, for the souls of the wicked will then have been reformed by the punishments inflicted on them during their residence in *.jer·eg-làr-mū·gu-*.

28. The future life will be but a repetition of the present, but all will then remain in the prime of life, sickness and death will be unknown, and there will be no more marrying or giving in

[1] *Vide ante* "Medicine," paragraph 8, and "Death and Burial," paragraph 18.
[2] Their *spirits* (*chàu·ga-*) pass to *.chá·itán-* (*vide* paragraphs 22 and 23).
[3] *Vide* Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi, p. 289.
[4] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraphs 4 and 15.
[5] As is believed to be the case among certain races, *e.g.*, the Benin negroes.
[6] Save those of the *óko-pai·ad-* (*vide ante* "Magic and Witchcraft," paragraph 7).

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marriage. The animals, birds, and fish will also re-appear in the new world in their present form. 775

29. This blissful state will be inaugurated by a great earthquake,[1] which, occurring by *Pū·luga-*'s command, will break the *pī·dga-làr-chàu·ga-* and cause the earth to turn over: all alive at the time will perish, exchanging places with their deceased ancestors.[2]

30. There is no trace to be found of the worship of trees, stones, or other objects, and it is a mistake to suppose[3] that they adore or invoke the celestial bodies. There is no salutation, dance, or festival of any kind held in honour of the new moon: its appearance does not evoke anything more than an exclamation such as *yē·lo! .ō·gar l'àidō·atire.* (Hurrah! there's the moon.) 776

Mythology.—1. In other sections mention has been made of *Pū·luga-*, the Creator of all, and it has also been stated that no reason is given for the formation of the earth's surface, except that it was according to His will, and the same hypothesis is held to account for the varying seasons. 773

2. Until recent years it was supposed[4] that the Andamanese were without traditions, and had no idea of their own origin, but since we have been enabled to become better acquainted with them it has been ascertained that such is not the case. While I have been extremely careful as to the source whence I obtained my information, I would at the same time mention that much that is found under these last headings has been obtained from the older and more intelligent members of distant communities, and is probably little, if at all, known to many of the rising generation in our immediate vicinity.

3. Certain mythic legends are related to the young by *ôko-pai·ad-*s,[5] parents, and others, which refer to the supposed adventures or history of remote ancestors, and, though the recital not unfrequently evokes much mirth, they are none the less accepted as veracious. The personages figuring in these tales are believed to be real and historical, but, beyond the fact of a very general acceptance and agreement of the traditions respecting them, no satisfactory traces are to be found of their existence except in the lively imaginations of their descendants.

4. There are a few discrepancies in their accounts of the

[1] *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 16.

[2] Whether the fate of the former is irrevocably fixed is not explained, but with these, as with other savages, it is in vain to expect them to understand the logical conclusions to which their beliefs tend.

[3] *Vide* statements of Symes, Brown, Grant, and Anderson; *vide* also *ante* "Superstitions," paragraphs 9 and 10.

[4] *Vide* Mouat, p. 343.

[5] *Vide ante* "Magic and Witchcraft," paragraph 1.

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773 creation and origin of the human species, but in the main features all are agreed. The following tradition appears to be the most generally received, and, as far as possible, it is given in the words in which it was first taken down:—

5. In the beginning, after the world had been made, *Pū·luga-* created a man whose name was *.tô·mo-*;[1] he was black, like the present inhabitants, but much taller and bearded. *Pū·luga-* showed him the various fruit-trees in the jungle, which then existed only at *.wòtàem·i-*[2] (the "Garden of Eden"), and, in doing so, told him not to partake of certain of them during the rains: he then taught him how to obtain and use fire; this he did by first stacking in alternate layers two varieties of wood known as *chôr-* and *bēr-*, and then bidding *chān·a .bō·do-* (Mother Sun) to come and sit on or near the pile until she had ignited it, after which she returned to her place in the sky. *.tô·mo-* was then taught how to cook pigs, which were easily caught, as they had in those days neither ears nor noses.

6. Another version relates that *Pū·luga-* came with a spirit or angel called *lach·i*[3] *.pū·nga .â·blola* to instruct *.tô·mo-*, who, at his direction, prepared a pyre and then struck it, on which the fire was kindled, and *.pū·nga .â·blola* proceeded to teach him how to cook food.

7. About the origin of the first woman, whose name was *chān·a .ē·lewadi*, there is a diversity of belief: according to some, *Pū·luga-* created her after he had taught *.tô·mo-* how to sustain life; others say that *.tô·mo-* saw her swimming near his home and called to her, whereupon she landed and lived with him; while a third story represents her as coming pregnant to Kyd Island, where she gave birth to several male and female children, who subsequently became the progenitors of the present race.

8. These legends ascribe the name *.tô·mola* to all the descendants of their first parents until the period of the Deluge. *.tô·mo-* had two sons and two daughters by *chān·a .ē·lewadi*; the names of the former were *.bī·rola* and *.bô·rola*, and of the latter *.rī·cla* and *.chô·rmila*.

9. As time went on, the pigs multiplied to such an extent that they became a nuisance, so, with woman's ready wit, *chān·a .ē·lewadi* drilled holes in their heads and snouts, thereby giving them the powers of hearing and smelling, and enabling them to avoid danger and procure food for themselves. *Pū·luga-* then covered the whole land with jungle, into which the pigs

[1] The name of the first man among the Brazilians was *Tamoi* (*vide* Tylor's "Anthropology").

[2] Situated about long. 92° 52′, and lat. 12° 18′. Some assert that this event occurred at *.tō·lo-kòt·imi-*, which is in the same district.

[3] *lach·i* is applied to deceased persons, and answers to "the late."

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wandered in various directions.[1] But this change was found to have its disadvantages, as it became next to impossible to catch the now wily *sus*. *Pū·luga-*, however, again came to the rescue, and taught *.tô·mo-* how to construct bows and arrows, and to hunt, after which he taught him to manufacture canoes and harpoons, and to fish. On a subsequent visit[2] he instructed *chān·a .ē·lewadi* in the art of basket and net-making, and in the use of red-ochre (*kòi·ob-*) and white clay[3] (*tâ·la-ōg-*), and thus by degrees he imparted to their first parents a knowledge of the various arts which have ever since been practised among them.

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10. *.tô·mo* and *.e·lewadi* were also told that, though they were to work in the wet months, they must not do so after sundown, because by doing so they would worry the *bū·tu-*,[4] which are under *Pū·luga-*'s special protection. Any noise, such as working (*kō·pke*) with an adze, would cause the *bū·tu-*s' heads to ache, and that would be a serious matter. During the cold and dry seasons work may be carried on day and night, as the *bū·tu-* is then seldom seen, and cannot be disturbed.

11. As soon as the first couple were united *Pū·luga-* gave them the *.bō·jig-yâ·b-* dialect, which is the language spoken to this day, according to their belief, by the tribe inhabiting the south and south-eastern portion of Middle Andaman, in which district *.wòtàem·i-* is situated. It is, therefore, regarded as the mother tongue, from which the dialects of the various other tribes have sprung.

12. The canoes used in those days are said to have had no outriggers, and were made by scooping out the trunk of the *Pandanus*, which is believed to have been much larger than it is now-a-days, and well adapted for the purpose.

13. The formation of creeks is attributed to a fortunate accident: it happened that one day *.tô·mo-* harpooned a large fish, called *kô·ro-ngid·i-chàu-*, which had a projecting snout wherewith it lashed the shore in its frantic efforts to escape; so violent were the blows that the land was broken each time they fell, a result which proved of great benefit and service to the redoubtable harpooner and his descendants.

14. *.tô·mo-* lived to a great age, but even before his death his offspring became so numerous that their home could no longer accommodate them. At *Pū·luga-*'s bidding they were furnished with all necessary weapons, implements, and fire, and then

[1] Another version states that *.tô·mo-* caused the jungle to spring up beyond *.wòtàem·i-* by stringing flies on a number of arrows, and shooting them off, whereupon they turned into trees, and soon spread over the country.

[2] In those days *Pū·luga-* lived at Saddle Peak (*vide ante* "Topography," paragraph 2), and being so near, used often to pay them a visit.

[3] *Vide post* paragraph 27, and Appendix B, items 58 and 60.

[4] *Vide post* "Food," paragraph 18.

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scattered in pairs all over the country. When this exodus occurred *Pū·luga-* provided each party with a distinct dialect.[1]

15. After the dispersion of the surplus members of his family, *.tô·mo-*, one day while hunting, fell into a creek called *.yâr·a-tig-jīg-*, and was drowned. He was at once transformed into a cachalot (*.kâ·ra-dū·ku-*), and from him have sprung all the cetaceans of this class.[2] *chān·a .ē·lewadi-*, ignorant of the accident that had befallen her husband, went in a canoe with some of her grandchildren to ascertain the cause of his continued absence; on seeing them, *.kâ·ra-dū·ku-* upset their skiff, and drowned his wife and most of her companions. She became a small crab, of a description still named after her, *e·lewadi-*, and the others were transformed into iguanas.[3]

16. Consequent on the disappearance of *.tô·mo-* and his wife, the duties of headship over the community at *.wòtàem·i-* devolved upon one of their grandchildren, named *.kô·lwôt-*, who was distinguished by being the first to spear and catch turtles. The *.tô·mola* remained on the islands long after *.tô·mo-*'s transformation, but after *.kô·lwôt-*'s death, according to one legend, they grew disobedient, and as *Pū·luga-* ceased to visit them, became more and more remiss in their observance of the commands given at the Creation. At last *Pū·luga-*'s anger burst forth, and, without any warning, he sent a great flood which covered the whole land,[4] and destroyed all living. Four persons (two men, *.lô·ralola* and *.pō·ilola*, and two women, *.kâ·lola* and *.rī·malola*), who happened to be in a canoe when the catastrophe occurred, were able to effect an escape. When the waters subsided, they found themselves near *.wòtàem·i-*, where they landed and discovered that every living thing on earth had perished; but *Pū·luga-* re-created the animals, birds, &c. In spite of this, however, they suffered severely, in consequence of all their fires having been extinguished, and they could devise

[1] It would almost seem that, without straining the legend to suit facts, we might discern in this a faint echo of the Biblical account of the confusion of tongues and dispersion at Babel.

[2] They consider that the whale is evil disposed towards them, and attribute their occasional non-success in catching turtles to his influence. *.kâ·ra-dū·ku-* is also accused of inciting sharks and other large fish to attack them.

[3] Another version of this story is, that wearied with an unsuccessful day's hunting, *Tô·mo-* went to the shore where he found a *chī·di-* (*Pinna*) shell-fish; while playing with it, it fastened on him, and he was unable to free himself until a *bai·an-* (*Paradoxurus*) seized the *chī·di-* and liberated him at the expense of one of his members. Shortly after he saw his wife and some of their children coming after him in a canoe; unwilling that they should become aware of the misfortune which had befallen him, he upset the canoe, drowning its occupants and himself. He then became *.kâ·ra-dū·ku-*, and the others *.dū·ku-*, which are now very plentiful in the jungles.

[4] Some modify this statement by saying that Saddle Peak, where *Pū·luga-* then dwelt, was not submerged.

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no means of repairing their loss. At this juncture one of their recently deceased friends appeared in their midst in the form of a bird named *.lū·ratūt-*.[1] Seeing their distress he flew up to *mō·ro-*, the sky, where he discovered *Pū·luga-* seated beside his fire; he thereupon seized[2] and attempted to carry away in his beak a burning log, but the heat or weight, or both, rendered the task impossible, and the blazing brand fell on *Pū·luga-*, who, incensed with pain, hurled it at the intruder; happily for those concerned, the missile missed its mark and fell near the very spot where the four survivors were deploring their condition. As *.lū·ratūt-* alighted in their midst at the same moment, he gained the full credit of having removed the chief cause of their distress.[3]

17. Being relieved from anxiety as to their means of subsistence, *.lō·rola* and his companions began to entertain sentiments of anger and resentment against *Pū·luga-* for his wholesale destruction of their friends, and, accordingly, when they met him one day at *.tō·lo-kòt·imi-*, they determined to kill him, but were deterred from their purpose by *Pū·luga-* himself, for he assured them that, whereas he was as hard as wood and could not be injured by their arrows, any attempt they might venture to make on his life would cause him to destroy them all. Having reduced them to submission by these assurances, *Pū·luga-* explained that they had brought the Deluge upon themselves through their wilful disobedience of the strict injunctions he had laid down, and which had always been observed by their forefathers, and he intimated that a repetition of their transgressions would inevitably lead to their utter destruction.

18. This is said to be the last occasion on which *Pū·luga-* rendered himself visible, or held any communication with them, but the warning he then gave them has not been forgotten, and the islanders are to this day strict in their observance of his commands.

19. Another legend regarding the origin of the Deluge states that one day, at the commencement of the rainy season, a *.tō·mola* named *.bē·rebi-* came to visit *.kō·lwō·t-*'s mother, *chān·a .ē·rep-*, with the express intention of seeing her son, of whom he

[1] A small variety of kingfisher.

[2] The myth of Prometheus will recur to the reader.

[3] Since that day till the present time, they say they have never been without fire, thanks to the precautions they employ to guard against its extinction. I would add that when first making my investigations on this subject some six years ago, I was led to believe that this kingfisher is regarded by the present inhabitants with a certain amount of veneration (*vide* "The Lord's Prayer in the South Andaman dialect," p. 49), but I have since been assured that such is not the case.

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77.3 was extremely jealous. When he appeared, *.bē·rebi-* treacherously bit him in the arm, but his teeth became fixed in the flesh and he was therefore unable to detach himself from his victim, whose friends promptly avenged his murder, and disposed of the corpses by throwing them into the sea.[1] The bereaved mother, in her rage, grief, and despair, committed various acts, against which *.tō·mo-* had been warned by *Pū·luga-*, and while so doing incited others to follow her example by the following words:—

ē,ē,ē, dī·a râ-gū·mul lab dâ·la,
ē,ē,ē, ngū·l kâ·ja pīj pū·gatken,
ē,ē,ē, ngūl chō·akan tō·aiken,
ē,ē,ē, ngūl boâ·rato â·kà-kolâ·ken,
ē,ē,ē, ngūl gō·no bō·angken,
ē,ē,ē, ngūl tōng choâ·ra bō·angken,
ē,ē,ē, ngig â·rlōt pū·laijoken.

The translation of which is:—

"*ē, ē, ē,*[2] (sobbing)—My grown-up handsome son,
Burn the wax,[3]
Grind the seed of the *châ·kan-*,[4]
Destroy the *bâ·rata-*,[5]
Dig up the *gō·no-*,[6]
Dig up the *châ-ti-*,[6]
Destroy everything."

Thereupon *Pū·luga-* was exceeding wroth, and sent the flood which destroyed all living things with the exception of two men and two women.

20. This tradition is preserved in the following lines:—

Kē·ledōat ībâ·ji lâr·chô·ra,
Râ-gū·mul abgô·rka en igboâ·di,
Râ-gū·mul lē liga kō·arnga,
Râ-gū·mul abgô·rka.
Toâ·lo â·rbo eò dâ·kan choar·po.

The meaning of which is:—

"Bring the boat to the beach
I will see your fine grown-up son,

[1] *.kō·lwō·t-*, after death, was transformed into a species of tree lizard, which is still named after him, and *.bē·rebi-* became a fish called *kō·ngo-*, which is armed with a row of poisonous barbs on its back.

[2] Exclamation indicative of grief.

[3] *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 13.

[4] The *Entada pursætha*.

[5] The *Caryota sobolifera*.

[6] Two varieties of edible roots much relished by them after the rains.

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The grown-up son who threw the youths (into the sea),[1] 773
The fine grown-up son,
My adze is rusty, I will stain my lips with his blood."

21. In this, as in all their songs and chants, a good deal is left to the imagination, but from the explanations which have been given by the aborigines, the following appears to afford some light on the subject:—*.bē·rebi*, being jealous of the renown *.kô·lwô·t-* had won for himself by his numerous accomplishments and great strength, took advantage of meeting him and his mother one day on the water to ask them to let him enter their boat. On their complying with his request, he provided himself with a rusty adze and a hone, and joined them; approaching near to *.kô·lwô·t-*, he put down the adze and hone, remarking on the rusty condition of the former; then taking *.kô·lwô·t-* by the arm he sniffed it from the wrist to the shoulder, as if admiring the development of the muscles; while doing so he muttered the threat of staining his lips with blood, which he shortly after fulfilled in the manner already described.

22. *lach·i*[2] *.lô·ralola*, the chief of the survivors from the Deluge, gave, at his death, the name of *.chàw·ga-tâ·banga-*[3] to their descendants. When, for the second time in their history, their numbers had increased to so great an extent that it became impossible for them to remain together in one spot, an exodus, similar to the first, took place; each party, being furnished with fire and every other essential, started in a different direction, and on settling down adopted a new and distinct dialect. They each received a tribal name, and from them have sprung the various tribes still existing on the islands.

23. The *.chàw·ga-tâ·banga-* are described as fine tall men with large beards, and they are said to have been long-lived,[4] but, in other respects and in their mode of living they did not differ from the present inhabitants. The name seems to have been borne till comparatively recent times, as a few still living are said to remember having seen the last of the so-called *.chàw·ga-tâ·banga-*.

24. After the Flood the *Pandanus* was found to have deteriorated so greatly as to be unfit for its former uses; their canoes were consequently thenceforth made by scooping the trunks of the *Sterculia villosa*, and other trees of a similar description.[5]

25. The story regarding certain *.tô·mola*, who failed to

[1] Literally, *caused them to flee into the sea* (*vide post* paragraph 29).
[2] Signifying "the late," or "deceased."
[3] *i.e.*, the big-bodied.
[4] The Andamanese attribute the present increasep rate of mortality to the jungle clearances we have made.
[5] The native names of which are *bá·ja-*; *maü·-*; *yē·re-*; and *kô·kan-*.

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773 observe the rules laid down for neophytes, states that, on the day after they broke their fast of *reg-jī·ri-*[1] (kidney fat of pig), they left the encampment without giving notice of their intention to their friends, and the result was that, when they were missed and searched for, it was found they had gone to the shore to fish, and had there met a sad fate; the body of one was discovered adhering to a large boulder, and turned into stone, while the other, likewise in a state of petrifaction, was standing erect beside it.

26. *mai·a .dū·ku-*, who appears to be identical with *.tô·mo-*,[2] is said to have been the first to tattoo himself. One day, while out on a fishing expedition, he shot an arrow; missing its object it struck a hard substance which proved to be a piece of iron, the first ever found. With it *.dū·ku-* made an arrow-head and tattooed himself, after which he sang this ditty:—

> "*Tōng mâ līr pī·renga? tōng yī·tiken! tōng yī·tiken!*
> *tōng mâ līr pī·renga? tōng yī·tiken!*"

the interpretation of which is, "What can now strike me? I am tattooed! I am tattooed!" &c. (*Da capo*).

27. It would seem that after the Deluge they had to feel their way again to the necessary arts and manufactures in which *Pū·luga-* had vouchsafed to instruct their first parents:[3] especially is this declared to be the case with the pigments used in painting their bodies, one of which, viz.: *tâ·la-ōg-*,[4] is said to have been accidentally re-discovered by a *.tô·mola* female, named *chän·a .châ·riâ-*, while she was engaged in searching for the much relished edible root known as *gō·no-*; another woman, *chän·a .tē·liu*, is credited with finding, about the same time, *kòi·ob-chū·luga-*.[5] Like true daughters of Eve they were not long at a loss in turning their knowledge to some (?) profitable account.

28. Another of their antediluvian ancestors was famous for propagating yams. This was *mai·a .bū·mroâg-*, who, in shooting an arrow, struck the creeper belonging to the favourite variety called *gō·no-*; his curiosity being excited he dug up the root, and tasted it: the result being satisfactory, he informed his friends of his discovery, and they all feasted upon it; when they had had sufficient, he scattered the remains in different directions; this

[1] *Vide ante* "Initiatory Ceremonies," paragraph 5.

[2] *.dū·ku* is also credited with having, like Pygmalion, created a woman! The Andamanese Galatea (*chän·a .tōt-kal·at-châ·pa-* or *chän·a .bai·an-*) was made out of *châ·pa-* (firewood), and in due course became her creator's wife. The legend does not explain how she was endued with life, but relates that at death she became a Paradoxurus.

[3] *Vide ante* "Mythology," paragraph 9.

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 58.

[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 63.

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apparent waste so angered his mother that, on pretence of shaving him, she split his head open with a piece of quartz. After his death it was found that the act for which he suffered had tended to the spread of the plant which is now plentiful.

29. To explain the origin of certain fish, they say that one day before the Deluge, *mai·a .kô·lwô·t-* went to visit an encampment of the *.tô·mola* situated in the Archipelago. While engaged in his song,[1] the women, through inattention to his instructions, marred the effect of the chorus, so, to punish them, he seized his bow, whereupon the whole party in terror fled in all directions; some escaping into the sea were changed into dugongs, porpoises, sharks, and various other fish which till then had not been seen.[2]

30. Only two geological legends have hitherto been discovered: the one refers to a large block of sandstone lying at *.wòtàem·i-*, and the other relates to two boulders of elephantine proportions, situated within a mile of the same place, which convey the idea that they once formed part of a narrow neck of land which jutted out into the sea, but which has been gradually demolished by storms and by the action of the waves. The belief current regarding the first is that the deep incisions visible on its surface are hieroglyphics inscribed by *.tô·mo-*, the first man, giving a history of the Creation, which event, as already mentioned, is believed by all the tribes of our acquaintance to have occurred at this very spot *.wòtàem·i-*. The art of deciphering the supposed record has, it is said, been lost for many ages, and no attempt is made to assign a specific meaning to any of the marks which form the mythical inscription. Many of the legends regarding their ancestors picture the scene of their exploits at *.wòtàem·i-*; hence the special interest of the spot to all the tribes of Middle and South Andaman and the Archipelago. In regard to the two boulders, tradition declares that one day, in the years before the Deluge, *mai·a .dū·ku-* and some of his friends, seeing two animals swimming near the shore, shouted to them, whereupon they came out of the water and showed themselves to be two enormous creatures such as had never before been seen or dreamt of by

[1] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraph 22.

[2] The following is a list of *.tô·mola* who were transformed into animals, birds, or fish:—

.kô·ra-dū·ku- (whale),
.dū·ku- (iguana),
.ē·lewadi- (small species of crab),
.tegbū·l- (dugong),
.kô·lwô·t- / *.ô·ga-* (tree lizards),
.bai·an- (paradoxurus),
.ī·d- (rat),
.lū·ratūt- (a variety of kingfisher),
.mū·rud- (pigeon),
.ē·ep- (parrot),
.tē·lin- (jungle fowl),
.bá·tka- (crow),
.chó·kab- (heron),
.bad·gi- (fish eagle),
.chō·ag- (porpoise),
and various other fish.

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773 the *.tô·molà*, who were so terrified that they fled precipitately; *.dū·ku-* with difficulty escaped, but a few of his companions were less fortunate, being captured and devoured by these monsters, who are known by the name of *ū·chu-*. Consternation filled the minds of the scanty population then inhabiting the "world," when their deliverance was unexpectedly and speedily effected by the *ū·chu-*, who, in attempting to ford the shallow water near *.wòtàem·i-*, stuck fast in the deep mud, and, being unable to extricate themselves, met a lingering death.[1]

31. The manner in which the world was illuminated at the beginning is not clearly to be ascertained from their legends, for one story states that the sun and moon were subsequently created at *.tô·mo-*'s request, as he found that, under the then existing circumstances, it was impossible to catch fish by night or to hunt by day; while, in direct disagreement with this, another story tells us that night was a punishment brought upon mankind by certain individuals who angered *Pū·luga-* by killing a caterpillar. The tale informs us that the sun, one day, burned so fiercely as to cause great distress. Two women named *chān·a .lī·mi-* and *chān·a .jār·a-ngūd-*, became exceedingly irritable, and while in this unhappy frame of mind they discovered a caterpillar (*gū·ug-*), and a certain plant called *ū·tura-*. By way of venting their spleen, one crushed the hapless grub, and the other destroyed the plant. These wanton acts so displeased *Pū·luga-* that he determined to punish them, and to teach them to appreciate the privilege of daylight, which they had hitherto uninterruptedly enjoyed. He accordingly visited the earth with a long-continued darkness, which caused every one much inconvenience and distress. At last their chief, *mai·a .kô·lwô·t-*, to whom reference has already been made, hit upon a happy expedient of inducing *Pū·luga-* to restore the former state of things by trying to assure him that they were quite unconcerned, and could enjoy themselves in spite of light being withheld from them. To accomplish this, he invented the custom of dancing and singing, the result of which was that *Pū·luga-*, finding that they had frustrated his intention, granted, as a first concession, alternate periods of day and night, and subsequently, moved by the difficulties often occasioned by the latter, created the moon to mitigate their troubles. It is in this way that they account for the fact of the same word being used to denote a *caterpillar* and *night*.

32. With regard to the *al·ab·a-*, which tree they value greatly, in consequence of the fibre produced from its bark being

[1] The name *ū·chu-* has accordingly been given to the two boulders. On first seeing the elephants which have been introduced by Government at Port Blair, the aborigines at once called them *ū·chu-*, in allusion to this legend, and it is the name ever since adopted by them in speaking of these animals.

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used in the manufacture of their turtle-harpoon lines, nets, &c., it is said that *Pū·luga-* commanded *.tô·mo-* never to make use of it as fuel when cooking a turtle, though he might burn it when pigs or other animals were being prepared for food; a warning was also given him that a severe punishment would follow disobedience in this particular, for the males found transgressing would have their throats cut, while the females would be deprived of their breasts; if the offence were committed by day, the carrying out of the sentence rested with *chān·a .bō·do-*, or, if by night, with *mai·a .ō·gar-*. On one occasion, at night, shortly before the Deluge (when the *.tô·mola* appear to have been a very depraved set), they were guilty, among other enormities, of disregarding this injunction, whereupon *mai·a .ō·gar-* descended and inflicted the threatened penalty.

33. The legend regarding the origin of the evil spirits known as *.chôl-* is as follows:—Their ancestor, *mai·a .chôl-*, one day stole a pig which had just been captured by *mai·a .kôl·wô·t-*, and climbed up into a gurjon-tree with his prize. Now *mai·a .kô·lwô·t-* was remarkable for his great strength, and being enraged, determined to revenge himself; he thereupon planted a number of spikes all round the tree in which the thief had taken refuge, and then proceeded to force it into the ground. On finding that, if he remained where he was, he must inevitably be buried alive, *mai·a .chô·l-* sprang off the tree, and thereby met a more terrible fate, for he was impaled on the spikes, and perished miserably. His disembodied spirit did not pass to *.châ·itâ·n-* (Hades), but took up its abode on the invisible bridge, where, by *Pū·luga-*'s orders, numbers of his descendants were afterwards sent to join him, in the form of black birds with long tails.

34. Another curious fable is told to account for a drought from which their early ancestors suffered: it relates that once upon a time, in the dry season, a woodpecker discovered a black honeycomb in the hollow of a tree; while regaling himself on this dainty he observed a toad eyeing him wistfully from below, so he invited him to join the feast; the toad gladly accepted, whereupon the woodpecker lowered a creeper, giving instructions to his guest to fasten his bucket (*dâ·kar-*[1]) thereto, and then to seat himself in it, so that he might be drawn up. The toad complied with the directions, and the woodpecker proceeded to haul him up; but just when he had brought him near the comb he mischievously let go the creeper, and his confiding and expectant guest experienced an unpleasant fall. The trick so exasperated him

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 13.

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that he at once repaired to the streams far and near in the island and drained them, the result of which was that great distress was occasioned to all the birds, as well as to the rest of the animate creation. The success of his revenge so delighted the toad that, to show his satisfaction, and to add to the annoyance of his enemies, he thoughtlessly began to dance, whereupon all the water flowed from him, and the drought soon terminated.

These are among the best known and most important of their legends, but the list is by no means exhausted, others having been narrated to me which space forbids me to include at the present time, as many subjects of more importance yet remain to be considered in connection with the occupations, &c., of their daily life.

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PART III.

Social Relations, Education, Infanticide—Attire—Tattooing—Painting—Shaving—Deformations—Weights and Measures—Astronomy—Trade, Exchangeable Values, and Property—Agriculture—Training and Domestication of Animals—Food—Tabu—Warfare—Hunting and Fishing—Navigation—Ornamentation—Pottery—Natural Forms and Miscellaneous Manufactures—Leather-work—Metallurgy—Stone Implements—Basket-work—String—Games and Amusements.

Social Relations, Education, and Infanticide.—1. Although it is true that the performance of most of the domestic duties falls to the lot of the women and children, it would be a great mistake to suppose that any compulsion is used by the head of the family; he usually leads quite as active a life as any of the females, and often shares certain of their labours, when necessity arises in consequence of sickness or other cause. As I have already stated,[1] it is quite incorrect to say of these savages that with them "marriage is nothing more than taking a female slave," for one of the most striking features of their social relations is the marked equality and affection which subsists between husband and wife;[2] careful observations extending over many years prove that not only is the husband's authority more or less nominal, but that it is not at all an uncommon occurrence for Andamanese Benedicts to be considerably at the beck and call of their better halves: in short, the consideration and respect with which women are treated might with advantage be emulated by certain classes in our own land. 462 562 593

2. The duties of the husband,—varying in the case of his being an *ē·rem-tâ·ga-* or an *àryô·to-*—consist chiefly in hunting, fishing, turtling, collecting honey, &c., constructing canoes, building the better kinds of huts,[3] and manufacturing the bows, arrows, and other implements needed in his various pursuits; he must also assist his wife in looking after the children, in keeping up the fire, and in providing the materials 462

[1] *Vide* "Marriage," paragraph 1.

[2] It has been correctly stated that "their mutual intercourse is courteous and genial, and the affection between parents and children is peculiarly tender" (Peschel, p. 148).

[3] *Vide ante* "Habitations," paragraph 2.

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462 required in making their various weapons, utensils, &c.; but though he has no hesitation in sharing and lightening his wife's labours up to this point, it is only in cases of stern necessity that he will condescend to procure either wood or water for the family requirements; the supply of these essentials of daily life being considered as peculiarly feminine duties and derogatory to the lords of creation.

3. Every woman is supposed to be a proficient in shaving,[1] tattooing,[2] and scarifying; she has also to prepare the *kòi·ob-*, *tâ·la-ōg-*, and *kâ·ngatâ-būj-*,[3] which are needed on so many occasions. The erection of the *chàng-dar·anga-*,[4] and the manufacture of personal ornaments,[5] and various other objects in constant use,[6] is also confined to the fair (!) sex, and when to these are added their daily duties of procuring certain kinds of food, cooking, and providing the water and fuel required for the family, it will be seen that the Andamanese materfamilias—who has not several children old enough to give her material assistance—has her time fully employed, or at least sufficiently so to prevent her getting into much mischief.

461 4. It is the duty of those men and women who remain at home to attend to the sick, infants, and others who are in a dependent position, to look after the fires in the various huts, and, of course, if needs be, to protect the property of absentees: for all those who are not physically incapable are supposed to employ themselves in some way, either for their own benefit or that of the community to which they belong.

574 5. It is customary for every family to maintain a supply of
251 provisions in excess of its own requirements for the use of friends who may chance to visit the encampment; but in the storage of their food—owing probably to the ease with which it is generally procured—much is often wasted which might without difficulty be preserved. The seeds of the *Artocarpus chaplasha*, and of a species of *Semecarpus*, are alone kept for any length of time. The manner in which this is effected will be described in the section treating of "Food."[7]

462 6. Migrations and other events affecting the movements of a
562 whole community are arranged by the chief and elders; women in such matters are not consulted, though while on the march
1.9!! it is they who are expected to carry the heaviest loads: this

[1] *Vide ante* "Hair," paragraph 4, and *post* "Shaving," paragraph 2.
[2] *Vide post* "Tattooing," paragraph 2.
[3] *Vide* Appendix B, items 60, 58, 62.
[4] *Vide ante* "Habitations," paragraph 4.
[5] *Vide post* "Attire," paragraph 1.
[6] In Appendix B will be found detailed the various objects manufactured by both men and women.
[7] *Vide post* "Food," paragraph 32.

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arises from no want of consideration for the weaker vessel, but simply because, if unnecessarily encumbered, the men would be unable to shoot or pursue any animal which might cross their path. 462 562 484

7. Such training as the children receive is undertaken by their parents or guardians; in the case of boys it consists merely in providing them with miniature weapons suitable to their age, and instructing them in their use: as they advance in years they accompany the men in their hunting and fishing expeditions, and, being by nature intelligent and emulous, they speedily acquire sufficient skill to enable them to afford material assistance to their elders. 868

8. The girls, similarly, are taught by their mothers, or other female guardians, how to fulfil the various duties which are regarded as essentially pertaining to their sex, and which I have described in the foregoing.

9. It seems hardly necessary to add that the unnatural custom of infanticide is unknown to the Andamanese,[1] and though the mortality among infants is excessive,[2] it is traceable to no want of affection, but to the injudicious treatment and lavish attentions bestowed upon the little ones by their ignorant though well-intentioned elders.[3] 847

10. For the better security of their babies, when travelling, women are in the habit of hanging round their necks a string the ends of which have been previously fastened to the infant's wrists; the child being then placed in a *chīp-*,[4] cannot by any accident meet with a serious fall. 854

Attire.—1. Madame de Staël speaks of certain children being "*vêtu du climât:*" the same expressive remark may be applied to the Andamanese, for no clothing, as we understand the word, is worn by either sex; there are, however, certain so-called ornamental circlets, garters, bracelets, cinctures, and necklaces of bones,[5] wood, or shell, which are its substitute[6] and serve to 291

[1] The birth of a girl is usually as gratifying to the parents as that of a boy.

[2] *Vide ante* "Reproduction," paragraph 4.

[3] Dr. Day has correctly stated that "men and women seem equally fond of carrying the babies about; all pet them; when they cry for anything, they give it; and over-kindness early consigns the little one to the grave."

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 24.

[5] As far as we at present know, the *jārawa-* do not wear necklaces of bone, or the skulls of their deceased relatives. The males of this tribe wear round their heads, waists, knees, and arms, fringes of string attached to a cord or cane, which are called by the *.bō·jig-ngīji-*, *bĕ·ria-* (*vide* Plate IX, figs. 13, 13*a*, 13*b*).

[6] The relatives of a deceased person will commonly wear such of the ornaments as are in good condition, "in memoriam;" this is not, however, a distinguishing peculiarity, or one confined to savages.

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PLATE VIII.

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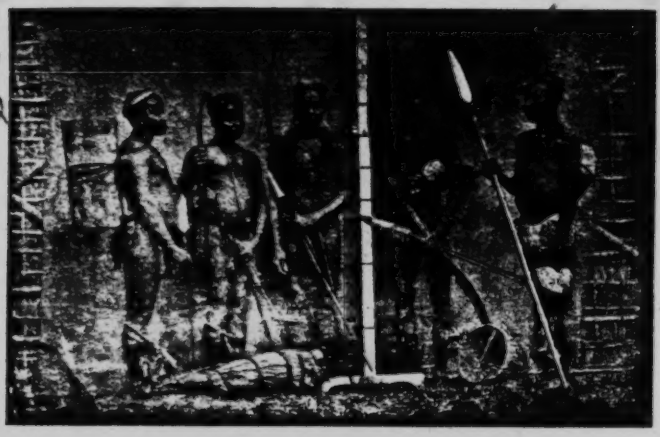

ANDAMANESE EQUIPPED FOR JOURNEY.

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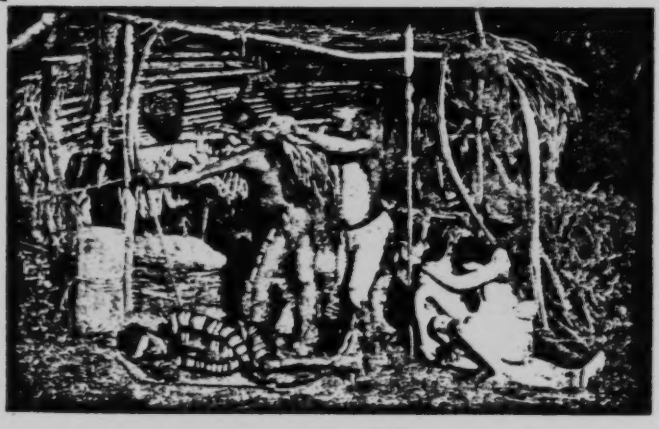

ANDAMANESE SHOOTING, DANCING, SLEEPING, AND GREETING.

[facing p. 110]

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291 remove in some measure the impression that they are naked;[1] these appendages are not worn as symbols of rank or (if we except the *rō·gun-*) of status, and their manufacture devolves always upon the females of the community.

2. When fully attired[2] the men are seen with peculiar shredded bunches of *Pandanus* leaves attached to their knees and wrists (termed *tâ-chô·nga-* and *tô·go-chô·nga-*), and a folded Pandanus leaf round their heads (called *ij·i-gō·nga-*[3]), which, as well as the belt (*bōd-*[4]), is common to both sexes; if, however, they (*i.e.* the men) were denuded of one and all, they would be in no way distressed, and in point of fact, often, as while hunting, when perfect freedom of action is needed, they strip themselves of all except the *bōd-*, or other still lighter cincture, in which are inserted any portable objects, such as arrows and knives, that might be required at a moment's notice during the chase.

3. It is otherwise with women, who never[5] appear without an *ō·bunga-*,[6] or small apron of leaves, which is kept in position by the lowest *bōd-*; while men are usually content with one *bōd-* women almost invariably wear four or five, and have been seen with as many as eight round their waists: in addition to the *ō·bunga-* and *bōd-*s married women[7] wear the *rō·gun-*.

291 834 4. It seems probable that Colonel Colebrooke's remarks on the want of decency shown by the Andamanese women referred to the *yē·rewa-*,[8] or to the tribe we now know as *jâr·awa-*[9] for they alone answer to his description in going about perfectly nude: all my experience tends to prove that the females of the tribes of South Andaman are strikingly modest; indeed so particular are they

[1] As has been remarked by Peschel of other black-skinned races, their "dark colour almost removes the impression of nudity."

[462] [2] All ornaments are made by women, whether for themselves or their relatives. Sometimes at a "*jeg-*" (*vide* Games and Amusements) females exchange their girdles (*bōd-s*) and necklaces as keepsakes.

[3] They wear no head covering, but carry a large leaf screen (*kâ·pa-jâ·tnga-*) as a protection against sun and rain.

[4] For a complete list of personal ornaments, *vide* Appendix B, items 25 to 43.

[5] "Nudity prevails among both sexes of the Australians, the Andaman Islanders, sundry tribes on the White Nile, the Red Negroes of the Soudan, and the Bushmen, all of which tribes have as yet no sense of shame" (Peschel, p. 173).

[6] A description of these cinctures, aprons, &c., will be found at Appendix B, items 25 to 43.

[843] During pregnancy loose *bōd-s* (*bōd-lâr-gō·rob-*) are worn by women in lieu of the ordinary kind, which are tight fitting; the *rō·gun-* is also discarded when it becomes inconvenient: after the birth of the child both these cinctures are resumed, the former being fastened as tightly as possible for several days.

[8] *Vide* Appendix B, item 79 and footnote.

[9] The *jâr·awa-* women have hitherto been seen with only armlets and cinctures of string, to which a few short fibres were attached, obviously only for ornamental purposes.

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291 in this respect, that they will not remove or replace their
834 *ō·bunga-*[1] in the presence of any person, even though of their own sex.[2]

Tattooing.—1. With regard to the practice of tattooing,[3]—so
304 general among the eight tribes[4] of Great Andaman, and which, as Peschel remarks, "is only another substitute for raiment"—it has been erroneously asserted that its object is to "harden the skin against the stings of mosquitoes, sandflies, &c., and also for jungle travelling;" but so far from any such benefit being derived therefrom the aborigines aver that the skin becomes more sensitive after undergoing the ordeal, which is considered, primarily, as ornamental, and secondly, as proving the courage of the individual, and his (or her) power of enduring pain.

2. There are no special ceremonies connected with the operation, which, except in the northern tribes, is almost invariably performed by women, who, however, receive no remuneration, but rest satisfied with the honour of being considered competent to fulfil the task; all the sex are not equally skilled, and therefore, those who have gained distinction by former successes are, it may be said, the recognised practitioners, though no special status, or profit, in a material sense, is gained thereby.

304 3. Very few children[5] of either sex are allowed to remain
852 untattooed after about the eighth year, and the final operation is often not attempted until the sixteenth or eighteenth year, the process being carried on gradually during the intervening period.[6]

[443] 4. The instrument used on these occasions is a flake of quartz,
304 or, now-a-days, glass,[7] which is not "inserted in a stick," but held between the forefinger and thumb; the markings are found chiefly on the back, shoulders, nape of the neck, chest,

[1] The *ō·bunga-* is first worn by girls when they are about five or six years of age.

[2] *Vide ante* "Psychology and Morals," paragraph 8, and footnote.

[3] The legend explaining its supposed origin has been given in Part II (*vide* "Mythology," paragraph 26).

[4] So far as our present knowledge enables us to say, the *jär·awa-* do not tattoo or shave themselves (*vide* "Tribal Distribution," paragraph 2).

[5] Even in the homes the practice is still observed, and one strong-minded youth, *ïra-jö·do-*, who has hitherto declined to undergo the operation, which he has ventured to stigmatise as unnecessary, has earned for himself the (to them) unenviable designation of "*ab-lü·ta-*," *i.e.*, the "untattooed."

[6] The arms are generally the first part tattooed, and this is accomplished *prior* to the probationary period; the back is ornamented *during* the continuance of the fast and the chest, belly, legs, &c., *subsequently*. Sometimes an *á·kà·ká daka-*, *i.e.*, a youth about 11–12, requests that he may be tattooed on his back and on the nape of his neck before attaining the usual age; such a request from a lad is considered manly, and, indeed, almost heroic, for ordinarily the painful operation is postponed until some years later.

[7] *Vide post* "Stone Implements," paragraphs 6 and 7.

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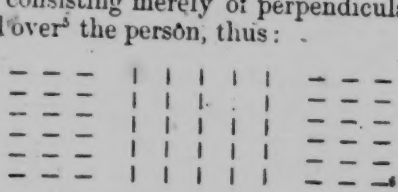
304 sides, abdomen, and also on the upper part of the feet and back of the hands.

5. Cicatrices are often observed on the persons of both sexes, but these are due to scarification (*tū·pke*[1]), or some accidental circumstance whereby the cut has been obliterated, or has failed to heal in the same manner as the others forming the design.[2]

6. The *.â·kà-.châ·riàr-*, *.â·kà-jär·o-*, *.â·kà-.ked·e-*, and *.ô·ko-jū·wai-*[3] are most given to tattooing their persons, and may be specially distinguished by three rows of cuts down the back and chest: these latter marks are ordinarily much fainter than the former. Though women do the greater part of this work, the three lines down the back are almost exclusively made by some male friend with the *ē·la-*,[4] or pig arrow; except the three lines in front, the women of these tribes have no special marks, but are covered, like the females of South Andaman, with small raised cuts, which are inflicted by their own sex, with the ordinary glass or quartz flake, and not with the *ē·la-*.

7. The *.â·kà-.kôl-* differ from the four tribes just mentioned, only in that they omit the centre row of the three down the back.

8. The *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*, *.bō·jig-yâb-*, and *.bal·awa-* are covered with plain tattooing consisting merely of perpendicular and horizontal incisions all over[5] the person, thus:



852 9. There is no distinction made in the mode of tattooing a
304 chief's child and the other children of the tribe; the marks have no special significance, being merely regarded as ornamental;

[1] *Vide ante* "Medicine," paragraphs 5, 6, 12, 16 and 17.

[2] They are not raised by producing "proud" flesh.

[3] Among these tribes the first and most severe operation consists in making
[262] the three rows down the back; during the time the wounds take to heal, the patient abstains from pork, in the belief that his recovery will thus be expedited.

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 5.

[5] The special poss. pron. denoting the various parts of the body are also used, in connection with tattooing, to express the particular limb or member to which reference is intended; thus:—

ōt-yī tinga-	tattooing on chest or neck.	
ig-yī tinga-	,,	arm, shoulder, ór breast.
ar-yī tinga-	,,	leg.
ab-yī tinga-	,,	back body, or thigh.
ōng-yī tinga-	,,	foot or hand.
â·kà-yī tinga-	,,	side.

[6] *Vide* Plate II. fig. 1. Where, however, it will be seen that they do not quite attain to the regularity in marking here represented by the printing press.

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no coloured pigments or other preparations are rubbed into the wounds, which are left to heal of themselves: before leaving this subject I would mention that the face is never tattooed. 304 852

Painting.—1. Besides the permanent tattooing decorations, these savages employ three kinds of pigments for the further adornment of their dusky persons; and from the mode of their application it can be at once ascertained whether the individual be sick, or sorry, or whether he has taken, or is about to take, part in a merry-making. 302

2. No distinction with regard to rank or sex is made in the designs executed, yet, though these are not very numerous, no two persons are ordinarily painted exactly in the same way, as the pattern traced may be in one case on the chest, in another on the arm, in a third on the face, and so on; a temporary restriction is, however, laid upon the unmarried, who are not permitted to use the paint to their necks, either by way of ornament, or to relieve their pains.[1]

3. We have seen that according to their traditions[2] this was one of the arts in which *Pū·luga-* instructed their first parents, and though temporarily lost after the Deluge it was revived by the accidental re-discovery of the necessary pigments: it may, therefore, be reasonably inferred that the practice is a very ancient one among these tribes.

4. The materials used are *ōg-*, *tâ·la-ōg-*, and *kòi·ob-*, which are applied, respectively, as a wash and in designs, more or less minute, with the nail or the tips of the fingers.

5. The first (*ōg-*), is a pale "whitish-grey" clay,[3] which is mixed with water and smeared thickly over the entire person with the palms of the hand, to denote mourning;[4] a lump of the same compound (*del·a-*) is also placed on the head at these times: hence the term *â·kà-ōg-*, a mourner.

6. After eating pork or turtle they are also in the habit of smearing *ōg-* over their bodies with their fingers, in the belief that it affects their breath, and that evil spirits will be unable to detect, and therefore will not be attracted to, them by the savoury smell of the food of which they have partaken. Again, when heated by travelling, or by hunting or dancing, they have recourse to the same wash, but in these cases it is applied thinly.[5] [351]

[1] *Vide ante* "Medicine," paragraph 2.

[2] *Vide ante* "Mythology," paragraphs 9 and 27.

[3] "I may remark that the natives far West . . . . when mourning for the dead, paint the whole of the body of a white or yellow colour; while in the East of New Guinea the natives for a similar event paint themselves with black" (*vide* paper by Signor S. M. D'Albertis: "Travels in New Guinea," Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. vi, p. 215.)

[4] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 2.

[5] *Vide* "Anatomy and Physiology," paragraph 5.

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302 7. *tâ·la-ōg-* is a pure white clay, which, being comparatively scarce, is more prized than *ōg-*, and consequently more sparingly used; it is applied ornamentally, usually with the nail of the forefinger, in fine tattoo-like patterns, to the cheeks, body and limbs; the designs are invariably executed by women, who, when adorning their relatives[1] for a *jeg-* or other festivity,[2] vie with one another, both as regards the variety and the neatness of their work.

8. *kòi·ob-* consists of burnt yellow ochre mixed with the melted fat of the pig, turtle, iguana, or dugong, and occasionally with oil obtained from a species of almond called *ē·mej-*; this unguent is much used[3] in decorating both the living and the dead[4] and is also employed as a remedy in certain forms of suffering;[5] but it is never applied to the person when in mourning, or, as has been so often asserted, in order to protect the body from the stings of insects.[6]

9. Both *tâ·la-ōg-* and *kòi-ob-* are used to adorn their weapons and the various utensils, &c., in daily use.

10. With *kòi·ob-*, of course, no delicate patterns can be worked, but rough zig-zags and stripes are made with the finger tips all over the body: judging from the appearance of a person who had been shortly before painted with *kòi·ob-*, one might easily suppose that the unguent had been smeared over his person, but this is not the case, for it is always applied in some sort of design, which, however, is speedily effaced, as the heat of the body causes the oleaginous pigment to liquify.

Shaving.—1. Under an earlier section[7] shaving was necessarily, to a great extent, included; it remains, however, to be here added, that it is commenced at a very early age: indeed, within a few hours of its birth the Andamanese baby has its head shaved and painted with *kòi·ob-*,[8] while its diminutive face and body are adorned with a design in *tâ·la-ōg-*:[9] this latter, as may

[1] These substances are not employed with a view of improving the texture of the skin; they never stain their nails or apply cosmetics to their eyes to increase their lustre.

[2] Though *tâ·la-ōg-* is never used by mourners on their own persons it is always applied, as is *kòi·ob-*, to a corpse before it is interred (*vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 3).

[3] The *jär·awa-* are believed to use *kòi·ob-* only for the ornamentation of their implements and weapons.

[4] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraphs 3 and 8.

[5] *Vide ante* "Medicine," paragraph 2.

[6] It may, however, be said to be used also as a perfume, for it is often applied to the upper lip after a feast on pork or turtle, as the odour of the unguent at such times is apparently particularly agreeable to them. This act of painting the upper lip with *kòi·ob-* is termed *ā·kan-lē·màudike*.

[7] *Vide ante* Part I: "Hair," paragraphs 2, 3, and 5.

[8] *Vide ante* "Painting," paragraph 7.

[9] *Vide ante* "Painting," paragraph 6.

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be supposed, is soon obliterated, and requires therefore to be 302
constantly renewed.

2. Only in very exceptional cases, when the services of a woman are not obtainable, will men consent to operate upon one another, for among these savages shaving is regarded as essentially a feminine occupation:[1] the instrument used for this purpose is effective, if rude, and consists merely of a flake of quartz, or now more generally of glass; the manner in which these primitive razors are made is described under "Stone Implements."[2]

3. Previous to shaving an *infant*, the mother usually moistens the head with milk which she presses from her breast, but when operating upon bigger children and adults, water only is used.

Deformations.—1. Unless tattooing can be so regarded, these 304
savages do not intentionally produce any deformities, or practice artificial deformations in any way.[3] No attempt is made to alter the shape of the nose by flattening or pinching it, nor is the cartilaginous septum ever perforated for the purpose of inserting ornamental bars or rings.

2. In this, as in many other respects, the Andamanese differ greatly from their neighbours, the Nicobarese, who not only flatten the occiputs of their children in infancy, but, from the period of puberty, blacken their teeth,[4] and perforate the lobes of their ears to such an extent as to enable them, by the time they are full grown, to insert a wooden cylindrical instrument three-quarters of an inch thick.

3. There is, however, a deformity of the skull observable in 304
most Andamanese women, but it is caused unintentionally, and arises from the practice, to which allusion has already been made,[5] 482
of placing the cane or cord by which a load is borne across the anterior portion of the cranium: this habit, especially when commenced at an early age, cannot fail to produce a more or less deep indentation.[6]

[1] *Vide ante* "Social Relations," paragraph 3.

[2] *Vide post* "Stone Implements," paragraph 4.

[3] Mutilation, such as the amputation of a part, or whole, of the fingers, which is practised among certain African tribes, is quite unknown to this race, as are also the customs of circumcision and castration.

[4] "Men and women use so large a quantity of betel-nut lime and betel-leaves that their teeth are as black as ink, and the space between them being filled with that matter they appear as a solid piece, much like the horn inserted in the jaws of the tortoise" (*vide* "Notice of the Nicobar Islands," by the Rev. P. Barbe).

[5] *Vide ante* "Physical Powers and Senses," paragraph 2.

[6] So strongly marked is the deformation in most cases, that the late Dr. J. Barnard Davis, being unaware of its true cause, in a letter to me on the subject, wrote as follows:—"The skull shows unmistakably that she has been subjected to the same barbarous treatment which the women among Australians have to submit to: every Australian woman's skull that I have

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804 **Weights and Measures.**—1. When speaking of their physical powers I stated that 40 lbs. is ordinarily the maximum of a man's burden; but this is, of course, only an approximate estimate, for among these savages there is no recognised standard of weights or measures, corresponding to the nail, finger-joint, thumb, span, or pace.

2. In referring to the size, shape, or weight of a small object, they would, if possible, liken it to some seed, such as that of the *Entada pursætha*, or fruit, such as mangosteen, jack-fruit, or cocoanut; of larger weights they would say, "as much as" or "more than one man could carry" or "lift;" for expressing capacity or quantity they would say "a bucketful," "basketful," "handful," "canoe-load," as the case might be.

3. There is no prescribed or uniform size for any mat, tool, weapon, or utensil, the dimensions of each and all being dependent on the will of the maker, and on the material at his disposal.

[802] 4. No tallies are kept of numbers of articles, nor are counters such as seeds, stones, &c., employed in counting.

5. In speaking of a short distance, as, for example, 50 yards, they would compare it to "a bowshot," but in describing the distance of a certain spot it would be defined as equal to that separating two places, well known to the speaker and the person addressed; any distance over 15 miles would be said to "exceed a day's journey."

805 **Astronomy.**—1. It has been stated by Dr. Day that the Andamanese "divide the day into three portions, sunrise, mid-day, and sunset, recognising no subdivisions;" this is, however, incorrect, for though they are naturally content with a, to us, rough method of reckoning time, there are no less than thirteen periods of the day and night distinguished by definite terms, viz.:—

wá·ngala-, the first appearance of dawn.
ela-wá·nga-, between dawn and sunrise.
bō·do-la-dō·atinga-, sunrise.[1]
lī·li-, or *di·lma-*, from sunrise to about 7 a.m.
bō·do-la-kā·galnga-, } forenoon.
bō·do-la-kū·ynga-, or } forenoon.
bō·do-chá·nag-, } forenoon.
bō·do-chà·u-, noon.

[304] met with has borne ineffaceable marks of injuries from which the living woman has suffered during her lifetime. And this is clearly the fate of the *Miscopie* woman also."

[1] Although they are aware of the variation in the sun's position at the same hour at different seasons they do not take the fact into consideration.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

805

bō·do-la-lō·ringa-, from noon till 3 p.m. } afternoon.
bō·do-lâr-dī·yanga-, or, *elâr-di·yanga-*, } from 3 p.m. till 5 p.m. } afternoon.
dī·la-, from 5 p.m. till sunset.
bō·do-la-lō·tinga-, sunset.
elâ·kà-dàu·ya-, twilight.
elâr-yī·tinga-, after dark till midnight.
gū·rug-chàu-, midnight.

2. Of the property of the sun-dial they possess no knowledge, nor can they indicate short intervals of time, such as fractions of an hour, save by some such vague term as—"wait a little" (*tō·laba!*), "it will soon be finished" (*kan·ya!*), "it is close at hand" (*wai lag·iba!*).

3. As they have no method of numeration, it of course follows that they are unable to denote the number of lunations occurring during a solar year, which with them consists of three main divisions, viz.: *pá·par-*, the cool season; *yē·re-bō·do-*, the hot season; and *gū·mul-*, the rainy season. These again are subdivided into twenty minor[1] seasons, named, for the most part, after various trees which, flowering at successive periods, afford the necessary sources of supply to the honey bees that are so numerous in these islands.

4. They have distinct terms for indicating the four phases of each lunation, *i.e.*: 821

ō·gar-dē·reka-yabā·-, new moon (lit., moon-baby-small);
ō·gar-chá·nag-, first quarter (lit., moon-big);
ō·gar-chàu-, full moon (lit., moon-body);
ō·yar-kī·nab-, last quarter (lit., moon-thin);

and that they further recognise the influence of this luminary upon the tides may be gathered from their words denoting high and low tide at full and new moon, viz.:

ō·gar-ká·la-,[2] high tide at the springs at full moon.
yē·char-ká·la-,[3] high tide at the springs at new moon.
ō·yar-pá·di-,[4] low tide at the springs at full moon.
yē·char-pá·di-, low tide at the springs at new moon.
tárbō·rong-ká·la-, flood tide at full and new moon (in the evening) from 3 to 9 p.m.
gū·mul-ká·la-, flood tide at full and new moon (in the morning) from 3 to 9 a.m.
el·a-bū·nga-, or *ká·la-bū·nga-*, flood tide.

[1] *Vide* Appendix H.
[2] Lit., moon-tide.
[3] Lit., dark-tide.
[4] *pá·di* does not apparently occur alone, or in connection with any other word: its meaning may, therefore, be inferred from the context.

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821 *el a-ē·rnga-*, or *kâ·la-ē·rnga-*, ebb tide.
nô·ro-, neap tide.
tô·ya-,[1] low tide at daybreak.

823 5. The four cardinal points of the compass are distinguished; the names indicating these are not derived from prevalent winds, but, as far as the east and west are concerned, have reference to the sun, the word for the former signifying "the appearing face place" (*elârmū·gu-*), and for the latter "the disappearing face place" (*târ-mū·gu-*); the term for south is the "separate place" (*el-iglā·-*), while the meaning and derivation of that denoting north (*elâr-jan·a-*) is unknown to the present inhabitants.

821 6. For the winds, too, they have distinctive names, viz.:

châl-jō·tama-, north-west wind.
Pū·luga-tâ-, north-east wind (lit., "The Creator His wind").
dē·ria-, south-west wind.
chī·la-tâ-, south-east wind.

Of these the second (*Pū·luga-tâ-*) only, now-a-days, possesses any special significance; it is called "The Creator's (or God's) wind," because it proceeds from that part of heaven where the connecting bridge[2] between this world and the next is supposed to be situated.

7. They identify three forms of clouds, and indicate them thus:

tô·wia-, cumulus.
ara-mū·ga-bar·ngā-, stratus.
yūm-li-dī·ya-, nimbus.

8. Of all the stars and constellations Orion's belt alone is found to bear a name (*bē·la-*), but this is not to be wondered at, as they never venture upon any distant voyages, and do not therefore experience any necessity for studying the bearing of the various planets and constellations at different seasons, or for distinguishing them by name. Their astronomical observations have, however, extended to the discovery of the milky way, which they call *ig-yō·lowa-*[3], and poetically describe as the road used by the angels (*mô·rowin-*).[4]

434 **Trade, Exchangeable Values and Property.**—1. It is evident, from the accounts of various writers, that for many years prior to our present occupation, these islands were visited by trading vessels manned by Malays, Burmese, and Chinese, who were *said* to traffic with the Andamanese for edible birds'-nests and *béche de*

[1] *Vide post* "Hunting," paragraph 39 (footnote).
[2] *Vide ante*, "Religious Beliefs," &c., paragraph 25.
[3] The Chippeways call the milky way "the path of the ghosts" (*vide* "Travels in the Interior of North America," by Maximilian, Prince of Wied).
[4] *Vide ante* "Religious Beliefs," &c., paragraph 9.

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mer;[1] but it seems more than probable that they obtained their supplies without any assistance from the aborigines; their visits, were, moreover, in later years attended with considerable risk, owing to the malpractices of some of the traders in kidnapping such of the race as they could entice on board their vessels, for the purpose of carrying them away into captivity. 439

2. Even at the present day, with the exception of procuring turtles, shells, honey, bows, arrows, and a few other articles which are sold, for their own benefit, by the inmates of the homes in and near the harbour, to visitors and residents at Port Blair, the natives attempt nothing in the way of trade, and this much is only done by dint of constant inducements being offered in the shape of presents of tobacco, files, &c.[2]

3. Of our imports they prize chiefly:—dogs, iron, bottles, tobacco, pipes, and matches, all of which have for many years past been freely distributed among the coast people throughout Great Andaman, by whose means they have, doubtless, either by barter or in the form of presents, reached many of the communities inhabiting the interior.[3]

4. In respect to barter, in their transactions with each other, some weapon, utensil, or other common article, such as *kôi·ob-*, or *tâ·la-ōg-*[4] (used for painting[5] their persons and for general decorative purposes), serves as the medium of exchange. 436

[1] Captain J. H. Miller, in a communication to the Nautical Magazine, 1842, says: "The islands in the west side of the Andamans are frequented during the fine season, from December to April, by a mixed and mongrel race of Malays, Chinese, and Burmese fishermen for *bêche de mer* and edible birds'-nests, who are of very doubtful honesty; and it is necessary to take a few muskets and cutlasses, just to show them that you are prepared for mischief in case of need. These fellows are also 'fishers of men,' and to their evil deeds much of the hostility of the islanders may be attributed; they carry off children, for whom they find a ready market as slaves in the neighbouring countries. I have been told that formerly they were friendly, and assisted these fishermen, until a large party was invited on board a junk or prow (the Chinese got the blame of it), and after being intoxicated, were carried off and sold at Acheen; and the practice is still carried on by these fellows, who land and carry them off whenever they can catch them. The Andamanians have retaliated fearfully whenever any foreigner has fallen into their power, and who can blame them?" (Sailing Directions for the principal ports in the Bay of Bengal, by W. H. Rosser and J. F. Imray).

"Formerly, both Malays and Burmese procured at the Andamans a considerable quantity of these nests: collecting them themselves, or receiving them from the islanders in exchange for their tobacco, &c." ("Notice of the Nicobar Islands," by the Rev. P. Barbe).

[2] Spiritous liquors would serve as the most powerful medium in this respect, but, in view of the certain and great mischief which would result from gratifying their innate liking for alcohol, it has been rarely given and then only in small quantities medicinally, or by a few persons who are indifferent or ignorant as to its ill effects.

[3] *Vide* Part I.

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, items 60 and 58.

[5] *Vide ante* "Painting," paragraphs 7, 8, 9, and 10.

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437 431 5. They set no fixed value on their various properties, and rarely make or procure anything with the express object of disposing of it in barter. Apparently they prefer to regard their transactions as presentations, for their mode of negociating is to *give* such objects as are desired by another in the hope of receiving in return something for which they have expressed a wish, it being tacitly understood that, unless otherwise mentioned beforehand, no "present" is to be accepted without an equivalent being rendered.

[578] 6. The natural consequence of this system is that most of the quarrels which so frequently occur among them originate in failure on the part of the recipient in making such a return as had been confidently expected.[1]

7. All iron-pointed weapons, tools, or shell ornaments are eagerly accepted by the *ē·rem-tâ·ga-* in exchange for such things as are more easily procured by them than by the *àryó·to-*:[2] for instance, an adze would generally be considered worth two ordinary bows, or a bundle of wooden-pointed arrows; or a man might undertake to make a canoe or bucket for one who would give him an adze.

428 422 8. But little care is taken of the utensils, weapons, canoes, &c., in daily use, and consequently new ones are often required, the old, when no longer serviceable, being thrown aside; as all their possessions consist of goods which need to be more or less frequently replaced, it is hardly necessary to explain that there is no accumulation of the labours of former generations; hence also it arises that they are not tied by any laws of inheritance; more as a matter of sentiment than for any other reason, the nearest of kin takes possession of all the effects left by a deceased person, and as often as not they are distributed ere long among such friends as may be in need of any of the articles in question.

422 9. The weapons, tools, and other property pertaining to one member of a family are regarded as available for the use of his or her relatives, but such articles as a cooking-pot, canoe, or sounding-board, when not required by the owner, are looked upon somewhat in the light of public property by members of the same community; in short, the rights of private property are only so far recognised that no one would without permission appropriate or remove to a distance anything belonging to a friend or neighbour.

000 **Agriculture.**—1. Before the arrival of strangers in their midst,

[1] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraph 37.

[2] Further mention of this will be made at "Games and Amusements," paragraph 24. As will there be explained, the occasions on which they usually barter are when they meet for a *jey-* at some permanent encampment.

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Agriculture.— 1. Before the arrival of strangers in their midst, 241
the Andamanese were entirely ignorant of agriculture, and to this circumstance is primarily to be attributed their degraded condition, while it also affords evidence of the same.

2. Notwithstanding the ample opportunities that they have now had of observing the benefits derived from cultivation, and though they undoubtedly prefer such products to the spontaneous vegetation of their jungles, they still consider that the exertion necessary to obtain the former far outweighs every advantage; in short, it is their opinion, that "*le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle.*"

3. We must not, however, lose sight of the fact that as they have hitherto seen only prisoners engaged in tillage, they cannot but be strengthened in the objections entertained by most savages to all such labour, regarding it as a degrading occupation, and fit only for such as have forfeited their freedom.

4. Further, to quote from Peschel, "it must be remembered that hunting affords supreme enjoyment, and that agriculture has nothing to offer in compensation for the excitement and delights of the chase."

Training and Domestication of Animals.—1. Prior also to our 231
occupation of these islands, the Andamanese, as will have been 177
already inferred,[1] possessed no dogs, and it was some time (1865) before they became aware of their usefulness in the chase; but now that the intelligence of certain breeds has been proved, they prize them highly, and eagerly accept any we have to give them; at the same time, though treated with every intentional kindness, and allowed to sleep, and even to eat and drink out of the same vessel as their masters, the training to which the dogs are subjected is very severe, and their attenuated condition bears witness to the state of semi-starvation in which they are commonly kept in order to render them the more keen in hunting. The custom of summoning dogs by whistling has of course been borrowed from ourselves, as is also the practice of [552]
naming them; "Jack" or "Billy"[2] are the names generally bestowed by these people upon their canine companions, whom also they address as *ligala* (children), and who in their turn seem greatly attached to their new owners, and testify their affection by attacking all strangers, not being aborigines, who approach the encampment to which they belong.

2. It is regarded as a good omen to meet certain birds, while 787
of others the contrary belief is held;[3] the absence of migratory

[1] *Vide ante* "Trade, Exchangeable Values, &c.," paragraph 3.

[2] They sometimes nickname them as follows:—*bī·bi-bá·ratnga-* (lit., dog-mottled), *bī·bi-ngá·nanga-* (lit., dog-beggar), *bī·bi-tá-tā·panga-* (lit., dog-bone-crusher), *bī·bi-tá-tē·ràwa-* (lit., dog-yellow), *i.e.*, according to any peculiarity that may distinguish them.

[3] *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 22.

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787 species at certain seasons is now accounted for by saying that they are visiting some of the adjacent isles.

775 3. Of mythological animals,[1] such as dragons and unicorns, they have no knowledge, nor do they venerate or regard as sacred any quadruped, bird,[2] or fish, even though the names of several are identical with those borne, according to tradition, by their antediluvian ancestors,[3] who are supposed to have been transformed into, or to have assumed the forms of, such creatures Beyond the instances already mentioned, no trace can be found of a belief in transmigration, and, now-a-days at all events, the souls of animals and men are not considered by these savages as interchangeable.

231 4. The names of four animals only appear to have originated in their cries, viz.: *dū·ku-* iguana, *mū·rud-* pigeon, *bī·bi-* dog, *rō·go-* pig; of these the dog only is trained, or in any way domesticated, and they do not, as has been supposed, keep poultry.[4]

262 **Food.**—1. Among the many erroneous statements regarding the life and habits of these islanders, none seem at the present day so devoid of foundation as that which declared that they are constantly reduced to want and even to starvation.[5]

2. It has been conjectured by some writers that these savages "glean a miserable subsistence," judging, it would seem, merely from the fact of their eating the larvæ of beetles,[6] and certain other articles, the predilection for which seems, to civilised palates, equally revolting;[7] but evidence is not wanting to disprove this assumption, for during the season, when such things are obtainable, they may frequently be seen enjoying a handful of cooked larvæ when a quantity of pork or turtle is lying beside them, and, if questioned, they declare that they regard the former as dainties (*á·kà-râ·rnga-*), and eat them as

[1] The legend regarding the *ū·chu-* can hardly be included in this category (*vide ante* "Mythology," paragraph 29).

[2] *Vide ante* "Mythology," paragraph 16 (footnote 3).

[3] *Vide ante* "Mythology," paragraph 29 (footnote 2).

[4] "They have no dogs nor any domestic animals, unless indeed their poultry may be regarded as such" (Lubbock, "Prehistoric Times," 4th edition, p. 450).

[5] "In tempestuous weather they are reduced to the utmost want, feeding on rats, lizards, and snakes, and perishing when these resources fail" (Grant).

"In the jungles, beyond a few berries and the wild hog, there was no food to be found" (de Röepstorff).

[6] The Looshais, however, appear to be even less fastidious, for they are said to "eat everything that flies, runs, crawls, or creeps, as well as the grub in its ante-natal tomb" ("On the Looshais or Kookees," *vide* Journ. Anthrop. Inst., March, 1873).

[7] "Nor are civilised Europeans justified in shuddering . . . . when they themselves do not shrink from the trail of snipe, nor from lobster and crayfish, although the latter, as water scavengers, act both as grave-digger and grave" (*vide* Peschel, p. 159).

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such, not because they find any difficulty in procuring other food.[1] 262

3. Both *àryô to-* and *ē·rem-tâ·ga-* find ample[2] provisions for their simple wants in their immediate surroundings, without exerting themselves to any great extent, and their eagerness in the chase is induced almost as much by actual love of sport as by the necessity of obtaining food: were this not the case they would hardly be found spending so much time in dancing and singing, in personal decorations, and in the preparation of their meals, while they reject with aversion anything that has become at all tainted. Further, it may be fairly estimated that one-third of the food daily consumed by them consists of edible roots, fruits, and honey, and the remaining portion of the flesh of one or more of the following, viz.: pig, paradoxurus,[3] iguana, turtle, fish, and molluscs, with rare additions of pigeons and jungle fowls;[4] Flying-foxes, bats, rats, sea- (not land-) snakes, the larvæ of the Great Capricornis beetle (*Cerambyx heros*) called *òi·yum-*,[5] as well as two other insects, called *bū·tu-* and *pī·rigi-*,[6] are, it is true, also eaten, but they are partaken of by way of variety, and the latter are regarded as luxuries (*â·kà-râ·rnga-*, tid-bits) to supplement (not substitute) other fare.[7] 224 136 262 222

4. The Andamanese are nominally content with two meals a day, viz.: breakfast (*â·kà-nâ·-*) and a heavy supper (*â·kan-go·lajnga-*) after sun-down; they will, however, often help themselves to small quantities of food from time to time in the course of the day when engaged on any work; and, when leaving on a 264

[1] "It cannot be wondered at that these savages love the unfettered life of their own wild jungles, where their simple wants are easily supplied—a lean-to serving them for quarters, and food such as they are accustomed to being found in great abundance. Nothing comes amiss to an Andamanese maw; roots, wild fruits, berries, crabs, clams, fish, wild pigs, and turtle are all ravenously devoured, and a glance at the well-nourished bodies of men, women, and children amply convinces one that they do not starve" (*vide* "Bombay Gazette," 2nd August, 1881: "The Andamans, our Indian Penal Settlement;" *vide* also paper by Professor Owen, F.R.S., "On the Psychical and Physical Characteristics of the Mincopies," Report of British Association, 1861. p. 246.)

[2] *Vide* "Tribal Communities," paragraph 2, and Appendix F (*Wō·i*'s statement).

[3] It is presumed that Dr. Day refers to this animal when he states that "they eat cats," for they do not appear ever to have had any fancy for the flesh of *pū·chī*, the name they have adopted for the domestic cat, from the English "pussy."

[4] *Vide* "Tabu," paragraph 2 (footnote).

[5] Probably the "fat grub, about three or four inches long, much relished by the natives" (Australians), mentioned by Mr. H. W. Bates, in his "Illustrated Travels," is identical with the *òi·yum-*.

[6] The *bū·tu-* is found in rotten logs of jungle trees, especially the *Dipterocarpus lævis* (*à·rain-*), *Gluta longipetiolata* (*já-*), and *Chickrassia tabularis* (*ò·ro-*).

[7] Their fancy for grubs does not extend to the *Teredo navalis*.

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264 day's hunt, they usually provide themselves with some fire and a *gōb-*[1] of food, which they warm up and enjoy about midday:[2] no difference is made between the sexes, but all fare alike.

261 5. The average amount eaten by an Andamanese adult appears to exceed that of a native of India, and to average three or four pounds daily, while, like many other savages, after a successful hunt, or on some special occasion, when dancing is carried on through the entire night,[3] the consumption of food is surprising, and has, in some instances, been estimated at upwards of ten pounds of pork, or turtle, in the twenty-four hours, helped out by mouthfuls of some one or more of the delicacies above enumerated.[4]

264 6. As may be assumed from foregoing sections, caste distinctions are unknown; while, however, all members of a family take their meals together, a married man is only permitted to eat with other Benedicts and bachelors, but never with any women save those of his own household, unless indeed he be well advanced in years. Bachelors as well as spinsters are required to take their meals apart with those of their respective sexes.

7. Their mode of eating meat is to cram a large piece into the mouth, and then to cut off whatever is in excess[5] with a bamboo or cane (now-a-days generally a steel) knife. The same custom, carried to a more disgusting extreme, is found among 271 the Esquimaux.[6] Speaking generally of the Andamanese it may be said that water is their only beverage, for though the aborigines in the vicinity of Port Blair have acquired a strong liking for rum, &c., they have not been permitted to gratify it; if very thirsty while on a fishing expedition, and all the fresh water supply be exhausted[7] the *àryô·to-* pour water over their

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 82.

[2] This applies to the meat of the turtle, pig, iguana, and paradoxurus; the remains of a feast of fish, shell-fish, and prawns are not warmed up a second time; a further distinction is made in the case of turtles' eggs, the three insects mentioned in paragraph 3, edible roots, and such fruits as are cooked (*vide post* paragraph 19), for these are left to cool before they are eaten.

[3] *Vide* "Games and Amusements," paragraphs 21 and 22.

[4] *Bêche de mer* and edible birds'-nests, so highly esteemed by some, and of [262] which large supplies are obtainable along their coasts, are not regarded by the Andamanese as fit for food.

[5] For the following note, which refers to a similar practice among the Napo-Indians of South America, I am indebted to Mr. W. L. Distant:—"In eating meat (usually monkey, sea-cow, and peccari) we observed that they did not tear or bite it, but, putting one end of a long piece in the mouth, cut off what they could not get in, as Darwin noticed among the Fuegians" (Jas. Orton: "Andes and the Amazon," p. 168).

[6] *Vide* Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times," p. 486.

[7] They will now-a-days occasionally assuage their thirst, when away from home, by cutting off a piece of ground rattan (*bōl-*); this practice is only known to the people of South Andaman, and has been borrowed from the Burmese convicts.

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heads or jump overboard, and even at times try to alleviate 271
their sufferings by swallowing salt water.[1]

8. In opening certain shell-fish[2] the adze is not employed, 252
but one of the valves of the *Cyrena* is dexterously inserted 262
between the lips, which are thus forced apart, after which the 136
fish is killed with a knife or bladed arrow, and boiled; the *Tridacna crocea* and *Tridacna squamosa* are opened by inserting a piece of wood as a wedge between the valves,[3] afterwards the fish is despatched by stabbing it with an arrow point or blade; the various *Arca* species and the *Mytilus smaragdinus* are, however, not so treated, but are placed among a heap of burning logs for a few moments, the object being merely to part the valves, which would otherwise be a matter of some difficulty: when this is accomplished the shells are removed by means of the bamboo tongs (*kai-*[4]), and their half-cooked contents are transferred to a pot[5] (*būj-*) in which a little water has been placed; after being boiled a short time the gravy and flesh are eaten with the help of the shells. In former times oysters were eaten *cooked*,[6] but now their consumption appears to be confined to the inhabitants of North (and possibly also Little) Andaman: they give no reason for this change, but it may be due to their having occasionally suffered by feasting unconsciously on the poisonous, or at least indigestible, variety so commonly found in the mangrove swamps.

9. Dr. Day remarked that the mullet was their favourite fish, 262
and "one day, having placed a quantity of different species 136
before them, they helped themselves in the following order: . . . . *Chorinemus*, *Platycephalus*, horse-mackerel or *Caranx*, *Chrysophrys calamara*, and lastly *Tetrodon*, or frog-fish, which latter has generally the credit of being poisonous." My experience is that there are apparently no fresh-water, and but few salt-water, fish[7] which they will not eat.

10. It is a mistake to suppose that pigs were ever scarce in 136
these islands, for though it was formerly more difficult than at the present day to shoot them, there is no lack of evidence to

[1] *Vide ante* "Medicine," paragraph 4.

[2] Viz., those of the *Pinna* and *Cyrena* species.

[3] This is only attempted when they succeed in surprising the fish before it has time to close its valves.

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 80.

[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 18. [Note.—Water is boiled in a *būj-* by the ordinary process, and not by heated stones being dropped into it.]

[6] That Europeans should swallow these molluscs *raw* is a matter of considerable surprise to them.

[7] They prefer the fleshy part of the head to any other portion. To cut a fish is termed *chô·lke*, while to remove its head, tail, and entrails is styled *arwá·gke*.

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[136] prove that they are, and always have been, fairly numerous.[1] 224 The pig hunts are most frequent during the rains, not only because these animals are then more plentiful and in better condition, but because it is no longer the *râp-wâb-*, or season of abundance of jungle fruit and honey; from this, however, it must not be inferred that scarcity is then experienced, for those who choose to help themselves need never be in want.

262 137 252 11. During the cool season, *pâ·par-wâb-*,[2] the people themselves are alleged to become noticeably thinner: this they attribute not to a deficiency of food, but to the meagre condition of the pigs, which are then breeding, and to the fact that the edible roots (or yams), and other fruits then in season are not fattening. There are six varieties of esculent roots, viz.: the *gō·no-*, *châ·ti-*, *kâd-*,[3] *bō·to-*, *mal·ag-*, and *tāg·i-*, which are eaten alone (preferably cold), and not with meat; their chief difference consists in the extra care in preparation which some require, in consequence of their very acrid flavour.

12. The *gō·no-* is cooked in three ways: (*a*) it is placed on the fire in the condition in which it is found until it is soft, when it is freed from the burnt earth and eaten; (*b*) the root, after being washed, is cut up into small pieces and boiled in a pot; and (*c*) after being washed and cut up, the pieces are wrapped in large leaves and baked on burning logs.

13. The *châ·ti-* is cooked in the first of the above-mentioned methods, or by surrounding it with hot stones,[4] and covering the whole with leaves and weights, in order to confine the heat as much as possible.

14. The *kâd-* is first cooked as found, the skin is then peeled off, and a number of thin slices are cut and placed in water for a couple of days, so as to lessen the bitterness of its flavour; afterwards it is either baked in leaves or boiled, as already described in speaking of the *gō·no-*.

15. The other three varieties are never boiled, but are placed on the fire without leaves, and the outer skin is removed before they are eaten.

16. The seed of a species of sea-weed, known to them as *tô·no-tàng-*, on which turtles and dugongs feed, and which can only be obtained in small quantities, is carefully cooked and eaten as a relish.

[1] In his examination of a kitchen-midden near Port Blair harbour the late Dr. Stoliczka recorded that "the large number of bones of the Andaman pig is remarkable."

[2] This is the period between the rains and the dry season, and lasts about ten weeks, between the middle of November and the middle of February.

[3] The *gō·no-*, *châ·ti-*, and *kâd-*, are very plentiful during the cool season, and are much relished.

[4] *Vide post* "Stone Implements," paragraph 1.

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17. The fruit of three varieties of mangrove,[1] known to them as *jū·mu-*,[2] *ngâ·tya-*, and *bâ·taga-*, are occasionally eaten, but only by way of change; they are prepared like the *kâd-* (*vide* above). 262 137

18. The following table contains a fairly complete list of the different kinds of food eaten by the Andamanese during the varying seasons of the year; their ordinary diet, as will be gathered from the foregoing, consists of pigs,[3] paradoxurus, iguanas,[4] eggs of the hawkbill turtle, turtles, shell and other sea-fish and prawns, with occasional treats of dugong and porpoise,[5] and for married persons certain birds, already named: the fruit of the *Pandanus* and black honey must also be added, besides which, during the dry season, fresh-water fish, shell-fish, eggs of the green turtle, honey, the bee-bread, and that portion of the comb in which the larvæ are found, as well as the *Caryota sobolifera*, yams, and numerous fruits, about to be named, are eaten with great relish; while during the rains they vary their fare with preserved seeds of the *Artocarpus chaplasha*, *Semecarpus*,[6] and the fallen seeds of the *Entada pursœtha*,[7] with three grubs, viz.: the *bū·tu-*, *pī·rigi-*, and the larvæ of the Great Capricornis beetle (*ôi·yum-*), and certain fruits. Although on one occasion I saw a man (a member of the *.â·kà-.ked·e-* tribe) actually eat an *ôi·yum-* alive (!) their usual practice is to collect a quantity of the above-named insects and to wrap them up in leaves and place them on the burning embers, turning the bundle from time to time, so that its contents may be thoroughly cooked, whereupon, in the case of the *bū·tu-*, after breaking off the tails, they are consumed with evident gusto.[8] 262 136 137 221

19. The native names[9] of most of the fruits in season during the dry (*a*), wet and cool (*b*) months are:— 262 221 137

[1] Some terrible calamity, such as another Deluge, would result, so they say, from any one rashly presuming to taste the fruit of a certain species of mangrove, called *tō·kal-*.

[2] *Bruguiera gymnorhiza.*

[3] Not only are the sows eaten when with young, but even their unborn litter is not rejected.

[4] Iguanas and paradoxuri are in better condition during the rains, and are consequently more eaten at that season.

[5] There are special restrictions connected with eating both the dugong and porpoise for the first time (*vide post* "Tabu," paragraph 2).

[6] *Vide* paragraph 32.

[7] *Vide ante* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 12.

[8] The *ôi·yum-* is found in newly fallen logs, and they say that they do not treat it like the *bū·tu-*—viz., in breaking off its tail—because it does not live in such rotten Gurjon trees.

[9] The botanical names of most of these, as well as of many others, will be found in Appendix L.

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(*a*)

*‡*mâng-*	either cooked or uncooked.	§*pū·lain-*
*‡*ī·til-*		**pī·dga-*
		§*gel·dim-*
		**ō·rta-tāt-*
dō·gota-		*†§*chaij-*
jâ-		*kār·ega-*
ū·dala-		*ūd-*
kón-		§*ñgē·bēr-*
§*châ·kan-*		§*ē·mej-*
**bō·to-kō·ko-*		**eng·ara-*
kū·nra-		§*lō·gaj-*
§*pū·lia-*		

(N.B.—The best fruits, and those which are most abundant, are in season during these months and at the commencement of the rains.)

(*b*)

†*ō·ropa-*	*pī·cha-*
§*pâ-*	§*pai·tla-*
*†*kai-*	**kār·ed-*[1]
†§*kai·ta-*	§**jang·ma-*[2]
†*chôb-*	**jī·ni-*
†*ō·dorma-*	†*pū·ta-*
**â·bnga-*	**pôr-*
§{ *jū·mu-*	**âm-*
§{ *ngâ·tya-*	**†mū·twin-*
§{ *bâ·taga-*	*tâ·tib-*
**kâ·pa-*	**eng·ara-*

During the *pâ·par-wôb-* (cool season) and *yē·re-bō·do-* (dry months) the six varieties of edible roots mentioned above (*vide* paragraph 11) are also eaten.

(It will be understood that those fruits that are unmarked in the above list are eaten in the ordinary way).

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[263]
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20. Many fruits they merely suck for the sake of the flavour;[3] others are eaten with fine wood-ash,[4] taken from the hut fires *in lieu of sugar*, to diminish their extreme acidity,[5] while a few are cooked,[6] and the stones of several[7] are cracked for the sake of their kernels. The favourite fruits are *dō·gota-*, *ō·ropa-*, *kón-*, *chôb-*, *jâ-*, *pâ-*, *kai·ta-*, *kār·ega-*, *châ·kan-*, *jū·mu-*, *ngâ·tya-*, *bâ·taga-*, *ñgē·bēr-*, *pū·lia-*, and *pū·lain-*.

21. The fruit of the *ñgē·bēr-*, *châ·kan-*, *pū·lia-*, *pū·lain-*, *pai·tla-*, *gel·dim-*, *lō·gaj-*, and the seeds of the three above-named varieties of mangrove (*i.e.*, *jū·mu-*, *ngâ·tya-*, and *bâ·taga-*), are freed from their husk or rind and boiled in water until quite soft; when cold they are cut in slices, and left to soak for two days or more in salt or fresh water, after which they are baked in leaves, or again boiled in a *būj-*.

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22. The Andamanese are, now-a-days at least,[8] extremely particular over the cooking of their food, and will not eat certain

[1] This is a small yellow fruit, the seed of which, after being sucked, is broken, and the outer portion eaten while the kernel is thrown away.

[2] This is a small red fruit, about the size of a bean or filbert, containing one stone; it is wrapped in leaves and baked, because they say that if eaten uncooked it would cause them to forget their way in the jungle, as well as entire loss of memory on all points.

[3] These are marked in the preceding paragraph by a *

[4] Their immunity from scurvy may not improbably be due to the chemical combination of the acid, contained in many of the fruits, with the potash of the burnt wood.

[5] These are marked in the preceding paragraph by a †.

[6] These are marked in the preceding paragraph by a §.

[7] These are marked in the preceding paragraph by a ‡.

[8] They are very expert in spearing their fish, which they consume in a half-cooked state (Anderson); Symes also writes that "they throw the food on the fire, and devour it half broiled."

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fruits and vegetables, much less fish, flesh, or fowl that is raw,[1] or, as far as I could ascertain, even underdone.[2] 252

23. On ordinary occasions the meals are prepared by these estimable wives in the absence of their lords, but when their labours in procuring wood and water are exceptionally heavy, as on gala days, or after a very successful hunt, the cooking is performed in the special fire-place[3] set apart for the purpose in each community, by some male volunteer, who, when the meat is partly done, distributes[4] it among those present, leaving them to complete over their own fires the necessary preparation of their several shares.[5]

24. Sometimes it happens that the animal is cut up and distributed without being even partially cooked, but the person undertaking this duty is under a tacit obligation to help the slayer of the animal and himself to the last two portions

25. Small pigs, if caught alive, are sometimes kept and fattened up (*chī·lyuke*) for slaughter;[6] with these, as with others killed while hunting, the same system is observed: the entrails, lungs, liver, kidneys, &c., are first removed (*jō·do-lōi·chrake*), and replaced by leaves (*koktā·r-rā·mke*), to which they set fire—care is always taken to select such as, being entirely free from scent and taste, will not affect the flavour of the meat—the object of this is that all parts may be equally heated when the carcass is placed on the burning logs, where it is left, not until thoroughly

[1] A recent writer (*vide* "Bombay Gazette," May 24, June 7, July 1, July 5, August 2, 1881), in giving an instance of the skill of these savages in shooting fish, affirms that he observed "that most of these fish were just scorched on hastily-lit fires and devoured at once half raw, care being taken that the children present (there were no women) had their full share of the spoils." I am, nevertheless, sure that he is mistaken in supposing that the fish were otherwise than thoroughly cooked, for besides having made close observations myself at the homes, on the point in question, I have made careful inquiries of the aborigines, who assure me (as do also the Hindustani attendants, who have paid numerous visits to the tribes in Middle Andaman) that they never eat fish, flesh, or vegetable until it is thoroughly cooked.

[2] Exception, however, must be made in regard to turtles' eggs, which are eaten with other food or alone, as the case may be, and which, though preferred soft boiled, are sometimes eaten raw: they are among the articles of food proscribed to an *ā·kā-yāb-*. Dr. Day says he has seen them "cook a prawn by placing it inside the bowl of a pipe which they had been smoking!"

[3] This is generally an open space at one end of the encampment. [The *jār·awa-* have a separate hut, which is used exclusively for cooking purposes.]

[4] The "cook" is under an obligation to taste a morsel before all present; should the chief happen to be there he receives the first and lion's share; after him all the men are helped, and then the women and children, while the remainder falls to the share of the distributor.

[5] During the process of cooking all that the Andamanese Soyer requires in the way of impedimenta are a skewer, *chām*, and a pair of bamboo tongs, *kai*. (*vide* Appendix B, items 70 and 80)

[6] If the pig should die a natural death while being thus kept it would be eaten, unless visibly diseased.

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252 cooked, but until the bristles have been singed and the skin dried sufficiently to allow of the dirt adhering to it being scraped off; this done, the remains of the charred leaves are removed, and the tendons at the joints being severed (*pū·nukɛ*), the carcass is cut up (*wâ·ratkɛ*) and distributed; while thus engaged, the operator not unfrequently helps himself to choice morsels which he may chance to find done to a turn, as his perquisite. The lining and flesh of the stomach are usually first disposed of;[1] the skin of the entrails, after being thoroughly cleansed, is also frequently consumed.

252 26. From the account given under "Initiatory Ceremonies"[2]
262 it will be seen that the kidney-fat and omentum (*reg-jī·ri-*) are considered as luxuries from which the young of both sexes must abstain during a certain period. The lungs, liver, and eyes are also eaten, and they are quite of a mind with the Chinese in their estimation of "crackling"[3] (*ōt-â·gam-*, also *ōt-gō·ma-*), which they consider one of the choicest parts, and enjoy so much that they are even willing to run the risk of offending the *chôl-*[4] by baking their pigs, rather than eat them boiled.

262 27. When, from some circumstance or other—such as possibly a death from sunstroke[5]—the dread of these demons is paramount, and they boil their pork, it has been observed that, as their pots are small, they remove each piece when partially cooked to make room for others, which afterwards, in the same way, are in turn replaced until thoroughly done; the reason given is that the flavour of the whole animal is thus equally distributed in every portion. On other occasions when the pig is not broiled whole on burning logs, or apportioned among the several families of the community for cooking in their own huts, the flesh is baked in leaves by means of heated stones (*lâ-*), which are placed between alternate layers of the meat; in every case the chief concern appears to be that the whole should be so wrapped in leaves that none of the juices be dried up, though every portion be thoroughly well done.[6]

[1] Experience and inquiries have alike failed to find an explanation of the following peculiar statement made by Dr. Day:—"The children and weakly persons eat sucklings, the bachelors and spinsters use those of medium size, whilst adults prefer the stronger boar."

[2] *Vide* paragraphs 15–17.

[3] The skin of the iguana is also eaten, but that of the *paradoxurus* is thrown away.

[4] *Vide ante* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 15.

[5] *Vide ante* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 16.

[6] In this respect they differ much from the Australians, who "never take the trouble to cook their food, but merely tear off the interior skin of the animal and, after holding the body over the fire for a few minutes, eagerly devour it in its uncleaned state, and frequently eat so voraciously as to be in a state of inactivity and torpor for several hours afterwards" ("A Ride across the Frontier of Victoria," by P. H. Eagle).

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28. For brains and marrow they have a great *penchant*, and, in order to extract the latter, will often crush the smaller bones with their teeth, while they break up the larger ones with a stone hammer. 262 252

29. The blood of the turtle only are they careful not to spill,[1] and this, though not preferred to the flesh, is considered a dainty, and is eaten separately, after it has been boiled in its own shell until quite thick.

30. They do not preserve the carapace of either description of turtle, but, having removed the flesh, place the shell over the fire, that all the remaining fat may be melted, when—with an appreciation worthy of a City alderman—they ladle it into their mouths with *Cyrena* shells, which thus serve as spoons. So great a delicacy do they consider this that the shell is finally broken up and divided, that no particle may be lost! This fat is largely used in the manufacture of *kòi·ob-*, and it may be judged how highly they prize the unguent since they are willing to deny themselves this dainty rather than allow their supply to run short.

31. Food is preserved by placing it on the small grating (*yàt-lob-tâ·ga-*)[2] above the hut fire,[3] or in the following rather peculiar fashion:—having procured and cleaned a length of bamboo (*fem. sp.*), they heat it over a fire that the juices contained in it may be gradually absorbed. When this is satisfactorily accomplished, half-cooked pieces of pork, turtle, or any other food,[4] are packed tightly into it, and the vessel is again by degrees put over the fire, in order to heat it slowly, lest the rapid expansion of the meat should cause a crack; when steam ceases to issue forth, the bamboo is taken off the fire, and, after the opening has been closed by leaves, is set aside with its contents until a meal is required, when it is replaced on a fire, for, as I have remarked in another place, it is a peculiarity of these savages to eat their food in an almost boiling state.[5] As soon as the meat has been once more thoroughly baked, the bamboo is split open with an adze or other 251

[1] To kill a turtle they pierce the eye with a skewer or arrow (*ī·dal jē·ralike*); when the flappers and belly-shell are removed (*tó·latke*), the animal is cut up (*wâ·ratke*) prior to distribution.

[2] *Vide* "Habitations," paragraph 5.

[3] Jean de Lery, in the account of his adventures among the Indians of Brazil (about 1557), describes the "wooden grating set up on four forked posts; . . . and as they did not salt their meat this process served them as a means of keeping their game and fish."—(E. B. Tylor's "Early History of Mankind," p. 262.)

[4] They have not acquired a liking for either beef or mutton, but are very fond of fowls, rice, dhall, sugar, and sweets of all kinds; it is strange, therefore, to find in Colonel Tickell's paper that "fish they were indifferent to, also to rice."

[5] *Vide ante* "Anatomy and Physiology," paragraph 8.

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251 implement, and all take a share in the feast.[1] Meat thus prepared will keep good for several days.

32. I alluded just now to their method of preparing the seeds
252 of the *Semecarpus* and *Artocarpus chaplasha* for consumption
251 during the rains; it is as follows:—The outer husk, or skin, having been removed, a quantity of the fruit is placed on a wooden platter, and each person present renders assistance by partially sucking (!) the various pieces, which, after this preliminary process, are half boiled in water, and then wrapped up in large bundles of leaves, and buried in moist soil; no mark is made over the spot, but there appears to be no fear of forgetting it, though several weeks usually elapse before the monsoon breaks, and these decaying deposits are dug up, when the smell, as may be supposed, is most offensive to all but those who are to the manner born; by them, however, strange to relate, it is evidently highly appreciated. The next stage through which the seeds have to pass consists in freeing them in water from the decaying matter, and drying them in the sun, or over the fire, where they are left in nets (*châ·panga-*[2]) or leaves until required for use, when they are again baked. With this exception no food is dried in the sun, nor is anything salted or intentionally smoked, though this last cannot fail to be, to some extent, the result of their mode of storing food, as described in the previous paragraph.

222 33. Besides the various fruits already mentioned as in season
137 during the dry months, yams and honey are very abundant; as
824 their method of treating both fruits and yams has been already described, it now remains for me to notice the ingenious way
825 in which they procure honey, and to name the special trees which, flowering in succession, afford ample material from whence the bees produce a more or less abundant store.

34. At the close of the monsoon one of the large jungle trees, called by them *râr-* (*Eugenia* sp.), comes into bloom, and though no honey is made from its flowers, it is said to act beneficially on the bees as a purgative, and to prepare them for the commencement of the honey season.[3] The *lē·kera-* (*Leguminosæ* sp.), blossoming a little later, is the first honey-yielding flower; the *dū·mla-*,[4] *chī·lib-* (? *Diospyros densiflora*), *ō·ro-* (*Chickrassia tabularis*), and *châ·dak-* (*Rubiaceæ*) coming next into season, enable the bees to produce large combs, but the finest are found after the *pâ-* (*Semecarpus*), *bâ·ja-* (*Sterculia* (?) *villosa*), *yē·re-* (*Sterculia* sp.), *jī·dya-*,[4] have

[1] *Vide post* "Hunting and Fishing," paragraphs 30 and 31.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 22.
[3] Hence *re·rke*, (to) clean.
[4] The botanical names of these have not as yet been ascertained.

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blossomed: this is considered the height of the honey season, and is called *lad·u chàu-*.[1] It appears that on moonlight nights just at this time the bees consume a great portion of their honey, so that the "junglees" declare it to be useless to go for combs, either by day or night, until the moon has sensibly waned.

35. When about to make a raid on the hives, the Andamanese procure a certain plant, believed to be of the *Alpinia* species, called *jī·ni-*, and having stripped off the leaves, chew the stem and smear the essence thus extracted over their bodies; the mouth is also filled with the same juice, and thus armed *cap-à-pie* they proceed to disperse the bees, who, on attempting to attack them, are at once repelled by the obnoxious odour of the *jī·ni-*, emitted in a fine spray from the mouths, and also attaching to the persons of their despoilers, who sometimes make further use of the chewed stalks of the offensive plant in driving off the last remaining defenders of the hive.

36. Small combs[2] of both the white and black honey are commonly obtainable till about September—*i.e.*, so long as the *Dipterocarpus lævis*, the *Pterocarpus dalbergioides*, and a few other trees continue to blossom.[3]

37. While I had charge of the homes (and probably ever since), a large sum was annually realised by the aborigines towards their support from the sale of honey thus obtained to the free residents at Port Blair. So much indeed did they collect that we were able to store it in barrels and bottles, and generally found we had sufficient to meet all demands until the approach of the following season.

Tabu.—1. Besides the articles of food from which all abstain during the *à·kà-yâp-*,[4] we have seen that there are certain fruits, edible roots, &c., which, in supposed obedience to *Pū·luga-*'s commands, are not gathered at prescribed seasons of the year,[5] and that mourners[6] (*à·kà-ōg-*) also deny themselves by refusing to partake of their favourite viands until after the *t'ī-tó·latnga-*;[7] but beyond these restrictions, which are of general application,

[1] *Vide* Appendix H.

[2] The combs produced from the blossoms of the under-mentioned trees—*i.e.*: *.tà·tib-* (*Croton arguratus*), *.bi·bi-* (*Terminalia* (?) *citrina*), and *.bal·ya-* are much less plentiful, and they are smaller; this is also found to be the case with those made from the *.chá·langa-* (*Pterocarpus dalbergioides*), *.mó·nag-* (*Messua ferrea*), *.ē·mej-* (*Terminalia bialata*), *.jâ-* (*Gluta longipetiolata*), and *.pûb-* (*Lagerstrœmia hypoleuca* (?) *regina*).

[3] As they are not, in their savage state, in the habit of storing honey, they are without any but the black honey during a great portion of the year.

[4] *Vide ante* "Initiatory Ceremonies," paragraphs 2 and 10.

[5] *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 12.

[6] If the mourners are *ē·rem-tà·ga-* they abstain from pork, and if they are *àrvó·to-* they abjure turtle (*vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 4).

[7] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 7.

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262 every Andamanese man and woman is prohibited all through life from eating some one (or more) fish or animal: in most cases the forbidden dainty is one which in childhood was observed (or imagined) by the mother to occasion some functional derangement; when of an age to understand it the circumstance is explained, and cause and effect being clearly demonstrated, the individual in question thenceforth considers that particular meat his *yât-tūb-*,[1] and avoids it carefully. In cases where no evil consequences have resulted from partaking of any kind of food, the fortunate person is privileged to select his own *yât-tūb-*,[2] and is of course shrewd enough to decide upon some fish, such as shark or skate, which is little relished, and to abstain from which consequently entails no exercise of self-denial.

2. No one who has not attained the dignity of *gū·ma*,[3] by passing through the rites of initiation, is permitted to eat the flesh of either the dugong or porpoise; and further, it is necessary that the novice should be fed, on the first occasion of tasting either of these meats, by some friend or relative, who, having previously passed through the prescribed ordeal, is qualified thereby to admit others to the like privilege.

3. Except during the initiatory ceremonies, no prohibitions exist with regard to persons feeding themselves, or touching the food of others; after marriage the husband and wife only may eat together;[4] childless widows and widowers usually take their meals with the unmarried of their respective sexes.[5]

4. When an Andamanese woman finds that she is about to become a mother she abstains from pork, turtle, honey,[6] iguana, and paradoxurus; after a while her husband follows her example with respect to the two last-named meats, in the belief that the embryo would suffer were he to indulge in such food.[7]

[1] *tūb-* can only be applied to food, and is therefore not so generally applicable as *tabu* among the Polynesians. The equivalent of *yât-tūb-* in the *.bō·jig-yâb-* dialect is *tām·a-tāp-*.

[2] It is believed that *Pū·luga-* would punish severely any person who might be guilty of eating his *yât-tūb-*, either by causing his skin to peel off (*wai·nyake*), or by turning his hair white and flaying him alive!

[3] *Vide ante* "Initiatory Ceremonies," paragraphs 1 and 9.

[4] The few birds that are ever shot for food (*vide post* "Hunting," &c., paragraph 27), are said to be, strictly speaking, *tabued* to all but *married* persons.

[5] *Vide ante* "Marriage," paragraphs 17 and 18.

[6] *Vide ante* "Initiatory Ceremonies," paragraph 14.

[7] Among the Abipones, if the infant dies during the first few days, the women accuse the father of heartless frivolity, as their excesses or abstinence are believed to affect the new-born infant. Again, Peschel states that in the Antilles, the father who is expecting offspring might not eat the flesh of the turtle or the manatee, for in the first case deafness and deficiency of brain, and in the second disfigurement by small round eyes, might be apprehended for the child.

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5. When a man wishes to address a married woman who is 576
younger than himself he may not venture to do so directly, but must find some third person to be the medium of his communication; it is also not *selon les règles* for a man to *touch* his younger brother's (or cousin's) wife, or his wife's sister; and women are restricted in the same way as regards their husband's elder brother (or male cousin) or his brother-in-law.

6. All titles such as *mai·a*, *mai·ola*, and *chān·a* cease to be applied after death; and inquiries ignorantly made after one who has recently died are replied to in a subdued tone, thus: *wai edā·re* (he or she "was") or *wai ōkolī·re* (he or she "is dead"). As little allusion as possible is ever made to deceased persons, especially for the first year or so after their death, during which period they are indicated only by reference to the tree or place where their remains are, or were, deposited; after a while the word *lach·i*, answering to "the late," is prefixed to their defunct countrymen's (and women's) names.[1]

Warfare.—1. Reference has already been made to their want of 726
true courage or daring, and it has been stated that the Andamanese seldom, if ever, venture to make an attack unless satisfied of their superiority over their foes;[2] it will, therefore, be hardly necessary to enlarge upon their mode of carrying on hostilities, or to say that they are ignorant of the most elementary rules of warfare.

2. Should a dispute arise between members of different communities in the course of a visit or *jeg-*[3] the affair often grows in importance and becomes a tribal question, which may not be settled without more or less serious consequences; those wounded on such occasions generally fare badly unless speedily removed, as they stand great risk of being shot dead or receiving the *coup de grâce* in some other form; they are not, however, in the habit of mutilating the bodies of their victims, save in exceptional cases, where there has been very grave aggravation.

3. The assailants generally approach stealthily upon their enemies, and, though availing themselves of every advantage afforded by the density of the jungle, do not take further precautions or devise stratagems whereby to conceal their trail as they proceed on their way. They wear no breastplate,[4] nor do

[1] Ex.: "múnshí" *.bi·ela* (*vide* Plate II, fig. 2), whose corpse was *placed* on a machán beside a tree called *yel-*, was spoken of as *yel lá·kà-táng len teg·i yà·te-* (he who is by the *yel-* tree); had he been *buried* he would have been referred to as *yel lá·kà-táng len bū·guk yà·te-*.

[2] *Vide ante* "Psychology and Morals," paragraph 2.

[3] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraphs 22–37.

[4] The *jar·awa-* have been found to wear a wide belt of bark as a protection in hostile encounters.

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726 they use shields,[1] and the idea of throwing up earth-banks, or constructing any species of defence for the better protection of their numerous encampments, does not seem to have occurred to them.[2]

4. Night attacks have been made now and again, but the favourite time is the break of day, when the unsuspecting enemy are sound asleep; or at a late hour when they are likely to be engaged in the preparation or consumption of their evening meal.

727 5. Women and children incur a like risk with men on these occasions, but it would not be considered a matter for boasting should any of them fall victims in the strife, while a child which might be captured uninjured would meet with kindly treatment, in the hope of his (or her) being induced ultimately to become a member of the captor's tribe.

6. The property of the vanquished is of course treated with little ceremony: everything portable is appropriated, and all else is injured or destroyed.

224 7. No confirmatory evidence is required to prove the truth of a statement declaring a man to have slain one or more foes, but if, in hunting, he should kill at a distance from home an animal too heavy for him to carry back unassisted, he would cut off the tail or some other portion which would afford ocular demonstration of its size, and serve as an inducement to his friends to assist him in bringing in the carcass.

Hunting and Fishing.—1. As I stated in an earlier section, the Andamanese are, for the most part, keen huntsmen, and their eagerness in the chase is one of the chief hindrances in the way of their becoming agriculturists, for a great portion of their time being thus spent, the sites of their temporary (as of their permanent) encampments are to a great extent determined by the advantages which they offer for the pursuit of their favourite pastime.

2. There do not appear to be any omens or superstitions in this connection, nor are there special ceremonies observed previous to the start or on the return of the party, save the somewhat peculiar custom, to which I have elsewhere alluded, of maintaining a glum silence for some time at the close of the day's sport.[3]

[1] Their sounding or stamping boards (*pū·kuta-yem·nge-*), used in their dances, have, in consequence of their resemblance to shields, been mistaken by more than one visitor as such.

[2] For the weapons used in warfare, *vide post* "Hunting," paragraph 5.

[3] *Vide* Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi, p. 287. It may here be added that the only explanation which they offer to account for this practice is that they intend thereby to convey to their friends an exaggerated notion of the fatigues they have endured for the general weal.

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3. Females take no part in these expeditions, and boys seldom accompany their elders until after their twelfth year. 224

4. If more than a few hours' absence is anticipated, besides a supply of provisions, a smouldering log is entrusted to some one member of the party, whose duty it is to prevent its extinction,[1] and to kindle it into a blaze whenever a fire is required. No immediate honours are conferred upon the successful sportsman, but stories of feats of extraordinary prowess are related, with more or less embellishment, from time to time for the benefit of the young and the edification of strangers. No record is kept of the game killed, but, as those distant tribes who are not yet possessed of dogs (or only of a very few) still retain the primitive custom of suspending the skulls of their victims from the eaves or on poles round their huts, a fair idea of their success can be formed by themselves and others from the number thus displayed.

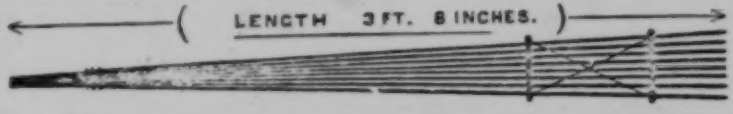
5. Whether in hunting game or in attacking an enemy, the bow (*kā·rama-*) and arrow are employed, and these are almost[2] identical in form among all the eight tribes of Great Andaman. For spearing turtles and large fish a harpoon (*kowai·a l'ō·ko dū·tnga-*[3]) is used: as a description of this serviceable weapon and of the mode in which it is employed, has been given in Appendix B, it is unnecessary to repeat the information in this place.[4] The only other weapon in use is the pig-spear 411

[1] *Vide ante* "Fire," paragraph 6.

[2] The comparatively slight difference existing between the form of the five *bōjig* and three *yē·rewa-* bows, and the wide distinction observable between both of these and the *jār·awa-* (Little Andaman) bow will be best seen by referring to Plate VI, figs. 1, 4, and 3 (*vide* also Appendix B, item 1).

[3] *Vide* Appendix B, item 10.

[4] In reference to the subject of *fish-spears* an interesting discovery was made on the occasion of the last visit (October, 1882) paid by Mr. H. Godwin-Austen, now in charge of the Andaman Homes, to North Andaman. Some six or more specimens of what, I believe, is quite an unique wooden fish-spear were seen in one or two of the *yē·rewa-* canoes. As one was fortunately brought away a sketch is here given of it. It reminds one somewhat of the fish-spears used by the Nicobarese (*vide* Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. vii, Plate XV), though very inferior, and is doubtless, like them, intended for spearing small fish. It is called *tī·remo.* 227



The eight long wooden spikes are not tied together in a circular form as in the case of the Nicobar *hokpāk* but in a row, and, as will be inferred from the drawing, they are held in that position by means of two short pieces of wood lashed to them at right angles: from the appearance of the lower end of this weapon, it would seem probable that it is fixed—like the *kowai·a l'ō·ko dū·tnga*—into a bamboo shaft when about to be hurled, but I have ascertained lately that this is not the case, it is merely held at the pointed end.

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The only other weapon in use is the pig-spear
411 (*ĕrdūtnga-*[1]), which is of comparatively recent introduction, its
[177] adoption being due to the abundance of iron obtainable for some time past by the *.bōjig-ngīji-* and other tribes near our settlement at Port Blair.

6. To an untrained eye no difference is noticeable in the appearance of the weapons of similar style and construction, but the aborigines are quick in detecting individual peculiarities in the manner of knotting the strings of bows, arrows, &c.[2]

7. As has been remarked by General Pitt Rivers,[3] the bows of the Great Andaman tribes, especially those of the southern half, known to the islanders as the *.bōjig kā·rama-*, resemble those in use in Mallicollo, one of the New Hebrides, and in New Ireland, being of a "peculiar flattened S-shaped form, curved towards the firer in the upper part as held in the hand, and to a slight extent the reverse way at the bottom."[4]

8. Except in the case of boys living on or near the coast,
[824] whose toy bows are often made of the *Rhizophora conjugata*, the wood of the mangrove is rarely, if ever, used, and the bamboo *never*,[5] for they find that certain other trees,[6] are more suitable for their purpose.

9. No whalebone or sinews are used for the purpose of imparting additional elasticity to the bow, and no evidence is forthcoming to show that they ever applied poison to their arrow or spear-heads—in fact, the only poison known to them
[824] appears to be the *Nux vomica*, and this they merely avoid as a noxious or useless plant.

10. It is true that certain passages in Dr. Mouat's book[7] convey a contrary impression, for, from the observations made during his short trip round the islands, he seems to have entertained no doubt that these savages habitually applied poison to their arrow-heads;[8] but, in the sense in which I understand his

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 9.

[2] For an example of this *vide ante* "Communications," &c., paragraph 6 (footnote).

[3] *Vide* Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. vii, p. 440.

[4] In the ethnographical department of the museum at Maidstone, I have lately observed a bow from Banks Island (New Hebrides), which bears a striking resemblance to the commonest form of the peculiar *.bōjig* bow, for sketch of which see Plates II and VI.

[5] "Their weapons are bows and lances of iron-wood. The former are bamboo. . . . " (Grant vol. ii., p. 378.) [Their spears, at least those of Great Andaman, have never yet been seen by us made of iron-wood.—E. H. M.]

[6] *Vide* Appendix B, item 1.

[7] Pp. 324 and 330.

[8] It may be of interest to mention in this place a curious alleged fact which has been brought to my notice by the petty officers and others connected with the homes, *i.e.*, that the wounds which are inflicted now-a-days by the iron-headed arrows of the Andamanese are not so painful or so liable to fester as they were formerly, and this they attribute to the fact that, while it has always been the practice of these savages when sharpening their blades to

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remarks, I am persuaded that he has credited them with more intelligence on this point than they possess. 411

11. The origin of the belief appears to be traceable to the fact that they generally in former times tipped their arrow-heads with fish-bones,[1] more particularly the serrated tail-bone of the sting-ray, which, as is well known, is capable of inflicting a very serious wound in consequence of the liability of the fine brittle spikes to break off and remain in the flesh after the extraction of the arrow, thereby causing, in the majority of cases, bad ulcers, which, in the absence of skilful treatment, frequently resulted in the sufferer's death.[2] [825]

12. The maladroitness of strangers who have failed even to bend the Andamanese bows[3] has apparently been due to their having held the wrong end uppermost, for, so far from there being any difficulty in using even their strongest bows, it has been proved that after a little practice Europeans are able to compete almost on even terms with all but the few "crack" shots among the aborigines, provided at least that the object aimed at be stationary; but they less readily acquire the skill which the Andamanese display in rapid shooting, and in discharging the arrow with the full force of which it is capable.

13. The large bows (from 5½ to 7 feet long) are constructed chiefly for ornament and presentation to friends, and are seldom used except for shooting fish and pigs along the shore. The smaller kinds are preferred in jungle expeditions, and on most other occasions, as they are more convenient and also more easily replaced in case of accident, less time and trouble being required for their manufacture.

14. One of the chief drawbacks to the bows used by these tribes is that they cannot be fired in silence,[4] in consequence

moisten them with saliva, the inmates of the homes—who are those chiefly employed as jungle police—now eat *salt* with their food, which was never the case fifteen or twenty years ago. Whether, assuming the story to be true, the effect can be accounted for by the circumstance stated, or, as seems more probable, is due to the improvement in the physical condition of the convicts since the early days of the settlement, is a question for medical authorities to decide.

[1] Writing nearly a century ago, Colebrooke mentioned that "their arrows are headed with fish-bones, or the tusks of wild hogs; sometimes merely with a sharp bit of wood, hardened in the fire, but these are sufficiently destructive." [The *fibula* (*ar-pĕ·ti-*) of the pig was also used for the same purpose.]

[2] *Vide* footnote to Appendix B, item 53.

[3] *Vide* Mouat, p. 321. Had Dr. Mouat's remarks applied to the Little Andaman or other *järawa-* bows, which are of totally different construction (*vide* Plate VI), they would have been more readily understood, for even the aborigines of Great Andaman have experienced much difficulty in shooting with the few specimens of this weapon which have fallen into their hands; doubtless, therefore, much knack and practice, as well as strength, are needed in using them.

[4] From this defect the *järawa-* bow appears to be exempt which is easily

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411 of the string striking the lower or convex portion of the weapon.[1]

227 411 15. There are five varieties of arrows, viz.: the *râ·tà-*, the *tī·rlē·d-*, the *tô·lbō·d-*, the *ē·la-*, and the *ē·la l'â·kà lū·pa-*, none of which are provided with more than one point or blade.

16. The first of these (*râ·tà-*) is used in their games, and is the first form which their fish arrows take; it consists of a shaft made of *Bambusa nana*, to the end of which is fastened a piece of hard wood, which is rendered harder and less liable to split by being gradually heated over a fire: this foreshaft also gives the necessary weight to ensure accuracy of flight, and to increase the force of penetration. The *tī·rlē·d-* is merely a *râ·tà-* with its point sharpened for use, in shooting the smaller varieties of fish. The *tô·lbō·d-* is a *râ·tà-* with an iron point, and generally a barb as well, secured to the head: it is chiefly used in fishing. The above three arrows usually measure 4 feet 6 inches to 4 feet 9 inches in length, while the remaining two, of which a sufficient description will be found in Appendix B, do not generally exceed 3 feet 6 inches.

411 17. The Andamanese take especial pride in keeping the bladed heads of their arrows and spears as bright as possible: the shafts are straightened by dint of pressure with teeth and fingers, but no feathers or other devices are employed to increase the velocity of flight. As illustrations of their arrows and other weapons will be found in Plates VI, VII, VIII, and IX, and as, in Appendix B, I have described their manufacture, it is unnecessary for me here to repeat the information which can be obtained by reference.

18. There are one or two points connected with the iron-bladed arrows to which, I believe, attention has never yet been drawn. I allude to the position of the barbs and the object of the seam. In the *ē·la-* the blade is so fixed as to be in a line with the seam of the fastening at the end of the shaft, and, whether provided with one or more barbs, these are always placed in a line with the blade, the seam above referred to being used as a "sight." In the *ē·la l'â·kà lū·pa-*, which has no seam, the barb which is most in a line with the blade is used as a "sight," and accordingly placed uppermost. In forming these blades they shape them so as to allow of a small portion being inserted in the foreshaft (see fig.), and it is then fixed as firmly

accounted for by the resemblance it presents to the ordinary European pattern; this, however, appears to be the sole advantage which it possesses over the two varieties used in Great Andamán.

[1] *Vidé* "Superstitions," paragraph 5, and "Religious Beliefs," paragraph 10

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as possible by means of string,[1] which is protected with a coating of *kâ·ngatâ-būj-*.[2] 411

19. It is a singular fact that the mode in which the tribes of Great Andaman discharge their arrows differs from that in vogue among the *jär·awa-*. While the latter are said to adopt the plan usual among ourselves of holding the nock of the arrow *inside* the string by means of the middle joints of the fore and middle fingers and drawing the string with the same joints, it is the practice among the former to place the arrow in position between the thumb and top joint of the forefinger, and to draw the string to the mouth with the middle and third fingers. The feet are only used in stringing and unstringing the bows, and never for bending the bow in shooting, as was at one time supposed to be the practice among the *jär·awa-*, whose long and clumsy *kâ·rama-* have puzzled the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*, as well as ourselves, to use with any effect.

20. In Great Andaman the waistbelt[3] *(bōd-)* or other cincture often does duty as a quiver while fishing and hunting, and the arrows are placed behind, with the heads upwards, both in order to avoid causing injury or inconvenience by hindering freedom of action, and to be readily seized and brought into position for firing.

21. Their pointed arrows carry with considerable effect to a distance of 40 or 50 yards. A *tō·lbō·d-* has been found to pierce a deal plank 1½ inch thick at the former range, and probably up to 100 yards one of these arrows is capable of inflicting a serious wound, but an accurate aim is scarcely possible beyond less than half that distance. In the case of the two varieties of pig-arrow much less can be attempted, as these ill-balanced, though formidable, missiles will not carry with certainty further than 12 to 15 yards, and if fired at wider ranges usually fly very wildly.

[1] A better method has, however, been adopted by the *jär·awa-*, viz., that of making three holes in the blade, and passing through them the string which secures it to the foreshaft, thus rendering disconnection of the parts a matter of some difficulty. The precaution thus taken against loss of the blade is evidently due to the comparative scarcity of iron in their territory, which circumstance is the natural consequence of the attitude of hostility, or of avoidance of intercourse, which has been persistently maintained towards the eight Great Andaman tribes, as well as towards ourselves, by one and all of the various scattered *jär·awa-* communities. [With reference both to this sketch and that of the *.bō·jig ē·la-* head, in paragraph 18, it should be added that these are mere sectional drawings of these objects. In the finished arrow the string-fastening is carried up to the base of the blade, and the whole of this string work is finally coated with *kâ·ngatâ-būj-*.]

[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 62.

[3] *Vide ante* "Attire," paragraph 3.

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411 [177] 22. It is not found that they have any inclination to adopt civilised weapons or tools in lieu of their own, but they have not been slow to avail themselves of the facilities afforded them in recent years for substituting iron for shell, bone, and (?) stone,[1] in the manufacture of their various implements.

23. The blow-pipe, which is used so generally by the Negritos (*Semangs*) of the Malayan peninsula, finds no place among the weapons of these savages. Its absence may be readily accounted for, firstly by their ignorance of poison, or at least of any method of utilising such knowledge as any of them may possess, and secondly by the fact that they are so well able to supply all their wants with the implements already referred to in the foregoing, that their inventive faculty has not been sharpened by the pangs of hunger to devise other or more effective means of destruction. It may be added that slings, throwing sticks, clubs, bird-bolts, or blunt-headed arrows for stunning animals or birds, are likewise not in use among them.

[224] 24. Although the pig is the object of their chase in their hunting expeditions, they invariably take a few of their pointed arrows, preferably the *tō·lbō·d-*, on the chance of coming across some smaller game, such as an iguana or paradoxurus.[2] To facilitate rapid shooting a man will often hold a number of arrows in the hand which grasps the bow.

[225] 25. From constant practice they are, as might be supposed, very skilful at shooting fish under water. Dr. Brander has correctly observed that "they seem intuitively to have calculated with great accuracy the difference of direction to be allowed for oblique aqueous refraction;" but these shots are almost always, if not invariably, made at a distance of a few yards only, and never so far as "30 yards,"[3] or "with three-pronged barbed arrows," such missiles being neither made nor used, at least by any of the Great Andaman tribes.[4]

883 224 26. Boys soon learn to practice at near objects with the small bows and arrows to which allusion has already been made, and many of them often contribute materially to the family larder by their early prowess. It is a common sight to see youths and children (and even their elders), when travelling, wantonly shoot at small passing objects, both on land and in the water, by way

[1] *Vide* Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi, p. 271.

[2] While these two animals are killed at all seasons of the year, the pig-hunts take place chiefly during the rains, when this animal is in excellent condition, and their diet, owing to the comparative scarcity of fruit and honey, less varied; even if with young the pig is not spared.

[3] The well-nigh impossibility of ever seeing from the shore or from a canoe a fish swimming at such a distance would sufficiently account for this.

[4] It is possible that Dr. Brander saw the *single* specimen of an arrow answering to this description which was obtained in 1880 from North Sentinel Island.

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of practice or to display their skill. No reproach is offered by the bystanders to one who wounds an animal without killing it. 883 224

27. Pigeons, waterfowl, ducks, and flying-foxes are sometimes shot, but never while on the wing, or when perched in such a position as to risk the recovery of the arrow.

28. In addition to the bows and arrows, their hunting gear consists generally of a hone (*tâ·lag-*[1]), a *Cyrena* shell (*ū·ta-*[2]), an adze (*wō·lo-*[3]), and often now-a-days a spear (*ēr-dū·tnga-*[4]); sometimes a knife (*chô-* or *kô·no-*[5]) is also taken, but as the blade of the pig-arrow or spear can be made to serve this purpose, it is not regarded as an essential part of their equipment. 224 411

29. They employ no stratagems for deceiving or decoying game, nor do they prepare snares or pitfalls for it. 224

30. When unaccompanied by dogs the hunters usually follow the pig's tracks, evincing while doing so their accurate knowledge of its habits. Immediately the object of their search is sighted they endeavour to surround it as noiselessly as possible—taking no precautions, however, against approaching it from windward—and, finally rushing forward and yelling vociferously, discharge their arrows. This practice of driving is generally adopted near the coast and in the vicinity of a belt of *Rhizophora conjugata* where the animals, becoming entangled among the roots or sinking into the soft soil, are easily captured or despatched. The ownership of the carcass is decided in favour of the person who inflicted the first serious wound, and he is exempt, if he please, from carrying home his prize or from any further trouble in connection with it; the cleaning, cooking, and quartering of the animal is undertaken by any one who chooses to volunteer his services, during which interval the day's adventures are narrated: those who have remained at home share equally with the hunters[6] in the spoil, for they are supposed to have been engaged in contributing to the general wants of the community.

31. There are, of course, some in every encampment who, from laziness or want of skill, are of very little use in this respect, but, since any ill-natured remarks at their expense would inevitably result in a more or less serious quarrel, they are rarely twitted with the circumstance, but are permitted to partake of the feast. [461]

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 52; also *post* "Stone Implements," paragraph 2.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 51; also *post* "Natural Forms, &c.," paragraph 1.
[3] *Vide* Appendix B, item 15; also *post* "Natural Forms, &c.," paragraph 2.
[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 9; also *ante* paragraph 5.
[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 77; also *post* "Natural Forms, &c.," paragraph 4.
[6] On the return of the hunting party the chief is apprised of the nature and amount of the "bags;" whatever is brought in by the married men is taken to their private huts and distributed as they please, but the spoils of the bachelors are at the disposal of the chief, and are distributed according to his orders.

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224 535 32. At the conclusion of the repast, the sportsman who has most distinguished himself during a more than ordinarily successful chase is expected to entertain the company, while they dance, with an impromptu song, in the chorus of which the women join.

225 33. Much of the foregoing applies to the *àryô·to-*, as well as to the *ē·remtâ·ga-*, except of course that, with the former, hunting expeditions are less frequent than turtling and fishing operations.

34. Turtle-hunts take place during the flood-tide, both by day and night; the favourite hour of all is that between sunset and the rising of the waning moon,[1] for then, with the aid of the phosphorescent light, called *pēwō·i-*, caused by the movements of the canoe, they are often able to discover and harpoon the turtle before it is at all aware of their approach; on these occasions they select, if possible, a rocky portion of the coast, where there is little or no foreshore, giving it as their reason that turtles frequent such places on dark nights in order to lay their eggs, and are then easily captured. At other times, the localities preferred for these expeditions are those styled *yàu·la-*, where there is a fine stretch of sand with an extensive foreshore, the reason, of course, being that every dark object is so easily seen in shallow water against a clear sandy bottom.

35. The green or edible turtle (*Chelonia virgata*), called *yâ·dī-*, is hunted both by day and night, but the hawkbill (*Caretta imbricata*), called *tàu-*, only by day, as they declare the latter is never seen on dark nights.[2] The flesh of the former is of course preferred, and no use being made of the tortoiseshell obtainable from the latter, it is treated after the feast with as little consideration as the valueless shell of the *yâ·dī-*.[3]

36. The practice of capturing turtles by "turning" them when on shore is unknown among these savages; whether this be due to their regarding it as mean and unsportsmanlike, as the disdainful looks and remarks of those I questioned on the subject would lead one to suppose, or whether it be because they so thoroughly enjoy their own methods of procedure, which so fully answer their requirements, I am not prepared to determine, but it is, nevertheless, certain that although well aware, from their knowledge of the animal's habits, that it could be easily surprised

[1] This period has accordingly received a specific name, viz., *â·kà-tig-pâ·la-*.

[2] An average size *yâ·dī-* weighs about 80 to 100 lbs., and a *tàu-* considerably less. The heaviest specimen of the former which ever came under my notice weighed about 400 lbs. The ordinary price of a full-grown turtle at Port Blair is five rupees.

[3] These remarks do not of course apply to those living at the homes, as they have long since learnt to benefit considerably by disposing of their tortoiseshell to visitors and residents at Port Blair.

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and captured when frequenting the shore, they never take advantage of the opportunities thus presented. 225

37. Even on the darkest nights many turtles are speared at the moment when they rise to the surface in order to breathe. The sound which they then make, though slight, is sufficient at once to attract the attention of the keen-eared *àryô·to-*[1] standing on the projecting prow, and to enable him to direct his harpoon with unerring aim; he usually jumps into the water after his victim, lest the barbed head should, in the act of dragging the line, slip out of the wound and the animal escape. When the turtle is in such deep water as to render spearing it from the canoe an impossibility, the harpooner leaps into the water feet foremost, with the spear in his hand, and frequently succeeds at once in transfixing the animal. After spearing a sting-ray, they drag it by means of the harpoon to the boat, whereupon one of the party seizes it by its tail, and holding it firmly between his *teeth*, knocks off, with a piece of wood or other instrument, the formidable spike or spikes which project from the root of the tail; after thus disarming their victim, they proceed to drag it into the canoe or to the shore.[2]

38. From the accounts of some writers respecting the prowess of the Andaman Islanders in the water, it might be inferred that they rival or even excel the "finny denizens of the deep" in their own element. This is, of course, incorrect, and due to misapprehension; the secret of their "invariably returning to the surface with some scaly prize" finds its explanation in the fact that they never think of diving[3] after a fish that has not been first transfixed (according to its size) by an arrow or harpoon.[4]

39. The art of fishing with a hook and line was unknown to, and has not found favour among them, as they are far more successful than ourselves in catching fish by their own methods,[5] which are as follow:—at low water the women and children with hand-nets capture such fish and shell-fish[6] as are left by the 266

[1] *Vide ante* "Tribal Communities," paragraph 5.

[2] Two or three fatal accidents have, to my knowledge, occurred in recent years on dark nights to inexperienced turtle-hunters at one or other of the homes, in consequence of their having plunged on to the back of one of these fish after harpooning it, mistaking their victim in the darkness for a turtle.

[3] "Should the fish be large some of those in the boat dive down, attacking the victim with knives and spears" (Day).

[4] They are, moreover, not in the habit of "diving for shell-fish"—except it be for a *Tridacna crocea*, which they occasionally discover in deep water—for quantities are always found in shallow water at low tide.

[5] "The present writer has seen a party of Andamanese shoot and secure nearly one hundred fish during one low tide on a coral reef, and that with no very extraordinary exertion" (*vide* "Bombay Gazette," 2nd August, 1881).

[6] The favourite time for collecting shell-fish is the low tide at daybreak occurring about the third and fourth days after new and full moon, and known to them by the name of *tô·ya-*.

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SHOOTING FISH IN TIDAL CREEK NEAR PORT BLAIR.

[Facing p. 146]

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226 receding waves in the rocky hollows on the foreshore, and at the turn of the tide the men are usually to be seen standing up to their waists in water, or poling along the shore in their canoes, and shooting with their bows and arrows at the fish as they dart past.[1]

[824] 40. The seeds of a plant called *tô·rog-*[2] are sometimes crushed and thrown into creeks where fish and prawns are likely to be, as it has the effect of driving the fish from their hiding place, and leads to their easy capture in hand-nets held in position for the purpose.

41. In former times, and even now in the more distant communities, large nets of about 80 feet in length and 15 feet in depth, with meshes of several inches in diameter, were spread at the mouths of creeks for catching turtles and big fish; but since iron has been so easily obtained and canoes and harpoons have become more numerous, the *àryô·to-* usually capture their turtles, &c., by these means in preference to the older method, which entailed much labour in the manufacture. The following is the mode employed when nets are used:—one side is sunk by means of stones, and the other is kept up by floating sticks called *t'â·lag-*, of the *al·aba-*[3] tree (*Melochia velutina*), to each of which a cane-leaf is attached; the ends are then drawn across such parts or creeks into which fish may easily be driven by beating the water with the bamboo shafts of their turtle spears. When any turtle or fish is driven into the net, the exact spot is at once indicated by the disturbance of one of the logs, with its tuft of leaves, whereupon they generally find little difficulty in despatching their captive.

502 **Navigation.**—1. It is a subject of surprise to all who, during the past fifteen or twenty years, have come in contact with the Andamanese, and have observed the style and capabilities of their canoes, to read the high encomiums that have been bestowed on the skill with which they are constructed, and to find that they are credited with such extraordinary speed as to distance easily a cutter, as well as a gig, manned respectively by picked crews of blue-jackets and Chinamen,[4] the former of whom "said, in their own usual exaggerated style of remark, they nearly killed

[1] The results obtained by the men are said to be inferior to those obtained by the women and children, but this is probably due to the large quantity of molluscs and crustaceans usually collected in the hand-nets.

[2] A species of *Lagerstrœmia*. This is similar to the custom among the Gaboon tribes described by Dr. Brown, who mentions that "at the Gaboon it is the leaves of a pretty leguminous plant, with yellow flowers . . . which is used. So rapid is the poison that if a handful of the bruised leaves are thrown into a pool the fish will almost immediately die and come to the surface."

[3] *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 7, and *post* "String," paragraph 1.

[4] *Vide* Mouat, pp. 315–321.

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502 themselves in their effort to maintain the credit of their ship, their cutter, and their flag."

502 396 2. Nowhere on Great Andaman, at all events at the present day, have any aborigines been found capable of propelling a canoe at more than half the speed of one of the ordinary gigs in common use at Port Blair; moreover, in respect to the extreme buoyancy of their skiffs, but little κύδος seems due to the Andamanese boat-builder, for having had, until quite lately, no other implement than a rude, though tolerably effective, adze with which to form them, he was compelled to select for his purpose the lightest and softest woods that were procurable. At the same time there is no doubt that if they possessed the requisite knowledge, and the means were available for constructing stronger and more seaworthy craft, they would lose no time in employing them; for they fully recognise the inferiority of their boats, both in regard to workmanship and speed, to those used by Europeans, or by their neighbours the Nicobarese. In one respect only do they consider that their own canoes surpass all others, and that is in the projecting prow, which enables them to spear fish and turtle with more ease than is possible in boats of a different construction.[1]

501 3. The current tradition[2] of the escape of four persons in a boat when the world was submerged, may be fairly considered as affording some evidence that this mode of transit is not regarded as of recent introduction.

4. Many conflicting opinions have been expressed by different writers under this head, and the form of canoe originally manufactured by the Andamanese has been much discussed. They themselves declare that the outrigger (*châ·rigma-*) was adopted immediately after the Deluge, in consequence of the deterioration of a species of *Pandanus* tree, called *mâng-*,[3] of which, prior to that catastrophe, they had been able to make large plain "dug-outs." Until recently[4] the outrigger continued

[1] In the South Kensington Museum there are models of canoes made by the natives of the Andamans and Nicobars, which will give to any interested in the subject a fair idea of their relative merits, as well as of the skill of their respective makers; and it may be added that in the entrance court of the India Museum (South Kensington) a specimen of a fair-sized Andamanese canoe is now to be seen minus its outrigger.

[2] *Vide* "Mythology," paragraph 16.

[3] *Vide* "List of Trees," Appendix L.

[4] The following information was obtained from an Andamanese chief:—"We have used outrigger canoes from time immemorial. It is in recent times that we have commenced making the large plain canoes, and this we were induced to do from the facility with which we have been able to obtain iron. Owing to their large size they do not require outriggers. When the sea is rough we prefer these large dug-outs, and the small outrigger canoes when it is calm; the latter are more easily made, but do not last many months when in constant use, whereas the former will serve for a year or more."

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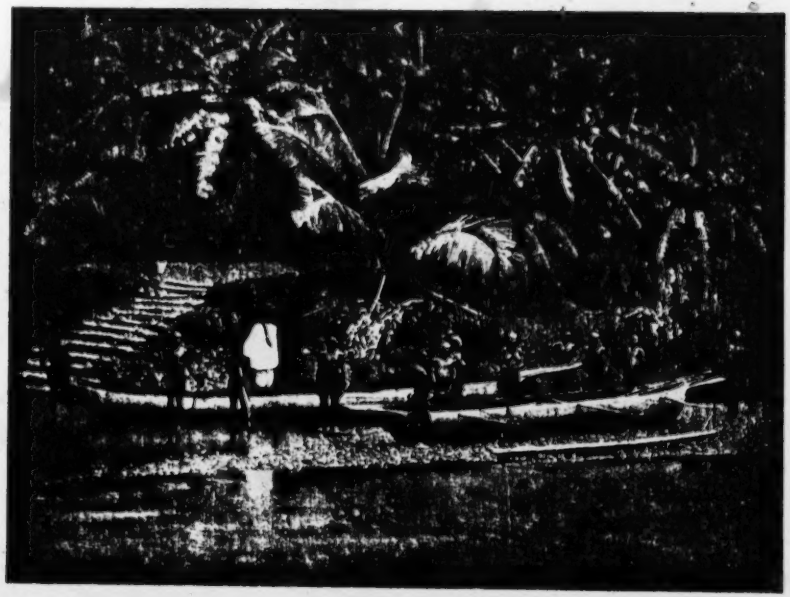
PLATE X.



GREAT ANDAMAN CANOES, LARGE PLAIN AND OUTRIGGER VARIETIES.

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501 in use, and is still to be seen in North and Middle Andaman, but the possibility of obtaining unlimited supplies of iron has enabled those living near Port Blair to return once more to the traditional "dug-out" of antediluvian times; it also seems that this description of canoe is gaining in favour among the tribes of Middle Andaman and the Archipelago, though it had not, in 1879, when I visited that part, penetrated as far as North Andaman.

502 5. As is correctly stated by Dr. Mouat (p. 316) the Andamanese never venture far from the coast: this was conclusively proved by their ignorance of *Barren Island*[1] and *Narcondam*, until taken past them in the settlement steamer.[2]

6. The safety of either the outrigger or "dug-out," and their adaptability for use as lifeboats,[3] is more than doubtful, while the confidence which is reposed in them by their owners may be judged from the fact that they never venture far from land, and when crossing from one island to another do their utmost to lessen the passage through deep water as much as possible by keeping close in shore and coasting along until the narrowest part of the channel is reached.

501 7. A glance suffices to show the most casual observer that it would be impossible[4] to preserve the equilibrium of these frail barques without their outriggers, which, being attached to three or four pieces of wood passing through the interior of the canoe are, moreover, not easily removable.

8. The advantages possessed by the large plain "dug-outs" over the outriggers are twofold: for in the first place they can breast a fairly rough sea, while the others are fit only for use in perfectly calm weather; and in the second place, while the former can accommodate a party of from fifteen to forty persons

[1] Visible within a short distance of the east coast of the Archipelago.

[2] Since the date of the raids committed by the *jär'awa-* (of Little Andaman) upon the Car Nicobarese, of which mention is made (as a tradition) by Mr. G. Hamilton (*vide* "Asiatic Researches," vol. ii, p. 337, published 1801), no distant voyages appear to have been attempted by these savages in canoes.

[3] "They would make most excellent lifeboats, such, we believe, as have never yet been constructed by any of our most experienced boat-builders" (*vide* Mouat, p. 317). The returns of life-boat institutions would, however, be somewhat prejudicially affected by the adoption of this suggestion; for, as the same writer goes on to say (p. 318), "the greatest adepts in rowing, steering, and guiding our ordinary boats, find themselves completely at a loss when they get into a Mincopie canoe. When any of our men recklessly got into them, and attempted to paddle out a little way to sea, they invariably succeeded in capsizing them, receiving a thorough drenching in the water as a suitable punishment for their rash and imperfect seamanship."

[4] It is therefore difficult to understand the following allusion made by Dr. Mouat (p. 317):—"When the Mincopie go to sea in them they attach to some part of the boat an outrigger, in some respects resembling that which the Cingalese fishermen attach to their boats."

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501 the latter are seldom large enough to carry more than four or five, and usually not more than two adults.

9. The chief excellence of both these descriptions of canoes is that they cannot sink, owing to the nature of the wood of which they are constructed, and when, as not unfrequently happens, they capsize or are filled by a heavy wave, their occupants skilfully contrive, with but little delay, to right them and bale out the water, while clinging to the sides.

10. Most of the canoe-making is carried on during the months of August, September, and October, and the average time and labour expended is that of about eight men for a fortnight in hollowing out a canoe or "dug-out," and forming the much esteemed prow; for this purpose a trunk is selected varying in length from 10 to 30 feet, and when the bark has been removed the exterior of the proposed canoe, with its important prow, is shaped with an adze (*wo·lo-*[1]), afterwards the interior is scooped out with the same implement; fire is not now-a-days employed to expedite this latter process, whatever may have been the custom in past generations,[2] though I may add that there do not appear to be any traditions in support of such a theory.

11. At the bottom and water-level, canoes, though sometimes more, are never less than 1½ to 3 inches thick, and indeed, if this were not the case, it would be impossible for them to stand, even for a few days, the rough treatment to which they are subjected, or to bear the spoils of a successful turtling expedition.

12. Though the result of the builders' labour might, by making every allowance for the rudeness of their tool, be termed "creditable," it seems passing strange that any writer should especially commend the "finish," "perfection," and "elegance" of the work, and maintain that it surpasses that which could be wrought by Chinese carpenters, whose skill in all handicrafts is so well established.

501 13. The Andamanese anchor consists merely of a heavy stone, or large lump of coral, fastened securely to a stout line of a few fathoms' length. Rafts are quite unknown to them at the present day, and no evidence of their use in bygone years has been discovered.[3]

502 14. The canoes are propelled along the shore[4] by means of the haft of the harpoon spear (*kowai·a ló·ko dū·tnga-*[5]), or, in

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 15.

[2] *Vide* Colebrooke and Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi, p. 290, Appendix I.

[3] "They use also rafts made of bamboos to transport themselves across their harbours, or from one island to another" (Colebrooke).

[4] Except when the men are engaged in turtling, the women frequently assist in propelling the canoe.

[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 10.

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502 deep water, by paddles (*wāl·igma-*[1]), the size of which is not determined by custom, but varies according to the whim of the maker and the size of the piece of wood (generally of the *Myristica longifolia*) at his disposal;[2] all, whether small or large, are used indiscriminately, either with the outriggers or simple "dug-outs;" paddles are never made by women, to whom, however, their ornamentation with *kòi·ob-* and *kâ·ngatâ-būj-* is afterwards entrusted.[3]

531 **Ornamentation.**—1. While the Andamanese habitually ornament their various utensils, weapons, &c., they never attempt to show their talent or originality by representing natural objects, or by devising a new pattern, but slavishly adhere to those which custom has prescribed for each article.[4]

2. These designs are executed by means of a *Cyrena* shell, or are painted in *kòi·ob-*, *tâ·la-ōg-*, or *kâ·ngatâ-būj-*; occasionally they content themselves with smearing the entire surface of the object with either of the two first-named pigments, but more often a background is thus formed for the better display of further embellishments.

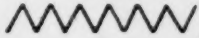
3. These three substances supply their only colours, *i.e.*: brick-red (*kòi·ob-*), white (*tâ·la-ōg-*), and brown (*kâ·ngatâ-būj-*).

[301] 4. Small land and sea shells[5] (especially the *Dentalium octogonum*), certain seeds and bones are much prized, not only for making personal ornaments, but also for the adornment of weapons and implements, as well as the human skulls and jawbones which they often wear and carry about with them.

5. It may be added that the details of ornamentation are in most cases subordinate to the general form and outline of the object in question.

6. The following is believed to be a complete list of the designs,[6] both carved and painted, which are in use:—

I. CHEVRONS (*jō·bo-tàrtā·ngā-*).



Painted with *kòi·ob-* or *tâ·la-ōg-* on bows, buckets, canoes, and paddles.

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 11*a*.

[2] Dr. Mouat states (p. 319) that they are made of three sizes, and (p. 320) that "the work of making them is entrusted solely to the women and children," but I have failed in discovering any foundation for these assertions.

[3] The canoes, too, are often similarly ornamented, especially when new.

[4] Of enamelling they possess no knowledge.

[5] Beads, when offered by us, are gladly accepted for use in lieu of small shells.

[6] When it is stated that all these designs are executed by means of pointed sticks, shells, or even the finger-tips, it is scarcely necessary to add that they fall far short of the neatness and mathematical precision characterising most of these illustrations, which therefore can only be taken as representing the particular pattern *attempted*.

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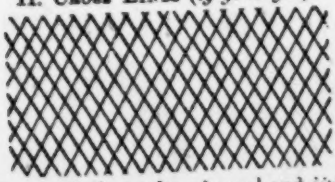
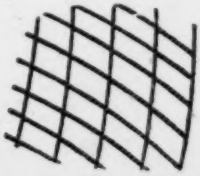
II. Cross Lines (*ig-yi·tinga-*).



Cut by means of a *Cyrena* shell on the *rō·gun-*[1] and *ij·i-gō·nga-*,[2] and painted with *tá·la-ōg-*, between parallel lines, on the sounding board (*pū·kuta-yem·nga-*[3])

III. Cross Lines (*ig-bar·nga-*).

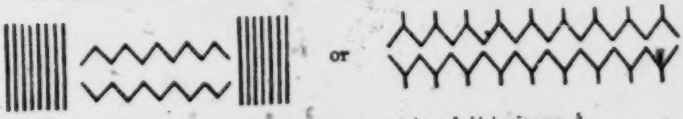


Painted on the outer surface of baskets, the vertical lines with *kòi·ob-*, and the oblique ones with *tá·la-ōg-*.

IV. Parallel Lines (*ig-ō·inga-*)

Painted with *kòi·ob-* or *tá·la-ōg-* across handle of paddle.

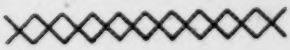
V. Parallel Lines and Zigzag (*jō·bo-tàrtā·nga-* or *tō·nanga-*).



Painted with *tá·la-ōg-* on *rō·gun-*[4] and *ij·i-gō·nga-*.[5]

VI. Lozenge Pattern.

(*a*) *jō·bo-tàrtā·nga-*



(*b*) *igē·unga-*.

Painted with *tá·la-ōg-* or *ká·ngatá-bū̃j-*, on *rō·gun-*,[4] *ij·i-gō·nga-*,[5] *ō·do-*,[6] and *pū·kuta-*.[7]

[1] Waistbelt, worn by married women only.
[2] Chaplet, worn by both sexes.
[3] Sounding board, used in keeping time for dancers.
[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 26.
[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 31.
[6] *Nautilus* shell, used as a drinking vessel.
[7] *pū·kuta-yát-māk·nga-*, wooden tray used at meals.

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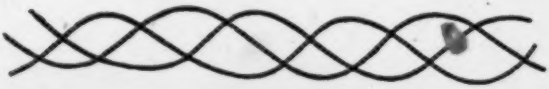
VII. PLAIT ORNAMENT OR GUILLOCHE (*poliòr·nga*).

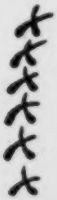


Painted with *tá·la-ōg-* on bows and eating trays.

VIII. FISH-BONE (*bar·nga-*).

Painted on *chīp-*.[1]

IX. CROSS INCISIONS (*igē·unga-*) (? *ig-yī·tinga-*).



Cut by means of a *Cyrena* shell on bows (*kā·rama-*), and handles of adzes (*wō·lo-*).

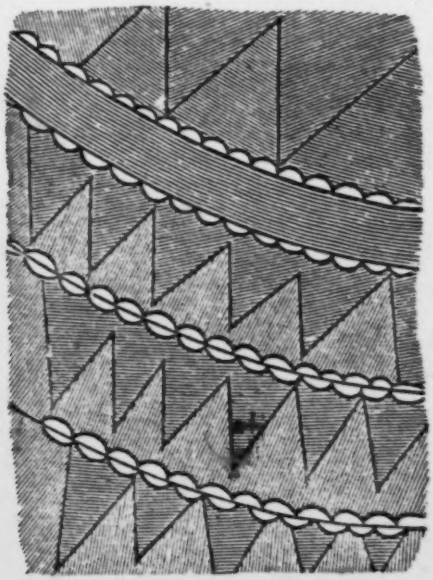
X. LOOP PATTERN (*ōt-ē·nga-*).

Painted with *tá·la-ōg-* on the *chī·di-*

[1] Sling or belt, worn like a sash by men and women for carrying children.
[2] *Pinna* shell, used as a plate or tray.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

XI. VANDYKES WITH SCOLLOPED BANDS AND CROSS LINES (? *ig-pòi·ngakuga-*). 531



Painted with *ká·ngatá-bŭj-* on *ó·do-*[1]

Pottery.—1. These savages evince a superiority over the Australians, Tasmanians, Fuegeans, and many of the Pacific Islanders, in possessing some knowledge of the art of making pots. 323 172

2. It was formerly believed that they had "no vessel capable of resisting the action of fire,"[2] but careful examination of their kitchen-middens has proved, beyond all doubt, that their present manufacture was equalled—if indeed it were not surpassed—many generations ago by their ancestors; the traditions current among them on the subject may also be mentioned, in passing, as pointing to a like conclusion.

3. The late Dr. Stoliczka, in his interesting paper on the Andamanese kitchen-middens,[3] writes as follows:—"In submitting the rude fragments of pottery . . . to an archæologist in Europe, no one would long hesitate in referring them to the

[1] *Nautilus* shell, used as a drinking vessel.

[2] *Vide* Symes, who is also incorrect in adding in a footnote: "The fragments of earthenware vessels mentioned by Mr. Colebrooke were probably brought from the Nicobars or from the Continent, by the boats that often visit the Andamans for the purpose of taking the nests before mentioned" (*i.e.*, of the *Collocalia nidifica*).

[3] *Vide* Proceedings As. Soc. Bengal, January, 1870.

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Plate A.

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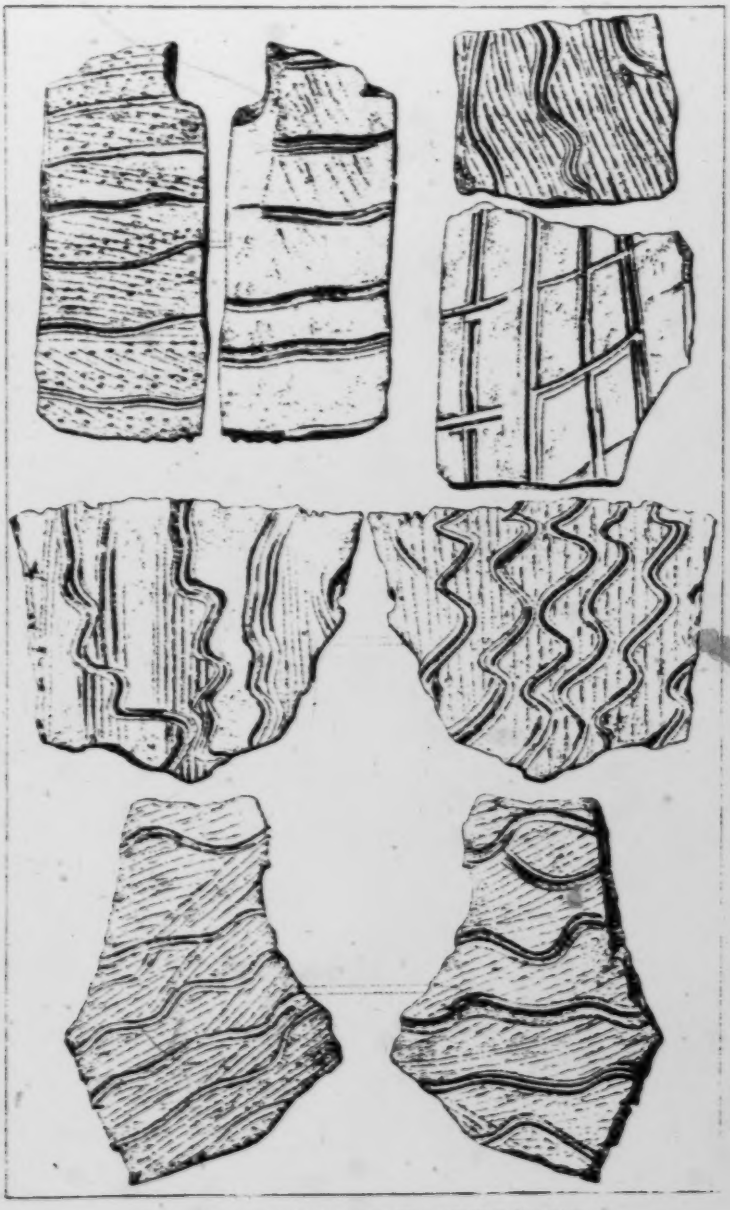

FRAGMENTS OF ANDAMANESE ORNAMENTED POTTERY

From a Kitchen-midden in Port Blair Harbour.

[facing p. 154]

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323 stone age, at least to the neolithic period; for, indeed, they are
172 almost identical with the fragments of pottery found in the Danish kitchen-middens, though here fragments of pottery are comparatively very rare."

323 4. The manufacture of pots (*būj-*[1]) is not confined to any particular class, or to either sex, but the better specimens are generally produced by men, and though the result is in neither case very satisfactory as regards appearance, they yet answer the purpose for which they are intended very fairly,[2] and frequently serve as objects of barter among the various communities.

5. They invariably use, unmixed with any other substance, a particular description of clay called by them *būj-pâ-*, which is only found in a few places, where, of course, the work is usually carried on: the method pursued is similar to that practised by the Kaffirs, and the only implements employed are a short pointed stick, an *Arca* shell (the variety called *pô·rma-*), and a board, which is generally either a sounding board (*pū·kuta-yem·nga-*[3]), or, if sufficiently large, an eating tray (*pū·kuta-yât-mâk·nga-*[4]).

6. As nothing of the character of a potter's wheel is known among them, the shape of the vessels depends upon the skill of the operator and upon the correctness of his eye. The first step in the process of making a pot is to remove any stones that are in the clay, which is then moistened with water and kneaded until it is of a proper consistency; several lumps are next rolled out in succession on the board, by means of the fingers and palms, into strips of about fifteen inches long and half-an-inch thick: one of these is now twisted by the artist into a cup-like shape,[5] in order to form the base of the pot, which he proceeds to build up, taking care the while to exert sufficient pressure to ensure a uniform thickness, by adding one roll above another, each one commencing where the last ended, until the required dimensions are attained; then, if it be sufficiently firm and consolidated, an *Arca* shell is carefully passed (*ngâ·tanga-*) over the inner and outer surfaces, which are thus rendered smoother, and are at the same time freed from any minute bits of stone that had previously escaped observation; the serrated edges of the

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 18.
[2] *Vide ante* "Food," paragraphs 12, 21, and 27.
[3] *Vide* Appendix B, item 19.
[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 72.
[5] The pots made by the *.yē·rewa-* and *.jär·awa-* tribes (*i.e.*, North and Little Andaman) have up to the present time been found to have a more pointed base than those of the five *.bō·jig* tribes, but I believe no Andaman pot intended for cooking purposes has yet been made of such a shape as to allow of its standing. The small cup- (or sometimes saucer-) like pots (*vide* Plate VII, fig. 19*a*) are used for making and warming *kâ·ngatâ-būj-*.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

323 shell also impart a more finished appearance to the vessel ere it is further engraved (*ō·inga-*) on both surfaces[1] in wavy, checked, or striped designs,[2] not, as has been assumed,[3] by the finger-nail, but by means of the pointed stick before mentioned. The potter then places the utensil in the sun to dry, or, if the weather be wet or cloudy, before a fire, taking care to alter its position from time to time so that all parts may be equally subjected to heat. When sufficiently hardened, he bakes it thoroughly by placing burning pieces of wood both inside and around the vessel; occasionally during this process the pot cracks, which of course renders it useless, but if this does not happen it is allowed to cool, and is then considered ready for use.

323 415 7. With good management a pot is ordinarily fit for use by the close of the day on which it is made. They may be said to be all of one quality and to differ only in size so as to be suitable for the use of a single family or a large party. The largest description is usually only to be seen in permanent encampments, the smaller kinds being taken when occasion arises for a migration, as for instance on account of a death,[4] or because arrangements have been made for an entertainment at [285] some other place.[5] The medium size is almost invariably provided with a rough basket-work casing, which not only renders it more portable but also serves to protect it, in some measure, from the many accidents to which it is liable.

8. The pots ordinarily made will hold about nine pints, but the larger kinds possess double this capacity, while others again are no larger than half an ordinary cocoanut-shell; these last are employed in making *kâ·ngatâ-bŭj-*, and also when using it;[6] with this exception none of the vessels are reserved or manufactured for any special purpose, but serve alike for all times, whether for festivals, migrations, or ordinary occasions. No substitutes for

[1] Perhaps the original object of this practice may be explained by the conjecture contained in the following extract from Peschel's work:—"In examining the site of an old pottery manufactory of the Red Indians on the Cahokia, ... Carl Rau discovered half-finished vessels, that is to say, baskets of rushes or willow, lined inside with clay. When the vessel was baked the fire naturally consumed the external covering. . . . That the Europeans of prehistoric times also originally lined basket-work with clay, may be inferred from the decorations of vessels of the stone age. These decorations consist merely of rows of marks made with the finger-nail, as if to represent the traces left by the basket-work. When some bold individual began to shape the clay by hand, his earthen vessels were perhaps regarded as not genuine, or of inferior quality, as they had not originated in the time-honoured fashion; in order to meet these doubts he may have counterfeited the impressions of the rushes with his nail."

[2] *Vide* Plate V, for illustration of these.

[3] *Vide* de Röepstorff.

[4] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraphs 4 and 15.
Vide post "Games and Amusements," paragraph 22.

[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 62.

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323 415 pottery are in use, as has been supposed,[1] unless the fact of certain molluscs[2] being cooked in their shells can be so described. Broken pottery is not buried in graves or beneath landmarks, but is cast aside as rubbish.

9. No kind of painting or varnishing is ever attempted, and models of men or animals are never made. They are also ignorant of glazing and of making porous pottery for cooling vessels.

412 **Natural Forms and Miscellaneous Manufactures.**—1. The natural forms of stones are employed by the Andamanese, as by other savage tribes, as anvils and hammers. Like the natives of New Guinea,[3] they always carry with them, or keep ready for use, one or more *Cyrena* shells (*ūta-*), as these serve them in a great variety of ways: for example, in *dressing* and *preparing* the wooden portion of their arrows; in *sharpening* their bamboo and cane[4] knives, and the inner edge of the boar's tusk, in order to adapt it for use as a plane; as a *spoon*,[5] in eating gravy, &c.; as a *knife*, in cutting thatching leaves, &c., and in severing the joints of meat; and as a *scraper* in separating the pulp from the fibre of the *Anodendron paniculatum* and other plants, from which they manufacture their various descriptions of string and cord; these shells are likewise employed in making the ornamental incisions in their weapons, implements, leaf-ornaments, &c.,[6] in preparing the peculiar *ūj-*[7] appendage (worn when dancing); and they are also frequently used for planing purposes.[8] Indeed, I think I may fairly say that among their savage arts there is probably nothing so calculated to surprise and interest a stranger as the many and clever uses to which necessity has taught them to put this simple but highly effective tool.

[1] This refers to the following passage in the late Dr. Stoliczka's "Note on the Kjökken-Möddings of the Andaman Islands":—"I have been informed that in some parts of the island their only cooking utensils are large specimens of *Turbo marmoratus*, valves of *Tridacna gigas*, and others."

[2] Viz.:—*Cyrena*, *Arca*, *Mytilus smaragdinus*, *Cerithium*, *Patella variabilis* (limpet), and a few other small varieties.

[3] "They always carry with them a bamboo knife; . . . when required they sharpen the edge with a shell (a fresh water species of *Cyrena*), which is always carried for the purpose. . . ." (See a paper on the natives of the Fly River, New Guinea, by Signor L. M. d'Albertis, in the Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. vi, p. 215, 1876).

[4] Like the Tahitians and Fijians of former times they have also been in the habit of using bamboo knives; these are made of the outside of a piece of bamboo, are shaped into form while green, and are then dried and charred so as to render them as hard and sharp as possible.

[5] "The mussel-shell suggested the first idea of the spoon, and still performs its functions on the Atlantic shores of Morocco" (Peschel).

[6] *Vide* "Ornamentation," paragraph 2.

[7] *Vide* Appendix B, item 76.

[8] It has already been mentioned under "Food" (paragraph 8) that the *Cyrena* is also used in opening other bivalves.

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2. *Arca* shells, on account of their serrated lips, serve the double purpose—when a pot is being manufactured—of removing pieces of stone from the outer surface, and of imparting a more finished appearance to the vessel. *Pinna* shells are kept as receptacles for *tâ·la-ōg-*, and as plates for food, while *Nautilus* shells do duty as drinking vessels. No evidence can be found in support of Mr. St. John's statement,[1] that human skulls are used as boxes to contain small objects, for neither these nor the skulls of animals appear to have been ever so employed;[2] the former are kept and carried, as I have elsewhere explained, merely as mementoes of the departed, and the latter are stuck on poles, or hung round the eaves of their huts, as trophies of the chase. *Pinna* and other shells are said to have been used in former times as adze blades, but this is no longer the case, for quantities of iron are always obtainable. Strange as it may seem to some of my readers, there is no trace or tradition of stone having been utilised for this purpose. 412

3. The only instances in which these tribes appear to have had recourse to the natural defences of animals in the manufacture of their weapons are—(*a*) in the use of the serrated bone at the root of the tail of the sting-ray[3] for their fish-arrows; and (*b*) of the valves of *Perna ephippium*,[4] which were formerly—after being ground and shaped—fastened to their wooden-headed arrows, for use in hunting, and in hostile expeditions. Since, however, they have found themselves able to procure ample supplies of iron, these shell arrow-heads, like the shell adze-blades, have been discarded in favour of iron wire, nails, hoop-iron, &c.

4. The bamboo, although not employed by the Andamanese in such a variety of ways as it is by many savages, is yet in constant use in one or other of the following modes, viz:— of the ordinary medium size (male species) they form the *shafts* of their turtle-harpoons;[5] of the female species[6] they make *water-holders*, and receptacles for cooked food[7] when travelling (*gōb-*[8]); *knives* (*pō-chō-*[9]), which are narrow pieces hardened 412 314

[1] Transactions of the Ethnol. Soc., vol. v, p. 43.

[2] Very possibly the belief originated in the manner I suggested in a previous paper (*vide* Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi, p. 273).

[3] *Vide ante* "Hunting, &c.," paragraph 11.

[4] *Vide post* "Stone Implements," paragraph 5 (footnote).

[5] The shafts of their pig spear, being short are made of heavier material, viz., the thick rattan.

[6] Pieces of *Bambusa gigantea*, which have floated across from Burmah, or have reached their shores from wrecks, are much prized as buckets, none but the small ordinary bamboo being indigenous.

[7] *Vide ante* "Food," paragraph 31.

[8] *Vide* Appendix B, item 82.

[9] *Ibid.*, 69.

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412 over a fire, and sharpened by means of a *Cyrena* shell; *netting-needles* (*pō·tòkla-*[1]) and *tongs* (*kai-*[2]), which last consist merely
314 of a strip of bamboo, bent double, with pointed ends;[3] the slender *Bambusa nana*, called *rī·di-*, is generally selected for forming the hooked pole (*ngā·tanga-*[4]), and it is likewise invariably employed for the shafts of their wooden and iron-pointed arrows.

534 5. Although there are materials ready to hand wherewith they might easily construct a few such simple musical instruments as are made and used by the Nicobarese, no attempt seems to have been made by them in this direction, for the rude sounding board (*pū·kuta-yem·nga-*[5]) can hardly be included under this head. This circumstance seems to find its explanation in the fact that though they are good timists their talent for music is (as will be presently shown,[6] on the testimony of more than one competent authority) of the lowest type.

412 6. A brush, suitable for painting the stripes on their baskets (*jōb-*[7]), baby-slings (*chīp-*[8]), &c., is obtained from a drupe of the small fruit of the *Pandanus Andamanensium* (*māng-*), the pulp having been first extracted by means of a *Cyrena* shell.

[281] 7. Skins of animals, thorns, or spines of trees are not made use of by these people in any way, nor do they have recourse to
314 caves, rock-shelters, or tree-tops for their dwellings, though they occasionally, as I have before mentioned, avail themselves of the buttress-like formations of the roots of such trees as the *Ficus laccifera*, *Bombax malabaricum*, *Sterculia villosa*, &c., when travelling in bad weather, or when suddenly overtaken by a storm. Palm-leaves, as I explained when describing their habitations,[9] are employed for thatching purposes.

281 **Leather-work.**—From the last paragraph it will be correctly inferred that there is no evidence of their having ever possessed a knowledge of the art of dressing and preparing skins for use in any form: this may be due as much to the limited number and variety of those animals[10] whose hides might be turned to account in this way as to the equable temperature of the climate, which renders such, or indeed any covering unnecessary.

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 67.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 80.
[3] A narrow and pointed piece of bamboo, bitten at the end so as to loosen the fibres, is made to serve as a brush in painting designs on their buckets, sounding boards, &c.
[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 17.
[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 19.
[6] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraph 35, and footnote.
[7] *Vide post* "Basket-work," paragraph 3, and Appendix B, item 21.
[8] *Vide* Appendix B, item 24.
[9] *Vide ante* "Habitations," paragraph 2.
[10] Viz., dugong, porpoise, paradoxurus, iguana, and pig.

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Metallurgy.—Having been, till comparatively recent times, ignorant almost of the existence as well as of the uses of iron, it is not to be wondered at that smelting and forging have been to them unknown arts. Now that they are better informed, and are able to procure pieces of hoop-iron, keel-plate, &c., they apply them to the manufacture of their blades and adzes, reducing them to the required thinness by continually striking the cold metal with a hard smooth stone (*tai·li-ban·a-*[1]) on a rude anvil (*râ·rap-*) of the same substance; such portions of the iron as are then found to exceed the dimensions requisite for the weapon or tool under construction are placed over the edge of the anvil and broken off by dint of repeated blows: the new edge thus formed, being more or less jagged, is then ground on a hone till the blade assumes the desired shape. Many of the aborigines who have been living for some time at Port Blair have, however, advanced a stage beyond this, for, by using such old chisels as they may succeed in procuring, they contrive to make their arrow-heads and other implements much more speedily than by the old method. The pointed weapons, *e.g.*, the *kowai·a-* and *tô·lbō·d-*, are made from pieces of stout wire, large nails, &c., by dint of laborious and patient hammering on the *râ·rap-*, and grinding on the *tâ·lag-*. 325

Stone Implements.—1. Although a great portion of the inhabitants of Great Andaman have for some time past been able through us to procure iron in sufficient quantities to substitute it for stone (not to mention bones and shells), still they can by no means be said to have passed out of the stone age; indeed, the more distant tribes still retain the use, with scarcely any modification, of most of the stone and other implements which served their ancestors. Even the inmates of the homes at Port Blair may still often be seen employing one or other of them, evidently therefore from choice: this more especially refers to the first three in the following list,[2] which comprises the small number of stone implements in ordinary use among the present aboriginal inhabitants of the islands:— 324 412

râ·rap-, the anvil.

tai·li-ban·a-, the hammer (probably a smooth round piece of dolerite or fine-grained basalt).

tâ·lag-, the whetstone (consisting of slightly micaceous sandstone).

tô·lma lô·ko tūg-[3] (lit., *quartz tooth*), chips or flakes for shaving, tattooing, &c.

[1] *Vide* next section, paragraph 1.

[2] There are no special makers, or procurers, of these stones.

[3] These are either fragments of opaque whitish vein quartz, or of transparent rock crystal, or are obtained from pebbles of opaque bluish-white quartz with

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lá-, cooking stones; common pebbles, about a couple of inches in diameter, which are heated, and then placed on all sides of the food which it is intended to cook.

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2. When a new *whetstone* is required—as no method of cutting stone is known to them—a block of soft sandstone is chosen, which, if too large, is placed on a fire till it breaks; the piece best adapted for the purpose is then taken and shaped according to fancy, by the aid of one of the hard smooth stone hammers; after being used a short time the edges wear down, and it answers as a hone for several months.[1]

3. Chips and flakes are never used more than once; in fact, several are generally employed in each operation: those having a sharp blade-like edge are reserved for shaving, while others with a fine point are kept for tattooing or scarifying; when done with they are thrown on a refuse heap, or otherwise disposed of, lest injury should befall anyone by inadvertently treading on them. [462] Flaking is regarded as one of the duties of women, and is usually performed by them.[2]

4. For making *chips* two pieces of white quartz are needed; the stones are not pressed against the thigh, nor are they bound round tightly so as to increase the line of least resistance to the blow of the flaker; but one of the pieces is first heated and afterwards allowed to cool, it is then held firmly and struck at right angles with the other stone: by this means is obtained in a few moments a number of fragments suitable for the purposes above mentioned. A certain knack is apparently necessary in order to produce the kind of chips which are at the time required: the smallest flakes are obtained in the same manner and never by pressure.

5. Glass chips are now generally used by all who are in communication with ourselves, in preference to those of flint, as they are sharper and more effective; the method in which they are obtained is the same, the thick lump of glass forming the bottom of beer and wine bottles being selected for the purpose, and never the thinner portions.

6. It has been stated[3] that formerly, for tattooing, a "sharpened flint bound to a stick" was used, and that the present instrument is a bit of broken bottle "inserted into the split extremity of a stick;" no instance has, however, been found confirmatory of the words quoted, and the Andamanese

fatty lustre, thin chips of which are translucent at the edges. (For this description I am indebted to Mr. F. W. Rudler.)

[1] For the mode of use *vide* Appendix B, item 52.

[2] All women can scarify and act as barbers, but only about 50 per cent. of them undertake the more difficult task of tattooing.

[3] *Vide* Dr. Day.

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themselves declare that they never haft the stone chips or glass flakes, and that the former are never "sharpened," but produced in the manner already described. 324

7. Quartz is commonly met with throughout the country occupied by the tribes with which we are in friendly intercourse; no difficulty, therefore, is ever experienced in obtaining *it*, or, indeed, *any* of the other varieties of stone which they use. It is employed for no other purposes than those here indicated, as has been assumed,[1] and the art of producing fire by its means is unknown to them.[2] [135]

8. The whetstone and hammer only are offered as mediums of exchange, but no great value is attached to either of these objects, nor is any superstition associated with their usage: they are therefore—when no longer serviceable—cast aside. [436]

9. Stones are not used by them for cutting wood or bone, the latter being usually crushed by a hammer for the sake of the marrow. Before the introduction of iron, small holes were bored with bone or pieces of shell, but rarely, if ever, with stone, and no implement has been found which might be supposed to have served as a stone saw or scraper, for which purposes shells apparently have been generally employed.[3]

10. In his "Note on the Kjokken-Möddings of the Andaman Islands" the late Dr. Stoliczka also refers to a celt found in one of these refuse heaps as "a small but typical arrow-head," and describes it as of tertiary sandstone. The Andamanese, however, maintain that they never, even when iron was scarce, made arrow-heads, axes, adzes, or chisels of stone; they also affirm that the fragments which have been found in the kitchen-middens, and which have given rise to the impression of having formerly served one or other of the above purposes are merely quartz flakes or broken pieces of cooking stones or hones which, in former times as now, were thrown among the rubbish when no longer of use.[4] 324 172

11. Stones are not regarded as thunderbolts or worn as amulets: they are not placed in water previous to their being worked, and holes are never bored in them, nor is the surface ever ground or polished. 324

[1] "From the flint they manufactured knives . . . and arrow-heads" (de Roepstorff), and elsewhere he speaks of "flint hatchets," which not improbably were as much unknown in former times as at the present day. *Perna ephippium* (*ē·la-*) shells were formerly sharpened and converted into arrow-heads: hence *ē·la-* has ever since been adopted as the name of the bladed (or pig) arrow, even although iron has now been entirely or very generally substituted for shell. Adze blades were, it seems, sometimes made of *Pinna* shells.

[2] *Vide ante* "Fire," paragraphs 1 and 4.

[3] *Vide ante* "Natural Forms," paragraph 1.

[4] *Vide* my remarks on this subject in Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi, p. 271.

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285 **Basket-work.**—1. Among the few remaining industries of these savages on which I have a few words to say is that of basket-making: these baskets are invariably made from the best [824] specimens of the common cane called *pī·dga-* which is similar to, if not identically the same as that ordinarily used by our basket-makers and chair-menders.

2. After removing the leaves, part of the cane is cut into lengths of 3½ or 4 feet, and the "skin" or cuticle is shredded off into strips ¼ or ⅓ inch wide; the remainder of the cane is split into as long pieces as possible, and the "skin" is cut into strips somewhat narrower than the others; shorter lengths of the canes form the "ribs" or "stakes," in and out of which the strips are woven or "slewed."

3. In order that the basket may stand steadily[1] it has always a "kick" like our bottles, and to construct this is of course the first object; when the stakes have been firmly secured in the centre, they are placed over a small hole scooped out of the ground, and the heel of the basket-maker is placed on them while the weaving is commenced; when it has been carried on to a breadth of 2 or 3 inches the heel is removed, the canes reversed, and the work proceeds in the ordinary way until within an inch of the required depth, where, for the sake of appearance, the interweaving is omitted: the handle is then formed out of a strip of the bark of the *Melochia velutina* (*al·aba-*); stripes of *tā·la-ōg-* and *kòi·ob-* are usually added by way of ornamentation;[2] no method of rendering them waterproof is known. Baskets are not converted into moulds for pottery; but sometimes, when travelling, earthen vessels are placed in a loose wicker casing, in order to protect them, and at the same time to facilitate their removal.

4. There is a marked difference[3] between the baskets made by the five *bō·jig* tribes and those manufactured by the *yē·rewa-*; with the latter the work is more neatly finished, and the opening is small instead of being wide, as is the case among the former.[4]

5. Baskets are used for all sorts of purposes by men, women, and children, and, considering the rough usage to which they are subjected, last fairly well, for they seldom require to be renewed for several months: they are not used as strainers or colanders, the fine net (*chā·panga-*) serving this purpose.

283 824 **String, &c.**—1. The Andamanese do not produce their stout cord (*bē·tma-*), string (*bē·tma-tā-*), or twine (*mó·la-*), from animal

[1] The *jāra·wa-* baskets are generally small at the base, and having no "kick" are not usually able to stand unless placed between logs of wood or other objects.

[2] The rim of these baskets is formed of a piece of *Uvaria micrantha* (*ó·rta-tāt-*) round which one or more strips of the cane above described are neatly twined.

[3] The reader is referred to the excellent sketch of an Andamanese basket (*vide* Plate VII, fig. 17).

[4] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 14.

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substances, but from the bark fibres of trees and shrubs, known to them by the names of *al·aba-* (*Melochia velutina*), *pī·lita-* (*Gnetum edule*), and *yō·lba-* (*Anadendrum paniculatum*). The first of these is found growing near the shore, where it seldom attains a height of 20 feet; it is from fibre obtained from the bark of this tree that their cinctures (*bē·tma-bā*), harpoon-lines (*bē·tma-*), and turtle-nets (*yô·to-tē·pinga*) are manufactured. When any of the articles have to be made or replaced, it becomes the duty of some member of the male sex to procure a smooth clean branch—one which is also fairly straight and free from gnarls being preferred—and to remove the bark; the cellular integument is next scraped with a *Cyrena* shell (*ū·tā-*) until the fibres which it encloses are laid bare: these are then placed in the sun, or before a fire, to dry; when ready for use (*i.e.*, when thoroughly dry) the ropemaker ties several of the filaments to his toe and proceeds with his work by winding another strand spirally round them, adding a fresh length from time to time. When special strength or durability is needed, a coating of black wax (*tō·bul-pūd-*) is finally applied. The yarn thus produced is termed *bē·tma-mai·anga-*. When a long piece of this has been made (say 30 yards), a large portion of it is wound round the two cross-sticks forming the *kū·tegbo-*.[1] The operator, having then seated himself with legs outstretched, places a stick or cane between the big toes of his feet, and over this bar he passes the *kū·tegbo-*, thus enabling him to wind it continuously round the other half-length of the yarn, which, for convenience sake, he has previously placed by his right side, so that it is drawn behind his neck and over his left shoulder as the work proceeds. After the first foot or so of the cord has been thus made, the operator holds or clutches that portion with his toes. It will be understood that in employing the *kū·tegbo-* in the above manner, it becomes necessary at frequent intervals to unwind a certain quantity from that implement, in order to enable the work to progress. The cord thus made is called *bē·tma-*, and this it is of which their harpoon-lines and turtle-nets are made. The *bē·tma-bā-* (lit., small *bē·tma-*), mentioned above, is made in the same way, but of course less fibre and a smaller *kū·tegbo-* are used. 283 [824]

2. For making hand fishing-nets (*kūd-*) and sleeping-mats (*pār·ēpa-*[2]), the fibre of the *Gnetum edule* (*pī·lita-*) is used; in the preparation and manufacture of these, women exclusively are concerned; the first process is to cut a number of the trailers into lengths which are determined by the distances between the knots and joints: these are held against the 283 286 [824]

[1] "The cord (used for large nets, &c.) possesses the valuable quality of hardening in the water" (*vide* Mouat, p. 326).

[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 65.

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PLATE XI.

A TURTLE-HUNT.

[facing p. 164]

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283 286 thigh, and the cuticle is removed by means of the *Cyrena* shell; the underlying white fibres are left for a week or ten days in the sun until thoroughly dry, when they separate readily, and are easily worked up into fine or coarse twine, as may be required by the manipulator.

283 824 3. The fibre of the *Anodendron paniculatum* (*yō·lba-*) is chiefly used for making bowstrings, reticules (*châ·panga-*), necklaces, and twine for arrow fastenings; its manufacture is accordingly not restricted to either sex. When the bark has been stripped off, in lengths of 8 to 15 inches, the operator presses the inner portion upon his (or her) thigh, and then rapidly but carefully passes a *Cyrena* shell along the outer surface until the fibres alone remain; these are then, as in the previous cases, dried in the sun, or before a fire; when a sufficient supply of material has been thus obtained, it is made into fine twine or, if not required for immediate use, wrapped in leaves in order that it may be kept fresh. Although apparently free [262] from any obnoxious properties, this plant, as well as the fibres obtained therefrom, until it is converted into twine or bowstrings, is believed by the Andamanese to render the flesh of a turtle uneatable if placed near it; consequently this meat, when inadvertently so contaminated, is thrown away; further, no one who has been collecting *yō·lba-*, or who has been engaged in preparing the fibre, can (for a period extending to three days) be allowed to cook a turtle, or even to accompany a party engaged [825] on a turtling expedition! Sharks and other dangerous fish are also credited with having so wholesome a horror or detestation of this plant (and also of *Cyrena* shells!) that the aborigines are in the habit of attaching some *yō·lba-*, or *Cyrena* shells (or both), to their cinctures as a safeguard when about to swim in parts believed to be infested by these creatures.

[531] 4. The yellow skin of the root of a certain orchid, called *râ-*, which is commonly found on trees near the shore, is often seen intertwined with their *yō·lba-* string, in personal ornaments, and occasionally in the decoration of weapons, but where strength is a requisite it is of course not used.

5. Bowstrings of *pī·lita-* and *yō·lba-* are made in the manner described in the manufacture of *al·ɣba-* rope, but ordinary string is made in the following manner:—a few of the prepared filaments are twisted into a yarn on the thigh with the palm of the hand; when two lengths have been obtained, they are together rolled into string of the desired strength, and beeswax is smeared over it to make assurance doubly sure.

6. Twine, made from the *yō·lba-*, is used in netting the fine chains (*ráb-*[1]) and the reticules (*châ·panga-*[2]); for turtle-

[1] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 5, and Appendix B, item 42.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 22.

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283 nets the stronger *al·aba-* is employed, while for the hand fishing-nets (*kūd-*[1]) string, made from the *pī·lita-*, is almost exclusively reserved. In this handicraft the Andamanese are especially skilful, and regulate to a nicety the size of the mesh by using the little or forefinger; it should be mentioned that their rude netting needles of bamboo (*pō·tòkla-*[2]) are not very dissimilar to those used in Europe. Sewing is to them an almost unknown art, but they describe needlework by the word *jâ·tke*, which expresses their manner of uniting the large *kâ·pa-* leaves, to form a screen, with the pliable stem of this leaf, and also their mode of repairing a canoe, holes being bored and strips of cane (*pī·dga-*) threaded above and below the crack, which has been previously filled in on both sides with *tō·bul-pīd-*.[3]

524 **Games and Amusements.**—1. And now, having passed in brief review their various arts and manufactures, I will bring my account of Andamanese life to a close with a brief description of their games and amusements.

2. Unlike many Eastern races they evince from their earliest years a partiality for active pursuits in which monotony or great bodily exertion are not entailed, and great was the delight of the children in the Orphanage when they were instructed in some of our English games, especially kite-flying, and see-saw;[4] it is at the same time curious to note that, though not borrowed from aliens, their pastimes, in many instances, bear close resemblance to those in vogue among children in this and other lands; notably is this the case with regard to those known to us as blind-man's-buff,[5] leap-frog,[6] and hide-and-seek.[7]

3. With respect to the first-named of these, large leaves, in lieu of a handkerchief, are fastened over the eyes, and the difficulties of the "blind man" are greatly increased by its being obligatory for him to catch the person who blinded him, while being pulled about and jostled by the rest of the players.

4. In "leap-frog," instead of stooping, one man squats on his heels while his companion bounds over him without touching him and takes the same position, to be in his turn jumped over.

5. Mock pig-hunting[8] after dark is another very favourite amusement; one of the party undertakes the *rôle* of the pig and, betaking himself to a distance, runs hither and thither

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 20.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 67.
[3] *Vide* Appendix B, item 57.
[4] To this game they have given the name *ad-yē·nenga-*
[5] Called by them *ij·i-tâ·pa-lī·rnga-*.
[6] Called by them *koktâ·r-tidō·atinga-*.
[7] Called by them *ab-â·tanga-*.
[8] Called by them *ad-reg·ignga-*.

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524 imitating the grunting of that animal, while his comrades shoot off harmless arrows[1] in the direction from whence the sounds proceed until one hits its intended mark.

6. Another variety of this game is as follows:—one man leaves the encampment after dark armed with *ū·tara-* arrows, which, on his return after a brief absence, he fires off into different huts, while the occupants hide themselves or run away screaming as if attacked by an enemy.[2]

7. Similarly in the sea they play at turtling: one end of a long line is held firmly by some one in the canoe, the other being fastened to the arm of the man who is to represent the turtle Diving suddenly into the water, he is at once followed by the rest, who try to capture him, while he does his utmost to elude them by swimming, doubling, and diving, till fairly exhausted.

8. Sometimes, when they are assembled together in the evening, one of the men will get up and exclaim, "I will go after the Evil Spirit of the Woods" (*wai dō .ē·rem-chàu·gala jū·dke*).[3] Taking nothing with him but a lighted log, he goes off into the jungle and is soon lost to sight; his friends then call to him and inquire if he has caught the demon, whereupon he begins to rush about shouting and hitting about him as if in pursuit of, or struggling with some one; he is next asked "Who are you?" (*mij·a ngōl?*)—apparently to suggest the idea that during his combat with the evil one he has been transformed, or rather, has lost his identity,—the reply is given in a feigned voice, "I am ——" (naming some person long since deceased) "and have come for such and such a purpose." Something being then thrown at him he threatens them with annihilation unless they desist; still remaining in his hiding-place he amuses himself, and presumably also his friends, by singing, until at last two or three of the company search him out and bring him back to the camp, where, with a view of keeping up his assumed character, he remains silent and feigns sleep, often for the rest of the evening.

9. An impromptu swing is sometimes devised out of one of the long stout creepers, commonly found overhanging a bough perpendicularly from a height of 40 to 50 feet: clinging firmly to this they swing each other[4] as far as possible, just as we swing children.

[1] Made of a soft wood called *ū·tara-*, of the *Alpinia* species; the points are flattened with the teeth before using.

[2] This game is called *it·i-tai·jnga-*.

[3] This game is known as *.ē·rem-chàu·gala àtē·pnga*.

[4] This goes by the name of *ig-li·ilanga-*. During a visit paid to Rutland Island, in 1881, a *jar·awa-* swing was seen suspended from a stout branch. It

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10. Young men often compete with one another in swimming, diving feet foremost into the water from an overhanging rock or branch with shouts of delight. Sometimes they will race together in their canoes,[1] but this only happens on chance occasions, when the idea has been suddenly suggested by one of the party, and not by pre-arrangement. 524

11. In parts, where trees of the *Alpinia* species abound, they now and then vie in seeing who amongst them can force his way with greatest rapidity through the dense barrier of leaves and smooth stems which it presents,[2] and thus probably they acquire, in great measure, the skill which in an early section[3] I mentioned they invariably display when threading their way through the jungles.

12. At times they compete in throwing *upwards* into a lofty tree a short piece of string, weighted at each end with a stone,[4] the object of course being to see who can fling highest. Similarly *Cyrena* shells are occasionally sent skimming through the air to test their powers in throwing long distances.[5]

13. While wandering along the coast they may sometimes be seen playing at ducks-and-drakes[6] with any small flat stones they may chance to pick up.

14. They are all especially fond of showing their skill in shooting a moving object, and for this purpose select the round root of a creeper called *gō·dam-*, or the pod of the *Carapa obovata*, which they roll along the ground or down a slope, aiming at it while in motion.[7]

15. No special amusements are indulged in by women[8] whose chief delight seems to consist in the laudable endeavour to surpass one another in adorning the persons of their relatives with the best design in *tâ·la-ōg-*.

16. Young boys sometimes amuse themselves with wrestling (*ad-lē·nga-*) on the sand, where also they may not unfrequently be observed playing at mock burials.[9] On these occasions one

resembled those used by European children, but was made of cane and was provided also with a narrow wooden seat.]

[1] This racing is termed *àr-tī·rlanga-*.

[2] This is called *tàr-lō·toknga-*.

[3] *Vide ante* "Physical Powers and Senses," paragraph 4.

[4] This game is called *tū·temo-*

[5] This variation of the game is called *ā·kà-kē·chianga-*; when the shell is about to be thrown the convex side is held uppermost.

[6] The word to express this is *chē·chekanga-*.

[7] This has also been found to be a practice among the *jār·awa-*.

[8] It has, however, been observed that, not unlike their fairer sisters elsewhere, they are especially fond of gathering together and chatting of the social topics of the hour; the eagerness and volubility they display in their discussions on these occasions are quite amusing to watch.

[9] These are termed *ab-nāt·nga-*.

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524 of their number has to submit to be covered with sand until the head only is visible; fire is then placed near the spot after the custom of their race; for the like reason these sports usually take place near some landmark, such as a conspicuous tree, boulder, or overhanging rock: when the semi-interred child has had enough of it he jumps out and another companion is chosen to take his place.

17. Children may also sometimes be seen diverting themselves by tying a fine string to the leg of a toad or tree-lizard;[1] this cruel sport, unless their elders interfere, is only ended by the death of the unfortunate captive.

18. They are fond of searching for small crabs and fish, and having them cooked for a sham banquet:[2] the earnestness they display in "pretending" on these occasions is irresistibly entertaining, and would be heartily appreciated by European children who have experienced the delight of preparing a "doll's feast."

19. Boys also play at seizing each other under the surface of the water, or amuse themselves with making tiny canoes and floating them towards one another; they are, as I have before mentioned, early provided with miniature bows and arrows, and encouraged to become good marksmen.

535 20. While the foregoing amusements are of frequent occur-
527 rence among the juvenile members of a community,[3] the chief
574 diversion of the adults consists in entertainments resembling the Australian "corroboree," when dancing and singing are kept up for many successive hours by moonlight, or by the blaze of the camp fires.

527 21. Any passing event, such as a successful hunt, an un-
574 expected visit from distant relatives or friends, the commence-ment of a new season, the recovery of some member of the community from illness, a marriage, and even the termination of the mourning period,[4] is made the excuse for one of these entertainments.

[622] 22. Besides these smaller festivities, large gatherings of a tribe are also organised from time to time by the head chief, who generally receives an offer, in the first instance, from the members of some far-off community to give a *jeg-* at his encampment. As these offers are only made when it is known to be convenient they are always accepted, and invitations for a certain day are at once sent to all living within an easy distance.

[1] This is called *rō·pan lik-lī·rnga-*.

[2] These are called *gab-mäk·nga-*.

[534] [3] "Cats' cradle" (called by them *jī·bra-*) is also one of their recognised amusements.

[4] *Vide* "Death and Burial," paragraph 7.

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23. The intervening days are spent by the proposers of the entertainment in perfecting a song and chorus, which it is intended to perform, and which generally has been composed expressly for the occasion, by some volunteer[1] upon whom also devolves the responsibility of singing the solo and training the so-called chorus. As a considerable amount of distinction among his fellows may be gained by the manner in which he acquits himself in his onerous undertaking, it will be readily understood that the *improvisatore* spares no pains over the preparation and rehearsal of a new song, which, as he fondly hopes, will render his name, if not immortal, at all events famous for many a year. The subject is chosen in reference to some recent personal or tribal exploit or adventure, and is embodied in a distich, followed by a chorus, or rather refrain, which as often as not consists merely in a repetition of the couplet forming the solo; in this refrain women alone are instructed; the main point aimed at is apparently accuracy of time, for, as I have said in my last paper, everything, even sense, is sacrificed in their songs to rhythm.[2]

24. In order to combine pleasure with profit, sundry implements or articles, which are more common in their community than in that of their hosts, are taken by the visitors on these occasions for purposes of presentation, or, to speak more correctly, of barter.

25. It is the duty of the hosts to make all necessary preparations, to provide torches, as well as food and water, for the expected guests, and to sweep the *bū·lum-*,[3] clearing it of all rubbish, lest inconvenience or injury should be occasioned by the stones, shells, bones, &c., which gradually accumulate, in spite of the "kitchen-middens" so invariably found in the vicinity of all permanent encampments of long standing.

26. When nearing the scene of their festivity the visitors pause, for the double purpose of a rehearsal and that the women may have time to adorn the party in their holiday suits of paint, as these would have lost their beauty and freshness if donned previous to leaving home.

27. That a weird and dramatic effect should be produced on a civilised mind by one of these entertainments, especially when occurring at night, will be readily understood if one pictures the scene :—in a small clearing in the midst, or on the border of a dense jungle are gathered a hundred or even more painted

[1] A song that has proved a success at any of these festive tribal meetings is sometimes repeated by "special request" at one of the smaller gatherings; "all rights" in these productions "are reserved," and no one but the composer is at liberty to sing a song, however popular!

[2] *Vide ante* "Language," paragraph 6.

[3] *Vide ante* "Habitations," paragraph 11.

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PLATE XII.

ANDAMANESE DANCING: THE CONDUCTOR MARKING TIME WITH SOUNDING-BOARD.

[facing p. 170]

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savages of both sexes; the moon sheds a soft light on all, while from each hut the lurid glare of a wood fire throws its fitful shadows across the scattered groups; on one side, seated in a row, are the women who are to join in the refrain; on the other, in dark relief within their several huts, are seen the audience, many of whom assist in marking time by clapping their hands or by slapping the hollow between their outstretched legs with their open palms. In a conspicuous position stands the composer and conductor: with one foot on the pointed end of a sounding board,[1] and supporting himself on a spear, bow, or pole, he gives the time to the singers and dancers by kicking the board with the sole or heel of the other foot; in this wearying duty he is from time to time relieved by one of his male friends and, occasionally, even by a woman. During the solo, which partakes of the character of a "recitative," all other voices are hushed, and the listeners remain motionless, but as soon as the signal is given for the refrain, a number of men emerge suddenly from the gloom surrounding the encampment, and rushing excitedly into the arena, perform their part with frantic energy, generally adding their voices to those of the women to swell the volume of sound. Save at the *t'ī-tō·latnga-*,[2] women only occasionally take a share in the dances, but their performances are considered by some foreigners as rather suggestive of impropriety—with what justice I am not prepared to say, for modesty, at least, is satisfied by the wearing of a larger leaf apron than usual.

535 527 574

28. There is now-a-days[3] but one description of dance in vogue with either sex, but it differs somewhat in the two sexes, and therefore must be dwelt upon briefly.

29. A man, when dancing,[4] curves his back, and throws all his weight on one leg, the knee of which is bent; his hands are raised to a level with his chest, and outstretched before him, the thumb of one hand being held between the forefinger and thumb of the other, while the remaining digits are separated and extended upwards;[5] he then advances by sudden jerks and hops

[1] These sounding boards (*pū·kuta-yem·nga-*) somewhat resemble in shape the carapace of a turtle, and might naturally be mistaken by a visitor (*vide* Colebrooke and Mouat) for shields, but I cannot account for Dr. Hodder's description of a "rough skin drum" (*vide* "Pall Mall Budget" of 20th April, 1877). See also Appendix B, item 19.

[2] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 7.

[3] From Lieutenant Colebrooke's description of the Andamanese dance of a hundred years ago, it would seem that since that date their style has undergone a great change, for he says they "dance in a ring, each alternately kicking and slapping his own breech *ad lib.*"

[4] *Vide* Plate III, fig. 2.

[5] Sometimes to heighten the effect a bow and arrow are carried in this position.

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535 taken with the leg on which he is resting, and taps the ground
after every second movement with the sole of the other foot;
527 in this manner he crosses and recrosses the entire *bū·lum-*,
574 joining in the chorus as he proceeds, each step being taken in time with the thuds on the sounding-board, and the singing of the refrain. When fatigued, the performer makes a little variation by marking time in a rather odd manner, for the knees are bent, and the *heels* are raised alternately off the ground, the chief point of importance being to maintain the same time throughout.

30. Women, in dancing, swing their arms backwards and forwards; at the same time the knees are bent, and they make a succession of short bobs up and down, in perfect time; every now and then a few steps in advance are taken, and then the action is repeated.

31. To convey an accurate impression of the exact step, or of the effect of the respective performances of the two sexes, is not easy, but I trust that the above descriptions will convey a fair idea of their general character and peculiarities.

533 32. The alternating of solo and chorus continues for many
hours, and generally only ceases with the first faint streaks of
527 dawn, when those of the hosts who have managed to keep awake
574 during the long night revel, lead the visitors to the huts they are to occupy, and then themselves sing and dance as a return compliment.

533 33. To a stranger not gifted with a keen ear for music, there is at first a certain amount of attraction in the oft-repeated cadence, but it must be confessed that, after a residence in the neighbourhood of one of the homes, one learns to wish that their musical performances were characterised by a little more variety, and were rather less protracted, though some compensation may be found at night, as the steady continuance of the monotonous sounds has a most soothing and somniferous effect.

34. It seems hardly necessary to say that all their songs are sung in unison, for they have no idea of choral or part-singing, nor are they able to catch up and repeat an air. They appear, however, able to distinguish between various kinds of music, and especially to appreciate the performances of our regimental bands, but this may perhaps in part be due to the tone of the big drum, which somewhat resembles that produced on their sounding-boards.

35. Dr. Brander gives a specimen of their monotonous chant —the compass of which will be found to include only three notes—in the following stave of our musical notation:—

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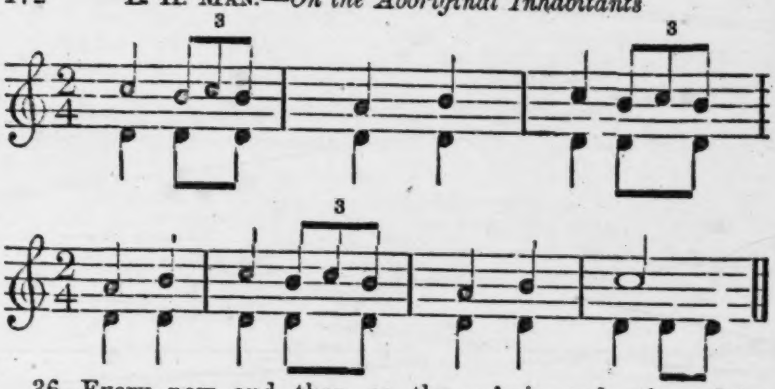

36. Every now and then, as the refrain ends, the soloist cries—

ō·ba eboyū· bē·date,[1] (*a*)

to which the singers respond by shouting—

tēâ·re-â·re-â·reâ,[1] (*b*)

which seems equivalent to *Tra-la-la,* for it has no meaning *per se.*

431 527 574

37. When the guests have sufficiently rested from their night's exertions, they visit their special friends or relatives, and, if within the prescribed limits of affinity,[2] indulge[3] in weeping together;[4] these visits are usually followed by an interchange of gifts, the hosts taking the initiative, and a *fracas* not unfrequently ensues, for donor and recipient are not always of a mind as to the respective values of their "presents." Should all, however, pass off smoothly, the assemblage breaks up into various small parties for hunting or fishing, according to the situation of the encampment.

[1] These are styled respectively the (*a*) *àrbē·datnga-*, and the (*b*) *á-rē·anga-* or *àryá·nanga.*

Further, in reference to their musical abilities, I would here quote from a friend, who at my request had kindly consented to test the powers of the aborigines in this particular, as I unfortunately am not qualified to do so myself:—

'I examined five women, seven men, and three young boys as to their musical abilities, and as far as I could judge, they have not the remotest idea of pitch or tune, even the chorus of their own song, *chēklū yá· lak·u mē·jrà?* started by *.bó·ra-qud*, was taken up in several keys, and it was difficult to distinguish the original. I tried all the voices separately; it seemed quite accidental if they pitched on the keynote, but as for leaving it when once got hold of to go up and down the scale they *would* not! so that it was impossible for me to ascertain either the quality or the register of the voices. The boys were, if anything, a shade the best; . . . a lot of drilling may beat a few notes into their heads."

[2] *Vide ante* "Customs, Meeting and Parting," paragraph 2.

[3] "The Sandwich Islanders recognise tears as a sign of happiness" (Lubbock, p. 552).

[4] No greetings take place on these occasions between the performers and their hosts until after the entertainment (which often lasts many hours) is over.

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And now, though there is, I feel, much more that might with advantage be recorded regarding this interesting race, I must bring these memoirs to a conclusion; but in doing so would mention as evidence of the results of our training that several Andamanese lads have been taught to wait at table, and prove both useful and handy at such duties, behaving with most becoming gravity, as if, indeed, they had been to the manner born! It is a somewhat absurd sight to see these jet-black imps dressed in white, with arms crossed and head thrown back, standing like statues behind their masters' chairs, watchful to fulfil any service required; as soon, however, as the meal is over, the white garment is replaced by a jacket, or, in *puris naturalibus*, the well-trained servant is transformed into a romping *gamin*, ready for any fun or frolic that may offer, and entering into it apparently with the full conviction that he deserves and has earned such relaxation by his exemplary conduct as a table servant. When a dance has been given in the settlement it has been amusing to watch them in the balconies endeavouring to vie with their masters' performances in valse, polka, and galop: I have seen them, after taking note of the step, select their partners (all boys) and set to work, thinking evidently that it is part of the sport for each couple to cannon against another! 177

But though the Andamanese can thus in a measure enter into and enjoy civilized employments and amusements, the instincts of savage life, with its unrestrained freedom of action, generally prove in the end too strong for them, and they are carried, by an apparently irresistible impulse, back to their jungle homes, where they resume their aboriginal customs and habits, thus verifying the old Horatian maxim—

"Naturam expellas furcâ tamen usque recurret."

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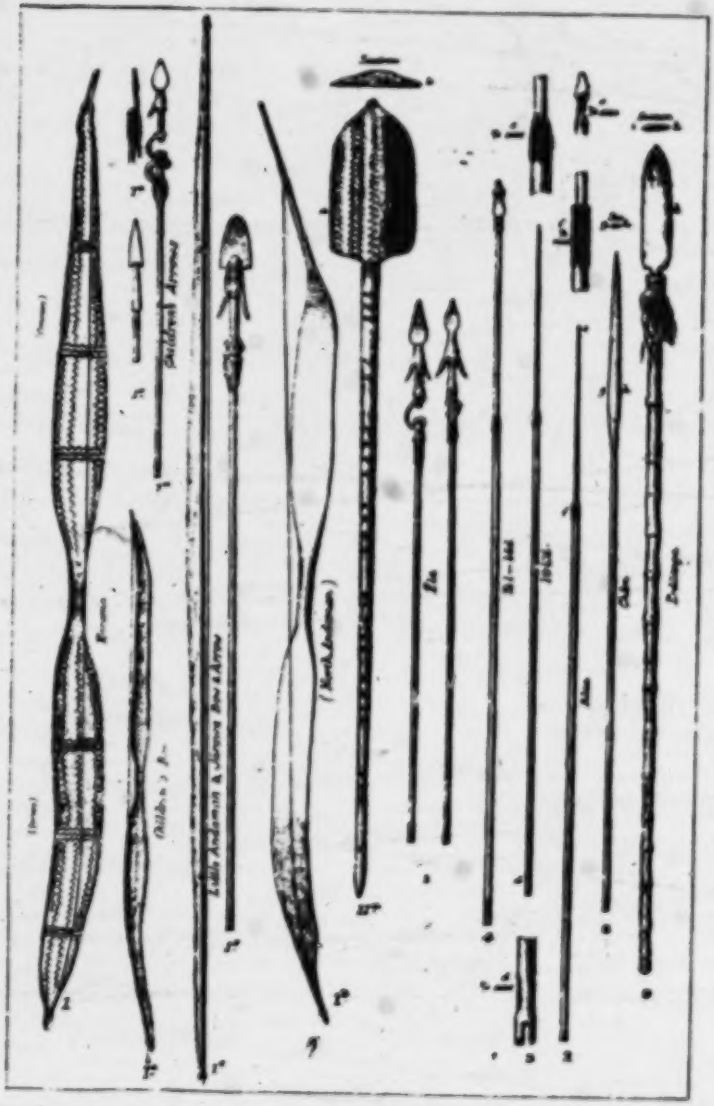
Plate B.

411



ANDAMANESE OBJECTS.

[facing p. 174]

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APPENDIX A.

194

ALPHABET FOR WRITING THE SOUTH ANDAMAN LANGUAGE.[1]

SIGN.	ENGLISH, &c.	SOUTH ANDAMAN.
	Oral Vowels and Diphthongs.	
a	.. idea cut..	*al·aba*, *Anadendrum paniculatum*
ä	.. cur (with untrilled *r*)	*bä* small, *yä·ba* not
à	.. Ital. casa	*elà·kà* region
ă	.. father	.. *dă·-ke* don't (imperative)
ā (1)	fathom	.. *jār·awa* name of a tribe
e (2)	bed	.. *ĕ·mej Terminalia bialata*
	chaotic	.. *pŭ·d-re* burn-did
ē (3)	pair	.. *ē·la* pig-arrow
i	.. lid	.. *ig-bĭ·dig-re* see-did
ī	.. police	.. *yā·dī* turtle, *pid* hair
o	.. indolent...	*.bŏi·goli* European
ō (4)	pole	.. *jōb* basket
ŏ	.. pot	.. *pŏl·i-ke* dwell-does
ŏ	.. awful	.. *tŏ·go* wrist, shoulder
u	.. influence	*bŭ·kura Diospyros sp.*
ŭ	.. pool	.. *pŭ·d-re* burn-did
ai	.. bite	.. *dai·-ke* understand-does
au	.. house	.. *chŏpaw·a* narrow
àu	.. Germ. haus	.. *chàu* body
ŏi	.. boil	.. *.bŏi·goli* European
	Consonants.	
b	.. bed	.. *bŭd* hut
ch	.. church	.. *chăk* ability, *mich·alen* why, *.rŭch* Ross Island
d	.. dip	.. *dŏ·ga* large
g	.. gap	.. *gŏb* bamboo utensil
h	.. hay	.. *hŏ* ho! *dwĕ·h* (*h* sounded, see note 5) etcetera
j	.. judge	.. *jă·bag* bad, *ĕ·mej Terminalia bialata*
k	.. king	.. *kă·gal-ke* ascend-does
l	.. lap	.. *lŏg* navigable channel
m	.. man	.. *mă·ga* face
n	.. sun	.. *nŏu-ke* walk-does, *rŏ·pan* toad
ñ	.. Fr. gagner	*ŏtŭñ·ba* another, one more
ng	.. bring	.. *ngi·ji* friend, *ĕrkĕ·dang-ke* in-trees-search-does (11)
ñg (6)		*ñgā* more
p	.. pap	.. *pid* hair
r (7)	rest	.. *rŭb* necklace of netting, *rā·tā* wooden arrow
r (8)	torrent	.. *rā·ta* sea water
s	.. sad	.. not found (9)
t	.. ten	.. *ti* blood
t'	..	*t'i* tear (from the eye) (10)
w	.. wet	.. *wŏ·lo* adze, *.bal·awa* name of a tribe
y	.. yolk	.. *yabā·* a little

RULES.

The syllable under stress in any word is shown by placing a turned period (·) after a long vowel, or the consonant following a short vowel, in every word of more than one syllable.

When no stress is marked, it should be placed on every long vowel and diphthong in a word, or if there are none such, on the first syllable.

As it is not usual to find capitals cast for the accented letters, the capital at the beginning of a word is for uniformity in all cases indicated by prefixing a direct period, as *.bal·awa*.

Substantives, adjectives, and adverbs generally end in "*da*," which is usually dropped before postpositions and in construction; hence when I write a hyphen at the end of a word, I mean that in its full form it has "*da*."

NOTES

(1) *ā* accented before a consonant, is the English *a* in *mat*, as distinguished from *à*, which is the short of *ā* or Italian *a* in *anno*.

(2) *e* accented in closed syllables, as in bed; in open syllables unaccented, as in chaotic, or Italian padre, amore.

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[1] As elsewhere mentioned, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. A. J. Ellis, F.R.S., for the improvements and additions to the list of symbols formerly employed by me. This alphabet is an extract from his able "Report on Researches into the Language of the South Andaman Island, &c.," which formed part of the President's annual address for 1882 to the Philological Society.

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194 (3) No vanishing sound of *i* as in say.

(4) No vanishing sound of *u* as in English know.

(5) *h* is sounded after a vowel by continuing breath through the position of the mouth, while remitting the voice.

(6) *ñg* is a palatalised *ng*, and bears the same relation to it as *ñ* bears to *n*. To pronounce *ñ* attempt to say *n* and *y* simultaneously; to pronounce *ñg* do the same for *ng* and *y*.

(7) This *r* is soft and gentle, with no sensible ripple of the tongue, as very frequently in English, but is not merely vocal.

(8) This *r* is strongly trilled, as *r* in Scotch or Italian *r*, or Spanish *rr*.

(9) The Andamanese cannot hiss, and hence they substitute *ch* for *s*, thus *.rüch* for *Rüs*, the Hindi corruption of Ross.

(10) This *t'* is a post-aspirated *t*, like the Indian *th*, quite different from English *th*, and hence to prevent confusion, the Greek *spiritus asper* is imitated by a turned comma. The sound *t'*, is common in Irish-English, and may often be heard in England.

(11) When *ng* is followed by a vowel, it must run on to that vowel only, and not be run on to the preceding vowel, either as in "finger" or in "singer," thus *bē·ri-nga-da* "good," not *bē·ring-a-da*, *bē·ring-gad-a*, or *bē·rin-ga-da*. It is only when no vowel follows that *ng* is run on to the preceding vowel.

APPENDIX B.

List of Objects made and used by the Andamanese.[1]

411 1. *kâ·rama-*.[2] Bow of a flattened S-shaped form, as made and used by the tribes of South and Middle Andaman, and the Archipelago, viz.: *.bō·jig·ngī·ji-*, *.bō·jig-yá·b-*, *.ôko-jū·wai-*, *.â·kà-.kó·l-*, and *.bal·awa-*,[3] and called by them *bō·jig kâ·rama-*[4] (our style of bow), to distinguish it from the bows used by the inhabitants of North and Little Andaman: it is made of a hard wood, generally of a variety called *chai-*, or—though less frequently—of the *bad·ama-*, *yá·rla-*, *pō·rud-*, or *châ·dak-*.[5] For hunting in the interior, the usual length of these bows, for the sake of convenience, is about 4 feet; the same or somewhat larger bows are used in the open jungle, along the coast, or when shooting fish; when made for presentation rather than for use, they are elaborately ornamented and carefully prepared in every way, and measure 6½ or 7 feet in length. It is customary to ornament

[1] In arranging this list, I have taken care to retain the numbers which are attached to each object in the Andamanese collection presented by me to General Pitt Rivers in 1878, and which is now exhibited in the South Kensington Museum. Except where otherwise specified, these objects are those used by the people of South Andaman; many of them, however, are believed to differ but slightly from such as are made by the remaining seven tribes of Great Andaman; but greater diversities are to be found among objects made by the Little Andaman and other *jâr·awa-* tribes.

[2] *Vide* Plate VI, fig. 1.

[3] For the situation of these tribes *vide* the accompanying map.

[4] For the purposes of inflection and syntax, the termination *da*, which belongs to most substantives, adjectives, and many adverbs, is invariably dropped (*vide* Appendix A, "Rules").

[5] The botanical names of the various trees which have as yet been identified will be found in Appendix L.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 both sides of every *bō·jig* bow, first by cutting a rough ×-like pattern along the edge from end to end with a *Cyrena* shell, and then with grass or leaves smearing *kòi·ob-* (item 60) over both surfaces, to form a background, upon which they finally paint a design in *tâ·la-ōg-* (item 58); the upper end, or nock, of the bow is also frequently decorated with a piece of fine netting called *râb-* (item 42); the bowstring is made of the bark fibre of the *Anadendrum paniculatum* (Andam., *yō·lba-*, item 64), to which, to increase its strength, a coating of black beeswax (*tō·bul-pīd-*, item 57) is frequently applied. Children's bows[1] only are ever made of mangrove wood, and then the *Rhizophora conjugata* is usually preferred.[2]

[NOTE.—The North Andaman bows, called *chô·kio-*,[3] which are generally, if not always, made from the tree they call *bad·ama-*, differ somewhat in design from those just described: they are also more neatly made, and are never painted or otherwise ornamented, and are almost invariably of a uniform size, *i.e.*, 5 to 5½ feet in length. The Little Andaman and other *jār·awa-* bows[4] are of a totally different form, and appear to be commonly made of the wood of the tree known to them as *lō·koma-*.]

2. *râ·tà-*.[5] The common blunt wooden-headed arrow, used when practising at an object:[6] the shaft consists of a reed-like variety of bamboo (*Bambusa nana*) called *rī·di-*, and the foreshaft is generally a piece of the hard portion of the wood of the Areca, or less frequently of the root of the *Rhizophora conjugata*: the point is usually hardened over a fire, and straightened by means of their teeth.

3. *tī·rlē·d-*.[7] The ordinary fish arrow, which differs from the *râ·tà-* only in that the point is sharpened.

4. *tō·lbō·d-*.[8] Fish arrow, about 4½ feet long, made like the preceding varieties, but provided with an iron head and barb; the string fastenings attaching the same to the foreshaft are covered with *kâ·ngatâ-būj-* (item 62). In former times the head of this arrow consisted of a fish-bone; the serrated bone at the root of the tail of the sting-ray (item 53) was often employed for this purpose.

5. *ē·la-*.[9] Pig arrow, about 3½ feet in length: the foreshaft consists of a triangular piece of flattened iron fastened to the end of a small stick about 4 inches in length; at the base of the

[1] *Vide* Plate VI, fig. 2.

[2] This of course is only procurable by those living on or near the coast. The bows of the *ē·rem-tâ·ga-* children are usually made of wood of the *Trigonostemon longifolius*.

[3] *Vide* Plate VI, fig. 4.

[4] *Vide* Plate VI, fig. 3.

[5] *Vide* Plate VI, fig. 8.

[6] *Vide* Part III, "Games and Amusements," paragraph 14.

[7] *Vide* Plate VI, fig. 7.

[8] *Vide* Plate VI, fig. 6.

[9] *Vide* Plate VI, fig. 5.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 head one or two (rarely three) iron barbs are fixed to the stick, the end of which is fitted into a socket (*ȧ·kà-chà·nga-*) provided for it in the shaft; the head and shaft are connected by a flattened thong about 8 inches long, made from the fibre of the *Anodendron paniculatum*, and which, before the arrow is fired, is always wound round the wooden portion of the foreshaft by twisting the latter when placing it in its socket; when an animal is struck the head of the arrow is retained in the flesh by the barbs (*archâ·ga-*), and as the foreshaft slips out of its socket by reason of the struggles and movements of the animal in its efforts to escape, the trailing shaft quickly becomes entangled in the brushwood, thereby detaining the victim and ensuring its capture.

6. *ē·la l'ȧ·kà lū·pa-*.[1] This, as indicated by its name, is merely a plain pig arrow, having no foreshaft like the more elaborate *ē·la-*: it is less effective than the latter, but more easily made.

7. *tō·lbō·d l'ȧ·rtâm-*.[2]

7a. *ē·la l'ȧ·rtâm-*[3] (lit., ancient). Fish and pig arrows, headed respectively with fish bone (*nīp l'àr bū·l-*, item 53) and the *Perna ephippium* shell, which are said to have been used in former times when iron was unobtainable.

8. *châm-pâ·ligma-*.[4] Plain wooden arrows, about 3½ feet in length, made of the wood of the Areca palm: it is said that when iron was scarce these were shaped somewhat like the *ē·la-* (item 5) or *tī·rlē·d-* (item 3), and used as pig and fish arrows, but now they are never so employed, being apparently made only for the "sake of auld lang syne," or to display the skill of the maker.

[NOTE.—The *jār·awa-* are only as yet known to employ the two varieties of arrows, viz., the *ē·la-* and the *tī·rlē·d-*; the latter much resembles those bearing the same name and made by the eight Great Andaman tribes, but the former is a more formidable weapon, being larger and more strongly made.]

9. *ēr-dū·tnga-* or *gal·ain-*.[5] Pig spear, generally 6 or 7 feet long; the shaft consists ordinarily of a piece of ground rattan (*bōl-*), and a large double-edged blade forms the head. This weapon is rarely used, the *ē·la* (item 5) being preferred.

[NOTE.—It appears that none of the North Andaman or *jār·awa-* tribes have ever been seen with such a spear; probably this is partly due to the difficulty they experience in obtaining iron.]

10. *kowai·a l'ōko dū·tnga-*[6] Turtle spear: the shaft[7] is a

[1] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 5.
[2] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 4.
[3] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 76.
[4] *Vide* Plate VI, fig. 9.
[5] *Vide* Plate VI, fig. 12.
[6] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 24.
[7] This shaft is called *tōg-*, and is used for poling the canoe along the shore.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Plate C.

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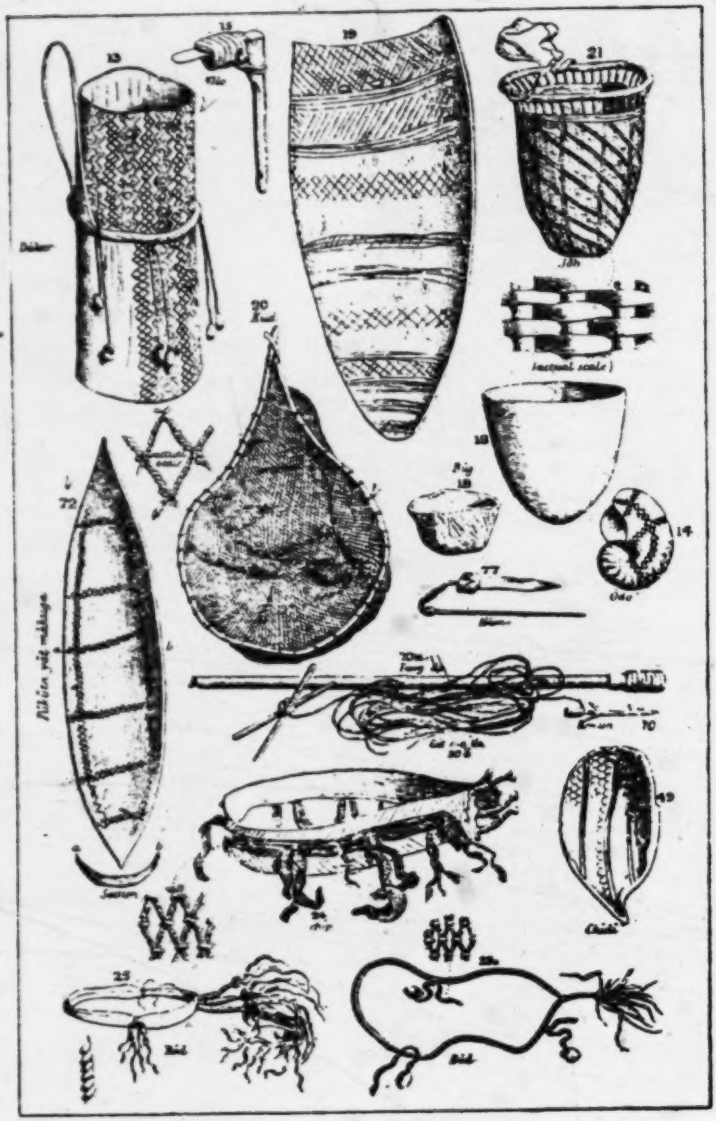

ANDAMANESE OBJECTS.

[facing p. 178]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 bamboo (male species preferred), often 18 feet or more in length; for the reception of the harpoon a socket is prepared at the small end, which is strengthened by pieces of mangrove wood, over which strips of cane are neatly tied. The harpoon consists of a strong barbed iron head fastened to a short piece of wood to which a long line (*bē·tma-*) is attached. When a turtle or large fish is struck the harpoon detaches itself from the shaft, which floats and is picked up after the capture has been effected.

[NOTE.—A harpooner almost invariably follows up a successful cast by plunging into the water, lest in the act of dragging the line the harpoon should slip out of the wound and his victim should thus escape.]

501 11. *rō·ko-*.[1] Generic name of the various kinds of canoes made in recent years[2] by the aborigines of South Andaman and adjacent parts, where, owing to the facility of obtaining iron tools, large dug-outs, called *gī·lyanga-*, capable of accommodating twenty to forty persons, are constructed in place of the small outrigger canoes (*chā·rigma-*) with which the other tribes have still to content themselves. They are usually made of the *Sterculia villosa* (Andam., *bā·ja-*), and are often ornamentally painted.

[NOTE.—The outrigger is called *tel-*, and is always made of the wood of *maiī·* (one of the *Sterculiaceæ*), which is soft and light.]

11*a*. *wāl·igma-*.[3] Paddle: these are not made by women, nor are they of any prescribed size, this being regulated merely by the fancy of the maker, and the material at his disposal; they are frequently adorned by women with chevrons[4] (*jō·bo-tàrtā·nga-*) of *kòi·ob-* (item 60) or *tā·la-ōg-* (item 58).

286 12. *yôto-tē·pinga-*. Turtle-net, made by men,[5] of a stout cord
[284] (*bē·tma-*), which is prepared from the bark fibre of the *Melochia velutina* (Andam., *al·aba-*); the meshes vary in size according to the fancy or skill of the maker.[6]

415 13. *dā·kar-*.[7] Bucket made by the Great Andaman tribes of
322 the wood used in constructing canoes, *i.e.*, *Sterculia villosa*, with a loop of cane to form the handle; the implement used in hollowing out these vessels is the blade of the adze (*wō·lo-*, item 15), which is detached from its handle and fastened to a straight piece of wood so as to form a sort of chisel

[NOTE.—The Little Andaman and other *jār·awa-* buckets are made in the same manner, but are much larger and superior in every way; they are, moreover, neatly ornamented round the sides with strips of cane, evenly laid on and fastened at the rim by plaiting.]

[1] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 69.
[2] *Vide* Part III, "Navigation," paragraph 4, and footnote.
[3] *Vide* Plate VI, fig. 70
[4] *Vide* Part III, "Ornamentation," paragraph 6.
[5] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 60.
[6] *Vide* Part III, "String," paragraph 6.
[7] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 14.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

415 14. *ō·do-*.[1] Nautilus shells painted with *kā·ngatā-būj-* (item 62), and used as drinking vessels.

412 15. *wō·lo-*.[2] Adze: this tool is used not only in making canoes, buckets, bows, &c., but in digging graves. The handle consists of an L-shaped piece of mangrove wood, *Rhizophora conjugata* (Andam., *bad·a-*), and the blade is generally made of such pieces of iron as the keel-plate of a boat; formerly *Pinna* and such like shells are said to have been used, but strange to say it does not appear that stone celts were ever so employed.

[222] 16. *lā·kā-*.[3] A long pointed stick of the *Memecylon varians*, (Andam., *pē·taing-*) or *Rhizophora conjugata* (Andam., *bad·a-*), which is used as a hoe in digging up yams and other edible roots.

[NOTE.—A similar implement is found in use among the Australians.[4]]

17. *tōg-ngā·tanga-*.[5] Pole, 12 to 15 feet long, of *Bambusa nana* (Andam., *rī·di-*), to which a short piece of bamboo is securely fastened, with a strip of cane (Andam., *pī·dga-*), or stout cord, to [222] form a hook; it is used in gathering fruit—especially jack-fruit (*Artocarpus chaplasha*)—and is the only object of the nature of a hook *made* by the Andamanese.

415 18. *būj-*.[6] Cooking pot: these are made of various sizes by members of both sexes, and are shaped by the hand and eye only;[7] after being sun-dried they are surrounded with, and filled by pieces of lighted wood in order to complete the process of baking. When needed for travelling they are fitted with light wicker frames (*būj-rā·mata-*) to facilitate their removal, and to protect them from injury. The capacity of an average-sized pot is 9 or 10 pints.

[NOTE.—The *yē·rewa-* and *jār·awa-* pots have a conical base, and in this respect differ from those made by the tribes of South Andaman.]

534 19. *pū·kutā-yem·nga-*.[8] Sounding-boards—used for marking time during a song or dance[9]—which are scooped out of the fallen trunks of the *Pterocarpus dalbergioides* (Andam., *chā·langa-*), the wood of which is very hard; they are always of the same shield-like shape, and are frequently as much as 5 feet long and 2 feet wide; the concave side is generally ornamented with designs in white clay (*tā·la-ōg-*, item 58). When in use the

[1] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 20.
[2] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 13.
[3] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 2.
[4] *Vide* "Anthropology," p. 216, by Dr. E. B. Tylor, F.R.S.
[5] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 1.
[6] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 19.
[7] *Vide* Part III, "Pottery," paragraphs 4 and 6.
[8] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 15.
[9] *Vide* Part III, "Games and Amusements," paragraph 27.

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534 convex side is uppermost; the pointed end is stuck in the ground, and kept in position with one foot; a stone is then placed under the board to enable the performer to make more noise when keeping time, which he does by thumping or kicking the board with the heel of the other foot.

227 462 20. *kūd-*.[1] Hand fishing-net constructed from the prepared fibre of the *Gnetum edule* (Andam., *pī·lita-*) by women and girls, who also by its means catch large quantities of fish and prawns, both in streams and among rocks along the coast at low tide. It is about the size of an ordinary butterfly-net; the frame is made of a length of a creeper known to them as *ō·rta-tāt-*, the ends being bound together to form a handle.

285 462 21. *jōb-*.[2] Baskets used by all the Great Andaman tribes for carrying food and various other articles: they are generally made by women.[3]

[NOTE.—The baskets made by the *yē·rewa-* or North Andaman tribes, differ from those found among the *bō·jig* tribes in having a wider base and a smaller mouth.[4]]

21*a*. The *jār·awa-*[5] baskets differ from those in use among the Great Andaman tribes in having no firm base.

286 462 22. *chā·panga-*.[6] Netted reticules made and used by women for carrying small objects: the string used for this purpose is generally prepared from the fibre of the *Anadendrum paniculatum* (Andam., *yō·lba-*, item 64), but as this is not always obtainable the less-valued fibre of the *Gnetum edule* (Andam., *pī·lita-*) is sometimes employed as a substitute.

23. *pār·epa-*.[7] Sleeping mat made by women of strips of a species of *Calamus* fastened securely in the ordinary manner with string made from the fibre of the *Gnetum edule* (Andam., *pī·lita-*, item 65). When in use the rolled-up portion of these mats—which are generally 15 to 20 feet long—serves as a pillow.

23*a*. The *jār·awa-*[8] sleeping mats hitherto found have always been of short lengths, but as wooden pillows similar to those in use among the Nicobarese have been found in their huts, it is probable that the specimens obtained represent full sized mats.

854 462 24. *chīp-*.[9] Sling or band made by women from the bark of

[1] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 18.
[2] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 17.
[3] *Vide* Part III, "Basket-work," paragraphs 2 and 3.
[4] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 14.
[5] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 14*a*.
[6] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 33.
[7] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 15.
[8] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 15*a*.
[9] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 25.

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the *Melochia velutina* (Andam., *al·aba-*), which is worn like a sash over one shoulder by women, and sometimes by men, when carrying infants.[1] [462] 854

The plain specimens are called *chīp-lū·pa-*.

Those ornamented with netting *chīp-râ·b-*.

Those ornamented with shells *chīp-yâ·mnga-*.

25. *bōd-*.[2] Waistbelt made from the leaves of the young screw-pine (*Pandanus Andamanensium*); the bunch of leaves or tail is worn at the back. 291

[NOTE.—These specimens are of the kind worn by women and girls of the eight Great Andaman tribes; the females of the *jär·awa-* tribes appear to go entirely nude.]

25*a*. *bōd-*.[3] Waistbelts of similar description, but having a less bushy tail, are worn more or less generally by men and youths of the eight Great Andaman tribes.

26. *rō·gun-*.[4] Belt made from the leaves of the young screw-pine, which is worn by adult married women only.

27. *tâ-chô·nga-*.[5] Garters, which are frequently worn by men and youths: they are made in the same way as the *bōd-* (item 25.)

28. *tô·go-chô·nga-*.[6] Bracelets, also worn by men and youths, much resembling the last-named object.

29. *gar·en-pē·ta-*.[7] Ornamental waistbelt of *Dentalium octogonum*, which is worn occasionally by both sexes.

30. *bē·ria-*[8] *jär·awa-* waistbelts, necklets, and armlets, which are believed to be worn by men and youths only.

31. *ij·i-gō·nga-*.[9] Head-dress of Pandanus-leaf, worn occasionally by young men and women.

The following ten articles are worn by both sexes as ornaments either round the neck or head:— 301

32. *ī·na-ó·la-tâ-*[10]	..	made of fresh water-shells.
33. *pē·r-tâ-* ..	..	" cane or wood.
34. *yâ·dī-tâ-*[11]	..	" turtle bones.
35. *bai·an-tâ-*	..	" paradoxurus bones.
36. *dū·ku-tâ-*[12]	..	" iguana bones.

[1] *Vide* Part III, "Social Relations, &c.," paragraph 10.
[2] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 27.
[3] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 27*a*.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 29.
[5] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 9.
[6] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 8.
[7] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 35.
[8] *Vide* Plate IX, figs. 13, 13*a*, and 13*b*.
[9] *Vide* Plate IX, figs. 6 and 6*a*.
[10] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 42.
[11] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 38.
[12] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 40.

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Plate D.

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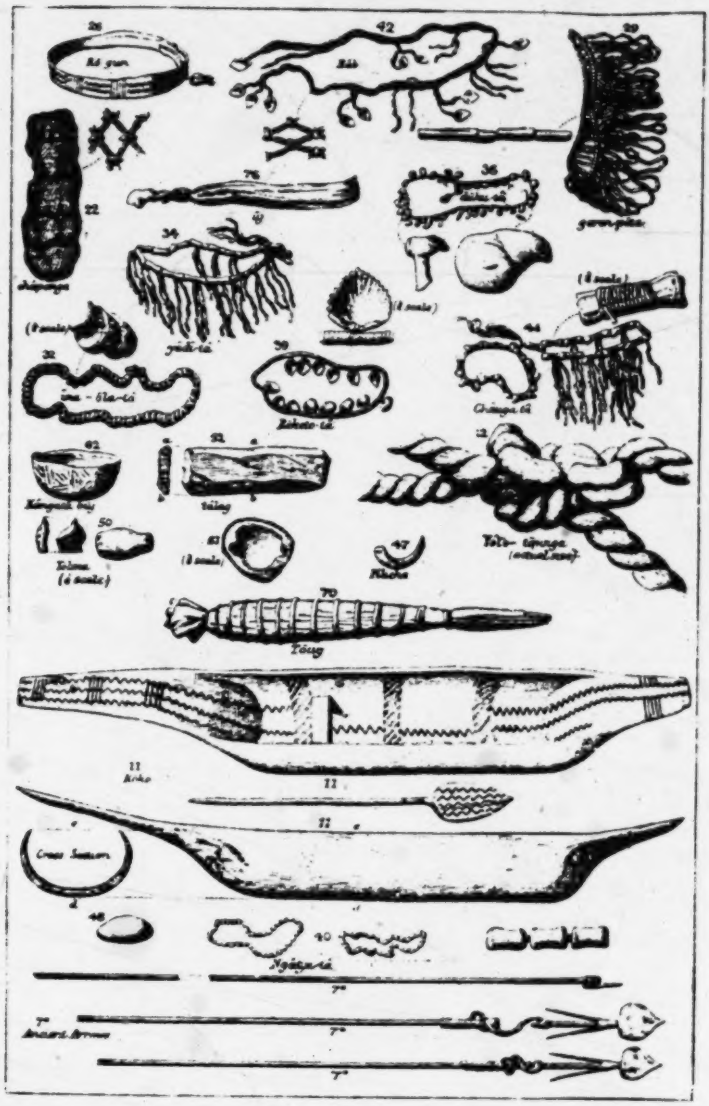

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37. *bē·wa-tâ-* .. made of red coral.
38. *râ·ta-ō·la-tâ-* .. „ small sea shells.
39. *rē·keto-tâ-*[1] .. „ *Hemicardium unedo* shells.
40. *ngâ·tya-tâ-*[2] and *jū·mu-ta-* „ mangrove seed tops.
41. *gar·en len pī·d-* .. „ *Dentalium octogonum* and children's hair.[3]

42. *râb-*.[4] Fine netting, plain or ornamented with shells, worn occasionally by both sexes as necklaces, armlets, &c. Baby-slings (item 24), bows, pig-spears, &c., are sometimes ornamented with pieces of this netting.

[462] 43. *râ-*. Ornamental cord, made by men from the yellow skin of an orchid root, and worn round the waist intertwined sometimes with fibres of the *Melochia velutina* (Andam., *al·aba-*). It is also occasionally interwoven with fibres of the *Anodendron paniculatum* (Andam., *yō·lba-*), in order to make ornamental fastenings for arrows, turtle harpoons, and personal adornments.

[751] 44. *chàu·ga-tâ-*.[5] Human bone necklaces sometimes ornamented with *Dentalium octogonum*. These are worn as charms during illness by friends or relatives of the deceased, and may be often seen tied tightly round the part in pain; they are also worn when in health to ward off disease.[6]

45. *chàu·ga l'ōt chē·ta-*.[7] Human skull, carried *in memoriam* by relatives of the deceased.[8]

46. *chàu·ga l'â·kà ē·kib-*.[9] Human jaw, which is carried in a similar manner.[10]

412 47. *pī·licha-*.[11] Boar's tusk, used for planing bows, paddles, &c., as it answers this purpose, in *their* hands, admirably, it is much valued; when required for use the inner edge is sharpened with a *Cyrena* shell.

48. *tai·li-ban·a-*.[12] Stone hammer, which the men now use principally in beating out iron for arrow-heads, &c., and the women when making bone necklaces.

49. *chī·di-*.[13] *Pinna* shell, used as plates for food, or as receptacles for pigments.

[1] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 45.
[2] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 73.
[3] An interesting description of these various necklaces will be found in a paper by Dr. Allen Thomson, F.R.S., Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi, p. 295.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 34.
[5] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 46.
[6] *Vide* Part I, "Medicine," paragraphs 2, 7, 8.
[7] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 7.
[8] *Vide* Part II, "Death and Burial," paragraphs 5 and 19.
[9] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 7*a*.
[10] *Vide* Part I, "Medicine," paragraph 9.
[11] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 65.
[12] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 72.
[13] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 26.

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412 50. *tō·lma l'ōko tūg-* and *bī·jma l'ōko tūg-*.[1] Quartz and glass flakes and chips used for shaving, scarifying, and tattooing.[2]

51. *ū·ta-*.[3] *Cyrena* shell: great use is made of this, and of other varieties of this class, viz., as knives for cutting thatching leaves, for making the ornamental incisions on bows, paddles, &c., for planing, for sharpening the boar's tusk (item 47), for dressing and preparing arrows, for making the *ūj-* (item 76), for preparing the fibres obtained from the *Melochia velutina* (Andam., *al·aba-*), *Gnetum edule* (Andam., *pī·lita-*), and the *Anodendron paniculatum* (Andam., *yō·lba-*); they are also used as spoons in eating the gravy of pork, turtle, &c., and are in fact so constantly in demand that a supply is always kept and carried about ready for use.

52. *tā·lag-*.[4] Hone or whetstone, which when in use is held in the right hand and applied to the edge of the blade, which is generally held over the inner side of the left foot, the operator being seated on the ground; pointed weapons are sharpened on it in the usual way.

53. *nīp l'àr bū·l-*. Serrated bone at the root of the tail of the sting-ray; in former times their *tō·lbōd-* arrows (items 4 and 7) were headed with these bones, and it is believed that the early reports of the poisoned arrows of the Andamanese are entirely due to this circumstance; for, owing to their fragile spikes, these bones are apt to cause very serious flesh wounds.[5]

54. *gar·en-*. *Dentalium octogonum* used in the manufacture of various personal ornaments.

314 55. *rīm-*. Resin obtained from a large tree (*Celtis* or *Gironniera*) of that name, which is used in making *kâ·ngatâ-būj-* (*vide* item 62).

237 56. *â·ja-pīd-*. Wax of the white honeycomb: it is one of the ingredients in *kâ·ngatâ-būj-* (item 62), and is also used in the manufacture of the *châ·panga-* (item 22).

57. *tō·bul-pīd-* or *lē·re-*. Wax of the black honeycomb, made by a small description of bee in the hollows of trees: it is generally procured by men, and is applied to bowstrings, arrow fastenings, and the *kūd* (item 20) is used for caulking cracks in canoes and buckets.

[NOTE.—The honey is eaten, but is not so much relished as that from the white combs.]

[1] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 61.
[2] *Vide* Part III, "Stone Implements," paragraphs 3–6.
[3] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 63.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 56.
[5] "These wounds often cause great inflammation, whence a notion has been prevalent from ancient times that the sting is charged with venom, but of this there is no evidence. Other species of the sting-ray are plentiful in the warmer parts of the world, and they are everywhere dreaded. The spine is used by the savages of the South Sea Islands to point their spears" ("Chambers's Cyclop.").

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302 58. *tâ·la-ōg-*.[1] White clay, used mixed with water, for ornamental painting of the person and of various articles, *e.g.*, bows, 386 baskets, buckets, trays, &c.: the work is done by women: when painting their relatives they spare no pains in executing neat [462] designs with their finger-nails.

[843] [NOTE.—Women during pregnancy are in the habit of nibbling small quantities of this substance from time to time, in the belief that it is beneficial to their condition.]

59. *ōg-*. Common whitish-grey clay, lumps of which are found somewhat plentifully in various parts of the islands. It is used, mixed with water, for smearing over the body when the heat is oppressive.[2] A lump of it is placed on the top of the forehead as a symbol of bereavement, and kept there generally until the expiration of the mourning period.[3] It is also sometimes used by way of ornament on the person, by smearing the trunk and limbs with the wash and then, before it has had time to dry, passing the outspread finger-tips over the surface so as to form some pattern.[4]

60. *kòi·ob-*.[5] Red-ochre paint, which is made by mixing red oxide of iron, *ū·pla-* (*vide* next item), with some greasy substance, the fat of the pig or turtle, sometimes of the iguana, dugong, &c., and occasionally the oil of an almond, called *ē·mej-*, is used. This pigment is applied to the person either ornamentally or otherwise. It is accredited with hygienic properties,[6] and from its mode of application it can be readily determined whether the wearer is suffering or rejoicing. The nostrils and centre of the upper lip are occasionally painted with it, as the smell of the fat is agreeable to them.[7] Before a corpse is removed for burial it is smeared over the face and neck with [764] this paint as a mark of respect, and in order to please the departed spirit.

61. *ū·pla-*. Red oxide of iron after it has been dried and baked. It is principally used in making the pigment described in the preceding paragraph. It is also employed in the manufacture of the red wax, called *kâ·ngatâ-būj-* (*vide* next item).

[462] 62. *kâ·ngatâ-būj-*. Red wax, generally prepared by men, composed of *â·ja-pīd-*, *rīm-*, and *ū·pla-* (items 56, 55, and 61); in the absence of the last-named ingredient *kòi·ob-* (item 60) is

[1] *Vide* Part III, "Painting," paragraph 7.
[2] *Vide* Part I, "Anatomy and Physiology," paragraph 5.
[3] *Vide* Part II, "Death and Burial," paragraphs 2, 6, 8, and footnote [1].
[4] *Vide* Part III, "Painting," paragraphs 5 and 6.
[758] [5] *ū·pla-* is collected chiefly during the dry months; in its natural condition, as found, it is called *kòi·ob-ckŭ·lnga-*; in that condition it is applied to sores, and to the persons of fever patients; it is administered internally for coughs, fevers, &c. (*vide* Part I, "Medicine," paragraphs 4 and 5).
[6] *Vide* Part I, "Medicine," paragraph 2.
[7] *Vide* Part I, "Odour."

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substituted. These three substances are melted and stirred over a fire until of a proper consistency; the pigment is then poured into small pots or large shallow shells, where on cooling it soon hardens. When required for use the pot or shell is placed on the fire and the melting wax applied according to fancy. The string fastenings of fish and pig arrows (items 4, 5, and 6) the turtle harpoon (item 10), and pig spear (item 9), are protected with a coating of this wax, and it is applied ornamentally to the food trays (item 72), nautilus shells (item 14), and the outside of buckets (item 13); it is also used for closing cracks in buckets, and in canoes if not too large. 302 386

63. *chū·lnga-*. olive-coloured clay found in small springs in the jungles: in its liquid form it is applied medicinally after the manner of *kòi·ob-chū·lnga-* (*vide* footnote [5], p. 184). 386 758

64. *yō·lba-*. (*Anodendron paniculatum*), the fibre of which is much valued on account of its excellence; string made from it is used for bowstrings and arrow fastenings, for netting the *châ·panga-* (item 22), and *rāb-* (item 42), for making their various necklaces and other personal ornaments, and also for the fastenings of knives and turtle harpoons. 283

65. *pī·lita-* (*Gnetum edule*), from the fibre of which string is prepared and used almost exclusively by women, chiefly for the manufacture of the *kūd-* (item 20), and *pār·epa-* (item 23); it is not sufficiently strong to serve as arrow fastenings, though on an emergency it is sometimes used for this purpose. [462]

66. *al·aba-* (*Melochia velutina*). From fibre obtained from this tree rope is made for turtle-lines (*bē·tmo-*), nets, and cables, the preparation and manufacture of which devolve on men; the bark of this tree also furnishes the material of which the *chīp* (item 24) or baby-slings are made. [462]

67. *pō·tòkla-*.[1] Netting-needles, made in two sizes of bamboo and used in making nets. 412

[NOTE.—The turtle-net (item 12) is not made with netting-needles, but with two sticks called *kū·tegbo-*.[2]] [286]

68. *pō-chô-*. Bamboo knives, which are shaped into form while green and then dried and charred over a fire to render them sharp and fit for use; formerly they were employed for cutting meat and other food.[3]

69. *wai-chô-* and *pór-chô-*. Two varieties of cane knives, but similar to item 68.

70. *tō·ug-*.[4] Torch, made by women, of resin wrapped in a large leaf (*Crinum lorifolium*); it is used when fishing, travelling, or 373 [462]

[1] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 12.
[2] These are made of a light hard wood known as *bē·rewil-*.
[3] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 10.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 66.

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Plate E.

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373 dancing by night: the resin is obtained from a large tree called by them *maiī-*, which also is often employed in the construction of their largest canoes. A larger description of torch is made by men, and used when fishing by night.

71. *lâ·pi-*. Gurjon wood torch, obtained from the heart of rotten logs of the *Dipterocarpus lævis* (Andam., *â·rain-*): as these do not burn so readily as the *tō·ug-* (item 70) they are rarely used outside their huts.

415 72. *pū·kuta-yât-māk·nga-*.[1] Food tray, made by men of some
[462] soft wood, generally of the large flat buttress roots of the trees (*Sterculiaceæ*) of which their canoes are made.

764 73. *â·ra-*. Long fringe-like cane-leaf wreaths, which are made by women, and suspended from trees, &c., round an encamp-
[462] ment or hut where a death has occurred, and round the spot where the corpse is deposited in order to warn off persons inadvertently approaching the place, which is believed to be haunted by the spirit of the deceased.[2]

285 74. *kâ·pa-jâ·tnga-*. Fan-like screen, made by women, of a description of palm-leaf (Andam., *kâ·pa-*), two of which are
[462] fastened together with leaf stems: it is used for many purposes, amongst others as a protection from rain and from the direct rays of the sun in hot weather; in the absence of a *pār·epa-* (item 23) it is often used as a sleeping mat, and it serves also as a wrapper for bundles of various kinds.

75. *kâ·pa-*. Leaf wrappers, as described above, are employed for storing and packing the red oxide of iron.

293 76. *ūj-*.[3] Long brush-like shavings of the *Tetranthera lancæfolia*, prepared by men with the sharp edge of a *Cyrena* shell. When dancing these are often held (by both sexes) in their hands, or are stuck in their waistbelts or other personal ornaments.

412 77. *kô·no-*.[4] Iron knife used in cutting up food; to some a wooden or iron skewer is attached, they are then called *châm-chô-*.

78.[5]

291 79. *ō·bungu-*. Species of apron, consisting of one to six leaves of the *Mimusops Indica* (Andam., *dō·gota-*), which are fastened to the lowest *bōd-* by women from motives of modesty;[6] the leaves are not spread out so as to cover a wide surface, but are laid one above the other, and removed separately as each becomes stiff and shrivelled: the reason given for the selection of this

[1] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 16.
[2] *Vide* Part II. "Death and Burial," paragraph 3.
[3] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 37.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 21.
[5] This No. is attached to "Specimens of Andamanese Hair" (*vide* footnote 1, p. 175).
[6] *Vide* Part I, "Psychology and Morals," paragraph 8, and footnote.

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291 particular leaf is that it keeps green and fresh for a longer time than any other.

[NOTE.—The women of the North Andaman tribes, until recent years, appear to have worn no *ō·bunga*, or only in a very modified form; the change which is now observable among them in this respect is doubtless to be traced to their intercourse with the people of South Andaman.]

412 80. *kai-*.[1] Bamboo tongs, made by women, and used for any [462] purpose which would involve a risk of burning or scalding the fingers, such as lifting a pot or piece of cooked food off the fire.

81. *ko·pòt-*. Bucket made from a single joint of the *Bambusa* 415 *gigantea*, pieces of which are sometimes found on the coast, having floated ashore from the neighbouring continent or from wrecks; they are much valued on account of their lightness and the labour saved in making a wooden bucket (*dâ·kar-*, item 13), which being, as before described, scooped out of a single piece of wood, is a laborious undertaking.

[NOTE.—The origin of the *dâ·kar-* is doubtless to be traced to the *ko·pòt-*.]

82. *gōb-*. Bamboo vessel, of which there are two varieties, viz., (*a*) for use as a water-holder: this is often 4 or 5 feet long, the partitions at the joints being broken through with a spear head or other suitable instrument, the lowest one only being left to form the bottom of the vessel; and (*b*) for use as a cooking pot and food-holder: its length consists of a single joint of bamboo, into which—after it has been cleaned, washed, and dried over a fire—food is packed and cooked; as will be seen by reference to Part III,[2] these vessels are only capable of serving on a single occasion; the handle is formed with a piece of *bē·tma-*.

83. *lâ-*. Cooking stones: the mode in which they are used is described in Part III.[3]

412 84. *kâ·ta-ngâ·tanga-* (*lit.*, crab-hook). An implement employed for picking up live crabs between rocks, in order to save the fingers from being nipped; it consists merely of a branch broken off the *Rhizophora conjugata*, which (unlike other trees) at once furnishes a strong hook suitable for the above purpose.

85. *â·ra-tig-jē·rabnga-*. Tufted leaf brushes, which are used for the same purpose as the *â·ra-* (item 73), and also by persons recently tattooed to drive away flies.

[A few other objects, omitted from this list, will be found described in Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. vii, pp. 457–465.]

[1] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 11.
[2] *Vide* "Food," paragraph 31.
[3] *Vide* paragraph 27, and "Stone Implements," paragraph 2.

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APPENDIX C.

Table of Weights and Measurements of 48 Andamanese Male and 41 Female Adults

Males.

No.	Weight.	Height.		Size round head.	Round neck.	Round chest.	Round waist.	Round buttocks.	Round thigh.	Round calf.	Round ankle.	Round biceps	Round arm.	Round fore-arm.	Round wrist.	Length of spine.	Length of arm and hand.	Length from shoulder to elbow.	From shoulder to wrist.	From ankle to knee.	From ankle to hip.	Length of foot.
	lbs.	ft.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.
1	119½	5	3¼	22½	13	32	29	34½	20	12¾	8¼	12½	11	10¾	6½	21	29½	13	23½	17¼	35	10
2	95	4	10	20¾	12	30½	27½	32	18	12	7	11½	9½	8¾	5½	18	26	12	21	14¾	28¾	9½
3	93	5	0½	20½	12½	29¾	26½	31	18	11½	7½	9½	8¾	8¾	5½	17½	27¾	13¾	23½	15	31½	9½
4	96	4	11¼	20½	12	31	27½	31¾	18¾	12	7¼	10¾	10	9½	5½	18	27	12	22½	16	32¾	9½
5	96	4	10½	20½	12	30½	26½	33	18¾	11½	7½	11½	9½	8½	5½	18	27	13	22½	15¾	31½	9½
6	86	4	9	19¾	12	29¾	25½	30	17	11½	7½	10	9	8½	5½	17¾	26	13	21½	14¼	29	8½
7	93½	4	11	20½	12	29	26¾	30¾	17½	12¾	7½	10¾	8¾	9¾	5½	19	27	13	22	16	31	9
8	113	5	2	20¾	13½	31½	27	33¾	19½	12½	7	11½	10½	9½	5½	19½	28½	14	23½	16¾	31¾	9¾
9	118	5	0½	20	14	31¼	29½	35½	19½	12½	7½	11¾	10½	9¾	5½	20	27½	12¾	22½	16½	32½	9½
10	112½	5	0½	22½	13	31	27	34	19¾	13¾	7¾	11¾	10½	10½	6½	19	28½	13¾	23¾	16	32	9
11	112	5	4½	20¾	12½	32½	29	34	18½	12¾	7¾	10½	10½	9½	5¾	21	30	14	24	17	34½	10½
12	90½	4	8	20	11	28½	25½	31¾	17¾	11½	6½	10	8½	8½	4¾	17¾	24¾	10¾	20	15	29½	8½
13	93½	4	9	21	13	29½	26	31¾	18¾	11¾	7	10¾	9½	8½	5	18	25½	12	20¾	14	29½	8½
14	80	4	6	19¾	11½	28	25	30	15¾	10¾	6¾	9½	9	8¾	5½	17	24½	10½	19	14	27½	8½
15	89	4	9½	19¾	12	28¾	25½	31½	17½	11	7	9¾	8½	8½	5½	18	26	12	21½	14½	30	8½
16	99	4	9½	20½	12½	30	27	33½	18¾	11¾	6¾	11½	10	9½	5½	17	25½	12	21	15	30	8½
17	77½	4	5¾	21	11¾	28	25	30¾	18	11½	6½	9¾	9½	8½	5	17	24	10	19	14	28	8½
18	108	5	1	20½	13	32½	27	32½	20	13½	7¾	12½	10½	10½	6¾	16	27½	12	22	16	33	10
19	94	4	11	20½	11½	29	26¾	31¾	18	12	7	10	9½	8¾	5½	17½	27½	13	23	15½	31½	9½
20	93	4	10½	20½	12½	29¾	26	31	18	11¾	6½	10¾	9½	9	5½	16½	26	12	21½	15½	30	9
21	127	5	0	21	12½	31½	27¾	33	19	12½	7½	11½	10¾	9½	5¾	20	25	11	21	16¾	32½	9
22	90	4	9	20	11½	29	26¾	30¾	17¾	12	7½	10½	9¾	8¾	5½	16	24½	12	20½	15	29½	9½
23	101	4	10	20¾	12½	31¾	28	32	18½	12½	7½	11½	10	9½	5½	16½	26	12	21½	15½	30½	9½
24	omitted.	4	10	20¾	11¾	29½	27½	32½	19	11½	7½	10½	9	8½	5½	16¾	25¾	12¾	20½	15	30½	9½
25	omitted.	4	9½	20½	12	29½	27¾	31	16½	11½	6¾	9¾	9	8½	5½	17	27½	12	22½	16	29½	9½
26	86½	5	0½	20½	12	29½	24¾	30½	14½	12½	7½	10½	9¾	9¾	5½	19¾	28¾	12	24½	16½	33	9½
27	108	4	11	20	12¾	30¾	28½	34	20½	13	8	11¾	10½	9½	6	17½	26	12	21	15¾	28¾	9
28	112	5	1	21½	13	34	27½	34	20	13	7½	11	10½	10½	5¾	16	28	13	23	16¾	33½	9¾
29	104½	5	1½	21½	13	31	28	32½	18¾	12½	7¾	10½	9½	9¾	6	16	27	12	22½	16	32	9½

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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APPENDIX C (Males)—*continued.*

No.	Weight.	Height.	Size round head.	Round neck.	Round chest.	Round waist.	Round buttocks.	Round thigh.	Round calf.	Round ankle.	Round biceps	Round arm.	Round fore-arm.	Round wrist.	Length of spine.	Length of arm and hand.	Length from shoulder to elbow.	From shoulder to wrist.	From ankle to knee.	From ankle to hip.	Length of foot.
	lbs.	ft. ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.
30	104	4 9½	20½	12¾	31¾	28	32½	20½	13	7½	11½	10½	9½	5¾	17	27	12	21¾	16	31½	9¾
31	103	4 11½	21¾	12½	32½	27½	32½	19½	12½	7½	10½	10½	9¾	6	17	26¾	12¾	22½	15¾	33½	9¾
32	106½	5 0½	20½	11¾	30½	28	32	18¾	12½	7¾	10½	9½	9	5½	18	29	14	24	16½	31¾	9¾
33	104	4 11¾	19¾	12	30½	29¾	32	18	12	7½	9½	9	9	5½	17½	27	12¾	22½	16	30	9½
34	94	5 0½	20½	12½	29½	26¾	31½	18	12	7½	10¾	9	9½	5½	16¾	27	14	23	15½	30¾	9½
35	89	4 10½	20½	11½	28	26¾	30½	17½	11	6¾	9¾	9	8½	5½	17	26	12¾	21¾	15	32	9
36	omitted.	5 1½	21½	12¾	32½	28	33¾	20	13	8	11¾	10½	9¾	6	18	29	14	24½	17½	36	10
37	97	4 10	20	13½	32½	27½	33	21½	13	7½	11	9¾	9½	5½	18½	26½	14	22	17	31½	9¾
38	95	4 10	20½	12½	31	26½	31½	18¾	12½	7½	10½	9½	9¼	5¾	16¾	28	13	22½	16	33	9½
39	omitted.	4 10	20¾	12½	28¾	26	32	18½	11½	7½	10	9½	9	5½	18	26	12	21¾	15½	30	8¾
40	99½	4 9½	21¾	12¾	31½	28½	32	19	13	8	11¾	10½	9	6	16¾	25½	12	20¾	15½	31	8¾
41	103	5 1½	20½	12¾	27	29	32	18	12¾	7¾	11	9¾	9	5½	18	28½	13	23½	16½	32	9¾
42	86	4 9½	21½	11¾	29½	24	30½	17½	11½	6¾	9¾	9¾	8¾	5½	18¾	26¾	12½	23	16	31½	8¾
43	90	4 9	19¾	12	28½	25½	30¾	17¾	11¾	7	9½	9	8¾	5¾	20½	25	12¾	20½	15	30½	8¾
44	86	4 9	20	12½	30½	27	29¾	17	11¾	7	10	8¾	8¾	5	16	27½	13	22	16	31½	9
45	omitted	4 9	20½	12½	30½	29¾	32	19	12¾	7	11	9¾	9½	5½	16½	25	12	21½	15	31½	9½
46		4 10½	21½	11¾	30¾	29	31	17¾	11½	6½	9¾	9½	8¾	5½	17	27½	12½	22	15	31½	9½
47		4 9	20¾	11½	28¾	26	31	17¾	11½	7	9½	8¾	8½	5½	17	25½	12	21	15	29	9½
48		4 7½	19½	11¾	29½	25½	31½	18	11½	6¾	10½	9	8½	5	17	26¾	12	21½	15	30½	9½

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APPENDIX C (Females).

No.	Weight	Height.	Size round head.	Round neck.	Round chest.	Round waist.	Round hips.	Round thigh.	Round calf.	Round ankle.	Round biceps	Round arm.	Round fore-arm.	Round wrist.	Length of spine.	Length of arm and hand.	From shoulder to elbow.	From shoulder to wrist.	From ankle to knee.	From ankle to hip.	Length of foot.
	lbs.	ft. inc	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins	ins	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.
1	84	4 7½	19	10	26	25	34	19½	11½	6½	8½	8½	8	5	15	25½	11	20	15	32	8½
2	88½	4 6	19½	10½	26½	27½	33½	19½	11½	7½	9	9	8½	5½	16½	25½	11½	20½	15	30	8½
3	96½	4 9	19½	10½	29	27½	33	18½	12½	7½	9½	9½	8½	5	16½	25	11	20	15	30	8½
4	97	4 4	19½	9½	25½	24½	30	17	10½	6½	7½	7½	7½	4½	17½	24½	11	19½	13	27½	7½
5	102½	4 10½	20½	11	31	29½	35	20½	12½	7½	10	9½	8½	5½	17	27	12	21½	16	31½	9½
6	88	4 6	19½	11½	29	25	34	19	11½	6½	9½	9	8	5	14	24	12	20½	15	30	8½
7	78	4 5	19½	10½	29	26½	30	17	10½	6½	9	8½	8	5½	19	24½	11½	19½	14	29	8
8	95½	4 7	20	11	29½	28	32	20	11½	7½	10	9½	7½	5	16½	26½	12	20½	14½	30½	8½
9	88	4 8½	19	11	28	25½	33½	17½	10½	6½	10	9	8½	5	18½	26	12	21½	15	30	8
10	86½	4 7½	20	10½	28½	25½	33½	20½	11½	7	9½	8½	8	5½	19½	26½	12	21	15	30	8½
11	81½	4 6	20½	10½	27½	27½	31½	19	11½	6½	9½	8½	8	5½	18½	25	12	20½	15	30	8½
12	90	4 8½	19½	11	28	30½	33	18½	10½	7½	9½	9½	8½	5½	16½	25½	12	20½	15½	30½	8½
13	84	4 6½	19½	10½	26	Pregt.	33	16½	11	6½	8	8½	7½	5	18	24½	11	19½	14	28	8
14	117½	4 6½	20½	11½	30	31½	39½	24½	14½	7½	13½	12½	10	5½	16	24½	11	19	15	29½	7½
15	104	4 10	19½	10½	29½	30	34½	18½	11½	7	10½	10½	8½	5½	18	25	12	20½	16	32	8½
16	92	4 10	20½	11½	30½	26½	34½	18	11½	7	9½	8½	8½	5½	14	27	11½	20½	14	32	9
17	87	4 7½	20	10	27	27½	33½	20½	12	7	9	9	7½	5	16	25	11½	20½	15	29½	8½
18	75	4 6	20	10½	26½	25½	31½	17½	11	6½	8½	8½	7	5	14	25½	11½	20½	14	29	8
19	88	4 6½	20½	11	29	31	35	18½	11½	7½	9	8½	7½	5½	14	26	11½	20½	14½	32	9½
20	113½	4 9	20½	11½	30½	31	38	21½	13	7½	11½	10	9½	6½	18½	27½	14	24	14½	30½	8½
21	97½	4 7½	23½	11½	26	29	32	18½	12	7½	11	10½	9	5½	15	24	11½	20½	15	29½	8½
22	89½	4 7½	19	10½	28	27	33	17½	11	6½	8½	8½	7½	5	19½	26	12	21	15	30½	8½
23	80½	4 7½	19½	10	26	24	31½	16½	11	6½	8½	8½	8	5	18½	26	12	21½	15½	30	8½
24	92½	4 6½	20½	10½	29½	24½	33	18½	12	6½	10½	9½	8	6	15½	23	10½	19	15	30	8
25	omitted.	4 7½	20½	11½	23½	29	34½	20½	12½	7	11½	11½	9	5½	16	26	12	21½	15	31	9½
26	omitted.	4 6½	20½	10½	29	29½	35½	20½	11½	6½	10½	9½	8	5½	16	26½	12	21	15½	30	8½
27	85½	4 6½	20½	10½	29	26½	31½	19	11½	6½	9½	9	8	5	17½	25½	12	22	15	29	8½
28	100½	4 10	19½	11½	31	30½	37	18½	12½	7½	10½	10	9½	6	16	26½	12½	22½	15	31½	9½
29	omitted.	4 5½	19½	11½	30½	34	36½	22	11	7	10½	9½	8½	5½	18½	24½	11	19½	14	29½	9½
30	82	4 8	19½	10½	27½	25	33½	18	11½	7	9½	8½	8	5½	15	26½	12½	21	16	31½	8
31	91	4 9	19½	10½	29½	28	33	19½	11½	7½	10½	9½	8½	5½	14½	27	12	21	15½	31	8½
32	89	4 8	19½	10½	29	27	32	18½	12	7½	10	9½	8½	5½	15	26½	12½	22	15	29	8½
33	91½	4 8½	20	11	27½	28½	35	19	12½	7½	9	8½	8	5	17	26	12½	21½	15½	30	8½
34	97	4 8½	19½	11	29	32	33	19	13½	7½	11½	10	9	5½	16½	25½	12	21	15	29	8½

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

2:Man G-5 (1859-1880)1932.AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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APPENDIX C (Females)—*continued.*

No.	Weight.	Height.	Size round head.	Round neck.	Round chest.	Round waist.	Round buttocks.	Round thigh.	Round calf.	Round ankle.	Round biceps	Round arm.	Round fore-arm.	Round wrist.	Length of spine.	Length of arm and hand.	From shoulder to elbow.	From shoulder to wrist.	From ankle to knee.	From ankle to hip.	Length of foot.
	lbs.	ft. ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.
35	103	4 9½	20½	11½	29	27	36½	21	13	8	9½	9½	8½	5½	18	27½	13	23	17	34	9
36	omitted	4 6½	21	10½	28½	29	35½	20½	12½	7½	9½	9½	6½	5½	16	24½	12	21	15	30½	8½
37	110	4 6½	20	11	29	26½	34	19½	11½	7½	10	9½	8½	5	15	23½	10½	19	15	30	8½
38	103	4 7	20½	11½	30	32	33½	18	11½	7	9½	9	8½	5½	14	25	12	21	15	31	8½
39	100	4 11½	19½	11	28	27½	33	19½	12	7½	9½	9	8½	5½	19½	27½	12	21½	16½	32	9½
40	127	4 5½	19½	11½	33½	33½	38	25	13½	7½	13½	12½	10	5½	19½	24½	11½	19½	14½	29	8
41	135	4 7	20½	11½	30	29	36½	22½	13½	8½	12½	11	10½	5½	16	26	12	21	16	31	8½

Captain R. F. Taylor, late 15th Regiment, M.N.I., kindly afforded me much assistance in the preparation of these Tables.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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APPENDIX D

THE remarks contained in the following extract, from a paper by Mr. J. E. Calder,[1] on the extinct race of Tasmanian savages, have been found so applicable to the Andamanese that they are quoted at some length as affording interest in comparative ethnology :—

"Reasoning from such facts as that they went perfectly naked, were unacquainted with the simplest arts, were even ignorant of any method of procuring fire, and erroneously thought to have no idea of a Supreme Being or future condition, they were almost held to be the link that connected man with the brutes of the field and forest.

"The aboriginal's wants were indeed so few, and the country in which it had pleased the Almighty to place him supplied them all in such lavish abundance, that he was not called on for the exercise of much skill or labour in satisfying his requirements. He had no inducement to work, and (like all others who are so situated) he did not very greatly exert himself. Necessity, said to be the mother of invention, was known to him only in a limited degree, and his ingenuity was seldom brought into exercise. His faculties were dormant from the mere bounty of Providence. The game of the country and its vegetable productions would have amply supported a native population ten or a dozen times larger than it ever was. Of fruits there are, indeed, none worthy of the name; but in the vast forests of the country are to be found very many vegetables which, though disregarded by Europeans, were relished by the savage. . . . . Hence his fire, however he first obtained it, like that of Vesta, was never suffered to die out. . . . . The women appeared to great disadvantage by their fashion of shaving the head quite closely, which in their wild state was done with flints and shells, and afterwards with glass when they could get it. . . . . The shoulders and breasts were marked by lines of short raised scars, caused by cutting through the skin. . . . . The huts were the frailest and most temporary structures conceivable. They were often meant only

[1] Journ. Anthrop. Inst., iii, Feb., 1874.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

for a night, and perhaps were only occupied for a week. . . . . They were great flesh-eaters but not cannibals, and never were, and some of them being incautiously asked if they ever indulged in this practice, expressed great horror at it. They never named the dead and certainly never ate them. . . . . Their condition in a land of plenty rendered an acquaintance with arts of any kind nearly unnecessary. . . . . The minds of the aborigines are beginning to expand. They have more enlarged views of their present situation, and are grateful for the favors conferred on them. They are volatile in their spirits, and are extremely facetious and perfectly under command. . . . . The natives are perfectly docile, and the greatest tranquillity exists among them."

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It appears, also, that the Tasmanians, like the Andamanese, were in the habit of applying a composition of red ochre and grease to their persons, that it was the duty of the women to obtain shell-fish, that they were remarkable for their "violent dances accompanied by vociferous singing," and that "their chief amusement was hunting."

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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APPENDIX E.

LIST OF ANDAMANESE WORDS USED AS ORDINALS.

	Of two.	Of three.	Of four.	Of five.	Of six.	Of any greater number than six.	Remarks.
1st (of two or more, as in a race)	*ô·tolá·(da)*[1] ...	*ô·tolá·(da)* ...	*ô·tolá·(da)* ...	*ô·tolá·(da)* ...	*ô·tolá·(da)* ...	*ô·tolá·(da)*	[1] When reference is made to animate objects *ártonáu·-* is often used.
2nd "	*tárô·lo(da)*[2] ...	*mû·gu-chál(da)*[3]	*árô·lo(da)*[3] ...	*árô·lo(da)* ...	*árô·lo(da)* ...	*árô·lo(da)*	[2] Also used to denote "the next."
3rd "	...	*tárô·lo(da)* ...	*mû·gu-chál(da)*	*mû·gu-chál(da)*	*mû·gu-chál(da)*	*ô·tolpa-ja-ja-ja-tagô(da)* or *ô·tolpa-ja-ja-ja-ngô(da)*	[3] Lit., between, or in the middle.
4th "	...	...	*tárô·lo(da)* ...	*mû·gu-chál-* *tárô·lo(da)*	*ô·tott·r(da)*		[4] Lit., the last.
5th "	...	...	...	*tárô·lo(da)* ...	*ô·tott·r tárô·lo (da)*		Speaking of a row or line of animate or inanimate objects:— The first, *ô·kotáp-*
6th "	...	...	...	..	*tárô·lo(da)*		" second, *tô·koyô·lo-*
Last but one	...	...	...	...	...	*ô·tott·r-tárô·lo (da)*	" next, *tárjau·a-*
Last	...	...	...	...	...	*tárô·lo(da)*	" middle one, *mû·gu-chál-*
							" last one, *artokâ·paringa-*

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

APPENDIX F.

Specimen of the South Andaman Language

1. *wai dōl .ôko-jū·wai ē·remtâ·ga. dī·a ēr lōt ting* 539
indeed I (name of tribe) jungle-dweller. my village of name
.tô·lo-bòi·cho. jū·ru tek elarpâ·lada. mō·da elawâ·ngaya būd tek totgô·ra
(name of village). sea from far. If daybreak at home from coast
len nàu·nga bē·dig til·ik dī·la len kâ·galke. med-àrdū·ru ō·gar jī·baba
to walking by perhaps evening in reach-will. we all moons several
ē·kan ēr len pòl·ike ūgâ tàrō·lolen jeg l'edâ·re àryô·to lī·a
own villages in live-do then afterwards dance for sake of coastmen of
pai·chalen yàu·gake. ô·na ū·cha nai·kan jeg-ī·kke â·rlalen īgal· l'edâ·re
midst-in go-do. when this like dance-go-do always barter for
mīn tō·yuke kich·ikan reg-dam·a, ēâ·te reg- kòi·ob, ēâ·te
things take-do namely pork (lit., pig-flesh), also pig's fat paint, also
râ·tà, ēâ·te jōb, ēâ·te châ·panga, ēâ·te kūd,
wooden-pointed arrows, also baskets, also reticules, also hand-nets for fishing,
ēâ·te râb, ēâ·te tâ·la-ōg, ēâ·te tâ·lag, ēâ·te pār·epa,
also necklaces of fine net-work, also white-clay, also hones, also sleeping-mats,
ēâ·te kâ·pa-jâ·tnga, âwē·h.
also leaf-screens, etcetera.

2. *med·a kâ·galnga bē·dig kīanwai· ō·tolâ· râ·mid-tō·yuke ōl-bē·dig*
we arriving on according-to-custom first sing-do and
kō·ike tàrō·lolen àrdū·ru mīn īgal·ke, ūgâ med-ī·kpô·r
dance-do afterwards all things barter-do, then we two (*i.e.*, some of us)
dū·tnga len igbâ·dignga l'edâ·re àryô·to lī·a pai·chalen
spearing to seeing for coastmen of (*i.e.*, with) possession
ō·dam len â·kangai·ke. mar·at-dil·u
bottom (of boat) in go in boat-do our rest (*i.e.*, the rest of us)
àryô·to-ngī·ji mit·iknga ē·rem-del·eke.
coastmen-friends accompanying in jungle-hunt-pigs-do.

3. *â·rla īkpô·r tàrō·lolen med·a mīn àrdū·ru, kich·ikan ē·la,*
days two (a few) afterwards we things all, such as pig-arrows,
ē·latâ, chô, wō·lo, bī·jma, yâ·dī-kòi·ob,
iron, knives, adzes, bottles, turtle-unguent (red paint made with turtle-fat),
yâ·dī-dam·a, ô·do, chī·di, gar·en, rē·keto-tâ,
turtle-flesh, nautilus-shells, *Pinna* shells, *Dentalium octogonum*, *Hemicardium unedo*
âwē·h, īgal·nga len ô·rok yâ·te en·inga-bē·dig chē·lepâ·ke ūgâ
etcetera, bartering in received which having-taken take-leave-do then
wī·jke.
return-home-do.

4. *ignū·rum àryô·to len (â·rlaya) ô·ko-del·enga tek, ōl-bē·dig lō·binga tek,*
Just as coastmen to (always) hunting by, and poling by
ōl-bē·dig yât-dil·u tek eb·a-kâ·chya â·kà-wē·lab yā·bada, châ
and means-rest (*i.e.*, other means) by ever food-difficulty not so
met ē·rem-tâ·ga len bē·dig wâb dil·u-rē·atek yât àrdū·ruda.
we jungle-dwellers to also season every food all (sorts).

5. *med-ē·rem-tâ·ga àrdū·ru gū·mul ya ē·kan būd len â·rtiteg·ike ō·gun*
We-jungle-men all rainy season during own homes in remain-do only

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539 *râp-wâb len yüm pi·taiaga l'edâ·re ĕr-täl·ke, mat ngi·ji ârdü·ru*
fruit-season in rain absence because-of pay-visits-do our friends all
igbâ·dignga l'edâ·re. ö·gar ü·batü·l an ikpô·r len med·a wi·jke ötpäg·i
seeing because-of moon one or two in we return-home-do again
bai·la[1]-wâb len kai·ta-ban[2] jü·ranga leb büd tek
(name of tree)-season in jack-fruit-seed burying for homes from
mat-tô-jī·alke. ö·gar ü·batü·l len ĕ·kan ĕr lat wi·jke.
we shift-our-quarters-do. moon one in own villages to return-home-do.

6. *mit·ig-bü·dwa len àryô·to tek ĕ·rem-tâ·ga at-ü·baba*
Our-tribesmen among coastmen from (than) jungle-men numerous
.bâ·rlâ·kàbīl tek .tô·lo-bòi·cho bö·diada dö·na ĕ·rem koktâ·r les
(name of village) than (name of village) large but jungle interior in
.tô·lo-bòi·cho tek ĕr dö·ga bö·diada mĕ·tat büd àryô·to lī·a büd tek
(name of village) than villages many large our huts coastmen of huts than
chai·nagda tâ·lik jī·baba med·a gö·i tĕ·pike yä·ba.
large years many we fresh thatch-do not.

7. *tâ·lik ü·ma len med-àrdü·ru ĕ·kan ĕ·kan ĕr lag·iba yât dö·gaya ô·roke.*
Year whole in we all own own villages near food plenty find-do.
ügâ·tek-ügâ·tek yât tĕ·pnga bĕ·dig mĕ·tat dü·ruma(da). med·a ôko-jär·anga
now-and-then food getting in for us sufficient. we constantly
kö·ike ôl-bĕ·dig rü·mid-tö·yuke.
dance-do and sing-do.

8. *ô·na mĕ·tat barai·jles ü·chin ôkolī·ke ügâ med-ârdü·ru büd-*
When our village in any one die-does then we-all camping-ground
l'ârlü·a len jä·lake. kâ·to chàng-tô·rnga[3] an dar·anga[3] len ekâ·ra nai·kan ö·gar
vacant to migrate-do. there hut or in custom like moons
ikpô·r pòl·ike, tärö·lolen tâ ô·rokuga bĕ·dig t'ī-tô·latnga[4] les
few (lit., two) live-do, afterwards bones obtaining on tears-shedding (dance) for
.tô·lo-bòi·cho lat wi·jke.
(name of village) to return-home-do.

9. *mö·da ôkolī·nga yä·balen med-ĕ·rem-tâ·ga lī·a barai·j les at-jang·gi*
If dead without we jungle-dwellers of villages in old persons
lig·ala bĕ·dig â·rlalen pòl·ike. ö·gun râp-wâb len mĕ·tat pai·chalen atpail
children also always live-do. only fruit-season in as with women
i-gâ·tnga-bĕ·dig bar·mike kī·nig ö·llàrdü·ru at-jang·gi
paying-visits-for pass-night-away-from-home-do otherwise they-all old people
lig·ala nai·kan ĕ·kan barai·j les bä·duke.
children like own villages in live-do.

10. *gä·mul len reg-del·enga l'edâ·re mat bä·la ij·i-lö·inga â·rla ikpô·r*
Rainy-season in pig-hunting because of we men often days few
bar·mike.
pass-night-away-from-home-do.

11. *med-ĕ·rem-tâ·ga àryô·to nai·kan â·rla-rĕ·atek jä·langa lī·a kianrai·*
We-jungle-people coastmen like constantly migrating of custom
yä·ba l'edâ·re mol·oichik â·rlalen mĕ·tat bĕ·ra ôl-bĕ·dig â·kâ-kī·chal lag·iba
not because of we always our rubbish and food-refuse near
kö·rke yä·ba, kianchâ· mĕ·tat barai·j les ôt-âu jä·bag yä·bada.
scatter-do not therefore our villages in smell bad not.

[1] *Terminalia procera*, which flowers about the middle of May.
[2] *Artocarpus chaplasha.*
[3] *Vide* Part I, "Habitations," paragraphs 3 and 4, for description of these varieties of huts.
[4] *Vide* Part II, "Death and Burial," paragraph 7.

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12. *mĕ·tat àryó·to len bĕ·dig barai·j ikpó·r ká·to ol·ò·ichik ij·i-lō·inga*
Our coast people among even villages few there they often
ō·gar ikpó·r pòl·ike, ar·at-dil·u ō·ko-jār·anga jā·lake.
moons few dwell-do, their rest (*i.e.*, the rest of them) constantly migrate-do.

13. *med-ē·rem-tá·ga ōl-bĕ·dig àryó·to lī·a ĕr lag·iba*
Us jungle dwellers and coast-dwellers of villages near
būd-l'á·rtám dō·gada. jū·ru l'igrá·klik len á·rlaya ē·rem tó·boda dō·na ē·rem
kitchen-middens many sea vicinity in always jungle dense, but jungle
koktá·r len tó·bo yā·ba.
middle in dense not.

14. *.á·kà-.ked·e lī·a ē·rem koktá·r len lī·rnga-bĕ·dig wai dōl*
(name of tribe) of jungle middle in going-on indeed I
ē·rem-tá·ga at-ū·baba igbá·digre. med·a lū·ake aū·a ká·to mardū·ru tek
jungle-dwellers numerous see-did. we consider that there us-all than
at-ū·baba. ē·rem len dil·u-rĕ·atek chàu·ga-tá·banga l'idal· tek
numerous. jungle in everywhere ancestors (this side of the Deluge) time since
tinga-bá bĕ·ringa. wai dōl á·chitik .bō·jig-ngī·ji àrdū·ru
paths (lit., roads small) good. indeed I now (name of tribe) all
igbá·digre, it·ig bū·dwa dī·rap-tek yabā·da.
seen have, their tribesmen now-a-days few.

15. *med-àrdū·ru .á·kà.bō·jig-yá·b ōl·bĕ·dig .á·kà-.kō·l lī·a kianwai· ìdai·ke;*
We all (name of tribe) and (name of tribe) of customs know-do
ōat' ekā·ra mak·at pá·ra; et bĕ·dig .mó·ko-jū·wai nai·kan
their customs ours similar; among-them also us (name of tribe) like
àryó·to ōl-bĕ·dig ē·rem-tá·ga. ká·to bĕ·dig ē·rem-tá·ga ō·gar jī·baba
coast people and jungle people. there also jungle-dwellers moons several
dīn len ō·ko-jār·anga bū·duke ē·kan ē·kan būd len bĕ·dig
heart-of-jungle in habitually dwell-do own own encampment in also
á·rtiteg·ike. .á·kà-.bō·jig-yá·b lī·a dīn kĕ·tia l'edá·re ká·to
remain-do. (name of tribe) of heart-of-jungle small because of there
ē·rem-tá·ga yabā·da.
jungle-dwellers few.

[A free translation of this Appendix will be found in the Journal of the Anthropological Institute, vol. xi, pp. 280–82.]

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APPENDIX F(*a*).

PHILOLOGICAL HARP.[1]

	Denoting	Near.	Remote.	Interrogative.	Relative.	Correlative.
		This, *ü·cha-*	That, *ö·lla*... ...	Who {*mij·a-*, *mij·ola*} ... ... Which, *tenchá·-*	Who / Which } *á·te-* ... ... (In construction *yá·te-*)	That same, *öl-bē·dig*
1	Time	Now, *á·chitik*	Then, *dchi·baiya*[4] ... Then (in *rel.* past), *dchin·baiya*	When, *tain-*	When, *ö·na-* ... .. At such time as, *kian-ārü·-balik*	Then, *ñgá* At the same time, *kich·-ikan*
2	Place	Here {*kd·re-*, *kd·rin-*, *kd·min-*, *kam-*, *kil-*} ...	There {*kd·to-*, *t·tan-*, *ü·chumen-*[5], *ü·chum*[5]}	Where, *tān-*	Wherever, *mi·n-ya* ...	There, *öl-bē·dig-ya*
3		Hither, *kach-*	Thither, *kd·tik-*	Whither, *tekarichá·-* ...	Whither, *min len* ...	Thither, *ig*
4		Hence {*ü·chik-*[3], *kd·rin-tek*, *kd·rik-*[3]} ...	Thence {*kd·to-tek*, *ü·chumek*} ...	Whence {*tekarichá·-tek*, *mich·ima-tek*}	Whence, *min tek*... ...	Thence *öl-bē·dig tek*
5	Manner	Thus, *kian-á·ri-* ...	In that way, *ekd·ra-* ...	How, *kichikachá·-* ...	As, *ignü·rum-*	So, *ehá-*
6	Likeness	Like this, *ü·cha-nai·kan*	Like that {*öl-nai·kan*, *kd·to-nai·kan*}	Like what, *kich·ika-* ...	Like which {*kdü·ba-*, *kich·ikan-*}	Like the same {*ü·chuba-*, *kich·ikan-*, *kich·ikan-nai·kan*}
7	Quantity	This much or so much {*kian-nai·-*, *ki·an-*, *kat·*}	That much, *ü·chutü·n-*...	How much, *tāntü·n-* ...	As much[6]	So much[6]
8	Number	This many, *kianchai·a-*...	That many, *ü·ehtchátü·n-*	How many {*kich·ikan-tān-*, *kichi·k-*}	As many[6]	So many[6]

[1] This scheme is taken from Forbes's well-known Hindustani Grammar (p. 68).
[2] Probably abbreviated from *ü·cha tek* (lit., this from).
[3] Probably abbreviated from *kd·re tek* (lit., here from).
[4] In reference to a past period.
[5] Generally used in an indefinite sense, signifying "thereabout"; also when pointing towards an object partly hidden and not easily discernible.
[6] Hitherto unascertainable.

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APPENDIX G.

THE SEVEN FORMS OF THE POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS IN RELATION TO PARTS OF THE BODY (HUMAN AND ANIMAL).

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I.

dōt	..	*my* ..
ngōt	..	*thy* ..
ōt ..	..	*his* ..
l'ōt..	..	*—'s* ..
mō·tot	..	*our* ..
ngō·tot	..	*your*..
ō·tot	..	*their*
l'ō·tot	..	*—s'* ..

chē·ta-, *head;* mūn-, *brain;* yâ-, *occiput;* kâ·kà-, *scalp;* lō·ngota-, *neck;* là·pta-, *nape;* chāl·ma-, *chest;* â·wa-, *lung;* nē-, *prostate gland;* tū·lēpo-, *phlegm;* kūg-, *heart (the seat of the affections and passions), the bosom;* kū·ktà-ban·a-, *heart (the organ).*

Ex.—ōt chē·ta bō·dia-. *His head is large.*
His head large.

II.

dōng	..	*my* ..
ngōng	..	*thy* ..
ōng..	..	*his* ..
l'ōng	..	*—'s* ..
mòi·ot	..	*our* ..
ngòi·ot	..	*your*
òi·ot-	..	*their*
l'òi·ot	..	*—s'* ..

kō·ro-, *hand, or finger;* kō·ro-mū·gu-châl-, *large (lit., middle) finger;* ī·ti-pī·l-, *little finger;* kō·ro-dō·ga-, *thumb;* el·ma-, *palm of hand,* also *sole of foot;* tō·go-, *wrist;* kū·tur-, *knuckle;* bō·do-, *nail of finger,* or *toe;* pàg-, *foot;* rō·koma-, *toe;* tū·chab-, *large toe;* ī·lam-, *small toe;* gū·chul-, *heel;* târ-, *ankle;* châg-, *kidney;* tâ·banga-, *small intestine;* tâ·ga-, *peritoneum.*

Ex.—dōng kō·ro ngōng tek kē·tia-. *My hand is smaller than thine.*
my hand thy from (than) small.

III.

dâ·kà	..	*my* ..
ngâ·kà		*thy* ..
â·kà	..	*his* ..
l'â·kà	..	*—'s* ..
mak·at	..	*our* ..
ngak·at	..	*your*
ak·at	..	*their*
l'ak·at	..	*—s'* ..

bang-, *mouth;* dē·liya-, *palate (of mouth);* â·dal-, *chin;* pai-, *lip;* pai·la-pīd-, *moustache;* ō·rma-, *throat;* ē·tel-, *tongue;* del·ta-, *gullet;* ō·rma-bā-, *windpipe;* ē·kib-, *jaw-bone;* ī·kib-pīd-, *beard;* ted·imo-, *uvula;* gō·dla-, *collar-bone;* châ·ga-, *side;* tū·bal-, *saliva;* chai·ad-, *breath.*

Ex.—kâ·to .bòi·goli l'àrdū·ru l'ak·at ē·kib-pīd là·panga-.
There European all their beard long.
All those Europeans have long beards.

IV.

dab	..	*my* ..
ngab	..	*thy* ..
ab	..	*his* ..
l'ab	..	*—'s* ..
mat	..	*our* ..
ngat	..	*your*
at	..	*their*..
l'at	..	*—s'* ..

chàu-, *body;* gū·dur- *and* lân-, *back;* gō·rob-, *spine;* pō·dikma-, *shoulder-blade;* pai·cha-, *thigh (also lap);* pē·ke-, *groin;* châ·lta-, *shin;* châ·lta-dam·a-, *calf of leg;* kō·pa-, *elbow;* kō·pa-dam·a-, *fleshy part of fore-arm;* kū·rupi-dam·a-, *fleshy part of upper arm;* lō-, *knee;* â·pita-, *hough;* pà·retâ-, *rib;* â·pa-chàu-, *belly (abdominal walls);* ēr-, *navel;* ū·pta-, *stomach proper;* jō·do-, *entrails, bowels;* jī·ri-,[1] *supra-renal fat and omentum;* mūg-, *liver;* pī·lma-, *spleen;* ī·jnga-, *uterus;* â·wa-, *arm-pit;* yī·lnga, *tendon Achilles;* nē·ma-, *gall-bladder.*

[1] For a description of the *reg-jī ri-gū·mul-*, *vide* Part II, "Initiatory Ceremonies," paragraphs 15–17.

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V.

dig (*or* di) ..	*my* ..	dal-[1] *or* dòl-[1] *eye*; dal ár pīd-,[1] *or* dòl ár pīd-,[1] *eye-lash*; dal ōt ēd-,[1] *or* dòl ōt ēd-,[1] *eyelid*; pū·nyur-, *eyebrow*; mū·gu-, *face* (*also forehead*); pū·ku, *ear*; chō·ronga-, *nose*; tī·mar-, *temple*; āb-, *cheek*; āb-pīd-, *whiskers*; tō·go-, *shoulder*; tūg-, *tooth*; gūd-, *arm*; kū·rupi-, *upper arm*; kō·pa-, *fore-arm*; gō·ra-, *biceps*; kām-, *breast*; kām l'ōt chē·ta-, *nipple of breast*; dē·riya-, *gum*; t'ī-, *tear*.
ngig (*or* ngi) ..	*thy* ..	
ig (*or* i) ..	*his* ..	
l'ig (*or* l'i) ..	—'s ..	
mit·ig (*or* mit·i)	*our* ..	
ngit·ig (*or* ngit·i)	*your*	
it·ig (*or* it·i) ..	*their*	
l'it·ig (*or* l'it·i)	—s' ..	

Ex.—ōl ab-gō·ra dō·gada, ig gō·ra igbā·di! *He is very strong; see his biceps!*
He strong very, his biceps see!

VI.

dar	*my* ..	chāg-, *leg*; chō·rog-, *hip*; ē·te-, *loin*; māl·wit-, *large intestine*; kōl·am-, *mesentery*; gū·dwin-, *os coccygis*; ū·lu-, *urine*; ū·lu l'īa ēr-, *bladder* (ēr = *abode*); ō·ta-, *testicle*; tō-, ō·no-, *and* dam·a-, *buttocks*; mū·ga-, *rectum*; tū·mur-, *anus*.
ngar	*thy* ..	
ar	*his* ..	
l'ar	—'s ..	
mar·at ..	*our* ..	
ngar·at ..	*your*	
ar·at	*their*	
l'iar·at	—s' ..	

Ex.—mar·at chāg-, *our legs*.

VII.

dō·to	*my* ..	kī·nab-, *waist*. This appears to be the only part of the body with which this form is used.
ngō·to ..	*thy, your*	
ō·to ..	*his, their*	
l'ō·to ..	—'s, —s' ..	
mō·to	*our* ..	

N.B.—In the case of the following words, the possessive adjective peculiar to the part referred to is taken:—pīd, *hair*; ēd-, *skin*; tā-, *bone*; tī-, *blood*; mū·rudi-, *go*; gū·mar, *sweat*; yī·inga-, *vein, muscle*; wain·ya-, *cuticle*; mūn-, *pus*; dē·kin-, *pulse*.

Ex.—mō·tot pīd-, *the hair of our heads*;
ngak·at ēd-, *the skin of your lips*;
dig ta-, *the bone of my arm*;
ngar tī-, *the blood of thy leg*;
&c.;

i.e., the above would be understood to represent mō·tot chē·ta pīd-; ngak·at pai ēd-; dig gud tā-; ngar chāg tī-.

[1] These words generally take the abbreviated form, *di*, *ngi*, &c.

APPENDIX H.

LIST OF *Proper Names*, TOGETHER WITH A LIST OF THE "*Flower*" *Names* BORNE BY YOUNG WOMEN DURING MAIDENHOOD, AND UNTIL THEY BECOME MOTHERS, AND A LIST OF THE VARIOUS *Seasons*.

Proper names (common to both sexes).		"Flower" name.	Name of tree (or insect) in season.	Names of the various minor seasons.	Names of the principal seasons.	Remarks.
.bal'ta	.kût'iola	.eht'lipa ...	lî'kera-	lî'kera-wdb-[1] ...	pd'par-, also pd'par-wdb-	The "*pd'par-*" commences about the middle of November, and ends about the middle of February. It comprises the *cool season*.
.bô'ra	.lô'ra		eht'lip-	eht'lip-wdb- ...		[1] "*wdb*" signifies "season."
.bê'rebi	.lî'pa	.mâ'da ...	pâ-...	pâ-wdb-		The "*yê're-bô'do-*" comprises the *summer and autumn* of the year. Honey is abundant at the commencement of this season, during the whole course of which the principal fruit trees are in bearing. This season lasts about three months, *viz.*, till about the middle of May.
bî'a	.lê'kola		jâr-	jâr-wdb-		[2] Lit., *season of abundance*.
.bî'ele	.mâ'ba	.ê'ra	ê'ra-	ê'ra-wdb-	yê're-bô'do-, also rdp-wdb-[2]	[3] This period is called "*lad'a-chdu-*" (dirty body) owing to their practice of smearing their persons with the sap of a plant (*jî'ni-*) when engaged in removing a honeycomb from a hive swarming with bees.
.bî'ra	.mâ'bola	.jî'dga ...	jî'dga-	jî'dga-wdb- ...		
.bî'rele	.lpô'ngala		tâ'tib-	tâ'tib-wdb- ...		
.bâ'thala	.nâ'lî	.yê're... ...	yê're-	yê're-wdb- ...	3	
.bâ'rla	.pâr'ila		bâ'ja-	bâ'ja-wdb- ...		
.bâ'râga	.pâ'ga	.pâ'taka	pâ'tak-	pâ'tak-wdb- ...		
.châ'rmila	.yô'wiola	.bal'ga	bai'la-	bai'la-wdb- ...		
.chê'tla	.pâ'nga	.rî'che ...	rî'che-	rî'che-wdb- ...		This season embraces the ([4]) *tâ'la-tông-dâ'reka-* (lit., *fresh foliage*) or *spring*, and ([5]) *gâ'mul-wdb-*. The former lasts about 3½ months, viz., till about the close of August. It comprises not only the *Spring*, but the *first half* of the *rainy monsoon*. The latter (*gâ'mul-wdb-*) lasts about 2½ months, viz., till about the middle of November, and comprises the *latter half* of the *rainy monsoon*. Among the articles of food eaten at this season are ([6]) the *bâ'tu-* (a slug found in rotten logs of Gurjon wood) and ([7]) the *ôi'yum-* (larva of the Great Capricornis beetle). The tails of the former are broken off and thrown away, hence *tô'paga-* (breaking off).
.lê'ra	.rî'a		châ'dak-	châ'dak-wdb- ...	4	
.pô'lot	.rî'ela	.châ'gava	châ'langa- ...	châ'langa-wdb- ...		
.î'ra	.tô'tôl	.chîr'epa ...	bâ'tu-[6]	tô'pnga-wdb- ...	yâ'mûl-	
.î'rola	.tâ'ra		châ'rap-	châ'rap-wdb- ...		
.jâr'o	.wô'i	.chem'ra ...	ôi'yum-[7]	ôi'yum-lô'pnga-wdb-		
.jô'ptolo	.wôr'chola		chem'ara-	chem'ara-wdb- ...	5	
.kâ'la	.wô'loga					
kât'ya	.yê'ga	.yâ'la ...	rdr-	rdr-wdb-		
			yâ'lu-	yâ'lu-wdb- ...		

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APPENDIX I.

601 LIST OF TERMS INDICATING VARIOUS DEGREES OF RELATIONSHIP.

my father (male or female speaking) ..	*dab mai·ola; dab chá·bil-; dar ō·dinga-.*
my step-father „ „ ..	*dab chá·bil-.*
my mother „ „ ..	*dab chá·nola; dab ē·tinga-; dab wē·jinga-; dab wē·jeringa-.*
my step-mother „ „ ..	*dab chá·nola.*
my son (if under 3 years of age, either parent speaking)	*dī·a ó·ta-.*[1]
my son (if over 3 years of age, father speaking)	*dar ō·dire; dar ō·di-yá·te-.*
my son (if over 3 years of age, mother speaking)	*dab ē·tire; dab ē·ti-yá·te-; dab wē·jire; dab wē·ji-yá·te-; dab wē·jerire; dab wē·jeri-yá·te-.*
my daughter (if under 3 years of age, either parent speaking)	*dī·a ká·ta-.*[1]
my daughter (if over 3 years of age, either parent speaking)	*dī·a bā-.*
my daughter (if over 3 years of age, father speaking)	*dar ō·dire-pail-; dar ō·di-yá·te-pail-.*
my daughter (if over 3 years of age, mother speaking)	*dab ē·tire-pail-; dab ē·ti-yá·te-pail-; dab wē·jire-pail-; dab wē·ji-yá·te-pail-; dab wē·jerire-pail-; dab wē·jeri-yá·te-pail-.*
my grandson (either grand parent speaking)	*dī·a bā·lola.*
my brother's grandson (male or female speaking)	
my sister's grandson (male or female speaking)	
my grand-daughter (either grand-parent speaking)	*dī·a bā·lola-pail-.*
my brother's grand-daughter (male or female speaking)	
my sister's grand-daughter (male or female speaking)	
my elder brother (male or female speaking)	*ad-en tó·bare; ad-en tó·banga-; ad-en tó·kare; ad-en tó·kanga-.*
my elder sister (male or female speaking)	*ad-en tó·bare-pail-; ad-en tó·banga-pail-; ad-en tó·kare-pail-; ad-en tó·kanga-pail-.*
my younger brother (male or female speaking)	*dar dō·atinga-; dá·kà kám-; dar wē·jinga-; dar wē·jeringa-.*
my younger sister (male or female speaking)	*dar dō·atinga-pail-; dá·kà kám-pail-; dar wē·jinga-pail-; dar wē·jeringa-pail-.*
my elder brothers (male or female speaking)	*am-et tó·bare; am-et tó·banga-; am-et tó·kare; am-et tó·kanga-.*

[1] *Vide* Appendix K.

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my younger brothers (male or female speaking)	*mar·at dō·atinga-; mak·at kám-; mar·at wē·jinga-; mar·at wē·jeringa-.*
my elder sisters (male or female speaking)	*am-et tō·bare-pail-; am-et tō·banga-pail-; am-et tō·kare-pail-; am-et tō·kanga-pail.*
my younger sisters (male or female speaking)	*mar·at dō·atinga-pail-; mak·at kám-pail-; mar·at wē·jinga-pail-; mar·at wē·jeringa-pail-.*
my father's brother (elder or younger)	*dī·a mai·a.*
my mother's brother " "	
my father's sister's husband	
my mother's sister's husband	
my father's father's brother's (or sister's) son	
my mother's mother's brother's (or sister's) son	
my husband's grandfather	
my wife's "	
my wife's sister's husband (if elder) ..	
my husband's sister's husband (if elder)	
my father's sister (elder or younger) ..	*dī·a châ·sola.*
my mother's sister " " ..	
my father's brother's wife	
my mother's brother's wife	
my grandmother, my grand-aunt ..	
my father's father's sister's daughter	
my mother's mother's sister's daughter	
my husband's grandmother	
my wife's "	
my husband's sister (if senior and a mother)	
my elder brother's wife (if a mother)..	*dar bā-.*
my brother's son (male or female speaking)	
my sister's son (male or female speaking)	
my half-brother's (or half-sister's) son, or my first-cousin's (male or female) son (male or female speaking) ..	
my brother's son's wife (male or female speaking)	*dar bā lai ik-yâ·te-.*
my sister's son's wife (male or female speaking)	
my half-brother's (or half-sister's) son's wife, or my first cousin's (male or female) son's wife (male or female speaking)	
my brother's daughter (male or female speaking)	*dar bā-pail-.*
my sister's daughter (male or female speaking)	
my half-brother's (or half-sister's) daughter, or my first-cousin's (male or female) daughter (male or female speaking)	
my brother's daughter's husband (male or female speaking)	*dar bā lâ ik-yâ·te-.*
my sister's daughter's husband (male or female speaking)	

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my half-brother's (or half-sister's) daughter's husband, or my first-cousin's (male or female) daughter's husband (male or female speaking)	*dar bā lá ik-yá·te-.*
my father's brother's son, if older (male or female speaking)	*dar chá·bil entó·bare; dar chá·bil entó·kare.*
my father's sister's son, if older (male or female speaking)	
my mother's brother's son, if older (male or female speaking)	
my mother's sister's son, if older (male or female speaking)	
my elder half-brother, whether uterine or consanguine (male or female speaking)	
my father's brother's son, if younger (male or female speaking)	*dar dō·atinga-.*
my father's sister's son, if younger (male or female speaking)	
my mother's brother's son, if younger (male or female speaking)	
my mother's sister's son, if younger (male or female speaking)	
my younger half-brother, if uterine (male or female speaking)	*dá·kà kám-.*
my younger half-brother, if consanguine (male or female speaking) ..	*dar dō·atinga-; dar wē·jinga-; dar wē·jeringa-.*
my father's brother's son's wife, if older (male or female speaking) ..	*dar chá·bil entó·bare lai ik-yá·te-.*
my father's sister's son's wife, if older (male or female speaking)	
my mother's brother's son's wife, if older (male or female speaking) ..	
my mother's sister's son's wife, if older (male or female speaking)	
my elder half-brother's wife, whether uterine or consanguine (male or female speaking)	
my father's brother's son's wife, if younger (male or female speaking)..	*dar dō·atinga lai ik-yá·te-.*
my father's sister's son's wife, if younger (male or female speaking)..	
my mother's brother's son's wife, if younger (male or female speaking)..	
my mother's sister's son's wife, if younger (male or female speaking)..	
the wife of my uterine half-brother, if younger (male or female speaking)..	*dá-kà kám lai ik-yá·te-.*
the wife of my consanguine half-brother, if younger (male or female speaking)	*dar dō·atinga- / dar wē·jinga- / or dar wē·jeringa-* *lai ik-yá·te-.*
my father's brother's elder daughter (male or female speaking)	*dī·a chá·nol à-entó·ba-yá·te-.*
my father's sister's elder daughter (male or female speaking)	
my mother's brother's elder daughter (male or female speaking)	
my mother's sister's elder daughter (male or female speaking)	

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my elder half-sister, whether uterine or consanguine (male or female speaking)	*dī·a châ·nol à-entô·ba-yâ·te-.*
my father's brother's younger daughter (male or female speaking)	*dar dō·atinga-pail-.*
my father's sister's younger daughter (male or female speaking)	
my mother's brother's younger daughter (male or female speaking)	
my mother's sister's younger daughter (male or female speaking)	
my younger half-sister, if uterine (male or female speaking)	*dâ·kà kâm-pail-.*
my younger half-sister, if consanguine (male or female speaking)	*dar dō·atinga-pail-; dar wē·jinga-pail-; or dar wē·jeringa-pail-*
my father's brother's elder daughter's husband (male or female speaking)..	*dī·a châ·nol ù-entô·ba-yâ·te lâ ik-yâ·te-.*
my father's sister's elder daughter's husband (male or female speaking)..	
my mother's brother's elder daughter's husband (male or female speaking)..	
my mother's sister's elder daughter's husband (male or female speaking)..	
my elder half-sister's husband, whether uterine or consanguine (male or female speaking)	
my father's brother's younger daughter's husband (male or female speaking) ..	*dar dō·atinga-pail lâ ik-yâ·te-.*
my father's sister's younger daughter's husband (male or female speaking)..	
my mother's brother's younger daughter's husband (male or female speaking)	
my mother's sister's younger daughter's husband (male or female speaking)..	
the husband of my uterine half-sister, if younger (male or female speaking)	*dâ·kà kâm pail lâ ik-yâ·te-.*
the husband of my consanguine half-sister, if younger (male or female speaking)	*dar dō·atinga-pail- / dar wē·jinga-pail- / or dar wē·jeringa-pail- lâ ik-yâ·te-.*
my grandfather (male or female speaking)	*dī·a mai·ola.*
my grandfather's brother (male or female speaking)	
my grandmother's brother (male or female speaking)	
my elder sister's husband (male or female speaking)	
my husband	*ad ik-yâ·te-.*
my wife	*dai ik-yâ·te-.*
my husband's father	*dī·a mâ·mola.*
my husband's mother	
my wife's father..	
my wife's mother	
my husband's elder brother	
my wife's brother (if older)	
my husband's sister's husband (if older)	
my wife's sister (if older[1] and a mother)	

[1] Otherwise her name would be employed.

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my husband's brother's wife (if older)	*dī·a mā·mola.*
my wife's brother's wife (if older) ..	
my husband's brother (if of equal standing)	*dī·a mā·ma.*
my wife's brother (if of equal standing)	
my son-in-law (male or female speaking)	*dī·a ōtō·niya.*
my younger sister's husband (male or female speaking)	
my daughter-in law (male or female speaking)	*dī·a ōtī·n-.*
my husband's sister, if younger (male or female speaking)	
my husband's brother's wife, if younger (male or female speaking)	
my wife's brother's wife, if younger (male or female speaking)	
my step-son (either speaking)	*deb adenʼire.*
my step-daughter (either speaking) ..	*deb adenʼire-pail-.*
my adopted son " " ..	*dōt chā·tnga-.*
my adopted daughter " " ..	*dōt chā·tnga-pail-.*
my parents " " ..	*dab maiʼol-chā·no!.*
my foster-father " " ..	*dab mai ōt-chā·tnga-.*
my foster-mother " " ..	*dab chān ōt-chā·tnga-.*
the relationship subsisting between a married couple's fathers-in-law ..	*ā·kà ya kāt-.*
the relationship subsisting between a married couple's mothers-in-law ..	
my husband's brother (if younger) ..	*dā·kà bā-bā·la-.*
my younger brother's wife	*dā·kà bā-pail-.*
my wife's sister's husband (if younger)	*mar*, or (if a father) *maiʼa.*
my husband's sister's husband (if younger)	
twins (whether of the same sex or not)	*abdī·dinga-.*
widow	*chān arlē·ba-.*
widower	*mai arlē·ba-.*

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APPENDIX K.

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LIST OF TERMS APPLIED TO MALES AND FEMALES FROM BIRTH TO OLD AGE IN ORDER TO INDICATE THEIR AGE, CONDITION, &C.

Males.

During the first year ..	*abdē·reka-*	*ō·ta-*[1]	The term *ablá·panga-* (long) is applied to a boy who is tall for his age.
During the second year ..	*abkē·tia-*	*ō·ta-*[1]	
During the third and fourth years	*abdō·ga-*	*ablī·ga-*[2]	
From four till ten years of age	*àwal·aganga-* or *àwal·agare*	*ablī·ga-*[2]	Until the commencement of the probationary "fast" (as well as after its completion) he is called *bō·tigà-*.
During the eleventh and twelfth years	*á·kà-kâ·daka-*	*ablī·ga-*[2]	
From twelve to fifteen years of age (the ordinary "fasting" period)	*á·kà - kâ·daka - dō·ga-*	*dâ·la-*	During such portion of this period as he "fasts" he is called *á·kà - yâb-*, or *á·kà-yū·ba-*.
After breaking the probationary "fast" (for first month)	*á·kà-gō·i-*	*abwá·ra-*[3]	He now breaks the "fast," and is called *gū·ma* until he becomes a father.
From then till he becomes a father	*á·kà-gū·mul-*	*abwá·ra-*[3]	He is addressed as *gū·ma* from the time of his breaking the "fast" till his wife's first pregnancy, when he becomes *mai·a*. Should he never have a child he is called *mai·a* a little later in life.
Single — bachelor only ..	*abwá·ra-*		
Single — whether bachelor or widower	*kâ·ga-tō·go-*		
Bridegroom	*abdē·rebil-*		
Full grown (whether married or single)	*abwá·ra-gō·i-*		
Newly married (during first few days only)	*arwē·red-* ; *ōng-tāg-gō·i-*		
Newly married (during first few months only)	*ūn-já·ti-gō·i-*		Only applied to young persons.
Married (while still without a child)	*ōng-tāg-*[4]		While his wife is *enceinte* he is called *pij-jū·bag-*.
Married (having had a child)	*chá·bil-* ; *chá·bil-chàu-* ; *mai·a*		During the first two or three months after the death of his child he is called *mai·a ō·kolī·nga-*.
Married (more than once—not applied during widowhood)	*tarwá·ki-*		
Widower	*mai·arlē·ba-*		The *survivor* of an old couple who have been united since their youth is called *abrá·ji-gō·i-*.
Old	*abjang·gi-* ; *abchō·roga-*		
White-haired	*abtól-*		

[1] Signifies testicle. [2] A child. [3] A bachelor.
[4] Their jungle-bed of leaves is called *tāg-*.

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Females.

During the first year ..	*abdē·reka-*[1]		
During the second year ..	*abkē·tia-*[1]	*ablī·ga-*[3]	The term *ā·kà-tā·ng-* (tree) is applied to a girl who is tall for her age.
During the third and fourth years	*abdō·ga-*[1]	*ablī·ga-*[3]	As in the case of males, both before and after the probationary "fast"[5] she is called *bō·tiga-*.
From four till ten years of age	*àwal·aganga-*[1] or *àwal·agare*	*ablī·ga-*[3]	
During the eleventh and twelfth years	*àryō·ngi-*	*ablī·ga-*[3]	
From twelve till about sixteen years of age (her ordinary "fasting"[5] period)	*àryō·ngi-pō·i-*	*abjad·i-jōg-*[4]	She commences her "fast" during this period, and while so doing is called *ā·kà-yāb-*, or *ā·kà-yā·ba-*.
After breaking the probationary "fast" (for first month)	*ā·kà-gō·i-*[1]	*abjad·i-jōg-*[4]	As soon as she attains maturity she is called *ūnlā·wi-*, or *ā·kà-lā·wi-*, and then receives her "flower" name (*vide* Appendix H).
Spinster	*abjad·i-jōg-*		
Bride	*abdē·rebil-pail-*		
Full grown: if unmarried	*abjad·i-jōg-gō·i-*		
Full grown: if married (but not yet a mother)	*ōng-tāg-*;[6] *ablā·ga-*		
Full grown: if married (but with no child alive)	*ablā·ga-*		
Newly married (during first few days only)	*arwē·red*;[1] *ōng-tāg-gō·i-*[1]		
Newly married (during first few months only)	*ūn-jā·ti-gō·i-*;[1] *ōng-tāg-*[1]		Only applied to young persons.
Married (while still without a child)	*ōng-tāg-*[1]		While *enceinte* she is called *pīj-jā·bag-*.
Married (having had a child)	*chā·nre*; *chān-chàn-*; *chān·a*; *chā·nola-*		During the first two or three months after the death of her child she is called *chān·a ōkolī·nga*
Married (more than once—not applied during widowhood)	*tarwā·ki-*[1]		
Widow	*chān-arlē·ba-*		
Old	*abjang·gi-*;[1] *abchō·roga-*[1]		
White-haired	*abtōl-*[1]		

[1] In those cases in which the term is common to both sexes, or ambiguity would otherwise exist, the word *pail-* (female) is added when a woman is referred to. Ex.: *ōng-tāg-pail-*; *abtōl-pail-*.

[2] Signifies the genitals of a female.

[3] A child.

[4] A spinster.

[5] As elsewhere explained (*vide* Part II, "Initiatory Ceremonies") this term is used merely to imply abstention, during a period varying from one to four or more years, from certain favourite articles of diet.

[6] Their jungle-bed of leaves is called *tāg-*.

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APPENDIX L.

List of some of the Trees and Plants in the Andaman Jungles.

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Andamanese name.	Botanical name.[1]	Remarks.
á·bnga- (*a*)	Dillenia pilosa.	
aiu·ya-	Dipterocarpus alatus .	(Burm.) *Kanyin agi.*
al·aba-	Melochia velutina ..	(*vide* Appendix B, item 66)
ám- (*a*) (*e*)	Calamus, sp. No. 1.	
á·para- (*d*) (*k*) .. .. Also *á·bad-*	Ptychosperma Kuhlii ..	
á·raga-	.. ..	(Hindi.) *Palawa.* (Burm.) *Bé·bia.*
á·rain- (*m*)	Dipterocarpus lævis ..	(Burm.) *Kanyin byu-*, Gurjon oil tree.
bad·a- (*o*)	Rhizophora conjugata ..	(Burm.) *Byúma.*
bad·ar- (*a*)	Sometia tomentosa (?)	
bai·la- (*a*) (*b*) . .	Terminalia procera ..	(Burm.) *Bambway byu.*
bá·ja- (*y*)	Sterculia (? villosa) ..	(Burm.) *Sabu-bani.*
bá·lak-	.. .. ..	*Vide* Part II, "Religious Beliefs," paragraph 19.
bal·ya-		
bá·rata- (*c*)	Caryota sobolifera.	
bá·taga- (*i*)	Ceriops Candolleana ..	(Burm.) *Madamá.*
bé·lu-	Natsatium herpestes.	
bé·ma-	Albizzia Lebbek (?) ..	(Burm.) *Kák·ko*
bé·rekád-	Glycosinis pentaphylla.	
bé·rewi-	Claoxylon affine (?)	
bi·bi-	Terminalia (? citrina).	
bi·riga-	Planchonia valida ..	(Burm.) *Bambway ngi.*
bi·rtál-		
bi·tim-	Sophora sp.	
ból- (*v*)	Calamus sp. .. .	Ground rattan.
bó·ma-	Claoxylon sp.	
bó·rowa- (*u*)	Myristica longifolia ..	(Hindi.) *Jaiphal.* (Burm.) *Zá·dipho.*
bó·to-kó·ko- (*v*)	Sabia (?)	
búb-	Ancistrocladus extensus (?)	
bú·kura- (*i*)	Diospyros (?) nigricans ..	Bastard ebony, or marble wood (superior variety).
búr-		
bú·tu-	.. .. . .	Extensively used in the manufacture of arrows.
chób- (*a*)	.. ..	(Hindi.) *Badám.*
chá·dak-	Rubiaceæ.	
chág·e-	Paratropia venulosa.	
chai-	.. ..	Bows made from this tree.

[1] It has been chiefly owing to the kind assistance afforded by Dr. G. King, Superintendent of the Botanical Garden, Howrah (near Calcutta), that I have been able to ascertain the botanical names of so many of the trees in this list.

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Andamanese name.	Botanical name.	Remarks.
chaij- (*a*) (*b*)	Semecarpus anacardium	(Hindi.) *Bilâwa.*
châ·kan- (*b*)	Entada pursœtha.	
châ·langa- (*q*)	Pterocarpus dalbergioides	(Hindi.) *Sīsu.* (Burm.) *Padàuk.*
chám- (*j*)	Areca laxa of Hamilton (a variety of Areca triandra).	
châ·mti-	Cynometra polyandra.	
chàng·ta-	Calamus sp.	Leaves used in thatching huts, and for making the warning wreaths round a grave or deserted encampment.
châp-	Terminalia sp.	
châ·to-	Albizzia Lebbek (?) ..	(Hindi.) *Sirīs.* (Burm.) *Tsit.*
chàu·ga-yū·anga-	Hopea odorata	(Burm.) *Thingâm-byū-.*
chē·nir-	Leea sambucina.	
chi·lib-	Diospyros densiflora (?)	
chō·ad-	.. ..	(Burm.) *Màukaràung.*
chō·bal-	Atalantia sp.	
chō·ngara- (*a*)		
chō·pa- (*a*)	Leguminosæ.	
chôb- (*a*)	Calamus sp. No. 2 ..	The fruit somewhat resembles a medlar in flavour.
chô·kuga-	Goniothalamus Griffithii.	
chô·lij-	Hypolytrum trinervium.	
chôr- (*i*)	Celtis cinnamomea.	
dâ·kar-tâ·la-	Hydnocarpus (?) ..	(Hindi.) ? *Lâl chīni.* (Burm.) ? *Chándu.*
dē·debla-	Xanthophyllum glaucum.	
dōd-	Myristica Irya	Sometimes used for paddle making.
dō·gota- (*a*) (*f*)	Mimusops Indica (or ? littoralis)	(Hindi.) *Mōwa.* (Burm.) *Kapāli thit.*
dō·mto- (*p*)	Guettarda speciosa.	
dū·mla-	.. ..	(Burm.) *Fishūm.*
dū·ra-	Barringtonia racemosa.	
elētâ·la-		
ē·mej- (*b*)	Terminalia bialata.	
eng·ara- (*a*)	.. ..	Wild plantain.
ē·repaid-tāt-	Strychnos nux vomica.	
gâ·cho-		
gad-	Calophyllum spectabile.	
gel·dim- (*a*) .. .	Leguminosæ sp.	
ger·eng- (*n*)	Bombax malabaricum ..	(Hindi.) *Sembal.* (Burm.) *Dīdu.*
gū·gma-	Trigonostemon longifolius	Leaves used medicinally as a febrifuge.
ī·til- (*b*)	Pandanus (?)	
jâ- (*a*)	Gluta longipetiolata ..	(Burm.) *Thip-pyū.*
jā·la-	Rubiaceæ.	
jang·ma- (*a*)	Stephania hernandifolia.	

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Andamanese name.	Botanical name.	Remarks.
jı·dga		
jī·ni- (*a*)	Alpinia sp.	(*Vide* Part I "Medicine," para. 4, and Part III, "Food," para. 35.)
jôr-	Odina Wodier	(Burm.) *Nubbhē.*
jū·laij- (*b*)	Dendrolobium umbellatum	
jū·mu- (*a*)..	? Bruguiera gymnorhiza, *or* Rhizphora mucronata	(Burm.) *Byūbo.*
kâ·daka-	Ficus hispida.	
kai- (*a*)	Mangifera sylvatica ..	Wild mango.
kai·ta- (*a*) (*b*	Artocarpus chaplasha ..	(Hindi.) *Kathar.* (Burm.) *Toung-peng.*
kâ.pa- (*a*) (*h*)	Licuala (probably peltata)	
kār·ed- (*a*)..	? Sterculia (*or* Sanadera Indica)	The fruit contains a nut which after being sucked is broken, when the *shell* is eaten and the *kernel* thrown away.
kār·ega- (*a*)	Diospyros sp.	
kô·kan- (*r*) ..	Pajanelia multijuga.	
kón- (*a*)	Diospyros sp.	
kô·rtâ·la-	Griffithia longiflora.	
kū·dnga-	One of the Rubiaceæ.	
kū·nra-	Dracontomelum sylvestre.	
lē·che-	Lactaria salubris ..	The fruit being large and round is often used as a moving target by being rolled along the ground or down a slope and shot at while in motion.
lē·kera-	Leguminosæ sp.	
lō-gaj- (*a*)	Angiopteris evecta.	
lō·koma-		
mâ·chal-	Atalantia sp.	
maiī·- (*x*)	Sterculia (?)	(Burm.) *Àuk yenzà.*
máng- (*a*) (*b*) (*l*).. ..	Pandanus Andamanensium.	(Hindi.) *Kēora.*
mô·nag-	Mesua ferrea	(Hindi.) *Sâl.* (Burm.) *Gangua.*
môt-	Heritiera littoralis.	
mū·twin- (*a*)	Anacardiaceæ.	
ngâ·tya- (*a*)	Bruguiera sp.	
ñgē·bēr- (*b*)	Cycas Rumphii.	
nyū·raimo-	Ficus sp. No. 1.	
ō·dag-	Eugenia sp.	
ō·dorma- (*a*)		
ō·li- (*a*)	Ficus (probably macrophylla).	
ō·lma-	.. ..	(Burm.) *Thisunāwe.*
ô·ro-	Chickrassia tabularis ..	(Burm.) *Ngâ·zu.*
ô·ropa- (*a*) (*b*) (*i*) .	Baccaurea sapida ..	(Hindi.) *Khatta phal.* (Burm.) *Kanazo.*
ô·rta-tāt- (*a*) (*g*)	Uvaria micrantha.	
pâ- (*b*)	Semecarpus (?)	(Burm.) *Thikadoe.*

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Andamanese name.	Botanical name.	Remarks.
pai·ma-	Clausena (probably Wallichii).	
pai·tla-(b)		
pâb-	Lagerstrœmia regina (? hypoleuca)	(Burm.) *Pima.*
pâr-	Leguminosæ sp.	
pâ·ra-		
pâ·rad-	Gramineæ.	
pâ·tag-	Meliosma simplicifolia ..	Leaves sometimes used as aprons by women (*vide dö·gota-*). The kernel of the seed is eaten.
pē·dag-		
pē·li- (*a*)	Gnetum scandens.	
pē·taing-	Memecylon varians	
pī·cha- (*i*)..	Diospyros sp.	Bastard ebony, or marble wood (inferior variety).
pī·dga- (*w*)	.. ..	Common cane.
pī·lita-	Gnetum edule	Fibre extensively used (*vide* Appendix B, item 65).
pī·rij-	Afzelia bijuga.	
pī·ti-	Derris scandens.	
pô- (*t*)	Bambusa Andamanica.	
pôr- (*a*)	Korthalsia (or Calamosagus) scaphigera.	
pö·rud-	probably Schmeidelia glabra	(Burm.) *Kimberlin.*
pū·a-	Bambusa..	Used for making the shaft of the turtlespear, and for poling canoes.
pū·lain- (*b*)	.. ..	(Burm.) *Ngâ·zu* sp. No. 1.
pū·lia- (*b*)..	Mucuna sp.	
pū·lka-	Memecylon (probably capitellatum).	
pū·ta- (*b*)	Nipa fruticans	Dhunny leaf palm.
rd-	Dendrobium secundum.	
râb-	Phœnix sp.	(Hindi.) *Kajūr.*
râr-	Eugenia (?)	(Hindi.) *Chandan.* (Burm.) *Tau-ngim.*
râu-	Ficus laccifera	(Hindi.) *Bargat.* (Burm.) *Ngiâu.*
rē·che-	Eugenia sp.	(Burm.) *Mai úmbu.*
reg lá·kà châl-	Polyalthia Jenkinsii.	
rī·di-	Bambusa (?)	Used for making the shafts of the *râ·tà-*, *lī·rlēd-*, and *tô·lbōd-* arrows.
rim- (*s*)	Celtis (*or* Gironniera) ..	(Burm.) *Tingām.*
rô·loin-	Syzygium Jambolanum.	
tâ·langa-tāt-	Antitaxis calocarpa ..	(Burm.) *Gangua ngre.*
tâ·lapa-	Terminalia trilata (?) ..	(Hindi.) *Chōglam.* (Burm.) ? *Ngâ·zu* sp. No. 2, or *Kyō na lin.*

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Andamanese name.	Botanical name.	Remarks.
tăn-		
tâ·par-	Erycibe coriaceæ.	
tâ·tib- (*a*) (*i*)	Croton argyratus (Blyth)	(Burm.) *Chânnu.*
tĭ-		
tŏ·kul-		(Burm.) *Kiâtalung.*
tŏl-	Amomum dealbatum (*or* sericeum).	
tŏp-	Barringtonia Asiatica.	
tŏ·ta-		(Burm.) *Pyŭ.*
ŭd- (*b*)	Menispermaceæ.	
ŭ·dala-	Pandanus verus.	
ŭj- (*a*)	Tetranthera lanceæfolia	(*Vide* Appendix B, item 76.)
ŭl-	Carapa obovata	(Burm.) *Penlĕong.*
ŭ·tara-	Maranta grandis (*or* Phrynium grande).	
wain·ya-		
wâ·nga-	Pterospernum acerifolium.	
wai·unga-		(Hindi.) *Jungli saigon.* (Burm.) *Pânu.*
wĭ·lima-	Podocarpus polystachia	(Burm.) *Thit min.*
yâ·rla-		
yâtig·i-	Rubiaceæ.	
yĕ·re-r	Sterculia sp.	
yŏ·lba-	Anodendron paniculatum.	

Additional Notes.

(*a*) Fruit is eaten.
(*b*) Seed is eaten.
(*c*) Heart of the tree is eaten.
(*d*) Pulpy portion of spathe is eaten.
(*e*) Leaf stems used in manufacture of sleeping mats. Leaves used for thatching purposes.
(*f*) Leaves used by women as aprons (*ŏ·bunga-*); rotten logs used for fuel (see also "Superstitions," para. 8).
(*g*) Stem of this plant used for the frame and handle of the hand-net (*kŭd-*) (*vide* Appendix B, item 20).
(*h*) Leaves used for thatching, for screens (*vide* Appendix B, item 74), for bedding, for wrapping round corpse, for packing food for journey, &c., and prior to cooking.
(*i*) Rotten logs used for fuel.
(*j*) Used in manufacture of the foreshaft of the *râ·tà-*, *tĭ·rlĕ·d-*, *tŏ·lbŏ·d-*, and *chûm-* arrows (*vide* Appendix B, items 2, 3, 4, 8), and sometimes also the skewer.
(*k*) Leaves used for thatching and for bedding.
(*l*) Leaves used in the manufacture of articles of personal attire (*vide* Appendix B, items 25 and 28).
(*m*) The middle portion of rotten logs used for torches.
(*n*) Rarely used for making canoes.
(*o*) Used for adzes, sometimes for foreshafts of arrows, and for making children's bows.
(*p*) Leaves used for flooring of huts.
(*q*) Buttress-like slab roots used for making the sounding-boards employed when dancing.

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(*r*) Used for making canoes.
(*s*) Resin used in manufacture of *kâ·ngatâ-bŭj-* (*vide* Appendix B, item 62).
(*t*) Used in making the *gŏb-*, *kai-*, and sometimes the *tŏg-* (*vide* Appendix B, items 82, 80, and 10).
(*u*) Generally used for making paddles, and the leaves for bedding.
(*v*) Used for making shaft of hog-spear.
(*w*) Used for making baskets, fastenings of adzes, turtle-spears, torches (*tŏ·ug-*), and of bundles; also for suspending buckets, for stitching cracks in canoes, and in thatching.
(*x*) Used for making canoes; the resin is employed in making torches.
(*y*) Used for making canoes, pails, and eating trays.

APPENDIX M.

LIST OF SHELLS AND SHELL FISH COMMONLY KNOWN TO THE ANDAMANESE.

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Andamanese name.	Scientific name.[1]	Remarks.
bad[illegible]la- (*a*)	Monodonta (? labeo).	
bad[illegible]la- (*a*)	Delphinula laciniata.	
ŏr[illegible]	Pecten (?) Indica ..	Scallop.
châ·pata- (*b*)	Pteroceras chiragra ..	Scorpion shell.
châu·ga lŭt chŭ·kul- ..	Murex tribulus.	
chej- (also *chŏ·la-*) ..	Pinna (? squamosa) ..	Bouquet-holder shell.
chŭ·di- (*b*)	Pinna (?)	
cho kot[illegible]	? Conus eburneus.	
ca·rom- (*a*)	Scolymus cornigerus.	
chŏ wai- (*a*)	Tridacna crocea.	
chŭ- (*a*)	Murex (? palma-rosæ) ..	Rose-bud shell.
ĕ·la-	Perna ephippium.	
gar·en-	Dentalium octogonum.	
gar·en-ŏ·la- (*a*)	Turbo (?)..	Top-shell.
i·na-ŏ·la- (*a*)	Nassa (? tœnia)	Dog-whelk.
jâr·awa ŏ·la- (*a*) ..	Purpura Persica.	
ji·rka-ŭ-	Cyrena (?)	
jŭ·rol- (*b*)	Cerithidea telescopium.	
jŭ·ru-win lâ·kà bang- ..	Solen vagina	Razor-fish.
kâ·mrŭj-	Trochus (? obeliscus).	
kâ·rada-	Arca granosa.	
kŏ·nop- (*a*)	Tridacna squamosa.	
li·do-	Turbo marmoratus ..	Is eaten by the *bal·awa-* tribe only.
li·ta- (*a*)	Cassis glaucus	Helmet-shell.
mâl·ta- (*a*)	Venus (?)	
mâ·red- (*a*)	Venus meroë	Pattern-shot Venus.
mâr·eno- (*a*)	Patella variabilis ..	Rock-limpet.

[1] To the Rev. T. L. J. Warneford, formerly chaplain at the Andamans, I am indebted for the classical names of many of the shells in this list.

(*a*) denotes those that are cooked and eaten.
(*b*) denotes those that are cooked and eaten by *married* persons only.

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Andamanese name.	Scientific name.	Remarks.
nyē·red-	Mitra adusta	Mitre-shell.
ō·do-	Nautilus (? zic-zac).	
ō·la- (*a*)	Ceritbium (? nodulosum).	
ō·log-	Strombus (? pugilis).	
pai·dek- (*a*)	Arca (? barbata).	
pail- (*b*)	Mytilus smaragdinus ..	Sea-mussel.
pai·lta- (*b*)	Pharus (?)	
páp-ō·la- (*a*)	Turbo porphyreticus.	
pē·te- (*a*)	Circe (?)	
pō·rma- (*a*)	Arca (?)	
·pū·luga làr ā·laug- ..	Dolium latelabris (? also galea).	
rē·keto-	Hemicardium unedo.	
rō·kta- (*b*)	Cyrena (?)	
tā·ra-ō·la- (*a*)	Natica albumen.	
tai·lig-pū·nur-	Conus (? nobilis).	
teb- (*a*)	Bulla naucum	Bubble-shell.
tē·lim-	Cypræa Arabica	Cowry.
"	" Mauritiana.	
"	" Talpa.	
"	" Tigris.	
"	" Vitellus	
til-	Cassis Madagascariensis (? also tuberosa)	Queen-conch.
tòi·ña-	Ostrea (?)	Eaten many years ago but not now.
tū·a- (*a*)	Trochus Niloticus.	
ū- (*a*)	Cyrena (?)	
ū·chup-	Conus textile	Cone shell.
ū·yo-	? Turbinella pyrum, *or* Pyrula (? ficus)	Shank shell.
wal- (*b*)	Spondylus (?)	Thorny oyster.
wá·ngata- (*a*)	Arca (? granosa).	
wōp- (*b*)	Ostrea (?)	Oyster.
yá·dī làr ē te- (*a*) ..	Haliotis glabra (*also* " asininus)	Ear-shell.

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APPENDIX N.

STATEMENT SHOWING THE EARNINGS OF THE ABORIGINES IN THE ANDAMAN HOMES FROM 1ST APRIL, 1875, TO 31ST MARCH, 1882.

The official year ending	For re-capturing runaway convicts at Rs. 5 each.	By sale of (a) sea-shells and tortoiseshell.	(b) turtles, oysters, crabs, prawns, and turtles' eggs.	(c) honey and jungle products.	(d) bows, arrows, &c.	(e) cane stools, thatching leaves, &c.*	Monthly bills for sales of a, b, c, d, and e.	Total.†	Remarks.
	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	
31st March, 1876 ...	135	348	240	437	29	...	...	1189	* These sales, however, represent but a fraction of the work done by the female inmates of the Homes, as upwards of Rs. 1000 worth of blankets and thatching leaves manufactured in the two years ending 31st March, 1877, were not charged for, besides large sums in the following years.
" 1877 ...	145	349	429	547	75	...	...	1545	
" 1878 ...	85	376	418	341	146	26	...	1300	
" 1879 ...	50	299	418	456	131	33	...	1387	† These amounts are exclusive of various sums—aggregating Rs. 3177 in the seven years—realised chiefly by the sale of surplus produce raised in the "Home" gardens, and by money prizes and rewards gained by the aborigines for recovering sunken property, winning races at sports, &c.
" 1880 ...	60	370	643	363	199	34	...	1669	
" 1881 ...	35	704	549	799	240	118	...	2445	
" 1882 ...	120	502	315	835	52	206	415	2445	

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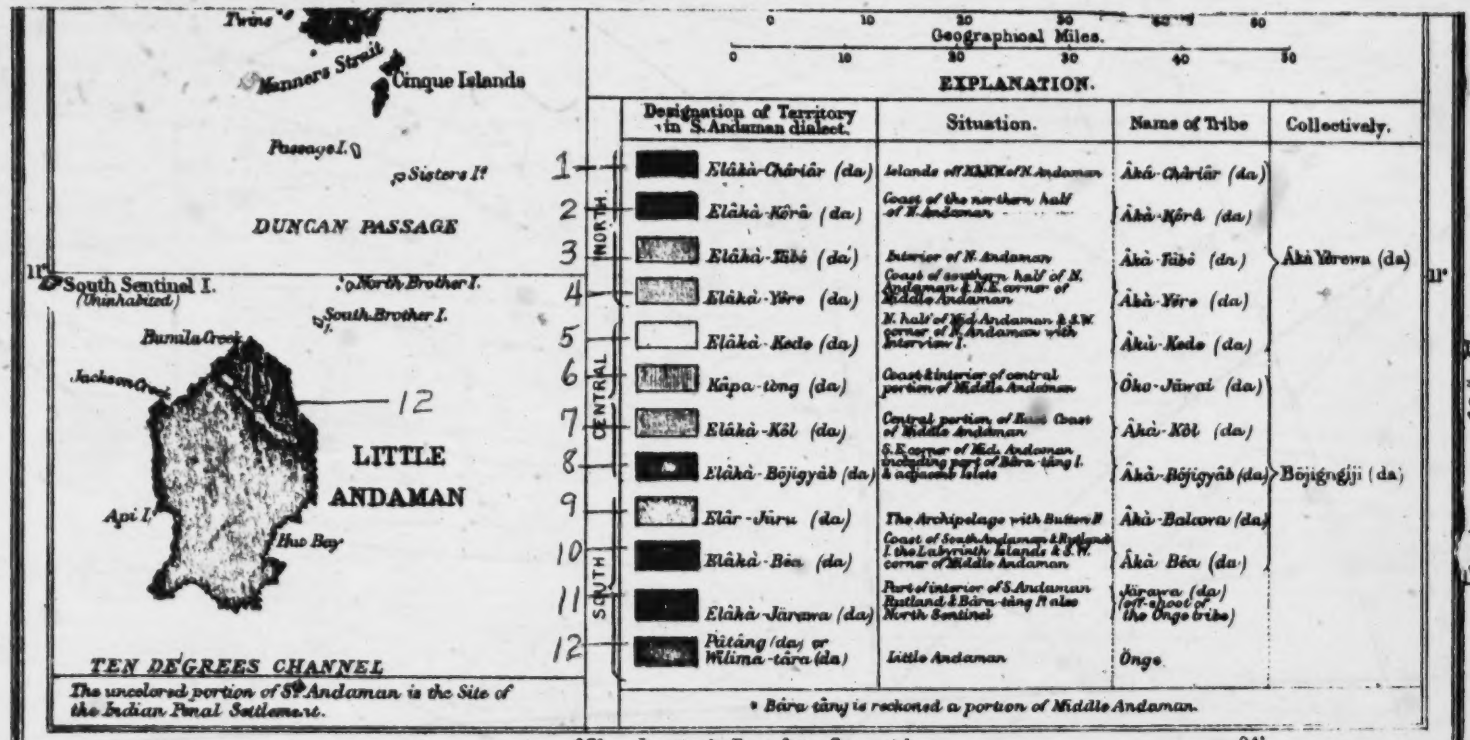

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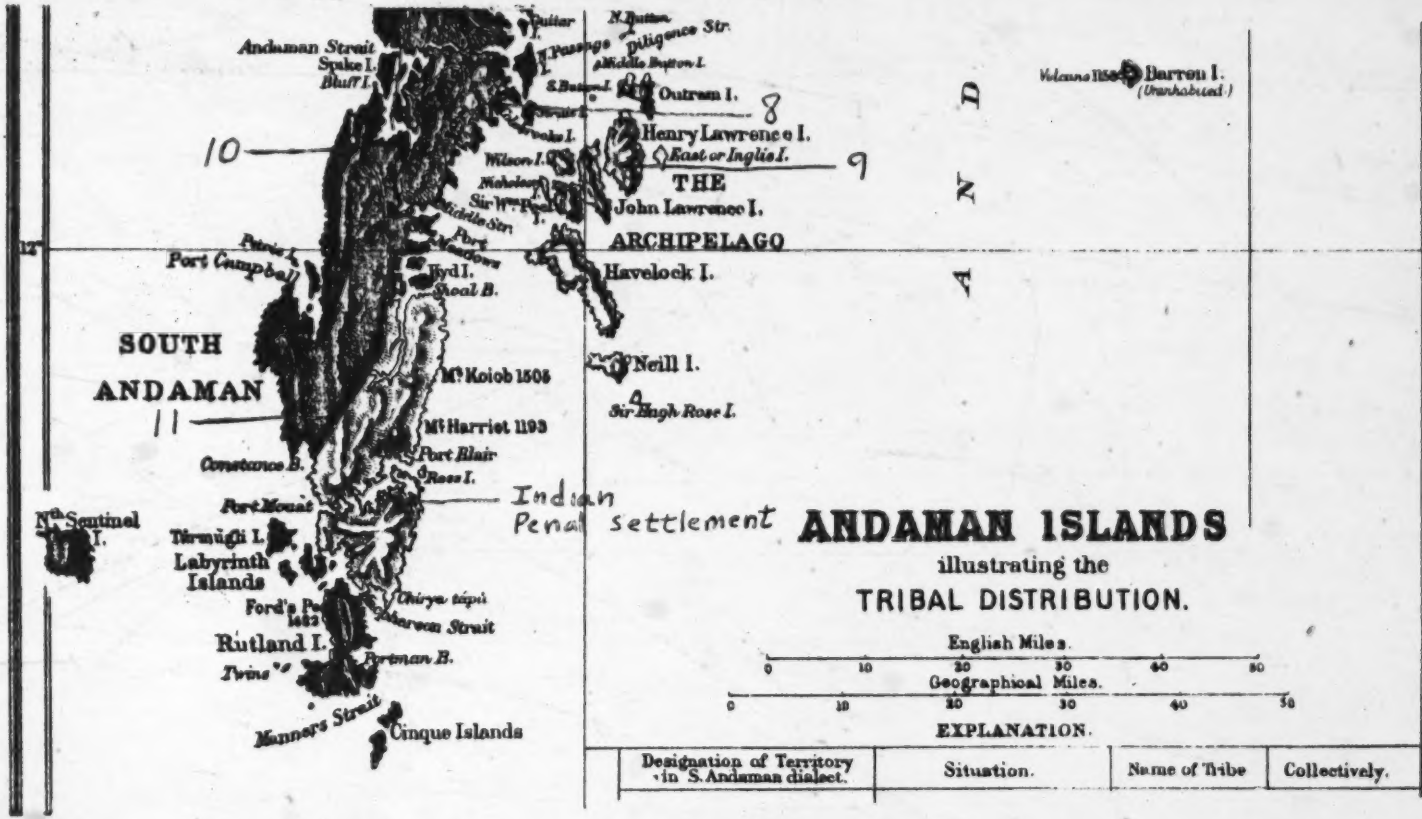

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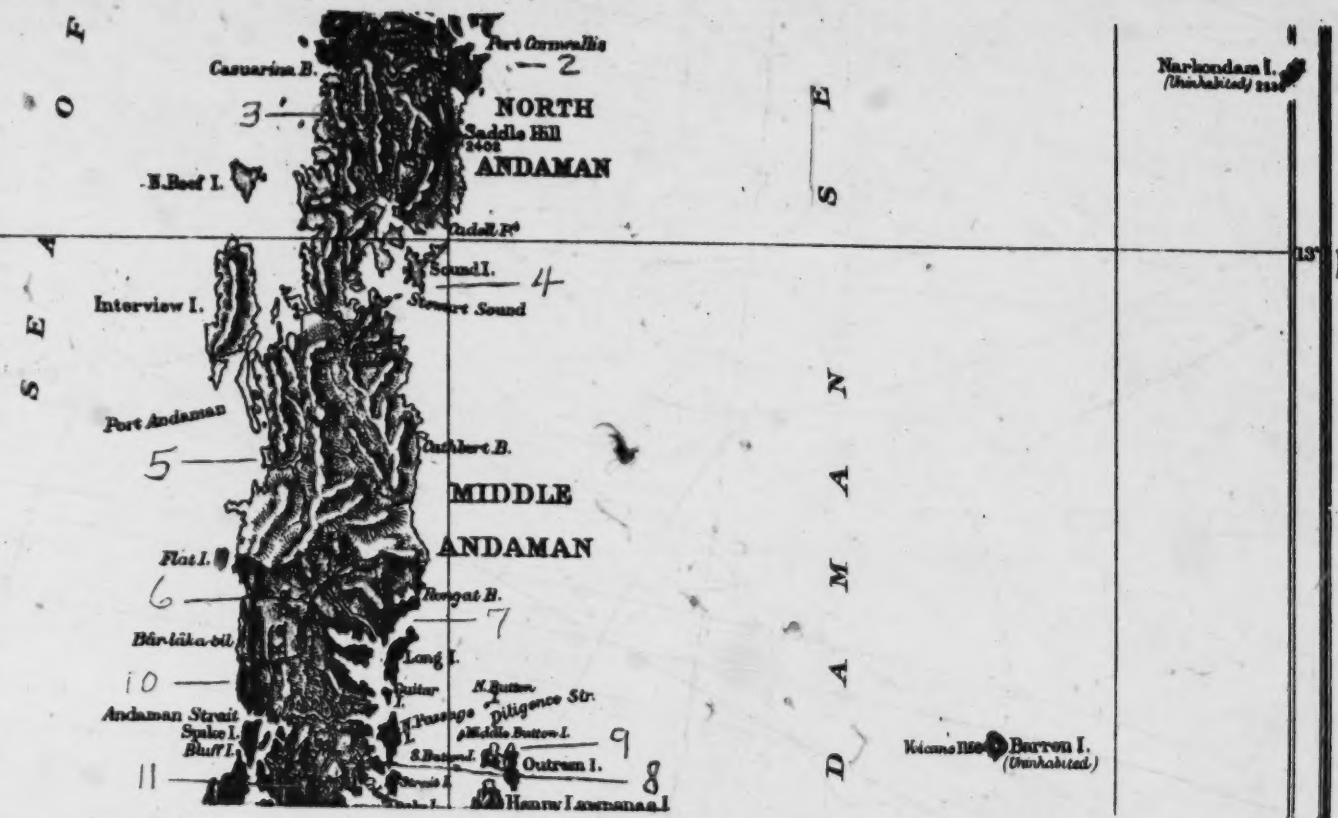

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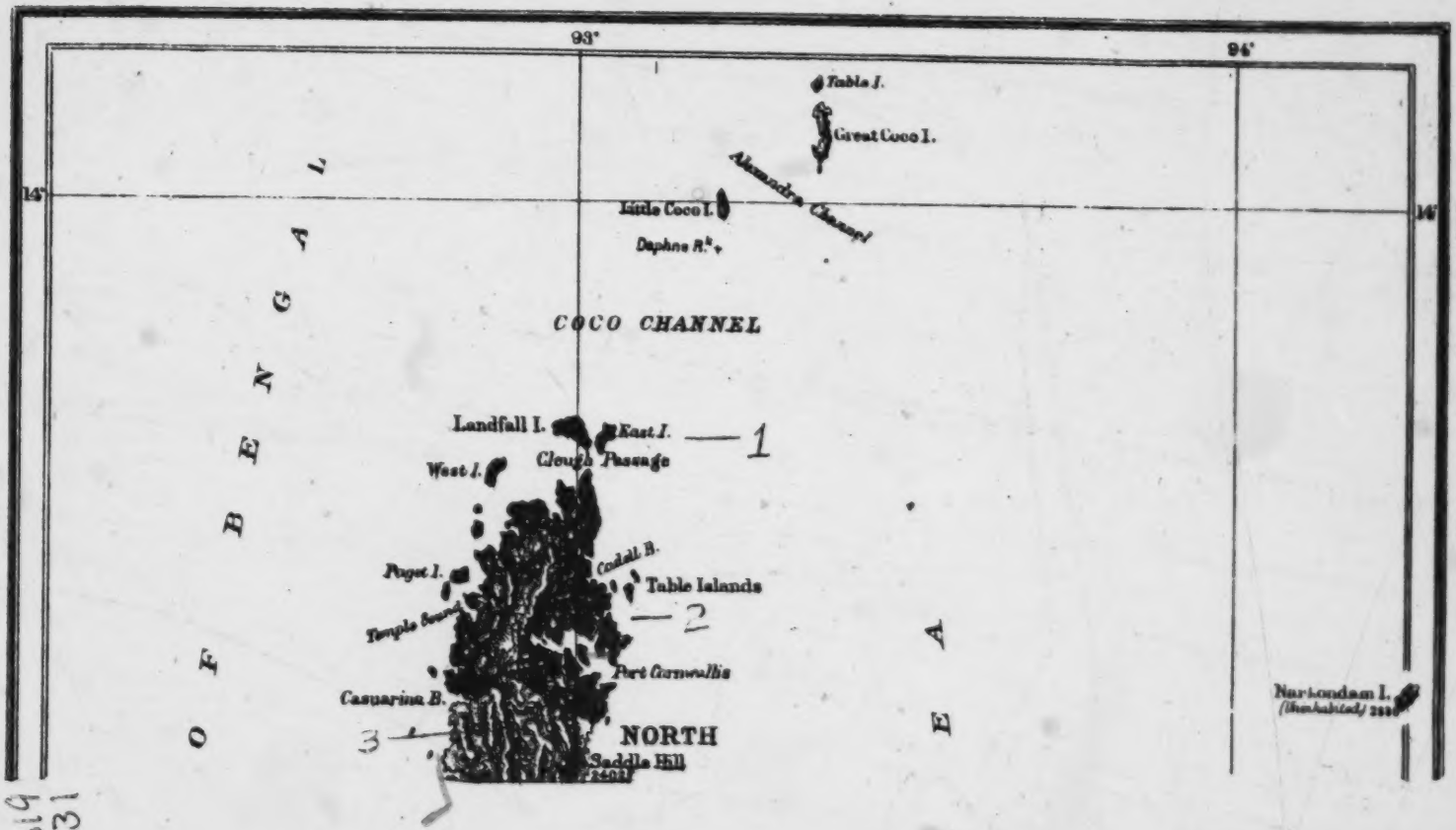

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REPORT

OF

RESEARCHES INTO THE LANGUAGE

OF THE

SOUTH ANDAMAN ISLAND.

ARRANGED BY

ALEXANDER J. ELLIS, F.R.S., F.S.A.,

TWICE PRESIDENT OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY,

FROM THE PAPERS OF

E. H. MAN, Esq.,

ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT OF THE ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS,

AND

LIEUT. R. C. TEMPLE,

[illegible] CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE AT AMBALA, PUNJAB.

(*Reprinted from the Eleventh Annual Address of the President to the Philological Society, delivered by Mr. Alexander J. Ellis, F.R.S., F.S.A., on his retiring from the chair, 19 May, 1882, and contained in the Transactions of that Society for 1882-84, pp. 44-73. The original pagination is retained.*)

[p. 225]

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ON THE LANGUAGE OF

THE SOUTH ANDAMAN ISLAND.

---

000 Proceeding from Sumatra northwards into the Bay of Bengal, we find first the Nicobar, and then the Andaman group of islands. The latter is composed of the North, Middle, South and Little Andamans, with numerous smaller ones adjacent. In 1858, Port Blair, an inlet on the south-east of South Andaman, was selected as a penal settlement for the Sepoy rebels, and it was there that the Indian Viceroy, Lord Mayo, was murdered by a fanatic prisoner in 1872. Mr. E. H. Man went to the Andamans officially in 1869, and in July, 1875, was put in charge of the Andamanese Homes, which threw him into immediate and close connexion with the natives, and gave him an opportunity of studying their language, habits and customs. In several most interesting communications to the Anthropological Institute this year, Mr. Man has described the physical and social condition of these tribes. I may mention in passing that the Andamanese are almost entirely naked[1] and totally uncivilized, but seem to have many good qualities, and are very moral in respect to marriage, being strictly monogamous. They are dwarfish in stature, the average height of men being 4 ft. 10¾ inches and of women 4 ft. 7¼ inches.[2]. The accounts

[1] The women *always* wear an *ō·bungada* or apron, consisting of one or two leaves of the *mimusops Indica*, in front, as well as a *bō·dda* or girdle with an appendage behind like a bustle, and the men *sometimes* wear a waistbelt and girdle of shells (*Dentalium octogonum*). Both men and women also frequently paint their bodies with white and red in patterns, and tattoo themselves more or less, and wear necklaces and other ornaments.

[2] The maximum and minimum height of men are 5 ft. 4¼ in., quite a giant, and 4 ft. 5¾ in. respectively. Those of women being 4 ft. 11½ in. maximum, and 4 ft. 4 in. minimum. The average weight of men is 98¼ lbs. or 7 stone, and of women 93¼ lbs. or slightly over 6½ stone.

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of travellers in former times were not only very meagre, but have been found to contain important inaccuracies both as respects the language and customs of the natives, (p.47, n.1).

The Andamanese have no means of writing, and no notions of religious worship. The tribes which inhabit the Andaman group are Negritos and seem to have all descended from a common source. They are entirely distinct from the inhabitants of the Nicobar Islands, who are allied to the Malays. There are at least nine Andamanese tribes speaking mutually unintelligible languages, all of which are however, formed after a common type of construction, and although in two of them an occasional resemblance in roots can be traced, the relational words and particles, postpositions, prefixes and suffixes which form the principal peculiarity of the language, are totally different for the different tribes.

Between July, 1875, and April, 1876, Mr. Man had prepared a vocabulary of from 1800 to 2000 South Andaman words, with numerous illustrative phrases, and this he had intended to incorporate with his report to Government. But before doing so, about May, 1876, Lieutenant R. C. Temple,[1] who was at that time in the 1-21st Fusiliers, was transferred from the head-quarters of his regiment in Burmah, to do duty with a detachment then stationed at Port Blair. Mr. Temple had already worked at the Burmese language, and published a transliteration of it.[2] Hence, on becoming

[1] Now Col. Sir R. C. Temple, Bt., C.I.E. (E.H.M. 1914).

[2] Notes on the Transliteration of the Burmese Alphabet into Roman Characters, to which is attached a Note on the Vocal and Consonantal Sounds of the Peguan or Talaing Languages. By Lieutenant R. C. Temple, 21st R.N.B. Fusiliers. Rangoon, printed at the Central Jail Press, 1876; folio, pp. viii. 21. iv. In this transliteration Mr. Temple endeavours to combine "literal" with "phonetic" transcription on the basis of Sir William Jones's system for Sanscrit as modified by Dr. Hunter. But as Burmese has the sound of English *th* in *thin*, as well as the postaspirated *t* or *t'* as here written, and has a postaspirated *s* or *s'*, but not English *sh* in *she*, Mr. Temple employs *hk*, *ht*, *hp*, *hs* for the postaspirates, which would here be written *k'*, *t'*, *p'*, *s'*, the ' representing the Greek spiritus asper. He also uses *au* for the sound of unaccented English *au* in *au*thority, and *aw* for the accented *aw* in *au*ful. He likewise distinguishes *e* in m*e*t, *è* in French p*è*re (which he identifies with *ai* in English p*ai*r) and *é* in French f*é*te. He also uses *ou* for the English sound of *ou* in m*ou*nd. These are his chief deviations from Dr. Hunter's Indian system, and it will be seen by a subsequent note (p. 48, n. 1) that he bases his Andamanese system upon this, although, not having a native orthography to deal with in the present case, he has modified it in part.

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acquainted with Mr. Man's collections, he took the greatest interest in them, and proposed an improved system of spelling, which Mr. Man adopted, and they then agreed to work together. One consequence of this was that Mr. Man translated the Lord's Prayer into South Andamanese—a natural but rather an unfortunate selection perhaps, as the Andamanese have scarcely a proper word for God,[1] and could only call prayer 'daily repetition'[2] from observing the habits of the imported Mussulmans—while Mr. Temple wrote a comment and introduction, based entirely on the facts furnished him by Mr. Man. The result was published in Calcutta and London (Trübner, 1877), in a little book of 81 pages, called "The Lord's Prayer translated into the South Andaman Language by E. H. Man, with preface, introduction, and notes by R. C. Temple." The preface is dated September, 1876, only four months after Mr. Temple had become acquainted with the language. To have written such a précis in so short a time (seriously diminished by his being engaged in studying for the higher standard examination in Hindustani, which he passed while at Port Blair) evinces great powers of appreciation and coordination in Mr. Temple. It was the first book which gave any trustworthy account of this language, the nature of which I shall endeavour to explain in this report.

Messrs. Man and Temple then determined to work together for the purpose of compiling a complete grammar of the

[1] *Pū·luga* (the system of spelling will be explained on p. 49) "is," says Mr. Temple, "as near an equivalent for 'God' as can be found in the language, and conveys nearly all the ideas we attach to the word 'God' likely to occur to a savage mind. *Pū·luga* is a spirit who dwells in *mô·ro*, the sky (*Pū·luga lī·a ē·rda mô·ro kôktâ·rlen*, P. of dwelling-place sky middle-in, and *Pū·luga mô·ro kôktâ·rlen pôl·ike* P. sky middle-in dwell-does); he is the Creator of all things and supreme over all, he was not born, has existed from time immemorial and cannot die; his house is of stone (*i.e.* of the most magnificent materials) and invisible; he is the cause of rain, of thunder, of natural death (*Pū·luga lī·a pai·chatek* (or *ē·rtek*) *yū·mla pâ·ke*, P. his lap-from (or house-from) rain falldoes, *Pū·luga ijirē·lke*, P. angry-is! (an exclamation used when it thunders). *Pū·luga* is distinctly the embodiment of *goodness* and *power* . . . in contradistinction to the idea of evil embodied in *·ē·rem-châu·gala*, the Evil Spirit of the jungles or land," (*ē·rem* jungle, *châu·gala* ghost).—Lord's Prayer, p. 48.

[2] Hence 'the Lord's prayer' is translated as *Pū·luga lī·a â·rlalikyâ·b*, P. of daily-repetition, from *â·rla* day, *l* euphonic, *ikyâ·b* repetition, where *yâb* means speak, and *ik* or *ig* is a modifying prefix, thus *ōl yâ·bnga l' igyâ·p* that word repeat!

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language, Mr. Man collecting the data, and Mr. Temple arranging the results. Mr. Man also endeavoured to obtain as much information as possible respecting the other tribes. On account of the narrow limits to which I must necessarily confine myself, and the fragmentary nature of these latter collections, I shall deal exclusively with the South Andaman language, at which these gentlemen principally worked. But the arrangements for joint authorship were unfortunately interfered with by Mr. Temple's being ordered off on duty to different stations in India in Oct. 1876, so that all the manuscript and all correspondence between him and Mr. Man had thus to pass through the post, entailing great delay, and preventing the possibility of personal communication, which would have been so valuable. Nevertheless, in the two years ending July, 1878, when Mr. Temple (who was then in the 1st Goorkhas) was ordered off on active service, and all papers were returned to Mr. Man, Mr. Temple contrived to put together and make a fair copy of a very copious grammar, of which a short specimen of 11 pages, containing the first section, "On Nouns," was printed for private circulation at Calcutta in 1878. On the MS. being sent back to Mr. Man, he went over it carefully, to bring it up to his advanced knowledge in a series of voluminous notes. These and the MS. were returned to Mr. Temple after the war. But he was then appointed a Cantonment magistrate in the Panjáb, and the great press of business prevented him from obtaining privilege-leave, and thus having an opportunity to correct his grammar by the help of these additional notes. In the vain hope, however, that he might find time to do so, he retained the MSS. till July, 1881, when, with great regret and reluctance, he returned them to Mr. Man, who was at the time on leave in England. The "specimen" and the "Lord's Prayer" are the only papers that they have printed on the South Andaman language. Those which Mr. Man has read before the Anthropological Institute only touch incidentally upon it.[1]

[1] It would be really more correct to say that these are the only papers that have been printed on any Andaman language. For Colebrook's vocabulary (*Asiatic Researches*, iv. 393–4), quoted by Crawfurd, is certainly unintelligible

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194 In January of this year Mr. Man was introduced to me through Mr. Brandreth, a member of our Council, in order to settle the alphabet before printing it in his Anthropological papers. I was then quite ignorant of the facts just detailed, and merely endeavoured to complete the alphabet on the lines which Mr. Man had used. These had been laid down, as we have seen, by Mr. Temple, and were to some extent Anglo-Indian, especially in the use of *a*, not only for *a* in Americ*a*, but for *a*, *u*, *o* in the colloquial pronunciation of *a*ssumpti*o*n. A minimum of change was thus produced. The alphabet was extended to the Nicobarese language, which has all the Andamanese sounds and several others, and among these a peculiar double series of nasal vowels. The following is the alphabet finally settled by Mr. Man and myself, with examples in Andamanese and Nicobarese. This scheme is found to work well, and will be employed in all Andaman words used in this report.[1] It will be observed that the South Andaman language is very rich in vowel sounds, but is totally deficient in the hisses *f*, *th*, *s*, *sh*, and the corresponding buzzes *v*, *dh*, *z*, *zh*. Of course this alphabet has been constructed solely upon Mr. Man's pronunciation of the languages, and hence the orthography might require modification on a study of the sounds as produced by the natives themselves. This refers especially to the distinctions *ä à*, *â à*, *au àu*, *o ò*, *ô*, and the two senses of *i*, *e*, according as they occur in closed or open syllables. But as the natives understand Mr. Man readily, his pronunciation cannot be far wrong.

to six of the Andaman tribes; Tickell's (*Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, No. ii. 1864), though referring to South Andaman, is curiously incorrect, translating, for instance, '*ydà dô*' as 'much fish,' and giving separately *ydà* 'much' *dô* 'fish,' in place of *ydà* 'fish,' *dô·gaya* 'much'; and de Roepstorff's is also full of error. See Mr. Temple's preface to "The Lord's Prayer."

[1] In the following comparative list Mr. Temple's symbols stand first (and, with one exception, are roman), those here adopted stand second (and are all in italics): a *a*, *a ä*, à *à* and *ä*, â à and *ä*, e *e*, ê *ê* and *e*, è *è*, i *i*, î *î* and *i*, o *o* and *ò*, ô *ô* and *o*, ò *ò*, aw *ô*, u *u*, û *ü* and *u*, ai *ai*, au *au*, âü *àu*, oi *ôi*, b *b*, ch *ch*, d *d*, g *g*, h *h*, j *j*, k *k*, l *l*, m *m*, n *n*, ng *ng* *ñ* *ñg*, p *p*, r *r* and *r*, t *t*, ṭ *t'*, w *w*, y *y*. In Mr. Temple's writing, short *a e i o u* in open syllables were not distinguished from the long sounds, and the position of stress was rarely marked. I adopted his short *a e i o u* and made the long of them *ä*, *ê*, *î*, *ô*, *ü*. Then adopting his '*à*, *ò*,' I made their short and long sounds respectively, *ä*, *ô*, and thus got rid of the exclusively English symbol *aw*.

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DELIVERED BY ALEXANDER J. ELLIS, ESQ. ~~48~~

ALPHABET FOR WRITING THE SOUTH ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR LANGUAGES.

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SIGN.	ENGLISH, ETC.	SOUTH ANDAMAN.	NICOBAR.
		Oral Vowels and Diphthongs.	
a	idea cut	*al·aba* kind of tree	*yang* without
ä	cur (with untrilled *r*)	*bä* small, *yä·ba* not	?
à	Ital. casa	*elà·kà* region	
ä	father	*dä·-ke* don't (imperative)	*kàn* wife
ǟ (1)	fathom	*jär·awa* name of a tribe	*lē·ät* finished
e (2)	bed	*ē·mej* name of a tree	*enyä·h* (*h* heard, see note 8) after (in time), *heng* day, sun
	chaotic	*pū·d-re* burn-did	*lē·bare* book
ē (3)	pair	*ē·la* pig-arrow	*lē·ang* word
i	lid	*ig-bä·dig-re* see-did	*ifū·* sweep
ī	police	*yä·dī* turtle, *pīd* hair	*wī* make
o	indolent	*.bòi·goli* European	*yō·kolai* bathe
ō (4)	pole	*jōb* basket	*lorō·m* Pandanus Mellori
ò	pot	*pàl·i-ke* dwell-does	*òmtō·m* all
ō	awful	*tō·go* wrist, shoulder	*lō·e* cloth
ö	Germ. könig	not found	*kätö·* remain, *dök* come
u	influence	*bū·kura* name of a tree	*kō·la-rue* landing place
ū	pool	*pū·d-re* burn-did	*hū·ya* egg
ü	Germ. über	not found	*chü·a* I
ai	bite	*dai·-ke* understand-does	*taiyd·k* cocoanut shell cup
au	house	*chōpau·a* narrow	*karlau·* a charm
àu	Germ. haus	*chàu* body	*àu·* vomit
òi	boil	*.bòi·goli* European	*emlòi·n* wallow
		Nasal Vowels and Diphthongs.	
aṅ	Fr. *un*	not found	*holī·aṅ* spinster, *ongī·haṅh* (5) wood
àṅ	(6)	not found	*miàṅ·* spear having prongs, *mòm-àṅ ya* two pronged spear, *kò-yàṅh·wa* guava
eṅ	Fri. *vin*	not found	*heṅ·ha* otherwise, *hinceṅh·* harpoon spear
iṅ	Port. *sim*	not found	*keiṅ·ha* scrape *amiṅh* (5) rain
oṅ	Fri. *on*	not found	*haroṅh·* stalk game
òṅ	(6)	not found	*shin-hòṅ·-hata* knock down, *òṅh* fuel
aiṅ	(7)	not found	*tanaiṅ·* five, *taiṅ·ya* white
òiṅ	(7)	not found	*òm-hòi·ṅ* tobacco
		Consonants.	
b	bed	*bād* hut	*lē·bare* book
ch	church	*chāk* ability, *mich·alen* why, *.rūch* Ross Island	*chakā·* face, *raich* micturition
d	dip	*dō·ga* large	*kamin·do* rainbow
f	fen	not found	*ifū* you (said of three or more), *fāp* thick
g	gap	*gōb* bamboo utensil	*kōg·nare* be off!
h	hay	*hē* ho! *āweh·* (*h* sounded, see note 8) etcetera	*hū·ya* egg, *paiyū·h* married or widowed person
j	judge	*jā·bag* bad, *ē·mej* name of a tree	*chij* abstain
k	king	*kā·gal-ke* ascend-does	*kā·nēāl* last quarter of moon
l	lap	*lōg* navigable channel	*lē·ang* word
m	man	*mā·gu* face	*òmtō·m* all
n	sun	*nāu-ke* walk-does, *rō·pan* toad	*nēt* pig
ñ	Fr. gagner	*ōtñā·ba* another, one more	*manie·ña* exorcist

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SIGN.	ENGLISH, ETC.	SOUTH ANDAMAN.	NICOBAR.
ng	bri*ng*	*ngi·ji* friend, *ŏrkŏ·dang-ke* in trees-search-does (14)	*yang* without
ñg (9)		*ñgŏ* more	not found
p	*pap*	*pid* hair	*paiyŏ·A* (8) married or widowed person
r (10)	*rest*	*rdŏ* necklace of netting, *rd·tŏ* wooden arrow	*karw·* large
r (11)	torrent	*rŏ·ta* sea water	not found
s	*sad*	not found (12)	*sŏ·la* anvil
sA	*sAe*	not found	*sho-hŏ·ng* west
t	*ten*	*ti* blood	*tŏ·ak* toddy
t'		*t'i* tear (from the eye) (13)	not found
v	*evil*	not found	*ben-wŏd·ra* ashes
w	*wet*	*wŏ·lo* adze, *.bal·awa* name of a tribe	*wŏt* don't (imperative)
wA	*wAet*	not found	*ben-wŏd·ra* ashes
y	*yolk*	*yakŏ·* a little	*yang* without

RULES.

The syllable under stress in any word is shown by placing a turned period (·) after a long vowel, or the consonant following a short vowel, in every word of more than one syllable.

As it is not usual to find capitals cast for the accented letters, the capital at the beginning of a word is for uniformity in all cases indicated by prefixing a direct period, as *.bal·awa*.

NOTES.

(1) *ŏ* accented before a consonant, is the English *a* in mat, as distinguished from *ă*, which is the short of *ā* or Italian *a* in anno.

(2) *e* accented in closed syllables, as in bed; in open syllables unaccented as in chaotic or Italian *padre*, *amore*.

(3) No vanishing sound of *i* as in English *say*.

(4) No vanishing sound of *u* as in English *know*.

(5) Where *ñA* is written, as in *añA*, *iñA*, the nasal is followed by nasalised breath, remitting the voice, but retaining the position of the vocal organs.

(6) In *ăñ* the sound has more of the *ă* in it, than the French *an*, and in *ŏñ* it has more of the *ŏ* than the French *on*.

(7) In the diphthongs *aiñ*, *ŏiñ*, the nasality principally affects *a* and *ŏ*, but it is retained through the whole diphthong, that is, the nasal passages remain open.

(8) *A* is sounded after a vowel by continuing breath through the position of the mouth, while remitting the voice.

(9) *ñg* is a palatalised *ng*, and bears the same relation to it as *ñ* bears to *n*. To pronounce *ñ* attempt to say *n* and *y* simultaneously; to pronounce *ñg* do the same for *ng* and *y*.

(10) This *r* is soft and gentle, with no sensible ripple of the tongue, as very frequently in English, but not merely vocal.

(11) This *r* is strongly trilled, as *r* in Scotch or Italian *r*, or Spanish *rr*.

(12) The Andamanese cannot hiss, and hence they substitute *sh* for *s*, thus *Rŏch* for *Rŏs* the Hindi corruption of Ross.

(13) This *t'* is a post-aspirated *t*, like the Indian *th*, quite different from English *th*, and hence to prevent confusion the Greek *spiritus asper* is imitated by a turned comma. The sound *t'* is common in Irish English, and may often be heard in England.

(14) When *ng* is followed by a vowel, it must run on to that vowel only, and not be run on to the preceding vowel either as in 'finger' or in 'singer,' thus *bŏ·ri-nga-da* 'good,' not *bŏ·-ring-a-da*, *bŏ·-ring-ga-da*, or *bŏ·-rin-ga-da*. It is only when no vowel follows that *ng* is run on to the preceding vowel.

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All the papers mentioned above have been placed in my 000
hands for the purpose of drawing up this report, and Mr. Man has also given me much personal instruction and looked over the whole of what I have written to guard against any error of fact or language. I have examined the grammar drawn up with such care and acuteness by Mr. Temple, and the vocabulary of Mr. Man, and I shall endeavour to give an account of the results at which they have arrived.

The following, written by Mr. Temple in July, 1881, on finally returning the MSS. to Mr. Man, sums up his opinion of the nature of the South and other Andaman languages:

"The Andaman languages are one group. They are like, 197
that is, connected with no other group. They have no affinities by which we might infer their connexion with any other known group. The word-construction (the 'etymology' 193
of the old grammarians) is two-fold, that is, they have affixes[1] and prefixes to the root, of a *grammatical* nature. The general principle of word-construction is agglutination pure and simple. In adding their affixes, they follow the principles of the ordinary agglutinative tongues. In adding their prefixes, they follow the well-defined principles of the South African tongues. Hitherto, as far as I know, the two principles in full play have never been found together in any other language. Languages which are found to follow the one have the other in only a rudimentary form present in them. In Andamanese both are fully developed, so much so as to interfere with each other's grammatical functions. The collocation of words (or 'syntax' to follow the old nomenclature) is that of the agglutinative languages purely. The presence of the peculiar prefixes does not interfere with this.

[1] Mr. Temple, following the usual unetymological definition given in dictionaries, here uses *affix* in place of *suffix*. In what follows I shall adopt the practice of Prof. S. S. Haldeman in his "Affixes in their origin and application," Philadelphia, 1865, p. 27. "*Affixes* are additions to roots, stems, and words, serving to modify their meaning and use. They are two kinds, *prefixes*, those at the beginning, and *suffixes*, those at the end of the word bases to which they are affixed. Several affixes occur in long words like *in-con-pre-hen-s-ib-il-it-y*, which has three prefixes and five suffixes." Affixes also include *infixes* (or, as Prof. Haldeman calls them, *interfixes*), where the modifying letter or syllable is introduced into the middle of the base, as in the Semitic and other languages.

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193 The only way in which they affect the syntax is to render possible the frequent use of long compounds almost polysynthetic in their nature, or, to put it in another way, of long compounds which are sentences in themselves. But the construction of these words is not synthetic, but agglutinative. They are, *as words*, either compound nouns or verbs, taking their place in the sentence and having the same relation to the other words in it, as they would were they to be introduced into a sentence in any other agglutinative language. There are, of course, many peculiarities of grammar in the Andaman group, and even in each member of the group, but these are only such as are incidental to the grammar of other languages, and do not affect its general tenor. I consider, therefore, that the Andaman languages belong to the agglutinative stage of development, and are distinguished from other groups by the presence in full development of the principle of prefixed and affixed grammatical additions to the roots of words."

The South Andaman language, called by the natives *bō·jig-ngī·ji-da*,[1] consists in the first place of a series of base forms, which Mr. Temple reduces to roots. These forms may answer to any part of speech, and in particular to what we call substantives, adjectives or verbs. These forms do not vary in construction, and are not subject to inflexion proper. Hence there is nothing resembling the grammatical gender, declension or conjugation of Aryan languages; but the functions of such Aryan forms are discharged by prefixes, postpositions, and suffixes. It is only in the pronouns and pronominal adjectives that there is anything which simulates declension. And it is only by the use of the prefixes that anything like concord can be established.

The Andamanese have of course words which imply sex,

[1] The word *bō·jig* appears to mean our-make-of, according to our habits. Mr. Man only knows it in the names of the tribes *bō·jig-ngī·ji*- and *bō·jig-yá·b*-, our-make-of friends, our make of speech, and in such expressions as *bō-jig kā·rama*- our make of bows to shoot with, *bō·jig dâ·kar*- our make of buckets *bō·jig bū·j*- our make of cooking-pots etc. The *bō·jig-yá·bda* inhabit the Southern portion of Middle Andaman, and most closely resemble the South Andamanese in speech.

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but they are in general quite unrelated forms; thus: *àbū·lada* man *àpai·lda* woman; *âkàkâ·dakada* boy, *aryō·ngida* girl; *àrō·dingada* father, *àbē·tingada* mother. 'Male' and 'female' are represented even for animals by the above words for 'man' and 'woman,' without the affixes, which are usually omitted in composition,[1] as *bū·la, pail*, and when the animals are young by the names *abwâ·rada* bachelor, or *abjad·ijō·gda* spinster, rejecting the affixes as *wâ·ra, jad·ijō·g*, see letter to *Jam·bu*, p. 63, sentences 15 and 16. Even in the Aryan languages 'gender,' the Latin 'genus,' means only a 'kind,' and as it so happened that the kind with one termination included males, with another females, and with a third sexless things, the time-honoured names masculine, feminine and neuter arose. But the classification thus formed has, properly speaking, nothing to do with sex, as may be seen at once from sentinel being feminine in French (*la sentinelle*) and woman neuter in German (*das Weib*). We may see from the discussions in Grimm's grammar how difficult, or rather impossible, it is to recover the feeling which led to that grouping in German, and the same difficulty is felt in other languages. The Andamanese grouping which takes the place of gender is, on the contrary, clear enough in the main. The Andamanese consider, first, objects generally, including everything thinkable. Then these are divided into animate and inanimate. Of course the vegetable kingdom is included in the latter. The animate objects are again divided into human and non-human. Of the human objects there is a sevenfold division as to the part of the body referred to, and this division is curiously extended to the inanimate objects which affect or are considered in relation to certain parts of the body. These group distinctions are pointed out by prefixes, and by the form assumed by the pronominal adjectives. So natural and rooted are these distinctions in the minds of the Andamanese that any use of a wrong prefix or wrong possessive form occasions unintelligibility or surprise or raises a laugh, just as when we use

[1] This expression includes both prefix and suffix, see foot-note, p. 51. The suffix *-da* is occasionally retained at the end of clauses, p. 54, l. 15.

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193 false concords in European languages. I shall give examples on p. 57, which have been drawn up for me by Mr. Man. These prefixes are added to what in our translations become substantives, adjectives, and verbs, and which for purposes of general intelligibility to an Aryan audience had better be so designated. But we require new terms and an entirely new set of grammatical conceptions which shall not bend an agglutinative language to our inflexional translation. With this warning, that they are radically incorrect, I shall freely use inflexional terms, as Mr. Temple does throughout his grammar, meaning merely that the language uses such and such forms to express what in other languages are distinguished by the corresponding inflexional terms, which really do not apply to this.

Substantives, adjectives, and adverbs, generally end in *-da*, which is usually dropped before postpositions and in construction; hence when I write a hyphen at the end of a word, I shall mean that in its full form it has *-da*. Subs. and adj. also occasionally end in *-re* for human objects, and this *-re* is not dropped before postpositions. This same suffix *-re* is also extensively used in verbs, for our past tense active, or past participle passive. A common termination is also *-la*, which as well as *-re* implies human, and *-ola*, which is also honorific. What answers to our verbal substantives denoting either actor or action, is expressed by the suffix *-nga* added to verbal bases, both active and passive. What corresponds to the Aryan declension is carried out entirely by postpositions, as in fact it might be in English by prepositions, if we had a preposition to point out the accusative as in Spanish. In Andamanese these postpositions are generally *ia* of, or more usually *lia* of (where the *l*, as very frequently, is merely a euphonic prefix to vowels); *len*, to, in (but *len* also frequently marks out the object); *lat* to, towards; *tek* from and by; *la* by means of (instrument).

The plural is expressed by the addition of *lō·ng-kâ·lak*[1] to the singular, when the distinction is considered necessary,

[1] Here *lōng* is probably 'their,' 4th person, see Cl. 5, p. 59. *kâ·lak* is apparently no longer found separately.

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which is not often, as the plural is left to be implied by the context, or is indicated by a prefix. Abstract subst. are formed from adj. by adding *yō·ma-* quality, or property, as *lâ·pangada* long, *lâ·panga-yō·mada* length. Negative subst. are formed by adding *ba*, an abbreviation for *yā·ba*, as *ablī·gada* child, *ablī·gaba* not a child, but a boy or girl.

Active verbs use the suffixes *-ke* for our gerundial form of infinitive,[1] for our pres. part., pres. ind., and occasionally future; *-re* for past time, *-ka* imperfect, *-ngabo* for future, *-nga* for verbal subst., actor and action; with numerous auxiliaries answering to our 'may, might, shall, should, will, would.' Passive verbs use *-nga* for the gerundial infinitive, the future, and verbal substantive, *-ngaba* for pres. and imperf. indic., *-ngata* for perf. and *entô·ba—ngata* pluperf., and *-re* for past participle.[2] Certain verbs distinguish the subject and others the object, as human and non-human, by change of prefix, but no rule can be given as to when a verb does one or the

[1] In his glossary Mr. Man uses the form in *-ke* (just as we say gerundially 'to exist') to shew that he means a verbal form. He says that if you ask an Andamanese the name of any action which you shew him, he will give you the form in *-ke*. But it remains to be established that this corresponds to our gerundial infinitive, at least I have not detected it in any example which Mr. Man has furnished, nor could he recall one. In Latin dictionaries *audio*, *amo*, are Englished 'to hear, to love,' which they certainly do not mean. But as it is usual to give Latin verbs in this form, so it may be usual to give Andamanese verbs in the form in *-ke*, which would be like using *audit*, *amat* in Latin. Our gerundial or supine infinitive answers to the Latin *ad audiendum*, *auditum*. Dr. Morris prefers calling it the "dative infinitive" (Hist. Outlines of Engl. Accidence, 1872, p. 177). It is frequently used for the pure infinitive in English. The pure infinitive is properly only a verbal subst., and most nearly corresponds to one of the senses of the Andamanese form with the suffix *-nga*, but in point of fact there is nothing in Andamanese identical with the Aryan infinitive.

[2] Mr. Man 'conjugates' a verb thus, using the inflexional names. I translate the suffixes *-ke* do, does, *-ka* -ing -was, *-re* did, etc., as the nearest inflexional representatives, but they do not give the true feeling of the original, to which we have nothing which corresponds in English.

ACTIVE. Inf. *mâ·mi-ke* sleep-to. Pres. *dōl mâ·mi-ke* I sleep-do. Imperf. *dōl mâ·mi-ka* I sleep-ing-was. Perf. *dōl mâ·mi-re* I sleep-did (I slept). Pluperf. *dōl entô·ba mâ·mi-re* I already sleep-did. Fut. *dōl mâ·mi-ngabo* I sleep-will. Imperative *dō mâ·mi-ke* me sleep-let, *mâ·mi sleep!*, *ō mâ·mi-ke* him sleep-let, *mō·cho mâ·mi-ke* us sleep-let. Optative *dōl mâ·mi-nga tō·guk* I sleep-(verbal subs.) might. Continuative participle, *mâ·mi-nga bō·dig* sleep-(verbal subs.) while = while sleeping.

PASSIVE. Inf. *kō·p-nga* scoop(ed)-to-be. Pres. *kâ·rama dō·l-la kō·p-ngaba* bow me-by scooped-is-being. Imperf. *kâ·rama dō·l-la âchī·baiya kō·p-ngaba* bow me-by then scooped-was-being. Perf. *kâ·rama dō·l-la kō·p-ngata* bow me-by scooped-has-been. Pluperf. *ka·rama dō·l-la entô·ba kō·p-ngata* bow me-by already scooped-had-been. Fut. *kâ·rama dō·l-la kō·p-nga* bow me-by scooped-will-be.

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193 other, so that this is a mere matter of practice. There are also reflective verbs formed by pronouns.

The greatest peculiarity of the language is the treatment of the personal and possessive pronoun. All the pronouns are sexless, but the forms used for the so-called dative seem to vary with the group. The normal form is that for the third person, 'he, she, it,' for which I will use 'it' only for brevity, and 'they' for the plural. We have then sing. *ō* it (subject), *ia* of it, *en*, *ūl*, *at*, *ik*, *eb* to it, in different forms, *en* it (object), and in it: pl. *ōl·òichik* they, *ô·nta* of them, *et*, *ū·lat*, *at·at*, *ô·ntat*, *ō·llet*, *eb·et* to them, in different forms, *et* them, *ō·llet* in them. These relations may also be expressed by the postpositions answering to case. Then for the first person *d-* sing. and *m-* plur., and for the second *ng-* sing. and plur., are prefixed to these forms; as *ōl* it, *dōl* I, *ngōl* thou, *mòl·òichik* we, *ngòl·òichik* you. There is also what Mr. Temple calls a "fourth person," obtained by prefixing *l* to those forms of the third person, which are not the subject of the sentence, and these give common postpositional forms, as *lī·a* of a or the (or English possessive *'s*), *len* to or in a or the, and also the object of a verb, *lat*, *leb* to a or the.

These preliminary explanations will serve to make intelligible the following examples which have been furnished by Mr. Man, and will shew the structure of the language better than a long series of grammatical explanations. Observe that in all these examples a hyphen at the end of a word means that the suffix *-da* (applied to all things) may be added, but that it is omitted in construction, and heard only in isolated words or at the end of a clause. The hyphens between parts of a word separate the prefix, the suffix, the postposition and the parts of which the word is compounded, and are used merely for the purpose of assisting the unaccustomed reader, generally they should all be written together in one word without hyphens, just as in German *ereifern* and not *er-eifer-n*, though the latter shews the approximate composition.

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PREFIXES ILLUSTRATED.

Cited as No. 1, 2, *etc.*

No. 1 *bē·ri-nga* good (animate but non-human, or inanimate).

No. 2. *jā·bag-* bad (ditto).

No. 3. *ā-bē·ri-nga-* good (human).

No. 4. *ab-jā·bag-* bad (ditto).

No. 5. *ad-bē·ri-nga-* well, that is, not sick (animate).

No. 6. *ad-jā·bag-* ill, that is, not well (ditto).

No. 7. *ūn-bē·ri-nga-* clever (that is hand-good, *ūn* referring to *ōng* its, applied to *kō·ro-* hand, see Cl. 5, p. 59).

No. 8. *ūn-jā·bag-* stupid (that is, hand-bad, ditto).

No. 9. *ig-bē·ri-nga-* sharp-sighted (that is, eye-good, *ig* its, being applied to *dal-* eye, see Cl. 4, p. 58).

No. 10. *ig-jā·bag-* dull-sighted (that is, eye-bad, ditto).

No. 11. *ā·kā-bē·ri-nga* nice-tasted (that is, mouth-good, *ā·kā* its, applied to *bang-* mouth, *dē·li-ya-* palate, see Cl. 3, p. 58).

No. 12. *ūn-tig-bē·ri-nga-* good "all round" (that is, *ūn* hand and *ig* eye, good, *t* being euphonic).

No. 13. *ūn-tig-jā·bag-* a "duffer" (that is, hand and eye bad).

No. 14. *ōt-bē·ri-nga-* virtuous (that is, head and heart good, *ōt* its, applied to *chē·ta-* head and *kāg-* heart, see Cl. 6, p. 59).

No. 15. *ōt-jā·bag-* vice, evil, vicious (that is, head and heart bad).

No. 1–15. EXAMPLE: *ā·rtām .dō·ra ab-jā·bag l'edā·re, dōna ā·chitik ā-bē·ri-nga* (or *ā-bē·ri-nga-ke*). Free translation: Dō·ra was formerly a bad man, but now he is a good man. [Analytical translation: *ā·rtām* formerly, *.dō·ra* name of man, *ab-jā·bag* (human)-bad, *l'edā·re* exist-did. *dō·na* but, *ā·chitik* now, *ā-bē·ri-nga-* (human)-good [or *ā-bē·ri-nga-ke* (human)-good-is].] The 'is' generally unexpressed, in *l'edā·re* the *l'* is the common euphonic prefix, *edā·* v. exist, *-re* past time; which may be expressed as 'exist-did,' the verb being always put in the infinitive (properly unlimited, undefined) form, and the suffix *-re* being expressed by 'did,' as *-ke* may be by 'does,' etc., as the simplest way of expressing present and past time, see the conjugation of the verb in note 2, p. 55; the simple copula is never expressed, but in the second form *ābē·ringa* is treated as a verb, and *ke* being added makes it present, so that there is an apparent expression of the copula. Mr. Man believes the termination *-da* as applied to anything which exists, to be derived from the partially obsolete v. *edā·* exist.

No. 16. *ūn-lā·ma-* one who misses striking an object with *hand* or *foot*, see Nos. 7 and 8 above.

No. 17. *ig-lā·ma-* one who fails to *see* or *find* an object such as honey, a lost article, etc., see Nos. 9 and 10 above.

No. 18. *ōt-lā·ma-* one who is wanting in *head*, that is, *sense*, see Nos. 14 and 15 above.

No. 19. *ab-lā·ma-* one who is a "duffer" at getting turtles after they are speared, that is, by diving and seizing them, where *ab* his, refers to *chāu* body, see Cl. 1, below.

No. 20. *ō·ko-lā·ma-* applied to a weapon which fails to penetrate the object struck through the fault of the striker.

No. 21. *ā·kā-lā·ma-* who uses a wrong word to express his meaning (*ā·ka* its, being applied to *bang* mouth, and *teg·ili* voice, see Cl. 3, p. 58).

This will suffice to show the curious action of the South Andaman prefixes, which it will be seen presently refer especially to the different forms of the possessive pronoun when applied to different parts of the human body. The following table was drawn up by Mr. Man, and has only been slightly rearranged.

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193 The forms of possessive pronouns are arranged according to the alphabetic order of the word signifying *his, her,* or *its,* singular and plural, from which the forms for the first, second, and so-called fourth person, can be deduced by prefixing *d, ng, l'* for the singular *my, thy,—'s,* and *m, ng, l'* for the plural *our, your,—s'.*

The Seven Forms of the Possessive Pronouns in relation to parts of the Human Body.

(*Cited as Cl.* 1, 2, *etc.*)

Class 1. Sing. *ab*, pl. *at*.

chàu- body, *gū·dur-* or *lân-* back, *gō·rob-* spine, *pai·cha-* thigh, lap, *châ·lta-* shin, *châ·lta-dam·a-* shin-(fleshy part), calf, *pē·ke-* groin, *kō·pa-* elbow, *kō·pa-dam·a-* fore arm-(fleshy part), *kū·rupi-dam·a-* upper arm-(fleshy part), *lō-* knee, *à·pita-* hollow of knee, *pà·retà-* rib, *ēr-* navel, *à·pa-chàu-* belly, abdominal walls, *ū·pta-* stomach proper, *jō·do-* entrails, bowels, *mūg-* liver, *pī·lma-* spleen, *nē·ma-* gall-bladder, *ī·j-nga-* womb, *jī·ri-* supra-renal fat and omentum, *à·wa-* armpit, *pō·dik-ma-* shoulder-blade, *yī·l-nga-* tendon of Achilles.

Class 2. Sing. *ar*, pl. *ar·at*.

châg- leg, *chô·rog-* hip, *ō·te-* loin, *gūd-win-* os coccygis, *mū·ga-* rectum, *tū·mur-* anus, *ū·in-* urine, *ū·lu-lī·a-ē·r-* bladder (urine-of-abode), *kōi·am* mesentery, *mâl·wit-* large intestine, *ō·ta-* testicle, *tō-*, *ō·no-*, or *dam·a-* buttocks. Example: *med·a* (or *mōl·ōichik*) *jār·awa l'ar·at châ-glen ablū·re*, we saw the legs of the *jār·awa*. [*med·a* we, a contracted form frequently used instead of the regular *mōl·ōichik*. *jār·awa* the South Andaman name for a tribe inhabiting Little Andaman, and having settlements in South Andaman, where they are much feared by the natives. *l'ar·at* (*l* euphonic) their, agreeing with *châg* legs, which is made plural by the preceding plural form *l'ar·at*. *len* marks the object on to which the action passes. *ab-lū·re* (human)-see-did, the 'human' *ab* 'agrees' with the 'human' subject 'we.']

Class 3. Sing. *à·kà*, pl. *ak·at*.

bang- mouth, *dē·li-ya-* palate, *à·dal-* chin, *pai-* lip, *pai·-la-pī·d-* moustache, that is, lip-(*la* euphonic)-hair, *ē·tel-* tongue, *dei·ta-* gullet, *ō·rma-* throat, *ō·rma-bà* wind-pipe, *i.e.* throat-small, *ted·imo-* uvula, *ē·kib-* jaw-bone, *ē·kib-pī·d-* beard, that is, jaw-bone-hair, *gō·d-la-* collar-bone, *châ·ga-* side, *tū·bal-* saliva, *chai·ad-* breath. 1 v

Class 4. Sing. *ig*, pl. *it·ig*, contracted to ī, *it·i* with the words marked *.

**dal-* **dōl-* eye, **dal·-ār-pī·d-* and **dōl·-ār-pī·d-* eyelash, that is, eye-its-hair, **dal·-ōt-ē·d-* or **dōl·-ōt-ē·d-* eyelid, that is, eye-its- (*i.e.* belonging to the head)-skin, *pū·-nyur-* eyebrow, *dē·ri-ya-* gum, *mā·gu-* face, forehead, *pū·ku-* ear, *chō·ro-nga-* nose, *dō-* cheek, *à·b-pī·d-* whiskers, that is, cheek-hair, *tī·mar-* temple (of head), *tūg-* tooth, *tō go-* shoulder, *gūd-* arm, *kū·rupi-* upper arm, *kō·pa-* forearm, *gō·ra-* biceps of upper arm, *kōm-* breast, *kōm l'ōt chē·ta-* nipple of the breast, that is, breast-its-head, see *ōt* Class 6, *t'ī-* tear (of the eye).

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1 v [Errata: read ō·ne for chai·ad. Cp. Errata sheet, p. 256, Cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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Class 5. Sing. *ōng*, pl. *ō·ot*.

kô·ro- hand or finger, *el·ma-* palm of the hand and sole of the foot, *kô·ro-mū·-guchâl-* middle finger, that is, hand-(third of five), [the fourth of five is *mū·guchâl tarō·lo*; the first is *ō·tolâ·-* and the second (general) *ārō·lo-*, but (animate) *ō·rtonau·-*; the last but one *ô·totī·r-tarō·lo-*; and the last *tarō·lo*; there are only two cardinal numbers *ū·ba-tū·l-* one, and *ikpô·r-* two, beyond that they can in general only tap their nose with their fingers, commencing with the little finger, or say *ārdū·ru* several, 10 to 20, *jeg·chau-* (human) many, say 50, *jī·baba-* very many, *ū·baba-* (non-human), but *ôt-ū·baba* (lower animals) and *atū·baba-* (human) countless, a few of the most intelligent natives, however, occasionally use words for numbers up to 7, though different speakers differ as to their precise meaning.] *ī·ti-pī·l-* little finger, *kô·-ro-dō·ga-* thumb, that is, finger-big, *tô·go-* wrist, *kū·tur-* knuckle, *bō·do-* nail of finger or toe (in this sense the *ō* of *bō·do* is inordinately lengthened, to distinguish it from *bō·do* sun, in which the *ō* is rather of medial length than long, hence we may distinguish *bō·do-*, nail, and *bō·do-* sun), *pâg-* foot, *rō·koma-* toe, *tū·chab-* great toe, *ī·lam-* small toe, *gū·chul-* heel, *târ-* ankle, *châg-* kidney, *tâ·ga-* peritoneum, *tâ·banga-* small intestine. Example: *dōng kô·ro ngō·ngtek kē·tia-*, my hand is smaller than thine. [*dōng* my, *kō-ro* hand, *ngō·ng-tek* thy-from (that is, thy hand-from = than thy hand, corresponding precisely to the ablative case after comparative in Latin), *kē·tia-* small in size (not in quantity, for which *bā* or *dō·gaba* not much, is used). No mark of second degree of comparison is added, as that is implied by *tek*.]

Class 6. Sing. *ōt*, pl. *ō·tot*.

chē·ta- head, *lō·ngota-* neck, *chāl·ma-* chest, *mūn-* brain, *yâ-* occiput, *lâp·ta-* nape, *kâ·kâ-* scalp, *ā·wa-* lung, *tū·lēpo-* phlegm, *nē-* prostate gland, *kūg-* the seat of the affections and passions, also the bosom, the heart, *kū·ktâ-bana-* the heart itself. Example: *mō·da l'ōt chē·ta bō·diada* Moda's head is large, [*mō·da* a man's name, *l'ōt* his, *chēta* head, *bō·diada* large.]

Class 7. Sing. and pl. *ō·to*.

kī·nab- waist, this is apparently the only part of the body for which this pronoun is used; it also means 'narrow,' see 48, p. 68.

From this determinate use of possessive pronouns arises the custom of omitting the name of the part of the body referred to after a possessive pronoun, where it is clear what it must be. This is especially the case when the word could refer to many parts of the human body, sufficiently distinguished by the form of the possessive pronoun, as *pīd-* hair, *ēd-* skin, *tâ-* bone, *tī-* blood, *mū·rudi-* gore, *gū·mar-* sweat, *yī·lnga-* vein, muscle, *wai·nya-* cuticle, *dē·kia* pulse, *mūn-* pus. When any doubt is felt, the full phrase is used.

Examples.

(*Cited as Om.* 1, 2, *etc.*)

Omission 1. *mō·tot chē·ta pīd-* the hair of our heads. [*mō·tot* our, see *ōt* No. 6 above, and hence *chē·ta* heads must be taken as plural, *pīd-* hair.] This is contracted into *mō·tot pīd-*, as out of the Class 6 above, it is only the head to which *pīd-* hair applies.

Omission 2. *ngak·at pai ēd-* the skin

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[Errata: See ch. 116, p. 256 for correction -- Analyst]

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193 of your lips [*ngak·at* your, plural in Class 3, *pai* lip must therefore be pluralised, *ĕd-* skin], might be contracted to *ngak·at ĕd-*, but this would be slightly ambiguous, as *à·dal-* chin belongs to this class.

OMISSION 3. *dig gŭp tâ-* the bone of my arm [*dig* singular of Class 4, *gŭd* arm, *tâ* bone], might be contracted, but not with much certainty, except the arm were stretched out, to *dig tâ-*.

OMISSION 4. *ngar châg ti-* the blood of thy leg [*ngar* thy, in Class No. 2, *châg* leg, *ti* blood], might be contracted into *ngar ti-* with considerable risk of ambiguity, unless the leg had been previously referred to, or was otherwise indicated.

539 As it is neither possible nor desirable to expand this report into a treatise on the South Andaman language, I looked about for some genuine native utterances, not translations, which might illustrate the natural speech of the country. Fortunately, Mr. Man was able to furnish me with precisely what I wanted. When he was sent officially to the Nicobar Islands, he took with him several young native Andamanese,[1] and in order to keep up their connection with their friends, and especially with their head-man, *jam·bu* (as he was always called, though that was not his real name), Mr. Man wrote letters for them at their dictation. He had to treat them quite like children for whom one writes letters, suggesting subjects, asking what they would say if they saw *jam·bu*, and so on. It was laborious work, which, however, Mr. Man did not regret, as it often furnished him with new words or phrases. These letters were then sent to the British officer in charge of the Homes at Port Blair, who did not know the language, but, from an explanation furnished, read the phonetic writing to *jam·bu*, sufficiently well to be understood, but to assist this officer Mr. Man furnished a free and an interlinear translation. I give two of these letters, which certainly, if any exist, are genuine specimens of South

[1] Their names and nicknames (in parenthesis) were *.i·ra* (*.kō·ro-* hand), *.bi·da* (*.i·dal-* eye, as he had large saucer eyes), *.lō·ra* (Henry, his name when at the Ross orphanage), *.wō·i* (Tom, the name Mr. Man gave him when he first came to Viper Island), *.i·ra* (*.ja·do-* entrails, so called from his protuberant belly when a child). These names may be preserved as those of the unwitting originators of Andaman literature. One other name of a native should be added, although he was not taken with Mr. Man to the Nicobars, on account of illness, and indeed he died shortly after Mr. Man left. This was *.bi·a* (*.pa·g-* foot, so called from his large feet). He was the elder brother of the above-named *.lō·ra* (Henry). All the time that Mr. Man was in charge of the Andaman Homes, about four years, *.bi·a* worked with him. He was the most intelligent and helpful native Mr. Man met, and was his principal informant throughout. Mr. Man often told him that he would bring his name to notice, and thus redeems his promise.

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Andaman literature, but to make them as instructive as possible in showing the nature of the language, I divide them into numbered sentences, putting the text first, the free translation next, and afterwards, in square brackets, an analytically literal translation in the order of the original, in which, with the help of Mr. Man's translation, vocabulary and personal assistance, I endeavour to shew or explain the meaning and composition of each word and its parts, and its grammatical connection, occasionally adding other notes.

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First Letter to *.jam·bu.*

Cited by the simple numbers of the sentences.

1. *.mám .jam·bu.* Worshipful *jam·bu.* [*mám* is a term of respect by which chiefs or head men are addressed, perhaps 'honourable' or 'your honor' would be a nearer translation. *.jam·bu* was only a nickname, but as he was always so called, Mr. Man cannot recollect any other. See his song below, p. 70.]

2. *Med' àrdū·ru adbē·ringa.* We are all in good health. [*med'* we, a contraction for *med·a*, the final *-a* being lost before the following *à* of *àrdū·ru* all. The full form for 'we' is *mòl·ôichiv.* For *ad-bē·ri-nga* well, see No. 5.]

3. *bī·rma-chē·lewa tàrō·lo tek mij·i' at yed yā·ba.* Since last steamer no one has been ill. [*bī·rma* funnel, *chē·lewa* ship, not one of their own boats; the Andamanese prefer if possible making a new word to adopting a foreign one, the present compound is more original than the modern Greek ἀτμόπλοιον, which is a mere translation of 'steam vessel.' *tàrō·lo* last, see Cl. 5 under *kō·ro-mū·gu-chāl. tek* from, since, postp. *mij·i'at* a contracted form of *mij·ia at*, properly a plural possessive interrogative, 'whose?' but used idiomatically in negative sentences, for an indefinite personal pronoun, corresponding to English 'any.' *yed* sick or ill. *yā·ba-* not, always placed at end of a sentence.]

4. *.mar .lō·ra à·chitik igbà·dignganlen dà·kar-bō·dia nai·kan.* Master *.lō·ra* is now like a tub in appearance (so fat is he). [*.mar* applied to a young unmarried man, or a man who remains childless for the first 4 or 5 years after marriage, after which time, he is called *mai·a*, the ordinary name for a married man who has children, of which the honorific form *mai·ola* is applied to chiefs only. *.lō·ra* (Henry) the name of the youth. *à·chitik* now, *àchi·baiya* then. *ig-bà·dig-nga-len* appearance-in, see Nos. 9 and 10. (This is one of the verbs which change the final letter of the base according to the suffix, but the law of change is not yet fully ascertained. In this case *-g* is apparently inserted before *-re* and *-nga*, but on the other hand it may be simply omitted before *-ke.*) *dà·kar* a tub or bucket. *bō·dia* big. *dà·kar-bō·dia*, big as a tub. (There are five words for big, 1. *bō·dia-* which when 'human' becomes *àbō·dia-*, but here has no prefix on account of being in composition, 2. *dō·ga-*, 3. *chà·nag-*, and 4. *tà·banga-*, which are 'humanised' by *ab*, 5. *rō·chobo-* 'humanised' by *à*. Without the prefixes *bō·dia-*, *dō·ga-*, and *chà·nag-* are applied to any non-human objects, and *rō·chobo- tà·banga-*, to animals only.) *nai·kan* like.]

5. *ñgà·kà ō·lien ed·a did·dirya yābu.* He as yet has had no fever. [*ñgà·ka* as yet, *ñyà* simply meaning 'then.' *ōl-lēn* him-to, the 3rd pers. pron. with postpos., *len* to. *ed·a* ever. *did·dirya* fever, that is, ague, trembling. *yā·ba* not, see 3.]

6. *.mar .wō·i ūn-wōt-tai·jnga tà·paya.* Master *.wō·i* is a great flying-fox shot. [*.mar* see 4. *.wō·i* the name of

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a youth (about 16 years old), of the tribe that the South Andamanese call *.ōko-jū·wai-da*, who came in a canoe from Middle Andaman to Port Blair, where he made an important statement concerning the manners and customs of his tribe, which was reduced to writing by Mr. Man, and is published, chiefly in English, in the Journal of the Anthropological Institute, vol. xi. pp. 280–2. When he arrived at Port Blair, his language was unintelligible to the natives there, but he quickly learned their language, and as he was a very nice fellow, he was induced to remain by marrying him to a pretty girl (named in 20), who was still very young. As they had at that time no family, he was still called *mar*. *ūn* refers to skill, see Nos. 7, 8, 16. *wūd-* or *wōt* in construction, flying-fox. *taij* shoot with an arrow. *nga* sign of verbal subst. The whole word is, therefore, skilled shooter of flying foxes. *tā·paya* excellent (human only), marks superlative degree.]

7. *ar·at dil·u dī·laya ā·kārā·rnga bē·dig, ōl iyilā būd kōng-pū·len wōt leb ērkē·dangke.* While the others are finishing their evening meal with dainty morsels, he goes alone and searches among the trees for flying foxes near the hut. [*ar·at* their, see Cl. 2.. *dil·u* rest or remainder. *dī·laya* evening-at. *ā·kā* referring to palate, see No. 11. *rā·r-nga* tasty things, which conclude a meal, from *rār*, v. taste, determine flavour of. *bē·dig* while or during, as a postposition to the whole preceding clause, so that it means: the rest of them in-the-evening tasty-bits-finishing while. *ōl* 3rd pers., hence 'he' in this case. *iyilā* alone, unaccompanied. *būd-* an occupied hut, *ēr-* an unoccupied hut, (*tā·rādā-* hut belonging to a married couple; *kātō·go-* bachelor's hut; *chāng-* hut, or roof, for the huts are almost all roof, *chāng-tē·pinga-* best kind of hut, with well plaited roof, to last 2 or 3 years; *chāng-tō·rnga-* next best hut, formed of leaves bound together with cane, lasting a few weeks or months; *chang-dar·anga-* a temporary shed, roof of loose leaves, to last a few days. The species of palm leaf ordinarily used for these roofs is called *chāng·ta-*). *lūng-pū·len* near an inanimate object. (Other terms are *ā·kā-pū·len* or *āt-par·cha-len* near to an animate object; *eb-ē·r-teg-ilen* near a tree or post; *yapā·len* near as one place to another, *ya* giving indefiniteness of object, compare *bā* and *yabā-* little.) *wōt* flying fox. *leb* for, postp. *ēr-kē·dang-ke* search in-trees-does, (*ē·rem* jungle), *ā·ta* v. search on the ground for an inanimate object, *ab-ā·ta-* v. for an animate object.]

8. *en lū·nga bē·dig ōl lā·kāchī·ke yā·bada.* On seeing one he does not miss it. [*en* it. *lū·-nga* see (verbal subst.) = seeing. *bē·dig* while, consequent on, see 7. *ōl* he, *lā·kāchī·-ke* (euphonic *l*, Cl. 3), miss-does. *yā·bada* not, see 5, where final *da* is not added to *yā·ba*.]

9. *kū·rin chō·wai rō·choboda.* There are enormous clams here. [*kū·rin* here. *chō·wai* clam, the plural is not indicated. *rō·choboda* big, applied to animals, see *bō·dia* in 4. This shell-fish in the Nicobars is the *Tridacna gigantea*, and measures 3 or 4 feet in length; in the Andamans, they have only the small species *Tridacna crocea* and *T. squamosa*.]

10. *ū·badō·galen yāt atū·babaleb dū·rumada.* There is sufficient food in one for a great number of persons. [*ū·ba-dō·ga-* one, *ū·ba-tū·l* is also used, but *ū·ba-dō·ga-* is the emphatic form like our 'a single one,' see Cl. 5, under *mū·gu-chāl-*. *len* in, postp. *yāt* in construction, *yādā-* final, food. *at-ū·baba* countless numbers, see Cl. 5. *leb* for, postp. *dū·rumada* sufficient.]

11. *mō·da ngōl met atted·inga lū·ake, .pā·dri chāb .rūch-ya pōl·i yā·te bū·dien lī·rnga bē·dig, ā·kā-tā igbā·dike.* If you don't believe us, go to the Padre sāhib's house at Ross, and see the shell (we are sending). [*mō·da* if, *ngōl* you, *met* us, obj. pl. *at·ted·inga* (human)-lie-telling-(verbal subst.). *at* is plural *ab*. *lū·a-ke* consider-do (present time), *lū* v. look or see. *·pā·dri* Italian padre, father, but applied as "Rev." to all clergymen, here the chaplain was meant. *chāb* Andamanese attempt at pronouncing the Hindi *sā·hib*. *.rūch* Andamanese attempt to say *Rās*, the Hindi corruption of Ross, an island at the entrance of the inlet of Port Blair. *-ya* at, postp. *pōl·i* dwell. *yā·te* that, the relative. *būd* hut, see 7, but here meant for house. *len* postp. to. *lī·r-nga* go, verbal subst. *bē·dig* while, or consequent upon, see 7. The phrase means: upon going to the house of the chaplain

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who dwells at Ross. *ȧ·kȧ* see No. 11, in relation to taste or mouth, *tȧ* bone, that is, taken together, *ȧ·kȧtȧ* bone covering food *i.e.* shell. *ig-bȧ·di-ke* see-will, see 4, pres. for fut.]

12. *ngōl ō·llen igbȧ·di yȧ·te wai·kan ngab-ped·inga kich·ikan-nai·kan tȧrchi·ke; bad·i ū·cha ȧ·kȧtȧ·da!* On seeing it we are sure you will slap your side and exclaim: what a whopping big shell! [*ngōl* you. *ō·l-len* it, obj. *igbȧ·di* see, see 4. *yȧ·te* who, see 11; that is, you who-see it. *wai·kan* certainly. *ngab* your, see Cl. 1 and Om. 4 for the omission of *chȧn-* body, or some such word. *ped·i-nga* slap (verbal subs.) = slapping. *kich·ikan* and *nai·kan* both mean 'like' and together, 'just like.' *tȧ·chi·-k-* say-will. *bad·i* exclamation of surprise. *ū·cha* this. *ȧ·kȧ-tȧ* shell, see 11.]

13. *med' ȧrdū·ru .pū·lo-pilȧu· el-ȧ·rjana būd lō·yaba yȧ·te len ȧ·kaugai·re.* We all went to *.pū·lo-pilȧu·*, which is a village a long way off to the north. [*med' ȧrdū·ru* we all, see 2. *.pū·lo-pilȧu·* name of a place in the Nicobar Islands. *el-ȧ·rjana* north, *el-iglū·*-south (district), *el-ȧ·rmu·gu-* (appearing-face) east (in these words *el* stands for *ē·r-* country), *tȧr.mū·gu-* (disappearing face) west. *būd* but, village. *lō·yaba* distant. *yȧ·te* which. *len* to, postp., affecting the whole phrase, which means: to P. P. which is a distant village to the north. *ȧ·kau-gai·* go a short journey by water, *ō·to-jū·mu* is used for a long journey. *-re* past time.]

14. *kȧ·to ȧ·rla jī·baba pōl·ire.* We stayed several days there. [*kȧ·to* there. *ȧ·rla* days, plural indicated by the following word. *jī·baba* several, very many, see Cl. 5. *pōl·i-re* dwell-did, see 11.]

15. *charkȧ·r leb rō·go jad·ijō·g ȧrdū·ru igal·re dō·na mō·to-kūklī·re yȧ·bada.* We bargained for a lot of young female pigs for Government, but did not forget ourselves. [*charkȧ·r* Andamanese attempt to pronounce the Hindī *Sarkār* government. *leb* for, postp. *rō·go* pigs, plural indicated by the following *ȧ·dū·ru*. *rō·go-* is a female pig, *rog-* either male or female. *jad·i-jō·g* spinster, implying a full-grown sow-pig which has not littered, see the mode of expressing sex mentioned on p. 53. *ȧrdū·ru* several (see Cl. 5) or all, as in 2. *igal·-e* barter did. *dō·na* but. *mō·to* ourselves. *kūklī·re* forget-did. *ō·to-kūklī·-ke* oneself forget-does (*mō·to* is only the form of the first person plural, see p. 58), was one of the new words discovered by Mr. Man from the dictation of these letters to *jum·bu*. The common verb for forgetting is *ōt-kūklī·ke*, which is reflective, *dō d'* *ōt-kūklī·re*, I forgot, where *dō d'* or *dōl d'* answers to French *je me* (in *je m'en souviens*) and similarly *ngō' ng'* or *ngōl ng'* *ōt-kūklī·re* you forgot. The relation of *ō·to-k.* and *ōt-k.* is similar to that in *ōtrȧ·jke* defend-does, *ō·torȧ·jke* oneself defend does. 'Selves' is also expressed by *ē·kan*. See examples in 40. *yȧ·bada* not, see 7.]

16. *kīauchȧ· reg-wȧ·ra gō·i jī·baba mō·yut-tē·mar leb ō·more.* We accordingly fetched several prime young male pigs for our own use. [*kīauchȧ·* therefore. *reg* pigs, either male or female, see 15. *wȧ·ra* bachelor, young but full grown, see p. 53. *gō·i* fresh, and hence in good condition. *jī-baba* several, properly 'very many,' see Cl. 5, but as there were really only five or six, Mr. Man translated the word 'several' at the time; he supposed that the young men wished to surprise their friends at Viper by leading them to suppose by this term that they had got many more pigs than was actually the case. *mō·yut-tē·mar* ourselves, the meaning of the separate words is not known, but we have *dō·ynn-t.* myself, *ngō·ynn-t.* thyself and *ō·ynn-t.* himself, *ō·ynt t.* themselves, *n.ō·ynt-t.* yourselves. *leb* for, postp. *ō·mo-re* fetch-did.]

17. *med·a ñgȧ·kȧ mȧk·nga-ba yȧ·te len chī·lynke.* Those we have not eaten yet we are fattening. [*med·a* we. *ñgȧ·kȧ* as yet, see 5. *mȧk·-nga* eat- (passive participle, p. 55, n. 2) = eaten. *ba* not. *yȧ·te* which. *len* postp. pointing out object, meaning: we are fattening those which have not been eaten as yet. The construction, though common, is somewhat involved, and would be, in English order, as boys "construe" Latin: *med·a* we, *chī·lynke* are fattening, *len* (mark of accusative relation), *yȧ·te* (those) which, *ñgȧ·kȧ* as yet, *mȧk·nga-ba* (are or have been) eaten-not.]

18. *ȧ·kȧlō·dongalen med·a ȧ·kȧ-jai·ñgke tarō·lolen ōtñȧ·ba rō·go lō·inga bō·dig .kai·par lat mit·ik-ī·kke.* These we will slaughter one by one, and

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afterwards get some more pigs to take with us to Viper. [*à·kà-lō·do-nga* one by one, idiomatic expression, origin unknown. *len* postp. marks the object. *med·a* we. *à·kà·jai·ñg-ke* slaughter-do, this expression is used for pigs only. *tàrō·lo.len* last-to, afterwards, see Cl. 5. *ōt-ñà·ba* other in addition to the former, see Cl. 6 for *ōt*, this prefix also occurs in *ōt-pāg·i* once more. *rō·go* pig, see 15. *lō·i-nga* get-(verbal subs.) = getting. *bē-dig* while, or consequent upon; meaning: afterwards on getting additional pigs. *.bai·par* Andamanese mispronunciation of Viper, an island within the inlet of Port Blair. *lat* to, postp. *mit·ik* in company with us, *m-* us, *it·ik* in company with, *ī·k-ke* take away-will, see 20.]

19. *.mar .ī·ra-.jō·do .mar .wō·i lōt pīj len jā·bag tà·la-tim·re.* Master *.ī·ra-.jō.do* has tonsured Master *.wō·i* very badly. [*.mar.* see 4. *.ī·ra-.jō·do* is the subject of the verb. *.wō·i lōt pīj* is the object, as *.wō·i*'s hair. *lōt* his (head understood), see Cl. 6, and Om. 1. *pīj* hair, the usual form of *pīd* in construction, thus *ōt-pī·j-yà·ba* his (head)-hair-not = bald. *len* postp. obj. *jà·bag* badly. *tà·la-tim·re* tonsure-did. This shaving of the crown of the head is the business of the women and especially of the wife, but in this case the women were left behind. The razors used are extremely fine chippings of glass.]

20. *mō·da .ō·ra-.bī·ela abī·k-yà·te à·chitikighà·aiñgà wai·kanōtjē·rnga-len ngpēd·ike ōl-bē·dig abtō·goke.* If *.wō·i*'s wife *.ō·ra-.bī·ela* were now to see him, she would certainly box the barber's ears and abuse him. [*mō·da* if. *ab-ī·k* (female)-take away, *yà·te* who, that is, who is wife. For *ik* see end of 18, where, but for the *mit·ik*, there would have been the prefix *ab* as *abī·kke* take-away-does (present), an animate object. But *en·i* is to take, as *ablī·ga là·ka-bang tel pa p en·ike* child its-mouth from pipe take-do = take the pipe from the child's mouth, *-ke* being also used for the imperative. Now in marrying, the chief who unites the couple *tō·t-yà·p-ke* their (persons, Cl. 6) -speak-does, the man *ad-en·i-ke* (animate, see No. 6) -take-does, the woman *ab-ī·k-ke* (human, No. 4) -take-away-does. The husband is spoken of as *ad-ī·k-yà·te-*, and the wife as *ab-ī·k-yà·te-*, as here. For the first few weeks the young couple are called *ōng-tāg-gō·i-* their-bed-of-leaves-fresh, and after that for the first year *ūn-jà·ti-gō·i-*, where *ūn* refers to the hands, No. 7, and *gō·i* is fresh, but *jà·ti* is not known. *à·chitik* now, see 4. *ig-bà·di-ke* see-does, see 4, pres. time, though in English it becomes past subjunctive, after *mō·da* if. *ñgà* then, see 5. *wai·kan* certainly. *ōt-jē·r-nga* his (head understood, see Om. 1) -shave-(verbal. subst.), that is, his head's shaver. *len* postp. marking object. *ig-ped·i-ke* face (see Nos. 9, 10 and 17, and Cl. 4), (in anger) slap (see 12) will, *ar-ped·i-ke* would be, 'leg (see Cl. 2) -slap-will,' as women do when delighted. *ōl-bē·dig* it-while or it-after, used for 'and.' or 'as well as.' *ab-tō·go-ke* (human prefix No. 4)-abuse-will.]

21. *.mar .wō·i ōttek·īknga bē·dig pīj-gō·i len enōtjē·rke yà·ba.* Master *.wō·i* is so ashamed of his appearance, that he is letting the new hair grow. [*ōt-tek·īk-nga* for-his-head (Cl. 6), -ashamed-(verbal subst.), *tek·īk* be -ashamed, but *t·ē·kīk* weep. *bē·dig* consequent on, see 11. *pīj-gō·i* hair-fresh. *len* postp. marking object. *en-ōt-jē·r-ke* cause-head-shave-does, *en* prefixed gives a causal signification to the verb = causes his head to be shaven. *yà·ba* not.]

22. *med·a yàt bà ngōl itità·n yà·te len ō·rokre.* We duly obtained the few presents you sent. [*med·a* we. *yàt* properly fish, food, see 10, here presents. *bà* few, little, a father or mother having one or more little ones is called *ūnbà·da*. *ngōl* you. *itità·n* send away any animate or inanimate thing, *entità·n* send away a human object, *en·itàn* shew (v. refl.), *ità·n* permit. *yà·te* which. *len* postp. marking the whole phrase as an object. *ō·rok-re* obtain-did.]

23. *ngōt pai·chalen mīn àrdū·ru ōteg·nga l'edà·re ñgà itità·nnga yà·balen med·a mō·tot-kūkjà·bagire.* As you have so much in the "go-down" (store), we were much disappointed at your not sending more. [*ngōt* your, Cl. 6. *pai·cha-len* lap-to, that is, in your possession. *mīn* thing, plural only indicated by following word. *àrdū·ru* several, see 15. *ōt-j·g·-na*, Cl. 6, collection of shell-fish, meat, jack-fruit seeds, iron, flint, or anything in a heap, but *ōt-pā·j-nga* is used for honey, fruit,

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yams, fibre, and *ar-ngai·j-nga* for bows, arrows, and other implements or ornaments, and also animate objects. *l'edâ·re* because of, *i.e.* because of your having many things collected in your possession. *ñgâ* more (see 51), as well as 'then' (see 5). *itità·nnga* sending, see 22. *yā·ba-len* not-to, without. *med·a* we. *mō·tot-kūk-jā·bag-i-re* our (poss. from Class 6) -heart-bad-was, we were disappointed, *i* seems to be a euphonic insertion to separate *g* and *r*.]

24. *til·ik bī·rma-ehē·lewa kâ·gal yâ·te ñgâ mīn met â·kàuē·rke.* Perhaps the incoming steamer is bringing more things for us. [*til·ik* perhaps. *bī·rma-chē·lewa* steamer, see 3. *kâ·gal* arriving, this and *yō·boli* are said of the arrival of a boat or ship only, or of going to an elevated spot. *yâ·te* which. *ñgâ* more, see 23. *mīn* thing, see 23. *met* to us, one of the forms answering to the dative of pers. pron. *â·kâ*, see Cl. 3. *â·kâ-wē·r* and *ūn-tàr-teg·i* are said of conveying any animal or inanimate objects by boat only; *īk* is used for conveying either by land or water, and for human objects becomes *abī·k*, see 20. *-ke* future time, not distinguished from present.]

25. *med.atârtī·t idai·re añ·a â·chitik ngōl barai·jbō·lo lī·a ōtyū·burda.* We have learnt that you are now the head-"boss" at the Brigade Creek home. [*med·a* we. *târtī·t* news. *idai·-re* know-did. *añ·a* that, conjunction. *â·chitik* now. *ngōl* you. *barai·j* old-established encampment, whether occupied or not, otherwise *ēr-*, *ē·r-ārlū·a-* are unoccupied, and *būd-*, *būd-lārdū·ru-* occupied encampments. *à-bō·lo-* is a human orphan, omitting the prefix *barai·j-bō·lo-* is an orphan encampment, or one of which the old chief is dead and the new chief not yet appointed. This was the case with the Brigade Creek Andaman Home, which is the one here meant. *lī·a* of, postp. *ōt-yū·bur-da* head (Cl. 6) -chief, from *yū·bur* govern.]

26. *kâ·to ngōng jō·bo ōl-lē·dig kâ·r-apta châ·pikok!* May no snakes or centipedes bite you there. [*kâ·to* there. *ngōng* your, Cl. 5, one of the words in that class being understood. *jō·bo* snake, plural unindicated. *ōl-lē·dig* and, see 20. *kâ·rapta* centipedes, from *kâ·rap* bite as a stinging insect. *châ·pi* bite in any way. *kok* would-that-they-may-not, *dâ·ke* and *ngō·ke* are used as the imperative don't! *kâ·to ō·yu li·r-kok* there permission go-I hope may not = I hope they won't let you go there; *ngō pâ·kok* I hope you won't fall. As to the wish expressed see the farewell in 29.]

27. *dī·raptek ñgâ yâ·bnga yā·ba.* There's nothing more to say at present. [*dīrap* lately, *tek* from, postp., the whole meaning, 'at present.' *ñgâ* more, see 23. *yâ·b-nga* say, verbal subst. = saying. *yā·ba* not.]

28. *med·a àrdū·ru len ij·imū·gu-en·inga itità.nke.* We send salaam to all. [*med·a* we. *àrdū·ru* all. *len* to, postp. *ij·i* a common prefix, implying apparently 'separation,' but its signification in compounds is lost, it is frequently omitted in this word. *mū·gu* face. *en·i-nga* take-(verbal subst.). The natives mean by the word to bend the head and touch the forehead, that is, to salaam, as they were taught to do by the Rev. Mr. Corbyn, the first person who had charge of them; it is a case, then, of a new word, which may be advantageously compared with the Greek προσκυνεῖν to play the dog to; sometimes *chillâ·m*, a mispronunciation of salaam, is used. *itità·n-ke* send-do, see 22.]

29. *kam wai mòl-òichik!* Good-bye! [*kam* here. *wai* indeed. *mòl·òichik* we, full form. The ceremony of taking leave by word of mouth is rather long. The host accompanies his visitor to the landing-place, or at least to a considerable distance. On parting, the visitor takes his host's hand and blows upon it; after the compliment is returned, the following dialogue ensues. DEPARTING VISITOR: *kam wai dol*, here indeed I. HOST: *ó* aye (a contraction for *ô·no* yes), *ū·chik wai òn*, hence indeed come, *tain tâ·lik kach òn yâte?* when again hither come who? = very well, go, when will you come again? DEP. VIS.: *ñgâ·tek do ngat mīn ī·kke*, then-from (presently) I for-you thing take-away-will = I will bring away something for you one of these days. HOST: *jo·bo la ngōng châ·pikok!* snake (euphonic *la*) you bite-may not = I hope no snake will bite you, compare 26. DEP. VIS.: *wai do ērgē·lepke*, indeed I on-the-land (*ēr*) -watchful-be-will. They then repeat the ceremony of blowing on each other's hands, and part shouting invitations and promises for a

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future date until beyond earshot. There are no Andaman words of greeting. Relatives on meeting throw their arms round each other and weep for joy. When any other persons meet, they simply stand looking at each other in silence for a long time, sometimes as much as half an hour, before one of them ventures to speak.]

Second Letter to *jam·bu.*

The sentences are numbered in continuation of the former.

30. *.mâm .jam·bu.* Worshipful Jumbo [see 1].

31. *med' ârdū·ru adbē·ringa.* We are all in good health [see 2].

32. *ñgâ·kà mar' dū·ru tek ō·gun.mar .lō·ra abyed·re yā·ba.* Up to the present Master *.lō·ra* is the only one of us who has not been ill. [*ñgâ·kà* as yet, see 5. *ma·r' dū·ru* contraction for *mar·at-ârdū·ru* our (Class 2) -all, the whole of us. *tek* from, postp. *ō·gun* only. *.mar .lō·ra* see 4. *ab-yed·-re* human (No. 4) -sick-was. *yā·ba* not.]

33. *ōl kichikachâ· ôtolâ·laire meda idai·nga-ba, til·ik yât mâk·nga dō·ga l'edâ·re.* We don't know how he has escaped (being ill), perhaps it is because he eats so much. [*ōl* he. *kichikachâ·* how, in what manner. *ôto-lâ·lai-re* Cl. 7) escape-did. *med·a* we. *idai-nga-ba* know-(verbal subst.)-not = we are knowers not; *ba* at the end is a contraction for *yā·ba*, and never becomes *bā* (meaning 'small'), but is kept short and unaccented. *til·ik* perhaps, see 24. *yât* food, see 10. *mâk·-nga* eat -(verbal subst.) = eating, see 17. *dō·ga* much. *l'edâ·re* by reason of, 23.]

34. *mar·at dil·u abyed·yâ·te â·chitik ō·tolâ nai·kan âpâ·tada.* The rest of us who have been ill, are now in as good condition as before. [*mar·at* our, Cl. 2. *dil·u* remainder, see 7. *abyed·* (human, No. 4)-sick. *yâ·te* who. *â·chitik* now. *ō·tolâ* first, see Cl. 6. *nai·kan* like. *âpâ·ta-da* (animate, No. 3) -fat-(thing generally). The natives grow rapidly thin when ill, hence to grow fat is to regain health.]

35. *ō·gar l'uitārire med·a .kāt·chu lēn yō·boliire.* Last month we visited Katchall Island. [*ō·gar* moon, *ō·gar-dē reka-yabā·*-moon-baby-small, or new moon, *ab-dē·reka-* human baby, *ō·gar-dē·reka-*the moon two or three days old, *ō·gar-châ·nag-* moon-big, first quarter, *ō·gar-chân-* moon-body, full moon, (so *bō do-chân-* sun-body, is noon, and *gū·rug-chân-* night-body, is midnight), *ō·gar-kī·nab-* moon-thin last quarter, *la-wai·aga-nga-* waxing, *lâr-ō·dowâ·nga* waning. *l'â-* human, No. 3, with euphonic *l*, because apparently they regard the moon as a male, *.mai·a.ō·gar-*, Mr. Moon, and seem to look upon it as more like a man than any other inanimate object. The *sun* is regarded as female, and is hence called *.chân·a-.bō·do-*, Mrs. Sun. So also in German and Anglo-Saxon, the moon is masculine and the sun feminine. *itār·i-re* extinguished-was, like any other light. *med·a* we. *.kāt·chu* Katchall Island, one of the Nicobar group. *len* to or at *yō·boli-re* disembark-did, see 24.]

36. *kâ·to â·rla ikpô·r len pôl·inga bē·dig reg l'ârdū·ru leb igal·re mū·rgi bē·dig.* During the few days we stayed there, we bartered for a lot of pigs and fowls. [*kâ·to* there, see 26. *â·rla* day, pl. indicated only by the following word. *ikpô·r* really two, but often used for a few, especially with *â·rla*, see Cl. 5. *len* to or for, postp. *pôl·i-nga* dwelling, see 11. *bē·dig* consequent on, see 11. *reg* pigs, male or female, see 15 and 16. *l'ârdū·ru* several. *leb* for, postp. *igal·-re* barter-did, see 15, the subject is *med·a* we, in preceding sentence. *mū·rgi* fowls, an adopted Hindustani word. *bē·dig* also, when placed last, see *ōl-bē·dig* in 20.]

37. *kâ·to igbū·dwa-iōngkâ·lak bē·ringa-l'igiâ· ârdū·ru ûnrâ·nda.* The people of that part are the best of all, they are all liberal. [*kâ·to* there. *ig-* Nos. 9, 10, 17. *bū·dwa* dweller in a hut or village, fellow-countryman, see 7. *lōng-kâ·lak* sign of plural, used because there is nothing else in the sentence to indicate plurality. *bē·ringa* good. *l'igiâ·* (*l'* euphonic) used alone means 'distinct,' but when joined to a word of quality it shews the highest degree, superlative, most good, best, *mai·a igiâ·-* head chief. *ârdū·ru* all. *ûn-râ·n-da* (Nos. 7, 8, 12, 13, 16) liberal.]

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38. *.mar .wō·i, .ī·ra-.jō·do bē·dig kâ·to reg pâ·ta igbâ·dignga bē·dig mū·gum len pōi·chatnga l'edâ·re reg-gū·mul lē·re.* While there, Masters *.wō·i* and *.ī·ra- .jō·do*, seeing the fat pigs for which their stomachs craved, broke their pig-fast. [*bē·dig* also, see 36. *reg pâ·ta* pig fat, that is, fat pig, not pig's fat, see 34. *ig-bâ·dig-nga* seeing- (verbal subst.), see 11. *bē·dig* consequent on. *mū·gum* inside or belly, *idrmū·gum* beneath. *len* to, postp. *pōi·chat-nga* fond of (any kind of food) (verbal subst.). *l'edâ·re* because of (see 23), *i.e.* feeling fond of food to their inside. *reg-gū·mul* pig-ceremony. We have no corresponding word to *gū·mul*, it belongs to the peculiar institutions of the Andamanese. Mr. Man says: "Although *.wō·i* had been recently induced to marry, he was only a youth of about 16, and had not yet gone through the ceremony of 'young man making' known as *gū·mul lē·ke* (*gū·mul* devour-does), when the young neophyte who has for some time past evinced his powers of self-denial, and thereby, in a measure, his fitness to enter upon the cares and trials of married life, is enabled after a course of three ceremonies (known as *yâ·dī-gū·mul-* turtle ceremony, *á·ja-gū·mul-* honey ceremony, and *reg-jī·ri-* or simply, as here, *reg-gū·mul-* pig's kidney-fat or simply pig ceremony), which take place at intervals with a degree of external ceremony, to resume the use of these favourite articles of food. *lē·re* devour-did. These ceremonies apply to the young of both sexes before reaching puberty. After this period the individual is said to be *bō·tiga-*, which implies that he or she may indulge in any kind of food at pleasure. During the period (lasting sometimes 2 or 3 years) of their abstention they are called *á·kà-yá·b-*, or *á·kà-yâ·ba-* and the fasting period is termed *á·kà-yá·ba-*".]

39. *tárō·lolen atyed·re yā·bada.* They have suffered no ill consequences thereby. [*tárō·lo-len* last-to, that is, afterwards, see 18. *at-yed·-re*, *at* is the plural form of the human prefix *at* (see 11). *yed* be sick. *re* past time, that is, men were sick. *yā·ba-da* not. They fancy that to break the *gū·mul* (see 38) will entail serious consequences, the fact being that they then generally gorge themselves with these rich articles of diet, and hence make themselves ill.]

40. *med·a â·chitik ē·kan leb rō·go ikpō·r mō·to-pai·chalen chī·lyuke.* We are rearing a few pigs for ourselves. [*med·a* we. *â·chitik* now. *ē·kan* selves. *leb* for. *rō·go* pig. *ikpō·r* two, that is, a few; as two is the largest number for which they have a name, they use it indefinitely, see 36. *mō·to* our own, *pai·cha* lap, *len* to, that is, 'in our midst.' *dō·to* s. *mō·to* pl. *ngō·to* and *ō·to* s. and pl. are the reflective forms of *dōt* s. *mō·tot* pl., *ngōt* and *ōt*, etc., as *ōl dōt jē·rke* he my-head shave-does, but *dōl dō·to jē·rke* I my-own-head shave-do. *chī·lyu-ke* fattening-are, see 17.]

41. *tâ·rdī·lēa mar'dū·ru ōtpāg·i kāt·chu len yâu·gare.* The day before yesterday we all went again to Katchall. [*târ* probably 'beyond,' *dī·lēa* yesterday. *mar'dū·ru* we all, see 32. *ōt-pāg·i* again, *ig-pāg·i* is also used, see *ōt*, *ig*, in Nos. 14, 15, and 9, 10, *pāg·i* repeat. *.kāt·chu* Katchall. *len* to, postp. *yâu·ga-re* go-did, used for going to a particular place, otherwise *lir* is used.]

42. *kâ·to ō·gun â·rla ū·bātū·l bar·mire,* (but) spent only one day there. [*kâ·to* there. *ō·gun* only. *â·rla* day. *ū·ba-tū·l* one, see Cl. 5, and also 10 and 43. *bar·mi-re* spend-did, passing the night there, as on a visit.]

43. *mē·kan leb rō·go ū·badō·ga mū·rgi jī·baba bē·dig ō·more.* We fetched a pig and very many fowls for our own consumption. [*mē·kan* ourselves, see *ē·kan* in 40. *leb* for, postp. *rō·go* pig. *ū-ba-dō·ga* one, or rather only one, an emphatic form of *ū·ba-tū·l*, see 10. *mū·rgi* fowl, see 36. *jī·baba* very many. *bē·dig* also. *ō·mo-re* fetch-did, see 16, *tō·yu-re* bring-did.]

44. *jū·rulen yâ·dī chō·ag ârdū·ru bē·dig igbâ·digre dō·na dū·tre yā·bada.* On the way we saw several turtles and porpoises, but speared none. [*jū·ru* sea. *len* to or in, postp. *yâ·dī* turtle. *chō·ag* porpoise, both rendered plural by the following word. *ârdū·ru* several. *bē·dig* also. *ig-bâ·dig-re* see-did. *dō·na* but. *dū·tre* spear-did. *yā·bada* not. The usual way to catch turtles is to harpoon them with a spear called *kowai·a lō·ko dū·t-nga-*, consisting of the *tōg-*, or a long bamboo haft, at one end of which a socket is provided for the *kowai·a-*, which is a short pointed and notched iron harpoon: these are connected by a long line.

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1 [Errata: for *â·kà·yá·ba-* read *â·kà-yâ·p-*. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 256, cat. 116, Analyst]

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bē·tma-. The thick end of the *tōg-* is called *ār-bō·rod-*, and the socket end *ā·kà-chàng·-*.]

45. *med·a dī·lēa ē·remlen mai·i l'ā·kàtàng id·lia-gō·iya igbā·digre: kianchā· ā·chitik kā·rin tō·ug pā·tke.* Yesterday for the first time we saw a *mai·i* tree in the jungle: we can therefore make torches here. [*med·a* we. *dī·lēa* yesterday. *ē·rem* jungle. *len* in, postp. *mai·i* name of a kind of *Stereulia* tree. *l'ā·kà-tàng*, *l'* euphonic, *ā·kà* No. 11, *tàng* topmost part, this is any kind of tree, a fruit tree is *ā·kà-tà·là-*, which may be from the same root. *id·lia-gō·iya*, possibly a contraction of *ed·a-lī·a-gō·iya* ever-of-fresh, quite the first. *igbā·dig-re* see-did. *kianchā·* therefore. *ā·chitik* now. *kā·rin* here. *tō·ug* torch, consisting of the resin of the *mai·i* tree wrapped in leaves and principally used when fishing and turtling at night, full name *tō·ug-pā· t-nga-*. *pā·* make, only said of this torch *ke* future time. The word for 'making' varies with different things made, thus, *wāl·igma-chāg* make an oar, *butān·i* make a house or hut, *kōp* make a canoe, bow, etc., *tē·pi* make anything with cane, bamboo, etc., as in thatching, weaving, said also of a bee constructing its comb, *tān·i* make a pail, *lāt* make a cooking-pot, *mār* make waistbelts, wristlets, or garters with pandanus leaves and string, *tā·i* make arrow heads by hammering out pieces of iron, see 46, *mai·a* make string by twisting the strands with the fingers.]

46. *.mamjō·la ā·rtām ā·rlalen chit·i pi·tke, tō·batek med·a ē·la dō·gaya tā·ike.* The former *.mamjō·la* is always writing, meanwhile we are making lots of pig-arrows. [*.mam-jō·la* homes-chief, a word coined since the Andaman 'Homes' were established, and used in addressing the officer placed in charge of them. The first syllable appears to be a form of *mām* (see 1), and the whole word is an abbreviation for *mām-mar·oia* worshipful chief, of which some persons suppose it was first an English corruption, afterwards adopted by the natives. In this letter Mr. Man himself is referred to, as he ceased to be in charge of the 'Homes' when he was transferred to the Nicobars. *ā·rtām* old, applied to animate or inanimate objects, but here it only means 'former,' for Mr. Man was not aged. *ā·la-len* day-to, always. *chit·i* letter, a Hindustani word. *pi·ti-ke* tattoo-does. They have applied the word 'tattoo' to writing, as it were, scratching, scribbling. *tō·ba-tek* meanwhile, compare *entō·ba* already, before, *tō·laba* wait a little, *dentō·bare* elder brother. *med·a* we. *ē·la* pig-arrows, pl. indicated by next word. *dō gaya* many. *tā i.ke* make-do.]

47. *mō·tot pai·chalen ā·chitik del·ta ō·to-chō·nga jī·baba.* We have now got very many bundles of arrows in our possession. [*mō·tot* our. *pai·cha-len* lap-to, in our possession, see 23. *ā·chitik* now. *del·ta* arrows, generic name for all arrows except the *chām-*, which is more of an ornament or toy. The several kinds are: *rā·tā-* with blunt wooden point for play, or before conversion into a *ti·rlēd-*sharp wooden-pointed, for shooting fish; *tō·lbōd-* with iron point, with or without barb, for shooting fish and small animals, etc.; *ē·la-* with movable iron blade-head, for shooting pigs and other animals, etc.; *ē·la lā·kà lā·pa-* with fixed iron blade-head, for the same purposes. *ō·to-chō·nga* bundle of arrows or bows (see *ō·to* in Cl. 7, it is often used as a prefix to verbs), *chō* bind, as a parcel with string. *jī·baba* very many.]

48. *.malai· lī·a chā·rigma ōt-lō·binga len jā·bagda; ōt-mā·gu kī·neb l'edā·re ōl tēg len tāk·lake.* The Nicobar outrigger canoe is ill-suited for turtling; the narrowness of the bows prevents one from making full use of the spear. [*.malai·* Malay, meaning Nicobarese, who are probably remotely Malays, and are quite different from the Andamanese. *lī·a* of. *chā·rigma* outrigger canoe, the generic name for all canoes is *rō·ko-*, those in the neighbourhood of Port Blair are generally without outrigger, and much larger than the *chā·rigma-*. *ōt-lō·bi-nga* (No. 14) hunt for turtles along the shore by poling-(verbal subst.). *len* for, postp. *jā·bagda* bad. *ōt-mā·gu* (No. 14) bow of boat, *ig-mā·gu-* face. *kī·neb* thin, that is, narrow. *l'edā·re* because of, that is, because of the bow being narrow. *ōl* it. *tēg* turtle-spear, see 44. *len* for. *tāk-la-ke* inconvenience-does.]

49. *kianchā· lō·binga tē·dig met en-tē·lat-ke.* The consequence is that in poling the canoe we (frequently) fall. [*kianchā·* therefore. *lō·bi-nga* hunting the turtle by poling-(verbal subst.). *tē·dig* while. *met* we. *en-tē·-*

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lat-ke cause-fall-does: *tō·lat* is to drop, and is here made causative by prefixing *en*, = makes us fall, see *en-ōt-ja·rke* in 21.]

50. *mō·da ngōl bī·rma-chē·lewa len min ārdū·ru ngā·na yā·te itītā·nke yā·ba, mōl·ōichik kākyā·bayike.* If you don't send us by the (incoming) steamer all the things we asked for, we shall be very disappointed. [*mō·da* if. *ngōl* you. *bī·rma-chē·lewa* steamer, see 3. *len* in, postp. *min* things, see 23. *ārdū·ru* all. *ngā·na* v. beg, ask for, *yā·te* which we asked for, but there is no indication of person or time. *itītā·nke* send, see 24. *yā·ba* not. *mōl·ōichik* we. *kāk-jā·bayi-ke* heart-bad-are see 23, euphonically inserted *i* before *-ke*.]

51. *kā·rin·ñpā tārtī·t yā·ba.* There is no more news to tell you. [*kā·rin* here. *ñpā* more. *tārtī·t* news. *yā·ba* not.] 539

52. *mōd·a ngōll' ārdū·ru tek tārtī·t bē·ringa ipā·rike.* We are longing to have good accounts of you all. [*mōd·a* we. *ngōl-la* you. *ārdū·ru* all. *tek* from, postp. *tārtī·t* news. *i-pā·ri-ke* long-for-do, *i* prefix, an abbreviation of *ip*, Nos. 9 and 10.]

53. *ñpā·kā yūm bā lapā·re.* But little rain has fallen up to the present time. [*ñpā·kā* as yet, see 5. *yūm* rain. *bā* little. *la-pā·re* (euphonic *la*, frequently prefixed to verbs), fall-did.]

54. *kaw wai mōl·ōichik.* Good bye. [See 29.]

The above examples shew the mode of thought of the natives, and what most occupies their attention. They are some of the very few expressions of genuine untutored barbarians which we possess. The analytical translation which I have been enabled to give, by the help of Mr. Man (who has very carefully revised the whole), shews not only the meaning of the parts of the words and the method of construction, but the great depth to which Mr. Man has been able to penetrate, entirely from oral instruction, into the genius and vocabulary of the language.

The agglutinative nature of the language tends directly to the detection of basic forms, and Mr. Temple has very acutely pursued this into the theory of roots. He conceives that the roots are all properly monosyllabic, and generally end with a consonant, but that these monosyllables are frequently extended by the addition of a vowel or diphthong, or the same preceded by a consonant, in which the real meaning lies in the first syllable, though it has now been lost, while the expansions serve as modifications. Occasionally the roots are of three syllables. This chapter in Mr. Temple's grammar is one of the longest and most carefully studied, but his materials were too scanty, and, as the vocabulary increased, Mr. Man found it necessary to suggest such multifarious points for reconsideration, that it would be obviously premature to give the lists which Mr. Temple has furnished. It is to be hoped that the fuller vocabulary 193 000

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(which has now about 6000 entries of the English-Andamanese part only), and the corrected grammar will be published in course of time. They are obviously of great importance to the Indian Government, on account of its penal settlement at Port Blair, and are well worthy of its patronage.

The Andamanese have poetry, and that of a most remarkable kind. Their only musical instrument is a stamping board to keep time, and to this rhythm everything seems to be sacrificed. The words, their order, the prefixes, the suffixes, the postpositions, are all more or less changed, the order of the words suffers, in short the poetical language requires a special study, which is the more difficult to give, as songs are always impromptu, and not, as a rule, sung again after the one occasion for which they were composed, and then only by the composer. Of the music Mr. Man regrets to state that he is unable to give any information, as he is, unfortunately, totally unacquainted with the subject. The following specimen of a song composed by the *jam·bu*, to whom the above letters were addressed, after his liberation from a six months' imprisonment, about 1865, for having shot down a sailor whom he found taking liberties with his wife, was given to Mr. Man by the author.

I. As it was sung.

Solo. *ŋpō do kūk l'ārtā·lagī·ka,*
mō·ro el·ma kā igbā·dāla
mō·ro el·mo lē aden·yarā
pō-tōt lah.

Chorus. *aden·yarā pō-tōt lah.*

II. Literal Translation of the Poetry.

thou heart sad
sky surface there look-at
sky surface of ripple
bamboo spear.

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III. Prose Andamanese Version by Mr. Man.

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ugôl kûk l'ârtâ·lagike
mô·ro el·ma len kâ·to igbâ·dignga bêdig,
mô·ro el·ma lî·a en·yar len igbâ·dignga bêdig
pô-tôg len tâg·imike.

IV. Literal Translation of Prose Version.

thou heart-sad-art
sky-surface to there looking while,
sky-surface of ripple to looking while,
bamboo spear on lean-dost.

V. Free Translation of Prose Version.

thou art sad at heart,
gazing there at the sky's surface,
gazing at the ripple on the sky's surface,
leaning on the bamboo spear.

The rhythm, as read by Mr. Man, was:

-- -- -- --
-- -- - ---
-- | -- | -- | ---
- | - | -

The syllables marked - were of medial length. There were two short syllables at the end of the second and third lines. The three long syllables in the fourth line were very long and slow, each filling up a whole measure. Strange as some of the changes and omissions were, this is one of the least altered of the songs in Mr. Temple's grammar. We must suppose the man to be standing before his companions after liberation from prison, gazing sadly at the sky again and resting on his bamboo spear, and then the action would make the words intelligible.

An important question arises as to the durability of the 000

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language. The English have been there for so short a time (only twenty-four years), and the only trustworthy vocabulary, that of Mr. Man, has been made for so much shorter a time, that there is no proper record by which the past can be contrasted with the present state of the language. But there are some names of places in the neighbourhood of Port Blair which cannot be explained. The Andaman names of places are all significant, and this shews that some words have entirely dropped out of use, or have become unrecognisably modified since such places were named. There will also be found in the examples I have given many evidently compound words of whose parts Mr. Man had not succeeded in obtaining any explanation. This therefore leads us to suppose that the words may alter rapidly, while the constructions may remain. The difference of words and sameness of construction in the various Andaman tribes might be accounted for on the principle of independent development, owing to little intercourse, during many hundreds of years. The ease with which young *.wö·i*, an *.ôko-jü·waida*, or native of South Middle Andaman, learned the South Andaman language, may be mainly explained by the similarity of construction. It is not so much the words of a foreign language which puzzle us, as the native method of putting those words together, for this depends upon an original divergence in the lines of thought, which soon become impossible to reconcile. When, therefore, the construction remains the same, the shifting from one set of words to another is comparatively easy. At the same time, this example may serve to shew with what ease any one of these languages may change its words. If Messrs. Man and Temple succeed in getting their vocabulary and grammar of the South Andaman tongue officially recognised, and books come to be printed in accordance with them, and used in the Andaman Homes, and finally over all those parts of the South Andaman and Rutland Islands which are in the occupation of the *.bö·jiyngi·jida* (isolated parts of these islands are in the possession of the *.jär·awada*, who own Little Andaman, the Sentinels, and small intermediate islands), and the people themselves do not die out

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(as is unfortunately quite possible, for the deaths much exceed the births, and the 1500 South Andamanese that are estimated to have been there when we took possession of the islands in 1858 have dwindled down in 24 years to less than 500), then the change of the language may be arrested, a literary or book language may be acknowledged as that used at Port Blair, and the speech of the other islanders recognised as provincial. Even if the present South Andamanese died out, the language would remain that of government, and be adopted by the natives of other islands who naturally come to Port Blair. In the mean time, thanks to the two gentlemen whose papers I have been entrusted with, a very fair notion of this language as it now exists can be formed, and its position in the whole family of human speech, as laid down by Mr. Temple in the observations with which I began, can be duly appreciated by philologists. Even if the language became extinct before the end of the present century, the researches of Messrs. Man and Temple, as preserved in their manuscripts, would retain their philological value. Exceptional opportunities, well utilised, have resulted in a thorough, practical, and trustworthy exposition of a remarkable agglutinative language, as yet almost entirely free from external influences. The excellent memoirs on the people, their habits and customs, which Mr. Man has read before the Anthropological Institute, and are published in its Transactions, complete one of the most satisfactory accounts of an uncivilised tribe which we possess. I beg in conclusion to tender the thanks of the Philological Society to Messrs. Man and Temple, and especially to Mr. Man, without whose presence in England and unstinting personal explanations the present report could not have been drawn up.

(For Errata see overleaf.)

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ERRATA.

Page 58, line 12 from bottom, for *chaiʿad-* read *ó·na*.
,, 59, ,, 26 and 28 from top, for *.mō·da* read *.mē·ba*.
,, 59, ,, 27 from top, for Moda's read Meba's.
,, 59, ,, 8 from bottom, for *dē·kia* read *nô·tnga*.
,, 67, ,, 13 from bottom, for *â·kà-yâ·ba-* read *â·kà-yâ·p-*.

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[For myths relating to spirits and gods see category 116, pp. 95-106.]

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CENSUS OF INDIA, 1901.

VOLUME III.

THE ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS.

[Title page]

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CENSUS OF INDIA, 1901.

VOLUME III.

THE ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS.

REPORT ON THE CENSUS.

BY

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OF THE INDIAN STAFF CORPS

CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF THE ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS, AND

SUPERINTENDENT OF THE PENAL SETTLEMENT AT PORT BLAIR.

CALCUTTA:

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1903.

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PREFACE.

First Census Report on the Andamans and Nicobars—Form of Report—The Three Communities in the Islands—Accuracy of the Returns—Printing of Vernacular Words—Bibliography—I of the Andamans—II of Barren Islands and Narcondam—III of the Nicobar Islands.

122 **First Census Report on Andamans and Nicobars.**—This is the first attempt to make a "Census Report" on the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. In 1881 and 1891 a Census was taken on the lines of the General Census of India, but only of the Penal Settlement at Port Blair. And so it happens that the General Indian Census of 1901 is also the first occasion on which any formal attempt has been made, under the orders of the Government of India, to take a Census of the Andamanese and Nicobarese outside the Penal Settlement.

008 **Form of Report.**—In making this Report under conditions entirely at variance with those obtaining in India, I have been able, through the courtesy of Mr. H. H. Risley while Census Commissioner for India, to follow a line of my own on an agreement between us as to the general scheme I should adopt. This general scheme is shown in the contents bill of the Report. I think it is also right to say that circumstances have compelled me to compile it against time and in addition to the ordinary duties of my office.

The Three Communities in the Islands.—There are in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands three separate communities having no points of contact as regards the Census with each other and living under conditions belonging to entirely different stages of civilization. The Andamanese consist of tribes of naked savages only recently brought into general contact with civilised races. The Nicobarese are an old far-eastern semi-civilised people with an ancient trade. The Penal Settlement shows all the usual signs of a civilised community of the most advanced type. Each in fact presents separate phenomena with an interest of their own to the student and should be studied separately, and it is for this reason that this Report has been divided into three different parts:—I the Andamanese, II the Nicobarese, III the Penal Settlement of Port Blair. For this reason also it is intended that each part shall be complete in itself from the point of view of a Census Report.

Accuracy of Returns.—While it gives me great pleasure to testify to the scrupulous care and conscientiousness with which Mr. E. H. Man, C.I.E., Major A. R. S. Anderson, I.M.S., and Mr. H. H. D'Oyly carried out the difficult operation of enumerating the Andamanese and Nicobarese, it was impossible for them in the conditions to keep their results clear of the charge of inaccuracy, and circumstances also made it obligatory to conjecture the numbers of the Onge and Jarawa tribes among the Andamanese and of the Shom Pen among the Nicobarese. In this Report I have endeavoured to state fully the reasons for the conjectures and for estimating the amount of error in enumeration: also to point out how a greater approach towards accuracy may possibly be attained at the next opportunity and to what points special attention may then be profitably given.

Printing of Vernacular Words.—In printing this Report diacritical marks on Andamanese and Nicobarese words and names have been everywhere avoided

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100 and never used except where necessary to the meaning. Languages, entirely unknown to any but a very few local experts, present puzzles enough to the general reader without that increase of them which results from too strict a purism, and those desirous of a closer knowledge of pronunciation and form will find the romanisation employed fully explained in the sections on Language.

Bibliography.—A great deal has been written about the Andamans and Nicobars in the last twenty-five years, but the mass of information thus collected is scattered about in scarce Government Reports, in books chiefly rare and published in small editions, and in pamphlets and scientific journals not easy of access. In the bibliography attached an attempt is made at indicating a fairly complete collection of these notices of the Islands, and in the text of this Report to draw attention to points of interest and requiring further enquiry, or, what is quite as valuable, a collation of the printed information regarding them.

In the books, pamphlets and articles noted in the bibliography will be found many further references to information regarding the Andamans and Nicobars.

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PART I.

THE ANDAMANESE.

CHAPTER I.

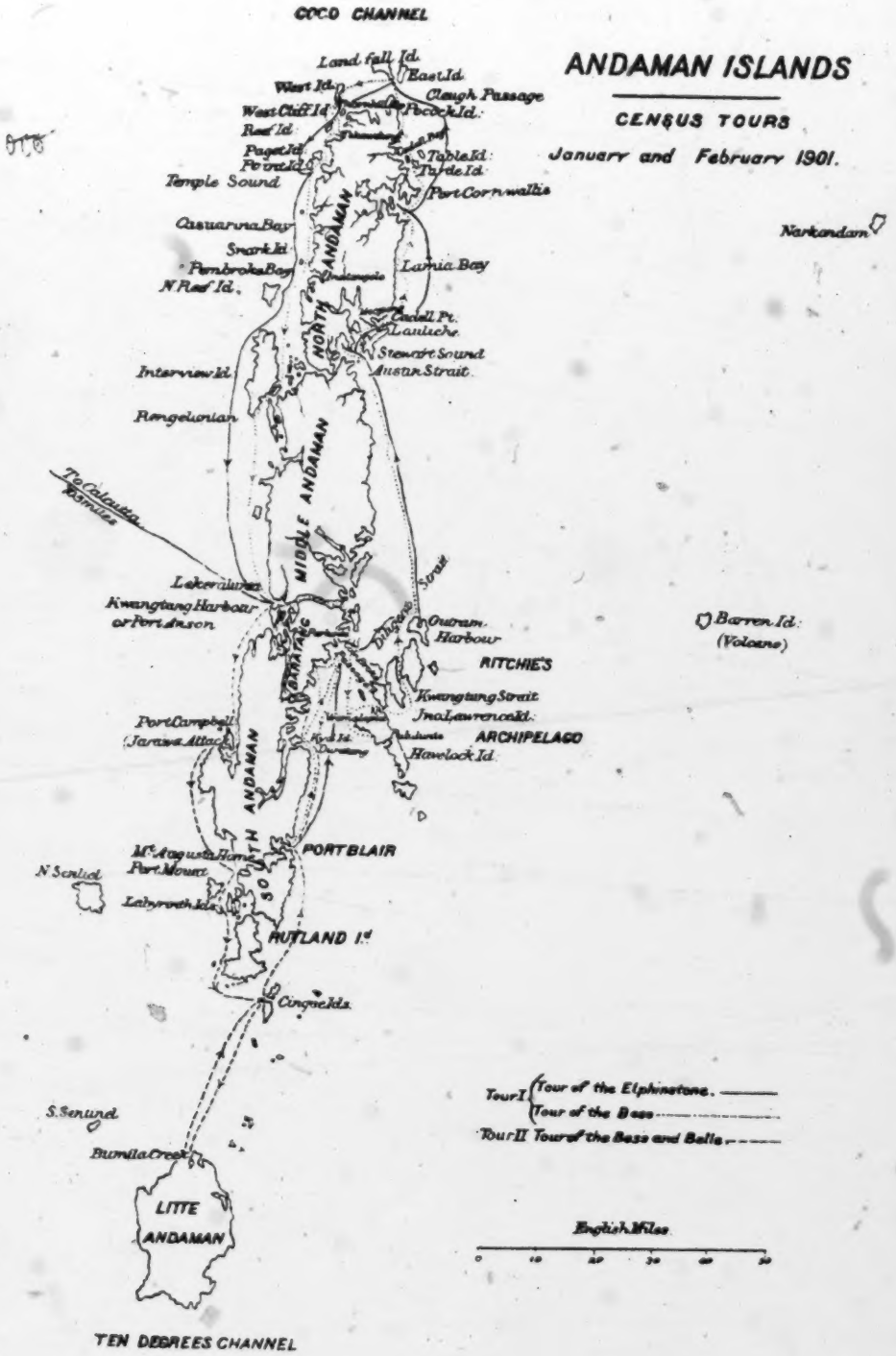
THE CENSUS.

Conditions of Census-taking—Impossibility of Synchronous Census—Intelligent Assistance from Aborigines impossible—Hostile Tribes estimated only—Control of Operations—Census Tours—Method of Enumeration—Officers' Diaries—Method of estimating Ongee and Jarawa—Attitude of the Andamanese—Points as to Defects in Enumeration—Jarawa Hostility—The Returns of the Andamanese—The former Population—Diagram of Past and Present Assumed Density—Methods of arriving at Former Density—The Kitchen-Middens—Future Prospects of the Race.

619 48+ **Conditions of Census-taking.**—The conditions under which a Census of the Andamanese was attempted were the following. In the first place there are Andamanese "Homes" in the Penal Settlement maintained by the Government, to which any Andamanese of any Tribe may come and stay as long as he chooses. In the next place, for reasons hereafter to be explained, practically all the tribes but one are "friendly" and are at the present time very much mixed up with each other. In this mixed condition they are nomads, much given to rapid wandering all over the islands of the group known as the Great Andaman, in which the Penal Settlement is situated. In their most imperfect condition of civilisation it was quite hopeless to expect to induce them to remain in any one place for even one night or for any given period. And thus the first great difficulty to combat in attempting to enumerate them was to prevent the same persons from being counted twice or more times over.

131 **Impossibility of Synchronous Census.**—This difficulty was increased by the impossibility, owing to the nature of the country they inhabit, from enumerating the people all at once or at anything approaching a uniform time. As will be seen later on, the Andamans consist of the Great Andaman group and the Little Andaman, attached to each of which are a great number of smaller islands and islets. There is also the inhabited North Sentinel at some distance to the west of the general group. The Great Andaman consists of five main islands running from north to south thus:—North Andaman, Middle Andaman, Baratang, South Andaman, Rutland Island. All these are dove-tailed into each other by very narrow straits, not so wide as the ordinary rivers of a continent. The Little Andaman is situated at a considerable distance to the south. All round the Great Andaman are islands of every size; to the east is Ritchie's Archipelago and to the west are the Labyrinth Islands Every single island of the whole group is covered with a hilly jungle, the denseness of which must be seen to be appreciated, and passable only to its indigenous inhabitants. It is therefore impossible without much preparation and expense to traverse the interior of the islands, but happily it is quite easy to move about the deeply indented coasts, containing more harbours and snug anchorages than the whole Indian Peninsula. The length of the Great Andaman group is 156 miles: its average width is 9 to 10 miles and with the outlying islands some 25 miles. Two distant islands, Narcondam and Barren Island, to the east are also included in the Andaman group, but they are both uninhabited. It was, therefore, necessary to go over this area by coasting voyages, to stop at likely spots for encampments and to hunt about for the nomadic inhabitants of the neighbourhood: a work requiring much local knowledge, personal judgment and patience.

000 **Intelligent Assistance from Aborigines impossible.**—From the nature of the case it will be understood that very little reliance could be placed on the people themselves for assistance in the enumeration. Their inveterate, indeed necessary, habits of wandering, their childlike incapacity for responsibility of


ANDAMAN ISLANDS
CENSUS TOURS
January and February 1901.
COCO CHANNEL
Land fall Id.
East Id.
West Id.
Clough Passage
West Cliff Id.
Peacock Id.
Reef Id.
Paget Id.
Table Id.
Pevril Id.
Turtle Id.
Temple Sound
Port Cornwallis
Casuarina Bay
Narkondam
Snark Id.
Pembroke Bay
Lamia Bay
N. Reef Id.
NORTH ANDAMAN
Cadell Pt.
Laniche
Stewart Sound
Interview Id.
Austen Strait
Rangelunian
MIDDLE ANDAMAN
To Calcutta 1300 miles
Lakerallunga
Kwangtung Harbour or Port Anson
Outram Harbour
Barren Id. (Volcano)
RITCHIE'S
ARCHIPELAGO
Kwangtung Strait
Jna Lawrence Id.
Port Campbell (Jarawa Attack)
Havelock Id.
SOUTH ANDAMAN
PORT BLAIR
Mt. Augusta Range
Port Mouat
N. Sentinel
Labyrinth Isle
RUTLAND Id.
Cinque Isls.
Tour I Tour of the Elphinstone.
Tour of the Bass
Tour II Tour of the Bass and Belle.
English Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50
S. Sentinel
Bumila Creek
LITTE ANDAMAN
TEN DEGREES CHANNEL

[facing p. 2]

000 any kind and their equally childlike way of doing whatever is pleasant for the moment in place of performing a duty, would effectually prevent this. So the best had to be made of skilled European but, of course, essentially alien agency.

619 **Hostile Tribes estimated only.**—Although the whole of the Tribes on
609 the Great Andaman (with the exception of the Jarawas of the interior of the South Andaman and part of its west coast and of the interior of Baratang) are on the most friendly terms with us and with each other, it was quite impossible to go into the Jarawa country at all. So was it impossible also to visit, for Census purposes, the North Sentinel and the greater part of Rutland Island, likewise inhabited by the Jarawas, as these people are as inimical to other Andamanese as they are to Europeans or Asiatics generally—their hostility being exhibited equally to every stranger. Again, the Onge Tribe, closely related to the Jarawas, inhabiting the Little Andaman and the Cinque Islands, have only of late become friendly in part and to an unknown extent only, and it was not thought advisable to do anything that might disturb a desirable feeling of friendliness and confidence in us that is yearly increasing in strength, and thus it was decided to leave them alone also. These two Tribes, now the largest of the Andamanese, had to be left to estimates, such as a very long acquaintance with the people generally on the part of the local officers warranted.

000 **Control of the Operations.**—In the circumstances to be faced I took the control of the Andamanese Census into my own hands and selected three officers to carry out the work. Mr. E. H. Man, C.I.E., Deputy Superintendent of the Penal Settlement, now retired, Captain (now Major) A. R. S. Anderson, I.M.S., Senior Medical Officer of the Penal Settlement, and Mr. H. H. D'Oyly, one of the District Officers of the Settlement. Mr. Man's numerous and unique writings on the Andamans, resulting from his very long acquaintance with the Andamanese, and his many years' personal charge of them, pointed to him as the official most likely to succeed in arriving at a definite idea of the numbers of the aboriginal population. I also generally superintended myself as much of the actual work of enumeration as my many duties connected with the islands permitted.

Census Tours.—It was decided that two separate tours should be undertaken round the Great Andaman. The first, in the R. I. M. S. *Elphinstone* accompanied by the large sea-going steam launch *Bess*, commenced at Port Blair on 25th January 1901 and lasted till 2nd February. The party proceeded up the east coast northwards, through the Archipelago, and down the west coast as far as Kwangtung Harbour (since renamed Port Anson by the Marine Survey). I was present during this tour myself and then had to proceed on duty to Calcutta in the *Elphinstone*. The business of the *Bess* was to accompany the *Elphinstone* everywhere and to go into passages and anchorages which were barred to the larger steamer. Kwangtung Harbour or Port Anson separates the middle and south Andaman Islands, and the *Bess* returned to Port Blair by the east coast through Homfray's Strait, the northernmost of the two dividing straits, picking up what additional information was possible on the way.

The second tour in the *Bess*, accompanied by the sea-going steam launch *Belle* of equal size, commenced at Port Blair on the 15th February 1901 and lasted till 18th February. The party proceeded northwards as before up the east coast to the middle strait, the southernmost of the two dividing straits, and thence to Kwangtung Harbour. It then proceeded down the west coast, through the Labyrinth Islands, round Rutland Island, to the Cinque Islands and thence to Bumila Creek in the Little Andaman, the occasion being taken to show as much civility as possible to a party of Onges. Thence the party proceeded home to Port Blair up the east coast. In this way was secured as comprehensive a circuit of the Andaman Islands as was possible in a short time and at a reasonable expense. In Appendix A will be found the detailed orders as to their tours, as they may be of use at the next Census; the operations at which, I apprehend, must be practically extensions of those undertaken this time. Attached to the orders are some notes on the navigation of the often very dangerous coasts of the Andamans and a sketch of the work performed daily.

619

ANDAMAN ISLAND

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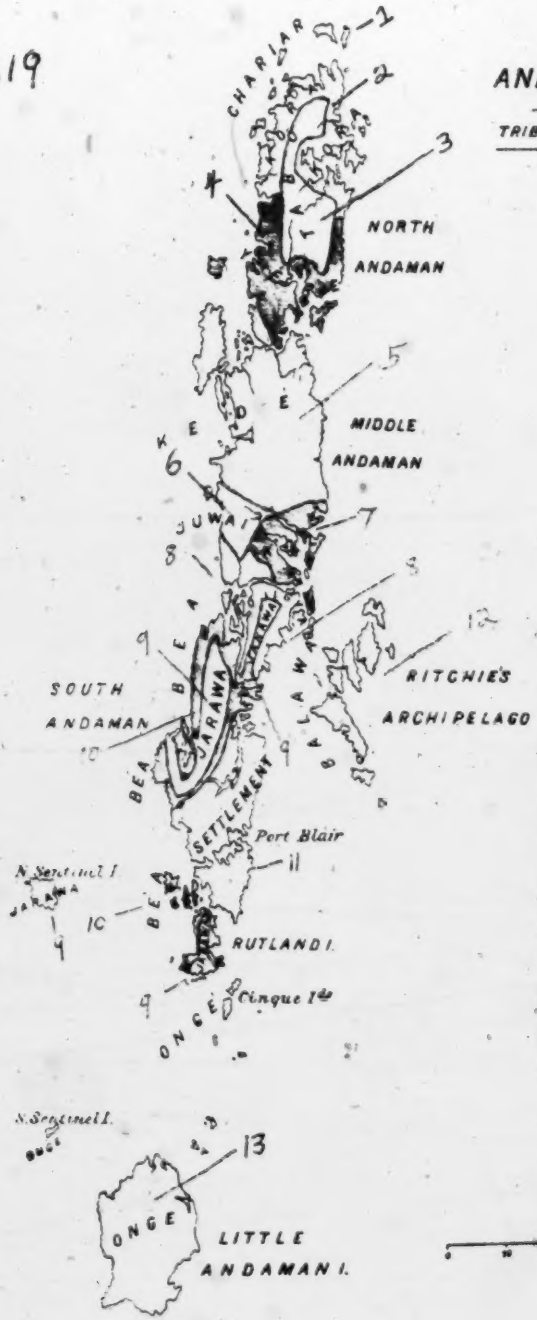

NORTHERN TRIBES		
1	Charvar	Purple (Id only)
2	Hera	Blue
3	Tabo	Purple
4	Yere	Red
MIDDLE TRIBES		
5	Kede	Blue
6	Juwai	Purple
7	Kol	Red
SOUTHERN TRIBES		
8	Bojigab	Blue
9	Jarawa	Purple
10	Bea	Red
11	Penal Settlement	White
ARCHIPELAGO		
12	Balawa	Purple
LITTLE ANDAMAN		
13	Onge	Blue

English Miles.

0 10 20 30 40 50

[Facing p. 3]

[numbers added to replace colors. -- Analyst]

000 **Method of Enumeration.**—The actual method of enumeration was to select carefully from the Homes and attach to the Census officers the most intelligent of the Andamanese, who had lived there for years and were therefore conversant with Europeans and their ways and had acquired, by direct education or long contact with civilization, habits of restraint and obedience to orders. These men were employed all along the route in tracing the whereabouts of their people and in collecting information about themselves and their families. The information thus collected was carefully sifted, an operation requiring patience and much local knowledge, and entered in tabulated forms specially supplied. These forms showed the places at which information was procured, and the number of men, women, boys and girls, tribe by tribe, found by enquiry to be there. In my opinion this was all that could be reasonably attempted in the circumstances, and I limited the enquiry to this extent on the ground that it was better to attempt to do a little reasonably well than to attempt a Census on a scale that the conditions did not fairly permit.

Officers' Diaries.—Each officer was required to keep a diary and to record therein everything of interest that came under his observation, with the view of taking advantage of the tours to collect all the miscellaneous information that could be acquired in the time available. Maps were also supplied on which officers were required to enter every camp and inhabited place they heard of and especially every Andamanese place-name they ascertained. This last was of value, because to the Andamanese any but their own names for places are unintelligible. The chief results of the enquiries are recorded in the officers' reports attached in Appendix B.

161 619 **Method of estimating Onges and Jarawas.**—As to the two Tribes, Onges and Jarawas, of whom no attempt was made at a direct enumeration, it is necessary to explain the method of arriving at the assumed figures for them. The people best known to us are those of the southern islands of the Great Andaman group, the population of which is now very small from causes that will be hereafter examined. The figures for these tribes (Kede, Juwai, Kol, Bojigyab, Balawa, Bea) were taken as a basis upon which to build up figures for the Onges and Jarawas respectively as being something definite to go upon.

The Onges have not been brought under the influence of the causes that have led to the depopulation of the areas occupied by the Southern Andaman Tribes and are known to be much more numerous. Taking this fact into consideration and also the area of their occupation, it has been assumed that their numbers reach to three times the present totals for the above named Tribes. In dividing up the figures thus arrived at into sexes, there is no particular difficulty as regards adults, though that gives males 11 per cent. in excess of females, but there is much difficulty as regards children. In the present abnormal condition of the Southern Andaman Tribes the children are very few indeed, shown in the Census figures as only 24 per cent. of the adults, and among them, too, the males are shown as being nearly twice as numerous as the females. These are conditions impossible under the normal circumstances of a population maintained without extraneous immigration, and though for the purposes of calculation on a given basis, I allowed the figures to be returned officially for the Onges as under—

Adults.		Children.		Total.
Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
303	273	63	33	672

I do not believe the details to correctly represent facts, which among the Onges, presumably still existing under conditions normal to themselves, are more approximately arrived at, I think, on the following lines. Savage populations very quickly reach the limit of increase, that limit depending on their method of gaining a livelihood in the area they occupy. In other words, as long as savages adhere to their habits of life, the population remains stationary after a short period of occupation of a new territory. As regards the Andamans, until lately, as with the Nicobars, the population has, I think, for the above reasons been stationary through all historical times and long before that at very small figures. For reasons given below I should now place the totals for the Onges somewhat higher than has been above arrived at, and I would divide them up nearly

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equally into adults and children and again nearly equally into sexes with a slight preponderance in favour both of children and females. Say, as under—

ÔNGES.

Adults.		Children.		Total.
Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
153	173	178	168	672

The Jarawas, more than probably old Ônge emigrants from the Little to the Great Andaman and become separated from the main Tribe, occupy portions of Rutland Island, the interior of part of the South Andaman and of Baratang and all the North Sentinel. The figures for them have been assumed on three distinct bases. Those in the South Andaman and Baratang and those in North Sentinel have each been taken to be as numerous as the enumerated population of the other South Andaman tribes, *i.e.*, as equal in numbers to the Bea, Balawa, Bojigyab and Kol Tribes, and those in Rutland Island, on the same grounds as the Ônges, to be three times as numerous as the South Andaman Tribes above named. These assumptions give the following figures :—

JARAWAS.

In South Andaman and Baratang.	In North Sentinel.	In Rutland Island.	Total.
117	117	351	585

As regards the figures thus arrived at, circumstances which have occurred since the Census strongly support their general correctness for the South Andaman and Baratang. Arguing on the same lines as in the case of the Ônges, I believe the conditions in the North Sentinel would support about 117 people and not more, and that the figures for Rutland Island are somewhat too highly placed. For reasons given below, it is probable that the Jarawas have been placed about 100 too high and the Ônges about 100 too low : the general total for all the Tribes being most likely about right. In reference however to the details of the Jarawas as returned at the Census, *viz.* :—

JARAWAS.

Adults.		Children.		Total.
Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
280	210	55	40	585

I feel sure from what has since transpired that the children do somewhat outnumber the adults and the females the males, and I would on the Census returns divide up the Tribe as follows :—

JARAWAS.

Adults.		Children.		Total.
Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
126	146	162	151	585

Again, when dividing the above figures up into their three elements, recent expeditions support the figures then reached as regards the South Andaman at any rate, thus : —

JARAWAS.

	Adults.		Children.		Total.
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
South Andaman and Baratang . .	25	29	32	31	117
North Sentinel .	25	29	32	31	117
Rutland Island . .	76	88	98	89	351
Total .	126	146	162	151	585

This table fully bears out the fact, now locally recognised as probably true on other grounds, that the number of Jarawa fighting men, who have done so much damage in the jungles on the outskirts of the Penal Settlement for so many years past, are very few, probably not more than 30, and that the entire strength of the Tribe in the South Andaman is not more than about 120.

Attitude of the Andamanese.—The attitude of the people towards the Census was interesting. Several of the civilised Andamanese of the Homes took an active interest in the proceedings and a great deal of trouble in going into places where Europeans could not follow; at Port Cornwallis traversing the jungles from the east to the west coast for us. One or two were of the greatest assistance. Of the people met with on the tours none showed the least objection to delivering up the names of their relatives and friends and their probable abode at the time, *i.e.*, so far as their treacherous memories and innate mental carelessness and haziness permitted. They could of course never give up numbers, as the wild untrained Andamanese cannot count at all nor does his language include numbers. 000

A plan was tried, for checking names ascertained and numbers assumed for the people of the interior not seen by the Census party, of giving coloured beads to an intelligent man, Boya *alias* Snowball, and using these for enumeration thus. He is a Chariar, the tribe of the extreme north, and at the end of the first tour he was started up the east coast above Homfray's Strait to traverse the interior of the Middle Andaman and North Andaman and note every person he met, who had not been seen during the tours, by means of the beads. There were four distinct colours of beads and each colour was shown him respectively for men, women, boys and girls. These beads were in one bag and he had an empty one also; and he was to transfer from the full to the empty bag a bead, colour by colour, for each person he met. After a little practising he was sent off, and as he had been a long while at the Home and took an absorbing personal interest in the Census, much was hoped from the plan and the party were not disappointed.

It will be understood that the actual enumeration proceedings with the people were as informal as possible and they were humoured in every practicable way. Thus they were fed up with what they consider luxuries, rice, sugar, biscuits, tea, tobacco, pipes and so on. Archery matches, games, fish-shooting (with arrows), pig-hunting, photographing, anything they fancied was got up on the spur of the moment and the Census tour necessarily took the form of a tour of amusement and sport, but in the midst of the fun the Census officer was ever present with his note-book and his apparently casual questions. Although the procedure enabled us to collect all the information procurable from a wild but friendly and happy population on the points required, it had one drawback. Canoe loads of Andamanese would follow us from anchorage to anchorage, knowing from experience where we were likely to stop, and quite innocently give the same names again and again to our Census enquirers. A sifting of the notes and recognition of faces, however, I think prevented any practical harm accruing from this source.

Points as to Defects in Enumeration.—The aged, the sick, those engaged in pig-hunting in the interior (a matter of great practical importance as well as of sport to the Andamanese) we did not see—nor did we see any children except those who could accompany their parents. In the case of the absent adults it is likely that most of the names were delivered up, but I think it likely that a good many children in the North Andaman at any rate and especially of the "new" Tribes were not enumerated.

Jarawa Hostility.—There was never anywhere anything disagreeable whatever, except at one spot where a large party of Jarawas was met with. This was a purely accidental meeting in this way. The habitat of the Jarawas, who have no boats, is in the South Andaman, in the interior of the island. The coasts are the territory of the Bea Tribe. But as the Bea Tribe is now very much reduced and chiefly inhabits the Home at Port Blair, the Jarawas on the west coast pay uncertain visits to the seashore at several points. Port Campbell is one of these points, and it was while anchoring here and going towards the shore to see if any friendly, that is Bea or "Home," Andamanese were about, that an unintentional approach was made to a Jarawa hunting camp, which persistently attacked the Census party until driven off by fire arms with the loss of one of their party. The story of this affair is detailed in Appendix B.

Returns of the Andamanese.—As regards the Andamanese no difference was made between the provisional and the final returns, the Census figures for the Andamanese, provisional and final, being as stated in the accompanying table.

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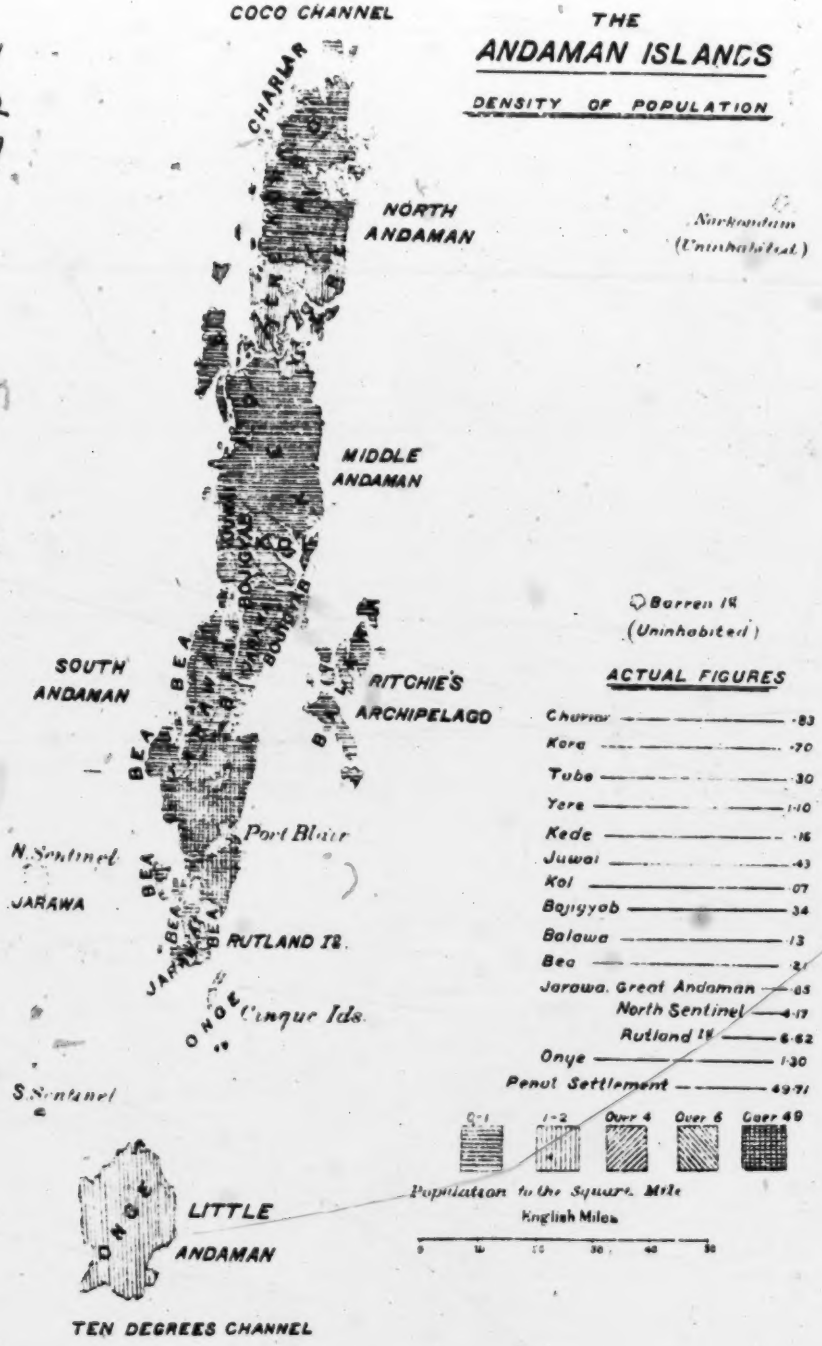

[facing p. 6]

ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

FIGURES FOR THE ABORIGINES CENSUS, 1901.

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Name of Tribe.	Adults.		Children.		Total.	Occupied area in square miles.	Density per square mile.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.			
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	
Chāriâr . . .	16	15	6	2	39	47	·83
Kōrā . . .	31	32	14	19	96	137	·70
Tābō . . .	15	16	7	10	48	158	·30
Yēre . . .	98	80	26	14	218	198	1·10
Kede . . .	24	30	3	2	59	371	·16
Jūwai . . .	21	19	7	1	48	110	·43
Kōl . . .	6	2	3	...	11	161	·07
Bojigyāb . . .	31	14	2	3	50	148	·34
Balawa . . .	5	10	3	1	19	141	·13
Bēa . . .	14	16	3	4	37	117	·21*
Jarawa . . .	280	210	55	40	585	220	2·66
Ōnge . . .	303	273	63	33	672	373	1·30
TOTAL .	844	717	192	129	1,882	2,181*	·86

* Excluding occupied area of the Settlement 327 square miles.

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In the above table the Jarawas should be divided between the Great Andaman, North Sentinel and Rutland Island. Thus divided, the special table for them is as under :—

JARAWAS.

	Occupied area in square miles.	Population.	Density per square mile.
In Great Andaman	139	117	0·85
In North Sentinel	28	117	4·17
In Rutland Island	53	351	6·62

The density figure thus arrived at is, I think, about right for the Great Andaman and I am not prepared to say that it is far wrong for the North Sentinel, but it is probably a good deal too high for Rutland Island, *i.e.*, it would appear from this argument that the whole population of the Jarawas have been placed at too high a figure.

It will be noted that the above figures give a density of population among the aborigines of less than one per square mile, *not* an unlikely fact. Commenting generally on these returns I should say that the figures for the Kede, Juwai, Kol, Bojigyab, Balawa and Bea tribes are right; so much is known about them that statements of the people as to themselves are not difficult to check. But I think it likely that the Chariar children are understated. I am not prepared to be positive as to this, however, as this Tribe, too, is well known and understood. The Yere children are probably much understated, though from what is known of this Tribe it is likely that the adults are greatly in excess of the children.

I was present when in 1900 the Kora were discovered, or to speak more accurately differentiated. They had been previously well known, themselves and their encampments, but had been considered to belong to the Chariar. The discovery as to the true facts—that they were a separate Tribe with a territory and language of their own—so late as 1900 is an example of the difficulty in procuring accurate information from such primitive savages as the Andamanese. It mattered nothing to them that Kora men and women had been to the Home at Port Blair and had been classed as Chariar. All they thought of the matter was that the sahibs held them to be Chariar, but that they and all the Andamanese knew better! In this case I think it likely that a similar error has been made as regards the children as in the case of the Yere Tribe.

In regard to the Tabo of the interior of the North Andaman, whose existence was unsuspected by us until the Census, the figures given must be taken with some caution, despite the native explanation of the cause of the destruction of

162 619 the Tribe, that they killed each other off in consequence of the introduction of contagious disease amongst them by the Chariar or Kora Tribes. It is somewhat difficult to believe that even a savage Tribe would actually kill off the sick to such an extent as to reduce themselves to half a dozen families or hunting camps. Even then the children would not be affected by the process and should in such case be much more numerous than the adults, but they are recorded as being in a minority of nearly 55 %. It is probable that both the figures for the adults and the children are in this case understated.

Criticisms on the figures for Ônges and Jarawas have already been made.

Taken all round, however, the totals for the whole of the Andamans are not likely on the above grounds to be very far wrong and to my mind an estimate of 2,000 is about correct for the existing population of this primeval and most interesting race. At the next Census it will possibly be practicable to arrive at more accurate figures in the light of the present experience by carefully considering how the defects noticed on this occasion can be remedied.

161 162 619 **Former Population.**—It has been well known for years past that the Andamanese population was even a generation ago far more numerous than it is now and proceeding on the general principles followed in the remarks above made, it seems to me that a fairly accurate estimate of the old normal population can be arrived at. The principles governing the estimate would be—

(1) the population has always been stationary,
(2) the population has been limited by habits as to food production and by the area of productive occupation,
(3) the relative size of the Tribes as gauged by their present strength combined with exposure to devastating contagious or infectious diseases,
(4) the capacity of each Tribe to hold its own with neighbouring Tribes.

On these grounds I estimate the combined Ônge-Jarawa Tribe as having been always of its present estimated strength and the other Tribes as under, keeping to the further principle that the adults and children have always been about equal and that the sexes also have been about equal: preponderance in favour of women over men and of male over female children.

ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

ESTIMATES OF THE OLD NORMAL POPULATION.

Name of Tribe.	Adults.		Children.		Total.	Occupied area in square miles.	Density per square mile.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.			
Châriâr	20	25	30	25	100	47	2·13
Kôrâ	105	120	140	135	500	137	3·65
Tâbô	40	50	60	50	200	158	1·27
Yêre	150	165	200	185	700	198	3·50
Kede	105	120	140	135	500	371	1·35
Jûwai	60	75	90	75	300	110	2·73
Kôl	20	25	30	25	100	161	0·62
Bojigyâb	60	75	90	75	300	148	2·03
Balawa	60	75	90	75	300	141	2·12
Bêa	105	120	140	135	500	444 *	1·13
Jarawa	130	140	170	160	600	220 †	2·73
Ônge	150	165	200	185	700	373	1·88
	1,005	1,155	1,380	1,260	4,800	2,508	1·91

Males—2,385 Females—2,415 = Total 4,800.
Adults—2,160 Children—2,640 = Total 4,800.

* Including 327 square miles now occupied by the Penal Settlement.

† The Jarawa density being divided up as per foot-note to paragraph thus:—

(98) Great Andaman.
(19) North Sentinel.
(63) Rutland.

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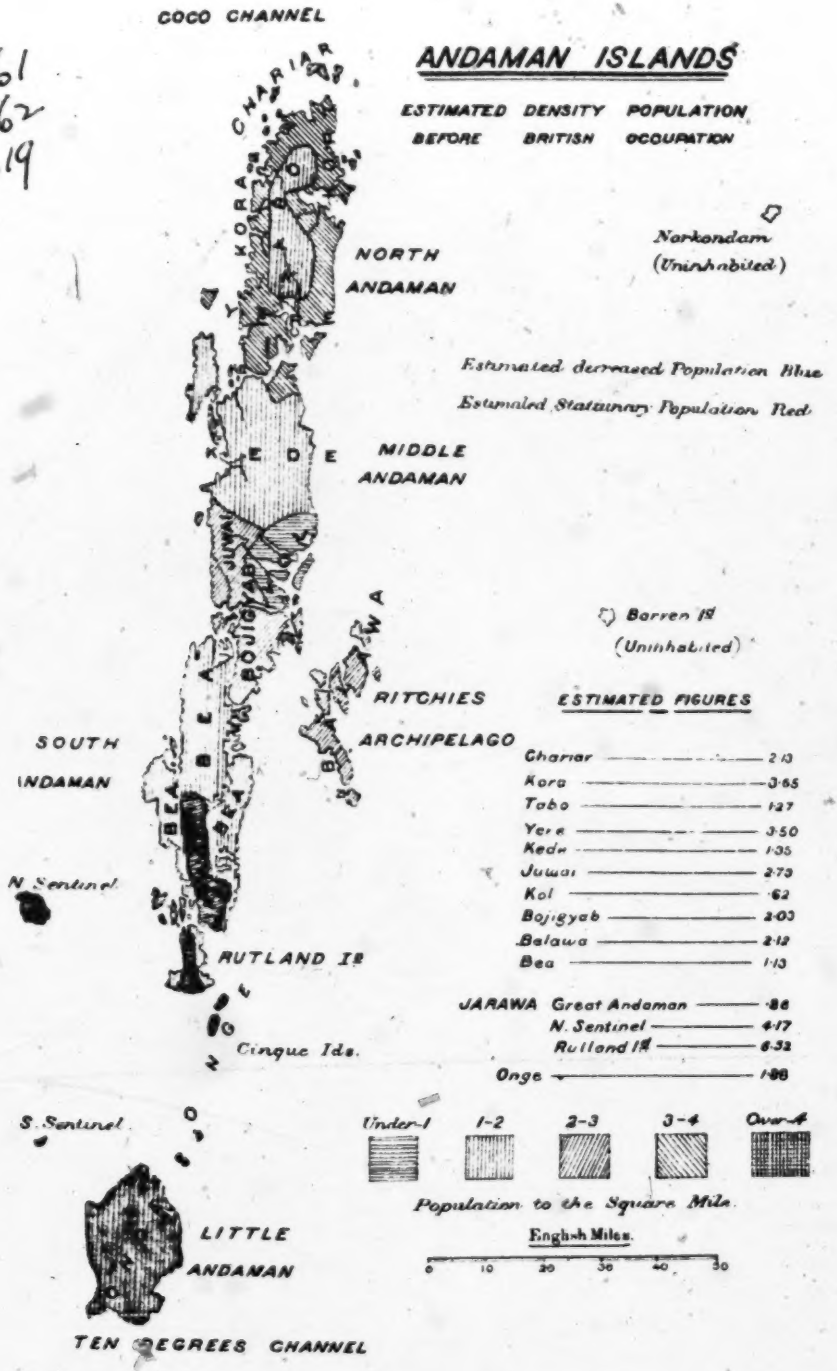

[facing p. 8]

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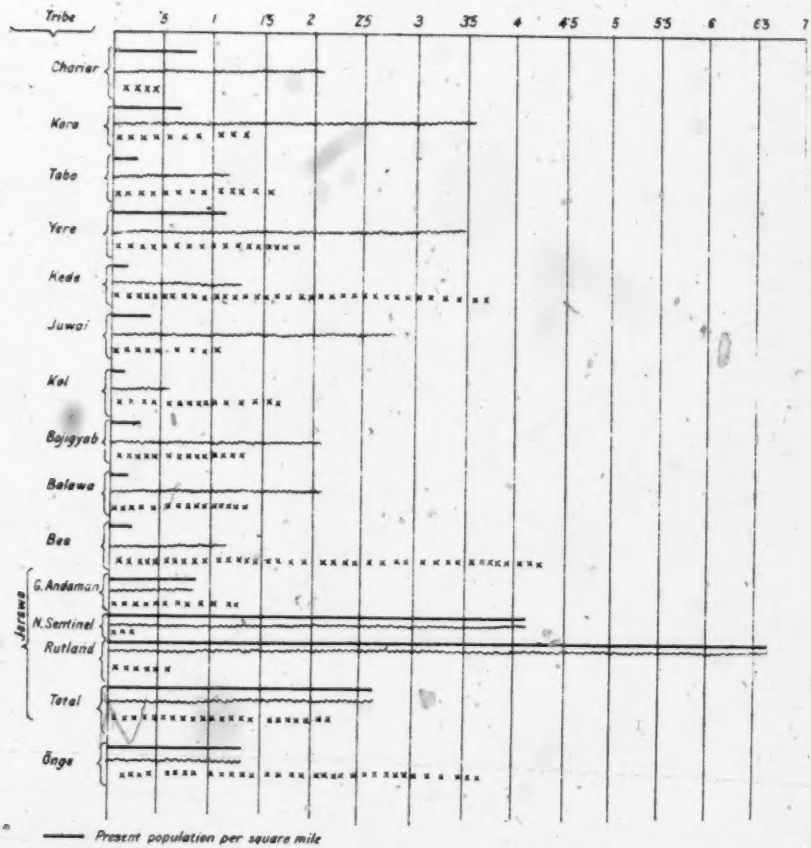
I feel pretty sure that the indigenous population of the Andaman Islands was at no time higher than 5,000 and that it was for many centuries stationary. The density figures also work out to about two to the square mile and that, too, I think a reasonable figure to adopt for the old indigenous population before contact with Europeans.

Diagram of Past and Present Density.—Proceeding to put the conjectures arrived at above to the further test of a diagram illustrating the present and past assumed density of the Andamanese Tribes compared with the area actually occupied by each Tribe, the following facts are arrived at.

DIAGRAM ILLUSTRATING PRESENT AND PAST ASSUMED DENSITY OF THE POPULATION OF THE ANDAMANESE TRIBES WITH AREA OCCUPIED BY EACH.



161 From this diagram it becomes pretty evident that the Jarawa population
for Rutland Island has been assumed at too high a figure, both for the past and
162 present time. At the same time I think that it is equally probable that the
population of the Onges has been underestimated. Taking all the calculations
and known facts into consideration, my own opinion is that the assumptions for
619 the Andaman population as a whole, both for the past and the present are
probably near the truth, but that we should decrease the Jarawa estimate for
Rutland Island (and to that extent the whole Jarawa population) by 100, and
increase the Onge estimate by 100.

Method of arriving at Former Density.—Portman, *History of our relations with the Andamanese*, Volume I, page 16, gives the following reasons for holding the Andamanese population to have been formerly stationary:—

> "When we consider that some Andamanese have no children, very few have more than three, the majority of the children die in infancy, and the grown-up Andamanese revenges the slightest injury to his person or property or even a fancied insult by a murder and also that the Tribes were continually at feud with each other, I think we may say the above estimated population (his estimate is 8,000) to be the average for many centuries past."

This is an overstatement, as in the first place it is necessary in a stationary population for each couple to produce on an average two children, who grow up and produce again in their turn, and in the next place, though an Andamanese will murder on, to us, extremely slight provocation, he is not a murderous variety of mankind and in tribal "wars" the bloodshed at each collision is very small indeed. In the next place, as Portman himself observes, the average number of children to a married woman was three, while instances of seven and eight children of one mother have been recorded. The statement is however an interesting one, as an observation on these primitive savages and their ways and as indicating the causes for the population being kept stationary.

161 **The Kitchen-Middens.**—Portman also points out (*op. cit.*, p. 17) that an
estimate of the old population can be arrived at from locating and enumerating
the existing kitchen-middens of the Andamanese, on the assumptions that each
172 midden represents the head-quarters of a Sept of 30 people and that apparently
each Sept, owing to the habits of the people, would require four to five such
head-quarters. A population of 5,000 would therefore require, say, 600 middens,
i.e., there should be a midden to every four square miles of territory.

The value of the kitchen-midden argument comes out thus:—(1) The size, 50 feet diameter usually, does not permit more than 30 people to live on it; (2) change of head-quarters is frequently necessary owing to (*a*) monsoons, (*b*) exhaustion of food in the neighbourhood, (*c*) nomadic instincts, (*d*) stench from discarded food thrown around. As a matter of practice the Andamanese do not return for three months after they have left a midden, nor for about a year after a death in one, and occasionally they abandon a midden for many years, and cannot occupy one for more than a few weeks at a time from the stench about it. These considerations fix four as the smallest number of middens per 30 people.

The middens also beyond all doubt prove that the Andamanese are now as they were an exceedingly long time ago. There are but few "newer" middens, and the older ones show great age: newness and age being gauged by height. The antiquity of the old middens is proved by the fossil shells at the base. Now, except that certain shell-fish have been fashionable at one period and certain others at another, the kitchen-middens show that the Andamanese finds his food to-day as he did in the days when the now fossilised shells contained food for him. At the base of the middens are found the same refuse and the same pottery as we find shown on the surface to-day.

Here then we have a people unaltered in habits from primeval time and whose numbers, if these premises be correct, we should be able to estimate from existing data, as they must have been stationary through all time.

The questions on this argument really are therefore:—(1) how many middens are there? (2) where are they? To these questions it is worth while obtaining answers at the next Census or even as opportunity occurs, as the answers will either upset the theory or afford an approximate estimate of the old Andamanese population and of the strength of each tribe.

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Future Prospects of the Race.—It is now 26 years since I first became acquainted with the Andamanese, and I was present amongst them in one of the great devastating outbreaks of infectious disease (measles introduced by convicts from Madras) in 1877, and I personally know how much more numerous they were then than now. The one sad result of the Census has been to demonstrate beyond all doubt, what most local officials suspected and some asserted, that infectious and contagious diseases, the result of contact with an advanced civilisation, are wiping out the Andamanese: at any rate the friendly sections of them. With a population so diminished in one generation and a birth-rate so inadequate, it is obviously impossible, unless the people have reached or are about to reach that point of saturation with these diseases which is also the point of immunity and recovery from their effects, for the race to last out much longer. Excluding the Onge-Jarawas, all the other tribes now number, on any reasoned calculation, not more than 700, of which some 250 belong to one Tribe, the Yere, out of an estimated total of 3,500 only a generation ago, while the children cannot in any case be much more than 25 per cent. of the adults. On these figures, in two more generations, *i.e.*, in probably less than 60 years, even if undisturbed and unmolested by the Jarawas ever-increasing in relative strength, the friendly Tribes must die out. A century must be taken as the extreme limit of a forecast of their existence, unless of course the law of saturation with disease to the point of immunity comes into play.

It also seems not difficult to foresee that it is possible that in a short time the Great Andaman will be occupied by the Penal Settlement and the Jarawas only, with a chance, in the case of the latter becoming friendly and losing their exclusive bearing, that they too will succumb to a rapid disappearance, through what may be called the natural action of infectious and contagious disease, not necessarily carried to them by the civilised alien, but more probably, as past experience shows, by diseased members of the remnants of the "friendly" Tribes captured in collisions with them.

There is nothing new in the disastrous effect of infectious or contagious disease on savages when introduced among them for the first time. It seems to be a process of nature not to be seriously checked by administrative measures. From the very first instructions of the Marquess Wellesley to Archibald Blair in 1789 to the existing practice in dealing with the Andamanese, there has never been any change in the general policy maintained towards the aborigines of the islands. They have been treated uniformly with kindness and consideration. From the first recorded hostile brush with them in 1787 to the operations ending with the gallant death of Mr. P. Vaux on 24th February 1902, nothing more has ever been done than was necessary to prevent murderous raiding into the lands under active occupation by ourselves. It is disease introduced by the carelessness and callousness of civilised individuals in the first instance and spread broadcast amongst the savages by their own ignorance in the next place that has worn down their actual numbers to one-fifth of the former total in one generation and has apparently now rendered the union of the sexes infructuous in three-fourths of the cases.

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APPENDIX A.

CENSUS OF THE ANDAMANESE, 1901.

Chief Commissioner's Orders.

1. The Census of the Andamanese outside the Penal Settlement will be undertaken by Mr. E. H. Man, C.I.E., with the assistance of Captain A. R. S. Anderson, I.M.S., and Mr. H. H. D'Oyly during two tours round the Andaman Islands. 050

2. Mr. Man will draw up a list of the Andamanese words that are likely to be required by his assistants for the Census, and furnish a copy to each of them.

3. Mr. Man will also supply competent guides each to Captain Anderson and Mr. D'Oyly while separated from himself.

4. Each officer will be supplied with the necessary forms and a note-book and pencil; and each officer will keep a diary of his proceedings and record therein all matters of interest observed during the tours. A set of maps also will be taken on which should be entered daily the locality of every inhabited place ascertained during the tours and also every Andamanese place-name that comes to notice.

5. The procedure of recording the Census will be to make such enquiries as are possible at every camp visited and from the people met *en route*, and from the information thus received to fill in the accompanying form. Nothing more can be done and nothing more should be attempted.

FORM A.

For the Census of the Andamanese outside the Penal Settlement.

Serial number of sheet _____

Information procured at _____ in _____ Island.

Serial number of place in next column.	Name of place as to which information is procured.	Island in which it is situated.	Number of people assumed to be there of the Tribe in the next column.					Name of Tribe.
			Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.	
Total for all Tribes								

Note.—The names of the Andamanese Tribes to be contained in this form are Aka-Bea, Bojigyab, Balawa, Kol, Kede, Chariar, Yere, Kora. The Onge and Jarawa Tribes will be estimated separately.

6. The Onge Tribe will be added to the figures obtained as above on the assumption of their being three times as numerous as the enumerated Andamanese.

7. The Jarawas will be added to the figures obtained as above on the following assumptions :—

(a) Those in the South Andaman as being as numerous as the counted population of South Andaman.
(b) Those in North Sentinel Island on the same assumption.
(c) Those on Rutland Island on the same assumption as that for the Onges.

8. The programmes of the tours will be as follows, wind and weather permitting. The speed of the launches is assumed for the present purpose to be about seven knots.

Tour I.

9. The R. I. M. S. *Elphinstone* accompanied by the steam launch *Bess* will leave Port Blair on the 25th January 1901.

10. Programme for the *Elphinstone*.

25th January.—Port Blair to Colebrooke Passage. 33m.
26th „ To Outram Harbour *viâ* Diligent Strait. 15m.
27th „ To Stewart Sound. 44m.
28th „ To Port Cornwallis. 33m.
29th „ To East Island. 27m.
30th „ To Temple Sound *viâ* Clough Passage. 17m.
31st „ To North Reef Island. 27m.

000

1st February.—To Kwangtung Harbour. 50m.
2nd „ To Calcutta, arriving 5th February. 705m.
Total mileage for *Elphinstone*. 951m.

11. Programme for the Bess.

25th January.—Port Blair to Kyd Island. 19m. 3 hrs. To Colebrooke Passage. 18m. 3 hrs. Total 37m. 6 hrs.
26th „ To Outram Harbour *viâ* the Archipelago, through the Tadma Juru Strait between Peel and Havelock Islands and Kwangtung Strait. 37m. 5½ hrs.
27th „ Stewart Sound (Bacon Bay). 41m. 6½ hrs.
28th „ Port Cornwallis *viâ* Lamia Bay. 41m. 6 hrs.
29th „ Temple Island *viâ* Turtle Island anchorage. 23m. 4 hrs. Cadell Bay 8m. 1 hr. East Island 12m. 2 hrs. Total 43m. 7 hrs.
30th „ Temple Sound *viâ* Cleugh Passage. 18m. 3 hrs.
31st „ N. Reef Island *viâ* Casuarina Bay. 32m. 5½ hrs.
1st February.—Kwangtung Harbour *viâ* Interview Passage. 50m. 10 hrs.
2nd „ Elphinstone Harbour *viâ* Homfray Strait. 10m. 2 hrs.
3rd „ Port Blair *viâ* Colebrooke Passage, 44m. 6½ hrs.
Total for the *Bess*: ten days' tour of about 356 miles in about 55½ hrs. under steam at about seven knots.

12. Notes as to Navigation for the Census Party during Tour I.

25th January.—There is a bar off the entrance to Shoal Bay near Kyd Island, which must be considered in entering and leaving. You should anchor right inside Colebrooke Passage at the anchorage marked on our private chart. There is a well-known camp just opposite the anchorage and one further up the creek, which is really the Colebrooke's Passage into Elphinstone Harbour.

26th January.—On passing through the Tadma Juru Strait between Peel and Havelock Islands from the west, you should go well out to eastwards, as the reef of John Lawrence Island runs out a long way. "Pilot Rock (1844)" is I think a myth. There is a private chart of Kwangtung Strait. It has plenty of water. There is a large camp near the middle on the east side. In Outram Harbour there is a nasty bar most of the way across. It is best to anchor outside the bar. There is a well-known camp on the inside of the eastern arm of the Harbour.

27th January.—In Stewart Sound anchor in Bacon Bay at the anchorage shown on the private chart. The entrance to Austin Strait is some miles to the south, with a shallow mud bar at the entrance which has very little water over it at low tide. There is plenty of water in the Strait. The western entrance is bad. There is a camp about half way through on the southern side.

28th January.—There is a large camp in Lamia Bay and one on the north side of Port Cornwallis.

29th January.—Turtle Island anchorage is shown on the private chart. There is a camp inside the creek off Temple Island, just inside the entrance to port as you enter. Cadell Bay is a good spot to enquire about camps along the coast to Cleugh Passage. There is a camp on each side the anchorage between East and Landfall Islands.

30th January.—Cleugh Passage requires careful navigation and the tides are very strong with ripples and overfalls. At Temple Sound there are three camps on Paget Island and there are camps all along the Coast from the western end of Cleugh Passage.

31st January.—There is a camp on north Reef Island and a large one in Casuarina Bay. The Coast off Austin Strait is not fit for the *Bess*.

1st February.—There are always natives in Interview Passage, but the launch should be stopped there with care. The south entrance has much foul ground about. There are two camps in Kwangtung Harbour: one on the north entrance to the harbour and one further in towards Homfray Strait.

2nd February.—The western entrance to Homfray Strait is not easy and the tides are very strong. There is a camp half way on the northern side. The eastern entrance is very shallow at low tides. The anchorage in Elphinstone Harbour is at the point marked 10 f. in the charts. North Button Island gives a safe straight run out from the anchorage.

3rd February.—There is a bad rock in the creek leading to Colebrooke Passage about half way.

13. The Work to be done Daily.

The following is a sketch of the work to be performed daily during Tour I.

25th January.—The *Elphinstone* will start for Colebroke Passage direct so as to reach about noon. The *Bess* will start at 4 A.M., so as to reach Kyd Island at 7 A.M., remain five hours and start again at noon, reaching Colebrooke Passage at 3 P.M. Messrs. Man and D'Oyly will embark on the *Bess* and Captain Anderson on the *Elphinstone*. Enquiries will be

made at the Duratang Home on Kyd Island by Messrs. Man and D'Oyly and at the camp in Colebrooke Passage by Captain Anderson. The steam gig of the *Elphinstone* will be required in Colebrooke Passage. 050

26th January.—The *Elphinstone* will start for Outram Harbour direct so as to reach at noon. The *Bess* will start at 6 A.M. for Tadma Juru Strait between Peel and Havelock Islands and then pass through the Kwangtung Strait so as to finally reach Outram Harbour about 4 P.M. This should give about 4½ hours for enquiries at the camp in the Tadma Juru Strait and Kwangtung Strait. Messrs. Man and D'Oyly will be in the *Bess* and Captain Anderson in the *Elphinstone*. Captain Anderson will make the enquiries at the camp in Outram Harbour.

27th January.—The *Bess* will leave at 5 A.M. so as to arrive in Stewart Sound by 11 A.M. to be followed by the *Elphinstone* timed to arrive at the same hour. All the Census officers will travel in the *Elphinstone*. Arrived at Stewart Sound, the various points in the Harbour itself will be examined and also the camp in Austin Strait. Captain Anderson will examine Austin Strait and Messrs. Man and D Oyly, Stewart Sound. The steam gig of the *Elphinstone* will be required for this service.

28th January.—The *Bess* will proceed in the early morning to Lamia Bay and the *Elphinstone* to Port Cornwallis: Captain Anderson in the *Elphinstone*, Messrs. Man and D'Oyly in the *Bess*. Enquiries will be made at Lamia Bay and in the Harbour of Port Cornwallis. The *Bess* should reach Port Cornwallis so as to have at least one hour's daylight there after anchoring. The steam gig will be required.

29th January.—The *Bess* will proceed at 5 A.M. to Temple Island *viâ* the Turtle Island anchorage with Messrs. Man and D'Oyly, who will enquire at the camp in the Creek behind Temple Island, and will then proceed to Cadell Bay and enquire there also and finally proceed to the anchorage between Landfall and East Islands so as to have an hour's daylight there. This arrangement should give about three hours each to Temple Island and Cadell Bay for enquiries. Captain Anderson will proceed in the *Elphinstone* to the East Island anchorage direct, and enquire there.

30th January.—The run to Temple Sound *viâ* Cleugh Passage is only 18m. Mr. D'Oyly will proceed in the *Elphinstone* to Temple Sound direct and enquire at Paget Island and Mr. Man and Captain Anderson in the *Bess* so as to take the various points of enquiry on the coast west of Cleugh Passage, starting at about 9 A.M. and reaching Temple Sound before dark. The steam gig will be required in Temple Sound.

31st January.—The *Elphinstone* will proceed direct to North Reef Island with Mr. D'Oyly and the *Bess viâ* Casuarina Bay with Mr. Man and Captain Anderson. A start at 7 A.M. should give about four hours at Casuarina Bay for enquiries and an hour's daylight at North Reef Island. Mr. D'Oyly will enquire at North Reef Island. The steam gig will be required.

1st February.—The *Elphinstone* will proceed direct to Kwangtung Harbour so as to arrive in the evening. The *Bess* will proceed *viâ* Interview Passage making enquiries *en route*. All the Census officers will proceed in the *Bess* so as to arrive at Kwangtung Harbour in the evening.

2nd February.—The *Elphinstone* will proceed to Calcutta, arriving there on the 5th. The *Bess* will start at about 10 A.M. for Elphinstone Harbour *viâ* Homfray Strait, which will allow about four hours for enquiries in Kwangtung Harbour in the morning and five hours in the evening at Elphinstone Harbour.

3rd February.—The *Bess* should start early for Port Blair *viâ* the inland passage to Colebrooke Passage so as to arrive in the evening at Port Blair, enquiring *en route* as far as Colebrooke Passage.

Tour II.

14. The steam launches *Bess* and *Belle* will leave Port Blair on the 11th February 1901.

15. Programme of Tour II.

11th February.—	Port Blair to Bumila Creek in Little Andaman.	57m. 8 hrs.
12th "	Port Campbell	69m. 9 hrs.
13th "	Kwangtung Harbour.	24m. 3½ hrs.
14th "	Kyd Island *viâ* Middle Strait.	23m. 3 hrs.
15th "	Port Blair.	19m. 3 hrs.

Total for the tour: five days—about 194m., in about 27 hrs. under steam at about seven knots.

16. Notes as to Navigation for Census Officers during Tour II.

11th February.—After passing the Cinque Islands, the ground is foul and requires care. Entrance to Bumila Creek is bad.

12th February.—It is best to run up past the Sisters, through Elphinstone Passage in the Labyrinth Islands: a straight easy run and then keep inside the Allen Patches to Port Campbell. The entrance has to be carefully watched, as the points on the old chart (the only one available) do not out in.

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13th February.—In going through Middle Strait note that there are several dangerous rocks towards the south end of Kwangtung Harbour, which have to be looked for. There is a bad bar about three-fourths through the Strait itself and the east entrance has a very shallow bar at low tide. There is a camp near the western entrance.

17. Work to be done during Tour II.

The following is a sketch of the work to be performed during Tour II.

11th February.—Start at 4 A.M., reach Bumila Creek at noon. This leaves six hours for enquiries there.

12th February.—Start at 6 A.M., reach Port Campbell at 3 P.M. This leaves three hours' daylight for enquiries.

13th February.—Start at 10 A.M. This gives four hours at Port Campbell in the morning and 4½ hours' daylight at Kwangtung Harbour to verify the information gathered during the first tour.

14th February.—Start at 8 A.M. This will allow of two hours' work at Kwangtung Harbour, three hours in the Strait, and 3½ hours' daylight at Kyd Island.

15th February.—Leave for Port Blair.

APPENDIX B.

REPORTS ON CENSUS TOURS.

First Tour.

Diary of Mr. E. H. Man, C.I.E., Deputy Superintendent, Port Blair, on the first tour round the Andaman Islands on Census duty from 25th January to 3rd February 1901.

With reference to the instructions regarding the Census to be taken of the Andamanese, I have the honour to submit the following report and returns furnishing the result of the two tours which have been made by the Census party :—

25th January 1901.—Having embarked with Mr. D'Oyly, Police escort and Andamanese on board the steam launch *Bess* at 9-30 P.M. yesterday, we left this harbour at 4 A.M. Proceeding northwards we reached Dura-tang (Kyd Island) at 7 A.M. Landed and took note of aborigines living at the Home; found them to number 23, of whom three-fourths were natives of North Andaman. After directing the petty officer of the Home to send to Haddo hospital two women who were found in need of treatment, left at 11 A.M. for Colebrooke Island. The bay on the south coast of that island was reached at 2 P.M. On landing at Par-lon-ta in the centre of the bay one fine large hut and several small lean-to's were found unoccupied, the natives having evidently gone elsewhere some days before our visit. On leaving this place the launch next proceeded to the southern entrance to Colebrooke Passage where she anchored soon after the *Elphinstone*, which had meantime arrived direct from Port Blair bringing the Chief Commissioner and Captain Anderson, I.M.S. In the afternoon all three Census officers (*viz.*, Captain Anderson, Mr. D'Oyly and myself) visited the northern coast of Colebrooke Island through the passage in the steam pinnace in order to ascertain whether any natives were encamped in the vicinity. On landing at Tara-chulnga, found that it had been recently occupied by the trepang-collecting file. No other traces of aborigines could be discovered. The natives belonging to this coast, who had accompanied us from Port Blair, informed us that owing to the Jarawas from the vicinity of Port Campbell having in recent years invaded Baratang, that large island, which comprises the bulk of the territory belonging to the Bojigyab Tribe, has been practically abandoned by our "friendlies."

26th January 1901.—Left in the *Bess* at 6 A.M. for the Archipelago. Arriving off north-west of Havelock Island found Pulu-lun-ta deserted. On proceeding for Tadma Juru found the reef off north extremity of Havelock Island extends farther than is noted on the chart. On arriving near the encampment in Tadma Juru, ascertained that it is called Woma-leptu (not Maii-leptu). It was found to be unoccupied. In rounding the south coast of John Lawrence Island it was found that the reef there has to be given a wide berth. Before entering Kwangtung Strait, the *Bess* was anchored opposite the spot where the *Runnymede* and *Briton* were wrecked in the cyclone of 1844. The site was visited and an anchor and some angle-iron were found imbedded in the mud of a mangrove swamp.

Proceeding at 1-30 P.M. through Kwangtung Strait the whistle was sounded when near the solitary camping-ground (Gereng lebar), but there was no sign of life among the huts. At 3-30 P.M. we reached Outram Harbour where the *Elphinstone* had already arrived. No natives were found by the landing-party, and judging from the information subsequently received it is not improbable that the entire Archipelago was uninhabited at the time of our visit.

27th January 1901.—The *Bess* left with Mr. Bonig at 5 A.M., followed at 6 A.M. by the *Elphinstone* in which all three Census officers travelled to Bacon Bay. Mr. D'Oyly and I went in the *Bess* to take the Census of those visiting the harbour and Stewart Sound and its vicinity while Captain Anderson visited Austin Strait for the same purpose.

At Lautiche (Camp Bay) 43 Andamanese were found with the trepang-collecting file, and we were informed by the petty officer in charge of the latter that about 50 others (about 20 men, 20 women and 10 children) had left a few days before in the direction of Pembroke Bay on the west coast. Although we were assured by the party there that there were no other natives in the vicinity except those already seen by us, we proceeded to near Cadell Point, satisfying ourselves by frequently sounding the steam whistle that there were no signs of life on shore. It was ascertained from those accompanying us that Meopong is not a camping-ground, as hitherto assumed, but is applied to the area north and north-west of Cadell Point to a distance of about three miles. The *Bess* returned to Bacon Bay before dusk. Captain Anderson came across only eight natives during the afternoon.

28th January 1901.—Starting at 5-30 A.M. in the *Bess* proceeded northwards to Lamia Bay. Landed and found ten aborigines, most of them in a sickly or diseased condition. They informed us that there were no others nearer than Port Cornwallis. On proceeding northwards we found no signs of life even till after we had anchored off Chatham Island in Port Cornwallis, and then only five Andamanese appeared after repeated whistles had been sounded. These were followed by seven others during the afternoon. As we then learnt that certain parties were in the jungle to the westward, Snowball, one of the most active and intelligent

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of our party, undertook to go and induce them to meet us at Casuarina Bay on the west coast two or three days later. The *Elphinstone* arrived in the afternoon soon after the *Bess*. The site of Blair's Settlement of 1793-96 on Chatham Island was visited.

29th January 1901.—Left at 5-30 A.M. Visited Turtle Island and Cadell Bay, but found no signs of life. The explanation given by those accompanying us was that at this season the west coast is preferred as affording more shelter. Finding every camping-ground deserted we proceeded northwards for Landfall Island going between Pocock Island and the mainland. While doing this a 2½ fathom shoal was discovered between two lines of much deeper soundings.

In consequence of our stopping over this patch the patent log was cut by a rock and was lost in spite of careful attempts to recover it. At 0-30 P.M. we reached the anchorage between East Island and Landfall Island, the *Elphinstone* having arrived there shortly before us.

30th January 1901.—Left at 5-30 A.M., accompanied by Captain Anderson in place of Mr. D'Oyly. Visited in succession West Island, Whitecliff Island, Thornhill Island and Reef Island without discovering any signs of life. While steaming near the coast opposite the last-named island, two canoes came off containing two men and three women.

Landed at their encampment, which is called Ti-kaw-dung where the entire party was found to consist of three men, three women and three children. Thence proceeded to Paget Island, near which the *Elphinstone* had already anchored. Found that Snowball had brought a number of men, women and children, so that 51 were present at the time of our visit, and 32 others were reported as counted but unable to come in time from the mainland.

31st January 1901.—Left at 6 A.M. in the *Bess* with Captain Anderson and visited Casuarina Bay. Found that the encampment near the north-east corner of the bay had been vacated some time since, and the steam-whistle failed to attract any natives, from which it is certain that there were none in that vicinity at the time. Snowball informed us that owing to a recent death the encampment on the south side of the bay had been abandoned. The *Bess* next steamed to Pembroke Bay, at the southern point of which is situated an encampment known as Ina-tara-jole, where one of the trepang-collecting files is at present employed. Both this station and Camp Bay (Lautiche) are too distant from head-quarters, the excuse given for selecting these sites being the abundance of *bêche-de-mer* obtainable in their vicinity. Directions have been given to select localities within 30 miles of Port Blair. Twenty aborigines were found at Ina-tara-jole and six others were reported as having gone to North Reef Island where they were seen and enumerated by Mr. D'Oyly.

The *Bess* concluded the day's run by going to the anchorage near North Reef Island where the *Elphinstone* had arrived two or three hours earlier.

1st February 1901.—Left at 6 A.M. in the *Bess* with Captain Anderson and Mr. D'Oyly for Kwangtung (or Anson) Harbour. In proceeding through Interview Passage we met four canoes. It was found that most of the natives in them had already been seen and enumerated at Bacon Bay. We landed at the bay near the southern extremity of Interview Island where there is an encampment called Benge-lun-taw where 19 were enumerated. As time would not permit us to ascertain whether there were any aborigines along the west coast of Middle Andaman, it was decided to postpone the Census of that locality till the second tour. The *Bess* accordingly proceeded direct to Kwangtung Harbour, where the *Elphinstone* had already been anchored some time before our arrival. While she was supplying water to the *Bess* and transferring some police aborigines and a boat for return to Port Blair, a visit was paid to Lekera-lun-ta where 14 aborigines were found and notes taken of those in the neighbouring encampments. The information thus procured was subsequently found to be quite correct, showing how well each individual of the few remaining communities can be recalled by his friends. Two of our Andamanese were left here for the purpose of collecting all south of Austin Strait who had not yet been enumerated, so that they may be included in the Census return of the second tour. Presents were distributed here as at all previous halting-places.

2nd February 1901.—At 6 A.M. the *Elphinstone* left for Calcutta and the *Bess* for Port Blair. In passing out of Homfray Strait the launch ran on to a shallow patch of soft coral. As the tide was fortunately rising, she got off in less than an hour and, without further incident, reached Port Blair at about 2 P.M. This concluded the first tour.

Diary of Captain A. R. S. Anderson, I.M.S., Senior Medical Officer, Port Blair, on the first tour round the Andaman Islands on Census duty from the 23th January to 2nd February 1901.

25th January 1901.—Embarked on the *Elphinstone* at 10-45 A.M., and forthwith proceeded to the anchorage off Colebrooke Island, which we reached about 3 P.M. At once left in steam-cutter with boat in tow, examined Colebrooke Passage and, at the north entrance to the Passage, visited an Andamanese village Tara-chulnga-da which we found had been deserted the previous day. Fresh remains of turtle and pig and fresh ashes were strewn on the ground. Probably some 20 people had been in the hamlet but are said by our Andamanese to have gone to Homfray Strait.

26th January 1901.—In the morning before breakfast, landed and collected on reef to south of Colebrooke Passage but found nothing of particular interest. After breakfast, weighed anchor and proceeded to Outram Island dropping anchor in the bay on the north side of the island at 12-30 P.M. Landed at once in small sandy cove on east side of bay, where I found

the site of an old camp under some magnificent trees. The site of this camp is named Chauga-Tot-yawto. Then visited a village at south end of bay which was also deserted, probably a year or so ago. It consisted of five huts, one fairly large capable of accommodating from 10 to 15 people, the others much smaller. The huts, shaped like Cabul tents, are constructed of a framework of cut straight branches of trees, and these are overlaid with cycad fronds. Water is obtained from a shallow well, now dried up, in a *sala* running by the side of the village. Got a few *Carpophaga aenea* but found them very thin and much wilder than their Nicobarese allies. Also collected some lizards, the little known Andaman skink among others.

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27th January 1901.—Reached Stewart Sound about 11-30 and at 12-30 started in steam-cutter to visit Austin Strait. On the unnamed island opposite Oyster Point, found a small encampment of three men, three women and two boys. Of these one child was suffering from slightly enlarged spleen, one woman the same, another woman from a white scar on one eye, the remains of an old ulcer and one of the men from itch. Of these three women, one had given birth to one, now grown up, son, another had two children and the third, now a young widow, had one child. They informed me that there is little sickness but that children are very seldom born. In proceeding along Austin Strait we found a small deserted village on the south side of the Strait immediately east of a narrow creek running southwards and about half-way along the Strait. The Andamanese are said to occupy this village in the south-west monsoon.

28th January 1901.—Reached Port Cornwallis soon after midday, but although we repeatedly sounded our whistle, we saw no signs of Andamanese on the northern shore or the southern shore near the entrance. A few, however, put off from the western and southern sides of the harbour and were enumerated on the *Bess* which had reached the anchorage before us. In the steam-cutter we skirted along the northern shore but found no inhabitants, only a deserted village. Mr. Man despatched some of our Andamanese to go across country, collecting the inhabitants on the way, and meet us in Casuarina Bay on the west coast on the 31st.

29th January 1901.—Landed for a couple of hours before breakfast on Chatham Island. Found large lumps of bricks held together by mortar lying on the shore, which, from their appearance, had evidently formed part of a pier or sea-wall. Embedded under some inches of soil, just beyond the beach, was an old flooring of large tiles and, on cutting through the cane and low jungle and penetrating inland, the evidences of our former occupation became very obvious; bricks and tiles were scattered about in every direction. Ascending a low hill of some 60—80 feet the remains of a house were found; the walls, built of sandstone blocks, about 18" thick, were still standing upright, having formed part of an oblong room about 12' x 20'. One of the windows, surmounted by a heavy coping stone, was even visible although the coping stone had fallen slightly. Alongside this room was a great heap of stones and bricks evidently the materials of a fallen building. The ground slightly below this building appears to have been levelled and covered with large red tiles, laid on a bed of coral mortar; but now trees, some of them no less than 3 feet in diameter, 4 feet above the soil level, have burst through this flooring and are speedily obliterating it. Proceeding north we arrived at the East Island anchorage, dropped anchor, sounded our whistle, but although the remains of the village on Landfall Island were still visible from the ship, the inhabitants had gone. In the afternoon landed and walked to the brackish water *jhil* on the north-east corner of East Island. The *jhil* we found almost dry and only one couple of oceanic teal on it. The *jhil* on the south-western extremity of the Island was also found by another exploring party to be dry. The Marine Survey mark on the beach was in good position and order.

30th January 1901.—Transhipped from *Elphinstone* into *Bess* after dinner last night and this morning in company with Mr. Man proceeded at daylight from the East Island anchorage westwards through Cleugh Passage. Made for West Island where two years before I had met many Andamanese; but although we steered close in shore, sounding the whistle frequently, we saw no inhabitants. A similar procedure with regard to Whitecliff and Thornhill Islands and the western end of Cleugh Passage produced a like result. Reef Island was also found deserted, but on the south-east extremity of Paget Island we found a large Andamanese encampment where I found it two years before. The people were enumerated and mostly recognised by me from photographs taken two and three years ago. The Andamanese, collected by the men despatched on the 28th from Port Cornwallis, were found assembled here and duly counted.

31st January 1901.—Left at daylight, went into Casuarina Bay and anchored; landed in the dinghy after rowing up the creek flowing into north-east corner of the bay, but found the large camp, although the huts were in good order, deserted. Returned to the *Bess*, hove up anchor after breakfasting and sounding the whistle as we went, and proceeded out of the bay which seemed quite deserted. With some trouble on account of the reef stretching across the entrance, found our way into Pembroke Bay and on the southern side near the entrance found some Andamanese helping the trepang file from Port Blair. Having made a Census of the people we quitted the bay, and after a rather stormy passage dropped anchor under the shelter of North Reef Island where we found Mr. D'Oyly had made the Census of the inhabitants.

1st February 1901.—Started in *Bess* at daylight and proceeded south, steaming between Interview Island and the mainland. On the southern extremity of Interview Island landed and found an Andamanese camp, the inhabitants of which we enumerated. In this camp I found one of the men I had photographed two years before on Paget Island and the people

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recognised all the others whose photographs I showed them, although they lived so far off as East Island. Proceeded to Port Anson where we found an Andamanese camp near the northern entrance to the port. Landed, counted the people and left some of our Haddo Andamanese ashore, with instructions to collect all the inhabitants of the west coast between Interview Island and Port Anson and those living in Homfray Strait and around Port Anson so that we might enumerate them on our next tour.

2nd February 1901.—Left at daylight, steamed through Homfray Strait, stuck for about half an hour on a shoal between North Passage Island and Baratang Island, then proceeded on our way through Colebrooke Passage, after quitting which we had a straight run for Port Blair which was reached about 2 P.M.

Diary of Mr. H. H. D'Oyly, Third Assistant Superintendent, on the first tour round the Andaman Islands for Census work, between the 25th January to 3rd February 1901.

25th January 1901.—Left Port Blair at 4 A.M. in the steam launch *Bess* with Mr. E. H. Man, C.I.E., and Mr. Bonig, Assistant Harbour Master, and arrived off Duratang in Kyd Island at 7 A.M. Landed with Mr. Man at the Andamanese Home and obtained all the necessary information, which will be found in the Census forms to be submitted to the Chief Commissioner at the conclusion of the Census. Left Kyd Island at 11 A.M. for Colebrooke Island arriving there and anchoring in the Southern Bay off Par-l'on-ta at 2 P.M. Visited the camp, which had a very fine large hut, but was deserted, though quite recently from all signs. Mention was omitted above of the fact that at the Home on Kyd Island, two women were found suffering from syphilis. They were ordered to be sent at once to the hospital at Haddo. It was remarkable how few children were found there, seven married couples being without any, and of the seven children noted, all but one being nearly grown up. Left Par-l'on-ta and anchored in the mouth of Colebrooke Passage at 3-20 P.M. at the same time as the R. I. M. S. *Elphinstone* which had come direct from Port Blair with Colonel Temple, C.I.E., and Captain Anderson, I.M.S., on board. Mr. Man and myself visited the *Elphinstone* and then proceeded with Captain Anderson in the ship's steam pinnace up Colebrooke Passage to make enquiries at the camps on each side. Both that on Baratang Island named Awropa-Chulnga to the south, and that on Colebrooke Island called Tara-Chulnga to the north were deserted; but there were signs at the last named of a recent visit by the trepang-collecting party from Port Blair, as shown by the places made for boiling the trepang. Both the *Elphinstone* and *Bess* remained at the anchorage in Colebrooke Passage for the night.

26th January 1901.—Started at 6 A.M. in the *Bess* proceeding first to Pulu-lun-ta on the west coast of Havelock Island. Finding the camp deserted, went on through the Tadma Juru Strait, between Peel and Havelock Islands. The navigation at the west entrance of the Strait requires care. The reef at the northern point of Havelock Island extends much farther than shown on any previous chart. Care has to be taken also in passing out of the Strait to clear the reef which runs out a long way to the south of John Lawrence Island. No signs were discovered of the "Pilot Rock (1844)" marked in the charts. No Andamanese were found at Woma-leptu on the north-east coast of Havelock Island. Anchored in the mouth of Kwangtung Strait off John Lawrence Island, opposite Wreck Point, and went ashore with Mr. Man and Mr. Bonig to see the place where the *Runnymede* and *Briton* were wrecked together in 1844. Found the anchor and pieces of angle iron, no doubt belonging to the *Runnymede*, lying among the roots of some mangroves at the mouth of the creek, where this vessel was cast ashore in the cyclone. Went on through Kwangtung Strait, finding the camp on Henry Lawrence Island, in the middle of the Strait, deserted. Arrived at 3-30 P.M. in the harbour north of Outram Island, where the *Elphinstone* was already anchored, and remained there for the night.

27th January 1901.—Mr. Man and myself went on board the *Elphinstone* and travelled in her from Outram Harbour, which we left at 6 A.M. and arrived at the anchorage in Bacon Bay, Stewart Sound, at 11-30 A.M., where the *Bess*, preceding us, had already arrived. Mr. Man and I went on board the *Bess* and after taking the names of some Andamanese who came off shore in canoes, started to visit the various points in the Harbour. At Lantiche in the north of the Sound was a large camp containing 93 people, including women and children. The scarcity of children was again remarkable, there being only 19. The people were not in good condition, almost all suffering from skin disease, and many from syphilis. One or two cocoanut trees were observed at the camp. It would be a good thing to send out seedlings of cocoanut and plantain trees to be put down at all camps, whenever the parties, for collecting trepang and edible birds' nests, go out. The seedlings, however, should be fairly well grown, otherwise if there is anything edible about the nuts, they would undoubtedly be consumed at once by such thriftless people as the Andamanese. Next we proceeded to the northern entrance to Stewart Sound, where there is a district called Meopong. Stood off and whistled but found no signs of life; and the coast being rocky, we did not land. On the way back through the entrance to the sound went slow, for Mr. Bonig to take soundings and enter them in a private chart. Arrived back in Bacon Bay and anchored close to the *Elphinstone* at about 5-30 P.M.

28th January 1901.—Mr. Man and myself left Bacon Bay in the *Bess* at 5-30 A.M. proceeding inside Sound Island and out through the northern entrance. Anchored in Lamia Bay, opposite to Saddle Peak, and visited a camp there of ten people. Some of them had bad syphilitic sores. The pathway, cut three years ago from this point to the top of Saddle Peak, is not very clearly discernible now, owing to thick undergrowth that has come up since. The

beacon which was then placed on the shore to mark the entrance to the pathway has disappeared. Went on to Port Cornwallis and anchored off Chatham Island at 12-30 P.M. Two canoes came off with eight people, who said there were no more people near the shores of the harbour, the others being away in the jungles of the interior. The *Elphinstone* came to the anchorage about an hour later. We landed on Chatham Island to see the site of the old settlement of 1793-96. The only signs remaining were pieces of brickwork masonry along the shore, showing that the sea must have been encroaching on the land into the foundations of the old houses. I took away, as a memento, some bricks, which were in remarkably good preservation. Mr. Man sent Snowball, one of the Andamanese who accompanied us from Port Blair and who was a native of these parts, to collect the people, in the interior and take them across the North Andaman to Casuarina Bay on the West Coast, ready for the visit of the *Bess* there on the 31st January.

29th January 1901.—Mr. Man and I left at 5-30 A.M. in the *Bess* going inside Turtle Island to cruise behind Temple Island, where there was a camp, which we found deserted. Then proceeded to Cadell Bay, between Trilby Island and the mainland. Found the camp there also deserted. Went on Inside Pocock Island, between that and the mainland losing the launch's patent log, which was caught in a rocky shoal, not marked in the chart. Anchored near this spot to try and recover the log, and for Mr. Bonig to take soundings and locate the shoal, which was found to be a small one lying between two lines of soundings in the chart, with a minimum depth of 3 fathoms. The log was not recovered. Some huts were seen on Pocock Island, but no inhabitants. Proceeded to the anchorage between Landfall and East Islands, where the *Elphinstone* had already arrived and dropped anchor at 12-30 P.M. In the evening I left the *Bess* for the *Elphinstone*, changing places with Captain Anderson.

30th January 1901.—Started at 8 A.M. in the *Elphinstone* and went direct to Temple Sound *viâ* Cleugh Passage, reaching the anchorage between Paget and Point Islands at 11-30 A.M., went off with Lieutenant Gray in the steam gig to make enquiries on Paget Island, where a large camp of 74 people were found, though 40 of them were away on the mainland, and 20 on Point Island. Five canoes put off from the mainland to us, bringing Snowball with the people he had collected in the interior, according to Mr. Man's instructions given on the 28th instant at Port Cornwallis. The *Bess* came in and anchored near us at 2 P.M.

31st January 1901.—Started at 8 A.M. in the *Elphinstone* from Temple Sound and went direct to North Reef Island, where we arrived at 11-30 A.M. Landed at Teb Juro village on the east coast and took the Census. There were only 13 people, who had been in the place for a month, and meant to leave directly they had finished a boat that was being built. There is a large fresh water lagoon close to this shore, where three of the ship's officers got 30 couple of teal in the afternoon. The *Bess* with Mr. Man and Captain Anderson on board came in and anchored near us at 4 P.M., having visited Casuarina Bay on the mainland on their way. I went over to the *Bess* in the evening.

1st February 1901.—Left at 6 A.M. in the *Bess* with Mr. Man and Captain Anderson, going along the east coast of Interview Island between that and Boudeville Island, from which two canoes came off with some people, who had already been seen at Bacon Bay. Proceeded round the south point of Interview Island to a camp in a deep bay protected from the south-west by a reef some distance out, with fairly deep water inside. Landed with Mr. Man and Captain Anderson to take the Census. Then went on down the west coast of Middle Andaman to Port Anson at the entrance to Homfray Strait, where we anchored near the *Elphinstone*, which had arrived before us. Visited a village near the entrance to the harbour. The *Bess* took in a fresh supply of water from the *Elphinstone* and also took over from her two settlement boats, with their convict crews and the police guard.

2nd February 1901.—Started at 5-30 A.M. with Mr. Man and Captain Anderson in the *Bess* taking in tow the two settlement boats, previously carried by the *Elphinstone*; and went through Homfray Strait, obtaining all information about the population *en route*. While passing through Elphinstone Harbour between Homfray Strait and Colebrooke Passage, the *Bess* went aground on a shoal, which was not marked on the private chart of this route, that was being used by Mr. Bonig. No apparent damage was done to the launch, the shoal being luckily of sand and soft coral. It was nearly an hour before we got free. Then we went through Colebrooke Passage and direct to Port Blair, where we arrived at 2 P.M.

Diary of Lieutenant N. F. J. Wilson, Commanding R. I. M. S. "Elphinstone" on a tour round the Andaman Islands on Census duty from 25th January to 2nd February 1901.

25th January 1901.—The second trip with the Census party commenced. The members were as before, but owing to the many small bays and narrow channels to be visited a steam launch accompanied the *Elphinstone*. The usual routine was for the launch *Bess* to steam up the coast, whilst the ship went direct by sea to the day's destination.

Leaving Port Blair at 11 A.M. we anchored in Colebrooke Passage anchorage at 3 P.M. The *Bess* had already arrived. This snug little harbour has been well described by Commander Simpson and there is nothing to add to his remarks. Entering in the afternoon we found that the two reefs at the entrance were difficult to make out. The Census party went up the passage towed by the ship's steam cutter, but were unsuccessful, the only huts seen being deserted. The reef, at the entrance, however, was a grand hunting ground for marine specimens and the Andamanese did great execution there amongst the fish.

26th January 1901.—The *Bess* left at daylight to explore between the islands, whilst the *Elphinstone* proceeded at 10 A.M. for Outram Harbour direct, a two hours' run at easy speed. Nothing was found at Outram and the *Bess* arriving at 3-30 P.M. told the same tale. The natives were conspicuous by their absence. Remained in Outram Bay till following morning.

27th January 1901.—Both ship and launch left early for Stewart Sound and arrived about noon anchoring in Bacon Bay. Some natives were found at last! Captain Anderson went up Austin Strait in the ship's steam cutter, but very few people were found. Mr. Man searched the harbour and surroundings in the *Bess*. On the whole the Census was a failure here, there being hardly any one to count, but it was interesting to visit this fine harbour. Lay here all night.

28th January 1901.—A notable day this, for the *Elphinstone* nearly came to grief again on an unknown patch. We left Bacon Bay at 8 A.M. and proceeded up the Sound and steamed out through the northern entrance passing between the rocks known as A. and B. patches. After leaving these known dangers behind us and whilst steering to sea to obtain an offing before steering up the coast, we ran over a shoal patch which lies 2¼ miles N. 57° E. of Oliver Island. We passed over 6 fathoms, but as the colour of the water showed that there were shoaler bits, the ship turned round and steamed towards the shoal. At 14 feet it was time to stop and fix the position of the patch. This is a dangerous shoal lying right in the northern channel into Stewart Sound. Strange it had not been found before. Proceeded up the coast and at noon arrived at Cornwallis Harbour. This fine harbour did not produce many natives either; they were all said to be on the west coast. We lay here all night in spite of the evil reputation of the place and no one seemed any the worse for it.

29th January 1901.—At 8 A.M. left Cornwallis Harbour, the *Bess* preceding us by a couple of hours; she visited Cadell Bay and the coast and the *Elphinstone* taking the passage outside the Table Islands and inside Union Sledge, met her off Pocock Island. There the *Bess* was at anchor on another shoal patch not shown on the chart. This lies between Pocock Island and the mainland and has 2 fathoms on it, but nothing is likely to use this narrow gut, except a launch or small boat now and then. We anchored in the channel between East and Landfall Islands and found it a very snug little anchorage for all but south-east winds. A splendid north-east monsoon blew here, making the weather cool and pleasant. An expedition to a lagoon on the north-east end of East Island only produced one oceanic teal, as the lagoon was almost dry. The Andamanese, however, managed to get a lot of fish and a big lizard, which was ugly enough to put most of us off. These natives are excellent men for such expeditions. They are smart and keen and work well. Pulling ashore and then walking about 5 miles in a hot sun and then pulling back, did not seem to damp their ardour in the slightest; on board, too, they are much cleaner and give less trouble to the ship than other natives.

30th January 1901.—Left at 8 A.M. for Temple Sound *viâ* Clough Passage and the channel between West Cliff and Reef Island. The ground is all recently surveyed, which makes this passage much easier and safer than hitherto, but it is not a channel to use, except in fine weather. The *Bess* left earlier, searching the coast and bays. Arrived at Temple Sound at noon, the *Bess* anchoring a little later. A few natives were here and the Census people were also able to get particulars of others in the jungle. A shooting party got five couple of oceanic teal on Point Island, off a very small lagoon on the north coast of this island.

31st January 1901.—The *Elphinstone* left at 8, the *Bess*, as usual, earlier, searching the coast line. We steamed down inside Snark Island and as at this point the survey ceases, the speed was reduced and course and soundings were carefully laid down on a track chart for future use. Anchored off Reef Island about noon, close into the shore; the soundings on the Marine chart are totally misleading, as we could find no anchorage in less than 17 fathoms until close to the beach, whereas the chart shows 7 and 8 some way out. Census operations were not very successful as usual. But the shooting party came across a long lagoon on Reef Island, with any amount of oceanic teal on it; snipe were seen too, and there are quantities of the Nicobar pigeon here. Twenty-eight couple of teal were shot and were found excellent for the table. This lagoon runs nearly the whole length of Reef Island about 100 yards from the eastern shore; it is very narrow and surrounded by thick jungle, and the birds flew up and down the strip of water offering very pretty shooting.

1st February 1901.—Left Reef Island in company with the *Bess* at 6 A.M. The latter took the passage between Interview Island, whilst the ship, going slowly as before, passed between Reef and Interview Island. This is a fine and broad channel and the marine chart is again at fault. The *Elphinstone* passed quite near the north coast of Interview Island although an extensive reef is shown as existing here. The track followed is shown on accompanying chart. After getting out of this channel steered to the southward for Port Anson where the ship anchored at noon; the *Bess* came in later, and as we part company here, we gave her fresh water and our native passengers.

2nd February 1901.—At daylight the *Bess* and her satellites moved off for Homfray Straits, whilst the *Elphinstone* took her departure for Calcutta, arriving there on the 4th February.

Diary of Mr. Bonig, Assistant Harbour Master, on the first tour round the Andaman Islands on Census duty from the 25th January to 2nd February 1901.

25th January 1901.—Left Port Blair at 4 A.M. with E. H. Man, Esq., C.I.E., and party in the steam launch *Bess*; arrived Kyd Island at 7 A.M. Messrs. Man and D'Oyly went

ashore and took Census. Left Kyd Island 11 A.M. for Colebrooke Passage. Anchored in the Bay to the south of Colebrooke Island, off the encampment Par-l'on-ta. Went ashore with Mr. Man and party; no Andamanese were seen here. Returned on board and steamed to the anchorage in Colebrooke Passage arriving there at 3-20 P.M. The R. I. M. S. *Elphinstone* arrived at the same time direct from Port Blair. Went aboard the *Elphinstone* and accompanied Mr. Man and party in the *Elphinstone* cutter through Colebrooke Passage. 000

26th January 1901.—Left Colebrooke Passage anchorage at 5-40 A.M. for the Archipelago, arriving off Pulu-lun-ta at 7-45 A.M. No Andamanese were seen here. After this steamed through Tadma Juru. I observed that the reef to the north of Havelock Island when entering Tadma Juru from the west extends considerably further to the north than it is marked on the chart; the channel is well over to Sir William Peel Island. Returned through Kwangtung Strait and anchored at 11 A.M. off the coast where the *Briton* and *Runnymede* were wrecked. Only one anchor and the remains of a few iron knees were seen. Returned on board and proceeded for Outram Harbour. There is a reef opposite Gareng-lebor, which is not marked on the chart. The channel is to the north of the reef close to the shore off Henry Lawrence. I arrived at Outram Harbour at 3-30 P.M. Went ashore on the east side of the Bay; saw a number of cocoanuts, part of a Burmese canoe and some wreckage strewn about on the beach. Remained at Outram Harbour for the night.

27th January 1901.—Proceeded at 5-10 A.M. to Stewart Sound. Messrs. Man and D'Oyly travelling in the *Elphinstone*. Arrived at Bacon Bay at 10-30 A.M. The *Elphinstone* arriving about an hour later Messrs. Man and D'Oyly came on board the *Bess*. We proceeded to Camp Bay where Census was taken. After this proceeded through the northern entrance of Stewart Sound to Eileen Bay; no Andamanese were seen, a number of soundings were taken which are recorded in the accompanying chart of Stewart Sound. I also noted that the rocks off Cadell Point are not noted in G. T. S. Maps, but are shown in Commander Bacon's chart. Returned to Bacon Bay in the evening and anchored for the night.

28th January 1901.—Started for Lamia Bay 5-30 A.M. and steamed through the northern entrance of Stewart Sound. Commander Wilson advised me that the safest passage in leaving Stewart Sound was between the rocks A. and B.; this passage was accordingly taken, not less than 5 fathoms of water was obtained between the rocks. Anchored at Lamia Bay at 8-40 A.M. and accompanied Messrs. Man and D'Oyly ashore who took the Census of the Andamanese that were seen here. Returned on board and left at 11 A.M. for Port Cornwallis. Anchored off Chatham Island at 12-30 A.M. Went ashore with Messrs. Man and D'Oyly to see the remains of the old settlement; only a few blocks of bricks were seen strewn about on the beach. Returned on board and anchored at 3-30 near the *Elphinstone* which had in the meantime arrived from Bacon Bay.

29th January 1901.—Left Port Cornwallis at 5-50 A.M. and steamed *viâ* Temple Island anchorage and Cadell Bay to East Island. No Andamanese were seen *en route*. On steaming between the mainland and Pocock Island, the patent log carried away when running over a shoal, where on one place only 12 feet of water was found. This shoal is not marked on the chart. Anchored on the shoal and searched for the log, but it could not be found. When sounding round the shoal 10 fathoms was found on either side of it. The position of it seems to be between two lines of the soundings marked on the chart. Proceeded to East Island and anchored at 12-50 P.M. Went ashore at Landfall Island. Noticed here an Andamanese encampment, also some very good teak logs, one of them over 60 feet long.

30th January 1901.—Left East Island, anchored at 5-30 A.M., and passed by Whitecliff and Thornhill Islands through Temple Sound to Paget Island. Anchored off Oldham rock and went ashore with Mr. Man and party on Paget Island, where a number of Andamanese were seen. Returned on board and anchored at Paget Island anchorage for the night at 4 P.M.

31st January 1901.—Left Paget Island at 6 A.M. for Casuarina Bay. Anchored at 8 A.M. Mr. Man and party went ashore and after they returned proceeded to Pembroke Bay. The coast of Pembroke Bay is very dangerous. Several shoals were seen some miles off shore. There is also a reef nearly all across the Bay. The channel is to the south of the latter. Anchored in Pembroke Bay at 1-30 P.M. Mr. Man and party went ashore to take Census and on their returning we proceeded to North Reef Island where we anchored at 5 P.M. for the night.

1st February 1901.—Left North Reef Island at 6 A.M. and proceeded through Interview Passage for Port Anson. Met some Andamanese off Bennet Island and proceeded after Census had been taken to the extreme south of Interview Island and anchored inside the coral reef which forms a sheltered cove; here Mr. Man and party went ashore to take Census, and after they returnned we proceeded to Port Anson. Took the *Bess* alongside the *Elphinstone* and took 400 gallons of water, while some convicts, Andamanese, and police were transferred from the *Elphinstone* to the *Bess*. Took also two boats over. Anchored here at 4 P.M. for the night.

2nd February 1901.—Left Port Anson at 6 A.M. for Port Blair *viâ* Homfray Strait and Colebrooke Passage. The *Bess* struck on a reef in Elphinstone Harbour. This reef is not marked on Commander Simpson's chart of Homfray Strait and Colebrooke Passage which was used at the time. As the compass used on the *Bess* is not adjusted, I could not take the correct bearings of the reef, but am forwarding a chart herewith on which it is marked approximately. The reef seems to be marked on Commander Bacon's chart of Elphinstone Harbour. The Andamanese informed me that there are two reefs here, one just south of

000 Homfray Strait (which I was aware of) and the other about half-way through Elphinstone Harbour on which the *Bess* struck. They also told me that there is a deep channel between the two and running close along the shore, for which they thought I was steering. No apparent damage was done to the *Bess*, and after she got off we proceeded through Colebrooke Passage to Port Blair, arriving at the latter place at 2 P.M.

Second Tour.

Diary of Mr. E. H. Man, C.I.E., Deputy Superintendent, Port Blair, on the second tour round the Andaman Islands on Census duty from 15th to 18th February 1901.

15th February 1901.—Left this harbour on the second tour at 6-30 A.M. in the *Bess* accompanied by Captain Anderson, Mr. D'Oyly and a party of Andamanese. The steam launch *Belle* with Mr. Bonig and some more Andamanese (including 11 Ônges who had lately arrived) accompanied us and led the way. Proceeding northwards we arrived at Duratang at 9-30. Finding all well there, and having ascertained that none were there who had not been already enumerated, proceeded through Middle Strait to Kwangtung Harbour, where 51 aborigines were assembled at Lekera-lon-ta. It was found that 21 of these had already been entered in the returns of the first tour. Fifteen cocoanut seedlings were planted and some fowls left for breeding purposes. Presents were then distributed and photographs taken.

16th February 1901.—Six aborigines who arrived after sunset yesterday were brought to the *Bess* at daybreak and particulars regarding them were noted. After this the *Bess* and *Belle* left for Port Campbell, where we arrived at about 10 A.M. The whistle was sounded several times with no apparent result, and we were about to leave when some Andamanese were seen to emerge from the jungle near the sea on the south side of the harbour. They were at once pronounced to be Jarawas by our Andamanese. Seeing us turn back and stop, they gesticulated and appeared to court an interview, so we decided to approach them in our boat. Accompanied by Captain Anderson, Mr. D'Oyly and some Andamanese, including one woman, and taking cushions and boards to serve as shields in case of hostilities, we proceeded shorewards. Meantime the women and children of the Jarawa party, numbering about five, were seen to hurry away along the sandy beach to the eastward, while the men remained behind. Three of the latter boldly came forward on to the foreshore to meet us and they were observed to have their bows and arrows in their hands ready for immediate use. On our approaching to within about 80 yards of them, they assumed a threatening attitude and shouted apparently in defiance and this in spite of their hearing the shrill cries of the Andamanese woman in our boat, whose presence being thus announced it was hoped they would be persuaded of our peaceful intentions. We then ceased pulling and carefully watched their actions. The leader of the three, who was then about 60 yards distant, was next seen to raise his bow, and he was evidently about to discharge his arrow at us—which would have been the signal for the other two men to do the same—when Captain Anderson, most opportunely, fired at him with his ·303 rifle, with the result that the leader was wounded in his right thigh. The effect produced by our single shot so surprised the three men that no arrow was discharged at us by any of them. The wounded man, who was seen to bleed profusely, at once ran towards the beach, but fell after going about 20 yards. The other two men ran to his assistance and carried him to the jungle, while the remaining men of the party shouted to the women and children to return, which they did. It would have been easy to shoot any of the men during this interval and without any risk to our party, but we refrained from doing so, although there was strong ground to suspect that these were the men concerned in the recent unprovoked murder of a petty officer of the garjan-oil collecting file near Anikhet. In spite of our forbearance, we felt convinced that, as the wounded man would probably soon bleed to death, the effect already produced would suffice to deter the Jarawas from again defying and assaulting us as they had just done. After waiting near the spot for some time we returned to the *Bess* and the two launches then left for Port Mouat, where we arrived at 4-30 P.M. We there procured an old canoe for presentation to our Ônge friends, they having met with an accident to their canoe in coming to Port Blair a few days before. The Mount Augusta Home was visited during the evening, and some cocoanuts obtained for distribution among the Ôngas.

17th February 1901.—Both launches left at 5-30 A.M. and proceeded through the Labyrinth Islands to the anchorage at Cinque Island, where we arrived at 10 A.M. We there took on board eight Ônge women and two boys who had been left there by our Ônge companions when proceeding to Port Blair. Taking all the Ôngas on board the *Bess*, the *Belle* was left at anchor, and we proceeded for Little Andaman arriving off Bumila Creek at 3 P.M. We took on shore 35 cocoanut seedlings for planting and a number of fowls for breeding, and the Ôngas landed in the canoe with a variety of presents which they had brought with them. The seedlings were planted in a suitable spot and the 21 Ôngas we had brought were then given an opportunity of witnessing the performances of Captain Anderson's rifle, which duly impressed them. We were disappointed to find that there were no other Ôngas in the vicinity of Bumila Creek at the time of our visit. At 5 P.M. we returned to the *Bess*, and after a somewhat rough passage we reached the anchorage at Cinque Island at 8-30 P.M.

18th February 1901.—At 6 A.M. Captain Anderson, accompanied by Mr. D'Oyly, visited Cinque Island in order to make some geological observations and obtain some specimens. On their return at 8-30 both launches left for Port Blair where they arrived at about 11-30 A.M.

3: Temple G-5 (1901) 1903 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

From the accompanying returns it will be seen that we can with confidence estimate the present population of Great Andaman (exclusive of the Jarawas) at no higher figure than 600, of whom only 20°/₀ are children, while the Ongas and Jarawas together are believed not to exceed, 1,000, *viz.* :— 000

Ongas (Little Andaman)	500
Jarawas (South and Middle Andaman)	250
Do. (Rutland Island)	100
Do. (North Sentinel)	150

Diary of Captain A. R. S Anderson, I.M.S., Senior Medical Officer, Port Blair, on the second tour round the Andaman Islands on Census duty from the 15th to 18th February 1901.

15th February 1901.—Embarked on the *Bess*, left Port Blair about 6-30 A.M., accompanied by the *Belle* and, after a smooth passage, reached Kyd Island soon after 9-30. Having communicated with the inhabitants—Andamanese and convicts—and landed a few fowls for breeding purposes, we departed for Middle Straits, through which we passed, with occasional rain squalls and anchored for the night close to and inside the northern entrance of Port Anson. We landed and made a Census of the people, who had been collected from the surrounding country by Andamanese left here for this purpose on our former trip. Here, as in all the other places visited, the great paucity of children was very noticeable. Only one of the women had two children, the others possessing either one each or none. The commonest story they tell is that their first or first and second children are dead and that the one with them is the sole survivor. The great child mortality is undoubtedly due to the very extensive prevalence of syphilis which displays itself in some of its most virulent forms among these people. The infantile mortality is certainly not due to maternal neglect, as the mothers display great affection for their children. 165

We landed some cocks and hens, strictly enjoining the people not to eat but to feed them and allow them to breed and to this they readily assented. We also distributed some sprouting cocoanuts which seemed much appreciated. 000

16th February 1901.—Left Port Anson at 6 A.M., and at 10 entered Port Campbell; made the circuit of the harbour, sounded the whistle several times, but failed to evoke any response from the inhabitants until we were actually departing. Then the people on the *Belle* discovered some Andamanese on the western shore, close to the entrance of the harbour. About eight women with a few children and some eight men were seen slowly wending their way along the sand towards the southern part of the bay. We again whistled to attract their attention and slowly stood in towards the shore, at about three cables from which we came to an anchor. No sooner had we done so than the men began wading out from the shore towards us, using threatening gestures with their bows and arrows, while the women and children, with their camp gear slung in baskets on their backs, made off at a quicker pace along the upper part of the beach. Seeing their inability to reach us, the men slowly retreated after the women leaving three of their number behind to act as a rear guard. As we were anxious to see these people at close quarters, to accurately count them, and if possible to establish friendly relations, we put off in our boat to the shore. In the boat were Messrs. Man and D'Oyly and myself, a convict at the tiller and a crew of some seven Andamanese together with an Andamanese woman, whose shrill cries we hoped might prove to the savages ashore our pacific intent. The crew as usual took their bows and arrows with them, but carefully kept them concealed in the bottom of the boat; and, as our Andamanese assured us very positively that their compatriots ashore were bent on mischief, Mr. D'Oyly took a Mauser pistol and I a ·303 rifle. As we approached the shore in token of amity we waved our umbrellas, our handkerchiefs, and large pieces of red cloth intended as presents and much appreciated by other Andamanese. We also instructed our Andamanese woman to shout friendly messages: shout she did, and the messages were doubtless—although unintelligible to me—friendly. When we were still about one hundred yards from the water's edge and had only just sufficient water to float our boat, while inshore of us stretched a coral shoal with a foot or less of water on it, the three rear-guard Andamanese came leaping down the shore and, after trying their bows to see that they were in good order, with loud shouts rushed into the water to the attack of our boat. I went forward, stood in the bows of the boat and waved the cloth presents vigorously and got the woman to again shout. In vain; they totally ignored our friendly overtures. The three warriors formed into line abreast, an interval of about 15 yards separating the one from the other, and ran towards us splashing through the water which reached half-way up to their knees. The man attacking the bows of the boat, who was the ring-leader and directing the operations of the other two making the flank attack, had his arrow already on the bow-string and was in the act of firing, being now well within bow-shot 60—80 yards, when after motioning him to stop and his disregarding my order, I fired at and struck him in the right thigh. He spun round and made off for the beach, followed by the other two. After running a short way up the shore, he was joined by his comrades and while one carried him on his back into the bush, the other ran off along the shore yelling to the rest of the party who were now hastening forward to the attack. As our retreat was out of the question and we had not the slightest desire to renew such an unequal contest I fired a shot into the sand a few feet in front of the party to warn them that they were well within range. This so greatly surprised and alarmed them that they at once rushed into the forest and we saw them no more. After waiting about ten minutes longer and again trying in vain to

000 establish friendly relations by means of the woman's cries we put off to the *Bess*, hove up anchor and stood out of the harbour.

I greatly regret that the necessity for shooting this man should have arisen and that it should have devolved upon me to do it; but from our Andamanese we learnt that the damaged man undoubtedly belonged to the same raiding party that, between two and three weeks before, murdered one of our convict petty officers while out in the forest looking after the garjan-oil collectors. They also told us they had frequently encountered him before, recognised him by his large moustache and that he was an absolutely implacably hostile villain. As our boat was, at the time of the attack, lying in shallow water, bows to the shore, and the crew had to stand on the thwarts to fend her off the coral knobs and were thereby terribly exposed, a speedy retreat, as well as being very impolitic, was impracticable. Two alternatives then remained, to allow the savages to fire into our crowded boat with the certainty of hitting some one, or forestalling them by shooting one of their number. Our Andamanese were certainly physically not the equals of the Jarawas, so that we could hardly rely on their shooting as well as their opponents and repelling the attack with their bows and arrows, hampered as they were for want of room and the necessity of looking after the boat. Moreover, we had ordered them not to display or even touch their weapons to provoke an attack and they had behaved with exemplary self-control in strictly obeying their orders, relying implicitly on the protection of the weapons in our hands. Had the three men fired simultaneously, as was their evident intent, into our midst, the arrows, coming from such different directions, must have hit some of us and a disaster would almost certainly have ensued. I need hardly say that the Andamanese in our boat desired the total extermination of their life-long enemies, the Jarawas, while those in the *Belle* were most indignant and aggrieved at not being permitted to land to share in the fight.

After leaving Port Campbell we steered south and at 4-30 dropped our anchor off the Mount Augusta Home in Port Mouat where we spent the night. One of the women in the home was overjoyed at hearing that a Jarawa had been injured, as they had ousted her tribe from their possessions in Port Campbell. The knowledge now imparted to the Jarawas that rifles can injure as well as make a noise, may save the lives of any mariners who chance to be shipwrecked on these coasts.

17th February 1901.—Left Port Mouat at dawn, 5-30, towing a large Andamanese canoe, a present for the Onges. To the south of Rutland Island the wind freshed considerably, the canoe upset and we were a good deal delayed by collecting the scattered oars, seats and steersmen and finally hoisting the canoe up to our rail. After anchoring the *Belle* between the Cinque Islands, taking Mr. Bonig and the Onges aboard, we left at 10 A.M. for Little Andaman, picking eight Onge women and two boys off South Cinque Island where they had been awaiting the return of their husbands from Port Blair. We reached Bumila Creek at 3 P.M., landed the Onges, planted some cocoanuts, explained and exhibited the effects of rifle fire to the people, saw their dances, gave them presents and left them happy and contented at 5 P.M. Bumila Creek we found well deserved its name, as crowds of flies settled on our boat and accompanied us back to the *Bess*. Several of the Onge women had large scars on their backs, many 6—8 inches in length, some women having four to eight such scars. These are said to be caused by cuts inflicted by their irate husbands to mark their displeasure at conjugal infidelity, which, to judge by the large proportion of scarred women, is not uncommon. After a very rough passage rendered difficult by the darkness of the night and the absence of a good compass, we anchored off Cinque Island at 8-30.

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000 *18th February 1901.*—Landed on south Cinque Island to collect specimens of the bare rocks which form such a marked feature of parts of Rutland and the Cinque Islands, returned to the *Bess* at 8-30, hove up anchor, left for Port Blair, and reached there 11-30 A.M.

Diary of Mr. H. H. D'Oyly, Third Assistant Superintendent, Port Blair, on the second tour round the Andaman Islands on Census duty from the 15th to the 18th February 1901.

15th February 1901.—Left Port Blair with Mr. E. H. Man, C.I.E., and Captain A. R. S. Anderson, I.M.S., in the steam launch *Bess* at 6 A.M., following close behind the steam launch *Belle* which was navigated by Mr. Bonig, Assistant Harbour Master, going north *viâ* Kyd Island. As the weather was bad for two or three days previously until last night, it was decided to reverse the original programme drawn up by the Chief Commissioner, so as to give time for the sea to calm down before attempting the passage to the Little Andaman. We stopped for half an hour at Kyd Island to question the people at the Andamanese Home there, where we went before in the first tour, and to leave some cocoanuts to be planted; then proceeded through Middle Strait to Kwangtung Harbour. No people were found on the way. At the village in the mouth of the Harbour, there were 51 people, counting women and children, collected according to directions given by Mr. Man, in the first tour, from the surrounding country. Details are given in the Census forms, to be submitted to the Chief Commissioner, at the end of the operations. Remained in this Harbour for the night.

16th February 1901.—Left Kwangtung Harbour at 6 A.M., the *Bess* following the *Belle*, and ran down the west coast of South Andaman to Port Campbell. In entering the port we blew the steam whistle several times before seeing any people on shore. At length when we had turned to run out of the port, about a dozen Andamanese including some women were seen walking fast along the shore from the mouth of the Harbour towards the interior. Our

Andamanese on board at once said that those on shore were of the Jarawa Tribe. As they spoke, some of the men on shore waded out in the sea towards us making threatening gestures with their bows and arrows, but seeing that the steam launches were too far off, quarter mile from the shore, they rejoined their party and proceeded along the sands. Mr. Man decided that we should go ashore in a boat manned by our Andamanese, taking one of their wives with presents to attempt a conciliation with the Jarawas. As a precaution, Captain Anderson took a rifle and I took a Mauser magazine pistol. We rowed in, not showing any arms, and stood up in the boat waving handkerchiefs and red cloth, and making the women call out to show that we did not mean hostility. It was soon apparent that the Jarawas meant fighting, for they took their women away some distance behind a rocky point, while three of the men armed with bows and arrows returned and with threatening cries and gestures waded out towards us, through the intervening shallow water, our boat being only just clear of the ground. These three Jarawas advanced quickly, straight towards us, without any hesitation, but taking care to keep an interval of about 15 yards between each, and to place themselves so that the centre man could rake the boat, while the others could shoot into each side of it. We still did not show our arms, but persevered in making friendly signs until they were about 50 yards off, when Captain Anderson knelt down and, resting his rifle on the bow of the boat, drew a bead on the man who was evidently directing their party. As their leader was in the act of raising his bow with the cord drawn back to shoot, he was brought up literally with a round turn by a ·303 bullet from Captain Anderson's rifle through his thigh. His two companions turned at the same time and ran away, but seeing the wounded man fall after he had run about 20 yards, they stopped to help him and pluckily carried him ashore into the jungle, where he probably died shortly, judging from the gush of blood which crimsoned the water all round him the moment he was hit. It would have been easy to kill the three, but we did not like to fire at them running away, especially when the wounded man was being helped along by the others. When one of them, however, came out of the jungle again and shouted to the rest of their party for help, the reinforcement was put a stop to by another shot from Captain Anderson, aimed so as to hit the ground two or three feet in front of the shouter. This made him disappear at once and also his friends, when they saw the spot where the bullet had ploughed through the sand. We judged it best to return to the steam launch then, and both the *Bess* and *Belle* left Port Campbell for Port Mouat, where we arrived about 4-30 P.M. We visited the Andamanese Home at Balugbat and remained at this anchorage for the night.

17th February 1901.—The *Belle* and *Bess* left Port Mouat at 5-30 A.M. and going through the Labyrinth Islands arrived at the Cinque Islands anchorage at about noon. Leaving the *Belle* there, and taking Mr. Bonig on board the *Bess* we proceeded to Little Andaman, arriving in Bumila Creek at 3-30 P.M. Went ashore but found no one, though there were fresh foot-prints in the sand and a fire still alight. Landed several Onge men and women of this country some of whom had visited Port Blair, and some who had been picked up on the Cinque Islands. Planted out some cocoanut seedlings on the shore of the creek and gave presents to the Onge people. Started off at 5 P.M. and had a rough passage to the Cinque Island anchorage, not arriving there till 9 P.M.

18th February 1901.—Captain Anderson and myself landed on the big Cinque Island, to examine the geological formation, which is quite unlike that of the rest of the Andamans, and is undoubtedly volcanic. The *Bess* and *Belle* left at 8 A.M. for Port Blair, having a fairly rough passage, and arrived at noon.

Diary of Mr. Bonig, Assistant Harbour Master, on the second tour round the Andaman Islands on Census duty from the 15th to 19th February 1901.

15th February 1901.—Left Port Blair on second tour at 6-30 A.M. in the *Belle* followed by the *Bess*, with Mr. Man and party for Kyd Island, arriving there at 9-30 A.M. Proceeded through Middle Straits to Port Anson where we anchored for the night at 4 P.M.

16th February 1901.—Left Port Anson at daybreak for Port Campbell where some Jarawas were seen. Mr. Man and party went in the boat towards them, but returned without landing. Proceeded to Port Mouat where we anchored for the night at 4-30 P.M.

17th February 1901.—Left Port Mouat at 5-15 A.M. and proceeded *viâ* the Labyrinth Islands and the south of Rutland to the anchorage between the Cinque Islands. Anchored the *Belle* here and left her in charge of the serang while I proceeded on board the *Bess* *viâ* South Cinque Island, where some Onge women were taken on board, to the Little Andaman, arriving off Bumila Creek at 3 P.M. Mr. Man and party went ashore with the Onges. Left Bumila Creek at 5 P.M. and returned to Cinque Island at 8-30 P.M. Anchored for the night.

18th February 1901.—Left Cinque Island at 7 A.M. and returned to Port Blair at 11-30 A.M.

On the first tour the *Bess* was under steam about 80 hours, under banked fires 122 hours. She steamed 375 miles, consuming 11 tons of coal and 1,000 gallons of water for the boiler.

On the second tour the *Bess* was under steam about 37 hours, under banked fires 76 hours. She steamed 235 miles, consuming 6 tons of coal and 600 gallons of water for the boiler.

The *Belle* was under steam about 27 hours, under banked fires 56 hours. She steamed 200 miles, consuming 5 tons of coal and 750 gallons of water for the boiler.

About 4 gallons of water per man per day was used for drinking purposes.

APPENDIX C.

CENSUS OF INDIA, 1901.—FIRST TOTALS.

ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS.

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Chief Commissioner.—LIEUTENANT-COLONEL R. C. TEMPLE, C.I.E.

Census year.	Population.			Variation since preceding Census (+) or (−).	
	Males.	Females.	Total.	Number.	Per cent.
1901	15,581	8,918	24,499	+8,890	+56·95
1891	13,375	2,234	15,609	+ 981	+ 6·71

The increase in the population is due to the inclusion of the aborigines of the islands, now enumerated for the first time under the admirable arrangements made by Colonel Temple. The results of this Census, which was conducted by special parties of the Andamans officials at some risk to themselves, are shown in the tables below, the Andamanese being classified by the recognised tribes, and the Nicobarese by the dialects spoken on different islands or groups of islands. The number of children among the Andamanese and the Southern Nicobarese is probably understated. The Census operations have brought to light a new tribe, the Tâbô of North Andaman, and have proved the recently discovered Kôrâ Tribe to be comparatively numerous. The Census officers were set upon at Port Campbell by the implacably hostile Jarawas of South Andaman, and only saved themselves by firing on their assailants, one Jarawa being killed. In explanation of the small numbers of the newly discovered Tâbô Tribe, the Census party were informed that when a contagious disease was recently introduced among the Tâbôs by the Châriâr or Kôrâ Tribes of the coast they proceeded to kill off all those attacked until very few of the tribe were left.

ANDAMANESE.

Name of Tribe.	Adults.		Children.		Total.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.		
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	
Châriâr .	14	15	6	2	39	
Kôrâ .	31	33	14	19	96	Lately discovered.
Tâbô .	15	16	7	10	48	Hitherto unknown.
Yêre .	98	80	26	14	213	
Kede .	24	30	3	2	59	
Jûwai .	21	19	7	1	48	
Kôl .	6	3	3	...	11	
Bojigyâb	31	14	2	3	50	
Balawa .	8	10	3	1	19	
Bea .	14	16	3	4	37	
Jarawa .	280	210	55	40	585	
Ôngé .	303	275	63	33	672	
Total .	844	717	192	129	1,882	

NICOBARESE.

Dialect.	Adults.		Children.		Total.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
Car Nicobar .	1,126	999	704	682	3,151
Chowra . .	172	178	100	72	522
Teresa . .	208	190	174	130	702
Central . .	409	398	152	136	1,095
Southern .	81	73	18	20	192
Shom Pen .	168	140	24	16	348
	2,164	1,978	1,172	996	6,310
Foreign traders	201	...	...	...	201
Total .	2,365	1,978	1,172	996	6,511

NOTE.—The dialects of Car Nicobar and Chowra are spoken on those islands only: that of Teresa on Teresa and Bompoka: the Central Dialect on Camorta, Trinkat, Nancowry and Katchall: the Southern Dialect on Pulu Milu, Little Nicobar, Condul and Great Nicobar (Coast): the Shom Pen in the interior of Great Nicobar.

H. H. RISLEY.

APPENDIX D.

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List of places visited by the Census Party.

English Name.	Andamanese Name.
Kyd Island.	Dura-táng.
Colebrooke Island S. Bay.	Pâr-l'on-tâ.
" " N. Coast.	Târa-châlunga.
Havelock Island.	Pâluga-l'âr-mûgu-ôrema.
" on N. W. Coast of	Pûlu-l'untâ.
" Strait between Sir W. Peel and	Tadma Jûru.
John Lawrence Island.	Parkit-ôrema.
Kwangtung Strait.	Gereng-lêbar.
Outram Harbour.	Târ-mûgu.
Bacon Bay.	Târa-chiro.
Stewart Sound.	Miriti-rá-pong.
Austin Strait.	Pôrong-chiro.
Camp Bay.	Lâu-tíche.
Cadell Point (W. Bay).	Chaka-mit-koito.
" " (N. Bay).	Tâ-burongo.
Lámia Bay, S. extremity of	Rengo-to-tía.
Port Cornwallis.	Tôloûn-tong.
" " Chatham Island.	Tébi-chíro.
Turtle Island.	Koto-par.
Cadell Bay.	Tébi-chíroh.
Landfall Island.	Tâu-rá-mîku.
West Island.	Kareng-méo.
Whitecliff Island.	Tar-bôro.
Thornhill Island.	Bâ-pong.
Reef Island.	Tî-kô-dung.
" " N. E. Encampment.	Taumo-tât.
Paget "	Kárate-tât-chíro.
Casuarina Bay.	Tôrop-tot-chéto.
" " N. E. Encampment.	Tébi-chíro.
North Reef Island.	Ina-ta-rá-jôle.
Pembroke Bay W. Coast.	Rengo-l'an-tô.
Interview Island S. Encampment.	Karang-to'ng-tá-chira. Lêkerâ-l'on-tâ.
Kwangtung Harbour.	Kuro-pong.
Port Campbell.	Târa-châng.
" Mount, "Home" st.	Gereng-l-âkachâti-jûru.
Cinque Island.	Jertía.
Little Andaman.	Wilima-târa.

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Statement of the detailed population of the Andaman Islands.

Name of Tribe.		Adults.		Children.		Total.
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
Bâa	*seen*	14	12	3	3	37
"	*not seen*	...	4	...	1	
Balawa	*seen*	3	7	1	1	19
"	*not seen*	2	3	2	...	
Bojigyâb	*seen*	17	6	2	...	50
"	*not seen*	14	8	...	3	
Jûwai	*seen*	13	14	3	...	48
"	*not seen*	8	5	4	1	
Kôl	*seen*	2	...	...	...	11
"	*not seen*	4	2	3	...	
Kede	*seen*	21	21	3	2	59
"	*not seen*	3	9	...	...	
Yêre	*seen*	76	57	21	8	218
"	*not seen*	22	23	5	6	
Tâbô	*seen*	2	...	...	...	48
"	*not seen—estimated*	13	16	7	10	
Kôrâ	*seen*	21	20	8	15	96
"	*not seen*	10	12	6	4	
Chârlâr	*seen*	16	15	6	2	39
"	*not seen*	...	...	...	...	
Ongo	*estimated*	303	273	63	33	672
Jârawa	*estimated*	280	210	55	40	585
	Total	844	717	193	129	1,882

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Tabular Statement showing the present numbers

Serial No. of place.	Where found.	Tribal Territory.	Bea.				Balawa.				Bojigyab.				Juwai.				Koi.				Ka	
			Adults.		Children.		Adults.		Children.		Adults.		Children.		Adults.		Children.		Adults.		Children.		Adults.	
			M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
1	Port Blair Homes	Bea	11	10	...	2	2	5	1	1	8	...	...	...	6	5	...	...	2	...	...	...	11	9
	Dumbing Home	"	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
2	Nil	Balawa	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3	Kwangtung Harbour	Bojigyab	1	1	1	1	...	1	...	...	9	6	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Humfrey Strait	"	...	2	...	...	...	1	1	...	4	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Colebrooke Island	"	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	3	1	...	...	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Lihara-l'un-ta	"	1	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	7	2	...	...	...	...	...	4	5
		"	...	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4	Pili-bitugu (in Boruin jig)	Jiwai	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Ringa-bitugu (in Boruin jig)	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
	Tilo-bitubo	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	2
5	Tu-ish	Koi	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	6	2	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Long Island	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	2	2	...	...	1
	Bitrka-ebitug (in Tilo jig)	"	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...
	Near Interview Island	Kado	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
6	At Interview Island	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	6	5
	Ruej-lir-tet (near Bengal)	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1
	Bitiri-ko-dab (Cuthbert Bay)	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	3
7	Bacon Bay	Yere	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Austin Strait	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Camp Bay (Stewart Sound)	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Various spots	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Lamin Bay	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Pembroke Bay	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
	North Reef Island	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
8	Nil	Tabi	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
9	Port Cornwallis	Kora	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Ti-ka-dang (N. E. of North Andaman)	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10	Paget Island	Chiriar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Total (seen)	14	12	3	3	3	7	1	1	17	6	2	...	13	14	3	...	2	...	...	...	21	21
		Total (not seen)	...	4	...	1	2	3	2	...	14	8	...	3	8	5	4	1	4	2	3	...	3	9
	Grand Total		14	16	3	4	5	10	3	1	31	14	2	3	21	19	7	1	6	2	3	...	24	30

DIX E.

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in each tribe as ascertained by the Census.

DR.		TEBR.				TABO.				KORA.				CHARIAR.				ÖNGE.				JARAWA.				TOTAL.			
Children.		Adults.		Children.		Adults.		Children.		Adults.		Children.		Adults.		Children.		Adults.		Children.		Adults.		Children.		Adults.		Children.	
M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
...	...	10	9	4	4	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	9	9	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	60	47	7	7
1	...	6	5	3	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	7	6	2
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	9	3	1
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	5	1	2
...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	4	2	...
...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13	14	2	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	1
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	1
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	3	2	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	2	1	1
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	3	...	...
...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	5	2	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	...
...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...
2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	7	3	2
...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...
...	...	2	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3	...	1
...	...	12	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	1	1	...
...	...	3	3	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3	2	...
...	...	16	15	6	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	16	13	6	3
...	...	20	20	5	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	20	5	5
...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	4	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	4	...	2
...	...	10	8	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	3	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	11	3	...
...	...	5	5	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	5	3	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	4	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	4	...	2
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	1	2	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	1	2
...	...	2	3	1	1	...	...	...	...	10	11	7	7	4	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	16	17	9	9
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	12	6	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	12	6	4
2	2	78	57	21	8	2	...	...	...	21	20	8	15	16	15	6	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	143	112	47	21
...	...	22	22	5	6	...	...	...	...	10	12	6	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	32	39	20	15
2	2	56	60	26	14	2	...	...	...	21	32	14	19	16	13	6	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	243	213	67	46
																										456		113	
																										569			

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APPENDIX F.

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Table of Census Results by Tribes.

Serial No.	Tribe.	Adults. M.	Adults. F.	Children. M.	Children. F.	Total.	At Port Blair and Duratang Homes.	Adults. M.	Adults. F.	Children. M.	Children. F.	Total.
	Bea	2	3	2	1	7	Port Blair	11	10	...	2	23
	"	...	4	...	1	5	Duratang	1	...	1	...	2
	Balawa	1	2	...	...	3	Port Blair	2	5	1	1	9
	"	2	3	2	...	7	Duratang	...	...	...	...	...
	Bojigyäb	9	6	2	...	17	Port Blair	8	...	...	...	8
	"	14	8	...	3	25	Duratang	...	...	...	...	...
	Jiwai	7	9	2	...	19	Port Blair	6	5	...	...	11
	"	8	5	4	1	27	Duratang	...	...	...	...	...
	Kil	...	...	...	...	...	Port Blair	2	...	...	...	2
	"	4	2	3	...	9	Duratang	...	...	...	...	...
	Kede	10	11	2	2	25	Port Blair	11	9	...	...	20
	"	2	9	...	...	22	Duratang	...	1	1	...	2
	Tiwo	33	43	14	4	113	Port Blair	13	9	4	4	35
	"	22	22	5	6	56	Duratang	6	3	3	...	14
	Tibö	...	...	...	...	...	Port Blair	1	...	...	...	1
	"	...	...	...	...	...	Duratang	1	...	...	...	1
	Köet	20	20	3	14	62	Port Blair	1	...	...	...	1
	"	20	12	6	4	37	Duratang	...	...	...	1	1
	Chariär	7	3	3	1	14	Port Blair	9	9	2	...	20
	"	...	...	...	...	...	Duratang	...	1	1	1	3
	Total	108	96	34	23	262	Port Blair	69	47	7	7	130
		42	60	20	15	134	Duratang	8	7	6	2	23
		171	164	54	37	426		77	54	13	9	153

Grand Total. Tribe.	Adults. M.	Adults. F.	Children. M.	Children. F.	Total
Bea	14	13	2	3	32
"	...	4	...	1	5
Balawa	3	7	1	1	12
"	2	3	2	...	7
Bojigyäb	17	6	2	...	25
"	14	8	...	3	25
Jiwai	13	14	2	...	30
"	8	5	4	1	18
Kil	2	...	...	...	2
"	4	2	3	...	9
Kede	21	21	3	2	47
"	2	9	...	...	22
Tiwo	76	57	21	8	162
"	22	22	5	6	56
Tibö	2	...	...	...	2
"	...	...	...	...	...
Köet	21	20	3	15	64
"	20	12	6	4	37
Chariär	16	12	6	2	36
"	...	...	...	...	...
	185	182	47	21	435
	62	60	20	15	134
	249	242	67	46	579

Italic figures refer to the numbers in each tribe not seen by the Census officers on account of their being at distant encampments, positive information regarding the numbers being furnished by those best acquainted with the facts.

APPENDIX G.

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Tribal Distribution and Place Names, Andaman Islands.

1	2	3	4	5	6
No. on map.	Name of island, locality or encampment.	Andamanese name.	Tribal Territory.	Where situated.	Remarks.
	East Island	Tâa-kât	Chârîkr	The following islands off the north and north-west coast of North Andaman, viz.:—East Island, Landfall Island, West Island, Whitecliff Island, Thornhill Island, Reef Island, Paget Island, Point Island and Sugar-loaf Island.	The Coco Islands are known to this tribe by the name Dik-raichend.
	Landfall Island	Tôbi-chîroh	"		
	Clough Passage	Iâu-chîroh	"		
	West Island	Tâa-rê-mîkn	"		
	Thornhill Island	Tar-bôlo	"		
	Whitecliff Island	Kareng-mâo	"		
	Reef Island	Bâ-pong	"		
	Paget Island	Tanmo-tât	"		
1	Paget Island (encampment on)	Kâra-bôrongn	"		
	Point Island	Mâra-bâlo	"		
	Sugar-loaf Island	Châ-ôlo	"		
	Temple Sound	Tark to le-chîroh	...		
	Cape Price	Pâro-jôs	Kôrâ	From bay opposite Craggy Island (east Coast of North Andaman) to Cape Price and thence along the North and West Coast to the North side of Casuarina Bay, together with all the Islands off the Coast except Craggy Island and those constituting the territory of the Chârîkr tribe.	
	Peacock Island	Kîl-cho	"		
	Cadell Bay	Kôto-ear	"		
	Excelsior Island	Tau-rê-mîkn	"		
	Port Cornwallis	Tôlobu-tông	"		
1	Do. (Ross Island at mouth of)	Po-chumbo (also Bo-pong)	"		
	Chatham Island (Port Cornwallis)	Tôbi-chîro	"		
1	Trilby Island	Cho-ê-pong	"		
1	Encampment on N. E. of N. Andaman near Reef Island	Tî-kô-dung	"		
1	Island encampment between Port Cornwallis and Temple Sound	Bôl-pôll	"	The interior is occupied by the Tâbô tribe.	
	Craggy Island	Rôth	...		
	Casuarina Bay	Kâraie-tât-chîro	Târo	*E. Coast.* From above opposite Craggy Island in North Andaman Stream situated between Cooks Point and Kinsorley Point in Middle Andaman, together with the islands of the Coast including Craggy Island.	
	Snark (? Shark) Island	Chîro-mâo	"		
1	Casuarina Bay (encampment on N. side of)	Tôrwp-tot-chôto	"		
	South extremity of Lamia Bay	Rengo-to-tia	"		
	Point between Yulik and Lamia Bay	Ko-no	"		
	Do. North of Tara-lait	Yulik	"		
	Eileen Bay	Pârô	"	*W. Coast.* From North side of Casuarina Bay in North Andaman to Marumika-bolin in the same island, together with the islands of the Coast. [This tribe has the Kôrâ tribal territory on its north side and the Kede on the south with the Tâbô in the interior.]	
1	Cadell Point, North of	Tâ-burongo	"		
1	Do. (Territory within a radius of few miles of)	Mâo-pong	"		
	Do. Point (Bay W. of)	Chaka-mît-kôite	"		
1	Camp Bay	Lau-tîcho	"		
1	Wreck Point	Chôlop-rê	"		
	Dot Island	Aaâto	"		
	Kwangtung Island	Karêne-tâo	"		
	Pembroke Bay	Tâa-kât-chîro	"		
1	Encampment at S. W. of Pembroke Bay	Ina-ta-rê-jôlo	"		
1	Latouche Island	Âr-kôl	"		
	N. Reef Island	Tôbi-chîro	"		
1	Saddle Peak	Pâroto-mîkn	"		
1	Do. (Adjacent hill on N. side of)	Jîro-mîkn	"		
	Stewart Island	Miriti-rê pong	"		
	Sound Island	Thal'ke-mîkn	"		
	Austin Strait	Pôrông-chîro	"		
1	Do. (encampment at E. end of)	Tau-chîn	"		
	Brown Point	Ilomata	"		
	Bacon Bay	Târa-chîro	"		
1	Aves Island (also Berkeley group	Tâkla	"		
1	Casuarina Bay (encampment on S. side of)	Châabalo-rê-chôto	"		

Tribal Distribution and Place Names, Andaman Islands—contd.

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1	2	3	4	5	6
No. on map.	Name of island, locality or encampment.	Andamanese name.	Tribal Territory.	Where situated.	REMARKS.
1	Interview Island . .	Tha-tara-mûka, also Ti-tara-mûka, or in Bêa dialect, Tau-l'ar-mâga .	Kole .	*E. Coast.* From southern border of the Yâre territory (Middle Andaman) to Emej l'ar-tet. (Middle Andaman.)	
	Sea Serpent Island . .	Târa-bele . .	" .		
	Do. (Island adjacent to) .	Tâla-bueba . .	" .		
	Boadeville Island . .	Jara-bôrûn . .	" .		
	Bennett Island . .	Châtul-tang . .	" .	*W. Coast.* From Maramika-bolin (North Andaman) to stream opposite N. E. point of Flat Island (Middle Andaman) with all islands from Interview to Flat Island inclusive (as shown on map).	
	Andrews Island . .	Tôro-tarâ-ebôu	" .		
	South Reef Island . .	Ti-pa-tâ . .	" .		
	Encampment on South Extremity of Interview Island opposite Reef Island	Erenga-l'an-tô .	" .		
	Taft Island . . .	Burain . .	" .		
	Hump Island . .	Larwa . .	" .		
	Flat Island . . .	Tôba-chîra . .	" .		
	Island between Middle Andaman and Long Island	Pôr-leb . .	Kôl .	*E. Coast.* From Emej-l'âr-tet to Homfray Strait with intervening islands (as shown in chart).	
	Long Island . . .	Mal-l-tâng . .	" .		
1	Do. (Encampment on) .	Iga-tông-tâ . .	" .		
1	Encampment in Yet jig .	Burka-chong . .	" .		
	Do. Boroin-jig	Pili-ortoga . .	" .		
	Guitar Island . .	Tâli-tâle . .	" .		
	Kwangtung Harbour (Encampment on N. side of)	Môt-kîna . .	Bojig-yâb	*N. side of Homfray Strait with Bâratâng and the islands bordering the East and West Coasts of that island.* [Jârawas have in recent years occupied the interior of Bâratâng at intervals.]	
1	Encampment on N. side of Homfray Strait .	Tôli-chôrat . .	" .		
	Site of ancient kitchen-middens near N. E. point of Bâratâng opposite North Passage Island .	Wôt-o-emi . .	" .		
	Large island between Homfray Strait and Middle Strait . .	Bâratâng . .	" .		
	North Passage Island .	Toba-drema . .	" .		
	Colebrooke Island . .	Pich-l'âka-châkan .	" .		
1	Do. (Encampment near N. W. point of)	Thra-chîlaga .	" .		
1	Do. (Encampment in S. Bay of) .	Pâr-l'on-tâ . .	" .		
	Do. Passage (Encampment near S. end of) .	Ôrupa-chîlaga .	" .		
	Strait Island . . .	Gerong kaicha .	" .		
	Diligent Strait . .	Boroin-jâra . .	" .		
	Homfray Strait . .	Châra-jâra . .	" .		
	Andaman (or Middle) Strait . . .	Godam-jâra . .	" .		
1	Barren Island . . .	Talli-châpa . .	—		
	Narcondam . . .	Châto-l'ig-ba-ug .	...		
	Duncan (or Entry) Island .	Kaichawa . .	Bêa .	*The whole of South Andaman and Rutland Island except where occupied by Jârawas (see map) also the Labyrinth Island, Spike Island and S.-W. corner of Middle Andaman, as shown in map.*	
1	Inlet at mouth of Lara-jig inlet	Châr-tot-kaicha .	" .		
	Kwangtung Harbour .	Karang-tông-ta-chîra . .	" .		
1	Do. (Encampment near W. mouth of) .	Lehera-l'on-tâ .	" .		
	Kyd Island . . .	Dura-tâng . .	" .		
	Port Campbell . .	Kara-pîng . .	" .		
	Do. Mount . . .	Gerengl'âna-châ-tî-jâra . . .	" .		
	Rutland Island . .	Tôke-pât (Bêa) Gatin-a-Kwa-(Ôngo)	" .		
	North Button Island .	Chânga-l'on-jing	Balawa .	*The Archipelago and the three Button Islands.*	
	Middle Button " . .	Kaicha-wa . .	" .		
	South Button " . .	Aga-l'ot-bandj .	" .		
	Outram Island . .	Tha-mâga . .	" .		
	Henry Lawrence Island .	Châka-drema . .	" .		
	John Lawrence Island .	Parkit-drema . .	" .		
	East (or Ingile) Island	Jîla-drema . .	" .		
	Wilson Island . .	Bôrein-drema . .	" .		
	Nicholson Island . .	Kaichawa-drema .	" .		

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Tribal Distribution and Place Names, Andaman Islands—concld.

1	2	3	4	5	6
No. on map.	Name of island, locality or encampment.	Andamanese name.	Tribal Territory.	Where situated.	Remarks.
	Havelock Island . .	Pilugu-l'ir-ut-gu-Broma . .	Balawa .		
	Sir W. Peel Island . .	Ti-broma . .	" .		
	Neill Island . .	Tub-jiru . .	" .		
	Sir Hugh Rose Island .	Kiichewa-bar . .	" .		
	North Sentinel . .	Pitang . .	Jirawa .	North Sentinel and the interior of the northern half of South Andaman and Bíratang and Rutland Island, as shown in map.	
	Little Andaman . .	Willma-tira (Bita) Gwibe-l'ôugo (Ongo) . .	Ongo .	Little Andaman and the islands between that island and Rutland, also South Sentinel.	
	Bumila Creek (north of Little Andaman) . .	Kawita-uyibo (Ongo) . .	—		
	South Brother . .	Gwainba-nûrwo (Ongo) . .	—		
	North Brother . .	Ti-ta-lé (Ongo) . .	—		
	Sister Island (small) .	Badgi-l'ar-ekm (Bita) Ta-jouna-da (Ongo)	—		
	Do. (large) .	Pitile-chang (Bita) Ga-ta-kwéte (Ongo) . .	—		
	Passage Island . .	Alaite-chang (Bita) Chôgwia (Ongo) .	—		
	Cinque Island (North) .	Jâr-tin (Bita) Gwo-la (Ongo) . .	—		
	Do. (South) .	Jârtin (Bita) Ga-ta-kwo (Ongo) .	—		
	South Sentinel . .	Tâdi-l'ig bang (Bita) Indag-go-gwo (Ongo) .	—		

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CHAPTER II.

DESCRIPTIVE.

I. Geography.—Position and General Description of the Andaman Islands—The Submarine Range between the Pegu Yomas and Sumatra—The Submarine Contours—The Great and Little Andaman—The Harbours—The Hills—The Scenery—Surveys.
II. Meteorology.—Commercial Value of the Meteorology—Climate—Cyclonic Storms—Rainfall—Weather—General Statistics—Tides.
III. Geology.—General Geology—The Subsidence of the Islands—Earthquakes—The Conchology—Marine Fauna—Economic Zoology—The Forests—The Timber and its Economic Uses—The Imported Flora—General Character of the Forests.
IV. History.—Ancient Notices of the Islands—Origin of the name—Mediæval and Modern Notices of the Islands—Modern History of the Islands and people.

I. Geography.

131 **Position and General Description of the Andaman Islands.**—The Andaman Islands, large and small, are said to number 204 and lie in the Bay of Bengal, 590 geographical miles from the Hooghly mouth, 120 miles from Cape Negrais in Burma, the nearest point from the mainland, and about 340 from the north extremity of Sumatra. Between the Andamans and Cape Negrais intervene two small groups, Preparis and Cocos; between the Andamans and Sumatra intervene the Nicobar Islands, all indicating a submarine range connected with the Aracan Yoma Range of Burma, stretching in a curve, to which the meridian forms a tangent, between Cape Negrais and Sumatra; and though this curved line measures 700 miles, the widest sea space is about 91 miles. The extreme length of the Andaman Group is 219 miles, with an extreme width of 32 miles.

The principal outlying islands are the North Sentinel, a dangerous island of about 28 square miles, lying about 18 miles off the west coast of the South Andaman; the remarkable marine volcano, Barren Island, 1,158 feet, quiescent for the last hundred years, 71 miles to the North-East of Port Blair; and the equally curious isolated mountain, the extinct volcano known as Narcondam, rising 2,330 feet out of the sea, 71 miles east of the North Andaman.

The land area of the Andaman Islands is taken as 2,508 square miles.

To the west of the Andamans, distant about 18 miles, are the dangerous Western Banks and Dalrymple Bank, rising to within a few fathoms of the surface of the sea and forming, with the two Sentinel Islands, the tops of a line of submarine hills parallel to the Andamans: to the east, some 40 miles distant, is the Invisible Bank with one rock just awash, and 34 miles south-east of Narcondam is a submarine hill rising to 377 fathoms below the surface of the sea. Narcondam, Barren Island, and the Invisible Bank, a great danger of these seas, are in a line almost parallel to the Andamans inclining somewhat towards them.

133 **The Submarine Range between the Pegu Yomas and Sumatra.**—Certain physiological facts have long been held, in combination with phenomena exhibited by the fauna and flora of the respective terminal countries, to point to the former existence of a continuous range of mountains, thought to be subaerial, from Cape Negrais in Burma on the north to Achin Head in Sumatra on the south. According to the doubtful authority of Wilford, Hindu legends notice this remarkable range, ascribing it to Rama, who attempted here first to

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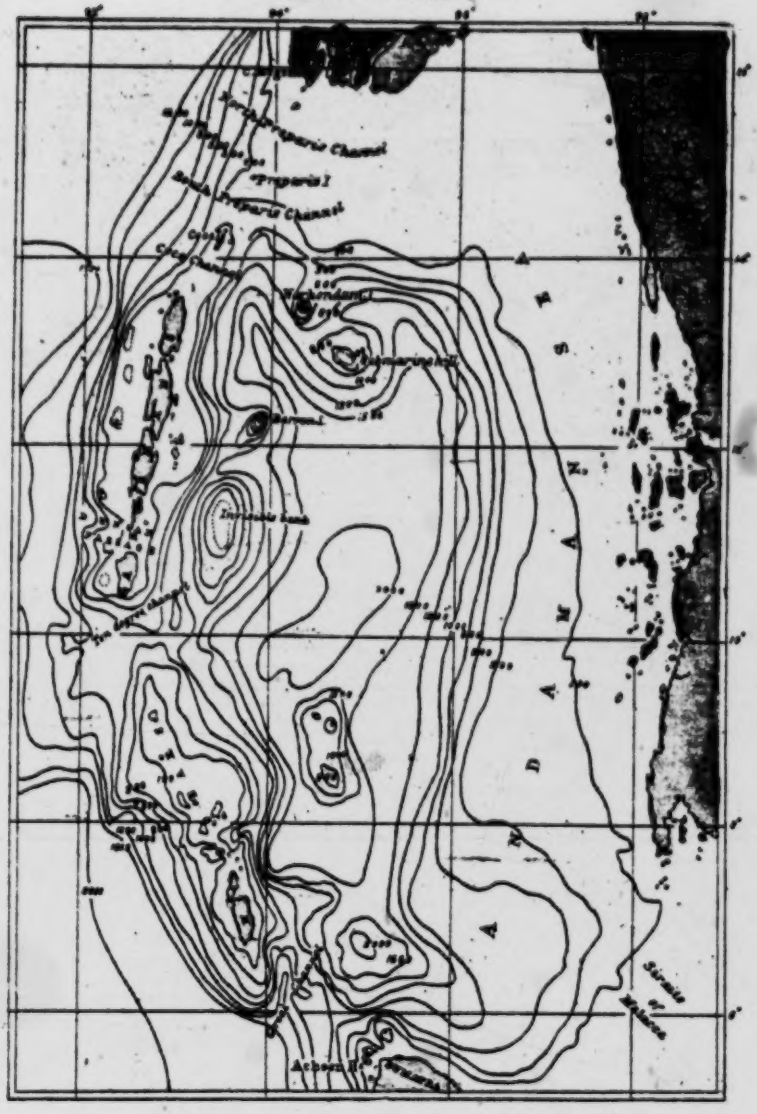
CONTOURS OF THE ANDAMAN SEA
SOUNDINGS IN FATHOMS



[facing p. 35]

133 bridge the sea, an enterprise afterwards transferred to the south of India, and accomplished by the god at the more practicable point we call Adam's Bridge.

According also to Portman, the tradition of the South Andaman, or Bojigngiji, group of tribes is that Maia Tomola, the ancestral chief of the nation from which they all sprung, dispersed them after a cataclysm, which caused a subsidence of parts of a great island, divided it up into the present Andaman Islands, and drowned large numbers of the old inhabitants together with many large and fierce beasts that have since disappeared. As a matter of physical geography such a subsidence need not have been more than of 20 fathoms or 120 feet to convert one single island into the present Andaman group. Portman also notes, as tending to show the junction of the Andaman Islands with the mainland, that besides the South Andaman tradition, the people of the Little Andaman have names for animals that do not now exist and they cannot describe.

The acceptable evidence on this subject that I have been able to gather goes to show, on the assumption that, except in the case of isolated volcanic peaks, 200 fathoms is the extreme limit of the rising and sinking of land on the earth's surface, that it is possible that there was a time when the whole Andaman group with Preparis and the Cocos formed one continuous hill connected with Cape Negrais, and that this hill was separated by a sea of, say, 400 fathoms deep from the Nicobars considered as one island and the general Nicobar Island again by a sea of, say, 600 fathoms deep from Sumatra.

The Submarine Contours.—The accepted conclusive argument proving the isolation of the Andaman Sea from the connected oceans is that of Carpenter, who showed that the temperature of its great depths involved the existence all round it of submarine hills, the greatest depth of which below sea level could not be more than 750 fathoms. I have been at some trouble to draw contours of the depths of this sea from such data as the charts at my disposal afford and it seems to me that they fully support Carpenter's conclusion. The openings into the Andaman Sea from the connected oceans are:—from Bay of Bengal, the North and South Preparis Channels, the Coco Channel, Duncan Passage, Ten Degrees Channel, and the Great Channel:—from the Gulf of Siam, the Straits of Malacca. This last has a bar only a few fathoms deep and clearly isolates the Andaman Sea from the Gulf. The greatest depths in the other Channels are as under: North Preparis Channel, 47 fathoms; South Preparis Channel, 150 fathoms; Coco Channel, 36 fathoms; Duncan Passage, 17 fathoms; Ten Degrees Channel, 565 fathoms; Great Channel, 798 fathoms.

On either side the line of the Andamans and Nicobars the sea rapidly deepens to 1,000 fathoms and thence on the west in the Bay of Bengal to over 2,000 fathoms within 60 miles of the Nicobars and probably within 100 miles of the Andamans; and on the east in the Andaman Sea to 2,000 fathoms within 85 miles of the Nicobars and within about 95 miles of the Andamans. The contours thus show beyond doubt the existence of a lofty range of submarine mountains between Cape Negrais and Acheen Head rising from the ocean depths up to 15,000 feet and nowhere less than 6,000 feet on the east, and up to 15,000 feet and nowhere less than 10,000 feet on the west, thus separating the Bay of Bengal from the Andaman Sea. Of this great Range 700 miles long, taking 100 fathoms as a base, the continental and island summits are shown in one central line north to south as (1) Cape Negrais (Arakan Yomas) and Preparis Islands, (2) Cocos and Andaman Islands, (3) Nicobar Islands, (4) Acheen Head (Sumatra). The Western Banks, the Sentinel Islands and Dalrymple Bank are lower summits to the west of the central line. According to my contours outlying summits of detached spurs of the central line to the east are Barren Island and the Invisible Bank. They also show that Narcondam and the submarine hill to its south-east are separated from the Central Andaman and Nicobar Range, being summits of outlying spurs of the Yomas attached to Cape Negrais. This last fact supports the old assumption that the dormant Barren Island volcano belongs to the *immediate* Sunda group of volcanoes, while the long extinct Narcondam Volcano belongs to the Pegu group, both belonging to the *general* Sunda group.

As the arguments derivable from the submarine contours have not so far as I know been hitherto worked out, and as they may be thus of some general interest, I attach a map of the contours and some detailed notes thereon. It must be remembered that much of the ethnographic, as well as the natural history,

3: Temple G-5 (1901) 1903 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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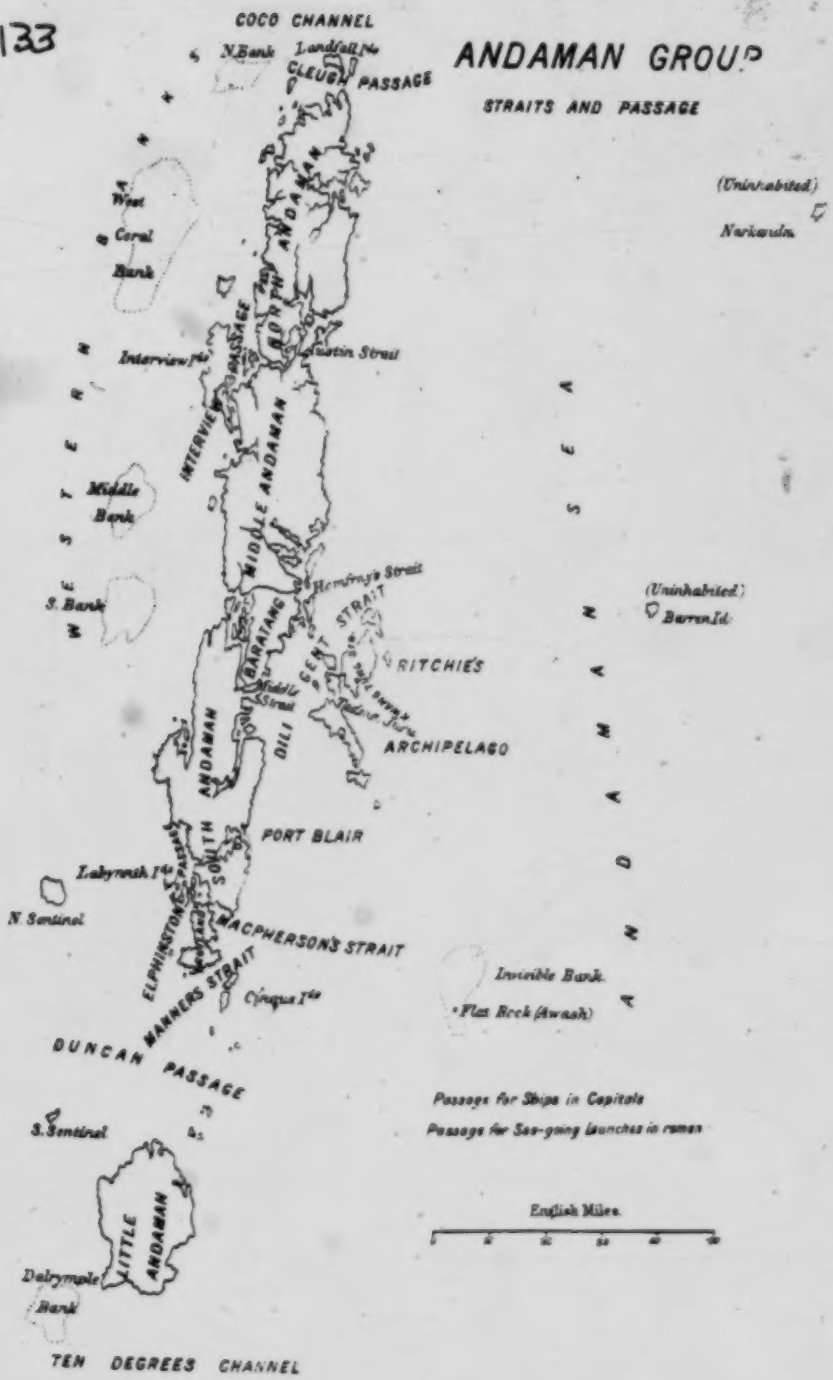

[Facing p. 36]

133 speculation about both the Andamans and Nicobars depends on the assumed degree of their isolation from the Asiatic Continent.

Notes on the Ocean Contours.—(1) A narrow ridge runs between Great Nicobar and Acheen Head from ten to two miles wide with just less than 800 fathoms as the lowest depth of water on it.

(2) The Andaman Sea has been sounded to 2,000 fathoms about 84 miles east of Car Nicobar and the Bay of Bengal to well over 2,000 fathoms 61 miles east of Teresa. In the Andaman Sea the deep water of 2,000 fathoms or more does not run probably further north than 125 miles east of Port Blair. In the Bay of Bengal the deep water of 300 fathoms is probably distant about 100 miles west of the Andamans.

(3) Probably the deepest water between the Invisible Bank and the Andamans is under 900 fathoms, the Bank itself being the summit of a long hill running some 90 miles north-north-east to south-south-west directly on to Car Nicobar, the deepest point between it and Car Nicobar being some 900 fathoms.

(4) Probably the deepest water between Barren Island and the Andamans is under 1,000 fathoms, the island being the peak of a hill running some 35 miles north-east to south-west direct on to Rutland Island. The deepest point between it and the Invisible Bank is under 1,100 fathoms.

(5) At 94 miles due east of Stewart Sound is a patch of 377 fathoms, the summit of a submarine hill running apparently west to east some 45 miles. Between this hill and south-west to Barren Island and west to the Andamans are great depths probably over 1,500 fathoms. Between it eastwards to the Tenasserim Coast the depth is probably something over 1,200 fathoms. Between it and Narcondam 34 miles to south-west the depth is under 1,000 fathoms.

(6) Narcondam lies due south of Negrais Island and the 400 fathom contour runs round it and the coasts of the Andamans and Burma. The water between it and the Andamans, 71 miles to west, is deep, probably up to at least 1,200 fathoms. Between it and Barren Island, 74 miles to south-west, the depth is great, probably over 1,500 fathoms. Between it and the hill above mentioned to south-east the depth is under 1,000 fathoms. Between it and Negrais Island the deepest water is 411 fathoms in a hole to north-west, otherwise the depth here is not more than 362 fathoms.

(7) The 100 fathom line runs round all the Andamans, the Cocos and all the Western Banks, the two Sentinels and Dalrymple Bank. It runs also right round the Nicobars.

The Great and Little Andaman.—The main part of the Andaman group is a band of five chief islands, so closely adjoining and overlapping each other, that they have long been known as one, *viz.*, "the Great Andaman." The axis of this band, almost a meridian line, is 156 statute miles long. The five islands are (north to south)—North Andaman, 51 miles long; Middle Andaman, 59 miles; South Andaman 49 miles; Baratang, running parallel to the east of the South Andaman for 17 miles from the Middle Andaman; and Rutland Island, 11 miles long. Four narrow straits part these islands—Austin Strait between North and Middle Andaman; Homfray's Strait between Middle Andaman and Baratang and the north extremity of South Andaman; Middle (or Andaman) Strait between Baratang and South Andaman; Macpherson's Strait between South Andaman and Rutland Island. Of these only the last is navigable by ocean-going vessels. Attached to the chief islands are, on the extreme north, Landfall Islands, separated by the navigable Cleugh Passage; Interview Island, separated by the very narrow but navigable Interview Passage, off the west coast of the Middle Andaman; the Labyrinth Islands off the south-west coast of the South Andaman, through which is the safe navigable Elphinstone Passage; Ritchie's (or the Andaman) Archipelago off the east coast of the South Andaman and Baratang, separated by the wide and safe Diligent Strait and intersected by Kwangtung Strait and the Tadma Juru (Strait). Little Andaman, roughly 26 miles by 16, forms the southern extremity of the whole group, and lies 31 miles south of Rutland Island across Duncan Passage, in which lie the Cinque and other islands, forming Manners Strait, the main commercial highway between the Andamans and the Madras Coast.

Besides these are a great number of islets lying off the shores of the main islands.

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[facing p. 37]

133 **The Harbours.**—The coasts of the Andamans are deeply indented, giving existence to a number of safe harbours and tidal creeks, which are often surrounded by mangrove swamps. The chief harbours, some of which are very capacious, are, starting northwards from Port Blair, the great harbour of South Andaman—*East Coast*, Port Meadows, Colebrooke Passage, Elphinstone Harbour (Homfray's Strait), Stewart Sound, Port Cornwallis, the last three are very large;—*West Coast*, Temple Sound, Interview Passage, Port Anson or Kwangtung Harbour (large), Port Campbell (large), Port Mouat, Macpherson's Strait. There are besides many other safe anchorages about the coasts for sea-going vessels: notably Shoal Bay and Kotara Anchorage in the South Andaman, Cadell Bay and the Turtle Islands in the North Andaman, and Outram Harbour and Kwangtung Strait in the Archipelago.

The Hills.—The islands forming Great Andaman consist of a mass of hills enclosing very narrow valleys, the whole covered by an exceedingly dense tropical jungle. The hills rise, especially on the east coast, to a considerable elevation; the chief heights being, in the North Andaman, Saddle Peak, 2,400 feet; in the Middle Andaman, Mount Diavolo behind Cuthbert Bay, 1,678 feet; in the South Andaman, Koiob, 1,505 feet, and Mount Harriet, 1,193 feet, the Cholunga range, 1,063 feet; in Rutland Island, Ford's Peak, 1,422 feet. Little Andaman, with the exception of the extreme north, is practically flat. There are no rivers and few perennial streams in the islands.

The Scenery.—The scenery of the islands is everywhere strikingly beautiful and varied, and the coral beds of the more secluded bays in its harbours are conspicuous for their exquisite assortment of colour. The scenery of the harbours has been compared to that of Killarney by Professor V. Ball, and no doubt they do recall the English Lakes. One view of Port Blair Harbour is strongly reminiscent of Derwentwater as seen from the Keswick end.

Surveys.—The whole of the Andamans and the outlying islands were completely surveyed topographically by the Indian Survey Department under Colonel J. R. Holday in 1883—6 and a number of maps on the scale of two miles to the inch were produced, which give an accurate coast line everywhere and astonishingly correct contours of the inland hills, considering the difficulties presented by the denseness of the forests with which they are covered. For Port Blair and neighbourhood a series of maps on the scale of four inches to the mile were made. The exact latitude and longitude of Chatham Island in Port Blair Harbour were determined astronomically by Mr. Nicholson of the Great Trigonometrical Survey in 1861: latitude 11° 41′ 13″ N.; longitude 92° 42′ 44″ E. The marine surveys of the Andamans date back many years and one can go back to the days of Ritchie (1771) and of Blair and Moorsom (1788—96) for partial charts which are still usable. Brooker's surveys of 1867 added much knowledge about Port Blair, but the serious dangers of the western coral banks were not removed by surveys till 1888-9 under Commander A. Carpenter, when a great advance in the charts generally was made. His general chart is that now in use, corrected by subsequent surveys up to 1899. The coasts on the whole are fairly well charted, but some most necessary work still remains to be done before a voyage round these dangerous coral-bound coasts can be said to be free from anxiety. It is, however, worth noting that the long standing notice on charts that "the dangers of the coast of the North Andaman have not been surveyed" is now at last removed, and that the Coco Channel is made safe for ships.

II. Meteorology.

000 **Commercial Value of the Meteorology.**—Owing to the great value of the information to be obtained at the Andamans as to the direction and intensity of cyclonic storms and as to weather prognostications generally as regards the eastern and northern portions of India, a well appointed meteorological station has been established at Port Blair on Ross Island since 1868.

Two very serious considerations for commerce are involved here: *viz.*, timely and reliable warnings of storms in the Bay of Bengal and reliable weather forecasts. Accuracy in storm warnings and weather forecasts depends on the establishment of a number of meteorological reporting stations all over a given

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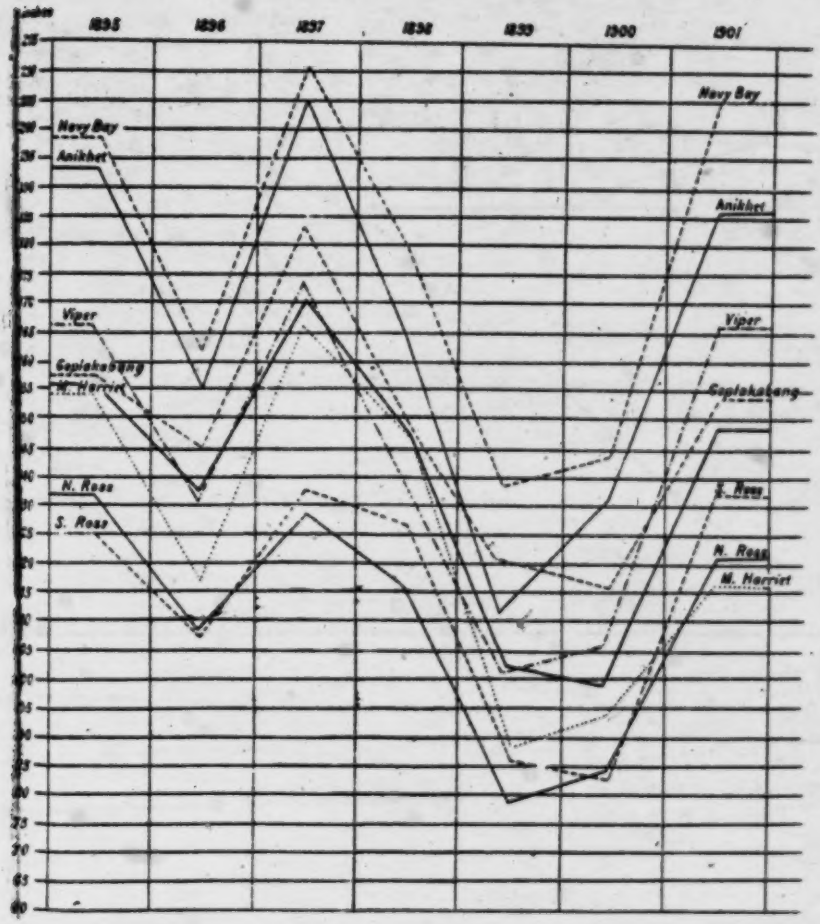
DIAGRAM SHOWING RELATIVE AND ANNUAL RAINFALL OF PLACES CLOSE TOGETHER ABOUT PORT BLAIR HARBOUR FOR SEVEN YEARS.



Broad line — Mean of all Stations.

Central Station (Official) South Ross from which:—

North Ross is distant	directly		1	Mile	North	Height	150 ft.
Mount Harriet	"	"	3¼	"	North West	"	1,200 ft.
Goplakabang	"	"	7½	"	North West	"	sea level.
Viper	"	"	5	"	West South West	"	150 ft.
Anikhet	"	"	5¼		West North West	"	100 ft.
Navy Bay	"	"	2¼		South West West	"	200 ft.

[facing p. 38]

000 area of sea and land. It is therefore not sufficient for accurate warnings and forecasts to have meteorological stations round the Bay; they must be also established if practicable within it. The Andaman and Nicobar Islands can provide a number of such stations right across the Bay from north to south.

The magnitude of the interests requiring accurate storm warnings can be gauged thus. In Bengal *excluding Madras and Burma*, about 4,400 vessels of a combined burthen of about 3½ million carrying tons, conveying 300,000 passengers and cargoes to the value of upwards of R11¼ crores annually, leave and enter the Bengal ports in the coasting trade alone. The ever increasing size of the vessels carrying the trade implies an ever increasing number of passengers and size of cargoes in each bottom and a corresponding increasing value of each individual ship and increasing importance in saving it from loss or damage. So also the magnitude of the interests requiring accurate weather forecasts is very great. Of industries directly depending on the rainfall in the Bay of Bengal:—jute exported from Bengal, raw and manufactured, has an average annual value of about R14¾ crores and the plant is grown on nearly 2 million acres; rice, as a staple food crop, in Bengal alone has an annual outturn of 20 million tons raised on between 30 and 40 million acres; tea has an average annual export in Bengal of about 7¼ crores, and indigo of about three crores. Again the purchasing power of the native of Bengal depends on the state of the rice crop and hence the rate of piece-goods there depends so much on the rainfall that merchants closely watch it: this trade represents an average annual value of about 14 crores.

The great importance to commerce therefore of weather forecasts has brought about repeated attempts to connect the Andaman Islands with the continent by telegraphs, as otherwise the meteorological observations have merely a scientific value, being received in India too late for practical purposes. In 1867 a serious attempt at a cable to Port Blair failed owing to initial and maintenance costs involved and also the hilly nature of the sea-bottom about the islands. Since 1900 the question has been reopened with a view to establishing a connection with the islands by wireless telegraphy.

132 **Climate.**—Speaking generally, the climate of the islands may be described as normal for tropical islands of similar latitude. Warm always, but tempered by pleasant sea breezes: very hot when the sun is northing: irregular rainfall but usually dry during the north-east monsoon and very wet during the south-west: exposed to both monsoons and subject to violent weather with excessive rainfall, but to cyclones rarely, though within the influence of practically every cyclone that blows in the Bay of Bengal, hence the value of the islands from a meteorological point of view. Cyclones have been recorded in every month except February and heavy rain has fallen throughout the year, but cyclones are unusual except from May to November, the early part of November being the most likely season for them, and much rain is not usual from December to May.

Cyclonic Storms.—Accounts and records show that cyclonic storms struck Port Cornwallis in December 1792, the Archipelago in November 1844, and Port Blair in 1864 and November 1891. There are also abundant signs of a destructive storm between Stewart Sound and Port Cornwallis in 1893. The great storms of 1891 and 1893 travelled across the islands in a north-westerly direction creating havoc on both East and West Coasts. There is a full and valuable record of the disastrous storm of 1891 (*Cyclone Memoirs*, No. V., Government of India, 1893).

Rainfall.—The rainfall varies much from year to year and to an extraordinary extent at places quite near to each other. The official meteorological station is situate in by far the dryest spot in Port Blair. The official statistics as to rainfall for the past seven years are:—

1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.
125·64	107·28	156·41	127·22	87·01	83·28	132·59

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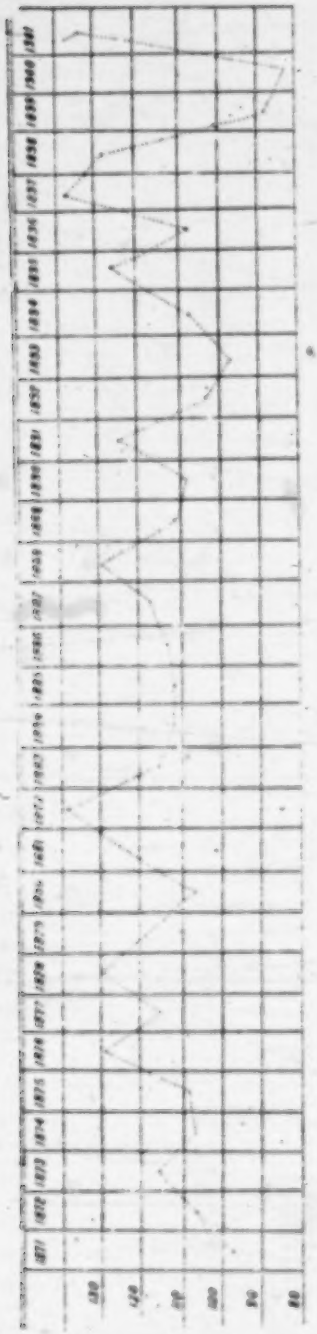

RAINFALL IN INCHES FOR 30 YEARS.

1871 - 1901.

1871	97.96
1872	106.56
1873	115.68
1874	106.46
1875	108.43
1876	129.97
1877	114.82
1878	123.88
1879	119.71
1880	107.46
1881	125.56
1882	137.67
1883	115.00
1884	112.75
1885	111.32
1886	112.50
1887	116.76
1888	128.27
1889	110.35
1890	100.97
1891	124.11
1892	102.25
1893	96.51
1894	117.73
1895	125.64
1896	107.28
1897	136.41
1898	127.22
1899	85.01
1900	83.28
1901	132.63

[facing p. 39]

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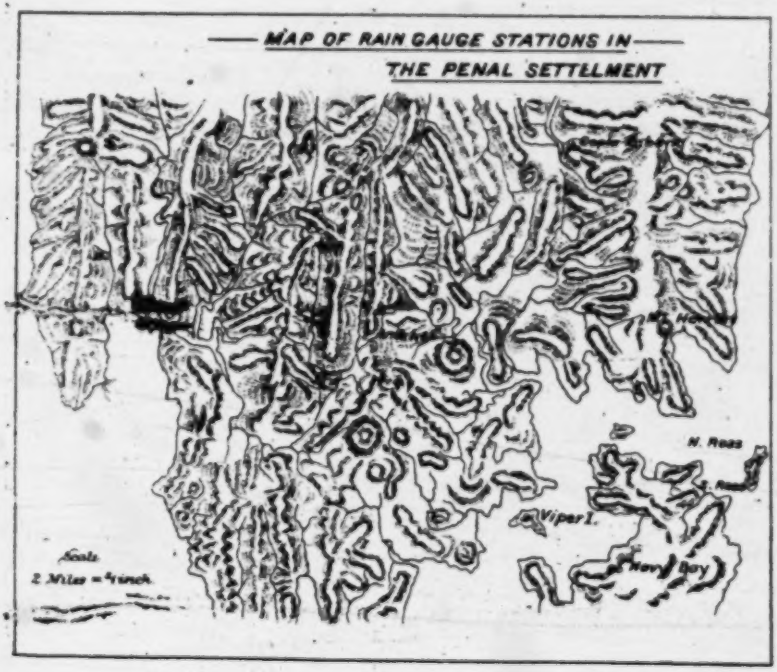
There are, however, altogether seven rain gauges maintained at Port Blair within an area of 80 square miles with these results :—

	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.
North Ross	133·34	106·73	152·52	110·60	79·93	83·50	121·37
South Ross	125·64	107·23	158·41	127·21	87·01	53·23	132·59
Anikhet	194·97	155·19	205·52	165·08	112·55	131·69	187·38
Goplakshang	158·98	145·10	184·92	151·70	123·88	115·43	152·16
Mount Harriott	154·68	117·06	166·62	149·14	82·94	93·60	119·99
Navy Bay	199·17	161·11	212·75	179·75	139·78	144·18	205·54
Viper	166·95	131·50	169·14	140·80	102·57	106·08	160·47
Mean of all stations	156·37	132·42	171·96	147·05	104·48	106·13	145·06



132 **Weather.**—Calm weather can be counted on in February to April and in October. Fogs and chilly night winds are common in January to March in the valleys and inner harbour and also after excessive rain. Off shore breezes at night and on shore breezes in the day are most marked during the calm weather, due to the difference in temperature of sea and land. March and April are often hazy. Magnetic variation in the Andaman sea in 1904, 0° 40′ East, decreasing annually 2′. The normal barometric readings vary between 29·873 and 29·722, being highest in February and lowest in June.

General Statistics.—General meteorological statistics for Port Blair for the last seven years are :—

	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.
Temperature.							
Mean highest in shade	April 90·1	April 94·7	April 94·0	April 90·3	Mar. 91·8	April 94·1	April 95·1
Mean lowest in shade	Feby. 70·9	Feby. 71·7	Jany. 72·5	Jany. 70·5	Feby. 71·8	Dec. 72·9	Dec. 71·9
Highest in shade	April 95·2	May 96·9	April 96·9	April 93·8	April 95·8	April 97·0	April 97·1
Lowest in shade	Feby. 66·4	Feby. 66·9	Jany. 67·8	Mar. 65·2	Jany. 67·0	Jany. 68·6	Dec. 67·7
Dry bulb mean	84·6	85·5	85·2	84·3	84·8	90·6	91·7
Wet bulb mean	79·9	79·4	79·7	79·4	79·6	83·5	83·6
Rainfall.							
Most wet days in a month	Aug. 29	Aug. 28	July 29	July 26	Sept. 27	June 27	Aug. 29
Heaviest fall in a month	June 26·29	May 27·55	July 30·97	May 40·53	Sept. 24·28	Sept. 18·46	May 20·81
Months without rain	Jany. Feby.	Feby. Mar.	January.	Feby. Mar.	Nil.	February	Nil.
Total wet days	183	178	196	180	177	162	188
Wind.							
N. N. E.	Jany., Feby., Mar., Dec.	Jany. Feby. Mar., Nov., Dec.	Jany., Feby., Dec.	Feby., Dec.	Feby., Nov., Dec.	Jany., Mar., Nov., Dec.	Jany. Feby.
E. S. E.	April, Oct., Nov.	—	Mar., April Nov.	—	April, Oct.	—	—
W. S. W.	May, June, July, Aug., Sept.	June, July, Aug., Sept.	May, June, July, Aug. Sept. Oct.	May, June, July, Aug., Sept.	May, June, July, Aug., Sept.	May, June, July Aug., Sept.	May, July, Aug., Sept. Oct.
W. N. W.	—	April, May, Oct.	—	—	—	April	June.
E. N. E.	—	—	—	Jany., Mar., April.	March.	—	—
S. S. E.	—	—	—	Oct. Nov.	—	October	April, Nov.
N. E.	—	—	—	—	January	February	Mar., Dec.
Clouds.							
Clouds are usually	P. K. & C. P. K. & P. C.*	C. & K.—P. K. & P. C.*	P. K. & P.C.*	Cu. N. Acu. Ci.*	Cu. N. Acu. Ci.*	Cu. Acu. N. Ci.*	Cu. Acu. N. Ci.*

* P. K = Pallio-Cumulus : C & Ci = Cirrus : P. C. = Pallio-Cirrus : K. = Cumulus : Cu. N = Cumulo-Nimbus : Acu. = Alto-Cumulus.

Tide.—The tidal observatory with self-registering gauge on Ross Island, established in 1880, is in latitude 11° 41′ N., longitude 22° 45′ E. The Port Blair tide tables are printed by authority from local data. The heights are referred to the Indian spring low-water mark, which for Port Blair is 3·53 feet below mean sea level. The mean range of greatest ordinary springs is 6·6 feet. The highest high-water and the lowest low-water are 8·0 feet above and 0·8 feet below the datum above mentioned. The apparent time of high-water at the full and change of the moon is 9h. 36m. At various points of the great harbour of Port Blair the actual times for the tide depend on wind, strength of current, and distance from the open sea. The average variation in time of high tides at the several important points is from 18m. to 57m. later than Ross and in height it is from 20 inches less to 17 inches more than Ross. Wind and current will at these points affect time by as much as 29m. either way, and height by as much as 8 inches either way.

III. Geology.

135 133 **General Geology.**—There has been no geological survey of the Andamans, but expeditions by experts have been officially undertaken to make preliminary examinations of the islands. These examinations have been carried on under practical difficulties of every kind, not the least being the dense and lofty forests with which the entire islands are covered. Judging by the reports of such

3: Temple G-5 (1901) 1903 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

MAP OF THE EARTHQUAKE LINE IN THE ANDAMAN SEA.

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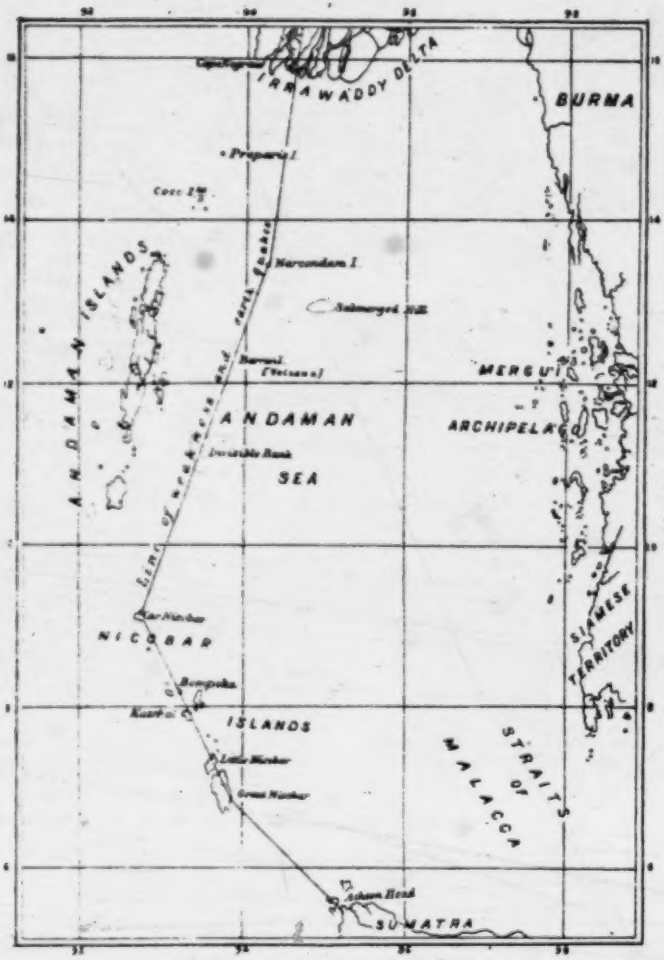


facing p. 41

135 expeditions, the submarine ridges forming these islands contain much that is geologically characteristic of the Arakan Yomas and formations common also
133 to the Nicobars, to the islands off Sumatra and to Sumatra itself. The older rocks, common also in the same form to the Nias Islands on the West Coast of Sumatra are probably early tertiary or possibly late cretaceous, but there are no fossils to indicate age. The newer rocks common to the Nicobars and Sumatra are in Ritchie's Archipelago chiefly and contain radiolarians and foraminifera. There is coral along the coasts everywhere and the Sentinel Islands are composed of the newer rocks with a superstructure of coral, but no atoll is known in the vicinity of the Islands. There is a good deal of serpentine rock, also some jasper, chromite, and copper and iron pyrites, and small pockets of coal. About Port Blair a firm grey sandstone identifiable with the Negrais rocks occurs with interbedded slaty shales, and not infrequently nests of coaly matter and occasionally of conglomerate and pale grey limestones. This sandstone is the characteristic rock of the neighbourhood and is generally, if not always, non-calcareous. In the Archipelago and over a large area in the Andamans, the islands are formed of soft limestones made of coral and shell sand, soft calcareous sandstones and soft white clays, with occasionally a band of conglomerate. Green and red jaspery beds, similar to those of Manipur and Burma and the Nicobars, are found, which may belong to the same series as the sandstones and shales. On Entry Island in Port Meadows are beds of probably volcanic origin, perhaps later than the Port Blair sandstones. Intrusive rocks of the serpentine series and a scoriaceous rock resembling lava occur in the Cinque Islands, Rutland Island, and in spots on the South and Middle Andamans. Hard breccias of volcanic origin are found at Namunaghar in the Penal Settlement and yield an excellent building stone. Good red clay for bricks is found abundantly in pockets. Lime of the best quality is obtained from old coral, but a workable limestone exists in limited quantities. A pretty reddish building marble is also found. Red ochre (*kaiob*) is found in considerable quantities in pockets and used, when mixed with gurjan oil, as an excellent covering for shingled roofs. Mica in probably workable quantities has been found about Navy Bay Hill in Port Blair Harbour.

133 **The Subsidence of the Islands.**—A theory of a still continuing subsidence of the islands was first formed by Kurz on his investigation of the vegetation in 1866 and has since been confirmed by Oldham in his geological report of 1884, though with some reluctance owing to the fact that the Arakan Coast to the north and the Nicobars are showing signs of recent elevation. The subsidence seems to be of recent origin, and signs of its continuance, most markedly on the East Coast, are to be found at several places:—Port Mouat, Ranguchang on the East Coast of the South Andaman near Port Blair, Outram Harbour and Havelock Island in the Archipelago, the northern ends of the Little Andaman, the North Sentinel, and the North Andaman. The extremely interesting islands of Narcondam and Barren Island are volcanoes of the general Sunda group, the extinct volcano of Narcondam belonging apparently to what is known as the Pegu group and the quiescent Barren Island to the Sunda group proper. Barren Island was last in eruption in 1803, but there is still a thin column of steam from a sulphur bed at the top and a variable hot spring at the point where the last outburst of lava flowed into the sea, showing lately a temperature of 107° Fahr.

Earthquakes.—Although the Andamans lie along or at any rate are close to a recognised subterranean line of weakness, earthquakes of great violence have not so far in the short time of British occupation been recorded. Recorded dates of earthquakes are August, 1865; February, 1880; and then shocks at times till December 31st, 1881; February, 1882; August, 1883; July, 1886; July, 1894; October, 1899. The sound of the great seismic disturbance in the Straits of Sunda on August 26, 1883, was heard at Port Blair at 9 P.M. of that day and the extra tidal waves caused thereby were felt at 7 A.M. on the 27th. The great Assam Earthquake of 1897 was not felt at all.

It is possible that the reason for the Andamans escaping violent earthquakes while the Nicobars are subject to them is that they are just off the line of greatest weakness, which may run from Sumatra through Great and Car Nicobar, Barren Island, Narcondam to the Arakan Yoma.

136 **Marine Fauna.**—The marine fauna of the Andamans is of unusual interest and the aquarium on Ross Island under construction should prove of great scientific value. On examination the marine life goes to show what other physiological facts have proved—the close connection of the Islands with both Burma and Sumatra and the distant alliance with the Indian Peninsula. The land fauna, in several particulars, shows that the Andamans are closely allied zoologically with their neighbours, Arakan and Burma.

Economic Zoology.—The economic zoology of the islands has been thus summarised by Major A. R. S. Anderson.

"The coral reefs and dead shells afford an immense field for obtaining a very fine quality of lime, which has for many years past been used in the Andamans in building operations. Sea cucumbers or trepang are collected, dried and exported to the Chinese market. Wax and honey are obtainable in fairly large quantities in the forests; the honey is, however, of rather poor quality. Cuttle bones in large numbers can easily be picked up all round the islands wherever there is a sloping shore. Ornamental shells can be obtained with great ease in the rocky pools, reefs and shallow waters. Edible oysters are very plentiful. Pearls and mother-of-pearl oysters are occasionally obtained, but no systematic search for these valuable products has ever been instituted. The edible turtle and tortoise-shell turtle are plentiful. The former are sparingly exported and the shell of the latter is collected and exported. Edible birds'-nests of the finest quality are found in many of the caves in both groups of Islands. They are exported to the Chinese market."

Conchology.—The existing sea shells have been extensively collected by local residents for many years past, but there does not appear to be anything specially distinctive about them, and the various species have been incorporated into the general standard works on conchology. The presence of *scalaria preciosa* and of *argonauta argo* is noteworthy. But the land shells are more distinctive in their nature, and seem to corroborate the evidence procurable from the flora and the fauna of the Islands. They have received a good deal of attention both from scientific expeditions and from local collectors. There was a well appointed expedition fitted out by the Danish Government in 1846, in the frigate *Galathea* in which the zoologist, Reinhardt, first paid much attention to the mollusca. The conclusion apparently to be drawn from such knowledge as has been accumulated is, on the high authority of Godwin-Austen, that there is a distinct and close relationship in the past shown with Burma and Arakan by many closely allied species, and equally marked is the paucity of forms having an alliance with Peninsular India. On the other hand, some species are common to these islands and to Sumatra and Java.

137 **Forests.**—A section of the general Forest Department of India has been established in the Andamans since 1883 and, in the neighbourhood of Port Blair, 156 square miles have been formally set apart for regular forest operations. The activity of the department is strictly limited by the amount of convict labour from time to time available, as there is no indigenous labour whatever. The annual value of forest produce used in the Settlement during the last seven years has averaged R1,13,683, and the annual value of exported timber has averaged for the same period R1,69,633. This last product is increasing rapidly in value.

313 137 **The Timber and its Economic Uses.**—The timber available for economic purposes is both plentiful and various. It is divided for commercial objects into three classes, known by their commercial names thus:—First class, Padouk, Koko, Chuglam, Marble-wood, Satin-wood; Second class, Pyimma, Bombway, Chai, Lakuch, Lalchini, Pongyet, Thitmin, Mowha, Khaya, Gangaw, Thingan; Third class, Didu, Ywegyi, Toungpeingyi and Gurjan. Padouk is the chief timber for export to Europe at a very high price per ton, but other first class timbers also find a market there. Third class timbers find a ready market in Calcutta, while the second class are extensively used locally.

The trees chiefly used as timber by the Andamanese for their own purposes are mangrove, padouk, *melochia velutina*, some of the sterculiaceæ, *bombax insigne*, *areca laxa*, pandanus, bamboo, *anadendron paniculatum*. They also gather and eat the fruit of a great variety of trees and use the leaves of the following for medicinal purposes:—*trigonostemon longifolius*, *alpinia* species. *Calamosagus laciniosus*.

Padouk (*pterocarpus dalbergioides*) can be used for buildings and boats, for furniture and fine joinery, and for all purposes to which teak, mahogany, hickory, oak, and ash are applied. It seasons quickly and easily, and is immune from the attacks of white ants and borers, except the marine worm (*teredo navalis*), and from rot of all kinds: colour, pale and dark red and brown. Koko (*albizzia lebbek*) is used for battens and furniture; colour, greenish grey, light brown and chocolate with dark markings. White Chuglam (*terminalia bialata*) and black Chuglam (*myristica irya*) are used for furniture, oars, shafts, and planking; colour, grey with darker markings. Marble or zebra wood (*diospyros kurzii*) makes furniture and joinery; colour, ebony with streaks of grey or light brown. Satin-wood (*murraya exotica*), which is not the satin-wood of Ceylon (*chlorozylon swietenia*), makes delicate furniture; colour, yellow. The proper names for the woods of the second class are as follows:—Pyimma, *lagerstrœmia hypoleuca*: Bombway, *terminalia procera*: Chai, *alphonsea ventricosa*; Lakuch, *artocarpus lakoocha*: Lalchini, *calophyllum spectabile*: Ponyet, *calophyllum inophyllum*: Thitmin, *podocarpus neriifolia*: Mowha, *mimusops littoralis*: Khaya, *mimusops elenchi*: Gangaw, *messua ferrea*: Thingan, *hopea odorata*. These are used for a great variety of economic purposes locally connected with the building, ship and carriage making, furniture and joinery trades. Of the third class timbers, Didu (*bombax insigne*) is used for tea boxes and packing cases; Toungpeingyi (*artocarpus chaplasha*) for cases and planking; Ywegyi (*adenanthera pavonina*) for inferior cabinet furniture; Gurjan (*dipterocarpus turbinatus*) for slabs and planking and wood-paving. Lakuch and Ywegyi yield a yellow dye, Khaya the pagoda gum of Madras, Gurjan a resin and the well known oil. 137 313

The great mangrove swamps supply unlimited fire-wood of the best quality, and the bark of the trees a tan, as does also that of the bombway. The best mixture for steeping wooden shingles, is 3 lbs. of gurjan oil, 1 lb. of crude petroleum, 1 lb. of red ochre or metallic paint: the first and third ingredients are produced in the Andamans. Other minor products of the forests are several species of bamboo and cane and two thatching palms, *nipa fruticans* and *licuala peltata*. The cane roots are largely used in Calcutta for walking sticks: the majority of those sold by street vendors there from 4 annas to 8 annas each are from the Andamans. The inner bark of the *sterculia villosa* is used for making elephant harness for dragging timber, and the long climbing canes for ferry ropes and boat fenders. As regards general capabilities the Andaman forests, in addition to the invaluable and largely spread padouk, there is an extremely abundant supply of gurjan, gangaw (the Assam iron-wood) suitable for sleepers, and didu for tea boxes. Labour only is required to bring them on to the suitable markets. Safe anchorages are numerous and there is no difficulty in providing convenient points at which to ship the timber when extracted, especially as the localities of the valuable timbers are situate on, or near to, navigable creeks leading direct to the sea and thus rendering the forests capable of easy and economical working.

Imported Flora.—Both Kurz and Prain have written elaborately on the imported flora of the Andamans, and among the intentionally introduced plants and trees may be mentioned tea (*camellia theifera*), Liberian coffee (*coffea liberica*), Cocoa (*theobroma cacao*), Ceara rubber (*manihot glaziovii*) which has not done well, Manilla hemp (*musa textilis*), teak (*tectona grandis*), cocoa-nut (*cocos nucifera*), besides a number of shade and ornamental trees, fruit trees especially of the anti-scorbutic kinds, vegetables and garden plants. Among the shade trees, the most interesting is the flourishing rain-tree (*pithecolobium saman*) of the West Indies and American Continent, and among the vegetables the Otaheite potato (*dioscorea species.*). An attempt has also been made to introduce the Bahamas aloe (*agave sisalana*), but though it has flowered and given out bulbils in quantities, success is not yet assured. Tea is grown in considerable quantities and the cultivation is under a department of the Penal Settlement. The outturn for the last seven years has been on an average 2,519 chests per annum. 137

General Character of the Forests.—Generally the forests are filled with ever-green trees covered all over with climbers, but patches of deciduous forest

137 occur, sometimes over large tracts, conspicuous in the dry season when the leaves are off the trees. The huge buttressing of several species is a peculiar feature, and so is the growth of the forest in certain parts in belts, dependent apparently on the soil below: *e.g.*, the tracts of the bamboo (*bambusa schizostachyoides*) which almost exclusively occupy the indurated chloritic rock. Aborescent *euphorbias*, screw-pines (*pandanus odoratissimus*), and large cycads give on the coasts a remarkable appearance to the forests. Several palms are commonly seen, though the cocoanut is not indigenous. The general character of the forests is Burmese, with an admixture of Malay types. In the cleared places about Port Blair the grazing appears to be abundant, but is not really so, owing to the action of two destructive weeds: the needle bearing grass (*avena fatua*), which is pretty but not edible by any kind of food animal and being of a stronger growth than ordinary grazing grass supplants it wherever it is not rigourously kept down; and the sensitive plant (*mimosa pudica*), an imported nuisance, which rapidly covers all open and low lying places and is edibile only by goats.

IV. History.

175 **Ancient Notices of the Islands.**—The existence of the islands now known as the Andamans has, owing to the ancient course of trade, been reported from quite early times, though which of Ptolemy's island names ought properly to be attached to them may still be regarded as a moot point. Gerini, in his ingenious paper, *Notes on the Early Geography of Indo-China*, (*J. R. A. S.* 1897, p. 551ff) gives Bazakata for the Great Andaman, Khaline for the Little Andaman, Maniola for Car Nicobar, and Agathodaimonos for Great Nicobar. In the mediæval Latin editions of Ptolemy a remark somewhat as follows often appears opposite Bazakata:—"*cuius incolæ vocantur Aginalæ qui nudi semper degere feruntur, in hac conchæ sunt multæ.*" While it is on Maniola that the people are called *anthropophagi*. Even if one is inclined to accept this plausible theory, it is nevertheless, as will be seen from what follows, probable that Yule is right in his conjecture that Ptolemy's *Agathou daimonos nesos* preserves a misunderstanding, as perhaps does also the contemporary Aginatæ (with its later corruptions Allegate, Alegada on maps) for its inhabitants, of some sailors' term near to the modern Andaman. The old error that Ptolemy's maps were drawn by Agathodæmon, the grammarian of the 5th Century, A.D., is repeated in Portman's *History of our Relations with the Andamanese*, 1899, p. 50 and elsewhere.

Little Andaman, as a name, has a curious and obscure history on the old maps. In some of them we find Isle d'Andemaon (and Andaman) and also Isle de Maon (and Man), as if "Andaman" was the Great Andaman and "Man" the Little Andaman. Then in maps we have Chitre Andaman 1595, 1642: Chique Andemaon 1710: Cite Andemaon 1720, 1720 and Crita I. 1720 obviously corrupted out of Chitre, Chique and Cite. I have seen also Cite d'Andaman responsible for a town or city in the Andamans! And it is just possible that Chique Andemaon is responsible for the modern Cinque Islands between Great and Little Andaman, which are not five but obviously two islands. Chetty Andaman survived till 1858. Little Andaman, in its modern form, does not appear till the maps of Blair in 1790 odd.

175 101 **Origin of the name.**—The Chinese and Japanese knew the Islands respectively as Yeng-t'o-mang and Andaban in the first millenium A.D. (*vide* Takakasu's Edition of I-tsing pp. xxx and xxviii ff) which clearly represent the Andaman of the *Arab Relations* of 851 A.D. Then comes Marco Polo with his Arabic dual form Angamanain in 1292. After which we have Nicolo Conti in 1430 with Andemania, and after him almost every eastern traveller and mapmaker with some form of "Andaman." All these terms seem obviously to be based on the Malay name for the islands, as the Malays of the Peninsula have, for many centuries, used the islands for their piratical practices and for a trade in Andamanese slaves to their own country and Siam (this up to about 1860) and have known them by the term Handuman, which most likely preserves the very ancient Hanuman (monkey, *scil.*, savage aborginal antagonist of the Aryans) so well-known to the Indian Epics and carried down to the Malays in story and translations.

In the great Tanjore inscription of 1050 A.D. the Andamans are mentioned under a translated name along with the Nicobars, as Timaittivu, "Islands of Impurity" and as the abode of cannibals. In the Chinese *History of the T'ang Dynasty* (618-906 A.D.) they are called the land of the Rakshasas, and the Andamanese are to-day regarded as Rakshasas (or ogres, *i.e.*, traditional savage antagonists of the Aryans) by the Natives of India on being first seen, and were so called at once when they appeared in the streets on a visit to Calcutta in 1883. As the abode of the Rakshasas the Andamans were also known to the Southern Indians in mediæval times and this persistence in regarding the Andamanese as the Rakshasas or their descendants confirms the ancient derivation of "Andaman" as a name from Hanuman through Malay Handuman. 175 101

The Andamanese have returned the compliment and know all Orientals as Chauga or ancestral ghosts, *i.e.*, demons, and have preserved an ancient knowledge of them in a term for trepang or sea-slug as the "Oriental's slug," the collection of this valuable edible and of the equally valuable birds'-nests being one object of the visits of the Malays, Burmese and Chinese in days gone by, in addition to trapping slaves, which last practice no doubt had something to do with the savage hostility of the Andamanese towards all who landed on their shores.

Mediæval and Modern Notices of the Islands.—The notices of the Islands by the old travellers are continuous, and they regularly appear in some shape or other on all maps from the "Ptolemies" of the 15th-16th Century onwards, till we reach the middle of the 18th Century, when the East India Company's and Royal Naval commanders and surveyors began to make accurate reports of parts of the coasts in charts preserved for us in the works of the indefatigable Dalrymple. Owing to the piracies and ill-treatment of shipwrecked and distressed crews, the Company under Lord Cornwallis commissioned the great surveyor Archibald Blair in 1788 to start a Settlement on the ordinary lines, to which convicts were afterwards sent as labourers. Blair, with the acuteness he shows in all his work, fixed upon the harbour he called Port Cornwallis, but now known as Port Blair, for the Settlement and began his labours there in 1789. The Settlement flourished under him at that spot, but was removed in 1792 for strategical reasons to the present Port Cornwallis, where it gradually perished miserably in 1796 from the effects of a bad, unhealthy site and want of experience of the climate. Here it was under Major Kyd. Blair's and Kyd's *Reports* have all been preserved in the *Bengal Consultations* and are published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vols. xxviii *et seq.* 175

Modern History of the Islands and People.—Thereafter notices of the Andamans are not numerous, but they must have occupied the Government attention, for a formal *résumé* of information was officially drawn up in 1802. In 1824 the fleet, formed for the attack on Burma, made its rendezvous at Port Cornwallis. In 1825 J. E. Alexander, *Travels from India to England*, gives an interesting account of a landing at the Little Andaman. In 1836, Malcom, the missionary, notices the Andamans in his *Travels in Southern Asia*. In 1839, Dr. Helfer, the geologist, was murdered north of Port Cornwallis. In 1844 the transports *Briton* and *Runnymede*, from Sydney and Gravesend, respectively, were wrecked together on the Archipelago in a cyclone on 12th November. They contained detachments of the 10th, 50th and 80th Regiments, and the full record of the occurrence that has been left affords a fine example of pluck, endurance and resource in a great emergency. In 1850, a Mr. Quigley from Moulmein wrote a misleading and mischievous account of a visit to Interview Island. There is preserved an interesting account of the wreck of the *Emily* in 1849 off the West Coast and of the subsequent efforts to assist the crew. On this occasion the second mate was murdered by the aborigines, and there are records at this period of other murders dating before 1848 and continuing on till 1856. These led to the second occupation of the Islands, a step which was hastened by the outbreak of the Mutiny in 1857. This event threw a large number of mutineers, deserters and rebels on the hands of the Government, with whom it was difficult to deal, and in November of that year it was finally decided to send them to the Andamans to start the Settlement. The Government sent the "Andaman Committee" to make a preliminary exploration, with Dr. Mouat as president, and this Committee, in a *Report* remarkable for its common sense, fixed upon Port Blair as the site of the Settlement. Upon this report and an

175 equally able report by Captain Hopkinson, Commissioner of Arakan in 1856, the great experiment in treating convicts was commenced, one of the last acts of the East India Court of Directors being the formal confirmation of the Indian Government's proceedings. In 1872 the Andamans and Nicobars were formed into a Chief Commissionership, and in that year occurred the one event of general importance that has made the Andamans well known: the murder of Lord Mayo, Viceroy of India, by a convict while on a visit of inspection to the settlement, for the welfare of whose convict population he had worked so sympathetically.

CHAPTER III.

ETHNOGRAPHY.

I. The Race.—The Affinities of the Race—Its Antiquity—Early Descriptions—The Charge of Cannibalism—The Language of the Aka-Beada Tribe used in the Report—The Twelve Tribes—Their Division into Three Groups—The Distinctions between the Groups—The Long-shore and Jungle Andamanese—The Former Isolation of the Tribes—Their Sympathies and Antipathies—Fighting Capacity—The Hostile Jarawas—Colebrooke's Knowledge of them (1789)—Explanation of the Name Mincopie for the Andamanese—Relations with the English—Jarawa Raids.

II. Physical Characteristics.—Portman and Molesworth's enquiries—Man's enquiries—High Temperature—Breathing—Age—Reproduction—Endurance—Food—Skin—Hair—Bodily Parts—Diseases—Medicine—Appearance.

III. Mental Characteristics.—Sense Development—Character—Mental Capacities—Social Emotions—General Capacities.

IV. Habits and Customs.—Dwellings—Government—Religion—Superstitions—Mythology—Initiatory Ceremonies—Amusements—Music—Song—Games—Naming of Children and Adults—Marriage Relations—Death Ceremonies.

V. Arts.—Stone Implements—Weapons—Domestic Arts—String and Netting—Weaving—Pottery—Wool and Cane work—Ornamentation, Personal and Domestic.

I. The Race.

The Affinities of the Race.—The Andaman Islands, so near to countries that have for ages attained a considerable civilisation and have been the seat of important empires, and close to the track of a great commerce which has gone on for at least 2,000 years, continue to our day the abode of savages as low in civilisation as almost any known upon earth, though close observation of them discloses the immense distance between them and the highest of the brute beasts in mental development, one most notable fact being that they eat nothing raw, cooking all their food however slightly and making pots for the purpose, and this from time immemorial. 144

As to what general variety of the existing human beings the Andamanese belong, it can be clearly predicated of them that their various tribes belong to one people, speaking varieties of one fundamental language, and that they are Negritos. Many theories have been advanced as to their affinities; the most credible being that they are connected with the Semangs of the Malay Peninsula and the Aetas of the Philippines, and the silliest, though not the least persistent, that they are descendants of shipwrecked cargoes of African slaves. On the whole the safest thing to say about them is that they are probably the relics of a bygone Negrito race, now represented by themselves, the Semangs, and the Aetas, that in very ancient times occupied the south-eastern portion of the Asiatic continent and its outlying islands before the irruptions of the oldest of the peoples, whose existence or traces can now be found there. In this view the Andamanese are of extreme interest as preserving, owing to an indefinite number of centuries of complete isolation, in their persons and customs the last pure remnant of the oldest kind of man in existence. The possibility of their representing the archaic type of the Negrito and the consequent extreme ethnological interest they arouse was long since pointed out by Sir W. Flower.

It is to be noted however that Professor Owen considered them to be not connected on anatomical grounds with the people of any existing continent. A notice of the points on which Semangs and Andamanese agree and differ will be found in Appendix A.

The antiquity of the Andamanese on their present site is proved by their kitchen-middens, rising from 12 to 15 feet and more in height, and in some cases having fossilised shells at the base. As has been already noted, the kitchen-middens show that the Andamanese now gets his food just as he did in the days when the now fossil shells contained living organisms. 172

172 The largest and traditionally the oldest, the original, home of the race by a consensus of Andamanese opinion and worth scientific exploration (any other to be greatly deprecated), is the kitchen-midden of Wota-Emi on Baratang in Elphinstone Harbour on the east coast of the South Andaman.

In reference to the kitchen-middens it is worth noting that all Andamanese tradition commences with the cataclysm accompanied by a subsidence of a large portion of the surface of their old country already noticed, and the people point to certain ancient kitchen-middens, such as that at Port Mouat, on the sea level to prove it. They say that these were commenced by the survivors of the cataclysm and that the sites were previously high up on the mountain sides, where no one could build a kitchen-midden.

175 **Early Descriptions.**—I-Tsing, the Chinese Buddhist monk, in 672 A. D. (Takakasu's Ed. p. xxx) mixed up in his account of his travels the Andamanese with the Nicobarese, and describes them thus:—

"The men are entirely naked while the women veil their person with some leaves. If the merchants in joke offer them their clothes, they wave their hands (to tell that) they do not use them."

But the earliest distinct notice of the Andamanese is in that remarkable collection of early Arab notes on India and China (851 A. D.), which was translated by Eus. Renaudot and again in our own time by M. Reinaud. It accurately represents the view entertained of this people by mariners down to our own time.

175 266 "The inhabitants of these islands eat men alive. They are black with woolly hair and in their eyes and countenances there is something quite frightful * * * they go naked and have no boats. If they had they would devour all who passed near them. Sometimes ships that are windbound and have exhausted their provision of water touch here and apply to the natives for it; in such cases the crews sometimes fall into the hands of the latter and most of them are massacred."

This traditional charge of cannibalism still persists, though it is now, and almost certainly has always been, entirely untrue. Of the massacre of shipwrecked crews up till quite recent times there is no doubt; but the policy of conciliation, which has been unremittingly pursued for the last forty years, has made the coasts quite safe for the shipwrecked, except at points where the Jarawas touch the coast and the wilder Onges reside, the south and west of Little Andaman, the North Sentinel Island, south of Rutland Island and Hut Bay on its western coast, Port Campbell and some few miles to the north of it on the west coast of the South Andaman. Everywhere else shipwrecked mariners would find the people not only friendly and helpful, but likely to give notice to Port Blair at once of their predicament.

[766] **Charge of Cannibalism.**—The charge of cannibalism seems to have arisen from three observations of the old mariners. The Andamanese attacked and murdered without provocation every stranger they could on his landing; they burnt his body (as they did in fact that of every enemy); and they had weird all-night dances round fires. Combine these three observations with the unprovoked murder of one of themselves and the fear aroused by such occurrences in a far land in ignorant mariners' minds, century after century, and a persistent charge of cannibalism is almost certain to be the result.

101 **Language of the Aka-Beada Tribe used in the Report.**—The tribe occupying the shores of the Harbour of Port Blair and its islands at the British occupation in 1858 was, in its own tongue, the Aka-Bea-da. Its language was the first to be studied and its customs the first to be ascertained. It may still be called the tribe that is the best known and understood.

Every tribe has its own name for itself and its neighbours, and it is therefore necessary for the purposes of this *Report* to adopt one set of names only throughout, and the set most convenient is naturally that of the Aka-Bea-da. In this language *aka* is a prefix with small variations to nearly all tribal names and *da* is a suffix used with almost every isolated noun. For the sake of brevity I have throughout this *Report* discarded both these affixes and used the roots only of tribal names. But it must be understood that in actual speech an Aka-Bea would, in answering such a question as "what is your tribe?", reply

"Aka-Bea-da;" and in using his tribal name in the course of a sentence he would say "Aka-Bea." In this way the full and abbreviated forms of the Andamanese Tribes as named by the Aka-Bea Tribe are as under:— 101

The Andamanese Tribal Names according to the Aka-Bea Language.

Full.	Abbreviated.
Aka-Chariar-(da)	Chariar.
Aka-Kora-(da)	Kora.
Aka-Tabo (da)	Tabo.
Aka-Yere-(da) (also Aka-Jaro-da)	Yere.
Oko-Juwai-(da)	Juwai.
Aka-Kol-(da)	Kol.
Aka-Bojigyab-(da)	Bojigyab.
Aka-Balawa-(da)	Balawa.
Aka-Bea-(da)	Bea.
Ônge	Ônge.
Jarawa-(da)	Jarawa.

Below is given a table of the names given to themselves and each other by the five South Andaman Tribes or Bojigngiji Group, traditionally sprung from one tribe. It brings out the following facts:—in each language of the Group the prefixes and suffixes differ much and the roots remain practically the same throughout for the same sense. These facts strongly indicate one fundamental tongue for this group of languages.

Table of the names for themselves and each other used by the five South Andaman tribes or Bojigngiji group.

Sense.	Tribe.	Bea.	Balawa.	Bojigyab.	Juwai.	Kol.
Fresh-water	*Bea*	Aka-Bea-da	Akat-Bea.	O-Bea-da.	Oko-Beye-lekile.	O-Bea-che.
Opposite-side	*Balawa*	Aka-Bala-wa-da.	Akat-Bala	O-Pole-da	Oko-Pole-lekile.	O-Pole-che.
Speak the language	*Bojigyal*	Aka-Boji-gyab-da.	Akat-Bo-jigyuab-nga.	O-Puchik-war-da.	Oko-Puchi kyar-lekile.	O-Puchik-war-che.
Patterns cut on bows	*Juwai*	Aka-Juwai-da.	Akat-Juwai	O-Juwai-da	Oko-Juwai lekile.	O-Juwai-che.
Bitter or salt taste	*Kol*	Aka-Kol-da	Akat-Kol.	O-Kol-da.	Oko-Kol-lekile.	O-Kol-che.

So too Yêre, Jeru or Jàro for the Aka-Yere Tribe means a (sort of) "canoe" in all the languages and Ônge means "a man" in its own language.

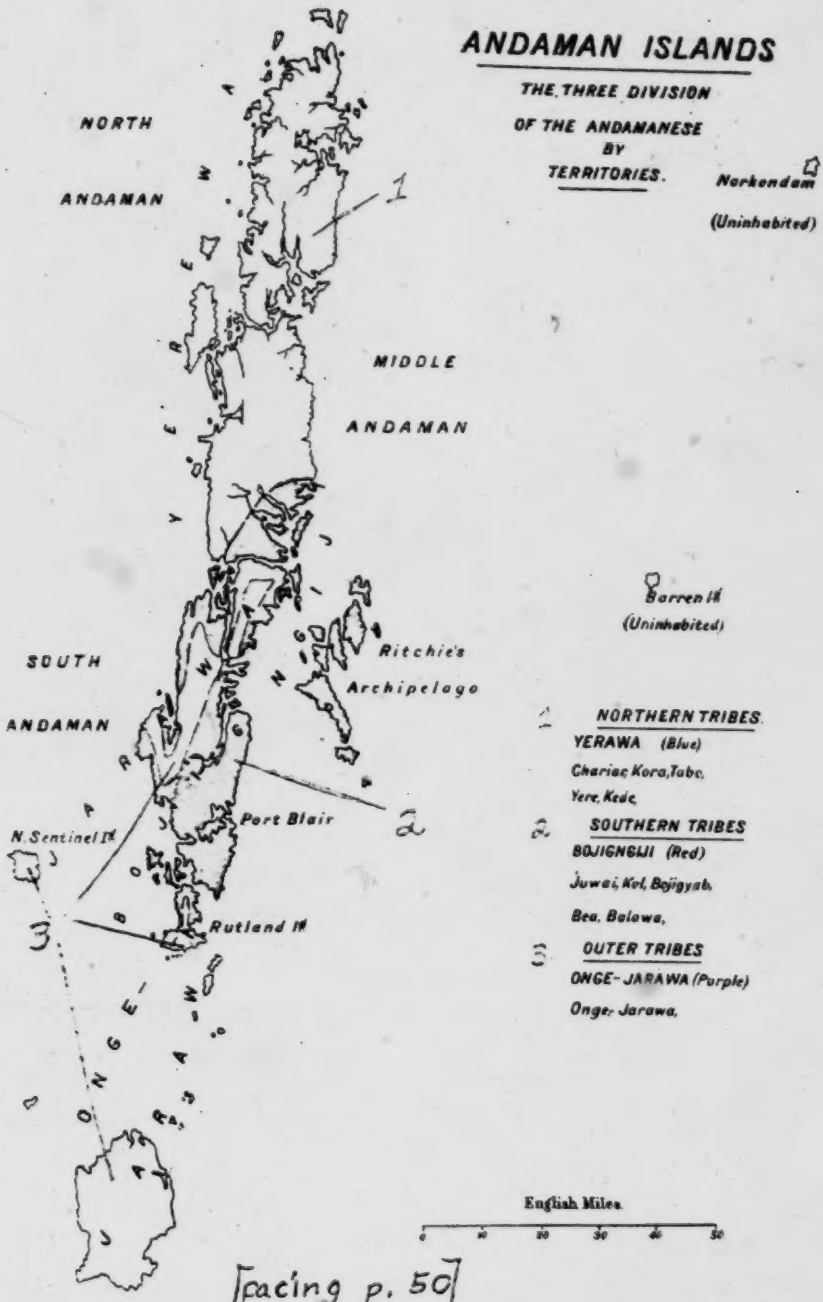
The Twelve Tribes.—An Andamanese individual, as the people themselves recognise, belongs to a family, which belongs to a Sept, which belongs to a Tribe, which belongs to a group of tribes or division of the race. The first two of these without being specifically named are recognised, the last two have specific names. 619

The Census proved the existence of twelve tribes of the Andamanese, each with its clearly defined locality or rather "run," with its own language, and to a certain extent its own separate habits. The tribes are from north to south: Chariar, Kora, Tabo, Yere, Kede, Juwai, Kol, Bojigyab, Balawa, Bea, on the Great Andaman. The Ônge-Jarawa occupies, with its Jarawa division, the interior of the South Andaman, the North Sentinel, and parts of Rutland Island; with its Ônge division parts of Rutland Island and the Little Andaman. In the Archipelago is the Balawa tribe. Portman in his *History* divides the Andamanese into twelve tribes, necessarily omitting the Kora and Tabo, but dividing the Jarawas into three tribes according as they inhabit South Andaman, Rutland Island, and the North Sentinel. It is to that painstaking and accurate observer, Mr. E. H. Man, that we are indebted for the true differentiation of the tribes.

In their present depopulated condition the friendly tribes have amalgamated, as so many savages have done before them elsewhere in other parts of the world in similar circumstances. Thus, though the Kora, Tabo and Yere still keep more aloof than the rest in the jungles of the North Andaman, the whole of the remainder are thoroughly mixed up at the Home and practically throughout the Great Andaman and the Archipelago. This is a matter of the generation

3: Temple G-5 (1901) 1903 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

619



[facing p. 50]

[Numbers replace colors -- Analyst]

619 now passing away and I well recollect 25 years ago, though the Bojigyab were then known to us, the "coming in" of the first Balawa from the Archipelago and of the first Chariar from the extreme north and the difficulty experienced in communicating with them.

In reading the following remarks on the tribes it must always be borne in mind that the statements therein made refer largely to a state of things practically already passed away and never likely to be revived. The reader can without difficulty use his discretion in separating what is from what has been in the course of his perusal.

619 184 **Their Division into three Groups.**—The Andamanese tribes are by themselves divided into three distinct groups, having certain salient characteristics: the forms of the huts, bows and arrows, of the canoes, of ornamentation, female clothing, hair dressing, and utensils, of tattooing, and of language common generally to the group, but differing in details and sometimes entirely from those of other groups. Judged by this standard the tribal affinities may be thus stated: Northern or Yerewa Group, Chariar, Kora, Tabo, Yere, Kede; Southern or Bojigngiji Group, Bea, Balawa, Bojigyab, Juwai, Kol; Outer Group, Ônge-Jarawa, who do not tattoo. Some of the tribes are divided into septs, fairly well defined under headmen and with a local area of their own, but not under any separate designation.

The Distinctions between the Groups.—It is worth while bringing together this remarkable series of differences dividing the Andamanese into three divisions; differences that more or less run through all matters concerning them.

[304] (1) *Tattooing.*—Bojigngiji; women are the tattooers cutting the skin slightly with small flakes of quartz or glass in patterns of zigzags or in straight vertical lines; face, ears, genitals, arm and knee pits are excepted. Men and women are tattooed alike. Yerewa; men are the tattooers, cutting the skin deeply with iron pig-arrow heads: short horizontal parallel cuts in three or five lines down the back and front of the trunk, round the anus and legs. Women are tattooed thus as life advances. Ônge-Jarawa; no tattooing.

[302] (2) *Hair.*—Bojigngiji; partial to complete shaving of head. Yerewa; long matted ringlets touching the shoulders. Ônge-Jarawas; closely cropped head to a mop. Ônge-Jarawa women are not shaved.

[291] (3) *Ornaments and female clothing.*—Bojigngiji women wear a bunch of five or six leaves in front: Yerewa women a loose tassel of narrow strips of bark: Ônge-Jarawa a bunching tassel of fibre. Bojigngiji women are most particular as to clothing: Yerewa women careless. Jarawa women are apt to be quite unclothed. Bojigngijis and Yerewas smear their faces with grey clay mixed with water, white clay in delicate patterns imitating the tattoo marks, red ochre mixed with turtle fat and almond oil in coarse undefined patterns. Ônge-Jarawas, with yellow clay mixed with water in coarse patches, red ochre mixed with the above mentioned oils on the head. Ônge-Jarawas wear no bone ornaments.

[302]

[531] (4) *Ornamentation of utensils.*—Bojigngiji and Yerewas, slight: Ônge-Jarawas delicate and elaborate.

[323] (5) *Pots.*—Bojigngijis, pots with rounded bottom: Ônge-Jarawas and Yerewas with pointed bottom.

[412] (6) *Implements.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas, coarse and rough in manufacture: Ônge-Jarawas, often delicate and neat.

[285] (7) *Baskets.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas have a 'kick' and stand well: Ônge-Jarawas have uneven bottom and stand badly.

[411] (8) *Bows and arrows.*—Bojigngiji, *karama* bow and large arrows. Yerewa, *chokio* bow and small arrows. Ônge-Jarawa, curved long bow and long arrows.

(9) *Arrows.*—Generally common in type to all tribes: long with plain straight point, long with straight point and barbs, short with broad detachable barbed head for pigs.* Ônge-Jarawas and Yerewas, multiple headed arrows for fish.

(10) *Harpoons.*—For turtle, dugongs, and large fish among Bojigngijis and Yerewas: none among the Ônge-Jarawas.

* As the pig runs off, the trailing shaft is at once caught by something in the jungle and the animal is thus brought up short.

619
184

(11) *Canoes.*—Bojigngiji and Yerewa, same pattern canoe; Ônge-Jarawa
[501] pattern different from above. Both out-rigged, Bojigngiji has in addition a large dug-out without outrigger.

[342] (12) *Huts.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas have temporary huts. Ônge-Jarawas have large permanent communal dwellings.

[535] (13) *Dancing.*—Bojigngijis and Yerawas, sounding board and song and clapping in unison. Ônge-Jarawa, standing in a ring and alternately bending and straightening the knees: also on occasion kicking the buttocks with the flat of the foot.

[352] (14) *Beds.*—Jarawas sleep on the wood ashes of the fires. Ônges on raised bamboo platforms. Other tribes on leaves and in sand-holes.

[562 251] (15) *Food.*—The staple food of the Ônges is the mangrove fruit, boiled, and they preserve small fish dried after cooking. None of the other tribes do this.

The Long-shore and Jungle Andamanese.—The Andamanese are by themselves again further divided into the Aryoto or long-shore men, and the Eremtaga or jungle-dwellers; the habits and capacities of these two differ, owing to surroundings, irrespective of tribe. Some tribes as the Tabo, Juwai, Kol, and the South Andaman Jarawas, are entirely Eremtaga, while the Balawa, the Chariar, and the Jarawas of the North Sentinel are entirely Aryoto. The Aryoto holds himself to be better than the Eremtaga, but beyond this there seem to be no exclusive distinctions between them and an Aryoto will marry or adopt an Eremtaga.

With the minuteness in matters concerning their surroundings that is characteristic of all entirely uneducated people, the Andamanese recognise a third division of themselves by habits into Adajig or creek-dwellers, *i.e.*, those who live on the shores of the many inlets of the sea on the coasts of the Islands. The habits of the Adajig, however, are practically those of the Aryoto.

Distinctions by habits are quickly lost by the Andamanese. The Jarawas have now no canoes in the South Andaman and are quite incapable of constructing or using them, though all Ônges have them and so have the Jarawas on the North Sentinel. So also had the Jarawas that Colebrooke met a century ago. And this year (1902) it was ascertained that the young men brought up at the Duratang (Kyd Island) Home and occupied chiefly in market gardening could neither steer nor paddle a canoe, nor take up tracks in the jungles. In one generation, though there was no restriction in communication with their people, they had lost both sea and forest craft.

Former Isolation of the Tribes.—Before the arrival of the English the tribes, excepting actual neighbours, may be said to have had no general intercourse with each other, and excepting some individuals were entirely unable to converse together, though it can be conclusively shown that all the existing languages are directly descended from one parent tongue. Even Septs had but little mutual intercourse and considerable differences in details of dialect and, as has occurred in other island abodes of savages, there must have been a change of dialect or language along about every 20 miles of the coast. The tribes were in fact brought together and made definitely acquainted with each other's separate existence and peculiarities by the influence and exertions of Mr. Man between 1875 and 1880.

609 **Sympathies and Antipathies.**—The tribal feeling is expressed as follows: friendly within the tribe, courteous to other Andamanese if known, hostile to every stranger, Andamanese or other. The sympathy and antipathy exhibited are strictly natural, *i.e.*, savage, and are governed by descent. The feeling of friendliness lies in an ever-decreasing zone from the family outwards towards sept, tribe, group: hostility to all others. Even septs will fight each other and Aryoto and Eremtaga do not mix much. But there is no "caste" feeling, and tribes will, in circumstances favouring the actions (*e.g.*, living on the tribal borders), intermarry and adopt each other's children. Within the tribe there is so
597 general a custom of adoption that children above six or seven rarely live with their own parents. It is an act of friendliness to give up or adopt a child and the custom has had the effect of making the various septs of a tribe hang together much better than would otherwise have been possible.

726 **Fighting Capacity.**—The Andamanese are bad fighters and never attack unless certain of success. During hostilities they never take any precautions as to their own safety by sentries, works, armour, or ruses of any kind, nor in the attack beyond taking advantage of cover. The only ideas of protection yet met with are among the Jarawas, who use trunk-armour consisting of a wide belt of bark and well devised sentry stations on the paths round their permanent communal huts.

619 **The Hostile Tribe of Jarawas.**—The Jarawas and some Ônges kill every stranger at sight, but the Jarawas only are in these days entirely hostile, and on the whole the Ônges are friendly, the friendliness dating from the capture and subsequent judicious treatment of 24 men, women and children on the Cinque Islands in January 1885. The only positively dangerous people are thus the Jarawas, and this is to be accounted for in this way. The ancient (as proved by old separate kitchen-middens) incursion from the Little Andaman through Rutland Island of that section of the Ônge tribe, which is now known as the Jarawas, into the South Andaman set up an implacable tribal hostility between them and the Beas, its other occupants, which has been extended to the foreign settlers in Port Blair, and has nowadays become an undying distrust of all strangers and an hereditary hostility towards them.

But Colebrooke, reporting in 1790, gives a vocabulary of a people, now identified with the Ônge-Jarawa tribe by its speech, and as theories have been built up on this fact, it is as well to see carefully when and where Colebrooke met the natives and who they were.

175 **Colebrooke's Knowledge of them (1789).**—Colebrooke left Diamond Island (Cape Negrais) on December 20th, 1789, and reached Port Cornwallis (*now* Port Blair) on December 23rd. On the 24th he went up the harbour and saw some natives (Jarawa Tribe) on Dundas Point. On the 26th he went up the harbour with Commodore Cornwallis (brother of the Governor-General), accompanied by a native who had been wounded in a skirmish with his tribe, found to be very hostile by the people of the snow *Viper*, and was kept on board the *Ranger*, Cornwallis's ship. He is described as "very cheerful and quite reconciled to his captivity." They went up the Bumlitan Creek as far as Bumlitan and met another native (Jarawa) who ran away. They dined (lunched) on "Mount Pleasant," a hill on the harbour near Viper Island, and met another Jarawa who exchanged his bow and arrows for a knife. On the 27th the wounded native, who had been on the *Ranger* three weeks, was put ashore by the Commodore, who uniformly treated the savages with extreme consideration. On the 28th they met the Jarawa on Dundas Point whom they had seen before, with a woman and a girl and found him again friendly. On the 29th there was trouble with the Bea Tribe at Phœnix Bay and with the Jarawas at Ariel Creek.

Colebrooke then went to the Nicobars and returned to Port Blair on February 20th, 1790, starting up north on 21st February. On the 23rd March at Port Meadows he saw some of the Bea Tribe leaving Entrance Island and saw some more hostile Beas, whom the party frightened off, coming from the North. On the 26th he went to the Archipelago, and met some hostile Balawas. On the 27th he went into Colebrooke Passage and saw some Bojigyab huts and some more of the tribe, who ran away in Elphinstone Harbour on the 29th. On the 30th they met some hostile Kols in the east entrance to Homfray's Strait and some more on the 31st off the north end of Long Island. On the 3rd and 4th April they found the Yere Tribe in Stewart Sound extremely hostile. On the 6th Blair himself met some Koras at the foot of Saddle Peak, who ran away. On the 7th Blair discovered the present Port Cornwallis and Colebrooke left for India.

It is clear from this that the only native from whom Colebrooke could have procured his *Vocabulary* was the wounded man on the *Ranger* and that man, as the *Vocabulary* shows, was a Jarawa. The tribes of all sorts—Jarawa, Bea, Bojigyab, Balawa, Kol, Yere, Kora, whom Colebrooke met, except in the case of one Jarawa and his family, exhibited either extreme fear or hostility.

175 101 **Explanation of the name Mincopie for the Andamanese.**—The first word in Colebrooke's *Vocabulary*, the first ever made of any Andaman tongue, is Mincopie for "Andaman Island or native country," whence Mincopie has

become a persistent book-name for the Andamanese. It has been a great puzzle to scientific men ever since, though it is now to be identified, as will be seen later, with "Mongebe, I am (an) Onge," a phrase, which was perhaps pronounced and at any rate sounded in Colebrooke's ears as "Minggobie." His informant, in using it, apparently meant to explain that he was an Onge, or as the Jarawas seem to pronounce the name,—an Inggo. 175 101

Relations with the English.—Since the establishment of the Penal Settlement in 1858 an Andamanese Home has been created in Port Blair for the use of the aborigines, and several attempts have been made to civilise some of them and to bring up the children to a Christian education. These attempts have met with no reasonable success, the "civilised" returning to their original savagery at the first opportunity, the children deserting the schools and, except in an instance here and there, retaining nothing of their early education in after life. The existing use of the Home is that of a free asylum to which every Andamanese that likes is admitted. He may stay as long as he pleases and go when it suits him. While there he is housed, fed and taken care of, and for the sick there is a good and properly maintained hospital. From the Home, too, are taken such little necessaries and luxuries as the people desire to friends at a distance and during each of the many tours taken round the coasts by the officials. In return the Andamanese of the Home are employed to help in catching runaway convicts, in collecting edible birds'-nests and trepang and other natural produce, and in making "Andamanese curios," from which a small income is derived and expended on them. They have never succeeded in acquiring any true idea of money for themselves and all their earnings have to be administered for them. It is indeed against local rules to give them money, as it is at once spent in intoxicants. The present policy, in short, is to leave them alone and to do what is possible in the conditions to ameliorate their lives. The administrative objects gained by establishing friendly relations with the tribes are the cessation of the former and much too frequent murder of shipwrecked crews, the external peace of the Settlement and the creation of a jungle police to prevent escapes of convicts, and the recapture of runaways. 175 439

In the days of Blair and Kyd, 1789—96, the tribes showed themselves to be practically uniformly hostile, despite the conspicuous consideration these early officials exhibited, and remained continuously so after the commencement of the re-establishment of the Settlement in 1858, attacking the working parties of convicts, just as the Jarawas do still, for iron and articles suitable to them and robbing the gardens started for food supplies. These practices had to be repressed by force, and efforts towards friendly relations had to be postponed until respect for the settlers was established. The procedure officially then adopted and carried out with such success in the end by Messrs. Corbyn, Homfray, Man, Godwin-Austen, and Portman in succession was the simple one of providing the Home and visiting the people in their own haunts, as opportunity arose, with suitable presents.

In Appendix B will be found an abstract of the Jarawa raids on the Settlement, which have been continuous since 1872, when they were first differentiated. In the interval they have attacked convicts, usually at their work, on 20 occasions and friendly Andamanese Camps on 12 occasions. That is, they have made 32 attacks in 30 years. In these attacks 27 convicts and 4 Andamanese have been killed; 7 convicts, 2 police constables, and 5 Andamanese have been wounded. In counter expeditions and searches for the raiders 3 Jarawas have been killed, 9 wounded, and 20 captured. Of the captured 18 have been released in a short time and 2 have died. It will be seen thus that the hostility of the tribe is towards all strangers, including their own people, and that the policy of capture, kindness in captivity, and release with presents has not up to date borne any good fruit whatever. This is a very different story to that of their almost equally wild congeners the Onges.

II. Physical Characteristics.

Portman's and Molesworth's Enquiries.—The physical characteristics of the Andamanese have been considerably studied by Mr. M. V. Portman and Major W. S. Molesworth, and as their work has never been published, the 141

141 following account thereof may serve to draw attention to it. It is to be found in 15 volumes, copies of which are deposited at the India Office, the Home Department Library in Calcutta, and the British Museum. Volumes 10, 11, 14 and 15 contain anthropometric measurements, and medical details of 200 Andamanese: thus—volume 10 of 50 South Andaman males, volume 11 of 50 South Andaman females, volume 14 of 50 North Andaman males, and volume 15 of 50 North Andaman females.

The remaining volumes are plantinotype photographs with explanatory letterpress of Andamanese. Volumes 1 and 2 typical heads: volume 3, heads, full face and profile: volume 4, adze and bow-making: volumes 5 and 6, bow and arrow-making: volume 7, rope-making and hut-building: volume 8, eating and drinking, packing and carrying bundles, utensils, attitudes, torch-making, greeting: volume 9, painting, tatooing, counting: volume 12, full length, full face and profile, view of males: volume 13, of females.

141 The following table summarises the results of this elaborate enquiry for general information:—

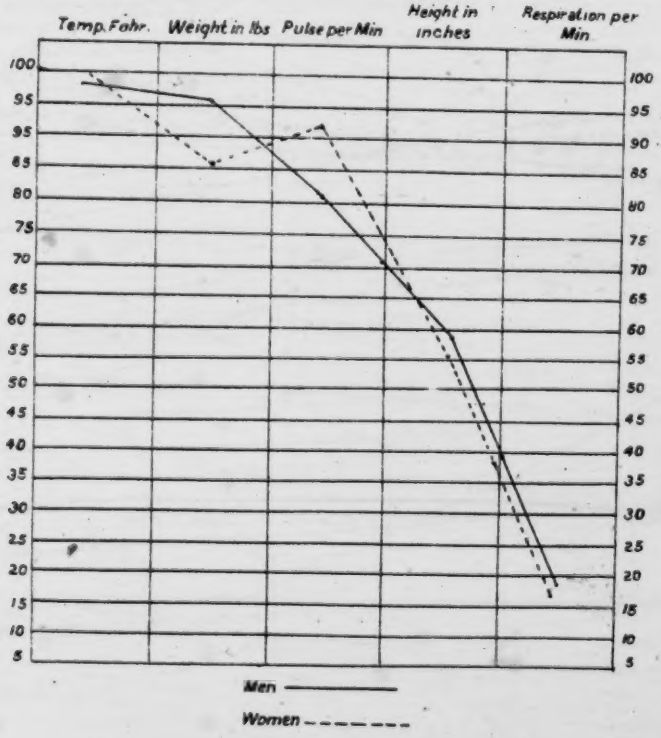
147

Andamanese Averages.

	Height in inches.	Temperature Fahr.	Pulse beats per minute.	Respiration per minute.	Weight in lbs.	
Men . . .	58½	99°	82	19	96 lbs. 10 oz.	
Women . . .	54	99°·5	93	16	87 lbs.	

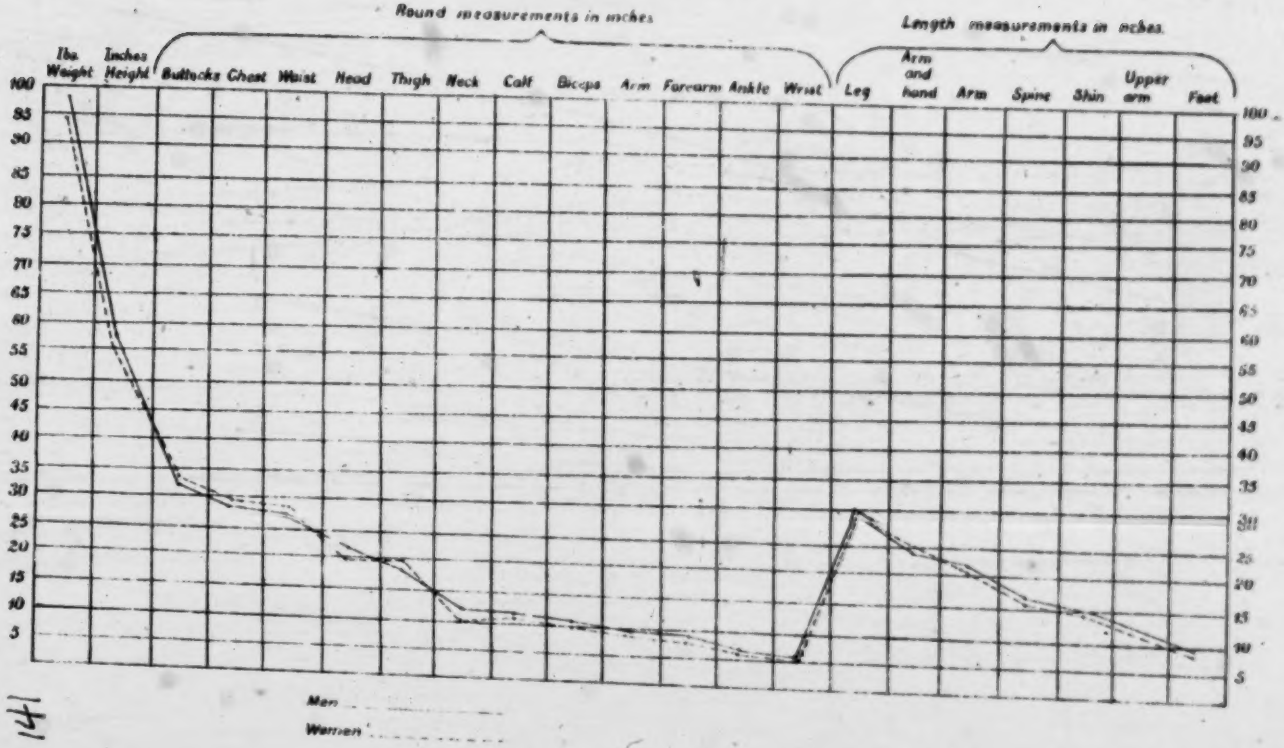
and the accompanying diagram will show the relative physical qualities of the sexes of the adult Andamanese:—

RELATIVE PHYSICAL QUALITIES OF THE SEXES AMONG THE ANDAMANESE



These measurements admit of the comparison of the sexes among the Andamanese by diagram, thus :—

DIAGRAM COMPARISON THE SIZE OF THE SEXES AMON ANDAMANESE.



[facing p. 55]

141 **Man's Enquiries.**—In addition to Portman's and Molesworth's measurements there are those taken by Man some 25 years ago of 48 men and 41 women, which give the following average results of much interest :—

Average weight of 40 and body and limb measurements of 48 Andamanese males.

1.	Weight	98·12 lbs.
2.	Height	55·75 inches.
3.	Size round head	21·00 "
4.	" " neck	12·30 "
5.	" " chest	27·94 "
6.	" " waist	27·08 "
7.	" " buttocks	31·98 "
8.	" " thigh	19·36 "
9.	" " calf	12·09 "
10.	" " ankle	7·19 "
11.	" " biceps	10·60 "
12.	" " arm	9·59 "
13.	" " forearm	9·05 "
14.	" " wrist	5·53 "
15.	Length of spine	17·44 "
16.	" of arm and hand	24·64 "
17.	" from shoulder to elbow	12·47 "
18.	" from shoulder to wrist	21·98 "
19.	" from ankle to knee	15·65 "
20.	" from ankle to hip	30·66 "
21.	" of foot	9·29 "
22.	" of [illegible]	9·29 "

Average weight of 37 and average body and limb measurements of 41 Andamanese females.

1.	Weight	94·08 lbs.
2.	Height	55·40 inches.
3.	Size round head	19·98 "
4.	" " neck	10·86 "
5.	" " chest	28·84 "
6.	" " waist	27·23 "
7.	" " buttocks	33·52 "
8.	" " thigh	19·83 "
9.	" " calf	11·88 "
10.	" " ankle	7·14 "
11.	" " biceps	9·06 "
12.	" " arm	9·50 "
13.	" " forearm	8·41 "
14.	" " wrist	5·34 "
15.	Length of spine	18·38 "
16.	" of arm and hand	23·53 "
17.	" from shoulder to elbow	11·80 "
18.	" from shoulder to wrist	20·80 "
19.	" from ankle to knee	15·06 "
20.	" from ankle to hip	30·31 "
21.	" of foot	8.19 "

147 **High Temperature.**—The high bodily temperature may be an indication of the low vitality characteristic of the race. The cause is obscure, unless it is to be traced to their largely carbonaceous diet or to saturation with malaria producing a condition of masked fever. It has been observed that they do not feel themselves to be otherwise than quite well when the temperature is over 100° Fahr., and that that condition does not affect their appearance or actions.

Breathing.—In view of the experiments made in European countries and the United States as to the relative breathing of the sexes, it is of interest that the breathing of both sexes among the Andamanese is abdominal or upper abdominal, the women showing scarcely any indication of their breathing, though the men show it well.

In the healthy younger Andamanese the breath is sweet and there is no distinctive smell from the body when clean, though they perspire freely. The older people with decayed teeth and tissues, have foul smelling breath and bodies, partly due to a mild form of scurvy, caused by absence of vegetable food at certain times of the year.

145 582 **Age.**—The Andamanese male matures at about 15, attains full growth at about 18, and marries at about 26, he begins to "age" at about 40 and lives on

145 to about 60 to 65, if he reaches "old age." Except as to marriage at an ear-
582 lier age, about 18, these figures apply fairly to the women also, who, however, live somewhat longer than the men, retaining in old age both health and mental faculties.

163 **Reproduction.**—The marriages are infructuous, though barrenness is
[853] uncommon, a couple rarely producing families of even moderate size and many none at all. The child-bearing age is from 16 to 35; weaning is much delayed.

291 **Endurance.**—Left to themselves the Andamanese go stark naked and
147 with head uncovered, except that the women wear, as clothing and not ornament, one or more leaves in front and a bunch of leaves tied round the waist behind, or a tassel of leaves all round. Jarawas, however, of both sexes have been seen entirely naked. They dislike and fear cold, but not heat, though they avoid exposure to the sun; and being accustomed to gratify every sensation as it arises, they endure thirst, hunger, want of sleep, fatigue and bodily discomfort badly. Want of sleep, such as occurs at their dances for occasionally as much as
[482] four days and nights, exhausts them greatly. A man's load is 40 lbs. and his distance 15 miles for a day or two only. After that he will rest, whatever the urgency.

252 **Food.**—The food consists of fish, pork, turtle, iguana, "wild cat" (*para-*
262 *doxurus sp.*), shell-fish, turtle eggs, certain larvæ, and a great variety of fruit, seeds, roots, and honey; and is plentiful both by sea and land. They never starve, though they are habitually heavy eaters. The food is always cooked and commonly eaten very hot. As much as possible of an animal is eaten and the Andamanese, like most hunters, have found out the dietary value of tripe. The Andamanese are expert cooks and adept at preparing delicacies from parts of animals and fish.

142 **Skin.**—The skin, which is smooth, greasy and satiny, varies in colour from an intense sheeny black to a reddish brown on the unexposed parts and also on the collar bones, cheeks and other prominences of the body. Its general appearance has been likened to a "black-leaded stove." The scalp, the lips and nostrils are black, and there are black patches on the palate. The soles of the feet are brownish yellow. The Bojigngiji Group (South Andaman) are the darkest, and among the Ôngee parts of the face are a light reddish-brown. The Jarawas are distinctly fairer than the rest, the general colour being a deep reddish brown. Leucoderma occurs on the fingers and lips.

Hair.—The hair varies from a sooty black to dark and light brown, yellowish brown and red. The general appearance of it is sooty black or yellowish brown. Except on the head the hair is scanty, but not absent: on the head it grows in small rings, which give it the appearance of growing in tufts, though it is really closely and evenly distributed over the whole scalp. Limited baldness is un-
[302] known, but temporary general baldness after disease occurs with a weak growth of the hair afterwards. The hair is not shaved, except on the head and eye-
[145] brows, and each tribe has, with many fantastic individual variants, its own method of wearing it. It turns grey at about 40, but white hair is not common.

Shaving is "woman's work" and was performed by small flakes of quartz, but nowadays flakes from the kicks of glass bottles are substituted. It is effective and close, but a painful operation on an European's face, as I proved by personal experience many years ago.

Bodily Parts.—The mouth is large, the palate hard and highly arched, the lips well formed. The hands and feet are small and well made. The ears are small and well shaped, the eyes are generally dark to a very dark brown, bright, liquid and clear, but prominent with slightly elevated outer angles and become dulled with age. The teeth, in the young, except amongst the Ôngee, are white, good and on the whole free from disease. Those of the Ôngee are irregular and discoloured. As age advances the teeth generally lose their whiteness and become worn, but without much caries. The teeth are roughly used without any care whatever. Dentition is early.

164 **Diseases.**—The muscular strength of the Andamanese is great, but their vitality is nevertheless low, and the apparently robust quickly die after sickening

or severe injury. However, like many of the lower mammals, they recover quickly from illness when they overcome it. 164

Idiocy, insanity and natural deformities are rare among them. Epilepsy is however recognised and homicidal mania occurs sometimes with concomitants of insanity, such as eating raw flesh or earth and drinking the blood of the victim. 158 732

An unintentional artificial depression of the forehead and sides and top of the skull is produced in some women, chiefly among the Onges, caused by using a strap to carry loads on the back when young. [304]

No parts of the body are intentionally pierced, injured, or deformed for the wearing of ornaments and other purposes, though the skin is extensively tatooed.

The statements at my disposal as to the relative prevalence of diseases among the Andamanese and their relative fatality are unsatisfactory, but so far as I can make out the following is a fair statement of the case in order of importance :— 164

I.—Fevers	45 per cent. of all cases.
II.—Respiratory organs	35 " " "
III.—Digestive organs	18 " " "
IV.—Other diseases	2 " " "

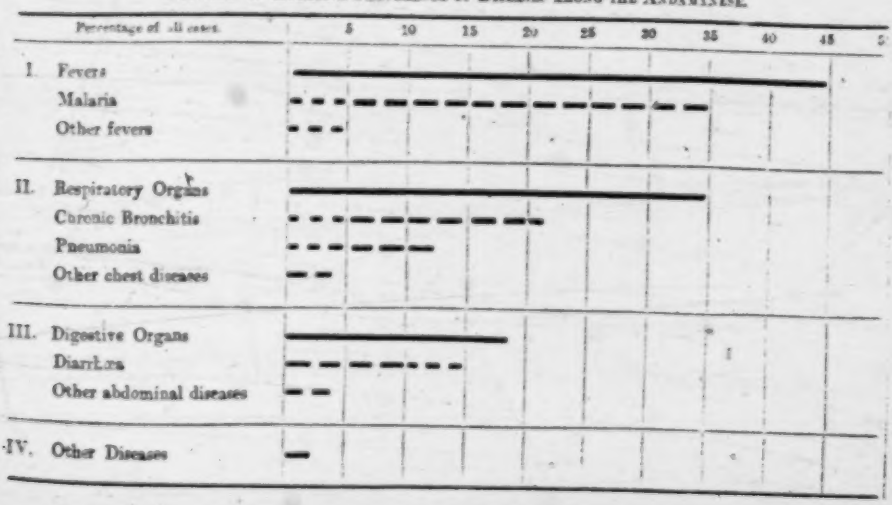
These classes may be further divided up more specifically thus :—

I.—Malaria	40 per cent. of all cases.
Other fevers	5 " " "
II.—Chronic bronchitis	21 " " "
Pneumonia	12 " " "
Other chest diseases	2 " " "
III.—Diarrhœa	15 " " "
Other abdominal diseases	3 " " "
IV.—Other diseases	1 " " "

Without placing too much reliance on the above table, it serves to bring out the fact that, among the Andamanese, as among the alien immigrants, malarial fevers are the overwhelming prevalent causes of sickness. As also in the case of immigrants, malarial fevers are not nearly so fatal in proportion to cases as the diseases of the respiratory and digestive organs. Thus I make out that deaths from malarial fevers occur in 8·5 per cent. of the cases, while those from diseases of the respiratory organs in 90 per cent., and of the digestive organs in 74 per cent. These considerations prepare us for the old statement that the prevalent diseases among the Andamanese are climatic and the same as those of the foreign immigrants.

The following diagram brings into clear relief the relative prevalence of diseases among the Andamanese as disclosed by the above tables :—

DIAGRAM OF RELATIVE PREVALENCE OF DISEASES AMONG THE ANDAMANESE.



164 Going a little further into detail, it has been noticed that malarial fevers are commonest in June, at the commencement of the monsoon and during heavy bursts of rain thereafter. Malarial fevers commence as usual in their intermittent form and prove fatal as remittent fever. Other zymotic fevers are uncommon, though the Andamanese will drink the filthiest water.

A short rainfall in the Andamans is usually accompanied by high dry winds and then is the high time of the chest diseases. But though the Andamanese are susceptible to bronchial catarrh, and though chronic bronchitis is common, it is not fatal; pneumonia is however extremely fatal. Pleurisy, hæmoptysis and phthisis are comparatively rare.

Abdominal diseases, though comparatively uncommon, are very fatal, diarrhœa, including probably dysentery, claiming most victims. Dyspepsia and colic are both common. In health the stools are regular, but inclined to looseness. They have been likened to those of the lower mammals when in good health.

Of other diseases sunstroke is dreaded and always fatal. The brain and spinal cord are not often affected, though curvature of the spine is occasionally seen. Scurvy occurs at the seasons when vegetable diet, *i.e.*, such as fruits and roots afford, is too scanty. Elephantiasis occurs among the Onges, but is limited to the Little Andaman. Chronic muscular rheumatism occurs among the older people, leading to loss and withering of limbs. Ulcers, generally the result of wounds in the jungles, are common and, as with the immigrants, slow to heal. Abscesses are also common. Considering that personal uncleanliness is often extreme, skin diseases are curiously infrequent, except ringworm and exfoliated dermatitis, sometimes leading to destruction of finger and toe nails, due either to scurvy or exposure. [146]

164 Excluding malaria, endemic disease has not been recognised among the Andamanese, and the only epidemics that have been known to attack them are imported pneumonia (1868), syphilis (1876), measles (1877), and influenza (1892), in that order: unhappily with disastrous effect. Exposure to the sun and wind in the cleared spaces, the excessive use of tobacco and over-clothing, as results of contact with civilisation, are also said to have undermined their health as a body of human beings. Intoxicants are forbidden to them by local rules and are not easily or commonly procured by them. 177

755 **Medicine.**—The diseases which the Andamanese distinguish by name are malarial fever, catarrh, coughs and rheumatism. Phthisis and heart disease are recognised, but are spirit caused and so are all internal maladies, which of course are not understood. 758

Medicine and surgery are almost absent from the Andamanese purview. They will bleed on the forehead for fever and headache and round abscesses to alleviate pain. They scarify for rheumatism and internal pain as a last resort. Red ochre and various herbal concoctions are both swallowed and applied as all-healers, in which they have great faith. Certain leaves are sometimes applied to local affections and beds made of them for the sake of their supposed medicinal odour. Cinctures, sometimes of human bones, are used to alleviate pain, but no other charms are employed. Occasionally the diet is slightly changed to relieve illness and they are quick to avail themselves of the hospital provided for them. They are extremely afraid of European surgery and will tremble violently at the sight of the operating knife. They smear themselves with white clay and water against the heat of the sun and with red ochre and oil after dark as a protection against cold.

The sick are sympathetically and very kindly, but superstitiously, treated. There are no pregnancy customs and those at childbirth are sensible and without superstition, difficult delivery being practically unknown. [844]

Snakebite is uncommon and seldom fatal. Ligatures above the bite and scarifying are applied, both operations showing observation and common sense. Bites of centipedes, scorpions, leeches and ticks cause little inconvenience to the Andamanese, though very much to immigrants.

142 **Appearance.**—The figures of the men are muscular and well formed and generally pleasing; often a young man is distinctly good looking, for, though there is a tendency to prognathism, it is not commonly pronounced, while a straight and well formed nose and jaw, accompanied by superior intelligence

and an irritable temper indicating a nervous temperament, are by no means rare. The natural good looks of many of the people are injured by the habit of shaving and smearing themselves with greasy red and white pigments. 142

The pleasing appearance of the men is not a characteristic of the women, whose habits of completely shaving the head and profusely smearing themselves, with an early tendency to stoutness and ungainliness of figure and sometimes to pronounced prognathism, frequently make them unattractive objects to Europeans. They are, however, bright and merry even into old age and are under no special social restrictions, have a good deal of influence, and in old age are often much respected. They nevertheless readily and naturally acquiesce in a position of subordination, slavery and drudgery to the men, and are apt to herd together in parties of their own sex. Variation from type is much commoner among the men than the women. 142 562

III. Mental Characteristics.

Sense Development.—The nerve development of the Andamanese is low, pain is not severely felt and wounds quickly heal. The sense development is normal and instances of unusual acuteness observed are the result of personal training in certain directions and not of heredity, *e.g.*, they will recognise one of themselves at a great distance, but not an unaccustomed object such as a European: they can smell a fire or hear the sound of dancing also at a great distance, but this is because they are always on the look-out for these things and their discernment is a matter of habit and of much consequence to themselves. They can, in short, do well such things as they pay particular or habitual attention to. 147 151

The Andamanese are naturally far sighted, and any near sight observed will be found to be due to leucoma or other disease. In respect to sight, however, they are not more highly gifted than civilized mankind. The colour sense is hardly developed at all and they are what would be called in Europe colour-blind to most colours. Black, white and red are distinguished, but green and blue are not. This is due apparently to want of observation only, as they distinguish between white paint and the white European skin. A good deal of blindness was caused by imported epidemic ophthalmia in 1877. Hearing is not abnormally acute, but is highly trained in matters pertaining to jungle craft. Touch seems to be undeveloped. The sense of smell is highly developed in matters necessary to their existence, but they have no appreciation of artificial scent or of that of flowers which do not denote food, nor can they distinguish by smell that which they cannot see unless it be an object of food. Taste is strongly developed as to honey, distinguishing that deposited from different flowers. They care nothing for scenery and do not decorate themselves with flowers. 151 [164]

Character.—In childhood the Andamanese are possessed of a bright intelligence, which, however, soon reaches its climax and the adult may be compared in this respect with the civilised child of ten or twelve. He has never had any sort of agriculture, nor until the English taught him the use of dogs did he ever domesticate any kind of animal or bird, nor did he teach himself to turn turtle or to use hook and line in fishing. He cannot count and all his ideas are hazy, inaccurate and ill-defined. He has never developed unaided any idea of drawing or making a tally or record for any purpose, but he readily understands a sketch or plan when shown him. He soon becomes mentally tired and is apt to break down physically under mental training. 181

He retains throughout life the main characteristics of the child: of very short but strong memory, suspicious of but hospitable to strangers, ungrateful, imitative and watchful of his companions and neighbours, vain and under the spur of vanity industrious and persevering, teachable up to a quickly reached limit, fond of undefined games and practical jokes, too happy and careless to be affected in temperament by his superstitions, too careless indeed to store water even for a voyage, plucky but not courageous, reckless only from ignorance or inappreciation of danger, selfish but not without generosity, chivalry or a sense of honour, petulant, hasty of temper, entirely irresponsible and childish in action in his wrath and equally quick to forget, affectionate, lively in his movements and exceedingly taking in his moments of good temper. At these times the Andamanese are gentle and pleasant to each other, considerate to the aged, the

181 weakly or the helpless and to captives, kind to their wives and proud of their children, whom they often over-pet; but when angered cruel, jealous, treacherous and vindictive, and always unstable. They are bright and merry companions, talkative, inquisitive and restless, busy in their own pursuits, keen sportsmen and naturally independent, absorbed in the chase from sheer love of it and other physical occupations and not lustful, indecent or indecently abusive.

As the years advance they are apt to become intractable, masterful and quarrelsome. A people to like but not to trust. Exceedingly conservative and bound up in ancestral custom, not amenable to civilization, all the teaching of years bestowed on some of them having introduced no abstract ideas among the tribesmen, and changed no habit in practical matters affecting comfort, health, and mode of life. Irresponsibility is a characteristic, though instances of a keen sense of responsibility are not wanting. Several Andamanese can take charge of the steering of a large steam launch through dangerous channels, exercising then caution, daring and skill though not to an European extent, and the present dynamo-man of the electric lighting on Ross Island is an Andamanese, while the wire-man is a Nicobarese, both of whom exhibit the liveliest sense of their responsibilities, though a deep-rooted unconquerable fear of the dynamo and wires when at work. The Nicobarese shows, as is to be expected, the higher order of intellect. Another Andamanese was used by Portman for years as an accountant and kept his accounts in English accurately and well.

The intelligence of the women is good, though not as a rule equal to that of the men. In old age, however, they frequently exhibit a considerable mental capacity which is respected. Several women trained in a former local Mission Orphanage from early childhood have shown much mental aptitude and capacity, the "savagery" in them however only dying down as they grew older. They can read and write well, understand and speak English correctly, have acquired European habits completely, and possess much shrewdness and common sense: one has herself taught her Andamanese husband, the dynamo-man above mentioned, to read and write English and induced him to join the Government House Press as a compositor. She writes a well expressed and correctly spelt letter in English, and has a shrewd notion of the value of money. Such women, when the instability of youth is past, make good "ayas," as their men-kind make good waiters at table.

The highest general type of intelligence yet noticed is in the Jarawa tribe.

805 **Mental Capacities.**—The Andamanese divide the day by the position of
823 the sun and can roughly divide the night, though they have no idea of steering
821 by the sun or stars. The year is known by the three main seasons of the climate and the months rudely by the flowering and fruiting of trees of economic value to them. Tides are understood and carefully noted, a necessary accomplishment to a people largely living on shell-fish and navigating shallow tidal creeks and shores. They are aware of the connection of the phases of the moon with the tides and have names for the four phases of each lunation. They know the four quarters of the compass in reference to the daily position of the sun and have names for the four chief winds that blow (N. W., N. E., S. E., S. W.). They differentiate three kinds of clouds:—Cumulus, stratus, nimbus. The only constellation they have distinguished is Orion and they have discovered the Milky Way for which they have a name, and also call it "the way of the angels" (*morowin*, the daughter-messengers of Puluga).

576 **Social Emotions.**—The social emotions are not generally expressed. The Andamanese have no words for ordinary salutations, greeting or for expressing thanks. On meeting they stare at each other for a lengthened period in silence, which the younger breaks with a commonplace remark and then follows an eager telling of news, which an Andamanese always delights in hearing. Relatives however sit in each other's laps, huddled closely together at *meeting*, weeping loudly and demonstratively, and after a long separation this may last for hours. The Onges are less demonstrative and on such occasions shed a few silent tears only and caress each other with their hands. At *parting* they take each other by the hand and blow on it, exchanging sentences of conventional farewell.

Undemonstrative though they are, the Andamanese are readily roused to emotion, finding that difficulty in separating the real from the assumed observed

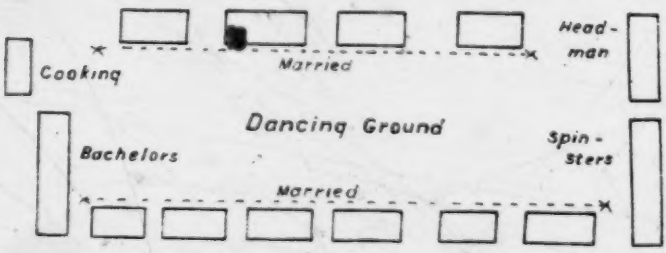
in other savages. At Government House, Calcutta, in 1895, when a party was told to sit down and weep to show the custom at meetings, in a few moments the weeping became genuine, and when after a short time they were told to stop and get up, tears were streaming down their faces. 576

General Capacities.—The Andamanese are good climbers, and rapid walkers and runners, moving with a free and independent gait, and can travel considerable distances at a time. The Jarawas turn their toes in, due to the necessity of stooping to pass along their paths through the tangled jungle. The Eremtaga are good but not remarkable trackers. The Aryoto are good swimmers and are much at home in the water. The Andamanese generally show a dexterity in getting about their thick and tangled jungles which baffles all immigrants, though in this respect the Eremtaga quite out-distance the Aryoto, and the Jarawas apparently all the others. In the jungles all shooting with arrows is necessarily at very short distance, and generally the Andamanese are good shots at short distances only, judging direction very well but distance hardly at all. They can however at the very short distance required for shooting fish allow accurately for refraction in moving water and will shoot their fish successfully even in the surf in a manner that is inimitable: this is really due to accurate judgment of direction. 481

The Andamanese are unadventurous seamen, poling and paddling their canoes with small spade paddles at considerable speed, faster than that of an ordinary ship's boat for a little distance though they could not paddle away from one in even a short chase, but they never go out of sight of land, have never been even to the Cocos (30 miles), nor to Narcondam and Barren Island, nor had they ever any knowledge of the existence of the Nicobars till our arrival. Man has a legend from Car Nicobar doubtfully going to show that the Onges from the Little Andaman once made raids on that island: but if this were true they would do so still. 502

IV. Habits and Customs.

Dwellings.—Except in the Little Andaman and among the Jarawas there are no fixed habitations, the search for easily obtained food and insanitary habits obliging the people to be nomads, for they have no practice of cultivation and domesticate no animal whatever except dogs obtained from the English. They thus dwell in various customary encampments, situate within their respective territories. At these encampments, usually fixed in sheltered spots, they erect about 14 temporary huts capable of holding up to 50 to 80 persons, arranged facing inwards on an oval plan always more or less irregular, thus— 621 [242] [231]



The central space is the dancing ground. A hut is merely a thatch about 4 feet long by 3 feet wide, sloping from 8 inches behind to 4½ feet in front, placed on four uprights and some cross-pieces without walls. In unsheltered spots and at the Head-Quarters of Septs large circular huts are built with a good deal of ingenuity, having eaves nearly touching the ground. These will be as much as 15 feet high and 30 feet in diameter. For hunting purposes mere thatched shelters are erected for protection from the wind. Close to every hut is a very small platform for surplus food about 18 inches from the ground, and in it at least one fire is carefully preserved. This is the one thing that the Andamanese are really careful about for they do not know how to make fire, though 342 [151] 372

372 they show much skill in so carrying smouldering logs with them by land or sea that they are not extinguished. Their ignorance of this fundamental requirement of civilization is shown in their fire-legend that fire was originally stolen from their deity Puluga and has never been allowed to become extinct since. Excepting guns, nothing has more impressed the Andamanese with European power and resources than the use of matches, *i.e.*, of making fire whenever required with ease.

342 In the Little Andaman and among the Jarawas of the South Andaman, large permanent huts for use in the wet season are built up of solid materials to 30 feet in height and 60 in breadth to hold the fires of 7 to 8 hunting parties, say 60 to 70 people, *i.e.*, they contain 7 to 8 fires with about 8 persons to each "fire." The Jarawa hunting camp is much the same as that of any other Andamanese and his great communal hut is built on the same principle as the larger huts of the other Andamanese.

The use of the flimsy hunting shelters and camp huts of the Andamanese is rendered possible in the wet and stormy weather so common in the Islands by the denseness of the jungle, which prevents the winds from reaching them even when close to the sea-beach and causes the rain to fall vertically upon them.

619 **Government.**—There is no idea of Government, but to each tribe and to each sept of it there is a recognised head, who has attained that position by 622 tacit agreement on account of some admitted superiority, mental or physical, and commands a limited respect and such obedience as the self interest of the other individual men of the tribe or sept dictates. There is a tendency to [554] hereditary right in the natural selection of chiefs, but there is no social status that is not personally acquired. The social position of a chief's family follows that of the chief himself and admits of many privileges in the shape of tribal influence and immunity from drudgery. His wife is among women what he is [888] among men and at his death, if a mother and not young, she retains his privileges. Age commands respect and the young are deferential to the elders. Offences, *i.e.*, murder, theft, adultery, mischief, assault, are punished by the 627 aggrieved party on his own account by injury to the body and property or by murder, without more active interference on the part of others than is consistent with their own safety, and without any fear of consequences except vengeance from the friends of the other side, and even this is usually avoided by disappearance till the short memory of the people has obliterated wrath.

421 Property is communal, as is all the land, and ideas as to individual possessions are but rudimentary, accompanied with an incipient tabu of the property belonging to a chief. An Andamanese will often readily part with ornaments to any one who asks for them. Theft, or the taking of property without leave, is only recognised as to things of absolute necessity, as arrows, pig's flesh, fire. 437 A very rude barter exists between tribes of the same group in regard to articles not locally obtainable or manufactured. This applies especially to cooking pots, which are made of a special clay found only in certain parts of the islands. The barter is really a gift of one article in expectation of another of assumed corresponding value in return, and a row if it is not forthcoming. The territory of other tribes is carefully respected without however there being any fixed boundaries.

562 The duties of men and women are clearly defined by custom, but not so as to make that of the women comparatively hard. The women have a tacitly acknowledged inferior position, but it is not such as to be marked or to leave them without influence.

771 **Religion.**—The religion is simple animism and consists of fear of the evil spirits of the wood, the sea, disease and ancestors, and of avoidance of acts traditionally displeasing to them, and this in spite of an abundance of mythological tales told in a confused, disjointed manner that is most instructive to the student of such things. There is neither ceremonial worship nor propitiation. There is an anthropomorphic deity, Puluga, the cause of all things, whom it is not, however, necessary to propitiate, though sins, *i.e.*, acts displeasing to him, are avoided for fear of damage to the products of the jungle. Puluga dwells now in the sky, but used to live on the top of Saddle Peak, their highest mountain. The Andamanese have an idea that the "soul" will go under the earth by an aerial bridge after death, but there is no heaven nor hell nor any idea of a cor-

poreal resurrection in a religious sense. There is much active faith in dreams, which sometimes control subsequent conduct and in the utterances of "wise men," dreamers of prophetic dreams, gifted with second sight and power to communicate with spirits and to bring about good and bad fortune, who practise an embryonic magic and witchcraft to such personal profit by means of good things tabued to themselves as these people appreciate. There are no oaths, covenants and ordeals, nor any forms of appeal to supernatural powers. 771

Puluga, who is fundamentally with some definiteness identifiable with the storm (*Wuluga*) mixed up with ancestral chiefs, has so many attributes of the Deity that it is fair to translate the term by "God." He has a wife and a family of one son and many daughters. He transmits his orders through his son to his daughters, who are his messengers, the Morowin. He has no authority over the evil spirits and contents himself with pointing out offenders against himself to them. The two great evil, *i.e.*, harmful, spirits are Erem-chauga of the Forest and Juruwin of the Sea. Like Puluga both have wives and families. The minor evil spirits are Nila and a numerous class, the Chol, who are practically spirits of disease. The Sun is the wife of the Moon and the Stars are their children dwelling near Puluga, but there is no trace of sun-worship, though they twang their bows and "chaff" the moon during an eclipse, and a solar eclipse frightens them, keeping them silent.

The Andamanese idea of the soul arises out of his reflection in water and not out of his shadow which follows him about. His reflection is his *spirit*, which goes after death to another jungle world, Chaitan, under the earth, which is flat and supported on an immense palm tree. There the spirit repeats the life here, visits the earth occasionally and has a distinct tendency to transmigration into other beings and creatures. Every child conceived has had a prior existence and the theory of metempsychosis appears in many other superstitions, notably in naming a second child after a previous dead one, because the spirit of the former babe has been transferred to the present one, and in their recognising of all Natives of India and the Far East as *chauga*, or persons endowed with the spirits of their ancestors.

Superstitions.—The superstitions and mythology of the Andamanese are the direct outcome of their beliefs in relation to spirits. Thus, fire frightens Erem-chauga, so it is *always* carried. They avoid offending the Sun and the Moon by silence at their rise. Puluga shows himself in storm, and so they appease him by throwing explosive leaves on the fire, and deter him by burning beeswax, because he does not like the smell. Earthquakes are the sport of the ancestors. There are lucky and unlucky actions, but not many, and a few omens and charms. Animals and birds are credited with human capacities, *e.g.*, convicts murdered by Jarawas have been found with heavy stones placed on them and stones have been found placed along their pathways. Every Andamanese knows that this is a warning to the birds not to tell the English that the men had been murdered and that the murderers had passed along the path in front.

Mythology.—The great bulk of the Andamanese mythology turns on Puluga and his doings with Tomo, the first ancestor, to whom and his wife he brought fire and taught all the arts and for whom he created everything. This line of belief is still alive and everything natural that is new is attributed to Puluga. Thus when the Andamanese were introduced to the volcano, Barren Island, on seeing the smoke from the top they at once christened it Molatarchona, Smoke Island, and said the fire was Puluga's. 773

The next most important element in the mythology is in the story of the cataclysm, which engulfed the islands and was of course caused by Puluga. It separated the population and destroyed the fire, which was afterwards stolen by Luratut, the kingfisher, and restored to the people. The population previous to the cataclysm became the *chauga* or ghostly ancestors.

Other stories relate in a fanciful way the origin of customs, *e.g.*, tattooing and dancing, of the arts, articles of food, harmful spirits, and so on.

An important ethnological item in these stories is the constant presence of the ideas of metempsychosis and of metamorphosis into animals, fish, birds, stone and other objects in nature. Indeed the fauna chiefly known to the Andamanese are ancestors changed supernaturally into animals.

Initiatory Ceremonies.—There are rudimentary initiatory customs for both males and females, connected with arrival at puberty and marriageability 881

881 and pointing to a limited tabu. On reaching puberty or thereabouts, between 12 and 16 years of age, abstention from about 6 kinds of food, each in turn, is voluntarily commenced and continued for some years. At the end of each abstention there are a few ceremonies and some dancing and the youth of both sexes become "grown up." There is nothing else to mark this period beyond the application of an honorific name while it lasts, no secret to be communicated, no religious ceremony. In after-life, however, men who have gone through the initiatory period together will not fight, quarrel, nor call each other by name. They will assume great friendship, while avoiding each other with a mutual shyness. The women also practise a limited tabu as to food during menstruation and pregnancy. The idea of tabu does undoubtedly exist as to food and every man has his own tabued articles through life, which is, however, usually something observed to disagree with him in childhood or to be unpalatable.

264 576 There are also limitations as to sexual family relations. Only husband and wife can eat together. Widows and widowers, bachelors and maidens eat with their own sex only. A man may not address directly a married woman younger than himself or touch his wife's sister or the wife of a younger relative, and *vice versâ*.

302 304 The tattooing is partly ceremonial, as a test of courage and endurance of pain, and so is painting the body with clays, oils, etc. By the material and design is shown sickness, sorrow or festivity and the unmarried condition.

535 **Amusements.**—The great amusement of the Andamanese, indeed their chief object in life after the chase, is the formal evening or night dance, a curious monotonous performance accompanied by drumming the feet rythmically on a special sounding board, like a Crusader's shield and mistaken for a shield by several observers, singing a song more or less impromptu and of a compass limited to four semitones and the intermediate quarter tones, and clapping the hands on the thighs in unison. The dance takes place every evening whenever there are enough for it, and lasts for hours and all night at meetings of the tribes or septs for the purpose. It then becomes ceremonial and is continued for several nights in succession. Both sexes take allotted parts in it. This and turtle hunting are the only things which will keep the Andamanese awake all night long. There are five varieties of the dance among the tribes: that of the Onge-Jarawas being an entirely separate performance.

533 **Music.**—The Andamanese appreciate rhythm and time, but not pitch or tune. They sing in unison, but not in parts, and can neither sing in chorus nor repeat or even catch an air. The key in which a solo or chorus is started is quite accidental. They can be readily taught any dance step and can teach it themselves from observation.

Song.—Every man who respects himself is a composer of songs, always consisting of a solo and refrain, and sings without action or gesticulation and always to the same rhythm. The songs relate only to travel, sport and personal adventures, never to love, children and the usual objects of poetry, and very rarely to beliefs and superstition. The wording is enigmatic and excessively elliptic, the words themselves being in grammatical order, but shorn of all affixes as a rule. As in all poetry unusual words are employed. But clipped as the wording is and prosaic as the subjects are, the Andamanese are far from being unable to give a poetic turn to their phraseology and ideas. The women have lullabies for their babies.

524 **Games.**—The Andamanese are childishly fond of games and have an indigenous blind-man's-buff, leap-frog and hide-and-seek. Mock pig and turtle hunts, mock burials, and "ghost" hunts are favourite sports. Matches in swinging, swimming, throwing, skimming (ducks and drakes), shooting (archery), and wrestling are practised.

551 **Naming of Children and Adults.**—Every child is named for life after one of about twenty conventional names by the mother, of course without reference to sex, immediately upon pregnancy becoming evident, to which afterwards a nickname, varying occasionally as life proceeds, is added from personal peculiarities, deformities, disfigurements, or eccentricities and sometimes from flattery or reverence. Girls are also given "flower names" after one of sixteen selected trees which happen to be in flower at the time they reach puberty.

The "womb-name" is called the *teng-l'ar-ula* and on the child being born, the words distinguishing sex by the genitals, *ota*, male, and *kato*, female, are prefixed to it in babyhood. The women's "flower name" precedes the *teng-l'ar-ula* till motherhood or advancing years, but is often used alone. As the "flower names" are of much interest, the following list of them is given in the Bea language. There are eleven of them and flowers, regarded as identical by the Andamanese, belong to trees sometimes of quite different species: a mistake that is made by peoples of much higher mental development. 551

Flower name.	Tree.	Flowering month.
Moda	(1) Semecarpus (Sp.) (2) Odina wodier	March.
Ora	Chickrassia tabularis	March.
Jidga	(1) Unidentified (2) Croton argyratus	April.
Yeri	Sterculia (Sp.)	April.
Pataka	(1) Meliorma simplicifolia (2) Terminalia procera	May.
Reche	(1) Eugenia (Sp.) (2) Rubiaceæ	June. July.
Chagara	Pterocarpus dalbergioides	August.
Charapa	Unidentified	September.
Chenra	Lees sambucina	October.
Yulu	(1) Unidentified (2) Eugenia (Sp.)	November.
Chilip	Diospyros densiflora	November, December, January and February.

The people are now ignorant of the origin of the flower names or of the cause of the selection of the trees above mentioned.

The honorifics *maia* and *mam* are prefixed out of respect to the name of elderly males and *chana* to all names of married women. Girls are addressed by the flower name and the elders by the honorific. Names are not much used in addressing, but chiefly for naming the absent or in calling.

Marriage Relations.—The Andamanese are monogamous, and by preference, but not necessarily, exogamous as regards sept and endogamous as regards tribe or more strictly group. Divorce is rare and unknown after the birth of a child, unfaithfulness after marriage which entails the murder of both the guilty parties if practicable is not common, and polyandry, polygamy, bigamy and incest are unknown. Marriages are not religious, but are attended with distinct ceremonies. Marriage after death of one party or divorce is usual. Before marriage free intercourse between the sexes within the exogamous limits is the rule, though some conventional precautions are taken to prevent it. 582

Portman tersely describes the marriage ceremony thus—

"When the elders of a sept are aware that a young couple are anxious to marry, the bride is taken to a newly made hut and made to sit down in it. The bridegroom runs away into the jungle, but after some struggling and pretence at hesitation, is brought in by force and made to sit in the bride's lap. This is the whole ceremony. The newly married couple have little to say to and are very shy of each other for at least a month after marriage, when they gradually settle down together." 585

Marriages are the business of parents or guardians and they have a right of betrothal of children, the betrothal being regarded as a marriage. Marital relations are somewhat complicated and quite as strictly observed as among civilised communities. Old books on this point generally ascribe bestiality and promiscuity to the race, but quite wrongly. 584

Death Ceremonies.—Deaths occasion loud lamentation from all connected with the deceased. Babies are buried under the floor of their parents' hut. Adults are either buried in a shallow grave, or, as an honour, tied up in a bundle and placed on a platform in a tree. Wreaths of cane leaves are then fastened conspicuously round the encampment, and it is deserted for about three months. Burial spots are also sufficiently well marked. Mourning is observed by smearing the head with grey clay and refraining from dancing for the above period. After some months the bones of the deceased are washed, broken up and made into ornaments, to which great importance is attached, as mementos of the deceased and as they are believed to stop pain and cure diseases by simple application to the diseased part. The skull is worn down the back tied round the 764 765

765 neck, usually, but not always, by the widow, widower or nearest relative. Mourning closes with a ceremonial dance and the removal of the clay. The ceremonies connected with the disposal of the dead are conventional, reverential and by no means without elaboration in detail.

V. Arts.

324 **Stone Implements.**—The only stone cutting implement known to the Andamanese is the quartz flake chipped off, never worked, and held between the fingers for shaving and tattooing, and shells and fish bones are used for the small blades of the peculiar adze of this people, and for arrow points, scraping and cutting. A *cyrena* valve is the ordinary knife and scraper. Hammers, anvils, hones, and oven-stones consist of natural stones. They have never made celts.

177 The ends of glass bottles for some years, and iron from wrecks for a long time past, have been substituted for the indigenous implements, when and where procurable. The object of the long series of murderous raids made by the inland Jarawas on the outlying parts of the Penal Settlement has now been proved to have been made in search for iron. The implements on the whole are coarsely and roughly made.

411 **Weapons.**—The weapons of the Andamanese are bow and arrow, harpoon, fish spear, pig spear, and they have never had any notion of poisoning the blades, which however sometimes inflict dangerous septic wounds from dirt, though as a rule they are kept bright as a matter of pride. Barbed arrows and harpoons with loose heads are used for catching and pulling up game in the jungles and marking where turtle or large fish are sinking.

Domestic Arts.—Excellent information with illustrations on the domestic and other arts of the Andamanese is to be found in a minutely accurate work, Man's *Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands.*

283 **String and Netting.**—String for nets and all purposes is twisted, often neatly, from the inner bark of creepers. Large nets of this string are made for driving turtle and hand-nets for prawns and small fish and for wallets. Stout cord is made from the inner bark of the *melochia velutina.* Whole, split and scraped canes are used as binders.

285 **Weaving.**—The weaving is good, neat and stout, and baskets and mats are thus well made from strips of canes.

323 **Pottery.**—The unglazed circular clay cooking pots with rounded or pointed bottoms, to the Andamanese very valuable, are built up by hand, sun-dried and then baked, but not thoroughly, in the fire. They are often encased in basket work for safety. Their manufacture, form and ornament are typical of the Stone Age generally.

322 **Wood and Cane work.**—Buckets are hollowed out of wood or cut from the joints of the bamboo. Canoes are hollowed out of whole trunks of light, soft timber by the adze without the use of fire, do not last long and are only fair sea boats. They are however capable of holding many people and a good deal of light cargo.

301 **Ornamentation, Personal and Domestic.**—The personal ornaments made are—bunches and strips of fibres and leaves scraped, cut and hammered, fringes of dentalium shells and straw-coloured wreaths of hammered and roasted dendrobium bark. The bones, skulls and jawbones of deceased relatives are also used whole, or broken and scraped to fancy or requirement, as ornaments, besides necklaces of the bones of animals. Tattooing and painting the body are only ornamental to the extent that, in the latter case especially, deviations from the conventional designs are due to personal taste.

353 The only ornaments to dwellings and huts are the heads of turtle, pigs, iguana, paradoxurus killed in hunting. These are hung up partly as ornaments and partly as trophies, but not with any idea of record.

331 Every manufactured article has its own customary conventional line ornament in one or more of three colours and in one or more of eleven patterns approximately achieved only. The colours are red, white and brown from natural earths. The patterns are (1) chevrons, (2) close cross hatch, (3) wide cross hatch, (4) parallel lines, (5) parallels and chevrons combined, (6) lozenges, (7) plait or guilloche, (8) herring-bone, (9) cross cuts, (10) loops, (11) vandyke with scolloped bands and cross lines.

APPENDIX A.

POINTS OF AGREEMENT AND DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE ANDAMANESE AND THE SEMANGS.

The Semangs are found in Northern Perak, Kedah, Kelantan, Trengganu, and Northern Pahang in the Malay Peninsula. They have come considerably under outside influence and especially under that of the wavy-haired (Sakai) and the long-haired (Jakun, wild Malay) tribes of the Peninsula and even of the civilised Malays themselves. 171

Points of Agreement of Semang with Andamanese.

Hair: In colour and growth.
Height: Men 57 to 58 inches, women 53½ to 54½ inches.
Skin: In texture and colour.
Shape of head: Mesaticephalic and brachycephalic.
Eyes: In colour and shape.
Food: In its nature and elaborate preparation.
Huts: In leaf shelters; with the Onge-Jarawas, in communal huts, though not so good.
Funerals: In ceremonies and probable former disinterment of bones.
Belief: In the bridge to Paradise.
Bows: With the Onge-Jarawas only.

Points of Difference between Semangs and Andamanese.

Face: In the great variation of the Andamanese face.
Implements: In the blow-gun and *poisoned* arrows and spears.
Hunting: In trapping game.
Feeding: Men before women.
Quivers: In having reed quivers; Andamanese stick their arrows in the waist belt.
Ornamentation: In quality and artistic merit.
Ornaments: In personal ornaments, and in piercing the nose.
Huts: In rock-shelters, cave dwellings, tree huts, barricaded huts.
Clothing: Of hammered barks; loin-cloth for men, petticoat for women.
Magic: In its practice and in use of magical designs.
Music: In nose-pipe and bamboo castanets.
Songs: In their nature.
Marriage: Based on purchase and in ceremonies.
Beliefs: In Shamanism, metamorphism into tigers of living men, in ideas as to "God."
Language: In its mixture with Malay and Mon; basis can be proved *perhaps* to be (? Onge-Jarawa) Andamanese, though the specimens I have seen afford very little hope of this.

Also a portion of the Semangs have fixed habitations and a rude agriculture, this latter capacity being entirely absent in the Andamanese.

APPENDIX B.

JARAWA RAIDS ON THE SETTLEMENT.

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1872. Convicts robbed of tools and clothes between Aberdeen and McPherson's Strait.
1875. Four convicts killed on Kyd Island. [One convict killed and 2 captured (all runaways) at Lekerajoinga by the Beas for stealing their canoe.]
1878. Attack on Brigade Creek Andamanese Home: 1 man killed.
1880. Camp of friendly Andamanese attacked at Port Campbell.
1882. Andamanese skirmish with Jarawas at Goplakabang, but friendly signs at Kalatang.
1883. Five convicts killed at Ranguchang: 1 Jarawa woman captured.
1884. A Police Constable wounded at Maiilitilek: 1 Jarawa killed, 2 captured (1 wounded). Birds'-nest boat attacked at Ranguchang: 4 Jarawa women, 1 man (Habiyo) captured and released. Jarawa huts found in the Jarawa Khari Valley.
1885. Two convicts murdered at Ograbaraij: 2 Jarawa women captured and released.
1887. Andamanese camp at Chaual (N.-W. corner of South Andaman) attacked, 1 boy wounded.
1888. One convict killed and 1 escaped at Tusonabad and 1 killed at Mattra: 1 runaway killed: convict boat attacked at Tytler's Ghat in Port Mouat.
1889. Andamanese camp at Port Mouat attacked, 1 man wounded.
1890. Andamanese camp at Port Campbell attacked, 1 man wounded. One Jarawa child captured. Andamanese attacked at Motkunu in the Middle Strait. Three convicts attacked at Cadellganj, 1 killed, 1 wounded. Two Jarawas killed at Talalunta.
1891. One convict at Bindraban wounded.
1892. Andamanese camp at Bajajag attacked: 1 girl killed.
1893. Andamanese camp near Homfray's Strait attacked: 1 man killed, 1 wounded.
1894. An Andamanese, turtle hunting, was killed at Port Mouat.
1895. Two convicts killed at Cadellganj. Two Rutland Island Jarawas captured and released.
1896. One Jarawa wounded by an Andamanese at Bluff Island (Port Anson). Attack on Andamanese Camp at Goplakabang. Jarawa communal hut discovered at Constance Bay.
1897. One convict killed at the Tarachang Home. Jarawa village found on Torabi Hill, Port Campbell: 3 Jarawas and 1 woman wounded. Three convicts at Cadellganj killed.
1898. Ration boat in Shoal Bay attacked at Jirkatang: 1 convict and 1 police constable wounded.
1899. Jirkatang temporary convict barrack attacked: 2 convicts wounded: 1 Jarawa wounded: 1 friendly Andamanese wounded.
1901. Three convicts killed: 2 wounded at Cadellganj and Jatang.
1902. Two convicts killed at Jatang: 1 Jarawa child captured at Talalunta and 2 women, 2 children and 2 boys captured at Wibtang, Mr. Vaux killed at Wibtang.

APPENDIX C.

PAPERS CONNECTED WITH PROCEEDINGS IN RELATION TO THE JARAWAS IN 1902.

These papers contain the only valuable record of proceedings in connection with the Jarawas and their country that exists. 000

They show the difficulties and dangers that attend those who venture into the interior of the Andamans.

I.

PORT BLAIR, THE 26TH FEBRUARY 1902.

The Chief Commissioner announces with the greatest regret the death of Mr. Percy Vaux, Seventh Assistant Superintendent, who was killed by the Jarawa Tribe on the night of the 24th February 1902. The Commission loses in him a most promising officer.

The distressing circumstances under which this officer suddenly lost his life renders his loss all the more deplorable. He was killed during a struggle with the hostile tribe of the Jarawas just as he was about to complete what had otherwise been a most successful series of operations, in which he had exhibited much courage, endurance and skill. The circumstances which caused his death are as follows:—

The marauding parties of Jarawas that almost every cold season make raids on the outskirts of the Penal Settlement, this season, in November 1901 and January 1902, raided the Forest Department gangs working at Jatang, about 25 miles north of Port Blair, killing and wounding convicts at their work. A party was organised in consequence to try and discover their haunts in the jungles and to put a stop to further raiding, but on a somewhat larger scale than usual, as the two last raids appeared to be more purposeful than hitherto.

The officials detailed for the duty were Mr. Percy Vaux, Officer in charge of the Andamanese with Mr. Bonig, Assistant Harbour Master, and Mr. C. G. Rogers, Deputy Conservator of Forests. Men from the Andaman Military Police Force and picked Andamanese trackers accompanied them.

Mr. Vaux proceeded up the West Coast of the South Andaman on 25th January 1902 and was successful in the very difficult operation of discovering the camps and paths of the Jarawas in the hills above Bilap Bay, about 8 miles north of Port Campbell. He then on the advice of the Andamanese with him proceeded northwards to Port Anson and thence to Pochang in the South Andaman at the southern extremity of that harbour. Here, with much skill and difficulty he discovered the main Jarawa track running southwards from the harbour, and also the chief place of residence of the Jarawas during the rains. Having accomplished this, Mr. Vaux returned to Port Blair and brought with him a much fuller report upon this practically unknown tribe than had hitherto been made. Mr. Rogers meanwhile was endeavouring to work his way direct from Jatang on the east across the South Andaman to Ike Bay on the West Coast, right athwart the country believed to be occupied by the Jarawas.

Mr. Vaux was then directed to join with Mr. Rogers and make further investigations at Pochang, and after ascertaining that the main Jarawa path led southwards beyond Pochang indefinitely, the party returned to Port Blair. This expedition accomplished part of the objects aimed at, in that it showed where the Jarawas started from on their raids and proved that the object of their unprovoked murderous attacks on parties from the Settlement working in the jungles was to procure iron and iron implements, and not to procure water and food as hitherto supposed.

On 17th February 1902, the party was reorganised thus:—Mr. Vaux with Mr. Bonig, 12 Police and Andamanese; Mr. Rogers accompanying them. The general object was to discover the southern termination of the main Jarawa path and to drive the Jarawa marauders northwards along it and away from the neighbourhood of the Settlement. The party started as before along the West Coast and, on the advice of the Andamanese, searched the jungles about Island Bay, some 10 miles north and north-east respectively of the outlying villages of Templeganj and Anikhet. This was a task of much difficulty, and in the course of the search, in three parties under Messrs. Vaux, Rogers and Bonig, Mr. Vaux came in the evening upon a hunting camp of the Jarawas. Judging from its position and distance from the chief home of the tribe at Pochang, he inferred that the party's real object was a raid on the Settlement villages. He successfully rushed the camp by moonlight and discovered, among other things, a large new Forest Department adze, which had been taken from a convict wounded in the Jarawa attack on Jatang in November 1901. This confirmed him in his suspicions as to the reason of the hunting party's presence so close to the Settlement. None of Mr. Vaux's party was hurt in this attack, the Jarawas being too startled to shoot.

In their flight the Jarawas left in the camp a baby and a small girl. This circumstance, and also the advice of the Andamanese as to further proceedings, determined Mr. Vaux to proceed to Port Anson, to the Andamanese Home there, where the children could

be taken care of. Adopting generally the advice of the Andamanese, Mr. Vaux then proceeded again to Pochang and followed the main Jarawa track southwards steadily, which proved, beyond Pochang, to be an exceedingly difficult affair. The party proceeded about 15 miles march beyond Pochang in a south-east direction to Wibtang, a point about 6 miles west of Port Meadows and some 18 miles from Jatang: thus showing that the chief Jarawa haunt is the jungle between the mouth of Shoal Bay and Port Anson. At Wibtang an occupied hunting camp was found to block the way, further and Mr. Vaux judged it necessary to rush this camp at night as he had the previous one. For this purpose he selected one Police Constable and 16 Andamanese; and there were besides these himself, Mr. Rogers and Mr. Bonig, and three servants: altogether 23 men.

The camp was rushed about 10 P.M. on the night of the 24th February after the moon had risen. Mr. Vaux went in first, followed by Messrs. Rogers and Bonig, the Andamanese coming up immediately behind. There was no real resistance, but as Mr. Vaux was stooping down in a hut grappling with two Jarawas, his foot disturbed the smouldering embers of a fire, which blazed up, exposing him to the view of a man in another hut, who shot two arrows at him, and decamped. These were the only two arrows shot in the affair, but one of them, a barbed iron-headed arrow, entered Mr. Vaux on the left side between the ninth and tenth ribs with great force, killing him almost immediately. Next morning, as soon as it was possible to see, Mr. Rogers carried back the body with many difficulties through the jungles to Pochang and Port Anson, reaching that harbour in the evening, whence the body was conveyed in the steam launch *Belle* through Middle Strait to Port Blair arriving about midnight on the 25th February. Two women and six children were found in the camp after the attack, who accompanied Mr. Rogers' party to Port Anson and onwards quite cheerfully, and it has been ascertained that the children found in the first camp rushed are closely related to one of these women. European iron implements were found in this camp also. These facts prove that the men in both camps were of the parties which actually attacked the Forest Department convicts at Jatang in November. A number of implements of offence were found in both camps and have been removed. In fact these particular bodies of marauders have been deprived of means of offence for some time to come.

Mr. Rogers deserves the greatest credit for his rapid march back through the jungles, during which one of his party was slightly wounded by a couple of Jarawas, who however decamped on being fired on. So also does Mr. Bonig for his skilful management of the steam launch *Belle* through so narrow a passage as Middle Strait at night. The conduct of the Police on the return march was exemplary.

The object then of the operations which Mr. Vaux, with the assistance of Mr. Rogers and Mr. Bonig, conducted with such conspicuous endurance, courage, and skill has been entirely carried out. Precise information has been obtained of the location of the Jarawas, of the real object of their annual raids, of the best mode of reaching them, and they have been taught that they cannot raid and murder with impunity. The return of the captured women will teach the tribe something of ourselves and that we have the power, if we choose, to take their families away from them. Thanks also to the energy and determination of Messrs. Vaux and Rogers, much knowledge of the nature of the country and forests in the hitherto untouched interior of the South Andaman has been gained, and it is very satisfactory to note that the parties of Jarawas punished belonged to the actual perpetrators of the latest raids. No operations in relation to the Jarawas have hitherto been anything like so successful. It is therefore all the more to be deplored that the leader should have lost his life in the chances of a struggle. It is a still more regrettable circumstance to record that the life need not have been lost, for at the last moment Mr. Vaux made an error in judgment in not waiting as usual for the Andamanese to rush into the camp first. Had this been done, it is more than probable that no life would have been lost. But it has been ascertained that he feared that if he did so the Andamanese accompanying him would kill all the men they could and that the rest would escape with most of their weapons and stolen property. It was to avoid this that he determined to go before them when the word was given to attack, and thus he lost his life in a laudable, though mistaken, attempt to save bloodshed.

II.

Extracts from Reports and Diaries of two Reconnaissances of the country supposed to be occupied by the Jarawas.

First Reconnaissance.

Extract from the Report, dated 8th February 1902, from the late Mr. P. Vaux, Officer in charge, Andamanese, Port Blair, from 25th January to 4th February, 1902.

25th January.—Left Port Blair at 6-30 P.M., in the steam launch *Belle* with Mr. Bonig, Assistant Harbour Master, a Havildar and 6 Constables of the Port Blair Police and a party of 15 Andamanese. Reached Macpherson's Strait at 9 P.M., and anchored for the night.

26th January.—Weighed anchor at 9 A.M., the delay being due to our giving the Police and Andamanese a run on shore. Proceeded on to Port Mouat to take on an Andamanese canoe. Left as soon as possible and proceeded to Constance Bay. We landed

here and found some self-supporters from Templeganj. One of these men told me a story about some of his villagers being attacked by Jarawas two days before, and I thought it worth while to send for the Chaudhri and the villagers. On their arrival they all denied having ever seen anything of the Jarawas and denied having spread any such report. There seemed to be no truth whatever in the story; so I sent them all back. Anchored here for the night.

27th January.—Started from Constance Bay at 7 A.M., and arrived at Port Campbell at 11 A.M. I sent a party of Andamanese and Police into the jungle to the south, to try and pick up traces of the Jarawas. I and Mr. Bonig searched with others along the shore but found no recent traces. Mr. Bonig picked up an old bow and a basket. It seems probable that the Jarawas have not camped here since the man was shot by the Census party last year. The Police and Andamanese returned in the evening without having found anything. The Janglis had a grand turtle hunt in the evening, shooting some dozen turtles and a small pig, the latter a splendid running shot by quite a young boy. There was so much excitement over the turtle hunt, that those on the launch thought we were being attacked, and the remaining Police and Andamanese came hastening off, including the women, the latter with piles of arrows.

28th January.—Up to to-day we had done nothing, but from to-day the real business began. Mr. Bonig and I each took a party and we began a systematic beat of the jungle. We arranged for Mr. Bonig to examine the coast to the north and the adjoining jungle, while I beat the jungle in the interior. My party consisted of 5 Andamanese and 3 policemen, Mr. Bonig taking the remaining Adamanese and Police, except a guard of two of the latter who were left on board. I rowed off in the dinghy at 8 A.M., and landed on the northern shore of Port Campbell opposite the southern extremity of Clyde Island. Here we searched in the dense jungle about the swamps and hills, and came upon the footsteps of Jarawas, some old and some fairly recent. About 10 o'clock we came on the fresh traces of a Jarawa. There was only one man, and he was evidently hunting, but after following his tracks for a considerable distance we gave it up, as he was obviously after game, and his tracks led nowhere. It was not until midday that we came upon a Jarawa camp. Amid considerable excitement we surrounded it, only to find it empty. Our Andamanese at once seated themselves in the huts, and lit their pipes. This I discovered afterwards was their universal procedure. It was a five-hut camp—three large huts in the middle and one at each side, at a little distance; these latter our Janglis explained were for look-outs, where only men slept. The Andamanese said it had not been occupied since the rains. It was substantially built, with stout *ballis*, and was well thatched. A string of pig skulls was hanging from the roof, besides this an old basket and an arrow was all we could find. The Andamanese told me the Jarawas would use it again next rains. The huts were on slightly rising ground alongside a fresh water stream. We waded up the stream between 2 and 3 miles, sometimes waist deep, and frequently knee deep. It was here that it first struck me, that the theory of the Jarawa raids being due to scarcity of water was unfounded, and of this, as will be seen, I had plenty of confirmation before returning to Port Blair. In the course of the day we came on several water holes and springs. When not walking along the course of the stream, we were literally wriggling through the dense jungle up and down hill. We got out on the coast again about 4 P.M., and reached the boat about half an hour later. We had been walking from 8 A.M. to 4 P.M., with perhaps one hour's rest, certainly not more, taken in intervals of about 10 minutes at a time. Yet I doubt whether we covered more than 15 miles. But no walking in the world could be more fatiguing, as we were bent double creeping through the dense jungle, every shrub of which seemed to bear a thorn. We then had a two-hours' pull back to the launch, as by this time it was quite low-tide and there was shoal water all around. We reached the launch at 6-30 P.M., Mr. Bonig and his party returning only a few minutes earlier. He reported having come on fresh Jarawa footsteps on the sea shore, at a Bay called Beliep, in Andamanese, north of Ike Bay. He also reported finding three anchors and a quantity of iron kentledge on the sea-shore close to Bilep, evidently from the wreck of a barque. I do not know whether this has been reported before. The wreck, he informs me, must have been quite an old one.

29th January.—As the traces of the Jarawas all seemed to be to the north of where we were, we left Port Campbell at daylight and anchored at Bilep at 7 A.M. Here we again divided into two parties, mine consisting of 7 Andamanese and the policemen, and Mr. Bonig's of similar numbers. Two policemen were left on board, one of whom, however, had fever. This constable was ill from start to finish and never landed at all. I rowed up a creek in the dinghy a little to the south of Bilep Bay, Mr. Bonig going up another creek in his boat which flows into the Bay. The creek I went up is called Gering-chapa-jig by the Andamanese; it was a fine broad piece of water quite as big as Brigade Creek. We were now in the heart of Jarawa country and every precaution was observed. The dinghy was rowed for, I suppose, a little over a mile up the creek. On either bank, signs of Jarawas were visible in the shape of felled saplings and leaves. At every bend in the creek the Andamanese drew their bows and fitted in their arrows, and at the least sound in the jungle they stood up in the boat with full drawn bows, as it was possible to have an arrow into the boat any minute. However, nothing happened, and soon the creek got too shallow for the boat, and we hauled it up high and dry, and tethered it to a tree. We then all proceeded up the river bed in the same order as yesterday, an advance party of Andamanese, then myself and the Police, and another party of

Andamanese in the rear. We soon came upon the track of Jarawas. First of a man, then of a man and woman, and then also of a child, all proceeding up the gorge. The river, or mountain stream, was of a most difficult nature to climb. It was very deep in parts, and most of the time at the commencement we were knee deep, often waist deep, and once when I slipped into a pool I had to swim. Similar accidents befell the Police, and these experiences have altogether dispelled the water theory of Jarawa raids as far as I am concerned. At times we reached almost insurmountable walls of rocks, which we had the greatest difficulty to get over. Sometimes I had to be hauled up the slippery rocks by the Andamanese, at other times we crawled through water-channels underneath them, and at others we were creeping through the leech-infested jungle on either side slowly working our way up the channel. The higher we got up, the more tracks were visible and we were evidently on a Jarawa highway, as men's, women's and children's footsteps could be seen ascending and descending. At about 1 P.M. we were evidently near an encampment. Trees were arranged as bridges over some of the boulders and pools and a beaten track was found on the side of the jungle where the river bed was impassable. Saplings were seen cut on every side and in one place a cold fire and a few shells were found. At last we got to level ground where the boulders ceased and the mountain torrent became a stream. We waded through deepish water for a fairly long distance. It was very cold as the sun could not penetrate the dense jungle. As the signs of Jarawas increased so did our excitement. At last about 2 P.M., the Andamanese seemed nonplussed, but after searching here and there went up a beaten track without hesitation, which ascended a hill, and there was the Jarawa camp. We approached it with the utmost caution, only to find it empty. It was a six-hut camp, arranged with the usual two look-out huts at the sides; it had been left about a week, and there were only pig skulls and an old basket in it. After a short rest we turned homewards down at Jarawa path. These paths are quite clear, branches and saplings being felled on either side, and except that they are made for small people are quite as good as dacoit paths in Burma. Thinking all was over we proceeded quite carelessly, when suddenly the Andamanese spread themselves out with every sign of excitement and a column of smoke could be discerned and afterwards huts. With the utmost caution again we approached and again found the huts empty. The occupants could only have left six hours before at earliest. The logs were smouldering, boiled prawn heads were strewn about, water vessels made of leaves with water in them were in the huts, and everything betokened recent habitation. But no cooking pots or bows were in the huts, some baskets, arrows, and a child's bow were all that we could find. The Andamanese were doubtful whether the Jarawas would return, saying no property of value had been left. Still I determined to wait and we lay in ambush round the camp. This was an eight-hut camp, and built just as the others were. After about half an hour there was a distinct cry from the direction of the camp we had previously visited, another cry followed, and afterwards two fainter ones. I believe myself our visit to the first camp had been discovered, and the cries were cries of warning. At abou. 3-30 P.M. the Andamanese said the Jarawas would not return and that we must get back. This I did not altogether believe, but after much consideration I concluded that there was nothing else to be done. We had many weary miles to travel through cold water, and break-neck boulders, and leech-infested jungle. So with the greatest reluctance, I gave the order to turn homewards by a Jarawa track, which led into a small stream which in its turn flowed into the big mountain stream of our morning's ascent. We hurried down the river bed, floundering over the rocks, falling up to our necks in the pools, and jumping and tumbling down the semi-precipitous track. In such haste were we that even the Janglis occasionally stumbled and fell. In spite of all our haste, night was soon upon us. It was dark at 6, so thick was the jungle on the banks of the stream, and from 6 to 7 we staggered along in what had become pitch darkness. It is difficult to say which was the worst, stumbling and falling over the steep, slippery rocks, or forcing one's way in the black darkness through the pathless, thorny jungle. It is a mercy that no serious accident occurred. At 7 o'clock I thought it hopeless to go any further, and though no one had eaten anything since leaving the launch I thought it better to camp where we were. But the Andamanese said they would manage it. They had now found a clump of bamboos, and cutting these they splintered them with stones, and set them on fire. Thus each holding a torch we completed the last few miles to the boat, over the rocks, through deep water and under and through the jungle. It was as rough work as one can well imagine, but infinitely better than the horrible half hour of inky darkness that had preceded it. At last at well past 8 we reached the boat. The tide was out and we had great difficulty in launching it and getting it over the first quarter of a mile. Then we got into deep water, pulled out of the creek, and finally reached the launch at 9-30. We had been absent 13½ hours, and must have been wading, climbing and stumbling at least eleven of them. We must have gone well over 20 miles. The Police with me again behaved excellently, though they were nearly done up: so was I, and even the Andamanese, though still full of laughter and cheerfulness, admitted they were very tired. Mr. Bonig was waiting on board, but his report was very disappointing. After hours of jungle work, he had come on the track of four or five Jarawas crossed into my river bed, followed them a long way down it, then through the jungle and out on to the sea coast near the launch. There he discovered that they had not only escaped, but that they had looted his boat, taking two of the four rowlocks (thoughtfully leaving him two to pull the boat back with, the only considerate thing I have ever heard of Jarawas doing), an old knife belonging to an Andamanese boy, and the bucket, and then gone off into the jungle. They had sat under a tree looking at the launch for an hour-and-a-half, within full view of

those on board. There were two policemen on board. There were also an Andamanese boy Henry, who was lame, through having fallen on the rocks two days previously, three Andamanese women, the whole of the crew, free and convict, and a lame convict *mullah*. Out of all these people none had the sense to get the Andamanese canoe along-side, get it manned and row over and approach the Jarawas. The rest of us had done all we possibly could to come up with Jarawas and here they were in sight of over a dozen men waiting to be approached, and were allowed to remain and to leave unmolested. After the hardships we had been through, this piece of news was really too discouraging. I may as well add here what had really happened, though this we did not discover until a careful examination of the tracks the following day. A party of two or three men, a woman, and a child had left the last huts I had visited early in the morning. Proceeding by a Jarawa track, to the river bed, their high-way to the sea, they had come on the tracks of my party and followed them down to see who we were, and where we had come from. Having arrived at nearly the bottom of the river they broke off through the jungle in order to avoid the deep water, and came out on the coast, thus missing my boat. Here they found the launch, and after watching it for an hour and-a-half, and finding themselves unmolested, they had strolled off and found their way to Mr. Bonig's boat. Having looted this they returned, either to the huts from which they came, or to some others near by. While they were following my tracks Mr. Bonig and his party had come on theirs, and were hurrying after them as fast as possible, arriving an hour too late, and it was then too late to hunt them further so they had had the narrowest escape. I had been an hour or so too early for them, Mr. Bonig a bare hour too late, while the people on the launch had had them in view for a whole hour and more and had done nothing.

30th January.—To-day was a day of comparative rest. As our efforts to come across the Jarawas in the jungle had all been fruitless, we tried to tempt them to attack us. For this purpose the Andamanese were ordered to bathe and play about on the beach, the three women we had with us being landed with the rest. Only two policemen, Mr. Bonig and myself landed and strolled about in an unconcerned manner. But all to no purpose. The wily savages, either from fright or some other reason, declined to oblige us. The Andamanese said that finding so many people about, they had gone to give intelligence to the remainder of the tribe. However that may be, we could see no signs of them and at half past one after frequent blowing of the whistle we left, Mr. Bonig took the steam launch up to Kaichwa Bay, while I marched up the coast. I found an old shelter on the shore close to Port Campbell, and after that the whole way up the coast the only sign I could find of them was an old piece of wreckage with nails in it, out of which the Jarawas had evidently removed several nails. After the last two days' operations the journey was quite an easy march of 8 miles or so along the beach. On arrival I found Mr. Bonig had taken a party in to search the jungle. He returned at 6 P.M. having found no signs of any one.

31st January.—Left Kaichwa at 6 A.M., for Port Anson, arriving at 9 A.M. Picked up two Andamanese who knew the country well here and proceeded to the southern end of the harbour called by the Andamanese Dum-la-chorag. Set off for the shore at once with four policemen and a large party of Andamanese. We rowed a short way up a creek called by the Adamanese Dum-la-chorag-jig, and then landed in the mangrove swamp, taking the precaution to hide our rowlocks in the jungle. We marched through this for 2 or 3 miles. It was fairly open ground, but the mangrove mud was rather trying walking. At the end of the swamp we divided into two parties and separated to search for tracks. My party soon picked up some footsteps, and after a little hesitation found a Jarawa path and proceeded along it. This was of the same description as those I had previously struck and I knew we were on a Jarawa highway. After going about a quarter of a mile we overtook Mr. Bonig's party, which had struck the track a little sooner. We all proceeded along together, and after going up and down hill for 2 or 3 miles, as we ascended a steep hill, a clearing was visible through the jungle. With extreme caution the Andamanese advanced, and on the summit sure enough was the big Jarawa camp. The Andamanese call the place Pochang, and it was as far as I can judge 5 miles from the mouth of Dum-la-chorag-jig Creek. We advanced to the hut and found it empty. After seeing the substantial hunting huts erected by the Jarawas in the jungle, I had been prepared for a big house, but I never expected such a large, well constructed building. It was roughly oval in shape, the length being 60 feet and the breadth 40 feet, while it was 54 yards in circumference. Seven stout posts in a rough circle in the centre of the house were the main supports of the roof. These were about 17 feet in height, and some were 8 inches in diameter, and all were barked and smoothened. Rafters stretched from these to bullies on the outer circle, where the roof sloped to about 3 feet from the ground. Except that it had no floor it was quite as good as an ordinary Shan or Karen house, and was large enough to contain from 80 to 100 people. From the top of the roof, between the 7 centre posts were suspended, on strips of cane, 9 or 10 feet long, over 250 pig skulls, neatly fastened up in basket work. Below the skulls was the big fire-place, around the sides of the hut were the smaller fire-places, evidently used by separate families. There were about half-a-dozen of these, but when the house is in full occupation there would be at least a dozen. Each fire-place consists of four stakes driven into the ground. Between these the fire is lighted, and some 3 feet from the ground a piece of neat matting like a chick is fastened to the stakes so as to form a shelf for the meat, etc. A dozen well made vessels which the Andamanese said were honey pots were suspended from the rafters, as well as baskets of all sizes, unstrung bows, leaf water vessels, and other things. The thatching was decorated with

342 [534] bunches of leaves like fans used in their dances, and of these there were hundreds. Several children's bows were found, also wooden balls for them to play with, and a rough circular piece of wood which the Andamanese said was rolled along, and into which they shot their arrows. There was a large *degchi* made out of a tree trunk fitted into one of the honey pots, and neatly-worked mats used as shelves for the food, and also I think to sit on. Among other things I discovered a glass bottle, and it is worthy of note that they had a stock of firewood chopped and tied up with cane ready for use in one corner of the building. The house was on the summit of a hill, and there were seven paths leading up to it. All were well cleared at their opening on to the hill and each could be commanded by a man with a bow and arrow. Over two of the entrances were raised platforms of logs sloping from the ground to about 3 feet in height. These were the look-outs and each commanded a path and my own impression is that when the camp is in habitation, over each path a similar platform is erected, and each path thus well commanded. The main approach leading due north was as well cleared as a Forest Department road, and must have been 15 yards broad at the exit from the camp. Large trees had been felled and saplings cut a foot from the ground, and around the hut the grass had been cleared as carefully as at a jungle pongyi-kyaung in Burma. They had even taken the trouble to cut down several large trees, one quite 5 feet in diameter, evidently to have a view of the next ridge. In fact so much care had been taken both in the building of the house, and the clearing of the precincts, and so well were both done, that it is difficult to believe that savages have been able to do this unaided. The Andamanese say there is another, possibly two similar huts to this. They say that the whole Jarawa tribe collects in one of these in the rains. I am rather doubtful myself whether the whole tribe could occupy the house; I rather think they under-rate their numbers, as the traces of them on every side in the jungle make me think there are from 80 to 100 men, whereas the Andamanese put down their numbers at 100 all told. They say that they burned a similar hut to this some years ago at Maiilitilek. In the dry weather the Jarawas scatter hunting and live in their hunting huts.

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000 After exploiting the house we considered what was best to be done. At first we determined to camp in the house for the night, and for that purpose sent back a party to bring up food. Then leaving a guard of Police and Andamanese we went down the main path towards the north. It was very easy going, and though it narrowed from its 15-yard entrance to a path only wide enough for a man, there was no difficulty in getting along. We, however, found no fresh traces, indeed the only track we saw was that of a man who the Andamanese said was going to look after the house. They explained that every two or three days in the dry weather a man or two goes to see that nothing is wrong with the house. After proceeding about a mile we again considered what it was best to do, and eventually I came to the conclusion to leave the house and to return. I took one specimen of everything to take back to Port Blair, and left everything else in its place so as not to frighten the Jarawas. We then returned as fast as we could, reaching the launch at 6 P.M. To-day's expedition was not a hard one. We had had a tramp of 5 miles or so to the camp and a mile further on and back, so the whole day's march was not more than 12 or 13 miles.

February 1st.—Started from Port Anson at 6 A.M. and arrived 10-30 A.M. at Port Blair. Received orders to start the next day, and return with Mr. Rogers.

February 2nd.—Left Port Blair at 7-45 A.M. and arrived at Duratang at 10-45 A.M. Proceeded on to Jatang at 11-30 A.M. Met Mr. Rogers and handed him the Superintendent's letter. Returned with him at once getting back to the launch at 4 P.M.

February 3rd.—Started at day-break and anchored in Port Anson harbour at Dum-lachorag at 9 A.M. Started off for the Jarawa house in boats at 9-30. On this occasion we pulled considerably further up the creek so as to avoid as much as possible of the mangrove swamp. On landing we almost at once came on the fresh tracks of five Jarawas, so leaving a guard of one policeman and several Andamanese at the boat, Mr. Bonig and myself followed them for about half a mile, but as we found they were only following our tracks of Friday we returned, and all made for the Jarawa camp at Pochang. We arrived about noon. We found the Jarawas had visited it since our discovery of it on January 31st and had carried off all the more valuable articles, such as the *degchi* and the honey pots. I had feared this when we came on their fresh footsteps. They had also slightly dismantled the house so as to make rude barricades on the unprotected approaches. I sent our Andamanese into the jungle to see that there were none lurking near, and then Mr. Rogers photographed the house, exterior and interior, while Mr. Needham, who was also with us, sketched it, after which we removed all the remaining baskets and other belongings, and cut down the pig skulls in the centre. After this we collected the Andamanese and they executed a war dance with the Jarawa leaf-fans. Then gathering up the trophies, consisting mostly of pig skulls, we returned to the launch, arriving at 4 P.M. Weighed anchor and proceeded to the Andaman Home at Port Anson, where we remained for the night.

February 4th.—Left Port Anson at 11-30 A.M., arriving at Port Blair at 4-30 P.M.

The four policemen who accompanied Mr. Bonig and myself on our several marches worked very well, and were always close to us. The work of the smarter boys among the Andamanese was splendid, and their tracking was a revelation to me. Their unerring knowledge of the jungle too was marvellous. For instance they had only visited Gering-chapa-jig once previously and that years before. Yet without a compass and with hardly a glimpse of the sun to guide them, they never faltered, knew exactly where they were and took the nearest way home. Two or three of them afterwards pointed out our position

correctly on the map, and told us where we should have to go to find the Jarawa Head Quarters. Without them we should have accomplished nothing. I am rewarding them suitably for their good work. 000

Extracts from the Report and Diary from Mr. C. G. Rogers, Deputy Conservator of Forests, Port Blair, from 28th January to 4th February 1902.

My party went out into the forest beyond the Jatang camp, but did not find any traces of Jarawas. They were out the whole day long and returned in the evening to camp. As they returned very late to camp on the evening of the 28th, I gave them a day's rest on the 29th and started on the 30th myself for a three days' trip into the interior.

The Andamanese sent were all young and, I think I may say, inexperienced men, for we came upon comparatively recent tracks of the Jarawas and a fresh camp, which I think they must have occupied the night before they killed the two convicts on the 11th January last and they absolutely failed to follow up this clue.

As soon as I had satisfied myself that the Andamanese were not working properly and that they were only moving in circuits and not going far from camp, I took the direction of our course into my own hands and steered due west.

We passed over a succession of hills, chiefly running in a generally north and south direction, and crossed a large number of streams, also for the most part flowing south or north. Many of these contained running water which was shallow where it was flowing (6 to 9 inches deep), but contained a large number of deep pools. Two at least of these streams contained fresh water fish, 8 to 12 inches long, and, I think, may be considered to be perpetual water-supplies which never dry up. The water in them was deliciously cold and perfectly sweet and good. The sun only shines on the water in the midle of the day, so they lose very little water by evaporation.

There is infinitely more water in the interior of the island than there is near the coast and the Jarawas can never have come to Jatang or other places where they have attacked convicts—in my opinion—in search of water. Pig tracks were also plentiful. All streams mentioned in my diary contained a good supply of drinking water.

We saw no foot-prints of Jarawas while going west. They, I think, chiefly use the beds of the streams as thoroughfares and do not as a rule go straight across country; though they would cross some ridges to go from one stream to another.

Near the place where we camped on the night of the 30th, we found a prickly cane cut with a *dah*, which showed that the Jarawas had been up that stream some time.

I never saw the sea on the West Coast, nor do I exactly know how far across the island I reached, but think that I must have crossed about half-way, and that with five days' provisions it would be possible to cross and recross the island near Jatang if you go due west through and over everything and due east back again.

I noticed some padouk near Jatang beyond where the working for London squares had gone.

After we had passed the first large stream running south, I saw no padouk. The forest seemed to be very poor, to contain but few large trees, and to be composed chiefly of small poles or trees and a dense matted undergrowth of canes, creepers and creeping bamboos, which made it very difficult to force one's way through it and formed an efficient screen against the sun.

The map does not accurately represent the nature of the interior of the island. There must be nearly 20 ridges to be crossed in going from Jatang to Ike Bay.

Most of these are not very high, probably not more than 300 to 500 feet, while some of them are as much as 800 to 1,000 feet I think.

The consequence of my having taken the Andamanese straight up and down all the ridges going north and south was that they told me, when I had decided to turn back, so as to reach Jatang while our provisions lasted, that they were absolutely unable to take me back to Jatang. So I had to guide the party across the island myself by means of a compass which I carried with me and was much relieved when the Andamanese recognised (at 3-30 P.M.) what they thought was Jatang Hill and Duratung, as I then knew that we should reach Jatang some time the next day.

The party I took with me consisted of 8 Policemen, 1 Orderly, 10 Andamanese, and their *pahrawalla*, 4 convicts as coolies, and an office peon and one of my *mullahs*.

We took a blanket each and rations and nothing else and slept out in the open near water.

We camped on the second night in an old Jarawa camp and left marks in the recent shooting camp we found that we had been there and took away the two pig skulls found there.

So far as ascertaining where the encampments of the Jarawas near Port Meadows and Jatang is concerned, the expedition has been a failure and as I failed to reach the West Coast I have been unable to locate their encampments between Port Campbell and Ike Bay.

The expedition has been useful in giving me an idea of what the interior of the island is like, which will be most useful in helping to determine the alignment of the path from Jatang to Ike Bay.

I accompanied Mr. Vaux back to the *Belle* on the 1st February, and went with him and Mr. Bonig and returned to Port Blair with them on the 4th instant.

I took photographs of the exterior and interior of the Jarawa hut, which have turned out well.

Diary of exploration into the interior of the South Andaman, west of Jatang, during the 30th and 31st January and 1st February 1902.

000 *30th January, 1902.*—Left camp at 7 A.M. Went north and north-west for 30 minutes and north with little west for 20 minutes first through the forest and then following a stream.

First halt for a few minutes at 8-10 A.M. Then followed a winding stream flowing generally north at 8-25 A.M., came across a pole which had been cut with a *dah* or axe and from which arrows had been made.

At 8-30 A.M. came across some foot-prints of Jarawas in small stream running west.

At 8-45 A.M. found a recent Jarawa encampment * on a ridge. There were eight fire-places in it. The charred ends of the wood and the ashes showed it had not long been vacated.

The Andamanese say there must have been a lot of people there, both men, women, and children.

Two fresh pigs' skulls were tied up to bamboos, some pieces of half-burnt leaves used for roasting the meat were found and also some cups made of leaves and bamboo water vessels.

The fires were arranged more or less in a circle, and some bunches of leaf sticks said to be used for dancing were also found.

All the wood was collected and placed in a heap in the centre of the camp and two or three bamboos cut and placed over the heap to show that we had been there. There were no shelters put up.

At 8-50 A.M., a little further on, we came upon an old camp which showed no signs of having been used recently. Some decayed shelters and two decayed fishing baskets were found, but nothing else. The Andamanese then followed up the trail for a short distance and then lost it. They had absolutely lost all traces of the Jarawas at 9-30 A.M.

We then followed a stream running north till 10-10 A.M. and the Andamanese then took us up a hill to the east, where they said they thought the permanent camp of the Jarawas would be found. We reached the top of the ridge at 10-40 A.M. It is probably a spur from Jatang Hill, but we found no trace of any Jarawas.

From 10-40 to 11 A.M., we went north and west on the flank of the spur and halted from 11 to 11-15 A.M. We then followed up a stream flowing south till we came to the water parting of it and a stream flowing north.

30th January, 1902.—As the Andamanese were wandering about aimlessly I then took them in hand and directed the line of march to the west along a spur running east and west, and at 12-20 we reached a large stream flowing south where we halted till 2 P.M.

We then proceeded due west and crossed another ridge, reaching another stream flowing north and south at 2-40 P.M. At 2-55 P.M. we reached a small stream (going west the whole time) running south-east, which soon fell into a large stream with lots of water in it flowing north and south. We left this stream at 3 P.M., and reached (going west) the top of a steep hill at 3-25 P.M., and saw a high ridge running apparently north-west and south-east to *the east* of us. We halted here till 3-30 P.M., and then again went west down a steep slope and then along a stream till 4 P.M. We then went south along this stream for a short distance. In the stream we found a dry cane which was lying in the stream and had been cut with some cutting instrument and soon met a large winding stream flowing west where we pitched our camp at 4-10 P.M. The stream had large fish, 8 to 10 inches long, in it, and the water was perfectly fresh and nice.

31st January, 1902.—The camp was undisturbed at night. We left camp at 7-30 A.M., and went up a steep spur going west with a little south in it.

At 7-50 A.M., going west with a little south we crossed another stream flowing south with water in it, till 8-5 A.M., we went up steep up-hill and then halted for 10 minutes to let the baggage coolies catch us up; at 8-30 A.M. we reached the top of the hill. An Andamanese here climbed a tree and said that he could not see the sea, but that there was another high ridge to be crossed to the west and another high peak to the south-west from which he thought we should get a good view, and he wanted to go to the peak to the south-west and not that to the west. This I consented to and started again at 8-40 A.M., going south-west and reached another hill at 8-15 A.M. From this the peak was said to be visible, so we went on down the flank of the hill. I observed the Andamanese and found that they were not going south-west, but had turned to the west and then again to the north and were going up the hill we had just come down! Only on a different spur of it.

This proved to me conclusively the futility of allowing the Andamanese to guide our movements, so I stopped them about 9-15 A.M., and we had a talk. They then confessed that they knew nothing about finding their way in the forest and had (so they said) never had to find their way in one. I asked them if they could take me back to Jatang and they said no, they could not do so. So after some consideration I came to the conclusion that it was not wise to go further west and that I had better try and guide the party back to Jatang. For if we went further west and I was not right in my directions we might not get back to Jatang before our provisions gave out.

At 10-20 A.M., started due east towards Jatang, reached the top of a ridge at 10-40 A.M., and going due east came to a large stream flowing south at 12 noon, stayed

* The Jarawas probably slept here on the night of the 10th January, previous to their raid on the 11th at Jatang.

there till 1-30 P.M. At 2 P.M., going still due east we reached the top of the next ridge. Halted 15 minutes, reached the top of the next ridge at 2-50 P.M., having crossed another valley. Halted till 3-10 P.M. An Andamanese climbing a tree said he could see the survey station (a hill cleared of jungle with a post on it) and also Kyd Island which he recognised by a large gurjan tree, we went still due east and came to a stream with water in it at 3-25 P.M., and crossed it. An Andamanese went up it and said he had found an old Jarawa camp a little way up it. Went to see it and found the remains of two huts. It had not been used for a long while. As we had had a tiring day, decided to spend the night in the camp and to return to Jatang the next morning. C00

1st February 1902.—Left camp at 7-20 A.M., going due east reached a stream flowing north at 7-40 A.M., and still going west another large stream flowing east at 7-45 A.M.; this soon bent to the north, so we left it and continued going east. This stream had lots of water in it and an Andamanese speared a fresh water fish about 10 inches long in it: followed along the stream for 100 yards and left it at 8-10 A.M., reached the top of another ridge, from which an Andamanese from the top of a tree could see Kyd Island, but not the sea.

At 8-25 A.M., going a little to the east of south we reached the top of a ridge from which the top of Jatang Hill (Survey Station) could be seen.

At 9-5 A.M., going a little to the east of south reached the next ridge and halted there for 5 minutes, and at 9-30 A.M. we reached a stream which the Police had visited the second day that they went out by themselves. Picked up the Elephant tracks at 10-30 A.M., and reached Jatang camp at 11-25 A.M.

Diary, dated 5th February 1902, of Mr. M. Bonig, Assistant Harbour Master, Port Blair, from 25th January to 4th February 1902.

25th January.—Left Port Blair in the steam launch *Belle* at 6-30 P.M., with Mr. Vaux, also 1 Naik, 6 Police, 15 Andamanese, and 3 convict servants.

Arrived at Macpherson Strait at 9 P.M. and anchored there for the night.

26th January.—Left Macpherson Strait at 9 A.M., arrived at Port Mouat at 11 A.M., left Port Mouat at 1-35 P.M., and proceeded to Constance Bay and anchored off a place, called by the Andamanese Koyab-lar-tenga, at 2-30 P.M. Took an Andamanese canoe in tow from here.

27th January.—Left Constance Bay at 7-30 A.M., for Port Campbell and arrived at the latter place at 11 A.M. Went ashore with Mr. Vaux, first at Montgomery Island and then on the mainland to search for new traces of Jarawas.

Found an old Jarawa bow, a basket and a bamboo drinking cup in the jungle, but no new tracks of Jarawas were found; they do not appear to have frequented this place since the Census expedition in February, 1901.

The Andamanese shot 12 turtles in the evening in the shallow water between Montgomery Island and the mainland, which place seems to be a feeding ground for turtles.

28th January.—Left the ship at 7-30 A.M., with 9 Andamanese, 4 Police and 1 convict, crossed Chauga Juru between Clyde Island and the mainland and landed on the mainland opposite. Sent the Havildar of Police with 3 Constables and 3 Andamanese along a small creek into the jungle, to search for fresh tracks of Jarawas, with instructions to try and meet us about 4 miles further north. I went with the remainder of the Andamanese along the shore up to Gering-châpâ-jig and followed up the left bank, while I sent three Andamanese up the right bank with instructions to follow us as soon as they had found fresh tracks. We soon discovered that the Jarawas frequented the vicinity, there being foot-prints of Jarawas in the swamp. The foot-prints of Jarawas are easily distinguished from any other, as the Jarawas appear to walk in a crouching attitude with their toes turned inwards, most probably the result of having to live in the dense jungle of the Andamans, where upright walking would be impossible. We also observed that a large tree had been stripped by them of its bark for the purpose, as the Andamanese informed me, of making waist ornaments. After having searched in the jungle for another 4 miles to try and find our other party, we returned to the beach. The three other Andamanese had not yet arrived, so we forded the creek and followed them up and observed by the foot-prints, that they had followed a single Jarawa along the shore. We caught them up again after a little while and as it was getting late then, I decided to return on board. Going along the shore I saw the remains of a wreck: there were only left of it three anchors, some chains, part of the windlass and about 20 tons of cast iron kentledge; judging from the size of the anchors it must have been a 200 to 300 ton vessel. When I returned to the boat, I found that my other party had returned before noon without having seen anything, so I decided not to send them alone in future. Arrived on board at 6-30 P.M. [481]

29th January.—Left Port Campbell for Bilep at day-break, arriving at the latter place at 7-30 A.M. Mr. Vaux and myself divided again into two parties, Mr. Vaux following up Gering-châpâ-jig, while I went up Bilep-jig. We rowed about a mile up the creek and went ashore leaving the boat by itself. We soon found the Jarawa tracks and followed them up through the jungle. We saw by the foot-prints that there were two men, one woman and a child in the vicinity. We followed these up and came on a temporary encampment, where they had been resting the night previous. It consisted of only a few leaves put on the ground to sleep on and a piece of wood as a head-rest, they having selected

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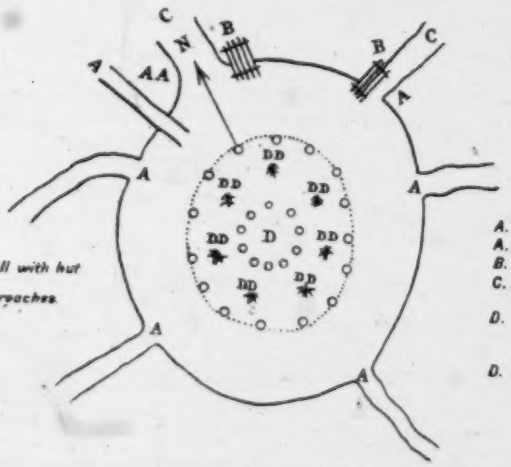
View of hut.

Section of hut as seen from the inside.



Plan of top of hill with hut and approaches.

A. A. Main approach.
A. Pathway.
B. Look out posts.
C. Jungle clearing in front of look out post.
D. Main fire place above which hung about 300 Pig skulls.
D. D. Small fire places.

[facing p. 78]

000 for this camp a promotory on the bank of a small water-fall, where it would have been extremely difficult to have taken them by surprise. After having followed the foot-prints a few miles further south, we came on the footsteps of Mr. Vaux's party, which the Jarawas had followed to the beach, so we followed these as fast as we possibly could. When we came near the launch the crew shouted out to us that ten Jarawas were sitting under a certain tree on the beach, so we advanced cautiously, keeping a good distance from the edge of the jungle. I left the Police behind a little so as not to frighten the Jarawas by our large numbers, but we found to our great disappointment that the Jarawas had left the place and followed up the creek again; coming on our boat, they had taken away from it two rowlocks and a bucket, having left the two other rowlocks with the remainder of the gear undisturbed. They had then followed our tracks into the jungle again. As it was getting dark now, it was of no use following them any further, so we returned in our boat to the ship. I may say that the number of Jarawas who passed the ship had been greatly exaggerated by the crew, as we saw by the foot-prints, there had only been the three adults and one child that we had followed the whole day. Mr. Vaux returned on board at 9-30 P.M.

30th January.—We went on shore in the early morning and remained on the beach, thinking that the Jarawas would either return to the beach or else leave this place altogether. But as the Jarawas did not come out, we returned on board and left Bilep for Kaichwa-log, while Mr. Vaux went with his party along the beach. Arrived at Kaichwa-log at about 4-30 P.M. and anchored inside the small harbour there at about 4-30 P.M.

This is a very good anchorage in any wind, except when it is blowing from the west. Deepest water is found near the north shore of the entrance. Went on shore again with the Andamanese and searched the jungle in the neighbourhood, but no traces of Jarawas were seen. We returned on board at 6-30 P.M., Mr. Vaux having arrived an hour previously.

31st January.—Left Kaichwa-log at 6 A.M. and arrived at Port Anson at 9 A.M. Took two other Andamanese on board here and steamed down to Dum-la-chorag, where we anchored at 10 A.M. Went ashore and passed through about four miles of mangrove swamp. We then separated in two parties again and after our having crossed a short distance of jungle, we came on a large Jarawa path. Having followed it a little way up, we were caught up by Mr. Vaux's party. This path led us on to a large hut of which I am forwarding a sketch herewith, which was rough copied from an original sketch taken by Mr. Needham on our second trip. This sketch, with its explicit description, together with the report most probably given by Mr. Vaux, will make it unnecessary for me to give any further particulars. After having unsuccessfully searched the jungle for another mile or so, Mr. Vaux decided that we should take a few of the Jarawa objects of interest out of their hut and return with the launch to Port Blair.

1st February.—Left Dum-la-chorag at daybreak and arrived at Port Blair, about 10-30 A.M.

2nd February.—Left Port Blair at 7-50 A.M. for Kyd Island and arrived at the latter place at 10-10 A.M., rowed up Jatang creek with Mr. Vaux and party, and landed at the Forest Department depôt, where we picked up Mr. Rogers, and then returned to Kyd Island.

3rd February.—Left Kyd Island at 6 A.M. and arrived at Dum-la-chorag at 8-40 A.M. Went ashore with Mr. Vaux and party to the Jarawa camp. We took away from it as many pigs' skulls, baskets, etc., as we could carry. The Jarawas who had been there the day previous had taken away all the wooden buckets we had seen there on Friday, of which a specimen had been taken away by us. We returned on board and left Dum-la-chorag at 4-35 P.M. for Lekerâ-luntâ where we anchored at 5-30 P.M.

4th February.—Left Lekerâ-luntâ at 11-40 A.M., and arrived Port Blair at 4-30 P.M.

Second Reconnaissance.

Extract from the Diary of the late Mr. P. Vaux, Port Officer, Port Blair, from 17th to 23rd February 1902.

17th February.—Left Port Blair 5 P.M. arriving at Macpherson's Straits at 8 P.M.; anchored for the night.

18th February.—Left Macpherson's Straits at daybreak, arriving at Baja-lunta at 10 A.M. Left at 10-30 with Mr. Rogers. It was a long pull and by the time we had landed and separated it was past 11. Beat about the swamp for some time for footsteps and while doing so came on Mr. Rogers. Left him at once, going south myself, while he went north. We soon came on tracks and these we followed for the remainder of the day. We soon discovered that the party of Jarawas was only just in front of us. So close were we to them, that at one place where they had sat down to take their food, we found a live fish that they had caught in the creek. We were following up a small stream and our direction was nearly due east. We slacked off somewhat as our intention was to come up with them in the evening. At about 2 P.M. we heard them cutting down branches and afterwards came to the boughs of trees that had been cut down for the insects inside them. The Andamanese said the party would be sure to camp in the evening and that then was our time. They were proceeding quite slowly, and we did the same occasionally losing

000 their steps, but never for long. About 4 P.M., we heard them commence to cut down trees for their camp, and we could distinctly hear the voices of men, women and children. It took them about an hour to prepare their huts, and then they settled down and every sound nearly was audible. With the utmost caution we got to within a few hundred yards of them, and there waited, deciding, as it was moonlight, in fact full moon, that we would rush their camp at night. It was most weary work waiting, and very cold and miserable, as we were all wet through. About 7-30 all sounds ceased, and at 8 o'clock the three best Andamanese crept away to discover where their camp was. It seemed an eternity before their return, which, as a matter of fact, was just an hour. They reported that they had found the huts and that all the Jarawas were sound asleep. We then all advanced, in nearly absolute silence at about the pace of a yard a minute. It must have been half past ten, when in the flickering moonlight we discerned their huts. I got separated from the Andamanese, who went to the back of the huts, while I and the Police went to flank. The camp was in absolute sleep. A baby cried and was hushed to sleep, while we were within 20 yards of the camp. As we stole along through the jungle, dead twigs broke and cracked and their noise at last awakened the sleepers; there were voices, exclamations, then figures could be seen emerging from the huts. A shot was fired from a rifle, then others, and all was confusion. I rushed into the middle and pulled at the post of one of the houses. I then saw a figure escaping into the jungle and I seized hold of it. This I believe to have been a woman. She escaped owing to the stupidity of a policeman. I called to one of the sepoys to seize her, and ran back again to order the firing to cease. The policeman let her go and she escaped. I believe her to be a woman, as she was smeared with white and as she did not attack me or bite, but only struggled to get loose. I had dragged her out of the jungle to the edge of the fire and all that the policeman had to do was to hold her, but even this he did not do. Two children, a girl, aged about seven, and a baby ten months or so, were seized by my direction close by. When the confusion had subsided, I made the Police and Andamanese make large fires around the camp and we collected the bows and arrows of the Jarawas and sat round the fires. I ordered a shot to be fired every quarter of an hour to scare them away in case they should return. The camp was of three huts, a mere shelter in the middle of the jungle. It was occupied by two families and two lads who did not belong to them, *i.e.*, two full grown men, two boys, two women and four children. What must have happened is that the Andamanese got close up to the huts and then the inmates awoke. They said they shot one of the men, putting two arrows into him, a large one under the arm and another fish arrow through his thigh. Then the boys and women ran out and the Police fired and then all was confusion. I had expected when the sounds of our coming had aroused the Jarawas, that they would have run out in front and fired at myself and the Police, who were plainly visible, but they were caught so sound asleep that they could do nothing and only thought of escaping. We passed a most miserable night crouched round the fires, with a shot being fired every fifteen minutes or so. None of us had had anything to eat since seven o'clock in the morning, but fish and pigs' flesh and potatoes were found in the huts and the Andamanese had a little, while I and the Police had a few *chupatis*. Sleep of course was impossible for me and the Police, and we shivered over the fires from eleven in the night till daybreak. When it was light enough I and the Andamanese followed up the blood stains, and found the two arrows covered with blood that the Andamanese had shot into one of the Jarawas, and which the man had succeeded in pulling out. We lost the blood stains very soon and then there was nothing to be done but to return. So we set off for the coast taking the two children with us, and came out about 9. We then had a two-mile walk through the sea and mangrove swamp getting back at 10 o'clock. Mr. Rogers pulled off with the boat when he heard us fire a shot. Mr. Bonig had gone south and returned in the evening, having found no signs of anything.

20th February.—Learning from the Andamanese that there was a woman giving milk at Port Anson, we changed all previous arrangements and proceeded to Port Anson, as it was very necessary to give the Jarawa baby some milk. Left at 7-30 and arrived at 1. To my great disappointment the woman was absent in the jungle. We tried feeding the child with milk, but we could hardly force any down its throat. So after waiting until the night for the woman to return and finding she did not, I decided to send the launch back to Port Blair in the morning with both the children and Mr. Bonig, and to camp at Pochang, the site of the chief Jarawa camp, till the morning with Mr. Rogers.

21st February.—Left Port Anson at daybreak and anchored at Dum-la-chorag at 7-30 A.M. Mr. Rogers and myself, a dozen Andamanese and 12 policemen landed, Mr. Bonig with the remaining Andamanese, the 2 Jarawa children and 5 Police returning to Port Blair. It took two trips of the Andamanese boat to land all and as every one was taking a week's rations we were all heavily loaded. The tide was exceptionally high and we had a very hard time, struggling through the mangrove swamp with our heavy loads deep in water. It took us nearly four hours to do this and about an hour to finish the march up to Pochang, where all arrived, very glad to lay down their loads. We pitched camp on the ridge of the big Jarawa house. Cleared a spot and all camped. The men rigged up a shelter of saplings and leaves for Mr. Rogers and self and the others camped round. There was a stream of water at the bottom of the hill, so for the remainder of the day we made ourselves as comfortable as we could under the circumstances.

22nd February.—Started out at 7-30 A.M. with a party of 6 Andamanese and one policeman. Wandered through creeks and over precipitous hills and through dense

000 jungle all day long: found absolutely nothing but very old tracks; could not get on to any big path, and eventually, after walking many miles, got on to the main *khari* from Port Anson and walked up to our camp. Mr. Rogers arrived half an hour later. Mr. Bonig had arrived at 10 A.M. from Port Blair and left a note to say that he had gone off hunting. He did not return that night. Mr. Rogers reported having discovered the main track south and a big encampment.

23rd February.—Waited until about 9-30 A.M. for Mr. Bonig, when, as it seemed doubtful whether he would turn up until evening, Mr. Rogers and self decided to move camp to the big hunting camp discovered by him. We accordingly packed up, and each shouldering a load as before, we set off and tramped about 6 miles along a Jarawa path to the hunting camp. The road lay due south and we only climbed a couple of hills, the rest of the way being along the slopes, and along a broad stream, some 20 yards broad, flowing due south; although only 6 miles or so off, we went so slowly, carrying our loads, that it was 2-30 or so before we arrived. The hunting camp was similar in construction to several I found, consisting of six huts facing a well cleared open space. It was on a hill top and had several paths running up to it. Water was close by Gorlakabang.

[*Note.*—Mr. Vaux was killed on the 24th.]

Extract from the Diary of Mr. C. G. Rogers, Deputy Conservator of Forests, from the 17th to 26th February 1902.

17th February.—Left Port Blair in the *Belle* about 5 P.M. and reached Macpherson's Straits soon after sunset and anchored there for the night.

18th February.—Left Macpherson's Straits at daybreak and steamed up the West Coast of the island and through the Labyrinth Islands to the place called Tálaplongta on the Andamans Topographical Survey Map (2 miles = 1 inch). Mr. Bonig found a passage through the coral reefs and anchored about a quarter mile from the shore and the estuary of the stream which enters the sea here. The Andamanese call it Bajaluntá. We landed with Andamanese to look for Jarawa tracks, camps and houses. Mr. Bonig went to the bay to the north. Mr. Vaux and self went up the estuary and landed at 11-15 A.M. He went to the south and I continued up the *khari*, and at 11-40 the Andamanese with me came across some fresh Jarawa tracks. We followed these up, and at 11-50 Mr. Vaux and his party caught us up, as the tracks they had found led them to the *khari* up which I had gone.

Each of us (Mr. Vaux, Mr. Bonig and self) had four or more Andamanese and three policemen, leaving three policemen on the launch.

[136] Sharks were plentiful where we landed and the Andamanese shot two, one of which was killed, the other going off with two arrows in it. The one killed was about 3 feet long.

Where Mr. Vaux had caught me up, the *khari* branched. Mr. Vaux followed up the more southerly of the two streams and I went up the northerly one.

The *khari* I followed went generally north. We crossed a ridge running north and south and came into another branch of the *khari* and followed it up. On another ridge, which we reached at 12-10 (noon), was the site of an old hunting camp, which had not been recently used.

At half past twelve we left the *khari* and went through the forest on the eastern and southern flanks of the intersected point marked 677 (height in feet) on the map above referred to. We did not find any new tracks of Jarawas until about 1 P.M., when we found some new tracks, including those of two young children, and following up these tracks came upon a fresh hunting camp, which had quite recently been left, as the fires were still burning. Flies were thick on the pieces of fish which had been thrown away and some cooked fish (whole) were found in the shelters in which the Jarawas had slept, and this was eaten by our Andamanese. The pigs' skulls were found and taken away. We followed up the fresh tracks from this camp and they took us back to the *khari*, at the point where Mr. Vaux and myself had separated in the morning.

As it was late and I was very tired, not being very well, we returned to the boat, which we reached at 5-30 P.M. and waited till midnight for Mr. Vaux, who did not turn up. About 7 P.M. we heard the report of a gun, and thinking that perhaps Mr. Vaux had been benighted and was trying to find his way back to the boat, fired a shot in return and waited. About 9 P.M. we heard another shot, which we thought was nearer, so replied to it. The next shot we heard, about an hour afterwards, seemed to be further off, so after waiting till midnight, I decided to go off to the launch and return to the landing place at daylight. Reached launch at 1 A.M.

At that time I never dreamt of Mr. Vaux's having found any Jarawas. I only thought he had been following up fresh tracks and had gone too far to return to the ship that night.

About 8 P.M., while waiting for Mr. Vaux, we heard shouts to the north of us. The Andamanese suggested that the sounds were those of Jarawas. I said I thought it was Mr. Bonig's party returning home, and on my return to the launch, I found Mr. Bonig there, and he told me that they had had to wade a good deal of the way home and had to shout to keep off sharks. He was up to his neck in the water and more than once was attacked by large sharks. The Andamanese would not come into the water and Mr. Bonig had to send for them after he had reached the launch. The tide was out when we landed. It was full when we returned, and so Mr. Bonig's boat was some way from the shore on his return. The Andamanese called the place we anchored at Bajaluntá.

Some poles at the camp we found had been cut with some cutting instrument, while a tree in the camp was hacked with what looked like (judging from the incisions made) an adze.

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The camp consisted of three huts arranged thus:—

Arrows show entrance into huts.

The Andamanese said the camp had been occupied by two grown up men, two women and some children. The huts or shelters were about 5 feet long and 4 broad, and 4 feet high. They are made of a framework of sticks, some poles being bent down also and tied; leaves of a large palm cut with long stalks stuck into the ground, formed the back and roof of the huts. There were remains of fires inside the huts and in front of them and a considerable amount of white wood ash.

19th February.—Started at 6 A.M. and returned to the place we had landed to wait for Mr. Vaux. Mr. Bonig was asleep when I left. I left a message for him to say that I would be back at 9 A.M. He came to me about 7-30 A.M. and I asked him to go down the coast and see if Mr. Vaux had got out on to the coast and if so to bring him back, and asked him to be back on the launch by nightfall. I told him that if Mr. Vaux did not return by 9 A.M., I should go back to the launch, have some food and start off to follow Mr. Vaux's tracks and see what had happened to him. 000

Mr. Vaux did not return to our landing place, so I went back to the launch and had some breakfast, while the Andamanese had their food and made preparations to follow Mr. Vaux's tracks and to stay out a night in the forest, if necessary; as I had told Mr. Bonig I would do this and that he was not to be anxious about me, as I should return without fail the day after. Got ready food for Andamanese and Mr. Vaux.

While at breakfast I heard the report of a gun and saw Mr. Vaux and party on the shore at the mouth of the estuary of the creek we had gone up. Put off at once to fetch him and found that he had come across the Jarawa party, whose camp we had found. He had attacked the camp at night and taken two children prisoners. One child was a girl four or five years old, and the other a baby boy of about nine months. Mr. Vaux had camped on the site of the Jarawa camp and had shots fired at intervals to keep off the Jarawas, but was not attacked. The two men in it were said to have been wounded by the Andamanese who were with Mr. Vaux. The Andamanese shot at the men in the camp, while Mr. Vaux rushed into it. The Andamanese say there were two men, two women and two large boys and some small children.

We waited for Mr. Bonig, who returned about 6-30 P.M. He had seen a party on the shore on his way down the coast and thought it was mine; so went on and then landed and struck into the interior, but found no new traces of Jarawas, and so returned to the shore and came back to the launch soon after sunset.

20th February.—The capture of the girl and baby boy upset all our plans, as it was necessary to take the baby somewhere, where it could be fed. The Andamanese said there was a woman with a baby at Lekeralunta, (Port Anson), so we decided to take the baby there and return to Port Campbell or Bilap (see Mr. Vaux's report of his first reconnaissance) and continue our search for Jarawa houses.

Left Bajalunta at 7-30 A.M., and arrived at Lekeralunta at 1 P.M. The Andamanese woman was out on a hunting trip, and as she was expected back in the evening we waited for her.

21st February.—As the Andamanese woman with a child did not come back, Mr. Vaux decided that Mr. Bonig should take the two Jarawa children to Port Blair, while myself and Mr. Vaux went to the large Jarawa hut at Pochang and looked for the main track south, and that Mr. Bonig was to join us the next morning at Pochang.

Weighed anchor at 6-30 A.M. Reached Dum-la-chorag at 7-30 A.M., disembarked and sent the boat back to launch. Mr. Vaux, self, servants, 8 policemen and 13 Andamanese landed, while 4 policemen and 4 Andamanese went with Mr. Bonig to Port Blair. The tide was up, so we had considerable difficulty in getting up the estuary to Pochang, the site of the large Jarawa hut, which we had discovered on the first expedition. We reached Pochang about 1 P.M. and pitched camp a little beyond and above the site of the large Jarawa hut.

22nd February.—Mr. Vaux and self, each accompanied by one policeman and four Andamanese, started off in different directions to look for the main track of the Jarawas from their large hut. We left camp at 7-30 A.M. I followed the stream, from which we got our drinking water, (it flowed a little east of south for half an hour), and then climbed up the ridge, which we could see south from the camp running in a generally north and south direction. At 10 minutes past 9 we picked up some old Jarawa tracks in the bed of stream and at 9-40 reached a very old disused hunting camp on a ridge to the south of the stream, which there bent to the West. We then crossed the ridge and went south-east, and at 10 o'clock reached another stream flowing south, which we followed, and at 10-10 A.M. reached a salt water stream, which flows to the east of south and probably flows into the Middle Straits. Where we met it, it was about 40 feet wide. This is probably Pap-lunta Jig.

000 We turned back from this and went west and turned south at 10-35 A.M., following down a stream which flowed into the same salt water *khari*, which was here 50 feet wide. We reached the *khari* the second time at 10-45 A.M. and swam across it. My watch got under water and stopped and my revolver also got wet. We crossed a ridge to the west of the *khari*, and came into a fresh water stream flowing south which we followed, and soon picked up a well defined track going along the flank of a low ridge with gentle slope going south. We followed along this for about 1½ miles and came on to a large hunting camp with six huts, which had
361 been recently occupied. The huts were arranged as shown below. The arrows show the entrance into the huts.

[see p.82B]

The Andamanese were satisfied that this was a hunting camp on the Jarawa path going south and that we should find another large hut, if we continued to march south along the track.

000 Decided to return to Pochang as it was about 3 o'clock and consult with Mr. Vaux and find out what he had found. Followed the track, which was most distinct the whole way right back to the Jarawa camp at Pochang. Found Mr. Vaux in camp. Mr. Bonig had come and had gone out to look for tracks. Mr. Vaux had not come upon any tracks and we decided to move camp the next day to the camp I had found. Mr. Bonig did not come back this night.

23rd February.—Waited some time for Mr. Bonig, and as he did not return, left a message for him to say where we had gone and moved our camp to the Jarawa hunting camp that my party had found the day before. Followed along the Jarawa track and reached the camp about 2 P.M. Blazed trees along the track to show Mr. Bonig where we had gone.

When we were about one mile from the camp an Andamanese (Daniel) caught us up. He had been sent by Mr. Bonig to tell us that he was going back to Pochang, as he thought we were looking for him. Daniel told us that Mr. Bonig had fever and was going back to the launch. About half an hour before nightfall, however, Mr. Bonig arrived. He had felt better when he reached Pochang, so came on and joined us instead of returning to the launch as he had first intended to do.

We came part of the way another route to the Jarawa camp and passed through another camp, which Mr. Bonig had seen yesterday and also found his footprints, so knew that he had come the way we had yesterday. He must have followed the track which led to the camp I found for a long way, and eventually gone off to some other track, where they had found fresh Jarawa tracks; which shows how extremely difficult it is to follow a Jarawa track, even when you have found it. The Andamanese called this camp Gorlakabang.

[p. 82 A]

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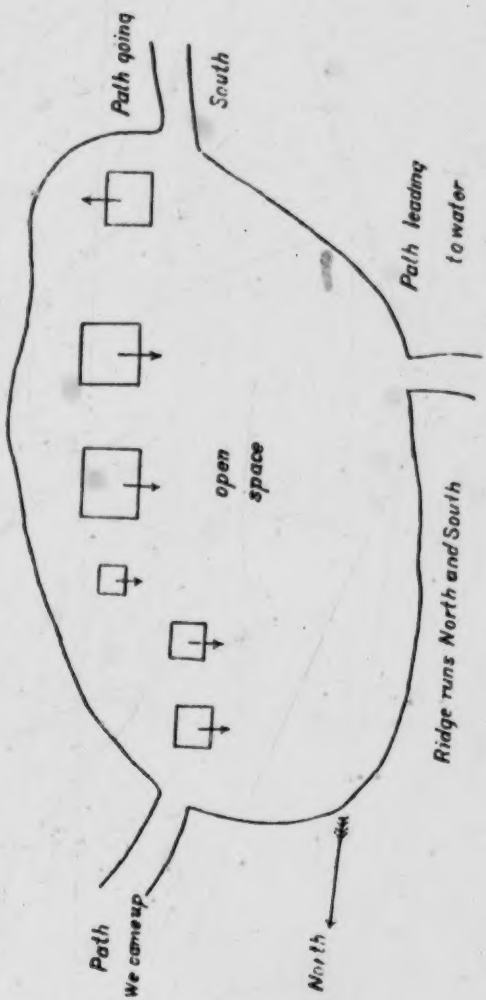

Path going
South
Path leading
to water
open
space
Ridge runs North and South
Path
We cameup
North

[p. 82 B]

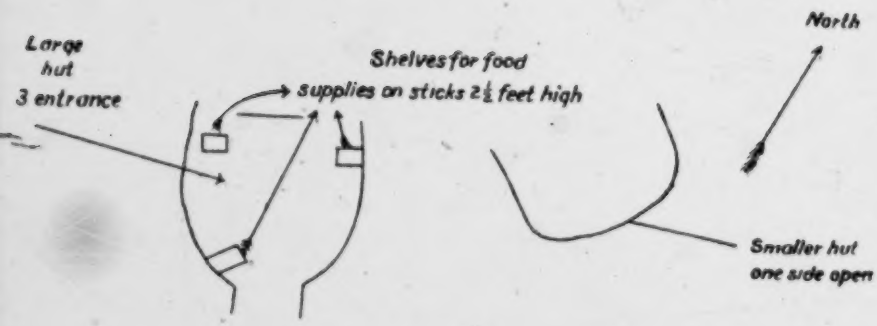
24th February.—Left camp about 7-30 A.M. Our party consisted of :— 000

Mr. Vanz.
Mr. Rogers.
Mr. Benig.
16 Andamanese.

(1) Henry.
(2) Golot.
(3) Magri.
(4) Daniel.
(5) Bobby.
(6) Beala.
(7) Mathew.
(8) Waiaga.
(9) Jack.
(10) Thomas.
(11) Ará.
(12) Dora.
(13) Barat.
(14) David.
(15) Beabei.
(16) Iraged.

One policeman.
My *mallah* Sher Khan.
Mr. Benig's servant.
Mr. Vanz's servant.

We first went south with little east in it along a stream, which we then followed up to its source and along a ridge and up a slope to the top of a rounded hill with gentle slopes, the highest hill about. The top of the hill was a bamboo forest. Found a rains hunting camp perched on the summit of the hill of two huts, one of which was much larger than the cold weather hunting camps. The huts were arranged as shown below and were under the shade of bamboos. 361



We reached this camp about 9 A.M. The thatching leaves were quite dry, but the roofs were in good order and waterproof. There is no water anywhere near it in the cold weather.

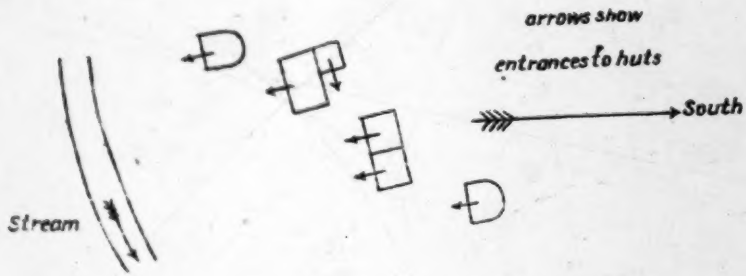
David (Andamanese) and two others had come on as far as this camp yesterday while reconnoitring for the path, so took us at a smart walk to it.

We then went down the flanks of this hill (shown as an intersected point on the survey map) and followed down a stream some way, and leaving it crossed a ridge and followed down another stream and came upon another hunting camp, which had been recently vacated : the Andamanese said probably about four days ago.

On our way to this camp we found some branches bent down in hoops and tied across the path. The Andamanese said this was done to stop the birds from telling us where the Jarawas had gone. In the camp two large stones were tied up with a piece of bark and left in the camp; we were told that this had been done for a similar reason.* [789]

* This may account for the heavy stones which are found on the bodies of persons murdered by the Jarawas.

361 There were six huts in this camp arranged as shown below. The thatching leaves were still green.



080 We reached this camp about 10-30 A.M. and went on along the flank of the hill and then down a stream, both going generally south. About 11-30 A.M. we heard the sounds of an axe and also voices, which were Jarawas'. So we at once retired up the stream, while the Andamanese went down a little way to see where the camp was, or if it was a camp. They came back soon after to say there was a camp with six huts and probably eight men belonging to it. So we decided to wait till evening till the men had come home with their bows, arrows, and tools, and to rush the camp when the moon rose, and try and capture a woman to suckle the Jarawa baby Mr. Vaux had taken. It was of no use taking the camp till the men had returned, as they would have their bows, arrows, and tools with them.

We waited till the moon was almost visible and then started down the stream towards the camp. It was too dark, so we soon had to halt until we could see a little better. After two halts we came to a more open place, from which we thought we could see the red glow of the smouldering logs of the Jarawa fires and after a short halt crept on once more. Three Andamanese went first, then came Mr. Vaux holding the hand of an Andamanese, I held Mr. Vaux's hand, Mr. Bonig held mine, the Policeman held his ; and so on.

We crept down into a depression and then seeing dimly huts in front of us, Mr. Vaux sprang up and rushed forwards to the nearest hut. I followed, passed him and rushed into a hut to the left. The Andamanese behind us fired arrows into the huts, while we were rushing on them. One shot was fired. My *mallah*, Sher Khan, followed me. I caught sight of a figure trying to escape and found that I had secured a woman with a baby. My *mallah* secured another woman with a baby.

Soon after this Mr. Bonig came to me and said that Mr. Vaux was badly wounded and he thought was done for. As soon as I could see some one to whom I could make over the woman I had caught, I went to Mr. Vaux's help, as Mr. Bonig had come to me a second time. Meanwhile the sepoy and Mr. Vaux's Burman (a free man) were firing carbines. I did not use my revolver. When I came to Mr. Vaux I found him in a semi-unconscious state, and he died two minutes afterwards.

When Mr. Vaux had passed away, I stopped the indiscriminate firing of carbines which was going on, secured the prisoners, two women and six children, including two babies, and posted the sepoy on one flank of the camp, some Andamanese to look out all around the camp, and went to the other flank myself, while Mr. Bonig stayed mid-way between myself and the policeman. The moon was not very bright, so it was impossible to make a thorough search of the huts, nor to make our way back : so I decided to stay where I was till daylight appeared and then to search the camp thoroughly for tools and pots, etc., and if possible to get back to the steam-launch with Mr. Vaux's body. The police sentry stuck to his watch well all through the night.

Mr. Bonig, self, and sentry fired shots occasionally to show the Jarawas we were on the alert and to prevent a night attack. The Andamanese gradually all fell asleep and it was very hard to keep any of them awake, but Mr. Bonig, self, policeman, and my *mallah* kept watch the whole night through. We were not attacked and I was very thankful when the first rays of dawn became apparent.

25th and 26th February.—As soon as it was light enough I sent off two Andamanese to fetch six policemen to help to carry Mr. Vaux's body.

We then made a thorough search of the camp and found one axe of European manufacture, several Andamanese adzes, and two rude knives, probably made of dahs, and a number of honey-pots, etc., of which we took away as many as we could, as well as all the bows and arrows that we could find.

Daylight showed that the huts were arranged, as shown below, on a flat piece of land in the bend of the stream. 361

[See p. 85B]

The stream had well defined steep banks from 3 to 6 feet high around the camp; where we entered it, the bank was about 4 feet high. No dead bodies of Jarawas were found in the camp, and we did not go down the stream to look for them.

As it was a very long way from the launch I had to push on as quickly as possible, so as to reach the launch before nightfall. The place where Mr. Vaux was killed is called Wibtang, and it had taken us three days to get from the launch to this spot. The Andamanese know the names of these places, as they once occupied this country and were driven out of it by the Jarawas, when they were pushed north by the expansion of the settlement. 000

Mr. Vaux's body was slung to a strong bamboo and hung down from it and the bamboo was carried by:—(1) the policeman, (2) my *mallah* Sher Khan, (3) Mr. Vaux's Burman, (4) Mr. Bonig's Burman, until the Police met us and after that it was carried by the Police to the coast.

The policemen behaved admirably. They met us about half mile to the south of the Rains Camp on the high hill (intersection point on survey map). We left the camp which we had rushed at daybreak and must have reached the camp where the policemen were left behind about 11 o'clock. The women and chiklren came with us quite cheerfully ahd willingly and gave us no trouble.

We halted about quarter of an hour at Gorlakabang Camp, where we all had some food, while the things were packed up, and then pushed on to Pochang Camp, leaving behind us what rations we had not consumed, so as to lighten the loads to be carried as much as possible. About 4 miles from the Pochang Camp Mr. Bonig, who was in the front part of the line, told me that Andamanese Mathew had been shot in the arm by a Jarawa. Shortly before this some of the Andamanese with me told me that they thought they had heard some Jarawas going on ahead.

Mr. Bonig then led the line, while I stayed in the rear with two policemen and three Andamanese, and I put some more policemen in the middle, and after a temporary halt pushed on as fast as we could, keeping all close together and firing at intervals to keep off the Jarawas. I was not told how many Jarawas had been seen and what they had done, so was anxious until we had got right out to the estuary. We reached the estuary of Dum-la-c'orag about 5-30 P.M.: so if we consider that we walked 1½ miles an hour, which I think we did, we must have covered about 17 miles of country.

[p. 85A]

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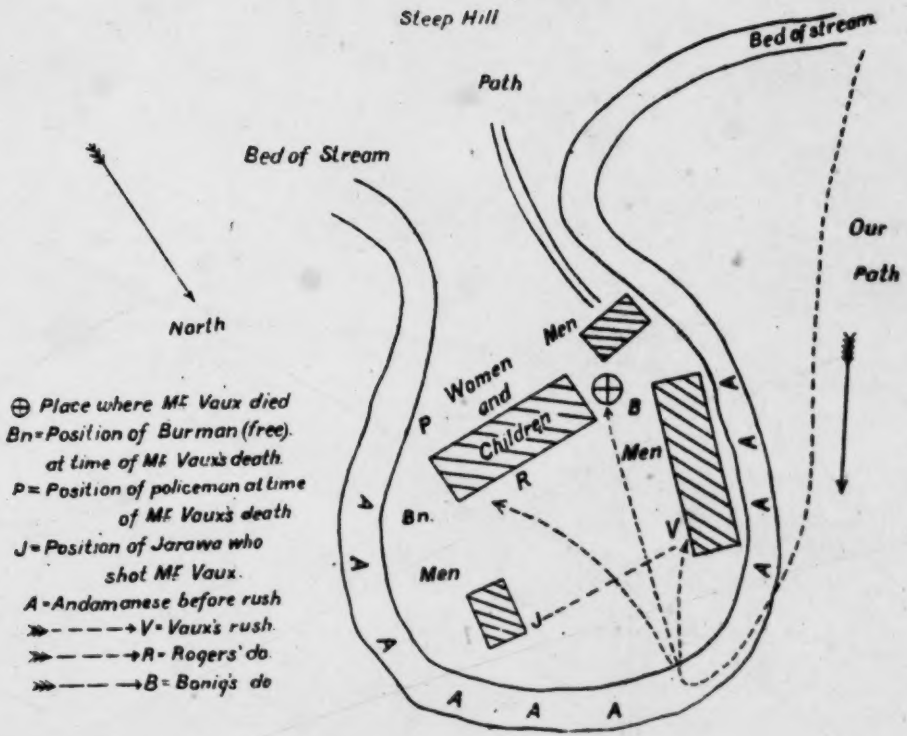
Steep Hill
Path
Bed of stream
Bed of Stream
Our
Path
North
Men
Women
and
Children
P
B
R
Men
Bn.
V
Men
J
A
⊕ Place where Mr Vaux died
Bn = Position of Burman (free).
at time of Mr Vaux's death.
P = Position of policeman at time
of Mr Vaux's death
J = Position of Jarawa who
shot Mr Vaux.
A = Andamanese before rush
V = Vaux's rush.
R = Rogers' do.
B = Boniq's do

[P. 85 B]

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The tide was out when we reached the sea coast, and as it was full tide when we had landed, we had considerable difficulty in pulling the boat to the water and getting off through about three-quarters of a mile of soft mud to get the boat afloat. I reached the launch at 7-30 P.M. Mr. Bonig at once started. Crossed the bar at the entrance of the Middle Straits and ran straight down to Port Blair.

Extract from the Diary of Mr. M. Bonig, Assistant Harbour Master, from the 17th to 23rd February 1902.

17th February.—Left Port Blair 5 P.M., arriving at Macpherson's Strait at 8 P.M.; anchored for the night.

18th February.—Left Macpherson's Strait at daybreak for Bajalunta. Baje-lunta-log is the Andamanese name of the Bay, about 8 miles south of Port Campbell. It is named on the chart Talap-lengta, which the Andamanese informed us to be incorrect. Anchored in this Bay at 10 A.M., and went ashore in the dinghy with six Andamanese, three Police and two Burmans. Landed on the north shore of the Bay, Messrs. Rogers and Vaux and party landing at the mouth of the creek at the head of the Bay.

We found new tracks of Jarawas almost as soon as we landed, and followed them up; the Andamanese also shot a pig which had been previously wounded by Jarawas. When it was getting late in the afternoon we lost the Jarawa tracks, so we cut through the jungle towards the sea-shore, and followed it. We then came upon a temporary Jarawa encampment, and from it we took away two bamboo water vessels which had been left behind. This is the only Jarawa encampment we found near the sea-shore, the others all being in the interior. As it was getting dark and the tide rising, we had a very difficult journey back to the ship; often going up to our necks through the sea. The place was infested with sharks, but we kept them off by shouting constantly. One of them, about 6 feet long, came straight for us and I only just managed to scare it away by jumping on it, touching it with my hands. The Andamanese refused to come any further with us and they camped, while I with the Police and Burmans went to the boat, which we reached at 10 P.M. Two Andamanese had found their way through the jungle to the boat, so with these I went on board and sent the boat back for the remainder. We heard the report of a gun shortly after we came on board. Mr. Rogers arrived with his party at about 12 P.M., Mr. Vaux remaining in the jungle for the night.

19th February.—Mr. Vaux not having arrived this morning, Mr. Rogers went ashore at daybreak, while I followed him about an hour later. After consulting with Mr. Rogers, who was waiting on the shore for Mr. Vaux, it was decided that I should go south a few miles along the shore and then go in the jungle. I accordingly went about 4 miles down the coast and searched the jungle the whole day. I did not find any new tracks of Jarawas, but a number of old encampments showed that they had frequented this part of the jungle six months ago. On my return to the launch about 7 P.M., I found both Messrs. Rogers and Vaux on board and I was informed that Mr. Vaux had captured two children (one girl and one baby) the night previous, which he had brought on board. Mr. Vaux therefore decided that we should start for Port Anson early the next morning to find an Andamanese woman to nurse the Jarawa baby, which would take no nourishment from us.

20th February.—Left Baje-lunta for Port Anson at 7-30 A.M., arriving at the latter place about noon. To our great disappointment we found that the Andamanese woman, who was to have nursed the baby was absent in the jungle. We waited for her the whole day. As she did not return, Mr. Vaux decided that I should take the Jarawa children to Port Blair early next morning, while he and Mr. Rogers would encamp at Pochang, the site of the Jarawa camp we had found on our previous trip.

21st February.—Left Lekwalunta at 5-30 A.M. for Dum-la-chorag where Messrs. Vaux, Rogers and party disembarked. I proceeded to Port Blair, arriving at the latter place about noon.

Delivered Mr. Vaux's letter to the Chief Commissioner, who ordered that the Jarawa baby was to be taken to the Haddo Home and the little girl was to remain at Government House with the Andamanese woman Topsy. As it was too late to return to Port Anson that afternoon, I decided to leave early next morning so as to arrive outside Middle Straits at daybreak.

22nd February.—Left Port Blair at 3 A.M., arrived at Port Anson at 7-30 A.M. Anchored the *Belle* at Dum-la-chorag.

Proceeded at once with one Police constable and four Andamanese ashore to Pochang. We had great difficulty in getting to the camp, as the mangrove swamp, which we had to cross, was completely under water. Arrived at the camp at about noon. I found that Messrs. Vaux and Rogers had both left in different directions to search for Jarawas. I therefore left the Chief Commissioner's letter for Mr. Vaux with the Police Havildar and went with my party of Police and Andamanese in another direction to search for Jarawas. We soon came across a Jarawa encampment consisting of four huts. We followed the path which led from it further south. Having followed this about 4 miles, we found fresh tracks of eight Jarawas. We followed these till the evening, and as it was too late to go back to the camp, we remained for the night in the jungle.

23rd February.—Returned to the camp at Pochang. On our way the Andamanese informed me that they could see by the foot-marks that both Messrs. Vaux and Rogers had

gone further south, most likely to search for our party; so I sent two Andamanese to follow them and to inform them of my return to Pochang. On our arrival there at 3 P.M. I found a note from Mr. Vaux tied to a tree, saying that they had proceeded to another camp, 6 miles further south, and that I was to follow them there, or else to return on board. I followed them and reached the camp at about 5-30 P.M. 000

24th February.—Left camp at 7-30 A.M. with Messrs. Vaux and Rogers, one policeman, three convict servants and sixteen Andamanese. We followed up the Jarawa track and came on an encampment about 9 o'clock. We proceeded on our way and came on another encampment an hour later. As the Jarawas had apparently only recently left this, we did not disturb it, for fear of disclosing our whereabouts to the Jarawas, should they be in the neighbourhood. After having rested a little while, we proceeded till at about 11 A.M., we heard the Jarawas shouting a short distance ahead. Mr. Vaux then decided to wait till the evening until the Jarawas had gone to sleep and to attack their encampment as soon as the moon rose. So we waited there the whole day, and when the moon rose we proceeded very slowly to the attack, a few Andamanese going ahead; and Mr. Vaux, Mr. Rogers and myself holding each other's hands so as not to lose ourselves in the dark, slowly crept up to the Jarawa camp. As soon as we got near the camp we waited for a second and when Mr. Vaux passed the word, the Andamanese shouted and shot a number of arrows in the Jarawa huts. Mr. Vaux then at once with his *dah* in his hand rushed to the nearest hut on the left, while Mr. Rogers went to the right and I went straight ahead. When I had advanced a few yards the Andamanese Golat shouted out to me "*Sahib baitho, Jarawa tir marta hai, banduk maro:*" so I lay down flat on the ground, and not seeing any Jarawa about I fired my revolver in the air. I had not done this before, as Mr. Vaux had previously ordered us not to fire till he passed the word. I then saw several children come out of the hut behind which Mr. Rogers had disappeared. I crept up and secured these with the help of an Andamanese. I then heard Mr. Vaux shouting out "I am hurt," and turning round I saw him staggering and fall down. I at once went to him and asked him where he was hurt, Mr. Vaux only replied "I am done," and the Andamanese showed me that he was wounded by an arrow in the left side. Mr. Vaux then said "For God's sake take this arrow out." As I saw that the whole of the arrow head had disappeared into his body, I went for Mr. Rogers's assistance. I found Mr. Rogers struggling with a Jarawa woman, and he said that he would come in a second, as he did not wish to let the woman go. I then returned to Mr. Vaux. The Andamanese were just extracting the arrow and Mr. Vaux asked for Mr. Rogers and myself and if we could do nothing for him. As Mr. Rogers had not turned up then, I became anxious about him, thinking that the Jarawas might have wounded him also. I went to him again and told him that I thought Mr. Vaux was dying. We both went back to Mr. Vaux, who was only a couple of yards away. We bandaged him up. Mr. Vaux asked for light and water, which we gave him. After this Mr. Vaux fell back and died. We then waited in the Jarawa camp till the morning, firing a gun every half an hour to keep the Jarawas away.

25th and 26th February.—As soon as the day broke we gathered together the bows and arrows the Jarawas had left behind, and made arrangements for carrying Mr. Vaux's body. Having done this, we started back for the launch with it and the six Jarawa children and two women we had captured. Mr. Rogers sent two Andamanese ahead to go to the camp and tell the Havildar of Police to send six policemen to carry Mr. Vaux's body. We reached the camp about noon and after having packed all our things we proceeded, I going ahead and Mr. Rogers bringing up the rear. As I thought the launch would have no steam I sent some Andamanese and a free Burman with a gun ahead to inform the syrang to have the launch ready to proceed to Port Blair that evening. We had not advanced more than a few hundred yards when we heard the report of a gun; and directly afterwards caught up the party we had sent in advance. We then saw that the Andamanese Mathew had been wounded by a Jarawa, who had hidden behind a tree in front of him. The Burman had at once fired the gun and two Jarawas had escaped in the jungle, one of them leaving a bundle of fish arrows behind. The arrow which wounded Mathew was an iron-pointed one, which had wounded a Jarawa during the attack on the camp and had been extracted from the wounded man and fired at Mathew. This shows that they had not any iron-pointed arrows left with them. We must have secured all the iron arrows they had. Without further accident we reached the boats. To our further disappointment we found that the dinghy had sunk in the creek, most likely having been caught under the mangrove roots, and all the oars had floated away. We floated the dinghy again and reached the ship at 5-30 P.M. Mr. Rogers came about an hour later, his boat having been left by the tide high and dry in the mangrove swamp. After everybody had come on board we started for Port Blair, arriving at the latter place about midnight.

III.

Visit to the Middle Straits to set at liberty captive Jarawa Women and Children.

Diary of C. Gilbert Rogers, Esq., Deputy Conservator of Forests, Andamans Division, from the 11th to 14th March 1902.

11th March.—Left Port Blair in the steam launch *Belle*, accompanied by Mr. Benig, some Andamanese and six Military Policemen and the two Jarawa women, each

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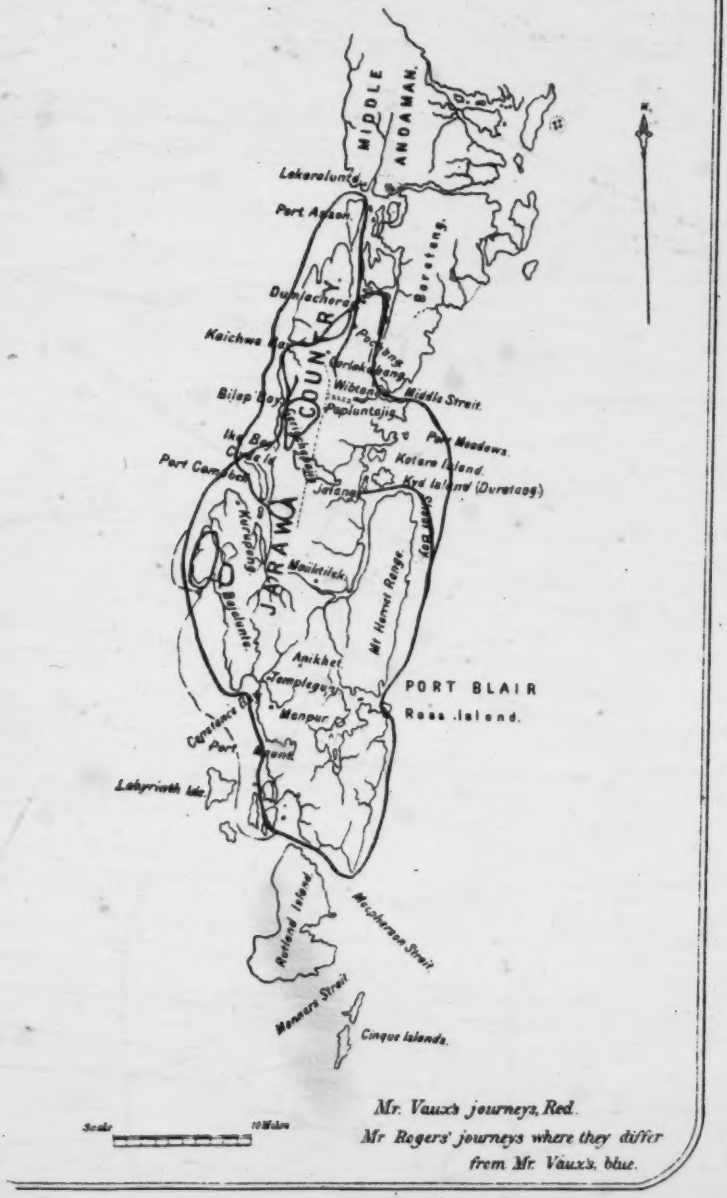
Map illustrating the journeys of Messrs Vaux and Rogers in the Jarawa Country in the SOUTH ANDAMAN in January and February 1902.



[facing p. 88]

000 with a child, and three girls at 8 A.M. The names of the Jarawa captives whom we were taking back to release are, so far as we can gather, as follows:—*Women*—Wátángo-mai, Tijé Buluwa; *Infants* (boys) Atu-to-ané, Wótáma-tamané; *Girls*—Tijé-tang, Etélé Órhi. The last-named girl came from the Bajalonta Hunting Camp, the others from the Wibtang Camp. The two boys from the Wibtang Camp, sons of Wátange-mai, and the infant from the Bajalunta Camp, whom the women would not take away, we left behind in Port Blair.

We reached Duratang at 10 A.M. and landed the Jarawas to see the Andamanese Home and also to get some yams for them and then proceeded up the Middle Strait. The whole of the country on either side of the Middle Strait seemed familiar to them and they made signs that they would like to be landed near the Papalunta Jig, but this we did not do.

We proceeded straight to Dumlachorag, anchored, and putting the Jarawas into a boat and taking an escort of Andamanese and four policemen, rowed up the creek and landed the Jarawas as near to the Pochang Jarawa Camp as the creek would allow of our doing. We took them a short distance across a mangrove swamp on to a low ridge, where we made a fire for them. We also made shelters with the blankets we had given them, deposited what we could carry of the yams, beads, red cloth, cocoanuts, earthenware, cooking pots, and a bucket of drinking water and left them.

Near the boat we found some plantains and cocoanuts which had accidentally been left behind. I returned with these to the camp accompanied by some policemen and Andamanese. The women did not run away when they saw us coming back, but smiled when they saw what had brought us. While we were away the baby had upset the drinking water. They made signs to us that they could get some near by and asked us to break some cocoanuts for them. This we did and left them.

We then returned to the steam launch *Belle* and proceeded to Port Anson where we anchored for the night.

12th March.—Left Port Anson at 7-20 A.M. for Dumlachorag; anchored there, and proceeded in a boat with Police and Andamanese escort to the ridge, where we had left the liberated Jarawas yesterday. Reached the camp about 9 A.M. Found the camp empty. The fires were still burning. The women and children had gone away with as much of the presents and food as they could carry. They had taken with them all the beads, most of the red cloth, one set of earthenware cooking pots, all the cocoanuts, and as much food as they could carry, and would doubtless return with their men for the remainder of the things.

We then returned to Dumlachorag and proceeded to Port Anson and went outside and salved a teak log and a numbered padouk square, which were stranded on the West Coast of the Middle Andamans. Stayed the night at Port Anson.

13th March.—Left Port Anson 6 A.M., and steamed down to Shoal Bay. Anchored a little way up Shoal Bay Creek at 10 A.M., and proceeded in a boat to Jatang. Found the Deputy Ranger in camp, but the Havildar of the Police and the Forest Jemadar were in the forest with the files. Inspected one of the new elephants, which had been rubbed by a badly fitting *galaband*. The abrasions are not serious.

We then inspected the clearing for the path from Jatang to Ike Bay. The work was progressing satisfactorily, but too many small trees had been left along the line in the portion cleared after I left Jatang: ordered that all those trees should be cut and the work pushed on with due despatch and a report of the progress made submitted to me weekly. About 3,000 feet of line has been cleared up to date.

Returned to Shoal Bay on the ebbing tide and dropped down to Duratang, where we anchored for the night. Inspected the Andamanese Home.

14th March.—Steamed down to the mouth of the Pirij Creek in the early morning. It was low tide, so had to make our way afoot through the mangrove swamp to the camp. A timber boat with new convicts was off the mouth of the creek waiting for the tide to rise when we got there.

All the men and the elephants had gone to work in the forest.

Two elephants, one new and one old, were said to be on the sick list, but as they had gone into the forest for fodder I did not see them.

Found Daniel and three Andamanese and three sepoys of the Military Police at Pirij. They had been hunting for the three Burmese runaways, who had attacked the self-supporters near Kalatang not long ago, but had failed to catch them. They had come across two places where they had camped, but state that they skilfully mix their trail with those of the self-supporters and convicts working in the forest, and that in consequence they had eluded pursuit.

Returned to the launch and started for Port Blair. Reached Ross at 12 noon and reported my arrival to the Chief Commissioner.

IV.

LIST OF JARAWA ARTICLES TAKEN BY MR. P. VAUX FROM THE HUNTING CAMP AT BAJALUNTA ON 19TH FEBRUARY 1902.

1 Honey pot, empty.
1 Do. with resin and cyrena shells.
1 Do. with honey edibles and prepared beeswax.

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2 Pottery vessels.
5 Net bags, empty.
1 Do. with 2 packets red ochre in palm leaves and fibres for binding arrows.
1 Packet honeycomb.
2 Baskets, cane.
2 Andaman adzes, made out of dahs.
1 Basula, new, of Forest Department marked with ⅄ (broad arrow). Stolen on 22nd November 1901.
1 Bowstring.
2 Bows.
92 Bamboo-shaft and wooden-pointed fish-arrows.
92 Do. iron-pointed fish-arrows.
3 Barbed iron pig-arrows.
16 Bamboo arrow-shafts.

LIST OF JARAWA ARTICLES TAKEN BY MR. C. G. ROGERS, FROM THE HUNTING CAMP AT WIBTANG ON 24TH FEBRUARY 1902.

6 Honey pots, empty.
1 Do. with fibre.
1 Do. with fibre in honey and child's wooden feeding brush.
5 Andaman adzes, of sizes.
1 Axe, European head.
2 Knife blades made of dahs.
1 Adze head—European make.
1 Honey pot with king-crow chaplet, 2 bowstrings, 2 string cards, 2 pieces of resin, and 5 shells.
1 Palm leaf containing netting materials in net.
7 Empty nets.
1 Net containing 2 pots of pigment for pig arrows.
1 Net do. 2 pieces of iron and 4 shells for pigment.
1 Packet red ochre.
1 Net containing 2 pieces of iron and 2 small nets.
1 Piece of hollowed wood, containing red ochre prepared for arrow heads.
7 Iron-headed arrows.
2 Pots.
96 Bamboo wooden-headed fish-arrows.
8 Bows.
5 Arrow-shafts.
5 Pig-arrows, iron.
1 Iron arrow head.

REPORT BY MR. C. G. ROGERS, DATED THE 19TH MAY 1902, ON JARAWA CAPTIVES WHILE AT PORT BLAIR.

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An infant boy and a little girl, called Orlai, captured by the late Mr. Vaux near Bajalunta (Talaplongta of the maps) were brought to Port Blair by Mr. Bonig, Assistant Harbour Master, on the 21st February 1902. The little girl, Orlai, had a very pronounced squint in her left eye. She was kept at Government House until the 26th February, when she was allowed to join the other Jarawa captives, who were taken at Wibtang on the night of the 24th February and reached Port Blair on the 26th in the *Belle* in the charge of Messrs. Rogers and Bonig. The captives taken at Wibtang comprised two women and six children including two babies. They were kept at first in the hospital at Haddo and after that in the Haddo Andamanese Home, as they got out of the hospital one morning early and were found at the *ghat* evidently trying to escape. After this they were placed definitely in the charge of Luke and the watchman at the Home and did not again try to escape.

The Jarawas would not touch rice, or any of the rations supplied to the Andamanese, nor would they smoke. They were fed on yams, fish, pig's flesh, when it could be obtained for them, and crabs. They cooked their food very thoroughly before eating it. They were very fond of cocoanuts, when they were given them, and had evidently eaten them before. They drank water, but did not care for either milk or tea. They did not like sugar or anything sweet. They would not touch honey from the Andamanese store, which had fermented slightly, but liked fresh honey in the honey-comb. The friendly Andamanese could not understand a word of the Jarawa language nor could the Jarawas understand the Andamanese; they made themselves understood to a certain extent by signs. While the captives were at Port Blair they only learnt what we believe to be their names and a few words for the food they eat.

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The Jarawas were quite friendly and evidently felt that they would be well treated. Mr. Bonig and myself went to see them almost every evening while they were in Port Blair and took them out for walks, and they looked forward to our visits and the women usually took our arms, while the children clung to us. While they were in Port Blair we took them over Ross, Phœnix Bay Workshops and Chatham Sawmills. They evinced no astonishment at what they saw, but some fright. They do not seem capable of evincing pronounced emotions of any kind, either of grief or astonishment or pleasure. On

000 the 10th March I took the Jarawas to see the two companies of the West Riding Regiment fire at the Ranges. We first went to the firing points and saw volleys fired from 1,700, 1,500 and 1,100 yards, and then went into the butts while the men fired at and broke a *gurrah* filled with water and put bullets through a kerosine oil tin and through a hat. I showed them all this carefully and they thoroughly understand what a rifle can do and that it causes death. When we landed the Jarawas at Dum-la-Chorag I killed a flying-fox, which flew over the boat as we were rowing up the creek, and showed them the shot holes in it and they examined these carefully and must now associate death with the discharge of a gun.

The Jarawas also visited Lamba Line Village and were hospitably entertained by the (Native Indian) villagers, who clothed them and entertained them with music. The Jarawas and villagers passed their babies from one to another, and evidently enjoyed themselves, as they laughed and talked and seemed quite pleased.

On the evening of the 10th March I took some photographs of the Jarawas. On the 11th March Mr. Bonig and self took the two women, two babies and four girls back to Pochang, keeping the two boys, as ordered, here. The boys were very sorry to leave their parent. They were brothers. We took the Jarawas to the Duratang Andamanese Home on Kyd Island on the way. Before leaving the women at Pochang we made signs to them that we would bring the two boys back to the place where we left them.

APPENDIX D.

MR. M. V. PORTMAN'S REPORTS OF THE FIRST DEALINGS WITH THE ÔNGES IN 1886.

In accordance with instructions, I left Port Blair in the steamer *Ross* on the 27th October 1886, having No. 1 lighter, and a 10-oared boat in tow. Six convicts and 27 Andamanese accompanied me, and I had rations for three months for the entire party. 006

I arrived at the Little Andaman Island on the 28th October, and anchored in Bumila Creek. For the next three days we were engaged in making a small clearing on the east bank of the creek, and housing the party. The little Andamanese from the neighbouring huts came down daily to visit me, and were very friendly. I heard with regret that the little boy Api I had left with the Ekudi tribe in April 1886 was dead, but the remainder of those people who had lived with me in Port Blair, all came to my camp. Women and children now came fearlessly to the camp, and the first difficulty I met with was that of preventing the savages from looting the camp of everything they fancied. By making an example of one of the first cases that occurred, and treating the delinquents somewhat roughly, I soon got them to understand that they were only to have what we gave them, not all they saw, and from that time, with two exceptions to which I shall refer later, I have had no trouble. I have been very lavish of presents to all the people.

Very stormy weather began just after my arrival, and I therefore confined my work to going about amongst the neighbouring villages and endeavouring to gain influence over these people, and to learn their language. The Andamanese I had brought with me were occupied in turtling, canoe cutting, etc., and I encouraged the Little Andamanese to go amongst them and associate with them. They soon took to swimming off on board the steamer or coming in their canoes to visit me, and occasionally brought me baskets of dried fish as presents. On November 3rd three men, whom I afterwards found belonged to the south coast of the Island, paid me a visit, and were very pleasant.

On the 12th November I tried to go down the coast in the *Ross* and cross to the South Sentinel Island, but the weather was so bad that I was obliged to put back. The Little Andamanese with me gave me the name of the South Sentinel Island "Kelagageai," but said that they had never been there. On the 13th I coasted down to Tokaini and saw all the people there. They received me in an unconcerned way and appeared to take little interest even in the presents we had brought. I learnt that the man captured at Jackson Creek in January 1885, who afterwards died in Port Blair, was from the Tokaini village, and that his real name was Taleme.

On the 14th very heavy rain commenced, and on the 15th a cyclone set in, which lasted till the 20th. With the exception of the loss of her side curtains the *Ross* sustained no damage. I had both anchors down and hawsers passed outside all. Until the 18th I was unable even to get ashore on the bank of Bumila Creek, where we were anchored, and the convicts and Andamanese suffered very much. The clearing was 18 inches under water, and the people were living on raised machans they had made. All the Andamanese huts had been blown down, but the tents, being more sheltered, had stood. It would have been dangerous to have gone further into the jungle, owing to the falling branches of trees, and on the sand one could not stand up to the wind, but had to crawl along. Much damage was done in the jungle, quantities of dead fish were washed up on the coasts, and many birds and bats seem to have been killed. The Little Andamanese seem to have suffered much from the cold and want of food, and several sick whom I had [illegible] at Tokaini on the 13th had died. As soon as the cyclone was over many people came to me for food. The rain was so heavy that the creek was running with fresh water down to the mouth. After this storm the place seemed to become unhealthy, and from that time onward there has been a great deal of sickness amongst the Andamanese and convicts. I did not suffer much myself until January.

Owing to the heavy sea on outside I was unable to go anywhere until the 24th, and the Andamanese continued cutting boats and catching turtle. On the 24th I visited Jackson Creek. The landing here was very difficult owing to the surf, and our boat was swamped. It is impossible to enter the creek as the sand has now silted up so much and I landed on the north side of it. Several people met us and were given presents. I walked along the shore with them for some distance, and visited some sandstone caves, in which were the grass variety of edible birds'-nests. All the water here contains much lime, and stalactites are formed in the caves.

On the 26th I was visited by Her Majesty's I. M. S. *Kwangtung*, the Commander supplying me very kindly with such rations, etc., as I required. On the 29th I walked down the coast from Jackson Creek to Api Island and went some way into the interior. The people received us in a friendly manner, but were very greedy for presents, taking every thing they saw, not only out of the boats but even from the persons of my Andamanese and seizing many articles which could be of no possible use to them. This behaviour I checked with the help of the interpreters I had brought down from Bumila Creek, and the people soon began to obey my directions.

Much sickness having now set in, I came up to Port Blair with the worst cases on the 1st December. There was a heavy sea on and the *Ross* had a good opportunity of

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000 showing what a fine sea boat she is. Two little Andamanese from the Ekudi village accompanied me, one of whom, Kogio Kai, had been in Port Blair before as a captive in 1885. On the 4th December I returned to the Little Andaman (arriving there on the 5th) with some fresh convicts and Andamanese. The weather on the way back was even worse than what we had coming up.

My absence, leaving a small party of convicts and Andamanese on the Island, had been a good test of the work done, and I found on my return that the Little Andamanese had been living with them in my camp in the most friendly manner.

I was kept in the creek by bad weather until the 12th December, during which time the crew of the *Ross* were employed in cutting firewood in order to save our coal, and the convicts and Andamanese went about with me inland and on the coast to the various villages.

I also commenced a coast line survey of the Island with prismatic compass and chain. The Little Andamanese or Ônges, as they call themselves, were constantly in camp and began to pick up a little Hindustani.

On the 12th and 13th I worked along the coast, surveying down to Tochangedu, where my work was stopped by the heavy surf, so I began on the 15th to work E. and S. from the North Point of the Island. A curious incident occurred on the 17th which will illustrate the influence I have acquired over the neighbouring people. Kogio Kai told me that a man of his own tribe had stolen some knives belonging to us. I sent for the man, admonished him and forbade him to come to the camp. Tahlai, one of his own tribe, then escorted him to Tambe Ebui, and he has not since been allowed to visit us. The Ekudi people on another occasion behaved in a similar manner to the Palalankwes who had stolen some turtle spears, refusing to allow them to land near the clearing or visit us for several days.

By the 19th of December I had surveyed as far as Titaije, meeting many people of all sizes and sexes who were very pleasant and friendly, and I then returned to Bumila Creek, beached the *Ross*, cleaned and painted her. Her Majesty's I. M. S. *Nancowry* called on the 21st, and on the 22nd I proceeded to Port Blair with the sick from my camp, and with nine Ônges picked from the following tribes:—Ekudi, Pálálankwe, Tokaie, Tambe, Ebui and Titaije.

I remained in Port Blair until the 27th when I crossed with the party to the North Sentinel Island. The Ônges gave me their name for it as Chirtakwekwe, and appeared well acquainted with it. They walked fearlessly about in the jungle, but, on catching some of the inhabitants on the evening of the 27th, it was found that they talked an entirely different language. On the 28th I visited Port Mouat, returning to Port Blair on the 29th, and on the 2nd January I returned to the Little Andaman.

During their stay in Port Blair, the greatest care was taken that the Ônges should not suffer in health, and they were shown every thing I thought would interest them, including the athletic sports and the military parade on the 1st January, and were also given quantities of presents, being allowed to have almost every thing they fancied, and they appeared so delighted with their visit that, on the way back, they said they would come up to Port Blair in their canoes in the fine weather.

On the 3rd January I started down the East Coast surveying. In addition to my party I was accompanied by Tomiti, Tahlai and Kogio Kai, who were of the greatest assistance. People came out to meet us at each village, and every one was quiet, friendly and pleasant. On the 4th I anchored in Daogule Bay, having been accompanied by nearly fifty people all along the coast. On the 5th I met at Toi-balewe, Nátúdétotali Kégé, one of the women who was captured on the Cinque Islands in 1885. On the 6th I met at Ingoie, on the South Coast, the three men who had visited me at Bumila Creek on the 3rd November last. I completed the survey on the 7th closing on Api Island, and then returned to Bumila Creek.

The weather now got stormy again, and I began to suffer very much in health. The survey being finished, I having visited all the villages round the Island and being on the best terms with all the people, and our stores being nearly exhausted, I returned to Port Blair on the 19th January with the entire party. The work I was sent down to do has, I think, been accomplished, and we are now on as friendly terms with the Little Andamanese as we are with the inhabitants of the North Andamans.

619 From what I can learn, I am of opinion that, while the whole of the Little Andaman Island is peopled by one race calling themselves Ônges, these people are sub-divided into tribes who adhere more or less to their own country, and who appear to quarrel and fight 184 among themselves. What little I have learnt of their language I have embodied in my work on the languages of the Andamanese, written at your request, but the amount is small. It differs almost totally from any language with which we are acquainted, except that of the Jarawa tribes.

The people appear healthy, their principal diseases being chest complaints, coughs and colds, fever and itch. There is no syphilis amongst them, and in physique they compare favourably with the inhabitants of the Great Andaman.

Their manners and customs differ somewhat from those of our people, the principal differences I have noticed being the following:—

The large circular huts built by them; the raised charpoys on which they sleep; their habit of cooking, drying and storing in baskets a small fish similar to a sprat; the difference in the shape of their canoes at the bow and stern; the difference in their ornaments,

and the absence of bone necklaces and broad tasselled belts amongst them; the women wear a tassel of a yellow fibre in the place of the leaf worn in the Great Andaman; the difference in the shape of the bow, which is of the European pattern. The arrows used for fish frequently have four heads of different lengths fitted into one shaft. 619 184

The people are by no means expert in the use of a canoe in the rough water, and are unable to harpoon turtle. They paint their hair only with red earth, and not their entire bodies, and they do not allow their hair to grow long; the women do not keep their heads clean shaved.

Their staple food appears to be the seed of the mangrove, boiled, as that article of diet is always to be seen in their huts, supplemented of course by whatever else they can get.

I may here mention that, after close and continued observation of their habits, I entirely disbelieve the legend that they were formerly in the habit of visiting the Car Nicobar Island.

It was very pleasant to see the numbers of healthy children of both sexes in the various villages; the people seem to marry later in life than do the Great Andamanese, but the same system of monogamy prevails.

The music of their songs is different and more pleasing, and it is not accompanied by clapping of hands, or striking of a sounding board. Their dance is peculiar and unlike that of the other Andamanese.

They have no religion of any kind, and I have learnt nothing of their traditions or superstitions from which they seem even freer than our people.

In conclusion I may say that the people are by no means fierce, being if anything of a milder disposition than our people, and I became very much attached to them, which attachment is, I think, returned. They are easily silenced or frightened, and are in great dread of a gun.

The Island at the north end appears to consist of mangrove swamp, and low belts of sandy soil on which the aborigines live. On the west and south-west coast the land rises into low hills of a coarse sandstone, running more or less north and south. The timber appears to be much the same as that of the South Andaman, and the rocks are chiefly lime and sandstone with a good deal of actual coral rock on the east and south coast. In one place on the point south of Daogule Bay I noticed an outcrop of igneous rock. There appeared to be no minerals.

The products of the sea appear to be the same as at the Great Andaman, but that the Tubiporine family of coral, particularly *Tubipora musica*, occurs in profusion. Dugong and turtle abound in the sea, and I captured two of the former, one being a remarkably fine specimen, and many of the latter.

The Ônges are very fond of turtle which they are unable to get with the facility with which our Andamanese catch them, as they are ignorant of the use of the harpoon, and turtle always formed a great part of my presents to them.

In rough weather landing is almost impossible on most of the coast, and in calm weather there are heavy ground swells and tide rips. The following are the best anchorages of small vessels:—Bumila Creek; Eketi Bay, just inside the north end of Nachuge Point; Gijege, opposite Ingoie, about half a mile from shore; Hut Bay; Daogule Bay and Obate. Landing is difficult in most places and I always used an Andamanese canoe.

* * * * * * *

With regard to their (the Ônges) behaviour to shipwrecked crews, I am of opinion that the crew of any native vessel wrecked there would still be liable to be massacred, and though a European, if wrecked on the north coast might be well treated, I should not like to guarantee his safety. Shipwrecked sailors are rarely diplomats and would be extremely likely to resent the looting of their ships or persons in a manner which would certainly lead to their being shot. This looting cannot be prevented, the temptation being too great for any savage, however tame, and the general education of the Ônges will take some years. It is quite safe for any Settlement official to visit the Island and land. I would advise him first to land at Bumila Creek and take on board either Kogio Kai, Tomiti or Tahlai, or else one of the following:—Wana Luege of the Ekudi tribe or Kogio Kokele of Palalankwe village, who would act as interpreters at any other part of the island, where he wished to land. 000

The presents which the Ônges most appreciate are hoop iron, rod iron, files, sleeping mats, cocoanuts, plantains, beads, and specimens of the articles used by our Andamanese; also turtle, which can easily be got at the South Sentinel Island. The Ônges are, I believe, quite willing to come to Post Blair in their canoes in the fine weather, but great care should be taken that they do not contract any disease, particularly syphilis, if they do come up. They will take to smoking kindly, but I have not encouraged this, as my aim is to keep them in their healthy primitive state, and I believe this can be done, and they can still be brought to obey our orders and remain on friendly terms with outsiders. We require very little of them, and a close intercourse with these savages means death to them.

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On the 4th March the Chief Commissioner, accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts, 7th Regiment, Madras Native Infantry, Mr. Portman, on special duty at the Little Andaman Island, Mr. Metcalfe, Officer in charge of the Andamanese, and a number of Andamanese, left Port Blair in the steamer *Ross* at 6 A.M., and arriving in Bumila Creek, north end of the Little Andaman at 2 P.M. Some of the Ônges, as the natives of the Island

3: Temple G-5 (1901) 1903 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

000 call themselves, visited us at once, and our old friends Tomite, Tahlai, Wana Luege and Kogio Kokele were taken on board as interpreters.

On the 5th we proceeded along the north coast, taking on board Kogio Kai off Kuaiechikuada Creek. After inspecting the Ariel Ledge, we anchored at 10-30 A.M. off the mouth of the Tiyai Creek on the East Coast. Several Ônges of both sexes were on the shore, and we landed amongst them, giving them presents. They were quite friendly, and we visited their hut at Titaije. In the evening we rowed up the Tiyai Creek, which is one of the most beautiful in this group of islands and had not been before explored. All our Andamanese remained on shore for the night with the Ônges and had a feast of turtle.

On the 6th none of the Ônges were seen, although we landed in two places, and we anchored for the night in Hut Bay on the East Coast.

On the morning of the 7th two men appeared and were given presents, and we then went on to Toibalowe, a large hut on the south-east corner of the Island, measuring 60 feet in diameter and about 35 feet in height. Shortly after we landed, a number of Ônges made their appearance and were given presents. I walked to a village of 14 lean-to huts a little way in the interior, and my party were regaled with pig and honey. As usual amongst these people, there were a few ill-tempered, conservative old men, who refused to be pleased with us. Our interpreters decided to walk on round the coast, and meet us at Ingoie on the South Coast, and I brought on board two new men, sending them on shore again when we reached Ingoie that afternoon. There is a good landing place here, the reef being broken in one place, just opposite the hut. The best anchorage is in 8 fathoms, about half a mile from the shore.

In the evening we visited the rock where Lieutenant Much's expedition landed in 1867, and the Ônges appeared to have some remembrance of it.

My Andamanese slept ashore as usual with the Ônges, a number of whom had followed us round. On the 8th Her Majesty's I. M. S. *Kwangtung* arrived with Lieutenant-Colonel Strahan and his survey party, and Mr. Man, Officer in charge Nicobars. The survey work was at once commenced. The Ônges were rather troublesome, trying to steal the metal of the instruments, but no fracas took place, and with the presents we had given them they were quite pleased.

On the 9th the Chief Commissioner, with Lieutenant-Colonel Strahan, Mr. Man and Mr. Metcalfe went to the north end of the Island for the day in the *Ross* to observe for latitude, and Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts and I remained behind in the *Kwangtung*. Mr. Senior, Assistant Surveyor, with his party landed at 8-30 A.M. at Ingoie, and attended by the Andamanese, our Ônge interpreters, and two canoes with presents, proceeded to survey the coasts round to Ingotiâlú on the south-west Coast. The canoes with the presents were swamped in the surf, and one canoe and all the presents were lost. The Ônges, however, beyond being greedy for such metal as they saw, gave no trouble, and Mr. Senior, having completed his work, came off at 4 P.M. to the *Kwantung*, which vessel after looking for the shoal marked in the chart as being about 4 miles south-west of the south-west end of the Island, and finding that it did not exist (the broken sea being really caused by a tide rip), had anchored off Ingotijâlú. Mr. Eldridge and Mr. Baynes had been ashore bathing from a Nicobarese canoe, and some Ônge women had joined them in the water and seemed quite friendly.

At 5 P.M. I landed with Captain Pryce, I. M., Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts, and Mr. Murray, Chief Engineer of the *Kwangtung*. I had with me as an interpreter Kogio Kai, and two of our Andamanese, Réâlâ and Dûklâ. Unfortunately I had no presents, they having been lost in the canoes. We were received on the shore by about 25 people, among whom were many women and children, and they were all unarmed except two men who had adzes. They were very greedy for presents and tried to loot the boat, but were prevented by Kogio Kai and myself. Mr. Murray, however, gave them an iron bucket, which they had taken and I had recovered from them. They embraced Kogio Kai, and we all walked along the shore together taking two *khalasis*. After we had proceeded about 200 yards, Captain Pryce drew our attention to some fish on the beach, and he with Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts and Mr. Murray stopped to look at them. I was a few paces behind talking to the Ônges by whom we were surrounded. Suddenly I heard a thud, and Mr. Murray cried out 'I am killed.' I turned and saw Mr. Murray on his knees on the sand, the blood streaming from a wound on the back of his head, and a tall Ônge standing just behind him with a large adze in his hands. The attack was quite an unprovoked one, and from the fact that the women and children were present and none of the other Ônges were armed, I consider it to have been unpremeditated and without the approval of the others, who immediately began to retire. Kogio Kai called to me to shoot the Ônge, but none of us had any arms, and we all went off to the boat, Captain Pryce and a *khalasi* supporting Mr. Murray, and Colonel Roberts waiting in the rear to see if the man was going to attack us again. He did not attempt to do so, and the Ônges all went and sat down at the landing-place. We returned to the *Kwangtung*, and I asked Captain Pryce to arm all the Europeans and place them at my disposal. He did so and ordered away two boats. I also took with me Tomiti, Tahlai, and Kogio Kai. On nearing the shore, I sent Tomiti and Tahlai to see if the man who hit Mr. Murray was still there. Colonel Roberts, who kindly consented to take charge of the armed party, covered them from the boat.

They talked to the women for a minute, and then called out to me that the man had run away. I, however, saw a man with an adze in his hand sitting on the right, away from

the others, and I asked Kogio Kai if this was the man. He said it was and called out to Tomiti, who with Tahlai seized the man and dragged him into the boat, having first snatched the adze out of his hand. None of the other Onges attempted to rescue him or to offer any resistance. Our prisoner was secured and taken on board the *Kwangtung*. The Chief Commissioner, who had meantime returned in the *Ross*, directed me to have the man tied up to a gun and given twenty-four stripes, which was accordingly done. He was then secured and taken to the *Ross*. Mr. Murray, under the charge of Mr. Jackson, apothecary of the *Kwangtung*, was also taken on board the *Ross* for the purpose of being conveyed to Port Blair for medical treatment, his wound being a serious one, the *Kwangtung* returning to the Nicobars.

On the following morning six Onges appeared on the beach, and I sent Tomiti and Tahlai ashore with some presents for them, and to explain what had been done to the prisoner and that we intended to take him to Port Blair.

We then proceeded to Jackson Creek on the West Coast, where the Chief Commissioner and Mr. Metcalfe landed and gave some presents to the Onges, and we then went on into Bumila Creek where we anchored for the night. Our interpreters were landed here and loaded with presents, and on the 11th we returned to Port Blair, bringing with us the prisoner, whose name proved to be Kobédá Ráté, an inhabitant of Gajégé, a village on the south-west coast of the Little Andaman.

Until the interpreters left he did not seem to realise his position, but during the night of the 10th after they went away, he twice managed to free his hands from the handcuffs, and once, although his feet were manacled together, slipped overboard and tried to swim on shore, but was at once caught by one of our Andamanese. He is now living under the Chief Commissioner's house guarded by Andamanese and seems fairly well. It would, in my opinion, be advisable, should he continue in good health, to keep him for some months in Port Blair, until he has learnt to obey our orders and appreciate our power.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LANGUAGES.

I. General Description.—Philological Value—Savage Nature—Agglutinative—Samples of Minuteness in Detailed Terms—Specimens of Andamanese Method of Speech.

II. Grammar.—History of the Study—The Theory of Universal Grammar—The Position of the Andamanese Languages in the General Scheme—Examples of Sentences of One Word—Elliptical Speech—Portman's Fire Legend in the Bea Version dissected to illustrate Grammar—Subject and Predicate—Principal and Subordinate Words—Functions of the Words—Order of Sentence—Order of Connected Sentences—Interrogative Sentences—Mode of expressing the Functions and Interrelations of Words—The Use of Affixes; Prefixes, Infixes, Suffixes—Differentiation of Classes of Words—Indication of Classes—Qualitative Affixes—Composition of the Words—Agglutinative Principle—Identity of the Five Languages of the Southern Group of Tribes.

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IV. Phonology.—The Voice of the Andamanese—History of the Reduction of the Language to Writing—Peculiarities of Speech.

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Appendix A.—The Theory of Universal Grammar.

Appendix B.—An Onge Vocabulary.

Appendix C.—The Fire Legend in the Bojigngiji Group.

I. General Description.

193 **Philological Value.**—The Andaman Languages are extremely interesting from the philological standpoint, on account alone of their isolated development, due to the very recent contact with the outer world on the part of the speakers. Of the speech of the only peoples, who may be looked upon as the physical congeners of the Andamanese,—the Samangs of the Malay Peninsula and the Aetas of the Phillipine Archipelago,—no *Vocabulary* or *Grammar* is available to me of the latter, and the only specimens of the Samang tongue I have seen bear no resemblance or roots common to any Andamanese Language.

The Andamanese Languages exhibit the expression only of the most direct and simplest thought, show few signs of syntactical, though every indication of a very long etymological, growth, are purely colloquial and wanting in the modifications always necessary for communication by writing. The Andamanese show, however, by the very frequent use of ellipsis and of clipped and curtailed words, a long familiarity with their speech.

The sense of even Proper Names is usually immediately apparent, and the speakers invariably exhibit difficulty in getting out of the region of concrete into that of abstract ideas, though none in expanding or in mentally differentiating or classifying ideas, or in connecting several closely together. Generic terms are usually wanting, and specific terms are numerous and extremely detailed. Narration almost always concerns themselves and the chase. Only the absolutely necessary is usually employed and the speech is jerky, incomplete, elliptical and disjointed. Introductory words are not much used and no forward references are made. Back references by means of words for that purpose are not common, nor are conjunctions, adjectives, adverbs and even pronouns. An Andamanese will manage to convey his meaning without employing any of the subsidiary and connecting parts of speech. He ekes out with a clever mimicry a great deal by manner, tone and

action; and this habit he abundantly exhibits in the form of his speech. His narration is, nevertheless, clear, in proper consecutive order and not confused, showing that he possesses powers of co-ordination. 193

Savage Nature.—The general indications that the Languages give of representing the speech of undeveloped savages are confirmed by the intense anthropomorphism exhibited therein. As will be seen later on, the Andamanese regard not only all objects, but also every idea associated with them, as connected with themselves and their necessities, or with the parts of their bodies and their attributes. They have no means of expressing the majority of objects and ideas without such reference; *e.g.*, they cannot say "head" or "heads," but must say "my, your, his, or ———'s, this one's, or that one's head" or "our, your, their, or ———'s, or these ones', those ones' heads."

But though they are "savage" languages, limited in range to the requirements of a people capable of but few mental processes, the Andamanese Languages are far from being "primitive." In the evolution of a system of pre-flexion in order to intimately connect words together, to build up compounds and to indicate back references, and in a limited exhibition of the idea of concord by means of post-inflexion of pronouns, they indicate a development as complete and complicated as that of an advanced tongue, representing the speech of a highly intellectual people. These lowest of savages show themselves to be, indeed, human beings immeasurably superior in mental capacity to the highest of the brute beasts.

Agglutinative.—The Andamanese Languages all belong to one Family, divided into three Groups, plainly closely connected generally to the eye on paper, but mutually unintelligible to the ear. They are agglutinative in nature, synthesis being present in rudiments only. They follow the general grammar of agglutinative languages. All the affixes to roots are readily separable, and all analysis of words shows a very simple mental mechanism and a low limit in range and richness of thought and in the development of ideas. Suffixes and prefixes are largely used, and infixes also to build up compound words. As with every other language, foreign words have lately been fitted into the grammar with such changes of form as are necessary for absorption into the general structure of Andamanese speech.

Samples of Minuteness in Detailed Terms.—The following are examples of the extent to which the use of specific terms to describe details of importance to the Andamanese is carried by them.

Stages in the growth of fruit:—*Otdereka*, small: *chimiti*, sour: *putungaij*, black: *chebada*, hard: *telebich*, seed not formed: *gad*, seed forming: *gama*, seed formed: *tela*, half-ripe: *mumukel*, ripe: *roichada*, fully ripe: *ofyobda*, soft: *chorure*, rotten.

Stages of the day: *Waingala*, first dawn: *elawainga*, before sunrise: *bodola doatinga*, sunrise: *lilti* (*dilma*), early morning: *bodola kogaluga*, morning: *bodola kaguga*, full morning: *bodo chanag*, forenoon: *bodo chau*, noon: *bodola loringa*, afternoon: *bodo l'ardiyanga*, full afternoon: *elardiyanga*, evening: *dila*, before sunset: *bodola lotinga*, sunset: *elakadanya*, twilight: *elaryitinga*, dark: *gurug chau*, midnight.

Specimen of Andamanese Method of Speech.—The following account of a story, abstracted from Portman, of an imaginary pig hunt as told by a Bea *eremtaga* (forest-man) for the amusement of his friends, will go far to explain the Andamanese mode of speech, and the form that its Grammar takes.

The narrator sits on the ground, facing a half circle of lounging Andamanese. After a short silence, he leans forward with his head bent down. Suddenly he sits erect with brightening eyes and speaks in a quick, excited way, acting as if carrying on a conversation with another person. "After how many days will you return?" And then answering as if for himself: "I will come back to-morrow morning, I am off pig-hunting now." A pause. "I am going." Very suddenly. "You stay here." Moving as if going away. "I am going to another place." Squeaking like a young pig with pantomime of shooting it. "It is only a little pig. I will take it to the hut." Moving his shoulders as if carrying. "They roasted it there." Wave of the hands signifying that the pig was of no account. Pause. "I started in the early morning after a big one,——a big pig." Motions of hands to show length and breadth of pig. To an imaginary friend. "I will sharpen pig arrows to take

193 with me. Come after me and we will hunt together." Imitation with the hands of a pig running, shooting arrows, slap on the left breast, squeals of several wounded pigs, and so on. A pause. "You take them in front of me." Directions by pantomime to other persons as to the pigs. "They were cooking them for me in the hut, cooking them well." Brightens up and begins again. "I will bring several more." Pretends to listen. "We have got them. The dogs are barking." And so on for hours.

The actual expressions for such a story are :—

Ba hichika arle—l'—eate ugo on ? Woinga—len do on . Ña do reg
How many day——part you come? Morning——in I come. Now I pig
dele. Kam wai del. Kam wai do on . D'-arlog—len
hunt. Away indeed I . Away indeed I come (go). Me-behind-in
ka . Wai do jala——ke. Reg-ka . Kam wai do ik on .
there. Indeed I go-away-do. Pig-little. Away indeed I take come.
Wai ka eda etjoi . Do lilti doga——lat. Reg
Indeed there they roasted. I (in-the)—early morning big-(pig)—for. Pig
doga. Do ela Pigjit——ke. D'-okanuma-kan. Kaick d'—arole.
big . I pig-arrow sharpen—do. I—go——do. Come me-after.
Do-ag'—igdele. D'—okotelema ik on . Wai d'a-be etjoi——ka
I—you-hunt . Me——before take come. Indeed me-for cooking—were
bud-len. Tun reicha-beringa-ke. Ña do ikpagi—ke. Ikre ka .
hut-in . Very ripe—good—do. Now I several-do. Getting—were.
Wai eda ikkenawa.
Indeed they barked .

Nothing could show more clearly how "savage" the speech is in reality, how purely colloquial, how entirely it depends on concurrent action for comprehension. When the party, who were out with Mr. Vaux when he was killed by the Jarawas in February 1902, returned, they explained the occurrence to their friends at the Home in Port Blair by much action and pantomime and few words. The manner of his death was explained by the narrator lying down and following his movements on the ground.

II. Grammar.

121 193 **History of the Study.**—I have taken so large a share in the development of the knowledge of the Andamanese tongue that a brief personal explanation is here necessary to make clear the mode of presenting it that now follows.

The first person to seriously study the Andamanese Languages and reduce them to writing was Mr. E. H. Man, and in this work I joined him for a time soon after it was commenced, and in 1877 we jointly produced a small book with an account of the speech of the Bojigngiji Group, or more strictly, of the Bea Tribe. We then worked together on it, making such comparisons with the speech of the other Andaman Tribes as were then possible and compiling voluminous notes for a Grammar and Vocabulary, which are still in manuscript. In 1882 the late Mr. A. J. Ellis used these notes for an account of the Bea Language in his Presidential Address to the Philological Society.

In compiling our manuscript, Mr. Man and myself had used the accepted grammatical terms, and these Mr. Ellis found to be so little suited to the adequate representation for scientific readers of such a form of speech as the Andamanese, that he stated in his Address that :—

> "We require new terms and an entirely new set of grammatical conceptions, which shall not bend an agglutinative language to our inflexional translation."

And in 1883 he asked me, in a letter, if it were not possible "to throw over the inflexional treatment of an uninflected language."

The Theory of Universal Grammar.—Pondering, for the purpose of an adequate presentation of Andamanese, on what was then a novel, though not an unknown, idea, never put into practice, I gradually framed a Theory of Universal Grammar, privately printed and circulated in that year. This Theory remained unused, until Mr. M. V. Portman compiled his notes for a

Comparative Grammar of the Bojigngiji (South Andaman) Languages in 1898, based avowedly, but not fully, on my Theory. These notes I examined in a second article on the Theory of Universal Grammar in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1899, which again was subjected to the favourable criticism of Mr. Sidney Ray, who has since successfully applied it in outline to 16 languages, selected because unrelated and morphologically distinct, viz.— 121 193

1. English.
2. Hungarian.
3. Latin.
4. Khasi, Hills of N. E. Bengal.
5. Anam, French Cochin China.
6. Ashanti, West Africa.
7. Kafir, South Africa.
8. Malagasy, Madagascar.
9. Olo Ngadju or Dayak, South East Borneo.
10. Nufor, Dutch New Guinea.
11. Motu, British New Guinea.
12. Mortlock Islands, Caroline Group. Micronesia.
13. Mota, Banks' Islands, Melanesia.
14. Samoan, Polynesia.
15. Awabakal, Lake Macquarie, Australia.
16. Dakota, North America.

With this brief history of the study of the Andamanese Languages, I will now give an exposition of the Theory so closely bound up with it as briefly and clearly as I can, in order to explain the method employed for exhibiting the peculiarities of Andamanese speech. A more detailed account, specially developed to a considerable extent for the present purpose, will be found in Appendix A.

All speech expresses a communication between man and man by talking or by signs. Languages are varieties of speech. The unit of every language is the expression of a complete communication, *i.e.*, the sentence. All sentences are divided into incomplete expressions of communication, *i.e.*, words, and are as naturally malitiplied into languages. Thus there is a development both ways from the sentence.

The necessary primary division of every sentence made up of words is into the matter communicated (subject) and the communication made about it (predicate). The words in each of these divisions are of necessity in the relation of principal and subordinate, which involves the fulfilment of a function by every word.

The function of the principal word of the subject is obviously to indicate the matter communicated and of the subordinate words to explain the indication and illustrate that explanation. Similarly the principal word of the predicate indicates the communication made and the subordinate words illustrate the indication or complete it.

Therefore, in every language the essential words in a sentence are :—

(1) indicator, indicating the subject or the complement,
(2) explicator, explaining that indication,
(3) predicator, indicating the predicate,
(4) illustrators, illustrating the predicator or the explicator.

As all speech expresses a communication, it has a purpose, and the function of the sentences is to express one of the five following purposes :—(1) affirmation, (2) denial, (3) interrogation, (4) exhortation, (5) information. The methods adopted for indicating the purpose of a sentence are (1) placing the components in a particular order, or (2) varying their forms or the tones in which they are spoken, or (3) adding special introductory words. When the purposes of speech are by their nature connected together, this connection is naturally indicated by connected sentences in the relation of principal and subordinate, which is expressed by methods similar to those above noted, *viz.*, placing them in a particular order, or varying the forms or tones of their components, or adding special referent words of two kinds, (1) simple conjoining words, (2) words substituting themselves in the subordinate sentence for the words in the principal sentence to which they refer.

The relation of the words composing the parts of a sentence is also expressed by the similar methods of adding special connecting words, or of varying the forms or tones of the words; and so, too, the intimate relation between indicator and predicator, indicator and explicator, illustrator and predicator, predicator and complement, referent substitute and principal, is similarly expressed by special connecting words, by correlated variation of the words in intimate relation, by their relative position, or by the tones used in severally expressing them.

Complete communication can be, and is habitually, in every language, made without a complete expression of it in speech, and so referent words are made to refer to words unexpressed and to be related or correlated to them, and referent substitutes are made to indicate the unexpressed subject or complement of a sentence.

The function of the sentence and the inter-relation of the words composing it are therefore in all speech expressed by three methods: position, variation, or addition of special words. Every language adopts one or more or all of those methods.

Therefore, in every language the optional words in a sentence are :—

(5) connector, explaining the inter-relation of the components,
(6) introducer, explaining its purpose,

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(7) referent conjunctor, joining connected sentences,
(8) referent substitutes, indicating the inter-relation of connected sentences or unexpressed communications.

To the essential and optional components of the sentence must be added (9) the integer, or word that of necessity in every language expresses in itself a complete communication, *i.e.*, is a sentence.

Thus is explainable the natural resolution of the sentence into its component words, but any word can be and habitually is extended to many words, used collectively to express its meaning. Words thus used collectively form a phrase, which is substituted for its original. When a phrase contains in itself a complete meaning, and thus is a sentence substituted for a word, it becomes a clause. Therefore, clauses and phrases are merely expanded words, fulfilling the functions and bearing the relations of the words for which they are substituted in an expanded sentence or period. Therefore also, the period is a true sentence in the sense of being the expression of a complete meaning and so the unit of every language adopting it.

In all speech words are made to indicate the functions they fulfil in a sentence by their position in it, with or without using tones and with or without variation in form, and this habit gives rise of necessity to classes of words according to function. And as any given word can naturally fulfil more than one function, it becomes as naturally transferable from its own class to another, the transfer being indicated by position in the sentence with or without variation in form or tone. The class of a word thus indicates its function, and its position, alone or combined with its form or tone, indicates its class.

So when a word is transferred from its original class, it necessarily fulfils a new function and becomes a new word, connected with the original word in the relation of parent and offshoot, each equally of necessity assuming the form or tone of its own class.

The functions of words in a sentence, and consequently their classes, are therefore in all speech expressed by two methods: position or position combined with variation. Every language adopts one or other or both.

When in any language connected words differ in form, they are made to consist of a principal part or stem and an additional part or functional affix. The stem is used for indicating the meaning of the word and the functional affix for modifying that meaning according to function, by indicating the class to which the word belongs or its relation or correlation to the other words in the sentence.

A simple stem necessarily indicates an original meaning, but a stem can be and habitually is used for indicating a modification of an original meaning. It then naturally becomes a compound stem, *i.e.*, made up, by the same method as that above noted, of a principal part or root and of additional parts or radical affixes, each with its own function, the root to indicate the original meaning and the affix its modification into meaning of the stem.

As all words differing in form or tone of necessity fulfil functions and belong to classes, they must possess a nature, *i.e.*, qualities inherent in themselves, and these, in all languages using such words, are indicated by the addition of qualitative affixes or by the tones in which they are spoken.

Every affix is of necessity fixed into the midst of, or prefixed or suffixed to, a root, stem or word, the affixing being naturally effected in full or in a varied form. Whenever there is variation of form amounting to material change, there is necessarily inflexion, or inseparability of the affixes. Inflexion can therefore be made to fulfil all the functions of affixes, and inflected words to conform to particular kinds of inflexion, in order to indicate function and class: and as tone can be equally made to indicate the functions and classes of words, it takes the place of inflexion.

Words are therefore made to fulfil their functions merely by the tone in which they are spoken, or by an external development effected by affixes, and to express modifications of their original meaning by a similar use of tones or of internal development. In both cases the affixes are prefixes, infixes or suffixes affixed in full or varied form or by inflexion. All languages, using variation of form for causing the components of sentences, *i.e.*, words, to fulfil their functions, adopt one or other or all the above methods of effecting the variation.

Therefore in all speech, communication expressed in a sentence is rendered complete by the combination of the meaning of its components with their position, tones or forms, or with position combined with *form or tone*.

The methods adopted in developing the sentence, *i. e.*, the unit of speech itself, are found to entirely govern those adopted in its further development into a language or variety of speech.

Languages differ naturally in the position of their words in the sentence, or in their forms or tones, or in the combination of position with form or tone. Thus are set up naturally two primary classes of languages:—Syntactical Languages, which express complete communication by the position, and Formative Languages, which express it by the forms of their words.

As position alone or combined with tone can fulfil all the functions of speech, the Syntactical Languages employ one or both of these methods, and thus are created respectively Analytical Languages and Tonic Languages.

Again, as in speech, variety of form is secured by affixes attached to words in an unaltered or an altered form. Formative Languages necessarily divide themselves into Agglutinative Languages, attaching affixes in an unaltered form, and Synthetic Languages, attaching them in an altered form. These two classes are both further naturally divisible into (1) Premutative, (2) Intromutative, (3) Postmutative Languages, according as they attach affixes as prefixes, infixes or suffixes.

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In obedience to a fundamental Law of Nature, no language has ever developed along a single line, and therefore every language belongs of necessity primarily to one of the above classes, and secondarily to others, by partial adoption of their methods. 121

Languages, varying the form, tones or position, without varying the meanings of their words, form naturally Connected Languages in the relation of parent and offshoot. Connected Languages, whose stems, *i.e.*, the meanings of whose words, are common to all, form a natural Group of Languages, and those Connected Languages, whose roots, *i. e.*, the original meanings of whose words, are common to all, form a natural Family of Languages. Therefore also of necessity all Connected Languages belonging to a Group belong to the same Family. 193

As the above method of expounding the Theory involves the use of unfamiliar terms, it is as well to state that the new and the old terms of Grammar roughly, though not exactly, correspond as follow; it being remembered that the old terms are themselves the outcome of another tacit Theory, based upon other observations of natural laws or phenomena.

TABLE OF COMPARATIVE GRAMMATICAL TERMS.

Old.	New.
Noun.	Indicator.
Adjective.	Explicator.
Verb.	Predicator.
Adverbs of different classes.	Illustrator. / Introducer.
Preposition. / Postposition. / Conjunction.	Connector.
Interjection.	Integer.
Pronoun. / Relative Adverb. / Relative Particle.	Referent Substitute.
Gender, Number, Case. / Declension. / Person, Mood, Tense. / Conjugation.	Inflexion of different kinds.
Concord, Agreement. / Government.	Correlated Variation. / Intimate Relation.

The two following diagrams will serve to explain the lines upon which the Theory works itself out:—

DIAGRAM I.

Principle of the Development of the Sentence out of its Components.

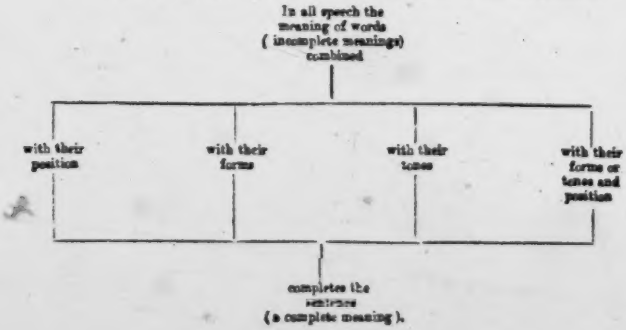

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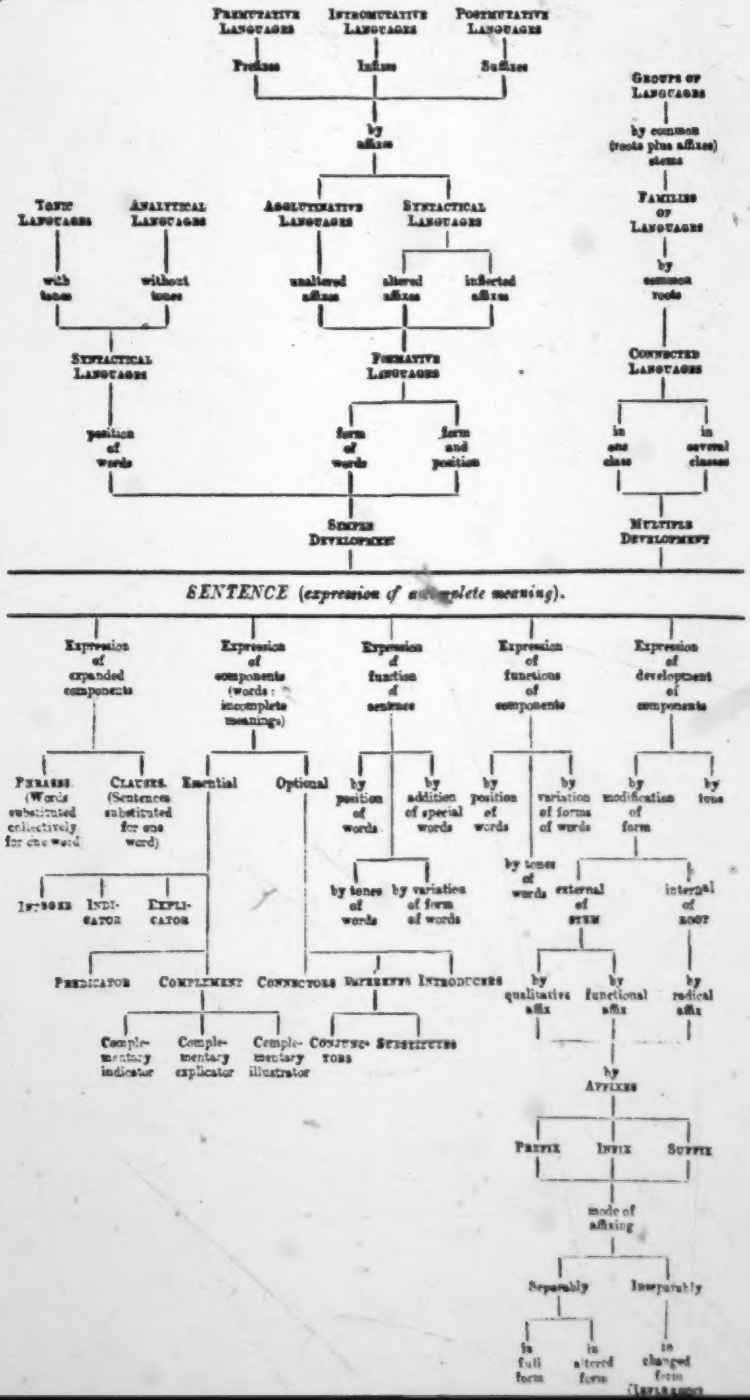
DIAGRAM II.

Development of the sentence or complete meaning, upwards into languages. downwards into its components.



193 **Position of the Andamanese Languages in the General Scheme.**—The next point for consideration is: Where do the Andamanese Languages come into the general scheme? This will be shown in the following general account of them, and as the grammatical terms used will be novel to the reader, the corresponding familiar terms will be inserted beside them in brackets, wherever necessary to make the statements clear in a familiar manner. Diacritical marks will only be used when necessary to the elucidation of the text.

Examples of Sentences of One Word.—The Andamanese Languages are rich in integer words, which are sentences in themselves, because they express a complete meaning. The following examples are culled from Portman's lists:—

TABLE OF INTEGER WORDS.

English	Bea	Balawa	Bojigyab	Jawai
Hurrah.	Yui	Yui	Yui	Yui
I don't know.	Uchin	Maka	Konkete	Koien
Very well: go (with a lift of the chin).	Uchik	Kobaie	Köi	Köi
Humbug.	Akanoiyadake	Akanoiyadake	Omkotichwake	Okamkotichwachin.
Oh: I say (ironical).	Betek ...	Ya ...	Kalaiitata, Kalat	Yokokene
It's broken.	Turushno	Turuit	Turush	T'ruish
Back me up. Say 'yes.'	Jegö ...	Jegö	Jeklungi	Atokwe
Not exactly.	Kak	Kak	Kaka	Alö
Nonsense.	Cho	Ya	Aikut	Kene
Yes (ironical).	Wai (drawled)	Wai (drawled)	Köle	K'le
What a stink.	Chunye	Chunye	Chunyene	Chunye
How sweet (smell, with a puffing out of the lips).	Pue	Pue	Pue	Pue
It hurts.	Eyi	Yi	Yi (drawled)	Eyö (indignantly).
Oh (shock).	Yite (with a gasp)	Yite	Yite	Jite
Don't worry.	Ijiyomaingata	Idiyomaingata	Iramyolano	Remjolokne
What? Where?	Ten?	Tan?	Dekot?	Alech?
Is it so?	An wai?	An yatya?	En kide?	An k'le?
Lor.	Kakatek	Kakate	Keleba	Alöbai

Elliptical Speech.—Portman's *Vocabulary* shows that the habit of speaking by integers, *i.e.*, single words, or by extremely elliptical phrases is carried very far in Andamanese, and the *Fire Legends* themselves give the clearest instances of it, as these Legends have been recorded by Portman.

The Bea version winds up with the enigmatic single word "Tomolola," which has to be translated by "they, the ancestors, were the Tomolola." In the Kol version occurs the single-word sentence "Kölotatke," *lit.*, "Kölotat-ke," which has to be translated: "Now there was one Kölotat," In the first instance, one word in the indicator (noun) form completes the whole sense; in the second, one word in the predicator (verb) form does so. Such elliptical expressions as the above and as the term of abuse, "*Ngalgöreb*" (*ng + eb + göreb*, you + special—radical—prefix + spine), would be accompanied by tone, manner, or gesture to explain its meaning to the listener. Thus, the latter would be made to convey "You hump-back," or "Break your spine," by the accompanying manner.

Portman's Fire Legend in the Bea Version Dissected to Illustrate Grammar.—The Andamanese sentence, when it gets beyond an exclamation or one word, is capable of clear division into subject and predicate, as can be seen by an analysis of the sentences in a genuine specimen of the speech, Portman's "Fire Legend" in the five languages of the South Andaman (Bojigngiji) Group. In the Bea Language it runs thus:—

BEA VERSION OF THE FIRE LEGEND.

Töl-l'eka-tiewa-len	*Pulugu-la*	*mani—ka.*	*Luretut-la*	*chapa*	*tap—ugo,*	*cmo—ee.*
(a Place)——in	God	asleep—was.	(a Bird)	fire	steal-ing	bring-did.
chapa-la	*Pulugu-la*	*pugat—ka.*	*Puluga-la*	*bi——ka.*	*Pulugu-la*	*chapa*
fire	God	burning—was.	God	awake—was.	God	fire

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eni——ka.	*a*	*ik*	*chapa-lik*	*Luratut*	*Pot-pugari-re.*	*iek*	*Luratut-la*
seizing—was.	he taking	fire—by	(Bird)	burn—t.		at-once	(Bird)
eni——ka.	*ai—Tarcheker*		*Pot-pugari-re.*		*Wota-Emi-barcij—lea*		*Changa-tabanga*
taking—was.	he	(a Bird)	burn—t.		Wota-Emi-village-in		The—ancestors
oko—dol-re.	*Tomolola.*						
made-fires.	Tomolola.						

Portman's Rendering.—God was sleeping at Tôl-l'okotima. Luratut came, stealing fire. The fire burnt God. God woke up. God seized the fire; He took the fire and burnt Luratut with it. Then Luratut took (the fire;) he burnt Tarcheker in Wota-Emi village, (where then) the Ancestors lit fires. (The Ancestors referred to were) the Tomolola.

Subject and Predicate.—Taking this Legend, sentence by sentence, the subject and predicate come out clearly thus:—(P=predicate: S=subject.)

(1) Tôllokotimalen (P) Pulugala (S) mamika (P.).
(2) Luratutla (S) chapatapuga (S) omore (P).
(3) Chapala (S) Pulugala (P) pugatka (P).
(4) Pulugala (S) boika (P).
(5) Pulugala (S) chapa (P) enika (P).
(6) A (S) ik (S) chapalik (P) Luratut (P) lotpugarire (P).
(7) Jek (P) Luratutla (S) enika (P).
(8) A (S) Itarcheker (P) lotpugarire (P).
(9) Wota-Emi-barajilen (P) Changa-tabanga (S) okodalre (P).
(10) Tomolola (S) (P. unexpressed).

Principal and Subordinate Words.—That the words in the above sentences are in the relation of principal and subordinate is equally clear; thus:—

(1) In the Predicate, *Tôllokotimalen* is subordinate to the principal *mamika*.
(2) In the Subject, *Luratutla* is the principal with its subordinate *chapatapuga*.
(3) In the Predicate, *chapa* is subordinate to the principal *enika*.
And so on, without presentation of any difficulties.

Functions of Words.—The next stage in analysis is to examine the functions of the words used in the above sentences, and for this purpose the following abbreviations will be used:—

ABBREVIATIONS USED.

int.	integer.
in.	indicator.
e.	explicator.
p.	predicator.
ill.	illustrator.
c.	connector.
intd.	introducer.
r. c.	referent conjunctor.
r. s.	referent substitute.
c. in	complementary indicator.
c. e.	complementary explicator.
c. ill.	complementary illustrator.

In this view the sentences can be analysed thus:—

(1) Tôll'okotimalen (ill. of P.) Pulugala (in.) mamika (p.).
(2) Luratutla (in.)—chapa—(c. in.) -tapuga (p., the whole an e. phrase) omore (p.).
(3) Chapala (in.) Pulugala (c. in.) pugatka (p.).
(4) Pulugala (in.) boika (p.).
(5) Pulugala (in.) chapa (c. in.) enika (p.).
(6) A (r. s., in.) ik (e.) chapalik (ill.) Luratut (c. in.) Potpugarire (p.).
(7) Jek (r. c.) Luratutla (in.) enika (p.).
(8) A (r. s., in.) Itarcheke (c. in.) Potpugarire (p.).
(9) Wota-Emi-barajilen (ill. phrase of P.) changatabanga (in. phrase) okodalre (p.).
(10) Tomolola (in., P. unexpressed).

Order of Sentence.—By this analysis we arrive at the following facts. The purpose of all the sentences is information, and the Andamanese indicate that purpose, which is perhaps the commonest of speech, by the order of the words in the sentence thus:—

(1) Subject before Predicate:
Pulugala (S.) boika (P.).

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(2) Subject, Complement (object), Predicate:
Pulugala (S.) chapa (c. in.) emika (P.).
(3) Indicator (noun) before explicator (adjective):
Lerutatla (in.) chapa-tapuga (a. phrase) emore (p.).
(4) Illustrator of Predicate (adverb) before Subject:
Téll'ebotimalen (ill. of P.) Pulugala (in.) mamika (p.).
But illustrators can be placed elsewhere,* thus:
A (r. a. used as in.) ik (p. of elliptic a. phrase, c. in. unexpressed) chapalik (ill.) Lerutat (c. in.) Ro'pugarire (p.).
(5) Referent conjunctor (conjunction) commences sentence:
Jek (r. c.) Lerutatla (in.) emika (p.).
(6) Referent substitutes (pronouns) follow position of the originals:
A (r. a. in.) Itorchoke (c. in.) I'otpugarire (p.).

From these examples, which cover the whole of the kinds of words used in the sentence, except the introducers and connectors, the absence of which is remarkable, we get the following as the order of Andamanese speech:—

A. (1) Subject (2) Predicate.
B. (1) Subject (2) Complement (object) (3) Predicate.
C. (1) Indicator (noun) before its explicator (adjective).
D. Illustrator (adverb) where convenient.
E. Referent conjunctors (conjunctions) before everything in connected sentences.

We have also a fine example of an extremely elliptical form of speech in the wind-up of the story by the one word "Tomolola" as its last sentence, in the sense "(the ancestors who did this were the) Tomolola." *Jek Lerutatla emika* is also elliptic, as the complement is unexpressed.

Order of Connected Sentences.—Connected sentences are used in the order of principal and then subordinate:

Pulugala chapa emika (principal sentence) and then *a ik chapalik Lerutat I'otpugarire* (subordinate sentence), after which *jek Lerutatla emika* (connected sentence) joined by "*jek* at once"), and then *a Itorchoke I'otpugarire* (subordinate to the previous sentence).

The sentences quoted show that the Andamanese mind works in its speech steadily from point to point in a natural order of precedence in the development of an information (story, tale), and not in an inverted order, as does that of the speakers of many languages.

Interrogative Sentences.—It may also be noted here, though no interrogatory phrases occur in the Fire Legend, that the Andamanese convey interrogation by introducers (adverbs) always placed at the commencement of a sentence or connected sentences.

The introducers of interrogation in Ben are *Ba*? and *Ao*? And so, too, "Is———?" or ———?" are introduced by "*Ao*———? *ao*———?" Either these introducers are used, or an interrogative sentence begins with a special introducer, like "*Tra*? Where? *Mwikha*? What? *Majala*, or *Mijo*? Who?" and so on.

The Mode of Expressing the Functions and the Inter-relation of Words.—But the Andamanese do not rely entirely on position to express the function of the sentence and the functions and inter-relation of its words. By varying the ends of their words, they express the functions of such sentences as convey information, and at the same time the functions of the words composing them.

Thus, the final form of *Pulugala, Lerutatla, chapala, Tomolola* proclaim them to be indicators (nouns): of *mamika, beika, pugatka, emore, chodaire, I'otpugarire* to be predicators (verbs): of *chapa-tapuga* (phrase) to be an explicator (adjective): of *Téll'ebotimalen* (phrase), *chapalik, Wota-Ruu-koreiyiica* (phrase) to be illustrators (adverbs).

Expression of Intimate Relation.—The intimate Relation between words is expressed by change of form at the *commencement* of the latter of them.

Thus in *Lerutat* (c. in.) *I'otpugarire* (p.), where *Lerutat* is the complement (object) and *I'otpugarire* is the predicator (verb), the intimate relation between them is expressed by the *I'* of *I'otpugarire*. So again in *Itorchoke I'otpugarire*.

* We have this in English:—"Suddenly John died; John suddenly died; John died suddenly."

193 In phrases, or words that are fundamentally phrases, the same method of intimately joining them is adopted.

Thus *Tôl'ôko-tima-len* means in practice "in Tôll'okotima," a place so named, but fundamentally

Tôl——————l'————okotima-len
Tol (tree)————(its)————corner—in

means "in (the encampment at, unexpressed) the corner of the Tol (trees, unexpressed)." Here the intimate relation between *tôll* and *okotima* is expressed by the intervening *l'*.

The actual use of the phrases is precisely that of the words they represent. Thus—

Wota—Emi—barij——len
Wota—Emi—village——in

Here a phrase, consisting of three indicators (nouns) placed in juxtaposition, is used as one illustrator word (adverb).

Use of the Affixes; Prefixes, Infixes, Suffixes.—It follows from what has been above said that the Adamanese partly make words fulfil their functions by varying their forms by means of affixes.

Thus they use suffixes to indicate the class of a word, *e. g.*, *ka*, *re*, to indicate predicators (verbs): *la*, *da*, for indicators (nouns): *ego* for explicators (adj.): *len*, *lik* for illustrators (adverbs). They use prefixes, *e.g.*, *l'*, to indicate intimate relation, and infixes for joining up phrases into compound words, based on the prefix *l'*.

It also follows that their functional affixes are prefixes, infixes and suffixes.

It is further clear that they effect the transfer of a word from class to class by means of suffixes.

Thus, the compound indicator (noun) *Tôll'ôkotima* is transferred to illustrator (adverb) by suffixing *len*: indicator (noun) *chapa* to illustrator (adverb) by suffixing *lik*: indicator (noun) phrase *Wota-Emi-barai* to illustrator (adverb) by suffixing *len*: predicator (verb) *tap* (*-da*, *-da*, *-re*) to explicator (adj.) by suffixing *ego*.

A very strong instance of the power of a suffix to transfer a word from one class to another occurs in the Kol version of the Fire Legend, where *Kôlotat-ke* occurs, Kôlotat being a man's name and therefore an indicator (noun), transferred to the predicator (verb) class by merely affixing the suffix of that class. The word *Kôlotatke* in the Kol version of the Fire Legend occurs as a sentence by itself in the sense of "now, there was one Kôlotat."

Differentiation of the Meanings of Connected Words by Radical Prefixes.—Fortunately in the sentences under examination, two words occur, which exhibit the next point of analysis for elucidation. These are:—

chapala Pubgala pugat——ka
fire God burning—was

and then

a Itarchaker Potpugari-re
he (a Bird) burn——t

a ik chapa-lik Lararat Potpugari-re
he taking fire——by (Bird) burn——t

Here is an instance of connected words, one of which is differentiated in meaning from the other by the affix *ot*, prefixed to that part which denotes the original meaning or root (*pugat*, *pugari*) of both. Therefore, in Andamanese the use of radical prefixes (prefixes to root) is to differentiate connected words.

The simple stem in the above instances is *pugat* and the connected compound stem *otpugari*. Similarly *okotima*, *okodalre*, occurring in the Fire Legend, are compound stems, where the roots are *tima* and *dal*.

Indication of the Classes of Words: Qualitative Suffixes.—The last point in this analysis is that the words are made to indicate their class, *i.e.*, their nature (original idea conveyed by a word) by the Andamanese by affixing qualitative suffixes, thus:

ka, *re* to indicate the predicator class (verbs): *ego*, to indicate the explicator (adj.) class: *la*, *da* to indicate the indicator (noun) class: *lik*, *len*, to indicate the illustrator (adverb) class.

Composition of the Words.—The words in the sentences under consideration can thus be broken up into their constituents as follows:— 193

Using the abbreviations R.=Root: S.=Stem: P. F.=prefix, functional: P. R.=prefix, radical: I.=Infix: S. F.=suffix, functional: S. Q.=suffix, qualitative.

(1) Mami (S.)—ka (S. Q). So also pugat-ka, boi-ka, emi-ka.
sleeping——was.

(2) Chapa (S.).
fire.

(3) Tap (S.)—aga (S. Q.).
steal——ing.

(4) Omo (S.)—re (S. Q).
bring——did.

(5) Chapa (S.)—la (S. Q.).
fire—(honorific suff.).

(6) A (S.).
he.

(7) Ik (S.).
tak—(ing).

(8) Chapa (S.)—lik (S. F.).
fire——by.

(9) I (P. F.) ot (P. R.) pugari (R.)—re (S. Q.).
(referent prefixes)——burn——t.

(10) Jek (S).
at-once.

(11) Baraij (S.)—len (S. F.).
village——in.

(12) Oko (P. R.)—dal (R.)—re (S. Q.).
—fire——(light)—did.

The Agglutinative Principle.—Words are, therefore, made to fulfil their functions in the Andamanese Languages by an external development effected by affixes, and to express modifications of their original meanings by a similar internal development. Also, the meaning of the sentences is rendered complete by a combination of the meanings of their component words with their position and form.

The sentences analysed further show that the Languages express a complete communication chiefly by the forms of their words, and so these languages are Formative Languages; and because their affixes, as will have been seen above, are attached to roots, stems and words mainly in an unaltered form, the languages are Agglutinative Languages. It will be seen later on, too, as a matter of great philological interest, that the Languages possess premutation (principle of affixing prefixes) and postmutation (principle of affixing suffixes) in almost equal development: intro-mutation (principle of affixing infixes) being merely rudimentary.

Identity of the Five Languages of the Southern Group of Tribes.— 197
The above observations, being the outcome of the examination of the ten sentences under analysis, are based only on the Bea speech, but in Appendix C will be found a similar analysis of the sentences conveying the Fire Legend in the five South Andaman Languages (Bojigngiji Group), which fully bears out all that has been above said. And from this Appendix is here attached a series of Tables, showing roughly how these Languages agree and differ in the essentials of word-building, premising that they all agree in Syntax, or sentence-building, exactly. An examination of the Tables goes far to show that the Andamanese Languages must belong to one Family.

COMPARATIVE TABLES OF ROOTS AND STEMS OF THE SAME MEANING OCCURRING IN THE FIRE LEGEND.

English	Bea	Balawa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
		Indicators (nouns).			
camp	baraij	baroij	...	...	pôroich'
fire	chapa	choupa	at	at	at

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Predicators (verbs).

English	Ba	Bakwa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
seize	eni	ema	di, li	...	...
take	ik	ik	ik	...	...
light-a-fire	dal	dal	kadak	kôdak	kôdak
sleep	mami	...	pat	ema	pat
steal	tap	...	...	top	...
bring	omo	omo	lechi	...	...
burn	puget, pugari	puguru	...	...	...
wake	boi	...	konyi	...	...

Referent Substitutes (pronouns).

he	a	i, ong	ong	a	...
(they)	...	ongot	n'ong	...	n'a

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF AFFIXES OCCURRING IN THE FIRE LEGEND.

English	Ba	Bakwa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
		Prefixes, functional, of intimate relation.			
(his-, it-)-s	l'-	t'-	l'-	l'-, t'-	l'-
(his-, it-)-s	...	...	k'-	...	k'-
(their-)-s	...	...	n'-	...	n'-
		Prefixes, radical.			
...	ot-	oto-	oto-	...	otam-, ote-
...	...	atak-	...	atak-	...
...	oko-	oko-	oko-	ôkô-, ôko-	oko -
...	...	...	o-	...	a-
...	...	ar-	...	...	ir-, iram-
...	i-	i-	...	...	...
...	...	ong-	...	on-	...
		Suffixes, functional.			
by	-lik	-te	-ke	...	-lak
in	-len	-a	-in, -an, -en	-in	-en
to	...	...	-len	-lin	-kete
		Suffixes, qualitative.			
was	-ka	-kate, -ia	...	-chike	-ke
-ing	-nga	-nga	-nga	...	...
did	-re	-t, -te	-ye, -an	-t	-an, -chine
(hon. of in.)	-la, -ola	-le	-la	...	-la

Many further proofs of the existence of the Andamanese Languages as a Family, subdivided into three main Groups, will be found later on in considering that great difficulty of the Languages, the use of the prefixes, and it will be sufficient here to further illustrate the differences and agreements between those of the South Andaman Group by a comparison of the roots of the words for the parts of the human body, a set of words which looms preponderatingly before the Andamanese mental vision.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF ROOTS AND STEMS DENOTING PARTS OF THE HUMAN BODY.

English	Ba	Bakwa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
head	cheta	chekta	ta	tô	toi
brains	mun	mun	mine	mine	mine
neck	longota	longato	longe	longe	longe
heart	kuktabana	kuktabana	kapône	poktô	poktoi
hand	kôro	kôro	kôre	korô	kôre
wrist	tango	tango	to	to	to
knuckle	kutur	godla	kutar	kutar	kutar
nail	bodo	bôdo	pute	pute	pute
foot	pag	pog	ta	tok	tok
ankle	togur	tôgar	togar	togar	togar
mouth	bang	boang	pong	pong	pong
chin	ada	koada	teri	t'reye	t'reye
tongue	etal	atal	tatal	tatal	tätal

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English	Bea	Balawa	Bejigyab	Jewai	Kol
jawbone	ekib	ton	ta	tô	teip
lip	pe	pa	pai	paka	paka
shoulder	pôdikma	pôdiatoa	bea	bea	bein
thigh	paicha	poaicho	baichato	boichatokan	baichetôkan
knee	lo	lo	lu	lu	lu
shin	chalta	chalanta	chalta	cholto	chaltô
belly	jodo	jôdo	chute	chute	chute
navel	er	akar	tar	takar	takar
armpit	anwa	ôkar	kôrting	kôrteng	kôrteng
eye	dal	dal	kôdak	kôdag	kôdak
eyebrow	punur	punu	bein	beakaiñ	beakiñ
forehead	mugu	mugu	mike	mike	mike
ear	puku	puku	bo	bôkô	bokô
nose	chôronga	chôronga	kôte	kôte	kôte
cheek	ab	koab	kap	kap	kap
arm	gud	gud	kit	kit	kit
breast	kam	koam	kôme	kôme	kôme
spine	gôrob	kategôrob	kinab	kurup	kurup
leg	chag	chag	chok	chok	chok
buttocks	dama	doamo	tome	tome	tome
arms	tomur	bang	tomur	kôlang	kôlang

Pulled to pieces, Andamanese words of any Group of the Languages seem to be practically the same, but this fact is not apparent in actual speech, when they are given in full with their appropriate affixes, thus—

English	Bea	Balawa	Bejigyab	Jewai	Kol
head	otchetada	ôtchekta	otetada	ôtotôlekile	ôtetoiche
knee	abloda	ablo	abluda	alulekile	olnche
forehead	igmuguda	idmugu	irmikeda	remilekile	ermikeche

Any one who has had practice in listening to a foreign and partially understood tongue knows how a small difference in pronunciation, or even in accentuation, will render unintelligible words philologically immediately recognisable on paper.

III. Etymology.

The Use of the Roots.—As the Andamanese usually build up the full words of their sentences by the simple agglutination of affixes on to roots and stems, the word construction of their language would present no difficulties were it not for one peculiarity, most interesting in itself and easy of general explanation, though difficult in the extreme to discover: *experto crede.* 193 197

The Andamanese suffixes perform the ordinary functions of their kind in all agglutinative languages, and the peculiarity of the infixed *l'* occurring in compound words depends on the prefixes. It is the prefixes and their use that demand an extended examination.

Anthropomorphism Colours the whole Linguistic System.—To Andamanese instinct or feeling, words as original meanings, *i.e.*, roots, divide themselves roughly into Five Groups, denoting—

(1) mankind and parts of his body (nouns):
(2) other natural objects (nouns):
(3) ideas relating to objects (adj., verbs):
(4) reference to objects (pronouns):
(5) ideas relating to the ideas about objects (adv., connecting words, Proper Names).

The instinct of the Andamanese next exhibits an intense anthropomorphism, as it leads them to differentiate the words in the First Group, *i.e.*, those relating directly to themselves, from all others, by adding special prefixes through mere agglutination to their roots.

The Use of the Prefixes to the Roots.—These special radical prefixes by, some process of reasoning forgotten by the people and now obscure, but not at all in every case irrecoverable, divide the parts of the human body into Six Classes, thus, without giving a full list of the words in each class :—

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RADICAL PREFIXES IN WORDS DENOTING PARTS OF THE HUMAN BODY BY CLASSES.

Class	English	Ba	Balawa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
I	Head, Brains, Neck, Heart	ot-	ôt-	ote-	ôto-	ôto-
II	Hand, Wrist, Knuckle, Nail, Foot, Ankle	on-	ong-	ong-	ôn-	ôn-
III	Mouth	akan-				
	Chin, Tongue, Jawbone	aka-	aka-	o-	ôkô-	o-
	Lip	ôkô-	ôkô-			
IV	Shoulder, Thigh, Knee, Shin, Belly, Navel, Armpit	ab-	ab-	ab-	a-	o-
V	Eye	i-				
	Eyebrow, Forehead, Ear, Nose, Cheek, Arm	ik-, ig-	id-	ir-	re-	er-
	Breech	i-				
VI	Spine, Leg, Buttock, Arms	ar-	ar-	ar-	ra-	a-

Prefixes to Words referring to the Human Body.—Next, in obedience to their strong anthropomorphic instinct, the Andamanese extend their prefixes to all words in the other Groups, when in relation to the human body, its parts, attributes and necessities, and thus in practice refer all words, capable of such reference, to themselves by means of prefixes added to their roots. In an Andamanese Language one cannot, as a matter of fact, say "head," "hand" "heart;" one can only say—

my
your
his
(so and so) —'s
(that one) —'s
(this one) —'s
} head, hand, heart.

The Prefixes of Intimate Relation.—It is thus that the otherwise extremely difficult secondary functional prefix (always prefixed to the radical prefix, which is usually in Bojigngiji *le-* or *la-*, but practically always used in its curtailed form *l'-*, or *k'-*, *n'-*, *t'-* in certain circumstances) is clearly explainable. It is used to denote intimate relation between two words; and when between two indicators (nouns) it corresponds to the English connector (of), the Persian *izafat* (*-i-*), and so on, and to the suffix denoting the "genitive case" in the inflected languages. The Andamanese also use it to indicate intimate relation between predicator (verb) and complement (object), when it corresponds to the suffix of the "accusative case" in the inflected languages, and indeed to cases generally.

The Prefix System.—Starting with these general principles, the Andamanese have developed a complicated system of prefixes, making their language an intricate and difficult one for a foreigner to clearly apprehend when spoken to, or to speak so as to be readily understood.

As examples of this, let us take the stem *beri-aga* good: then *a-beri-aga*, good (human being); *an-beri-aga* (good hand, *an* pref. of hand), clever; *ig-beri-aga* (good eye, *ik* pref. of

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eye), sharp-sighted; *aka-beri-nga* (good mouth or tongue, *aka* pref. of mouth and tongue), clever at (other Andamanese) languages; *ot-beri-nga* (good head and heart, *ot* pref. of both head and heart), virtuous; *un-t'ig-beri-nga* (good hand and eye, *on* pref. of hand, *ig* pref. of eye, joined by *t'* pref. of intimate relation), good all round.

So, too, with *jabag*, bad: *ab-jabag*, bad (human being); *un-jabag*, stupid; *ig-jabag*, dull-sighted; *aka-jabag*, stupid at (other Andamanese) languages; *ot-jabag*, vicious; *un-t'-ig-jabag*, a duffer.

So again with *lama*, failing: *un-lama* (failing hand or foot), missing to strike; *ig-lama* (failing eye), failing to find; *ot-lama* (failing head), wanting in sense; *aka-lama* (failing tongue), using a wrong word.

Lastly, in the elliptic speech of the Andamanese, the root, when evident, can be left unexpressed, if the prefix is sufficient to express the sense, thus—

i-beri-nga-da! may mean, "his-(face, pref. *i*-)-good-(is)." That is, "he is good-looking!".

d'-aka-chom-te! may mean "my-(mouth, pref. *aka*)-sore-is." That is, "my mouth is sore!".

Prefixes to Words Relating to Objects.—The system of using radical prefixes to express the relation of ideas to mankind and its body is extended to express the relation of ideas to objects in general. Thus—

ad-beringa, well (*i. e.*, not sick): *ad-jabag*, ill (*i. e.*, not well): *oko-lama* (applied to a weapon), failing to penetrate the object struck through the fault of the striker. So *ig-beringa* means pretty (of things): *aka-beringa*, nice (to taste): all in addition to the senses above given.

This is carried, with more or less obvious reference to origin, throughout the language. Thus—

In Bea: *yop*, pliable, soft. Then a cushion or sponge is *ot-yop*, soft: a cane is *ôto-yop*, pliable: a stick or pencil is *aka-yop*, or *ôko-yop*, pointed: the human body is *ab-yop*, soft: Class II of its parts (hand, wrist, etc.,) are *ong-yop*, soft: fallen trees are *ar-yop*, rotten: an adze is *ig-yop*, blunt.

So again, in Bea: *chôrogunga*, tying up, (whence also that which is usually tied up in a bundle, etc., a bundle of plantains, faggots). Then *ôt-chôrogunga* is tying up a pig's carcase: *aka-chôrogunga*, tying up jack-fruit: *ar-chôrogunga*, tying up birds: *ong-chôrogunga*, tying up the feet of sucking pigs.

General Sense of Prefixes to Roots.—Possibly the feeling or instinct, which prompts the use of the prefixes correctly, could be caught up by a foreigner, just as the Andamanese roots might be traced by a sufficiently patient etymologist, but it would be very difficult and would require deep study. The Andamanese themselves, however, unerringly apply them without hesitation, even in the case of such novel objects to them as cushions, sponges and pencils; using *ot* in the two former cases, because they are round and globular, and *aka* in the latter, because they are rounded off to an end. In both these cases one can detect an echo of the application of the prefixes to the body: *ot* of head, neck, heart, etc.; *aka* of tongue, chin, etc.

Portman gives somewhat doubtfully the following as the concrete modifying references of such prefixes to the names of things:—

ot-	round things.
ôto-	long, thin, pointed, or wooden things.
aka-, ôko-	hard things.
ar-	upright things.
ig-	weapons, utensils, things manufactured.
ad-	speech (noises) of animals.

With this habit may be compared the use of numeral co-efficients in Burmese and many other languages.

From Portman also may be abstracted, doubtfully again, the following modifying abstract references of some of the radical prefixes:—

ot-, oto-, ôto-	special relation.
ig-, ik-, i-	reference in singular to another person.
iji-	reference in plural to other persons.
eb-, ep-	reference to ideas.
akan-	reference to self.
ar-, ara-	plural reference to persons generally.
ar-, ara-	(also) agency.
ad-	action of self.
ab-	action or condition transferred to another in singular.
aiye-	action transferred to others in plural

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The following preliminary statement of the function of the radical prefixes can, therefore, be made out, *viz.*, to modify the meanings of roots by denoting—

(1) the phenomena of man and parts of his body:
(2) the phenomena of objects:
(3) the relation of ideas to the human body and objects:
(4) reference to self:
(5) reference to other persons:
(6) ideas; *i. e.*, (*a*) actions of self, (*b*) actions transferred to others, (*c*) actions of others (agency):
(7) reference to ideas.

The Use of the "Personal Pronouns."—The habit of the Andamanese of referring everything directly to themselves makes the use of the referent substitutes for their own names (personal pronouns) a prominent feature in their speech. These are in full in the Bojigngiji group as follow :—

THE "PERSONAL PRONOUNS."

English	Bea	Balawa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
I	d'ol-la	d'ol	t'u-le	t'u-le	la-t'u-le
thou	ng'ol-la	ng'ol	ng'u-le	ng'a-kile	la-ng'u-le
he, she, it	ol-la	ol	u-le	a-kile	laka-u-le
we	m'oloi-chik	m'ôlo-chit	m-u-le	m'e-kile	la-m'u-le
you	ng'oloi-chik	ng'olo-chit	ng'uwe'l	ng'e'l-kile	la-ng'uwe'l
they	oloi-chik	olo-chit	n'u-le	n'e-kile	kuchla-n'u-le

Limited Pre-inflexion.—In combination with and before the radical prefixes the "personal pronouns" are abbreviated thus in all the languages of the Bojigngiji Group :—

ABBREVIATED "PRONOMINAL" FORMS.

I, my	d'– in Bea, Balawa.
	t'– in Bojigyab, Juwai, Kol.
thou, thy	ng'– in all the Group
he, his, etc.	not expressed in the Group.
we, our	m'– in all the Group.
you, your	ng – in Bea, Balawa, Bojigyab.
	ng'————'l in Juwai, Kol.
they, their	not expressed in Bea, Balawa.
	n'– in Bojigyab, Juwai, Kol.
this, that one	k'– in Bea, Balawa. Kol.
	not expressed in Bojigyab, Juwai.
that one	t'– in all the Group.

In this way it can be shown that there are no real "singular possessives" in Andamanese, as the so-called "possessive pronouns" are merely the abbreviated forms of the "personal pronouns" plus *ia* (*-da*), etc.= belonging to, (property) thus—

"POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS."

English	Bea	Balawa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
my, mine	d'ia–da	d'ege	t'iya–da	t'iyea–kile	t'iyi–che
thy, thine	ng'ia–da	ng'ege	ng'iye–da	ng'iyea–kile	ng'iye–dele
his, her, its	ia–da	ege	iye–da	eyea–kile	iye–dele

The "plural possessives" have been brought into line with the expression of plurality by radical prefixes, as will be seen later on.

Now, it is easy enough to express on paper the true nature of the above abbreviations by the use of the apostrophe, but in speech there is no distinction made. Thus, one can write "*d'un-lama-re*, I missed (my) blow," but one must say "*dunlamare*." So one can write "*ng'ot-jabag-da*, you (are a) vicious (brute)," but one must say "*ngotjabagda*." So also one can write :—

er-tam	*d'un-t'ig-jabag-da*	*l'eda-re.*
formerly	I–hand–eye–bad.	exist-did.
achitik	*d'un-t'ig-l'e-i nga*	
now	I–hand–eye–good.	

(once I was a duffer, now I am good all round.)

But one must say "*artam duntigjabag ledare, achitik duntigberinga.*" It would therefore be correct to assert that, though Andamanese is an agglutinative

tongue, it possesses a very limited pre-inflexion, *i.e.*, inflexion at the commencement of its words. 193

Limited Correlated Variation (Concord).—The Andamanese also express the intimate relation of the "personal pronouns" with their predicators (verbs) by a rudimentary correlated variation (post-inflexion in the form of concord) of forms:—Thus— 197

mami–ke	mamik–ka	mami–re	mami–nga
sleeping–is	sleeping–was	sleep–did	sleep–ing

Then,

do	mami–ke	I am sleeping.
da	mami–ka	I was sleeping.
da	mamire	I slept.
dona	mamingа	I (me) sleeping.

This peculiarity is shown in all the Bojigngiji Group, except Kol; thus—

English	Bea	Balawa	Bojigyab	Juwai
		"In the Present Tense" (ke)		
I	do	do	tuk	te
thou	ngo	ngo	nguk	nge
he, she, it	a	ong	uk	a
we	moicho	môt	môt	me
you	ngoicho	ngôngot	nuk	ngel
they	eda	ôngot	net	a
		"In the Past Tense" (ka and re)		
I	da	do	tong	te
thou	nga	ngo	ngong	nge
he, she, it	a	ong	ong	a
we	meda	mongot	môt	me
you	ngeda	ngongot	ngonget	ngel
they	eda	ongot	net	ne
		"In the Present Participle" (nga)		
I	dona	...	tong	tôn
thou	ngôna	...	ngong	ngôn
he, she, it	oda	...	ong	ôn
we	moda	...	môt	mon
you	ngoda	...	ngowel	ngôwel
they	oda	...	nong	ne

Expression of Plurality by Radical Prefixes.—The examination of the "pronouns" shows that the Andamanese can express things taken together (plural) as well as things taken by themselves (singular). This in their language generally is expressed by changing the forms of the radical prefixes, in Bea and Balawa habitually and in Kol and Juwai occasionally. Thus—

Sing.	Pls.	Sing.	Pls.	Sing.	Pls.
		In Bea.			
ot–	otot–	ong–, on–	ôiot–	ig–, ik–, i–	itig–
ab–	at–	ar–, ara–	arat–	aka–	akat–
ôto–	ôtot–	eb–	ebet–	iji–	ijit–, ijet–
ôko–	ôkot–	ad–	ad–	akan–	akan–
en–	et–				
		In Balawa.			
ôt–	ôtot–	ông–	ôngot–	id–	idit–
ap–	at–	ar–, ara–	arat–	aka–	akat–
ôto–	ôtot–	eb–	ebet–	idi–	idit–
ôku–	ôkot–	ad–	ad–	akan–	akan–
en–	et–				
		In Juwai.			
ir–	ir–	ab–	at–	iche–	iche–
iram–	iram–	in–	in–		
		In Kol.			
re–	ri–	a–	o–	eche–	iche–
rem–	rim–	en–	in–		

As has been already noted, the plural of the "personal pronouns" in the "possessive" form has been made to fall into line with the plan of expressing plurality by means of the radical prefixes. Thus—

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TABLE OF SINGULAR AND PLURAL "POSSESSIVES."

	English	Bea	Balawa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
Sing.	my	diada	dege	tiyeda	tiyeakile	tiyiche
Plu.	our	metat	matat	miyeda	miye	miyedele
Sing.	thy	ngiada	ngege	ngiyeda	ngiyeakile	ngiyedele
Plu.	your	ngetat	ngatat	ngiyida	ngiyel	ngiyil
Sing.	his	iada	ege	iyeda	eyeakile	iyedele
Plu.	their	etat	atat	niyeda	niye	niyiche

Qualitative Suffixes.—The suffixes of Andamanese are (radical) qualitative (expressing the class of a word), or functional (expressing its function in the sentence). The radical qualitative suffixes usually employed are—

For Indicators (nouns)

Bea	Balawa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
-da	-da, -nga, -ke	-da	-lekile, -kile	-che, la
-la, -ola	-le	-le		-le
-la, -lo	-o, ô-	-o	-ô	-o
-ba				

The first of these is usually dropped in Balawa, and in all the languages also unless the word is used as an integer, or sentence in itself. The second is an honorific and is always added in full. The third is "vocative" and is suffixed to the name called out. The fourth is a negative: thus, abliga-da, a child; abliga-ba, not a child, a boy or girl.

For Explicators (adjectives)

-da
-la
-re -et, -ot, -t

The second is honorific: the third applies to attributes, etc., of human beings. Generally, these affixes follow the rule for those of the indicators (nouns).

For Predicators (verbs)

English	Bea	Balawa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
(kill)s	-ke, -kan	-ke, -ken	-ke, -kan	-che, -chine	-ye
was (killing	-ka	-ka, -te, -kate	-ya, -ye	-chike	-ye, -k
(kill)ed	-re	-t, -et	-nga, -nen	-chikan	-an, -wan, -nen
don't (kill)	-kok	-ton	-k	-chik	-k
(kill)ing	-nga	-t, -et, -ña	-nga	...	-in
(kill)s not	-ba, -bo	-ba	-na	...	...
(kill)ed not	-ta	...	...	...	...

The last two suffixes are added to the suffix *-nga* in Bea, thus—

dona	mami-nga-bo	
I	sleep-ing-not	(I am not asleep)
dona	karama	kop-nga-ta
I	bow	cutt-ing-(was)-not (I was not making a bow).

The Functional Suffixes.—The usual functional suffixes in Andamanese are—

TABLE OF SUFFIXES.

English	Bea	Balawa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
In, to, at	-len	-len, -a	-an	-an	-an
From	-tek	-te, -le	-e, -te, -le	-e, -lak	-e, -lake, -kate
To, towards	-lat	-lat	-lat	-late	-late
Of	-lia	-lege	-liye	-leye	-liye
For	-leb	-leb	-leb	-lebe	-lebe
After	-lik	-le	-le	-le	-le

The Functional Suffixes are Lost Roots—Attempt at Recovery.—It may be taken as certain that the functional suffixes are roots, now lost to Andamanese recognition, agglutinated to the ends of words by the usual means in their languages, as exhibited in the prefixes; *viz.*, by prefixing to them *l'-*, *t'-*, *k'*—in the manner already explained. The roots of some of the suffixes can be fairly made out thus, from the *Vocabularies*.

(1) *Len, lan, a, an*, "in, to, at," seem to be clearly *l'-*, *k'-*+the root *ea*, *e*, *ik*, 'take, hold, carry, seize."

(2) *Tek, te, le, e, lak, lake, kate,* "from" seem to be *l'-, t'-, k'-* + the root *ik, i, ek,* "take away." 193

(3) *Lat, late,* "to, towards," seem to be *l'-* + the root *at, ate,* "approach." 197

(4) *Lia, leye, liye, leye,* "of" seem to be *l'-* + the root *ia, eye, ii, eye,* "belonging to."

(5) *Leb, lebe,* "for" seem to be *l'-* + a root not traced.

(6) *Lik, le,* "with, after" seem to be *l'-* + the root *ik, e, ak,* "to go with, follow on."

IV. Phonology.

The Voice of the Andamanese.—The voice of the Andamanese, though occasionally deep and hoarse, is usually pleasant and musical. The mode of speech is gentle and slow, and among the women a shrill voice is used in speaking; but though the tendency is towards a drawled pronunciation, they can express their meaning quickly enough on occasion, too quickly, indeed, for a foreigner to clearly follow the minutiæ of pronunciation without very close attention. The general tone of the voice in speaking is low. 194

On an examination of the prevalent vowels and vowel interchanges and tendencies in the languages of the South Andaman (Bojigngiji) Group of Tribes, as described by Portman, it may be said that they relatively speak thus from a close to an open mouth :—

Juwai	with closed lips.
Bojigyab and Kol	with flattened lips.
Balawa	with open lips.
Bea	with lips tending to open wide.

It is interesting to note that the above results carry one straight from North to South.

History of the Reduction of the Language to Writing.—The Andamanese speech, as it is now studied, was first committed to writing on a system devised by myself, which was an adaptation of the system invented by Sir William Jones in 1794 for the Indian Languages and afterwards adopted, with some practical modifications introduced by Sir W. W. Hunter, by the Government of India as the "Hunterian System." My method of writing Andamanese was subsequently modified for scientific purposes by Mr. A. J. Ellis in 1882, and having so highly trained and competent a guide, one cannot do better than use here a modification of his system, adapted to the needs of a general publication. Portman, unfortunately, has, in his publications, gone his own way, to the great puzzle of students.

In this view, there is no necessity to say anything of the consonants used, and as to the vowels, the following table will sufficiently exhibit them in the Bea Language :—

The Vowels in Bea.

	English	Bea		English	Bea
a	idea, cut	alaba	o	indolent	boigoli
ā	car	bā, yāba	ō	pole	jōb
ä	father	dāke	ö	könig (Ger.)	tö
ā	fathom	jārawa	ò	pot	pòlike
e	bed	ēmej	ô	awful	tôgo
ē	fade	akabēada	u	influence	bûkura
ē	pair	ēla	ū	pool	pūdre
i	lid	igbadigre	ai	bite	daike
ī	police	yādi	au	house	chopana
...	...	...	àu	haus (Ger.)	chàu
...	...	...	òi	boil	bòigoli

Peculiarities of Speech.—Stress in Andamanese is placed on every long vowel, or on the first syllable of the root or stem. Peculiarities of pronunciation in the South Andaman Languages are as follow :—

Bea.

Sibilants tend to become palatals, *s* to *ch*: *ō* and *ō* are interchangeable: final open *ā* and *ē* tend to *a* and *e*: *t* is an indistinct palato-dental.

Balawa.

194 *t* is palato-dental and lisped, *cf.* Irish pronunciation of English *t* and *d*. The *a* vowels tend to be drawn out: *a* to become *e*, and *á* to become *eá*. There is also an incipient *sandhi* in words ending in gutturals: *e.g.*, *rák*, pig; *rág-dóamo*, pig's flesh.

Bojigyab.

eá is palato-dental and tends to *t*, and the *eá* of Bea tends in Bojigyab to become *s*; *i.e.*, palatals tend to become sibilants.

Juwai.

Short vowels are not clearly marked: *e* and *a* are interchangeable: final *e* an *é* tend to *i*. Vanishing short vowels are common and are shown thus, *j'róngap*: *o* is often drawled to *ó*: penultimate *e* is lengthened to *é*, and stressed *é* is drawled to *éa*. There is *sandhi* of final and initial vowels in connected consecutive words. Dental, palatal and cerebral *t* all exist: palatals tend to dentals, *eá* to *t*: *p* tends to soften to *pá* and almost to *f*.

Kol.

ó interchanges with *ö*: *á* tends to *eá*, *cf.* old English pronunciation *gyarden* for *garden*: *a* tends to *é*: final open vowels are uncertain.

V. The Northern and Outer Groups.

197 **Proofs of the Identity of the Northern and Southern Groups of Languages.**—Of the Five Languages of the Northern (Yerewa) Group, two, Kora and Tabo, are still quite unstudied, the knowledge of the existence of the tribes speaking them being of less than two years' standing, and the language of the Yere Tribe is very little known. Portman has, however, preserved long lists, unfortunately to be treated with much caution, of Kede and Chariar words, together with many sentences, and it will be sufficient here to give a series of roots and stems, showing where the Northern and Southern Languages meet, and how closely related they are by roots: premising that the syntax and word-structure of the Northern Group is identical with that of the Southern Group, and that affixes, notably the radical prefixes, are used precisely in the same way in both Groups. It is in the names for common objects and things that languages show their relationship, and the Bojigngiji and Yerewa Groups form no exception to this rule.

Table of some Bojigngiji and Yerewa Roots showing a Common Origin.

English	Bea	Bojigyab	Kede	Chariar
pig	reg	re	ra	ra
turtle	tau	tare	tôrô	tôrô
clam	chowai	chowai	chowai	choa
grub	butu	peti	pata	pata
fish	yat	taiye	tajeu	tajeu
bow (N.)	chokio	chokio	chokie	chokwi
bow (S.)	karama	ko	ku	ku
wooden arrow	tirlech	tolô	tirleich	tirleit
wooden pig a.	peligma	paligma	paligma	paligma
wooden a. head	cham	cham	chôm	chom
harpoon string	betmo	kôri	betmô	luremô
bamboo bucket	gob	bire	kup	kup
shell-dish	chidi	kar	kar	kar
shell-cup	odo	kur	kur	kur
adze	wolu	wole	wo	olo
baby-sling	chip	chepe	chipa	chiba
cord-ornament	ra	ra	ro	iku
leaf-wrapper	kapa	kaba	kôbo	kôbu
red-ochre	kosob	keyep	keip	keip
stone hammer	tailibana	me	mio	meô
stone anvil	rôrop	rarap	rôrop	rôrop
canoe	roko	ro	ro	rua
c. outrigged	charigma	charikma	chorok	chorok

The same community of roots is to be seen in the names of the trees on the islands, establishing beyond doubt the close common origin of the Andaman Tribes of the Yerewa and Bojigngiji Groups, though it will, of course, be

understood that in full form, with prefixes and suffixes, very nearly related words are, in practice, unintelligible to the ear. There are, equally of course, a great number of words, the roots of which, while common to each other in the Yerewa Group, differ entirely from those common to the Bojigngiji Group: thus— 197

TABLE OF VARYING BOJIGNGIJI AND YEREWA ROOTS.

English	Bea	Bojigyab	Kede	Chariar
ornamental net	rab	rap	chirebale	chirbale
jungle-cat	baiyan	beyen	chau	chau
belt, round	bod	bel	tôtô	tôtô
b. flat, broad	rugan	rogan	kuto	kudu
iron fish, arrow	tôlbod	pôt	rautul	rautul
larvæ in comb	tô	to	jotu	joto
honey	aja	koi	tumel	tumel
black honey	tubal	tipal	maro	maro
cockles	ula	tale	bun	bun

It is to be observed that in the above list, the compound stem in Bea for iron-fish-arrow, *tôlbod*, is made up apparently of the roots *pôt* and *tul* in the other languages quoted: while *rautul* seems to have become transferred from the pig, *ra*, to the fish, *tajen*. A similar transfer has taken place between *tumel*, *timel*, the "black honey" of the North and *tubal*, *tipal*, the "honey" of the South. All of which observations tend to confirm the close connection between the Tribes and the Languages of both Groups.

The Outer Group (Önge-Jarawa) examined.—In turning to the Önge-Jarawa Group, one finds that the hostility of the Jarawas, and the only recent friendliness of the Önges combined with the inaccessibility of the island they inhabit, have caused the knowledge of their language to be but slight. However, we have the careful *Vocabulary* of Colebrooke made in 1790 and those made by Portman just a century later. An examination of these affords sufficient results for the present purpose: *viz.*, proof of the fundamental identity of the language of these people with that of the rest of the Andaman Tribes, and what is, perhaps, quite as interesting, proof that Colebrooke's informant really was a Jarawa.

The Limited Knowledge of it.—A comparison of such of Portman's words as can be compared with Colebrooke's, when shown with roots and affixes separated and reduced to one system of transcription, produces the following results; noting that in their actual lists, both enquirers fell into the natural error of taking the prefixed inflected "personal pronouns" to be essential parts of the words to which they were attached.

A LIST OF ÖNGE-JARAWA WORDS.

English.	Colebrooke's Jarawa	Portman's Önge
arm	pi-li	öni-bi-le
arrow	batoi	bartoi
bamboo	o-ta-li	o-da-le
basket	tere-nge	tô-le
bead	tahi	taiyi (stone)
beat	ingo-taiya (b. a person)	yökwö-be
belt	oto-go-le	are-kwa-ge
bite	m-o-paka-be (b. me)	oni-baga-be (b. a person)
black	chigeu-ge	be
blood	koche-nge	gache-nge
bone	ng-i-to-nge (your b.)	ichin-da-ge
bow	ta-nge (? wood), ta-hi (as shown in ng-i-tahi) (your bow)	nai
breast	ka	ng-a-ga-ge (your b.)
canoe	lak-ke	tate
chin	pi-to-nge (c. bone)	ibi-ta-nge (c. bone)
cold	choma	ugite-be (to be c.)
cough	ingo-talie (? ta-be)	udu-be
drink	m-inggo-be (I d.)	injo be
ear	kwa-ge	ik-kwa-ge
earth	totanga-ge	tutano-nge
eat	ingo-lolia (? imp.)	öni-lokwale-be
elbow	m-aha-lajebe (my e.)	aha-lageboi

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aglish	Colebrooke's Jarawa	Portman's ونge
eye	jebe	öni-jeboi
finger	m-ome (my f.)	ome
fire	m-ona (my f.)	tu-ke
fish	ng-a-bohi (your f.)	cho-nge
hair	ot-ti	o-de
hand	ng-oni (your h.)	ome
	m-oni (my h.)	
head	tebe	öni-tolajiboi (man's head)
honey	lo-ke	tanjai
house	bede	bedai
iron (adze-head)	dahi	doii
jump	i-to-le (a j.)	akwa-tokwa-be (to j.)
knee	ingo-le-ke (man's k.)	o-la-ge
laugh	onke-me-be	önge-ma-be
nail	m-o-bejeda-nga (my n.)	m-o-bodu-nge (my n.)
neck	tohi	öni-ngito
net	bato-li	chi-kwe
nose	m-e-li (my n.)	öni-nyuboi
paddle	m-ekal (my p.)	tnai
path	echo-li	iche-le
pig	stwi	kwi
pinch	ingi—gini—cha body-pinch-don't (don't pinch me)	öni-gini-be
plantain-tree	chole-li	yolô-le
pot	buchuhi	buchu
pull	toto-be (+ tigikwa)	tötö-be (go)
rain	oye	gujö-nge
run	ng-aha-bela-be (you r.)	aha-bela-be
scratch	inga-bea-be	a-kwea-be
ring	goko-be	gögaba-be
sit	ng-ong-tahi (s. you)	önan-tokö
sleep	ng-omo-ka (s. you)	omo-ka-be
sky	madamo	be-nge-nge (flattened out)
snake	o-che-ke (a s.)	e-chi-be (to s.)
spitting	inga-hwa-nge	öna-kwa-nge
star	chilo-be (? shines)	chilome-be (moon : ? shines)
stone	wu-le	taiyi
sun	ehe	eke
swim	kwa-be	kwane-be
take up	ng-a-toha (you t. u.)	genge-be
teeth	m-ahoi (my t.)	m-akwe (my t.)
tongue	ta-li	alan-da-nge
walk	bunijwa-be	bujiö-be
water	m-igwe (my w.)	i-nge
weep	wana-be	wana-be
wind	tomjame	totöte
wood (tree)	ta-nge	da-nge

In addition to this list of words offering comparisons, the following from Colebrooke can more or less clearly be made out on the same lines :—

COLEBROOKE'S JARAWA WORDS.

English	Jarawa	English	Jarawa
(white) ant	do-nge	friend	padu
bat	witwi-le	leg	chi-ge
belly	ng-a-poi (your b.)	man	ng-amo-lan (you are a man ?)
bird	to-be, toto-be	mouth	m-ona (my m.)
bird	lobe	seed	kita-nge
bracelet	a-le	smoke	bali-ngi
charcoal	wahi	swallow	hi-be
crow	nahe	thigh	poi
flesh	wuhi	wash (self)	inga-doha-be

Portman is unfortunately always difficult to follow in his linguistic statements, as they are so uncertain. His vocabularies are apt to differ frequently from the statements in his lists of sentences, and where his vocabularies can be compared they are inconstant : but at p. 781, Vol. II, of his *History of our Relations with the Andamanese*, he gives a comparative list of Jarawa and ونge words from his own observations.

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PORTMAN'S ÔNGE-JARAWA WORDS.

English	Jarawa	Ônge
arrow	bartoi	bartoi
axe	doii	doii
bamboo	otale	ôdale
bow	aaii	aai
bucket	uhu	ukui
crab	kagai	kagaia
drink	injowa	injobe
eye	injamma	unijeboi
fire	tuhawe	tuke
foot	monge	muge
hair	enoide	môde
hand	moma	mome
iron	tanhi	doii (iron adze)
leaf	bebe	bebe
nautilus	gaai	gaai
navel	inkwa	onikwale
net	bortai	ehikwe
nose	inama	uningaiboi
road	ischele	ichele
run	ahabelabe	akwebelabe
sea	etale	detale (Passage Id, an islet in the sea)
sit down	atôn	unantokobe
sky	baingala	bengonge
sleep	omohan	omokabe
string	etai	ebe
stone	uli	taiyi
tooth	anwai	makwe
water	enule	inge

In some of the above words, where Colebrooke differs from Portman, it will be found that Colebrooke's forms, when reduced to a common transcription, are nearest the Ônge.

Recovery of Colebrooke's Jarawa Vocabulary of 1790.—By pulling the words in the first list to pieces, the identity in race of Colebrooke's native (Jarawa) with Portman's natives (Ônges) will be at once evident. Many roots and affixes are common, and the words are clearly built up precisely as are all other Andamanese words by radical prefixes to roots relating fundamentally to the body and its parts and by qualitative suffixes. In addition to this, the prefixes are joined to the "personal pronouns" by pre-inflexion in the manner peculiar to the Andamanese languages. And although we have nothing more on record of the Jarawa tongue than Colebrooke's list, supplemented by Portman's, of any value, we have thus enough to establish the relation of Jarawa and Ônge as languages of the same Group, and the relation of both as languages of the same Family as the other Andamanese tongues.

In Jarawa the *k* of Ônge tends to interchange with *h*, and by inference the Jarawas appear to use *ngy* for the Ônge *ng* and to say *i-aggo* in place of *i-age*.

Leaving the roots to explain themselves, the inflected forms of the "pronouns" show themselves, thus—

ÔNGE-JARAWA "PRONOUNS."

English	Jarawa	Ônge
I, my	m'–	m'–
You, your	ng'–	ng'–

The qualitative suffixes appear to be as follow—

ÔNGE-JARAWA QUALITATIVE SUFFIXES.

for "nouns"	–li, –le	–le
for "verbal nouns"	–nge, –nga, –ge, –ka	–nge, –ng, –ge, –ka
for "verbs"	–be	–be, –me

The radical prefixes are given in a great variety of forms, which will probably disappear on closer knowledge of the languages.

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ÖNGE-JARAWA RADICAL PREFIXES.

Jarawa	Önge
ingo-, ingi-, inga-, onke-, öng-, ö-	öni-, öna-, önu-, öno-, önan-, ina-, ine-, eng-, eni-, önge-
uni-	u-
e-, i-, öt-	ö-, ö-, a-, e-
i-	eje-, ichin-, e-
ji-	ibi-, ebe-
i-	akwa-, akwe-, ako-, ik-, ig-, i-
aha-, a-	aha-, a-
omo-	omo-
oto-	are-
	alan-

Of these, as prefixes relating to mankind and the human body, the following occur :—

öni-, a general prefix of the body and then,

Class I	öni-	head, lip, neck, nose, navel, hip, testicles, stomach.
Class II	ik-, ig-, i-	cheek, ear.
Class III	ibi-	chin.
Class IV	e-	fist, knee, nail, throat.
Class V	alan	teeth.

That the relation between concrete words for the parts of the body and those for ideas belonging to them is shown by the prefixes, comes out neatly in *ik-kwa-ge*, ear : *ik-aibene*, deaf. So, too, the words *ichin-da-nge* and *i-to-nge* given for " bone " probably refer to a bone of Class II.

Proof of the Identity of Önge-Jarawa with the other Groups.—Among an untutored people, so long isolated even from the other Andamanese, one would hardly look for many roots now in common with them, but the following, which occur in such short lists as those available, sufficiently establish a common origin for the Family.

SOME COMMON ROOTS IN THE ANDAMAN LANGUAGES.

English	Önge-Jarawa	Remaining Languages
bat	witwi	wôt, wat, wot.
cold	choma	choki (Bea).
red ochre	gyalap	bilap, uplu.
net	chi	chi.
meere	che, chi	chiba (Bea, Balawa).
" God "	Uluga : (*ölugo*, thunder)	Puluga, Bilak (Bea *wul-uga*, storm).
turtle	chöbe	chokbe (Kede, Chariar).
water	i, ig	ima (Bea, Balawa).
bone	to	ta, toa (Bea, Balawa).
wood	ta, da	ta, toa, to.

Colebrooke showed all sorts of impossible things to his Jarawa to name, and one interesting result is the following :—

English	Jarawa	Önge
cotton cloth, paper	pa—nge——be flat—become—is	be—nge——be flat—become—is

Of course, no Jarawa had ever seen before anything approaching to either object, and this man's one expression for both means " it is (has been) flattened," which is what the savage meant to convey when asked anything so impossible as to name them.

In Appendix B will be found a further list of Önge words to aid in the study of this interesting language.

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Derivation of Mincopie.—We are now in a position to solve a great puzzle of ethnographists for a century and more: why were the Andamanese called Mincopie by Europeans? What word does this transcription represent? It can now be split up thus—

M-ö——nge—be.
I—man-kind-am
(I am an Önge)

Or, as the the Jarawas perhaps pronounce the expression " M-inggo--be " or even " M-injo-be," I am an Inggo (Injo). The name given by the Onges to

themselves is a "verbal noun" *ô-nge*, man-being. So that when questioned as to himself by Colebrooke, this Jarawa replied "M'inggobe," or something like it, which compound expression by mistranscription and misapprehension has become the well-known Mincopie of the general ethnological books in many languages for an Andamanese. The Ônges call their own home, the Little Andaman, Gwabe-l'Ônge. Jarawa is a modern Bea term, possibly radically identical with Yerewa, the Bea name for the Northern Group of Tribes. 101

It is just possible that Colebrooke's Jarawa misunderstood what was wanted altogether and simply said, "I am (will be, would be) drinking: *m-inggo-be*, I-drink-do."

I have now to record a great disappointment. The proof that the method herein adopted for recovering the Jarawa Language was correct lay in the fact that the word *ô-nge* for "water" was ascertained from a little Jarawa boy captured in February, 1902, and the identical word was quite independently unearthed from Colebrooke's and Portman's Vocabularies as Ônge-Jarawa for "water." The only other word clearly ascertained from the boy *walu-ng* for "pig," has not been gathered independently as yet. This little boy was the last of the prisoners left, who were captured on that occasion (*vide* Ch. III, Appx. C.) as the women and small children and girls were all returned and only two boys kept back for a while in order to get their language, etc., from them. Of these, the elder died of fever and on the very day that their language was fairly recovered, and we were in a position to set to work to learn quickly from him, the younger died very suddenly, without warning illness, of pneumonia.

APPENDIX A.

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EXPLANATION OF THE THEORY OF UNIVERSAL GRAMMAR USED IN EXPOUNDING THE ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR LANGUAGES.

In building up a Theory of Universal Grammar it is necessary in order to work out the argument logically, to commence where the accepted Grammars end, *viz.*, at the sentence, defining the sentence as the expression of a complete meaning, and making *that* the unit of language. Clearly, then, a sentence may consist of one or more expressions of a meaning or "words," defined as single expressions of a meaning. It can also consist of two separate parts—the subject, *i.e.*, the matter to be discussed or communicated, and the predicate, *i.e.*, the discussion or communication. And when the subject or predicate consists of many words it must contain principal and additional words.

This leads to the argument that the components of a sentence are words, placed either in the subjective or predicative part of it, having a relation to each other in that part of principal and subordinate. Therefore, because of such relation, words fulfil functions. The functions then must be of the principal words to indicate the subject or predicate, and of the subordinate words in the predicative part of the sentence to illustrate the predicate, and in the subjective part to explain the subject or to illustrate that explanation. Again, as the predicate is the discussion or communication on the subject, it is capable of extension or completion by complementary words, which form that part of a sentence recognized in the Grammars as 'the object.'

This completes the first stage of the argument leading to a direct and simple definition of grammatical terms; but speech obviously does not stop here, because mankind speaks with a purpose, and the function of his sentences is to indicate that purpose, which must be one of the following in any specified sentence:— (1) affirmation, (2) denial, (3) interrogation, (4) exhortation, (5) information.

Now, purpose can only be indicated in a sentence by the position or tones of its components, by variation of their forms, or by the addition of special introductory words. Also it is obvious that when purposes are connected they can be indicated by connected sentences, and that these sentences must be in the relation to each other of principal and subordinate. This relation can only be expressed by the position of the sentences themselves, by variation of the forms of their components, or by the addition of special words of reference. A word of reference must act in one of two ways, either by merely joining sentences, or by substituting itself in the subordinate sentence for the word in the principal sentence to which it refers. Further, as there is a necessary inter-relation between the words in a sentence, this can only be expressed by the addition of special connecting words, or by variation or correlated variation of form.

These considerations complete what may be called the second stage of the argument leading to clear definitions of grammatical terms. The argument thereafter becomes more complicated, taking us into the explanation of elliptical, *i.e.*, incompletely expressed, forms of speech, and into those expansions of sentences known as phrases, clauses, and periods. But to keep our minds fixed only on that part of it which leads to plain grammatical definitions, it may be stated now that functionally a word must be either,—inventing new terms for the purpose:

(1) An *integer*, or a sentence in itself. [imperatives, interjections, pronouns, numerals.]
(2) An *indicator*, or indicative of the subject or *complement* (object) of a sentence. [nouns]
(3) An *explicator*, or explanatory of its subject or complement. [adjective.]
(4) A *predicator*, or indicative of its predicate. [verb.]
(5) An *illustrator*, or illustrative of its predicate or complement, or of the explanation of its subject or complement. [adverb, adjective.]
(6) A *connector*, or explanatory of the inter-relation of its components (words). [conjunction, preposition.]
(7) An *introducer*, or explanatory of its purpose. [conjunction, adverb.]
(8) A *referent conjunctor*, or explanatory of the inter-relation of connected sentences by joining them. [pronoun, conjunction.]
(9) A *referent substitute*, or explanatory of the inter-relation of connected sentences by substitution of itself in the subordinate sentence for the word in the principal sentence to which it refers. [relative pronoun, conjunction.]

These, then, were the terms proposed and the arguments out of which they grew. Of course, grammarians will know that all this is syntax, and it must now be explained why the Theory makes it necessary to consider it far more important to study function than form or tone as essential to the correct apprehension of the nature of words, and that accidence arises properly out of syntax and not the other way round, as we have all been taught.

It is obvious that any given word may fulfil one or more or all the functions of words, and that therefore words may be collected into as many classes as there are functions, any individual word being transferable from one class to another and belonging to as many classes as there are functions which it can fulfil. The functions a word fulfils in any particular sentence can be indicated by its position therein without or with variation of form, or by its tone; and, because of this, the form or tone which a word can be made to assume is capable of indicating

the class to which it belongs for the nonce. It is further obvious that words transferable from class to class belong primarily to a certain class and secondarily to the others, that a transfer involves the fulfilment of a new function, and that a word in its transferred condition becomes a new word connected with the form fulfilling the primary function, the relation between the forms or tones, *i.e.*, the words, so connected being that of parent and offshoot. Form and tone, therefore, can indicate the class to which a parent word and its offshoots respectively belong. /21

This is the induction that leads to the argument that form grows out of function, or, to put it in the familiar way, accidence grows out of syntax, because when connected words differ in form they must consist of a principal part or stem, and an additional part or functional affix. The function of the stem is to indicate the meaning of the word, and the function of the affix to modify that meaning with reference to the function of the word. This modification can be expressed by indicating the class to which the word belongs, or by indicating its relation or correlation to the other words in the sentence.

But the stem itself may consist of an original meaning and thus be a simple stem, or it may contain a modification of an original meaning and so be a compound stem. A compound stem must consist of a principal part or root and additional parts or radical affixes, the function of the root being to indicate the original meaning of the stem, and of the radical affixes to indicate the modifications by which the meaning of the root has been changed into the meaning of the stem.

Further, since words fulfil functions and belong to classes, they must possess inherent qualities, which can be indicated by qualitative affixes and by tones.

Thus it is that the affixes determine the forms of words, bringing into existence what is usually called etymology or derivation. They are attachable, separably or inseparably, to roots and stems and words by the well-recognized methods of prefixing, infixing, and suffixing either in their full or in a varied form. It is the method of attaching them by variation of form that brings about inflexion in all its variety of kind.

Such is the line inductive argument naturally takes in order to work out the grammar of any given language or group of languages logically, starting from the base argument that speech is a mode of communication between man and man, expressed through the ear by talking, through the eye by signs, or through the skin by touch, and taking a language to be a variety or special mode of speech.

The grammar, *i.e.*, the exposition of the laws, of any single language stops at this point and to carry the argument further, as one of course must, is to enter the region of Comparative Grammar. In doing so one must start at the same point as before, *viz.*, the sentence, but progress on a different line, because hitherto the effort has been to resolve the unit of language into its components, and now it has to be considered as being itself a component of something greater, *i.e.*, of a language.

To continue the argument. Since a sentence is composed of words placed in a particular order without or with variation of form, its meaning is clearly rendered complete by the combination of the meaning of its components with their position and tones or forms or both. Also, since sentences are the units of languages, words are the components of sentences and languages are varieties of speech, languages can vary in the forms and tones of their words, or in the position in which their words are placed in the sentence, or in both. And thus are created classes of languages. Again, since the meaning of a sentence may be rendered complete either by the position of its words or by their tones and forms, languages are primarily divisible into syntactical languages or those that express complete meaning by the position of their words; and into formative languages, or those that express complete meaning by the forms of their words. Also, since syntactical languages depend on position or on position combined with tone to express complete meaning, they are divisible into analytical and tonic languages. Further, since words are varied in form by the addition of affixes, and since affixes may be stitched to words in an altered or unaltered form, formative languages are divisible into agglutinative languages, or those that add affixes without alteration; and into synthetic languages, or those that add affixes with alteration. And lastly, since affixes may be prefixes, infixes, or suffixes, agglutinative and synthetic languages are each divisible into (1) pre-mutative, or those that prefix their affixes; (2) intro-mutative, or those that infix them; and (3) post-mutative, or those that suffix them.

Thus inductive argument can be carried onwards to a clear and definite apprehension of the birth and growth of the phenomena presented by the variation of human speech, *i.e.*, by languages. But, as is the case with every other natural growth, no language can have ever been left to develop itself alone, and thus do we get the phenomenon of connected languages, which may be defined as those that differ from each other by varying the respective tones, forms and position, but not the meanings, of their words. And since the variation of form is effected by the addition of altered or unaltered affixes, connected languages can vary the forms of the affixes without materially varying those of the roots and stems of their words. In this way they become divisible into groups, or those whose stems are common, and into families, or those whose roots are common.

It is also against natural conditions for any language to develop only in one direction, or without subjection to outside influences, and so it is that we find languages developing on more than one line and belonging strictly to more than one class, but in every such case the language has what is commonly called its genius or peculiar constitution, *i.e.*, it belongs primarily to one class and secondarily to the others.

I have always thought, and I believe it can be proved, that every language must conform to some part or other of the Theory above indicated in outline, and in that case the

3: Temple G-5 (1901) 1903 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

121 Theory would be truly what I have ventured to call it—"A Theory of Universal Grammar." That such a Theory exists in nature and only awaits unearthing, I have no doubt whatever. Mankind, when untrammelled by 'teaching,' acts on an instinctive assumption of its existence, for children and adults alike always learn a language in the same way if left to themselves. They copy the enunciation of complete sentences from experts in it to start with, learning to divide up and vary the sentences so acquired afterwards, and this is not only the surest but also the quickest way of mastering a foreign tongue correctly. Its natural laws, *i.e.*, its rules of grammar, as stated in books about it, are mastered later on, and in every case where they only are studied there comes about that book knowledge of the language, which is everywhere by instinct acknowledged to be a matter apart from and in one sense inferior to the practical or true knowledge. I use the term 'true' here, because, unless this is possessed, whatever knowledge may be acquired fails to fulfil its object of finding a new mode of communicating with one's fellow man.

Book knowledge of a language is useful only for scientific and educational purposes, but if the laws laid down in the set Grammars were to follow closely on the laws instinctively obeyed by the untutored man, and to do no violence to what instinct teaches him to be the logical sequence of ideas, the divorce between practical and linguistic knowledge—between knowledge by the ear and knowledge by the eye—would not be so complete as it is nowadays. And not only that, if the laws could be stated in the manner above suggested, they could be more readily grasped and better retained in the memory, and languages would consequently be more quickly, more thoroughly, and more easily learned, both by children and adults, than is now practicable. Looked at thus, the matter becomes one of the greatest practical importance.

This is what the Theory attempts to achieve: but, assuming it to be fundamentally right and correctly worked out, it should explain the workings of the untutored mind of the Andamanese or Nicobarese as exhibited in his speech, although it reverses the accepted order of teaching, alters many accepted definitions, and, while admitting much that is usually taught, it both adds and omits many details, and takes all round is a wide departure from orthodox teaching. How wide the following observations will show. The familiar terminology has been changed in this wise. The old noun, adjective, verb, adverb, preposition, and conjunction become indicator, explicator, predicator, illustrator, connector, and referent conjunctor, while interjections and pronouns become integers and referent substitutes. Certain classes also of the adverbs are converted into introducers. Gender, number, person, tense, conjugation, and declension all disappear in the general description of kinds of inflexion:—the object becomes the complement of the predicate, and cases become correlated variation.

The Theory is based on the one phenomenon, which must of necessity be constant in every variety of speech, *i.e.*, the expression of a complete meaning, or, technically, the sentence. Words are then considered as components of the sentence, firstly as to the functions performed by them, and next as to the means whereby they can be made to fulfil their functions. Lastly, languages are considered according to their methods of composing sentences and words. Assuming this course of reasoning to be logically correct, it must, when properly worked out, explain every phenomenon of speech; and when its dry bones have been clothed with the necessary flesh for every possible language by the process of direct natural development of detail, a clear and fair explanation of all the phenomena of speech must be logically deducible from the general principles enunciated therein.

The Skeleton of a Theory of Universal Grammar.

SPEECH is a mode of communication between man and man by expression. Speech may be communicated orally through the ear by talking, optically through the eye by signs, tangibly through the skin by the touch. LANGUAGES are varieties of speech.

The units of languages are SENTENCES. A sentence is the expression of a complete meaning.

A sentence may consist of a single expression of a meaning. A single expression of a meaning is a WORD. A sentence may also consist of many words. When it consists of more than one word, it has two parts. These parts are the SUBJECT and the PREDICATE. The subject of a sentence is the matter communicated or discussed in the sentence. The predicate of a sentence is the communication or discussion of that matter in the sentence.

The subject may consist of one word. It may also consist of many words. When it consists of more than one word, there is a principal word and additional words. The predicate may consist of one word. It may also consist of many words. When it consists of more than one word, there is a principal word and additional words. Therefore the *components* of a sentence are words placed either in the subjective or predicative part of it, having a *relation* to each other in that part. This relation is that of principal and subordinate.

Since the words composing the parts of a sentence are placed in a position of relation to each other, they fulfil *functions*. The function of the principal word of the subject is to indicate the matter communicated or discussed by expressing it. The function of the subordinate words of the subject may be to explain that indication, or to illustrate the explanation of it. The function of the principal word of the predicate is to indicate the communication or discussion of the subject by expressing it. The function of the subordinate words of the

predicate may be to illustrate that indication, or to complete it. The predicate may be completed by a word explanatory of the subject or indicative of the COMPLEMENT. Therefore, primarily, the words composing a sentence are either— 121

(1) INDICATORS, or indicative of the subject.
(2) EXPLICATORS, or explanatory of the subject.
(3) PREDICATORS, or indicative of the predicate.
(4) ILLUSTRATORS, or illustrative of the predicate, or of the explanation of the subject.
(5) COMPLEMENTS, or complementary of the predicator.

And complements are either indicators or explicators. Therefore also *complementary indicators* may be explained by explicators, and this explanation may be illustrated by illustrators. And *complementary explicators* may be illustrated by illustrators.

But, since speech is a mode of communication between man and man, mankind speaks with a *purpose*. The function of sentences is to indicate the purpose of speech. The purpose of speech is either (1) affirmation, (2) denial, (3) interrogation, (4) exhortation, or (5) information. Purpose may be indicated in a sentence by the POSITION of its components, by the TONES of its components, by VARIATION of the forms of its components, and by the addition of introductory words to express it or INTRODUCERS.

Also, since the function of sentences is to indicate the purpose of speech, *connected purpose* may be indicated by CONNECTED SENTENCES. The relation of connected sentences to each other is that of principal and subordinate. This relation may be expressed by the position of the connected sentences, by variation of the tones or forms of their components, or by the addition of referent words expressing it or REFERENTS. A referent word may express the inter-relation of connected sentences by conjoining them, or by substituting itself in the subordinate sentence for the word in the principal sentence to which it refers. Referents are therefore CONJUNCTORS or SUBSTITUTES.

Also, since the words composing the parts of a sentence are placed in a position of relation to each other, this relation may be expressed in the sentence by the addition of connecting words expressing it or CONNECTORS, or by variation of the forms of the words themselves.

Also, since predicators are specially connected with indicators, explicators with indicators, illustrators and complements with predicators, and referent substitutes with their principals, there is an *intimate relation* between predicator and indicator, indicator and explicator, illustrator and predicator, predicator and complement, referent substitute and principal. This intimate relation may be expressed by the addition of connecting words to express it, or by *correlative* variation in the forms of the specially connected words or by their relative position or by their relative tones.

Since speech is a mode of communication between man and man by expression, that communication may be made complete without complete expression. Speech may, therefore, be partly expressed, or be partly left unexpressed. And since speech may be partly left unexpressed, referent words may refer to the unexpressed portions, and words may be related to unexpressed words or correlated to them. Referent substitutes may, therefore, indicate the subject of a sentence.

Again, many words may be used collectively to express the meaning of one word. The collective expression of a single meaning by two or more words is a PHRASE. The relation of a phrase to the word it represents is that of original and substitute. A phrase, therefore, fulfils the function of its original.

Since a phrase is composed of words used collectively to represent a single expression of a meaning, that meaning may be complete in itself. Therefore a phrase may be a sentence. A sentence substituted for a word is a CLAUSE. A clause, therefore, fulfils the function of its original.

Since clauses represent words, a sentence may be composed of clauses, or partly of clauses and partly of words. A sentence composed of clauses, or partly of clauses and partly of words, is a PERIOD.

Therefore a word is functionally either—

(1) A sentence in itself or an INTERJ.,
(2) An *essential component* of a sentence, or
(3) An *optional component* of a sentence.

The essential components of a sentence are (1) indicators, (2) explicators, (3) predicators, (4) illustrators, (5) complements. And complements are either indicators or explicators.

The optional components of a sentence are (1) introducers, (2) referents, (3) connectors. And referents are either referent conjunctors or referent substitutes.

To recapitulate: Functionally a word is either—

(1) An INTERJ., or a sentence in itself.
(2) An INDICATOR, or indicative of the subject or complement of a sentence.
(3) An EXPLICATOR, or explanatory of its subject or complement.
(4) A PREDICATOR, or indicative of its predicate.
(5) An ILLUSTRATOR, or illustrative of its predicate or complement, or of the explanation of its subject or complement.
(6) A CONNECTOR, or explanatory of the inter-relation of its components.

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(7) An INTRODUCER, or explanatory of its purpose.
(8) A REFERENT CONJUNCTOR, or explanatory of the inter-relation of connected sentences by joining them.
(9) A REFERENT SUBSTITUTE, or explanatory of the inter-relation of connected sentences by substitution of itself in the subordinate sentence for the word in the principal sentence to which it refers.

An individual word may fulfil all the functions of words, or it may fulfil only one function, or it may fulfil many functions. When a word can fulfil more than one function, the function it fulfils in a particular sentence is indicated by its *position* in the sentence, either without variation of form or with variation of form or by its TONE. There are, therefore, CLASSES OF WORDS.

Since a word may fulfil only one function, there are as many classes as there are functions. Also since a word may fulfil more than one function, it may belong to as many classes as there are functions which it can fulfil. A word may, therefore, be transferable from one class to another; and this transfer may be effected by its *position* in the sentence without variation of form, or with variation of form or by its TONE. The class to which a word belongs may, therefore, be indicated by its FORM or TONE.

When a word is transferable from one class to another, it belongs primarily to a certain class, and secondarily to other classes. But, since by transfer to another class from the class to which it primarily belongs (with or without variation of form) the word fulfils a *new function*, it becomes a *new word* connected with the original word. The relation between CONNECTED WORDS is that of parent and offshoot. Since the form of a word may indicate its class, both parent and offshoot may assume the forms of the classes to which they respectively belong.

When connected words differ in form, they consist of a principal part or STEM, and an additional part or FUNCTIONAL AFFIX. The function of the stem is to indicate the meaning of the word. The function of the functional affix is to modify that meaning with reference to the function of the word. This *modification* may be effected by indicating the class to which the word belongs, or by indicating its relation or correlation to the other words in the sentence.

A stem may be an original meaning or SIMPLE STEM, or it may be a modification of an original meaning or COMPOUND STEM. A compound stem consists of a principal part or ROOT, and additional parts or RADICAL AFFIXES. The function of the root is to indicate the original meaning of the stem. The function of the radical affixes is to indicate the *modification* by which the meaning of the root has been changed into the meaning of the stem.

Since words fulfil functions and belong to classes, they possess *inherent qualities*. The inherent qualities of words may be indicated by QUALITATIVE AFFIXES or by TONES.

Affixes are, therefore, *functional*, or indicative of the function of the word to which they are affixed, or of its relation or correlation to the other words in the sentence; *radical* or indicative of the modifications of meaning which its root has undergone; *qualitative*, or indicative of its inherent qualities.

Affixes may be—

(1) PREFIXES, or prefixed to the root, stem, or word;
(2) INFIXES, or fixed into the root, stem or word;
(3) SUFFIXES, or suffixed to the root, stem, or word.

Affixes may be attached to roots, stems, or words in their *full form*, or in a *varied form*. When there is variation of form, there is INFLEXION or inseparability of the affix from the root, stem, or word. All the functions of affixes can, therefore, be fulfilled by inflexion; and *inflected words* may conform to particular KINDS OF INFLEXION.

Since a sentence is composed of words placed in a particular order, with or without variation of form, the meaning of a sentence is rendered complete by the combination of the meaning of its components with their position, with their tones, or with their forms, or partly with their position and partly with their forms or tones.

Since sentences are the units of languages, and words are the components of sentences, and since languages are varieties of speech, languages may vary in the forms of their words, in the tones of their words, in the position in which their words are placed in the sentence, or partly in the forms and tones and partly in the position of their words. There are, therefore, CLASSES OF LANGUAGES.

Since the meaning of a sentence may be rendered complete by the position of its words, by their tones or by their form, languages are primarily divisible into SYNTACTICAL LANGUAGES, or those that express complete meaning by the position and tones of their words; and into FORMATIVE LANGUAGES, or those that express complete meaning by the position and forms of their words.

Since syntactical languages use either position or position and tone, they are divisible into ANALYTICAL LANGUAGES and TONIC LANGUAGES.

Since words are varied in form by the addition of affixes, and since affixes may be attached to words in an unaltered or altered form, formative languages are divisible into AGGLUTINATIVE LANGUAGES, or those that add affixes without alteration; and into SYNTHETIC LANGUAGES, or those that add affixes with alteration.

Since affixes may be prefixes, infixes, or suffixes, agglutinative and synthetic languages are each divisible into (1) PREFIXATIVE LANGUAGES or those that prefix their affixes;

(2) INTRO-MUTATIVE LANGUAGES, or those that infix their affixes; (3) POST-MUTATIVE LANGUAGES, or those that suffix their affixes. 121

Languages are, therefore, by class either syntactical or formative. And syntactical languages are either analytical or tonic and formative languages are either agglutinative or synthetic. And agglutinative and synthetic languages are either pre-mutative, intro-mutative, or post-mutative.

A language may belong entirely to one class, or it may belong to more than one class. When a language belongs to more than one class, it belongs primarily to a particular class, and secondarily to other classes.

Since the meaning of a sentence is rendered complete by the meaning of its words in combination with their forms or position, languages may be CONNECTED LANGUAGES, or those that vary the forms, the tones or the position, without varying the meanings, of their words.

Since variation of form is effected by the addition of affixes in an unaltered or altered form, connected languages may vary the affixes without variation of the roots or stems of their words. Connected languages whose *stems* are common belong to a GROUP. Connected languages whose *roots* are common belong to a FAMILY; and, therefore, all connected languages belonging to a group belong to the same family.

Diagrams to illustrate the Theory of Universal Grammar.

Diagrams are now given illustrating the Theory, in order to make the explanation of the Andaman and Nicobar Languages according to it the easier to understand. These diagrams are as follow: —

I	The Sentence illustrated	by its components.
II	" " "	by the inter-relation of its components.
III	" " "	by its function.
IV	" " "	by its expanded components.
V	" " "	by the inter-relation of its expanded components.
VI	" " "	by the functions of its components.
VII	" " "	by the classes of its components.
VIII	" " "	by the inter-relation of the classes of its components.
IX	" " "	by the inter-relation of the functions of its components.
X	" " "	by the position, tone and form of its components.
XI	" " "	by general development into languages.
XII	" " "	by development into classes of languages.
XIII	" " "	by development into inter-related classes of languages.

DIAGRAMS OF DETAILS.

I

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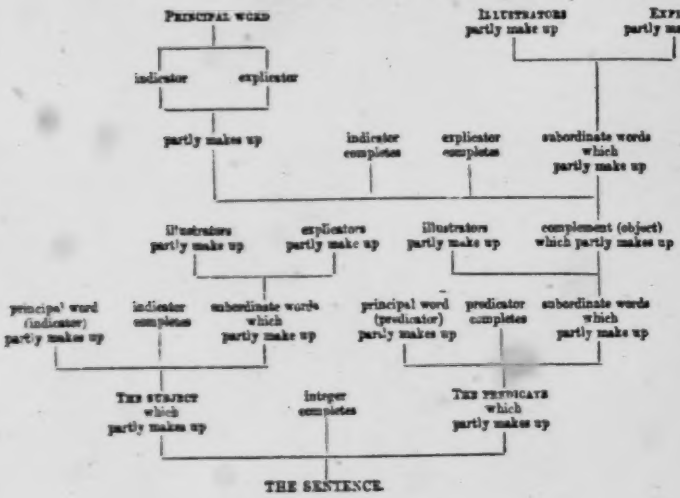
ILLUSTRATING ANALYSIS OF THE SENTENCE BY ITS COMPONENT WORDS.

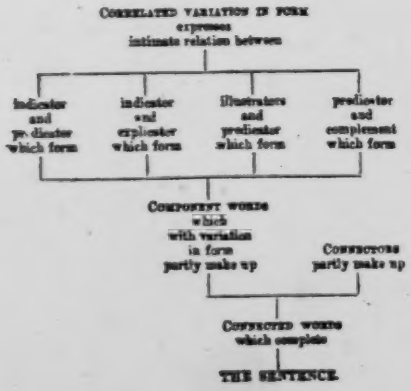
NOTES.—A Sentence is composed of words.
A Word is the expression of a meaning.
A Sentence is the expression of a complete meaning.
Words required to express the meaning of a sentence are (1) integers, (2) indicators, (3) predicators, (4) explicators, (5) illustrators.



II.

ILLUSTRATING ANALYSIS OF THE SENTENCE BY THE INTER-RELATION AND INTIMATE RELATION OF ITS COMPONENT WORDS.

NOTES.—Inter-relation of component words is expressed by variation in form.
Intimate relation of component words is expressed by correlated variation in form (agreement).
Words required to express the inter-relation of component words are (6) connectors.



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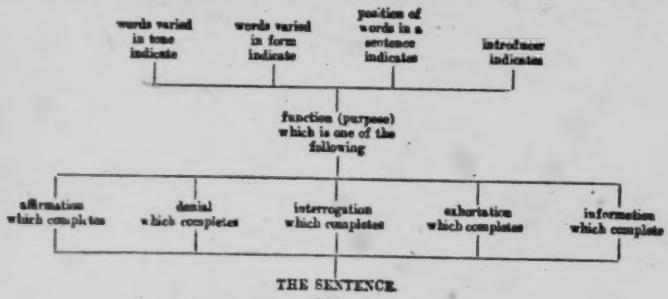
III.

Illustrating analysis of the Sentence by its function.

Notes.—The function of a sentence is to express its purpose.
Words required to express the function of a sentence are (7) Introducers.

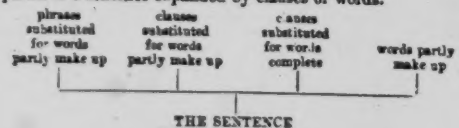


IV.

Illustrating analysis of the Sentence expanded by the substitution of phrases, clauses and sentences for words.

(Periods)

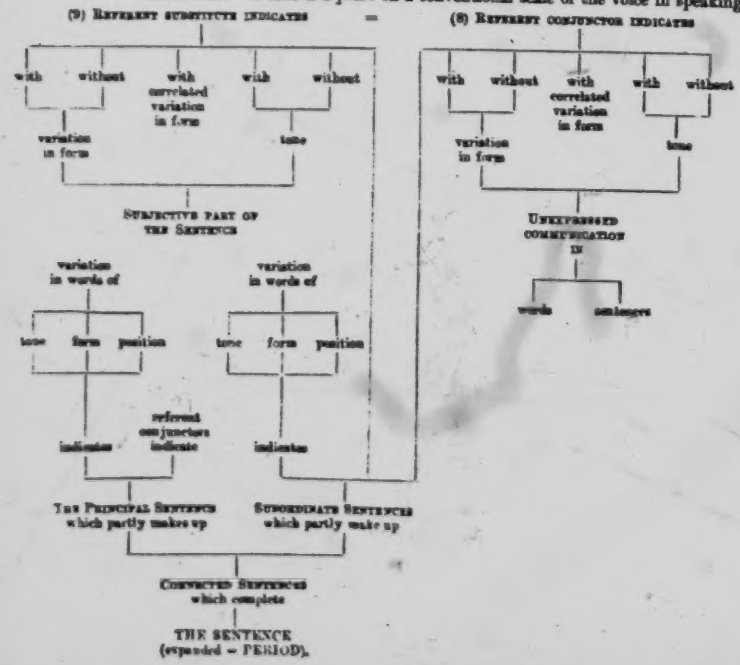
Notes.—A phrase is the substitute for a word by the collective expression of a meaning by two or more words.
A clause is the substitute for a word by the collective expression of a complete meaning by two or more words.
A period is a sentence expanded by clauses or words.



V.

Illustrating analysis of the Sentence when expanded by the inter-relation of its components.

Note.—Connected sentences express connected purposes. Words required to express the inter-relation of connected sentences are (8) referent conjunctors. (9) referent substitutes. A tone is a point on a conventional scale of the voice in speaking.



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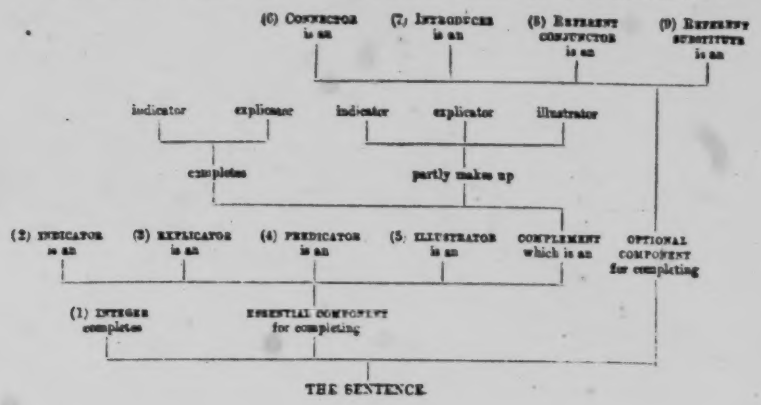
VI.

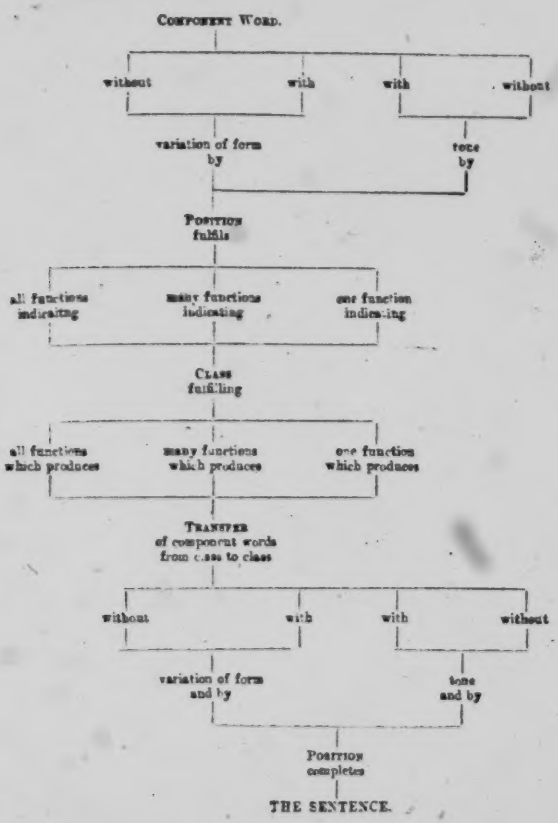
ILLUSTRATING ANALYSIS OF THE SENTENCE BY THE FUNCTIONS OF ITS COMPONENTS.



VII.

ILLUSTRATING ANALYSIS OF THE SENTENCE BY CLASSES OF ITS COMPONENTS.

NOTES.—Class indicates the nature of a word.
Form indicates the class of a word.



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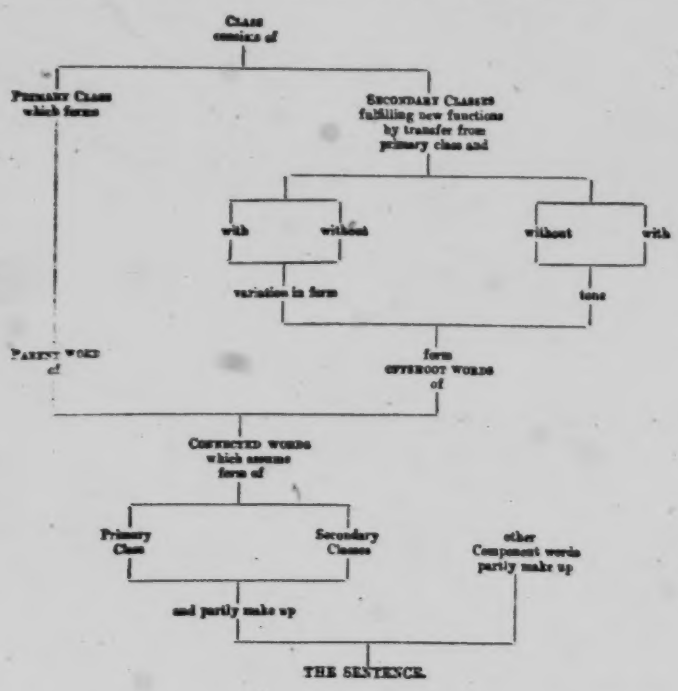
VIII.

Illustrating Analysis of the Sentence by the inter-relation of the classes of its components.

Note.—Connected words indicate their transfer from one class to another.



IX.

Illustrating analysis of the Sentence by the inter-relation of the functions of its components.

Note.—The root indicates the original meaning of a word.
Affixes comprise prefixes, infixes, suffixes.
Affixes modify the meaning of a word.
A radical affix modifies the meaning of a root.
A simple stem is the principal part of a word indicating its meaning.
A functional affix modifies the meaning of a stem in relation to its function.
A compound stem comprises a root and its radical affix.
A qualitative affix modifies a word by indicating its nature (inherent qualities) in relation to function or class.
Connected words comprise stems and their functional affixes.
Inflexion is caused by an alteration in the form of inseparable affixes.
Inflected words conform to particular kinds of inflexion.
Tone is a substitute for inflexion.

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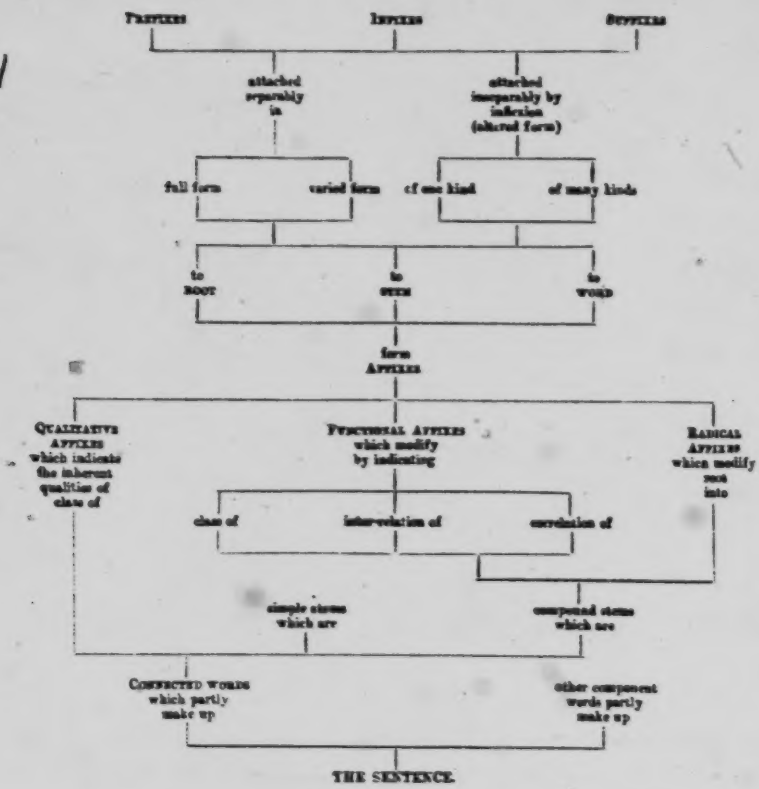
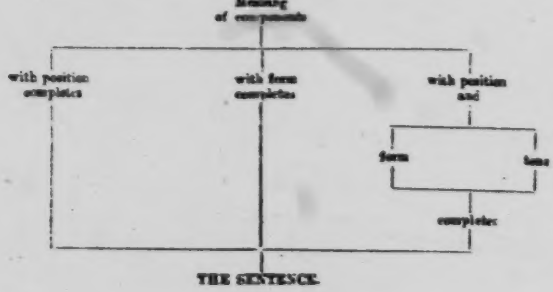


X.

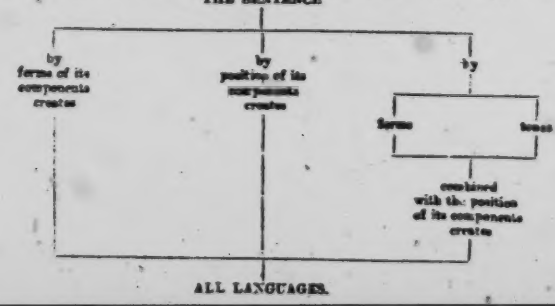
Illustrating analysis of the Sentence by the position, tone and form of its components.



XI.

Illustrating analysis of all Languages by General Development from the Sentence.

Note.—No language has ever developed along one line of development only.



XII.

ILLUSTRATING ANALYSIS OF ALL LANGUAGES BY DEVELOPMENT IN CLASSES FROM THE SENTENCE.

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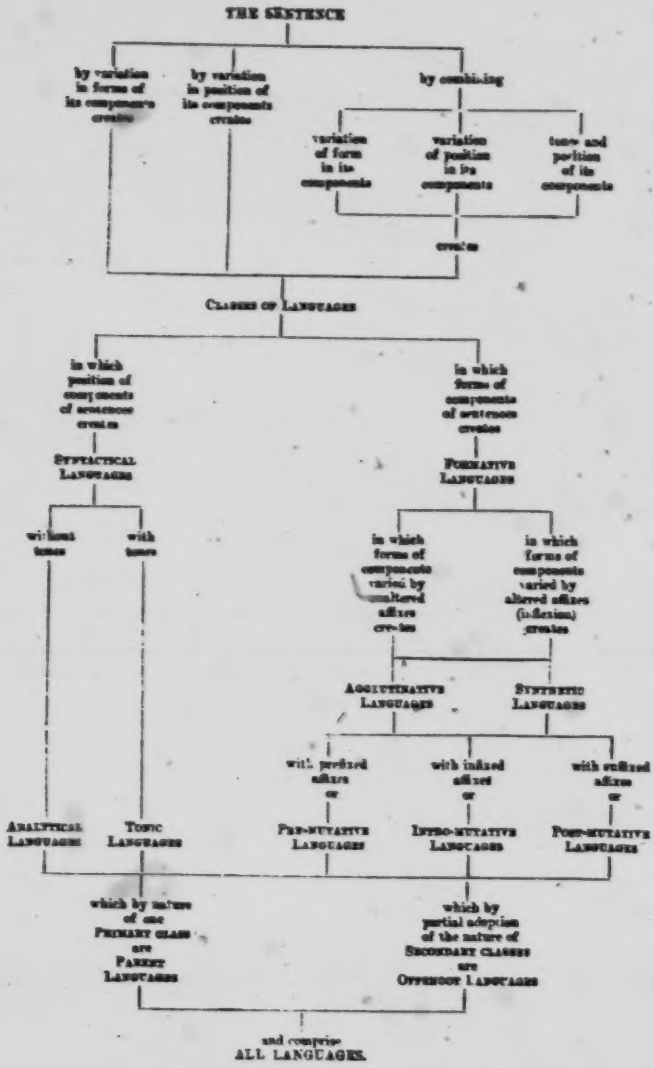

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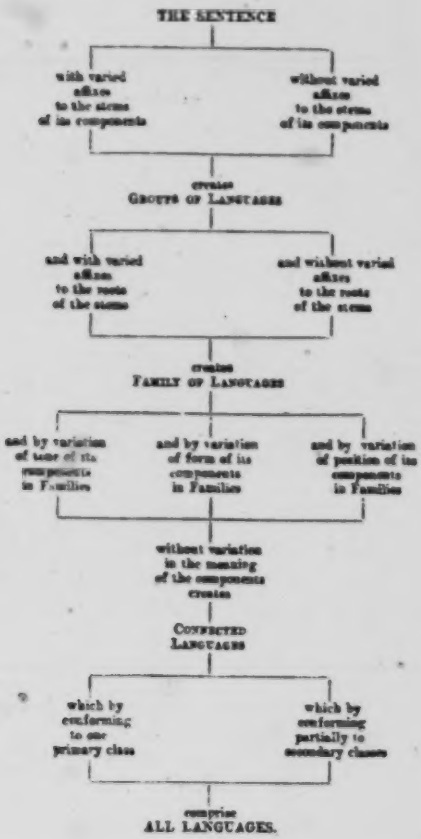
XIII.

ILLUSTRATING ANALYSIS OF ALL LANGUAGES BY DEVELOPMENT IN THE INTER-RELATION OF CLASSES FROM THE SENTENCE.



APPENDIX B.

AN ÖNGE VOCABULARY.

The "Outer Group" of the Andamanese (Ônges and Jarawas) bears the closest resemblance in customs, etc., *i.e.*, assuming them to bear any at all, to the Samangs and Aetas, of all the Andamanese Tribes, and hence there is much interest exhibited in their languages. In this Appendix, therefore, is gathered together as much of the Ônge Vocabulary as can be with any degree of safety extracted from Portman's *Andamanese Manual*, the information in which is not, however, unfortunately, as clear as is desirable. In the following Table the roots have been separated from the prefixes and suffixes. 192

Ônge Vocabulary.

abundant	gene
abuse (to)	ônu-kwoba-be
ache (to)	ôni-dang-wule-be (bones a.)
acid	a-ôoii
adze	doii
ant	chantibo-de
apron (women's)	ng-a-kwinyoga-le (your a.)
armlet	ibi-kwe
arrow (iron)	bartoi
arrow (wood)	tota-le
arrow (fish)	tome
arrow (pig)	takôi
arrow-shaft	takete-le
ashes	tongkate
awake (to)	lôga-be
bag (of netting)	kumumwi, tangu-le
bale out (to)	gaive-bôko-be
bamboo	ô-da-le
banana	yolô-le
bark	gangwi
barb (arrow)	tome
basket	tô-le
beard	ôngu-bo-de
beat (to)	yôkwô-be
beetle	todanchu
belt (round)	m-are-kwa-ge (my b.)
belt (broad, flat)	m-ino-kwe (my b.)
binder	tu-kwe
bite (to)	ôni-baga-be
black	be
blood	gache-nge
blow (to)	a-kwôbô-be
boil (to)	tamboi-(be)
bone	ichin-da-nge
bone (human)	uni-da-nge
bow	a-ai
break (to)	ng-i-kwa-be (you b.)
breast	ng-a-ka-ge (your b.)
breathe (to)	kwaiô-be
broom	da-ge
bucket (wood)	ukwi
bucket (bamboo)	kubuda-nge
butterfly	bebe-le
call (to)	eng-yô-be, ônai-waba-be
cane	tati
cane-necklace	i-deda-le
canoe	da-nge
cast away (to)	yôbobine-be
cheek	ng-ig-boi (your c.)
chin	ibi-da-nge
clam	taga-le
clap (to)	abo-bana-bekwe-be
clay (white for smearing.)	we
cloud	baije
cocoanut	da-ge (? wood, tree)
cold (to feel)	ungi-te-be
come (to)	inai-ôba-be, ônu-kwange-me
copulate (to)	ng-ô-tôlô-be (you c.)
cough	udu-ge
crab	kagaia
creek	kuai
cyrena-shell (scraper)	totu-le
dance	ôno-la-ge
dead (to be)	bechame-me
deaf	ik-aibene
dish (wooden)	da-nge- (wood) tôba-nge
drink (to)	injo-be
dugong	twowe
ear	ik-kwa-ge
earth	tutano
eat (to)	eni-lokwale-be
ebb tide	ga-de
embrace	ku-ge
eye	uni-jeboi
fall (to)	i-teka-be
fastening (a)	gwi-kwe
feather	gô-de
fern	tomôjai, lakakai
fever (to have)	ungi-te-be
fight (to)	ônu-kwe-be
finger	ome
fire	tuke
fish	cho-ge
fist	o-beke
flip (to)	ôni-tôtôge-be
flood tide	kobakwe-le
fly	ngônoi
food (to take)	ng-i-da-be (you t. f.)
foot	m-age (my f.)
forbid (to)	gobokwe-be
glad (to be)	a-kiokô-be
go (to)	ôni-tôto-be (come), bujio-be (walk)
"God"	Ulu-ge
good	i-wado
grass	tokwongôye
green	totanda-nge
gun	uni-nye
hair	m-ode (my h.)
hand	m-ome (my h.)
head-dress (cane)	ng-i-deda-le (your h. d.)
heavy (to be)	ng-a-tukwô-be (you are h.)
hip	ôni-boi
hiss	ng-ik-iki (you h.)
hit (with arrow)	gai-be
honey	tanjai
hook (for fish)	tome
hop (to)	ichin-kwôle-be
hot (to be)	jonjome-be
how much ?	chiô ?

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hum (to)	gojai
hungry (to be)	angi-ai-me
hut	bedai
I, my	mi
Indian (an)	i-neme
iguana	giti
iron (knife)	lea
jawbone (human) ornament	ang-bo-de
jump (to)	akwa-tokwa-be
kick (to)	öni-tokwöme-be
kiss (to) (? smell)	nyönyö-be
knee	m-ola-ge-(my k.)
kneel	öno-lakwöchö-be
laugh (to)	ng-eng-ema-be- (you l.)
leaf	be-be (to be flat)
lick (to)	ng-i-teme-be (you l.)
lie down (to)	ng-ainyi-be (you l. d.)
lip	öngu-me
lizard	kö-ge
man	uni-agi-le-(married m.)
mangrove	tun-da-nge (sea tree)
mangrove fruit	kwea
marry (to)	ini-a-be
mat (sleeping)	emai
micturate	ö-chölö-be
moon	chile-me (to be bright)
mouse	ala-nge
much	liwa-nga
murder (to)	öldlaji-be
nail	m-obeda-nge (my n.)
nautilus-shell (cup)	gaai
navel	öni-kwa-le
neck	öna-ngito
necklace	m-a-ngitoke (my n.)
net	chi-kwe
nose	uni-nyaibei
orchid	köyö
ornament (of shavings)	kwibo-le
outrigger	i-bedu-ge
paddle	taai
pandanus fruit	ba-le
path	iche-le
peel	gangwi
pig	kwi
pinch	öni-gini-be
prick	öni-takwa-be
pot (cooking)	buchu (*tö-le*, its case)
quick, be	ing-kö!
rain	gujö-nge
red ochre	alame
red wax	kwengane
resin	mone
ringworm	jwichwi
rope	kwöla-ge
rub (to)	eb-ele-be
run (to)	akwe-bele-be
saline	ngie
saliva	ina-kwa-nge
salt	inje
sand	belai
scar	öni-bare
scratch (to)	akwe-ö-be
sea	i-nge (water)
shampoo (to)	ine-ö-be
shark	kadu
sharp	giechare
sharpen (to)	totökwe-be
shave	öno-tale-be
shell	todandwi
shoot (arrow)	gai-be
sing (to)	ng-ö-gabe-be(you s.)
sit (to)	unan-töktö-be
skin	gangwi (peel)
sky	bengo-nge (what is flat)
sleep (to)	omo-ka-be
small	baiai
smoke	eno-tabei
snake	tomogwi
snake (sea)	tebu-le
sneeze	e-chi-be
sore (a)	öni-bai
spill (to)	ng-i-bu-be (you s.)
spine	öno-noda-kwoi
spitting	una-kwa-nge
sprinkle (to)	una-nadi-be
squeak (to)	gilako-be
squeeze (to)	une-ge-be
stand	doka-be
stomach	önan-nga-nge
stone	taiyi
stool (to)	öni-yu-be
stretch (to)	ina-kwombwoke-be
stretch (to s. oneself)	ng-i-götö-be (you s. yourself)
strike (to)	kwöke-be
string (to)	e-be
stroke (to)	una-öe-be
sun	eke
surf	balame
swallow (a)	tugede-le
sweep (to)	tote-be
swim (to)	kwane-be
take away (to)	ng-eakingkö-be (you t. a.)
take hold (to)	ng-enge-be (you t. h.)
tattoo (to)	ng-ulukwone-be (you t.)
tear (to)	i-dokwö-be
testicles	öni-kwö-ge
thorn	tundankie
throat	ö-ngito
throw	wötaikwö-be
thunder	öle-ge ("God")
tiptoe (to be on)	önu-jagaiö-be
tongue	alan-da-nge
tooth	m-a-kwe (my t.)
torch	to-kwe
tray (for food)	tobe-ge
tumble (to)	i-teka-be
turtle	nadela-nge, takwatoai
turtle eggs	kwagane
tusk (pig)	a-kwe
umbrella (leaf)	o-modu
untie (to)	i-lebu-be
vomit (to)	ö-bulö-be
water	i-nge
wax (white bees')	chileme
weep (to)	wana-be
whetstone	tijiö-be
whisk (for flies)	tomo-ge
whistling	öni-anga-le
white	tonkute
wife	uni-au-le
wind	totöte
wound	öni-ba-le
yawn (to)	öna-langötö-be
yes	une-laije

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APPENDIX C.

THE FIRE LEGEND IN THE BOJIGNGIJI GROUP.

(The Bea Version is already given in the Text.)

BALAWA VERSION.

Dim-Dôra—la rita (a Man) long-ago | *Keri-l'ong-tôwer — te Palugo* (a Place) — by God | *l'i tongo* his platform | *chongo l' — ano* fire bringing
— *kate* — was | *ong ik* he taking | *akat-pôra* all—men | *pugura —t l'. — a — re* burn — t di — d | *Bolub* (a Man) | *ka* and | *Tarkôr* (a Man)
ka and | *Bilichau* (a Man) | *ongot oto — jurugura* they in-the-sea-wen | *— t — ia* — t—did | *ongot* they | *at — yôkat* fish | *ano* becom-
— *ngo* — ing | *ongot oaro — lickal-ona* they carry-taking— by | *— te* | *Rokwa-l'ar-tonga-barojj— a* (a Place) -village— in | *oko — dal* fire-mak-
— *ngo l' — a — re* — ing di — d

Portman's Rendering.—Dim-Dôra, a very long time ago, at Keri-l'ong-tôwer, was bringing fire from God's platform. He taking the fire, burnt everybody with it. Bolub and Tarkôr and Bilichau fell into the sea and became fish. They took the fire to Rokwa-l'ar-tonga village and made fires there.

BOJIGYAB VERSION.

Tôl-l'oko-tim— an Bilik l'ong — pat (a Place) — in God sleep — did — *ye* | *Luratut* (a Bird) | *l'ong at* he fire | *ab— lockl — ngo* bring — ing |
Luratut l'ong — di (a Bird) seiz — ed — *ye* | *kota ong Bilik l'ab — bili — ye* then he God burn — t | *kota Bilik l'ong — konyi* then God swaken
— *ye* — ed | *Bilik* God | *l'ong at li* he fire seiz — ed — *ye* | *ong e* he then | *Luratut* (a Bird) | *l'oto* (with) | *— toi-chu — ngo* fire-hitt — ing |
kota kol then again | *ong e* he then | *Tarchal* (a man) | *l'oto — toi-chu — ye* (with) fire-hit — did | *Chalter* (a Bird) | *l'ong— di* seiz — ed | *—ye*
ong Low-Chom he ancestors | *— lea da — ngo* — to giv — ing | *Wôta-Emi* Wôta-Emi | *— en oto* — in then | *Low-Chom* ancestors | *a'ong o — kodak — ngo.* they fire-mak-ing.

Portman's Rendering.—God was sleeping in Tôl-l'oko-tima. Luratut went to bring fire. Luratut caught hold of the fire, then he burnt God. Then God woke up. God seized the fire. He hit Luratut with the fire. Then again he hit Tarchal with the fire. Chalter caught hold of it. He gave it to the ancestors. Then the ancestors made fire at Wôta-Emi.

JUWAI VERSION.

Kuro-l'on-mik — a Mom Mirit — la (a Place) — in Mr. Pigeon | *Bilik l'ôkô — ano — t* God sleep — t | *peaker at — lo top* wood fire—with stealing
—*chike* —was | *at loicke* fire the-late | *Lech* (a Man) | *—lin a* —to he | *kotak a* then he | *ôko—kodok* fire-make — did | *— chine at — lo* fire— with
Karat-tatak—emi (a Place) | *—in* —at

Portman's Rendering.—Mr. Pigeon stole a firebrand at Kuro-t'on-miks, while God was sleeping. He gave the brand to the late Lech, who then made fires at Karat-tatak-emi.

KOL VERSION.

Tôl-l'oko-tim — en Bilik —la pat (a Place) — in God sleep — was — *ke* | *Luratut—la Oko-Emi —t* (a Bird) (a Place)—in fire too — k | *at kek — an*
Kôlotat (a Man) —was | *lin* by | *l' — a — chol — an Min-tong-ta — kete* (he) —wen — t (a Place) — to | *Min-tong-ta* (a Place) | *— kete -lak* — to -by
l' — ir — bil (it) — out-wen—t — *an* | *Kôlotat l'ir — pin* (a Man) charcoal | *l'ir — dôk* break—did — *an* | *l'irim — kôlak* fire-make-did — *an*
a'a they | *a'olam — tepur — an* alive—became | *at — ke a'ote* fire—by (they) | *— tepur — an* —alive —became | *Min-tong-tôk-pôroick* (a Place) | *—* village —
in Jangil in ancestors | *a'a* they | *l'oko — kôlak* fire-make—did | *— an*

Portman's Rendering.—God was sleeping at Tôl-l'oko-tima. Luratut took away fire to Oko-Emi. Kôlotat went to Min-tong-ta (taking fire with him from Oko-Emi). At Min-tong-ta the fire went out. Kôlotat broke up the charred firewood and made fire again (by blowing up the embers). They (the people there) became alive. Owing to the fire they became alive. The ancestors thus got fire in Min-tong-tôk village.

[For methods of arriving at census data and detailed diaries kept by the census parties, see category 116, pp. 2-25, 69-95.]

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4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Report of a Survey of the Inhabitants of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands during 1948-49

[P1]

By

B. S. Guha

Director, Department of Anthropology

About the end of the year 1946, Mr H. J. Stooks, Deputy Secretary to the Ministry of Home Affairs, consulted me with regard to proposals made by Sri A. V. Thakkar of the Bharatiya Adim Jati Sevak Sangh for undertaking work for the amelioration of the conditions of the inhabitants of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands on the same lines as the Sangh has been doing among the Bhils and other tribes of Central India. The problem of the Aborigines of the Andaman Islands, however, is not the same as that of the other primitive tribes of India. These people are some of the most ancient remnants of the human race still surviving in any part of the world, who had been very little affected from contact with other people and subsist principally on fishing and hunting. The need among them is not so much the spread of education and social uplift as the arrest of the decline in population which has been most alarming. Since the establishment of the Penal Settlement at Port Blair in 1858, the condition of the "Friendly Tribes" among these inhabitants have been most distressing. Due in the beginning to armed encounters with the forces of the Government, and also as a result of ravages from diseases like tuberculosis and syphilis contracted from Indian convicts, there has been a continuous decline in the Andamanese population. From an estimated figure of about 10,000 people in 1779 the tribe has been reduced to only 70 in 1931, and at the time of our visit there were probably not more than 37 individuals still living. Whether it will be possible to save the Andamanese from the fate of the Tasmanians whose last surviving representative passed away about 1770 is extremely doubtful.

The hostile branch of the Andamanese tribes known as the Jarawa-Onge-Sentinelese group, fortunately has been spared the fate of their more "friendly" kinsmen, and as a result of implacable hostility and comparative isolation have survived to a much larger extent. In the western forest belts of Middle and South Andamans, the Little Andaman, and the North Sentinel Islands they have resisted all intrusions from outsiders and were known to have lived in these places comparatively unmolested. No accurate census of these tribes however, was ever taken, but from estimates made by people who had some knowledge of the tribes, it does not seem possible that the total strength of these people could be more than a few hundred souls altogether before the last war. What has happened since and how far these people, specially the Jarawas, have suffered from Japanese occupation cannot accurately be determined. It is known that there had been some bombing by the Japanese in the Jarawa tract, but whether any Jarawa was killed is not known. I, therefore, suggested to Mr Stooks that an anthropological survey of the Islands was essential and a probable estimate of the surviving settlements of the population made before the question of any social welfare work can be considered.

122 considered. I promised the full collaboration of this Department for undertaking such a survey. It was at first planned to take a fully equipped scientific party for a period of at least six months with headquarters at Port Blair, members of which could pay short visits to the different Islands where the Andamanese tribes were known to have lived. The Ministry of Home Affairs agreed to the proposal and expressed their willingness to place a trawler at our disposal for visiting the outlying islands as no other means of transport existed. Negotiations were taken up for securing the services of Mr Crawley of the B. N. Railway to accompany the party as guide and adviser for he was one of the few who had a direct knowledge of the Jarawa area. With Mr. Duncan of the same Railway, both of whom were landed in the Jarawa territory by British submarines during the last War he spent nearly 6 months in that tract. Although Mr Crawley was very willing to accompany our party it was not found possible in the end to secure his services as the B. N. Railway could not spare him. What is still more unfortunate was that the R. I. N. could not spare any trawler. The prevalence of polio or infantile paralysis in an [164] epidemic form in the Nicobar Islands at the time made it impossible to include them in our itinerary. Lastly, the Chief Commissioner of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands informed us that owing to great demands on residential accommodation at Port Blair it would be difficult for him to find enough living quarters for our party. He suggested that a smaller party might be sent instead, for making exploratory surveys only.

Accordingly, the original plan had to be modified and a party consisting of myself, Mr S. S. Sarkar, who had then just joined the Department, 3 scientific assistants and 3 attendants left for the Islands on board the 'S. S. Maharaja' on February 17, 1948, reaching Port Blair on the 20th. The Chief Commissioner, Mr S. Majid, I.C.S., met us at the quay and arranged for our stay at the Guest House facing the harbour. He was an exceedingly well-informed and kind gentleman and promised to give us all facilities in our work. We 121 discussed the various questions concerning the Andamanese population and he agreed with me that the most pressing need was to collect correct statistics regarding the strength and distribution of the so-called hostile tribes. For very little can be done now to save the Andamanese proper who have paid for their friendliness by being driven to the verge of extinction and it is now a question of time before they would completely disappear. At the present [161] moment the surviving remnants of this group numbering about 37 have been collected and settled in the Neil and Havelock Islands. In consultation with 122 Mr Majid the plan of making the preliminary reconnaissance was fixed. It was agreed that I, and as many of my party as could be accommodated in the Port Blair harbour launch 'Molly', which Mr Majid by arrangements with the harbour authorities found it possible to place at our disposal for about a week, would leave for Little Andaman to survey the eastern coast of the Island in search of the Onge settlements, as far as this was practicable within this short time. Accordingly we left Port Blair on the 23rd February at 7-30 in the morning on board the motor launch 'Molly'; myself, Messrs S. S. Sarkar, S. Banerjee, R. De and Ramkasis forming the members of our party.

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[P.2(A)] Captions will be found on P.2(B)-Analysis

[P.2(B)]

PLATE I 342

Fig. 1—Onge hut, north of Dugong Creek, in Little Andaman Island.

Fig. 2—Onge hut, north of Dugong Creek, in Little Andaman Island.

Fig. 3—Entrance to Onge hut north of Dugong Creek in Little Andaman.

Fig. 4—Onges in front of their hut in Little Andaman (South of Dugong Creek). [142]

Fig. 5—Jarawa Shelter at Spike Island in Middle Andaman.

Fig. 6—Onge canoes with single outrigger in Little Andaman waters. [501]

Mr Subramanian of the Forest Department and Mr Majid's young son also accompanied us. We reached Bumila Creek on the north eastern coast of the Little Andaman at about 3 P.M. and having sighted an Andamanese hut we decided to anchor the launch there. The beach was about 2 miles from the place of anchorage. We took out a small boat and rowed to the beach and reached the hut at about 4 P.M. It was found to be abandoned but there were signs of human occupation and within a few yards a water-hole was discovered. A broken canoe, with a single out-rigger was found close to the hut (see Plate I, Fig. 1). Burnt coal and smouldering ashes in the centre of the hut showed that it was probably deserted by the Aborigines as soon as they had sighted us. After making a careful inspection of the place we returned to our launch and decided to anchor there for the night. Unfortunately the choppy sea and the strong current coming from the Bumila Creek tossed our small boat throughout the whole night, as a result of which all of us had an uncomfortable time.

We left southwards towards Hut Bay early in the morning and as we moved along the coast we sighted another Onge hut. This did not seem to be deserted as we saw a few people moving about. We decided to stop there and investigate. We took out a boat and moved towards the coast with such presents as we had brought from Port Blair on the advice of the Chief Commissioner. When we got near the coast, we left the boat and walked for about a furlong through coral beds finally reaching the shore. The hut was found to be circular in shape and not too large, and was occupied by 2 adult females, 1 adult male and a young boy. The adult male, *Ukla*, was the father of the young boy and husband of the younger woman. The older woman was his mother-in-law. These people appeared very friendly. We gave them presents we had brought and took photographs and made drawings of their hut. In addition, full anthropometric measurements were taken by me and blood was taken from fingers for typing by Mr Sarkar. Ukla was able to speak a few Hindi words and we gathered that he had been to Port Blair and knew Mr Bonington, formerly of the Forest Department, Andaman Islands. We found in front of the hut, hanging from a large tree the skull and mandible of a Dugong (*see* Plate I, Figs. 3 & 4). We enquired about its significance from Ukla, but unfortunately his knowledge of Hindi was not sufficient to explain it to us. We learned from him, however, that the name of the village was *Laito*. After making friendly gestures, we returned to 'Molly' and proceeded immediately towards Hut Bay. At about noon time while we were having our lunch, we suddenly saw three outrigger canoes (of single outrigger type) coming towards us, each carrying about 4 Onges. We signalled to them and they came to our launch and tied their canoes with it and came on board. The men appeared to be friendly and not afraid of us. Our greatest difficulty, however, was language, as we could not make ourselves understood as none of the crew or any other member including Mr Subramaniam of the Forest Department knew that language. There was one man who seemed to occupy a position of authority among these men, and was painted with red and yellow ochre on the forehead, arms and breast. The

crew of the ship called him 'Raja' and we adopted this name (*see* Plate IV, Figs. 1 & 2). He was the only one among the Onges who was fully armed with knives, bows and arrows. Among the contents of the canoes, we found complete fishing out-fits, bows and arrows, ropes and nautilous shells, for bailing out water. There was also a kind of bamboo float about 1½ ft. long, probably used for turtle fishing. We gave them food, cigarettes and other presents. After they became quite familiar with us and friendly, they were subjected to full anthropometric measurements by me. Their blood was also tapped by Mr Sarkar for typing. The presents given were iron nails, strips of red cloth, tea and tobacco leaves. Among all these objects what they liked most were the tobacco leaves. Cooked rice, dal (cooked lentils) and fish curry served to them from the launch Mess were however not much appreciated. With the few Hindi words that they were able to understand, we told them that we would like to visit their camp next morning and meet other members of the party. After the canoes had left, we anchored at this point for the night and after taking an early breakfast we left for the shore in two batches. We were informed by the crew that the creek near the Onge camp was called the *Dugong Creek*. We had to wade through brakish water and coast fringing with coral beds for about two miles, before we reached the Onge settlement. There was one large circular communal hut characteristic of the Onges and several lean-to's (*see* Plate I, Fig. 2). We noticed three canoes on the beach apparently those with which they came to meet us on the previous day. We saw also several small dogs and the entrails of a pig strewn round. We met all the 12 Onges we saw the day before, along with Ukla and his family. In addition there were a number of women and children. We took out our presents of dried tobacco leaves, iron nails and two large fishes that we had caught on our way from Port Blair. These were distributed to the Onges. There were altogether 17 men, 15 women, 4 boys and 3 girls. The children were between 1½ to 4 years. The entire party of Onges behaved towards us in a friendly manner and subjected to our measurements and tapping of blood from their fingers without any protest. We went inside their hut and inspected the settlement very thoroughly. A large number of photographs were taken. We found that the name of this village was *Tambebui*. As it became rather late, we decided to return to 'Molly' in the Andamanese canoes, rather than walk through the coral beds for 2 miles. The Onges understood our signs and gladly escorted us back to the launch. We found there were several other Onges waiting for us in the launch who came from the neighbouring village *Gabilong*. All of these Onges appear to be under the influence of the man nick-named as 'Raja' (*see* Plate IV, Figs. 1-2).

We could not proceed towards Hut Bay as the launch had to return for duty at Port Blair, where we reached at about mid-night.

After reaching Port Blair, I discussed the matter of transport with the Chief Commissioner, Mr Majid. A thorough coastal survey of Little Andaman would take at least 15 to 20 days. As it was found impossible to get either from the Forest Department or from the Harbour Master any of their launches

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
[P.4(A)]

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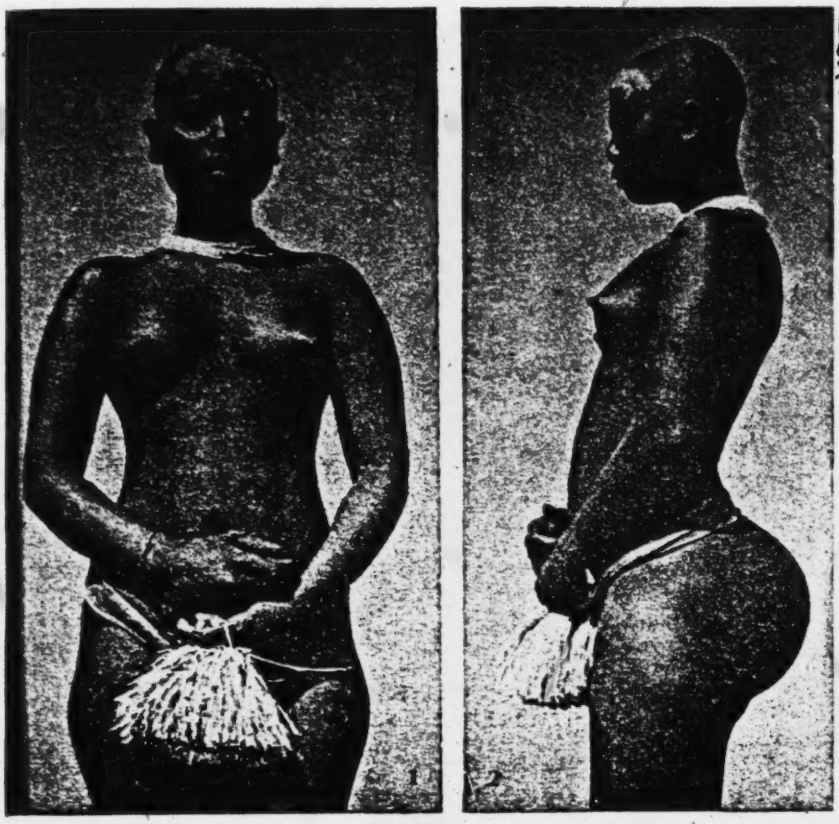

PLATE II.

Figs. 1 & 2—Onge female of the hut No. 2, Plate 1, in Little Andaman Island (front and profile).

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P 4(B)]

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PLATE III.

Onge females living in hut No. 2, Plate 1.

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P. 4(C)]

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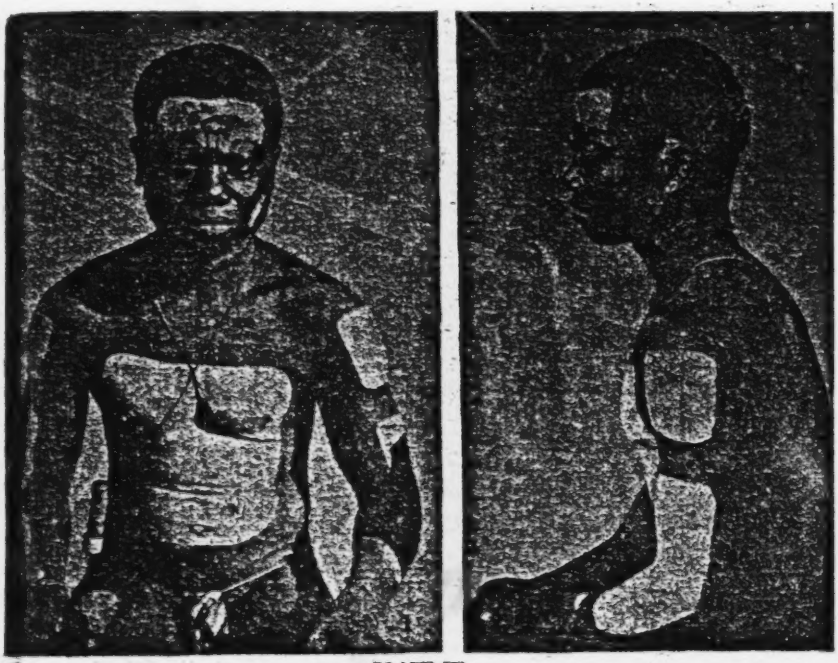

PLATE IV.

Figs. 1 & 2—Onge male (Raja) decorated with paints on board the "Molly" in Little Andaman waters.

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Karen AP7

for such a fairly long period, it was decided to give up the idea of continuing our survey of the Little Andaman that year. A 122

At the suggestion of Mr Majid it was finally decided instead to pay a visit to the surviving members of the Friendly Andamanese tribes at Neil and Havelock Islands where they had now been transferred and settled. Unfortunately, as it was March and the closing month of the financial year, I had to return to my headquarters at Banaras and leave Mr Sarkar in charge of the party to carry on further surveys in the North and Middle Andamans as far as this was found possible. A 121 [131]

Accordingly Mr Sarkar with his party left Port Blair on 6-3-48 on the Forest Motor Launch "Lindsay" and arrived at Long Island at about 8 A.M. on the following day. Mr Sarkar was met by Mr Joseph, T. S. D. O. who brought "Loka" and his party of four Andamanese. They were studied by him. The party left Long Island on the Forest Launch "Kokhari" at about 7-30 A.M. on the following day. Mr Joseph accompanied the party, who halted at the Guitar Island where some of Loka's associates were hunting turtles with harpoons. After leaving Guitar Island, the launch passed through Homfray Strait. Mr Joseph showed the spot where the Jarawas in 1925 attacked his camp. This is near the place from where the Jarawas usually crossed from the Baratang Island to the Middle Andamans. Proceeding further westwards, Mr Sarkar and his party reached the north-east end of the Spike Island. This is another route of migration of the Jarawas from the South to North Andamans. Usually they come from the South Andaman and cross over to Bluff Island and then reach the Spike Island opposite to it. Loka gave the information that it was about this place that several Jarawas were shot sometime back and their bodies were buried in the Bluff Island. The party went along the coast of Neil Island and anchored off Foul Bay. Human footprints identified by Mr Joseph and Loka as belonging to the Jarawas were found in the sand. Following the footprints the party found the remnants of burnt ashes and cinder in a spot in the jungle. There were also vessels made of leaves for carrying water which were still wet. These were collected as specimens of Jarawa objects for the Department's collections. No traces of Jarawas themselves could however be found who must have moved into the jungles just prior to our party's visit. Our men then crossed over to Bluff Island and searched for the Jarawa skeletons, but none were found. On the 9th of March the "Kokhari" returned to Long Island, where it anchored. Loka brought his party of 21 individuals who were now settled in Neil Island. These people were carefully studied by Mr Sarkar and notes taken regarding their geneology, family structure and physical state, etc. On the 9th the Deputy Chief Commissioner, Mr S. C. Gupta with his wife arrived at Long Island. Mr Sarkar and his party accompanied him to Stewart Sound in his boat "Elsa". Unfortunately the few Andamanese who were living there happened to have gone out in their canoes for fishing and could not be contacted (*see* Plate I, Fig. 5). A 115 A 114 A [225] [911] A 115 [126] A [115]

They then went with Mr Gupta to the Karen village called *Webi* situated at a short distance from Stewart Sound. There were no Andamanese there, K 361

K 361 [162] A 114 there were no Andamanese There, but 400 people consisting of 133 males and 130 females who migrated from Bassein in 1924. They were Karen Christians who had settled there. After returning to Long Island on the 12th, Mr Sarkar and party left in the motor boat "Return" for a short cruise along the Jarawa country. Besides Mr Joseph, there were Mr Pooviah and a few of his Burman Bush Police armed with rifles and guns. The party passed through the Homfray's Strait and anchored at the north eastern corner of the Spike Island. Loka and his party of three Andamanese accompanied them in their two canoes. They came to the shore in one of the Andamanese canoes and after entering the forest they found A [501] bundles of bamboos piled up at one corner. This was identified as a Jarawa raft. There were also three paddles made out of a palm tree. These specimens were procured for the Department. After proceeding some distance in the jungle, 19 small fire places were counted in scattered manner. A temporary hut was also noticed at a short distance. A number of objects usually used by the Andamanese tribes for household purposes was found including a sling for carrying babies. A beautiful specimen of a Jarawa Bow painted in red in geometrical designs was also found. Photographs were taken of the settlements of the Jarawa camp and objects collected for the Museum. In another place at *Yeratiajig* remnants of a Jarawa camp including pottery and bones of animals, etc., were found. The party returned to Long Island on 14-3-48 and examined 8 of the remaining members of Loka's party. It left the same day for Port Blair where it arrived at 10 P.M. On the 25th Mr Sarkar and his party with the Deputy Chief Commissioner Mr Gupta, left for Kar Nicobar where it arrived on the following day. It returned to Port Blair after staying for a few days. During this time in Kar Nicobar, besides studying the Nicobarese of the Island Mr Sarkar met two Jarawa children who were captured and brought over there and placed in a local Mission School for education.

A [342] [389] [411] [531]

In the following year in January 1949, another small party was sent under Dr A. K. Mitra with Messrs H. K. Bose and A. Bhattacharyya, to continue the survey of the Little Andaman further along the eastern coast. They visited *Hut Bay* on the 28th and went to the Onge settlement there. A large circular hut similar to that seen by us at Tambebui was observed. It contained nine cots with a fire place in the centre. There were also two outrigger canoes, one in front of the hut and another on the beach. Altogether 11 Onges were found consisting of 2 adult males, 6 females and 3 young children between the ages of 6 to 15. The 8 adults and the adolescent boys were carefully measured and observations noted about their special somatic characters. After leaving Hut Bay they went as far as the South Point which is the southernmost point on the eastern coast of the Little Andaman, but did not see any other Onge settlement. They had to return on the 31st as the launch could not be spared any further.

A [361] [342] [350] [354] [162] [125]

A 142 164 A 142 The Onges were found to be strong and healthy and free from venereal disease, a scourge, which along with tuberculosis were chiefly responsible for the rapid depopulation of the Andamanese tribes. Our observations agree with the accounts of the Negritos of the Andaman Islands published before

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
[P. 6(A)]

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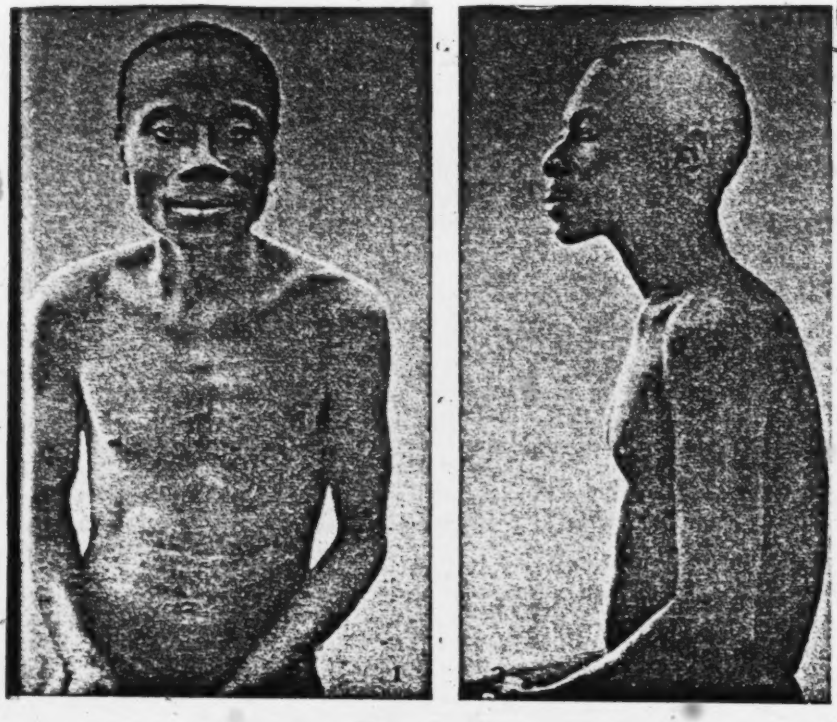

PLATE V.

Figs. 1 & 2—Onge male, front and profile views.

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
[P.6(B)]

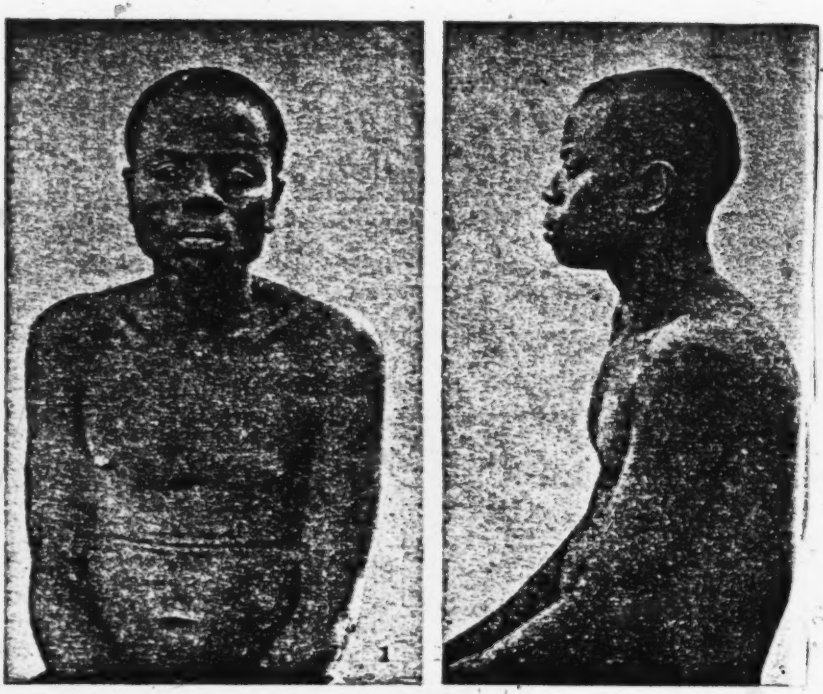

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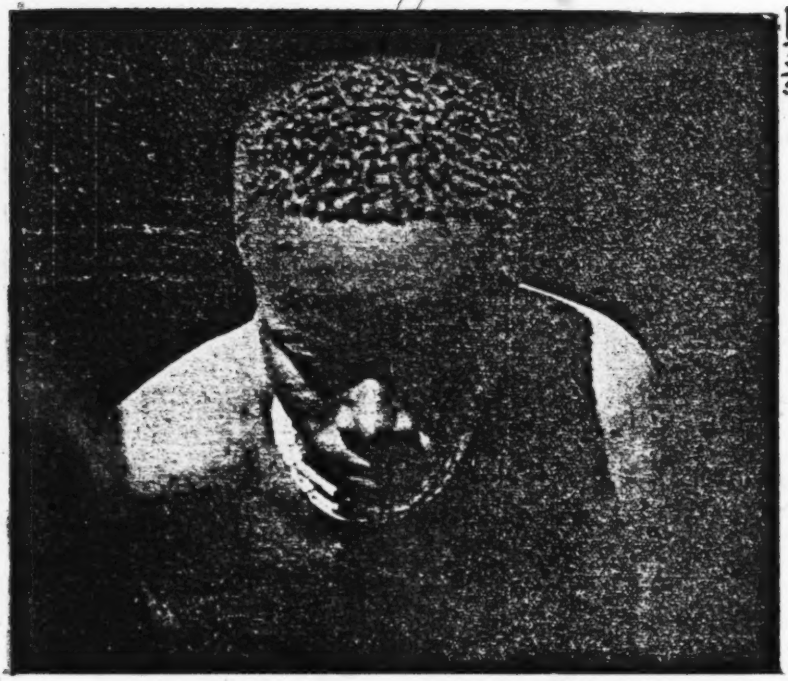
PLATE VI

Figs. 1 & 2—Onge male, front and profile views.

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P. 6 (C)]



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307

PLATE VII

Onge male showing pepper-corn type of hair.

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

namely, that they are a very dark pigmy tribe, with short round head and infantile features. The hair of the head is wholly of the distinctly "peppercorn" pattern, *i.e.*, it grows in small tufts with intervening vacant spaces between (*see* Plate VII). The women were noticed to possess steotopygia in a markedly developed form (*see* Plate II, Fig. 2). 142

Freiherr von Eickstedt who visited the Islands in December 1926, claimed that he was the first scientist to observe these two traits among the Andamanese. His contentions, however, cannot stand scrutiny, for in a paper read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh on February 2, 1880, entitled "Remarks on the Aborigines of the Andaman Islands" and published in the Proceedings of that Society, Surgeon E. S. Brander, who was stationed at Port Blair as Second Medical Officer, speaking about the general features of the Andamanese women, remarked that they "undergo exceptional enlargement of the gluteal region, the appearance of which is enhanced by their custom of attaching branches of twigs to their waist bands, so as to hang over this region. This large development of abdomen, hip and buttocks, added to a very waddling style of gait, gives these women in progression a most grotesque appearance". Eight years after, in a paper published in the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography, Maurice Portman, who was the Officer-in-Charge of the Andamanese, in describing his visit to the Little Andaman, wrote about "the Hottentot Venus order of beauty" of the Onge women. The Hottentot Venus, as is well-known, is noted for her steotopygic development. These two papers appeared over 40 years before von Eickstedt's publication. 114 142 [293] [481]

A detailed comparative review of the somatic traits of the Onges based on the measurements taken by members of this Department will be published in the next issue of the Bulletin. Mr S. S. Sarkar's analysis of the blood group data is, however, published in this issue. 114

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5: Sarkar D-5 (1948)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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[Title Page]

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Blood Groups from the Andaman and Nicobar Islands

By

S. S. Sarkar

The following blood group data were collected during the months of February-April, 1948 in the course of a visit to Little Andaman, Long Island and Car Nicobar by a party under Dr B. S. Guha from the Department of Anthropology, of which the present writer was a member. The data grouped according to the different tribes are as follows :— 143 121 114 [128]

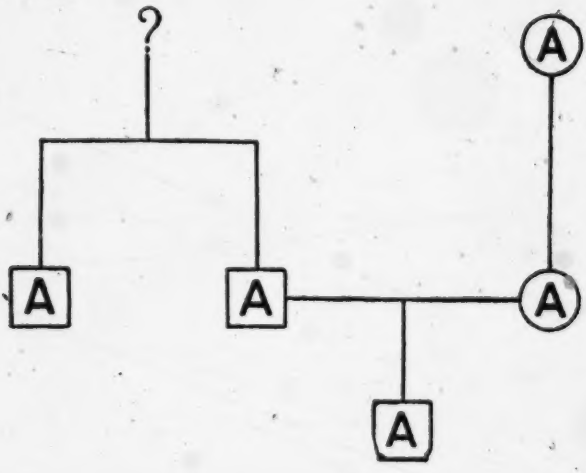
Onges

34 Onges, 19 males and 15 females, were grouped from the island of Little Andaman. They were collected from the settlements round about Bumila Creek, Dugong Creek and the village Tambebui on the N. E. part of the island. The blood group distribution is as follows :— 125 361 143

O	5	14·71%
A	23	67·65%
B	2	5·88%
AB	4	11·76%
	34	

The predominance of group A was already noticeable from Chaudhuri's (Gates, 1940) earlier study of 5 Onges, 3 of whom belonged to A and 1 each to Group O and B.

This will be also apparent from the following pedigree, where three generations show only A. [601]



[p. 25]

5: Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Nicobars AZ7

A 114 143 582 Owing to linguistic difficulties it was not possible to find out the relationships in the majority of cases. It is, however, evident that inbreeding must be very high in such a small, isolated and closed population.

Jarawas

A 114 143 Gates (1940, 1948) reported blood groups of the five Jarawas captured at Bluff Island in September, 1938. Of these five, the adult woman and her eldest son died at Port Blair during Japanese occupation. It appears that Chaudhuri did not group the blood of the 4th son born at Port Blair to the above captured woman, since that would have made the total number 6 (mother +4 sons + 1 unrelated girl) instead of 5. This boy (Pl. IX, Fig. 3) is now 13 years old and was found like his mother and brothers to be belonging to Group O. The blood samples of the other three children were found to be O. The children (Pl. IX) are now living in a Car Nicobar mission.

Andamanese

A 161 The Andamanese population has undergone very serious depletion. The total strength was estimated to be about 37 as compared with 90 of the census figure of 1931. Only 21 of the people could be tested from the islands of Havelock and Neil. Their blood groups are :— A 125 143

O	2	9·52%
A	12	57·14%
B	5	23·81%
AB	2	9·52%
	21	

Nicobarese

N 361 The majority of the Nicobarese were grouped at the Car Nicobar island. N 125 A group of 15 people from Chaura and a patient suffering from infantile paralysis from Nankauri were included in the sample. All the 16 of the latter [164] 143 group belonged to Group O.

The Nicobarese blood group distribution is as follows :—

	O	A	B	AB	p	q	r	D/σ
	117	5	14	0				
%	86·03	3·68	10·29	..	·019	·054	·928	0·5

N 164 Car Nicobar was visited towards the decline of the infantile paralysis epidemic. There were only 24 patients in the hospital. A good number, N 734 however, of those who escaped death but were otherwise invalidated were 125 examined.

5:Sarkar D-5 (1948)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

192
291

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1

[301]

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4

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Plate IX. Captive Jarawa Children.
[P. 26(A)]

5: Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P. 26(B)]

PLATE IX.
Captive Jarawa Children

5: Sarkar D-5 (1948)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2 Nicobars AZ7

The blood group distribution of 39 such invalids is as follows :—

N 143 734 125

	O	A	B	AB	Total
	34	1	4	0	39
%	87·18	2·56	10·26	0	

When this is compared with the normal unaffected sample the following figure is obtained :—

	O	A	B	AB	Total
	83	4	10	0	97
%	85·57	4·12	10·31	0	

There is thus no significant difference between the affected and normal samples.

Negrito Affinities

A 144 143 A [582]

While nothing definite can be said of the Jarawas, the other two Negrito groups, the Onges and the Andamanese, show very high incidence of the blood group A. This is accompanied by a very low O in both the cases. In breeding in such isolated populations of small size is normally very high and this has possibly resulted in the dominant A mendelising over the recessive O. It appears that the Negritos, here and elsewhere, possess a high frequency of A with little B, which is probably due to intermixture. This will be apparent from the following table :—

	O	A	B	AB	Investigator
	%	%	%	%	
Negrito (Philippines) (297)	48·4	33·3	14·1	4·0	Grove
Bushmen (615) . .	56·1	29·6	7·5	6·8	Pijper
Onges (34) . . .	14·71	67·65	5·88	11·76	Author
Andamanese (22) . .	9·9	59·09	22·71	9·09	Author

Among the Andamanese proper, the half breeds form probably one half of the population and the high B of 22·72 per cent must be due to mixture with outside peoples. The Onges are more isolated than the Andamanese and it is difficult to account for the 5·88 per cent of B among them. The percentage of AB is also high enough to warrant the presence of more B.

A 114 144 143 Gates (1948) is of opinion that: "The blood groups of Negritos and Australoids must have been very different then, as they are now, the former being high in B, the latter having A without B".

Earlier Negrito data from other sources, as also the results of this investigation, do not support the above contention. Both the Australoids and the Negritos have been found to be high in A. The Negrito peoples of the Andaman Islands, although they are now isolated in the different islands, probably all belong to the same ethnic stock and when their blood group data are pooled together the following percentages are obtained :—

A 143 144

	O	A	B	AB	Total
Total . . .	13	36	7	6	62
Negritos*(Andaman Islands) . . %	20·97	58·07	11·29	9·67	

A [162] The total number of 62 consists of 34 Onges from Little Andaman, 22 Andamanese, 6 Jarawas. When the 22 Andamanese, who are definitely known to be mixed, are exempted from the above total, the position is as follows :—

	O	A	B	AB	Total
	11	23	2	4	40
%	27·50	57·50	5·00	10·00	

It thus appears that more than half the Negrito population belong to group A and their similarity with the Australians in this respect, associated with the enormous differences in physical features between the two, still remains to be satisfactorily explained.

Nicobarese Blood Groups

N 144 143 [174] 000 The Nicobarese blood groups present a picture so far unknown to S.-E. Asia. The high frequency of O is characteristic of the American Indians. The Nicobarese are believed to have migrated into their present habitat from Lower Burma. Little is known of blood group distribution from Burma. Mollison and Reddy (1946) have published a set of data from 229 peoples, comprising 155 pure Burmans, 57 Karens, 13 Chins and 4 Kachins. They show the following blood group distribution :—

O	A	B	AB
36·2	26·2	29·7	7·9

* Chaudhuri's sample of 5 Onges (Gates, 1940) could not be combined with the present author's sample lest the same person is included in both the data. There are chances of such duplication in small populations as such.

5: Sarkar D-5 (1948)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Nicobars AZ7
Maori OZ4

The Nicobarese values thus differ widely from the above. It will not be out of place here to mention of Eickstedt's samples from Upper Burma (Steffan, 1932) which gives 60% of O and 40% of B and stands somewhat closer to the Nicobarese data than the above figures of Mollison and Reddy.

In spite of the close cultural affinities of the Nicobarese with those of Malaya and Indo-China, in respect of their aversion to milk, the outrigger canoe, artificial deformation of head, the Malayan form of sniffing cheeks (Malay kiss), etc., the Nicobarese have so far remained ignorant of agriculture. It appears, therefore, that the Nicobarese migrated from a habitat where agriculture was unknown and it is among such peoples that their close congeners could be found.

Negritos, Australians and Polynesians

The above three ethnic stocks, though widely varying in physical features have in common the high element of blood group A. It remains to be seen how they stand in respect of the sub-groups of A and the MN factors. So far only the Australians have been subjected to the study of MN factors (Birdsell and Boyd, 1940).

The similarity of the above three peoples in respect of the blood groups was pointed out to some extent by Howells (1934) and as such Gates' statement (p. 28) is probably unjustified. The percentages of B come to 14·1 in the case of Negritos of the Philippines (Grove, 1926), to 5·00 in the case of those from the Andaman Islands and to 2·2 in the case of the Hawaiians* (Nigg, 1930). Samoa with its fairly large content of B of 19·4% (Shapiro, 1940) is already a problem. The paucity of B among the Australians is already well-known. All these appear to show that B is a later instrusion in this area and A was predominant among the Negritos and the Australoids as it is now. The Polynesian movements began towards the dawn of Christian era from Indonesia when B did not probably reach there. This might have influenced the Nicobarese as well and the 3·68% of A may be Polynesian in origin.

---

* Time is ripe enough for discarding Phillips Maori data by now (see Shapiro, Howells, Graydon and Simmons, and Godley). They are compared with the recent data below :—

O	A	B	AB	
47·5%	39·5%	1·0%	12·0%	(Phillips, 1931 n=200)
41·2%	58·1%	0·7%	0	(Graydon & Simmons, 1)945 ; n=267)
45·26%	48·74%	4·07%	1·91%	(Godley, 1946-47 ; n=835)
44·27%	52·96%	1·57%	1·20%	(Paddock, 1946 ; n=1335)

5: Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Nicobars AZ7
Maori OZ4

000 It will be thus futile to argue that the Negritos, who by race and culture, appear undoubtedly to be the oldest inhabitants of this area, were strong in B, unless we assume that B is lost. At least that will be similar to the supposition of Phillips who contented that the Morioris, the ancestor of the present Maoris, belonged to group B.

N
A
143

Summary

(1) 34 Onges grouped from the island of Little Andaman show the following distribution :—

O—14·71%, A—67·65%, B—5·88% and AB—11·76%.

(2) 22 Andamanese show the following distribution :—

O—9·09%, A—59·09%, B—22·72% and AB—9·09%.

(3) 4 Jarawa children were all found to belong to group O.

(4) 136 Nicobarese belong to the following groups :—

O—86·03%, A—3·68%, B—10·29%.

N
A
144
143
174

(5) Negrito affinities are discussed. Nicobarese blood groups show the highest O in India and Indonesia. Polynesian elements are probably evidenced by the presence of A.

(6) The Negritos, the Australians and the Polynesians all have high A and the B as seen in Samoa or Melanesia probably reached these islands after the Polynesian movements began in the dawn of Christian era.

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Onge

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[Title Page]

JAN 8 1962

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

Hygiene and Medical Practices among the Onge (Little Andaman)

By Lidio Cipriani

Contents:

Preliminary Note
I. Hygienic Conditions
1. Habitation
2. Clothing and personal care
3. Food
II. Effects on the People's Lives
III. Illnesses and Onge Curative Methods

Preliminary Note

I went to Little Andaman several times, from 1951 onwards, for the sole purpose of studying the Onge. At that time the interior of the island was completely unknown and it was considered dangerous to violate it owing to the hostility of some groups of natives. Some friendly Onge themselves tried to dissuade me from leaving my coastal camp to explore their thick jungle. It was only in 1952 that I succeeded in what proved to be a difficult trip through virgin forest from the east to the west coast of Little Andaman, across its maximum breadth. The enthusiasm of the people accompanying me (fifteen altogether, including some faithful Oraons from the Indian district of Bihar, Burmese policemen and some Onge) enabled us to advance with a speed beyond our hopes. Forest difficulties prevented us from carrying heavy loads. Only the Oraons had some small baggage, which they hung in such a way as to leave both hands free to carve their way through the jungle with a *dah* (long Malayan knife), when necessary. No camping material could be brought, not even beds or tents, beyond the essentials for scientific work and for cooking, which were kept in specially prepared small, water-proof metallic containers. We camped in the forest and marked every camp with the incision of letters, 20 cms high and 5 cms deep, in the bark of gigantic trees, far from the ground, so as to have all the itinerary well indicated. An Oraon who was entrusted with this particular job wrote the meaningful sigla "Anthropos", sometimes also my name, as at Nachugé on the west coast, as well as the date. I did this to facilitate further investigations. All my itineraries in Little Andaman, from 1952 onwards, are marked like this and may be easily found again by the Onge or by my Oraons. Hunting, fishing, collecting wild fruits, edible roots and honey supplied us with food ; no vegetarian can live in such a country because, very often, only pork is available there. Of that we had plenty every day, sometimes with nothing else. My men were eager to run and find an acceptable halting place as soon as possible, just to receive cartridges for hunting with me before dark ; but we also had

114 122 114

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Onge

122 torches for hunting by night. There were pigs everywhere. In half an hour we often got
114 six or more of them. At Chemalê, far from the coast, we had eleven in a few minutes for
distribution to everybody, including roaming Onge. Pigeons and ducks also were often
[136] plentiful. The simple pleasures of hunting incited everyone to a spontaneous daily struggle
through the dense forest ; and so, every month, I managed to carry out many times the
work I could have done had I not kept all the men glad to follow me. On seven different
occasions I spent 162 days in Little Andaman, out of a total of 634 days altogether in the
Andamanese Archipelago – all of them given up to Onge research. These trips are recorded
128 in Port Blair Government offices. A few details on the subject are published in the "Bul-
114 letin of the Department of Anthropology", Government of India, starting in Vol. II,
No. 1, 1953 (issued in 1956) and extended to other issues. Such papers were hurriedly
prepared by me while I was halting in Calcutta on my way from the Andamans to Europe.
Press proofs could never be submitted to me; there are, consequently, many misprints,
particularly in the figures relating to my Onge Census. The misprints are so obvious that
they could only influence a most biased critic : to be discussed in future papers and while
my Onge book is in preparation. In Port Blair (South Andaman) I started an Onge Mu-
seum with material collected by me. I had the honour of inaugurating it on 6 July,
1953 in the presence of the Chief Commissioner for Andamans and Nicobars, Mr. A. K.
Ghosh, one of the kindest and most intelligent Indian gentlemen that it was my pleasure
to meet in Asia. On 9 March, 1954 Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD, President of the Republic of
India, also visited the Museum. On that occasion I introduced to him 30 of my Onge
friends (wives, husbands and children) in their most natural attire. The President ques-
tioned me at length on Onge anthropology and ethnology with the pertinence of a specialist.

123 While in Little Andaman I tried to study all possible aspects of Onge life. I also
[121] tried to count the natives : a very difficult task for they are a nomadic people, ready to
vanish into the jungle at any moment. Often I was surrounded by them without seeing
a single one. In the darkness of their jungle, the small, black, naked Onge easily disappear.
They see us but we do not see them. They can only be counted in their sleeping quarters
[361] in communal huts ; even so, results are misleading. I found a number of communal huts
in the interior regions of Little Andaman, whereas previously they were said to exist
[126] only on the coast. The larger, more solidly built huts are in the forest. With the help
of my Indian assistants I obtained plans and photographs of all the huts that I saw.
178 Unfortunately the number of Onge communal huts is rapidly diminishing – a very
significant fact. Many are in ruins, many more completely destroyed. Only kitchen-middens
361 and occasional clusters of planted bamboo indicate their former location. Through an
interpreter, and with two Onge speaking a little Hindi, I was able to gather information
[124] on these and other matters. Direct observation, however, proved the best way of gaining
knowledge. In some places there was nothing to help me, and I was compelled to guess
about communal huts whose inmates chose to hide in the jungle. Of the many personal
[551] names that I collected I must say that they are reliable only for a short period : the Onge
like to change their names from time to time. All this, in addition to the Onge's nomadic
[553] way of life, causes great confusion and makes a proper Census almost impossible. Frequent
changing of names also hinders the establishment of genealogies. Furthermore, the Onge
[597] custom of adopting children shifts many of them from one family to another, and adoptive
parents invariably claim them as their own offspring. The parents themselves, who are
ignorant of numbers, not infrequently forget how many children they have, who these
children are and where they are located. It was almost useless to follow previous informa-
tion concerning communal huts ; and so I decided to consider mainly the situation
[114] existing at the time of my visits. The result of my Census may be imperfect, but before
criticizing it it would be advisable to know the conditions that prevail in anthropological
work among the Onge. Something more than merely counting people, anyhow, was
achieved by me in Little Andaman.

In this short paper I am pleased to present a peculiar aspect of Onge life, an aspect
that these innocent and once hostile people did not attempt to hide from me, though they
also told me nothing about it. Only direct observation could help, and it involved pro-

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tracted hardship and considerable risk, not so much from the natives themselves as from the implacable Andaman sea. We had a terrible time during several of our landings from the open Indian Ocean. Constant danger additionally stimulated the development of research in Little Andaman. All the Indians and the Burmese behaved bravely. Among them I wish to mention here my Indian stenographer, a married man nearing thirty, from Bengal: RANHADIR KUMAR DEY, who, on 12 and 13 February, 1953, on the south coast of the island shared two frightfully narrow escapes with me. I am sure that neither of us will ever forget it. I later found a comfortable landing place, now indicated by floating buoys, on the north coast. Two other Bengalese assistants who were a great help to me in Little Andaman and had been selected from a number of young aspirants, are PRONAB GANGULI and BIMAL CHANDRA ROY. My work in the Andamans could not have been accomplished without them and without the initiative and encouragement of officers such as Dr. B. S. GUHA, Director of the Department of Anthropology of the Indian Government, Mr. AJSV K. GHOSH, the kind, open-minded Chief Commissioner of Andamans and Nicobars during my 1951-1953 stay there, and Mr. S. N. MAITRA, who succeeded Mr. GHOSH as Chief Commissioner. In a book that I am writing I try to point out the significance of my work in the Andamans, carried out with the help of such distinguished, and sometimes heroic, Indian collaborators.

I. Hygienic Conditions

1. Habitation

The nomadic Onge have two kinds of shelter: one temporary, the other permanent, used only for short periods at a time. The Little Andaman forest is full of abandoned temporary shelters; the permanent camps are fewer, mainly situated along the coast. They consist of communal huts, strongly built by a number of families roaming under the direction of a leader. The huts have a ritual significance, as we shall presently see. Inside each communal hut are a number of beds generally equal to the number of families. Small fires are kept burning day and night near the beds, a precaution that I was thankful for on many cold nights succeeded by hot days. The Onge require nothing more against the cold. In their camps they can withstand the heaviest storms and drenching rains. In order to avoid chills it is enough for them to protect their fires from extinction. This applied to me too, while living among the Onge. The warmth and the dry air ensured good health for us all.

A few additional beds are for the use of bachelors nearing marriage. Most of the beds are marginally and radially placed; a few are placed transversally. Normal beds accommodate father, mother (the Onge are monogamous), children and dogs, all in a heap. In temporary as in permanent shelters it is customary for families to eat separately, each close to its bed. The low, round roof of the communal hut does not reach the ground; a gap of 30 cms is left free for creeping in and out at will without using the main door (a simple mat to be lifted). Rubbish is thrown carelessly everywhere, e. g. directly outside the circular hut, which is consequently surrounded by a malodorous ring of bones, imperfectly cleaned shells, bits of rotting shellfish and other animals – a rich breeding ground for flies and various other insects that rapidly destroy everything edible, leaving the grass to grow until the next lot of garbage accumulates. Building and rebuilding a communal hut always on the same

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364 spot for centuries leads to the formation of kitchen-middens [1]. In the tempo-
[367] rary camps something similar happens: the only difference consists in the fact that rubbish dumps only accumulate at the back of the temporary shelters, as a consequence of their peculiar shape that I shall not describe here. These
[136] dumps are heaven-sent love nests for insects of many species, mostly flies of a metallic green colour. They follow the Onge from camp to camp and thrive on scraps from human meals. When travelling in Little Andaman I was unmistakably warned of the nearby presence of Onge camps by the appearance of those familiar living beings.

136 The filth that coats the floors of communal Onge huts offers an ideal
[356] breeding ground also for myriads of fleas. Dogs spread them all over Little Andaman. Owing to the fact that the communal huts are deserted for months at a time during the dry season, the fleas become hungry and assault human
123 beings vehemently whenever possible. When visiting empty communal huts I myself, and the persons with me, were plagued by such assaults. Fleas advanced suddenly from feet to head in thick, shimmering brown layers, covering first our legs. We were obliged to strip and douse ourselves with insect-repellents.
136 As for other parasites, including ticks and mosquitos, equally plentiful in Little
[825] Andaman, the Onge do not appear to be inconvenienced by them.

764 The communal huts are used for another purpose as well, unhygienic but of high ethnological interest: the interment of human corpses. When they die, the inmates are buried beneath their beds. In other words, communal huts are also cemeteries. Many human skeletons are found by digging under the beds. Until 1952 this fact was unknown about the Andaman Islanders although it is encountered in all Onge communal huts without exception. An analysis of
775 this custom led to further discoveries: the Onge wish to compel the spirit of a deceased person to remain close to the living as a protection, so they offer it the communal hut for an abode, the idea being that a spirit cannot wander far from the bones of its former body. A series of Onge practices point to this
[727] belief: felled enemies must be burned and reduced to ashes in order to render them harmless. Their hostile souls, according to the Onge, rise toward the sky in smoke as the bones are consumed. For the same reason, bones of relatives
[301] are fashioned into necklaces. The most conspicuous of these is the *ibidanghe*,
[765] worn generally by women and young girls, which is made from a decorated
[751] human jawbone. The aim is to obtain the assistance of the departed relation in fighting illness and bad luck. Direction in hunting, fishing and even quar-
[777] relling is supposed to come from the dead kept close to the living. We can trace this belief on the connection between bones and souls to a remote origin:
[171] Southern Asia megaliths had, in my opinion, no other cause for offering shelter to spirits and promoting useful relations between the living and the dead. I reached this conclusion after studying the contemporary habits of Travancore mountain and other Indian tribes, particularly the Munda. In Nias we find traces of the same customs as among different peoples of Indonesia and Oceania, who

[1] I discussed this at the two international anthropological congresses of 1952 (Vienna) and 1956 (Philadelphia), and have more to say on the subject in my book about the Onge.

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now follow them, often ignoring their original significance and symbolism. Among the Onge, spirits are feared but not loved ; the same applies to God Himself. 775

The Onge bury their dead in trenches, no deeper than three feet. Earth is tightly packed over the graves in order to prevent exhalations. Full details on the subject of Onge burial customs appear in the book that I am writing about the Onge. I slept with the Onge in communal huts that contained fresh graves, without suffering any inconvenience from the smell of the corpses. This recalls the palaeolithic sepulchral caves, where man probably lived as the Onge live in their sepulchral huts today. 764

There are no latrines near Onge camps – whether permanent or temporary. Excrements are spread carelessly all around, lightly covered with leaves and earth. Flies lay eggs on them. The Onge's only precaution is not to defecate where drinking water might be found after rainfall. With so many opportunities for reproduction, in some places flies form such clouds as to impress the natives themselves. In the north of Little Andaman a creek was named after the flies : Bumila Creek, which means "fly creek". Smells also occasionally inspire geographical names : Tambe-é-bûie, on the north-east coast of Little Andaman, means "the smelly place" in the Onge language. Flies, fleas and ticks are tolerated by the Onge who do not fight them. Fortunately, the hymenoptera collect flies for their nests, not, however, in quantities large enough to compete with the fertility of the species. 514 [312] 736 825 [103]

2. Clothing and personal care

The only garment worn by Little Andaman women is the *naquinēghē*, a scanty grasslike apron covering the genitals. In addition, during menstrual periods, Onge women wear the *bataghē*, for hygienic purposes. This is a simple cluster of long, soft green leaves cut by the husband for his wife from special trees : Myristica longifolia and others. The only leaves used are those from the end of a stalk, a section of which is left attached to the leaves. The stalk is slipped under the *naquinēghē*, while the long leaves are passed between the thighs to be fastened at the back above the buttocks. It is curious to see Onge women in such myristical attire ! The *bataghē* is ethnographical news, new not only as regards the Andamans : it is an interesting indication of the hygienic measures employed by primitive people, and can probably be traced to prehistoric practices in analogous circumstances. The continental and insular regions nearest to the Andamans have retained no similar custom ; their only practice is the strict isolation of menstruating women. Among the Onge, on the other hand, they are allowed free circulation. Washing is unknown to the Onge : they never wash their bodies intentionally. Brushing through the thick forest and diving into the sea or the river to collect food substitute adequately for washing. The Little Andaman forest is nearly always dripping ; moving among the trees, specially in the early morning, is equivalent to bathing. The contact of wet leaves when walking cleans the Onge's skin, for they go naked ; and as they constantly dive into the sea and rivers, they do not smell. Actually they give an impression of cleanliness – as opposed to many other dark-skinned 291 841 [824] [171] 515 [147]

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515 people. Furthermore, the Onge skin is very soft and more elastic than is usual
[147] in human beings. For us, clothed and with a less resilient skin, a trip through the thorny Andaman forest means many small, bleeding scratches. Not so for the naked Onge. – To cover them with clothes would endanger their health. Nakedness inures them to the sudden changes of temperature so frequent in
[513] Little Andaman and preserves them from catching cold when sleeping, uncovered, on their rough, unprotected bed of boughs. As with primitives all over the world, clothes make them miserable and, I may add, very ungainly and dirty.

515 Part of their general negligence with regard to hygiene is their carelessness about their teeth. They never clean them. They do keep bamboo sticks,
[413] 1 mm thick and 8 cms long, tucked into their hair to be ostensibly used as toothpicks ; but the sticks, to tell the truth, are more of an ornament than a tool.
142 The Onge's teeth are so compact and sound that there is no space between them for food particles to collect. No caries or decay of any sort are to be
[164] noticed. In a number of skeletons that I dug up from under the beds in communal huts, the teeth gave evidence of one peculiarity : old people had worn them down to the root. The Onge habit of using teeth as working instruments,
[289] to prepare fibre for ropes and in many other circumstances – apart from their permanent chewing on hard foodstuffs – explains this fact.

515 As a consequence of never washing, the natives' hands are sometimes extremely dirty. The Onge themselves are conscious of this. I shall give an
226 instance. It so happened that I arrived in Nachugé, on the west coast, toward the end of March, when the sea was teeming with migrating sardines. In Little Andaman sardines can weigh up to a pound ; but a normal catch, obtained with small hand-nets cast from canoes among shoals of fish imprisoned by the low tide within the coral reef that surrounds the island, contains specimens of
[264] every dimension. All are eaten as soon as possible. The quantity of fish brought back to the camps on such occasions puts all inmates to work and induces everybody to abandon all other occupations for the time being. In the low tidal waters the men push their canoes from rock to rock, using them as receptacles for the abundant food so easily collected. In some "pockets" nets prove unnecessary: the fish is gathered in handfuls and rapidly thrown into the canoes. The hecatomb ends when the canoes are filled to the gunwales. In no other part of the world have I seen food made available to primitive people in such large quantities and with so little effort.

252 Back at the camp, the sardines are "graded" according to size and cooked immediately. They are not washed or cleaned, the inner organs are eaten to-
[263] gether with the flesh. Men, women and children feverishly take part in the cooking ; the fish is boiled without salt. All the natives then plunge their hands
264 avidly into the heap of sardines. From time to time the women clean their
515 hands by rubbing them on the *naquinéghé*. Very soon this garment becomes
[231] extremely smelly. Men and children clean their hands in a different way : by rubbing them on the dogs. On such occasions, everything and everybody smells of fish for days and days. The first to become clean again are the dogs, because they hate to be smeared with fish and wash themselves in the sea as soon as they have a chance.

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3. Food

In the absence of men, women also are good at fishing inside the coral reefs. They do this with two small nets used together. Their catch generally consists of brilliantly coloured fish with yellow, red, green, blue, black and white stripes forming varied and attractive designs. The Onge eat all fish without discrimination. My Indian collaborators, on the other hand, considered the coloured fish dangerous to their health and refused to cook them ; the Sacred Vedas, in fact, advise the avoidance of brigthly hued fish and of fish without scales. I wanted to try both kinds, and found them perfectly palatable, tasty and harmless. 226 [462] 262 123

No tool, used for any purpose by the Onge, ever gets a cleaning. Cleanliness, I repeat, is unknown in Little Andaman. See how food is prepared and disposed of ! Care is taken only not to throw big pieces of meat intended for cooking directly on the bare ground ; but once it is cooked, food is treated with the utmost disregard for dirt, dust, cobwebs and other such things. It is usually left lying around on large leaves spread out for the purpose. The remains of the Onge's orgiastic meals are kept out of reach of the dogs on the ceiling of the huts, to be covered with flies when no fire is lit directly below. Sand and grit may get wedged annoyingly in the teeth, but not such impalpable things as dust or cobwebs. The use of unclean food is not repugnant to the Onge. The same can be said for water polluted by dogs drinking and bathing in it, or by the presence of putrefying carcases. In the west of Little Andaman I saw some Onge avidly drinking from pools of a blackish water with a revolting sulphurous smell. After thoroughly filtering and boiling it, I too used such water, for it was the only water available in the neighborhood. This caused no ill effects. My Indian men considered it perfectly healthy and invigorating, and drank it safely in its natural condition. 264 [252] [251] 271 123

The Onge eat with their unwashed fingers, without the help of tools. On rare occasions they use platters made of the flattened-out stems – or bracts – of *areca* palms. They sometimes carry these platters when travelling, but of course never wash them although they become coated in rancid, greasy filth. They soon assume a dark colour and a truly revolting appearance – aside from the awful smell. A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN's statement – that the Andamanese paint their bodies to neutralize the unpleasant smell of food that clings to them after their orgiastic feedings – shows only indirect knowledge of the life and manners of those people. Even the horrible flatulence that follows their pork orgies is not considered an inconvenience ; yet it is much more revolting than all the other body odours. 264 [415] 114 302 147 827

Although the Onge observe few hygienic precautions they do follow a number of medical practices, not all devoid of beneficial effects. Here are a few more remarks on their eating and drinking habits. For about six months of the year, between November and April, water is scarce in Little Andaman. Every kind of fresh water is then considered good by the Onge, regardless of whether it is a murky infusion of rotting leaves or afloat with the putrefied 751 812 271

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312 caracases of small animals. During the droughts, marine hermit crabs, of
271 which a profusion is found in Little Andaman even far from the sea-shore,
[196] often choose to die in fresh-water pools. They are not removed from the pools.
[415] A nautilus shell is sometimes used as a drinking vessel ; failing this, the Onge
[516] lap up the water like animals, on all fours, directly from the pool. Since they are
231 very fond of dogs, man and dog drink together from the same tiny pool, often holding no more than a few pints of water. Dogs reached Great Andaman as early as 1857 ; they came to Little Andaman much later. Before that time there were no dogs in the Andamanese Archipelago. They soon became the natives' cherished and much appreciated assistants in the hunting of wild pigs. Many unhygienic habits followed the appearance of dogs in the Andamans.

271 The Onge have no idea of boiling water for the purpose of disinfection ;
[147] nevertheless their health does not appear to suffer at all as a result of the pol-
123 luted water they drink. When, in 1952, I dug a well near the left bank of Dugong Creek on the north-east coast of Little Andaman, I was compelled to fence it in so as to prevent dogs from drinking it and bathing in it.

264 Dogs lick everything that smells of food, including the cooking pots,
[291] and the pots are not washed before use after the dogs have licked them.
[136] Swarms of flies of different species and small coleoptera of a brilliant blue colour, one of them 6 mms long, follow the dogs after they have "cleaned" the pots by licking them. They line the inside of the pots with a crawling, living coat, moving restlessly around in search of food. One species of fly, which is of a brilliant, metallic green colour, has a peculiarly disagreeable smell. All the flies lay eggs while feeding, but the eggs are soon devoured by the hovering bluish coleoptera. Thus in a few hours all traces of organic matter disappear from the pots. Subsequent exposure to fire undoubtedly destroys the germs that would otherwise be certainly dangerous to human beings.

415 The Onge no longer use indigenous pottery for cooking. Its disappearance
177 is recent, as the sherds that litter Little Andaman prove to the investigator.
[323] Excavation in modern kitchen-middens leads to the same conclusion. During the last war, quantities of empty petrol drums were washed up on the Andaman shores. They were found in such numbers that the Onge have not yet used them all up : after 1952 I found several of these containers abandoned, untouched, in the jungle. The primitive inhabitants sawed each container in two cylindrical halves, thus transforming them into cooking pots. The result was that within a few years the fragile ancestral pottery of the Onge disappeared altogether. Furthermore, aluminium pots were distributed among the natives after 1952. Probably the indigenous pottery will never again reappear.
[252] Each half of a petrol drum is large enough to contain a pig, or a turtle weighing
262 150 lbs, cut into pieces. Only the flesh of these animals is consumed by the
[231] Onge ; the nourishing broth is poured out onto the ground or left in the pot to be lapped up by the dogs. The Onge believe that broth is unhealthy and avoid drinking it.

251 No matter how prodigious the catch of sardines or other fish, unobtain-
[185] able at other times of the year, no attempt is made at storing part of it in view of future shortage. The Onge are unacquainted with methods for preserv-

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Lidio Cipriani, Hygiene and Medical Practices among the Onge (Little Andaman)

Plate 1

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a) Onge communal hut.
b) Painted Onge woman drinking from a nautilus shell.
c) Woman with *bataghē* leaves.
d) Filter going from mouth to mouth.

[p. 488 (A)]

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LIDIO CIPRIANI, Hygiene and Medical Practices among the Onge (Little Andaman)

Plate 2

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a) and *c*) Women and girls wearing *ibidanghĕ*.
b) Bandages of ficus bark against fever.
d) Wife and husband in their usual attire.

[p. 488 (B)]

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ing edible matter ; furthermore, they don't care to take the trouble as food is generally plentiful. We must also realize that they find salt repulsive. Even honey – so easily kept for many months – is disposed of, if possible, on the very same day it is collected. Incredible quantities of this or other food may be consumed for days and nights on end until everything disappears. Very few of the islanders care to vary their meat diet with an occasional diet of vegetables in order to disintoxicate the system ; yet nourishing yams and other roots grow wild and plentiful. They are so rich in carbohydrates that I preferred them to potatoes and rice. I may add that the Onge, on my request, brought me yams and roots that they were glad to barter with rice, tea and sugar – soon declared by their wise men to possess medicinal properties.

The Onge's stomach, intestines and general physiological equilibrium suffer from lack of salt and such bad nutritional habits as those described. They damage the human body, together with unrestrained sexual activity.

One highly unhygienic custom of the Onge is the use, all over Little Andaman, of peculiar sucking-sticks. These pass from mouth to mouth during the frequent meat or honey orgies indulged in by the natives.

When boiling pork or turtle, a quantity of liquid fat floats on the surface of the broth. Though the Onge despise the broth, they don't like to waste the fat. So they devised an efficient solution : they suck the fat up by means of a wad of absorbent matter obtained by chewing the end of a fibrous stick selected among many species of trees in the forest. The end of the stick is chewed along a section of 5 cms, the remaining part – about 25 cms long and 2 cms thick – is used as a handle to prevent the fingers from burning.

In every Onge camp sucking-sticks are permanently in evidence owing to the inmates' frequent ingestion of liquid fat or honey. A second version of the sucking-stick consists in a narrow, cotton-like strip, up to 80 cms long, with only a small part of the original wood remaining. This serves as a handle for dipping the stick into a wooden barrel full of honey. In both instances the same tool passes for hours from mouth to mouth : from older people to greedy children, anxious to suck the coveted delicacy off the stick that has been dipped into the pot. The rapid spreading of epidemics, which often occur in the Andamans, is certainly encouraged by the use of these sucking-sticks. I found no reference to this practice in books on the Andaman Islands.

Everything they eat, particularly meat, the Onge consider as either remedial or harmful. They are therefore chary of accepting proffered food if it is unknown to them. When I brought 30 Onge to Port Blair to introduce them to Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD, President of the Indian Republic, they were troublesome about food. In Port Blair it was not as easy as in Little Andaman to procure whole pigs ; sometimes only pieces were available. The Andamanese Forest Department was quickly informed of the difficulty and kindly supplied the desired animals. In moments of shortage I tried to give the Onge cooked lamb, goat, chicken and pigeons ; they resolutely refused them as unhealthy. Birds are never eaten by the Onge, who consider them shelters for human souls

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262 and therefore dangerous to offend by cooking them. Luckily they accepted
123 fish of almost every description, and vegetables. To convince them of our
[975] good intentions concerning their food, at Port Blair an Onge observer was
[825] stationed permanently near the kitchen to watch the preparation of meals. Nevertheless, within a few days all 30 Onge fell ill as a consequence of the
513 different food and climate. In their island they sleep, completely naked and
123 uncovered, lying directly on beds made of rough branches. Their only precaution, as I mentioned before, is to keep a fire permanently burning close to the bed. This was not feasible in the rooms with wooden floors that were provided for them in Port Blair, and blankets did not avail. So the 30 Onge developed a fever and we were obliged to take them urgently back to Little Andaman, where they promptly recovered. The incident gave me a further opportunity to observe the curative methods of the Onge.

262 With regard to their care to avoid illness from food, I must point out the
114 fact that misleading information has been published on the subject even in reputed papers on the Andamans. I will discuss them in my Onge book, but I wish here to briefly stress a few points : the Onge, and the present residual coastal or forest Andamanese, refuse to eat – besides birds and fish such as shark, ray, eel or muraenae – some other animals such as paradoxurus, bats, rats, varanus and snakes. The contrary is affirmed in those papers. To quote the well-known book by A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN ("The Andaman Islanders", pp. 37, 91 and 389), all Andaman Islanders, including the Onge, consider the above-mentioned species edible. Varanus is supposed to be acceptable for its
[832] lustful habits that make of it an aphrodisiac. My direct and protracted experience both in Little and in Great Andaman compels me to state that such information is false. It is true, however, that the Andaman Islanders believe
261 they acquire some of the properties of their devoured victims. This occurs
252 only if the animals are cut up alive. Therefore turtles, pigs and dugongs are
[231] cruelly sectioned while still alive, and the Onge also believe that their health and energy profit by it. Cannibalism may be founded on such beliefs, but it is
266 completely unknown to Andaman Islanders of all times and places. Young
262 sucking-pigs are avoided, as food, by men, and even withheld from the dogs ; but the Onge are partial to other things which, in our opinion, are far worse : crickets, and the fat larvae of coleoptera that collect in tree trunks.

Without giving here a full list of the foods that are considered harmful or curative, I shall add just a few remarks on the subject. The healthiest, as well as the tastiest part of the pig is supposed to be the kidney and its surrounding fat. It is offered to old or distinguished people, as a sign of favour. As I
[888] 123 helped the Onge, as much as possible, with gifts of tools and medicines, they
553 found it complimentary to name me after their favorite titbit, intending thereby to honour me as a friend and healer. By such a name I came to be known in Little Andaman, and this made my work easier. In the Onge language the word for kidney fat is *cue-changhēghē* ; I was delighted with it, for it proclaimed the high esteem I was held in by my Onge friends.

262 Foods considered healthy by the Onge include honey, yams, several
751 succulent roots and the fat of turtle and dugong. Pteropus, a giant bat very
[825]

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common in the Andamans, said by RADCLIFFE-BROWN (p. 273) to be eaten by the Andaman Islanders as a protection against rheumatism, is never killed. For some superstitious reason the Onge are simply horrified at the thought of touching such an enormous flying bat. Among the fruits, those of a plant whose wood has such a revolting smell that it is known, in English, as "stool-tree", are believed to have exceptional protective properties for the human body. The fruits themselves smell even worse than the wood, but this, to the Onge, makes them appetizing rather than disgusting. Concerning honey, and the many sugary fruits of the jungle that are available all the year round, the Onge luckily ignore the simple method of distilling alcohol. No intoxicating drink reaches Little Andaman from the outer world, whereas in Great Andaman alcohol, together with imported syphilis, was one of the main causes of depopulation. No syphilis appears as yet to have reached Little Andaman. This is also confirmed by the research carried out by Dr. HERMANN LEHMANN of London's St. Bartholomew's Hospital, during February 1953 in my Onge camp in Labanare (north-east coast of Little Andaman).

II. Effects on the People's Lives

The islanders die young, specially the men. The majority of them succumb before reaching the age of 20 ; most of the survivors die between 20 and 40 ; the rest – with a very few exceptions – before 50. Women, after marriage, follow a similar pattern : the death rate among women, however, is slightly different owing to a less corrosive sexual life. Some women may live to the age of sixty, but both sexes age soon, appearing older than their years when still in their twenties. The short Onge span of life recalls conditions which apparently prevailed among prehistoric and protohistoric men. Palaeolithic man died at an earlier age than modern man. The Onge today, in many respects, behaves as palaeolithic man behaved countless centuries ago. – Infant mortality is high ; the first five days of life are the most critical for the Onge, owing, in part, to the hard life led by mothers even during pregnancy, which often causes functional damage to the placenta. Delivery is generally easy and traumatic injury rarely occurs ; but premature births are common, and so are malformations and other anomalies. Imperfect infants are quickly eliminated by their parents. As a result, only a small number of children are allowed to grow up, but these appear normal. There are no blind and no deaf-and-dumb people in Little Andaman. I saw only two instances of incipient lameness : in an unmarried boy of about twenty and in a young married woman. Only robust infants can survive.

The Onge, so careful about their food, are completely indifferent to something else that is considered very harmful in continental and insular regions close to the Andamans. There, menstruating women are often segregated and considered harmful to the entire community. Not so in Little Andaman, where the remedies applied in the circumstance are extremely primitive (cf. supra) and could probably be traced to palaeolithic man. I saw nothing

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841 resembling these practices in any other part of the world. Never hitherto
171 described, they should be carefully considered. This would require a lengthy description, for which there is no space here. We may recall that menstruating Onge women are allowed to circulate freely at all times. An interesting detail
[751] is that the *naquinēghē* of first menstruations are worn by relations around their neck as having health-giving properties. The women, as we know, use special
841 soft, long leaves, collected for them by their husbands, as absorbents. They
[824] are the leaves of Myristica longifolia or of Tretanthera lanceofolia both species serving the purpose. They are applied under the *naquinēghē* and drawn back between the legs to be secured above the buttocks. – Sexual intercourse is
[834] forbidden during the menstrual period even by the Onge : illness – a swelling
[753] of the arms or legs – would follow. A curious theory about the reason for menstruation in very young girls is that it is a result of previous sexual contacts stimulated by nose rubbing – the Onge substitute for kissing. They ignore the
892 unhygienic practice of kissing with the lips, and never even kiss their children. Only nose rubbing is practiced. The anatomical structure of the Onge nose, which almost totally lacks nasal bones and is very fleshy, may explain this transference of sensation from nearby regions, i. e. the lips.

844 Births take place in the forest and are surrounded by no hygienic precautions or disinfection as conceived by us. Clay is applied to stem puerperal bleeding, without provoking infection. The only assistant is the pregnant woman's husband, and sometimes one or two old women. Their ability equals that of a herdsman delivering his goat of a kid. No inconvenience arises, in either instance, from lack of precautions. – The tiny, tender and graceful bodies
[751] of Onge infants are smeared with ochre and light-coloured clay for hygienic purposes. This is done immediately after birth, and affords some protection against the teeming legions of mosquitos and ticks that plague Little Andaman. The infant is never washed in water, not even at the very moment of birth. The placenta is buried 30 or 40 cms deep, under the bed of naked branches upon which the mother delivered her baby.

842 An argument that deserves much attention concerns the possible link
143 between lack of hygiene and sterility among the Onge. A vast number of married couples have no offspring, thereby threatening their group with extinction. Consanguinity could be given as a cause : let us examine it. No doubt the Onge are related to each other as a consequence of long interbreeding in their island with no foreigners admitted. These conditions afford an ideal field for studying the effects of endogamy on man. Nowhere in the world, as far as I know, are a people so isolated as in Little Andaman. Inbreeding has existed at 100 % ever since remote times. In other words, the Onge would seem to be the most highly inbred human population known up to the present. Could this fact alone, aside from unhealthy habits, explain their present widespread sterility ? Special
174 studies on the subject should be undertaken, keeping in mind that the Onge have certainly inhabited Little Andaman for thousands of years, on the evidence of my excavations in their kitchen-middens.

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Endogamous life, or the habit of never washing even the female genital organs, cannot be the only cause of Andamanese sterility. Alcohol and venereal diseases such as syphilis may only be a complementary cause. The Onge's limited fertility probably derives from other factors besides their protracted and inceasingly strict endogamy. 842 [515] [582]

We can only remark that Onge women rarely become pregnant before 28 ; their fertility ceases around the age of 48. The high rate of sterility among Onge women after marriage (which generally takes place at the age of 14) is puzzling indeed. Of several childless couples that I studied in Little Andaman, the woman was under 28. There is hope of fertility after that age. It could so happen, for instance, in the case of two young Onge chiefs, Okkeggi and Chendubai, married to two sisters among the most beautiful and flourishing girls on the island : Ooaghēghē and Tocooaghēghē, both around 20. They never became pregnant, although menstruation was normal and they had plenty of sexual intercourse, even extra-marital. 842 147 [582] [837]

The delayed appearance of fertility in Andamanese women is probably connected with a general biological condition fostered by unhygienic habits. For instance : young Onge females have a high vagina acidity content that is certainly harmful to spermatozoa. It decreases with age, facilitating, we may suppose, fecundation. Vaginal washing would help, but the Onge women never recur to it. But this is only one side of the question. It is evidently urgent to do whatever is necessary to save the Onge from extinction. We must remember that civilized nations, through international agreements, are anxious to protect plant and animal species from disappearance. The same should be done for man, and equivalent international laws are needed. The Onge as a human group are on the verge of extinction ; but they still retain enough vitality to be rescued before they finally vanish into eternity. 147 515 161

Without enlarging here on the disorders of Onge sexual life and their dire effects also on the number of births, I wish to point out one more fact : Onge homosexuality as a normal occurrence. It is a plague in Little Andaman, helped by the regular physiological functions of both extremities of the digestive tube. The sexual tendencies that prevail in Little Andaman are a strong criticism of FREUD's theories on sexual life, but I will not discuss this here. I would rather say a few words about some opinions regarding the cause of Onge sterility that I heard expressed in the Andamans. Foreigners there ascribe it to the *naquinēghē* – the grass-like apron worn by women. Colonists believe that this garment leads to copulation from the rear, reducing the chances of fecundation. This idea is incorrect : the Onge never do this because the *naquinēghē* can be easily lifted as required, and pulled up over the abdomen. It is true that Onge women remove the *naquinēghē* only to replace it with a fresh one ; they wear it even when sleeping. Not for a single instant must women remain "undressed", for superstitious reasons. When a new *naquinēghē* is needed, the old one is furtively disposed of. Husband and wife repair secretely to a remote part of the forest, the woman slipping the new garment over her head before removing the old one, and burying the latter, which is quickly destroyed by white ants. The Onge believe that possession by a stranger of a worn 838 842 833 291 [513] [754]

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291 754 *naquinēghē* exposes the former owner to harm. Ill-disposed persons could use it for black magic practices. I collected specimens of this garment, all of them, however, brand-new – for the above-mentioned reason. To avoid trouble to the owner, nobody is allowed to touch the *naquinēghē*, which is worn in front of the vulva. To touch it is a deadly offence. Aside from the *naquinēghē*, Andaman 842 colonists attribute the natives' sterility to their abhorrence of salt. Another 263 opinion would have it that the lack of salt transforms human saliva into poison: the Jarawas, by spitting on their arrows render them poisonous. The absurdity of this belief is so evident that it requires no confutation. The Onge refuse to eat salt because they consider it unhealthy, or, to say the least, disgusting.

III. Illnesses and Onge Curative Methods

164 Few illnesses affect the Onge, but they succumb to those few with surprising speed. Often they become seriously ill for mysterious reasons and in spite of their robust appearance. Smallpox, tuberculosis and poliomyelitis are unknown in Little Andaman, although they sometimes strike in the nearby Nicobars. Measles broke out on the island on more than one occasion, killing off all the inhabitants of several communal huts, which I later found deserted and in ruins. With regard to syphilis, the Indian Census of 1931 quotes an old remark of PORTMAN's concerning a few individuals considered by him as infected. This was later denied.

Onge women are more resistant to illness than men. Wounds heal prompt- [752] ly in both sexes, without the aid of remedies. A few of the older men, however, had suppurating sores on their legs, slow to disappear even when disin- [123] fected and treated by me with European medicines. No similar sores were found on women. On the other hand, women suffer more than men from ringworm, mainly in the umbilical region. Nothing is done to rid them of it because the discomfort is slight. I suggested an Indian cure made with the leaves of the neem tree, or Melia azedarach, very common in Southern Asia where it is considered sacred. I imported the plant to Little Andaman, but [123] the Onge displayed no interest in it. I found a single instance of leucoderma, in a woman with whitish spots on her hands and lips. I could get no reliable information about the incidence of cancer, but it appears to be rare on the island. No baldness is to be seen in Little Andaman, and I found few traces of [142] greying hair, as the Onge die young. A transversal bregmatic furrow is noticeable [482] in all individuals, male and female, as a consequence of carrying loads hung from their heads by a strip of bark. The Onge start doing this in childhood. An artificial, unintentional deformation of the skull is the result of that uncomfortable habit.

751 For hygienic reasons the Little Andaman aborigines paint their bodies with 302 refined clay and ochre of various shades, mainly reddish. This gives the women [386] occasion to embellish the bodies of their husbands with an endless variety of geometrical designs. Every year I found changes in their patterns, and I

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documented the fact in a number of photographs. The purpose, however, is 751
purely hygienic : an unpainted body is, in their opinion, exposed to certain 302
illness. They explained this belief to me by saying that without paint the body becomes "hot". The men who travelled with me far from women were anxious every day to spread clay on face, chest and limbs, just to avoid "heat" or, in other words, fever. I thought of malaria, but they do not suffer from it. [162]
Of this I will speak later on.

Rough clay is applied daily, on infant bodies as well as on adults, for 751
health purposes. It is used to cure all kinds of sickness, together with ochre, 757
turtle fat and honey. Honey spread on wounds appears to hasten healing. [302]
Identical curative methods are employed in Oceania. They probably existed [854]
among the Tasmanians, and are still used in Australia by the aborigines. I [752]
found nothing of the kind in Africa, where honey is plentiful. The Onge consider clay, ochre, honey and turtle fat good for external and internal treatment alike – [171]
both preventive and curative. Powdered bees' wax of a dark colour is often [825]
added. I saw mothers give their children, as a laxative, a number of pills made of similar ingredients. No bigger than common hazelnuts, the pills are red [317]
and greasy. In Onge forests I saw some small excavations, a few feet deep, made to extract the medicinal clay from special ground pockets. In its natural [386]
form the clay is light coloured, powdery and free of stones. When it is burnt the colour changes, assuming red, yellow, whitish or black shades according to the different qualities used, all believed to possess healing properties and to ensure hygienic colouring of the body. Mixed as described above, clay is used by the Onge in every circumstance from fever to snake or scorpion bite, constipation, breast infection in women, or post-delivery bleeding.

Belief in the medicinal properties of clay is as old as humanity itself. 757
Even among contemporary European peoples, notwithstanding severe criticism, 171
clay is still honoured as health-giving, not, I must say, on wholly foolish 823
grounds. The Onge, who smear their bodies constantly with clay, have the [752]
softest, most velvety skin that I ever saw anywhere in the world. Wounds spread with clay mixed with honey and fat leave negligible scars. The laxative and germ-killing action of clay is admitted by physicians in many countries, including Europe. It never causes infection. Geophagism has ancient origins, and we find it practiced by many modern populations. Children of every race and all young wild animals lick clay instinctively to absorb the mineral salts required by a developing organism. The Onge habit of using clay for healing purposes can be set, therefore, in a very wide frame.

Mental and nervous disorders are rare in Little Andaman. Few natives 164
are subject to epilepsy – an important matter for the Onge : they consider 828
such people as possessed by spirits who speak through their mouths, and [158]
respectfully question them as oracles. Several Onge chiefs, such as Chief [622]
Tchôtā of Tambē-ē-buiē, are apt to go into trances that have all the appearance [787]
of epileptic fits. They were elected chiefs on the strength of their epilepsy!

Constant exercise keeps eyesight and hearing extremely sharp in the 164
Onge. I saw no single case of myopia or presbyopia among the natives, nor 151

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164 do they suffer from the eye infections that are so common in the tropics. Their
151 highly trained eye can distinguish at a great distance small vessels on the troubled waters of the sea that people with normal eyesight could not perceive without a telescope. Normal vision, I suppose, is the same for the entire human
123 race ; but we exercise our eyesight less. In the dark fastness of the jungle, the
151 Onge were able to point out birds sitting motionless high up in the trees, quite invisible to me notwithstanding my experience in collecting even the tiniest specimens. With their sharp eyes they sought out for me a collection of minute mimetic amphibians living far from the ground on tree trunks, previously unknown to science. The same thing often happened when I was unable to see as far as they did. The help of my savage friends was invaluable in avoiding the poisonous snakes that we met with daily in our camps or while travelling. For our protection, the Onge always marched in front of my men. They could discern reptiles hanging from branches among thick foliage, waiting to bite us on the neck, or lying perfectly still in the tall grass, ready to attack our legs. The only trouble we had with snakes was when the men I had brought from India, in moments of enthusiasm ran ahead into the interior of the jungle, eluding their Onge vanguard.

752 The Onge themselves, however, are sometimes bitten by snakes, with
123 dire consequences. Happily the Andamanese snakes are less deadly than the
[136] same species on the continent, and few deaths occur from snake bite ; but it can curtail a man's activity for several months. In March 1953 an Onge friend
[222] of about 25 who had climbed a tall tree to collect honey, inadvertently seized with his left hand a snake concealed in a tuft of creepers, and was bitten above the elbow. Frightful swelling ensued, together with shooting pains and a raging fever. The man was brought to me unconscious, his left arm had already assumed the appearance of a huge, rigid, elongated sausage. The Onge had smeared all his body, and particularly the wounded arm, with ochre mixed with honey, turtle fat and rough clay. They have no specific remedy for snake bite. It was too late, but in an attempt to save the patient an antiophidic injection was practiced on him. Within a few hours he appeared to rally. I saw him again after eleven days ; his arm had been treated in the Onge way and put in a sling made of ficus bark cut into narrow strips. Fever had disappeared, and in part also the swelling, so he could move his elbow a little. The skin peeled off the whole length of the arm. Where the fangs had entered the flesh two round, red, suppurating wounds, 1 cm in diameter, were discernible under a layer of clay and honey. The man recovered in about two months. During his
476 illness the people who shared his communal hut exempted him, his wife and his children from all work, and supplied them with all requirements. This occurs in every case of illness, showing the complete solidarity that prevails among those simple people – once considered ferocious. Always, if the wife is ill, the husband is automatically relieved of his hunting, fishing and food-collecting duties. Friends provide food for the family, no matter how many the members thereof.

164 In Little Andaman, we Europeans are constantly threatened with mala-
143 ria. Should we fail to take all necessary precautions we would catch it upon setting foot on the island. The Onge are all infected, but it does not upset

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them ; neither children nor adults have dilated spleens. Inhabitants of other regions where malaria incidence is high often show the same immunity, supposedly attained through local adaptation. Papuasians, Melanesians and Africans sometimes appear insensitive to malaria, although they all carry the germs of the disease. In opposition to their resistance to malaria, the Onge are vulnerable to minor lung infections and measles, which we would not consider serious. 164. 143

When fever occurs, whatever the cause, the Onge recur to their universal remedy : plastering the entire body with clay, ochre, turtle fat and honey. Legs, arms and trunk are swaddled in tight bandages made of strips of ficus bark. These bandages hinder superficial blood circulation. The strips are removed from time to time and replaced after vigorous massaging of the body with hands and feet. Stomach and chest pains, as weil as insistent coughing, are treated by stretching the patient horizontally on the ground and rubbing him energetically with hands and feet. The feet compress the body, with special attention to the affected part. The entire trunk is worked over in this manner, inch by inch, and the patient is carefully rotated until he has been completely turned around to receive treatment on all sides. This process lasts half an hour or more. It is a curious sight to see a man transformed into a kind of sausage, all tied up in strings and subjected to violent treatment on the bare ground, with a crowd of spectators surrounding him, obviously taking the whole performance quite seriously. The result is kill or cure ; the former helped, I should say, by rough treatment performed with the best intentions. 757

Exposure to hot smoke is another Onge cure for wounds and pains. I saw it applied, for instance, on Nabimbôi, the fat young wife of Maritôi, chief of Chemalē. She had scorched her right foot by stepping inadvertently on smouldering ashes. The pain made it impossible for her to sleep, so she was treated by covering the burn with the usual mixture of clay, turtle fat and honey, and exposing it to hot smoke. The smoke was provided by burning the fresh seeds of a creeper, each as big as a horse-chestnut and of the same colour, but of a lenticular shape. Incisions are made in the seeds to prevent explosion, and they are laid on the fire where they give out a thick smoke. The injured foot was held as close to the fire as possible. Recovery promptly ensued, but I would not swear that it was due to the treatment. 752

Fire is used by the Onge also against fever, whatever its cause. I shall quote an instance. On the night of 28 March, 1954, one of my guides, Toncootēi, a very intelligent Onge, suffered a strong attack of fever while resting in the Antiguēh communal hut in the interior of the island. I diagnosed the trouble as indigestion from immoderate guzzling of pork meat. Friends stretched Toncootēi on the ground, resting on his right side. Two lines of burning charcoal, set at right angles, outlined his back and head. Then one of the Onge started spitting on Toncootēi's hair. This was followed by vigorous rubbing of his scalp, with occasional pauses to seize his head and press it strongly with both hands. Following this, diluted ochre and clay – very hot – was spread on his thorax, throat and neck and rubbed in vigorously, whereupon the patient was brought closer to the fire. In the meantime a young fellow 757 372 123

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757 started slapping his hands on Toncootēi's and exposing them intermittently to
372 the fire. All this lasted over a quarter of an hour. The patient was then made
123 to lie prone, with his legs spread out, to receive a foot massage as described above, for another quarter of an hour. Torso, feet and hands were worked over, with short pauses for artificial respiration by means of compression. Subsequently his back, and particularly the sacral region, was vigorously rubbed by willing hands and feet. Three men performed this operation. Toncootēi was finally allowed to rest, between two fires kept burning all night. Sunrise found him alive, and the fever had abated, due, I think, to a good European laxative that I had persuaded him to take.

164 In March 1952, I witnessed a sad episode, followed by the death of
123 the patient, near my Labanare camp. A young mother was suffering from breast rhagades. Her baby was less than a month old, and she was also suckling
[862] another child, almost two years old, who had sharp teeth. It is a frequent
[597] kindly habit of the Onge to adopt babies ; and it is customary to breast-feed them up to the age of four. Some interesting consequences arise out of this habit, but I shall not analyze them here. A minor detail : since they are allowed to suckle when they wish and are weaned so late, Onge children do not indulge in thumb sucking. Considerable reactions are spontaneously established between the two terminal parts of the digestive tube – oral and anal, as though in physiological conflict. Once more I affirm that the evidence of Onge sexual
[864] behaviour positively denies Freudian theories with regard to the sexual life of children. Furthermore, young anthropoids and primitive people behave identically in this respect.

164 The adopted baby gave the young mother nipple wounds that became
123 infected and suppurated. For lack of proper care and in unhygienic surroundings, the infection spread to the rest of her body. I found her suffering terribly
752 from pain in the breast, muscular spasm and high fever. The Onge had applied their usual external remedies to her body, from head to foot. Very tight bandages of ficus bark, renewed three times a day, were wrapped arounds legs, arms, trunk and abdomen. Bright red ochre – rare in Little Andaman and considered more effective because of its brilliant colour – was painted onto the afflicted breast. The poor young woman looked at me hopefully. I suggested her immediate removal to Port Blair Hospital, and sent radio messages from my camp to the Chief Commissioner, Mr. A. K. GHOSH. He responded generously by ordering a ship to call for the patient, but the journey was useless because her relations were opposed to displacing her. In March 1952 my friendship with the Onge was only starting ; this will explain their refusal to follow my advice. Without proper care, in a place like Little Andaman, the patient died four days after my arrival at the camp.

756 Prescription of medicines and treatments such as those described above
[759] is not determined by specialists. Everybody submits to treatment, with general approval, convinced of its effectiveness. Witch doctors do not exist and perhaps never existed in the Andamans. Nothing, then, is known by the
755 Onge of the dances and exhibitions, commonly executed elsewhere for curative
757 purposes, that influence the patient on a psychobiological basis. As they have

no specialized physicians, the Onge do not understand that payment can be 757
exacted for medical care. This stems from the fact that wages are not con- 465
sidered by those happy people as payment for any kind of work whatsoever, 123
but only as a gift. I realized this when I tried to pay my guides after our extenu- 431
ating marches through the jungle : in order to avoid offending the natives that
we had casually met in the course of our trip, I had to give equal reward to
everybody.

The Onge consider some men or women better endowed than others with 753
anti-malefic influence ; but these too neither demand nor receive wages for [756]
their services. Evil spirits or evil persons are believed to be principally responsible for illness. A series of superstitions and remarkable habits derive from this belief. The above-mentioned precautions concerning the *naquinêghê* are among them. For identical reasons they carefully hide hair cuttings, but not nail [515]
parings, for the simple reason that nails are never cut but worn down by digging for edible roots, fishing, and other rough work. Superstition, as we know, is also the reason for painting the body to prevent fever and other ills.

In the depths of their jungle the Onge appear to practice some kind of witchcraft. On several occasions I noticed the mysterious behaviour of some 789
natives travelling with me. Occasionally a man left our marching column to examine the inside of a huge hollow tree and signal to his friends. They did not prevent me from looking into the hollow, where I saw only a simple structure of short sticks resembling a trap without being one. The Onge do not use [224]
traps ; moreover, those structures were far too flimsy to catch anything. Often, two or three men assembled in consultation, rearranged the sticks that had probably been dislodged by the passage of lizards, crabs or other small animals, and walked away silently. I could get no explanation on the matter. Certainly the Onge are sagacious observers of animal and vegetable life and have deep knowledge of their hidden properties. Some trees are probably used for magical purposes, but, I insist, it is impossible as yet to affirm it. The structures in question consisted of four vertical sticks, about 30 cms long, joined at the top by four more sticks of approximately the same length, placed horizontally. The result was a box-like frame, loose and unsecured. The slightest disturbance, such as a light breeze, could destroy the flimsy construction. As far as I could guess they invested those structures with curative properties, but in what manner remains a mystery. I noticed analogous practices among Central [171]
African Pygmies and other primitives.

It is very clear that the Onge dread illness and magic spells, for they 754
consider themselves at a loss in fighting such evils. Unhygienic habits are of no 751
importance to them.

Resting is considered favorable to good health. The Onge indulge vo- 517
luptuously in rest, interrupting it, however, with too frequent sexual excursions. 751
They mainly rest from doing nothing, because 90 % of their time is spent in 461
what, for them, is the most agreeable manner of enjoying life.

In mid-March, when the honey harvest reaches its peak, the Onge guzzle 262

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262 immense quantities of it together with pork. I was with them three times when this recurred, so I could observe their behaviour exhaustively. With their
577 bellies full, the natives rest. Their only activity is body painting, performed by
302 the women on the skin of their peacefully sleeping husbands. Designs change
178 from time to time as I said before, according to the women's inventiveness. Each family challenges the others in renewing their patterns. The best are later reproduced until the next change. From year to year I noticed no real evolution in this rudimentary art, but a cyclical fashion, with temporary preference, in males and females alike, for some geometrical designs, unconnected with whatever kind of food they had been eating. This contradicts the published af-
114 firmations of several authors, who allege that the Andamanese paint special
302 patterns in special colours for different kinds of food. There is nothing more false, at least with reference to the Onge. Merry feasting, whether on pork
[262] turtle, dugong, fish or honey, leads to a period of rest and body decoration –
[751] always in similar patterns and colours – with the unique purpose of preventing illness. We might say that painting the body is equal to cleaning it, but this
[515] is quite unintentional. A curious exception to the Onge's filthy habits is the
264 practice of sweeping the floor after solemn banquets in communal huts. The surface of the floor consists of unpacked earth hardened by casual tramping.
356 When it is dry, sweeping raises a heavy dust that fills the hut to the ceiling.
342 It deposits there on the wooden beams where the Onge like to store cooked
251 victuals. So they eat their food, as I said before, coated with dust, no matter
262 how thick. A brush without a handle is used to sweep the floor ; it is 80 cms
412 long and no thicker than a man's wrist. It is one of the nicest tools made by the Onge, and consists of strong, hard, elastic palm fibres bound together with strips of rattan. The dirt is simply thrown out all around the hut, by pushing
356 it under the roof mats that never reach the ground.

These notes offer a first glimpse into a peculiar aspect of Onge life. It is
114 to be deplored that these vanishing people have not yet been exhaustively studied, notwithstanding their anthropological interest and high biological significance.

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[Title page]

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7:Sarkar D-4, 5 (1948) 1960 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

Onge Population and Settlements. — Introduction. — Since the opening of the Andaman sub-station of the Department of Anthropology, Government of India, the Little Andaman Island has been visited several times by anthropological experts but the sum-total of knowledge has been rather meagre. We have not yet been able to know accurately the total Onge population. The recent paper by CIPRIANI [1] (1956), on the other hand, gives a hitherto unknown picture of the biology of the Onge population. The latter appears to show, as will be obvious from the data presented below, a high masculinity while CIPRIANI's method of population census shows high feminine population. 162 114

Earlier Data. — In a discussion of this nature we can leave aside the Onge population *estimated* at the decennial Censuses and take into account those actually seen and counted. In 1911 the number of Onges actually seen comprised : 161 162

adult male	118,	adult female	78
child male	62,	child female	28
	180		106

thus giving a total of 286 individuals. This shows a 10.20 % excess of males in the case of adults and an excess of 18.89 % males in the case of children.

During the Census of 1921, a total number of 99 individuals was counted at the following places :

	Rutland Island	Tochiewe	Toibalawe	Teresadda [2]	Total
Adult male	27	6	6	5	44
Adult female	18	–	5	3	26
Child male	8	1	3	5	17
Child female	8	–	2	2	12
	61	7	16	15	99

Eighty Onges were counted in 1911 on Rutland Island, which number decreased by about 24 % to 61 in 1921. No Onges were reported from the same island during the Census of 1931 and at present there appears to be none, either. The details of the 80 Onges reported in 1911 are unknown.

The Rutland population of 1921, however, shows an excess of 10 % adult males while the child population shows the two sexes in equal numbers. The total population, actually seen in 1921, shows an excess of 12.86 % adult males while it is 8.62 % in the case of children. Compared with the 1911 population it appears that the adult male excess has increased by 2.66 % in 1921 while the child population shows a favourable decrease by 10.37 %.

Recent Data. — On February 25, 1948 during the first trip of the Department of Anthropology [3], 38 individuals were counted before the communal hut of Tambebui, which comprised 17 adult males, 15 adult females and 6 children, 4 males and 2 females. The higher number of males among both the adults and children is apparent in this small sample. The above 38 individuals comprised 4 persons, 2 males and 2 females, from the communal hut of Laito, which had been visited by the above party the day before. The total population of the communal hut of Tambebui is probably 34, which is in striking contrast to the population of 4 souls for the communal hut of Laito.

GUHA also mentions the January, 1949 trip by the Department of Anthropology into Hut Bay, towards the south of the island, where 11 individuals, comprising 2 adult males, 6 adult females and 3 children (sex not mentioned) were seen in the local communal hut. The latter contained 9 sleeping places only.

The 1952 and 1953 parties of the Department of Anthropology were led by LIDIO CIPRIANI. His account is difficult to follow. There are very few relevant data regarding [114]

[1] LIDIO CIPRIANI, Report on a Survey of the Little Andaman during 1951-52. Bull. Dept. Anth. 2. 1956, pp. 61-82. [113]

[2] So spelt in the 1921 Census.

[3] B. S. GUHA, Report of a Survey of the Inhabitants of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands during 1948-49, I. Calcutta 1952, pp. 1-7. [113]

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161 the actual Onge population. He has estimated the population instead of giving a simple
162 population figure for each of the Onge settlements he visited. His estimates are based
114 on the number of sleeping places in a hut, though nothing definite could be found either with regard to the total number of communal huts or the sleeping places. Then, to find out the sex of the individuals from the sleeping places seems preposterous. CIPRIANI (1956) estimates the total Onge population to be 607, comprising "229 adult men, 241 adult women and 137 children". He was able to determine the sex of the children in about 80 % of the cases, since immediately after the above quotation, he states: "Of the latter 48 are boys, 42 girls, and of 27 sex could not be ascertained". In the same paper and just two sentences before, where he gave the above figures, he mentioned a total of 497 individuals, comprising 242 men and 255 women. If the latter figures are meant only for adults then with the addition of 137 children to the above adult population of 497, the total Onge population appears to be 634. Even then the discrepancies in the adult population remain to be explained; it adds up to 470 (229 males, 241 females) once and to 497 (242 males, 255 females) another time.

The only thing that has some value in the demography of the Onges is that he has collected personal names of 107 adult males and 105 adult females. It is not known why the children have been excluded. At any rate, the personal names indicate a slightly higher number of males (50.5 %) than females while the total estimate for adults shows a hitherto unknown Onge sex ratio. With an adult population of 229 males and 241 females, the sex ratio works up to 48.7 % males and 51.3 % females.

Population estimates are always hazardous and, from all reports, the Onges appear to be a dwindling population. R. F. LOWIS, the Census Superintendent for the Andamans during 1911 and 1921 was frank enough to admit in 1921 that his 1911 estimate was "too high", though he gave one for 1921.

It is surprising that neither the Andaman Government nor the Department of Anthropology provided CIPRIANI with an assistant, trained among aboriginal people, who could have been of much help to him. At least the Onges could have been counted in each of the localities visited.

361 **Settlements.** — The typical Onge settlement is the communal hut, which is
[342] usually located on the beach. CIPRIANI mentions the communal huts in the interior of the island, but does not describe their details.

During the 1911 and 1921 Censuses coastal trips round the island were made and the former Census provides a very good map with the names of twenty settlements
[103] scattered on the island. The names are: 1) *Tambeibui* [4], 2) Uede, 3) *Nachuge*, 4) Tochiewo, 5) Tochengedu, 6) Quoname, 7) *Geejege*, 8) *Ingoi-tijala*, 9) *Endea-geleda*, 10) To-to-bwe (unoccupied), 11) *Titugalute*, 12) *Toibalawe*, 13) Tordeada (unoccupied), 14) *Kwante-tu-kuage*, 15) Koreale, 16) Porale, 17) *Chetamale*, 18) *Titaiye*, 19) Ogechai, 20) Obate.

The names of the settlements visited during the 1921 Census are given at the beginning of this paper. It was also mentioned that 14 huts were seen in comparison to 19 (this will probably be 20) in 1911. The names of 15 settlements could be gathered from the Census Report of 1931 and the 10 settlements italicized above can be rather easily correlated with those of 1911.

114 CIPRIANI's map is again difficult to follow. Firstly, he has not given any idea of the
361 medium of language by which he communicated with the Onges. He has located in his map 18 existing coastal huts, of which the name of one between Otirubara and Benyaboi is missing. The position of the "supposed" huts within the jungle is misleading. Was he equipped with surveying instruments? Then he mentions 11 huts which are "no more in existence". How were they recognised? In what earlier context have they been identified as such? Only five of the eleven names (Obate, Palalankwe [or Kwalalaoque, according to CIPRIANI], Ogechai, Ingoi-tijala and Chetamale) could be correlated with earlier records. Of the 20 coastal huts listed by him four (Nachuge, Geejege [or Gaje, according to CIPRIANI], Titaje and Tambeibui) could be correlated with the names of the 1931 Census map.

[4] So spelt in the 1911 Census.

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and seven with those of the 1911 Census. The total number of twenty existing huts, however, agree in both CIPRIANI's map and the 1911 Census map; only names differ. It would have added greatly to our knowledge had CIPRIANI based his investigations on the 1911 Census map and commented on each of the place names given therein. He also mentions two huts in ruins besides eleven "no more in existence". There is no mention of any newly built hut. All this proves the decadent condition of the Onges. The coastal huts are probably more numerous than those within the jungles and their total number appears to be constant both in 1911 and in 1953. 114 361

The Onges have, in recent years, been visited so many times by anthropologists that a well-directed effort could have brought the whole population into a few genealogies — an elementary task in anthropology. 114

Postscript. — CIPRIANI has now (1959) published[1] the Census figures of the different communal huts. Instead of clarifying the earlier anomalies stated above, his recent population figures have raised further complications, as will be discussed below. 161 162

CIPRIANI now (1959) mentions in a footnote on p. 89 of his paper that 125 individuals, comprising 48 adult males, 44 adult females, 22 boys and 11 girls, *have beds in different communal huts*. He gives a total population figure of 394 (130 adult males, 129 adult females, 65 boys and 70 girls) obtained by actual Census from 21 communal huts. To this total figure of 394 he adds another total of 175 individuals (adult males and females 74 each, and 27 children, the latter shown as "males" on p. 90 but as "siblings" on p. 76) estimated for another 7 communal huts. Thus according to a Census of 21 huts and an estimate of 7 others, CIPRIANI now finds a total Onge population of 596, in comparison to his earlier variable figures stated above. There is no attempt to explain the discrepencies in the population figures. It is also unknown why the population of the 7 huts could not be censused, although all of them were visited between March 22 and April 4, 1953. 114

It is now apparent that his method of Census of the Onges is untenable since about 31.7 % (125 out of 394) of the population have beds in different communal huts. This is in harmony with the roving nature of the Onges, but it shows that only about one third of the population is migratory and about two thirds sedentary. This is probably not true for the Onges. At least, the fixed nature of beds in the communal huts loses its significance and is probably an uncertain criterion for an Onge Census. [361]

As to a recalculation of the Census figures for each of the 21 huts, it is seen that the total population appears to be 382 (129 adult males, 126 adult females, 64 boys and 63 girls) instead of 394 given by CIPRIANI. This definitely shows high masculinity not only among adults but also among the children. With an adult population of 129 males and 126 females the sex ratio works up to 50.6 % males and 49.4 % females, the excess of 1.2 % being statistically significant.

In the present publication CIPRIANI has published personal names of 133 adult males and 140 female adults, but the Onge habit of frequently changing names, mentioned by him on p. 70, has not been substantiated. Since the same issue of the journal contains an anthropometric study of the Onges, in which names of the individuals measured were noted, it would have been worth while testing how far the Onges practise the above custom. As will be obvious from the foregoing as well as from this P. S., CIPRIANI has not started with the known to unravel the unknown. [553]

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[1] L. CIPRIANI, A Survey of Little Andaman during 1954. Bull. Dept. of Anthr. 3. 1959, pp. 66-94. [113]

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sedentary existence based on primitive agriculture, and abandonment of a nomad life as gatherers of wild sago and other forest products ... Although agriculture is now important, there is no doubt that the Sulungs are at heart food-gatherers and hunters, who infinitely prefer a nomadic life in the forest to the more sedentary way of life they are now taking to .... There is a good case for assuming the Sulungs to have been entirely sago-gatherers when they first came under outside domination: borne out by their own traditions that they learnt cereal cultivation from the Daflas, by the identity of technique with that tribe, and above all by their being at the present day at a stage transitional between the practice of fixed cultivation and that of food-gathering".

STONOR thought that the Sulung "are probably the only people of Mongolian stock on the Asiatic mainland who still maintain an economy based largely on food-gathering and hunting", and that "they may well be the most primitive of Mongolian tribes surviving anywhere". This is, of course, an error. Apart from the Raji of Kumaon, who are in a transitional stage to a certain extent comparable to that of the Sulung, we know the mongoloid Phi Tong Luang or Yumbri of northern Siam, who are still pure primitive food-gatherers and hunters. It is precisely their wide distribution which gives these small scattered tribes particular importance, since it sheds some light on the racial history of southern Asia and on the early cultural stages of the great mongoloid race.

STONOR estimates the number of Sulung at perhaps six or seven thousand.

CHRISTOPH VON FÜRER-HAIMENDORF, *Culture Types in Assam Himalayas*, Indian Geographical Journal, Vol. XXI, No. 2, 1946.

C. R. STONOR, *The Sulung Tribe of the Assam Himalayas*, Anthropos, Vol. XLVII, 1952, pp. 947—962.

Andaman Islands

The ten tribes of the Great Andaman group are practically extinct as a result of their contact with civilization. At the time of Dr. B. S. GUHA's visit, in 1948, only 31 persons survived. We are fortunate in having two outstanding monographs on these tribes, EDWARD HORACE MAN's *On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands*, first published in the "Journal of the Anthropological Institute" in 1882, and later as a book, and A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN's *The Andaman Islanders*, Cambridge, 1922 (2nd edition 1933). Yet, it should not be forgotten that MAN, although an excellent and conscientious observer, was not a trained anthropologist, and that at the time RADCLIFFE-BROWN was in the Andamans, 1906 to 1908, the native population had shrunk to a fraction of its original size,

114 while its culture was already in the process of disintegration.
[161 Moreover, MAN dealt almost exclusively with the South Andaman
182] tribes, mainly with the Aka-Bea, while RADCLIFFE-BROWN's researches were centered mainly on some of the northernmost tribes. As a result, not all the tribes were given equal attention. This is regrettable since their religious concepts and myths were by no means uniform. Therefore one cannot say that our information about the ten Great Andaman tribes is as full and up to modern standards as would be desirable. There is, of course, no more hope of ever filling the existing gaps in our knowledge. It is the more necessary that the still relatively intact groups of Andamanese be thoroughly studied before it is too late.

Ongi (Onge)

161 The Ongi of Little Andaman owe their survival to their isolation
[101 and to the fact that they remained hostile until the end of the 1880's
648] and even thirty years ago were not yet considered as quite reliable. Nevertheless, their numbers are constantly decreasing as the following estimates in the various Census Reports seem to indicate

1901 . . . 672
1911 . . . 631
1921 . . . 346
1931 . . . 250

161 Of course, these figures, being mere estimates, are not reliable,
114 and the last two are too low. As Professor LIDIO CIPRIANI of Florence, who spent many months with the Ongi in 1952, 1953, and 1954, kindly informed us, he came to different results. In his letter, dated May 2nd, 1958, he writes:

" I visited all communal huts with aim of taking a census of the Ongi. Every family has a bed in a communal hut, i. e. a kind of 'ritual' bed on which they marry and under which they are buried when they die. I prepared a list of persons using each bed. This added up to about 500 Ongi, but I saw less than 200 of them. The majority is still very shy and, when approached, ready to disappear into the jungle. The names of the absent persons were given to me by other Ongi. I left this list of personal names with the Department of Anthropology, Indian Museum, Calcutta, but kept a copy".

161 This would seem to indicate that the situation is not quite as bad as appears from the Census Reports. But even so, it is very serious and is constantly deteriorating. The Census Report of 1931
[164 says that "the numbers decrease year by year mainly from infection
182] such as influenza introduced at times of contact with civilization. Some septs have almost completely disappeared during the last years".

In a recent paper Dr. N. DATTA-MAJUMDER, Director, Department of Anthropology, Government of India, writes: 163

"From a study of 34 Onge families contacted by us, it is found that the average size of the family is only 3.15. Thirteen families out of 34 are childless. That is, 38.2% of the married couples are sterile".

When, in 1946, proposals were made for undertaking work for the amelioration of the conditions of the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands along the same line as had been done among the Bhil and other tribes of Central India, Dr. B. S. GUHA, at that time Director of the Department of Anthropology, very reasonably observed that "the problem of the aborigines of the Andaman Islands is not the same as that of the other primitive tribes of India", and that "the need among them is not so much the spread of education and social uplift as the arrest in the decline in population which has been most alarming". 648 161 177

The Ongi have been in sporadic contact with the outside world for many years. They have been visiting Port Blair, particularly since some of them moved to Rutland Island on the southern tip of Great Andaman. This contact with civilization was bound to affect their material culture, as well as their whole mentality. We may again quote Dr. DATTA-MAJUMDER who says: 177 166

"As a result of this long contact the Onge have already come to appreciate a number of foreign articles, for example, tobacco leaves, tea leaves, sugar, matches, aluminium utensils and implements made of iron (especially bill-hooks and files). In order to secure these articles, they often barter away their valuable honey and shells. The afore-mentioned changes in material culture have at present touched only the fringe of Onge culture. But the demand for these articles (especially tobacco leaves and safety matches) is becoming so great that Onge culture is likely to be vitally affected in the near future". 276

Dr. DATTA-MAJUMDER came to the conclusion that "the hunting and food-gathering Onge culture, which had been an autonomous cultural system in the past, is now breaking down". 22 182

The Ongi were repeatedly visited by government officers, but the resulting information is paltry. PORTMAN spent several months among the coastal groups of Little Andaman in 1886 and 1887 and collected a few hundred words of their language. In 1901, C. BODEN KLOSS visited a group of Ongi on Rutland Island and one on Little Andaman, both only for a few hours. At some time between 1906 and 1908, A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN went to Little Andaman for several weeks and made a preliminary study of the Ongi language. In 1928, EGON VON EICKSTEDT spent a few weeks among the Ongi on Rutland Island and visited briefly several groups on the coast of Little Andaman for the sake of physical anthropological research. 114

114 Brief reconnaissance tours among the Ongi were made by Indian anthropologists in 1948 (Dr. B. S. GUHA and assistants), 1949 (Dr. A. K. MITRA and assistants) and 1955 (Dr. N. DATTA-MAJUMDER). Professor LIDIO CIPRIANI is the only scholar who engaged in prolonged research among the Ongi of Little Andaman, and this not only on the coast, but also in the interior of the island. In March, 1952, he crossed the island from the East to the West Coast. He was again among the Ongi from February to May, 1953, and from February to May, 1954. A brief report on his 1952 and 1953 expeditions was published in the Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology, Calcutta. He is planning to publish his results in a book. In 1953 and 1954, he was accompanied by a young Bengali, Mr. PRONAB GANGULI, who collected about 400 Ongi words.

[124] When all of Professor CIPRIANI's results are published we shall, no doubt, be well informed about the Ongi's physical anthropology, their material culture and such aspects of their customs as can be observed without a knowledge of their language and without an adequate interpreter. However, as he himself remarks in the letter mentioned above, "the barrier of language makes it difficult to analyze many Ongi facts". Therefore we cannot expect a deeper insight into the Ongi's social organization, religion, myths and customs.

[161] To sum up: We are confronted here with a group that is in danger of disappearing in the not very distant future. It may survive [182] for several decades in ever diminishing numbers, but its extermination may at any time be accelerated by epidemics. Moreover, its culture is already beginning to undergo substantial changes and may disintegrate very fast. If ever there was a case for urgent research, it is that of the Ongi. When, in the Census Report of 1931, BONINGTON observed with regard to them that here "a vast field of research awaits the anthropologist of the future", the Director General of the Census, J. H. HUTTON, significantly added in a footnote: "Provided, that is, that the Onge survives long enough".

The task is not only urgent, but unusually promising. An ambitious and well trained anthropologist who decides to spend the necessary time among the Ongi of Little Andaman will find an almost virgin field of research and one of the most archaic cultures still extant, a culture which, though already threatened. is at present still essentially intact. He can be sure that his researches, if properly done, will yield results of the first importance which, when published, may rank with EDWARD HORACE MAN's and RADCLIFFE-BROWN's classic works on the great Andaman tribes.

[124] Dr. CIPRIANI's experiences show that a prolonged sojourn on Little Andaman is perfectly feasible. The greatest obstacle to

fieldwork among the Ongi is the language problem. Dr. DATTA-MAJUMDER writes: 114 124

"It should be noted that very little information about the social organization of the Onge has been gathered so far on account of the barrier of language. Not a single interpreter knowing Onge language is available. We came across only two Onge men who knew just a few words of Hindi as a result of their occasional visits to Port Blair".

This was confirmed by Professor CIPRIANI who, in his letter, also mentions the two Ongi who know a little Hindi and adds: "No real Ongi interpreter is, as yet, available". RADCLIFFE-BROWN's experience had been similar. He found only two Ongi men who knew about 20 words of Hindustani.

PORTMAN seems to have been more fortunate in 1886—87. He mentions having had Ongi interpreters. These may have been members of a group of eleven persons who had been captured in the Cinque Islands, between Great and Little Andaman, in 1885 and who had been brought to Port Blair. It would be of great help for anthropological research if a few Ongi could be induced to stay some time in Port Blair and to learn either Hindi or English. In any case, however, an anthropologist wishing to do serious work on Little Andaman will have to remain long enough on the island to acquire sufficient knowledge of the language. He could prepare himself in advance for this task through a thorough study of the available literature on the Great Andaman languages (MAN, PORTMAN, TEMPLE, BASU). Although the languages are different, they are related, and their structure is probably more or less similar. For the Ongi language itself, we have only RADCLIFFE-BROWN's "Notes on the Languages of the Andaman Islands", the list of Ongi words in PORTMAN's "Manual of the Andamanese Languages" (1887) — which RADCLIFFE-BROWN found "of no service whatever" — and a vocabulary of the Ongi language, compiled by M. C. C. BONIG in 1903 and published in Port Blair. 114 122 197

M. C. C. BONIG, (Vocabulary of the Onge Language, exact title not available), Port Blair, 1903. 113

Census of India, 1901, Vol. III, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by R. C. TEMPLE, pp. 91—95 (PORTMAN's report), 117—120 (language).

Census of India, 1911, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by R. F. LOWIS, pp. 6, 27—29, 81—82, 88.

Census of India, 1931, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by R. F. LOWIS, pp. 2—5, 14—15.

Census of India, 1931, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by M. C. C. BONINGTON, pp. 8—11, 16—19, 22.

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B. K. Chatterjee, *The Onges of Little Andaman*, Vanyajati, Vol. I, No. 4, 1953, pp. 86—93.

B. K. Chatterjee and G. D. Kumar, *Hunting and Fishing Appliances of the Onges of Little Andaman and their Affinities with the Negrito Races*, Vanyajati, Vol. II, No. 3, 1954, pp. 79—82.

Lidio Cipriani, *Report on a Survey of Little Andaman during 1951—53*, Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology, Vol. II, No. 1, Calcutta, 1953, pp. 61—82.

N. Datta-Majumder, *Onge Culture in Transition*, Bulletin of the Institute of Traditional Cultures, Madras, 1957, pp. 7—10.

Egon Freiherr von Eickstedt, *Die Negritos der Andamanen*, Anthropologischer Anzeiger, Vol. V, No. 3, 1928, pp. 259—268.
Ethnographische Studien unter andamanesischen Negritos, Ethnologischer Anzeiger, Vol. II, No. 2, 1929, pp. (77)—(90).

B. S. Guha, *Reports of a Survey of the Inhabitants of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands during 1948—49*, Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology, Vol. I, No. 1, Calcutta, 1952, pp. 1—7.

C. Boden Kloss. *In the Andamans and Nicobars*, London, 1903, pp. 32—43.

A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *Notes on the Languages of the Andaman Islands*, Anthropos, Vol. IX, 1914, pp. 36—52.
The Andaman Islanders, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1933, pp. 413—415, 419—422, 436, 439—440, 461—463, 481—482, 484, 491.

Randhir Kumar De, *The Onge of Little Andaman*, Vanyajati, Vol. V, No. 1, 1957, pp. 12—17.

Jarawa

101 Although the Jarawa inhabit the jungles of South and Middle [197] Andaman, they do not belong to the Great Andaman group of tribes, but are culturally and linguistically related to the Ongi. It is assumed [174] that they originally came from Little Andaman. The Jarawa owe their survival to their having remained isolated as a result of their [698] implacable hostility toward the British (now Indian) colonial settlement. Information on their raids and the punitive expeditions against them will be found in the respective volumes of the Census of India. [161] In 1931 their number was estimated at either 70 (Bonington) or 120 (Hutton). Their culture conforms to the general Andamanese pattern, but differs in various respects from that of their former neighbours, the extinct Great Andaman tribes. Except for their communal huts and such of their material possessions as were found during punitive expeditions, practically nothing is known about it. Our knowledge of their language is restricted to lists of words col-

8t Heine-Geldern & Hohenwart-Gerlachstein E-4 (no date) 1958
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Our knowledge of their language is restricted to lists of words collected from captive Jarawas by COLEBROOK in 1789—90 and by PORTMAN in the 19th century. 114 648

Research on the Jarawa would by highly desirable, but will be impossible as long as they remain hostile.

Census of India, 1901, Vol. III, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by Sir RICHARD C. TEMPLE, pp. 4, 52—53, 68—90, 117—121. 113

Census of India, 1911, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by R. F. LOWIS, pp. 7, 31—39, 82—83.

Census of India, 1921, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by R. F. LOWIS, pp. 5, 39—43.

Census of India, 1931, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by M. C. C. BONINGTON, pp. 8—9, 15—16, 23.

A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN, *Notes on the Languages of the Andaman Islands*, Anthropos, vol. IX, 1914, pp. 38—39.
The Andaman Islanders, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1933, pp. 86, 410, 413—415, 423, 432—433, 439—440.

North Sentinel Island

North Sentinel is an island of about 30 square miles west of the southern tip of Great Andaman. It has been briefly visited by Government officers on various occasions, but it seems that no contacts were ever made with the natives, except on December 27th, 1886, when the Ongi, who accompanied PORTMAN on his trip, "caught" some of them (Census of India, 1901, p. 92). From PORTMAN's report it does not become clear whether or not he saw these temporary captives himself. Our knowledge of the culture is restricted to a few observations on their material possessions. The communal huts differ from those of the rest of the Andamanese. The canoes differ from those of both Great and Little Andaman, but are more like those of the latter. The bows resemble those of the Jarawa and Ongi. On the basis of this it is assumed that the natives are related to the Jarawa and Ongi, but PORTMAN's Ongi companions are said to have found that the persons whom they had caught talked "an entirely different language". 101 131 648 197

In 1901 the number of the natives was estimated as 117. This estimate was based on the area of the island and the assumption that the density of the population was approximately the same as that of great Andaman in precolonial times. The figure was not changed in either 1911 or 1921. In 1931 the number was estimated as 50 "on conclusions arrived at from several visits during the last decade and after counting the number of huts found and the sleeping places", but it is said that this does not necessarily mean a decrease in population. "It is believed that the population is stationary, for 161

161 the Sentinel islanders have been kept free from direct contact with civilization".

114 181 [48] In the Census Report of 1931 it is said that the natives "like the Jarawas are entirely hostile", but no reason is given for this statement. Previous visitors found them exceedingly shy, but not hostile. When seeing foreigners, they simply fled into the jungle. M. C. C. BONIG who visited North Sentinel Island on the 10th of March, 1911, in the course of that year's Census operations, wrote:

"The people appear very timid and it seems not unlikely that if they are approached frequently with presents, they will become friendly of their own accord".

114 No information on North Sentinel Island more recent than the 1931 Census Report has come to our knowledge. If the situation has not changed since then, the culture of its natives should be completely intact and untouched by outer influences — a unique case among the primitive tribes of southern Asia. Here, therefore, is a truly ideal opportunity for anthropological research.

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Census of India, 1901, Vol. III, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by Sir RICHARD C. TEMPLE, pp. 4, 92 (PORTMAN'S visit).

Census of India, 1911, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by R. F. LOWIS, pp. 28—29 (BONIG'S Report).

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Jarawa

[P.690]

The Jarawa of the Andaman Islands

By S. S. Sarkar (Calcutta)

Introduction

101 131 The Jarawa of the Andaman Islands are confined along the western coast of South Andaman, where their movements are restricted – roughly speaking – between Port Anson on the north and Constance Bay on the south (fig. 1). They are also reported from the southwestern part of the island of Baratang – an island completely separated from South and Middle Andaman. The latter group must, therefore, use some kind of watercraft to cross over from one island to the other. The extreme northern tip of the South Andaman [501] Island was until recently used by the Jarawa for crossing over to Middle Andaman through the two intervening Islands of Spike and Bluff with the help of bamboo rafts (Sarkar, 1954). This route has now been checked owing to the establishment of a police picket on Bluff Island.

101 131 The Jarawa also appear to have used some sort of watercraft to migrate into North Sentinel Island in the distant past. Their craft may have been similar to the outrigger canoes described by Bonig (1912) on the occasion of 501 his visit to this island. The distance from Port Mouat to North Sentinel is about 24 miles and although Bonig says that "the boats are not very seaworthy" this distance must at one time have been crossed by the ancestors of the present-day inhabitants of North Sentinel Island. Bonnington (1932) used the term Sentinelese for them, while Lowis (1912, 1923) preferred to call them Jarawa. It appears from what little is known about them that they are more akin to the Jarawa of South Andaman than to the other Negrito groups. No canoes are reported from among the Jarawa of South Andaman ; it appears that the bamboo raft is enough for their transport on water. The Jarawa [184] outrigger canoes of North Sentinel Island, which Bonig mentions as somewhat different from those of the Onge or the Andamanese, indicate a somewhat higher cultural status of the former as compared with the groups living on South Andaman.

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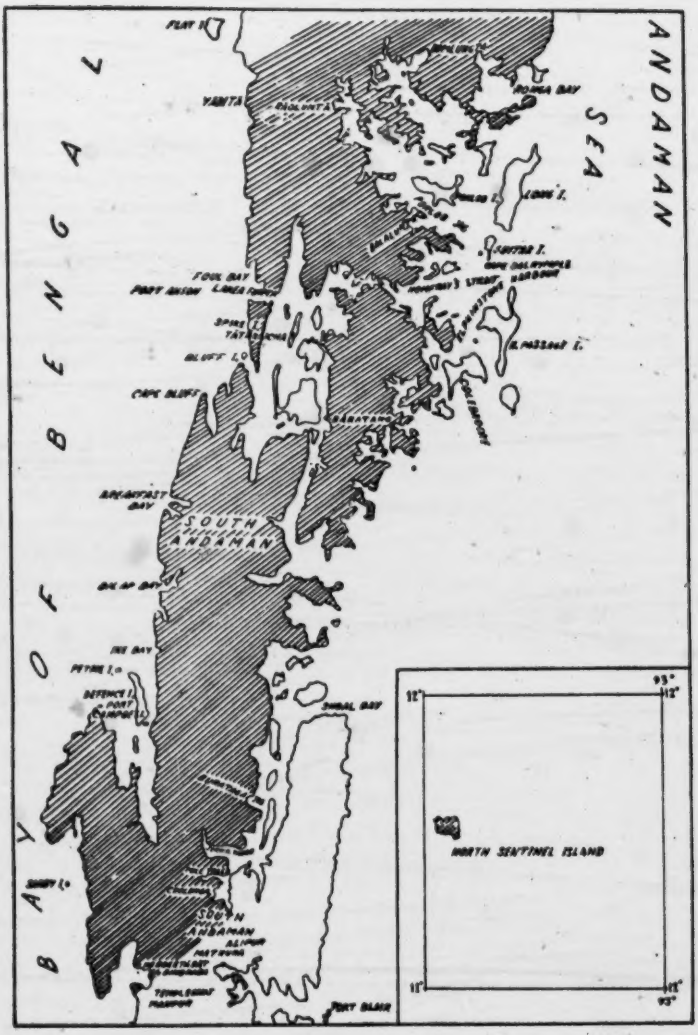

Fig. 1

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The North Sentinel Jarawa

648 175 The taming of the South Andaman Jarawa has been a moot problem of the local government in view of their occasional raids on the forest camps and offices. On this score the North Sentinel Jarawa appear to have an important function. Nothing is known of the length of their isolation on this little island of about 15 square miles but it is probably unaffected by the punitive expeditions, that are undertaken from time to time by the local government against the South Andaman Jarawa. When BONIG and his party landed on the west coast of North Sentinel Island on March 9th 1911, they were not received with volleys of arrows, but instead the "eight men on the beach and another five in two canoes" disappeared in the jungle. The same was true of those seen previously on the east coast. BONIG and his party visited some huts, which [342] were of the lean-to type, and also went some miles inland without being troubled. BONIG therefore rightly concludes the following:

"The people appear very timid and it seems not unlikely that if they are approached frequently with presents, they will become friendly of their own accord. If this fails the small area of the island and the open nature of the forest would also make it easy to capture some, and after kind treatment let them go again".

000 As far as the present writer's knowledge goes this method has not yet been tried, but its utility lies perhaps in taming their South Andaman congeners. They could be made to settle round Port Campbell and other suitable areas on the west coast. A few communal huts built according to the plan and style of the South Andaman Jarawa should first of all be provided. They should be given all chances of expanding their population. Such an opportunity they are likely to seize if they suffer in any way from population pressure or from shortage of food and shelter. If their canoes are not seaworthy they should be provided with suitable water transport so that there may be frequent intercourse between the two islands.

The South Andaman Jarawa

114 Although no systematic ethnographic studies on the Jarawa have been undertaken, RADCLIFFE BROWN (1922) gave sufficient hints regarding the unity of the material culture of the Negritos as a whole. Physically they belong to the Negrito race, as can be seen from the few natives captured from time to time by the local government (SARKAR, 1952). The punitive expeditions 648 have also brought to light some important facts of their material culture.

342 Thus, during the punitive expedition of March 1911 (LOWIS, 1912) near Pap-lunta-jig a big communal hut was found which had been erected on the ridge of a hill and which measured 45′ × 30′ × 15′. It was raised high above the ground and was supported by a number of stout piles. The structure [184] was different from the Onge communal huts in that the floor was raised, while in the latter the floor is just the surface of the earth. The eves of the Onge communal hut touch the ground.

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Jarawa

Another item of material culture found during the above expedition was a few unbaked pots which show that the Jarawa manufacture earthenware articles – an art not reported so far from among the Onge. Coiled pottery was known among the Andamanese (MAN, 1932). It can be found in the Andamanese kitchen middens as well. 323

The present writer had the opportunity of being twice after the trail of the South Andaman Jarawa in the year 1948. During these two tours a large number of ethnographic objects of the Jarawa was collected. They are now deposited at the office of the Anthropological Survey of India [1], Indian Museum, Calcutta. 126

It was known that the Jarawa were using Bluff and Spike Islands as temporary halting stations in their to-and-fro migrations from South Andaman to Middle Andaman. In September 1938, a pregnant Jarawa woman and four young children (SARKAR, 1952) were captured while they were crossing on a raft on the coast off Bluff Island. A few of their haunts were known to the then officers of the local forest department. 166

In 1948 while the present writer was camping at Long Island, studying the Andamanese, two such opportunities of visiting the Jarawa areas arose. The presence of the Jarawa north of Port Anson was reported to us. We left for Port Anson in a motor launch on March 7th 1948, in the company of an Andamanese – whose canoe was tied behind our launch – under the leadership, of Mr. Joseph, the then Sub-divisional Officer of the forest department. We had one gun only and a *dao* (billhook) each. 123

We passed through Homfray Strait and, reaching Port Anson, we went along the western coast of Middle Andaman. We then anchored our vessel off Foul Bay and came ashore in the Andamanese canoe. This flat open coast is known to be a good place for deer hunting and the animals could be seen from the sea. When the deer were not seen from the canoe we presumed that some human beings had been there shortly before; we suspected them to be Jarawa. Soon we discovered on the beach small footprints, which both Mr. JOSEPH and the Andamanese recognized as Jarawa ones. We traced them inside the jungle and came across a small fire which was still smouldering. A few yards away we found two bags for carrying water made of leaves (fig. 2) which were still wet. The few drops therein tasted sweet. We walked about for some time since the footprints could no longer be traced. There seemed to have been only two people. We then came to Bluff Island along the east coast of Spike Island but found nothing of the Jarawa. [415] [415]

Fig. 2

[1] Thanks are due to its Director, Professor NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE for his kindness in helping the writer with the illustrations of this paper.

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Jarawa

123 The second trip was made on March 12th 1948. Our party included Mr. JOSEPH and Mr. POOVIAH [1], both Sub-divisional Officers of the forest department, one Burman bush police and four Andamanese with their two canoes tied behind our motor boat. We followed the same route from Long Island and, reaching Spike Island, we anchored at its northeastern corner. We came ashore in the canoes. The beach was small and rocky. Part of it was sheltered on one side by huge rocks behind which the Jarawa were known to waylay those approaching from the sea. So we landed very cautiously. Just at [501] the outskirts of the jungle we saw huge bundles of short bamboo lengths tied to [824] one another and piled up in a heap. It was a Jarawa raft. Near the bamboo pile were three crude paddles split from the spadix of the palm called *Nipa fruticans*. We were all the more careful in our approach.

[361] Soon we came upon a clearing in the jungle. There was no Jarawa, but all around we saw traces of a temporary halt of a large party. We counted nineteen [342] fireplaces. At a distance from the fireplaces we saw a small temporary hut improvised out of the materials available on the spot. Two small shrubs were [622] tied together on two sides to form the roof of the hut. The Andamanese identified it to have been made for the Jarawa chief and his wife. Household objects lay scattered about. Three bamboo cylinders, closed at one end by the natural node, were found next to three of the fireplaces. They are used for carrying water. A dark coloured modern glass bottle, probably acquired during a raid, was also found. One fireplace had a small compartment enclosed by a few wooden posts a few yards off. The Andamanese identified it as an enclosure for keeping a child at a safe distance from the fire. This was probably correct as there was also a baby sling made of bark, exactly similar to that used by the Onge for carrying a baby on its mother's back (VON EICKSTEDT, 1934, fig. 211). At one corner of a fireplace the shavings of an arrowshaft or a bow were seen and nearby was a flat round pebble, one end of which was broken like that of a scraper (fig. 3). This scraper showed marks of red ochre on it. Beneath a tree a circular mat, sewn out of three pieces of long triangular palm-like leaves was spread out, while on its branches was found a beautiful specimen of an unstrung bow. It appeared to have been recently prepared and

[415] [824] [412] [177] [415] [354] [417] [855] [854] [412] [412]

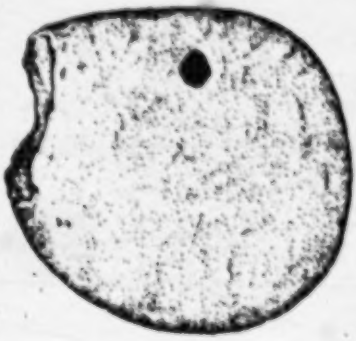

Fig. 3

[1] These two officers captured two Jarawa males, one adult and one boy, on October 19th 1948 on Spike Island. They were brought to Port Blair, wherefrom they managed to escape at night.

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Jarawa

123 411 painted with red ochre. It was perhaps left there for drying. The Jarawa would surely have returned just for this bow!

It was a straight piece of wood tapering at both ends. The outer surface was convex and was painted red, while the inner one was straight and smooth, and showed criss-cross designs and indentations. We then went to look for a 123 spring and found it at some distance behind a steep rock but there was no [312] water then. It appeared that the Jarawa had left this camp some time ago.

We then left Spike Island and sailed for Yeratia Jig. Here an old kitchen [172] midden was known to be another Jarawa haunt. No Jarawa was found even there, however. The kitchen midden was a mound strewn all over with animal bones. Fragments of typical Andamanese pottery and a blue stone bead were discovered there.

648 In recent years the Jarawa raids have been rather more frequent. [721] GUPTA (1955) has given a list of them in his report on these people. It is believed that the primary cause of the restlessness of the Jarawa is the shortage of game and other food material [3]. On the other hand the tribe appears to have been sufficiently provoked by the punitive expeditions. All the Jarawa villages that the punitive party came upon were burnt down. In the encounter of March 1911 a woman was captured alive and nobody knows what happened to her afterwards. The pregnant woman captured along with four children in 1938 off Bluff Island later on gave birth to a boy (SARKAR, 1952, Pl. IX, fig. 3) at Port Blair but it was difficult to tame her. After her delivery she attempted to swim away and was rescued from the sea. She would spend hours climbing a cocoanut tree. Her whereabouts were unknown during the Japanese occupation of the Andaman Islands during the last war. The young children were sent to the Mission at Car Nicobar, where the present writer studied them in 1948. One of them had died before.

726 On the other hand the Jarawa raids, according to the then executive [714] Government officers, are also very brutal. Before they go out for a raid the [302] Jarawa cover their chests with bark armour and paint their faces with patterns of white clay. The bark armour is stitched securely on the body by other persons and can only be removed by cutting off the stitches. These people [727] are in the habit of mutilating their victims. They take out their brains, their eyes, and their bodies are hacked all over. – The type of arrow they use is [411] almost a spear, as may be seen from fig. 4. This arrow was obtained by the present writer from the forest department officers of Long Island in 1951. It was used injuring a bush police officer of the night picket unit at Lakera Lunta in January of that year. The police, in return, shot one Jarawa dead. 726 The male nurse of the Long Island Hospital took the following body measure- 141 ments of this dead man:

Height ... 5 feet 1 inch
Chest ... 36 inches

Fig. 4

[3] They have of late been reported from about the region of Bomlungta, Rangat Bay, etc. on the east coast of Middle Andaman. (The spelling "Ronga Bay" on the map is incorrect.)

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Jarawa

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Right arm ... 2 feet 4 inches
Right index finger ... 4 inches
Right toe ... 2 inches
Length of right leg ... 2 feet 11 inches
Length of right foot ... 9 ½ inches

726 411 177 The iron blade of the arrowhead is 17 cm long and 4.9 cm broad at the base. It is mounted on a wooden shaft 86.7 cm long. The barb at the base consists of an ordinary iron nail which is bent at its sharp end and fixed with bark threads impregnated with resin. It must have been obtained from a forest camp during some raid.

726 114 According to GUPTA (1955) the above mentioned incident was not a premeditated raid. He thinks – after a careful inquiry into the above incident – that the Jarawa "came out in the open, early in the morning and walked right into the camp and did not attempt to shoot, [which] would warrant a presumption that they meant a friendly visit".

648 Since the last few years the Andaman Government has not encouraged any punitive expedition among the Jarawa. This is also evident from one of the Senior Officer's opinion quoted above. The forest workers, on the other hand, still have to face the Jarawa. They think that since no punitive action is taken against them they are gradually getting bolder. It is reported that the Jarawa beat the trunks of trees within their hearing. Consequently all these buttress beatings are immediately reported to the higher authorities and armed guards protecting the forest workers are alerted. If that is the case then the Jarawa do not attack without a warning! But who knows what they really mean? Do they want to communicate with us? Or is it a means of communication among themselves?

The Jarawa Problem

648 114 It has already been hinted at the problem of taming the Jarawa. It was one of the special aims of the Government of India to arrange a substation of its Department of Anthropology. As a result of this the present writer visited the Andaman Islands twice and was of the opinion that the substation of the Department of Anthropology should be stationed at Long Island and not at Port Blair. There were no express plans but to carry out anthropological studies of the aborigines of the various islands. It has not yet been possible to census the friendly Onge properly (SARKAR, 1960).

The primary desideratum appears to be a knowledge of the native language. As far as the present writer knows, there is no one in the various Government departments who is acquainted with the Andamanese language, 500 not to mention the other languages spoken on the varius islands. The Onge

* A Jarawa vocabulary was collected from the captive pregnant Jarawa woman by Mrs. CHENGAPPA and Mrs. CHAUDHURI, and it has been published by the Andaman Government.

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Jarawa

language could have been learnt by now since they are friendly. There has not been any attempt to communicate with the Jarawa [4] through the medium of the Onge language, which could be tried with the help of loudspeakers installed at suitable places in reply to the buttress beatings of the Jarawa. Prior to this an aerial survey of the Jarawa villages or camps would be necessary. Some food, clothing or other such articles might be air-dropped during this aerial survey. Along with the articles to be air-dropped some pictures showing symbols of friendship, such as the Andamanese and the Onge way of sitting upon one another's laps, might be included. Some pictures showing the Indian manner of greeting one another, for instance that of saluting each other with folded hands, might also be considered.

The local government appears to be very much in favour of capturing the Jarawa alive and then letting them off with presents after kind treatment. Since the capture of the Jarawa from South Andaman is not an easy problem – as may be seen from the Census Reports of the last sixty years – we might try this method of approach with the Jarawa of North Sentinel Island, where such captures appear to be comparatively easier.

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Land & People OF THE ANDAMANS

(A Geographical & Socio-Economical Study with a short account of the Nicobar Islands.)

BY

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[Introductory, P. ii]

FOREWORD

Shri Probhat Kumar Sen, M.SC. has brought out an interesting monograph on the Land and People of the Andamans based on his field work for a number of years. As a post-graduate student Shri Sen selected this area for geographical study and prepared a thesis for his Master's degree. This appears to be the revised and detailed version of his thesis. The Andaman and Nicobar islands are in the Bay of Bengal, and prove to be an ideal spot for rehabilitating surplus population of India, provided it is done on a planned basis, keeping an eye to the potential wealth of the islands specially in its virgin forests. Shri Sen has referred to the salient features of the regional geography of the islands and traced the growth of population in these islands since the eighties of the last century.

I hope that this important treatise will focus the attention of all concerned to this relatively unknown underdeveloped islands, which have immense possibility of playing an important role in the economy of India.

Dept. of Geography
Calcutta University
11th May, 1962

S. P. CHATTERJEE

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PREFACE

The dearth of literature but considerable curiosity about the islands because of the presence of the aborigines, the development of the penal colony and in recent years the colonisation of the refugees, have inspired the author to write a geographical treatise of these islands covering almost all their physical and socio-economic aspects. The interest of the author about these islands of course dates back to some 8 or 9 years for preparing a thesis about these islands as a part fulfilment of his M. Sc. course and the author with the limited time and money made some personal enquiries for the collection of data and the assessment of the situation. The access to the data and the other research materials and the visits to the different parts of the islands were possible through the kind permission and help of the-then Chief Commissioner Sri S. N. Maitra, the Forest Officers, the Head Master of Port Blair High School. Dr. L. Cipriani besides a host of other officers and friends in the islands and also at Calcutta. However the ultimate preparation of the thesis became possible for the kind guidance of Dr. S. P. Chatterjee, Head of the Dept of Geography, Calcutta University. 114 121 122 128

Anybody faces a tremendous problem in conducting a thorough survey of the islands arising out of the poor communication facilities both on land and water, and more so on account of the very few literatures on the islands. The author cannot demand a thorough enquiry in all parts of the islands and his analysis of the different aspects has been derived more from the conclusions of sample survey. 114

Though a long time has elapsed since the preparation of the thesis in the year 1955, the author has been, on the whole, eager to incorporate all the latest informations of the islands. The present book is partially a reproduction of his previous thesis with some additional facts and informations and the objective of such changes has been to prepare a comprehensive geographical treatise rather than focussing one particular aspect as was done in the thesis i.e. the colonisation problems of the islands. Besides this, additional chapters on the aboriginal population, the overall assessment and also a geographical account on the Nicobar Islands have been added. The Nicobar Islands, though form only a sidelight of the book, also command a separate geographical treat- 128

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128 ment because of the altogether different character of the islands. In spite of such a distinctness in the geographic personality of the Nicobar Islands, only an introducing chapter has been given.

Never the islands with an area of 2508 square miles and with no fabulous wealth can be a land of Aladin's Lamp but the multiplicity of interest of the islands make them extremely interesting.

The book is published with the idea of providing a reference on all aspects of the islands, not only for the general readers but also for the research workers. If this book serves a little in removing the dismal obscurities of the islands by way of serving as a ready reference of the islands, the author will no doubt feel complacent.

Academic help and advice have been obtained from a large number of persons. For the preparation of the study on the aboriginal population, the author owes his debt of gratitude to Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose and Dr. S. S. Sarkar who have so kindly rendered their valuable help and guidance in this connection. Many of the photographs have so kindly been given by A. S. I. for incorporation within the book. The help, co-operation and suggestions have been derived from such a large number of persons that the author owes a tremendous debt of gratitude to all of them. Last but not the least, the author extends his sincere thanks to Sri G. R. Bhattacharyya for undertaking the pains of this arduous task of publication which has been continuing for a fairly long time.

PROBHAT KUMAR SEN

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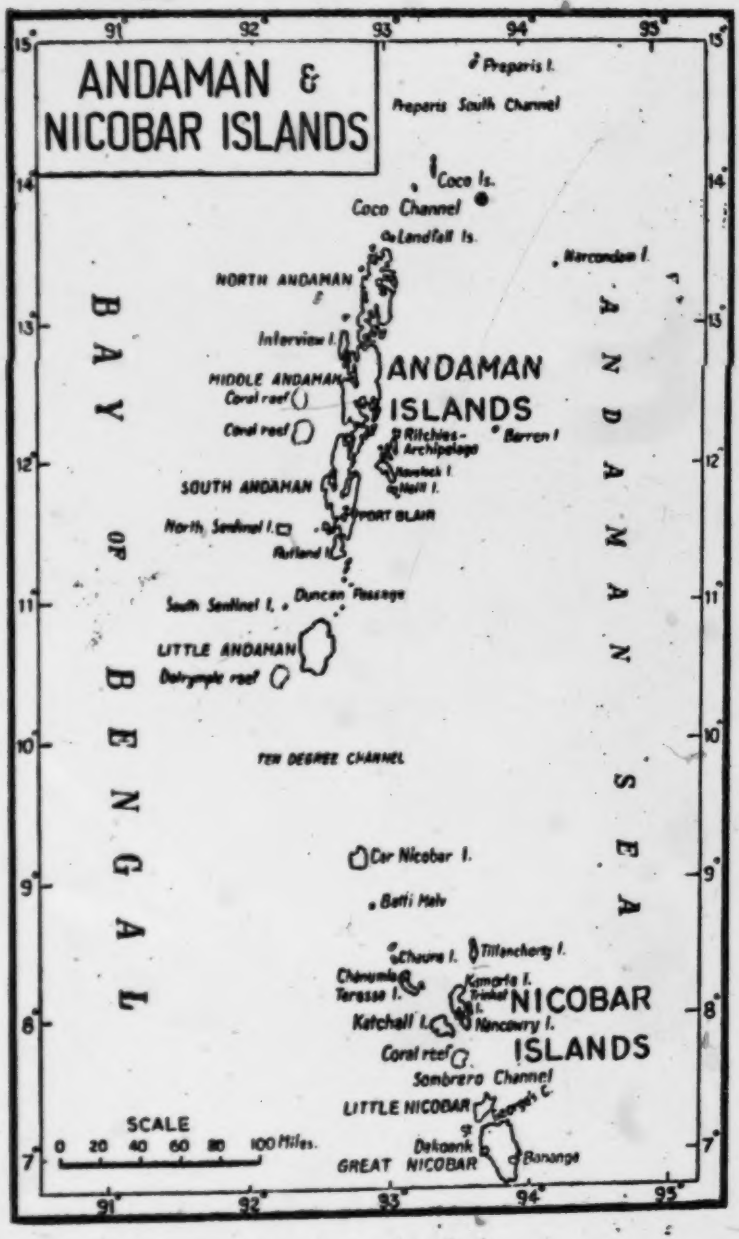

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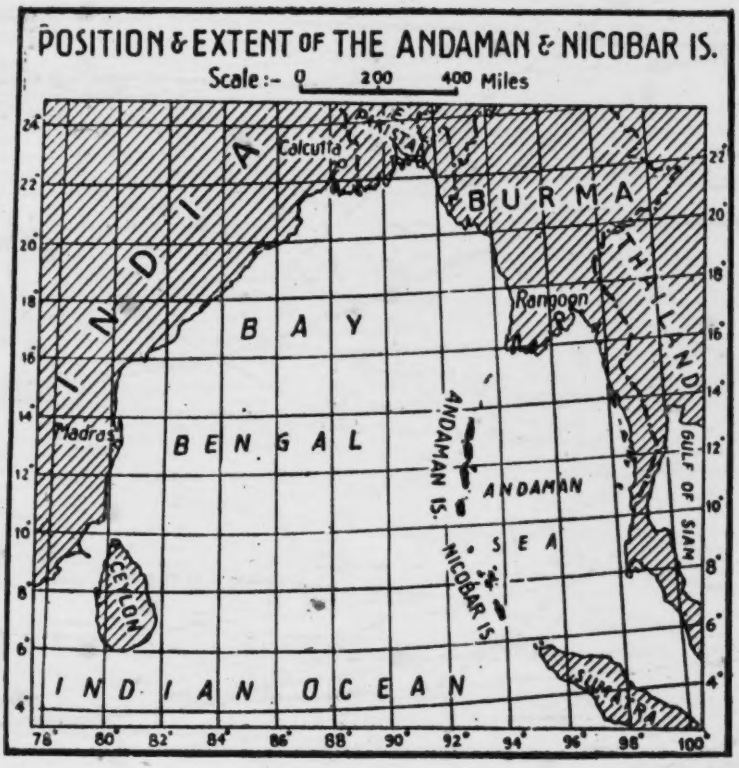

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INTRODUCTION

A group of north-south running islands as they are, the Andaman Islands have as many as 204 small islands where the impact of civilisation and growth has been little and the human history has been one of stagnation rather than of chequered career. Being a land of aborigines, the foreign intrusion has been quite feeble though mention about these islands is found in the early records of the travellers. Though the knowledge about the islands is derived from the notes which date back to 2nd Century A.D., the contacts with the foreigners have been all the time transient and extremely feeble. Before the formation of the penal settlement, the islands have been known as an island of horror because of the presence of such tribal people who would eat up the man they encounter and as regards the wealth there has been imaginary illusion, sometimes being called as the Island of Gold. The historical record of the islands which can be built with a fair degree of precision is since the formation of the penal settlement. There has been the search for resources as well as their exploitation. However, all the attempts for finding minerals and the geological explorations have shown the possibility of the existence of some poor quality coal, copper etc. Virtually there has been a conspicuous lack of efforts for the development of the islands. The penal settlement which grew up in Port Blair did not have any considerable influence on the overall development of the islands. Nevertheless with the more intimate knowledge about the islands, the forest exploitation had increased and the land around Port Blair was cleared for agriculture. The little amount of agriculture that was started and fostered by the local-borns in and around Port Blair never expanded considerably and it remained confined to a few areas of South Andaman only. The aborigines were very much widespread and in the beginning they had exercised hostility and arrogance which had in course of time given place to a very friendly and amicable terms with some of the tribal groups i.e. the Onges and the Andamanese. The Jarawas, however, still now maintain their hostility and the attempts for bringing them under amicable terms have so long proved futile.

175 135 311 311 101 648

Nothing more deserves a special note in the islands than the aboriginal population. Because of the insular nature of the islands, the aboriginal population is considered to be one of the purest type though the foreign intrusion has brought about an extremely rapid impoverishment and decay only during the last few decades of contact with these aborigines.

161 177 182

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161 Of the two main groups of aborigines, the Great Andaman Group and
177 the Little Andaman Group, the former being the most widespread and
182 numerous in the Great Andamans has become completely non-existent depicting the example of the decay within an extremely short time, especially since the impact of the foreign people. The fate of the later group is also quite shattering—the Jarawas have experienced both numerical decay and territorial shrinkage and the Onges are the only tribes who live exclusively in the Little Andaman but they have been also facing the signs of decay.

133 A glance at the map of the Andaman islands and adjacent countries shows the continuity of these islands with the Arakan Yoma of Burma in the north and with the Indonesian islands in the south. The islands of both the Andaman and Nicobar groups are primarily of sedimentary formations of the Eocene period with occasional igneous intrusions. Later formations of coral are also quite widespread. The surface topography of the regions is typically flat-topped being typical of the sandstone regions and the peaks are in most cases formed of igneous intrusions. The islands are comprised of a number of longitudinal ranges running from the north to the south and in between the ranges short streams flow. The heights of the hills are generally 1000′ and never exceed 2500′.

132 The islands experience a high annual temperature and the yearly rainfall is as high as 130 inches in Port Blair and the amount decreases as one moves to the north and the east. The ameliorating influence of the sea is quite appreciable.

131 With an area of 2508 square miles and the number of islands being as many as 204, only 4 main islands, North Andaman (490.20 sq miles), Middle Andaman (561.00 sq miles), South Andaman (359.51 sq miles) and Little Andaman (289.90 sq miles) have an area of more than 100 sq miles and the rest are sufficiently small in size either to command human settlement or economic activity.

101 The economy of the tribal people is of the primitive form of hunting and collecting though the precise modes of living vary to some extent depending upon the nature of environment under which they have to live. The knowledge of distribution and of actual number of these aborigines is far from accurate. The Andamanese were the most widespread in all parts of the Great Andamans and in the South Andaman they (Aka bea) had to remain vigilant against the possible attacks and territorial expansion of the Jarawas. The Andamanese, as said earlier, have completely died out. The Jarawas, though have dwindled to a negligible number,

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have been pushed into the western jungle infested areas of South Andaman by the foreign settlers and even now attempts of establishing contacts and maintaining good will have proved completely futile. The Onges at present, inhabit the island of Little Andaman, 40 miles from South Andaman and they have come under very negotiable and friendly terms. A detailed account of these aboriginal population has been given in a chapter on the aboriginal population.

Leaving aside the aboriginal population, the islands are being inhabited by the local-borns or the Andaman Indians who have settled in and around the urban centre of Port Blair. The convicts of the penal settlement have settled in these areas by bringing their family members from the mainland or by getting married with the convict women and to-day they are the Andaman Indians. The Andaman Indians drawn from different parts of India and having different languages have become an integrated homogeneous community with Hindi as their spoken language and Urdu as their written script. Such a formation of homogeneous community is verily an example of fusion of different groups under a geographical setting with a common economic and social background. These people shared the major merit of development of the islands. Though agricultural development was attempted, it remained confined to a few areas only. The Andaman Indians being mostly non-agriculturists have shown a reluctance to agricultural practices which is evident from the gradual inflow of these people from agricultural to non-agricultural pursuits, especially in the Government services. The absence of any genuine attempt, to a great extent because of the lack of Government help, has told immensely on the relatively poor development of agriculture. These people are getting fairly educated at Schools in Port Blair and have the collegiate education in the mainland. The educational attainments have, however, been quite upto the satisfaction of meeting the demands of the institutions at Port Blair and in the islands.

Apart from the aboriginal population, a few groups of Bhantus and Mapillas, two criminal tribes of India, and a few Burmans and Karens have settled in the islands. Excepting the Karens who have settled through free enterprise in the north of Middle Andaman, all the groups were brought to the islands to serve the terms of their conviction. However, all these groups have settled quite peacefully in the islands with agriculture as their basis of economy. A limited number of people come to the islands for serving in the administration but they have no interest to settle in the islands and even to-day, the service in the Govt. offices

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563 is made lucrative by way of giving an additional allowance of 33.3% to the basic salary in the islands. The lack of social and cultural developments coupled with the remoteness of these islands still now provoke this apathy. Since the independence, the colonisation of the uprooted East Bengal refugees together with some people from South India is being implemented. An appraisal of the resources of the islands shows the possibility of the development of agriculture with rice as the staple crop, as is common to tropics and on account of the hilly terrain and the vegetative cover, the area of the agricultural development is not at all considerable but quite sufficient for 5000 families. Of all the three main islands, the North, Middle and South Andamans, Middle Andaman offers the maximum potentiality by virtue of the bigger area, presence of a number of river valleys and absence of any other settlement of the later settlers or aborigines. Next to it is the North Andaman and lastly the South Andaman though it seems to be the most lucrative of all the islands. The response of the refugees in the beginning of the implementation of such a programme has been poor which largely owes to the lack of knowledge about the islands, the long distance from the mainland and also due to their being a land of aborigines and penal settlement. However the improved knowledge and the personal acquaintance with the islands have proved a long way in dispelling those aweful ideas. A new chapter in the history of the islands has opened for such enterprises which aims at an all-round regional development simultaneously with the agricultural settlement.

563 648 For such a small group of islands the cultural diversity is quite conspicuous arising out of the settlement of a heterogeneous group of people coming from different parts of India and also of some from Burma. Though circumstances have played a great role in bringing about a homogeneity, a precise observation shows their distinct characteristics. The aboriginal population has, however, become an object of academic study only and the few of them, the Jarawas, the Onges and the Sentinelese, who are surviving need a deeper intimacy with the civilised people but so far except the Onges such efforts have not proved successful. The penal settlement which ultimately gave way to the development of settlement in South Andaman did not prove very envigorating for the lack of Government help, co-operation and imbalanced sex-ratio. The demographic characteristics have been dealt in details in the chapter on the later settlers and show how much imbalanced it is for the successful growth of population. However the agricultural settlement of the refugees obviously paves the way for a healthy development of the population and

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simultaneously with it a successful all-round regional development of the islands. 563 648

The resources of the islands having a small areal extent are very limited though the forest and sea products are fairly rich to deserve special mention. The presence of a variety of valuable species of timber in these islands has led to their exploitation since the development of the Penal settlement. The important species of timber found in the Andaman forests are padauk, garjan etc. In the previous decades, the forest exploitation was never associated with a commensurate amount of forest regeneration. Such policies are being followed at present for saving the forest resources from ruthless exploitation without any adequate means of ensuring a perennial supply of timber by systematic regeneration. The recent colonisation scheme has invoked the enquiry for the clearance of the forests. Andaman forests being rich in timber and also being the only major revenue earning source of the islands should by no means be ruthlessly cleared for settlement. Not only it depletes the forest resources but also degenerates the soil—the soil erosion being the immediate victim after such clearance of forests. Considering the primary importance of the forest resources of the islands, it seems to be a plausible agreement that at least 50% of the land should be reserved under forest cover and a further curtailment from this percentage will undoubtedly lead to serious consequences of the soil simultaneously with a great decrease in the resources of the islands. 313

The sea products range from a wide variety of products from sea shells to sea fisheries. The collection of sea shells is in vogue from a fairly long time and the sea fisheries, mostly being confined to the coastal areas, is conducted by the fishermen and the tribal people for their own consumption. There is a good deal of possibility for furthering the development of marine fisheries on a commercial scale but the lack of enterprise and capital investment has not given rise to any appreciable development. The only two enterprises of the fisheries are those of Trochus and Turbo shells by the Japanese during 1930-36 and another enterprise by a business concern in 1947. Even the present catch from the coastal areas amount to only 300 lbs., a considerable lag from the demand within the islands. 226 228

The means of earning livelihood in the islands were hunting and collecting by the aboriginal population who have not even to-day learnt the techniques of domesticating plants and also animals except the Onges who have domesticated the dogs very recently. The penal settlement and the subsequent expansion of the administrative seat at Port Blair 222 224 231 563 241

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241 gave way to the development of agriculture over an extremely limited
563 area in South Andaman — paddy cultivation and coconut plantations have succeeded quite well. The plantations of rubber, tea and coffee also developed in the South Andaman over very small areas but ultimately did not prove very successful, partially due to the lack of adequate care. Simultaneously with the settlement of the refugees, new areas are being brought under plough which had never been interfered with human hands. The growth of agriculture based on rice cultivation together with vegetable gardening, development of orchards, coconut cultivation will bring about self-sufficiency of the islands and make the people self-supporting.

Industrial development of any big scale cannot be foreseen except the lumbering industry because of the lack of resources, power and also of any appreciable home market. Besides lumbering, the fishing industry, if properly co-ordinated with the mainland, can be developed to a
[438] great extent. A number of cottage industries based on coconuts, sea and forest products have developed, of which the coirmaking has developed most.

13 The characteristics, common to the tropical islands, are to a large degree manifested in these islands. The physical environment suffers from a number of limitations. Hot and humid climate is ameliorated by the influence of the sea in all parts as none of them are more than 10 miles away from the sea. The problems of soil are quite tremendous and such signs are only discernible to a small extent in the islands which might share greater proportions in the future if adequate measures of careful cultivation are not undertaken. The natural vegetation should be carefully preserved and regenerated after the felling of the trees not only for the conservation of the vegetation but also for saving the soil from the serious consequences of erosion. The
178 cultural environment is a mosaic of variety because of the different
433 types of people who have been living in these islands, however negligible
563 their number might be. The imbalance of regional growth, being exclusively confined to the South Andaman, is being removed with the growth of settlement in the other parts of the islands and the indications of the shift in gravity of the economic interests is synchronising with the progress of settlement in the North and Middle Andamans. Mayabunder is handling a greater share in the movement of commodities and passengers. Such changes are undoubtedly very much welcome as the lowering of the disparities in the regional economy and growth speak of an all-round regional development.

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The Nicobar group of islands being separated off from the Andaman Islands by the Ten Degree Channel, though constitute a part of the continuation of the island in the north, the geographical entity of these islands are conspicuously different from that of the others. The Nicobar Islands have an area of 635 sq. miles and have 19 islands, out of which 12 islands are inhabited. The human habitats are exceedingly interesting and these people are distinctly different from the aborigines of the Andamans not only in their physical characteristics but also in their cultural attributes. Material life is much more improved and they have been all the time experiencing a healthy growth in comparison to the rapid decay of the Andaman aborigines. Culturally the affinity seems to be closer with the Indonesian islands. Shom Pens, the highlanders of the Great Nicobar, live in perfect isolation and have an extremely primitive economy. The staple crop is coconut and a number of fruit trees and yam are also grown. Some of the islands have become extremely overcrowded and need immediate dispersal to some of the less crowded islands. A detailed geographical treatment would require much more words to say about these thriving people and their contact with the foreigners than those of the Andamans. However it remains incomplete if the study of the Nicobar Islands is not incorporated in that of the Andaman islands. Therefore, in spite of the distinct geographical contrast with the Andamans, a short geographical summary has been given at the end of the book.

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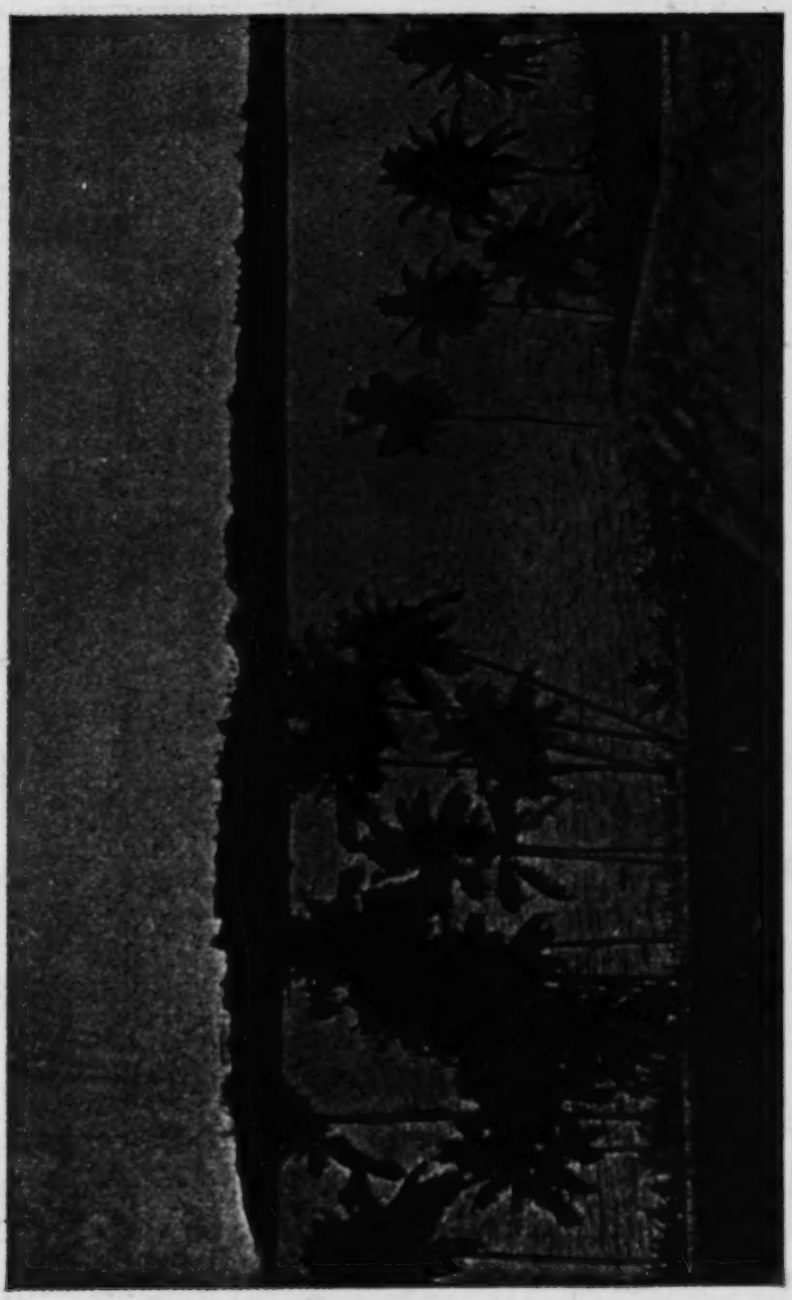

A Panoramic view of an island of the Andamans.

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PART I
PHYSICAL BACKGROUND

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[P.1]

CHAPTER I

POSITION AND EXTENT

The Andaman Islands, comprised of a large number of islands amounting to as much as 204, cover an area of 2508 square miles. These groups of islands with the other ones in the south, known as the Nicobar islands, are the only Indian islands in the southeastern ocean frontier. The alignment of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands is from the north to the south and these groups of islands have geological affinity with the adjacent countries i.e. Burma and Indonesia. These tropical islands possess some of the salient characteristics of the tropics given to the very primitive type of economy. |3|

The Andamans lie between 10°30′ and 13°30′ north latitudes; and between 92°15′ and 95°15′ east longitudes. The extreme length and width are 219 and 32 miles respectively. At the extreme north is the Landfall island followed by the three main islands of the Andamans—the North Andaman, the Middle Andaman and the South Andaman, all of them being separated off from each other by shallow seas. Further South at a distance of 40 miles from the South Andaman lies the Little Andaman. Besides these there are innumerable small islands—Ritchie's Archipelago and the Sentinel Islands may be worthy of mention.

There is an absence of unanimous agreement regarding the number of the islands and their respective areas. No one has, however, been able to locate all the islands on the map but the estimate made by the Forest Department is considered as the most authoritative.

Area of the islands in square miles.

Island	*Area*
North Andaman	490.20
Middle Andaman	561.00
South Andaman	359.51
Landfall and 7 other islands in the North Andaman Group	27.92
Interview and 4 other islands in the Middle Andaman Group	59.00
Baratang and 4 other islands in the Baratang Group	11.34

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Island	*Area*
131 Havelock and 6 other islands in the Ritchie's Archipelago Group	94.20
Rutland and 3 other islands in the South Andaman group of islands	73.86
Tarmughli and 4 other islands in the Labyrnth island	12.20
Little Andaman	289.90
166 other islands	430.97

131 114 But regarding the above statistics, Sri H. R. Shivdasani, I.C.S. writes as follows:—

'Obviously the area of 430.97 square miles for the other small islands is incorrect and far too much. It gives an average area of 2 square miles per island in which case they deserve individual mention when other islands of less than 1 square mile in area have come to special notice. Forest officers themselves admit that these 166 small islands cannot have a total area of 1430.97 square miles. We may assume that the information of the Punjab Delegation[1] is correct. Even so it would seem that if out of the other islands (735 square miles) we exclude Baratang, 90 square miles, and Little Andaman 290 square miles, there will be 200 small islands with a total area of 335 square miles'.[2]

131 177 The Andamans lie 590 miles from the Hooghly mouth, 120 miles from Cape Negrais of Burma and 340 miles from the northern extremity of Sumatra. In spite of the very close situation of the islands to the crowded countries like the mainland of India, Burma and the Indonesian countries, the contact has been quite feeble.

1 The Punjab Delegation went to the Andamans to explore the possibility of colonisation in the islands.

2 Shivdasani was sent to the Andamans with a party by the Government of India to study the aspect of colonisation in the islands in the year 1949.

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[P. 3]

CHAPTER II
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

175

The insular position of the islands has made the Andaman groups of islands extremely obscure and even to-day the obscurity of the islands has not been totally dispelled. The islands being cut off from the rest of the world have remained as the abode of the negritoes until the very late arrival of the people from the civilised countries at the end of the 18th century. Though there were occasional incidents of plunder and raids by the pirates in the islands, no account of the chronological sequence of the facts and incidents can be built up except some erratic speculations gathered from the books written by the early traders. The isolation and the obscurity of the islands were removed to a considerable degree with the arrival of the British administrators and the consequent development of the penal colony. It is only after the formation of the penal colony that the historical account of the islands is made available. The history of the islands is extremely fascinating which depicts how the melting pot gave way to different people. It is only through the proper understanding of the historical background that the land and people of the islands hold up their true character, though in a treatise like this the study of history is beyond the direct compass. From the study of the history of the islands it can be concluded that geography has largely, if not wholly, determined the history of the islands. Geography, of course, is a study of different spaces (regions) but it is not a static one because of the great interaction of man with his land which gradually moulds it into different shapes and so it has got its reflection in history, a study of the different times.

The historical phases of the islands can be roughly grouped into four main periods which show some distinct tendencies separated off from each other.

1 Upto 1788—The period of seclusion and piratical disturbances.
2. 1788-1941 — The British regime—a period of foreign intrusion and settlement.
3 1942-1945 — The Japanese Regime.
4. Post Independence Period — Attempt of all-round regional development and welfare of the islands and the settlement of the refugees mainly from East Pakistan.

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(1) *The Period of Seclusion and Piratical Disturbances*

In this period of seclusion, people had some knowledge of these islands from the travellers, traders and sea-pirates owing to the central position of the islands on the trade routes of India, Burma and the Far East. The islands were inhabited exclusively by the aborigines. Mention of these islands dates back to the 2nd Century A. D. in the writings of Claude Ptolemy. The map referred to, in his writings, indicates the Islands of Buzacata to be in the place of the Andaman Islands and it is said that this island produces quantities of shells and the inhabitants go naked and are called Agmatae. It is believed that the Island of Buzacata means to refer to the Andaman Islands and such a peculiar name (Buzacata) has been achieved through the originality of the cartographer.

Later mentions of these islands are found in the collection of early Arab notes of the 9th Century on India and China which were translated by Eus. Renaudat and the people of the Andamans have been called Angamanians. Further mention of the islands is made by two Mohammedan travellers (Pemberton's General Collection of voyages and travels), Chinese Buddhist Monk I'Tsing (672 A.D.), Marco Polo (1286 A.D.), Friar Oderic (1322 A.D.), Nicolo Conti (1430) etc. From most of their writings it was evident that the islands were inhabited by very ugly brutes who would eat up any man whom they could lay hands on. Nevertheless, this was a land of riches and was named the "Island of Gold." An idea of the knowledge of these islands in the early days can be had from the notes of Marco Polo, a portion of which is quoted below.

"Angamanian is a very long island.. The people are without a king and are idolaters and no better than wild beasts. All the men of this island of Angamanian have heads like dogs, and teeth and eye likewise; in fact, in the face they are just like big mastiff dogs. They have a quantity of species; but they are a most cruel generation, and eat everybody that they can catch, if not of their own race. They live on flesh and rice and milk and have fruits different from any of ours."

[648] These types of early notes by different travellers are largely written from second hand knowledge and tales current in the neighbouring countries of the Andamans viz. Malaya, Siam, etc. Mr. Portman[1] opines

[113] 1 Portman, M. V.—A history of our relations with the Andamanese.

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that, "it should be remembered that it was to the interest of the pirates 175
who made the Andamans a headquarters of their raids and also en- 648
slaved the aborigines, to exaggerate the real dangers they encountered and spread such tales regarding the Andamans as would keep them away." The islands have been ravaged by the Malay sea pirates from very early times. They used to come to collect shells and to carry on the slave-trade. These sea-pirates, through their exaggerated propeganda, made the islands a monopoly ground of their own and, in consequence, people used to know it as a land of horror. The slaves brought by the pirates used to find their way in the courts of Siam, Cambodia and Indo-China for many centuries, thus bringing about the deepest distrust and hostility on the part of the aborigines to all the visitors to the islands.

The name '*Andamans*' of the islands is a corrupt form of the name 101
'*Hanuman*' or 'Monkey peoples', the aboriginal antagonists of the 175
Aryan immigrants in India. In the earliest Hindu mythology, the 648
Ramayana, these islands were believed to be a land of the *Hanumans*. Malayans used to refer to them as '*Handuman*' which is even a corrupt form of *Hanuman* and from Malay the knowledge about the Andamans first spread into the different parts of the world. Hence the '*Handuman*' has further evolved into '*Andaman*'.

(2) *The British Regime and the Period of Foreign Intrusion and Settlements Since 1788.*

Factual records of the history of the Andamans can only be had 175
since 1877 with the steps taken by the British Government of India to 648
found a penal colony in the islands. The disturbing activities of the Malay pirates and the frequent massacres of the ship-wrecked crews around the Andaman Sea necessitated the Government of India to form a penal colony in the islands. For the materialisation of such a proposal, Lord Cornwallis sent Lt. Blair and Lt. Colebrook to investigate into the possibilities of such a colonisation in the islands in the year 1788. In accordance with their investigations, the first settlement was established on Chatham Island* at Port Cornwallis (now Port Blair) consisting of a free colony. It was found that the North East harbour (now Port Cornwallis) was a better place for settlement because of its fine harbour and nearness to Calcutta. So, in 1792, the settlement was transferred

* Chatham Islands is the port of the Port Blair town and is a very small island.

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(1788-1942)

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to the spot but it had to be shifted again to Port Blair because of the unhealthy climate and in consequence high mortality rates in that region.

But this settlement prospered little and for the next 60 years (uptil the second settlement) we have got very scanty records of the islands. The few important events are that in 1824 the British fleet were appointed at Port Cornwallis before the First Burmese War in 1825. J. E. Alexander landed, in a very interesting way in the Little Andaman, south of the South Andaman.

In 1837 Dr. Helfer, a Russian Geologist, was murdered by the aborigines while he was making expeditions into the islands in search of gold. In 1744 happened the queerly coincidental wrecks of the ships 'Runneymede' and 'Briton' bound for Calcutta with troops from Sydney and Gravesend respectively and there were various attacks on the troops by the Andamanese.

This period of great mishaps, shipwrecks and other disturbances made the government anxious. Fortunately for the British Government, this period synchronised with the Sepoy Mutiny in North India in 1857. Again a comprehensive report was submitted for making the islands a penal colony and in March 1858, the Andamans entered into second phase of its history as a penal settlement with the first lot of prisoners, 200 in number, and the mutineers of the Indian army who for the first time attempted to overthrow the British rule in India. They were accompanied by Dr. J. P. Walker. But the number increased to 773 within 3 months but 292 of them or 37 p.c. had escaped, died or were hanged.

Very strict measures were taken by Dr. Walker to deter these convicts from escape. But the administration of Dr. Walker was further weakened by frequent attacks of the Andamanese and this culminated in the Battle of Aberdeen on the 14th May, 1859. Dudh Nath Tewari, an escaped convict, who lived long with these aborigines, warned the settlement of the attack to be made in the Aberdeen, the heart of Port Blair, and as such proper steps were taken by the settlement to fight against the Andamanese. The escaped convict was released for his timely service.

Colonel J. C. Haughton (Oct., 1859) took the charge after Dr. Walker and he was a very loving personality amongst the convicts. He adopted a very humane method of treatment of convicts and established friendly relations with the Andamanese. In 1861 the administration of the Andamans was transferred from the control of the Government of India to the Chief Commissioner of Burma.

Colonel Taylor (1862) also adopted humane methods. 149 acres of land had been cleared for cultivation and there were some 3000 convicts

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
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in the settlement by 1864. In this period Lord Napier of Magdala visited the islands and suggested certain reforms. The Government of India sanctioned a grant for the formation of the "Andamanese Home" which aimed at improving the relations of the civilised people with the aborigines.

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In 1863 General Man took the charge when the number of convicts increased to 8873 and 3000 acres of land were cleared, 876 acres of land were brought under plough and as a result health conditions improved and death-rates fell appreciably from 10.16% to 1.2%.

General Steward (1871) followed General Man and devoted himself to the agricultural developments of these islands and while on a visit to the Andamans he was murdered by a convict at Hope Town on the 8th February, 1872. In this year the administration was first raised to the rank of Chief Commissionership and the Andaman Regulations of 1874 were drafted, placing the settlement judicially under the Government of India, instead of under the High Court of Calcutta, and making provisions for the release of the life time convicts after 20-25 years of penal servitude if they showed good conduct.

General Steward was followed by Colonel T. Cadell, who was here for 13 years and attempted the great economic development of the settlement. The Forest Department was opened and the foundation of the Cellular Jail was laid down, though it was completed in the year 1905 and the recruitment of the labourers was made from the convicts only. The Cellular Jail claims to be the biggest masonry building in the Andamans, situated on the sea-coast.

Sir Richard Temple (1894-1903) also did many constructive works such as the considerable enlargement of the Phoenix Bay dockyard and workshops, and the initial arrangements for the reclamation of South Point—Aberdeen Swamps were completed in 1918.

Later came Colonel Douglas (1913-20) and the first suggestion for abolishing the penal colony was forwarded by him. A forest colony was started in North Andaman Division which had to be closed down due to the general trade depression and the most remarkable achievement was the plantation of cocoanuts over several thousands of acres which afterwards formed a source of large revenue.

Colonel Beadon's tenure (1920-23) marked a change in the administrative policy. Only 1400 Mapilla rebels and some Punjabis were received as convicts and the general convict strength fell from 11,532 to 8823. Unmarried women convicts and also some categories of male

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convicts were sent back to India. The convicts were provided with many facilities and they were also treated leniently. The cocoanut plantations developed by Colonel Douglas were made over to some private enterprises. Beadon contemplated various reforms and changes in the administrative policy of the Government, but failed to translate them into action due to the shortage of funds. The local-born association was started under the Presidentship of a Government Gazetted Officer for their welfare.

Colonel Ferrar (1923-31) possibly brought about the greatest changes in the island and with the closing of the penal settlement, schemes for colonisation and developments were necessary. The settlement in the Andamans had grown up in and around Port Blair in the South Andamans and everywhere the ephemeral huts of former times were giving way to well constructed two storied houses of sawn timber and iron roof, with stair cases, glared windows and other amenities. The old period of 10 years on probation as a labouring convict was abolished and after a few months' stay in the Cellular jail all the convicts found themselves placed on a wage basis and freed from the necessity of wearing convict dresses. During this time the willing convicts were allowed to go back to the mainland to bring their wives and families to the Andamans for permanent settlement. Many of the convicts, of course, returned back to the islands with frustrated mind as they were not recognised by their societies and families in the mainland to which they originally belonged.[1] All these changes in the administrative policy had their impact on the rural and urban population. In spite of the above cases, there was a rapid increase in the number of women and children in the Andamans and the social structure gained greater stability as regards the sex ratio, and this was probably a stepping stone to the successful approach towards colonisation.

A new deep-water jetty was built up at Chatham and was connected with the main island by a wooden bridge. Malarial swamps around the harbour were filled up by dredgers. A match factory was also built up at a cost of 3½ lakhs of rupees. Hence the period of Colonel Ferrar is a period of achievement when probably new life was infused into the people of the Andamans and had its effect on the all-round development of the South Andamans.

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1 Bonington, M.C.C.—Census Report, 1931.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Nicobars AZ7

(3) *The Japanese Regime.*

Under such circumstances of smooth development in the Andamans, the World War II darkened the horizon and no other part of India was so badly affected by the war as were the Andamans. The Japanese Army landed here on the 21st March, 1942 and had these islands under their occupation till 1945. This period was really a reign of terror and tales relating to the extent of their terrorism can be heard from the people with first-hand knowledge. In the beginning the relations of the Japanese with the local people were quite amiable. But a few instances of treachery committed by the people to contact the British Government in their attempt to overthrow the Japanese rule changed their relation to a bitter one. Hundreds of local borns were killed on the least suspicious by the Japanese Government. Naval blockade prevented supplies from outside and the Japanese were the pioneers in making the Andamans self-sufficient. From high Japanese officials to menials, all people were compelled to cultivate lands in order to achieve self-sufficiency at home. They cultivated all the available lands including hill slopes where they grew sweet potatoes and tapioca. The Japanese are also believed to have bombed over the Jarawa areas and surely they killed some. On the 8th October, 1945, the S. E. A. C. took the surrender of the Japanese garrison at Port Blair and immediate steps were taken for the rehabilitation of the surviving population who were famished and ill-clad. The civil administration was re-established on the 7th February, 1946.

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Although the Japanese regime was a reign of terror, they at least showed the proper channel to develop the islands. They attained self-sufficiency in the Andamans, constructed 22 miles of road and tried for proper defence of the islands and developed industries based on local raw-materials. Whatever criticism may follow regarding such steps taken by the Japanese, it is to be believed that such isolated islands must follow this channel for their economic development.

(4) *Post-Independence Period.*

Since the 15th August, 1947 the Andaman and Nicobar Islands have shared independence with India. They now constitute the only 'D' class 'State' of the Republic of India, ruled by a Chief Commissioner directly nominated by the Indian President. Because of the meagreness of population adult franchise is not in vogue here and as such there is no representative from the Andamans in the Indian Parliament, but there is only one representative to the Parliament from the whole of the Andamans and the Nicobars nominated by the President of India. In the Andamans a local advisory

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council is nominated by the President of India on the recommendation of the Chief Commissioner which has been working in the islands for a few years.

The Government of the Andamans is attempting to colonise the islands successfully in collaboration with the Government of India, and in accordance with this principle the East Bengal refugees are being rehabilitated in the islands. An all-round economic development is aimed at and its supplementation depends upon the future Five Year Plans.

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CHAPTER III

PHYSICAL SET-UP

The Andaman & Nicobar Islands form a part of the continuous ridge which runs form the Cape Negrais of Burma through the Preparis and Coco Islands to the Andamans and continues further to the Nicobars and Sumatra. The whole ridge has a geological affinity with the Arakan Yoma of Burma and Sumatra and Java. The ridge is primarily of Eocene formation and forms a part of the great Alpine-Himalayan system. Prof. Gregory holds the view that "the main line continues eastward through the Himalaya until the resistance of the Chinese plateau has traced it southward and part of it now lies beneath the Bay of Bengal, it reappears in Sumatra and continues through Java and across the Malaya Archipelago."[1] But some modifications of Gregory's view have been achieved and presently it is believed that this ridge is a loop of the main Himalayan axis comparable to the Persian loop in western Asia and Apennine loop in Europe.[2] The ridge is not continuous but is interrupted in many places, of which the 3 main channels are worth considering. The depth of the channels increases from north to south. 133

(1) Preparis channel in between north and south Preparis islands has a depth of over 500 fathoms.

(2) The Degree Channel, between the Andamans and the Nicobars, is approximately 400 fathoms deep.

(3) Great Channel lying between Great Nicobar Island and Sumatra is about 750 to 800 fathoms deep.

The peaks of the mountains now form the islands and in some places the coastline slopes very steeply to the ocean.

GEOLOGY OF THE ANDAMANS

The present knowledge of the geology of the islands is largely the outcome of the investigations done by R. D. Oldham (1885), Kurz (1868), Gee, and G. H. Tipper. Even at present a thorough geological knowledge of the islands has not been achieved and this has been due to a number [114]

1. Gregory, J. W.—The Structure of Asia, London, Methuen. [113]
2. Swell, R. B. (1925)—Geography of the Andaman Basin, Geographic and Oceanographic Researches in Indian waters, Mem. Asiatic, Soc Bengal IX, No. 1.

[text continues on p. 13]

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MAP OF THE GEOLOGY OF THE ANDAMANS

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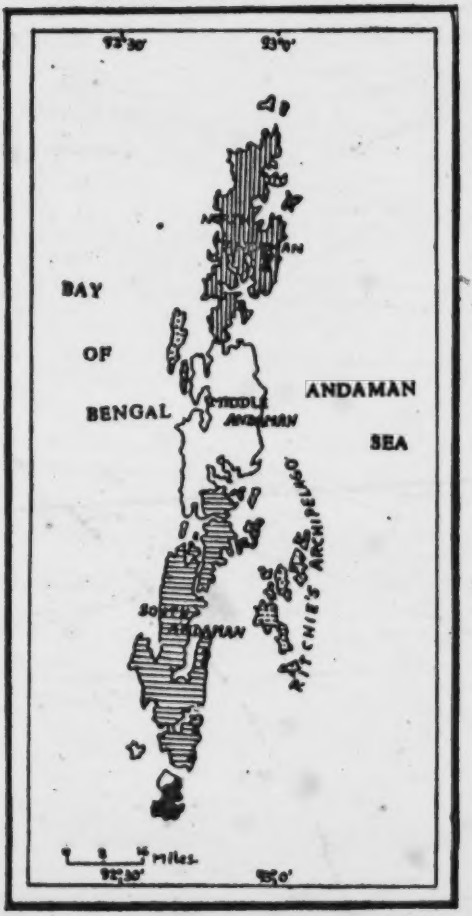

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- MIOCENE CLAYS OF RITCHIE'S ARCHIPELAGO.
- MIOCENE BURDIGALIAN FORAMINIFERAL LIMESTONES.
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- EOCENE CONGLOMERATES OF N. & M. ANDAMANS.
- CRETACEOUS SERPENTINE SERIES.

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of reasons. Firstly, a thorough survey of the islands is very difficult 133
because of the dense forests and hostile aborigines. Secondly, the 114
Government also cared little to take pains for initiating such a work. Regarding the inconveniences of geologising Tipper writes "the thickness of the jungles may be judged from the fact that our rate of progress varied from half a mile to a mile an hour. The dense jungle with a lack of exposures made geologising very difficult."[1]

Rink first postulated that the Andaman-Nicobar ridge was elevated 133
to its present height from ocean bottom. He describes the chain of islands as consisting "partly of those stratified deposits which occupied the level bottom of the sea before their appearance. and partly of plutonic rocks which pierced through the former and came to the surface through upheaval.

To the two above-mentioned formations has to be added a third, which is the result of the chemical and mechanical destruction of the plutonic masses; it is local and consists of clays and pebbles derived from the underlying strata."

On the whole, the mountain ranges of the Andamans are of sandstones of Eocene Age with intensive rocks of serpentine in places. Large parts of the North Andaman have been grouped under the Archipelago Series by Oldham. Tipper considers the conglomerates of North and Middle Andamans as a facies of the Eocene deposit. Between the mountain ranges which run north to south, some undulating ground is found which often consists of impermeable blue clay beds, indurated shales and conglomerates containing pebbles of quartz and jasper. Coral reefs and the raised beaches form the recent and sub-recent formation of the Andamans. The formation of the Andaman-Nicobar ridge has been assigned to late Cretaceous age.

Oldham has distinguished two sedimentary formations in the Andamans besides serpentine series. He named them as

(1) Port Blair Series, &
(2) Archipelago Series[2]

The Port Blair series is so named because it is dominant in and around Port Blair, i.e., in the South Andaman. The rock types are gray sandstones with interbedded slaty shales, frequently consisting nests

1. Tipper, G. H.—The geology of the Andaman Islands with reference to the Nicobars. Mem. Geol. Sur. Ind., Vol 35, Part 4. [113]

2. Oldham, R. D.—Notes on the Geology of the Andaman Islands, Rec. Geol. Sur. of Ind., Vol. 18, Part 3, 1885.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

133 of coaly matter and occasionally beds of conglomerate and pale gray limestone as subsidiary members.

The Archipelago series, as the name implies, is dominant in the islands of the Archipelago group. It consists of soft limestones formed of coral and shell—and, soft calcareous sandstones and soft white clays with occasionally a band of conglomerates.

Later on G. H. Tipper further clarified the geology of the Andamans and as analysed by Tipper, the 'Port Blair Series' and 'Archipelago Series' of Oldham correspond to Eocene (Lower Lutetian) and Miocene formations respectively. According to Tipper, the greatest authority of the geology of the Andamans, the following formations have been distinguished in the Andamans:—

Recent and sub-recent	... Raised beaches and coral reef etc.
Miocene	... Clays of Ritchie's Archipelago.
Miocene (Burdigalian)	... Foraminiferal limestones, shell marks of Paget Island.
Eocene (Lower Lutetian)	... Conglomerates of the North and Middle Islands. Sandstones of the South Islands.
Cretaceous	... Serpentine Series.
Pre-tertiary	... In part lower Cretaceous, scattered expanses of quartzites, jaspers and porcellanic limestones.

Of all formations, the Eocene rocks are most widely prevalent. They occupy the 3 main islands i.e., North, Middle and South Andamans and have got two facies of the same deposit. In the North and part of the Middle Andamans the prevailing rock is conglomerate while in the South Andaman it is sandstone.

The Sandstone Area of the South.

The sandstones of the South are even-grained blue grey micaceous sandstones but are sometimes non-micaceous and calcareous intercalated slabs are frequent. Conglomerates also occur in white quartz pebbles of sandy matrix. The rocks have experienced honey-comb weathering because of the irregular distribution of the cementing materials.

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[114] It should be remembered that the geological survey of the Middle Andaman has not been done properly.

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The Conglomerates of the North.

The Conglomerates, as said, occupy almost the whole area of the North Island. The Conglomerates vary considerably in character from a very coarse form with large rounded pebbles to a sandstone. The pebbles are usually rounded and not angular. 133

Miocene (Burdigalian) Deposit.

Foraminiferal limestones occupy large areas of the west coast of the Middle and North Andamans including Interview, Paget, Whitecliff and Thorn hills islands. These beds rest directly but unconformably on the Eocene conglomerates. The rocks vary in degree in different places. The rocks of Interview island are compact limestones with a few quartz grains, that of Paget island are soft foraminiferal sands. On Interview island a large number of long pits, narrow and of considerable depth are found. According to Tipper, they are "due to the falling in of the roofs of the underground streams." The limestone is in places very conspicuous and this feature has boldly made its appearance because of the hardness of the limestone and its action with the rain water.

Other Miocene Rocks.

These rocks have been classified by Oldham as the 'Archipelago Series.' The strata composing these islands consist of soft non-calcareous clays. The conglomerates of the North and Middle Islands, as has already been said, were classified under this group. But later investigations by Tipper and others proved the distinction of the two series. Almost the whole of the Ritchie's Archipelago is composed of this series. There is a good deal of controversy regarding the origin of this clay formation. Ehrenburg (1850) holds the view that this series has been elevated from a considerable depth below the sea level and this is proved by the absence of $CaCO_3$. As Boggild (1916) has shown that the absence of $CaCO_3$ is a characteristic feature of this deep-sea deposit, these non-calcareous clays are held to be of deep-sea deposit and believed by Ehrenburg to be identical with the deposits found in Barbadoes. But the absence of $CaCO_3$ in the deposits near the mouths of the rivers have also been shown by Swell (1925). But what is now accepted is the view held by Tipper and Oldham. They believe that the clay deposits in the Andamans and those in the Nicobars are geologically identical and moreover, have arrived at the conclusion that the deposit has been formed by the breaking down of the older ser-

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133 pentine rocks and the deposition took place in comparatively shallow water in an estuarine or brackish water sea.

Serpentine Series.

These are igneous rocks covering large areas in the Andamans. They occur at Saddle peak and Saddle hill, Rutland and Cinque islands and many other places. The chief rock is a darkgreen serpentine with veins of chrysolite. The serpentine is basic in character and is derived chiefly from olivine and in part from horn-blende. Somebody believes that the serpentines intruded into the Tertiary sediments but evidences of contact metamorphism could be detected in such a case. In the basic rocks great alteration due to contact metamorphism does not take place, but at least some traces of it should be found around the great mass of Saddle peak had it intruded into the adjacent tertiary sediments. But such is not the case. This serpentine series synchronised with the great intrusions of serpentines, peridolite grabbos and clorite in Baluchistan and elsewhere in India which are of upper Cretaceous age. The Eocene conglomerates of the North Andaman are formed of the fragments and pebbles of the serpentines.

The Pre-tertiary Sedimentary Rocks.

Red and yellow jaspers, quartzites and pink and white porcellanic limenstones are the pre-tertiary sedimentary rocks which occur in isolated patches. The exact age of the rocks has not yet been determined. Weathered jasper pebbles are very common in the Eocene conglomerates of the North Andaman. Similar occurrences of jaspers and quartzites are found in Manipur and Arakan Yoma.

The Recent and Sub-Recent Formations.

The recent formations of the Andamans are the raised beaches and coral reefs. The growth of the raised beaches and coral reefs has been analysed in the light of the upheaval of the Andaman-Nicobar ridge which is believed to be still rising. This process of upheaval is slowly continuing and the same seems to be the case further to be north in the Arakan district of Burma.

The South Sentinel Island is composed of corals raised to a few feet. The N. Sentinel Island is also said to be of raised coral. Swell also detected one or two localities of reef coral that now form part of the shore and are raised considerably above the high water level. Since these beds must have originated at some depth below sea level it seems clear that elevation has taken place quite recently.

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Hence the formation of the coral reefs and raised beaches can be accounted for only if we believe in the recent upheaval of the Andaman-Nicobar ridge. Let us see the evidences that are in favour of this upheaval and those against it. Swell and Tipper believe that the Andaman-Nicobar ridge has experienced an apparent elevation of land which is only possible through the eustatic change of water-level. They have put forward a number of arguments that are as follows: 133

(1) The formation of coral reefs is possible only if there be an apparent or true elevation of the land.

(2) Throughout the tropical belt there are evidences of an apparent elevation of land in comparatively recent times.

(3) At the South West corner of Rutland Island in the Andaman Group, there is a raised pebble beach, situated 5'-6" above the top-level.

(4) At the southwest end of the westermost of the Twin Islands, off the west side of the Rutland Island, is a raised beach of shingle-conglomerates, about 6' ft. above high water-mark. This apparent upheaval of the land i.e. fall of the sea-level is believed to have been caused by the climatic fluctuations in the Quaternary period causing glacial and interglacial periods which resulted in a fall and rise of the water-level respectively.

But Kurz (1868) does not believe in the recent upheaval of the Andamans, but he holds the opposite view. The advocacy of Kurz in favour of the sinking of the Andamans is also due to a number of reasons.

Kurz had his conclusion from the botanical aspect of the coastal region. Kurz says, "some of the stumps of the trees (along the shore) proved to belong to such species as never grew in the mangrove swamps, and in any locality such as that in which they are now standing. They appeared to me to belong to *Pongamia, Erythrina, Thesperia* and even to *Manusops Indica,* accompanied by strongly buttressed trunks. Also trunks of *Bruguiera-gymnarhiza* are frequent and of a larger size than those which grow close to the shores but apparently agreeing with those which are everywhere found further up the creeks. All these (except the last mentioned) are trees which never occur in the mangrove swamps, but in the sandy soil just behind them or else bordering the sea where the shores are very steep and not adapted to the formation of mangrove swamps."[1] This evidently leads one to believe that the 133 137

1. Kurz. S—On the vegetation of the Andaman Islands, Calcutta. [113]

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

133 [137] Andamans are sinking so that the trees which are found in the sandy soils behind the mangrove swampo are seen to be amidst them.

The sinking state of the Andamans has been further shown by quoting the reports of the Andaman Committee (1858)[2]. It is stated that the sea had encroached upon some 40′ or 50′ feet since the first settlement at Chatham Island in Port Cornwallis so that the store house that stood up there has been destroyed by the sea since the abandonment of the place since 1796. Again the Hamfray's strait changed a good deal in a very short margin of time. The easiness with which Helfer[3] in 1858 sailed through the strait became unnavigable later on except for small boats, as pointed out by the Andaman Committee. These facts not only prove the sinking state of the islands but also the rapidity with which the sinking is taking place. But the view has been strongly disputed by Tipper and Swell. Swell believes that whatever evidence that is found in favour of sinking is completely due to local change of level and Tipper argues that the coastal regions have slipped downwards to the sea giving rise to the evidences of sinking. He says that the structure of the Andamans may allow such slips into the sea.

Thus the enigma of the problem remains unsolved. Even in recent years the Ross Island off the Port Blair coast has been found to sink down into the sea. We have to scrutinize that this sinking which is evidenced in many parts of the Andamans is whether due to a new phase of sinking after the cessation of the upheaval of the islands which created the coral reefs, raised beaches etc. or due to the slip of the coastal region into the sea.

The direct connection of the Andaman and Nicobar islands with the mainland is still a controversial matter. But it is held by Mr. Kurz that the Andamans were connected with the mainlands which he concluded largely from his observations of the botanical aspect of the islands. In describing the flora of the Andamans he remarks "one may presume that a great number of species which originally grew in countries now submerged between these islands, Burmah and Hindoostan, have been repelled by the advancing sea and vegetation has thus become comparatively richer in generic types as the area grew smaller." Swell argues if at all any land connection of the islands with the mainland would have occurred, it would have surely been broken before the evolution of

[113] 2. Bonington, M.C.C.—The Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Census of India, 1931.

3. Helfer, a Russian geologist, while prospecting the islands in search of gold was killed by the aborigines.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

the mammalia took place because no indigenous land mammal occurs in any of these islands with the possible exception of a species of Paradoxurus and an insectivore which have been captured in the Andamans, but which, so far we know, do not occur in any of the Nicobar Islands. Again Boden Kloss (1903) from a study of the mammalian and avian fauna reached the conclusion that these islands were never connected with the mainland. Since the mammalia made their appearance towards the close of the Triassic period and the Andaman-Nicobar ridge did not apparently rise from the sea-bottom before the late Cretaceous epoch, it is certainly difficult to see how any connection with the mainland can reasonably be postulated. But the geologists believe that originally the whole chain of islands was continuous presumably above sea-level but the continuity of the original mountain has been broken by wide gaps which, in the western part of the Burmese-Malay arc, for example, are larger than remnants. 133

PHYSIOGRAPHY OF THE ANDAMANS

The Andamans abound in hills and lack in lowlands. From a distance the islands look like a long north-south running vista of domes. The hills are so low that they may be called domes. The hill-ranges have a north-south alignment and between these systems lie depressions where either the sea encroaches and forms a longitudinal bay or plain lands. The cost line is not broken everywhere but so in places, such as the southeastern coast of the Middle Andaman, southeast coast of the North Andaman, northwest coast of North Andaman, western coast of the Baratang Island. Here the coastline seems to be of emergent type and the mangrove swamps encroach far into the sea (c. f. Sunderban area) and this feature is particularly significant in the east coast of the Middle Andaman. The whole coast seems to be mantled by a dense cover of mangrove swamps for miles together. The views of Mr. Kurz regarding the recent sinking of the island seem to be true from the physiographic outline of the coastline. Here also the answer of the question is a problematic one as to whether the Andamans are really sinking or not. The evidences of sinking have been argued to be due to local causes only by Mr. Swell or due to the slip of the coastal region towards the sea by Mr. Tipper. Hence the question is still a controversial one and the authoritative suggestions made by Mr. Swell, Mr Tipper and Mr. Gee cannot be taken as final and this problem again needs other forms of analysis from the other morphological studies of the islands.

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131 The Andamans consist of 204 islands of which the important islands of the main body from north to south are North Andaman, Middle Andaman, Baratang Island, South Andaman, Rutland and Little Andaman. Another group of islands lie some 15-20 miles off the east coast of Middle Andaman and they are primarily a group of a few islands-Neill, Havelock, Peet Is, Wilson Is, John Lawrence Is, Henry Lawrence Is, known as Ritchie's Archipelago.

PHYSIOGRAPHY OF THE ANDAMANS

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As has already been said, main Andaman group of islands is of Eocene formation (with sandstones in the South and conglomerates in the North) and the Ritchie's Archipelago is of later formation i.e. of Miocene age, built up of clays and forminiferal limestones. From a symmetry of the alignment of the mountain ranges, the Andamans can be divided into a few physiographic regions. 133

(1) The Cholunga Range in South Andaman (it lies in the middle of the South Andamans) and its continuation through the mountain ranges along the west coast of Middle Andaman to Ranger Island.

(2) The Mount Harriet Range along the east of the South Aadaman continue through the Baratang range to the hill range of North Andaman.

(3) The West Coast Range has its continuation in the Interview Island.

(4) East Coast range of North Andaman runs down towards the south to the East Coast ranges of Middle Aadaman.

(5) Intervening lowlands in between these longitudinal mountain ranges.

(6) Coastal Lowlands.

Regarding the mountain ranges, on the whole, some peculiarities have been observed. It is observed that this range of mountain system which is a continuation of the Arakan Yoma and runs right upto Sumatra has a gradual decrease and then an increase in height from north to south. A list of important mountains in series from north to south are as follows:— 103 133

	Name of the peak		Height above the sea level	
Arakan Range, Burma	Chypotong	...	8386	feet
	Chinsikiatong	...	6012	"
	Mengootsan	...	3600	"
Andaman-Nicobar ridge	North Andaman	...	2902	"
	Middle "	...	1678	"
	Little "	...	600	"
	Car Nicobar	...	200	"
	Batti Malv	...	150	"
	Choura	...	343	"
	Katchal	...	835	"
	Little Nicobar	..	1428	"
	Great Nicobar	..	2705	"
Sumatra	Batu Mukurah	...	6371	"
	Sinobong	...	12,140	"

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PHYSIOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS OF THE ANDAMANS

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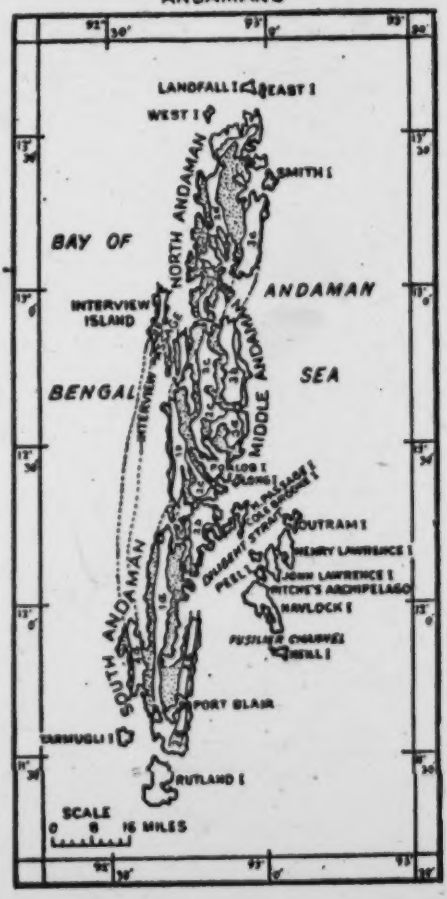

133 According to Swell, these variations in height are due to (1) an alteration of the pitch of the axis or (2) a variation in the rate of weathering and denudation in different regions. Swell says "A gradual fall towards the south and a subsequent rise in the level of the ridge, the differences between the highest peaks at each end, which rise to well over 8000' and the lowest of the peaks in the middle, namely, the island of Batti Malv which is only 150' above sea-level, is at the least some 8000' or approximately

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

1340 fathoms and it would appear probable that there has been, since the first formation of this mountain chain, a secondary depression that has lowered the level of the range in this area by approximately this amount." Molengraff[1] has called attention to the fact that similar depression, though on a smaller scale, exists further to the south in the continuation of the chain through the Malay Archipelago to the east of the Tima island, though on Tima Island itself there is incontestable proof of a post-tertiary elevation in the shape of a succession of coral reef terraces that are raised high above the present sea level. 133

The alignment of the hill systems in the Andamans, though not fully, but closely resembles the basin and range topography. In between the mountain ranges lie the longitudinal bays into which a number of very short torrential streams flow from both sides. The Andaman Committee observed that "the highest land wherever seen is on the eastern side" and that "the watershed is therefore chiefly to the west and it is consequently on that side that the marshy localities will most probably be found". But this observation is far from true which will be evident from the discussion below.

The east coast has really higher hills, but in the west coast also we find hills above 1000′ in height (1109′ in the Middle Andaman). Again, the second view is wholly untenable because of the fact that there is abundance of marshy localities in the east coast region than west coast.

Again, a greater number of rivers as well as the important ones viz, Batapur, etc. flow into the east coast.

West Coast Range of South Andaman and its continuation into the Interview Island is probably the lowest hill-system in the Andamans. The peak-height rises more than 800′ ft. Typical sandstone topography is manifested in the landscape of the region where all the hills are flat topped.

The hill ranges of the west coast, especially of the south west being under the direct impact of the southwest monsoons are lower than that of the east because of greater rainfall in the west, particularly the southwest, which results in a rapid erosion of the hills and, consequently lowering in height.

Cholunga Range and its continuation upto the Rangers Island are one of the highest ranges of the Andamans. It runs through the middle

1. Molengraff, G.A.F., Modern deep-sea researches in the East Indian Archipelago, Geog. Jour, 1921.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

133 of South Andaman, where on its both sides are longitudinal bays. Further the range runs along the west coast of the Middle Andaman and merges into the Ranger Island. In this range the important peaks from south to north are Mt. Ford (1426′) in Rutland, Cholunga (1057′) and Cadell (1163′) in South Andaman and one unnamed peak (1016′) in the west coast of Middle Andaman.

Further east, the longitudinal range is the Mount Harriet Range which runs further north through Baratang Island and the middle of the Middle Andamans to the west coast range of North Andaman. The Mt. Harriet Range in South Andaman is the highest part of this region which rises steeply from the east coast of South Andaman and the peak heights are Mt. Harriet (1196′) and Koyob (1509′). In Baratang and Middle Andaman the height of the range decreases considerably and in the former the height never exceeds 700′ feet. Again, in the North Hudson peak-height of 1109′ is observed.

Along the east coast of North Andaman and Middle Aadaman lies the highest mountain range of the Andamans and next to it is the Cholunga Range. The important peaks in North Andaman are Saddle Peak (2402′) and Jire Miku (2247′), the former being the highest peak in the whole of the Andamans. In Middle Andaman, peak heights of Mt. Dianolo (1678′) and many others of more than 1000′ have been observed.

In general the hill-ranges are low in height never exceeding 2500′ and they send out spurs in all directions. On an average, of course, the east coast ranges are steeper than the west coast ranges and all these ranges are under the deep mantle of orest cover.

The depressions that lie in between the mountain ranges are either longitudinal bays and in a few cases river valleys. In between the west coast range and Cholunga range in the South Andaman are the Blair Reach and Dalrymple Reach and again in between the Interview Island and the North and Middle Andaman are the Buchanan Passage, Interview Passage and Austin harbour.

Between the Cholunga Range and its contiunation and the Mt. Harriet Range and its continuation, lies the School Bay Creek in the South Andaman into which very short, non-perennial streams flow from the hill ranges of both sides. Again, in between the Baratang hill range and Cholunga Range continuation, lie the Amitla Doicha Passage, Needham Reach and Yaratil Jig, Melagi Bay, Lukhlriwath Bolyo and Arad Bay in the North Andaman.

In between the East West Range of North and Middle Andamans and the Harriet Range continuation in the North, lie the Blair Bay, Kalporig

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Bay, Kalara Bay, Congo Bay etc. in the North Andaman and Betapur river valley and Bomlungta river valley in the Middle Andaman.

Hydrography.

The study of the hydrography of a region includes petamology (study of rivers), limnology (lakes), cryology (snow) and geohydrology (underground water). The study of limnology and cryology of this region can be completely omitted because there is a complete absence of both lakes as well as snows or glaciers. Of the rest the geo-hydrology of the Andamans is little known because no research work regarding this aspect has been conducted.

The petmology or the study of rivers is the most important object of hydrology. The rivers are very short, non-perennial as well as torrential in character. They can better be called as streams because of their seasonal drying up and short length. The Andamans enjoy quite heavy rainfall of about 130", but because of the seasonal fall, the water-level [132] of the streams fluctuates very greatly and in the dry season most of the rivers either do not have any water or have only a trickle of water. Little water in the river valleys may also be partially due to the pervious [134] nature of the soil which does not help the water-table of the region to be sufficiently high. The greater as well as continuous rainfall throughout the year in the South Andaman keep the rivers almost perennial. [132]

The Middle Andaman has only a few little rivers and they are Betapur and Bamlangta rivers. Both of them rise from the hill ranges of the continuation of Mt. Harriet Range in Middle Andaman and flow through the longitudinal valleys, and are interrupted by a great number of spurs from both the eastern and the western hill ranges. The Betapur river rises in the north of Middle Andaman and flows towards the south with a number of tributaries from both the ranges on both the sides. Almost the whole of the northeast Middle Andaman is drained by the Betapur river and its tributaries. According to Mr. Sethi, the country from the place where the Picha Nala meets the Betapur stream, though interrupted by small hills, is almost level for 7 or 8 miles.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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CHAPTER IV

CLIMATE OF THE ANDAMANS

132 The situation of the Andamans between 10°30′ and 13°30′ north latitudes and 92°15′ and 93°10′ east longitudes makes the climate of these islands of the tropical type which closely approximates to the Equatorial one in the south. The islands are frequently disturbed by tropical storms and cyclones in specific months. The insular position of the islands in the Bay of Bengal in between two countries in the east and west, situation in the tropical zone, location in the path of travelling tropical storms and cyclones in specific months, influence of the tropical maritime air masses in the south and the air masses of the subcontinent of India and other countries of Asia in the north, considerable northsouth extension but appreciably small eastwest extension, broken coastline and peculiar shape, and the dominant functional controls of the northeast and southwest monsoons in the specific months of the year have all combined together to give a distinct feature of the climate of the Andamans. The influence of all these factors, in giving a characteristic impress over the islands, must be understood before we consider the general conditions of climate and the division of the islands into different such regimes and the influence of climate on agriculture.

THE DIFFERENT CLIMATIC CONTROLS.

Insular Position and Shape.

131 The insularity of the islands is obvious because of their presence in the base of the funnel of the Bay of Bengal. The funnel is enclosed
132 in the west and east by the east coast of the Indian mainland and the west coasts of Burma and Malay, and both these coastlines taper in the north in the deltaic region of Bengal. In the south the whole sea opens out and extends upto the Antartica. The islands, being 192 miles long and 32 miles wide, when maximum, with a number of bays and creeks penetrating deep into the interior of the islands make no spot on the Andamans more than 10 miles from the sea. This has helped the development of the maritime conditions of the islands at its maximum and has therefore, led to a great moderating influence of sea on temperature.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Control of the Air-Masses All Around The Islands.

In the south of the islands is the presence of the tropical maritime air mass (mfu) of the convergent type which is characteristic of equatorial regions over continents and oceans. This type of air mass is highly charged with humidity and it produces abundant cumulonimbus clouds and consequently causes heavy showers, "even in the absence of strong trigger action. Then while neutral mfu air usually requires strong trigger action to produce heavy showers, convergent mfu air provides an environment in which strong convection is easily induced."[1] 132

The trigger action for the movement of the air masses and consequent release of its energy in the form of rainfall is provided by the land mass in the north i.e. India as well as the whole of Asia. The conditions in July are highly favourable for the growth of a centre of low pressure in the northeast and a secondary one over the northwest India because of its continental character and simultaneously with it has developed a centre of high pressure over the Indian ocean south of the 30°N latitude. Such a development of the pressure gradients necessarily initiates the energy for the movement of the heavy air masses over the Indian ocean towards the northwest and after crossing the equator towards the northeast. This is what is known as the southwest monsoon which because of its passage towards higher latitudes (with a gradual decrease in temperature) accelerates the tremendous release of the energy of the air masses and causes a very heavy rainfall. The Andamans facing the full force of the southwest monsoon experiences heavy rainfall during this season and during this period the maximum rainfall occurs in the islands.

In the cold-season, with the beginning of January, the conditions are reversed. The former seats of low pressure are replaced by high pressure and the comparatively heavier air masses move towards the south (in general sense). The winds from the Indian mainland as well as China blows towards the south and a major stream in the Bay of Bengal. Here again the islands experience rainfall of the northeast monsoon which is comparatively lower in amount.

Location of the Islands in the Path of the Travelling Tropical Storms and Cyclones.

The tropical cyclones originate in low latitudes within or along the margins of the equatorial calms. Generally the tropical cyclones do not

1. Trewartha, G. T.—An introduction to climate, Methuen, London.

10:Sen K-3,4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

132 originate within areas of prevailing steady or strong winds. It has been investigated by S. C. Roy and A. K. Roy[1] that the cyclones are predominant over Bay of Bengal during the transition period. "In the beginning of the hot weather in India in April, a slow current of the southwesterly winds of local original sets in the north of the Bay of Bengal. The winds become irregular in the southern parts of the Bay. But northerly and northwesterly winds of land-origin still prevail on the Arabian Sea. By May the southwesterly winds of local origin dominate the whole of the Bay and set in also over the west of the Arabian sea. During this transition period oceanic air of great depth occasionally penetrate into the south of the Indian seas. The overrunning of the local southwest winds by the oceanic winds or the encounter of the northwest land winds with the oceanic winds result in the formation of cyclones."

Andamans not only experience the tropical cyclones during the transition period but also a number of typhoons, which originate in the China seas; their remnants, after travelling across south China and Burma or across Indo-China and Siam, intensify again into storms in the Bay of Bengal. Hence the full force of these storms are experienced in the islands.

TABLE I

Frequency of Cyclones

	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
Bay of Bengal	2	0	1	8	18	9	3	3	5	27	16	8

TABLE II

Percentage frequency of severe cyclones

	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
Bay of Bengal	0	0	2	8	18	5	3	2	8	22	24	8

GENERAL CLIMATIC CONDITIONS

The islands have very little annual variation, being 3° to 5°F for mean temperature and 4° to 7°F for mean maximum temperature. The annual mean maximum temperature varies from 85° to 87°F, and mean minimum from 75° to 77°F and mean temperature from 79° to 82°F. The relative humidity is also very high and the average is 80%.

1 Roy, S. C. & Roy, A. K. Structure and Movement of Cyclones in the Indian seas.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The high temperature coupled with the high relative humidity gives rise to a high sensible temperature. The weather is always warm and very sultry but is tempered to some extent by the pleasant sea breezes. 132

There is no rainless month in the South Andaman and the rain is received both from the southwest and northeast monsoons. As one goes towards the north of the islands the amount of rainfall decreases. During the southwest monsoon rain continues for days together.

During the transition period there are frequent cyclonic disturbances in the islands and some of them are so violent that they create havoc to navigation as well as settlement.

The diurnal variation in temperature is not at all great and the sky is at any moment overcast with clouds which may cause rainfall from a few minutes to a few hours.

TABLE III

Temperature conditions in (°F)

	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
Port Blair (11° 40' N & 92° 43' E)												
Mean Maximum	84·2	85·5	87·5	89·1	86·7	84·3	83·8	83·4	83·1	83·9	83·9	83·6
Mean Minimum	71·6	70·5	71·5	74·7	75·6	75·0	75·1	74·7	73·8	73·8	73·5	72·9
Long Island												
Mean Maximum	85·7	79·2	83·3	84·8	84·2	82·8	81·4	81·0	80·1	83·0	82·2	81·8
Mean Minimum	72·7	74·6	77·1	78·1	79·8	79·8	78·6	78·5	78·0	78·8	76·9	76·9
Mayabunder												
Mean Maximum	83·6	79·5	83·1	85·1	83·9	82·5	81·4	80·7	80·1	82·1	82·4	80·9
Mean Maximum	71·6	74·9	77·6	79·2	79·5	79·4	77·9	77·9	77·18	75·9	7·5	75·5

April is the warmest month of the year. The lowest mean temperature, however, does not occur in a particular month in all the parts. There is a tendency for this to take place in February in the northern half of the islands and during October and November in the southern half. The highest and lowest temperature ever recorded in the islands are 97°F and 62°F respectively. Even though the islands have a latitudinal extension of 3°, the change of temperature from north to south is not marked. Due to the heavy clouds over Port Blair, temperature is appreciably reduced.

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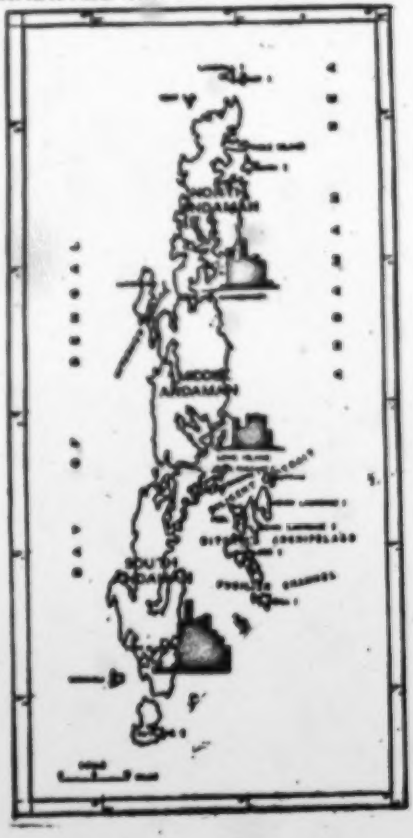
Rainfall Conditions

132 The islands experience fairly good rainfall, as already said, from both the southwest and northeast monsoons. The southwest monsoon brings the maximum amount of rainfall. The regional distribution of the rainfall is very uneven. The Table Island situated in the northeast part of the islands has an annual average of 76". Long Island off the east coast of the Middle Andaman 55.95", Mayabunder 69.12" and Port Blair in the South Andaman 123". Broadly speaking, the amount of rainfall decreases as one goes towards the north as well as to the northeast. The southwest region experiences the maximum amount

[102]

RAINFALL MAP OF THE ANDAMANS



10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

of rainfall because it comes first under the impact of the southwest monsoon. As the old observatories at Port Blair and Nancowrie are located on the leeward side it is probable that at stations on the windward side in these areas the rainfall is heavier (probably more than 140"). This greater amount of rainfall helps the development of a denser tropical vegetation in the western coast.

The southwest monsoon burst over the South Andaman by about 20th May (15th June at Calcutta) accompanied by thunder and rain. In May the number of rainy days is 16, in June 21, in July 26 and in August almost on all days. But the amount of rainfall is not maximum in August (16.29") which is so in the month of June.

The two periods of maximum precipitation are

(a) May and June, and

(b) September and October.

which correspond to the beginning and the end of the southwest monsoon.

The rainfall of the northeast monsoon begins from the month of October.

January and February are almost rainless months in the northern stations. Port Blair experiences rainfall almost throughout the whole year but the fluctuations of seasonal rainfall are quite large (1.11" in February and 21.75" in June). The highest annual rainfall recorded during the last 60 years is 150" and the lowest is 84".

TABLE IV

Rainfall in inches

	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
Port Blair	1·79	1·11	1·12	2·36	15·13	21·75	15·43	16·29	17·40	12·51	10·52	7·92
Long Island	0	0	0·11	0·48	9·65	6·62	10·62	10·68	10·30	6·00	0·87	0·62
Mayabunder	0	0	0·19	1·20	12·10	8·38	15·43	9·94	10·00	8·81	2·03	0·92

Table Island—Data not available.

Humidity

It is high throughout the year being highest during the southwest monsoon when the average is as much as 90% and on individual days the atmosphere may be saturated. The lowest humidity occurs during December to February when it varies from 72 to 75%. The annual variation is about 15%. The humidity in the south is more than in the north.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

132 Clouding in all the months is more than 13th of the sky and is maximum in the monsoon months being about 8 to 9/10ths. On 2 out of 3 days, sky is overcast in these months.

Wind

The islands are generally windy, particularly Table Island and Port Blair where in July the average wind speed is 15 m.p.h.

TABLE V

Mean daily wind speed in m.p.h.

	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
Port Blair	8·8	7·1	5·9	8·6	13·7	15·9	13·4	10·4	7·6	8·4	9·1	9·5
Table Island	6·9	6·1	5·7	6·0	10·4	15·0	16·2	12·2	7·6	7·1	8·0	9·0

During November to February, winds are mainly from the north and east and during southwest monsoon months from west and southwest. The months of March and April are transition months.

Thunder

The islands experience thunders in about 45 days out of a year. From March to October, each month experiences more than 3 thunders. The most thundery months are April, May and June with not less than 8 thunders a day.

THE CLIMATIC SEASONS

As already said, the temperature of the Andamans is more or less uniform throughout the year but the rainfall fluctuates with the change of season. In spite of the equable nature of the climate, a few climatic seasons are experienced in the islands because of the mechanism of the two monsoons in two specific periods, passage of cyclone during the transition time etc.

(1) Cool season — From December to February
(2) Hot season — From March to Mid-May
(3) Southwest monsoon season — From Mid. May to Mid. October.
(4) Post southwest monsoon season — From Mid. October to November.

Cool Season

This season has a mean maximum temperature of about 83° to 87°F and a mean minimum temperature of 71° to 78°F. The temperature is not at all low as compared to the maximum one. A temperature below 60°F has never been recorded in Port Blair.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Port Blair records 8" rainfall in December. 1" to 2" in January and February. In the stations of the north these months are almost rainless. However some very heavy falls, 11.6" in a day in December, 8.2" in January and 5.2" in February have been recorded. Some severe storms are experienced in this season which are formed in the neighbourhood of the Nicobars, usually to the northwest. Occasionally some storms formed in the southwest part of the Bay proceed northwest and north and finally recurve into the northeast and affect the Andamans. More than 70% of the winds in this season blow from the north, northeast and east. As one goes towards the south pressure decreases but the pressure gradient is low. 132

Hot Season.

April is the hottest month with a mean maximum temperature of 89° to 90°F and a mean minimum temperature of 75° to 80°F. Even during the hottest spells the temperature does not exceed 97°F. Generally little amount of rain occurs in March and it increases in April and very much in May. Rainfall in April and May are of thundery type usually occuring in the afternoon and the evening. On an average 8 thunderstorms are experienced during April and May. The number of tropical storms also increases from March to May. Many of the storms in April and in the later part of the month originate in the neighbourhood of the Andamans, usually to the southwest of them. The storms generally move towards the north and the northwest and recurve later. Some storms which from during the first fortnight of May originate in the Andaman Sea and move either northwest or northeast causing heavy rainfall.

The winds, in the month of March, generally blow from the northeast, northwest and east directions and there are considerable number of calm days (wind speed 5.9 m.p.h.). In April the wind directions are more or less the same but with the gradual change of the pressure system more wind is found to move from the southwest and west and in May the predominant winds are from the west and southwest. The wind speed is high (8.6 m.p.h.) These features indicate the beginning of the southwest monsoon.

The Southwest Monsoon Season.

The monsoon breaks out over the islands by about the 20th May accompanied by thunder and rain. The rainfall gradually increases and reaches its peak in June at Port Blair, in August in Long Island and Mayabunder. Towards the end of the September, remnants of typhoons

10:Sen K-3,4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

132 of the China sea move across lower Burma and affect the North Andaman sea. The influence of these typhoons are particularly felt in the North Andaman.

In July, heavy falls of 15.85" have been recorded in 24 hours at Port Blair. The sky is overcast with clouds for days together. This appreciably reduces the temperature. The mean maximum temperature is 84.3°F and mean minimum temperature 75.0°F in July, the characteristic month of this season.

Post Southwest Monsoon Season.

This is the period of cyclonic disturbances. These cyclones of dangerous severity commence as feeble circulations and they have a progressive movement, with the stormfield advancing on a curved or sometimes a straight tract. The average velocity is about 200 to 300 miles per day. A general picture of the tropical cyclone is given below.

In front of a tropical cyclone the sky is covered with hight clouds in which halos sometimes appear. The air becomes sultry and oppressive; the wind falls almost to a calm and on the oceans a heavy swell rolls up. In the next stage, a breeze springs up, the clouds become lower and heavier and pressure begins to fall. Afterwards heavy rainclouds appear, first on the horizon and then advance across the sky; as the rain clouds pass overhead, the rain falls in torrents. The wind becomes fierce while barometer falls rapidly. High or tremendous seas are superimposed on the heavy swell. The sea sprays and rains destroy all visibility. When the wind has reached its greatest violence, suddenly the centre of the storm arrives. Here the wind suddenly drops from hurricane force to a light unsteady breeze, or sometimes to a complete calm. At the calm centre the lowest pressure is recorded and often there is a complete absence of low cloud and rains; the sun, moon and stars may be visible according to the time of day when the calm centre is traversed. Following the passage of the centre, the wind suddenly increases to hurricane force again but from the opposite direction; the torrential rain is renewed and barometer rises as quickly as it fell. As the end of the storm approaches, the wind falls and the rain clouds break and disappear leaving only the high clouds. Finally the wind drops, the sky clears and the pressure becomes normal. The average number of storms is about one per year. In November, the frequency of the storms that affect the area is about the same as in October and more than one in every two is likely to be severe.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

CLIMATIC REGIONS

It is difficult to divide the islands into climatic regions. The islands having only a length of 192 miles and a width of 32 miles, when maximum, may bring out some changes in the climatic elements from north to south but little change from east to west. Whatever variation is found from east to west, is due to the presence of the north to south running hill systems. 132

If we consider the rainfall of the islands, it decreases as one goes towards the north and the east. The primary reason is the fact that the southwest monsoon causes heavy rainfall in the south and as it moves towards the north its rain bearing capacity decreases and ultimately causes less rainfall. Besides this the micro-climatic factors have important roles. The north-south system of hills evidently results in a greater rainfall in the west and more correctly on the windward side and an appreciable decrease in the leeward side. The northwestern monsoon as well, causes some rainfall in the northern and the eastern section of the islands. As such an increase in annual rainfall amount is experienced in the Table Island, situated in the northeast extremity of the North Andaman.

The temperature, as discussed previously, is almost the same in all the stations during the whole of the year.

Hence if any attempt is made for a division of the islands into climatic regions, the rainfall stands as the most important factor. As the islands have got only 4 stations, all of them having insufficient data[1] except Port Blair, which are all situated in the east coast of the Andamans, the successful division of the islands into climatic regions becomes impossible.

1. All the 3 stations except Port Blair.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

CHAPTER V
NATURAL VEGETATION

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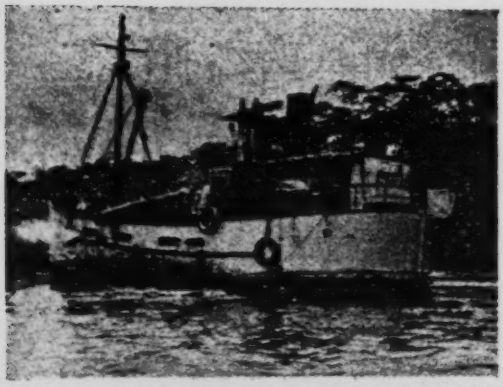

A timber carrying launch of the Andamans.

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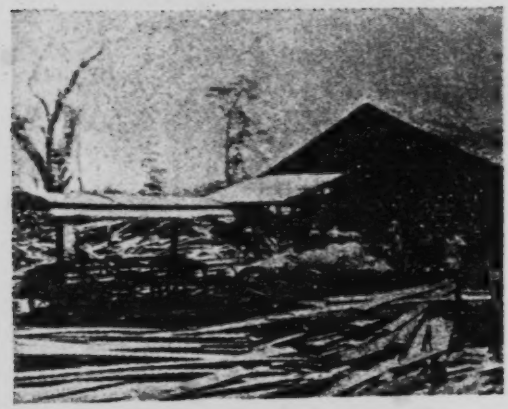

A view of the Saw Mill at Chatham Island.

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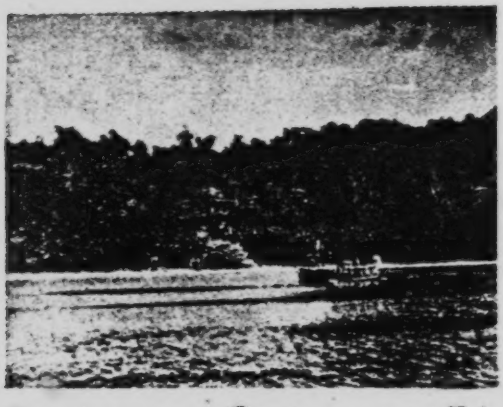

A view of the natural vegetation along the Sea coast.

[facing p. 36]

10:Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P. 36]

CHAPTER V

NATURAL VEGETATION

137 "The Andamans present much variety in soil formation and there is accordingly a corresponding diversity of the vegetation."[1] The whole of the islands has an almost unbroken tropical type of forest. Unlike most of the countries, the islands have not been cleared of forests and still they occupy almost the whole of the islands except some areas around Port Blair in the South Andaman and a few other scattered spots. But the programme of settlement of the refugees from East Bengal and of some people from South India needs the clearance of forests[2] for providing rooms for settlement and the optimum amount that should be cleared for maintaining a perfect regional balance of the country is a highly controversial issue.

The general boatanical aspect of the islands is a deep cover of forests throughout the whole of the islands, the average height of the trees being 100′ ft. with straight stems and being covered in places entirely by creepers which hang from the top of the trees like festoons. Amongest these lianes the *Dinochala Tjangkorreh, Entada Purshaeta. Calamus and Dischidia nimmulia* have been recognised. There is an intense undergrowth of luxuriant plants making the forests impenetrable. It is observed by Mr. Kurz that the straight growth of the trees disappears, however, south of the South Corbyn's Cove and along the western coasts a more stunted vegetation occurs, the mean height of the vegetation being 80′ ft. Along the last named region, the trunk of the trees are bent showing some tendency of those trees to be in conformity with the direction of the southwest monsoon.

TYPES OF FORESTS

Depending upon the nature of topography, the soil and the availability of water, 3 main types of forests have developed in the Andaman Islands. They are

(a) The Evergreen Forest,
(b) The Deciduous Forest, and
(c) The Mangrove Forest.

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1. Kurz, S—Report on the vegetation of the Andaman Islands.
2. The clearance of forest is continuing for settlement in the islands.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The Evergreen forests are obviously concentrated in the regions of perennial water supply of water and therefore, are found in the moist valleys of the fresh water streams and also on the high hills as they experience relatively greater amount of rainfall. The principal trees are various species of Garjan (Dipterocarpus) associated with Black Chuglam (myristica irya), Lalchini (Calophyllum spectabile), Toungpeing (Artocarpus Chaplasha) etc. besides a number of minor species. 137

The Deciduous forests exist primarily on the lower and more gentle slopes of the hills. Padauk (Pterocarpus dalbergioides) forms the principal tree associated with Canarium euphyllum, Papita (Sterculia campanulata), Koko (Albizzia lebbek), Didu (Bombax Chaplasha), Pyimma (Lagerstreamia hypoleuca), White chuglam (terminalia bialata). Besides these few important species, a host of other types of trees are found in the islands but they are not so important from the point of view of revenue.

The Mangrove forests are widespread almost all along the coasts and especially along the estuaries of many creeks in a belt varying from a few yards to over a mile in width. As the creeks penetrate deep into the islands, the mangrove forests are also found to do so. The species of importance are Bruguiera gymnorhiza, Rhizophers Conjugata and Mucronata. The first one of them is of supreme importance which grow in pure stands. It attains a height of 70 to 80 feet and a girth of 5 feet.

Economic Value of the Forests of the Andamans.

The forest resources hold a key position in the list of the resources of the islands. The tropical vegetation inspite of its luxuriance, is generally much inferior to the temperate forests from the economic point of view. The absence of the growth of the different species in pure stands, the non-availability of the dense tropical vegetation, a sultry climate being incongenial for the tiresome and strainous labour required for lumbering operations and the great distance of the forest areas from the areas of consumption are the factors which have decisively proved the inferiority of the tropical forests. In many parts of the tropics, the forests being accessible and having good communication facilities, have paved the path for the development of the lumbering industry. Only because of these advantages the forests of the Caribbean Islands, Puerto Rico etc. have been virtually exhausted and many of the southeast Asian countries have started it at a very rapid pace. 137 313

The forests of the Andamans, in spite of their luxuriance, donot have very many valuable species though a few of them are useful for a large

10:Sen K-3,4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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number of purposes. The important species are padauk (Pterocarpus dalbergioides), garjan (Dipterocarpus spp), white dhup (Canarium euphyllum), papita (Sterculia campanulata) and the other ones of lesser importance are koko, white chuglam, lakuch, thingan, ywegi, lal bambwn, etc. A classification of the species according to their economic value and uses has been attempted below.

Class I type — Padauk, Koko, Chuglam, Marble wood and Satin wood.

Class II type — Pyimma, Bambwn, Chai Lakuch, Lakuch, Lalchini, Pongyet, Thitmin, Mowha, Khaya, Gangaw, Thingau.

Class III type—Didu, Ywegyi, Toungpeingyi and Garjan.

Of the class 1 woods, the padauk is of the most superior quality. Its average weight is 48 lbs. per cubic foot. It is a deep red wood, often with darker streaks, moderately hard and durable and seasons well and takes a fine polish. Some trees produce pale coloured wood, known in the trade as 'off colour' padauk which though good for construction purposes is of less value than the red padauk for ornamental use. Padauk is generally used for building boats, furniture, fine joinery and for all purposes to which teak,mahagany, hickory, oak and ash are applied. It is immuned from the attacks of white ants and borers, except the marine worm (toredo navalis) and form rats of all kinds.

The kako is of the colour of greenish grey or light brown or chocolate with dark markings with an average dry weight between 45-50 lbs. per cubic ft. It is not so hard and lustrous like padauk and as such is used in battons and furniture making.

The white and the black chuglams are of grey colour with darker markings. They are generally used for furniture, shafts and planking.

The marble or zebra wood is ebony with streaks of grey or light brown. It is used generally for furniture joinery makings.

The stain wood[1] is genearlly yellow in colour and it is soft and light. It is used for the manufacture of delicate furniture.

The Class II woods are used for a great variety of purposes. The pyimma is of considerable importance in the export list of the trees. The average dry weight is about 40 lbs. per cubic foot and is pale in colour, hard, durable and seasons well but swells when wet. It is largely used for building purposes specially as beams of the roof.

These informations were collected from the Forest Department, Andamans.

1. It is confused by many with the Sation Wood of Ceylon.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The bombwn is the second most important type in the Class II type of woods. It has an averge weight of 40 lbs. per cubic ft. and is generally yellowish grey in colour with darker streaks. The durability of the wood is quite long but it cannot stand exposures. It is generally used for making of furniture and joineries. 137 313

The rest of the woods have also got an widespread application in a variety of purposes e.g. house building, shipmaking, carriage and furniture making. But the amount exploited from the forests is not of significance.

The didu and garjan are the most important in the class III type of woods. The former is of readdishy greay or yellowish in colour and is very soft and light. As such it is widely used in the making of packing cases for tea specially. The garjan is of the greatest demand of the Andaman forest woods. It has an average weight of 45-56 lbs. per cubic foot and is moderately hard. It is reddish grey to reddish brown in colour and is of moderate duration and as such the wood cannot be used for railway sleepers unless treated. It is used for planking and wood-paving now-a-days.

Ywegyi, being not a durable and hard type of wood, is generally used for the making of inferior cabinets. The trees yield a yellow dye which is also of wide use. [314]

Besides these, there are a host of other forest woods such as the several species of bamboo, cane, thatching palms etc. (For the industries based on forest products, see the Chapter on Industry.)

Forest Working.

The exploitation of timber from the forest has been attempted since the formation of the penal colony in the islands. For the systematic working of the forest, a Forest Department was opened in the year 1883 and a saw mill at Chatham was established in 1915 with a monthly outturn of 100 tons. But this was closed and another saw mill was set up by the Burma Trading Company having a monthly output of 750 tons and a second mill, an American circular mill in Chatham in 1927 and another mill in the North Andaman in 1925. But fortunately the wanton destruction of the forests was not possible because of the limited convict labour, and the fear of working in the aborigine-infested areas. The elephants were proved to be uneconomical in the exploilation of forest and an attempt for replacing the elephants by skidder was made in 1930. But the latter one was found to be uneconomical compared to the elephant power and this resulted again in the engagement of elephant 313 [492]

10:Sen K-3,4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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power in the forests. The net revenue of the forests from 1869 amounted to Rs. 45,65,764 inclusive of a capital asset of Rs. 21,39,983.

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The present day forest exploitation has to some extent been revitalised with the introduction of regenerating processes and use of disel engines for the trams carrying logs from the spot of exploitation to the jetty wherefrom it is carried down to Port Blair for sawing and finally exported to the mainland and London. The working of the forest in the Andamans and its preparation for marketing undergo a number of stages. After a proper survey, a spot of exploitation is selected where a forest camp is opened near the jetty with a sufficient strength of imported labourers from India. The forest camps are erected with local timber and the exploitation proceeds from the spot in the immediate neighbourhood of the jetty (exclusive of the mangrove forests) to the interior regions. Along with the expansion of the exploitation area, tram lines are laid down from the jetty onwards. The felling is done by chiselling the trunk of the trees and then it is pulled by a few elephants for breaking it down. This completes the felling of the tree and after properly cutting all the branches, the logs are carried by an elephant with the help of his trunk and are unloaded from the tram. Afterwards, it is taken to the jetty where the logs are again unloaded and rafted in a tank-landing craft to make them ready for transportation to Chatham Island where it is shown into standard size (not always) and is exported to the markets. The transportation of the logs from the spot of exploitation to Port Blair is always done on water ways. The success in the transportation of the logs have been facilitated by the innumerable harbours and creeks making easy the passage of the boat into the interior parts of the islands and it is found that the average drag seldom exceeds a mile and at the same time exploitation requires some experience of local conditions and foresight, as the coastal areas are exposed to the open seas and advantage has to be taken of the different seasons of the year to work in different tracts.

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The yield of merchantable timber is only 15 tons per acre. An assessment of the future potentialities of merchantable timber with the introduction of the present method of regeneration has been given by Sri Chengapa[1]. The sustained or perpetual yield of the forests is about 135,000 tons per year and according to him, with the introduction of the present method of regeneration, the yield per acre is expected to be as much as 75 tons per acre, a five fold increase of the present yield. The

[113]

1 Chengapa, B. S.—The Andaman forests and their development; Census of India, 1951, Volume XVII, Andaman & Nicobar Islands by A. K. Ghosh.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

approximate estimate of the output of the different types of timber is given below. 313 433

Annual yield — 675,000 tons,

Padauk — 7000 tons, Garjan — 28,0000 tons, White Dhup — 21,000 tons, Papita — 28,000 tons, Koko — 500 tons, White Chuglam — 7,000 tons, Black Chuglam — 2,500 tons, Pyinma — 1,500 tons, Badam — 11,000 tons, Didu — 7,000 tons and others — 14,000 tons.

Source: Chengapa, B. S.—The Andaman forests and their development; Census of India, 1951, Volume XVII, Andaman & Nicobar Islands by A. K. Ghosh.

The limitations in the exploitation of the forest resources of the Andamans are not few. The problems faced upto 1934-35 were primarily because of the inefficient methods in the extraction of timber and absence of due attention in the regeneration of the forests. Previously the exploitation was confined only to the coastal areas because of the easy accessibility, but the vast tracts of rich resources in the interior remained virtually untapped in the absence of any economic device. The construction of an experimental tramline in the Rangat valley, however, proved successful. The regeneration of the forests was also little cared for. The new plantations hardly exceeded 100 acres though the exploitation was widespread over large areas. Improvements in the line of regeneration were discernible since the year 1932 and marked improvements were brought about by the year 1936-37. According to this new device, the old crop is removed in two or more successive fellings allowing nature to do the sowing. 313 185

However, some of the limiting factors in the exploitation, transportation and marketing of the forest products are given below. 313 433

(1) The selection of the forests for exploitation is made from a very vague idea and proper surveys are hardly undertaken to realise the actual conditions in the fields which really happen to be quite different from theoretical speculations. It is found that many forests specially in the North Andaman are yet to be explored. Hence the insufficiency of knowledge regarding the forests has made the proper selections of the actual spots of exploitation an impossibility.

(2) The forest working in many regions have to be abandoned because of the seasonal water-supply.

(3) The trees in the forests do not occur in pure stands and hence random felling operations are done irrespective of the type of trees. It is estimated that the total wastage of timber in the Andaman forests is approximately 1 crore of rupees in value.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

313 (4) The amount of exploitation of timber in the Andamans reflects the nature of demand and its amount. The demand being highly elastic so long, the exploitation, in consequence, has suffered. The sale system of timber is far from satisfactory as the prices of the timbers are informed by the farms who buy them and on this basis the prices of the timbers are fixed and Sri Shivdasani writes[1] that "the purchasers themselves are the suppliers of information on which the department fixes the price. The effect of refusal to sell to anyone who wants the produce is to eliminate one of the main price determining factors i.e., extent of demand. The tendency of selected purchasers who become middlemen and pass on the timber to consumers after keeping a profit for themselves is to be more interested in buying those varieties of timber produced that have the best market. At the hands of the selected purchasers the marketing of Andaman timber cannot receive the attention required to ensure that as many categories as possible are sold. The interests and profit of the selected purchasers came first. Not only are they in a position to obtain disproportionate profit but the fixing of the price of such an important commodity being left to negotiations between one officer and interested purchasers is fraught with other dangers also."

(5) The problem of labour supply is also not satisfactory. Local labourers are not available because of their reluctance to do all these jobs. Labourers are to be brought from the mainland and they are either Ranchi or South Indian labourers.

The immediate steps that should be taken for the proper working of the forest are the fundamental change in the sale-system, addition of transports facilities from the Andamans to the mainland, formation of a permanent source of local labourers and proper surveys before the forests are worked. Regeneration of the forests have been introduced in recent times. The over importance given by the Forest Department to a few farms in the sale of Andaman timbers has led the department to be a tool in the hands of the farms. The sale of these timbers should be made to any farm found suitable by the Forest Department after proper consideration and the fixation of the price should also be determined by the department.

Unless the transportation facilities of timbers from the islands to the mainland are increased, the amount of forest working can hardly

[113] 1 Shivdasani, H. R.—Report on the possibilities of Colonization and development of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, 1949.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

be accelerated. It is believed that the demand for timber in the mainland is so much that it can easily absorb as much timber as the islands can produce. The transportation problem, is one of the, if not, the most important limiting factor in the amount of forest exploitation. In this connection, it may be recalled that the Forest Department can hardly cope with the forest clearance as well as find a market for the timber in the recent colonisation scheme in the country. These are obviously due to the scarcity of labour supply, shortage of elephant power, labour supply and transportation facilities.

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CHAPTER VI

SOILS

134 Soil is the unconsolidated material on the surface of the earth. The origin of the soils has been attributed to different factors and in the early days, it was a common belief that the soil is the outcome of the disintegration of the parent material. As such, the soils were believed to be very much akin to the parent material. However, the concept of soil formation has been thoroughly revolutionised by the Russian pedologist, Dokucahev in 1879 and afterwards developed by Sibirtsev in 1901, Glinka in 1914 and other Russian scientists. Dokuchaev was the first pedologist to propound the theory that a given parent material may form different soils depending upon the environmental conditions.

Soil Forming Factors

The most decisive factor regarding the distribution of soil types has been attributed neither to the parent material nor to the climatic conditions, but due to combined effects of climate, micro-organisms, topography, parent material and time, of which the first one is the most dominating factor according to the celebrated pedologist, Glinka.

According to Lang, the soil may be arranged in relation to the rain factor. So far the Andamans are concerned, the temperature does not show any appreciable regional variation but the rainfall does so. In the Andamans, the gradual decrease in rainfall is experienced as one goes from west to east and from south to north (For details see the Chapter on Climate). Besides this, the variation in rainfall is marked in a small area because of the juxtaposition of high lands and valleys. Under such conditions, the division of the Andamans into different soil regions is extremely difficult unless a detailed soil survey for the islands is undertaken. With the existing knowledge, the soils of the Andamans can be broadly divided into three types.

1. Soil of the hilly region.
2. Soil of the valley region..
3. Soil of the coastal region.

Soil of the Hilly Region

These regions are characterised by hot and humid climate. The soil is low in organic matter, strongly leached, rich in clay, and more or

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

less yellow in colour. The texture (by feel) is clayey. But from the few soil samples, collected by the author, a generalisation will be far from satisfactory. Generally brick coloured soils are found over the serpentine rocks e.g. in the Saddle Peak area, Rutland and parts of Mount Harriet Range. The brick colour is evidently due to excessive leaching and consequent increase of the Fe-Al content. 134

Soil of the Valley Region

The samples of the valley region were taken from Dhani Khari area in the South Andaman and the Rangat area in the Middle Andaman. The texture (by feel) is clayey having more than 50% clay. It is rich in silica. The structure is more or less of platty type. The greyish or blackish soils with considerable quantity of siliceous materials are found covering the indurated chloritic or greenstone rocks in the Middle Andaman.

Soil of the Coastal Region

There are deep penetrations of creeks of the sea into the land giving rise to the mangrove swamps (c.f. Sunderbans). It is highly saline in character giving rise to halophytic types of vagetation. The texture of the soil is coarse.

Soil Erosion

In general, the soil cover of the Andamans is not very thick (4") which is highly susceptible to erosion due to the undulating nature of topography and high rainfall. Vast tracts of forest areas are being cleared for the settlement of refugees from East Pakistan and the menace of soil erosion has shown its early indications. For a continued upkeep of the fertility of the soils, the menace of the soil erosion should be checked by careful clearance and regeneration of the forests and also by proper agricultural devices.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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CHAPTER VII

MINERAL RESOURCES

135 The mineral resources in the Andamans were believed to be bountiful. There had been mentions in the earlier notes of many travellers and historians (e.g. Nicolo Conti) about the richness of the islands in gold and they have gone so far as to call these islands as the "Island of Gold". But unfortunately no gold has yet been found in the Andamans nor is there any reason to suppose that it will be found. In this [648] connection it may be recalled that Dr. Helfer, a Russian Geologist was killed by the aborigines while he was making geological prospecting in search of gold. M. V. Portman discovered specimens of various minerals in the neighbourhood of Port Blair and they are chromium, copper, iron and sulphur. As such the land seemed to be sufficiently promising and Mr. Mallet[1] proceeded to Port Blair for further investigations. But unfortunately no important deposit of any mineral has been found to occur except some nests of lignite and bands of pure limestone in scattered places and in the serpentine rocks specially in the northeast part of Rutland occur small crystals of bronzite.

A few miles south of Port Blair near about Rangachang, highly altered and eruptive rocks are found being traversed by veins, the main constituent of which is hematite, but which consist of a considerable portion of pyrite (iron pyrites) and chalcopyrite (copper pyrite) in much smaller quantity.

Of the above-mentioned minerals, none are found to be economically exploitable. It has been argued that the Andamans cannot be rich in minerals because the Arakan Yoma of Burma also shows a barrenness in minerals and the only ores which need be noticed for practical purposes are those of tin, iron, lead, copper, antimony, none of which save iron, are known west of Sittang. But the apparent barrenness of the Arakan hills, however, can not be taken as conclusively proving that the Andamans are equally unproductive. It is believed that the Japanese carried out a full mineral survey of the islands and are reported to have found deposits including coal, iron and precious stones.

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[113] 1. Mallet, F. L. On some of the mineral resources of the Andaman Islands in the neighbourhood of Port Blair, Rec. G.S.I. Vol. XVII, 1884.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Coal:

It is of very poor quality and occurs in pockets in the sandstones, associated with poorly preserved leaf impressions. No sign of continuous seam has been observed in the islands. The coal deposits of the islands are of the same age as the coal bearing strata of Beluchistan. But unfortunately no coal is economically exploitable. 135

Under such circumstances of poor knowledge regarding the minerals of the islands, nothing can be said regarding the future mineral position of the islands. Immediate measures should be taken for the proper mineral investigation of the islands for future programmes of setting up industries.

[pg 48-50 contain no text material]

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P 51]

CHAPTER VIII

THE PEOPLE

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The study of the people of the Andamans is rendered extremely interesting by virtue of the great diversities in the types of population. Obviously for the islands like the Andamans the diversities of population are far out of proportion. The islands remained as an abode of the aborigines, the negritoes, in complete seclusion and the only outside interference that had tampered the islands were the occasional raids by the sea pirates from Malaya. The beliefs about the occasional exchanges of commodities and ideas of the pirates with the Andamanese [114] and the trade of the Andamanese for being sold as slaves in the courts of Siam and Cambodia are still now questions of doubt. However, it 563 was only at the end of the 18th century, with the attempt of the formation of settlements and later on, of the penal settlement, that there began an influx of foreign peoples, mainly from the different parts of the 167 144 mainland of India. With the formation of the penal colony, convicts 101 were brought over to the islands in numbers and also a few attempts of free colonisation by some people from Burma and India were made. The convicts who were from the different parts of India and the free colonizors who were diverse enough in their social and cultural traits gave a character of heterogeneity to the islands. It was only after the attainment of the independence that the settlement of the East Bengal refugees and of some people from South India is taking place in the Andamans. This is going to add further to the cultural diversity of the islands. This scheme of colonisation of the East Bengal refugees and of some people from South India is the first attempt of some importance for the permanent colonization in the islands.

Such a variety in the types of people, can be broadly divided into 144 three groups. 563 101

(a) The aboriginal population.
(b) The Later Settlers, and
(c) The New Settlers.

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The aboriginal population belongs to the negrito stock and therefore, 101 has an affinity with the Semangs and Sakais of Malaya, the Veddas of [144] Ceylon and the other negrito groups of Southeast Asia. Some attribute the origin of these aborigines to the settlement of some Portuguese negro slaves who had survived by coming to these islands after a ship-

10:Sen K-3,4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

174 wreck. However, this idea is totally untenable. On the other hand
101 there are sufficient grounds to believe that these aborigines came down from the lower region of Burma. On their arrival at the islands, they moved to the different parts of the islands and very likely, because of the different types of physical environment they developed different traits and as such a few groups of the population are discernible. They are the

(a) The Jarawas,
(b) " Onges,
(c) " Andamanese, and
(d) " Sentinelese.

101 All these groups, though physically akin to each other, have deve-
131 loped different social and economic traits and the ways of earning their food and constructing their shelters are conditioned by their immediate environment. These aborigines who had spread over the different parts of the Great Andamans are experiencing a gradual shrinkage in their areas of command because of the gradual expansion of the areas of the new settlers. The Jarawas are to-day confined to the western part of the South and Middle Andaman, the Andamanese, who are extremely limited in number are along the coastal areas, the Onges in the Little Andaman and Rutland Is. and the Sentinelese in the Sentinel islands. The relation of aborigines with the foreign people became one of deep distrust and hostility with some of the groups, especially the Jarawas and the Sentinelese, which has been very rightly explained by M. V. Portman as an outcome of the unfriendly attitude of the foreigners. The Onges and the Andamanese have however become very friendly with the foreigners. The number of the aboriginal population of the Andamans, is undoubtedly a matter of considerable speculation and it is more so in the case of the Jarawas and the Sentinelese whereas, for the Onges and the Andamanese the estimate is fairly correct.

161 The aboriginal population of the Andamans is fast declining in number and there is apprehension that inspite of the best of attempts, the chances of the survival of the aborigines for long ages are extremely limited. Undoubtedly, the aboriginal population of the Andamans is an object of interesting study. Such an interest grows out of its being the only purest negrito group in the world and the modes of their life depict very well the nature of symbiotic relationship existing between
[178] man and environment. Such a primitive economy of hunting and collecting has not changed appreciably inspite of the impact with the foreigners except imbibing some foreign vices.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The formation of the penal colony in the islands brought in a number of convicts from time to time to serve death sentence or life sentence because of the political or criminal offence and majority of the convicts had ultimately settled in the islands and at present they have got mixed up irrespective of the caste, creed and religion with a fair degree of homogeneity. They are known as Andaman Indians. Besides these Andaman Indians, the groups of Karens and Burmans constitute a very small percentage of the Burmese population in the islands who foster their indigenous traditions. The need for land for the rehabilitation of the refugees in India due to the partition has made from for the settlement of some refugees in the islands. As the settlement programme of these refugees and also of some people from South India demanded the search for suitable land for colonization of the people, a number of delegations had explored the possibilities. The islands with the extreme smallness in size can hardly make room for the lakhs of refugees but the limited settlement that has been established has definitely provided some of the unfortunates with a small plot of land to live on. This idea of colonization is unique in the settlement history of the islands as we do not find in the earlier periods such an attempt for permanent colonization except by some people from Burma. So long, the permanent settlements grew out of the settlement of the free convicts and in most cases under compulsion. The settlement of the later settlers was so long confined within the South Andaman only and especially around Port Blair. But this colonization scheme which has started operating since March, 1949 is throwing open the different parts of the islands for permanent settlement. 563

As the aboriginal population and the later settlers are the determinants of the dynamism of the islands, three separate chapters are added. The first chapter is devoted to the study of the aboriginal population and the other ones, to that of the later settlers and new settlers. 128

[The two chapters on the later settlers and the new settlers haven't been processed. -Analyst]

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Onge
Andamanese

CHAPTER IX
ABORIGINAL POPULATION
A group of Onges

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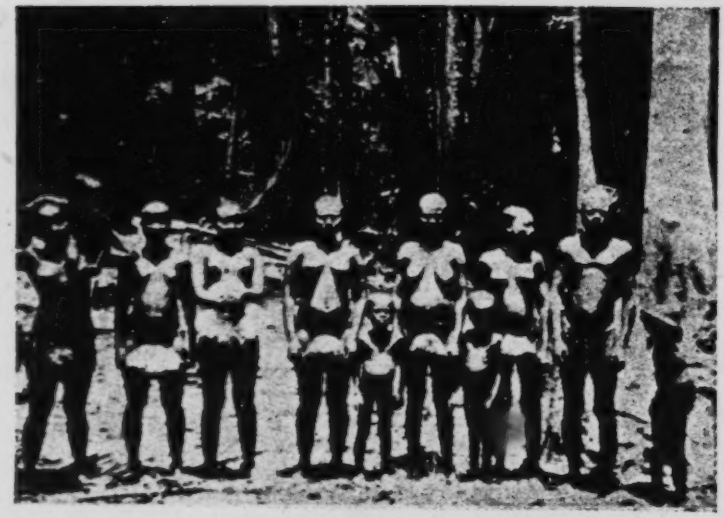

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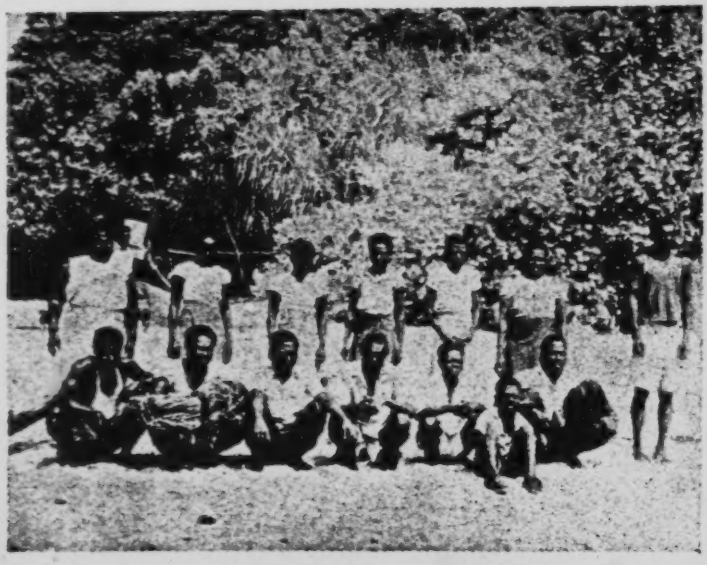

A group of Andamanese (Courtesy A. S. I.)

[facing p. 54]

10:Sen K-3,4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

[P. 54]

CHAPTER IX

ABORIGINAL POPULATION

144 As said earlier, the aboriginal population of the Andamans belong to the negrito group which is spread over the different parts of Southeast Asia e.g. the Semangs and Sakais of Malaya, the Veddas of Ceylon, the Tapiro of New Guinea etc. The pygmies of the Equatorial Africa also show very close resemblance to the negritoes in physical as well as cultural characteristics but the latter are taller, much more dark skinned and also hairy than the former. In spite of the racial affinity with the other negrito groups of Southeast Asia, the Andamanese show a remarkable degree of purity, an outcome of the virtual seclusion and little contact with the other people. But the infiltration of the later settlers have proved a long way to bring about some changes in them. The comparison of the Andamanese with the other negritoes will prove that a good deal of evolution of the Andamanese has been attained by them independently.

Affinity with the other Negritoes of Southeast Asia

171 Though the fundamantals of the economy of the Andamanese do not differ appreciably from the Semangs and the other groups, some characteristic features distinguish these people from the others. The Andamanese follows a long series of food privations which is absent among the Semangs and the equipments are also more elaborate than [501] the other negritoes. The outrigger canoes of the Andamanese are more improved, the bows are of complicated S-form and the huts are considerable improvements of the rudimentary temporary camps original to the negritoes. These indicate a definite improvement of the material culture of the Andamanese over the others.

The affinity of the Andamanese with the other negrito groups i.e. the Semangs of the Malaya Peninsula and the Aetas of the Philippines can very well be traced from the study of the equipments of material culture and also from the general habits and the methods of life.

171 As regards the equipments, the bow, the arrow, the mode of erecting
411 shelter and its shape show further improvements in their constuction though the prevalence of the original simple types can be detected in some parts. The original one curvature bow has considerably evolved and has developed into the S-shaped bow in the Andamans though the

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

original type can still be found in the Little Andaman. The similarity of the arrows are also striking and this has been rightly observed by Dr. Cipriani,[1] 'Similarity also with the arrows. This consists of a barbed detachable head connected to the shaft by a string. The harpoon arrow like its near relative and probable forefather, the harpoon spears, offers an interesting question in ethnography. Although the Andamans are widely separated from Malaya and Malaya from the Philippines, the three groups of negritoes have harpoon arrows, while such weapons do not seem to be present in other regions of Asia.' The huts of the Andamanese are also the outcome of further improvements over the original negrito shelter found among the other negrito groups.

In the general habits and the modes of living, a good deal of similarity if not identity is maintained with the other negritoes. But changes and modifications have crept up among the different groups in response to the different environments. Some of the original habits have been totally forgotten and some equipments have been further improved upon or in some cases, totally forgotten. The Jarawas, who are believed to have arrived in the Great Andamans from the South had the knowledge of construction and use of the canoes which served as the means of their movement from the south to the north, have totally forgotten both the construction and use of it.

Though the changes brought about among the Andamanese in response to the environment and time is in no way inconsiderable to give them an impress of individuality, little room for doubt is left that they belong to the big family of the negritoes whose remnants are only found to-day scattered over the different parts of southeast Asia.

Origin of the Andamanese

The presence of such a small group of negritoes in the deep solitude of physical separation from the other countries obviously arouses the question as to how and wherefrom they came. The attributes of the Andamanese, prove very well their affinity with the negrito groups. Much to the curiosity of the observers, the tribal people of the Nicobar Islands do not show any affinity with the Andamanese culturally or materially and such contrasts are important aspects of anthropological study. However, the distribution of the negrito group in these isolated islands have been explained by some as the passage of the people from the Lower reaches of Burma and it is accepted with greater unanimity be-

1 Cipriani, L—On the origin of the Andamanese, Andaman & Nicobar Islands, Census of India, 1961.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
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174 cause of reasonable grounds. In this search for the origin, some one has gone so far as to advocate a shipwreck of Portuguese Negro slaves whose survivors ultimately became the Andamanese. A number of theories about the origin of the Andamanese have been put forward by the different authorities.

The idea of the shipwreck and the survival of the Portuguese Negro slaves can be discarded forthwith. The negroes of Africa, though physically very much akin to the Andamanese, present appreciable differences and secondly the date of arrival of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean was 'only after the circumnavigation of the Cape of Good Hope, this would mean their coming sometime after the 15th Century, allowing not more than 500 years for the existence of the supposed shipwreck in the Andaman islands. The objections are 'great differences physically and materially from the people of Africa. Kitchen middens date back to milleniums i.e. long before the arrival of the Portuguese anywhere in Asia.'[1]

172 174

One of the very good clues for ascertaining the date of arrival of the Andamanese has been pointed out by Dr. Cipriani and he has conducted such a study in some parts of the Little Andaman and the Great Andamans. It is the study of the kitchen middens, that is, the accumulations of refuse, mostly of kitchen. Kitchen middens are fairly widespread and they are obviously the relics of a group of persons living in one spot. The kitchen middens, as they constitute the refuse of a group of persons, consist mostly of empty shells, nearly all bivalve, thrown after the contents have been eaten. The age of the kitchen midden can be calculated by counting the number of shells and the number that can be eaten by a person in one day. Cipriani writes that, 'Considering how many shells can be eaten everyday by one person and estimating the number of persons, that through the ages constituted to the formation of the deposit, it is possible to calculate the age of the kitchen middens, After the studies carried on the Onges we may say that every kitchen midden is formed as a result of the activities of a small group of some 30 to 40 persons who may frequent the spot for 40 to 50 days in a year. Their food is rarely formed of molluscs, they resort to these only when there is nothing to eat..... In this way many of the Andamanese accumulations, often huge, required a long period for their formation, a period to be calculated in thousands of years. Even if we reduce this number to half, the resulting antiquity

1 Ciprini, L—On the origin of the Andamanese, etc.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
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is not in accordance with the opinion that the Andamanese are descendants of shipwrecked Portuguese Negro slaves.' Though this process seems to be very crude for the determination of the exact date of the arrival of the Andamanese, a rough guess can very well be made. Cipriani has also advocated the measurement of the residual radioactivity of charcoal at different levels for the determination of the antiquity of the Andamanese. It is quite obvious that further research in these lines in the future can only give us a more precise idea about the date of the arrival of the aborigines. 172 174

The region wherefrom the oborigines arrived and the route of their migration are also matters of considerable controversy. It is believed that the Andaman and Nicobar islands were connected by land with the Arakan folds of Burma in the late Tertiary period, but this is also not very certain. According to Brown, the authority on the anthropology of the Andamans, the negritoes migrated from the Arakan region of Burma if there had been any land connection and if not, they migrated, not by land, but by sea from the Burmese coast (Pegu or Arakan). Brown says, 'The N. E. Monsoon could drift them thence on to the Andamans. It is conceivable that they might have travelled from Sumatra by the way of the Nicobars but the N. E. Monsoon would have appeased their progress in this direction while the S. W. Monsoon would have driven them to the coast of the Andamans. It is hardly possible to imagine them coming from the Malaya Peninsula across the wide stretch of the Andaman Sea. The balance of possibility is in favour of the view that the Andamans were peopled either by land or by sea, from the region of the Lower Burma.'[1] It is probable that the negritoes moved from Burma either at a time when a direct land connection was achieved or when shallow waters in the sea facilitated movement by the rafts of the aborigines, but the former has been considered to be thoroughly untenable because of the absence of any mammalia in the Andamans and this proves that if at all there had been any land connection of Burma and Andamans, it must have been before the evolution of the mammalia. The deep sea researches of Molengraaf (1921) have been utilised by Kaudern (1939)[2] to interpret the probable routes of migration of the negritoes into the Andaman Islands. In the Quaternary period, there had been alternating glacial and interglacial periods because of the 174 174 133

1 Brown, A. R—The Andaman Islands.
2 Kaudern, W—Notes on the geographical distribution of the pygmies and their possible afflicties; Etno. Stud. g, 1939. [113]

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
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174 change of the climate. In the glacial period, there had been a fall in
133 the level of the sea because of the fact that a great volume of water of the sea had transformed into ice. Hence in one such glacial period, as believed by Kaudern, there was a fall of 300 metres in the sea-level which established a direct contact with Burma facilitating the movement of the negritoes into the islands. But the absence of the Negrito group in the Nicobar Islands, only about 100 miles off the Andamans, invokes inquiry. This conspicuous absence of the negritoes in the Nicobars has been explained by Kaudern in this way:

'If the pygmies, when they migrated from the continent towards the south, were able to reach the former (the Andamans) but not the latter islands (the Nicobars), it meant that there has been at some time a fall of sea level of nearly 300 metres, but not as much as 800 metres in these tracts.'[1] As the Ten Degree channel exists between the Andamans and the Nicobars, the movement of the Negritoes further south was stopped.

174 There has been an attempt of linking up some of the tales of Hindu Mythology, Ramayana with the land and people of the Andamans. Detection of such a link has been speculated in search of the origin of the aboriginal population. Though there is no room for doubt of the affinity of the aborigines of the Andamans with the negritoes, as established from the studies of the physical and cultural anthropology, Shri S. K. Gupta, though not an anthropologist, has been a strong advocate of the opinion that the aborigines of the Andamans are the 'kiratas' of Ramayana. He writes, 'According to modern anthropology they are of the negrito stock. But according to Ramayana they are kiratas. These kiratas have been described in our literature as shiny black, with a copper coloured head of hair (Tamramurdhaja), bulging eyes, strong teeth. The description recorded several thousands years ago, holds good to-day All these tribes have copper coloured curly short hair growing as it were in separate insulated tufts.'[2] Further knowledge about them is that they live on meat and fish.

The affinity of the Andamanese has been further confirmed by citing some native appellations of the Andamanese which show a striking phonetical similarity to those of the kiratas e.g., *Aka-kora* (*da*). *Aka-kede* (*da*), *Aka-kol* (*da*) etc and also the phonetical similarity of the Onge word *Boan* with Santal word *Bonga* both signifying God.

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[113] 1 Kaudern, W—Notes on the geographical distribution of the pygmies etc, Etno. Stud. 9, 1939.

2 Gupta, S. K—Andaman & Nicobar Islands, 1951.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
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Sri Gupta, in conclusion, has been tempted to emphasise with firm conviction that the Andamanese are, therefore, very probably a remnant of the dwellers on the marshes of Bengal and the uplands of Santhal Paragana or the dense forests of Burma and Malaya. 174

As regards the native appellations and phonetic similarity, such apparent similarity is possibly evidenced in many groups separated from each other by long distances. Similarly, the diet of raw meat and fish is and was common to all hunting and collecting tribes of the world. Independent evolution of many tribes has been akin to each other and therefore, the further geological studies and studies in anthropology can only confirm the idea.

Since the arrival of the Andamanese in the islands, a gradual separation has taken place among the different branches of population who had moved to different parts of the islands. The micro-environment has exerted considerable influence in moulding these people ultimately giving birth to a number of sub-groups. However, the broad generalisations are their hunting and collecting economy, complete ignorance about the domestication of the plants and the animals, except the Onges who have learnt only for the last 30 years the domestication of dogs. Family is the smallest social unit and a few families constitute the communal hut. Each tribal sub-group has its hunting territory, within which it maintains a more or less nomadic life till they return to the main settlement where they have a communal hut. 105 174 [592] [423]

The doctrine of the environmental determinism exemplifies itself in the adaptation of the aborigines to the local environment. In their life, they never look beyond their local geography and the materials for houses, the food, the ornaments and every thing that they are in need of, are collected from the small territory in which a community lives. So the obvious conclusion may be drawn that the coastal tribes are dependent on fishing, turtle hunting and gathering of shells and oysters and the interior tribes on hunting. This type of primitive economy, based on hunting and collecting, cannot support more than two to four persons per square mile as against more than 300 per square mile in agricultural lands and again the density varies to a great extent according to the type of agriculture practised e.g., rice-growing regions support the maximum density of population. In spite of their all-round self-sufficiency they have some connections with the later settlers. For the want of iron, tobacco, distilled liquor, opium etc., these aborigines (jarawas) either make periodic raids on the settlements (Onges and Andamanese) or have established friendly relations with the settlers. The necessity 105 105 177 439

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
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CHAPTER IX ABORIGINAL POPULATION

An outrigger Canoe. (Courtesy A. S. I.)

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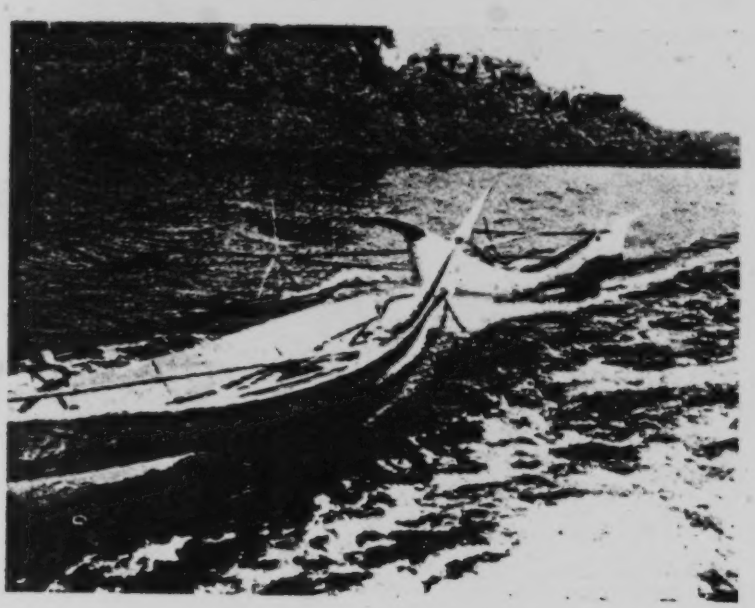

An outrigger Canoe with a Burmese Boat (Courtesy A. S. I.)

[facing P. 60]

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

105 177 439 of all these things, locally not available, was felt by the aborigines only due to their slight contact with the later settlers.

However, a broad two-fold division of the aboriginal population can be made.

101 174

1. Aborigines of the Great Andaman Group — All the aborigines of the Great Andamans with the exception of the Jarawas, the most hostile aborigines living in the southwestern part of the Andamans.

2. Aborigines of the Little Andaman Group — the Onges of the Little Andaman, the Jarawas of the South Andaman & the Sentinelese of the North Sentinel island.

As to how these two groups came into being and their areas of distribution, various theories have been put forward. Long after the attainment of the individual traits of these two groups, a continuous northward movement of the aborigines from the Little Andaman was in vogue and one such party had arrived in the Great Andamans who have been lately known as the Jarawas, who were all along subjected to pressure of the local natives belonging to the Great Andaman Group, the *Aka bea* of South Andaman. The very development of the hostility of the Jarawas and their complete seclusion from the other aboriginal groups owe to their being continuously subjected to the adversities. B. V. Eickstedt[1] has been of the opinion that the aborigines of the Andamans entered into the Great Andamans in two groups—the earlier group comprises the Onge, Jarawas and the Sentinelese while to the later group belong the ancestors of the Great Andaman Group. The passage of the Great Andaman Group has led to a constant southward push of the earlier group which has ultimately led to their habitation in the islands of the south i.e., the Little Andaman, Rutland Island and a part of the South Andaman. Cipriani has been emphatic enough in justifying the views of Brown that the Jarawas reached the Great Andamans from the south. Though they are supposed to have come from the Great Andamans by canoes, the art of constructing canoes and of using them have been completely forgotten and Cipriani believes that such instances of the loss of knowledge of the construction of canoes and their uses are many. A list of the names of the camps, given by Cipriani in the 1951 census, dating back to antiquity and having a good supply of drinking water and of

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1 Eickstedt, B. V — Die Negrite der Andaman (Autho Ans).

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
· Negritos

food lie in a chain running from north to south along the islands between Little and Great Andamans. This has been one of the most convincing proofs of the movement of the aborigines from the south to the north. Cipriani writes, 'All these organisations, with geographical names, camps, places for water and food, indicate an ancient navigating experience moving from the south to the north. About a century and half ago the Jarawas are said to have still been in possession of canoes and the same is said of the savage inhabitants of the North Sentinel Island less than 50 years ago. In a surprisingly short period the technique of making canoes seems to have been completely forgotten as a result of the difficulties of using them."[2] 101 174 182 501

THE ABORIGINES OF THE GREAT ANDAMAN GROUP

Andamanese, as they are called, were the most widespread and the largest in number. They had split up ultimately into a few sub-groups from the north to the south. The different groups are *Aka-kora, Aka-boa, Aka-jeru and Aka-bea.* There has been a deplorable decline in the number of these aborigines who in the bygone ages exceeded all other groups in number. At present the number is only 23, a considerable reduction from the number 625 only in the beginning of the 20th century. Though the present importance of the Andamanese because of the extremely poor number is far from significant, they are of no small interest for the study of the anthropologist, especially the impact of these people with the later settlers. 101 162

The consequences of the impact of the outsiders on the Andamanese have been far from satisfactory. With the formation of the penal colony, the aborigines continued to develop feud and on the 14th of May, 1959 a clash between the aborigines and the Govt. occurred which is known as the Battle of Aberdeen. Aberdeen is at the heart of the town of Port Blair. Efforts of pacifying these aborigines were made and for bringing them into closer terms of amity, the 'Andamanese Home' was started in 1863 by Rev. H. Corbyn Chaplain. They were employed for working with the convicts taught to speak English and wear clothes. The consequence of such an impact has been alarmingly devastating because of the infiltration of a number of vices and diseases which only paved the way for their impoverishment and decay (For further particulars see demographic characteristics). 175 177 648

2 Cipriani, L — On the origin of the Andamanese, Andaman & Nicobar Islands, Census of India, 1951.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

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ABORIGINAL POPULATION

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Communal dinner of the Onges (Courtesy A. S. I.)

[facing P. 62.]

10:Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

105 For the fact that the Andamanese inhabits the coastal areas of the
177 Andamans, the fishing is an well-known art to them. The pristine cul-
182 ture is virtually lost and the few who are still now surviving have been brought under the folds of government help. Still now the headmen
[225] of the Andamanese in the Middle Andaman, *Loka* is found doing turtle
[481] hunting in their canoes and climbing up the coconut trees without the help of any rope. Still now they are found dancing in groups but they are few and far between. All of them wear clothes and live in the huts made by the Forest Department.

THE ABORIGINES OF THE LITTLE ANDAMAN GROUP.

101 The Onges, the Jarawas and the Sentinelese belong to this group.

The Jarawas

177 Of all these three groups, the Jarawas only live in the Great Anda-
648 mans and their occurrence in the Great Andamans has been explained
[101] by many authorities, as has been explained earlier. The Jarawas are
[181] implacably hostile and the best of efforts to bring them under terms of amity have proved furtile. Lt. Colebrook and Archibald Blair first came in contact with the Jarawas and in course of time, the Aka-beas, belonging to the Great Andaman Group, living in the South Andaman became friendly with the foreigners while the hostility of the Jarawas remained unabated. The Jarawa hostility has been always increasing and it was more so since 1921. In 1923, 37 Jarawas were shot and in 1938, a Jarawa woman and her 4 children were captured. So the chances of meeting the Jarawas have been few and far between and the great decline in their number has in all practical senses stopped the apprehension of their raids in the new settlement areas. Still now, of course a person penetrating deep into the forests of the eastern parts of South Andaman should always be on the guard against an attack from the Jarawas.

The Onges.

The Onges, having experienced the impact of the foreigners at the latest period, are at present the most widesprend of all the aborigines of the Andamans. They do not have the truculence of the Jarawas and the attempts for bringing them under closer ties and terms of amity with the foreigners have proved successful, though the essential traits of their social, cultural and material life remain unaltered.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

The contact of the Onges with the outsiders can only be traced since the efforts of M. V. Portman[1] to establish a friendly relation with these tribes from 1886 onwards. However the earlier contacts with the Chinese and Japanese were possible because these people used to frequent the shores of Little Andaman for collecting the valuable shells and the Onges used to be engaged by them as divers and in reciprocation they were given presents of alcohol and opium. In the initial stage of the attempt for establishing a friendly relation by Portman, the Onges proved themselves hostile which was evidenced from the poor fate of the crews of a ship 'Assam Valley' when it touched the shores of Little Andaman and it was through the great efforts of the punitive expedition led by W. L. Much that the dead bodies of the crews were recovered. Later on, a few Onges, all on a sudden, arrived at Cinque Island and were captured by M. V. Portman. Only 9 of them were detained and the rest 15 were released. These few captured Onges were closely observed and studied in Port Blair by Portman and were ultimately returned back to their native land, Little Andaman. The friendly treatment and the presents that these Onges had received from Portman, paved the path of establishing friendly relations with the Onges much easier and also made the subsequent visits of the foreigners much more welcome. After Portman, a few more contacts were made with the Onges by Prof. Lapicque in March, 1893, during the operations of 1911 and 1921, undertaken by Eicsktedt, a German anthropologist, in 1827, by Dr. B. S. Guha, Ex-Director Anthropological Survey of India in 1948 and by Lidio Cipriani, an Italian anthropologist in the year 1954 and in a few succeeding years. Still the knowledge about the Onges seems to be meagre.

Living exclusively in the Little Andaman and a few of them in the Rutland Island, the Onges live in groups on a septal basis with clear-cut boundaries of hunting group for each group. There is no permanent habitation or village of the Onges in any part of the Little Andaman and their huts are of two types—(a) the permanent type of communal hut called *bera*, and (b) the temporary type of shelter called *korale*.

The abundance of food and water has made the life of the Onges comparatively easy-going. All the groups are headed by a leader and each group is assigned a fixed territory. The community life seems to be extremely democratic in character which entertains and also maintains a perfect individual freedom and only in times of necessity, advice,

1 Portman, M. V—History of one relations with the Andamanese.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

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Painted faces of the Onges (Courtesy A.S.I)

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Preparation of a tussel by an Onge Woman (Courtesy A.S.I.)

Construction of the hut by an Onges (Courtesy A.S.I.)

[facing p. 64]

10:Sen K-3,4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

621 rather than order is given by the leader. Cipriani observes.[1] "For
622 instance, it is very amusing for them to think that a man gives orders to others. This means that they have no real chiefs. A so-called Onge
[592] chief, or raja, is only the head of a group of families living in the same communal hut, and giving not orders but only advice. It is the most experienced man who is considered chief in the hut, but his authority if at all never goes beyond that hut. In other words no real chief exists in the Little Andaman. Notwithstanding this, there is a perfect order in the island, because nobody interferes with the work or encroches upon what can be considered the rights of others."

124 As is common to most of the aborigines, the Onges are generally
162 not very receptive when the questions about their numbers and other groups are enquired. The headman says that there are many many fifty Onges. However the number of the Onges are approximately 600.

22 As regards the mode of living of the Onges, the hunting and collec-
231 ting are the basis of their economy. The domestication of the plants
241 i.e. art of agriculture is not known to them and it is only 30 years back, the dogs arrived in the island and have been domesticated by the Onges for chasing the pigs, their main prey. In the absence of agriculture, the natural products of the sea and the forest provide them with all
[262] their items of diet. Animal and vegetable products and honey are the main items of their diet and there has been, so far, no introduction of salt in their diet. The most important victims of their hunting are pigs and turtles, the former is chased by dogs and are killed with great
252 cruelty. The cooking of the fish, meat, roots, tubers, jackfruits etc are
251 done by putting them under fire. Preservation of foodstuffs is not widely practised except the jackfruit seeds which are tied up in a small net inside water on the bank of some stream and taken out during rainy season, when the other vegetable foodstuffs are not available. On
146 the whole, the Onges have a very balanced diet with a fair richness of all the nutrients. In this connection the observations of Dr. Cipriani during his survey in the Little Andaman throws considerable light in
[157] their conditions of life. He has estimated the Onges as one of the happiest people of the world, who in spite of their primitive economy, are not the miserable victims of poor health, ill nutrition and oddities of life.

396 Some amount of artistry and craftsmanship have developed among these people. A canoe can be constructed by a man, all by himself from

[113] 1 Cipriani, L—Survey of Little Andaman during 1954; Bul. Dept. Anth.,

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
ONG

the felling of the tree, chiselling the lumber and processing it further to give the shape of a canoe. Buckets of wood are also constructed by them from the softwood tree. Two types of baskets are made, the smaller ones are more well-finished than the bigger ones. The former is known as *tolcoaga* and the later *tole-laya*. Such activities have introduced the use of dahs, chisels, and iron files among the Onges, from the iron pieces derived from the sea shores. The other important pieces of their craftsmanship are the beautiful weavings of fibre, tussel of yellow fibre used by the women in their front. However, the art of making the earthen pots has been completely forgotten.

The leisure in their lives has helped the development of some amount of aesthetic senses among the Onges. All the Onges men and women shave their heads with flakes of glass, obtained from the sea-borne glass bottles. The body of the Onges are also painted with white clay which save their skin from insect-bite while red paint serves medicinal purposes if some individual is having fever. In times of mourning, red ochre paint is a taboo.[1]

Early marriage is the custom. The widows are looked down upon by the society. Some incidents of widow murder and drowning are heard. In the married life, the husband is devoted to his wife and both the husband and wife work for collecting their food.

Dances and songs are in vogue and there are practically songs for every occasion and activity. Most of their songs are more plaintive than joyous.

There are three broad divisions of the Onges of the Little Andaman :

(1) *Giremeka-Gobeule* group inhabiting the northeastern coast of the island ;

(2) *Engakwale group* live in the interior of the islands ; and

(3) *Gireraragobeule group* live in the southern and western coasts of the islands.

In spite of all the limitations, the Onges have been considered as one of the happiest people of the world with plenty of food and water to eat and drink and with very few social cankers to fight with. But as is common to all other aborigines of the Andamans, a decline in their number is discernible.

The Sentinelese

The Sentinelese are the least known of all the aborigines of the Anda-

1 The Onge of the Little Andaman—A short guide book ; Anthropological Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

101 mans. They live in the North Sentinel island and Portman had only made a few observations in the abandoned settlement of these aborigines. In 1886, Portman contacted a few Sentinelese with the help of a few [197] Onges. The affinity of the Sentinelese with the Onges have been detected but the language of the Sentinelese is different from the Onges. However, only later researches can reveal more facts about their lives.

PRESENT DAY DISTRIBUTION OF THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION

101 The islands, though remained essentially a land of the aborigines, have
161 a present day distribution which is very much discrete in nature. The
361 nature of the distribution was very likely much more widespread in different parts of the islands but the great decline in their number coupled with gradual expansion of the area of the later settlers led to a continued recession of the aborigines in the more desolate areas. Thus there has been a great shrinkage in the territory of the aborigines of the South Andaman where no settlements of any importance had developed.

There are only a few Andamanese (23) who are still now surviving in [177] the Middle and North Andamans and they live in the huts built up by the Forest Department.

The exact areas of inhabitation of the Jarawas are anybody's guess. Though the Jarawas have suffered a considerable decline in their number, no evidences of their distribution beyond the South Andaman are in view. Living under the cold patronage and hostility of the neighbours, the *Aka-beas*, a sub-group of the Andamanese, the Jarawas were always subjected to all their efforts of territorial expansion. Though their exact areas of distribution have not been traced so far, it is probable that they live in the dense forests of the South Andaman, especially in the least disturbed and unhaunted forest areas of the west. However, their biggest concentration is believed to be between Port Constance, Port Meadows and Shaol Bay.

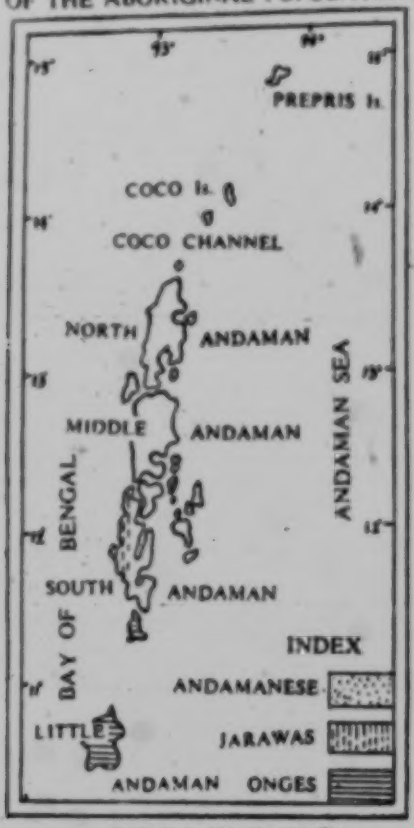
The Sentinelese inhabit the North Sentinel Island and only further exploration in the island can furnish an idea about their exact spots of distribution.

The most predominant in number are the Onges who inhabit the [454] island of Little Andaman. However they make occasional voyages to the Rutland and Cinque Island where some of them live. The areas of distribution of the Onges in Little Andaman are mainly in the coastal areas of the northeast, south and west and also in the interior.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

This speaks very well how in some isolated spots of the islands a remnant of the widespread negrito of the past stand on the verge of imminent decay.

AREAS OF DISTRIBUTION
OF THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION



SCALE 1 TO 70 MILES

DEMOGRAPHIC SET UP

A group of aborigines with their pristine culture in these isolated islands are sharing the same fate with many other aboriginal population of the world, of a considerable decline and impoverishment. It is be-

10:Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

161 yond doubt that the impact of the people having better material culture on the aboriginal population has resulted in an acceleration of their decay. The aborigines of the Great Andaman Group are the first people in the islands to come in contact with the later settlers and the early incorporation of many of the vices of these new comers have resulted in the furtherance of their decay. Such devastating effects are also observed in the case of many other aboriginal groups. The Red Indians of U.S.A. and the native population of Malanesia are only a few among the many others who are such victims of decline, more so immediately after the impact of the later settlers.

101 161 162 Whatever inadequate data are available about the number of aborigines and the other demographic characteristics, they show the nature of imbalance which stands in the way of their successful growth.

Table No. 1*

The aboriginal population.

Tribe	1858	1885	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951
	100		39	36	17	7		
Karo	500		96	71	48	24		
Tabo	200		48	62	18	6		
Yeve	700		218	180	101	46		
Kede	500		39	34	6	2		
Juwai	300	2000	48	9	5	0		23
Koj	100		11	2	0	0		
Bojigyab	300		50	36	9	1		
Bea	500		37	19	1	0		
Belawa	300		19	15	4	2		
			625	464	209	88		23
Onge	700	1250	672	631	346	350		600
Jarawa	600		585	231	231	170		350
	4800	3250	1882	1326	786	608		973

114 161 In spite of the fact that the data of the aboriginal population, as given in the Table No. 1, is far from accurate, a very good idea of the nature of decline of the aboriginal population can be assessed. As is evident from the Table, the population of 4800 in 1858 has reduced to 608 in 1931 in less than 75 years.

* The figures are not at all accurate.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

The Andamanese are almost non-existent and at present only 23 are surviving. Sri Shivdasani writes,[1] "I met only 20 of them in the camp at Long Island and was surprised to see that the youngest child there was about 9 years old, possibly a half breed". This goes a long way to prove the extremely poor fertility of the Andamanese. This has been further substantiated by Dr. Sarkar on analysis of the reproductive capacities of 100 aboriginal women of the Andamans from the original data collected by Portman. 163

Table No. 2

Reproductive lives of the Andamanese Women.

	North Andamanese	South Andamanese
No. of women	50	50
Less married	4	1
	46	49
Unproductive marriages	21	17
	25	32
Average children per mother	2.86	2.81
Average living children per mother	0.92	0.38
Sex-ratio	39m:20f	52m:38f
Net reproductive index	0.36	0.16

Source. Sarkar, S. S.—The origin and migration of the Negritoes in the Andaman Islands, Man in India, Vol. 33, No. 4, Oct-Dec, 1953. [113]

As is evident from the above table, of the 100 women, 38 had unproductive marriages and 5 remained unmarried. The case of 43 women out of 100 can easily be set apart because of their unproductivity. This high percentage of unproductivity is really an alarming factor and the average number of children per mother is 2.83 but the average number of living children per mother is less. This ultimately results in a decline in the population number.

The Jarawa population, according to the 1951 census, is estimated in between 300 and 400. Further details about their demographic characteristics are not available. 162

1 Shivdasani, H. R. Report of the possibilities of colonisation and development of the Andaman & Nicobar Islands, 1949.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

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The Onge population has been estimated by various authorities and the surveys of Dr. Cipriani have brought to light some important characteristics of the Onge population. Cipriani has ascertained the total Onge population to be 607, of which 229 are adult males, 241 are adult women and 137 children. Of the 137 children, he has detected 48 boys and 62 girls and about the rest he is not sure. However, the procedure followed by Cipriani and the conclusions derived by him, which are contrary to the previous knowledge, have been vehemently criticised by Dr. Sarkar.[1] Sarkar opines that the procedure of enumeration by counting the number of sleeping places in a communal hut is liable to gross errors because of the roving nature of the Onges of whom an appreciable number has no sleeping place. The determination of the sex-ratio from the communal huts are also more difficult. As a matter of fact the precision of enumeration, as is apparent from the census of Cipriani, cannot be attained and the deficiencies in the procedure of Cipriani have very well been brought to light by questioning and ultimate rejection by arguments. He writes that, 'His (Cipriani's) account is difficult to follow. There are very few relevant data regarding the actual Onge population. He has estimated the population instead of giving a simple population figure for each of the Onge settlements he visited. His estimates are based on the number of sleeping places in a hut, though nothing definite could be found either with regard to the total number of communal huts or the sleeping places. Then to find out the sex of the individuals from the sleeping places seems preposterous. Cipriani (1956) estimates the total Onge population to be 607, comprising 229 adult males, 241 adult women and 137 children. He was able to determine the sex of the children in about 80% of the cases, since immediately after the above quotation he states: 'Of the latter 48 are boys, 62 girls and of 27 sex could not be ascertained.' In the same paper and just two sentences before, where he gave the above figures, he mentioned a total of 497 individuals, comprising 242 men and 255 women. If the latter figures are meant only for adults then with the addition of 137 children to the above adult population of 497, the total Onge population appears to be 634. Even then the discrepancies in the adult population remain to be explained; it adds up to 470 (229 males, 241 females) once and to 497 (242 males, 255 females) another time.

Secondly, the enumeration of Cipriani shows a higher feminine population, whereas as analysed by Dr. Sarkar, all the previous estimates

1 Sarkar, S. S—Analecta et Additamenta, Anthropos 55, 1960.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

of the Onges actually seen, show a predominance of males. The determination of sex-ratio by Cipriani is no doubt very much speculative in nature and as is evident from the extract of the comment of Dr. Sarkar, Cipriani himself has been contrary to his own versions, at times. All the previous censuses of the actual Onges met and counted show a predominance of males and this happens to be the logical argument of Dr. Sarkar to conclude that the Onges population has been characterised by high masculinity. High masculinity always imply a very high predominance of males over females but never in the previous censuses we find such a high predominance. The census of Cipriani shows a slightly higher number of females than males and the attainment of such a slight predominance of females over males is never a physical impossibility. As such we may believe that there may be a slight predominance of females over males though the procedure adopted by Cipriani is by no means a precise one. 162 114

Dr. Sarkar, though apparently justified, totally rejects the procedure of Cipriani. Census of population is in itself a very difficult job and it is always liable to errors even in the advanced countries. Therefore, the enumeration of Dr. Cipriani is highly praiseworthy and because of the difficulties of contacting all the Onges the enumeration of the communal huts and the number of sleeping beds are no doubt very important clues for an intelligent guess about their number.

Though Dr. Sarkar pleads for the predominance of males by taking into account the number of Onges actually seen and counted (which show a predominance of males), the research expeditions undertaken by Sri R. C. Nigam[1] under the auspices of the Anthropological Survey of India in March, 1955 and December, 1956 made him fairly well-acquainted with the island of Little Andaman. From his own actual counting, a higher number of females have been counted than males. He was able to contact 161 Onge individuals of which 138 belonged to the 45 family units and the rest were 'unattached'[2] individuals i.e., widows, unmarried 162

1 Nigam, R. C.—Little known tribes of the Andaman Islands—Their problems and prospect; Vanyajati; Vol. VIII, January, 1960, No. 1; Vol. VIII, April, 1960, No. 2 and Vol. VIII, July, 1960, No. 3. [113]

2 A family is considered to be comprised of parents and children whereas, if the father or mother of a family is dead, the members have been called as 'unattached' type by R. C. Nigam.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

162 boys and girls and children of the widows. The break-up of the total population is given below.

Table No 3

	Male	Female
Adult	46	61
Child	30	24
	76	85

On the consideration of the total population, there is a 5.6% excess of the female population over the male population.

However, the further break-up of the total number of Onges counted by Sri Nigam reveals some of the most important demographic characteristics of the Onge population. Considering only the 45 family units, it is found that there is a preponderance of males over the females as is evident from the table below.

Table No 4

	Individuals			Children		
No. of families	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
45	75	67	138	26	22	48

162 589 The Onge of the 'unattached' type, therefore, are comprised of 5 males and 18 females. Of this 10 are widows. So the predominance of the females among the Onges may be due to a higher percentage of widows whereas the widowers are much less in number. This throws another 165 important light on the logevity of the Onge males and females. The females, as it stands, have a longer life than males and this is not only a very important aspect of the Onge population but also of the other tribes of the world. In Africa also such a higher longevity of the females is discernible which is due, as is commonly believed to higher resistive power of the females to fight the odds of life compared to the males.

163 The fertility of the adult females are also extremely poor. He writes[1] in 'the total of 61 adult females there were 10 widows who were too old for child-bearing, 4 married women with their child-bearing period finished, while there were 8 married women with no possibility of any issue. Thus

1 Nigam, R. C.—Little known tribes of the Andaman Islands—Their problems & prospects; Vanyajati, Vol. VIII, July, 1960. No. 3.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

In the sample of 61 adult females, 22 women were nonfecund. As such the obvious female preponderance in the total sample is not of much value and the total picture of Onge population is rather that of decline only.' Such a decline of the fertility of the Andamanese women has already been pointed out. 163

Of all the aboriginal population, the Onges are to-day the most widespread and have undoubtedly a very balanced sex-ratio. As regards the fertility, there is a gradual unproductiveness amongst all the aboriginal population. The Andamanese who are on the last legs of the decay have the youngest child of more than 10 years. Nothing definite can be said about the Jarawas and the Sentinelese but they are also on the verge of their decay. 16

PROBLEMS OF THE ABORIGINES

Assessment of the socio-economic and cultural problems is always subjective and a true assessment is only possible through the first-hand intimate acquaintance of the aborigines. The aboriginal population of the world to-day present a very gloomy picture of stagnation or decay and the aboriginal population of the Andamans are undoubtedly sharing this dismal fate of decay. 161 177

Only after the impact of the people having better material attainments the problems of the aborigines have been aggravated that paved the path of total ruination of their socio-economic traits and also initiated their gradual numerical decay. Such evidences of decay only in the last few centuries are within view in the case of the American Indians which formerly having 268 groups have dwindled to only 67 groups now surviving when the rest have been wiped out. The case of the aboriginal population of Australia, Tasmania, Malanesian Islands and the others of southeast Asia present such a gloomy picture. The causes of such a decline have been attributed to the incorporation of vices and such social poisons as alcohol and opium, attack of venereal diseases, quick adoption of foreign customs and modes of life which have been proved incongenial in their own environmental context and also to the gradual 'loss of interest in life.' This loss of interest in life, according to Rivers[1] takes away from the people the desire to live and to shoulder the burden of life, with the result that mortality incidence goes high and the more obvious causes of mortality like new diseases, the social poisons etc, tend to have greater potency for

1 Rivers, W. H. R—Essays on the depopulation of Malanesia (Ed). 1922.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

evil and are allowed to work such ravages upon life and health of people whose resistance level has already gone quite low.[2] Such a loss of interest in life is common to many of the aboriginal population. The aboriginal population of the Andamans have also been victimised to it and only in one century the aborigines of the Great Andaman Group have almost been wiped out and the Jarawas, in spite of their isolation, have been undergoing considerable decay. The Onges are also suffering from stagnation and decay. There has been the addiction to some of the social poisons e.g. tobacco, alcohol, etc.

The causes of decay of the aboriginal population of the Andamans may be summed up as being the followings:

1. Diseases;
2. Murder of the aborigines by the later settlers, especially the bombardment of the Japanese in the Jarawa infested areas have resulted in a virtual decline of the tribe;
3. Little productive capacity of the aboriginal women.

The sex-ratio in the case of the Onges is quite balanced and therefore, the sex-ratio is not a factor for the decline of the aboriginal population but very little productive capacity of the aboriginal population is undoubtedly a major factor of their decline and it has already been discussed.

As regards the material life, however satisfied the aboriginal population may be with their poor lot, it is in most primitive form and the only materials that they have in possession are for earning their livelihood. Cultural aspect is also desiccated with a dearth of richness. No evolution has, however, been observed for deriving much more material comforts and the aborigines with their hard struggle for life hardly find any time to develop their thinking which can lead to a betterment of their cultural and material life.

THE FUTURE

These aboriginal population have so far shown little urge for improving their own lot and in the absence of such attempts, the chances of their betterment as well as survival is a far cry. The only means of improving their lot seems to be possible through the efforts of the Government. The attempts for bringing the aborigines in a short period within the folds of an advanced economy and society have proved futile and contrary to it, the attempts of segregating the aboriginal population, as done in the

2 Nigam, R. C.—Little known tribes of the Andaman Islands—Their problems & prospects; Vol. VIII, April, 1960. No. 2.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

United States with the idea of giving them a free opportunity of developing their own lot through their own efforts, have also proved equally unsuccessful. How best the lot of the aborigines can be improved remains a great question. Only a careful first hand knowledge may lead to the understanding of their problems. The problems of improving these aborigines can be attained by a two-fold solution—by the development of their material lives and by changing their outlook of life. The ultimate objective is to bring about more of amenities and happiness in their lives and chances were not few when with the attempts for attaining such an objective the consequences have been only painful.

With the inadequate knowledge that has been gathered about the aborigines of the Andamans, an assessment of their problems will be far from satisfactory unless a better knowledge of their language, socio-economic and psychological traits are acquired.

The material life is obviously very poor. Their energy is spent only after the earning of their food. With the hunting and collecting type of economy, the availability of foodstuffs is always scarce and also extremely perilous. The Onges who have been estimated by Cipriani as one of the happiest people on the earth also suffer from a considerable scarcity of foodstuffs during the summer. A few very helpful practical suggestions have been offered by Sri R. C. Nigam for supplementing the shortage of their foodstuffs. This is by introducing agriculture in this region. He has offered two plans.

1. A long term plan and
2. A short term plan.

In the long term plan, he envisages the introduction of a number of plantation crops e.g. cocoanuts, papaya, pandanus and jackfruit. Such a plantation of cocoanuts have been established in the Dugong Creek area of the Little Andaman by the Andaman Administration. Sri Nigam has pointed out 5 other areas where such plantations can be developed in the future and all these 5 spots are sufficiently close to the settlement of the Onges e.g. Togalbnge, Cheruger, Entigue in the interior of the island, Otidubara in the south coast and Koname in the west coast of the island. The fruits of the plantations will be available after about 8 years.

The short term plan on the other hand is for implementing immediate improvement of the food conditions which can be achieved by the introduction of Nocobarese yam, sweet potatoes, tapioca and such other tuberous plants all over the island.

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These plans seek the introduction of agriculture among these people which can be possible only by imparting a gradual knowledge of tilling and culturing the soils to them.

Simultaneously with it the introduction of some deer in the islands and in course of time, domestication of animals like pigs, goats and poultry farming have been suggested. These are no doubt very helpful suggestions but such a change in their economy can be feasible if there is a gradual urge among these people for changing their own primitive economy. Nigam says that within 15 years such an economy may very well find a footing.

For changing the outlook of these people, attempts should be made gradually for developing an intimate knowledge about them which can only be achieved well by learning their language.

For the prevention & cure of disease medical facilities must be made available and proper steps should be taken so that addiction to the social poision does not increase.

The Jarawas, though show conspicuous signs of decline, are still now of considerable number. The attempts for establishing friendly relations with them have so far proved futile. Presents are given by the Government in their settlements, of course, in their absence, as the direct encounter with them may prove fatal. Nevertheless the means of bringing them closer may be sought in the same way as Portman did in the case of the Onges who were captivated, while stranded, in the island only by chance. If a group of Jarawas could be captivated and given the best of understanding of friendship and amity, this may lead to further understanding of these people.

The little knowledge about the Sentinelese precludes any comment about their future unless attempts for landing in the island and subsequent researches about these aborigines are made.

The future of the Andamanese can hardly be of any consideration as they are the last few (23) of the big decaying family of the Great Andaman Group of aborigines.

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113, 133 Nicobars AZ7

/For an analysis of the geology of the Andaman-Nicobar ridge area upon which both chains of islands lie, see 10. Sen, AZ2 Andamans, category 116, pp. 11-19./

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[PP. i–ii contain no textual material]

LIDIO CIPRIANI

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BOOKS THAT MATTER

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Illustrations

(*Between pages* 66 *and* 67)

1 The author with two adult islanders
2 Painted patterns on face and torso
3 A group of Onges
4 Tight binding of the body as a cure for disease
5 Mother feeding baby from conch shell
6 Man with axe
7 Forest coming down to the water's edge
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17 Completed permanent dwelling
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19 Shell collection from a kitchen-midden

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Editor's Note

The editing and publication of any posthumous work is inevitably a difficult task, and the preparation of the present volume has been made the more so as the material came into our hands only after Professor Cipriani's death, and was clearly intended to become a final expression of his scientific and philosophical experience. 114

Among the readers of this book there may be scientists who will deplore on principle any attempt to present scientific observations in a form attractive to the general reader. Happily, their numbers are dwindling rapidly, and we make no apology for trying to bring to as wide a public as possible observations which, quite apart from any intrinsic scientific value, may help in some measure to remedy the paucity of material so far published on the peoples of the Andaman Islands, and stimulate the further research which Cipriani himself felt to be so urgently needed.

On going through the mass of data left by Professor Cipriani it became abundantly clear that not only did he intend the scientific matter to be published in detail in various scientific journals, but that this resumé of his observations was intended to be a framework within which he hoped to set out the views to which he had been led by his experiences as an anthropologist over a period of many years. It was equally clear that not everyone would feel in sympathy with these views, and the philosophy which they express. While, therefore, there is no doubt that Professor Cipriani would have been fully able and prepared to support them scientifically, I have not felt competent to do so, nor, frankly, would I feel it my province as a layman to engage in controversy over 'big bang' and 'steady state' theories of evolution. The present volume, therefore,

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114 does not and cannot claim to be other than a record of the late Professor Cipriani's observations and experiences in the Andamans, and as such let it be judged.

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Foreword

The following pages represent a brief account of my observations 114
during a period of nearly two years which I spent in the Andaman Islands, living for part of the time with the Onges, who provide the major part of my material.

I had for a long time been interested in the vexed question of the 121
origins of the pygmies, and after spending some years studying them in Africa and in Asia I came to the conclusion that the peoples of the Andaman archipelago might well represent the 'purest' living example of Negrito stock and culture, remaining as they have in complete isolation until very recently. After a brief visit to the [114]
Islands in 1951, therefore, and with the warm co-operation of all [122]
the officials and government departments concerned, I was able, beginning in 1952, to spend a total of 634 days in the Islands, 162 of them living in the forests of Little Andaman with the Onges.

It would be impossible to list individually the Indian government 122
officials who aided me in every way, but I wish to record here my deepest appreciation of the courtesy and help extended to me by all the departments and individuals with whom I had dealings, both in the Andamans and in India itself. To all of them, whatever their rank or station, are due my warmest thanks – without their help these notes, incomplete as they are, could never have been written.

Armed with gifts of mirrors, glass beads, cloth and, above all, 123
tobacco, I was able to make friends with the reputedly ferocious 121
people of the Andamans and to make observations which, though but a beginning, will I hope lead others to carry further the work which I was able to begin. During my visits to the Islands I was 121
able to set up a museum at Port Blair, where I hope ultimately to

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121 build up a complete picture of the life and culture of the islanders; it will fall to others to continue where I have had to stop, and I can only hope, in these pages, to awaken in others the interest and sympathy which I came to feel for these strange, child-like, but lovable people – the Onges of Little Andaman.

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CHAPTER ONE

The People of the Islands

In the Bay of Bengal, eight hundred miles to the south-east of Calcutta and a hundred and twenty miles from Cape Nigrais in Burma, the two hundred and four islands of the Andaman archipelago stretch out in a line, with a surface area of 6,495 square kilometres. To the south-east, about a hundred miles away, lie the Nicobars, strung out in a much smaller chain covering only 1,645 square kilometres and made up of twenty-one islands, of which only twelve are inhabited.

A 133 [131] N [131] [133]

The only islands in the Andamans which are permanently occupied are Great Andaman and Little Andaman. The former, three hundred and twenty kilometres long and at no point more than forty kilometres wide, was broken up by geological movement in ancient times into three sections, known as North, South and Middle Andaman. Today these are separated from each other by two narrow straits hardly navigable even by vessels of low tonnage. A much larger passage, the Ten Degree Channel, so called because it is crossed by the 10° north parallel, separates the Andamans from the Nicobars, and incidentally forms a dividing line between ordinarily different worlds, worlds which in the past, as I hope to show, had many characteristics in common.

The Nicobars are peopled by a very ancient Mongoloid race. There are no foreigners permanently resident apart from a family of Moslem merchants from India with a few employees. There are also the Shom-Pen, a small, wild and semi-nomadic group who have been forced back into the forests of Great Nicobar, where they preserve their ancient somatic and cultural characteristics, showing affinities with a Mongoloid people living far away on the chain of islands off the west coast of Sumatra.

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162 The population of the Andamans, on the other hand, is now almost entirely of recent immigration: there are no Europeans permanently resident, but a large number of colonists of Indian, Burmese or Malayan origin have made their home in the islands. In the Indian census of 1951, the entire stable population of the Andamans and Nicobars was assessed at thirty thousand, 18,962 in the Andamans and 12,009 in the Nicobars, not counting the Shom-Pen. The few aboriginals remaining in the Andamans are anthropologically of extreme importance. Classified among the Negritos, or Asiatic pygmies, they are one of the few surviving groups of pygmies who in the past were widely scattered all over the world. They can be divided into three groups, clearly distinguished one from the other by their mode of life, their present genetic isolation (although they certainly all originated from a common stock) and their attitude towards outsiders:

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1 The Arioto, the friendly Andamanese, once very numerous along the coast of Great Andaman and now reduced to only twenty-three individuals of pure stock; now almost completely sterile, they are near to extinction. They manage to survive only because of the help given to them by the Indian Government, which has established small camps along the coasts of Middle Andaman.

2 The Jarawas, still implacably hostile to foreigners, living a nomadic existence in South and Middle Andaman. One solitary group occupies a tiny island thirty miles west of South Andaman, surrounded by seas so stormy that they are frequently impassable. This is known as North Sentinel, to distinguish it from South Sentinel, twenty miles to the south and uninhabited. Landing on North Sentinel, as indeed penetrating anywhere on Great Andaman, has hitherto always entailed vicious fighting with the Jarawas, who are determined to repulse any stranger from their last refuge. They are well sheltered by an unbelievably dense forest, which has so far made it impossible to subdue them, though there are today probably no more than two hundred surviving.

3 The Onges, sole inhabitants of Little Andaman, into which they have withdrawn. There are not more than five hundred surviving today, and these are in a state of serious demographic decline. It is probable that before 1952 no one had ever approached their camps in the interior of the island. Until the present day, they

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have always been protected by the sea, which is almost invariably rough, and by a thick tropical forest which extends without a break over more than a thousand square kilometres, unpenetrated by outsiders and almost impenetrable.

THE ARIOTO

The decline of the Andamanese began with the first landing of foreigners on the island and is similar to that of so many other primitive peoples who have come into contact with civilization; a detailed account of their decline would be long and pitiful. In the case of the Andamanese, however, demographic influences arising thousands of years ago must also be taken into account. Cut off by circumstances into small groups and separated at random by large expanses of sea or by the impenetrable forest, they gradually developed somatic and cultural differences of the greatest scientific interest. Among other things, languages became modified to such an extent that members of different groups are unable to understand one another. The Onges, for example, who in my opinion are the nearest relations of the Jarawas, are quite unable to understand their language.

The peoples of Great Andaman were the first to encounter civilization, when from 1858 onwards the Indian Government, then in English hands, decided to institute at Port Blair a penitentiary for the many political prisoners after the famous 1857 mutiny. Subsequently the government sent over convicts serving long or life sentences. The life of the deportees was atrocious during the first few years, owing to malaria and the absence of medical supplies. To the majority, therefore, deportation to the Andamans meant a death sentence. Even today the only large brick building in the Andamans and Nicobars is the penitentiary at Port Blair.

Before the building of the penitentiary the English had made several desultory expeditions to the Andamans, and even before then other foreigners had landed on the archipelago. It is known that Marco Polo, probably passing within sight of the archipelago in 1292, gave it the name of Angaman, and declared the inhabitants to be ferocious cannibals with dogs' heads. As a result, even the Asian pirates were for centuries afraid to land on the islands. The barbarous forays of Arab slave traders later awoke in the islanders

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Arioto

175 a furious aversion to foreigners. This hatred has been rekindled
177 during the last hundred years by a number of unfortunate incidents,
648 but at one time the islanders were favourably disposed towards seafarers passing by, if we are to believe Niccolo dei Conti and Cesare Federici, fleeting visitors to the islands in 1440 and 1569. They both wrote of the peaceful native canoes that approached their ships, and this is confirmed by other travellers, like the Italians Fra Odorico da Pordenone in 1332 and Giovan Francesco Gemelli Caresi in 1709.

Violent clashes with the coastal tribes only became frequent when the English began to take an interest in the Andamans as a possible penal colony. The first prisoners to be sent there were some Indians, in 1788. In 1796 the colony was abolished owing to the swift death of nearly all the prisoners from tropical diseases. The attempt was repeated in 1858 after a mission entrusted to F. Mouat, and this time the seeds of decline for the islanders were sown. Efforts were begun to approach the coastal peoples, and even, strangely enough, those of the forests, the now ferocious Jarawas. Some of these tentative overtures were well received, but once the islanders came to think they had been betrayed it was enough to rekindle the hatred of strangers which they have retained ever since.

166 The evidence obtainable from archaeological excavations shows
[172] that for thousands of years the people encountered by the English in the coastal areas were the sole inhabitants of Great Andaman, living by fishing rather than by hunting or cultivation in the forests. The Jarawas arrived later. Migration from Little Andaman, imposed in relatively recent times by lack of food, brought them to Great Andaman. Since the entire coastal region was already occupied, the new arrivals took refuge in the forests of the hinterland. There they were happy, for they found an abundance of wild honey
[628] and fruit which amply fulfilled their needs. A spontaneous equilibrium was established between the coast-people and the forest-people, and both prospered.

175 The arrival of an appreciable number of foreigners in 1858 im-
177 mediately changed the situation. The peoples of the coast, who
648 were the most anxious to make friends with the strangers, paid for
16 this fatal error with virtual extermination. When the foreigners had
101 definitely established themselves, the coastal Andamanese – *Arioto*
563

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Arioto

in the local language, as opposed to the people of the interior, the *Eremtaga* – appear to have numbered between six and eight thousand. Over the years their place has been taken by more than thirteen thousand foreigners, most of whom were deportees, enjoying relative liberty as servants of government officials, farmers and foresters. The settlers, voluntarily or involuntarily, introduced the islanders to alcohol and tobacco, forcing them to turn to the foreigners in order to satisfy their craving. In the famous and extremely frank work of the English explorer M. V. Portman (*A History of our Relations with the Andamanese*, Calcutta, 1899) official letters are reproduced which give precise instructions in the matter to government officials. The result of these instructions was to transform the Arioto into alcohol and tobacco addicts. Syphilis was passed to the native women by the deportees, and from them to their men. When, a few years after the mass importation of prisoners, the government authorities became aware of the infection among the Arioto, not one of them had escaped. The miserable twenty-three survivors of the eight to nine thousand of a century ago show the ultimate result only too well, and their final extinction is imminent.

Before the advent of the new civilization, the Arioto had divided up into at least ten distinct communities, but without any true tribal organization. They respected a form of chief, chosen by tacit consent for his personal qualities rather than by name or by birth-right; but the chiefs acted merely as paternal advisers, to be respected in times of trouble, with no illusions of authority. No one commanded, and none obeyed: all were content to follow the whim of the moment, with no conception of social obligation.

When the foreigners arrived, there were five main groups of Arioto on North Andaman, the Cari, Chede, Cora, Jeru and Tabo. Another five groups were in South Andaman, the Balawa, Bea, Bogig-iab, Joi and Col. With the numerical decline of the Arioto, who had always been endogamous within their group, a tendency arose for the survivors to merge and inter-marry, so that the twenty-three alive today are in fact the result of the mixing of the northern and southern Arioto, and of these with Indians and Burmese. The chief of these twenty-three individuals is Loca, a name in itself an indication of this ethnic mixture. Loca means 'whiskers', and he himself has a moustache, whereas pure Negritos have no body or facial hair.

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Arioto
Jarawas

ooo has a moustache, whereas pure Negritos have no body or facial hair.

THE JARAWAS

648 For obvious reasons I was unable to carry out any studies on the
[114] Jarawas. Apart from a restricted area around Port Blair, on the east
[137] coast of Great Andaman, the whole island is a tangle of tropical vegetation, in many places impenetrable, or at most passable only
[491] by hacking a way through. A few roads radiate from Port Blair, but none penetrate more than twenty kilometres or so from the township. To the north of the town is a well-maintained police cordon that stretches right across the island from east to west to prevent infiltration by the Jarawas; those in the south were all rounded up some time ago. Only beyond the cordon do the Jarawas maintain
[142] their rule over the virgin forest almost unchallenged. Like all the Andamanese they are Negritos, small in stature and extremely dark skinned. Obsessed by a fierce hatred for anyone outside their own group, enemies even of the other Andamanese, they roam through the forest with their deadly arrows. Shot from their powerful bows,
[411] their dagger-sharp arrows penetrate deep into the body of the victim – they can transfix a man's chest. The bloody skirmishing which has gone on for the last hundred years shows no signs of lessening even today.

175 The Jarawa ferocity increased as the result of grave mishandling
648 of the situation by the foreigners. In this connection the following sentences from Portman's *History* may be quoted: 'On our arrival the Jarawas were quiet and inoffensive towards us, nor did they ever disturb us, until we took to continuously molesting them by inciting the coastal Andamanese against them. After a few years of this disturbance, the life of the Jarawas became very hard and in retaliation they began to attack us.' As the author in part recognizes, 'It was our fault if the Jarawas became hostile'. This was a fundamental error. Petty pilfering committed in perfect innocence by the Jarawas, ignorant of Western ideas of individual property, led to vicious punitive expeditions. To this end fire-arms were given to the hereditary enemies of the Jarawas, the Arioto. Elated by their unexpected power, they at once began slaughtering any Jarawa within sight, and enjoyed themselves hugely.

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Jarawas

Portman, who was for a long time the English administrator in the Andamans, is one of the greatest authorities on the islands; in his excellent history he refers, with frank sincerity and detail, to the methods adopted in the anti-Jarawa wars. He tells of the payment of the Arioto with food, tobacco and alcohol, arms and ammunition for their ruthless fight against their forest kin. Since at one time the struggle seemed to the outsiders to be lacking in ardour and intensity, Portman received an order in 1884 to deprive the Arioto of all provisions, starting with food. This he was forced to obey, perhaps unwillingly. He certainly loved the Andamanese, and he understood and honestly appreciated their needs. 175 648

As he later did on Little Andaman, Portman then tried to approach the Jarawas; not on Great Andaman where they had become too dangerous, but on North Sentinel. He proposed to improve upon the work already initiated (with disastrous results) by Homfray who went to the island in March 1867, escorted by police and by a small group of Arioto. The hostility between Andamanese from different localities immediately made even the Sentinellese keenly resentful of the foreigners who were trying to make friends with them under the protection of their age-old enemies. The foreigners would in fact probably have been quite well received if they had not taken Arioto with them.

Homfray referred to naked men on the beach who fled with loud cries into the forest when pursued by Arioto. Portman repeated the same mistake. In his photographs, still to be seen in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, he actually uses the expression 'Hunting Jarawas' among the captions to the pictures he took on North Sentinel.

After several abortive expeditions by Portman, visits to North Sentinel were very few and far between until recent years. In 1926 a German, whose name became anglicized to Bonington, an intelligent timber merchant at Port Blair, became a government official in the Andamans once he had assumed British nationality. He reports having seen some Jarawas, who rapidly disappeared into the forest uttering such wild cries that they hardly seemed human. In 1953 other Indian government officials approached the island, and a lone Jarawa on the beach threatened them with an arrow. I myself planned to make a landing on 20 April 1954, but was prevented by a rough sea. I went right round the island, but no Jarawas appeared. 114

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Jarawas
Onges

114 This was a pity, as I knew that my Indian and Burmese companions were ready to run any risk with the prudence they had already shown in Little Andaman towards the Onges. Since North Sentinel is flat and its forest not impassable, a peace mission led by men accustomed to dealing with people like the Andamanese, though it would certainly need more than a brief stay, would probably be ultimately successful.

124 114 [648] My sole source of local information on the Jarawas was the wife of a government official, who had tended a pregnant woman and four children who were captured during one of the punitive expeditions on Bluff Island. She gave me a great deal of useful information, and indeed the greater part of our scanty ethnographical and linguistic data on the Jarawas has been obtained through her.

THE ONGES

179 648 114 133 Until 1952 the attitude of the various groups of Onges was very similar. Along the coast, however, they had already had some contact many years ago with a limited number of outsiders. Compared with the Jarawas they have been uniquely fortunate among surviving primitive peoples in that their extremely fertile territory has remained immune from invasion. In this they have been helped by their geographical isolation as much as by their own ferocity. Indeed Little Andaman, surrounded by an ocean that frequently turns into the proverbial boiling cauldron, presents grave risks to anyone trying to land. I had considerable experience of this myself; on many occasions I nearly gave up when the boat was overturned by giant breakers. On one occasion on the south coast of the island we were flung into the sea, and the empty boat capsized and dragged me down. No one was in a position to come to my rescue, but the momentary relief of an enormous return wave enabled me to extricate myself. The previous day the breakers had crashed down one after another and smashed us against the coral reef which runs right round Little Andaman. Our baggage and provisions had disappeared, and until help arrived we were forced to remain for two gruelling days without water or food, with no protection from the sun and in constant danger of being attacked by the Onges.

000 During the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries

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Onges

During the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries there have been many attempts by outsiders to land on Little Andaman, but until recently none have gone beyond the coast, and the interior of the island remained unknown until 1952. Several people were drowned in the tremendous breakers, and a few were killed by the aboriginals. The last (undocumented) incident, involving Chinese sailors in search of water on the west coast of the island, appears to have taken place in 1949. There are no records of any attempt to land before 1825, when an English naval officer, T. E. Alexander, managed to do so, and was the first to report, in England, the existence of a fierce tribe of naked Onges. The encounter was bloody, as were many afterwards. Rumours (erroneous) were spread of cannibalism, as some English sailors who had managed to save themselves saw their companions being torn to pieces by the Onges: their hands, feet, legs and arms were cut off and the living remains were thrown into a great fire. This was, in fact, not cannibalism, but the satisfying of a superstition, already recorded by various well-known authorities on the Andamans, such as Portman, Radcliffe-Brown and others, that the spirit is immortal and stays by its bones. The spirit of an enemy could thus become a disturbing influence, which is to be avoided by totally destroying the living body with fire, so that the spirit flies with the smoke towards the sky, where it remains.

175 648 175 648 175

Some time after Alexander, various English officials tempted providence in Little Andaman[1] and finally, on 24 July 1885, Portman landed, and began intensive efforts to pacify the Onges. Well protected by a police force, he was the first man who had the courage to pitch camp on the coast of Little Andaman. For most of March 1886, he stayed in the north of the island, and then between 28 October 1886 and 21 January 1887, he went slowly right round the island, starting from his camp at Bumila Creek. In the same year, two officials of the Indian Cartographic Service sailed round the entire coastline of Little Andaman; the resulting survey was, however, very imperfect. Portman returned for a brief visit to Bumila Creek in March 1887. This time there was a serious incident with the Onges, culminating in the severe wounding of an English

175 648

[1] Homfray, 1867; Stewart, 1873; Homfray and Stewart, 1874; Cadel, 1880; Cadel and Portman, 1880; Portman, 1880 and 1882; Man, 1883; various abortive landings, 1884 and 1885.

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Onges

175 colonel who had accompanied him. After a series of similar inci-
648 dents involving other people Portman went to Bumila Creek on 10 November 1891, for revenge. A number of Onges, including the one responsible for wounding the colonel, were captured and taken to Port Blair.

Other visits by various people followed, always very brief and always limited to the coast, but there were no landings of note. Various expeditions visited the coast of the island for a few days and even made contact with some of the Onges, but the interior
114 of the island remained as unknown as before. In February 1951 I
122 accompanied one of these expeditions, which again did not go beyond the coast. Those five days on Little Andaman were most revealing, and enabled me to plan the landing I subsequently made in 1952. I saw that the island was teeming with game, that wild
[136] fruit and edible roots were plentiful, and that the sea round the island was full of fish, lobsters, huge crabs and turtles. Moreover, the turtles laid eggs in the sand where it was very easy to find them by following the beasts' tracks. I realized that it would be unnecessary to bring in provisions, and that it would be possible to enter the forest unencumbered with anything more than guns, cartridges and a few cooking utensils. Every day during this short stay I went with a police escort as far as possible into the forest in order to reconnoitre. In some places I noticed recent traces of small bare feet, but no Onges appeared.

122 Realizing that mobility was essential for any expedition into the interior of the island, I prepared at Port Blair a number of small watertight metal boxes to hang from the shoulder, to take a minimum of necessities. The largest items in my own personal baggage were a mosquito-net, a very light hammock and note-books. Cartridges were to be divided among the boxes. Tents, camp-beds and other large equipment would have to be left in a base camp, which would be established on the coast and left under police guard with radio transmission apparatus for communication with Port Blair. If necessary, a portable radio could follow us.

121 Several factors made me want to return. There was the mystery of the unknown interior of the island. There was the prevailing lack of information of any kind about the Onges, even of their numbers. I wanted too to carry out an investigation of their somatic characteristics, using the greatest possible number of individuals.

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After submitting my programme for the approval of the various Indian authorities, I finally left Calcutta in the motor vessel *Maharaja* and arrived in Port Blair on the evening of 11 December 1951. 122

Once arrived on Great Andaman I began to make preparations, but for some time the sea remained so rough that the crossing to Little Andaman was impossible. In order not to lose time, I went as far as Middle Andaman, where I started excavating an ancient kitchen-midden left by a group which has now disappeared.[1] Eventually, in March 1952, there began for me what was to become a fascinating if dangerous adventure, which continued for several years, in the dry seasons, and which I hope will prove to have been of some value. 114

Even now we know little of the anthropology of the Onges. They are Negritos, and therefore people of small stature. They are not, however, as small as the African pygmies, or Negrillos, who are the tiniest people in the world and who are in many respects very different from the Asiatic Negritos. Among the latter, individuals of over 4 feet are giants, while the normal height is substantially less. 142

In their somatic and cultural characteristics the Andamanese differ from all Asiatics, including their closest connections the Semang of the Malaccan peninsula and the Aetà of the Philippines. There is however some similarity between the three groups, indicating a distinctive common ancestry. The Negritos of today constitute the sole and fragmentary remains of a people who in ancient times were spread over a large part of Asia, and there is no lack of evidence to support their former presence much farther east and south, well into Oceania. 144

The word Negrito means 'small negro', but the name is inappropriate. It was originally given to these people because of the colour of their skin and the woolly texture of their hair. In their bodily proportions, however, as well as in the morphology of the head as a whole, and in particular the structure of the mouth, they resemble the Negroes considerably less than do African pygmies, who are in their turn quite a distinct type. The Negritos have some superficial affinity to peoples of small stature in New Guinea and Melanesia, such as the Tapiro, the Cameveca, the Cai and the Pesechem (or

[1] See page 69.

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Onges

144 Pesekem), although they are distinguished from them by profound cultural differences. These differences exist even between the three groups of Negritos. Whereas in Malacca and the Philippines they reflect the influx of superior cultures, these have had very little influence in the Andamans. For this reason the Andamanese have perforce remained more faithful to very ancient customs, and are also somatically the least altered.

[121] The study of the last remaining groups, the Onges and Jarawas, now on the point of extinction if they are not protected, is thus a matter of singular urgency and significance.

144 174 We know nothing of how the Negritos arrived in their present homes with somatic and cultural characteristics quite distinct from those of any other human type. Apart from some dubious remains excavated in Indochina we do not even have any fossil remains to show their probable original distribution. There is, however, reason to believe that they were once very widely dispersed, judging from the evidence of their presence today as isolates widely separated from each other.

No traces of them remain in the continental areas adjacent to the Andamans, apart from the Malaccan peninsula. At one time it was thought that traces of a Negrito element were to be found in the Kadir of Hindustan, revealed by the occasional presence of curly hair. I have myself visited the area, and must refute this suggestion; the people have nothing of the Negrito in their body structure, their hair is markedly longer than the Negrito and they have body hair. The kinky hair (never woolly) occasionally seen may derive from distant Negro crosses, or may be an accidental similarity. I have seen this type of curliness even in Europeans who certainly had no Negro or pygmy ancestry.

It has also been asserted, possibly with some foundation, although there are few data available, that there are traces of the Negrito among the people of New Guinea, such as the Tapiro. Although of small stature, their general characteristics would seem to relate the Tapiro more closely to the Papuans; they have yellowish skin, probably the lightest in that area, they are, again, hirsute and there is a marked absence of Negrito characteristics in the proportions of the body.

142 144 The first thing that strikes one on meeting the Onges – and indeed the Andamanese in general – is the exceptional blackness and

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softness of their skin. They have what must be among the darkest 142
skins in the world, and in certain lights some individuals have a bluish 144
tinge, which I have never seen in any other region. Something similar seems to have existed among the now extinct Tasmans, although they differed markedly from the Andamanese in other respects. The Onges are the only Andamanese who are not invariably intensely black, and the bluish type is rare among them. This might be attributable to contact with the nearby Nicobars, where a yellowish skin is common, in conjunction with Mongoloid features. I saw no traces, however, of such admixture; the Arioto show some sign of recent Burmese influence, but any ethnic influences on the Onges and Jarawas must have been extremely ancient, indeed before their arrival in the archipelago. In the south and south-west of Little Andaman I did find individuals markedly taller than the rest (though still small), but it is clear that outwardly at least the Onges and Jarawas still retain most of their unique somatic characteristics, which have remained unchanged for thousands of years.

The Andamanese skin is very smooth in texture, and lacks the 142
odour characteristic of many of the African peoples. This would 147
appear to depend on the chemical composition of the sweat, as the Andamanese never intentionally wash, although brushing against the sodden vegetation, and frequent immersion while collecting shellfish, or fishing, in some measure compensates. Curiously enough their sweat does seem to repel the local ticks, which drive Europeans mad; again, it was interesting that the Indians and Burmese of my party were variously affected by them.

Their skin is also extraordinarily elastic – I noticed that in the forest I scratched myself continually at the slightest touch against thorns or branches, whereas the Onges invariably emerged quite unscathed at the end of the trek. Their greater agility of movement will undoubtedly have been part of the answer, but it would be impossible to avoid any scratches, as they do, unless their skin 'gave' to an abnormal degree.

Another effect of this elasticity is that the women suffer no dis- 14
figuration of the skin over the abdomen after childbirth, and neither sex becomes wrinkled to any noticeable extent with age. This distinguishes them clearly from peoples with whom they have been compared – such as the Bushmen, who (possibly in part due

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Onges

14 to the arid climate) are among the most wrinkled people in the world.

142 At birth, the Onges are tiny, attractive little creatures, very
123 plump, but rarely over two and a half kilograms in males and two kilograms in females. I was very fortunate indeed in that I succeeded in persuading one young couple to let me examine their
[609] new-born child. Local superstition forbids a stranger looking on a child for any length of time, and even an Onge who does so is regarded with suspicion, so I had to be extremely cautious.

844 The infant was born on 30 March 1954, in the forest to the north
846 of Labanar. Like most deliveries, birth took place in the forest on
123 a bed improvised for the purpose, with only the father (on some occasions also the wife's mother) present, and the placenta was buried under the bed. The women recover very quickly;[1] after a few days they are fit for heavy work, returning to the group without any purification ceremonies, and this was no exception. After a
123 wealth of gifts I managed to examine the child on the morning of
142 31 March and again on 10, 13 and 14 April. After this mother and child vanished completely, and the father would give me only evasive replies, although only a few days before he had been willing to help me open some graves round Tambe-e-buiè, allowing me to remove the bones of nine Onges who had been dead for many years; superstition (or the women) overcame him on this occasion, however.

My examinations were all carried out in the presence of the mother and at least two of the older women, who were determined to prevent me touching the child.

142 The child, like all Onge babies, had no body hair; this persists throughout life, though some males have sparse moustaches. Its head was covered with a very fine, sparse down, not black like the adults, but already showing signs of the characteristic woolly texture. Dark reddish-brown, the hair becomes black and tightly curled during the first year of life. The eyelashes curl markedly in adults, but the hair of the eyebrows is virtually straight; in the infant the former were barely visible, and the latter completely absent.

The nails were strong and well formed, projecting a little beyond

[843] [1] Childbirth is normally very easy, but miscarriages are common, probably due to lack of vitality in the foetus.

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the finger-tips and almost pink, with pale chocolate moons and 142
yellowish-brown palms and soles. In the adults the nails and soles of the feet remain pale, the palms being a little darker. The head, and the visible buccal and nasal epithelia, were almost black, and the gums were pink, as was the inside of the lips, with dark petecchiae, in adults very noticeable, at the base of the teeth and over the tongue and palate. The cheeks, however, were a reddish-brown, although the whole skin was already showing signs of darkening after twelve hours. Nasal cartilage was minimal, but that of the ears well-developed. The darkest area of skin were the forehead, eye sockets, lids, nipples and genitalia.

In general, therefore, the infant's skin was very slightly lighter [844]
than that of the adults, though before I could be sure of this I had [302]
to wash off the thick layer of ochre which is smeared over the un- [854]
washed infants immediately after birth. As the infants are extremely [751]
carefully protected from the sun by 'umbrella' hats made of lobed palm leaves, the darkening, which is complete by the end of the first year, is clearly biological and is not effected by tanning. As, however, the Onges interchange or 'adopt' children freely, [597]
it was impossible to carry out any proper colorimetric observations.

I saw no albinos in the Onges, usually fairly common in dark- 143
skinned peoples. I saw several in Africa, with apparently normal 826
parents. Some African peoples destroy albinos at birth as they do [847]
those with deformities, and the Andamanese may do the same, as I saw little congenital deformity (see, however, p. 46). Fear of being [626]
held responsible for disasters which befall the group carries great weight, and it is possible that the two cases of abnormality which I did see did not manifest symptoms at birth. Twins, however, are [845]
clearly (and gladly) accepted, so eager are the Onges to have [842]
children.

It was already clear in the infant that it would have the somatic 142
characteristics common to all Negritos as regards the proportions of the body, the form and dimensions of the head, absence of prognathism, comparatively fine lips, nose and ears, black skin, and woolly hair, and would be well below 1·5 metres in height when fully grown. Above all, the Andamanese have a large forehead, very wide-angled jaw and large mouths, with the upper lips not invariably full, as in Negroes. Many Onges, in fact, have fine features,

Many Onges, in fact, have fine features,
142 and some of the women have a certain beauty and grace of move-
[481] ment, with a dignified walk and restrained gestures, despite their utter lack of any sense of shame. The sclera are very white, and the highly characteristic contrast between the intense black of the skin and the startling white of the eyes gives the Andamanese a ferocious appearance, which on smiling turns into a curiously childish ex-
151 pression (see further, p. 19). It is a curious fact that although the
145 Onges have remarkable sight (p. 47), few of them can close each eye separately, although they are all completely ambidextrous.

144 In examining the child I had particularly in mind the very short
142 stature of the pygmies both of Asia and Africa, which is regarded
164 by some as pathological. The Andamanese have been described as Negroes who have degenerated through genetical isolation. This theory holds that they are descended from slaves who fled from the Portuguese after a shipwreck. I do not regard this as tenable. Pygmies in general, and the Andamanese in particular, are well-proportioned and physically outwardly normal. One cannot speak of dwarfism as determining their characteristics: this implies abnormal development as the result of hypophyseal disorder or
[143] thyroid imbalance. Cases of achondroplastic dwarfism are known among the pygmies of Africa, particularly where there has been mixing with Negroes, and these patients are sometimes taller than their normal kinfolk, but I found no cases among the pygmies of Asia.

142 One characteristic of the Bushmen which does occur among the Andamanese is steatopigia in both males and females. This is nor-
[114] mally much more prevalent in females, and indeed before my visit to the Andamans von Eickstedt held that it was non-existent in males. I had always disagreed with this view, and was able to verify its occurrence in both males and females.

Dobson in the nineteenth century recorded in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* of London, the unusual appearance of the buttocks in the Andamanese, although he did not specifically refer to the phenomenon as steatopygia, and went only so far as to suppose it the result of an unusual accumulation of fat in the gluteal area. To him, however, must go the credit for the first observation.

114 His observation led scientists – in my view wrongly – to compare
142 the Andamanese with the Bushmen. The presence of steatopygia,
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and the 'peppercorn' hair (disposed in tufts with bare areas) do indeed recall the Bushmen, but superficial resemblances are not enough to classify the two peoples as at all closely related. There is an important difference between the two in the structure and cross-section of the hair. Hairs from the Onges which were examined in Calcutta were remarkably uniform, indicating the racial purity of the people, unlike those of the Arioto, which showed considerable variation in cross-section, from the almost circular straight hair of the Mongoloid type, to the flattened, almost remiform hair of the original Negritos.

Different, too, is the shape of the head; I have never seen in the Negritos the typical Bushmen head, with the prominent occiput, and I saw no Andamanese with the pseudo-mongoloid appearance of the eyes which occurs in Bushmen.

The hands and feet are also different. Among the Kung women of the northern Kalahari in particular I saw delicate hands with very long metacarpals and a very small thumb, the elongated metacarpals displacing the thumb towards the wrist. None of the Negritos appear to have anything resembling this; their hands are always rather broad. Moreover, the feet of the male Onges are nearly always flat while those of the women tend to turn in, recalling the small peoples of Indonesia and New Guinea, but not the Bushmen.

An interesting though not congenital abnormality in the Andamanese results from the carrying of weights slung from the head from too early an age. Loads are always carried on their backs by a rope made of bark, the weight being taken on the forehead. The rope presses on the head in the region of the bregma and creates the so-called bregmatic furrow. This is more marked in females, as the women normally do most of the carrying. Even the children travel on their parents' backs, hanging like parcels, until the age of five or six when they are old enough to follow the group on their own.

The Abor, a mongoloid people of small stature in the mountains of North-West Assam, carry loads in the same way, but with no resulting head furrow. The Andamanese have softer cranial bones, and the result of load-bearing is therefore clearly visible. As it occurs in both sexes, it is often hard if not impossible to determine sex from skulls if the pelvis is absent. The long bones are not of

142 147 482 much assistance in this respect, as the muscular insertions are exaggerated in both sexes, both being subjected to continued physical effort resulting in muscular bulk.

142 147 164 [304] [515] One quite outstanding physical feature in the Onges is their teeth. The palate is unusually arched, unlike that of the African pygmies or the Bushmen. The teeth, which are never filed or cut, as many primitive peoples do for decorative purposes, are very white; caries is rare, and although never cleaned the teeth are retained till late in life. A common abnormality is that the lateral incisors are as pointed as the canines. This, with the whiteness of the teeth and eyes against the blackness of the skin, gives the Onges a sinister appearance, which may account for the old description of the Andamanese as men with ferocious dogs' heads. The only 142 515 (summary) cleaning the Onge teeth receive is the use of toothpicks, thinner and rather longer than the European variety and made from the tough, flexible bark of a certain reed. After use, they are carefully thrust into the hair for future occasions. Every Onge has one or more threaded through the hair on top of the head.

142 147 [264] [514] The strength of the Onge teeth enables their owners to champ their way through what are for us inconceivable quantities of food, both animal and vegetable, which is chewed slowly and determinedly, dust, earth, sand and all, and then swallowed without apparent ill effects, other than the flatulence arising from overconsumption of animal matter. But the Onges use their teeth for other purposes besides eating. In time the teeth become worn down by the inevitable grinding of dirt and grit, but this does not prevent the Onges from continuing to chew the bark of trees and cords, which is a lifelong occupation. This duty falls mainly on the women, and I have seen aged women, their teeth worn almost to the gums, doggedly chewing bark as their contribution to the communal life of the group. The strength of the teeth is unbelievable – I have seen children of ten to fifteen years crush nails up to two millimetres thick, and dent lumps of iron.

114 123 142 147 [37] I myself once had good cause to be grateful for their power. My party and I found ourselves stranded in the forest on South Brother without guns or even knives, and without cooking utensils. There were large clutches of turtle eggs buried in the sand nearby and my two Onge companions pointed out a coconut tree loaded with nuts (which turned out to be the only one on the islands, seeded

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from a nut carried by the sea from some tree hundreds of miles away). There was thus ample food for several days, if only the coconuts could be opened. The Onges' teeth solved the problem. They attacked the nuts close to the stalk, stripping off great chunks of the fibrous outer covering until they had uncovered the three 'eyes'. These they dug out with a sharp piece of stick, so that we were able to drink the juice and then break up the nuts to get at the flesh. Never did coconuts taste so good!

Round the base of the tree I saw a thick layer of broken pieces of coconut, the remains of nuts opened by the Onges' teeth over the years. The strength of their bite resembles that of the African pygmies, whom I have seen hanging by their teeth from the lianas and who can dent the barrel of a gun.

The average life span of the Onges, and indeed of the Andamanese in general, is fairly short. On Little Andaman there are probably no individuals over the age of sixty, and most die before fifty. Here again they differ from African peoples of similar stature; Bushmen have been known to live to a hundred, and I saw one in Natal, incredibly wrinkled, but not shrunken, who was certainly near that age if not, as he claimed, over it. This is quite unknown in the Andamanese. There are none with white hair; although a few white hairs can sometimes be found on the head of an old woman, there are none to be seen in the men, who die younger than the women. There is no baldness, which is by no means rare in Negroes, particularly in southern Africa.

Precise age is not easy to determine in the Onges. Visual assessment is hampered by the absence of the signs of ageing common in Europeans. Moreover, a particularly child-like expression often lasts into adult life. In May 1952 I saw on Car Nicobar two Jarawa youths, small but robust, whose age by our standards one would have estimated at ten or twelve years. One turned out to be fourteen, however, and the other at least two years older, and both were adolescent, despite their childish appearance.

Males appear to reach their maximum height at about eighteen, and females at about sixteen; both sexes reach full maturity at about twenty-three. At forty-five they are old: their hard life, their unbalanced diet, with its enormous quantities of fat meat eaten in excess, and complete absence of salt, and their unrestrained sexual activity, may all be contributing factors. The slightly greater age

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The slightly greater age

145 reached by the women may possibly be explained by their some-
165 what less arduous life physically, but biological factors may be the
146 root cause. Despite their deceptively youthful appearance the menopause is over by the age of thirty-eight, at the latest, and they remain in good health thereafter, looking amazingly young. The oldest man I saw was Enagaghe, the head of one of the groups, and he could not have been more than fifty-five. He happily accompanied me on long and arduous trips into the forest, and climbed trees like a squirrel after honey and fruit; neither his appetite nor his zeal as a lover were impaired. His stomach managed to cope with something like a kilo a day of meat, skin and fat, plus fruit, boiled roots and honey. In a hot, damp, oppressive climate like that of the Andamans such a diet year after year cannot fail to produce a state of chronic intestinal poisoning likely to affect the organism as a whole, and may contribute to shorten life, despite an apparent physical vigour.

141 Connected, perhaps, with their excesses is the fact that the Onges'
147 normal body temperature is much higher than usual; with a temperature reading of thirty-eight degrees centigrade they are in good health, with unimpaired appetite. I found an average temperature of thirty-seven point five degrees centigrade in males of various ages, the younger men tending to give the higher readings. The average in females was slightly higher than in males. I was able to observe for myself completely normal behaviour in Onges who by European standards would have been regarded as severely febrile.
[146] In part, as I have said, this may be due to diet and absence of salt, but it must certainly be regarded at least in part as a racial characteristic. It may, too, have some effect on their low vitality; it is interesting that temperatures in the Bushmen and pygmies of Africa, with their longer expectation of life, never vary far from the European norm.

164 These abnormally high temperatures are not a symptom of
[147] malaria. This is clinically unknown in the Andamanese although it is a serious menace to outsiders. Even a few hours on the island can lead to infection if precautions are not taken. I made all the men with me take their tablets regularly, even when propaganda in India against immunization as a Western importation led to objections, so that I had to force the tablets into their mouths myself to ensure that they were swallowed.

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The Onges do not seem to require any preventive measures, and seem naturally immune to malaria. They do, however, transmit the disease to strangers, through the mosquitoes which are everywhere in Little Andaman. Like many other inhabitants of tropical areas, they probably all carry the disease without being affected by it – neither children nor adults show any sign of splenic enlargement. 164 [136]

In contrast to their periodic gorging, the Onges will equally cheerfully endure hunger, thirst and exhaustion. During our hazardous canoe trip to South Brother, however, they appeared much more affected than I was by long exposure to the sun. We were completely without any means of shelter for an entire afternoon in the open sea, and though the Onges tried to cover their heads as best they could, they still developed severe (and genuine) headaches, and were clearly much happier in the dark forest, which must be considered their natural environment. 147 [261]

Nothing has hitherto been known of the intelligence level and general psychology of the Onges. The childishness of their behaviour, however, is curiously in keeping with their strikingly child-like appearance. Like children, they seek only the satisfaction of elementary stimuli, and like children they pass in a flash from one mood to another, so that they are a people of sudden contrasts. 15

One example is their passionate love for their dogs, in marked contrast to the intense cruelty with which they hunt their prey. Having once realized the usefulness of dogs, first imported into the islands some thirty years ago, the Onges now pet them like little girls with their dolls, and the Onge women will suckle the family puppies quite naturally with their own children. Yet once a dog dies the other side of the Onge nature comes to the fore and the carcase is thrown into the forest – there is no looking back. 231 152 [177]

Their minds are in a sense inventive, in that they have evolved devices to help them acquire their food, but they have never, for example, thought of the fish-hook, despite the abundance of iron pieces thrown up by shipwrecks all round the islands. Anything new is taken up with a child's momentary enthusiasm, but they have no notion of sustained mental effort such as any form of counting. 157 [802]

Like children, too, the Onges laugh at the slightest thing, although their mirth is always restrained. In this they differ from the African peoples, particularly the Bushmen, who are often by 157 522

157 Western standards taciturn or sly, and the Negro peoples, who
522 frequently manifest complete abandonment in their amusement.
157 Obscenities appear to be an unfailing source of amusement to the
522 Onges, who indulge in them at every opportunity, even with
83 strangers, and the obscene dances of the womenfolk are a continual source of pleasure. The exchange of obscenities is, indeed, a sign of friendship, and I found that vulgarity was invariably immensely successful in provoking hilarity; any subsequent negotiations were always peaceable and satisfactory.

302 An extension of this vulgarity is an infantile vanity, not without
[157] sexual significance. The care with which their bodies are painted nearly every day is one aspect of this vanity; the more a wife loves her husband the more magnificent the designs she executes on him.
[153] The paintings on their bodies reach a peak every two or three days,
[151] as the Onges fear illness and death if they are not newly daubed, and
[161] the face at least must be continually painted, with at least smears on the chest, arms and legs. A man returning from an exceptionally successful hunting trip is met by his wife with a specially unusual and elaborate design, which she carries out with great devotion.
[123] During each of my visits to the island the Onges would rush up to show me their embellishments as soon as they were finished, and took a delight in standing in front of my camera, even though they had no idea what it was for.

304 It is curious that unlike most primitive peoples, the Onges do
[171] not practise tattooing, which is one of the simplest ways, if not *the* simplest, in which such peoples satisfy their craving for physical
[184] admiration. The other Andamanese do, puncturing the skin with
[302] tiny slivers of obsidian or quartz, but the Onges paint with ochre instead. They love, too, to weave garlands of fruit, flowers and
38 leaves from the forest, returning to the camp laden with them, men
824 and women alike, delighted with their own beauty. This divergence
[184] of customs in peoples essentially of the same stock, but separated for long periods of time into endogamous isolates, is very remarkable.

838 An intense preoccupation with sexual attraction and activity has led to the prevalence of aberration. All the Onges have homosexual tendencies. I became aware of this during my first visit to Little Andaman on one of my longer expeditions, when I had taken only men with me, and on subsequent occasions I therefore allowed the men to bring their wives. The effect of long periods of absence on

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men naturally predisposed to the abnormality is enhanced by the 838
fact that the youngest and most attractive women are invariably monopolized by the older men. So prevalent, indeed, is homosexuality that one is obliged to regard it as a biological, and not as a social or psychological abnormality. It is not, therefore, surprising [832]
to find that kissing is unknown; sexual excitement is aroused instead by nose-rubbing.

None of the Onges have any sense of modesty. This is partly the 834
result of circumstances; privacy is impossible in the communal life 291
of the group. This is in marked contrast to the comical dignity 179
assumed during the last few years by the remaining Arioto women. The government authorities decreed that they should be clothed, and they immediately became so prudish that they refuse to bare so much as an arm, and they thus present a considerable problem to the anthropologist. Their menfolk, however, are clearly delighted with this sudden modesty which was to me a somewhat 1
pathetic parody, and a further example of Andamanese childish-

1 [The remainder of this sentence has been left incomplete in the original text.--Analyst]

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CHAPTER TWO

The Silent Forest

133 The whole of the Andamans and Nicobars can be regarded as the top of an oceanic mountain range, an extension of the Arakan mountains of Burma, which continues out under the sea from Cape Nigrais. Geological structure and flora are very similar, although there are some significant differences in the fauna, due to the subsequent isolation of the archipelago.

On Great Andaman there are many rocks of continental origin, but they are rare on Little Andaman, where the surface largely consists of coral deposits on top of sedimentary and volcanic rocks. At some points on the east coast the sea throws up lumps of fine, very hard granite; I found an outcrop of it in Butler Bay, to the north of Hut Bay, and another at Labanar near the river Tejàh. In the central area are some hills of sedimentary rock all less than a hundred metres high, dropping towards the south of the island. The whole of the rest of the island is built up of coral deposit.

Various geological events, still in progress, caused the separation of Great and Little Andaman. The former, three hundred and twenty kilometres north to south, suffered in the course of time two transverse fractures east to west, large enough for fair-sized steamers to pass through. The rift is so narrow that in places one can throw a stone across. These two marine channels, as we have seen, divided Great Andaman into the Islands now known as North, Middle and South Andaman.

The Andamans are still subject to frequent earthquakes, often quite strong ones, which are gradually altering the conformation of the islands just as long ago they divided Great Andaman. From my excavations in the kitchen-middens I was able to verify changes in the level of marine life, due not to any variation in the level of the

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sea itself, but to the rising and falling of the land with the recurring movements. Even between 1951 and 1952 there was a noticeable alteration in the level of the north-east coast of Little Andaman, following an earthquake in July 1951; the Onges had to move the communal hut at Tambe-e-buiè further inland, because the sea, previously twenty metres away, had begun to come right up to the hut. In several places giant trees centuries old crashed to the ground, their roots left without any foothold as the level of the land fell suddenly all along the coast. If this can happen in one year, it is hardly surprising that what now appears as an archipelago is in reality a continuous mountain chain, its levels broken and rebroken over thousands of years till the islands became separated by the sea for good, their coasts so eroded that subsequent quakes have failed to reunite them. 133

It is highly unwise even to attempt a landing on Little Andaman during the monsoons. Both the north-east monsoon in June and August and the south-west in November and January whip the seas up into a frenzy, but in late April and again in late September the sea is quite calm. Since both monsoons pass over vast tracts of sea, they become saturated with water vapour and bring torrential rains, not infrequently accompanied by hurricanes violent enough to strip all the leaves off the trees. After these storms the jungle, normally almost impenetrable, is made even more so by the tangle of fallen branches and the trunks of old trees torn up by the wind or the lightning. The lightning strikes the tallest trees, which may smoulder for days on end without setting fire to the sodden forest, so great is the humidity. I have often seen one of these flaming torches; the Onges, ignorant as they are of the art of making fire, take advantage of the phenomenon, as a continuous supply of burning wood is a necessity in a climate which is so damp and humid all the year round that matches become useless after twenty-four hours unless suitable precautions are taken. 132 132 372

Once on the island, virgin forest stretches endlessly before one in undulating waves of treetops, black and terrifying. From the tops of the trees thousands of lianas hang everywhere, winding like snakes from trunk to trunk, forming an inextricable tangle, yet somehow always elegant, binding the entire forest into one dense mass. Many of the tree-trunks reach diameters unheard of in temperate climates. Some of them have hollow cavities, treasured by the Onges as hiding-places or temporary shelters. 137 [824]

137 the Onges as hiding-places or temporary shelters. In these cavities,
[136] which remain full of water right through the dry season, flourish a horde of amphibia, many hitherto unknown.

The great trees are sometimes so close together that it is literally impossible to pass between them, yet it is rare to find two of the same species next to each other, so great is the variety. Huge clumps of ferns are everywhere, hiding the roots of dying trees, hundreds of years old, and fallen trunks rotting on the ground. Some of the thicker and taller trees protect themselves from the monsoon gales by developing buttresses, usually four or six to a tree, which stand out from the trunk like right-angled triangles, with the apex about ten metres from the ground. If a blanket is stretched between the sloping sides of two of the buttresses one can improvise a shelter which is extremely comfortable by local standards, and both man and animals take advantage of this natural cover; I myself took shelter like this on many occasions. (They need to be treated with caution, however, as the local snakes have a predilection for siestas
824 in the darkest corners.) If a hard piece of wood is struck against one
202 of the buttresses it echoes hollowly, and the Andamanese often make use of them to transmit warning messages over considerable distances, using a form of code. A few beats can make every inhabitant within a wide radius vanish from sight, hastily making for the nearest hiding-place. It is hopeless to try and ferret them out once they have been warned, and there is always a risk of being killed by one of their arrows in the process.

123 Sometimes the Onges used to disappear suddenly for fun. The
[522] blackness of their skin is a great help in this, since even on the brightest afternoon it is intensified by the obscurity of the forest. One has a disturbing sensation of being entirely alone, yet knowing that dozens of pairs of eyes are watching as the Onges glide silently from trunk to trunk between the buttresses.

137 The whole island is a mass of knotted vegetation, and it is useless
484 to attempt to cut any form of lasting path, as the plants immediately
487 grow back. 'Walking' in the Andamans therefore means opening
[481] up a way with a hatchet, unless one adopts the rapid but exhausting Onge method of swinging over obstacles by the lianas. This is the kingdom of the epiphytes. The lianas cover their hosts as if determined to hide them, and clumps of orchids hang from nearly every trunk, although their flowers are unfortunately very small.

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It is impossible to imagine a more varied or richer sight than the Andamanese forests at any time of year. The colours, and the light effects, particularly at dawn and at sunset, the myriads of flowers of every hue and scent, every shape and size, the strange noises, all combine to produce an effect which stuns the outsider. The spectacle reaches its climax at night when the moon is full; the tops of the trees are bathed in a silver light and the great lianas seem to writhe like serpents. As though inspired by the light, the nocturnal animals stage a kind of pageant for the occasion and their cries are even more frequent and more rhythmic than usual. The Andamanese themselves seem bewitched without realizing it, spellbound by the weird atmosphere.

To anyone unfamiliar with the tropics, the swift change from darkness to light and back again comes as a surprise. Night in the tropics is never silent – the eerie voices and calls, often with a strange pitch, seem to cease for a brief moment just before the sudden onset of darkness and again just before the return of the light. As night falls the fascination of the jungle grows. Even the natives feel some urge to keep their voices down, as if out of respect for some natural solemnity. (This, however, is not exclusive to the Andamanese, and it has a perfectly rational explanation. In tropical forests, and in the deserts, men speak softly so as to catch every slightest sound, a passing animal perhaps.) At dawn the birds start up as though they were tired of silence. There is no great variety of calls; most are very piercing, although still pleasing, and in the crescendo of sound which follows the dusk and dawn silences, the forest is transformed.

One thing that has helped the Onges to survive so long despite the inevitability of their decline is the climate of the islands, which is usually very pleasant and so less liable to exacerbate biological weaknesses.

Normally, the Andamans have four months of very good weather from December to March, which may extend by a few days into November and April. February is nearly always the driest month and the calmest, although there are exceptions, as I know from my own experiences when trying to land on the island. In the remaining months there is frequent rain, sometimes torrential, with raging seas, but relieved by periods of clear sky.

132 In the absence of rain the air is clear with few extremes of temperature, and mean temperatures are fairly constant throughout the year. Towards the end of March and throughout April, the thermometer rarely rises above twenty-five degrees centigrade in the shade, although it can rise above thirty-five degrees centigrade in the middle of the day. Heavy rains, which reduce the temperature noticeably, begin in mid-April; but a period of relatively dry, almost cold weather may occur at the beginning of May. The south-west monsoon reaches its peak in the middle of May, and continues to the end of November. During this period the temperature is never high, but the rains are frequently torrential; storms and terrific gales follow one after another and in some years the monsoons are so violent that the trees are completely stripped of their leaves in a matter of hours. Even so, there are sudden calms and in August there may be some very fine days, among the best of the year when they occur.

132 This climate, with its very minor variations in temperature, is
131 explained by the geographical position of the islands. The two main islands of the archipelago run north–south, between 10° 30′ and 13° 30′ North and 90° and 92° 33′ East, rarely over forty kilometres wide. Great Andaman alone is three hundred and twenty kilometres long and Little Andaman is fifty kilometres. With the south-west monsoon the west coast faces the brunt of the storms, while the north-east monsoon hits the eastern coastline. Both hit the islands after crossing vast expanses of the Indian Ocean, but the south-west monsoon is the wetter; together they refresh the highly fertile earth.

Little Andaman forms about a sixth of this area. Its southernmost point touches 10° 30′ North and the northern tip is 10° 56′ North. On the west coast the monsoon winds are so strong and go on for so long that they have affected the growth of vegetation, beating the tops of the trees down towards the north-east, while both monsoons carry the sea spray right across the island.

132 With the continual dampness and relatively even temperature
137 the forests rise before one as the coastline approaches, black, savagely beautiful, unconquered and unconquerable. Like all the rain forests of the tropics they are always a lush green, except where the monsoon has stripped the trees of their leaves. Normally the trees do not lose their leaves in the winter; each species has its

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own growth period, but there are so many of them that there are 132
green leaves, and trees and plants in flower or fruit, all the year 137
round.

There are, of course, more trees and shrubs without leaves when the heat and the dry season are at their peak, during our winter. None lose their leaves all at once, however, and in most cases they fall gradually throughout the year, accompanied by the continuous appearance of new growth. In the absence of any definite seasonal cycles, the trees grow almost continuously, so that they have no marked growth rings corresponding to the various seasons. Nor is there any sudden colouring of the leaves *en masse* with the onset of autumn; instead a permanent range of colours makes the forest incredibly beautiful at any time of the year.

Sometimes in the dry season one sees the tree known as the 137
Flame of the Forest, one of the Leguminosae, standing out against all the others with its vermilion-red flowers, visible for considerable distances on the slopes of the hills. Rather larger than our acacia, it loses all its leaves at the beginning of January, to become covered with a mass of large flowers. I have seen similar trees in South Africa; covered with a profusion of brilliant flowers they are a wonderful sight, standing out like a sheet of flame against the sombre background of the forest round them. Even the lianas seem to respect them and leave them alone, as though fearing the slenderness of the branches, so that the trees rise like prisoners escaped by chance from the suffocating blanket of climbers all round them.

The strangling *Ficus* seems to escape them too, although lianas rage everywhere in the Andamans, their path strewn with victims. One seed of these voracious plants, left with a bird's droppings, can mean the death of a giant tree. If it lodges on a branch, or in a fork where there is a little moss or earth, it will grow and send its ropes of aerial roots down to find the earth. As soon as they touch the earth they root tenaciously, sending back energy for further growth. In a few years the ropes begin to enfold the tree, clinging to it and fusing together, till in the end there is nothing but an insidious, clinging network right round the trunk which first gave it shelter.

Every stage of this process is to be seen in the forest, from the initial unseen assault by the tiny aerial roots to the complete enveloping of the victim. Right from the first there is no escape; the

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137 chance landing of a tiny seed means inevitable death by strangulation and the new plant ends by covering its victim with its own leaves, rising above the wreck till it looks like an independent tree.

In another form this struggle between plant and plant goes on all over the Andamans. In many places, especially where the ground is flat, the foliage overhead kills the undergrowth by cutting off the light. The tops of the trees, thickened by the festoons of climbers growing over them, form a blanket high above the ground, keeping out the light in their own struggle to reach the sun. In the darkness below the vegetation is sparse and thin, and I took advantage of the fact many times on journeys on Little Andaman, and also on Bluff Island, Long Island and Great Andaman. On the steeper slopes, all thickly wooded, the sun penetrates more easily, however, and the undergrowth flourishes, particularly thorny plants, and the need to try and avoid being gashed always added considerably to the effort of struggling up the slopes.

There is one climber[1] which bears growths that have the appearance of halberds. I never succeeded in finding out the function or the purpose of these adornments. The plant is a liana of incredible length, which climbs from tree to tree right to the top, often over fifty metres up, to find the sun. Throughout its upward twists and turns the diameter of the stem remains the same, not more than five centimetres. From top to bottom it puts out shoots of varying lengths which hang straight down and it is on these that the halberds appear. Green at first, the growths dry almost to black. They are neither leaves nor spines and they have no apparent function but to grace the shoots that carry them. I measured some of the shoots which are very pliable; they taper a little, but are almost filiform, varying in size from half a metre to 1·2 metres long, with a diameter of three centimetres at the base. Around each of these shoots or spikes, the 'halberds' are arranged with absolute symmetry, in opposite pairs, each pair set at right angles to the previous pair. The 'wings' of the halberds are not more than three centimetres wide, and the overall length of each pair is about six centimetres.

824 Among the lianas are some valued by the islanders because they
312 provide a clear liquid which has a pleasant, rather bitter, vegetable

[1] The author gives no name for this climber, which has been tentatively identified from the description as the rattan, or climbing palm.

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taste. The liquid content of these stems is so great that it makes them extremely heavy to carry. These lianas are very common all over the islands and anyone who knows them need never die of thirst. To get at the liquid one only has to break the stem and put it to one's mouth; if one puts a receptacle under the break, a litre or so of liquid can be obtained in a matter of minutes. When the first strangers came to the archipelago, the Andamanese watched them tear down parts of the forest, including these lianas, and tried in vain to protest at the vandalism. No one understood their protests, but they were right.

The forest abounds in trees whose fruits in season form an important source of food for the islanders. One is the so-called jackfruit, *Artocarpus communis*, which here grows wild, though various species are cultivated all over Asia. The fruits, which appear on the thickest branches as well as on the trunk, are smaller in the wild variety, rarely weighing more than thirty grams, but the yield is enormous and the islanders enjoy them for months, especially from March to May. The Onges call them *bulundanghe*, and roast them in hot ashes till the hard pulp and seeds are eatable; the latter, the size of a hazelnut but tougher, are the best part.

Another useful plant is the *Pandanus*, or screw-pine. On Little Andaman extensive areas are covered with nothing else, making progress very difficult owing to the twisting roots and the spines on the long, tough leaves. It seems to prefer the coastal areas, particularly the marshes, where it often grows into an impenetrable jungle. There are at least two species, one of which is gregarious. The other, which grows as isolated specimens, is longer leaved, with bigger fruits and stems like candelabra, standing up on an arch of roots, as though on stilts. With the leaves of this variety, fluted and easy to arrange like roof tiles, the Onges can quickly improvise a waterproof covering. The young leaves provide them with ornaments which they wear for their dances, while the pulp of the fruit, which looks rather like a pineapple, perfumed and delicately flavoured, is nutritious though somewhat stringy.

Along the coasts where there are no *Pandanus*, one very often sees something very different – mangroves. The islanders use the wood for their canoe floats, and for fixing pegs (see p. 122) and the supply is unlimited, as the growth and spread of the mangroves are assured by a number of factors which have made them one of the best

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137 adapted trees for the waterlogged areas in which they are exclusively found. The banks of all the river mouths and a considerable distance upstream are lined with the green of the mangroves, their trunks rising from the arched network of roots.

In the Andamans there are at least ten mangrove forests, all fighting for one thing: more and yet more vital space. This they win either directly, by sending roots out underground far ahead, or indirectly, by encouraging the building up of more land, which they then occupy. Great banks of mud are built up against the network of roots, sometimes miles into the sea, a necessary prelude to their irresistible spread. To help the formation of the dam mud some species send a mass of roots down from the trunk into the water, while others build dams of roots or send out horizontal shoots from which trunks sprout into the air and roots plunge down into the water.

One strange habit interested me very much. I saw roots thirty or more centimetres long growing not down but up, sticking into the air like a human hand with long fingers. These roots are known to botanists as 'pneumatophores', and the species which produce them act as the advance party for other species, building up a new plantation and snatching a few more miles from the sea. One might call it a fine example of solidarity among different species.

In these species tufts hang down from the leaves like green fingers about eighteen centimetres long. They are in fact great viviparous seeds, admirably adapted to progressive spread over marine areas, designed specifically for the purpose of sure and rapid growth wherever they alight, which may be anywhere. Floating upright in the sea, sticking half out of the water, their weight is so distributed that the growing tip is clear and the seeds take root the moment they arrive in shallow waters where there is mud below. The new plant grows rapidly, sending out miniature pneumatophores almost as soon as it has taken root.

In species like the well-known *Rhizophora conjugata* the seed germinates while still on the parent plant. If it does not become detached at once it sends out slender but strong roots a metre long. They too will float on the water until they can take root in the mud.

With all these means of propagation, even the fury of the sea is not enough to restrain the growth of the mangrove swamps. Slowly and unaided they are increasing the area of the islands with

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their arched vaults of roots, strong enough to bear a man's weight 137
without bending. In some places I had to travel hundreds of metres across them, clambering from arch to arch, before I could reach dry land and sweeter air (the air in the swamps is foul with the stench of dead fish, crustacea and debris of all kinds from the sea, caught in the network of roots). Among the roots swarm crabs of [136]
all kinds, including the blue crabs, while kingfishers and other brilliantly coloured birds dart gaily in after the easy prey.

Near the mangrove swamps, in the mouths of the rivers, giant 136
fronds of the Nipah palm stick up out of the water here and there. 137
The feathery fronds, standing several me res high, are used by the crabs to climb out of the water and tiny toad fish, (see p. 133) equipped with both gills for life under water and lungs for air breathing, like to cling to them for an airing when there are no stones handy. Every day these fascinating little creatures stay in the sun for hours before dropping back into the waters of the swamps and in some places they are everywhere, always ready to jump out of the water on to a convenient projection to have a look at what is going on.

The Andamans, with their luxurious growth of vegetation of all 137
kinds, are an ideal place to study plant dispersal. I have already mentioned the *Ficus* and the mangroves, but there are many other equally fascinating plants. Some used by the Onges for the produc- [283]
tion of fibres are widely distributed from India to Malaysia and the [824]
Pacific. Among these are *Gnetum gnemon* and *G. macrocarpum*, generally spread by the doves which flourish undisturbed on Little Andaman. In April, when the winds come, swarms of curious elongated parachutes equipped with an air trap which causes their spinning flight are blown from *Pterocarpus dalbergoides*, which provides the well-known *padàk* wood. The weight of the seeds (the size of a pea) at the base of the parachutes and the effects of the air trap give them a horizontal, screwing flight which carries them far from the parent tree. I have seen these parachutes in the sea, hundreds of kilometres from the nearest land. Mathematically designed by Nature to trap the right amount of air, the tiny parachutes are barely ten centimetres long. Their efficiency is self-evident – *padàk* is one of the most widely spread trees in the archipelago, in the Nicobars and far beyond.

In the stagnant pools on Little Andaman I found a species of explosive fungus which closely resembles, if it is not in fact identical

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137 with, its European counterpart. The spores, attached to a plume barely visible to the naked eye but wonderfully constructed, are carried into the sky by the air currents rising from the pools in the hottest part of the day and travel considerable distances.

One could fill whole books with the botany of the islands but here I can record only a few examples. One I cannot leave out is a species of *ipomea*, or Morning Glory, which flourishes on the sandy beaches in the lee of the coral reefs. The local varieties are not climbers, but spread over the ground in a compact lattice of stems, fairly well able to withstand the onslaught of wind and water. They prevent coastal erosion, both by the protection which their covering of strong stems and leathery leaves provides and by holding fast loose pieces of coral. These *ipomeas* are found only in the Andamans, some with purplish flowers and others white. They surround the communal huts along the coast, carpeting every free inch of ground cleared by the Onges of other and more destructive vegetation. They make no attempt to cut down the *ipomea*, as the compact growth helps their canoes to slide up and down the beach.

[501] [824]

133 137 Along the coast of Little Andaman one sees rows of beautiful casuarinas (the Whistling Pine) especially a little to the north of Bugong Creek. From out at sea they stand against the skyline like rows of Italian cypress. They never reach the height of which they are capable, owing to the wind and the nature of the terrain; apart from a small stony, hilly area in the interior, of ancient continental origin, the island is really nothing more than a huge coral bank lying against these hills, which in the course of thousands of years has become covered with vegetal mould of no great depth. Trees are therefore forced to send their roots out horizontally, and the strong monsoon winds can easily uproot the tallest of them. After every storm one sees huge trunks lying on the ground, their wide net of roots sticking high into the air. Only a few of the giants in the interior manage to resist, protected by their neighbours. On Great Andaman, where there is more land of continental origin, deep rooting is possible and the forest presents a very different picture.

137 Much has already been written by others about the epiphytes, among them beautiful ferns and even more lovely orchids, which cling desperately to the trees in their struggle to reach the light. All are closely related to the flora of Burma, Malaysia, and Sumatra,

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and particularly of Oceania, but not with that of the Indian peninsula – a fact which is highly significant in any reconstructive study of the migration of flora and fauna to the archipelago. 137

The most recent phase in the spread of vegetation within the Andamans is less than a hundred years old; it began on Great Andaman, but none of the species has yet reached Little Andaman. The coconut has reached it during the last few years, but when I was there, there were not more than five wild palms in the whole island. The original coconuts must have floated from Great Andaman, or even the Nicobars. The Onges at once realized that they were edible, and called them *marele*. Now, however, there is a plantation of over five hundred trees to the north of Labanar, which I established by degrees on a number of occasions as a gift to the Onges. 262 123

The absence of any cultivated plants on Little Andaman led me to try pawpaws and bananas, as well as coconuts. In 1952 the Governor himself suggested a plant whose leaves are said to cure ringworm, so widespread among the Onges. The Onges, however, were not remotely interested, nor were they any more interested in the pawpaws and bananas. The pawpaws were left to lie on the ground and groves of young plants sprang up, far too close together, crowding the original tree and not sturdy enough to fruit. It was useless to show the Onges what to do. The bananas would have grown well, but their leaves were ripped to pieces by the storms. Possibly they would fare better in Great Andaman, where the hills would afford some shelter from the wind. 241 177

A rather different result, but equally unfortunate, followed the importation of grass seed into Great Andaman to improve grazing. The seed, imported from Europe, must have been contaminated with *Mimosa pudica*, which has spread widely, as it did in India and the rest of southern Asia, and within a few years has destroyed the grass so widely and become so much of a pest that in some areas it is doubtful whether it can be eradicated. The area round Port Blair is full of it, but for the moment Little Andaman remains free. 137

Culturally, the peoples of the Andamans remain today, unlike their kin in Malaysia and the Philippines, at a level almost identical with that of their ancestors thousands of years ago. They represented then, and in great measure represent today, a pure hunting and 105

105 gathering society; it is extremely probable that a study of their daily life today is virtually equivalent to a study of their life as it was in ancient times.

231 241 177 So near are the Andamanese to their original state that they show no signs of ever having had any real agriculture. The Indian Government has tried in vain to induce the surviving Arioto to keep chickens by presenting them with birds and food for them; the gifts were accepted out of politeness, but there the matter ended. Among the remaining Negritos, however, particularly in the Philippines, there are noticeable signs of the awakening of some agricultural sense, even to the extent of some commerce, and regular attendance at markets. But on Little Andaman, for example, I saw in 1952 various ginger trees growing, brought there by some unknown means and at Entigheh there was also a pumpkin. In 1953 and subsequent years there were no pumpkins at all on the island, and although the gingers were still thriving they were clearly doing so by chance, without any attention from the Onges, who ate some of the small red fruit, and seemed to like the piquant flavour, but still showed no signs of wanting to perpetuate it. In several places both on the coast and inland I saw, too, clumps of the slender native bamboo, hardly planted intentionally; the ground sites of some huts now abandoned, like Bugheneh and Odadda, were covered in them. The inhabitants had apparently wanted to procure a supply of material for roofing mats, or the drying platforms used by a few groups, and so the plantations were completely stripped – and killed.

245 177 In order to plant coconut trees for the benefit of the islanders I had even to do the planting myself, so utterly ignorant were they of agricultural methods; we even had to do all the clearing of the undergrowth in a patch of forest, and prepare the ground. The Onges watched curiously but were quite uninterested. Why should they care for a tree for ten years to get its nuts when the island and seas around are teaming with food for the taking?

824 825 In their continual search for food the Onges have acquired botanical and zoological knowledge which seems almost innate, and they know of properties in plants and animals of which we are quite unaware. Nearly every day on Little Andaman I came across examples of this. I only had to draw a rough sketch of an animal and they knew at once where it could be found; it was only thanks

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to them that I was able to find the various amphibia which subsequently proved to be new species. They know poisonous and non-poisonous snakes by sight and how to avoid being bitten. They could tell me which trees flowered and when, because they knew this affected the whereabouts and the quality of the honey, and they knew which flowers and roots had medicinal properties. The necessity, in accordance with their superstitions, of keeping their prey alive as long as possible has also given them a somewhat gruesome knowledge of anatomy and physiology. The call of food has also made them weather experts; they know which air currents and winds bring what animals, or cause them to vanish, and what game is likely to haunt what terrain. They could tell me where to find certain fish, or crustacea, or where certain roots or fruit in season were to be found.

The striking feature of their knowledge was that it did not merely relate to what was edible or inedible. Amphibia, reptiles and birds for example, they never eat under any circumstances; but they knew where to find them all for me, and they knew the bird migrations and how these related to the movements of the marine fauna.

Providentially, the exactitude of the Onges' botanical and zoological knowledge is matched by the magnitude of their superstitious fears. Were it not for this all the edible vegetation on the islands would have disappeared long ago as a result of their incredibly thoughtless destruction. The effect, therefore, is almost that of a purely involuntary, embryonic form of 'agriculture', contrasting strangely with their persisting, persistent and complete lack of interest in any formal care, however primitive. The Onges believe that the plants which produce edible roots and tubers belong to a spirit related to Eiuga, whose anger is aroused if he sees his plants being taken; his vengeance is quick and terrible.

There are on Little Andaman a number of creepers with edible fleshy roots, sometimes as thick as a man's wrist, sticking out horizontally at least fifty to sixty centimetres from the main stem, only just below the surface. They invariably grow in light soil, where there are no rocks, and are very easy for the Onges to reach with their digging sticks. These and the yams, sometimes as big as a football, which are to be found everywhere, the Onges have to steal from the spirit who owns them. The creepers themselves,

222 784 776 824 twining up into the trees, and the shorter-stemmed yams, are never disturbed. The Onges merely dig down, at a respectful distance from the plant, certain of finding what they want. On no account must there be any signs of the theft for the spirit to see, so they quietly take off roots or tubers some way from the main stem and leave the rest, patting the earth down afterwards and covering the place with leaves. The guardian spirit, not, apparently, all-seeing, notices nothing, as the plant continues to flourish, improved by the root pruning. Everyone, guardian spirit and Onges alike, is happy.

[185] [114] This unconscious preservation may well be the result of a decree, in some remote past, by an Onge seer who realized the danger of killing off the entire plants and invented the guardian spirits as a deterrent. The Negritos still make similar use of roots and tubers; [171] Skeet and Blagden fifty years ago referred to the Semang eating poisonous wild yams, having removed the toxic substances.[1]

241 174 It is interesting that both in the past and even today a number of peoples at a very early stage of cultural development have progressed from the gathering of the wild yams of South-East Asia to the first signs of cultivation and agriculture. It is possible that they were the first plants ever to be cultivated by primitive Man, the Negritos with their digging sticks delving then as they do now; the genus is certainly a very ancient one, and some species, such as *Dioscorea alata*, may have spread from Asia to Africa and Oceania, and even to America, with the beginning of cultivation. But this is a stage of development which the peoples of the Andaman never reached.

412 [177] [222] The digging stick, the only implement the Onges have with which to get at the roots and tubers, has in recent times been affected, though to a very limited extent by the spread of iron. Only a few individuals possess a primitive iron tool, half a metre long, cylindrical in shape and usually not more than one and a half centimetres in diameter and flattened into a form of blade at one end. The vast majority still have only the age-old stick made of hard wood, hardly recognizable as a tool and crudely fashioned into a point at one end. This tool, so primitive that it can easily be mistaken for an odd

[1] It is interesting that the American Aborigines, especially in Brazil, do the same with manioc, but I saw nothing of this nature in the Andamans.

TAS TOOL, SO primitive that it can easily be mistaken for an old
piece of wood, has definite uses, and none of the nomadic forest 412
peoples anywhere in the world are without it. Everywhere it is 171
found it is effective in filling huge baskets with food – baskets 285
equally simply and equally quickly made. I have already described 285
(see p. 93) the baskets made by the Onges for purely temporary
use on their hunting expeditions. In the communal huts, however,
the making of real baskets involves hours of careful plaiting, work-
ing the supple fibres from the strong bark of selected rushes, and
expert finishing. These baskets are an invariable and prized part [428]
of every family's inheritance and are preserved for as long as pos-
sible. Nowhere in the collection of basketry from Great Andaman
are there baskets with more craftsmanship than the permanent ones
of the Onges.[1] All the baskets are the shape of half an egg. There is
little variation in size, all being about forty centimetres in diameter
at the top, and about forty-five centimetres deep, unlike the tem-
porary carriers, which vary considerably in size, according to
whether they are to be carried by men, women, or even children,
and what is to be carried.

At the opposite extreme from the underground harvest of roots, 222
men and women alike use long thin hooked poles to hook down [412]
fruit from the trees, climbing up into the trees when necessary to
strip the highest branches and then hiding the poles in the forest
until they are next required (no attempt is ever made to carry them
about). When the tree is not too large, it is ruthlessly chopped down
and stripped as it lies on the ground. I was horrified in the first [185]
fortnight of April to see this happen to trees which the Onges call
dangbecciò, which bear blackish-red fruit about the size of a pigeon's
egg. The attraction is the flavour of the pulp, but there is little of
it, surrounding a large nut. To get at the pulp a thick, hard case
has to be cracked, but to the formidable Onge teeth this is no
problem and the case cracks comparatively easily. The nut itself
is not edible; the honey-coloured pulp is sweetish, but there is so
little that it takes ten fruits to provide ten grams of it. The fruits
hang in bunches at the end of branches covered with leaves rather
like a chestnut. As the wood is very soft, the Onges usually hack
the trees down; large ones may merely have their branches lopped

[1] Editor's note: The author indicated in manuscript at this point his intention of [114]
giving a full description of the way in which these are made, but unfortunately died
before he was able to do so.

222 off, so that they may eventually recover, although they may take several years to do so.

The fruit they gather most, however, is the *bulundanghe*, a wild form of the so-called jack-fruit. This ripens a little later than the *dangbecciò* at the end of April, and is the occasion of intense activity. Men, women and children swarm to the harvest, returning to the camp loaded every night. When fully ripe the *bulundanghe* fall open if rubbed between the fingers. I found the pulp very pleasant, but the seeds need the Onge stomach to cope with them. They would [185] in fact be suitable for storage over long periods as they do not seem to deteriorate, but the Onges would never think of this.

At no other time of year did I see so many baskets lying round the Onge camps, cast aside after use. As early as mid-March, impatient for the fruit, bitter but already fully grown to the size of a child's head, the Onges begin to strip the trees. When fully ripe the fruit are a yellowish-green, with a very wrinkled outer case, marked off as it were into tiny compartments, geometrical in shape, and mostly pentagonal. If one presses a finger on one of these it goes through into the fruit, which has the appearance of innumerable tiny cells, all separated by a membrane, each terminating in a seed at the central core of the fruit. The cells are an orange-yellow on the surface, becoming a very pale yellow inside when the pulp becomes softer. The seeds are covered by a sweetish orange skin, and are arranged regularly along the core, which is itself an extension of the stout, woody stalk.

The best parts to eat are the seeds and their sweetish skin. When the fruits are still unripe, sour, and hard, enormous quantities have to be gathered and carried to the camp where they are boiled until they are soft enough to open. The seeds are taken out and all the rest of the fruit is thrown away. When properly ripe, on the other hand, the seeds in their skins can be extracted on the spot, leaving the weight of the useless residue behind, lying in heaps under the tree. For eating, the skins are slit open with a *Cyrena* shell, the seeds [252] extracted, and the skins and seeds piled up separately on huge leaves. The leaves are then tied up with the usual cords of vegetable fibres, and the bags laid on hot ashes. The skins turn into a sticky paste, not bad tasting, and the roasted seeds are greatly improved to our taste, though still very indigestible.

[262] In April and May the Onges eat *bulundanghe* morning, noon and

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night. Everything else stops. *Bulundanghe* are food enough, and even honey is left for the future; there will be larvae, and bees, and nests to come. Life is good!

Later come the large, heavy *Pandanus* (*Mane* to the Onges) but they are far less important. The whole fruit has hardly any smell, but immediately it is open it smells rather like a pineapple. The separate segments, actually carpals, each in its own skin, pineapple-coloured on the outside shading to a pale yellow, can be picked off one by one. Each carpal is rather like a pyramid, with the top towards the centre of the fruit, the base towards the outside, wrinkled and divided into cellules each containing an ovule. The edible part of the fruit is very small. In the Nicobars, where the huge cultivated variety can weigh anything up to two kilos, the women spend hours passing a string through and through the heavy sphere of orange pulp to comb out the short bristly fibres which damage the stomach. The Onges are not interested in such niceties! The smaller wild fruit is merely broken into pieces, ready for chewing. The result of all the chewing is hardly worth the effort; there is taste, and there is smell, but the food value is very small indeed, and even the Onges seem to realize it.

Much better are the *giogbene*, which ripen in February, and the *ghine* in mid-March. The *giogbene* are soft, red fruit, the size of a cherry but rather less rounded, hanging in bunches from the trunk and the larger branches of the tree. The green seed sprouts out of the end of the fruit, like a large bean, but is not eaten; the Onges cut it off, and eat only the pulpy fruit, raw. They love to make necklaces, twining the fruits with slender fibres into long garlands, even making some for me when I was with them, and return to the camp every night with long ropes hanging round their necks and from their arms.

Ghine are very different. From the outside they look like small medlars, covered with a leathery skin which is easy to crack off with one's teeth. The fruit itself has three segments, and is rather gelatinous, a little sour, but quite edible. The Indians with me liked them very much and ate so many that they developed severe indigestion – unlike the Onges, who ate far more with no ill effects.

CHAPTER THREE

The Spirits of the Forest

487 It is only too easy to get lost in the forests, but this never happens with the Onges. They do not rely upon the 'mysterious sense of direction' which is often attributed (without adequate evidence) to primitive peoples; they have other simpler but equally effective ways of finding their way. Everywhere the Onges go they leave behind some mark. When they come to a halt in the depths of the forest, they cast around them, and soon find signs leading to some temporary shelter or communal hut.

As the Onges are out in the forest every day, there are traces of their passage everywhere. Inconspicuously broken plants, or scratches on the branches of trees are precious marks, one leading to the next and so on to the camp. Everyone takes care not to get lost, and moves carefully through the sea of vegetation, without appearing to mark their way. I have often been surprised to find myself back at the camp after innumerable twists and turns, but the [151] Onges' exceptional eyesight saved us when the situation seemed to me quite hopeless.

805 They were always able, too, to calculate exactly how far to go in one stage, and could invariably tell me precisely when we should arrive at a given point. They have no form of clock and work solely by the sun's position. But whatever their method, every time I asked when we should reach a certain camp, they always replied at great length: they would point with one outstretched arm to *Tenculu* the Sun and then with the other to where it would be when we arrived. The passing of days was indicated by moving an arm from east to west, saying *Tenculu – Tenculu*, to show sunrise and sunset. It was a simple matter to work out what they meant, and their answer was invariably right.

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Owing to the difficulty of pushing through the undergrowth the Onges always travel in single file, following closely behind one another, the men first, then the women and children, with the dogs following all round. They never travel alone; I hardly ever met any by themselves, but always in groups of families or groups of hunters. The man who happens to be at the front of the file is the guide and when they come to an awkward part of the journey – perhaps across a deep river – everybody helps. Trees are felled to fall across between the banks and a rope of lianas is run across to make the crossing easier for the aged, the women and the children, though their sense of balance is so good that most of them manage without it, even when carrying heavy loads across a single trunk.

The Onges are now nearly all related to each other in some way. They all know each other, and the contacts are usually friendly. The few squabbles which I saw, always over game, or food that had been gathered, all blew over very quickly; normally, especially in the dry season when every group becomes nomadic in search of food, everyone went freely all over the island. On the occasions of the great hunts, or the honey feasts, a number of groups would band together for the occasion and even then they tried to divide the spoils equally and peaceably. If a dispute does arise the camp will break up into factions, but these will still keep close to each other and after a short while their differences will be made up with the usual long and tearful embraces. These scenes of reconciliation may go on for days, all starting from nothing more serious than a difference of opinion over the division of game captured by communal effort!

Much more important than the danger of offending other human beings is that of causing offence to the spirits of the dead or the guardian spirits who provide food. There is, as I have said, not overmuch rigidity in their observations – no propitiatory offerings of any kind are made to the spirits. The supreme being, Eiuga, who takes the shape of a lizard bigger than a crocodile, they know well. On Great Andaman he becomes Puluga, equally powerful, lord of men and things but rather more anthropomorphic than his counterpart in Little Andaman. As Eiuga lives in the sky, the thunder is his voice, and the wind his breath; if he is angry he breathes out storms and throws burning tree-trunks down to the earth, setting light to the forest. Behind Eiuga are a series of minor spirits who

776 rule the multiplication and growth of the various animals and plants useful to Man.

The Onges do not love Eiuga, or any of the other spirits. They merely fear them, and seek to evade their anger by various ex-
[784] pedients. It is curious that they never hesitate to try and deceive the spirits and think themselves very clever when they manage to
[769] steal roots or tubers from the ground. Nor do they revere the
[765] spirits of their ancestors; these are to be feared and propitiated by preservation of their bones. By definition none of the spirits, since they can be deceived by simple tricks, can be all-powerful, but this conclusion, simple though it is, is still beyond the Onges' powers of reasoning.

769 The Onges' fear of the dead is instanced by their carrying round their necks the *ibidanghe*, or necklet of human jaws, as a propitiation.
[765] The wearing of the bones prevents the spirit from going away (by analogy the bones of dead enemies are burned to force the spirit,
[764] clearly a hostile one, to leave the place). The custom of burial within the communal hut follows the same logic – the spirits of the dead are kept near their bones and hence near their relatives, to help them in the daily round of hunting, fishing and gathering food.[1]

769 Unlike most of the other peoples whose burial customs are even
778 today based on their underlying principles, the Onges have not
776 progressed beyond the stage of relating the dead directly to the
782 demands of daily life; they have no 'practices' of any kind, no con-
784 cept at all of holy places, prayers or images. Even the very names of the dead are soon forgotten. Their fears, however, are none the less very real. They do not like to speak of Eiuga or even of the lesser spirits, for fear of attracting their attention.

773 The Onges have no stories or explanatory legends, like those
538 reported by Brown for Great Andaman. They have only short
533 epics, if such they may be called, recalling extraordinary events in

[171] [1] This belief is of very remote origin, and can be traced back at least to the megaliths of southern Asia, like the splendid ones which I was able to photograph, among others, in the mountains of Travancore. Here again the object was to prevent the dead from leaving their relatives. Similar ideas are found today in India among several tribes, notably the Munda, or Nias, and among various peoples of Indonesia, and even Oceania. The rituals are probably followed today without any understanding of their meaning or symbolism; the details vary from place to place, but the underlying principle, the original fear, remains the same everywhere.

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their hunting and fishing, or contacts with strangers, which are loudly chanted, accompanied by miming and dancing, during their nocturnal celebrations. One was sung and danced in my honour; Cendubai,[1] head of the Lulera hut, much struck by the sight of me in my hammock slung between two trees on nylon cords, delivered himself of a warning over the danger I was running using such thin cords. At the end of each 'verse' the refrain '*cuó-cian-ghéghoéhée-chéle*' (he will hurt himself) repeated his fear of the cords breaking.

Hunting and fishing episodes are to the Onges less interesting than themes like my safety, because to them they lack the repetitive refrain. In their dances, on the other hand, they prefer something else, to us monotonous, but for them always new, and even exciting; more than anything they love to dance the stages of courtship to its culmination, with the help of words and extraordinarily (to Western eyes regrettably) vivid gestures.

Birds, to the Onges, harbour the spirits of the dead, and it is for this reason that they are never eaten, contrary to the assertions of Brown.[2] Similar fears extend to lizards, the jungle cats, bats, rats and snakes. I have confirmed this among both the Onges and the Arioto. The latter even refused to eat some fat pigeons which I offered them not knowing of the taboo; they accepted the gifts, but the pigeons were eventually eaten by my own men. And the Onges whom I took with me to Port Blair for a few days refused point blank to eat pigeon or chicken.

The spirits select the Onges' food for them, in the sense that they regard everything as edible or poisonous, according to whether the guardian spirit is benign or malevolent. Given the curious adaptability of the spirits and the intensely practical way in which they operate it is hardly surprising that their benevolence or malignity coincides remarkably well with those foods which tend to promote normal health!

[1] I was sorry to learn that Cendubai died suddenly in 1955 aged barely forty.

[2] Curiously enough, while the Onges' fears lead them to reject out of hand any food of animal origin which is unknown to them, the same does not apply to vegetable foods. They ate half-rotten fruit, which I offered them, even though they had never seen it before, and they clamoured for rice and tea, so much so that in order to prevent them becoming addicted to the rice, as so often happens when primitive peoples meet a new food, I insisted on receiving equal quantities of yams in exchange for the rice and very sweet tea, to slow down their demands.

177 757 To truly primitive peoples like the Onges, European medical practices are fascinating. Men and women will refuse literally nothing once they are convinced of our intention to do them good and cure their ills. Although they have a rudimentary form of medicine, they recognize the superiority of European methods, and medical aid has therefore become our most powerful means of making contact with uncivilized peoples.

75 177 While I was busy trying to alleviate their ailments I became aware of the power which 'medicine' has over them, and I was also able to observe their own methods of dealing with their ills. [761] [844] Understandably, disease, death and birth are all attributed to particular supernatural beings, or to the spirits of the dead. They try not to offend these beings, but strive nevertheless, in their own way, at least to cure disease. Once primitive peoples see our methods they respect them, and are eager to be treated; strange though it all seems, they develop a blind faith in the omnipotence of the new ways.

276 [573] [764] There is little actual disease among the Onges and they have equally few vices. They are still unaware of the existence of alcohol, and have not learned how to ferment sugar substances, such as the honey in which the Little Andaman abounds. [177] [123] Tobacco is a recent introduction, and the Onges at once became wildly addicted to it; the tobacco leaves I had taken with me were in fact my best means of making my way peacefully into the island. A few Onges have acquired a supply of opium from Burmese and Chinese smugglers along the north coast, but instead of smoking it they seem to limit themselves to chewing it mixed with tobacco, and have fortunately no means of replenishing their stock.

164 731 Polio, tuberculosis, smallpox and cancer seem unknown, but for some unknown reason the islands have on a number of occasions been struck by disastrous epidemics of measles. These epidemics struck nearly every member of some of the communal huts, judging from survivors' reports, and the sites were afterwards abandoned, leaving the huts to be destroyed by termites.

114 164 The census of 1931 includes a personal observation by Portman of congenital syphilis in several Onges. This has since been proved wrong and in 1952 I found only one young man with nasal malformation possibly attributable to the disease, half-moon incisors, and abnormality of the skull and palate. I was not able to find him

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on later visits. Dr H. Lehmann found no evidence of syphilis in the fifty-two individuals of both sexes from whom he took blood samples in my presence. 164 [114]

Although the Onges are normally healthy and look outwardly robust, they have very little actual resistance to disease and succumb very quickly. Twenty-eight of them, whole families, young and old, whom I took with me to Port Blair in 1954 to present them to the President of the Republic of India, all developed a high fever owing to the change in their way of life during the few days it took from Little Andaman to Great Andaman, and we had to take them back hastily to their own island immediately after the official visit. Even minor feverish complaints of no importance seem to depress and terrify them so that they die very quickly, and I sometimes heard that young Onge friends whom I had left in excellent health had died suddenly from, so I was told, some febrile complaint. The Onge women have better resistance than their menfolk to disease as a whole, which may also help to explain their greater longevity. [123]

On the other hand wounds heal surprisingly quickly in both sexes, although in some of the old men I saw purulent leg sores, slow to heal even when treated with antiseptics which I applied myself. I saw none of these in women, but they seem to be more severely attacked by ringworm, especially on the abdomen and round the umbilicus. Few of the Onges were free from ringworm but none of them bothered to treat it, and it did not seem to cause them any noticeable disturbance. In one woman I noticed whitish patches on the fingers and lips, due to leucoderma.

Diseases of the nervous system and mental illnesses seem very rare, although a few individuals are subject to attacks of epilepsy, watched reverently by all present! The Onges regard epileptics as possessed by a spirit capable of giving important information and question them like the oracle. A number of the Onge leaders, among them Giota of Tambe-e-buiè, go from time to time into a state of trance, which has every appearance of an epileptic attack. I saw one case of dementia in a middle-aged woman, but it was mild enough to allow her to go about her work reasonably well, and at regular intervals she produced normal children. 158 [187]

Sight and hearing in the Onges are particularly acute, as has often been reported in primitive peoples and attributed to the 151

151 regular exercise of the two faculties required by their existence in direct contact with the natural world; anyone, it is said, who lived such a life would preserve the same keenness of eye and ear. [164] Certainly I saw no myopia among the Onges, nor any of the eye infections common among other inhabitants of the tropics. With the naked eye they can pick out tiny craft far out to sea, or the small, narrow Onge canoes which I could hardly see with field-glasses, which makes me doubt whether constant exercise of the eyes can really be the full explanation of their power of vision. They can pick out quickly and accurately birds immobile among the dense leaves in the darkest part of the forest, invisible to me, even though I was used to looking for them and could see them when they moved. And from the ground they saw high in the trees tiny amphibia which I wanted to catch, after I had caught one by chance which had proved to be a new species. These amphibia, [126] perfect mimics, become almost invisible when they attach themselves to the bark of the trees, but the Onges pointed them out to me from a distance with absolute accuracy, and I was in fact able in 1954 to catch over two hundred in a week.[1]

825 The Onges can also pick out reptiles on the ground, or among
151 the foliage, distinguishing with long practice the poisonous
114 varieties which abound in the islands, and I found it very useful to send Onges ahead of me in the forest to look out for these snakes. When any of my Indians were bitten it was always because they thought they could do as well as the local scouts! The Onges themselves are, however, occasionally bitten, with serious consequences. One of them, aged twenty-five, climbed into a very high tree after honey, and unwittingly put his left hand on a snake hidden in the leaves, where it had climbed to search for birds' eggs. It bit just above the elbow, causing an alarming swelling of the arm with severe pain and fever. He was brought to me semi-conscious, with the whole limb swollen to the size of a rugby ball. The unfortunate [752] man's neck had been bound with the usual strands of *Ficus* bark, and not surprisingly he was groaning desperately, and clearly on the point of death.

752 The Onges have no specific remedies for snake bites, and their
123

[136] [1] These amphibia were examined in 1954 at the Institute of Zoology of the University of Genoa and given the name of *Kaloula baleata ghoshi*, in honour of Mr A. K. Ghosh, then Governor of the Andamans.

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attempts to help, after binding his throat, had consisted in smearing the man's entire body with a mixture of ochre, turtle fat and honey with an extra layer on the bitten limb. Although it was very late to start treatment I injected antiserum, and the next day the man seemed a little better. I next saw him eleven days after the injection, when the arm appeared much less swollen, and the pain had almost disappeared, although clear traces of the accident remained; the skin was cracked and peeling, and the two puncture marks at the site of the bite were still gaping open, each revealing red, purulent flesh over a circular area more than two centimetres in diameter. The arm looked almost gangrenous, but its owner did not seem worried, and joined in cheerfully with the others round me. Just over a month after the accident the wound was completely healed, leaving one very grateful patient.

The incident shows the complete solidarity of this simple and reputedly so warlike community; by tacit agreement the patient was relieved of all work, and provided with food by the other families in the communal hut. While he was seriously ill his wife went hunting and fished, normally the man's work. Similar help is given in the case of the aged, or if a wife and mother falls ill; food is provided for them, and for the children, and certain 'soothsayers' appear to be at least partially provided with food by the rest of the community on a permanent basis.

For any kind of fever the Onges turn immediately to their stock remedy, smearing the entire body with the usual mixture of ochre, turtle fat and honey. The legs, arms, chest and abdomen are then tightly bound with strips of *Ficus* bark, which are removed and renewed from time to time. Whether the patient has pains in the abdomen or in the chest, or elsewhere, or has a cough, he is invariably stretched out on the ground, and the appropriate part is given a form of vigorous massage by the feet of one of the bystanders. Usually the entire body is pummelled for quite a time, the patient being turned over and over. The patient ends up looking rather like a mummy plastered in ochre and the whole process is to us somewhat amusing, but the Onges all practise it, and submit to it, very seriously, believing implicitly in its efficiency. The mechanism by which the treatment works has yet to be determined!

Balls of ochre the size of a hazelnut and varying in colour from bright red to whitish-yellow are given by mouth, particularly to

751 [237] children. I have seen anything up to half a dozen given, one after another. Their laxative effect is sometimes violent, as the ochre is mixed with the usual turtle fat, plus lumps of pure wax from the hives of the black bees.

752 Another 'cure' is the smoking of the affected part. One young woman well known to me, Nabinibbi (wife of Maritòi, leader of the Cemalè group), plump and in her own way graceful, had burnt two toes of her right foot, and was unable to sleep with the pain. She smeared the foot well beyond the burn with the usual mixture and held it out to the smoke of great fresh liana seeds laid among embers. The seeds, the size of a large chestnut, but lenticular and covered with a dark brown, leathery skin, burnt with a dense smoke.

757 Another treatment, rather different, was applied to one of my Onge guides, Toncutèi, who developed a high fever on the night of 28 March 1954, while he was in the communal hut known as Entiguèh, in the north-central area of the island. In fact, it was merely violent indigestion caused by too much pork – Toncutèi, like his father Enagaghe, an indefatigable trencherman, had availed himself too freely of the boars shot that day by my men. His friends laid him on his side on the ground on a rectangular mat barely large enough to take his body, with his legs bent up to his chest. They then lit low fires along two adjoining sides of the mat, turning him from time to time so that he 'cooked' evenly. One Onge began spitting on the patient's hair, and rubbing the spittle into the skin, stopping every now and again to press the victim's head between his hands. Another dissolved ochre in water, and after heating it, rubbed it well into the patient's chest, throat and neck. Meanwhile, a third beat his hands vigorously on Toncutèi's. This went on for just over a quarter of an hour, after which the patient was stretched out on his stomach with his feet sticking out over the end of the mat, ready for the foot massage. As the masseur's foot reached the chest he stopped, pressing hard to enforce complete emptying of the lungs. Half an hour of this led to further rubbing with hands and feet for another fifteen minutes, particularly over the sacrum. [123] Finally Toncutèi was left in peace beside the fire. By dawn the fever was gone (aided possibly by the strong purgative I had administered), although it was a couple of days before he had fully recovered.

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Near my camp at Labanar, in March 1952, I witnessed a distressing and fatal case. A young woman, with a baby a month old, had suckled another child, as the Onge women do. The older infant, which had cut its teeth, caused damage to the nipples and the ensuing infection spread throughout the body. The wretched woman was writhing with fever and the pain from her infected breasts and suppressed lactation. Her body had been smeared with a vermilion ochre, held to be the most powerful balm, and tightly bound, as usual. Her condition was so poor that I suggested sending her at once to Port Blair for treatment. Unfortunately, however, at that time I was only just beginning to establish contact with the Onges, and the woman's husband, after all the arrangements had been made, refused to let her go. I had not yet gained the Onges' confidence enough to be allowed near the woman, and although I was able to photograph her I could do nothing to prevent her death. 757 123

The decision to administer 'medicine' and subject patients to various treatments is not the province of any specialists, but is taken by anyone in the group; all, including the patient, accept the decision, since all are utterly convinced that it will benefit them. Medicine men and sorcerers, so numerous in Africa and elsewhere, do not exist among the Andamanese. 75

The Onges have not the slightest idea of any standards of hygiene. They never wash intentionally; the forest, dripping from every leaf, and frequent immersion in water while out hunting, take care of the problem. One must admit that in the circumstances their nakedness is hygienic. A small fire is kept burning beside each bed at night for warmth, a useful precaution which I found very welcome on the many cold nights which followed a very hot day. Deprived of these fires the Onges fall ill at once, a fact of which I had ample proof on several occasions when I took Onges with me out of Little Andaman; they were provided with beds and coverings in well-constructed wooden houses, but although none of them complained about the absence of the fires by their beds they all developed feverish chills. 515 [291] 304 513 164

And yet in their own territory I have seen them lie soaking wet all night in one of their temporary forest camps or a communal hut with a leaking roof without any ill effects, simply because they had

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their fires beside them. On the night of 4–5 April 1953, while I was sleeping with them in the communal hut at Berié-Abdalù a sudden storm drenched us all, forcing us to huddle together round fires under the more waterproof parts of the roof. Numb with cold, but cheerful, they began joking, singing[1] and dancing, men and women separately; this went on all night, and no one suffered any ill effects from the soaking.

The Onge lack of hygiene extends also to their cooking utensils, which are never washed. In recent years the ocean has provided the Onges with a generous and unexpected gift; currents running from the south of Asia have thrown up on to the shores of Little Andaman a shoal of empty petrol drums, stout metal cylinders 1·3 metres high and eighty centimetres in diameter. The astute Onges have patiently divided each one in two, each section big enough to take a large pig. Set on big fires these serve as wonderful cooking pots, and the Onges are delighted with them. Unfortunately, however, although they were thrown up all round the island, the supply is beginning to dry up, and they are rapidly being eaten away by rust.

To boil food, the Onges set the drums on two large logs, laid parallel, with a fire between them. Stones are rarely used to support the drums, although there are plenty about in the interior of the island. On the coast, and for a fair way inland, there is nothing but coral, hard but liable when it gets hot to disintegrate under the heavy weight of the cylinders filled to the brim.

In these gifts from the sea the Onges could prepare tasty broths, but they invariably allow nearly all the water to boil away, and the cooking process is not considered complete until all the liquid has gone. While it is boiling, however, they take care not to lose the fat floating on the top, which they adore. They have even invented a curious sort of dipping-stick for the purpose of skimming the fat off. They take a shoot about twenty centimetres long from a plant which disintegrates into fibre when chewed. One end is chewed into a loose 'brush' and no one present misses his turn to dip it into the pot again and again to skim off a mouthful of fat, even getting up in the night in their eagerness for it. One stick naturally does for everyone, men, women and children, the

[1] The Onge voice is not markedly different from the European. It has a musical quality, fairly high-pitched but never shrill; the Onges never raise their voices, even in anger – disagreements invariably end in a dignified silence.

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mothers offering it to the waiting children one after another in strict order. This alone would be enough to explain the spread of the devastating measles epidemics which can attack every member of a hut.

While they love the liquid fat, they despise the broth left behind, and once the meat has been eaten, a thick yellowish soup, not unpleasant, is left in the drum. The dogs love this, and rush for it, putting their paws right into the drum, fighting and snarling in their eagerness to get at it. When they have finished licking, the drum is shining clean and ready for use, with no washing up to do! Clouds of flies descend on the drums, packing into a black swarm all over the bottom and sides, eager to finish off the dogs' work. Sea or river water is often only a yard or two from camp, but no one would dream of washing anything.

Once the meat or fish is cooked, it is often hung in the roof of the hut, out of reach of the dogs. The fact that the roof is dusty and covered in spiders to foul the meat, does not matter; earth and sand get in the way of the teeth, dust and spiders do not. The Onges happily eat contaminated flesh and drink water from pools in which animal carcasses are rotting or dogs are bathing and drinking; the dogs share literally everything with their masters.

On my visits to the island I always had to fence off the wells I had dug out, to avoid a constant battle with the dogs. I always found water only a few metres down, and the dogs revelled in it. In the east, near Nachuge, I saw Onges and dogs together avidly drinking in brackish pools which stank of sulphur, although I must confess that after repeated filtration and boiling the water lost its smell and I was myself able to use it without any ill effects. My men thought it was good for the health to drink it as it was.

During all Onge orgies, and particularly the honey feasts, there is, if possible, even less regard for hygiene. Although the honey is full of wax, larvae, and a few odd bees, their brush-stick only picks up the honey itself. They have another even better way of getting out the honey. A strip of bark about one metre long and as wide as the palm of the hand is taken from a *Ficus*. This is well chewed to make it pliable, and when this is dipped into the honey mixture it emerges dripping with pure honey. Everyone bites at it avidly, young and old, men, women and children, one after another, to the last drop.

26 Cleaning themselves, to the Onges, means painting themselves
302 to ward off evil and to remove, so they said, the smell of pig fat
[224] after the colossal orgies which follow a particularly good hunt,
when even they find the stench too much. These orgies, which give
[164] them appalling indigestion for days, are followed by an apparently instinctive variation of their diet to raw or cooked vegetable foods. On three occasions from 1952–54 I was present at one of these solemn pork and honey orgies. The Onges ate almost till they burst, and then, hardly able to move, cleaned up by a grand painting session. The women do the painting, families vying with each other to produce weird new designs, which are then copied until the next feast.[1]

276 Fed and painted, the Onges sit down to smoke, using pipes made
26 from crabs' claws. Still regardless of hygiene the pipes go from one
302 mouth to another, the women smoking just as heavily as the men.
237

One curious anomaly is that the Onges do sometimes sweep the
356 earth floor of the communal hut. The floor is not deliberately beaten down, but becomes hardened by continuous walking on it; in dry weather it turns to dust, which rises and settles everywhere, especially under the roof, where the lumps of cooked meat,
[412] fish and so on are hung. For the cleaning a broom or besom is prepared, well made with very hard, supple, palm fibres, bound tightly and carefully with cords made from reeds. The whole thing is about eighty centimetres long and as thick as a man's wrist.

356 The dirt is simply swept out all round from under the roof of the
342 hut through the gap between the roof and the ground. In the course
172 of time a ring of refuse builds up round the hut, forming a glorious
364 breeding ground for insects of all kinds. When the hut has to be rebuilt, owing to the ravages of wood-worm and termites, the ring is levelled off to form the new floor. Since the same small, well-chosen site may be used for thousands of years, the hut ends up perching on top of a small mound of refuse dating back to very

[531] [1] From one year to the next I saw no real evolution of art forms but cyclic changes of designs, with a preference for certain geometric patterns, at certain times of the year. Having watched various individuals of both sexes closely over a period of some years I can say that in the Onges at least, contrary to what is generally understood, the use of given patterns, and given kinds of ochre, does not correspond with given types of food. Any feast is always followed by painting, always with the weirdest designs possible, but always geometrical, never far from the current 'fashion', and never even remotely inspired by the basis of the feast.

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ancient times. Great Andaman abounds in these man-made humps, to which the name 'kitchen-middens' has been given, but none are in use today. In Little Andaman, on the other hand, many are still being built up.

The sweeping operations disturb clouds of flies and tiny beetles, light brown in colour, shot with metallic blue, with a highly domed back, and about five millimetres long, which always collect under bones and other human food refuse. Hordes of fleas, invisible in the dirt on the floor but multiplying busily, are also stirred up. Fortunately there are no lice on Little Andaman, owing to the absence of clothing and bed-linen, and the Onges carry no lice in their hair.

In fact the dogs' coats carry the fleas from place to place more than do their naked, smooth-skinned owners. Every time I went into a hut which had been empty for a time, as happens in the dry season when the occupants are away on a hunting trip, I was assailed by swarms of fleas such as I had never imagined! They rushed up one's body from feet to neck in absolute serried ranks, platoons of them, solid masses of tiny black moving objects. The only thing to do was to go out into the open and douse oneself in Flit, which caused them to retreat hastily. My camp-bed was always given a precautionary dose. Unfortunately Flit was not enough to disperse the clouds of ticks, tiny but dangerous, and a scourge in the forests of the Andamans. The Onges call them *anaghe* and thoroughly enjoyed helping to catch them on me in hundreds after every expedition into the forest.

None of these pests worry the Onges, who make no attempt to get rid of them. They leave mounds of filth round their huts or in their forest camps for them to breed in, and the light covering of earth or leaves which at best cover the Onges' faeces, deposited near the camp, was never any deterrent to breeding. The Onges never dig sanitary trenches or prepare any other form of latrines, even for their permanent sites; the forest is all concealing. However, they will never defaecate near, or in, a water course, even when the bed is dry, and when my men used the bed of a dried-up stream for the purpose the Onges protested to me, because the water would be contaminated. I was not disposed to contradict them.

In the forest, meeting a swarm of flies was a sure sign that we

were approaching an Onge camp. Everywhere they go they are accompanied by flies of all sizes, and in Little Andaman the swarms are so bad that the first stranger to land called a river after them, Bumila Creek, or fly river. Their flies betray the Onges long before the barking of their dogs – no human voice ever betrays their silent presence.

On Little Andaman today the Onges' tacit divisions of territory are of little importance, so heavy has been the fall in population, but they still keep out of areas belonging to other 'huts', even if the huts themselves have been abandoned. I never saw any disputes over territory, or the ownership of the area in which a pig was caught (and hence ownership of the pig). The Onges who accompanied me, possibly encouraged by the prestige value of a European with them, hunted wherever we went without anyone raising any protests. Nevertheless, I always took the precaution of giving anything I or my Indians took to the Onges of the nearest hut, invariably much to their delight.

Contrary to established opinion, communal huts on Little Andaman are not found only along the coasts; the majority, and certainly the best constructed, are in the interior. Togalanghe is one, and there are a number of permanently abandoned temporary camps near it.

Both the permanent and temporary huts or shelters of the Andamans resemble those of the Semang. The latter are extremely simple, especially in the dry season; there are no walls and only a very sloping roof of leaves, high at the front and very low at the back, the beds being put so that the feet face the low part of the roof. With the Semang and Aeta the beds may be made of bamboo; this is never the case in the Andamans, as there are no large bamboos in the archipelago (Brown was wrong in this respect. The few slender bamboos on Little Andaman are only usable for making drying racks, which are found only round the hut at Beniabol in the south. As the people were away when I went there, and the site was consequently completely deserted, I was unable to establish visually what they dried, but traces of fish, particularly pilchards, were indication enough.)

These temporary shelters are put up extremely quickly. Two poles less than two metres long for the front, and two more, thirty to forty centimetres long, for the back, are fixed firmly into the

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ground. Two parallel transverse poles of equal length, one front 342
and one back, complete the frame, which is lashed together with
the usual rush fibres. The roof consists of fresh *Pandanus* leaves, [824]
palms, or grass. It never actually touches the ground, and food [364]
refuse is thrown out from underneath it in the usual way, covering
the ground round the shelter.

The bed takes a little longer than the roof to put up, as a number 513
of sticks have to be gathered to make the compact platform, raised 352
about half a metre from the ground on four stout props driven into
the ground, one at each corner, and a suitable trunk has to be found
for the head-rest. Normally one bed takes an entire family – mother,
father, children and dogs, all well packed on the platform with the
inevitable fire beside. On rare occasions, when the shelter is in-
tended purely for the menfolk on a hunting expedition, only one
bed is prepared, but generally every hunter has his family with him.
I have myself slept like this with the Onges on trips where the [122]
forest was too dense for any baggage to be carried.

As the kitchen-middens show (see p. 68), their permanent huts 342
are, with very few exceptions, circular and are still extremely
simple. The essential feature is the waterproof roof-mats, well
overlapped, which form the enormous umbrella roof. From the
outside the whole thing looks in danger of collapsing, but from the
interior it is obviously safely held by a frame of poles, lashed with
innumerable ties to stout uprights fixed firmly into the ground.
No central pillar is needed, and when there is one it is only by
chance; I saw very few on Little Andaman. There are no divisions
into rooms or compartments – everything is open to the eyes of
all the occupants of the beds. Most of these are arranged as the [513]
radii of a circle, fairly near the outer edge of the hut, the roof [352]
coming down so close to the ground that everyone sleeps with
their heads towards the centre, but there may be some beds across
the centre space.

At the circumference the roof is only thirty to forty centimetres 342
from the ground, the roofing mats being well lashed on to uprights
in case of high winds, and one can wriggle in and out of the hut
on one's stomach, crawling over the refuse thrown out through
the convenient gap. There is always, however, a 'proper' entrance,
where one edge of the roof-wall can be lifted up. At the top of the [354]
roof, on the lee side, one section can be propped open on poles,

342 allowing the smoke to escape and letting more air in – a very
354 welcome relief at times, even for the Onges!

342 I made sketch plans of all the huts I visited, with positions of the
126 supporting poles, beds, etc. Two typical ones were those at Toqué-è-bùie and Tambe-e-buiè. In March 1952 the former had some parts of the roof missing, as the inhabitants had taken the mats off to make temporary shelters in the forest; when the rains came they brought them back and replaced them. This custom explained why, on Great Andaman, some obviously temporary shelters had roofs far too well made to be intended for purely temporary use.

352 Entering the hut at Toqué-è-bùie, by the entrance proper, one
354 finds oneself facing an area with no beds in it. In the centre of this
342 area, under the apex of the roof, is a fire, a little larger than those kept burning beside each bed. This is used for communal cooking during the rainy season; at other times all cooking is done in the open. The ground area covered by the roof was 9·12 square metres, its height at the centre 3·3 metres, and the external circumference
[364] 30·65 metres. Beyond this stretched the ring of refuse built up by each short period of occupation.

342 Unlike many of the huts of Little Andaman, Toqué-è-bùie has
[184] a central pole, not thick, but of a very hard wood. In a circle round this are ten upright poles, each about two metres from the central pole. Starting on the left of the entrance and moving clockwise their heights vary slightly.[1] Outside this inner circle of supporting poles are two more concentric rings of uprights, the first, with a radius of 3·65 metres from the central pole, consists of twenty uprights with an average height of 1·35 metres, and the second, with a radius of 4·53 metres from the centre pole, has an average height of 0·38 metres. In nearly every hut each circle of uprights is attached to the roof by a ring formed by a bundle of long canes, to which each upright is lashed. Another bunch of long canes runs transversely from the entrance to the opposite side of the hut, almost touching the ground at the two ends, touching the roof in the middle, and fixed to the rings of canes to which the uprights are attached.

The bundle of canes forming this arch support is clearly set in place after the erection of the first (innermost) ring of uprights, and actually lies on top of the ring of canes to which they are

[1] 2·45, 2·35, 2·32, 2·3, 2·45, 2·35, 2·3, 2·35, 2·32, 2·35 metres.

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attached. From it to the ring run a series of long batons, the 'ribs' of the umbrella. All along the length of the transverse bundle of canes are attached the ends of similar 'ribs', with supplementary canes at weak points. In this hut and in a number of others, extra rings of canes not supported by uprights are put in afterwards for extra strength, all securely lashed at every point. 342

At this stage of construction the hut would thus have consisted of a centre pole, first circle of uprights supporting the first ring of canes, second (unsupported) ring of canes fixed to the 'ribs' running over it, second concentric circle of uprights supporting the third ring of canes, the fourth (unsupported) ring of canes, and the third circle of uprights supporting the fifth and last ring of canes. Right across from the entrance to the opposite side of the hut ran the elliptical transverse bundle of canes. Tight rush fibre lashings at every crossing and meeting point held the whole frame solidly together.

The roof itself was then put on. This consists of palm leaves like huge fans. The Onges split these in halves down the centre vein and then lay one half on top of the other, head to tail, main ribs together. Four, six or possibly more reeds, three metres long and two to three centimetres in diameter, are then split in half lengthwise and laid out parallel on the ground. The pairs of palm leaves are then laid across the parallels and lashed securely with rush fibres, working from the bottom up, so that the edges of each pair cover the ribs of the pair below, making a water-shed. Seen from the inside of the finished hut the ribs, blackened by smoke, look almost like parallel vaulting.

In this particular hut there are beds for seven families (and their dogs) set as radii, and four transversely. Round the centre pole, on three sides only (leaving the fourth open for access to the central fire) are three fairly high platforms, rather smaller than the beds. Occasionally I saw young people sleeping on two of these, very cramped, climbing up a fixed ladder to reach them. The third platform was always used to keep meat out of the way of the dogs, and is clearly a recent innovation following their arrival in the island. The rough platforms forming the beds proper were about fifty centimetres off the ground, but this distance varies from place to place – in the south, at Benisbol I saw them about one metre off the ground, with the family fire under instead of beside them. 342 352 [417] [176]

352 The beds are supported on four convenient branches forked at the top, on which the four poles forming the bed frame rest. The size of the frame varies between 1·55 × 0·65 metres and 1·15 × 0·43 metres, and on this small platform the entire family sleeps huddled
513 together. The human members of the family lie longwise, all with their heads on the same log set as a head-rest (unless they are lucky enough to find a suitable giant bamboo washed up on the beach). Very occasionally a rush mat about half a metre square is laid on the platform, but usually the family just lies on bare canes packed tightly together on the frame parallel with the long side.

342 The hut at Tambe-e-buiè, its 1951 edition delayed till 1952 by
352 the earthquake the previous year when part of the coast dropped,
184 was rather larger than Toqué-è-bùie. In 1953 it was rebuilt twenty
[731] metres or so further back from the sea, but exactly as before. It has twelve beds, including two on the high platforms for the adolescents, one of which has two tiers, on the principle of our bunks. I saw this type of thing on a number of occasions and on one occasion I saw one being built out in the open, with the top platform three metres from the ground. All the beds at Tambe-e-buiè are rather higher than at Toqué-è-bùie (but not as high as Beniaboi) and were all arranged radially; the platform on which meat was kept was two metres off the ground.

342 An unusual feature of Tambe-e-buiè, which had a diameter of
184 13·55 metres and a maximum height of 4·5 metres, was a series of six vertical poles set in a straight line to support the main transverse beam, one of which could be regarded as a centre pole. The pole on each side of the centre formed part of the innermost circle of supporting poles; there were two more circles, all supporting rings of canes. Unusually, only one of the rings of canes supporting the roof did not rest on vertical poles. The outer ring was only 0·4 metres high and the edge of the roof almost touched the ground, although one could still brush the fronds apart and crawl out. The roof mats were rectangular, very well made, and larger than at Toqué-è-bùie; some were three and a half metres by three metres or more, laid over seven or ten split reeds, instead of the usual four or five.

312 No permanent hut, or even a temporary shelter, is ever built far
[361] from water supplies adequate for the number of people in the group. If there is none visible, the Onges know how to dig for it,

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

providing not too much effort is required. The Semang and Aeta dig water-holes, and several authors have regarded the Andamanese as differing from them in this respect, but I am able to confirm that they can and do dig water-holes. I first saw them do so in 1951, and in 1952 and again in 1953, near Toqué-è-bùie, I was able to enlarge one. Originally it yielded very little water, and very dirty, as the Onges never bother to go further down than they must – a handful of water is enough. After I had enlarged the well it yielded over half a cubic metre an hour, and I had to build a fence round it to prevent the dogs wallowing in it. I gave the Onges buckets, rope, pick-axes and spades so they could get at clean water, although in view of their natural indolence I rather doubted whether they would be any use. In fact, they used the metal parts for arrow heads and went on as before, drinking out of foul pools covered in rotting vegetation and refuse. It is easy to have clear water on Little Andaman, naturally filtered over the coral formations and never more than two or three metres down, but the effort is too much for the Onges! Usually they drink like animals, lying flat on their stomachs with their lips to the water; some will fold a large leaf into a crude cup, however, and occasionally a fastidious individual will use a *Nautilus* shell.

The water-hole at Toqué-è-bùie alone, if properly maintained, would be able to supply enough water every day for at least five hundred people. The continual falling in of the sides, inevitable in a sandy area, could be permanently prevented by cementing them.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

CHAPTER FOUR

A Journey into Prehistory

842 The complete lack of hygiene of the Onges does not explain their disturbing lack of fertility. Nor can filth, smoking or loose living fully explain the sterility of the surviving Arioto.

There must be some other cause, and this in all probability is merely biological. One might call it the senescence of a race brought about by their total isolation for thousands of years, exacerbated by being broken into small endogamous units, all mutually hostile. This is not the opinion of all (the few) who have studied the Andamanese, and the problem remains to be investigated further.

262 184 842 In the Onges at least it cannot be a question of malnutrition, as I had ample opportunity of seeing during my visits to the island. Food is abundant, both the land and the sea offer an inexhaustible supply, even to the point of sustaining life, alone, if necessary, to all the Andamanese. The Jarawas are the exception. Forced away from the sea into the forests, they are dependent on one source of food, and it is therefore possible to make some attempt to calculate the maximum number of people which could be supported by their territory. In the case of the Onges, however, living amid luxuriant vegetation, with a rich source of sea food nearby, a given area can support a far higher population, and the same is true of the Jarawas cut off on North Sentinel.

The food of the Jarawas consists mainly of pork, with fresh-water fish (including some excellent carp) river molluscs and crustacea in large quantities, roots, tubers, wild fruits and honey. The Arioto, staying as they did in the coastal areas of Great Andaman, must have lived mainly off the sea.

175 161 842 842 262 The small population reported in the Andamans by visitors to the islands in the middle of the last century cannot therefore be

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

attributed to scarcity of food, nor can nutrition have had any effect on the demographic decadence. Strict endogamy over thousands of years, and fragmentation into smaller and smaller groups is perhaps a more likely explanation of the situation. The last stage has now been reached; the Arioto, for instance, who numbered six hundred and twenty-five in the 1901 census, had dwindled to twenty-three in 1955. In that year there were only two young children, a boy and a girl (of different parents) and the girl, about five years old, clearly had a Burmese father. The boy, however, named Sirake and then aged about eleven, intelligent and alert, with the very blue-black skin of the Andamanese and typical hair, may well be of pure stock. He is the only hope of continuing the ancient Arioto line, but this will be impossible unless a girl of pure stock is born shortly.

This seems unlikely. With the exception of these two couples, the Arioto appear to be sterile. I have myself seen their sorrow at being deprived of children, and one of them, named Moro, of fairly pure stock, told me of his grief. He took me to his wife, also of pure Andamanese origin, and externally as normal and healthy as her husband, but deserted by the spirits of fertility. Through no fault of their own, the cause probably lies in both of them.

In all the Andamanese, fertility seems always to have increased from the age of twenty-eight and to end by the age of forty-eight – in many cases thirty-eight, although since none of them know their age, owing to the absence of any form of counting, their deceptively youthful appearance makes assessment of age extremely difficult. I met only one woman who, as far as I could estimate, had borne seven children, and of these only three were still alive in 1954; the widespread custom by which children are transferred from one family to another, even during the period of lactation, to 'share' the enjoyment of them, made all the usual means of assessing the number of births virtually impossible. In a number of childless couples whom I saw on Little Andaman, the women are under twenty-eight and there is still hope of fertility, even if it is late. This could happen in the case of the wives of the two leaders Cocheggi and Cendubàl; these two men married two sisters, among the healthiest and most beautiful women on the island, Vaghèghe and Tocuaghèghe, both under twenty-two. Neither of them has ever been pregnant, although both are apparently normal and

842 enjoy the active marital relationships necessary, according to their
163 husbands, to encourage the entry of the benevolent spirits which bring motherhood. The late onset of fertility in all Andamanese
842 women and perhaps in men as well[1] probably depends on mech-
163 anisms which have been operating for a very long time, affecting
165 the sex ratio at birth, and preferential infant mortality in one sex.
[123] By a combination of observation and deduction I was able to be
[124] reasonably certain that among the Onges at least more males are born than females. The disparity is reduced, though not eliminated, by a higher mortality rate in young males. Males thus remain in excess, making it difficult for some, possibly fertile, to find wives.

842 There are certain peoples – notably the Pitcairn Islanders – who
143 have arisen by repeated inbreeding for hundreds of years from a
161 very few individuals. It is clear from this example that genetic isolation and inbreeding cannot of themselves cause numerical, physical or mental decline of a population. The problem merits further investigation. Civilization has perhaps accused herself unjustly of causing the decline of primitive races, whereas she has in fact only hastened the disappearance of groups already heading for demographic decadence as the result of physiological factors which lie within the group itself, and which are consequently difficult to counteract. The intrinsic damage done by civilization as such has, in my opinion, been considerably exaggerated in some quarters.

Possibly because of the low birth rate the maternal instinct is
855 very highly developed in the women of the Andamans, even to the
597 point of 'adopting' children temporarily. These children are always given lavish affection, and are kept sometimes for years, or even permanently if the parents do not ask for them back. Given the language barrier, this custom makes census-taking difficult as childless couples happily declare adopted children as their own. Nabimbòi, with no children of her own, always had children with her, and it was only the fact that they differed from year to year that led me to suspect what was happening! One wonders whether the custom was not already common before outsiders first came to the Andamans, owing to the existence of a high incidence of sterility long before the arrival of civilization.

[1] There is some evidence of infertility in the men, but it is clear that this is of relatively minor importance.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The Onges are the most numerous of the three peoples surviving in the Andamans. Vigorous and apparently full of promise for the future they may well offer a suitable field for the application of eugenic measures designed to increase their numbers; this would be impossible with the Jarawas owing to their hostility towards outsiders, and the few remaining Arioto are nearly all of impure stock. If their confidence could be gained, it might be possible to encourage inter-marriage between the various groups, in the hope that fertility would increase and the ultimate total extinction of Onges, Jarawas and Arioto, would be prevented.

In the Andamanese, this physiological decline has been accompanied by cultural decadence, as my digs in the kitchen-middens all over the archipelago showed. The ancient pottery which came to light is proof enough; when one compares it with recent work the latter is indicative of secondary and not original primitiveness. The successive strata in the deposits show a gradual decline from earthenware clearly made from a very refined mix to crude ware with vegetable impurities and bits of stone left in the clay. The pots dating from ancient times were clearly well fired and the quality of the clay allowed them to have thin but nevertheless very strong walls. In the present-day ware, on the other hand, the wall has to be thick because of the coarseness of the clay, making the pots both heavy and easily broken. Moreover, firing is limited to drying the pots in the sun, and the clay is in fact only hardened when the pot is used for cooking.

Ignorance of fire-making in the Andamans may also stem from this cultural regression, as one of the effects of physiological and psychological decadence. Given the absence of magico-religious beliefs among the Andamanese, ignorance of fire-making cannot be attributed to any ritual taboo or veto. On the other hand, it is in sharp contrast to the possession of elements of cultural advance such as the bow, with highly developed arrows, the harpoon with its detachable point, and the outrigger canoe.

Few races are known, even in far distant times, which never had fire. *Sinanthropus* and nearly every fossil Man after him had fire, even if he was unable to create it and could only preserve it once received from some natural combustion. The Onges, while retaining a number of ethnic characteristics of the Palaeolithic era, have

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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1 The author with two adult islanders

[facing P. 66, A]

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[facing P. 66, B]

/2 ... Two examples of the geometric patterns which are painted on the face and torso/

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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3 *Above top* A group of Onges resting against the bastion roots of a tree. The man in the centre is smoking a crab-claw pipe
4 *Above* A typical example of tight binding of the body as a cure for disease
2 *Left* Two examples of the geometric patterns which are painted on the face and torso

[facing p. 66, C]

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5 *Above* Mother feeding her baby from a Nautilus shell
6 *Right* The axe is one of the few primitive tools in use in the Andamans

[Facing P. 66, D]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1953) 1966 , AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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[facing P. 66, E]

/6 ... The axe is one of the few primitive tools in use in the Andamans/

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7 An important feature of the islands is the way in which the forest comes right down to the water's edge

8 In the monsoon season, trees are frequently uprooted in this manner

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[facing P. 66, F]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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9 The bow and arrow is the main weapon used for hunting; in this photograph the archer has the long arrow harpoon used for spearing large fish

10 Fishing in the coral shallows

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[facing p. 66, G]

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11 *Above* Launching an outrigger canoe
12 *Below* Hunter with a monitor lizard
13 Mother and child

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[facing P. 66, H]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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[facing P. 66, I]

/I. Mother and child/

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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[147]

14 In spite of their size, the Andaman islanders are capable of carrying enormous weights

15 A temporary shelter in the forest

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[facing P. 66, J]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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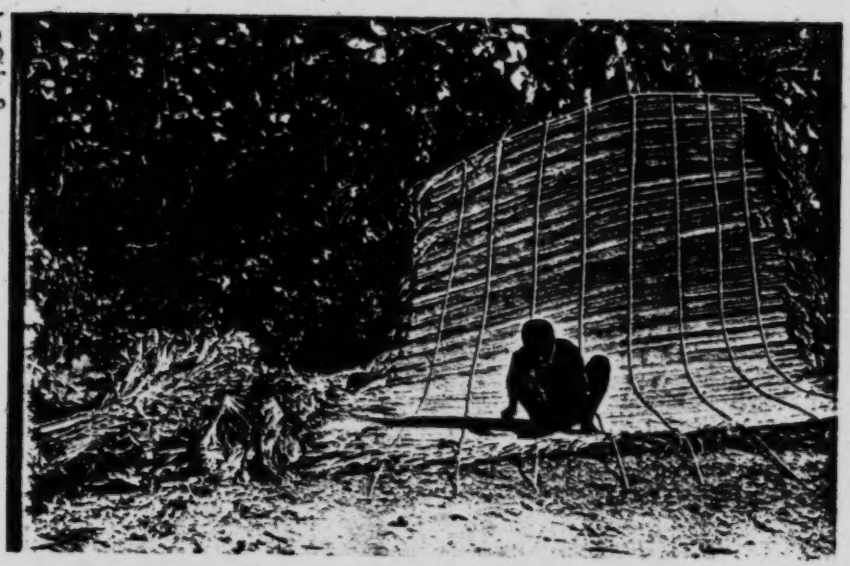

16 Making a roof section from palm fronds for a permanent dwelling

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17 Completed permanent dwelling, which is also used for burial of the inhabitants

[facing P. 66, K]

178 392 also acquired more recent additions, so that any primitive ignorance on their part of an art so ancient and generally advantageous as that of making fire is hardly credible. One thing is, however, certain: they do not today know how to produce fire.

174 178 In order to explain their ignorance, one must remember the surprising speed with which primitive peoples forget even essential facts, even details of their own life. They can forget their father's or mother's name, or both, and important events of less than fifty years ago are sometimes forgotten by those who took part in them. Cultural regression following the forgetting of ethnographical facts, even essential facts such as the making of fire, is a phenomenon widespread in every continent. Widely differing elements of culture spread out from a number of centres and were forced to adapt to natural surroundings often incomparably different from the centre from which they spread. Sometimes these cultural migrations led to progress, but more often to regression. Particularly in the marginal areas furthest from the centres of culture, enforced modifications were profound, with ensuing cultural impoverishment. The Andamanese, probably arriving from areas to the east, remain as survivors of a series of disasters both biological and non-biological, in one of the marginal areas which, although a natural paradise, has been most affected by adverse circumstances. It is, therefore, hardly surprising if, like the Eskimos, they no longer reflect the brilliance of the past, either biologically or culturally. A similar situation is to be found in populations much larger and more advanced than the Andamanese.

105 It is not strictly accurate to define the Onges as primitive; they should more properly be regarded as involuted. They possess certain essentials which almost entitle them to recognition as a civilized people: religious concepts are not unknown, they bury their dead, they are monogamous, and they have their own language. While they are unable to produce fire they can preserve it and know how to use it, they make excellent bows, arrows, harpoons and canoes, and they know how to produce pottery.

Nevertheless, they have no agriculture, and do not keep domestic animals except the dog, introduced only within living memory and to them a faithful friend. They have no idea of the use of metals, and make no stone implements apart from the tiny splinters used for shaving. They have never developed any graphic arts and have

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18 A family group with, on the right, the cylindrical cooking-pot, and the inevitable dogs

19 Typical shell collection from a kitchen-midden

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[facing p. 67]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

only a crude form of body decoration based on geometrical designs. 105

They are, therefore, to be included among the most backward peoples of mankind, who have remained in a very simple form of social structure. They have never progressed to any elementary [614] organization of themselves into 'clans', or even 'tribes'. They have, [619] in short, the psychological outlook and concepts of other primitive peoples, modified by local conditions. The evidence in favour of [174] the Onges of today being the product of cultural development over a very long period appears to me overwhelming, though their development has already been hindered by involution and, we must presume, a series of setbacks.

The Onges have thus remained culturally isolated and this has 105 deprived them of the opportunities offered to the rest of the world. 174 The time came when they ceased to receive or to elaborate new concepts, and from that point regression was inevitable. There is abundant evidence that their culture dates back to Palaeolithic times, so that they now represent the last and decadent expression of a very lengthy stage of biological and cultural development, a point of arrival, and not one of departure. Everywhere in the Andamans there are signs of an ancient culture which must once have spread over much of the world. It is neither logical nor practical to explain the similarity of many concepts as a series of convergences, all of independent origin; ideas must have spread outwards with the passage of time and the gradual population of habitable areas.

No study of present-day life on the Andamans can be complete 172 without an attempt to build up a valid picture of the islands as they were centuries ago, and this we can do with some accuracy by a study of the kitchen-middens. These abound on Great Andaman, but few have been excavated, and then only briefly reported. Those of Little Andaman have not, for obvious reasons, previously been investigated, but they are of considerable importance for the light they cast on their own development and history, and on that of similar mounds outside the Andamans. It is only on Little Andaman that they are still being built up, continually increasing in size, forming a unique, direct and continuous link with life on the island thousands of years ago.

Provided they have not been damaged – for example by rain or

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

172 earth tremors – they are all regular in shape. The base is circular, and the round mound rises as a truncated cone, at an angle of forty-five degrees. The circumference at the base varies, and can be as small as fifty metres, although a hundred and twenty to a hundred and fifty metres is more usual, and some are even larger. The height of the cone varies from two to ten metres or more, depending on the length of time the site has been in continuous occupation.

Excavations showed how slowly these mounds have accumulated, often only twenty centimetres in a hundred years. This is due to pressing down of the mound by the normal activities of the occupants of the hut, and by the fact that the Onges move so frequently from place to place; only about a sixth of the year is spent in the communal huts. It is possible that over the undisturbed centuries before outsiders came to the island the middens grew rapidly, but it is not unreasonable to assume a growth of ten metres in five thousand years. Dating by the radio-carbon method, which it is hoped is to be undertaken at the University of Rome, should confirm this estimate.

Before I began digging I had, although with some reservations, accepted the standard ideas about the formation of the kitchen-middens. I was, for example, doubtful about their regular shape, which did not seem to fit the accepted theory that those of Great Andaman were related to purely temporary encampments; I did not see that the very regular shape of the middens fitted such a picture.

On Great Andaman, the continuous strife between Arioto and Eremtaga, making permanent camps too vulnerable, led to their final disappearance at the beginning of the century and all further growth of the middens ceased. Most of them are in the coastal areas, and must therefore derive from the Arioto. Previous investigators were therefore handicapped by having to excavate abandoned mounds, of which none of the islanders had any personal knowledge and which they could not attempt to explain.

It seemed, therefore, that to gain any real knowledge of these structures, and hence of the people both past and present who built them up, it would be necessary to dig in the active mounds of Little Andaman. These derived from the communal huts on the island which interested me particularly – Cemalè, Lulera, Tomabeh

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 . AZ2 Andamans AZ2

and Totamaddulù, the first a day's journey into the forest from Berié-Abdalù, the second two days from Labanar, and the others both near Togalanghe. 172

On both Great Andaman and Little Andaman the kitchen-middens yield a vast quantity of animal remains, bones and a great number of shells, with very little earth. The shells diminish in the upper levels, to be replaced by bones of *Sus andamanensis*, the wild pig of the islands, the change coinciding with the arrival of the dog in the islands; the revolution which this introduction brought into the life of the islanders is at once evident. [177]

My first excavations in 1951 were limited to establishing which mounds looked promising for future digs. I made soundings in the north, middle and south of Great Andaman and found that near each midden there were invariably abundant food supplies, as well as fresh water, sometimes running, sometimes in pools. The excavations went on for sixty days, aided by a first-class gang of men from Bihar, who even agreed, in view of the necessity of concentrated digging, to forgo their customary feast days. To these preliminary excavations I returned later on a number of occasions,[1] using them as controls.

My first real dig began on 5 January 1952 in a fine midden on Middle Andaman, a few hours' march from the forest station of Long Island, at a place known as Beehive Hill, or Golpahar in Hindi. The water pipe installed for the benefit of the colonists on Long Island draws from a spring, and on its way to the reservoir on the shore it runs right through the centre of the midden. Emerging, it runs for a hundred and fifty metres through a mangrove swamp stinking with vile black mud, which in fact served as an excellent means of dating the layers, by relating them to the rise and fall in the ground level of the swamp over the last few thousands of years. 172 114

The whole of the time we were there we had to work with look-outs posted ready for any Jarawas trying an ambush; to the north of the midden the grave of a Burmese killed by them a short time before was a grim warning. We did a great deal of shooting, but fortunately only for game. Fallow deer descended from imported 114 136

[1] With a number of young Indians very kindly allocated to my assistance by the anthropological service of the Government of India, and to all of whom I am greatly indebted for their enthusiastic help, often under the most trying conditions. [114]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

114 beasts were plentiful, and used to come right up to the camp out of
136 curiosity, in spite of the noise of the shooting, and my men took so many that they were able to dry and smoke some for future use. There were flocks of pigeons after the fruit in the *Ficus* trees, and another rather smaller bird with green wings (*àriel* in Hindi). There were always large fish lying quietly on the surface of the sea, only two hundred metres from the dig, so that we could shoot these as well. The Jarawas were kept at bay, we all fed very well, and everyone was highly satisfied!

The camp was surrounded night and day by a chorus of frogs, and the lights of the camp attracted a whole army of hermit crabs; in the dry season they made an incredible noise parading up and down the dry leaves, even rummaging round our beds inside the tents while we were trying to get to sleep. They disappeared, suddenly and completely, immediately the rains came. Like the rest of their species they use their claws to close the shells in which they have made their home. Usually the large claw was able to do the job alone, but in case of difficulty they would bring the other claw and even their legs into the battle, until they managed to close the shell completely (my men enjoyed these struggles immensely). They in fact use various shells, and squeeze into them somehow, even into the cowries. Some varieties use nothing but cowries and their claws and legs have become very slender in adapting themselves to the narrow shell.

Unlike the hermit crabs, the rats were not affected by the seasons
[126] and came after our stores in hordes. I collected a number of species, but I was never able to catch one kind which particularly interested me. It was a jumping variety, graceful and rather larger than our mouse, with big ears, and a very pointed muzzle. The front feet were short, almost atrophied, and the back ones long, with strong, powerfully muscled haunches, so that the creature was rather like the rats of the pyramids in miniature. I often surprised them round my tent if I shone a torch suddenly, but they would bound away out of reach on their hind legs and no traps seemed to attract them. This variety does not seem to have been reported, at least in the Andamans, and it was the only one I was never able to catch.

When the rains came the disappearance of the hermit crabs was matched by the equally sudden appearance of curious cicadas, which chirped intermittently like all those in the Andamans. By the

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

end of June 1953 there were legions of them. In contrast to the frogs, who were completely silent unless the atmosphere was calm, these cicadas only chirped when it was pouring with rain and blowing a gale, and then only at dawn and at dusk. Unlike other Asiatic species, they hopped from tree to tree between their momentary bursts of chirping, so that from minute to minute the chirping moved en bloc and made it almost impossible to catch them. When they were silent they were completely invisible against the branches, so that although we knew they were motionless we were still unable to catch them.

Surrounded by these diversions we began digging seriously. I must make it clear from the outset that in recording my findings I make no claim to saying the last word on the subject. All I hope to do is to report what I have been able to deduce from the combination of my personal observations of islanders as they are today and the evidence which I found in their kitchen-middens both of the past and of the present.

Though not as large as some I found later, the midden at Golpahar, like all the rest, was a truncated cone, beaten into a dome by the monsoons, and at the time of my excavation it was about five metres high with a circumference of a hundred and ten metres and a diameter of thirty-six metres. I removed half, leaving the other half so that others might later check my findings.

Ninety per cent of the contents proved to be shells, chiefly bivalves, and mainly *Cyrena*. As the shell content was clearly fairly constant I tried to calculate the total in the whole midden; and by taking into account the nomadic life of the present-day inhabitants of the island, and their eating habits, it was possible to reach a reasonable estimate of the age of the deposit.

Each midden can be regarded as attributable to the food refuse of groups of thirty to forty people, living at the site for forty to fifty days a year or less. Shellfish can never have been the islanders' sole diet. They are certainly not today – shellfish of any kind are only eaten when there is nothing else to be had, and then only in certain localities where it is not too much trouble to carry them to the camp. In other words, although shells formed the greater part of the deposit, they will only have been added to it sporadically. In the absence of some complete change of habits, unlikely in such cautious people as the Andamanese, we may deduce that the midden

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

172 rose extremely slowly, taking four to five thousand years to reach its present size. One also has to take into account periods of complete abandonment, evidenced by sterile layers of black mud, resulting from changes in the level of the nearby swamps, so that very great antiquity of the midden can be confidently assumed.

The Golpahar midden, however, does not date from the first arrival of the Negritos in the archipelago. Another nearby, with a circumference at the base of little over fifty metres, and three metres high, has in its lowest layers abundant remains of bivalves which are now rare if not absent in the Andamans, and completely absent at Golpahar itself. Among them are *Ostrea crista galli* and *Pectunculus aurantius*. The close proximity of the two middens may indicate the abandonment of the smaller for a new and larger site. Future investigations will show whether the smaller of these two is in fact the oldest attributable to the Negritos; it is the same type as that at Maya Bandar, where appalling weather and mud forced me to abandon work.

To establish comparisons between enough middens to draw any real conclusions as to their antiquity and the date of Man's arrival in the archipelago, it will be necessary to excavate and map a large number. At the moment, apart from the few previous excavations to which I have referred, mine are the only ones and I cannot overstress the necessity for further work to establish, or refute, the tentative conclusions I have drawn.

On Little Andaman food of all kinds is so abundant that shells were comparatively rare among the refuse, and the middens have grown much more slowly. It is, moreover, difficult to identify the abandoned ones, as the luxuriant vegetation hides them from view. It is not impossible, however, that they may ultimately be shown to date further back than those on Great Andaman, and that this, together with the fact of their continued growth at the present time, may provide valuable information.

At Golpahar, apart from the shells forming ninety per cent of the lower strata, I found bones of marine and land mammals, and of fish, turtles and birds, arrow heads made of bone, *Tridacna* and the spines of large fish, bits of stone, and an enormous number of tiny splinters of obsidian and other very hard materials.

In some places it was difficult to identify the various layers. Normal palaeontological criteria were difficult to apply, as most of the

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remains belonged to species still extant. Some chronological assistance was given, however, by four different stratifications due to evident changes in the level of the adjacent marshes, resulting not from any general marine phenomena, but from numerous land movements. On these occasions the cliffs sank, the sea flowed inland and corals flourished, later to be buried by the black ooze and mud of the mangrove swamps. 172

The maximum rise in the sea-level during the growth of the midden was a little over three metres, and affected a wide area. The date could be established by a full geological study of the archipelago as a whole, but it is clear that although this and similar occurrences had direct stratigraphic effects on the middens, the results were manifest only over very long periods of time.

Refuse from introductions of European origin, such as pipes, glass bottles, shot pellets, pieces of iron, etc., appear in the top level, only fifteen centimetres thick and dating back about a hundred years. There were no dog bones either here or anywhere else on Little or Great Andaman. Recently introduced, the dog clearly caused an increase in the amount of pig remains, and a parallel reduction in shell refuse. Below the fifteen centimetres level, iron, imported pipes and glass fragments disappear, and the crab-claw pipes, still used today by the Onges, begin to emerge. The smoking habit must, as I have said, date from very ancient times, as traces of these claw pipes appear in the lowest strata, in contact with virgin soil.[1] [177] [276] [237]

The actual consistency of the layers, which vary considerably, can tell us much. At Golpahar, we reached a depth of about four metres from the top of the midden through refuse mixed with only a little loose earth, very easy to penetrate. Bones, shells and other objects emerged clean, as if only recently rejected. The situation altered suddenly about one metre from the bottom, when the strata became hard and cemented with a mixture of ashes and earth. In these layers the shells were calcified by exposure to fire, and so fragile that they could only be recovered in broken pieces.

[1] It is obvious that smoking is a very ancient vice; leaves of the wild hemp are still smoked in Africa as they were long before the discovery of tobacco and claw pipes like those of the Onges are found in Eastern New Guinea, especially on the south coast, and as far as the Torres Straits and the Melville Straits. In Australia these pipes appear only in a few coastal areas in the east and north, including the Gulf of Carpentaria, and they are not found in the rest of Australia or in Polynesia. [171] [276]

172 It is clear from this that when they first arrived in the Andamans, the Negritos had no pottery; there are no signs of it at all in the lowest levels. Before they acquired the use of earthenware, perhaps for centuries, they baked their shellfish in ashes, so that the shells became calcified; but as time went on they came to boil them, as the islanders still do today. There is a clear distinction between the ashy, fragile, almost fossilized appearance of the former, and the cleaner solidity of the latter.

172 178 323 In the lowest level in which it appears, the pottery shows signs of careful working of the clay and good firing, degenerating towards more recent times. The uppermost layers reveal the crudest ware, the clay being impure, carelessly mixed, with bits of stone in it and hardly fired at all; it appears to have been merely dried by exposure to the sun and hardened in the course of normal use, as the Onges do today. The resulting pots break easily, despite their thickness, in contrast to the thinner, but much stronger, walls of earlier pottery. They were built up by the coil technique, exactly as they are made on Chowra, the one island in the Nicobars which specializes in pottery.

172 171 323 On Great Nicobar, among the Shom-Pen, these exists also another, cruder type of pottery which is made by a very primitive method. A basket is covered with clay, and hardened in the fire without being properly fired; fragments of this type of pottery retain the marks of the basket inside. The kitchen-middens of the Andamans contain no traces of any primitive stage of this kind; instead, a somewhat refined form of earthenware appears suddenly. There are traces of ornamentation, rows of small lines, usually roughly parallel. No such ornamentation appears on the crude ware of more recent date, however.

171 323 Andamanese pots have always been made with a pointed base which prevents their standing upright, so that they have to be carried in baskets, exactly like those of the Shom-Pen, who make their pots in complete ignorance of the Andamanese and Chowra pottery.

Pottery did not form part of the culture of the Negritos of ancient times. Neither the Semang of Malacca nor the Aetà of the Philippines, their last remnants, nor the Andamanese, had any. The custom of hollowing out logs for use as vessels, and the continuing use of the earth oven, doubtless made the absence of any pottery no hardship.

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If we may deduce from the evidence of the middens, pottery arrived in the Andamans at the same time as the pig, bones of which appear only in the upper levels; but we know nothing of the people responsible for the introduction of either. It is, however, certain that both arrived in Great Andaman and Little Andaman together. 172

There are indications that Little Andaman was the first to feel the benefit of pottery, possibly introduced by a light-skinned people. There are, as I have said, significant variations of skin colour and stature among the Onges; some have markedly lighter skins than the other islanders, and one would assume that this feature entered Little Andaman from the Nicobars with the unknown people who brought with them pottery and the pig. The people as an entity have disappeared as a result of inter-marriage with the indigenous population, while pigs reverted to the wild state and flourished, even spreading from one island to another by swimming (I can vouch for this, having seen them do it).[1] 172 144

The indications are that there were migrations from Little Andaman to Great Andaman long before those from which the Jarawas derive. In certain respects they resemble the Onges, whereas the surviving Arioto appear to represent a purer stock. The Onges seem to have acquired foreign blood in relatively recent times, perhaps when pigs and pottery appeared, when the kitchen-middens of Great Andaman were already being built up by the Arioto, but before the migration northwards by which the Jarawas reached their present home. Much more intensive investigation of the middens will, however, be needed before these hypotheses can be confirmed. 172 174 144

At Golpahar there were within the midden five graves containing human bones, not in anatomical position, and clearly filled in with fresh earth. I was surprised to find only the long bones, skulls and jawbones; the remaining bones could not be found. This may be explained by the custom among the Arioto (still prevailing 172 765

[1] One thing is puzzling: the three remaining groups of primitive Negritos in Malacca and the Philippines have the arrow harpoon with a detachable head. This is particularly valuable in the forests against the pigs, which cannot escape into the undergrowth once they have been hit. But it is difficult to see how or why the arrow harpoon reached the Andamans, where there were at that time no large mammals. It seems necessary to postulate the former spread of the weapon with the Negritos over a very wide area and its use against a much wider range of animals. [171] [411]

172 765 among the Onges) of wearing not only necklaces of the carpals and tarsals of deceased kin or pieces of rib, but also, in some groups, the skulls, painted with ochre and hanging from a cord round the neck. The long bones, painted red and white, were reburied in the communal hut. The Onges of today carry only the coloured jawbones of their kin.

172 764 No ornaments were found in the middens, nor did we expect to find any, as at death the Onges (and presumably their ancestors) bury all the personal objects of the deceased secretly in the forest, where the termites destroy all traces.

184 172 765 Not all the Arioto can have carried skulls and jawbones. Some clearly carried neither, as all the bones are sometimes found in the middens. A few middens are completely without human bones, particularly in the Port Blair area. Nevertheless at Ciauldari (or Chowldary), ten kilometres to the west, I found in January 1954 long bones without the skull or jawbones, and at Maya Bandar in 1953 I saw almost complete skeletons, not in anatomical position, owing to exhumation and reburial, but including skull, jawbones and in a number of cases the small bones as well.

The evidence of the middens thus clearly shows that burial and subsequent customs differed considerably among the various groups of islanders in the past, as they do today. The majority, judging from the Onges, seem to have remained faithful to a given custom, the dead in all cases continuing to remain a part of the group, whether or not any particular bone was carried about by the members of the group.

178 224 787 It is somewhat surprising to find customs varying so markedly in so primitive and numerically small a population, even though isolated in groups. The explanation lies in the fact that long-established customs may be altered overnight as the result of a 'revelation' by some seer, only to have the new customs overthrown themselves in the course of time by the next 'revelation'. I had an experience of this in the Onges when Enagaghe, a well-known seer, announced one day that he had received an order from the spirits about the way in which hunting trophies were to be displayed. No longer were pig jawbones to be impaled one behind the other on poles hung horizontally along the sloping roof of the hut a little above the hunter's bed. The whole skull, including the jawbones, was to be preserved, the bones held together in their natural

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position by reed cords, which were to be tied in front of the snout, ending in a cord by which the skull was to be hung above the hunter's bed. No sooner said than done, and at the beginning of 1954 all the old trophies were thrown out into the forest, to be gradually replaced by the new ones. Fortunately I had collected some of the old trophies before the 'revelation'!

From the evidence of the middens it would appear that these variations in burial customs have no practical basis, and probably all derive from similar 'revelations'. Further investigations in a large series of the deposits, enabling dated comparisons to be made, would be extremely revealing.

Even allowing for these sudden alterations in established customs, it is clear that their elaboration indicates slow and hardly perceptible development over long periods of time and the middens must be dated in millennia. The hypothesis put forward by some scholars that the Andamanese are descended from negro slaves who escaped while on their way to the Portuguese colonies in India in the sixteenth or, at the earliest, fifteenth centuries, seems therefore quite untenable, in face of the abundant evidence in favour of the great antiquity of the middens and of the people who built them up.

It seems clear that during the last few thousand years, successive waves of migration have taken place over a whole area bounded on the west by the Andamans and Nicobars. All indications point to a close connection between the Andamanese and the peoples to the westward, the Negrito element remaining alone and almost untouched in the Andamans, but becoming submerged in the Nicobars into the mongoloid element of more recent origin. Even today a number of Nicobarese show signs of Negrito ancestry; short in stature, they have crinkly hair which although long is very different from the straight black hair of the mongoloid element, and their heads, noses and lips bear clear signs of Negrito ancestry.

In addition to these more general conclusions the middens also cast some light on the origin, still somewhat problematical, of the wretched Jarawas of Great Andaman. Comparisons between their middens and those of the Onges show that there were in the past communal huts on Great Andaman exactly the same as those still extant today on Little Andaman.

174 342 [628] The continual fighting between the Eremtaga and the Arioto led, as we have seen, to the gradual disappearance of the communal huts of the latter as being too vulnerable. Subsequently, the con-
[648] flict still going on between foreigners and Jarawas completed the destruction, so that there are now no communal huts on Great Andaman. The ever-increasing violence of the punitive expeditions against the Jarawas put an end to their numerical recovery during the last fifteen years or so, and there may indeed now be none left.
[172] Today only their kitchen-middens, and the surviving Onges, remain to show us how the Jarawas must have lived.

172 184 The Jarawa middens are distinguishable from those of the Arioto by their inland position and by their content of freshwater shellfish and land gasteropods, not eaten by the peoples of the coast.

172 764 178 Like the kitchen-middens of the Onges, those of the Jarawas contain human bones clearly interred in graves, and not scattered among the refuse. This refutes the Arioto accusation against the Eremtaga of cannibalism, and that of the people of South Andaman
[186] (now vanished) against the people of North Andaman and the Onges; the remains of cannibal feasts would undoubtedly have been found among kitchen refuse and not carefully buried in the ritual manner, with the graves filled in with earth. And the Jarawas and the majority of the Arioto buried their dead in the communal huts, continuing a custom which originated while they were still
[184] on Little Andaman. In time variations arose, but this does not alter the evidence in favour of migration in ancient times from the south, via the Nicobars and Little Andaman.

184 172 50 The differences in culture between the islands can be explained by the ease with which primitive peoples forget. The Jarawas, for example, although they reached Great Andaman by sea from Little Andaman, forgot in a few generations the art of hollowing canoes when they were forced to live in the depths of the forests, far from the sea. Today, they have been free from the Arioto for some time, at least on the west coast, and have access to the sea, but they have
[765] not started building canoes again. In other things, however, such as burial rites, the Jarawas kept faithful to the old Onge customs; their middens show the same exhumation of the bones, the same cleaning, and tinting with ochre, and careful reburial.

172 252 The general similarity of the middens in Great and Little Andaman cannot be due to chance. Animal food, for example, has clearly

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been cooked in the same way; the bones are never charred, but always have the appearance of being cooked in an earth oven. The direct roasting of large game over the fire, postulated by some authorities, including Brown, was never practised; the islanders preferred to go on as they had done since time immemorial, because it was more efficient – witness the traces of the earth oven which are to be found all over the world, including Europe. In Polynesia and Micronesia, and among the pygmies of Asia and Africa, it was widely used; variations when they arose did so as the result of local circumstances, like that of throwing water on the fire instead of using fleshy leaves, when there were none in the area. But the basic principle remained the same everywhere, and the use of the earth oven coincides with the geographical distribution of hunting, gathering and burial customs similar to those found in the Andamans.

In April 1954 I excavated the midden at Tambe-e-buiè on Little Andaman, abandoned after the earth tremors of 1951, to investigate the position of the beds. The custom of burying the dead underneath their beds made it possible to trace the latter by the human remains below them, arranged in a circle round the periphery. The Onges themselves helped in the work, sometimes even trying to recognize the remains as they came to light.[1] There were clear signs of reburial. The body is buried immediately after death at least one metre deep; whereas after exhumation, cleaning and colouring, it is never re-interred more than thirty centimetres below the floor of the hut. When another death makes it necessary for a new grave to be dug under the bed, the piles of bones from the second are disturbed, so that in time a form of ossuary develops. In this it is not possible to identify the various remains of individuals unless some change in the position of the hut, even by a few metres, preserves the bones from disturbance by fresh graves. Traces of the graves always remain, however, as they are invariably filled with fresh earth.

We have already seen that on Little Andaman the introduction of the dog reduced the consumption of shellfish (and hence the rate

[1] The material recovered is now in the Anthropological Museum of the Andamans and Nicobars, which I helped to establish at Port Blair. The museum was inaugurated on 6 June 1955 in the presence of the Governor, Mr A. K. Ghosh and the chief Indian officials of the town.

231 of growth of the kitchen-middens), judging by the number of shells in the deposits. On Great Andaman, on the other hand, the Jara-
184 was, unable to keep dogs for fear of revealing their whereabouts
262 with the barking, continued as they had always done, and the
231 gradual disappearance of their middens was due not to any change
184 in eating habits but to the breakdown of the communal hut system.
177 Among the Arioto, already decimated for over a century by fight-
178 ing with the Eremtaga, the dog seems to have had no effect on the
[361] situation, as the Arioto had dogs as far back as 1857. Possibly they regarded them in the same way as the Onges who, though deeply attached to them and quite incapable of eating them at any time, never go so far as to bury their bones in the middens; the carcase is thrown out into the forests for the monitors and the termites to dispose of. It is also probable that the introduction of the dog came too late, when the Arioto were already too depleted numerically for any change in their eating habits to be appreciably reflected in their middens.

172 In both Great and Little Andaman the middens are found only
184 where the communal huts have been constantly rebuilt on the same
361 sites. Where the ground permits, the base circle (or rarely, the ellipse) has been moved somewhat from side to side, without, however, greatly affecting the regularity of the shape. At Totamaddalù on Little Andaman I was interested to see that although the diameter of the midden lessened as the numbers of the group occupying the hut dwindled, the site remained unchanged. Today the base area of the midden is very extensive compared with the size of the hut now built on it, but its anthropological value is thereby increased.

177 The advent of the dog into the archipelago in about 1857 vastly
23 increased the amount of meat available to the Andamanese. Once
[262] introduced into Little Andaman[1] the dog population increased explosively, as the Onges dare not kill any of the pups; the women even go so far as to suckle motherless pups themselves. This inordinate love of dogs has allowed the animals to become a pest. They already considerably outnumber the human population; families of only three or four people may have ten or twelve dogs,

[1] The dog reached Little Andaman only at the beginning of the present century; von Eichstedt in 1928 noted that the Onges had very few of them.

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often extremely vicious but good hunters. The dogs often roam the forests in packs, hunting and devouring young pigs. The Onges will do nothing about it unless someone forces them to, but if this pack hunting is not stopped the pig will become extinct in ten or twenty years and in 1954 I tried myself (in vain) to draw the attention of the authorities to the situation.

The dog appears in even the most ancient of cultures in Australia, but did not spread to Tasmania, despite the geographical proximity. It arrived on Great Andaman with the establishment of the Indian penal colony and it is thus the Indian pariah which ultimately populated the whole archipelago. A despised outcast in India, the pariah became in the Andamans of enormous value, reverting to its ancient hunting instincts. Burmese police officials taught the islanders how to use the animal for hunting and within a few years it had revolutionized their methods. It led the islanders in fact, to comparative indolence; the dog worked for them, supplying with far less effort as much game as they used to catch in their long, weary and not always successful expeditions. Dogs meant invariable and abundant success in the hunt, and it is hardly surprising that the Andamanese came to develop a somewhat unbalanced affection for them.

On Little Andaman the dogs, with abundant food supplies always easily available, became physically far superior to their ancestors in India; unlike the pariahs they were well muscled, with good skins and coats, although most of them bear the marks of old and recent gashes by boar tusks.

On Great Andaman the dogs voluntarily catch and kill fallow deer. These, like the dogs, have increased to the extent of becoming a pest. The Arioto and Jarawas will not eat them for superstitious reasons, and so they have bred like wildfire, spreading to all the islands as far as Rutland. They swim well, but only with land in sight, and the greater distances involved have so far prevented them from spreading to Little Andaman.

Here the dogs have only one main prey – the pigs. Unlike the deer with their slender legs they cannot outdistance the dogs, and their only defence is to hide under the buttresses of the tree-trunks. The pig rushes underneath the tree, and faces the dogs like a stag at bay. There is no escape, only a few more terrible minutes of life. The pig fights the dogs off desperately, the males inflicting serious

231 224 gashes with their tusks, unaware of the spear thrower coming up from behind. The result is inevitable. The dangerous boars are killed outright, but whenever possible the pig is, like the turtles, trussed helplessly and vivisected, again strictly according to established ritual, and again with an unconscious cruelty that is to Western eyes unbelievable. The liver, lungs, heart and intestines are the dogs' reward, and in a matter of minutes they are gone and the last drop of blood licked up.

224 Before every hunt the dogs are left hungry, on the principle that a well-fed dog does not hunt. If a young or small pig is caught by the pack during the hunt the Onges at once drag the body away and lodge it in the fork of a bush or tree. I have also seen this done if a full-grown pig is caught which is too thin, or unhealthy, or if a sow is taken, as the Onges find the females less tasty. In the dry season, when food is scarce and the pigs are less aggressive, they can be caught by one dog alone.

[261] In the rainy season pork is, to the Onge palate, at its best. The pigs are fat and tasty, gorging on the lush vegetation that follows the onset of the south-west monsoon till they become slow, and easy prey. The dogs follow their tracks easily on the sodden ground, and the usual orgy of slaughter follows day after day, the Onges caring little for tomorrow and nothing for the day after. It is only owing to the fall in the numbers of the human population that the pig is still extant on the island; in compensation for the continuous slaughter I saw whole areas of forest round deserted communal huts where the earth had been literally ploughed up by the snouts of innumerable pigs rooting undisturbed for tubers.

231 During the hunt a number of dogs inevitably lose themselves in the maze of vegetation, and are cut off from the pack. Usually they manage to find their way back to one of the camps. When I went on long journeys into the forest we were always followed by strays. Greeting each other as though they were old friends they would quickly join the pack we used to take with us to hunt for the party. A stray will always try to find its own master, and any that are left behind during the hunt howl desperately like jackals. Others join in, in an eerie chorus, pausing every now and again as though waiting for their master's reply. Their howling is a curious reversion to the wild state – all the canines fear solitude, wherever

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they may be, and the strays of the Andaman forests howl unceasingly. Even in the Onge encampments the dogs howl enough to wake their sleeping masters; the only way to stop the noise is for the Onges to forestall it by taking their dogs into the family bed, fleas and all. There ensues silence, warmth and more fleas!

Hunting weapons of the Andamanese, the Semang and the Aetà were originally made by all three peoples in a similar way, common to all the Negritos. None have any defensive weapons as such; their bows and arrows, never feathered, serve as arms as well as for hunting and fishing. Shields are unknown and spears, rare in the Andamans and among the Semang, are apparently no longer in use among the Aetà; where they exist they are usually mainly for hunting. All three peoples, however, have the arrow harpoon.[1]

Their bows are all clearly derived from the same source. In the Andamans, only the Onges and Jarawas have remained true to the original form, local variations arising at a later date, and they afford additional evidence in favour of Little Andaman being the original springboard from which the Negritos entered Great Andaman.

All the Negritos make their bows from one piece of wood stripped longitudinally from the living trunks of large trees such as *Mimusops littoralis* or *Pterocarpus dalbergoides*. After they have been left to season the strips are patiently fashioned into the required shape; for this the Onges use the shells of *Cyrena* (the freshwater species, which are tougher). The bows are straight, thicker in the middle and gradually tapering towards the ends, and are usually 1·6 metres long, although there are exceptions. The cross section is the same throughout the length of the bow, varying from three or four centimetres diameter at the centre to two and a half centimetres at the horns. The inner surface is so slightly curved as to be almost flat, while the back is markedly convex. The blunt horns end in a 'shoulder and neck' stop to take the string, the neck projecting about one and a half centimetres beyond the shoulders – enough to hold the bowstring. The shoulder is formed by strips of *Ficus* bark wound round the bow, or the yellow fibres of *Dendrobium*; one shoulder is invariably larger than the other. The string itself, made from long thin strips of *Ficus* bark twisted together, has a very narrow loop on one end and a larger one at the other;

[1] See p. 86.

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411 [283] when stretched the string remains held in place by the two loops, one too small to slip over the lower shoulder, and the larger one held firm on the upper shoulder by the tension of the string.

184 411 When the bow is strung, it is placed upright with the lower horn firmly on the ground, the string already looped on to the small shoulder. The top of the bow is forced down (either hand being used indiscriminately), a foot being pressed against the grip to help it bend; the other end of the string, with the large loop, is then run up the stave and slipped over the larger shoulder, where the tension holds it firm. Considerable individual variation may occur in the art of making the bow and preparing the string and also in the actual stringing. In the Onges, apart from the size of the bow, the variation never went beyond slight differences in the curvature of the inner surface and back, the former being in a few cases quite flat, or even concave, as in the Jarawa bows. Neither the Onges nor the Jarawas, including those on North Sentinel, decorate their bows in any way, but the Arioto like to make a series of small straight cuts on the horns, on both the inner and outer surfaces and sometimes even cover the bow with bizarre red and white lines, which wear off very quickly with use. There appears to be no real difference between Onge and Jarawa bows, except that the latter tend to be larger, in keeping with their intended use as hostile weapons.

From the original Negrito bow of Little Andaman the so-called S-bow of the Arioto evolved as the result of a number of minor innovations. The basic principle remained the same, but in an effort to take greater advantage of the elasticity of the wood the rudiments of the distinction between the two horns later developed into a distinction between the two halves of the bow.

The unique modification which the original form of bow underwent on Great Andaman turned the stave into a composite of two spear-shaped halves, the upper almost straight, the lower slightly curved. At the horns the bow is still almost round in section, flattening as the 'spear' broadens out; the general dimensions and shape of the bow vary little between the Arioto of the south and north of the island, although the latter make the diameter at the horns rather larger. The two halves are joined at the centre of the weapon, forming a grip which is the thickest part of the bow. The simple difference in the size of the shoulders in the Onge bow now

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becomes more complex; the upper horn is more pointed than the lower, and there is a difference between the upper and lower halves of the bow, as it is necessary to prevent the loops of the strings slipping on the bow. The bow string is made not from *Ficus* bark, as in the Onge bow, but from thin *Anadendron* fibres, twisted together and waxed with beeswax; it has the usual loop at each end, and the bow is strung with the help of the foot as in the simpler version. When strung, this type of bow becomes S-shaped as a result of the variations in elasticity arising from the spear-shape of the two halves, but when drawn it assumes the normal shape. The fact that it is easier to draw an S-bow than a single-curve one, without any loss of propulsive force, is an interesting mechanical point.

The bows are only strung when required for use, and in the normal way neither they nor the arrows are ever seen by outsiders; they disappear up into the roof of the communal hut, or into the bushes round the temporary camps. Even with friendly Onges I had to ask specifically to see them, or surprise their owners out hunting.

The external influences to which the Semang and Aetà have been subjected have been strong enough to make them to a large extent forget their original form of bow, which has however survived alongside a large number of cultural inovations. The differences, for example, between the upper and lower extremities of both bow and string have persisted, and the shoulder-and-neck stop (although this is now made by notching the bow-stave deeply) so that we may reasonably assume that a close study of the Onge bow will give us the essential characteristic of a very ancient form of the weapon. The greatest modification to the original form is the one which has been made on North Andaman, and in an attempt to improve the effect of separate curving of the two sections selected trees are deliberately trained for the purpose, the cut wood being seasoned slowly over heat and smoke, paying particular care to the parts which will take the greatest strain. As a result the 'give' in the bow is markedly increased. But even here no fundamental alteration has been made in the design of the weapon.

The Onge bow, therefore, represents the forerunner of the somewhat more highly evolved type (now dying out with their owners) on Great Andaman, and adds further support to the evidence for

174 the arrival of the Negritos in the Andamans from the south; yet
184 more evidence is provided by the Onge arrows. In the Andamans
411 there are two types of arrows, those used for fish, and those for game, the latter also being used against human targets.

184 The same arrows are found throughout the archipelago, con-
411 firming a common origin. Only the dimensions vary from one area to another and that only very slightly; the Onges have both the biggest fishing arrows, and the biggest arrow harpoons, and the Arioto the smallest. In the past the islanders used arrows with from two to four points for fish, but I was unable to find any traces of them; those picked up on North Sentinel some years ago were possibly the last to be made.

411 The fishing arrow of the Andamans is made basically from the small native bamboo. The Onges remove the knots by scraping
[322] them down gradually with *Cyrena* shells, and then cut off a length
[237] varying between seventy centimetres and about one metre. Into one end they fix securely a hardwood stick, fifteen to twenty centi-
[179] metres long. This foreshaft takes the head, now nearly always iron, but in the past made of wood, fish spines or pig bone. In the kitchen-middens I also found heads made out of shaped pieces of *Tridacna*. The three parts of the arrow are then bound together with very thin waxed fibres, wound carefully round and round, great care being taken to prevent the bamboo shaft splitting where the foreshaft is forced in. The completed arrow finishes up 1–1·15 metres long overall. The head is barbed, to hold the fish once it is hit; to get it out the whole arrow has to be pulled through. Sometimes, but not always, the shaft has a notch in it, to take the cord, care being taken to make the notch never more than two centimetres from any knot, to avoid any possibility of the shaft splitting. Alternatively, splits are prevented by binding waxed thread tightly round the shaft.

The hunting arrow, or arrow harpoon, is an intelligent adaptation, the result of acute observation of wild life, and is more complicated than the fishing arrow which is intended only to pierce the
411 victim. The hunting arrow must not only score a hit, it must also
224 prevent the animal from escaping into the undergrowth and force it to reveal its position. The harpoon holds the victim cruelly and securely, and the excruciating pain caused by the drag of the cord forces the animal to reveal its position by its cries of agony. The

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screams of a wild boar can be heard for hundreds of metres, drawing the hunters in from all sides, eager to take it alive. If it proves to be a large male, whose tusks can inflict appalling injuries, the hunters kill it at once with a spear or with a third type of arrow which has a long fixed head. This type of arrow, which does not differ greatly from those found in other parts of the world, is still used by some of the Andamanese against human enemies.

The shaft of the arrow harpoon is made preferably from *Tetranthera lancifolia*, very common all over the archipelago. The wood for the shafts has to be straight, very slender at one end, where a notch is cut half a centimetre deep to take the cord, and a little thicker at the other, which is hollowed out for about one centimetre to take the head of the weapon. Splitting of the wood at the ends is, as usual, prevented by binding the shaft with *gnetum* fibres, twisted into thread and waxed with beeswax.

The efficiency of the harpoon depends on the double-strand cord, extremely strong, made from *Hibiscus* fibres. One end is fixed on to the shaft, five centimetres from the point at which the foreshaft enters it, and the other to the foreshaft, two centimetres from the base, with a thirty-two centimetre loop of cord between the two fixings.

The harpoon blade, now made of iron, is eleven centimetres long and spear-shaped, ending in a series of barbs. The haft of the blade is bound tightly on to the short foreshaft, also eleven centimetres long, which is scraped thin at the end so that the haft can be bound on smoothly. The complete weapon mounted for use is about eighty-eight centimetres long overall in the Onges and Jarawas, and slightly shorter, about sixty-five centimetres, in the Arioto.

To prepare the harpoon for use the slack of the cord is wound firmly round the shaft, and the foreshaft with the blade attached is forced in. As the harpoon strikes, the shaft becomes detached and the victim, firmly held by the barbed arrow head, drags it along on the end of the cord until it catches in the undergrowth and holds the animal fast.

There is little difference between the arrow harpoons of Little Andaman and Great Andaman, and what difference there is affects only the dimensions, the type of cord, and the form of the barbs. The basic principle remains the same wherever it is found; all the Negritos, including the Semang and Aetà still use it, although these

171 184 411 two have added feathers, and poisoned tips, in imitation of neighbouring peoples.

For the capture of large fish and animals such as turtles, dolphins 184 and dugong, the Onges and Arioto use not the arrow harpoon but 411 the spear harpoon. Brown saw none of these among the Onges he 114 studied in Rutland, and consequently assumed its absence on Little 22 Andaman. The Onges carry as little as possible on their sea voyages [484] for the sake of speed, and would not therefore take spear harpoons (used only for marine hunting) with them on trips to Rutland, which they visit only for the purpose of hunting pigs and not to fish, or to hunt marine animals. They certainly have, and use, spear harpoons even today; I myself have been with the Onges and seen their harpoons used from the canoes. I had ample opportunity to admire both the effectiveness of the weapons and the accuracy of the throwers.

411 The greater structural and operational simplicity of the spear harpoon, in comparison with the arrow harpoon, leads one to [283] suppose it the older of the two. Its cord is made of tough *Hibiscus* fibres, and with the aid of these and a straight shaft about six metres long and little over four centimetres in diameter, even the humblest of nails, seven centimetres long and three millimetres in diameter, [824] can become the point of a spear harpoon. It is fixed into the shaft (usually of mangrove wood) which is hollowed out at the thinner end to take it, and with a cord up to a hundred metres long or more attached to the nail two centimetres from the head, the spear harpoon is ready for use – shaft, point and cord.

411 225 When the harpoon is to be used for turtles, no barbs are needed, as the point is driven so firmly into the shell that blocks of wood have to be carried in the canoes to knock it out for re-use.

The harpoon throwers stand ready on the platform jutting out fore and aft of the canoes (see p. 122), the free end of the cord is tied to one of the booms to prevent it being jerked out of the canoe as the victim tries to escape, and the slack is coiled in the bottom of the canoe. The thrower holds the cord against the harpoon as he waits for the right moment and then throws. As the harpoon strikes, the point detaches from the shaft, which floats on the water till picked up – often to be used as a punt-pole in the shallow waters of the coral reefs as the canoe follows the victim, now held firmly on the end of the cord.

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The widespread use of the arrow and spear harpoons since very ancient times is evidenced by their survival in areas far removed from each other, and among primitive peoples geographically completely isolated. The arrival of the harpoon in the Andamans must in all probability have occurred thousands of years ago when it was widespread at least in the south and south-east of the Asian continent. Even the Andamanese canoes with their platforms fore and aft built specially for the harpoon throwers indicate not only the antiquity of the islanders, but also their historical and cultural connection with the peoples represented today by the few remaining Negritos.

From the evidence of the middens it is clear that the links between the Onges and the Jarawas are very close. While the date of the first migration from Little Andaman to Great Andaman remains uncertain there can be no doubt that migrations took place, followed by isolation within the islands, until today the Arioto cannot understand the Eremtaga, and the Onges neither the Jarawas nor the Sentinellese. There is very little in the literature on the Jarawas and their origin, but from my own observations I would deduce that they arrived in Great Andaman comparatively recently, as even their subsequent rigid isolation has not brought about any really essential cultural differences from the Onges.

The route of the migration will undoubtedly have led them via Rutland, whose heights can be seen as an open invitation from the north of Little Andaman. Chains of small, uninhabited islands lie between; the Onges have a name for all of them and have camp sites there for use on hunting or fishing expeditions; the Arioto, on the other hand, do not appear ever to have been to the islands. From Rutland migrations would have moved on to Great Andaman, until, filtering through to the extreme north, they became the Jarawas, or 'strangers', as the Arioto still call them. The Arioto themselves probably arrived previously by the same route but stopped in the coastal areas, then uninhabited and inviting occupation. The Arioto would have considered themselves owners of the still uninhabited areas and tried to exclude later immigrants; so began the hostility I have already described between the occupiers of the coasts and the later arrivals whom they forced into the depths of the forests.

166 All the evidence points to this being far more than mere supposi-
[174] tion and even today the Onges persist in their tendency to expand towards the north. In 1953 I could find no trace of a number of Onges whom I had known in 1952; the others told me they were all 'dead', but it seems probable that they had migrated to the islands further north. And in 1954 nearly all the canoes belonging to the communal huts in the south-west of Little Andaman, which I had seen in 1953, had vanished and were said to have gone with the 'dead'. It is probable that they too had migrated to Great Andaman, becoming 'Jarawas'.

166 This is physically quite possible. Between Little Andaman and
484 Great Andaman the Onges have a line of transit camps, still in use,
[485] where food and water are easily available. All have a name, and I
[501] followed the line myself. With the help of their fragile but very fast canoes, and without carrying food or water (which they know will be available at the next transit camp), they can travel very quickly.
[372] They take fire with them in the canoes in the form of a burning torch and while they are at sea, unlike the lazy pace of their normal attitude to life, they seem possessed by the desire to reach the next stopping point on terra firma.

174 Moreover, one may deduce from the fact that the names of these
166 transit camps are all in the Onge language that the migrations have always been from south to north. Little Andaman, formed as it is mainly of coral banks and only projecting a short way above the sea, disappears from view in the tropical mists a few kilometres from the shore; from Rutland it is invisible, and as the Andamanese only travel by sea with land in sight or when its existence and direction is well known, no one from the north would have dared to travel south into the unknown.

We have already seen that the ignorance of the present-day Jarawas as regards the sea is no bar to a hypothesis of their original
[175] arrival in Great Andaman by sea. Colebrook, a hundred and fifty
[501] years ago, actually saw them with canoes, and Gilbert Rogers[1]
[178] recorded seeing canoes on the coasts of North Sentinel very similar to those of the Onges today. The accumulation, therefore, of this
[184] evidence and the general similarity of culture throughout the archipelago all adds up to inescapable conclusions.

000 Even the unique dances enjoyed by the Onges are to be seen

[113] [1] *Andaman and Nicobar Gazette*, 1 January 1904.

Even the unique dances enjoyed by the Onges are to be seen among the Jarawas, with the characteristic marking of the rhythm by slapping the calves against the buttocks. This does not seem to have been a feature of the Arioto dances, in which the rhythm was by the *pukuta yemnga*, a kind of convex shield made of the very hard and aromatic red wood (*Pterocarpus dalbergoides*) which the termites never seem to attack. I was able to obtain one of these shields, the last that the twenty-three surviving Arioto possessed and the only musical instrument in the islands. It is played by one man with his feet, while the dancers, male and female, form lines on each side of him a short distance away. Before use the convex face is decorated with lines of white ochre and chains of tusk shells are hung from a hole at the end opposite to the one on which the player's feet beat; from the same hole runs a cord, which he holds in his hand to prevent the instrument moving away from him as he beats. The players change from time to time as the dancers shuffle on and on for hours in the light of the resin torches. But apart from the instrument itself, the rhythmic hand-clapping and the dancers singing in unison are the same throughout the Andamans.

The women clap their hands in rhythm, and then slap one thigh with the open palm of one hand, the other hand clasping the wrist, singing all the time. The men dance in Indian file, beating the ground first with the right heel, then with the left, the toes barely raised from the ground, moving a short way forward each time. As they dance they lean forward, then with hands clasped and their fingers interlaced. There are variations, but the basic step is always the same.

One difference between the Onges and the Jarawas is that in the latter both sexes are naked, while the Onge women have in recent times adopted the *naguinegbe* or apron. Complete nudity was a characteristic of all the Negritos, including the Semang and Aetà, and the Jarawa migrations probably took place before the introduction of the *naguinegbe*.

The present inability of the three peoples to understand each other is more a question of pronunciation than of difference in actual words. To examine the question fully it would be necessary to collect a large number of words and analyse their affinity; meanwhile we know that despite their inability to understand each other there is a close resemblance between the language of the Jarawas and Sentinellese and that of the Onges. Strict isolation can lead to

197 comparatively rapid variation and it is now difficult to establish their linguistic connections outside the Andamans, but Africa can certainly be discounted, in view of the general weight of evidence against any Negro ancestry.

619 Like the Onges the Jarawas are divided into endogamous groups, each with its own name, corresponding to their communal huts, and each with their own territory for the purposes of hunting, fishing and gathering food. There is little reliable information [144] about their daily life or even their numbers; it is, however, certain and I cannot overstress this, that the Jarawas are Negrito in type,[1] with the same admixture as in the Onges.

000 Whoever or whatever they may be, the replacement of primitive expeditions by genuine attempts at pacification would, quite apart from the obvious humanitarian considerations involved, afford a unique opportunity for detailed study of a dying population in regeneration, and the refusal of an otherwise irrevocable progress towards final extinction.

174 But the problem of the Jarawas is merely one aspect of the problem of the Andamanese in general, and their connection with the Negritos both past and present. The Semang and the Aetà, as we have seen, resemble each other, and together resemble the Andamanese, in a number of essential points. Recent contacts with other influences in Malacca and the Philippines respectively have produced variations – such as the Semang use of traps and snares with which they take small animals, and also birds, which the Andamanese never touch. They have also taken to making refuges in the trees as a defence against wild animals, non-existent in the Andamans. Traps, poison, agriculture, fish-hooks, animal nets, are all late acquisitions, not found among the original Negritos. It was [114] thought by Brown that spears, used by the Semang, were also [411] unknown among the peoples of the Andamans, but I have myself [126] seen them used by the Onges, though admittedly I saw only a few, and very rough specimens; I did, however, manage to bring some back with me.

000 In the case of the canoes, the Semang and the Aetà seem to have

[1] On 11 January 1951 a Jarawa was killed at Lekeralarta on Middle Andaman and [142] the head is now in the Indian Museum in Calcutta. This head shows signs of beard, unlike those of two Jarawas held in the Nicobars since the September 1958 incident. Short, muscularly well-developed, strong and very black, Jarawas are normally beardless, as is usual in Negritos.

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completely lost the art of building them, probably by the same mechanism as the Jarawas, that is as a result of isolation in forest areas. The Semang sometimes prepare hasty bamboo rafts when they want to cross a river, however, and there do appear to be a few canoes among groups of Aetà living along the coasts. Facility of contact with neighbouring areas has brought about modification in both peoples, especially in the course of the last hundred years, whereas the complete isolation of the Andamans cannot be overstressed.

These later contacts, however, have not yet destroyed the ancient physical and cultural habits of the Semang and Aetà. The food of those who have remained nomadic in the forest still consists of roots, fruit, and whatever they can get by hunting and fishing. Some have certainly recently tended to settle, and have adopted a rude form of agriculture, but the rest have remained as primitive as the peoples of the Andamans, using digging sticks to get at the edible roots, and hooked sticks to get at the fruits on the trees. They do have axes with blades (now made of iron) which can split open tree-trunks to get at the honey inside or, when hafted on the end of a stick, to hollow out trunks to make vessels and clean off the exterior. But again, their bows and arrows, very similar to the ancient pattern, still remain their chief means of acquiring food.

The Negritos of Malacca and the Philippines make baskets, some of which are clearly copied from neighbouring peoples, while others correspond to the basketwork of the Andamans. The Onges, the finest of the Andaman basket workers, have two types of basket, one intended to last and one made purely for some temporary purpose. When they are on hunting or gathering trips outside Little Andaman they will hastily construct roughly made carriers for whatever they find. Anyone who saw, for example, these rough baskets on Rutland would assume reasonably enough that the Onge baskets are inferior to those of the peoples of Great Andaman, but in fact these purely temporary carriers, intended to be thrown away after their immediate use, are extremely well made. They are plaited over a frame of solid reeds, about two and a half centimetres in diameter, and split in half longways. The split reeds are arranged and tied in a star position to give the base and then bent upwards, the ends being joined to a circle of split reed, which forms the rim of the basket. Long ribbons of bark stripped from

285 anything handy are then woven over the frame, the size of the mesh being determined by the nature of the contents for which it is intended; the basket merely has to get the haul back to the camp, and is then thrown away. The real Onge baskets, however, are made with great care and are never carried on these expeditions. [171] They resemble the traditional Semang and Aetà baskets, now abandoned in favour of foreign types.

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CHAPTER FIVE

Harvest of Honey

The climate of the Andamans favours other things besides luxuriant vegetation. Myriads of insects and other tiny creatures are everywhere. The most important, and most dangerous for Europeans, are the mosquitoes, although the Andamanese are not worried by them. The most common is *Anopheles ludlowi*. These never move voluntarily more than a kilometre from their breeding ground, but the winds often carry them further afield. !36

On Little Andaman I saw five different species of flies. Their larvae fed just as well on vegetable refuse as on meat. I remember throwing away on the shore north of Labanar a coconut from which I had drunk the milk; two days later I found the inner pulp, still soft, crawling with larvae, which later turned into flies very like our own. By contrast on another occasion I noticed that a beautiful green and yellow lobster weighing two kilograms which was thrown up on to the beach did not sustain larvae.

In various places round the shores of the Andamans the so-called sand-flies are a considerable nuisance, even in the day time and in full sun. Although only two millimetres long, the bite of these blood-thirsty insects causes unbearable irritation for some days. Even dousing oneself in Flit has no effect. If one goes into the darkness of the foliage to escape them, where it is damp, one is at once attacked by leeches. Only complete destruction of the vegetation would eradicate them and the ticks and this is unthinkable. The Onges with their bare plastered bodies are reasonably well protected, however, and the fleas also seem put off.

On Little Andaman I encountered too the ravages of bright yellow ants, diaphanous and so small one could hardly see them, which invaded our stores of provisions and my collections, despite

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136 every precaution. Holes so small that a hair would hardly pass through presented no obstacle to them and the metal boxes with tightly fitting lids, in which I kept my insect specimens, proved mouse- and rat-proof but not ant-proof, with disastrous results. Everything they found edible was reduced to dust. Sugar attracted them most of all; it was no use keeping it in screw-top containers, apparently foolproof, as they merely crawled up the thread of the lid and reduced the sugar to a mass of bodies. Large sheets of drawing paper left on top of a box for a fortnight were soon perforated by innumerable holes, through which they laid eggs, covering the sheets underneath. When I turned the top sheet over I found the eggs underneath, tended by myriads of adult ants, so small that a few puffs were enough to blow them off. On the ground all one could see were tiny dots – the eggs – apparently motionless; but almost immediately these all disappeared, borne away by the invisible workers. Not one egg was left behind. No other animal would have been able, if disturbed, to recover every one of its eggs like these ants and carry them off to safety; some sort of corporate organization among them seems to be proof against any threat of danger.

Another species which I saw around Labanar were the so-called red ants of the tropics, *Oecophylla smaragdina*. They were everywhere and I was able to observe them closely both in the day time and at night. I first made the acquaintance of these terrible but wonderful creatures on my first landing on Little Andaman on 20 February 1951, with Dr S. S. Sarkar. In the absence of any Onges, and not knowing anything of the enemies waiting among the leaves, we approached the foliage near the shore. In a flash vicious red ants whose nest we had kicked under the leaves forced us to the defensive. We escaped unharmed, but I was fascinated by them.

True to their popular name, they are red, but a very pale colour, verging on gold, although the species also includes some black specimens (the males) and some of a brilliant green (the queens). To see these one has to break the nest open; only the red warlike workers are normally visible. Their bodies, little more than one centimetre long, are borne on long, graceful legs, which are always in frenzied motion day and night. One only has to approach an isolated ant going about its work on the ground or on the leaves

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(or even worse, about the nest) and it will fly into absolute paroxysms of rage. I was much amused by the pugnacity of those apparently insignificant creatures. The ones nearest to the intruder always stretch forward as far as they can towards him on their middle and back legs, heads raised, their two front legs threshing the air feverishly, as though desperate to get at the invader at the earliest possible moment. They strain every nerve to reach forward and as they do so even lower parts of the abdomen reach over towards the enemy ready to sting. No matter how big he is they will attack, and their pygmy rage becomes quite comical. Once they have found bare flesh they bite madly, bringing their sting down viciously at the same time.

They can even distinguish between clothes and bare skin and will run about like lightning in search of a place to sting. They can cover a man completely from head to foot in a few seconds. The two phases of the attack, the straining of the body towards the enemy and the actual biting and stinging, are repeated frenziedly over and over again, the smell of blood seeming to whip them up to further rage. Nevertheless, I could not help thinking how graceful and elegant these fascinating creatures were and it would be well worth while returning to Little Andaman to film their life cycle and bellicose habits.

Oecophylla smaragdina belongs to a group of 'weaver' ants found particularly in the tropics of Asia and Oceania. These sew leaves together to build their nests; as they work only at night it is difficult to observe them, but they can be made to weave in the day time simply by making a hole in the nest. Repair begins immediately. They use a substance formed in the salivary glands of the larvae, which emerges like silk thread and hardens in contact with the air. In the day time, with the heat of the sun and the drier atmosphere hardening occurs too quickly, which is why they prefer to work at night: an outstanding example of adaptation to the necessities of the situation.

After a series of observations, I managed to reconstruct the process by which they work. When they went to join two leaves, they form gangs of seven or eight workers to draw selected leaves from a healthy plant together. The workers form a chain, one behind the other, each holding the one in front of him in his mandibles, with the rear ant clinging to one leaf and the front ant ready

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136 to grasp the edge of another leaf and draw it to him. A series of these chains, working side by side with their efforts synchronized, are strong enough to draw two leaves together, all the heads of the chains gripping one leaf in their jaws and the rear pairs of feet clinging with their tiny, sharp hooks on to the other. If the two leaves are growing close together, a single row of ants side by side is enough and they seem instinctively to know how many are needed.

Once the edges are together, the weaving squad can begin work. Each ant is armed with a larva gripped tightly in its jaws, moving it to and fro like a shuttle so that the fine thread of liquid emerges over the joint between leaves, hardening almost before it reaches them. And so the 'weaving' with the larvae 'shuttles' continues until in the end the two leaves are joined firmly, one party holding the leaves together while the other joins them with the silken web. This is repeated until enough leaves are joined together in a sphere to form the nest, any odd gaps remaining being sealed with further layers of thread.

The weaving is done only by the hordes of workers, who are completely sterile throughout their life (the single queen enclosed with a few males in each colony lays the eggs). The amazing thing is that there appear to be no leaders superintending the work, or deciding what must be done at any given moment. Yet the work proceeds smoothly and silently, with no interruptions, as though done by a single craftsman, each ant obeying while none commands.

Equally fascinating, and far more destructive, are the termites, whose life cycle and activities are the same all over the world. The [342] Onges' communal huts, which would otherwise last for a considerable time, are constantly ravaged by them and reduced to dust under their onslaught. Their annual swarms are much the same on Little Andaman as elsewhere. Clouds of them rise out of the ground when the rains come and in mid-April every year I used to see myriads of them attracted by the lights of my camp on the north-east coast of the island. They would swarm round the camp, many landing on the table in front of me, while thousands more piled up on the ground below. The moment they landed they stopped dead, firmly planted on all six legs as though paralysed, and arched the lower part of their body up and over their back, touching their four wings one after the other with the tip of the abdomen. The

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wings suddenly dropped off along a predetermined line of fracture, 136
two to the left and two to the right. The whole process seemed to be some instinctive reflex movement triggered off by coming to land after the flight from their original hill. Then the termites began to walk quickly as though they had never had wings.

The casting of their wings is the signal for the males to look for the females. There follows a long nuptial 'march' culminating in the union of queen and males, identical with what I had seen among African termites, thousands of miles away.

Wherever they are, termites have a considerable effect on the [137]
vegetation; some plants flourish with the constant upheaval of the earth by the termites, while others cannot thrive in soil which is constantly turned over. Termite hills may consequently be quite bare of vegetation or covered with a dense jungle, according to species and location. It is most unwise to disturb a termite hill. A horde of defenders instantly assails the enemy, attacking him remorselessly with pincer-like jaws; if an attacking termite is pulled off its prey, the abdomen comes off in one's fingers leaving the head still attached to the victim, the jaws still biting viciously. Repair of the damaged hill begins immediately it is disturbed, tightly packed hordes of workers pouring out of the nest to the damaged area. Somehow news of the disaster spreads like wildfire throughout the hill, however large it may be, and like the red ants they obey implicitly some unexpressed order, following an instinct the mechanism of which is still quite unexplained.

The first impression of these hordes of repair workers is one of utter confusion, but in the mass of termites bumping into each other and apparently rushing about aimlessly each is motivated by one thing only – the repair of the nest as quickly as possible. Since termites need cover and darkness, this is done preferably with earth brought from inside the nest; but if necessary gangs of workers, chosen by some unknown mechanism from among the milling hordes, come out into the baking sun, contrary to all their instincts, and work from the outside, sacrificing themselves for the community.

Much remains to be learnt of this weird compelling mechanism, and I hope that others will be able to continue my observations in the Andamans, where there are endless opportunities for the uninterrupted study of these and other insects.

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136 In sharp contrast to the termites, with their highly developed social structure, is the solitary life of the fly-eating Hymenoptera. I saw one for the first time in my camp near Labanar. My Indian porters had put up a clothes-line and as soon as the washing had been taken down, the lines immediately became covered with flies; suddenly, as though attracted by the easy prey one of these insects appeared as if by magic. Half flying, half jumping, fluttering its wings very characteristically the whole time, it went from one end of the line to the other in pursuit of flies. Many of them managed to escape, only to alight again on the line and be chased a second time. In an instant they were seized and swallowed.

Smaller, but equally numerous, are various kinds of wasps, and their presence enabled me to continue some observations I had begun in Italy. Wasps look after their larvae very carefully, continuously putting food into the mouths of the dumpy, wiggling creatures. The larvae are in fact so voracious, continually thrusting their heads out of their cells for food, that they will accept food offered to them on the point of a needle, especially if the 'nurses' are removed from the nest.

Wasp larvae secrete silk like those of the red ants, but it is used only to seal the aperture of the cell in which the larvae grow. The sealing occurs spontaneously, in the day time or at night, at precisely the right stage of larval development, and takes about half an hour. The silk is ejected from the mouth, very fine and shining in the sun, and hardens almost immediately into a tiny white dome, closing the aperture of the cell. The larva inside then passes into the chrysalis stage and emerges as an adult wasp. To get out of the cell the young wasp attacks the centre of the seal with its mandibles, not just tearing it away, but actually eating it, so that its own silk becomes its first adult meal. Once emerged, it is at once ready to take its place in the work of tending new generations of larvae. It begins by passing the food brought into the nest by the workers to the young larvae, receiving the food in its mouth from the foragers and passing it to the next generation. And so the eternal cycle continues.

136 262 Besides the wasps, two varieties of bee are found on Little Andaman, the larger, yellow *Apis dorsata* and the smaller brown *Apis nigrocinta*. The former, common in Central and Southern India and the Malaysian archipelago, builds large nests, hanging from the branches of trees. Its honey is the best, clear and golden, though

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less plentiful and containing a great deal of wax, and is greatly prized by the Onges. The darker bees, common in China, Celebes, Borneo and beyond, build their nests in cavities in the rocks, or in tree-trunks. Their honey, darker and with less wax, is more plentiful, but not so fine; when there is enough of the golden honey the Onges ignore the darker variety.

Few of the fruits on Little Andaman contain much sugar, but the Onges eat more than enough honey to compensate any deficiency that would otherwise occur. Whatever the fruit in season, men, women and children climb happily about like acrobats, hanging in the trees to get at it and the honey that goes with it. To chop the tree down is, of course, easiest and the obvious first choice for any Onge. Failing this, and their hooked poles, they climb up the nearby lianas into the branches, or walk up the trunk – an easy feat for them with their very long arms and almost prehensile toes.

Although there are arak nuts and betel leaves in the forest, the Onges ignore them. They are the same variety as elsewhere; *Areca catechu* and *Piper betel*. The Nicobarese are so addicted to them that many have lips and teeth hideously deformed as a result, but this is quite unknown among the Onges, contrary to earlier reports. The appearance of addiction in the Nicobars may have occurred after the separation of the peoples.

With all these fruits the Onges consume vast quantities of honey from the two species of bee, *dorsata* and *nigrocinta*. During the rainy season they can only get at the darker, poorer honey of *nigrocinta*, which builds nests under boulders or in crevices of trees or rocks. The Onges' real honey orgies occur, therefore, in the dry season, when the honey birds (Indicationidae), common in Africa and all over Asia, lead them to the trees where the golden honey of *dorsata* is hidden.

When one of the Onges finds a nest of bees he puts a mark on the rock or tree as a sign of ownership. None of the others would then dare to take possession of it, for fear of punishment by the group,[1] but when the time comes to take the honey everyone helps in the hard work of getting at the nest and opening it up. On one trip from Labanar to Togalanghe, on 19 March 1954, the Onges pointed out over twenty *Nigrocinta* nests to me, all reserved ready for use

[1] However deep in the forest a crime is committed, it will inevitably be discovered in the end, and punished by banishment from the community.

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when the supply of *dorsata* diminished at the onset of the stormy season, when the gales lashing the branches dislodge the nests and hurl them to the ground.

Unlike the beekeepers of the civilized world, the Onges make no attempt to protect their bare bodies while they are extracting honey. Yet they are never stung, and watching them one felt in the presence of some age-old mystery, lost by the civilized world. I watched an Onge from the ground with my field glasses as he climbed up a tree to a *dorsata* nest and saw him, as it were, blowing on the bees round about the trunk as he went up. As he approached the nest they huddled round it in a protective cloud, hiding it completely from view. Suddenly, as the Onge's face came within twenty centimetres of the boiling, humming mass, the bees seemed to shrink back as he blew on them. Not one moved to attack as he gouged out the combs with his bare hands, throwing handfuls of bees out into the air. And then the whole cloud of bees gathered into a swarm and left the tree and the nest to the interloper.

The Onge stripped lengths of green bark from the lianas growing up the tree, and then broke the nest up. Tying the combs to his back with the strips of bark he lowered himself down to the ground, swinging like an ape from liana to liana. There, while his friends fell on the honey, he calmly cleaned himself down – with not one sting on him. This he did in a way unusual for the Onges, filling his mouth with water from a nearby pond and squirting it into his cupped hands, until he had enough in his hands for a perfunctory rub down. This method of washing is common in primitive peoples but advanced for the Onges. When they have been painting themselves with the usual fat and ochre paste, for example, the women will clean their hands to their satisfaction by wiping them on their *naquineghe*, while the men use the dogs' coats as a convenient towel.

In March 1952, in the middle of the honey season, I was on the west coast of Little Andaman, near Nachuge. Twelve Onges were with me, and when they noticed a bees' nest high up in a *Pterocarpus* the youngest of them at once climbed up after it. As soon as he saw that the combs were full of honey, with no larvae, he called for a container. With amazing speed he tore enough bark off the nearest liana with his teeth to make a cord over twenty metres long and the hollowed-out log was soon hauled up, to come down again crammed with combs brimming with pale golden honey, very

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sweet, and delicately flower-scented. No one waited for the climber to reach the ground. With my men and the Onges the party numbered twenty-two in all, every one of them hungry. The log was thirty centimetres across, and besides the combs there was a good four inches of honey in the bottom, but even so I only managed to set aside two litres for the man who did all the work, before the combs had all disappeared and the remaining liquid as well. The whole lot was gone in a matter of minutes. 222

What puzzled me was how the bees were quietened. I knew from personal observation that both the varieties of bee on Little Andaman could and did sting badly, and I knew that the Onges I had watched had done nothing deliberately to avoid stings.

In Man, the olfactory sense can detect minute amounts of iodoform, for example, but we are completely insensitive to other substances strongly repellent to flies, mosquitoes and other insects. Some similar mechanism must also operate in the case of bees. The Onges cannot understand anything of this, but they must possess some age-old, almost intuitive and innate knowledge, which they apply unconsciously. At some time someone must have found that the juice of a certain plant they call *tonjoghe*, apparently inodorous, has the power of deterring bees, and this knowledge, handed down from generation to generation, is applied with delightful simplicity. 222 824

In the forests of Little Andaman there are bushes of *tonjoghe* everywhere, and the Onge who is to go after the honey simply grabs a handful of the leaves and stuffs them into his mouth. With some vigorous chewing they are quickly reduced to a greenish pulp, which is smeared all over the body, particularly the hair. Another huge mouthful chewed on the way up and spat at the bees to make quite sure that they will be deterred even to the point of failing to attack the unsmeared bystanders. I have myself tried the leaves, and like the Onges found them quite tasteless and odourless. The Onges say that the 'magic' was revealed by a seer, and it is a curious fact that of all the luxuriant vegetation on the island only this one plant is effective.

I am unfortunately not in a position to say definitely to what species *tonjoghe* belongs. I took some plants to Port Blair, where they were planted in the Governor's garden; unfortunately before they could flower the then Governor left, and a new gardener 137 126

thought they were weeds and pulled them up. I never managed to see the plant in flower in the wild state, as this occurs at the height of the rainy season, and as no final definition is possible in the absence of the flower it remains unidentified.

The Onges take full advantage of the plant's properties as a bee-deterrent and in mid-March they eat honey, paint themselves, and dance, twenty-four hours a day. During these orgies I have seen a group of about sixty Onges demolish in a few days ten pigs and a dozen large, wooden vessels full of honey, with basket after basket of fish, caught every night by the women, who were apparently not in the least tired by the long daily treks into the forest after the honey. I can never look back on the Onges without a feeling of profound respect for their powers of digestion!

Yet another source of food for the islanders is the cicada. On Little Andaman there are a few species a little larger than the European variety and others rather smaller. The Onges collect the pupae as they emerge from the ground, usually in the mornings, and roast them as a great treat. They are actually very clean insects, which develop slowly under the earth over a period of years sucking lymph from the roots of the trees. When they emerge from the ground the pupae become leathery, but this presents no problem to the indomitable teeth of the Onges. Inside the cicada chrysalids are a mass of delicate tissues, so white and clean that one can understand the Onges' predilection for them.

On Little Andaman the cicadas chirp intermittently, with long silences; most of the day one hears nothing of them and when they suddenly start up the Onges fall absolutely quiet, terrified of frightening them away and losing their chrysalids.[1] In a few moments the whole forest suddenly echoes with a chorus of cicadas, as they all start up as one and then, a minute later, fall silent. Their intermittent chirping is not confined to the Andamans; it is a feature of several species throughout southern Asia. At Golpahar when I was in the middle of the forest excavating kitchen-middens I heard cicadas start up every day at 6.30 p.m., and then stop until the following day. In the mountains of South India, on the slopes

[1] The Onges do not seem to share the superstitions reported by Man and Brown among the Arioto, who appear to believe in fantastic connections between cicadas, the sun, and storms.

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of Pushpaghiri ('mountain of the flowers'), I saw workmen using the cicadas to mark the end of their shift, so regular were they in starting up. The whole valley echoed with their chirping for three minutes, and promptly at the signal everyone stopped work. 825 136

As well as cicada chrysalids, the Onges love the white larvae of the long-horned grasshoppers (Tettigonidae) which are common all over the island. They are the size of a man's finger and the larvae, like those of the cicadas, feed exclusively on vegetable matter and are very tasty. I have watched the Onges collecting them and managed to see something of the life cycle of the Longhorns. Both the larvae and the chrysalids live in cylindrical holes in trees, which the larvae bore out by eating at the wood. Before turning into a chrysalis the larva prepares the way out for the adult insect, which is less well adapted for gnawing. The chrysalids themselves seem determined to take up as little space as possible; as in all the Longhorns the future elytra are clearly visible on the creature's back, with the membranous wings, and the three pairs of legs are always curled up, with the first and second pairs very close to each other. The third pair is further away, clearly so as to balance the embryonic antennae. These are very long and spring from the sides of the head, passing down on either side of the thorax, between the first and second pairs of legs, to finish neatly coiled in front of the thorax, touching the elytra and the second pair of legs. Curled up like this into two or three coils, according to sex, the thread-like, whitish antennae look like intestinal worms inside the chrysalids. Each pair of legs lies motionless against the thorax, the feet touching in a precise line down the centre of the body. When the creature wakes from its long sleep, all the parts unfold, and the elytra and other external parts harden and colour according to the species. A new stage in the life cycle, shorter but more intense, has begun. [262] [222] 136

The Onges are not interested in the mole-crickets, but I found them fascinating. It is known that animals can find their nests or their usual haunts even if they are moved quite considerable distances away and deliberately confused, but the mechanism is not yet fully understood. It is likely that the same mechanism operates whether in the air, or on the ground, or below ground. The mole-cricket, for example digs long galleries underground and does not often come out into the open. The galleries are interconnected,

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136 enabling fair distances to be covered underground. It is not difficult to catch a mole-cricket, mark it, put it on the ground some distance away, and then recapture it in the original place. As it travels underground, sight can play no part in the mechanism, and in fact it burrows down as soon as it is put down on the ground. Its tunnels are not far down, and are easily damaged by heavy rain, animals or human feet, and so on. When this happens the insect closes the entrance to the damaged tunnel and digs a new one parallel to it, digging connecting galleries to the other tunnels, and it will do this, however many times the tunnel is damaged, as though determined to keep to the same line of direction.

Very different are the fireflies, which gave me a strange experience at the beginning of March 1953. I was with some Indians on a hunting expedition at low tide among the mangrove swamps near Berié-Abdalù on the east coast of Little Andaman. Night fell while we were still in the swamps, suddenly, as it always does in the tropics. There was a mist, and encouraged by the exceptional stillness of the air a shower of lights suddenly appeared all round us, twinkling in the air and on every leaf, as far as the eye could see, lit as if by magic. The effect was even more vivid than the phosphorescence of the sea that I had often admired. A confusion of strange sparks of light passed silently to and fro, and some of the city-bred Bengalis were terrified. To quieten them, I called them to a nearby plant, which was glowing like all the rest. As we approached we could see thousands of tiny specks of light moving endlessly to the edges of the leaves and branches and darting off into the air. I had seen fireflies before in a number of places but even so I could not take my eyes off these clouds of them, massed on every leaf and twig in sight.

The Onges, with their fear of the darkness, never see the fireflies in the mangrove swamps; but at certain times of the year there are millions of them round their camps and curiously enough the islanders attach no special significance to them. Every spring I spent in the island I saw fireflies, but not in large numbers. These were the males, which are winged, unlike the females. Once they reach the forest, they soar so high into the air that it is impossible to follow them, but the lights of the camp drew them down within sight. I never saw any females, easily distinguishable from the males as their light is continuous, whereas that of the males is

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intermittent. The constant flights of the males into the treetops made me think that the females were up there, but I was unable to confirm this. The fireflies will always remain for me one of the most attractive things about the forests of the Andamans. 136

One could write whole books about all the insects and their nightly concerts. On the *Ficus* of Little Andaman live the caterpillars of a very beautiful moth *Antherea paphia*, one of the Saturnidae; these are the silkworms which produce Tasar (or tussore) silk. On these trees they spin their silky cocoons, stronger than those of our European silkworms. Unlike the European *Saturnia pyri*, which leaves the plant before it goes into its cocoon, the Andaman variety remains on it. To avoid falling to the ground, the caterpillars always chew the leaves without weakening the edge to which they are clinging; one false nibble and they would plunge to the ground. As they enter the cocoon stage they take even greater precautions, crawling back to where the leaves join the stem and spinning a ring of silk in the joint. Then they run a thread down the dorsal vein of a leaf and attach the cocoon to it, so that even if the leaf is blown off by the gales the cocoon remains attached to the twig by its thread.

As the *Ficus* sheds its leaves in stages, and is therefore never entirely without leaves, the caterpillars appear twice a year, once in spring and once in the autumn. The butterflies from the first brood appear in mid-September and those from the second in mid-February, the only difference between the two broods, being the duration of the cocoon stage.

When it emerges from its cocoon the butterfly takes a few steps to the nearest support, where it spreads its wings to dry off. Then it sleeps for two days, waking in the night of the second day. As it sleeps the antennae, wire-like in the female, thicker in the male, lie flat against the head behind the eyes, becoming erect only as the butterfly wakes. The females are quiet and show no sign of flight, although they have large wings. The males, however, are restless, and keep circling, mating on their first flight. The females are usually fertilized and die as soon as they have laid their eggs on the plant where they were born. Virgin females which I kept in a case attracted males from many kilometres away, as with our *Saturnia pyri*. The males know unhesitatingly which are the virgin females, although it is not known how they do so. [126]

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136 For the greater part of the year crickets and frogs fill the nights with wave after wave of placid, homely sound, tenor and baritone in full and solemn chorus. Within one area of a few kilometres there are more crickets than the entire human population of the world. Only the males chirp; the females are silent. The song may be for the purpose of attracting the females, but I rather doubt this, for they sing not only before, but also during and after mating. Alone or in chorus crickets will always sing, right up to the moment of death.

The general rule in all the various species of cricket which I have collected in various parts of the world is that only the males chirp. Very rarely both males and females sing; in other rare cases, neither sex sings. However great the physical variations between the species, their mating habits vary very little.

In the Andamans, however, the noise even of the crickets is drowned by the amphibia, particularly the green frogs. Like the crickets, they never sing alone, but always in chorus, led by those with the loudest voice. At fairly regular intervals a few odd frogs will start up; sometimes the chorus is lost, but only for a short while, and then it returns in full force, drowning the individual singers. Is this their collective homage to the fair sex, the females choosing the champions who lead the choir? I do not myself consider this a satisfactory explanation; in the Andamans at least the females normally behave as though the singing does not exist, even while the males work themselves up into a frenzy of croaking.

126 I managed to collect fairly large numbers of all these vocal
136 creatures, particularly the insects, for the Institute of Zoology of the University of Naples, and it appears that all are known species common in the neighbouring islands and land masses. Insects are easily spread by the wind over considerable areas if they are caught up in an air current while in flight; I remember one October in the Gulf of Guinea, over three hundred miles from the nearest land, I caught considerable numbers of large insects, blown towards the ship by the wind and attracted by the lights. Borne by the monsoon winds, the insects of southern Asia and Indonesia must have drifted across to the Andamans long ago and flourished in the lush forests.

136 Needless to say, the abundance of insect life on the Andamans makes the archipelago a birds' paradise. Like the insects on which they live their song echoes through the forests day and night, to

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the background rhythm of the woodpeckers tapping on the trunks. 136
I knew that they did this when seeking food, but it was the Onges, natural observers of wild life, who convinced me that the tapping could sometimes be unconnected with foraging. Wherever I camped there were always large trees nearby and with the aid of field glasses it was a simple matter to keep an eye on the woodpeckers, which varied in size from some smaller than our sparrows to others, brilliantly coloured and bigger than pigeons.

One persistent tapper on Little Andaman is a beautiful black woodpecker with a bright red tuft on its head, *Dryocopus martius*, also found in Asia and parts of Europe. I captured some that were [126] thirty-five centimetres long, bigger than any of the other local species. Another, equally common, was slightly smaller than our blackbird and a glorious chestnut colour all over. A little black and white one was even more numerous. I often saw a variety of *Dendrocopus major*, with black and white body, red tuft on the head and a striking crimson feather under the tail. Others were mainly green, always with the red tuft on the head.

All of them hammer on the tree-trunks with their beaks and it is not fully understood why they do so. Tapping in search of insects can be heard the year round and the sound is similar to that made when the nest is being hollowed out. The other form of tapping, true drumming in the musical sense of the word, is only heard in the mating season and is infinitely louder. The Onges connect this [825] sound with reproduction, although they have not grasped the connection between mating and birth. It can be heard over three hundred metres away, while the tapping for food or nest-building carries only for a short distance.

When the bird is breaking through the bark in search of food or hollowing out the nest, the beak usually strikes the trunk at an angle and at irregular intervals. The bird throws its whole strength into each blow, lifting its head right back every time to strike even harder with the next blow. The blows are usually struck first from the right, three or four in quick succession, and then three or four from the left, to dislodge a chip of bark or wood. When the woodpecker nears the larva he is after, still hidden under the bark, the blows may become perpendicular. In nest-building a hollow is cut out of wood, often seven or eight centimetres deep in the case of the larger species, and large enough in diameter to admit the bird. Then

136 the hole is enlarged downwards, still the same width, for thirty centimetres or so, to end in an oval cavity large enough to take the incubating female. In both cases all the tapping is done while the bird clings on to the trunk with its claws, which have reversible digits; it is balanced by the tail with its hard, bristle-tipped feathers.

The musical drumming during the mating season is rhythmic, and less violent. The bird selects a hollow trunk and will return to the same one for months. The beak strikes at the rate of about seven to ten blows per second and always in one place, so that no bark is chipped out. The sound diminishes in intensity from the first blow to the last, unlike the food- or nest-drumming. Like the cicada the bird uses its own body as a sound box to aid reverberation, filling itself with as much air as possible. As part of the flight mechanism, all birds have air cavities connected to their lungs and in the woodpecker the system is extremely well developed. These cavities help to increase the vibrations made by drumming on the wood. The head is held at the right angle to obtain the best reverberation (not the best angle for chipping out bark, as when the bird is looking for food), and the bird itself vibrates with the wood, absorbing the short sound-waves and increasing the resonance.

136 Although to the naturalist there is enough in the wild life of the
825 Andamans for endless studies of everything from cuckoos to par-
[861] rots, sea snakes, shells with their beautiful spiral patterns – and the wealth of material almost overwhelms one – it must be admitted that the Onges see all the beauty around them mainly in terms of food.

They will search for hours for the nests of the salangana or *Collocalia esculenta*, the swallow which builds well-known edible nests so greatly prized in many parts of the world. The bird secretes a gummy saliva, which hardens when exposed to the air, and it is of this that it builds its nest in caves near the sea, ejecting saliva on to the roof of the caves. The substance acts in Man as an aphrodisiac, which may account for the value placed upon swallows' nests in
36 China. The nests are found usually in the darkest parts of the caves, hanging from the roof, sometimes seven or eight in a bunch. It is not known why these swallows like to nest in the dark, or how they manage to find their own eggs and young when they return to the cave after foraging, or are driven away from the nest by intruders such as snakes. It seems on the face of it impossible for snakes to

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climb up the roof of the cave, but they do. I collected a number, all *Trimesurus viridis*, and now in the Institute of Zoology of the University of Genoa. I had to pull them off the roof by the tail, as they were stuck fast on the rough surface of the rock. The snakes devour both eggs and young of the swallows, but the parents invariably return to the right nest, even if the contents are gone. When disturbed the salangana, tiny insect-eating birds with very long wings, fly in a tight flock towards the mouth of the cave, where they can be easily knocked down or trapped.

136 [126]

Below the nests there is always a thick layer of guano, crawling with insects and built up over the centuries by generations of birds using the same nesting places. The nests, about five to six centimetres in diameter and very small inside, normally contain one egg, rarely two or three. When we detached the nests from the roof, the young, instead of trying to escape, clung fast to the nest with their claws, cowering in the bottom and staring at us.

To several nests with only one egg, I added another. When I returned a few days later I found the interloper being happily cared for by the foster parents, showing that as is usually the case the parent birds recognize only the nest and accept the contents of it without question. Outside the nest, however, they fail to recognize even their own offspring, and in carnivorous species may even eat them. The young of the salangana are tended by the parent birds for only a few days after hatching, and as soon as they begin to move about outside the nest all recognition is permanently lost.

It is somewhat surprising that the bird populations of the Andamans differ considerably from island to island. The establishment of such marked, almost specific differences as are now apparent between birds clearly originally of the same species must have taken a very long time indeed and can only be explained if one assumes – justifiably, from my observations – that many species roam less widely than one would expect. The pigeon of Little Andaman (*unique* to the Onges) is surprisingly sedentary, so that varieties in the various islands have developed as isolates and differ considerably. That of South Andaman, for example, is smaller than that found on Little Andaman, while those of Car Nicobar are larger still. And in a particular area fifteen kilometres west of Port Blair I repeatedly caught pigeons which were absolutely emaciated with their intestines loaded with tapeworms, whereas outside this

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136 restricted area I never found one. Another pigeon, all white apart from the wings and tail, on the other hand, migrates regularly as far as Sumatra and Java, yet still fails to produce local species.

On the whole, there is considerable zoological and botanical uniformity between the two hundred and four islands in the archipelago, even the furthest apart. One striking feature is the complete absence of native large mammals and of any traces of such in the geological past. There are, for example, no felines except *Paradoxurus*, the jungle cat, rather smaller than the domestic cat, which lives along the coasts. It prefers marine prey and roams the beaches at night after fish and crustacea, leaving a long trail of footprints. Sometimes it will kill lobsters larger than itself, and in the morning one sees the remains that the sea has not washed away or the rats gnawed. This is significant, as the jungle cat and rats were clearly the only mammals on Little Andaman until the recent deliberate introductions, and it is interesting that the cat incidentally feeds and helps to perpetuate the rats on which it preys. Both, unlike the great mammals, have survived the gradual restrictions of area imposed by the continual fragmentation of the archipelago, by virtue of their greater adaptability to 'marine' existence. So, too, have the reptiles and amphibia managed to survive – all closely related to the species found on the land mass of which the Andamans were originally part.

In the case of amphibia many species have been cut off in the archipelago perhaps for thousands of years, and yet have nearly all remained identical with those of the continents from which they came. One example is *Bufo melanostictus*, the common toad of Asia. I found them the same on Great and Little Andaman as in Bengal, Assam, Ceylon and other parts of Asia, and unlike the birds there is no difference between the toad populations of the various islands.

The same is true of the reptiles except that the same species, in Asia highly poisonous, often lethal within an hour, are somewhat less poisonous in the Andamans, although they can still cause severe discomfort.

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CHAPTER SIX

Food from the Sea

Around the islands, corals stretch out under the water, which is clear and transparent to a depth of several metres so that a riot of colour is clearly visible from the surface. Dazzling as the spectacle is, the first thing that strikes one is the sheer abundance of the coral: it grows slowly, and into the most fantastic shapes. The colours range from white to cream and brown, like leather, or to purple and brilliant blue in streaks tipped with vivid orange, always harmonious, as though gigantic multicoloured flowers have been scattered among the reefs. 133

Many of the corals are similar to those of the Mediterranean in colour and shape, but none have any commercial value for the traders, who look for highly ornamental effects. While the corals invade the rocks in endless masses wherever the water is clear, there are none at the mouths of the rivers. Here they are killed by the impurities brought down to the sea from inland after the floods. This explains the narrow, deep, channels running between the coral formations, corresponding to the flow from the river mouths. Along a coastline that stretches for well over a hundred kilometres I found only two of these channels, one in the north and one in the north-east of the island. Since their existence marks the absence of underwater coral reefs the Indian navy marked them with buoys in my presence in 1954.

All round Little Andaman the ebb tides reveal an expanse of coral reefs stretching as far as the eye can see, which are partially submerged for a few hours every day. Progress over these reefs is both difficult and dangerous. There are edges as sharp as glass everywhere, ready to pierce the skin at the slightest touch, and here and there submerged potholes, which vary in depth from three

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133 to six metres or more, with sudden vertical drops and dangerous overhangs. It is here, however, that underwater life is at its most 133 beautiful. Swarms of fish, painted in fantastic variegated stripes, 136 spots and patches in imitation of their surroundings, live among these caverns, rushing about in the wells of deep water. When they are pursued by bigger fish, the shoals will leap suddenly out of the water, only to be caught by the gulls who are always lying in wait for them. I have watched the shoals from the shore, and seen them leap out of the sea to lie gasping on the sand, dying quickly in the heat.

136 Where there are channels in direct communication with the open sea, small sharks slightly over a metre in length move in to meet any swimmers, though a clap of the hands is enough to put them to flight. Fish weighing several kilograms hide in the recesses of the [226] rocks bordering the corals, but they quickly emerge if poked with a stick, and the Onge women have an ingenious system of catching them. Rocks sticking up out of the water swarm with crustacea and tiny molluscs. Apart from the crabs, I was struck by their poor relations, the hermit crabs, comical tenants of all kinds of shells. One species, common in Little Andaman but rare on Great Andaman, is a beautiful tomato red all over, while others are bluish or grey.

The underwater world round the islands is completed by large numbers of several Holothuria, lazy, but conspicuous, and the huge bivalve molusc, *Tridacna* or Giant Clam. Some of these are anything up to a hundred years old and well over a metre in diameter, and weigh between two and three hundredweight. Always open, and incapable of moving from place to place, they feed by means of a multicoloured 'fringe' attached to the hem of each shell, the beating cilia which wave unceasingly causing eddies in the surrounding water and so drawing in plankton from a wide radius. Under normally calm conditions, this process of drawing in and swallowing plankton goes on without stopping, day and night. The huge molluscs look like simple baskets of blue, red, green and white flowers set on the sea bed, but they are in fact terrible creatures. If a man's hand or a foot should be sucked into the quite strong eddy the 'fringe' of cilia immediately folds back and the *Tridacna* suddenly closes like a giant eye silently, viciously, and so violently as to crush completely the limb caught between the two

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valves as they close. The strength of *Tridacna* is terrifying; an Onge 136
friend of mine lost all the toes of his right foot when he inadvertently touched a *Tridacna* while swimming under water, and they have even been known to cut a man in half. Unfortunately, the creatures do not require a great depth of water and are found a few metres from the surface, even in the highest tides, so that they are a real danger.

To describe the underwater life of the Andamans in detail would itself fill a book. The shells alone, monovalves and bivalves alike, are of innumerable kinds and would arouse the enthusiasm of any collector. Various kinds of elegant and brilliantly coloured cowries are everywhere, moving about slowly at the water's edge. In a few hours one can gather sackfuls of all kinds of perfect shells, each one more beautiful than the last.

Pterocera of various species abound among the reefs. They are always small, seldom reaching thirty centimetres including the strange finger-like protuberances which give them their name of 'finger-shells'. They are always drab and inconspicuous from above, but the inside of the shell is a beautiful coral red. But they are always easy to pick out because of their protuberances.

I myself learned a sharp lesson from a finger-shell. I had always wondered why the shell had so many of these apparently useless protuberances, and one taught me how wrong I was: these 'fingers' perform a vital function in the search for food. The finger-shell has a strong muscular foot, with which it closes its shell when it retreats inside. When the opening is closed, only the outer surface of the foot can be seen, like an operculum, brown and horny. The secret of the protuberances lies in their combined action with the propulsive power of the foot: this is capable of throwing the creature with great rapidity in any direction, but usually sideways. Once it has noticed an open bivalve, usually one of the many local pinnae, about thirty centimetres long, the *Pterocera* approaches cautiously and with a sudden rush thrusts one or two of its protuberances, usually the lateral ones, deeply into the aperture of the pinna. Once impaled, the bivalve, normally ready to barricade itself in its shell at the slightest touch, remains at the mercy of the *Pterocera*. The latter calmly prises open the blocked aperture, gradually inserting its prong deeper and deeper, and consumes the tender flesh of its helpless victim. (Another gastropod, *Murex*

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136 *fortispine*, uses a similar action on the larger bivalves. Its shell is equipped with a very effective form of tin-opener, which it keeps polished by vigorous rubbing.)

I watched a *Pterocera* attentively scrutinizing the hand holding it. After exploring it very carefully, the creature tried to free itself by beating violently with its foot, causing considerable pain. I held one by one of its protuberances, which was like a large right-angled hook. Suddenly, while my attention was held by a shoal of fish, I felt a sharp pain on the back of my hand. Taken by surprise, I watched the creature to try and discover what it had done. From a furrow at the base of one large front hook, a little to its left, I saw a tentacle emerge, able to turn in any direction, with a retractable eye at its tip. The eye, after a few exploratory movements, fixed its gaze on the place on my hand the creature intended to hit, and then the foot began to beat wildly on my hand, time and time again, causing a quite surprising degree of pain.

462 226 224 It is during the honey feasts, when the tides are exceptionally low and the seas calm, that the womenfolk come into prominence. While the men normally do all the hunting for game and large fish, using arrows and harpoons, the women, with their nets, catch the smaller fish in the rivers and marshes, and among the coral reefs at low tide. Their contribution to the everyday diet is by no means negligible, and during the season of very low tides their daily haul is tremendous.

262 825 The importance of fish to the Onges is shown by the fact that their word for it, *ciogbe*, is also used to mean food in general, and clearly dates back to the time before the arrival of the pigs on the island, when fish and sea food in general was the basis of their diet. [251] So plentiful is it that even at the height of the season the most they do in the way of preserving anything for future use is to expose the fish to smoke in order to deter flies from laying eggs on it for a day or two.

462 226 Only on very rare occasions do the men help in the net-fishing, and then only when they can completely fill the canoes with fish very quickly. I saw it happen for the first time on 2[illegible] March 1953, in the great coral reef near Nachuge, just as it happens all over the island at this time of year, when the pilchard shoals are so far inshore that there are not enough canoes to hold the catch. As the

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tide goes down, the shoals are caught in the reefs stretching out to sea all round the island and the Onges leave everything to man-handle the canoes from pool to pool and fill them to overflowing. The water is almost saturated with fish, and the Onges go on and on until they have nothing more they can use to hold the catch. Nowhere else in the world have I seen anything like this wholesale slaughter.

The pilchards of the Andamans are rather larger than usual, some weighing as much as half a kilogram or more. The Onges catch them regardless of size and then sort them into lengths before cooking (cooking, needless to say, without stopping to gut them). Men, women and children work feverishly, plunging their hands into the heaving mass of fish so that they reek of it for days, together with the dogs, whose coats become the inevitable hand-towels.

Every available vessel is used for the cooking, and the rest of the haul is cooked directly over hot ashes. The biggest are cooked alone; the smaller ones, in batches of half to one kilogram, are wrapped in big fleshy leaves, tied up with vegetable fibres and cooked for ten minutes or so, turned regularly all the while. To boil the fish, an entire netful of fish roughly equal in size is plunged into boiling water, and boiled as usual far too long for our taste.

Everyone cooks and eats at the same time until (temporarily) unable to eat any more, when the rest of the haul is laid on improvised racks with fires of green wood making smoke underneath. When, a few days later, all is gone, fishing begins again. And so life goes on for weeks, until the shoals have passed the islands.

The real fishing, however, is done by the men. The women use small nets about fifty centimetres in diameter, and about the same depth. The opening consists of a pliable cane, barely three centimetres in diameter, bent into a circle and tied with the ends crossing each other and projecting about twenty centimetres to form the handles. Each woman handles two nets, one held between the legs and the other in one hand, while the other hand pokes with a stick into the crevices in the reefs under the water to drive out the fish which have taken refuge as the tide goes out. Once found the fish are killed – very simply, by biting them between the

226 eyes to crack their skulls – and thrown into the small basket every woman carries on her back, hung from the usual cord round her forehead.

The fish the women catch are all the varicoloured species which always haunt the coral shallows, bright red, blue, green, black and white in a wonderful range of stripes and patterns. The Onges eat them with no respect for design, and I must confess that I myself found them very good.

226 252 Besides fish, the women catch molluscs, crustacea, lobsters, crayfish, crabs and even some species of hermit crabs (the latter are baked alive in their adopted shells, and only the abdomen is edible). Lobsters are plentiful, some striped with green and blue and weighing up to half a kilogram, with a very delicate flavour, but the Onges do not seem to be greatly interested in them. They prefer fish and crabs; *Pterocera*, again baked alive, are great favourites and I quite saw why the kitchen-middens are full of *Pterocera* shells.

227 The men prefer to fish with bows and arrows made specially for the purpose, and very different from those intended for game, the shaft being made of very light hollow cane, instead of the solid wood demanded by the mechanics of the game-arrow. The fishing arrow is made of three parts, bound tightly into one. The point, now made of iron,[1] is about four to five millimetres in diameter and [283] twenty to twenty-five centimetres long. Like that of the arrow harpoon, it is fixed by a tightly bound thread to a small stick or foreshaft about fifteen to twenty centimetres long and slightly smaller in diameter than the shaft proper (usually eighty to eighty-five centimetres long), so that the overall length of the finished [314] arrow is a hundred and ten centimetres or more. The binding [237] threads are held fast by a mixture of resin and beeswax, coloured with ochre in the case of new arrows.

227 I tried giving the Onges hooks and lines; they were intrigued by 123 my demonstration of how to leave lines overnight and draw them 177 in next morning loaded with fish, but no more. This was not superstition or fear of the unknown but sheer adherence to established ooo custom. They have neither incantations, amulets nor propitiating

[237] [1] Formerly made of *Tridacna*, or very hard wood. Some of the latter are still to be found, but all the other types of head – fish quills, bone, and *Tridacna* – have disappeared long ago.

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They have neither incantations, amulets nor propitiatory signs to help them. Even the *marque de chasse* found on their arrow heads had no major significance; in all probability they merely served to indicate the best arrow and at most they served as a warning to the womenfolk not to touch them (it is interesting that I never saw any woman or child with a bow or an arrow). But this is as far as they go towards superstition, and its only effect is to enhance the division of duties between the sexes.

The Onges, unlike the Jarawas and Arioto, have never lost the art of canoe making, and the building of a new canoe is an important matter. The selected tree, always one of the three species of *Sterculia*, is felled and then hollowed out slowly and laboriously with a rudimentary form of hatchet, the work often being done by one man alone. The weight of the felled trunk makes it necessary for the work to be done where it falls, but after much patient whittling away the resulting canoe is extremely light, with thin walls, though still not light enough to be carried to the water, never far away. A series of short logs are used as rollers in the age-old way and the builder's friends all gather to help clear a way through the undergrowth and prepare the rollers. Only a few are needed; all is soon ready and the Onges watch delightedly as the canoe glides away down to the shore. These canoe-ways often provided me with an easy path to the sea if I came upon them in the forest. Sometimes they led not to shore but to one of the many creeks, where salt water and marine fauna penetrate miles inland and make it easy for the Onges to launch their canoes from a point far from the sea.

The Onge canoe, hollowed out in one piece, is a survival of the ancient canoes of the Neolithic age, found in Switzerland and elsewhere in Europe. It survives in the Andamans, and through Oceania to the Americas, in northern Asia (notably among the Ainu) in south-west Asia, and even in south-east Africa.

The canoe has no distinction between bow and stern, and is commonly navigated from either. At each end of the canoe a crude platform juts out, on which the harpoon throwers stand. Very careful attention is paid to the float, which is fragile, and is therefore kept on the lee side. The object of it is to prevent the canoe from capsizing, which it is otherwise very liable to do owing to its round keel, always left in the natural shape of the tree-trunk. I had some experiences of rough seas in one of these canoes

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501 – I saw the float roll over my head and the entire contents of the canoe, men and cargo alike, rolled out into the water. The Onges regard this as a great joke; the canoe cannot sink, it is easily righted, and they have neither clothes nor baggage, so why worry? But even so, their canoes are far more stable in the water than any European-type craft of the same size.

When the sea is rough the Onges all move to the side of the canoe which carries the float and one lies out on the float itself to prevent it from rising out of the water as the trunk rolls. Very light waves will swamp the canoe, but it never sinks, as the float always remains on the surface, with the occupants of the canoe clinging to it. I had to do this myself on several occasions, while the Onges dived after all my baggage in great glee.

All over the world local craft are always the best adapted to local conditions. Several times I was able to land on Little Andaman in stormy weather only by leaving a modern sloop for the Onges' frail craft, identical with those in which they reached and spread over the archipelago in ancient times.

So important are their canoes to the Onges that they will expend what is for them an enormous amount of time and energy in choosing the right tree and removing the branches and the lianas twining round it. Then they wait with (for them) quite extraordinary patience for the scars to heal and become watertight before they fell the tree and begin the real work of making the canoe.

[184] On Little Andaman the single outrigger canoe is the only craft used. On Great Andaman the Jarawas, who lost the art of canoe-building during their centuries of enforced hiding in the forests, only put together very primitive rafts, hastily constructed when they have to cross a creek or a river, and then abandoned on the far side to the termites.

These rafts are merely a number of tree-trunks laid side by side and bound together with lianas and *Ficus* bark. I have seen them lying abandoned on Middle Andaman and in 1938 one was taken by the police on the occasion of the capture of three Jarawa children. Extremely roughly made, these rafts are never taken out to sea, but in recent years they have been enough to encourage the spread of the Jarawas towards North Andaman.

Among the few surviving Negritos on North Sentinel the Onge

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type of canoe is the only craft seen. I saw some hauled up on the beach, identical with the ones I had seen the Onges building, even to the *Nautilus* shell as a baler. In face of this and other evidence there can be little doubt that the people of North Sentinel are descended from the Onges, possibly driven off course by some storm, and then isolated on the island. 501 [237]

The Arioto, copying Indian and Burmese craft, have in recent times come to modify the original canoe somewhat, deepening the gunwales and doing away with the float. The result is a craft which though it remains small is unlikely to fill with water in heavy seas. But even the Arioto prefer the single outrigger canoe for sea voyages. 501 177

The only real seafarers, however, are the Onges, who make regular hunting trips as far as Rutland. In the past they sometimes made devastating raids as far as Car, but these have died out over the past hundred years as their numbers have dwindled. There is certainly no doubt that at one time the Onges undertook considerable sea voyages in canoes the same as they build today. 484 501 [184] [721]

The work involved in the building of these canoes is, as I have said, enormous. The preparatory work on the tree, and then the felling, are hard enough without proper equipment. I gave my Onge friends some long-handled wood-cutter's axes, to help in this part of the work. In their enthusiasm they chopped so hard they soon broke the handles and chipped some of the tempered blades, so that I had to take them to Port Blair for repair! But the real work begins with the working of the felled trunk. Then a small and very crude form of hatchet[1] has to be used, flaking off small strips like a plane; fire is never used to assist in the process. Fortunately the *Sterculia* wood usually chosen is soft. 396 412 [461]

The original shape is not touched after the required length, calculated so as to allow for the harpoon-thrower's platform at each end, has been cut. The irregularities of the trunk are left intact, so that the canoes look distorted and even ugly despite their seaworthiness. During the preliminary stage of stripping the bark great care is taken not to chip the outer ring of wood immediately below the bark; this is smooth and fine-grained, and more waterproof than the inner layers. One danger is that as the wood dries 396

[1] The blades used to be made from *Tridacna* shell, but in more recent times they have come to be made of iron from wrecked ships cast up on the beaches. [237] [177]

One danger is that as the wood dries
396 out small cracks will open up and let water through the end of the
[314] canoe; these the Onges stop with resin.

Then comes the decision which side of the trunk is to be the keel. Once this has been decided, the upper surface is chipped flat and the hollowing out of the centre section begins, leaving the flat platform at each end. The finished shell is often no more than three centimetres in thickness, increasing slightly under the end platforms to protect the ends of the canoe as they grate on the reefs.

The float and booms, which project considerably, are for obvious reasons attached after the canoe has been rolled to the water. The
[824] booms are made of heavy hard wood, but the float itself, made of *Hibiscus tiliacus* or *Sterculia villosa*, has to be not only light, so as to float, but soft, so that the fixing pegs can be driven in easily. These are set into the float in a series of triangles, held in securely by the expansion of the wet wood and the upward force of the sea. The free ends of the pegs are then lashed together in groups of three so that each triangular set becomes a pyramid. The outrigger booms are set parallel to each other; each runs right across the hull, firmly lashed into holes bored on each side of the canoe high in the gunwales, and extends at least three metres out on one side. The apex of each pyramid formed by the float pegs is lashed up to one of the booms, holding the float fast to the booms above it.

The canoes have no reinforcing ribs either inside or out, and because of their inherent fragility they are never left in the water; they are dragged up over specially cleared runways to the communal huts near the shore. There they are left lying in the sun among the Ipomeas.

[314] The direct heat dries them so rapidly that the wood invariably develops cracks, and the Onges resort patiently to their invariable remedy; resin is smeared over the cracks inside and out, and reinforced by a network of fibres laid on top, with a further layer of resin to seal them over.

[237] Once on shore the canoes are left lying till they are next wanted, but with everything ready; the invaluable *Nautilus* is ready to bale out, so too are the point, cord and shaft of the harpoon, the large flat stones on which fire is carried without damaging the craft, and the blocks of wood to knock the harpoons out of the turtle shells.

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I examined a number of canoes drawn up on the beach. They 501
varied in size from some eight to ten metres long, built to carry twenty people, to small single-manned craft three to four metres long, and there were some very small ones clearly intended to encourage the children to set out on their own. The very large canoes are, however, rare. The beam also varied considerably from some barely wide enough to admit a man's knees to others of one and a half metres or more.[1]

In the shallows, contrary to some assertions, paddles are never used; the booms would make alternate paddling extremely difficult. Reversed harpoon shafts are instead used as punt poles and oars, [824] usually made of *Myristica longifolia*, are used only in deep water. They are sometimes but not always lashed into the holes in the gunwale through which the booms pass. They are short, not more than 1·3 metres long and are always rowed forwards (obviously there would be a danger of stubbing a reef if the European style of rowing was used). Like the canoes, the oars vary somewhat in size. Very roughly made they consist of a handle ninety centimetres long and a forty-centimetre blade. The grip tapers almost to a point and increases gradually in diameter towards the blade, which is long, narrow, blunt-ended and flat-convex in section. Usually it is [237] merely roughly shaped with the Onges' crude hatchet, but occa- [412] sionally it is smoothed off with a sharp *Cyrena* shell. The helmsman and pilot stand on the two platforms, guiding the canoe with oars. As far as possible the rowers avoid the side bearing the outrigger mechanism; any deviation of course caused by the unilateral rowing is corrected by the two steersmen.

When they first launch a canoe the Onges decorate it with ochre 501
designs like those on their bodies and the hollowed logs used to 531
hold honey, although they are washed off as soon as the craft enters the water. As usual the men do all the work up to that point [462] and the women do the painting. The initial painting is the only [422] form of ornament on the canoes; there is not even a mark of owner- [126] ship, although each canoe is curiously enough recognized as the property of one man, despite the fact that everyone has helped to

[1] I am unable to agree with Brown that the Onge canoes are extremely small, that they have bow and stem, and that their floats are inefficient. My own experiences of travelling in the canoes has led me to the opinion that on these and other points Brown was wrong, possibly partly because he never actually visited Little Andaman. [114]

build it (when I wanted to acquire two for the new anthropological museum at Port Blair and the Indian Museum in Calcutta I had to bargain with the men recognized as the owners, although the price had to be distributed among all the members of the group).

The chief delight of the men on their fishing trips is the capture of a Giant Turtle. I have already described (p. 88) the spear harpoons which the Onges use to catch them. Once caught, the wretched animals are subjected to a form of vivisection utterly incomprehensible to the Western mind; they are literally cut up alive and the pieces thrown into the boiling cooking-pot. Nor have I ever witnessed anything so terrible as the way in which the Onges, in the absence of any suitable cooking vessel, or the materials for an earth oven, roast these turtles whole and alive over a slow fire. They seem totally unable to realize that animals can feel pain and laugh like children at the other atrocious tortures they unwittingly inflict not only on the turtles, but on every living thing that falls into their hands.

These marine turtles (as far as I was able to see there were no land turtles in the Andamans) yield a far greater amount of food than the dugong, and provide the islanders with both meat and eggs. Two species are common in the seas round the islands, *Chelonia virgata*, or the green turtle, and *Caretta imbricata*, which supplies the shells normally sold commercially. The Onges prefer the former, which are both meaty and more plentiful.

Turtle-hunting and egg-collecting is done by the menfolk. The method is very like that used for dugong and large fish, using the harpoon. Owing to their fear of the spirits abroad in the night, the Onges never go near the beaches between dusk and dawn, when it would be easy to take the turtles on land and immobilize them by turning them on their backs. They do know this trick, however, and use it when captured turtles (often weighing up to a hundredweight) are too heavy to carry in the canoe; the animals are turned on their backs and dumped on the beach ready to pick up later.

The Onges harpoon the turtles from canoes, preferably at night when the turtles are nearing the shore, which they never approach in the day time. When there is a moon the creatures are easily seen, and on dark nights the phosphorescence of the sea helps.

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Once stuck by the harpoon the turtle is trapped by the cord tied 225
to the had of the harpoon while the shaft, detached by the blow, floats ot the water till it is picked up. The target is large, the distance is hort, and so the harpoon never fails.

The sirits of the night do not walk on the sea, so the turtle-hunting xpeditions are all sea-borne, the canoes setting out to meet the turts as they come in towards the shore to mate. When the moon isnigh the tropical seas are as clear as by day; on dark nights the resi torches carried in the canoes light the sea for a fair distance. Eyond their range, the turtles as they swim disturb tiny marine reatures, which promptly emit their phosphorescence, revealin clearly to the Onges the path of their unsuspecting victim.

Thesetorches are about one metre long and fifteen centimetres in 225
diamete, made of twisted palm leaves tightly bound with reed 416
fibres. Iside is a carefully balanced mixture of resin and embers, 177
which brns with a very bright flame. In recent years a variant has 283
been intoduced – huge lumps of gum were driven on to the shores of Littl Andaman from some unknown distant shipwreck, and the Ones, having discovered how well the unknown substance burned,egan mixing it with the embers in their torches. I can still see the Onges' child-like pleasure as they admired the effect of their new prduct, a gift, like their petrol-drum cooking-pots, from the sea.

Theitorches for use on land are much smaller – about thirty 416
centimeres long and ten centimetres in diameter, but made in 171
exactly te same way. It is interesting that similar torches are found 225
eastwars throughout Polynesia and are used everywhere in the same w for hunting turtles and their eggs from the same type of canoe.

The vctim, struck as it comes to the top to breathe, disappears 225
at once nto the sea, dragging the cord with it. In less than ten minuteshowever, it reappears on the surface and is hoisted aboard, often alost helping itself into the canoe with its thrashing flippers. Quite oten turtles are caught while they are asleep on the surface, or matin, in which case the pair are easily captured. And in stormy weatherwhen the high seas make it difficult for them to negotiate the reef back to the open water, the Onges can catch them and 'ride' thm to the shore. I have seen the surviving Arioto do this,

225 turning the turtle over on its back as soon as it is landed, and then blinding the wretched creature by putting both eyes out with a sharp stick, so that it cannot escape even if it manages to right itself.

222 Turtle eggs are easy to find. Before laying them in the sand about one metre deep, the turtle makes several visits about a fortnight beforehand to choose the spot. The huge footprints she leaves in the sand are easily seen, and watch is kept on the spot. When the Onges know roughly where to look they know that by poking in the sand with a stick they must in the end find the eggs. As one man, and happy as sandboys, they dig in the sand, lower and lower, till the sight of the first egg is greeted with a shout of triumph. One by one the eggs emerge to fill the baskets, hastily improvised and lined with great leaves.

The female may actually be seen depositing the eggs, up to two hundred at a time. Some will be infertile, and are smaller, with no yolk, but normally they are the size and shape of a billiard ball, deposited one after another at the rate of ten a minute. As they are laid a viscous secretion flows over them so that the sand sticks to them. As it dries, however, the sand can be rubbed off the shells, which are not rigid and resemble a shining white parchment; on each egg is a tiny round indentation, which increases in size within two or three days and makes the egg look as though it has shrivelled in the sun. In fact, the eggs will not hatch unless they remain buried deep in the sand.

136 222 Not more than half the turtle eggs laid in the Andamans hatch out into young turtles, so eager for them are man and beast alike. Man is their worst enemy, and it is no exaggeration to say that no clutch laid on Little Andaman has any hope of hatching. Man and animals alike range the beaches in search of the delicacy. First come the pigs, so greedy that if they come upon a female in the act of laying they give her no time even to cover the eggs. Then come the monitors, voracious lizards two metres long, and on the east coast near Nachuge, huge crocodiles as well. Finally, *Paradoxurus*, the wild cat of the Andamans, takes anything that is left.

The Onges have to compete with all these for turtle eggs, and they are nearly always too late. They have to look instead to the 136 deserted islands, like the nearby South and North Brother. Here the young turtles have some chance of hatching, but as soon as they

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emerge from the eggs and make their way towards the sea, led by 136
some unerring instinct, fresh predators are ready to pounce on them. Hungry gulls and fish, and the giant crabs, lie in wait and sometimes not one escapes.

But the annual survival of only ten young from each female would be enough to allay any fears for the extinction of the species and fortunately reproduction takes place several times a year, often four or five times, according to the Onges, mainly from March to September.

In the case of eggs which I protected and watched, incubation 136
lasted sixty to seventy days depending on the time of year. During 262
the whole of the incubation period the Onges regard them as edible, like the Bushmen of the Kalahari, whom I saw take and eat birds' eggs regardless of their age or state of development. The Onges even like the turtle embryos when cooked, and the other contents of the shell. Curiously enough, however long they are cooked the whites of turtle eggs never set, although the yolk does and is excellent. The Onges, as a sign of great respect, often gave [123]
me baskets full of the hard-boiled yolks.

Turtles, despite their peaceable appearance, are extremely agres- 136
sive, and will take on nearly anything they meet. Their battles are one of the most amusing things in the animal world. The males of the marine turtles rarely approach the shore, except to fight each other. This they do ferociously, biting at everything within reach, regardless of being bitten themselves, as the land turtles do in the mating season. The aim is to overturn one's enemy so that he is quite helpless, after which the winner ambles off, leaving the vanquished to his own devices (the trick is to get one's head under one's opponent's body and lever upwards). A turtle, once on its back, takes hours to right itself, which it can only do by accident, when its frantic wriggling and beating in the air with its legs hollows the sand away underneath its back so that it flops over the right way up.

One of the Onges' greatest enemies in their search for food is the crocodile, *tsboirona*, as they call it. They have no means of fighting [825]
the creature, so they limit themselves to fearing it and building stories round it. On Little Andaman crocodiles are found only near Nachuge on the west coast, in the deep waters of Jackson Creek, *To-ggw*. There used to be numbers of them in a few places on Great

136 Andaman, in Yeratil Jig (near Port Anson, about fifteen miles from Long Island) in Diglipur (or Dilyapur) Creek, near Port Cornwallis, and in Wilima Jig,[1] but they are now extinct. In March 1952 the Onges had described the presence of crocodiles so clearly to me as to leave no doubt what they meant, and I soon received confirmation when I found their tracks on the sand about one kilometre from the mouth of Jackson Creek, on the right bank, and then saw some lying on the shore across the creek. Through my field glasses I saw small birds pecking between the teeth of the great wide-open jaws. As we approached they slid lazily into the sea, some reappearing a little later, their cavernous mouths rising vertically out of the water. Every day after that I saw them swimming quietly near the banks, and one afternoon my men and I between us saw over a dozen, near Nachuge, dozing in the mud or in the water.

[825] [198] The Onges assured me that crocodiles will come out of the water to a certain whistle. I got them to try it; the Onges whistled, and whistled again, but no crocodiles came!

237 321 276 172 Very different from the great turtles and the crocodiles, but equally important in the daily life of the Onges, are the crabs from which the islanders make their ancient and very characteristic pipes. They eat the crabs and use the claws to make the pipes, cutting them across the joint and boring a hole in the end, as they have done since time immemorial, to smoke aromatic leaves from the forest. Fragments of similar pipes, charred with use, appear in even the lowest strata of the kitchen-middens, dating back thousands of years and proving the antiquity of the smoking habit. Contrary to popular belief, smoking did not begin everywhere with the introduction of tobacco – in Asia at least men smoked thousands of years ago.

237 276 171 The claw pipes of the Onges have a groove cut round the end which goes into the mouth, so that the teeth can grip it better. I have seen identical pipes, with the same groove, in the Melville Islands, where there are many other signs of ethnographic connections with the Andamans. The canoes, for example, are identical with those of the Andamans; the peoples themselves, however, are today very different physically.

[501] [142]

[165] [1] According to Portman a man was dragged into the water here on 11 May 1894 by a crocodile and killed; several similar incidents have occurred since.

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These crabs are enormous, weighing one and a half kilograms, 136
and are very tasty. Like many land crabs they have one large claw and a smaller one, the difference being quite marked in the males, though hardly noticeable in females. Some appear left-handed, some [126]
right-handed; I confirmed this by looking at thousands of them with the help of my Indians, and sent some to the Institute of Zoology at the University of Genoa for further examination.

On the inside of the large claw, to hold the prey while the crab bites, are protuberances that look like teeth. They have a very similar function and are a good example of superficial similarity in different types of organs designed for a similar purpose.

The females, like those of other crabs, carry the mass of round, almost transparent, orange-coloured eggs under the abdomen, attached to her swimmerets and well protected. In the great cr·bs from which the Onges make their pipes the bluish-green shell is reflected on to the eggs, giving them a beautiful sheen. Immediately the young are hatched, they cling underneath the mother's abdomen like the eggs, so that if a female is caught one can be sure of having the whole brood. Even at this stage the sex and the disparity of the claws is discernible as the young are exact replicas of the adults. Two curious things about them are that the number of the two sexes in any brood are exactly equal, and that in the males there are equal numbers right- and left-handed. The point is an interesting one, and I hope geneticists will be able to investigate it further.

Another important feature in Onge life is the *Nautilus*, the cepha- [237]
lopod whose shells provide the only drinking vessels they know. [415]
Nautilus shells, unlike those of gastropods, are spiral in one plane, with interlocular septa. The mollusc occupies the last, or largest, of the whorls, which communicates with the rest of the spiral by a cylindrical syphuncle running through the mid-line of the shell. This is connected to the creature's viscera by a vascular tube, which for hydrostatic purposes regulates the amount of air and water in the chambers. Each chamber is concave on the side nearest the aperture, and the distance between the septa increases with the size of the whorls, to a fixed maximum, limited by their number, which is constant in adults. *Nautilus*, a living fossil from the time of the ammonites, is the last survivor of a genus dating from the Silurian period; long ago there were many species, although only four have

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136 been found since 1500. It is found only in the seas round Australia and Malaysia, flourishing round the Andamans, growing rarer towards Indonesia, and reaching as far as the Philippines.

Although *Nautilus* shells are very often thrown up by the sea on the shores of Little Andaman (though rarely whole, because they are so fragile), I never managed to find one alive. The creature prefers to live below thirty metres, where it can be taken with a hook and line. I distributed some to the Onges and offered them every possible inducement, but no one managed to catch a live *Nautilus*. The lovely shells are striped white and rosy pink on top, shading to a mother of pearl colour underneath, and when polished and shaped make beautiful cups or ornaments. I brought some back to Italy with me, but the best were stolen. In one collection in the Zoological Museum of the University of Florence there are some fine ones set in silver, now of considerable value.

237 302 123 177 Another shell which the Onges use is that of the huge bivalve *Tridacna*, the elephant of the mollusc world (see p. 114). For many hundreds of years they have filled these shells with water and used them as mirrors when they paint themselves. (The reflection is poor, however, and they fell enthusiastically on the mirrors I had taken with me. These they named *quitanga*, derived from their name for *Tridacna*, and followed me all over the island to get them.)

136 262 Two species of *Tridacna* are found on Little Andaman; *Tridacna gigas*, the larger, and *Tridacna squamosa*, large, but somewhat lighter in weight. Both live in relatively shallow water and are equally terrifying once they have got a hold (see p. 114). Fortunately, the Onges have learnt to surprise them when they are open and slash the single immensely powerful muscle, which closes the two halves of the shell. The flesh is edible when well boiled, and certain parts can even be quite tasty, with a delicate sea flavour; I even ate some raw, much to the horror of the Onges. (They were equally scandalized at my eating raw some of the excellent oysters, which they despise.)

136 Some of the *Tridacna* of the Andamans and Nicobar can weigh over two and a half hundredweights. The actual flesh is not heavy – the two halves of a magnificent *T. squamosa* that I caught at Nancowry in the Nicobars and gave to the Governor of the Andamans weighed nearly one and a half hundredweights and were over 1·3

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metres in diameter. They are now used for the holy water in the new church of San Piero in Palco, in Florence, like those in the church of St Sulpice in Paris. Two valves of *T. gigas*, rather smaller, are being used for the same purpose in the church of Marco Polo in Viareggio. 136

Among the creatures the Onges hunt on the shores are crayfish, which can be taken in plenty in the streams of Little Andaman, although I found none on Great Andaman or in the Nicobars. As they were so common I assumed they were a known species and did not bother to collect any. In Madras, however, an expert on freshwater crustacea, Sri Sada Siva, told me that this appeared to be a new species and it would be well worth while returning to Little Andaman to collect further specimens, as the few I had brought are now lost. There are tens of thousands of them everywhere. [222]

These freshwater crayfish are so tasty that they have entered into Onge folklore, and their tastiness is praised in song. They are baked on burning embers, without salt, as always, and just the charred shell is removed before they are eaten. The clean fresh water in which they live prevents any taint in the flavour. I must confess to having eaten them every day without realizing their importance as a possible new species. They are fairly large, about fifteen centimetres long, and almost black, in natural imitation of the dark rocks among which they try to vanish out of sight, although the Onges never fail to spot them. The males have slender pereiopods, with claws almost twice as long as the whole body; these the creatures thrust out before them, and so slender are they that it is difficult to catch a male with both pereiopods intact. After hatching, the young, which are identical with the adults as soon as they hatch and can therefore be sexed by the presence and absence of pereiopods, cling bunched together for several weeks, attached by their claws to their mother's swimmerets before making their way into the troubled waters of the rivers, where the great carp are waiting to prey on them. [262] [538] [252]

Yet another freshwater creature eagerly sought by the Onges is one that is almost black in colour, a strange survival of some remote geological era. Like other members of the family it has no scales, and the mouth, armed with teeth, is not protractile. On Little Andaman I saw several specimens weighing over a kilogram, and

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136 many smaller ones, all good to eat. Near my base camp at Lahanar,
[222] the men caught sackfuls of them, and I found young ones near the communal hut at Togalanghe.

There a rocky path winds down to the banks of the river Tciongarè (or Chongaree) to the south of the camp. In various places, where the path levels out, black muddy water collects into pools full of rotting leaves, lying on a bed of ooze and slime. In these pools, which appear and dry up again very quickly, I was surprised to catch a number of *silurides*. When it rains heavily, however, the pools link and join up with the river where the fish live, so that as the water disappears again any fish which have entered the pools are prevented from returning to the river, and are left lying in the slime as the water evaporates. These silurides have no gills, and are equipped instead with nostrils of an unusual type; from the nostrils protrude two cylindrical tubes, half a centimetre long in fish fifteen centimetres long, the same blackish colour as the rest of the body. The tail and the long dorsal fin are yellowish, and the long ventral fin running from the anus to the tail is whitish. There are two large lateral pectoral fins, with two very small ones between them. The eyes are large, starting out of the head like tiny glass domes. Very unfortunately a number of specimens which I had most carefully preserved were lost in transit from Port Blair to Calcutta, when some of my baggage, including the crabs and a collection of face masks of Nicobarese which had cost me a great deal of trouble, mysteriously disappeared *en route*.

136 The Onges do not eat eels,[1] which they regard as snakes, but they
262 several times brought me examples of a very fine freshwater eel
226 whose presence on Little Andaman I had not suspected. The Onges caught them, as they do all fish, with their bows and arrows. All weighed over half a kilogram and looked and tasted like European eels.

136 The eel of the Andamans, like those of Europe and America, has a long, almost cylindrical body and a single fin which begins on the back, circles the tail, and ends under the body just in front of the anus. There is also a pair of strong pectoral fins. The head distinguishes it from other eels, its rounded snout and wide mouth being

[184] [1] The Ariosto, however, eat eels, and also mice and other small animals, although food is given to them by the Governor in return for police duties. Brown also refers to the eating of snakes and mice on Great Andaman.

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rather shorter than in other species, with rows of small teeth covering the palate. The jaws themselves, however, have only one row of teeth, all very pointed. To my intense annoyance, my eel specimens were lost with the silurides. 136

On rare occasions the Onges manage to catch the toad fish of the mangrove swamps. These curious little animals are apparently a compromise between the fish and the frog; they can breathe both in the air and under water and like to come out of the water to take a walk. They wriggle about in the pools left by the ebb tide, popping out into the air as soon as they meet anything suspicious, and hopping away over quite considerable distances. But normally they wander peacefully about on the mud, propelling themselves with their two pectoral fins, which are attached to the end of a form of arm. In size (never over twenty centimetres long) and colour they remind one of the gudgeon, to which they are related. They belong to the genus *Periophthalmus*, of the order Gobiidi. They seem to prefer living in the open rather than in the water, and appear to look forward to low tide, when the tiny creatures on which they feed are about. Hunger satisfied, they cling to some stone or tree-trunk, often in an almost vertical position, and will stay there over half an hour, particularly if their tail is touching the water, as this keeps their body damp and helps them to breathe by means of ingenious gill sacs filled with air. [226]

Toad fish move into the marshes as the sea recedes and move back as the tide returns. In the middle of the day they seek the shade in the damp crevices of the mangrove swamps. They seem to glory in the first rays of the morning sun, their huge erectile eyes, which never rest, moving endlessly from side to side. Their independent movement enables the creature to gaze at the sun with one eye and look for likely prey with the other. The two eyes, set closely together on top of their flat heads make them look rather ridiculous. Another striking feature about them is a kind of sucker, or adhesive disc, formed by the ventral thoracic fins. These have a loose fold of skin on the back, so that when the fins are brought together in front of the body, the skin falls into a funnel shape, which when pressed against a stone or tree-trunk adheres to it by suction, holding the animal fast.

I was amused by the way toad fish can be domesticated as soon as they are caught. I kept some in my tent, leaving water available [126]

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for them and feeding them on the table. As soon as they saw worms wriggling, they would move cautiously towards them and then snap them up like lightning. They became used to sitting in my hand quite undisturbed, looking round in two directions at once in an interested way. Flies held by the wings fascinated them more than anything, and they used to stare at the insects as though hoping to mesmerize them. They made delightful pets.

More prosaically, they are very good fried. Outside Little Andaman I found hundreds every day near Golpahar on Middle Andaman, and as the fish market in Port Blair was over a day's journey away we used many for non-scientific purposes.

Dugong, monitors, snakes, jungle cats, bats, leeches – all abound in Little Andaman and I had ample opportunities to study them. The dugong are well known to the Onges, but I only saw them at Bumila Creek (Cuateniabo) and Jackson Creek, where I did not have the time to catch any; the Onges tried, but without result.

Dugong (from the Malayan *Dyong*, introduced into scientific Latin as the family Dugongidae), are large mammals of the order *Sirenia*. They have a short fish-like body, with closeable nostrils above a cavernous mouth, which is surrounded by short bristly whiskers and armed with a brush-like, horny plate. In the male two short tusks hang down each side of the mouth, like a miniature hippopotamus, giving the animals a cumbersome, ugly look. The Onges prize the dugong, but rarely manage to capture one; when they do, there is great feasting. I was never able to try it, or even acquire any really close observations of the creatures.

Monitors or dragon-lizards, on the other hand were under my feet every day, although the islanders never eat them. I used to put out as bait fish or pig carcasses rejected by the Onges as being too lean, and we could then shoot as many as we wanted as they rushed to the bait from all sides. I collected their skins for various museums, using the carcasses as further bait.

The Andamanese variety is well known and it closely resembles *Varanus niloticus*, the Nile monitor, to which it is related. The largest can be two metres long, including the long, very tapering tail. As they approach their prey, sniffing at it, their forked tongue, twice the length of the head, flashes in and out of its sheath with incredible speed. Although they have strong legs they move slowly and it is easy to catch them by the tail, providing one takes care to

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avoid being bitten, and one blow on the spine kills them. Compared with the turtle, for example, their vitality is poor, and they die very quickly, although strangely enough the heart beats for some hours after death.[1] 136

These carnivorous lizards are the jackals of the Andamans, scavengers ready to eat anything, from offal even the dogs will not eat to the rotting carcasses of the dogs themselves, and even of their own kind. In the forests of the Andamans death is swift and silent, and the monitors ensure that it leaves no trace.

[1] On a number of occasions I took out the respiratory and digestive system, with the heart, and both systole and diastole and peristalsis continued regularly for some hours.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Unity of the Negritos

174 It appears that the Andamanese, before their migration to the archipelago, copied from other Asiatic and Oceanic peoples customs and rites whose origin and meaning were unknown to them. They went on and on observing these rites blindly, till they gradually degenerated to their present rudimentary form. In the Onges of today they seem like mere superstitions, badly digested importations, far from any of their original meaning. The process is a phenomenon which has occurred over and over again among primitive peoples who come in contact with other, to their eyes superior, cultures. They feel an urge to imitate something, as it were, more elegant, and so come to follow the new ways out of habit. I have seen the effects of this both in Africa and in Asia, particularly as the result of contact with European influences.

The practice of vivisecting animals for food, for instance, was widespread throughout the world, frequently in connection with certain ideologies, although these were not usually based on pure superstition. Rituals which to us are horrible beyond measure are seen by primitive peoples from childhood merely as a necessary part of cooking or the acquisition of food. And yet such practices are found also in peoples with a culture considerably beyond the primitive. Some cannibals, for example, are relatively advanced; there are in fact some cannibal peoples who have reached the stage of agriculture. The Andamanese, however, are far behind that stage of development, and they have never acquired the ideologies leading to cannibalism. One can only accept that they do genuinely believe that in practising vivisection they are acting for the common and the individual good.

224 There is an established and closely observed order of precedence

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in the division of all meat. Certain cuts are the property of the hunter, of his helpers, and of his relations and after them, in order, of the remaining members of the group; everyone knows his position in advance. Each portion is tied round with a reed fibre, which is allowed to dangle out over the top of the communal cooking-pot ready to haul the meat out when required.

In the case of pork the prized cut is one which comprises the kidneys and the surrounding fat; this fat is called *cian*,[1] and is very highly esteemed. Some authors (Brown, for example) have stated that turtles and pigs are always cut up with the head ritually pointing towards the sea as otherwise the meat would be considered inedible. This is certainly not the case on Little Andaman, and I have never seen any such directional ritual among any of the Negritos, all of whom practise division of meat according to a prescribed order of precedence. Turtles at any rate are slaughtered facing up the sloping beach simply because it is then easier to hold the beast from behind and avoid its bite. Ritual there is, but usually with a good practical basis.

More ritual attaches to the way in which the game is carried back to the camp, and the wood to be used for the cooking fire. Pigs, killed and gutted, are tied in ropes made of *Ficus laccifera* and carried somehow on the back of the victorious hunter. If it is not far to the camp he will not bother to tie up the snout and feet, but otherwise the front and back legs are tied, and one long cord joins both pairs to the snout – again a practical ritual, giving the hunter a more compact weight to carry.

Man, Portman, Brown and others all say that each type of game has to be cooked over a fire of a particular wood. My own observations showed that whereas the ritual of dissection is inviolable, the Onges always use the first wood that comes to hand, regardless of its source, taking as usual the line of least resistance. This is again in keeping with the tendency of primitive peoples to expend only the very minimum of energy to achieve their object. Their religious beliefs and superstitions are not carried to the limit, simply because

[1] It is interesting that in their very restricted world the Onges have few standards of comparison or words to express condemnation or approval, and this word *cian* is used as one of high praise, applied to inanimate objects, animals, and people alike. The precise qualities which are conveyed by the word are difficult to evaluate in the absence of fuller knowledge of the Onge language.

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their love of existing with as little effort as possible is paramount. Since any wood is as good as the next for making a fire, the spirits conveniently have nothing to say in the matter. In other circumstances material considerations lead to quite the opposite effect: when the Onges dig up roots or tubers they not only replace the earth, but cover the place with leaves, the ritual having the good practical objective of appeasing the spirits and ensuring further supplies.

The preservation of skulls for magical purposes or out of pure superstition survives mainly in Asia and Oceania. In Asia it coincides with other beliefs which demand the killing of domestic animals by strangulation. I have seen this practised along the high reaches of the valley of the Brahmaputra, particularly among the Abor, and the Nagas, and in many other tribes to the south of Tibet and China, all of whom preserve skulls. Head-hunting, found throughout southern Asia, in the islands, and as far as Oceania, is also practised in the areas where animal skulls are preserved.

The preservation of animal skulls, particularly bear skulls, is still practised in mongoloid peoples as far as the north of Asia; apart from the Andamans and the Nicobars, human and animal bones are preserved in many parts of Indonesia and as far as New Guinea. In the corona of small islands along the west coast of Sumatra the custom coincides with many others, as well as with certain types of huts and canoes, all present in the Andamans and Nicobars. A good example are the huts raised up off the ground on stilts, common in the Nicobars, Nias, Engano, Mentawai and various parts of Indonesia. The single-boom canoes of these areas, quite apart from their general similarity of structure, all have certain identical features, even to the method of fixing the lateral float of green wood, with pointed hardwood pegs stuck in it like spills. This, again, cannot be due to chance; it must be the effect of a very ancient cultural diffusion, now surviving only in a few specific areas.

The skulls preserved by the Onges have one point of interest; it is the duty of the wife to clean the trophies brought back by her proud husband and then paint them lovingly with lines of ochre. After every successful hunting expedition the wives can be seen busily painting, while the husbands look on with satisfaction.

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Brown states that dugong skulls are found among the hunting trophies of the Andamanese. I can myself vouch for the fact that this is not the case among the Onges or the twenty-three surviving Arioto; both keep dugong jaws and long bones, but the skulls of only pigs and turtles. The Andamanese in general do not regard animal bones as having the same protective powers as human; the existence in the Andamans of any magical practices connected with either animal or human bones has not, in my view, been adequately proved. In the absence of such proof I feel unable to agree with the authors who assert that these practices do exist, and I am inclined to feel that the cultural level of the peoples of the Andamans is so low as to rule out the existence of magic or witchcraft in any form.

From the mass of data of all kinds I was able to collect on my trips to the Andamans, a general pattern emerges from which it is possible to draw substantial conclusions as to the cultural and somatic origins of the Onges and hence of the other peoples of the archipelago. To summarize these conclusions must inevitably involve some repetition of what has been said in previous chapters.

Taking first the people of the Nicobar Islands, the nearest geographically to the Andamanese, it is generally accepted that with the exception of the Shom-Pen of Great Nicobar the Nicobarese are culturally closely similar. Although there are no pure Negrito types in the Nicobars there are evident crosses, similar to those which appear in one area of Sumatra to the east, where a small Negrito component exists among a predominantly mongoloid type. This may well be the result of the Negritos having spread at one time over a very wide area and there is in fact cultural evidence in support of the suggestion.

The mongoloid somatic type of the Nicobars appears in the general shape and proportions of the body, skin colour, facial contours, and the hair, which is long and straight, unlike that of the Negritos. Both types, however, have scant body hair, and differ in this respect from the pygmies of Africa.

Although the size and skin colour of most Nicobarese is very different from the Onges, a few are strikingly like them in facial contours, size, and woolly hair. There are also legends of a people who lived in the Nicobars long ago, small, very black, with tight

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174 curly hair; on Car Nicobar I was taken to a cave[1] where these people are said to have lived. The ethnographical evidence is such that there may well be some truth in the legend. The close similarity in detail, even identity, of the Onge and Nicobar canoes, and spiralled pottery, the presence in the wild state of the pig – the sum of this and other evidence cannot be overlooked. Car would have been the last point before the Andamans in the Negrito advance from the east. They would have remained on Car for a long time before moving on to the Andamans, and since Car is a completely flat coral deposit, with no true stone at all, it may be assumed that it was during their sojourn on Car that the Negritos lost the art of working it; this would explain the complete absence of stone implements in the Andamans.

The Negritos would thus have occupied the Nicobars before the mongoloids, and were then, as the somatic evidence shows, partially absorbed, or moved on to the Andamans. The burial customs and superstitions of the Andamanese reflect Nicobar influence with disinterment, reburial and retention of certain bones; such customs are also found sporadically in Oceania. Ritual governing hunting trophies is also very similar, as are weapons. The three-pointed arrow was found in both the Nicobars and the Andamans until comparatively recently; the Onges have none now, but their descendants – the Sentinellese and Jarawas – still used them very recently. Both the Nicobarese and the peoples of the Andamans (also various peoples in Indonesia and Oceania) cook without any form of salt. This is also the case in certain islands of the west coast of Sumatra, where there are also other similarities from huts to

[172] [1] On 20 April 1952, I visited this cave with Sri B. S. Cengappa, head of the 1952 Nicobar Expedition; in the report of the expedition he did me the honour of naming the cave 'Cipriani Cave'. A schoolmaster on Car Nicobar told me of other caves in the archipelago, which had similar traditions of occupation in very ancient times. One facing the sea on the east coast of Catcial, one of the Nancowry group, was of considerable size, about a hundred metres long and fifteen metres high, and wider, its floor covered in a layer of guano. The same guano covered the floor of Cipriani Cave, which lies in a coral formation little more than ten metres above present sea-level. It has two openings, diametrically opposite and thirty-five metres apart. The cave consists of a wide central chamber, about seven metres in diameter, with many stalactites and stalagmites. Fortunately none of the archaeological deposit was damaged by the Japanese occupation and the traditions attached to the cave remain alive among the Nicobarese. It would need at least ten men working for at least six months to investigate the cave properly, but I am sure that the results would amply justify the cost of such an expedition.

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head ornaments and religious ceremonies. In Oceania there is, too, the habit of changing personal names from time to time so prevalent among the Onges, and the existence of actual linguistic connections between Nicobarese, Andamanese, Semang, Aetà and peoples of Oceania have been demonstrated by experts. 174

Any differences which exist today are the result of centuries of contact with other peoples which the Semang and Aetà have experienced, unlike the Andamanese, who thus represent today the true Negritos. While life generally has changed somewhat over the centuries for the Semang and Aetà, certain typical facets of their culture have remained unaltered. Ritual cutting and distributing of game, the use of the arrow harpoon (always unfeathered) and the simple Onge-Negrito bow are still the same, despite the fact that the three groups have been separated for a very long time. Even the very absence of defensive weapons is a common feature; admittedly outside the Andamans arrows are poisoned and some may be feathered, but this is a recent and imitative innovation which is not found among the Andamanese, by virtue of their constant isolation. The persistence among the Onges of the simple bow tends to support the idea of Little Andaman as the first stage in the northward spread of the Negritos after they reached the island from Sumatra via the Nicobars. In Malacca the Semang have retained the same bow, as have the Aetà in the Philippines.

Among what may be termed similarities of physical habits is nose-rubbing as a sign of affection, found in the Andamans, in Oceania, and parts of Papuasia and Melanesia. In all these areas there is the same belief that pregnancy is due to entry of a spirit into the body, and the same habit of suckling children for as long as four years. Similar too throughout the area are the methods of 'curing' disease, such as smearing with ochre and heavy massage carried out beside a fire, swallowing of balls of ochre, and the 'smoking' of wounds, smeared with a mixture of ochre and honey. As protection from the sun or the rains (especially for the young children) crude umbrellas are made from giant palm leaves. 171 [832] [842] [843] [862] [955] [293]

There are no prayers or propitiatory sacrifices to ensure health and well being, but there is throughout the area the same concept of mysterious forces to be feared, evaded, or let loose against enemies – never loved. Generally they are thought of in terms of spirits, usually active at night. There is some divergence in the 171 [776] [971] [982]

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way in which the spirits are invoked against enemies, involving the use of some personal possession – an example is the invariable destruction of the used *naquineghe*, or of hair after shaving. The same fear of the night induced by the idea of spirits walking abroad led to the making of torches from rolled palm leaves containing a mixture of embers and resin.

From the Andamans to Oceania the chief spirit is generally imagined in the form of a giant lizard, living at the top of the sky and ruling the storms; none of the peoples who believe in him ever eat any lizard or lizard-like creature. All of them have the same sexually suggestive dances, both male and female, sometimes inspired by the monitor or dragon-lizard, symbol of desire, and often associated with miming and dramatic representations of real and imaginary scenes. These dances, with their *joie de vivre*, are accompanied by the smoking of aromatic leaves in pipes which are frequently made from natural objects such as the claws of crustacea. The Onges in fact have since very ancient times used only this type as shown in the lower levels of the kitchen-middens dating back at least five thousand years. Everywhere, pipes of this kind are used indiscriminately by both sexes, passing from mouth to mouth. Pipes identical in every way with those of the Onges are found to the east of the archipelago, well into Oceania, and I have myself also seen them on Melville Island, north of Australia, always with the same notches for the teeth to grip. This undeniable evidence of the spread of identical pipes over so wide an area long before the possibility of European contacts cannot in my opinion be attributed other than to migration over vast distances in very ancient times.

Similar coincidences apply in the case of the arrow harpoon and indeed harpoons in general. I cannot agree with Brown in his assertion that the harpoon dates from the arrival of European influences, which brought the use of iron; the harpoon points made by long and patient working of *Tridacna* shells which I found in the kitchen-middens of the Andamans are in my view enough to refute the theory.

The canoes from which these harpoons are used, with the absence of distinction between bow and stern and the single float on the lee side, are extremely typical. They are identical in peoples which have been widely separated for a very long time and appear not only on the Andamans, and as far as Oceania, but also in North

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Queensland and (as the Cape Bedford type) elsewhere. Oars, method of fixing the booms and float – all are similar throughout the area, including the Andamans.

Even game, once caught, is treated and distributed similarly by these peoples, from the Andamans to Oceania. Cooking is done without salt, in earth ovens (whether or not fire or red-hot stones are used) very different from those of Africa and America. The Semang and Aetà of today know how to make fire by friction, as do the peoples of New Guinea, Australia and Polynesia; the Tasmans also have the knowledge to do so, but prefer to carry burning logs with them on their journeys, like the Andamanese. In certain parts of New Guinea and perhaps in some of the Pacific islands (as in the Andamans) the art of fire-making was unknown or possibly forgotten until recent times; it is said that the Papuans of the Bay of Astralobius knew nothing of the art until the middle of the nineteenth century. But the only sure information comes from the Andamans, where, whether through ignorance or loss of knowledge, the art of fire-making is unknown and fire is always carried everywhere.

Among the objects typical of the Andamans and found also among the Semang, the Aetà, and other Oceanic peoples are the digging stick and the crude hatchet. The former, used for gathering edible roots and tubers, is merely a pointed stick, but every family possesses one. The hatchet is slightly more elaborate, having both handle and blade, and like the digging stick, occurs always in virtually the same form.[1] Objects woven from vegetable fibres are also very similar in appearance – often very durable and sometimes pleasing by any standards. In some places woven breast-plates are used in warfare, but here the Jarawas differ, using single sheets of bark.

These are but a few of the many examples which one can find of this striking similarity between these widely separated peoples. And alongside cultural similarities there exist others, anthropological and physical, which cannot be overlooked. Physically the

[1] This is simply a cutting tool fixed into a natural elbow in a suitable branch. The blade is fixed into the wood near the elbow, and the branch is cut off, so as to leave a short handle. The whole thing is reminiscent of a swan's head on a long neck, and is easily turned into a crude plane or adze by revolving the blade in the haft through a right angle.

14 most striking of these is ambidexterity. This is the general rule in the Onges and also appears as a normal trait in the primitive peoples of Oceania, America and Asia. Another physical characteristic of the Onges, reported also in Tasmans and various peoples of Oceania, is the early onset of ageing in both sexes; in the Tasmans the women are rarely fertile after the age of thirty, and this is also probably the case with the Onges. Unlike the Tasmans, however, the Onges, though sharing their very black skin colour, have among other physical differences markedly scant body hair. A study of their blood groups by Dr H. Lehmann (see also Mourant) has moreover lent very considerable support to the external physical evidence in favour of a relationship between the Andamanese and the people of Oceania, both past and present.

171 609 62 From the anthropological point of view perhaps the most outstanding feature of all these peoples is that despite their extreme aggressiveness towards outsiders their corporate sense is such that they have no need of leaders to give orders. Rarely are there hereditary leaders; such as they are, their leaders are chosen on the basis of outstanding powers, such as supposed clairvoyance, as in the Andamanese.

174 [829] The Andamanese themselves know nothing of their origins, lost in the mists of time, and it is for us to trace them, working back along the paths cleared by the anthropologist, the ethnographer and the archaeologist. They represent today the survival, almost unchanged, of a culture once to be found all over Oceania, spread thousands of years ago by canoes hardly different from those the Onges use today. They carried the unknown seamen from island to island, bearing with them a way of life which in the Andamans at least was never to change – a point of arrival, rather than of departure. Driven in on themselves by circumstances of geography just as other circumstances now unknown had driven them there originally, they have remained isolated, dwindling in numbers over the centuries, until they were discovered by the modern world. Their [609] reception of outsiders, however they come and whoever they may be, is aggressive; consciously or unconsciously the Andamanese seek to preserve the only way of life they know. And who can be sure they are wrong?

000 No one could deny the demographic decadence of the islanders,

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

a prelude, if the process remains unchecked, to imminent extinction. But in the light of present knowledge it can be checked and perhaps brought to a halt. The resurgence of many peoples following the influx of new blood is an observed fact, and it may not be purely Utopian wishful thinking to hope that something of the sort may happen to the peoples of the Andamans. While the civilized world expresses horror at the idea of animal species becoming extinct, it does not seem to have any thought for human beings facing the same fate – surely humanitarian considerations, quite apart from any scientific notions, urge that action should be taken before it is too late?

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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Appendix

Below is given a brief summary of the evidence which in the author's opinion supports his view that the culture of the Andaman Islanders dates back at least to the Palaeolithic era. 172

1 ABSENCE OF STONE IMPLEMENTS

There are in the Andamans abundant sources of stones suitable for shaping into tools. Despite this I found no traces whatever of any stone implements even in the lowest strata of the kitchen-middens, nor is there any evidence of their being used either in the more recent past or at the present time. Until the very recent introduction of iron the Onges always (as the kitchen-middens confirm) made tools solely of wood, with the addition of parts made from *Tridacna* shells, shaped by long and patient rubbing against stone. The only objects remotely approaching the definition of stone implements are the splinters of quartz or obsidian which are carried in the hair, and used as razors or, in the Arioto only, for primitive tattooing. These splinters, which are in no way shaped after being broken off, are thrown away as soon as they become blunt, and a new piece of quartz is crudely struck from a lump, by men or women indiscriminately. The existence of this one stone implement does not, in my view, justify the classification of the Onges (or the Andamanese in general) as a true Palaeolithic people; it would be more reasonable to class them as prelithic. 172 324 [177] [322] [321] [412] [181]

2 ABSENCE OF METAL WORKING

Even today the Onges' knowledge of metal working is confined to rubbing pieces of iron against stone to reduce them to the required shape. They have no knowledge of how to forge it, nor have they the tools to do so. Iron is clearly a very recent introduction, the importance of which the 325

325 islanders, in the absence of any means of working it, have not fully realized.

3 IGNORANCE OF FIRE

372 174 The islanders' present ignorance of fire-making may possibly be the result of cultural decline, but this is not certain. In the presence of the considerable additional evidence in favour of the antiquity of the Andamanese culture it is, however, more likely that it is genuine ignorance, persisting in a pre-lithic people.

4 ABSENCE OF SALT

174 263 Although there can be no proof, it can be reasonably postulated that very primitive Man had no salt, and that in the Andamans this ignorance has persisted over thousands of years, owing to strict isolation. It is unlikely that the use of salt would have been completely lost, had it ever been introduced.

5 PRIMITIVE METHODS OF COOKING

252 172 Apart from the accidental and very recent introduction of petrol-drum cooking, the Andamanese use only the most primitive form of earth oven. This method of cooking was certainly known in the Palaeolithic era; at the entrance to the well-known Barma Grande cave near Mentone I have myself seen in the basal layers a number of stones bearing the marks of fire, too numerous merely to have formed some sort of hearth, and clearly not used to support cooking-pots, as Palaeolithic Man had none which would have withstood heat. The form of earth oven still used throughout the Andamans is undoubtedly of extreme antiquity.

6 FOOD VESSELS

415 285 172 The people of the Andamans still use for honey hollowed-out logs similar to those seen in Palaeolithic wall paintings, which also depict baskets very like those still in use throughout the archipelago. The art of basket-making can be traced back at least to the later Palaeolithic era.

7 USE OF POTTERY

323 172 As with the other Negrito peoples, pottery was unknown in the earliest culture of the Andamans. Its appearance seems from the evidence of the

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

kitchen-middens to have been contemporaneous with the introduction of the pig, i.e. to have been introduced by outsiders. It would be possible, using radio carbon methods, to calculate this date more accurately, but on purely archaeological evidence the introduction of pottery would appear to have occurred some five thousand years ago.

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8 ABSENCE OF CANNIBALISM

If we may accept the evidence of the kitchen-middens, there has never at any time been cannibalism in the Andamans, although the practice certainly existed in the later Palaeolithic era; the Andamanese must thus have been isolated in the archipelago long before the practice became widespread.

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9 DRINK

The Andamanese ignorance of any drink other than water may be regarded as additional evidence of the great antiquity of their culture.

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10 ABSENCE OF CLOTHING

The Jarawas of both sexes have always remained completely naked. The Onges have only in comparatively recent times adopted a form of genital covering for their womenfolk; this custom has spread as far as the north of Great Andaman, and it seems probable that the separation of the Jarawas from the Onges dates from this time.

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11 ABSENCE OF TATTOOING

All primitive peoples who are habitually completely naked adorn the body in some way. The Onges have never progressed beyond the early stage of painting themselves with ochre, and do not tattoo. Their sole ornaments are small necklaces of tusk shells, strips of bark, and sometimes flowers. In all this they resemble the Tasmans (see, however, p. 143 for certain important differences), who seem to have remained in an equally early stage of cultural development.

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12 TOTEMISM AND THE CLAN

Here again the complete absence of any traces appears to indicate isolation before the spread of these very ancient concepts. Neither the Onges nor the Jarawas have ever progressed beyond the stage of independent groups of families.

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THE ANDAMAN ISLANDERS

000 622 groups of families. There is some spontaneous recognition of individuals as 'headmen' as a result of some generally accepted superiority of physique or discernment, but the concept goes no further than the giving of some weight to their views within the group.

13 MARRIAGE

595 837 585 The Onges are monogamous, like all peoples who have never progressed beyond the stage of hunting and gathering, and adultery is virtually unknown. Marriage consists merely of the man taking possession of the woman in the presence of the rest of the group, taking her by the hand to a new bed built for the occasion and allotted a place within the circle. The 'marriage' takes place in the late evening and is followed by frenzied dancing all night long by the light of the resin torches. The total absence [174] of any form of ritual leads one to suppose isolation from a very early date indeed, but this cannot be more than conjecture.

14 BURIAL

172 174 764 The custom of burying the dead in caves still occupied by the living apparently existed in the Palaeolithic era. The practice has continued to the present time in the Andamans, where the dead are still buried under the family bed in the communal hut. It is known from Palaeolithic burials that even in that era objects were sometimes buried with the dead, and it is thus possible that the culture of the Andamans dates back to very early times.

15 EXHUMATION AND SECOND BURIAL

172 765 The custom of exhuming the bones of the dead and re-interring them after coloration (in this case with ochre) dates from the Palaeolithic era.

16 BONE NECKLACES

301 The custom of wearing necklaces of carpals, tarsals, phalanges and fragments of rib, is of extreme antiquity, and apart from the Andamans, has virtually disappeared.

17 RELIGION

172 775 764 There is evidence that even in Palaeolithic times there existed a belief in the survival of the spirit after death, and a fear of its return (hence the

dead were buried securely bound in a knee-to-chest position, still the custom among the Andamanese). The Onges go no further than this and the idea of a Lord of the Spirits who rules all things, although on Great Andaman there has been some progress towards more anthropomorphic concepts. The complete absence of any form of cult, prayer, representation, or votive offering cannot, I feel, be the result of cultural decline from a more advanced age; this would have resulted in gross distortion and illogical superstition, but not in complete absence of any 'religious' practices of any kind.

18 SACRIFICE

No sacrifices of any kind are practised in the Andamans, nor is there any concept of propitiation, although there is evidence that even in the late Palaeolithic era some form of ritual sacrifice was practised, at least in Europe and probably over a much wider area. One would assume from this, and from paragraph 17 above, that the Andamanese is an even older culture.

19 TABOOS

Although my own experiences among the Onges have led me to think that taboos do not exist, some authors have asserted (in my view wrongly) their existence on Great Andaman. It is not, however, possible to draw any reliable conclusions on this point.

20 CEREMONIAL

The complete absence of any form of ritual surrounding birth, the purification of women, initiation, etc., or evidence of any such ritual in the past, is striking, in view of the prevalence in all the surrounding areas of strictly observed ceremonial for many occasions. As in the case of religion, such complete absence can only mean that the Andamanese became isolated before the idea of ritual spread to the area.

21 MEASUREMENT

The Andamanese have no means of counting, and no words to express gradations of time or size; to them everything is either 'small' or 'big'. They take no interest in the passing of years, and have no idea of their own age. To them life is but the passing of the seasons and the harvests of game and fish and fruits that they bring. This utter lack of any sense

802 805 or form of numerical evaluation is further support for the extremely low stage of cultural development at which they became isolated.

22 ART

302 531 532 When painting their bodies with ochre the Onges have no idea of symbolic representation, and use only geometrical designs. These invariably seem spontaneous, and in my view do not represent a degenerate form of some more highly evolved art, half forgotten over the centuries; in short, the 'artists' of the Andamans, with no conception of symbolism, are even today less advanced than their Palaeolithic counterparts.

23 DIGGING STICKS

172 412 In late Palaeolithic deposits, stones with holes in them have been found which correspond to those still in use among peoples such as the Bushmen, to add weight to their digging sticks. The absence even today of any form of weighted stick in the Andamans, where stone is plentiful, would appear to antedate the culture at least to early Palaeolithic.

24 HUNTING

224 172 [411] 227 177 The Onges still use the Palaeolithic throwing stick, although it is not their main hunting weapon. They have no idea of fixed traps, which must from the evidence have been known in Palaeolithic times, and it is hard to believe that a people so dependent upon hunting would have lost the art once it had been acquired. They have crude nets which the women use for fishing, but these are probably a comparatively recent introduction, which has arrived via the Nicobars.

25 DOMESTIC ANIMALS

231 174 The Andamanese have none, and this would seem to add weight to the evidence for their great antiquity.

26 ECONOMY

433 185 437 There is no economic system of any kind, and from the evidence available it is highly unlikely that even the most primitive form ever existed. There is no conception whatever of providing for tomorrow, or of any form of exchange or barter.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

27 WEAPONS

The wall paintings of the Palaeolithic era depict bows and arrows, the former of both the simple and the double-curve type, and the latter with one or more points, similar to those still used in the Andamans. (The same *marques de chasse* as those found on bone arrowheads of the late Palaeolithic era were on *Tridacna* arrowheads which I found in the lower strata of the kitchen-middens.) The harpoon, with detachable point and cord, was widespread in the late Palaeolithic era, and this too has persisted unchanged to the present day in the Andamans. 172 411

28 NAVIGATION

There is no proof that Palaeolithic Man travelled by water, but it can be argued that the proven antiquity of the Andamanese culture is of itself evidence in favour of the supposition that he did. 174

The author is of the opinion that the sum of the evidence outlined above is overwhelmingly in favour of the continuing existence in the Andamans of what may well be a virtually unchanged Palaeolithic or even pre-lithic culture.

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the psychology of language. I had hoped to be able to make 128
some use of the large mass of linguistic material collected by Mr E. H. Man and arranged by Sir Richard Temple, which the latter was so kind as to permit me to examine. Mr Man, however, expressed the intention of publishing that material himself. Therefore, rather than delay longer, I began the publication of my own linguistic studies in a series of papers in the journal *Anthropos*, of which, however, only the first had appeared when the outbreak of war interrupted them[1]. I cannot say when the publication of these notes will be resumed.

Chapters V and VI of the present work contain an attempt 128
at an interpretation of the Andamanese customs and beliefs, 121
which I regard as the most important and hope will be the most valuable part of the book. It is some years since they were written and although they have undergone some revision they now seem to me so inadequately to express my thought that I could wish to rewrite them entirely. At the time they were written (1910) they exhibited an attempt to develop a new method in the interpretation of the institutions of a primitive people. That method will not perhaps seem so novel now as it would have done then. However, I hope that the two chapters will still have value as an example of the method which I believe to be fundamental in the science that has lately come to be known as social anthropology[2].

Of the many imperfections of the book I am, I think, only 000
too well aware. It is indeed an apprentice work, for it was through my work in the Andamans that I really learnt anthropology. However good may be his preliminary training (and mine under Drs Haddon, Rivers and Duckworth at Cambridge

[1] "Notes on the Languages of the Andaman Islands," by A. R. Brown, *Anthropos*, Vol. IX, 1914, pp. 36—52 with map. This paper contains notes on I, The Relations of the Andamanese Languages, and II, The Formation of Words in the Language of the Little Andaman.

[2] I hope to be able to publish shortly the first volume of a work in which the same method is applied to the interpretation of the social institutions of the natives of Australia.

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CHAPTER V

THE INTERPRETATION OF ANDAMANESE CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS: CEREMONIAL

THE present chapter is devoted to an attempt to interpret some of the beliefs and customs of the Andaman Islanders, as they have been described in the earlier part of this work. By the interpretation of a custom is meant the discovery, not of its origin, but of its meaning. The system of beliefs and customs that exists to-day in the Andamans is the result of a long process of evolution. To seek the origin of these customs, as the word origin is here used, is to seek to know the details of the historical process by which they have come into existence. In the absence of all historical records, the most that we could do would be to attempt to make a hypothetical reconstruction of the past, which, in the present state of ethnological science, would be of very doubtful utility[1].

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It is otherwise with the meaning of these customs. Every custom and belief of a primitive society plays some determinate part in the social life of the community, just as every organ of a living body plays some part in the general life of the organism. The mass of institutions, customs and beliefs forms a single whole or system that determines the life of the society, and the life of a society is not less real, or less subject to natural laws, than the

[1] The making of such hypothetical reconstructions of the past has been regarded by a number of writers as the principal if not the sole task of ethnology. My own view is that such studies can never be of any great *scientific* value. Although, within narrow limits, particularly when the method is applied to the facts of language and material culture, it is possible to reach conclusions of some degree of probability, yet by their very nature all such hypotheses are incapable of verification. Moreover, the purpose of scientific studies is to discover general laws, and hypotheses as to events in the past of which we have and can have no certain knowledge will not provide suitable material from which to draw generalisations.

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life of an organism. To continue the analogy, the study of the meaning of savage customs is a sort of social physiology, and is to be distinguished from the study of origins, or changes of custom in just the same way that animal physiology is distinguished from the biology that deals with the origin of species, the causes of variation, and the general laws of evolution.

The problems that this chapter presents are therefore not historical but psychological or sociological. We have to explain why it is that the Andamanese think and act in certain ways. The explanation of each single custom is provided by showing what is its relation to the other customs of the Andamanese and to their general system of ideas and sentiments.

Thus the subject of the present chapter is not in any way affected by questions of the historical origin of the customs with which it deals, but is concerned only with those customs as they exist at the present day. Nor are we concerned with the comparison of the customs of the Andamanese with those of other savage races. Such comparisons are not only valueless for our purpose, but might be misleading. To draw any valid conclusion from the comparison of two apparently similar customs in two different societies, we must be sure that they are really similar, and to do this we need to know the true meaning of each of them considered by itself. The true comparative method consists of the comparison, not of one isolated custom of one society with a similar custom of another, but of the whole system of institutions, customs and beliefs of one society with that of another. In a word, what we need to compare is not institutions but social systems or types.

It is often urged that in ethnology description and interpretation should be most carefully separated. So far as this means that the facts observed by the ethnologist should be recorded free from all bias of interpretation, the necessity cannot be too often or too strongly urged. If, however, it is meant to imply that efforts at interpretation are to be excluded from works of descriptive ethnology, there is much to be said against such an opinion. In trying to interpret the institutions of a primitive society the field ethnologist has a great advantage over those who know the facts only at second hand. However exact and

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detailed the description of a primitive people may be, there remains much that cannot be put into such a description. Living, as he must, in daily contact with the people he is studying, the field ethnologist comes gradually to "understand" them, if we may use the term. He acquires a series of multitudinous impressions, each slight and often vague, that guide him in his dealings with them. The better the observer the more accurate will be his general impression of the mental peculiarities of the race. This general impression it is impossible to analyse, and so to record and convey to others. Yet it may be of the greatest service when it comes to interpreting the beliefs and practices of a primitive society. If it does not give any positive aid towards a correct interpretation, it at least prevents errors into which it is only too easy for those to fall who have not the same immediate knowledge of the people and their ways. Indeed it may be urged, with some reason, that attempts to interpret the beliefs of savages without any first-hand knowledge of the people whose beliefs are in question, are at the best unsatisfactory and open to many possibilities of error.

The present position of ethnological studies may well be regarded as anomalous. Many of the observers engaged in recording the customs of primitive people are very imperfectly acquainted with modern theories of sociology. One result of this is that they often neglect to record anything concerning matters that are of fundamental importance for the theorist[1]. On the other hand those engaged in elaborating hypotheses do not, as a rule, observe for themselves the facts to be explained, but have to rely on what are in many cases imperfect documents, being thus unwittingly led into errors that might have been avoided. In this science, as in others, if progress is to be made, the elaboration of hypotheses and the observation and classification of facts must be carried on as interdependent parts of one process, and no advantage, but rather great disadvantage, results from the false division of labour whereby theorists and observers

[1] It may be worth while to mention that the interpretation of Andamanese customs given in this chapter was not worked out until after I had left the islands. Had it been otherwise I should have made careful enquiries into subjects which, as it was, escaped my notice.

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work independently and without systematic cooperation. The most urgent need of ethnology at the present time is a series of investigations of the kind here attempted, in which the observation and the analysis and interpretation of the institutions of some one primitive people are carried on together by the ethnologist working in the field.

It is clear that such studies need to be based on a scientific and carefully elaborated method. Unfortunately ethnologists are not yet agreed as to the methods of their science. The question of method is therefore, at the present time, of the greatest importance, and for this reason I have tried, in the present chapter, to present the argument in such a way that the various steps of the analysis shall be immediately apparent, so that the reader may be able not only to judge the value of the conclusions, but also to form a clear idea of the psychological methods by which they are reached.

Any attempt to explain or interpret the particular beliefs and customs of a savage people is necessarily based on some general psychological hypothesis as to the real nature of the phenomena to be explained. The sound rule of method is therefore to formulate clearly and explicitly the working hypothesis on which the interpretation is based. It is only in this way that its value can be properly tested.

The hypothesis that seems to be most usually adopted by English writers on anthropology is that the beliefs of savage peoples are due to attempts on the part of primitive man to explain to himself the phenomena of life and nature. The student of human customs, examining his own mind, finds that one of the motives most constantly present in his consciousness is the desire to understand, to explain—in other words what we call scientific curiosity. He concludes that this motive is equally insistent in the mind of primitive man. Thus he supposes that primitive man, wishing to explain the phenomena of death and of sleep and dreams, framed a hypothesis that every man possesses a soul or spiritual double[1]. The hypothesis, once formulated, is supposed to have been accepted and believed

[1] Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I, 387.

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because it satisfied this need of comprehension. On this view the belief in a soul (animism) is exactly similar in character to the scientific belief in atoms, let us say. The same general hypothesis appears in the explanation of totemism as having arisen as a theory invented by primitive man in order to explain the phenomena of pregnancy and childbirth[1].

On this hypothesis the beliefs are primary, arising first merely as beliefs and then acquiring the power to influence action and so giving rise to all sorts of ceremonies and customs. Thus these customs are only to be explained by showing that they depend on particular beliefs. This hypothesis, which we may call the intellectualist hypothesis, has never, so far as I am aware, been very clearly formulated or defended, but it does seem to underlie many of the explanations of the customs of primitive man to be found in works on ethnology.

A second hypothesis explains the beliefs of primitive man as being due to emotions of surprise and terror[2], or of awe and wonder[3] aroused by the contemplation of the phenomena of nature.

Both these hypotheses may be held together, one being used to explain some primitive beliefs and the other to explain others[4].

Doubtless there are other psychological hypotheses underlying the many attempts that have been made to explain the customs of primitive peoples, but these two seem to be the most important and the most widespread. They are mentioned here, not in order to criticise them, but in order to contrast them with the hypothesis to be formulated in the present chapter[5].

Stated as briefly as possible the working hypothesis here adopted is as follows. (1) A society depends for its existence on the presence in the minds of its members of a certain system of

[1] Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, IV.

[2] Max Müller, *Physical Religion*, p. 119.

[3] Marett, *Threshold of Religion*.

[4] McDougall, *Introduction to Social Psychology*, Chap. XIII, seems to combine the two hypotheses.

[5] For a criticism of the hypotheses of animism and naturism as explanations of primitive religion see Durkheim, *Les Formes Élémentaires de la Vie Religieuse*, Book 1, chapters 2 and 3.

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sentiments[1] by which the conduct of the individual is regulated in conformity with the needs of the society. (2) Every feature of the social system itself and every event or object that in any way affects the well-being or the cohesion of the society becomes an object of this system of sentiments. (3) In human society the sentiments in question are not innate but are developed in the individual by the action of the society upon him. (4) The ceremonial customs of a society are a means by which the sentiments in question are given collective expression on appropriate occasions. (5) The ceremonial (i.e. collective) expression of any sentiment serves both to maintain it at the requisite degree of intensity in the mind of the individual and to transmit it from one generation to another. Without such expression the sentiments involved could not exist.

Using the term "social function" to denote the effects of an institution (custom or belief) in so far as they concern the society and its solidarity or cohesion, the hypothesis of this chapter may be more briefly resumed in the statement that the social function of the ceremonial customs of the Andaman Islanders is to maintain and to transmit from one generation to another the emotional dispositions on which the society (as it is constituted) depends for its existence.

The present chapter contains an attempt to apply this hypothesis to the ceremonial customs of the Andaman Islanders. An attempt will be made to show that there is a correspondence between the customs and beliefs of the Andamanese and a certain system of social sentiments, and that there is also a correspondence between these sentiments and the manner in which the society is constituted. It is an attempt to discover necessary connections between the different characters of a society as they exist in the present. No attempt will be made to discover or imagine the historical process by which these customs have come into existence.

For the clearer understanding of the argument it is necessary to draw attention to a few rules of method that will be observed. (1) In explaining any given custom it is necessary to take

[1] Sentiment,—an organised system of emotional tendencies centred about some object.

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into account the explanation given by the natives themselves. Although these explanations are not of the same kind as the scientific explanations that are the objects of our search yet they are of great importance as data. Like the civilised man of Western Europe the savage of the Andamans seeks to rationalise his behaviour; being impelled to certain actions by mental dispositions of whose origin and real nature he is unaware, he seeks to formulate reasons for his conduct, or even if he does not so when left to himself he is compelled to when the enquiring ethnologist attacks him with questions. Such a reason as is produced by this process of rationalisation is rarely if ever identical with the psychological cause of the action that it justifies, yet it will nearly always help us in our search for the cause. At any rate the reason given as explaining an action is so intimately connected with the action itself that we cannot regard any hypothesis as to the meaning of a custom as being satisfactory unless it explains not only the custom but also the reasons that the natives give for following it. (2) The assumption is made that when the same or a similar custom is practised on different occasions it has the same or a similar meaning in all of them. For example, there are different occasions on which a personal name is avoided; it is assumed that there is something in common to all these occasions and that the meaning of the custom is to be discovered by ascertaining what that common element is. (3) It is assumed that when different customs are practised together on one and the same occasion there is a common element in the customs. This rule is the inverse of the last. As an example may be mentioned the different customs observed by mourners, which may be assumed to be all related to one another. The discovery of what is common to them all will explain the meaning of each. (4) I have avoided, as being misleading as well as unnecessary, any comparison of Andamanese customs with similar customs of other races. Only in one or two instances have I broken this rule, and in those I believe I am justified by special considerations.

We can conveniently begin by considering the Andamanese marriage ceremony, which is one of the simplest and most easily understood. The main feature of it is that the bride and bride-

193 with me. Come after me and we will hunt together." Imitation with the hands of a pig running, shooting arrows, slap on the left breast, squeals of several wounded pigs, and so on. A pause. "You take them in front of me." Directions by pantomime to other persons as to the pigs. "They were cooking them for me in the hut, cooking them well." Brightens up and begins again. "I will bring several more." Pretends to listen. "We have got them. The dogs are barking." And so on for hours.

The actual expressions for such a story are :—

Ba bichika arla—l'—eate ago on ? Wainga—lea do on . Ña do reg
How many day——past you come? Morning—in I come. Now I pig
dele. Kam wai del. Kam wai do on . D'-arloy—lea
hunt. Away indeed I . Away indeed I come (go). Me-behind-in
ka . Wai do jala——ka. Reg-ka . Kam wai do ik on .
there. Indeed I go-away-do. Pig-little. Away indeed I take come.
Wai ka eda etjoi . Do lilti doga——lat. Reg
Indeed there they roasted. I (in-the)—early morning big-(pig)—for. Pig
doga. Do ela l'igjit——ka. D'-okawma-kea. Kaich d'-arolo.
big . I pig-arrow sharpen—do. I—go——do. Come me-after.
Do-ag'—igdele. D'—okotelema ik on . Wai d'a-ka etjoi——ka
I—you-hunt . Me——before take come. Indeed me-for cooking—were
kad-lea. Tam roicka-beringa-ka. Ña do ikpagi—ka. Ikre ka .
hut-in . Very ripe—good—do. Now I several-do. Getting—were.
Wai eda ikkrawa.
Indeed they barked .

Nothing could show more clearly how "savage" the speech is in reality, how purely colloquial, how entirely it depends on concurrent action for comprehension. When the party, who were out with Mr. Vaux when he was killed by the Jarawas in February 1902, returned, they explained the occurrence to their friends at the Home in Port Blair by much action and pantomime and few words. The manner of his death was explained by the narrator lying down and following his movements on the ground.

II. Grammar.

●121 193 **History of the Study.**—I have taken so large a share in the development of the knowledge of the Andamanese tongue that a brief personal explanation is here necessary to make clear the mode of presenting it that now follows.

The first person to seriously study the Andamanese Languages and reduce them to writing was Mr. E. H. Man, and in this work I joined him for a time soon after it was commenced, and in 1877 we jointly produced a small book with an account of the speech of the Bojigngiji Group, or more strictly, of the Bea Tribe. We then worked together on it, making such comparisons with the speech of the other Andaman Tribes as were then possible and compiling voluminous notes for a Grammar and Vocabulary, which are still in manuscript. In 1882 the late Mr. A. J. Ellis used these notes for an account of the Bea Language in his Presidential Address to the Philological Society.

In compiling our manuscript, Mr. Man and myself had used the accepted grammatical terms, and these Mr. Ellis found to be so little suited to the adequate representation for scientific readers of such a form of speech as the Andamanese, that he stated in his Address that :—

> "We require new terms and an entirely new set of grammatical conceptions, which shall not bend an agglutinative language to our inflexional translation."

And in 1883 he asked me, in a letter, if it were not possible "to throw over the inflexional treatment of an uninflected language."

The Theory of Universal Grammar.—Pondering, for the purpose of an adequate presentation of Andamanese, on what was then a novel, though not an unknown, idea, never put into practice, I gradually framed a Theory of Universal Grammar, privately printed and circulated in that year. This Theory remained unused, until Mr. M. V. Portman compiled his notes for a

3: Temple G-5 (1901) 1903 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Comparative Grammar of the Bojigngiji (South Andaman) Languages in 1898, based avowedly, but not fully, on my Theory. These notes I examined in a second article on the Theory of Universal Grammar in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1899, which again was subjected to the favourable criticism of Mr. Sidney Ray, who has since successfully applied it in outline to 16 languages, selected because unrelated and morphologically distinct, viz.— 121 193

1. English.
2. Hungarian.
3. Latin.
4. Khasi, Hills of N. E. Bengal.
5. Anam, French Cochin China.
6. Ashanti, West Africa.
7. Kafir, South Africa.
8. Malagasy, Madagascar.
9. Olo Ngadju or Dayak, South East Borneo.
10. Nufor, Dutch New Guinea.
11. Motu, British New Guinea.
12. Mortlock Islands, Caroline Group. Micronesia.
13. Mota, Banks' Islands, Melanesia.
14. Samoan, Polynesia.
15. Awabakal, Lake Macquarie, Australia.
16. Dakota, North America.

With this brief history of the study of the Andamanese Languages, I will now give an exposition of the Theory so closely bound up with it as briefly and clearly as I can, in order to explain the method employed for exhibiting the peculiarities of Andamanese speech. A more detailed account, specially developed to a considerable extent for the present purpose, will be found in Appendix A.

All speech expresses a communication between man and man by talking or by signs. Languages are varieties of speech. The unit of every language is the expression of a complete communication, *i.e.*, the sentence. All sentences are divided into incomplete expressions of communication, *i.e.*, words, and are as naturally multiplied into languages. Thus there is a development both ways from the sentence.

The necessary primary division of every sentence made up of words is into the matter communicated (subject) and the communication made about it (predicate). The words in each of these divisions are of necessity in the relation of principal and subordinate, which involves the fulfilment of a function by every word.

The function of the principal word of the subject is obviously to indicate the matter communicated and of the subordinate words to explain the indication and illustrate that explanation. Similarly the principal word of the predicate indicates the communication made and the subordinate words illustrate the indication or complete it.

Therefore, in every language the essential words in a sentence are:—

(1) indicator, indicating the subject or the complement,
(2) explicator, explaining that indication,
(3) predicator, indicating the predicate,
(4) illustrators, illustrating the predicator or the explicator.

As all speech expresses a communication, it has a purpose, and the function of the sentences is to express one of the five following purposes:—(1) affirmation, (2) denial, (3) interrogation, (4) exhortation, (5) information. The methods adopted for indicating the purpose of a sentence are (1) placing the components in a particular order, or (2) varying their forms or the tones in which they are spoken, or (3) adding special introductory words. When the purposes of speech are by their nature connected together, this connection is naturally indicated by connected sentences in the relation of principal and subordinate, which is expressed by methods similar to those above noted, *viz.*, placing them in a particular order, or varying the forms or tones of their components, or adding special referent words of two kinds, (1) simple conjoining words, (2) words substituting themselves in the subordinate sentence for the words in the principal sentence to which they refer.

The relation of the words composing the parts of a sentence is also expressed by the similar methods of adding special connecting words, or of varying the forms or tones of the words; and so, too, the intimate relation between indicator and predicator, indicator and explicator, illustrator and predicator, predicator and complement, referent substitute and principal, is similarly expressed by special connecting words, by correlated variation of the words in intimate relation, by their relative position, or by the tones used in severally expressing them.

Complete communication can be, and is habitually, in every language, made without a complete expression of it in speech, and so referent words are made to refer to words unexpressed and to be related or correlated to them, and referent substitutes are made to indicate the unexpressed subject or complement of a sentence.

The function of the sentence and the inter-relation of the words composing it are therefore in all speech expressed by three methods: position, variation, or addition of special words. Every language adopts one or more or all of those methods.

Therefore, in every language the optional words in a sentence are:—

(5) connector, explaining the inter-relation of the components,
(6) introducer, explaining its purpose,

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(7) referent conjunctor, joining connected sentences,
(8) referent substitutes, indicating the inter-relation of connected sentences or unexpressed communications.

To the essential and optional components of the sentence must be added (9) the integer, or word that of necessity in every language expresses in itself a complete communication, *i.e.*, is a sentence.

Thus is explainable the natural resolution of the sentence into its component words, but any word can be and habitually is extended to many words, used collectively to express its meaning. Words thus used collectively form a phrase, which is substituted for its original. When a phrase contains in itself a complete meaning, and thus is a sentence substituted for a word, it becomes a clause. Therefore, clauses and phrases are merely expanded words, fulfilling the functions and bearing the relations of the words for which they are substituted in an expanded sentence or period. Therefore also, the period is a true sentence in the sense of being the expression of a complete meaning and so the unit of every language adopting it.

In all speech words are made to indicate the functions they fulfil in a sentence by their position in it, with or without using tones and with or without variation in form, and this habit gives rise of necessity to classes of words according to function. And as any given word can naturally fulfil more than one function, it becomes as naturally transferable from its own class to another, the transfer being indicated by position in the sentence with or without variation in form or tone. The class of a word thus indicates its function, and its position, alone or combined with its form or tone, indicates its class.

So when a word is transferred from its original class, it necessarily fulfils a new function and becomes a new word, connected with the original word in the relation of parent and offshoot, each equally of necessity assuming the form or tone of its own class.

The functions of words in a sentence, and consequently their classes, are therefore in all speech expressed by two methods: position or position combined with variation. Every language adopts one or other or both.

When in any language connected words differ in form, they are made to consist of a principal part or stem and an additional part or functional affix. The stem is used for indicating the meaning of the word and the functional affix for modifying that meaning according to function, by indicating the class to which the word belongs or its relation or correlation to the other words in the sentence.

A simple stem necessarily indicates an original meaning, but a stem can be and habitually is used for indicating a modification of an original meaning. It then naturally becomes a compound stem, *i.e.*, made up, by the same method as that above noted, of a principal part or root and of additional parts or radical affixes, each with its own function, the root to indicate the original meaning and the affix its modification into meaning of the stem.

As all words differing in form or tone of necessity fulfil functions and belong to classes, they must possess a nature, *i.e.*, qualities inherent in themselves, and these, in all languages using such words, are indicated by the addition of qualitative affixes or by the tones in which they are spoken.

Every affix is of necessity fixed into the midst of, or prefixed or suffixed to, a root, stem or word, the affixing being naturally effected in full or in a varied form. Whenever there is variation of form amounting to material change, there is necessarily inflexion, or inseparability of the affixes. Inflexion can therefore be made to fulfil all the functions of affixes, and inflected words to conform to particular kinds of inflexion, in order to indicate function and class: and as tone can be equally made to indicate the functions and classes of words, it takes the place of inflexion.

Words are therefore made to fulfil their functions merely by the tone in which they are spoken, or by an external development effected by affixes, and to express modifications of their original meaning by a similar use of tones or of internal development. In both cases the affixes are prefixes, infixes or suffixes affixed in full or varied form or by inflexion. All languages, using variation of form for causing the components of sentences, *i.e.*, words, to fulfil their functions, adopt one or other or all the above methods of effecting the variation.

Therefore in all speech, communication expressed in a sentence is rendered complete by the combination of the meaning of its components with their position, tones or forms, or with position combined with form or tone.

The methods adopted in developing the sentence, *i. e.*, the unit of speech *itself*, are found to entirely govern those adopted in its further development into a language or variety of speech.

Languages differ naturally in the position of their words in the sentence, or in their forms or tones, or in the combination of position with form or tone. Thus are set up naturally two primary classes of languages:—Syntactical Languages, which express complete communication by the position, and Formative Languages, which express it by the forms of their words.

As position alone or combined with tone can fulfil all the functions of speech, the Syntactical Languages employ one or both of these methods, and thus are created respectively Analytical Languages and Tonic Languages.

Again, as in speech, variety of form is secured by affixes attached to words in an unaltered or an altered form. Formative Languages necessarily divide themselves into Agglutinative Languages, attaching affixes in an unaltered form, and Synthetic Languages, attaching them in an altered form. These two classes are both further naturally divisible into (1) Premutative, (2) Intromutative, (3) Postmutative Languages, according as they attach affixes as prefixes, infixes or suffixes.

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In obedience to a fundamental Law of Nature, no language has ever developed along a single line, and therefore every language belongs of necessity primarily to one of the above classes, and secondarily to others, by partial adoption of their methods. 121 193

Languages, varying the form, tones or position, without varying the meanings of their words, form naturally Connected Languages in the relation of parent and offshoot. Connected Languages, whose stems, *i.e.*, the meanings of whose words, are common to all, form a natural Group of Languages, and those Connected Languages, whose roots, *i. e.*, the original meanings of whose words, are common to all, form a natural Family of Languages. Therefore also of necessity all Connected Languages belonging to a Group belong to the same Family.

As the above method of expounding the Theory involves the use of unfamiliar terms, it is as well to state that the new and the old terms of Grammar roughly, though not exactly, correspond as follow; it being remembered that the old terms are themselves the outcome of another tacit Theory, based upon other observations of natural laws or phenomena.

TABLE OF COMPARATIVE GRAMMATICAL TERMS.

Old.	New.
Noun.	Indicator.
Adjective.	Explicator.
Verb.	Predicator.
Adverbs of different classes.	Illustrator. / Introducer.
Preposition. / Postposition. / Conjunction.	Connector.
Interjection.	Integer.
Pronoun. / Relative Adverb. / Relative Particle.	Referent Substitute.
Gender, Number, Case. / Declension. / Person, Mood, Tense. / Conjugation.	Inflexion of different kinds.
Concord, Agreement. / Government.	Correlated Variation. / Intimate Relation.

The two following diagrams will serve to explain the lines upon which the Theory works itself out:—

DIAGRAM I.

Principle of the Development of the Sentence out of its Components.

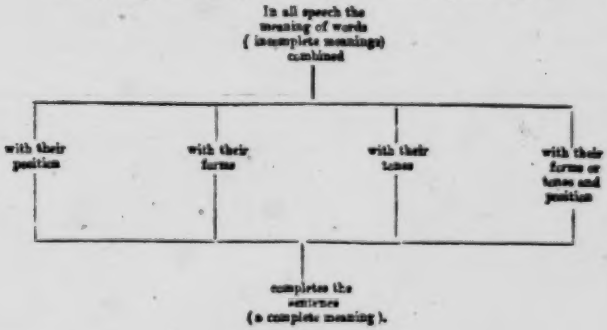

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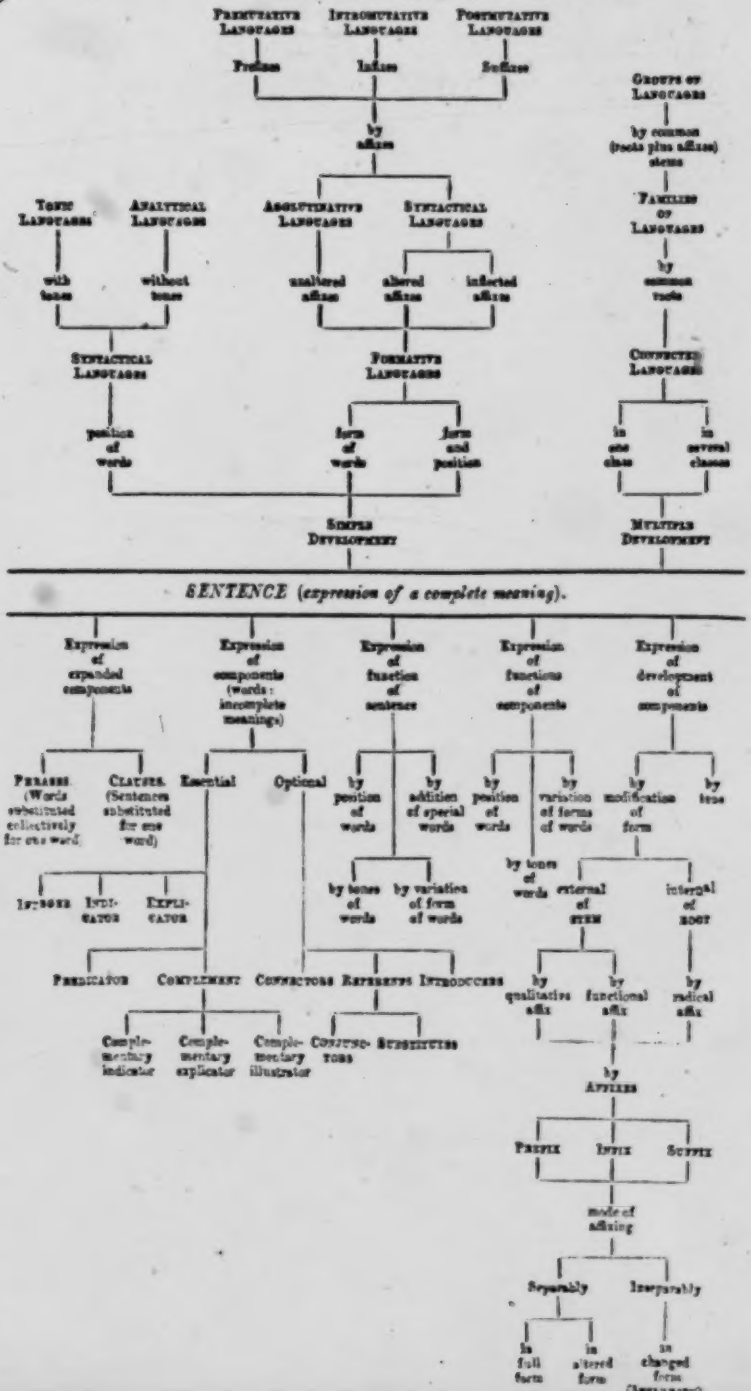
DIAGRAM II.

Development of the sentence or complete meaning, upwards into languages, downwards into its components.



APPENDIX A.

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EXPLANATION OF THE THEORY OF UNIVERSAL GRAMMAR USED IN EXPOUNDING THE ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR LANGUAGES.

In building up a Theory of Universal Grammar it is necessary in order to work out the argument logically, to commence where the accepted Grammars end, *viz.*, at the sentence, defining the sentence as the expression of a complete meaning, and making *that* the unit of language. Clearly, then, a sentence may consist of one or more expressions of a meaning or "words," defined as single expressions of a meaning. It can also consist of two separate parts—the subject, *i.e.*, the matter to be discussed or communicated, and the predicate, *i.e.*, the discussion or communication. And when the subject or predicate consists of many words it must contain principal and additional words.

This leads to the argument that the components of a sentence are words, placed either in the subjective or predicative part of it, having a relation to each other in that part of principal and subordinate. Therefore, because of such relation, words fulfil functions. The functions then must be of the principal words to indicate the subject or predicate, and of the subordinate words in the predicative part of the sentence to illustrate the predicate, and in the subjective part to explain the subject or to illustrate that explanation. Again, as the predicate is the discussion or communication on the subject, it is capable of extension or completion by complementary words, which form that part of a sentence recognised in the Grammars as 'the object.'

This completes the first stage of the argument leading to a direct and simple definition of grammatical terms; but speech obviously does not stop here, because mankind speaks with a purpose, and the function of his sentences is to indicate that purpose, which must be one of the following in any specified sentence:— (1) affirmation, (2) denial, (3) interrogation, (4) exhortation, (5) information.

Now, purpose can only be indicated in a sentence by the position or tones of its components, by variation of their forms, or by the addition of special introductory words. Also it is obvious that when purposes are connected they can be indicated by connected sentences, and that these sentences must be in the relation to each other of principal and subordinate. This relation can only be expressed by the position of the sentences themselves, by variation of the forms of their components, or by the addition of special words of reference. A word of reference must act in one of two ways, either by merely joining sentences, or by substituting itself in the subordinate sentence for the word in the principal sentence to which it refers. Further, as there is a necessary inter-relation between the words in a sentence, this can only be expressed by the addition of special connecting words, or by variation or correlated variation of form.

These considerations complete what may be called the second stage of the argument leading to clear definitions of grammatical terms. The argument thereafter becomes more complicated, taking us into the explanation of elliptical, *i.e.*, incompletely expressed, forms of speech, and into those expansions of sentences known as phrases, clauses, and periods. But to keep our minds fixed only on that part of it which leads to plain grammatical definitions, it may be stated now that functionally a word must be either,—inventing new terms for the purpose:

(1) An *integer*, or a sentence in itself. [imperatives, interjections, pronouns, numerals.]
(2) An *indicator*, or indicative of the subject or *complement* (object) of a sentence. [nouns.]
(3) An *explicator*, or explanatory of its subject or complement. [adjective.]
(4) A *predicator*, or indicative of its predicate. [verb.]
(5) An *illustrator*, or illustrative of its predicate or complement, or of the explanation of its subject or complement. [adverb, adjective.]
(6) A *connector*, or explanatory of the inter-relation of its components (words). [conjunction, preposition.]
(7) An *introducer*, or explanatory of its purpose. [conjunction, adverb.]
(8) A *referent conjunctor*, or explanatory of the inter-relation of connected sentences by joining them. [pronoun, conjunction.]
(9) A *referent substitute*, or explanatory of the inter-relation of connected sentences by substitution of itself in the subordinate sentence for the word in the principal sentence to which it refers. [relative pronoun, conjunction.]

These, then, were the terms proposed and the arguments out of which they grew. Of course, grammarians will know that all this is syntax, and it must now be explained why the Theory makes it necessary to consider it far more important to study function than form or tone as essential to the correct apprehension of the nature of words, and that accidence arises properly out of syntax and not the other way round, as we have all been taught.

It is obvious that any given word may fulfil one or more or all the functions of words, and that therefore words may be collected into as many classes as there are functions, any individual word being transferable from one class to another and belonging to as many classes as there are functions which it can fulfil. The functions a word fufils in any particular sentence can be indicated by its position therein without or with variation of form, or by its tone; and, because of this, the form or tone which a word can be made to assume is capable of indicating

the class to which it belongs for the nonce. It is further obvious that words transferable from class to class belong primarily to a certain class and secondarily to the others, that a transfer involves the fulfilment of a new function, and that a word in its transferred condition becomes a new word connected with the form fulfilling the primary function, the relation between the forms or tones, *i.e.*, the words, so connected being that of parent and offshoot. Form and tone, therefore, can indicate the class to which a parent word and its offshoots respectively belong. /21/

This is the induction that leads to the argument that form grows out of function, or, to put it in the familiar way, accidence grows out of syntax, because when connected words differ in form they must consist of a principal part or stem, and an additional part or functional affix. The function of the stem is to indicate the meaning of the word, and the function of the affix to modify that meaning with reference to the function of the word. This modification can be expressed by indicating the class to which the word belongs, or by indicating its relation or correlation to the other words in the sentence.

But the stem itself may consist of an original meaning and thus be a simple stem, or it may contain a modification of an original meaning and so be a compound stem. A compound stem must consist of a principal part or root and additional parts or radical affixes, the function of the root being to indicate the original meaning of the stem, and of the radical affixes to indicate the modifications by which the meaning of the root has been changed into the meaning of the stem.

Further, since words fulfil functions and belong to classes, they must possess inherent qualities, which can be indicated by qualitative affixes and by tones.

Thus it is that the affixes determine the forms of words, bringing into existence what is usually called etymology or derivation. They are attachable, separably or inseparably, to roots and stems and words by the well-recognized methods of prefixing, infixing, and suffixing either in their full or in a varied form. It is the method of attaching them by variation of form that brings about inflexion in all its variety of kind.

Such is the line inductive argument naturally takes in order to work out the grammar of any given language or group of languages logically, starting from the base argument that speech is a mode of communication between man and man, expressed through the ear by talking, through the eye by signs, or through the skin by touch, and taking a language to be a variety or special mode of speech.

The grammar, *i.e.*, the exposition of the laws, of any single language stops at this point and to carry the argument further, as one of course must, is to enter the region of Comparative Grammar. In doing so one must start at the same point as before, *viz.*, the sentence, but progress on a different line, because hitherto the effort has been to resolve the unit of language into its components, and now it has to be considered as being itself a component of something greater, *i.e.*, of a language.

To continue the argument. Since a sentence is composed of words placed in a particular order without or with variation of form, its meaning is clearly rendered complete by the combination of the meaning of its components with their position and tones or forms or both. Also, since sentences are the units of languages, words are the components of sentences and languages are varieties of speech, languages can vary in the forms and tones of their words, or in the position in which their words are placed in the sentence, or in both. And thus are created classes of languages. Again, since the meaning of a sentence may be rendered complete either by the position of its words or by their tones and forms, languages are primarily divisible into syntactical languages or those that express complete meaning by the position of their words; and into formative languages, or those that express complete meaning by the forms of their words. Also, since syntactical languages depend on position or on position combined with tone to express complete meaning, they are divisible into analytical and tonic languages. Further, since words are varied in form by the addition of affixes, and since affixes may be attched to words in an altered or unaltered form, formative languages are divisible into agglutinative languages, or those that add affixes without alteration; and into synthetic languages, or those that add affixes with alteration. And lastly, since affixes may be prefixes, infixes, or suffixes, agglutinative and synthetic languages are each divisible into (1) pre-mutative, or those that prefix their affixes; (2) intro-mutative, or those that infix them; and (3) post-mutative, or those that suffix them.

Thus inductive argument can be carried onwards to a clear and definite apprehension of the birth and growth of the phenomena presented by the varieties of human speech, *i.e.*, by languages. But, as is the case with every other natural growth, no language can have ever been left to develop itself alone, and thus do we get the phenomenon of connected languages, which may be defined as those that differ from each other by varying the respective tones, forms and position, but not the meanings, of their words. And since the variation of form is effected by the addition of altered or unaltered affixes, connected languages can vary the forms of the affixes without materially varying those of the roots and stems of their words. In this way they become divisible into groups, or those whose stems are common, and into families, or those whose roots are common.

It is also against natural conditions for any language to develop only in one direction, or without subjection to outside influences, and so it is that we find languages developing on more than one line and belonging strictly to more than one class, but in every such case the language has what is commonly called its genius or peculiar constitution, *i.e.*, it belongs primarily to one class and secondarily to the others.

I have always thought, and I believe it can be proved, that every language must conform to some part or other of the Theory above indicated in outline, and in that case the

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Theory would be truly what I have ventured to call it—"A Theory of Universal Grammar." That such a Theory exists in nature and only awaits unearthing, I have no doubt whatever. Mankind, when untrammelled by 'teaching,' acts on an instinctive assumption of its existence, for children and adults alike always learn a language in the same way if left to themselves. They copy the enunciation of complete sentences from experts in it to start with, learning to divide up and vary the sentences so acquired afterwards, and this is not only the sutest but also the quickest way of mastering a foreign tongue correctly. Its natural laws, *i.e.*, its rules of grammar, as stated in books about it, are mastered later on, and in every case where they only are studied there comes about that book knowledge of the language, which is everywhere by instinct acknowledged to be a matter apart from and in one sense inferior to the practical or true knowledge. I use the term 'true' here, because, unless this is possessed, whatever knowledge may be acquired fails to fulfil its object of finding a new mode of communicating with one's fellow man.

Book knowledge of a language is useful only for scientific and educational purposes, but if the laws laid down in the set Grammars were to follow closely on the laws instinctively obeyed by the untutored man, and to do no violence to what instinct teaches him to be the logical sequence of ideas, the divorce between practical and linguistic knowledge —between knowledge by the ear and knowledge by the eye—would not be so complete as it is nowadays. And not only that, if the laws could be stated in the manner above suggested, they could be more readily grasped and better retained in the memory, and languages would consequently be more quickly, more thoroughly, and more easily learned, both by children and adults, than is now practicable. Looked at thus, the matter becomes one of the greatest practical importance.

This is what the Theory attempts to achieve : but, assuming it to be fundamentally right and correctly worked out, it should explain the workings of the untutored mind of the Andamanese or Nicobarese as exhibited in his speech, although it reverses the accepted order of teaching, alters many accepted definitions, and, while admitting much that is usually taught, it both adds and omits many details, and taken all round is a wide departure from orthodox teaching. How wide the following observations will show. The familiar terminology has been changed in this wise. The old noun, adjective, verb, adverb, preposition, and conjunction become indicator, explicator, predicator, illustrator, connector, and referent conjunctor, while interjections and pronouns become integers and referent substitutes. Certain classes also of the adverbs are converted into introducers. Gender, number, person, tense, conjugation, and declension all disappear in the general description of kinds of inflexion :—the object becomes the complement of the predicate, and concord becomes correlated variation.

The Theory is based on the one phenomenon, which must of necessity be constant in every variety of speech, *viz.*, the expression of a complete meaning, or, technically, the sentence. Words are then considered as components of the sentence, firstly as to the functions performed by them, and next as to the means whereby they can be made to fulfil their functions. Lastly, languages are considered according to their methods of composing sentences and words. Assuming this course of reasoning to be logically correct, it must, when properly worked out, explain every phenomenon of speech; and when its dry bones have been clothed with the necessary flesh for every possible language by the process of direct natural development of detail, a clear and fair explanation of all the phenomena of speech must be logically deducible from the general principles enunciated therein.

The Skeleton of a Theory of Universal Grammar.

SPEECH is a mode of communication between man and man by expression. Speech may be communicated orally through the ear by talking, optically through the eye by signs, tangibly through the skin by the touch. LANGUAGES are varieties of speech.

The *units* of languages are SENTENCES. A sentence is the expression of a complete meaning.

A sentence may consist of a single expression of a meaning. A single expression of a meaning is a WORD. A sentence may also consist of many words. When it consists of more than one word, it has two parts. These parts are the SUBJECT and the PREDICATE. The subject of a sentence is the matter communicated or discussed in the sentence. The predicate of a sentence is the commmunication or discussion of that matter in the sentence.

The subject may consist of one word. It may also consist of many words. When it consists of more than one word, there is a principal word and additional words. The predicate may consist of one word. It may also consist of many words. When it consists of more than one word, there is a principal word and additional words. Therefore the *components* of a sentence are words placed either in the subjective or predicative part of it, having a *relation* to each other in that part. This relation is that of principal and subordinate.

Since the words composing the parts of a sentence are placed in a position of relation to each other, they fulfil *functions*. The function of the principal word of the subject is to indicate the matter communicated or discussed by expressing it. The function of the subordinate words of the subject may be to explain that indication, or to illustrate the explanation of it. The function of the principal word of the predicate is to indicate the communication or discussion of the subject by expressing it. The function of the subordinate words of the

predicate may be to illustrate that indication, or to complete it. The predicate may be completed by a word explanatory of the subject or indicative of the COMPLEMENT. Therefore, primarily, the words composing a sentence are either— 121

(1) INDICATORS, or indicative of the subject.
(2) EXPLICATORS, or explanatory of the subject.
(3) PREDICATORS, or indicative of the predicate.
(4) ILLUSTRATORS, or illustrative of the predicate, or of the explanation of the subject.
(5) COMPLEMENTS, or complementary of the predicator.

And complements are either indicators or explicators. Therefore also *complementary indicators* may be explained by explicators, and this explanation may be illustrated by illustrators. And *complementary explicators* may be illustrated by illustrators.

But, since speech is a mode of communication between man and man, mankind speaks with a *purpose*. The function of sentences is to indicate the purpose of speech. The purpose of speech is either (1) affirmation, (2) denial, (3) interrogation, (4) exhortation, or (5) information. Purpose may be indicated in a sentence by the POSITION of its components, by the TONES of its components, by VARIATION of the forms of its components, and by the addition of introductory words to express it or INTRODUCERS.

Also, since the function of sentences is to indicate the purpose of speech, *connected purposes* may be indicated by CONNECTED SENTENCES. The relation of connected sentences to each other is that of principal and subordinate. This relation may be expressed by the position of the connected sentences, by variation of the tones or forms of their components, or by the addition of referent words expressing it or REFERENTS. A referent word may express the inter-relation of connected sentences by conjoining them, or by substituting itself in the subordinate sentence for the word in the principal sentence to which it refers. Referents are therefore CONJUNCTORS or SUBSTITUTES

Also, since the words composing the parts of a sentence are placed in a position of relation to each other, this relation may be expressed in the sentence by the addition of connecting words expressing it or CONNECTORS, or by variation of the forms of the words themselves.

Also, since predicators are specially connected with indicators, explicators with indicators, illustrators and complements with predicators, and referent substitutes with their principals, there is an *intimate relation* between predicator and indicator, indicator and explicator, illustrator and predicator, predicator and complement, referent substitute and principal. This intimate relation may be expressed by the addition of connecting words to express it, or by *correlated variation* in the forms of the specially connected words or by their relative position or by their relative tones.

Since speech is a mode of communication between man and man by expression, that communication may be made complete without complete expression. Speech may, therefore, be partly expressed, or be partly left unexpressed. And since speech may be partly left unexpressed, referent words may refer to the unexpressed portions, and words may be related to unexpressed words or correlated to them. Referent substitutes may, therefore, indicate the subject of a sentence.

Again, many words may be used collectively to express the meaning of one word. The collective expression of a single meaning by two or more words is a PHRASE. The relation of a phrase to the word it represents is that of original and substitute. A phrase, therefore, fulfils the function of its original.

Since a phrase is composed of words used collectively to represent a single expression of a meaning, that meaning may be complete in itself. Therefore a phrase may be a sentence. A sentence substituted for a word is a CLAUSE. A clause, therefore, fulfils the function of its original.

Since clauses represent words, a sentence may be composed of clauses, or partly of clauses and partly of words. A sentence composed of clauses, or partly of clauses and partly of words, is a PERIOD.

Therefore a word is functionally either—

(1) A sentence in itself or an INTERJECT,
(2) An *essential component* of a sentence, or
(3) An *optional component* of a sentence.

The essential components of a sentence are (1) indicators, (2) explicators, (3) predicators, (4) illustrators, (5) complements. And complements are either indicators or explicators.

The optional components of a sentence are (1) introducers, (2) referents, (3) connectors. And referents are either referent conjunctors or referent substitutes.

To recapitulate: Functionally a word is either—

(1) An INTERJECT, or a sentence in itself.
(2) An INDICATOR, or indicative of the subject or complement of a sentence.
(3) An EXPLICATOR, or explanatory of its subject or complement.
(4) A PREDICATOR, or indicative of its predicate.
(5) An ILLUSTRATOR, or illustrative of its predicate or complement, or of the explanation of its subject or complement.
(6) A CONNECTOR, or explanatory of the inter-relation of its components.

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(7) An INTRODUCER, or explanatory of its purpose.
(8) A REFERENT CONJUNCTOR, or explanatory of the inter-relation of connected sentences by joining them.
(9) A REFERENT SUBSTITUTE, or explanatory of the inter-relation of connected sentences by substitution of itself in the subordinate sentence for the word in the principal sentence to which it refers.

An individual word may fulfil all the functions of words, or it may fulfil only one function, or it may fulfil many functions. When a word can fulfil more than one function, the function it fulfils in a particular sentence is indicated by its *position* in the sentence, either without variation of form or with variation of form or by its TONE. There are, therefore, CLASSES OF WORDS.

Since a word may fulfil only one function, there are as many classes as there are functions. Also since a word may fulfil more than one function, it may belong to as many classes as there are functions which it can fulfil. A word may, therefore, be transferable from one class to another; and this transfer may be effected by its *position* in the sentence without variation of form, or with variation of form or by its TONE. The class to which a word belongs may, therefore, be indicated by its FORM or TONE.

When a word is transferable from one class to another, it belongs primarily to a certain class, and secondarily to other classes. But, since by transfer to another class from the class to which it primarily belongs (with or without variation of form) the word fulfils a *new function*, it becomes a *new word* connected with the original word. The relation between CONNECTED WORDS is that of parent and offshoot. Since the form of a word may indicate its class, both parent and offshoot may assume the forms of the classes to which they respectively belong.

When connected words differ in form, they consist of a principal part or STEM, and an additional part or FUNCTIONAL AFFIX. The function of the stem is to indicate the meaning of the word. The function of the functional affix is to modify that meaning with reference to the function of the word. This *modification* may be effected by indicating the class to which the word belongs, or by indicating its relation or correlation to the other words in the sentence.

A stem may be an original meaning or SIMPLE STEM, or it may be a modification of an original meaning or COMPOUND STEM. A compound stem consists of a principal part or ROOT, and additional parts or RADICAL AFFIXES. The function of the root is to indicate the original meaning of the stem. The function of the radical affixes is to indicate the *modification* by which the meaning of the root has been changed into the meaning of the stem.

Since words fulfil functions and belong to classes, they possess *inherent qualities*. The inherent qualities of words may be indicated by QUALITATIVE AFFIXES or by TONES.

Affixes are, therefore, *functional*, or indicative of the function of the word to which they are affixed, or of its relation or correlation to the other words in the sentence; *radical* or indicative of the modifications of meaning which its root has undergone; *qualitative*, or indicative of its inherent qualities.

Affixes may be—

(1) PREFIXES, or prefixed to the root, stem, or word;
(2) INFIXES, or fixed into the root, stem or word;
(3) SUFFIXES, or suffixed to the root, stem, or word.

Affixes may be attached to roots, stems, or words in their *full form*, or in a *varied form*. When there is variation of form, there is INFLEXION or inseparability of the affix from the root, stem, or word. All the functions of affixes can, therefore, be fulfilled by inflexion; and *inflected words* may conform to particular KINDS OF INFLEXION.

Since a sentence is composed of words placed in a particular order, with or without variation of form, the meaning of a sentence is rendered complete by the combination of the meaning of its components with their position, with their tones, or with their forms, or partly with their position and partly with their forms or tones.

Since sentences are the units of languages, and words are the components of sentences, and since languages are varieties of speech, languages may vary in the forms of their words, in the tones of their words, in the position in which their words are placed in the sentence, or partly in the forms and tones and partly in the position of their words. There are, therefore, CLASSES OF LANGUAGES.

Since the meaning of a sentence may be rendered complete by the position of its words, by their tones or by their form, languages are primarily divisible into SYNTACTICAL LANGUAGES, or those that express complete meaning by the position and tones of their words; and into FORMATIVE LANGUAGES, or those that express complete meaning by the position and forms of their words.

Since syntactical languages use either position or position and tone, they are divisible INTO ANALYTICAL LANGUAGES and TONIC LANGUAGES.

Since words are varied in form by the addition of affixes, and since affixes may be attached to words in an unaltered or altered form, formative languages are divisible into AGGLUTINATIVE LANGUAGES, or those that add affixes without alteration; and into SYNTHETIC LANGUAGES, or those that add affixes with alteration.

Since affixes may be prefixes, infixes, or suffixes, agglutinative and synthetic languages are each divisible into (1) PRE-MUTATIVE LANGUAGES or those that prefix their affixes;

(2) INTRO-MUTATIVE LANGUAGES, or those that infix their affixes; (3) POST-MUTATIVE LANGUAGES, or those that suffix their affixes. /2/

Languages are, therefore, by class either syntactical or formative. And syntactical languages are either analytical or tonic and formative languages are either agglutinative or synthetic. And agglutinative and synthetic languages are either pre-mutative, intro-mutative, or post-mutative.

A language may belong entirely to one class, or it may belong to more than one class. When a language belongs to more than one class, it belongs primarily to a particular class, and secondarily to other classes.

Since the meaning of a sentence is rendered complete by the meaning of its words in combination with their forms or position, languages may be CONNECTED LANGUAGES, or those that vary the forms, the tones or the position, without varying the meanings, of their words.

Since variation of form is effected by the addition of affixes in an unaltered or altered form, connected languages may vary the affixes without variation of the roots or stems of their words. Connected languages whose *stems* are common belong to a GROUP. Connected languages whose *roots* are common belong to a FAMILY; and, therefore, all connected languages belonging to a group belong to the same family.

Diagrams to illustrate the Theory of Universal Grammar.

Diagrams are now given illustrating the Theory, in order to make the explanation of the Andaman and Nicobar Languages according to it the easier to understand. These diagrams are as follow: —

I	The Sentence illustrated	by its components.
II	" " "	by the inter-relation of its components.
III	" " "	by its function.
IV	" " "	by its expanded components.
V	" " "	by the inter-relation of its expanded components.
VI	" " "	by the functions of its components.
VII	" " "	by the classes of its components.
VIII	" " "	by the inter-relation of the classes of its components.
IX	" " "	by the inter-relation of the functions of its components.
X	" " "	by the position, tone and form of its components.
XI	" " "	by general development into languages.
XII	" " "	by development into classes of languages.
XIII	" " "	by development into inter-related classes of languages.

DIAGRAMS OF DETAILS.

I

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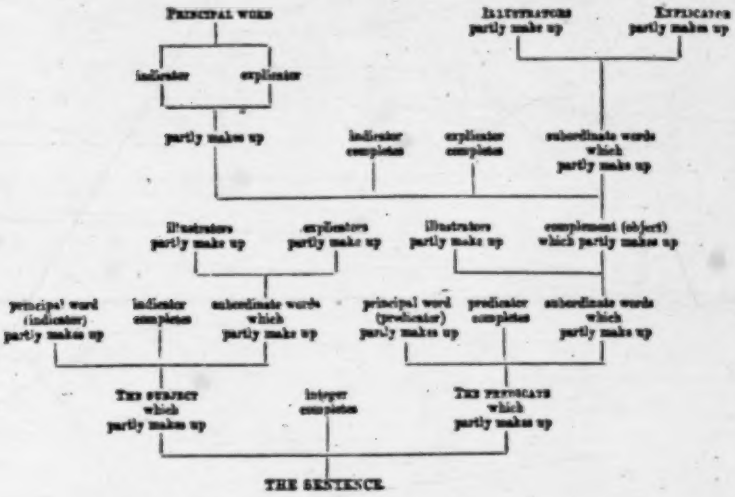
ILLUSTRATING ANALYSIS OF THE SENTENCE BY ITS COMPONENT WORDS.

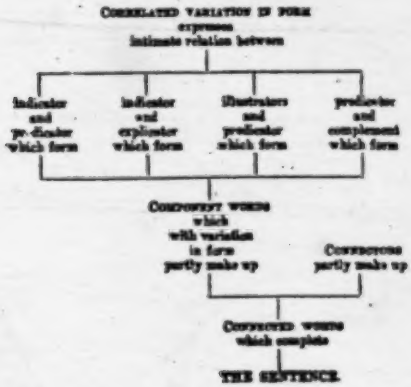
NOTES.—A Sentence is composed of words.
A Word is the expression of a meaning.
A Sentence is the expression of a complete meaning.
Words required to express the meaning of a sentence are (1) integers, (2) indicators, (3) predicators, (4) explicators, (5) illustrators.



II.

ILLUSTRATING ANALYSIS OF THE SENTENCE BY THE INTER-RELATION AND INTIMATE RELATION OF ITS COMPONENT WORDS.

NOTES.—Inter-relation of component words is expressed by variation in form.
Intimate relation of component words is expressed by correlated variation in form (agreement).
Words required to express the inter-relation of component words are (6) connectors.



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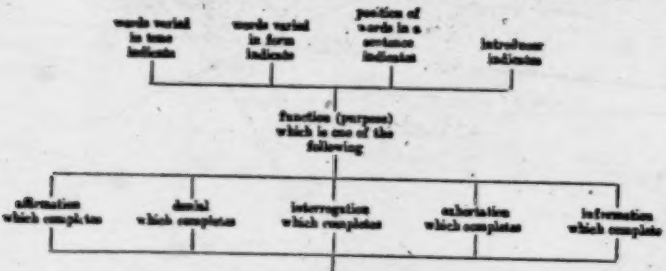
III.

Illustrating analysis of the Sentence by its function.

Note.—The function of a sentence is to express its purpose.
Words required to express the function of a sentence are (7) Introducers.

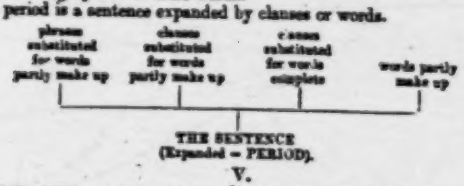


IV.

Illustrating analysis of the Sentence expanded by the substitution of phrases, clauses and sentences for words.

(PERIODS)

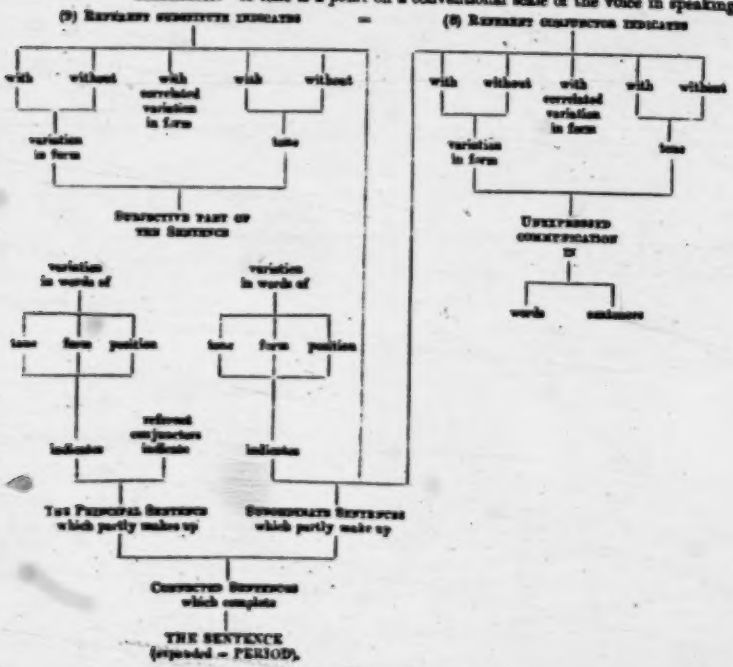
Note.—A phrase is the substitute for a word by the collective expression of a meaning by two or more words.
A clause is the substitute for a word by the collective expression of a complete meaning by two or more words.
A period is a sentence expanded by clauses or words.



V.

Illustrating analysis of the Sentence when expanded by the inter-relation of its components.

Note.—Connected sentences express connected purposes. Words required to express the inter-relation of connected sentences are (8) referent conjunctors. (9) referent substitutes. A tone is a point on a conventional scale of the voice in speaking.



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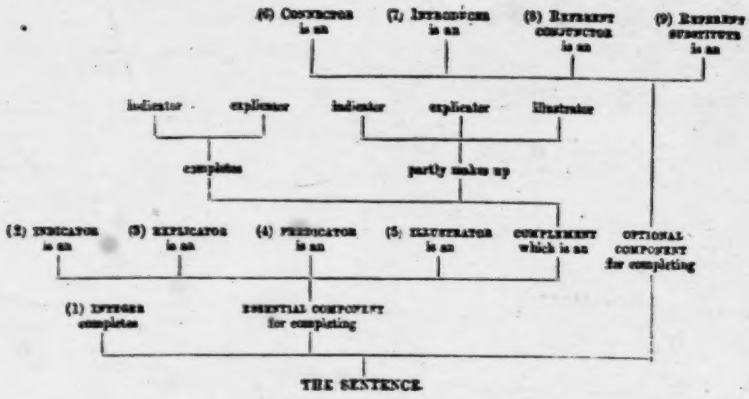
VI.

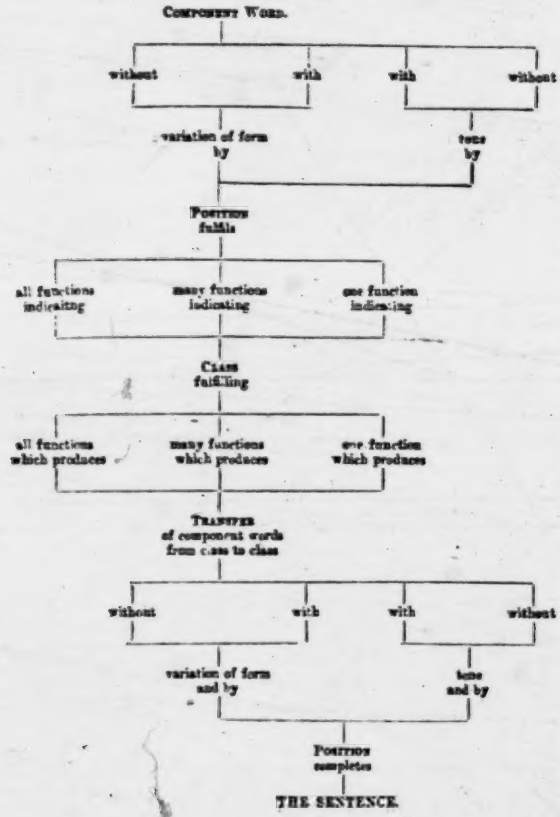
ILLUSTRATING ANALYSIS OF THE SENTENCE BY THE FUNCTIONS OF ITS COMPONENTS.



VII.

ILLUSTRATING ANALYSIS OF THE SENTENCE BY CLASSES OF ITS COMPONENTS.

NOTES.—Class indicates the nature of a word.
Form indicates the class of a word.

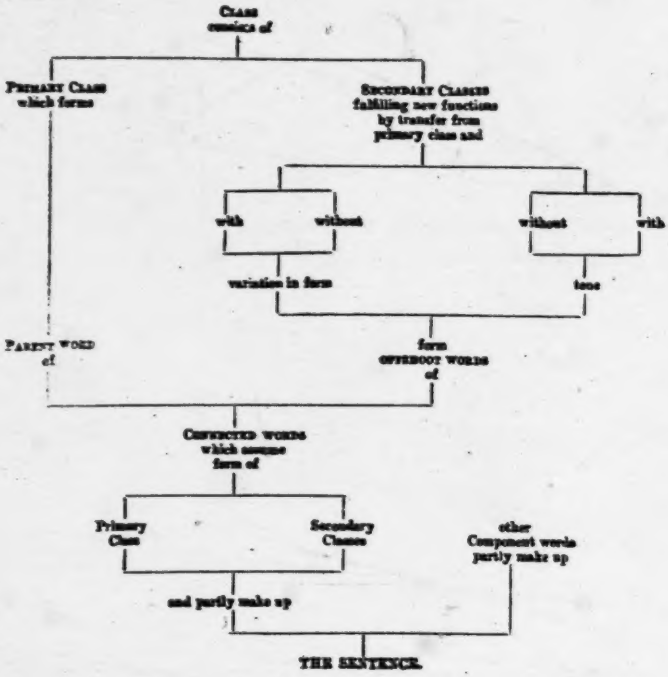


121

VIII.

Illustrating analysis of the Sentence by the inter-relation of the classes of its components.

Note.—Connected words indicate their transfer from one class to another.

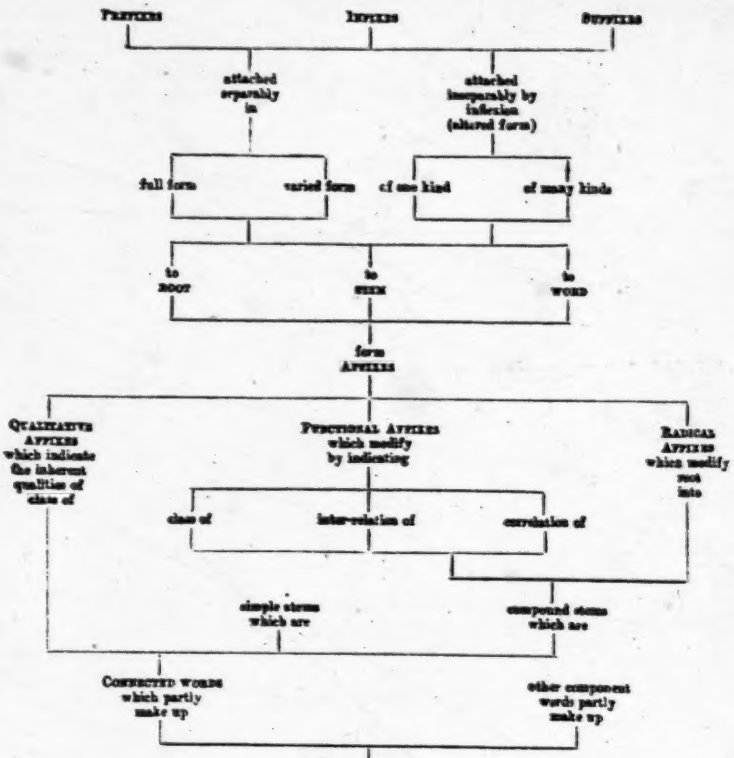


IX.

Illustrating analysis of the Sentence by the inter-relation of the functions of its components.

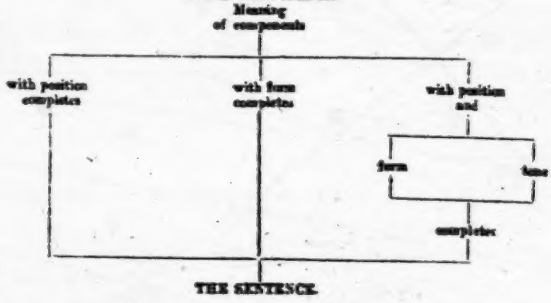
Note.—The root indicates the original meaning of a word.
Affixes comprise prefixes, infixes, suffixes.
Affixes modify the meaning of a word.
A radical affix modifies the meaning of a root.
A simple stem is the principal part of a word indicating its meaning.
A functional affix modifies the meaning of a stem in relation to its function.
A compound stem comprises a root and its radical affix.
A qualitative affix modifies a word by indicating its nature (inherent qualities) in relation to function or class.
Connected words comprise stems and their functional affixes.
Inflexion is caused by an alteration in the form of inseparable affixes.
Inflected words conform to particular kinds of inflexion.
Tone is a substitute for inflexion.

121



X.

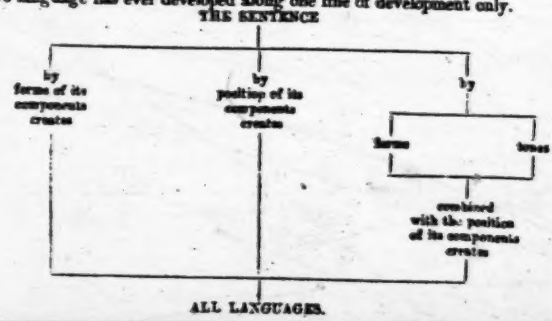
Illustrating analysis of the Sentence by the position, tone and form of its components.



XI.

Illustrating analysis of all Languages by General Development from the Sentence.

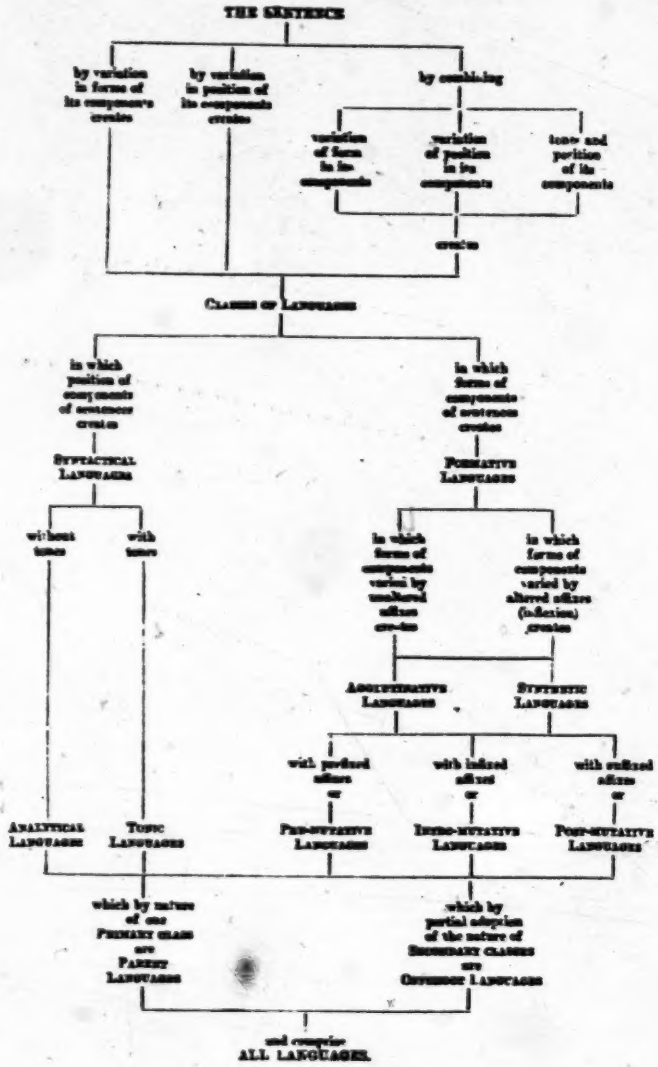
Note.—No language has ever developed along one line of development only.



XII.

ILLUSTRATING ANALYSIS OF ALL LANGUAGES BY DEVELOPMENT IN CLASSES FROM THE SENTENCE.

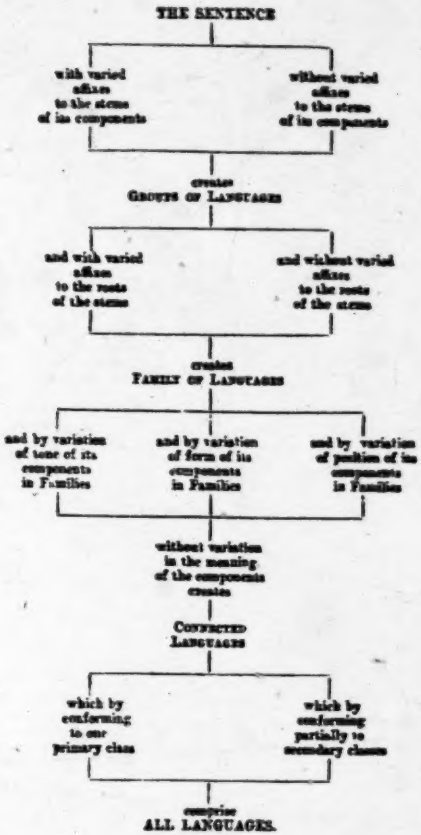
121



121

XIII.

ILLUSTRATING ANALYSIS OF ALL LANGUAGES BY DEVELOPMENT IN THE INTER-RELATION OF CLASSES FROM THE SENTENCE.



4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Report of a Survey of the Inhabitants of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands during 1948-49

[P1]

By

B. S. Guha

Director, Department of Anthropology

About the end of the year 1946, Mr H. J. Stooks, Deputy Secretary to the Ministry of Home Affairs, consulted me with regard to proposals made by Sri A. V. Thakkar of the Bharatiya Adim Jati Sevak Sangh for undertaking work for the amelioration of the conditions of the inhabitants of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands on the same lines as the Sangh has been doing among the Bhils and other tribes of Central India. The problem of the Aborigines of the Andaman Islands, however, is not the same as that of the other primitive tribes of India. These people are some of the most ancient remnants of the human race still surviving in any part of the world, who had been very little affected from contact with other people and subsist principally on fishing and hunting. The need among them is not so much the spread of education and social uplift as the arrest of the decline in population which has been most alarming. Since the establishment of the Penal Settlement at Port Blair in 1858, the condition of the "Friendly Tribes" among these inhabitants have been most distressing. Due in the beginning to armed encounters with the forces of the Government, and also as a result of ravages from diseases like tuberculosis and syphilis contracted from Indian convicts, there has been a continuous decline in the Andamanese population. From an estimated figure of about 10,000 people in 1779 the tribe has been reduced to only 70 in 1931, and at the time of our visit there were probably not more than 37 individuals still living. Whether it will be possible to save the Andamanese from the fate of the Tasmanians whose last surviving representative passed away about 1770 is extremely doubtful.

The hostile branch of the Andamanese tribes known as the Jarawa-Onge-Sentinelese group, fortunately has been spared the fate of their more "friendly" kinsmen, and as a result of implacable hostility and comparative isolation have survived to a much larger extent. In the western forest belts of Middle and South Andamans, the Little Andaman, and the North Sentinel Islands they have resisted all intrusions from outsiders and were known to have lived in these places comparatively unmolested. No accurate census of these tribes however, was ever taken, but from estimates made by people who had some knowledge of the tribes, it does not seem possible that the total strength of these people could be more than a few hundred souls altogether before the last war. What has happened since and how far these people, specially the Jarawas, have suffered from Japanese occupation cannot accurately be determined. It is known that there had been some bombing by the Japanese in the Jarawa tract, but whether any Jarawa was killed is not known. I, therefore, suggested to Mr Stooks that an anthropological survey of the Islands was essential and a probable estimate of the surviving settlements of the population made before the question of any social welfare work can be considered.

122 considered. I promised the full collaboration of this Department for undertaking such a survey. It was at first planned to take a fully equipped scientific party for a period of at least six months with headquarters at Port Blair, members of which could pay short visits to the different Islands where the Andamanese tribes were known to have lived. The Ministry of Home Affairs agreed to the proposal and expressed their willingness to place a trawler at our disposal for visiting the outlying islands as no other means of transport existed. Negotiations were taken up for securing the services of Mr Crawley of the B. N. Railway to accompany the party as guide and adviser for he was one of the few who had a direct knowledge of the Jarawa area. With Mr. Duncan of the same Railway, both of whom were landed in the Jarawa territory by British submarines during the last War he spent nearly 6 months in that tract. Although Mr Crawley was very willing to accompany our party it was not found possible in the end to secure his services as the B. N. Railway could not spare him. What is still more unfortunate was that the R. I. N. could not spare any trawler. The prevalence of polio or infantile paralysis in an [164] epidemic form in the Nicobar Islands at the time made it impossible to include them in our itinerary. Lastly, the Chief Commissioner of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands informed us that owing to great demands on residential accommodation at Port Blair it would be difficult for him to find enough living quarters for our party. He suggested that a smaller party might be sent instead, for making exploratory surveys only.

Accordingly, the original plan had to be modified and a party consisting of myself, Mr S. S. Sarkar, who had then just joined the Department, 3 scientific assistants and 3 attendants left for the Islands on board the 'S. S. Maharaja' on February 17, 1948, reaching Port Blair on the 20th. The Chief Commissioner, Mr S. Majid, I.C.S., met us at the quay and arranged for our stay at the Guest House facing the harbour. He was an exceedingly well-informed and kind gentleman and promised to give us all facilities in our work. We 121 discussed the various questions concerning the Andamanese population and he agreed with me that the most pressing need was to collect correct statistics regarding the strength and distribution of the so-called hostile tribes. For very little can be done now to save the Andamanese proper who have paid for their friendliness by being driven to the verge of extinction and it is now a question of time before they would completely disappear. At the present [161] moment the surviving remnants of this group numbering about 37 have been collected and settled in the Neil and Havelock Islands. In consultation with 122 Mr Majid the plan of making the preliminary reconnaissance was fixed. It was agreed that I, and as many of my party as could be accommodated in the Port Blair harbour launch 'Molly', which Mr Majid by arrangements with the harbour authorities found it possible to place at our disposal for about a week, would leave for Little Andaman to survey the eastern coast of the Island in search of the Onge settlements, as far as this was practicable within this short time. Accordingly we left Port Blair on the 23rd February at 7-30 in the morning on board the motor launch 'Molly'; myself, Messrs S. S. Sarkar, S. Banerjee, R. De and Ramkassis forming the members of our party.

for such a fairly long period, it was decided to give up the idea of continuing our survey of the Little Andaman that year. A 122

At the suggestion of Mr Majid it was finally decided instead to pay a visit to the surviving members of the Friendly Andamanese tribes at Neil and Havelock Islands where they had now been transferred and settled. Unfortunately, as it was March and the closing month of the financial year, I had to return to my headquarters at Banaras and leave Mr Sarkar in charge of the party to carry on further surveys in the North and Middle Andamans as far as this was found possible. A 121 [131]

Accordingly Mr Sarkar with his party left Port Blair on 6-3-48 on the Forest Motor Launch "Lindsay" and arrived at Long Island at about 8 A.M. on the following day. Mr Sarkar was met by Mr Joseph, T. S. D. O. who brought "Loka" and his party of four Andamanese. They were studied by him. The party left Long Island on the Forest Launch "Kokhari" at about 7-30 A.M. on the following day. Mr Joseph accompanied the party, who halted at the Guitar Island where some of Loka's associates were hunting turtles with harpoons. After leaving Guitar Island, the launch passed through Homfray Strait. Mr Joseph showed the spot where the Jarawas in 1925 attacked his camp. This is near the place from where the Jarawas usually crossed from the Baratang Island to the Middle Andamans. Proceeding further westwards, Mr Sarkar and his party reached the north-east end of the Spike Island. This is another route of migration of the Jarawas from the South to North Andamans. Usually they come from the South Andaman and cross over to Bluff Island and then reach the Spike Island opposite to it. Loka gave the information that it was about this place that several Jarawas were shot sometime back and their bodies were buried in the Bluff Island. The party went along the coast of Neil Island and anchored off Foul Bay. Human footprints identified by Mr Joseph and Loka as belonging to the Jarawas were found in the sand. Following the footprints the party found the remnants of burnt ashes and cinder in a spot in the jungle. There were also vessels made of leaves for carrying water which were still wet. These were collected as specimens of Jarawa objects for the Department's collections. No traces of Jarawas themselves could however be found who must have moved into the jungles just prior to our party's visit. Our men then crossed over to Bluff Island and searched for the Jarawa skeletons, but none were found. On the 9th of March the "Kokhari" returned to Long Island, where it anchored. Loka brought his party of 21 individuals who were now settled in Neil Island. These people were carefully studied by Mr Sarkar and notes taken regarding their geneology, family structure and physical state, etc. On the 9th the Deputy Chief Commissioner, Mr S. C. Gupta with his wife arrived at Long Island. Mr Sarkar and his party accompanied him to Stewart Sound in his boat "Elsa". Unfortunately the few Andamanese who were living there happened to have gone out in their canoes for fishing and could not be contacted (*see* Plate I, Fig. 5). A 115 A 114 A [225] [411] A [215] [106] A [115]

They then went with Mr Gupta to the Karen village called *Webi* situated at a short distance from Stewart Sound. There were no Andamanese there, K 361

Blood Groups from the Andaman and Nicobar Islands

By

S. S. Sarkar

The following blood group data were collected during the months of February-April, 1948 in the course of a visit to Little Andaman, Long Island and Car Nicobar by a party under Dr B. S. Guha from the Department of Anthropology, of which the present writer was a member. The data grouped according to the different tribes are as follows :— 143 121 114 [128]

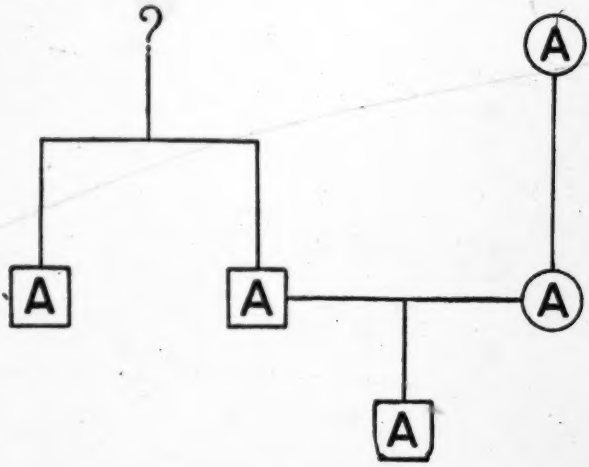
Onges

34 Onges, 19 males and 15 females, were grouped from the island of Little Andaman. They were collected from the settlements round about Bumila Creek, Dugong Creek and the village Tambebui on the N. E. part of the island. The blood group distribution is as follows :— 125 361 143

O	5	14·71%
A	23	67·65%
B	2	5·88%
AB	4	11·76%
	34	

The predominance of group A was already noticeable from Chaudhuri's (Gates, 1940) earlier study of 5 Onges, 3 of whom belonged to A and 1 each to Group O and B.

This will be also apparent from the following pedigree, where three generations show only A. [601]



6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

122 torches for hunting by night. There were pigs everywhere. In half an hour we often got
114 six or more of them. At Chemalê, far from the coast, we had eleven in a few minutes for distribution to everybody, including roaming Onge. Pigeons and ducks also were often
[136] plentiful. The simple pleasures of hunting incited everyone to a spontaneous daily struggle through the dense forest ; and so, every month, I managed to carry out many times the work I could have done had I not kept all the men glad to follow me. On seven different occasions I spent 162 days in Little Andaman, out of a total of 634 days altogether in the Andamanese Archipelago – all of them given up to Onge research. These trips are recorded
128 in Port Blair Government offices. A few details on the subject are published in the "Bul-
114 letin of the Department of Anthropology", Government of India, starting in Vol. II, No. 1, 1953 (issued in 1956) and extended to other issues. Such papers were hurriedly prepared by me while I was halting in Calcutta on my way from the Andamans to Europe. Press proofs could never be submitted to me; there are, consequently, many misprints, particularly in the figures relating to my Onge Census. The misprints are so obvious that they could only influence a most biased critic : to be discussed in future papers and while my Onge book is in preparation. In Port Blair (South Andaman) I started an Onge Museum with material collected by me. I had the honour of inaugurating it on 6 July, 1953 in the presence of the Chief Commissioner for Andamans and Nicobars, Mr. A. K. GHOSH, one of the kindest and most intelligent Indian gentlemen that it was my pleasure to meet in Asia. On 9 March, 1954 Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD, President of the Republic of India, also visited the Museum. On that occasion I introduced to him 30 of my Onge friends (wives, husbands and children) in their most natural attire. The President questioned me at length on Onge anthropology and ethnology with the pertinence of a specialist.

123 While in Little Andaman I tried to study all possible aspects of Onge life. I also
[121] tried to count the natives : a very difficult task for they are a nomadic people, ready to vanish into the jungle at any moment. Often I was surrounded by them without seeing a single one. In the darkness of their jungle, the small, black, naked Onge easily disappear. They see us but we do not see them. They can only be counted in their sleeping quarters
[361] in communal huts ; even so, results are misleading. I found a number of communal huts in the interior regions of Little Andaman, whereas previously they were said to exist
[126] only on the coast. The larger, more solidly built huts are in the forest. With the help of my Indian assistants I obtained plans and photographs of all the huts that I saw.
[178] Unfortunately the number of Onge communal huts is rapidly diminishing – a very significant fact. Many are in ruins, many more completely destroyed. Only kitchen-middens
[361] and occasional clusters of planted bamboo indicate their former location. Through an interpreter, and with two Onge speaking a little Hindi, I was able to gather information
[124] on these and other matters. Direct observation, however, proved the best way of gaining knowledge. In some places there was nothing to help me, and I was compelled to guess about communal huts whose inmates chose to hide in the jungle. Of the many personal
[551] names that I collected I must say that they are reliable only for a short period : the Onge like to change their names from time to time. All this, in addition to the Onge's nomadic
[553] way of life, causes great confusion and makes a proper Census almost impossible. Frequent changing of names also hinders the establishment of genealogies. Furthermore, the Onge
[597] custom of adopting children shifts many of them from one family to another, and adoptive parents invariably claim them as their own offspring. The parents themselves, who are ignorant of numbers, not infrequently forget how many children they have, who these children are and where they are located. It was almost useless to follow previous information concerning communal huts ; and so I decided to consider mainly the situation
[114] existing at the time of my visits. The result of my Census may be imperfect, but before criticizing it it would be advisable to know the conditions that prevail in anthropological work among the Onge. Something more than merely counting people, anyhow, was achieved by me in Little Andaman.

In this short paper I am pleased to present a peculiar aspect of Onge life, an aspect that these innocent and once hostile people did not attempt to hide from me, though they also told me nothing about it. Only direct observation could help, and it involved pro-

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[Introductory, P. iV]
[Introductory, P. iii, is blank]

PREFACE

The dearth of literature but considerable curiosity about the islands because of the presence of the aborigines, the development of the penal colony and in recent years the colonisation of the refugees, have inspired the author to write a geographical treatise of these islands covering almost all their physical and socio-economic aspects. The interest of the author about these islands of course dates back to some 8 or 9 years for preparing a thesis about these islands as a part fulfilment of his M. Sc. course and the author with the limited time and money made some personal enquiries for the collection of data and the assessment of the situation. The access to the data and the other research materials and the visits to the different parts of the islands were possible through the kind permission and help of the-then Chief Commissioner Sri S. N. Maitra, the Forest Officers, the Head Master of Port Blair High School. Dr. L. Cipriani besides a host of other officers and friends in the islands and also at Calcutta. However the ultimate preparation of the thesis became possible for the kind guidance of Dr. S. P. Chatterjee, Head of the Dept of Geography, Calcutta University. 114 121 122 128

Anybody faces a tremendous problem in conducting a thorough survey of the islands arising out of the poor communication facilities both on land and water, and more so on account of the very few literatures on the islands. The author cannot demand a thorough enquiry in all parts of the islands and his analysis of the different aspects has been derived more from the conclusions of sample survey. 114

Though a long time has elapsed since the preparation of the thesis in the year 1955, the author has been, on the whole, eager to incorporate all the latest informations of the islands. The present book is partially a reproduction of his previous thesis with some additional facts and informations and the objective of such changes has been to prepare a comprehensive geographical treatise rather than focussing one particular aspect as was done in the thesis i.e. the colonisation problems of the islands. Besides this, additional chapters on the aboriginal population, the overall assessment and also a geographical account on the Nicobar Islands have been added. The Nicobar Islands, though form only a sidelight of the book, also command a separate geographical treat- 128

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Foreword

The following pages represent a brief account of my observations during a period of nearly two years which I spent in the Andaman Islands, living for part of the time with the Onges, who provide the major part of my material.

I had for a long time been interested in the vexed question of the origins of the pygmies, and after spending some years studying them in Africa and in Asia I came to the conclusion that the peoples of the Andaman archipelago might well represent the 'purest' living example of Negrito stock and culture, remaining as they have in complete isolation until very recently. After a brief visit to the Islands in 1951, therefore, and with the warm co-operation of all the officials and government departments concerned, I was able, beginning in 1952, to spend a total of 634 days in the Islands, 162 of them living in the forests of Little Andaman with the Onges.

It would be impossible to list individually the Indian government officials who aided me in every way, but I wish to record here my deepest appreciation of the courtesy and help extended to me by all the departments and individuals with whom I had dealings, both in the Andamans and in India itself. To all of them, whatever their rank or station, are due my warmest thanks – without their help these notes, incomplete as they are, could never have been written.

Armed with gifts of mirrors, glass beads, cloth and, above all, tobacco, I was able to make friends with the reputedly ferocious people of the Andamans and to make observations which, though but a beginning, will I hope lead others to carry further the work which I was able to begin. During my visits to the Islands I was able to set up a museum at Port Blair, where I hope ultimately to

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

● 121 build up a complete picture of the life and culture of the islanders; it will fall to others to continue where I have had to stop, and I can only hope, in these pages, to awaken in others the interest and sympathy which I came to feel for these strange, child-like, but lovable people – the Onges of Little Andaman.

LIDIO CIPRIANI

175 colonel who had accompanied him. After a series of similar inci-
648 dents involving other people Portman went to Bumila Creek on 10 November 1891, for revenge. A number of Onges, including the one responsible for wounding the colonel, were captured and taken to Port Blair.

Other visits by various people followed, always very brief and always limited to the coast, but there were no landings of note. Various expeditions visited the coast of the island for a few days and even made contact with some of the Onges, but the interior
114 of the island remained as unknown as before. In February 1951 I
122 accompanied one of these expeditions, which again did not go beyond the coast. Those five days on Little Andaman were most revealing, and enabled me to plan the landing I subsequently made in 1952. I saw that the island was teeming with game, that wild
[136] fruit and edible roots were plentiful, and that the sea round the island was full of fish, lobsters, huge crabs and turtles. Moreover, the turtles laid eggs in the sand where it was very easy to find them by following the beasts' tracks. I realized that it would be unnecessary to bring in provisions, and that it would be possible to enter the forest unencumbered with anything more than guns, cartridges and a few cooking utensils. Every day during this short stay I went with a police escort as far as possible into the forest in order to reconnoitre. In some places I noticed recent traces of small bare feet, but no Onges appeared.

122 Realizing that mobility was essential for any expedition into the interior of the island, I prepared at Port Blair a number of small watertight metal boxes to hang from the shoulder, to take a minimum of necessities. The largest items in my own personal baggage were a mosquito-net, a very light hammock and note-books. Cartridges were to be divided among the boxes. Tents, camp-beds and other large equipment would have to be left in a base camp, which would be established on the coast and left under police guard with radio transmission apparatus for communication with Port Blair. If necessary, a portable radio could follow us.

● 121 Several factors made me want to return. There was the mystery of the unknown interior of the island. There was the prevailing lack of information of any kind about the Onges, even of their numbers. I wanted too to carry out an investigation of their somatic characteristics, using the greatest possible number of individuals.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

144 Pesekem), although they are distinguished from them by profound cultural differences. These differences exist even between the three groups of Negritos. Whereas in Malacca and the Philippines they reflect the influx of superior cultures, these have had very little influence in the Andamans. For this reason the Andamanese have perforce remained more faithful to very ancient customs, and are also somatically the least altered.

[121] The study of the last remaining groups, the Onges and Jarawas, now on the point of extinction if they are not protected, is thus a matter of singular urgency and significance.

144 174 We know nothing of how the Negritos arrived in their present homes with somatic and cultural characteristics quite distinct from those of any other human type. Apart from some dubious remains excavated in Indochina we do not even have any fossil remains to show their probable original distribution. There is, however, reason to believe that they were once very widely dispersed, judging from the evidence of their presence today as isolates widely separated from each other.

No traces of them remain in the continental areas adjacent to the Andamans, apart from the Malaccan peninsula. At one time it was thought that traces of a Negrito element were to be found in the Kadir of Hindustan, revealed by the occasional presence of curly hair. I have myself visited the area, and must refute this suggestion; the people have nothing of the Negrito in their body structure, their hair is markedly longer than the Negrito and they have body hair. The kinky hair (never woolly) occasionally seen may derive from distant Negro crosses, or may be an accidental similarity. I have seen this type of curliness even in Europeans who certainly had no Negro or pygmy ancestry.

It has also been asserted, possibly with some foundation, although there are few data available, that there are traces of the Negrito among the people of New Guinea, such as the Tapiro. Although of small stature, their general characteristics would seem to relate the Tapiro more closely to the Papuans; they have yellowish skin, probably the lightest in that area, they are, again, hirsute and there is a marked absence of Negrito characteristics in the proportions of the body.

142 144 The first thing that strikes one on meeting the Onges – and indeed the Andamanese in general – is the exceptional blackness and

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PREFACE

•122 THIS book contains some part of the results of anthropological research carried out in the Andaman Islands in the years 1906 to 1908, under the terms of the Anthony Wilkin Studentship in Ethnology of the University of Cambridge. The funds supplied by the studentship were supplemented by grants from the Royal Society and from the government of India. In its original form the monograph was presented as a fellowship thesis at Trinity College. The work of rewriting it was interrupted by absence from England and was only completed in 1914. There has since been a long delay in publication as a result of the war.

127 The book deals with the social institutions of the tribes of the Great Andaman. These had previously been studied by Mr E. H. Man to whose work I have been obliged to make many references in order that my account may be as complete as 114 possible. I should have preferred to devote my attention almost exclusively to the natives of the Little Andaman, about whom very little is known. I found, however, that it was not possible in the time at my disposal to do any satisfactory work amongst these people owing to the difficulty of language. The natives of [97] the Little Andaman know no language but their own, and that is so little related to the languages of the Great Andaman that even a thorough knowledge of the latter is of almost no use in an attempt to learn the former. I spent nearly three months camped with natives of the Little Andaman, giving most of the time to learning their language. No one who has not actually made the attempt to learn the language of a savage people without the help of an interpreter, can form an adequate idea of the difficulties of the task. At the end of three months I found that at the same rate of progress it would take me two or three years to learn to speak the language sufficiently well to begin to

PREFACE.

First Census Report on the Andamans and Nicobars—Form of Report—The Three Communities in the Islands—Accuracy of the Returns—Printing of Vernacular Words—Bibliography—I of the Andamans—II of Barren Islands and Narcondam—III of the Nicobar Islands.

922 **First Census Report on Andamans and Nicobars.**—This is the first attempt to make a "Census Report" on the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. In 1881 and 1891 a Census was taken on the lines of the General Census of India, but only of the Penal Settlement at Port Blair. And so it happens that the General Indian Census of 1901 is also the first occasion on which any formal attempt has been made, under the orders of the Government of India, to take a Census of the Andamanese and Nicobarese outside the Penal Settlement.

000 **Form of Report.**—In making this Report under conditions entirely at variance with those obtaining in India, I have been able, through the courtesy of Mr. H. H. Risley while Census Commissioner for India, to follow a line of my own on an agreement between us as to the general scheme I should adopt. This general scheme is shown in the contents bill of the Report. I think it is also right to say that circumstances have compelled me to compile it against time and in addition to the ordinary duties of my office.

The Three Communities in the Islands.—There are in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands three separate communities having no points of contact as regards the Census with each other and living under conditions belonging to entirely different stages of civilization. The Andamanese consist of tribes of naked savages only recently brought into general contact with civilised races. The Nicobarese are an old far-eastern semi-civilised people with an ancient trade. The Penal Settlement shows all the usual signs of a civilised community of the most advanced type. Each in fact presents separate phenomena with an interest of their own to the student and should be studied separately, and it is for this reason that this Report has been divided into three different parts:—I the Andamanese, II the Nicobarese, III the Penal Settlement of Port Blair. For this reason also it is intended that each part shall be complete in itself from the point of view of a Census Report.

Accuracy of Returns.—While it gives me great pleasure to testify to the scrupulous care and conscientiousness with which Mr. E. H. Man, C.I.E., Major A. R. S. Anderson, I.M.S., and Mr. H. H. D'Oyly carried out the difficult operation of enumerating the Andamanese and Nicobarese, it was impossible for them in the conditions to keep their results clear of the charge of inaccuracy, and circumstances also made it obligatory to conjecture the numbers of the Onge and Jarawa tribes among the Andamanese and of the Shom Pen among the Nicobarese. In this Report I have endeavoured to state fully the reasons for the conjectures and for estimating the amount of error in enumeration: also to point out how a greater approach towards accuracy may possibly be attained at the next opportunity and to what points special attention may then be profitably given.

Printing of Vernacular Words.—In printing this Report diacritical marks on Andamanese and Nicobarese words and names have been everywhere avoided

•122 considered. I promised the full collaboration of this Department for undertaking such a survey. It was at first planned to take a fully equipped scientific party for a period of at least six months with headquarters at Port Blair, members of which could pay short visits to the different Islands where the Andamanese tribes were known to have lived. The Ministry of Home Affairs agreed to the proposal and expressed their willingness to place a trawler at our disposal for visiting the outlying islands as no other means of transport existed. Negotiations were taken up for securing the services of Mr Crawley of the B. N. Railway to accompany the party as guide and adviser for he was one of the few who had a direct knowledge of the Jarawa area. With Mr. Duncan of the same Railway, both of whom were landed in the Jarawa territory by British submarines during the last War he spent nearly 6 months in that tract. Although Mr Crawley was very willing to accompany our party it was not found possible in the end to secure his services as the B. N. Railway could not spare him. What is still more unfortunate was that the R. I. N. could not spare any trawler. The prevalence of polio or infantile paralysis in an [164] epidemic form in the Nicobar Islands at the time made it impossible to include them in our itinerary. Lastly, the Chief Commissioner of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands informed us that owing to great demands on residential accommodation at Port Blair it would be difficult for him to find enough living quarters for our party. He suggested that a smaller party might be sent instead, for making exploratory surveys only.

Accordingly, the original plan had to be modified and a party consisting of myself, Mr S. S. Sarkar, who had then just joined the Department, 3 scientific assistants and 3 attendants left for the Islands on board the 'S. S. Maharaja' on February 17, 1948, reaching Port Blair on the 20th. The Chief Commissioner, Mr S. Majid, I.C.S., met us at the quay and arranged for our stay at the Guest House facing the harbour. He was an exceedingly well-informed and kind gentleman and promised to give us all facilities in our work. We 121 discussed the various questions concerning the Andamanese population and he agreed with me that the most pressing need was to collect correct statistics regarding the strength and distribution of the so-called hostile tribes. For very little can be done now to save the Andamanese proper who have paid for their friendliness by being driven to the verge of extinction and it is now a question of time before they would completely disappear. At the present [161] moment the surviving remnants of this group numbering about 37 have been collected and settled in the Neil and Havelock Islands. In consultation with 122 Mr Majid the plan of making the preliminary reconnaissance was fixed. It was agreed that I, and as many of my party as could be accommodated in the Port Blair harbour launch 'Molly', which Mr Majid by arrangements with the harbour authorities found it possible to place at our disposal for about a week, would leave for Little Andaman to survey the eastern coast of the Island in search of the Onge settlements, as far as this was practicable within this short time. Accordingly we left Port Blair on the 23rd February at 7-30 in the morning on board the motor launch 'Molly'; myself, Messrs S. S. Sarkar, S. Banerjee, R. De and Ramkassis forming the members of our party.

Mr Subramanian of the Forest Department and Mr Majid's young son also 114
accompanied us. We reached Bumila Creek on the north eastern coast of the 123
Little Andaman at about 3 P.M. and having sighted an Andamanese hut we
decided to anchor the launch there. The beach was about 2 miles from the
place of anchorage. We took out a small boat and rowed to the beach and
reached the hut at about 4 P.M. It was found to be abandoned but there
were signs of human occupation and within a few yards a water-hole was [312]
discovered. A broken canoe, with a single out-rigger was found close to the [501]
hut (*see* Plate I, Fig. 1). Burnt coal and smouldering ashes in the
centre of the hut showed that it was probably deserted by the Aborigines
as soon as they had sighted us. After making a careful inspection of the place
we returned to our launch and decided to anchor there for the night. Unfortunately the choppy sea and the strong current coming from the Bumila
Creek tossed our small boat throughout the whole night, as a result of which
all of us had an uncomfortable time.

all of us had an uncomfortable time.

We left southwards towards Hut Bay early in the morning and as we
moved along the coast we sighted another Onge hut. This did not seem to be
deserted as we saw a few people moving about. We decided to stop there
and investigate. We took out a boat and moved towards the coast with such
presents as we had brought from Port Blair on the advice of the Chief Commissioner. When we got near the coast, we left the boat and walked for about
a furlong through coral beds finally reaching the shore. The hut was found [342]
to be circular in shape and not too large, and was occupied by 2 adult females, [592]
1 adult male and a young boy. The adult male, *Ukla*, was the father of the
young boy and husband of the younger woman. The older woman was his 609
mother-in-law. These people appeared very friendly. We gave them presents 123
we had brought and took photographs and made drawings of their hut. 126
In addition, full anthropometric measurements were taken by me and
blood was taken from fingers for typing by Mr Sarkar. Ukla was able
to speak a few Hindi words and we gathered that he had been to Port
Blair and knew Mr Bonington, formerly of the Forest Department,
Andaman Islands. We found in front of the hut, hanging from a large tree 825
the skull and mandible of a Dugong (*see* Plate I, Figs. 3 & 4). We enquired 124
about its significance from Ukla, but unfortunately his knowledge of Hindi
was not sufficient to explain it to us. We learned from him, however, that
the name of the village was *Laito*. After making friendly gestures, we returned
to 'Molly' and proceeded immediately towards Hut Bay. At about noon 501
time while we were having our lunch, we suddenly saw three outrigger canoes 609
(of single outrigger type) coming towards us, each carrying about 4 Onges. 122
We signalled to them and they came to our launch and tied their canoes with it
and came on board. The men appeared to be friendly and not afraid of us.
Our greatest difficulty, however, was language, as we could not make ourselves
understood as none of the crew or any other member including Mr Subramaniam of the Forest Department knew that language. There was one man 55A
who seemed to occupy a position of authority among these men, and was [302]
painted with red and yellow ochre on the forehead, arms and breast. The

crew of the ship called him 'Raja' and we adopted this name (*see* Plate IV, Figs. 1 & 2). He was the only one among the Onges who was fully armed with knives, bows and arrows. Among the contents of the canoes, we found complete fishing out-fits, bows and arrows, ropes and nautilous shells, for bailing out water. There was also a kind of bamboo float about 1½ ft. long, probably used for turtle fishing. We gave them food, cigarettes and other presents. After they became quite familiar with us and friendly, they were subjected to full anthropometric measurements by me. Their blood was also tapped by Mr Sarkar for typing. The presents given were iron nails, strips of red cloth, tea and tobacco leaves. Among all these objects what they liked most were the tobacco leaves. Cooked rice, dal (cooked lentils) and fish curry served to them from the launch Mess were however not much appreciated. With the few Hindi words that they were able to understand, we told them that we would like to visit their camp next morning and meet other members of the party. After the canoes had left, we anchored at this point for the night and after taking an early breakfast we left for the shore in two batches. We were informed by the crew that the creek near the Onge camp was called the *Dugong Creek*. We had to wade through brakish water and coast fringing with coral beds for about two miles, before we reached the Onge settlement. There was one large circular communal hut characteristic of the Onges and several lean-to's (*see* Plate I, Fig. 2). We noticed three canoes on the beach apparently those with which they came to meet us on the previous day. We saw also several small dogs and the entrails of a pig strewn round. We met all the 12 Onges we saw the day before, along with Ukla and his family. In addition there were a number of women and children. We took out our presents of dried tobacco leaves, iron nails and two large fishes that we had caught on our way from Port Blair. These were distributed to the Onges. There were altogether 17 men, 15 women, 4 boys and 3 girls. The children were between 1½ to 4 years. The entire party of Onges behaved towards us in a friendly manner and subjected to our measurements and tapping of blood from their fingers without any protest. We went inside their hut and inspected the settlement very thoroughly. A large number of photographs were taken. We found that the name of this village was *Tambebui*. As it became rather late, we decided to return to 'Molly' in the Andamanese canoes, rather than walk through the coral beds for 2 miles. The Onges understood our signs and gladly escorted us back to the launch. We found there were several other Onges waiting for us in the launch who came from the neighbouring village *Gabilong*. All of these Onges appear to be under the influence of the man nick-named as 'Raja' (*see* Plate IV, Figs. 1-2).

We could not proceed towards Hut Bay as the launch had to return for duty at Port Blair, where we reached at about mid-night.

After reaching Port Blair, I discussed the matter of transport with the Chief Commissioner, Mr Majid. A thorough coastal survey of Little Andaman would take at least 15 to 20 days. As it was found impossible to get either from the Forest Department or from the Harbour Master any of their launches

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Karen AP7

for such a fairly long period, it was decided to give up the idea of continuing our survey of the Little Andaman that year. A 122

At the suggestion of Mr Majid it was finally decided instead to pay a visit to the surviving members of the Friendly Andamanese tribes at Neil and Havelock Islands where they had now been transferred and settled. Unfortunately, as it was March and the closing month of the financial year, I had to return to my headquarters at Banaras and leave Mr Sarkar in charge of the party to carry on further surveys in the North and Middle Andamans as far as this was found possible. A 121 [131]

Accordingly Mr Sarkar with his party left Port Blair on 6-3-48 on the Forest Motor Launch "Lindsay" and arrived at Long Island at about 8 A.M. on the following day. Mr Sarkar was met by Mr Joseph, T. S. D. O. who brought "Loka" and his party of four Andamanese. They were studied by him. The party left Long Island on the Forest Launch "Kokhari" at about 7-30 A.M. on the following day. Mr Joseph accompanied the party, who halted at the Guitar Island where some of Loka's associates were hunting turtles with harpoons. After leaving Guitar Island, the launch passed through Homfray Strait. Mr Joseph showed the spot where the Jarawas in 1925 attacked his camp. This is near the place from where the Jarawas usually crossed from the Baratang Island to the Middle Andamans. Proceeding further westwards, Mr Sarkar and his party reached the north-east end of the Spike Island. This is another route of migration of the Jarawas from the South to North Andamans. Usually they come from the South Andaman and cross over to Bluff Island and then reach the Spike Island opposite to it. Loka gave the information that it was about this place that several Jarawas were shot sometime back and their bodies were buried in the Bluff Island. The party went along the coast of Neil Island and anchored off Foul Bay. Human footprints identified by Mr Joseph and Loka as belonging to the Jarawas were found in the sand. Following the footprints the party found the remnants of burnt ashes and cinder in a spot in the jungle. There were also vessels made of leaves for carrying water which were still wet. These were collected as specimens of Jarawa objects for the Department's collections. No traces of Jarawas themselves could however be found who must have moved into the jungles just prior to our party's visit. Our men then crossed over to Bluff Island and searched for the Jarawa skeletons, but none were found. On the 9th of March the "Kokhari" returned to Long Island, where it anchored. Loka brought his party of 21 individuals who were now settled in Neil Island. These people were carefully studied by Mr Sarkar and notes taken regarding their geneology, family structure and physical state, etc. On the 9th the Deputy Chief Commissioner, Mr S. C. Gupta with his wife arrived at Long Island. Mr Sarkar and his party accompanied him to Stewart Sound in his boat "Elsa". Unfortunately the few Andamanese who were living there happened to have gone out in their canoes for fishing and could not be contacted (*see* Plate I, Fig. 5). A 115 A 114 A [225] [411] A 415 [106] A [115]

They then went with Mr Gupta to the Karen village called *Webi* situated at a short distance from Stewart Sound. There were no Andamanese there, K 361

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

Hygiene and Medical Practices among the Onge (Little Andaman)

By Lidio Cipriani

Contents:

Preliminary Note
I. Hygienic Conditions
1. Habitation
2. Clothing and personal care
3. Food
II. Effects on the People's Lives
III. Illnesses and Onge Curative Methods

Preliminary Note

I went to Little Andaman several times, from 1951 onwards, for the sole purpose of studying the Onge. At that time the interior of the island was completely unknown and it was considered dangerous to violate it owing to the hostility of some groups of natives. Some friendly Onge themselves tried to dissuade me from leaving my coastal camp to explore their thick jungle. It was only in 1952 that I succeeded in what proved to be a difficult trip through virgin forest from the east to the west coast of Little Andaman, across its maximum breadth. The enthusiasm of the people accompanying me (fifteen altogether, including some faithful Oraons from the Indian district of Bihar, Burmese policemen and some Onge) enabled us to advance with a speed beyond our hopes. Forest difficulties prevented us from carrying heavy loads. Only the Oraons had some small baggage, which they hung in such a way as to leave both hands free to carve their way through the jungle with a *dah* (long Malayan knife), when necessary. No camping material could be brought, not even beds or tents, beyond the essentials for scientific work and for cooking, which were kept in specially prepared small, water-proof metallic containers. We camped in the forest and marked every camp with the incision of letters, 20 cms high and 5 cms deep, in the bark of gigantic trees, far from the ground, so as to have all the itinerary well indicated. An Oraon who was entrusted with this particular job wrote the meaningful sigla "Anthropos", sometimes also my name, as at Nachugé on the west coast, as well as the date. I did this to facilitate further investigations. All my itineraries in Little Andaman, from 1952 onwards, are marked like this and may be easily found again by the Onge or by my Oraons. Hunting, fishing, collecting wild fruits, edible roots and honey supplied us with food; no vegetarian can live in such a country because, very often, only pork is available there. Of that we had plenty every day, sometimes with nothing else. My men were eager to run and find an acceptable halting place as soon as possible, just to receive cartridges for hunting with me before dark; but we also had

114 122 114

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Onge

122 torches for hunting by night. There were pigs everywhere. In half an hour we often got
114 six or more of them. At Chemalê, far from the coast, we had eleven in a few minutes for
distribution to everybody, including roaming Onge. Pigeons and ducks also were often
[136] plentiful. The simple pleasures of hunting incited everyone to a spontaneous daily struggle
through the dense forest ; and so, every month, I managed to carry out many times the
work I could have done had I not kept all the men glad to follow me. On seven different
occasions I spent 162 days in Little Andaman, out of a total of 634 days altogether in the
Andamanese Archipelago – all of them given up to Onge research. These trips are recorded
128 in Port Blair Government offices. A few details on the subject are published in the "Bul-
114 letin of the Department of Anthropology", Government of India, starting in Vol. II,
No. 1, 1953 (issued in 1956) and extended to other issues. Such papers were hurriedly
prepared by me while I was halting in Calcutta on my way from the Andamans to Europe.
Press proofs could never be submitted to me; there are, consequently, many misprints,
particularly in the figures relating to my Onge Census. The misprints are so obvious that
they could only influence a most biased critic : to be discussed in future papers and while
my Onge book is in preparation. In Port Blair (South Andaman) I started an Onge Mu-
seum with material collected by me. I had the honour of inaugurating it on 6 July,
1953 in the presence of the Chief Commissioner for Andamans and Nicobars, Mr. A. K.
Ghosh, one of the kindest and most intelligent Indian gentlemen that it was my pleasure
to meet in Asia. On 9 March, 1954 Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD, President of the Republic of
India, also visited the Museum. On that occasion I introduced to him 30 of my Onge
friends (wives, husbands and children) in their most natural attire. The President ques-
tioned me at length on Onge anthropology and ethnology with the pertinence of a specialist.

123 While in Little Andaman I tried to study all possible aspects of Onge life. I also
[121] tried to count the natives : a very difficult task for they are a nomadic people, ready to
vanish into the jungle at any moment. Often I was surrounded by them without seeing
a single one. In the darkness of their jungle, the small, black, naked Onge easily disappear.
They see us but we do not see them. They can only be counted in their sleeping quarters
[361] in communal huts ; even so, results are misleading. I found a number of communal huts
in the interior regions of Little Andaman, whereas previously they were said to exist
[126] only on the coast. The larger, more solidly built huts are in the forest. With the help
178 of my Indian assistants I obtained plans and photographs of all the huts that I saw.
Unfortunately the number of Onge communal huts is rapidly diminishing – a very
361 significant fact. Many are in ruins, many more completely destroyed. Only kitchen-middens
[124] and occasional clusters of planted bamboo indicate their former location. Through an
interpreter, and with two Onge speaking a little Hindi, I was able to gather information
on these and other matters. Direct observation, however, proved the best way of gaining
knowledge. In some places there was nothing to help me, and I was compelled to guess
about communal huts whose inmates chose to hide in the jungle. Of the many personal
[551] names that I collected I must say that they are reliable only for a short period : the Onge
like to change their names from time to time. All this, in addition to the Onge's nomadic
[553] way of life, causes great confusion and makes a proper Census almost impossible. Frequent
changing of names also hinders the establishment of genealogies. Furthermore, the Onge
[597] custom of adopting children shifts many of them from one family to another, and adoptive
parents invariably claim them as their own offspring. The parents themselves, who are
ignorant of numbers, not infrequently forget how many children they have, who these
children are and where they are located. It was almost useless to follow previous informa-
tion concerning communal huts ; and so I decided to consider mainly the situation
[114] existing at the time of my visits. The result of my Census may be imperfect, but before
criticizing it it would be advisable to know the conditions that prevail in anthropological
work among the Onge. Something more than merely counting people, anyhow, was
achieved by me in Little Andaman.

In this short paper I am pleased to present a peculiar aspect of Onge life, an aspect that these innocent and once hostile people did not attempt to hide from me, though they also told me nothing about it. Only direct observation could help, and it involved pro-

fieldwork among the Ongi is the language problem. Dr. DATTA-MAJUMDER writes: 114 124

"It should be noted that very little information about the social organization of the Onge has been gathered so far on account of the barrier of language. Not a single interpreter knowing Onge language is available. We came across only two Onge men who knew just a few words of Hindi as a result of their occasional visits to Port Blair".

This was confirmed by Professor CIPRIANI who, in his letter, also mentions the two Ongi who know a little Hindi and adds: "No real Ongi interpreter is, as yet, available". RADCLIFFE-BROWN's experience had been similar. He found only two Ongi men who knew about 20 words of Hindustani.

PORTMAN seems to have been more fortunate in 1886—87. He mentions having had Ongi interpreters. These may have been members of a group of eleven persons who had been captured in the Cinque Islands, between Great and Little Andaman, in 1885 and who had been brought to Port Blair. It would be of great help for anthropological research if a few Ongi could be induced to stay some time in Port Blair and to learn either Hindi or English. In any case, however, an anthropologist wishing to do serious work on Little Andaman will have to remain long enough on the island to acquire sufficient knowledge of the language. He could prepare himself in advance for this task through a thorough study of the available literature on the Great Andaman languages (MAN, PORTMAN, TEMPLE, BASU). Although the languages are different, they are related, and their structure is probably more or less similar. For the Ongi language itself, we have only RADCLIFFE-BROWN's "Notes on the Languages of the Andaman Islands", the list of Ongi words in PORTMAN's "Manual of the Andamanese Languages" (1887) — which RADCLIFFE-BROWN found "of no service whatever" — and a vocabulary of the Ongi language, compiled by M. C. C. BONIG in 1903 and published in Port Blair. 114 122 197

M. C. C. BONIG, (Vocabulary of the Onge Language, exact title not available), Port Blair, 1903. 113

Census of India, 1901, Vol. III, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by R. C. TEMPLE, pp. 91—95 (PORTMAN's report), 117—120 (language).

Census of India, 1911, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by R. F. LOWIS, pp. 6, 27—29, 81—82, 88.

Census of India, 1931, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by R. F. LOWIS, pp. 2—5, 14—15.

Census of India, 1931, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by M. C. C. BONINGTON, pp. 8—11, 16—19, 22.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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PREFACE

The dearth of literature but considerable curiosity about the islands because of the presence of the aborigines, the development of the penal colony and in recent years the colonisation of the refugees, have inspired the author to write a geographical treatise of these islands covering almost all their physical and socio-economic aspects. The interest of the author about these islands of course dates back to some 8 or 9 years for preparing a thesis about these islands as a part fulfilment of his M. Sc. course and the author with the limited time and money made some personal enquiries for the collection of data and the assessment of the situation. The access to the data and the other research materials and the visits to the different parts of the islands were possible through the kind permission and help of the-then Chief Commissioner Sri S. N. Maitra, the Forest Officers, the Head Master of Port Blair High School. Dr. L. Cipriani besides a host of other officers and friends in the islands and also at Calcutta. However the ultimate preparation of the thesis became possible for the kind guidance of Dr. S. P. Chatterjee, Head of the Dept of Geography, Calcutta University. 114 121 122 128

Anybody faces a tremendous problem in conducting a thorough survey of the islands arising out of the poor communication facilities both on land and water, and more so on account of the very few literatures on the islands. The author cannot demand a thorough enquiry in all parts of the islands and his analysis of the different aspects has been derived more from the conclusions of sample survey. 114

Though a long time has elapsed since the preparation of the thesis in the year 1955, the author has been, on the whole, eager to incorporate all the latest informations of the islands. The present book is partially a reproduction of his previous thesis with some additional facts and informations and the objective of such changes has been to prepare a comprehensive geographical treatise rather than focussing one particular aspect as was done in the thesis i.e. the colonisation problems of the islands. Besides this, additional chapters on the aboriginal population, the overall assessment and also a geographical account on the Nicobar Islands have been added. The Nicobar Islands, though form only a sidelight of the book, also command a separate geographical treat- 128

Foreword

The following pages represent a brief account of my observations during a period of nearly two years which I spent in the Andaman Islands, living for part of the time with the Onges, who provide the major part of my material. 114

I had for a long time been interested in the vexed question of the origins of the pygmies, and after spending some years studying them in Africa and in Asia I came to the conclusion that the peoples of the Andaman archipelago might well represent the 'purest' living example of Negrito stock and culture, remaining as they have in complete isolation until very recently. After a brief visit to the Islands in 1951, therefore, and with the warm co-operation of all the officials and government departments concerned, I was able, beginning in 1952, to spend a total of 634 days in the Islands, 162 of them living in the forests of Little Andaman with the Onges. 121 [114] [122]

It would be impossible to list individually the Indian government officials who aided me in every way, but I wish to record here my deepest appreciation of the courtesy and help extended to me by all the departments and individuals with whom I had dealings, both in the Andamans and in India itself. To all of them, whatever their rank or station, are due my warmest thanks – without their help these notes, incomplete as they are, could never have been written. 122

Armed with gifts of mirrors, glass beads, cloth and, above all, tobacco, I was able to make friends with the reputedly ferocious people of the Andamans and to make observations which, though but a beginning, will I hope lead others to carry further the work which I was able to begin. During my visits to the Islands I was able to set up a museum at Port Blair, where I hope ultimately to 123 121 121

175 colonel who had accompanied him. After a series of similar inci-
648 dents involving other people Portman went to Bumila Creek on 10 November 1891, for revenge. A number of Onges, including the one responsible for wounding the colonel, were captured and taken to Port Blair.

Other visits by various people followed, always very brief and always limited to the coast, but there were no landings of note. Various expeditions visited the coast of the island for a few days and even made contact with some of the Onges, but the interior
114 of the island remained as unknown as before. In February 1951 I
122 accompanied one of these expeditions, which again did not go beyond the coast. Those five days on Little Andaman were most revealing, and enabled me to plan the landing I subsequently made
[136] in 1952. I saw that the island was teeming with game, that wild fruit and edible roots were plentiful, and that the sea round the island was full of fish, lobsters, huge crabs and turtles. Moreover, the turtles laid eggs in the sand where it was very easy to find them by following the beasts' tracks. I realized that it would be unnecessary to bring in provisions, and that it would be possible to enter the forest unencumbered with anything more than guns, cartridges and a few cooking utensils. Every day during this short stay I went with a police escort as far as possible into the forest in order to reconnoitre. In some places I noticed recent traces of small bare feet, but no Onges appeared.

122 Realizing that mobility was essential for any expedition into the interior of the island, I prepared at Port Blair a number of small watertight metal boxes to hang from the shoulder, to take a minimum of necessities. The largest items in my own personal baggage were a mosquito-net, a very light hammock and note-books. Cartridges were to be divided among the boxes. Tents, camp-beds and other large equipment would have to be left in a base camp, which would be established on the coast and left under police guard with radio transmission apparatus for communication with Port Blair. If necessary, a portable radio could follow us.

121 Several factors made me want to return. There was the mystery of the unknown interior of the island. There was the prevailing lack of information of any kind about the Onges, even of their numbers. I wanted too to carry out an investigation of their somatic characteristics, using the greatest possible number of individuals.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

After submitting my programme for the approval of the various Indian authorities, I finally left Calcutta in the motor vessel *Maharaja* and arrived in Port Blair on the evening of 11 December 1951. 122

Once arrived on Great Andaman I began to make preparations, but for some time the sea remained so rough that the crossing to Little Andaman was impossible. In order not to lose time, I went as far as Middle Andaman, where I started excavating an ancient kitchen-midden left by a group which has now disappeared.[1] Eventually, in March 1952, there began for me what was to become a fascinating if dangerous adventure, which continued for several years, in the dry seasons, and which I hope will prove to have been of some value. 114

Even now we know little of the anthropology of the Onges. They are Negritos, and therefore people of small stature. They are not, however, as small as the African pygmies, or Negrillos, who are the tiniest people in the world and who are in many respects very different from the Asiatic Negritos. Among the latter, individuals of over 4 feet are giants, while the normal height is substantially less. 142

In their somatic and cultural characteristics the Andamanese differ from all Asiatics, including their closest connections the Semang of the Malaccan peninsula and the Aetà of the Philippines. There is however some similarity between the three groups, indicating a distinctive common ancestry. The Negritos of today constitute the sole and fragmentary remains of a people who in ancient times were spread over a large part of Asia, and there is no lack of evidence to support their former presence much farther east and south, well into Oceania. 144

The word Negrito means 'small negro', but the name is inappropriate. It was originally given to these people because of the colour of their skin and the woolly texture of their hair. In their bodily proportions, however, as well as in the morphology of the head as a whole, and in particular the structure of the mouth, they resemble the Negroes considerably less than do African pygmies, who are in their turn quite a distinct type. The Negritos have some superficial affinity to peoples of small stature in New Guinea and Melanesia, such as the Tapiro, the Cameveca, the Cai and the Pesechem (or

[1] See page 65.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

ground. Two parallel transverse poles of equal length, one front 342
and one back, complete the frame, which is lashed together with
the usual rush fibres. The roof consists of fresh *Pandanus* leaves, [824]
palms, or grass. It never actually touches the ground, and food [364]
refuse is thrown out from underneath it in the usual way, covering
the ground round the shelter.

The bed takes a little longer than the roof to put up, as a number 513
of sticks have to be gathered to make the compact platform, raised 352
about half a metre from the ground on four stout props driven into
the ground, one at each corner, and a suitable trunk has to be found
for the head-rest. Normally one bed takes an entire family – mother,
father, children and dogs, all well packed on the platform with the
inevitable fire beside. On rare occasions, when the shelter is in-
tended purely for the menfolk on a hunting expedition, only one
bed is prepared, but generally every hunter has his family with him.
I have myself slept like this with the Onges on trips where the [122]
forest was too dense for any baggage to be carried.

As the kitchen-middens show (see p. 68), their permanent huts 342
are, with very few exceptions, circular and are still extremely
simple. The essential feature is the waterproof roof-mats, well
overlapped, which form the enormous umbrella roof. From the
outside the whole thing looks in danger of collapsing, but from the
interior it is obviously safely held by a frame of poles, lashed with
innumerable ties to stout uprights fixed firmly into the ground.
No central pillar is needed, and when there is one it is only by
chance; I saw very few on Little Andaman. There are no divisions
into rooms or compartments – everything is open to the eyes of
all the occupants of the beds. Most of these are arranged as the [513]
radii of a circle, fairly near the outer edge of the hut, the roof [352]
coming down so close to the ground that everyone sleeps with
their heads towards the centre, but there may be some beds across
the centre space.

At the circumference the roof is only thirty to forty centimetres 342
from the ground, the roofing mats being well lashed on to uprights
in case of high winds, and one can wriggle in and out of the hut
on one's stomach, crawling over the refuse thrown out through
the convenient gap. There is always, however, a 'proper' entrance,
where one edge of the roof-wall can be lifted up. At the top of the [354]
roof, on the lee side, one section can be propped open on poles,

Mr Subramanian of the Forest Department and Mr Majid's young son also 114
accompanied us. We reached Bumila Creek on the north eastern coast of the 123
Little Andaman at about 3 P.M. and having sighted an Andamanese hut we decided to anchor the launch there. The beach was about 2 miles from the place of anchorage. We took out a small boat and rowed to the beach and reached the hut at about 4 P.M. It was found to be abandoned but there were signs of human occupation and within a few yards a water-hole was [312] discovered. A broken canoe, with a single out-rigger was found close to the [501] hut (*see* Plate I, Fig. 1). Burnt coal and smouldering ashes in the centre of the hut showed that it was probably deserted by the Aborigines as soon as they had sighted us. After making a careful inspection of the place we returned to our launch and decided to anchor there for the night. Unfortunately the choppy sea and the strong current coming from the Bumila Creek tossed our small boat throughout the whole night, as a result of which all of us had an uncomfortable time.

We left southwards towards Hut Bay early in the morning and as we moved along the coast we sighted another Onge hut. This did not seem to be deserted as we saw a few people moving about. We decided to stop there and investigate. We took out a boat and moved towards the coast with such presents as we had brought from Port Blair on the advice of the Chief Commissioner. When we got near the coast, we left the boat and walked for about a furlong through coral beds finally reaching the shore. The hut was found [342] to be circular in shape and not too large, and was occupied by 2 adult females, [592] 1 adult male and a young boy. The adult male, *Ukla*, was the father of the young boy and husband of the younger woman. The older woman was his 609
mother-in-law. These people appeared very friendly. We gave them presents 123
we had brought and took photographs and made drawings of their hut. 126
In addition, full anthropometric measurements were taken by me and blood was taken from fingers for typing by Mr Sarkar. Ukla was able to speak a few Hindi words and we gathered that he had been to Port Blair and knew Mr Bonington, formerly of the Forest Department, Andaman Islands. We found in front of the hut, hanging from a large tree 825
the skull and mandible of a Dugong (*see* Plate I, Figs. 3 & 4). We enquired 124
about its significance from Ukla, but unfortunately his knowledge of Hindi was not sufficient to explain it to us. We learned from him, however, that the name of the village was *Laito*. After making friendly gestures, we returned to 'Molly' and proceeded immediately towards Hut Bay. At about noon 501
time while we were having our lunch, we suddenly saw three outrigger canoes 609
(of single outrigger type) coming towards us, each carrying about 4 Onges. 122
We signalled to them and they came to our launch and tied their canoes with it and came on board. The men appeared to be friendly and not afraid of us. Our greatest difficulty, however, was language, as we could not make ourselves understood as none of the crew or any other member including Mr Subramaniam of the Forest Department knew that language. There was one man 55A
who seemed to occupy a position of authority among these men, and was [302] painted with red and yellow ochre on the forehead, arms and breast. The

crew of the ship called him 'Raja' and we adopted this name (*see* Plate IV, Figs. 1 & 2). He was the only one among the Onges who was fully armed with knives, bows and arrows. Among the contents of the canoes, we found complete fishing out-fits, bows and arrows, ropes and nautilous shells, for bailing out water. There was also a kind of bamboo float about 1½ ft. long, probably used for turtle fishing. We gave them food, cigarettes and other presents. After they became quite familiar with us and friendly, they were subjected to full anthropometric measurements by me. Their blood was also tapped by Mr Sarkar for typing. The presents given were iron nails, strips of red cloth, tea and tobacco leaves. Among all these objects what they liked most were the tobacco leaves. Cooked rice, dal (cooked lentils) and fish curry served to them from the launch Mess were however not much appreciated. With the few Hindi words that they were able to understand, we told them that we would like to visit their camp next morning and meet other members of the party. After the canoes had left, we anchored at this point for the night and after taking an early breakfast we left for the shore in two batches. We were informed by the crew that the creek near the Onge camp was called the *Dugong Creek*. We had to wade through brakish water and coast fringing with coral beds for about two miles, before we reached the Onge settlement. There was one large circular communal hut characteristic of the Onges and several lean-to's (*see* Plate I, Fig. 2). We noticed three canoes on the beach apparently those with which they came to meet us on the previous day. We saw also several small dogs and the entrails of a pig strewn round. We met all the 12 Onges we saw the day before, along with Ukla and his family. In addition there were a number of women and children. We took out our presents of dried tobacco leaves, iron nails and two large fishes that we had caught on our way from Port Blair. These were distributed to the Onges. There were altogether 17 men, 15 women, 4 boys and 3 girls. The children were between 1½ to 4 years. The entire party of Onges behaved towards us in a friendly manner and subjected to our measurements and tapping of blood from their fingers without any protest. We went inside their hut and inspected the settlement very thoroughly. A large number of photographs were taken. We found that the name of this village was *Tambebui*. As it became rather late, we decided to return to 'Molly' in the Andamanese canoes, rather than walk through the coral beds for 2 miles. The Onges understood our signs and glad'y escorted us back to the launch. We found there were several other Onges waiting for us in the launch who came from the neighbouring village *Gabilong*. All of these Onges appear to be under the influence of the man nick-named as 'Raja' (*see* Plate IV, Figs. 1-2).

We could not proceed towards Hut Bay as the launch had to return for duty at Port Blair, where we reached at about mid-night.

After reaching Port Blair, I discussed the matter of transport with the Chief Commissioner, Mr Majid. A thorough coastal survey of Little Andaman would take at least 15 to 20 days. As it was found impossible to get either from the Forest Department or from the Harbour Master any of their launches

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Onge

122 torches for hunting by night. There were pigs everywhere. In half an hour we often got
114 six or more of them. At Chemalê, far from the coast, we had eleven in a few minutes for
distribution to everybody, including roaming Onge. Pigeons and ducks also were often
[36] plentiful. The simple pleasures of hunting incited everyone to a spontaneous daily struggle
through the dense forest ; and so, every month, I managed to carry out many times the
work I could have done had I not kept all the men glad to follow me. On seven different
occasions I spent 162 days in Little Andaman, out of a total of 634 days altogether in the
Andamanese Archipelago – all of them given up to Onge research. These trips are recorded
128 in Port Blair Government offices. A few details on the subject are published in the "Bul-
114 letin of the Department of Anthropology", Government of India, starting in Vol. II,
No. 1, 1953 (issued in 1956) and extended to other issues. Such papers were hurriedly
prepared by me while I was halting in Calcutta on my way from the Andamans to Europe.
Press proofs could never be submitted to me; there are, consequently, many misprints,
particularly in the figures relating to my Onge Census. The misprints are so obvious that
they could only influence a most biased critic : to be discussed in future papers and while
my Onge book is in preparation. In Port Blair (South Andaman) I started an Onge Mu-
seum with material collected by me. I had the honour of inaugurating it on 6 July,
1953 in the presence of the Chief Commissioner for Andamans and Nicobars, Mr. A. K.
Ghosh, one of the kindest and most intelligent Indian gentlemen that it was my pleasure
to meet in Asia. On 9 March, 1954 Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD, President of the Republic of
India, also visited the Museum. On that occasion I introduced to him 30 of my Onge
friends (wives, husbands and children) in their most natural attire. The President ques-
tioned me at length on Onge anthropology and ethnology with the pertinence of a specialist.

123 While in Little Andaman I tried to study all possible aspects of Onge life. I also
[121] tried to count the natives : a very difficult task for they are a nomadic people, ready to
vanish into the jungle at any moment. Often I was surrounded by them without seeing
a single one. In the darkness of their jungle, the small, black, naked Onge easily disappear.
They see us but we do not see them. They can only be counted in their sleeping quarters
[361] in communal huts ; even so, results are misleading. I found a number of communal huts
in the interior regions of Little Andaman, whereas previously they were said to exist
[126] only on the coast. The larger, more solidly built huts are in the forest. With the help
of my Indian assistants I obtained plans and photographs of all the huts that I saw.
[178] Unfortunately the number of Onge communal huts is rapidly diminishing – a very
[361] significant fact. Many are in ruins, many more completely destroyed. Only kitchen-middens
and occasional clusters of planted bamboo indicate their former location. Through an
[124] interpreter, and with two Onge speaking a little Hindi, I was able to gather information
on these and other matters. Direct observation, however, proved the best way of gaining
knowledge. In some places there was nothing to help me, and I was compelled to guess
about communal huts whose inmates chose to hide in the jungle. Of the many personal
[551] names that I collected I must say that they are reliable only for a short period : the Onge
like to change their names from time to time. All this, in addition to the Onge's nomadic
[553] way of life, causes great confusion and makes a proper Census almost impossible. Frequent
changing of names also hinders the establishment of genealogies. Furthermore, the Onge
[547] custom of adopting children shifts many of them from one family to another, and adoptive
parents invariably claim them as their own offspring. The parents themselves, who are
ignorant of numbers, not infrequently forget how many children they have, who these
children are and where they are located. It was almost useless to follow previous informa-
tion concerning communal huts ; and so I decided to consider mainly the situation
[114] existing at the time of my visits. The result of my Census may be imperfect, but before
criticizing it it would be advisable to know the conditions that prevail in anthropological
work among the Onge. Something more than merely counting people, anyhow, was
achieved by me in Little Andaman.

In this short paper I am pleased to present a peculiar aspect of Onge life, an aspect that these innocent and once hostile people did not attempt to hide from me, though they also told me nothing about it. Only direct observation could help, and it involved pro-

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tracted hardship and considerable risk, not so much from the natives themselves as from the implacable Andaman sea. We had a terrible time during several of our landings from the open Indian Ocean. Constant danger additionally stimulated the development of research in Little Andaman. All the Indians and the Burmese behaved bravely. Among them I wish to mention here my Indian stenographer, a married man nearing thirty, from Bengal: RANDHADIR KUMAR DEV, who, on 12 and 13 February, 1953, on the south coast of the island shared two frightfully narrow escapes with me. I am sure that neither of us will ever forget it. I later found a comfortable landing place, now indicated by floating buoys, on the north coast. Two other Bengalese assistants who were a great help to me in Little Andaman and had been selected from a number of young aspirants, are PRONAB GANGULI and BIMAL CHANDRA ROY. My work in the Andamans could not have been accomplished without them and without the initiative and encouragement of officers such as Dr. B. S. GUHA, Director of the Department of Anthropology of the Indian Government, Mr. AJOY K. GHOSH, the kind, open-minded Chief Commissioner of Andamans and Nicobars during my 1951-1953 stay there, and Mr. S. N. MAITRA, who succeeded Mr. GHOSH as Chief Commissioner. In a book that I am writing I try to point out the significance of my work in the Andamans, carried out with the help of such distinguished, and sometimes heroic, Indian collaborators.

I. Hygienic Conditions

1. Habitation

The nomadic Onge have two kinds of shelter: one temporary, the other permanent, used only for short periods at a time. The Little Andaman forest is full of abandoned temporary shelters; the permanent camps are fewer, mainly situated along the coast. They consist of communal huts, strongly built by a number of families roaming under the direction of a leader. The huts have a ritual significance, as we shall presently see. Inside each communal hut are a number of beds generally equal to the number of families. Small fires are kept burning day and night near the beds, a precaution that I was thankful for on many cold nights succeeded by hot days. The Onge require nothing more against the cold. In their camps they can withstand the heaviest storms and drenching rains. In order to avoid chills it is enough for them to protect their fires from extinction. This applied to me too, while living among the Onge. The warmth and the dry air ensured good health for us all.

A few additional beds are for the use of bachelors nearing marriage. Most of the beds are marginally and radially placed; a few are placed transversally. Normal beds accommodate father, mother (the Onge are monogamous), children and dogs, all in a heap. In temporary as in permanent shelters it is customary for families to eat separately, each close to its bed. The low, round roof of the communal hut does not reach the ground; a gap of 30 cms is left free for creeping in and out at will without using the main door (a simple mat to be lifted). Rubbish is thrown carelessly everywhere, e. g. directly outside the circular hut, which is consequently surrounded by a malodorous ring of bones, imperfectly cleaned shells, bits of rotting shellfish and other animals – a rich breeding ground for flies and various other insects that rapidly destroy everything edible, leaving the grass to grow until the next lot of garbage accumulates. Building and rebuilding a communal hut always on the same

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
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364 spot for centuries leads to the formation of kitchen-middens [1]. In the tempo-
[361] rary camps something similar happens: the only difference consists in the fact that rubbish dumps only accumulate at the back of the temporary shelters, as a consequence of their peculiar shape that I shall not describe here. These
[136] dumps are heaven-sent love nests for insects of many species, mostly flies of a metallic green colour. They follow the Onge from camp to camp and thrive on scraps from human meals. When travelling in Little Andaman I was unmistakably warned of the nearby presence of Onge camps by the appearance of those familiar living beings.

136 The filth that coats the floors of communal Onge huts offers an ideal
[356] breeding ground also for myriads of fleas. Dogs spread them all over Little Andaman. Owing to the fact that the communal huts are deserted for months at a time during the dry season, the fleas become hungry and assault human
123 beings vehemently whenever possible. When visiting empty communal huts I myself, and the persons with me, were plagued by such assaults. Fleas advanced suddenly from feet to head in thick, shimmering brown layers, covering first our legs. We were obliged to strip and douse ourselves with insect-repellents.
136 As for other parasites, including ticks and mosquitos, equally plentiful in Little
[825] Andaman, the Onge do not appear to be inconvenienced by them.

764 The communal huts are used for another purpose as well, unhygienic but of high ethnological interest: the interment of human corpses. When they die, the inmates are buried beneath their beds. In other words, communal huts are also cemeteries. Many human skeletons are found by digging under the beds. Until 1952 this fact was unknown about the Andaman Islanders although it is encountered in all Onge communal huts without exception. An analysis of
775 this custom led to further discoveries: the Onge wish to compel the spirit of a deceased person to remain close to the living as a protection, so they offer it the communal hut for an abode, the idea being that a spirit cannot wander far from the bones of its former body. A series of Onge practices point to this
[727] belief: felled enemies must be burned and reduced to ashes in order to render them harmless. Their hostile souls, according to the Onge, rise toward the sky
[301] in smoke as the bones are consumed. For the same reason, bones of relatives
[765] are fashioned into necklaces. The most conspicuous of these is the *ibidanghe*, worn generally by women and young girls, which is made from a decorated
[751] human jawbone. The aim is to obtain the assistance of the departed relation in fighting illness and bad luck. Direction in hunting, fishing and even quar-
[777] relling is supposed to come from the dead kept close to the living. We can trace this belief on the connection between bones and souls to a remote origin:
[171] Southern Asia megaliths had, in my opinion, no other cause for offering shelter to spirits and promoting useful relations between the living and the dead. I reached this conclusion after studying the contemporary habits of Travancore mountain and other Indian tribes, particularly the Munda. In Nias we find traces of the same customs as among different peoples of Indonesia and Oceania, who

[1] I discussed this at the two international anthropological congresses of 1952 (Vienna) and 1956 (Philadelphia), and have more to say on the subject in my book about the Onge.

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Onge

3. Food

In the absence of men, women also are good at fishing inside the coral reefs. They do this with two small nets used together. Their catch generally consists of brilliantly coloured fish with yellow, red, green, blue, black and white stripes forming varied and attractive designs. The Onge eat all fish without discrimination. My Indian collaborators, on the other hand, considered the coloured fish dangerous to their health and refused to cook them ; the Sacred Vedas, in fact, advise the avoidance of brigthly hued fish and of fish without scales. I wanted to try both kinds, and found them perfectly palatable, tasty and harmless.

No tool, used for any purpose by the Onge, ever gets a cleaning. Cleanliness, I repeat, is unknown in Little Andaman. See how food is prepared and disposed of ! Care is taken only not to throw big pieces of meat intended for cooking directly on the bare ground ; but once it is cooked, food is treated with the utmost disregard for dirt, dust, cobwebs and other such things. It is usually left lying around on large leaves spread out for the purpose. The remains of the Onge's orgiastic meals are kept out of reach of the dogs on the ceiling of the huts, to be covered with flies when no fire is lit directly below. Sand and grit may get wedged annoyingly in the teeth, but not such impalpable things as dust or cobwebs. The use of unclean food is not repugnant to the Onge. The same can be said for water polluted by dogs drinking and bathing in it, or by the presence of putrefying carcases. In the west of Little Andaman I saw some Onge avidly drinking from pools of a blackish water with a revolting sulphurous smell. After thoroughly filtering and boiling it, I too used such water, for it was the only water available in the neighborhood. This caused no ill effects. My Indian men considered it perfectly healthy and invigorating, and drank it safely in its natural condition.

The Onge eat with their unwashed fingers, without the help of tools. On rare occasions they use platters made of the flattened-out stems – or bracts – of *areca* palms. They sometimes carry these platters when travelling, but of course never wash them although they become coated in rancid, greasy filth. They soon assume a dark colour and a truly revolting appearance – aside from the awful smell. A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN's statement – that the Andamanese paint their bodies to neutralize the unpleasant smell of food that clings to them after their orgiastic feedings – shows only indirect knowledge of the life and manners of those people. Even the horrible flatulence that follows their pork orgies is not considered an inconvenience ; yet it is much more revolting than all the other body odours.

Although the Onge observe few hygienic precautions they do follow a number of medical practices, not all devoid of beneficial effects. Here are a few more remarks on their eating and drinking habits. For about six months of the year, between November and April, water is scarce in Little Andaman. Every kind of fresh water is then considered good by the Onge, regardless of whether it is a murky infusion of rotting leaves or afloat with the putrefied

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Onge

312 caracases of small animals. During the droughts, marine hermit crabs, of
271 which a profusion is found in Little Andaman even far from the sea-shore,
[136] often choose to die in fresh-water pools. They are not removed from the pools.
[415] A nautilus shell is sometimes used as a drinking vessel ; failing this, the Onge
[516] lap up the water like animals, on all fours, directly from the pool. Since they are
231 very fond of dogs, man and dog drink together from the same tiny pool, often holding no more than a few pints of water. Dogs reached Great Andaman as early as 1857 ; they came to Little Andaman much later. Before that time there were no dogs in the Andamanese Archipelago. They soon became the natives' cherished and much appreciated assistants in the hunting of wild pigs. Many unhygienic habits followed the appearance of dogs in the Andamans.

271 The Onge have no idea of boiling water for the purpose of disinfection ;
[147] nevertheless their health does not appear to suffer at all as a result of the pol-
123 luted water they drink. When, in 1952, I dug a well near the left bank of Dugong Creek on the north-east coast of Little Andaman, I was compelled to fence it in so as to prevent dogs from drinking it and bathing in it.

264 Dogs lick everything that smells of food, including the cooking pots,
[291] and the pots are not washed before use after the dogs have licked them.
[136] Swarms of flies of different species and small coleoptera of a brilliant blue colour, one of them 6 mms long, follow the dogs after they have "cleaned" the pots by licking them. They line the inside of the pots with a crawling, living coat, moving restlessly around in search of food. One species of fly, which is of a brilliant, metallic green colour, has a peculiarly disagreeable smell. All the flies lay eggs while feeding, but the eggs are soon devoured by the hovering bluish coleoptera. Thus in a few hours all traces of organic matter disappear from the pots. Subsequent exposure to fire undoubtedly destroys the germs that would otherwise be certainly dangerous to human beings.

415 The Onge no longer use indigenous pottery for cooking. Its disappearance
177 is recent, as the sherds that litter Little Andaman prove to the investigator.
[323] Excavation in modern kitchen-middens leads to the same conclusion. During the last war, quantities of empty petrol drums were washed up on the Andaman shores. They were found in such numbers that the Onge have not yet used them all up : after 1952 I found several of these containers abandoned, untouched, in the jungle. The primitive inhabitants sawed each container in two cylindrical halves, thus transforming them into cooking pots. The result was that within a few years the fragile ancestral pottery of the Onge disappeared altogether. Furthermore, aluminium pots were distributed among the natives after 1952. Probably the indigenous pottery will never again reappear.
[252] Each half of a petrol drum is large enough to contain a pig, or a turtle weighing 150 lbs, cut into pieces. Only the flesh of these animals is consumed by the
262 Onge ; the nourishing broth is poured out onto the ground or left in the pot
[231] to be lapped up by the dogs. The Onge believe that broth is unhealthy and avoid drinking it.

251 No matter how prodigious the catch of sardines or other fish, unobtain-
[185] able at other times of the year, no attempt is made at storing part of it in view of future shortage. The Onge are unacquainted with methods for preserv-

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Onge

ing edible matter ; furthermore, they don't care to take the trouble as food 251
is generally plentiful. We must also realize that they find salt repulsive. Even [263]
honey – so easily kept for many months – is disposed of, if possible, on the 264
very same day it is collected. Incredible quantities of this or other food may be 262
consumed for days and nights on end until everything disappears. Very few of the islanders care to vary their meat diet with an occasional diet of vegetables in order to disintoxicate the system ; yet nourishing yams and other roots [137]
grow wild and plentiful. They are so rich in carbohydrates that I preferred [123]
them to potatoes and rice. I may add that the Onge, on my request, brought me yams and roots that they were glad to barter with rice, tea and sugar – soon declared by their wise men to possess medicinal properties.

The Onge's stomach, intestines and general physiological equilibrium 147
suffer from lack of salt and such bad nutritional habits as those described. They damage the human body, together with unrestrained sexual activity.

One highly unhygienic custom of the Onge is the use, all over Little 264
Andaman, of peculiar sucking-sticks. These pass from mouth to mouth during 412
the frequent meat or honey orgies indulged in by the natives.

When boiling pork or turtle, a quantity of liquid fat floats on the surface of the broth. Though the Onge despise the broth, they don't like to waste [262]
the fat. So they devised an efficient solution : they suck the fat up by means of a wad of absorbent matter obtained by chewing the end of a fibrous stick selected among many species of trees in the forest. The end of the stick is chewed along a section of 5 cms, the remaining part – about 25 cms long and 2 cms thick – is used as a handle to prevent the fingers from burning.

In every Onge camp sucking-sticks are permanently in evidence owing [262]
to the inmates' frequent ingestion of liquid fat or honey. A second version of the sucking-stick consists in a narrow, cotton-like strip, up to 80 cms long, with only a small part of the original wood remaining. This serves as a handle for dipping the stick into a wooden barrel full of honey. In both instances the same tool passes for hours from mouth to mouth : from older people to greedy children, anxious to suck the coveted delicacy off the stick that has been dipped into the pot. The rapid spreading of epidemics, which often occur [164]
in the Andamans, is certainly encouraged by the use of these sucking-sticks. I found no reference to this practice in books on the Andaman Islands.

Everything they eat, particularly meat, the Onge consider as either 262
remedial or harmful. They are therefore chary of accepting proffered food 123
if it is unknown to them. When I brought 30 Onge to Port Blair to introduce them to Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD, President of the Indian Republic, they were troublesome about food. In Port Blair it was not as easy as in Little Andaman to procure whole pigs ; sometimes only pieces were available. The Andamanese Forest Department was quickly informed of the difficulty and kindly supplied the desired animals. In moments of shortage I tried to give the Onge cooked lamb, goat, chicken and pigeons ; they resolutely refused them as unhealthy. [775]
Birds are never eaten by the Onge, who consider them shelters for human souls [825]

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Onge

262 and therefore dangerous to offend by cooking them. Luckily they accepted
123 fish of almost every description, and vegetables. To convince them of our
[975] good intentions concerning their food, at Port Blair an Onge observer was
[825] stationed permanently near the kitchen to watch the preparation of meals.
Nevertheless, within a few days all 30 Onge fell ill as a consequence of the
513 different food and climate. In their island they sleep, completely naked and
123 uncovered, lying directly on beds made of rough branches. Their only precaution, as I mentioned before, is to keep a fire permanently burning close to the bed. This was not feasible in the rooms with wooden floors that were provided for them in Port Blair, and blankets did not avail. So the 30 Onge developed a fever and we were obliged to take them urgently back to Little Andaman, where they promptly recovered. The incident gave me a further opportunity to observe the curative methods of the Onge.

262 With regard to their care to avoid illness from food, I must point out the
114 fact that misleading information has been published on the subject even in reputed papers on the Andamans. I will discuss them in my Onge book, but I wish here to briefly stress a few points : the Onge, and the present residual coastal or forest Andamanese, refuse to eat – besides birds and fish such as shark, ray, eel or muraenae – some other animals such as paradoxurus, bats, rats, varanus and snakes. The contrary is affirmed in those papers. To quote the well-known book by A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN ("The Andaman Islanders", pp. 37, 91 and 389), all Andaman Islanders, including the Onge, consider the above-mentioned species edible. Varanus is supposed to be acceptable for its
[832] lustful habits that make of it an aphrodisiac. My direct and protracted experience both in Little and in Great Andaman compels me to state that such information is false. It is true, however, that the Andaman Islanders believe
261 they acquire some of the properties of their devoured victims. This occurs
252 only if the animals are cut up alive. Therefore turtles, pigs and dugongs are
[231] cruelly sectioned while still alive, and the Onge also believe that their health and energy profit by it. Cannibalism may be founded on such beliefs, but it is
266 completely unknown to Andaman Islanders of all times and places. Young
262 sucking-pigs are avoided, as food, by men, and even withheld from the dogs ; but the Onge are partial to other things which, in our opinion, are far worse : crickets, and the fat larvae of coleoptera that collect in tree trunks.

Without giving here a full list of the foods that are considered harmful or curative, I shall add just a few remarks on the subject. The healthiest, as well as the tastiest part of the pig is supposed to be the kidney and its surrounding fat. It is offered to old or distinguished people, as a sign of favour. As I
[888] helped the Onge, as much as possible, with gifts of tools and medicines, they
123 found it complimentary to name me after their favorite titbit, intending thereby
553 to honour me as a friend and healer. By such a name I came to be known in Little Andaman, and this made my work easier. In the Onge language the word for kidney fat is *cur-changhēghē* ; I was delighted with it, for it proclaimed the high esteem I was held in by my Onge friends.

262 Foods considered healthy by the Onge include honey, yams, several
751 succulent roots and the fat of turtle and dugong. Pteropus, a giant bat very
[825]

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

291 754 *naquinĕghĕ* exposes the former owner to harm. Ill-disposed persons could use it for black magic practices. I collected specimens of this garment, all of them, however, brand-new – for the above-mentioned reason. To avoid trouble to the owner, nobody is allowed to touch the *naquinĕghĕ*, which is worn in front of the vulva. To touch it is a deadly offence. Aside from the *naquinĕghĕ*, Andaman 842 colonists attribute the natives' sterility to their abhorrence of salt. Another 263 opinion would have it that the lack of salt transforms human saliva into poison: the Jarawas, by spitting on their arrows render them poisonous. The absurdity of this belief is so evident that it requires no confutation. The Onge refuse to eat salt because they consider it unhealthy, or, to say the least, disgusting.

III. Illnesses and Onge Curative Methods

164 Few illnesses affect the Onge, but they succumb to those few with surprising speed. Often they become seriously ill for mysterious reasons and in spite of their robust appearance. Smallpox, tuberculosis and poliomyelitis are unknown in Little Andaman, although they sometimes strike in the nearby Nicobars. Measles broke out on the island on more than one occasion, killing off all the inhabitants of several communal huts, which I later found deserted and in ruins. With regard to syphilis, the Indian Census of 1931 quotes an old remark of PORTMAN's concerning a few individuals considered by him as infected. This was later denied.

Onge women are more resistant to illness than men. Wounds heal prompt- [752] ly in both sexes, without the aid of remedies. A few of the older men, however, had suppurating sores on their legs, slow to disappear even when disin- [123] fected and treated by me with European medicines. No similar sores were found on women. On the other hand, women suffer more than men from ringworm, mainly in the umbilical region. Nothing is done to rid them of it because the discomfort is slight. I suggested an Indian cure made with the leaves of the neem tree, or Melia azedarach, very common in Southern Asia where it is considered sacred. I imported the plant to Little Andaman, but [123] the Onge displayed no interest in it. I found a single instance of leucoderma, in a woman with whitish spots on her hands and lips. I could get no reliable information about the incidence of cancer, but it appears to be rare on the island. No baldness is to be seen in Little Andaman, and I found few traces of [142] greying hair, as the Onge die young. A transversal bregmatic furrow is noticeable [482] in all individuals, male and female, as a consequence of carrying loads hung from their heads by a strip of bark. The Onge start doing this in childhood. An artificial, unintentional deformation of the skull is the result of that uncomfortable habit.

751 For hygienic reasons the Little Andaman aborigines paint their bodies with 302 refined clay and ochre of various shades, mainly reddish. This gives the women [386] occasion to embellish the bodies of their husbands with an endless variety of geometrical designs. Every year I found changes in their patterns, and I

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

164 do they suffer from the eye infections that are so common in the tropics. Their
151 highly trained eye can distinguish at a great distance small vessels on the troubled waters of the sea that people with normal eyesight could not perceive without a telescope. Normal vision, I suppose, is the same for the entire human
123 race ; but we exercise our eyesight less. In the dark fastness of the jungle, the
151 Onge were able to point out birds sitting motionless high up in the trees, quite invisible to me notwithstanding my experience in collecting even the tiniest specimens. With their sharp eyes they sought out for me a collection of minute mimetic amphibians living far from the ground on tree trunks, previously unknown to science. The same thing often happened when I was unable to see as far as they did. The help of my savage friends was invaluable in avoiding the poisonous snakes that we met with daily in our camps or while travelling. For our protection, the Onge always marched in front of my men. They could discern reptiles hanging from branches among thick foliage, waiting to bite us on the neck, or lying perfectly still in the tall grass, ready to attack our legs. The only trouble we had with snakes was when the men I had brought from India, in moments of enthusiasm ran ahead into the interior of the jungle, eluding their Onge vanguard.

752 The Onge themselves, however, are sometimes bitten by snakes, with
123 dire consequences. Happily the Andamanese snakes are less deadly than the
[136] same species on the continent, and few deaths occur from snake bite ; but it can curtail a man's activity for several months. In March 1953 an Onge friend
[222] of about 25 who had climbed a tall tree to collect honey, inadvertently seized with his left hand a snake concealed in a tuft of creepers, and was bitten above the elbow. Frightful swelling ensued, together with shooting pains and a raging fever. The man was brought to me unconscious, his left arm had already assumed the appearance of a huge, rigid, elongated sausage. The Onge had smeared all his body, and particularly the wounded arm, with ochre mixed with honey, turtle fat and rough clay. They have no specific remedy for snake bite. It was too late, but in an attempt to save the patient an antiophidic injection was practiced on him. Within a few hours he appeared to rally. I saw him again after eleven days ; his arm had been treated in the Onge way and put in a sling made of ficus bark cut into narrow strips. Fever had disappeared, and in part also the swelling, so he could move his elbow a little. The skin peeled off the whole length of the arm. Where the fangs had entered the flesh two round, red, suppurating wounds, 1 cm in diameter, were discernible under a layer of clay and honey. The man recovered in about two months. During his
476 illness the people who shared his communal hut exempted him, his wife and his children from all work, and supplied them with all requirements. This occurs in every case of illness, showing the complete solidarity that prevails among those simple people – once considered ferocious. Always, if the wife is ill, the husband is automatically relieved of his hunting, fishing and food-collecting duties. Friends provide food for the family, no matter how many the members thereof.

164 In Little Andaman, we Europeans are constantly threatened with mala-
43 ria. Should we fail to take all necessary precautions we would catch it upon setting foot on the island. The Onge are all infected, but it does not upset

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

them ; neither children nor adults have dilated spleens. Inhabitants of other regions where malaria incidence is high often show the same immunity, supposedly attained through local adaptation. Papuasians, Melanesians and Africans sometimes appear insensitive to malaria, although they all carry the germs of the disease. In opposition to their resistance to malaria, the Onge are vulnerable to minor lung infections and measles, which we would not consider serious. 164 143

When fever occurs, whatever the cause, the Onge recur to their universal remedy : plastering the entire body with clay, ochre, turtle fat and honey. Legs, arms and trunk are swaddled in tight bandages made of strips of ficus bark. These bandages hinder superficial blood circulation. The strips are removed from time to time and replaced after vigorous massaging of the body with hands and feet. Stomach and chest pains, as well as insistent coughing, are treated by stretching the patient horizontally on the ground and rubbing him energetically with hands and feet. The feet compress the body, with special attention to the affected part. The entire trunk is worked over in this manner, inch by inch, and the patient is carefully rotated until he has been completely turned around to receive treatment on all sides. This process lasts half an hour or more. It is a curious sight to see a man transformed into a kind of sausage, all tied up in strings and subjected to violent treatment on the bare ground, with a crowd of spectators surrounding him, obviously taking the whole performance quite seriously. The result is kill or cure ; the former helped, I should say, by rough treatment performed with the best intentions. 757

Exposure to hot smoke is another Onge cure for wounds and pains. I saw it applied, for instance, on Nabimbōi, the fat young wife of Maritōi, chief of Chemalē. She had scorched her right foot by stepping inadvertently on smouldering ashes. The pain made it impossible for her to sleep, so she was treated by covering the burn with the usual mixture of clay, turtle fat and honey, and exposing it to hot smoke. The smoke was provided by burning the fresh seeds of a creeper, each as big as a horse-chestnut and of the same colour, but of a lenticular shape. Incisions are made in the seeds to prevent explosion, and they are laid on the fire where they give out a thick smoke. The injured foot was held as close to the fire as possible. Recovery promptly ensued, but I would not swear that it was due to the treatment. 752

Fire is used by the Onge also against fever, whatever its cause. I shall quote an instance. On the night of 28 March, 1954, one of my guides, Toncootēi, a very intelligent Onge, suffered a strong attack of fever while resting in the Antiguēh communal hut in the interior of the island. I diagnosed the trouble as indigestion from immoderate guzzling of pork meat. Friends stretched Toncootēi on the ground, resting on his right side. Two lines of burning charcoal, set at right angles, outlined his back and head. Then one of the Onge started spitting on Toncootēi's hair. This was followed by vigorous rubbing of his scalp, with occasional pauses to seize his head and press it strongly with both hands. Following this, diluted ochre and clay – very hot – was spread on his thorax, throat and neck and rubbed in vigorously, whereupon the patient was brought closer to the fire. In the meantime a young fellow 757 372 123

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

757 started slapping his hands on Toncootēi's and exposing them intermittently to
372 the fire. All this lasted over a quarter of an hour. The patient was then made
123 to lie prone, with his legs spread out, to receive a foot massage as described above, for another quarter of an hour. Torso, feet and hands were worked over, with short pauses for artificial respiration by means of compression. Subsequently his back, and particularly the sacral region, was vigorously rubbed by willing hands and feet. Three men performed this operation. Toncootēi was finally allowed to rest, between two fires kept burning all night. Sunrise found him alive, and the fever had abated, due, I think, to a good European laxative that I had persuaded him to take.

164 In March 1952, I witnessed a sad episode, followed by the death of
123 the patient, near my Labanare camp. A young mother was suffering from breast rhagades. Her baby was less than a month old, and she was also suckling
[862] another child, almost two years old, who had sharp teeth. It is a frequent
[597] kindly habit of the Onge to adopt babies ; and it is customary to breast-feed them up to the age of four. Some interesting consequences arise out of this habit, but I shall not analyze them here. A minor detail : since they are allowed to suckle when they wish and are weaned so late, Onge children do not indulge in thumb sucking. Considerable reactions are spontaneously established between the two terminal parts of the digestive tube – oral and anal, as though in physiological conflict. Once more I affirm that the evidence of Onge sexual
[864] behaviour positively denies Freudian theories with regard to the sexual life of children. Furthermore, young anthropoids and primitive people behave identically in this respect.

164 The adopted baby gave the young mother nipple wounds that became
123 infected and suppurated. For lack of proper care and in unhygienic surroundings, the infection spread to the rest of her body. I found her suffering terribly
752 from pain in the breast, muscular spasm and high fever. The Onge had applied their usual external remedies to her body, from head to foot. Very tight bandages of ficus bark, renewed three times a day, were wrapped arounds legs, arms, trunk and abdomen. Bright red ochre – rare in Little Andaman and considered more effective because of its brilliant colour – was painted onto the afflicted breast. The poor young woman looked at me hopefully. I suggested her immediate removal to Port Blair Hospital, and sent radio messages from my camp to the Chief Commissioner, Mr. A. K. GHOSH. He responded generously by ordering a ship to call for the patient, but the journey was useless because her relations were opposed to displacing her. In March 1952 my friendship with the Onge was only starting ; this will explain their refusal to follow my advice. Without proper care, in a place like Little Andaman, the patient died four days after my arrival at the camp.

756 Prescription of medicines and treatments such as those described above
[759] is not determined by specialists. Everybody submits to treatment, with general approval, convinced of its effectiveness. Witch doctors do not exist and perhaps never existed in the Andamans. Nothing, then, is known by the
755 Onge of the dances and exhibitions, commonly executed elsewhere for curative
757 purposes, that influence the patient on a psychobiological basis. As they have

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

no specialized physicians, the Onge do not understand that payment can be 757
exacted for medical care. This stems from the fact that wages are not con- 465
sidered by those happy people as payment for any kind of work whatsoever, 123
but only as a gift. I realized this when I tried to pay my guides after our extenu- 431
ating marches through the jungle : in order to avoid offending the natives that we had casually met in the course of our trip, I had to give equal reward to everybody.

The Onge consider some men or women better endowed than others with 753
anti-malefic influence ; but these too neither demand nor receive wages for [756]
their services. Evil spirits or evil persons are believed to be principally responsible for illness. A series of superstitions and remarkable habits derive from this belief. The above-mentioned precautions concerning the *naquinēghē* are among them. For identical reasons they carefully hide hair cuttings, but not nail [515]
parings, for the simple reason that nails are never cut but worn down by digging for edible roots, fishing, and other rough work. Superstition, as we know, is also the reason for painting the body to prevent fever and other ills.

In the depths of their jungle the Onge appear to practice some kind
of witchcraft. On several occasions I noticed the mysterious behaviour of some 789
natives travelling with me. Occasionally a man left our marching column to examine the inside of a huge hollow tree and signal to his friends. They did not prevent me from looking into the hollow, where I saw only a simple structure of short sticks resembling a trap without being one. The Onge do not use [224]
traps ; moreover, those structures were far too flimsy to catch anything. Often, two or three men assembled in consultation, rearranged the sticks that had probably been dislodged by the passage of lizards, crabs or other small animals, and walked away silently. I could get no explanation on the matter. Certainly the Onge are sagacious observers of animal and vegetable life and have deep knowledge of their hidden properties. Some trees are probably used for magical purposes, but, I insist, it is impossible as yet to affirm it. The structures in question consisted of four vertical sticks, about 30 cms long, joined at the top by four more sticks of approximately the same length, placed horizontally. The result was a box-like frame, loose and unsecured. The slightest disturbance, such as a light breeze, could destroy the flimsy construction. As far as I could guess they invested those structures with curative properties, but in what manner remains a mystery. I noticed analogous practices among Central [171]
African Pygmies and other primitives.

It is very clear that the Onge dread illness and magic spells, for they 754
consider themselves at a loss in fighting such evils. Unhygienic habits are of no 751
importance to them.

Resting is considered favorable to good health. The Onge indulge vo- 517
luptuously in rest, interrupting it, however, with too frequent sexual excursions. 751
They mainly rest from doing nothing, because 90 % of their time is spent in 461
what, for them, is the most agreeable manner of enjoying life.

In mid-March, when the honey harvest reaches its peak, the Onge guzzle 262

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

Another item of material culture found during the above expedition was a few unbaked pots which show that the Jarawa manufacture earthenware articles – an art not reported so far from among the Onge. Coiled pottery was known among the Andamanese (MAN, 1932). It can be found in the Andamanese kitchen middens as well. 323

The present writer had the opportunity of being twice after the trail of the South Andaman Jarawa in the year 1948. During these two tours a large number of ethnographic objects of the Jarawa was collected. They are now deposited at the office of the Anthropological Survey of India [1], Indian Museum, Calcutta. 126

It was known that the Jarawa were using Bluff and Spike Islands as temporary halting stations in their to-and-fro migrations from South Andaman to Middle Andaman. In September 1938, a pregnant Jarawa woman and four young children (SARKAR, 1952) were captured while they were crossing on a raft on the coast off Bluff Island. A few of their haunts were known to the then officers of the local forest department. 166

In 1948 while the present writer was camping at Long Island, studying the Andamanese, two such opportunities of visiting the Jarawa areas arose. The presence of the Jarawa north of Port Anson was reported to us. We left for Port Anson in a motor launch on March 7th 1948, in the company of an Andamanese – whose canoe was tied behind our launch – under the leadership, of Mr. Joseph, the then Sub-divisional Officer of the forest department. We had one gun only and a *dao* (billhook) each. 123

We passed through Homfray Strait and, reaching Port Anson, we went along the western coast of Middle Andaman. We then anchored our vessel off Foul Bay and came ashore in the Andamanese canoe. This flat open coast is known to be a good place for deer hunting and the animals could be seen from the sea. When the deer were not seen from the canoe we presumed that some human beings had been there shortly before; we suspected them to be Jarawa. Soon we discovered on the beach small footprints, which both Mr. JOSEPH and the Andamanese recognized as Jarawa ones. We traced them inside the jungle and came across a small fire which was still smouldering. A few yards away we found two bags for carrying water made of leaves (fig. 2) which were still wet. The few drops therein tasted sweet. We walked about for some time since the footprints could no longer be traced. There seemed to have been only two people. We then came to Bluff Island along the east coast of Spike Island but found nothing of the Jarawa. [415] [415]

Fig. 2

[1] Thanks are due to its Director, Professor NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE for his kindness in helping the writer with the illustrations of this paper.

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

123 The second trip was made on March 12th 1948. Our party included Mr. JOSEPH and Mr. POOVIAH [2], both Sub-divisional Officers of the forest department, one Burman bush police and four Andamanese with their two canoes tied behind our motor boat. We followed the same route from Long Island and, reaching Spike Island, we anchored at its northeastern corner. We came ashore in the canoes. The beach was small and rocky. Part of it was sheltered on one side by huge rocks behind which the Jarawa were known to waylay those approaching from the sea. So we landed very cautiously. Just at [501] [824] the outskirts of the jungle we saw huge bundles of short bamboo lengths tied to one another and piled up in a heap. It was a Jarawa raft. Near the bamboo pile were three crude paddles split from the spadix of the palm called *Nipa fruticans*. We were all the more careful in our approach.

[361] Soon we came upon a clearing in the jungle. There was no Jarawa, but all around we saw traces of a temporary halt of a large party. We counted nineteen [342] fireplaces. At a distance from the fireplaces we saw a small temporary hut [622] improvised out of the materials available on the spot. Two small shrubs were tied together on two sides to form the roof of the hut. The Andamanese identified it to have been made for the Jarawa chief and his wife. Household objects [415] [824] lay scattered about. Three bamboo cylinders, closed at one end by the natural node, were found next to three of the fireplaces. They are [412] used for carrying water. A dark coloured modern glass bottle, probably acquired during a raid, was also found. One fireplace had a [177] [415] small compartment enclosed by a few wooden posts a few yards off. The Andamanese identified it as [354] [417] [855] an enclosure for keeping a child at a safe distance from the fire. This was probably correct as there was also a baby sling made of bark, exactly similar to that used by the [854] Onge for carrying a baby on its mother's back (VON EICKSTEDT, [412] 1934, fig. 211). At one corner of a fireplace the shavings of an arrowshaft or a bow were seen and nearby was a flat round pebble, one end of which was [412] broken like that of a scraper (fig. 3). This scraper showed marks of red ochre on it. Beneath a tree a circular mat, sewn out of three pieces of long triangular palm-like leaves was spread out, while on its branches was found a beautiful specimen of an unstrung bow. It appeared to have been recently prepared and

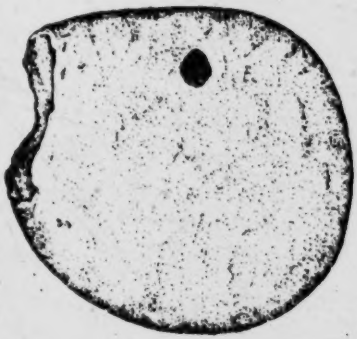

Fig. 3

[2] These two officers captured two Jarawa males, one adult and one boy, on October 19th 1948 on Spike Island. They were brought to Port Blair, wherefrom they managed to escape at night.

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

123 411 painted with red ochre. It was perhaps left there for drying. The Jarawa would surely have returned just for this bow!

It was a straight piece of wood tapering at both ends. The outer surface was convex and was painted red, while the inner one was straight and smooth, and showed criss-cross designs and indentations. We then went to look for a 123 spring and found it at some distance behind a steep rock but there was no [312] water then. It appeared that the Jarawa had left this camp some time ago.

We then left Spike Island and sailed for Yeratia Jig. Here an old kitchen [172] midden was known to be another Jarawa haunt. No Jarawa was found even there, however. The kitchen midden was a mound strewn all over with animal bones. Fragments of typical Andamanese pottery and a blue stone bead were discovered there.

648 In recent years the Jarawa raids have been rather more frequent. [721] GUPTA (1955) has given a list of them in his report on these people. It is believed that the primary cause of the restlessness of the Jarawa is the shortage of game and other food material [3]. On the other hand the tribe appears to have been sufficiently provoked by the punitive expeditions. All the Jarawa villages that the punitive party came upon were burnt down. In the encounter of March 1911 a woman was captured alive and nobody knows what happened to her afterwards. The pregnant woman captured along with four children in 1938 off Bluff Island later on gave birth to a boy (SARKAR, 1952, Pl. IX, fig. 3) at Port Blair but it was difficult to tame her. After her delivery she attempted to swim away and was rescued from the sea. She would spend hours climbing a cocoanut tree. Her whereabouts were unknown during the Japanese occupation of the Andaman Islands during the last war. The young children were sent to the Mission at Car Nicobar, where the present writer studied them in 1948. One of them had died before.

726 On the other hand the Jarawa raids, according to the then executive [714] Government officers, are also very brutal. Before they go out for a raid the [302] Jarawa cover their chests with bark armour and paint their faces with patterns of white clay. The bark armour is stitched securely on the body by other persons and can only be removed by cutting off the stitches. These people [727] are in the habit of mutilating their victims. They take out their brains, their eyes, and their bodies are hacked all over. – The type of arrow they use is [411] almost a spear, as may be seen from fig. 4. This arrow was obtained by the present writer from the forest department officers of Long Island in 1951. It was used injuring a bush police officer of the night picket unit at Lakera Lunta in January of that year. The police, in return, shot one Jarawa dead. 726 The male nurse of the Long Island Hospital took the following body measure- 141 ments of this dead man:

Height ... 5 feet 1 inch
Chest ... 36 inches

Fig. 4

[3] They have of late been reported from about the region of Bomlungta, Rangat Bay, etc. on the east coast of Middle Andaman. (The spelling "Ronga Bay" on the map is incorrect.)

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Foreword

The following pages represent a brief account of my observations during a period of nearly two years which I spent in the Andaman Islands, living for part of the time with the Onges, who provide the major part of my material. 114

I had for a long time been interested in the vexed question of the origins of the pygmies, and after spending some years studying them in Africa and in Asia I came to the conclusion that the peoples of the Andaman archipelago might well represent the 'purest' living example of Negrito stock and culture, remaining as they have in complete isolation until very recently. After a brief visit to the Islands in 1951, therefore, and with the warm co-operation of all the officials and government departments concerned, I was able, beginning in 1952, to spend a total of 634 days in the Islands, 162 of them living in the forests of Little Andaman with the Onges. 121 [114] [122]

It would be impossible to list individually the Indian government officials who aided me in every way, but I wish to record here my deepest appreciation of the courtesy and help extended to me by all the departments and individuals with whom I had dealings, both in the Andamans and in India itself. To all of them, whatever their rank or station, are due my warmest thanks – without their help these notes, incomplete as they are, could never have been written. 122

Armed with gifts of mirrors, glass beads, cloth and, above all, tobacco, I was able to make friends with the reputedly ferocious people of the Andamans and to make observations which, though but a beginning, will I hope lead others to carry further the work which I was able to begin. During my visits to the Islands I was able to set up a museum at Port Blair, where I hope ultimately to 123 121 121

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

14 to the arid climate) are among the most wrinkled people in the world.

142 At birth, the Onges are tiny, attractive little creatures, very
123 plump, but rarely over two and a half kilograms in males and two kilograms in females. I was very fortunate indeed in that I succeeded in persuading one young couple to let me examine their
[609] new-born child. Local superstition forbids a stranger looking on a child for any length of time, and even an Onge who does so is regarded with suspicion, so I had to be extremely cautious.

844 The infant was born on 30 March 1954, in the forest to the north
846 of Labanar. Like most deliveries, birth took place in the forest on
123 a bed improvised for the purpose, with only the father (on some occasions also the wife's mother) present, and the placenta was buried under the bed. The women recover very quickly;[1] after a few days they are fit for heavy work, returning to the group without any purification ceremonies, and this was no exception. After a
123 wealth of gifts I managed to examine the child on the morning of
142 31 March and again on 10, 13 and 14 April. After this mother and child vanished completely, and the father would give me only evasive replies, although only a few days before he had been willing to help me open some graves round Tambe-e-buiè, allowing me to remove the bones of nine Onges who had been dead for many years; superstition (or the women) overcame him on this occasion, however.

My examinations were all carried out in the presence of the mother and at least two of the older women, who were determined to prevent me touching the child.

142 The child, like all Onge babies, had no body hair; this persists throughout life, though some males have sparse moustaches. Its head was covered with a very fine, sparse down, not black like the adults, but already showing signs of the characteristic woolly texture. Dark reddish-brown, the hair becomes black and tightly curled during the first year of life. The eyelashes curl markedly in adults, but the hair of the eyebrows is virtually straight; in the infant the former were barely visible, and the latter completely absent.

The nails were strong and well formed, projecting a little beyond

[843] [1] Childbirth is normally very easy, but miscarriages are common, probably due to lack of vitality in the foetus.

142 147 482 much assistance in this respect, as the muscular insertions are exaggerated in both sexes, both being subjected to continued physical effort resulting in muscular bulk.

142 147 164 [304] [515] One quite outstanding physical feature in the Onges is their teeth. The palate is unusually arched, unlike that of the African pygmies or the Bushmen. The teeth, which are never filed or cut, as many primitive peoples do for decorative purposes, are very white; caries is rare, and although never cleaned the teeth are retained till late in life. A common abnormality is that the lateral incisors are as pointed as the canines. This, with the whiteness of the teeth and eyes against the blackness of the skin, gives the Onges a sinister appearance, which may account for the old description of the Andamanese as men with ferocious dogs' heads. The only (summary) cleaning the Onge teeth receive is the use of toothpicks, thinner and rather longer than the European variety and made from the tough, flexible bark of a certain reed. After use, they are carefully thrust into the hair for future occasions. Every Onge has one or more threaded through the hair on top of the head.

142 147 [264] [514] The strength of the Onge teeth enables their owners to champ their way through what are for us inconceivable quantities of food, both animal and vegetable, which is chewed slowly and determinedly, dust, earth, sand and all, and then swallowed without apparent ill effects, other than the flatulence arising from overconsumption of animal matter. But the Onges use their teeth for other purposes besides eating. In time the teeth become worn down by the inevitable grinding of dirt and grit, but this does not prevent the Onges from continuing to chew the bark of trees and cords, which is a lifelong occupation. This duty falls mainly on the women, and I have seen aged women, their teeth worn almost to the gums, doggedly chewing bark as their contribution to the communal life of the group. The strength of the teeth is unbelievable – I have seen children of ten to fifteen years crush nails up to two millimetres thick, and dent lumps of iron.

114 123 142 147 [137] I myself once had good cause to be grateful for their power. My party and I found ourselves stranded in the forest on South Brother without guns or even knives, and without cooking utensils. There were large clutches of turtle eggs buried in the sand nearby and my two Onge companions pointed out a coconut tree loaded with nuts (which turned out to be the only one on the islands, seeded

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from a nut carried by the sea from some tree hundreds of miles away). There was thus ample food for several days, if only the coconuts could be opened. The Onges' teeth solved the problem. They attacked the nuts close to the stalk, stripping off great chunks of the fibrous outer covering until they had uncovered the three 'eyes'. These they dug out with a sharp piece of stick, so that we were able to drink the juice and then break up the nuts to get at the flesh. Never did coconuts taste so good!

Round the base of the tree I saw a thick layer of broken pieces of coconut, the remains of nuts opened by the Onges' teeth over the years. The strength of their bite resembles that of the African pygmies, whom I have seen hanging by their teeth from the lianas and who can dent the barrel of a gun.

The average life span of the Onges, and indeed of the Andamanese in general, is fairly short. On Little Andaman there are probably no individuals over the age of sixty, and most die before fifty. Here again they differ from African peoples of similar stature; Bushmen have been known to live to a hundred, and I saw one in Natal, incredibly wrinkled, but not shrunken, who was certainly near that age if not, as he claimed, over it. This is quite unknown in the Andamanese. There are none with white hair; although a few white hairs can sometimes be found on the head of an old woman, there are none to be seen in the men, who die younger than the women. There is no baldness, which is by no means rare in Negroes, particularly in southern Africa.

Precise age is not easy to determine in the Onges. Visual assessment is hampered by the absence of the signs of ageing common in Europeans. Moreover, a particularly child-like expression often lasts into adult life. In May 1952 I saw on Car Nicobar two Jarawa youths, small but robust, whose age by our standards one would have estimated at ten or twelve years. One turned out to be fourteen, however, and the other at least two years older, and both were adolescent, despite their childish appearance.

Males appear to reach their maximum height at about eighteen, and females at about sixteen; both sexes reach full maturity at about twenty-three. At forty-five they are old: their hard life, their unbalanced diet, with its enormous quantities of fat meat eaten in excess, and complete absence of salt, and their unrestrained sexual activity, may all be contributing factors. The slightly greater age

157 522 Western standards taciturn or sly, and the Negro peoples, who frequently manifest complete abandonment in their amusement. 157 522 831 Obscenities appear to be an unfailing source of amusement to the Onges, who indulge in them at every opportunity, even with strangers, and the obscene dances of the womenfolk are a continual source of pleasure. The exchange of obscenities is, indeed, a sign of friendship, and I found that vulgarity was invariably immensely successful in provoking hilarity; any subsequent negotiations were always peaceable and satisfactory.

302 [157] An extension of this vulgarity is an infantile vanity, not without sexual significance. The care with which their bodies are painted nearly every day is one aspect of this vanity; the more a wife loves her husband the more magnificent the designs she executes on him. [953] [951] [961] The paintings on their bodies reach a peak every two or three days, as the Onges fear illness and death if they are not newly daubed, and the face at least must be continually painted, with at least smears on the chest, arms and legs. A man returning from an exceptionally successful hunting trip is met by his wife with a specially unusual and elaborate design, which she carries out with great devotion. [123] During each of my visits to the island the Onges would rush up to show me their embellishments as soon as they were finished, and took a delight in standing in front of my camera, even though they had no idea what it was for.

304 [171] It is curious that unlike most primitive peoples, the Onges do not practise tattooing, which is one of the simplest ways, if not *the* simplest, in which such peoples satisfy their craving for physical [184] [302] admiration. The other Andamanese do, puncturing the skin with tiny slivers of obsidian or quartz, but the Onges paint with ochre instead. They love, too, to weave garlands of fruit, flowers and 381 824 leaves from the forest, returning to the camp laden with them, men and women alike, delighted with their own beauty. This divergence [184] of customs in peoples essentially of the same stock, but separated for long periods of time into endogamous isolates, is very remarkable.

838 An intense preoccupation with sexual attraction and activity has led to the prevalence of aberration. All the Onges have homosexual tendencies. I became aware of this during my first visit to Little Andaman on one of my longer expeditions, when I had taken only men with me, and on subsequent occasions I therefore allowed the men to bring their wives. The effect of long periods of absence on

137 the Onges as hiding-places or temporary shelters. In these cavities,
[136] which remain full of water right through the dry season, flourish a horde of amphibia, many hitherto unknown.

The great trees are sometimes so close together that it is literally impossible to pass between them, yet it is rare to find two of the same species next to each other, so great is the variety. Huge clumps of ferns are everywhere, hiding the roots of dying trees, hundreds of years old, and fallen trunks rotting on the ground. Some of the thicker and taller trees protect themselves from the monsoon gales by developing buttresses, usually four or six to a tree, which stand out from the trunk like right-angled triangles, with the apex about ten metres from the ground. If a blanket is stretched between the sloping sides of two of the buttresses one can improvise a shelter which is extremely comfortable by local standards, and both man and animals take advantage of this natural cover; I myself took shelter like this on many occasions. (They need to be treated with caution, however, as the local snakes have a predilection for siestas
824 in the darkest corners.) If a hard piece of wood is struck against one
202 of the buttresses it echoes hollowly, and the Andamanese often make use of them to transmit warning messages over considerable distances, using a form of code. A few beats can make every inhabitant within a wide radius vanish from sight, hastily making for the nearest hiding-place. It is hopeless to try and ferret them out once they have been warned, and there is always a risk of being killed by one of their arrows in the process.

● 123 Sometimes the Onges used to disappear suddenly for fun. The
[522] blackness of their skin is a great help in this, since even on the brightest afternoon it is intensified by the obscurity of the forest. One has a disturbing sensation of being entirely alone, yet knowing that dozens of pairs of eyes are watching as the Onges glide silently from trunk to trunk between the buttresses.

137 The whole island is a mass of knotted vegetation, and it is useless
484 to attempt to cut any form of lasting path, as the plants immediately
487 grow back. 'Walking' in the Andamans therefore means opening
[481] up a way with a hatchet, unless one adopts the rapid but exhausting Onge method of swinging over obstacles by the lianas. This is the kingdom of the epiphytes. The lianas cover their hosts as if determined to hide them, and clumps of orchids hang from nearly every trunk, although their flowers are unfortunately very small.

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and particularly of Oceania, but not with that of the Indian peninsula – a fact which is highly significant in any reconstructive study of the migration of flora and fauna to the archipelago.

The most recent phase in the spread of vegetation within the Andamans is less than a hundred years old; it began on Great Andaman, but none of the species has yet reached Little Andaman. The coconut has reached it during the last few years, but when I was there, there were not more than five wild palms in the whole island. The original coconuts must have floated from Great Andaman, or even the Nicobars. The Onges at once realized that they were edible, and called them *marele*. Now, however, there is a plantation of over five hundred trees to the north of Labanar, which I established by degrees on a number of occasions as a gift to the Onges.

The absence of any cultivated plants on Little Andaman led me to try pawpaws and bananas, as well as coconuts. In 1952 the Governor himself suggested a plant whose leaves are said to cure ringworm, so widespread among the Onges. The Onges, however, were not remotely interested, nor were they any more interested in the pawpaws and bananas. The pawpaws were left to lie on the ground and groves of young plants sprang up, far too close together, crowding the original tree and not sturdy enough to fruit. It was useless to show the Onges what to do. The bananas would have grown well, but their leaves were ripped to pieces by the storms. Possibly they would fare better in Great Andaman, where the hills would afford some shelter from the wind.

A rather different result, but equally unfortunate, followed the importation of grass seed into Great Andaman to improve grazing. The seed, imported from Europe, must have been contaminated with *Mimosa pudica*, which has spread widely, as it did in India and the rest of southern Asia, and within a few years has destroyed the grass so widely and become so much of a pest that in some areas it is doubtful whether it can be eradicated. The area round Port Blair is full of it, but for the moment Little Andaman remains free.

Culturally, the peoples of the Andamans remain today, unlike their kin in Malaysia and the Philippines, at a level almost identical with that of their ancestors thousands of years ago. They represented then, and in great measure represent today, a pure hunting and

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their hunting and fishing, or contacts with strangers, which are loudly chanted, accompanied by miming and dancing, during their nocturnal celebrations. One was sung and danced in my honour; Cendubai,[1] head of the Lulera hut, much struck by the sight of me in my hammock slung between two trees on nylon cords, delivered himself of a warning over the danger I was running using such thin cords. At the end of each 'verse' the refrain '*cuł-cian-ghéghełbét-chéłe*' (he will hurt himself) repeated his fear of the cords breaking.

Hunting and fishing episodes are to the Onges less interesting than themes like my safety, because to them they lack the repetitive refrain. In their dances, on the other hand, they prefer something else, to us monotonous, but for them always new, and even exciting; more than anything they love to dance the stages of courtship to its culmination, with the help of words and extraordinarily (to Western eyes regrettably) vivid gestures.

Birds, to the Onges, harbour the spirits of the dead, and it is for this reason that they are never eaten, contrary to the assertions of Brown.[2] Similar fears extend to lizards, the jungle cats, bats, rats and snakes. I have confirmed this among both the Onges and the Arioto. The latter even refused to eat some fat pigeons which I offered them not knowing of the taboo; they accepted the gifts, but the pigeons were eventually eaten by my own men. And the Onges whom I took with me to Port Blair for a few days refused point blank to eat pigeon or chicken.

The spirits select the Onges' food for them, in the sense that they regard everything as edible or poisonous, according to whether the guardian spirit is benign or malevolent. Given the curious adaptability of the spirits and the intensely practical way in which they operate it is hardly surprising that their benevolence or malignity coincides remarkably well with those foods which tend to promote normal health!

[1] I was sorry to learn that Cendubai died suddenly in 1955 aged barely forty.

[2] Curiously enough, while the Onges' fears lead them to reject out of hand any food of animal origin which is unknown to them, the same does not apply to vegetable foods. They ate half-rotten fruit, which I offered them, even though they had never seen it before, and they clamoured for rice and tea, so much so that in order to prevent them becoming addicted to the rice, as so often happens when primitive peoples meet a new food, I insisted on receiving equal quantities of yams in exchange for the rice and very sweet tea, to slow down their demands.

To truly primitive peoples like the Onges, European medical practices are fascinating. Men and women will refuse literally nothing once they are convinced of our intention to do them good and cure their ills. Although they have a rudimentary form of medicine, they recognize the superiority of European methods, and medical aid has therefore become our most powerful means of making contact with uncivilized peoples.

While I was busy trying to alleviate their ailments I became aware of the power which 'medicine' has over them, and I was also able to observe their own methods of dealing with their ills. Understandably, disease, death and birth are all attributed to particular supernatural beings, or to the spirits of the dead. They try not to offend these beings, but strive nevertheless, in their own way, at least to cure disease. Once primitive peoples see our methods they respect them, and are eager to be treated; strange though it all seems, they develop a blind faith in the omnipotence of the new ways.

There is little actual disease among the Onges and they have equally few vices. They are still unaware of the existence of alcohol, and have not learned how to ferment sugar substances, such as the honey in which the Little Andaman abounds. Tobacco is a recent introduction, and the Onges at once became wildly addicted to it; the tobacco leaves I had taken with me were in fact my best means of making my way peacefully into the island. A few Onges have acquired a supply of opium from Burmese and Chinese smugglers along the north coast, but instead of smoking it they seem to limit themselves to chewing it mixed with tobacco, and have fortunately no means of replenishing their stock.

Polio, tuberculosis, smallpox and cancer seem unknown, but for some unknown reason the islands have on a number of occasions been struck by disastrous epidemics of measles. These epidemics struck nearly every member of some of the communal huts, judging from survivors' reports, and the sites were afterwards abandoned, leaving the huts to be destroyed by termites.

The census of 1931 includes a personal observation by Portman of congenital syphilis in several Onges. This has since been proved wrong and in 1952 I found only one young man with nasal malformation possibly attributable to the disease, half-moon incisors, and abnormality of the skull and palate. I was not able to find him

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on later visits. Dr H. Lehmann found no evidence of syphilis in the fifty-two individuals of both sexes from whom he took blood samples in my presence. 164 [114]

Although the Onges are normally healthy and look outwardly robust, they have very little actual resistance to disease and succumb very quickly. Twenty-eight of them, whole families, young and old, whom I took with me to Port Blair in 1954 to present them to the President of the Republic of India, all developed a high fever owing to the change in their way of life during the few days it took from Little Andaman to Great Andaman, and we had to take them back hastily to their own island immediately after the official visit. Even minor feverish complaints of no importance seem to depress and terrify them so that they die very quickly, and I sometimes heard that young Onge friends whom I had left in excellent health had died suddenly from, so I was told, some febrile complaint. The Onge women have better resistance than their menfolk to disease as a whole, which may also help to explain their greater longevity. [123]

On the other hand wounds heal surprisingly quickly in both sexes, although in some of the old men I saw purulent leg sores, slow to heal even when treated with antiseptics which I applied myself. I saw none of these in women, but they seem to be more severely attacked by ringworm, especially on the abdomen and round the umbilicus. Few of the Onges were free from ringworm but none of them bothered to treat it, and it did not seem to cause them any noticeable disturbance. In one woman I noticed whitish patches on the fingers and lips, due to leucoderma.

Diseases of the nervous system and mental illnesses seem very rare, although a few individuals are subject to attacks of epilepsy, watched reverently by all present! The Onges regard epileptics as possessed by a spirit capable of giving important information and question them like the oracle. A number of the Onge leaders, among them Giota of Tambe-e-buiè, go from time to time into a state of trance, which has every appearance of an epileptic attack. I saw one case of dementia in a middle-aged woman, but it was mild enough to allow her to go about her work reasonably well, and at regular intervals she produced normal children. 158 [187]

Sight and hearing in the Onges are particularly acute, as has often been reported in primitive peoples and attributed to the 151

151 regular exercise of the two faculties required by their existence in direct contact with the natural world; anyone, it is said, who lived such a life would preserve the same keenness of eye and ear. [164] Certainly I saw no myopia among the Onges, nor any of the eye infections common among other inhabitants of the tropics. With the naked eye they can pick out tiny craft far out to sea, or the small, narrow Onge canoes which I could hardly see with field-glasses, which makes me doubt whether constant exercise of the eyes can really be the full explanation of their power of vision. They can pick out quickly and accurately birds immobile among the dense leaves in the darkest part of the forest, invisible to me, even though I was used to looking for them and could see them when they moved. And from the ground they saw high in the trees tiny amphibia which I wanted to catch, after I had caught one by chance which had proved to be a new species. These amphibia, [126] perfect mimics, become almost invisible when they attach themselves to the bark of the trees, but the Onges pointed them out to me from a distance with absolute accuracy, and I was in fact able in 1954 to catch over two hundred in a week.[1]

825 The Onges can also pick out reptiles on the ground, or among
151 the foliage, distinguishing with long practice the poisonous
114 varieties which abound in the islands, and I found it very useful to send Onges ahead of me in the forest to look out for these snakes. When any of my Indians were bitten it was always because they thought they could do as well as the local scouts! The Onges themselves are, however, occasionally bitten, with serious consequences. One of them, aged twenty-five, climbed into a very high tree after honey, and unwittingly put his left hand on a snake hidden in the leaves, where it had climbed to search for birds' eggs. It bit just above the elbow, causing an alarming swelling of the arm with severe pain and fever. He was brought to me semi-conscious, with the whole limb swollen to the size of a rugby ball. The unfortunate [752] man's neck had been bound with the usual strands of *Ficus* bark, and not surprisingly he was groaning desperately, and clearly on the point of death.

752 123 The Onges have no specific remedies for snake bites, and their

[136] [1] These amphibia were examined in 1954 at the Institute of Zoology of the University of Genoa and given the name of *Kaloula baleata ghoshi*, in honour of Mr A. K. Ghosh, then Governor of the Andamans.

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attempts to help, after binding his throat, had consisted in smearing the man's entire body with a mixture of ochre, turtle fat and honey with an extra layer on the bitten limb. Although it was very late to start treatment I injected antiserum, and the next day the man seemed a little better. I next saw him eleven days after the injection, when the arm appeared much less swollen, and the pain had almost disappeared, although clear traces of the accident remained; the skin was cracked and peeling, and the two puncture marks at the site of the bite were still gaping open, each revealing red, purulent flesh over a circular area more than two centimetres in diameter. The arm looked almost gangrenous, but its owner did not seem worried, and joined in cheerfully with the others round me. Just over a month after the accident the wound was completely healed, leaving one very grateful patient.

The incident shows the complete solidarity of this simple and reputedly so warlike community; by tacit agreement the patient was relieved of all work, and provided with food by the other families in the communal hut. While he was seriously ill his wife went hunting and fished, normally the man's work. Similar help is given in the case of the aged, or if a wife and mother falls ill; food is provided for them, and for the children, and certain 'soothsayers' appear to be at least partially provided with food by the rest of the community on a permanent basis.

For any kind of fever the Onges turn immediately to their stock remedy, smearing the entire body with the usual mixture of ochre, turtle fat and honey. The legs, arms, chest and abdomen are then tightly bound with strips of *Ficus* bark, which are removed and renewed from time to time. Whether the patient has pains in the abdomen or in the chest, or elsewhere, or has a cough, he is invariably stretched out on the ground, and the appropriate part is given a form of vigorous massage by the feet of one of the bystanders. Usually the entire body is pummelled for quite a time, the patient being turned over and over. The patient ends up looking rather like a mummy plastered in ochre and the whole process is to us somewhat amusing, but the Onges all practise it, and submit to it, very seriously, believing implicitly in its efficiency. The mechanism by which the treatment works has yet to be determined!

Balls of ochre the size of a hazelnut and varying in colour from bright red to whitish-yellow are given by mouth, particularly to

757 [237] children. I have seen anything up to half a dozen given, one after another. Their laxative effect is sometimes violent, as the ochre is mixed with the usual turtle fat, plus lumps of pure wax from the hives of the black bees.

752 Another 'cure' is the smoking of the affected part. One young woman well known to me, Nabinibbi (wife of Maritòi, leader of the Cemalè group), plump and in her own way graceful, had burnt two toes of her right foot, and was unable to sleep with the pain. She smeared the foot well beyond the burn with the usual mixture and held it out to the smoke of great fresh liana seeds laid among embers. The seeds, the size of a large chestnut, but lenticular and covered with a dark brown, leathery skin, burnt with a dense smoke.

757 Another treatment, rather different, was applied to one of my Onge guides, Toncutèi, who developed a high fever on the night of 28 March 1954, while he was in the communal hut known as Entiguèh, in the north-central area of the island. In fact, it was merely violent indigestion caused by too much pork – Toncutèi, like his father Enagaghe, an indefatigable trencherman, had availed himself too freely of the boars shot that day by my men. His friends laid him on his side on the ground on a rectangular mat barely large enough to take his body, with his legs bent up to his chest. They then lit low fires along two adjoining sides of the mat, turning him from time to time so that he 'cooked' evenly. One Onge began spitting on the patient's hair, and rubbing the spittle into the skin, stopping every now and again to press the victim's head between his hands. Another dissolved ochre in water, and after heating it, rubbed it well into the patient's chest, throat and neck. Meanwhile, a third beat his hands vigorously on Toncutèi's. This went on for just over a quarter of an hour, after which the patient was stretched out on his stomach with his feet sticking out over the end of the mat, ready for the foot massage. As the masseur's foot reached the chest he stopped, pressing hard to enforce complete emptying of the lungs. Half an hour of this led to further rubbing with hands and feet for another fifteen minutes, particularly over the sacrum. [123] Finally Toncutèi was left in peace beside the fire. By dawn the fever was gone (aided possibly by the strong purgative I had administered), although it was a couple of days before he had fully recovered.

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Near my camp at Labanar, in March 1952, I witnessed a distressing and fatal case. A young woman, with a baby a month old, had suckled another child, as the Onge women do. The older infant, which had cut its teeth, caused damage to the nipples and the ensuing infection spread throughout the body. The wretched woman was writhing with fever and the pain from her infected breasts and suppressed lactation. Her body had been smeared with a vermilion ochre, held to be the most powerful balm, and tightly bound, as usual. Her condition was so poor that I suggested sending her at once to Port Blair for treatment. Unfortunately, however, at that time I was only just beginning to establish contact with the Onges, and the woman's husband, after all the arrangements had been made, refused to let her go. I had not yet gained the Onges' confidence enough to be allowed near the woman, and although I was able to photograph her I could do nothing to prevent her death.

The decision to administer 'medicine' and subject patients to various treatments is not the province of any specialists, but is taken by anyone in the group; all, including the patient, accept the decision, since all are utterly convinced that it will benefit them. Medicine men and sorcerers, so numerous in Africa and elsewhere, do not exist among the Andamanese.

The Onges have not the slightest idea of any standards of hygiene. They never wash intentionally; the forest, dripping from every leaf, and frequent immersion in water while out hunting, take care of the problem. One must admit that in the circumstances their nakedness is hygienic. A small fire is kept burning beside each bed at night for warmth, a useful precaution which I found very welcome on the many cold nights which followed a very hot day. Deprived of these fires the Onges fall ill at once, a fact of which I had ample proof on several occasions when I took Onges with me out of Little Andaman; they were provided with beds and coverings in well-constructed wooden houses, but although none of them complained about the absence of the fires by their beds they all developed feverish chills.

And yet in their own territory I have seen them lie soaking wet all night in one of their temporary forest camps or a communal hut with a leaking roof without any ill effects, simply because they had

were approaching an Onge camp. Everywhere they go they are accompanied by flies of all sizes, and in Little Andaman the swarms are so bad that the first stranger to land called a river after them, Bumila Creek, or fly river. Their flies betray the Onges long before the barking of their dogs – no human voice ever betrays their silent presence.

On Little Andaman today the Onges' tacit divisions of territory are of little importance, so heavy has been the fall in population, but they still keep out of areas belonging to other 'huts', even if the huts themselves have been abandoned. I never saw any disputes over territory, or the ownership of the area in which a pig was caught (and hence ownership of the pig). The Onges who accompanied me, possibly encouraged by the prestige value of a European with them, hunted wherever we went without anyone raising any protests. Nevertheless, I always took the precaution of giving anything I or my Indians took to the Onges of the nearest hut, invariably much to their delight.

Contrary to established opinion, communal huts on Little Andaman are not found only along the coasts; the majority, and certainly the best constructed, are in the interior. Togalanghe is one, and there are a number of permanently abandoned temporary camps near it.

Both the permanent and temporary huts or shelters of the Andamans resemble those of the Semang. The latter are extremely simple, especially in the dry season; there are no walls and only a very sloping roof of leaves, high at the front and very low at the back, the beds being put so that the feet face the low part of the roof. With the Semang and Aeta the beds may be made of bamboo; this is never the case in the Andamans, as there are no large bamboos in the archipelago (Brown was wrong in this respect. The few slender bamboos on Little Andaman are only usable for making drying racks, which are found only round the hut at Beniabol in the south. As the people were away when I went there, and the site was consequently completely deserted, I was unable to establish visually what they dried, but traces of fish, particularly pilchards, were indication enough.)

These temporary shelters are put up extremely quickly. Two poles less than two metres long for the front, and two more, thirty to forty centimetres long, for the back, are fixed firmly into the

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providing not too much effort is required. The Semang and Aeta dig water-holes, and several authors have regarded the Andamanese as differing from them in this respect, but I am able to confirm that they can and do dig water-holes. I first saw them do so in 1951, and in 1952 and again in 1953, near Toqué-è-bùie, I was able to enlarge one. Originally it yielded very little water, and very dirty, as the Onges never bother to go further down than they must – a handful of water is enough. After I had enlarged the well it yielded over half a cubic metre an hour, and I had to build a fence round it to prevent the dogs wallowing in it. I gave the Onges buckets, rope, pick-axes and spades so they could get at clean water, although in view of their natural indolence I rather doubted whether they would be any use. In fact, they used the metal parts for arrow heads and went on as before, drinking out of foul pools covered in rotting vegetation and refuse. It is easy to have clear water on Little Andaman, naturally filtered over the coral formations and never more than two or three metres down, but the effort is too much for the Onges! Usually they drink like animals, lying flat on their stomachs with their lips to the water; some will fold a large leaf into a crude cup, however, and occasionally a fastidious individual will use a *Nautilus* shell.

The water-hole at Toqué-è-bùie alone, if properly maintained, would be able to supply enough water every day for at least five hundred people. The continual falling in of the sides, inevitable in a sandy area, could be permanently prevented by cementing them.

842 enjoy the active marital relationships necessary, according to their
163 husbands, to encourage the entry of the benevolent spirits which bring motherhood. The late onset of fertility in all Andamanese
842 women and perhaps in men as well[1] probably depends on mech-
163 anisms which have been operating for a very long time, affecting
165 the sex ratio at birth, and preferential infant mortality in one sex.
[123] By a combination of observation and deduction I was able to be
[124] reasonably certain that among the Onges at least more males are born than females. The disparity is reduced, though not eliminated, by a higher mortality rate in young males. Males thus remain in excess, making it difficult for some, possibly fertile, to find wives.

842 There are certain peoples – notably the Pitcairn Islanders – who
143 have arisen by repeated inbreeding for hundreds of years from a
161 very few individuals. It is clear from this example that genetic isolation and inbreeding cannot of themselves cause numerical, physical or mental decline of a population. The problem merits further investigation. Civilization has perhaps accused herself unjustly of causing the decline of primitive races, whereas she has in fact only hastened the disappearance of groups already heading for demographic decadence as the result of physiological factors which lie within the group itself, and which are consequently difficult to counteract. The intrinsic damage done by civilization as such has, in my opinion, been considerably exaggerated in some quarters.

Possibly because of the low birth rate the maternal instinct is
855 very highly developed in the women of the Andamans, even to the
597 point of 'adopting' children temporarily. These children are always given lavish affection, and are kept sometimes for years, or even permanently if the parents do not ask for them back. Given the language barrier, this custom makes census-taking difficult as childless couples happily declare adopted children as their own. Nabimbòi, with no children of her own, always had children with her, and it was only the fact that they differed from year to year that led me to suspect what was happening! One wonders whether the custom was not already common before outsiders first came to the Andamans, owing to the existence of a high incidence of sterility long before the arrival of civilization.

[1] There is some evidence of infertility in the men, but it is clear that this is of relatively minor importance.

226 eyes to crack their skulls – and thrown into the small basket every woman carries on her back, hung from the usual cord round her forehead.

The fish the women catch are all the varicoloured species which always haunt the coral shallows, bright red, blue, green, black and white in a wonderful range of stripes and patterns. The Onges eat them with no respect for design, and I must confess that I myself found them very good.

226 252 Besides fish, the women catch molluscs, crustacea, lobsters, crayfish, crabs and even some species of hermit crabs (the latter are baked alive in their adopted shells, and only the abdomen is edible). Lobsters are plentiful, some striped with green and blue and weighing up to half a kilogram, with a very delicate flavour, but the Onges do not seem to be greatly interested in them. They prefer fish and crabs; *Pterocera*, again baked alive, are great favourites and I quite saw why the kitchen-middens are full of *Pterocera* shells.

227 The men prefer to fish with bows and arrows made specially for the purpose, and very different from those intended for game, the shaft being made of very light hollow cane, instead of the solid wood demanded by the mechanics of the game-arrow. The fishing arrow is made of three parts, bound tightly into one. The point, now made of iron,[1] is about four to five millimetres in diameter and [283] twenty to twenty-five centimetres long. Like that of the arrow harpoon, it is fixed by a tightly bound thread to a small stick or foreshaft about fifteen to twenty centimetres long and slightly smaller in diameter than the shaft proper (usually eighty to eighty-five centimetres long), so that the overall length of the finished [314] arrow is a hundred and ten centimetres or more. The binding [237] threads are held fast by a mixture of resin and beeswax, coloured with ochre in the case of new arrows.

227 I tried giving the Onges hooks and lines; they were intrigued by 123 my demonstration of how to leave lines overnight and draw them 177 in next morning loaded with fish, but no more. This was not superstition or fear of the unknown but sheer adherence to established custom. They have neither incantations, amulets nor propitiating

[237] [1] Formerly made of *Tridacna*, or very hard wood. Some of the latter are still to be found, but all the other types of head – fish quills, bone, and *Tridacna* – have disappeared long ago.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

emerge from the eggs and make their way towards the sea, led by 136
some unerring instinct, fresh predators are ready to pounce on them. Hungry gulls and fish, and the giant crabs, lie in wait and sometimes not one escapes.

But the annual survival of only ten young from each female would be enough to allay any fears for the extinction of the species and fortunately reproduction takes place several times a year, often four or five times, according to the Onges, mainly from March to September.

In the case of eggs which I protected and watched, incubation 136
lasted sixty to seventy days depending on the time of year. During 262
the whole of the incubation period the Onges regard them as edible, like the Bushmen of the Kalahari, whom I saw take and eat birds' eggs regardless of their age or state of development. The Onges even like the turtle embryos when cooked, and the other contents of the shell. Curiously enough, however long they are cooked the whites of turtle eggs never set, although the yolk does and is excellent. The Onges, as a sign of great respect, often gave [123] ●
me baskets full of the hard-boiled yolks.

Turtles, despite their peaceable appearance, are extremely agres- 136
sive, and will take on nearly anything they meet. Their battles are one of the most amusing things in the animal world. The males of the marine turtles rarely approach the shore, except to fight each other. This they do ferociously, biting at everything within reach, regardless of being bitten themselves, as the land turtles do in the mating season. The aim is to overturn one's enemy so that he is quite helpless, after which the winner ambles off, leaving the vanquished to his own devices (the trick is to get one's head under one's opponent's body and lever upwards). A turtle, once on its back, takes hours to right itself, which it can only do by accident, when its frantic wriggling and beating in the air with its legs hollows the sand away underneath its back so that it flops over the right way up.

One of the Onges' greatest enemies in their search for food is the crocodile, *teboirona*, as they call it. They have no means of fighting [825]
the creature, so they limit themselves to fearing it and building stories round it. On Little Andaman crocodiles are found only near Nachuge on the west coast, in the deep waters of Jackson Creek, *To-ggw*. There used to be numbers of them in a few places on Great

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

136 been found since 1500. It is found only in the seas round Australia and Malaysia, flourishing round the Andamans, growing rarer towards Indonesia, and reaching as far as the Philippines.

Although *Nautilus* shells are very often thrown up by the sea on the shores of Little Andaman (though rarely whole, because they are so fragile), I never managed to find one alive. The creature prefers to live below thirty metres, where it can be taken with a hook and line. I distributed some to the Onges and offered them every possible inducement, but no one managed to catch a live *Nantilus*. The lovely shells are striped white and rosy pink on top, shading to a mother of pearl colour underneath, and when polished and shaped make beautiful cups or ornaments. I brought some back to Italy with me, but the best were stolen. In one collection in the Zoological Museum of the University of Florence there are some fine ones set in silver, now of considerable value.

237 Another shell which the Onges use is that of the huge bivalve
302 *Tridacna*, the elephant of the mollusc world (see p. 114). For
● 123 many hundreds of years they have filled these shells with water and
177 used them as mirrors when they paint themselves. (The reflection is poor, however, and they fell enthusiastically on the mirrors I had taken with me. These they named *quietanga*, derived from their name for *Tridacna*, and followed me all over the island to get them.)

136 Two species of *Tridacna* are found on Little Andaman; *Tridacna*
262 *gigas*, the larger, and *Tridacna squamosa*, large, but somewhat lighter in weight. Both live in relatively shallow water and are equally terrifying once they have got a hold (see p. 114). Fortunately, the Onges have learnt to surprise them when they are open and slash the single immensely powerful muscle, which closes the two halves of the shell. The flesh is edible when well boiled, and certain parts can even be quite tasty, with a delicate sea flavour; I even ate some raw, much to the horror of the Onges. (They were equally scandalized at my eating raw some of the excellent oysters, which they despise.)

136 Some of the *Tridacna* of the Andamans and Nicobar can weigh over two and a half hundredweights. The actual flesh is not heavy – the two halves of a magnificent *T. squamosa* that I caught at Nancowry in the Nicobars and gave to the Governor of the Andamans weighed nearly one and a half hundredweights and were over 1·3

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

114 question the natives about their customs and beliefs and understand their answers. I was therefore regretfully compelled to give up the idea of making a study of the people of the Little Andaman, and devoted the remainder of my time to the study of the tribes of the Great Andaman, particularly those of the North Andaman among whom Mr Man had not worked. I kept one boy from the Little Andaman with me for some months in the hope that he would learn sufficient Hindustani to act as an interpreter and so enable any future investigator to begin work with the great advantage that I had lacked.

●124 [191] In my work amongst the natives of the Great Andaman I at first made use of Hindustani, which the younger men and women all speak more or less imperfectly, and gradually acquired a knowledge of the dialects of the North Andaman. Towards the end of my stay in the islands I was able to obtain the services as interpreter of a man of the *Akar-Bale* tribe who spoke English well and was of considerable intelligence. He is shown in the photographs of Plates V and XIII. With his help I was able to do some work with the *Akar-Bale* and *A-Pučikwar* tribes, and I found that with such an interpreter I was able to obtain much fuller and more reliable results than I could by using my own knowledge of the native language supplemented by Hindustani. If I had had his services from the outset my work would have been much easier and more thorough.

128 The results of my researches on the physical anthropology of the Andaman Islanders have not been published. I hoped to be able to obtain the services of some one more competent in such matters than myself to assist or direct me in the measurement and study of the collection of skulls and skeletons that I brought to England and that is now in the Anthropological Museum at Cambridge. In this I was disappointed, and absence from England has prevented me from completing my work in this branch of research.

The languages of the Andaman Islands are chiefly of interest as affording material for the study of comparative grammar and

Mr Subramanian of the Forest Department and Mr Majid's young son also 114
accompanied us. We reached Bumila Creek on the north eastern coast of the 123
Little Andaman at about 3 P.M. and having sighted an Andamanese hut we decided to anchor the launch there. The beach was about 2 miles from the place of anchorage. We took out a small boat and rowed to the beach and reached the hut at about 4 P.M. It was found to be abandoned but there were signs of human occupation and within a few yards a water-hole was [312] discovered. A broken canoe, with a single out-rigger was found close to the [501] hut (*see* Plate I, Fig. 1). Burnt coal and smouldering ashes in the centre of the hut showed that it was probably deserted by the Aborigines as soon as they had sighted us. After making a careful inspection of the place we returned to our launch and decided to anchor there for the night. Unfortunately the choppy sea and the strong current coming from the Bumila Creek tossed our small boat throughout the whole night, as a result of which all of us had an uncomfortable time.

We left southwards towards Hut Bay early in the morning and as we moved along the coast we sighted another Onge hut. This did not seem to be deserted as we saw a few people moving about. We decided to stop there and investigate. We took out a boat and moved towards the coast with such presents as we had brought from Port Blair on the advice of the Chief Commissioner. When we got near the coast, we left the boat and walked for about a furlong through coral beds finally reaching the shore. The hut was found [342] to be circular in shape and not too large, and was occupied by 2 adult females, [592] 1 adult male and a young boy. The adult male, *Ukla*, was the father of the young boy and husband of the younger woman. The older woman was his 609
mother-in-law. These people appeared very friendly. We gave them presents 123
we had brought and took photographs and made drawings of their hut. 126
In addition, full anthropometric measurements were taken by me and blood was taken from fingers for typing by Mr Sarkar. Ukla was able to speak a few Hindi words and we gathered that he had been to Port Blair and knew Mr Bonington, formerly of the Forest Department, Andaman Islands. We found in front of the hut, hanging from a large tree 825
the skull and mandible of a Dugong (*see* Plate I, Figs. 3 & 4). We enquired 124
about its significance from Ukla, but unfortunately his knowledge of Hindi was not sufficient to explain it to us. We learned from him, however, that the name of the village was *Laito*. After making friendly gestures, we returned to 'Molly' and proceeded immediately towards Hut Bay. At about noon 501
time while we were having our lunch, we suddenly saw three outrigger canoes 609
(of single outrigger type) coming towards us, each carrying about 4 Onges. 122
We signalled to them and they came to our launch and tied their canoes with it and came on board. The men appeared to be friendly and not afraid of us. Our greatest difficulty, however, was language, as we could not make ourselves understood as none of the crew or any other member including Mr Subramaniam of the Forest Department knew that language. There was one man 55A
who seemed to occupy a position of authority among these men, and was [309] painted with red and yellow ochre on the forehead, arms and breast. The

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

122 torches for hunting by night. There were pigs everywhere. In half an hour we often got
114 six or more of them. At Chemalê, far from the coast, we had eleven in a few minutes for distribution to everybody, including roaming Onge. Pigeons and ducks also were often
[136] plentiful. The simple pleasures of hunting incited everyone to a spontaneous daily struggle through the dense forest ; and so, every month, I managed to carry out many times the work I could have done had I not kept all the men glad to follow me. On seven different occasions I spent 162 days in Little Andaman, out of a total of 634 days altogether in the Andamanese Archipelago – all of them given up to Onge research. These trips are recorded
128 in Port Blair Government offices. A few details on the subject are published in the "Bul-
114 letin of the Department of Anthropology", Government of India, starting in Vol. II, No. 1, 1953 (issued in 1956) and extended to other issues. Such papers were hurriedly prepared by me while I was halting in Calcutta on my way from the Andamans to Europe. Press proofs could never be submitted to me; there are, consequently, many misprints, particularly in the figures relating to my Onge Census. The misprints are so obvious that they could only influence a most biased critic : to be discussed in future papers and while my Onge book is in preparation. In Port Blair (South Andaman) I started an Onge Museum with material collected by me. I had the honour of inaugurating it on 6 July, 1953 in the presence of the Chief Commissioner for Andamans and Nicobars, Mr. A. K. Ghosh, one of the kindest and most intelligent Indian gentlemen that it was my pleasure to meet in Asia. On 9 March, 1954 Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD, President of the Republic of India, also visited the Museum. On that occasion I introduced to him 30 of my Onge friends (wives, husbands and children) in their most natural attire. The President questioned me at length on Onge anthropology and ethnology with the pertinence of a specialist.

123 While in Little Andaman I tried to study all possible aspects of Onge life. I also
[121] tried to count the natives : a very difficult task for they are a nomadic people, ready to vanish into the jungle at any moment. Often I was surrounded by them without seeing a single one. In the darkness of their jungle, be small, black, naked Onge easily disappear. They see us but we do not see them. They can only be counted in their sleeping quarters
[361] in communal huts ; even so, results are misleading. I found a number of communal huts in the interior regions of Little Andaman, whereas previously they were said to exist
[126] only on the coast. The larger, more solidly built huts are in the forest. With the help of my Indian assistants I obtained plans and photographs of all the huts that I saw.
178 Unfortunately the number of Onge communal huts is rapidly diminishing – a very
361 significant fact. Many are in ruins, many more completely destroyed. Only kitchen-middens and occasional clusters of planted bamboo indicate their former location. Through an interpreter, and with two Onge speaking a little Hindi, I was able to gather information
[124] on these and other matters. Direct observation, however, proved the best way of gaining knowledge. In some places there was nothing to help me, and I was compelled to guess about communal huts whose inmates chose to hide in the jungle. Of the many personal
[551] names that I collected I must say that they are reliable only for a short period : the Onge
[553] like to change their names from time to time. All this, in addition to the Onge's nomadic way of life, causes great confusion and makes a proper Census almost impossible. Frequent changing of names also hinders the establishment of genealogies. Furthermore, the Onge
[597] custom of adopting children shifts many of them from one family to another, and adoptive *parents invariably claim them as* their own offspring. The parents themselves, who are ignorant of numbers, not infrequently forget how many children they have, who these children are and where they are located. It was almost useless to follow previous information concerning communal huts ; and so I decided to consider mainly the situation
[114] existing at the time of my visits. The result of my Census may be imperfect, but before criticizing it it would be advisable to know the conditions that prevail in anthropological work among the Onge. Something more than merely counting people, anyhow, was achieved by me in Little Andaman.

In this short paper I am pleased to present a peculiar aspect of Onge life, an aspect that these innocent and once hostile people did not attempt to hide from me, though they also told me nothing about it. Only direct observation could help, and it involved pro-

114 Brief reconnaissance tours among the Ongi were made by Indian anthropologists in 1948 (Dr. B. S. GUHA and assistants), 1949 (Dr. A. K. MITRA and assistants) and 1955 (Dr. N. DATTA-MAJUMDER). Professor LIDIO CIPRIANI is the only scholar who engaged in prolonged research among the Ongi of Little Andaman, and this not only on the coast, but also in the interior of the island. In March, 1952, he crossed the island from the East to the West Coast. He was again among the Ongi from February to May, 1953, and from February to May, 1954. A brief report on his 1952 and 1953 expeditions was published in the Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology, Calcutta. He is planning to publish his results in a book. In 1953 and 1954, he was accompanied by a young Bengali, Mr. PRONAB GANGULI, who collected about 400 Ongi words.

[124] When all of Professor CIPRIANI's results are published we shall, no doubt, be well informed about the Ongi's physical anthropology, their material culture and such aspects of their customs as can be observed without a knowledge of their language and without an adequate interpreter. However, as he himself remarks in the letter mentioned above, "the barrier of language makes it difficult to analyze many Ongi facts". Therefore we cannot expect a deeper insight into the Ongi's social organization, religion, myths and customs.

[161] To sum up: We are confronted here with a group that is in danger of disappearing in the not very distant future. It may survive [182] for several decades in ever diminishing numbers, but its extermination may at any time be accelerated by epidemics. Moreover, its culture is already beginning to undergo substantial changes and may disintegrate very fast. If ever there was a case for urgent research, it is that of the Ongi. When, in the Census Report of 1931, BONINGTON observed with regard to them that here "a vast field of research awaits the anthropologist of the future", the Director General of the Census, J. H. HUTTON, significantly added in a footnote: "Provided, that is, that the Onge survives long enough".

The task is not only urgent, but unusually promising. An ambitious and well trained anthropologist who decides to spend the necessary time among the Ongi of Little Andaman will find an almost virgin field of research and one of the most archaic cultures still extant, a culture which, though already threatened. is at present still essentially intact. He can be sure that his researches, if properly done, will yield results of the first importance which, when published, may rank with EDWARD HORACE MAN's and RADCLIFFE-BROWN's classic works on the great Andaman tribes.

[124] Dr. CIPRIANI's experiences show that a prolonged sojourn on Little Andaman is perfectly feasible. The greatest obstacle to

fieldwork among the Ongi is the language problem. Dr. DATTA-MAJUMDER writes: 114 124

"It should be noted that very little information about the social organization of the Onge has been gathered so far on account of the barrier of language. Not a single interpreter knowing Onge language is available. We came across only two Onge men who knew just a few words of Hindi as a result of their occasional visits to Port Blair".

This was confirmed by Professor CIPRIANI who, in his letter, also mentions the two Ongi who know a little Hindi and adds: "No real Ongi interpreter is, as yet, available". RADCLIFFE-BROWN's experience had been similar. He found only two Ongi men who knew about 20 words of Hindustani.

PORTMAN seems to have been more fortunate in 1886—87. He mentions having had Ongi interpreters. These may have been members of a group of eleven persons who had been captured in the Cinque Islands, between Great and Little Andaman, in 1885 and who had been brought to Port Blair. It would be of great help for anthropological research if a few Ongi could be induced to stay some time in Port Blair and to learn either Hindi or English. In any 114 case, however, an anthropologist wishing to do serious work on Little 122 Andaman will have to remain long enough on the island to acquire sufficient knowledge of the language. He could prepare himself in advance for this task through a thorough study of the available literature on the Great Andaman languages (MAN, PORTMAN, TEMPLE, BASU). Although the languages are different, they are related, and 197 their structure is probably more or less similar. For the Ongi language itself, we have only RADCLIFFE-BROWN's "Notes on the Languages of the Andaman Islands", the list of Ongi words in PORTMAN's "Manual of the Andamanese Languages" (1887) — which RADCLIFFE-BROWN found "of no service whatever" — and a vocabulary of the Ongi language, compiled by M. C. C. BONIG in 1903 and published in Port Blair.

M. C. C. BONIG, (Vocabulary of the Onge Language, exact title 113 not available), Port Blair, 1903.

Census of India, 1901, Vol. III, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by R. C. TEMPLE, pp. 91—95 (PORTMAN's report), 117—120 (language).

Census of India, 1911, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by R. F. LOWIS, pp. 6, 27—29, 81—82, 88.

Census of India, 1931, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by R. F. LOWIS, pp. 2—5, 14—15.

Census of India, 1931, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by M. C. C. BONINGTON, pp. 8—11, 16—19, 22.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

621 rather than order is given by the leader. Cipriani observes.[1] "For
622 instance, it is very amusing for them to think that a man gives orders to others. This means that they have no real chiefs. A so-called Onge [592] chief, or raja, is only the head of a group of families living in the same communal hut, and giving not orders but only advice. It is the most experienced man who is considered chief in the hut, but his authority if at all never goes beyond that hut. In other words no real chief exists in the Little Andaman. Notwithstanding this, there is a perfect order in the island, because nobody interferes with the work or encroches upon what can be considered the rights of others."

●124 As is common to most of the aborigines, the Onges are generally
162 not very receptive when the questions about their numbers and other groups are enquired. The headman says that there are many many fifty Onges. However the number of the Onges are approximately 600.

22 As regards the mode of living of the Onges, the hunting and collec-
231 ting are the basis of their economy. The domestication of the plants
241 i.e. art of agriculture is not known to them and it is only 30 years back, the dogs arrived in the island and have been domesticated by the Onges for chasing the pigs, their main prey. In the absence of agriculture, the natural products of the sea and the forest provide them with all [262] their items of diet. Animal and vegetable products and honey are the main items of their diet and there has been, so far, no introduction of salt in their diet. The most important victims of their hunting are pigs and turtles, the former is chased by dogs and are killed with great
252 cruelty. The cooking of the fish, meat, roots, tubers, jackfruits etc are
251 done by putting them under fire. Preservation of foodstuffs is not widely practised except the jackfruit seeds which are tied up in a small net inside water on the bank of some stream and taken out during rainy season, when the other vegetable foodstuffs are not available. On
146 the whole, the Onges have a very balanced diet with a fair richness of all the nutrients. In this connection the observations of Dr. Cipriani during his survey in the Little Andaman throws considerable light in [157] their conditions of life. He has estimated the Onges as one of the happiest people of the world, who in spite of their primitive economy, are not the miserable victims of poor health, ill nutrition and oddities of life.

396 Some amount of artistry and craftsmanship have developed among these people. A canoe can be constructed by a man, all by himself from

[113] 1 Cipriani, L—Survey of Little Andaman during 1954; Bul. Dept. Anth.,

Jarawas
Onges

114 This was a pity, as I knew that my Indian and Burmese companions were ready to run any risk with the prudence they had already shown in Little Andaman towards the Onges. Since North Sentinel is flat and its forest not impassable, a peace mission led by men accustomed to dealing with people like the Andamanese, though it would certainly need more than a brief stay, would probably be ultimately successful.

124 114 [648] My sole source of local information on the Jarawas was the wife of a government official, who had tended a pregnant woman and four children who were captured during one of the punitive expeditions on Bluff Island. She gave me a great deal of useful information, and indeed the greater part of our scanty ethnographical and linguistic data on the Jarawas has been obtained through her.

THE ONGES

177 648 114 133 Until 1952 the attitude of the various groups of Onges was very similar. Along the coast, however, they had already had some contact many years ago with a limited number of outsiders. Compared with the Jarawas they have been uniquely fortunate among surviving primitive peoples in that their extremely fertile territory has remained immune from invasion. In this they have been helped by their geographical isolation as much as by their own ferocity. Indeed Little Andaman, surrounded by an ocean that frequently turns into the proverbial boiling cauldron, presents grave risks to anyone trying to land. I had considerable experience of this myself; on many occasions I nearly gave up when the boat was overturned by giant breakers. On one occasion on the south coast of the island we were flung into the sea, and the empty boat capsized and dragged me down. No one was in a position to come to my rescue, but the momentary relief of an enormous return wave enabled me to extricate myself. The previous day the breakers had crashed down one after another and smashed us against the coral reef which runs right round Little Andaman. Our baggage and provisions had disappeared, and until help arrived we were forced to remain for two gruelling days without water or food, with no protection from the sun and in constant danger of being attacked by the Onges.

000 During the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

842 enjoy the active marital relationships necessary, according to their
163 husbands, to encourage the entry of the benevolent spirits which bring motherhood. The late onset of fertility in all Andamanese
842 women and perhaps in men as well[1] probably depends on mech-
163 anisms which have been operating for a very long time, affecting
165 the sex ratio at birth, and preferential infant mortality in one sex.
[123] By a combination of observation and deduction I was able to be
[124] reasonably certain that among the Onges at least more males are born than females. The disparity is reduced, though not eliminated, by a higher mortality rate in young males. Males thus remain in excess, making it difficult for some, possibly fertile, to find wives.

842 There are certain peoples – notably the Pitcairn Islanders – who
143 have arisen by repeated inbreeding for hundreds of years from a
161 very few individuals. It is clear from this example that genetic isolation and inbreeding cannot of themselves cause numerical, physical or mental decline of a population. The problem merits further investigation. Civilization has perhaps accused herself unjustly of causing the decline of primitive races, whereas she has in fact only hastened the disappearance of groups already heading for demographic decadence as the result of physiological factors which lie within the group itself, and which are consequently difficult to counteract. The intrinsic damage done by civilization as such has, in my opinion, been considerably exaggerated in some quarters.

Possibly because of the low birth rate the maternal instinct is
855 very highly developed in the women of the Andamans, even to the
597 point of 'adopting' children temporarily. These children are always given lavish affection, and are kept sometimes for years, or even permanently if the parents do not ask for them back. Given the language barrier, this custom makes census-taking difficult as childless couples happily declare adopted children as their own. Nabimbòi, with no children of her own, always had children with her, and it was only the fact that they differed from year to year that led me to suspect what was happening! One wonders whether the custom was not already common before outsiders first came to the Andamans, owing to the existence of a high incidence of sterility long before the arrival of civilization.

[1] There is some evidence of infertility in the men, but it is clear that this is of relatively minor importance.

crew of the ship called him 'Raja' and we adopted this name (*see* Plate IV, Figs. 1 & 2). He was the only one among the Onges who was fully armed with knives, bows and arrows. Among the contents of the canoes, we found complete fishing out-fits, bows and arrows, ropes and nautilous shells, for bailing out water. There was also a kind of bamboo float about 1½ ft. long, probably used for turtle fishing. We gave them food, cigarettes and other presents. After they became quite familiar with us and friendly, they were subjected to full anthropometric measurements by me. Their blood was also tapped by Mr Sarkar for typing. The presents given were iron nails, strips of red cloth, tea and tobacco leaves. Among all these objects what they liked most were the tobacco leaves. Cooked rice, dal (cooked lentils) and fish curry served to them from the launch Mess were however not much appreciated. With the few Hindi words that they were able to understand, we told them that we would like to visit their camp next morning and meet other members of the party. After the canoes had left, we anchored at this point for the night and after taking an early breakfast we left for the shore in two batches. We were informed by the crew that the creek near the Onge camp was called the *Dugong Creek*. We had to wade through brakish water and coast fringing with coral beds for about two miles, before we reached the Onge settlement. There was one large circular communal hut characteristic of the Onges and several lean-to's (*see* Plate I, Fig. 2). We noticed three canoes on the beach apparently those with which they came to meet us on the previous day. We saw also several small dogs and the entrails of a pig strewn round. We met all the 12 Onges we saw the day before, along with Ukla and his family. In addition there were a number of women and children. We took out our presents of dried tobacco leaves, iron nails and two large fishes that we had caught on our way from Port Blair. These were distributed to the Onges. There were altogether 17 men, 15 women, 4 boys and 3 girls. The children were between 1½ to 4 years. The entire party of Onges behaved towards us in a friendly manner and subjected to our measurements and tapping of blood from their fingers without any protest. We went inside their hut and inspected the settlement very thoroughly. A large number of photographs were taken. We found that the name of this village was *Tambebui*. As it became rather late, we decided to return to 'Molly' in the Andamanese canoes, rather than walk through the coral beds for 2 miles. The Onges understood our signs and gladly escorted us back to the launch. We found there were several other Onges waiting for us in the launch who came from the neighbouring village *Gabilong*. All of these Onges appear to be under the influence of the man nick-named as 'Raja' (*see* Plate IV, Figs. 1-2).

We could not proceed towards Hut Bay as the launch had to return for duty at Port Blair, where we reached at about mid-night.

After reaching Port Blair, I discussed the matter of transport with the Chief Commissioner, Mr Majid. A thorough coastal survey of Little Andaman would take at least 15 to 20 days. As it was found impossible to get either from the Forest Department or from the Harbour Master any of their launches

there were no Andamanese there,
but 400 people consisting of 133 males and 130 females who migrated from Bassein in 1924. They were Karen Christians who had settled there. After returning to Long Island on the 12th, Mr Sarkar and party left in the motor boat "Return" for a short cruise along the Jarawa country. Besides Mr Joseph, there were Mr Pooviah and a few of his Burman Bush Police armed with rifles and guns. The party passed through the Homfray's Strait and anchored at the north eastern corner of the Spike Island. Loka and his party of three Andamanese accompanied them in their two canoes. They came to the shore in one of the Andamanese canoes and after entering the forest they found bundles of bamboos piled up at one corner. This was identified as a Jarawa raft. There were also three paddles made out of a palm tree. These specimens were procured for the Department. After proceeding some distance in the jungle, 19 small fire places were counted in scattered manner. A temporary hut was also noticed at a short distance. A number of objects usually used by the Andamanese tribes for household purposes was found including a sling for carrying babies. A beautiful specimen of a Jarawa Bow painted in red in geometrical designs was also found. Photographs were taken of the settlements of the Jarawa camp and objects collected for the Museum. In another place at *Yeratiajig* remnants of a Jarawa camp including pottery and bones of animals, etc., were found. The party returned to Long Island on 14-3-48 and examined 8 of the remaining members of Loka's party. It left the same day for Port Blair where it arrived at 10 P.M. On the 25th Mr Sarkar and his party with the Deputy Chief Commissioner Mr Gupta, left for Kar Nicobar where it arrived on the following day. It returned to Port Blair after staying for a few days. During this time in Kar Nicobar, besides studying the Nicobarese of the Island Mr Sarkar met two Jarawa children who were captured and brought over there and placed in a local Mission School for education.

In the following year in January 1949, another small party was sent under Dr A. K. Mitra with Messrs H. K. Bose and A. Bhattacharyya, to continue the survey of the Little Andaman further along the eastern coast. They visited *Hut Bay* on the 28th and went to the Onge settlement there. A large circular hut similar to that seen by us at Tambebui was observed. It contained nine cots with a fire place in the centre. There were also two outrigger canoes, one in front of the hut and another on the beach. Altogether 11 Onges were found consisting of 2 adult males, 6 females and 3 young children between the ages of 6 to 15. The 8 adults and the adolescent boys were carefully measured and observations noted about their special somatic characters. After leaving Hut Bay they went as far as the South Point which is the southernmost point on the eastern coast of the Little Andaman, but did not see any other Onge settlement. They had to return on the 31st as the launch could not be spared any further.

The Onges were found to be strong and healthy and free from venereal disease, a scourge, which along with tuberculosis were chiefly responsible for the rapid depopulation of the Andamanese tribes. Our observations agree with the accounts of the Negritos of the Andaman Islands published before

Blood Groups from the Andaman and Nicobar Islands

By

S. S. Sarkar

The following blood group data were collected during the months of February-April, 1948 in the course of a visit to Little Andaman, Long Island and Car Nicobar by a party under Dr B. S. Guha from the Department of Anthropology, of which the present writer was a member. The data grouped according to the different tribes are as follows :— 143 21 14 [128]

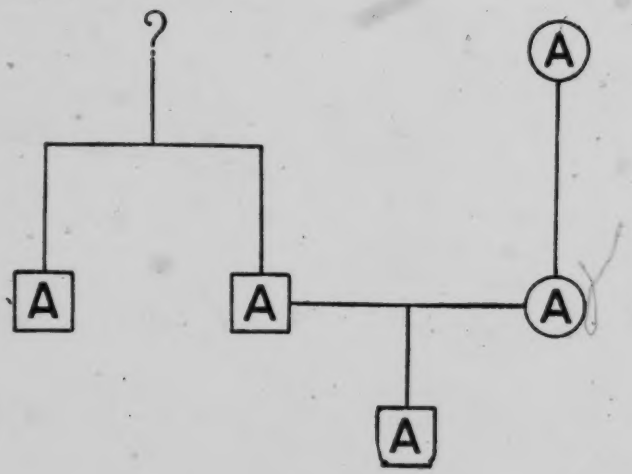
Onges

34 Onges, 19 males and 15 females, were grouped from the island of Little Andaman. They were collected from the settlements round about Bumila Creek, Dugong Creek and the village Tambebui on the N. E. part of the island. The blood group distribution is as follows :— 125 361 143

O	5	14·71%
A	23	67·65%
B	2	5·88%
AB	4	11·76%
	34	

The predominance of group A was already noticeable from Chaudhuri's (Gates, 1940) earlier study of 5 Onges, 3 of whom belonged to A and 1 each to Group O and B.

This will be also apparent from the following pedigree, where three generations show only A. [601]



[p. 25]

5: Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Nicobars AZ7

A 119 143 582 Owing to linguistic difficulties it was not possible to find out the relationships in the majority of cases. It is, however, evident that inbreeding must be very high in such a small, isolated and closed population.

Jarawas

A 119 143 Gates (1940, 1948) reported blood groups of the five Jarawas captured at Bluff Island in September, 1938. Of these five, the adult woman and her eldest son died at Port Blair during Japanese occupation. It appears that Chaudhuri did not group the blood of the 4th son born at Port Blair to the above captured woman, since that would have made the total number 6 (mother +4 sons + 1 unrelated girl) instead of 5. This boy (Pl. IX, Fig. 3) is now 13 years old and was found like his mother and brothers to be belonging to Group O. The blood samples of the other three children were found to be O. The children (Pl. IX) are now living in a Car Nicobar mission.

Andamanese

A 161 The Andamanese population has undergone very serious depletion. The total strength was estimated to be about 37 as compared with 90 of the census figure of 1931. Only 21 of these people could be tested from the islands of Havelock and Neil. Their blood groups are :— A 125 143

O	2	9·52%
A	12	57·14%
B	5	23·81%
AB	2	9·52%
	21	

Nicobarese

N 361 N 125 [164] 143 The majority of the Nicobarese were grouped at the Car Nicobar island. A group of 15 people from Chaura and a patient suffering from infantile paralysis from Nankauri were included in the sample. All the 16 of the latter group belonged to Group O.

The Nicobarese blood group distribution is as follows :—

	O	A	B	AB	p	q	r	D/σ
	117	5	14	0				
%	86·03	3·68	10·29	..	·019	·054	·928	0·5

N 164 Car Nicobar was visited towards the decline of the infantile paralysis epidemic. There were only 24 patients in the hospital. A good number, however, of those who escaped death but were otherwise invalidated were examined. N 734 125

3: Temple
●126

AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[For methods of arriving at census data and detailed diaries kept by the census parties, see category 116, pp. 2-25, 69-95.]

Mr Subramanian of the Forest Department and Mr Majid's young son also 114
accompanied us. We reached Bumila Creek on the north eastern coast of the 123
Little Andaman at about 3 P.M. and having sighted an Andamanese hut we decided to anchor the launch there. The beach was about 2 miles from the place of anchorage. We took out a small boat and rowed to the beach and reached the hut at about 4 P.M. It was found to be abandoned but there were signs of human occupation and within a few yards a water-hole was [312] discovered. A broken canoe, with a single out-rigger was found close to the [501] hut (*see* Plate I, Fig. 1). Burnt coal and smouldering ashes in the centre of the hut showed that it was probably deserted by the Aborigines as soon as they had sighted us. After making a careful inspection of the place we returned to our launch and decided to anchor there for the night. Unfortunately the choppy sea and the strong current coming from the Bumila Creek tossed our small boat throughout the whole night, as a result of which all of us had an uncomfortable time.

We left southwards towards Hut Bay early in the morning and as we moved along the coast we sighted another Onge hut. This did not seem to be deserted as we saw a few people moving about. We decided to stop there and investigate. We took out a boat and moved towards the coast with such presents as we had brought from Port Blair on the advice of the Chief Commissioner. When we got near the coast, we left the boat and walked for about a furlong through coral beds finally reaching the shore. The hut was found [342] to be circular in shape and not too large, and was occupied by 2 adult females, [592] 1 adult male and a young boy. The adult male, *Ukla*, was the father of the young boy and husband of the younger woman. The older woman was his 609
mother-in-law. These people appeared very friendly. We gave them presents 123
we had brought and took photographs and made drawings of their hut. 126
In addition, full anthropometric measurements were taken by me and blood was taken from fingers for typing by Mr Sarkar. Ukla was able to speak a few Hindi words and we gathered that he had been to Port Blair and knew Mr Bonington, formerly of the Forest Department, Andaman Islands. We found in front of the hut, hanging from a large tree 825
the skull and mandible of a Dugong (*see* Plate I, Figs. 3 & 4). We enquired 124
about its significance from Ukla, but unfortunately his knowledge of Hindi was not sufficient to explain it to us. We learned from him, however, that the name of the village was *Laito*. After making friendly gestures, we returned to 'Molly' and proceeded immediately towards Hut Bay. At about noon 501
time while we were having our lunch, we suddenly saw three outrigger canoes 609
(of single outrigger type) coming towards us, each carrying about 4 Onges. 122
We signalled to them and they came to our launch and tied their canoes with it and came on board. The men appeared to be friendly and not afraid of us. Our greatest difficulty, however, was language, as we could not make ourselves understood as none of the crew or any other member including Mr Subramaniam of the Forest Department knew that language. There was one man 554
who seemed to occupy a position of authority among these men, and was [302]
painted with red and yellow ochre on the forehead, arms and breast. The

crew of the ship called him 'Raja' and we adopted this name (*see* Plate IV, Figs. 1 & 2). He was the only one among the Onges who was fully armed with knives, bows and arrows. Among the contents of the canoes, we found complete fishing out-fits, bows and arrows, ropes and nautilous shells, for bailing out water. There was also a kind of bamboo float about 1½ ft. long, probably used for turtle fishing. We gave them food, cigarettes and other presents. After they became quite familiar with us and friendly, they were subjected to full anthropometric measurements by me. Their blood was also tapped by Mr Sarkar for typing. The presents given were iron nails, strips of red cloth, tea and tobacco leaves. Among all these objects what they liked most were the tobacco leaves. Cooked rice, dal (cooked lentils) and fish curry served to them from the launch Mess were however not much appreciated. With the few Hindi words that they were able to understand, we told them that we would like to visit their camp next morning and meet other members of the party. After the canoes had left, we anchored at this point for the night and after taking an early breakfast we left for the shore in two batches. We were informed by the crew that the creek near the Onge camp was called the *Dugong Creek*. We had to wade through brakish water and coast fringing with coral beds for about two miles, before we reached the Onge settlement. There was one large circular communal hut characteristic of the Onges and several lean-to's (*see* Plate I, Fig. 2). We noticed three canoes on the beach apparently those with which they came to meet us on the previous day. We saw also several small dogs and the entrails of a pig strewn round. We met all the 12 Onges we saw the day before, along with Ukla and his family. In addition there were a number of women and children. We took out our presents of dried tobacco leaves, iron nails and two large fishes that we had caught on our way from Port Blair. These were distributed to the Onges. There were altogether 17 men, 15 women, 4 boys and 3 girls. The children were between 1½ to 4 years. The entire party of Onges behaved towards us in a friendly manner and subjected to our measurements and tapping of blood from their fingers without any protest. We went inside their hut and inspected the settlement very thoroughly. A large number of photographs were taken. We found that the name of this village was *Tambebui*. As it became rather late, we decided to return to 'Molly' in the Andamanese canoes, rather than walk through the coral beds for 2 miles. The Onges understood our signs and gladly escorted us back to the launch. We found there were several other Onges waiting for us in the launch who came from the neighbouring village *Gabilong*. All of these Onges appear to be under the influence of the man nick-named as 'Raja' (*see* Plate IV, Figs. 1-2).

We could not proceed towards Hut Bay as the launch had to return for duty at Port Blair, where we reached at about mid-night.

After reaching Port Blair, I discussed the matter of transport with the Chief Commissioner, Mr Majid. A thorough coastal survey of Little Andaman would take at least 15 to 20 days. As it was found impossible to get either from the Forest Department or from the Harbour Master any of their launches

for such a fairly long period, it was decided to give up the idea of continuing our survey of the Little Andaman that year. A 122

At the suggestion of Mr Majid it was finally decided instead to pay a visit to the surviving members of the Friendly Andamanese tribes at Neil and Havelock Islands where they had now been transferred and settled. Unfortunately, as it was March and the closing month of the financial year, I had to return to my headquarters at Banaras and leave Mr Sarkar in charge of the party to carry on further surveys in the North and Middle Andamans as far as this was found possible. A 121 [131]

Accordingly Mr Sarkar with his party left Port Blair on 6-3-48 on the Forest Motor Launch "Lindsay" and arrived at Long Island at about 8 A.M. on the following day. Mr Sarkar was met by Mr Joseph, T. S. D. O. who brought "Loka" and his party of four Andamanese. They were studied by him. The party left Long Island on the Forest Launch "Kokhari" at about 7-30 A.M. on the following day. Mr Joseph accompanied the party, who halted at the Guitar Island where some of Loka's associates were hunting turtles with harpoons. After leaving Guitar Island, the launch passed through Homfray Strait. Mr Joseph showed the spot where the Jarawas in 1925 attacked his camp. This is near the place from where the Jarawas usually crossed from the Baratang Island to the Middle Andamans. Proceeding further westwards, Mr Sarkar and his party reached the north-east end of the Spike Island. This is another route of migration of the Jarawas from the South to North Andamans. Usually they come from the South Andaman and cross over to Bluff Island and then reach the Spike Island opposite to it. Loka gave the information that it was about this place that several Jarawas were shot sometime back and their bodies were buried in the Bluff Island. The party went along the coast of Neil Island and anchored off Foul Bay. Human footprints identified by Mr Joseph and Loka as belonging to the Jarawas were found in the sand. Following the footprints the party found the remnants of burnt ashes and cinder in a spot in the jungle. There were also vessels made of leaves for carrying water which were still wet. These were collected as specimens of Jarawa objects for the Department's collections. No traces of Jarawas themselves could however be found who must have moved into the jungles just prior to our party's visit. Our men then crossed over to Bluff Island and searched for the Jarawa skeletons, but none were found. On the 9th of March the "Kokhari" returned to Long Island, where it anchored. Loka brought his party of 21 individuals who were now settled in Neil Island. These people were carefully studied by Mr Sarkar and notes taken regarding their geneology, family structure and physical state, etc. On the 9th the Deputy Chief Commissioner, Mr S. C. Gupta with his wife arrived at Long Island. Mr Sarkar and his party accompanied him to Stewart Sound in his boat "Elsa". Unfortunately the few Andamanese who were living there happened to have gone out in their canoes for fishing and could not be contacted (*see* Plate I, Fig. 5). A 115 A 114 A [225] [411] A 215 [126] A [115]

They then went with Mr Gupta to the Karen village called *Webi* situated at a short distance from Stewart Sound. There were no Andamanese there, K 361

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

122 torches for hunting by night. There were pigs everywhere. In half an hour we often got
114 six or more of them. At Chemalé, far from the coast, we had eleven in a few minutes for distribution to everybody, including roaming Onge. Pigeons and ducks also were often
[136] plentiful. The simple pleasures of hunting incited everyone to a spontaneous daily struggle through the dense forest; and so, every month, I managed to carry out many times the work I could have done had I not kept all the men glad to follow me. On seven different occasions I spent 162 days in Little Andaman, out of a total of 634 days altogether in the Andamanese Archipelago – all of them given up to Onge research. These trips are recorded
128 in Port Blair Government offices. A few details on the subject are published in the "Bul-
114 letin of the Department of Anthropology", Government of India, starting in Vol. II, No. 1, 1953 (issued in 1956) and extended to other issues. Such papers were hurriedly prepared by me while I was halting in Calcutta on my way from the Andamans to Europe. Press proofs could never be submitted to me; there are, consequently, many misprints, particularly in the figures relating to my Onge Census. The misprints are so obvious that they could only influence a most biased critic: to be discussed in future papers and while my Onge book is in preparation. In Port Blair (South Andaman) I started an Onge Museum with material collected by me. I had the honour of inaugurating it on 6 July, 1953 in the presence of the Chief Commissioner for Andamans and Nicobars, Mr. A. K. Ghosh, one of the kindest and most intelligent Indian gentlemen that it was my pleasure to meet in Asia. On 9 March, 1954 Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD, President of the Republic of India, also visited the Museum. On that occasion I introduced to him 30 of my Onge friends (wives, husbands and children) in their most natural attire. The President questioned me at length on Onge anthropology and ethnology with the pertinence of a specialist.

123 While in Little Andaman I tried to study all possible aspects of Onge life. I also
[121] tried to count the natives; a very difficult task for they are a nomadic people, ready to vanish into the jungle at any moment. Often I was surrounded by them without seeing a single one. In the darkness of their jungle, the small, black, naked Onge easily disappear. They see us but we do not see them. They can only be counted in their sleeping quarters
[361] in communal huts; even so, results are misleading. I found a number of communal huts in the interior regions of Little Andaman, whereas previously they were said to exist only on the coast. The larger, more solidly built huts are in the forest. With the help
[126] of my Indian assistants I obtained plans and photographs of all the huts that I saw.
[178] Unfortunately the number of Onge communal huts is rapidly diminishing – a very significant fact. Many are in ruins, many more completely destroyed. Only kitchen-middens
361 and occasional clusters of planted bamboo indicate their former location. Through an
[124] interpreter, and with two Onge speaking a little Hindi, I was able to gather information on these and other matters. Direct observation, however, proved the best way of gaining knowledge. In some places there was nothing to help me, and I was compelled to guess about communal huts whose inmates chose to hide in the jungle. Of the many personal
[551] names that I collected I must say that they are reliable only for a short period: the Onge like to change their names from time to time. All this, in addition to the Onge's nomadic
[553] way of life, causes great confusion and makes a proper Census almost impossible. Frequent
[597] changing of names also hinders the establishment of genealogies. Furthermore, the Onge custom of adopting children shifts many of them from one family to another, and adoptive parents invariably claim them as their own offspring. The parents themselves, who are ignorant of numbers, not infrequently forget how many children they have, who these children are and where they are located. It was almost useless to follow previous information concerning communal huts; and so I decided to consider mainly the situation
[114] existing at the time of my visits. The result of my Census may be imperfect, but before criticizing it it would be advisable to know the conditions that prevail in anthropological work among the Onge. Something more than merely counting people, anyhow, was achieved by me in Little Andaman.

In this short paper I am pleased to present a peculiar aspect of Onge life, an aspect that these innocent and once hostile people did not attempt to hide from me, though they also told me nothing about it. Only direct observation could help, and it involved pro-

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

Another item of material culture found during the above expedition was a few unbaked pots which show that the Jarawa manufacture earthenware articles – an art not reported so far from among the Onge. Coiled pottery was known among the Andamanese (MAN, 1932). It can be found in the Andamanese kitchen middens as well. 323

The present writer had the opportunity of being twice after the trail of the South Andaman Jarawa in the year 1948. During these two tours a large number of ethnographic objects of the Jarawa was collected. They are now deposited at the office of the Anthropological Survey of India [1], Indian Museum, Calcutta. 126

It was known that the Jarawa were using Bluff and Spike Islands as temporary halting stations in their to-and-fro migrations from South Andaman to Middle Andaman. In September 1938, a pregnant Jarawa woman and four young children (SARKAR, 1952) were captured while they were crossing on a raft on the coast off Bluff Island. A few of their haunts were known to the then officers of the local forest department. 166

In 1948 while the present writer was camping at Long Island, studying the Andamanese, two such opportunities of visiting the Jarawa areas arose. The presence of the Jarawa north of Port Anson was reported to us. We left for Port Anson in a motor launch on March 7th 1948, in the company of an Andamanese – whose canoe was tied behind our launch – under the leadership, of Mr. Joseph, the then Sub-divisional Officer of the forest department. We had one gun only and a *dao* (billhook) each. 123

We passed through Homfray Strait and, reaching Port Anson, we went along the western coast of Middle Andaman. We then anchored our vessel off Foul Bay and came ashore in the Andamanese canoe. This flat open coast is known to be a good place for deer hunting and the animals could be seen from the sea. When the deer were not seen from the canoe we presumed that some human beings had been there shortly before; we suspected them to be Jarawa. Soon we discovered on the beach small footprints, which both Mr. JOSEPH and the Andamanese recognized as Jarawa ones. We traced them inside the jungle and came across a small fire which was still smouldering. A few yards away we found two bags for carrying water made of leaves (fig. 2) which were still wet. The few drops therein tasted sweet. We walked about for some time since the footprints could no longer be traced. There seemed to have been only two people. We then came to Bluff Island along the east coast of Spike Island but found nothing of the Jarawa. [415] [415]

Fig. 2

[1] Thanks are due to its Director, Professor NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE for his kindness in helping the writer with the illustrations of this paper.

151 regular exercise of the two faculties required by their existence in direct contact with the natural world; anyone, it is said, who lived such a life would preserve the same keenness of eye and ear. [164] Certainly I saw no myopia among the Onges, nor any of the eye infections common among other inhabitants of the tropics. With the naked eye they can pick out tiny craft far out to sea, or the small, narrow Onge canoes which I could hardly see with field-glasses, which makes me doubt whether constant exercise of the eyes can really be the full explanation of their power of vision. They can pick out quickly and accurately birds immobile among the dense leaves in the darkest part of the forest, invisible to me, even though I was used to looking for them and could see them when they moved. And from the ground they saw high in the trees tiny amphibia which I wanted to catch, after I had caught one by chance which had proved to be a new species. These amphibia, [126] perfect mimics, become almost invisible when they attach themselves to the bark of the trees, but the Onges pointed them out to me from a distance with absolute accuracy, and I was in fact able in 1954 to catch over two hundred in a week.[1]

825 The Onges can also pick out reptiles on the ground, or among
151 the foliage, distinguishing with long practice the poisonous
114 varieties which abound in the islands, and I found it very useful to send Onges ahead of me in the forest to look out for these snakes. When any of my Indians were bitten it was always because they thought they could do as well as the local scouts! The Onges themselves are, however, occasionally bitten, with serious consequences. One of them, aged twenty-five, climbed into a very high tree after honey, and unwittingly put his left hand on a snake hidden in the leaves, where it had climbed to search for birds' eggs. It bit just above the elbow, causing an alarming swelling of the arm with severe pain and fever. He was brought to me semi-conscious, with the whole limb swollen to the size of a rugby ball. The unfortunate [752] man's neck had been bound with the usual strands of *Ficus* bark, and not surprisingly he was groaning desperately, and clearly on the point of death.

752 The Onges have no specific remedies for snake bites, and their
123

[136] [1] These amphibia were examined in 1954 at the Institute of Zoology of the University of Genoa and given the name of *Kaloula baleata ghoshi*, in honour of Mr A. K. Ghosh, then Governor of the Andamans.

allowing the smoke to escape and letting more air in – a very welcome relief at times, even for the Onges!

I made sketch plans of all the huts I visited, with positions of the supporting poles, beds, etc. Two typical ones were those at Toqué-è-bùie and Tambe-e-buiè. In March 1952 the former had some parts of the roof missing, as the inhabitants had taken the mats off to make temporary shelters in the forest; when the rains came they brought them back and replaced them. This custom explained why, on Great Andaman, some obviously temporary shelters had roofs far too well made to be intended for purely temporary use.

Entering the hut at Toqué-è-bùie, by the entrance proper, one finds oneself facing an area with no beds in it. In the centre of this area, under the apex of the roof, is a fire, a little larger than those kept burning beside each bed. This is used for communal cooking during the rainy season; at other times all cooking is done in the open. The ground area covered by the roof was 9·12 square metres, its height at the centre 3·3 metres, and the external circumference 30·65 metres. Beyond this stretched the ring of refuse built up by each short period of occupation.

Unlike many of the huts of Little Andaman, Toqué-è-bùie has a central pole, not thick, but of a very hard wood. In a circle round this are ten upright poles, each about two metres from the central pole. Starting on the left of the entrance and moving clockwise their heights vary slightly.[1] Outside this inner circle of supporting poles are two more concentric rings of uprights, the first, with a radius of 3·65 metres from the central pole, consists of twenty uprights with an average height of 1·35 metres, and the second, with a radius of 4·53 metres from the centre pole, has an average height of 0·38 metres. In nearly every hut each circle of uprights is attached to the roof by a ring formed by a bundle of long canes, to which each upright is lashed. Another bunch of long canes runs transversely from the entrance to the opposite side of the hut, almost touching the ground at the two ends, touching the roof in the middle, and fixed to the rings of canes to which the uprights are attached.

The bundle of canes forming this arch support is clearly set in place after the erection of the first (innermost) ring of uprights, and actually lies on top of the ring of canes to which they are

[1] 2·45, 2·35, 2·32, 2·3, 2·45, 2·35, 2·3, 2·35, 2·32, 2·35 metres.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

114 beasts were plentiful, and used to come right up to the camp out of
136 curiosity, in spite of the noise of the shooting, and my men took so many that they were able to dry and smoke some for future use. There were flocks of pigeons after the fruit in the *Ficus* trees, and another rather smaller bird with green wings (*àriel* in Hindi). There were always large fish lying quietly on the surface of the sea, only two hundred metres from the dig, so that we could shoot these as well. The Jarawas were kept at bay, we all fed very well, and everyone was highly satisfied!

The camp was surrounded night and day by a chorus of frogs, and the lights of the camp attracted a whole army of hermit crabs; in the dry season they made an incredible noise parading up and down the dry leaves, even rummaging round our beds inside the tents while we were trying to get to sleep. They disappeared, suddenly and completely, immediately the rains came. Like the rest of their species they use their claws to close the shells in which they have made their home. Usually the large claw was able to do the job alone, but in case of difficulty they would bring the other claw and even their legs into the battle, until they managed to close the shell completely (my men enjoyed these struggles immensely). They in fact use various shells, and squeeze into them somehow, even into the cowries. Some varieties use nothing but cowries and their claws and legs have become very slender in adapting themselves to the narrow shell.

Unlike the hermit crabs, the rats were not affected by the seasons
[126] and came after our stores in hordes. I collected a number of species, but I was never able to catch one kind which particularly interested me. It was a jumping variety, graceful and rather larger than our mouse, with big ears, and a very pointed muzzle. The front feet were short, almost atrophied, and the back ones long, with strong, powerfully muscled haunches, so that the creature was rather like the rats of the pyramids in miniature. I often surprised them round my tent if I shone a torch suddenly, but they would bound away out of reach on their hind legs and no traps seemed to attract them. This variety does not seem to have been reported, at least in the Andamans, and it was the only one I was never able to catch.

When the rains came the disappearance of the hermit crabs was matched by the equally sudden appearance of curious cicadas, which chirped intermittently like all those in the Andamans. By the

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

position by reed cords, which were to be tied in front of the snout, ending in a cord by which the skull was to be hung above the hunter's bed. No sooner said than done, and at the beginning of 1954 all the old trophies were thrown out into the forest, to be gradually replaced by the new ones. Fortunately I had collected some of the old trophies before the 'revelation'!

From the evidence of the middens it would appear that these variations in burial customs have no practical basis, and probably all derive from similar 'revelations'. Further investigations in a large series of the deposits, enabling dated comparisons to be made, would be extremely revealing.

Even allowing for these sudden alterations in established customs, it is clear that their elaboration indicates slow and hardly perceptible development over long periods of time and the middens must be dated in millennia. The hypothesis put forward by some scholars that the Andamanese are descended from negro slaves who escaped while on their way to the Portuguese colonies in India in the sixteenth or, at the earliest, fifteenth centuries, seems therefore quite untenable, in face of the abundant evidence in favour of the great antiquity of the middens and of the people who built them up.

It seems clear that during the last few thousand years, successive waves of migration have taken place over a whole area bounded on the west by the Andamans and Nicobars. All indications point to a close connection between the Andamanese and the peoples to the westward, the Negrito element remaining alone and almost untouched in the Andamans, but becoming submerged in the Nicobars into the mongoloid element of more recent origin. Even today a number of Nicobarese show signs of Negrito ancestry; short in stature, they have crinkly hair which although long is very different from the straight black hair of the mongoloid element, and their heads, noses and lips bear clear signs of Negrito ancestry.

In addition to these more general conclusions the middens also cast some light on the origin, still somewhat problematical, of the wretched Jarawas of Great Andaman. Comparisons between their middens and those of the Onges show that there were in the past communal huts on Great Andaman exactly the same as those still extant today on Little Andaman.

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been cooked in the same way; the bones are never charred, but always have the appearance of being cooked in an earth oven. The direct roasting of large game over the fire, postulated by some authorities, including Brown, was never practised; the islanders preferred to go on as they had done since time immemorial, because it was more efficient – witness the traces of the earth oven which are to be found all over the world, including Europe. In Polynesia and Micronesia, and among the pygmies of Asia and Africa, it was widely used; variations when they arose did so as the result of local circumstances, like that of throwing water on the fire instead of using fleshy leaves, when there were none in the area. But the basic principle remained the same everywhere, and the use of the earth oven coincides with the geographical distribution of hunting, gathering and burial customs similar to those found in the Andamans.

In April 1954 I excavated the midden at Tambe-e-buiè on Little Andaman, abandoned after the earth tremors of 1951, to investigate the position of the beds. The custom of burying the dead underneath their beds made it possible to trace the latter by the human remains below them, arranged in a circle round the periphery. The Onges themselves helped in the work, sometimes even trying to recognize the remains as they came to light.[1] There were clear signs of reburial. The body is buried immediately after death at least one metre deep; whereas after exhumation, cleaning and colouring, it is never re-interred more than thirty centimetres below the floor of the hut. When another death makes it necessary for a new grave to be dug under the bed, the piles of bones from the second are disturbed, so that in time a form of ossuary develops. In this it is not possible to identify the various remains of individuals unless some change in the position of the hut, even by a few metres, preserves the bones from disturbance by fresh graves. Traces of the graves always remain, however, as they are invariably filled with fresh earth.

We have already seen that on Little Andaman the introduction of the dog reduced the consumption of shellfish (and hence the rate

[1] The material recovered is now in the Anthropological Museum of the Andamans and Nicobars, which I helped to establish at Port Blair. The museum was inaugurated on 6 June 1955 in the presence of the Governor, Mr A. K. Ghosh and the chief Indian officials of the town.

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Even the unique dances enjoyed by the Onges are to be seen among the Jarawas, with the characteristic marking of the rhythm by slapping the calves against the buttocks. This does not seem to have been a feature of the Arioto dances, in which the rhythm was by the *pukuta yemnga*, a kind of convex shield made of the very hard and aromatic red wood (*Pterocarpus dalbergoides*) which the termites never seem to attack. I was able to obtain one of these shields, the last that the twenty-three surviving Arioto possessed and the only musical instrument in the islands. It is played by one man with his feet, while the dancers, male and female, form lines on each side of him a short distance away. Before use the convex face is decorated with lines of white ochre and chains of tusk shells are hung from a hole at the end opposite to the one on which the player's feet beat; from the same hole runs a cord, which he holds in his hand to prevent the instrument moving away from him as he beats. The players change from time to time as the dancers shuffle on and on for hours in the light of the resin torches. But apart from the instrument itself, the rhythmic hand-clapping and the dancers singing in unison are the same throughout the Andamans.

The women clap their hands in rhythm, and then slap one thigh with the open palm of one hand, the other hand clasping the wrist, singing all the time. The men dance in Indian file, beating the ground first with the right heel, then with the left, the toes barely raised from the ground, moving a short way forward each time. As they dance they lean forward, then with hands clasped and their fingers interlaced. There are variations, but the basic step is always the same.

One difference between the Onges and the Jarawas is that in the latter both sexes are naked, while the Onge women have in recent times adopted the *naquineghe* or apron. Complete nudity was a characteristic of all the Negritos, including the Semang and Aetà, and the Jarawa migrations probably took place before the introduction of the *naquineghe*.

The present inability of the three peoples to understand each other is more a question of pronunciation than of difference in actual words. To examine the question fully it would be necessary to collect a large number of words and analyse their affinity; meanwhile we know that despite their inability to understand each other there is a close resemblance between the language of the Jarawas and Sentinellese and that of the Onges. Strict isolation can lead to

comparatively rapid variation and it is now difficult to establish their linguistic connections outside the Andamans, but Africa can certainly be discounted, in view of the general weight of evidence against any Negro ancestry.

Like the Onges the Jarawas are divided into endogamous groups, each with its own name, corresponding to their communal huts, and each with their own territory for the purposes of hunting, fishing and gathering food. There is little reliable information about their daily life or even their numbers; it is, however, certain and I cannot overstress this, that the Jarawas are Negrito in type,[1] with the same admixture as in the Onges.

Whoever or whatever they may be, the replacement of primitive expeditions by genuine attempts at pacification would, quite apart from the obvious humanitarian considerations involved, afford a unique opportunity for detailed study of a dying population in regeneration, and the refusal of an otherwise irrevocable progress towards final extinction.

But the problem of the Jarawas is merely one aspect of the problem of the Andamanese in general, and their connection with the Negritos both past and present. The Semang and the Aetà, as we have seen, resemble each other, and together resemble the Andamanese, in a number of essential points. Recent contacts with other influences in Malacca and the Philippines respectively have produced variations – such as the Semang use of traps and snares with which they take small animals, and also birds, which the Andamanese never touch. They have also taken to making refuges in the trees as a defence against wild animals, non-existent in the Andamans. Traps, poison, agriculture, fish-hooks, animal nets, are all late acquisitions, not found among the original Negritos. It was thought by Brown that spears, used by the Semang, were also unknown among the peoples of the Andamans, but I have myself seen them used by the Onges, though admittedly I saw only a few, and very rough specimens; I did, however, manage to bring some back with me.

In the case of the canoes, the Semang and the Aetà seem to have

[1] On 11 January 1931 a Jarawa was killed at Lekeralarta on Middle Andaman and the head is now in the Indian Museum in Calcutta. This head shows signs of beard, unlike those of two Jarawas held in the Nicobars since the September 1931 incident. Short, muscularly well-developed, strong and very black, Jarawas are normally beardless, as is usual in Negritos.

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sweet, and delicately flower-scented. No one waited for the climber to reach the ground. With my men and the Onges the party numbered twenty-two in all, every one of them hungry. The log was thirty centimetres across, and besides the combs there was a good four inches of honey in the bottom, but even so I only managed to set aside two litres for the man who did all the work, before the combs had all disappeared and the remaining liquid as well. The whole lot was gone in a matter of minutes. 222

What puzzled me was how the bees were quietened. I knew from personal observation that both the varieties of bee on Little Andaman could and did sting badly, and I knew that the Onges I had watched had done nothing deliberately to avoid stings.

In Man, the olfactory sense can detect minute amounts of iodoform, for example, but we are completely insensitive to other substances strongly repellent to flies, mosquitoes and other insects. Some similar mechanism must also operate in the case of bees. The Onges cannot understand anything of this, but they must possess some age-old, almost intuitive and innate knowledge, which they apply unconsciously. At some time someone must have found that the juice of a certain plant they call *tonjoghe*, apparently inodorous, has the power of deterring bees, and this knowledge, handed down from generation to generation, is applied with delightful simplicity. 222 824

In the forests of Little Andaman there are bushes of *tonjoghe* everywhere, and the Onge who is to go after the honey simply grabs a handful of the leaves and stuffs them into his mouth. With some vigorous chewing they are quickly reduced to a greenish pulp, which is smeared all over the body, particularly the hair. Another huge mouthful chewed on the way up and spat at the bees to make quite sure that they will be deterred even to the point of failing to attack the unsmeared bystanders. I have myself tried the leaves, and like the Onges found them quite tasteless and odourless. The Onges say that the 'magic' was revealed by a seer, and it is a curious fact that of all the luxuriant vegetation on the island only this one plant is effective.

I am unfortunately not in a position to say definitely to what species *tonjoghe* belongs. I took some plants to Port Blair, where they were planted in the Governor's garden; unfortunately before they could flower the then Governor left, and a new gardener 137 126

thought they were weeds and pulled them up. I never managed to see the plant in flower in the wild state, as this occurs at the height of the rainy season, and as no final definition is possible in the absence of the flower it remains unidentified.

The Onges take full advantage of the plant's properties as a bee-deterrent and in mid-March they eat honey, paint themselves, and dance, twenty-four hours a day. During these orgies I have seen a group of about sixty Onges demolish in a few days ten pigs and a dozen large, wooden vessels full of honey, with basket after basket of fish, caught every night by the women, who were apparently not in the least tired by the long daily treks into the forest after the honey. I can never look back on the Onges without a feeling of profound respect for their powers of digestion!

Yet another source of food for the islanders is the cicada. On Little Andaman there are a few species a little larger than the European variety and others rather smaller. The Onges collect the pupae as they emerge from the ground, usually in the mornings, and roast them as a great treat. They are actually very clean insects, which develop slowly under the earth over a period of years sucking lymph from the roots of the trees. When they emerge from the ground the pupae become leathery, but this presents no problem to the indomitable teeth of the Onges. Inside the cicada chrysalids are a mass of delicate tissues, so white and clean that one can understand the Onges' predilection for them.

On Little Andaman the cicadas chirp intermittently, with long silences; most of the day one hears nothing of them and when they suddenly start up the Onges fall absolutely quiet, terrified of frightening them away and losing their chrysalids.[1] In a few moments the whole forest suddenly echoes with a chorus of cicadas, as they all start up as one and then, a minute later, fall silent. Their intermittent chirping is not confined to the Andamans; it is a feature of several species throughout southern Asia. At Golpahar when I was in the middle of the forest excavating kitchen-middens I heard cicadas start up every day at 6.30 p.m., and then stop until the following day. In the mountains of South India, on the slopes

[1] The Onges do not seem to share the superstitions reported by Man and Brown among the Arioto, who appear to believe in fantastic connections between cicadas, the sun, and storms.

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intermittent. The constant flights of the males into the treetops made me think that the females were up there, but I was unable to confirm this. The fireflies will always remain for me one of the most attractive things about the forests of the Andamans. 136

One could write whole books about all the insects and their nightly concerts. On the *Ficus* of Little Andaman live the caterpillars of a very beautiful moth *Antherea paphia*, one of the Saturnidae; these are the silkworms which produce Tasar (or tussore) silk. On these trees they spin their silky cocoons, stronger than those of our European silkworms. Unlike the European *Saturnia pyri*, which leaves the plant before it goes into its cocoon, the Andaman variety remains on it. To avoid falling to the ground, the caterpillars always chew the leaves without weakening the edge to which they are clinging; one false nibble and they would plunge to the ground. As they enter the cocoon stage they take even greater precautions, crawling back to where the leaves join the stem and spinning a ring of silk in the joint. Then they run a thread down the dorsal vein of a leaf and attach the cocoon to it, so that even if the leaf is blown off by the gales the cocoon remains attached to the twig by its thread.

As the *Ficus* sheds its leaves in stages, and is therefore never entirely without leaves, the caterpillars appear twice a year, once in spring and once in the autumn. The butterflies from the first brood appear in mid-September and those from the second in mid-February, the only difference between the two broods, being the duration of the cocoon stage.

When it emerges from its cocoon the butterfly takes a few steps to the nearest support, where it spreads its wings to dry off. Then it sleeps for two days, waking in the night of the second day. As it sleeps the antennae, wire-like in the female, thicker in the male, lie flat against the head behind the eyes, becoming erect only as the butterfly wakes. The females are quiet and show no sign of flight, although they have large wings. The males, however, are restless, and keep circling, mating on their first flight. The females are usually fertilized and die as soon as they have laid their eggs on the plant where they were born. Virgin females which I kept in a case attracted males from many kilometres away, as with our *Saturnia pyri*. The males know unhesitatingly which are the virgin females, although it is not known how they do so. [126]

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136 For the greater part of the year crickets and frogs fill the nights with wave after wave of placid, homely sound, tenor and baritone in full and solemn chorus. Within one area of a few kilometres there are more crickets than the entire human population of the world. Only the males chirp; the females are silent. The song may be for the purpose of attracting the females, but I rather doubt this, for they sing not only before, but also during and after mating. Alone or in chorus crickets will always sing, right up to the moment of death.

The general rule in all the various species of cricket which I have collected in various parts of the world is that only the males chirp. Very rarely both males and females sing; in other rare cases, neither sex sings. However great the physical variations between the species, their mating habits vary very little.

In the Andamans, however, the noise even of the crickets is drowned by the amphibia, particularly the green frogs. Like the crickets, they never sing alone, but always in chorus, led by those with the loudest voice. At fairly regular intervals a few odd frogs will start up; sometimes the chorus is lost, but only for a short while, and then it returns in full force, drowning the individual singers. Is this their collective homage to the fair sex, the females choosing the champions who lead the choir? I do not myself consider this a satisfactory explanation; in the Andamans at least the females normally behave as though the singing does not exist, even while the males work themselves up into a frenzy of croaking.

126 136 I managed to collect fairly large numbers of all these vocal creatures, particularly the insects, for the Institute of Zoology of the University of Naples, and it appears that all are known species common in the neighbouring islands and land masses. Insects are easily spread by the wind over considerable areas if they are caught up in an air current while in flight; I remember one October in the Gulf of Guinea, over three hundred miles from the nearest land, I caught considerable numbers of large insects, blown towards the ship by the wind and attracted by the lights. Borne by the monsoon winds, the insects of southern Asia and Indonesia must have drifted across to the Andamans long ago and flourished in the lush forests.

136 Needless to say, the abundance of insect life on the Andamans makes the archipelago a birds' paradise. Like the insects on which they live their song echoes through the forests day and night, to

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the background rhythm of the woodpeckers tapping on the trunks. 136
I knew that they did this when seeking food, but it was the Onges, natural observers of wild life, who convinced me that the tapping could sometimes be unconnected with foraging. Wherever I camped there were always large trees nearby and with the aid of field glasses it was a simple matter to keep an eye on the woodpeckers, which varied in size from some smaller than our sparrows to others, brilliantly coloured and bigger than pigeons.

One persistent tapper on Little Andaman is a beautiful black woodpecker with a bright red tuft on its head, *Dryocopus martius*, also found in Asia and parts of Europe. I captured some that were [126] thirty-five centimetres long, bigger than any of the other local species. Another, equally common, was slightly smaller than our blackbird and a glorious chestnut colour all over. A little black and white one was even more numerous. I often saw a variety of *Dendrocopus major*, with black and white body, red tuft on the head and a striking crimson feather under the tail. Others were mainly green, always with the red tuft on the head.

All of them hammer on the tree-trunks with their beaks and it is not fully understood why they do so. Tapping in search of insects can be heard the year round and the sound is similar to that made when the nest is being hollowed out. The other form of tapping, true drumming in the musical sense of the word, is only heard in the mating season and is infinitely louder. The Onges connect this [825] sound with reproduction, although they have not grasped the connection between mating and birth. It can be heard over three hundred metres away, while the tapping for food or nest-building carries only for a short distance.

When the bird is breaking through the bark in search of food or hollowing out the nest, the beak usually strikes the trunk at an angle and at irregular intervals. The bird throws its whole strength into each blow, lifting its head right back every time to strike even harder with the next blow. The blows are usually struck first from the right, three or four in quick succession, and then three or four from the left, to dislodge a chip of bark or wood. When the woodpecker nears the larva he is after, still hidden under the bark, the blows may become perpendicular. In nest-building a hollow is cut out of wood, often seven or eight centimetres deep in the case of the larger species, and large enough in diameter to admit the bird. Then

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climb up the roof of the cave, but they do. I collected a number, all *Trimesurus viridis*, and now in the Institute of Zoology of the University of Genoa. I had to pull them off the roof by the tail, as they were stuck fast on the rough surface of the rock. The snakes devour both eggs and young of the swallows, but the parents invariably return to the right nest, even if the contents are gone. When disturbed the salangana, tiny insect-eating birds with very long wings, fly in a tight flock towards the mouth of the cave, where they can be easily knocked down or trapped.

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Below the nests there is always a thick layer of guano, crawling with insects and built up over the centuries by generations of birds using the same nesting places. The nests, about five to six centimetres in diameter and very small inside, normally contain one egg, rarely two or three. When we detached the nests from the roof, the young, instead of trying to escape, clung fast to the nest with their claws, cowering in the bottom and staring at us.

To several nests with only one egg, I added another. When I returned a few days later I found the interloper being happily cared for by the foster parents, showing that as is usually the case the parent birds recognize only the nest and accept the contents of it without question. Outside the nest, however, they fail to recognize even their own offspring, and in carnivorous species may even eat them. The young of the salangana are tended by the parent birds for only a few days after hatching, and as soon as they begin to move about outside the nest all recognition is permanently lost.

It is somewhat surprising that the bird populations of the Andamans differ considerably from island to island. The establishment of such marked, almost specific differences as are now apparent between birds clearly originally of the same species must have taken a very long time indeed and can only be explained if one assumes – justifiably, from my observations – that many species roam less widely than one would expect. The pigeon of Little Andaman (*umugbé* to the Onges) is surprisingly sedentary, so that varieties in the various islands have developed as isolates and differ considerably. That of South Andaman, for example, is smaller than that found on Little Andaman, while those of Car Nicobar are larger still. And in a particular area fifteen kilometres west of Port Blair I repeatedly caught pigeons which were absolutely emaciated with their intestines loaded with tapeworms, whereas outside this

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I examined a number of canoes drawn up on the beach. They 501
varied in size from some eight to ten metres long, built to carry twenty people, to small single-manned craft three to four metres long, and there were some very small ones clearly intended to encourage the children to set out on their own. The very large canoes are, however, rare. The beam also varied considerably from some barely wide enough to admit a man's knees to others of one and a half metres or more.[1]

In the shallows, contrary to some assertions, paddles are never used; the booms would make alternate paddling extremely difficult. Reversed harpoon shafts are instead used as punt poles and oars, [824] usually made of *Myristica longifolia*, are used only in deep water. They are sometimes but not always lashed into the holes in the gunwale through which the booms pass. They are short, not more than 1·3 metres long and are always rowed forwards (obviously there would be a danger of stubbing a reef if the European style of rowing was used). Like the canoes, the oars vary somewhat in size. Very roughly made they consist of a handle ninety centimetres long and a forty-centimetre blade. The grip tapers almost to a point and increases gradually in diameter towards the blade, which is long, narrow, blunt-ended and flat-convex in section. Usually it is [237] merely roughly shaped with the Onges' crude hatchet, but occa- [412] sionally it is smoothed off with a sharp *Cyrena* shell. The helmsman and pilot stand on the two platforms, guiding the canoe with oars. As far as possible the rowers avoid the side bearing the outrigger mechanism; any deviation of course caused by the unilateral rowing is corrected by the two steersmen.

When they first launch a canoe the Onges decorate it with ochre 501
designs like those on their bodies and the hollowed logs used to 531
hold honey, although they are washed off as soon as the craft enters the water. As usual the men do all the work up to that point [462] and the women do the painting. The initial painting is the only [422] form of ornament on the canoes; there is not even a mark of owner- [126] ship, although each canoe is curiously enough recognized as the property of one man, despite the fact that everyone has helped to

[1] I am unable to agree with Brown that the Onge canoes are extremely small, that [114] they have bow and stern, and that their floats are inefficient. My own experiences of travelling in the canoes has led me to the opinion that on these and other points Brown was wrong, possibly partly because he never actually visited Little Andaman.

build it (when I wanted to acquire two for the new anthropological museum at Port Blair and the Indian Museum in Calcutta I had to bargain with the men recognized as the owners, although the price had to be distributed among all the members of the group).

The chief delight of the men on their fishing trips is the capture of a Giant Turtle. I have already described (p. 88) the spear harpoons which the Onges use to catch them. Once caught, the wretched animals are subjected to a form of vivisection utterly incomprehensible to the Western mind; they are literally cut up alive and the pieces thrown into the boiling cooking-pot. Nor have I ever witnessed anything so terrible as the way in which the Onges, in the absence of any suitable cooking vessel, or the materials for an earth oven, roast these turtles whole and alive over a slow fire. They seem totally unable to realize that animals can feel pain and laugh like children at the other atrocious tortures they unwittingly inflict not only on the turtles, but on every living thing that falls into their hands.

These marine turtles (as far as I was able to see there were no land turtles in the Andamans) yield a far greater amount of food than the dugong, and provide the islanders with both meat and eggs. Two species are common in the seas round the islands, *Chelonia virgata*, or the green turtle, and *Caretta imbricata*, which supplies the shells normally sold commercially. The Onges prefer the former, which are both meaty and more plentiful.

Turtle-hunting and egg-collecting is done by the menfolk. The method is very like that used for dugong and large fish, using the harpoon. Owing to their fear of the spirits abroad in the night, the Onges never go near the beaches between dusk and dawn, when it would be easy to take the turtles on land and immobilize them by turning them on their backs. They do know this trick, however, and use it when captured turtles (often weighing up to a hundredweight) are too heavy to carry in the canoe; the animals are turned on their backs and dumped on the beach ready to pick up later.

The Onges harpoon the turtles from canoes, preferably at night when the turtles are nearing the shore, which they never approach in the day time. When there is a moon the creatures are easily seen, and on dark nights the phosphorescence of the sea helps.

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These crabs are enormous, weighing one and a half kilograms, and are very tasty. Like many land crabs they have one large claw and a smaller one, the difference being quite marked in the males, though hardly noticeable in females. Some appear left-handed, some right-handed; I confirmed this by looking at thousands of them with the help of my Indians, and sent some to the Institute of Zoology at the University of Genoa for further examination.

On the inside of the large claw, to hold the prey while the crab bites, are protuberances that look like teeth. They have a very similar function and are a good example of superficial similarity in different types of organs designed for a similar purpose.

The females, like those of other crabs, carry the mass of round, almost transparent, orange-coloured eggs under the abdomen, attached to her swimmerets and well protected. In the great crabs from which the Onges make their pipes the bluish-green shell is reflected on to the eggs, giving them a beautiful sheen. Immediately the young are hatched, they cling underneath the mother's abdomen like the eggs, so that if a female is caught one can be sure of having the whole brood. Even at this stage the sex and the disparity of the claws is discernible as the young are exact replicas of the adults. Two curious things about them are that the number of the two sexes in any brood are exactly equal, and that in the males there are equal numbers right- and left-handed. The point is an interesting one, and I hope geneticists will be able to investigate it further.

Another important feature in Onge life is the *Nautilus*, the cephalopod whose shells provide the only drinking vessels they know. *Nautilus* shells, unlike those of gastropods, are spiral in one plane, with interlocular septa. The mollusc occupies the last, or largest, of the whorls, which communicates with the rest of the spiral by a cylindrical syphuncle running through the mid-line of the shell. This is connected to the creature's viscera by a vascular tube, which for hydrostatic purposes regulates the amount of air and water in the chambers. Each chamber is concave on the side nearest the aperture, and the distance between the septa increases with the size of the whorls, to a fixed maximum, limited by their number, which is constant in adults. *Nautilus*, a living fossil from the time of the ammonites, is the last survivor of a genus dating from the Silurian period; long ago there were many species, although only four have

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rather shorter than in other species, with rows of small teeth covering the palate. The jaws themselves, however, have only one row of teeth, all very pointed. To my intense annoyance, my eel specimens were lost with the silurides. 136

On rare occasions the Onges manage to catch the toad fish of the mangrove swamps. These curious little animals are apparently a compromise between the fish and the frog; they can breathe both in the air and under water and like to come out of the water to take a walk. They wriggle about in the pools left by the ebb tide, popping out into the air as soon as they meet anything suspicious, and hopping away over quite considerable distances. But normally they wander peacefully about on the mud, propelling themselves with their two pectoral fins, which are attached to the end of a form of arm. In size (never over twenty centimetres long) and colour they remind one of the gudgeon, to which they are related. They belong to the genus *Periophthalmus*, of the order Gobiidi. They seem to prefer living in the open rather than in the water, and appear to look forward to low tide, when the tiny creatures on which they feed are about. Hunger satisfied, they cling to some stone or tree-trunk, often in an almost vertical position, and will stay there over half an hour, particularly if their tail is touching the water, as this keeps their body damp and helps them to breathe by means of ingenious gill sacs filled with air. [226]

Toad fish move into the marshes as the sea recedes and move back as the tide returns. In the middle of the day they seek the shade in the damp crevices of the mangrove swamps. They seem to glory in the first rays of the morning sun, their huge erectile eyes, which never rest, moving endlessly from side to side. Their independent movement enables the creature to gaze at the sun with one eye and look for likely prey with the other. The two eyes, set closely together on top of their flat heads make them look rather ridiculous. Another striking feature about them is a kind of sucker, or adhesive disc, formed by the ventral thoracic fins. These have a loose fold of skin on the back, so that when the fins are brought together in front of the body, the skin falls into a funnel shape, which when pressed against a stone or tree-trunk adheres to it by suction, holding the animal fast.

I was amused by the way toad fish can be domesticated as soon as they are caught. I kept some in my tent, leaving water available [126]

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for them and feeding them on the table. As soon as they saw worms wriggling, they would move cautiously towards them and then snap them up like lightning. They became used to sitting in my hand quite undisturbed, looking round in two directions at once in an interested way. Flies held by the wings fascinated them more than anything, and they used to stare at the insects as though hoping to mesmerize them. They made delightful pets.

More prosaically, they are very good fried. Outside Little Andaman I found hundreds every day near Golpahar on Middle Andaman, and as the fish market in Port Blair was over a day's journey away we used many for non-scientific purposes.

Dugong, monitors, snakes, jungle cats, bats, leeches – all abound in Little Andaman and I had ample opportunities to study them. The dugong are well known to the Onges, but I only saw them at Bumila Creek (Cuateniabo) and Jackson Creek, where I did not have the time to catch any; the Onges tried, but without result.

Dugong (from the Malayan *Dyong*, introduced into scientific Latin as the family Dugongidae), are large mammals of the order *Sirenia*. They have a short fish-like body, with closeable nostrils above a cavernous mouth, which is surrounded by short bristly whiskers and armed with a brush-like, horny plate. In the male two short tusks hang down each side of the mouth, like a miniature hippopotamus, giving the animals a cumbersome, ugly look. The Onges prize the dugong, but rarely manage to capture one; when they do, there is great feasting. I was never able to try it, or even acquire any really close observations of the creatures.

Monitors or dragon-lizards, on the other hand were under my feet every day, although the islanders never eat them. I used to put out as bait fish or pig carcasses rejected by the Onges as being too lean, and we could then shoot as many as we wanted as they rushed to the bait from all sides. I collected their skins for various museums, using the carcasses as further bait.

The Andamanese variety is well known and it closely resembles *Varanus niloticus*, the Nile monitor, to which it is related. The largest can be two metres long, including the long, very tapering tail. As they approach their prey, sniffing at it, their forked tongue, twice the length of the head, flashes in and out of its sheath with incredible speed. Although they have strong legs they move slowly and it is easy to catch them by the tail, providing one takes care to

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PREFACE

122 THIS book contains some part of the results of anthropological research carried out in the Andaman Islands in the years 1906 to 1908, under the terms of the Anthony Wilkin Studentship in Ethnology of the University of Cambridge. The funds supplied by the studentship were supplemented by grants from the Royal Society and from the government of India. In its original form the monograph was presented as a fellowship thesis at Trinity College. The work of rewriting it was interrupted by absence from England and was only completed in 1914. There has since been a long delay in publication as a result of the war.

● 127 The book deals with the social institutions of the tribes of the Great Andaman. These had previously been studied by Mr E. H. Man to whose work I have been obliged to make many references in order that my account may be as complete as 114 possible. I should have preferred to devote my attention almost exclusively to the natives of the Little Andaman, about whom very little is known. I found, however, that it was not possible in the time at my disposal to do any satisfactory work amongst these people owing to the difficulty of language. The natives of [97] the Little Andaman know no language but their own, and that is so little related to the languages of the Great Andaman that even a thorough knowledge of the latter is of almost no use in an attempt to learn the former. I spent nearly three months camped with natives of the Little Andaman, giving most of the time to learning their language. No one who has not actually made the attempt to learn the language of a savage people without the help of an interpreter, can form an adequate idea of the difficulties of the task. At the end of three months I found that at the same rate of progress it would take me two or three years to learn to speak the language sufficiently well to begin to

●128, 113 Andamans AZ2

[For information pertaining to literary devices and conventions, abbreviations and explanations of numerations used by the author, see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. xxi-xxiii, and xxv.]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

114 question the natives about their customs and beliefs and understand their answers. I was therefore regretfully compelled to give up the idea of making a study of the people of the Little Andaman, and devoted the remainder of my time to the study of the tribes of the Great Andaman, particularly those of the North Andaman among whom Mr Man had not worked. I kept one boy from the Little Andaman with me for some months in the hope that he would learn sufficient Hindustani to act as an interpreter and so enable any future investigator to begin work with the great advantage that I had lacked.

124 [191] In my work amongst the natives of the Great Andaman I at first made use of Hindustani, which the younger men and women all speak more or less imperfectly, and gradually acquired a knowledge of the dialects of the North Andaman. Towards the end of my stay in the islands I was able to obtain the services as interpreter of a man of the *Akar-Bale* tribe who spoke English well and was of considerable intelligence. He is shown in the photographs of Plates V and XIII. With his help I was able to do some work with the *Akar-Bale* and *A-Pučikwar* tribes, and I found that with such an interpreter I was able to obtain much fuller and more reliable results than I could by using my own knowledge of the native language supplemented by Hindustani. If I had had his services from the outset my work would have been much easier and more thorough.

128 The results of my researches on the physical anthropology of the Andaman Islanders have not been published. I hoped to be able to obtain the services of some one more competent in such matters than myself to assist or direct me in the measurement and study off the collection of skulls and skeletons that I brought to England and that is now in the Anthropological Museum at Cambridge. In this I was disappointed, and absence from England has prevented me from completing my work in this branch of research.

The languages of the Andaman Islands are chiefly of interest as affording material for the study of comparative grammar and

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

the psychology of language. I had hoped to be able to make 128 ●
some use of the large mass of linguistic material collected by Mr E. H. Man and arranged by Sir Richard Temple, which the latter was so kind as to permit me to examine. Mr Man, however, expressed the intention of publishing that material himself. Therefore, rather than delay longer, I began the publication of my own linguistic studies in a series of papers in the journal *Anthropos*, of which, however, only the first had appeared when the outbreak of war interrupted them[1]. I cannot say when the publication of these notes will be resumed.

Chapters V and VI of the present work contain an attempt 128
at an interpretation of the Andamanese customs and beliefs, 121
which I regard as the most important and hope will be the most valuable part of the book. It is some years since they were written and although they have undergone some revision they now seem to me so inadequately to express my thought that I could wish to rewrite them entirely. At the time they were written (1910) they exhibited an attempt to develop a new method in the interpretation of the institutions of a primitive people. That method will not perhaps seem so novel now as it would have done then. However, I hope that the two chapters will still have value as an example of the method which I believe to be fundamental in the science that has lately come to be known as social anthropology[2].

Of the many imperfections of the book I am, I think, only 000
too well aware. It is indeed an apprentice work, for it was through my work in the Andamans that I really learnt anthropology. However good may be his preliminary training (and mine under Drs Haddon, Rivers and Duckworth at Cambridge

[1] "Notes on the Languages of the Andaman Islands," by A. R. Brown, *Anthropos*, Vol. IX, 1914, pp. 36—52 with map. This paper contains notes on I, The Relations of the Andamanese Languages, and II, The Formation of Words in the Language of the Little Andaman.

[2] I hope to be able to publish shortly the first volume of a work in which the same method is applied to the interpretation of the social institutions of the natives of Australia.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

CHAPTER II

CEREMONIAL CUSTOMS

•128 In such a society as that of the Andaman Islanders it is possible to distinguish three different ways in which the actions of individuals are regulated or determined by the society. There are, first of all, what we may distinguish as "moral customs," whereby the actions of individuals in relation to one another are regulated on principles of right and wrong conduct. It was with customs of this kind that we were concerned in the last chapter. Secondly, the activities by which the natives obtain their food and make the various objects of which they have need are determined by tradition. Such activities are purely utilitarian and they are regulated, not by commandments similar to those of the moral law, but by accumulated technical knowledge as to the means by which a particular object may be attained. These we may speak of as the "technical customs" of the society.

There are customs of a third kind which are distinguishable both from moral customs and from technical customs. For example, when a man dies, his near relatives observe certain mourning customs, such as covering their bodies with clay. Such customs are distinguished from technical customs by having no utilitarian purpose. They are distinguished from moral customs by this, that they are not immediately concerned with the effects of the action of one person upon another.

It is difficult to find a satisfactory name for all the customs of this kind. A large number of them may be spoken of as "ceremonial customs," and it is this that explains the title of the present chapter.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

192 owing to a variety of circumstances, not the least of which was
the absence of any system of representing the sounds in the
114 language—each author having chosen to employ a phonetic code best understood by himself and capable of varying interpretation by others—the result has been, to say the least, unsatisfactory, and the words for the most part are, in their printed form, either wholly unrecognisable by the people themselves, or possess a meaning differing very much from that given.

2. I do not make these remarks with a view of depreciating the efforts of others, for I fully recognise the difficulties with which they had to contend, and am aware that these exceeded any I have had to overcome, consequent on the improved relations which have subsisted between ourselves and the aborigines in recent years.

3. It must also be borne in mind that time necessarily works vast changes in all savage languages, which depend so entirely upon the oral correctness of the whole population for their accurate transmission.

●128 4. As my knowledge of the other dialects is not as yet sufficient for me to be able to describe them comparatively at any length—leisure having failed me to obtain more than a few hundred words of five of the seven remaining tribes of Great Andaman—I wish it to be understood that, except where otherwise stated, my remarks refer to the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*, or South Andaman dialect.

192 5. The Andamanese are, as a rule, very conservative, and prefer to coin from their own resources rather than to borrow from aliens, words expressing ideas or objects which are new to them. To give only one of many examples:—having themselves no forms of worship, they had no word for "prayer," but since seeing the Mahomedans at their daily devotions, and learning that they are addressing an Invisible Being, they express the act by a compound word, *ā·rlalik-yâ·b-*, signifying "daily repetition" (viz.: *ā·rla-* daily, and *ik-yâ·b-* repetition).

533 6. They have also a distinct poetical dialect, and in their
195 songs subordinate everything to rhythm, the greatest liberties being thereby taken not only with the forms of their words, but even with the grammatical construction of the sentences. For instance the chorus of one of their songs runs thus:—

chēklū yâ lak·u mēj·rà?

which means "who missed the hard (backed) turtle?" the prose construction of the sentence being *mij·a yâ·dī chē·balen lā·kàchī·re?* It will be at once noticed how great is the difference between the two versions, for in this, as in most of their songs,

5:Sarkar D-5 (1948)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Blood Groups from the Andaman and Nicobar Islands

By

S. S. Sarkar

The following blood group data were collected during the months of February-April, 1948 in the course of a visit to Little Andaman, Long Island and Car Nicobar by a party under Dr B. S. Guha from the Department of Anthropology, of which the present writer was a member. The data grouped according to the different tribes are as follows :— 143 121 114 [128]

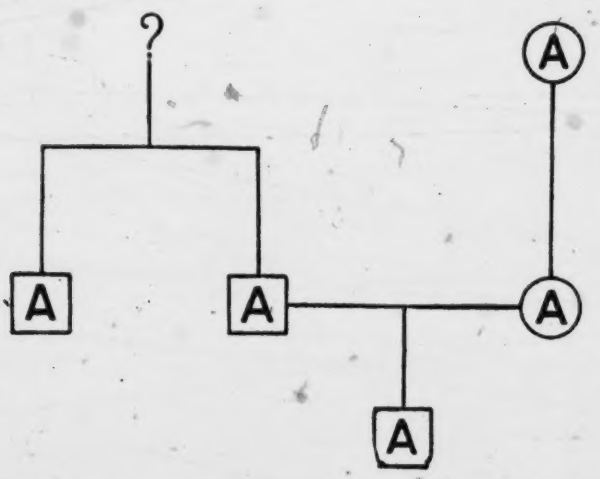
Onges

34 Onges, 19 males and 15 females, were grouped from the island of Little Andaman. They were collected from the settlements round about Bumila Creek, Dugong Creek and the village Tambebui on the N. E. part of the island. The blood group distribution is as follows :— 125 361 143

O	5	14·71%
A	23	67·65%
B	2	5·88%
AB	4	11·76%
	34	

The predominance of group A was already noticeable from Chaudhuri's (Gates, 1940) earlier study of 5 Onges, 3 of whom belonged to A and 1 each to Group O and B.

This will be also apparent from the following pedigree, where three generations show only A. [601]



[p. 25]

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

122 torches for hunting by night. There were pigs everywhere. In half an hour we often got
114 six or more of them. At Chemalé, far from the coast, we had eleven in a few minutes for
[136] distribution to everybody, including roaming Onge. Pigeons and ducks also were often plentiful. The simple pleasures of hunting incited everyone to a spontaneous daily struggle through the dense forest; and so, every month, I managed to carry out many times the work I could have done had I not kept all the men glad to follow me. On seven different occasions I spent 162 days in Little Andaman, out of a total of 634 days altogether in the
128 Andamanese Archipelago – all of them given up to Onge research. These trips are recorded
114 in Port Blair Government offices. A few details on the subject are published in the "Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology", Government of India, starting in Vol. II, No. 1, 1953 (issued in 1956) and extended to other issues. Such papers were hurriedly prepared by me while I was halting in Calcutta on my way from the Andamans to Europe. Press proofs could never be submitted to me; there are, consequently, many misprints, particularly in the figures relating to my Onge Census. The misprints are so obvious that they could only influence a most biased critic: to be discussed in future papers and while my Onge book is in preparation. In Port Blair (South Andaman) I started an Onge Museum with material collected by me. I had the honour of inaugurating it on 6 July, 1953 in the presence of the Chief Commissioner for Andamans and Nicobars, Mr. A. K. GHOSH, one of the kindest and most intelligent Indian gentlemen that it was my pleasure to meet in Asia. On 9 March, 1954 Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD, President of the Republic of India, also visited the Museum. On that occasion I introduced to him 30 of my Onge friends (wives, husbands and children) in their most natural attire. The President questioned me at length on Onge anthropology and ethnology with the pertinence of a specialist.

123 While in Little Andaman I tried to study all possible aspects of Onge life. I also
[121] tried to count the natives: a very difficult task for they are a nomadic people, ready to vanish into the jungle at any moment. Often I was surrounded by them without seeing a single one. In the darkness of their jungle, the small, black, naked Onge easily disappear. They see us but we do not see them. They can only be counted in their sleeping quarters
[361] in communal huts; even so, results are misleading. I found a number of communal huts in the interior regions of Little Andaman, whereas previously they were said to exist
[126] only on the coast. The larger, more solidly built huts are in the forest. With the help of my Indian assistants I obtained plans and photographs of all the huts that I saw.
[178] Unfortunately the number of Onge communal huts is rapidly diminishing – a very significant fact. Many are in ruins, many more completely destroyed. Only kitchen-middens
[361] and occasional clusters of planted bamboo indicate their former location. Through an interpreter, and with two Onge speaking a little Hindi, I was able to gather information
[124] on these and other matters. Direct observation, however, proved the best way of gaining knowledge. In some places there was nothing to help me, and I was compelled to guess about communal huts whose inmates chose to hide in the jungle. Of the many personal
[551] names that I collected I must say that they are reliable only for a short period: the Onge like to change their names from time to time. All this, in addition to the Onge's nomadic
[553] way of life, causes great confusion and makes a proper Census almost impossible. Frequent changing of names also hinders the establishment of genealogies. Furthermore, the Onge
[547] custom of adopting children shifts many of them from one family to another, and adoptive parents invariably claim them as their own offspring. The parents themselves, who are ignorant of numbers, not infrequently forget how many children they have, who these children are and where they are located. It was almost useless to follow previous information concerning communal huts; and so I decided to consider mainly the situation
[114] existing at the time of my visits. The result of my Census may be imperfect, but before criticizing it it would be advisable to know the conditions that prevail in anthropological work among the Onge. Something more than merely counting people, anyhow, was achieved by me in Little Andaman.

In this short paper I am pleased to present a peculiar aspect of Onge life, an aspect that these innocent and once hostile people did not attempt to hide from me, though they also told me nothing about it. Only direct observation could help, and it involved pro-

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[Introductory, P. iV]
[Introductory, P. iii, is blank]

PREFACE

The dearth of literature but considerable curiosity about the islands 114
because of the presence of the aborigines, the development of the 121
penal colony and in recent years the colonisation of the refugees, have inspired the author to write a geographical treatise of these islands covering almost all their physical and socio-economic aspects. The interest of the author about these islands of course dates back to some 8 or 9 years for preparing a thesis about these islands as a part fulfilment of his M. Sc. course and the author with the limited time and money made some personal enquiries for the collection of data and the assessment of the situation. The access to the data and the 122
other research materials and the visits to the different parts of the islands were possible through the kind permission and help of the-then Chief Commissioner Sri S. N. Maitra, the Forest Officers, the Head Master of Port Blair High School. Dr. L. Cipriani besides a host of other officers and friends in the islands and also at Calcutta. How- 128
ever the ultimate preparation of the thesis became possible for the kind guidance of Dr. S. P. Chatterjee, Head of the Dept of Geography, Calcutta University.

Anybody faces a tremendous problem in conducting a thorough sur- 114
vey of the islands arising out of the poor communication facilities both on land and water, and more so on account of the very few literatures on the islands. The author cannot demand a thorough enquiry in all parts of the islands and his analysis of the different aspects has been derived more from the conclusions of sample survey.

Though a long time has elapsed since the preparation of the thesis 128
in the year 1955, the author has been, on the whole, eager to incorporate all the latest informations of the islands. The present book is partially a reproduction of his previous thesis with some additional facts and informations and the objective of such changes has been to prepare a comprehensive geographical treatise rather than focussing one particular aspect as was done in the thesis i.e. the colonisation problems of the islands. Besides this, additional chapters on the aboriginal population, the overall assessment and also a geographical account on the Nicobar Islands have been added. The Nicobar Islands, though form only a sidelight of the book, also command a separate geographical treat-

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[Introductory, P. V]

128 ment because of the altogether different character of the islands. In spite of such a distinctness in the geographic personality of the Nicobar Islands, only an introducing chapter has been given.

Never the islands with an area of 2508 square miles and with no fabulous wealth can be a land of Aladin's Lamp but the multiplicity of interest of the islands make them extremely interesting.

The book is published with the idea of providing a reference on all aspects of the islands, not only for the general readers but also for the research workers. If this book serves a little in removing the dismal obscurities of the islands by way of serving as a ready reference of the islands, the author will no doubt feel complacent.

Academic help and advice have been obtained from a large number of persons. For the preparation of the study on the aboriginal population, the author owes his debt of gratitude to Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose and Dr. S. S. Sarkar who have so kindly rendered their valuable help and guidance in this connection. Many of the photographs have so kindly been given by A. S. I. for incorporation within the book. The help, co-operation and suggestions have been derived from such a large number of persons that the author owes a tremendous debt of gratitude to all of them. Last but not the least, the author extends his sincere thanks to Sri G. R. Bhattacharyya for undertaking the pains of this arduous task of publication which has been continuing for a fairly long time.

PROBHAT KUMAR SEN

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The formation of the penal colony in the islands brought in a number of convicts from time to time to serve death sentence or life sentence because of the political or criminal offence and majority of the convicts had ultimately settled in the islands and at present they have got mixed up irrespective of the caste, creed and religion with a fair degree of homogeneity. They are known as Andaman Indians. Besides these Andaman Indians, the groups of Karens and Burmans constitute a very small percentage of the Burmese population in the islands who foster their indigenous traditions. The need for land for the rehabilitation of the refugees in India due to the partition has made from for the settlement of some refugees in the islands. As the settlement programme of these refugees and also of some people from South India demanded the search for suitable land for colonization of the people, a number of delegations had explored the possibilities. The islands with the extreme smallness in size can hardly make room for the lakhs of refugees but the limited settlement that has been established has definitely provided some of the unfortunates with a small plot of land to live on. This idea of colonization is unique in the settlement history of the islands as we do not find in the earlier periods such an attempt for permanent colonization except by some people from Burma. So long, the permanent settlements grew out of the settlement of the free convicts and in most cases under compulsion. The settlement of the later settlers was so long confined within the South Andaman only and especially around Port Blair. But this colonization scheme which has started operating since March, 1949 is throwing open the different parts of the islands for permanent settlement. 563

As the aboriginal population and the later settlers are the determinants of the dynamism of the islands, three separate chapters are added. The first chapter is devoted to the study of the aboriginal population and the other ones, to that of the later settlers and new settlers. 128

[The two chapters on the later settlers and the new settlers haven't been processed, -Analyst]

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

241 gave way to the development of agriculture over an extremely limited
563 area in South Andaman — paddy cultivation and coconut plantations have succeeded quite well. The plantations of rubber, tea and coffee also developed in the South Andaman over very small areas but ultimately did not prove very successful, partially due to the lack of adequate care. Simultaneously with the settlement of the refugees, new areas are being brought under plough which had never been interfered with human hands. The growth of agriculture based on rice cultivation together with vegetable gardening, development of orchards, coconut cultivation will bring about self-sufficiency of the islands and make the people self-supporting.

000 Industrial development of any big scale cannot be foreseen except the lumbering industry because of the lack of resources, power and also of any appreciable home market. Besides lumbering, the fishing industry, if properly co-ordinated with the mainland, can be developed to a great extent. A number of cottage industries based on coconuts, sea
[438] and forest products have developed, of which the coirmaking has developed most.

13 The characteristics, common to the tropical islands, are to a large degree manifested in these islands. The physical environment suffers from a number of limitations. Hot and humid climate is ameliorated by the influence of the sea in all parts as none of them are more than 10 miles away from the sea. The problems of soil are quite tremendous and such signs are only discernible to a small extent in the islands which might share greater proportions in the future if adequate measures of careful cultivation are not undertaken. The natural vegetation should be carefully preserved and regenerated after the felling of the trees not only for the conservation of the vegetation but also for saving the soil from the serious consequences of erosion. The
178 cultural environment is a mosaic of variety because of the different
433 types of people who have been living in these islands, however negligible
563 their number might be. The imbalance of regional growth, being exclusively confined to the South Andaman, is being removed with the growth of settlement in the other parts of the islands and the indications of the shift in gravity of the economic interests is synchronising with the progress of settlement in the North and Middle Andamans. Mayabunder is handling a greater share in the movement of commodities and passengers. Such changes are undoubtedly very much welcome as the lowering of the disparities in the regional economy and growth speak of an all-round regional development.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

It is impossible to imagine a more varied or richer sight than the Andamanese forests at any time of year. The colours, and the light effects, particularly at dawn and at sunset, the myriads of flowers of every hue and scent, every shape and size, the strange noises, all combine to produce an effect which stuns the outsider. The spectacle reaches its climax at night when the moon is full; the tops of the trees are bathed in a silver light and the great lianas seem to writhe like serpents. As though inspired by the light, the nocturnal animals stage a kind of pageant for the occasion and their cries are even more frequent and more rhythmic than usual. The Andamanese themselves seem bewitched without realizing it, spellbound by the weird atmosphere.

To anyone unfamiliar with the tropics, the swift change from darkness to light and back again comes as a surprise. Night in the tropics is never silent – the eerie voices and calls, often with a strange pitch, seem to cease for a brief moment just before the sudden onset of darkness and again just before the return of the light. As night falls the fascination of the jungle grows. Even the natives feel some urge to keep their voices down, as if out of respect for some natural solemnity. (This, however, is not exclusive to the Andamanese, and it has a perfectly rational explanation. In tropical forests, and in the deserts, men speak softly so as to catch every slightest sound, a passing animal perhaps.) At dawn the birds start up as though they were tired of silence. There is no great variety of calls; most are very piercing, although still pleasing, and in the crescendo of sound which follows the dusk and dawn silences, the forest is transformed.

One thing that has helped the Onges to survive so long despite the inevitability of their decline is the climate of the islands, which is usually very pleasant and so less liable to exacerbate biological weaknesses.

Normally, the Andamans have four months of very good weather from December to March, which may extend by a few days into November and April. February is nearly always the driest month and the calmest, although there are exceptions, as I know from my own experiences when trying to land on the island. In the remaining months there is frequent rain, sometimes torrential, with raging seas, but relieved by periods of clear sky.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

132 In the absence of rain the air is clear with few extremes of temperature, and mean temperatures are fairly constant throughout the year. Towards the end of March and throughout April, the thermometer rarely rises above twenty-five degrees centigrade in the shade, although it can rise above thirty-five degrees centigrade in the middle of the day. Heavy rains, which reduce the temperature noticeably, begin in mid-April; but a period of relatively dry, almost cold weather may occur at the beginning of May. The south-west monsoon reaches its peak in the middle of May, and continues to the end of November. During this period the temperature is never high, but the rains are frequently torrential; storms and terrific gales follow one after another and in some years the monsoons are so violent that the trees are completely stripped of their leaves in a matter of hours. Even so, there are sudden calms and in August there may be some very fine days, among the best of the year when they occur.

132 This climate, with its very minor variations in temperature, is
131 explained by the geographical position of the islands. The two main islands of the archipelago run north–south, between 10° 30′ and 13° 30′ North and 90° and 92° 33′ East, rarely over forty kilometres wide. Great Andaman alone is three hundred and twenty kilometres long and Little Andaman is fifty kilometres. With the south-west monsoon the west coast faces the brunt of the storms, while the north-east monsoon hits the eastern coastline. Both hit the islands after crossing vast expanses of the Indian Ocean, but the south-west monsoon is the wetter; together they refresh the highly fertile earth.

Little Andaman forms about a sixth of this area. Its southernmost point touches 10° 30′ North and the northern tip is 10° 56′ North. On the west coast the monsoon winds are so strong and go on for so long that they have affected the growth of vegetation, beating the tops of the trees down towards the north-east, while both monsoons carry the sea spray right across the island.

132 With the continual dampness and relatively even temperature
137 the forests rise before one as the coastline approaches, black, savagely beautiful, unconquered and unconquerable. Like all the rain forests of the tropics they are always a lush green, except where the monsoon has stripped the trees of their leaves. Normally the trees do not lose their leaves in the winter; each species has its

131, 101 Andamans AZ2

[Information on the regional divisions of the Indian sub-continent will be found in Chapter XIII, 6: Spate AW1 India.]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

INTRODUCTION

THE Andaman Islands are part of a chain of islands stretching from Cape Negrais in Burma to Achin Head in Sumatra. This line of islands forms a single geographical system, as it were a submarine range of mountains, the highest points rising here and there above the surface of the ocean. Some 80 miles or so from Cape Negrais lies the first of the islands in the chain, Preparis Island, between which and the mainland the sea depth does not exceed 100 fathoms. Southwards of this the submarine ridge sinks to a depth of about 150 fathoms, rising again to form the small group of islands known as the Cocos, some 50 miles from Preparis. Geographically the Cocos may be regarded as part of the Andaman Group. Landfall Island, the most northerly point of the Andamans proper, is only distant from them some 30 miles, and the sea depth between does not exceed 45 fathoms. The Andaman Group itself consists of the Great and Little Andaman with their outlying islets, and occupies a distance approximately north and south of about 210 miles. Eighty miles to the south of the Andamans lie the Nicobar Islands, a scattered archipelago occupying a distance of about 160 miles from north to south. The sea between the Andamans and the Nicobars is over 700 fathoms deep. Deep sea also divides the Nicobars from Sumatra, which is about 110 miles distant from the most southerly point of Great Nicobar.

131 133

This line of islands is part of a long fold extending from the eastern end of the Himalayas, which includes the Arakan Yomah Range of Burma and the Andaman and Nicobar

[p. 1]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

131 133 Islands and finds its continuation in the islands off the west coast of Sumatra[1].

On the west the Andamans are separated from the coast of Madras, 700 miles distant, by the Sea of Bengal. On the east the Andaman Sea, a depression with a depth of over 1000 fathoms, separates the Andamans and Nicobars from the Malay Isthmus and Peninsula. Across the Andaman Sea, less than 100 miles distant from the Andamans, there runs a line of volcanic activity, marked by two small islands, Barren Island in Lat. 12° 15′ N. and Long. 93° 50′ E., and Narkondam in Lat. 13° 26′ N. and Long. 95° 15′ E.[2]

The Cocos, the Andamans and the Nicobars are now part of the Indian Empire. The Cocos Islands are occupied by a station for wireless telegraphy. In the Andaman Islands there is a penal settlement at Port Blair, to which are sent the criminals of India and Burma. The Nicobars are treated as one with the Andamans for administrative purposes.

144 Until the nineteenth century the Cocos Islands were uninhabited. The Andamans and the Nicobars have for many centuries been inhabited by two entirely different races. The Andamanese belong to that branch of the human species known to anthropologists as the Negrito race. They are short of stature with black skins and frizzy hair. The Nicobarese, on the other hand, resemble the races of Indo-China and Malaya, and have brown skins and lank hair, and are of medium stature.

131 133 The Andaman Islands consist of the Great Andaman and the Little Andaman, and a number of smaller islands. The Great Andaman may be regarded as one island, although it is divided by narrow sea water creeks into four areas, often spoken of as separate islands and called North Andaman,

[1] The formation of the Arakan Fold (including the Andaman and Nicobar Islands), dates from the middle of the Tertiary Period, and was apparently connected with the great movements that produced the Himalaya-Alpine mountain system and the Circum-Pacific Fold. The Andaman Sea, in the later Tertiary period, was prolonged much further to the north, over the region now occupied by the Pegu Yomah.

[2] This line of volcanic activity is a minor continuation of the Sunda Range of volcanoes of Java and Sumatra. It is continued northward, parallel to the Arakan Fold, as far as the extinct volcano of Puppadoung, east of Pagan, not far from Lat. 21°.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Middle Andaman, Baratang and South Andaman. It is a long narrow stretch of land with a much indented coast, surrounded by many smaller islands, of which the most important are Interview Island off the west coast, Ritchie's Archipelago on the east, Rutland Island at the extreme south, and the outlying North Sentinel Island. The length of the Great Andaman with Rutland Island is nearly 160 miles, while the breadth from sea to sea is nowhere more than 20 miles. The Little Andaman lies to the south of the Great Andaman, about 30 miles distant from Rutland Island, from which it is separated by a shallow strait with a maximum depth of only 21 fathoms. The island is about 26 miles long from north to south and about 16 miles wide. 131 133

Viewed from the sea the islands appear as a series of hills, nowhere of any great height, covered from sky-line to high-water mark with dense and lofty forest. The hill-ranges run approximately north and south, in the same direction as the islands themselves, and attain a greater elevation on the east than on the west. The highest point of the North Andaman is Saddle Peak (2402 feet), that of Middle Andaman is Mt Diavolo (1678 feet), while the South Andaman has the Mt Harriett Range (1505 feet), and in Rutland Island there is Mt Foord (1422 feet). There are no streams of any size. The water drains from the hills into tidal creeks running through mangrove swamps, often many miles in length. The coast is broken by a number of magnificent harbours. The shores are fringed with extensive coral reefs, and on these and in the creeks there is abundance of fish and molluscs. 133

The islands, save for the clearings of the Penal Settlement, are covered with dense tropical forest. There are few mammals, the only two of any size being a species of pig (*Sus andamanensis*, Blyth) and a civet-cat (*Paradoxurus tytlerii*, Tytler). The other mammals are a few species of rats, a tree-shrew and some species of bats. Of birds there are many different species, some of them peculiar to the islands. The reptiles include a considerable number of species of snakes, and a few species of lizards, of which the most noteworthy is the large Monitor lizard (*Varanus salvator*). 136

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Colebrooke in 1790 came across an individual of this tribe and obtained from him a vocabulary. A comparison of this vocabulary with the language of the Little Andaman shows it to be essentially the same language[1]. 619 174

A few words must be said on the position of the natives of the North Sentinel Island. Almost nothing is known of these people. What little information is available concerning their weapons and implements seems to point to their belonging to the Little Andaman Division. There is no communication between them and either the Great Andaman or the Little Andaman. It is possible that they have been separated from the other Andamanese as long as those of the Little Andaman have been separated from those of the Great Andaman, and would therefore constitute a third separate division. The South Sentinel Island is uninhabited.

The total area of the Andamans is estimated to be about 2500 square miles. This area is divided as follows:— 131 619

	Sq. miles.
North Andaman, being the territory of the four tribes Aka-Cari, Aka-Kora, Aka-Bo, and Aka-Jeru	540
Middle Andaman and Baratang, occupied by four tribes, Aka-Kede, Aka-Kol, Oko-Juwoi and A-Pucikwar	790
The Archipelago, occupied by the Akar-Bale tribe	140
The South Andaman, occupied by the Aka-Bea and the Jarawa	630
North Sentinel Island	30
Little Andaman	370
	2500

It is not possible to give accurately the area occupied by each tribe, as the boundaries are difficult to discover. The *Aka-Bea* is in an exceptional position, as there was no definite boundary between them and the *Jarawa*. The two parties of natives lived in the same territory at enmity with each other. It would seem that the *Aka-Bea* kept on the whole more to the coast, while the *Jarawa* lived in the interior.

[1] In 1906 some Little Andaman visitors to Rutland Island captured a *Jarawa* of that part. They told me that though he spoke differently from them, they could understand him fairly well.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

619 •131 Leaving aside the *Aka-Bea*, the largest of the Great Andaman tribes, as regards area of territory, was the *Aka-Kede*, which possessed over 300 square miles. After this tribe in order of size come the *A-Pučikwar*, *Aka-J̌eru* and *Aka-Kọra* tribes, while the smaller ones are the *Ọkọ-J̌uwọi*, *Aka-Kọl*, *Aka-Bo*, *Akar Bale* and *Aka-Čari*, the last being perhaps the smallest of all.

161 In 1901 an enumeration of the natives of the Great Andaman was attempted in connection with the census of India. Such an enumeration was of course very difficult, and liable to considerable error. The results are given in the following table:—

Name of Tribe	Adults		Children		Total
	Males	Females	Males	Females	
Aka-Cari	16	15	6	2	39
Aka-Kora	31	32	14	19	96
Aka-Bo	15	16	7	10	48
Aka-Jeru	98	80	26	14	218
Aka-Kede	24	30	3	2	59
Aka-Kol	6	2	3		11
Oko-Juwoi	21	19	7	1	48
A-Pucikwar	31	14	2	3	50
Akar-Bale	5	10	3	1	19
Aka-Bea	14	16	3	4	37
Total	261	234	74	56	625

These figures are likely to be more accurate for the southern tribes (the last five on the list) than for the northern tribes. It is probable that, in the North Andaman, some of the persons enumerated were entered under the wrong tribe. For many years the officers of the Andamans did not know of the existence of the *Aka-Kọra* and *Aka-Bo* tribes, and members of these tribes have fallen into the habit of describing themselves to Europeans as either *Aka-J̌eru* or *Aka-Čari*. My own opinion is that the numbers given for the *Aka-J̌eru* tribe are too large, while those of the *Aka-Kọra* and *Aka-Bo*, and perhaps also the *Aka-Kede*, are too small.

For the census of 1901 an attempt was made to estimate the numbers of the *J̌ạrawa* and the natives of the Little Andaman, any attempt at enumeration being impossible. The estimate given was as follows:—

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

INTRODUCTION.

000 In considering the habits, customs, and physical peculiarities of a savage race, it is important to acquire as much information as possible regarding the land they inhabit, and also to ascertain the nature and extent of the influences exercised by, or resulting from, their intercourse with other nationalities. It is therefore my purpose to present the reader, by way of introduction, with a brief sketch giving a few of the many points of interest connected with the Andamans, and referring to the writings of Messrs. Ball, Hume, Kurz, and other specialists for information regarding the geology, ornithology, &c., of the islands, which subjects are deemed to lie somewhat outside the scope of this volume.

131 The Andaman Islands, which till within the last hundred years were almost *terræ incognitæ*, are situated in the Bay of Bengal, between the 10th and 14th parallels of N. lat. and near the meridian 93 E. of Greenwich; they comprise what are known as the Great and the Little Andamans, and, together with the Coco and Preparis Islands to the north, and the Nicobar Islands which lie to the south, form a volcanic chain extending between the province of Pegu and the northernmost point of Sumatra.

Great Andaman[1] is about 140 miles long, and includes not only the three main islands known as North, Middle, and South Andaman, but also the Archipelago, Interview, Rutland, and various lesser islets adjacent to its sea-board.[2] At a con-

[1] For the possible derivation of the name "Andaman," the reader is referred to Part I, p 2.

[2] The names of which may be ascertained by reference to the accompanying map.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

131 siderable distance eastward of Great Andaman, but connected with the group, are two small uninhabited islands known as Narcondam and Barren Island, both of which contain volcanoes, though the latter only is active at the present day. To the south, and about midway between Great Andaman and the northernmost point of the Nicobar group, lies Little Andaman, consisting of a single island about 27 miles in length, and varying in breadth from 10 to 16 miles; there are also a few small islets near its coast.

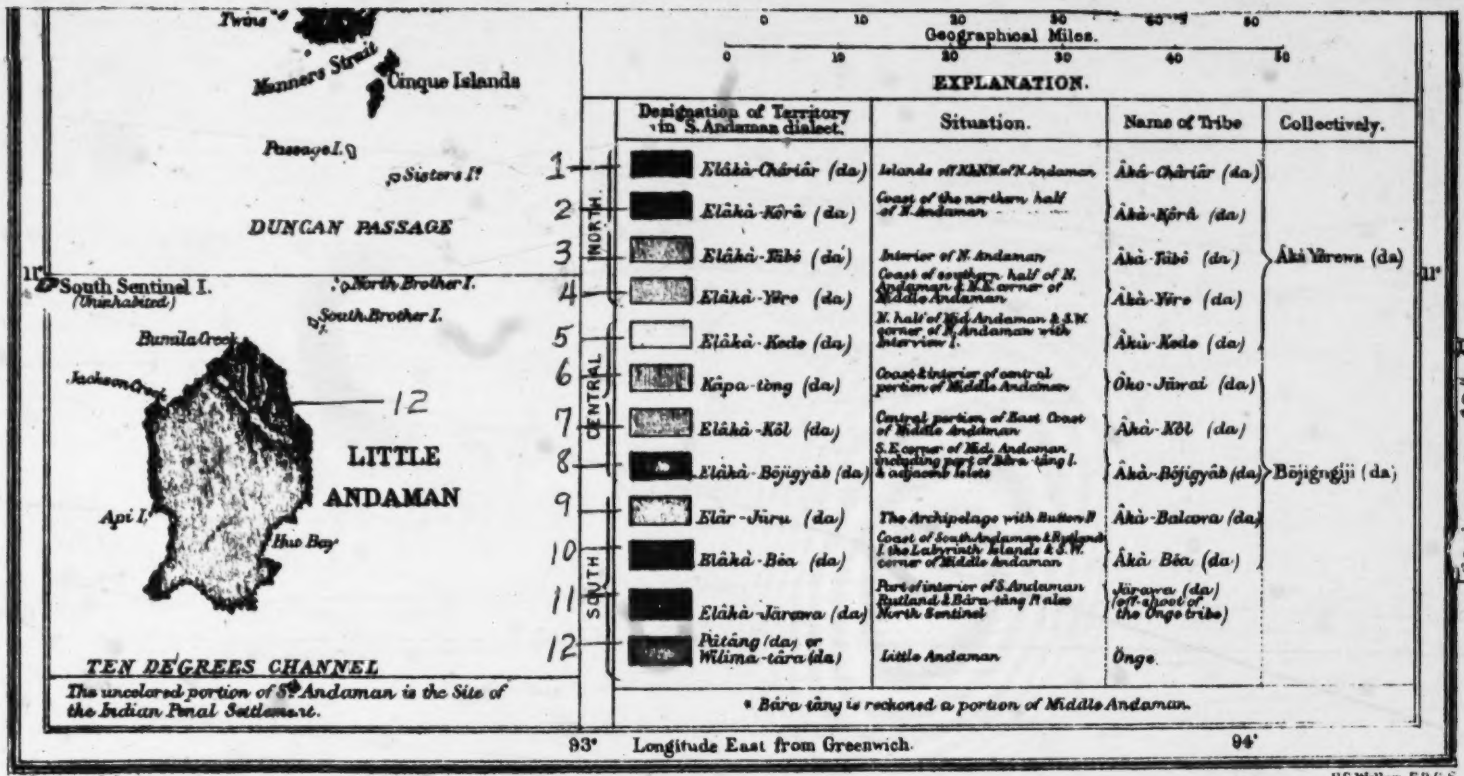
None of the islands exceed 20 miles in breadth, and the area of the entire group is estimated at about 2,508 square miles, four-fifths of which are comprised in Great Andaman.

133 Nearly all the high land occurs in the vicinity of the east coast, shelving gradually towards the west, where few, and those but minor, elevations are to be found. The principal hills are: Saddle Peak[1] (2,400 feet) in North Andaman, overlooking Port Cornwallis; Ford's Peak (1,400 feet) on Rutland Island; and Mount Harriet (1,100 feet) in South Andaman, commanding the harbour of Port Blair.

132 The climate of the Andamans much resembles that of Lower Burmah, and the temperature throughout the year is very uniform; the variation in the shade during the dry season is about 22°, and averages 17° during the remainder of the year; the extreme variation throughout the twelve months may be estimated at 26°, viz., between 70° and 96°. The cool season sets in during the last weeks of December and early part of January, and the hot season lasts through the months of March and April. The S.W. monsoon commences in the latter part of April or early in May, and usually terminates about the end of October, but on the change in the direction of the wind to N.E. heavy showers frequently occur for several weeks, and even, though at rare intervals, in January and February. The average number of wet days in the year is 182, and the rainfall 116 inches; the dry season is usually characterised during the first two months by strong winds from N.E., which cause sickness and prove equally prejudicial to vegetation. Although it has been ascertained that many of the most severe cyclones which have occurred in the Bay of Bengal during the past twenty-five years have had their origin in the immediate vicinity of the Andamans, only one is recorded (viz., in 1864) as having visited the islands themselves; in the same period there have been a few earthquakes, the first of which mention is made took place in August, 1868, and the next in February, 1880, from which time several slight shocks were felt until, in December (31st), 1881, another severe earthquake visited the group, the effects of which were

[1] The only ascent on record of Saddle Peak was made in February, 1882, by Major M. Protheroe, C.S.I., and other officers of Port Blair.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880) 1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2



[Numbers added to replace colors -- Analyst]

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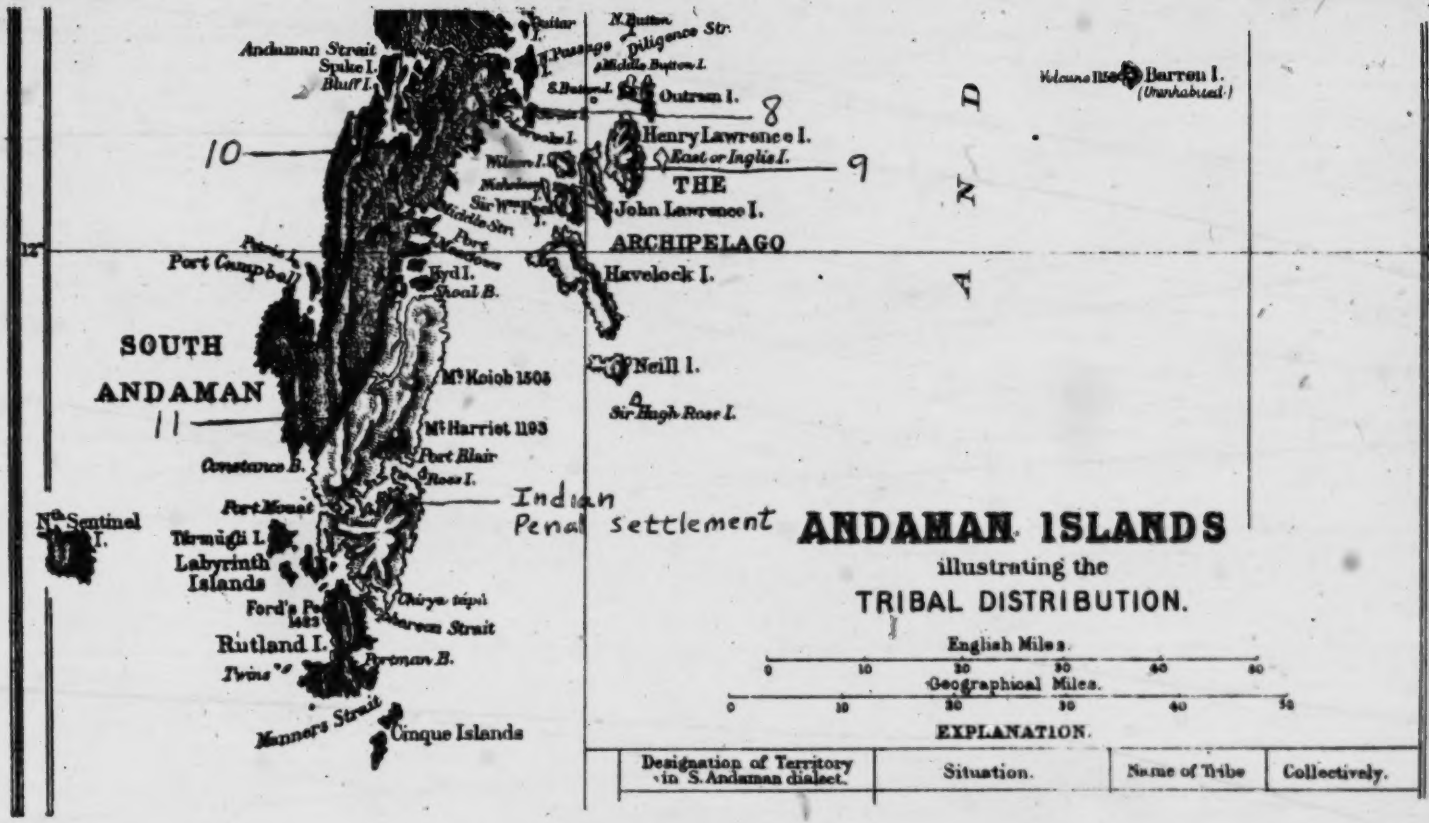
2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2



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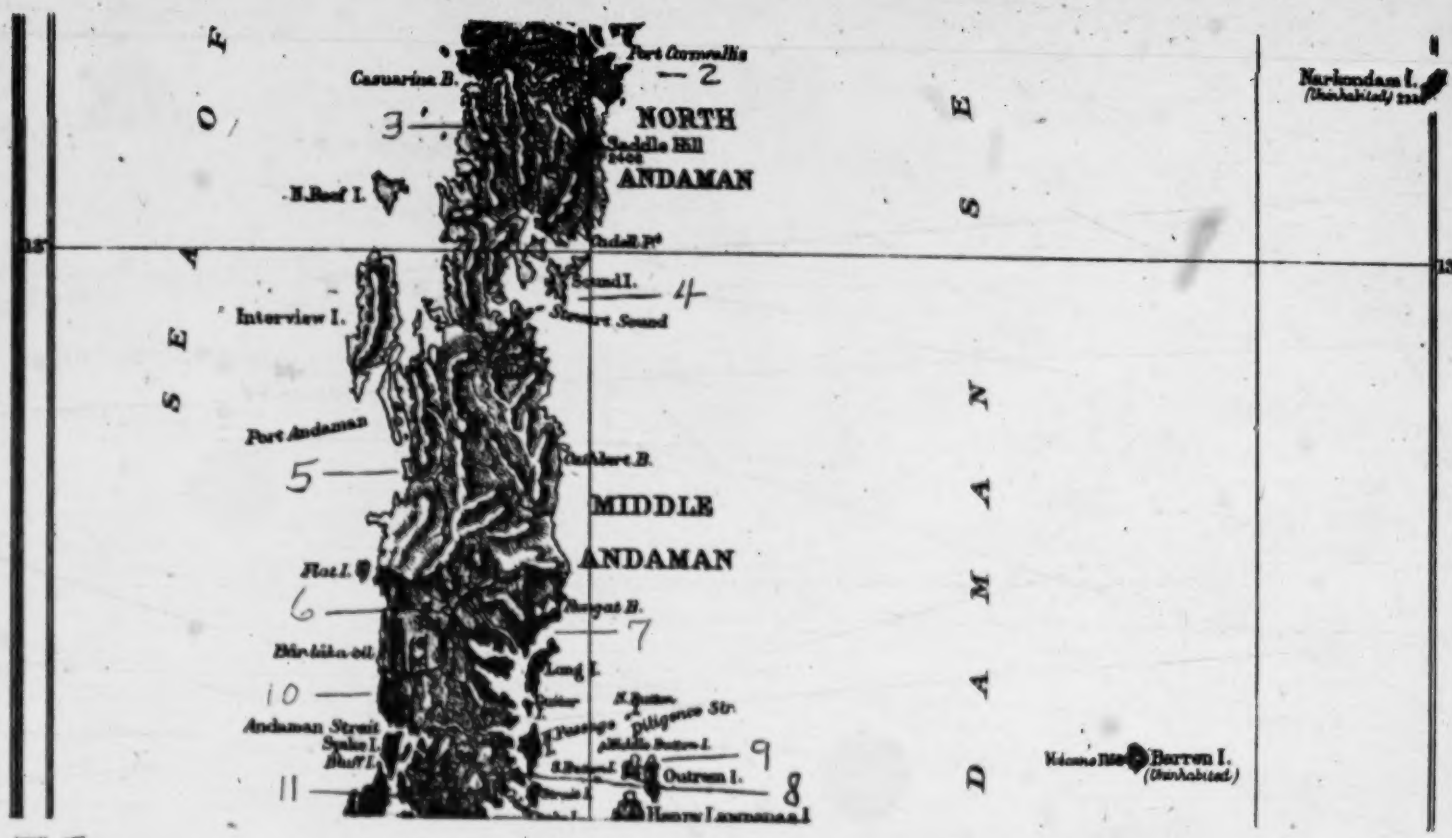
2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2



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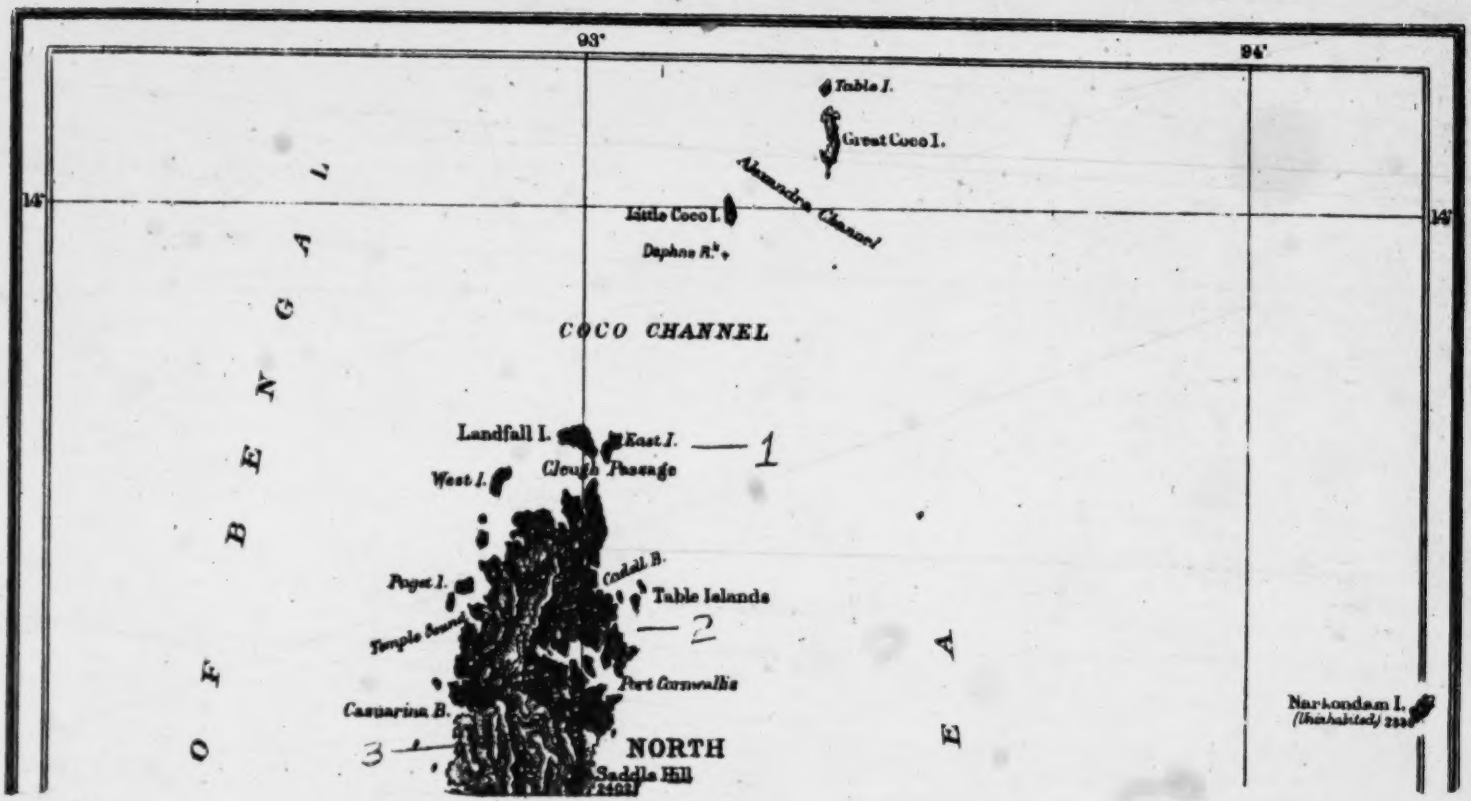
2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2



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PART I.

THE ANDAMANESE.

CHAPTER I.

THE CENSUS.

Conditions of Census-taking—Impossibility of Synchronous Census—Intelligent Assistance from Aborigines impossible—Hostile Tribes estimated only—Control of Operations—Census Tours—Method of Enumeration—Officers' Diaries—Method of estimating Ôngés and Jarawas—Attitude of the Andamanese—Points as to Defects in Enumeration—Jarawa Hostility—The Returns of the Andamanese—The former Population—Diagram of Past and Present Assumed Density—Methods of arriving at Former Density—The Kitchen-Middens—Future Prospects of the Race.

619 484 **Conditions of Census-taking.**—The conditions under which a Census of the Andamanese was attempted were the following. In the first place there are Andamanese "Homes" in the Penal Settlement maintained by the Government, to which any Andamanese of any Tribe may come and stay as long as he chooses. In the next place, for reasons hereafter to be explained, practically all the tribes but one are "friendly" and are at the present time very much mixed up with each other. In this mixed condition they are nomads, much given to rapid wandering all over the islands of the group known as the Great Andaman, in which the Penal Settlement is situated. In their most imperfect condition of civilisation it was quite hopeless to expect to induce them to remain in any one place for even one night or for any given period. And thus the first great difficulty to combat in attempting to enumerate them was to prevent the same persons from being counted twice or more times over.

●131 **Impossibility of Synchronous Census.**—This difficulty was increased by the impossibility, owing to the nature of the country they inhabit, from enumerating the people all at once or at anything approaching a uniform time. As will be seen later on, the Andamans consist of the Great Andaman group and the Little Andaman, attached to each of which are a great number of smaller islands and islets. There is also the inhabited North Sentinel at some distance to the west of the general group. The Great Andaman consists of five main islands running from north to south thus:—North Andaman, Middle Andaman, Baratang, South Andaman, Rutland Island. All these are dove-tailed into each other by very narrow straits, not so wide as the ordinary rivers of a continent. The Little Andaman is situated at a considerable distance to the south. All round the Great Andaman are islands of every size; to the east is Ritchie's Archipelago and to the west are the Labyrinth Islands Every single island of the whole group is covered with a hilly jungle, the denseness of which must be seen to be appreciated, and passable only to its indigenous inhabitants. It is therefore impossible without much preparation and expense to traverse the interior of the islands, but happily it is quite easy to move about the deeply indented coasts, containing more harbours and snug anchorages than the whole Indian Peninsula. The length of the Great Andaman group is 156 miles: its average width is 9 to 10 miles and with the outlying islands some 25 miles. Two distant islands, Narcondam and Barren Island, to the east are also included in the Andaman group, but they are both uninhabited. It was, therefore, necessary to go over this area by coasting voyages, to stop at likely spots for encampments and to hunt about for the nomadic inhabitants of the neighbourhood: a work requiring much local knowledge, personal judgment and patience.

000 **Intelligent Assistance from Aborigines impossible.**—From the nature of the case it will be understood that very little reliance could be placed on the people themselves for assistance in the enumeration. Their inveterate, indeed necessary, habits of wandering, their childlike incapacity for responsibility of

CHAPTER II.

DESCRIPTIVE.

I. Geography.—Position and General Description of the Andaman Islands—The Submarine Range between the Pegu Yomas and Sumatra—The Submarine Contours—The Great and Little Andaman—The Harbours—The Hills—The Scenery—Surveys.
II. Meteorology.—Commercial Value of the Meteorology—Climate—Cyclonic Storms—Rainfall—Weather—General Statistics—Tides.
III. Geology.—General Geology—The Subsidence of the Islands—Earthquakes—The Conchology—Marine Fauna—Economic Zoology—The Forests—The Timber and its Economic Uses—The Imported Flora—General Character of the Forests.
IV. History.—Ancient Notices of the Islands—Origin of the name—Mediæval and Modern Notices of the Islands—Modern History of the Islands and people.

I. Geography.

•131 **Position and General Description of the Andaman Islands.**—The Andaman Islands, large and small, are said to number 204 and lie in the Bay of Bengal, 590 geographical miles from the Hooghly mouth, 120 miles from Cape Negrais in Burma, the nearest point from the mainland, and about 340 from the north extremity of Sumatra. Between the Andamans and Cape Negrais intervene two small groups, Preparis and Cocos; between the Andamans and Sumatra intervene the Nicobar Islands, all indicating a submarine range connected with the Aracan Yoma Range of Burma, stretching in a curve, to which the meridian forms a tangent, between Cape Negrais and Sumatra; and though this curved line measures 700 miles, the widest sea space is about 91 miles. The extreme length of the Andaman Group is 219 miles, with an extreme width of 32 miles.

The principal outlying islands are the North Sentinel, a dangerous island of about 28 square miles, lying about 18 miles off the west coast of the South Andaman; the remarkable marine volcano, Barren Island, 1,158 feet, quiescent for the last hundred years, 71 miles to the North-East of Port Blair; and the equally curious isolated mountain, the extinct volcano known as Narcondam, rising 2,330 feet out of the sea, 71 miles east of the North Andaman.

The land area of the Andaman Islands is taken as 2,508 square miles.

To the west of the Andamans, distant about 18 miles, are the dangerous Western Banks and Dalrymple Bank, rising to within a few fathoms of the surface of the sea and forming, with the two Sentinel Islands, the tops of a line of submarine hills parallel to the Andamans: to the east, some 40 miles distant, is the Invisible Bank with one rock just awash, and 34 miles south-east of Narcondam is a submarine hill rising to 377 fathoms below the surface of the sea. Narcondam, Barren Island, and the Invisible Bank, a great danger of these seas, are in a line almost parallel to the Andamans inclining somewhat towards them.

133 **The Submarine Range between the Pegu Yomas and Sumatra.**—Certain physiological facts have long been held, in combination with phenomena exhibited by the fauna and flora of the respective terminal countries, to point to the former existence of a continuous range of mountains, thought to be subaerial, from Cape Negrais in Burma on the north to Achin Head in Sumatra on the south. According to the doubtful authority of Wilford, Hindu legends notice this remarkable range, ascribing it to Rama, who attempted here first to

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Karen AP7

for such a fairly long period, it was decided to give up the idea of continuing our survey of the Little Andaman that year. A 122

At the suggestion of Mr Majid it was finally decided instead to pay a visit to the surviving members of the Friendly Andamanese tribes at Neil and Havelock Islands where they had now been transferred and settled. Unfortunately, as it was March and the closing month of the financial year, I had to return to my headquarters at Banaras and leave Mr Sarkar in charge of the party to carry on further surveys in the North and Middle Andamans as far as this was found possible. A 121 [131]

Accordingly Mr Sarkar with his party left Port Blair on 6-3-48 on the Forest Motor Launch "Lindsay" and arrived at Long Island at about 8 A.M. on the following day. Mr Sarkar was met by Mr Joseph, T. S. D. O. who brought "Loka" and his party of four Andamanese. They were studied by him. The party left Long Island on the Forest Launch "Kokhari" at about 7-30 A.M. on the following day. Mr Joseph accompanied the party, who halted at the Guitar Island where some of Loka's associates were hunting turtles with harpoons. After leaving Guitar Island, the launch passed through Homfray Strait. Mr Joseph showed the spot where the Jarawas in 1925 attacked his camp. This is near the place from where the Jarawas usually crossed from the Baratang Island to the Middle Andamans. Proceeding further westwards, Mr Sarkar and his party reached the north-east end of the Spike Island. This is another route of migration of the Jarawas from the South to North Andamans. Usually they come from the South Andaman and cross over to Bluff Island and then reach the Spike Island opposite to it. Loka gave the information that it was about this place that several Jarawas were shot sometime back and their bodies were buried in the Bluff Island. The party went along the coast of Neil Island and anchored off Foul Bay. Human footprints identified by Mr Joseph and Loka as belonging to the Jarawas were found in the sand. Following the footprints the party found the remnants of burnt ashes and cinder in a spot in the jungle. There were also vessels made of leaves for carrying water which were still wet. These were collected as specimens of Jarawa objects for the Department's collections. No traces of Jarawas themselves could however be found who must have moved into the jungles just prior to our party's visit. Our men then crossed over to Bluff Island and searched for the Jarawa skeletons, but none were found. On the 9th of March the "Kokhari" returned to Long Island, where it anchored. Loka brought his party of 21 individuals who were now settled in Neil Island. These people were carefully studied by Mr Sarkar and notes taken regarding their geneology, family structure and physical state, etc. On the 9th the Deputy Chief Commissioner, Mr S. C. Gupta with his wife arrived at Long Island. Mr Sarkar and his party accompanied him to Stewart Sound in his boat "Elsa". Unfortunately the few Andamanese who were living there happened to have gone out in their canoes for fishing and could not be contacted (*see* Plate I, Fig. 5). A 115 A 114 A [225] [411] A 115 [126] A [115]

They then went with Mr Gupta to the Karen village called *Webi* situated at a short distance from Stewart Sound. There were no Andamanese there, K 361

Our knowledge of their language is restricted to lists of words collected from captive Jarawas by COLEBROOK in 1789—90 and by PORTMAN in the 19th century. 114 648

Research on the Jarawa would by highly desirable, but will be impossible as long as they remain hostile.

Census of India, 1901, Vol. III, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by Sir RICHARD C. TEMPLE, pp. 4, 52—53, 68—90, 117—121. 113

Census of India, 1911, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by R. F. LOWIS, pp. 7, 31—39, 82—83.

Census of India, 1921, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by R. F. LOWIS, pp. 5, 39—43.

Census of India, 1931, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by M. C. C. BONINGTON, pp. 8—9, 15—16, 23.

A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN, *Notes on the Languages of the Andaman Islands*, Anthropos, vol. IX, 1914, pp. 38—39.

The Andaman Islanders, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1933, pp. 86, 410, 413—415, 423, 432—433, 439—440.

North Sentinel Island

North Sentinel is an island of about 30 square miles west of the southern tip of Great Andaman. It has been briefly visited by Government officers on various occasions, but it seems that no contacts were ever made with the natives, except on December 27th, 1886, when the Ongi, who accompanied PORTMAN on his trip, "caught" some of them (Census of India, 1901, p. 92). From PORTMAN's report it does not become clear whether or not he saw these temporary captives himself. Our knowledge of the culture is restricted to a few observations on their material possessions. The communal huts differ from those of the rest of the Andamanese. The canoes differ from those of both Great and Little Andaman, but are more like those of the latter. The bows resemble those of the Jarawa and Ongi. On the basis of this it is assumed that the natives are related to the Jarawa and Ongi, but PORTMAN's Ongi companions are said to have found that the persons whom they had caught talked "an entirely different language". 101 [131] 648 [197]

In 1901 the number of the natives was estimated as 117. This estimate was based on the area of the island and the assumption that the density of the population was approximately the same as that of great Andaman in precolonial times. The figure was not changed in either 1911 or 1921. In 1931 the number was estimated as 50 "on conclusions arrived at from several visits during the last decade and after counting the number of huts found and the sleeping places", but it is said that this does not necessarily mean a decrease in population. "It is believed that the population is stationary, for 161

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

[P.690]

The Jarawa of the Andaman Islands

By S. S. Sarkar (Calcutta)

Introduction

101 131 The Jarawa of the Andaman Islands are confined along the western coast of South Andaman, where their movements are restricted – roughly speaking – between Port Anson on the north and Constance Bay on the south (fig. 1). They are also reported from the southwestern part of the island of Baratang – an island completely separated from South and Middle Andaman. The latter group must, therefore, use some kind of watercraft to cross over from one island to the other. The extreme northern tip of the South Andaman [501] Island was until recently used by the Jarawa for crossing over to Middle Andaman through the two intervening Islands of Spike and Bluff with the help of bamboo rafts (Sarkar, 1954). This route has now been checked owing to the establishment of a police picket on Bluff Island.

101 131 501 The Jarawa also appear to have used some sort of watercraft to migrate into North Sentinel Island in the distant past. Their craft may have been similar to the outrigger canoes described by Bonig (1912) on the occasion of his visit to this island. The distance from Port Mouat to North Sentinel is about 24 miles and although Bonig says that "the boats are not very seaworthy" this distance must at one time have been crossed by the ancestors of the present-day inhabitants of North Sentinel Island. Bonnington (1932) used the term Sentinelese for them, while Lowis (1912, 1923) preferred to call them Jarawa. It appears from what little is known about them that they are more akin to the Jarawa of South Andaman than to the other Negrito groups. No canoes are reported from among the Jarawa of South Andaman ; it appears that the bamboo raft is enough for their transport on water. The Jarawa [184] outrigger canoes of North Sentinel Island, which Bonig mentions as somewhat different from those of the Onge or the Andamanese, indicate a somewhat higher cultural status of the former as compared with the groups living on South Andaman.

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

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131
133

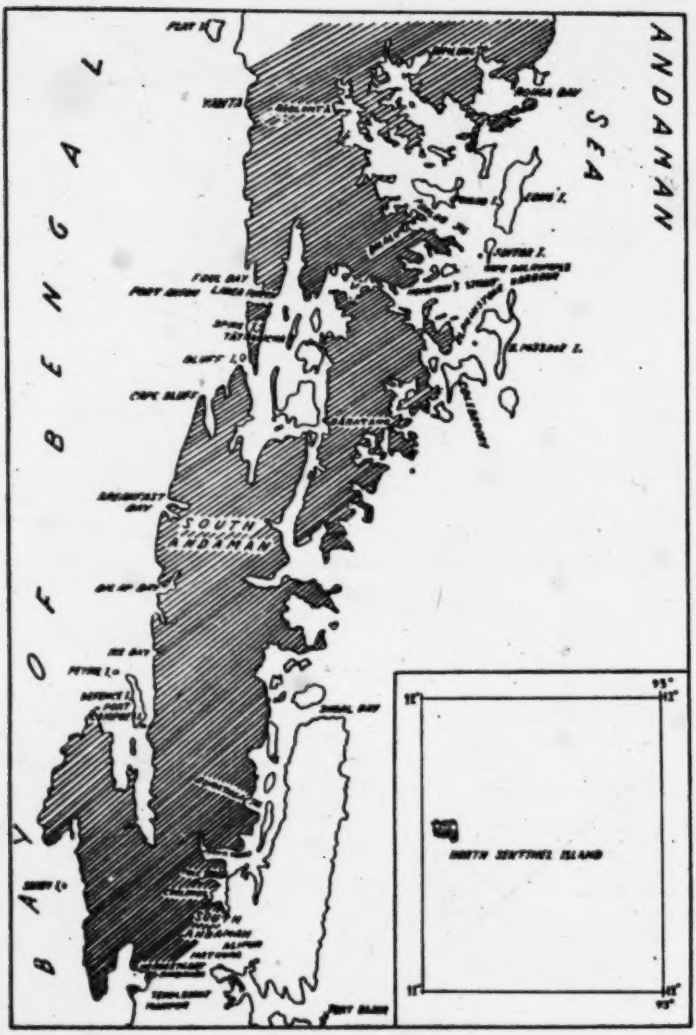

Fig. 1

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Nicobars AZ7

[p vii]

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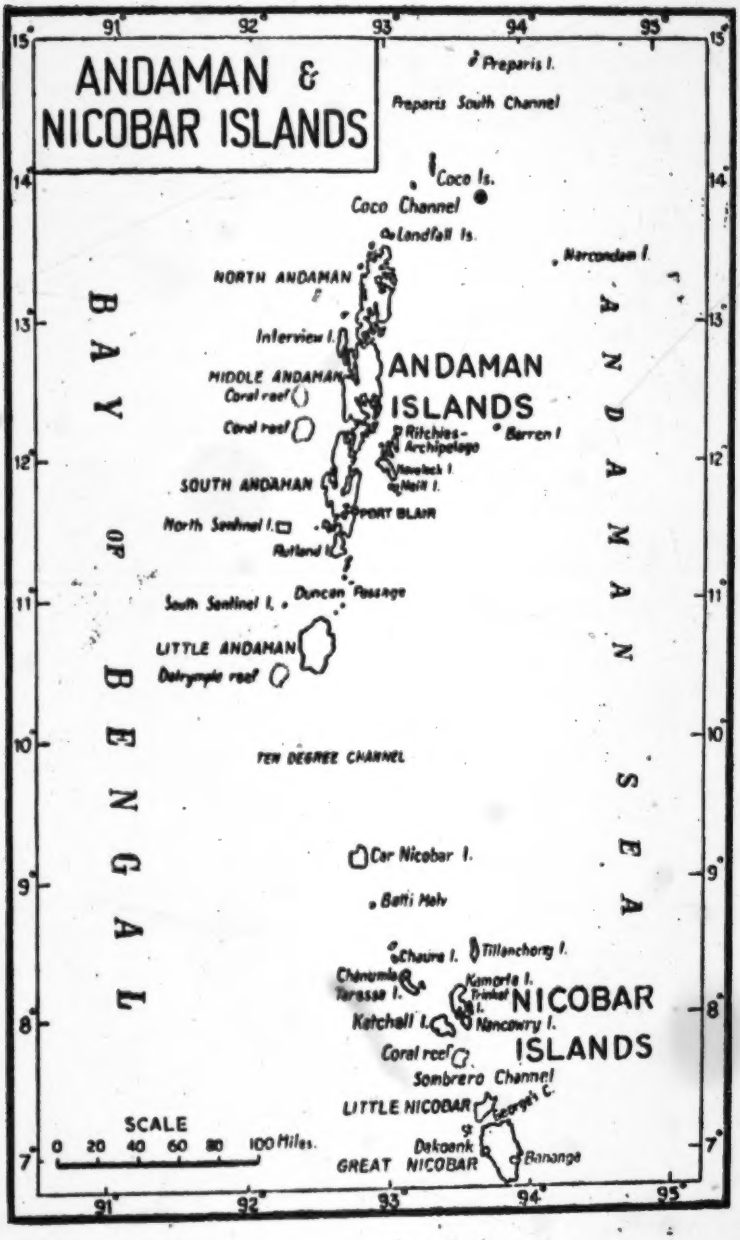

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Nicobars AZ7

[P. viii]

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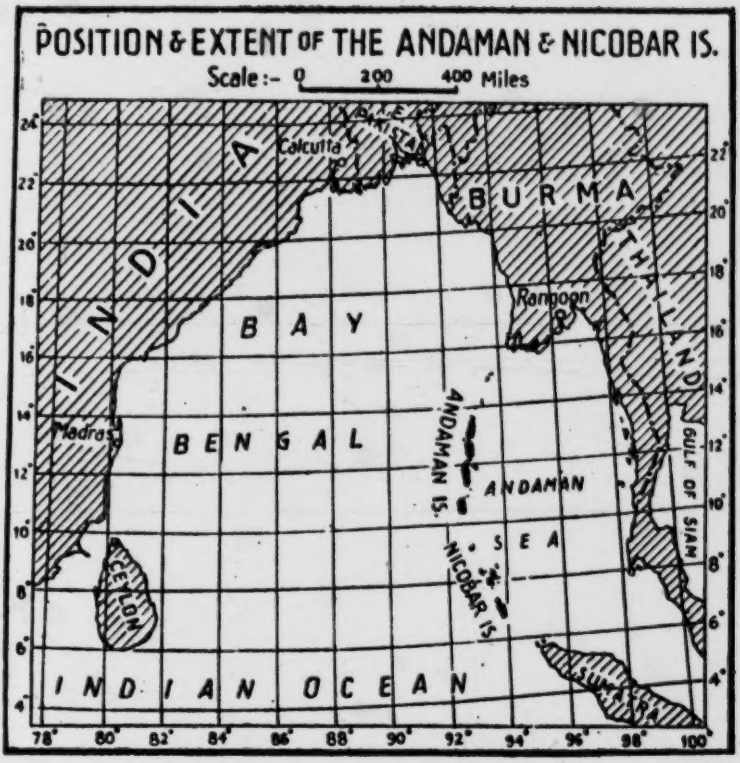

Refer to Chapter No. 1., Page No. 1.

10:Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

161 Of the two main groups of aborigines, the Great Andaman Group and
177 the Little Andaman Group, the former being the most widespread and
182 numerous in the Great Andamans has become completely non-existent depicting the example of the decay within an extremely short time, especially since the impact of the foreign people. The fate of the later group is also quite shattering—the Jarawas have experienced both numerical decay and territorial shrinkage and the Onges are the only tribes who live exclusively in the Little Andaman but they have been also facing the signs of decay.

133 A glance at the map of the Andaman islands and adjacent countries shows the continuity of these islands with the Arakan Yoma of Burma in the north and with the Indonesian islands in the south. The islands of both the Andaman and Nicobar groups are primarily of sedimentary formations of the Eocene period with occasional igneous intrusions. Later formations of coral are also quite widespread. The surface topography of the regions is typically flat-topped being typical of the sandstone regions and the peaks are in most cases formed of igneous intrusions. The islands are comprised of a number of longitudinal ranges running from the north to the south and in between the ranges short streams flow. The heights of the hills are generally 1000′ and never exceed 2500′.

132 The islands experience a high annual temperature and the yearly rainfall is as high as 130 inches in Port Blair and the amount decreases as one moves to the north and the east. The ameliorating influence of the sea is quite appreciable.

131 With an area of 2508 square miles and the number of islands being as many as 204, only 4 main islands, North Andaman (490.20 sq miles), Middle Andaman (561.00 sq miles), South Andaman (359.51 sq miles) and Little Andaman (289.90 sq miles) have an area of more than 100 sq miles and the rest are sufficiently small in size either to command human settlement or economic activity.

101 The economy of the tribal people is of the primitive form of hunting and collecting though the precise modes of living vary to some extent depending upon the nature of environment under which they have to live. The knowledge of distribution and of actual number of these aborigines is far from accurate. The Andamanese were the most widespread in all parts of the Great Andamans and in the South Andaman they (Aka bea) had to remain vigilant against the possible attacks and territorial expansion of the Jarawas. The Andamanese, as said earlier, have completely died out. The Jarawas, though have dwindled to a negligible number,

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans
Nicobars AZ7

The Nicobar group of islands being separated off from the Andaman Islands by the Ten Degree Channel, though constitute a part of the continuation of the island in the north, the geographical entity of these islands are conspicuously different from that of the others. The Nicobar Islands have an area of 635 sq. miles and have 19 islands, out of which 12 islands are inhabited. The human habitats are exceedingly interesting and these people are distinctly different from the aborigines of the Andamans not only in their physical characteristics but also in their cultural attributes. Material life is much more improved and they have been all the time experiencing a healthy growth in comparison to the rapid decay of the Andaman aborigines. Culturally the affinity seems to be closer with the Indonesian islands. Shom Pens, the highlanders of the Great Nicobar, live in perfect isolation and have an extremely primitive economy. The staple crop is coconut and a number of fruit trees and yam are also grown. Some of the islands have become extremely overcrowded and need immediate dispersal to some of the less crowded islands. A detailed geographical treatment would require much more words to say about these thriving people and their contact with the foreigners than those of the Andamans. However it remains incomplete if the study of the Nicobar Islands is not incorporated in that of the Andaman islands. Therefore, in spite of the distinct geographical contrast with the Andamans, a short geographical summary has been given at the end of the book.[i]

131 101 178 241 433 161 800

i [not processed. - Analyst]

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10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P. 1]

CHAPTER 1

POSITION AND EXTENT

The Andaman Islands, comprised of a large number of islands amounting to as much as 204, cover an area of 2508 square miles. These groups of islands with the other ones in the south, known as the Nicobar islands, are the only Indian islands in the southeastern ocean frontier. The alignment of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands is from the north to the south and these groups of islands have geological affinity with the adjacent countries i.e. Burma and Indonesia. These tropical islands possess some of the salient characteristics of the tropics given to the very primitive type of economy. 131

The Andamans lie between 10°30′ and 13°30′ north latitudes; and between 92°15′ and 95°15′ east longitudes. The extreme length and width are 219 and 32 miles respectively. At the extreme north is the Landfall island followed by the three main islands of the Andamans—the North Andaman, the Middle Andaman and the South Andaman, all of them being separated off from each other by shallow seas. Further South at a distance of 40 miles from the South Andaman lies the Little Andaman. Besides these there are innumerable small islands—Ritchie's Archipelago and the Sentinel Islands may be worthy of mention.

There is an absence of unanimous agreement regarding the number of the islands and their respective areas. No one has, however, been able to locate all the islands on the map but the estimate made by the Forest Department is considered as the most authoritative.

Area of the islands in square miles.

Island	*Area*
North Andaman	490.20
Middle Andaman	561.00
South Andaman	359.51
Landfall and 7 other islands in the North Andaman Group	27.92
Interview and 4 other islands in the Middle Andaman Group	59.00
Baratang and 4 other islands in the Baratang Group	11.34

10:Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

131

Island	*Area*
Havelock and 6 other islands in the Ritchie's Archipelago Group	94.20
Rutland and 3 other islands in the South Andaman group of islands	73.86
Tarmughli and 4 other islands in the Labyrnth island	12.20
Little Andaman	289.90
166 other islands	430.97

131 114

But regarding the above statistics, Sri H. R. Shivdasani, I.C.S. writes as follows:—

'Obviously the area of 430.97 square miles for the other small islands is incorrect and far too much. It gives an average area of 2 square miles per island in which case they deserve individual mention when other islands of less than 1 square mile in area have come to special notice. Forest officers themselves admit that these 166 small islands cannot have a total area of 1430.97 square miles. We may assume that the information of the Punjab Delegation[1] is correct. Even so it would seem that if out of the other islands (735 square miles) we exclude Baratang, 90 square miles, and Little Andaman 290 square miles, there will be 200 small islands with a total area of 335 square miles'.[2]

131 177

The Andamans lie 590 miles from the Hooghly mouth, 120 miles from Cape Negrais of Burma and 340 miles from the northern extremity of Sumatra. In spite of the very close situation of the islands to the crowded countries like the mainland of India, Burma and the Indonesian countries, the contact has been quite feeble.

1 The Punjab Delegation went to the Andamans to explore the possibility of colonisation in the islands.

2 Shivdasani was sent to the Andamans with a party by the Government of India to study the aspect of colonisation in the islands in the year 1949.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

MAP OF THE GEOLOGY OF THE ANDAMANS

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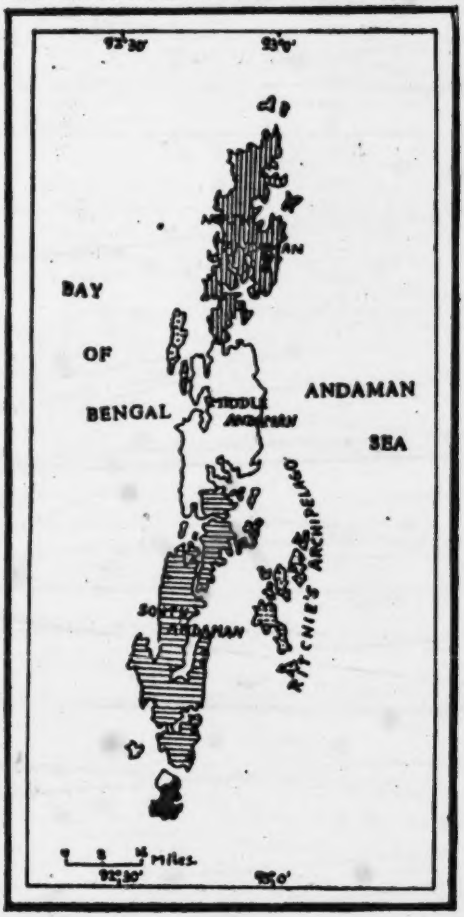

INDEX

- UNSURVEYED
- MIOCENE CLAYS OF RITCHIE'S ARCHIPELAGO.
- MIOCENE BURDIGALIAN FORAMINIFERAL LIMESTONES.
- SANDSTONE OF SOUTH ANDAMANS.
- EOCENE CONGLOMERATES OF N. & M. ANDAMANS.
- CRETACEOUS, SERPENTINE SERIES.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

131 The Andamans consist of 204 islands of which the important islands of the main body from north to south are North Andaman, Middle Andaman, Baratang Island, South Andaman, Rutland and Little Andaman. Another group of islands lie some 15-20 miles off the east coast of Middle Andaman and they are primarily a group of a few islands-Neill, Havelock, Peet Is, Wilson Is, John Lawrence Is, Henry Lawrence Is, known as Ritchie's Archipelago.

PHYSIOGRAPHY OF THE ANDAMANS

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10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PHYSIOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS OF THE ANDAMANS

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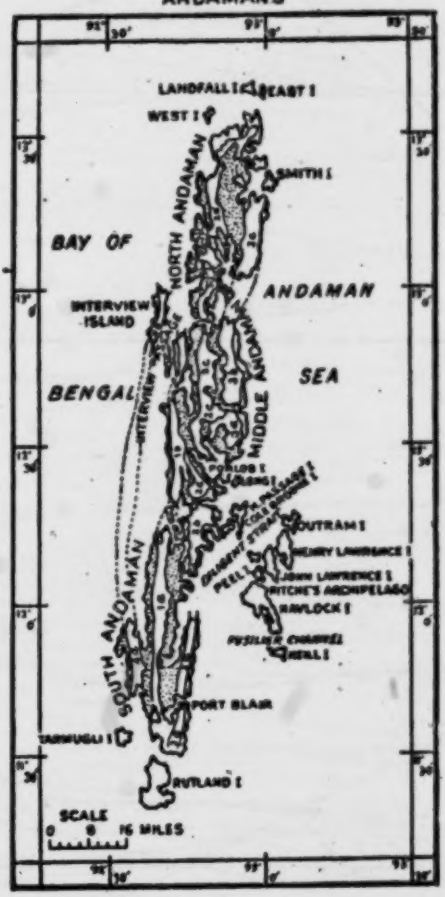

133 According to Swell, these variations in height are due to (1) an alteration of the pitch of the axis or (2) a variation in the rate of weathering and denudation in different regions. Swell says "A gradual fall towards the south and a subsequent rise in the level of the ridge, the differences between the highest peaks at each end, which rise to well over 8000' and the lowest of the peaks in the middle, namely, the island of Batti Malv which is only 150' above sea-level, is at the least some 8000' or approximately

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P. 26]

CHAPTER IV

CLIMATE OF THE ANDAMANS

132 The situation of the Andamans between 10°30′ and 13°30′ north latitudes and 92°15′ and 93°10′ east longitudes makes the climate of these islands of the tropical type which closely approximates to the Equatorial one in the south. The islands are frequently disturbed by tropical storms and cyclones in specific months. The insular position of the islands in the Bay of Bengal in between two countries in the east and west, situation in the tropical zone, location in the path of travelling tropical storms and cyclones in specific months, influence of the tropical maritime air masses in the south and the air masses of the subcontinent of India and other countries of Asia in the north, considerable northsouth extension but appreciably small eastwest extension, broken coastline and peculiar shape, and the dominant functional controls of the northeast and southwest monsoons in the specific months of the year have all combined together to give a distinct feature of the climate of the Andamans. The influence of all these factors, in giving a characteristic impress over the islands, must be understood before we consider the general conditions of climate and the division of the islands into different such regimes and the influence of climate on agriculture.

THE DIFFERENT CLIMATIC CONTROLS.

Insular Position and Shape.

131 The insularity of the islands is obvious because of their presence in
132 the base of the funnel of the Bay of Bengal. The funnel is enclosed in the west and east by the east coast of the Indian mainland and the west coasts of Burma and Malay, and both these coastlines taper in the north in the deltaic region of Bengal. In the south the whole sea opens out and extends upto the Antartica. The islands, being 192 miles long and 32 miles wide, when maximum, with a number of bays and creeks penetrating deep into the interior of the islands make no spot on the Andamans more than 10 miles from the sea. This has helped the development of the maritime conditions of the islands at its maximum and has therefore, led to a great moderating influence of sea on temperature.

10:Sen K-3,4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

174 wreck. However, this idea is totally untenable. On the other hand
101 there are sufficient grounds to believe that these aborigines came down from the lower region of Burma. On their arrival at the islands, they moved to the different parts of the islands and very likely, because of the different types of physical environment they developed different traits and as such a few groups of the population are discernible. They are the

(a) The Jarawas,
(b) " Onges,
(c) " Andamanese, and
(d) " Sentinelese.

101 All these groups, though physically akin to each other, have deve-
131 loped different social and economic traits and the ways of earning their food and constructing their shelters are conditioned by their immediate environment. These aborigines who had spread over the different parts of the Great Andamans are experiencing a gradual shrinkage in their areas of command because of the gradual expansion of the areas of the new settlers. The Jarawas are to-day confined to the western part of the South and Middle Andaman, the Andamanese, who are extremely limited in number are along the coastal areas, the Onges in the Little Andaman and Rutland Is. and the Sentinelese in the Sentinel islands. The relation of aborigines with the foreign people became one of deep distrust and hostility with some of the groups, especially the Jarawas and the Sentinelese, which has been very rightly explained by M. V. Portman as an outcome of the unfriendly attitude of the foreigners. The Onges and the Andamanese have however become very friendly with the foreigners. The number of the aboriginal population of the Andamans, is undoubtedly a matter of considerable speculation and it is more so in the case of the Jarawas and the Sentinelese whereas, for the Onges and the Andamanese the estimate is fairly correct.

161 The aboriginal population of the Andamans is fast declining in number and there is apprehension that inspite of the best of attempts, the chances of the survival of the aborigines for long ages are extremely limited. Undoubtedly, the aboriginal population of the Andamans is an object of interesting study. Such an interest grows out of its being the only purest negrito group in the world and the modes of their life depict very well the nature of symbiotic relationship existing between
[178] man and environment. Such a primitive economy of hunting and collecting has not changed appreciably inspite of the impact with the foreigners except imbibing some foreign vices.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

The contact of the Onges with the outsiders can only be traced since the efforts of M. V. Portman[1] to establish a friendly relation with these tribes from 1886 onwards. However the earlier contacts with the Chinese and Japanese were possible because these people used to frequent the shores of Little Andaman for collecting the valuable shells and the Onges used to be engaged by them as divers and in reciprocation they were given presents of alcohol and opium. In the initial stage of the attempt for establishing a friendly relation by Portman, the Onges proved themselves hostile which was evidenced from the poor fate of the crews of a ship 'Assam Valley' when it touched the shores of Little Andaman and it was through the great efforts of the punitive expedition led by W. L. Much that the dead bodies of the crews were recovered. Later on, a few Onges, all on a sudden, arrived at Cinque Island and were captured by M. V. Portman. Only 9 of them were detained and the rest 15 were released. These few captured Onges were closely observed and studied in Port Blair by Portman and were ultimately returned back to their native land, Little Andaman. The friendly treatment and the presents that these Onges had received from Portman, paved the path of establishing friendly relations with the Onges much easier and also made the subsequent visits of the foreigners much more welcome. After Portman, a few more contacts were made with the Onges by Prof. Lapicque in March, 1893, during the operations of 1911 and 1921, undertaken by Eicsktedt, a German anthropologist, in 1827, by Dr. B. S. Guha, Ex-Director Anthropological Survey of India in 1948 and by Lidio Cipriani, an Italian anthropologist in the year 1954 and in a few succeeding years. Still the knowledge about the Onges seems to be meagre. 175 177 648

Living exclusively in the Little Andaman and a few of them in the Rutland Island, the Onges live in groups on a septal basis with clear-cut boundaries of hunting group for each group. There is no permanent habitation or village of the Onges in any part of the Little Andaman and their huts are of two types—(a) the permanent type of communal hut called *bera*, and (b) the temporary type of shelter called *korale*. 621 [131] [423] [342] [361]

The abundance of food and water has made the life of the Onges comparatively easy-going. All the groups are headed by a leader and each group is assigned a fixed territory. The community life seems to be extremely democratic in character which entertains and also maintains a perfect individual freedom and only in times of necessity, advice, 621 622

1 Portman, M. V—History of one relations with the Andamanese.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

This speaks very well how in some isolated spots of the islands a 101
remnant of the widespread negrito of the past stand on the verge of 161
imminent decay.

AREAS OF DISTRIBUTION
OF THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION

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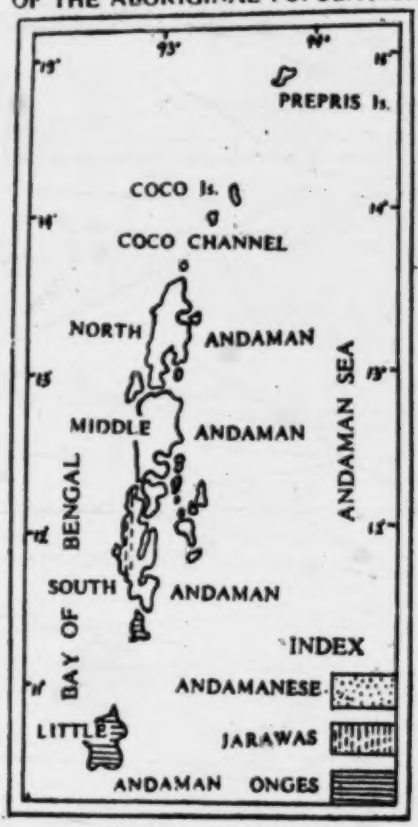

SCALE 1 TO 70 MILES

DEMOGRAPHIC SET UP

A group of aborigines with their pristine culture in these isolated 161
islands are sharing the same fate with many other aboriginal population
of the world, of a considerable decline and impoverishment. It is be-

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Nicobars AZ7

CHAPTER ONE

The People of the Islands

A
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[131]

In the Bay of Bengal, eight hundred miles to the south-east of Calcutta and a hundred and twenty miles from Cape Nigrais in Burma, the two hundred and four islands of the Andaman archipelago stretch out in a line, with a surface area of 6,495 square kilometres. To the south-east, about a hundred miles away, lie the Nicobars, strung out in a much smaller chain covering only 1,645 square kilometres and made up of twenty-one islands, of which only twelve are inhabited.

N
[131]
[133]

The only islands in the Andamans which are permanently occupied are Great Andaman and Little Andaman. The former, three hundred and twenty kilometres long and at no point more than forty kilometres wide, was broken up by geological movement in ancient times into three sections, known as North, South and Middle Andaman. Today these are separated from each other by two narrow straits hardly navigable even by vessels of low tonnage. A much larger passage, the Ten Degree Channel, so called because it is crossed by the 10° north parallel, separates the Andamans from the Nicobars, and incidentally forms a dividing line between ordinarily different worlds, worlds which in the past, as I hope to show, had many characteristics in common.

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The Nicobars are peopled by a very ancient Mongoloid race. There are no foreigners permanently resident apart from a family of Moslem merchants from India with a few employees. There are also the Shom-Pen, a small, wild and semi-nomadic group who have been forced back into the forests of Great Nicobar, where they preserve their ancient somatic and cultural characteristics, showing affinities with a Mongoloid people living far away on the chain of islands off the west coast of Sumatra.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

162 The population of the Andamans, on the other hand, is now almost entirely of recent immigration: there are no Europeans permanently resident, but a large number of colonists of Indian, Burmese or Malayan origin have made their home in the islands. In the Indian census of 1951, the entire stable population of the Andamans and Nicobars was assessed at thirty thousand, 18,962 in the Andamans and 12,069 in the Nicobars, not counting the Shom-Pen. The few aboriginals remaining in the Andamans are anthropologically of extreme importance. Classified among the Negritos, or Asiatic pygmies, they are one of the few surviving groups of pygmies who in the past were widely scattered all over the world. They can be divided into three groups, clearly distinguished one from the other by their mode of life, their present genetic isolation (although they certainly all originated from a common stock) and their attitude towards outsiders:

101 162 131 648

1 The Arioto, the friendly Andamanese, once very numerous along the coast of Great Andaman and now reduced to only twenty-three individuals of pure stock; now almost completely sterile, they are near to extinction. They manage to survive only because of the help given to them by the Indian Government, which has established small camps along the coasts of Middle Andaman.

2 The Jarawas, still implacably hostile to foreigners, living a nomadic existence in South and Middle Andaman. One solitary group occupies a tiny island thirty miles west of South Andaman, surrounded by seas so stormy that they are frequently impassable. This is known as North Sentinel, to distinguish it from South Sentinel, twenty miles to the south and uninhabited. Landing on North Sentinel, as indeed penetrating anywhere on Great Andaman, has hitherto always entailed vicious fighting with the Jarawas, who are determined to repulse any stranger from their last refuge. They are well sheltered by an unbelievably dense forest, which has so far made it impossible to subdue them, though there are today probably no more than two hundred surviving.

3 The Onges, sole inhabitants of Little Andaman, into which they have withdrawn. There are not more than five hundred surviving today, and these are in a state of serious demographic decline. It is probable that before 1952 no one had ever approached their camps in the interior of the island. Until the present day, they

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

have always been protected by the sea, which is almost invariably rough, and by a thick tropical forest which extends without a break over more than a thousand square kilometres, unpenetrated by outsiders and almost impenetrable.

THE ARIOTO

The decline of the Andamanese began with the first landing of foreigners on the island and is similar to that of so many other primitive peoples who have come into contact with civilization; a detailed account of their decline would be long and pitiful. In the case of the Andamanese, however, demographic influences arising thousands of years ago must also be taken into account. Cut off by circumstances into small groups and separated at random by large expanses of sea or by the impenetrable forest, they gradually developed somatic and cultural differences of the greatest scientific interest. Among other things, languages became modified to such an extent that members of different groups are unable to understand one another. The Onges, for example, who in my opinion are the nearest relations of the Jarawas, are quite unable to understand their language.

The peoples of Great Andaman were the first to encounter civilization, when from 1858 onwards the Indian Government, then in English hands, decided to institute at Port Blair a penitentiary for the many political prisoners after the famous 1857 mutiny. Subsequently the government sent over convicts serving long or life sentences. The life of the deportees was atrocious during the first few years, owing to malaria and the absence of medical supplies. To the majority, therefore, deportation to the Andamans meant a death sentence. Even today the only large brick building in the Andamans and Nicobars is the penitentiary at Port Blair.

Before the building of the penitentiary the English had made several desultory expeditions to the Andamans, and even before then other foreigners had landed on the archipelago. It is known that Marco Polo, probably passing within sight of the archipelago in 1292, gave it the name of Angaman, and declared the inhabitants to be ferocious cannibals with dogs' heads. As a result, even the Asian pirates were for centuries afraid to land on the islands. The barbarous forays of Arab slave traders later awoke in the islanders

132, 113 Andamans AZ2

[For a description of climate regions of the Indian sub-continent and its general effects on agriculture and health, see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. 40-62.]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

•132 The climate is warm and moist, and fairly uniform throughout the year. The mean temperature for the year at Port Blair is about 86° F. (80° F. on the wet bulb thermometer). The lowest temperatures are recorded in January and February, and the highest in March, April, or May. The average lowest temperature in the South Andaman over a period of seven years is 66·7° F., the minimum during that period being 63° F. The average highest temperature in the shade for the same period was 96° F., the maximum being 97°. The average diurnal variation is 10°.

The average rainfall of seven stations in the Penal Settlement of Port Blair, for a period of seven years, was 138 inches per annum, the averages of the different stations varying from 104 to 172 inches. For the same period the average number of rainy days in the year was 177, the minimum being 160 and the maximum 196.

The islands are sufficiently far from the Equator to have a single well-defined rainy season. The greater part of the rain falls during the south-west monsoon, which lasts from the middle of May to the middle of November. The north-east monsoon extends over the other six months of the year, which include the dry and hot seasons.

The average weather can be shown most conveniently by means of a calendar.

January. Cool; little or no rain; wind N.N.E.; nights sometimes foggy.

February. Cool; little or no rain; wind N.N.E.; very clear; light airs.

March. Hot by day, cool nights; little or no rain; wind N.N.E.; light airs, occasional haze; the weather gets hotter as the month passes.

April. Very hot; little or no rain; wind variable, off-shore at night and on-shore by day; calm and hazy.

May. The first half of the month like April; the south-west monsoon sets in about the 15th; the remainder of the month cooler and with wind W.S.W.

June. Fairly cool; heavy rains; wind W.S.W., squally.

July.
August. } Do. do. do. do.
September.

October. Variable wind and weather; generally some calm weather; waterspouts may occur.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

November. During the first half of the month the wind and weather are very uncertain; a cyclone may occur; after the middle of the month the north-east monsoon sets in. 132

December. Fairly cool; not much rain; wind N.N.E.

Many of the violent cyclonic storms that sweep across the Sea of Bengal seem to form themselves a little to the south of the Andamans. Cyclones of exceptional violence struck Port Cornwallis in 1844 and Port Blair in 1864 and 1891.

The aborigines of the Andaman Islands have been in their present home for a great many centuries. It is not possible to say with any degree of certainty how or when they first reached the islands. Geological and other evidence would seem to show that the Andamans were united to the mainland along the line of the Arakan Fold in later Tertiary times, but even this is perhaps not quite certain[1]. In any case the period of past land connection seems to be so remote that it had probably ceased to exist at the time when the islands were peopled by the ancestors of the present natives. If the ancestors of the Andamanese reached the islands at the time of a past land connection, they can only have done so from the Arakan region of Burma. On the other hand, if they travelled by sea they must almost certainly have started from the Burmese coast (Pegu or Arakan). The north-east monsoon would drift them thence on to the Andamans. It is conceivable that they might have travelled from Sumatra by way of the Nicobars, but the north-east monsoon would have opposed their progress in this direction, while the south-west monsoon would have driven them to the east of the Andamans[2]. It is hardly possible to imagine them coming from the Malay Peninsula across the wide 174

[1] The flora of the Andamans and Cocos contains a number of species, the presence of which can only be explained by the supposition of a past land connection with the Arakan region. (See Prain, "The Vegetation of the Coco Group," *Journ. Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, Vol. LX, Part II, pp. 283—406.) On the other hand, the paucity of mammalian fauna is such as to lead to the conclusion that the islands were isolated at a period when the mammals now typical of the mainland did not exist there. (See Miller, "Mammals of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands," *Proc. National Museum, U.S.A.* Vol. XXIV.)

[2] There is no evidence of the former existence of Negritos in the Nicobars, but on the other hand, there is equally no direct evidence of their former presence in Lower Burma.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

called *Teriya*. The other division contains all the other winds, and they are collectively denoted by the term *Bilik*. They are distinguished by names, as *Jila Bilik* (the east *Bilik*, from *jila*, east) *Koico Bilik* (the west *Bilik*), *Metepur Bilik*, *Čoliatum Bilik*, *Rartear Bilik*, and *Koičor-ton Bilik*. Here we find the name *Bilik* used not as the name of a single person, but as a common name for a class of beings who are the winds personified. The same use of the term is found also in the *Aka-Kol* tribe. 776 821

Even in the *Akar-Bale* tribe something of the same kind is found. One *Akar-Bale* man said that *Puluga* has two brothers, *Jila Puluga* (East *Puluga*) and *Koaičo Puluga* (West *Puluga*); the one sends all the easterly winds and the other all the westerly ones.

In the Andamans the year is divided into two nearly equal portions. During the season of the south-west monsoon, which lasts from May to September, the wind blows steadily from the south-west. This is the rainy season. Violent storms never or only very rarely occur during the season of the south-west wind. From December to March the wind blows mostly from the N.N.E., occasionally changing to E.N.E. or N.E. In the periods at the change of the monsoon (from N.E. to S.W. in April and May, and from S.W. to N.E. in October and November) the wind is variable, and may blow at times from E.S.E. or W.N.W. 821 132 805

The south-west wind (properly speaking W.S.W.) is identified as we have seen with *Tarai* (*Deria*). Although *Biliku* (*Puluga*) is specially connected with the north-east wind, yet all the winds other than the south-west are commonly supposed to be sent by *Biliku*. Thus we have seen that in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe the different winds are named, each of them (with the exception of the south-west) being a *Bilik*. 776 821 132 805

It comes about, in this way, that the year is divided into two portions, one of which is specially connected with *Biliku* (*Puluga*), while the other is specially connected with *Tarai* (*Deria*). These two seasons are not quite of equal length. The *Tarai* season lasts only while the south-west monsoon is blowing, which, in an average year, is between four and five months. The other seven months are connected with *Biliku* and are divided into three portions, (1) the stormy season of October

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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and November, (2) the cold season of December to February, and (3) the hot season of March and April.

There are many points relating to *Biliku* and *Tarai* about which there is no general agreement amongst the tribes, or, in some cases, even within the same tribe. In the North Andaman *Biliku* is regarded as female, and is called *Mimi Biliku*, while *Tarai* is male and is called *Maia Tarai*. This is so in all the four tribes, *Aka-Čari*, *Aka-Bo*, *Aka-Kọra* and *Aka-J̌eru*. A statement that is frequently made by the natives of these tribes is that *Tarai* and *Biliku* are husband and wife. While this is the most common statement, there are, however, other versions of the matter. In order to show the lack of uniformity in statements about *Biliku* and *Tarai* in the Northern tribes I reproduce a few extracts from my note-books written down exactly as they were given to me.

(1) *Biliku* is the wife of *Tarai* and they have a child named *Perǰido*. (This statement was made to me a great many times in the North Andaman, and may be regarded as the most usual form of the belief.)

(2) *Biliku* is the wife of *Tarai*. Their children are the sun and moon. (Heard only once.)

(3) The husband of *Biliku* is *Perǰido* and her children are *Totaimo*, *Mite* (cicada) and *Tarai*.

(4) *Biliku* is unmarried, but she has a son *Perǰido*, and her other children are *Tọrọi*, *Čelene*, *Čotọt*, and *Čerei*. These four are the names of birds.

(5) *Biliku* is the wife of *Tarai*. Their children are *Tọrọi*, *Taka*, *Čotọt*, *Poruatọko*, *Kelil*, *Cọpcura*, *Benye*, *Biratkoro*, *Čereo*, *Milidu*, *Bobelo*, *Kọlo*. These are all names of birds.

(6) *Biliku* has a husband *Tọrọi* (a bird). *Tarai* has a wife *Kelil* (a bird).

In the *Aka-Kede* tribe the most common statement, at any rate in the northern part of the tribe, is that *Bilika* is female, and that *Tarai* is male. One *Aka-Kede* man, from the southern part of the tribe said that *Bilika* was male.

In the *Aka-Kọl* and *A-Pučikwar* tribes *Bilik* is generally spoken of as being male, and *Teriya* is also male. Other versions from these tribes are as follows:—

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Andaman Islander feels about the fire as being the one thing on which the society most completely depends for its welfare. 182X

The preceding analysis has shown that the legends relating to the origin of animals, whether through the action of fire, or by the flood, serve to express the social value of fire. If this interpretation be correct we have a close parallel to the explanation of the story of the origin of night. In both cases, it has been argued, what the legend really expresses is the way in which a particular phenomenon (fire, in one case, the alternation of day and night in the other) affects the life of the society and the sentiments on which that life depends. The legends of the catastrophe, however, obviously contain another element of importance, revealing as they do a certain way of thinking about the animals. This element has not yet been explained. The representation of the birds, etc., as ancestors is not confined to one particular legend or group of legends, but runs through them all. Its explanation is therefore better postponed until we come to deal with the general features of the mythology, and will then have to be undertaken.

Let us now turn to the legends that concern *Biliku* (*Puluga*) and *Tarai* (*Deria*), which are of capital importance in the Andaman mythology. The clue to the understanding of them lies in the Andamanese notions about the weather and the seasons. In the Andaman Islands the year may be divided into four seasons. There is the cool season lasting from the beginning of December to the middle of February; immediately following this is the hot season from February to the middle of May; then comes the rainy season, from May to the end of September; October and November constitute a short season to themselves. In the cool season the weather is uniformly cool; there is very little rain, and storms are almost unknown; the wind blows uniformly from the N.E. In the hot season there is little or no rain; the wind is generally N.E., but may be variable; summer lightning is frequent, but there are no violent storms except at the very end of the season. During the rainy season, after a short period of uncertain stormy weather with which it begins, the wind blows uniformly from the S.W.; it rains heavily, sometimes every day for weeks together, but

182X 132 776

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

X182 violent storms (cyclones) are very rare. Between the rainy season proper and the cool season there is a period of six
•132 or eight weeks in which the weather is unsettled; the wind is
776 variable; fine weather alternates with storms that are sometimes of terrific violence; waterspouts are frequent; it is at this season that violent cyclonic storms are likely to occur. This season is called by the Andamanese *Kimil* (*Gumul* of *Aka-Bea*). We have seen in the last chapter that the word *kimil* denotes a condition of social danger, or of contact with the power possessed by all things that can affect the life and safety of the society. It is obviously in this sense, and not as meaning "hot," that it is applied to the season in question, for the months of October and November are fairly cool, certainly very much cooler than February and March. We shall find that this is an important point in connection with the *Biliku* myth.

The life of the Andaman Islander is profoundly affected by the alternation of the seasons. There are, first of all, the violent cyclonic storms that occasionally occur. Such a storm may uproot the jungle for miles, making it impassable for years to come, and thus destroying some of the native hunting grounds. The wind is sometimes so violent as to tear every leaf from the trees in its path. While the storm lasts there is danger to the lives of the natives. An old man recounted to me how on the occasion of a violent cyclone he and the others of his village took refuge in the sea and on the open shore from the danger of falling trees, and remained there till the violence of the storm had
[821] abated. The usual name for a cyclone in *Aka-Jeru* is *tokо-por*, i.e. "falling wood" or "falling trees." Even if all the natives escape the danger of death or injury, there is still the extreme fear and discomfort of the experience. If a storm lasts for any length of time the natives, who are unable or afraid to go out hunting, have to do without food until it is over. Incidentally the storm may destroy their huts, canoes, and other property and thus cause loss that has to be made up by toil.

X182 The second important effect of the seasons on the life of the
132 Andamanese is through the food supply. During the cool
221 season, and the succeeding hot season, a number of vegetable foods, including the very important roots and some of the most

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

prized fruits, are available. On the other hand, during these seasons the land animals are in poor condition. In the hot season, at any rate, lizards, snakes and the civet-cat are not eaten. Pigs are breeding and are in such poor condition that often a pig that has been killed is left in the jungle as being not good enough to eat. The hot season is pre-eminently the season of honey, which is so abundant that the natives are able to obtain much more than they can consume. In the rainy season there are few vegetable foods and very little honey, but on the other hand the jungle animals are in good condition and flesh food is abundant; fish are more plentiful in this season than during the dry weather. In the *Kimil* season (October and November) the natives add to their food supply two varieties of grub (the larvæ of the cicada and of a beetle) which are regarded as great delicacies. Roughly we can say that the rainy season is the season of flesh food, the *Kimil* season is the season of grubs, the cool season is the season of fruits and roots, and the hot season is the season of honey.

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By reference to the prevailing wind the year may be divided into two parts, the N.E. monsoon from November to May, and the S.W. monsoon from May to November.

I propose to show that the Andaman Islanders express the social value of the phenomena of the weather and the seasons, i.e., the way these phenomena affect the social life and the social sentiments, by means of legends and beliefs relating to the two mythical beings whom they call *Biliku* and *Tarai*. Using the word personification in a sense to be defined later in the chapter, we may say that the Andamanese personify the weather and the seasons in the persons of *Biliku* and *Tarai*. *Biliku* is associated with the N.E. monsoon; she lives in the N.E.; the wind from that quarter is called "the *Biliku* wind"; to *Biliku*, therefore, belong the cool and the hot seasons, these being the seasons of the N.E. monsoon. *Tarai* is associated with the S.W. monsoon; he lives in the S.W.; the wind from that quarter is called "the *Tarai* wind," or, in *Aka-Bea*, simply *Deria*; to *Tarai* therefore belongs the rainy season. It is possible to show that the Andaman Islanders associate with these two beings all the phenomena of the weather and the seasons, and are able to

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2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

131 siderable distance eastward of Great Andaman, but connected with the group, are two small uninhabited islands known as Narcondam and Barren Island, both of which contain volcanoes, though the latter only is active at the present day. To the south, and about midway between Great Andaman and the northernmost point of the Nicobar group, lies Little Andaman, consisting of a single island about 27 miles in length, and varying in breadth from 10 to 16 miles; there are also a few small islets near its coast.

None of the islands exceed 20 miles in breadth, and the area of the entire group is estimated at about 2,508 square miles, four-fifths of which are comprised in Great Andaman.

133 Nearly all the high land occurs in the vicinity of the east coast, shelving gradually towards the west, where few, and those but minor, elevations are to be found. The principal hills are: Saddle Peak[1] (2,400 feet) in North Andaman, overlooking Port Cornwallis; Ford's Peak (1,400 feet) on Rutland Island; and Mount Harriet (1,100 feet) in South Andaman, commanding the harbour of Port Blair.

132 The climate of the Andamans much resembles that of Lower Burmah, and the temperature throughout the year is very uniform; the variation in the shade during the dry season is about 22°, and averages 17° during the remainder of the year; the extreme variation throughout the twelve months may be estimated at 26°, viz., between 70° and 96°. The cool season sets in during the last weeks of December and early part of January, and the hot season lasts through the months of March and April. The S.W. monsoon commences in the latter part of April or early in May, and usually terminates about the end of October, but on the change in the direction of the wind to N.E. heavy showers frequently occur for several weeks, and even, though at rare intervals, in January and February. The average number of wet days in the year is 182, and the rainfall 116 inches; the dry season is usually characterised during the first two months by strong winds from N.E., which cause sickness and prove equally prejudicial to vegetation. Although it has been ascertained that many of the most severe cyclones which have occurred in the Bay of Bengal during the past twenty-five years have had their origin in the immediate vicinity of the Andamans, only one is recorded (viz., in 1864) as having visited the islands themselves; in the same period there have been a few earthquakes, the first of which mention is made took place in August, 1868, and the next in February, 1880, from which time several slight shocks were felt until, in December (31st), 1881, another severe earthquake visited the group, the effects of which were

[1] The only ascent on record of Saddle Peak was made in February, 1882, by Major M. Protheroe, C.S.I., and other officers of Port Blair.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

experienced on both the Indian and Burman coasts; another, though slighter, shock was felt on February 27th, 1882.[1] 132

Among the many noteworthy features of these islands are the numerous harbours in which, especially on the east coast, safe anchorage can be obtained at all seasons of the year; the most important and best known of these harbours are: Port Blair in South Andaman, and Port Cornwallis[2] in North Andaman; of both it has been said they may be classed among the finest harbours of the world, affording ample accommodation as well as shelter to even "half the British navy," in addition to which, from their central position in the Bay of Bengal, they present great advantages to vessels in need of refitting, and also as ports of refuge. 133

The water[3] in the harbour of Port Blair has been found to be remarkable for its high density, as is evidenced by the rapid oxidation of iron immersed in it; its extreme clearness has also attracted the notice of many, who have viewed through its pellucid depths the wonderful coral beds which abound in certain parts of the coast. The marvellous variety of the colouring to be found among these corals must be seen to be appreciated, but some idea of their wondrous beauty may be formed from the following extract:—"As we steamed along, visions of the splendours of the submarine world broke upon our view; . . . I feel quite unable to attempt the task of describing, much less conveying an adequate idea of the exquisite assortment of colour, of the varied forms of life which were included in every square yard of these tropical coral reefs. The most gorgeous combination of vegetable and animal life afford but a poor subaërial representation of these submarine gardens."[4] But to return.

[1] On the occasion of the disastrous earthquake in the Straits of Sunda (August 26th, 1883), a report as of a distant signal gun was heard at Port Blair at about 8 P.M. of that day, followed by several similar reports at irregular intervals during the next two days. It was thought at the time that a vessel was wrecked off the coast, and the station steamer was sent out to render assistance; at 7 A.M. on Monday (27th) the sea rose and receded thrice in the course of a few minutes.

[2] This was the harbour selected in 1824 as the rendezvous of the fleet conveying the expedition under Sir Archibald Campbell to Rangoon during the first Burmese war.

[3] The supply of water from the tanks and wells in the Settlement is pronounced on medical authority to be both good and plentiful, and no diseases have ever yet been traced to the use of these waters.

[4] *Vide* "Jungle Life in India," pp. 359-360, by V. Ball, Esq., F.R.S. The vivid description by the same writer of a coral reef at the Nicobars (*vide* p. 202) is so applicable also to those at the Andamans, that I feel the reader will thank me for appending it in this place:—"There are corals which in their living state are of many shades of fawn, buff, pink, and blue, while some are tipped with a majenta-like bloom. Sponges which looked as hard as stone, spread over wide areas, while sprays of coralline added their graceful forms to the picture. Through the vistas so formed, golden-banded and metallic-blue fish meandered, while on the patches of sand here and there the *holothurias* and various mollusca and crustaceans might be seen slowly crawling."

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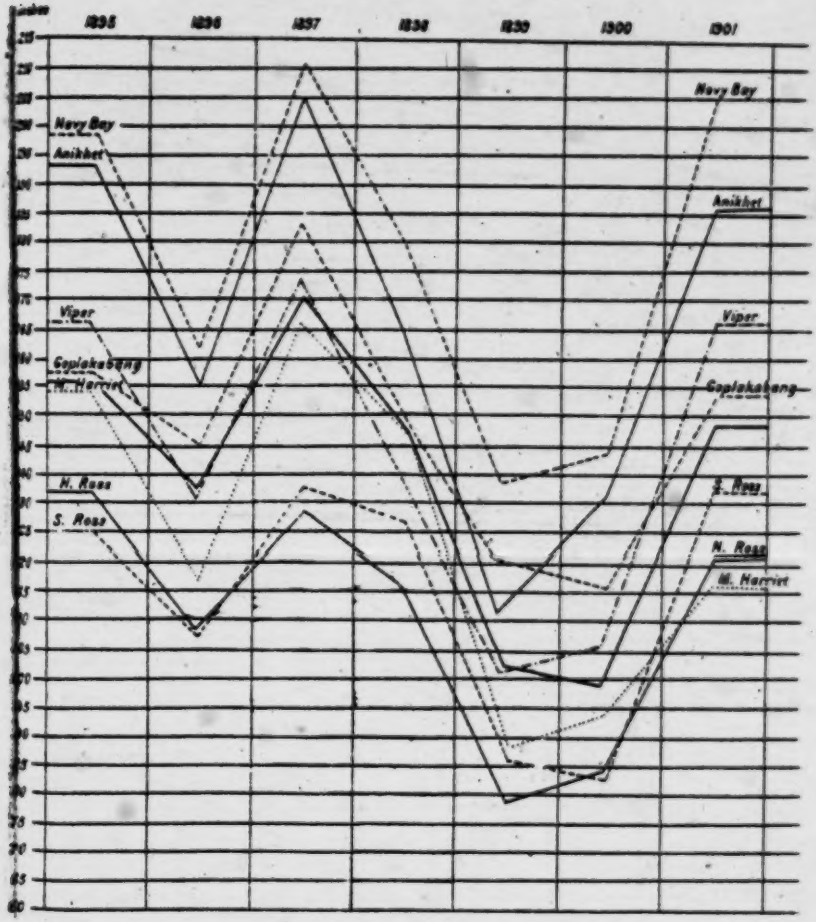
DIAGRAM SHOWING RELATIVE AND ANNUAL RAINFALL OF PLACES CLOSE TOGETHER ABOUT PORT BLAIR HARBOUR FOR SEVEN YEARS.



Broad line — Mean of all Stations.

Central Station (Official) South Ross from which—

North Ross is distant directly			¼	Mile	North	Height	150 ft.
Mount Harriet	,,	,,	3¾	,,	North West	,,	1,200 ft.
Goplakabang	,,	,,	7¾	,,	North West	,,	sea level.
Viper	,,	,,	5	,,	West South West	,,	150 ft.
Anikhet	,,	,,	5¾		West North West	,,	100 ft.
Navy Bay	,,	,,	2¾		South West West	,,	200 ft.

[Facing p. 38]

000 area of sea and land. It is therefore not sufficient for accurate warnings and forecasts to have meteorological stations round the Bay; they must be also established if practicable within it. The Andaman and Nicobar Islands can provide a number of such stations right across the Bay from north to south.

The magnitude of the interests requiring accurate storm warnings can be gauged thus. In Bengal *excluding Madras and Burma*, about 4,400 vessels of a combined burthen of about 3½ million carrying tons, conveying 300,000 passengers and cargoes to the value of upwards of R11½ crores annually, leave and enter the Bengal ports in the coasting trade alone. The ever increasing size of the vessels carrying the trade implies an ever increasing number of passengers and size of cargoes in each bottom and a corresponding increasing value of each individual ship and increasing importance in saving it from loss or damage. So also the magnitude of the interests requiring accurate weather forecasts is very great. Of industries directly depending on the rainfall in the Bay of Bengal:—jute exported from Bengal, raw and manufactured, has an average annual value of about R14¾ crores and the plant is grown on nearly 2 million acres; rice, as a staple food crop, in Bengal alone has an annual outturn of 20 million tons raised on between 30 and 40 million acres; tea has an average annual export in Bengal of about 7¼ crores, and indigo of about three crores. Again the purchasing power of the native of Bengal depends on the state of the rice crop and hence the rate of piece-goods there depends so much on the rainfall that merchants closely watch it: this trade represents an average annual value of about 14 crores.

The great importance to commerce therefore of weather forecasts has brought about repeated attempts to connect the Andaman Islands with the continent by telegraphs, as otherwise the meteorological observations have merely a scientific value, being received in India too late for practical purposes. In 1867 a serious attempt at a cable to Port Blair failed owing to initial and maintenance costs involved and also the hilly nature of the sea-bottom about the islands. Since 1900 the question has been reopened with a view to establishing a connection with the islands by wireless telegraphy.

●132 **Climate.**—Speaking generally, the climate of the islands may be described as normal for tropical islands of similar latitude. Warm always, but tempered by pleasant sea breezes: very hot when the sun is northing: irregular rainfall but usually dry during the north-east monsoon and very wet during the south-west: exposed to both monsoons and subject to violent weather with excessive rainfall, but to cyclones rarely, though within the influence of practically every cyclone that blows in the Bay of Bengal, hence the value of the islands from a meteorological point of view. Cyclones have been recorded in every month except February and heavy rain has fallen throughout the year, but cyclones are unusual except from May to November, the early part of November being the most likely season for them, and much rain is not usual from December to May.

Cyclonic Storms.—Accounts and records show that cyclonic storms struck Port Cornwallis in December 1792, the Archipelago in November 1844, and Port Blair in 1864 and November 1891. There are also abundant signs of a destructive storm between Stewart Sound and Port Cornwallis in 1893. The great storms of 1891 and 1893 travelled across the islands in a north-westerly direction creating havoc on both East and West Coasts. There is a full and valuable record of the disastrous storm of 1891 (*Cyclone Memoirs*, No. V., Government of India, 1893).

Rainfall.—The rainfall varies much from year to year and to an extraordinary extent at places quite near to each other. The official meteorological station is situate in by far the dryest spot in Port Blair. The official statistics as to rainfall for the past seven years are:—

1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.
125·64	107·28	136·41	127·22	87·01	83·28	132·59

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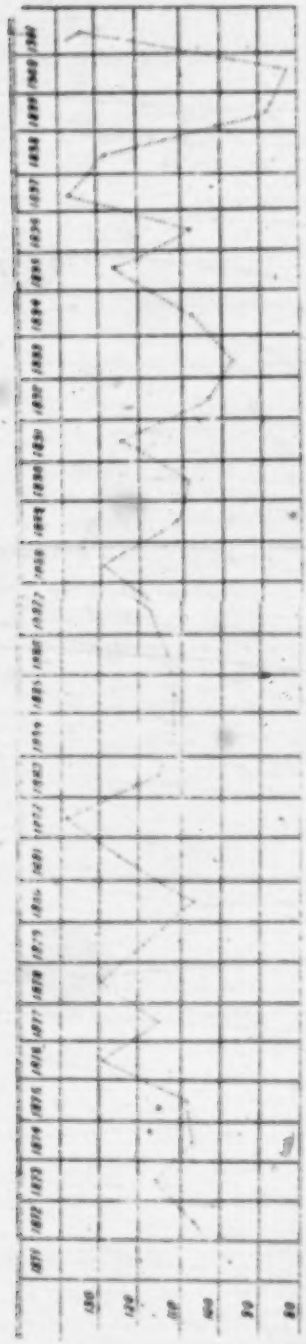

RAINFALL IN INCHES FOR 30 YEARS.

1871 – 1901.

1871	97.95
1872	106.55
1873	115.68
1874	106.46
1875	108.49
1876	129.97
1877	114.82
1878	128.88
1879	119.71
1880	107.46
1881	125.55
1882	137.67
1883	115.00
1884	112.75
1885	111.32
1886	112.60
1887	116.76
1888	128.27
1889	110.35
1890	100.97
1891	124.11
1892	102.25
1893	96.51
1894	117.73
1895	125.64
1896	107.28
1897	106.41
1898	127.22
1899	89.01
1900	83.28
1901	132.63

[Facing p. 39]

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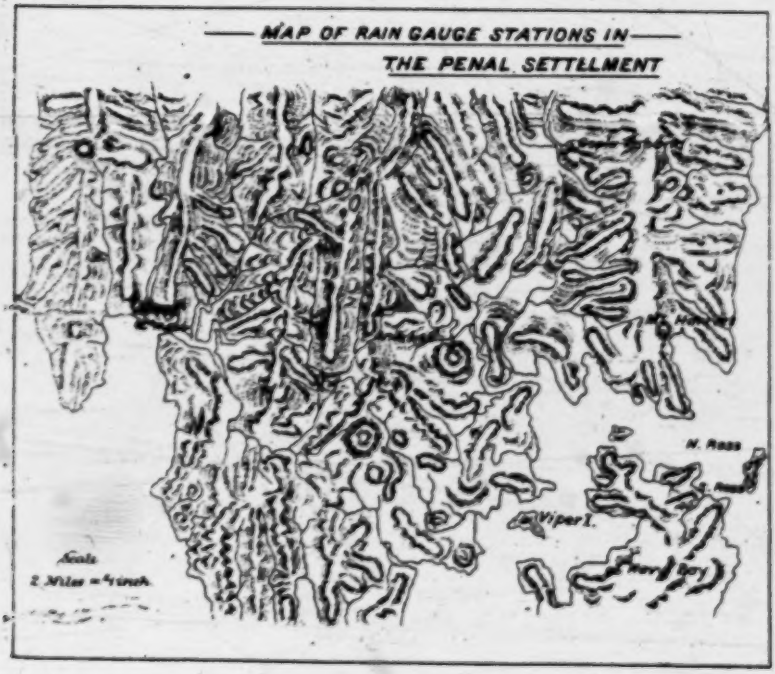
There are, however, altogether seven rain gauges maintained at Port Blair within an area of 80 square miles with these results :—

	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.
North Ross . .	133·34	109·73	123·52	110·49	79·03	83·50	121·37
South Ross . .	115·64	107·98	130·41	137·21	87·01	83·23	142·59
Anikhet . . .	194·97	155·19	205·13	165·08	112·35	132·69	187·38
Goplakabang . .	158·08	145·10	184·92	151·70	122·88	115·45	152·16
Mount Harriett . .	154·68	117·08	168·42	149·14	88·94	92·40	115·89
Navy Bay . .	199·17	161·11	212·75	179·73	130·73	144·18	205·54
Viper . . .	168·95	131·50	169·14	140·80	102·57	106·08	169·47
Mean of all stations .	156·37	122·42	171·98	147·05	104·40	108·43	149·06



132 **Weather.**—Calm weather can be counted on in February to April and in October. Fogs and chilly night winds are common in January to March in the valleys and inner harbour and also after excessive rain. Off shore breezes at night and on shore breezes in the day are most marked during the calm weather, due to the difference in temperature of sea and land. March and April are often hazy. Magnetic variation in the Andaman sea in 1904, 0° 40′ East, decreasing annually 2′. The normal barometric readings vary between 29·873 and 29·722, being highest in February and lowest in June.

General Statistics.—General meteorological statistics for Port Blair for the last seven years are :—

	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.
Temperature.							
Mean highest in shade	April 90·1	April 94·7	April 94·0	April 98·3	Mar. 91·8	April 94·1	April 95·1
Mean lowest in shade	Feby. 70·9	Feby. 71·7	Jany. 72·3	Jany. 70·3	Feby. 71·2	Dec. 72·9	Dec. 71·9
Highest in shade	April 95·2	May 96·9	April 96·8	April 93·8	April 95·8	April 97·0	April 97·1
Lowest in shade	Feby. 66·4	Feby. 66·0	Jany. 67·8	Mar. 63·2	Jany. 67·0	Jany. 66·0	Dec. 67·7
Dry bulb mean	84·6	85·5	85·2	84·5	84·9	90·6	91·7
Wet bulb mean	78·9	79·4	79·7	78·4	78·6	82·5	83·0
Rainfall.							
Most wet days in a month	Aug. 23	Aug. 31	July 28	July 26	Sept. 27	June 27	Aug. 23
Heaviest fall in a month	June 26·29	May 27·55	July 20·97	May 40·33	Sept. 24·86	Sept. 13·44	May 29·81
Months without rain	Jany. Feby.	Feby. Mar.	January.	Feby. Mar.	Nil.	February	Nil.
Total wet days	183	178	196	166	177	162	158
Wind.							
N. N. E.	Jany., Feby., Mar., Dec.	Jany. Feby. Mar., Nov., Dec.	Jany., Feby., Dec.	Feby., Dec.	Feby., Nov., Dec.	Jany., Mar., Nov., Dec.	Jany. Feby.
E. S. E.	April, Oct., Nov.	—	Mar., April Nov.	—	April, Oct.	—	—
W. S. W.	May, June. July, Aug., Sept.	June, July. Aug., Sept.	May, June. July, Aug. Sept. Oct.	May, June. July, Aug., Sept.	May, June. July, Aug., Sept.	May, June July Aug., Sept.	May, July. Aug., Sept. Oct.
W. N. W.	—	April, May. Oct.	—	—	—	April	June.
E. N. E.	—	—	—	Jany., Mar., April	March.	—	—
S. S. E.	—	—	—	Oct., Nov.	—	October	April, Nov.
N. E.	—	—	—	—	January	February	Mar., Dec.
Clouds.							
Clouds are usually	F. K. & C. F. K. & P. C.*	C. & K.—P. K. & P. C.*	P. K. & P. C.*	Cu. N. Aen. Ci.*	Cu. N. Aen. Ci.*	Cu. Aen. N. Ci.*	Cu. Aen. N. Ci.*

* F. K = Fallio-Cumulus : C & Ci = Cirrus : P. C. = Fallio-Cirrus : K. = Cumulus : Cu. N. = Cumulo-Nimbus : Aen. = Alto-Cumulus.

Tide.—The tidal observatory with self-registering gauge on Ross Island, established in 1880, is in latitude 11° 41′ N., longitude 22° 45′ E. The Port Blair tide tables are printed by authority from local data. The heights are referred to the Indian spring low-water mark, which for Port Blair is 3·53 feet below mean sea level. The mean range of greatest ordinary springs is 6·6 feet. The highest high-water and the lowest low-water are 8·0 feet above and 0·8 feet below the datum above mentioned. The apparent time of high-water at the full and change of the moon is 9h. 36m. At various points of the great harbour of Port Blair the actual times for the tide depend on wind, strength of current, and distance from the open sea. The average variation in time of high tides at the several important points is from 18m. to 57m. later than Ross and in height it is from 20 inches less to 17 inches more than Ross. Wind and current will at these points affect time by as much as 29m. either way, and height by as much as 8 inches either way.

III. Geology.

135 133 **General Geology.**—There has been no geological survey of the Andamans, but expeditions by experts have been officially undertaken to make preliminary examinations of the islands. These examinations have been carried on under practical difficulties of every kind, not the least being the dense and lofty forests with which the entire islands are covered. Judging by the reports of such

10:Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

161 Of the two main groups of aborigines, the Great Andaman Group and
177 the Little Andaman Group, the former being the most widespread and
182 numerous in the Great Andamans has become completely non-existent depicting the example of the decay within an extremely short time, especially since the impact of the foreign people. The fate of the later group is also quite shattering—the Jarawas have experienced both numerical decay and territorial shrinkage and the Onges are the only tribes who live exclusively in the Little Andaman but they have been also facing the signs of decay.

133 A glance at the map of the Andaman islands and adjacent countries shows the continuity of these islands with the Arakan Yoma of Burma in the north and with the Indonesian islands in the south. The islands of both the Andaman and Nicobar groups are primarily of sedimentary formations of the Eocene period with occasional igneous intrusions. Later formations of coral are also quite widespread. The surface topography of the regions is typically flat-topped being typical of the sandstone regions and the peaks are in most cases formed of igneous intrusions. The islands are comprised of a number of longitudinal ranges running from the north to the south and in between the ranges short streams flow. The heights of the hills are generally 1000′ and never exceed 2500′.

132 The islands experience a high annual temperature and the yearly rainfall is as high as 130 inches in Port Blair and the amount decreases as one moves to the north and the east. The ameliorating influence of the sea is quite appreciable.

131 With an area of 2508 square miles and the number of islands being as many as 204, only 4 main islands, North Andaman (490.20 sq miles), Middle Andaman (561.00 sq miles), South Andaman (359.51 sq miles) and Little Andaman (289.90 sq miles) have an area of more than 100 sq miles and the rest are sufficiently small in size either to command human settlement or economic activity.

101 The economy of the tribal people is of the primitive form of hunting and collecting though the precise modes of living vary to some extent depending upon the nature of environment under which they have to live. The knowledge of distribution and of actual number of these aborigines is far from accurate. The Andamanese were the most widespread in all parts of the Great Andamans and in the South Andaman they (Aka bea) had to remain vigilant against the possible attacks and territorial expansion of the Jarawas. The Andamanese, as said earlier, have completely died out. The Jarawas, though have dwindled to a negligible number,

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

 133

Bay, Kalara Bay, Congo Bay etc. in the North Andaman and Betapur river valley and Bomlungta river valley in the Middle Andaman.

Hydrography.

The study of the hydrography of a region includes petamology (study of rivers), limnology (lakes), cryology (snow) and geohydrology (underground water). The study of limnology and cryology of this region can be completely omitted because there is a complete absence of both lakes as well as snows or glaciers. Of the rest the geo-hydrology of the Andamans is little known because no research work regarding this aspect has been conducted.

The petmology or the study of rivers is the most important object of hydrology. The rivers are very short, non-perennial as well as torrential in character. They can better be called as streams because of their seasonal drying up and short length. The Andamans enjoy quite heavy rainfall of about 130", but because of the seasonal fall, the water-level [132] of the streams fluctuates very greatly and in the dry season most of the rivers either do not have any water or have only a trickle of water. Little water in the river valleys may also be partially due to the pervious [134] nature of the soil which does not help the water-table of the region to be sufficiently high. The greater as well as continuous rainfall throughout the year in the South Andaman keep the rivers almost perennial. [132]

The Middle Andaman has only a few little rivers and they are Betapur and Bamlangta rivers. Both of them rise from the hill ranges of the continuation of Mt. Harriet Range in Middle Andaman and flow through the longitudinal valleys, and are interrupted by a great number of spurs from both the eastern and the western hill ranges. The Betapur river rises in the north of Middle Andaman and flows towards the south with a number of tributaries from both the ranges on both the sides. Almost the whole of the northeast Middle Andaman is drained by the Betapur river and its tributaries. According to Mr. Sethi, the country from the place where the Picha Nala meets the Betapur stream, though interrupted by small hills, is almost level for 7 or 8 miles.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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CHAPTER IV

CLIMATE OF THE ANDAMANS

132 The situation of the Andamans between 10°30′ and 13°30′ north latitudes and 92°15′ and 93°10′ east longitudes makes the climate of these islands of the tropical type which closely approximates to the Equatorial one in the south. The islands are frequently disturbed by tropical storms and cyclones in specific months. The insular position of the islands in the Bay of Bengal in between two countries in the east and west, situation in the tropical zone, location in the path of travelling tropical storms and cyclones in specific months, influence of the tropical maritime air masses in the south and the air masses of the subcontinent of India and other countries of Asia in the north, considerable northsouth extension but appreciably small eastwest extension, broken coastline and peculiar shape, and the dominant functional controls of the northeast and southwest monsoons in the specific months of the year have all combined together to give a distinct feature of the climate of the Andamans. The influence of all these factors, in giving a characteristic impress over the islands, must be understood before we consider the general conditions of climate and the division of the islands into different such regimes and the influence of climate on agriculture.

THE DIFFERENT CLIMATIC CONTROLS.

Insular Position and Shape.

131 The insularity of the islands is obvious because of their presence in the base of the funnel of the Bay of Bengal. The funnel is enclosed
132 in the west and east by the east coast of the Indian mainland and the west coasts of Burma and Malay, and both these coastlines taper in the north in the deltaic region of Bengal. In the south the whole sea opens out and extends upto the Antartica. The islands, being 192 miles long and 32 miles wide, when maximum, with a number of bays and creeks penetrating deep into the interior of the islands make no spot on the Andamans more than 10 miles from the sea. This has helped the development of the maritime conditions of the islands at its maximum and has therefore, led to a great moderating influence of sea on temperature.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Control of the Air-Masses All Around The Islands.

In the south of the islands is the presence of the tropical maritime air mass (mfu) of the convergent type which is characteristic of equatorial regions over continents and oceans. This type of air mass is highly charged with humidity and it produces abundant cumulonimbus clouds and consequently causes heavy showers, "even in the absence of strong trigger action. Then while neutral mfu air usually requires strong trigger action to produce heavy showers, convergent mfu air provides an environment in which strong convection is eastly induced."[1]

The trigger action for the movement of the air masses and consequent release of its energy in the form of rainfall is provided by the land mass in the north i.e. India as well as the whole of Asia. The conditions in July are highly favourable for the growth of a centre of low pressure in the northeast and a secondary one over the northwest India because of its continental character and simultaneously with it has developed a centre of high pressure over the Indian ocean south of the 30°N latitude. Such a development of the pressure gradients necessarily initiates the energy for the movement of the heavy air masses over the Indian ocean towards the northwest and after crossing the equator towards the northeast. This is what is known as the southwest monsoon which because of its passage towards higher latitudes (with a gradual decrease in temperature) accelerates the tremendous release of the energy of the air masses and causes a very heavy rainfall. The Andamans facing the full force of the southwest monsoon experiences heavy rainfall during this season and during this period the maximum rainfall occurs in the islands.

In the cold-season, with the beginning of January, the conditions are reversed. The former seats of low pressure are replaced by high pressure and the comparatively heavier air masses move towards the south (in general sense). The winds from the Indian mainland as well as China blows towards the south and a major stream in the Bay of Bengal. Here again the islands experience rainfall of the northeast monsoon which is comparatively lower in amount.

Location of the Islands in the Path of the Travelling Tropical Storms and Cyclones.

The tropical cyclones originate in low latitudes within or along the margins of the equatorial calms. Generally the tropical cyclones do not

1. Trewartha, G. T.—An introduction to climate, Methuen, London.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

132 originate within areas of prevailing steady or strong winds. It has been investigated by S. C. Roy and A. K. Roy[1] that the cyclones are predominant over Bay of Bengal during the transition period. "In the beginning of the hot weather in India in April. a slow current of the southwesterly winds of local original sets in the north of the Bay of Bengal. The winds become irregular in the southern parts of the Bay. But northerly and northwesterly winds of land-origin still prevail on the Arabian Sea. By May the southwesterly winds of local origin dominate the whole of the Bay and set in also over the west of the Arabian sea. During this transition period oceanic air of great depth occasionally penetrate into the south of the Indian seas. The overrunning of the local southwest winds by the oceanic winds or the encounter of the northwest land winds with the oceanic winds result in the formation of cyclones."

Andamans not only experience the tropical cyclones during the transition period but also a number of typhoons. which originate in the China seas; their remnants, after travelling across south China and Burma or across Indo-China and Siam, intensify again into storms in the Bay of Bengal. Hence the full force of these storms are experienced in the islands.

TABLE I

Frequency of Cyclones

	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
Bay of Bengal	2	0	1	8	18	9	3	3	5	27	16	8

TABLE II

Percentage frequency of severe cyclones

	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
Bay of Bengal	0	0	2	8	18	5	3	2	8	22	24	8

GENERAL CLIMATIC CONDITIONS

The islands have very little annual variation, being 3° to 5°F for mean temperature and 4° to 7°F for mean maximum temperature. The annual mean maximum temperature varies from 85° to 87°F, and mean minimum from 75° to 77°F and mean temperature from 79° to 82°F. The relative humidity is also very high and the average is 80%.

1 Roy, S. C. & Roy, A. K. Structure and Movement of Cyclones in the Indian seas.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The high temperature coupled with the high relative humidity gives rise to a high sensible temperature. The weather is always warm and very sultry but is tempered to some extent by the pleasant sea breezes. 132

There is no rainless month in the South Andaman and the rain is received both from the southwest and northeast monsoons. As one goes towards the north of the islands the amount of rainfall decreases. During the southwest monsoon rain continues for days together.

During the transition period there are frequent cyclonic disturbances in the islands and some of them are so violent that they create havoc to navigation as well as settlement.

The diurnal variation in temperature is not at all great and the sky is at any moment overcast with clouds which may cause rainfall from a few minutes to a few hours.

TABLE III

Temperature conditions in (°F)

	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
Port Blair (11° 40' N & 92° 43' E)												
Mean Maximum	84·2	85·5	87·5	89·1	86·7	84·3	83·8	83·4	83·1	83·9	83·9	83·6
Mean Minimum	71·6	70·5	71·5	74·7	75·6	75·0	75 1	74·7	73·8	73·8	73·5	72·9
Long Island												
Mean Maximum	85·7	79·2	83·3	84·8	84·2	82·8	81·4	81·0	80·1	83·0	82·2	81·8
Mean Minimum	72·7	74·6	77·1	78·1	79·8	79·8	78·6	78·6	78·0	78·8	76·9	76·9
Mayabunder												
Mean Maximum	83·6	79·5	83·1	85·1	83·9	82·5	81·4	80·7	80·1	82·1	82·4	80·9
Mean Maximum	71·6	74·9	77·6	79·2	79·5	79·4	77·9	77·9	77·18	75·9	7·5	75·5

April is the warmest month of the year. The lowest mean temperature, however, does not occur in a particular month in all the parts. There is a tendency for this to take place in February in the northern half of the islands and during October and November in the southern half. The highest and lowest temperature ever recorded in the islands are 97°F and 62°F respectively. Even though the islands have a latitudinal extension of 3°, the change of temperature from north to south is not marked. Due to the heavy clouds over Port Blair, temperature is appreciably reduced.

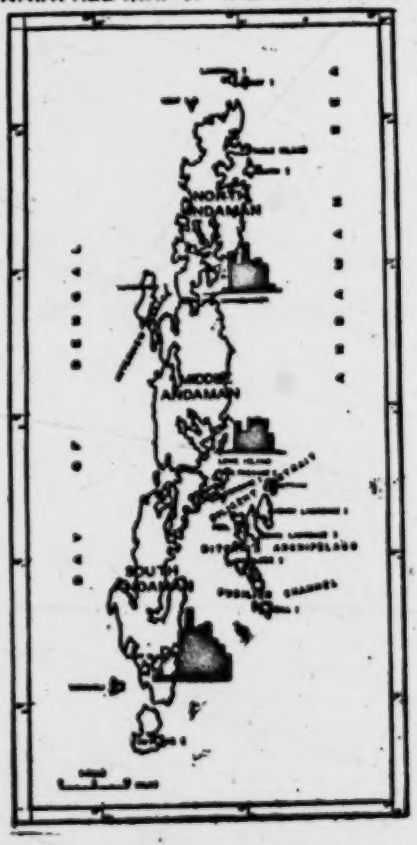
10:Sen K-3,4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Rainfall Conditions

132 The islands experience fairly good rainfall, as already said, from both the southwest and northeast monsoons. The southwest monsoon brings the maximum amount of rainfall. The regional distribution of the rainfall is very uneven. The Table Island situated in the northeast part of the islands has an annual average of 76". Long Island off the east coast of the Middle Andaman 55.95", Mayabunder 69.12" and Port Blair in the South Andaman 123". Broadly speaking, the amount of rainfall decreases as one goes towards the north as well as to the northeast. The southwest region experiences the maximum amount

[102]

RAINFALL MAP OF THE ANDAMANS



10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

of rainfall because it comes first under the impact of the southwest monsoon. As the old observatories at Port Blair and Nancowrie are located on the leeward side it is probable that at stations on the windward side in these areas the rainfall is heavier (probably more than 140"). This greater amount of rainfall helps the development of a denser tropical vegetation in the western coast.

The southwest monsoon burst over the South Andaman by about 20th May (15th June at Calcutta) accompanied by thunder and rain. In May the number of rainy days is 16, in June 21, in July 26 and in August almost on all days. But the amount of rainfall is not maximum in August (16.29") which is so in the month of June.

The two periods of maximum precipitation are

(a) May and June, and

(b) September and October.

which correspond to the beginning and the end of the southwest monsoon.

The rainfall of the northeast monsoon begins from the month of October.

January and February are almost rainless months in the northern stations. Port Blair experiences rainfall almost throughout the whole year but the fluctuations of seasonal rainfall are quite large (1.11" in February and 21.75" in June). The highest annual rainfall recorded during the last 60 years is 150" and the lowest is 84".

TABLE IV

Rainfall in inches

	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
Port Blair	1·79	1·11	1·12	2·36	15·13	21·75	15·43	16·29	17·40	12·51	10·52	7·92
Long Island	0	0	0·11	0·48	9·65	6·62	10·62	10·68	10·30	6·00	0·87	0·62
Maya-bunder	0	0	0·19	1·20	12·10	8·38	15·43	9·94	10·00	8·81	2·03	0·92

Table Island—Data not available.

Humidity

It is high throughout the year being highest during the southwest monsoon when the average is as much as 90% and on individual days the atmosphere may be saturated. The lowest humidity occurs during December to February when it varies from 72 to 75%. The annual variation is about 15%. The humidity in the south is more than in the north.

10:Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

132 Clouding in all the months is more than 13th of the sky and is maximum in the monsoon months being about 8 to 9/10ths. On 2 out of 3 days, sky is overcast in these months.

Wind

The islands are generally windy, particularly Table Island and Port Blair where in July the average wind speed is 15 m.p.h.

TABLE V

Mean daily wind speed in m.p.h.

	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
Port Blair	8·8	7·1	5·9	8·6	13·7	15·9	13·4	10·4	7·6	8·4	9·1	9·5
Table Island	6·9	6·1	5·7	6·0	10·4	15·0	16·2	12·2	7·6	7·1	8·0	9·0

During November to February, winds are mainly from the north and east and during southwest monsoon months from west and southwest. The months of March and April are transition months.

Thunder

The islands experience thunders in about 45 days out of a year. From March to October, each month experiences more than 3 thunders. The most thundery months are April, May and June with not less than 8 thunders a day.

THE CLIMATIC SEASONS

As already said, the temperature of the Andamans is more or less uniform throughout the year but the rainfall fluctuates with the change of season. In spite of the equable nature of the climate, a few climatic seasons are experienced in the islands because of the mechanism of the two monsoons in two specific periods, passage of cyclone during the transition time etc.

(1) Cool season — From December to February
(2) Hot season — From March to Mid-May
(3) Southwest monsoon season — From Mid. May to Mid. October.
(4) Post southwest monsoon season — From Mid. October to November.

Cool Season

This season has a mean maximum temperature of about 83° to 87°F and a mean minimum temperature of 71° to 78°F. The temperature is not at all low as compared to the maximum one. A temperature below 60°F has never been recorded in Port Blair.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Port Blair records 8" rainfall in December. 1" to 2" in January and February. In the stations of the north these months are almost rainless. However some very heavy falls, 11.6" in a day in December, 8.2" in January and 5.2" in February have been recorded. Some severe storms are experienced in this season which are formed in the neighbourhood of the Nicobars, usually to the northwest. Occasionally some storms formed in the southwest part of the Bay proceed northwest and north and finally recurve into the northeast and affect the Andamans. More than 70% of the winds in this season blow from the north, northeast and east. As one goes towards the south pressure decreases but the pressure gradient is low. 132

Hot Season.

April is the hottest month with a mean maximum temperature of 89° to 90°F and a mean minimum temperature of 75° to 80°F. Even during the hottest spells the temperature does not exceed 97°F. Generally little amount of rain occurs in March and it increases in April and very much in May. Rainfall in April and May are of thundery type usually occuring in the afternoon and the evening. On an average 8 thunderstorms are experienced during April and May. The number of tropical storms also increases from March to May. Many of the storms in April and in the later part of the month originate in the neighbourhood of the Andamans, usually to the southwest of them. The storms generally move towards the north and the northwest and recurve later. Some storms which from during the first fortnight of May originate in the Andaman Sea and move either northwest or northeast causing heavy rainfall.

The winds, in the month of March, generally blow from the northeast, northwest and east directions and there are considerable number of calm days (wind speed 5.9 m.p.h.). In April the wind directions are more or less the same but with the gradual change of the pressure system more wind is found to move from the southwest and west and in May the predominant winds are from the west and southwest. The wind speed is high (8.6 m.p.h.) These features indicate the beginning of the southwest monsoon.

The Southwest Monsoon Season.

The monsoon breaks out over the islands by about the 20th May accompanied by thunder and rain. The rainfall gradually increases and reaches its peak in June at Port Blair, in August in Long Island and Mayabunder. Towards the end of the September, remnants of typhoons

10:Sen K-3,4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

132 of the China sea move across lower Burma and affect the North Andaman sea. The influence of these typhoons are particularly felt in the North Andaman.

In July, heavy falls of 15.85" have been recorded in 24 hours at Port Blair. The sky is overcast with clouds for days together. This appreciably reduces the temperature. The mean maximum temperature is 84.3°F and mean minimum temperature 75.0°F in July, the characteristic month of this season.

Post Southwest Monsoon Season.

This is the period of cyclonic disturbances. These cyclones of dangerous severity commence as feeble circulations and they have a progressive movement, with the stormfield advancing on a curved or sometimes a straight tract. The average velocity is about 200 to 300 miles per day. A general picture of the tropical cyclone is given below.

In front of a tropical cyclone the sky is covered with hight clouds in which halos sometimes appear. The air becomes sultry and oppressive; the wind falls almost to a calm and on the oceans a heavy swell rolls up. In the next stage, a breeze springs up, the clouds become lower and heavier and pressure begins to fall. Afterwards heavy rainclouds appear, first on the horizon and then advance across the sky; as the rain clouds pass overhead, the rain falls in torrents. The wind becomes fierce while barometer falls rapidly. High or tremendous seas are superimposed on the heavy swell. The sea sprays and rains destroy all visibility. When the wind has reached its greatest violence, suddenly the centre of the storm arrives. Here the wind suddenly drops from hurricane force to a light unsteady breeze, or sometimes to a complete calm. At the calm centre the lowest pressure is recorded and often there is a complete absence of low cloud and rains; the sun, moon and stars may be visible according to the time of day when the calm centre is traversed. Following the passage of the centre, the wind suddenly increases to hurricane force again but from the opposite direction; the torrential rain is renewed and barometer rises as quickly as it fell. As the end of the storm approaches, the wind falls and the rain clouds break and disappear leaving only the high clouds. Finally the wind drops, the sky clears and the pressure becomes normal. The average number of storms is about one per year. In November, the frequency of the storms that affect the area is about the same as in October and more than one in every two is likely to be severe.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

CLIMATIC REGIONS

It is difficult to divide the islands into climatic regions. The islands having only a length of 192 miles and a width of 32 miles, when maximum, may bring out some changes in the climatic elements from north to south but little change from east to west. Whatever variation is found from east to west, is due to the presence of the north to south running hill systems. 132

If we consider the rainfall of the islands, it decreases as one goes towards the north and the east. The primary reason is the fact that the southwest monsoon causes heavy rainfall in the south and as it moves towards the north its rain bearing capacity decreases and ultimately causes less rainfall. Besides this the micro-climatic factors have important roles. The north-south system of hills evidently results in a greater rainfall in the west and more correctly on the windward side and an appreciable decrease in the leeward side. The northwestern monsoon as well, causes some rainfall in the northern and the eastern section of the islands. As such an increase in annual rainfall amount is experienced in the Table Island, situated in the northeast extremity of the North Andaman.

The temperature, as discussed previously, is almost the same in all the stations during the whole of the year.

Hence if any attempt is made for a division of the islands into climatic regions, the rainfall stands as the most important factor. As the islands have got only 4 stations, all of them having insufficient data[1] except Port Blair, which are all situated in the east coast of the Andamans, the successful division of the islands into climatic regions becomes impossible.

1. All the 3 stations except Port Blair.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

sea itself, but to the rising and falling of the land with the recurring 133
movements. Even between 1951 and 1952 there was a noticeable alteration in the level of the north-east coast of Little Andaman, following an earthquake in July 1951; the Onges had to move the communal hut at Tambe-e-buiè further inland, because the sea, previously twenty metres away, had begun to come right up to the hut. In several places giant trees centuries old crashed to the ground, their roots left without any foothold as the level of the land fell suddenly all along the coast. If this can happen in one year, it is hardly surprising that what now appears as an archipelago is in reality a continuous mountain chain, its levels broken and rebroken over thousands of years till the islands became separated by the sea for good, their coasts so eroded that subsequent quakes have failed to reunite them.

It is highly unwise even to attempt a landing on Little Andaman 132 ●
during the monsoons. Both the north-east monsoon in June and August and the south-west in November and January whip the seas up into a frenzy, but in late April and again in late September the sea is quite calm. Since both monsoons pass over vast tracts of sea, they become saturated with water vapour and bring torrential rains, not infrequently accompanied by hurricanes violent enough to strip all the leaves off the trees. After these storms the jungle, normally almost impenetrable, is made even more so by the tangle of fallen branches and the trunks of old trees torn up by the wind or the lightning. The lightning strikes the tallest trees, which may 132
smoulder for days on end without setting fire to the sodden forest, 372
so great is the humidity. I have often seen one of these flaming torches; the Onges, ignorant as they are of the art of making fire, take advantage of the phenomenon, as a continuous supply of burning wood is a necessity in a climate which is so damp and humid all the year round that matches become useless after twenty-four hours unless suitable precautions are taken.

Once on the island, virgin forest stretches endlessly before one 137
in undulating waves of treetops, black and terrifying. From the tops of the trees thousands of lianas hang everywhere, winding like snakes from trunk to trunk, forming an inextricable tangle, yet somehow always elegant, binding the entire forest into one dense mass. Many of the tree-trunks reach diameters unheard of in temperate climates. Some of them have hollow cavities, treasured by [824]
the Onges as hiding-places or temporary shelters.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

It is impossible to imagine a more varied or richer sight than the Andamanese forests at any time of year. The colours, and the light effects, particularly at dawn and at sunset, the myriads of flowers of every hue and scent, every shape and size, the strange noises, all combine to produce an effect which stuns the outsider. The spectacle reaches its climax at night when the moon is full; the tops of the trees are bathed in a silver light and the great lianas seem to writhe like serpents. As though inspired by the light, the nocturnal animals stage a kind of pageant for the occasion and their cries are even more frequent and more rhythmic than usual. The Andamanese themselves seem bewitched without realizing it, spellbound by the weird atmosphere.

To anyone unfamiliar with the tropics, the swift change from darkness to light and back again comes as a surprise. Night in the tropics is never silent – the eerie voices and calls, often with a strange pitch, seem to cease for a brief moment just before the sudden onset of darkness and again just before the return of the light. As night falls the fascination of the jungle grows. Even the natives feel some urge to keep their voices down, as if out of respect for some natural solemnity. (This, however, is not exclusive to the Andamanese, and it has a perfectly rational explanation. In tropical forests, and in the deserts, men speak softly so as to catch every slightest sound, a passing animal perhaps.) At dawn the birds start up as though they were tired of silence. There is no great variety of calls; most are very piercing, although still pleasing, and in the crescendo of sound which follows the dusk and dawn silences, the forest is transformed.

One thing that has helped the Onges to survive so long despite the inevitability of their decline is the climate of the islands, which is usually very pleasant and so less liable to exacerbate biological weaknesses.

Normally, the Andamans have four months of very good weather from December to March, which may extend by a few days into November and April. February is nearly always the driest month and the calmest, although there are exceptions, as I know from my own experiences when trying to land on the island. In the remaining months there is frequent rain, sometimes torrential, with raging seas, but relieved by periods of clear sky.

132 In the absence of rain the air is clear with few extremes of temperature, and mean temperatures are fairly constant throughout the year. Towards the end of March and throughout April, the thermometer rarely rises above twenty-five degrees centigrade in the shade, although it can rise above thirty-five degrees centigrade in the middle of the day. Heavy rains, which reduce the temperature noticeably, begin in mid-April; but a period of relatively dry, almost cold weather may occur at the beginning of May. The south-west monsoon reaches its peak in the middle of May, and continues to the end of November. During this period the temperature is never high, but the rains are frequently torrential; storms and terrific gales follow one after another and in some years the monsoons are so violent that the trees are completely stripped of their leaves in a matter of hours. Even so, there are sudden calms and in August there may be some very fine days, among the best of the year when they occur.

132 This climate, with its very minor variations in temperature, is
131 explained by the geographical position of the islands. The two main islands of the archipelago run north–south, between 10° 30′ and 13° 30′ North and 90° and 92° 33′ East, rarely over forty kilometres wide. Great Andaman alone is three hundred and twenty kilometres long and Little Andaman is fifty kilometres. With the south-west monsoon the west coast faces the brunt of the storms, while the north-east monsoon hits the eastern coastline. Both hit the islands after crossing vast expanses of the Indian Ocean, but the south-west monsoon is the wetter; together they refresh the highly fertile earth.

Little Andaman forms about a sixth of this area. Its southernmost point touches 10° 30′ North and the northern tip is 10° 56′ North. On the west coast the monsoon winds are so strong and go on for so long that they have affected the growth of vegetation, beating the tops of the trees down towards the north-east, while both monsoons carry the sea spray right across the island.

132 With the continual dampness and relatively even temperature
137 the forests rise before one as the coastline approaches, black, savagely beautiful, unconquered and unconquerable. Like all the rain forests of the tropics they are always a lush green, except where the monsoon has stripped the trees of their leaves. Normally the trees do not lose their leaves in the winter; each species has its

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

own growth period, but there are so many of them that there are green leaves, and trees and plants in flower or fruit, all the year round.

There are, of course, more trees and shrubs without leaves when the heat and the dry season are at their peak, during our winter. None lose their leaves all at once, however, and in most cases they fall gradually throughout the year, accompanied by the continuous appearance of new growth. In the absence of any definite seasonal cycles, the trees grow almost continuously, so that they have no marked growth rings corresponding to the various seasons. Nor is there any sudden colouring of the leaves *en masse* with the onset of autumn; instead a permanent range of colours makes the forest incredibly beautiful at any time of the year.

Sometimes in the dry season one sees the tree known as the Flame of the Forest, one of the Leguminosae, standing out against all the others with its vermilion-red flowers, visible for considerable distances on the slopes of the hills. Rather larger than our acacia, it loses all its leaves at the beginning of January, to become covered with a mass of large flowers. I have seen similar trees in South Africa; covered with a profusion of brilliant flowers they are a wonderful sight, standing out like a sheet of flame against the sombre background of the forest round them. Even the lianas seem to respect them and leave them alone, as though fearing the slenderness of the branches, so that the trees rise like prisoners escaped by chance from the suffocating blanket of climbers all round them.

The strangling *Ficus* seems to escape them too, although lianas rage everywhere in the Andamans, their path strewn with victims. One seed of these voracious plants, left with a bird's droppings, can mean the death of a giant tree. If it lodges on a branch, or in a fork where there is a little moss or earth, it will grow and send its ropes of aerial roots down to find the earth. As soon as they touch the earth they root tenaciously, sending back energy for further growth. In a few years the ropes begin to enfold the tree, clinging to it and fusing together, till in the end there is nothing but an insidious, clinging network right round the trunk which first gave it shelter.

Every stage of this process is to be seen in the forest, from the initial unseen assault by the tiny aerial roots to the complete enveloping of the victim. Right from the first there is no escape; the

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
[Tinnevelly] Tamil AW17
Andamans AZ2

T 369

the river and indeed so practically contiguous that the towns are virtually one.

T 312 377 241

The real interest of the Tamprabarni, its irrigation apart, lies in the future. The Tamprabarni is probably unique among Indian rivers in that it was harnessed to provide direct hydraulic power for cotton spinning: the first of two turbine-driven mills was set up in 1885. At Papanasam there is a 300-ft fall which is being developed to produce 21,000 kW (ultimate capacity 28,000). The actual engineering work is completed, and full development is limited only by doubts as to the need of conserving water for irrigation; but the possibilities of cheap electricity in this area are manifold: foremost perhaps an increase of well-irrigation in the half-dead edaphically arid tracts, and industrially the revivification of the palmyra sugar industry, the extension of cotton in all its branches. Oilseeds could certainly be more widely cultivated in the red soil area, possibly leading to soap and allied industries, and the hills contain vast reserves of bamboo for paper-making.

The Andaman and Nicobar Islands

A 133

These two groups, directly under Delhi, continue the trend of the Arakan Yomas, linking them to the Sumatran ranges. They differ between themselves to a marked extent; both physically and culturally.

1. *The Andamans*

These number over 200, extending NNE/SSW for some 220 miles between 10° and 14° N; the total area is 2500 sq mls, of which the great bulk is in the three major islands of North, Middle, and South Andaman. These three, indeed, are separated only by narrow mangrove-fringed inlets, so that they are often referred to as virtually one island, Great Andaman. The islands are formed of sandstones, limestones, clays, and some serpentines, probably mainly Tertiary, and are highly dissected, rising to 2400 ft. With a temperature never far from 85° F, rainfall over 100 ins., and a monsoonal distribution with no really rainless season, they are naturally jungle-covered: mangrove along coasts and inlets, tropical evergreen along valleys and on steeper wetter slopes, elsewhere moist deciduous. Forestry is perhaps the most important economic activity and is fairly well organised; a match factory was set up about 1930.

A [132] A 313 381 A 161 563

The total population in 1941 was 21,316, but this included a strange medley: aboriginals, convicts and ex-convicts with their 'local-born' children, officials. A century ago the aboriginals probably numbered about 5000; in 1931 they were estimated at about 460, in 1941 at 62; many tribes have died right out. At once shy and savage, they had a reputation for ferocity, and early settlement was avowedly to protect shipwrecked

● 133, 113 Andamans AZ2

[For a regional division of the Indian sub-continent see Chapter XIII, 6: Spate AW1 India.]

● 133, 113 Andamans AZ2

[For a description and discussion of the structure and relief of the entire Indian sub-continent, see 6: Spate, AW1 India, category 116, pp. 3-36.]

133, 113 Andamans AZ2

[For general information on the distribution of various types of flora and its relation to climate and soil, see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. 63-92.]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

INTRODUCTION

THE Andaman Islands are part of a chain of islands stretching from Cape Negrais in Burma to Achin Head in Sumatra. This line of islands forms a single geographical system, as it were a submarine range of mountains, the highest points rising here and there above the surface of the ocean. Some 80 miles or so from Cape Negrais lies the first of the islands in the chain, Preparis Island, between which and the mainland the sea depth does not exceed 100 fathoms. Southwards of this the submarine ridge sinks to a depth of about 150 fathoms, rising again to form the small group of islands known as the Cocos, some 50 miles from Preparis. Geographically the Cocos may be regarded as part of the Andaman Group. Landfall Island, the most northerly point of the Andamans proper, is only distant from them some 30 miles, and the sea depth between does not exceed 45 fathoms. The Andaman Group itself consists of the Great and Little Andaman with their outlying islets, and occupies a distance approximately north and south of about 210 miles. Eighty miles to the south of the Andamans lie the Nicobar Islands, a scattered archipelago occupying a distance of about 160 miles from north to south. The sea between the Andamans and the Nicobars is over 700 fathoms deep. Deep sea also divides the Nicobars from Sumatra, which is about 110 miles distant from the most southerly point of Great Nicobar. 131 133

This line of islands is part of a long fold extending from the eastern end of the Himalayas, which includes the Arakan Yomah Range of Burma and the Andaman and Nicobar

[p. 1]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

131 Islands and finds its continuation in the islands off the west
•133 coast of Sumatra[1].

On the west the Andamans are separated from the coast of Madras, 700 miles distant, by the Sea of Bengal. On the east the Andaman Sea, a depression with a depth of over 1000 fathoms, separates the Andamans and Nicobars from the Malay Isthmus and Peninsula. Across the Andaman Sea, less than 100 miles distant from the Andamans, there runs a line of volcanic activity, marked by two small islands, Barren Island in Lat. 12° 15′ N. and Long. 93° 50′ E., and Narkondam in Lat. 13° 26′ N. and Long. 95° 15′ E.[2]

The Cocos, the Andamans and the Nicobars are now part of the Indian Empire. The Cocos Islands are occupied by a station for wireless telegraphy. In the Andaman Islands there is a penal settlement at Port Blair, to which are sent the criminals of India and Burma. The Nicobars are treated as one with the Andamans for administrative purposes.

144 Until the nineteenth century the Cocos Islands were uninhabited. The Andamans and the Nicobars have for many centuries been inhabited by two entirely different races. The Andamanese belong to that branch of the human species known to anthropologists as the Negrito race. They are short of stature with black skins and frizzy hair. The Nicobarese, on the other hand, resemble the races of Indo-China and Malaya, and have brown skins and lank hair, and are of medium stature.

131 The Andaman Islands consist of the Great Andaman and
133 the Little Andaman, and a number of smaller islands. The Great Andaman may be regarded as one island, although it is divided by narrow sea water creeks into four areas, often spoken of as separate islands and called North Andaman,

[1] The formation of the Arakan Fold (including the Andaman and Nicobar Islands), dates from the middle of the Tertiary Period, and was apparently connected with the great movements that produced the Himalaya-Alpine mountain system and the Circum-Pacific Fold. The Andaman Sea, in the later Tertiary period, was prolonged much further to the north, over the region now occupied by the Pegu Yomah.

[2] This line of volcanic activity is a minor continuation of the Sunda Range of volcanoes of Java and Sumatra. It is continued northward, parallel to the Arakan Fold, as far as the extinct volcano of Puppadoung, east of Pagan, not far from Lat. 21°.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Middle Andaman, Baratang and South Andaman. It is a long narrow stretch of land with a much indented coast, surrounded by many smaller islands, of which the most important are Interview Island off the west coast, Ritchie's Archipelago on the east, Rutland Island at the extreme south, and the outlying North Sentinel Island. The length of the Great Andaman with Rutland Island is nearly 160 miles, while the breadth from sea to sea is nowhere more than 20 miles. The Little Andaman lies to the south of the Great Andaman, about 30 miles distant from Rutland Island, from which it is separated by a shallow strait with a maximum depth of only 21 fathoms. The island is about 26 miles long from north to south and about 16 miles wide. 131 133

Viewed from the sea the islands appear as a series of hills, nowhere of any great height, covered from sky-line to high-water mark with dense and lofty forest. The hill-ranges run approximately north and south, in the same direction as the islands themselves, and attain a greater elevation on the east than on the west. The highest point of the North Andaman is Saddle Peak (2402 feet), that of Middle Andaman is Mt Diavolo (1678 feet), while the South Andaman has the Mt Harriett Range (1505 feet), and in Rutland Island there is Mt Foord (1422 feet). There are no streams of any size. The water drains from the hills into tidal creeks running through mangrove swamps, often many miles in length. The coast is broken by a number of magnificent harbours. The shores are fringed with extensive coral reefs, and on these and in the creeks there is abundance of fish and molluscs. 133

The islands, save for the clearings of the Penal Settlement, are covered with dense tropical forest. There are few mammals, the only two of any size being a species of pig (*Sus andamanensis*, Blyth) and a civet-cat (*Paradoxurus tytlerii*, Tytler). The other mammals are a few species of rats, a tree-shrew and some species of bats. Of birds there are many different species, some of them peculiar to the islands. The reptiles include a considerable number of species of snakes, and a few species of lizards, of which the most noteworthy is the large Monitor lizard (*Varanus salvator*). 136

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

131 siderable distance eastward of Great Andaman, but connected with the group, are two small uninhabited islands known as Narcondam and Barren Island, both of which contain volcanoes, though the latter only is active at the present day. To the south, and about midway between Great Andaman and the northernmost point of the Nicobar group, lies Little Andaman, consisting of a single island about 27 miles in length, and varying in breadth from 10 to 16 miles; there are also a few small islets near its coast.

None of the islands exceed 20 miles in breadth, and the area of the entire group is estimated at about 2,508 square miles, four-fifths of which are comprised in Great Andaman.

133 Nearly all the high land occurs in the vicinity of the east coast, shelving gradually towards the west, where few, and those but minor, elevations are to be found. The principal hills are: Saddle Peak[1] (2,400 feet) in North Andaman, overlooking Port Cornwallis; Ford's Peak (1,400 feet) on Rutland Island; and Mount Harriet (1,100 feet) in South Andaman, commanding the harbour of Port Blair.

132 The climate of the Andamans much resembles that of Lower Burmah, and the temperature throughout the year is very uniform; the variation in the shade during the dry season is about 22°, and averages 17° during the remainder of the year; the extreme variation throughout the twelve months may be estimated at 26°, viz., between 70° and 96°. The cool season sets in during the last weeks of December and early part of January, and the hot season lasts through the months of March and April. The S.W. monsoon commences in the latter part of April or early in May, and usually terminates about the end of October, but on the change in the direction of the wind to N.E. heavy showers frequently occur for several weeks, and even, though at rare intervals, in January and February. The average number of wet days in the year is 182, and the rainfall 116 inches; the dry season is usually characterised during the first two months by strong winds from N.E., which cause sickness and prove equally prejudicial to vegetation. Although it has been ascertained that many of the most severe cyclones which have occurred in the Bay of Bengal during the past twenty-five years have had their origin in the immediate vicinity of the Andamans, only one is recorded (viz., in 1864) as having visited the islands themselves; in the same period there have been a few earthquakes, the first of which mention is made took place in August, 1868, and the next in February, 1880, from which time several slight shocks were felt until, in December (31st), 1881, another severe earthquake visited the group, the effects of which were

[1] The only ascent on record of Saddle Peak was made in February, 1882, by Major M. Protheroe, C.S.I., and other officers of Port Blair.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

experienced on both the Indian and Burman coasts; another, though slighter, shock was felt on February 27th, 1882.[1] 132

Among the many noteworthy features of these islands are the numerous harbours in which, especially on the east coast, safe anchorage can be obtained at all seasons of the year; the most important and best known of these harbours are: Port Blair in South Andaman, and Port Cornwallis[2] in North Andaman; of both it has been said they may be classed among the finest harbours of the world, affording ample accommodation as well as shelter to even "half the British navy," in addition to which, from their central position in the Bay of Bengal, they present great advantages to vessels in need of refitting, and also as ports of refuge. 133

The water[3] in the harbour of Port Blair has been found to be remarkable for its high density, as is evidenced by the rapid oxidation of iron immersed in it; its extreme clearness has also attracted the notice of many, who have viewed through its pellucid depths the wonderful coral beds which abound in certain parts of the coast. The marvellous variety of the colouring to be found among these corals must be seen to be appreciated, but some idea of their wondrous beauty may be formed from the following extract:—"As we steamed along, visions of the splendours of the submarine world broke upon our view; . . . I feel quite unable to attempt the task of describing, much less conveying an adequate idea of the exquisite assortment of colour, of the varied forms of life which were included in every square yard of these tropical coral reefs. The most gorgeous combination of vegetable and animal life afford but a poor subaërial representation of these submarine gardens."[4] But to return.

[1] On the occasion of the disastrous earthquake in the Straits of Sunda (August 26th, 1883), a report as of a distant signal gun was heard at Port Blair at about 8 P.M. of that day, followed by several similar reports at irregular intervals during the next two days. It was thought at the time that a vessel was wrecked off the coast, and the station steamer was sent out to render assistance; at 7 A.M. on Monday (27th) the sea rose and receded thrice in the course of a few minutes.

[2] This was the harbour selected in 1824 as the rendezvous of the fleet conveying the expedition under Sir Archibald Campbell to Rangoon during the first Burmese war.

[3] The supply of water from the tanks and wells in the Settlement is pronounced on medical authority to be both good and plentiful, and no diseases have ever yet been traced to the use of these waters.

[4] *Vide* "Jungle Life in India," pp. 359-360, by V. Ball, Esq., F.R.S. The vivid description by the same writer of a coral reef at the Nicobars (*vide* p. 202) is so applicable also to those at the Andamans, that I feel the reader will thank me for appending it in this place:—"There are corals which in their living state are of many shades of fawn, buff, pink, and blue, while some are tipped with a majenta-like bloom. Sponges which looked as hard as stone, spread over wide areas, while sprays of coralline added their graceful forms to the picture. Through the vistas so formed, golden-banded and metallic-blue fish meandered, while on the patches of sand here and there the *holothurias* and various mollusca and crustaceans might be seen slowly crawling."

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

133 The other harbours which may be mentioned are: Stewart's Sound, Port Campbell, Port Mouat, Kyd Island Bay, Port Andaman, and the Bay between South Andaman and Rutland Island There are besides many good anchorages, and several navigable channels have been discovered by successive commanders of the Settlement steamer, but in the absence of any other guide than Blair's old chart, which as relating to a coral-bound coast must require considerable revision at the present day, and with the knowledge that the extent of the shoals and reefs[1] is only approximately indicated in many parts, those unacquainted with the coast find it necessary to take a circuitous route and to exercise great care in proceeding from one point to another, especially on the northern and western shores, where the coral banks and reefs are known to extend as far as twenty miles seaward. Several creeks on the three main islands of Great Andaman are of a sufficient size to allow of the passage of boats for a considerable distance into the interior, and though of course these are of no little importance in opening up a country like the Andamans, they are chiefly valuable as affording a natural channel for the conveyance of produce from the extensive tracts of rich land[2] in their immediate vicinity, in lieu of the costly and indifferent land carriage which in the absence of such waterway would have to be substituted.[3]

000 The natural beauty of the scenery of the Andamans never fails to awaken the admiration of every visitor, and has been deservedly eulogised by various writers, one of whom (Prof. Ball) says: "Of all the places I have seen in Europe, Killarney can alone convey an idea of these scenes. The blue waters, the luxuriant emerald green vegetation down to the margin of the coast, and the passing showers which brighten all the aspects of nature, have their counterpart here."[4]

Various theories have been advanced with regard to the origin and affinity of the aboriginal population of the Andamans, but no certain information is obtainable in the matter. The statements of the early Arabian travellers, and also of Marco Polo, give grounds for believing that the Andamans were inhabited

[1] These are formed chiefly of *Caryophyllia, Madrepora, Porites, Meandrina*, and other reef-forming corals (Kurz).

[2] By means of a comparatively light embankment, these lands are capable of cultivation to the very borders of the creek.

[3] Probably ignorance, and not disregard of these and other considerations which might be adduced, has led to the suggestion by some visitors (including two able officers of long standing) that the bunding of the deep mouths of such creeks would prove highly advantageous by adding largely to the area of land suitable for paddy cultivation; had, however, their observations been made during the rains instead of during the dry months, their opinions would doubtless have been considerably modified.

[4] *Vide* "Jungle Life in India," by V. Ball, Esq., F.R.S., p. 362 (1880).

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

133

PLATE IV

BARREN ISLAND VOLCANO (HEIGHT, 1,015 FEET)

[facing p. 30]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

791 savage tribes,[1] imagine themselves gifted with superior wisdom, and can hardly be blamed if they endeavour to turn their talents to account by imposing a little on the credulity of their neighbours.

Tribal Distribution.—1. The inhabitants of these islands are
101 divided into at least nine tribes,[2] linguistically distinguished,
171 even if we reckon as one those communities to which I have
already alluded under the title of *järawa-*, among whom it is
197 not improbable further divisions and dialects may eventually be
discovered. The conjecture that they are one is merely based
619 on the assertions of the people of South Andaman, and on the circumstance that all the weapons, utensils, huts, &c., of the *järawa-*, which we have been able to examine, appear to be constructed invariably on the same model, while all such members of the various scattered communities as we have had the opportunity of observing, resemble each other in abstaining from the practice, so general among all the eight Great Andaman tribes, of shaving their heads and tattooing their persons. Still, these outward similarities are manifestly insufficient, affording as they do mere negative evidence, whereas our present knowledge, so tardily acquired, of there being inland communities, called *ē·rem-tâ·ga-*, dwelling in the heart of South and Middle Andaman, who are allied in all respects, save in their mode of life, with the *ârỳô·to-*, or coast communities of their respective tribes, would seem to justify the belief that hereafter the aborigines of Little Andaman will be found to present not only distinctions of this nature but differences also of dialect, as is the case with the inhabitants of both North and Middle Andaman, which are known to be divided into no less than six tribes.

161 2. As to the numerical strength of these several tribes it is
impossible to speak with any degree of certainty, for, as you are
619 aware, there is no part of the country which is not covered with jungle, more or less impenetrable to any but the aborigines themselves, while their capacity for estimating and expressing numbers is wholly inadequate to assist us in forming any conclusions on the subject. The surmise that the entire group contains about 4,000 souls is based on the calculation that the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* tribe with whom we are most intimate do not at the present day exceed 400, though at the time of our advent in 1858, they are believed to have numbered about 1,000.

133 **Topography.**—1. The chief geographical landmarks of these islands are :—

1st. *Saddle Peak*, a massive hill rising to the height of

[1] *Vide* Lubbock, "On the Origin of Civilisation," &c., 4th Ed., pp. 250–1.

[2] For the names of the various tribes, and the localities they occupy, the reader is referred to the accompanying map.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

●/33 2,400 feet, situated in North Andaman, and visible at a distance of 60 miles.

2nd. *Narcondam*,[1] a small hilly island, containing an extinct volcano, with an elevation of 2,330 feet, lying about 70 miles east of North Andaman.

3rd. *Barren Island*, 75 miles S.S.W. of *Narcondam*, and about 42 miles east of the nearest island of the Great Andaman group, from no portion of the coast of which is it visible. It contains an active volcano, the height of which is about 1,015 feet.

[501] 2. Until recent years[2] the first only of these was known to the aborigines, probably owing to the circumstance that they, at least the natives of Great Andaman, have never been seen to venture far out to sea in their frail and clumsy canoes. The name borne by this hill is *Pū·luga lâ·kà bang-* (*lit.* Creator his mouth), referring apparently to its size and inaccessibility, and to a large ravine running down its side. There is also a belief that Saddle Peak was the place of *Pū·luga-*'s[3] residence prior to the deluge.

823 825 3. The formation of rocks, valleys, hills, &c., they attribute to the will of *Pū·luga-*, but they assign the sources of the streams containing oxide of iron, *kòi·ob-chū·lnga-*, and the olive-coloured mineral, *chū·lnga-*, to the action of a poisonous snake, called *lâ·raba-*, well known to them.[4]

103 4. The names they give to the natural forms of land and water are as follows :—

Cape (point)—*tô·ko-chô·ronga-* [*chô·ronga-* = nose].
Isthmus—*tô·to-kī·nab-* [*kī·nab-* = waist].
Mountain—*bô·roin-*.
Valley—*pâ·rag-*.
Strait—*teg-pâ·rag-*.
Coast (shore)—*tgô·ra-* [*gō·ra-* = strong].
Fore-shore—*kē·wad-* and *bô·roga-*.
Island—*tàrchô·na-*.
Islet—*tōt-kui·cha-*.
Harbour—*elàrū·la-*.
Bay—*kō·bunga-*.
Creek—*jīg-*.[5]

[1] The probable derivation of this name will be given in Part II.

[2] Since amicable relations have been established with the South and Middle Andamanese, several members of these tribes have visited Barren Island by accompanying us in the station steamer The name by which it is now known to them is *mâla-tàrchô·na-* (*lit.*, Smoke Island), in allusion to the smoke which is almost always to be seen rising from the volcano, and which they account for by saying that it must be due to a fire which *Pū·luga-* kindled.

[3] *Pū·luga* represents to them The Creator. *Vide* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 7.

[4] *Vide post* "Superstitions," paragraph 21.

[5] The legendary belief regarding the formation of creeks will be found under "Mythology."

CHAPTER II.

DESCRIPTIVE.

I. Geography.—Position and General Description of the Andaman Islands—The Submarine Range between the Pegu Yomas and Sumatra—The Submarine Contours—The Great and Little Andaman—The Harbours—The Hills—The Scenery—Surveys.
II. Meteorology.—Commercial Value of the Meteorology—Climate—Cyclonic Storms—Rainfall—Weather—General Statistics—Tides.
III. Geology.—General Geology—The Subsidence of the Islands—Earthquakes—The Conchology—Marine Fauna—Economic Zoology—The Forests—The Timber and its Economic Uses—The Imported Flora—General Character of the Forests.
IV. History.—Ancient Notices of the Islands—Origin of the name—Mediæval and Modern Notices of the Islands—Modern History of the Islands and people.

I. Geography.

131 **Position and General Description of the Andaman Islands.**—The Andaman Islands, large and small, are said to number 204 and lie in the Bay of Bengal, 590 geographical miles from the Hooghly mouth, 120 miles from Cape Negrais in Burma, the nearest point from the mainland, and about 340 from the north extremity of Sumatra. Between the Andamans and Cape Negrais intervene two small groups, Preparis and Cocos; between the Andamans and Sumatra intervene the Nicobar Islands, all indicating a submarine range connected with the Arracan Yoma Range of Burma, stretching in a curve, to which the meridian forms a tangent, between Cape Negrais and Sumatra; and though this curved line measures 700 miles, the widest sea space is about 91 miles. The extreme length of the Andaman Group is 219 miles, with an extreme width of 32 miles.

The principal outlying islands are the North Sentinel, a dangerous island of about 28 square miles, lying about 18 miles off the west coast of the South Andaman; the remarkable marine volcano, Barren Island, 1,158 feet, quiescent for the last hundred years, 71 miles to the North-East of Port Blair; and the equally curious isolated mountain, the extinct volcano known as Narcondam, rising 2,330 feet out of the sea, 71 miles east of the North Andaman.

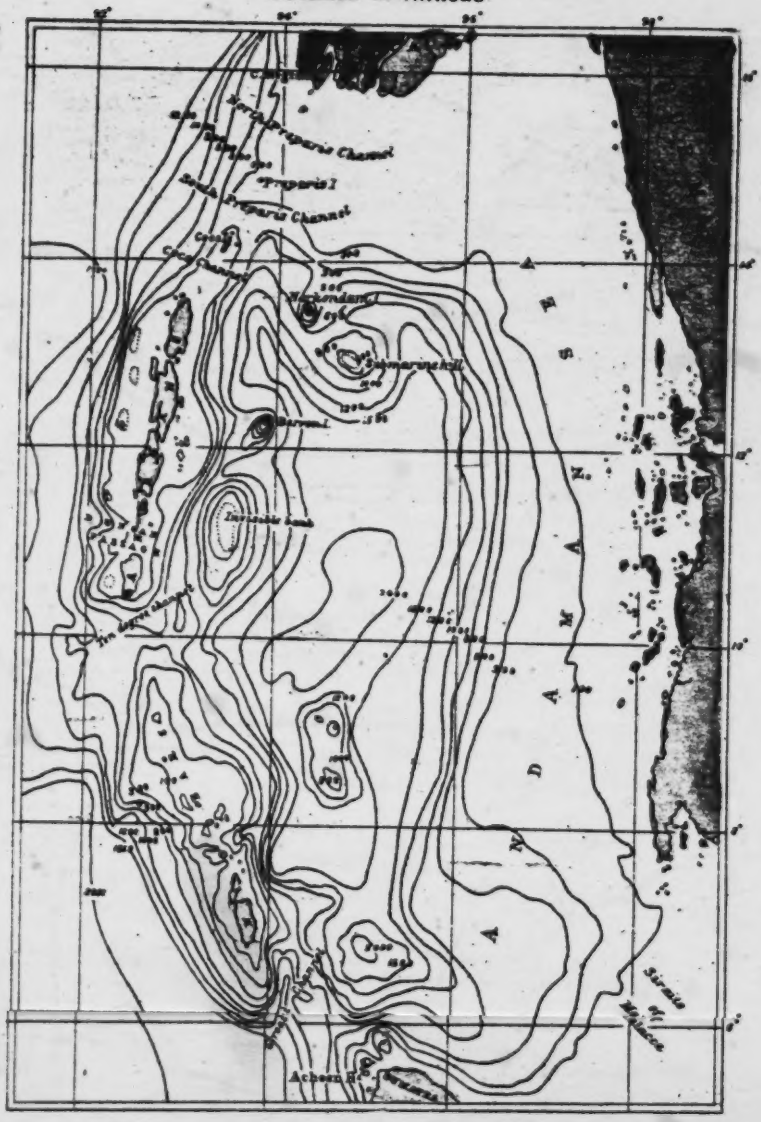
The land area of the Andaman Islands is taken as 2,508 square miles.

To the west of the Andamans, distant about 18 miles, are the dangerous Western Banks and Dalrymple Bank, rising to within a few fathoms of the surface of the sea and forming, with the two Sentinel Islands, the tops of a line of submarine hills parallel to the Andamans: to the east, some 40 miles distant, is the Invisible Bank with one rock just awash, and 34 miles south-east of Narcondam is a submarine hill rising to 377 fathoms below the surface of the sea. Narcondam, Barren Island, and the Invisible Bank, a great danger of these seas, are in a line almost parallel to the Andamans inclining somewhat towards them.

133 **The Submarine Range between the Pegu Yomas and Sumatra.**—Certain physiological facts have long been held, in combination with phenomena exhibited by the fauna and flora of the respective terminal countries, to point to the former existence of a continuous range of mountains, thought to be subaerial, from Cape Negrais in Burma on the north to Achin Head in Sumatra on the south. According to the doubtful authority of Wilford, Hindu legends notice this remarkable range, ascribing it to Rama, who attempted here first to

• 133

CONTOURS OF THE ANDAMAN SEA
SOUNDINGS IN FATHOMS



[facing p. 35]

133 bridge the sea, an enterprise afterwards transferred to the south of India, and accomplished by the god at the more practicable point we call Adam's Bridge.

According also to Portman, the tradition of the South Andaman, or Bojigngiji, group of tribes is that Maia Tomola, the ancestral chief of the nation from which they all sprung, dispersed them after a cataclysm, which caused a subsidence of parts of a great island, divided it up into the present Andaman Islands, and drowned large numbers of the old inhabitants together with many large and fierce beasts that have since disappeared. As a matter of physical geography such a subsidence need not have been more than of 20 fathoms or 120 feet to convert one single island into the present Andaman group. Portman also notes, as tending to show the junction of the Andaman Islands with the mainland, that besides the South Andaman tradition, the people of the Little Andaman have names for animals that do not now exist and they cannot describe.

The acceptable evidence on this subject that I have been able to gather goes to show, on the assumption that, except in the case of isolated volcanic peaks, 200 fathoms is the extreme limit of the rising and sinking of land on the earth's surface, that it is possible that there was a time when the whole Andaman group with Preparis and the Cocos formed one continuous hill connected with Cape Negrais, and that this hill was separated by a sea of, say, 400 fathoms deep from the Nicobars considered as one island and the general Nicobar Island again by a sea of, say, 600 fathoms deep from Sumatra.

The Submarine Contours.—The accepted conclusive argument proving the isolation of the Andaman Sea from the connected oceans is that of Carpenter, who showed that the temperature of its great depths involved the existence all round it of submarine hills, the greatest depth of which below sea level could not be more than 750 fathoms. I have been at some trouble to draw contours of the depths of this sea from such data as the charts at my disposal afford and it seems to me that they fully support Carpenter's conclusion. The openings into the Andaman Sea from the connected oceans are:—from Bay of Bengal, the North and South Preparis Channels, the Coco Channel, Duncan Passage, Ten Degrees Channel, and the Great Channel:—from the Gulf of Siam, the Straits of Malacca. This last has a bar only a few fathoms deep and clearly isolates the Andaman Sea from the Gulf. The greatest depths in the other Channels are as under: North Preparis Channel, 47 fathoms; South Preparis Channel, 150 fathoms; Coco Channel, 36 fathoms; Duncan Passage, 17 fathoms; Ten Degrees Channel, 565 fathoms; Great Channel, 798 fathoms.

On either side the line of the Andamans and Nicobars the sea rapidly deepens to 1,000 fathoms and thence on the west in the Bay of Bengal to over 2,000 fathoms within 60 miles of the Nicobars and probably within 100 miles of the Andamans; and on the east in the Andaman Sea to 2,000 fathoms within 85 miles of the Nicobars and within about 95 miles of the Andamans. The contours thus show beyond doubt the existence of a lofty range of submarine mountains between Cape Negrais and Acheen Head rising from the ocean depths up to 15,000 feet and nowhere less than 6,000 feet on the east, and up to 15,000 feet and nowhere less than 10,000 feet on the west, thus separating the Bay of Bengal from the Andaman Sea. Of this great Range 700 miles long, taking 100 fathoms as a base, the continental and island summits are shown in one central line north to south as (1) Cape Negrais (Arakan Yomas) and Preparis Islands, (2) Cocos and Andaman Islands, (3) Nicobar Islands, (4) Acheen Head (Sumatra). The Western Banks, the Sentinel Islands and Dalrymple Bank are lower summits to the west of the central line. According to my contours outlying summits of detached spurs of the central line to the east are Barren Island and the Invisible Bank. They also show that Narcondam and the submarine hill to its south-east are separated from the Central Andaman and Nicobar Range, being summits of outlying spurs of the Yomas attached to Cape Negrais. This last fact supports the old assumption that the dormant Barren Island volcano belongs to the *immediate* Sunda group of volcanoes, while the long extinct Narcondam Volcano belongs to the Pegu group, both belonging to the *general* Sunda group.

As the arguments derivable from the submarine contours have not so far as I know been hitherto worked out, and as they may be thus of some general interest, I attach a map of the contours and some detailed notes thereon. It must be remembered that much of the ethnographic, as well as the natural history,

133

[facing p. 36]

133 speculation about both the Andamans and Nicobars depends on the assumed degree of their isolation from the Asiatic Continent.

Notes on the Ocean Contours.—(1) A narrow ridge runs between Great Nicobar and Acheen Head from ten to two miles wide with just less than 800 fathoms as the lowest depth of water on it.

(2) The Andaman Sea has been sounded to 2,000 fathoms about 84 miles east of Car Nicobar and the Bay of Bengal to well over 2,000 fathoms 61 miles east of Teressa. In the Andaman Sea the deep water of 2,000 fathoms or more does not run probably further north than 125 miles east of Port Blair. In the Bay of Bengal the deep water of 300 fathoms is probably distant about 100 miles west of the Andamans.

(3) Probably the deepest water between the Invisible Bank and the Andamans is under 900 fathoms, the Bank itself being the summit of a long hill running some 90 miles north-north-east to south-south-west directly on to Car Nicobar, the deepest point between it and Car Nicobar being some 900 fathoms.

(4) Probably the deepest water between Barren Island and the Andamans is under 1,000 fathoms, the island being the peak of a hill running some 35 miles north-east to south-west direct on to Rutland Island. The deepest point between it and the Invisible Bank is under 1,100 fathoms.

(5) At 94 miles due east of Stewart Sound is a patch of 377 fathoms, the summit of a submarine hill running apparently west to east some 45 miles. Between this hill and south-west to Barren Island and west to the Andamans are great depths probably over 1,500 fathoms. Between it eastwards to the Tenasserim Coast the depth is probably something over 1,200 fathoms. Between it and Narcondam 34 miles to south-west the depth is under 1,000 fathoms.

(6) Narcondam lies due south of Negrais Island and the 400 fathom contour runs round it and the coasts of the Andamans and Burma. The water between it and the Andamans, 71 miles to west, is deep, probably up to at least 1,200 fathoms. Between it and Barren Island, 74 miles to south-west, the depth is great, probably over 1,500 fathoms. Between it and the hill above mentioned to south-east the depth is under 1,000 fathoms. Between it and Negrais Island the deepest water is 411 fathoms in a hole to north-west, otherwise the depth here is not more than 362 fathoms.

(7) The 100 fathom line runs round all the Andamans, the Cocos and all the Western Banks, the two Sentinels and Dalrymple Bank. It runs also right round the Nicobars.

The Great and Little Andaman.—The main part of the Andaman group is a band of five chief islands, so closely adjoining and overlapping each other, that they have long been known as one, *viz.*, "the Great Andaman." The axis of this band, almost a meridian line, is 156 statute miles long. The five islands are (north to south)—North Andaman, 51 miles long; Middle Andaman, 59 miles; South Andaman 49 miles; Baratang, running parallel to the east of the South Andaman for 17 miles from the Middle Andaman; and Rutland Island, 11 miles long. Four narrow straits part these islands—Austin Strait between North and Middle Andaman; Homfray's Strait between Middle Andaman and Baratang and the north extremity of South Andaman; Middle (or Andaman) Strait between Baratang and South Andaman; Macpherson's Strait between South Andaman and Rutland Island. Of these only the last is navigable by ocean-going vessels. Attached to the chief islands are, on the extreme north, Landfall Islands, separated by the navigable Cleugh Passage; Interview Island, separated by the very narrow but navigable Interview Passage, off the west coast of the Middle Andaman; the Labyrinth Islands off the south-west coast of the South Andaman, through which is the safe navigable Elphinstone Passage; Ritchie's (or the Andaman) Archipelago off the east coast of the South Andaman and Baratang, separated by the wide and safe Diligent Strait and intersected by Kwangtung Strait and the Tadma Juru (Strait). Little Andaman, roughly 26 miles by 16, forms the southern extremity of the whole group, and lies 31 miles south of Rutland Island across Duncan Passage, in which lie the Cinque and other islands, forming Manners Strait, the main commercial highway between the Andamans and the Madras Coast.

Besides these are a great number of islets lying off the shores of the main islands.

● 133

[facing p. 37]

3: Temple G-5 (1901) 1903 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

●133 **The Harbours.**—The coasts of the Andamans are deeply indented, giving existence to a number of safe harbours and tidal creeks, which are often surrounded by mangrove swamps. The chief harbours, some of which are very capacious, are, starting northwards from Port Blair, the great harbour of South Andaman—*East Coast*, Port Meadows, Colebrooke Passage, Elphinstone Harbour (Homfray's Strait), Stewart Sound, Port Cornwallis, the last three are very large;—*West Coast*, Temple Sound, Interview Passage, Port Anson or Kwangtung Harbour (large), Port Campbell (large), Port Mouat, Macpherson's Strait. There are besides many other safe anchorages about the coasts for sea-going vessels: notably Shoal Bay and Kotara Anchorage in the South Andaman, Cadell Bay and the Turtle Islands in the North Andaman, and Outram Harbour and Kwangtung Strait in the Archipelago.

The Hills.—The islands forming Great Andaman consist of a mass of hills enclosing very narrow valleys, the whole covered by an exceedingly dense tropical jungle. The hills rise, especially on the east coast, to a considerable elevation; the chief heights being, in the North Andaman, Saddle Peak, 2,400 feet; in the Middle Andaman, Mount Diavolo behind Cuthbert Bay, 1,678 feet; in the South Andaman, Koiob, 1,505 feet, and Mount Harriet, 1,193 feet, the Cholunga range, 1,063 feet; in Rutland Island, Ford's Peak, 1,422 feet. Little Andaman, with the exception of the extreme north, is practically flat. There are no rivers and few perennial streams in the islands.

The Scenery.—The scenery of the islands is everywhere strikingly beautiful and varied, and the coral beds of the more secluded bays in its harbours are conspicuous for their exquisite assortment of colour. The scenery of the harbours has been compared to that of Killarney by Professor V. Ball, and no doubt they do recall the English Lakes. One view of Port Blair Harbour is strongly reminiscent of Derwentwater as seen from the Keswick end.

Surveys.—The whole of the Andamans and the outlying islands were completely surveyed topographically by the Indian Survey Department under Colonel J. R. Hobday in 1883—6 and a number of maps on the scale of two miles to the inch were produced, which give an accurate coast line everywhere and astonishingly correct contours of the inland hills, considering the difficulties presented by the denseness of the forests with which they are covered. For Port Blair and neighbourhood a series of maps on the scale of four inches to the mile were made. The exact latitude and longitude of Chatham Island in Port Blair Harbour were determined astronomically by Mr. Nicholson of the Great Trigonometrical Survey in 1861: latitude 11° 41′ 13″ N.; longitude 92° 42′ 44″ E. The marine surveys of the Andamans date back many years and one can go back to the days of Ritchie (1771) and of Blair and Moorsom (1788—96) for partial charts which are still usable. Brooker's surveys of 1867 added much knowledge about Port Blair, but the serious dangers of the western coral banks were not removed by surveys till 1888-9 under Commander A. Carpenter, when a great advance in the charts generally was made. His general chart is that now in use, corrected by subsequent surveys up to 1899. The coasts on the whole are fairly well charted, but some most necessary work still remains to be done before a voyage round these dangerous coral-bound coasts can be said to be free from anxiety. It is, however, worth noting that the long standing notice on charts that "the dangers of the coast of the North Andaman have not been surveyed" is now at last removed, and that the Coco Channel is made safe for ships.

II. Meteorology.

000 **Commercial Value of the Meteorology.**—Owing to the great value of the information to be obtained at the Andamans as to the direction and intensity of cyclonic storms and as to weather prognostications generally as regards the eastern and northern portions of India, a well appointed meteorological station has been established at Port Blair on Ross Island since 1868.

Two very serious considerations for commerce are involved here: *viz.*, timely and reliable warnings of storms in the Bay of Bengal and reliable weather forecasts. Accuracy in storm warnings and weather forecasts depends on the establishment of a number of meteorological reporting stations all over a given

132 **Weather.**—Calm weather can be counted on in February to April and in October. Fogs and chilly night winds are common in January to March in the valleys and inner harbour and also after excessive rain. Off shore breezes at night and on shore breezes in the day are most marked during the calm weather, due to the difference in temperature of sea and land. March and April are often hazy. Magnetic variation in the Andaman sea in 1904, 0° 40′ East, decreasing annually 2′. The normal barometric readings vary between 29·873 and 29·722, being highest in February and lowest in June.

General Statistics.—General meteorological statistics for Port Blair for the last seven years are :—

	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.
Temperature.							
Mean highest in shade	April 90·1	April 94·7	April 94·0	April 98·3	Mar. 91·8	April 94·1	April 95·1
Mean lowest in shade	Feby. 70·9	Feby. 71·7	Jany. 72·5	Jany. 70·5	Feby. 71·2	Dec. 72·9	Dec. 71·9
Highest in shade	April 95·2	May 96·8	April 96·8	April 98·8	April 95·8	April 97·0	April 97·1
Lowest in shade	Feby. 66·4	Feby. 66·9	Jany. 67·5	Mar. 65·2	Jany. 67·0	Jany. 68·0	Dec. 67·7
Dry bulb mean	83·6	85·5	85·2	84·8	84·8	86·6	81·7
Wet bulb mean	78·9	79·4	79·7	78·4	78·6	82·5	83·0
Rainfall.							
Most wet days in a month	Aug. 29	Aug. 28	July 29	July 26	Sept. 27	June 27	Aug. 29
Heaviest fall in a month	June 26·29	May 27·55	July 30·97	May 40·53	Sept. 24·88	Sept. 15·44	May 20·81
Months without rain	Jany. Feby.	Feby. Mar.	January.	Feby. Mar.	Nil.	February	Nil.
Total wet days	183	178	196	180	177	162	188
Wind.							
N. N. E.	Jany., Feby., Mar., Dec.	Jany. Feby. Mar., Nov., Dec.	Jany., Feby., Dec.	Feby., Dec.	Feby., Nov., Dec.	Jany., Mar., Nov., Dec.	Jany. Feby.
E. S. E.	April, Oct., Nov.	—	Mar., April Nov.	—	April, Oct.	—	—
W. S. W.	May, June, July, Aug., Sept.	June, July, Aug., Sept.	May, June, July, Aug. Sept. Oct.	May, June, July, Aug., Sept.	May, June, July, Aug., Sept.	May, June, July Aug., Sept.	May, July, Aug., Sept. Oct.
W. N. W.	—	April, May, Oct.	—	—	—	April	June.
E. N. E.	—	—	—	Jany., Mar., April	March.	—	—
S. S. E.	—	—	—	Oct., Nov.	—	October	April, Nov.
N. E.	—	—	—	—	January	February	Mar., Dec.
Clouds.							
Clouds are usually	P. K. & C. P. K. & P. C. *	C. & K.—P. K. & P. C. *	P. K. & P.C. *	Cu. N. Acu. Ci *	Cu. N. Acu. Ci *	Cu. Acu. N. Ci *	Cu. Acu. N. Ci *

* P. K = Pallio-Cumulus : C & Ci = Cirrus : P. C. = Pallio-Cirrus : K. = Cumulus : Cu. N = Cumulo-Nimbus : Acu. = Alto-Cumulus.

Tide.—The tidal observatory with self-registering gauge on Ross Island, established in 1880, is in latitude 11° 41′ N., longitude 22° 45′ E. The Port Blair tide tables are printed by authority from local data. The heights are referred to the Indian spring low-water mark, which for Port Blair is 3·53 feet below mean sea level. The mean range of greatest ordinary springs is 6·6 feet. The highest high-water and the lowest low-water are 8·0 feet above and 0·8 feet below the datum above mentioned. The apparent time of high-water at the full and change of the moon is 9h. 36m At various points of the great harbour of Port Blair the actual times for the tide depend on wind, strength of current, and distance from the open sea. The average variation in time of high tides at the several important points is from 18m. to 57m. later than Ross and in height it is from 20 inches less to 17 inches more than Ross. Wind and current will at these points affect time by as much as 29m. either way, and height by as much as 8 inches either way.

III. Geology.

135 **General Geology.**—There has been no geological survey of the Andamans, but expeditions by experts have been officially undertaken to make preliminary 133 examinations of the islands. These examinations have been carried on under practical difficulties of every kind, not the least being the dense and lofty forests with which the entire islands are covered. Judging by the reports of such

MAP OF THE EARTHQUAKE LINE IN THE ANDAMAN SEA.

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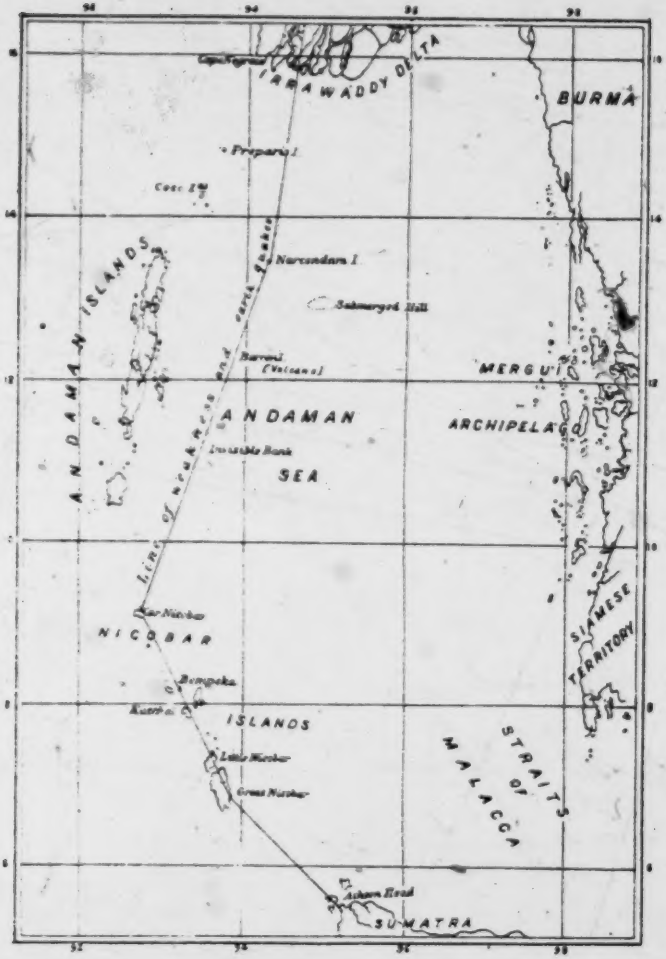

facing p. 41

135 expeditions, the submarine ridges forming these islands contain much that is
133 geologically characteristic of the Arakan Yomas and formations common also to the Nicobars, to the islands off Sumatra and to Sumatra itself. The older rocks, common also in the same form to the Nias Islands on the West Coast of Sumatra are probably early tertiary or possibly late cretaceous, but there are no fossils to indicate age. The newer rocks common to the Nicobars and Sumatra are in Ritchie's Archipelago chiefly and contain radiolarians and foraminifera. There is coral along the coasts everywhere and the Sentinel Islands are composed of the newer rocks with a superstructure of coral, but no atoll is known in the vicinity of the Islands. There is a good deal of serpentine rock, also some jasper, chromite, and copper and iron pyrites, and small pockets of coal. About Port Blair a firm grey sandstone identifiable with the Negrais rocks occurs with interbedded slaty shales, and not infrequently nests of coaly matter and occasionally of conglomerate and pale grey limestones. This sandstone is the characteristic rock of the neighbourhood and is generally, if not always, non-calcareous. In the Archipelago and over a large area in the Andamans, the islands are formed of soft limestones made of coral and shell sand, soft calcareous sandstones and soft white clays, with occasionally a band of conglomerate. Green and red jaspery beds, similar to those of Manipur and Burma and the Nicobars, are found, which may belong to the same series as the sandstones and shales. On Entry Island in Port Meadows are beds of probably volcanic origin, perhaps later than the Port Blair sandstones. Intrusive rocks of the serpentine series and a scoriaceous rock resembling lava occur in the Cinque Islands, Rutland Island, and in spots on the South and Middle Andamans. Hard breccias of volcanic origin are found at Namunaghar in the Penal Settlement and yield an excellent building stone. Good red clay for bricks is found abundantly in pockets. Lime of the best quality is obtained from old coral, but a workable limestone exists in limited quantities. A pretty reddish building marble is also found. Red ochre (*kciob*) is found in considerable quantities in pockets and used, when mixed with gurjan oil, as an excellent covering for shingled roofs. Mica in probably workable quantities has been found about Navy Bay Hill in Port Blair Harbour.

133 **The Subsidence of the Islands.**—A theory of a still continuing subsidence of the islands was first formed by Kurz on his investigation of the vegetation in 1866 and has since been confirmed by Oldham in his geological report of 1884, though with some reluctance owing to the fact that the Arakan Coast to the north and the Nicobars are showing signs of recent elevation. The subsidence seems to be of recent origin, and signs of its continuance, most markedly on the East Coast, are to be found at several places :—Port Mouat, Ranguchang on the East Coast of the South Andaman near Port Blair, Outram Harbour and Havelock Island in the Archipelago, the northern ends of the Little Andaman, the North Sentinel, and the North Andaman. The extremely interesting islands of Narcondam and Barren Island are volcanoes of the general Sunda group, the extinct volcano of Narcondam belonging apparently to what is known as the Pegu group and the quiescent Barren Island to the Sunda group proper. Barren Island was last in eruption in 1803, but there is still a thin column of steam from a sulphur bed at the top and a variable hot spring at the point where the last outburst of lava flowed into the sea, showing lately a temperature of 107° Fahr.

Earthquakes.—Although the Andamans lie along or at any rate are close to a recognised subterranean line of weakness, earthquakes of great violence have not so far in the short time of British occupation been recorded. Recorded dates of earthquakes are August, 1868; February, 1880; and then shocks at times till December 31st, 1881; February, 1882; August, 1883; July, 1886; July, 1894; October, 1899. The sound of the great seismic disturbance in the Straits of Sunda on August 26, 1883, was heard at Port Blair at 9 P.M. of that day and the extra tidal waves caused thereby were felt at 7 A.M. on the 27th. The great Assam Earthquake of 1897 was not felt at all.

It is possible that the reason for the Andamans escaping violent earthquakes while the Nicobars are subject to them is that they are just off the line of greatest weakness, which may run from Sumatra through Great and Car Nicobar, Barren Island, Narcondam to the Arakan Yoma.

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

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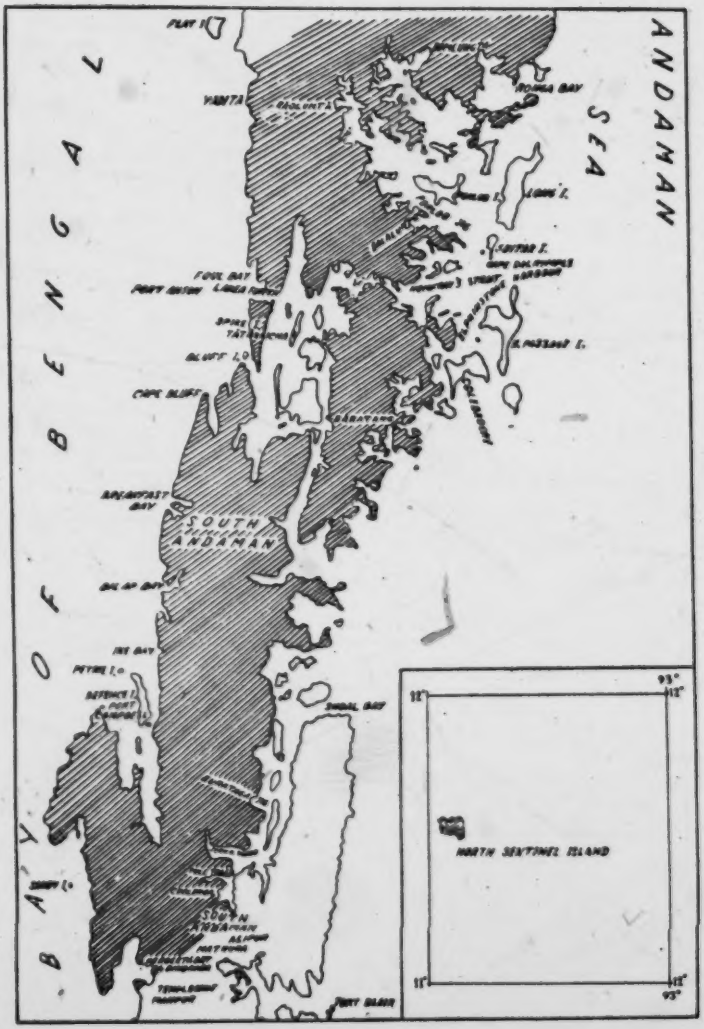

Fig. 1

10:Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

161 Of the two main groups of aborigines, the Great Andaman Group and
177 the Little Andaman Group, the former being the most widespread and
182 numerous in the Great Andamans has become completely non-existent depicting the example of the decay within an extremely short time, especially since the impact of the foreign people. The fate of the later group is also quite shattering—the Jarawas have experienced both numerical decay and territorial shrinkage and the Onges are the only tribes who live exclusively in the Little Andaman but they have been also facing the signs of decay.

133 A glance at the map of the Andaman islands and adjacent countries shows the continuity of these islands with the Arakan Yoma of Burma in the north and with the Indonesian islands in the south. The islands of both the Andaman and Nicobar groups are primarily of sedimentary formations of the Eocene period with occasional igneous intrusions. Later formations of coral are also quite widespread. The surface topography of the regions is typically flat-topped being typical of the sandstone regions and the peaks are in most cases formed of igneous intrusions. The islands are comprised of a number of longitudinal ranges running from the north to the south and in between the ranges short streams flow. The heights of the hills are generally 1000′ and never exceed 2500′.

132 The islands experience a high annual temperature and the yearly rainfall is as high as 130 inches in Port Blair and the amount decreases as one moves to the north and the east. The ameliorating influence of the sea is quite appreciable.

131 With an area of 2508 square miles and the number of islands being as many as 204, only 4 main islands, North Andaman (490.20 sq miles), Middle Andaman (561.00 sq miles), South Andaman (359.51 sq miles) and Little Andaman (289.90 sq miles) have an area of more than 100 sq miles and the rest are sufficiently small in size either to command human settlement or economic activity.

101 The economy of the tribal people is of the primitive form of hunting and collecting though the precise modes of living vary to some extent depending upon the nature of environment under which they have to live. The knowledge of distribution and of actual number of these aborigines is far from accurate. The Andamanese were the most widespread in all parts of the Great Andamans and in the South Andaman they (Aka bea) had to remain vigilant against the possible attacks and territorial expansion of the Jarawas. The Andamanese, as said earlier, have completely died out. The Jarawas, though have dwindled to a negligible number,

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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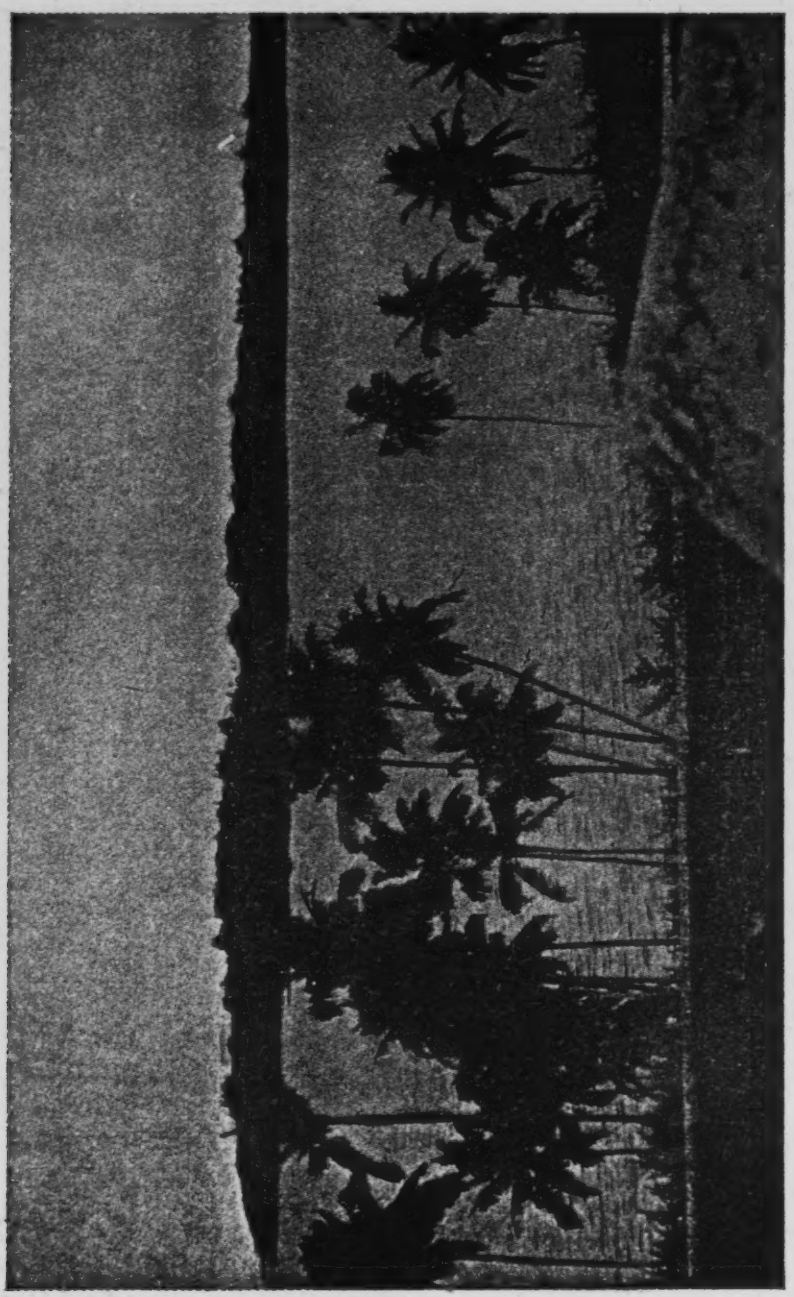

A Panoramic view of an island of the Andamans.

[p. xvii]

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P. 11]

CHAPTER III

PHYSICAL SET-UP

The Andaman & Nicobar Islands form a part of the continuous ridge which runs form the Cape Negrais of Burma through the Preparis and Coco Islands to the Andamans and continues further to the Nicobars and Sumatra. The whole ridge has a geological affinity with the Arakan Yoma of Burma and Sumatra and Java. The ridge is primarily of Eocene formation and forms a part of the great Alpine-Himalayan system. Prof. Gregory holds the view that "the main line continues eastward through the Himalaya until the resistance of the Chinese plateau has traced it southward and part of it now lies beneath the Bay of Bengal, it reappears in Sumatra and continues through Java and across the Malaya Archipelago."[1] But some modifications of Gregory's view have been achieved and presently it is believed that this ridge is a loop of the main Himalayan axis comparable to the Persian loop in western Asia and Apennine loop in Europe.[2] The ridge is not continuous but is interrupted in many places, of which the 3 main channels are worth considering. The depth of the channels increases from north to south. 133

(1) Preparis channel in between north and south Preparis islands has a depth of over 500 fathoms.

(2) The Degree Channel, between the Andamans and the Nicobars, is approximately 400 fathoms deep.

(3) Great Channel lying between Great Nicobar Island and Sumatra is about 750 to 800 fathoms deep.

The peaks of the mountains now form the islands and in some places the coastline slopes very steeply to the ocean.

GEOLOGY OF THE ANDAMANS

The present knowledge of the geology of the islands is largely the outcome of the investigations done by R. D. Oldham (1885), Kurz (1868), Gee, and G. H. Tipper. Even at present a thorough geological knowledge of the islands has not been achieved and this has been due to a number [114]

1. Gregory, J. W.—The Structure of Asia, London, Methuen. [113]
2. Swell, R. B. (1925)—Geography of the Andaman Basin, Geographic and Oceanographic Researches in Indian waters, Mem. Asiatic Soc Bengal IX, No. 1.

[text continues on p. 13]

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

MAP OF THE GEOLOGY OF THE ANDAMANS

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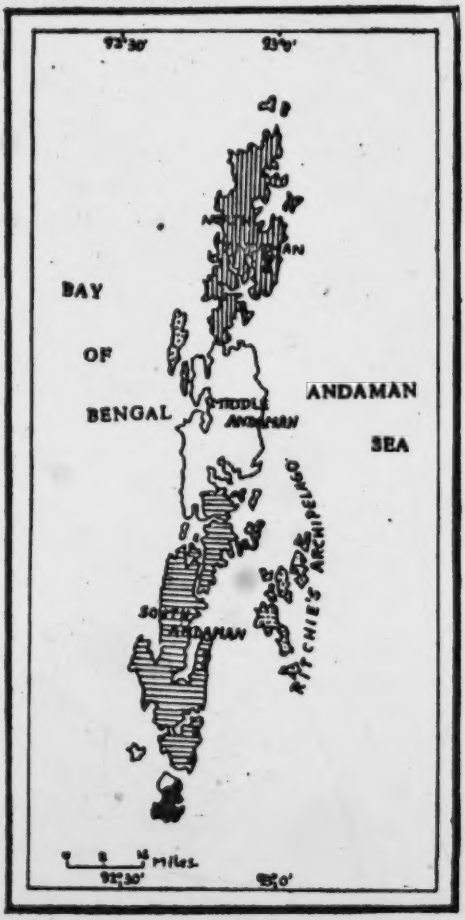

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- UNSURVEYED
- MIOCENE CLAYS OF RITCHIE'S ARCHIPELAGO.
- MIOCENE BURDIGALIAN FORAMINIFERAL LIMESTONES.
- SANDSTONE OF SOUTH ANDAMANS.
- EOCENE CONGLOMERATES OF N. & M. ANDAMANS.
- CRETACEOUS. SERPENTINE SERIES.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

of reasons. Firstly, a thorough survey of the islands is very difficult 133
because of the dense forests and hostile aborigines. Secondly, the 114
Government also cared little to take pains for initiating such a work. Regarding the inconveniences of geologising Tipper writes "the thickness of the jungles may be judged from the fact that our rate of progress varied from half a mile to a mile an hour. The dense jungle with a lack of exposures made geologising very difficult."[1]

Rink first postulated that the Andaman-Nicobar ridge was elevated 133
to its present height from ocean bottom. He describes the chain of islands as consisting "partly of those stratified deposits which occupied the level bottom of the sea before their appearance. and partly of plutonic rocks which pierced through the former and came to the surface through upheaval.

To the two above-mentioned formations has to be added a third. which is the result of the chemical and mechanical destruction of the plutonic masses; it is local and consists of clays and pebbles derived from the underlying strata."

On the whole, the mountain ranges of the Andamans are of sandstones of Eocene Age with intensive rocks of serpentine in places. Large parts of the North Andaman have been grouped under the Archipelago Series by Oldham. Tipper considers the conglomerates of North and Middle Andamans as a facies of the Eocene deposit. Between the mountain ranges which run north to south, some undulating ground is found which often consists of impermeable blue clay beds, indurated shales and conglomerates containing pebbles of quartz and jasper. Coral reefs and the raised beaches form the recent and sub-recent formation of the Andamans. The formation of the Andaman-Nicobar ridge has been assigned to late Cretaceous age.

Oldham has distinguished two sedimentary formations in the Andamans besides serpentine series. He named them as

(1) Port Blair Series, &
(2) Archipelago Series[2]

The Port Blair series is so named because it is dominant in and around Port Blair, i.e., in the South Andaman. The rock types are gray sandstones with interbedded slaty shales, frequently consisting nests

1. Tipper, G. H.—The geology of the Andaman Islands with reference to the Nicobars. Mem. Geol. Sur. Ind., Vol 35, Part 4. [113]

2. Oldham, R. D.—Notes on the Geology of the Andaman Islands, Rec. Geol. Sur. of Ind., Vol. 18, Part 3, 1885.

10:Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

133 of coaly matter and occasionally beds of conglomerate and pale gray limestone as subsidiary members.

The Archipelago series, as the name implies, is dominant in the islands of the Archipelago group. It consists of soft limestones formed of coral and shell—and, soft calcareous sandstones and soft white clays with occasionally a band of conglomerates.

Later on G. H. Tipper further clarified the geology of the Andamans and as analysed by Tipper, the 'Port Blair Series' and 'Archipelago Series' of Oldham correspond to Eocene (Lower Lutetian) and Miocene formations respectively. According to Tipper, the greatest authority of the geology of the Andamans, the following formations have been distinguished in the Andamans:—

Recent and sub-recent	... Raised beaches and coral reef etc.
Miocene	... Clays of Ritchie's Archipelago.
Miocene (Burdigalian)	... Foraminiferal limestones, shell marks of Paget Island.
Eocene (Lower Lutetian)	... Conglomerates of the North and Middle Islands. Sandstones of the South Islands.
Cretaceous	... Serpentine Series.
Pre-tertiary	... In part lower Cretaceous, scattered expanses of quartzites, jaspers and porcellanic limestones.

Of all formations, the Eocene rocks are most widely prevalent. They occupy the 3 main islands i.e., North, Middle and South Andamans and have got two facies of the same deposit. In the North and part of the Middle Andamans the prevailing rock is conglomerate while in the South Andaman it is sandstone.

The Sandstone Area of the South.

The sandstones of the South are even-grained blue grey micaceous sandstones but are sometimes non-micaceous and calcareous intercalated slabs are frequent. Conglomerates also occur in white quartz pebbles of sandy matrix. The rocks have experienced honey-comb weathering because of the irregular distribution of the cementing materials.

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[114] It should be remembered that the geological survey of the Middle Andaman has not been done properly.

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The Conglomerates of the North.

The Conglomerates, as said, occupy almost the whole area of the North Island. The Conglomerates vary considerably in character from a very coarse form with large rounded pebbles to a sandstone. The pebbles are usually rounded and not angular. 133

Miocene (Burdigalian) Deposit.

Foraminiferal limestones occupy large areas of the west coast of the Middle and North Andamans including Interview, Paget, Whitecliff and Thorn hills islands. These beds rest directly but unconformably on the Eocene conglomerates. The rocks vary in degree in different places. The rocks of Interview island are compact limestones with a few quartz grains, that of Paget island are soft foraminiferal sands. On Interview island a large number of long pits, narrow and of considerable depth are found. According to Tipper, they are "due to the falling in of the roofs of the underground streams." The limestone is in places very conspicuous and this feature has boldly made its appearance because of the hardness of the limestone and its action with the rain water.

Other Miocene Rocks.

These rocks have been classified by Oldham as the 'Archipelago Series.' The strata composing these islands consist of soft non-calcareous clays. The conglomerates of the North and Middle Islands, as has already been said, were classified under this group. But later investigations by Tipper and others proved the distinction of the two series. Almost the whole of the Ritchie's Archipelago is composed of this series. There is a good deal of controversy regarding the origin of this clay formation. Ehrenburg (1850) holds the view that this series has been elevated from a considerable depth below the sea level and this is proved by the absence of $CaCO_3$. As Boggild (1916) has shown that the absence of $CaCO_3$ is a characteristic feature of this deep-sea deposit, these non-calcareous clays are held to be of deep-sea deposit and believed by Ehrenburg to be identical with the deposits found in Barbadoes. But the absence of $CaCO_3$ in the deposits near the mouths of the rivers have also been shown by Swell (1925). But what is now accepted is the view held by Tipper and Oldham. They believe that the clay deposits in the Andamans and those in the Nicobars are geologically identical and moreover, have arrived at the conclusion that the deposit has been formed by the breaking down of the older ser-

10:Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

133 pentine rocks and the deposition took place in comparatively shallow water in an estuarine or brackish water sea.

Serpentine Series.

These are igneous rocks covering large areas in the Andamans. They occur at Saddle peak and Saddle hill, Rutland and Cinque islands and many other places. The chief rock is a darkgreen serpentine with veins of chrysolite. The serpentine is basic in character and is derived chiefly from olivine and in part from horn-blende. Somebody believes that the serpentines intruded into the Tertiary sediments but evidences of contact metamorphism could be detected in such a case. In the basic rocks great alteration due to contact metamorphism does not take place, but at least some traces of it should be found around the great mass of Saddle peak had it intruded into the adjacent tertiary sediments. But such is not the case. This serpentine series synchronised with the great intrusions of serpentines, peridolite grabbos and clorite in Baluchistan and elsewhere in India which are of upper Cretaceous age. The Eocene conglomerates of the North Andaman are formed of the fragments and pebbles of the serpentines.

The Pre-tertiary Sedimentary Rocks.

Red and yellow jaspers, quartzites and pink and white porcellanic limenstones are the pre-tertiary sedimentary rocks which occur in isolated patches. The exact age of the rocks has not yet been determined. Weathered jasper pebbles are very common in the Eocene conglomerates of the North Andaman. Similar occurrences of jaspers and quartzites are found in Manipur and Arakan Yoma.

The Recent and Sub-Recent Formations.

The recent formations of the Andamans are the raised beaches and coral reefs. The growth of the raised beaches and coral reefs has been analysed in the light of the upheaval of the Andaman Nicobar ridge which is believed to be still rising. This process of upheaval is slowly continuing and the same seems to be the case further to be north in the Arakan district of Burma.

The South Sentinel Island is composed of corals raised to a few feet. The N. Sentinel Island is also said to be of raised coral. Swell also detected one or two localities of reef coral that now form part of the shore and are raised considerably above the high water level. Since these beds must have originated at some depth below sea level it seems clear that elevation has taken place quite recently.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Hence the formation of the coral reefs and raised beaches can be accounted for only if we believe in the recent upheaval of the Andaman-Nicobar ridge. Let us see the evidences that are in favour of this upheaval and those against it. Swell and Tipper believe that the Andaman-Nicobar ridge has experienced an apparent elevation of land which is only possible through the eustatic change of water-level. They have put forward a number of arguments that are as follows: 133

(1) The formation of coral reefs is possible only if there be an apparent or true elevation of the land.

(2) Throughout the tropical belt there are evidences of an apparent elevation of land in comparatively recent times.

(3) At the South West corner of Rutland Island in the Andaman Group, there is a raised pebble beach, situated 5'-6" above the top-level.

(4) At the southwest end of the westermost of the Twin Islands, off the west side of the Rutland Island, is a raised beach of shingle-conglomerates, about 6' ft. above high water-mark. This apparent upheaval of the land i.e. fall of the sea-level is believed to have been caused by the climatic fluctuations in the Quaternary period causing glacial and interglacial periods which resulted in a fall and rise of the water-level respectively.

But Kurz (1868) does not believe in the recent upheaval of the Andamans, but he holds the opposite view. The advocacy of Kurz in favour of the sinking of the Andamans is also due to a number of reasons.

Kurz had his conclusion from the botanical aspect of the coastal region. Kurz says, "some of the stumps of the trees (along the shore) proved to belong to such species as never grew in the mangrove swamps, and in any locality such as that in which they are now standing. They appeared to me to belong to *Pongamia*, *Erythrina*, *Thesperia* and even to *Manuzops Indica*, accompanied by strongly buttressed trunks. Also trunks of *Bruguiera gymnorhiza* are frequent and of a larger size than those which grow close to the shores but apparently agreeing with those which are everywhere found further up the creeks. All these (except the last mentioned) are trees which never occur in the mangrove swamps, but in the sandy soil just behind them or else bordering the sea where the shores are very steep and not adapted to the formation of mangrove swamps."[1] This evidently leads one to believe that the 133 137

1. Kurz. S—On the vegetation of the Andaman Islands, Calcutta. [113]

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

133 [137] Andamans are sinking so that the trees which are found in the sandy soils behind the mangrove swampo are seen to be amidst them.

The sinking state of the Andamans has been further shown by quoting the reports of the Andaman Committee (1858)[2]. It is stated that the sea had encroached upon some 40′ or 50′ feet since the first settlement at Chatham Island in Port Cornwallis so that the store house that stood up there has been destroyed by the sea since the abandonment of the place since 1796. Again the Hamfray's strait changed a good deal in a very short margin of time. The easiness with which Helfer[3] in 1858 sailed through the strait became unnavigable later on except for small boats, as pointed out by the Andaman Committee. These facts not only prove the sinking state of the islands but also the rapidity with which the sinking is taking place. But the view has been strongly disputed by Tipper and Swell. Swell believes that whatever evidence that is found in favour of sinking is completely due to local change of level and Tipper argues that the coastal regions have slipped downwards to the sea giving rise to the evidences of sinking. He says that the structure of the Andamans may allow such slips into the sea.

Thus the enigma of the problem remains unsolved. Even in recent years the Ross Island off the Port Blair coast has been found to sink down into the sea. We have to scrutinize that this sinking which is evidenced in many parts of the Andamans is whether due to a new phase of sinking after the cessation of the upheaval of the islands which created the coral reefs, raised beaches etc. or due to the slip of the coastal region into the sea.

The direct connection of the Andaman and Nicobar islands with the mainland is still a controversial matter. But it is held by Mr. Kurz that the Andamans were connected with the mainlands which he concluded largely from his observations of the botanical aspect of the islands. In describing the flora of the Andamans he remarks "one may presume that a great number of species which originally grew in countries now submerged between these islands, Burmah and Hindoostan, have been repelled by the advancing sea and vegetation has thus become comparatively richer in generic types as the area grew smaller." Swell argues if at all any land connection of the islands with the mainland would have occurred, it would have surely been broken before the evolution of

[113] 2. Bonington, M.C.C.—The Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Census of India, 1931.

3. Helfer, a Russian geologist, while prospecting the islands in search of gold was killed by the aborigines.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

the mammalia took place because no indigenous land mammal occurs in any of these islands with the possible exception of a species of Paradoxurus and an insectivore which have been captured in the Andamans, but which, so far we know, do not occur in any of the Nicobar Islands. Again Boden Kloss (1903) from a study of the mammalian and avian fauna reached the conclusion that these islands were never connected with the mainland. Since the mammalia made their appearance towards the close of the Triassic period and the Andaman-Nicobar ridge did not apparently rise from the sea-bottom before the late Cretaceous epoch, it is certainly difficult to see how any connection with the mainland can reasonably be postulated. But the geologists believe that originally the whole chain of islands was continuous presumably above sea-level but the continuity of the original mountain has been broken by wide gaps which, in the western part of the Burmese-Malay arc, for example, are larger than remnants.

PHYSIOGRAPHY OF THE ANDAMANS

The Andamans abound in hills and lack in lowlands. From a distance the islands look like a long north-south running vista of domes. The hills are so low that they may be called domes. The hill-ranges have a north-south alignment and between these systems lie depressions where either the sea encroaches and forms a longitudinal bay or plain lands. The cost line is not broken everywhere but so in places, such as the southeastern coast of the Middle Andaman, southeast coast of the North Andaman, northwest coast of North Andaman, western coast of the Baratang Island. Here the coastline seems to be of emergent type and the mangrove swamps encroach far into the sea (c. f. Sunderban area) and this feature is particularly significant in the east coast of the Middle Andaman. The whole coast seems to be mantled by a dense cover of mangrove swamps for miles together. The views of Mr. Kurz regarding the recent sinking of the island seem to be true from the physiographic outline of the coastline. Here also the answer of the question is a problematic one as to whether the Andamans are really sinking or not. The evidences of sinking have been argued to be due to local causes only by Mr. Swell or due to the slip of the coastal region towards the sea by Mr. Tipper. Hence the question is still a controversial one and the authoritative suggestions made by Mr. Swell, Mr Tipper and Mr. Gee cannot be taken as final and this problem again needs other forms of analysis from the other morphological studies of the islands.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

131 The Andamans consist of 204 islands of which the important islands of the main body from north to south are North Andaman, Middle Andaman, Baratang Island, South Andaman, Rutland and Little Andaman. Another group of islands lie some 15-20 miles off the east coast of Middle Andaman and they are primarily a group of a few islands-Neill, Havelock, Peet Is, Wilson Is, John Lawrence Is, Henry Lawrence Is, known as Ritchie's Archipelago.

PHYSIOGRAPHY OF THE ANDAMANS

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10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

As has already been said, main Andaman group of islands is of Eocene formation (with sandstones in the South and conglomerates in the North) and the Ritchie's Archipelago is of later formation i.e. of Miocene age, built up of clays and forminiferal limestones. From a symmetry of the alignment of the mountain ranges, the Andamans can be divided into a few physiographic regions. 133

(1) The Cholunga Range in South Andaman (it lies in the middle of the South Andamans) and its continuation through the mountain ranges along the west coast of Middle Andaman to Ranger Island.

(2) The Mount Harriet Range along the east of the South Aadaman continue through the Baratang range to the hill range of North Andaman.

(3) The West Coast Range has its continuation in the Interview Island.

(4) East Coast range of North Andaman runs down towards the south to the East Coast ranges of Middle Aadaman.

(5) Intervening lowlands in between these longitudinal mountain ranges.

(6) Coastal Lowlands.

Regarding the mountain ranges, on the whole, some peculiarities have been observed. It is observed that this range of mountain system which is a continuation of the Arakan Yoma and runs right upto Sumatra has a gradual decrease and then an increase in height from north to south. A list of important mountains in series from north to south are as follows:— 103 133

	Name of the peak		Height above the sea level	
Arakan Range, Burma	Chypotong	...	8386	feet
	Chinsikiatong	...	6012	"
	Mengootsan	...	3600	"
Andaman-Nicobar ridge	North Andaman	...	2902	"
	Middle "	...	1678	"
	Little "	...	600	"
	Car Nicobar	...	200	"
	Batti Malv	...	150	"
	Choura	...	343	"
	Katchal	...	835	"
	Little Nicobar	...	1428	"
	Great Nicobar	...	2705	"
Sumatra	Batu Mukurah	...	6371	"
	Sinobong	...	12,140	"

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PHYSIOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS OF THE ANDAMANS

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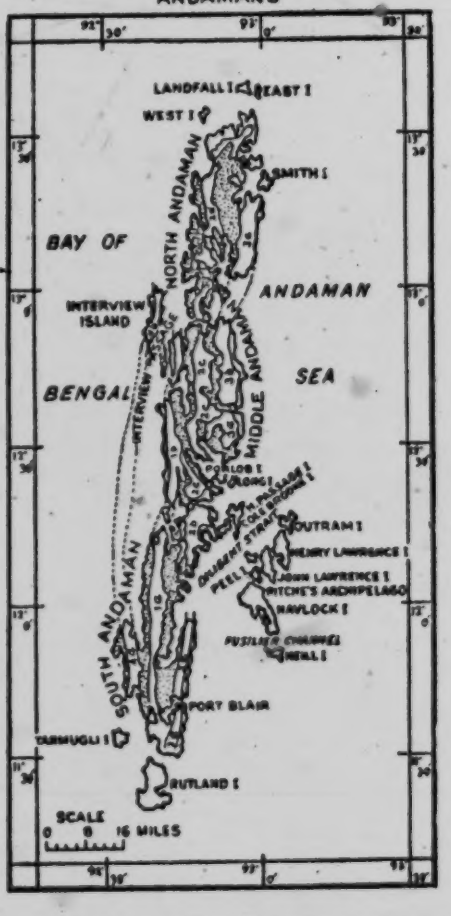

133 According to Swell, these variations in height are due to (1) an alteration of the pitch of the axis or (2) a variation in the rate of weathering and denudation in different regions. Swell says "A gradual fall towards the south and a subsequent rise in the level of the ridge, the differences between the highest peaks at each end, which rise to well over 8000' and the lowest of the peaks in the middle, namely, the island of Batti Malv which is only 150' above sea-level, is at the least some 8000' or approximately

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

1340 fathoms and it would appear probable that there has been, since the first formation of this mountain chain, a secondary depression that has lowered the level of the range in this area by approximately this amount." Molengraff[1] has called attention to the fact that similar depression, though on a smaller scale, exists further to the south in the continuation of the chain through the Malay Archipelago to the east of the Tima island, though on Tima Island itself there is incontestable proof of a post-tertiary elevation in the shape of a succession of coral reef terraces that are raised high above the present sea level.

The alignment of the hill systems in the Andamans, though not fully, but closely resembles the basin and range topography. In between the mountain ranges lie the longitudinal bays into which a number of very short torrential streams flow from both sides. The Andaman Committee observed that "the highest land wherever seen is on the eastern side" and that "the watershed is therefore chiefly to the west and it is consequently on that side that the marshy localities will most probably be found". But this observation is far from true which will be evident from the discussion below.

The east coast has really higher hills, but in the west coast also we find hills above 1000′ in height (1109′ in the Middle Andaman). Again, the second view is wholly untenable because of the fact that there is abundance of marshy localities in the east coast region than west coast.

Again, a greater number of rivers as well as the important ones viz, Batapur, etc. flow into the east coast.

West Coast Range of South Andaman and its continuation into the Interview Island is probably the lowest hill-system in the Andamans. The peak-height rises more than 800′ ft. Typical sandstone topography is manifested in the landscape of the region where all the hills are flat topped.

The hill ranges of the west coast, especially of the south west being under the direct impact of the southwest monsoons are lower than that of the east because of greater rainfall in the west, particularly the southwest, which results in a rapid erosion of the hills and, consequently lowering in height.

Cholunga Range and its continuation upto the Rangers Island are one of the highest ranges of the Andamans. It runs through the middle

1. Molengraff, G.A.F., Modern deep-sea researches in the East Indian Archipelago, Geog. Jour, 1921.

10:Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

133 of South Andaman, where on its both sides are longitudinal bays. Further the range runs along the west coast of the Middle Andaman and merges into the Ranger Island. In this range the important peaks from south to north are Mt. Ford (1426′) in Rutland, Cholunga (1057′) and Cadell (1163′) in South Andaman and one unnamed peak (1016′) in the west coast of Middle Andaman.

Further east, the longitudinal range is the Mount Harriet Range which runs further north through Baratang Island and the middle of the Middle Andamans to the west coast range of North Andaman. The Mt. Harriet Range in South Andaman is the highest part of this region which rises steeply from the east coast of South Andaman and the peak heights are Mt. Harriet (1196′) and Koyob (1509′). In Baratang and Middle Andaman the height of the range decreases considerably and in the former the height never exceeds 700′ feet. Again, in the North Hudson peak-height of 1109 ′ is observed.

Along the east coast of North Andaman and Middle Aadaman lies the highest mountain range of the Andamans and next to it is the Cholunga Range. The important peaks in North Andaman are Saddle Peak (2402′) and Jire Miku (2247′), the former being the highest peak in the whole of the Andamans. In Middle Andaman, peak heights of Mt. Dianolo (1678′) and many others of more than 1000′ have been observed.

In general the hill-ranges are low in height never exceeding 2500′ and they send out spurs in all directions. On an average, of course, the east coast ranges are steeper than the west coast ranges and all these ranges are under the deep mantle of orest cover.

The depressions that lie in between the mountain ranges are either longitudinal bays and in a few cases river valleys. In between the west coast range and Cholunga range in the South Andaman are the Blair Reach and Dalrymple Reach and again in between the Interview Island and the North and Middle Andaman are the Buchanan Passage, Interview Passage and Austin harbour.

Between the Cholunga Range and its contiunation and the Mt. Harriet Range and its continuation, lies the School Bay Creek in the South Andaman into which very short, non-perennial streams flow from the hill ranges of both sides. Again, in between the Baratang hill range and Cholunga Range continuation, lie the Amitla Doicha Passage, Needham Reach and Yaratil Jig, Melagi Bay, Lukhlriwath Bolyo and Arad Bay in the North Andaman.

In between the East West Range of North and Middle Andamans and the Harriet Range continuation in the North, lie the Blair Bay, Kalpong

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Bay, Kalara Bay, Congo Bay etc. in the North Andaman and Betapur river valley and Bomlungta river valley in the Middle Andaman.

Hydrography.

The study of the hydrography of a region includes petamology (study of rivers), limnology (lakes), cryology (snow) and geohydrology (underground water). The study of limnology and cryology of this region can be completely omitted because there is a complete absence of both lakes as well as snows or glaciers. Of the rest the geo-hydrology of the Andamans is little known because no research work regarding this aspect has been conducted.

The petmology or the study of rivers is the most important object of hydrology. The rivers are very short, non-perennial as well as torrential in character. They can better be called as streams because of their seasonal drying up and short length. The Andamans enjoy quite heavy rainfall of about 130", but because of the seasonal fall, the water-level [132] of the streams fluctuates very greatly and in the dry season most of the rivers either do not have any water or have only a trickle of water. Little water in the river valleys may also be partially due to the pervious [134] nature of the soil which does not help the water-table of the region to be sufficiently high. The greater as well as continuous rainfall throughout the year in the South Andaman keep the rivers almost perennial. [132]

The Middle Andaman has only a few little rivers and they are Betapur and Bamlangta rivers. Both of them rise from the hill ranges of the continuation of Mt. Harriet Range in Middle Andaman and flow through the longitudinal valleys, and are interrupted by a great number of spurs from both the eastern and the western hill ranges. The Betapur river rises in the north of Middle Andaman and flows towards the south with a number of tributaries from both the ranges on both the sides. Almost the whole of the northeast Middle Andaman is drained by the Betapur river and its tributaries. According to Mr. Sethi, the country from the place where the Picha Nala meets the Betapur stream, though interrupted by small hills, is almost level for 7 or 8 miles.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

is not in accordance with the opinion that the Andamanese are descendants of shipwrecked Portuguese Negro slaves.' Though this process seems to be very crude for the determination of the exact date of the arrival of the Andamanese, a rough guess can very well be made. Cipriani has also advocated the measurement of the residual radioactivity of charcoal at different levels for the determination of the antiquity of the Andamanese. It is quite obvious that further research in these lines in the future can only give us a more precise idea about the date of the arrival of the aborigines.

The region wherefrom the oborigines arrived and the route of their migration are also matters of considerable controversy. It is believed that the Andaman and Nicobar islands were connected by land with the Arakan folds of Burma in the late Tertiary period, but this is also not very certain. According to Brown, the authority on the anthropology of the Andamans, the negritoes migrated from the Arakan region of Burma if there had been any land connection and if not, they migrated, not by land, but by sea from the Burmese coast (Pegu or Arakan). Brown says. 'The N. E. Monsoon could drift them thence on to the Andamans. It is conceivable that they might have travelled from Sumatra by the way of the Nicobars but the N. E. Monsoon would have appeased their progress in this direction while the S. W. Monsoon would have driven them to the coast of the Andamans. It is hardly possible to imagine them coming from the Malaya Peninsula across the wide stretch of the Andaman Sea. The balance of possibility is in favour of the view that the Andamans were peopled either by land or by sea, from the region of the Lower Burma.'[1] It is probable that the negritoes moved from Burma either at a time when a direct land connection was achieved or when shallow waters in the sea facilitated movement by the rafts of the aborigines, but the former has been considered to be thoroughly untenable because of the absence of any mammalia in the Andamans and this proves that if at all there had been any land connection of Burma and Andamans, it must have been before the evolution of the mammalia. The deep sea researches of Molengraaf (1921) have been utilised by Kaudern (1939)[2] to interpret the probable routes of migration of the negritoes into the Andaman Islands. In the Quaternary period, there had been alternating glacial and interglacial periods because of the

1 Brown, A. R—The Andaman Islands.
2 Kaudern, W—Notes on the geographical distribution of the pygmies and their possible afflicties; Etno. Stud. g, 1939.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

174 change of the climate. In the glacial period, there had been a fall in
133 the level of the sea because of the fact that a great volume of water of the sea had transformed into ice. Hence in one such glacial period, as believed by Kaudern, there was a fall of 300 metres in the sea-level which established a direct contact with Burma facilitating the movement of the negritoes into the islands. But the absence of the Negrito group in the Nicobar Islands, only about 100 miles off the Andamans, invokes inquiry. This conspicuous absence of the negritoes in the Nicobars has been explained by Kaudern in this way:

'If the pygmies, when they migrated from the continent towards the south, were able to reach the former (the Andamans) but not the latter islands (the Nicobars), it meant that there has been at some time a fall of sea level of nearly 300 metres, but not as much as 800 metres in these tracts.'[1] As the Ten Degree channel exists between the Andamans and the Nicobars, the movement of the Negritoes further south was stopped.

174 There has been an attempt of linking up some of the tales of Hindu Mythology, Ramayana with the land and people of the Andamans. Detection of such a link has been speculated in search of the origin of the aboriginal population. Though there is no room for doubt of the affinity of the aborigines of the Andamans with the negritoes, as established from the studies of the physical and cultural anthropology, Shri S. K. Gupta, though not an anthropologist, has been a strong advocate of the opinion that the aborigines of the Andamans are the 'kiratas' of Ramayana. He writes, 'According to modern anthropology they are of the negrito stock. But according to Ramayana they are kiratas. These kiratas have been described in our literature as shiny black, with a copper coloured head of hair (Tamramurdhaja), bulging eyes, strong teeth. The description recorded several thousands years ago, holds good to-day. All these tribes have copper coloured curly short hair growing as it were in separate insulated tufts.'[2] Further knowledge about them is that they live on meat and fish.

The affinity of the Andamancse has been further confirmed by citing some native appellations of the Andamanese which show a striking phonetical similarity to those of the kiratas e.g., *Aka-kora* (*da*). *Aka-kede* (*da*), *Aka-kol* (*da*) etc and also the phonetical similarity of the Onge word *Boan* with Santal word *Bonga* both signifying God.

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[113] 1 Kaudern, W—Notes on the geographical distribution of the pygmies etc, Etno. Stud. 9, 1939.

2 Gupta, S. K—Andaman & Nicobar Islands, 1951.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

An outrigger Canoe. (Courtesy A. S. I.)

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[133]

An outrigger Canoe with a Burmese Boat (Courtesy A. S. I.)

[facing P. 60]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Nicobars AZ7

CHAPTER ONE

The People of the Islands

In the Bay of Bengal, eight hundred miles to the south-east of Calcutta and a hundred and twenty miles from Cape Nigrais in Burma, the two hundred and four islands of the Andaman archipelago stretch out in a line, with a surface area of 6,495 square kilometres. To the south-east, about a hundred miles away, lie the Nicobars, strung out in a much smaller chain covering only 1,645 square kilometres and made up of twenty-one islands, of which only twelve are inhabited.

A 133 [131]
N [131] [133]

The only islands in the Andamans which are permanently occupied are Great Andaman and Little Andaman. The former, three hundred and twenty kilometres long and at no point more than forty kilometres wide, was broken up by geological movement in ancient times into three sections, known as North, South and Middle Andaman. Today these are separated from each other by two narrow straits hardly navigable even by vessels of low tonnage. A much larger passage, the Ten Degree Channel, so called because it is crossed by the 10° north parallel, separates the Andamans from the Nicobars, and incidentally forms a dividing line between ordinarily different worlds, worlds which in the past, as I hope to show, had many characteristics in common.

The Nicobars are peopled by a very ancient Mongoloid race. There are no foreigners permanently resident apart from a family of Moslem merchants from India with a few employees. There are also the Shom-Pen, a small, wild and semi-nomadic group who have been forced back into the forests of Great Nicobar, where they preserve their ancient somatic and cultural characteristics, showing affinities with a Mongoloid people living far away on the chain of islands off the west coast of Sumatra.

N 162 101

THE ANDAMAN ISLANDERS

114 This was a pity, as I knew that my Indian and Burmese companions were ready to run any risk with the prudence they had already shown in Little Andaman towards the Onges. Since North Sentinel is flat and its forest not impassable, a peace mission led by men accustomed to dealing with people like the Andamanese, though it would certainly need more than a brief stay, would probably be ultimately successful.

124 114 [648] My sole source of local information on the Jarawas was the wife of a government official, who had tended a pregnant woman and four children who were captured during one of the punitive expeditions on Bluff Island. She gave me a great deal of useful information, and indeed the greater part of our scanty ethnographical and linguistic data on the Jarawas has been obtained through her.

THE ONGES

177 648 114 133 Until 1952 the attitude of the various groups of Onges was very similar. Along the coast, however, they had already had some contact many years ago with a limited number of outsiders. Compared with the Jarawas they have been uniquely fortunate among surviving primitive peoples in that their extremely fertile territory has remained immune from invasion. In this they have been helped by their geographical isolation as much as by their own ferocity. Indeed Little Andaman, surrounded by an ocean that frequently turns into the proverbial boiling cauldron, presents grave risks to anyone trying to land. I had considerable experience of this myself; on many occasions I nearly gave up when the boat was overturned by giant breakers. On one occasion on the south coast of the island we were flung into the sea, and the empty boat capsized and dragged me down. No one was in a position to come to my rescue, but the momentary relief of an enormous return wave enabled me to extricate myself. The previous day the breakers had crashed down one after another and smashed us against the coral reef which runs right round Little Andaman. Our baggage and provisions had disappeared, and until help arrived we were forced to remain for two gruelling days without water or food, with no protection from the sun and in constant danger of being attacked by the Onges.

000 During the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries

CHAPTER TWO

The Silent Forest

133 The whole of the Andamans and Nicobars can be regarded as the top of an oceanic mountain range, an extension of the Arakan mountains of Burma, which continues out under the sea from Cape Nigrais. Geological structure and flora are very similar, although there are some significant differences in the fauna, due to the subsequent isolation of the archipelago.

On Great Andaman there are many rocks of continental origin, but they are rare on Little Andaman, where the surface largely consists of coral deposits on top of sedimentary and volcanic rocks. At some points on the east coast the sea throws up lumps of fine, very hard granite; I found an outcrop of it in Butler Bay, to the north of Hut Bay, and another at Labanar near the river Tejàh. In the central area are some hills of sedimentary rock all less than a hundred metres high, dropping towards the south of the island. The whole of the rest of the island is built up of coral deposit.

Various geological events, still in progress, caused the separation of Great and Little Andaman. The former, three hundred and twenty kilometres north to south, suffered in the course of time two transverse fractures east to west, large enough for fair-sized steamers to pass through. The rift is so narrow that in places one can throw a stone across. These two marine channels, as we have seen, divided Great Andaman into the Islands now known as North, Middle and South Andaman.

The Andamans are still subject to frequent earthquakes, often quite strong ones, which are gradually altering the conformation of the islands just as long ago they divided Great Andaman. From my excavations in the kitchen-middens I was able to verify changes in the level of marine life, due not to any variation in the level of the

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

sea itself, but to the rising and falling of the land with the recurring 133
movements. Even between 1951 and 1952 there was a noticeable alteration in the level of the north-east coast of Little Andaman, following an earthquake in July 1951; the Onges had to move the communal hut at Tambe-e-buiè further inland, because the sea, previously twenty metres away, had begun to come right up to the hut. In several places giant trees centuries old crashed to the ground, their roots left without any foothold as the level of the land fell suddenly all along the coast. If this can happen in one year, it is hardly surprising that what now appears as an archipelago is in reality a continuous mountain chain, its levels broken and rebroken over thousands of years till the islands became separated by the sea for good, their coasts so eroded that subsequent quakes have failed to reunite them.

It is highly unwise even to attempt a landing on Little Andaman 132
during the monsoons. Both the north-east monsoon in June and August and the south-west in November and January whip the seas up into a frenzy, but in late April and again in late September the sea is quite calm. Since both monsoons pass over vast tracts of sea, they become saturated with water vapour and bring torrential rains, not infrequently accompanied by hurricanes violent enough to strip all the leaves off the trees. After these storms the jungle, normally almost impenetrable, is made even more so by the tangle of fallen branches and the trunks of old trees torn up by the wind or the lightning. The lightning strikes the tallest trees, which may 32
smoulder for days on end without setting fire to the sodden forest, 372
so great is the humidity. I have often seen one of these flaming torches; the Onges, ignorant as they are of the art of making fire, take advantage of the phenomenon, as a continuous supply of burning wood is a necessity in a climate which is so damp and humid all the year round that matches become useless after twenty-four hours unless suitable precautions are taken.

Once on the island, virgin forest stretches endlessly before one 137
in undulating waves of treetops, black and terrifying. From the tops of the trees thousands of lianas hang everywhere, winding like snakes from trunk to trunk, forming an inextricable tangle, yet somehow always elegant, binding the entire forest into one dense mass. Many of the tree-trunks reach diameters unheard of in temperate climates. Some of them have hollow cavities, treasured by [82u]
The Onges as hiding-places or temporary shelters.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

137 with, its European counterpart. The spores, attached to a plume barely visible to the naked eye but wonderfully constructed, are carried into the sky by the air currents rising from the pools in the hottest part of the day and travel considerable distances.

One could fill whole books with the botany of the islands but here I can record only a few examples. One I cannot leave out is a species of *ipomea*, or Morning Glory, which flourishes on the sandy beaches in the lee of the coral reefs. The local varieties are not climbers, but spread over the ground in a compact lattice of stems, fairly well able to withstand the onslaught of wind and water. They prevent coastal erosion, both by the protection which their covering of strong stems and leathery leaves provides and by holding fast loose pieces of coral. These *ipomeas* are found only in the Andamans, some with purplish flowers and others white. They surround the communal huts along the coast, carpeting every free inch of ground cleared by the Onges of other and more destructive vegetation. They make no attempt to cut down the *ipomea*, as the compact growth helps their canoes to slide up and down the beach.

[501] [824]

Along the coast of Little Andaman one sees rows of beautiful casuarinas (the Whistling Pine) especially a little to the north of Bugong Creek. From out at sea they stand against the skyline like rows of Italian cypress. They never reach the height of which they are capable, owing to the wind and the nature of the terrain; apart from a small stony, hilly area in the interior, of ancient continental origin, the island is really nothing more than a huge coral bank lying against these hills, which in the course of thousands of years has become covered with vegetal mould of no great depth. Trees are therefore forced to send their roots out horizontally, and the strong monsoon winds can easily uproot the tallest of them. After every storm one sees huge trunks lying on the ground, their wide net of roots sticking high into the air. Only a few of the giants in the interior manage to resist, protected by their neighbours. On Great Andaman, where there is more land of continental origin, deep rooting is possible and the forest presents a very different picture.

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137 Much has already been written by others about the epiphytes, among them beautiful ferns and even more lovely orchids, which cling desperately to the trees in their struggle to reach the light. All are closely related to the flora of Burma, Malaysia, and Sumatra,

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7 An important feature of the islands is the way in which the forest comes right down to the water's edge

8 In the monsoon season, trees are frequently uprooted in this manner

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[facing P. 66, F]

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9 The bow and arrow is the main weapon used for hunting; in this photograph the archer has the long arrow harpoon used for spearing large fish

10 Fishing in the coral shallows

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[facing p. 66, G]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

CHAPTER SIX

Food from the Sea

Around the islands, corals stretch out under the water, which is clear and transparent to a depth of several metres so that a riot of colour is clearly visible from the surface. Dazzling as the spectacle is, the first thing that strikes one is the sheer abundance of the coral: it grows slowly, and into the most fantastic shapes. The colours range from white to cream and brown, like leather, or to purple and brilliant blue in streaks tipped with vivid orange, always harmonious, as though gigantic multicoloured flowers have been scattered among the reefs. 133

Many of the corals are similar to those of the Mediterranean in colour and shape, but none have any commercial value for the traders, who look for highly ornamental effects. While the corals invade the rocks in endless masses wherever the water is clear, there are none at the mouths of the rivers. Here they are killed by the impurities brought down to the sea from inland after the floods. This explains the narrow, deep, channels running between the coral formations, corresponding to the flow from the river mouths. Along a coastline that stretches for well over a hundred kilometres I found only two of these channels, one in the north and one in the north-east of the island. Since their existence marks the absence of underwater coral reefs the Indian navy marked them with buoys in my presence in 1914.

All round Little Andaman the ebb tides reveal an expanse of coral reefs stretching as far as the eye can see, which are partially submerged for a few hours every day. Progress over these reefs is both difficult and dangerous. There are edges as sharp as glass everywhere, ready to pierce the skin at the slightest touch, and here and there submerged potholes, which vary in depth from three

133 to six metres or more, with sudden vertical drops and dangerous overhangs. It is here, however, that underwater life is at its most 133 beautiful. Swarms of fish, painted in fantastic variegated stripes, 136 spots and patches in imitation of their surroundings, live among these caverns, rushing about in the wells of deep water. When they are pursued by bigger fish, the shoals will leap suddenly out of the water, only to be caught by the gulls who are always lying in wait for them. I have watched the shoals from the shore, and seen them leap out of the sea to lie gasping on the sand, dying quickly in the heat.

136 Where there are channels in direct communication with the open sea, small sharks slightly over a metre in length move in to meet any swimmers, though a clap of the hands is enough to put them to flight. Fish weighing several kilograms hide in the recesses of the [226] rocks bordering the corals, but they quickly emerge if poked with a stick, and the Onge women have an ingenious system of catching them. Rocks sticking up out of the water swarm with crustacea and tiny molluscs. Apart from the crabs, I was struck by their poor relations, the hermit crabs, comical tenants of all kinds of shells. One species, common in Little Andaman but rare on Great Andaman, is a beautiful tomato red all over, while others are bluish or grey.

The underwater world round the islands is completed by large numbers of several Holothuria, lazy, but conspicuous, and the huge bivalve molusc, *Tridacna* or Giant Clam. Some of these are anything up to a hundred years old and well over a metre in diameter, and weigh between two and three hundredweight. Always open, and incapable of moving from place to place, they feed by means of a multicoloured 'fringe' attached to the hem of each shell, the beating cilia which wave unceasingly causing eddies in the surrounding water and so drawing in plankton from a wide radius. Under normally calm conditions, this process of drawing in and swallowing plankton goes on without stopping, day and night. The huge molluscs look like simple baskets of blue, red, green and white flowers set on the sea bed, but they are in fact terrible creatures. If a man's hand or a foot should be sucked into the quite strong eddy the 'fringe' of cilia immediately folds back and the *Tridacna* suddenly closes like a giant eye silently, viciously, and so violently as to crush completely the limb caught between the two

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
[Tinnevelly] Tamil AW17
Andamans AZ2

T 369

the river and indeed so practically contiguous that the towns are virtually one.

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The real interest of the Tamprabarni, its irrigation apart, lies in the future. The Tamprabarni is probably unique among Indian rivers in that it was harnessed to provide direct hydraulic power for cotton spinning: the first of two turbine-driven mills was set up in 1885. At Papanasam there is a 300-ft fall which is being developed to produce 21,000 kW (ultimate capacity 28,000). The actual engineering work is completed, and full development is limited only by doubts as to the need of conserving water for irrigation; but the possibilities of cheap electricity in this area are manifold: foremost perhaps an increase of well-irrigation in the half-dead edaphically arid tracts, and industrially the revivification of the palmyra sugar industry, the extension of cotton in all its branches. Oilseeds could certainly be more widely cultivated in the red soil area, possibly leading to soap and allied industries, and the hills contain vast reserves of bamboo for paper-making.

The Andaman and Nicobar Islands

A 133

These two groups, directly under Delhi, continue the trend of the Arakan Yomas, linking them to the Sumatran ranges. They differ between themselves to a marked extent; both physically and culturally.

1. *The Andamans*

A [132]

These number over 200, extending NNE/SSW for some 220 miles between 10° and 14° N; the total area is 2500 sq mls, of which the great bulk is in the three major islands of North, Middle, and South Andaman. These three, indeed, are separated only by narrow mangrove-fringed inlets, so that they are often referred to as virtually one island, Great Andaman. The islands are formed of sandstones, limestones, clays, and some serpentines, probably mainly Tertiary, and are highly dissected, rising to 2400 ft. With a temperature never far from 85° F, rainfall over 100 ins., and a monsoonal distribution with no really rainless season, they are naturally jungle-covered: mangrove along coasts and inlets, tropical evergreen along valleys and on steeper wetter slopes, elsewhere moist deciduous. Forestry is perhaps the most important economic activity and is fairly well organised; a match factory was set up about 1930.

A 313 381 A 161 563

The total population in 1941 was 21,316, but this included a strange medley: aboriginals, convicts and ex-convicts with their 'local-born' children, officials. A century ago the aboriginals probably numbered about 5000; in 1931 they were estimated at about 460, in 1941 at 62; many tribes have died right out. At once shy and savage, they had a reputation for ferocity, and early settlement was avowedly to protect shipwrecked

[For general information on the distribution of soil types in India see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. 80-92.]

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Bay, Kalara Bay, Congo Bay etc. in the North Andaman and Betapur river valley and Bomlungta river valley in the Middle Andaman.

Hydrography.

The study of the hydrography of a region includes petamology (study of rivers), limnology (lakes), cryology (snow) and geohydrology (underground water). The study of limnology and cryology of this region can be completely omitted because there is a complete absence of both lakes as well as snows or glaciers. Of the rest the geo-hydrology of the Andamans is little known because no research work regarding this aspect has been conducted.

The petmology or the study of rivers is the most important object of hydrology. The rivers are very short, non-perennial as well as torrential in character. They can better be called as streams because of their seasonal drying up and short length. The Andamans enjoy quite heavy rainfall of about 130", but because of the seasonal fall, the water-level [132] of the streams fluctuates very greatly and in the dry season most of the rivers either do not have any water or have only a trickle of water. Little water in the river valleys may also be partially due to the pervious [134] nature of the soil which does not help the water-table of the region to be sufficiently high. The greater as well as continuous rainfall throughout the year in the South Andaman keep the rivers almost perennial. [132]

The Middle Andaman has only a few little rivers and they are Betapur and Bamlangta rivers. Both of them rise from the hill ranges of the continuation of Mt. Harriet Range in Middle Andaman and flow through the longitudinal valleys, and are interrupted by a great number of spurs from both the eastern and the western hill ranges. The Betapur river rises in the north of Middle Andaman and flows towards the south with a number of tributaries from both the ranges on both the sides. Almost the whole of the northeast Middle Andaman is drained by the Betapur river and its tributaries. According to Mr. Sethi, the country from the place where the Picha Nala meets the Betapur stream, though interrupted by small hills, is almost level for 7 or 8 miles.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P. 44]

CHAPTER VI

SOILS

134 Soil is the unconsolidated material on the surface of the earth. The origin of the soils has been attributed to different factors and in the early days, it was a common belief that the soil is the outcome of the disintegration of the parent material. As such, the soils were believed to be very much akin to the parent material. However, the concept of soil formation has been thoroughly revolutionised by the Russian pedologist, Dokucahev in 1879 and afterwards developed by Sibirtsev in 1901, Glinka in 1914 and other Russian scientists. Dokuchaev was the first pedologist to propound the theory that a given parent material may form different soils depending upon the environmental conditions.

Soil Forming Factors

The most decisive factor regarding the distribution of soil types has been attributed neither to the parent material nor to the climatic conditions, but due to combined effects of climate, micro-organisms, topography, parent material and time, of which the first one is the most dominating factor according to the celebrated pedologist, Glinka.

According to Lang, the soil may be arranged in relation to the rain factor. So far the Andamans are concerned, the temperature does not show any appreciable regional variation but the rainfall does so. In the Andamans, the gradual decrease in rainfall is experienced as one goes from west to east and from south to north (For details see the Chapter on Climate). Besides this, the variation in rainfall is marked in a small area because of the juxtaposition of high lands and valleys. Under such conditions, the division of the Andamans into different soil regions is extremely difficult unless a detailed soil survey for the islands is undertaken. With the existing knowledge, the soils of the Andamans can be broadly divided into three types.

1. Soil of the hilly region.
2. Soil of the valley region..
3. Soil of the coastal region.

Soil of the Hilly Region

These regions are characterised by hot and humid climate. The soil is low in organic matter, strongly leached, rich in clay, and more or

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

less yellow in colour. The texture (by feel) is clayey. But from the few soil samples, collected by the author, a generalisation will be far from satisfactory. Generally brick coloured soils are found over the serpentine rocks e.g. in the Saddle Peak area, Rutland and parts of Mount Harriet Range. The brick colour is evidently due to excessive leaching and consequent increase of the Fe-Al content. 134

Soil of the Valley Region

The samples of the valley region were taken from Dhani Khari area in the South Andaman and the Rangat area in the Middle Andaman. The texture (by feel) is clayey having more than 50% clay. It is rich in silica. The structure is more or less of platty type. The greyish or blackish soils with considerable quantity of siliceous materials are found covering the indurated chloritic or greenstone rocks in the Middle Andaman.

Soil of the Coastal Region

There are deep penetrations of creeks of the sea into the land giving rise to the mangrove swamps (c.f. Sunderbans). It is highly saline in character giving rise to halophytic types of vagetation. The texture of the soil is coarse.

Soil Erosion

In general, the soil cover of the Andamans is not very thick (4") which is highly susceptible to erosion due to the undulating nature of topography and high rainfall. Vast tracts of forest areas are being cleared for the settlement of refugees from East Pakistan and the menace of soil erosion has shown its early indications. For a continued upkeep of the fertility of the soils, the menace of the soil erosion should be checked by careful clearance and regeneration of the forests and also by proper agricultural devices.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

themselves declare that they never haft the stone chips or glass flakes, and that the former are never "sharpened," but produced in the manner already described. 324

7. Quartz is commonly met with throughout the country occupied by the tribes with which we are in friendly intercourse; no difficulty, therefore, is ever experienced in obtaining *it*, or, indeed, *any* of the other varieties of stone which they use. It is employed for no other purposes than those here indicated, as has been assumed,[1] and the art of producing fire by its means is unknown to them.[2] [135]

8. The whetstone and hammer only are offered as mediums of exchange, but no great value is attached to either of these objects, nor is any superstition associated with their usage: they are therefore—when no longer serviceable—cast aside. [436]

9. Stones are not used by them for cutting wood or bone, the latter being usually crushed by a hammer for the sake of the marrow. Before the introduction of iron, small holes were bored with bone or pieces of shell, but rarely, if ever, with stone, and no implement has been found which might be supposed to have served as a stone saw or scraper, for which purposes shells apparently have been generally employed.[3]

10. In his "Note on the Kjokken-Möddings of the Andaman Islands" the late Dr. Stoliczka also refers to a celt found in one of these refuse heaps as "a small but typical arrow-head," and describes it as of tertiary sandstone. The Andamanese, however, maintain that they never, even when iron was scarce, made arrow-heads, axes, adzes, or chisels of stone; they also affirm that the fragments which have been found in the kitchen-middens, and which have given rise to the impression of having formerly served one or other of the above purposes are merely quartz flakes or broken pieces of cooking stones or hones which, in former times as now, were thrown among the rubbish when no longer of use.[4] 324 172

11. Stones are not regarded as thunderbolts or worn as amulets: they are not placed in water previous to their being worked, and holes are never bored in them, nor is the surface ever ground or polished. 324

[1] "From the flint they manufactured knives . . . and arrow-heads" (de Roepstorff), and elsewhere he speaks of "flint hatchets," which not improbably were as much unknown in former times as at the present day. *Perna ephippium* (*ē·la-*) shells were formerly sharpened and converted into arrow-heads: hence *ē·la-* has ever since been adopted as the name of the bladed (or pig) arrow, even although iron has now been entirely or very generally substituted for shell. Adze blades were, it seems, sometimes made of *Pinna* shells.

[2] *Vide ante* "Fire," paragraphs 1 and 4.

[3] *Vide ante* "Natural Forms," paragraph 1.

[4] *Vide* my remarks on this subject in Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi, p. 271.

132 **Weather.**—Calm weather can be counted on in February to April and in October. Fogs and chilly night winds are common in January to March in the valleys and inner harbour and also after excessive rain. Off shore breezes at night and on shore breezes in the day are most marked during the calm weather, due to the difference in temperature of sea and land. March and April are often hazy. Magnetic variation in the Andaman sea in 1904, 0° 40′ East, decreasing annually 2′. The normal barometric readings vary between 29·873 and 29·722, being highest in February and lowest in June.

General Statistics.—General meteorological statistics for Port Blair for the last seven years are :—

	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.
Temperature.							
Mean highest in shade	April 90·1	April 94·7	April 94·0	April 90·3	Mar. 91·8	April 94·1	April 95·1
Mean lowest in shade	Feby. 70·9	Feby. 71·7	Jany. 72·5	Jany. 70·3	Feby. 71·2	Dec. 72·9	Dec. 71·9
Highest in shade	April 95·2	May 96·9	April 96·8	April 93·8	April 93·8	April 97·0	April 97·1
Lowest in shade	Feby. 68·4	Feby. 66·9	Jany. 67·5	Mar. 63·2	Jany. 67·0	Jany. 68·0	Dec. 67·7
Dry bulb mean	84·8	85·3	85·2	84·3	84·8	90·6	91·7
Wet bulb mean	78·9	79·6	79·7	78·4	78·6	83·5	83·0
Rainfall.							
Most wet days in a month	Aug. 23	Aug. 28	July 29	July 26	Sept. 27	June 27	Aug. 29
Heaviest fall in a month	June 26·29	May 27·55	July 30·97	May 40·53	Sept. 24·33	Sept. 15·44	May 20·81
Months without rain	Jany. Feby.	Feby. Mar.	January.	Feby. Mar.	Nil.	February	Nil.
Total wet days	183	178	190	180	177	161	158
Wind.							
N. N. E.	Jany., Feby., Mar., Dec.	Jany. Feby. Mar., Nov., Dec.	Jany., Feby., Dec.	Feby., Dec.	Feby., Nov., Dec.	Jany., Mar., Nov., Dec.	Jany. Feby.
E. S. E.	April, Oct., Nov.	...	Mar., April Nov.	...	April, Oct.	...	...
W. S. W.	May, June, July, Aug., Sept.	June, July, Aug., Sept.	May, June, July, Aug. Sept. Oct.	May, June, July, Aug., Sept.	May, June, July, Aug., Sept.	May, June, July Aug., Sept.	May, July, Aug., Sept. Oct.
W. N. W.	...	April, May, Oct.	...	...	...	April	June.
E. N. E.	...	...	...	Jany., Mar., April	March.	...	...
S. S. E.	...	...	...	Oct., Nov.	...	October	April, Nov.
N. E.	...	...	...	...	January	February	Mar., Dec.
Clouds.							
Clouds are usually	F. K. & C. F. K. & P. C.*	C. & K.—P. K. & P. C.*	P. K. & P. C.*	Cu. N. Acu. Ci*	Cu. N. Acu. Ci*	Cu. Acu. N. Ci*	Cu. Acu. N. Ci*

* F. K = Pallio-Cumulus : C & Ci = Cirrus : P. C. = Pallio-Cirrus : K. = Cumulus : Cu. N = Cumulo-Nimbus : Acu. = Alto-Cumulus.

Tide.—The tidal observatory with self-registering gauge on Ross Island, established in 1880, is in latitude 11° 41′ N., longitude 22° 45′ E. The Port Blair tide tables are printed by authority from local data. The heights are referred to the Indian spring low-water mark, which for Port Blair is 3·53 feet below mean sea level. The mean range of greatest ordinary springs is 6·6 feet. The highest high-water and the lowest low-water are 8·0 feet above and 0·8 feet below the datum above mentioned. The apparent time of high-water at the full and change of the moon is 9h. 36m At various points of the great harbour of Port Blair the actual times for the tide depend on wind, strength of current, and distance from the open sea. The average variation in time of high tides at the several important points is from 18m. to 57m. later than Ross and in height it is from 20 inches less to 17 inches more than Ross. Wind and current will at these points affect time by as much as 29m. either way, and height by as much as 8 inches either way.

III. Geology.

135 133 **General Geology.**—There has been no geological survey of the Andamans, but expeditions by experts have been officially undertaken to make preliminary examinations of the islands. These examinations have been carried on under practical difficulties of every kind, not the least being the dense and lofty forests with which the entire islands are covered. Judging by the reports of such

135 133 expeditions, the submarine ridges forming these islands contain much that is geologically characteristic of the Arakan Yomas and formations common also to the Nicobars, to the islands off Sumatra and to Sumatra itself. The older rocks, common also in the same form to the Nias Islands on the West Coast of Sumatra are probably early tertiary or possibly late cretaceous, but there are no fossils to indicate age. The newer rocks common to the Nicobars and Sumatra are in Ritchie's Archipelago chiefly and contain radiolarians and foraminifera. There is coral along the coasts everywhere and the Sentinel Islands are composed of the newer rocks with a superstructure of coral, but no atoll is known in the vicinity of the Islands. There is a good deal of serpentine rock, also some jasper, chromite, and copper and iron pyrites, and small pockets of coal. About Port Blair a firm grey sandstone identifiable with the Negrais rocks occurs with interbedded slaty shales, and not infrequently nests of coaly matter and occasionally of conglomerate and pale grey limestones. This sandstone is the characteristic rock of the neighbourhood and is generally, if not always, non-calcareous. In the Archipelago and over a large area in the Andamans, the islands are formed of soft limestones made of coral and shell sand, soft calcareous sandstones and soft white clays, with occasionally a band of conglomerate. Green and red jaspery beds, similar to those of Manipur and Burma and the Nicobars, are found, which may belong to the same series as the sandstones and shales. On Entry Island in Port Meadows are beds of probably volcanic origin, perhaps later than the Port Blair sandstones. Intrusive rocks of the serpentine series and a scoriaceous rock resembling lava occur in the Cinque Islands, Rutland Island, and in spots on the South and Middle Andamans. Hard breccias of volcanic origin are found at Namunaghar in the Penal Settlement and yield an excellent building stone. Good red clay for bricks is found abundantly in pockets. Lime of the best quality is obtained from old coral, but a workable limestone exists in limited quantities. A pretty reddish building marble is also found. Red ochre (*kciob*) is found in considerable quantities in pockets and used, when mixed with gurjan oil, as an excellent covering for shingled roofs. Mica in probably workable quantities has been found about Navy Bay Hill in Port Blair Harbour.

133 **The Subsidence of the Islands.**—A theory of a still continuing subsidence of the islands was first formed by Kurz on his investigation of the vegetation in 1866 and has since been confirmed by Oldham in his geological report of 1884, though with some reluctance owing to the fact that the Arakan Coast to the north and the Nicobars are showing signs of recent elevation. The subsidence seems to be of recent origin, and signs of its continuance, most markedly on the East Coast, are to be found at several places :—Port Mouat, Ranguchang on the East Coast of the South Andaman near Port Blair, Outram Harbour and Havelock Island in the Archipelago, the northern ends of the Little Andaman, the North Sentinel, and the North Andaman. The extremely interesting islands of Narcondam and Barren Island are volcanoes of the general Sunda group, the extinct volcano of Narcondam belonging apparently to what is known as the Pegu group and the quiescent Barren Island to the Sunda group proper. Barren Island was last in eruption in 1803, but there is still a thin column of steam from a sulphur bed at the top and a variable hot spring at the point where the last outburst of lava flowed into the sea, showing lately a temperature of 107° Fahr.

Earthquakes.—Although the Andamans lie along or at any rate are close to a recognised subterranean line of weakness, earthquakes of great violence have not so far in the short time of British occupation been recorded. Recorded dates of earthquakes are August, 1865; February, 1880; and then shocks at times till December 31st, 1881; February, 1882; August, 1883; July, 1886; July, 1894; October, 1899. The sound of the great seismic disturbance in the Straits of Sunda on August 26, 1883, was heard at Port Blair at 9 P.M. of that day and the extra tidal waves caused thereby were felt at 7 A.M. on the 27th. The great Assam Earthquake of 1897 was not felt at all.

It is possible that the reason for the Andamans escaping violent earthquakes while the Nicobars are subject to them is that they are just off the line of greatest weakness, which may run from Sumatra through Great and Car Nicobar, Barren Island, Narcondam to the Arakan Yoma.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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INTRODUCTION

A group of north-south running islands as they are, the Andaman Islands have as many as 204 small islands where the impact of civilisation and growth has been little and the human history has been one of stagnation rather than of chequered career. Being a land of aborigines, the foreign intrusion has been quite feeble though mention about these islands is found in the early records of the travellers. Though the knowledge about the islands is derived from the notes which date back to 2nd Century A.D., the contacts with the foreigners have been all the time transient and extremely feeble. Before the formation of the penal settlement, the islands have been known as an island of horror because of the presence of such tribal people who would eat up the man they encounter and as regards the wealth there has been imaginary illusion, sometimes being called as the Island of Gold. The historical record of the islands which can be built with a fair degree of precision is since the formation of the penal settlement. There has been the search for resources as well as their exploitation. However, all the attempts for finding minerals and the geological explorations have shown the possibility of the existence of some poor quality coal, copper etc. Virtually there has been a conspicuous lack of efforts for the development of the islands. The penal settlement which grew up in Port Blair did not have any considerable influence on the overall development of the islands. Nevertheless with the more intimate knowledge about the islands, the forest exploitation had increased and the land around Port Blair was cleared for agriculture. The little amount of agriculture that was started and fostered by the local-borns in and around Port Blair never expanded considerably and it remained confined to a few areas of South Andaman only. The aborigines were very much widespread and in the beginning they had exercised hostility and arrogance which had in course of time given place to a very friendly and amicable terms with some of the tribal groups i.e. the Onges and the Andamanese. The Jarawas, however, still now maintain their hostility and the attempts for bringing them under amicable terms have so long proved futile.

175 135 311 311 101 648

Nothing more deserves a special note in the islands than the aboriginal population. Because of the insular nature of the islands, the aboriginal population is considered to be one of the purest type though the foreign intrusion has brought about an extremely rapid impoverishment and decay only during the last few decades of contact with these aborigines.

161 177 182

10:Sen K-3,4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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CHAPTER VII

MINERAL RESOURCES

135 The mineral resources in the Andamans were believed to be bountiful. There had been mentions in the earlier notes of many travellers and historians (e.g. Nicolo Conti) about the richness of the islands in gold and they have gone so far as to call these islands as the "Island of Gold". But unfortunately no gold has yet been found in the Andamans nor is there any reason to suppose that it will be found. In this [64] connection it may be recalled that Dr. Helfer, a Russian Geologist was killed by the aborigines while he was making geological prospecting in search of gold. M. V. Portman discovered specimens of various minerals in the neighbourhood of Port Blair and they are chromium, copper, iron and sulphur. As such the land seemed to be sufficiently promising and Mr. Mallet[1] proceeded to Port Blair for further investigations. But unfortunately no important deposit of any mineral has been found to occur except some nests of lignite and bands of pure limestone in scattered places and in the serpentine rocks specially in the northeast part of Rutland occur small crystals of bronzite.

A few miles south of Port Blair near about Rangachang, highly altered and eruptive rocks are found being traversed by veins, the main constituent of which is hematite, but which consist of a considerable portion of pyrite (iron pyrites) and chalcopyrite (copper pyrite) in much smaller quantity.

Of the above-mentioned minerals, none are found to be economically exploitable. It has been argued that the Andamans cannot be rich in minerals because the Arakan Yoma of Burma also shows a barrenness in minerals and the only ores which need be noticed for practical purposes are those of tin, iron, lead, copper, antimony, none of which save iron, are known west of Sittang. But the apparent barrenness of the Arakan hills, however, can not be taken as conclusively proving that the Andamans are equally unproductive. It is believed that the Japanese carried out a full mineral survey of the islands and are reported to have found deposits including coal, iron and precious stones.

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[113] 1. Mallet, F. L. On some of the mineral reasources of the Andaman Islands in the neighbourhood of Port Blair, Rec. G.S.I. Vol. XVII, 1884.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Coal:

It is of very poor quality and occurs in pockets in the sandstones, associated with poorly preserved leaf impressions. No sign of continuous seam has been observed in the islands. The coal deposits of the islands are of the same age as the coal bearing strata of Beluchistan. But unfortunately no coal is economically exploitable. 135

Under such circumstances of poor knowledge regarding the minerals of the islands, nothing can be said regarding the future mineral position of the islands. Immediate measures should be taken for the proper mineral investigation of the islands for future programmes of setting up industries.

[pg 48-50 contain no text material]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Middle Andaman, Baratang and South Andaman. It is a long narrow stretch of land with a much indented coast, surrounded by many smaller islands, of which the most important are Interview Island off the west coast, Ritchie's Archipelago on the east, Rutland Island at the extreme south, and the outlying North Sentinel Island. The length of the Great Andaman with Rutland Island is nearly 160 miles, while the breadth from sea to sea is nowhere more than 20 miles. The Little Andaman lies to the south of the Great Andaman, about 30 miles distant from Rutland Island, from which it is separated by a shallow strait with a maximum depth of only 21 fathoms. The island is about 26 miles long from north to south and about 16 miles wide. 131 133

Viewed from the sea the islands appear as a series of hills, nowhere of any great height, covered from sky-line to high-water mark with dense and lofty forest. The hill-ranges run approximately north and south, in the same direction as the islands themselves, and attain a greater elevation on the east than on the west. The highest point of the North Andaman is Saddle Peak (2402 feet), that of Middle Andaman is Mt Diavolo (1678 feet), while the South Andaman has the Mt Harriett Range (1505 feet), and in Rutland Island there is Mt Foord (1422 feet). There are no streams of any size. The water drains from the hills into tidal creeks running through mangrove swamps, often many miles in length. The coast is broken by a number of magnificent harbours. The shores are fringed with extensive coral reefs, and on these and in the creeks there is abundance of fish and molluscs. 133

The islands, save for the clearings of the Penal Settlement, are covered with dense tropical forest. There are few mammals, the only two of any size being a species of pig (*Sus andamanensis*, Blyth) and a civet-cat (*Paradoxurus tytlerii*, Tytler). The other mammals are a few species of rats, a tree-shrew and some species of bats. Of birds there are many different species, some of them peculiar to the islands. The reptiles include a considerable number of species of snakes, and a few species of lizards, of which the most noteworthy is the large Monitor lizard (*Varanus salvator*). 136

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

such, not because they find any difficulty in procuring other food.[1] 262

3. Both *àryô to-* and *ē·rem-tá·ga-* find ample[2] provisions for their simple wants in their immediate surroundings, without exerting themselves to any great extent, and their eagerness in the chase is induced almost as much by actual love of sport as by the necessity of obtaining food: were this not the case they would hardly be found spending so much time in dancing and singing, in personal decorations, and in the preparation of their meals, while they reject with aversion anything that has become at all tainted. Further, it may be fairly estimated that one-third of the food daily consumed by them consists of edible roots, fruits, and honey, and the remaining portion of the flesh of one or more of the following, viz.: pig, paradoxurus,[3] iguana, turtle, fish, and molluscs, with rare additions of pigeons and jungle fowls;[4] Flying-foxes, bats, rats, [illegible]- (not land-) snakes, the larvæ of the Great Capricornis beetle (*Cerambyx heros*) called *òi·yum-*,[5] as well as two other insects, called *bū·tu-* and *pī·rigi-*,[6] are, it is true, also eaten, but they are partaken of by way of variety, and the latter are regarded as luxuries (*â·kà-râ·rnga-*, tid-bits) to supplement (not substitute) other fare.[7] 224 136 262 222

4. The Andamanese are nominally content with two meals a day, viz.: breakfast (*â·kà-nâ·-*) and a heavy supper (*â·kan-go·lajnga-*) after sun-down; they will, however, often help themselves to small quantities of food from time to time in the course of the day when engaged on any work; and, when leaving on a 264

[1] "It cannot be wondered at that these savages love the unfettered life of their own wild jungles, where their simple wants are easily supplied—a lean-to serving them for quarters, and food such as they are accustomed to being found in great abundance. Nothing comes amiss to an Andamanese maw; roots, wild fruits, berries, crabs, clams, fish, wild pigs, and turtle are all ravenously devoured, and a glance at the well-nourished bodies of men, women, and children amply convinces one that they do not starve" (*vide* "Bombay Gazette," 2nd August, 1881: "The Andamans, our Indian Penal Settlement;" *vide* also paper by Professor Owen, F.R.S., "On the Psychical and Physical Characteristics of the Mincopies," Report of British Association, 1861. p. 246.)

[2] *Vide* "Tribal Communities," paragraph 2, and Appendix F (*Wō·i's* statement).

[3] It is presumed that Dr. Day refers to this animal when he states that "they eat cats," for they do not appear ever to have had any fancy for the flesh of *pū·chī*, the name they have adopted for the domestic cat, from the English "pussy."

[4] *Vide* "Tabu," paragraph 2 (footnote).

[5] Probably the "fat grub, about three or four inches long, much relished by the natives" (Australians), mentioned by Mr. H. W. Bates, in his "Illustrated Travels," is identical with the *òi·yum-*.

[6] The *bū·tu-* is found in rotten logs of jungle trees, especially the *Dipterocarpus lævis* (*á·rain-*), *Gluta longipetiolata* (*já-*), and *Chickrassia tabularis* (*ó·ro-*).

[7] Their fancy for grubs does not extend to the *Teredo navalis*.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

heads or jump overboard, and even at times try to alleviate 271
their sufferings by swallowing salt water.[1]

8. In opening certain shell-fish[2] the adze is not employed, 252
but one of the valves of the *Cyrena* is dexterously inserted 262
between the lips, which are thus forced apart, after which the 136
fish is killed with a knife or bladed arrow, and boiled; the
Tridacna crocea and *Tridacna squamosa* are opened by inserting
a piece of wood as a wedge between the valves,[3] afterwards
the fish is despatched by stabbing it with an arrow point or
blade; the various *Arca* species and the *Mytilus smaragdinus*
are, however, not so treated, but are placed among a heap of
burning logs for a few moments, the object being merely to part
the valves, which would otherwise be a matter of some difficulty:
when this is accomplished the shells are removed by means of
the bamboo tongs (*kai-*[4]), and their half-cooked contents are transferred to a pot[5] (*bŭj-*) in which a little water has been placed;
after being boiled a short time the gravy and flesh are eaten
with the help of the shells. In former times oysters were eaten
cooked,[6] but now their consumption appears to be confined to the
inhabitants of North (and possibly also Little) Andaman: they
give no reason for this change, but it may be due to their having
occasionally suffered by feasting unconsciously on the poisonous,
or at least indigestible, variety so commonly found in the mangrove swamps.

9. Dr. Day remarked that the mullet was their favourite fish, 262
and "one day, having placed a quantity of different species 136
before them, they helped themselves in the following order:
. . . . *Chorinemus*, *Platycephalus*, horse-mackerel or *Caranx*,
Chrysophrys calamara, and lastly *Tetrodon*, or frog-fish, which
latter has generally the credit of being poisonous." My experience is that there are apparently no fresh-water, and but few
salt-water, fish[7] which they will not eat.

10. It is a mistake to suppose that pigs were ever scarce in 136
these islands, for though it was formerly more difficult than at
the present day to shoot them, there is no lack of evidence to

[1] *Vide ante* "Medicine," paragraph 4.

[2] Viz., those of the *Pinna* and *Cyrena* species.

[3] This is only attempted when they succeed in surprising the fish before it has time to close its valves.

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 80.

[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 18. [Note.—Water is boiled in a *bŭj-* by the ordinary process, and not by heated stones being dropped into it.]

[6] That Europeans should swallow these molluscs *raw* is a matter of considerable surprise to them.

[7] They prefer the fleshy part of the head to any other portion. To cut a fish is termed *chô·lke*, while to remove its head, tail, and entrails is styled *arwá·gke*.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[136] prove that they are, and always have been, fairly numerous.[1] The pig hunts are most frequent during the rains, not only because these animals are then more plentiful and in better condition, but because it is no longer the *ráp-wáb-*, or season of abundance of jungle fruit and honey; from this, however, it must not be inferred that scarcity is then experienced, for those who choose to help themselves need never be in want.

11. During the cool season, *pá·par-wáb-*,[2] the people themselves are alleged to become noticeably thinner: this they attribute not to a deficiency of food, but to the meagre condition of the pigs, which are then breeding, and to the fact that the edible roots (or yams), and other fruits then in season are not fattening. There are six varieties of esculent roots, viz.: the *gō·no-*, *chá·ti-*, *kád-*,[3] *bō·to-*, *mal·ag-*, and *tāg·i-*, which are eaten alone (preferably cold), and not with meat; their chief difference consists in the extra care in preparation which some require, in consequence of their very acrid flavour.

12. The *gō·no-* is cooked in three ways: (*a*) it is placed on the fire in the condition in which it is found until it is soft, when it is freed from the burnt earth and eaten; (*b*) the root, after being washed, is cut up into small pieces and boiled in a pot; and (*c*) after being washed and cut up, the pieces are wrapped in large leaves and baked on burning logs.

13. The *chá·ti-* is cooked in the first of the above-mentioned methods, or by surrounding it with hot stones,[4] and covering the whole with leaves and weights, in order to confine the heat as much as possible.

14. The *kád-* is first cooked as found, the skin is then peeled off, and a number of thin slices are cut and placed in water for a couple of days, so as to lessen the bitterness of its flavour; afterwards it is either baked in leaves or boiled, as already described in speaking of the *gō·no-*.

15. The other three varieties are never boiled, but are placed on the fire without leaves, and the outer skin is removed before they are eaten.

16. The seed of a species of sea-weed, known to them as *tō·no-tòng-*, on which turtles and dugongs feed, and which can only be obtained in small quantities, is carefully cooked and eaten as a relish.

[1] In his examination of a kitchen-midden near Port Blair harbour the late Dr. Stoliczka recorded that "the large number of bones of the Andaman pig is remarkable."

[2] This is the period between the rains and the dry season, and lasts about ten weeks, between the middle of November and the middle of February.

[3] The *gō·no-*, *chá·ti-*, and *kád-*, are very plentiful during the cool season, and are much relished.

[4] *Vide post* "Stone Implements," paragraph 1.

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17. The fruit of three varieties of mangrove,[1] known to them as *jū mu-*,[2] *ngā·tya-*, and *bā·taga-*, are occasionally eaten, but only by way of change; they are prepared like the *kād-* (*vide* above). 262 137

18. The following table contains a fairly complete list of the different kinds of food eaten by the Andamanese during the varying seasons of the year; their ordinary diet, as will be gathered from the foregoing, consists of pigs,[3] paradoxurus, iguanas,[4] eggs of the hawkbill turtle, turtles, shell and other sea-fish and prawns, with occasional treats of dugong and porpoise,[5] and for married persons certain birds, already named: the fruit of the *Pandanus* and black honey must also be added, besides which, during the dry season, fresh-water fish, shell-fish, eggs of the green turtle, honey, the bee-bread, and that portion of the comb in which the larvæ are found, as well as the *Caryota sobolifera*, yams, and numerous fruits, about to be named, are eaten with great relish; while during the rains they vary their fare with preserved seeds of the *Artocarpus chaplasha*, *Semecarpus*,[6] and the fallen seeds of the *Entada pursætha*,[7] with three grubs, viz.: the *bū·tu-*, *pi·rigi-*, and the larvæ of the Great Capricornis beetle (*ōi·yum-*), and certain fruits. Although on one occasion I saw a man (a member of the *A·kā-ked·e-* tribe) actually eat an *ōi·yum-* alive (!) their usual practice is to collect a quantity of the above-named insects and to wrap them up in leaves and place them on the burning embers, turning the bundle from time to time, so that its contents may be thoroughly cooked, whereupon, in the case of the *bū·tu-*, after breaking off the tails, they are consumed with evident gusto.[8] 262 136 137 221

19. The native names[9] of most of the fruits in season during the dry (*a*), wet and cool (*b*) months are:— 262 221 137

[1] Some terrible calamity, such as another Deluge, would result, so they say, from any one rashly presuming to taste the fruit of a certain species of mangrove, called *tō·kal-*.

[2] *Bruguiera gymnorhiza*.

[3] Not only are the sows eaten when with young, but even their unborn litter is not rejected.

[4] Iguanas and paradoxuri are in better condition during the rains, and are consequently more eaten at that season.

[5] There are special restrictions connected with eating both the dugong and porpoise for the first time (*vide post* "Tabu," paragraph 2).

[6] *Vide* paragraph 32.

[7] *Vide ante* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 12.

[8] The *ōi·yum-* is found in newly fallen logs, and they say that they do not treat it like the *bū·tu-*—viz., in breaking off its tail—because it does not live in such rotten Gurjon trees.

[9] The botanical names of most of these, as well as of many others, will be found in Appendix L.

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(*r*) Used for making canoes.

(*s*) Resin used in manufacture of *kâ·ngatâ-bŭj-* (*vide* Appendix B, item 62).

(*t*) Used in making the *gŏb-*, *kai-*, and sometimes the *tŏg-* (*vide* Appendix B, items 82, 80, and 10)

(*u*) Generally used for making paddles, and the leaves for bedding.

(*v*) Used for making shaft of hog-spear.

(*w*) Used for making baskets, fastenings of adzes, turtle-spears, torches (*tŏ·ug-*), and of bundles; also for suspending buckets, for stitching cracks in canoes, and in thatching.

(*x*) Used for making canoes; the resin is employed in making torches.

(*y*) Used for making canoes, pails, and eating trays.

APPENDIX M.

LIST OF SHELLS AND SHELL FISH COMMONLY KNOWN TO THE ANDAMANESE.

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Andamanese name.	Scientific name.[1]	Remarks.
[illegible] la- (*a*)	Monodonta (? labeo).	
bad[illegible]la- (*a*)	Delphinula laciniata.	
br[illegible]	Pecten (?) Indica ..	Scallop.
chá·pata- (*b*)	Pteroceras chiragra ..	Scorpion shell.
châ·ga löt chŭ·kul- ..	Murex tribulus.	
chej- (also *chŭ·la-*) ..	Pinna (? squamosa) ..	Bouquet-holder shell.
chŭ·du- (*b*)	Pinna (?)	
chŭ·kat[illegible]	? Conus eburneus.	
chŭ·rom- (*a*)	Scolymus cornigerus.	
chŭ·wai- (*a*)	Tridacna crocea.	
chŭ- (*a*)	Murex (? palma-rosæ) ..	Rose-bud shell.
è·la-	Perna ephippium.	
gar·en-	Dentalium octogonum.	
gar·en-ŏ·la- (*a*)	Turbo (?)	Top-shell.
ĭ·na-ŏ·la- (*a*)	Nassa (? tœnia)	Dog-whelk.
jar·awa·[illegible]la- (*a*) ..	Purpura Persica.	
jĭ·rka-ñ-	Cyrena (?)	
jŭ·rol- (*b*)	Cerithidea telescopium.	
ju·ru-win lâ·kâ bang- ..	Solen vagina	Razor-fish.
kâ·mrŭj-	Trochus (? obeliscus).	
kâ·rada-	Arca granosa.	
kŏ·nop- (*a*)	Tridacna squamosa.	
lĭ·do-	Turbo marmoratus ..	Is eaten by the *bal·awa-* tribe only.
lĭ·ta- (*a*)	Cassis glaucus	Helmet-shell.
mâl·to- (*a*)	Venus (?)	
mâ·ted- (*a*)	Venus meroë	Pattern-shot Venus.
mâr·eno- (*a*)	Patella variabilis ..	Rock-limpet.

[1] To the Rev. T. L. J. Warneford, formerly chaplain at the Andamans, I am indebted for the classical names of many of the shells in this list.

(*a*) denotes those that are cooked and eaten.

(*b*) denotes those that are cooked and eaten by *married* persons only.

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Andamanese name.	Scientific name.	Remarks.
nyē·red-	Mitra adusta	Mitre-shell.
ō·do-	Nautilus (? zic-zac).	
ō·la- (*a*)	Ceritium (? nodulosum).	
ō·log-	Strombus (? pugilis).	
pai·dek- (*a*)	Arca (? barbata).	
pail- (*b*)	Mytilus smaragdinus ..	Sea-mussel.
pai·lta- (*b*)	Pharus (?)	
pāp-ō·la- (*a*)	Turbo porphyreticus.	
pē·te- (*a*)	Circe (?)	
pō·rma- (*a*)	Arca (?)	
·pū·luga tàr ā·lang- ..	Dolium latelabris (? also galea).	
rē·keto-	Hemicardium unedo.	
rō·kta- (*b*)	Cyrena (?)	
tā·ra-ō·la- (*a*)	Natica albumen.	
tai·lig-pū·nur-	Conus (? nobilis).	
teb- (*a*)	Bulla naucum	Bubble-shell.
tē·lim-	Cypræa Arabica	Cowry.
"	" Mauritiana.	
"	" Talpa.	
"	" Tigris.	
"	" Vitellus	
til-	Cassis Madagascariensis (? also tuberosa)	Queen-conch.
tòi·ña-	Ostrea (?)	Eaten many years ago but not now.
tū·a- (*a*)	Trochus Niloticus.	
ū- (*a*)	Cyrena (?)	
ū·chup-	Conus textile	Cone shell.
ū·yo-	? Turbinella pyrum, *or* Pyrula (? ficus)	Shank shell.
wal- (*b*)	Spondylus (?)	Thorny oyster.
wá·ngata- (*a*)	Arca (? granosa).	
wōp- (*b*)	Ostrea (?)	Oyster.
yá·dī làr ē te- (*a*) ..	Haliotis glabra (*also* " asininus)	Ear-shell.

●136 **Marine Fauna.**—The marine fauna of the Andamans is of unusual interest and the aquarium on Ross Island under construction should prove of great scientific value. On examination the marine life goes to show what other physiological facts have proved—the close connection of the Islands with both Burma and Sumatra and the distant alliance with the Indian Peninsula. The land fauna, in several particulars, shows that the Andamans are closely allied zoologically with their neighbours, Arakan and Burma.

Economic Zoology.—The economic zoology of the islands has been thus summarised by Major A. R. S. Anderson.

"The coral reefs and dead shells afford an immense field for obtaining a very fine quality of lime, which has for many years past been used in the Andamans in building operations. Sea cucumbers or trepang are collected, dried and exported to the Chinese market. Wax and honey are obtainable in fairly large quantities in the forests; the honey is, however, of rather poor quality. Cuttle bones in large numbers can easily be picked up all round the islands wherever there is a sloping shore. Ornamental shells can be obtained with great ease in the rocky pools, reefs and shallow waters. Edible oysters are very plentiful. Pearls and mother-of-pearl oysters are occasionally obtained, but no systematic search for these valuable products has ever been instituted. The edible turtle and tortoise-shell turtle are plentiful. The former are sparingly exported and the shell of the latter is collected and exported. Edible birds'-nests of the finest quality are found in many of the caves in both groups of Islands. They are exported to the Chinese market."

Conchology.—The existing sea shells have been extensively collected by local residents for many years past, but there does not appear to be anything specially distinctive about them, and the various species have been incorporated into the general standard works on conchology. The presence of *scalaria preciosa* and of *argonauta argo* is noteworthy. But the land shells are more distinctive in their nature, and seem to corroborate the evidence procurable from the flora and the fauna of the Islands. They have received a good deal of attention both from scientific expeditions and from local collectors. There was a well appointed expedition fitted out by the Danish Government in 1846, in the frigate *Galathea* in which the zoologist, Reinhardt, first paid much attention to the mollusca. The conclusion apparently to be drawn from such knowledge as has been accumulated is, on the high authority of Godwin-Austen, that there is a distinct and close relationship in the past shown with Burma and Arakan by many closely allied species, and equally marked is the paucity of forms having an alliance with Peninsular India. On the other hand, some species are common to these islands and to Sumatra and Java.

137 **Forests.**—A section of the general Forest Department of India has been established in the Andamans since 1883 and, in the neighbourhood of Port Blair, 156 square miles have been formally set apart for regular forest operations. The activity of the department is strictly limited by the amount of convict labour from time to time available, as there is no indigenous labour whatever. The annual value of forest produce used in the Settlement during the last seven years has averaged ₹1,13,683, and the annual value of exported timber has averaged for the same period ₹1,69,633. This last product is increasing rapidly in value.

313 137 **The Timber and its Economic Uses.**—The timber available for economic purposes is both plentiful and various. It is divided for commercial objects into three classes, known by their commercial names thus:—First class, Padouk, Koko, Chuglam, Marble-wood, Satin-wood; Second class, Pyimma, Bombway, Chai, Lakuch, Lalchini, Pongyet, Thitmin, Mowha, Khaya, Gangaw, Thingan; Third class, Didu, Ywegyi, Toungpeingyi and Gurjan. Padouk is the chief timber for export to Europe at a very high price per ton, but other first class timbers also find a market there. Third class timbers find a ready market in Calcutta, while the second class are extensively used locally.

The trees chiefly used as timber by the Andamanese for their own purposes are mangrove, padouk, *melochia velutina*, some of the sterculiaceæ, *bombax insigne*, *areca laxa*, pandanus, bamboo, *anadendron paniculatum*. They also gather and eat the fruit of a great variety of trees and use the leaves of the following for medicinal purposes:—*trigonostemon longifolius*, *alpinia* species. *Calamosagus laciniosus*.

000 jungle all day long: found absolutely nothing but very old tracks; could not get on to any big path, and eventually, after walking many miles, got on to the main *khari* from Port Anson and walked up to our camp. Mr. Rogers arrived half an hour later. Mr. Bonig had arrived at 10 A.M. from Port Blair and left a note to say that he had gone off hunting. He did not return that night. Mr. Rogers reported having discovered the main track south and a big encampment.

23rd February.—Waited until about 9-30 A.M. for Mr. Bonig, when, as it seemed doubtful whether he would turn up until evening, Mr. Rogers and self decided to move camp to the big hunting camp discovered by him. We accordingly packed up, and each shouldering a load as before, we set off and tramped about 6 miles along a Jarawa path to the hunting camp. The road lay due south and we only climbed a couple of hills, the rest of the way being along the slopes, and along a broad stream, some 20 yards broad, flowing due south; although only 6 miles or so off, we went so slowly, carrying our loads, that it was 2-30 or so before we arrived. The hunting camp was similar in construction to several I found, consisting of six huts facing a well cleared open space. It was on a hill top and had several paths running up to it. Water was close by Gorlakabang.

[*Note.*—Mr. Vaux was killed on the 24th.]

Extract from the Diary of Mr. C. G. Rogers, Deputy Conservator of Forests, from the 17th to 26th February 1902.

17th February.—Left Port Blair in the *Belle* about 5 P.M. and reached Macpherson's Straits soon after sunset and anchored there for the night.

18th February.—Left Macpherson's Straits at daybreak and steamed up the West Coast of the island and through the Labyrinth Islands to the place called Talaplongta on the Andamans Topographical Survey Map (2 miles = 1 inch). Mr. Bonig found a passage through the coral reefs and anchored about a quarter mile from the shore and the estuary of the stream which enters the sea here. The Andamanese call it Bajaluntá. We landed with Andamanese to look for Jarawa tracks, camps and houses. Mr. Bonig went to the bay to the north. Mr. Vaux and self went up the estuary and landed at 11-15 A.M. He went to the south and I continued up the *khari*, and at 11-40 the Andamanese with me came across some fresh Jarawa tracks. We followed these up, and at 11-50 Mr. Vaux and his party caught us up, as the tracks they had found led them to the *khari* up which I had gone.

Each of us (Mr. Vaux, Mr. Bonig and self) had four or more Andamanese and three policemen, leaving three policemen on the launch.

●[136] Sharks were plentiful where we landed and the Andamanese shot two, one of which was killed, the other going off with two arrows in it. The one killed was about 3 feet long.

Where Mr. Vaux had caught me up, the *khari* branched. Mr. Vaux followed up the more southerly of the two streams and I went up the northerly one.

The *khari* I followed went generally north. We crossed a ridge running north and south and came into another branch of the *khari* and followed it up. On another ridge, which we reached at 12-10 (noon), was the site of an old hunting camp, which had not been recently used.

At half past twelve we left the *khari* and went through the forest on the eastern and southern flanks of the intersected point marked 677 (height in feet) on the map above referred to. We did not find any new tracks of Jarawas until about 1 P.M., when we found some new tracks, including those of two young children, and following up these tracks came upon a fresh hunting camp, which had quite recently been left, as the fires were still burning. Flies were thick on the pieces of fish which had been thrown away and some cooked fish (whole) were found in the shelters in which the Jarawas had slept, and this was eaten by our Andamanese. The pigs' skulls were found and taken away. We followed up the fresh tracks from this camp and they took us back to the *khari*, at the point where Mr. Vaux and myself had separated in the morning.

As it was late and I was very tired, not being very well, we returned to the boat, which we reached at 5-30 P.M. and waited till midnight for Mr. Vaux, who did not turn up. About 7 P.M. we heard the report of a gun, and thinking that perhaps Mr. Vaux had been benighted and was trying to find his way back to the boat, fired a shot in return and waited. About 9 P.M. we heard another shot, which we thought was nearer, so replied to it. The next shot we heard, about an hour afterwards, seemed to be further off, so after waiting till midnight, I decided to go off to the launch and return to the landing place at daylight. Reached launch at 1 A.M.

At that time I never dreamt of Mr. Vaux's having found any Jarawas. I only thought he had been following up fresh tracks and had gone too far to return to the ship that night.

About 8 P.M., while waiting for Mr. Vaux, we heard shouts to the north of us. The Andamanese suggested that the sounds were those of Jarawas. I said I thought it was Mr. Bonig's party returning home, and on my return to the launch, I found Mr. Bonig there, and he told me that they had had to wade a good deal of the way home and had to shout to keep off sharks. He was up to his neck in the water and more than once was attacked by large sharks. The Andamanese would not come into the water and Mr. Bonig had to send for them after he had reached the launch. The tide was out when we landed. It was full when we returned, and so Mr. Bonig's boat was some way from the shore on his return. The Andamanese called the place we anchored at Bajaluntá.

Some poles at the camp we found had been cut with some cutting instrument, while a tree in the camp was hacked with what looked like (judging from the incisions made) an adze.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

122 torches for hunting by night. There were pigs everywhere. In half an hour we often got
114 six or more of them. At Chemalé, far from the coast, we had eleven in a few minutes for distribution to everybody, including roaming Onge. Pigeons and ducks also were often
[136] plentiful. The simple pleasures of hunting incited everyone to a spontaneous daily struggle through the dense forest ; and so, every month, I managed to carry out many times the work I could have done had I not kept all the men glad to follow me. On seven different occasions I spent 162 days in Little Andaman, out of a total of 634 days altogether in the Andamanese Archipelago – all of them given up to Onge research. These trips are recorded
128 in Port Blair Government offices. A few details on the subject are published in the "Bul-
114 letin of the Department of Anthropology", Government of India, starting in Vol. II, No. 1, 1953 (issued in 1956) and extended to other issues. Such papers were hurriedly prepared by me while I was halting in Calcutta on my way from the Andamans to Europe. Press proofs could never be submitted to me; there are, consequently, many misprints, particularly in the figures relating to my Onge Census. The misprints are so obvious that they could only influence a most biased critic : to be discussed in future papers and while my Onge book is in preparation. In Port Blair (South Andaman) I started an Onge Museum with material collected by me. I had the honour of inaugurating it on 6 July, 1953 in the presence of the Chief Commissioner for Andamans and Nicobars, Mr. A. K. GHOSH, one of the kindest and most intelligent Indian gentlemen that it was my pleasure to meet in Asia. On 9 March, 1954 Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD, President of the Republic of India, also visited the Museum. On that occasion I introduced to him 30 of my Onge friends (wives, husbands and children) in their most natural attire. The President questioned me at length on Onge anthropology and ethnology with the pertinence of a specialist.

123 While in Little Andaman I tried to study all possible aspects of Onge life. I also
[121] tried to count the natives : a very difficult task for they are a nomadic people, ready to vanish into the jungle at any moment. Often I was surrounded by them without seeing a single one. In the darkness of their jungle, the small, black, naked Onge easily disappear. They see us but we do not see them. They can only be counted in their sleeping quarters
[361] in communal huts ; even so, results are misleading. I found a number of communal huts in the interior regions of Little Andaman, whereas previously they were said to exist
[126] only on the coast. The larger, more solidly built huts are in the forest. With the help of my Indian assistants I obtained plans and photographs of all the huts that I saw.
[178] Unfortunately the number of Onge communal huts is rapidly diminishing – a very
[361] significant fact. Many are in ruins, many more completely destroyed. Only kitchen-middens and occasional clusters of planted bamboo indicate their former location. Through an interpreter, and with two Onge speaking a little Hindi, I was able to gather information
[124] on these and other matters. Direct observation, however, proved the best way of gaining knowledge. In some places there was nothing to help me, and I was compelled to guess about communal huts whose inmates chose to hide in the jungle. Of the many personal
[551] names that I collected I must say that they are reliable only for a short period : the Onge like to change their names from time to time. All this, in addition to the Onge's nomadic
[553] way of life, causes great confusion and makes a proper Census almost impossible. Frequent changing of names also hinders the establishment of genealogies. Furthermore, the Onge
[547] custom of adopting children shifts many of them from one family to another, and adoptive parents invariably claim them as their own offspring. The parents themselves, who are ignorant of numbers, not infrequently forget how many children they have, who these children are and where they are located. It was almost useless to follow previous information concerning communal huts ; and so I decided to consider mainly the situation
[114] existing at the time of my visits. The result of my Census may be imperfect, but before criticizing it it would be advisable to know the conditions that prevail in anthropological work among the Onge. Something more than merely counting people, anyhow, was achieved by me in Little Andaman.

In this short paper I am pleased to present a peculiar aspect of Onge life, an aspect that these innocent and once hostile people did not attempt to hide from me, though they also told me nothing about it. Only direct observation could help, and it involved pro-

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Onge

364 spot for centuries leads to the formation of kitchen-middens [1]. In the tempo-
[361] rary camps something similar happens: the only difference consists in the fact that rubbish dumps only accumulate at the back of the temporary shelters, as a consequence of their peculiar shape that I shall not describe here. These
[136] dumps are heaven-sent love nests for insects of many species, mostly flies of a metallic green colour. They follow the Onge from camp to camp and thrive on scraps from human meals. When travelling in Little Andaman I was unmistakably warned of the nearby presence of Onge camps by the appearance of those familiar living beings.

136 The filth that coats the floors of communal Onge huts offers an ideal
[356] breeding ground also for myriads of fleas. Dogs spread them all over Little Andaman. Owing to the fact that the communal huts are deserted for months at a time during the dry season, the fleas become hungry and assault human
123 beings vehemently whenever possible. When visiting empty communal huts I myself, and the persons with me, were plagued by such assaults. Fleas advanced suddenly from feet to head in thick, shimmering brown layers, covering first our legs. We were obliged to strip and douse ourselves with insect-repellents.
136 As for other parasites, including ticks and mosquitos, equally plentiful in Little
[825] Andaman, the Onge do not appear to be inconvenienced by them.

764 The communal huts are used for another purpose as well, unhygienic but of high ethnological interest: the interment of human corpses. When they die, the inmates are buried beneath their beds. In other words, communal huts are also cemeteries. Many human skeletons are found by digging under the beds. Until 1952 this fact was unknown about the Andaman Islanders although it is encountered in all Onge communal huts without exception. An analysis of
775 this custom led to further discoveries: the Onge wish to compel the spirit of a deceased person to remain close to the living as a protection, so they offer it the communal hut for an abode, the idea being that a spirit cannot wander far from the bones of its former body. A series of Onge practices point to this
[727] belief: felled enemies must be burned and reduced to ashes in order to render them harmless. Their hostile souls, according to the Onge, rise toward the sky in smoke as the bones are consumed. For the same reason, bones of relatives
[301] are fashioned into necklaces. The most conspicuous of these is the *ibidanghe*,
[765] worn generally by women and young girls, which is made from a decorated human jawbone. The aim is to obtain the assistance of the departed relation
[751] in fighting illness and bad luck. Direction in hunting, fishing and even quar-
[777] relling is supposed to come from the dead kept close to the living. We can trace this belief on the connection between bones and souls to a remote origin:
[171] Southern Asia megaliths had, in my opinion, no other cause for offering shelter to spirits and promoting useful relations between the living and the dead. I reached this conclusion after studying the contemporary habits of Travancore mountain and other Indian tribes, particularly the Munda. In Nias we find traces of the same customs as among different peoples of Indonesia and Oceania, who

[1] I discussed this at the two international anthropological congresses of 1952 (Vienna) and 1956 (Philadelphia), and have more to say on the subject in my book about the Onge.

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Onge

now follow them, often ignoring their original significance and symbolism. Among the Onge, spirits are feared but not loved ; the same applies to God Himself. 775

The Onge bury their dead in trenches, no deeper than three feet. Earth is tightly packed over the graves in order to prevent exhalations. Full details on the subject of Onge burial customs appear in the book that I am writing about the Onge. I slept with the Onge in communal huts that contained fresh graves, without suffering any inconvenience from the smell of the corpses. This recalls the palaeolithic sepulchral caves, where man probably lived as the Onge live in their sepulchral huts today. 764

There are no latrines near Onge camps – whether permanent or temporary. Excrements are spread carelessly all around, lightly covered with leaves and earth. Flies lay eggs on them. The Onge's only precaution is not to defecate where drinking water might be found after rainfall. With so many opportunities for reproduction, in some places flies form such clouds as to impress the natives themselves. In the north of Little Andaman a creek was named after the flies : Bumila Creek, which means "fly creek". Smells also occasionally inspire geographical names : Tambe-ē-bùie, on the north-east coast of Little Andaman, means "the smelly place" in the Onge language. Flies, fleas and ticks are tolerated by the Onge who do not fight them. Fortunately, the hymenoptera collect flies for their nests, not, however, in quantities large enough to compete with the fertility of the species. 514 [312] 736 825 [103]

2. Clothing and personal care

The only garment worn by Little Andaman women is the *naquinēghē*, a scanty grasslike apron covering the genitals. In addition, during menstrual periods, Onge women wear the *bataghē*, for hygienic purposes. This is a simple cluster of long, soft green leaves cut by the husband for his wife from special trees : Myristica longifolia and others. The only leaves used are those from the end of a stalk, a section of which is left attached to the leaves. The stalk is slipped under the *naquinēghē*, while the long leaves are passed between the thighs to be fastened at the back above the buttocks. It is curious to see Onge women in such myristical attire ! The *bataghē* is ethnographical news, new not only as regards the Andamans : it is an interesting indication of the hygienic measures employed by primitive people, and can probably be traced to prehistoric practices in analogous circumstances. The continental and insular regions nearest to the Andamans have retained no similar custom ; their only practice is the strict isolation of menstruating women. Among the Onge, on the other hand, they are allowed free circulation. Washing is unknown to the Onge : they never wash their bodies intentionally. Brushing through the thick forest and diving into the sea or the river to collect food substitute adequately for washing. The Little Andaman forest is nearly always dripping ; moving among the trees, specially in the early morning, is equivalent to bathing. The contact of wet leaves when walking cleans the Onge's skin, for they go naked ; and as they constantly dive into the sea and rivers, they do not smell. Actually they give an impression of cleanliness – as opposed to many other dark-skinned 291 841 [824] [171] 515 [147]

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Onge

312 caracases of small animals. During the droughts, marine hermit crabs, of
271 which a profusion is found in Little Andaman even far from the sea-shore,
[196] often choose to die in fresh-water pools. They are not removed from the pools.
[415] A nautilus shell is sometimes used as a drinking vessel ; failing this, the Onge
[516] lap up the water like animals, on all fours, directly from the pool. Since they are
231 very fond of dogs, man and dog drink together from the same tiny pool, often holding no more than a few pints of water. Dogs reached Great Andaman as early as 1857 ; they came to Little Andaman much later. Before that time there were no dogs in the Andamanese Archipelago. They soon became the natives' cherished and much appreciated assistants in the hunting of wild pigs. Many unhygienic habits followed the appearance of dogs in the Andamans.

271 The Onge have no idea of boiling water for the purpose of disinfection ;
[147] nevertheless their health does not appear to suffer at all as a result of the pol-
123 luted water they drink. When, in 1952, I dug a well near the left bank of Dugong Creek on the north-east coast of Little Andaman, I was compelled to fence it in so as to prevent dogs from drinking it and bathing in it.

264 Dogs lick everything that smells of food, including the cooking pots,
[291] and the pots are not washed before use after the dogs have licked them.
[136] Swarms of flies of different species and small coleoptera of a brilliant blue colour, one of them 6 mms long, follow the dogs after they have "cleaned" the pots by licking them. They line the inside of the pots with a crawling, living coat, moving restlessly around in search of food. One species of fly, which is of a brilliant, metallic green colour, has a peculiarly disagreeable smell. All the flies lay eggs while feeding, but the eggs are soon devoured by the hovering bluish coleoptera. Thus in a few hours all traces of organic matter disappear from the pots. Subsequent exposure to fire undoubtedly destroys the germs that would otherwise be certainly dangerous to human beings.

415 The Onge no longer use indigenous pottery for cooking. Its disappearance
177 is recent, as the sherds that litter Little Andaman prove to the investigator.
[323] Excavation in modern kitchen-middens leads to the same conclusion. During the last war, quantities of empty petrol drums were washed up on the Andaman shores. They were found in such numbers that the Onge have not yet used them all up : after 1952 I found several of these containers abandoned, untouched, in the jungle. The primitive inhabitants sawed each container in two cylindrical halves, thus transforming them into cooking pots. The result was that within a few years the fragile ancestral pottery of the Onge disappeared altogether. Furthermore, aluminium pots were distributed among the natives after 1952. Probably the indigenous pottery will never again reappear.

[252] Each half of a petrol drum is large enough to contain a pig, or a turtle weighing
262 150 lbs, cut into pieces. Only the flesh of these animals is consumed by the
[231] Onge ; the nourishing broth is poured out onto the ground or left in the pot to be lapped up by the dogs. The Onge believe that broth is unhealthy and avoid drinking it.

251 No matter how prodigious the catch of sardines or other fish, unobtain-
[185] able at other times of the year, no attempt is made at storing part of it in view of future shortage. The Onge are unacquainted with methods for preserv-

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

164 do they suffer from the eye infections that are so common in the tropics. Their
151 highly trained eye can distinguish at a great distance small vessels on the troubled waters of the sea that people with normal eyesight could not perceive without a telescope. Normal vision, I suppose, is the same for the entire human
123 race ; but we exercise our eyesight less. In the dark fastness of the jungle, the
151 Onge were able to point out birds sitting motionless high up in the trees, quite invisible to me notwithstanding my experience in collecting even the tiniest specimens. With their sharp eyes they sought out for me a collection of minute mimetic amphibians living far from the ground on tree trunks, previously unknown to science. The same thing often happened when I was unable to see as far as they did. The help of my savage friends was invaluable in avoiding the poisonous snakes that we met with daily in our camps or while travelling. For our protection, the Onge always marched in front of my men. They could discern reptiles hanging from branches among thick foliage, waiting to bite us on the neck, or lying perfectly still in the tall grass, ready to attack our legs. The only trouble we had with snakes was when the men I had brought from India, in moments of enthusiasm ran ahead into the interior of the jungle, eluding their Onge vanguard.

752 The Onge themselves, however, are sometimes bitten by snakes, with
123 dire consequences. Happily the Andamanese snakes are less deadly than the
[136] same species on the continent, and few deaths occur from snake bite ; but it can curtail a man's activity for several months. In March 1953 an Onge friend
[222] of about 25 who had climbed a tall tree to collect honey, inadvertently seized with his left hand a snake concealed in a tuft of creepers, and was bitten above the elbow. Frightful swelling ensued, together with shooting pains and a raging fever. The man was brought to me unconscious, his left arm had already assumed the appearance of a huge, rigid, elongated sausage. The Onge had smeared all his body, and particularly the wounded arm, with ochre mixed with honey, turtle fat and rough clay. They have no specific remedy for snake bite. It was too late, but in an attempt to save the patient an antiophidic injection was practiced on him. Within a few hours he appeared to rally. I saw him again after eleven days ; his arm had been treated in the Onge way and put in a sling made of ficus bark cut into narrow strips. Fever had disappeared, and in part also the swelling, so he could move his elbow a little. The skin peeled off the whole length of the arm. Where the fangs had entered the flesh two round, red, suppurating wounds, 1 cm in diameter, were discernible under a layer of clay and honey. The man recovered in about two months. During his
476 illness the people who shared his communal hut exempted him, his wife and his children from all work, and supplied them with all requirements. This occurs in every case of illness, showing the complete solidarity that prevails among those simple people – once considered ferocious. Always, if the wife is ill, the husband is automatically relieved of his hunting, fishing and food-collecting duties. Friends provide food for the family, no matter how many the members thereof.

164 In Little Andaman, we Europeans are constantly threatened with mala-
143 ria. Should we fail to take all necessary precautions we would catch it upon setting foot on the island. The Onge are all infected, but it does not upset

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

175 colonel who had accompanied him. After a series of similar inci-
648 dents involving other people Portman went to Bumila Creek on 10 November 1891, for revenge. A number of Onges, including the one responsible for wounding the colonel, were captured and taken to Port Blair.

Other visits by various people followed, always very brief and always limited to the coast, but there were no landings of note. Various expeditions visited the coast of the island for a few days and even made contact with some of the Onges, but the interior
114 of the island remained as unknown as before. In February 1951 I
122 accompanied one of these expeditions, which again did not go beyond the coast. Those five days on Little Andaman were most revealing, and enabled me to plan the landing I subsequently made in 1952. I saw that the island was teeming with game, that wild
[136] fruit and edible roots were plentiful, and that the sea round the island was full of fish, lobsters, huge crabs and turtles. Moreover, the turtles laid eggs in the sand where it was very easy to find them by following the beasts' tracks. I realized that it would be unnecessary to bring in provisions, and that it would be possible to enter the forest unencumbered with anything more than guns, cartridges and a few cooking utensils. Every day during this short stay I went with a police escort as far as possible into the forest in order to reconnoitre. In some places I noticed recent traces of small bare feet, but no Onges appeared.

122 Realizing that mobility was essential for any expedition into the interior of the island, I prepared at Port Blair a number of small watertight metal boxes to hang from the shoulder, to take a minimum of necessities. The largest items in my own personal baggage were a mosquito-net, a very light hammock and note-books. Cartridges were to be divided among the boxes. Tents, camp-beds and other large equipment would have to be left in a base camp, which would be established on the coast and left under police guard with radio transmission apparatus for communication with Port Blair. If necessary, a portable radio could follow us.

121 Several factors made me want to return. There was the mystery of the unknown interior of the island. There was the prevailing lack of information of any kind about the Onges, even of their numbers. I wanted too to carry out an investigation of their somatic characteristics, using the greatest possible number of individuals.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

The Onges do not seem to require any preventive measures, and seem naturally immune to malaria. They do, however, transmit the disease to strangers, through the mosquitoes which are everywhere in Little Andaman. Like many other inhabitants of tropical areas, they probably all carry the disease without being affected by it – neither children nor adults show any sign of splenic enlargement. 164 [136]

In contrast to their periodic gorging, the Onges will equally cheerfully endure hunger, thirst and exhaustion. During our hazardous canoe trip to South Brother, however, they appeared much more affected than I was by long exposure to the sun. We were completely without any means of shelter for an entire afternoon in the open sea, and though the Onges tried to cover their heads as best they could, they still developed severe (and genuine) headaches, and were clearly much happier in the dark forest, which must be considered their natural environment. 147 [261]

Nothing has hitherto been known of the intelligence level and general psychology of the Onges. The childishness of their behaviour, however, is curiously in keeping with their strikingly child-like appearance. Like children, they seek only the satisfaction of elementary stimuli, and like children they pass in a flash from one mood to another, so that they are a people of sudden contrasts. 15

One example is their passionate love for their dogs, in marked contrast to the intense cruelty with which they hunt their prey. Having once realized the usefulness of dogs, first imported into the islands some thirty years ago, the Onges now pet them like little girls with their dolls, and the Onge women will suckle the family puppies quite naturally with their own children. Yet once a dog dies the other side of the Onge nature comes to the fore and the carcase is thrown into the forest – there is no looking back. 231 152 [177]

Their minds are in a sense inventive, in that they have evolved devices to help them acquire their food, but they have never, for example, thought of the fish-hook, despite the abundance of iron pieces thrown up by shipwrecks all round the islands. Anything new is taken up with a child's momentary enthusiasm, but they have no notion of sustained mental effort such as any form of counting. 157 [802]

Like children, too, the Onges laugh at the slightest thing, although their mirth is always restrained. In this they differ from the African peoples, particularly the Bushmen, who are often by 157 522

137 the Onges as hiding-places or temporary shelters. In these cavities,
[136] which remain full of water right through the dry season, flourish a horde of amphibia, many hitherto unknown.

The great trees are sometimes so close together that it is literally impossible to pass between them, yet it is rare to find two of the same species next to each other, so great is the variety. Huge clumps of ferns are everywhere, hiding the roots of dying trees, hundreds of years old, and fallen trunks rotting on the ground. Some of the thicker and taller trees protect themselves from the monsoon gales by developing buttresses, usually four or six to a tree, which stand out from the trunk like right-angled triangles, with the apex about ten metres from the ground. If a blanket is stretched between the sloping sides of two of the buttresses one can improvise a shelter which is extremely comfortable by local standards, and both man and animals take advantage of this natural cover; I myself took shelter like this on many occasions. (They need to be treated with caution, however, as the local snakes have a predilection for siestas
824 in the darkest corners.) If a hard piece of wood is struck against one
202 of the buttresses it echoes hollowly, and the Andamanese often make use of them to transmit warning messages over considerable distances, using a form of code. A few beats can make every inhabitant within a wide radius vanish from sight, hastily making for the nearest hiding-place. It is hopeless to try and ferret them out once they have been warned, and there is always a risk of being killed by one of their arrows in the process.

123 Sometimes the Onges used to disappear suddenly for fun. The
[522] blackness of their skin is a great help in this, since even on the brightest afternoon it is intensified by the obscurity of the forest. One has a disturbing sensation of being entirely alone, yet knowing that dozens of pairs of eyes are watching as the Onges glide silently from trunk to trunk between the buttresses.

137 The whole island is a mass of knotted vegetation, and it is useless
484 to attempt to cut any form of lasting path, as the plants immediately
487 grow back. 'Walking' in the Andamans therefore means opening
[481] up a way with a hatchet, unless one adopts the rapid but exhausting Onge method of swinging over obstacles by the lianas. This is the kingdom of the epiphytes. The lianas cover their hosts as if determined to hide them, and clumps of orchids hang from nearly every trunk, although their flowers are unfortunately very small.

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It is impossible to imagine a more varied or richer sight than the 137
Andamanese forests at any time of year. The colours, and the light effects, particularly at dawn and at sunset, the myriads of flowers of every hue and scent, every shape and size, the strange noises, all combine to produce an effect which stuns the outsider. The spectacle reaches its climax at night when the moon is full; the tops of the trees are bathed in a silver light and the great lianas seem to writhe like serpents. As though inspired by the light, the nocturnal [136] animals stage a kind of pageant for the occasion and their cries are even more frequent and more rhythmic than usual. The Andamanese themselves seem bewitched without realizing it, spellbound by the weird atmosphere.

To anyone unfamiliar with the tropics, the swift change from 13
darkness to light and back again comes as a surprise. Night in the tropics is never silent – the eerie voices and calls, often with a strange pitch, seem to cease for a brief moment just before the sudden onset of darkness and again just before the return of the light. As night falls the fascination of the jungle grows. Even the natives feel some urge to keep their voices down, as if out of respect for some natural solemnity. (This, however, is not exclusive to the Andamanese, and it has a perfectly rational explanation. In tropical forests, and in the deserts, men speak softly so as to catch every slightest sound, a passing animal perhaps.) At dawn the birds start up as though they were tired of silence. There is no great variety of calls; most are very piercing, although still pleasing, and in the crescendo of sound which follows the dusk and dawn silences, the forest is transformed.

One thing that has helped the Onges to survive so long despite 132
the inevitability of their decline is the climate of the islands, which is usually very pleasant and so less liable to exacerbate biological weaknesses.

Normally, the Andamans have four months of very good weather from December to March, which may extend by a few days into November and April. February is nearly always the driest month and the calmest, although there are exceptions, as I know from my own experiences when trying to land on the island. In the remaining months there is frequent rain, sometimes torrential, with raging seas, but relieved by periods of clear sky.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

their arched vaults of roots, strong enough to bear a man's weight 137
without bending. In some places I had to travel hundreds of metres across them, clambering from arch to arch, before I could reach dry land and sweeter air (the air in the swamps is foul with the stench of dead fish, crustacea and debris of all kinds from the sea, caught in the network of roots). Among the roots swarm crabs of [136] ●
all kinds, including the blue crabs, while kingfishers and other brilliantly coloured birds dart gaily in after the easy prey.

Near the mangrove swamps, in the mouths of the rivers, giant 136
fronds of the Nipah palm stick up out of the water here and there. 137
The feathery fronds, standing several metres high, are used by the crabs to climb out of the water and tiny toad fish, (see p. 133) equipped with both gills for life under water and lungs for air breathing, like to cling to them for an airing when there are no stones handy. Every day these fascinating little creatures stay in the sun for hours before dropping back into the waters of the swamps and in some places they are everywhere, always ready to jump out of the water on to a convenient projection to have a look at what is going on.

The Andamans, with their luxurious growth of vegetation of all 137
kinds, are an ideal place to study plant dispersal. I have already mentioned the *Ficus* and the mangroves, but there are many other equally fascinating plants. Some used by the Onges for the production of fibres are widely distributed from India to Malaysia and the [283] [824]
Pacific. Among these are *Gnetum gnemon* and *G. macrocarpum*, generally spread by the doves which flourish undisturbed on Little Andaman. In April, when the winds come, swarms of curious elongated parachutes equipped with an air trap which causes their spinning flight are blown from *Pterocarpus dalbergoides*, which provides the well-known *padàk* wood. The weight of the seeds (the size of a pea) at the base of the parachutes and the effects of the air trap give them a horizontal, screwing flight which carries them far from the parent tree. I have seen these parachutes in the sea, hundreds of kilometres from the nearest land. Mathematically designed by Nature to trap the right amount of air, the tiny parachutes are barely ten centimetres long. Their efficiency is self-evident – *padàk* is one of the most widely spread trees in the archipelago, in the Nicobars and far beyond.

In the stagnant pools on Little Andaman I found a species of explosive fungus which closely resembles, if it is not in fact identical

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151 regular exercise of the two faculties required by their existence in direct contact with the natural world; anyone, it is said, who lived such a life would preserve the same keenness of eye and ear. [164] Certainly I saw no myopia among the Onges, nor any of the eye infections common among other inhabitants of the tropics. With the naked eye they can pick out tiny craft far out to sea, or the small, narrow Onge canoes which I could hardly see with field-glasses, which makes me doubt whether constant exercise of the eyes can really be the full explanation of their power of vision. They can pick out quickly and accurately birds immobile among the dense leaves in the darkest part of the forest, invisible to me, even though I was used to looking for them and could see them when they moved. And from the ground they saw high in the trees tiny amphibia which I wanted to catch, after I had caught one by chance which had proved to be a new species. These amphibia, [126] perfect mimics, become almost invisible when they attach themselves to the bark of the trees, but the Onges pointed them out to me from a distance with absolute accuracy, and I was in fact able in 1954 to catch over two hundred in a week.[1]

825 151 114 The Onges can also pick out reptiles on the ground, or among the foliage, distinguishing with long practice the poisonous varieties which abound in the islands, and I found it very useful to send Onges ahead of me in the forest to look out for these snakes. When any of my Indians were bitten it was always because they thought they could do as well as the local scouts! The Onges themselves are, however, occasionally bitten, with serious consequences. One of them, aged twenty-five, climbed into a very high tree after honey, and unwittingly put his left hand on a snake hidden in the leaves, where it had climbed to search for birds' eggs. It bit just above the elbow, causing an alarming swelling of the arm with severe pain and fever. He was brought to me semi-conscious, with the whole limb swollen to the size of a rugby ball. The unfortunate [752] man's neck had been bound with the usual strands of *Ficus* bark, and not surprisingly he was groaning desperately, and clearly on the point of death.

752 123 The Onges have no specific remedies for snake bites, and their

[136] [1] These amphibia were examined in 1954 at the Institute of Zoology of the University of Genoa and given the name of *Kaloula baleata ghoshi*, in honour of Mr A. K. Ghosh, then Governor of the Andamans.

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ancient times. Great Andaman abounds in these man-made humps, to which the name 'kitchen-middens' has been given, but none are in use today. In Little Andaman, on the other hand, many are still being built up.

The sweeping operations disturb clouds of flies and tiny beetles, light brown in colour, shot with metallic blue, with a highly domed back, and about five millimetres long, which always collect under bones and other human food refuse. Hordes of fleas, invisible in the dirt on the floor but multiplying busily, are also stirred up. Fortunately there are no lice on Little Andaman, owing to the absence of clothing and bed-linen, and the Onges carry no lice in their hair.

In fact the dogs' coats carry the fleas from place to place more than do their naked, smooth-skinned owners. Every time I went into a hut which had been empty for a time, as happens in the dry season when the occupants are away on a hunting trip, I was assailed by swarms of fleas such as I had never imagined! They rushed up one's body from feet to neck in absolute serried ranks, platoons of them, solid masses of tiny black moving objects. The only thing to do was to go out into the open and douse oneself in Flit, which caused them to retreat hastily. My camp-bed was always given a precautionary dose. Unfortunately Flit was not enough to disperse the clouds of ticks, tiny but dangerous, and a scourge in the forests of the Andamans. The Onges call them *anagbe* and thoroughly enjoyed helping to catch them on me in hundreds after every expedition into the forest.

None of these pests worry the Onges, who make no attempt to get rid of them. They leave mounds of filth round their huts or in their forest camps for them to breed in, and the light covering of earth or leaves which at best cover the Onges' faeces, deposited near the camp, was never any deterrent to breeding. The Onges never dig sanitary trenches or prepare any other form of latrines, even for their permanent sites; the forest is all concealing. However, they will never defaecate near, or in, a water course, even when the bed is dry, and when my men used the bed of a dried-up stream for the purpose the Onges protested to me, because the water would be contaminated. I was not disposed to contradict them.

In the forest, meeting a swarm of flies was a sure sign that we

136 were approaching an Onge camp. Everywhere they go they are accompanied by flies of all sizes, and in Little Andaman the swarms are so bad that the first stranger to land called a river after them, Bumila Creek, or fly river. Their flies betray the Onges long before the barking of their dogs – no human voice ever betrays their silent presence.

628 423 123 On Little Andaman today the Onges' tacit divisions of territory are of little importance, so heavy has been the fall in population, but they still keep out of areas belonging to other 'huts', even if the huts themselves have been abandoned. I never saw any disputes over territory, or the ownership of the area in which a pig was caught (and hence ownership of the pig). The Onges who accompanied me, possibly encouraged by the prestige value of a European with them, hunted wherever we went without anyone raising any protests. Nevertheless, I always took the precaution of giving anything I or my Indians took to the Onges of the nearest hut, invariably much to their delight.

342 361 Contrary to established opinion, communal huts on Little Andaman are not found only along the coasts; the majority, and certainly the best constructed, are in the interior. Togalanghe is one, and there are a number of permanently abandoned temporary camps near it.

342 171 Both the permanent and temporary huts or shelters of the Andamans resemble those of the Semang. The latter are extremely simple, especially in the dry season; there are no walls and only a very sloping roof of leaves, high at the front and very low at the back, the beds being put so that the feet face the low part of the roof. With the Semang and Aeta the beds may be made of bamboo; this is never the case in the Andamans, as there are no large bamboos in the archipelago (Brown was wrong in this respect. The few slender bamboos on Little Andaman are only usable for making drying racks, which are found only round the hut at Beniabol in the south. As the people were away when I went there, and the site was consequently completely deserted, I was unable to establish visually what they dried, but traces of fish, particularly pilchards, were indication enough.)

352 171 137 114 417 114 251

342 These temporary shelters are put up extremely quickly. Two poles less than two metres long for the front, and two more, thirty to forty centimetres long, for the back, are fixed firmly into the

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and Totamaddulù, the first a day's journey into the forest from Berié-Abdalù, the second two days from Labanar, and the others both near Togalanghe. 172

On both Great Andaman and Little Andaman the kitchen-middens yield a vast quantity of animal remains, bones and a great number of shells, with very little earth. The shells diminish in the upper levels, to be replaced by bones of *Sus andamanensis*, the wild pig of the islands, the change coinciding with the arrival of the dog in the islands; the revolution which this introduction brought into the life of the islanders is at once evident. [177]

My first excavations in 1951 were limited to establishing which mounds looked promising for future digs. I made soundings in the north, middle and south of Great Andaman and found that near each midden there were invariably abundant food supplies, as well as fresh water, sometimes running, sometimes in pools. The excavations went on for sixty days, aided by a first-class gang of men from Bihar, who even agreed, in view of the necessity of concentrated digging, to forgo their customary feast days. To these preliminary excavations I returned later on a number of occasions,[1] using them as controls.

My first real dig began on 5 January 1952 in a fine midden on Middle Andaman, a few hours' march from the forest station of Long Island, at a place known as Beehive Hill, or Golpahar in Hindi. The water pipe installed for the benefit of the colonists on Long Island draws from a spring, and on its way to the reservoir on the shore it runs right through the centre of the midden. Emerging, it runs for a hundred and fifty metres through a mangrove swamp stinking with vile black mud, which in fact served as an excellent means of dating the layers, by relating them to the rise and fall in the ground level of the swamp over the last few thousands of years. 172 114

The whole of the time we were there we had to work with look-outs posted ready for any Jarawas trying an ambush; to the north of the midden the grave of a Burmese killed by them a short time before was a grim warning. We did a great deal of shooting, but fortunately only for game. Fallow deer descended from imported 114 136

[1] With a number of young Indians very kindly allocated to my assistance by the anthropological service of the Government of India, and to all of whom I am greatly indebted for their enthusiastic help, often under the most trying conditions. [114]

114 beasts were plentiful, and used to come right up to the camp out of
136 curiosity, in spite of the noise of the shooting, and my men took so many that they were able to dry and smoke some for future use. There were flocks of pigeons after the fruit in the *Ficus* trees, and another rather smaller bird with green wings (*ariel* in Hindi). There were always large fish lying quietly on the surface of the sea, only two hundred metres from the dig, so that we could shoot these as well. The Jarawas were kept at bay, we all fed very well, and everyone was highly satisfied!

The camp was surrounded night and day by a chorus of frogs, and the lights of the camp attracted a whole army of hermit crabs; in the dry season they made an incredible noise parading up and down the dry leaves, even rummaging round our beds inside the tents while we were trying to get to sleep. They disappeared, suddenly and completely, immediately the rains came. Like the rest of their species they use their claws to close the shells in which they have made their home. Usually the large claw was able to do the job alone, but in case of difficulty they would bring the other claw and even their legs into the battle, until they managed to close the shell completely (my men enjoyed these struggles immensely). They in fact use various shells, and squeeze into them somehow, even into the cowries. Some varieties use nothing but cowries and their claws and legs have become very slender in adapting themselves to the narrow shell.

Unlike the hermit crabs, the rats were not affected by the seasons
[126] and came after our stores in hordes. I collected a number of species, but I was never able to catch one kind which particularly interested me. It was a jumping variety, graceful and rather larger than our mouse, with big ears, and a very pointed muzzle. The front feet were short, almost atrophied, and the back ones long, with strong, powerfully muscled haunches, so that the creature was rather like the rats of the pyramids in miniature. I often surprised them round my tent if I shone a torch suddenly, but they would bound away out of reach on their hind legs and no traps seemed to attract them. This variety does not seem to have been reported, at least in the Andamans, and it was the only one I was never able to catch.

When the rains came the disappearance of the hermit crabs was matched by the equally sudden appearance of curious cicadas, which chirped intermittently like all those in the Andamans. By the

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end of June 1953 there were legions of them. In contrast to the frogs, who were completely silent unless the atmosphere was calm, these cicadas only chirped when it was pouring with rain and blowing a gale, and then only at dawn and at dusk. Unlike other Asiatic species, they hopped from tree to tree between their momentary bursts of chirping, so that from minute to minute the chirping moved en bloc and made it almost impossible to catch them. When they were silent they were completely invisible against the branches, so that although we knew they were motionless we were still unable to catch them. 114 136

Surrounded by these diversions we began digging seriously. I must make it clear from the outset that in recording my findings I make no claim to saying the last word on the subject. All I hope to do is to report what I have been able to deduce from the combination of my personal observations of islanders as they are today and the evidence which I found in their kitchen-middens both of the past and of the present. 114 172

Though not as large as some I found later, the midden at Golpahar, like all the rest, was a truncated cone, beaten into a dome by the monsoons, and at the time of my excavation it was about five metres high with a circumference of a hundred and ten metres and a diameter of thirty-six metres. I removed half, leaving the other half so that others might later check my findings. 172

Ninety per cent of the contents proved to be shells, chiefly bivalves, and mainly *Cyrena*. As the shell content was clearly fairly constant I tried to calculate the total in the whole midden; and by taking into account the nomadic life of the present-day inhabitants of the island, and their eating habits, it was possible to reach a reasonable estimate of the age of the deposit.

Each midden can be regarded as attributable to the food refuse of groups of thirty to forty people, living at the site for forty to fifty days a year or less. Shellfish can never have been the islanders' sole diet. They are certainly not today – shellfish of any kind are only eaten when there is nothing else to be had, and then only in certain localities where it is not too much trouble to carry them to the camp. In other words, although shells formed the greater part of the deposit, they will only have been added to it sporadically. In the absence of some complete change of habits, unlikely in such cautious people as the Andamanese, we may deduce that the midden [262]

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often extremely vicious but good hunters. The dogs often roam the forests in packs, hunting and devouring young pigs. The Onges will do nothing about it unless someone forces them to, but if this pack hunting is not stopped the pig will become extinct in ten or twenty years and in 1954 I tried myself (in vain) to draw the attention of the authorities to the situation.

The dog appears in even the most ancient of cultures in Australia, but did not spread to Tasmania, despite the geographical proximity. It arrived on Great Andaman with the establishment of the Indian penal colony and it is thus the Indian pariah which ultimately populated the whole archipelago. A despised outcast in India, the pariah became in the Andamans of enormous value, reverting to its ancient hunting instincts. Burmese police officials taught the islanders how to use the animal for hunting and within a few years it had revolutionized their methods. It led the islanders in fact, to comparative indolence; the dog worked for them, supplying with far less effort as much game as they used to catch in their long, weary and not always successful expeditions. Dogs meant invariable and abundant success in the hunt, and it is hardly surprising that the Andamanese came to develop a somewhat unbalanced affection for them.

On Little Andaman the dogs, with abundant food supplies always easily available, became physically far superior to their ancestors in India; unlike the pariahs they were well muscled, with good skins and coats, although most of them bear the marks of old and recent gashes by boar tusks.

On Great Andaman the dogs voluntarily catch and kill fallow deer. These, like the dogs, have increased to the extent of becoming a pest. The Arioto and Jarawas will not eat them for superstitious reasons, and so they have bred like wildfire, spreading to all the islands as far as Rutland. They swim well, but only with land in sight, and the greater distances involved have so far prevented them from spreading to Little Andaman.

Here the dogs have only one main prey – the pigs. Unlike the deer with their slender legs they cannot outdistance the dogs, and their only defence is to hide under the buttresses of the tree-trunks. The pig rushes underneath the tree, and faces the dogs like a stag at bay. There is no escape, only a few more terrible minutes of life. The pig fights the dogs off desperately, the males inflicting serious

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CHAPTER FIVE

Harvest of Honey

The climate of the Andamans favours other things besides luxuriant vegetation. Myriads of insects and other tiny creatures are everywhere. The most important, and most dangerous for Europeans, are the mosquitoes, although the Andamanese are not worried by them. The most common is *Anopheles ludlowi*. These never move voluntarily more than a kilometre from their breeding ground, but the winds often carry them further afield. 136

On Little Andaman I saw five different species of flies. Their larvae fed just as well on vegetable refuse as on meat. I remember throwing away on the shore north of Labanar a coconut from which I had drunk the milk; two days later I found the inner pulp, still soft, crawling with larvae, which later turned into flies very like our own. By contrast on another occasion I noticed that a beautiful green and yellow lobster weighing two kilograms which was thrown up on to the beach did not sustain larvae.

In various places round the shores of the Andamans the so-called sand-flies are a considerable nuisance, even in the day time and in full sun. Although only two millimetres long, the bite of these blood-thirsty insects causes unbearable irritation for some days. Even dousing oneself in Flit has no effect. If one goes into the darkness of the foliage to escape them, where it is damp, one is at once attacked by leeches. Only complete destruction of the vegetation would eradicate them and the ticks and this is unthinkable. The Onges with their bare plastered bodies are reasonably well protected, however, and the fleas also seem put off.

On Little Andaman I encountered too the ravages of bright yellow ants, diaphanous and so small one could hardly see them, which invaded our stores of provisions and my collections, despite

136 every precaution. Holes so small that a hair would hardly pass through presented no obstacle to them and the metal boxes with tightly fitting lids, in which I kept my insect specimens, proved mouse- and rat-proof but not ant-proof, with disastrous results. Everything they found edible was reduced to dust. Sugar attracted them most of all; it was no use keeping it in screw-top containers, apparently foolproof, as they merely crawled up the thread of the lid and reduced the sugar to a mass of bodies. Large sheets of drawing paper left on top of a box for a fortnight were soon perforated by innumerable holes, through which they laid eggs, covering the sheets underneath. When I turned the top sheet over I found the eggs underneath, tended by myriads of adult ants, so small that a few puffs were enough to blow them off. On the ground all one could see were tiny dots – the eggs – apparently motionless; but almost immediately these all disappeared, borne away by the invisible workers. Not one egg was left behind. No other animal would have been able, if disturbed, to recover every one of its eggs like these ants and carry them off to safety; some sort of corporate organization among them seems to be proof against any threat of danger.

Another species which I saw around Labanar were the so-called red ants of the tropics, *Oecophylla smaragdina*. They were everywhere and I was able to observe them closely both in the day time and at night. I first made the acquaintance of these terrible but wonderful creatures on my first landing on Little Andaman on 20 February 1951, with Dr S. S. Sarkar. In the absence of any Onges, and not knowing anything of the enemies waiting among the leaves, we approached the foliage near the shore. In a flash vicious red ants whose nest we had kicked under the leaves forced us to the defensive. We escaped unharmed, but I was fascinated by them.

True to their popular name, they are red, but a very pale colour, verging on gold, although the species also includes some black specimens (the males) and some of a brilliant green (the queens). To see these one has to break the nest open; only the red warlike workers are normally visible. Their bodies, little more than one centimetre long, are borne on long, graceful legs, which are always in frenzied motion day and night. One only has to approach an isolated ant going about its work on the ground or on the leaves

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(or even worse, about the nest) and it will fly into absolute paroxysms of rage. I was much amused by the pugnacity of those apparently insignificant creatures. The ones nearest to the intruder always stretch forward as far as they can towards him on their middle and back legs, heads raised, their two front legs threshing the air feverishly, as though desperate to get at the invader at the earliest possible moment. They strain every nerve to reach forward and as they do so even lower parts of the abdomen reach over towards the enemy ready to sting. No matter how big he is they will attack, and their pygmy rage becomes quite comical. Once they have found bare flesh they bite madly, bringing their sting down viciously at the same time. 136

They can even distinguish between clothes and bare skin and will run about like lightning in search of a place to sting. They can cover a man completely from head to foot in a few seconds. The two phases of the attack, the straining of the body towards the enemy and the actual biting and stinging, are repeated frenziedly over and over again, the smell of blood seeming to whip them up to further rage. Nevertheless, I could not help thinking how graceful and elegant these fascinating creatures were and it would be well worth while returning to Little Andaman to film their life cycle and bellicose habits.

Oecophylla smaragdina belongs to a group of 'weaver' ants found particularly in the tropics of Asia and Oceania. These sew leaves together to build their nests; as they work only at night it is difficult to observe them, but they can be made to weave in the day time simply by making a hole in the nest. Repair begins immediately. They use a substance formed in the salivary glands of the larvae, which emerges like silk thread and hardens in contact with the air. In the day time, with the heat of the sun and the drier atmosphere hardening occurs too quickly, which is why they prefer to work at night: an outstanding example of adaptation to the necessities of the situation.

After a series of observations, I managed to reconstruct the process by which they work. When they went to join two leaves, they form gangs of seven or eight workers to draw selected leaves from a healthy plant together. The workers form a chain, one behind the other, each holding the one in front of him in his mandibles, with the rear ant clinging to one leaf and the front ant ready

136 to grasp the edge of another leaf and draw it to him. A series of these chains, working side by side with their efforts synchronized, are strong enough to draw two leaves together, all the heads of the chains gripping one leaf in their jaws and the rear pairs of feet clinging with their tiny, sharp hooks on to the other. If the two leaves are growing close together, a single row of ants side by side is enough and they seem instinctively to know how many are needed.

Once the edges are together, the weaving squad can begin work. Each ant is armed with a larva gripped tightly in its jaws, moving it to and fro like a shuttle so that the fine thread of liquid emerges over the joint between leaves, hardening almost before it reaches them. And so the 'weaving' with the larvae 'shuttles' continues until in the end the two leaves are joined firmly, one party holding the leaves together while the other joins them with the silken web. This is repeated until enough leaves are joined together in a sphere to form the nest, any odd gaps remaining being sealed with further layers of thread.

The weaving is done only by the hordes of workers, who are completely sterile throughout their life (the single queen enclosed with a few males in each colony lays the eggs). The amazing thing is that there appear to be no leaders superintending the work, or deciding what must be done at any given moment. Yet the work proceeds smoothly and silently, with no interruptions, as though done by a single craftsman, each ant obeying while none commands.

Equally fascinating, and far more destructive, are the termites, whose life cycle and activities are the same all over the world. The [342] Onges' communal huts, which would otherwise last for a considerable time, are constantly ravaged by them and reduced to dust under their onslaught. Their annual swarms are much the same on Little Andaman as elsewhere. Clouds of them rise out of the ground when the rains come and in mid-April every year I used to see myriads of them attracted by the lights of my camp on the north-east coast of the island. They would swarm round the camp, many landing on the table in front of me, while thousands more piled up on the ground below. The moment they landed they stopped dead, firmly planted on all six legs as though paralysed, and arched the lower part of their body up and over their back, touching their four wings one after the other with the tip of the abdomen. The

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wings suddenly dropped off along a predetermined line of fracture, 136
two to the left and two to the right. The whole process seemed to be some instinctive reflex movement triggered off by coming to land after the flight from their original hill. Then the termites began to walk quickly as though they had never had wings.

The casting of their wings is the signal for the males to look for the females. There follows a long nuptial 'march' culminating in the union of queen and males, identical with what I had seen among African termites, thousands of miles away.

Wherever they are, termites have a considerable effect on the vegetation; some plants flourish with the constant upheaval of the [137]
earth by the termites, while others cannot thrive in soil which is constantly turned over. Termite hills may consequently be quite bare of vegetation or covered with a dense jungle, according to species and location. It is most unwise to disturb a termite hill. A horde of defenders instantly assails the enemy, attacking him remorselessly with pincer-like jaws; if an attacking termite is pulled off its prey, the abdomen comes off in one's fingers leaving the head still attached to the victim, the jaws still biting viciously. Repair of the damaged hill begins immediately it is disturbed, tightly packed hordes of workers pouring out of the nest to the damaged area. Somehow news of the disaster spreads like wildfire throughout the hill, however large it may be, and like the red ants they obey implicitly some unexpressed order, following an instinct the mechanism of which is still quite unexplained.

The first impression of these hordes of repair workers is one of utter confusion, but in the mass of termites bumping into each other and apparently rushing about aimlessly each is motivated by one thing only – the repair of the nest as quickly as possible. Since termites need cover and darkness, this is done preferably with earth brought from inside the nest; but if necessary gangs of workers, chosen by some unknown mechanism from among the milling hordes, come out into the baking sun, contrary to all their instincts, and work from the outside, sacrificing themselves for the community.

Much remains to be learnt of this weird compelling mechanism, and I hope that others will be able to continue my observations in the Andamans, where there are endless opportunities for the uninterrupted study of these and other insects.

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136 In sharp contrast to the termites, with their highly developed social structure, is the solitary life of the fly-eating Hymenoptera. I saw one for the first time in my camp near Labanar. My Indian porters had put up a clothes-line and as soon as the washing had been taken down, the lines immediately became covered with flies; suddenly, as though attracted by the easy prey one of these insects appeared as if by magic. Half flying, half jumping, fluttering its wings very characteristically the whole time, it went from one end of the line to the other in pursuit of flies. Many of them managed to escape, only to alight again on the line and be chased a second time. In an instant they were seized and swallowed.

Smaller, but equally numerous, are various kinds of wasps, and their presence enabled me to continue some observations I had begun in Italy. Wasps look after their larvae very carefully, continuously putting food into the mouths of the dumpy, wiggling creatures. The larvae are in fact so voracious, continually thrusting their heads out of their cells for food, that they will accept food offered to them on the point of a needle, especially if the 'nurses' are removed from the nest.

Wasp larvae secrete silk like those of the red ants, but it is used only to seal the aperture of the cell in which the larvae grow. The sealing occurs spontaneously, in the day time or at night, at precisely the right stage of larval development, and takes about half an hour. The silk is ejected from the mouth, very fine and shining in the sun, and hardens almost immediately into a tiny white dome, closing the aperture of the cell. The larva inside then passes into the chrysalis stage and emerges as an adult wasp. To get out of the cell the young wasp attacks the centre of the seal with its mandibles, not just tearing it away, but actually eating it, so that its own silk becomes its first adult meal. Once emerged, it is at once ready to take its place in the work of tending new generations of larvae. It begins by passing the food brought into the nest by the workers to the young larvae, receiving the food in its mouth from the foragers and passing it to the next generation. And so the eternal cycle continues.

136 Besides the wasps, two varieties of bee are found on Little Anda-
262 man, the larger, yellow *Apis dorsata* and the smaller brown *Apis nigrocinta*. The former, common in Central and Southern India and the Malaysian archipelago, builds large nests, hanging from the branches of trees. Its honey is the best, clear and golden, though

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less plentiful and containing a great deal of wax, and is greatly prized by the Onges. The darker bees, common in China, Celebes, Borneo and beyond, build their nests in cavities in the rocks, or in tree-trunks. Their honey, darker and with less wax, is more plentiful, but not so fine; when there is enough of the golden honey the Onges ignore the darker variety.

Few of the fruits on Little Andaman contain much sugar, but the Onges eat more than enough honey to compensate any deficiency that would otherwise occur. Whatever the fruit in season, men, women and children climb happily about like acrobats, hanging in the trees to get at it and the honey that goes with it. To chop the tree down is, of course, easiest and the obvious first choice for any Onge. Failing this, and their hooked poles, they climb up the nearby lianas into the branches, or walk up the trunk – an easy feat for them with their very long arms and almost prehensile toes.

Although there are arak nuts and betel leaves in the forest, the Onges ignore them. They are the same variety as elsewhere; *Areca catechu* and *Piper betel*. The Nicobarese are so addicted to them that many have lips and teeth hideously deformed as a result, but this is quite unknown among the Onges, contrary to earlier reports. The appearance of addiction in the Nicobars may have occurred after the separation of the peoples.

With all these fruits the Onges consume vast quantities of honey from the two species of bee, *dorsata* and *nigrocinta*. During the rainy season they can only get at the darker, poorer honey of *nigrocinta*, which builds nests under boulders or in crevices of trees or rocks. The Onges' real honey orgies occur, therefore, in the dry season, when the honey birds (Indicationidae), common in Africa and all over Asia, lead them to the trees where the golden honey of *dorsata* is hidden.

When one of the Onges finds a nest of bees he puts a mark on the rock or tree as a sign of ownership. None of the others would then dare to take possession of it, for fear of punishment by the group,[1] but when the time comes to take the honey everyone helps in the hard work of getting at the nest and opening it up. On one trip from Labanar to Togalanghe, on 19 March 1954, the Onges pointed out over twenty *Nigrocinta* nests to me, all reserved ready for use

[1] However deep in the forest a crime is committed, it will inevitably be discovered in the end, and punished by banishment from the community.

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thought they were weeds and pulled them up. I never managed to see the plant in flower in the wild state, as this occurs at the height of the rainy season, and as no final definition is possible in the absence of the flower it remains unidentified.

The Onges take full advantage of the plant's properties as a bee-deterrent and in mid-March they eat honey, paint themselves, and dance, twenty-four hours a day. During these orgies I have seen a group of about sixty Onges demolish in a few days ten pigs and a dozen large, wooden vessels full of honey, with basket after basket of fish, caught every night by the women, who were apparently not in the least tired by the long daily treks into the forest after the honey. I can never look back on the Onges without a feeling of profound respect for their powers of digestion!

Yet another source of food for the islanders is the cicada. On Little Andaman there are a few species a little larger than the European variety and others rather smaller. The Onges collect the pupae as they emerge from the ground, usually in the mornings, and roast them as a great treat. They are actually very clean insects, which develop slowly under the earth over a period of years sucking lymph from the roots of the trees. When they emerge from the ground the pupae become leathery, but this presents no problem to the indomitable teeth of the Onges. Inside the cicada chrysalids are a mass of delicate tissues, so white and clean that one can understand the Onges' predilection for them.

On Little Andaman the cicadas chirp intermittently, with long silences; most of the day one hears nothing of them and when they suddenly start up the Onges fall absolutely quiet, terrified of frightening them away and losing their chrysalids.[1] In a few moments the whole forest suddenly echoes with a chorus of cicadas, as they all start up as one and then, a minute later, fall silent. Their intermittent chirping is not confined to the Andamans; it is a feature of several species throughout southern Asia. At Golpahar when I was in the middle of the forest excavating kitchen-middens I heard cicadas start up every day at 6.30 p.m., and then stop until the following day. In the mountains of South India, on the slopes

[1] The Onges do not seem to share the superstitions reported by Man and Brown among the Arioto, who appear to believe in fantastic connections between cicadas, the sun, and storms.

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of Pushpaghiri ('mountain of the flowers'), I saw workmen using the cicadas to mark the end of their shift, so regular were they in starting up. The whole valley echoed with their chirping for three minutes, and promptly at the signal everyone stopped work. 825 136

As well as cicada chrysalids, the Onges love the white larvae of the long-horned grasshoppers (Tettigonidae) which are common all over the island. They are the size of a man's finger and the larvae, like those of the cicadas, feed exclusively on vegetable matter and are very tasty. I have watched the Onges collecting them and managed to see something of the life cycle of the Longhorns. Both the larvae and the chrysalids live in cylindrical holes in trees, which the larvae bore out by eating at the wood. Before turning into a chrysalis the larva prepares the way out for the adult insect, which is less well adapted for gnawing. The chrysalids themselves seem determined to take up as little space as possible; as in all the Longhorns the future elytra are clearly visible on the creature's back, with the membranous wings, and the three pairs of legs are always curled up, with the first and second pairs very close to each other. The third pair is further away, clearly so as to balance the embryonic antennae. These are very long and spring from the sides of the head, passing down on either side of the thorax, between the first and second pairs of legs, to finish neatly coiled in front of the thorax, touching the elytra and the second pair of legs. Curled up like this into two or three coils, according to sex, the thread-like, whitish antennae look like intestinal worms inside the chrysalids. Each pair of legs lies motionless against the thorax, the feet touching in a precise line down the centre of the body. When the creature wakes from its long sleep, all the parts unfold, and the elytra and other external parts harden and colour according to the species. A new stage in the life cycle, shorter but more intense, has begun. [262] [222] 136

The Onges are not interested in the mole-crickets, but I found them fascinating. It is known that animals can find their nests or their usual haunts even if they are moved quite considerable distances away and deliberately confused, but the mechanism is not yet fully understood. It is likely that the same mechanism operates whether in the air, or on the ground, or below ground. The mole-cricket, for example digs long galleries underground and does not often come out into the open. The galleries are interconnected,

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136 enabling fair distances to be covered underground. It is not difficult to catch a mole-cricket, mark it, put it on the ground some distance away, and then recapture it in the original place. As it travels underground, sight can play no part in the mechanism, and in fact it burrows down as soon as it is put down on the ground. Its tunnels are not far down, and are easily damaged by heavy rain, animals or human feet, and so on. When this happens the insect closes the entrance to the damaged tunnel and digs a new one parallel to it, digging connecting galleries to the other tunnels, and it will do this, however many times the tunnel is damaged, as though determined to keep to the same line of direction.

Very different are the fireflies, which gave me a strange experience at the beginning of March 1953. I was with some Indians on a hunting expedition at low tide among the mangrove swamps near Berié-Abdalù on the east coast of Little Andaman. Night fell while we were still in the swamps, suddenly, as it always does in the tropics. There was a mist, and encouraged by the exceptional stillness of the air a shower of lights suddenly appeared all round us, twinkling in the air and on every leaf, as far as the eye could see, lit as if by magic. The effect was even more vivid than the phosphorescence of the sea that I had often admired. A confusion of strange sparks of light passed silently to and fro, and some of the city-bred Bengalis were terrified. To quieten them, I called them to a nearby plant, which was glowing like all the rest. As we approached we could see thousands of tiny specks of light moving endlessly to the edges of the leaves and branches and darting off into the air. I had seen fireflies before in a number of places but even so I could not take my eyes off these clouds of them, massed on every leaf and twig in sight.

The Onges, with their fear of the darkness, never see the fireflies in the mangrove swamps; but at certain times of the year there are millions of them round their camps and curiously enough the islanders attach no special significance to them. Every spring I spent in the island I saw fireflies, but not in large numbers. These were the males, which are winged, unlike the females. Once they reach the forest, they soar so high into the air that it is impossible to follow them, but the lights of the camp drew them down within sight. I never saw any females, easily distinguishable from the males as their light is continuous, whereas that of the males is

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intermittent. The constant flights of the males into the treetops made me think that the females were up there, but I was unable to confirm this. The fireflies will always remain for me one of the most attractive things about the forests of the Andamans. 126

One could write whole books about all the insects and their nightly concerts. On the *Ficus* of Little Andaman live the caterpillars of a very beautiful moth *Antherea paphia*, one of the Saturnidae; these are the silkworms which produce Tasar (or tussore) silk. On these trees they spin their silky cocoons, stronger than those of our European silkworms. Unlike the European *Saturnia pyri*, which leaves the plant before it goes into its cocoon, the Andaman variety remains on it. To avoid falling to the ground, the caterpillars always chew the leaves without weakening the edge to which they are clinging; one false nibble and they would plunge to the ground. As they enter the cocoon stage they take even greater precautions, crawling back to where the leaves join the stem and spinning a ring of silk in the joint. Then they run a thread down the dorsal vein of a leaf and attach the cocoon to it, so that even if the leaf is blown off by the gales the cocoon remains attached to the twig by its thread.

As the *Ficus* sheds its leaves in stages, and is therefore never entirely without leaves, the caterpillars appear twice a year, once in spring and once in the autumn. The butterflies from the first brood appear in mid-September and those from the second in mid-February, the only difference between the two broods, being the duration of the cocoon stage.

When it emerges from its cocoon the butterfly takes a few steps to the nearest support, where it spreads its wings to dry off. Then it sleeps for two days, waking in the night of the second day. As it sleeps the antennae, wire-like in the female, thicker in the male, lie flat against the head behind the eyes, becoming erect only as the butterfly wakes. The females are quiet and show no sign of flight, although they have large wings. The males, however, are restless, and keep circling, mating on their first flight. The females are usually fertilized and die as soon as they have laid their eggs on the plant where they were born. Virgin females which I kept in a case attracted males from many kilometres away, as with our *Saturnia pyri*. The males know unhesitatingly which are the virgin females, although it is not known how they do so. [126]

136 For the greater part of the year crickets and frogs fill the nights with wave after wave of placid, homely sound, tenor and baritone in full and solemn chorus. Within one area of a few kilometres there are more crickets than the entire human population of the world. Only the males chirp; the females are silent. The song may be for the purpose of attracting the females, but I rather doubt this, for they sing not only before, but also during and after mating. Alone or in chorus crickets will always sing, right up to the moment of death.

The general rule in all the various species of cricket which I have collected in various parts of the world is that only the males chirp. Very rarely both males and females sing; in other rare cases, neither sex sings. However great the physical variations between the species, their mating habits vary very little.

In the Andamans, however, the noise even of the crickets is drowned by the amphibia, particularly the green frogs. Like the crickets, they never sing alone, but always in chorus, led by those with the loudest voice. At fairly regular intervals a few odd frogs will start up; sometimes the chorus is lost, but only for a short while, and then it returns in full force, drowning the individual singers. Is this their collective homage to the fair sex, the females choosing the champions who lead the choir? I do not myself consider this a satisfactory explanation; in the Andamans at least the females normally behave as though the singing does not exist, even while the males work themselves up into a frenzy of croaking.

126 136 I managed to collect fairly large numbers of all these vocal creatures, particularly the insects, for the Institute of Zoology of the University of Naples, and it appears that all are known species common in the neighbouring islands and land masses. Insects are easily spread by the wind over considerable areas if they are caught up in an air current while in flight; I remember one October in the Gulf of Guinea, over three hundred miles from the nearest land, I caught considerable numbers of large insects, blown towards the ship by the wind and attracted by the lights. Borne by the monsoon winds, the insects of southern Asia and Indonesia must have drifted across to the Andamans long ago and flourished in the lush forests.

136 Needless to say, the abundance of insect life on the Andamans makes the archipelago a birds' paradise. Like the insects on which they live their song echoes through the forests day and night, to

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the background rhythm of the woodpeckers tapping on the trunks. 136
I knew that they did this when seeking food, but it was the Onges, natural observers of wild life, who convinced me that the tapping could sometimes be unconnected with foraging. Wherever I camped there were always large trees nearby and with the aid of field glasses it was a simple matter to keep an eye on the woodpeckers, which varied in size from some smaller than our sparrows to others, brilliantly coloured and bigger than pigeons.

One persistent tapper on Little Andaman is a beautiful black woodpecker with a bright red tuft on its head, *Dryocopus martius*, also found in Asia and parts of Europe. I captured some that were [126] thirty-five centimetres long, bigger than any of the other local species. Another, equally common, was slightly smaller than our blackbird and a glorious chestnut colour all over. A little black and white one was even more numerous. I often saw a variety of *Dendrocopus major*, with black and white body, red tuft on the head and a striking crimson feather under the tail. Others were mainly green, always with the red tuft on the head.

All of them hammer on the tree-trunks with their beaks and it is not fully understood why they do so. Tapping in search of insects can be heard the year round and the sound is similar to that made when the nest is being hollowed out. The other form of tapping, true drumming in the musical sense of the word, is only heard in the mating season and is infinitely louder. The Onges connect this [825] sound with reproduction, although they have not grasped the connection between mating and birth. It can be heard over three hundred metres away, while the tapping for food or nest-building carries only for a short distance.

When the bird is breaking through the bark in search of food or hollowing out the nest, the beak usually strikes the trunk at an angle and at irregular intervals. The bird throws its whole strength into each blow, lifting its head right back every time to strike even harder with the next blow. The blows are usually struck first from the right, three or four in quick succession, and then three or four from the left, to dislodge a chip of bark or wood. When the woodpecker nears the larva he is after, still hidden under the bark, the blows may become perpendicular. In nest-building a hollow is cut out of wood, often seven or eight centimetres deep in the case of the larger species, and large enough in diameter to admit the bird. Then

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136 the hole is enlarged downwards, still the same width, for thirty centimetres or so, to end in an oval cavity large enough to take the incubating female. In both cases all the tapping is done while the bird clings on to the trunk with its claws, which have reversible digits; it is balanced by the tail with its hard, bristle-tipped feathers.

The musical drumming during the mating season is rhythmic, and less violent. The bird selects a hollow trunk and will return to the same one for months. The beak strikes at the rate of about seven to ten blows per second and always in one place, so that no bark is chipped out. The sound diminishes in intensity from the first blow to the last, unlike the food- or nest-drumming. Like the cicada the bird uses its own body as a sound box to aid reverberation, filling itself with as much air as possible. As part of the flight mechanism, all birds have air cavities connected to their lungs and in the woodpecker the system is extremely well developed. These cavities help to increase the vibrations made by drumming on the wood. The head is held at the right angle to obtain the best reverberation (not the best angle for chipping out bark, as when the bird is looking for food), and the bird itself vibrates with the wood, absorbing the short sound-waves and increasing the resonance.

136 Although to the naturalist there is enough in the wild life of the
825 Andamans for endless studies of everything from cuckoos to par-
[26] rots, sea snakes, shells with their beautiful spiral patterns – and the wealth of material almost overwhelms one – it must be admitted that the Onges see all the beauty around them mainly in terms of food.

They will search for hours for the nests of the salangana or *Collocalia esculenta*, the swallow which builds well-known edible nests so greatly prized in many parts of the world. The bird secretes a gummy saliva, which hardens when exposed to the air, and it is of this that it builds its nest in caves near the sea, ejecting saliva on to the roof of the caves. The substance acts in Man as an aphrodisiac, which may account for the value placed upon swallows' nests in
136 China. The nests are found usually in the darkest parts of the caves, hanging from the roof, sometimes seven or eight in a bunch. It is not known why these swallows like to nest in the dark, or how they manage to find their own eggs and young when they return to the cave after foraging, or are driven away from the nest by intruders such as snakes. It seems on the face of it impossible for snakes to

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climb up the roof of the cave, but they do. I collected a number, all *Trimesurus viridis*, and now in the Institute of Zoology of the University of Genoa. I had to pull them off the roof by the tail, as they were stuck fast on the rough surface of the rock. The snakes devour both eggs and young of the swallows, but the parents invariably return to the right nest, even if the contents are gone. When disturbed the salangana, tiny insect-eating birds with very long wings, fly in a tight flock towards the mouth of the cave, where they can be easily knocked down or trapped.

Below the nests there is always a thick layer of guano, crawling with insects and built up over the centuries by generations of birds using the same nesting places. The nests, about five to six centimetres in diameter and very small inside, normally contain one egg, rarely two or three. When we detached the nests from the roof, the young, instead of trying to escape, clung fast to the nest with their claws, cowering in the bottom and staring at us.

To several nests with only one egg, I added another. When I returned a few days later I found the interloper being happily cared for by the foster parents, showing that as is usually the case the parent birds recognize only the nest and accept the contents of it without question. Outside the nest, however, they fail to recognize even their own offspring, and in carnivorous species may even eat them. The young of the salangana are tended by the parent birds for only a few days after hatching, and as soon as they begin to move about outside the nest all recognition is permanently lost.

It is somewhat surprising that the bird populations of the Andamans differ considerably from island to island. The establishment of such marked, almost specific differences as are now apparent between birds clearly originally of the same species must have taken a very long time indeed and can only be explained if one assumes – justifiably, from my observations – that many species roam less widely than one would expect. The pigeon of Little Andaman (*umugbé* to the Onges) is surprisingly sedentary, so that varieties in the various islands have developed as isolates and differ considerably. That of South Andaman, for example, is smaller than that found on Little Andaman, while those of Car Nicobar are larger still. And in a particular area fifteen kilometres west of Port Blair I repeatedly caught pigeons which were absolutely emaciated with their intestines loaded with tapeworms, whereas outside this

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136 restricted area I never found one. Another pigeon, all white apart from the wings and tail, on the other hand, migrates regularly as far as Sumatra and Java, yet still fails to produce local species.

On the whole, there is considerable zoological and botanical uniformity between the two hundred and four islands in the archipelago, even the furthest apart. One striking feature is the complete absence of native large mammals and of any traces of such in the geological past. There are, for example, no felines except *Paradoxurus*, the jungle cat, rather smaller than the domestic cat, which lives along the coasts. It prefers marine prey and roams the beaches at night after fish and crustacea, leaving a long trail of footprints. Sometimes it will kill lobsters larger than itself, and in the morning one sees the remains that the sea has not washed away or the rats gnawed. This is significant, as the jungle cat and rats were clearly the only mammals on Little Andaman until the recent deliberate introductions, and it is interesting that the cat incidentally feeds and helps to perpetuate the rats on which it preys. Both, unlike the great mammals, have survived the gradual restrictions of area imposed by the continual fragmentation of the archipelago, by virtue of their greater adaptability to 'marine' existence. So, too, have the reptiles and amphibia managed to survive – all closely related to the species found on the land mass of which the Andamans were originally part.

In the case of amphibia many species have been cut off in the archipelago perhaps for thousands of years, and yet have nearly all remained identical with those of the continents from which they came. One example is *Bufo melanostictus*, the common toad of Asia. I found them the same on Great and Little Andaman as in Bengal, Assam, Ceylon and other parts of Asia, and unlike the birds there is no difference between the toad populations of the various islands.

The same is true of the reptiles except that the same species, in Asia highly poisonous, often lethal within an hour, are somewhat less poisonous in the Andamans, although they can still cause severe discomfort.

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133 to six metres or more, with sudden vertical drops and dangerous overhangs. It is here, however, that underwater life is at its most 133 beautiful. Swarms of fish, painted in fantastic variegated stripes, ●136 spots and patches in imitation of their surroundings, live among these caverns, rushing about in the wells of deep water. When they are pursued by bigger fish, the shoals will leap suddenly out of the water, only to be caught by the gulls who are always lying in wait for them. I have watched the shoals from the shore, and seen them leap out of the sea to lie gasping on the sand, dying quickly in the heat.

136 Where there are channels in direct communication with the open sea, small sharks slightly over a metre in length move in to meet any swimmers, though a clap of the hands is enough to put them to flight. Fish weighing several kilograms hide in the recesses of the [226] rocks bordering the corals, but they quickly emerge if poked with a stick, and the Onge women have an ingenious system of catching them. Rocks sticking up out of the water swarm with crustacea and tiny molluscs. Apart from the crabs, I was struck by their poor relations, the hermit crabs, comical tenants of all kinds of shells. One species, common in Little Andaman but rare on Great Andaman, is a beautiful tomato red all over, while others are bluish or grey.

The underwater world round the islands is completed by large numbers of several Holothuria, lazy, but conspicuous, and the huge bivalve molusc, *Tridacna* or Giant Clam. Some of these are anything up to a hundred years old and well over a metre in diameter, and weigh between two and three hundredweight. Always open, and incapable of moving from place to place, they feed by means of a multicoloured 'fringe' attached to the hem of each shell, the beating cilia which wave unceasingly causing eddies in the surrounding water and so drawing in plankton from a wide radius. Under normally calm conditions, this process of drawing in and swallowing plankton goes on without stopping, day and night. The huge molluscs look like simple baskets of blue, red, green and white flowers set on the sea bed, but they are in fact terrible creatures. If a man's hand or a foot should be sucked into the quite strong eddy the 'fringe' of cilia immediately folds back and the *Tridacna* suddenly closes like a giant eye silently, viciously, and so violently as to crush completely the limb caught between the two

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valves as they close. The strength of *Tridacna* is terrifying; an Onge friend of mine lost all the toes of his right foot when he inadvertently touched a *Tridacna* while swimming under water, and they have even been known to cut a man in half. Unfortunately, the creatures do not require a great depth of water and are found a few metres from the surface, even in the highest tides, so that they are a real danger. 136

To describe the underwater life of the Andamans in detail would itself fill a book. The shells alone, monovalves and bivalves alike, are of innumerable kinds and would arouse the enthusiasm of any collector. Various kinds of elegant and brilliantly coloured cowries are everywhere, moving about slowly at the water's edge. In a few hours one can gather sackfuls of all kinds of perfect shells, each one more beautiful than the last.

Pterocera of various species abound among the reefs. They are always small, seldom reaching thirty centimetres including the strange finger-like protuberances which give them their name of 'finger-shells'. They are always drab and inconspicuous from above, but the inside of the shell is a beautiful coral red. But they are always easy to pick out because of their protuberances.

I myself learned a sharp lesson from a finger-shell. I had always wondered why the shell had so many of these apparently useless protuberances, and one taught me how wrong I was: these 'fingers' perform a vital function in the search for food. The finger-shell has a strong muscular foot, with which it closes its shell when it retreats inside. When the opening is closed, only the outer surface of the foot can be seen, like an operculum, brown and horny. The secret of the protuberances lies in their combined action with the propulsive power of the foot: this is capable of throwing the creature with great rapidity in any direction, but usually sideways. Once it has noticed an open bivalve, usually one of the many local pinnae, about thirty centimetres long, the *Pterocera* approaches cautiously and with a sudden rush thrusts one or two of its protuberances, usually the lateral ones, deeply into the aperture of the pinna. Once impaled, the bivalve, normally ready to barricade itself in its shell at the slightest touch, remains at the mercy of the *Pterocera*. The latter calmly prises open the blocked aperture, gradually inserting its prong deeper and deeper, and consumes the tender flesh of its helpless victim. (Another gastropod, *Murex*

136 *fortispine*, uses a similar action on the larger bivalves. Its shell is equipped with a very effective form of tin-opener, which it keeps polished by vigorous rubbing.)

I watched a *Pterocera* attentively scrutinizing the hand holding it. After exploring it very carefully, the creature tried to free itself by beating violently with its foot, causing considerable pain. I held one by one of its protuberances, which was like a large right-angled hook. Suddenly, while my attention was held by a shoal of fish, I felt a sharp pain on the back of my hand. Taken by surprise, I watched the creature to try and discover what it had done. From a furrow at the base of one large front hook, a little to its left, I saw a tentacle emerge, able to turn in any direction, with a retractable eye at its tip. The eye, after a few exploratory movements, fixed its gaze on the place on my hand the creature intended to hit, and then the foot began to beat wildly on my hand, time and time again, causing a quite surprising degree of pain.

462 226 224 It is during the honey feasts, when the tides are exceptionally low and the seas calm, that the womenfolk come into prominence. While the men normally do all the hunting for game and large fish, using arrows and harpoons, the women, with their nets, catch the smaller fish in the rivers and marshes, and among the coral reefs at low tide. Their contribution to the everyday diet is by no means negligible, and during the season of very low tides their daily haul is tremendous.

262 825 The importance of fish to the Onges is shown by the fact that their word for it, *ciogbe*, is also used to mean food in general, and clearly dates back to the time before the arrival of the pigs on the island, when fish and sea food in general was the basis of their diet. [251] So plentiful is it that even at the height of the season the most they do in the way of preserving anything for future use is to expose the fish to smoke in order to deter flies from laying eggs on it for a day or two.

462 226 Only on very rare occasions do the men help in the net-fishing, and then only when they can completely fill the canoes with fish very quickly. I saw it happen for the first time on 24 March 1953, in the great coral reef near Nachuge, just as it happens all over the island at this time of year, when the pilchard shoals are so far inshore that there are not enough canoes to hold the catch. As the

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tide goes down, the shoals are caught in the reefs stretching out to sea all round the island and the Onges leave everything to manhandle the canoes from pool to pool and fill them to overflowing. The water is almost saturated with fish, and the Onges go on and on until they have nothing more they can use to hold the catch. Nowhere else in the world have I seen anything like this wholesale slaughter.

The pilchards of the Andamans are rather larger than usual, some weighing as much as half a kilogram or more. The Onges catch them regardless of size and then sort them into lengths before cooking (cooking, needless to say, without stopping to gut them). Men, women and children work feverishly, plunging their hands into the heaving mass of fish so that they reek of it for days, together with the dogs, whose coats become the inevitable handtowels.

Every available vessel is used for the cooking, and the rest of the haul is cooked directly over hot ashes. The biggest are cooked alone; the smaller ones, in batches of half to one kilogram, are wrapped in big fleshy leaves, tied up with vegetable fibres and cooked for ten minutes or so, turned regularly all the while. To boil the fish, an entire netful of fish roughly equal in size is plunged into boiling water, and boiled as usual far too long for our taste.

Everyone cooks and eats at the same time until (temporarily) unable to eat any more, when the rest of the haul is laid on improvised racks with fires of green wood making smoke underneath. When, a few days later, all is gone, fishing begins again. And so life goes on for weeks, until the shoals have passed the islands.

The real fishing, however, is done by the men. The women use small nets about fifty centimetres in diameter, and about the same depth. The opening consists of a pliable cane, barely three centimetres in diameter, bent into a circle and tied with the ends crossing each other and projecting about twenty centimetres to form the handles. Each woman handles two nets, one held between the legs and the other in one hand, while the other hand pokes with a stick into the crevices in the reefs under the water to drive out the fish which have taken refuge as the tide goes out. Once found the fish are killed – very simply, by biting them between the

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build it (when I wanted to acquire two for the new anthropological museum at Port Blair and the Indian Museum in Calcutta I had to bargain with the men recognized as the owners, although the price had to be distributed among all the members of the group).

The chief delight of the men on their fishing trips is the capture of a Giant Turtle. I have already described (p. 88) the spear harpoons which the Onges use to catch them. Once caught, the wretched animals are subjected to a form of vivisection utterly incomprehensible to the Western mind; they are literally cut up alive and the pieces thrown into the boiling cooking-pot. Nor have I ever witnessed anything so terrible as the way in which the Onges, in the absence of any suitable cooking vessel, or the materials for an earth oven, roast these turtles whole and alive over a slow fire. They seem totally unable to realize that animals can feel pain and laugh like children at the other atrocious tortures they unwittingly inflict not only on the turtles, but on every living thing that falls into their hands.

These marine turtles (as far as I was able to see there were no land turtles in the Andamans) yield a far greater amount of food than the dugong, and provide the islanders with both meat and eggs. Two species are common in the seas round the islands, *Chelonia virgata*, or the green turtle, and *Caretta imbricata*, which supplies the shells normally sold commercially. The Onges prefer the former, which are both meaty and more plentiful.

Turtle-hunting and egg-collecting is done by the menfolk. The method is very like that used for dugong and large fish, using the harpoon. Owing to their fear of the spirits abroad in the night, the Onges never go near the beaches between dusk and dawn, when it would be easy to take the turtles on land and immobilize them by turning them on their backs. They do know this trick, however, and use it when captured turtles (often weighing up to a hundredweight) are too heavy to carry in the canoe; the animals are turned on their backs and dumped on the beach ready to pick up later.

The Onges harpoon the turtles from canoes, preferably at night when the turtles are nearing the shore, which they never approach in the day time. When there is a moon the creatures are easily seen, and on dark nights the phosphorescence of the sea helps.

225 turning the turtle over on its back as soon as it is landed, and then blinding the wretched creature by putting both eyes out with a sharp stick, so that it cannot escape even if it manages to right itself.

222 Turtle eggs are easy to find. Before laying them in the sand about one metre deep, the turtle makes several visits about a fortnight beforehand to choose the spot. The huge footprints she leaves in the sand are easily seen, and watch is kept on the spot. When the Onges know roughly where to look they know that by poking in the sand with a stick they must in the end find the eggs. As one man, and happy as sandboys, they dig in the sand, lower and lower, till the sight of the first egg is greeted with a shout of triumph. One by one the eggs emerge to fill the baskets, hastily improvised and lined with great leaves.

The female may actually be seen depositing the eggs, up to two hundred at a time. Some will be infertile, and are smaller, with no yolk, but normally they are the size and shape of a billiard ball, deposited one after another at the rate of ten a minute. As they are laid a viscous secretion flows over them so that the sand sticks to them. As it dries, however, the sand can be rubbed off the shells, which are not rigid and resemble a shining white parchment; on each egg is a tiny round indentation, which increases in size within two or three days and makes the egg look as though it has shrivelled in the sun. In fact, the eggs will not hatch unless they remain buried deep in the sand.

136 222 Not more than half the turtle eggs laid in the Andamans hatch out into young turtles, so eager for them are man and beast alike. Man is their worst enemy, and it is no exaggeration to say that no clutch laid on Little Andaman has any hope of hatching. Man and animals alike range the beaches in search of the delicacy. First come the pigs, so greedy that if they come upon a female in the act of laying they give her no time even to cover the eggs. Then come the monitors, voracious lizards two metres long, and on the east coast near Nachuge, huge crocodiles as well. Finally, *Paradoxurus*, the wild cat of the Andamans, takes anything that is left.

The Onges have to compete with all these for turtle eggs, and they are nearly always too late. They have to look instead to the 136 deserted islands, like the nearby South and North Brother. Here the young turtles have some chance of hatching, but as soon as they

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emerge from the eggs and make their way towards the sea, led by 136
some unerring instinct, fresh predators are ready to pounce on them. Hungry gulls and fish, and the giant crabs, lie in wait and sometimes not one escapes.

But the annual survival of only ten young from each female would be enough to allay any fears for the extinction of the species and fortunately reproduction takes place several times a year, often four or five times, according to the Onges, mainly from March to September.

In the case of eggs which I protected and watched, incubation 136
lasted sixty to seventy days depending on the time of year. During 262
the whole of the incubation period the Onges regard them as edible, like the Bushmen of the Kalahari, whom I saw take and eat birds' eggs regardless of their age or state of development. The Onges even like the turtle embryos when cooked, and the other contents of the shell. Curiously enough, however long they are cooked the whites of turtle eggs never set, although the yolk does and is excellent. The Onges, as a sign of great respect, often gave [123]
me baskets full of the hard-boiled yolks.

Turtles, despite their peaceable appearance, are extremely agres- 136
sive, and will take on nearly anything they meet. Their battles are one of the most amusing things in the animal world. The males of the marine turtles rarely approach the shore, except to fight each other. This they do ferociously, biting at everything within reach, regardless of being bitten themselves, as the land turtles do in the mating season. The aim is to overturn one's enemy so that he is quite helpless, after which the winner ambles off, leaving the vanquished to his own devices (the trick is to get one's head under one's opponent's body and lever upwards). A turtle, once on its back, takes hours to right itself, which it can only do by accident, when its frantic wriggling and beating in the air with its legs hollows the sand away underneath its back so that it flops over the right way up.

One of the Onges' greatest enemies in their search for food is the crocodile, *tsboirona*, as they call it. They have no means of fighting [825]
the creature, so they limit themselves to fearing it and building stories round it. On Little Andaman crocodiles are found only near Nachuge on the west coast, in the deep waters of Jackson Creek, *To-ggw*. There used to be numbers of them in a few places on Great

136 Andaman, in Yeratil Jig (near Port Anson, about fifteen miles from Long Island) in Diglipur (or Dilyapur) Creek, near Port Cornwallis, and in Wilima Jig,[1] but they are now extinct. In March 1952 the Onges had described the presence of crocodiles so clearly to me as to leave no doubt what they meant, and I soon received confirmation when I found their tracks on the sand about one kilometre from the mouth of Jackson Creek, on the right bank, and then saw some lying on the shore across the creek. Through my field glasses I saw small birds pecking between the teeth of the great wide-open jaws. As we approached they slid lazily into the sea, some reappearing a little later, their cavernous mouths rising vertically out of the water. Every day after that I saw them swimming quietly near the banks, and one afternoon my men and I between us saw over a dozen, near Nachuge, dozing in the mud or in the water.

[825] [198] The Onges assured me that crocodiles will come out of the water to a certain whistle. I got them to try it; the Onges whistled, and whistled again, but no crocodiles came!

237 32 276 172 Very different from the great turtles and the crocodiles, but equally important in the daily life of the Onges, are the crabs from which the islanders make their ancient and very characteristic pipes. They eat the crabs and use the claws to make the pipes, cutting them across the joint and boring a hole in the end, as they have done since time immemorial, to smoke aromatic leaves from the forest. Fragments of similar pipes, charred with use, appear in even the lowest strata of the kitchen-middens, dating back thousands of years and proving the antiquity of the smoking habit. Contrary to popular belief, smoking did not begin everywhere with the introduction of tobacco – in Asia at least men smoked thousands of years ago.

237 276 171 The claw pipes of the Onges have a groove cut round the end which goes into the mouth, so that the teeth can grip it better. I have seen identical pipes, with the same groove, in the Melville Islands, where there are many other signs of ethnographic connections with the Andamans. The canoes, for example, are identical with those of the Andamans; the peoples themselves, however, are today very different physically.

[501] [142]

[165] [1] According to Portman a man was dragged into the water here on 11 May 1894 by a crocodile and killed; several similar incidents have occurred since.

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These crabs are enormous, weighing one and a half kilograms, and are very tasty. Like many land crabs they have one large claw and a smaller one, the difference being quite marked in the males, though hardly noticeable in females. Some appear left-handed, some right-handed; I confirmed this by looking at thousands of them with the help of my Indians, and sent some to the Institute of Zoology at the University of Genoa for further examination.

On the inside of the large claw, to hold the prey while the crab bites, are protuberances that look like teeth. They have a very similar function and are a good example of superficial similarity in different types of organs designed for a similar purpose.

The females, like those of other crabs, carry the mass of round, almost transparent, orange-coloured eggs under the abdomen, attached to her swimmerets and well protected. In the great crabs from which the Onges make their pipes the bluish-green shell is reflected on to the eggs, giving them a beautiful sheen. Immediately the young are hatched, they cling underneath the mother's abdomen like the eggs, so that if a female is caught one can be sure of having the whole brood. Even at this stage the sex and the disparity of the claws is discernible as the young are exact replicas of the adults. Two curious things about them are that the number of the two sexes in any brood are exactly equal, and that in the males there are equal numbers right- and left-handed. The point is an interesting one, and I hope geneticists will be able to investigate it further.

Another important feature in Onge life is the *Nautilus*, the cephalopod whose shells provide the only drinking vessels they know. *Nautilus* shells, unlike those of gastropods, are spiral in one plane, with interlocular septa. The mollusc occupies the last, or largest, of the whorls, which communicates with the rest of the spiral by a cylindrical syphuncle running through the mid-line of the shell. This is connected to the creature's viscera by a vascular tube, which for hydrostatic purposes regulates the amount of air and water in the chambers. Each chamber is concave on the side nearest the aperture, and the distance between the septa increases with the size of the whorls, to a fixed maximum, limited by their number, which is constant in adults. *Nautilus*, a living fossil from the time of the ammonites, is the last survivor of a genus dating from the Silurian period; long ago there were many species, although only four have

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136 been found since 1500. It is found only in the seas round Australia and Malaysia, flourishing round the Andamans, growing rarer towards Indonesia, and reaching as far as the Philippines.

Although *Nautilus* shells are very often thrown up by the sea on the shores of Little Andaman (though rarely whole, because they are so fragile), I never managed to find one alive. The creature prefers to live below thirty metres, where it can be taken with a hook and line. I distributed some to the Onges and offered them every possible inducement, but no one managed to catch a live *Nautilus*. The lovely shells are striped white and rosy pink on top, shading to a mother of pearl colour underneath, and when polished and shaped make beautiful cups or ornaments. I brought some back to Italy with me, but the best were stolen. In one collection in the Zoological Museum of the University of Florence there are some fine ones set in silver, now of considerable value.

237 302 123 177 Another shell which the Onges use is that of the huge bivalve *Tridacna*, the elephant of the mollusc world (see p. 114). For many hundreds of years they have filled these shells with water and used them as mirrors when they paint themselves. (The reflection is poor, however, and they fell enthusiastically on the mirrors I had taken with me. These they named *quietanga*, derived from their name for *Tridacna*, and followed me all over the island to get them.)

136 262 Two species of *Tridacna* are found on Little Andaman; *Tridacna gigas*, the larger, and *Tridacna squamosa*, large, but somewhat lighter in weight. Both live in relatively shallow water and are equally terrifying once they have got a hold (see p. 114). Fortunately, the Onges have learnt to surprise them when they are open and slash the single immensely powerful muscle, which closes the two halves of the shell. The flesh is edible when well boiled, and certain parts can even be quite tasty, with a delicate sea flavour; I even ate some raw, much to the horror of the Onges. (They were equally scandalized at my eating raw some of the excellent oysters, which they despise.)

136 Some of the *Tridacna* of the Andamans and Nicobar can weigh over two and a half hundredweights. The actual flesh is not heavy – the two halves of a magnificent *T. squamosa* that I caught at Nancowry in the Nicobars and gave to the Governor of the Andamans weighed nearly one and a half hundredweights and were over 1·3

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metres in diameter. They are now used for the holy water in the new church of San Piero in Palco, in Florence, like those in the church of St Sulpice in Paris. Two valves of *T. gigas*, rather smaller, are being used for the same purpose in the church of Marco Polo in Viareggio.

Among the creatures the Onges hunt on the shores are crayfish, which can be taken in plenty in the streams of Little Andaman, although I found none on Great Andaman or in the Nicobars. As they were so common I assumed they were a known species and did not bother to collect any. In Madras, however, an expert on freshwater crustacea, Sri Sada Siva, told me that this appeared to be a new species and it would be well worth while returning to Little Andaman to collect further specimens, as the few I had brought are now lost. There are tens of thousands of them everywhere.

These freshwater crayfish are so tasty that they have entered into Onge folklore, and their tastiness is praised in song. They are baked on burning embers, without salt, as always, and just the charred shell is removed before they are eaten. The clean fresh water in which they live prevents any taint in the flavour. I must confess to having eaten them every day without realizing their importance as a possible new species. They are fairly large, about fifteen centimetres long, and almost black, in natural imitation of the dark rocks among which they try to vanish out of sight, although the Onges never fail to spot them. The males have slender pereiopods, with claws almost twice as long as the whole body; these the creatures thrust out before them, and so slender are they that it is difficult to catch a male with both pereiopods intact. After hatching, the young, which are identical with the adults as soon as they hatch and can therefore be sexed by the presence and absence of pereiopods, cling bunched together for several weeks, attached by their claws to their mother's swimmerets before making their way into the troubled waters of the rivers, where the great carp are waiting to prey on them.

Yet another freshwater creature eagerly sought by the Onges is one that is almost black in colour, a strange survival of some remote geological era. Like other members of the family it has no scales, and the mouth, armed with teeth, is not protractile. On Little Andaman I saw several specimens weighing over a kilogram, and

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136 many smaller ones, all good to eat. Near my base camp at Labanar,
[222] the men caught sackfuls of them, and I found young ones near the communal hut at Togalanghe.

There a rocky path winds down to the banks of the river Tcion-garè (or Chongaree) to the south of the camp. In various places, where the path levels out, black muddy water collects into pools full of rotting leaves, lying on a bed of ooze and slime. In these pools, which appear and dry up again very quickly, I was surprised to catch a number of *silurides*. When it rains heavily, however, the pools link and join up with the river where the fish live, so that as the water disappears again any fish which have entered the pools are prevented from returning to the river, and are left lying in the slime as the water evaporates. These silurides have no gills, and are equipped instead with nostrils of an unusual type; from the nostrils protrude two cylindrical tubes, half a centimetre long in fish fifteen centimetres long, the same blackish colour as the rest of the body. The tail and the long dorsal fin are yellowish, and the long ventral fin running from the anus to the tail is whitish. There are two large lateral pectoral fins, with two very small ones between them. The eyes are large, starting out of the head like tiny glass domes. Very unfortunately a number of specimens which I had most carefully preserved were lost in transit from Port Blair to Calcutta, when some of my baggage, including the crabs and a collection of face masks of Nicobarese which had cost me a great deal of trouble, mysteriously disappeared *en route*.

136 The Onges do not eat eels,[1] which they regard as snakes, but they
262 several times brought me examples of a very fine freshwater eel
226 whose presence on Little Andaman I had not suspected. The Onges caught them, as they do all fish, with their bows and arrows. All weighed over half a kilogram and looked and tasted like European eels.

136 The eel of the Andamans, like those of Europe and America, has a long, almost cylindrical body and a single fin which begins on the back, circles the tail, and ends under the body just in front of the anus. There is also a pair of strong pectoral fins. The head distinguishes it from other eels, its rounded snout and wide mouth being

[184] [1] The Arioto, however, eat eels, and also mice and other small animals, although food is given to them by the Governor in return for police duties. Brown also refers to the eating of snakes and mice on Great Andaman.

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rather shorter than in other species, with rows of small teeth covering the palate. The jaws themselves, however, have only one row of teeth, all very pointed. To my intense annoyance, my eel specimens were lost with the silurides. 136

On rare occasions the Onges manage to catch the toad fish of the mangrove swamps. These curious little animals are apparently a compromise between the fish and the frog; they can breathe both in the air and under water and like to come out of the water to take a walk. They wriggle about in the pools left by the ebb tide, popping out into the air as soon as they meet anything suspicious, and hopping away over quite considerable distances. But normally they wander peacefully about on the mud, propelling themselves with their two pectoral fins, which are attached to the end of a form of arm. In size (never over twenty centimetres long) and colour they remind one of the gudgeon, to which they are related. They belong to the genus *Periophthalmus*, of the order Gobiidi. They seem to prefer living in the open rather than in the water, and appear to look forward to low tide, when the tiny creatures on which they feed are about. Hunger satisfied, they cling to some stone or tree-trunk, often in an almost vertical position, and will stay there over half an hour, particularly if their tail is touching the water, as this keeps their body damp and helps them to breathe by means of ingenious gill sacs filled with air. [226]

Toad fish move into the marshes as the sea recedes and move back as the tide returns. In the middle of the day they seek the shade in the damp crevices of the mangrove swamps. They seem to glory in the first rays of the morning sun, their huge erectile eyes, which never rest, moving endlessly from side to side. Their independent movement enables the creature to gaze at the sun with one eye and look for likely prey with the other. The two eyes, set closely together on top of their flat heads make them look rather ridiculous. Another striking feature about them is a kind of sucker, or adhesive disc, formed by the ventral thoracic fins. These have a loose fold of skin on the back, so that when the fins are brought together in front of the body, the skin falls into a funnel shape, which when pressed against a stone or tree-trunk adheres to it by suction, holding the animal fast.

I was amused by the way toad fish can be domesticated as soon as they are caught. I kept some in my tent, leaving water available [126]

136 for them and feeding them on the table. As soon as they saw worms
126 wriggling, they would move cautiously towards them and then snap them up like lightning. They became used to sitting in my hand quite undisturbed, looking round in two directions at once in an interested way. Flies held by the wings fascinated them more than anything, and they used to stare at the insects as though hoping to mesmerize them. They made delightful pets.

136 More prosaically, they are very good fried. Outside Little Anda-
114 man I found hundreds every day near Golpahar on Middle Andaman, and as the fish market in Port Blair was over a day's journey away we used many for non-scientific purposes.

136 Dugong, monitors, snakes, jungle cats, bats, leeches – all abound in Little Andaman and I had ample opportunities to study them. The dugong are well known to the Onges, but I only saw them at Bumila Creek (Cuateniabo) and Jackson Creek, where I did not have the time to catch any; the Onges tried, but without result.

Dugong (from the Malayan *Dyong*, introduced into scientific Latin as the family Dugongidae), are large mammals of the order *Sirenia*. They have a short fish-like body, with closeable nostrils above a cavernous mouth, which is surrounded by short bristly whiskers and armed with a brush-like, horny plate. In the male two short tusks hang down each side of the mouth, like a miniature hippopotamus, giving the animals a cumbersome, ugly look. The
[225] Onges prize the dugong, but rarely manage to capture one; when they do, there is great feasting. I was never able to try it, or even acquire any really close observations of the creatures.

136 Monitors or dragon-lizards, on the other hand were under my
126 feet every day, although the islanders never eat them. I used to put out as bait fish or pig carcasses rejected by the Onges as being too
[262] lean, and we could then shoot as many as we wanted as they rushed to the bait from all sides. I collected their skins for various museums, using the carcasses as further bait.

136 The Andamanese variety is well known and it closely resembles *Varanus niloticus*, the Nile monitor, to which it is related. The largest can be two metres long, including the long, very tapering tail. As they approach their prey, sniffing at it, their forked tongue, twice the length of the head, flashes in and out of its sheath with incredible speed. Although they have strong legs they move slowly and it is easy to catch them by the tail, providing one takes care to

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avoid being bitten, and one blow on the spine kills them. Compared with the turtle, for example, their vitality is poor, and they die very quickly, although strangely enough the heart beats for some hours after death.[1] 136

These carnivorous lizards are the jackals of the Andamans, scavengers ready to eat anything, from offal even the dogs will not eat to the rotting carcasses of the dogs themselves, and even of their own kind. In the forests of the Andamans death is swift and silent, and the monitors ensure that it leaves no trace.

[1] On a number of occasions I took out the respiratory and digestive system, with the heart, and both systole and diastole and peristalsis continued regularly for some hours.

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[136] prove that they are, and always have been, fairly numerous.[1] The pig hunts are most frequent during the rains, not only 224 because these animals are then more plentiful and in better condition, but because it is no longer the *râp-wâb-*, or season of abundance of jungle fruit and honey; from this, however, it must not be inferred that scarcity is then experienced, for those who choose to help themselves need never be in want.

262 11. During the cool season, *pâ·par-wâb-*,[2] the people them- 137 selves are alleged to become noticeably thinner: this they 252 attribute not to a deficiency of food, but to the meagre condition of the pigs, which are then breeding, and to the fact that the edible roots (or yams), and other fruits then in season are not fattening. There are six varieties of esculent roots, viz.: the *gō·no-*, *châ·ti-*, *kâd-*,[3] *bō·to-*, *mal·ag-*, and *tāg·i-*, which are eaten alone (preferably cold), and not with meat; their chief difference consists in the extra care in preparation which some require, in consequence of their very acrid flavour.

12. The *gō·no-* is cooked in three ways: (*a*) it is placed on the fire in the condition in which it is found until it is soft, when it is freed from the burnt earth and eaten; (*b*) the root, after being washed, is cut up into small pieces and boiled in a pot; and (*c*) after being washed and cut up, the pieces are wrapped in large leaves and baked on burning logs.

13. The *châ·ti-* is cooked in the first of the above-mentioned methods, or by surrounding it with hot stones,[4] and covering the whole with leaves and weights, in order to confine the heat as much as possible.

14. The *kâd-* is first cooked as found, the skin is then peeled off, and a number of thin slices are cut and placed in water for a couple of days, so as to lessen the bitterness of its flavour; afterwards it is either baked in leaves or boiled, as already described in speaking of the *gō·no-*.

15. The other three varieties are never boiled, but are placed on the fire without leaves, and the outer skin is removed before they are eaten.

16. The seed of a species of sea-weed, known to them as *tô·no-tòng-*, on which turtles and dugongs feed, and which can only be obtained in small quantities, is carefully cooked and eaten as a relish.

[1] In his examination of a kitchen-midden near Port Blair harbour the late Dr. Stoliczka recorded that "the large number of bones of the Andaman pig is remarkable."

[2] This is the period between the rains and the dry season, and lasts about ten weeks, between the middle of November and the middle of February.

[3] The *gō·no-*, *châ·ti-*, and *kâd-*, are very plentiful during the cool season, and are much relished.

[4] *Vide post* "Stone Implements," paragraph 1.

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17. The fruit of three varieties of mangrove,[1] known to them as *jū·mu-*,[2] *ngâ·tya-*, and *bá·taga-*, are occasionally eaten, but only by way of change; they are prepared like the *kâd-* (*vide* above). 262 137

18. The following table contains a fairly complete list of the different kinds of food eaten by the Andamanese during the varying seasons of the year; their ordinary diet, as will be gathered from the foregoing, consists of pigs,[3] paradoxurus, iguanas,[4] eggs of the hawkbill turtle, turtles, shell and other sea-fish and prawns, with occasional treats of dugong and porpoise,[5] and for married persons certain birds, already named: the fruit of the *Pandanus* and black honey must also be added, besides which, during the dry season, fresh-water fish, shell-fish, eggs of the green turtle, honey, the bee-bread, and that portion of the comb in which the larvæ are found, as well as the *Caryota sobolifera*, yams, and numerous fruits, about to be named, are eaten with great relish; while during the rains they vary their fare with preserved seeds of the *Artocarpus chaplasha*, *Semecarpus*,[6] and the fallen seeds of the *Entada pursætha*,[7] with three grubs, viz.: the *bū·tu-*, *pī·rigi-*, and the larvæ of the Great Capricornis beetle (*ò·yum-*), and certain fruits. Although on one occasion I saw a man (a member of the *.â·kà-.ked·e-* tribe) actually eat an *ò·yum-* alive (!) their usual practice is to collect a quantity of the above-named insects and to wrap them up in leaves and place them on the burning embers, turning the bundle from time to time, so that its contents may be thoroughly cooked, whereupon, in the case of the *bū·tu-*, after breaking off the tails, they are consumed with evident gusto.[8] 262 136 137 221

19. The native names[9] of most of the fruits in season during the dry (*a*), wet and cool (*b*) months are:— 262 221 137

[1] Some terrible calamity, such as another Deluge, would result, so they say, from any one rashly presuming to taste the fruit of a certain species of mangrove, called *tō·kal-*.

[2] *Bruguiera gymnorhiza.*

[3] Not only are the sows eaten when with young, but even their unborn litter is not rejected.

[4] Iguanas and paradoxuri are in better condition during the rains, and are consequently more eaten at that season.

[5] There are special restrictions connected with eating both the dugong and porpoise for the first time (*vide post* "Tabu," paragraph 2).

[6] *Vide* paragraph 32.

[7] *Vide ante* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 12.

[8] The *ò·yum-* is found in newly fallen logs, and they say that they do not treat it like the *bū·tu-*—viz., in breaking off its tail—because it does not live in such rotten Gurjon trees.

[9] The botanical names of most of these, as well as of many others, will be found in Appendix L.

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(a)

either cooked or uncooked.	
*‡mâng-	§pū·lain-
*‡ī·til-	*pī·dga-
	§gel·dim-
	*ō·rta-tāt-
dō·gota-	*†§chaij-
jâ-	kār·ega-
ū·dala-	ūd-
kón-	§ñgē·bēr-
§châ·kan-	§ē·mej-
*bō·to-kō·ko-	*eng·ara-
kū·nra-	§lō·gaj-
§pū·lia-	

(N.B.—The best fruits, and those which are most abundant, are in season during these months and at the commencement of the rains.)

(b)

†ō·ropa-	pī·cha-
§pâ-	§pai·tla-
*†kai-	*kār·ed-[1]
†§kai·ta-	§*jang·ma-[2]
†chôb-	*jū·ni-
†ō·dorma-	†pū·ta-
*d·bnga-	*pôr-
§{ jū·mu-	*ám-
§{ ngâ·tya-	*†mū·twin-
§{ bâ·taga-	tâ·tib-
*kâ·pa-	*eng·ara-

During the *pâ·par-wdô-* (cool season) and *yē·re-bō·do-* (dry months) the six varieties of edible roots mentioned above (*vide* paragraph 11) are also eaten.

(It will be understood that those fruits that are unmarked in the above list are eaten in the ordinary way).

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20. Many fruits they merely suck for the sake of the flavour;[3] others are eaten with fine wood-ash,[4] taken from the hut fires *in lieu of sugar*, to diminish their extreme acidity,[5] while a few are cooked,[6] and the stones of several[7] are cracked for the sake of their kernels. The favourite fruits are *dō·gota-*, *ō·ropa-*, *kón-*, *chôb-*, *jâ-*, *pâ-*, *kai·ta-*, *kār·ega-*, *châ·kan-*, *jū·mu-*, *ngâ·tya-*, *bâ·taga-*, *ñgē·bēr-*, *pū·lia-*, and *pū·lain-*.

21. The fruit of the *ñgē·bēr-*, *châ·kan-*, *pū·lia-*, *pū·lain-*, *pai·tla-*, *gel·dim-*, *lō·gaj-*, and the seeds of the three above-named varieties of mangrove (*i.e.*, *jū·mu-*, *ngâ·tya-*, and *bâ·taga-*), are freed from their husk or rind and boiled in water until quite soft; when cold they are cut in slices, and left to soak for two days or more in salt or fresh water, after which they are baked in leaves, or again boiled in a *būj-*.

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22. The Andamanese are, now-a-days at least,[8] extremely particular over the cooking of their food, and will not eat certain

[1] This is a small yellow fruit, the seed of which, after being sucked, is broken, and the outer portion eaten while the kernel is thrown away.

[2] This is a small red fruit, about the size of a bean or filbert, containing one stone; it is wrapped in leaves and baked, because they say that if eaten uncooked it would cause them to forget their way in the jungle, as well as entire loss of memory on all points.

[3] These are marked in the preceding paragraph by a *

[4] Their immunity from scurvy may not improbably be due to the chemical combination of the acid, contained in many of the fruits, with the potash of the burnt wood.

[5] These are marked in the preceding paragraph by a †.

[6] These are marked in the preceding paragraph by a §.

[7] These are marked in the preceding paragraph by a ‡.

[8] They are very expert in spearing their fish, which they consume in a half-cooked state (Anderson); Symes also writes that "they throw the food on the fire, and devour it half broiled."

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251 implement, and all take a share in the feast.[1] Meat thus prepared will keep good for several days.

32. I alluded just now to their method of preparing the seeds
252 of the *Semecarpus* and *Artocarpus chaplasha* for consumption
251 during the rains; it is as follows:—The outer husk, or skin, having been removed, a quantity of the fruit is placed on a wooden platter, and each person present renders assistance by partially sucking (!) the various pieces, which, after this preliminary process, are half boiled in water, and then wrapped up in large bundles of leaves, and buried in moist soil; no mark is made over the spot, but there appears to be no fear of forgetting it, though several weeks usually elapse before the monsoon breaks, and these decaying deposits are dug up, when the smell, as may be supposed, is most offensive to all but those who are to the manner born; by them, however, strange to relate, it is evidently highly appreciated. The next stage through which the seeds have to pass consists in freeing them in water from the decaying matter, and drying them in the sun, or over the fire, where they are left in nets (*châ·panga-*[2]) or leaves until required for use, when they are again baked. With this exception no food is dried in the sun, nor is anything salted or intentionally smoked, though this last cannot fail to be, to some extent, the result of their mode of storing food, as described in the previous paragraph.

222 33. Besides the various fruits already mentioned as in season
137 during the dry months, yams and honey are very abundant; as
824 their method of treating both fruits and yams has been already described, it now remains for me to notice the ingenious way
825 in which they procure honey, and to name the special trees which, flowering in succession, afford ample material from whence the bees produce a more or less abundant store.

34. At the close of the monsoon one of the large jungle trees, called by them *rár-* (*Eugenia* sp.), comes into bloom, and though no honey is made from its flowers, it is said to act beneficially on the bees as a purgative, and to prepare them for the commencement of the honey season.[3] The *lē·kera-* (*Leguminosæ* sp.), blossoming a little later, is the first honey-yielding flower; the *dū·mla-*,[4] *chī·lib-* (? *Diospyros densiflora*), *ō·ro-* (*Chickrassia tabularis*), and *châ·dak-* (*Rubiaceæ*) coming next into season, enable the bees to produce large combs, but the finest are found after the *pâ-* (*Semecarpus*), *bâ·ji-* (*Sterculia* (?) *villosa*), *yē·re-* (*Sterculia* sp.), *jī·dga-*,[4] have

[1] *Vide post* "Hunting and Fishing," paragraphs 30 and 31.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 22.
[3] Hence *re·rke*, (to) clean.
[4] The botanical names of these have not as yet been ascertained.

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blossomed: this is considered the height of the honey season, and is called *lad·u chàu-*.[1] It appears that on moonlight nights just at this time the bees consume a great portion of their honey, so that the "junglees" declare it to be useless to go for combs, either by day or night, until the moon has sensibly waned.

35. When about to make a raid on the hives, the Andamanese procure a certain plant, believed to be of the *Alpinia* species, called *jī·ni-*, and having stripped off the leaves, chew the stem and smear the essence thus extracted over their bodies; the mouth is also filled with the same juice, and thus armed *cap-à-pie* they proceed to disperse the bees, who, on attempting to attack them, are at once repelled by the obnoxious odour of the *jī·ni-*, emitted in a fine spray from the mouths, and also attaching to the persons of their despoilers, who sometimes make further use of the chewed stalks of the offensive plant in driving off the last remaining defenders of the hive.

36. Small combs[2] of both the white and black honey are commonly obtainable till about September—*i.e.*, so long as the *Dipterocarpus lævis*, the *Pterocarpus dalbergioides*, and a few other trees continue to blossom.[3]

37. While I had charge of the homes (and probably ever since), a large sum was annually realised by the aborigines towards their support from the sale of honey thus obtained to the free residents at Port Blair. So much indeed did they collect that we were able to store it in barrels and bottles, and generally found we had sufficient to meet all demands until the approach of the following season.

Tabu.—1. Besides the articles of food from which all abstain during the *â·kà-yáp-*,[4] we have seen that there are certain fruits, edible roots, &c., which, in supposed obedience to *Pū·luga-*'s commands, are not gathered at prescribed seasons of the year,[5] and that mourners[6] (*â·kà-ōg-*) also deny themselves by refusing to partake of their favourite viands until after the *t'ī-tó·latnga-*;[7] but beyond these restrictions, which are of general application,

[1] *Vide* Appendix H.

[2] The combs produced from the blossoms of the under-mentioned trees—*i.e.*: *.tâ·tib-* (*Croton argyratus*), *.bi·bi-* (*Terminalia* (?) *citrina*), and *.bal·ya-* are much less plentiful, and they are smaller; this is also found to be the case with those made from the *.châ·langa-* (*Pterocarpus dalbergioides*), *.mô·nag-* (*Mesua ferrea*), *.ē·mej-* (*Terminalia bialata*), *.jâ-* (*Gluta longipetiolata*), and *.pâb-* (*Lagerstrœmia hypoleuca* (?) *regina*).

[3] As they are not, in their savage state, in the habit of storing honey, they are without any but the black honey during a great portion of the year.

[4] *Vide ante* "Initiatory Ceremonies," paragraphs 2 and 10.

[5] *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 12.

[6] If the mourners are *ē·rem-tá·ga-* they abstain from pork, and if they are *àrvó·to-* they abjure turtle (*vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 4).

[7] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 7.

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APPENDIX L.

List of some of the Trees and Plants in the Andaman Jungles.

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Andamanese name.	Botanical name.[1]	Remarks.
á·bnga- (*a*)	Dillenia pilosa.	
aiu·ya-	Dipterocarpus alatus .	(Burm.) *Kanyin agi.*
al·aba-	Melochia velutina ..	(*vide* Appendix B, item 66)
ám- (*a*) (*e*)	Calamus, sp. No. 1.	
á·para- (*d*) (*k*) .. .. Also *á·bad-*	Ptychosperma Kuhlii ..	
á·raga-	.. ..	(Hindi.) *Palewa.* (Burm.) *Bi·bia.*
á·rain- (*m*)	Dipterocarpus lævis ..	(Burm.) *Kanyin byu-*, Gurjon oil tree.
bad·a- (*o*)	Rhizophora conjugata ..	(Burm.) *Byama.*
bad·ar- (*a*)	Sometia tomentosa (?)	
bai·la- (*a*) (*b*) . .	Terminalia procera ..	(Burm.) *Bambway byu.*
bá·ja- (*y*)	Sterculia (? villosa) ..	(Burm.) *Sabu-basi.*
bá·lak-	.. .. ..	*Vide* Part II, "Religious Beliefs," paragraph 19.
bal·ya-		
bá·ratu- (*c*)	Caryota sobolifera.	
bá·taga- (*i*)	Feriops Candolleana ..	(Burm.) *Madamá.*
bé·lu-	Natsatium herpestes.	
bé·ma-	Albizzia Lebbek (?) ..	(Burm.) *Kák·ko*
bé·rekád-	Glycosinis pentaphylla.	
bé·rewi-	Claoxylon affine (?)	
bi·bi-	Terminalia (? citrina).	
bi·riga-	Planchonia valida ..	(Burm.) *Bambway ngi.*
bí·rtát-		
bi·tim-	Sophora sp.	
ból- (*v*)	Calamus sp. .. .	Ground rattan.
bó·ma-	Claoxylon sp.	
bó·rowa- (*u*)	Myristica longifolia ..	(Hindi.) *Jaiphal.* (Burm.) *Zá·dipho.*
bó·to-kó·ko- (*v*)	Sabia (?)	
búb-	Ancistrocladus extensus (?)	
bú·kura- (*i*)	Diospyros (?) nigricans ..	Bastard ebony, or marble wood (superior variety).
búr-		
bú·tu-	.. .. . .	Extensively used in the manufacture of arrows.
chób- (*a*)	.. ..	(Hindi.) *Baddm.*
chá·dak-	Rubiaceæ.	
chág·e-	Paratropia venulosa.	
chai-	.. ..	Bows made from this tree.

[1] It has been chiefly owing to the kind assistance afforded by Dr. G. King, Superintendent of the Botanical Garden, Howrah (near Calcutta), that I have been able to ascertain the botanical names of so many of the trees in this list.

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Andamanese name.	Botanical name.	Remarks.
chaij- (*a*) (*b*)	Semecarpus anacardium	(Hindi.) *Bilâwa.*
châ·kan- (*b*)	Entada pursœtha.	
châ·langa- (*q*)	Pterocarpus dalbergioides	(Hindi.) *Sisu.* (Burm.) *Padâuk.*
châm- (*j*)	Areca laxa of Hamilton (a variety of Areca triandra).	
châ·mti-	Cynometra polyandra.	
châng·ta-	Calamus sp.	Leaves used in thatching huts, and for making the warning wreaths round a grave or deserted encampment.
châp-	Terminalia sp.	
châ·to-	Albizzia Lebbek (?) ..	(Hindi.) *Sîris.* (Burm.) *Tsît.*
châu·ga-yŭ·anga-	Hopea odorata	(Burm.) *Thingâm-byŭ-.*
chê·nir-	Leea sambucina.	
chĭ·lib-	Diospyros densiflora (?)	
chŏ·ad-	.. ..	(Burm.) *Mâukarâung.*
chŏ·bal-	Atalantia sp.	
chŏ·ngara- (*a*)		
chŏ·pa- (*a*)	Leguminosæ.	
chôb- (*a*)	Calamus sp. No. 2 ..	The fruit somewhat resembles a medlar in flavour.
chô·kuga-	Goniothalamus Griffithii.	
chô·lij-	Hypolytrum trinervium.	
chôr- (*i*)	Celtis cinnamomea.	
dâ·kar-tâ·la-	Hydnocarpus (?) ..	(Hindi.) ? *Lâl chîni.* (Burm.) ? *Châudu.*
dĕ·debla-	Xanthophyllum glaucum.	
dŏd-l	Myristica Irya	Sometimes used for paddle making.
dŏ·gota- (*a*) (*f*)	Mimusops Indica (or ? littoralis)	(Hindi.) *Mûwa.* (Burm.) *Kapâli thit.*
dŭ·mto- (*p*)	Guettarda speciosa.	
dŭ·mla-	.. ..	(Burm.) *Fishûm.*
dŭ·ra-	Barringtonia racemosa.	
elĕtâ·la-		
ĕ·mej- (*b*)	Terminalia bialata.	
eng·ara- (*a*)	.. ..	Wild plantain.
ĕ·repaid-tât-	Strychnos nux vomica.	
gi·cho-		
gad-	Calophyllum spectabile.	
gel·dim- (*a*)	Leguminosæ sp.	
gerreng- (*s*)	Bombax malabaricum ..	(Hindi.) *Sembal.* (Burm.) *Dîdu.*
gŭ·gma-	Trigonostemon longifolius	Leaves used medicinally as a febrifuge.
i·til- (*b*)	Pandanus (?)	
jil- (*a*)	Gluta longipetiolata ..	(Burm.) *Thip-pyŭ.*
jâ·la-	Rubiaceæ.	
jang·ma- (*a*)	Stephania hernandifolia.	

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Andamanese name.	Botanical name.	Remarks.
ji·dga		
jī·si- (*a*)	Alpinia sp.	(*Vide* Part I "Medicine," para. 4, and Part III, "Food," para. 35.)
jŏr-	Odina Wodier	(Burm.) *Nubbhē.*
jū·laij- (*b*)	Dendrolobium umbellatum	
jū·mu- (*a*)..	? Bruguiera gymnorhiza, *or* Rhizphora mucronata	(Burm.) *Byūbo.*
kā·daka-	Ficus hispida.	
kai- (*a*)	Mangifera sylvatica ..	Wild mango.
kai·ta- (*a*) (*b*	Artocarpus chaplasha ..	(Hindi.) *Kathar.* (Burm.) *Toung-peng.*
kā.pa- (*a*) (*h*)	Licuala (probably peltata)	
kāred- (*a*)..	? Sterculia (*or* Sanaderia Indica)	The fruit contains a nut which after being sucked is broken, when the *shell* is eaten and the *kernel* thrown away.
kārega- (*a*)	Diospyros sp.	
kō·kan- (*r*) ..	Pajanelia multijuga.	
kōn- (*a*)	Diospyros sp.	
kō·rtā·la-	Griffithia longiflora.	
kū·daga-	One of the Rubiaceæ.	
kū·ara-	Dracontomelum sylvestre.	
lē·che-	Lactaria salubris ..	The fruit being large and round is often used as a moving target by being rolled along the ground or down a slope and shot at while in motion.
lē·kera-	Leguminosæ sp.	
lō-gaj- (*a*)	Angiopteris evecta.	
lō·koma-		
mō·chal-	Atalantia sp.	
maū·- (*x*)	Sterculia (?)	(Burm.) *Ăuk yenzà.*
māng- (*a*) (*b*) (*l*).. ..	Pandanus Andamanensium.	(Hindi.) *Kēora.*
mō·nag-	Mesua ferrea	(Hindi.) *Sāl.* (Burm.) *Gangua.*
mōt-	Heritiera littoralis.	
mū·twin- (*a*)	Anacardiaceæ.	
ngā·tya- (*a*)	Bruguiera sp.	
ñgā·bēr- (*b*)	Crena Rumphii.	
nyū·raimo-	Ficus sp. No. 1.	
ō·dag-	Eugenia sp.	
ō·dorma- (*a*)		
ō·li- (*a*)	Ficus (probably macrophylla).	
ō·lma-	.. ..	(Burm.) *Thisunāwe.*
ō·ro-	Chickrassia tabularis ..	(Burm.) *Ngā·zu.*
ō·ropa- (*a*) (*b*) (*i*) .	Baccaurea sapida ..	(Hindi.) *Khatta phal.* (Burm.) *Kanazo.*
ō·rta-tāt- (*a*) (*g*)	Uvaria micrantha.	
pā- (*b*)	Semecarpus (?)	(Burm.) *Thikadoe.*

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Andamanese name.	Botanical name.	Remarks.
païma-	Clausena (probably Wallichii).	
païtla- (*b*)		
pâb-	Lagerstrœmia regina (? hypoleuca)	(Burm.) *Pima.*
pâr-	Leguminosæ sp.	
pâ'ra-		
pâ'rait-	Gramineæ.	
pâ'tag-	Meliosma simplicifolia ..	Leaves sometimes used as aprons by women (*vide dö'gota-*). The kernel of the seed is eaten.
pë'dag-		
pë'li- (*a*)	Gnetum scandens.	
pë'taing-	Memecylon varians	
pi'cha- (*i*)	Diospyros sp.	Bastard ebony, or marble wood (inferior variety).
pi'dga- (*u*)	.. ..	Common cane.
pi'lita-	Gnetum edule	Fibre extensively used (*vide* Appendix B, item 65).
pi'rij-	Afzelia bijuga.	
pi'ti-	Derris scandens.	
pô- (*t*)	Bambusa Andamanica.	
pôr- (*a*)	Korthalsia (or Calamosagus) scaphigera.	
pô'rud-	probably Schmeidelia glabra	(Burm.) *Kimberlin.*
pû'a-	Bambusa	Used for making the shaft of the turtlespear, and for poling canoes.
pû'lain- (*b*)	.. ..	(Burm.) *Ngû'zu* sp. No. 1.
pû'lia- (*b*)	Mucuna sp.	
pû'lka-	Memecylon (probably capitellatum).	
pû'ta- (*b*)	Nipa fruticans	Dhunny leaf palm.
râ-	Dendrobium secundum.	
râb-	Phœnix sp.	(Hindi.) *Kajûr.*
râr-	Eugenia (?)	(Hindi.) *Chandan.* (Burm.) *Tau-ngim.*
râu-	Ficus laccifera	(Hindi.) *Bargat.* (Burm.) *Ngiâu.*
rë'che-	Eugenia sp.	(Burm.) *Mai ûmbu.*
reg lâ'kà chàl-	Polyalthia Jenkinsii.	
ri'di-	Bambusa (?)	Used for making the shafts of the *râ'tà-*, *ti'rlëd-*, and *tô'lbôd-* arrows.
rim- (*i*)	Celtis (*or* Gironniera) ..	(Burm.) *Tingâm.*
rô'toin-	Syzygium Jambolanum.	
tâ'lunga-tât-	Antitaxis calocarpa ..	(Burm.) *Gangua ngre.*
tâ'lapa-	Terminalia trilata (?) ..	(Hindi.) *Chûglam.* (Burm.) ? *Ngû'zu* sp. No. 2, or *Kyô na lin.*

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Andamanese name.	Botanical name.	Remarks.
tăn-.		
tâ·par-.	Erycibe coriaceæ.	
tâ·tib- (*a*) (*i*)	Croton argyratus (Blyth)	(Burm.) *Châunu.*
tĭ-		
tô·kal-	.. ..	(Burm.) *Kiâtalung.*
tôl-..	Amomum dealbatum (*or* sericeum).	
tŏp-	Barringtonia Asiatica.	
tŏ·ta-	.. ..	(Burm.) *Pyŭ.*
ŭd- (*b*)	Menispermaceæ.	
ŭ·dala-	Pandanus verus.	
ŭj- (*a*)	Tetranthera lanceæfolia ..	(*Vide* Appendix B, item 76.)
ŭl-..	Carapa obovata	(Burm.) *Penlĕong.*
ŭ·tara-	Maranta grandis (*or* Phrynium grande).	
wain·ya-		
wâ·nga-	Pterospernum acerifolium.	
wai·unga-	.. ..	(Hindi.) *Jungli saigon.* (Burm.) *Pânu.*
wĭ·lima-	Podocarpus polystachia..	(Burm.) *Thît min.*
yâ·rla-		
yâtig·i-	Rubiaceæ.	
yĕ·re-r	Sterculia sp.	
yŏ·lba-	Anodendron paniculatum.	

Additional Notes.

(*a*) Fruit is eaten.
(*b*) Seed is eaten.
(*c*) Heart of the tree is eaten.
(*d*) Pulpy portion of spathe is eaten.
(*e*) Leaf stems used in manufacture of sleeping mats. Leaves used for thatching purposes.
(*f*) Leaves used by women as aprons (*ŏ·bunga-*); rotten logs used for fuel (see also "Superstitions," para. 8).
(*g*) Stem of this plant used for the frame and handle of the hand-net (*kŭd-*) (*vide* Appendix B, item 20).
(*h*) Leaves used for thatching, for screens (*vide* Appendix B, item 74), for bedding, for wrapping round corpse, for packing food for journey, &c., and prior to cooking.
(*i*) Rotten logs used for fuel.
(*j*) Used in manufacture of the foreshaft of the *râ·tà-*, *tĭ·rlĕ·d-*, *tô·lbŏ·d-*, and *châm-* arrows (*vide* Appendix B, items 2, 3, 4, 8), and sometimes also the skewer.
(*k*) Leaves used for thatching and for bedding.
(*l*) Leaves used in the manufacture of articles of personal attire (*vide* Appendix B, items 25 and 28).
(*m*) The middle portion of rotten logs used for torches.
(*n*) Rarely used for making canoes.
(*o*) Used for adzes, sometimes for foreshafts of arrows, and for making children's bows.
(*p*) Leaves used for flooring of huts.
(*q*) Buttress-like slab roots used for making the sounding-boards employed when dancing.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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(*r*) Used for making canoes.
(*s*) Resin used in manufacture of *kā·ngatá-bŭj-* (*vide* Appendix B, item 62).
(*t*) Used in making the *gōb-*, *kai-*, and sometimes the *tōg-* (*vide* Appendix B, items 82, 80, and 10)
(*u*) Generally used for making paddles, and the leaves for bedding.
(*v*) Used for making shaft of hog-spear.
(*w*) Used for making baskets, fastenings of adzes, turtle-spears, torches (*tō·ug-*), and of bundles; also for suspending buckets, for stitching cracks in canoes, and in thatching.
(*x*) Used for making canoes; the resin is employed in making torches.
(*y*) Used for making canoes, pails, and eating trays.

APPENDIX M.

LIST OF SHELLS AND SHELL FISH COMMONLY KNOWN TO THE ANDAMANESE.

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Andamanese name.	Scientific name.[1]	Remarks.
[illegible] la- (*a*)	Monodonta (? labeo).	
bad[illegible]la- (*a*)	Delphinula laciniata.	
bo-	Pecten (?) Indica ..	Scallop.
chá·pata- (*b*)	Pteroceras chiragra ..	Scorpion shell.
chāu ga lōt chū·kul- ..	Murex tribulus.	
chej- (also *chō·la-*) ..	Pinna (? squamosa) ..	Bouquet-holder shell.
chī·dō (*b*)	Pinna (?)	
chō·kot-	? Conus eburneus.	
chō·rom- (*a*)	Scolymus cornigerus.	
chō·wai- (*a*)	Tridacna crocea.	
chū- (*a*)	Murex (? palma-rosæ) ..	Rose-bud shell.
ē·la-	Perna ephippium.	
garren-	Dentalium octogonum.	
garren-ō·la- (*a*)	Turbo (?)..	Top-shell.
ī·na-ō·la- (*a*)	Nassa (? tœnia)	Dog-whelk.
jār awa·ō·la- (*a*) ..	Purpura Persica.	
jī·rka-ñ-	Cyrena (?)	
jō·rol- (*b*)	Cerithidea telescopium.	
jū·ru-win lō·kà bang- ..	Solen vagina	Razor-fish.
kā·mrŭj-	Trochus (? obeliscus).	
kā·rada-	Arca granosa.	
kō·nop- (*a*)	Tridacna squamosa.	
lī·do-	Turbo marmoratus ..	Is eaten by the *bal·awa-* tribe only.
lī·ta- (*a*)	Cassis glaucus	Helmet-shell.
māl·to- (*a*)	Venus (?)	
mā·red- (*a*)	Venus meroë	Pattern-shot Venus.
mā·reno- (*a*)	Patella variabilis ..	Rock-limpet.

[1] To the Rev. T. L. J. Warneford, formerly chaplain at the Andamans, I am indebted for the classical names of many of the shells in this list.

(*a*) denotes those that are cooked and eaten.

(*b*) denotes those that are cooked and eaten by *married* persons only.

136 **Marine Fauna.**—The marine fauna of the Andamans is of unusual interest and the aquarium on Ross Island under construction should prove of great scientific value. On examination the marine life goes to show what other physiological facts have proved—the close connection of the Islands with both Burma and Sumatra and the distant alliance with the Indian Peninsula. The land fauna, in several particulars, shows that the Andamans are closely allied zoologically with their neighbours, Arakan and Burma.

Economic Zoology.—The economic zoology of the islands has been thus summarised by Major A. R. S. Anderson.

"The coral reefs and dead shells afford an immense field for obtaining a very fine quality of lime, which has for many years past been used in the Andamans in building operations. Sea cucumbers or trepang are collected, dried and exported to the Chinese market. Wax and honey are obtainable in fairly large quantities in the forests; the honey is, however, of rather poor quality. Cuttle bones in large numbers can easily be picked up all round the islands wherever there is a sloping shore. Ornamental shells can be obtained with great ease in the rocky pools, reefs and shallow waters. Edible oysters are very plentiful. Pearls and mother-of-pearl oysters are occasionally obtained, but no systematic search for these valuable products has ever been instituted. The edible turtle and tortoise-shell turtle are plentiful. The former are sparingly exported and the shell of the latter is collected and exported. Edible birds'-nests of the finest quality are found in many of the caves in both groups of Islands. They are exported to the Chinese market."

Conchology.—The existing sea shells have been extensively collected by local residents for many years past, but there does not appear to be anything specially distinctive about them, and the various species have been incorporated into the general standard works on conchology. The presence of *scalaria preciosa* and of *argonauta argo* is noteworthy. But the land shells are more distinctive in their nature, and seem to corroborate the evidence procurable from the flora and the fauna of the Islands. They have received a good deal of attention both from scientific expeditions and from local collectors. There was a well appointed expedition fitted out by the Danish Government in 1846, in the frigate *Galathea* in which the zoologist, Reinhardt, first paid much attention to the mollusca. The conclusion apparently to be drawn from such knowledge as has been accumulated is, on the high authority of Godwin-Austen, that there is a distinct and close relationship in the past shown with Burma and Arakan by many closely allied species, and equally marked is the paucity of forms having an alliance with Peninsular India. On the other hand, some species are common to these islands and to Sumatra and Java.

• 137 **Forests.**—A section of the general Forest Department of India has been established in the Andamans since 1883 and, in the neighbourhood of Port Blair, 156 square miles have been formally set apart for regular forest operations. The activity of the department is strictly limited by the amount of convict labour from time to time available, as there is no indigenous labour whatever. The annual value of forest produce used in the Settlement during the last seven years has averaged ₹1,13,683, and the annual value of exported timber has averaged for the same period ₹1,69,633. This last product is increasing rapidly in value.

313 137 **The Timber and its Economic Uses.**—The timber available for economic purposes is both plentiful and various. It is divided for commercial objects into three classes, known by their commercial names thus:—First class, Padouk, Koko, Chuglam, Marble-wood, Satin-wood; Second class, Pyimma, Bombway, Chai, Lakuch, Lalchini, Pongyet, Thitmin, Mowha, Khaya, Gangaw, Thingan; Third class, Didu, Ywegyi, Toungpeingyi and Gurjan. Padouk is the chief timber for export to Europe at a very high price per ton, but other first class timbers also find a market there. Third class timbers find a ready market in Calcutta, while the second class are extensively used locally.

The trees chiefly used as timber by the Andamanese for their own purposes are mangrove, padouk, *melochia velutina*, some of the sterculiaceæ, *bombax insigne*, *areca laxa*, pandanus, bamboo, *anadendron paniculatum*. They also gather and eat the fruit of a great variety of trees and use the leaves of the following for medicinal purposes:—*trigonostemon longifolius*, *alpinia* species. *Calamosagus laciniosus*.

Padouk (*pterocarpus dalbergioides*) can be used for buildings and boats, for furniture and fine joinery, and for all purposes to which teak, mahogany, hickory, oak, and ash are applied. It seasons quickly and easily, and is immune from the attacks of white ants and borers, except the marine worm (*teredo navalis*), and from rot of all kinds: colour, pale and dark red and brown. Koko (*albizzia lebbek*) is used for battens and furniture; colour, greenish grey, light brown and chocolate with dark markings. White Chuglam (*terminalia bialata*) and black Chuglam (*myristica irya*) are used for furniture, oars, shafts, and planking; colour, grey with darker markings. Marble or zebra wood (*diospyros kurzii*) makes furniture and joinery; colour, ebony with streaks of grey or light brown. Satin-wood (*murraya exotica*), which is not the satin-wood of Ceylon (*chloroxylon swietenia*), makes delicate furniture; colour, yellow. The proper names for the woods of the second class are as follows:—Pyimma, *lagerstrœmia hypoleuca*: Bombway, *terminalia procera*: Chai, *alphonsea ventricosa*: Lakuch, *artocarpus lakoocha*: Lalchini, *calophyllum spectabile*: Ponyet, *calophyllum inophyllum*: Thitmin, *podocarpus neriifolia*: Mowha, *mimusops littoralis*: Khaya, *mimusops elenchi*: Gangaw, *messua ferrea*: Thingan, *hopea odorata*. These are used for a great variety of economic purposes locally connected with the building, ship and carriage making, furniture and joinery trades. Of the third class timbers, Didu (*bombax insigne*) is used for tea boxes and packing cases; Toungpeingyi (*artocarpus chaplasha*) for cases and planking; Ywegyi (*adenanthera pavonina*) for inferior cabinet furniture; Gurjan (*dipterocarpus turbinatus*) for slabs and planking and wood-paving. Lakuch and Ywegyi yield a yellow dye, Khaya the pagoda gum of Madras, Gurjan a resin and the well known oil.

The great mangrove swamps supply unlimited fire-wood of the best quality, and the bark of the trees a tan, as does also that of the bombway. The best mixture for steeping wooden shingles, is 3 lbs. of gurjan oil, 1 lb. of crude petroleum, 1 lb. of red ochre or metallic paint: the first and third ingredients are produced in the Andamans. Other minor products of the forests are several species of bamboo and cane and two thatching palms, *nipa fruticans* and *licuala peltata*. The cane roots are largely used in Calcutta for walking sticks: the majority of those sold by street vendors there from 4 annas to 8 annas each are from the Andamans. The inner bark of the *sterculia villosa* is used for making elephant harness for dragging timber, and the long climbing canes for ferry ropes and boat fenders. As regards general capabilities the Andaman forests, in addition to the invaluable and largely spread padouk, there is an extremely abundant supply of gurjan, gangaw (the Assam iron-wood) suitable for sleepers, and didu for tea boxes. Labour only is required to bring them on to the suitable markets. Safe anchorages are numerous and there is no difficulty in providing convenient points at which to ship the timber when extracted, especially as the localities of the valuable timbers are situate on, or near to, navigable creeks leading direct to the sea and thus rendering the forests capable of easy and economical working.

Imported Flora.—Both Kurz and Prain have written elaborately on the imported flora of the Andamans, and among the intentionally introduced plants and trees may be mentioned tea (*camellia theifera*), Liberian coffee (*coffea liberica*), Cocoa (*theobroma cacao*), Ceara rubber (*manihot glaziovii*) which has not done well, Manilla hemp (*musa textilis*), teak (*tectona grandis*), cocoa-nut (*cocos nucifera*), besides a number of shade and ornamental trees, fruit trees especially of the anti-scorbutic kinds, vegetables and garden plants. Among the shade trees, the most interesting is the flourishing rain-tree (*pithecolobium saman*) of the West Indies and American Continent, and among the vegetables the Otaheite potato (*dioscorea species.*). An attempt has also been made to introduce the Bahamas aloe (*agave sisalana*), but though it has flowered and given out bulbils in quantities, success is not yet assured. Tea is grown in considerable quantities and the cultivation is under a department of the Penal Settlement. The outturn for the last seven years has been on an average 2,519 chests per annum.

General Character of the Forests.—Generally the forests are filled with ever-green trees covered all over with climbers, but patches of deciduous forest

137 occur, sometimes over large tracts, conspicuous in the dry season when the leaves are off the trees. The huge buttressing of several species is a peculiar feature, and so is the growth of the forest in certain parts in belts, dependent apparently on the soil below: *e.g.*, the tracts of the bamboo (*bambusa schizostachyoides*) which almost exclusively occupy the indurated chloritic rock. Aborescent *euphorbias*, screw-pines (*pandanus odoratissimus*), and large cycads give on the coasts a remarkable appearance to the forests. Several palms are commonly seen, though the cocoanut is not indigenous. The general character of the forests is Burmese, with an admixture of Malay types. In the cleared places about Port Blair the grazing appears to be abundant, but is not really so, owing to the action of two destructive weeds: the needle bearing grass (*avena fatua*), which is pretty but not edible by any kind of food animal and being of a stronger growth than ordinary grazing grass supplants it wherever it is not rigourously kept down; and the sensitive plant (*mimosa pudica*), an imported nuisance, which rapidly covers all open and low lying places and is edibile only by goats.

IV. History.

175 **Ancient Notices of the Islands.**—The existence of the islands now known as the Andamans has, owing to the ancient course of trade, been reported from quite early times, though which of Ptolemy's island names ought properly to be attached to them may still be regarded as a moot point. Gerini, in his ingenious paper, *Notes on the Early Geography of Indo-China*, (*J. R. A. S.* 1897, p. 551ff) gives Bazakata for the Great Andaman, Khaline for the Little Andaman, Maniola for Car Nicobar, and Agathodaimonos for Great Nicobar. In the mediæval Latin editions of Ptolemy a remark somewhat as follows often appears opposite Bazakata:—"*cuius incolæ vocantur Aginatæ qui nudi semper degere feruntur, in hac conchæ sunt multæ.*" While it is on Maniola that the people are called *anthropophagi*. Even if one is inclined to accept this plausible theory, it is nevertheless, as will be seen from what follows, probable that Yule is right in his conjecture that Ptolemy's *Agathou daimonos nesos* preserves a misunderstanding, as perhaps does also the contemporary Aginatæ (with its later corruptions Allegate, Alegada on maps) for its inhabitants, of some sailors' term near to the modern Andaman. The old error that Ptolemy's maps were drawn by Agathodæmon, the grammarian of the 5th Century, A.D., is repeated in Portman's *History of our Relations with the Andamanese*, 1899, p. 50 and elsewhere.

Little Andaman, as a name, has a curious and obscure history on the old maps. In some of them we find Isle d'Andemaon (and Andaman) and also Isle de Maon (and Man), as if "Andaman" was the Great Andaman and "Man" the Little Andaman. Then in maps we have Chitre Andaman 1595, 1642: Chique Andemaon 1710: Cite Andemaon 1710, 1720 and Crita I. 1720 obviously corrupted out of Chitre, Chique and Cite. I have seen also Cite d'Andaman responsible for a town or city in the Andamans! And it is just possible that Chique Andemaon is responsible for the modern Cinque Islands between Great and Little Andaman, which are not five but obviously two islands. Chetty Andaman survived till 1858. Little Andaman, in its modern form, does not appear till the maps of Blair in 1790 odd.

175 101 **Origin of the name.**—The Chinese and Japanese knew the Islands respectively as Yeng-t'o-mang and Andaban in the first millenium A.D. (*vide* Takakasu's Edition of I-tsing pp. xxx and xxviii ff) which clearly represent the Andaman of the *Arab Relations* of 851 A.D. Then comes Marco Polo with his Arabic dual form Angamanain in 1292. After which we have Nicolo Conti in 1430 with Andemania, and after him almost every eastern traveller and mapmaker with some form of "Andaman." All these terms seem obviously to be based on the Malay name for the islands, as the Malays of the Peninsula have, for many centuries, used the islands for their piratical practices and for a trade in Andamanese slaves to their own country and Siam (this up to about 1860) and have known them by the term Handuman, which most likely preserves the very ancient Hanuman (monkey, *scil.*, savage aborginal antagonist of the Aryans) so well-known to the Indian Epics and carried down to the Malays in story and translations.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

ing edible matter ; furthermore, they don't care to take the trouble as food 251
is generally plentiful. We must also realize that they find salt repulsive. Even [263]
honey – so easily kept for many months – is disposed of, if possible, on the 264
very same day it is collected. Incredible quantities of this or other food may be 262
consumed for days and nights on end until everything disappears. Very few of the islanders care to vary their meat diet with an occasional diet of vegetables in order to disintoxicate the system ; yet nourishing yams and other roots [137]
grow wild and plentiful. They are so rich in carbohydrates that I preferred [123]
them to potatoes and rice. I may add that the Onge, on my request, brought me yams and roots that they were glad to barter with rice, tea and sugar – soon declared by their wise men to possess medicinal properties.

The Onge's stomach, intestines and general physiological equilibrium 147
suffer from lack of salt and such bad nutritional habits as those described. They damage the human body, together with unrestrained sexual activity.

One highly unhygienic custom of the Onge is the use, all over Little 264
Andaman, of peculiar sucking-sticks. These pass from mouth to mouth during 412
the frequent meat or honey orgies indulged in by the natives.

When boiling pork or turtle, a quantity of liquid fat floats on the sur- [262]
face of the broth. Though the Onge despise the broth, they don't like to waste the fat. So they devised an efficient solution : they suck the fat up by means of a wad of absorbent matter obtained by chewing the end of a fibrous stick selected among many species of trees in the forest. The end of the stick is chewed along a section of 5 cms, the remaining part – about 25 cms long and 2 cms thick – is used as a handle to prevent the fingers from burning.

In every Onge camp sucking-sticks are permanently in evidence owing [262]
to the inmates' frequent ingestion of liquid fat or honey. A second version of the sucking-stick consists in a narrow, cotton-like strip, up to 80 cms long, with only a small part of the original wood remaining. This serves as a handle for dipping the stick into a wooden barrel full of honey. In both instances the same tool passes for hours from mouth to mouth : from older people to greedy children, anxious to suck the coveted delicacy off the stick that has been dipped into the pot. The rapid spreading of epidemics, which often occur [164]
in the Andamans, is certainly encouraged by the use of these sucking-sticks. I found no reference to this practice in books on the Andaman Islands.

Everything they eat, particularly meat, the Onge consider as either 262
remedial or harmful. They are therefore chary of accepting proffered food 123
if it is unknown to them. When I brought 30 Onge to Port Blair to introduce them to Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD, President of the Indian Republic, they were troublesome about food. In Port Blair it was not as easy as in Little Andaman to procure whole pigs ; sometimes only pieces were available. The Andamanese Forest Department was quickly informed of the difficulty and kindly supplied the desired animals. In moments of shortage I tried to give the Onge cooked [775]
lamb, goat, chicken and pigeons ; they resolutely refused them as unhealthy. [825]
Birds are never eaten by the Onge, who consider them shelters for human souls

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2-Andamans AZ2
Onge

common in the Andamans, said by RADCLIFFE-BROWN (p. 273) to be eaten by the Andaman Islanders as a protection against rheumatism, is never killed. For some superstitious reason the Onge are simply horrified at the thought of touching such an enormous flying bat. Among the fruits, those of a plant whose wood has such a revolting smell that it is known, in English, as "stool-tree", are believed to have exceptional protective properties for the human body. The fruits themselves smell even worse than the wood, but this, to the Onge, makes them appetizing rather than disgusting. Concerning honey, and the many sugary fruits of the jungle that are available all the year round, the Onge luckily ignore the simple method of distilling alcohol. No intoxicating drink reaches Little Andaman from the outer world, whereas in Great Andaman alcohol, together with imported syphilis, was one of the main causes of depopulation. No syphilis appears as yet to have reached Little Andaman. This is also confirmed by the research carried out by Dr. HERMANN LEHMANN of London's St. Bartholomew's Hospital, during February 1953 in my Onge camp in Labanare (north-east coast of Little Andaman).

II. Effects on the People's Lives

The islanders die young, specially the men. The majority of them succumb before reaching the age of 20; most of the survivors die between 20 and 40; the rest – with a very few exceptions – before 50. Women, after marriage, follow a similar pattern: the death rate among women, however, is slightly different owing to a less corrosive sexual life. Some women may live to the age of sixty, but both sexes age soon, appearing older than their years when still in their twenties. The short Onge span of life recalls conditions which apparently prevailed among prehistoric and protohistoric men. Palaeolithic man died at an earlier age than modern man. The Onge today, in many respects, behaves as palaeolithic man behaved countless centuries ago. – Infant mortality is high; the first five days of life are the most critical for the Onge, owing, in part, to the hard life led by mothers even during pregnancy, which often causes functional damage to the placenta. Delivery is generally easy and traumatic injury rarely occurs; but premature births are common, and so are malformations and other anomalies. Imperfect infants are quickly eliminated by their parents. As a result, only a small number of children are allowed to grow up, but these appear normal. There are no blind and no deaf-and-dumb people in Little Andaman. I saw only two instances of incipient lameness: in an unmarried boy of about twenty and in a young married woman. Only robust infants can survive.

The Onge, so careful about their food, are completely indifferent to something else that is considered very harmful in continental and insular regions close to the Andamans. There, menstruating women are often segregated and considered harmful to the entire community. Not so in Little Andaman, where the remedies applied in the circumstance are extremely primitive (cf. supra) and could probably be traced to palaeolithic man. I saw nothing

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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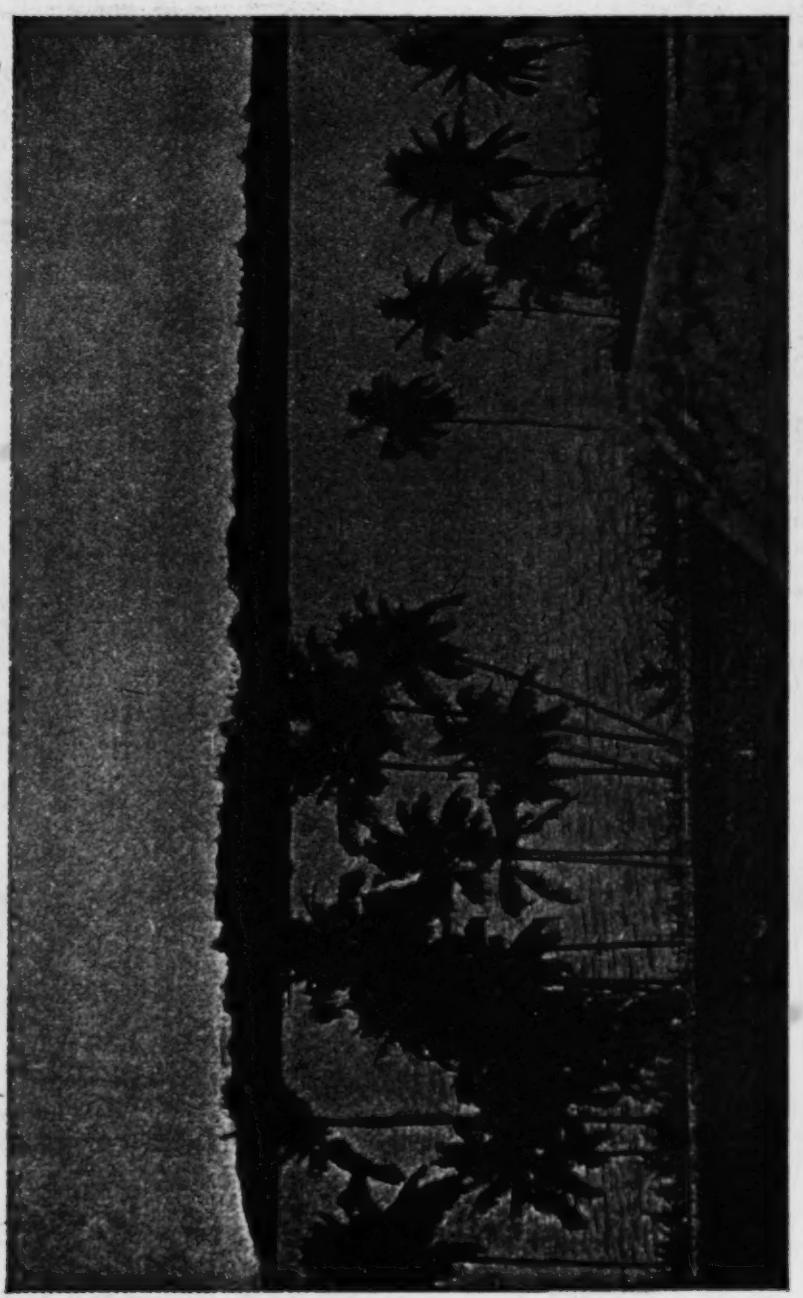

A Panoramic view of an island of the Andamans.

[p. xvii]

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Hence the formation of the coral reefs and raised beaches can be accounted for only if we believe in the recent upheaval of the Andaman-Nicobar ridge. Let us see the evidences that are in favour of this upheaval and those against it. Swell and Tipper believe that the Andaman-Nicobar ridge has experienced an apparent elevation of land which is only possible through the eustatic change of water-level. They have put forward a number of arguments that are as follows: 133

(1) The formation of coral reefs is possible only if there be an apparent or true elevation of the land.

(2) Throughout the tropical belt there are evidences of an apparent elevation of land in comparatively recent times.

(3) At the South West corner of Rutland Island in the Andaman Group, there is a raised pebble beach, situated 5'-6" above the top-level.

(4) At the southwest end of the westermost of the Twin Islands, off the west side of the Rutland Island, is a raised beach of shingle-conglomerates, about 6' ft. above high water-mark. This apparent upheaval of the land i.e. fall of the sea-level is believed to have been caused by the climatic fluctuations in the Quaternary period causing glacial and interglacial periods which resulted in a fall and rise of the water-level respectively.

But Kurz (1868) does not believe in the recent upheaval of the Andamans, but he holds the opposite view. The advocacy of Kurz in favour of the sinking of the Andamans is also due to a number of reasons.

Kurz had his conclusion from the botanical aspect of the coastal region. Kurz says, "some of the stumps of the trees (along the shore) proved to belong to such species as never grew in the mangrove swamps, and in any locality such as that in which they are now standing. They appeared to me to belong to *Pongamia, Erythrina, Thesperia* and even to *Manusops Indica*, accompanied by strongly buttressed trunks. Also trunks of *Bruguiera-gymnarhiza* are frequent and of a larger size than those which grow close to the shores but apparently agreeing with those which are everywhere found further up the creeks. All these (except the last mentioned) are trees which never occur in the mangrove swamps, but in the sandy soil just behind them or else bordering the sea where the shores are very steep and not adapted to the formation of mangrove swamps."[1] This evidently leads one to believe that the 133 137

1. Kurz. S—On the vegetation of the Andaman Islands, Calcutta.

[113]

10:Sen K-3,4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

133 [137] Andamans are sinking so that the trees which are found in the sandy soils behind the mangrove swampo are seen to be amidst them.

The sinking state of the Andamans has been further shown by quoting the reports of the Andaman Committee (1858)[2]. It is stated that the sea had encroached upon some 40′ or 50′ feet since the first settlemest at Chatham Island in Port Cornwallis so that the store house that stood up there has been destroyed by the sea since the abandonment of the place since 1796. Again the Hamfray's strait changed a good deal in a very short margin of time. The easiness with which Helfer[3] in 1858 sailed through the strait became unnavigable later on except for small boats, as pointed out by the Andaman Committee. These facts not only prove the sinking state of the islands but also the rapidity with which the sinking is taking place. But the view has been strongly disputed by Tipper and Swell. Swell believes that whatever evidence that is found in favour of sinking is completely due to local change of level and Tipper argues that the coastal regions have slipped downwards to the sea giving rise to the evidences of sinking. He says that the structure of the Andamans may allow such slips into the sea.

Thus the enigma of the problem remains unsolved. Even in recent years the Ross Island off the Port Blair coast has been found to sink down into the sea. We have to scrutinize that this sinking which is evidenced in many parts of the Andamans is whether due to a new phase of sinking after the cessation of the upheaval of the islands which created the coral reefs, raised beaches etc. or due to the slip of the coastal region into the sea.

The direct connection of the Andaman and Nicobar islands with the mainland is still a controversial matter. But it is held by Mr. Kurz that the Andamans were connected with the mainlands which he concluded largely from his observations of the botanical aspect of the islands. In describing the flora of the Andamans he remarks "one may presume that a great number of species which originally grew in countries now submerged between these islands, Burmah and Hindoostan, have been repelled by the advancing sea and vegetation has thus become comparatively richer in generic types as the area grew smaller." Swell argues if at all any land connection of the islands with the mainland would have occurred, it would have surely been broken before the evolution of

[113] 2. Bonington, M.C.C.—The Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Census of India, 1931.

3. Helfer, a Russian geologist, while prospecting the islands in search of gold was killed by the aborigines.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

of rainfall because it comes first under the impact of the southwest monsoon. As the old observatories at Port Blair and Nancowrie are located on the leeward side it is probable that at stations on the windward side in these areas the rainfall is heavier (probably more than 140″). This greater amount of rainfall helps the development of a denser tropical vegetation in the western coast.

The southwest monsoon burst over the South Andaman by about 20th May (15th June at Calcutta) accompanied by thunder and rain. In May the number of rainy days is 16, in June 21, in July 26 and in August almost on all days. But the amount of rainfall is not maximum in August (16.29″) which is so in the month of June.

The two periods of maximum precipitation are

(a) May and June, and

(b) September and October.

which correspond to the beginning and the end of the southwest monsoon.

The rainfall of the northeast monsoon begins from the month of October.

January and February are almost rainless months in the northern stations. Port Blair experiences rainfall almost throughout the whole year but the fluctuations of seasonal rainfall are quite large (1.11″ in February and 21.75″ in June). The highest annual rainfall recorded during the last 60 years is 150″ and the lowest is 84″.

TABLE IV

Rainfall in inches

	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
Port Blair	1·79	1·11	1·12	2·36	15·13	21·75	15·43	16·29	17·40	12·51	10·52	7·92
Long Island	0	0	0·11	0·48	9·65	6·62	10·62	10·68	10·30	6·00	0·87	0·62
Mayabunder	0	0	0·19	1·20	12·10	8·38	15·43	9·94	10·00	8·81	2·03	0·92

Table Island—Data not available.

Humidity

It is high throughout the year being highest during the southwest monsoon when the average is as much as 90% and on individual days the atmosphere may be saturated. The lowest humidity occurs during December to February when it varies from 72 to 75%. The annual variation is about 15%. The humidity in the south is more than in the north.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P. 36]

CHAPTER V

NATURAL VEGETATION

137 "The Andamans present much variety in soil formation and there is accordingly a corresponding diversity of the vegetation."[1] The whole of the islands has an almost unbroken tropical type of forest. Unlike most of the countries, the islands have not been cleared of forests and still they occupy almost the whole of the islands except some areas around Port Blair in the South Andaman and a few other scattered spots. But the programme of settlement of the refugees from East Bengal and of some people from South India needs the clearance of forests[2] for providing rooms for settlement and the optimum amount that should be cleared for maintaining a perfect regional balance of the country is a highly controversial issue.

The general boatanical aspect of the islands is a deep cover of forests throughout the whole of the islands, the average height of the trees being 100′ ft. with straight stems and being covered in places entirely by creepers which hang from the top of the trees like festoons. Amongest these lianes the *Dinochala Tjangkorreh, Entada Purshaela. Calamus and Dischidia nimmulia* have been recognised. There is an intense undergrowth of luxuriant plants making the forests impenetrable. It is observed by Mr. Kurz that the straight growth of the trees disappears, however, south of the South Corbyn's Cove and along the western coasts a more stunted vegetation occurs, the mean height of the vegetation being 80′ ft. Along the last named region, the trunk of the trees are bent showing some tendency of those trees to be in conformity with the direction of the southwest monsoon.

TYPES OF FORESTS

Depending upon the nature of topography, the soil and the availability of water, 3 main types of forests have developed in the Andaman Islands. They are

(a) The Evergreen Forest,
(b) The Deciduous Forest, and
(c) The Mangrove Forest.

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1. Kurz, S—Report on the vegetation of the Andaman Islands.
2. The clearance of forest is continuing for settlement in the islands.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The Evergreen forests are obviously concentrated in the regions of perennial water supply of water and therefore, are found in the moist valleys of the fresh water streams and also on the high hills as they experience relatively greater amount of rainfall. The principal trees are various species of Garjan (Dipterocarpus) associated with Black Chuglam (myristica irya), Lalchini (Calophyllum spectabile), Toungpeing (Artocarpus Chaplasha) etc. besides a number of minor species. 137

The Deciduous forests exist primarily on the lower and more gentle slopes of the hills. Padauk (Pterocarpus dalbergioides) forms the principal tree associated with Canarium euphyllum, Papita (Sterculia campanulata), Koko (Albizzia lebbek), Didu (Bombax Chaplasha), Pyimma (Lagerstreamia hypoleuca), White chuglam (terminalia bialata). Besides these few important species, a host of other types of trees are found in the islands but they are not so important from *the point of view of* revenue.

The Mangrove forests are widespread almost all along the coasts and especially along the estuaries of many creeks in a belt varying from a few yards to over a mile in width. As the creeks penetrate deep into the islands, the mangrove forests are also found to do so. The species of importance are Bruguiera gymnorhiza, Rhizophers Conjugata and Mucronata. The first one of them is of supreme importance which grow in pure stands. It attains a height of 70 to 80 feet and a girth of 5 feet.

Economic Value of the Forests of the Andamans.

The forest resources hold a key position in the list of the resources of the islands. The tropical vegetation inspite of its luxuriance, is generally much inferior to the temperate forests from the economic point of view. The absence of the growth of the different species in pure stands, the non-availability of the dense tropical vegetation, a sultry climate being incongenial for the tiresome and strainous labour required for lumbering operations and the great distance of the forest areas from the areas of consumption are the factors which have decisively proved the inferiority of the tropical forests. In many parts of the tropics, the forests being accessible and having good communication facilities, have paved the path for the development of the lumbering industry. Only because of these advantages the forests of the Caribbean Islands, Puerto Rico etc. have been virtually exhausted and many of the southeast Asian countries have started it at a very rapid pace. 137 313

The forests of the Andamans, in spite of their luxuriance, donot have very many valuable species though a few of them are useful for a large

10:Sen K-3,4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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number of purposes. The important species are padauk (Pterocarpus dalbergioides), garjan (Dipterocarpus spp), white dhup (Canarium euphyllum), papita (Sterculia campanulata) and the other ones of lesser importance are koko, white chuglam, lakuch, thingan, ywegi, lal bambwn, etc. A classification of the species according to their economic value and uses has been attempted below.

Class I type — Padauk, Koko, Chuglam, Marble wood and Satin wood.

Class II type — Pyimma, Bambwn, Chai Lakuch, Lakuch, Lalchini, Pongyet, Thitmin, Mowha, Khaya, Gangaw, Thingau.

Class III type—Didu, Ywegyi, Toungpeingyi and Garjan.

Of the class 1 woods, the padauk is of the most superior quality. Its average weight is 48 lbs. per cubic foot. It is a deep red wood, often with darker streaks, moderately hard and durable and seasons well and takes a fine polish. Some trees produce pale coloured wood, known in the trade as 'off colour' padauk which though good for construction purposes is of less value than the red padauk for ornamental use. Padauk is generally used for building boats, furniture, fine joinery and for all purposes to which teak,mahagany, hickory, oak and ash are applied. It is immuned from the attacks of white ants and borers, except the marine worm (toredo navalis) and form rats of all kinds.

The kako is of the colour of greenish grey or light brown or chocolate with dark markings with an average dry weight between 45-50 lbs. per cubic ft. It is not so hard and lustrous like padauk and as such is used in battons and furniture making.

The white and the black chuglams are of grey colour with darker markings. They are generally used for furniture, shafts and planking.

The marble or zebra wood is ebony with streaks of grey or light brown. It is used generally for furniture joinery makings.

The stain wood[1] is genearlly yellow in colour and it is soft and light. It is used for the manufacture of delicate furniture.

The Class II woods are used for a great variety of purposes. The pyimma is of considerable importance in the export list of the trees. The average dry weight is about 40 lbs. per cubic foot and is pale in colour, hard, durable and seasons well but swells when wet. It is largely used for building purposes specially as beams of the roof.

These informations were collected from the Forest Department, Andamans.

1. It is confused by many with the Sation Wood of Ceylon.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The bombwn is the second most important type in the Class II type of woods. It has an averge weight of 40 lbs. per cubic ft. and is generally yellowish grey in colour with darker streaks. The durability of the wood is quite long but it cannot stand exposures. It is generally used for making of furniture and joineries. 137 313

The rest of the woods have also got an widespread application in a variety of purposes e.g. house building, shipmaking, carriage and furniture making. But the amount exploited from the forests is not of significance.

The didu and garjan are the most important in the class III type of woods. The former is of readdishy greay or yellowish in colour and is very soft and light. As such it is widely used in the making of packing cases for tea specially. The garjan is of the greatest demand of the Andaman forest woods. It has an average weight of 45-56 lbs. per cubic foot and is moderately hard. It is reddish grey to reddish brown in colour and is of moderate duration and as such the wood cannot be used for railway sleepers unless treated. It is used for planking and wood-paving now-a-days.

Ywegyi, being not a durable and hard type of wood, is generally used for the making of inferior cabinets. The trees yield a yellow dye which is also of wide use. [314]

Besides these, there are a host of other forest woods such as the several species of bamboo, cane, thatching palms etc. (For the industries based on forest products, see the Chapter on Industry.)

Forest Working.

The exploitation of timber from the forest has been attempted since the formation of the penal colony in the islands. For the systematic working of the forest, a Forest Department was opened in the year 1883 and a saw mill at Chatham was established in 1915 with a monthly outturn of 100 tons. But this was closed and another saw mill was set up by the Burma Trading Company having a monthly output of 750 tons and a second mill, an American circular mill in Chatham in 1927 and another mill in the North Andaman in 1925. But fortunately the wanton destruction of the forests was not possible because of the limited convict labour, and the fear of working in the aborigine-infested areas. The elephants were proved to be uneconomical in the exploitation of forest and an attempt for replacing the elephants by skidder was made in 1930. But the latter one was found to be uneconomical compared to the elephant power and this resulted again in the engagement of elephant 313 [492]

THE ANDAMAN ISLANDERS

has a moustache, whereas pure Negritos have no body or facial hair.

THE JARAWAS

648 For obvious reasons I was unable to carry out any studies on the
[114] Jarawas. Apart from a restricted area around Port Blair, on the east
[137] coast of Great Andaman, the whole island is a tangle of tropical vegetation, in many places impenetrable, or at most passable only
[491] by hacking a way through. A few roads radiate from Port Blair, but none penetrate more than twenty kilometres or so from the township. To the north of the town is a well-maintained police cordon that stretches right across the island from east to west to prevent infiltration by the Jarawas; those in the south were all rounded up some time ago. Only beyond the cordon do the Jarawas maintain
[142] their rule over the virgin forest almost unchallenged. Like all the Andamanese they are Negritos, small in stature and extremely dark skinned. Obsessed by a fierce hatred for anyone outside their own group, enemies even of the other Andamanese, they roam through the forest with their deadly arrows. Shot from their powerful bows,
[411] their dagger-sharp arrows penetrate deep into the body of the victim – they can transfix a man's chest. The bloody skirmishing which has gone on for the last hundred years shows no signs of lessening even today.

175 The Jarawa ferocity increased as the result of grave mishandling
648 of the situation by the foreigners. In this connection the following sentences from Portman's *History* may be quoted: 'On our arrival the Jarawas were quiet and inoffensive towards us, nor did they ever disturb us, until we took to continuously molesting them by inciting the coastal Andamanese against them. After a few years of this disturbance, the life of the Jarawas became very hard and in retaliation they began to attack us.' As the author in part recognizes, 'It was our fault if the Jarawas became hostile'. This was a fundamental error. Petty pilfering committed in perfect innocence by the Jarawas, ignorant of Western ideas of individual property, led to vicious punitive expeditions. To this end fire-arms were given to the hereditary enemies of the Jarawas, the Arioto. Elated by their unexpected power, they at once began slaughtering any Jarawa within sight, and enjoyed themselves hugely.

142 147 482 much assistance in this respect, as the muscular insertions are exaggerated in both sexes, both being subjected to continued physical effort resulting in muscular bulk.

142 147 164 [304] [515] One quite outstanding physical feature in the Onges is their teeth. The palate is unusually arched, unlike that of the African pygmies or the Bushmen. The teeth, which are never filed or cut, as many primitive peoples do for decorative purposes, are very white; caries is rare, and although never cleaned the teeth are retained till late in life. A common abnormality is that the lateral incisors are as pointed as the canines. This, with the whiteness of the teeth and eyes against the blackness of the skin, gives the Onges a sinister appearance, which may account for the old description of the Andamanese as men with ferocious dogs' heads. The only (summary) cleaning the Onge teeth receive is the use of toothpicks, thinner and rather longer than the European variety and made from the tough, flexible bark of a certain reed. After use, they are carefully thrust into the hair for future occasions. Every Onge has one or more threaded through the hair on top of the head.

142 147 [264] [514] The strength of the Onge teeth enables their owners to champ their way through what are for us inconceivable quantities of food, both animal and vegetable, which is chewed slowly and determinedly, dust, earth, sand and all, and then swallowed without apparent ill effects, other than the flatulence arising from overconsumption of animal matter. But the Onges use their teeth for other purposes besides eating. In time the teeth become worn down by the inevitable grinding of dirt and grit, but this does not prevent the Onges from continuing to chew the bark of trees and cords, which is a lifelong occupation. This duty falls mainly on the women, and I have seen aged women, their teeth worn almost to the gums, doggedly chewing bark as their contribution to the communal life of the group. The strength of the teeth is unbelievable – I have seen children of ten to fifteen years crush nails up to two millimetres thick, and dent lumps of iron.

114 123 142 147 [37] I myself once had good cause to be grateful for their power. My party and I found ourselves stranded in the forest on South Brother without guns or even knives, and without cooking utensils. There were large clutches of turtle eggs buried in the sand nearby and my two Onge companions pointed out a coconut tree loaded with nuts (which turned out to be the only one on the islands, seeded

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

from a nut carried by the sea from some tree hundreds of miles away). There was thus ample food for several days, if only the coconuts could be opened. The Onges' teeth solved the problem. They attacked the nuts close to the stalk, stripping off great chunks of the fibrous outer covering until they had uncovered the three 'eyes'. These they dug out with a sharp piece of stick, so that we were able to drink the juice and then break up the nuts to get at the flesh. Never did coconuts taste so good!

Round the base of the tree I saw a thick layer of broken pieces of coconut, the remains of nuts opened by the Onges' teeth over the years. The strength of their bite resembles that of the African pygmies, whom I have seen hanging by their teeth from the lianas and who can dent the barrel of a gun.

The average life span of the Onges, and indeed of the Andamanese in general, is fairly short. On Little Andaman there are probably no individuals over the age of sixty, and most die before fifty. Here again they differ from African peoples of similar stature; Bushmen have been known to live to a hundred, and I saw one in Natal, incredibly wrinkled, but not shrunken, who was certainly near that age if not, as he claimed, over it. This is quite unknown in the Andamanese. There are none with white hair; although a few white hairs can sometimes be found on the head of an old woman, there are none to be seen in the men, who die younger than the women. There is no baldness, which is by no means rare in Negroes, particularly in southern Africa.

Precise age is not easy to determine in the Onges. Visual assessment is hampered by the absence of the signs of ageing common in Europeans. Moreover, a particularly child-like expression often lasts into adult life. In May 1952 I saw on Car Nicobar two Jarawa youths, small but robust, whose age by our standards one would have estimated at ten or twelve years. One turned out to be fourteen, however, and the other at least two years older, and both were adolescent, despite their childish appearance.

Males appear to reach their maximum height at about eighteen, and females at about sixteen; both sexes reach full maturity at about twenty-three. At forty-five they are old: their hard life, their unbalanced diet, with its enormous quantities of fat meat eaten in excess, and complete absence of salt, and their unrestrained sexual activity, may all be contributing factors. The slightly greater age

sea itself, but to the rising and falling of the land with the recurring 133
movements. Even between 1951 and 1952 there was a noticeable alteration in the level of the north-east coast of Little Andaman, following an earthquake in July 1951; the Onges had to move the communal hut at Tambe-e-buiè further inland, because the sea, previously twenty metres away, had begun to come right up to the hut. In several places giant trees centuries old crashed to the ground, their roots left without any foothold as the level of the land fell suddenly all along the coast. If this can happen in one year, it is hardly surprising that what now appears as an archipelago is in reality a continuous mountain chain, its levels broken and rebroken over thousands of years till the islands became separated by the sea for good, their coasts so eroded that subsequent quakes have failed to reunite them.

It is highly unwise even to attempt a landing on Little Andaman 132
during the monsoons. Both the north-east monsoon in June and August and the south-west in November and January whip the seas up into a frenzy, but in late April and again in late September the sea is quite calm. Since both monsoons pass over vast tracts of sea, they become saturated with water vapour and bring torrential rains, not infrequently accompanied by hurricanes violent enough to strip all the leaves off the trees. After these storms the jungle, normally almost impenetrable, is made even more so by the tangle of fallen branches and the trunks of old trees torn up by the wind or the lightning. The lightning strikes the tallest trees, which may 32
smoulder for days on end without setting fire to the sodden forest, 372
so great is the humidity. I have often seen one of these flaming torches; the Onges, ignorant as they are of the art of making fire, take advantage of the phenomenon, as a continuous supply of burning wood is a necessity in a climate which is so damp and humid all the year round that matches become useless after twenty-four hours unless suitable precautions are taken.

Once on the island, virgin forest stretches endlessly before one 137 ●
in undulating waves of treetops, black and terrifying. From the tops of the trees thousands of lianas hang everywhere, winding like snakes from trunk to trunk, forming an inextricable tangle, yet somehow always elegant, binding the entire forest into one dense mass. Many of the tree-trunks reach diameters unheard of in temperate climates. Some of them have hollow cavities, treasured by [824]
The Onges as hiding-places or temporary shelters.

137 the Onges as hiding-places or temporary shelters. In these cavities,
[136] which remain full of water right through the dry season, flourish a horde of amphibia, many hitherto unknown.

The great trees are sometimes so close together that it is literally impossible to pass between them, yet it is rare to find two of the same species next to each other, so great is the variety. Huge clumps of ferns are everywhere, hiding the roots of dying trees, hundreds of years old, and fallen trunks rotting on the ground. Some of the thicker and taller trees protect themselves from the monsoon gales by developing buttresses, usually four or six to a tree, which stand out from the trunk like right-angled triangles, with the apex about ten metres from the ground. If a blanket is stretched between the sloping sides of two of the buttresses one can improvise a shelter which is extremely comfortable by local standards, and both man and animals take advantage of this natural cover; I myself took shelter like this on many occasions. (They need to be treated with caution, however, as the local snakes have a predilection for siestas
824 in the darkest corners.) If a hard piece of wood is struck against one
202 of the buttresses it echoes hollowly, and the Andamanese often make use of them to transmit warning messages over considerable distances, using a form of code. A few beats can make every inhabitant within a wide radius vanish from sight, hastily making for the nearest hiding-place. It is hopeless to try and ferret them out once they have been warned, and there is always a risk of being killed by one of their arrows in the process.

123 Sometimes the Onges used to disappear suddenly for fun. The
[522] blackness of their skin is a great help in this, since even on the brightest afternoon it is intensified by the obscurity of the forest. One has a disturbing sensation of being entirely alone, yet knowing that dozens of pairs of eyes are watching as the Onges glide silently from trunk to trunk between the buttresses.

137 The whole island is a mass of knotted vegetation, and it is useless
484 to attempt to cut any form of lasting path, as the plants immediately
487 grow back. 'Walking' in the Andamans therefore means opening
[481] up a way with a hatchet, unless one adopts the rapid but exhausting Onge method of swinging over obstacles by the lianas. This is the kingdom of the epiphytes. The lianas cover their hosts as if determined to hide them, and clumps of orchids hang from nearly every trunk, although their flowers are unfortunately very small.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

It is impossible to imagine a more varied or richer sight than the Andamanese forests at any time of year. The colours, and the light effects, particularly at dawn and at sunset, the myriads of flowers of every hue and scent, every shape and size, the strange noises, all combine to produce an effect which stuns the outsider. The spectacle reaches its climax at night when the moon is full; the tops of the trees are bathed in a silver light and the great lianas seem to writhe like serpents. As though inspired by the light, the nocturnal animals stage a kind of pageant for the occasion and their cries are even more frequent and more rhythmic than usual. The Andamanese themselves seem bewitched without realizing it, spellbound by the weird atmosphere.

To anyone unfamiliar with the tropics, the swift change from darkness to light and back again comes as a surprise. Night in the tropics is never silent – the eerie voices and calls, often with a strange pitch, seem to cease for a brief moment just before the sudden onset of darkness and again just before the return of the light. As night falls the fascination of the jungle grows. Even the natives feel some urge to keep their voices down, as if out of respect for some natural solemnity. (This, however, is not exclusive to the Andamanese, and it has a perfectly rational explanation. In tropical forests, and in the deserts, men speak softly so as to catch every slightest sound, a passing animal perhaps.) At dawn the birds start up as though they were tired of silence. There is no great variety of calls; most are very piercing, although still pleasing, and in the crescendo of sound which follows the dusk and dawn silences, the forest is transformed.

One thing that has helped the Onges to survive so long despite the inevitability of their decline is the climate of the islands, which is usually very pleasant and so less liable to exacerbate biological weaknesses.

Normally, the Andamans have four months of very good weather from December to March, which may extend by a few days into November and April. February is nearly always the driest month and the calmest, although there are exceptions, as I know from my own experiences when trying to land on the island. In the remaining months there is frequent rain, sometimes torrential, with raging seas, but relieved by periods of clear sky.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

132 In the absence of rain the air is clear with few extremes of temperature, and mean temperatures are fairly constant throughout the year. Towards the end of March and throughout April, the thermometer rarely rises above twenty-five degrees centigrade in the shade, although it can rise above thirty-five degrees centigrade in the middle of the day. Heavy rains, which reduce the temperature noticeably, begin in mid-April; but a period of relatively dry, almost cold weather may occur at the beginning of May. The south-west monsoon reaches its peak in the middle of May, and continues to the end of November. During this period the temperature is never high, but the rains are frequently torrential; storms and terrific gales follow one after another and in some years the monsoons are so violent that the trees are completely stripped of their leaves in a matter of hours. Even so, there are sudden calms and in August there may be some very fine days, among the best of the year when they occur.

132 This climate, with its very minor variations in temperature, is
131 explained by the geographical position of the islands. The two main islands of the archipelago run north–south, between 10° 30′ and 13° 30′ North and 90° and 92° 33′ East, rarely over forty kilometres wide. Great Andaman alone is three hundred and twenty kilometres long and Little Andaman is fifty kilometres. With the south-west monsoon the west coast faces the brunt of the storms, while the north-east monsoon hits the eastern coastline. Both hit the islands after crossing vast expanses of the Indian Ocean, but the south-west monsoon is the wetter; together they refresh the highly fertile earth.

Little Andaman forms about a sixth of this area. Its southernmost point touches 10° 30′ North and the northern tip is 10° 56′ North. On the west coast the monsoon winds are so strong and go on for so long that they have affected the growth of vegetation, beating the tops of the trees down towards the north-east, while both monsoons carry the sea spray right across the island.

132 With the continual dampness and relatively even temperature
139 the forests rise before one as the coastline approaches, black, savagely beautiful, unconquered and unconquerable. Like all the rain forests of the tropics they are always a lush green, except where the monsoon has stripped the trees of their leaves. Normally the trees do not lose their leaves in the winter; each species has its

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

own growth period, but there are so many of them that there are 132 137
green leaves, and trees and plants in flower or fruit, all the year round.

There are, of course, more trees and shrubs without leaves when the heat and the dry season are at their peak, during our winter. None lose their leaves all at once, however, and in most cases they fall gradually throughout the year, accompanied by the continuous appearance of new growth. In the absence of any definite seasonal cycles, the trees grow almost continuously, so that they have no marked growth rings corresponding to the various seasons. Nor is there any sudden colouring of the leaves *en masse* with the onset of autumn; instead a permanent range of colours makes the forest incredibly beautiful at any time of the year.

Sometimes in the dry season one sees the tree known as the 137 ●
Flame of the Forest, one of the Leguminosae, standing out against all the others with its vermilion-red flowers, visible for considerable distances on the slopes of the hills. Rather larger than our acacia, it loses all its leaves at the beginning of January, to become covered with a mass of large flowers. I have seen similar trees in South Africa; covered with a profusion of brilliant flowers they are a wonderful sight, standing out like a sheet of flame against the sombre background of the forest round them. Even the lianas seem to respect them and leave them alone, as though fearing the slenderness of the branches, so that the trees rise like prisoners escaped by chance from the suffocating blanket of climbers all round them.

The strangling *Ficus* seems to escape them too, although lianas rage everywhere in the Andamans, their path strewn with victims. One seed of these voracious plants, left with a bird's droppings, can mean the death of a giant tree. If it lodges on a branch, or in a fork where there is a little moss or earth, it will grow and send its ropes of aerial roots down to find the earth. As soon as they touch the earth they root tenaciously, sending back energy for further growth. In a few years the ropes begin to enfold the tree, clinging to it and fusing together, till in the end there is nothing but an insidious, clinging network right round the trunk which first gave it shelter.

Every stage of this process is to be seen in the forest, from the initial unseen assault by the tiny aerial roots to the complete enveloping of the victim. Right from the first there is no escape; the

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

137 chance landing of a tiny seed means inevitable death by strangulation and the new plant ends by covering its victim with its own leaves, rising above the wreck till it looks like an independent tree.

In another form this struggle between plant and plant goes on all over the Andamans. In many places, especially where the ground is flat, the foliage overhead kills the undergrowth by cutting off the light. The tops of the trees, thickened by the festoons of climbers growing over them, form a blanket high above the ground, keeping out the light in their own struggle to reach the sun. In the darkness below the vegetation is sparse and thin, and I took advantage of the fact many times on journeys on Little Andaman, and also on Bluff Island, Long Island and Great Andaman. On the steeper slopes, all thickly wooded, the sun penetrates more easily, however, and the undergrowth flourishes, particularly thorny plants, and the need to try and avoid being gashed always added considerably to the effort of struggling up the slopes.

There is one climber[1] which bears growths that have the appearance of halberds. I never succeeded in finding out the function or the purpose of these adornments. The plant is a liana of incredible length, which climbs from tree to tree right to the top, often over fifty metres up, to find the sun. Throughout its upward twists and turns the diameter of the stem remains the same, not more than five centimetres. From top to bottom it puts out shoots of varying lengths which hang straight down and it is on these that the halberds appear. Green at first, the growths dry almost to black. They are neither leaves nor spines and they have no apparent function but to grace the shoots that carry them. I measured some of the shoots which are very pliable; they taper a little, but are almost filiform, varying in size from half a metre to 1·2 metres long, with a diameter of three centimetres at the base. Around each of these shoots or spikes, the 'halberds' are arranged with absolute symmetry, in opposite pairs, each pair set at right angles to the previous pair. The 'wings' of the halberds are not more than three centimetres wide, and the overall length of each pair is about six centimetres.

824 312 Among the lianas are some valued by the islanders because they provide a clear liquid which has a pleasant, rather bitter, vegetable

[1] The author gives no name for this climber, which has been tentatively identified from the description as the rattan, or climbing palm.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

taste. The liquid content of these stems is so great that it makes them extremely heavy to carry. These lianas are very common all over the islands and anyone who knows them need never die of thirst. To get at the liquid one only has to break the stem and put it to one's mouth; if one puts a receptacle under the break, a litre or so of liquid can be obtained in a matter of minutes. When the first strangers came to the archipelago, the Andamanese watched them tear down parts of the forest, including these lianas, and tried in vain to protest at the vandalism. No one understood their protests, but they were right.

The forest abounds in trees whose fruits in season form an important source of food for the islanders. One is the so-called jackfruit, *Artocarpus communis*, which here grows wild, though various species are cultivated all over Asia. The fruits, which appear on the thickest branches as well as on the trunk, are smaller in the wild variety, rarely weighing more than thirty grams, but the yield is enormous and the islanders enjoy them for months, especially from March to May. The Onges call them *bulundanghe*, and roast them in hot ashes till the hard pulp and seeds are eatable; the latter, the size of a hazelnut but tougher, are the best part.

Another useful plant is the *Pandanus*, or screw-pine. On Little Andaman extensive areas are covered with nothing else, making progress very difficult owing to the twisting roots and the spines on the long, tough leaves. It seems to prefer the coastal areas, particularly the marshes, where it often grows into an impenetrable jungle. There are at least two species, one of which is gregarious. The other, which grows as isolated specimens, is longer leaved, with bigger fruits and stems like candelabra, standing up on an arch of roots, as though on stilts. With the leaves of this variety, fluted and easy to arrange like roof tiles, the Onges can quickly improvise a waterproof covering. The young leaves provide them with ornaments which they wear for their dances, while the pulp of the fruit, which looks rather like a pineapple, perfumed and delicately flavoured, is nutritious though somewhat stringy.

Along the coasts where there are no *Pandanus*, one very often sees something very different – mangroves. The islanders use the wood for their canoe floats, and for fixing pegs (see p. 122) and the supply is unlimited, as the growth and spread of the mangroves are assured by a number of factors which have made them one of the best

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

137 adapted trees for the waterlogged areas in which they are exclusively found. The banks of all the river mouths and a considerable distance upstream are lined with the green of the mangroves, their trunks rising from the arched network of roots.

In the Andamans there are at least ten mangrove forests, all fighting for one thing: more and yet more vital space. This they win either directly, by sending roots out underground far ahead, or indirectly, by encouraging the building up of more land, which they then occupy. Great banks of mud are built up against the network of roots, sometimes miles into the sea, a necessary prelude to their irresistible spread. To help the formation of the dam mud some species send a mass of roots down from the trunk into the water, while others build dams of roots or send out horizontal shoots from which trunks sprout into the air and roots plunge down into the water.

One strange habit interested me very much. I saw roots thirty or more centimetres long growing not down but up, sticking into the air like a human hand with long fingers. These roots are known to botanists as 'pneumatophores', and the species which produce them act as the advance party for other species, building up a new plantation and snatching a few more miles from the sea. One might call it a fine example of solidarity among different species.

In these species tufts hang down from the leaves like green fingers about eighteen centimetres long. They are in fact great viviparous seeds, admirably adapted to progressive spread over marine areas, designed specifically for the purpose of sure and rapid growth wherever they alight, which may be anywhere. Floating upright in the sea, sticking half out of the water, their weight is so distributed that the growing tip is clear and the seeds take root the moment they arrive in shallow waters where there is mud below. The new plant grows rapidly, sending out miniature pneumatophores almost as soon as it has taken root.

In species like the well-known *Rhizophora conjugata* the seed germinates while still on the parent plant. If it does not become detached at once it sends out slender but strong roots a metre long. They too will float on the water until they can take root in the mud.

With all these means of propagation, even the fury of the sea is not enough to restrain the growth of the mangrove swamps. Slowly and unaided they are increasing the area of the islands with

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

their arched vaults of roots, strong enough to bear a man's weight 137
without bending. In some places I had to travel hundreds of metres across them, clambering from arch to arch, before I could reach dry land and sweeter air (the air in the swamps is foul with the stench of dead fish, crustacea and debris of all kinds from the sea, caught in the network of roots). Among the roots swarm crabs of [136]
all kinds, including the blue crabs, while kingfishers and other brilliantly coloured birds dart gaily in after the easy prey.

Near the mangrove swamps, in the mouths of the rivers, giant 136
fronds of the Nipah palm stick up out of the water here and there. 137
The feathery fronds, standing several metres high, are used by the crabs to climb out of the water and tiny toad fish, (see p. 133) equipped with both gills for life under water and lungs for air breathing, like to cling to them for an airing when there are no stones handy. Every day these fascinating little creatures stay in the sun for hours before dropping back into the waters of the swamps and in some places they are everywhere, always ready to jump out of the water on to a convenient projection to have a look at what is going on.

The Andamans, with their luxurious growth of vegetation of all 137
kinds, are an ideal place to study plant dispersal. I have already mentioned the *Ficus* and the mangroves, but there are many other equally fascinating plants. Some used by the Onges for the production of fibres are widely distributed from India to Malaysia and the [823] [824]
Pacific. Among these are *Gnetum gnemon* and *G. macrocarpum*, generally spread by the doves which flourish undisturbed on Little Andaman. In April, when the winds come, swarms of curious elongated parachutes equipped with an air trap which causes their spinning flight are blown from *Pterocarpus dalbergoides*, which provides the well-known *padàk* wood. The weight of the seeds (the size of a pea) at the base of the parachutes and the effects of the air trap give them a horizontal, screwing flight which carries them far from the parent tree. I have seen these parachutes in the sea, hundreds of kilometres from the nearest land. Mathematically designed by Nature to trap the right amount of air, the tiny parachutes are barely ten centimetres long. Their efficiency is self-evident – *padàk* is one of the most widely spread trees in the archipelago, in the Nicobars and far beyond.

In the stagnant pools on Little Andaman I found a species of explosive fungus which closely resembles, if it is not in fact identical

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

137 with, its European counterpart. The spores, attached to a plume barely visible to the naked eye but wonderfully constructed, are carried into the sky by the air currents rising from the pools in the hottest part of the day and travel considerable distances.

One could fill whole books with the botany of the islands but here I can record only a few examples. One I cannot leave out is a species of *ipomea*, or Morning Glory, which flourishes on the sandy beaches in the lee of the coral reefs. The local varieties are not climbers, but spread over the ground in a compact lattice of stems, fairly well able to withstand the onslaught of wind and water. They prevent coastal erosion, both by the protection which their covering of strong stems and leathery leaves provides and by holding fast loose pieces of coral. These *ipomeas* are found only in the Andamans, some with purplish flowers and others white. They surround the communal huts along the coast, carpeting every free inch of ground cleared by the Onges of other and more destructive vegetation. They make no attempt to cut down the *ipomea*, as the compact growth helps their canoes to slide up and down the beach.

[501] [824]

133 137 Along the coast of Little Andaman one sees rows of beautiful casuarinas (the Whistling Pine) especially a little to the north of Bugong Creek. From out at sea they stand against the skyline like rows of Italian cypress. They never reach the height of which they are capable, owing to the wind and the nature of the terrain; apart from a small stony, hilly area in the interior, of ancient continental origin, the island is really nothing more than a huge coral bank lying against these hills, which in the course of thousands of years has become covered with vegetal mould of no great depth. Trees are therefore forced to send their roots out horizontally, and the strong monsoon winds can easily uproot the tallest of them. After every storm one sees huge trunks lying on the ground, their wide net of roots sticking high into the air. Only a few of the giants in the interior manage to resist, protected by their neighbours. On Great Andaman, where there is more land of continental origin, deep rooting is possible and the forest presents a very different picture.

137 Much has already been written by others about the epiphytes, among them beautiful ferns and even more lovely orchids, which cling desperately to the trees in their struggle to reach the light. All are closely related to the flora of Burma, Malaysia, and Sumatra,

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

and particularly of Oceania, but not with that of the Indian peninsula – a fact which is highly significant in any reconstructive study of the migration of flora and fauna to the archipelago. 137

The most recent phase in the spread of vegetation within the Andamans is less than a hundred years old; it began on Great Andaman, but none of the species has yet reached Little Andaman. The coconut has reached it during the last few years, but when I was there, there were not more than five wild palms in the whole island. The original coconuts must have floated from Great Andaman, or even the Nicobars. The Onges at once realized that they were edible, and called them *marele*. Now, however, there is a plantation of over five hundred trees to the north of Labanar, which I established by degrees on a number of occasions as a gift to the Onges. 262 123

The absence of any cultivated plants on Little Andaman led me to try pawpaws and bananas, as well as coconuts. In 1952 the Governor himself suggested a plant whose leaves are said to cure ringworm, so widespread among the Onges. The Onges, however, were not remotely interested, nor were they any more interested in the pawpaws and bananas. The pawpaws were left to lie on the ground and groves of young plants sprang up, far too close together, crowding the original tree and not sturdy enough to fruit. It was useless to show the Onges what to do. The bananas would have grown well, but their leaves were ripped to pieces by the storms. Possibly they would fare better in Great Andaman, where the hills would afford some shelter from the wind. 241 177

A rather different result, but equally unfortunate, followed the importation of grass seed into Great Andaman to improve grazing. The seed, imported from Europe, must have been contaminated with *Mimosa pudica*, which has spread widely, as it did in India and the rest of southern Asia, and within a few years has destroyed the grass so widely and become so much of a pest that in some areas it is doubtful whether it can be eradicated. The area round Port Blair is full of it, but for the moment Little Andaman remains free. 137

Culturally, the peoples of the Andamans remain today, unlike their kin in Malaysia and the Philippines, at a level almost identical with that of their ancestors thousands of years ago. They represented then, and in great measure represent today, a pure hunting and 105

136 were approaching an Onge camp. Everywhere they go they are accompanied by flies of all sizes, and in Little Andaman the swarms are so bad that the first stranger to land called a river after them, Bumila Creek, or fly river. Their flies betray the Onges long before the barking of their dogs – no human voice ever betrays their silent presence.

628 423 123 On Little Andaman today the Onges' tacit divisions of territory are of little importance, so heavy has been the fall in population, but they still keep out of areas belonging to other 'huts', even if the huts themselves have been abandoned. I never saw any disputes over territory, or the ownership of the area in which a pig was caught (and hence ownership of the pig). The Onges who accompanied me, possibly encouraged by the prestige value of a European with them, hunted wherever we went without anyone raising any protests. Nevertheless, I always took the precaution of giving anything I or my Indians took to the Onges of the nearest hut, invariably much to their delight.

342 361 Contrary to established opinion, communal huts on Little Andaman are not found only along the coasts; the majority, and certainly the best constructed, are in the interior. Togalanghe is one, and there are a number of permanently abandoned temporary camps near it.

342 171 Both the permanent and temporary huts or shelters of the Andamans resemble those of the Semang. The latter are extremely simple, especially in the dry season; there are no walls and only a very sloping roof of leaves, high at the front and very low at the back, the beds being put so that the feet face the low part of the roof. With the Semang and Aeta the beds may be made of bamboo; this is never the case in the Andamans, as there are no large bamboos in the archipelago (Brown was wrong in this respect. The few slender bamboos on Little Andaman are only usable for making drying racks, which are found only round the hut at Beniabol in the south. As the people were away when I went there, and the site was consequently completely deserted, I was unable to establish visually what they dried, but traces of fish, particularly pilchards, were indication enough.)

352 171 137 114 417 114 251

342 These temporary shelters are put up extremely quickly. Two poles less than two metres long for the front, and two more, thirty to forty centimetres long, for the back, are fixed firmly into the

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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7 An important feature of the islands is the way in which the forest comes right down to the water's edge

8 In the monsoon season, trees are frequently uprooted in this manner

137
516

[facing P. 66, F]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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411
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516

9 The bow and arrow is the main weapon used for hunting; in this photograph the archer has the long arrow harpoon used for spearing large fish

10 Fishing in the coral shallows

133
226

[facing P. 66, G]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

wings suddenly dropped off along a predetermined line of fracture, 136
two to the left and two to the right. The whole process seemed to be some instinctive reflex movement triggered off by coming to land after the flight from their original hill. Then the termites began to walk quickly as though they had never had wings.

The casting of their wings is the signal for the males to look for the females. There follows a long nuptial 'march' culminating in the union of queen and males, identical with what I had seen among African termites, thousands of miles away.

Wherever they are, termites have a considerable effect on the vegetation; some plants flourish with the constant upheaval of the [137] earth by the termites, while others cannot thrive in soil which is constantly turned over. Termite hills may consequently be quite bare of vegetation or covered with a dense jungle, according to species and location. It is most unwise to disturb a termite hill. A horde of defenders instantly assails the enemy, attacking him remorselessly with pincer-like jaws; if an attacking termite is pulled off its prey, the abdomen comes off in one's fingers leaving the head still attached to the victim, the jaws still biting viciously. Repair of the damaged hill begins immediately it is disturbed, tightly packed hordes of workers pouring out of the nest to the damaged area. Somehow news of the disaster spreads like wildfire throughout the hill, however large it may be, and like the red ants they obey implicitly some unexpressed order, following an instinct the mechanism of which is still quite unexplained.

The first impression of these hordes of repair workers is one of utter confusion, but in the mass of termites bumping into each other and apparently rushing about aimlessly each is motivated by one thing only – the repair of the nest as quickly as possible. Since termites need cover and darkness, this is done preferably with earth brought from inside the nest; but if necessary gangs of workers, chosen by some unknown mechanism from among the milling hordes, come out into the baking sun, contrary to all their instincts, and work from the outside, sacrificing themselves for the community.

Much remains to be learnt of this weird compelling mechanism, and I hope that others will be able to continue my observations in the Andamans, where there are endless opportunities for the uninterrupted study of these and other insects.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

less plentiful and containing a great deal of wax, and is greatly prized by the Onges. The darker bees, common in China, Celebes, Borneo and beyond, build their nests in cavities in the rocks, or in tree-trunks. Their honey, darker and with less wax, is more plentiful, but not so fine; when there is enough of the golden honey the Onges ignore the darker variety.

Few of the fruits on Little Andaman contain much sugar, but the Onges eat more than enough honey to compensate any deficiency that would otherwise occur. Whatever the fruit in season, men, women and children climb happily about like acrobats, hanging in the trees to get at it and the honey that goes with it. To chop the tree down is, of course, easiest and the obvious first choice for any Onge. Failing this, and their hooked poles, they climb up the nearby lianas into the branches, or walk up the trunk – an easy feat for them with their very long arms and almost prehensile toes.

Although there are arak nuts and betel leaves in the forest, the Onges ignore them. They are the same variety as elsewhere; *Areca catechu* and *Piper betel*. The Nicobarese are so addicted to them that many have lips and teeth hideously deformed as a result, but this is quite unknown among the Onges, contrary to earlier reports. The appearance of addiction in the Nicobars may have occurred after the separation of the peoples.

With all these fruits the Onges consume vast quantities of honey from the two species of bee, *dorsata* and *nigrocinta*. During the rainy season they can only get at the darker, poorer honey of *nigrocinta*, which builds nests under boulders or in crevices of trees or rocks. The Onges' real honey orgies occur, therefore, in the dry season, when the honey birds (Indicationidae), common in Africa and all over Asia, lead them to the trees where the golden honey of *dorsata* is hidden.

When one of the Onges finds a nest of bees he puts a mark on the rock or tree as a sign of ownership. None of the others would then dare to take possession of it, for fear of punishment by the group,[1] but when the time comes to take the honey everyone helps in the hard work of getting at the nest and opening it up. On one trip from Labanar to Togalanghe, on 19 March 1954, the Onges pointed out over twenty *Nigrocinta* nests to me, all reserved ready for use

[1] However deep in the forest a crime is committed, it will inevitably be discovered in the end, and punished by banishment from the community.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

sweet, and delicately flower-scented. No one waited for the climber 222
to reach the ground. With my men and the Onges the party numbered twenty-two in all, every one of them hungry. The log was thirty centimetres across, and besides the combs there was a good four inches of honey in the bottom, but even so I only managed to set aside two litres for the man who did all the work, before the combs had all disappeared and the remaining liquid as well. The whole lot was gone in a matter of minutes.

What puzzled me was how the bees were quietened. I knew from personal observation that both the varieties of bee on Little Andaman could and did sting badly, and I knew that the Onges I had watched had done nothing deliberately to avoid stings.

In Man, the olfactory sense can detect minute amounts of iodo- 222
form, for example, but we are completely insensitive to other sub- 824
stances strongly repellent to flies, mosquitoes and other insects. Some similar mechanism must also operate in the case of bees. The Onges cannot understand anything of this, but they must possess some age-old, almost intuitive and innate knowledge, which they apply unconsciously. At some time someone must have found that the juice of a certain plant they call *tonjoghe*, apparently inodorous, has the power of deterring bees, and this knowledge, handed down from generation to generation, is applied with delightful simplicity.

In the forests of Little Andaman there are bushes of *tonjoghe* everywhere, and the Onge who is to go after the honey simply grabs a handful of the leaves and stuffs them into his mouth. With some vigorous chewing they are quickly reduced to a greenish pulp, which is smeared all over the body, particularly the hair. Another huge mouthful chewed on the way up and spat at the bees to make quite sure that they will be deterred even to the point of failing to attack the unsmeared bystanders. I have myself tried the leaves, and like the Onges found them quite tasteless and odourless. The Onges say that the 'magic' was revealed by a seer, and it is a curious fact that of all the luxuriant vegetation on the island only this one plant is effective.

I am unfortunately not in a position to say definitely to what 137 •
species *tonjoghe* belongs. I took some plants to Port Blair, where 126
they were planted in the Governor's garden; unfortunately before they could flower the then Governor left, and a new gardener

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

thought they were weeds and pulled them up. I never managed to see the plant in flower in the wild state, as this occurs at the height of the rainy season, and as no final definition is possible in the absence of the flower it remains unidentified.

The Onges take full advantage of the plant's properties as a bee-deterrent and in mid-March they eat honey, paint themselves, and dance, twenty-four hours a day. During these orgies I have seen a group of about sixty Onges demolish in a few days ten pigs and a dozen large, wooden vessels full of honey, with basket after basket of fish, caught every night by the women, who were apparently not in the least tired by the long daily treks into the forest after the honey. I can never look back on the Onges without a feeling of profound respect for their powers of digestion!

Yet another source of food for the islanders is the cicada. On Little Andaman there are a few species a little larger than the European variety and others rather smaller. The Onges collect the pupae as they emerge from the ground, usually in the mornings, and roast them as a great treat. They are actually very clean insects, which develop slowly under the earth over a period of years sucking lymph from the roots of the trees. When they emerge from the ground the pupae become leathery, but this presents no problem to the indomitable teeth of the Onges. Inside the cicada chrysalids are a mass of delicate tissues, so white and clean that one can understand the Onges' predilection for them.

On Little Andaman the cicadas chirp intermittently, with long silences; most of the day one hears nothing of them and when they suddenly start up the Onges fall absolutely quiet, terrified of frightening them away and losing their chrysalids.[1] In a few moments the whole forest suddenly echoes with a chorus of cicadas, as they all start up as one and then, a minute later, fall silent. Their intermittent chirping is not confined to the Andamans; it is a feature of several species throughout southern Asia. At Golpahar when I was in the middle of the forest excavating kitchen-middens I heard cicadas start up every day at 6.30 p.m., and then stop until the following day. In the mountains of South India, on the slopes

[1] The Onges do not seem to share the superstitions reported by Man and Brown among the Arioto, who appear to believe in fantastic connections between cicadas, the sun, and storms.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

softness of their skin. They have what must be among the darkest skins in the world, and in certain lights some individuals have a bluish tinge, which I have never seen in any other region. Something similar seems to have existed among the now extinct Tasmans, although they differed markedly from the Andamanese in other respects. The Onges are the only Andamanese who are not invariably intensely black, and the bluish type is rare among them. This might be attributable to contact with the nearby Nicobars, where a yellowish skin is common, in conjunction with Mongoloid features. I saw no traces, however, of such admixture; the Arioto show some sign of recent Burmese influence, but any ethnic influences on the Onges and Jarawas must have been extremely ancient, indeed before their arrival in the archipelago. In the south and south-west of Little Andaman I did find individuals markedly taller than the rest (though still small), but it is clear that outwardly at least the Onges and Jarawas still retain most of their unique somatic characteristics, which have remained unchanged for thousands of years.

The Andamanese skin is very smooth in texture, and lacks the odour characteristic of many of the African peoples. This would appear to depend on the chemical composition of the sweat, as the Andamanese never intentionally wash, although brushing against the sodden vegetation, and frequent immersion while collecting shellfish, or fishing, in some measure compensates. Curiously enough their sweat does seem to repel the local ticks, which drive Europeans mad; again, it was interesting that the Indians and Burmese of my party were variously affected by them.

Their skin is also extraordinarily elastic – I noticed that in the forest I scratched myself continually at the slightest touch against thorns or branches, whereas the Onges invariably emerged quite unscathed at the end of the trek. Their greater agility of movement will undoubtedly have been part of the answer, but it would be impossible to avoid any scratches, as they do, unless their skin 'gave' to an abnormal degree.

Another effect of this elasticity is that the women suffer no disfiguration of the skin over the abdomen after childbirth, and neither sex becomes wrinkled to any noticeable extent with age. This distinguishes them clearly from peoples with whom they have been compared – such as the Bushmen, who (possibly in part due

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

to the arid climate) are among the most wrinkled people in the world.

At birth, the Onges are tiny, attractive little creatures, very plump, but rarely over two and a half kilograms in males and two kilograms in females. I was very fortunate indeed in that I succeeded in persuading one young couple to let me examine their new-born child. Local superstition forbids a stranger looking on a child for any length of time, and even an Onge who does so is regarded with suspicion, so I had to be extremely cautious.

The infant was born on 30 March 1954, in the forest to the north of Labanar. Like most deliveries, birth took place in the forest on a bed improvised for the purpose, with only the father (on some occasions also the wife's mother) present, and the placenta was buried under the bed. The women recover very quickly;[1] after a few days they are fit for heavy work, returning to the group without any purification ceremonies, and this was no exception. After a wealth of gifts I managed to examine the child on the morning of 31 March and again on 10, 13 and 14 April. After this mother and child vanished completely, and the father would give me only evasive replies, although only a few days before he had been willing to help me open some graves round Tambe-e-buiè, allowing me to remove the bones of nine Onges who had been dead for many years; superstition (or the women) overcame him on this occasion, however.

My examinations were all carried out in the presence of the mother and at least two of the older women, who were determined to prevent me touching the child.

The child, like all Onge babies, had no body hair; this persists throughout life, though some males have sparse moustaches. Its head was covered with a very fine, sparse down, not black like the adults, but already showing signs of the characteristic woolly texture. Dark reddish-brown, the hair becomes black and tightly curled during the first year of life. The eyelashes curl markedly in adults, but the hair of the eyebrows is virtually straight; in the infant the former were barely visible, and the latter completely absent.

The nails were strong and well formed, projecting a little beyond

[1] Childbirth is normally very easy, but miscarriages are common, probably due to lack of vitality in the foetus.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Queensland and (as the Cape Bedford type) elsewhere. Oars, 171
method of fixing the booms and float – all are similar throughout 501
the area, including the Andamans.

Even game, once caught, is treated and distributed similarly by 171
these peoples, from the Andamans to Oceania. Cooking is done 252
without salt, in earth ovens (whether or not fire or red-hot stones [224
are used) very different from those of Africa and America. The 263
Semang and Aetà of today know how to make fire by friction, as 171
do the peoples of New Guinea, Australia and Polynesia; the Tas- 372
mans also have the knowledge to do so, but prefer to carry burning logs with them on their journeys, like the Andamanese. In certain parts of New Guinea and perhaps in some of the Pacific islands (as in the Andamans) the art of fire-making was unknown or possibly forgotten until recent times; it is said that the Papuans of the Bay of Astralobius knew nothing of the art until the middle of the nineteenth century. But the only sure information comes from the Andamans, where, whether through ignorance or loss of knowledge, the art of fire-making is unknown and fire is always carried everywhere.

Among the objects typical of the Andamans and found also 171
among the Semang, the Aetà, and other Oceanic peoples are the 412
digging stick and the crude hatchet. The former, used for gathering edible roots and tubers, is merely a pointed stick, but every family possesses one. The hatchet is slightly more elaborate, having both handle and blade, and like the digging stick, occurs always in virtually the same form.[1] Objects woven from vegetable fibres are [28
also very similar in appearance – often very durable and sometimes
pleasing by any standards. In some places woven breast-plates are [714]
used in warfare, but here the Jarawas differ, using single sheets of [184]
bark.

These are but a few of the many examples which one can find of 171
this striking similarity between these widely separated peoples.
And alongside cultural similarities there exist others, anthropo- 14
logical and physical, which cannot be overlooked. Physically the

[1] This is simply a cutting tool fixed into a natural elbow in a suitable branch. The blade is fixed into the wood near the elbow, and the branch is cut off, so as to leave a short handle. The whole thing is reminiscent of a swan's head on a long neck, and is easily turned into a crude plane or adze by revolving the blade in the haft through a right angle.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

most striking of these is ambidexterity. This is the general rule in the Onges and also appears as a normal trait in the primitive peoples of Oceania, America and Asia. Another physical characteristic of the Onges, reported also in Tasmans and various peoples of Oceania, is the early onset of ageing in both sexes; in the Tasmans the women are rarely fertile after the age of thirty, and this is also probably the case with the Onges. Unlike the Tasmans, however, the Onges, though sharing their very black skin colour, have among other physical differences markedly scant body hair. A study of their blood groups by Dr H. Lehmann (see also Mourant) has moreover lent very considerable support to the external physical evidence in favour of a relationship between the Andamanese and the people of Oceania, both past and present.

From the anthropological point of view perhaps the most outstanding feature of all these peoples is that despite their extreme aggressiveness towards outsiders their corporate sense is such that they have no need of leaders to give orders. Rarely are there hereditary leaders; such as they are, their leaders are chosen on the basis of outstanding powers, such as supposed clairvoyance, as in the Andamanese.

The Andamanese themselves know nothing of their origins, lost in the mists of time, and it is for us to trace them, working back along the paths cleared by the anthropologist, the ethnographer and the archaeologist. They represent today the survival, almost unchanged, of a culture once to be found all over Oceania, spread thousands of years ago by canoes hardly different from those the Onges use today. They carried the unknown seamen from island to island, bearing with them a way of life which in the Andamans at least was never to change – a point of arrival, rather than of departure. Driven in on themselves by circumstances of geography just as other circumstances now unknown had driven them there originally, they have remained isolated, dwindling in numbers over the centuries, until they were discovered by the modern world. Their reception of outsiders, however they come and whoever they may be, is aggressive; consciously or unconsciously the Andamanese seek to preserve the only way of life they know. And who can be sure they are wrong?

No one could deny the demographic decadence of the islanders,

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141 ANTHROPOMETRY--mean, range, and sex distribution of physical measurements (e.g., stature, weight, span, length of limbs); indices (e.g., cephalic, nasal); etc. See also:

Postures . . . . . 516 Conception of ideal bodily proportions . . . 826

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[p. 28A]

PLATE III

141
302

A man of the North Andaman and his son. (The man's height is 1438 mm., 4 feet 8 inches)

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE I.

●141
411

E. H. MAN IN 1875 WITH NATIVE BOYS, THE FIVE JOINT AUTHORS OF THE "LETTERS TO JAMBU" IN 1879.

(*See* p. 60, Alexander J. Ellis's Report.)

[facing p. VI]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE II.

141
142

GREAT ANDAMAN TYPES AT PORT BLAIR HOME.

[facing p. XX]

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

tionately slender," such persons no more represent the general type of the race, than the sickly inmates of a London hospital can be regarded as fair specimens of the average Englishman; in point of fact the remark which is commonly made by strangers who see them for the first time, is, "how well these savages are developed." In confirmation of this I would refer you to the photographs, and table of weights and measurements of forty-eight male, and forty-one female adults, which I have prepared,[1] being persuaded that more correct information can be obtained by such means than from any verbal description, however minute and careful. 142

3. Although the Mahomedan travellers, a thousand years ago, described their feet as "very large, and almost a cubit in length," my observations and measurements go to prove that their feet, as well as their hands and ears, are small and well-shaped; the heel in some cases projects slightly, but never to the extent peculiar to negro races. 141

4. Dr. Dobson, in his valuable paper "On the Andamans and Andamanese" (published in the Anthropological Institute's Journal, vol. iv, p. 464), alleges the existence of a "remarkable contrast between the size of the males and females;"[2] but the example, which he cites in proof, of *mai'a .bô'ra* and his wife, was quite exceptional, for this man, whom we nicknamed "Moriarty," like many of the Andaman chiefs, was as much above, as his ebon consort was below, the ordinary stature of the race. From the illustrations and lists of measurements, to which reference has already been made, it will be found that the average height of the men is 4 feet 10¾ inches, and of the women 4 feet 7¼ inches,[3] while their average weight is 98⅛ lbs. and 93¼ lbs. respectively—results which cannot be said to indicate a striking disparity between the sexes.

meals. This distended abdominal condition is noticeable in children of both sexes; but as the lads grow up, they take more exercise, and their abdominal, as well as other muscles, become firmer and retain the mechanical distension of the belly. With the women it is different; these latter influences do not exist. . . . ." ("Remarks on the Aborigines of the Andaman Islands," by Surgeon E. S. Brander, late 2nd Medical Officer, Port Blair.)

[1] *Vide* Appendix C.

[2] The following extract from an article in the *Bombay Gazette* of 2nd August, 1881, by an officer stationed for about a year at the Andamans, will show what opposite conclusions are arrived at by those who are content to trust to the accuracy of their individual judgment without reference to actual measurements:—"The women . . . are on the whole bigger than the men, who are, however, particularly well made."

[3]

			ft. in.
Maximum height of the males measured was			5·4½.
"	"	females "	4·11½.
Minimum	"	males "	4·5¾
"	"	females "	4·4.

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141 5. The old statement,* so often repeated, that their stature never exceeds 5 feet, must also be noticed, as the list in question shows that fourteen of the forty-eight males who were measured were slightly above that height. I would add, that on a visit paid to North Andaman, about two years ago—by Colonel Cadell, V.C., the present Chief Commissioner—an *.âkà-.châ·riàr-* was seen whose height was estimated at about 5 feet 8 inches; but this must be regarded as very remarkable and exceptional, for the tallest specimen of the race, that had till then been met with, was a chief standing 5 feet 4¼ inches.

142 6. In consequence of their early marriages, the cares of maternity and the nature of the duties which devolve upon them, the women soon lose the graceful figures which many of them possess in their youth, and they often, in their maturer years, become so obese as to be objects of wonder to Europeans.[1]

147 **Anatomy and Physiology.**—1. With the view of forming some idea of the average temperature and rates of pulse and respiration per minute, five youths, fair representatives of the race, were examined, with the following results:—

No.	Age.	Temperature under the axilla.*	Rate per minute		Remarks.
			of pulse.	of respiration.	
1	22	96·9	56	19	The subjects were at rest and in the shade, and had not eaten for several hours previously.
2	20	97·8	62	22	
3	18	97·8	64	24	* The bulb was left undisturbed for five minutes.
4	16	97·8	64	21	
5	17	98·3	74	20	

142 **Colour.**—1. Their skin is naturally smooth, and greasy to the touch, and there is little or no hair or down over the surface,[2] and, with regard to its colour, by the aid of reflected light it has been found that not only are there several shades of colour among this race, ranging between bronze or dark copper colour, sooty, and black, but also that in individuals the complexion of the face and body are different. The distinctions are, however, so slight as to be unnoticed by the people themselves.

2. The results of careful observation go to prove that these

[1] Surgeon Brander, in the paper referred to in the preceding footnote, remarks, that "this condition, I should think, is induced partly by the absence of any proper abdominal support during pregnancy, and is partly due to the distension their stomachs habitually undergo after food."

[2] Even under the axilla it is rarely found, and then only very scantily, but a certain amount of tufted hair is not wanting about the genitals.

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302 they never intentionally interfere with the natural colour, but some of the pigment, *kòi·ob-*, with which they so frequently paint their persons sometimes accidentally adheres to their curly wigs, these being often used for wiping or drying their hands.

142 10. The colour of the hair among different individuals varies between black, greyish-black, and sooty, the last perhaps predominating; it is apparently uninfluenced by, and does not correspond with, the hue of the eye or skin; it commences to turn grey about the fortieth year, but the number of those who exceed that age being small, white hair is seldom seen.

165 **Development and Decay.**—1. The average length of life, owing to excessive infant mortality as well as to the small number that attain old age, can hardly be reckoned as much, if at all, beyond 22 years. Not more than three generations of the same family have ever been known to be alive at the same time.

2. Fifty years is believed to be the extreme limit of age among them, and the majority of those who attain it are women.

145 3. Judging from those whose births have been registered by us, it would seem that physical development takes place at a late age as compared with natives of India, the males not attaining puberty till about the 16th year, and the females not before the 15th,[1] while the maxima of stature and bulk are not reached till two or three years later; should the opinion thus formed be confirmed by further observations, the fact will serve to weaken the theories that have been advanced by some anthropologists to account for the phenomenon hitherto assumed to be of universal application, that "the period of immaturity is curtailed in inverse proportion to the approximation to the equator or the polar circle;"[2] but, as the same writer goes on to say, "probably the latitude of the abode has no reference to this phenomenon; it may more probably have some connection with the darkness of the skin."

141 4. Among the Andamanese, when the head is in the customary position, the line taken by a horizontal plane drawn through the *meatus auditorius* would, in most cases, pass through the apex of the facial angle, or, in exceptional cases, somewhat lower. I cannot entirely concur in the opinion expressed by Dr. Brander regarding the variety of the facial type found among them, as he says that "some faces seem to resemble the Negraic, some the Malayan, and some even the Aryan in character;" it is, however, a curious physiognomical fact, of which there can be little or no question, that a remarkable diversity in this respect *does* exist among them, though it is

[1] The extreme ages for child-bearing appear to be 16 and 35 years.
[2] Peschel.

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141 hardly sufficient to admit of the inference, which might be drawn from the passage just quoted, and on which the incorrect theory might be based, as to their being of mixed descent. I would add that I observed, like Dr. Brander, that these differences are more noticeable among the males than among the females of the population.

144 847 **Crosses.**—1. In a footnote to his interesting paper on the Andamanese, Dr. Day mentions that "some have entirely smooth hair," and he suggests the probability of a portion of the race being of African origin or of mixed African descent.

2. With the exception of three children of mixed parentage,[1] none of whom survived more than seven or eight years, no examples are known of the existence of a cross-breed among these tribes; and, as none but these three children have been known to have had other than the frizzly hair which is one of the distinctive characteristics of the race, I have no doubt that Dr. Day either observed, or was informed of, the peculiarity occurring in their case, and his remarks must, therefore, be taken as applying only to them.

3. Not only would it have been impossible for us to have continued so long in ignorance of the existence of any individuals of this race who differed so widely from their fellow countrymen as to have smooth hair, but additional evidence is afforded by the denial of the Andamanese to every inquiry instituted on this point.

4. Another statement has been published which is also calculated to mislead; it is as follows:—"I agree with Mr. F. Day that the chief of Rutland Island is probably a native of India."[2] The chief here referred to, by name *maia .bī·ela*, but generally called by us *mūnshī .bī·ela*[3] (*vide* Plate II, fig. 2), was one of the best known, as he certainly was the most useful of all our aboriginal acquaintances. He was not only a thorough, though superior, specimen of the race, but his parents were so well known to be of pure Andamanese blood that his intimates were surprised to learn that a doubt regarding the purity of his descent should even for a moment have been entertained, and certainly I, and others who have for many years been associated with the man and his friends, see no grounds for regarding their statements on this point with the least suspicion.

5. Judging from the exceptional cases above mentioned of a cross breed occurring among them, it seems improbable that the existence of a mixed race in their midst would be tolerated, for all three of the children met their death by violence or neglect,

[1] Hindoo fathers and Andamanese mothers.
[2] Dr. Dobson.
[3] He died of measles in April, 1877.

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APPENDIX C.

Table of Weights and Measurements of 48 Andamanese Male and 41 Female Adults

Males.

No.	Weight.	Height.	Size round head.	Round neck.	Round chest.	Round waist.	Round buttocks.	Round thigh.	Round calf.	Round ankle.	Round biceps	Round arm.	Round fore-arm.	Round wrist.	Length of spine.	Length of arm and hand.	Length from shoulder to elbow.	From shoulder to wrist.	From ankle to knee.	From ankle to hip.	Length of foot.
	lbs.	ft. ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.
1	119½	5 3½	22½	13	32	29	34½	20	12¾	8¼	12¼	11	10¾	6½	21	29½	13	23½	17¾	35	10
2	95	4 10	20¾	12	30½	27½	32	18	12	7	11½	9½	8¾	5½	18	26	12	21	14¾	28¾	9½
3	93	5 0½	20½	12½	29¾	26½	31	18	11½	7½	9½	8¾	8¾	5½	17½	27¾	13¾	23½	15	31½	9½
4	96	4 11¼	20½	12	31	27½	31¾	18¾	12	7¼	10¾	10	9½	5½	18	27	12	22½	16	32¾	9½
5	96	4 10½	20½	12	30½	26½	33	18¼	11½	7½	11¼	9½	8½	5¼	18	27	13	22¼	15¾	31½	9½
6	86	4 9	19¾	12	29¾	25½	30	17	11¼	7½	10	9	8½	5½	17¾	26	13	21½	14¼	29	8¾
7	93½	4 11	20	12	29	26¼	30¾	17½	12¾	7¾	10¾	8¾	9¾	5½	19	27	13	22	16	31	9
8	113	5 2	20¼	13½	31½	27	33¼	19½	12½	7	11½	10¼	9½	5¾	19½	28½	14	23½	16¾	31¾	9¾
9	118	5 0½	20	14	31¾	29½	35½	19½	12½	7½	11¾	10¾	9½	5½	20	27½	12¾	22¾	16½	32½	9½
10	112½	5 0½	22½	13	31	27	34	19½	13¾	7¾	11¾	10¾	10½	6½	19	28½	13¾	23¾	16	32	9¾
11	112	5 4½	20¾	12½	32½	29	34	18½	12¾	7¾	10½	10¾	9½	5½	21	30	14	24	17	34½	10½
12	90½	4 8	20	11	28½	25½	31¾	17¾	11½	6¼	10	8¾	8½	4¾	17½	24¾	10¾	20	15	29½	8½
13	93½	4 9	21	13	29½	26	31¾	18¾	11¾	7	10¾	9½	8½	5	18	25½	12	20¾	14	29¼	8½
14	80	4 6	19¾	11½	28	25	30	15¾	10¾	6½	9½	9	8¼	5½	17	24½	10½	19	14	27½	8½
15	89	4 9½	19¾	12	28¾	25½	31½	17½	11	7	9¾	8½	8½	5½	18	26	12	21½	14½	30	8¾
16	99	4 9½	20½	12½	30	27	33½	18½	11¾	6¾	11½	10	9½	5¼	17	25½	12	21	15	30	8½
17	77½	4 5¾	21	11¾	28	25	30½	18	11½	6½	9¾	9½	8½	5	17	24	10	19	14	28	8¾
18	108	5 1	20¾	13	32½	27	32½	20	13½	7¾	12¾	10¾	10½	6¾	16	27½	12	22	16	33	10
19	94	4 11	20½	11½	29	26¾	31¾	18	12	7	10	9¾	8¾	5½	17½	27½	13	23	15½	31½	9½
20	93	4 10½	20½	12½	29¾	26	31	18	11¾	6½	10½	9½	9	5½	16½	26	12	21½	15½	30	9
21	127	5 0	21	12½	31½	27¾	33	19	12½	7½	11½	10¾	9½	5¾	20	25	11	21	16¼	32½	9
22	90	4 9	20	11¾	29	26¾	30¾	17¾	12	7½	10½	9¾	8¾	5½	16	24½	12	20½	15	29½	9½
23	101	4 10	20¾	12½	31¾	28	32	18½	12½	7¼	11¼	10	9½	5½	16½	26	12	21½	15½	30½	9½
24	omitted.	4 10	20¾	11¾	29¾	27½	32½	19	11¾	7½	10½	9	8½	5½	16¾	25¾	12½	20½	15	30½	9½
25	omitted.	4 9½	20½	12	29½	27¾	31	16½	11½	6¾	9¾	9	8½	5½	17	27½	12	22¾	16	29	9½
26	86½	5 0½	20½	12	29½	24¾	30½	14½	12¾	7½	10¾	9¾	9¾	5½	19¾	28¾	12	24½	16½	33	9½
27	108	4 11	20	12¾	30¾	28½	34	20½	13	8	11¾	10½	9¾	6	17½	26	12	21	15¾	28¾	9
28	112	5 1	21½	13	34	27½	34	20	13	7½	11	10½	10½	5¾	16	28	13	23	16¾	33½	9¾
29	104½	5 1½	21½	13	31	28	32½	18½	12½	7¾	10½	9½	9¾	6	16	27	12	22½	16	32	9¾

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APPENDIX C (Males)—*continued.*

No.	Weight.	Height.	Size round head.	Round neck.	Round chest.	Round waist.	Round buttocks.	Round thigh.	Round calf.	Round ankle.	Round biceps	Round arm.	Round fore-arm.	Round wrist.	Length of spine.	Length of arm and hand.	Length from shoulder to elbow.	From shoulder to wrist.	From ankle to knee.	From ankle to hip.	Length of foot.
	lbs.	ft. ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.
30	104	4 9½	20½	12¾	31¾	28	32½	20½	13	7½	11½	10½	9½	5¾	17	27	12	21¾	16	31½	9¾
31	103	4 11½	21¼	12½	32½	27½	32½	19½	12½	7½	10½	10½	9¾	6	17	26¾	12¼	22½	15¾	33½	9¾
32	106½	5 0½	20½	11¾	30¾	28	32	18¾	12½	7¼	10¼	9½	9	5¾	18	29	14	24	16½	31¾	9¾
33	104	4 11¼	19½	12	30½	29¾	32	18	12	7½	9½	9	9	5½	17½	27	12¼	22½	16	30	9½
34	94	5 0½	20½	12½	29½	26¾	31½	18	12	7½	10½	9	9½	5½	16¼	27	14	23	15½	30¾	9½
35	89	4 10½	20½	11½	28	26¾	30½	17½	11	6¾	9¾	9	8½	5¾	17	26	12¾	21¾	15	32	9
36	omitted.	5 1½	21½	12¼	32¼	28	33¾	20	13	8	11¾	10¾	9¾	6	18	29	14	24½	17½	36	10
37	97	4 10	20	13½	32½	27½	33	21½	13	7½	11	9¾	9½	5½	18½	26½	12	22	17	31½	9¾
38	95	4 10	20½	12½	31	26½	31½	18¾	12½	7½	10½	9½	9½	5¾	16¾	28	13	22½	16	33	9½
39	omitted.	4 10	20¾	12½	28½	26	32	18½	11½	7½	10	9½	9	5½	18	26	12	21¾	15½	30	8¾
40	99½	4 9½	21½	12¼	31½	28½	32	19	13	8	11¾	10½	9	6	16¾	25½	12	20½	15½	31	8¾
41	103	5 1½	20½	12¾	27	29	32	18	12¾	7½	11	9½	9	5½	18	28½	13	23¾	16½	32	9¾
42	86	4 9½	21½	11¾	29½	24	30½	17½	14½	6¾	9¾	9¾	8½	5½	18¾	26¾	12½	23	16	31½	8½
43	90	4 9	19¾	12	28½	25½	30½	17¼	11¾	7	9½	9	8¾	5¾	20½	25	12¾	20¾	15	30¾	8¾
44	86	4 9	20	12½	30½	27	29¾	17	11¾	7	10	8¾	8¾	5	16	27½	13	22	16	31½	9
45	omitted	4 9	20½	12½	30½	29¾	32	19	12¾	7	11	9¾	9½	5¾	16½	25	12	21½	15	31¾	9½
46		4 10½	21½	11¾	30¾	29	31	17¾	11½	6½	9¾	9½	8½	5¾	17	27½	12½	22	15	31¾	9½
47		4 9	20¾	11½	28½	26	31	17¾	11½	7	9¾	8¾	8¾	5¾	17	25½	12	21	15	29	9¼
48		4 7½	19½	11¾	29½	25½	31½	18	11½	6¾	10¾	9	8¾	5	17	26¾	12	21½	15	30½	9¼

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APPENDIX C (Females).

No.	Weight.	Height.	Size round head.	Round neck.	Round chest.	Round waist.	Round but tocks.	Round thigh.	Round calf.	Round ankle.	Round biceps.	Round arm.	Round fore-arm.	Round wrist.	Length of spine.	Length of arm and hand.	From shoulder to elbow.	From shoulder to wrist.	From ankle to knee.	From ankle to hip.	Length of foot.
	lbs.	ft. ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.
1	84	4 7½	19	10	26	25	34	19½	11½	6½	8½	8½	8	5	15	25¾	11	20	15	32	8½
2	88½	4 6	19¾	10½	26½	27½	33½	19¾	11½	7½	9	9	8½	5½	16½	25½	11½	20½	15	30	8½
3	96½	4 9	19½	10¾	29	27½	33	18½	12¼	7½	9½	9½	8½	5	18¾	25	11	20	15	30	8½
4	67	4 4	19½	9¾	25½	24½	30	17	10½	6½	7½	7½	7½	4¾	17½	24½	11	19½	13	27¾	7¾
5	102½	4 10½	20½	11	31	29½	35	20½	12¾	7½	10	9¾	8½	5½	17	27	12	21½	16	31½	9½
6	88	4 6	19¾	11½	29	25	34	19	11¾	6¾	9½	9	8	5	14	24	12	20½	15	30	8½
7	78	4 5	19½	10¾	29	26¾	30	17	10½	6½	9	8½	8	5½	19	24½	11½	19½	14	29	8
8	95½	4 7	20	11	29½	28	32	20	11¾	7½	10	9¾	7¾	5	16½	26½	12	20½	14½	30½	8½
9	88	4 8¼	19	11	28	25½	33½	17½	10¼	6¾	10	9	8½	5	18½	26	12	21¾	15	30	8
10	86½	4 7½	20	10¾	28½	25½	33½	20½	11½	7	9½	8¾	8	5½	18½	26½	12	21	15	30	8½
11	81	4 6	20½	10¾	27¾	27¾	31½	19	11½	6½	9¾	8½	8	5½	18½	25	12	20½	15	30	8½
12	90	4 8½	19¾	11	28	30½	33	18½	10¾	7½	9½	9½	8½	5½	16¾	25½	12	20¾	15½	30½	8½
13	84	4 6½	19½	10½	26	Pregt.	33	16½	11	6¾	8¾	8½	7½	5	18	24½	11	19¾	14	28	8
14	117½	4 6½	20¾	11¾	30	31½	39¾	24½	14½	7¾	13½	12½	10	5½	16	24½	11	19	15	29½	7¾
15	104	4 10	19½	10¾	29½	30	34½	18½	11¾	7	10¾	10½	8¾	5¾	18	25	12	20½	16	32	8½
16	92	4 10	20¾	11½	30¾	26¾	34½	18	11¾	7	9½	8¾	8½	5½	14	27	11½	20¾	14	32	9½
17	87	4 7¾	20	10	27	27½	33¾	20½	12	7	9	9	7½	5	16	25	11½	20½	15	29½	8½
18	75	4 6	20	10½	26½	25¾	31¾	17½	11	6¾	8¾	8¾	7	5	14	25½	11¾	20¾	14	29	8½
19	88	4 6¾	20½	11	29	31	35	18½	11½	7½	9	8¾	7½	5½	14	26	11½	20½	14½	32	9½
20	113½	4 9	20¾	11½	30¾	31	38	21½	13	7¾	11½	10¾	9¾	6½	18¾	27½	14	24	14½	30¾	8½
21	97½	4 7½	23¾	11¾	26	29	32	18½	12	7½	11	10½	9	5¾	15	24	11½	20¾	15	29¾	8¾
22	89½	4 7½	19	10½	28	27	33	17½	11	6½	8½	8¾	7¾	5	19½	26	12	21	15	30½	8½
23	80½	4 7½	19¾	10	26	24	31½	16½	11	6½	8¾	8½	8	5	18½	26	12	21¾	15½	30	8½
24	92½	4 6½	20½	10½	29½	24¾	33	18½	12	6¾	10½	9½	9	6	15½	23	10½	19	15	30	8
25	omitted.	4 7½	20½	11½	23½	29	34½	20¾	12½	7	11½	11½	9	5½	16	26	12	21½	15	31	9½
26	omitted.	4 6½	20½	10½	29	29½	35¾	20¾	11½	6¾	10¾	9¾	8	5½	16	26½	12	21	15¾	30	8½
27	85½	4 6½	20¾	10½	29	26½	31½	19	11½	6¾	9½	9	8	5	17½	25¾	12	22	15	29	8½
28	100½	4 10	19¾	11½	31	30¾	34	18¾	12½	7¾	10½	10	9½	6	16	26¾	12½	22¾	15	31½	8½
29	omitted.	4 5½	19½	11½	30½	34	36½	22	11	7	10½	9¾	8½	5½	15½	24½	11	19½	14	29½	8½
30	82	4 8	19½	10½	27½	25	33½	18	11½	7	9	8¾	8	5½	15	26½	12½	21	16	31½	8½
31	91	4 8	19¾	10½	29¾	28	33	19½	11¾	7½	10¾	9¾	8½	5½	14¾	27	12	21	15¾	31	8½
32	89	4 8	19½	10½	29	27	32	18¾	12	7½	10	9½	8½	5½	15	26¾	12¾	22	15	29	8½
33	91½	4 8½	20	11	27¾	28¾	35	19	12½	7½	9	8½	8	5	17	26	12½	21½	15¾	30	8½
34	97	4 5½	19¾	11	29	32	33	19	13½	7¾	11½	10	9	5½	16½	25½	12	21	15	29	8½

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Appendix C (Females)—*continued.*

No.	Weight.	Height.	Size round head.	Round neck.	Round chest.	Round waist.	Round buttocks.	Round thigh.	Round calf.	Round ankle.	Round biceps	Round arm.	Round fore-arm.	Round wrist.	Length of spine.	Length of arm and hand.	From shoulder to elbow.	From shoulder to wrist.	From ankle to knee.	From ankle to hip.	Length of foot.
	lbs.	ft. ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.	ins.
35	103	4 9¼	20¼	11¼	29	27	36¼	21	13	8	9½	9¼	8¼	5¼	18	27¼	13	23	17	34	9
36	omitted	4 6½	21	10½	28½	29	35¼	20½	12½	7½	9¼	9½	8¼	5½	16	24¼	12	21	15	30½	8½
37	110	4 6¼	20	11	29	26½	34	19½	11½	7½	10	9½	8½	5	15	23½	10½	19	15	30	8½
38	103	4 7	20½	11½	30	32	33½	18	11½	7	9½	9	8½	5½	14	25	12	21	15	31	8½
39	100	4 11½	19½	11	28	27½	33	19½	12	7½	9¼	9	8½	5½	19½	27½	12	21½	16½	32	9½
40	127	4 5½	19¼	11¾	33¼	33½	38	25	13¾	7½	13¼	12½	10	5¼	19½	24½	11½	19½	14¾	29	8
41	135	4 7	20½	11¼	30	29	36½	22¼	13½	8¼	12½	11	10½	5½	16	26	12	21	16	31	8½

Captain B. F. Taylor, late 15th Regiment, M.N.I., kindly afforded me much assistance in the preparation of these Tables.

become a persistent book-name for the Andamanese. It has been a great puzzle to scientific men ever since, though it is now to be identified, as will be seen later, with "Möngebe, I am (an) Onge," a phrase, which was perhaps pronounced and at any rate sounded in Colebrooke's ears as "Minggobie." His informant, in using it, apparently meant to explain that he was an Onge, or as the Jarawas seem to pronounce the name,—an Inggo. 175 101

Relations with the English.—Since the establishment of the Penal Settlement in 1858 an Andamanese Home has been created in Port Blair for the use of the aborigines, and several attempts have been made to civilise some of them and to bring up the children to a Christian education. These attempts have met with no reasonable success, the "civilised" returning to their original savagery at the first opportunity, the children deserting the schools and, except in an instance here and there, retaining nothing of their early education in after life. The existing use of the Home is that of a free asylum to which every Andamanese that likes is admitted. He may stay as long as he pleases and go when it suits him. While there he is housed, fed and taken care of, and for the sick there is a good and properly maintained hospital. From the Home, too, are taken such little necessaries and luxuries as the people desire to friends at a distance and during each of the many tours taken round the coasts by the officials. In return the Andamanese of the Home are employed to help in catching runaway convicts, in collecting edible birds'-nests and trepang and other natural produce, and in making "Andamanese curios," from which a small income is derived and expended on them. They have never succeeded in acquiring any true idea of money for themselves and all their earnings have to be administered for them. It is indeed against local rules to give them money, as it is at once spent in intoxicants. The present policy, in short, is to leave them alone and to do what is possible in the conditions to ameliorate their lives. The administrative objects gained by establishing friendly relations with the tribes are the cessation of the former and much too frequent murder of shipwrecked crews, the external peace of the Settlement and the creation of a jungle police to prevent escapes of convicts, and the recapture of runaways. 175 439

In the days of Blair and Kyd, 1789—96, the tribes showed themselves to be practically uniformly hostile, despite the conspicuous consideration these early officials exhibited, and remained continuously so after the commencement of the re-establishment of the Settlement in 1858, attacking the working parties of convicts, just as the Jarawas do still, for iron and articles suitable to them and robbing the gardens started for food supplies. These practices had to be repressed by force, and efforts towards friendly relations had to be postponed until respect for the settlers was established. The procedure officially then adopted and carried out with such success in the end by Messrs. Corbyn, Homfray, Man, Godwin-Austen, and Portman in succession was the simple one of providing the Home and visiting the people in their own haunts, as opportunity arose, with suitable presents.

In Appendix B will be found an abstract of the Jarawa raids on the Settlement, which have been continuous since 1878, when they were first differentiated. In the interval they have attacked convicts, usually at their work, on 20 occasions and friendly Andamanese Camps on 12 occasions. That is, they have made 32 attacks in 30 years. In these attacks 27 convicts and 4 Andamanese have been killed; 7 convicts, 2 police constables, and 5 Andamanese have been wounded. In counter expeditions and searches for the raiders 3 Jarawas have been killed, 9 wounded, and 20 captured. Of the captured 18 have been released in a short time and 2 have died. It will be seen thus that the hostility of the tribe is towards all strangers, including their own people, and that the policy of capture, kindness in captivity, and release with presents has not up to date borne any good fruit whatever. This is a very different story to that of their almost equally wild congeners the Onges.

II. Physical Characteristics.

Portman's and Molesworth's Enquiries.—The physical characteristics of the Andamanese have been considerably studied by Mr. M. V. Portman and Major W. S. Molesworth, and as their work has never been published, the 141

141 following account thereof may serve to draw attention to it. It is to be found in 15 volumes, copies of which are deposited at the India Office, the Home Department Library in Calcutta, and the British Museum. Volumes 10, 11, 14 and 15 contain anthropometric measurements, and medical details of 200 Andamanese: thus—volume 10 of 50 South Andaman males, volume 11 of 50 South Andaman females, volume 14 of 50 North Andaman males, and volume 15 of 50 North Andaman females.

The remaining volumes are plantinotype photographs with explanatory letterpress of Andamanese. Volumes 1 and 2 typical heads: volume 3, heads, full face and profile: volume 4, adze and bow-making: volumes 5 and 6, bow and arrow-making: volume 7, rope-making and hut-building: volume 8, eating and drinking, packing and carrying bundles, utensils, attitudes, torch-making, greeting: volume 9, painting, tatooing, counting: volume 12, full length, full face and profile, view of males: volume 13, of females.

141 The following table summarises the results of this elaborate enquiry for general information:—

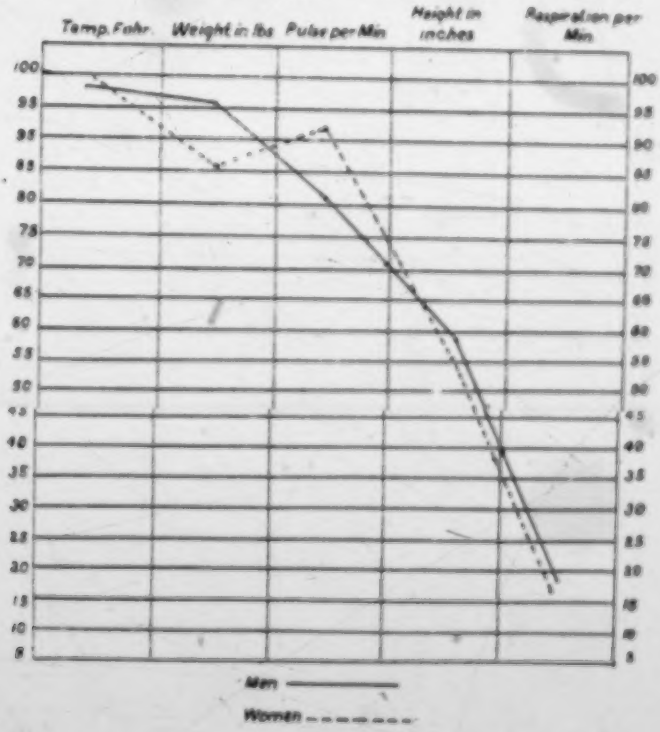
147

Andamanese Average.

	Height in inches.	Temperature Fahr.	Pulse beats per minute.	Respiration per minute.	Weight in lbs.	
Men . . .	58½	99°	82	19	96 lbs. 10 oz.	
Women . .	54	99°·5	93	18	87 lbs.	

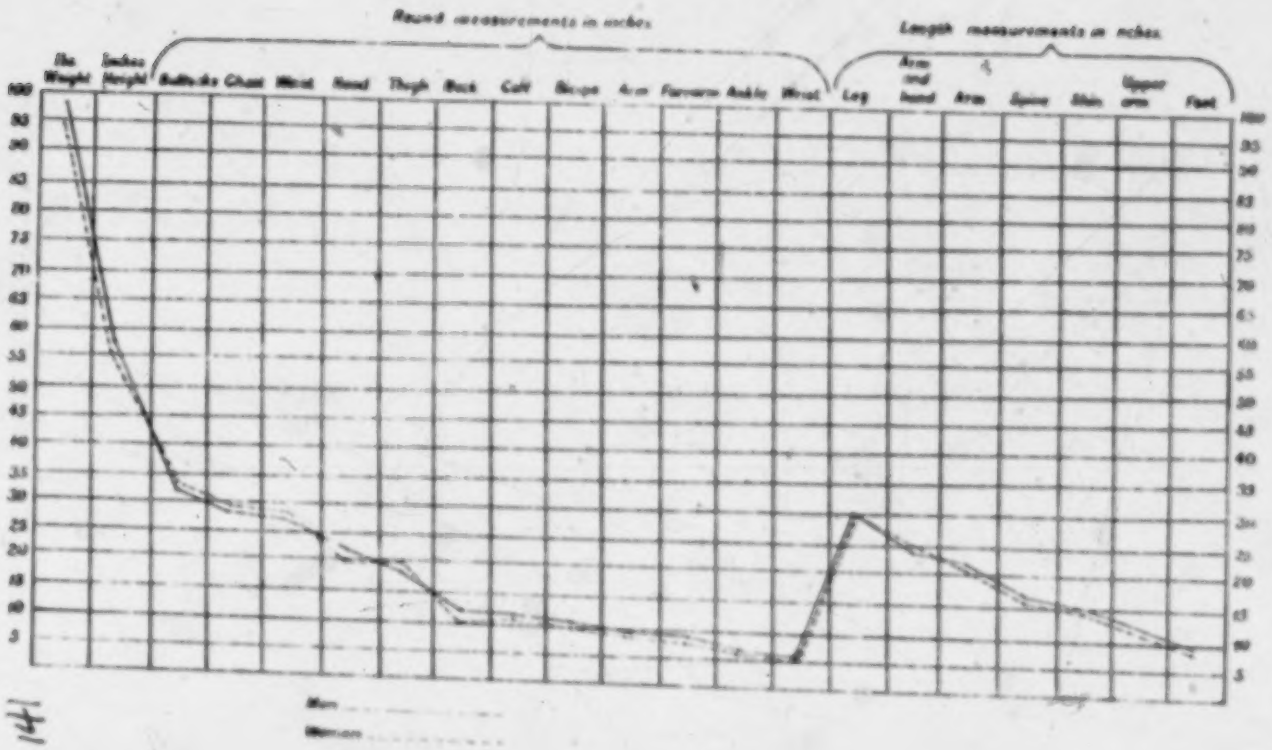
and the accompanying diagram will show the relative physical qualities of the sexes of the adult Andamanese:—

RELATIVE PHYSICAL QUALITIES OF THE SEXES AMONG THE ANDAMANESE



These measurements extend of the comparison of the sexes among the Andamanese by diagram, thus —

DIAGRAM COMPARISON THE SIZE OF THE SEXES AMON ANDAMANESE.



141

[facing p. 55]

141 **Man's Enquiries.**—In addition to Portman's and Molesworth's measurements there are those taken by Man some 25 years ago of 48 men and 41 women, which give the following average results of much interest :—

Average weight of 40 and body and limb measurements of 48 Andamanese males.

1.	Weight	98·12 lbs.
2.	Height	55·73 inches.
3.	Size round head	21·00 "
4.	" " neck	12·30 "
5.	" " chest	27·94 "
6.	" " waist	27·08 "
7.	" " buttocks	31·98 "
8.	" " thigh	19·36 "
9.	" " calf	12·09 "
10.	" " ankle	7·19 "
11.	" " biceps	10·60 "
12.	" " arm	9·59 "
13.	" " forearm	9·05 "
14.	" " wrist	5·53 "
15.	Length of spine	17·44 "
16.	" of arm and hand	24·64 "
17.	" from shoulder to elbow	12·47 "
18.	" from shoulder to wrist	21·98 "
19.	" from ankle to knee	15·65 "
20.	" from ankle to hip	30·66 "
21.	" of foot	9·29 "

Average weight of 37 and average body and limb measurements of 41 Andamanese females.

1.	Weight	94·08 lbs.
2.	Height	55·40 inches.
3.	Size round head	19·96 "
4.	" " neck	10·86 "
5.	" " chest	28·84 "
6.	" " waist	27·23 "
7.	" " buttocks	33·52 "
8.	" " thigh	19·33 "
9.	" " calf	11·88 "
10.	" " ankle	7·14 "
11	" " biceps	9·96 "
12.	" " arm	9·50 "
13.	" " forearm	8·41 "
14.	" " wrist	5·35 "
15.	Length of spine	16·58 "
16.	" of arm and hand	25·53 "
17.	" from shoulder to elbow	11·80 "
18.	" from shoulder to wrist	20·80 "
19.	" from ankle to knee	15·08 "
20.	" from ankle to hip	30·32 "
21.	" of foot	8.29 "

147 **High Temperature.**—The high bodily temperature may be an indication of the low vitality characteristic of the race. The cause is obscure, unless it is to be traced to their largely carbonaceous diet or to saturation with malaria producing a condition of masked fever. It has been observed that they do not feel themselves to be otherwise than quite well when the temperature is over 100° Fahr., and that that condition does not affect their appearance or actions.

Breathing.—In view of the experiments made in European countries and the United States as to the relative breathing of the sexes, it is of interest that the breathing of both sexes among the Andamanese is abdominal or upper abdominal, the women showing scarcely any indication of their breathing, though the men show it well.

In the healthy younger Andamanese the breath is sweet and there is no distinctive smell from the body when clean, though they perspire freely. The older people with decayed teeth and tissues, have foul smelling breath and bodies, partly due to a mild form of scurvy, caused by absence of vegetable food at certain times of the year.

145 582 **Age.**—The Andamanese male matures at about 15, attains full growth at about 18, and marries at about 26, he begins to "age" at about 40 and lives on

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

123 painted with red ochre. It was perhaps left there for drying. The Jarawa would
411 surely have returned just for this bow!

It was a straight piece of wood tapering at both ends. The outer surface was convex and was painted red, while the inner one was straight and smooth, and showed criss-cross designs and indentations. We then went to look for a
123 spring and found it at some distance behind a steep rock but there was no
[312] water then. It appeared that the Jarawa had left this camp some time ago.

We then left Spike Island and sailed for Yeratia Jig. Here an old kitchen
[172] midden was known to be another Jarawa haunt. No Jarawa was found even there, however. The kitchen midden was a mound strewn all over with animal bones. Fragments of typical Andamanese pottery and a blue stone bead were discovered there.

648 In recent years the Jarawa raids have been rather more frequent.
[721] GUPTA (1955) has given a list of them in his report on these people. It is believed that the primary cause of the restlessness of the Jarawa is the shortage of game and other food material [3]. On the other hand the tribe appears to have been sufficiently provoked by the punitive expeditions. All the Jarawa villages that the punitive party came upon were burnt down. In the encounter of March 1911 a woman was captured alive and nobody knows what happened to her afterwards. The pregnant woman captured along with four children in 1938 off Bluff Island later on gave birth to a boy (SARKAR, 1952, Pl. IX, fig. 3) at Port Blair but it was difficult to tame her. After her delivery she attempted to swim away and was rescued from the sea. She would spend hours climbing a cocoanut tree. Her whereabouts were unknown during the Japanese occupation of the Andaman Islands during the last war. The young children were sent to the Mission at Car Nicobar, where the present writer studied them in 1948. One of them had died before.

726 On the other hand the Jarawa raids, according to the then executive
[714] Government officers, are also very brutal. Before they go out for a raid the
[302] Jarawa cover their chests with bark armour and paint their faces with patterns of white clay. The bark armour is stitched securely on the body by other persons and can only be removed by cutting off the stitches. These people
[727] are in the habit of mutilating their victims. They take out their brains, their eyes, and their bodies are hacked all over. – The type of arrow they use is
[411] almost a spear, as may be seen from fig. 4. This arrow was obtained by the present writer from the forest department officers of Long Island in 1951. It was used injuring a bush police officer of the night picket unit at Lakera Lunta in January of that year. The police, in return, shot one Jarawa dead.
726 The male nurse of the Long Island Hospital took the following body measure-
●141 ments of this dead man:

Height ... 5 feet 1 inch
Chest ... 36 inches

Fig. 4

[3] They have of late been reported from about the region of Bomlungta, Rangat Bay, etc. on the east coast of Middle Andaman. (The spelling "Ronga Bay" on the map is incorrect.)

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

726
141

Right arm ... 2 feet 4 inches
Right index finger ... 4 inches
Right toe ... 2 inches
Length of right leg ... 2 feet 11 inches
Length of right foot ... 9 ½ inches

726 411 177 The iron blade of the arrowhead is 17 cm long and 4.9 cm broad at the base. It is mounted on a wooden shaft 86.7 cm long. The barb at the base consists of an ordinary iron nail which is bent at its sharp end and fixed with bark threads impregnated with resin. It must have been obtained from a forest camp during some raid.

726 114 According to GUPTA (1955) the above mentioned incident was not a premeditated raid. He thinks – after a careful inquiry into the above incident – that the Jarawa "came out in the open, early in the morning and walked right into the camp and did not attempt to shoot, [which] would warrant a presumption that they meant a friendly visit".

648 Since the last few years the Andaman Government has not encouraged any punitive expedition among the Jarawa. This is also evident from one of the Senior Officer's opinion quoted above. The forest workers, on the other hand, still have to face the Jarawa. They think that since no punitive action is taken against them they are gradually getting bolder. It is reported that the Jarawa beat the trunks of trees within their hearing. Consequently all these buttress beatings are immediately reported to the higher authorities and armed guards protecting the forest workers are alerted. If that is the case then the Jarawa do not attack without a warning! But who knows what they really mean? Do they want to communicate with us? Or is it a means of communication among themselves?

The Jarawa Problem

648 114 It has already been hinted at the problem of taming the Jarawa. It was one of the special aims of the Government of India to arrange a substation of its Department of Anthropology. As a result of this the present writer visited the Andaman Islands twice and was of the opinion that the substation of the Department of Anthropology should be stationed at Long Island and not at Port Blair. There were no express plans but to carry out anthropological studies of the aborigines of the various islands. It has not yet been possible to census the friendly Onge properly (SARKAR, 1960).

The primary desideratum appears to be a knowledge of the native language. As far as the present writer knows, there is no one in the various Government departments who is acquainted with the Andamanese language, not to mention the other languages spoken on the varius islands. The Onge

[4] A Jarawa vocabulary was collected from the captive pregnant Jarawa woman by Mrs. CHENGAPPA and Mrs. CHAUDHURI, and it has been published by the Andaman Government.

The slightly greater age
145 reached by the women may possibly be explained by their some-
163 what less arduous life physically, but biological factors may be the
146 root cause. Despite their deceptively youthful appearance the menopause is over by the age of thirty-eight, at the latest, and they remain in good health thereafter, looking amazingly young. The oldest man I saw was Enagaghe, the head of one of the groups, and he could not have been more than fifty-five. He happily accompanied me on long and arduous trips into the forest, and climbed trees like a squirrel after honey and fruit; neither his appetite nor his zeal as a lover were impaired. His stomach managed to cope with something like a kilo a day of meat, skin and fat, plus fruit, boiled roots and honey. In a hot, damp, oppressive climate like that of the Andamans such a diet year after year cannot fail to produce a state of chronic intestinal poisoning likely to affect the organism as a whole, and may contribute to shorten life, despite an apparent physical vigour.

141 Connected, perhaps, with their excesses is the fact that the Onges'
147 normal body temperature is much higher than usual; with a temperature reading of thirty-eight degrees centigrade they are in good health, with unimpaired appetite. I found an average temperature of thirty-seven point five degrees centigrade in males of various ages, the younger men tending to give the higher readings. The average in females was slightly higher than in males. I was able to observe for myself completely normal behaviour in Onges who by European standards would have been regarded as severely febrile.
[146] In part, as I have said, this may be due to diet and absence of salt, but it must certainly be regarded at least in part as a racial characteristic. It may, too, have some effect on their low vitality; it is interesting that temperatures in the Bushmen and pygmies of Africa, with their longer expectation of life, never vary far from the European norm.

164 These abnormally high temperatures are not a symptom of
[147] malaria. This is clinically unknown in the Andamanese although it is a serious menace to outsiders. Even a few hours on the island can lead to infection if precautions are not taken. I made all the men with me take their tablets regularly, even when propaganda in India against immunization as a Western importation led to objections, so that I had to force the tablets into their mouths myself to ensure that they were swallowed.

Semang ANT
Andamans AZ2
Oceanic Negritos 05

ON 141 be wrong to assume that the Negritos are brachycephalic. He believes that the mixed Negrito peoples are brachycephalic; the less mixed, the lower their cephalic index (proportional relation between width and length of skull) S 141 and thus, the less brachycephalic. The cephalic index of the Semangs of the Malay Peninsula is given as only 78-79; therefore, these people are not brachycephalic but mesocephalic.

A 141 [101] Although the Mincopies of the Andaman Islands have been known for quite a long time, they have as yet not been sufficiently studied from an anthropological viewpoint. /103/ However, from the few data which are available, we may assume that the average height of a man is 148.3 centimeters and 139 for the average woman. The cephalic index has been calculated to be 82.5 (in the south) and 83.0 in the north. Thus the Mincopies appear to be clearly brachycephalic, although the dolichocephalic skull is definitely not lacking A 144 among them. Dixon, therefore, regards the Mincopies as a mainly brachycephalic Negrito-Palae-Alpine racial element, however with a slight admixture of the dolichocephalic Proto-Negroid type (Fig. 12).

S 101 141 The Semangs, who are living in the Malay Peninsula, namely in North Perak, in Kedah, Rahman, Ranga and Kelantan, are somewhat taller than the Mincopies. Their average height has been measured to be 152.0 centimeters. (1)

1. However, Skeat and Blagden mention as average height of the Semangs 149.1 centimeters for men and 140.0 for women.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE II.

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142

GREAT ANDAMAN TYPES AT PORT BLAIR HOME.

[facing p. ~~xx~~]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

10 it must entirely on the delicacy of ear, and correctness of individual articulation.

The following remarks, except where otherwise specified, must be understood as referring to the eight tribes of Great Andaman, for the continued and inveterate hostility with which the inhabitants of Little Andaman, known as *jārawa-*, have hitherto met all our advances and attempts to establish an *entente cordiale* has rendered it extremely difficult to obtain, much less substantiate, any information concerning them.

Form and Size.—1. Those of my readers who have studied the 142 various accounts which have appeared regarding the physical characteristics of the Andamanese cannot fail to have been struck with their divergence. For the sake of others, however, to whom the race is comparatively unknown, it is necessary that I should here quote, on the subject of their form and size a few writers, commencing with the Mahomedan travellers of the ninth century, already mentioned, who stated that "their complexion is black, their hair frizzled, their countenance and eyes frightful, their feet very large and almost a cubit in length, and they go quite naked;" while Marco Polo (cir. 1285) appears to have been still less favourably impressed, for he says "the people . . . . are no better than wild beasts, and I assure you all the men of this island of Angamanain have heads like dogs, and teeth and eyes likewise; in fact, in the face, they are all just like big mastiff dogs!" Next we find Colonel Colebrooke, towards the close of the last century, describing "their limbs as ill-formed and slender, their bellies prominent, and, like the Africans, as having woolly heads, thick lips, and flat noses." In opposition to the foregoing we have Dr. Mouat, than whom no better judge could be desired, giving it as his opinion, that "they are the most perfectly formed little beings in existence. In proportion to their size, their general framework is well constructed, and their limbs present a remarkably good muscular development, and . . . . the whole form is as elegant as that of any European," in which opinion he is supported by the eminent craniologist, Dr. J. Barnard Davis, recently deceased, who, after careful study of a number of Andamanese skulls and skeletons, affirmed that they were "most beautifully proportioned."[1]

2. From my own observations I would remark, that though it is quite true that there are found among them individuals whose "abdomens are protuberant,[2] and whose limbs are dispropor-

[1] A peculiarity which I have observed is that the males have in many cases as marked a bend in the small of the back as the females. (*Vide* figure on the left of group in Plate III, Fig 1.)

[2] "From childhood they gram their stomachs with an immense amount of bulky food in a short period, and they do literally 'swell visibly' after their

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

tionately slender," such persons no more represent the general type of the race, than the sickly inmates of a London hospital can be regarded as fair specimens of the average Englishman; in point of fact the remark which is commonly made by strangers who see them for the first time, is, "how well these savages are developed." In confirmation of this I would refer you to the photographs, and table of weights and measurements of forty-eight male, and forty-one female adults, which I have prepared,[1] being persuaded that more correct information can be obtained by such means than from any verbal description, however minute and careful. 142

3. Although the Mahomedan travellers, a thousand years ago, described their feet as "very large, and almost a cubit in length," my observations and measurements go to prove that their feet, as well as their hands and ears, are small and well-shaped; the heel in some cases projects slightly, but never to the extent peculiar to negro races. 141

4. Dr. Dobson, in his valuable paper "On the Andamans and Andamanese" (published in the Anthropological Institute's Journal, vol. iv, p. 464), alleges the existence of a "remarkable contrast between the size of the males and females;"[2] but the example, which he cites in proof, of *mai'a .bô'ra* and his wife, was quite exceptional, for this man, whom we nicknamed "Moriarty," like many of the Andaman chiefs, was as much above, as his ebon consort was below, the ordinary stature of the race. From the illustrations and lists of measurements, to which reference has already been made, it will be found that the average height of the men is 4 feet 10¾ inches, and of the women 4 feet 7¼ inches,[3] while their average weight is 98⅛ lbs. and 93¼ lbs. respectively—results which cannot be said to indicate a striking disparity between the sexes.

meals. This distended abdominal condition is noticeable in children of both sexes; but as the lads grow up, they take more exercise, and their abdominal, as well as other muscles, become firmer and retain the mechanical distension of the belly. With the women it is different; these latter influences do not exist. . . . . ." ("Remarks on the Aborigines of the Andaman Islands," by Surgeon E. S. Brander, late 2nd Medical Officer, Port Blair.)

[1] *Vide* Appendix C.

[2] The following extract from an article in the *Bombay Gazette* of 2nd August, 1881, by an officer stationed for about a year at the Andamans, will show what opposite conclusions are arrived at by those who are content to trust to the accuracy of their individual judgment without reference to actual measurements:—"The women . . . are on the whole bigger than the men, who are, however, particularly well made."

[3]

			ft. in.
Maximum height of the males measured was			5·4½.
" "	females	"	4·11½.
Minimum "	males	"	4·5¾
" "	females	"	4·4.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

141 5. The old statement, so often repeated, that their stature never exceeds 5 feet, must also be noticed, as the list in question shows that fourteen of the forty-eight males who were measured were slightly above that height. I would add, that on a visit paid to North Andaman, about two years ago—by Colonel Cadell, V.C., the present Chief Commissioner—an *.âkâ-.châ·riâr-* was seen whose height was estimated at about 5 feet 8 inches; but this must be regarded as very remarkable and exceptional, for the tallest specimen of the race, that had till then been met with, was a chief standing 5 feet 4¼ inches.

142 6. In consequence of their early marriages, the cares of maternity and the nature of the duties which devolve upon them, the women soon lose the graceful figures which many of them possess in their youth, and they often, in their maturer years, become so obese as to be objects of wonder to Europeans.[1]

147 **Anatomy and Physiology.**—1. With the view of forming some idea of the average temperature and rates of pulse and respiration per minute, five youths, fair representatives of the race, were examined, with the following results:—

No.	Age.	Temperature under the axilla.*	Rate per minute		REMARKS.
			of pulse.	of respiration.	
1	22	96·9	56	19	The subjects were at rest and in the shade, and had not eaten for several hours previously.
2	20	97·8	62	22	
3	18	97·8	64	24	* The bulb was left undisturbed for five minutes.
4	16	97·8	64	21	
5	17	98·3	74	20	

142 **Colour.**—1. Their skin is naturally smooth, and greasy to the touch, and there is little or no hair or down over the surface,[2] and, with regard to its colour, by the aid of reflected light it has been found that not only are there several shades of colour among this race, ranging between bronze or dark copper colour, sooty, and black, but also that in individuals the complexion of the face and body are different. The distinctions are, however, so slight as to be unnoticed by the people themselves.

2. The results of careful observation go to prove that these

[1] Surgeon Brander, in the paper referred to in the preceding footnote, remarks, that "this condition, I should think, is induced partly by the absence of any proper abdominal support during pregnancy, and is partly due to the distension their stomachs habitually undergo after food."

[2] Even under the axilla it is rarely found, and then only very scantily, but a certain amount of tufted hair is not wanting about the genitals.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

variations in colour are not confined within certain tribal limits, but are alike found in all, whether living inland or on the coast; and it would therefore appear that the cause is not attributable to diet, habits, or, indeed, to any external circumstance. 142

3. The opinion expressed on this subject by Dr. Mouat was that "their hue is remarkably black and lustrous;" while Surgeon-Major Hodder[1] describes them as "extremely black, more so than the African negro, and some have a dull leaden hue like that of a black-leaded stove." In this latter remark I fully concur; indeed, the simile strikes me as an exceedingly happy one, and as exactly expressing the predominating colour of their skin.

4. On examining a number of individuals, and comparing the colour of their skin and eyes with the standard tables prepared by the late M. Broca, it was found that the skin of the face and shoulders of the majority corresponded most nearly with No. 42, the variations tending towards 27 and 28, while that of the trunk, in the generality of cases, agreed with No. 27, and in certain others with No. 49. The prevailing hue of the eyes was found to be most closely represented by No. 16, one exception, which had to be classed under No. 1, being found among those tested.

Odour.—1. The ammoniacal, rancid, goat-like exhalations of the negro are not found among them, and the peculiarity of odour which attaches to their persons is chiefly due to the unguent, called *kòi·ob-da*,[2] composed of red oxide of iron mixed with either turtle or pig's fat, with which they delight to paint themselves. When in health, and under ordinary circumstances, their breath is sweet.[3] 302

Anatomy and Physiology (*continued*).—2. Their powers of abstinence from solid food have never, to our knowledge, been severely tested; but it has been noticed that, on rare occasions, when forced to make a long day's journey through the jungles without a halt, they are in the habit of binding a strip of bark or other substance round their waists, to reduce, as much as possible, the inconvenience and pain which are caused by what they consider a long fast. Whether in exercise or repose they 261

[1] *Vide* "Pall Mall Budget," 20th April, 1877.

[2] Substantives, adjectives, and many adverbs have the termination "da," which, as mentioned in my previous paper, I believe to be traceable to the defective or partially obsolete verb, *edā·ke*, to be; it is dropped before prepositions and in construction generally, but is usually heard when the word occurs alone. Hence, when I write a hyphen at the end of an Andamanese word, I shall mean that in its full form it has *da*. [193]

[3] It is, nevertheless, commonly noticed, that after feasting on turtle and certain kinds of fish, they are unpleasant neighbours, their breath and hands being then highly odoriferous.

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261 cannot apparently abstain from food without inconvenience for more than eight hours at a time.

271 [415] 3. When exerting themselves in any way they perspire freely, which may account for their inordinate thirst. So great, indeed, is their inability to endure any privation in respect to drink, that they seldom leave home on the shortest expedition, whether by land or sea, without providing themselves with one or more bamboo vessels, called *gōb-*, containing a supply of fresh water.

513 4. Loss of sleep they can bear well only when under the influence of strong excitement, as in turtle hunting, or at festive gatherings, where singing and dancing are kept up for many successive hours;[1] they have even been known to spend forty-eight hours at such times without taking any rest.

151 5. What little cool weather there is in the latitude of their islands, during December and January, they dislike extremely; in striking evidence of this they are found, as I will elsewhere mention,[2] unconsciously concurring with the great Italian poet in depicting the region of punishment, for the souls of the wicked, as one of intense cold. After this, it will appear somewhat strange to say that, in spite of their aversion to what they consider cold weather—which never registers less than 69° F. 302 on the highest elevation in South Andaman—they are careful, during the hot season, to avoid any lengthened exposure to the direct rays of the sun, and endeavour to lessen the discomfort caused by the heat by smearing their persons with a white-wash of common white clay and water.[3] It has long been erroneously believed that they have recourse to this expedient in order to allay the inconvenience which they would otherwise suffer from the bites of mosquitoes and other jungle pests; but the true reason for the practice is, I am well assured, that which I have above given, for the various insects which might annoy them are, for the most part, kept away by the smoke of the hut fire, beside which a great portion of their time is spent when at rest, or when engaged in any sedentary occupation.

147 6. The voices of the men are usually clear without being deep, while those of the women, especially when raised, are very shrill.

●142 7. The mucous membrane of the mouth is stained with pigment to a greater degree than was found to be the case with such of the natives of India as were compared with them.

8. The general excellence of the teeth strikes one as remark-

[1] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraph 32.

[2] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 25.

[3] I would here draw attention to the fact, that while the object in smearing themselves with *ōg-* wash is to keep themselves as cool as possible, they often daub their bodies with *kōl-ob-* after sundown for the opposite reason, *i.e.*, for the sake of warmth.

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142 [264]

able, for not only are no precautions taken for their preservation, but they are used roughly, small bones being broken by them, and food commonly eaten at almost boiling point. The grinding surface of the molars is generally much abraded: five or six tubercles are occasionally observed in the posterior molars, but are not all marked with equal distinctness; in some cases, indeed, they are scarcely distinguishable. The crowns of these teeth frequently present one long and comparatively even surface, and the peculiarity is of course due to the practice above referred to, of grinding hard substances with them. The canines are not longer or more prominent than the other teeth; caries appear to be rare, except with those well advanced in years. The front teeth of the lower jaw are generally the first cut: the first dentition is completed apparently at an earlier age than is usual among ourselves. [145]

Hair.—1. Dr. Allen Thomson, F.R.S., who has kindly examined some of the hair microscopically, gives it as his opinion that the form of the transverse section is *oval*. Having, however, only a small quantity at his disposal, he has not been able to make a sufficient examination as yet, so he adds that, "it may be that some sections are oblique, but a number are certainly transverse, and none of them have a circular outline." In appearance it is extremely frizzly and seems to grow in spiral tufts,[1] but examination proves that the roots are uniformly distributed over the scalp: it is fine in texture and fairly abundant, but lustreless, and seldom more than two or three inches long, or five inches if the actual length when untwisted be measured; in a few instances it has been found to be eight or ten inches long, but the ends were matted, dead-like, and easily broken.

2. The majority of the women every week or ten days shave their heads almost entirely, leaving only two narrow parallel lines of hair, termed *gôr-*, from the crown to the nape of the neck. The *gôr-* is never allowed to exceed one-eighth of an inch in length; therefore, as they have no means of clipping it, it is constantly shaven off, and a fresh *gôr-* is made with the hair which has grown since the last operation.[2] 302

[1] Just ten years ago it was pointed out by Dr. J. Barnard Davis, F.R.S., that the delicate ribbon-like hair of these islanders is exactly similar to that of the now extinct race of Tasmanians ("Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. ii, p. 100).

[2] I would here call attention to some errors of the artist by whom Dr. Mouat's book was illustrated. He has represented the men as shaven and the women with their curly wigs intact, whereas it is the latter only who as a rule shave their heads; and they do not go about entirely nude, but wear leaves, as will be explained in another place (*vide post* "Psychology and Morals," paragraph 8, and "Attire," paragraph 3). They are further incorrectly represented in the same plate as using a gipsy's tripod for cooking purposes.

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PLATE III.

ANDAMANESE MAN AND WOMAN, SHOWING PROFILES.

ANDAMANESE CHIEF, WITH BOW AND ARROWS.

[facing p. 10]

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302 3. Though many of the men were and are in the habit of having their heads shaved like the women, the style of hair-dressing most affected by them before our arrival left only a circular patch of hair, about six or eight inches in diameter, like a skull cap, on the top of the head. Of late, however, they have indulged in many fanciful modes, such as shaving a piece about two or three inches broad between the forehead and the nape of the neck, or making a large tonsure. From this it will be seen that the Andamanese cannot be instanced as a tribe that "goes bald always," as has been asserted.[1]

4. Men will sometimes shave each other's heads, but only when the services of a woman are not available; for it is one of the duties of the fair sex in these tribes to act as barbers, regarding which fact I shall have occasion to make further reference in subsequent sections.[2]

5. When, in consequence of its having attained an unusual length, the hair is found to be oppressively hot and difficult to clean, it is shaved off entirely or in part, clipping, as already mentioned, being impracticable, owing to the lack of a suitable instrument. On these occasions the eyebrows are generally removed, which explains Dr. Day's remark, that "they rarely have eyebrows."

[142] 6. With the exception of the eyelashes and eyebrows, which are of slight growth, hair is only occasionally seen on the face, and then but scantily and in patches on the upper lip and chin, where it has a tendency to grow in spiral tufts: as it is esteemed a decoration it is never shaved or depilated.

7. It has been rumoured[3] that there are tribes of a long-haired race on Interview and also on Rutland Islands; but, with regard to the former, none of the Northerners who have been to Port Blair have possessed this characteristic, or will allow that it is to be met with amongst their communities, while our relations with the inhabitants of the latter enable us to contradict the assertion, which, indeed, can only be explained by supposing that runaway convicts, who have frequently escaped thither, must have been mistaken for aborigines.

[142] 8. That baldness has been known among them may be assumed from their having a word in their language to express it, but such cases would appear to be of very rare occurrence since none have come under my notice.

9. It has been asserted that "they are in the habit of dyeing their hair with red ochre;" but, whatever may have been the custom in former times, this is certainly not now the case, as

[1] *Vide* "Anthropology," p. 238, by Dr. E. B. Tylor, F.R.S.
[2] *Vide post* "Social Relations, &c.," paragraph 3, *and* "Shaving," paragraph 2.
[3] "Encycl. Brit."

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302 they never intentionally interfere with the natural colour, but some of the pigment, *kòi·ob-*, with which they so frequently paint their persons sometimes accidentally adheres to their curly wigs, these being often used for wiping or drying their hands.

142 10. The colour of the hair among different individuals varies between black, greyish-black, and sooty, the last perhaps predominating; it is apparently uninfluenced by, and does not correspond with, the hue of the eye or skin; it commences to turn grey about the fortieth year, but the number of those who exceed that age being small, white hair is seldom seen.

165 **Development and Decay.**—1. The average length of life, owing to excessive infant mortality as well as to the small number that attain old age, can hardly be reckoned as much, if at all, beyond 22 years. Not more than three generations of the same family have ever been known to be alive at the same time.

2. Fifty years is believed to be the extreme limit of age among them, and the majority of those who attain it are women.

145 3. Judging from those whose births have been registered by us, it would seem that physical development takes place at a late age as compared with natives of India, the males not attaining puberty till about the 16th year, and the females not before the 15th,[1] while the maxima of stature and bulk are not reached till two or three years later; should the opinion thus formed be confirmed by further observations, the fact will serve to weaken the theories that have been advanced by some anthropologists to account for the phenomenon hitherto assumed to be of universal application, that "the period of immaturity is curtailed in inverse proportion to the approximation to the equator or the polar circle;"[2] but, as the same writer goes on to say, "probably the latitude of the abode has no reference to this phenomenon; it may more probably have some connection with the darkness of the skin."

141 4. Among the Andamanese, when the head is in the customary position, the line taken by a horizontal plane drawn through the *meatus auditorius* would, in most cases, pass through the apex of the facial angle, or, in exceptional cases, somewhat lower. I cannot entirely concur in the opinion expressed by Dr. Brander regarding the variety of the facial type found among them, as he says that "some faces seem to resemble the Negraic, some the Malayan, and some even the Aryan in character;" it is, however, a curious physiognomical fact, of which there can be little or no question, that a remarkable diversity in this respect *does* exist among them, though it is

[1] The extreme ages for child-bearing appear to be 16 and 35 years.
[2] Peschel.

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not at the hands of their mothers, but of the male members of the tribe. 144 847

Reproduction.—1. Marriages never take place till both parties have attained maturity, and generally not till a few years later; the usual age of the bridegroom varies from 18 to 22, and of the bride from 16 to 20. The result of inquiries tends to show that there is a slight predominance of female over male births; three or four is the average number of children born of the same parents. The largest family known consisted of six, three only of whom attained maturity.[1] 582 163

2. Twins are rare, and as no instance can be recalled of both surviving infancy, notwithstanding all possible care being bestowed on them, they are not favourably regarded. No case of triplets has been known to occur. Births out of wedlock are considered discreditable, and in the one known instance of the kind, the parents were married immediately after the event; no difference was made in the treatment which the child received.[2] 845 848

3. The limited fecundity of the women may in some measure be due to the circumstance that they never wean their babies, so long as they are able to suckle them, and it not unfrequently happens that the two youngest children are seen together at their mother's breast.[3] 853

4. The ill success in rearing their offspring is doubtless owing in most part to the injudicious management and petting which each of the mother's friends considers right to bestow on the infant. It is looked upon as a compliment for every woman who may be nursing, to relieve the mother of this duty at frequent intervals; it is, therefore, no matter of surprise that the little one ails and dies.

5. The proportion of deaths from violence and accident, is believed to amount to four or five per cent. 165

6. Barrenness is rare, as are also cases of stillborn children. No drugs or other contrivances are employed in order to increase or limit reproduction. 842

Abnormalities.—1. Excessive development of fat about the gluteal region is frequently observable among the adult women. 142

[1] It is said that more children are born during the rains than at any other season of the year.

[2] *Vide post* "Marriage," paragraph 4.

[3] On this subject Dr. Brander remarks as follows:—

"They mostly possess considerable mammary development, and the glands in many cases seem to be in a chronic state of functional activity. This may be due to the late period to which they suckle their young (even to three or four years), or to another purpose to which the milk is applied. . . ." (*vide post*, "Shaving.") [As will be seen from Plate II, fig. 1, the mammæ are pyriform rather than spherical: with the advance of years they become flacrid and elongated.] [853]

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142 Dr. Dobson, in noticing a marked case of this kind, drew attention to the fact of its differing from steatopyga, thereby distinguishing them in this respect from Hottentots.

2. Albinism and polydactylism are unknown, and only one case of erythrism, and that of a faint type, has been observed, or is known to the natives of our acquaintance.[1]

3. No instance appears of obliquity of vision, of cleft palate, absence of teeth, or of supernumerary teeth, and only one of prognathism[2] and hare-lip respectively. Cases of "Darwin's point" in the ear are constantly met with.

158 **Pathology.**—1. No idiots, maniacs, or lunatics have ever yet been observed among them, and this is not because those so [157] afflicted are killed or confined by their fellows, for the greatest care and attention are invariably paid to the sick, aged, and 732 helpless. Two or three cases of hunchback and lateral curvature of the spine have come under notice, but instances of the kind are evidently very rare.

164 2. It has often been observed, that though the Andamanese waste away very rapidly in sickness, they regain flesh with equal facility when convalescent; but, nevertheless, they possess so little vital power, that they readily succumb to diseases against which others usually struggle successfully;[3] indeed, they appear to suffer as much, if not more, than individuals of alien races from the febrile disorders—mainly attributable to malaria, so prevalent throughout these islands—which frequently lay the foundation of chest complaints, from which they rarely recover.

3. Pulmonary consumption and other forms of pectoral disease are among the chief causes of mortality among these tribes.[4] These disorders do not appear to be confined to, or to be more prevalent in, certain districts, but there is little doubt that they have been most frequent amongst those living in the homes provided for their benefit in and near our settlements in South Andaman.[5]

[1] In no other particular does this case appear to differ from the rest.

[2] As Professor Owen, F.R.S., truly remarks, "their prognathism is not more than is found in most of the Southern Asiatic peoples, and, indeed, in the lower orders of men in all countries, and may be due or relate to the prolonged sucking of the plastic infant." (*Vide* "Brit. Asso. Reports," 1861.)

[3] This not only refers to maladies introduced by the alien population, such as measles, venereal diseases, &c., but to those complaints from which they suffered prior to the establishment of the settlement.

[4] In reference to complaints of this nature, it may interest some to know that Dr. De Jongh's cod liver oil was largely used in the homes, and with considerable benefit to the patients, several recoveries having resulted therefrom. From inquiry it would seem that cases of constipation are comparatively rare, and that diarrhœa is almost the habitual state of their excretory functions.

[5] As this circumstance was traced to the system of giving them clothes to be worn at our various stations, and when visited by Europeans, it was deemed advisable to modify the regulation and to supply them only with drawers, leaving the upper part of the body exposed. A marked improvement in the general health resulted from this change.

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481 toes of each foot; if a tree is branched they will scramble up it almost as quickly as if scaling a ladder, and though when "swarming" a mast or cocoa-nut tree they clasp the trunk in the usual manner with the arms and legs, their movements are more rapid, and they are less easily fatigued, than are the generality of natives of India; in descending also they display the same activity.

516 3. I have observed a peculiar trick among young men and women, after a lengthened rest or after engaging in some sedentary occupation, of twisting their bodies from side to side in order to stretch the muscles of the back. In doing this they produce a succession of sounds like that caused by cracking the joints of one's fingers.

4. Their favourite position in taking temporary rest after any violent or prolonged exertion is the ordinary Oriental posture between sitting and standing, *i.e.*, squatting on their heels; if very much exhausted they either sit or lie down.

513 5. The usual attitude in sleep (*vide* Plate III, fig. 2) is to lie on one side, preferably the right, with the knees bent so as to allow of the hand of the upper arm being placed between the thighs and the other hand under the head, which is raised on some impromptu pillow, such as a bundle or a roll of sleeping mat.

•142 6. Many are able to shut one eye without closing the other, but they do not appear to possess the power of moving the ears or scalp. They can extend one finger without opening the hand. No tricks of sleight of hand are known to or attempted by them.

7. Much use is made of the feet in holding and picking up light objects, and the great toe is in a considerable degree [483] opposable. When a heavy load has to be moved they prefer pushing to dragging it.[1]

482 **Physical Powers and Senses.**—1. Though for a short distance heavier loads are often borne, the maximum of a man's burden is about 40 lbs.; this he will on occasion carry for as much as 15 miles through the jungles between sunrise and sunset, a distance rarely exceeded in one day under any circumstances, or for more than two or three days in succession. This has been particularly remarked when they have been in pursuit of runaway convicts, for, if they fail in coming up with them within the third day, they are wont to take a long rest, unless strong inducements are offered by way of inciting them to further efforts.

[1] They do not understand, or, at least, do not carry into practice, the principle of pushing or dragging a weight *simultaneously*, whether in silence or to the sound of the voice.

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2. Unlike the natives of India, the men allow scarce any weight to rest on the head; the entire strain is thrown on the shoulders and back by passing the cord to which the load is attached across the chest. As this mode would with women be attended with inconvenience on account of the *chip-*,[1] besides causing injury to the breasts, the cord is in their case brought over the head,[2] and the back is bent in order to reduce the pressure. 482

3. In his account of a visit to the Nágá Hills, about ten years ago,[3] Mr. S. E. Peal makes allusion to the "peculiar noise, like a whistle or note on a flute, clear and plain, and seeming to come from the chest, made by Nágánis when carrying loads and distressed." The same peculiarity is noticeable under similar circumstances among the Andamanese of *both* sexes. [142]

4. Running is seldom practised by them except for a short distance, when hunting, &c., and four or five hundred yards appears to be the greatest extent of ground they can cover without halting or slackening speed. Though in running or walking on a good road they are generally passed without difficulty by natives of India, their superiority in the jungles is at once manifest when the beaten track is left; and in the ease and rapidity with which they are able to bound over rocks, fallen trees, mangrove roots, and other obstacles, few, if any, would care, or be able, to compete with them. 481

5. Both coastmen and "junglees" are, as a rule, gifted with extremely keen sight. It was, however, found impossible to gauge their powers by the test papers[4] in consequence of their inability to count; but many satisfactory proofs of their acuteness of vision have been afforded, as, for instance, by the manner in which, while coasting along the shore or when threading their way through the jungle, they detect birds or other objects, so hidden by the dense foliage of their forests as to be hardly distinguishable, even when pointed out, to more than ordinarily sharp-eyed Europeans and others. 151

6. The inland tribes have especially keen scent, and are able from an almost incredible distance to specify, and direct their steps towards, any particular tree that may happen to be in blossom; their sense of taste is also strongly developed, enabling them to discriminate between the various flowers from which the bees have produced their honey.

7. On the other hand, while the coastmen are not deficient in

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, No. 24.

[2] A peculiarity in the conformation of the female skull due to this practice will be hereafter noted, under the heading of "Deformations," paragraph 3.

[3] *Vide* "Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal," vol. xli, part 1, 1872.

[4] Viz., those used in the Army for recruiting purposes.

145 to about 60 to 65, if he reaches "old age." Except as to marriage at an earlier age, about 18, these figures apply fairly to the women also, who, however, 582 live somewhat longer than the men, retaining in old age both health and mental faculties.

163 **Reproduction.**—The marriages are infructuous, though barrenness is uncommon, a couple rarely producing families of even moderate size and many [803] none at all. The child-bearing age is from 16 to 35; weaning is much delayed.

291 **Endurance.**—Left to themselves the Andamanese go stark naked and with head uncovered, except that the women wear, as clothing and not orna- 147 ment, one or more leaves in front and a bunch of leaves tied round the waist behind, or a tassel of leaves all round. Jarawas, however, of both sexes have been seen entirely naked. They dislike and fear cold, but not heat, though they avoid exposure to the sun; and being accustomed to gratify every sensation as it arises, they endure thirst, hunger, want of sleep, fatigue and bodily discomfort badly. Want of sleep, such as occurs at their dances for occasionally as much as [482] four days and nights, exhausts them greatly. A man's load is 40 lbs and his distance 15 miles for a day or two only. After that he will rest, whatever the urgency.

252 **Food.**—The food consists of fish, pork, turtle, iguana, "wild cat" (*paradoxurus sp.*), shell-fish, turtle eggs, certain larvæ, and a great variety of fruit, 262 seeds, roots, and honey, and is plentiful both by sea and land. They never starve, though they are habitually heavy eaters. The food is always cooked and commonly eaten very hot. As much as possible of an animal is eaten and the Andamanese, like most hunters, have found out the dietary value of tripe. The Andamanese are expert cooks and adept at preparing delicacies from parts of animals and fish.

• 142 **Skin.**—The skin, which is smooth, greasy and satiny, varies in colour from an intense sheeny black to a reddish brown on the unexposed parts and also on the collar bones, cheeks and other prominences of the body. Its general appearance has been likened to a "black-leaded stove." The scalp, the lips and nostrils are black, and there are black patches on the palate. The soles of the feet are brownish yellow. The Bojigngiji Group (South Andaman) are the darkest, and among the Onges parts of the face are a light reddish-brown. The Jarawas are distinctly fairer than the rest, the general colour being a deep reddish brown. Leucoderma occurs on the fingers and lips.

Hair.—The hair varies from a sooty black to dark and light brown, yellowish brown and red. The general appearance of it is sooty black or yellowish brown. Except on the head the hair is scanty, but not absent: on the head it grows in small rings, which give it the appearance of growing in tufts, though it is really closely and evenly distributed over the whole scalp. Limited baldness is unknown, but temporary general baldness after disease occurs with a weak growth [302] of the hair afterwards. The hair is not shaved, except on the head and eyebrows, and each tribe has, with many fantastic individual variants, its own [145] method of wearing it. It turns grey at about 40, but white hair is not common.

Shaving is "woman's work" and was performed by small flakes of quartz, but nowadays flakes from the kicks of glass bottles are substituted. It is effective and close, but a painful operation on an European's face, as I proved by personal experience many years ago.

Bodily Parts.—The mouth is large, the palate hard and highly arched, the lips well formed. The hands and feet are small and well made. The ears are small and well shaped, the eyes are generally dark to a very dark brown, bright, liquid and clear, but prominent with slightly elevated outer angles and become dulled with age. The teeth, in the young, except amongst the Onges, are white, good and on the whole free from disease. Those of the Onges are irregular and discoloured. As age advances the teeth generally lose their whiteness and become worn, but without much caries. The teeth are roughly used without any care whatever. Dentition is early.

164 **Diseases.**—The muscular strength of the Andamanese is great, but their vitality is nevertheless low, and the apparently robust quickly die after sickening

164 Going a little further into detail, it has been noticed that malarial fevers are commonest in June, at the commencement of the monsoon and during heavy bursts of rain thereafter. Malarial fevers commence as usual in their intermittent form and prove fatal as remittent fever. Other zymotic fevers are uncommon, though the Andamanese will drink the filthiest water.

A short rainfall in the Andamans is usually accompanied by high dry winds and then is the high time of the chest diseases. But though the Andamanese are susceptible to bronchial catarrh, and though chronic bronchitis is common, it is not fatal; pneumonia is however extremely fatal. Pleurisy, hæmoptysis and phthisis are comparatively rare.

Abdominal diseases, though comparatively uncommon, are very fatal, diarrhœa, including probably dysentery, claiming most victims. Dyspepsia and colic are both common. In health the stools are regular, but inclined to looseness. They have been likened to those of the lower mammals when in good health.

Of other diseases sunstroke is dreaded and always fatal. The brain and spinal cord are not often affected, though curvature of the spine is occasionally seen. Scurvy occurs at the seasons when vegetable diet, *i.e.*, such as fruits and roots afford, is too scanty. Elephantiasis occurs among the Onges, but is limited to the Little Andaman. Chronic muscular rheumatism occurs among the older people, leading to loss and withering of limbs. Ulcers, generally the result of wounds in the jungles, are common and, as with the immigrants, slow to heal. Abscesses are also common. Considering that personal uncleanliness is often extreme, skin diseases are curiously infrequent, except ringworm and exfoliated dermatitis, sometimes leading to destruction of finger and toe nails, due either to scurvy or exposure. [146]

164 Excluding malaria, endemic disease has not been recognised among the Andamanese, and the only epidemics that have been known to attack them are 177 imported pneumonia (1868), syphilis (1876), measles (1877), and influenza (1892), in that order: unhappily with disastrous effect. Exposure to the sun and wind in the cleared spaces, the excessive use of tobacco and over-clothing, as results of contact with civilisation, are also said to have undermined their health as a body of human beings. Intoxicants are forbidden to them by local rules and are not easily or commonly procured by them.

755 **Medicine.**—The diseases which the Andamanese distinguish by name are malarial fever, catarrh, coughs and rheumatism. Phthisis and heart disease are 758 recognised, but are spirit caused and so are all internal maladies, which of course are not understood.

Medicine and surgery are almost absent from the Andamanese purview. They will bleed on the forehead for fever and headache and round abscesses to alleviate pain. They scarify for rheumatism and internal pain as a last resort. Red ochre and various herbal concoctions are both swallowed and applied as all-healers, in which they have great faith. Certain leaves are sometimes applied to local affections and beds made of them for the sake of their supposed medicinal odour. Cinctures, sometimes of human bones, are used to alleviate pain, but no other charms are employed. Occasionally the diet is slightly changed to relieve illness and they are quick to avail themselves of the hospital provided for them. They are extremely afraid of European surgery and will tremble violently at the sight of the operating knife. They smear themselves with white clay and water against the heat of the sun and with red ochre and oil after dark as a protection against cold.

The sick are sympathetically and very kindly, but superstitiously, treated. [844] There are no pregnancy customs and those at childbirth are sensible and without superstition, difficult delivery being practically unknown.

Snakebite is uncommon and seldom fatal. Ligatures above the bite and scarifying are applied, both operations showing observation and common sense. Bites of centipedes, scorpions, leeches and ticks cause little inconvenience to the Andamanese, though very much to immigrants.

● 142 **Appearance.**—The figures of the men are muscular and well formed and generally pleasing; often a young man is distinctly good looking, for, though there is a tendency to prognathism, it is not commonly pronounced, while a straight and well formed nose and jaw, accompanied by superior intelligence

and an irritable temper indicating a nervous temperament, are by no means rare. The natural good looks of many of the people are injured by the habit of shaving and smearing themselves with greasy red and white pigments. 142

The pleasing appearance of the men is not a characteristic of the women, whose habits of completely shaving the head and profusely smearing themselves, with an early tendency to stoutness and ungainliness of figure and sometimes to pronounced prognathism, frequently make them unattractive objects to Europeans. They are, however, bright and merry even into old age and are under no special social restrictions, have a good deal of influence, and in old age are often much respected. They nevertheless readily and naturally acquiesce in a position of subordination, slavery and drudgery to the men, and are apt to herd together in parties of their own sex. Variation from type is much commoner among the men than the women. 142 562

III. Mental Characteristics.

Sense Development.—The nerve development of the Andamanese is low, pain is not severely felt and wounds quickly heal. The sense development is normal and instances of unusual acuteness observed are the result of personal training in certain directions and not of heredity, *e.g.*, they will recognise one of themselves at a great distance, but not an unaccustomed object such as a European: they can smell a fire or hear the sound of dancing also at a great distance, but this is because they are always on the look-out for these things and their discernment is a matter of habit and of much consequence to themselves. They can, in short, do well such things as they pay particular or habitual attention to. 147 151

The Andamanese are naturally far sighted, and any near sight observed will be found to be due to leucoma or other disease. In respect to sight, however, they are not more highly gifted than civilized mankind. The colour sense is hardly developed at all and they are what would be called in Europe colour-blind to most colours. Black, white and red are distinguished, but green and blue are not. This is due apparently to want of observation only, as they distinguish between white paint and the white European skin. A good deal of blindness was caused by imported epidemic ophthalmia in 1877. Hearing is not abnormally acute, but is highly trained in matters pertaining to jungle craft. Touch seems to be undeveloped. The sense of smell is highly developed in matters necessary to their existence, but they have no appreciation of artificial scent or of that of flowers which do not denote food, nor can they distinguish by smell that which they cannot see unless it be an object of food. Taste is strongly developed as to honey, distinguishing that deposited from different flowers. They care nothing for scenery and do not decorate themselves with flowers. 151 [164]

Character.—In childhood the Andamanese are possessed of a bright intelligence, which, however, soon reaches its climax and the adult may be compared in this respect with the civilised child of ten or twelve. He has never had any sort of agriculture, nor until the English taught him the use of dogs did he ever domesticate any kind of animal or bird, nor did he teach himself to turn turtle or to use hook and line in fishing. He cannot count and all his ideas are hazy, inaccurate and ill-defined. He has never developed unaided any idea of drawing or making a tally or record for any purpose, but he readily understands a sketch or plan when shown him. He soon becomes mentally tired and is apt to break down physically under mental training. 181

He retains throughout life the main characteristics of the child: of very short but strong memory, suspicious of but hospitable to strangers, ungrateful, imitative and watchful of his companions and neighbours, vain and under the spur of vanity industrious and persevering, teachable up to a quickly reached limit, fond of undefined games and practical jokes, too happy and careless to be affected in temperament by his superstitions, too careless indeed to store water even for a voyage, plucky but not courageous, reckless only from ignorance or inappreciation of danger, selfish but not without generosity, chivalry or a sense of honour, petulant, hasty of temper, entirely irresponsible and childish in action in his wrath and equally quick to forget, affectionate, lively in his movements and exceedingly taking in his moments of good temper. At these times the Andamanese are gentle and pleasant to each other, considerate to the aged, the

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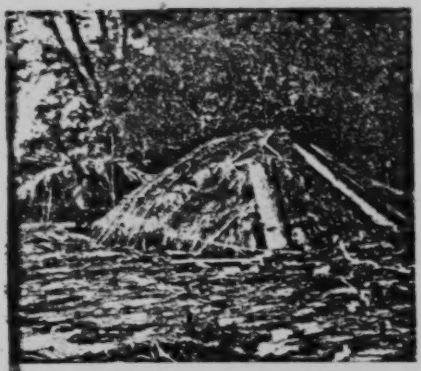

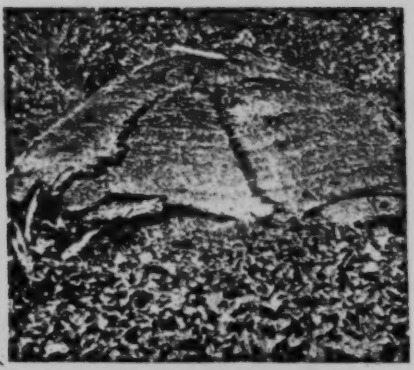

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[P.2(A)] Captions will be found on P.2(B)-Analyst]

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P.2(B)]

PLATE I

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Fig. 1—Onge hut, north of Dugong Creek, in Little Andaman Island.

Fig. 2—Onge hut, north of Dugong Creek, in Little Andaman Island.

Fig. 3—Entrance to Onge hut north of Dugong Creek in Little Andaman.

Fig. 4—Onges in front of their hut in Little Andaman (South of Dugong Creek). [49]

Fig. 5—Jarawa Shelter at Spike Island in Middle Andaman.

Fig. 6—Onge canoes with single outrigger in Little Andaman waters. [50]

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
[P.4(A)]

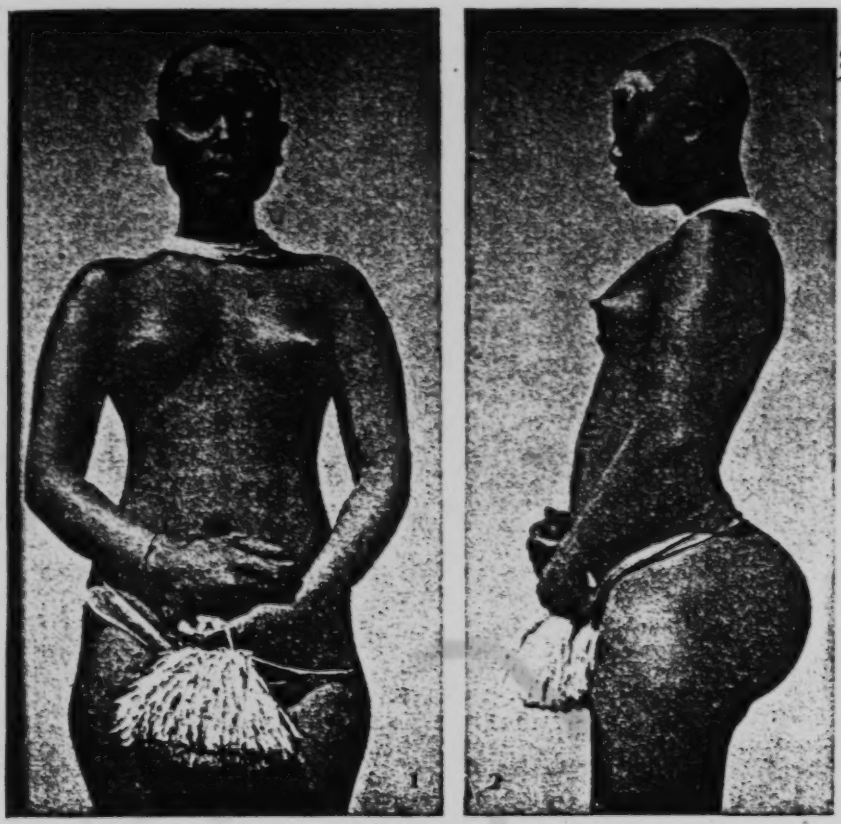

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PLATE II.

Figs. 1 & 2—Onge female of the hut No. 2, Plate 1, in Little Andaman Island (front and profile).

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P 4(B)]

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PLATE III.

Onge females living in hut No. 2, Plate 1.

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P.4(C)]

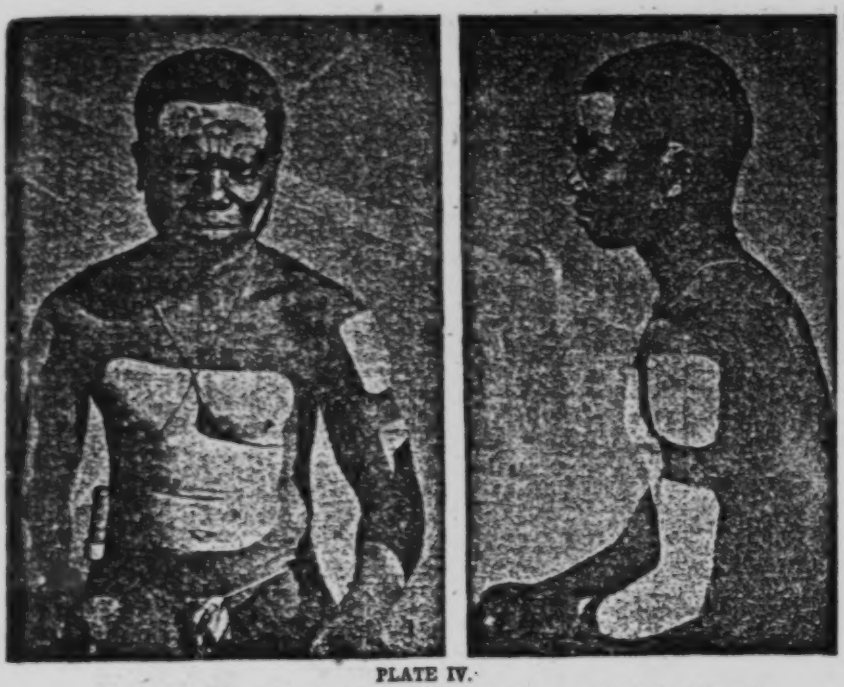

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PLATE IV.

Figs. 1 & 2—Onge male (Raja) decorated with paints on board the "Molly" in Little Andaman waters.

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2 Karen AP

There were no Andamanese There,

but 400 people consisting of 133 males and 130 females who migrated from Bassein in 1924. They were Karen Christians who had settled there. After returning to Long Island on the 12th, Mr Sarkar and party left in the motor boat "Return" for a short cruise along the Jarawa country. Besides Mr Joseph, there were Mr Pooviah and a few of his Burman Bush Police armed with rifles and guns. The party passed through the Homfray's Strait and anchored at the north eastern corner of the Spike Island. Loka and his party of three Andamanese accompanied them in their two canoes. They came to the shore in one of the Andamanese canoes and after entering the forest they found bundles of bamboos piled up at one corner. This was identified as a Jarawa raft. There were also three paddles made out of a palm tree. These specimens were procured for the Department. After proceeding some distance in the jungle, 19 small fire places were counted in scattered manner. A temporary hut was also noticed at a short distance. A number of objects usually used by the Andamanese tribes for household purposes was found including a sling for carrying babies. A beautiful specimen of a Jarawa Bow painted in red in geometrical designs was also found. Photographs were taken of the settlements of the Jarawa camp and objects collected for the Museum. In another place at *Yeratiajig* remnants of a Jarawa camp including pottery and bones of animals, etc., were found. The party returned to Long Island on 14-3-48 and examined 8 of the remaining members of Loka's party. It left the same day for Port Blair where it arrived at 10 P.M. On the 25th Mr Sarkar and his party with the Deputy Chief Commissioner Mr Gupta, left for Kar Nicobar where it arrived on the following day. It returned to Port Blair after staying for a few days. During this time in Kar Nicobar, besides studying the Nicobarese of the Island Mr Sarkar met two Jarawa children who were captured and brought over there and placed in a local Mission School for education.

In the following year in January 1949, another small party was sent under Dr A. K. Mitra with Messrs H. K. Bose and A. Bhattacharyya, to continue the survey of the Little Andaman further along the eastern coast. They visited *Hut Bay* on the 28th and went to the Onge settlement there. A large circular hut similar to that seen by us at Tambobui was observed. It contained nine cots with a fire place in the centre. There were also two outrigger canoes, one in front of the hut and another on the beach. Altogether 11 Onges were found consisting of 2 adult males, 6 females and 3 young children between the ages of 6 to 15. The 8 adults and the adolescent boys were carefully measured and observations noted about their special somatic characters. After leaving Hut Bay they went as far as the South Point which is the southernmost point on the eastern coast of the Little Andaman, but did not see any other Onge settlement. They had to return on the 31st as the launch could not be spared any further.

The Onges were found to be strong and healthy and free from venereal disease, a scourge, which along with tuberculosis were chiefly responsible for the rapid depopulation of the Andamanese tribes. Our observations agree with the accounts of the Negritos of the Andaman Islands published before

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
[P. 6(A)]

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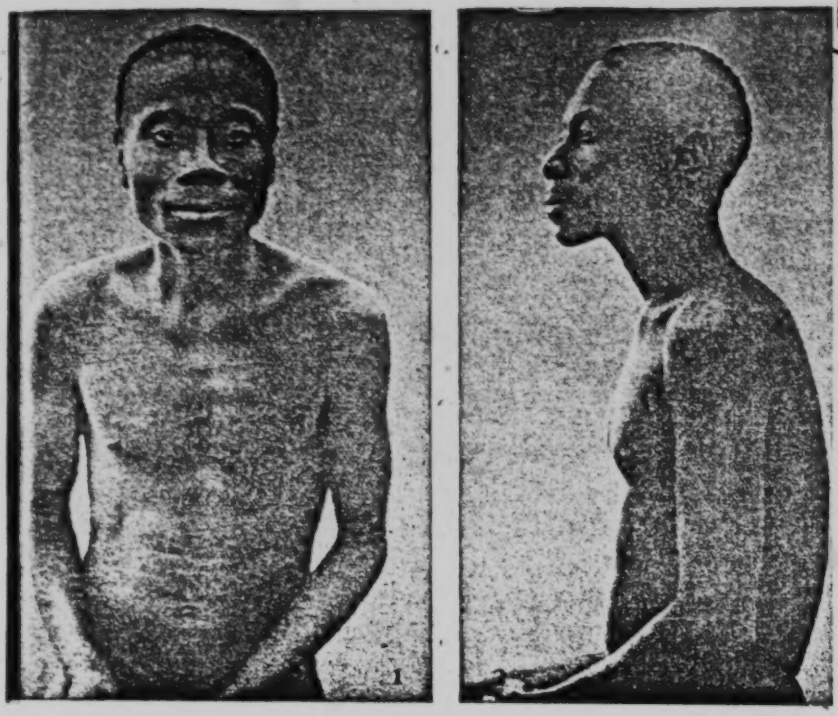

PLATE V.

Figs. 1 & 2—Onge male, front and profile views.

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
[P.6(B)]

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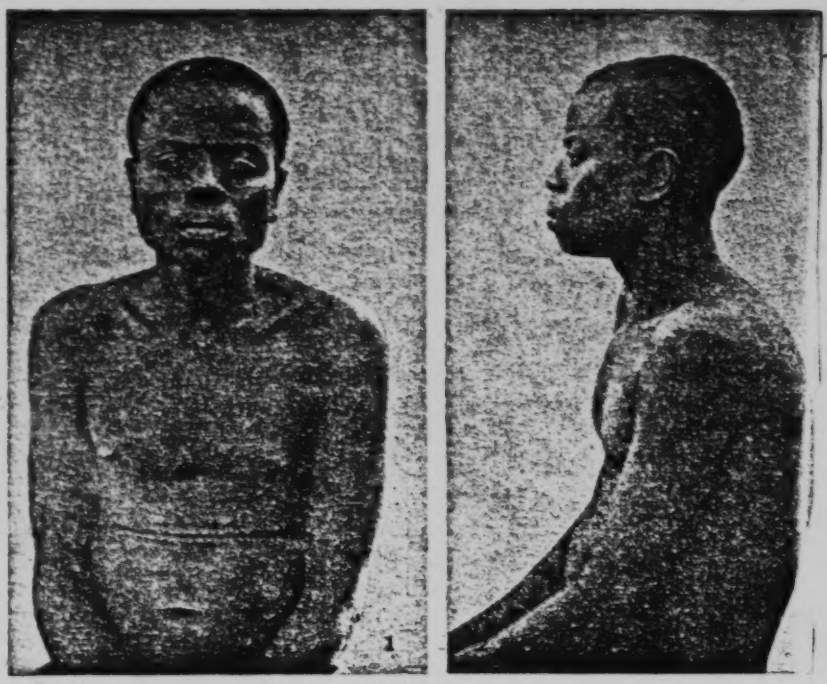

PLATE VI

Figs. 1 & 2—Onge male, front and profile views.

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P. 6 (c)]

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PLATE VII.

Onge male showing pepper-corn type of hair.

4:Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

namely, that they are a very dark pigmy tribe, with short round head and infantile features. The hair of the head is wholly of the distinctly "peppercorn" pattern, *i.e.*, it grows in small tufts with intervening vacant spaces between (*see* Plate VII). The women were noticed to possess steotopygia in a markedly developed form (*see* Plate II, Fig. 2). 142

Freiherr von Eickstedt who visited the Islands in December 1926, claimed that he was the first scientist to observe these two traits among the Andamanese. His contentions, however, cannot stand scrutiny, for in a paper read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh on February 2, 1880, entitled "Remarks on the Aborigines of the Andaman Islands" and published in the Proceedings of that Society, Surgeon E. S. Brander, who was stationed at Port Blair as Second Medical Officer, speaking about the general features of the Andamanese women, remarked that they "undergo exceptional enlargement of the gluteal region, the appearance of which is enhanced by their custom of attaching branches of twigs to their waist bands, so as to hang over this region. This large development of abdomen, hip and buttocks, added to a very waddling style of gait, gives these women in progression a most grotesque appearance". Eight years after, in a paper published in the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography, Maurice Portman, who was the Officer-in-Charge of the Andamanese, in describing his visit to the Little Andaman, wrote about "the Hottentot Venus order of beauty" of the Onge women. The Hottentot Venus, as is well-known, is noted for her steotopygic development. These two papers appeared over 40 years before von Eickstedt's publication. 114 142 [293] [481]

A detailed comparative review of the somatic traits of the Onges based on the measurements taken by members of this Department will be published in the next issue of the Bulletin. Mr S. S. Sarkar's analysis of the blood group data is, however, published in this issue. 114

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Portman, Maurice.—The Exploration and Survey of the Little Andamans. Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography, Sept. 1880, London.

5: Sarkar D-5 (1948)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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Plate IX. Captive Jarawa Children.

[P. 26(A)]

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

515 people. Furthermore, the Onge skin is very soft and more elastic than is usual
[147] in human beings. For us, clothed and with a less resilient skin, a trip through the thorny Andaman forest means many small, bleeding scratches. Not so for the naked Onge. – To cover them with clothes would endanger their health. Nakedness inures them to the sudden changes of temperature so frequent in
[513] Little Andaman and preserves them from catching cold when sleeping, uncovered, on their rough, unprotected bed of boughs. As with primitives all over the world, clothes make them miserable and, I may add, very ungainly and dirty.

515 Part of their general negligence with regard to hygiene is their carelessness about their teeth. They never clean them. They do keep bamboo sticks,
[413] 1 mm thick and 8 cms long, tucked into their hair to be ostensibly used as toothpicks ; but the sticks, to tell the truth, are more of an ornament than a tool.
142 The Onge's teeth are so compact and sound that there is no space between them for food particles to collect. No caries or decay of any sort are to be
[164] noticed. In a number of skeletons that I dug up from under the beds in communal huts, the teeth gave evidence of one peculiarity : old people had worn them down to the root. The Onge habit of using teeth as working instruments,
[289] to prepare fibre for ropes and in many other circumstances – apart from their permanent chewing on hard foodstuffs – explains this fact.

515 As a consequence of never washing, the natives' hands are sometimes extremely dirty. The Onge themselves are conscious of this. I shall give an
226 instance. It so happened that I arrived in Nachugé, on the west coast, toward the end of March, when the sea was teeming with migrating sardines. In Little Andaman sardines can weigh up to a pound ; but a normal catch, obtained with small hand-nets cast from canoes among shoals of fish imprisoned by the low tide within the coral reef that surrounds the island, contains specimens of every dimension. All are eaten as soon as possible. The quantity of fish brought
[264] back to the camps on such occasions puts all inmates to work and induces everybody to abandon all other occupations for the time being. In the low tidal waters the men push their canoes from rock to rock, using them as receptacles for the abundant food so easily collected. In some "pockets" nets prove unnecessary : the fish is gathered in handfuls and rapidly thrown into the canoes. The hecatomb ends when the canoes are filled to the gunwales. In no other part of the world have I seen food made available to primitive people in such large quantities and with so little effort.

252 Back at the camp, the sardines are "graded" according to size and cooked immediately. They are not washed or cleaned, the inner organs are eaten to-
[263] gether with the flesh. Men, women and children feverishly take part in the cooking ; the fish is boiled without salt. All the natives then plunge their hands
264 avidly into the heap of sardines. From time to time the women clean their
515 hands by rubbing them on the *naquinêghê*. Very soon this garment becomes
[231] extremely smelly. Men and children clean their hands in a different way : by rubbing them on the dogs. On such occasions, everything and everybody smells of fish for days and days. The first to become clean again are the dogs, because they hate to be smeared with fish and wash themselves in the sea as soon as they have a chance.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

LIDIO CIPRIANI, Hygiene and Medical Practices among the Onge (Little Andaman)

Plate 2

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a) and *c*) Women and girls wearing *ibidanghĕ*.
b) Bandages of ficus bark against fever.
d) Wife and husband in their usual attire.

[p. 488 (B)]

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

291 754 *naquinēghē* exposes the former owner to harm. Ill-disposed persons could use it for black magic practices. I collected specimens of this garment, all of them, however, brand-new – for the above-mentioned reason. To avoid trouble to the owner, nobody is allowed to touch the *naquinēghē*, which is worn in front of the vulva. To touch it is a deadly offence. Aside from the *naquinēghē*, Andaman 842 263 colonists attribute the natives' sterility to their abhorrence of salt. Another opinion would have it that the lack of salt transforms human saliva into poison: the Jarawas, by spitting on their arrows render them poisonous. The absurdity of this belief is so evident that it requires no confutation. The Onge refuse to eat salt because they consider it unhealthy, or, to say the least, disgusting.

III. Illnesses and Onge Curative Methods

164 Few illnesses affect the Onge, but they succumb to those few with surprising speed. Often they become seriously ill for mysterious reasons and in spite of their robust appearance. Smallpox, tuberculosis and poliomyelitis are unknown in Little Andaman, although they sometimes strike in the nearby Nicobars. Measles broke out on the island on more than one occasion, killing off all the inhabitants of several communal huts, which I later found deserted and in ruins. With regard to syphilis, the Indian Census of 1931 quotes an old remark of PORTMAN's concerning a few individuals considered by him as infected. This was later denied.

Onge women are more resistant to illness than men. Wounds heal prompt- [752] ly in both sexes, without the aid of remedies. A few of the older men, however, had suppurating sores on their legs, slow to disappear even when disin- [123] fected and treated by me with European medicines. No similar sores were found on women. On the other hand, women suffer more than men from ringworm, mainly in the umbilical region. Nothing is done to rid them of it because the discomfort is slight. I suggested an Indian cure made with the leaves of the neem tree, or Melia azedarach, very common in Southern Asia where it is considered sacred. I imported the plant to Little Andaman, but [123] the Onge displayed no interest in it. I found a single instance of leucoderma, in a woman with whitish spots on her hands and lips. I could get no reliable information about the incidence of cancer, but it appears to be rare on the island. No baldness is to be seen in Little Andaman, and I found few traces of [142] greying hair, as the Onge die young. A transversal bregmatic furrow is noticeable in all individuals, male and female, as a consequence of carrying loads hung [482] from their heads by a strip of bark. The Onge start doing this in childhood. An artificial, unintentional deformation of the skull is the result of that uncomfortable habit.

751 For hygienic reasons the Little Andaman aborigines paint their bodies with 302 refined clay and ochre of various shades, mainly reddish. This gives the women occasion to embellish the bodies of their husbands with an endless variety of [386] geometrical designs. Every year I found changes in their patterns, and I

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge
Andamanese

CHAPTER IX
ABORIGINAL POPULATION
A group of Onges

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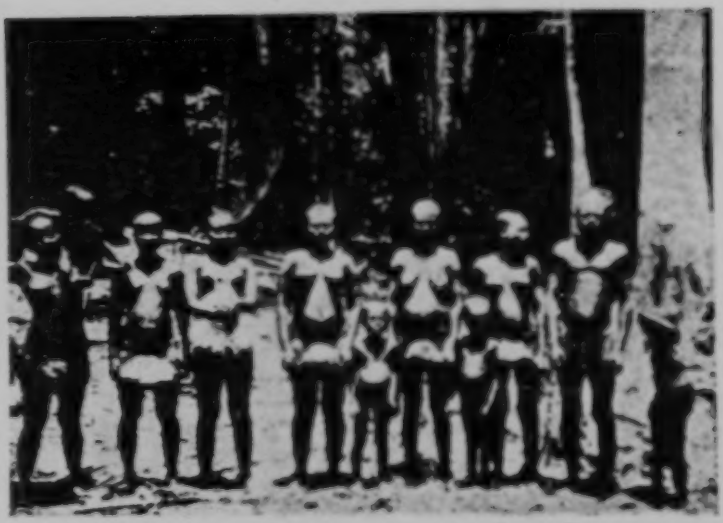

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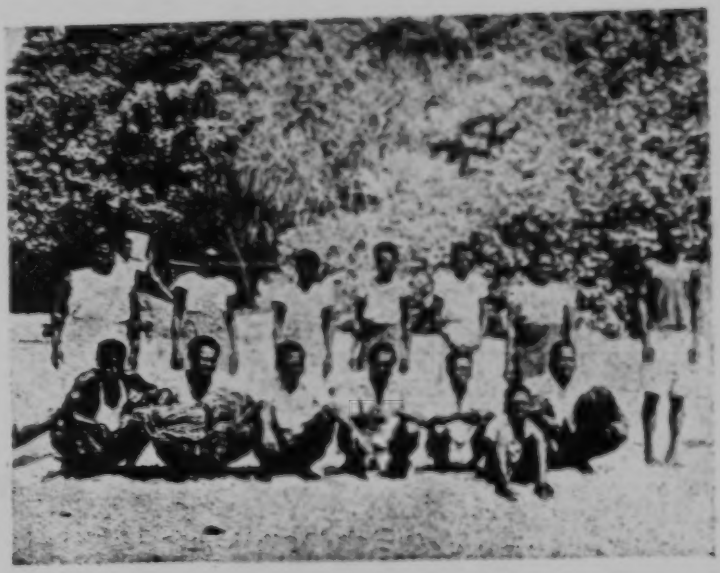

A group of Andamanese (Courtesy A. S. I.)

[facing p. 59]

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

CHAPTER IX
ABORIGINAL POPULATION

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Communal dinner of the Onges (Courtesy A. S. I.)

[facing P. 62]

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

CHAPTER IX
ABORIGINAL POPULATION
Painted faces of the Onges (Courtesy A.S.I)

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Preparation of a tussel by an Onge Woman (Courtesy A.S.I.)

Construction of the hut by an Onges (Courtesy A.S.I.)

[facing P. 64]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Arioto

in the local language, as opposed to the people of the interior, the *Eremtaga* – appear to have numbered between six and eight thousand. Over the years their place has been taken by more than thirteen thousand foreigners, most of whom were deportees, enjoying relative liberty as servants of government officials, farmers and foresters. The settlers, voluntarily or involuntarily, introduced the islanders to alcohol and tobacco, forcing them to turn to the foreigners in order to satisfy their craving. In the famous and extremely frank work of the English explorer M. V. Portman (*A History of our Relations with the Andamanese*, Calcutta, 1899) official letters are reproduced which give precise instructions in the matter to government officials. The result of these instructions was to transform the Arioto into alcohol and tobacco addicts. Syphilis was passed to the native women by the deportees, and from them to their men. When, a few years after the mass importation of prisoners, the government authorities became aware of the infection among the Arioto, not one of them had escaped. The miserable twenty-three survivors of the eight to nine thousand of a century ago show the ultimate result only too well, and their final extinction is imminent.

Before the advent of the new civilization, the Arioto had divided up into at least ten distinct communities, but without any true tribal organization. They respected a form of chief, chosen by tacit consent for his personal qualities rather than by name or by birth-right; but the chiefs acted merely as paternal advisers, to be respected in times of trouble, with no illusions of authority. No one commanded, and none obeyed: all were content to follow the whim of the moment, with no conception of social obligation.

When the foreigners arrived, there were five main groups of Arioto on North Andaman, the Cari, Chede, Cora, Jeru and Tabo. Another five groups were in South Andaman, the Balawa, Bea, Bogig-iab, Joi and Col. With the numerical decline of the Arioto, who had always been endogamous within their group, a tendency arose for the survivors to merge and inter-marry, so that the twenty-three alive today are in fact the result of the mixing of the northern and southern Arioto, and of these with Indians and Burmese. The chief of these twenty-three individuals is Loca, a name in itself an indication of this ethnic mixture. Loca means 'whiskers', and he himself has a moustache, whereas pure Negritos have no body or facial hair.

THE ANDAMAN ISLANDERS

has a moustache, whereas pure Negritos have no body or facial hair.

THE JARAWAS

648 For obvious reasons I was unable to carry out any studies on the
[114] Jarawas. Apart from a restricted area around Port Blair, on the east
[137] coast of Great Andaman, the whole island is a tangle of tropical vegetation, in many places impenetrable, or at most passable only
[491] by hacking a way through. A few roads radiate from Port Blair, but none penetrate more than twenty kilometres or so from the township. To the north of the town is a well-maintained police cordon that stretches right across the island from east to west to prevent infiltration by the Jarawas; those in the south were all rounded up some time ago. Only beyond the cordon do the Jarawas maintain
[142] their rule over the virgin forest almost unchallenged. Like all the Andamanese they are Negritos, small in stature and extremely dark skinned. Obsessed by a fierce hatred for anyone outside their own group, enemies even of the other Andamanese, they roam through the forest with their deadly arrows. Shot from their powerful bows,
[411] their dagger-sharp arrows penetrate deep into the body of the victim – they can transfix a man's chest. The bloody skirmishing which has gone on for the last hundred years shows no signs of lessening even today.

175 The Jarawa ferocity increased as the result of grave mishandling
648 of the situation by the foreigners. In this connection the following sentences from Portman's *History* may be quoted: 'On our arrival the Jarawas were quiet and inoffensive towards us, nor did they ever disturb us, until we took to continuously molesting them by inciting the coastal Andamanese against them. After a few years of this disturbance, the life of the Jarawas became very hard and in retaliation they began to attack us.' As the author in part recognizes, 'It was our fault if the Jarawas became hostile'. This was a fundamental error. Petty pilfering committed in perfect innocence by the Jarawas, ignorant of Western ideas of individual property, led to vicious punitive expeditions. To this end fire-arms were given to the hereditary enemies of the Jarawas, the Arioto. Elated by their unexpected power, they at once began slaughtering any Jarawa within sight, and enjoyed themselves hugely.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

After submitting my programme for the approval of the various Indian authorities, I finally left Calcutta in the motor vessel *Maharaja* and arrived in Port Blair on the evening of 11 December 1951. 122

Once arrived on Great Andaman I began to make preparations, but for some time the sea remained so rough that the crossing to Little Andaman was impossible. In order not to lose time, I went as far as Middle Andaman, where I started excavating an ancient kitchen-midden left by a group which has now disappeared.[1] Eventually, in March 1952, there began for me what was to become a fascinating if dangerous adventure, which continued for several years, in the dry seasons, and which I hope will prove to have been of some value. 114

Even now we know little of the anthropology of the Onges. They are Negritos, and therefore people of small stature. They are not, however, as small as the African pygmies, or Negrillos, who are the tiniest people in the world and who are in many respects very different from the Asiatic Negritos. Among the latter, individuals of over 4 feet are giants, while the normal height is substantially less. 142

In their somatic and cultural characteristics the Andamanese differ from all Asiatics, including their closest connections the Semang of the Malaccan peninsula and the Aetà of the Philippines. There is however some similarity between the three groups, indicating a distinctive common ancestry. The Negritos of today constitute the sole and fragmentary remains of a people who in ancient times were spread over a large part of Asia, and there is no lack of evidence to support their former presence much farther east and south, well into Oceania. 144

The word Negrito means 'small negro', but the name is inappropriate. It was originally given to these people because of the colour of their skin and the woolly texture of their hair. In their bodily proportions, however, as well as in the morphology of the head as a whole, and in particular the structure of the mouth, they resemble the Negroes considerably less than do African pygmies, who are in their turn quite a distinct type. The Negritos have some superficial affinity to peoples of small stature in New Guinea and Melanesia, such as the Tapiro, the Cameveca, the Cai and the Pesechem (or

[1] See page 69.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

144 Pesekem), although they are distinguished from them by profound cultural differences. These differences exist even between the three groups of Negritos. Whereas in Malacca and the Philippines they reflect the influx of superior cultures, these have had very little influence in the Andamans. For this reason the Andamanese have perforce remained more faithful to very ancient customs, and are also somatically the least altered.

[121] The study of the last remaining groups, the Onges and Jarawas, now on the point of extinction if they are not protected, is thus a matter of singular urgency and significance.

144 174 We know nothing of how the Negritos arrived in their present homes with somatic and cultural characteristics quite distinct from those of any other human type. Apart from some dubious remains excavated in Indochina we do not even have any fossil remains to show their probable original distribution. There is, however, reason to believe that they were once very widely dispersed, judging from the evidence of their presence today as isolates widely separated from each other.

No traces of them remain in the continental areas adjacent to the Andamans, apart from the Malaccan peninsula. At one time it was thought that traces of a Negrito element were to be found in the Kadir of Hindustan, revealed by the occasional presence of curly hair. I have myself visited the area, and must refute this suggestion; the people have nothing of the Negrito in their body structure, their hair is markedly longer than the Negrito and they have body hair. The kinky hair (never woolly) occasionally seen may derive from distant Negro crosses, or may be an accidental similarity. I have seen this type of curliness even in Europeans who certainly had no Negro or pygmy ancestry.

It has also been asserted, possibly with some foundation, although there are few data available, that there are traces of the Negrito among the people of New Guinea, such as the Tapiro. Although of small stature, their general characteristics would seem to relate the Tapiro more closely to the Papuans; they have yellowish skin, probably the lightest in that area, they are, again, hirsute and there is a marked absence of Negrito characteristics in the proportions of the body.

142 144 The first thing that strikes one on meeting the Onges – and indeed the Andamanese in general – is the exceptional blackness and

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

softness of their skin. They have what must be among the darkest skins in the world, and in certain lights some individuals have a bluish tinge, which I have never seen in any other region. Something similar seems to have existed among the now extinct Tasmans, although they differed markedly from the Andamanese in other respects. The Onges are the only Andamanese who are not invariably intensely black, and the bluish type is rare among them. This might be attributable to contact with the nearby Nicobars, where a yellowish skin is common, in conjunction with Mongoloid features. I saw no traces, however, of such admixture; the Arioto show some sign of recent Burmese influence, but any ethnic influences on the Onges and Jarawas must have been extremely ancient, indeed before their arrival in the archipelago. In the south and south-west of Little Andaman I did find individuals markedly taller than the rest (though still small), but it is clear that outwardly at least the Onges and Jarawas still retain most of their unique somatic characteristics, which have remained unchanged for thousands of years.

The Andamanese skin is very smooth in texture, and lacks the odour characteristic of many of the African peoples. This would appear to depend on the chemical composition of the sweat, as the Andamanese never intentionally wash, although brushing against the sodden vegetation, and frequent immersion while collecting shellfish, or fishing, in some measure compensates. Curiously enough their sweat does seem to repel the local ticks, which drive Europeans mad; again, it was interesting that the Indians and Burmese of my party were variously affected by them.

Their skin is also extraordinarily elastic – I noticed that in the forest I scratched myself continually at the slightest touch against thorns or branches, whereas the Onges invariably emerged quite unscathed at the end of the trek. Their greater agility of movement will undoubtedly have been part of the answer, but it would be impossible to avoid any scratches, as they do, unless their skin 'gave' to an abnormal degree.

Another effect of this elasticity is that the women suffer no disfiguration of the skin over the abdomen after childbirth, and neither sex becomes wrinkled to any noticeable extent with age. This distinguishes them clearly from peoples with whom they have been compared – such as the Bushmen, who (possibly in part due

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

to the arid climate) are among the most wrinkled people in the world.

At birth, the Onges are tiny, attractive little creatures, very plump, but rarely over two and a half kilograms in males and two kilograms in females. I was very fortunate indeed in that I succeeded in persuading one young couple to let me examine their new-born child. Local superstition forbids a stranger looking on a child for any length of time, and even an Onge who does so is regarded with suspicion, so I had to be extremely cautious.

The infant was born on 30 March 1954, in the forest to the north of Labanar. Like most deliveries, birth took place in the forest on a bed improvised for the purpose, with only the father (on some occasions also the wife's mother) present, and the placenta was buried under the bed. The women recover very quickly;[1] after a few days they are fit for heavy work, returning to the group without any purification ceremonies, and this was no exception. After a wealth of gifts I managed to examine the child on the morning of 31 March and again on 10, 13 and 14 April. After this mother and child vanished completely, and the father would give me only evasive replies, although only a few days before he had been willing to help me open some graves round Tambe-e-buiè, allowing me to remove the bones of nine Onges who had been dead for many years; superstition (or the women) overcame him on this occasion, however.

My examinations were all carried out in the presence of the mother and at least two of the older women, who were determined to prevent me touching the child.

The child, like all Onge babies, had no body hair; this persists throughout life, though some males have sparse moustaches. Its head was covered with a very fine, sparse down, not black like the adults, but already showing signs of the characteristic woolly texture. Dark reddish-brown, the hair becomes black and tightly curled during the first year of life. The eyelashes curl markedly in adults, but the hair of the eyebrows is virtually straight; in the infant the former were barely visible, and the latter completely absent.

The nails were strong and well formed, projecting a little beyond

[1] Childbirth is normally very easy, but miscarriages are common, probably due to lack of vitality in the foetus.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

the finger-tips and almost pink, with pale chocolate moons and 142
yellowish-brown palms and soles. In the adults the nails and soles of the feet remain pale, the palms being a little darker. The head, and the visible buccal and nasal epithelia, were almost black, and the gums were pink, as was the inside of the lips, with dark petecchiae, in adults very noticeable, at the base of the teeth and over the tongue and palate. The cheeks, however, were a reddish-brown, although the whole skin was already showing signs of darkening after twelve hours. Nasal cartilage was minimal, but that of the ears well-developed. The darkest area of skin were the forehead, eye sockets, lids, nipples and genitalia.

In general, therefore, the infant's skin was very slightly lighter [844]
than that of the adults, though before I could be sure of this I had [302]
to wash off the thick layer of ochre which is smeared over the un- [854]
washed infants immediately after birth. As the infants are extremely [751]
carefully protected from the sun by 'umbrella' hats made of lobed palm leaves, the darkening, which is complete by the end of the first year, is clearly biological and is not effected by tanning. As, however, the Onges interchange or 'adopt' children freely, [597]
it was impossible to carry out any proper colorimetric observations.

I saw no albinos in the Onges, usually fairly common in dark- 143
skinned peoples. I saw several in Africa, with apparently normal 826
parents. Some African peoples destroy albinos at birth as they do [847]
those with deformities, and the Andamanese may do the same, as I saw little congenital deformity (see, however, p. 46). Fear of being [626]
held responsible for disasters which befall the group carries great weight, and it is possible that the two cases of abnormality which I did see did not manifest symptoms at birth. Twins, however, are [845]
clearly (and gladly) accepted, so eager are the Onges to have [842]
children.

It was already clear in the infant that it would have the somatic 142
characteristics common to all Negritos as regards the proportions of the body, the form and dimensions of the head, absence of prognathism, comparatively fine lips, nose and ears, black skin, and woolly hair, and would be well below 1·5 metres in height when fully grown. Above all, the Andamanese have a large forehead, very wide-angled jaw and large mouths, with the upper lips not invariably full, as in Negroes. Many Onges, in fact, have fine features,

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

Many Onges, in fact, have fine features,
142 and some of the women have a certain beauty and grace of move-
[481] ment, with a dignified walk and restrained gestures, despite their utter lack of any sense of shame. The sclera are very white, and the highly characteristic contrast between the intense black of the skin and the startling white of the eyes gives the Andamanese a ferocious appearance, which on smiling turns into a curiously childish ex-
151 pression (see further, p. 19). It is a curious fact that although the
145 Onges have remarkable sight (p. 47), few of them can close each eye separately, although they are all completely ambidextrous.

144 In examining the child I had particularly in mind the very short
142 stature of the pygmies both of Asia and Africa, which is regarded
164 by some as pathological. The Andamanese have been described as Negroes who have degenerated through genetical isolation. This theory holds that they are descended from slaves who fled from the Portuguese after a shipwreck. I do not regard this as tenable. Pygmies in general, and the Andamanese in particular, are well-proportioned and physically outwardly normal. One cannot speak of dwarfism as determining their characteristics: this implies abnormal development as the result of hypophyseal disorder or
[143] thyroid imbalance. Cases of achondroplastic dwarfism are known among the pygmies of Africa, particularly where there has been mixing with Negroes, and these patients are sometimes taller than their normal kinfolk, but I found no cases among the pygmies of Asia.

142 One characteristic of the Bushmen which does occur among the Andamanese is steatopigia in both males and females. This is nor-
[114] mally much more prevalent in females, and indeed before my visit to the Andamans von Eickstedt held that it was non-existent in males. I had always disagreed with this view, and was able to verify its occurrence in both males and females.

Dobson in the nineteenth century recorded in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* of London, the unusual appearance of the buttocks in the Andamanese, although he did not specifically refer to the phenomenon as steatopygia, and went only so far as to suppose it the result of an unusual accumulation of fat in the gluteal area. To him, however, must go the credit for the first observation.

114 His observation led scientists – in my view wrongly – to compare
142 the Andamanese with the Bushmen. The presence of steatopygia,
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11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

and the 'peppercorn' hair (disposed in tufts with bare areas) do indeed recall the Bushmen, but superficial resemblances are not enough to classify the two peoples as at all closely related. There is an important difference between the two in the structure and cross-section of the hair. Hairs from the Onges which were examined in Calcutta were remarkably uniform, indicating the racial purity of the people, unlike those of the Arioto, which showed considerable variation in cross-section, from the almost circular straight hair of the Mongoloid type, to the flattened, almost remiform hair of the original Negritos.

Different, too, is the shape of the head; I have never seen in the Negritos the typical Bushmen head, with the prominent occiput, and I saw no Andamanese with the pseudo-mongoloid appearance of the eyes which occurs in Bushmen.

The hands and feet are also different. Among the Kung women of the northern Kalahari in particular I saw delicate hands with very long metacarpals and a very small thumb, the elongated metacarpals displacing the thumb towards the wrist. None of the Negritos appear to have anything resembling this; their hands are always rather broad. Moreover, the feet of the male Onges are nearly always flat while those of the women tend to turn in, recalling the small peoples of Indonesia and New Guinea, but not the Bushmen.

An interesting though not congenital abnormality in the Andamanese results from the carrying of weights slung from the head from too early an age. Loads are always carried on their backs by a rope made of bark, the weight being taken on the forehead. The rope presses on the head in the region of the bregma and creates the so-called bregmatic furrow. This is more marked in females, as the women normally do most of the carrying. Even the children travel on their parents' backs, hanging like parcels, until the age of five or six when they are old enough to follow the group on their own.

The Abor, a mongoloid people of small stature in the mountains of North-West Assam, carry loads in the same way, but with no resulting head furrow. The Andamanese have softer cranial bones, and the result of load-bearing is therefore clearly visible. As it occurs in both sexes, it is often hard if not impossible to determine sex from skulls if the pelvis is absent. The long bones are not of

142 147 482 much assistance in this respect, as the muscular insertions are exaggerated in both sexes, both being subjected to continued physical effort resulting in muscular bulk.

142 147 164 [304] [515] One quite outstanding physical feature in the Onges is their teeth. The palate is unusually arched, unlike that of the African pygmies or the Bushmen. The teeth, which are never filed or cut, as many primitive peoples do for decorative purposes, are very white; caries is rare, and although never cleaned the teeth are retained till late in life. A common abnormality is that the lateral incisors are as pointed as the canines. This, with the whiteness of the teeth and eyes against the blackness of the skin, gives the Onges a sinister appearance, which may account for the old description of the Andamanese as men with ferocious dogs' heads. The only 142 515 (summary) cleaning the Onge teeth receive is the use of toothpicks, thinner and rather longer than the European variety and made from the tough, flexible bark of a certain reed. After use, they are carefully thrust into the hair for future occasions. Every Onge has one or more threaded through the hair on top of the head.

142 147 [264] [514] The strength of the Onge teeth enables their owners to champ their way through what are for us inconceivable quantities of food, both animal and vegetable, which is chewed slowly and determinedly, dust, earth, sand and all, and then swallowed without apparent ill effects, other than the flatulence arising from overconsumption of animal matter. But the Onges use their teeth for other purposes besides eating. In time the teeth become worn down by the inevitable grinding of dirt and grit, but this does not prevent the Onges from continuing to chew the bark of trees and cords, which is a lifelong occupation. This duty falls mainly on the women, and I have seen aged women, their teeth worn almost to the gums, doggedly chewing bark as their contribution to the communal life of the group. The strength of the teeth is unbelievable – I have seen children of ten to fifteen years crush nails up to two millimetres thick, and dent lumps of iron.

114 123 142 147 [37] I myself once had good cause to be grateful for their power. My party and I found ourselves stranded in the forest on South Brother without guns or even knives, and without cooking utensils. There were large clutches of turtle eggs buried in the sand nearby and my two Onge companions pointed out a coconut tree loaded with nuts (which turned out to be the only one on the islands, seeded

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

from a nut carried by the sea from some tree hundreds of miles away). There was thus ample food for several days, if only the coconuts could be opened. The Onges' teeth solved the problem. They attacked the nuts close to the stalk, stripping off great chunks of the fibrous outer covering until they had uncovered the three 'eyes'. These they dug out with a sharp piece of stick, so that we were able to drink the juice and then break up the nuts to get at the flesh. Never did coconuts taste so good!

Round the base of the tree I saw a thick layer of broken pieces of coconut, the remains of nuts opened by the Onges' teeth over the years. The strength of their bite resembles that of the African pygmies, whom I have seen hanging by their teeth from the lianas and who can dent the barrel of a gun.

The average life span of the Onges, and indeed of the Andamanese in general, is fairly short. On Little Andaman there are probably no individuals over the age of sixty, and most die before fifty. Here again they differ from African peoples of similar stature; Bushmen have been known to live to a hundred, and I saw one in Natal, incredibly wrinkled, but not shrunken, who was certainly near that age if not, as he claimed, over it. This is quite unknown in the Andamanese. There are none with white hair; although a few white hairs can sometimes be found on the head of an old woman, there are none to be seen in the men, who die younger than the women. There is no baldness, which is by no means rare in Negroes, particularly in southern Africa.

Precise age is not easy to determine in the Onges. Visual assessment is hampered by the absence of the signs of ageing common in Europeans. Moreover, a particularly child-like expression often lasts into adult life. In May 1952 I saw on Car Nicobar two Jarawa youths, small but robust, whose age by our standards one would have estimated at ten or twelve years. One turned out to be fourteen, however, and the other at least two years older, and both were adolescent, despite their childish appearance.

Males appear to reach their maximum height at about eighteen, and females at about sixteen; both sexes reach full maturity at about twenty-three. At forty-five they are old: their hard life, their unbalanced diet, with its enormous quantities of fat meat eaten in excess, and complete absence of salt, and their unrestrained sexual activity, may all be contributing factors. The slightly greater age

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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1 The author with two adult islanders

[facing P. 66, A]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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[facing P. 66, B]

/2 . . . Two examples of the geometric patterns which are painted on the face and torso/

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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3 *Above top* A group of Onges resting against the bastion roots of a tree. The man in the centre is smoking a crab-claw pipe
4 *Above* A typical example of tight binding of the body as a cure for disease
2 *Left* Two examples of the geometric patterns which are painted on the face and torso

[facing P. 66, C]

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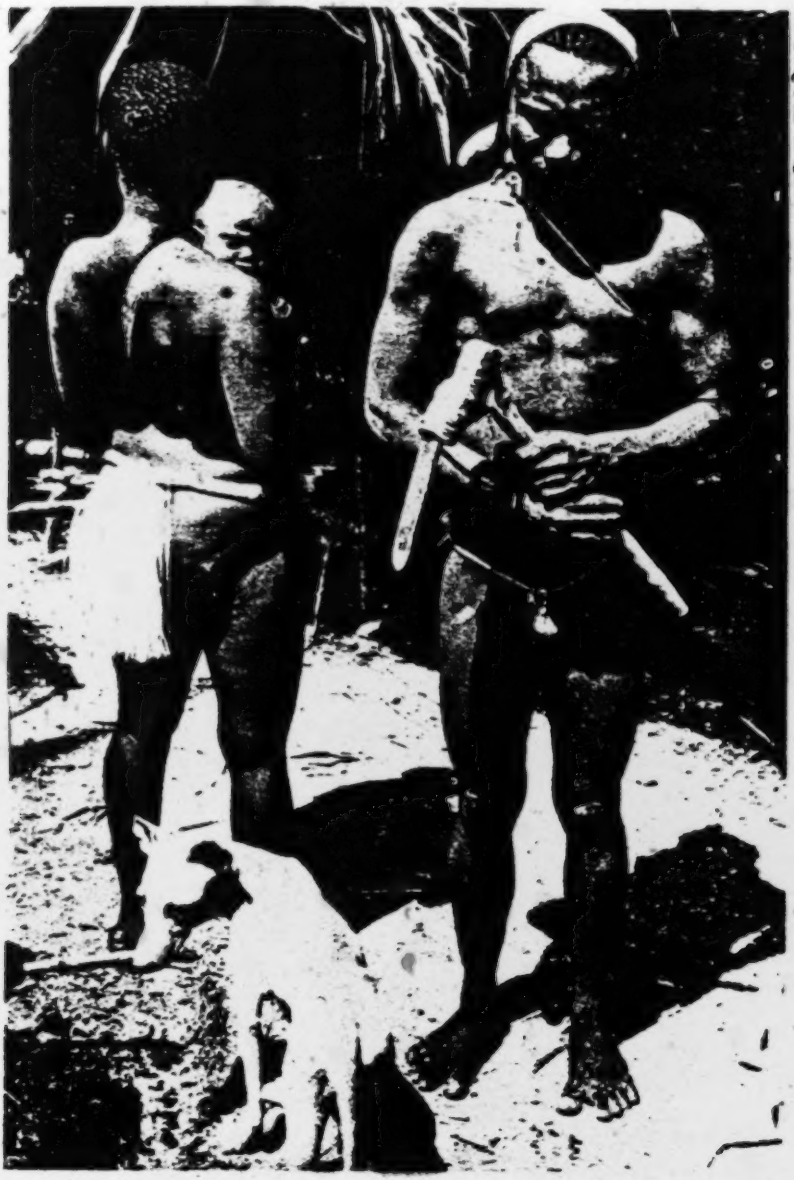
5 *Above* Mother feeding her baby from a Nautilus shell
6 *Right* The axe is one of the few primitive tools in use in the Andamans

[Facing P. 66, D]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2



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[facing P. 66, E]

/6 ... The axe is one of the few primitive tools in use in the Andamans/

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11 *Above* Launching an outrigger canoe
12 *Below* Hunter with a monitor lizard
13 Mother and child

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[facing P. 66, H]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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[facing P. 66, I]

/13 Mother and child/

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[147]

14 In spite of their size, the Andaman islanders are capable of carrying enormous weights

15 A temporary shelter in the forest

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[facing P. 66, J]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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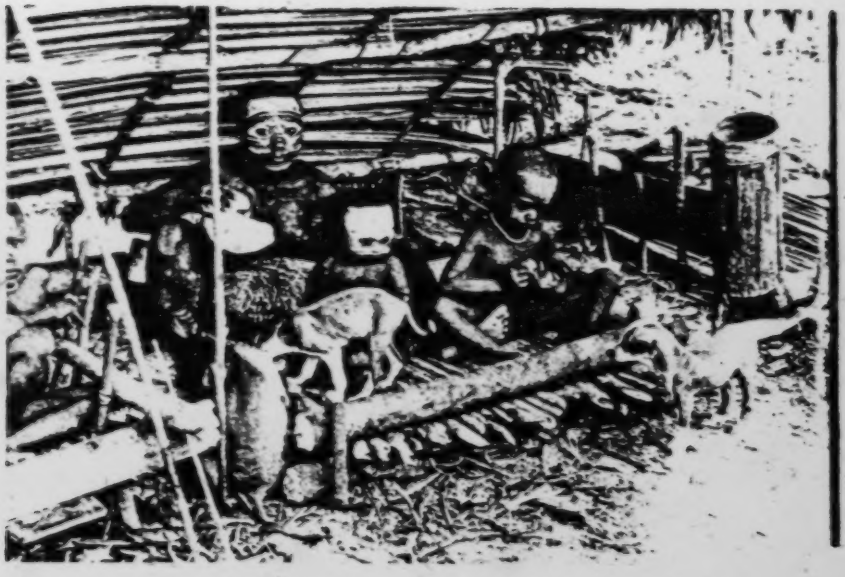

18 A family group with, on the right, the cylindrical cooking-pot, and the inevitable dogs

19 Typical shell collection from a kitchen-midden

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[facing p. 67]

197 comparatively rapid variation and it is now difficult to establish their linguistic connections outside the Andamans, but Africa can certainly be discounted, in view of the general weight of evidence against any Negro ancestry.

619 Like the Onges the Jarawas are divided into endogamous groups, each with its own name, corresponding to their communal huts, and each with their own territory for the purposes of hunting, fishing and gathering food. There is little reliable information [144] about their daily life or even their numbers; it is, however, certain and I cannot overstress this, that the Jarawas are Negrito in type,[1] with the same admixture as in the Onges.

000 Whoever or whatever they may be, the replacement of primitive expeditions by genuine attempts at pacification would, quite apart from the obvious humanitarian considerations involved, afford a unique opportunity for detailed study of a dying population in regeneration, and the refusal of an otherwise irrevocable progress towards final extinction.

104 But the problem of the Jarawas is merely one aspect of the problem of the Andamanese in general, and their connection with the Negritos both past and present. The Semang and the Aetà, as we have seen, resemble each other, and together resemble the Andamanese, in a number of essential points. Recent contacts with other influences in Malacca and the Philippines respectively have produced variations – such as the Semang use of traps and snares with which they take small animals, and also birds, which the Andamanese never touch. They have also taken to making refuges in the trees as a defence against wild animals, non-existent in the Andamans. Traps, poison, agriculture, fish-hooks, animal nets, are all late acquisitions, not found among the original Negritos. It was [114] thought by Brown that spears, used by the Semang, were also [411] unknown among the peoples of the Andamans, but I have myself [126] seen them used by the Onges, though admittedly I saw only a few, and very rough specimens; I did, however, manage to bring some back with me.

000 In the case of the canoes, the Semang and the Aetà seem to have

[1] On 11 January 1951 a Jarawa was killed at Lekeralarta on Middle Andaman and [142] the head is now in the Indian Museum in Calcutta. This head shows signs of beard, unlike those of two Jarawas held in the Nicobars since the September 1938 incident. Short, muscularly well-developed, strong and very black, Jarawas are normally beardless, as is usual in Negritos.

136 Andaman, in Yeratil Jig (near Port Anson, about fifteen miles from Long Island) in Diglipur (or Dilyapur) Creek, near Port Cornwallis, and in Wilima Jig,[1] but they are now extinct. In March 1952 the Onges had described the presence of crocodiles so clearly to me as to leave no doubt what they meant, and I soon received confirmation when I found their tracks on the sand about one kilometre from the mouth of Jackson Creek, on the right bank, and then saw some lying on the shore across the creek. Through my field glasses I saw small birds pecking between the teeth of the great wide-open jaws. As we approached they slid lazily into the sea, some reappearing a little later, their cavernous mouths rising vertically out of the water. Every day after that I saw them swimming quietly near the banks, and one afternoon my men and I between us saw over a dozen, near Nachuge, dozing in the mud or in the water.

[805] [198] The Onges assured me that crocodiles will come out of the water to a certain whistle. I got them to try it; the Onges whistled, and whistled again, but no crocodiles came!

237 321 276 172 Very different from the great turtles and the crocodiles, but equally important in the daily life of the Onges, are the crabs from which the islanders make their ancient and very characteristic pipes. They eat the crabs and use the claws to make the pipes, cutting them across the joint and boring a hole in the end, as they have done since time immemorial, to smoke aromatic leaves from the forest. Fragments of similar pipes, charred with use, appear in even the lowest strata of the kitchen-middens, dating back thousands of years and proving the antiquity of the smoking habit. Contrary to popular belief, smoking did not begin everywhere with the introduction of tobacco – in Asia at least men smoked thousands of years ago.

237 276 171 The claw pipes of the Onges have a groove cut round the end which goes into the mouth, so that the teeth can grip it better. I have seen identical pipes, with the same groove, in the Melville Islands, where there are many other signs of ethnographic connections with the Andamans. The canoes, for example, are identical with those of the Andamans; the peoples themselves, however, are today very different physically. [501] [142]

[165] [1] According to Portman a man was dragged into the water here on 11 May 1894 by a crocodile and killed; several similar incidents have occurred since.

18: Kleiweg de Zwaan E-5 (1906-1910) 1925 OB1 Indonesia
Andamans AZ2

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Fig. 12. Mincopie Woman of the Andamans

Photo A. R. Brown.

Blood Groups from the Andaman and Nicobar Islands

By

S. S. Sarkar

The following blood group data were collected during the months of February-April, 1948 in the course of a visit to Little Andaman, Long Island and Car Nicobar by a party under Dr B. S. Guha from the Department of Anthropology, of which the present writer was a member. The data grouped according to the different tribes are as follows :— 143 21 114 [128]

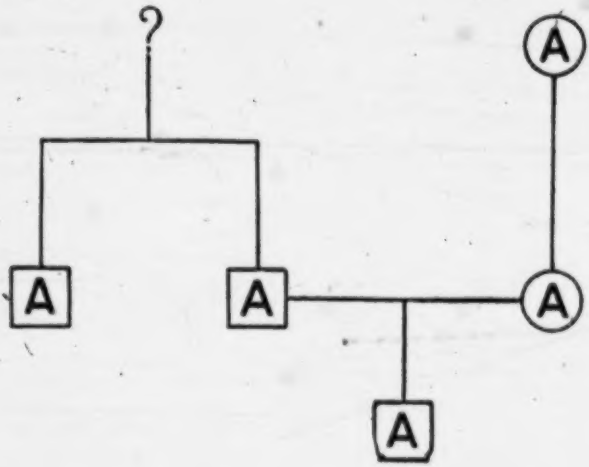
Onges

34 Onges, 19 males and 15 females, were grouped from the island of Little Andaman. They were collected from the settlements round about Bumila Creek, Dugong Creek and the village Tambebui on the N. E. part of the island. The blood group distribution is as follows :— 125 361 143

O	5	14·71%
A	23	67·65%
B	2	5·88%
AB	4	11·76%
	34	

The predominance of group A was already noticeable from Chaudhuri's (Gates, 1940) earlier study of 5 Onges, 3 of whom belonged to A and 1 each to Group O and B.

This will be also apparent from the following pedigree, where three generations show only A. [601]



[p. 25]

A 114 143 582 Owing to linguistic difficulties it was not possible to find out the relationships in the majority of cases. It is, however, evident that inbreeding must be very high in such a small, isolated and closed population.

Jarawas

A 114 143 Gates (1940, 1948) reported blood groups of the five Jarawas captured at Bluff Island in September, 1938. Of these five, the adult woman and her eldest son died at Port Blair during Japanese occupation. It appears that Chaudhuri did not group the blood of the 4th son born at Port Blair to the above captured woman, since that would have made the total number 6 (mother +4 sons + 1 unrelated girl) instead of 5. This boy (Pl. IX, Fig. 3) is now 13 years old and was found like his mother and brothers to be belonging to Group O. The blood samples of the other three children were found to be O. The children (Pl. IX) are now living in a Car Nicobar mission.

Andamanese

A 161 A 125 143 The Andamanese population has undergone very serious depletion. The total strength was estimated to be about 37 as compared with 90 of the census figure of 1931. Only 21 of these people could be tested from the islands of Havelock and Neil. Their blood groups are :—

O	2	9·52%
A	12	57·14%
B	5	23·81%
AB	2	9·52%
	21	

Nicobarese

N 361 N 125 [164] 143 The majority of the Nicobarese were grouped at the Car Nicobar island. A group of 15 people from Chaura and a patient suffering from infantile paralysis from Nankauri were included in the sample. All the 16 of the latter group belonged to Group O.

The Nicobarese blood group distribution is as follows :—

	O	A	B	AB	p	q	r	D/σ
	117	5	14	0				
%	86·03	3·68	10·29	..	·019	·054	·928	0·5

N 164 Car Nicobar was visited towards the decline of the infantile paralysis epidemic. There were only 24 patients in the hospital. A good number, however, of those who escaped death but were otherwise invalidated were examined. N 734 125

5: Sarkar D-5 (1948)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Nicobars AZ7

The blood group distribution of 39 such invalids is as follows :—

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	O	A	B	AB	Total
	34	1	4	0	39
%	87·18	2·56	10·26	0	

When this is compared with the normal unaffected sample the following figure is obtained :—

	O	A	B	AB	Total
	83	4	10	0	97
%	85·57	4·12	10·31	0	

There is thus no significant difference between the affected and normal samples.

Negrito Affinities

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A
[582]

While nothing definite can be said of the Jarawas, the other two Negrito groups, the Onges and the Andamanese, show very high incidence of the blood group A. This is accompanied by a very low O in both the cases. In breeding in such isolated populations of small size is normally very high and this has possibly resulted in the dominant A mendelising over the recessive O. It appears that the Negritos, here and elsewhere, possess a high frequency of A with little B, which is probably due to intermixture. This will be apparent from the following table :—

	O	A	B	AB	Investigator
	%	%	%	%	
Negrito (Philippines) (297)	48·4	33·3	14·1	4·0	Grove
Bushmen (615) . .	56·1	29·6	7·5	6·8	Pijper
Onges (34) . . .	14·71	67·65	5·88	11·76	Author
Andamanese (22) . .	9·9	59·09	22·71	9·09	Author

Among the Andamanese proper, the half breeds form probably one half of the population and the high B of 22·72 per cent must be due to mixture with outside peoples. The Onges are more isolated than the Andamanese and it is difficult to account for the 5·88 per cent of B among them. The percentage of AB is also high enough to warrant the presence of more B.

5: Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Nicobars AZ7

A 114 144 143 Gates (1948) is of opinion that : " The blood groups of Negritos and Australoids must have been very different then, as they are now, the former being high in B, the latter having A without B".

Earlier Negrito data from other sources, as also the results of this investigation, do not support the above contention. Both the Australoids and the Negritos have been found to be high in A. The Negrito peoples of the Andaman Islands, although they are now isolated in the different islands, probably all belong to the same ethnic stock and when their blood group data are pooled together the following percentages are obtained :—

A 143 144

	O	A	B	AB	Total
Total . . .	13	36	7	6	62
Negritos*(Andaman Islands) . . %	20·97	58·07	11·29	9·67	

A [162] The total number of 62 consists of 34 Onges from Little Andaman, 22 Andamanese, 6 Jarawas. When the 22 Andamanese, who are definitely known to be mixed, are exempted from the above total, the position is as follows :—

	O	A	B	AB	Total
	11	23	2	4	40
%	27·50	57·50	5·00	10·00	

It thus appears that more than half the Negrito population belong to group A and their similarity with the Australians in this respect, associated with the enormous differences in physical features between the two, still remains to be satisfactorily explained.

Nicobarese Blood Groups

N 144 143 [174] The Nicobarese blood groups present a picture so far unknown to S.-E. Asia. The high frequency of O is characteristic of the American Indians. The Nicobarese are believed to have migrated into their present habitat from Lower Burma. Little is known of blood group distribution from Burma. Mollison and Reddy (1946) have published a set of data from 229 peoples, comprising 155 pure Burmans, 57 Karens, 13 Chins and 4 Kachins. They show the following blood group distribution :—

O	A	B	AB
36·2	26·2	29·7	7·9

* Chaudhuri's sample of 5 Onges (Gates, 1940) could not be combined with the present author's sample lest the same person is included in both the data. There are chances of such duplication in small populations as such.

5: Sarkar D-5 (1948)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Nicobars AZ7
Maori OZ4

The Nicobarese values thus differ widely from the above. It will not be out of place here to mention of Eickstedt's samples from Upper Burma (Steffan, 1932) which gives 60% of O and 40% of B and stands somewhat closer to the Nicobarese data than the above figures of Mollison and Reddy.

In spite of the close cultural affinities of the Nicobarese with those of Malaya and Indo-China, in respect of their aversion to milk, the outrigger canoe, artificial deformation of head, the Malayan form of sniffing cheeks (Malay kiss), etc., the Nicobarese have so far remained ignorant of agriculture. It appears, therefore, that the Nicobarese migrated from a habitat where agriculture was unknown and it is among such peoples that their close congeners could be found.

Negritos, Australians and Polynesians

The above three ethnic stocks, though widely varying in physical features have in common the high element of blood group A. It remains to be seen how they stand in respect of the sub-groups of A and the MN factors. So far only the Australians have been subjected to the study of MN factors (Birdsell and Boyd, 1940).

The similarity of the above three peoples in respect of the blood groups was pointed out to some extent by Howells (1934) and as such Gates' statement (p. 28) is probably unjustified. The percentages of B come to 14·1 in the case of Negritos of the Philippines (Grove, 1926), to 5·00 in the case of those from the Andaman Islands and to 2·2 in the case of the Hawaiians* (Nigg, 1930). Samoa with its fairly large content of B of 19·4% (Shapiro, 1940) is already a problem. The paucity of B among the Australians is already well-known. All these appear to show that B is a later instrusion in this area and A was predominant among the Negritos and the Australoids as it is now. The Polynesian movements began towards the dawn of Christian era from Indonesia when B did not probably reach there. This might have influenced the Nicobarese as well and the 3·68% of A may be Polynesian in origin.

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* Time is ripe enough for discarding Phillips Maori data by now (see Shapiro, Howells, Graydon and Simmons, and Godley). They are compared with the recent data below :—

O	A	B	AB	
47·5%	39·5%	1·0%	12·0%	(Phillips, 1931 n=200)
41·2%	58·1%	0·7%	0	(Graydon & Simmons, 1945 ; n=267)
45·26%	48·74%	4·07%	1·91%	(Godley, 1946-47 ; n=835)
44·27%	52·96%	1·57%	1·20%	(Paddock, 1946 ; n=1335)

5: Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2 Nicobars AZ7 Maori OZ4

It will be thus futile to argue that the Negritos, who by race and culture, appear undoubtedly to be the oldest inhabitants of this area, were strong in B, unless we assume that B is lost. At least that will be similar to the supposition of Phillips who contented that the Morioris, the ancestor of the present Maoris, belonged to group B.

N A 143

Summary

(1) 34 Onges grouped from the island of Little Andaman show the following distribution :—

O—14·71%, A—67·65%, B—5·88% and AB—11·76%.

(2) 22 Andamanese show the following distribution :—

O—9·09%, A—59·09%, B—22·72% and AB—9·09%.

(3) 4 Jarawa children were all found to belong to group O.

(4) 136 Nicobarese belong to the following groups :—

O—86·03%, A—3·68%, B—10·29%.

N A 199 143 174

(5) Negrito affinities are discussed. Nicobarese blood groups show the highest O in India and Indonesia. Polynesian elements are probably evidenced by the presence of A.

(6) The Negritos, the Australians and the Polynesians all have high A and the B as seen in Samoa or Melanesia probably reached these islands after the Polynesian movements began in the dawn of Christian era.

N 113

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6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

841 resembling these practices in any other part of the world. Never hitherto
171 described, they should be carefully considered. This would require a lengthy description, for which there is no space here. We may recall that menstruating Onge women are allowed to circulate freely at all times. An interesting detail
[751] is that the *naquinēghē* of first menstruations are worn by relations around their neck as having health-giving properties. The women, as we know, use special
841 soft, long leaves, collected for them by their husbands, as absorbents. They
[824] are the leaves of Myristica longifolia or of Tretanthera lanceofolia both species serving the purpose. They are applied under the *naquinēghē* and drawn back between the legs to be secured above the buttocks. – Sexual intercourse is
[834] forbidden during the menstrual period even by the Onge : illness – a swelling
[753] of the arms or legs – would follow. A curious theory about the reason for menstruation in very young girls is that it is a result of previous sexual contacts stimulated by nose rubbing – the Onge substitute for kissing. They ignore the
832 unhygienic practice of kissing with the lips, and never even kiss their children. Only nose rubbing is practiced. The anatomical structure of the Onge nose, which almost totally lacks nasal bones and is very fleshy, may explain this transference of sensation from nearby regions, i. e. the lips.

844 Births take place in the forest and are surrounded by no hygienic precautions or disinfection as conceived by us. Clay is applied to stem puerperal bleeding, without provoking infection. The only assistant is the pregnant woman's husband, and sometimes one or two old women. Their ability equals that of a herdsman delivering his goat of a kid. No inconvenience arises, in either instance, from lack of precautions. – The tiny, tender and graceful bodies
[751] of Onge infants are smeared with ochre and light-coloured clay for hygienic purposes. This is done immediately after birth, and affords some protection against the teeming legions of mosquitos and ticks that plague Little Andaman. The infant is never washed in water, not even at the very moment of birth. The placenta is buried 30 or 40 cms deep, under the bed of naked branches upon which the mother delivered her baby.

842 An argument that deserves much attention concerns the possible link
143 between lack of hygiene and sterility among the Onge. A vast number of married couples have no offspring, thereby threatening their group with extinction. Consanguinity could be given as a cause : let us examine it. No doubt the Onge are related to each other as a consequence of long interbreeding in their island with no foreigners admitted. These conditions afford an ideal field for studying the effects of endogamy on man. Nowhere in the world, as far as I know, are a people so isolated as in Little Andaman. Inbreeding has existed at 100 % ever since remote times. In other words, the Onge would seem to be the most highly inbred human population known up to the present. Could this fact alone, aside from unhealthy habits, explain their present widespread sterility ? Special
174 studies on the subject should be undertaken, keeping in mind that the Onge have certainly inhabited Little Andaman for thousands of years, on the evidence of my excavations in their kitchen-middens.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

164 do they suffer from the eye infections that are so common in the tropics. Their
151 highly trained eye can distinguish at a great distance small vessels on the troubled waters of the sea that people with normal eyesight could not perceive without a telescope. Normal vision, I suppose, is the same for the entire human
123 race ; but we exercise our eyesight less. In the dark fastness of the jungle, the
151 Onge were able to point out birds sitting motionless high up in the trees, quite invisible to me notwithstanding my experience in collecting even the tiniest specimens. With their sharp eyes they sought out for me a collection of minute mimetic amphibians living far from the ground on tree trunks, previously unknown to science. The same thing often happened when I was unable to see as far as they did. The help of my savage friends was invaluable in avoiding the poisonous snakes that we met with daily in our camps or while travelling. For our protection, the Onge always marched in front of my men. They could discern reptiles hanging from branches among thick foliage, waiting to bite us on the neck, or lying perfectly still in the tall grass, ready to attack our legs. The only trouble we had with snakes was when the men I had brought from India, in moments of enthusiasm ran ahead into the interior of the jungle, eluding their Onge vanguard.

752 The Onge themselves, however, are sometimes bitten by snakes, with
123 dire consequences. Happily the Andamanese snakes are less deadly than the
[136] same species on the continent, and few deaths occur from snake bite ; but it can curtail a man's activity for several months. In March 1953 an Onge friend
[222] of about 25 who had climbed a tall tree to collect honey, inadvertently seized with his left hand a snake concealed in a tuft of creepers, and was bitten above the elbow. Frightful swelling ensued, together with shooting pains and a raging fever. The man was brought to me unconscious, his left arm had already assumed the appearance of a huge, rigid, elongated sausage. The Onge had smeared all his body, and particularly the wounded arm, with ochre mixed with honey, turtle fat and rough clay. They have no specific remedy for snake bite. It was too late, but in an attempt to save the patient an antiophidic injection was practiced on him. Within a few hours he appeared to rally. I saw him again after eleven days ; his arm had been treated in the Onge way and put in a sling made of ficus bark cut into narrow strips. Fever had disappeared, and in part also the swelling, so he could move his elbow a little. The skin peeled off the whole length of the arm. Where the fangs had entered the flesh two round, red, suppurating wounds, 1 cm in diameter, were discernible under a layer of clay and honey. The man recovered in about two months. During his
476 illness the people who shared his communal hut exempted him, his wife and his children from all work, and supplied them with all requirements. This occurs in every case of illness, showing the complete solidarity that prevails among those simple people – once considered ferocious. Always, if the wife is ill, the husband is automatically relieved of his hunting, fishing and food-collecting duties. Friends provide food for the family, no matter how many the members thereof.

164 In Little Andaman, we Europeans are constantly threatened with mala-
● 143 ria. Should we fail to take all necessary precautions we would catch it upon setting foot on the island. The Onge are all infected, but it does not upset

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

them ; neither children nor adults have dilated spleens. Inhabitants of other regions where malaria incidence is high often show the same immunity, supposedly attained through local adaptation. Papuasians, Melanesians and Africans sometimes appear insensitive to malaria, although they all carry the germs of the disease. In opposition to their resistance to malaria, the Onge are vulnerable to minor lung infections and measles, which we would not consider serious. 164 143

When fever occurs, whatever the cause, the Onge recur to their universal remedy : plastering the entire body with clay, ochre, turtle fat and honey. Legs, arms and trunk are swaddled in tight bandages made of strips of ficus bark. These bandages hinder superficial blood circulation. The strips are removed from time to time and replaced after vigorous massaging of the body with hands and feet. Stomach and chest pains, as well as insistent coughing, are treated by stretching the patient horizontally on the ground and rubbing him energetically with hands and feet. The feet compress the body, with special attention to the affected part. The entire trunk is worked over in this manner, inch by inch, and the patient is carefully rotated until he has been completely turned around to receive treatment on all sides. This process lasts half an hour or more. It is a curious sight to see a man transformed into a kind of sausage, all tied up in strings and subjected to violent treatment on the bare ground, with a crowd of spectators surrounding him, obviously taking the whole performance quite seriously. The result is kill or cure ; the former helped, I should say, by rough treatment performed with the best intentions. 757

Exposure to hot smoke is another Onge cure for wounds and pains. I saw it applied, for instance, on Nabimbôi, the fat young wife of Maritôi, chief of Chemalē. She had scorched her right foot by stepping inadvertently on smouldering ashes. The pain made it impossible for her to sleep, so she was treated by covering the burn with the usual mixture of clay, turtle fat and honey, and exposing it to hot smoke. The smoke was provided by burning the fresh seeds of a creeper, each as big as a horse-chestnut and of the same colour, but of a lenticular shape. Incisions are made in the seeds to prevent explosion, and they are laid on the fire where they give out a thick smoke. The injured foot was held as close to the fire as possible. Recovery promptly ensued, but I would not swear that it was due to the treatment. 752

Fire is used by the Onge also against fever, whatever its cause. I shall quote an instance. On the night of 28 March, 1954, one of my guides, Toncootēi, a very intelligent Onge, suffered a strong attack of fever while resting in the Antiguēh communal hut in the interior of the island. I diagnosed the trouble as indigestion from immoderate guzzling of pork meat. Friends stretched Toncootēi on the ground, resting on his right side. Two lines of burning charcoal, set at right angles, outlined his back and head. Then one of the Onge started spitting on Toncootēi's hair. This was followed by vigorous rubbing of his scalp, with occasional pauses to seize his head and press it strongly with both hands. Following this, diluted ochre and clay – very hot – was spread on his thorax, throat and neck and rubbed in vigorously, whereupon the patient was brought closer to the fire. In the meantime a young fellow 757 372 123

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

the finger-tips and almost pink, with pale chocolate moons and yellowish-brown palms and soles. In the adults the nails and soles of the feet remain pale, the palms being a little darker. The head, and the visible buccal and nasal epithelia, were almost black, and the gums were pink, as was the inside of the lips, with dark petecchiae, in adults very noticeable, at the base of the teeth and over the tongue and palate. The cheeks, however, were a reddish-brown, although the whole skin was already showing signs of darkening after twelve hours. Nasal cartilage was minimal, but that of the ears well-developed. The darkest area of skin were the forehead, eye sockets, lids, nipples and genitalia.

In general, therefore, the infant's skin was very slightly lighter than that of the adults, though before I could be sure of this I had to wash off the thick layer of ochre which is smeared over the unwashed infants immediately after birth. As the infants are extremely carefully protected from the sun by 'umbrella' hats made of lobed palm leaves, the darkening, which is complete by the end of the first year, is clearly biological and is not effected by tanning. As, however, the Onges interchange or 'adopt' children freely, it was impossible to carry out any proper colorimetric observations.

I saw no albinos in the Onges, usually fairly common in dark-skinned peoples. I saw several in Africa, with apparently normal parents. Some African peoples destroy albinos at birth as they do those with deformities, and the Andamanese may do the same, as I saw little congenital deformity (see, however, p. 46). Fear of being held responsible for disasters which befall the group carries great weight, and it is possible that the two cases of abnormality which I did see did not manifest symptoms at birth. Twins, however, are clearly (and gladly) accepted, so eager are the Onges to have children.

It was already clear in the infant that it would have the somatic characteristics common to all Negritos as regards the proportions of the body, the form and dimensions of the head, absence of prognathism, comparatively fine lips, nose and ears, black skin, and woolly hair, and would be well below 1·5 metres in height when fully grown. Above all, the Andamanese have a large forehead, very wide-angled jaw and large mouths, with the upper lips not invariably full, as in Negroes. Many Onges, in fact, have fine features,

Many Onges, in fact, have fine features,
142 and some of the women have a certain beauty and grace of move-
[481] ment, with a dignified walk and restrained gestures, despite their utter lack of any sense of shame. The sclera are very white, and the highly characteristic contrast between the intense black of the skin and the startling white of the eyes gives the Andamanese a ferocious appearance, which on smiling turns into a curiously childish ex-
151 pression (see further, p. 19). It is a curious fact that although the
145 Onges have remarkable sight (p. 47), few of them can close each eye separately, although they are all completely ambidextrous.

144 In examining the child I had particularly in mind the very short
142 stature of the pygmies both of Asia and Africa, which is regarded
164 by some as pathological. The Andamanese have been described as Negroes who have degenerated through genetical isolation. This theory holds that they are descended from slaves who fled from the Portuguese after a shipwreck. I do not regard this as tenable. Pygmies in general, and the Andamanese in particular, are well-proportioned and physically outwardly normal. One cannot speak of dwarfism as determining their characteristics: this implies abnormal development as the result of hypophyseal disorder or
[143] thyroid imbalance. Cases of achondroplastic dwarfism are known among the pygmies of Africa, particularly where there has been mixing with Negroes, and these patients are sometimes taller than their normal kinfolk, but I found no cases among the pygmies of Asia.

142 One characteristic of the Bushmen which does occur among the Andamanese is steatopigia in both males and females. This is nor-
[114] mally much more prevalent in females, and indeed before my visit to the Andamans von Eickstedt held that it was non-existent in males. I had always disagreed with this view, and was able to verify its occurrence in both males and females.

Dobson in the nineteenth century recorded in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* of London, the unusual appearance of the buttocks in the Andamanese, although he did not specifically refer to the phenomenon as steatopygia, and went only so far as to suppose it the result of an unusual accumulation of fat in the gluteal area. To him, however, must go the credit for the first observation.

114 His observation led scientists – in my view wrongly – to compare
142 the Andamanese with the Bushmen. The presence of steatopygia,
144

842 enjoy the active marital relationships necessary, according to their
163 husbands, to encourage the entry of the benevolent spirits which bring motherhood. The late onset of fertility in all Andamanese
842 women and perhaps in men as well[1] probably depends on mech-
163 anisms which have been operating for a very long time, affecting
165 the sex ratio at birth, and preferential infant mortality in one sex.
[123] By a combination of observation and deduction I was able to be
[124] reasonably certain that among the Onges at least more males are born than females. The disparity is reduced, though not eliminated, by a higher mortality rate in young males. Males thus remain in excess, making it difficult for some, possibly fertile, to find wives.

842 There are certain peoples – notably the Pitcairn Islanders – who
143 have arisen by repeated inbreeding for hundreds of years from a
161 very few individuals. It is clear from this example that genetic isolation and inbreeding cannot of themselves cause numerical, physical or mental decline of a population. The problem merits further investigation. Civilization has perhaps accused herself unjustly of causing the decline of primitive races, whereas she has in fact only hastened the disappearance of groups already heading for demographic decadence as the result of physiological factors which lie within the group itself, and which are consequently difficult to counteract. The intrinsic damage done by civilization as such has, in my opinion, been considerably exaggerated in some quarters.

Possibly because of the low birth rate the maternal instinct is
855 very highly developed in the women of the Andamans, even to the
597 point of 'adopting' children temporarily. These children are always given lavish affection, and are kept sometimes for years, or even permanently if the parents do not ask for them back. Given the language barrier, this custom makes census-taking difficult as childless couples happily declare adopted children as their own. Nabimbòi, with no children of her own, always had children with her, and it was only the fact that they differed from year to year that led me to suspect what was happening! One wonders whether the custom was not already common before outsiders first came to the Andamans, owing to the existence of a high incidence of sterility long before the arrival of civilization.

[1] There is some evidence of infertility in the men, but it is clear that this is of relatively minor importance.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

131 Islands and finds its continuation in the islands off the west
133 coast of Sumatra[1].

On the west the Andamans are separated from the coast of Madras, 700 miles distant, by the Sea of Bengal. On the east the Andaman Sea, a depression with a depth of over 1000 fathoms, separates the Andamans and Nicobars from the Malay Isthmus and Peninsula. Across the Andaman Sea, less than 100 miles distant from the Andamans, there runs a line of volcanic activity, marked by two small islands, Barren Island in Lat. 12° 15′ N. and Long. 93° 50′ E., and Narkondam in Lat. 13° 26′ N. and Long. 95° 15′ E.[2]

The Cocos, the Andamans and the Nicobars are now part of the Indian Empire. The Cocos Islands are occupied by a station for wireless telegraphy. In the Andaman Islands there is a penal settlement at Port Blair, to which are sent the criminals of India and Burma. The Nicobars are treated as one with the Andamans for administrative purposes.

•144 Until the nineteenth century the Cocos Islands were uninhabited. The Andamans and the Nicobars have for many centuries been inhabited by two entirely different races. The Andamanese belong to that branch of the human species known to anthropologists as the Negrito race. They are short of stature with black skins and frizzy hair. The Nicobarese, on the other hand, resemble the races of Indo-China and Malaya, and have brown skins and lank hair, and are of medium stature.

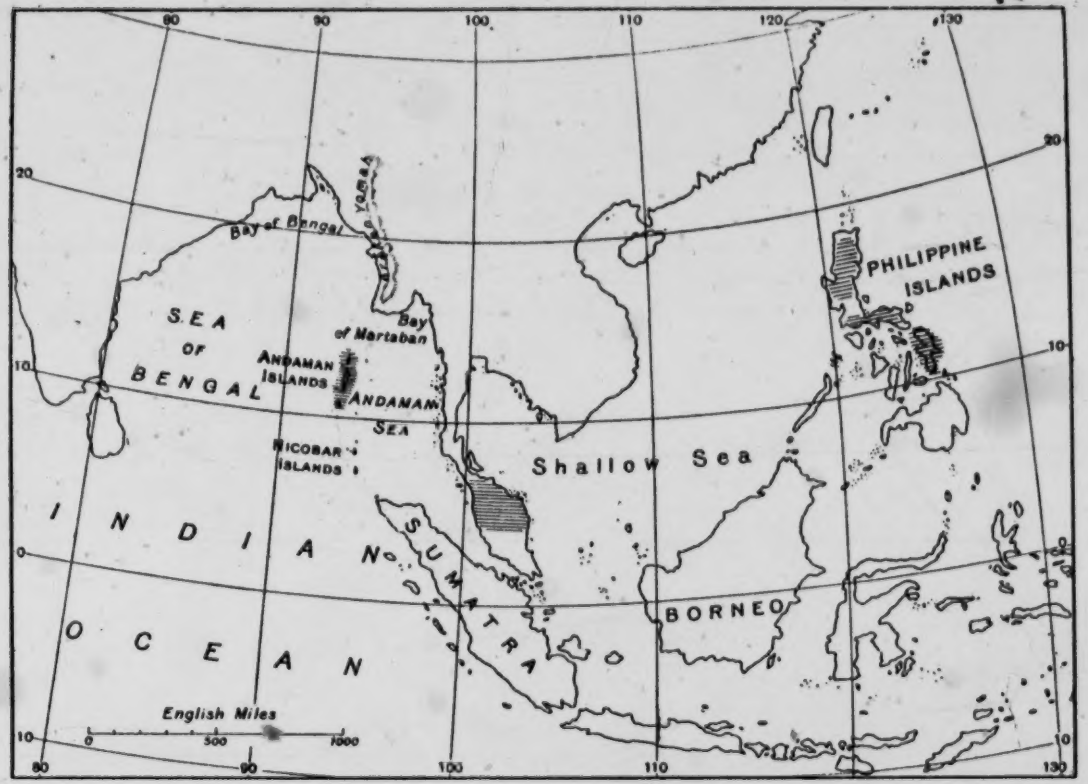
131 The Andaman Islands consist of the Great Andaman and
133 the Little Andaman, and a number of smaller islands. The Great Andaman may be regarded as one island, although it is divided by narrow sea water creeks into four areas, often spoken of as separate islands and called North Andaman,

[1] The formation of the Arakan Fold (including the Andaman and Nicobar Islands), dates from the middle of the Tertiary Period, and was apparently connected with the great movements that produced the Himalaya-Alpine mountain system and the Circum-Pacific Fold. The Andaman Sea, in the later Tertiary period, was prolonged much further to the north, over the region now occupied by the Pegu Yomah.

[2] This line of volcanic activity is a minor continuation of the Sunda Range of volcanoes of Java and Sumatra. It is continued northward, parallel to the Arakan Fold, as far as the extinct volcano of Puppadoung, east of Pagan, not far from Lat. 21°.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908) 1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

MAP I



South-eastern Asia, showing the present distribution of the Negrito Race

[facing p. 6]

174
144

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
.AZ2 Andamans AZ2

174 stretch of the Andaman Sea. The balance of probability is in favour of the view that the Andamans were peopled, either by sea or by land, from the region of Lower Burma.

Of the Negrito race, to which the Andamanese belong, there are two other branches still in existence. The first of these consists of the people who may be conveniently spoken of as the Semang, inhabiting the interior of the Malay Peninsula between 5° and 7° N. Latitude. The other branch of this primitive race is found in the interior of the Philippine Islands. From their present distribution it is clear that the Negritos must at some long past time have wandered over a wide area in south-eastern Asia. The connection between the Andamanese and the Semang can only have been either through Sumatra and the Nicobars, or, more probably, by way of Lower Burma. Communication between the Malay Peninsula and the Philippine Islands must have been either by way of Borneo or Celebes, or else by way of Annam and Cochin China. It is certainly many centuries, and probably many thousands of years, since the three surviving branches of the race were cut off from all communication with each other[1].

In the Malay Peninsula and in the Philippines the Negritos have for a long time been living in contact with other races. They have been driven back from the coasts and fertile valleys into the less accessible districts. There is ample evidence that they have adopted many of the customs of the races around them, and have even adopted to a great extent the language of their alien neighbours. The original Negrito culture and language and even perhaps the original physical type have been modified in these two branches of the race.

In the case of the Andaman Islanders it is possible that they have been entirely isolated in their island home, and have not been affected by contact with other races, but have been free to develop their own culture in adaptation to their own environment. If a hypothesis to this effect were accepted we should see in the Andamanese the direct descendants, in physical character, in language, and in culture, of the original Negrito race.

[1] On the accompanying map of south-eastern Asia the regions now occupied by the Negritos are shown by the shading.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

101 In the records of certain Arabian travellers of the ninth century we appear to find the first mention that is made of these islands being inhabited by negritos, and Marco Polo, some four hundred years later, bears out their statement, while it would seem that the islands themselves were known to Ptolemy, who speaks of a group in the Bay of Bengal as *Insulae bonae fortunae.*

As regards the derivation of the name "Andaman," there seems to be some uncertainty. Colonel Yule, in his well known work on Marco Polo, mentions that, to his knowledge, Nicolo Conti, who calls it the "Island of Gold," is the only person who has attempted to give it a meaning. Colonel Yule's suggestion is that Angamanain (the name used by Marco Polo) is an Arabic (oblique) dual indicating "The Two Andamans," viz., The Great and The Little, while the origin of the name (Angaman) may be traced to Ptolemy's reference to these islands, which he describes as those of *Good Fortune*, Ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος, whence may have sprung the forms Agdaman, Angaman, and ultimately Andaman.

144 With regard to the origin of the race, many conflicting opinions have, from time to time, been entertained; but, from the knowledge we now possess, the questions raised on the following points may, I think, be considered as more or less satisfactorily set at rest, viz.:—

I. That they are Negritos, *not* Papuans.[1]

II. That they are the original inhabitants, whose occupancy dates from pre-historic times; and that racial affinity—if there be any—may possibly some day be found to exist between them and the Semangs of the Malayan Peninsula,[2] or the Aëtas of the Philippine Islands.[3]

III. That all the tribes, as at present known to us, undoubtedly belong to the same race, and are of unmixed origin, the differences which occur among them being attributable as much to their constitutional peculiarities of jealousy and distrust in all dealings with strangers as to the natural barriers

[1] Figuier speaks of them as "pure Papuans, whose isolated position has kept them from intermixture with other races."

[2] *Vide* Wallace's "Malay Archipelago," 2nd Ed., vol. ii, pp. 278-79, and "Journ. Indian Archipelago," vol. iv, p. 427.

[3] If similarity of moral and social characteristics afforded a sufficient basis in ethnological researches among races not otherwise widely distinguished, a theory of affinity between the extinct negroid race of Tasmanians and the Andamanese might be regarded as not altogether untenable, for the descriptions given of the former by some writers are found applicable in many particulars to the race under consideration; notably is this the case in the account given by Mr. J. E. Calder, which I have deemed of sufficient interest in this connection to make a somewhat lengthy extract, and this will form the subject of one of the Appendices. (*Vide* Appendix D.)

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

presented by their densely wooded and hilly country, which facts have combined to isolate the various communities, and to check freedom of intercourse among them; further, in the case of Little Andaman, it may fairly be assumed that the peculiar bee-hive form of their huts, as well as certain modifications of their domestic habits and customs, have been borrowed from their neighbours, the Car Nicobarese, upon whom, in the last century, they made some hostile raids.

IV. That, in spite of all our endeavours to protect them, contact with civilisation has been marked with the usual lamentable result of reducing the aboriginal population; indeed, the death-rate, among those within the area of our influence, during the past twenty years has so far exceeded the birth-rate, as to compel the belief that before many decades have passed, the race, at least that portion of it which inhabits Great Andaman, will be well-nigh extinct.

In view of their probable early extermination, and the rapidity with which they are being meantime reduced to the standard of civilised manners, it seems very desirable that, ere it be too late, all possible information respecting their habits, customs, physical characteristics, etc., should be obtained, more especially as many of the errors which, excusably enough, found their way into the early accounts, having been allowed to pass unchallenged, are accepted as trustworthy, and false ethnological theories are built on these most imperfect bases.

Almost all accounts which have been written regarding these islanders speak of them as *Mincopies*, in explanation of which it is asserted that it is thus "these people style themselves;" but this is far from being the case, for not only is the name, or any at all resembling it, unknown to the *bōjig-ngīji-*,[1] *i.e.*, the inhabitants of South Andaman, but the other six tribes with which we are acquainted are in a like state of ignorance as to its origin and significance. The only sounds at all approximating it in the South Andaman dialect at the present day being *min kaich!* (come here!) and *kâ·min kâ·pi!* (stand here!). The former of these being in common use may have given rise to the term (*Mincopie*) as a nickname, to which, indeed, it may possibly have borne a more striking similarity of sound in the language spoken at the period when this name was first adopted; for each generation cannot fail to produce changes more remarkable, and even of greater importance in the phonology of an unwritten language, such as this, depending as

[1] For the list of symbols adopted for denoting the sounds in this language *see* Appendix A; this list has been finally adopted in accordance with the kind advice of Mr. A. J. Ellis, F.R.S., whose valuable assistance I would here again gratefully acknowledge.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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hardly sufficient to admit of the inference, which might be drawn from the passage just quoted, and on which the incorrect theory might be based, as to their being of mixed descent. I would add that I observed, like Dr. Brander, that these differences are more noticeable among the males than among the females of the population.

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Crosses.—1. In a footnote to his interesting paper on the Andamanese, Dr. Day mentions that "some have entirely smooth hair," and he suggests the probability of a portion of the race being of African origin or of mixed African descent.

2. With the exception of three children of mixed parentage,[1] none of whom survived more than seven or eight years, no examples are known of the existence of a cross-breed among these tribes; and, as none but these three children have been known to have had other than the frizzly hair which is one of the distinctive characteristics of the race, I have no doubt that Dr. Day either observed, or was informed of, the peculiarity occurring in their case, and his remarks must, therefore, be taken as applying only to them.

3. Not only would it have been impossible for us to have continued so long in ignorance of the existence of any individuals of this race who differed so widely from their fellow countrymen as to have smooth hair, but additional evidence is afforded by the denial of the Andamanese to every inquiry instituted on this point.

4. Another statement has been published which is also calculated to mislead; it is as follows:—"I agree with Mr. F. Day that the chief of Rutland Island is probably a native of India."[2] The chief here referred to, by name *maia .bī·ela*, but generally called by us *mūnshī .bī·ela*[3] (*vide* Plate II, fig. 2), was one of the best known, as he certainly was the most useful of all our aboriginal acquaintances. He was not only a thorough, though superior, specimen of the race, but his parents were so well known to be of pure Andamanese blood that his intimates were surprised to learn that a doubt regarding the purity of his descent should even for a moment have been entertained, and certainly I, and others who have for many years been associated with the man and his friends, see no grounds for regarding their statements on this point with the least suspicion.

5. Judging from the exceptional cases above mentioned of a cross breed occurring among them, it seems improbable that the existence of a mixed race in their midst would be tolerated, for all three of the children met their death by violence or neglect,

[1] Hindoo fathers and Andamanese mothers.
[2] Dr. Dobson.
[3] He died of measles in April, 1877.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

not at the hands of their mothers, but of the male members of the tribe. 144 847

Reproduction.—1. Marriages never take place till both parties have attained maturity, and generally not till a few years later; the usual age of the bridegroom varies from 18 to 22, and of the bride from 16 to 20. The result of inquiries tends to show that there is a slight predominance of female over male births; three or four is the average number of children born of the same parents. The largest family known consisted of six, three only of whom attained maturity.[1] 582 163

2. Twins are rare, and as no instance can be recalled of both surviving infancy, notwithstanding all possible care being bestowed on them, they are not favourably regarded. No case of triplets has been known to occur. Births out of wedlock are considered discreditable, and in the one known instance of the kind, the parents were married immediately after the event; no difference was made in the treatment which the child received.[2] 845 848

3. The limited fecundity of the women may in some measure be due to the circumstance that they never wean their babies, so long as they are able to suckle them, and it not unfrequently happens that the two youngest children are seen together at their mother's breast.[3] 853

4. The ill success in rearing their offspring is doubtless owing in most part to the injudicious management and petting which each of the mother's friends considers right to bestow on the infant. It is looked upon as a compliment for every woman who may be nursing, to relieve the mother of this duty at frequent intervals; it is, therefore, no matter of surprise that the little one ails and dies.

5. The proportion of deaths from violence and accident, is believed to amount to four or five per cent. 165

6. Barrenness is rare, as are also cases of stillborn children. No drugs or other contrivances are employed in order to increase or limit reproduction. 842

Abnormalities.—1. Excessive development of fat about the gluteal region is frequently observable among the adult women. 142

[1] It is said that more children are born during the rains than at any other season of the year.

[2] *Vide post* "Marriage," paragraph 4.

[3] On this subject Dr. Brander remarks as follows:—

"They mostly possess considerable mammary development, and the glands in many cases seem to be in a chronic state of functional activity. This may be due to the late period to which they suckle their young (even to three or four years), or to another purpose to which the milk is applied. . . ." (*vide post*, "Shaving.") [As will be seen from Plate II, fig. 1, the mammæ are pyriform rather than spherical: with the advance of years they become flaccid and elongated.] [853]

CHAPTER III.

ETHNOGRAPHY.

I. The Race.—The Affinities of the Race—Its Antiquity—Early Descriptions—The Charge of Cannibalism—The Language of the Aka-Bosda Tribe used in the Report—The Twelve Tribes—Their Division into Three Groups—The Distinctions between the Groups—The Long-shore and Jungle Andamanese—The Former Isolation of the Tribes—Their Sympathies and Antipathies—Fighting Capacity—The Hostile Jarawas—Colebrooke's Knowledge of them (1789)—Explanation of the Name Mincopie for the Andamanese—Relations with the English—Jarawa Raids.

II. Physical Characteristics.—Portman and Molesworth's enquiries—Man's enquiries—High Temperature—Breathing—Age—Reproduction—Endurance—Food—Skin—Hair—Bodily Parts—Diseases—Medicine—Appearance.

III. Mental Characteristics.—Sense Development—Character—Mental Capacities—Social Emotions—General Capacities.

IV. Habits and Customs.—Dwellings—Government—Religion—Superstitions—Mythology—Initiatory Ceremonies—Amusements—Music—Song—Games—Naming of Children and Adults—Marriage Relations—Death Ceremonies.

V. Arts.—Stone Implements—Weapons—Domestic Arts—String and Netting—Weaving—Pottery—Wool and Cane work—Ornamentation, Personal and Domestic.

I. The Race.

The Affinities of the Race.—The Andaman Islands, so near to countries that have for ages attained a considerable civilisation and have been the seat of important empires, and close to the track of a great commerce which has gone on for at least 2,000 years, continue to our day the abode of savages as low in civilisation as almost any known upon earth, though close observation of them discloses the immense distance between them and the highest of the brute beasts in mental development, one most notable fact being that they eat nothing raw, cooking all their food however slightly and making pots for the purpose, and this from time immemorial. 144

As to what general variety of the existing human beings the Andamanese belong, it can be clearly predicated of them that their various tribes belong to one people, speaking varieties of one fundamental language, and that they are Negritos. Many theories have been advanced as to their affinities; the most credible being that they are connected with the Semangs of the Malay Peninsula and the Aetas of the Philippines, and the silliest, though not the least persistent, that they are descendants of shipwrecked cargoes of African slaves. On the whole the safest thing to say about them is that they are probably the relics of a bygone Negrito race, now represented by themselves, the Semangs, and the Aetas, that in very ancient times occupied the south-eastern portion of the Asiatic continent and its outlying islands before the irruptions of the oldest of the peoples, whose existence or traces can now be found there. In this view the Andamanese are of extreme interest as preserving, owing to an indefinite number of centuries of complete isolation, in their persons and customs the last pure remnant of the oldest kind of man in existence. The possibility of their representing the archaic type of the Negrito and the consequent extreme ethnological interest they arouse was long since pointed out by Sir W. Flower.

It is to be noted however that Professor Owen considered them to be not connected on anatomical grounds with the people of any existing continent. A notice of the points on which Semangs and Andamanese agree and differ will be found in Appendix A.

The antiquity of the Andamanese on their present site is proved by their kitchen-middens, rising from 12 to 15 feet and more in height, and in some cases having fossilised shells at the base. As has been already noted, the kitchen-middens show that the Andamanese now gets his food just as he did in the days when the now fossil shells contained living organisms. 172

5: Sarkar D-5 (1948)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Nicobars AZ7

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The blood group distribution of 39 such invalids is as follows :—

	O	A	B	AB	Total
	34	1	4	0	39
%	87·18	2·56	10·26	0	

When this is compared with the normal unaffected sample the following figure is obtained :—

	O	A	B	AB	Total
	83	4	10	0	97
%	85·57	4·12	10·31	0	

There is thus no significant difference between the affected and normal samples.

Negrito Affinities

A
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A
[582]

While nothing definite can be said of the Jarawas, the other two Negrito groups, the Onges and the Andamanese, show very high incidence of the blood group A. This is accompanied by a very low O in both the cases. In breeding in such isolated populations of small size is normally very high and this has possibly resulted in the dominant A mendelising over the recessive O. It appears that the Negritos, here and elsewhere, possess a high frequency of A with little B, which is probably due to intermixture. This will be apparent from the following table :—

	O	A	B	AB	Investigator
	%	%	%	%	
Negrito (Philippines) (297)	48·4	33·3	14·1	4·0	Grove
Bushmen (615) . .	56·1	29·6	7·5	6·8	Pijper
Onges (34) . . .	14·71	67·65	5·88	11·76	Author
Andamanese (22) . .	9·9	59·09	22·71	9·09	Author

Among the Andamanese proper, the half breeds form probably one half of the population and the high B of 22·72 per cent must be due to mixture with outside peoples. The Onges are more isolated than the Andamanese and it is difficult to account for the 5·88 per cent of B among them. The percentage of AB is also high enough to warrant the presence of more B.

A 114 Gates (1948) is of opinion that: "The blood groups of Negritos and Australoids must have been very different then, as they are now, the former being high in B, the latter having A without B".

Earlier Negrito data from other sources, as also the results of this investigation, do not support the above contention. Both the Australoids and the Negritos have been found to be high in A. The Negrito peoples of the Andaman Islands, although they are now isolated in the different islands, probably all belong to the same ethnic stock and when their blood group data are pooled together the following percentages are obtained :—

	O	A	B	AB	Total
Total . . .	13	36	7	6	62
Negritos*(Andaman Islands) . . %	20·97	58·07	11·29	9·67	

The total number of 62 consists of 34 Onges from Little Andaman, 22 Andamanese, 6 Jarawas. When the 22 Andamanese, who are definitely known to be mixed, are exempted from the above total, the position is as follows :—

	O	A	B	AB	Total
	11	23	2	4	40
%	27·50	57·50	5·00	10·00	

It thus appears that more than half the Negrito population belong to group A and their similarity with the Australians in this respect, associated with the enormous differences in physical features between the two, still remains to be satisfactorily explained.

Nicobarese Blood Groups

The Nicobarese blood groups present a picture so far unknown to S.-E. Asia. The high frequency of O is characteristic of the American Indians. The Nicobarese are believed to have migrated into their present habitat from Lower Burma. Little is known of blood group distribution from Burma. Mollison and Reddy (1946) have published a set of data from 229 peoples, comprising 155 pure Burmans, 57 Karens, 13 Chins and 4 Kachins. They show the following blood group distribution :—

O	A	B	AB
36·2	26·2	29·7	7·9

* Chaudhuri's sample of 5 Onges (Gates, 1940) could not be combined with the present author's sample lest the same person is included in both the data. There are chances of such duplication in small populations as such.

5: Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2 Nicobars AZ7 Maori OZ4

The Nicobarese values thus differ widely from the above. It will not be out of place here to mention of Eickstedt's samples from Upper Burma (Steffan, 1932) which gives 60% of O and 40% of B and stands somewhat closer to the Nicobarese data than the above figures of Mollison and Reddy.

In spite of the close cultural affinities of the Nicobarese with those of Malaya and Indo-China, in respect of their aversion to milk, the outrigger canoe, artificial deformation of head, the Malayan form of sniffing cheeks (Malay kiss), etc., the Nicobarese have so far remained ignorant of agriculture. It appears, therefore, that the Nicobarese migrated from a habitat where agriculture was unknown and it is among such peoples that their close congeners could be found.

Negritos, Australians and Polynesians

The above three ethnic stocks, though widely varying in physical features have in common the high element of blood group A. It remains to be seen how they stand in respect of the sub-groups of A and the MN factors. So far only the Australians have been subjected to the study of MN factors (Birdsell and Boyd, 1940).

The similarity of the above three peoples in respect of the blood groups was pointed out to some extent by Howells (1934) and as such Gates' statement (p. 28) is probably unjustified. The percentages of B come to 14·1 in the case of Negritos of the Philippines (Grove, 1926), to 5·00 in the case of those from the Andaman Islands and to 2·2 in the case of the Hawaiians* (Nigg, 1930). Samoa with its fairly large content of B of 19·4% (Shapiro, 1940) is already a problem. The paucity of B among the Australians is already well-known. All these appear to show that B is a later instrusion in this area and A was predominant among the Negritos and the Australoids as it is now. The Polynesian movements began towards the dawn of Christian era from Indonesia when B did not probably reach there. This might have influenced the Nicobarese as well and the 3·68% of A may be Polynesian in origin.

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* Time is ripe enough for discarding Phillips Maori data by now (see Shapiro, Howells, Graydon and Simmons, and Godley). They are compared with the recent data below :—

O	A	B	AB	
47·5%	39·5%	1·0%	12·0%	(Phillips, 1931 n=200)
41·2%	58·1%	0·7%	0	(Graydon & Simmons, 1)945 ; n=267)
45·26%	48·74%	4·07%	1·91%	(Godley, 1946-47 ; n=835)
44·27%	52·96%	1·57%	1·20%	(Paddock, 1946 ; n=1335)

5: Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Nicobars AZ7
Maori OZ4

It will be thus futile to argue that the Negritos, who by race and culture, appear undoubtedly to be the oldest inhabitants of this area, were strong in B, unless we assume that B is lost. At least that will be similar to the supposition of Phillips who contented that the Morioris, the ancestor of the present Maoris, belonged to group B.

N
A
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Summary

(1) 34 Onges grouped from the island of Little Andaman show the following distribution :—

O—14·71%, A—67·65%, B—5·88% and AB—11·76%.

(2) 22 Andamanese show the following distribution :—

O—9·09%, A—59·09%, B—22·72% and AB—9·09%.

(3) 4 Jarawa children were all found to belong to group O.

(4) 136 Nicobarese belong to the following groups :—

O—86·03%, A—3·68%, B—10·29%.

N
A
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(5) Negrito affinities are discussed. Nicobarese blood groups show the highest O in India and Indonesia. Polynesian elements are probably evidenced by the presence of A.

(6) The Negritos, the Australians and the Polynesians all have high A and the B as seen in Samoa or Melanesia probably reached these islands after the Polynesian movements began in the dawn of Christian era.

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10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P 51]

CHAPTER VIII

THE PEOPLE

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The study of the people of the Andamans is rendered extremely interesting by virtue of the great diversities in the types of population. Obviously for the islands like the Andamans the diversities of population are far out of proportion. The islands remained as an abode of the aborigines, the negritoes, in complete seclusion and the only outside interference that had tampered the islands were the occasional raids by the sea pirates from Malaya. The beliefs about the occasional exchanges of commodities and ideas of the pirates with the Andamanese [114] and the trade of the Andamanese for being sold as slaves in the courts of Siam and Cambodia are still now questions of doubt. However, it 563 was only at the end of the 18th century, with the attempt of the formation of settlements and later on, of the penal settlement, that there began an influx of foreign peoples, mainly from the different parts of the 167 144 mainland of India. With the formation of the penal colony, convicts 101 were brought over to the islands in numbers and also a few attempts of free colonisation by some people from Burma and India were made. The convicts who were from the different parts of India and the free colonizors who were diverse enough in their social and cultural traits gave a character of heterogeneity to the islands. It was only after the attainment of the independence that the settlement of the East Bengal refugees and of some people from South India is taking place in the Andamans. This is going to add further to the cultural diversity of the islands. This scheme of colonisation of the East Bengal refugees and of some people from South India is the first attempt of some importance for the permanent colonization in the islands.

Such a variety in the types of people, can be broadly divided into 144 three groups. 563 101

(a) The aboriginal population.
(b) The Later Settlers, and
(c) The New Settlers.

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The aboriginal population belongs to the negrito stock and therefore, 101 has an affinity with the Semangs and Sakais of Malaya, the Veddas of [144] Ceylon and the other negrito groups of Southeast Asia. Some attribute the origin of these aborigines to the settlement of some Portuguese negro slaves who had survived by coming to these islands after a ship-

10:Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

[P.54]

CHAPTER IX

ABORIGINAL POPULATION

144 As said earlier, the aboriginal population of the Andamans belong to the negrito group which is spread over the different parts of Southeast Asia e.g. the Semangs and Sakais of Malaya, the Veddas of Ceylon, the Tapiro of New Guinea etc. The pygmies of the Equatorial Africa also show very close resemblance to the negritoes in physical as well as cultural characteristics but the latter are taller, much more dark skinned and also hairy than the former. In spite of the racial affinity with the other negrito groups of Southeast Asia, the Andamanese show a remarkable degree of purity, an outcome of the virtual seclusion and little contact with the other people. But the infiltration of the later settlers have proved a long way to bring about some changes in them. The comparison of the Andamanese with the other negritoes will prove that a good deal of evolution of the Andamanese has been attained by them independently.

Affinity with the other Negritoes of Southeast Asia

171 Though the fundamantals of the economy of the Andamanese do not differ appreciably from the Semangs and the other groups, some characteristic features distinguish these people from the others. The Andamanese follows a long series of food privations which is absent among the Semangs and the equipments are also more elaborate than [50] the other negritoes. The outrigger canoes of the Andamanese are more improved, the bows are of complicated S-form and the huts are considerable improvements of the rudimentary temporary camps original to the negritoes. These indicate a definite improvement of the material culture of the Andamanese over the others.

The affinity of the Andamanese with the other negrito groups i.e. the Semangs of the Malaya Peninsula and the Aetas of the Philippines can very well be traced from the study of the equipments of material culture and also from the general habits and the methods of life.

171 As regards the equipments, the bow, the arrow, the mode of erecting 411 shelter and its shape show further improvements in their constuction though the prevalence of the original simple types can be detected in some parts. The original one curvature bow has considerably evolved and has developed into the S-shaped bow in the Andamans though the

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Arioto

in the local language, as opposed to the people of the interior, the *Eremtaga* – appear to have numbered between six and eight thousand. Over the years their place has been taken by more than thirteen thousand foreigners, most of whom were deportees, enjoying relative liberty as servants of government officials, farmers and foresters. The settlers, voluntarily or involuntarily, introduced the islanders to alcohol and tobacco, forcing them to turn to the foreigners in order to satisfy their craving. In the famous and extremely frank work of the English explorer M. V. Portman (*A History of our Relations with the Andamanese*, Calcutta, 1899) official letters are reproduced which give precise instructions in the matter to government officials. The result of these instructions was to transform the Arioto into alcohol and tobacco addicts. Syphilis was passed to the native women by the deportees, and from them to their men. When, a few years after the mass importation of prisoners, the government authorities became aware of the infection among the Arioto, not one of them had escaped. The miserable twenty-three survivors of the eight to nine thousand of a century ago show the ultimate result only too well, and their final extinction is imminent.

Before the advent of the new civilization, the Arioto had divided up into at least ten distinct communities, but without any true tribal organization. They respected a form of chief, chosen by tacit consent for his personal qualities rather than by name or by birth-right; but the chiefs acted merely as paternal advisers, to be respected in times of trouble, with no illusions of authority. No one commanded, and none obeyed: all were content to follow the whim of the moment, with no conception of social obligation.

When the foreigners arrived, there were five main groups of Arioto on North Andaman, the Cari, Chede, Cora, Jeru and Tabo. Another five groups were in South Andaman, the Balawa, Bea, Bogig-iab, Joi and Col. With the numerical decline of the Arioto, who had always been endogamous within their group, a tendency arose for the survivors to merge and inter-marry, so that the twenty-three alive today are in fact the result of the mixing of the northern and southern Arioto, and of these with Indians and Burmese. The chief of these twenty-three individuals is Loca, a name in itself an indication of this ethnic mixture. Loca means 'whiskers', and he himself has a moustache, whereas pure Negritos have no body or facial hair.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

After submitting my programme for the approval of the various Indian authorities, I finally left Calcutta in the motor vessel *Maharaja* and arrived in Port Blair on the evening of 11 December 1951. 122

Once arrived on Great Andaman I began to make preparations, but for some time the sea remained so rough that the crossing to Little Andaman was impossible. In order not to lose time, I went as far as Middle Andaman, where I started excavating an ancient kitchen-midden left by a group which has now disappeared.[1] Eventually, in March 1952, there began for me what was to become a fascinating if dangerous adventure, which continued for several years, in the dry seasons, and which I hope will prove to have been of some value. 114

Even now we know little of the anthropology of the Onges. They are Negritos, and therefore people of small stature. They are not, however, as small as the African pygmies, or Negrillos, who are the tiniest people in the world and who are in many respects very different from the Asiatic Negritos. Among the latter, individuals of over 4 feet are giants, while the normal height is substantially less. 142

In their somatic and cultural characteristics the Andamanese differ from all Asiatics, including their closest connections the Semang of the Malaccan peninsula and the Aetà of the Philippines. There is however some similarity between the three groups, indicating a distinctive common ancestry. The Negritos of today constitute the sole and fragmentary remains of a people who in ancient times were spread over a large part of Asia, and there is no lack of evidence to support their former presence much farther east and south, well into Oceania. 144

The word Negrito means 'small negro', but the name is inappropriate. It was originally given to these people because of the colour of their skin and the woolly texture of their hair. In their bodily proportions, however, as well as in the morphology of the head as a whole, and in particular the structure of the mouth, they resemble the Negroes considerably less than do African pygmies, who are in their turn quite a distinct type. The Negritos have some superficial affinity to peoples of small stature in New Guinea and Melanesia, such as the Tapiro, the Cameveca, the Cai and the Pesechem (or

[1] See page 69.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

144 Pesekem), although they are distinguished from them by profound cultural differences. These differences exist even between the three groups of Negritos. Whereas in Malacca and the Philippines they reflect the influx of superior cultures, these have had very little influence in the Andamans. For this reason the Andamanese have perforce remained more faithful to very ancient customs, and are also somatically the least altered.

[121] The study of the last remaining groups, the Onges and Jarawas, now on the point of extinction if they are not protected, is thus a matter of singular urgency and significance.

144 174 We know nothing of how the Negritos arrived in their present homes with somatic and cultural characteristics quite distinct from those of any other human type. Apart from some dubious remains excavated in Indochina we do not even have any fossil remains to show their probable original distribution. There is, however, reason to believe that they were once very widely dispersed, judging from the evidence of their presence today as isolates widely separated from each other.

No traces of them remain in the continental areas adjacent to the Andamans, apart from the Malaccan peninsula. At one time it was thought that traces of a Negrito element were to be found in the Kadir of Hindustan, revealed by the occasional presence of curly hair. I have myself visited the area, and must refute this suggestion; the people have nothing of the Negrito in their body structure, their hair is markedly longer than the Negrito and they have body hair. The kinky hair (never woolly) occasionally seen may derive from distant Negro crosses, or may be an accidental similarity. I have seen this type of curliness even in Europeans who certainly had no Negro or pygmy ancestry.

It has also been asserted, possibly with some foundation, although there are few data available, that there are traces of the Negrito among the people of New Guinea, such as the Tapiro. Although of small stature, their general characteristics would seem to relate the Tapiro more closely to the Papuans; they have yellowish skin, probably the lightest in that area, they are, again, hirsute and there is a marked absence of Negrito characteristics in the proportions of the body.

142 144 The first thing that strikes one on meeting the Onges – and indeed the Andamanese in general – is the exceptional blackness and

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

softness of their skin. They have what must be among the darkest skins in the world, and in certain lights some individuals have a bluish tinge, which I have never seen in any other region. Something similar seems to have existed among the now extinct Tasmans, although they differed markedly from the Andamanese in other respects. The Onges are the only Andamanese who are not invariably intensely black, and the bluish type is rare among them. This might be attributable to contact with the nearby Nicobars, where a yellowish skin is common, in conjunction with Mongoloid features. I saw no traces, however, of such admixture; the Arioto show some sign of recent Burmese influence, but any ethnic influences on the Onges and Jarawas must have been extremely ancient, indeed before their arrival in the archipelago. In the south and south-west of Little Andaman I did find individuals markedly taller than the rest (though still small), but it is clear that outwardly at least the Onges and Jarawas still retain most of their unique somatic characteristics, which have remained unchanged for thousands of years.

The Andamanese skin is very smooth in texture, and lacks the odour characteristic of many of the African peoples. This would appear to depend on the chemical composition of the sweat, as the Andamanese never intentionally wash, although brushing against the sodden vegetation, and frequent immersion while collecting shellfish, or fishing, in some measure compensates. Curiously enough their sweat does seem to repel the local ticks, which drive Europeans mad; again, it was interesting that the Indians and Burmese of my party were variously affected by them.

Their skin is also extraordinarily elastic – I noticed that in the forest I scratched myself continually at the slightest touch against thorns or branches, whereas the Onges invariably emerged quite unscathed at the end of the trek. Their greater agility of movement will undoubtedly have been part of the answer, but it would be impossible to avoid any scratches, as they do, unless their skin 'gave' to an abnormal degree.

Another effect of this elasticity is that the women suffer no disfiguration of the skin over the abdomen after childbirth, and neither sex becomes wrinkled to any noticeable extent with age. This distinguishes them clearly from peoples with whom they have been compared – such as the Bushmen, who (possibly in part due

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Onges

Many Onges, in fact, have fine features,
142 and some of the women have a certain beauty and grace of move-
[481] ment, with a dignified walk and restrained gestures, despite their utter lack of any sense of shame. The sclera are very white, and the highly characteristic contrast between the intense black of the skin and the startling white of the eyes gives the Andamanese a ferocious appearance, which on smiling turns into a curiously childish ex-
151 pression (see further, p. 19). It is a curious fact that although the
145 Onges have remarkable sight (p. 47), few of them can close each eye separately, although they are all completely ambidextrous.

144 In examining the child I had particularly in mind the very short
142 stature of the pygmies both of Asia and Africa, which is regarded
164 by some as pathological. The Andamanese have been described as Negroes who have degenerated through genetical isolation. This theory holds that they are descended from slaves who fled from the Portuguese after a shipwreck. I do not regard this as tenable. Pygmies in general, and the Andamanese in particular, are well-proportioned and physically outwardly normal. One cannot speak of dwarfism as determining their characteristics: this implies abnormal development as the result of hypophyseal disorder or
[143] thyroid imbalance. Cases of achondroplastic dwarfism are known among the pygmies of Africa, particularly where there has been mixing with Negroes, and these patients are sometimes taller than their normal kinfolk, but I found no cases among the pygmies of Asia.

142 One characteristic of the Bushmen which does occur among the Andamanese is steatopigia in both males and females. This is nor-
[114] mally much more prevalent in females, and indeed before my visit to the Andamans von Eickstedt held that it was non-existent in males. I had always disagreed with this view, and was able to verify its occurrence in both males and females.

Dobson in the nineteenth century recorded in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* of London, the unusual appearance of the buttocks in the Andamanese, although he did not specifically refer to the phenomenon as steatopygia, and went only so far as to suppose it the result of an unusual accumulation of fat in the gluteal area. To him, however, must go the credit for the first observation.

114 His observation led scientists – in my view wrongly – to compare
142 the Andamanese with the Bushmen. The presence of steatopygia,
144

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Onges

and the 'peppercorn' hair (disposed in tufts with bare areas) do 114 142 indeed recall the Bushmen, but superficial resemblances are not 144 enough to classify the two peoples as at all closely related. There is an important difference between the two in the structure and cross-section of the hair. Hairs from the Onges which were examined in 142 Calcutta were remarkably uniform, indicating the racial purity of 144 the people, unlike those of the Arioto, which showed considerable variation in cross-section, from the almost circular straight hair of the Mongoloid type, to the flattened, almost remiform hair of the original Negritos.

Different, too, is the shape of the head; I have never seen in the Negritos the typical Bushmen head, with the prominent occiput, and I saw no Andamanese with the pseudo-mongoloid appearance of the eyes which occurs in Bushmen.

The hands and feet are also different. Among the Kung women of the northern Kalahari in particular I saw delicate hands with very long metacarpals and a very small thumb, the elongated metacarpals displacing the thumb towards the wrist. None of the Negritos appear to have anything resembling this; their hands are always rather broad. Moreover, the feet of the male Onges are nearly always flat while those of the women tend to turn in, recalling the small peoples of Indonesia and New Guinea, but not the Bushmen.

An interesting though not congenital abnormality in the Anda- 142 manese results from the carrying of weights slung from the head 482 from too early an age. Loads are always carried on their backs by a rope made of bark, the weight being taken on the forehead. The rope presses on the head in the region of the bregma and creates the so-called bregmatic furrow. This is more marked in females, as the women normally do most of the carrying. Even the children [854] travel on their parents' backs, hanging like parcels, until the age of five or six when they are old enough to follow the group on their own.

The Abor, a mongoloid people of small stature in the mountains 482 of North-West Assam, carry loads in the same way, but with no 142 resulting head furrow. The Andamanese have softer cranial bones, 147 and the result of load-bearing is therefore clearly visible. As it [171] occurs in both sexes, it is often hard if not impossible to determine sex from skulls if the pelvis is absent. The long bones are not of

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

attributed to scarcity of food, nor can nutrition have had any effect on the demographic decadence. Strict endogamy over thousands of years, and fragmentation into smaller and smaller groups is perhaps a more likely explanation of the situation. The last stage has now been reached; the Arioto, for instance, who numbered six hundred and twenty-five in the 1901 census, had dwindled to twenty-three in 1955. In that year there were only two young children, a boy and a girl (of different parents) and the girl, about five years old, clearly had a Burmese father. The boy, however, named Sirake and then aged about eleven, intelligent and alert, with the very blue-black skin of the Andamanese and typical hair, may well be of pure stock. He is the only hope of continuing the ancient Arioto line, but this will be impossible unless a girl of pure stock is born shortly.

This seems unlikely. With the exception of these two couples, the Arioto appear to be sterile. I have myself seen their sorrow at being deprived of children, and one of them, named Moro, of fairly pure stock, told me of his grief. He took me to his wife, also of pure Andamanese origin, and externally as normal and healthy as her husband, but deserted by the spirits of fertility. Through no fault of their own, the cause probably lies in both of them.

In all the Andamanese, fertility seems always to have increased from the age of twenty-eight and to end by the age of forty-eight – in many cases thirty-eight, although since none of them know their age, owing to the absence of any form of counting, their deceptively youthful appearance makes assessment of age extremely difficult. I met only one woman who, as far as I could estimate, had borne seven children, and of these only three were still alive in 1954; the widespread custom by which children are transferred from one family to another, even during the period of lactation, to 'share' the enjoyment of them, made all the usual means of assessing the number of births virtually impossible. In a number of childless couples whom I saw on Little Andaman, the women are under twenty-eight and there is still hope of fertility, even if it is late. This could happen in the case of the wives of the two leaders Cocheggi and Cendubài; these two men married two sisters, among the healthiest and most beautiful women on the island, Vaghèghe and Tocuaghèghe, both under twenty-two. Neither of them has ever been pregnant, although both are apparently normal and

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If we may deduce from the evidence of the middens, pottery arrived in the Andamans at the same time as the pig, bones of which appear only in the upper levels; but we know nothing of the people responsible for the introduction of either. It is, however, certain that both arrived in Great Andaman and Little Andaman together.

There are indications that Little Andaman was the first to feel the benefit of pottery, possibly introduced by a light-skinned people. There are, as I have said, significant variations of skin colour and stature among the Onges; some have markedly lighter skins than the other islanders, and one would assume that this feature entered Little Andaman from the Nicobars with the unknown people who brought with them pottery and the pig. The people as an entity have disappeared as a result of inter-marriage with the indigenous population, while pigs reverted to the wild state and flourished, even spreading from one island to another by swimming (I can vouch for this, having seen them do it).[1]

The indications are that there were migrations from Little Andaman to Great Andaman long before those from which the Jarawas derive. In certain respects they resemble the Onges, whereas the surviving Arioto appear to represent a purer stock. The Onges seem to have acquired foreign blood in relatively recent times, perhaps when pigs and pottery appeared, when the kitchen-middens of Great Andaman were already being built up by the Arioto, but before the migration northwards by which the Jarawas reached their present home. Much more intensive investigation of the middens will, however, be needed before these hypotheses can be confirmed.

At Golpahar there were within the midden five graves containing human bones, not in anatomical position, and clearly filled in with fresh earth. I was surprised to find only the long bones, skulls and jawbones; the remaining bones could not be found. This may be explained by the custom among the Arioto (still prevailing

[1] One thing is puzzling: the three remaining groups of primitive Negritos in Malacca and the Philippines have the arrow harpoon with a detachable head. This is particularly valuable in the forests against the pigs, which cannot escape into the undergrowth once they have been hit. But it is difficult to see how or why the arrow harpoon reached the Andamans, where there were at that time no large mammals. It seems necessary to postulate the former spread of the weapon with the Negritos over a very wide area and its use against a much wider range of animals.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

position by reed cords, which were to be tied in front of the snout, ending in a cord by which the skull was to be hung above the hunter's bed. No sooner said than done, and at the beginning of 1954 all the old trophies were thrown out into the forest, to be gradually replaced by the new ones. Fortunately I had collected some of the old trophies before the 'revelation'!

From the evidence of the middens it would appear that these variations in burial customs have no practical basis, and probably all derive from similar 'revelations'. Further investigations in a large series of the deposits, enabling dated comparisons to be made, would be extremely revealing.

Even allowing for these sudden alterations in established customs, it is clear that their elaboration indicates slow and hardly perceptible development over long periods of time and the middens must be dated in millennia. The hypothesis put forward by some scholars that the Andamanese are descended from negro slaves who escaped while on their way to the Portuguese colonies in India in the sixteenth or, at the earliest, fifteenth centuries, seems therefore quite untenable, in face of the abundant evidence in favour of the great antiquity of the middens and of the people who built them up.

It seems clear that during the last few thousand years, successive waves of migration have taken place over a whole area bounded on the west by the Andamans and Nicobars. All indications point to a close connection between the Andamanese and the peoples to the westward, the Negrito element remaining alone and almost untouched in the Andamans, but becoming submerged in the Nicobars into the mongoloid element of more recent origin. Even today a number of Nicobarese show signs of Negrito ancestry; short in stature, they have crinkly hair which although long is very different from the straight black hair of the mongoloid element, and their heads, noses and lips bear clear signs of Negrito ancestry.

In addition to these more general conclusions the middens also cast some light on the origin, still somewhat problematical, of the wretched Jarawas of Great Andaman. Comparisons between their middens and those of the Onges show that there were in the past communal huts on Great Andaman exactly the same as those still extant today on Little Andaman.

comparatively rapid variation and it is now difficult to establish their linguistic connections outside the Andamans, but Africa can certainly be discounted, in view of the general weight of evidence against any Negro ancestry.

Like the Onges the Jarawas are divided into endogamous groups, each with its own name, corresponding to their communal huts, and each with their own territory for the purposes of hunting, fishing and gathering food. There is little reliable information about their daily life or even their numbers; it is, however, certain and I cannot overstress this, that the Jarawas are Negrito in type,[1] with the same admixture as in the Onges.

Whoever or whatever they may be, the replacement of primitive expeditions by genuine attempts at pacification would, quite apart from the obvious humanitarian considerations involved, afford a unique opportunity for detailed study of a dying population in regeneration, and the refusal of an otherwise irrevocable progress towards final extinction.

But the problem of the Jarawas is merely one aspect of the problem of the Andamanese in general, and their connection with the Negritos both past and present. The Semang and the Aetà, as we have seen, resemble each other, and together resemble the Andamanese, in a number of essential points. Recent contacts with other influences in Malacca and the Philippines respectively have produced variations – such as the Semang use of traps and snares with which they take small animals, and also birds, which the Andamanese never touch. They have also taken to making refuges in the trees as a defence against wild animals, non-existent in the Andamans. Traps, poison, agriculture, fish-hooks, animal nets, are all late acquisitions, not found among the original Negritos. It was thought by Brown that spears, used by the Semang, were also unknown among the peoples of the Andamans, but I have myself seen them used by the Onges, though admittedly I saw only a few, and very rough specimens; I did, however, manage to bring some back with me.

In the case of the canoes, the Semang and the Aetà seem to have

[1] On 11 January 1931 a Jarawa was killed at Lekeralarta on Middle Andaman and the head is now in the Indian Museum in Calcutta. This head shows signs of beard, unlike those of two Jarawas held in the Nicobars since the September 1938 incident. Short, muscularly well-developed, strong and very black, Jarawas are normally beardless, as is usual in Negritos.

Semang ANT
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Oceanic Negritos 05

ON 141 be wrong to assume that the Negritos are brachycephalic. He believes that the mixed Negrito peoples are brachycephalic; the less mixed, the lower their cephalic index (proportional relation between width and length of skull) S 141 and thus, the less brachycephalic. The cephalic index of the Semangs of the Malay Peninsula is given as only 78-79; therefore, these people are not brachycephalic but mesocephalic.

A 141 [101] Although the Mincopies of the Andaman Islands have been known for quite a long time, they have as yet not been sufficiently studied from an anthropological viewpoint. /103/ However, from the few data which are available, we may assume that the average height of a man is 148.3 centimeters and 139 for the average woman. The cephalic index has been calculated to be 82.5 (in the south) and 83.0 in the north. Thus the Mincopies appear to be clearly brachycephalic, although the dolichocephalic skull is definitely not lacking A among them. Dixon, therefore, regards the Mincopies as a ● 144 mainly brachycephalic Negrito-Palae-Alpine racial element, however with a slight admixture of the dolichocephalic Proto-Negroid type (Fig. 12).

S 101 141 The Semangs, who are living in the Malay Peninsula, namely in North Perak, in Kedah, Rahman, Ranga and Kelantan, are somewhat taller than the Mincopies. Their average height has been measured to be 152.0 centimeters. (1)

1. However, Skeat and Blagden mention as average height of the Semangs 149.1 centimeters for men and 140.0 for women.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

have settled the matter for themselves by swimming away from the island. 177

The problem as to how the lads trained in the so-called Orphanage shall be disposed of in some profitable manner has been partially solved by training them to serve as domestic servants; but the question as to their marriage remains yet to be dealt with, for of all the girls originally trained in the Orphanage two only have continued in the Settlement, the other survivors having long since resumed the customs of their jungle homes. To encourage the marriage of the lads in question with girls brought up in the jungle, or even in one of the Homes, would probably result in re-associating, the former with those who—so strong is their general inclination towards a jungle life—would wean them from their civilised ways, thereby rendering abortive the many years' training bestowed upon them, and which has moreover unfitted them for the conditions of a savage home.

It has been ascertained that up to about the age of ten or eleven years these aborigines can hold their own with ordinary children of civilised races in respect to mental culture, but after that period further progress seems arrested. Some remarkable instances might be mentioned of boys and girls[1] who at no more than nine or ten years of age were able to read difficult passages from an Urdu book quite fluently, and explain the meaning of any word in ordinary use; it would appear, however, that, physically speaking, training has a deteriorating effect, for of all the children who have passed through the Orphanage, probably not more than ten are alive at the present time, while of those that have been married, two or three only have become parents, and of their children not one has been reared. In respect to morality, too, it must be confessed that they have suffered from contact with the convict population. 177 145

And thus, though the Orphanage, like the Homes, has not accomplished all the good anticipated by its promoters, the kindness and interest taken in their little ones have undoubtedly contributed towards strengthening the friendly relations previously established between the aborigines and ourselves. 177

Friendly intercourse among the tribes has been of late years further encouraged and extended by visits paid in the station

[1] One of these girls (Ruth) was highly trained by Mrs. Homfray, and is able to speak, read, and write English, as well as to converse glibly in Hindustani. As she has been with us from infancy, it is hardly necessary to say that she is ignorant of her native tongue. Ruth is also an accomplished needlewoman, and is clever at making designs; she wears the European costume, not excepting bonnets and hats. Some idea of the advance she has made on her fellow-countrymen (who are still in the stone age) may be gathered from the above statements, but further proof is found in the fact of her asking for and obtaining an English dictionary, which she says she finds "very useful" when writing her letters!

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

142 [264]

able, for not only are no precautions taken for their preservation, but they are used roughly, small bones being broken by them, and food commonly eaten at almost boiling point. The grinding surface of the molars is generally much abraded: five or six tubercles are occasionally observed in the posterior molars, but are not all marked with equal distinctness; in some cases, indeed, they are scarcely distinguishable. The crowns of these teeth frequently present one long and comparatively even surface, and the peculiarity is of course due to the practice above referred to, of grinding hard substances with them. The canines are not longer or more prominent than the other teeth; caries appear to be rare, except with those well advanced in years. The front teeth of the lower jaw are generally the first cut: the first dentition is completed apparently at an earlier age than is usual among ourselves. [145]

Hair.—1. Dr. Allen Thomson, F.R.S., who has kindly examined some of the hair microscopically, gives it as his opinion that the form of the transverse section is *oval*. Having, however, only a small quantity at his disposal, he has not been able to make a sufficient examination as yet, so he adds that, "it may be that some sections are oblique, but a number are certainly transverse, and none of them have a circular outline." In appearance it is extremely frizzly and seems to grow in spiral tufts,[1] but examination proves that the roots are uniformly distributed over the scalp: it is fine in texture and fairly abundant, but lustreless, and seldom more than two or three inches long, or five inches if the actual length when untwisted be measured; in a few instances it has been found to be eight or ten inches long, but the ends were matted, dead-like, and easily broken.

2. The majority of the women every week or ten days shave their heads almost entirely, leaving only two narrow parallel lines of hair, termed *gôr-*, from the crown to the nape of the neck. The *gôr-* is never allowed to exceed one-eighth of an inch in length; therefore, as they have no means of clipping it, it is constantly shaven off, and a fresh *gôr-* is made with the hair which has grown since the last operation.[2] 302

[1] Just ten years ago it was pointed out by Dr. J. Barnard Davis, F.R.S., that the delicate ribbon-like hair of these islanders is exactly similar to that of the now extinct race of Tasmanians ("Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. ii, p. 100).

[2] I would here call attention to some errors of the artist by whom Dr. Mouat's book was illustrated. He has represented the men as shaven and the women with their curly wigs intact, whereas it is the latter only who as a rule shave their heads; and they do not go about entirely nude, but wear leaves, as will be explained in another place (*vide post* "Psychology and Morals," paragraph 8, and "Attire," paragraph 3). They are further incorrectly represented in the same plate as using a gipsy's tripod for cooking purposes.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

302 they never intentionally interfere with the natural colour, but some of the pigment, *kòi·ob-*, with which they so frequently paint their persons sometimes accidentally adheres to their curly wigs, these being often used for wiping or drying their hands.

142 10. The colour of the hair among different individuals varies between black, greyish-black, and sooty, the last perhaps predominating; it is apparently uninfluenced by, and does not correspond with, the hue of the eye or skin; it commences to turn grey about the fortieth year, but the number of those who exceed that age being small, white hair is seldom seen.

165 **Development and Decay.**—1. The average length of life, owing to excessive infant mortality as well as to the small number that attain old age, can hardly be reckoned as much, if at all, beyond 22 years. Not more than three generations of the same family have ever been known to be alive at the same time.

2. Fifty years is believed to be the extreme limit of age among them, and the majority of those who attain it are women.

●145 3. Judging from those whose births have been registered by us, it would seem that physical development takes place at a late age as compared with natives of India, the males not attaining puberty till about the 16th year, and the females not before the 15th,[1] while the maxima of stature and bulk are not reached till two or three years later; should the opinion thus formed be confirmed by further observations, the fact will serve to weaken the theories that have been advanced by some anthropologists to account for the phenomenon hitherto assumed to be of universal application, that "the period of immaturity is curtailed in inverse proportion to the approximation to the equator or the polar circle;"[2] but, as the same writer goes on to say, "probably the latitude of the abode has no reference to this phenomenon; it may more probably have some connection with the darkness of the skin."

141 4. Among the Andamanese, when the head is in the customary position, the line taken by a horizontal plane drawn through the *meatus auditorius* would, in most cases, pass through the apex of the facial angle, or, in exceptional cases, somewhat lower. I cannot entirely concur in the opinion expressed by Dr. Brander regarding the variety of the facial type found among them, as he says that "some faces seem to resemble the Negraic, some the Malayan, and some even the Aryan in character;" it is, however, a curious physiognomical fact, of which there can be little or no question, that a remarkable diversity in this respect *does* exist among them, though it is

[1] The extreme ages for child-bearing appear to be 16 and 35 years.
[2] Peschel.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

confessed that it is tacitly understood that an equivalent should be rendered for every gift. 431

11. Like the Papuans they are merry, talkative, petulant, inquisitive, and restless. Their speech is rapid, with a constant repetition of the same idea, and a joke, if not played in too practical a form, is highly appreciated. 522

12. When out of temper with any one they never defame his relatives or use improper expressions, as is so common a practice among natives of India, but merely indulge in mild terms of abuse, such as the following:— 578

ngab-ted·inga tâ·paya! (You liar!)
ngūn-bâ·maya! (You duffer!)
ngūn-jā·bagya! or *ng'ab-mūgutigpī·chaya!* (You fool!)
ngī-chô·na! (You long head!)
ngig-chô·ronga-lâ·nta! (You long nose!)
ngig-pâ·namaya! (You sunken-eyed one!)
ngid-kī·nabya! or *ngī-gō·robya!* (You skin and bone!)

A quarrel, as may be supposed, generally results from this style of address.[1]

13. With the exception of those who have lived with us away from their friends from birth or early childhood, not a case can be cited in which a preference is not manifested for a jungle life, even after a sojourn of many years at the Orphanage or Homes at Port Blair.

14. Opportunities for comparing the mental capacity of the children with those of other races have been few, but these have tended to show that, up to the age of 12 or 14, they possess quite as much intelligence as ordinary middle-class children of civilised races when competing in subjects in which they have been instructed in common; but the precociousness of intellect which has so often been remarked in the very young does not appear to be long maintained. Dr. Brander, who was for some time in charge of the Andaman Hospital, gave it as his opinion, that as a race "they are not deficient in brain power; it rather lies dormant and unused in their savage state;" and he mentions the case of an aboriginal patient of 12 years of age, who had been educated in the Ross Orphanage School, and who, in spite of his tender years, could yet read English and Urdu fluently, as well as speak and write in both these languages, retaining also a knowledge of his mother tongue. He had, besides, acquired a fair knowledge of arithmetic. I may add that this is not an exceptional case, for I could instance others, and one lad in particular, who was his superior. 145

15. More lengthened observations than have hitherto been 000

[1] *Vide post* "Laws," paragraph 1.

141 **Man's Enquiries.**—In addition to Portman's and Molesworth's measurements there are those taken by Man some 25 years ago of 48 men and 41 women, which give the following average results of much interest :—

Average weight of 40 and body and limb measurements of 48 Andamanese males.

1.	Weight	98·12 lbs.
2.	Height	58·73 inches.
3.	Size round head	21·00 "
4.	" " neck	12·30 "
5.	" " chest	27·94 "
6.	" " waist	27·05 "
7.	" " buttocks	31·98 "
8.	" " thigh	18·36 "
9.	" " calf	12·09 "
10.	" " ankle	7·19 "
11.	" " biceps	10·60 "
12.	" " arm	9·59 "
13.	" " forearm	9·05 "
14.	" " wrist	5·53 "
15.	Length of spine	17·44 "
16.	" of arm and hand	24·64 "
17.	" from shoulder to elbow	12·47 "
18.	" from shoulder to wrist	21·98 "
19.	" from ankle to knee	15·65 "
20.	" from ankle to hip	30·66 "
21.	" of foot	9·29 "

Average weight of 37 and average body and limb measurements of 41 Andamanese females.

1.	Weight	94·08 lbs.
2.	Height	55·40 inches.
3.	Size round head	19·96 "
4.	" " neck	10·86 "
5.	" " chest	28·84 "
6.	" " waist	27·23 "
7.	" " buttocks	33·52 "
8.	" " thigh	19·33 "
9.	" " calf	11·85 "
10.	" " ankle	7·14 "
11.	" " biceps	9·98 "
12.	" " arm	9·50 "
13.	" " forearm	8·41 "
14.	" " wrist	5·35 "
15.	Length of spine	16·58 "
16.	" of arm and hand	25·53 "
17.	" from shoulder to elbow	11·80 "
18.	" from shoulder to wrist	20·80 "
19.	" from ankle to knee	15·08 "
20.	" from ankle to hip	30·32 "
21.	" of foot	8.29 "

147 **High Temperature.**—The high bodily temperature may be an indication of the low vitality characteristic of the race. The cause is obscure, unless it is to be traced to their largely carbonaceous diet or to saturation with malaria producing a condition of masked fever. It has been observed that they do not feel themselves to be otherwise than quite well when the temperature is over 100° Fahr., and that that condition does not affect their appearance or actions.

Breathing.—In view of the experiments made in European countries and the United States as to the relative breathing of the sexes, it is of interest that the breathing of both sexes among the Andamanese is abdominal or upper abdominal, the women showing scarcely any indication of their breathing, though the men show it well.

In the healthy younger Andamanese the breath is sweet and there is no distinctive smell from the body when clean, though they perspire freely. The older people with decayed teeth and tissues, have foul smelling breath and bodies, partly due to a mild form of scurvy, caused by absence of vegetable food at certain times of the year.

145 582 **Age.**—The Andamanese male matures at about 15, attains full growth at about 18, and marries at about 26, he begins to "age" at about 40 and lives on

145 to about 60 to 65, if he reaches "old age." Except as to marriage at an earlier age, about 18, these figures apply fairly to the women also, who, however, live somewhat longer than the men, retaining in old age both health and mental faculties.

582

163 **Reproduction.**—The marriages are infructuous, though barrenness is uncommon, a couple rarely producing families of even moderate size and many none at all. The child-bearing age is from 16 to 35; weaning is much delayed.

[853]

291 **Endurance.**—Left to themselves the Andamanese go stark naked and with head uncovered, except that the women wear, as clothing and not ornament, one or more leaves in front and a bunch of leaves tied round the waist behind, or a tassel of leaves all round. Jarawas, however, of both sexes have been seen entirely naked. They dislike and fear cold, but not heat, though they avoid exposure to the sun; and being accustomed to gratify every sensation as it arises, they endure thirst, hunger, want of sleep, fatigue and bodily discomfort badly. Want of sleep, such as occurs at their dances for occasionally as much as four days and nights, exhausts them greatly. A man's load is 40 lbs. and his distance 15 miles for a day or two only. After that he will rest, whatever the urgency.

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[482]

252 **Food.**—The food consists of fish, pork, turtle, iguana, "wild cat" (*paradoxurus sp.*), shell-fish, turtle eggs, certain larvæ, and a great variety of fruit, seeds, roots, and honey, and is plentiful both by sea and land. They never starve, though they are habitually heavy eaters. The food is always cooked and commonly eaten very hot. As much as possible of an animal is eaten and the Andamanese, like most hunters, have found out the dietary value of tripe. The Andamanese are expert cooks and adept at preparing delicacies from parts of animals and fish.

262

142 **Skin.**—The skin, which is smooth, greasy and satiny, varies in colour from an intense sheeny black to a reddish brown on the unexposed parts and also on the collar bones, cheeks and other prominences of the body. Its general appearance has been likened to a "black-leaded stove." The scalp, the lips and nostrils are black, and there are black patches on the palate. The soles of the feet are brownish yellow. The Bojigngiji Group (South Andaman) are the darkest, and among the Ônges parts of the face are a light reddish-brown. The Jarawas are distinctly fairer than the rest, the general colour being a deep reddish brown. Leucoderma occurs on the fingers and lips.

Hair.—The hair varies from a sooty black to dark and light brown, yellowish brown and red. The general appearance of it is sooty black or yellowish brown. Except on the head the hair is scanty, but not absent: on the head it grows in small rings, which give it the appearance of growing in tufts, though it is really closely and evenly distributed over the whole scalp. Limited baldness is unknown, but temporary general baldness after disease occurs with a weak growth of the hair afterwards. The hair is not shaved, except on the head and eyebrows, and each tribe has, with many fantastic individual variants, its own method of wearing it. It turns grey at about 40, but white hair is not common.

[302]

[145]

Shaving is "woman's work" and was performed by small flakes of quartz, but nowadays flakes from the kicks of glass bottles are substituted. It is effective and close, but a painful operation on an European's face, as I proved by personal experience many years ago.

Bodily Parts.—The mouth is large, the palate hard and highly arched, the lips well formed. The hands and feet are small and well made. The ears are small and well shaped, the eyes are generally dark to a very dark brown, bright, liquid and clear, but prominent with slightly elevated outer angles and become dulled with age. The teeth, in the young, except amongst the Ônges, are white, good and on the whole free from disease. Those of the Ônges are irregular and discoloured. As age advances the teeth generally lose their whiteness and become worn, but without much caries. The teeth are roughly used without any care whatever. Dentition is early.

164 **Diseases.**—The muscular strength of the Andamanese is great, but their vitality is nevertheless low, and the apparently robust quickly die after sickening

Many Onges, in fact, have fine features,
142 and some of the women have a certain beauty and grace of move-
[481] ment, with a dignified walk and restrained gestures, despite their utter lack of any sense of shame. The sclera are very white, and the highly characteristic contrast between the intense black of the skin and the startling white of the eyes gives the Andamanese a ferocious appearance, which on smiling turns into a curiously childish ex-
151 pression (see further, p. 19). It is a curious fact that although the
145 Onges have remarkable sight (p. 47), few of them can close each eye separately, although they are all completely ambidextrous.

144 In examining the child I had particularly in mind the very short
142 stature of the pygmies both of Asia and Africa, which is regarded
164 by some as pathological. The Andamanese have been described as Negroes who have degenerated through genetical isolation. This theory holds that they are descended from slaves who fled from the Portuguese after a shipwreck. I do not regard this as tenable. Pygmies in general, and the Andamanese in particular, are well-proportioned and physically outwardly normal. One cannot speak of dwarfism as determining their characteristics: this implies abnormal development as the result of hypophyseal disorder or
[143] thyroid imbalance. Cases of achondroplastic dwarfism are known among the pygmies of Africa, particularly where there has been mixing with Negroes, and these patients are sometimes taller than their normal kinfolk, but I found no cases among the pygmies of Asia.

142 One characteristic of the Bushmen which does occur among the Andamanese is steatopigia in both males and females. This is nor-
[114] mally much more prevalent in females, and indeed before my visit to the Andamans von Eickstedt held that it was non-existent in males. I had always disagreed with this view, and was able to verify its occurrence in both males and females.

Dobson in the nineteenth century recorded in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* of London, the unusual appearance of the buttocks in the Andamanese, although he did not specifically refer to the phenomenon as steatopygia, and went only so far as to suppose it the result of an unusual accumulation of fat in the gluteal area. To him, however, must go the credit for the first observation.

114 His observation led scientists – in my view wrongly – to compare
142 the Andamanese with the Bushmen. The presence of steatopygia,
144

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

from a nut carried by the sea from some tree hundreds of miles away). There was thus ample food for several days, if only the coconuts could be opened. The Onges' teeth solved the problem. They attacked the nuts close to the stalk, stripping off great chunks of the fibrous outer covering until they had uncovered the three 'eyes'. These they dug out with a sharp piece of stick, so that we were able to drink the juice and then break up the nuts to get at the flesh. Never did coconuts taste so good!

Round the base of the tree I saw a thick layer of broken pieces of coconut, the remains of nuts opened by the Onges' teeth over the years. The strength of their bite resembles that of the African pygmies, whom I have seen hanging by their teeth from the lianas and who can dent the barrel of a gun.

The average life span of the Onges, and indeed of the Andamanese in general, is fairly short. On Little Andaman there are probably no individuals over the age of sixty, and most die before fifty. Here again they differ from African peoples of similar stature; Bushmen have been known to live to a hundred, and I saw one in Natal, incredibly wrinkled, but not shrunken, who was certainly near that age if not, as he claimed, over it. This is quite unknown in the Andamanese. There are none with white hair; although a few white hairs can sometimes be found on the head of an old woman, there are none to be seen in the men, who die younger than the women. There is no baldness, which is by no means rare in Negroes, particularly in southern Africa.

Precise age is not easy to determine in the Onges. Visual assessment is hampered by the absence of the signs of ageing common in Europeans. Moreover, a particularly child-like expression often lasts into adult life. In May 1952 I saw on Car Nicobar two Jarawa youths, small but robust, whose age by our standards one would have estimated at ten or twelve years. One turned out to be fourteen, however, and the other at least two years older, and both were adolescent, despite their childish appearance.

Males appear to reach their maximum height at about eighteen, and females at about sixteen; both sexes reach full maturity at about twenty-three. At forty-five they are old: their hard life, their unbalanced diet, with its enormous quantities of fat meat eaten in excess, and complete absence of salt, and their unrestrained sexual activity, may all be contributing factors. The slightly greater age

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145 reached by the women may possibly be explained by their some-
163 what less arduous life physically, but biological factors may be the
146 root cause. Despite their deceptively youthful appearance the menopause is over by the age of thirty-eight, at the latest, and they remain in good health thereafter, looking amazingly young. The oldest man I saw was Enagaghe, the head of one of the groups, and he could not have been more than fifty-five. He happily accompanied me on long and arduous trips into the forest, and climbed trees like a squirrel after honey and fruit; neither his appetite nor his zeal as a lover were impaired. His stomach managed to cope with something like a kilo a day of meat, skin and fat, plus fruit, boiled roots and honey. In a hot, damp, oppressive climate like that of the Andamans such a diet year after year cannot fail to produce a state of chronic intestinal poisoning likely to affect the organism as a whole, and may contribute to shorten life, despite an apparent physical vigour.

141 Connected, perhaps, with their excesses is the fact that the Onges'
147 normal body temperature is much higher than usual; with a temperature reading of thirty-eight degrees centigrade they are in good health, with unimpaired appetite. I found an average temperature of thirty-seven point five degrees centigrade in males of various ages, the younger men tending to give the higher readings. The average in females was slightly higher than in males. I was able to observe for myself completely normal behaviour in Onges who by European standards would have been regarded as severely febrile.
[146] In part, as I have said, this may be due to diet and absence of salt, but it must certainly be regarded at least in part as a racial characteristic. It may, too, have some effect on their low vitality; it is interesting that temperatures in the Bushmen and pygmies of Africa, with their longer expectation of life, never vary far from the European norm.

164 These abnormally high temperatures are not a symptom of
[147] malaria. This is clinically unknown in the Andamanese although it is a serious menace to outsiders. Even a few hours on the island can lead to infection if precautions are not taken. I made all the men with me take their tablets regularly, even when propaganda in India against immunization as a Western importation led to objections, so that I had to force the tablets into their mouths myself to ensure that they were swallowed.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

attributed to scarcity of food, nor can nutrition have had any effect on the demographic decadence. Strict endogamy over thousands of years, and fragmentation into smaller and smaller groups is perhaps a more likely explanation of the situation. The last stage has now been reached; the Arioto, for instance, who numbered six hundred and twenty-five in the 1901 census, had dwindled to twenty-three in 1955. In that year there were only two young children, a boy and a girl (of different parents) and the girl, about five years old, clearly had a Burmese father. The boy, however, named Sirake and then aged about eleven, intelligent and alert, with the very blue-black skin of the Andamanese and typical hair, may well be of pure stock. He is the only hope of continuing the ancient Arioto line, but this will be impossible unless a girl of pure stock is born shortly.

This seems unlikely. With the exception of these two couples, the Arioto appear to be sterile. I have myself seen their sorrow at being deprived of children, and one of them, named Moro, of fairly pure stock, told me of his grief. He took me to his wife, also of pure Andamanese origin, and externally as normal and healthy as her husband, but deserted by the spirits of fertility. Through no fault of their own, the cause probably lies in both of them.

In all the Andamanese, fertility seems always to have increased from the age of twenty-eight and to end by the age of forty-eight – in many cases thirty-eight, although since none of them know their age, owing to the absence of any form of counting, their deceptively youthful appearance makes assessment of age extremely difficult. I met only one woman who, as far as I could estimate, had borne seven children, and of these only three were still alive in 1954; the widespread custom by which children are transferred from one family to another, even during the period of lactation, to 'share' the enjoyment of them, made all the usual means of assessing the number of births virtually impossible. In a number of childless couples whom I saw on Little Andaman, the women are under twenty-eight and there is still hope of fertility, even if it is late. This could happen in the case of the wives of the two leaders Cocheggi and Cendubài; these two men married two sisters, among the healthiest and most beautiful women on the island, Vaghèghe and Tocuaghèghe, both under twenty-two. Neither of them has ever been pregnant, although both are apparently normal and

164 Going a little further into detail, it has been noticed that malarial fevers are commonest in June, at the commencement of the monsoon and during heavy bursts of rain thereafter. Malarial fevers commence as usual in their intermittent form and prove fatal as remittent fever. Other zymotic fevers are uncommon, though the Andamanese will drink the filthiest water.

A short rainfall in the Andamans is usually accompanied by high dry winds and then is the high time of the chest diseases. But though the Andamanese are susceptible to bronchial catarrh, and though chronic bronchitis is common, it is not fatal; pneumonia is however extremely fatal. Pleurisy, hæmoptysis and phthisis are comparatively rare.

Abdominal diseases, though comparatively uncommon, are very fatal, diarrhœa, including probably dysentery, claiming most victims. Dyspepsia and colic are both common. In health the stools are regular, but inclined to looseness. They have been likened to those of the lower mammals when in good health.

Of other diseases sunstroke is dreaded and always fatal. The brain and spinal cord are not often affected, though curvature of the spine is occasionally seen. Scurvy occurs at the seasons when vegetable diet, *i.e.*, such as fruits and roots afford, is too scanty. Elephantiasis occurs among the Onges, but is limited to the Little Andaman. Chronic muscular rheumatism occurs among the older people, leading to loss and withering of limbs. Ulcers, generally the result of wounds in the jungles, are common and, as with the immigrants, slow to heal. Abscesses are also common. Considering that personal uncleanliness is often extreme, skin diseases are curiously infrequent, except ringworm and exfoliated dermatitis, sometimes leading to destruction of finger and toe nails, due either to scurvy or exposure. [146]

164 Excluding malaria, endemic disease has not been recognised among the Andamanese, and the only epidemics that have been known to attack them are 177 imported pneumonia (1868), syphilis (1876), measles (1877), and influenza (1892), in that order: unhappily with disastrous effect. Exposure to the sun and wind in the cleared spaces, the excessive use of tobacco and over-clothing, as results of contact with civilisation, are also said to have undermined their health as a body of human beings. Intoxicants are forbidden to them by local rules and are not easily or commonly procured by them.

755 **Medicine.**—The diseases which the Andamanese distinguish by name are malarial fever, catarrh, coughs and rheumatism. Phthisis and heart disease are 758 recognised, but are spirit caused and so are all internal maladies, which of course are not understood.

Medicine and surgery are almost absent from the Andamanese purview. They will bleed on the forehead for fever and headache and round abscesses to alleviate pain. They scarify for rheumatism and internal pain as a last resort. Red ochre and various herbal concoctions are both swallowed and applied as all-healers, in which they have great faith. Certain leaves are sometimes applied to local affections and beds made of them for the sake of their supposed medicinal odour. Cinctures, sometimes of human bones, are used to alleviate pain, but no other charms are employed. Occasionally the diet is slightly changed to relieve illness and they are quick to avail themselves of the hospital provided for them. They are extremely afraid of European surgery and will tremble violently at the sight of the operating knife. They smear themselves with white clay and water against the heat of the sun and with red ochre and oil after dark as a protection against cold.

The sick are sympathetically and very kindly, but superstitiously, treated. [844] There are no pregnancy customs and those at childbirth are sensible and without superstition, difficult delivery being practically unknown.

Snakebite is uncommon and seldom fatal. Ligatures above the bite and scarifying are applied, both operations showing observation and common sense. Bites of centipedes, scorpions, leeches and ticks cause little inconvenience to the Andamanese, though very much to immigrants.

142 **Appearance.**—The figures of the men are muscular and well formed and generally pleasing; often a young man is distinctly good looking, for, though there is a tendency to prognathism, it is not commonly pronounced, while a straight and well formed nose and jaw, accompanied by superior intelligence

10:Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

621 rather than order is given by the leader. Cipriani observes.[1] "For
622 instance, it is very amusing for them to think that a man gives orders to others. This means that they have no real chiefs. A so-called Onge
[592] chief, or raja, is only the head of a group of families living in the same communal hut, and giving not orders but only advice. It is the most experienced man who is considered chief in the hut, but his authority if at all never goes beyond that hut. In other words no real chief exists in the Little Andaman. Notwithstanding this, there is a perfect order in the island, because nobody interferes with the work or encroches upon what can be considered the rights of others."

124 As is common to most of the aborigines, the Onges are generally
162 not very receptive when the questions about their numbers and other groups are enquired. The headman says that there are many many fifty Onges. However the number of the Onges are approximately 600.

22 As regards the mode of living of the Onges, the hunting and collec-
231 ting are the basis of their economy. The domestication of the plants
241 i.e. art of agriculture is not known to them and it is only 30 years back, the dogs arrived in the island and have been domesticated by the Onges for chasing the pigs, their main prey. In the absence of agriculture, the natural products of the sea and the forest provide them with all
[362] their items of diet. Animal and vegetable products and honey are the main items of their diet and there has been, so far, no introduction of salt in their diet. The most important victims of their hunting are pigs and turtles, the former is chased by dogs and are killed with great
252 cruelty. The cooking of the fish, meat, roots, tubers, jackfruits etc are
251 done by putting them under fire. Preservation of foodstuffs is not widely practised except the jackfruit seeds which are tied up in a small net inside water on the bank of some stream and taken out during rainy season, when the other vegetable foodstuffs are not available. On
● 146 the whole, the Onges have a very balanced diet with a fair richness of all the nutrients. In this connection the observations of Dr. Cipriani during his survey in the Little Andaman throws considerable light in
[157] their conditions of life. He has estimated the Onges as one of the happiest people of the world, who in spite of their primitive economy, are not the miserable victims of poor health, ill nutrition and oddities of life.

396 Some amount of artistry and craftsmanship have developed among these people. A canoe can be constructed by a man, all by himself from

[113] 1 Cipriani, L—Survey of Little Andaman during 1954; Bul. Dept. Anth.,

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

from a nut carried by the sea from some tree hundreds of miles away). There was thus ample food for several days, if only the coconuts could be opened. The Onges' teeth solved the problem. They attacked the nuts close to the stalk, stripping off great chunks of the fibrous outer covering until they had uncovered the three 'eyes'. These they dug out with a sharp piece of stick, so that we were able to drink the juice and then break up the nuts to get at the flesh. Never did coconuts taste so good!

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11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

less plentiful and containing a great deal of wax, and is greatly prized by the Onges. The darker bees, common in China, Celebes, Borneo and beyond, build their nests in cavities in the rocks, or in tree-trunks. Their honey, darker and with less wax, is more plentiful, but not so fine; when there is enough of the golden honey the Onges ignore the darker variety.

Few of the fruits on Little Andaman contain much sugar, but the Onges eat more than enough honey to compensate any deficiency that would otherwise occur. Whatever the fruit in season, men, women and children climb happily about like acrobats, hanging in the trees to get at it and the honey that goes with it. To chop the tree down is, of course, easiest and the obvious first choice for any Onge. Failing this, and their hooked poles, they climb up the nearby lianas into the branches, or walk up the trunk – an easy feat for them with their very long arms and almost prehensile toes.

Although there are arak nuts and betel leaves in the forest, the Onges ignore them. They are the same variety as elsewhere; *Areca catechu* and *Piper betel*. The Nicobarese are so addicted to them that many have lips and teeth hideously deformed as a result, but this is quite unknown among the Onges, contrary to earlier reports. The appearance of addiction in the Nicobars may have occurred after the separation of the peoples.

With all these fruits the Onges consume vast quantities of honey from the two species of bee, *dorsata* and *nigrocinta*. During the rainy season they can only get at the darker, poorer honey of *nigrocinta*, which builds nests under boulders or in crevices of trees or rocks. The Onges' real honey orgies occur, therefore, in the dry season, when the honey birds (Indicationidae), common in Africa and all over Asia, lead them to the trees where the golden honey of *dorsata* is hidden.

When one of the Onges finds a nest of bees he puts a mark on the rock or tree as a sign of ownership. None of the others would then dare to take possession of it, for fear of punishment by the group,[1] but when the time comes to take the honey everyone helps in the hard work of getting at the nest and opening it up. On one trip from Labanar to Togalanghe, on 19 March 1954, the Onges pointed out over twenty *Nigrocinta* nests to me, all reserved ready for use

[1] However deep in the forest a crime is committed, it will inevitably be discovered in the end, and punished by banishment from the community.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

141 5. The old statement, so often repeated, that their stature never exceeds 5 feet, must also be noticed, as the list in question shows that fourteen of the forty-eight males who were measured were slightly above that height. I would add, that on a visit paid to North Andaman, about two years ago—by Colonel Cadell, V.C., the present Chief Commissioner—an *.âkâ-.châ·riâr-* was seen whose height was estimated at about 5 feet 8 inches; but this must be regarded as very remarkable and exceptional, for the tallest specimen of the race, that had till then been met with, was a chief standing 5 feet 4¼ inches.

142 6. In consequence of their early marriages, the cares of maternity and the nature of the duties which devolve upon them, the women soon lose the graceful figures which many of them possess in their youth, and they often, in their maturer years, become so obese as to be objects of wonder to Europeans.[1]

●147 **Anatomy and Physiology.**—1. With the view of forming some idea of the average temperature and rates of pulse and respiration per minute, five youths, fair representatives of the race, were examined, with the following results:—

No.	Age.	Temperature under the axilla.*	Rate per minute		REMARKS.
			of pulse.	of respiration.	
1	22	96·9	56	19	The subjects were at rest and in the shade, and had not eaten for several hours previously.
2	20	97·8	62	22	
3	18	97·6	64	24	* The bulb was left undisturbed for five minutes.
4	16	97·8	64	21	
5	17	98·3	74	20	

142 **Colour.**—1. Their skin is naturally smooth, and greasy to the touch, and there is little or no hair or down over the surface,[2] and, with regard to its colour, by the aid of reflected light it has been found that not only are there several shades of colour among this race, ranging between bronze or dark copper colour, sooty, and black, but also that in individuals the complexion of the face and body are different. The distinctions are, however, so slight as to be unnoticed by the people themselves.

2. The results of careful observation go to prove that these

[1] Surgeon Brander, in the paper referred to in the preceding footnote, remarks, that "this condition, I should think, is induced partly by the absence of any proper abdominal support during pregnancy, and is partly due to the distension their stomachs habitually undergo after food."

[2] Even under the axilla it is rarely found, and then only very scantily, but a certain amount of tufted hair is not wanting about the genitals.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

261 cannot apparently abstain from food without inconvenience for more than eight hours at a time.

271 [445] 3. When exerting themselves in any way they perspire freely, which may account for their inordinate thirst. So great, indeed, is their inability to endure any privation in respect to drink, that they seldom leave home on the shortest expedition, whether by land or sea, without providing themselves with one or more bamboo vessels, called *gōb-*, containing a supply of fresh water.

513 4. Loss of sleep they can bear well only when under the influence of strong excitement, as in turtle hunting, or at festive gatherings, where singing and dancing are kept up for many successive hours;[1] they have even been known to spend forty-eight hours at such times without taking any rest.

151 5. What little cool weather there is in the latitude of their islands, during December and January, they dislike extremely; in striking evidence of this they are found, as I will elsewhere mention,[2] unconsciously concurring with the great Italian poet in depicting the region of punishment, for the souls of the wicked, as one of intense cold. After this, it will appear somewhat strange to say that, in spite of their aversion to what they consider cold weather—which never registers less than 69° F. 302 on the highest elevation in South Andaman—they are careful, during the hot season, to avoid any lengthened exposure to the direct rays of the sun, and endeavour to lessen the discomfort caused by the heat by smearing their persons with a white-wash of common white clay and water.[3] It has long been erroneously believed that they have recourse to this expedient in order to allay the inconvenience which they would otherwise suffer from the bites of mosquitoes and other jungle pests; but the true reason for the practice is, I am well assured, that which I have above given, for the various insects which might annoy them are, for the most part, kept away by the smoke of the hut fire, beside which a great portion of their time is spent when at rest, or when engaged in any sedentary occupation.

147 6. The voices of the men are usually clear without being deep, while those of the women, especially when raised, are very shrill.

142 7. The mucous membrane of the mouth is stained with pigment to a greater degree than was found to be the case with such of the natives of India as were compared with them.

8. The general excellence of the teeth strikes one as remark-

[1] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraph 32.

[2] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 25.

[3] I would here draw attention to the fact, that while the object in smearing themselves with *ōg-* wash is to keep themselves as cool as possible, they often daub their bodies with *kòi·ōb-* after sundown for the opposite reason, *i.e.*, for the sake of warmth.

141 following account thereof may serve to draw attention to it. It is to be found in 15 volumes, copies of which are deposited at the India Office, the Home Department Library in Calcutta, and the British Museum. Volumes 10, 11, 14 and 15 contain anthropometric measurements, and medical details of 200 Andamanese: thus—volume 10 of 50 South Andaman males, volume 11 of 50 South Andaman females, volume 14 of 50 North Andaman males, and volume 15 of 50 North Andaman females.

The remaining volumes are plantinotype photographs with explanatory letterpress of Andamanese. Volumes 1 and 2 typical heads: volume 3, heads, full face and profile: volume 4, adze and bow-making: volumes 5 and 6, bow and arrow-making: volume 7, rope-making and hut-building: volume 8, eating and drinking, packing and carrying bundles, utensils, attitudes, torch-making, greeting: volume 9, painting, tatooing, counting: volume 12, full length, full face and profile, view of males: volume 13, of females.

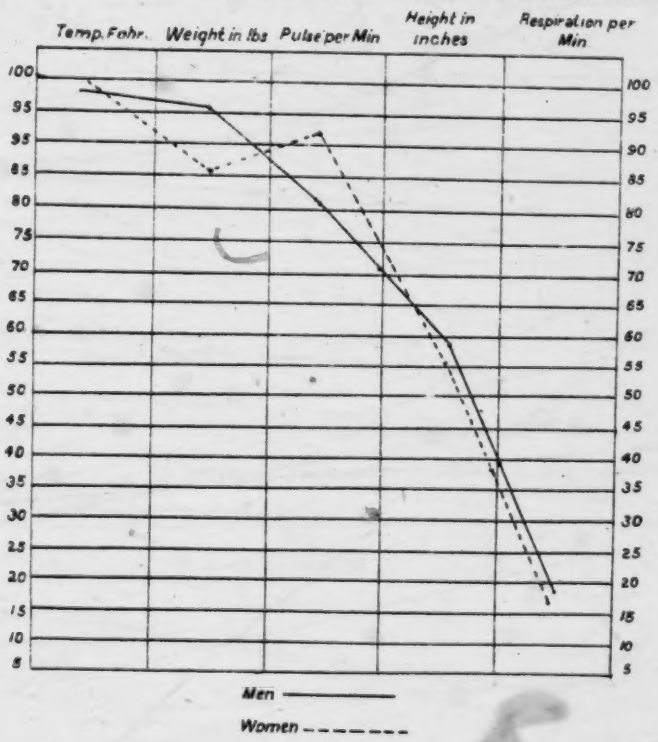
141 147 The following table summarises the results of this elaborate enquiry for general information:—

Andamanese Averages.

	Height in inches.	Temperature Fahr.	Pulse beats per minute.	Respiration per minute.	Weight in lbs.	
Men . . .	58½	99°	82	19	96 lbs. 10 oz.	
Women . .	54	99°·5	93	18	87 lbs.	

and the accompanying diagram will show the relative physical qualities of the sexes of the adult Andamanese:—

RELATIVE PHYSICAL QUALITIES OF THE SEXES AMONG THE ANDAMANESE



141 **Man's Enquiries.**—In addition to Portman's and Molesworth's measurements there are those taken by Man some 25 years ago of 48 men and 41 women, which give the following average results of much interest :—

Average weight of 40 and body and limb measurements of 48 Andamanese males.

1.	Weight	98·12 lbs.
2.	Height	58·73 inches.
3.	Size round head	21·00 "
4.	" " neck	12·30 "
5.	" " chest	27·94 "
6.	" " waist	27·08 "
7.	" " buttocks	31·98 "
8.	" " thigh	18·36 "
9.	" " calf	12·09 "
10.	" " ankle	7·19 "
11.	" " biceps	10·60 "
12.	" " arm	9·59 "
13.	" " forearm	9·05 "
14.	" " wrist	5·53 "
15.	Length of spine	17·44 "
16.	" of arm and hand	24·64 "
17.	" from shoulder to elbow	12·47 "
18.	" from shoulder to wrist	21·98 "
19.	" from ankle to knee	15·65 "
20.	" from ankle to hip	30·66 "
21.	" of foot	9·29 "

Average weight of 37 and average body and limb measurements of 41 Andamanese females.

1.	Weight	94·08 lbs.
2.	Height	55·40 inches.
3.	Size round head	19·96 "
4.	" " neck	10·86 "
5.	" " chest	28·84 "
6.	" " waist	27·23 "
7.	" " buttocks	33·82 "
8.	" " thigh	19·33 "
9.	" " calf	11·88 "
10.	" " ankle	7·14 "
11	" " biceps	9·96 "
12.	" " arm	9·50 "
13.	" " forearm	8·41 "
14.	" " wrist	5·35 "
15.	Length of spine	16·58 "
16.	" of arm and hand	25·53 "
17.	" from shoulder to elbow	11·80 "
18.	" from shoulder to wrist	20·80 "
19.	" from ankle to knee	15·06 "
20.	" from ankle to hip	30·32 "
21.	" of foot	8.29 "

147 **High Temperature.**—The high bodily temperature may be an indication of the low vitality characteristic of the race. The cause is obscure, unless it is to be traced to their largely carbonaceous diet or to saturation with malaria producing a condition of masked fever. It has been observed that they do not feel themselves to be otherwise than quite well when the temperature is over 100° Fahr., and that that condition does not affect their appearance or actions.

Breathing.—In view of the experiments made in European countries and the United States as to the relative breathing of the sexes, it is of interest that the breathing of both sexes among the Andamanese is abdominal or upper abdominal, the women showing scarcely any indication of their breathing, though the men show it well.

In the healthy younger Andamanese the breath is sweet and there is no distinctive smell from the body when clean, though they perspire freely. The older people with decayed teeth and tissues, have foul smelling breath and bodies, partly due to a mild form of scurvy, caused by absence of vegetable food at certain times of the year.

145 582 **Age.**—The Andamanese male matures at about 15, attains full growth at about 18, and marries at about 26, he begins to "age" at about 40 and lives on

145 to about 60 to 65, if he reaches "old age." Except as to marriage at an earlier age, about 18, these figures apply fairly to the women also, who, however,
582 live somewhat longer than the men, retaining in old age both health and mental faculties.

163 **Reproduction.**—The marriages are infructuous, though barrenness is
[853] uncommon, a couple rarely producing families of even moderate size and many none at all. The child-bearing age is from 16 to 35; weaning is much delayed.

291 **Endurance.**—Left to themselves the Andamanese go stark naked and with head uncovered, except that the women wear, as clothing and not orna-
147 ment, one or more leaves in front and a bunch of leaves tied round the waist behind, or a tassel of leaves all round. Jarawas, however, of both sexes have been seen entirely naked. They dislike and fear cold, but not heat, though they avoid exposure to the sun; and being accustomed to gratify every sensation as it arises, they endure thirst, hunger, want of sleep, fatigue and bodily discomfort badly. Want of sleep, such as occurs at their dances for occasionally as much as
[482] four days and nights, exhausts them greatly. A man's load is 40 lbs. and his distance 15 miles for a day or two only. After that he will rest, whatever the urgency.

252 **Food.**—The food consists of fish, pork, turtle, iguana, "wild cat" (*para-*
262 *doxurus sp.*), shell-fish, turtle eggs, certain larvæ, and a great variety of fruit, seeds, roots, and honey, and is plentiful both by sea and land. They never starve, though they are habitually heavy eaters. The food is always cooked and commonly eaten very hot. As much as possible of an animal is eaten and the Andamanese, like most hunters, have found out the dietary value of tripe. The Andamanese are expert cooks and adept at preparing delicacies from parts of animals and fish.

142 **Skin.**—The skin, which is smooth, greasy and satiny, varies in colour from an intense sheeny black to a reddish brown on the unexposed parts and also on the collar bones, cheeks and other prominences of the body. Its general appearance has been likened to a "black-leaded stove." The scalp, the lips and nostrils are black, and there are black patches on the palate. The soles of the feet are brownish yellow. The Bojigngiji Group (South Andaman) are the darkest, and among the Ónges parts of the face are a light reddish-brown. The Jarawas are distinctly fairer than the rest, the general colour being a deep reddish brown. Leucoderma occurs on the fingers and lips.

Hair.—The hair varies from a sooty black to dark and light brown, yellowish brown and red. The general appearance of it is sooty black or yellowish brown. Except on the head the hair is scanty, but not absent: on the head it grows in small rings, which give it the appearance of growing in tufts, though it is really closely and evenly distributed over the whole scalp. Limited baldness is un-
[302] known, but temporary general baldness after disease occurs with a weak growth of the hair afterwards. The hair is not shaved, except on the head and eye-
[145] brows, and each tribe has, with many fantastic individual variants, its own method of wearing it. It turns grey at about 40, but white hair is not common.

Shaving is "woman's work" and was performed by small flakes of quartz, but nowadays flakes from the kicks of glass bottles are substituted. It is effective and close, but a painful operation on an European's face, as I proved by personal experience many years ago.

Bodily Parts.—The mouth is large, the palate hard and highly arched, the lips well formed. The hands and feet are small and well made. The ears are small and well shaped, the eyes are generally dark to a very dark brown, bright, liquid and clear, but prominent with slightly elevated outer angles and become dulled with age. The teeth, in the young, except amongst the Ónges, are white, good and on the whole free from disease. Those of the Ónges are irregular and discoloured. As age advances the teeth generally lose their whiteness and become worn, but without much caries. The teeth are roughly used without any care whatever. Dentition is early.

164 **Diseases.**—The muscular strength of the Andamanese is great, but their vitality is nevertheless low, and the apparently robust quickly die after sickening

and an irritable temper indicating a nervous temperament, are by no means rare. The natural good looks of many of the people are injured by the habit of shaving and smearing themselves with greasy red and white pigments. 142

The pleasing appearance of the men is not a characteristic of the women, whose habits of completely shaving the head and profusely smearing themselves, with an early tendency to stoutness and ungainliness of figure and sometimes to pronounced prognathism, frequently make them unattractive objects to Europeans. They are, however, bright and merry even into old age and are under no special social restrictions, have a good deal of influence, and in old age are often much respected. They nevertheless readily and naturally acquiesce in a position of subordination, slavery and drudgery to the men, and are apt to herd together in parties of their own sex. Variation from type is much commoner among the men than the women. 142 562

III. Mental Characteristics.

Sense Development.—The nerve development of the Andamanese is low, pain is not severely felt and wounds quickly heal. The sense development is normal and instances of unusual acuteness observed are the result of personal training in certain directions and not of heredity, *e.g.*, they will recognise one of themselves at a great distance, but not an unaccustomed object such as a European: they can smell a fire or hear the sound of dancing also at a great distance, but this is because they are always on the look-out for these things and their discernment is a matter of habit and of much consequence to themselves. They can, in short, do well such things as they pay particular or habitual attention to. 147 151

The Andamanese are naturally far sighted, and any near sight observed will be found to be due to leucoma or other disease. In respect to sight, however, they are not more highly gifted than civilized mankind. The colour sense is hardly developed at all and they are what would be called in Europe colour-blind to most colours. Black, white and red are distinguished, but green and blue are not. This is due apparently to want of observation only, as they distinguish between white paint and the white European skin. A good deal of blindness was caused by imported epidemic ophthalmia in 1877. Hearing is not abnormally acute, but is highly trained in matters pertaining to jungle craft. Touch seems to be undeveloped. The sense of smell is highly developed in matters necessary to their existence, but they have no appreciation of artificial scent or of that of flowers which do not denote food, nor can they distinguish by smell that which they cannot see unless it be an object of food. Taste is strongly developed as to honey, distinguishing that deposited from different flowers. They care nothing for scenery and do not decorate themselves with flowers. 151 [164]

Character.—In childhood the Andamanese are possessed of a bright intelligence, which, however, soon reaches its climax and the adult may be compared in this respect with the civilised child of ten or twelve. He has never had any sort of agriculture, nor until the English taught him the use of dogs did he ever domesticate any kind of animal or bird, nor did he teach himself to turn turtle or to use hook and line in fishing. He cannot count and all his ideas are hazy, inaccurate and ill-defined. He has never developed unaided any idea of drawing or making a tally or record for any purpose, but he readily understands a sketch or plan when shown him. He soon becomes mentally tired and is apt to break down physically under mental training. 181

He retains throughout life the main characteristics of the child: of very short but strong memory, suspicious of but hospitable to strangers, ungrateful, imitative and watchful of his companions and neighbours, vain and under the spur of vanity industrious and persevering, teachable up to a quickly reached limit, fond of undefined games and practical jokes, too happy and careless to be affected in temperament by his superstitions, too careless indeed to store water even for a voyage, plucky but not courageous, reckless only from ignorance or inappreciation of danger, selfish but not without generosity, chivalry or a sense of honour, petulant, hasty of temper, entirely irresponsible and childish in action in his wrath and equally quick to forget, affectionate, lively in his movements and exceedingly taking in his moments of good temper. At these times the Andamanese are gentle and pleasant to each other, considerate to the aged, the

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now follow them, often ignoring their original significance and symbolism. Among the Onge, spirits are feared but not loved ; the same applies to God Himself. 775

The Onge bury their dead in trenches, no deeper than three feet. Earth is tightly packed over the graves in order to prevent exhalations. Full details on the subject of Onge burial customs appear in the book that I am writing about the Onge. I slept with the Onge in communal huts that contained fresh graves, without suffering any inconvenience from the smell of the corpses. This recalls the palaeolithic sepulchral caves, where man probably lived as the Onge live in their sepulchral huts today. 764

There are no latrines near Onge camps – whether permanent or temporary. Excrements are spread carelessly all around, lightly covered with leaves and earth. Flies lay eggs on them. The Onge's only precaution is not to defecate where drinking water might be found after rainfall. With so many opportunities for reproduction, in some places flies form such clouds as to impress the natives themselves. In the north of Little Andaman a creek was named after the flies : Bumila Creek, which means "fly creek". Smells also occasionally inspire geographical names : Tambe-é-bùie, on the north-east coast of Little Andaman, means "the smelly place" in the Onge language. Flies, fleas and ticks are tolerated by the Onge who do not fight them. Fortunately, the hymenoptera collect flies for their nests, not, however, in quantities large enough to compete with the fertility of the species. 514 [312] 796 825 [103]

2. Clothing and personal care

The only garment worn by Little Andaman women is the *naquinēghē*, a scanty grasslike apron covering the genitals. In addition, during menstrual periods, Onge women wear the *bataghē*, for hygienic purposes. This is a simple cluster of long, soft green leaves cut by the husband for his wife from special trees : Myristica longifolia and others. The only leaves used are those from the end of a stalk, a section of which is left attached to the leaves. The stalk is slipped under the *naquinēghē*, while the long leaves are passed between the thighs to be fastened at the back above the buttocks. It is curious to see Onge women in such myristical attire ! The *bataghē* is ethnographical news, new not only as regards the Andamans : it is an interesting indication of the hygienic measures employed by primitive people, and can probably be traced to prehistoric practices in analogous circumstances. The continental and insular regions nearest to the Andamans have retained no similar custom ; their only practice is the strict isolation of menstruating women. Among the Onge, on the other hand, they are allowed free circulation. Washing is unknown to the Onge : they never wash their bodies intentionally. Brushing through the thick forest and diving into the sea or the river to collect food substitute adequately for washing. The Little Andaman forest is nearly always dripping ; moving among the trees, specially in the early morning, is equivalent to bathing. The contact of wet leaves when walking cleans the Onge's skin, for they go naked ; and as they constantly dive into the sea and rivers, they do not smell. Actually they give an impression of cleanliness – as opposed to many other dark-skinned 291 841 [824] [171] 515 [147]

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515 people. Furthermore, the Onge skin is very soft and more elastic than is usual
[147] in human beings. For us, clothed and with a less resilient skin, a trip through the thorny Andaman forest means many small, bleeding scratches. Not so for the naked Onge. – To cover them with clothes would endanger their health. Nakedness inures them to the sudden changes of temperature so frequent in
[513] Little Andaman and preserves them from catching cold when sleeping, uncovered, on their rough, unprotected bed of boughs. As with primitives all over the world, clothes make them miserable and, I may add, very ungainly and dirty.

515 Part of their general negligence with regard to hygiene is their carelessness about their teeth. They never clean them. They do keep bamboo sticks,
[413] 1 mm thick and 8 cms long, tucked into their hair to be ostensibly used as toothpicks ; but the sticks, to tell the truth, are more of an ornament than a tool.
142 The Onge's teeth are so compact and sound that there is no space between them for food particles to collect. No caries or decay of any sort are to be
[164] noticed. In a number of skeletons that I dug up from under the beds in communal huts, the teeth gave evidence of one peculiarity : old people had worn them down to the root. The Onge habit of using teeth as working instruments,
[283] to prepare fibre for ropes and in many other circumstances – apart from their permanent chewing on hard foodstuffs – explains this fact.

515 As a consequence of never washing, the natives' hands are sometimes extremely dirty. The Onge themselves are conscious of this. I shall give an
226 instance. It so happened that I arrived in Nachugé, on the west coast, toward the end of March, when the sea was teeming with migrating sardines. In Little Andaman sardines can weigh up to a pound ; but a normal catch, obtained with small hand-nets cast from canoes among shoals of fish imprisoned by the low tide within the coral reef that surrounds the island, contains specimens of
[264] every dimension. All are eaten as soon as possible. The quantity of fish brought back to the camps on such occasions puts all inmates to work and induces everybody to abandon all other occupations for the time being. In the low tidal waters the men push their canoes from rock to rock, using them as receptacles for the abundant food so easily collected. In some "pockets" nets prove unnecessary: the fish is gathered in handfuls and rapidly thrown into the canoes. The hecatomb ends when the canoes are filled to the gunwales. In no other part of the world have I seen food made available to primitive people in such large quantities and with so little effort.

252 Back at the camp, the sardines are "graded" according to size and cooked immediately. They are not washed or cleaned, the inner organs are eaten to-
[263] gether with the flesh. Men, women and children feverishly take part in the cooking ; the fish is boiled without salt. All the natives then plunge their hands
262 avidly into the heap of sardines. From time to time the women clean their
515 hands by rubbing them on the *naqninĕghĕ*. Very soon this garment becomes
[231] extremely smelly. Men and children clean their hands in a different way : by rubbing them on the dogs. On such occasions, everything and everybody smells of fish for days and days. The first to become clean again are the dogs, because they hate to be smeared with fish and wash themselves in the sea as soon as they have a chance.

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3. Food

In the absence of men, women also are good at fishing inside the coral reefs. They do this with two small nets used together. Their catch generally consists of brilliantly coloured fish with yellow, red, green, blue, black and white stripes forming varied and attractive designs. The Onge eat all fish without discrimination. My Indian collaborators, on the other hand, considered the coloured fish dangerous to their health and refused to cook them ; the Sacred Vedas, in fact, advise the avoidance of brigthly hued fish and of fish without scales. I wanted to try both kinds, and found them perfectly palatable, tasty and harmless.

No tool, used for any purpose by the Onge, ever gets a cleaning. Cleanliness, I repeat, is unknown in Little Andaman. See how food is prepared and disposed of ! Care is taken only not to throw big pieces of meat intended for cooking directly on the bare ground ; but once it is cooked, food is treated with the utmost disregard for dirt, dust, cobwebs and other such things. It is usually left lying around on large leaves spread out for the purpose. The remains of the Onge's orgiastic meals are kept out of reach of the dogs on the ceiling of the huts, to be covered with flies when no fire is lit directly below. Sand and grit may get wedged annoyingly in the teeth, but not such impalpable things as dust or cobwebs. The use of unclean food is not repugnant to the Onge. The same can be said for water polluted by dogs drinking and bathing in it, or by the presence of putrefying carcases. In the west of Little Andaman I saw some Onge avidly drinking from pools of a blackish water with a revolting sulphurous smell. After thoroughly filtering and boiling it, I too used such water, for it was the only water available in the neighborhood. This caused no ill effects. My Indian men considered it perfectly healthy and invigorating, and drank it safely in its natural condition.

The Onge eat with their unwashed fingers, without the help of tools. On rare occasions they use platters made of the flattened-out stems – or bracts – of *areca* palms. They sometimes carry these platters when travelling, but of course never wash them although they become coated in rancid, greasy filth. They soon assume a dark colour and a truly revolting appearance – aside from the awful smell. A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN's statement – that the Andamanese paint their bodies to neutralize the unpleasant smell of food that clings to them after their orgiastic feedings – shows only indirect knowledge of the life and manners of those people. Even the horrible flatulence that follows their pork orgies is not considered an inconvenience ; yet it is much more revolting than all the other body odours.

Although the Onge observe few hygienic precautions they do follow a number of medical practices, not all devoid of beneficial effects. Here are a few more remarks on their eating and drinking habits. For about six months of the year, between November and April, water is scarce in Little Andaman. Every kind of fresh water is then considered good by the Onge, regardless of whether it is a murky infusion of rotting leaves or afloat with the putrefied

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312 caracases of small animals. During the droughts, marine hermit crabs, of
271 which a profusion is found in Little Andaman even far from the sea-shore,
[196] often choose to die in fresh-water pools. They are not removed from the pools.
[415] A nautilus shell is sometimes used as a drinking vessel ; failing this, the Onge
[516] lap up the water like animals, on all fours, directly from the pool. Since they are
231 very fond of dogs, man and dog drink together from the same tiny pool, often holding no more than a few pints of water. Dogs reached Great Andaman as early as 1857 ; they came to Little Andaman much later. Before that time there were no dogs in the Andamanese Archipelago. They soon became the natives' cherished and much appreciated assistants in the hunting of wild pigs. Many unhygienic habits followed the appearance of dogs in the Andamans.

271 The Onge have no idea of boiling water for the purpose of disinfection ;
[147] nevertheless their health does not appear to suffer at all as a result of the pol-
123 luted water they drink. When, in 1952, I dug a well near the left bank of Dugong Creek on the north-east coast of Little Andaman, I was compelled to fence it in so as to prevent dogs from drinking it and bathing in it.

264 Dogs lick everything that smells of food, including the cooking pots,
[291] and the pots are not washed before use after the dogs have licked them.
[136] Swarms of flies of different species and small coleoptera of a brilliant blue colour, one of them 6 mms long, follow the dogs after they have "cleaned" the pots by licking them. They line the inside of the pots with a crawling, living coat, moving restlessly around in search of food. One species of fly, which is of a brilliant, metallic green colour, has a peculiarly disagreeable smell. All the flies lay eggs while feeding, but the eggs are soon devoured by the hovering bluish coleoptera. Thus in a few hours all traces of organic matter disappear from the pots. Subsequent exposure to fire undoubtedly destroys the germs that would otherwise be certainly dangerous to human beings.

415 The Onge no longer use indigenous pottery for cooking. Its disappearance
177 is recent, as the sherds that litter Little Andaman prove to the investigator.
[323] Excavation in modern kitchen-middens leads to the same conclusion. During the last war, quantities of empty petrol drums were washed up on the Andaman shores. They were found in such numbers that the Onge have not yet used them all up : after 1952 I found several of these containers abandoned, untouched, in the jungle. The primitive inhabitants sawed each container in two cylindrical halves, thus transforming them into cooking pots. The result was that within a few years the fragile ancestral pottery of the Onge disappeared altogether. Furthermore, aluminium pots were distributed among the natives after 1952. Probably the indigenous pottery will never again reappear.
[252] Each half of a petrol drum is large enough to contain a pig, or a turtle weighing
262 150 lbs, cut into pieces. Only the flesh of these animals is consumed by the
[231] Onge ; the nourishing broth is poured out onto the ground or left in the pot to be lapped up by the dogs. The Onge believe that broth is unhealthy and avoid drinking it.

251 No matter how prodigious the catch of sardines or other fish, unobtain-
[185] able at other times of the year, no attempt is made at storing part of it in view of future shortage. The Onge are unacquainted with methods for preserv-

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ing edible matter ; furthermore, they don't care to take the trouble as food is generally plentiful. We must also realize that they find salt repulsive. Even honey – so easily kept for many months – is disposed of, if possible, on the very same day it is collected. Incredible quantities of this or other food may be consumed for days and nights on end until everything disappears. Very few of the islanders care to vary their meat diet with an occasional diet of vegetables in order to disintoxicate the system ; yet nourishing yams and other roots grow wild and plentiful. They are so rich in carbohydrates that I preferred them to potatoes and rice. I may add that the Onge, on my request, brought me yams and roots that they were glad to barter with rice, tea and sugar – soon declared by their wise men to possess medicinal properties.

The Onge's stomach, intestines and general physiological equilibrium suffer from lack of salt and such bad nutritional habits as those described. They damage the human body, together with unrestrained sexual activity.

One highly unhygienic custom of the Onge is the use, all over Little Andaman, of peculiar sucking-sticks. These pass from mouth to mouth during the frequent meat or honey orgies indulged in by the natives.

When boiling pork or turtle, a quantity of liquid fat floats on the surface of the broth. Though the Onge despise the broth, they don't like to waste the fat. So they devised an efficient solution : they suck the fat up by means of a wad of absorbent matter obtained by chewing the end of a fibrous stick selected among many species of trees in the forest. The end of the stick is chewed along a section of 5 cms, the remaining part – about 25 cms long and 2 cms thick – is used as a handle to prevent the fingers from burning.

In every Onge camp sucking-sticks are permanently in evidence owing to the inmates' frequent ingestion of liquid fat or honey. A second version of the sucking-stick consists in a narrow, cotton-like strip, up to 80 cms long, with only a small part of the original wood remaining. This serves as a handle for dipping the stick into a wooden barrel full of honey. In both instances the same tool passes for hours from mouth to mouth : from older people to greedy children, anxious to suck the coveted delicacy off the stick that has been dipped into the pot. The rapid spreading of epidemics, which often occur in the Andamans, is certainly encouraged by the use of these sucking-sticks. I found no reference to this practice in books on the Andaman Islands.

Everything they eat, particularly meat, the Onge consider as either remedial or harmful. They are therefore chary of accepting proffered food if it is unknown to them. When I brought 30 Onge to Port Blair to introduce them to Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD, President of the Indian Republic, they were troublesome about food. In Port Blair it was not as easy as in Little Andaman to procure whole pigs ; sometimes only pieces were available. The Andamanese Forest Department was quickly informed of the difficulty and kindly supplied the desired animals. In moments of shortage I tried to give the Onge cooked lamb, goat, chicken and pigeons ; they resolutely refused them as unhealthy. Birds are never eaten by the Onge, who consider them shelters for human souls

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Endogamous life, or the habit of never washing even the female genital 842
organs, cannot be the only cause of Andamanese sterility. Alcohol and venereal [515]
diseases such as syphilis may only be a complementary cause. The Onge's
limited fertility probably derives from other factors besides their protracted [582]
and inceasingly strict endogamy.

We can only remark that Onge women rarely become pregnant before 842
28 ; their fertility ceases around the age of 48. The high rate of sterility among 147
Onge women after marriage (which generally takes place at the age of 14) is [582]
puzzling indeed. Of several childless couples that I studied in Little Andaman,
the woman was under 28. There is hope of fertility after that age. It could so
happen, for instance, in the case of two young Onge chiefs, Okkeggi and Chen-
dubai, married to two sisters among the most beautiful and flourishing girls
on the island : Ooaghēghē and Tocooaghēghē, both around 20. They never
became pregnant, although menstruation was normal and they had plenty of [837]
sexual intercourse, even extra-marital.

The delayed appearance of fertility in Andamanese women is probably 147
connected with a general biological condition fostered by unhygienic habits. 515
For instance : young Onge females have a high vagina acidity content that
is certainly harmful to spermatozoa. It decreases with age, facilitating, we may
suppose, fecundation. Vaginal washing would help, but the Onge women never
recur to it. But this is only one side of the question. It is evidently urgent to do 161
whatever is necessary to save the Onge from extinction. We must remember
that civilized nations, through international agreements, are anxious to pro-
tect plant and animal species from disappearance. The same should be done
for man, and equivalent international laws are needed. The Onge as a human
group are on the verge of extinction ; but they still retain enough vitality to
be rescued before they finally vanish into eternity.

Without enlarging here on the disorders of Onge sexual life and their 838
dire effects also on the number of births, I wish to point out one more fact :
Onge homosexuality as a normal occurrence. It is a plague in Little Andaman,
helped by the regular physiological functions of both extremities of the diges-
tive tube. The sexual tendencies that prevail in Little Andaman are a strong
criticism of FREUD's theories on sexual life, but I will not discuss this here.
I would rather say a few words about some opinions regarding the cause of
Onge sterility that I heard expressed in the Andamans. Foreigners there ascribe 842
it to the *naquinēghē* – the grass-like apron worn by women. Colonists believe 833
that this garment leads to copulation from the rear, reducing the chances
of fecundation. This idea is incorrect : the Onge never do this because the
naquinēghē can be easily lifted as required, and pulled up over the abdomen.
It is true that Onge women remove the *naquinēghē* only to replace it with a 291
fresh one ; they wear it even when sleeping. Not for a single instant must women [513]
remain "undressed", for superstitious reasons. When a new *naquinēghē* is needed,
the old one is furtively disposed of. Husband and wife repair secretely to a
remote part of the forest, the woman slipping the new garment over her head
before removing the old one, and burying the latter, which is quickly destroyed
by white ants. The Onge believe that possession by a stranger of a worn [754]

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softness of their skin. They have what must be among the darkest skins in the world, and in certain lights some individuals have a bluish tinge, which I have never seen in any other region. Something similar seems to have existed among the now extinct Tasmans, although they differed markedly from the Andamanese in other respects. The Onges are the only Andamanese who are not invariably intensely black, and the bluish type is rare among them. This might be attributable to contact with the nearby Nicobars, where a yellowish skin is common, in conjunction with Mongoloid features. I saw no traces, however, of such admixture; the Arioto show some sign of recent Burmese influence, but any ethnic influences on the Onges and Jarawas must have been extremely ancient, indeed before their arrival in the archipelago. In the south and south-west of Little Andaman I did find individuals markedly taller than the rest (though still small), but it is clear that outwardly at least the Onges and Jarawas still retain most of their unique somatic characteristics, which have remained unchanged for thousands of years.

The Andamanese skin is very smooth in texture, and lacks the odour characteristic of many of the African peoples. This would appear to depend on the chemical composition of the sweat, as the Andamanese never intentionally wash, although brushing against the sodden vegetation, and frequent immersion while collecting shellfish, or fishing, in some measure compensates. Curiously enough their sweat does seem to repel the local ticks, which drive Europeans mad; again, it was interesting that the Indians and Burmese of my party were variously affected by them.

Their skin is also extraordinarily elastic – I noticed that in the forest I scratched myself continually at the slightest touch against thorns or branches, whereas the Onges invariably emerged quite unscathed at the end of the trek. Their greater agility of movement will undoubtedly have been part of the answer, but it would be impossible to avoid any scratches, as they do, unless their skin 'gave' to an abnormal degree.

Another effect of this elasticity is that the women suffer no disfiguration of the skin over the abdomen after childbirth, and neither sex becomes wrinkled to any noticeable extent with age. This distinguishes them clearly from peoples with whom they have been compared – such as the Bushmen, who (possibly in part due

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and the 'peppercorn' hair (disposed in tufts with bare areas) do indeed recall the Bushmen, but superficial resemblances are not enough to classify the two peoples as at all closely related. There is an important difference between the two in the structure and cross-section of the hair. Hairs from the Onges which were examined in Calcutta were remarkably uniform, indicating the racial purity of the people, unlike those of the Arioto, which showed considerable variation in cross-section, from the almost circular straight hair of the Mongoloid type, to the flattened, almost remiform hair of the original Negritos.

Different, too, is the shape of the head; I have never seen in the Negritos the typical Bushmen head, with the prominent occiput, and I saw no Andamanese with the pseudo-mongoloid appearance of the eyes which occurs in Bushmen.

The hands and feet are also different. Among the Kung women of the northern Kalahari in particular I saw delicate hands with very long metacarpals and a very small thumb, the elongated metacarpals displacing the thumb towards the wrist. None of the Negritos appear to have anything resembling this; their hands are always rather broad. Moreover, the feet of the male Onges are nearly always flat while those of the women tend to turn in, recalling the small peoples of Indonesia and New Guinea, but not the Bushmen.

An interesting though not congenital abnormality in the Andamanese results from the carrying of weights slung from the head from too early an age. Loads are always carried on their backs by a rope made of bark, the weight being taken on the forehead. The rope presses on the head in the region of the bregma and creates the so-called bregmatic furrow. This is more marked in females, as the women normally do most of the carrying. Even the children travel on their parents' backs, hanging like parcels, until the age of five or six when they are old enough to follow the group on their own.

The Abor, a mongoloid people of small stature in the mountains of North-West Assam, carry loads in the same way, but with no resulting head furrow. The Andamanese have softer cranial bones, and the result of load-bearing is therefore clearly visible. As it occurs in both sexes, it is often hard if not impossible to determine sex from skulls if the pelvis is absent. The long bones are not of

142 147 482 much assistance in this respect, as the muscular insertions are exaggerated in both sexes, both being subjected to continued physical effort resulting in muscular bulk.

142 147 164 [304] [515] One quite outstanding physical feature in the Onges is their teeth. The palate is unusually arched, unlike that of the African pygmies or the Bushmen. The teeth, which are never filed or cut, as many primitive peoples do for decorative purposes, are very white; caries is rare, and although never cleaned the teeth are retained till late in life. A common abnormality is that the lateral incisors are as pointed as the canines. This, with the whiteness of the teeth and eyes against the blackness of the skin, gives the Onges a sinister appearance, which may account for the old description of the Andamanese as men with ferocious dogs' heads. The only 142 515 (summary) cleaning the Onge teeth receive is the use of toothpicks, thinner and rather longer than the European variety and made from the tough, flexible bark of a certain reed. After use, they are carefully thrust into the hair for future occasions. Every Onge has one or more threaded through the hair on top of the head.

142 147 [264] [514] The strength of the Onge teeth enables their owners to champ their way through what are for us inconceivable quantities of food, both animal and vegetable, which is chewed slowly and determinedly, dust, earth, sand and all, and then swallowed without apparent ill effects, other than the flatulence arising from overconsumption of animal matter. But the Onges use their teeth for other purposes besides eating. In time the teeth become worn down by the inevitable grinding of dirt and grit, but this does not prevent the Onges from continuing to chew the bark of trees and cords, which is a lifelong occupation. This duty falls mainly on the women, and I have seen aged women, their teeth worn almost to the gums, doggedly chewing bark as their contribution to the communal life of the group. The strength of the teeth is unbelievable – I have seen children of ten to fifteen years crush nails up to two millimetres thick, and dent lumps of iron.

114 123 142 147 [37] I myself once had good cause to be grateful for their power. My party and I found ourselves stranded in the forest on South Brother without guns or even knives, and without cooking utensils. There were large clutches of turtle eggs buried in the sand nearby and my two Onge companions pointed out a coconut tree loaded with nuts (which turned out to be the only one on the islands, seeded

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from a nut carried by the sea from some tree hundreds of miles away). There was thus ample food for several days, if only the coconuts could be opened. The Onges' teeth solved the problem. They attacked the nuts close to the stalk, stripping off great chunks of the fibrous outer covering until they had uncovered the three 'eyes'. These they dug out with a sharp piece of stick, so that we were able to drink the juice and then break up the nuts to get at the flesh. Never did coconuts taste so good!

Round the base of the tree I saw a thick layer of broken pieces of coconut, the remains of nuts opened by the Onges' teeth over the years. The strength of their bite resembles that of the African pygmies, whom I have seen hanging by their teeth from the lianas and who can dent the barrel of a gun.

The average life span of the Onges, and indeed of the Andamanese in general, is fairly short. On Little Andaman there are probably no individuals over the age of sixty, and most die before fifty. Here again they differ from African peoples of similar stature; Bushmen have been known to live to a hundred, and I saw one in Natal, incredibly wrinkled, but not shrunken, who was certainly near that age if not, as he claimed, over it. This is quite unknown in the Andamanese. There are none with white hair; although a few white hairs can sometimes be found on the head of an old woman, there are none to be seen in the men, who die younger than the women. There is no baldness, which is by no means rare in Negroes, particularly in southern Africa.

Precise age is not easy to determine in the Onges. Visual assessment is hampered by the absence of the signs of ageing common in Europeans. Moreover, a particularly child-like expression often lasts into adult life. In May 1952 I saw on Car Nicobar two Jarawa youths, small but robust, whose age by our standards one would have estimated at ten or twelve years. One turned out to be fourteen, however, and the other at least two years older, and both were adolescent, despite their childish appearance.

Males appear to reach their maximum height at about eighteen, and females at about sixteen; both sexes reach full maturity at about twenty-three. At forty-five they are old: their hard life, their unbalanced diet, with its enormous quantities of fat meat eaten in excess, and complete absence of salt, and their unrestrained sexual activity, may all be contributing factors. The slightly greater age

The slightly greater age
145 reached by the women may possibly be explained by their some-
165 what less arduous life physically, but biological factors may be the
146 root cause. Despite their deceptively youthful appearance the menopause is over by the age of thirty-eight, at the latest, and they remain in good health thereafter, looking amazingly young. The oldest man I saw was Enagaghe, the head of one of the groups, and he could not have been more than fifty-five. He happily accompanied me on long and arduous trips into the forest, and climbed trees like a squirrel after honey and fruit; neither his appetite nor his zeal as a lover were impaired. His stomach managed to cope with something like a kilo a day of meat, skin and fat, plus fruit, boiled roots and honey. In a hot, damp, oppressive climate like that of the Andamans such a diet year after year cannot fail to produce a state of chronic intestinal poisoning likely to affect the organism as a whole, and may contribute to shorten life, despite an apparent physical vigour.

141 Connected, perhaps, with their excesses is the fact that the Onges'
147 normal body temperature is much higher than usual; with a temperature reading of thirty-eight degrees centigrade they are in good health, with unimpaired appetite. I found an average temperature of thirty-seven point five degrees centigrade in males of various ages, the younger men tending to give the higher readings. The average in females was slightly higher than in males. I was able to observe for myself completely normal behaviour in Onges who by European standards would have been regarded as severely febrile.
[146] In part, as I have said, this may be due to diet and absence of salt, but it must certainly be regarded at least in part as a racial characteristic. It may, too, have some effect on their low vitality; it is interesting that temperatures in the Bushmen and pygmies of Africa, with their longer expectation of life, never vary far from the European norm.

164 These abnormally high temperatures are not a symptom of
[147] malaria. This is clinically unknown in the Andamanese although it is a serious menace to outsiders. Even a few hours on the island can lead to infection if precautions are not taken. I made all the men with me take their tablets regularly, even when propaganda in India against immunization as a Western importation led to objections, so that I had to force the tablets into their mouths myself to ensure that they were swallowed.

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The Onges do not seem to require any preventive measures, and seem naturally immune to malaria. They do, however, transmit the disease to strangers, through the mosquitoes which are everywhere in Little Andaman. Like many other inhabitants of tropical areas, they probably all carry the disease without being affected by it – neither children nor adults show any sign of splenic enlargement. 164 [136]

In contrast to their periodic gorging, the Onges will equally cheerfully endure hunger, thirst and exhaustion. During our hazardous canoe trip to South Brother, however, they appeared much more affected than I was by long exposure to the sun. We were completely without any means of shelter for an entire afternoon in the open sea, and though the Onges tried to cover their heads as best they could, they still developed severe (and genuine) headaches, and were clearly much happier in the dark forest, which must be considered their natural environment. 147 [261]

Nothing has hitherto been known of the intelligence level and general psychology of the Onges. The childishness of their behaviour, however, is curiously in keeping with their strikingly child-like appearance. Like children, they seek only the satisfaction of elementary stimuli, and like children they pass in a flash from one mood to another, so that they are a people of sudden contrasts. 15

One example is their passionate love for their dogs, in marked contrast to the intense cruelty with which they hunt their prey. Having once realized the usefulness of dogs, first imported into the islands some thirty years ago, the Onges now pet them like little girls with their dolls, and the Onge women will suckle the family puppies quite naturally with their own children. Yet once a dog dies the other side of the Onge nature comes to the fore and the carcase is thrown into the forest – there is no looking back. 231 152 [177]

Their minds are in a sense inventive, in that they have evolved devices to help them acquire their food, but they have never, for example, thought of the fish-hook, despite the abundance of iron pieces thrown up by shipwrecks all round the islands. Anything new is taken up with a child's momentary enthusiasm, but they have no notion of sustained mental effort such as any form of counting. 157 [802]

Like children, too, the Onges laugh at the slightest thing, although their mirth is always restrained. In this they differ from the African peoples, particularly the Bushmen, who are often by 157 522

142
482

[147]

14 In spite of their size, the Andaman islanders are capable of carrying enormous weights

15 A temporary shelter in the forest

342
516

[facing P. 66, J]

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2. Unlike the natives of India, the men allow scarce any weight to rest on the head; the entire strain is thrown on the shoulders and back by passing the cord to which the load is attached across the chest. As this mode would with women be attended with inconvenience on account of the *chip-*,[1] besides causing injury to the breasts, the cord is in their case brought over the head,[2] and the back is bent in order to reduce the pressure. 482

3. In his account of a visit to the Nágá Hills, about ten years ago,[3] Mr. S. E. Peal makes allusion to the "peculiar noise, like a whistle or note on a flute, clear and plain, and seeming to come from the chest, made by Nágánis when carrying loads and distressed." The same peculiarity is noticeable under similar circumstances among the Andamanese of *both* sexes. [142]

4. Running is seldom practised by them except for a short distance, when hunting, &c., and four or five hundred yards appears to be the greatest extent of ground they can cover without halting or slackening speed. Though in running or walking on a good road they are generally passed without difficulty by natives of India, their superiority in the jungles is at once manifest when the beaten track is left; and in the ease and rapidity with which they are able to bound over rocks, fallen trees, mangrove roots, and other obstacles, few, if any, would care, or be able, to compete with them. 481

5. Both coastmen and "junglees" are, as a rule, gifted with extremely keen sight. It was, however, found impossible to gauge their powers by the test papers[4] in consequence of their inability to count; but many satisfactory proofs of their acuteness of vision have been afforded, as, for instance, by the manner in which, while coasting along the shore or when threading their way through the jungle, they detect birds or other objects, so hidden by the dense foliage of their forests as to be hardly distinguishable, even when pointed out, to more than ordinarily sharp-eyed Europeans and others. 151

6. The inland tribes have especially keen scent, and are able from an almost incredible distance to specify, and direct their steps towards, any particular tree that may happen to be in blossom; their sense of taste is also strongly developed, enabling them to discriminate between the various flowers from which the bees have produced their honey.

7. On the other hand, while the coastmen are not deficient in

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, No. 24.

[2] A peculiarity in the conformation of the female skull due to this practice will be hereafter noted, under the heading of "Deformations," paragraph 3.

[3] *Vide* "Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal," vol. xli, part 1, 1872.

[4] Viz., those used in the Army for recruiting purposes.

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151 these points, they are found to surpass the natives of the interior in their sense of hearing, which is so acute that they commonly spear turtles on the darkest nights, though able to direct their aim only by the slight sound made by the animal when rising to the surface to take breath. "*ng'ab-mū'lwa-*" (you deaf person !) is a term of reproach often applied by the coast people to those dwelling inland, in allusion to the admitted inferiority of the latter in this respect.

Psychology and Morals.—1. It has been remarked with regret 577 by all interested in the race, that intercourse with the alien population has, generally speaking, prejudicially affected their morals; and that the candour, veracity, and self-reliance they manifest in their savage and untutored state are, when they become associated with foreigners, to a great extent lost, and habits of untruthfulness, dependence, and sloth engendered.

2. Though there are some grounds for the opinion hitherto held regarding their fearlessness, our more recent relations with them prove that the surprising courage and apparent utter recklessness of life which they manifested in their early encounters with us were due rather to their ignorance of, and disbelief in, any foe more powerful than themselves, or with means of destruction more deadly than their own. Probably nothing short of despair or uncontrollable rage would ever induce any of them to make an attack in which they have not a decided advantage, real or imaginary. All is regarded as fair in war, and cunning and treachery are considered worthy of commendation; in short, the high type of courage common among most civilised, and a few savage, nations appears to be totally lacking among the Andamanese; nevertheless, those who evince courage are much admired, and poltroons are objects of general ridicule.[1] When apprised of the existence of danger, they usually evince extreme caution, and only venture upon an attack when well assured, that, by their superior numbers, they can put the enemy to flight, or will be able, by stealth, to surprise and overpower him.

3. At the same time certain traits which have been noticeable in their dealings with us would give colour to the belief that they are not altogether lacking in the sense of honour, and have some faint idea of the meaning of justice. An amusing incident is related by Dr. Day on this point. It appears that on a certain

[1] Their conduct on occasions of personal risk is, however, generally governed by the consideration that "discretion is the better part of valour," and that

> "He who fights and runs away,
> May live to fight another day."

They thus resemble the South Sea islanders spoken of by Sir J. Lubbock who, "though not cowards, regard it as much less disgraceful to run away from an enemy with whole bones than to fight and be wounded."

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261 cannot apparently abstain from food without inconvenience for more than eight hours at a time.

271 3. When exerting themselves in any way they perspire freely, which may account for their inordinate thirst. So great, indeed, [445] is their inability to endure any privation in respect to drink, that they seldom leave home on the shortest expedition, whether by land or sea, without providing themselves with one or more bamboo vessels, called *gōb-*, containing a supply of fresh water.

513 4. Loss of sleep they can bear well only when under the influence of strong excitement, as in turtle hunting, or at festive gatherings, where singing and dancing are kept up for many successive hours;[1] they have even been known to spend forty-eight hours at such times without taking any rest.

●151 5. What little cool weather there is in the latitude of their islands, during December and January, they dislike extremely; in striking evidence of this they are found, as I will elsewhere mention,[2] unconsciously concurring with the great Italian poet in depicting the region of punishment, for the souls of the wicked, as one of intense cold. After this, it will appear somewhat strange to say that, in spite of their aversion to what they consider cold weather—which never registers less than 69° F. 302 on the highest elevation in South Andaman—they are careful, during the hot season, to avoid any lengthened exposure to the direct rays of the sun, and endeavour to lessen the discomfort caused by the heat by smearing their persons with a white-wash of common white clay and water.[3] It has long been erroneously believed that they have recourse to this expedient in order to allay the inconvenience which they would otherwise suffer from the bites of mosquitoes and other jungle pests; but the true reason for the practice is, I am well assured, that which I have above given, for the various insects which might annoy them are, for the most part, kept away by the smoke of the hut fire, beside which a great portion of their time is spent when at rest, or when engaged in any sedentary occupation.

147 6. The voices of the men are usually clear without being deep, while those of the women, especially when raised, are very shrill.

142 7. The mucous membrane of the mouth is stained with pigment to a greater degree than was found to be the case with such of the natives of India as were compared with them.

8. The general excellence of the teeth strikes one as remark-

[1] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraph 32.

[2] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 25.

[3] I would here draw attention to the fact, that while the object in smearing themselves with *ōg-* wash is to keep themselves as cool as possible, they often daub their bodies with *kòrob-* after sundown for the opposite reason, *i.e.*, for the sake of warmth.

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individual in the method of tying and knotting the string employed in the manufacture of these missiles;[1] these, however, are often so slight that, even when pointed out, they are scarcely to be detected by a stranger, unless he be one who has bestowed careful attention to the subject. 211 411

7. In their savage state they never attempt to represent any object, and, though they do not appear to possess any natural taste for drawing, they differ from the Australians[2] in the intelligence they display in recognising any familiar form depicted in a sketch; and while no such method for indicating the situation of any place is known or employed among themselves, some of them are quick in understanding a chart of their own country, and are able to point out the sites of their various encampments. 532 151

8. It is hardly necessary to state that they have nothing answering to mile-stones or roadside marks. Swamps are never crossed, but in all cases avoided by circuitous routes; experience seems to have taught them the natural line of fords from salient to salient banks, and, when a creek has to be crossed, they always avail themselves of the advantages thus afforded, even making a detour in order to do so.[3] This applies, however, to those occasions when they are not heavily laden, or are carrying articles liable to be damaged by immersion, or which would hinder them from swimming. 487

Swimming.—1. With the exception of some of the *ē·rem-tâ·ga-*,[4] a knowledge of the art of swimming is common to members of both sexes; the *children* even, learning almost as soon as they can run, speedily acquire great proficiency. In this accomplishment the Andamanese greatly surpass the majority of Europeans, but it is probable that, in competition with an experienced English swimmer, their best men would be distanced in the first few hundred yards, it being not so much for speed, as for the length of time they can remain in the water, that they are remarkable. 481

[1] With reference to this circumstance, it may be mentioned that, a few years ago (1876), five aborigines, concerned in the murder near Kyd Island of some Chinese traders with whom they had had a dispute, were discovered by means of the arrows found on the spot, as these were identified by some of their acquaintances then living at Port Blair.

[2] Brown. [From remarks, however, contained in a recent article, entitled "The Indo-Chinese and Oceanic Races," by Mr. A. H. Keane, which appeared in "Nature" (Jan. 6th, 1881), it would appear that the low estimate of the Australian intellect formed by certain ethnologists is not shared by all, and "many instances are given of their skill even in drawing, a capacity for which was wholly denied them."]

[3] Wells are not dug, but when encamping, whether for days or months, care is always taken that the spot selected be near some fresh-water stream.

[4] The reason of this is obvious, as it is known that the majority of the creeks are fordable in many places within three miles of the coast, even in the rainy season, and, therefore, the necessity of acquiring the art of natation has never been experienced by those permanently resident in the interior.

and an irritable temper indicating a nervous temperament, are by no means rare. The natural good looks of many of the people are injured by the habit of shaving and smearing themselves with greasy red and white pigments. 142

The pleasing appearance of the men is not a characteristic of the women, whose habits of completely shaving the head and profusely smearing themselves, with an early tendency to stoutness and ungainliness of figure and sometimes to pronounced prognathism, frequently make them unattractive objects to Europeans. They are, however, bright and merry even into old age and are under no special social restrictions, have a good deal of influence, and in old age are often much respected. They nevertheless readily and naturally acquiesce in a position of subordination, slavery and drudgery to the men, and are apt to herd together in parties of their own sex. Variation from type is much commoner among the men than the women. 142 562

III. Mental Characteristics.

Sense Development.—The nerve development of the Andamanese is low, pain is not severely felt and wounds quickly heal. The sense development is normal and instances of unusual acuteness observed are the result of personal training in certain directions and not of heredity, *e.g.*, they will recognise one of themselves at a great distance, but not an unaccustomed object such as a European: they can smell a fire or hear the sound of dancing also at a great distance, but this is because they are always on the look-out for these things and their discernment is a matter of habit and of much consequence to themselves. They can, in short, do well such things as they pay particular or habitual attention to. 147 151

The Andamanese are naturally far sighted, and any near sight observed will be found to be due to leucoma or other disease. In respect to sight, however, they are not more highly gifted than civilized mankind. The colour sense is hardly developed at all and they are what would be called in Europe colour-blind to most colours. Black, white and red are distinguished, but green and blue are not. This is due apparently to want of observation only, as they distinguish between white paint and the white European skin. A good deal of blindness was caused by imported epidemic ophthalmia in 1877. Hearing is not abnormally acute, but is highly trained in matters pertaining to jungle craft. Touch seems to be undeveloped. The sense of smell is highly developed in matters necessary to their existence, but they have no appreciation of artificial scent or of that of flowers which do not denote food, nor can they distinguish by smell that which they cannot see unless it be an object of food. Taste is strongly developed as to honey, distinguishing that deposited from different flowers. They care nothing for scenery and do not decorate themselves with flowers. 151 [164]

Character.—In childhood the Andamanese are possessed of a bright intelligence, which, however, soon reaches its climax and the adult may be compared in this respect with the civilised child of ten or twelve. He has never had any sort of agriculture, nor until the English taught him the use of dogs did he ever domesticate any kind of animal or bird, nor did he teach himself to turn turtle or to use hook and line in fishing. He cannot count and all his ideas are hazy, inaccurate and ill-defined. He has never developed unaided any idea of drawing or making a tally or record for any purpose, but he readily understands a sketch or plan when shown him. He soon becomes mentally tired and is apt to break down physically under mental training. 181

He retains throughout life the main characteristics of the child: of very short but strong memory, suspicious of but hospitable to strangers, ungrateful, imitative and watchful of his companions and neighbours, vain and under the spur of vanity industrious and persevering, teachable up to a quickly reached limit, fond of undefined games and practical jokes, too happy and careless to be affected in temperament by his superstitions, too careless indeed to store water even for a voyage, plucky but not courageous, reckless only from ignorance or inappreciation of danger, selfish but not without generosity, chivalry or a sense of honour, petulant, hasty of temper, entirely irresponsible and childish in action in his wrath and equally quick to forget, affectionate, lively in his movements and exceedingly taking in his moments of good temper. At these times the Andamanese are gentle and pleasant to each other, considerate to the aged, the

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

documented the fact in a number of photographs. The purpose, however, is 751
purely hygienic . an unpainted body is, in their opinion, exposed to certain 302
illness. They explained this belief to me by saying that without paint the body
becomes "hot". The men who travelled with me far from women were anxious
every day to spread clay on face, chest and limbs, just to avoid "heat" or,
in other words, fever. I thought of malaria, but they do not suffer from it. [162]
Of this I will speak later on.

Rough clay is applied daily, on infant bodies as well as on adults, for 751
health purposes. It is used to cure all kinds of sickness, together with ochre, 757
turtle fat and honey. Honey spread on wounds appears to hasten healing. [302]
Identical curative methods are employed in Oceania. They probably existed [854]
among the Tasmanians, and are still used in Australia by the aborigines. I [752]
found nothing of the kind in Africa, where honey is plentiful. The Onge consider
clay, ochre, honey and turtle fat good for external and internal treatment alike – [171]
both preventive and curative. Powdered bees' wax of a dark colour is often
added. I saw mothers give their children, as a laxative, a number of pills made [825]
of similar ingredients. No bigger than common hazelnuts, the pills are red [317]
and greasy. In Onge forests I saw some small excavations, a few feet deep,
made to extract the medicinal clay from special ground pockets. In its natural [386]
form the clay is light coloured, powdery and free of stones. When it is burnt
the colour changes, assuming red, yellow, whitish or black shades according to
the different qualities used, all believed to possess healing properties and to
ensure hygienic colouring of the body. Mixed as described above, clay is used
by the Onge in every circumstance from fever to snake or scorpion bite, consti-
pation, breast infection in women, or post-delivery bleeding.

Belief in the medicinal properties of clay is as old as humanity itself. 757
Even among contemporary European peoples, notwithstanding severe criticism, 171
clay is still honoured as health-giving, not, I must say, on wholly foolish 823
grounds. The Onge, who smear their bodies constantly with clay, have the
softest, most velvety skin that I ever saw anywhere in the world. Wounds [752]
spread with clay mixed with honey and fat leave negligible scars. The laxative
and germ-killing action of clay is admitted by physicians in many countries,
including Europe. It never causes infection. Geophagism has ancient origins,
and we find it practiced by many modern populations. Children of every race
and all young wild animals lick clay instinctively to absorb the mineral salts
required by a developing organism. The Onge habit of using clay for healing
purposes can be set, therefore, in a very wide frame.

Mental and nervous disorders are rare in Little Andaman. Few natives 164
are subject to epilepsy – an important matter for the Onge : they consider 828
such people as possessed by spirits who speak through their mouths, and [158]
respectfully question them as oracles. Several Onge chiefs, such as Chief [622]
Tchōtā of Tambē-ē-buiē, are apt to go into trances that have all the appearance
of epileptic fits. They were elected chiefs on the strength of their epilepsy! [787]

Constant exercise keeps eyesight and hearing extremely sharp in the 164
Onge. I saw no single case of myopia or presbyopia among the natives, nor 151

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

164 do they suffer from the eye infections that are so common in the tropics. Their
151 highly trained eye can distinguish at a great distance small vessels on the troubled waters of the sea that people with normal eyesight could not perceive without a telescope. Normal vision, I suppose, is the same for the entire human
123 race ; but we exercise our eyesight less. In the dark fastness of the jungle, the
151 Onge were able to point out birds sitting motionless high up in the trees, quite invisible to me notwithstanding my experience in collecting even the tiniest specimens. With their sharp eyes they sought out for me a collection of minute mimetic amphibians living far from the ground on tree trunks, previously unknown to science. The same thing often happened when I was unable to see as far as they did. The help of my savage friends was invaluable in avoiding the poisonous snakes that we met with daily in our camps or while travelling. For our protection, the Onge always marched in front of my men. They could discern reptiles hanging from branches among thick foliage, waiting to bite us on the neck, or lying perfectly still in the tall grass, ready to attack our legs. The only trouble we had with snakes was when the men I had brought from India, in moments of enthusiasm ran ahead into the interior of the jungle, eluding their Onge vanguard.

752 The Onge themselves, however, are sometimes bitten by snakes, with
123 dire consequences. Happily the Andamanese snakes are less deadly than the
[136] same species on the continent, and few deaths occur from snake bite ; but it can curtail a man's activity for several months. In March 1953 an Onge friend
[222] of about 25 who had climbed a tall tree to collect honey, inadvertently seized with his left hand a snake concealed in a tuft of creepers, and was bitten above the elbow. Frightful swelling ensued, together with shooting pains and a raging fever. The man was brought to me unconscious, his left arm had already assumed the appearance of a huge, rigid, elongated sausage. The Onge had smeared all his body, and particularly the wounded arm, with ochre mixed with honey, turtle fat and rough clay. They have no specific remedy for snake bite. It was too late, but in an attempt to save the patient an antiophidic injection was practiced on him. Within a few hours he appeared to rally. I saw him again after eleven days ; his arm had been treated in the Onge way and put in a sling made of ficus bark cut into narrow strips. Fever had disappeared, and in part also the swelling, so he could move his elbow a little. The skin peeled off the whole length of the arm. Where the fangs had entered the flesh two round, red, suppurating wounds, 1 cm in diameter, were discernible under a layer of clay and honey. The man recovered in about two months. During his
476 illness the people who shared his communal hut exempted him, his wife and his children from all work, and supplied them with all requirements. This occurs in every case of illness, showing the complete solidarity that prevails among those simple people – once considered ferocious. Always, if the wife is ill, the husband is automatically relieved of his hunting, fishing and food-collecting duties. Friends provide food for the family, no matter how many the members thereof.

164 In Little Andaman, we Europeans are constantly threatened with mala-
143 ria. Should we fail to take all necessary precautions we would catch it upon setting foot on the island. The Onge are all infected, but it does not upset

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

Many Onges, in fact, have fine features,

142 [481] and some of the women have a certain beauty and grace of movement, with a dignified walk and restrained gestures, despite their utter lack of any sense of shame. The sclera are very white, and the highly characteristic contrast between the intense black of the skin and the startling white of the eyes gives the Andamanese a ferocious appearance, which on smiling turns into a curiously childish expression (see further, p. 19). It is a curious fact that although the 151 145 Onges have remarkable sight (p. 47), few of them can close each eye separately, although they are all completely ambidextrous.

144 142 164 In examining the child I had particularly in mind the very short stature of the pygmies both of Asia and Africa, which is regarded by some as pathological. The Andamanese have been described as Negroes who have degenerated through genetical isolation. This theory holds that they are descended from slaves who fled from the Portuguese after a shipwreck. I do not regard this as tenable. Pygmies in general, and the Andamanese in particular, are well-proportioned and physically outwardly normal. One cannot speak of dwarfism as determining their characteristics: this implies abnormal development as the result of hypophyseal disorder or [143] thyroid imbalance. Cases of achondroplastic dwarfism are known among the pygmies of Africa, particularly where there has been mixing with Negroes, and these patients are sometimes taller than their normal kinfolk, but I found no cases among the pygmies of Asia.

142 One characteristic of the Bushmen which does occur among the Andamanese is steatopigia in both males and females. This is nor- [114] mally much more prevalent in females, and indeed before my visit to the Andamans von Eickstedt held that it was non-existent in males. I had always disagreed with this view, and was able to verify its occurrence in both males and females.

Dobson in the nineteenth century recorded in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* of London, the unusual appearance of the buttocks in the Andamanese, although he did not specifically refer to the phenomenon as steatopygia, and went only so far as to suppose it the result of an unusual accumulation of fat in the gluteal area. To him, however, must go the credit for the first observation.

114 142 144 His observation led scientists – in my view wrongly – to compare the Andamanese with the Bushmen. The presence of steatopygia,

CHAPTER THREE

The Spirits of the Forest

487 It is only too easy to get lost in the forests, but this never happens with the Onges. They do not rely upon the 'mysterious sense of direction' which is often attributed (without adequate evidence) to primitive peoples; they have other simpler but equally effective ways of finding their way. Everywhere the Onges go they leave behind some mark. When they come to a halt in the depths of the forest, they cast around them, and soon find signs leading to some temporary shelter or communal hut.

As the Onges are out in the forest every day, there are traces of their passage everywhere. Inconspicuously broken plants, or scratches on the branches of trees are precious marks, one leading to the next and so on to the camp. Everyone takes care not to get lost, and moves carefully through the sea of vegetation, without appearing to mark their way. I have often been surprised to find myself back at the camp after innumerable twists and turns, but the [151] Onges' exceptional eyesight saved us when the situation seemed to me quite hopeless.

805 They were always able, too, to calculate exactly how far to go in one stage, and could invariably tell me precisely when we should arrive at a given point. They have no form of clock and work solely by the sun's position. But whatever their method, every time I asked when we should reach a certain camp, they always replied at great length: they would point with one outstretched arm to *Tenculu* the Sun and then with the other to where it would be when we arrived. The passing of days was indicated by moving an arm from east to west, saying *Tenculu – Tenculu*, to show sunrise and sunset. It was a simple matter to work out what they meant, and their answer was invariably right.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

on later visits. Dr H. Lehmann found no evidence of syphilis in the fifty-two individuals of both sexes from whom he took blood samples in my presence.

Although the Onges are normally healthy and look outwardly robust, they have very little actual resistance to disease and succumb very quickly. Twenty-eight of them, whole families, young and old, whom I took with me to Port Blair in 1954 to present them to the President of the Republic of India, all developed a high fever owing to the change in their way of life during the few days it took from Little Andaman to Great Andaman, and we had to take them back hastily to their own island immediately after the official visit. Even minor feverish complaints of no importance seem to depress and terrify them so that they die very quickly, and I sometimes heard that young Onge friends whom I had left in excellent health had died suddenly from, so I was told, some febrile complaint. The Onge women have better resistance than their menfolk to disease as a whole, which may also help to explain their greater longevity.

On the other hand wounds heal surprisingly quickly in both sexes, although in some of the old men I saw purulent leg sores, slow to heal even when treated with antiseptics which I applied myself. I saw none of these in women, but they seem to be more severely attacked by ringworm, especially on the abdomen and round the umbilicus. Few of the Onges were free from ringworm but none of them bothered to treat it, and it did not seem to cause them any noticeable disturbance. In one woman I noticed whitish patches on the fingers and lips, due to leucoderma.

Diseases of the nervous system and mental illnesses seem very rare, although a few individuals are subject to attacks of epilepsy, watched reverently by all present! The Onges regard epileptics as possessed by a spirit capable of giving important information and question them like the oracle. A number of the Onge leaders, among them Giota of Tambe-e-buiè, go from time to time into a state of trance, which has every appearance of an epileptic attack. I saw one case of dementia in a middle-aged woman, but it was mild enough to allow her to go about her work reasonably well, and at regular intervals she produced normal children.

Sight and hearing in the Onges are particularly acute, as has often been reported in primitive peoples and attributed to the

151 regular exercise of the two faculties required by their existence in direct contact with the natural world; anyone, it is said, who lived such a life would preserve the same keenness of eye and ear. [164] Certainly I saw no myopia among the Onges, nor any of the eye infections common among other inhabitants of the tropics. With the naked eye they can pick out tiny craft far out to sea, or the small, narrow Onge canoes which I could hardly see with field-glasses, which makes me doubt whether constant exercise of the eyes can really be the full explanation of their power of vision. They can pick out quickly and accurately birds immobile among the dense leaves in the darkest part of the forest, invisible to me, even though I was used to looking for them and could see them when they moved. And from the ground they saw high in the trees tiny amphibia which I wanted to catch, after I had caught one by chance which had proved to be a new species. These amphibia, [126] perfect mimics, become almost invisible when they attach themselves to the bark of the trees, but the Onges pointed them out to me from a distance with absolute accuracy, and I was in fact able in 1954 to catch over two hundred in a week.[1]

825 151 114 The Onges can also pick out reptiles on the ground, or among the foliage, distinguishing with long practice the poisonous varieties which abound in the islands, and I found it very useful to send Onges ahead of me in the forest to look out for these snakes. When any of my Indians were bitten it was always because they thought they could do as well as the local scouts! The Onges themselves are, however, occasionally bitten, with serious consequences. One of them, aged twenty-five, climbed into a very high tree after honey, and unwittingly put his left hand on a snake hidden in the leaves, where it had climbed to search for birds' eggs. It bit just above the elbow, causing an alarming swelling of the arm with severe pain and fever. He was brought to me semi-conscious, with the whole limb swollen to the size of a rugby ball. The unfortunate [752] man's neck had been bound with the usual strands of *Ficus* bark, and not surprisingly he was groaning desperately, and clearly on the point of death.

752 123 The Onges have no specific remedies for snake bites, and their

[136] [1] These amphibia were examined in 1954 at the Institute of Zoology of the University of Genoa and given the name of *Kaloula baleata ghosh*, in honour of Mr A K. Ghosh, then Governor of the Andamans.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

623 a good deal of influence in connection with quarrels either of
562 individuals or of local groups.

There are certain men, and possibly sometimes women, who
756 have an influence over their fellows owing to their being credited with the possession of supernatural powers. These men, called in *Aka-Jeru oko-jumu* (literally "one who speaks from dreams"), will be described in a later chapter. As they are believed to have command over the powers that produce and cure sickness everyone tries to be on good terms with them, avoiding giving them offence in any way, and seeking their favour by presents of food or other things. It sometimes happens that a chief (the leading man of a local group) is at the same time a medicine-man or *oko-jumu*, but the two positions are entirely distinct and separate, and a man may be a medicine-man who possesses none of the qualities that are necessary for a head man.

673 There does not appear to have been in the Andamans any such thing as the punishment of crime. We may distinguish two kinds of anti-social actions which are regarded by the natives as being wrong. The first kind are those actions which injure in some way a private individual. The second are those, which, while they do not injure any particular person, are yet regarded with disapproval by the society in general.

Amongst the anti-social actions of the first kind are murder, or wounding, theft and adultery, and wilful damage of the property of another.

578 No case of one Andamanese killing another has occurred in recent years. Quarrels sometimes occur between two men of
627 the same camp. A good deal of hard swearing goes on, and sometimes one of the men will work himself up to a high pitch
682 of anger, in which he may seize his bow and discharge an arrow
152 near to the one who has offended him, or may vent his ill-temper by destroying any property that he can lay his hands on, including not only that of his enemy but also that of other persons and even his own. At such a display of anger the women and children flee into the jungle in terror, and if the angry man be at all a formidable person the men occasionally do the same. It apparently requires more courage than the natives usually possess to endeavour to allay such a storm of

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

anger. Yet I found that the slightest show of authority would immediately bring such a scene to an end. A man of influence in his village was probably generally equal to the task of keeping order and preventing any serious damage from taking place. It was probably rare for a man so far to give way to his anger as to kill his opponent. 578 627 682 152

Such murders did, however, occasionally take place[1]. The murderer would, as a rule, leave the camp and hide himself in the jungle, where he might be joined by such of his friends as were ready to take his part. It was left to the relatives and friends of the dead man to exact vengeance if they wished and if they could. If the murderer was a man who was much feared it is probable that he would escape. In any case the anger of the Andamanese is short-lived, and if for a few months he could keep out of the way of those who might seek revenge, it is probable that at the end of that time he would find their anger cooled. 627 682 152

A man who is liable to outbursts of violent anger is feared by his fellows, and unless he has other counterbalancing qualities, he is never likely to become popular. He is treated with outward respect, for every one is afraid of offending him, but he never acquires the esteem of others. There is a special nickname, *Tarenjek*, in the North Andaman, to denote such a man[2]. 152 [551]

Quarrels were more likely to occur at the meetings of different local groups that took place in the fine weather, and such quarrels might occasionally end in the murder of some one. In such a case the quarrel would be taken up by the group 628 682

[1] The natives of the North Andaman were able to tell me of a few cases of murder which had occurred within the memory of those still living.

Mr Portman in his *History of Our Relations with the Andamanese* records a certain number of murders which occurred while he was in charge of the Andamanese. One man, who had been imprisoned at Port Blair for murder, committed another soon after his release and was hanged. Since that date there has been no case of murder among the Great Andaman tribes. This is perhaps in part due to the punishment with which they are now threatened by the Government, but another cause is probably the breakdown of the old social organisation which has in this respect rather improved their morals than the opposite.

[2] The nickname is applied, however, not only to those who deserve it by their character, but also to others; for instance, one man was called *Tarenjek* because his maternal uncle was a man of violent temper.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

766 of by cutting it into pieces and burning it on a fire. The natives say that if this be done the 'blood' and the 'fat' of the dead man go up to the sky and this removes all danger to the living from the dead man. The blood of persons so burnt is seen in the sky at sunset. If a man were killed in a fight between two communities and his body remained with the enemy, they would dispose of it in this way. If the friends secured the body they would bury it in the usual way. It may be worthy of remark
766 that this custom of burning the bodies of slain enemies is
266 perhaps the real origin of the belief that the Andamanese are or were cannibals. We can well imagine that when, as must have often happened, sailors venturing to land on the islands have been killed and the survivors have seen the bodies of their companions cut up and placed on fires, they would readily conclude that they were witnessing a cannibal feast. There can be no doubt whatever that since the islands were occupied in 1858 the inhabitants have not practised cannibalism, and there is no good reason to suppose that they once followed the custom and then abandoned it.

764 The burial is conducted, if possible, on the day of the death. If it has to be deferred till the morrow all the inhabitants of the camp keep awake. The relatives sit round the corpse weeping at intervals, while some of the men take it in turn to sing songs during the hours of darkness. This, so they say, is to keep away the spirits that have caused the death, and so prevent them from further mischief. When a man or woman dies in the prime of
[152] life after a short illness the friends and relatives often break out in anger which they express in different ways. A man will shout threats and curses at the spirits that he conceives to be responsible for the death of his friend. He may pick up his bow and discharge his arrows in all directions, or in some other way give expression to his angry feelings. On the occasion of a death in one of the *Akar-Bale* villages the relatives expressed their grief by cutting down a coconut tree that grew there.

765 The period of mourning for near relatives—parent, adult child, consort, brother or sister—lasts for several months. In the case of a young child only the parents mourn. The essentials

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

at Port Blair for the murder of one of his countrymen. He had previously, in 1878, been sentenced to imprisonment for the murder of two children of his tribe, and he committed his last crime soon after his discharge. This has hitherto been the only occasion on which any of these savages has suffered the extreme penalty of British law. It may be added, that this last step was not taken until the unhappy wretch, as well as all his fellow-countrymen in South Andaman, had been repeatedly warned that no other than a capital sentence would in future be passed on those convicted of murder. 627 177

4. It is by no means an uncommon occurrence for a man, or even a boy, to vent his ill-temper, or show his resentment at any act, by destroying his own property as well as that of his neighbours, sparing only the things belonging exclusively to the chief, or other head man. The amount of damage done at such times, to canoes and other articles of more or less value, will often give occasion for several weeks' employment in repairing and replacing to himself and his companions; but as these outbreaks are looked upon as the result of a temporary "possession," and the victim considered, for the time being, dangerous, and unaccountable for his actions, no one ventures to offer any opposition, or impose any restraint upon him. 578 152

5. Women, when in a rage, occasionally act in a similar manner towards one of their own sex, or even to all the females of the encampment, injuring or destroying their nets, baskets, and other articles; at other times they will seize a burning log, and, banging it furiously on the ground, vent their feelings by some such exclamation as *ngig mū·gu jā·bagike!* (May your face become hideous!); or they will struggle and fight till they are forcibly separated by the wife or daughter of their head man. They do not, however, attempt to settle their differences with the stronger sex, but leave it to their husbands or male relatives to obtain redress for their real or fancied grievances.

6. When a chief or elder so far forgets himself as to lose his temper, those of his own standing betake themselves to their huts, while the other members of the community, male and female, beat a hasty retreat to some secluded spot, for no one would venture to find fault with one in authority, and with some reason, for little or no harm usually results to the community, while his own reputation is sure to suffer. Should he, however, wantonly cause loss or injury to any of his people, they would be pretty certain to take an early, though secret, opportunity of repaying him in kind. 622 578 152

Crime.—1. That outcome of civilisation, suicide, is unknown among them; but, since they have seen cases of self-murder among the alien population, they have coined a lengthy com 762

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

761 is lying, and shoots several arrows in rapid succession into the
766 surrounding jungle, only taking care to avoid injury to the bystanders, and then, seizing a pig-spear, *ēr-dū·tnga-*,[1] if *.ē·rem-chàu·gala* be the demon suspected, or a turtle-spear, *kowai·a l'ôko dū·tnga-*,[2] if it be *.jū·ru-win-* who is accounted guilty, he pierces the ground all round the corpse, hoping thereby to inflict a mortal injury upon the unseen enemy; while so engaged he vents his grief and indignation in no measured terms of imprecation.

25. When a death which is attributed to *.ē·rem-chàu·gala* s malignity occurs so late in the day that the burial has to be deferred till the following morning, those who are not mourners sing in turns throughout the night, in the belief that this demon will thus be deterred from doing any further harm in the encampment.

26. At death they say that *.ē·rem-chàu·gala* and his sons feast upon the blood and soft tissues of all who die on land, and that their leavings, excepting of course the bones, are disposed of by worms, *wēn-*, but *jū·ru-win-* is supposed to consume every portion of those who fall into his clutches.

Meeting and Parting, &c.—1. Contrary to the customs of most
576 races, no salutations[3] pass between friends, even after a more or less lengthened separation, such as rubbing noses, kissing[4] shaking hands, &c.; but on meeting they remain silently gazing at each other for, in our eyes, an absurdly long time—unless of course one or both be hurried; the younger then makes some commonplace remark which apparently has the effect of loosening their tongues, for they at once commence hearing and telling the news.[5]

576 2. Relatives, after an absence of a few weeks or months,
●152 testify their joy at meeting by sitting with their arms round each other's necks,[6] and weeping and howling[7] in a manner which would lead a stranger to suppose that some great sorrow had befallen them; and, in point of fact, there is no difference observable between their demonstrations of joy on these occasions and those of grief at the death of one of their

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 9.

[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 10.

[3] *Vide* Colebrooke and Anderson.

[4] Kisses are considered indicative of affection, but are only bestowed on infants.

[5] One might imagine that the writer of the article entitled "Chippers of Flint" which appeared in "Cornhill" (vol. xii, p. 200), had heard of or witnessed a rencontre of this description, but had not watched its progress, or he would not have spoken of this race as "all but speechless."

[6] *Vide* Plate III, fig. 2.

[7] This custom resembles that which exists among New Zealanders under the name of the *Tangi*.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

576 number. The crying chorus is started by women, but the men speedily chime in, and groups of three or four may thus be seen 152 weeping in concert until, from sheer exhaustion, they are compelled to desist; then, if neither of the parties are in mourning, a dance is got up, in which the females not unfrequently take part, but the style of their performance differs from that of the males.[1]

3. A husband who is *childless*, and has been absent from his home for some time, on his return to the encampment visits first a blood relation (if any), and when *they* have wept together he goes to his own hut, not in order to shed more tears, but to see and talk to his spouse. The same remark applies to a wife similarly circumstanced. But in the case of married couples who are *parents*, the meeting takes place first between them; the wife hangs round her husband's neck sobbing as if her heart would break with joy at their re-union; when she is exhausted with weeping, he leaves her, and, going to one of his relations, gives vent to his pent-up feelings of happiness by bursting into tears.

576 4. It is usual for friends at meeting to give each other something which may happen to be in their hands at the time, and these gifts are regarded as tokens of affection.

[574] 5. Strangers introduced by mutual friends are always warmly welcomed by the whole community: they, in common with all guests, are the first attended on, the best food in the encampment is set before them, and in every way they are well treated; presents also are often given them, especially when about to take their leave.

6. "Speed the parting guest" is an axiom upon which these people invariably act: the departing visitor is accompanied by his host to the landing-place, or, at all events, some distance on his way; when bidding each other farewell the guest takes the hand of his host and blows upon it; when the compliment has been returned, the following dialogue ensues:—

Departing visitor: *kam wai dōl.* I am off (*lit.*, Here indeed I).

Host: *ô, ū·chik wai ôn; tain tâ·lik kach ôn yâ·te?* Very well, go; when will you come again?

Departing visitor: *ñyâ·tek dō·ngat mīn ī·kke.* I will bring away something for you one of these days.

Host: *jō·bo la ngōng châ·pikok!* May no snake bite you!

Departing visitor: *wai dō ēr-gē·lepke.* I will take good care of that (*lit.*, I will be watchful).

Afterwards they again blow upon each other's hands, and part,

[1] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraphs 27 and 30.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

tracted hardship and considerable risk, not so much from the natives themselves as from the implacable Andaman sea. We had a terrible time during several of our landings from the open Indian Ocean. Constant danger additionally stimulated the development of research in Little Andaman. All the Indians and the Burmese behaved bravely. Among them I wish to mention here my Indian stenographer, a married man nearing thirty, from Bengal: RANHADIR KUMAR DEV, who, on 12 and 13 February, 1953, on the south coast of the island shared two frightfully narrow escapes with me. I am sure that neither of us will ever forget it. I later found a comfortable landing place, now indicated by floating buoys, on the north coast. Two other Bengalese assistants who were a great help to me in Little Andaman and had been selected from a number of young aspirants, are PRONAB GANGULI and BIMAL CHANDRA ROY. My work in the Andamans could not have been accomplished without them and without the initiative and encouragement of officers such as Dr. B. S. GUHA, Director of the Department of Anthropology of the Indian Government, Mr. AJSY K. GHOSH, the kind, open-minded Chief Commissioner of Andamans and Nicobars during my 1951-1953 stay there, and Mr. S. N. MAITRA, who succeeded Mr. GHOSH as Chief Commissioner. In a book that I am writing I try to point out the significance of my work in the Andamans, carried out with the help of such distinguished, and sometimes heroic, Indian collaborators.

I. Hygienic Conditions

1. Habitation

The nomadic Onge have two kinds of shelter: one temporary, the other permanent, used only for short periods at a time. The Little Andaman forest is full of abandoned temporary shelters; the permanent camps are fewer, mainly situated along the coast. They consist of communal huts, strongly built by a number of families roaming under the direction of a leader. The huts have a ritual significance, as we shall presently see. Inside each communal hut are a number of beds generally equal to the number of families. Small fires are kept burning day and night near the beds, a precaution that I was thankful for on many cold nights succeeded by hot days. The Onge require nothing more against the cold. In their camps they can withstand the heaviest storms and drenching rains. In order to avoid chills it is enough for them to protect their fires from extinction. This applied to me too, while living among the Onge. The warmth and the dry air ensured good health for us all.

A few additional beds are for the use of bachelors nearing marriage. Most of the beds are marginally and radially placed; a few are placed transversally. Normal beds accommodate father, mother (the Onge are monogamous), children and dogs, all in a heap. In temporary as in permanent shelters it is customary for families to eat separately, each close to its bed. The low, round roof of the communal hut does not reach the ground; a gap of 80 cms is left free for creeping in and out at will without using the main door (a simple mat to be lifted). Rubbish is thrown carelessly everywhere, e. g. directly outside the circular hut, which is consequently surrounded by a malodorous ring of bones, imperfectly cleaned shells, bits of rotting shellfish and other animals – a rich breeding ground for flies and various other insects that rapidly destroy everything edible, leaving the grass to grow until the next lot of garbage accumulates. Building and rebuilding a communal hut always on the same

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

The Onges do not seem to require any preventive measures, and seem naturally immune to malaria. They do, however, transmit the disease to strangers, through the mosquitoes which are everywhere in Little Andaman. Like many other inhabitants of tropical areas, they probably all carry the disease without being affected by it – neither children nor adults show any sign of splenic enlargement.

In contrast to their periodic gorging, the Onges will equally cheerfully endure hunger, thirst and exhaustion. During our hazardous canoe trip to South Brother, however, they appeared much more affected than I was by long exposure to the sun. We were completely without any means of shelter for an entire afternoon in the open sea, and though the Onges tried to cover their heads as best they could, they still developed severe (and genuine) headaches, and were clearly much happier in the dark forest, which must be considered their natural environment.

Nothing has hitherto been known of the intelligence level and general psychology of the Onges. The childishness of their behaviour, however, is curiously in keeping with their strikingly child-like appearance. Like children, they seek only the satisfaction of elementary stimuli, and like children they pass in a flash from one mood to another, so that they are a people of sudden contrasts.

One example is their passionate love for their dogs, in marked contrast to the intense cruelty with which they hunt their prey. Having once realized the usefulness of dogs, first imported into the islands some thirty years ago, the Onges now pet them like little girls with their dolls, and the Onge women will suckle the family puppies quite naturally with their own children. Yet once a dog dies the other side of the Onge nature comes to the fore and the carcase is thrown into the forest – there is no looking back.

Their minds are in a sense inventive, in that they have evolved devices to help them acquire their food, but they have never, for example, thought of the fish-hook, despite the abundance of iron pieces thrown up by shipwrecks all round the islands. Anything new is taken up with a child's momentary enthusiasm, but they have no notion of sustained mental effort such as any form of counting.

Like children, too, the Onges laugh at the slightest thing, although their mirth is always restrained. In this they differ from the African peoples, particularly the Bushmen, who are often by

10:Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

621 rather than order is given by the leader. Cipriani observes.[1] "For
622 instance, it is very amusing for them to think that a man gives orders to others. This means that they have no real chiefs. A so-called Onge
[592] chief, or raja, is only the head of a group of families living in the same communal hut, and giving not orders but only advice. It is the most experienced man who is considered chief in the hut, but his authority if at all never goes beyond that hut. In other words no real chief exists in the Little Andaman. Notwithstanding this, there is a perfect order in the island, because nobody interferes with the work or encroches upon what can be considered the rights of others."

124 As is common to most of the aborigines, the Onges are generally
162 not very receptive when the questions about their numbers and other groups are enquired. The headman says that there are many many fifty Onges. However the number of the Onges are approximately 600.

22 As regards the mode of living of the Onges, the hunting and collec-
231 ting are the basis of their economy. The domestication of the plants
241 i.e. art of agriculture is not known to them and it is only 30 years back, the dogs arrived in the island and have been domesticated by the Onges for chasing the pigs, their main prey. In the absence of agriculture, the natural products of the sea and the forest provide them with all
[262] their items of diet. Animal and vegetable products and honey are the main items of their diet and there has been, so far, no introduction of salt in their diet. The most important victims of their hunting are pigs and turtles, the former is chased by dogs and are killed with great
252 cruelty. The cooking of the fish, meat, roots, tubers, jackfruits etc are
251 done by putting them under fire. Preservation of foodstuffs is not widely practised except the jackfruit seeds which are tied up in a small net inside water on the bank of some stream and taken out during rainy season, when the other vegetable foodstuffs are not available. On
146 the whole, the Onges have a very balanced diet with a fair richness of all the nutrients. In this connection the observations of Dr. Cipriani during his survey in the Little Andaman throws considerable light in
[157] their conditions of life. He has estimated the Onges as one of the happiest people of the world, who in spite of their primitive economy, are not the miserable victims of poor health, ill nutrition and oddities of life.

396 Some amount of artistry and craftsmanship have developed among these people. A canoe can be constructed by a man, all by himself from

[113] 1 Cipriani, L—Survey of Little Andaman during 1954; Bul. Dept. Anth.,

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

the felling of the tree, chiselling the lumber and processing it further to give the shape of a canoe. Buckets of wood are also constructed by them from the softwood tree. Two types of baskets are made, the smaller ones are more well-finished than the bigger ones. The former is known as *tolcoaga* and the later *tole-laya*. Such activities have introduced the use of dahs, chisels, and iron files among the Onges, from the iron pieces derived from the sea shores. The other important pieces of their craftsmanship are the beautiful weavings of fibre, tussel of yellow fibre used by the women in their front. However, the art of making the earthen pots has been completely forgotten.

The leisure in their lives has helped the development of some amount of aesthetic senses among the Onges. All the Onges men and women shave their heads with flakes of glass, obtained from the sea-borne glass bottles. The body of the Onges are also painted with white clay which save their skin from insect-bite while red paint serves medicinal purposes if some individual is having fever. In times of mourning, red orchre paint is a taboo.[1]

Early marriage is the custom. The widows are looked down upon by the society. Some incidents of widow murder and drowning are heard. In the married life, the husband is devoted to his wife and both the husband and wife work for collecting their food.

Dances and songs are in vogue and there are practically songs for every occasion and activity. Most of their songs are more plaintive than joyous.

There are three broad divisions of the Onges of the Little Andaman :

(1) *Giremeka-Gobeule* group inhabiting the northeastern coast of the island ;

(2) *Engakwale group* live in the interior of the islands ; and

(3) *Gireraragobeule group* live in the southern and western coasts of the islands.

In spite of all the limitations, the Onges have been considered as one of the happiest people of the world with plenty of food and water to eat and drink and with very few social cankers to fight with. But as is common to all other aborigines of the Andamans, a decline in their number is discernible.

The Sentinelese

The Sentinelese are the least known of all the aborigines of the Anda-

1 The Onge of the Little Andaman—A short guide book ; Anthropological Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

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11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

157 522 Western standards taciturn or sly, and the Negro peoples, who frequently manifest complete abandonment in their amusement. 157 522 Obscenities appear to be an unfailing source of amusement to the Onges, who indulge in them at every opportunity, even with strangers, and the obscene dances of the womenfolk are a continual 831 source of pleasure. The exchange of obscenities is, indeed, a sign of friendship, and I found that vulgarity was invariably immensely successful in provoking hilarity; any subsequent negotiations were always peaceable and satisfactory.

302 [157] An extension of this vulgarity is an infantile vanity, not without sexual significance. The care with which their bodies are painted nearly every day is one aspect of this vanity; the more a wife loves her husband the more magnificent the designs she executes on him. [953] [951] [961] The paintings on their bodies reach a peak every two or three days, as the Onges fear illness and death if they are not newly daubed, and the face at least must be continually painted, with at least smears on the chest, arms and legs. A man returning from an exceptionally successful hunting trip is met by his wife with a specially unusual and elaborate design, which she carries out with great devotion. [123] During each of my visits to the island the Onges would rush up to show me their embellishments as soon as they were finished, and took a delight in standing in front of my camera, even though they had no idea what it was for.

304 [171] It is curious that unlike most primitive peoples, the Onges do not practise tattooing, which is one of the simplest ways; if not *the* simplest, in which such peoples satisfy their craving for physical [184] [302] admiration. The other Andamanese do, puncturing the skin with tiny slivers of obsidian or quartz, but the Onges paint with ochre instead. They love, too, to weave garlands of fruit, flowers and 381 824 leaves from the forest, returning to the camp laden with them, men and women alike, delighted with their own beauty. This divergence [184] of customs in peoples essentially of the same stock, but separated for long periods of time into endogamous isolates, is very remarkable.

838 An intense preoccupation with sexual attraction and activity has led to the prevalence of aberration. All the Onges have homosexual tendencies. I became aware of this during my first visit to Little Andaman on one of my longer expeditions, when I had taken only men with me, and on subsequent occasions I therefore allowed the men to bring their wives. The effect of long periods of absence on

11! Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

50 53 422 126 build it (when I wanted to acquire two for the new anthropological museum at Port Blair and the Indian Museum in Calcutta I had to bargain with the men recognized as the owners, although the price had to be distributed among all the members of the group).

225 252 The chief delight of the men on their fishing trips is the capture of a Giant Turtle. I have already described (p. 88) the spear harpoons which the Onges use to catch them. Once caught, the wretched animals are subjected to a form of vivisection utterly incomprehensible to the Western mind; they are literally cut up alive and the pieces thrown into the boiling cooking-pot. Nor have I ever witnessed anything so terrible as the way in which the Onges, in the absence of any suitable cooking vessel, or the materials for an earth oven, roast these turtles whole and alive over a slow fire. [157] They seem totally unable to realize that animals can feel pain and laugh like children at the other atrocious tortures they unwittingly inflict not only on the turtles, but on every living thing that falls into their hands.

825 262 These marine turtles (as far as I was able to see there were no land turtles in the Andamans) yield a far greater amount of food than the dugong, and provide the islanders with both meat and eggs. Two [136] species are common in the seas round the islands, *Chelonia virgata*, or the green turtle, and *Caretta imbricata*, which supplies the shells normally sold commercially. The Onges prefer the former, which are both meaty and more plentiful.

222 225 467 [996] Turtle-hunting and egg-collecting is done by the menfolk. The method is very like that used for dugong and large fish, using the harpoon. Owing to their fear of the spirits abroad in the night, the Onges never go near the beaches between dusk and dawn, when it would be easy to take the turtles on land and immobilize them by turning them on their backs. They do know this trick, however, and use it when captured turtles (often weighing up to a hundredweight) are too heavy to carry in the canoe; the animals are turned on their backs and dumped on the beach ready to pick up later.

225 The Onges harpoon the turtles from canoes, preferably at night when the turtles are nearing the shore, which they never approach in the day time. When there is a moon the creatures are easily seen, and on dark nights the phosphorescence of the sea helps.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

142 Dr. Dobson, in noticing a marked case of this kind, drew attention to the fact of its differing from steatopyga, thereby distinguishing them in this respect from Hottentots.

2. Albinism and polydactylism are unknown, and only one case of erythrism, and that of a faint type, has been observed, or is known to the natives of our acquaintance.[1]

3. No instance appears of obliquity of vision, of cleft palate, absence of teeth, or of supernumerary teeth, and only one of prognathism[2] and hare-lip respectively. Cases of "Darwin's point" in the ear are constantly met with.

●158 **Pathology.**—1. No idiots, maniacs, or lunatics have ever yet been observed among them, and this is not because those so [157] afflicted are killed or confined by their fellows, for the greatest care and attention are invariably paid to the sick, aged, and 732 helpless. Two or three cases of hunchback and lateral curvature of the spine have come under notice, but instances of the kind are evidently very rare.

164 2. It has often been observed, that though the Andamanese waste away very rapidly in sickness, they regain flesh with equal facility when convalescent; but, nevertheless, they possess so little vital power, that they readily succumb to diseases against which others usually struggle successfully:[3] indeed, they appear to suffer as much, if not more, than individuals of alien races from the febrile disorders—mainly attributable to malaria, so prevalent throughout these islands—which frequently lay the foundation of chest complaints, from which they rarely recover.

3. Pulmonary consumption and other forms of pectoral disease are among the chief causes of mortality among these tribes.[4] These disorders do not appear to be confined to, or to be more prevalent in, certain districts, but there is little doubt that they have been most frequent amongst those living in the homes provided for their benefit in and near our settlements in South Andaman.[5]

[1] In no other particular does this case appear to differ from the rest.

[2] As Professor Owen, F.R.S., truly remarks, "their prognathism is not more than is found in most of the Southern Asiatic peoples, and, indeed, in the lower orders of men in all countries, and may be due or relate to the prolonged sucking of the plastic infant." (*Vide* "Brit. Asso. Reports," 1861.)

[3] This not only refers to maladies introduced by the alien population, such as measles, venereal diseases, &c., but to those complaints from which they suffered prior to the establishment of the settlement.

[4] In reference to complaints of this nature, it may interest some to know that Dr. De Jongh's cod liver oil was largely used in the homes, and with considerable benefit to the patients, several recoveries having resulted therefrom. From inquiry it would seem that cases of constipation are comparatively rare, and that diarrhœa is almost the habitual state of their excretory functions.

[5] As this circumstance was traced to the system of giving them clothes to be worn at our various stations, and when visited by Europeans, it was deemed advisable to modify the regulation and to supply them only with drawers, leaving the upper part of the body exposed. A marked improvement in the general health resulted from this change.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

000 possible are required before we can speak with certainty regarding the extent, limits, and conditions of heredity among this race; but it has been noticed that, as a general rule, they have excellent memories, especially on those subjects in which the intellects of their ancestors have been consciously or unconsciously exercised or cultivated in the savage state. The following passage will afford an illustration of the intelligence displayed by these people on such subjects. It is taken from the late Mr. Kurz's Report on the Vegetation of the Andaman Islands:—
824 "While I was in the Andamans I was in the habit of consulting people (convicts) from the most different parts of India for the native names of the plants. As a general result, I may state that the Burmans were best acquainted with the flora of the Andamans, but they are by no means equal to the Andamanese in accuracy and certainty of determination. While the Burmans were obliged continually to cut into the bark to recognise the trees, the Andamanese readily gave their names, and I could rely upon their statements, which was not the case at all with those of the Burmese."

787 16. Instances have been observed among them of individuals
● 158 possessing strong wills and vivid powers of imagination: as a race they do not appear to be subject to trances, illusions, or somnambulism, but, like many other savages, they place implicit faith in dreams, shaping their conduct in superstitious conformity to the warning or advice supposed to have been conveyed therein.

791 **Magic and Witchcraft.**—1. There are, however, certain indi-
754 viduals in these tribes, known as *ôko-pai'ad-* (*lit.*, a dreamer), who are credited with the possession of supernatural powers—
431 such as second sight, expressed by the term *àramū'ga-tâ'rabanga-*, —and of a mysterious influence over the fortunes and lives of their neighbours. It is thought that they can bring trouble, sickness, and death upon those who fail to evince their belief in them in some substantial form;[1] they thus generally manage to obtain the best of everything, for it is considered foolhardy to deny them, and they do not scruple to ask for any article to which they may take a fancy.

791 2. These quasi-seers are invariably of the male sex, and it
431 sometimes even happens that a young boy is looked upon as a "coming" *ôko-pai'ad-*, their position being generally in the first instance attained by relating an extraordinary dream, the details

[1] This reminds one somewhat of the disease makers of Tanna (New Hebrides), who are supposed to cause disease and death by burning *nahak* (rubbish, principally refuse of food), and who are propitiated by continual presents. The practice of burning beeswax, in order to cause annoyance to an enemy, will be mentioned under "Superstitions," paragraph 13.

or severe injury. However, like many of the lower mammals, they recover quickly from illness when they overcome it. 164

Idiocy, insanity and natural deformities are rare among them. Epilepsy is however recognised and homicidal mania occurs sometimes with concomitants of insanity, such as eating raw flesh or earth and drinking the blood of the victim. 158 732

An unintentional artificial depression of the forehead and sides and top of the skull is produced in some women, chiefly among the Onges, caused by using a strap to carry loads on the back when young. [304]

No parts of the body are intentionally pierced, injured, or deformed for the wearing of ornaments and other purposes, though the skin is extensively tatooed.

The statements at my disposal as to the relative prevalence of diseases among the Andamanese and their relative fatality are unsatisfactory, but so far as I can make out the following is a fair statement of the case in order of importance :— 164

I.—Fevers	45 per cent. of all cases.
II.—Respiratory organs	35 " " "
III.—Digestive organs	18 " " "
IV.—Other diseases	2 " " "

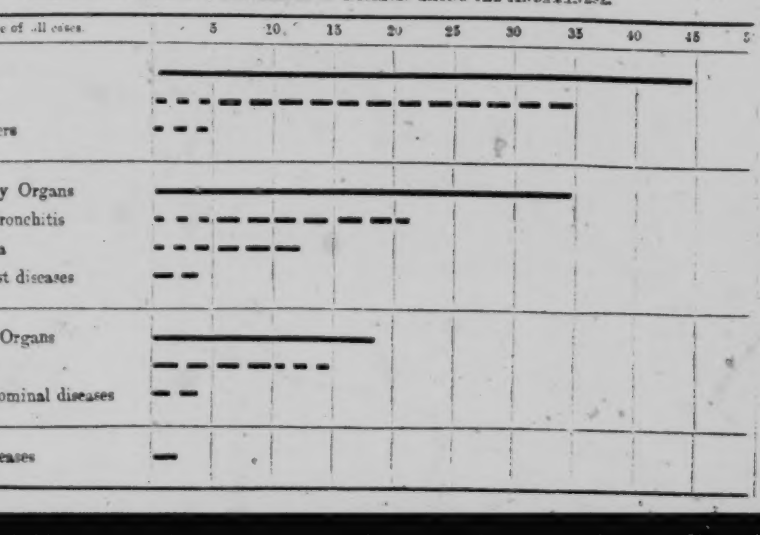
These classes may be further divided up more specifically thus :—

I.—Malaria	40 per cent. of all cases.
Other fevers	5 " " "
II.—Chronic bronchitis	21 " " "
Pneumonia	12 " " "
Other chest diseases	3 " " "
III.—Diarrhœa	15 " " "
Other abdominal diseases	3 " " "
IV.—Other diseases	1 " " "

Without placing too much reliance on the above table, it serves to bring out the fact that among the Andamanese, as among the alien immigrants, malarial fevers are the overwhelming prevalent causes of sickness. As also in the case of immigrants, malarial fevers are not nearly so fatal in proportion to cases as the diseases of the respiratory and digestive organs. Thus I make out that deaths from malarial fevers occur in 8·5 per cent. of the cases, while those from diseases of the respiratory organs in 90 per cent., and of the digestive organs in 74 per cent. These considerations prepare us for the old statement that the prevalent diseases among the Andamanese are climatic and the same as those of the foreign immigrants.

The following diagram brings into clear relief the relative prevalence of diseases among the Andamanese as disclosed by the above tables :—

DIAGRAM OF RELATIVE PREVALENCE OF DISEASES AMONG THE ANDAMANESE.



6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

documented the fact in a number of photographs. The purpose, however, is 751
purely hygienic, an unpainted body is, in their opinion, exposed to certain 302
illness. They explained this belief to me by saying that without paint the body becomes "hot". The men who travelled with me far from women were anxious every day to spread clay on face, chest and limbs, just to avoid "heat" or, in other words, fever. I thought of malaria, but they do not suffer from it. [162] Of this I will speak later on.

Rough clay is applied daily, on infant bodies as well as on adults, for 751
health purposes. It is used to cure all kinds of sickness, together with ochre, 757
turtle fat and honey. Honey spread on wounds appears to hasten healing. [302]
Identical curative methods are employed in Oceania. They probably existed [854]
among the Tasmanians, and are still used in Australia by the aborigines. I found nothing of the kind in Africa, where honey is plentiful. The Onge consider [752] clay, ochre, honey and turtle fat good for external and internal treatment alike — both preventive and curative. Powdered bees' wax of a dark colour is often [171] added. I saw mothers give their children, as a laxative, a number of pills made [825] of similar ingredients. No bigger than common hazelnuts, the pills are red [317] and greasy. In Onge forests I saw some small excavations, a few feet deep, made to extract the medicinal clay from special ground pockets. In its natural [386] form the clay is light coloured, powdery and free of stones. When it is burnt the colour changes, assuming red, yellow, whitish or black shades according to the different qualities used, all believed to possess healing properties and to ensure hygienic colouring of the body. Mixed as described above, clay is used by the Onge in every circumstance from fever to snake or scorpion bite, constipation, breast infection in women, or post-delivery bleeding.

Belief in the medicinal properties of clay is as old as humanity itself. 757
Even among contemporary European peoples, notwithstanding severe criticism, 171
clay is still honoured as health-giving, not, I must say, on wholly foolish 823
grounds. The Onge, who smear their bodies constantly with clay, have the [752]
softest, most velvety skin that I ever saw anywhere in the world. Wounds spread with clay mixed with honey and fat leave negligible scars. The laxative and germ-killing action of clay is admitted by physicians in many countries, including Europe. It never causes infection. Geophagism has ancient origins, and we find it practiced by many modern populations. Children of every race and all young wild animals lick clay instinctively to absorb the mineral salts required by a developing organism. The Onge habit of using clay for healing purposes can be set, therefore, in a very wide frame.

Mental and nervous disorders are rare in Little Andaman. Few natives 164
are subject to epilepsy — an important matter for the Onge: they consider 828
such people as possessed by spirits who speak through their mouths, and [158]
respectfully question them as oracles. Several Onge chiefs, such as Chief [622]
Tchōtā of Tambē-ē-buiē, are apt to go into trances that have all the appearance [787]
of epileptic fits. They were elected chiefs on the strength of their epilepsy!

Constant exercise keeps eyesight and hearing extremely sharp in the 164
Onge. I saw no single case of myopia or presbyopia among the natives, nor 151

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

on later visits. Dr H. Lehmann found no evidence of syphilis in the fifty-two individuals of both sexes from whom he took blood samples in my presence.

Although the Onges are normally healthy and look outwardly robust, they have very little actual resistance to disease and succumb very quickly. Twenty-eight of them, whole families, young and old, whom I took with me to Port Blair in 1954 to present them to the President of the Republic of India, all developed a high fever owing to the change in their way of life during the few days it took from Little Andaman to Great Andaman, and we had to take them back hastily to their own island immediately after the official visit. Even minor feverish complaints of no importance seem to depress and terrify them so that they die very quickly, and I sometimes heard that young Onge friends whom I had left in excellent health had died suddenly from, so I was told, some febrile complaint. The Onge women have better resistance than their menfolk to disease as a whole, which may also help to explain their greater longevity.

On the other hand wounds heal surprisingly quickly in both sexes, although in some of the old men I saw purulent leg sores, slow to heal even when treated with antiseptics which I applied myself. I saw none of these in women, but they seem to be more severely attacked by ringworm, especially on the abdomen and round the umbilicus. Few of the Onges were free from ringworm but none of them bothered to treat it, and it did not seem to cause them any noticeable disturbance. In one woman I noticed whitish patches on the fingers and lips, due to leucoderma.

Diseases of the nervous system and mental illnesses seem very rare, although a few individuals are subject to attacks of epilepsy, watched reverently by all present! The Onges regard epileptics as possessed by a spirit capable of giving important information and question them like the oracle. A number of the Onge leaders, among them Giota of Tambe-e-buiè, go from time to time into a state of trance, which has every appearance of an epileptic attack. I saw one case of dementia in a middle-aged woman, but it was mild enough to allow her to go about her work reasonably well, and at regular intervals she produced normal children.

Sight and hearing in the Onges are particularly acute, as has often been reported in primitive peoples and attributed to the

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

in the sample of 61 adult females, 22 women were nonfecund. As such the obvious female preponderance in the total sample is not of much value and the total picture of Onge population is rather that of decline only.' Such a decline of the fertility of the Andamanese women has already been pointed out. 163

Of all the aboriginal population, the Onges are to-day the most widespread and have undoubtedly a very balanced sex-ratio. As regards the fertility, there is a gradual unproductiveness amongst all the aboriginal population. The Andamanese who are on the last legs of the decay have the youngest child of more than 10 years. Nothing definite can be said about the Jarawas and the Sentinelese but they are also on the verge of their decay. 16

PROBLEMS OF THE ABORIGINES

Assessment of the socio-economic and cultural problems is always subjective and a true assessment is only possible through the first-hand intimate acquaintance of the aborigines. The aboriginal population of the world to-day present a very gloomy picture of stagnation or decay and the aboriginal population of the Andamans are undoubtedly sharing this dismal fate of decay. 161 177

Only after the impact of the people having better material attainments the problems of the aborigines have been aggravated that paved the path of total ruination of their socio-economic traits and also initiated their gradual numerical decay. Such evidences of decay only in the last few centuries are within view in the case of the American Indians which formerly having 268 groups have dwindled to only 67 groups now surviving when the rest have been wiped out. The case of the aboriginal population of Australia, Tasmania, Malanesian Islands and the others of southeast Asia present such a gloomy picture. The causes of such a decline have been attributed to the incorporation of vices and such social poisons as alcohol and opium, attack of venereal diseases, quick adoption of foreign customs and modes of life which have been proved incongenial in their own environmental context and also to the gradual 'loss of interest in life.' This loss of interest in life, according to Rivers[1] takes away from the people the desire to live and to shoulder the burden of life, with the result that mortality incidence goes high and the more obvious causes of mortality like new diseases, the social poisons etc, tend to have greater potency for

1 Rivers, W. H. R—Essays on the depopulation of Malanesia (Ed). 1922.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Arioto

175 177 648 a furious aversion to foreigners. This hatred has been rekindled during the last hundred years by a number of unfortunate incidents, but at one time the islanders were favourably disposed towards seafarers passing by, if we are to believe Niccolo dei Conti and Cesare Federici, fleeting visitors to the islands in 1440 and 1569. They both wrote of the peaceful native canoes that approached their ships, and this is confirmed by other travellers, like the Italians Fra Odorico da Pordenone in 1332 and Giovan Francesco Gemelli Caresi in 1709.

Violent clashes with the coastal tribes only became frequent when the English began to take an interest in the Andamans as a possible penal colony. The first prisoners to be sent there were some Indians, in 1788. In 1796 the colony was abolished owing to the swift death of nearly all the prisoners from tropical diseases. The attempt was repeated in 1858 after a mission entrusted to F. Mouat, and this time the seeds of decline for the islanders were sown. Efforts were begun to approach the coastal peoples, and even, strangely enough, those of the forests, the now ferocious Jarawas. Some of these tentative overtures were well received, but once the islanders came to think they had been betrayed it was enough to rekindle the hatred of strangers which they have retained ever since.

166 [172] The evidence obtainable from archaeological excavations shows that for thousands of years the people encountered by the English in the coastal areas were the sole inhabitants of Great Andaman, living by fishing rather than by hunting or cultivation in the forests. The Jarawas arrived later. Migration from Little Andaman, imposed in relatively recent times by lack of food, brought them to Great Andaman. Since the entire coastal region was already occupied, the new arrivals took refuge in the forests of the hinterland. There they were happy, for they found an abundance of wild honey [628] and fruit which amply fulfilled their needs. A spontaneous equilibrium was established between the coast-people and the forest-people, and both prospered.

175 177 648 16 101 563 The arrival of an appreciable number of foreigners in 1858 immediately changed the situation. The peoples of the coast, who were the most anxious to make friends with the strangers, paid for this fatal error with virtual extermination. When the foreigners had definitely established themselves, the coastal Andamanese – *Arioto*

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Arioto

in the local language, as opposed to the people of the interior, the *Eremtaga* – appear to have numbered between six and eight thousand. Over the years their place has been taken by more than thirteen thousand foreigners, most of whom were deportees, enjoying relative liberty as servants of government officials, farmers and foresters. The settlers, voluntarily or involuntarily, introduced the islanders to alcohol and tobacco, forcing them to turn to the foreigners in order to satisfy their craving. In the famous and extremely frank work of the English explorer M. V. Portman (*A History of our Relations with the Andamanese*, Calcutta, 1899) official letters are reproduced which give precise instructions in the matter to government officials. The result of these instructions was to transform the Arioto into alcohol and tobacco addicts. Syphilis was passed to the native women by the deportees, and from them to their men. When, a few years after the mass importation of prisoners, the government authorities became aware of the infection among the Arioto, not one of them had escaped. The miserable twenty-three survivors of the eight to nine thousand of a century ago show the ultimate result only too well, and their final extinction is imminent.

Before the advent of the new civilization, the Arioto had divided up into at least ten distinct communities, but without any true tribal organization. They respected a form of chief, chosen by tacit consent for his personal qualities rather than by name or by birth-right; but the chiefs acted merely as paternal advisers, to be respected in times of trouble, with no illusions of authority. No one commanded, and none obeyed: all were content to follow the whim of the moment, with no conception of social obligation.

When the foreigners arrived, there were five main groups of Arioto on North Andaman, the Cari, Chede, Cora, Jeru and Tabo. Another five groups were in South Andaman, the Balawa, Bea, Bogig-iab, Joi and Col. With the numerical decline of the Arioto, who had always been endogamous within their group, a tendency arose for the survivors to merge and inter-marry, so that the twenty-three alive today are in fact the result of the mixing of the northern and southern Arioto, and of these with Indians and Burmese. The chief of these twenty-three individuals is Loca, a name in itself an indication of this ethnic mixture. Loca means 'whiskers', and he himself has a moustache, whereas pure Negritos have no body or facial hair.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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Leaving aside the *Aka-Bea*, the largest of the Great Andaman tribes, as regards area of territory, was the *Aka-Kede*, which possessed over 300 square miles. After this tribe in order of size come the *A-Pučikwar*, *Aka-J̌eru* and *Aka-Kǫra* tribes, while the smaller ones are the *Ǫkǫ-J̌uwǫi*, *Aka-Kǫl*, *Aka-Bo*, *Akar-Bale* and *Aka-Čari*, the last being perhaps the smallest of all.

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In 1901 an enumeration of the natives of the Great Andaman was attempted in connection with the census of India. Such an enumeration was of course very difficult, and liable to considerable error. The results are given in the following table:—

Name of Tribe	Adults		Children		Total
	Males	Females	Males	Females	
Aka-Cari	16	15	6	2	39
Aka-Kora	31	32	14	19	96
Aka-Bo	15	16	7	10	48
Aka-Jeru	98	80	26	14	218
Aka-Kede	24	30	3	2	59
Aka-Kol	6	2	3		11
Oko-Juwoi	21	19	7	1	48
A-Pucikwar	31	14	2	3	50
Akar-Bale	5	10	3	1	19
Aka-Bea	14	16	3	4	37
Total	261	234	74	56	625

These figures are likely to be more accurate for the southern tribes (the last five on the list) than for the northern tribes. It is probable that, in the North Andaman, some of the persons enumerated were entered under the wrong tribe. For many years the officers of the Andamans did not know of the existence of the *Aka-Kǫra* and *Aka-Bo* tribes, and members of these tribes have fallen into the habit of describing themselves to Europeans as either *Aka-J̌eru* or *Aka-Čari*. My own opinion is that the numbers given for the *Aka-J̌eru* tribe are too large, while those of the *Aka-Kǫra* and *Aka-Bo*, and perhaps also the *Aka-Kede*, are too small.

For the census of 1901 an attempt was made to estimate the numbers of the *J̌arawa* and the natives of the Little Andaman, any attempt at enumeration being impossible. The estimate given was as follows:—

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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Little Andaman	672
South Andaman Jarawa . .	117
Rutland Island Jarawa . .	351
North Sentinel Island. . .	117
Total . .	1257

This estimate is not of any great value. As regards the Little Andaman, my own information would lead me to estimate their numbers at between 600 and 700, thus agreeing with the estimate above. Concerning the North Sentinel Island nothing is known on which a satisfactory estimate could be based. The figures for the Rutland Island *ʃarawa* are certainly very much too high. In 1907 I spent some weeks on Rutland Island trying to get into touch with the *ʃarawa* there. At that time there were certainly not more than 50 all told on the island. I was only able to discover one camp, and that had been deserted just before it was discovered, but had not contained a dozen persons. The Rutland Island *ʃarawa* have been cut off from the other *ʃarawa* by the spread of the convict Settlement since about 1885. The majority of the *ʃarawa* now inhabit the interior and western coast of the South Andaman north of Port Blair.

During the last fifty years the numbers of the Andamanese have been greatly diminished. This has been the result of the European occupation of the islands, and is chiefly due to new diseases that have been introduced amongst them. Syphilis was introduced among the tribes of the South Andaman about 1870, and this has now spread among all the Great Andaman tribes (that is, excluding the hostile *ʃarawa*). A large number of natives are infected, and the disease is responsible directly and indirectly for a considerable increase in the death-rate. In March, 1877, an epidemic of measles broke out among the Andamanese, introduced with a batch of convicts from Madras, and spread rapidly from one end of the Great Andaman to the other. In six weeks 51 out of 184 cases treated in hospital proved fatal. It is almost certain that the proportion of deaths was much greater in the case of those, the vast majority, to whom no medical aid could be given. A writer on the Andamans[1] has

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[1] Portman, M. V., *A History of Our Relations with the Andamanese*, Calcutta, 1899.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

two neighbouring languages. A man of the *Aka-Jeru* tribe could understand without any great difficulty a man speaking *Aka-Bo*. On the other hand many of the languages included two or even more distinct dialects. In the *Akar-Bale* tribe there were two dialects, one in the southern half of the Archipelago, which was allied to *Aka-Bea*, and the other in the northern half, showing affinities with *A-Pučikwar*. Even in such a small tribe as the *Aka-Čari* it would seem that there were differences of dialect. Thus, even from the point of view of language, the tribe was not entirely homogeneous. 619 197

Leaving aside the *Aka-Bea*, the average extent of territory occupied by a tribe was about 165 square miles. Of the nine tribes the largest, as regards area, was the *Aka-Kede*, with over 300 square miles, while the smallest was probably the *Aka-Čari*, with less than 100 square miles. Save in the case of the *Akar-Bale* tribe, which occupied the islands of Ritchie's Archipelago, it is difficult to find any marked geographical features that might be supposed to have determined the extent and the boundaries of the different tribes. 619 161

The *Aka-Bea* tribe was in an abnormal position as there was no recognized boundary between them and the *Jarawa*. Together, these two divisions of the Andamanese occupied an area of about 600 square miles. The *Aka-Bea* seem to have kept more to the coast while the *Jarawa* occupied the interior of the South Andaman and Rutland Island.

If the estimate previously given[1] of the former population of the islands be correct, the nine tribes (leaving aside the *Aka-Bea*) would have formerly contained about 3750 persons of all ages. At the present time the four tribes of the North Andaman number altogether about 400, of whom about 100 or less are children. The other six tribes taken together (including the almost extinct *Aka-Bea*) number about 200, of whom not more than 30 are children. Mr Man estimated the numbers of the *Aka-Bea* tribe (called by him *Bojig-giji-da*) in 1882 at about 400, and supposes them to have numbered about 1000 in 1858. In 1901 that tribe consisted of only 37 persons.

[1] Page 18 above.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

of their kitchen-middens[1] it appears that they must have inhabited these islands, and have remained in much the same state of barbarism for a very considerable period. 172

On the assumption that the members of these tribes lived entirely on the coast, it was till recently believed that the kitchen-middens[1] were always situated close to the sea-shore, and it was even said that the accident of their being found far inland would "indicate that some terrestrial changes in the islands have taken place." The incorrectness of this theory is beyond all question, as we have now ample evidence that not only on the coast, but also in the depth of the jungle, there are permanent encampments throughout the group, where we are assured many of these refuse heaps are to be found bearing traces which testify to the remoteness of their origin.

A change, however, appears to be gradually taking place in respect to the formation of these kitchen-middens, which is accounted for by the fact, that whereas in the olden days they were able to regard the slowly increasing heap with pride as witnessing to the success and skill in hunting and fishing of the community near whose encampment it was situated, nowadays all cause for boasting regarding their achievements is considered at an end in consequence of the material assistance they receive from the dogs we have given them, and the superiority (*sic*) of the weapons they have been able to manufacture from iron obtained from the Homes.

Various estimates have been hazarded as to the probable strength of the aboriginal population; but as no reliable data are procurable it is impossible to speak with any degree of certainty on the subject. From recent observations and the ascertained ravages of certain epidemics it seems hardly likely that the aggregate population of Great Andaman at the present day exceeds 2,000 souls, while the *jārawa*, who inhabit Little Andaman and a few localities in Great Andaman, may perchance number from 1,000 to 1,500 more; amongst these communities the effect of our occupation cannot have had, as yet, the prejudicial influence which has unhappily resulted among the tribes of Great Andaman from contact with alien races, the causes of which, being noticed elsewhere, need not here be particularised, especially as they are chiefly such as have been found to follow 161

[1] Col. (now Gen.) H. Man was the first to open up the kitchen-middens in and near the harbour at Port Blair, and the late M. de Röepstorff subsequently devoted some time to their examination, but it does not appear that he has left any notes as to the results of his investigations; at present all that has been published on this subject is embodied in the late Dr. Stoliczka's paper "Note on the Kjökken-möddings of the Andaman Islands" (*vide* Proc. As. Soc. Bengal, January, 1870).

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

ever in the wake of civilisation to the extermination of the savage race.

In closing this paper it will not, I think, be devoid of interest, even to the general reader, if I append a few particulars regarding Port Blair as the centre of the great Indian penal Settlement.

A glance at the map will show that Port Blair is situated near the south-eastern extremity of Great Andaman, and consists of a fine harbour somewhat *F*-shaped, which extends over seven miles in a south-westerly direction; it contains three islands, Ross, Chatham, and Viper. The first of these, containing an area of about 80 acres, is situated in a commanding position at the mouth of the harbour, and has been the site of the head-quarters of the Settlement since its re-establishment in March, 1858; the number of its residents ranges between 2,000 and 3,000, and includes the majority of the civil and military officers, the European troops, and detachments of native infantry and police; the residue consists chiefly of convicts. The Protestant church, Roman Catholic chapel, and a native Christian chapel are on this island.

The second island, Chatham, contains about 12 acres, and is situated midway between Ross and Viper, being visible to both at the bend of the harbour; its population numbers about 500, and is composed for the most part of hospital patients, convalescents, and convicts, who are employed on the steam saw-mills.

Viper, the third island, is about five miles distant by sea from Ross, from which it is hidden by the intervening hills on the so-called "mainland"; its area is slightly larger than that of Ross, but owing to its configuration is not so well adapted for building purposes; the majority of its inhabitants (usually numbering about 1,600 souls) are hospital patients, convalescents, and chain-gang prisoners, these last being confined in the only jail in the Settlement.

Mount Harriet[1] (about 1,100 feet), regarded as the sanitarium of Port Blair, is situated in a commanding position on the north side of the harbour near Chatham Island, and at the eastern extremity of a range of hills running in a northerly direction; its residents are composed of convalescents and weakly convicts and a party of police; round its base, on the western, eastern, and southern sides, various large clearings have been established, barracks and workshops erected, and cultivation and grazing carried on. Similar and more recent clearings exist between Mount Harriet and Port Mouat, where the narrow isthmus (1½ miles wide) dividing the two harbours, though so far distant

[1] It was at the foot of this hill that the late Earl Mayo, then Viceroy of India, was assassinated (when about to return to the flagship) by an Afridi convict.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

791 savage tribes,[1] imagine themselves gifted with superior wisdom, and can hardly be blamed if they endeavour to turn their talents to account by imposing a little on the credulity of their neighbours.

Tribal Distribution.—1. The inhabitants of these islands are 101 divided into at least nine tribes,[2] linguistically distinguished, 171 even if we reckon as one those communities to which I have 191 already alluded under the title of *järawa-*, among whom it is not improbable further divisions and dialects may eventually be 619 discovered. The conjecture that they are one is merely based on the assertions of the people of South Andaman, and on the circumstance that all the weapons, utensils, huts, &c., of the *järawa-*, which we have been able to examine, appear to be constructed invariably on the same model, while all such members of the various scattered communities as we have had the opportunity of observing, resemble each other in abstaining from the practice, so general among all the eight Great Andaman tribes, of shaving their heads and tattooing their persons. Still, these outward similarities are manifestly insufficient, affording as they do mere negative evidence, whereas our present knowledge, so tardily acquired, of there being inland communities, called *ē·rem-tâ·ga-*, dwelling in the heart of South and Middle Andaman, who are allied in all respects, save in their mode of life, with the *ârgô·to-*, or coast communities of their respective tribes, would seem to justify the belief that hereafter the aborigines of Little Andaman will be found to present not only distinctions of this nature but differences also of dialect, as is the case with the inhabitants of both North and Middle Andaman, which are known to be divided into no less than six tribes.

161 2. As to the numerical strength of these several tribes it is impossible to speak with any degree of certainty, for, as you are 619 aware, there is no part of the country which is not covered with jungle, more or less impenetrable to any but the aborigines themselves, while their capacity for estimating and expressing numbers is wholly inadequate to assist us in forming any conclusions on the subject. The surmise that the entire group contains about 4,000 souls is based on the calculation that the *bō·jig-ngī·yi-* tribe with whom we are most intimate do not at the present day exceed 400, though at the time of our advent in 1858, they are believed to have numbered about 1,000.

133 **Topography.**—1. The chief geographical landmarks of these islands are :—

1st. *Saddle Peak*, a massive hill rising to the height of

[1] *Vide* Lubbock, "On the Origin of Civilisation," &c., 4th Ed., pp. 250–1.

[2] For the names of the various tribes, and the localities they occupy, the reader is referred to the accompanying map.

000 **Method of Enumeration.**—The actual method of enumeration was to select carefully from the Homes and attach to the Census officers the most intelligent of the Andamanese, who had lived there for years and were therefore conversant with Europeans and their ways and had acquired, by direct education or long contact with civilization, habits of restraint and obedience to orders. These men were employed all along the route in tracing the whereabouts of their people and in collecting information about themselves and their families. The information thus collected was carefully sifted, an operation requiring patience and much local knowledge, and entered in tabulated forms specially supplied. These forms showed the places at which information was procured, and the number of men, women, boys and girls, tribe by tribe, found by enquiry to be there. In my opinion this was all that could be reasonably attempted in the circumstances, and I limited the enquiry to this extent on the ground that it was better to attempt to do a little reasonably well than to attempt a Census on a scale that the conditions did not fairly permit.

Officers' Diaries.—Each officer was required to keep a diary and to record therein everything of interest that came under his observation, with the view of taking advantage of the tours to collect all the miscellaneous information that could be acquired in the time available. Maps were also supplied on which officers were required to enter every camp and inhabited place they heard of and especially every Andamanese place-name they ascertained. This last was of value, because to the Andamanese any but their own names for places are unintelligible. The chief results of the enquiries are recorded in the officers' reports attached in Appendix B.

161 619 **Method of estimating Onges and Jarawas.**—As to the two Tribes, Onges and Jarawas, of whom no attempt was made at a direct enumeration, it is necessary to explain the method of arriving at the assumed figures for them. The people best known to us are those of the southern islands of the Great Andaman group, the population of which is now very small from causes that will be hereafter examined. The figures for these tribes (Kede, Juwai, Kol, Bojigyab, Balawa, Bea) were taken as a basis upon which to build up figures for the Onges and Jarawas respectively as being something definite to go upon.

The Onges have not been brought under the influence of the causes that have led to the depopulation of the areas occupied by the Southern Andaman Tribes and are known to be much more numerous. Taking this fact into consideration and also the area of their occupation, it has been assumed that their numbers reach to three times the present totals for the above named Tribes. In dividing up the figures thus arrived at into sexes, there is no particular difficulty as regards adults, though that gives males 11 per cent. in excess of females, but there is much difficulty as regards children. In the present abnormal condition of the Southern Andaman Tribes the children are very few indeed, shown in the Census figures as only 24 per cent. of the adults, and among them, too, the males are shown as being nearly twice as numerous as the females. These are conditions impossible under the normal circumstances of a population maintained without extraneous immigration, and though for the purposes of calculation on a given basis, I allowed the figures to be returned officially for the Onges as under—

Adults.		Children.		Total.
Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
303	273	63	33	672

I do not believe the details to correctly represent facts, which among the Onges, presumably still existing under conditions normal to themselves, are more approximately arrived at, I think, on the following lines. Savage populations very quickly reach the limit of increase, that limit depending on their method of gaining a livelihood in the area they occupy. In other words, as long as savages adhere to their habits of life, the population remains stationary after a short period of occupation of a new territory. As regards the Andamans, until lately, as with the Nicobars, the population has, I think, for the above reasons been stationary through all historical times and long before that at very small figures. For reasons given below I should now place the totals for the Onges somewhat higher than has been above arrived at, and I would divide them up nearly

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equally into adults and children and again nearly equally into sexes with a slight preponderance in favour both of children and females. Say, as under—

ÖNGES.

Adults.		Children.		Total.
Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
153	173	178	168	672

The Jarawas, more than probably old Önge emigrants from the Little to the Great Andaman and become separated from the main Tribe, occupy portions of Rutland Island, the interior of part of the South Andaman and of Baratang and all the North Sentinel. The figures for them have been assumed on three distinct bases. Those in the South Andaman and Baratang and those in North Sentinel have each been taken to be as numerous as the enumerated population of the other South Andaman tribes, *i.e.*, as equal in numbers to the Bea, Balawa, Bojigyab and Kol Tribes, and those in Rutland Island, on the same grounds as the Önges, to be three times as numerous as the South Andaman Tribes above named. These assumptions give the following figures :—

JARAWAS.

In South Andaman and Baratang.	In North Sentinel.	In Rutland Island.	Total.
117	117	351	585

As regards the figures thus arrived at, circumstances which have occurred since the Census strongly support their general correctness for the South Andaman and Baratang. Arguing on the same lines as in the case of the Önges, I believe the conditions in the North Sentinel would support about 117 people and not more, and that the figures for Rutland Island are somewhat too highly placed. For reasons given below, it is probable that the Jarawas have been placed about 100 too high and the Önges about 100 too low : the general total for all the Tribes being most likely about right. In reference however to the details of the Jarawas as returned at the Census, *viz.* :—

JARAWAS.

Adults.		Children.		Total.
Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
280	210	55	40	585

I feel sure from what has since transpired that the children do somewhat outnumber the adults and the females the males, and I would on the Census returns divide up the Tribe as follows :—

JARAWAS.

Adults.		Children.		Total.
Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
126	146	162	151	585

Again, when dividing the above figures up into their three elements, recent expeditions support the figures then reached as regards the South Andaman at any rate, thus : —

JARAWAS.

	Adults.		Children.		Total.
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
South Andaman and Baratang . .	25	29	32	31	117
North Sentinel .	25	29	32	31	117
Rutland Island . .	76	88	98	89	351
Total .	126	146	162	151	585

This table fully bears out the fact, now locally recognised as probably true on other grounds, that the number of Jarawa fighting men, who have done so much damage in the jungles on the outskirts of the Penal Settlement for so many years past, are very few, probably not more than 30, and that the entire strength of the Tribe in the South Andaman is not more than about 120.

3: Temple G-5 (1901) 1903 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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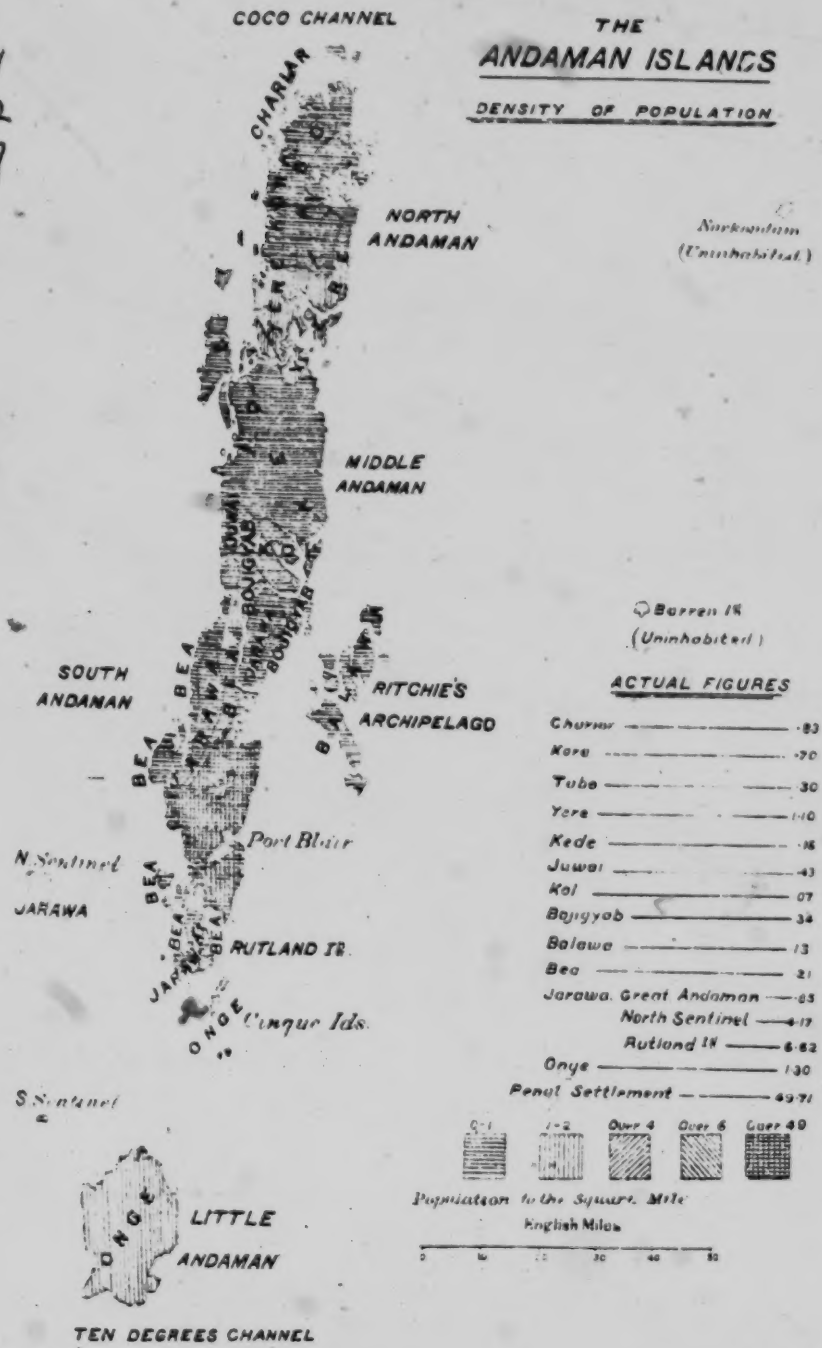

[facing p. 6]

ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

FIGURES FOR THE ABORIGINES CENSUS, 1901.

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Name of Tribe.	Adults.		Children.		Total.	Occupied area in square miles.	Density per square mile.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.			
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	
Chariar	16	15	6	2	39	47	·83
Kora	31	32	14	19	96	137	·70
Tabo	15	16	7	10	48	158	·30
Yere	98	80	26	14	218	198	1·10
Kede	24	30	3	2	59	371	·16
Juwai	21	19	7	1	48	110	·43
Kol	6	2	3	...	11	161	·07
Bojigyab	31	14	2	3	50	148	·34
Balawa	5	10	3	1	19	141	·13
Bea	14	16	3	4	37	117	·21*
Jarawa	280	210	55	40	585	220	2·66
Onge	303	273	63	33	672	373	1·30
TOTAL	844	717	192	129	1,882	2,181*	·86

* Excluding occupied area of the Settlement 327 square miles.

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In the above table the Jarawas should be divided between the Great Andaman, North Sentinel and Rutland Island. Thus divided, the special table for them is as under :—

JARAWAS.

	Occupied area in square miles.	Population.	Density per square mile.
In Great Andaman	139	117	0·85
In North Sentinel	28	117	4·17
In Rutland Island	53	351	6·62

The density figure thus arrived at is, I think, about right for the Great Andaman and I am not prepared to say that it is far wrong for the North Sentinel, but it is probably a good deal too high for Rutland Island, *i.e.*, it would appear from this argument that the whole population of the Jarawas have been placed at too high a figure.

It will be noted that the above figures give a density of population among the aborigines of less than one per square mile, *not* an unlikely fact. Commenting generally on these returns I should say that the figures for the Kede, Juwai, Kol, Bojigyab, Balawa and Bea tribes are right; so much is known about them that statements of the people as to themselves are not difficult to check. But I think it likely that the Chariar children are understated. I am not prepared to be positive as to this, however, as this Tribe, too, is well known and understood. The Yere children are probably much understated, though from what is known of this Tribe it is likely that the adults are greatly in excess of the children.

I was present when in 1900 the Kora were discovered, or to speak more accurately differentiated. They had been previously well known, themselves and their encampments, but had been considered to belong to the Chariar. The discovery as to the true facts—that they were a separate Tribe with a territory and language of their own—so late as 1900 is an example of the difficulty in procuring accurate information from such primitive savages as the Andamanese. It mattered nothing to them that Kora men and women had been to the Home at Port Blair and had been classed as Chariar. All they thought of the matter was that the sahibs held them to be Chariar, but that they and all the Andamanese knew better! In this case I think it likely that a similar error has been made as regards the children as in the case of the Yere Tribe.

In regard to the Tabo of the interior of the North Andaman, whose existence was unsuspected by us until the Census, the figures given must be taken with some caution, despite the native explanation of the cause of the destruction of

162 619 the Tribe, that they killed each other off in consequence of the introduction of contagious disease amongst them by the Chariar or Kora Tribes. It is somewhat difficult to believe that even a savage Tribe would actually kill off the sick to such an extent as to reduce themselves to half a dozen families or hunting camps. Even then the children would not be affected by the process and should in such case be much more numerous than the adults, but they are recorded as being in a minority of nearly 55 %. It is probable that both the figures for the adults and the children are in this case understated.

Criticisms on the figures for Onges and Jarawas have already been made.

Taken all round, however, the totals for the whole of the Andamans are not likely on the above grounds to be very far wrong and to my mind an estimate of 2,000 is about correct for the existing population of this primeval and most interesting race. At the next Census it will possibly be practicable to arrive at more accurate figures in the light of the present experience by carefully considering how the defects noticed on this occasion can be remedied.

161 162 619 **Former Population.**—It has been well known for years past that the Andamanese population was even a generation ago far more numerous than it is now and proceeding on the general principles followed in the remarks above made, it seems to me that a fairly accurate estimate of the old normal population can be arrived at. The principles governing the estimate would be—

(1) the population has always been stationary,

(2) the population has been limited by habits as to food production and by the area of productive occupation,

(3) the relative size of the Tribes as gauged by their present strength combined with exposure to devastating contagious or infectious diseases,

(4) the capacity of each Tribe to hold its own with neighbouring Tribes.

On these grounds I estimate the combined Onge-Jarawa Tribe as having been always of its present estimated strength and the other Tribes as under, keeping to the further principle that the adults and children have always been about equal and that the sexes also have been about equal: preponderance in favour of women over men and of male over female children.

ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

ESTIMATES OF THE OLD NORMAL POPULATION.

Name of Tribe.	Adults.		Children.		Total.	Occupied area in square miles.	Density per square mile.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.			
Châriâr .	20	25	30	25	100	47	2·13
Kôrâ . .	105	120	140	135	500	137	3·65
Tâbô . . .	40	50	60	50	200	158	1·27
Yêre . . .	150	165	200	185	700	198	3·50
Kede . .	105	120	140	135	500	371	1·35
Jûwai .	60	75	90	75	300	110	2·73
Kôl . .	20	25	30	25	100	161	0·62
Bojigyâb . .	60	75	90	75	300	148	2·03
Balawa . .	60	75	90	75	300	141	2·12
Bêa . . .	105	120	140	135	500	444 *	1·13
Jarawa . .	130	140	170	160	600	220 †	2·73
Onge . .	150	165	200	185	700	373	1·88
	1,005	1,155	1,380	1,260	4,800	2,508	1·91

Males—2,385 Females—2,415 = Total 4,800.

Adults—2,160 Children—2,640 = Total 4,800.

* Including 327 square miles now occupied by the Penal Settlement.

† The Jarawa density being divided up as per foot-note to paragraph three:—

*98 } Great Andaman.
†17 } North Sentinel.
†63 } Rutland.

3: Temple G-5 (1901) 1903 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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[facing p. 8]

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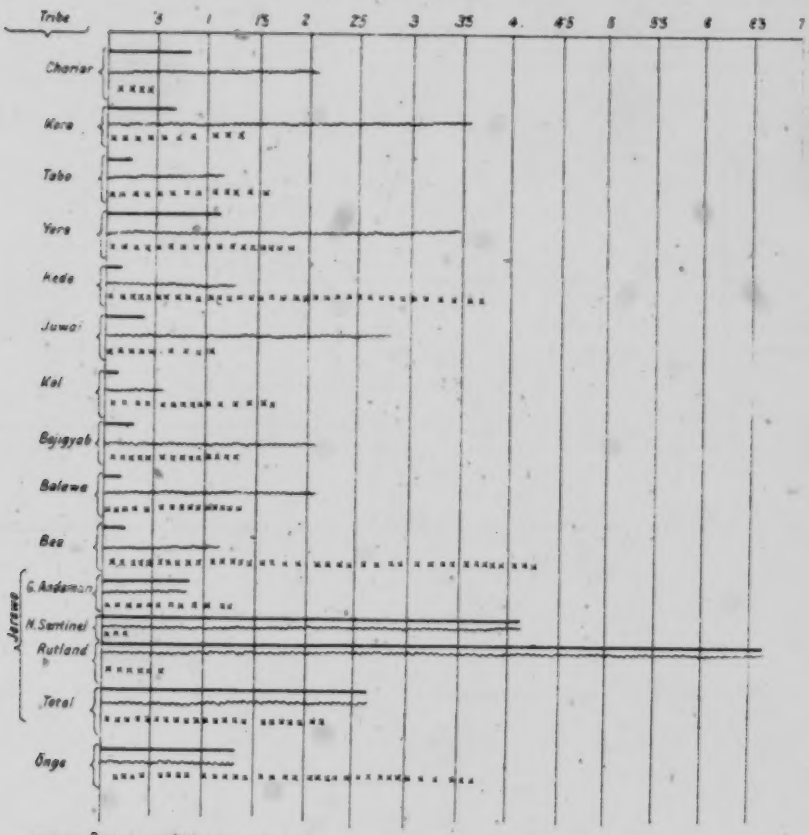
I feel pretty sure that the indigenous population of the Andaman Islands was at no time higher than 5,000 and that it was for many centuries stationary. The density figures also work out to about two to the square mile and that, too, I think a reasonable figure to adopt for the old indigenous population before contact with Europeans.

Diagram of Past and Present Density.—Proceeding to put the conjectures arrived at above to the further test of a diagram illustrating the present and past assumed density of the Andamanese Tribes compared with the area actually occupied by each Tribe, the following facts are arrived at.

DIAGRAM ILLUSTRATING PRESENT AND PAST ASSUMED DENSITY OF THE POPULATION OF THE ANDAMANESE TRIBES WITH AREA OCCUPIED BY EACH.



161 From this diagram it becomes pretty evident that the Jarawa population for Rutland Island has been assumed at too high a figure, both for the past and present time. At the same time I think that it is equally probable that the 162 population of the Ōnges has been underestimated. Taking all the calculations and known facts into consideration, my own opinion is that the assumptions for 619 the Andaman population as a whole, both for the past and the present are probably near the truth, but that we should decrease the Jarawa estimate for Rutland Island (and to that extent the whole Jarawa population) by 100, and increase the Ōnge estimate by 100.

Method of arriving at Former Density.—Portman, *History of our relations with the Andamanese*, Volume I, page 16, gives the following reasons for holding the Andamanese population to have been formerly stationary:—

> "When we consider that some Andamanese have no children, very few have more than three, the majority of the children die in infancy, and the grown-up Andamanese revenges the slightest injury to his person or property or even a fancied insult by a murder and also that the Tribes were continually at feud with each other, I think we may say the above estimated population (his estimate is 8,000) to be the average for many centuries past."

This is an overstatement, as in the first place it is necessary in a stationary population for each couple to produce on an average two children, who grow up and produce again in their turn, and in the next place, though an Andamanese will murder on, to us, extremely slight provocation, he is not a murderous variety of mankind and in tribal "wars" the bloodshed at each collision is very small indeed. In the next place, as Portman himself observes, the average number of children to a married woman was three, while instances of seven and eight children of one mother have been recorded. The statement is however an interesting one, as an observation on these primitive savages and their ways and as indicating the causes for the population being kept stationary.

161 **The Kitchen-Middens.**—Portman also points out (*op. cit.*, p. 17) that an estimate of the old population can be arrived at from locating and enumerating the existing kitchen-middens of the Andamanese, on the assumptions that each 172 midden represents the head-quarters of a Sept of 30 people and that apparently each Sept, owing to the habits of the people, would require four to five such head-quarters. A population of 5,000 would therefore require, say, 600 middens, *i.e.*, there should be a midden to every four square miles of territory.

The value of the kitchen-midden argument comes out thus:—(1) The size, 50 feet diameter usually, does not permit more than 30 people to live on it; (2) change of head-quarters is frequently necessary owing to (*a*) monsoons, (*b*) exhaustion of food in the neighbourhood, (*c*) nomadic instincts, (*d*) stench from discarded food thrown around. As a matter of practice the Andamanese do not return for three months after they have left a midden, nor for about a year after a death in one, and occasionally they abandon a midden for many years, and cannot occupy one for more than a few weeks at a time from the stench about it. These considerations fix four as the smallest number of middens per 30 people.

The middens also beyond all doubt prove that the Andamanese are now as they were an exceedingly long time ago. There are but few "newer" middens, and the older ones show great age: newness and age being gauged by height. The antiquity of the old middens is proved by the fossil shells at the base. Now, except that certain shell-fish have been fashionable at one period and certain others at another, the kitchen-middens show that the Andamanese finds his food to-day as he did in the days when the now fossilised shells contained food for him. At the base of the middens are found the same refuse and the same pottery as we find shown on the surface to-day.

Here then we have a people unaltered in habits from primeval time and whose numbers, if these premises be correct, we should be able to estimate from existing data, as they must have been stationary through all time.

The questions on this argument really are therefore:—(1) how many middens are there? (2) where are they? To these questions it is worth while obtaining answers at the next Census or even as opportunity occurs, as the answers will either upset the theory or afford an approximate estimate of the old Andamanese population and of the strength of each tribe.

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Future Prospects of the Race.—It is now 26 years since I first became acquainted with the Andamanese, and I was present amongst them in one of the great devastating outbreaks of infectious disease (measles introduced by convicts from Madras) in 1877, and I personally know how much more numerous they were then than now. The one sad result of the Census has been to demonstrate beyond all doubt, what most local officials suspected and some asserted, that infectious and contagious diseases, the result of contact with an advanced civilisation, are wiping out the Andamanese: at any rate the friendly sections of them. With a population so diminished in one generation and a birth-rate so inadequate, it is obviously impossible, unless the people have reached or are about to reach that point of saturation with these diseases which is also the point of immunity and recovery from their effects, for the race to last out much longer. Excluding the Onge-Jarawas, all the other tribes now number, on any reasoned calculation, not more than 700, of which some 250 belong to one Tribe, the Yere, out of an estimated total of 3,500 only a generation ago, while the children cannot in any case be much more than 25 per cent. of the adults. On these figures, in two more generations, *i.e.*, in probably less than 60 years, even if undisturbed and unmolested by the Jarawas ever-increasing in relative strength, the friendly Tribes must die out. A century must be taken as the extreme limit of a forecast of their existence, unless of course the law of saturation with disease to the point of immunity comes into play.

It also seems not difficult to foresee that it is possible that in a short time the Great Andaman will be occupied by the Penal Settlement and the Jarawas only, with a chance, in the case of the latter becoming friendly and losing their exclusive bearing, that they too will succumb to a rapid disappearance, through what may be called the natural action of infectious and contagious disease, not necessarily carried to them by the civilised alien, but more probably, as past experience shows, by diseased members of the remnants of the "friendly" Tribes captured in collisions with them.

There is nothing new in the disastrous effect of infectious or contagious disease on savages when introduced among them for the first time. It seems to be a process of nature not to be seriously checked by administrative measures. From the very first instructions of the Marquess Wellesley to Archibald Blair in 1789 to the existing practice in dealing with the Andamanese, there has never been any change in the general policy maintained towards the aborigines of the islands. They have been treated uniformly with kindness and consideration. From the first recorded hostile brush with them in 1787 to the operations ending with the gallant death of Mr. P. Vaux on 24th February 1902, nothing more has ever been done than was necessary to prevent murderous raiding into the lands under active occupation by ourselves. It is disease introduced by the carelessness and callousness of civilised individuals in the first instance and spread broadcast amongst the savages by their own ignorance in the next place that has worn down their actual numbers to one-fifth of the former total in one generation and has apparently now rendered the union of the sexes infructuous in three-fourths of the cases.

APPENDIX C.

CENSUS OF INDIA, 1901.—FIRST TOTALS.

ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS.

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Chief Commissioner.—LIEUTENANT-COLONEL R. C. TEMPLE, C.I.E.

Census year.	Population.			Variation since preceding Census (+) or (−).	
	Males.	Females.	Total.	Number.	Per cent.
1901	15,581	8,918	24,499	+8,890	+56·95
1891	13,375	2,234	15,609	+ 981	+ 6·71

The increase in the population is due to the inclusion of the aborigines of the islands, now enumerated for the first time under the admirable arrangements made by Colonel Temple. The results of this Census, which was conducted by special parties of the Andamans officials at some risk to themselves, are shown in the tables below, the Andamanese being classified by the recognised tribes, and the Nicobarese by the dialects spoken on different islands or groups of islands. The number of children among the Andamanese and the Southern Nicobarese is probably understated. The Census operations have brought to light a new tribe, the Tâbô of North Andaman, and have proved the recently discovered Kôrâ Tribe to be comparatively numerous. The Census officers were set upon at Port Campbell by the implacably hostile Jarawas of South Andaman, and only saved themselves by firing on their assailants, one Jarawa being killed. In explanation of the small numbers of the newly discovered Tâbô Tribe, the Census party were informed that when a contagious disease was recently introduced among the Tâbôs by the Châriâr or Kôrâ Tribes of the coast they proceeded to kill off all those attacked until very few of the tribe were left.

ANDAMANESE.

Name of Tribe.	Adults.		Children.		Total.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.		
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	
Châriâr . .	14	15	6	2	37	
Kôrâ .	31	32	14	19	96	Lately discovered.
Tâbô . .	15	16	7	10	48	Hitherto unknown.
Yêre .	98	80	26	14	218	
Kede .	24	30	3	2	59	
Jîwai .	21	19	7	1	48	
Kôl .	6	2	3	...	11	
Bojigyâb	31	14	2	3	50	
Dulawa .	5	10	3	1	19	
Bêa .	14	16	3	4	37	
Jarawa .	280	210	55	40	585	
Ôngê .	303	273	63	33	672	
Total .	844	717	192	129	1,882	

NICOBARESE.

Dialect.	Adults.		Children.		Total.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
Car Nicobar .	1,126	999	704	662	3,491
Chowra . .	172	176	100	72	532
Teresa . .	208	190	174	130	702
Central . .	409	398	152	136	1,095
Southern .	81	73	18	20	192
Shom Pen .	168	140	24	16	348
	2,164	1,976	1,172	996	6,310
Foreign traders	201	...	...	...	201
Total .	2,365	1,976	1,172	996	6,511

NOTE.—The dialects of Car Nicobar and Chowra are spoken on those Islands only: that of Teresa on Teresa and Bompoka: the Central Dialect on Camorta, Trinkat, Nancowry and Katchall: the Southern Dialect on Pulu Milu, Little Nicobar, Condul and Great Nicobar (East): the Shom Pen in the interior of Great Nicobar.

H. H. RISLEY.

APPENDIX D.

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List of places visited by the Census Party.

English Name.	Andamanese Name.
Kyd Island.	Dura-tâng.
Colebrooke Island S. Bay.	Pâr-l'on-tâ.
" " N. Coast.	Târa-châlnga.
Havelock Island.	Pâlaga-l'âr-mûgu-drema.
" on N. W. Coast of	Pulu-l'untâ.
" Strait between Sir W. Peel and	Tadma Jûru.
John Lawrence Island.	Parkit-drema.
Kwangtung Strait.	Gereng-lêtar.
Outram Harbour.	Târ-mûgu.
Bacon Bay.	Târa-chiro.
Stewart Sound.	Miriti-rô-pong.
Austin Strait.	Pôreng-chiro.
Camp Bay.	Lân-tâche.
Cadell Point (W. Bay).	Chaka-mit-koito.
" " (N. Bay).	Tâ-burongo.
Lâmia Bay, S. extremity of	Rengo-to-tia.
Port Cornwallis.	Tibeto-tong.
" " Chatham Island.	Tôbi-chiro.
Turtle Island.	Koto-par.
Cadell Bay.	Tôbi-chirch.
Landfall Island.	Tau-rô-mîku.
West Island.	Kareng-mâo.
Whitecliff Island.	Tar-boro.
Thornhill Island.	Bâ-pong.
Reef Island.	Ti-kô-dung.
" " N. E. Encampment.	Taumo-tât.
Paget "	Kârate-tât-chiro.
Casuarina Bay.	Tôrop-tot-chôto.
" " N. E. Encampment.	Tôbi-chiro.
North Reef Island.	Ina-ta-rô-jôle.
Pembroke Bay W. Coast.	Rengo-l'un-tô.
Interview Island S. Encampment.	Karang-to'ng-tâ-chiro. Lêtrô-l'on-tâ.
Kwangtung Harbour.	Kuro-pông.
Port Campbell.	Târa-châng.
" Mount, "Home" at.	Gereng-l-âlachâti-jûru.
Cinque Island.	Jertia.
Little Andaman.	Wilima-târa.

Statement of the detailed population of the Andaman Islands.

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Name of Tribe.		Adults. Male.	Adults. Female.	Children. Male.	Children. Female.	Total.
Bea	*seen*	14	12	3	3	37
"	*not seen*	...	4	...	1	
Balawa	*seen*	3	7	1	1	19
"	*not seen*	2	3	2	...	
Bojigyâb	*seen*	17	6	2	...	50
"	*not seen*	14	8	...	3	
Jûwai	*seen*	13	14	3	...	46
"	*not seen*	8	5	4	1	
Kôl	*seen*	2	...	...	...	11
"	*not seen*	4	2	3	...	
Kede	*seen*	21	21	3	2	59
"	*not seen*	3	9	...	...	
Yêre	*seen*	76	57	21	8	218
"	*not seen*	22	25	5	6	
Tabô	*seen*	2	...	...	...	48
"	*not seen—estimated*	13	16	7	10	
Kôrâ	*seen*	21	20	8	15	96
"	*not seen*	10	12	6	4	
Chârâr	*seen*	18	15	6	2	39
"	*not seen*	...	...	...	...	
Ongo	*estimated*	303	273	63	33	672
Jarawa	*estimated*	280	210	55	40	585
	Total	844	717	192	129	1,882

3: Temple G-5 (1901) 1903 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

APPEN

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Tabular Statement showing the present numbers

Serial No. of place	Where found	Tribal Territory	Bea.				Balawa.				Bojigyab.				Juwai.				Koi.				Ka	
			Adults.		Children.		Adults.		Children.		Adults.		Children.		Adults.		Children.		Adults.		Children.		Adults.	
			M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
1	Port Blair Bonus	Bea	11	10	...	2	2	5	1	1	5	...	...	...	6	5	...	...	2	...	...	...	11	9
	Dundas Bonus	"	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
2	Sil	Balawa	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3	Kwangtung Harbour	Bojigyab	1	1	1	1	...	1	...	...	9	6	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Hamfrey Strait	"	...	2	...	...	...	1	1	...	4	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Colebrooke Island	"	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	2	1	...	...	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Lihawi-i-wati	"	1	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	7	2	...	...	...	...	...	6	5
		"	...	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4	Pil-bringa (in Boyoin Jig)	Jiwai	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Ringa-bringa (in Boyoin Jig)	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
	Tilo-bindo	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	2
5	Tirtab	Koi	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	5	2	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Long Island	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	2	2	...	...	1
	Birka-ching (in Tilab Jig)	"	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...
	Near Interview Island	Kede	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
6	At Interview Island	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	6	5
	Hanj-ka-tet (near Bengal)	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1
	Bantri-ko-dab (Cuthbert Bay)	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	3
7	Bacon Bay	Yere	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Austin Strait	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Camp Bay (Stewart Sound)	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Various spots	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Lamia Bay	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Pembroke Bay	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
	North Reef Island	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
8	Sil	Tabi	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Port Cornwallis	Kiri	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Tikedang (N. E. of North Andaman)	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10	Pagoi Island	Chiriyar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Total (seen)	14	15	3	3	3	7	1	1	17	6	2	...	13	14	3	...	2	...	...	...	21	21
		Total (not seen)	...	4	...	1	2	3	3	...	14	8	...	3	6	7	4	1	4	2	3	...	3	9
	Grand Total		14	19	3	4	5	10	3	1	31	14	2	3	21	19	7	1	6	2	3	...	30	30

3: Temple G-5 (1901) 1903 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

DIX E.

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in each tribe as ascertained by the Census.

DE.		YERE.				TABO.				KORA.				CHARIAR.				ÖNGE.				JARAWA.				TOTAL.			
Children.		Adults.		Children.		Adults.		Children.		Adults.		Children.		Adults.		Children.		Adults.		Children.		Adults.		Children.		Adults.		Children.	
M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
...	...	18	9	4	4	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	9	9	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	60	47	7	7
1	...	6	5	3	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	7	6	3
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	9	3	1
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	5	1	2
...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	4	2	...
...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13	14	2	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	1
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	1
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	2	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	1	1
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	3	...	...
...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	5	2	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	...
...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...
2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	7	2	2
...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...
...	...	2	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	1
...	...	12	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	1	1	...
...	...	3	3	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	2	...
...	...	16	12	6	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	16	12	6	2
...	...	20	20	5	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	20	5	5
...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	4	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	4	...	2
...	...	10	8	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	11	3	...
...	...	5	3	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	5	2	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	4	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	4	...	2
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	1	3	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3	1	2
...	...	2	3	1	1	...	...	...	...	10	11	7	7	4	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	16	17	9	9
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	12	6	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	12	6	4
3	2	76	57	21	8	2	...	...	...	21	20	8	15	16	15	6	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	135	132	47	31
...	...	22	23	5	6	...	...	...	...	10	12	6	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	32	39	20	15
3	2	98	80	26	14	2	...	...	...	31	32	14	19	16	12	6	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	168	171	67	46
																										466		113	
																										579			

[p. 29]

APPENDIX F.

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Table of Census Results by Tribes.

Serial No.	Tribe.	Adults. M.	Adults. F.	Children. M.	Children. F.	Total.	At Port Blair and Duratang Homes.		Adults. M.	Adults. F.	Children. M.	Children. F.	Total.	Grand Total. Tribe.	Adults. M.	Adults. F.	Children. M.	Children. F.	Total
	Bea	2	3	2	1	7	Port Blair		11	10	...	2	23	Bea	14	13	3	3	32
	"	...	4	...	1	5	Duratang		1	...	1	...	2	"	...	4	...	1	5
	Balawa	1	2	...	...	3	Port Blair		2	5	1	1	9	Balawa	3	7	1	1	12
	"	2	3	2	...	7	Duratang		...	...	...		...	"	2	3	2	...	7
	Bojigyab	9	6	2	...	17	Port Blair		8	...	...	...	8	Bojigyab	17	6	2	...	25
	"	14	9	...	2	25	Duratang		...	...	...	...	...	"	14	9	...	2	25
	Jowai	7	9	3	...	19	Port Blair		6	5	...	...	11	Jowai	13	14	3	...	30
	"	6	5	4	2	17	Duratang		...	...	...	...	...	"	6	5	4	2	17
	Kol	...	...	...	...	...	Port Blair		2	...	...	...	2	Kol	2	...	...	...	2
	"	4	2	3	...	9	Duratang		...	...	...	...	...	"	4	2	3	...	9
	Kodo	10	11	2	2	25	Port Blair		11	9	...	...	20	Kodo	21	21	2	2	47
	"	3	9	...	...	12	Duratang		...	1	1	...	2	"	3	9	...	...	12
	Tibe	33	43	14	4	113	Port Blair		13	9	4	4	35	Tibe	76	57	21	8	162
	"	22	22	5	6	56	Duratang		6	5	3	...	14	"	28	22	5	6	56
	Tabô	...	...	...	...	...	Port Blair		1	...	...	...	1	Tabô	1	...	...	...	1
	"	...	...	...	...	...	Duratang		1	...	...	...	1	"	...	...	...	...	...
	Köra	20	20	8	14	62	Port Blair		1	...	...	...	1	Köra	21	20	8	15	64
	"	20	22	6	4	52	Duratang		...	...	...	1	1	"	20	22	6	4	52
	Chirihr	7	5	3	1	16	Port Blair		9	9	2	...	20	Chirihr	16	15	6	3	39
	"	...	...	...	...	...	Duratang		...	1	1	1	3	"	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	106	96	34	32	268	Port Blair		69	47	7	7	130		185	132	47	31	415
		62	67	20	15	164	Duratang		8	7	6	2	23		62	67	20	15	164
		171	164	54	37	426			77	54	13	9	153		248	218	67	46	579

Italic figures refer to the numbers in each tribe not seen by the Census officers on account of their being at distant encampments, positive information regarding the numbers being furnished by those best acquainted with the facts.

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Report of a Survey of the Inhabitants of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands during 1948-49

By

B. S. Guha

Director, Department of Anthropology

About the end of the year 1946, Mr H. J. Stooks, Deputy Secretary to the Ministry of Home Affairs, consulted me with regard to proposals made by Sri A. V. Thakkar of the Bharatiya Adim Jati Sevak Sangh for undertaking work for the amelioration of the conditions of the inhabitants of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands on the same lines as the Sangh has been doing among the Bhils and other tribes of Central India. The problem of the Aborigines of the Andaman Islands, however, is not the same as that of the other primitive tribes of India. These people are some of the most ancient remnants of the human race still surviving in any part of the world, who had been very little affected from contact with other people and subsist principally on fishing and hunting. The need among them is not so much the spread of education and social uplift as the arrest of the decline in population which has been most alarming. Since the establishment of the Penal Settlement at Port Blair in 1858, the condition of the "Friendly Tribes" among these inhabitants have been most distressing. Due in the beginning to armed encounters with the forces of the Government, and also as a result of ravages from diseases like tuberculosis and syphilis contracted from Indian convicts, there has been a continuous decline in the Andamanese population. From an estimated figure of about 10,000 people in 1779 the tribe has been reduced to only 70 in 1931, and at the time of our visit there were probably not more than 37 individuals still living. Whether it will be possible to save the Andamanese from the fate of the Tasmanians whose last surviving representative passed away about 1770 is extremely doubtful.

The hostile branch of the Andamanese tribes known as the Jarawa-Onge-Sentinelese group, fortunately has been spared the fate of their more "friendly" kinsmen, and as a result of implacable hostility and comparative isolation have survived to a much larger extent. In the western forest belts of Middle and South Andamans, the Little Andaman, and the North Sentinel Islands they have resisted all intrusions from outsiders and were known to have lived in these places comparatively unmolested. No accurate census of these tribes however, was ever taken, but from estimates made by people who had some knowledge of the tribes, it does not seem possible that the total strength of these people could be more than a few hundred souls altogether before the last war. What has happened since and how far these people, specially the Jarawas, have suffered from Japanese occupation cannot accurately be determined. It is known that there had been some bombing by the Japanese in the Jarawa tract, but whether any Jarawa was killed is not known. I, therefore, suggested to Mr Stooks that an anthropological survey of the Islands was essential and a probable estimate of the surviving settlements of the population made before the question of any social welfare work can be

120 considered. I promised the full collaboration of this Department for undertaking such a survey. It was at first planned to take a fully equipped scientific party for a period of at least six months with headquarters at Port Blair, members of which could pay short visits to the different Islands where the Andamanese tribes were known to have lived. The Ministry of Home Affairs agreed to the proposal and expressed their willingness to place a trawler at our disposal for visiting the outlying islands as no other means of transport existed. Negotiations were taken up for securing the services of Mr Crawley of the B. N. Railway to accompany the party as guide and adviser for he was one of the few who had a direct knowledge of the Jarawa area. With Mr. Duncan of the same Railway, both of whom were landed in the Jarawa territory by British submarines during the last War he spent nearly 6 months in that tract. Although Mr Crawley was very willing to accompany our party it was not found possible in the end to secure his services as the B. N. Railway could not spare him. What is still more unfortunate was that the R. I. N. could not spare any trawler. The prevalence of polio or infantile paralysis in an [164] epidemic form in the Nicobar Islands at the time made it impossible to include them in our itinerary. Lastly, the Chief Commissioner of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands informed us that owing to great demands on residential accommodation at Port Blair it would be difficult for him to find enough living quarters for our party. He suggested that a smaller party might be sent instead, for making exploratory surveys only.

Accordingly, the original plan had to be modified and a party consisting of myself, Mr S. S. Sarkar, who had then just joined the Department, 3 scientific assistants and 3 attendants left for the Islands on board the 'S. S. Maharaja' on February 17, 1948, reaching Port Blair on the 20th. The Chief Commissioner, Mr S. Majid, I.C.S., met us at the quay and arranged for our stay at the Guest House facing the harbour. He was an exceedingly well-informed and kind gentleman and promised to give us all facilities in our work. We 121 discussed the various questions concerning the Andamanese population and he agreed with me that the most pressing need was to collect correct statistics regarding the strength and distribution of the so-called hostile tribes. For very little can be done now to save the Andamanese proper who have paid for their friendliness by being driven to the verge of extinction and it is now a question of time before they would completely disappear. At the present [161] moment the surviving remnants of this group numbering about 37 have been collected and settled in the Neil and Havelock Islands. In consultation with 122 Mr Majid the plan of making the preliminary reconnaissance was fixed. It was agreed that I, and as many of my party as could be accommodated in the Port Blair harbour launch 'Molly', which Mr Majid by arrangements with the harbour authorities found it possible to place at our disposal for about a week, would leave for Little Andaman to survey the eastern coast of the Island in search of the Onge settlements, as far as this was practicable within this short time. Accordingly we left Port Blair on the 23rd February at 7-30 in the morning on board the motor launch 'Molly'; myself, Messrs S. S. Sarkar, S. Banerjee, R. De and Ramkassis forming the members of our party.

5: Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2 Nicobars AZ1

A 119 143 582 Owing to linguistic difficulties it was not possible to find out the relationships in the majority of cases. It is, however, evident that inbreeding must be very high in such a small, isolated and closed population.

Jarawas

A 119 143 Gates (1940, 1948) reported blood groups of the five Jarawas captured at Bluff Island in September, 1938. Of these five, the adult woman and her eldest son died at Port Blair during Japanese occupation. It appears that Chaudhuri did not group the blood of the 4th son born at Port Blair to the above captured woman, since that would have made the total number 6 (mother +4 sons + 1 unrelated girl) instead of 5. This boy (Pl. IX, Fig. 3) is now 13 years old and was found like his mother and brothers to be belonging to Group O. The blood samples of the other three children were found to be O. The children (Pl. IX) are now living in a Car Nicobar mission.

Andamanese

A 161 The Andamanese population has undergone very serious depletion. The total strength was estimated to be about 37 as compared with 90 of the census figure of 1931. Only 21 of these people could be tested from the islands of Havelock and Neil. Their blood groups are :— A 125 143

O	2	9·52%
A	12	57·14%
B	5	23·81%
AB	2	9·52%
	21	

Nicobarese

N 361 The majority of the Nicobarese were grouped at the Car Nicobar island. N 125 A group of 15 people from Chaura and a patient suffering from infantile paralysis from Nankauri were included in the sample. All the 16 of the latter 164 143 group belonged to Group O.

The Nicobarese blood group distribution is as follows :—

	O	A	B	AB	p	q	r	D/σ
	117	5	14	0				
%	86·03	3·68	10·29	..	·019	·054	·928	0·5

N 164 Car Nicobar was visited towards the decline of the infantile paralysis epidemic. There were only 24 patients in the hospital. A good number, N 734 however, of those who escaped death but were otherwise invalidated were 125 examined.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ4 Andamans AZ2
Onge

Endogamous life, or the habit of never washing even the female genital 842
organs, cannot be the only cause of Andamanese sterility. Alcohol and venereal [515]
diseases such as syphilis may only be a complementary cause. The Onge's [582]
limited fertility probably derives from other factors besides their protracted
and increasingly strict endogamy.

We can only remark that Onge women rarely become pregnant before 842
28 ; their fertility ceases around the age of 48. The high rate of sterility among 147
Onge women after marriage (which generally takes place at the age of 14) is [582]
puzzling indeed. Of several childless couples that I studied in Little Andaman,
the woman was under 28. There is hope of fertility after that age. It could so
happen, for instance, in the case of two young Onge chiefs, Okkeggi and Chen-
dubai, married to two sisters among the most beautiful and flourishing girls
on the island : Ooaghêghê and Tocooaghêghê, both around 20. They never
became pregnant, although menstruation was normal and they had plenty of [837]
sexual intercourse, even extra-marital.

The delayed appearance of fertility in Andamanese women is probably 147
connected with a general biological condition fostered by unhygienic habits. 515
For instance : young Onge females have a high vagina acidity content that
is certainly harmful to spermatozoa. It decreases with age, facilitating, we may
suppose, fecundation. Vaginal washing would help, but the Onge women never
recur to it. But this is only one side of the question. It is evidently urgent to do 161
whatever is necessary to save the Onge from extinction. We must remember
that civilized nations, through international agreements, are anxious to pro-
tect plant and animal species from disappearance. The same should be done
for man, and equivalent international laws are needed. The Onge as a human
group are on the verge of extinction ; but they still retain enough vitality to
be rescued before they finally vanish into eternity.

Without enlarging here on the disorders of Onge sexual life and their 838
dire effects also on the number of births, I wish to point out one more fact :
Onge homosexuality as a normal occurrence. It is a plague in Little Andaman,
helped by the regular physiological functions of both extremities of the diges-
tive tube. The sexual tendencies that prevail in Little Andaman are a strong
criticism of FREUD's theories on sexual life, but I will not discuss this here.
I would rather say a few words about some opinions regarding the cause of
Onge sterility that I heard expressed in the Andamans. Foreigners there ascribe 842
it to the *naquinêghê* – the grass-like apron worn by women. Colonists believe 833
that this garment leads to copulation from the rear, reducing the chances
of fecundation. This idea is incorrect : the Onge never do this because the
naquinêghê can be easily lifted as required, and pulled up over the abdomen.
It is true that Onge women remove the *naquinêghê* only to replace it with a 291
fresh one ; they wear it even when sleeping. Not for a single instant must women [513]
remain "undressed", for superstitious reasons. When a new *naquinêghê* is needed,
the old one is furtively disposed of. Husband and wife repair secretely to a
remote part of the forest, the woman slipping the new garment over her head
before removing the old one, and burying the latter, which is quickly destroyed
by white ants. The Onge believe that possession by a stranger of a worn [754]

7:Sarkar D-4, 5 (1948) 1960 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

Onge Population and Settlements. — Introduction. — Since the opening of the Andaman sub-station of the Department of Anthropology, Government of India, the Little Andaman Island has been visited several times by anthropological experts but the sum-total of knowledge has been rather meagre. We have not yet been able to know accurately the total Onge population. The recent paper by CIPRIANI [1] (1956), on the other hand, gives a hitherto unknown picture of the biology of the Onge population. The latter appears to show, as will be obvious from the data presented below, a high masculinity while CIPRIANI's method of population census shows high feminine population. 162 114

Earlier Data. — In a discussion of this nature we can leave aside the Onge population *estimated* at the decennial Censuses and take into account those actually seen and counted. In 1911 the number of Onges actually seen comprised : 161 162

adult male	118,	adult female	78
child male	62,	child female	28
	180		106

thus giving a total of 286 individuals. This shows a 10.20 % excess of males in the case of adults and an excess of 18.89 % males in the case of children.

During the Census of 1921, a total number of 99 individuals was counted at the following places :

	Rutland Island	Tochiewe	Toibalawe	Torsadda [2]	Total
Adult male	27	6	6	5	44
Adult female	18	–	5	3	26
Child male	8	1	3	5	17
Child female	8	–	2	2	12
	61	7	16	15	99

Eighty Onges were counted in 1911 on Rutland Island, which number decreased by about 24 % to 61 in 1921. No Onges were reported from the same island during the Census of 1931 and at present there appears to be none, either. The details of the 80 Onges reported in 1911 are unknown.

The Rutland population of 1921, however, shows an excess of 10 % adult males while the child population shows the two sexes in equal numbers. The total population, actually seen in 1921, shows an excess of 12.86 % adult males while it is 8.62 % in the case of children. Compared with the 1911 population it appears that the adult male excess has increased by 2.66 % in 1921 while the child population shows a favourable decrease by 10.37 %.

Recent Data. — On February 25, 1948 during the first trip of the Department of Anthropology [3], 38 individuals were counted before the communal hut of Tambebui, which comprised 17 adult males, 15 adult females and 6 children, 4 males and 2 females. The higher number of males among both the adults and children is apparent in this small sample. The above 38 individuals comprised 4 persons, 2 males and 2 females, from the communal hut of Laito, which had been visited by the above party the day before. The total population of the communal hut of Tambebui is probably 34, which is in striking contrast to the population of 4 souls for the communal hut of Laito.

GUHA also mentions the January, 1949 trip by the Department of Anthropology into Hut Bay, towards the south of the island, where 11 individuals, comprising 2 adult males, 6 adult females and 3 children (sex not mentioned) were seen in the local communal hut. The latter contained 9 sleeping places only.

The 1952 and 1953 parties of the Department of Anthropology were led by LIDIO CIPRIANI. His account is difficult to follow. There are very few relevant data regarding [114]

[1] LIDIO CIPRIANI, Report on a Survey of the Little Andaman during 1951-53. Bull. Dept. Anth. 2. 1956, pp. 61-82. [113]

[2] So spelt in the 1921 Census.

[3] B. S. GUHA, Report of a Survey of the Inhabitants of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands during 1948-49, I. Calcutta 1952, pp. 1-7. [113]

7: Sarkar D-4, 5 (1948) 1960 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

161 the actual Onge population. He has estimated the population instead of giving a simple
162 population figure for each of the Onge settlements he visited. His estimates are based
114 on the number of sleeping places in a hut, though nothing definite could be found either with regard to the total number of communal huts or the sleeping places. Then, to find out the sex of the individuals from the sleeping places seems preposterous. CIPRIANI (1956) estimates the total Onge population to be 607, comprising "229 adult men, 241 adult women and 137 children". He was able to determine the sex of the children in about 80 % of the cases, since immediately after the above quotation, he states: "Of the latter 48 are boys, 62 girls, and of 27 sex could not be ascertained". In the same paper and just two sentences before, where he gave the above figures, he mentioned a total of 497 individuals, comprising 242 men and 255 women. If the latter figures are meant only for adults then with the addition of 137 children to the above adult population of 497, the total Onge population appears to be 634. Even then the discrepancies in the adult population remain to be explained; it adds up to 470 (229 males, 241 females) once and to 497 (242 males, 255 females) another time.

The only thing that has some value in the demography of the Onges is that he has collected personal names of 107 adult males and 105 adult females. It is not known why the children have been excluded. At any rate, the personal names indicate a slightly higher number of males (50.5 %) than females while the total estimate for adults shows a hitherto unknown Onge sex ratio. With an adult population of 229 males and 241 females, the sex ratio works up to 48.7 % males and 51.3 % females.

Population estimates are always hazardous and, from all reports, the Onges appear to be a dwindling population. R. F. LOWIS, the Census Superintendent for the Andamans during 1911 and 1921 was frank enough to admit in 1921 that his 1911 estimate was "too high", though he gave one for 1921.

It is surprising that neither the Andaman Government nor the Department of Anthropology provided CIPRIANI with an assistant, trained among aboriginal people, who could have been of much help to him. At least the Onges could have been counted in each of the localities visited.

36 Settlements. — The typical Onge settlement is the communal hut, which is
[342] usually located on the beach. CIPRIANI mentions the communal huts in the interior of the island, but does not describe their details.

During the 1911 and 1921 Censuses coastal trips round the island were made and the former Census provides a very good map with the names of twenty settlements
[103] scattered on the island. The names are: 1) *Tambeibui* [4], 2) Uede, 3) *Nachuge*, 4) Tochiewe, 5) Tochengedu, 6) Quoname, 7) *Geejege*, 8) *Ingoi-tijala*, 9) *Endea-geleda*, 10) To-to-bwe (unoccupied), 11) *Titingalante*, 12) *Toibalawe*, 13) Tordeada (unoccupied), 14) *Kwante-tu-kuage*, 15) Koreale, 16) Porale, 17) *Chetamale*, 18) *Titaiye*, 19) Ogechai, 20) Obate.

The names of the settlements visited during the 1921 Census are given at the beginning of this paper. It was also mentioned that 14 huts were seen in comparison to 19 (this will probably be 30) in 1911. The names of 15 settlements could be gathered from the Census Report of 1931 and the 10 settlements italicized above can be rather easily correlated with those of 1911.

114 CIPRIANI's map is again difficult to follow. Firstly, he has not given any idea of the
36 medium of language by which he communicated with the Onges. He has located in his map 18 existing coastal huts, of which the name of one between Otirubara and Benyaboi is missing. The position of the "supposed" huts within the jungle is misleading. Was he equipped with surveying instruments? Then he mentions 11 huts which are "no more in existence". How were they recognized? In what earlier context have they been identified as such? Only five of the eleven names (Obate, Palalankwe [or Kwalalanque, according to CIPRIANI], Ogechai, Ingoi-tijala and Chetamale) could be correlated with earlier records. Of the 20 coastal huts listed by him four (Nachuge, Geejege [or Gaje, according to CIPRIANI], Titaje and Tambeibui) could be correlated with the names of the 1921 Census map.

[4] So spelt in the 1911 Census.

7:Sarkar D-4, 5 (1948) 1960 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

and seven with those of the 1911 Census. The total number of twenty existing huts, 114
however, agree in both CIPRIANI's map and the 1911 Census map; only names differ. It 361
would have added greatly to our knowledge had CIPRIANI based his investigations on the 1911 Census map and commented on each of the place names given therein. He also mentions two huts in ruins besides eleven "no more in existence". There is no mention of any newly built hut. All this proves the decadent condition of the Onges. The coastal huts are probably more numerous than those within the jungles and their total number appears to be constant both in 1911 and in 1953.

The Onges have, in recent years, been visited so many times by anthropologists 114
that a well-directed effort could have brought the whole population into a few genealogies — an elementary task in anthropology.

Postscript. — CIPRIANI has now (1959) published[6] the Census figures of the 161
different communal huts. Instead of clarifying the earlier anomalies stated above, his 162
recent population figures have raised further complications, as will be discussed below.

CIPRIANI now (1959) mentions in a footnote on p. 89 of his paper that 125 indi- 114
viduals, comprising 48 adult males, 44 adult females, 22 boys and 11 girls, *have beds in different communal huts*. He gives a total population figure of 394 (130 adult males, 129 adult females, 65 boys and 70 girls) obtained by actual Census from 21 communal huts. To this total figure of 394 he adds another total of 175 individuals (adult males and females 74 each, and 27 children, the latter shown as "males" on p. 90 but as "siblings" on p. 76) estimated for another 7 communal huts. Thus according to a Census of 21 huts and an estimate of 7 others, CIPRIANI now finds a total Onge population of 596, in comparison to his earlier variable figures stated above. There is no attempt to explain the discrepancies in the population figures. It is also unknown why the population of the 7 huts could not be censused, although all of them were visited between March 22 and April 4, 1953.

It is now apparent that his method of Census of the Onges is untenable since about 31.7 % (125 out of 394) of the population have beds in different communal huts. This is in harmony with the roving nature of the Onges, but it shows that only about one third [361] of the population is migratory and about two thirds sedentary. This is probably not true for the Onges. At least, the fixed nature of beds in the communal huts loses its significance and is probably an uncertain criterion for an Onge Census.

As to a recalculation of the Census figures for each of the 21 huts, it is seen that the total population appears to be 382 (129 adult males, 126 adult females, 64 boys and 63 girls) instead of 394 given by CIPRIANI. This definitely shows high masculinity not only among adults but also among the children. With an adult population of 129 males and 126 females the sex ratio works up to 50.6 % males and 49.4 % females, the excess of 1.2 % being statistically significant.

In the present publication CIPRIANI has published personal names of 133 adult [553] males and 140 female adults, but the Onge habit of frequently changing names, mentioned by him on p. 70, has not been substantiated. Since the same issue of the journal contains an anthropometric study of the Onges, in which names of the individuals measured were noted, it would have been worth while testing how far the Onges practise the above custom. As will be obvious from the foregoing as well as from this P. S., CIPRIANI has not started with the known to unravel the unknown.

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[6] L. CIPRIANI, A Survey of Little Andaman during 1954. Bull. Dept. of Anthr. 3. 1959, pp. 66-94. [113]

sedentary existence based on primitive agriculture, and abandonment of a nomad life as gatherers of wild sago and other forest products ... Although agriculture is now important, there is no doubt that the Sulungs are at heart food-gatherers and hunters, who infinitely prefer a nomadic life in the forest to the more sedentary way of life they are now taking to .... There is a good case for assuming the Sulungs to have been entirely sago-gatherers when they first came under outside domination: borne out by their own traditions that they learnt cereal cultivation from the Daflas, by the identity of technique with that tribe, and above all by their being at the present day at a stage transitional between the practice of fixed cultivation and that of food-gathering".

STONOR thought that the Sulung "are probably the only people of Mongolian stock on the Asiatic mainland who still maintain an economy based largely on food-gathering and hunting", and that "they may well be the most primitive of Mongolian tribes surviving anywhere". This is, of course, an error. Apart from the Raji of Kumaon, who are in a transitional stage to a certain extent comparable to that of the Sulung, we know the mongoloid Phi Tong Luang or Yumbri of northern Siam, who are still pure primitive food-gatherers and hunters. It is precisely their wide distribution which gives these small scattered tribes particular importance, since it sheds some light on the racial history of southern Asia and on the early cultural stages of the great mongoloid race.

STONOR estimates the number of Sulung at perhaps six or seven thousand.

CHRISTOPH VON FÜRER-HAIMENDORF, *Culture Types in Assam Himalayas*, Indian Geographical Journal, Vol. XXI, No. 2, 1946.

C. R. STONOR, *The Sulung Tribe of the Assam Himalayas*, Anthropos, Vol. XLVII, 1952, pp. 947—962.

Andaman Islands

The ten tribes of the Great Andaman group are practically extinct as a result of their contact with civilization. At the time of Dr. B. S. GUHA's visit, in 1948, only 31 persons survived. We are fortunate in having two outstanding monographs on these tribes, EDWARD HORACE MAN's *On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands*, first published in the "Journal of the Anthropological Institute" in 1882, and later as a book, and A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN's *The Andaman Islanders*, Cambridge, 1922 (2nd edition 1933). Yet, it should not be forgotten that MAN, although an excellent and conscientious observer, was not a trained anthropologist, and that at the time RADCLIFFE-BROWN was in the Andamans, 1906 to 1908, the native population had shrunk to a fraction of its original size,

114 while its culture was already in the process of disintegration.
[161] Moreover, MAN dealt almost exclusively with the South Andaman
[182] tribes, mainly with the Aka-Bea, while RADCLIFFE-BROWN's researches were centered mainly on some of the northernmost tribes. As a result, not all the tribes were given equal attention. This is regrettable since their religious concepts and myths were by no means uniform. Therefore one cannot say that our information about the ten Great Andaman tribes is as full and up to modern standards as would be desirable. There is, of course, no more hope of ever filling the existing gaps in our knowledge. It is the more necessary that the still relatively intact groups of Andamanese be thoroughly studied before it is too late.

Ongi (Onge)

161 The Ongi of Little Andaman owe their survival to their isolation
[101] and to the fact that they remained hostile until the end of the 1880's
[648] and even thirty years ago were not yet considered as quite reliable. Nevertheless, their numbers are constantly decreasing as the following estimates in the various Census Reports seem to indicate

1901 . . . 672
1911 . . . 631
1921 . . . 346
1931 . . . 250

161 Of course, these figures, being mere estimates, are not reliable,
114 and the last two are too low. As Professor LIDIO CIPRIANI of Florence, who spent many months with the Ongi in 1952, 1953, and 1954, kindly informed us, he came to different results. In his letter, dated May 2nd, 1958, he writes:

" I visited all communal huts with aim of taking a census of the Ongi. Every family has a bed in a communal hut, i. e. a kind of 'ritual' bed on which they marry and under which they are buried when they die. I prepared a list of persons using each bed. This added up to about 500 Ongi, but I saw less than 200 of them. The majority is still very shy and, when approached, ready to disappear into the jungle. The names of the absent persons were given to me by other Ongi. I left this list of personal names with the Department of Anthropology, Indian Museum, Calcutta, but kept a copy".

161 This would seem to indicate that the situation is not quite as bad as appears from the Census Reports. But even so, it is very serious and is constantly deteriorating. The Census Report of 1931
[164] says that "the numbers decrease year by year mainly from infection
[182] such as influenza introduced at times of contact with civilization. Some septs have almost completely disappeared during the last years".

In a recent paper Dr. N. DATTA-MAJUMDER, Director, Department of Anthropology, Government of India, writes: 163

"From a study of 34 Onge families contacted by us, it is found that the average size of the family is only 3.15. Thirteen families out of 34 are childless. That is, 38.2% of the married couples are sterile".

When, in 1946, proposals were made for undertaking work for the amelioration of the conditions of the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands along the same line as had been done among the Bhil and other tribes of Central India, Dr. B. S. GUHA, at that time Director of the Department of Anthropology, very reasonably observed that "the problem of the aborigines of the Andaman Islands is not the same as that of the other primitive tribes of India", and that "the need among them is not so much the spread of education and social uplift as the arrest in the decline in population which has been most alarming". 648 161 177

The Ongi have been in sporadic contact with the outside world for many years. They have been visiting Port Blair, particularly since some of them moved to Rutland Island on the southern tip of Great Andaman. This contact with civilization was bound to affect their material culture, as well as their whole mentality. We may again quote Dr. DATTA-MAJUMDER who says: 177 166

"As a result of this long contact the Onge have already come to appreciate a number of foreign articles, for example, tobacco leaves, tea leaves, sugar, matches, aluminium utensils and implements made of iron (especially bill-hooks and files). In order to secure these articles, they often barter away their valuable honey and shells. The afore-mentioned changes in material culture have at present touched only the fringe of Onge culture. But the demand for these articles (especially tobacco leaves and safety matches) is becoming so great that Onge culture is likely to be vitally affected in the near future". 276

Dr. DATTA-MAJUMDER came to the conclusion that "the hunting and food-gathering Onge culture, which had been an autonomous cultural system in the past, is now breaking down". 22 182

The Ongi were repeatedly visited by government officers, but the resulting information is poor. PORTMAN spent several months among the coastal groups of Little Andaman in 1886 and 1887 and collected a few hundred words of their language. In 1901, C. BODEN KLOSS visited a group of Ongi on Rutland Island and one on Little Andaman, both only for a few hours. At some time between 1906 and 1908, A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN went to Little Andaman for several weeks and made a preliminary study of the Ongi language. In 1928, EGON VON EICKSTEDT spent a few weeks among the Ongi on Rutland Island and visited briefly several groups on the coast of Little Andaman for the sake of physical anthropological research. 114

114 Brief reconnaissance tours among the Ongi were made by Indian anthropologists in 1948 (Dr. B. S. GUHA and assistants), 1949 (Dr. A. K. MITRA and assistants) and 1955 (Dr. N. DATTA-MAJUMDER). Professor LIDIO CIPRIANI is the only scholar who engaged in prolonged research among the Ongi of Little Andaman, and this not only on the coast, but also in the interior of the island. In March, 1952, he crossed the island from the East to the West Coast. He was again among the Ongi from February to May, 1953, and from February to May, 1954. A brief report on his 1952 and 1953 expeditions was published in the Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology, Calcutta. He is planning to publish his results in a book. In 1953 and 1954, he was accompanied by a young Bengali, Mr. PRONAB GANGULI, who collected about 400 Ongi words.

[124] When all of Professor CIPRIANI's results are published we shall, no doubt, be well informed about the Ongi's physical anthropology, their material culture and such aspects of their customs as can be observed without a knowledge of their language and without an adequate interpreter. However, as he himself remarks in the letter mentioned above, "the barrier of language makes it difficult to analyze many Ongi facts". Therefore we cannot expect a deeper insight into the Ongi's social organization, religion, myths and customs.

[161] [192] To sum up: We are confronted here with a group that is in danger of disappearing in the not very distant future. It may survive for several decades in ever diminishing numbers, but its extermination may at any time be accelerated by epidemics. Moreover, its culture is already beginning to undergo substantial changes and may disintegrate very fast. If ever there was a case for urgent research, it is that of the Ongi. When, in the Census Report of 1931, BONINGTON observed with regard to them that here "a vast field of research awaits the anthropologist of the future", the Director General of the Census, J. H. HUTTON, significantly added in a footnote: "Provided, that is, that the Onge survives long enough".

The task is not only urgent, but unusually promising. An ambitious and well trained anthropologist who decides to spend the necessary time among the Ongi of Little Andaman will find an almost virgin field of research and one of the most archaic cultures still extant, a culture which, though already threatened. is at present still essentially intact. He can be sure that his researches, if properly done, will yield results of the first importance which, when published, may rank with EDWARD HORACE MAN's and RADCLIFFE-BROWN's classic works on the great Andaman tribes.

[124] Dr. CIPRIANI's experiences show that a prolonged sojourn on Little Andaman is perfectly feasible. The greatest obstacle to

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B. K. CHATERJEE, *The Onges of Little Andaman*, Vanyajati, Vol. I, No. 4, 1953, pp. 86—93.

B. K. CHATERJEE and G. D. KUMAR, *Hunting and Fishing Appliances of the Onges of Little Andaman and their Affinities with the Negrito Races*, Vanyajati, Vol. II, No. 3, 1954, pp. 79—82.

LIDIO CIPRIANI, *Report on a Survey of Little Andaman during 1951—53*, Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology, Vol. II, No. 1, Calcutta, 1953, pp. 61—82.

N. DATTA-MAJUMDER, *Onge Culture in Transition*, Bulletin of the Institute of Traditional Cultures, Madras, 1957, pp. 7—10.

EGON FREIHERR VON EICKSTEDT, *Die Negritos der Andamanen*, Anthropologischer Anzeiger, Vol. V, No. 3, 1928, pp. 259—268.
Ethnographische Studien unter andamanesischen Negritos, Ethnologischer Anzeiger, Vol. II, No. 2, 1929, pp. (77)—(90).

B. S. GUHA, *Reports of a Survey of the Inhabitants of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands during 1948—49*, Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology, Vol. I, No. 1, Calcutta, 1952, pp. 1—7.

C. BODEN KLOSS. *In the Andamans and Nicobars*, London, 1903, pp. 32—43.

A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN, *Notes on the Languages of the Andaman Islands*, Anthropos, Vol. IX, 1914, pp. 36—52.
The Andaman Islanders, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1933, pp. 413—415, 419—422, 436, 439—440, 461—463, 481—482, 484, 491.

RANDHIR KUMAR DE, *The Onge of Little Andaman*, Vanyajati, Vol. V, No. 1, 1957, pp. 12—17.

Jarawa

101 Although the Jarawa inhabit the jungles of South and Middle
[197] Andaman, they do not belong to the Great Andaman group of tribes,
but are culturally and linguistically related to the Ongi. It is assumed
[174] that they originally came from Little Andaman. The Jarawa owe
their survival to their having remained isolated as a result of their
[648] implacable hostility toward the British (now Indian) colonial settlement. Information on their raids and the punitive expeditions against them will be found in the respective volumes of the Census of India.
[161] In 1931 their number was estimated at either 70 (BONINGTON) or 120 (HUTTON). Their culture conforms to the general Andamanese pattern, but differs in various respects from that of their former neighbours, the extinct Great Andaman tribes. Except for their communal huts and such of their material possessions as were found during punitive expeditions, practically nothing is known about it.
COD Our knowledge of their language is restricted to lists of words col-

8: Heine-Geldern & Hohenwart-Gerlachstein E-4 (no date) 1958
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Our knowledge of their language is restricted to lists of words collected from captive Jarawas by COLEBROOK in 1789—90 and by PORTMAN in the 19th century. 114 648

Research on the Jarawa would by highly desirable, but will be impossible as long as they remain hostile.

Census of India, 1901, Vol. III, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by Sir RICHARD C. TEMPLE, pp. 4, 52—53, 68—90, 117—121. 113

Census of India, 1911, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by R. F. LOWIS, pp. 7, 31—39, 82—83.

Census of India, 1921, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by R. F. LOWIS, pp. 5, 39—43.

Census of India, 1931, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by M. C. C. BONINGTON, pp. 8—9, 15—16, 23.

A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN, *Notes on the Languages of the Andaman Islands*, Anthropos, vol. IX, 1914, pp. 38—39.

The Andaman Islanders, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1933, pp. 86, 410, 413—415, 423, 432—433, 439—440.

North Sentinel Island

North Sentinel is an island of about 30 square miles west of the southern tip of Great Andaman. It has been briefly visited by Government officers on various occasions, but it seems that no contacts were ever made with the natives, except on December 27th, 1886, when the Ongi, who accompanied PORTMAN on his trip, "caught" some of them (Census of India, 1901, p. 92). From PORTMAN's report it does not become clear whether or not he saw these temporary captives himself. Our knowledge of the culture is restricted to a few observations on their material possessions. The communal huts differ from those of the rest of the Andamanese. The canoes differ from those of both Great and Little Andaman, but are more like those of the latter. The bows resemble those of the Jarawa and Ongi. On the basis of this it is assumed that the natives are related to the Jarawa and Ongi, but PORTMAN's Ongi companions are said to have found that the persons whom they had caught talked "an entirely different language". 101 [131] [648] [197]

In 1901 the number of the natives was estimated as 117. This estimate was based on the area of the island and the assumption that the density of the population was approximately the same as that of great Andaman in precolonial times. The figure was not changed in either 1911 or 1921. In 1931 the number was estimated as 50 "on conclusions arrived at from several visits during the last decade and after counting the number of huts found and the sleeping places", but it is said that this does not necessarily mean a decrease in population. "It is believed that the population is stationary, for 161

161 the Sentinel islanders have been kept free from direct contact with civilization".

114 181 [648] In the Census Report of 1931 it is said that the natives "like the Jarawas are entirely hostile", but no reason is given for this statement. Previous visitors found them exceedingly shy, but not hostile. When seeing foreigners, they simply fled into the jungle. M. C. C. BONIG who visited North Sentinel Island on the 10th of March, 1911, in the course of that year's Census operations, wrote:

"The people appear very timid and it seems not unlikely that if they are approached frequently with presents, they will become friendly of their own accord".

114 No information on North Sentinel Island more recent than the 1931 Census Report has come to our knowledge. If the situation has not changed since then, the culture of its natives should be completely intact and untouched by outer influences — a unique case among the primitive tribes of southern Asia. Here, therefore, is a truly ideal opportunity for anthropological research.

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Census of India, 1901, Vol. III, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by Sir RICHARD C. TEMPLE, pp. 4, 92 (PORTMAN'S visit).

Census of India, 1911, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by R. F. LOWIS, pp. 28—29 (BONIG'S Report).

Census of India, 1931, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by M. C. C. BONINGTON, pp. 22—23.

A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN, *The Andaman Islanders*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1933, pp. 412—413, 422—423, 491—492.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P. ix]

INTRODUCTION

A group of north-south running islands as they are, the Andaman Islands have as many as 204 small islands where the impact of civilisation and growth has been little and the human history has been one of stagnation rather than of chequered career. Being a land of aborigines, the foreign intrusion has been quite feeble though mention about these islands is found in the early records of the travellers. Though the knowledge about the islands is derived from the notes which date back to 2nd Century A.D., the contacts with the foreigners have been all the time transient and extremely feeble. Before the formation of the penal settlement, the islands have been known as an island of horror because of the presence of such tribal people who would eat up the man they encounter and as regards the wealth there has been imaginary illusion, sometimes being called as the Island of Gold. The historical record of the islands which can be built with a fair degree of precision is since the formation of the penal settlement. There has been the search for resources as well as their exploitation. However, all the attempts for finding minerals and the geological explorations have shown the possibility of the existence of some poor quality coal, copper etc. Virtually there has been a conspicuous lack of efforts for the development of the islands. The penal settlement which grew up in Port Blair did not have any considerable influence on the overall development of the islands. Nevertheless with the more intimate knowledge about the islands, the forest exploitation had increased and the land around Port Blair was cleared for agriculture. The little amount of agriculture that was started and fostered by the local-borns in and around Port Blair never expanded considerably and it remained confined to a few areas of South Andaman only. The aborigines were very much widespread and in the beginning they had exercised hostility and arrogance which had in course of time given place to a very friendly and amicable terms with some of the tribal groups i.e. the Onges and the Andamanese. The Jarawas, however, still now maintain their hostility and the attempts for bringing them under amicable terms have so long proved futile.

175 135 311 311 101 648

Nothing more deserves a special note in the islands than the aboriginal population. Because of the insular nature of the islands, the aboriginal population is considered to be one of the purest type though the foreign intrusion has brought about an extremely rapid impoverishment and decay only during the last few decades of contact with these aborigines.

161 177 182

10:Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

161 Of the two main groups of aborigines, the Great Andaman Group and
177 the Little Andaman Group, the former being the most widespread and
182 numerous in the Great Andamans has become completely non-existent depicting the example of the decay within an extremely short time, especially since the impact of the foreign people. The fate of the later group is also quite shattering—the Jarawas have experienced both numerical decay and territorial shrinkage and the Onges are the only tribes who live exclusively in the Little Andaman but they have been also facing the signs of decay.

133 A glance at the map of the Andaman islands and adjacent countries shows the continuity of these islands with the Arakan Yoma of Burma in the north and with the Indonesian islands in the south. The islands of both the Andaman and Nicobar groups are primarily of sedimentary formations of the Eccene period with occasional igneous intrusions. Later formations of coral are also quite widespread. The surface topography of the regions is typically flat-topped being typical of the sandstone regions and the peaks are in most cases formed of igneous intrusions. The islands are comprised of a number of longitudinal ranges running from the north to the south and in between the ranges short streams flow. The heights of the hills are generally 1000′ and never exceed 2500′.

132 The islands experience a high annual temperature and the yearly rainfall is as high as 130 inches in Port Blair and the amount decreases as one moves to the north and the east. The ameliorating influence of the sea is quite appreciable.

131 With an area of 2508 square miles and the number of islands being as many as 204, only 4 main islands, North Andaman (490.20 sq miles), Middle Andaman (561.00 sq miles), South Andaman (359.51 sq miles) and Little Andaman (289.90 sq miles) have an area of more than 100 sq miles and the rest are sufficiently small in size either to command human settlement or economic activity.

101 The economy of the tribal people is of the primitive form of hunting and collecting though the precise modes of living vary to some extent depending upon the nature of environment under which they have to live. The knowledge of distribution and of actual number of these aborigines is far from accurate. The Andamanese were the most widespread in all parts of the Great Andamans and in the South Andaman they (Aka bea) had to remain vigilant against the possible attacks and territorial expansion of the Jarawas. The Andamanese, as said earlier, have completely died out. The Jarawas, though have dwindled to a negligible number,

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans
Nicobars AZ.1

The Nicobar group of islands being separated off from the Andaman Islands by the Ten Degree Channel, though constitute a part of the continuation of the island in the north, the geographical entity of these islands are conspicuously different from that of the others. The Nicobar Islands have an area of 635 sq. miles and have 19 islands, out of which 12 islands are inhabited. The human habitats are exceedingly interesting and these people are distinctly different from the aborigines of the Andamans not only in their physical characteristics but also in their cultural attributes. Material life is mush more improved and they have been all the time experiencing a healthy growth in comparison to the rapid decay of the Andaman aborigines. Culturally the affinity seems to be closer with the Indonesian islands. Shom Pens, the highlanders of the Great Nicobar, live in perfect isolation and have an extremely primitive economy. The staple crop is coconut and a number of fruit trees and yam are also grown. Some of the islands have become extremely overcrowded and need immediate dispersal to some of the less crowded islands. A detailed geographical treatment would require much more words to say about these thriving people and their contact with the foreigners than those of the Andamans. However it remains incomplete if the study of the Nicobar Islands is not incorporated in that of the Andaman islands. Therefore, in spite of the distinct geographical contrast with the Andamans, a short geographical summary has been given at the end of the book.[1]

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[1] [not processed. - Analyst]

[p. xvi is blank]

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

174 wreck. However, this idea is totally untenable. On the other hand
101 there are sufficient grounds to believe that these aborigines came down from the lower region of Burma. On their arrival at the islands, they moved to the different parts of the islands and very likely, because of the different types of physical environment they developed different traits and as such a few groups of the population are discernible. They are the

(a) The Jarawas,
(b) " Onges,
(c) " Andamanese, and
(d) " Sentinelese.

101 All these groups, though physically akin to each other, have deve-
131 loped different social and economic traits and the ways of earning their food and constructing their shelters are conditioned by their immediate environment. These aborigines who had spread over the different parts of the Great Andamans are experiencing a gradual shrinkage in their areas of command because of the gradual expansion of the areas of the new settlers. The Jarawas are to-day confined to the western part of the South and Middle Andaman, the Andamanese, who are extremely limited in number are along the coastal areas, the Onges in the Little Andaman and Rutland Is. and the Sentinelese in the Sentinel islands. The relation of aborigines with the foreign people became one of deep distrust and hostility with some of the groups, especially the Jarawas and the Sentinelese, which has been very rightly explained by M. V. Portman as an outcome of the unfriendly attitude of the foreigners. The Onges and the Andamanese have however become very friendly with the foreigners. The number of the aboriginal population of the Andamans, is undoubtedly a matter of considerable speculation and it is more so in the case of the Jarawas and the Sentinelese whereas, for the Onges and the Andamanese the estimate is fairly correct.

161 The aboriginal population of the Andamans is fast declining in number and there is apprehension that inspite of the best of attempts, the chances of the survival of the aborigines for long ages are extremely limited. Undoubtedly, the aboriginal population of the Andamans is an object of interesting study. Such an interest grows out of its being the only purest negrito group in the world and the modes of their life depict very well the nature of symbiotic relationship existing between
[178] man and environment. Such a primitive economy of hunting and collecting has not changed appreciably inspite of the impact with the foreigners except imbibing some foreign vices.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

101 mans. They live in the North Sentinel island and Portman had only made a few observations in the abandoned settlement of these aborigines. In 1886, Portman contacted a few Sentinelese with the help of a few [197] Onges. The affinity of the Sentinelese with the Onges have been detected but the language of the Sentinelese is different from the Onges. However, only later researches can reveal more facts about their lives.

PRESENT DAY DISTRIBUTION OF THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION

101 The islands, though remained essentially a land of the aborigines, have
161 a present day distribution which is very much discrete in nature. The
361 nature of the distribution was very likely much more widespread in different parts of the islands but the great decline in their number coupled with gradual expansion of the area of the later settlers led to a continued recession of the aborigines in the more desolate areas. Thus there has been a great shrinkage in the territory of the aborigines of the South Andaman where no settlements of any importance had developed.

There are only a few Andamanese (23) who are still now surviving in [177] the Middle and North Andamans and they live in the huts built up by the Forest Department.

The exact areas of inhabitation of the Jarawas are anybody's guess. Though the Jarawas have suffered a considerable decline in their number, no evidences of their distribution beyond the South Andaman are in view. Living under the cold patronage and hostility of the neighbours, the *Aka-beas*, a sub-group of the Andamanese, the Jarawas were always subjected to all their efforts of territorial expansion. Though their exact areas of distribution have not been traced so far, it is probable that they live in the dense forests of the South Andaman, especially in the least disturbed and unhaunted forest areas of the west. However, their biggest concentration is believed to be between Port Constance, Port Meadows and Shaol Bay.

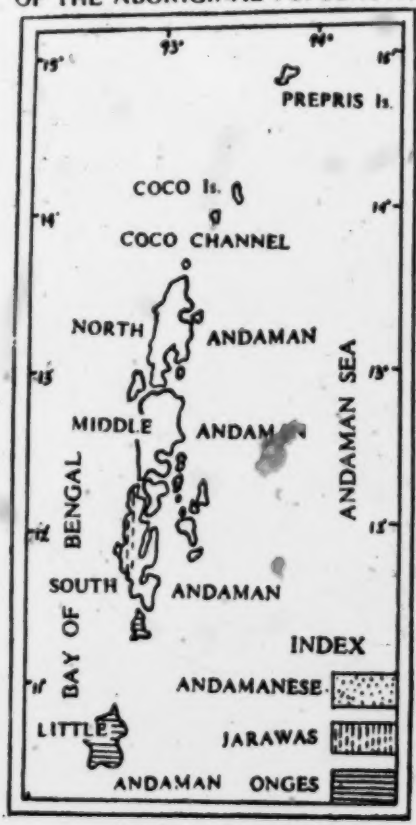
The Sentinelese inhabit the North Sentinel Island and only further exploration in the island can furnish an idea about their exact spots of distribution.

The most predominant in number are the Onges who inhabit the [484] island of Little Andaman. However they make occasional voyages to the Rutland and Cinque Island where some of them live. The areas of distribution of the Onges in Little Andaman are mainly in the coastal areas of the northeast, south and west and also in the interior.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

This speaks very well how in some isolated spots of the islands a remnant of the widespread negrito of the past stand on the verge of imminent decay.

AREAS OF DISTRIBUTION
OF THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION



SCALE 1 TO 70 MILES

DEMOGRAPHIC SET UP

A group of aborigines with their pristine culture in these isolated islands are sharing the same fate with many other aboriginal population of the world, of a considerable decline and impoverishment. It is be-

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

yond doubt that the impact of the people having better material culture on the aboriginal population has resulted in an acceleration of their decay. The aborigines of the Great Andaman Group are the first people in the islands to come in contact with the later settlers and the early incorporation of many of the vices of these new comers have resulted in the furtherance of their decay. Such devastating effects are also observed in the case of many other aboriginal groups. The Red Indians of U.S.A. and the native population of Malanesia are only a few among the many others who are such victims of decline, more so immediately after the impact of the later settlers.

Whatever inadequate data are available about the number of aborigines and the other demographic characteristics, they show the nature of imbalance which stands in the way of their successful growth.

Table No. 1*

The aboriginal population.

Tribe	1858	1885	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951
	100		39	36	17	7		
Karo	500		96	71	48	24		
Tabo	200		48	62	18	6		
Yeve	700		218	180	101	46		
Kede	500		59	34	6	2		
Juwai	300	2000	48	9	5	0		23
Koj	100		11	2	0	0		
Bojigyab	300		50	36	9	1		
Bea	500		37	19	1	0		
Belawa	300		19	15	4	2		
			625	464	209	88		23
Onge	700	1250	672	631	346	350		600
Jarawa	600		585	231	231	170		350
	4800	3250	1882	1326	786	608		973

In spite of the fact that the data of the aboriginal population, as given in the Table No. 1, is far from accurate, a very good idea of the nature of decline of the aboriginal population can be assessed. As is evident from the Table, the population of 4800 in 1858 has reduced to 608 in 1931 in less than 75 years.

* The figures are not at all accurate.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

in the sample of 61 adult females, 22 women were nonfecund. As such the obvious female preponderance in the total sample is not of much value and the total picture of Onge population is rather that of decline only.' Such a decline of the fertility of the Andamanese women has already been pointed out. 163

Of all the aboriginal population, the Onges are to-day the most widespread and have undoubtedly a very balanced sex-ratio. As regards the fertility, there is a gradual unproductiveness amongst all the aboriginal population. The Andamanese who are on the last legs of the decay have the youngest child of more than 10 years. Nothing definite can be said about the Jarawas and the Sentinelese but they are also on the verge of their decay. 16

PROBLEMS OF THE ABORIGINES

Assessment of the socio-economic and cultural problems is always subjective and a true assessment is only possible through the first-hand intimate acquaintance of the aborigines. The aboriginal population of the world to-day present a very gloomy picture of stagnation or decay and the aboriginal population of the Andamans are undoubtedly sharing this dismal fate of decay. 161 177

Only after the impact of the people having better material attainments the problems of the aborigines have been aggravated that paved the path of total ruination of their socio-economic traits and also initiated their gradual numerical decay. Such evidences of decay only in the last few centuries are within view in the case of the American Indians which formerly having 268 groups have dwindled to only 67 groups now surviving when the rest have been wiped out. The case of the aboriginal population of Australia, Tasmania, Malanesian Islands and the others of southeast Asia present such a gloomy picture. The causes of such a decline have been attributed to the incorporation of vices and such social poisons as alcohol and opium, attack of venereal diseases, quick adoption of foreign customs and modes of life which have been proved incongenial in their own environmental context and also to the gradual 'loss of interest in life.' This loss of interest in life, according to Rivers[1] takes away from the people the desire to live and to shoulder the burden of life, with the result that mortality incidence goes high and the more obvious causes of mortality like new diseases, the social poisons etc, tend to have greater potency for

1 Rivers, W. H. R—Essays on the depopulation of Malanesia (Ed). 1922.

10:Sen K-3,4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

161 evil and are allowed to work such ravages upon life and health of people
177 whose resistance level has already gone quite low.[2] Such a loss of interest in life is common to many of the aboriginal population. The aboriginal population of the Andamans have also been victimised to it and only in one century the aborigines of the Great Andaman Group have almost been wiped out and the Jarawas, in spite of their isolation, have been undergoing considerable decay. The Onges are also suffering, from stagnation and decay. There has been the addiction to some of the social poisons e.g. tobacco, alcohol, etc.

The causes of decay of the aboriginal population of the Andamans may be summed up as being the followings:

1. Diseases;

2. Murder of the aborigines by the later settlers, especially the bombardment of the Japanese in the Jarawa infested areas have resulted in a virtual decline of the tribe;

3. Little productive capacity of the aboriginal women.

The sex-ratio in the case of the Onges is quite balanced and therefore, the sex-ratio is not a factor for the decline of the aboriginal population but very little productive capacity of the aboriginal population is undoubtedly a major factor of their decline and it has already been discussed.

178 As regards the material life, however satisfied the aboriginal population may be with their poor lot, it is in most primitive form and the only materials that they have in possession are for earning their livelihood. Cultural aspect is also desiccated with a dearth of richness. No evolution has, however, been observed for deriving much more material comforts and the aborigines with their hard struggle for life hardly find any time to develop their thinking which can lead to a betterment of their cultural and material life.

THE FUTURE

185 These aboriginal population have so far shown little urge for improving their own lot and in the absence of such attempts, the chances of their betterment as well as survival is a far cry. The only means of improving their lot seems to be possible through the efforts of the Government. The attempts for bringing the aborigines in a short period within the folds of an advanced economy and society have proved futile and contrary to it, the attempts of segregating the aboriginal population, as done in the

2 Nigam, R. C.—Little known tribes of the Andaman Islands—Their problems & prospects; Vol. VIII, April, 1960. No. 2.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

CHAPTER FOUR

A Journey into Prehistory

842 The complete lack of hygiene of the Onges does not explain their disturbing lack of fertility. Nor can filth, smoking or loose living fully explain the sterility of the surviving Arioto.

There must be some other cause, and this in all probability is merely biological. One might call it the senescence of a race brought about by their total isolation for thousands of years, exacerbated by being broken into small endogamous units, all mutually hostile. This is not the opinion of all (the few) who have studied the Andamanese, and the problem remains to be investigated further.

262 184 842 In the Onges at least it cannot be a question of malnutrition, as I had ample opportunity of seeing during my visits to the island. Food is abundant, both the land and the sea offer an inexhaustible supply, even to the point of sustaining life, alone, if necessary, to all the Andamanese. The Jarawas are the exception. Forced away from the sea into the forests, they are dependent on one source of food, and it is therefore possible to make some attempt to calculate the maximum number of people which could be supported by their territory. In the case of the Onges, however, living amid luxuriant vegetation, with a rich source of sea food nearby, a given area can support a far higher population, and the same is true of the Jarawas cut off on North Sentinel.

The food of the Jarawas consists mainly of pork, with fresh-water fish (including some excellent carp) river molluscs and crustacea in large quantities, roots, tubers, wild fruits and honey. The Arioto, staying as they did in the coastal areas of Great Andaman, must have lived mainly off the sea.

175 161 842 828 262 The small population reported in the Andamans by visitors to the islands in the middle of the last century cannot therefore be

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

attributed to scarcity of food, nor can nutrition have had any effect on the demographic decadence. Strict endogamy over thousands of years, and fragmentation into smaller and smaller groups is perhaps a more likely explanation of the situation. The last stage has now been reached; the Arioto, for instance, who numbered six hundred and twenty-five in the 1901 census, had dwindled to twenty-three in 1955. In that year there were only two young children, a boy and a girl (of different parents) and the girl, about five years old, clearly had a Burmese father. The boy, however, named Sirake and then aged about eleven, intelligent and alert, with the very blue-black skin of the Andamanese and typical hair, may well be of pure stock. He is the only hope of continuing the ancient Arioto line, but this will be impossible unless a girl of pure stock is born shortly.

This seems unlikely. With the exception of these two couples, the Arioto appear to be sterile. I have myself seen their sorrow at being deprived of children, and one of them, named Moro, of fairly pure stock, told me of his grief. He took me to his wife, also of pure Andamanese origin, and externally as normal and healthy as her husband, but deserted by the spirits of fertility. Through no fault of their own, the cause probably lies in both of them.

In all the Andamanese, fertility seems always to have increased from the age of twenty-eight and to end by the age of forty-eight – in many cases thirty-eight, although since none of them know their age, owing to the absence of any form of counting, their deceptively youthful appearance makes assessment of age extremely difficult. I met only one woman who, as far as I could estimate, had borne seven children, and of these only three were still alive in 1954; the widespread custom by which children are transferred from one family to another, even during the period of lactation, to 'share' the enjoyment of them, made all the usual means of assessing the number of births virtually impossible. In a number of childless couples whom I saw on Little Andaman, the women are under twenty-eight and there is still hope of fertility, even if it is late. This could happen in the case of the wives of the two leaders Cocheggi and Cendubài; these two men married two sisters, among the healthiest and most beautiful women on the island, Vaghèghe and Tocuaghèghe, both under twenty-two. Neither of them has ever been pregnant, although both are apparently normal and

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

842 163 enjoy the active marital relationships necessary, according to their husbands, to encourage the entry of the benevolent spirits which bring motherhood. The late onset of fertility in all Andamanese 842 163 165 women and perhaps in men as well[1] probably depends on mechanisms which have been operating for a very long time, affecting the sex ratio at birth, and preferential infant mortality in one sex. [123] [124] By a combination of observation and deduction I was able to be reasonably certain that among the Onges at least more males are born than females. The disparity is reduced, though not eliminated, by a higher mortality rate in young males. Males thus remain in excess, making it difficult for some, possibly fertile, to find wives.

849 143 161 There are certain peoples – notably the Pitcairn Islanders – who have arisen by repeated inbreeding for hundreds of years from a very few individuals. It is clear from this example that genetic isolation and inbreeding cannot of themselves cause numerical, physical or mental decline of a population. The problem merits further investigation. Civilization has perhaps accused herself unjustly of causing the decline of primitive races, whereas she has in fact only hastened the disappearance of groups already heading for demographic decadence as the result of physiological factors which lie within the group itself, and which are consequently difficult to counteract. The intrinsic damage done by civilization as such has, in my opinion, been considerably exaggerated in some quarters.

855 597 Possibly because of the low birth rate the maternal instinct is very highly developed in the women of the Andamans, even to the point of 'adopting' children temporarily. These children are always given lavish affection, and are kept sometimes for years, or even permanently if the parents do not ask for them back. Given the language barrier, this custom makes census-taking difficult as childless couples happily declare adopted children as their own. Nabimbòi, with no children of her own, always had children with her, and it was only the fact that they differed from year to year that led me to suspect what was happening! One wonders whether the custom was not already common before outsiders first came to the Andamans, owing to the existence of a high incidence of sterility long before the arrival of civilization.

[1] There is some evidence of infertility in the men, but it is clear that this is of relatively minor importance.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
[Tinnevelly] Tamil AW17
Andamans AZ2

T 369

the river and indeed so practically contiguous that the towns are virtually one.

T 312 377 241

The real interest of the Tamprabarni, its irrigation apart, lies in the future. The Tamprabarni is probably unique among Indian rivers in that it was harnessed to provide direct hydraulic power for cotton spinning: the first of two turbine-driven mills was set up in 1885. At Papanasam there is a 300-ft fall which is being developed to produce 21,000 kW (ultimate capacity 28,000). The actual engineering work is completed, and full development is limited only by doubts as to the need of conserving water for irrigation; but the possibilities of cheap electricity in this area are manifold: foremost perhaps an increase of well-irrigation in the half-dead edaphically arid tracts, and industrially the revivification of the palmyra sugar industry, the extension of cotton in all its branches. Oilseeds could certainly be more widely cultivated in the red soil area, possibly leading to soap and allied industries, and the hills contain vast reserves of bamboo for paper-making.

The Andaman and Nicobar Islands

A 133

These two groups, directly under Delhi, continue the trend of the Arakan Yomas, linking them to the Sumatran ranges. They differ between themselves to a marked extent; both physically and culturally.

1. *The Andamans*

These number over 200, extending NNE/SSW for some 220 miles between 10° and 14° N; the total area is 2500 sq mls, of which the great bulk is in the three major islands of North, Middle, and South Andaman. These three, indeed, are separated only by narrow mangrove-fringed inlets, so that they are often referred to as virtually one island, Great Andaman. The islands are formed of sandstones, limestones, clays, and some serpentines, probably mainly Tertiary, and are highly dissected, rising to 2400 ft. With a temperature never far from 85° F, rainfall over 100 ins., and a monsoonal distribution with no really rainless season, they are naturally jungle-covered: mangrove along coasts and inlets, tropical evergreen along valleys and on steeper wetter slopes, elsewhere moist deciduous. Forestry is perhaps the most important economic activity and is fairly well organised; a match factory was set up about 1930.

A [132] A 313 381 A 161 563

The total population in 1941 was 21,316, but this included a strange medley: aboriginals, convicts and ex-convicts with their 'local-born' children, officials. A century ago the aboriginals probably numbered about 5000; in 1931 they were estimated at about 460, in 1941 at 62; many tribes have died right out. At once shy and savage, they had a reputation for ferocity, and early settlement was avowedly to protect shipwrecked

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AWI India
Andamans A22

mariners from massacre. Despite efforts at conciliation there was violence on both sides; attempts were made indeed to settle some of the more friendly groups in an 'Andamans Home' as fishers of trepang (sea-slug) and collectors of edible bird-nests, both for the Chinese market. But the only result was to civilise them out of existence, largely by venereal disease.[52] The Andamanese are—perhaps one should say were—Negritos, and as they represented perhaps the nearest approach to a 'pure primitive' society, both ethnically and culturally, these hunters and gatherers have attracted anthropological attention out of proportion to their numbers.[53]

Transportation of convicts to the Andamans began after the Mutiny. Latterly there was a change of emphasis, hopeless criminals being re-transported to India and the settlement becoming in effect an open prison for young men condemned to life sentences for more or less excusable homicide. After a few months in jail convicts were allowed to become wage-earning employees of Government, to wear ordinary dress, and to marry or bring out their wives. These changes were reflected in the sex composition of the population: 15,158 males to 2980 females in 1901, 14,872 to 6444 in 1941. The cultural landscape also changed: "Everywhere the ephemeral huts of former times are giving way to well-constructed two-storeyed houses of sawn timber and iron roofs," and a good deal of reclamation of malarial swamp took place around Port Blair. The communal composition of the population was an odd reflection of social conditions: in 1941 Muslims were about a third, largely Moplahs from Madras deported after their 1921 rebellion; Sikhs were 3·5% against an All-India total of 1·5%, Buddhists—i.e. Burmese—over 13%. This corresponds to the prevalence of dacoity in Burma and to the Sikh *penchant* for "liquor, love, and fights".

Practically all the economic development is in the Settlement of Port Blair, an area of about 500 sq mls in the S of South Andaman; here is 90% of the population, the remainder being in forest camps. About 75,000 ac. are more or less cleared, of which about 10–15,000 are cultivated and as much grazing land. Paddy and coconuts each account for about a third of the cultivation, and there are (or were) struggling plantations of rubber and coffee, negligible in area.

The war and the Japanese occupation saw a fall in population to about 16,000, and on re-occupation the penal settlement was formally abolished. From time to time schemes of Anglo-Indian agricultural settlement have been mooted, and in March 1948 a batch of 132 families displaced from E Bengal arrived. It may be noted that some Burmese politicians periodi-

[52] 1931 Census Vol. II (Andamans and Nicobars), 11–23.

[53] The classic treatments are those of Sir Richard Temple in the 1901 Census and of A. R. Brown in *The Andaman Islanders* (1922). There is unfortunately little geography in the latter book; what there is is largely summed up in L. Garrard's 'sociograph' in *Studies in Regional Consciousness and Environment* (ed. I. C. Peate, 1930), 82.

3: Temple G-5 (1901) 1903 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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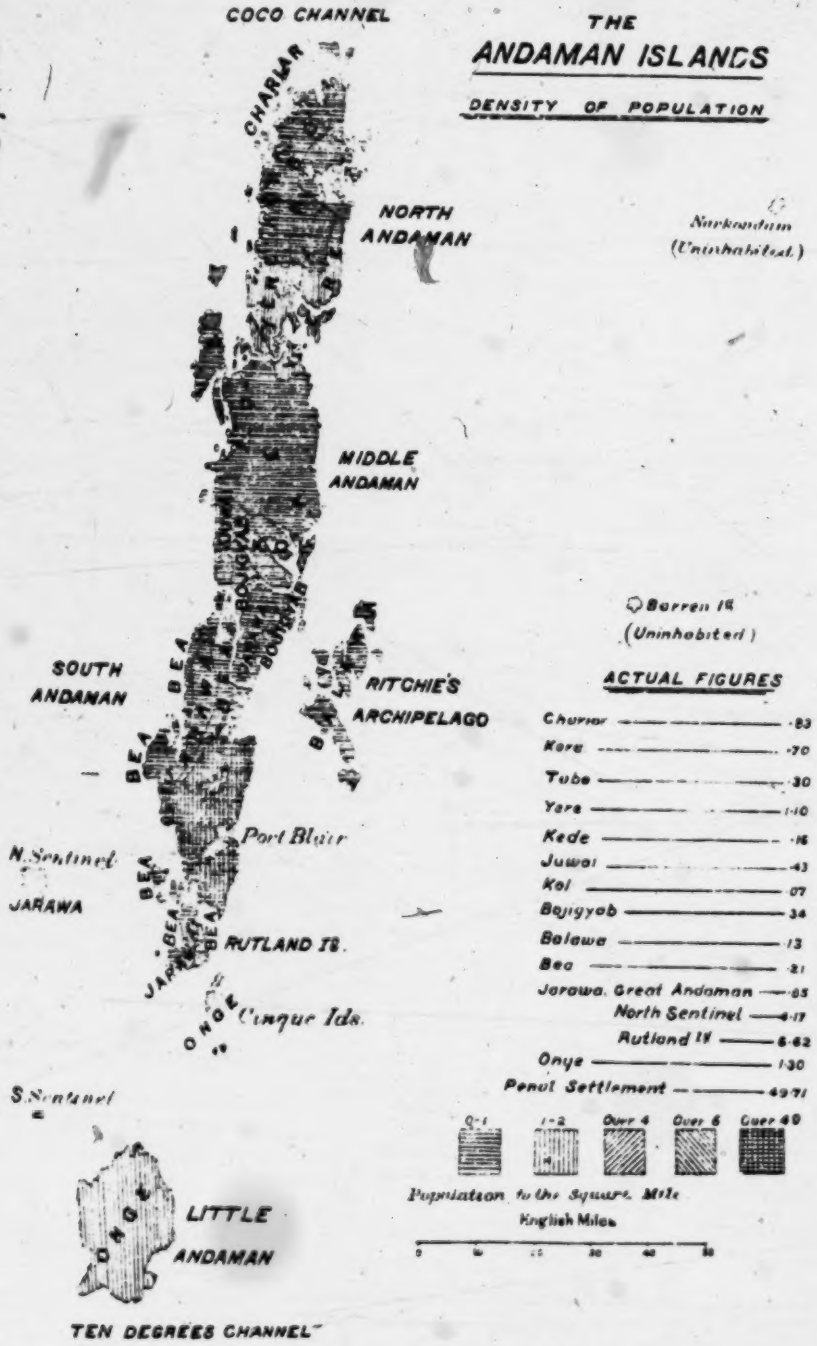

[facing p. 6]

ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

FIGURES FOR THE ABORIGINES CENSUS, 1901.

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Name of Tribe.	Adults.		Children.		Total.	Occupied area in square miles.	Density per square mile.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.			
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	
Châriâr . . .	16	15	6	2	39	47	·83
Kôrâ . . .	31	32	14	19	96	137	·70
Tâbô . . .	15	16	7	10	48	158	·30
Yêre . . .	98	80	26	14	218	198	1·10
Kede . . .	24	30	3	2	59	371	·16
Jûwai . . .	21	19	7	1	48	110	·43
Kôl . . .	6	2	3	...	11	161	·07
Bojigyâb . . .	31	14	2	3	50	148	·34
Balawa . . .	5	10	3	1	19	141	·13
Bêa . . .	14	16	3	4	37	117	·21*
Jarawa . . .	280	210	55	40	585	220	2·66
Ônge . . .	303	273	63	33	672	373	1·30
TOTAL .	844	717	192	129	1,882	2,181*	·86

* Excluding occupied area of the Settlement 327 square miles.

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In the above table the Jarawas should be divided between the Great Andaman, North Sentinel and Rutland Island. Thus divided, the special table for them is as under :—

JARAWAS.

	Occupied area in square miles.	Population.	Density per square mile.
In Great Andaman	139	117	0·85
In North Sentinel	28	117	4·17
In Rutland Island	53	351	6·62

The density figure thus arrived at is, I think, about right for the Great Andaman and I am not prepared to say that it is far wrong for the North Sentinel, but it is probably a good deal too high for Rutland Island, *i.e.*, it would appear from this argument that the whole population of the Jarawas have been placed at too high a figure.

It will be noted that the above figures give a density of population among the aborigines of less than one per square mile, *not* an unlikely fact. Commenting generally on these returns I should say that the figures for the Kede, Juwai, Kol, Bojigyab, Balawa and Bea tribes are right; so much is known about them that statements of the people as to themselves are not difficult to check. But I think it likely that the Chariar children are understated. I am not prepared to be positive as to this, however, as this Tribe, too, is well known and understood. The Yere children are probably much understated, though from what is known of this Tribe it is likely that the adults are greatly in excess of the children.

I was present when in 1900 the Kora were discovered, or to speak more accurately differentiated. They had been previously well known, themselves and their encampments, but had been considered to belong to the Chariar. The discovery as to the true facts—that they were a separate Tribe with a territory and language of their own—so late as 1900 is an example of the difficulty in procuring accurate information from such primitive savages as the Andamanese. It mattered nothing to them that Kora men and women had been to the Home at Port Blair and had been classed as Chariar. All they thought of the matter was that the sahibs held them to be Chariar, but that they and all the Andamanese knew better! In this case I think it likely that a similar error has been made as regards the children as in the case of the Yere Tribe.

In regard to the Tabo of the interior of the North Andaman, whose existence was unsuspected by us until the Census, the figures given must be taken with some caution, despite the native explanation of the cause of the destruction of

162 619 the Tribe, that they killed each other off in consequence of the introduction of contagious disease amongst them by the Chariar or Kora Tribes. It is somewhat difficult to believe that even a savage Tribe would actually kill off the sick to such an extent as to reduce themselves to half a dozen families or hunting camps. Even then the children would not be affected by the process and should in such case be much more numerous than the adults, but they are recorded as being in a minority of nearly 55 %. It is probable that both the figures for the adults and the children are in this case understated.

Criticisms on the figures for Ônges and Jarawas have already been made.

Taken all round, however, the totals for the whole of the Andamans are not likely on the above grounds to be very far wrong and to my mind an estimate of 2,000 is about correct for the existing population of this primeval and most interesting race. At the next Census it will possibly be practicable to arrive at more accurate figures in the light of the present experience by carefully considering how the defects noticed on this occasion can be remedied.

161 162 619 **Former Population.**—It has been well known for years past that the Andamanese population was even a generation ago far more numerous than it is now and proceeding on the general principles followed in the remarks above made, it seems to me that a fairly accurate estimate of the old normal population can be arrived at. The principles governing the estimate would be—

(1) the population has always been stationary,
(2) the population has been limited by habits as to food production and by the area of productive occupation,
(3) the relative size of the Tribes as gauged by their present strength combined with exposure to devastating contagious or infectious diseases,
(4) the capacity of each Tribe to hold its own with neighbouring Tribes.

On these grounds I estimate the combined Ônge-Jarawa Tribe as having been always of its present estimated strength and the other Tribes as under, keeping to the further principle that the adults and children have always been about equal and that the sexes also have been about equal: preponderance in favour of women over men and of male over female children.

ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

ESTIMATES OF THE OLD NORMAL POPULATION.

Name of Tribe.	Adults.		Children.		Total.	Occupied area in square miles.	Density per square mile.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.			
Chârîâr .	20	25	30	25	100	47	2·13
Kôrâ . .	105	120	140	135	500	137	3·65
Tâbô . . .	40	50	60	50	200	158	1·27
Yêre . . .	150	165	200	185	700	198	3·50
Kede . .	105	120	140	135	500	371	1·35
Jûwai .	60	75	90	75	300	110	2·73
Kôl . .	20	25	30	25	100	161	0·62
Bojigyêb . .	60	75	90	75	300	148	2·03
Balawa . .	60	75	90	75	300	141	2·12
Bêa . . .	105	120	140	135	500	444 *	1·13
Jarawa . .	130	140	170	160	600	220 †	2·73
Ônge . .	150	165	200	185	700	373	1·88
	1,005	1,155	1,380	1,260	4,800	2,508	1·91

Males—2,385 Females—2,415 = Total 4,800.
Adults—2,160 Children—2,640 = Total 4,800.

* Including 327 square miles now occupied by the Penal Settlement.

† The Jarawa density being divided up as per foot-note to paragraph three:—

(96) Great Andaman.
(17) South Sentinel.
(80) Rutland.

3: Temple G-5 (1901) 1903 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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[facing p. 8]

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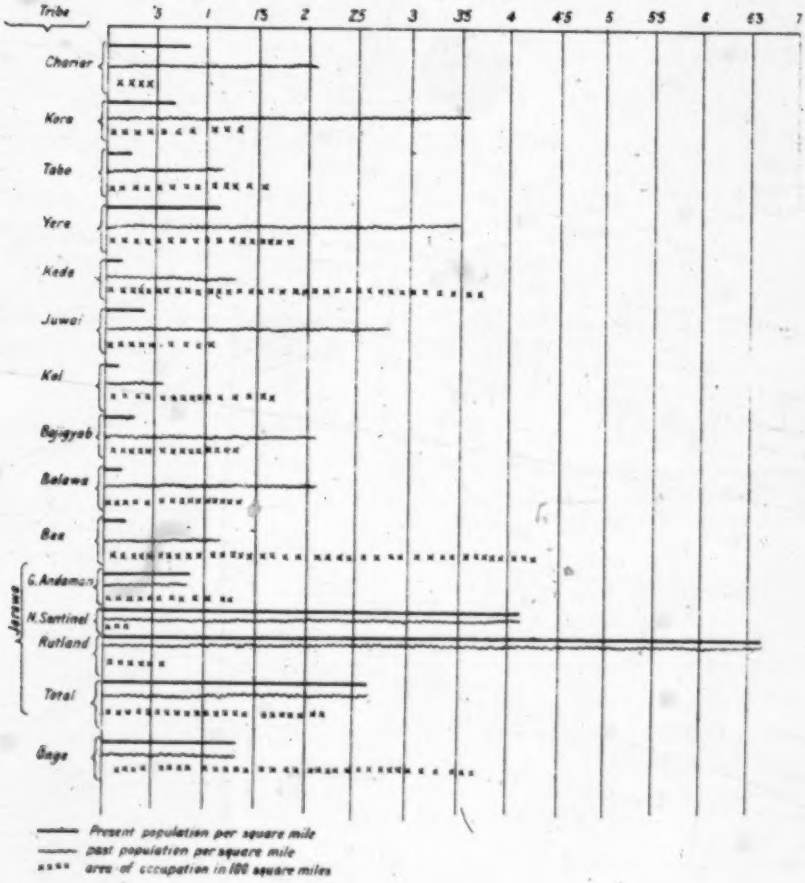
I feel pretty sure that the indigenous population of the Andaman Islands was at no time higher than 5,000 and that it was for many centuries stationary. The density figures also work out to about two to the square mile and that, too, I think a reasonable figure to adopt for the old indigenous population before contact with Europeans.

Diagram of Past and Present Density.—Proceeding to put the conjectures arrived at above to the further test of a diagram illustrating the present and past assumed density of the Andamanese Tribes compared with the area actually occupied by each Tribe, the following facts are arrived at.

DIAGRAM ILLUSTRATING PRESENT AND PAST ASSUMED DENSITY OF THE POPULATION OF THE ANDAMANESE TRIBES WITH AREA OCCUPIED BY EACH.



161 From this diagram it becomes pretty evident that the Jarawa population for Rutland Island has been assumed at too high a figure, both for the past and present time. At the same time I think that it is equally probable that the
• 162 population of the Onges has been underestimated. Taking all the calculations and known facts into consideration, my own opinion is that the assumptions for
619 the Andaman population as a whole, both for the past and the present are probably near the truth, but that we should decrease the Jarawa estimate for Rutland Island (and to that extent the whole Jarawa population) by 100, and increase the Onge estimate by 100.

Method of arriving at Former Density.—Portman, *History of our relations with the Andamanese*, Volume I, page 16, gives the following reasons for holding the Andamanese population to have been formerly stationary:—

"When we consider that some Andamanese have no children, very few have more than three, the majority of the children die in infancy, and the grown-up Andamanese revenges the slightest injury to his person or property or even a fancied insult by a murder and also that the Tribes were continually at feud with each other, I think we may say the above estimated population (his estimate is 8,000) to be the average for many centuries past."

This is an overstatement, as in the first place it is necessary in a stationary population for each couple to produce on an average two children, who grow up and produce again in their turn, and in the next place, though an Andamanese will murder on, to us, extremely slight provocation, he is not a murderous variety of mankind and in tribal "wars" the bloodshed at each collision is very small indeed. In the next place, as Portman himself observes, the average number of children to a married woman was three, while instances of seven and eight children of one mother have been recorded. The statement is however an interesting one, as an observation on these primitive savages and their ways and as indicating the causes for the population being kept stationary.

161 **The Kitchen-Middens.**—Portman also points out (*op. cit.*, p. 17) that an estimate of the old population can be arrived at from locating and enumerating the existing kitchen-middens of the Andamanese, on the assumptions that each
172 midden represents the head-quarters of a Sept of 30 people and that apparently each Sept, owing to the habits of the people, would require four to five such head-quarters. A population of 5,000 would therefore require, say, 600 middens, *i.e.*, there should be a midden to every four square miles of territory.

The value of the kitchen-midden argument comes out thus:—(1) The size, 50 feet diameter usually, does not permit more than 30 people to live on it; (2) change of head-quarters is frequently necessary owing to (*a*) monsoons, (*b*) exhaustion of food in the neighbourhood, (*c*) nomadic instincts, (*d*) stench from discarded food thrown around. As a matter of practice the Andamanese do not return for three months after they have left a midden, nor for about a year after a death in one, and occasionally they abandon a midden for many years, and cannot occupy one for more than a few weeks at a time from the stench about it. These considerations fix four as the smallest number of middens per 30 people.

The middens also beyond all doubt prove that the Andamanese are now as they were an exceedingly long time ago. There are but few "newer" middens, and the older ones show great age: newness and age being gauged by height. The antiquity of the old middens is proved by the fossil shells at the base. Now, except that certain shell-fish have been fashionable at one period and certain others at another, the kitchen-middens show that the Andamanese finds his food to-day as he did in the days when the now fossilised shells contained food for him. At the base of the middens are found the same refuse and the same pottery as we find shown on the surface to-day.

Here then we have a people unaltered in habits from primeval time and whose numbers, if these premises be correct, we should be able to estimate from existing data, as they must have been stationary through all time.

The questions on this argument really are therefore:—(1) how many middens are there? (2) where are they? To these questions it is worth while obtaining answers at the next Census or even as opportunity occurs, as the answers will either upset the theory or afford an approximate estimate of the old Andamanese population and of the strength of each tribe.

crew of the ship called him 'Raja' and we adopted this name (*see* Plate IV, Figs. 1 & 2). He was the only one among the Onges who was fully armed with knives, bows and arrows. Among the contents of the canoes, we found complete fishing out-fits, bows and arrows, ropes and nautilous shells, for bailing out water. There was also a kind of bamboo float about 1½ ft. long, probably used for turtle fishing. We gave them food, cigarettes and other presents. After they became quite familiar with us and friendly, they were subjected to full anthropometric measurements by me. Their blood was also tapped by Mr Sarkar for typing. The presents given were iron nails, strips of red cloth, tea and tobacco leaves. Among all these objects what they liked most were the tobacco leaves. Cooked rice, dal (cooked lentils) and fish curry served to them from the launch Mess were however not much appreciated. With the few Hindi words that they were able to understand, we told them that we would like to visit their camp next morning and meet other members of the party. After the canoes had left, we anchored at this point for the night and after taking an early breakfast we left for the shore in two batches. We were informed by the crew that the creek near the Onge camp was called the *Dugong Creek*. We had to wade through brakish water and coast fringing with coral beds for about two miles, before we reached the Onge settlement. There was one large circular communal hut characteristic of the Onges and several lean-to's (*see* Plate I, Fig. 2). We noticed three canoes on the beach apparently those with which they came to meet us on the previous day. We saw also several small dogs and the entrails of a pig strewn round. We met all the 12 Onges we saw the day before, along with Ukla and his family. In addition there were a number of women and children. We took out our presents of dried tobacco leaves, iron nails and two large fishes that we had caught on our way from Port Blair. These were distributed to the Onges. There were altogether 17 men, 15 women, 4 boys and 3 girls. The children were between 1½ to 4 years. The entire party of Onges behaved towards us in a friendly manner and subjected to our measurements and tapping of blood from their fingers without any protest. We went inside their hut and inspected the settlement very thoroughly. A large number of photographs were taken. We found that the name of this village was *Tambebui*. As it became rather late, we decided to return to 'Molly' in the Andamanese canoes, rather than walk through the coral beds for 2 miles. The Onges understood our signs and glad'y escorted us back to the launch. We found there were several other Onges waiting for us in the launch who came from the neighbouring village *Gabilong*. All of these Onges appear to be under the influence of the man nick-named as 'Raja' (*see* Plate IV, Figs. 1-2).

We could not proceed towards Hut Bay as the launch had to return for duty at Port Blair, where we reached at about mid-night.

After reaching Port Blair, I discussed the matter of transport with the Chief Commissioner, Mr Majid. A thorough coastal survey of Little Andaman would take at least 15 to 20 days. As it was found impossible to get either from the Forest Department or from the Harbour Master any of their launches

There were no Andamanese There,
but 400 people consisting of 133 males and 130 females who migrated from Bassein in 1924. They were Karen Christians who had settled there. After returning to Long Island on the 12th, Mr Sarkar and party left in the motor boat "Return" for a short cruise along the Jarawa country. Besides Mr Joseph, there were Mr Pooviah and a few of his Burman Bush Police armed with rifles and guns. The party passed through the Homfray's Strait and anchored at the north eastern corner of the Spike Island. Loka and his party of three Andamanese accompanied them in their two canoes. They came to the shore in one of the Andamanese canoes and after entering the forest they found bundles of bamboos piled up at one corner. This was identified as a Jarawa raft. There were also three paddles made out of a palm tree. These specimens were procured for the Department. After proceeding some distance in the jungle, 19 small fire places were counted in scattered manner. A temporary hut was also noticed at a short distance. A number of objects usually used by the Andamanese tribes for household purposes was found including a sling for carrying babies. A beautiful specimen of a Jarawa Bow painted in red in geometrical designs was also found. Photographs were taken of the settlements of the Jarawa camp and objects collected for the Museum. In another place at *Yeratiajig* remnants of a Jarawa camp including pottery and bones of animals, etc., were found. The party returned to Long Island on 14-3-48 and examined 8 of the remaining members of Loka's party. It left the same day for Port Blair where it arrived at 10 P.M. On the 25th Mr Sarkar and his party with the Deputy Chief Commissioner Mr Gupta, left for Kar Nicobar where it arrived on the following day. It returned to Port Blair after staying for a few days. During this time in Kar Nicobar, besides studying the Nicobarese of the Island Mr Sarkar met two Jarawa children who were captured and brought over there and placed in a local Mission School for education.

In the following year in January 1949, another small party was sent under Dr A. K. Mitra with Messrs H. K. Bose and A. Bhattacharyya, to continue the survey of the Little Andaman further along the eastern coast. They visited *Hut Bay* on the 28th and went to the Onge settlement there. A large circular hut similar to that seen by us at Tambebui was observed. It contained nine cots with a fire place in the centre. There were also two outrigger canoes, one in front of the hut and another on the beach. Altogether 11 Onges were found consisting of 2 adult males, 6 females and 3 young children between the ages of 6 to 15. The 8 adults and the adolescent boys were carefully measured and observations noted about their special somatic characters. After leaving Hut Bay they went as far as the South Point which is the southernmost point on the eastern coast of the Little Andaman, but did not see any other Onge settlement. They had to return on the 31st as the launch could not be spared any further.

The Onges were found to be strong and healthy and free from venereal disease, a scourge, which along with tuberculosis were chiefly responsible for the rapid depopulation of the Andamanese tribes. Our observations agree with the accounts of the Negritos of the Andaman Islands published before

A 114 144 143 Gates (1948) is of opinion that: "The blood groups of Negritos and Australoids must have been very different then, as they are now, the former being high in B, the latter having A without B".

Earlier Negrito data from other sources, as also the results of this investigation, do not support the above contention. Both the Australoids and the Negritos have been found to be high in A. The Negrito peoples of the Andaman Islands, although they are now isolated in the different islands, probably all belong to the same ethnic stock and when their blood group data are pooled together the following percentages are obtained :—

A 143 144

	O	A	B	AB	Total
Total . . .	13	36	7	6	62
Negritos*(Andaman Islands) . . %	20·97	58·07	11·29	9·67	

A [162] The total number of 62 consists of 34 Onges from Little Andaman, 22 Andamanese, 6 Jarawas. When the 22 Andamanese, who are definitely known to be mixed, are exempted from the above total, the position is as follows :—

	O	A	B	AB	Total
	11	23	2	4	40
%	27·50	57·50	5·00	10·00	

It thus appears that more than half the Negrito population belong to group A and their similarity with the Australians in this respect, associated with the enormous differences in physical features between the two, still remains to be satisfactorily explained.

Nicobarese Blood Groups

N 144 143 [174] 000 The Nicobarese blood groups present a picture so far unknown to S.-E. Asia. The high frequency of O is characteristic of the American Indians. The Nicobarese are believed to have migrated into their present habitat from Lower Burma. Little is known of blood group distribution from Burma. Mollison and Reddy (1946) have published a set of data from 229 peoples, comprising 155 pure Burmans, 57 Karens, 13 Chins and 4 Kachins. They show the following blood group distribution :—

O	A	B	AB
36·2	26·2	29·7	7·9

* Chaudhuri's sample of 5 Onges (Gates, 1940) could not be combined with the present author's sample lest the same person is included in both the data. There are chances of such duplication in small populations as such.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

documented the fact in a number of photographs. The purpose, however, is 751
purely hygienic . an unpainted body is, in their opinion, exposed to certain 302
illness. They explained this belief to me by saying that without paint the body becomes "hot". The men who travelled with me far from women were anxious every day to spread clay on face, chest and limbs, just to avoid "heat" or, in other words, fever. I thought of malaria, but they do not suffer from it. [162]
Of this I will speak later on.

Rough clay is applied daily, on infant bodies as well as on adults, for 751
health purposes. It is used to cure all kinds of sickness, together with ochre, 757
turtle fat and honey. Honey spread on wounds appears to hasten healing. [302]
Identical curative methods are employed in Oceania. They probably existed [854]
among the Tasmanians, and are still used in Australia by the aborigines. I [752]
found nothing of the kind in Africa, where honey is plentiful. The Onge consider clay, ochre, honey and turtle fat good for external and internal treatment alike - both preventive and curative. Powdered bees' wax of a dark colour is often 171
added. I saw mothers give their children, as a laxative, a number of pills made [825]
of similar ingredients. No bigger than common hazelnuts, the pills are red [317]
and greasy. In Onge forests I saw some small excavations, a few feet deep, made to extract the medicinal clay from special ground pockets. In its natural form the clay is light coloured, powdery and free of stones. When it is burnt [386]
the colour changes, assuming red, yellow, whitish or black shades according to the different qualities used, all believed to possess healing properties and to ensure hygienic colouring of the body. Mixed as described above, clay is used by the Onge in every circumstance from fever to snake or scorpion bite, constipation, breast infection in women, or post-delivery bleeding.

Belief in the medicinal properties of clay is as old as humanity itself. 757
Even among contemporary European peoples, notwithstanding severe criticism, 171
clay is still honoured as health-giving, not, I must say, on wholly foolish 823
grounds. The Onge, who smear their bodies constantly with clay, have the softest, most velvety skin that I ever saw anywhere in the world. Wounds [752]
spread with clay mixed with honey and fat leave negligible scars. The laxative and germ-killing action of clay is admitted by physicians in many countries, including Europe. It never causes infection. Geophagism has ancient origins, and we find it practiced by many modern populations. Children of every race and all young wild animals lick clay instinctively to absorb the mineral salts required by a developing organism. The Onge habit of using clay for healing purposes can be set, therefore, in a very wide frame.

Mental and nervous disorders are rare in Little Andaman. Few natives 164
are subject to epilepsy – an important matter for the Onge : they consider 828
such people as possessed by spirits who speak through their mouths, and [158]
respectfully question them as oracles. Several Onge chiefs, such as Chief [622]
Tchôtâ of Tambê-ê-buiê, are apt to go into trances that have all the appearance [787]
of epileptic fits. They were elected chiefs on the strength of their epilepsy!

Constant exercise keeps eyesight and hearing extremely sharp in the 164
Onge. I saw no single case of myopia or presbyopia among the natives, nor 151

7:Sarkar D-4, 5 (1948) 1960 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

Onge Population and Settlements. — Introduction. — Since the opening of the Andaman sub-station of the Department of Anthropology, Government of India, the Little Andaman Island has been visited several times by anthropological experts but the sum-total of knowledge has been rather meagre. We have not yet been able to know accurately the total Onge population. The recent paper by CIPRIANI [1] (1956), on the other hand, gives a hitherto unknown picture of the biology of the Onge population. The latter appears to show, as will be obvious from the data presented below, a high masculinity while CIPRIANI's method of population census shows high feminine population. 162 114

Earlier Data. — In a discussion of this nature we can leave aside the Onge population *estimated* at the decennial Censuses and take into account those actually seen and counted. In 1911 the number of Onges actually seen comprised : 161 162

adult male	118,	adult female	78
child male	62,	child female	28
	180		106

thus giving a total of 286 individuals. This shows a 10.20 % excess of males in the case of adults and an excess of 18.89 % males in the case of children.

During the Census of 1921, a total number of 99 individuals was counted at the following places :

	Rutland Island	Tochiewe	Toibalawe	Toreadda [2]	Total
Adult male	27	6	6	5	44
Adult female	18	–	5	3	26
Child male	8	1	3	5	17
Child female	8	–	2	2	12
	61	7	16	15	99

Eighty Onges were counted in 1911 on Rutland Island, which number decreased by about 24 % to 61 in 1921. No Onges were reported from the same island during the Census of 1931 and at present there appears to be none, either. The details of the 80 Onges reported in 1911 are unknown.

The Rutland population of 1921, however, shows an excess of 10 % adult males while the child population shows the two sexes in equal numbers. The total population, actually seen in 1921, shows an excess of 12.86 % adult males while it is 8.62 % in the case of children. Compared with the 1911 population it appears that the adult male excess has increased by 2.66 % in 1921 while the child population shows a favourable decrease by 10.37 %.

Recent Data. — On February 25, 1948 during the first trip of the Department of Anthropology [3], 38 individuals were counted before the communal hut of Tambebui, which comprised 17 adult males, 15 adult females and 6 children, 4 males and 2 females. The higher number of males among both the adults and children is apparent in this small sample. The above 38 individuals comprised 4 persons, 2 males and 2 females, from the communal hut of Laito, which had been visited by the above party the day before. The total population of the communal hut of Tambebui is probably 34, which is in striking contrast to the population of 4 souls for the communal hut of Laito.

GUHA also mentions the January, 1949 trip by the Department of Anthropology into Hut Bay, towards the south of the island, where 11 individuals, comprising 2 adult males, 6 adult females and 3 children (sex not mentioned) were seen in the local communal hut. The latter contained 9 sleeping places only.

The 1952 and 1953 parties of the Department of Anthropology were led by LIDIO CIPRIANI. His account is difficult to follow. There are very few relevant data regarding [114]

[1] LIDIO CIPRIANI, Report on a Survey of the Little Andaman during 1951-53. Bull. Dept. Anth. 2. 1956, pp. 61-82. [113]

[2] So spelt in the 1921 Census.

[3] B. S. GUHA, Report of a Survey of the Inhabitants of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands during 1948-49, I. Calcutta 1952, pp. 1-7. [113]

7: Sarkar D-4,5 (1948) 1960 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

161 the actual Onge population. He has estimated the population instead of giving a simple population figure for each of the Onge settlements he visited. His estimates are based on the number of sleeping places in a hut, though nothing definite could be found either with regard to the total number of communal huts or the sleeping places. Then, to find out the sex of the individuals from the sleeping places seems preposterous. CIPRIANI (1956) estimates the total Onge population to be 607, comprising "229 adult men, 241 adult women and 137 children". He was able to determine the sex of the children in about 80 % of the cases, since immediately after the above quotation, he states: "Of the latter 48 are boys, 62 girls, and of 27 sex could not be ascertained". In the same paper and just two sentences before, where he gave the above figures, he mentioned a total of 497 individuals, comprising 242 men and 255 women. If the latter figures are meant only for adults then with the addition of 137 children to the above adult population of 497, the total Onge population appears to be 634. Even then the discrepancies in the adult population remain to be explained; it adds up to 470 (229 males, 241 females) once and to 497 (242 males, 255 females) another time.

The only thing that has some value in the demography of the Onges is that he has collected personal names of 107 adult males and 105 adult females. It is not known why the children have been excluded. At any rate, the personal names indicate a slightly higher number of males (50.5 %) than females while the total estimate for adults shows a hitherto unknown Onge sex ratio. With an adult population of 229 males and 241 females, the sex ratio works up to 48.7 % males and 51.3 % females.

Population estimates are always hazardous and, from all reports, the Onges appear to be a dwindling population. R. F. LOWIS, the Census Superintendent for the Andamans during 1911 and 1921 was frank enough to admit in 1921 that his 1911 estimate was "too high", though he gave one for 1921.

It is surprising that neither the Andaman Government nor the Department of Anthropology provided CIPRIANI with an assistant, trained among aboriginal people, who could have been of much help to him. At least the Onges could have been counted in each of the localities visited.

361 **Settlements.** — The typical Onge settlement is the communal hut, which is usually located on the beach. CIPRIANI mentions the communal huts in the interior of the [342] island, but does not describe their details.

During the 1911 and 1921 Censuses coastal trips round the island were made and the former Census provides a very good map with the names of twenty settlements [103] scattered on the island. The names are: 1) *Tambeibui*[4], 2) Uede, 3) *Nachuge*, 4) Tochiewo, 5) Tochengedu, 6) Quoname, 7) *Geejege*, 8) *Ingoi-tijala*, 9) *Endea-geleda*, 10) To-to-bwe (unoccupied), 11) *Titugalanle*, 12) *Toibalawe*, 13) Tordeada (unoccupied), 14) *Kwanle-tu-huage*, 15) Koreale, 16) Porale, 17) *Chetamale*, 18) *Titaiye*, 19) Ogechai, 20) Obate.

The names of the settlements visited during the 1921 Census are given at the beginning of this paper. It was also mentioned that 14 huts were seen in comparison to 19 (this will probably be 20) in 1911. The names of 15 settlements could be gathered from the Census Report of 1931 and the 10 settlements italicized above can be rather easily correlated with those of 1911.

114 CIPRIANI's map is again difficult to follow. Firstly, he has not given any idea of the 361 medium of language by which he communicated with the Onges. He has located in his map 18 existing coastal huts, of which the name of one between Otirubara and Benyaboi is missing. The position of the "supposed" huts within the jungle is misleading. Was he equipped with surveying instruments? Then he mentions 11 huts which are "no more in existence". How were they recognized? In what earlier context have they been identified as such? Only five of the eleven names (Obate, Palalankwe [or Kwalalanque, according to CIPRIANI], Ogechai, Ingoi-tijala and Chetamale) could be correlated with earlier records. Of the 20 coastal huts listed by him four (Nachuge, Geejege [or Gaje, according to CIPRIANI], Titaje and Tambeibui) could be correlated with the names of the 1931 Census map.

[4] So spelt in the 1911 Census.

7:Sarkar D-4, 5 (1948) 1960 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

and seven with those of the 1911 Census. The total number of twenty existing huts, 114
however, agree in both CIPRIANI's map and the 1911 Census map; only names differ. It 361
would have added greatly to our knowledge had CIPRIANI based his investigations on the 1911 Census map and commented on each of the place names given therein. He also mentions two huts in ruins besides eleven "no more in existence". There is no mention of any newly built hut. All this proves the decadent condition of the Onges. The coastal huts are probably more numerous than those within the jungles and their total number appears to be constant both in 1911 and in 1953.

The Onges have, in recent years, been visited so many times by anthropologists 114
that a well-directed effort could have brought the whole population into a few genealogies — an elementary task in anthropology.

Postscript. — CIPRIANI has now (1959) published[5] the Census figures of the 161
different communal huts. Instead of clarifying the earlier anomalies stated above, his 162
recent population figures have raised further complications, as will be discussed below.

CIPRIANI now (1959) mentions in a footnote on p. 89 of his paper that 125 indi- 114
viduals, comprising 48 adult males, 44 adult females, 22 boys and 11 girls, *have beds in different communal huts*. He gives a total population figure of 394 (130 adult males, 129 adult females, 65 boys and 70 girls) obtained by actual Census from 21 communal huts. To this total figure of 394 he adds another total of 175 individuals (adult males and females 74 each, and 27 children, the latter shown as "males" on p. 90 but as "siblings" on p. 76) estimated for another 7 communal huts. Thus according to a Census of 21 huts and an estimate of 7 others, CIPRIANI now finds a total Onge population of 596, in comparison to his earlier variable figures stated above. There is no attempt to explain the discrepancies in the population figures. It is also unknown why the population of the 7 huts could not be censused, although all of them were visited between March 22 and April 4, 1953.

It is now apparent that his method of Census of the Onges is untenable since about 31.7 % (125 out of 394) of the population have beds in different communal huts. This [361]
is in harmony with the roving nature of the Onges, but it shows that only about one third of the population is migratory and about two thirds sedentary. This is probably not true for the Onges. At least, the fixed nature of beds in the communal huts loses its significance and is probably an uncertain criterion for an Onge Census.

As to a recalculation of the Census figures for each of the 21 huts, it is seen that the total population appears to be 382 (129 adult males, 126 adult females, 64 boys and 63 girls) instead of 394 given by CIPRIANI. This definitely shows high masculinity not only among adults but also among the children. With an adult population of 129 males and 126 females the sex ratio works up to 50.6 % males and 49.4 % females, the excess of 1.2 % being statistically significant.

In the present publication CIPRIANI has published personal names of 133 adult [553]
males and 140 female adults, but the Onge habit of frequently changing names, mentioned by him on p. 70, has not been substantiated. Since the same issue of the journal contains an anthropometric study of the Onges, in which names of the individuals measured were noted, it would have been worth while testing how far the Onges practise the above custom. As will be obvious from the foregoing as well as from this P. S., CIPRIANI has not started with the known to unravel the unknown.

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[5] L. CIPRIANI, A Survey of Little Andaman during 1954. Bull. Dept. of Anthr. 3. 1959, pp. 66-94. [113]

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

food lie in a chain running from north to south along the islands between Little and Great Andamans. This has been one of the most convincing proofs of the movement of the aborigines from the south to the north. Cipriani writes, 'All these organisations, with geographical names, camps, places for water and food, indicate an ancient navigating experience moving from the south to the north. About a century and half ago the Jarawas are said to have still been in possession of canoes and the same is said of the savage inhabitants of the North Sentinel Island less than 50 years ago. In a surprisingly short period the technique of making canoes seems to have been completely forgotten as a result of the difficulties of using them.'[2]

THE ABORIGINES OF THE GREAT ANDAMAN GROUP

Andamanese, as they are called, were the most widespread and the largest in number. They had split up ultimately into a few sub-groups from the north to the south. The different groups are *Aka-kora, Aka-boa, Aka-jeru and Aka-bea.* There has been a deplorable decline in the number of these aborigines who in the bygone ages exceeded all other groups in number. At present the number is only 23, a considerable reduction from the number 625 only in the beginning of the 20th century. Though the present importance of the Andamanese because of the extremely poor number is far from significant, they are of no small interest for the study of the anthropologist, especially the impact of these people with the later settlers.

The consequences of the impact of the outsiders on the Andamanese have been far from satisfactory. With the formation of the penal colony, the aborigines continued to develop feud and on the 14th of May, 1959 a clash between the aborigines and the Govt. occurred which is known as the Battle of Aberdeen. Aberdeen is at the heart of the town of Port Blair. Efforts of pacifying these aborigines were made and for bringing them into closer terms of amity, the 'Andamanese Home' was started in 1863 by Rev. H. Corbyn Chaplain. They were employed for working with the convicts taught to speak English and wear clothes. The consequence of such an impact has been alarmingly devastating because of the infiltration of a number of vices and diseases which only paved the way for their impoverishment and decay (For further particulars see demographic characteristics).

2 Ciprianai, L — On the origin af the Andamanese, Andaman & Nicobar Islands, Census of India, 1951.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

621 rather than order is given by the leader. Cipriani observes.[1] "For
622 instance, it is very amusing for them to think that a man gives orders to others. This means that they have no real chiefs. A so-called Onge
[592] chief, or raja, is only the head of a group of families living in the same communal hut, and giving not orders but only advice. It is the most experienced man who is considered chief in the hut, but his authority if at all never goes beyond that hut. In other words no real chief exists in the Little Andaman. Notwithstanding this, there is a perfect order in the island, because nobody interferes with the work or encroches upon what can be considered the rights of others."

124 As is common to most of the aborigines, the Onges are generally
162 not very receptive when the questions about their numbers and other groups are enquired. The headman says that there are many many fifty Onges. However the number of the Onges are approximately 600.

22 As regards the mode of living of the Onges, the hunting and collec-
231 ting are the basis of their economy. The domestication of the plants
241 i.e. art of agriculture is not known to them and it is only 30 years back, the dogs arrived in the island and have been domesticated by the Onges for chasing the pigs, their main prey. In the absence of agriculture, the natural products of the sea and the forest provide them with all
[262] their items of diet. Animal and vegetable products and honey are the main items of their diet and there has been, so far, no introduction of salt in their diet. The most important victims of their hunting are pigs and turtles, the former is chased by dogs and are killed with great
252 cruelty. The cooking of the fish, meat, roots, tubers, jackfruits etc are
251 done by putting them under fire. Preservation of foodstuffs is not widely practised except the jackfruit seeds which are tied up in a small net inside water on the bank of some stream and taken out during rainy season, when the other vegetable foodstuffs are not available. On
146 the whole, the Onges have a very balanced diet with a fair richness of all the nutrients. In this connection the observations of Dr. Cipriani during his survey in the Little Andaman throws considerable light in
[157] their conditions of life. He has estimated the Onges as one of the happiest people of the world, who in spite of their primitive economy, are not the miserable victims of poor health, ill nutrition and oddities of life.

396 Some amount of artistry and craftsmanship have developed among these people. A canoe can be constructed by a man, all by himself from

[113] 1 Cipriani, L—Survey of Little Andaman during 1954; Bul. Dept. Anth.,

10:Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

161 yond doubt that the impact of the people having better material culture on the aboriginal population has resulted in an acceleration of their decay. The aborigines of the Great Andaman Group are the first people in the islands to come in contact with the later settlers and the early incorporation of many of the vices of these new comers have resulted in the furtherance of their decay. Such devastating effects are also observed in the case of many other aboriginal groups. The Red Indians of U.S.A. and the native population of Malanesia are only a few among the many others who are such victims of decline, more so immediately after the impact of the later settlers.

101 161 162 Whatever inadequate data are available about the number of aborigines and the other demographic characteristics, they show the nature of imbalance which stands in the way of their successful growth.

Table No. 1*

The aboriginal population.

Tribe	1858	1885	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951
	100		39	36	17	7		
Karo	500		96	71	48	24		
Tabo	200		48	62	18	6		
Yeve	700		218	180	101	46		
Kede	500		59	34	6	2		
Juwai	300	2000	48	9	5	0		23
Koj	100		11	2	0	0		
Bojigyab	300		50	36	9	1		
Bea	500		37	19	1	0		
Belawa	300		19	15	4	2		
			625	464	209	88		23
Onge	700	1250	672	631	346	350		600
Jarawa	600		585	231	231	170		350
	4800	3250	1882	1326	786	608		973

114 161 In spite of the fact that the data of the aboriginal population, as given in the Table No. 1, is far from accurate, a very good idea of the nature of decline of the aboriginal population can be assessed. As is evident from the Table, the population of 4800 in 1858 has reduced to 608 in 1931 in less than 75 years.

* The figures are not at all accurate.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

The Andamanese are almost non-existent and at present only 23 are surviving. Sri Shivdasani writes,[1] "I met only 20 of them in the camp at Long Island and was surprised to see that the youngest child there was about 9 years old, possibly a half breed". This goes a long way to prove the extremely poor fertility of the Andamanese. This has been further substantiated by Dr. Sarkar on analysis of the reproductive capacities of 100 aboriginal women of the Andamans from the original data collected by Portman. 163

Table No. 2

Reproductive lives of the Andamanese Women.

	North Andamanese	South Andamanese
No. of women	50	50
Less married	4	1
	46	49
Unproductive marriages	21	17
	25	32
Average children per mother	2.86	2.81
Average living children per mother	0.92	0.38
Sex-ratio	39m : 20f	52m : 38f
Net reproductive index	0.36	0.16

Source. Sarkar, S. S.—The origin and migration of the Negritoes in the Andaman Islands, Man in India, Vol. 33, No. 4, Oct-Dec, 1953. [113]

As is evident from the above table, of the 100 women, 38 had unproductive marriages and 5 remained unmarried. The case of 43 women out of 100 can easily be set apart because of their unproductivity. This high percentage of unproductivity is really an alarming factor and the average number of children per mother is 2.83 but the average number of living children per mother is less. This ultimately results in a decline in the population number.

The Jarawa population, according to the 1951 census, is estimated in between 300 and 400. Further details about their demographic characteristics are not available. 162

1 Shivdasani, H. R. Report of the possibilities of colonisation and development of the Andaman & Nicobar Islands, 1949.

10:Sen K-3,4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

162 114 The Onge population has been estimated by various authorities and the surveys of Dr. Cipriani have brought to light some important characteristics of the Onge population. Cipriani has ascertained the total Onge population to be 607, of which 229 are adult males, 241 are adult women and 137 children. Of the 137 children, he has detected 48 boys and 62 girls and about the rest he is not sure. However, the procedure followed by Cipriani and the conclusions derived by him, which are contrary to the previous knowledge, have been vehemently criticised by Dr. Sarkar.[1] Sarkar opines that the procedure of enumeration by counting the number of sleeping places in a communal hut is liable to gross errors because of the roving nature of the Onges of whom an appreciable number has no sleeping place. The determination of the sex-ratio from the communal huts are also more difficult. As a matter of fact the precision of enumeration, as is apparent from the census of Cipriani, cannot be attained and the deficiencies in the procedure of Cipriani have very well been brought to light by questioning and ultimate rejection by arguments. He writes that, 'His (Cipriani's) account is difficult to follow. There are very few relevant data regarding the actual Onge population. He has estimated the population instead of giving a simple population figure for each of the Onge settlements he visited. His estimates are based on the number of sleeping places in a hut, though nothing definite could be found either with regard to the total number of communal huts or the sleeping places. Then to find out the sex of the individuals from the sleeping places seems preposterous. Cipriani (1956) estimates the total Onge population to be 607, comprising 229 adult males, 241 adult women and 137 children. He was able to determine the sex of the children in about 80% of the cases, since immediately after the above quotation he states: 'Of the latter 48 are boys, 62 girls and of 27 sex could not be ascertained.' In the same paper and just two sentences before, where he gave the above figures, he mentioned a total of 497 individuals, comprising 242 men and 255 women. If the latter figures are meant only for adults then with the addition of 137 children to the above adult population of 497, the total Onge population appears to be 634. Even then the discrepancies in the adult population remain to be explained; it adds up to 470 (229 males, 241 females) once and to 497 (242 males, 255 females) another time.

Secondly, the enumeration of Cipriani shows a higher feminine population, whereas as analysed by Dr. Sarkar, all the previous estimates

[113] 1 Sarkar, S. S—Analecta et Additamenta, Anthropos 55, 1960.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

of the Onges actually seen, show a predominance of males. The determination of sex-ratio by Cipriani is no doubt very much speculative in nature and as is evident from the extract of the comment of Dr. Sarkar, Cipriani himself has been contrary to his own versions, at times. All the previous censuses of the actual Onges met and counted show a predominance of males and this happens to be the logical argument of Dr. Sarkar to conclude that the Onges population has been characterised by high masculinity. High masculinity always imply a very high predominance of males over females but never in the previous censuses we find such a high predominance. The census of Cipriani shows a slightly higher number of females than males and the attainment of such a slight predominance of females over males is never a physical impossibility. As such we may believe that there may be a slight predominance of females over males though the procedure adopted by Cipriani is by no means a precise one. 162 114

Dr. Sarkar, though apparently justified, totally rejects the procedure of Cipriani. Census of population is in itself a very difficult job and it is always liable to errors even in the advanced countries. Therefore, the enumeration of Dr. Cipriani is highly praiseworthy and because of the difficulties of contacting all the Onges the enumeration of the communal huts and the number of sleeping beds are no doubt very important clues for an intelligent guess about their number.

Though Dr. Sarkar pleads for the predominance of males by taking into account the number of Onges actually seen and counted (which show a predominance of males), the research expeditions undertaken by Sri R. C. Nigam[1] under the auspices of the Anthropological Survey of India in March, 1955 and December, 1956 made him fairly well-acquainted with the island of Little Andaman. From his own actual counting, a higher number of females have been counted than males. He was able to contact 161 Onge individuals of which 138 belonged to the 45 family units and the rest were 'unattached'[2] individuals i.e., widows, unmarried 162

1 Nigam, R. C.—Little known tribes of the Andaman Islands—Their problems and prospect; Vanyajati; Vol. VIII, January, 1960, No. 1; Vol. VIII, April, 1960, No. 2 and Vol. VIII, July, 1960, No. 3. [113]

2 A family is considered to be comprised of parents and children whereas, if the father or mother of a family is dead, the members have been called as 'unattached' type by R. C. Nigam.

10:Sen K-3,4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

162 boys and girls and children of the widows. The break-up of the total population is given below.

Table No 3

	Male	Female
Adult	46	61
Child	30	24
	76	85

On the consideration of the total population, there is a 5.6% excess of the female population over the male population.

However, the further break-up of the total number of Onges counted by Sri Nigam reveals some of the most important demographic characteristics of the Onge population. Considering only the 45 family units, it is found that there is a preponderance of males over the females as is evident from the table below.

Table No 4

	Individuals			Children		
No. of families	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
45	75	67	138	26	22	48

162 589 The Onge of the 'unattached' type, therefore, are comprised of 5 males and 18 females. Of this 10 are widows. So the predominance of the females among the Onges may be due to a higher percentage of widows whereas the widowers are much less in number. This throws another 165 important light on the logevity of the Onge males and females. The females, as it stands, have a longer life than males and this is not only a very important aspect of the Onge population but also of the other tribes of the world. In Africa also such a higher longevity of the females is discernible which is due, as is commonly believed to higher resistive power of the females to fight the odds of life compared to the males.

163 The fertility of the adult females are also extremely poor. He writes[1] in 'the total of 61 adult females there were 10 widows who were too old for child-bearing, 4 married women with their child-bearing period finished, while there were 8 married women with no possibility of any issue. Thus

1 Nigam, R. C.—Little known tribes of the Andaman Islands—Their problems & prospects; Vanyajati, Vol. VIII, July, 1960. No. 3.

162 The population of the Andamans, on the other hand, is now almost entirely of recent immigration: there are no Europeans permanently resident, but a large number of colonists of Indian, Burmese or Malayan origin have made their home in the islands. In the Indian census of 1951, the entire stable population of the Andamans and Nicobars was assessed at thirty thousand, 18,962 in the Andamans and 12,009 in the Nicobars, not counting the Shom-Pen. The few aboriginals remaining in the Andamans are anthropologically of extreme importance. Classified among the Negritos, or Asiatic pygmies, they are one of the few surviving groups of pygmies who in the past were widely scattered all over the world. They can be divided into three groups, clearly distinguished one from the other by their mode of life, their present genetic isolation (although they certainly all originated from a common stock) and their attitude towards outsiders:

101
162
131
648

1 The Arioto, the friendly Andamanese, once very numerous along the coast of Great Andaman and now reduced to only twenty-three individuals of pure stock; now almost completely sterile, they are near to extinction. They manage to survive only because of the help given to them by the Indian Government, which has established small camps along the coasts of Middle Andaman.

2 The Jarawas, still implacably hostile to foreigners, living a nomadic existence in South and Middle Andaman. One solitary group occupies a tiny island thirty miles west of South Andaman, surrounded by seas so stormy that they are frequently impassable. This is known as North Sentinel, to distinguish it from South Sentinel, twenty miles to the south and uninhabited. Landing on North Sentinel, as indeed penetrating anywhere on Great Andaman, has hitherto always entailed vicious fighting with the Jarawas, who are determined to repulse any stranger from their last refuge. They are well sheltered by an unbelievably dense forest, which has so far made it impossible to subdue them, though there are today probably no more than two hundred surviving.

3 The Onges, sole inhabitants of Little Andaman, into which they have withdrawn. There are not more than five hundred surviving today, and these are in a state of serious demographic decline. It is probable that before 1952 no one had ever approached their camps in the interior of the island. Until the present day, they

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

have always been protected by the sea, which is almost invariably rough, and by a thick tropical forest which extends without a break over more than a thousand square kilometres, unpenetrated by outsiders and almost impenetrable. 101 162 648 131

THE ARIOTO

The decline of the Andamanese began with the first landing of foreigners on the island and is similar to that of so many other primitive peoples who have come into contact with civilization; a detailed account of their decline would be long and pitiful. In the case of the Andamanese, however, demographic influences arising thousands of years ago must also be taken into account. Cut off by circumstances into small groups and separated at random by large expanses of sea or by the impenetrable forest, they gradually developed somatic and cultural differences of the greatest scientific interest. Among other things, languages became modified to such an extent that members of different groups are unable to understand one another. The Onges, for example, who in my opinion are the nearest relations of the Jarawas, are quite unable to understand their language. 174 197 [177]

The peoples of Great Andaman were the first to encounter civillization, when from 1858 onwards the Indian Government, them in English hands, decided to institute at Port Blair a penitentiary for the many political prisoners after the famous 1857 mutiny. Subsequently the government sent over convicts serving long or life sentences. The life of the deportees was atrocious during the first few years, owing to malaria and the absence of medical supplies. To the majority, therefore, deportation to the Andamans meant a death sentence. Even today the only large brick building in the Andamans and Nicobars is the penitentiary at Port Blair. 175 177 648

Before the building of the penitentiary the English had made several desultory expeditions to the Andamans, and even before them other foreigners had landed on the archipelago. It is known that Marco Polo, probably passing within sight of the archipelago in 1292, gave it the name of Angaman, and declared the inhabitants to be ferocious cannibals with dogs' heads. As a result, even the Asian pirates were for centuries afraid to land on the islands. The barbarous forays of Arab slave traders later awoke in the islanders

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The Onges are the most numerous of the three peoples surviving in the Andamans. Vigorous and apparently full of promise for the future they may well offer a suitable field for the application of eugenic measures designed to increase their numbers; this would be impossible with the Jarawas owing to their hostility towards outsiders, and the few remaining Arioto are nearly all of impure stock. If their confidence could be gained, it might be possible to encourage inter-marriage between the various groups, in the hope that fertility would increase and the ultimate total extinction of Onges, Jarawas and Arioto, would be prevented.

In the Andamanese, this physiological decline has been accompanied by cultural decadence, as my digs in the kitchen-middens all over the archipelago showed. The ancient pottery which came to light is proof enough; when one compares it with recent work the latter is indicative of secondary and not original primitiveness. The successive strata in the deposits show a gradual decline from earthenware clearly made from a very refined mix to crude ware with vegetable impurities and bits of stone left in the clay. The pots dating from ancient times were clearly well fired and the quality of the clay allowed them to have thin but nevertheless very strong walls. In the present-day ware, on the other hand, the wall has to be thick because of the coarseness of the clay, making the pots both heavy and easily broken. Moreover, firing is limited to drying the pots in the sun, and the clay is in fact only hardened when the pot is used for cooking.

Ignorance of fire-making in the Andamans may also stem from this cultural regression, as one of the effects of physiological and psychological decadence. Given the absence of magico-religious beliefs among the Andamanese, ignorance of fire-making cannot be attributed to any ritual taboo or veto. On the other hand, it is in sharp contrast to the possession of elements of cultural advance such as the bow, with highly developed arrows, the harpoon with its detachable point, and the outrigger canoe.

Few races are known, even in far distant times, which never had fire. *Sinanthropus* and nearly every fossil Man after him had fire, even if he was unable to create it and could only preserve it once received from some natural combustion. The Onges, while retaining a number of ethnic characteristics of the Palaeolithic era, have

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AWI India
Andamans A22

mariners from massacre. Despite efforts at conciliation there was violence on both sides; attempts were made indeed to settle some of the more friendly groups in an 'Andamans Home' as fishers of trepang (sea-slug) and collectors of edible bird-nests, both for the Chinese market. But the only result was to civilise them out of existence, largely by venereal disease.[52] The Andamanese are—perhaps one should say were—Negritos, and as they represented perhaps the nearest approach to a 'pure primitive' society, both ethnically and culturally, these hunters and gatherers have attracted anthropological attention out of proportion to their numbers.[53]

Transportation of convicts to the Andamans began after the Mutiny. Latterly there was a change of emphasis, hopeless criminals being re-transported to India and the settlement becoming in effect an open prison for young men condemned to life sentences for more or less excusable homicide. After a few months in jail convicts were allowed to become wage-earning employees of Government, to wear ordinary dress, and to marry or bring out their wives. These changes were reflected in the sex composition of the population: 15,158 males to 2980 females in 1901, 14,872 to 6444 in 1941. The cultural landscape also changed: "Everywhere the ephemeral huts of former times are giving way to well-constructed two-storeyed houses of sawn timber and iron roofs," and a good deal of reclamation of malarial swamp took place around Port Blair. The communal composition of the population was an odd reflection of social conditions: in 1941 Muslims were about a third, largely Moplahs from Madras deported after their 1921 rebellion; Sikhs were 3·5% against an All-India total of 1·5%, Buddhists—i.e. Burmese—over 13%. This corresponds to the prevalence of dacoity in Burma and to the Sikh *penchant* for "liquor, love, and fights".

Practically all the economic development is in the Settlement of Port Blair, an area of about 500 sq mls in the S of South Andaman; here is 90% of the population, the remainder being in forest camps. About 75,000 ac. are more or less cleared, of which about 10–15,000 are cultivated and as much grazing land. Paddy and coconuts each account for about a third of the cultivation, and there are (or were) struggling plantations of rubber and coffee, negligible in area.

The war and the Japanese occupation saw a fall in population to about 16,000, and on re-occupation the penal settlement was formally abolished. From time to time schemes of Anglo-Indian agricultural settlement have been mooted, and in March 1948 a batch of 132 families displaced from E Bengal arrived. It may be noted that some Burmese politicians periodi-

[52] 1931 Census Vol. II (Andamans and Nicobars), 11–23.

[53] The classic treatments are those of Sir Richard Temple in the 1901 Census and of A. R. Brown in *The Andaman Islanders* (1922). There is unfortunately little geography in the latter book; what there is is largely summed up in L. Garrard's 'sociograph' in *Studies in Regional Consciousness and Environment* (ed. I. C. Peate, 1930), 82.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

164 estimated that the mortality from measles and its sequelae was
165 one-half if not two-thirds of the whole population of the Great Andaman. Other diseases which were formerly unknown to the islands seem also to have been introduced, including influenza.

●163 While the death-rate amongst the friendly Andamanese has been enormously increased, the birth-rate has at the same time fallen to almost nothing. This is evident from the proportion of adults to children in the population table given above. In 1907, out of a total of about 500 natives whom I saw at different times, there were not more than a dozen children of less than five years old. A birth is a rare occurrence, and of the children born very few survive infancy.

165 This decrease of population has not as yet affected the
619 Little Andaman. The natives of this island have had very little contact with the Penal Settlement or with the tribes of the Great Andaman, and have thus escaped the diseases which are mainly responsible for the depopulation of the larger island.

Several attempts have been made to estimate the former population of the Andamans. In the "Census Report" for 1901 the estimate given is 4800 for the whole group. Mr M. V. Portman has given an estimate of 8000. It seemed to me that one of these is too small and the other too large. Judging from what it is possible to learn about the habits of the natives, and the food supply available, I should estimate that the former population of the islands (in 1858) was about 5500[1]. An estimate for the proportion of the different groups is as follows:—

	Estimated former population.	Density per square mile.
North Andaman (four tribes)	1500	2·75
Middle Andaman with Baratang and Ritchie's Archipelago	2250	2·5
South Andaman (Aka-Bea and Jarawa)	1200	2·0
Little Andaman and North Sentinel	700	1·75
Total	5650	2·25

[1] This estimate is based on what the Andamanese were able to tell me of the conditions under which they formerly lived. Of course such an estimate can only be of small value. I think it is more probable that I have underestimated the former population than that I have overestimated it.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

not at the hands of their mothers, but of the male members of the tribe. 144 847

Reproduction.—1. Marriages never take place till both parties have attained maturity, and generally not till a few years later; the usual age of the bridegroom varies from 18 to 22, and of the bride from 16 to 20. The result of inquiries tends to show that there is a slight predominance of female over male births; three or four is the average number of children born of the same parents. The largest family known consisted of six, three only of whom attained maturity.[1] 582 163

2. Twins are rare, and as no instance can be recalled of both surviving infancy, notwithstanding all possible care being bestowed on them, they are not favourably regarded. No case of triplets has been known to occur. Births out of wedlock are considered discreditable, and in the one known instance of the kind, the parents were married immediately after the event; no difference was made in the treatment which the child received.[2] 845 848

3. The limited fecundity of the women may in some measure be due to the circumstance that they never wean their babies, so long as they are able to suckle them, and it not unfrequently happens that the two youngest children are seen together at their mother's breast.[3] 853

4. The ill success in rearing their offspring is doubtless owing in most part to the injudicious management and petting which each of the mother's friends considers right to bestow on the infant. It is looked upon as a compliment for every woman who may be nursing, to relieve the mother of this duty at frequent intervals; it is, therefore, no matter of surprise that the little one ails and dies.

5. The proportion of deaths from violence and accident, is believed to amount to four or five per cent. 165

6. Barrenness is rare, as are also cases of stillborn children. No drugs or other contrivances are employed in order to increase or limit reproduction. 842

Abnormalities.—1. Excessive development of fat about the gluteal region is frequently observable among the adult women. 142

[1] It is said that more children are born during the rains than at any other season of the year.

[2] *Vide post* "Marriage," paragraph 4.

[3] On this subject Dr. Brander remarks as follows:—

"They mostly possess considerable mammary development, and the glands in many cases seem to be in a chronic state of functional activity. This may be due to the late period to which they suckle their young (even to three or four years), or to another purpose to which the milk is applied. . . ." (*vide post*, "Shaving.") [As will be seen from Plate II, fig. 1, the mammæ are pyriform rather than spherical: with the advance of years they become flaccid and elongated.] [853]

145 to about 60 to 65, if he reaches "old age." Except as to marriage at an earlier age, about 18, these figures apply fairly to the women also, who, however, 582 live somewhat longer than the men, retaining in old age both health and mental faculties.

163 **Reproduction.**—The marriages are infructuous, though barrenness is uncommon, a couple rarely producing families of even moderate size and many [853] none at all. The child-bearing age is from 16 to 35; weaning is much delayed.

291 **Endurance.**—Left to themselves the Andamanese go stark naked and with head uncovered, except that the women wear, as clothing and not orna- 147 ment, one or more leaves in front and a bunch of leaves tied round the waist behind, or a tassel of leaves all round. Jarawas, however, of both sexes have been seen entirely naked. They dislike and fear cold, but not heat, though they avoid exposure to the sun; and being accustomed to gratify every sensation as it arises, they endure thirst, hunger, want of sleep, fatigue and bodily discomfort badly. Want of sleep, such as occurs at their dances for occasionally as much as [482] four days and nights, exhausts them greatly. A man's load is 40 lbs. and his distance 15 miles for a day or two only. After that he will rest, whatever the urgency.

252 **Food.**—The food consists of fish, pork, turtle, iguana, "wild cat" (*paradoxurus sp.*), shell-fish, turtle eggs, certain larvæ, and a great variety of fruit, 262 seeds, roots, and honey, and is plentiful both by sea and land. They never starve, though they are habitually heavy eaters. The food is always cooked and commonly eaten very hot. As much as possible of an animal is eaten and the Andamanese, like most hunters, have found out the dietary value of tripe. The Andamanese are expert cooks and adept at preparing delicacies from parts of animals and fish.

142 **Skin.**—The skin, which is smooth, greasy and satiny, varies in colour from an intense sheeny black to a reddish brown on the unexposed parts and also on the collar bones, cheeks and other prominences of the body. Its general appearance has been likened to a "black-leaded stove." The scalp, the lips and nostrils are black, and there are black patches on the palate. The soles of the feet are brownish yellow. The Bojigngiji Group (South Andaman) are the darkest, and among the Onges parts of the face are a light reddish-brown. The Jarawas are distinctly fairer than the rest, the general colour being a deep reddish brown. Leucoderma occurs on the fingers and lips.

Hair.—The hair varies from a sooty black to dark and light brown, yellowish brown and red. The general appearance of it is sooty black or yellowish brown. Except on the head the hair is scanty, but not absent: on the head it grows in small rings, which give it the appearance of growing in tufts, though it is really closely and evenly distributed over the whole scalp. Limited baldness is unknown, but temporary general baldness after disease occurs with a weak growth [302] of the hair afterwards. The hair is not shaved, except on the head and eyebrows, and each tribe has, with many fantastic individual variants, its own [145] method of wearing it. It turns grey at about 40, but white hair is not common.

Shaving is "woman's work" and was performed by small flakes of quartz, but nowadays flakes from the kicks of glass bottles are substituted. It is effective and close, but a painful operation on an European's face, as I proved by personal experience many years ago.

Bodily Parts.—The mouth is large, the palate hard and highly arched, the lips well formed. The hands and feet are small and well made. The ears are small and well shaped, the eyes are generally dark to a very dark brown, bright, liquid and clear, but prominent with slightly elevated outer angles and become dulled with age. The teeth, in the young, except amongst the Onges, are white, good and on the whole free from disease. Those of the Onges are irregular and discoloured. As age advances the teeth generally lose their whiteness and become worn, but without much caries. The teeth are roughly used without any care whatever. Dentition is early.

164 **Diseases.**—The muscular strength of the Andamanese is great, but their vitality is nevertheless low, and the apparently robust quickly die after sickening

In a recent paper Dr. N. DATTA-MAJUMDER, Director, Department of Anthropology, Government of India, writes: 163

"From a study of 34 Onge families contacted by us, it is found that the average size of the family is only 3.15. Thirteen families out of 34 are childless. That is, 38.2% of the married couples are sterile".

When, in 1946, proposals were made for undertaking work for the amelioration of the conditions of the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands along the same line as had been done among the Bhil and other tribes of Central India, Dr. B. S. GUHA, at that time Director of the Department of Anthropology, very reasonably observed that "the problem of the aborigines of the Andaman Islands is not the same as that of the other primitive tribes of India", and that "the need among them is not so much the spread of education and social uplift as the arrest in the decline in population which has been most alarming". 648 161 177

The Ongi have been in sporadic contact with the outside world for many years. They have been visiting Port Blair, particularly since some of them moved to Rutland Island on the southern tip of Great Andaman. This contact with civilization was bound to affect their material culture, as well as their whole mentality. We may again quote Dr. DATTA-MAJUMDER who says: 177 166

"As a result of this long contact the Onge have already come to appreciate a number of foreign articles, for example, tobacco leaves, tea leaves, sugar, matches, aluminium utensils and implements made of iron (especially bill-hooks and files). In order to secure these articles, they often barter away their valuable honey and shells. The afore-mentioned changes in material culture have at present touched only the fringe of Onge culture. But the demand for these articles (especially tobacco leaves and safety matches) is becoming so great that Onge culture is likely to be vitally affected in the near future". 276

Dr. DATTA-MAJUMDER came to the conclusion that "the hunting and food-gathering Onge culture, which had been an autonomous cultural system in the past, is now breaking down". 22 182

The Ongi were repeatedly visited by government officers, but the resulting information is paltry. PORTMAN spent several months among the coastal groups of Little Andaman in 1886 and 1887 and collected a few hundred words of their language. In 1901, C. BODEN KLOSS visited a group of Ongi on Rutland Island and one on Little Andaman, both only for a few hours. At some time between 1906 and 1908, A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN went to Little Andaman for several weeks and made a preliminary study of the Ongi language. In 1928, EGON VON EICKSTEDT spent a few weeks among the Ongi on Rutland Island and visited briefly several groups on the coast of Little Andaman for the sake of physical anthropological research. 114

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

The Andamanese are almost non-existent and at present only 23 are surviving. Sri Shivdasani writes,[1] "I met only 20 of them in the camp at Long Island and was surprised to see that the youngest child there was about 9 years old, possibly a half breed". This goes a long way to prove the extremely poor fertility of the Andamanese. This has been further substantiated by Dr. Sarkar on analysis of the reproductive capacities of 100 aboriginal women of the Andamans from the original data collected by Portman. 163

Table No. 2

Reproductive lives of the Andamanese Women.

	North Andamanese	South Andamanese
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Less married	4	1
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Unproductive marriages	21	17
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Average children per mother	2.86	2.81
Average living children per mother	0.92	0.38
Sex-ratio	39m : 20f	52m : 38f
Net reproductive index	0.36	0.16

Source. Sarkar, S. S.—The origin and migration of the Negritoes in the Andaman Islands, Man in India, Vol. 33, No. 4, Oct-Dec, 1953. [113]

As is evident from the above table, of the 100 women, 38 had unproductive marriages and 5 remained unmarried. The case of 43 women out of 100 can easily be set apart because of their unproductivity. This high percentage of unproductivity is really an alarming factor and the average number of children per mother is 2.83 but the average number of living children per mother is less. This ultimately results in a decline in the population number.

The Jarawa population, according to the 1951 census, is estimated in between 300 and 400. Further details about their demographic characteristics are not available. 162

1 Shivdasani, H. R. Report of the possibilities of colonisation and development of the Andaman & Nicobar Islands, 1949.

10:Sen K-3,4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
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	Male	Female
Adult	46	61
Child	30	24
	76	85

On the consideration of the total population, there is a 5.6% excess of the female population over the male population.

However, the further break-up of the total number of Onges counted by Sri Nigam reveals some of the most important demographic characteristics of the Onge population. Considering only the 45 family units, it is found that there is a preponderance of males over the females as is evident from the table below.

Table No 4

	Individuals			Children		
No. of families	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
45	75	67	138	26	22	48

162 The Onge of the 'unattached' type, therefore, are comprised of 5
589 males and 18 females. Of this 10 are widows. So the predominance of the females among the Onges may be due to a higher percentage of widows whereas the widowers are much less in number. This throws another
165 important light on the logevity of the Onge males and females. The females, as it stands, have a longer life than males and this is not only a very important aspect of the Onge population but also of the other tribes of the world. In Africa also such a higher longevity of the females is discernible which is due, as is commonly believed to higher resistive power of the females to fight the odds of life compared to the males.

163 The fertility of the adult females are also extremely poor. He writes[1] in 'the total of 61 adult females there were 10 widows who were too old for child-bearing, 4 married women with their child-bearing period finished, while there were 8 married women with no possibility of any issue. Thus

1 Nigam, R. C.—Little known tribes of the Andaman Islands—Their problems & prospects; Vanyajati, Vol. VIII, July, 1960. No. 3.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

in the sample of 61 adult females, 22 women were nonfecund. As such the obvious female preponderance in the total sample is not of much value and the total picture of Onge population is rather that of decline only.' Such a decline of the fertility of the Andamanese women has already been pointed out. 163

Of all the aboriginal population, the Onges are to-day the most widespread and have undoubtedly a very balanced sex-ratio. As regards the fertility, there is a gradual unproductiveness amongst all the aboriginal population. The Andamanese who are on the last legs of the decay have the youngest child of more than 10 years. Nothing definite can be said about the Jarawas and the Sentinelese but they are also on the verge of their decay. 16

PROBLEMS OF THE ABORIGINES

Assessment of the socio-economic and cultural problems is always subjective and a true assessment is only possible through the first-hand intimate acquaintance of the aborigines. The aboriginal population of the world to-day present a very gloomy picture of stagnation or decay and the aboriginal population of the Andamans are undoubtedly sharing this dismal fate of decay. 161 177

Only after the impact of the people having better material attainments the problems of the aborigines have been aggravated that paved the path of total ruination of their socio-economic traits and also initiated their gradual numerical decay. Such evidences of decay only in the last few centuries are within view in the case of the American Indians which formerly having 268 groups have dwindled to only 67 groups now surviving when the rest have been wiped out. The case of the aboriginal population of Australia, Tasmania, Malanesian Islands and the others of southeast Asia present such a gloomy picture. The causes of such a decline have been attributed to the incorporation of vices and such social poisons as alcohol and opium, attack of venereal diseases, quick adoption of foreign customs and modes of life which have been proved incongenial in their own environmental context and also to the gradual 'loss of interest in life.' This loss of interest in life, according to Rivers[1] takes away from the people the desire to live and to shoulder the burden of life, with the result that mortality incidence goes high and the more obvious causes of mortality like new diseases, the social poisons etc, tend to have greater potency for

1 Rivers, W. H. R—Essays on the depopulation of Malanesia (Ed). 1922.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

attributed to scarcity of food, nor can nutrition have had any effect on the demographic decadence. Strict endogamy over thousands of years, and fragmentation into smaller and smaller groups is perhaps a more likely explanation of the situation. The last stage has now been reached; the Arioto, for instance, who numbered six hundred and twenty-five in the 1901 census, had dwindled to twenty-three in 1955. In that year there were only two young children, a boy and a girl (of different parents) and the girl, about five years old, clearly had a Burmese father. The boy, however, named Sirake and then aged about eleven, intelligent and alert, with the very blue-black skin of the Andamanese and typical hair, may well be of pure stock. He is the only hope of continuing the ancient Arioto line, but this will be impossible unless a girl of pure stock is born shortly.

This seems unlikely. With the exception of these two couples, the Arioto appear to be sterile. I have myself seen their sorrow at being deprived of children, and one of them, named Moro, of fairly pure stock, told me of his grief. He took me to his wife, also of pure Andamanese origin, and externally as normal and healthy as her husband, but deserted by the spirits of fertility. Through no fault of their own, the cause probably lies in both of them.

In all the Andamanese, fertility seems always to have increased from the age of twenty-eight and to end by the age of forty-eight – in many cases thirty-eight, although since none of them know their age, owing to the absence of any form of counting, their deceptively youthful appearance makes assessment of age extremely difficult. I met only one woman who, as far as I could estimate, had borne seven children, and of these only three were still alive in 1954; the widespread custom by which children are transferred from one family to another, even during the period of lactation, to 'share' the enjoyment of them, made all the usual means of assessing the number of births virtually impossible. In a number of childless couples whom I saw on Little Andaman, the women are under twenty-eight and there is still hope of fertility, even if it is late. This could happen in the case of the wives of the two leaders Cocheggi and Cendubài; these two men married two sisters, among the healthiest and most beautiful women on the island, Vaghèghe and Tocuaghèghe, both under twenty-two. Neither of them has ever been pregnant, although both are apparently normal and

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

842 enjoy the active marital relationships necessary, according to their
163 husbands, to encourage the entry of the benevolent spirits which bring motherhood. The late onset of fertility in all Andamanese
842 women and perhaps in men as well[1] probably depends on mech-
163 anisms which have been operating for a very long time, affecting
165 the sex ratio at birth, and preferential infant mortality in one sex.
[123] By a combination of observation and deduction I was able to be
[124] reasonably certain that among the Onges at least more males are born than females. The disparity is reduced, though not eliminated, by a higher mortality rate in young males. Males thus remain in excess, making it difficult for some, possibly fertile, to find wives.

842 There are certain peoples – notably the Pitcairn Islanders – who
143 have arisen by repeated inbreeding for hundreds of years from a
161 very few individuals. It is clear from this example that genetic isolation and inbreeding cannot of themselves cause numerical, physical or mental decline of a population. The problem merits further investigation. Civilization has perhaps accused herself unjustly of causing the decline of primitive races, whereas she has in fact only hastened the disappearance of groups already heading for demographic decadence as the result of physiological factors which lie within the group itself, and which are consequently difficult to counteract. The intrinsic damage done by civilization as such has, in my opinion, been considerably exaggerated in some quarters.

Possibly because of the low birth rate the maternal instinct is
855 very highly developed in the women of the Andamans, even to the
597 point of 'adopting' children temporarily. These children are always given lavish affection, and are kept sometimes for years, or even permanently if the parents do not ask for them back. Given the language barrier, this custom makes census-taking difficult as childless couples happily declare adopted children as their own. Nabimbòi, with no children of her own, always had children with her, and it was only the fact that they differed from year to year that led me to suspect what was happening! One wonders whether the custom was not already common before outsiders first came to the Andamans, owing to the existence of a high incidence of sterility long before the arrival of civilization.

[1] There is some evidence of infertility in the men, but it is clear that this is of relatively minor importance.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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161

Little Andaman	672
South Andaman Jarawa . .	117
Rutland Island Jarawa . .	351
North Sentinel Island. . .	117
Total . .	1257

This estimate is not of any great value. As regards the Little Andaman, my own information would lead me to estimate their numbers at between 600 and 700, thus agreeing with the estimate above. Concerning the North Sentinel Island nothing is known on which a satisfactory estimate could be based. The figures for the Rutland Island *J̌arawa* are certainly very much too high. In 1907 I spent some weeks on Rutland Island trying to get into touch with the *J̌arawa* there. At that time there were certainly not more than 50 all told on the island. I was only able to discover one camp, and that had been deserted just before it was discovered, but had not contained a dozen persons. The Rutland Island *J̌arawa* have been cut off from the other *J̌arawa* by the spread of the convict Settlement since about 1885. The majority of the *J̌arawa* now inhabit the interior and western coast of the South Andaman north of Port Blair.

During the last fifty years the numbers of the Andamanese have been greatly diminished. This has been the result of the European occupation of the islands, and is chiefly due to new diseases that have been introduced amongst them. Syphilis was introduced among the tribes of the South Andaman about 1870, and this has now spread among all the Great Andaman tribes (that is, excluding the hostile *J̌arawa*). A large number of natives are infected, and the disease is responsible directly and indirectly for a considerable increase in the death-rate. In March, 1877, an epidemic of measles broke out among the Andamanese, introduced with a batch of convicts from Madras, and spread rapidly from one end of the Great Andaman to the other. In six weeks 51 out of 184 cases treated in hospital proved fatal. It is almost certain that the proportion of deaths was much greater in the case of those, the vast majority, to whom no medical aid could be given. A writer on the Andamans[1] has

164 165

[1] Portman, M. V., *A History of Our Relations with the Andamanese*, Calcutta, 1899.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

164 estimated that the mortality from measles and its sequelae was
165 one-half if not two-thirds of the whole population of the Great Andaman. Other diseases which were formerly unknown to the islands seem also to have been introduced, including influenza.

163 While the death-rate amongst the friendly Andamanese has been enormously increased, the birth-rate has at the same time fallen to almost nothing. This is evident from the proportion of adults to children in the population table given above. In 1907, out of a total of about 500 natives whom I saw at different times, there were not more than a dozen children of less than five years old. A birth is a rare occurrence, and of the children born very few survive infancy.

165 This decrease of population has not as yet affected the
619 Little Andaman. The natives of this island have had very little contact with the Penal Settlement or with the tribes of the Great Andaman, and have thus escaped the diseases which are mainly responsible for the depopulation of the larger island.

Several attempts have been made to estimate the former population of the Andamans. In the "Census Report" for 1901 the estimate given is 4800 for the whole group. Mr M. V. Portman has given an estimate of 8000. It seemed to me that one of these is too small and the other too large. Judging from what it is possible to learn about the habits of the natives, and the food supply available, I should estimate that the former population of the islands (in 1858) was about 5500[1]. An estimate for the proportion of the different groups is as follows:—

	Estimated former population.	Density per square mile.
North Andaman (four tribes)	1500	2·75
Middle Andaman with Baratang and Ritchie's Archipelago	2250	2·5
South Andaman (Aka-Bea and Jarawa)	1200	2·0
Little Andaman and North Sentinel	700	1·75
Total	5650	2·25

[1] This estimate is based on what the Andamanese were able to tell me of the conditions under which they formerly lived. Of course such an estimate can only be of small value. I think it is more probable that I have underestimated the former population than that I have overestimated it.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

142 Dr. Dobson, in noticing a marked case of this kind, drew attention to the fact of its differing from steatopyga, thereby distinguishing them in this respect from Hottentots.

2. Albinism and polydactylism are unknown, and only one case of erythrism, and that of a faint type, has been observed, or is known to the natives of our acquaintance.[1]

3. No instance appears of obliquity of vision, of cleft palate, absence of teeth, or of supernumerary teeth, and only one of prognathism[2] and hare-lip respectively. Cases of "Darwin's point" in the ear are constantly met with.

158 **Pathology.**—1. No idiots, maniacs, or lunatics have ever yet been observed among them, and this is not because those so [157] afflicted are killed or confined by their fellows, for the greatest care and attention are invariably paid to the sick, aged, and 732 helpless. Two or three cases of hunchback and lateral curvature of the spine have come under notice, but instances of the kind are evidently very rare.

●164 2. It has often been observed, that though the Andamanese waste away very rapidly in sickness, they regain flesh with equal facility when convalescent; but, nevertheless, they possess so little vital power, that they readily succumb to diseases against which others usually struggle successfully;[3] indeed, they appear to suffer as much, if not more, than individuals of alien races from the febrile disorders—mainly attributable to malaria, so prevalent throughout these islands—which frequently lay the foundation of chest complaints, from which they rarely recover.

3. Pulmonary consumption and other forms of pectoral disease are among the chief causes of mortality among these tribes.[4] These disorders do not appear to be confined to, or to be more prevalent in, certain districts, but there is little doubt that they have been most frequent amongst those living in the homes provided for their benefit in and near our settlements in South Andaman.[5]

[1] In no other particular does this case appear to differ from the rest.

[2] As Professor Owen, F.R.S., truly remarks, "their prognathism is not more than is found in most of the Southern Asiatic peoples, and, indeed, in the lower orders of men in all countries, and may be due or relate to the prolonged sucking of the plastic infant." (*Vide* "Brit. Asso. Reports," 1861.)

[3] This not only refers to maladies introduced by the alien population, such as measles, venereal diseases, &c., but to those complaints from which they suffered prior to the establishment of the settlement.

[4] In reference to complaints of this nature, it may interest some to know that Dr. De Jongh's cod liver oil was largely used in the homes, and with considerable benefit to the patients, several recoveries having resulted therefrom. From inquiry it would seem that cases of constipation are comparatively rare, and that diarrhœa is almost the habitual state of their excretory functions.

[5] As this circumstance was traced to the system of giving them clothes to be worn at our various stations, and when visited by Europeans, it was deemed advisable to modify the regulation and to supply them only with drawers, leaving the upper part of the body exposed. A marked improvement in the general health resulted from this change.

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4. Epilepsy is a recognised form of malady, and is considered as peculiar to certain individuals, but the fits are not regarded in a superstitious light. Cutaneous diseases of a scaly character occasionally occur, but do not appear to be of a serious kind. Leprosy is as yet unknown among them. The physical pain caused by injuries seems less acute than that suffered under similar circumstances by Europeans, and all wounds, as a general rule, heal rapidly.

5. A few years ago (1877), an epidemic of ophthalmia occurred, principally among the people of South Andaman, and, during the few months it lasted, about fifty persons were attacked, many of whom suffered entire or partial loss of sight. The origin of the outbreak was obscured in doubt, and it does not appear that the disease was previously known to the aborigines.

6. They have never yet been afflicted with small-pox, and only once with measles, viz., in 1877, when it was computed that nearly 20 per cent. of the sufferers, who comprised a large proportion of the population, succumbed. This disease was introduced by a batch of convicts from Madras, who, in spite of all the precautions that were taken, communicated it to others in the settlement, from whom it spread to the Andamanese. The contagion extended to the people of Middle and North Andaman, but only those patients who were living within a few miles of our settlement could be attended to by our medical officers; the treatment to which the remainder had recourse, was that commonly adopted among them in fever cases.[1] The ravages committed by this epidemic among the unfortunate aborigines can only be compared, though on a small scale, to the effects of a similar outbreak among the Fijians, shortly after the annexation of their islands to the British Crown.[2]

[1] *Vide post* "Medicine," paragraph 2.

[2] Before leaving this part of my subject it is necessary to mention that, within the last eight years, they have been visited for the first time by that terrible scourge, syphilis, the introduction of which was traced to a few Indian convicts whose duties brought them much in contact with the aboriginal inmates of the homes; the ravages already committed have been most lamentable, and there seems now no hope of checking its spread throughout the various islands forming Great Andaman: this is due to a few of the original sufferers having refused to submit to the system of segregation which was determined upon at the principal home at Viper Island, where all those who were known to be affected were placed in a separate building. Although allowed every indulgence short of liberty to associate with those who were in health, a few of them found the restraint too irksome, and effected their escape one night by swimming from the island, and to them have been traced many fresh cases that subsequently occurred in various jungle encampments. Had it not been for this it might have been possible to confine the disease to those first affected (then numbering about 80), for after their isolation from the rest, no fresh cases occurred at Viper. Thus, unhappily, this terrible malady has now extended over a very considerable area, probably not less than two-thirds of Great Andaman. The rapid spread of the contagion has been greatly attributable to the almost universal practice which prevails

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164 **Medicine.**—1. The diseases most common among these tribes are:—

1st, malarial fever (*did·dirya-*).
2nd, catarrh (*ngī·rib-*).
3rd, coughs (*ō·dag-*).
4th, rheumatism (*môl-*).
5th, phthisis.
6th, pneumonia.
7th, heart disease.[1]

757 2. In febrile complaints the treatment adopted by those living
278 in the interior, and less frequently by the coast dwellers,[2] is the following:—A bed is made for the patient of the leaves of the *Trigonostemon longifolius* (*gū·gma-*), and his body is rubbed with these leaves, which are sometimes first boiled, while he sniffs at some crushed pieces of the same; after a time *chū·lngâ-*[3] is given him to drink, and then with some of their patent ointment, *kòi·ob-*,[4] which is not used internally, as has been supposed,[5] the upper lip is painted and also the neck, if the invalid be married. When the fever is accompanied by pains in the chest or head, a *chàw·ga-tâ-*[6] is tied tightly round the part affected, as this is [755] believed to act as a charm, internal pains being always ascribed to the malign influence of evil spirits. During the course of the fever, the patient is constantly rubbed with *gū·gma-* leaves by one or more friends, who insist also upon his swallowing large quantities of *chū·lnga-*; scarifying is never practised at such times. As only a small proportion of cases of this kind have a fatal result, great faith is placed in the treatment above described, and, at all events, it is certain that no injurious effects are caused by it.

757 3. The first half of the rainy season is usually the most sickly time with them, as with ourselves, in regard to fever and bowel

among the women of suckling each other's infants; in fact many parents have thus become tainted with the disease, the characteristics of which have in almost every case been most strongly marked, presenting an interesting study to the medical officers who have had charge of the patients. Great benefit was derived from the treatment and remedies (mercury and iodide of potassium) usually employed in Europe, but time alone will show how far our efforts will avail to prevent the disease from infecting the entire population, if, indeed, it do not, as in certain parts of Australia, lead to the early extermination of the race.

[753] Because of the insidious nature, and (to them) mysterious origin, of the last three named diseases, they say that either *ē·rem-chàw·gala* has shot the sufferer, or *jū·ru-win-* has speared him: regarding these evil spirits further reference will be found at "Death and Burial," paragraph 25, and "Religious Beliefs and Demonology," paragraphs 12 and 14.

[2] The reason for this will be found under "Tribal Communities," paragraph 5.

[3] *Vide* Appendix B, No. 63.

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, No. 60.

[5] *Vide* Mouat, p. 306.

[6] *Vide* Appendix B, No. 44.

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752 case of a similar kind occurred a few years since in McPherson's Strait. When bitten by a centipede on the leg or hand, urine is applied; less inconvenience seems to be caused by these injuries to the Andamanese than to the natives of other countries, although the insects are here larger than in many districts, measuring sometimes as much as eight inches. The scorpions, on the other hand, are small and comparatively innocuous; no attention is therefore paid to the bites they inflict.

●164 18. Elephantiasis appears never to have occurred among them; but since seeing cases of this complaint among the Nicobarese, they have given it a name, *lâ·pi-*, from *lâ·pike*, to swell (as a bruise).

752 19. Bandages of leaves are applied to gunshot wounds, ulcers, fractures, sprains, or bruises.

201 **Physiognomy.**—1. When an Andamanese is in good spirits, his eyes sparkle and the surrounding skin is slightly wrinkled, while the corners of the mouth, which is partially opened, are drawn back; if he be in low spirits the eyes are directed to the ground, the forehead is transversely wrinkled in the centre, and the lips are closed, but the corners of the mouth are not depressed; under the influence of great grief the nostrils are observed to dilate.

2. In thinking deeply, or while endeavouring to understand the construction of some object, the eyes are fixed intently on it, and a slight elevation of the lower lid is noticeable.

3. Astonishment is expressed by the eyebrows being raised, the mouth opened a little and covered with the left hand, while the right hand is brought smartly to the left side just above the heart; a man will also, on being reminded of an unintentional omission to fulfil some promise, act either in this manner, or he will slap his thigh and then place the hand over his opened mouth. Women show their surprise (and also joy) by striking the thigh, which is raised for the purpose, with the open hand. To this practice may be attributed the mistaken notion entertained by an early writer,[1] that "their salutation is performed by lifting up a leg and smacking with their hand the lower part of the thigh."

4. Indications of slyness, guilt, and jealousy can be detected in the eye only.

5. Disgust is shown by throwing the head back, dilating the nostrils, drawing down the corners of the mouth, and slightly protruding the lower lip: no expiration is, however, made.

6. Shame is evinced by the head being averted, the eyes lowered, and the hands raised so as to conceal the portion of the face exposed to view.

[1] *Vide* Colebrooke.

145 to about 60 to 65, if he reaches "old age." Except as to marriage at an ear-
582 lier age, about 18, these figures apply fairly to the women also, who, however, live somewhat longer than the men, retaining in old age both health and mental faculties.

163 **Reproduction.**—The marriages are infructuous, though barrenness is
[853] uncommon, a couple rarely producing families of even moderate size and many none at all. The child-bearing age is from 16 to 35; weaning is much delayed.

291 **Endurance.**—Left to themselves the Andamanese go stark naked and
147 with head uncovered, except that the women wear, as clothing and not ornament, one or more leaves in front and a bunch of leaves tied round the waist behind, or a tassel of leaves all round. Jarawas, however, of both sexes have been seen entirely naked. They dislike and fear cold, but not heat, though they avoid exposure to the sun; and being accustomed to gratify every sensation as it arises, they endure thirst, hunger, want of sleep, fatigue and bodily discomfort badly. Want of sleep, such as occurs at their dances for occasionally as much as
[482] four days and nights, exhausts them greatly. A man's load is 40 lbs. and his distance 15 miles for a day or two only. After that he will rest, whatever the urgency.

252 **Food.**—The food consists of fish, pork, turtle, iguana, "wild cat" (*pora-*
262 *dorurus sp.*), shell-fish, turtle eggs, certain larvæ, and a great variety of fruit, seeds, roots, and honey, and is plentiful both by sea and land. They never starve, though they are habitually heavy eaters. The food is always cooked and commonly eaten very hot. As much as possible of an animal is eaten and the Andamanese, like most hunters, have found out the dietary value of tripe. The Andamanese are expert cooks and adept at preparing delicacies from parts of animals and fish.

142 **Skin.**—The skin, which is smooth, greasy and satiny, varies in colour from an intense sheeny black to a reddish brown on the unexposed parts and also on the collar bones, cheeks and other prominences of the body. Its general appearance has been likened to a "black-leaded stove." The scalp, the lips and nostrils are black, and there are black patches on the palate. The soles of the feet are brownish yellow. The Bojigngiji Group (South Andaman) are the darkest, and among the Onges parts of the face are a light reddish-brown. The Jarawas are distinctly fairer than the rest, the general colour being a deep reddish brown. Leucoderma occurs on the fingers and lips.

Hair.—The hair varies from a sooty black to dark and light brown, yellowish brown and red. The general appearance of it is sooty black or yellowish brown. Except on the head the hair is scanty, but not absent: on the head it grows in small rings, which give it the appearance of growing in tufts, though it is really closely and evenly distributed over the whole scalp. Limited baldness is unknown, but temporary general baldness after disease occurs with a weak growth
[303] of the hair afterwards. The hair is not shaved, except on the head and eyebrows, and each tribe has, with many fantastic individual variants, its own
[145] method of wearing it. It turns grey at about 40, but white hair is not common.

Shaving is "woman's work" and was performed by small flakes of quartz, but nowadays flakes from the kicks of glass bottles are substituted. It is effective and close, but a painful operation on an European's face, as I proved by personal experience many years ago.

Bodily Parts.—The mouth is large, the palate hard and highly arched, the lips well formed. The hands and feet are small and well made. The ears are small and well shaped, the eyes are generally dark to a very dark brown, bright, liquid and clear, but prominent with slightly elevated outer angles and become dulled with age. The teeth, in the young, except amongst the Onges, are white, good and on the whole free from disease. Those of the Onges are irregular and discoloured. As age advances the teeth generally lose their whiteness and become worn, but without much caries. The teeth are roughly used without any care whatever. Dentition is early.

●164 **Diseases.**—The muscular strength of the Andamanese is great, but their vitality is nevertheless low, and the apparently robust quickly die after sickening

or severe injury. However, like many of the lower mammals, they recover quickly from illness when they overcome it. 164

Idiocy, insanity and natural deformities are rare among them. Epilepsy is however recognised and homicidal mania occurs sometimes with concomitants of insanity, such as eating raw flesh or earth and drinking the blood of the victim. 158 732

An unintentional artificial depression of the forehead and sides and top of the skull is produced in some women, chiefly among the Ónges, caused by using a strap to carry loads on the back when young. [304]

No parts of the body are intentionally pierced, injured, or deformed for the wearing of ornaments and other purposes, though the skin is extensively tatooed.

The statements at my disposal as to the relative prevalence of diseases among the Andamanese and their relative fatality are unsatisfactory, but so far as I can make out the following is a fair statement of the case in order of importance :— 164

I.—Fevers	45 per cent. of all cases.
II.—Respiratory organs	35 " " "
III.—Digestive organs	18 " " "
IV.—Other diseases	2 " " "

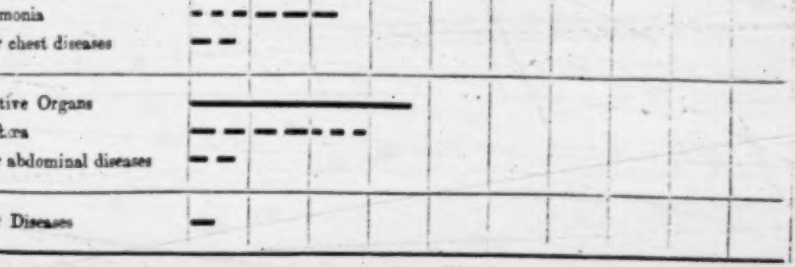
These classes may be further divided up more specifically thus :—

I.—Malaria	40 per cent. of all cases.
Other fevers	5 " " "
II.—Chronic bronchitis	21 " " "
Pneumonia	12 " " "
Other chest diseases	3 " " "
III.—Diarrhœa	15 " " "
Other abdominal diseases	3 " " "
IV.—Other diseases	1 " " "

Without placing too much reliance on the above table, it serves to bring out the fact that among the Andamanese, as among the alien immigrants, malarial fevers are the overwhelming prevalent causes of sickness. As also in the case of immigrants, malarial fevers are not nearly so fatal in proportion to cases as the diseases of the respiratory and digestive organs. Thus I make out that deaths from malarial fevers occur in 8·5 per cent. of the cases, while those from diseases of the respiratory organs in 90 per cent., and of the digestive organs in 74 per cent. These considerations prepare us for the old statement that the prevalent diseases among the Andamanese are climatic and the same as those of the foreign immigrants.

The following diagram brings into clear relief the relative prevalence of diseases among the Andamanese as disclosed by the above tables :—

DIAGRAM OF RELATIVE PREVALENCE OF DISEASES AMONG THE ANDAMANESE.



164 Going a little further into detail, it has been noticed that malarial fevers are commonest in June, at the commencement of the monsoon and during heavy bursts of rain thereafter. Malarial fevers commence as usual in their intermittent form and prove fatal as remittent fever. Other zymotic fevers are uncommon, though the Andamanese will drink the filthiest water.

A short rainfall in the Andamans is usually accompanied by high dry winds and then is the high time of the chest diseases. But though the Andamanese are susceptible to bronchial catarrh, and though chronic bronchitis is common, it is not fatal; pneumonia is however extremely fatal. Pleurisy, hæmoptysis and phthisis are comparatively rare.

Abdominal diseases, though comparatively uncommon, are very fatal, diarrhœa, including probably dysentery, claiming most victims. Dyspepsia and colic are both common. In health the stools are regular, but inclined to looseness. They have been likened to those of the lower mammals when in good health.

Of other diseases sunstroke is dreaded and always fatal. The brain and spinal cord are not often affected, though curvature of the spine is occasionally seen. Scurvy occurs at the seasons when vegetable diet, *i.e.*, such as fruits and roots afford, is too scanty. Elephantiasis occurs among the Onges, but is limited to the Little Andaman. Chronic muscular rheumatism occurs among the older people, leading to loss and withering of limbs. Ulcers, generally the result of wounds in the jungles, are common and, as with the immigrants, slow to heal. Abscesses are also common. Considering that personal uncleanliness is often extreme, skin diseases are curiously infrequent, except ringworm and exfoliated dermatitis, sometimes leading to destruction of finger and toe nails, due either to scurvy or exposure. [146]

164 Excluding malaria, endemic disease has not been recognised among the Andamanese, and the only epidemics that have been known to attack them are 177 imported pneumonia (1868), syphilis (1876), measles (1877), and influenza (1892), in that order: unhappily with disastrous effect. Exposure to the sun and wind in the cleared spaces, the excessive use of tobacco and over-clothing, as results of contact with civilisation, are also said to have undermined their health as a body of human beings. Intoxicants are forbidden to them by local rules and are not easily or commonly procured by them.

755 **Medicine.**—The diseases which the Andamanese distinguish by name are malarial fever, catarrh, coughs and rheumatism. Phthisis and heart disease are 758 recognised, but are spirit caused and so are all internal maladies, which of course are not understood.

Medicine and surgery are almost absent from the Andamanese purview. They will bleed on the forehead for fever and headache and round abscesses to alleviate pain. They scarify for rheumatism and internal pain as a last resort. Red ochre and various herbal concoctions are both swallowed and applied as all-healers, in which they have great faith. Certain leaves are sometimes applied to local affections and beds made of them for the sake of their supposed medicinal odour. Cinctures, sometimes of human bones, are used to alleviate pain, but no other charms are employed. Occasionally the diet is slightly changed to relieve illness and they are quick to avail themselves of the hospital provided for them. They are extremely afraid of European surgery and will tremble violently at the sight of the operating knife. They smear themselves with white clay and water against the heat of the sun and with red ochre and oil after dark as a protection against cold.

The sick are sympathetically and very kindly, but superstitiously, treated. [844] There are no pregnancy customs and those at childbirth are sensible and without superstition, difficult delivery being practically unknown.

Snakebite is uncommon and seldom fatal. Ligatures above the bite and scarifying are applied, both operations showing observation and common sense. Bites of centipedes, scorpions, leeches and ticks cause little inconvenience to the Andamanese, though very much to immigrants.

142 **Appearance.**—The figures of the men are muscular and well formed and generally pleasing; often a young man is distinctly good looking, for, though there is a tendency to prognathism, it is not commonly pronounced, while a straight and well formed nose and jaw, accompanied by superior intelligence

and an irritable temper indicating a nervous temperament, are by no means rare. The natural good looks of many of the people are injured by the habit of shaving and smearing themselves with greasy red and white pigments. 142

The pleasing appearance of the men is not a characteristic of the women, whose habits of completely shaving the head and profusely smearing themselves, with an early tendency to stoutness and ungainliness of figure and sometimes to pronounced prognathism, frequently make them unattractive objects to Europeans. They are, however, bright and merry even into old age and are under no special social restrictions, have a good deal of influence, and in old age are often much respected. They nevertheless readily and naturally acquiesce in a position of subordination, slavery and drudgery to the men, and are apt to herd together in parties of their own sex. Variation from type is much commoner among the men than the women. 142 562

III. Mental Characteristics.

Sense Development.—The nerve development of the Andamanese is low, pain is not severely felt and wounds quickly heal. The sense development is normal and instances of unusual acuteness observed are the result of personal training in certain directions and not of heredity, *e.g.*, they will recognise one of themselves at a great distance, but not an unaccustomed object such as a European: they can smell a fire or hear the sound of dancing also at a great distance, but this is because they are always on the look-out for these things and their discernment is a matter of habit and of much consequence to themselves. They can, in short, do well such things as they pay particular or habitual attention to. 147 151

The Andamanese are naturally far sighted, and any near sight observed will be found to be due to leucoma or other disease. In respect to sight, however, they are not more highly gifted than civilized mankind. The colour sense is hardly developed at all and they are what would be called in Europe colour-blind to most colours. Black, white and red are distinguished, but green and blue are not. This is due apparently to want of observation only, as they distinguish between white paint and the white European skin. A good deal of blindness was caused by imported epidemic ophthalmia in 1877. Hearing is not abnormally acute, but is highly trained in matters pertaining to jungle craft. Touch seems to be undeveloped. The sense of smell is highly developed in matters necessary to their existence, but they have no appreciation of artificial scent or of that of flowers which do not denote food, nor can they distinguish by smell that which they cannot see unless it be an object of food. Taste is strongly developed as to honey, distinguishing that deposited from different flowers. They care nothing for scenery and do not decorate themselves with flowers. 151 [164]

Character.—In childhood the Andamanese are possessed of a bright intelligence, which, however, soon reaches its climax and the adult may be compared in this respect with the civilised child of ten or twelve. He has never had any sort of agriculture, nor until the English taught him the use of dogs did he ever domesticate any kind of animal or bird, nor did he teach himself to turn turtle or to use hook and line in fishing. He cannot count and all his ideas are hazy, inaccurate and ill-defined. He has never developed unaided any idea of drawing or making a tally or record for any purpose, but he readily understands a sketch or plan when shown him. He soon becomes mentally tired and is apt to break down physically under mental training. 181

He retains throughout life the main characteristics of the child: of very short but strong memory, suspicious of but hospitable to strangers, ungrateful, imitative and watchful of his companions and neighbours, vain and under the spur of vanity industrious and persevering, teachable up to a quickly reached limit, fond of undefined games and practical jokes, too happy and careless to be affected in temperament by his superstitions, too careless indeed to store water even for a voyage, plucky but not courageous, reckless only from ignorance or inappreciation of danger, selfish but not without generosity, chivalry or a sense of honour, petulant, hasty of temper, entirely irresponsible and childish in action in his wrath and equally quick to forget, affectionate, lively in his movements and exceedingly taking in his moments of good temper. At these times the Andamanese are gentle and pleasant to each other, considerate to the aged, the

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Report of a Survey of the Inhabitants of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands during 1948-49

[P1]

By

B. S. Guha

Director, Department of Anthropology

About the end of the year 1946, Mr H. J. Stooks, Deputy Secretary to the Ministry of Home Affairs, consulted me with regard to proposals made by Sri A. V. Thakkar of the Bharatiya Adim Jati Sevak Sangh for undertaking work for the amelioration of the conditions of the inhabitants of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands on the same lines as the Sangh has been doing among the Bhils and other tribes of Central India. The problem of the Aborigines of the Andaman Islands, however, is not the same as that of the other primitive tribes of India. These people are some of the most ancient remnants of the human race still surviving in any part of the world, who had been very little affected from contact with other people and subsist principally on fishing and hunting. The need among them is not so much the spread of education and social uplift as the arrest of the decline in population which has been most alarming. Since the establishment of the Penal Settlement at Port Blair in 1858, the condition of the "Friendly Tribes" among these inhabitants have been most distressing. Due in the beginning to armed encounters with the forces of the Government, and also as a result of ravages from diseases like tuberculosis and syphilis contracted from Indian convicts, there has been a continuous decline in the Andamanese population. From an estimated figure of about 10,000 people in 1779 the tribe has been reduced to only 70 in 1931, and at the time of our visit there were probably not more than 37 individuals still living. Whether it will be possible to save the Andamanese from the fate of the Tasmanians whose last surviving representative passed away about 1770 is extremely doubtful.

The hostile branch of the Andamanese tribes known as the Jarawa-Onge-Sentinelese group, fortunately has been spared the fate of their more "friendly" kinsmen, and as a result of implacable hostility and comparative isolation have survived to a much larger extent. In the western forest belts of Middle and South Andamans, the Little Andaman, and the North Sentinel Islands they have resisted all intrusions from outsiders and were known to have lived in these places comparatively unmolested. No accurate census of these tribes however, was ever taken, but from estimates made by people who had some knowledge of the tribes, it does not seem possible that the total strength of these people could be more than a few hundred souls altogether before the last war. What has happened since and how far these people, specially the Jarawas, have suffered from Japanese occupation cannot accurately be determined. It is known that there had been some bombing by the Japanese in the Jarawa tract, but whether any Jarawa was killed is not known. I, therefore, suggested to Mr Stooks that an anthropological survey of the Islands was essential and a probable estimate of the surviving settlements of the population made before the question of any social welfare work can be

120 considered. I promised the full collaboration of this Department for undertaking such a survey. It was at first planned to take a fully equipped scientific party for a period of at least six months with headquarters at Port Blair, members of which could pay short visits to the different Islands where the Andamanese tribes were known to have lived. The Ministry of Home Affairs agreed to the proposal and expressed their willingness to place a trawler at our disposal for visiting the outlying islands as no other means of transport existed. Negotiations were taken up for securing the services of Mr Crawley of the B. N. Railway to accompany the party as guide and adviser for he was one of the few who had a direct knowledge of the Jarawa area. With Mr. Duncan of the same Railway, both of whom were landed in the Jarawa territory by British submarines during the last War he spent nearly 6 months in that tract. Although Mr Crawley was very willing to accompany our party it was not found possible in the end to secure his services as the B. N. Railway could not spare him. What is still more unfortunate was that the R. I. N. could not spare any trawler. The prevalence of polio or infantile paralysis in an [164] epidemic form in the Nicobar Islands at the time made it impossible to include them in our itinerary. Lastly, the Chief Commissioner of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands informed us that owing to great demands on residential accommodation at Port Blair it would be difficult for him to find enough living quarters for our party. He suggested that a smaller party might be sent instead, for making exploratory surveys only.

Accordingly, the original plan had to be modified and a party consisting of myself, Mr S. S. Sarkar, who had then just joined the Department, 3 scientific assistants and 3 attendants left for the Islands on board the 'S. S. Maharaja' on February 17, 1948, reaching Port Blair on the 20th. The Chief Commissioner, Mr S. Majid, I.C.S., met us at the quay and arranged for our stay at the Guest House facing the harbour. He was an exceedingly well-informed and kind gentleman and promised to give us all facilities in our work. We 121 discussed the various questions concerning the Andamanese population and he agreed with me that the most pressing need was to collect correct statistics regarding the strength and distribution of the so-called hostile tribes. For very little can be done now to save the Andamanese proper who have paid for their friendliness by being driven to the verge of extinction and it is now a question of time before they would completely disappear. At the present [161] moment the surviving remnants of this group numbering about 37 have been collected and settled in the Neil and Havelock Islands. In consultation with 122 Mr Majid the plan of making the preliminary reconnaissance was fixed. It was agreed that I, and as many of my party as could be accommodated in the Port Blair harbour launch 'Molly', which Mr Majid by arrangements with the harbour authorities found it possible to place at our disposal for about a week, would leave for Little Andaman to survey the eastern coast of the Island in search of the Onge settlements, as far as this was practicable within this short time. Accordingly we left Port Blair on the 23rd February at 7-30 in the morning on board the motor launch 'Molly'; myself, Messrs S. S. Sarkar, S. Banerjee, R. De and Ramkassis forming the members of our party.

there were no Andamanese There,
K 36 [162] but 400 people consisting of 133 males and 130 females who migrated from Bassein in 1924. They were Karen Christians who had settled there. After A 114 returning to Long Island on the 12th, Mr Sarkar and party left in the motor boat "Return" for a short cruise along the Jarawa country. Besides Mr Joseph, there were Mr Pooviah and a few of his Burman Bush Police armed with rifles and guns. The party passed through the Homfray's Strait and anchored at the north eastern corner of the Spike Island. Loka and his party of three Andamanese accompanied them in their two canoes. They came to the shore in one of the Andamanese canoes and after entering the forest they found A [501] bundles of bamboos piled up at one corner. This was identified as a Jarawa raft. There were also three paddles made out of a palm tree. These specimens were procured for the Department. After proceeding some distance in the jungle, 19 small fire places were counted in scattered manner. A tem- A [349] porary hut was also noticed at a short distance. A number of objects usually [483] used by the Andamanese tribes for household purposes was found including [411] a sling for carrying babies. A beautiful specimen of a Jarawa Bow painted [531] in red in geometrical designs was also found. Photographs were taken of the settlements of the Jarawa camp and objects collected for the Museum. In another place at *Yeratiajig* remnants of a Jarawa camp including pottery and bones of animals, etc., were found. The party returned to Long Island on 14-3-48 and examined 8 of the remaining members of Loka's party. It left the same day for Port Blair where it arrived at 10 P.M. On the 25th Mr Sarkar and his party with the Deputy Chief Commissioner Mr Gupta, left for Kar Nicobar where it arrived on the following day. It returned to Port Blair after staying for a few days. During this time in Kar Nicobar, besides studying the Nicobarese of the Island Mr Sarkar met two Jarawa children who were captured and brought over there and placed in a local Mission School for education.

In the following year in January 1949, another small party was sent under Dr A. K. Mitra with Messrs H. K. Bose and A. Bhattacharyya, to continue A the survey of the Little Andaman further along the eastern coast. They [361] visited *Hut Bay* on the 28th and went to the Onge settlement there. A large [349] circular hut similar to that seen by us at Tambebui was observed. It contained [350] nine cots with a fire place in the centre. There were also two outrigger canoes, [354] one in front of the hut and another on the beach. Altogether 11 Onges were [162] found consisting of 2 adult males, 6 females and 3 young children between [125] the ages of 6 to 15. The 8 adults and the adolescent boys were carefully measured and observations noted about their special somatic characters. After leaving Hut Bay they went as far as the South Point which is the southernmost point on the eastern coast of the Little Andaman, but did not see any other Onge settlement. They had to return on the 31st as the launch could not be spared any further.

A 142 The Onges were found to be strong and healthy and free from venereal 164 disease, a scourge, which along with tuberculosis were chiefly responsible for the rapid depopulation of the Andamanese tribes. Our observations agree A 142 with the accounts of the Negritos of the Andaman Islands published before

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
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515 people. Furthermore, the Onge skin is very soft and more elastic than is usual
[147] in human beings. For us, clothed and with a less resilient skin, a trip through the thorny Andaman forest means many small, bleeding scratches. Not so for the naked Onge. – To cover them with clothes would endanger their health. Nakedness inures them to the sudden changes of temperature so frequent in
[513] Little Andaman and preserves them from catching cold when sleeping, uncovered, on their rough, unprotected bed of boughs. As with primitives all over the world, clothes make them miserable and, I may add, very ungainly and dirty.

515 Part of their general negligence with regard to hygiene is their carelessness about their teeth. They never clean them. They do keep bamboo sticks,
[413] 1 mm thick and 8 cms long, tucked into their hair to be ostensibly used as toothpicks ; but the sticks, to tell the truth, are more of an ornament than a tool.
142 The Onge's teeth are so compact and sound that there is no space between them for food particles to collect. No caries or decay of any sort are to be
[164] noticed. In a number of skeletons that I dug up from under the beds in communal huts, the teeth gave evidence of one peculiarity : old people had worn them down to the root. The Onge habit of using teeth as working instruments,
[289] to prepare fibre for ropes and in many other circumstances – apart from their permanent chewing on hard foodstuffs – explains this fact.

515 As a consequence of never washing, the natives' hands are sometimes extremely dirty. The Onge themselves are conscious of this. I shall give an
226 instance. It so happened that I arrived in Nachugé, on the west coast, toward the end of March, when the sea was teeming with migrating sardines. In Little Andaman sardines can weigh up to a pound ; but a normal catch, obtained with small hand-nets cast from canoes among shoals of fish imprisoned by the low tide within the coral reef that surrounds the island, contains specimens of
[264] every dimension. All are eaten as soon as possible. The quantity of fish brought back to the camps on such occasions puts all inmates to work and induces everybody to abandon all other occupations for the time being. In the low tidal waters the men push their canoes from rock to rock, using them as receptacles for the abundant food so easily collected. In some "pockets" nets prove unnecessary : the fish is gathered in handfuls and rapidly thrown into the canoes. The hecatomb ends when the canoes are filled to the gunwales. In no other part of the world have I seen food made available to primitive people in such large quantities and with so little effort.

252 Back at the camp, the sardines are "graded" according to size and cooked immediately. They are not washed or cleaned, the inner organs are eaten to-
[263] gether with the flesh. Men, women and children feverishly take part in the cooking ; the fish is boiled without salt. All the natives then plunge their hands
264 avidly into the heap of sardines. From time to time the women clean their
515 hands by rubbing them on the *naquinēghē*. Very soon this garment becomes
[231] extremely smelly. Men and children clean their hands in a different way : by rubbing them on the dogs. On such occasions, everything and everybody smells of fish for days and days. The first to become clean again are the dogs, because they hate to be smeared with fish and wash themselves in the sea as soon as they have a chance.

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ing edible matter ; furthermore, they don't care to take the trouble as food 251
is generally plentiful. We must also realize that they find salt repulsive. Even [263]
honey – so easily kept for many months – is disposed of, if possible, on the 264
very same day it is collected. Incredible quantities of this or other food may be 262
consumed for days and nights on end until everything disappears. Very few of the islanders care to vary their meat diet with an occasional diet of vegetables in order to disintoxicate the system ; yet nourishing yams and other roots [137]
grow wild and plentiful. They are so rich in carbohydrates that I preferred [123]
them to potatoes and rice. I may add that the Onge, on my request, brought me yams and roots that they were glad to barter with rice, tea and sugar – soon declared by their wise men to possess medicinal properties.

The Onge's stomach, intestines and general physiological equilibrium 147
suffer from lack of salt and such bad nutritional habits as those described. They damage the human body, together with unrestrained sexual activity.

One highly unhygienic custom of the Onge is the use, all over Little 264
Andaman, of peculiar sucking-sticks. These pass from mouth to mouth during 412
the frequent meat or honey orgies indulged in by the natives.

When boiling pork or turtle, a quantity of liquid fat floats on the surface of the broth. Though the Onge despise the broth, they don't like to waste [262]
the fat. So they devised an efficient solution : they suck the fat up by means of a wad of absorbent matter obtained by chewing the end of a fibrous stick selected among many species of trees in the forest. The end of the stick is chewed along a section of 5 cms, the remaining part – about 25 cms long and 2 cms thick – is used as a handle to prevent the fingers from burning.

In every Onge camp sucking-sticks are permanently in evidence owing [262]
to the inmates' frequent ingestion of liquid fat or honey. A second version of the sucking-stick consists in a narrow, cotton-like strip, up to 80 cms long, with only a small part of the original wood remaining. This serves as a handle for dipping the stick into a wooden barrel full of honey. In both instances the same tool passes for hours from mouth to mouth : from older people to greedy children, anxious to suck the coveted delicacy off the stick that has been dipped into the pot. The rapid spreading of epidemics, which often occur [164]
in the Andamans, is certainly encouraged by the use of these sucking-sticks. I found no reference to this practice in books on the Andaman Islands.

Everything they eat, particularly meat, the Onge consider as either 262
remedial or harmful. They are therefore chary of accepting proffered food 123
if it is unknown to them. When I brought 30 Onge to Port Blair to introduce them to Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD, President of the Indian Republic, they were troublesome about food. In Port Blair it was not as easy as in Little Andaman to procure whole pigs ; sometimes only pieces were available. The Andamanese Forest Department was quickly informed of the difficulty and kindly supplied the desired animals. In moments of shortage I tried to give the Onge cooked lamb, goat, chicken and pigeons ; they resolutely refused them as unhealthy. [775]
Birds are never eaten by the Onge, who consider them shelters for human souls. [825]

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Onge

common in the Andamans, said by RADCLIFFE-BROWN (p. 273) to be eaten by the Andaman Islanders as a protection against rheumatism, is never killed. For some superstitious reason the Onge are simply horrified at the thought of touching such an enormous flying bat. Among the fruits, those of a plant whose wood has such a revolting smell that it is known, in English, as "stool-tree", are believed to have exceptional protective properties for the human body. The fruits themselves smell even worse than the wood, but this, to the Onge, makes them appetizing rather than disgusting. Concerning honey, and the many sugary fruits of the jungle that are available all the year round, the Onge luckily ignore the simple method of distilling alcohol. No intoxicating drink reaches Little Andaman from the outer world, whereas in Great Andaman alcohol, together with imported syphilis, was one of the main causes of depopulation. No syphilis appears as yet to have reached Little Andaman. This is also confirmed by the research carried out by Dr. HERMANN LEHMANN of London's St. Bartholomew's Hospital, during February 1953 in my Onge camp in Labanare (north-east coast of Little Andaman).

II. Effects on the People's Lives

The islanders die young, specially the men. The majority of them succumb before reaching the age of 20 ; most of the survivors die between 20 and 40 ; the rest – with a very few exceptions – before 50. Women, after marriage, follow a similar pattern : the death rate among women, however, is slightly different owing to a less corrosive sexual life. Some women may live to the age of sixty, but both sexes age soon, appearing older than their years when still in their twenties. The short Onge span of life recalls conditions which apparently prevailed among prehistoric and protohistoric men. Palaeolithic man died at an earlier age than modern man. The Onge today, in many respects, behaves as palaeolithic man behaved countless centuries ago. – Infant mortality is high ; the first five days of life are the most critical for the Onge, owing, in part, to the hard life led by mothers even during pregnancy, which often causes functional damage to the placenta. Delivery is generally easy and traumatic injury rarely occurs ; but premature births are common, and so are malformations and other anomalies. Imperfect infants are quickly eliminated by their parents. As a result, only a small number of children are allowed to grow up, but these appear normal. There are no blind and no deaf-and-dumb people in Little Andaman. I saw only two instances of incipient lameness : in an unmarried boy of about twenty and in a young married woman. Only robust infants can survive.

The Onge, so careful about their food, are completely indifferent to something else that is considered very harmful in continental and insular regions close to the Andamans. There, menstruating women are often segregated and considered harmful to the entire community. Not so in Little Andaman, where the remedies applied in the circumstance are extremely primitive (cf. supra) and could probably be traced to palaeolithic man. I saw nothing

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291 754 *naquinēghē* exposes the former owner to harm. Ill-disposed persons could use it for black magic practices. I collected specimens of this garment, all of them, however, brand-new – for the above-mentioned reason. To avoid trouble to the owner, nobody is allowed to touch the *naquinēghē*, which is worn in front of the vulva. To touch it is a deadly offence. Aside from the *naquinēghē*, Andaman 842 colonists attribute the natives' sterility to their abhorrence of salt. Another 263 opinion would have it that the lack of salt transforms human saliva into poison: the Jarawas, by spitting on their arrows render them poisonous. The absurdity of this belief is so evident that it requires no confutation. The Onge refuse to eat salt because they consider it unhealthy, or, to say the least, disgusting.

III. Illnesses and Onge Curative Methods

164 Few illnesses affect the Onge, but they succumb to those few with surprising speed. Often they become seriously ill for mysterious reasons and in spite of their robust appearance. Smallpox, tuberculosis and poliomyelitis are unknown in Little Andaman, although they sometimes strike in the nearby Nicobars. Measles broke out on the island on more than one occasion, killing off all the inhabitants of several communal huts, which I later found deserted and in ruins. With regard to syphilis, the Indian Census of 1931 quotes an old remark of PORTMAN's concerning a few individuals considered by him as infected. This was later denied.

Onge women are more resistant to illness than men. Wounds heal prompt- [752] ly in both sexes, without the aid of remedies. A few of the older men, however, had suppurating sores on their legs, slow to disappear even when disin- [123] fected and treated by me with European medicines. No similar sores were found on women. On the other hand, women suffer more than men from ringworm, mainly in the umbilical region. Nothing is done to rid them of it because the discomfort is slight. I suggested an Indian cure made with the leaves of the neem tree, or Melia azedarach, very common in Southern Asia where it is considered sacred. I imported the plant to Little Andaman, but [123] the Onge displayed no interest in it. I found a single instance of leucoderma, in a woman with whitish spots on her hands and lips. I could get no reliable information about the incidence of cancer, but it appears to be rare on the island. No baldness is to be seen in Little Andaman, and I found few traces of [142] greying hair, as the Onge die young. A transversal bregmatic furrow is noticeable in all individuals, male and female, as a consequence of carrying loads hung [482] from their heads by a strip of bark. The Onge start doing this in childhood. An artificial, unintentional deformation of the skull is the result of that uncomfortable habit.

751 For hygienic reasons the Little Andaman aborigines paint their bodies with 302 refined clay and ochre of various shades, mainly reddish. This gives the women occasion to embellish the bodies of their husbands with an endless variety of [386] geometrical designs. Every year I found changes in their patterns, and I

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documented the fact in a number of photographs. The purpose, however, is 751
purely hygienic: an unpainted body is, in their opinion, exposed to certain 302
illness. They explained this belief to me by saying that without paint the body becomes "hot". The men who travelled with me far from women were anxious every day to spread clay on face, chest and limbs, just to avoid "heat" or, in other words, fever. I thought of malaria, but they do not suffer from it. [162]
Of this I will speak later on.

Rough clay is applied daily, on infant bodies as well as on adults, for 751
health purposes. It is used to cure all kinds of sickness, together with ochre, 757
turtle fat and honey. Honey spread on wounds appears to hasten healing. Identical curative methods are employed in Oceania. They probably existed [302]
among the Tasmanians, and are still used in Australia by the aborigines. I [854]
found nothing of the kind in Africa, where honey is plentiful. The Onge consider [752]
clay, ochre, honey and turtle fat good for external and internal treatment alike — both preventive and curative. Powdered bees' wax of a dark colour is often [171]
added. I saw mothers give their children, as a laxative, a number of pills made [825]
of similar ingredients. No bigger than common hazelnuts, the pills are red [317]
and greasy. In Onge forests I saw some small excavations, a few feet deep, made to extract the medicinal clay from special ground pockets. In its natural [386]
form the clay is light coloured, powdery and free of stones. When it is burnt the colour changes, assuming red, yellow, whitish or black shades according to the different qualities used, all believed to possess healing properties and to ensure hygienic colouring of the body. Mixed as described above, clay is used by the Onge in every circumstance from fever to snake or scorpion bite, constipation, breast infection in women, or post-delivery bleeding.

Belief in the medicinal properties of clay is as old as humanity itself. 757
Even among contemporary European peoples, notwithstanding severe criticism, 171
clay is still honoured as health-giving, not, I must say, on wholly foolish 823
grounds. The Onge, who smear their bodies constantly with clay, have the softest, most velvety skin that I ever saw anywhere in the world. Wounds [752]
spread with clay mixed with honey and fat leave negligible scars. The laxative and germ-killing action of clay is admitted by physicians in many countries, including Europe. It never causes infection. Geophagism has ancient origins, and we find it practiced by many modern populations. Children of every race and all young wild animals lick clay instinctively to absorb the mineral salts required by a developing organism. The Onge habit of using clay for healing purposes can be set, therefore, in a very wide frame.

Mental and nervous disorders are rare in Little Andaman. Few natives 164
are subject to epilepsy — an important matter for the Onge: they consider 828
such people as possessed by spirits who speak through their mouths, and [158]
respectfully question them as oracles. Several Onge chiefs, such as Chief [622]
Tchōtā of Tambē-ē-buiē, are apt to go into trances that have all the appearance of epileptic fits. They were elected chiefs on the strength of their epilepsy! [787]

Constant exercise keeps eyesight and hearing extremely sharp in the 164
Onge. I saw no single case of myopia or presbyopia among the natives, nor 151

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164 do they suffer from the eye infections that are so common in the tropics. Their
151 highly trained eye can distinguish at a great distance small vessels on the troubled waters of the sea that people with normal eyesight could not perceive without a telescope. Normal vision, I suppose, is the same for the entire human
123 race ; but we exercise our eyesight less. In the dark fastness of the jungle, the
151 Onge were able to point out birds sitting motionless high up in the trees, quite invisible to me notwithstanding my experience in collecting even the tiniest specimens. With their sharp eyes they sought out for me a collection of minute mimetic amphibians living far from the ground on tree trunks, previously unknown to science. The same thing often happened when I was unable to see as far as they did. The help of my savage friends was invaluable in avoiding the poisonous snakes that we met with daily in our camps or while travelling. For our protection, the Onge always marched in front of my men. They could discern reptiles hanging from branches among thick foliage, waiting to bite us on the neck, or lying perfectly still in the tall grass, ready to attack our legs. The only trouble we had with snakes was when the men I had brought from India, in moments of enthusiasm ran ahead into the interior of the jungle, eluding their Onge vanguard.

752 The Onge themselves, however, are sometimes bitten by snakes, with
123 dire consequences. Happily the Andamanese snakes are less deadly than the
[136] same species on the continent, and few deaths occur from snake bite ; but it can curtail a man's activity for several months. In March 1953 an Onge friend
[222] of about 25 who had climbed a tall tree to collect honey, inadvertently seized with his left hand a snake concealed in a tuft of creepers, and was bitten above the elbow. Frightful swelling ensued, together with shooting pains and a raging fever. The man was brought to me unconscious, his left arm had already assumed the appearance of a huge, rigid, elongated sausage. The Onge had smeared all his body, and particularly the wounded arm, with ochre mixed with honey, turtle fat and rough clay. They have no specific remedy for snake bite. It was too late, but in an attempt to save the patient an antiophidic injection was practiced on him. Within a few hours he appeared to rally. I saw him again after eleven days ; his arm had been treated in the Onge way and put in a sling made of ficus bark cut into narrow strips. Fever had disappeared, and in part also the swelling, so he could move his elbow a little. The skin peeled off the whole length of the arm. Where the fangs had entered the flesh two round, red, suppurating wounds, 1 cm in diameter, were discernible under a layer of clay and honey. The man recovered in about two months. During his
476 illness the people who shared his communal hut exempted him, his wife and his children from all work, and supplied them with all requirements. This occurs in every case of illness, showing the complete solidarity that prevails among those simple people - once considered ferocious. Always, if the wife is ill, the husband is automatically relieved of his hunting, fishing and food-collecting duties. Friends provide food for the family, no matter how many the members thereof.

164 In Little Andaman, we Europeans are constantly threatened with mala-
ria. Should we fail to take all necessary precautions we would catch it upon
143 setting foot on the island. The Onge are all infected, but it does not upset

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

them ; neither children nor adults have dilated spleens. Inhabitants of other regions where malaria incidence is high often show the same immunity, supposedly attained through local adaptation. Papuasians, Melanesians and Africans sometimes appear insensitive to malaria, although they all carry the germs of the disease. In opposition to their resistance to malaria, the Onge are vulnerable to minor lung infections and measles, which we would not consider serious. 164 143

When fever occurs, whatever the cause, the Onge recur to their universal remedy : plastering the entire body with clay, ochre, turtle fat and honey. Legs, arms and trunk are swaddled in tight bandages made of strips of ficus bark. These bandages hinder superficial blood circulation. The strips are removed from time to time and replaced after vigorous massaging of the body with hands and feet. Stomach and chest pains, as well as insistent coughing, are treated by stretching the patient horizontally on the ground and rubbing him energetically with hands and feet. The feet compress the body, with special attention to the affected part. The entire trunk is worked over in this manner, inch by inch, and the patient is carefully rotated until he has been completely turned around to receive treatment on all sides. This process lasts half an hour or more. It is a curious sight to see a man transformed into a kind of sausage, all tied up in strings and subjected to violent treatment on the bare ground, with a crowd of spectators surrounding him, obviously taking the whole performance quite seriously. The result is kill or cure ; the former helped, I should say, by rough treatment performed with the best intentions. 757

Exposure to hot smoke is another Onge cure for wounds and pains. I saw it applied, for instance, on Nabimbōi, the fat young wife of Maritōi, chief of Chemalē. She had scorched her right foot by stepping inadvertently on smouldering ashes. The pain made it impossible for her to sleep, so she was treated by covering the burn with the usual mixture of clay, turtle fat and honey, and exposing it to hot smoke. The smoke was provided by burning the fresh seeds of a creeper, each as big as a horse-chestnut and of the same colour, but of a lenticular shape. Incisions are made in the seeds to prevent explosion, and they are laid on the fire where they give out a thick smoke. The injured foot was held as close to the fire as possible. Recovery promptly ensued, but I would not swear that it was due to the treatment. 752

Fire is used by the Onge also against fever, whatever its cause. I shall quote an instance. On the night of 28 March, 1954, one of my guides, Toncootēi, a very intelligent Onge, suffered a strong attack of fever while resting in the Antiguēh communal hut in the interior of the island. I diagnosed the trouble as indigestion from immoderate guzzling of pork meat. Friends stretched Toncootēi on the ground, resting on his right side. Two lines of burning charcoal, set at right angles, outlined his back and head. Then one of the Onge started spitting on Toncootēi's hair. This was followed by vigorous rubbing of his scalp, with occasional pauses to seize his head and press it strongly with both hands. Following this, diluted ochre and clay – very hot – was spread on his thorax, throat and neck and rubbed in vigorously, whereupon the patient was brought closer to the fire. In the meantime a young fellow 757 372 123

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

757 started slapping his hands on Toncootĕi's and exposing them intermittently to
372 the fire. All this lasted over a quarter of an hour. The patient was then made
123 to lie prone, with his legs spread out, to receive a foot massage as described above, for another quarter of an hour. Torso, feet and hands were worked over, with short pauses for artificial respiration by means of compression. Subsequently his back, and particularly the sacral region, was vigorously rubbed by willing hands and feet. Three men performed this operation. Toncootĕi was finally allowed to rest, between two fires kept burning all night. Sunrise found him alive, and the fever had abated, due, I think, to a good European laxative that I had persuaded him to take.

164 In March 1952, I witnessed a sad episode, followed by the death of
123 the patient, near my Labanare camp. A young mother was suffering from breast rhagades. Her baby was less than a month old, and she was also suckling
[862] another child, almost two years old, who had sharp teeth. It is a frequent
[597] kindly habit of the Onge to adopt babies ; and it is customary to breast-feed them up to the age of four. Some interesting consequences arise out of this habit, but I shall not analyze them here. A minor detail : since they are allowed to suckle when they wish and are weaned so late, Onge children do not indulge in thumb sucking. Considerable reactions are spontaneously established between the two terminal parts of the digestive tube – oral and anal, as though in physiological conflict. Once more I affirm that the evidence of Onge sexual
[864] behaviour positively denies Freudian theories with regard to the sexual life of children. Furthermore, young anthropoids and primitive people behave identically in this respect.

164 The adopted baby gave the young mother nipple wounds that became
123 infected and suppurated. For lack of proper care and in unhygienic surroundings, the infection spread to the rest of her body. I found her suffering terribly
752 from pain in the breast, muscular spasm and high fever. The Onge had applied their usual external remedies to her body, from head to foot. Very tight bandages of ficus bark, renewed three times a day, were wrapped arounds legs, arms, trunk and abdomen. Bright red ochre – rare in Little Andaman and considered more effective because of its brilliant colour – was painted onto the afflicted breast. The poor young woman looked at me hopefully. I suggested her immediate removal to Port Blair Hospital, and sent radio messages from my camp to the Chief Commissioner, Mr. A. K. GHOSH. He responded generously by ordering a ship to call for the patient, but the journey was useless because her relations were opposed to displacing her. In March 1952 my friendship with the Onge was only starting ; this will explain their refusal to follow my advice. Without proper care, in a place like Little Andaman, the patient died four days after my arrival at the camp.

756 Prescription of medicines and treatments such as those described above
[759] is not determined by specialists. Everybody submits to treatment, with general approval, convinced of its effectiveness. Witch doctors do not exist and perhaps never existed in the Andamans. Nothing, then, is known by the
755 Onge of the dances and exhibitions, commonly executed elsewhere for curative
757 purposes, that influence the patient on a psychobiological basis. As they have

114 while its culture was already in the process of disintegration.
[161 Moreover, MAN dealt almost exclusively with the South Andaman
182] tribes, mainly with the Aka-Bea, while RADCLIFFE-BROWN's researches were centered mainly on some of the northernmost tribes. As a result, not all the tribes were given equal attention. This is regrettable since their religious concepts and myths were by no means uniform. Therefore one cannot say that our information about the ten Great Andaman tribes is as full and up to modern standards as would be desirable. There is, of course, no more hope of ever filling the existing gaps in our knowledge. It is the more necessary that the still relatively intact groups of Andamanese be thoroughly studied before it is too late.

Ongi (Onge)

161 The Ongi of Little Andaman owe their survival to their isolation
[101 and to the fact that they remained hostile until the end of the 1880's
648] and even thirty years ago were not yet considered as quite reliable. Nevertheless, their numbers are constantly decreasing as the following estimates in the various Census Reports seem to indicate

1901 . . . 672
1911 . . . 631
1921 . . . 346
1931 . . . 250

161 Of course, these figures, being mere estimates, are not reliable,
114 and the last two are too low. As Professor LIDIO CIPRIANI of Florence, who spent many months with the Ongi in 1952, 1953, and 1954, kindly informed us, he came to different results. In his letter, dated May 2nd, 1958, he writes:

"I visited all communal huts with aim of taking a census of the Ongi. Every family has a bed in a communal hut, i. e. a kind of 'ritual' bed on which they marry and under which they are buried when they die. I prepared a list of persons using each bed. This added up to about 500 Ongi, but I saw less than 200 of them. The majority is still very shy and, when approached, ready to disappear into the jungle. The names of the absent persons were given to me by other Ongi. I left this list of personal names with the Department of Anthropology, Indian Museum, Calcutta, but kept a copy".

161 This would seem to indicate that the situation is not quite as bad as appears from the Census Reports. But even so, it is very serious and is constantly deteriorating. The Census Report of 1931
● [164 says that "the numbers decrease year by year mainly from infection
182] such as influenza introduced at times of contact with civilization. Some septs have almost completely disappeared during the last years".

Many Onges, in fact, have fine features,
142 and some of the women have a certain beauty and grace of move-
[481] ment, with a dignified walk and restrained gestures, despite their utter lack of any sense of shame. The sclera are very white, and the highly characteristic contrast between the intense black of the skin and the startling white of the eyes gives the Andamanese a ferocious appearance, which on smiling turns into a curiously childish ex-
151 pression (see further, p. 19). It is a curious fact that although the
145 Onges have remarkable sight (p. 47), few of them can close each eye separately, although they are all completely ambidextrous.

144 In examining the child I had particularly in mind the very short
142 stature of the pygmies both of Asia and Africa, which is regarded
164 by some as pathological. The Andamanese have been described as Negroes who have degenerated through genetical isolation. This theory holds that they are descended from slaves who fled from the Portuguese after a shipwreck. I do not regard this as tenable. Pygmies in general, and the Andamanese in particular, are well-proportioned and physically outwardly normal. One cannot speak of dwarfism as determining their characteristics: this implies abnormal development as the result of hypophyseal disorder or
[143] thyroid imbalance. Cases of achondroplastic dwarfism are known among the pygmies of Africa, particularly where there has been mixing with Negroes, and these patients are sometimes taller than their normal kinfolk, but I found no cases among the pygmies of Asia.

142 One characteristic of the Bushmen which does occur among the Andamanese is steatopigia in both males and females. This is nor-
[114] mally much more prevalent in females, and indeed before my visit to the Andamans von Eickstedt held that it was non-existent in males. I had always disagreed with this view, and was able to verify its occurrence in both males and females.

Dobson in the nineteenth century recorded in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* of London, the unusual appearance of the buttocks in the Andamanese, although he did not specifically refer to the phenomenon as steatopygia, and went only so far as to suppose it the result of an unusual accumulation of fat in the gluteal area. To him, however, must go the credit for the first observation.

114 His observation led scientists – in my view wrongly – to compare
142 the Andamanese with the Bushmen. The presence of steatopygia,
144

142 147 482 much assistance in this respect, as the muscular insertions are exaggerated in both sexes, both being subjected to continued physical effort resulting in muscular bulk.

142 147 164 [304] [515] One quite outstanding physical feature in the Onges is their teeth. The palate is unusually arched, unlike that of the African pygmies or the Bushmen. The teeth, which are never filed or cut, as many primitive peoples do for decorative purposes, are very white; caries is rare, and although never cleaned the teeth are retained till late in life. A common abnormality is that the lateral incisors are as pointed as the canines. This, with the whiteness of the teeth and eyes against the blackness of the skin, gives the Onges a sinister appearance, which may account for the old description of the Andamanese as men with ferocious dogs' heads. The only 142 515 (summary) cleaning the Onge teeth receive is the use of toothpicks, thinner and rather longer than the European variety and made from the tough, flexible bark of a certain reed. After use, they are carefully thrust into the hair for future occasions. Every Onge has one or more threaded through the hair on top of the head.

142 147 [264] [514] The strength of the Onge teeth enables their owners to champ their way through what are for us inconceivable quantities of food, both animal and vegetable, which is chewed slowly and determinedly, dust, earth, sand and all, and then swallowed without apparent ill effects, other than the flatulence arising from overconsumption of animal matter. But the Onges use their teeth for other purposes besides eating. In time the teeth become worn down by the inevitable grinding of dirt and grit, but this does not prevent the Onges from continuing to chew the bark of trees and cords, which is a lifelong occupation. This duty falls mainly on the women, and I have seen aged women, their teeth worn almost to the gums, doggedly chewing bark as their contribution to the communal life of the group. The strength of the teeth is unbelievable – I have seen children of ten to fifteen years crush nails up to two millimetres thick, and dent lumps of iron.

114 123 142 147 [137] I myself once had good cause to be grateful for their power. My party and I found ourselves stranded in the forest on South Brother without guns or even knives, and without cooking utensils. There were large clutches of turtle eggs buried in the sand nearby and my two Onge companions pointed out a coconut tree loaded with nuts (which turned out to be the only one on the islands, seeded

The slightly greater age
145 reached by the women may possibly be explained by their some-
165 what less arduous life physically, but biological factors may be the
146 root cause. Despite their deceptively youthful appearance the menopause is over by the age of thirty-eight, at the latest, and they remain in good health thereafter, looking amazingly young. The oldest man I saw was Enagaghe, the head of one of the groups, and he could not have been more than fifty-five. He happily accompanied me on long and arduous trips into the forest, and climbed trees like a squirrel after honey and fruit; neither his appetite nor his zeal as a lover were impaired. His stomach managed to cope with something like a kilo a day of meat, skin and fat, plus fruit, boiled roots and honey. In a hot, damp, oppressive climate like that of the Andamans such a diet year after year cannot fail to produce a state of chronic intestinal poisoning likely to affect the organism as a whole, and may contribute to shorten life, despite an apparent physical vigour.

141 Connected, perhaps, with their excesses is the fact that the Onges'
147 normal body temperature is much higher than usual; with a temperature reading of thirty-eight degrees centigrade they are in good health, with unimpaired appetite. I found an average temperature of thirty-seven point five degrees centigrade in males of various ages, the younger men tending to give the higher readings. The average in females was slightly higher than in males. I was able to observe for myself completely normal behaviour in Onges who by European standards would have been regarded as severely febrile.
[146] In part, as I have said, this may be due to diet and absence of salt, but it must certainly be regarded at least in part as a racial characteristic. It may, too, have some effect on their low vitality; it is interesting that temperatures in the Bushmen and pygmies of Africa, with their longer expectation of life, never vary far from the European norm.

•164 These abnormally high temperatures are not a symptom of
[147] malaria. This is clinically unknown in the Andamanese although it is a serious menace to outsiders. Even a few hours on the island can lead to infection if precautions are not taken. I made all the men with me take their tablets regularly, even when propaganda in India against immunization as a Western importation led to objections, so that I had to force the tablets into their mouths myself to ensure that they were swallowed.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

The Onges do not seem to require any preventive measures, and seem naturally immune to malaria. They do, however, transmit the disease to strangers, through the mosquitoes which are everywhere in Little Andaman. Like many other inhabitants of tropical areas, they probably all carry the disease without being affected by it – neither children nor adults show any sign of splenic enlargement.

In contrast to their periodic gorging, the Onges will equally cheerfully endure hunger, thirst and exhaustion. During our hazardous canoe trip to South Brother, however, they appeared much more affected than I was by long exposure to the sun. We were completely without any means of shelter for an entire afternoon in the open sea, and though the Onges tried to cover their heads as best they could, they still developed severe (and genuine) headaches, and were clearly much happier in the dark forest, which must be considered their natural environment.

Nothing has hitherto been known of the intelligence level and general psychology of the Onges. The childishness of their behaviour, however, is curiously in keeping with their strikingly child-like appearance. Like children, they seek only the satisfaction of elementary stimuli, and like children they pass in a flash from one mood to another, so that they are a people of sudden contrasts.

One example is their passionate love for their dogs, in marked contrast to the intense cruelty with which they hunt their prey. Having once realized the usefulness of dogs, first imported into the islands some thirty years ago, the Onges now pet them like little girls with their dolls, and the Onge women will suckle the family puppies quite naturally with their own children. Yet once a dog dies the other side of the Onge nature comes to the fore and the carcase is thrown into the forest – there is no looking back.

Their minds are in a sense inventive, in that they have evolved devices to help them acquire their food, but they have never, for example, thought of the fish-hook, despite the abundance of iron pieces thrown up by shipwrecks all round the islands. Anything new is taken up with a child's momentary enthusiasm, but they have no notion of sustained mental effort such as any form of counting.

Like children, too, the Onges laugh at the slightest thing, although their mirth is always restrained. In this they differ from the African peoples, particularly the Bushmen, who are often by

To truly primitive peoples like the Onges, European medical practices are fascinating. Men and women will refuse literally nothing once they are convinced of our intention to do them good and cure their ills. Although they have a rudimentary form of medicine, they recognize the superiority of European methods, and medical aid has therefore become our most powerful means of making contact with uncivilized peoples.

While I was busy trying to alleviate their ailments I became aware of the power which 'medicine' has over them, and I was also able to observe their own methods of dealing with their ills. Understandably, disease, death and birth are all attributed to particular supernatural beings, or to the spirits of the dead. They try not to offend these beings, but strive nevertheless, in their own way, at least to cure disease. Once primitive peoples see our methods they respect them, and are eager to be treated; strange though it all seems, they develop a blind faith in the omnipotence of the new ways.

There is little actual disease among the Onges and they have equally few vices. They are still unaware of the existence of alcohol, and have not learned how to ferment sugar substances, such as the honey in which the Little Andaman abounds. Tobacco is a recent introduction, and the Onges at once became wildly addicted to it; the tobacco leaves I had taken with me were in fact my best means of making my way peacefully into the island. A few Onges have acquired a supply of opium from Burmese and Chinese smugglers along the north coast, but instead of smoking it they seem to limit themselves to chewing it mixed with tobacco, and have fortunately no means of replenishing their stock.

Polio, tuberculosis, smallpox and cancer seem unknown, but for some unknown reason the islands have on a number of occasions been struck by disastrous epidemics of measles. These epidemics struck nearly every member of some of the communal huts, judging from survivors' reports, and the sites were afterwards abandoned, leaving the huts to be destroyed by termites.

The census of 1931 includes a personal observation by Portman of congenital syphilis in several Onges. This has since been proved wrong and in 1952 I found only one young man with nasal malformation possibly attributable to the disease, half-moon incisors, and abnormality of the skull and palate. I was not able to find him

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

on later visits. Dr H. Lehmann found no evidence of syphilis in the fifty-two individuals of both sexes from whom he took blood samples in my presence.

Although the Onges are normally healthy and look outwardly robust, they have very little actual resistance to disease and succumb very quickly. Twenty-eight of them, whole families, young and old, whom I took with me to Port Blair in 1954 to present them to the President of the Republic of India, all developed a high fever owing to the change in their way of life during the few days it took from Little Andaman to Great Andaman, and we had to take them back hastily to their own island immediately after the official visit. Even minor feverish complaints of no importance seem to depress and terrify them so that they die very quickly, and I sometimes heard that young Onge friends whom I had left in excellent health had died suddenly from, so I was told, some febrile complaint. The Onge women have better resistance than their menfolk to disease as a whole, which may also help to explain their greater longevity.

On the other hand wounds heal surprisingly quickly in both sexes, although in some of the old men I saw purulent leg sores, slow to heal even when treated with antiseptics which I applied myself. I saw none of these in women, but they seem to be more severely attacked by ringworm, especially on the abdomen and round the umbilicus. Few of the Onges were free from ringworm but none of them bothered to treat it, and it did not seem to cause them any noticeable disturbance. In one woman I noticed whitish patches on the fingers and lips, due to leucoderma.

Diseases of the nervous system and mental illnesses seem very rare, although a few individuals are subject to attacks of epilepsy, watched reverently by all present! The Onges regard epileptics as possessed by a spirit capable of giving important information and question them like the oracle. A number of the Onge leaders, among them Giota of Tambe-e-buiè, go from time to time into a state of trance, which has every appearance of an epileptic attack. I saw one case of dementia in a middle-aged woman, but it was mild enough to allow her to go about her work reasonably well, and at regular intervals she produced normal children.

Sight and hearing in the Onges are particularly acute, as has often been reported in primitive peoples and attributed to the

151 regular exercise of the two faculties required by their existence in direct contact with the natural world; anyone, it is said, who lived such a life would preserve the same keenness of eye and ear. [164] Certainly I saw no myopia among the Onges, nor any of the eye infections common among other inhabitants of the tropics. With the naked eye they can pick out tiny craft far out to sea, or the small, narrow Onge canoes which I could hardly see with field-glasses, which makes me doubt whether constant exercise of the eyes can really be the full explanation of their power of vision. They can pick out quickly and accurately birds immobile among the dense leaves in the darkest part of the forest, invisible to me, even though I was used to looking for them and could see them when they moved. And from the ground they saw high in the trees tiny amphibia which I wanted to catch, after I had caught one by chance which had proved to be a new species. These amphibia, [126] perfect mimics, become almost invisible when they attach themselves to the bark of the trees, but the Onges pointed them out to me from a distance with absolute accuracy, and I was in fact able in 1954 to catch over two hundred in a week.[1]

825 The Onges can also pick out reptiles on the ground, or among
151 the foliage, distinguishing with long practice the poisonous
114 varieties which abound in the islands, and I found it very useful to send Onges ahead of me in the forest to look out for these snakes. When any of my Indians were bitten it was always because they thought they could do as well as the local scouts! The Onges themselves are, however, occasionally bitten, with serious consequences. One of them, aged twenty-five, climbed into a very high tree after honey, and unwittingly put his left hand on a snake hidden in the leaves, where it had climbed to search for birds' eggs. It bit just above the elbow, causing an alarming swelling of the arm with severe pain and fever. He was brought to me semi-conscious, with the whole limb swollen to the size of a rugby ball. The unfortunate [752] man's neck had been bound with the usual strands of *Ficus* bark, and not surprisingly he was groaning desperately, and clearly on the point of death.

752 The Onges have no specific remedies for snake bites, and their
123

[136] [1] These amphibia were examined in 1954 at the Institute of Zoology of the University of Genoa and given the name of *Kaloula baleata ghoshi*, in honour of Mr A. K. Ghosh, then Governor of the Andamans.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Near my camp at Labanar, in March 1952, I witnessed a distressing and fatal case. A young woman, with a baby a month old, had suckled another child, as the Onge women do. The older infant, which had cut its teeth, caused damage to the nipples and the ensuing infection spread throughout the body. The wretched woman was writhing with fever and the pain from her infected breasts and suppressed lactation. Her body had been smeared with a vermilion ochre, held to be the most powerful balm, and tightly bound, as usual. Her condition was so poor that I suggested sending her at once to Port Blair for treatment. Unfortunately, however, at that time I was only just beginning to establish contact with the Onges, and the woman's husband, after all the arrangements had been made, refused to let her go. I had not yet gained the Onges' confidence enough to be allowed near the woman, and although I was able to photograph her I could do nothing to prevent her death. 757 123

The decision to administer 'medicine' and subject patients to various treatments is not the province of any specialists, but is taken by anyone in the group; all, including the patient, accept the decision, since all are utterly convinced that it will benefit them. Medicine men and sorcerers, so numerous in Africa and elsewhere, do not exist among the Andamanese. 75

The Onges have not the slightest idea of any standards of hygiene. They never wash intentionally; the forest, dripping from every leaf, and frequent immersion in water while out hunting, take care of the problem. One must admit that in the circumstances their nakedness is hygienic. A small fire is kept burning beside each bed at night for warmth, a useful precaution which I found very welcome on the many cold nights which followed a very hot day. Deprived of these fires the Onges fall ill at once, a fact of which I had ample proof on several occasions when I took Onges with me out of Little Andaman; they were provided with beds and coverings in well-constructed wooden houses, but although none of them complained about the absence of the fires by their beds they all developed feverish chills. 515 [291] 304 513 164

And yet in their own territory I have seen them lie soaking wet all night in one of their temporary forest camps or a communal hut with a leaking roof without any ill effects, simply because they had

their fires beside them. On the night of 4–5 April 1953, while I was sleeping with them in the communal hut at Berié-Abdalù a sudden storm drenched us all, forcing us to huddle together round fires under the more waterproof parts of the roof. Numb with cold, but cheerful, they began joking, singing[1] and dancing, men and women separately; this went on all night, and no one suffered any ill effects from the soaking.

The Onge lack of hygiene extends also to their cooking utensils, which are never washed. In recent years the ocean has provided the Onges with a generous and unexpected gift; currents running from the south of Asia have thrown up on to the shores of Little Andaman a shoal of empty petrol drums, stout metal cylinders 1·3 metres high and eighty centimetres in diameter. The astute Onges have patiently divided each one in two, each section big enough to take a large pig. Set on big fires these serve as wonderful cooking pots, and the Onges are delighted with them. Unfortunately, however, although they were thrown up all round the island, the supply is beginning to dry up, and they are rapidly being eaten away by rust.

To boil food, the Onges set the drums on two large logs, laid parallel, with a fire between them. Stones are rarely used to support the drums, although there are plenty about in the interior of the island. On the coast, and for a fair way inland, there is nothing but coral, hard but liable when it gets hot to disintegrate under the heavy weight of the cylinders filled to the brim.

In these gifts from the sea the Onges could prepare tasty broths, but they invariably allow nearly all the water to boil away, and the cooking process is not considered complete until all the liquid has gone. While it is boiling, however, they take care not to lose the fat floating on the top, which they adore. They have even invented a curious sort of dipping-stick for the purpose of skimming the fat off. They take a shoot about twenty centimetres long from a plant which disintegrates into fibre when chewed. One end is chewed into a loose 'brush' and no one present misses his turn to dip it into the pot again and again to skim off a mouthful of fat, even getting up in the night in their eagerness for it. One stick naturally does for everyone, men, women and children, the

[1] The Onge voice is not markedly different from the European. It has a musical quality, fairly high-pitched but never shrill; the Onges never raise their voices, even in anger – disagreements invariably end in a dignified silence.

26 Cleaning themselves, to the Onges, means painting themselves
302 to ward off evil and to remove, so they said, the smell of pig fat
[224] after the colossal orgies which follow a particularly good hunt,
when even they find the stench too much. These orgies, which give
● [164] them appalling indigestion for days, are followed by an apparently
instinctive variation of their diet to raw or cooked vegetable foods.
On three occasions from 1952–54 I was present at one of these
solemn pork and honey orgies. The Onges ate almost till they
burst, and then, hardly able to move, cleaned up by a grand painting
session. The women do the painting, families vying with each other
to produce weird new designs, which are then copied until the
next feast.[1]

276 Fed and painted, the Onges sit down to smoke, using pipes made
26 from crabs' claws. Still regardless of hygiene the pipes go from one
302 mouth to another, the women smoking just as heavily as the men.
237

One curious anomaly is that the Onges do sometimes sweep the
356 earth floor of the communal hut. The floor is not deliberately
beaten down, but becomes hardened by continuous walking on
it; in dry weather it turns to dust, which rises and settles every-
where, especially under the roof, where the lumps of cooked meat,
[412] fish and so on are hung. For the cleaning a broom or besom is pre-
pared, well made with very hard, supple, palm fibres, bound tightly
and carefully with cords made from reeds. The whole thing is about
eighty centimetres long and as thick as a man's wrist.

356 The dirt is simply swept out all round from under the roof of the
342 hut through the gap between the roof and the ground. In the course
172 of time a ring of refuse builds up round the hut, forming a glorious
364 breeding ground for insects of all kinds. When the hut has to be
rebuilt, owing to the ravages of wood-worm and termites, the ring
is levelled off to form the new floor. Since the same small, well-
chosen site may be used for thousands of years, the hut ends up
perching on top of a small mound of refuse dating back to very

[531] [1] From one year to the next I saw no real evolution of art forms but cyclic changes of designs, with a preference for certain geometric patterns, at certain times of the year. Having watched various individuals of both sexes closely over a period of some years I can say that in the Onges at least, contrary to what is generally understood, the use of given patterns, and given kinds of ochre, does not correspond with given types of food. Any feast is always followed by painting, always with the weirdest designs possible, but always geometrical, never far from the current 'fashion', and never even remotely inspired by the basis of the feast.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Little Andaman	672
South Andaman Jarawa . .	117
Rutland Island Jarawa . .	351
North Sentinel Island. . .	117
Total . .	1257

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This estimate is not of any great value. As regards the Little Andaman, my own information would lead me to estimate their numbers at between 600 and 700, thus agreeing with the estimate above. Concerning the North Sentinel Island nothing is known on which a satisfactory estimate could be based. The figures for the Rutland Island *Jarawa* are certainly very much too high. In 1907 I spent some weeks on Rutland Island trying to get into touch with the *Jarawa* there. At that time there were certainly not more than 50 all told on the island. I was only able to discover one camp, and that had been deserted just before it was discovered, but had not contained a dozen persons. The Rutland Island *Jarawa* have been cut off from the other *Jarawa* by the spread of the convict Settlement since about 1885. The majority of the *Jarawa* now inhabit the interior and western coast of the South Andaman north of Port Blair.

During the last fifty years the numbers of the Andamanese have been greatly diminished. This has been the result of the European occupation of the islands, and is chiefly due to new diseases that have been introduced amongst them. Syphilis was introduced among the tribes of the South Andaman about 1870, and this has now spread among all the Great Andaman tribes (that is, excluding the hostile *Jarawa*). A large number of natives are infected, and the disease is responsible directly and indirectly for a considerable increase in the death-rate. In March, 1877, an epidemic of measles broke out among the Andamanese, introduced with a batch of convicts from Madras, and spread rapidly from one end of the Great Andaman to the other. In six weeks 51 out of 184 cases treated in hospital proved fatal. It is almost certain that the proportion of deaths was much greater in the case of those, the vast majority, to whom no medical aid could be given. A writer on the Andamans[1] has

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[1] Portman, M. V., *A History of Our Relations with the Andamanese*, Calcutta, 1899.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

164 estimated that the mortality from measles and its sequelae was
165 one-half if not two-thirds of the whole population of the Great Andaman. Other diseases which were formerly unknown to the islands seem also to have been introduced, including influenza.

163 While the death-rate amongst the friendly Andamanese has been enormously increased, the birth-rate has at the same time fallen to almost nothing. This is evident from the proportion of adults to children in the population table given above. In 1907, out of a total of about 500 natives whom I saw at different times, there were not more than a dozen children of less than five years old. A birth is a rare occurrence, and of the children born very few survive infancy.

165 This decrease of population has not as yet affected the
619 Little Andaman. The natives of this island have had very little contact with the Penal Settlement or with the tribes of the Great Andaman, and have thus escaped the diseases which are mainly responsible for the depopulation of the larger island.

Several attempts have been made to estimate the former population of the Andamans. In the "Census Report" for 1901 the estimate given is 4800 for the whole group. Mr M. V. Portman has given an estimate of 8000. It seemed to me that one of these is too small and the other too large. Judging from what it is possible to learn about the habits of the natives, and the food supply available, I should estimate that the former population of the islands (in 1858) was about 5500[1]. An estimate for the proportion of the different groups is as follows:—

	Estimated former population.	Density per square mile.
North Andaman (four tribes)	1500	2·75
Middle Andaman with Baratang and Ritchie's Archipelago	2250	2·5
South Andaman (Aka-Bea and Jarawa)	1200	2·0
Little Andaman and North Sentinel	700	1·75
Total	5650	2·25

[1] This estimate is based on what the Andamanese were able to tell me of the conditions under which they formerly lived. Of course such an estimate can only be of small value. I think it is more probable that I have underestimated the former population than that I have overestimated it.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

With regard to the comparative density per square mile of the different groups it may be pointed out that the reason for the smaller density of the South Andaman is the fact that the *Aka-Bea* and *Jarawa* were living there at war with one another, and the territory was therefore probably not so fully occupied as in other parts of the islands where boundaries between neighbouring tribes were well defined. The food supply of the Little Andaman does not seem to be so abundant as that of the Great Andaman in proportion to its area. It must be remembered that length of coast-line is of more importance to the Andamanese than the actual area of their country. The natives of the Little Andaman are not able to harpoon turtle and large fish, which constitute an important element of the food supply of the tribes of the Great Andaman.

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165.

If the figures of the above estimate be correct, it will be seen that the population of the North Andaman has been reduced in less than fifty years (1858–1901) to about 27 per cent. of its former volume, while in the same period the population of the Middle Andaman and South Andaman has been reduced to about 18 per cent. As the tribes in the south were the first to come into contact with the Settlement, their numbers have diminished more rapidly than those of the northern tribes. It is probable that in another fifty years the natives of the Great Andaman tribes will be extinct.

The diminution of population has combined with other causes to alter considerably the mode of life of the islanders. What were formerly distinct and often hostile communities are now merged together. The different languages have become corrupt, and some tribes have adopted customs of other tribes and have abandoned their own. Most of the younger men and women of the friendly tribes of the Great Andaman now speak a little Hindustani (Urdu) in a somewhat corrupt form. The friendly natives are under the charge of an officer of the Settlement, known as the Officer in Charge of the Andamanese. A Home and Hospital are provided for them in Port Blair, and natives from all parts, even from the extreme north, go there either to be treated in the Hospital or to stay at the Home. During certain parts of the year some of the natives

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2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

presented by their densely wooded and hilly country, which facts have combined to isolate the various communities, and to check freedom of intercourse among them; further, in the case of Little Andaman, it may fairly be assumed that the peculiar bee-hive form of their huts, as well as certain modifications of their domestic habits and customs, have been borrowed from their neighbours, the Car Nicobarese, upon whom, in the last century, they made some hostile raids.

IV. That, in spite of all our endeavours to protect them, contact with civilisation has been marked with the usual lamentable result of reducing the aboriginal population; indeed, the death-rate, among those within the area of our influence, during the past twenty years has so far exceeded the birth-rate, as to compel the belief that before many decades have passed, the race, at least that portion of it which inhabits Great Andaman, will be well-nigh extinct.

In view of their probable early extermination, and the rapidity with which they are being meantime reduced to the standard of civilised manners, it seems very desirable that, ere it be too late, all possible information respecting their habits, customs, physical characteristics, etc., should be obtained, more especially as many of the errors which, excusably enough, found their way into the early accounts, having been allowed to pass unchallenged, are accepted as trustworthy, and false ethnological theories are built on these most imperfect bases.

Almost all accounts which have been written regarding these islanders speak of them as *Mincopies*, in explanation of which it is asserted that it is thus "these people style themselves;" but this is far from being the case, for not only is the name, or any at all resembling it, unknown to the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*,[1] *i.e.*, the inhabitants of South Andaman, but the other six tribes with which we are acquainted are in a like state of ignorance as to its origin and significance. The only sounds at all approximating it in the South Andaman dialect at the present day being *min kaich!* (come here!) and *kâ·min kâ·pi!* (stand here!). The former of these being in common use may have given rise to the term (*Mincopie*) as a nickname, to which, indeed, it may possibly have borne a more striking similarity of sound in the language spoken at the period when this name was first adopted; for each generation cannot fail to produce changes more remarkable, and even of greater importance in the phonology of an unwritten language, such as this, depending as

[1] For the list of symbols adopted for denoting the sounds in this language *see* Appendix A; this list has been finally adopted in accordance with the kind advice of Mr. A. J. Ellis, F.R.S., whose valuable assistance I would here again gratefully acknowledge.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

302 they never intentionally interfere with the natural colour, but some of the pigment, *kòi·ob-*, with which they so frequently paint their persons sometimes accidentally adheres to their curly wigs, these being often used for wiping or drying their hands.

142 10. The colour of the hair among different individuals varies between black, greyish-black, and sooty, the last perhaps predominating; it is apparently uninfluenced by, and does not correspond with, the hue of the eye or skin; it commences to turn grey about the fortieth year, but the number of those who exceed that age being small, white hair is seldom seen.

●165 **Development and Decay.**—1. The average length of life, owing to excessive infant mortality as well as to the small number that attain old age, can hardly be reckoned as much, if at all, beyond 22 years. Not more than three generations of the same family have ever been known to be alive at the same time.

2. Fifty years is believed to be the extreme limit of age among them, and the majority of those who attain it are women.

145 3. Judging from those whose births have been registered by us, it would seem that physical development takes place at a late age as compared with natives of India, the males not attaining puberty till about the 16th year, and the females not before the 15th,[1] while the maxima of stature and bulk are not reached till two or three years later; should the opinion thus formed be confirmed by further observations, the fact will serve to weaken the theories that have been advanced by some anthropologists to account for the phenomenon hitherto assumed to be of universal application, that "the period of immaturity is curtailed in inverse proportion to the approximation to the equator or the polar circle;"[2] but, as the same writer goes on to say, "probably the latitude of the abode has no reference to this phenomenon; it may more probably have some connection with the darkness of the skin."

141 4. Among the Andamanese, when the head is in the customary position, the line taken by a horizontal plane drawn through the *meatus auditorius* would, in most cases, pass through the apex of the facial angle, or, in exceptional cases, somewhat lower. I cannot entirely concur in the opinion expressed by Dr. Brander regarding the variety of the facial type found among them, as he says that "some faces seem to resemble the Negraic, some the Malayan, and some even the Aryan in character;" it is, however, a curious physiognomical fact, of which there can be little or no question, that a remarkable diversity in this respect *does* exist among them, though it is

[1] The extreme ages for child-bearing appear to be 16 and 35 years.
[2] Peschel.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

not at the hands of their mothers, but of the male members of the tribe.

Reproduction.—1. Marriages never take place till both parties have attained maturity, and generally not till a few years later; the usual age of the bridegroom varies from 18 to 22, and of the bride from 16 to 20. The result of inquiries tends to show that there is a slight predominance of female over male births; three or four is the average number of children born of the same parents. The largest family known consisted of six, three only of whom attained maturity.[1]

2. Twins are rare, and as no instance can be recalled of both surviving infancy, notwithstanding all possible care being bestowed on them, they are not favourably regarded. No case of triplets has been known to occur. Births out of wedlock are considered discreditable, and in the one known instance of the kind, the parents were married immediately after the event; no difference was made in the treatment which the child received.[2]

3. The limited fecundity of the women may in some measure be due to the circumstance that they never wean their babies, so long as they are able to suckle them, and it not unfrequently happens that the two youngest children are seen together at their mother's breast.[3]

4. The ill success in rearing their offspring is doubtless owing in most part to the injudicious management and petting which each of the mother's friends considers right to bestow on the infant. It is looked upon as a compliment for every woman who may be nursing, to relieve the mother of this duty at frequent intervals; it is, therefore, no matter of surprise that the little one ails and dies.

5. The proportion of deaths from violence and accident, is believed to amount to four or five per cent.

6. Barrenness is rare, as are also cases of stillborn children. No drugs or other contrivances are employed in order to increase or limit reproduction.

Abnormalities.—1. Excessive development of fat about the gluteal region is frequently observable among the adult women.

[1] It is said that more children are born during the rains than at any other season of the year.

[2] *Vide post* "Marriage," paragraph 4.

[3] On this subject Dr. Brander remarks as follows:—

"They mostly possess considerable mammary development, and the glands in many cases seem to be in a chronic state of functional activity. This may be due to the late period to which they suckle their young (even to three or four years), or to another purpose to which the milk is applied. . . ." (*vide post*, "Shaving.") [As will be seen from Plate II, fig. 1, the mammæ are pyriform rather than spherical: with the advance of years they become flaccid and elongated.]

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Future Prospects of the Race.—It is now 26 years since I first became acquainted with the Andamanese, and I was present amongst them in one of the great devastating outbreaks of infectious disease (measles introduced by convicts from Madras) in 1877, and I personally know how much more numerous they were then than now. The one sad result of the Census has been to demonstrate beyond all doubt, what most local officials suspected and some asserted, that infectious and contagious diseases, the result of contact with an advanced civilisation, are wiping out the Andamanese: at any rate the friendly sections of them. With a population so diminished in one generation and a birth-rate so inadequate, it is obviously impossible, unless the people have reached or are about to reach that point of saturation with these diseases which is also the point of immunity and recovery from their effects, for the race to last out much longer. Excluding the Onge-Jarawas, all the other tribes now number, on any reasoned calculation, not more than 700, of which some 250 belong to one Tribe, the Yere, out of an estimated total of 3,500 only a generation ago, while the children cannot in any case be much more than 25 per cent. of the adults. On these figures, in two more generations, *i.e.*, in probably less than 60 years, even if undisturbed and unmolested by the Jarawas ever-increasing in relative strength, the friendly Tribes must die out. A century must be taken as the extreme limit of a forecast of their existence, unless of course the law of saturation with disease to the point of immunity comes into play.

It also seems not difficult to foresee that it is possible that in a short time the Great Andaman will be occupied by the Penal Settlement and the Jarawas only, with a chance, in the case of the latter becoming friendly and losing their exclusive bearing, that they too will succumb to a rapid disappearance, through what may be called the natural action of infectious and contagious disease, not necessarily carried to them by the civilised alien, but more probably, as past experience shows, by diseased members of the remnants of the "friendly" Tribes captured in collisions with them.

There is nothing new in the disastrous effect of infectious or contagious disease on savages when introduced among them for the first time. It seems to be a process of nature not to be seriously checked by administrative measures. From the very first instructions of the Marquess Wellesley to Archibald Blair in 1789 to the existing practice in dealing with the Andamanese, there has never been any change in the general policy maintained towards the aborigines of the islands. They have been treated uniformly with kindness and consideration. From the first recorded hostile brush with them in 1787 to the operations ending with the gallant death of Mr. P. Vaux on 24th February 1902, nothing more has ever been done than was necessary to prevent murderous raiding into the lands under active occupation by ourselves. It is disease introduced by the carelessness and callousness of civilised individuals in the first instance and spread broadcast amongst the savages by their own ignorance in the next place that has worn down their actual numbers to one-fifth of the former total in one generation and has apparently now rendered the union of the sexes infructuous in three-fourths of the cases.

From the accompanying returns it will be seen that we can with confidence estimate the present population of Great Andaman (exclusive of the Jarawas) at no higher figure than 600, of whom only 20°/₀ are children, while the Onges and Jarawas together are believed not to exceed, 1,000, *viz.* :— 000

Onges (Little Andaman)	500
Jarawas (South and Middle Andaman)	350
Do. (Rutland Island)	100
Do. (North Sentinel)	150

Diary of Captain A. R. S Anderson, I.M.S., Senior Medical Officer, Port Blair, on the second tour round the Andaman Islands on Cholera duty from the 15th to 19th February 1901.

15th February 1901.—Embarked on the *Bess*, left Port Blair about 6-30 A.M., accompanied by the *Belle* and, after a smooth passage, reached Kyd Island soon after 9-30. Having communicated with the inhabitants—Andamanese and convicts—and landed a few fowls for breeding purposes, we departed for Middle Straits, through which we passed, with occasional rain squalls and anchored for the night close to and inside the northern entrance of Port Anson. We landed and made a Census of the people, who had been collected from the surrounding country by Andamanese left here for this purpose on our former trip. Here, as in all the other places visited, the great paucity of children was very noticeable. Only one of the women had two children, the others possessing either one each or none. The commonest story they tell is that their first or first and second children are dead and that the one with them is the sole survivor. The great child mortality is undoubtedly due to the very extensive prevalence of syphilis which displays itself in some of its most virulent forms among these people. The infantile mortality is certainly not due to maternal neglect, as the mothers display great affection for their children. 165

We landed some cocks and hens, strictly enjoining the people not to eat but to feed them and allow them to breed and to this they readily assented. We also distributed some sprouting cocoanuts which seemed much appreciated. 000

16th February 1901.—Left Port Anson at 6 A.M., and at 10 entered Port Campbell: made the circuit of the harbour, sounded the whistle several times, but failed to evoke any response from the inhabitants until we were actually departing. Then the people on the *Belle* discovered some Andamanese on the western shore, close to the entrance of the harbour. About eight women with a few children and some eight men were seen slowly wending their way along the sand towards the southern part of the bay. We again whistled to attract their attention and slowly stood in towards the shore, at about three cables from which we came to an anchor. No sooner had we done so than the men began wading out from the shore towards us, using threatening gestures with their bows and arrows, while the women and children, with their camp gear slung in baskets on their backs, made off at a quicker pace along the upper part of the beach. Seeing their inability to reach us, the men slowly retreated after the women leaving three of their number behind to act as a rear guard. As we were anxious to see these people at close quarters, to accurately count them, and if possible to establish friendly relations, we put off in our boat to the shore. In the boat were Messrs. Man and D'Oyly and myself, a convict at the tiller and a crew of some seven Andamanese together with an Andamanese woman, whose shrill cries we hoped might prove to the savages ashore our pacific intent. The crew as usual took their bows and arrows with them, but carefully kept them concealed in the bottom of the boat; and, as our Andamanese assured us very positively that their compatriots ashore were bent on mischief, Mr. D'Oyly took a Mauser pistol and I a ·303 rifle. As we approached the shore in token of amity we waved our umbrellas, our handkerchiefs, and large pieces of red cloth intended as presents and much appreciated by other Andamanese. We also instructed our Andamanese woman to shout friendly messages: shout she did, and the messages were doubtless—although unintelligible to me—friendly. When we were still about one hundred yards from the water's edge and had only just sufficient water to float our boat, while inshore of us stretched a coral shoal with a foot or less of water on it, the three rear-guard Andamanese came leaping down the shore and, after trying their bows to see that they were in good order, with loud shouts rushed into the water to the attack of our boat. I went forward, stood in the bows of the boat and waved the cloth presents vigorously and got the woman to again shout. In vain; they totally ignored our friendly overtures. The three warriors formed into line abreast, an interval of about 18 yards separating the one from the other, and ran towards us splashing through the water which reached half-way up to their knees. The man attacking the bows of the boat, who was the ring-leader and directing the operations of the other two making the flank attack, had his arrow already on the bow-string and was in the act of firing, being now well within bow-shot 60—80 yards, when after motioning him to stop and his disregarding my order, I fired at and struck him in the right thigh. He spun round and made off for the beach, followed by the other two. After running a short way up the shore, he was joined by his comrades and while one carried him on his back into the bush, the other ran off along the shore yelling to the rest of the party who were now hastening forward to the attack. As our retreat was out of the question and we had not the slightest desire to renew such an unequal contest I fired a shot into the sand a few feet in front of the party to warn them that they were well within range. This so greatly surprised and alarmed them that they at once rushed into the forest and we saw them no more. After waiting about ten minutes longer and again trying in vain to

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

common in the Andamans, said by RADCLIFFE-BROWN (p. 273) to be eaten by the Andaman Islanders as a protection against rheumatism, is never killed. For some superstitious reason the Onge are simply horrified at the thought of touching such an enormous flying bat. Among the fruits, those of a plant whose wood has such a revolting smell that it is known, in English, as "stool-tree", are believed to have exceptional protective properties for the human body. The fruits themselves smell even worse than the wood, but this, to the Onge, makes them appetizing rather than disgusting. Concerning honey, and the many sugary fruits of the jungle that are available all the year round, the Onge luckily ignore the simple method of distilling alcohol. No intoxicating drink reaches Little Andaman from the outer world, whereas in Great Andaman alcohol, together with imported syphilis, was one of the main causes of depopulation. No syphilis appears as yet to have reached Little Andaman. This is also confirmed by the research carried out by Dr. HERMANN LEHMANN of London's St. Bartholomew's Hospital, during February 1953 in my Onge camp in Labanare (north-east coast of Little Andaman).

II. Effects on the People's Lives

The islanders die young, specially the men. The majority of them succumb before reaching the age of 20; most of the survivors die between 20 and 40; the rest – with a very few exceptions – before 50. Women, after marriage, follow a similar pattern: the death rate among women, however, is slightly different owing to a less corrosive sexual life. Some women may live to the age of sixty, but both sexes age soon, appearing older than their years when still in their twenties. The short Onge span of life recalls conditions which apparently prevailed among prehistoric and protohistoric men. Palaeolithic man died at an earlier age than modern man. The Onge today, in many respects, behaves as palaeolithic man behaved countless centuries ago. – Infant mortality is high; the first five days of life are the most critical for the Onge, owing, in part, to the hard life led by mothers even during pregnancy, which often causes functional damage to the placenta. Delivery is generally easy and traumatic injury rarely occurs; but premature births are common, and so are malformations and other anomalies. Imperfect infants are quickly eliminated by their parents. As a result, only a small number of children are allowed to grow up, but these appear normal. There are no blind and no deaf-and-dumb people in Little Andaman. I saw only two instances of incipient lameness: in an unmarried boy of about twenty and in a young married woman. Only robust infants can survive.

The Onge, so careful about their food, are completely indifferent to something else that is considered very harmful in continental and insular regions close to the Andamans. There, menstruating women are often segregated and considered harmful to the entire community. Not so in Little Andaman, where the remedies applied in the circumstance are extremely primitive (cf. supra) and could probably be traced to palaeolithic man. I saw nothing

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

162 boys and girls and children of the widows. The break-up of the total population is given below.

Table No 3

	Male	Female
Adult	46	61
Child	30	24
	76	85

On the consideration of the total population, there is a 5.6% excess of the female population over the male population.

However, the further break-up of the total number of Onges counted by Sri Nigam reveals some of the most important demographic characteristics of the Onge population. Considering only the 45 family units, it is found that there is a preponderance of males over the females as is evident from the table below.

Table No 4

	Individuals			Children		
No. of families	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
45	75	67	138	26	22	48

162 589 The Onge of the 'unattached' type, therefore, are comprised of 5 males and 18 females. Of this 10 are widows. So the predominance of the females among the Onges may be due to a higher percentage of widows whereas the widowers are much less in number. This throws another 165 important light on the logevity of the Onge males and females. The females, as it stands, have a longer life than males and this is not only a very important aspect of the Onge population but also of the other tribes of the world. In Africa also such a higher longevity of the females is discernible which is due, as is commonly believed to higher resistive power of the females to fight the odds of life compared to the males.

163 The fertility of the adult females are also extremely poor. He writes[1] in 'the total of 61 adult females there were 10 widows who were too old for child-bearing, 4 married women with their child-bearing period finished, while there were 8 married women with no possibility of any issue. Thus

1 Nigam, R. C.—Little known tribes of the Andaman Islands—Their problems & prospects; Vanyajati, Vol. VIII, July, 1960. No. 3.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

from a nut carried by the sea from some tree hundreds of miles away). There was thus ample food for several days, if only the coconuts could be opened. The Onges' teeth solved the problem. They attacked the nuts close to the stalk, stripping off great chunks of the fibrous outer covering until they had uncovered the three 'eyes'. These they dug out with a sharp piece of stick, so that we were able to drink the juice and then break up the nuts to get at the flesh. Never did coconuts taste so good!

Round the base of the tree I saw a thick layer of broken pieces of coconut, the remains of nuts opened by the Onges' teeth over the years. The strength of their bite resembles that of the African pygmies, whom I have seen hanging by their teeth from the lianas and who can dent the barrel of a gun.

The average life span of the Onges, and indeed of the Andamanese in general, is fairly short. On Little Andaman there are probably no individuals over the age of sixty, and most die before fifty. Here again they differ from African peoples of similar stature; Bushmen have been known to live to a hundred, and I saw one in Natal, incredibly wrinkled, but not shrunken, who was certainly near that age if not, as he claimed, over it. This is quite unknown in the Andamanese. There are none with white hair; although a few white hairs can sometimes be found on the head of an old woman, there are none to be seen in the men, who die younger than the women. There is no baldness, which is by no means rare in Negroes, particularly in southern Africa.

Precise age is not easy to determine in the Onges. Visual assessment is hampered by the absence of the signs of ageing common in Europeans. Moreover, a particularly child-like expression often lasts into adult life. In May 1952 I saw on Car Nicobar two Jarawa youths, small but robust, whose age by our standards one would have estimated at ten or twelve years. One turned out to be fourteen, however, and the other at least two years older, and both were adolescent, despite their childish appearance.

Males appear to reach their maximum height at about eighteen, and females at about sixteen; both sexes reach full maturity at about twenty-three. At forty-five they are old: their hard life, their unbalanced diet, with its enormous quantities of fat meat eaten in excess, and complete absence of salt, and their unrestrained sexual activity, may all be contributing factors. The slightly greater age

The slightly greater age
145 reached by the women may possibly be explained by their some-
165 what less arduous life physically, but biological factors may be the
146 root cause. Despite their deceptively youthful appearance the menopause is over by the age of thirty-eight, at the latest, and they remain in good health thereafter, looking amazingly young. The oldest man I saw was Enagaghe, the head of one of the groups, and he could not have been more than fifty-five. He happily accompanied me on long and arduous trips into the forest, and climbed trees like a squirrel after honey and fruit; neither his appetite nor his zeal as a lover were impaired. His stomach managed to cope with something like a kilo a day of meat, skin and fat, plus fruit, boiled roots and honey. In a hot, damp, oppressive climate like that of the Andamans such a diet year after year cannot fail to produce a state of chronic intestinal poisoning likely to affect the organism as a whole, and may contribute to shorten life, despite an apparent physical vigour.

141 Connected, perhaps, with their excesses is the fact that the Onges'
147 normal body temperature is much higher than usual; with a temperature reading of thirty-eight degrees centigrade they are in good health, with unimpaired appetite. I found an average temperature of thirty-seven point five degrees centigrade in males of various ages, the younger men tending to give the higher readings. The average in females was slightly higher than in males. I was able to observe for myself completely normal behaviour in Onges who by European standards would have been regarded as severely febrile.
[146] In part, as I have said, this may be due to diet and absence of salt, but it must certainly be regarded at least in part as a racial characteristic. It may, too, have some effect on their low vitality; it is interesting that temperatures in the Bushmen and pygmies of Africa, with their longer expectation of life, never vary far from the European norm.

164 These abnormally high temperatures are not a symptom of
[147] malaria. This is clinically unknown in the Andamanese although it is a serious menace to outsiders. Even a few hours on the island can lead to infection if precautions are not taken. I made all the men with me take their tablets regularly, even when propaganda in India against immunization as a Western importation led to objections, so that I had to force the tablets into their mouths myself to ensure that they were swallowed.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

842 enjoy the active marital relationships necessary, according to their
163 husbands, to encourage the entry of the benevolent spirits which bring motherhood. The late onset of fertility in all Andamanese
842 women and perhaps in men as well[1] probably depends on mech-
163 anisms which have been operating for a very long time, affecting
165 the sex ratio at birth, and preferential infant mortality in one sex.
[123] By a combination of observation and deduction I was able to be
[124] reasonably certain that among the Onges at least more males are born than females. The disparity is reduced, though not eliminated, by a higher mortality rate in young males. Males thus remain in excess, making it difficult for some, possibly fertile, to find wives.

842 There are certain peoples – notably the Pitcairn Islanders – who
143 have arisen by repeated inbreeding for hundreds of years from a
161 very few individuals. It is clear from this example that genetic isolation and inbreeding cannot of themselves cause numerical, physical or mental decline of a population. The problem merits further investigation. Civilization has perhaps accused herself unjustly of causing the decline of primitive races, whereas she has in fact only hastened the disappearance of groups already heading for demographic decadence as the result of physiological factors which lie within the group itself, and which are consequently difficult to counteract. The intrinsic damage done by civilization as such has, in my opinion, been considerably exaggerated in some quarters.

Possibly because of the low birth rate the maternal instinct is
855 very highly developed in the women of the Andamans, even to the
597 point of 'adopting' children temporarily. These children are always given lavish affection, and are kept sometimes for years, or even permanently if the parents do not ask for them back. Given the language barrier, this custom makes census-taking difficult as childless couples happily declare adopted children as their own. Nabimbòi, with no children of her own, always had children with her, and it was only the fact that they differed from year to year that led me to suspect what was happening! One wonders whether the custom was not already common before outsiders first came to the Andamans, owing to the existence of a high incidence of sterility long before the arrival of civilization.

[1] There is some evidence of infertility in the men, but it is clear that this is of relatively minor importance.

136 Andaman, in Yeratil Jig (near Port Anson, about fifteen miles from Long Island) in Diglipur (or Dilyapur) Creek, near Port Cornwallis, and in Wilima Jig,[1] but they are now extinct. In March 1952 the Onges had described the presence of crocodiles so clearly to me as to leave no doubt what they meant, and I soon received confirmation when I found their tracks on the sand about one kilometre from the mouth of Jackson Creek, on the right bank, and then saw some lying on the shore across the creek. Through my field glasses I saw small birds pecking between the teeth of the great wide-open jaws. As we approached they slid lazily into the sea, some reappearing a little later, their cavernous mouths rising vertically out of the water. Every day after that I saw them swimming quietly near the banks, and one afternoon my men and I between us saw over a dozen, near Nachuge, dozing in the mud or in the water.

[805] [198] The Onges assured me that crocodiles will come out of the water to a certain whistle. I got them to try it; the Onges whistled, and whistled again, but no crocodiles came!

237 321 276 172 Very different from the great turtles and the crocodiles, but equally important in the daily life of the Onges, are the crabs from which the islanders make their ancient and very characteristic pipes. They eat the crabs and use the claws to make the pipes, cutting them across the joint and boring a hole in the end, as they have done since time immemorial, to smoke aromatic leaves from the forest. Fragments of similar pipes, charred with use, appear in even the lowest strata of the kitchen-middens, dating back thousands of years and proving the antiquity of the smoking habit. Contrary to popular belief, smoking did not begin everywhere with the introduction of tobacco – in Asia at least men smoked thousands of years ago.

237 276 171 The claw pipes of the Onges have a groove cut round the end which goes into the mouth, so that the teeth can grip it better. I have seen identical pipes, with the same groove, in the Melville Islands, where there are many other signs of ethnographic connections with the Andamans. The canoes, for example, are identical [501] [142] with those of the Andamans; the peoples themselves, however, are today very different physically.

[165] [1] According to Portman a man was dragged into the water here on 11 May 1894 by a crocodile and killed; several similar incidents have occurred since.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

184 world: on their arrival at Viper Island, they saw, for the first
115 time, Europeans, and a mode of living of which they could have previously formed no idea. *Wō·i's* companions returned to their tribe after spending a few months with us, but he, having lost his heart to one of the South Andaman houris, was without difficulty induced to remain behind, and settle down in our midst as a married man. As he speedily acquired a knowledge of the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* dialect, we were enabled to question him on various points, besides those referred to in the statement which forms one of the appendices to this volume,[1] and thus learned much that was before unknown concerning the habits of the inland branch of the *.ôko-jū·wai-* tribe: the information thus obtained, when compared with the result of our own observations of the customs and mode of living of the communities in the vicinity of our settlement, afforded convincing proof of the universality of the customs and practices of the respective classes of *àryô·to-* and *ē·remtâ·ga-* throughout Middle and South Andaman.

8. In Dr. Mouat's book mention is made of the capture of a youth, nicknamed "Jack," after a hostile encounter with some of the natives of Interview Island, from which circumstance it may be inferred that the lad belonged to the *.âkà-ked·e-* tribe, only one member of which had, till 1879, stayed amongst us, and he is an *e·remtâ·ga-*, who had travelled out of curiosity as far as Middle Strait, and from thence had been persuaded by the chief of that district to accompany him to Port Blair. He proved himself very intelligent and active in all jungle accomplishments, but was entirely ignorant of fishing and turtling After remaining with us a few months he was taken (in March, 1879), at his own request, to a point on the north-west coast of Middle Andaman, and landed with a heap of presents: his home, he informed us, was situated midway between that place and the east coast.

361 **Nomadism.**—1. Nomadism appears to be almost, if not
[768] entirely, confined to the *àryô·to-*, and even among them there are hamlets which are only abandoned temporarily, as with
221 the *ē·remtâ·ga-*, in consequence of a death, or of a *jeg-* (*i.e.*,
●166 "corroboree"), at some neighbouring encampment.

2. The nature of the temporary migrations which take place among the *ē·remtâ·ga-* during the dry season, as well as of those necessitated by a death, will be explained in subsequent sections. In the case of the *àryô·to-*, migrations are occasioned by a variety of circumstances, as, for instance, fishing operations being rendered impossible by a change in the wind, the

[1] *Vide* Appendix F, a free translation of which will be found in "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xi, pp. 280–2.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

361 suitability of a particular spot for fishing and turtling during
221 certain phases of the moon, on account of the character of the
166 foreshore, or the configuration of the coast, and the hope of meeting with better luck elsewhere—to these might be added the love of a change, and the prospect of seeing some of their friends; but it must not be supposed that a long journey is thereby involved; the move being generally made to a spot only a mile or two further on, and thus, by short stages, they sometimes proceed along the entire coast-line of their tribal territory, spending a few days or weeks at each halting place, according to the special attractions it may happen to possess in affording good sport on land or sea, or in supplying a rich harvest of fruit, honey, &c.

364 3. The necessity of a migration is also frequently forced on them by the consequences of their neglect to sweep away the refuse of their meals, it being regarded by these *insouciant* and unclean creatures as not worth their while to take so much trouble, when only a short stay is contemplated.

4. That the necessity for observing *some* sanitary measures has long since been recognised by the Andamanese is evident from the existence of numerous kitchen-middens throughout their territory, many of which are doubtless of remote origin. These refuse-heaps are still in course of formation by communities living at a distance from Port Blair, and are invariably found near camping grounds which have been, or are still more or less, permanently occupied. In those sites, where they are not seen, evidence is at once afforded of the temporary nature of the occupancy: the rubbish and refuse of food in these latter places is only swept aside if the ground be needed for a dance, wedding, or other ceremony, so that injury may not befall the revellers through inadvertently treading on a bone, stone, or shell. Crows, hermit-crabs, and, of late years, dogs, are the principal scavengers of these ill-ordered and dirty habitations, the two former performing their useful office as soon as a migration takes place.

342 **Habitations.**—1. We will now pass to the consideration of the three varieties of huts which are commonly met with in the permanent and temporary encampments throughout the territory of the eight Great Andaman tribes, and which are known as *chàng-tē·pinga-*, *chàng-tô·rnga-*, and *chàng-dar·anga*.

2. To commence with the *chàng-tē·pinga-*, which is made by men, and erected in all permanent encampments as being the most durable. No particular kind of wood is used for the posts, which are four in number, two in front and two in rear, the former varying from six to nine feet in height, and the latter from two to three feet; upon these, slender rafters and two light transverse poles are secured, so as to form the framework of

In a recent paper Dr. N. DATTA-MAJUMDER, Director, Department of Anthropology, Government of India, writes: 163

"From a study of 34 Onge families contacted by us, it is found that the average size of the family is only 3.15. Thirteen families out of 34 are childless. That is, 38.2% of the married couples are sterile".

When, in 1946, proposals were made for undertaking work for the amelioration of the conditions of the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands along the same line as had been done among the Bhil and other tribes of Central India, Dr. B. S. GUHA, at that time Director of the Department of Anthropology, very reasonably observed that "the problem of the aborigines of the Andaman Islands is not the same as that of the other primitive tribes of India", and that "the need among them is not so much the spread of education and social uplift as the arrest in the decline in population which has been most alarming". 648 161 177

The Ongi have been in sporadic contact with the outside world for many years. They have been visiting Port Blair, particularly since some of them moved to Rutland Island on the southern tip of Great Andaman. This contact with civilization was bound to affect their material culture, as well as their whole mentality. We may again quote Dr. DATTA-MAJUMDER who says: 177 [166]

"As a result of this long contact the Onge have already come to appreciate a number of foreign articles, for example, tobacco leaves, tea leaves, sugar, matches, aluminium utensils and implements made of iron (especially bill-hooks and files). In order to secure these articles, they often barter away their valuable honey and shells. The afore-mentioned changes in material culture have at present touched only the fringe of Onge culture. But the demand for these articles (especially tobacco leaves and safety matches) is becoming so great that Onge culture is likely to be vitally affected in the near future". [276]

Dr. DATTA-MAJUMDER came to the conclusion that "the hunting and food-gathering Onge culture, which had been an autonomous cultural system in the past, is now breaking down". 22 182

The Ongi were repeatedly visited by government officers, but the resulting information is paltry. PORTMAN spent several months among the coastal groups of Little Andaman in 1886 and 1887 and collected a few hundred words of their language. In 1901, C. BODEN KLOSS visited a group of Ongi on Rutland Island and one on Little Andaman, both only for a few hours. At some time between 1906 and 1908, A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN went to Little Andaman for several weeks and made a preliminary study of the Ongi language. In 1928, EGON VON EICKSTEDT spent a few weeks among the Ongi on Rutland Island and visited briefly several groups on the coast of Little Andaman for the sake of physical anthropological research. 114

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

Another item of material culture found during the above expedition was a few unbaked pots which show that the Jarawa manufacture earthenware articles – an art not reported so far from among the Onge. Coiled pottery was known among the Andamanese (MAN, 1932). It can be found in the Andamanese kitchen middens as well. 323

The present writer had the opportunity of being twice after the trail of the South Andaman Jarawa in the year 1948. During these two tours a large number of ethnographic objects of the Jarawa was collected. They are now deposited at the office of the Anthropological Survey of India [1], Indian Museum, Calcutta. 126

It was known that the Jarawa were using Bluff and Spike Islands as temporary halting stations in their to-and-fro migrations from South Andaman to Middle Andaman. In September 1938, a pregnant Jarawa woman and four young children (SARKAR, 1952) were captured while they were crossing on a raft on the coast off Bluff Island. A few of their haunts were known to the then officers of the local forest department. 166

In 1948 while the present writer was camping at Long Island, studying the Andamanese, two such opportunities of visiting the Jarawa areas arose. The presence of the Jarawa north of Port Anson was reported to us. We left for Port Anson in a motor launch on March 7th 1948, in the company of an Andamanese – whose canoe was tied behind our launch – under the leadership, of Mr. Joseph, the then Sub-divisional Officer of the forest department. We had one gun only and a *dao* (billhook) each. 123

We passed through Homfray Strait and, reaching Port Anson, we went along the western coast of Middle Andaman. We then anchored our vessel off Foul Bay and came ashore in the Andamanese canoe. This flat open coast is known to be a good place for deer hunting and the animals could be seen from the sea. When the deer were not seen from the canoe we presumed that some human beings had been there shortly before; we suspected them to be Jarawa. Soon we discovered on the beach small footprints, which both Mr. JOSEPH and the Andamanese recognized as Jarawa ones. We traced them inside the jungle and came across a small fire which was still smouldering. A few yards away we found two bags for carrying water made of leaves (fig. 2) which were still wet. The few drops therein tasted sweet. We walked about for some time since the footprints could no longer be traced. There seemed to have been only two people. We then came to Bluff Island along the east coast of Spike Island but found nothing of the Jarawa. [415] [415]

Fig. 2

[1] Thanks are due to its Director, Professor NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE for his kindness in helping the writer with the illustrations of this paper.

THE ANDAMAN ISLANDERS

175 177 648 a furious aversion to foreigners. This hatred has been rekindled during the last hundred years by a number of unfortunate incidents, but at one time the islanders were favourably disposed towards seafarers passing by, if we are to believe Niccolo dei Conti and Cesare Federici, fleeting visitors to the islands in 1440 and 1569. They both wrote of the peaceful native canoes that approached their ships, and this is confirmed by other travellers, like the Italians Fra Odorico da Pordenone in 1332 and Giovan Francesco Gemelli Caresi in 1709.

Violent clashes with the coastal tribes only became frequent when the English began to take an interest in the Andamans as a possible penal colony. The first prisoners to be sent there were some Indians, in 1788. In 1796 the colony was abolished owing to the swift death of nearly all the prisoners from tropical diseases. The attempt was repeated in 1858 after a mission entrusted to F. Mouat, and this time the seeds of decline for the islanders were sown. Efforts were begun to approach the coastal peoples, and even, strangely enough, those of the forests, the now ferocious Jarawas. Some of these tentative overtures were well received, but once the islanders came to think they had been betrayed it was enough to rekindle the hatred of strangers which they have retained ever since.

166 [172] The evidence obtainable from archaeological excavations shows that for thousands of years the people encountered by the English in the coastal areas were the sole inhabitants of Great Andaman, living by fishing rather than by hunting or cultivation in the forests. The Jarawas arrived later. Migration from Little Andaman, imposed in relatively recent times by lack of food, brought them to Great Andaman. Since the entire coastal region was already occupied, the new arrivals took refuge in the forests of the hinterland. There they were happy, for they found an abundance of wild honey [628] and fruit which amply fulfilled their needs. A spontaneous equilibrium was established between the coast-people and the forest-people, and both prospered.

175 177 648 16 101 563 The arrival of an appreciable number of foreigners in 1858 immediately changed the situation. The peoples of the coast, who were the most anxious to make friends with the strangers, paid for this fatal error with virtual extermination. When the foreigners had definitely established themselves, the coastal Andamanese – *Arioto*

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The widespread use of the arrow and spear harpoons since very ancient times is evidenced by their survival in areas far removed from each other, and among primitive peoples geographically completely isolated. The arrival of the harpoon in the Andamans must in all probability have occurred thousands of years ago when it was widespread at least in the south and south-east of the Asian continent. Even the Andamanese canoes with their platforms fore and aft built specially for the harpoon throwers indicate not only the antiquity of the islanders, but also their historical and cultural connection with the peoples represented today by the few remaining Negritos.

From the evidence of the middens it is clear that the links between the Onges and the Jarawas are very close. While the date of the first migration from Little Andaman to Great Andaman remains uncertain there can be no doubt that migrations took place, followed by isolation within the islands, until today the Arioto cannot understand the Eremtaga, and the Onges neither the Jarawas nor the Sentinellese. There is very little in the literature on the Jarawas and their origin, but from my own observations I would deduce that they arrived in Great Andaman comparatively recently, as even their subsequent rigid isolation has not brought about any really essential cultural differences from the Onges.

The route of the migration will undoubtedly have led them via Rutland, whose heights can be seen as an open invitation from the north of Little Andaman. Chains of small, uninhabited islands lie between; the Onges have a name for all of them and have camp sites there for use on hunting or fishing expeditions; the Arioto, on the other hand, do not appear ever to have been to the islands. From Rutland migrations would have moved on to Great Andaman, until, filtering through to the extreme north, they became the Jarawas, or 'strangers', as the Arioto still call them. The Arioto themselves probably arrived previously by the same route but stopped in the coastal areas, then uninhabited and inviting occupation. The Arioto would have considered themselves owners of the still uninhabited areas and tried to exclude later immigrants; so began the hostility I have already described between the occupiers of the coasts and the later arrivals whom they forced into the depths of the forests.

166 [174] All the evidence points to this being far more than mere supposition and even today the Onges persist in their tendency to expand towards the north. In 1953 I could find no trace of a number of Onges whom I had known in 1952; the others told me they were all 'dead', but it seems probable that they had migrated to the islands further north. And in 1954 nearly all the canoes belonging to the communal huts in the south-west of Little Andaman, which I had seen in 1953, had vanished and were said to have gone with the 'dead'. It is probable that they too had migrated to Great Andaman, becoming 'Jarawas'.

166 484 [485] [501] This is physically quite possible. Between Little Andaman and Great Andaman the Onges have a line of transit camps, still in use, where food and water are easily available. All have a name, and I followed the line myself. With the help of their fragile but very fast canoes, and without carrying food or water (which they know will be available at the next transit camp), they can travel very quickly. [372] They take fire with them in the canoes in the form of a burning torch and while they are at sea, unlike the lazy pace of their normal attitude to life, they seem possessed by the desire to reach the next stopping point on terra firma.

174 166 Moreover, one may deduce from the fact that the names of these transit camps are all in the Onge language that the migrations have always been from south to north. Little Andaman, formed as it is mainly of coral banks and only projecting a short way above the sea, disappears from view in the tropical mists a few kilometres from the shore; from Rutland it is invisible, and as the Andamanese only travel by sea with land in sight or when its existence and direction is well known, no one from the north would have dared to travel south into the unknown.

We have already seen that the ignorance of the present-day Jarawas as regards the sea is no bar to a hypothesis of their original [175] arrival in Great Andaman by sea. Colebrook, a hundred and fifty [501] years ago, actually saw them with canoes, and Gilbert Rogers[1] [178] recorded seeing canoes on the coasts of North Sentinel very similar to those of the Onges today. The accumulation, therefore, of this [184] evidence and the general similarity of culture throughout the archipelago all adds up to inescapable conclusions.

000 Even the unique dances enjoyed by the Onges are to be seen

[113] [1] *Andaman and Nicobar Gazetteer*, 2 January 1904.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Even the unique dances enjoyed by the Onges are to be seen among the Jarawas, with the characteristic marking of the rhythm by slapping the calves against the buttocks. This does not seem to have been a feature of the Arioto dances, in which the rhythm was by the *pukuta yemnga*, a kind of convex shield made of the very hard and aromatic red wood (*Pterocarpus dalbergoides*) which the termites never seem to attack. I was able to obtain one of these shields, the last that the twenty-three surviving Arioto possessed and the only musical instrument in the islands. It is played by one man with his feet, while the dancers, male and female, form lines on each side of him a short distance away. Before use the convex face is decorated with lines of white ochre and chains of tusk shells are hung from a hole at the end opposite to the one on which the player's feet beat; from the same hole runs a cord, which he holds in his hand to prevent the instrument moving away from him as he beats. The players change from time to time as the dancers shuffle on and on for hours in the light of the resin torches. But apart from the instrument itself, the rhythmic hand-clapping and the dancers singing in unison are the same throughout the Andamans.

The women clap their hands in rhythm, and then slap one thigh with the open palm of one hand, the other hand clasping the wrist, singing all the time. The men dance in Indian file, beating the ground first with the right heel, then with the left, the toes barely raised from the ground, moving a short way forward each time. As they dance they lean forward, then with hands clasped and their fingers interlaced. There are variations, but the basic step is always the same.

One difference between the Onges and the Jarawas is that in the latter both sexes are naked, while the Onge women have in recent times adopted the *naquineghe* or apron. Complete nudity was a characteristic of all the Negritos, including the Semang and Aetà, and the Jarawa migrations probably took place before the introduction of the *naquineghe*.

The present inability of the three peoples to understand each other is more a question of pronunciation than of difference in actual words. To examine the question fully it would be necessary to collect a large number of words and analyse their affinity; meanwhile we know that despite their inability to understand each other there is a close resemblance between the language of the Jarawas and Sentinellese and that of the Onges. Strict isolation can lead to

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P 51]

CHAPTER VIII

THE PEOPLE

101 144 563

The study of the people of the Andamans is rendered extremely interesting by virtue of the great diversities in the types of population. Obviously for the islands like the Andamans the diversities of population are far out of proportion. The islands remained as an abode of the aborigines, the negritoes, in complete seclusion and the only outside interference that had tampered the islands were the occasional raids by the sea pirates from Malaya. The beliefs about the occasional exchanges of commodities and ideas of the pirates with the Andamanese and the trade of the Andamanese for being sold as slaves in the courts of Siam and Cambodia are still now questions of doubt. However, it was only at the end of the 18th century, with the attempt of the formation of settlements and later on, of the penal settlement, that there began an influx of foreign peoples, mainly from the different parts of the mainland of India. With the formation of the penal colony, convicts were brought over to the islands in numbers and also a few attempts of free colonisation by some people from Burma and India were made. The convicts who were from the different parts of India and the free colonizors who were diverse enough in their social and cultural traits gave a character of heterogeneity to the islands. It was only after the attainment of the independence that the settlement of the East Bengal refugees and of some people from South India is taking place in the Andamans. This is going to add further to the cultural diversity of the islands. This scheme of colonisation of the East Bengal refugees and of some people from South India is the first attempt of some importance for the permanent colonization in the islands.

[114] 563 167 144 101

Such a variety in the types of people, can be broadly divided into three groups. 144 563 101

(a) The aboriginal population.
(b) The Later Settlers, and
(c) The New Settlers.

174

The aboriginal population belongs to the negrito stock and therefore, has an affinity with the Semangs and Sakais of Malaya, the Veddas of Ceylon and the other negrito groups of Southeast Asia. Some attribute the origin of these aborigines to the settlement of some Portuguese negro slaves who had survived by coming to these islands after a ship- 101 [144]

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Andamans A22

mariners from massacre. Despite efforts at conciliation there was violence on both sides; attempts were made indeed to settle some of the more friendly groups in an 'Andamans Home' as fishers of trepang (sea-slug) and collectors of edible bird-nests, both for the Chinese market. But the only result was to civilise them out of existence, largely by venereal disease.[52] The Andamanese are—perhaps one should say were—Negritos, and as they represented perhaps the nearest approach to a 'pure primitive' society, both ethnically and culturally, these hunters and gatherers have attracted anthropological attention out of proportion to their numbers.[53]

Transportation of convicts to the Andamans began after the Mutiny. Latterly there was a change of emphasis, hopeless criminals being re-transported to India and the settlement becoming in effect an open prison for young men condemned to life sentences for more or less excusable homicide. After a few months in jail convicts were allowed to become wage-earning employees of Government, to wear ordinary dress, and to marry or bring out their wives. These changes were reflected in the sex composition of the population: 15,158 males to 2980 females in 1901, 14,872 to 6444 in 1941. The cultural landscape also changed: "Everywhere the ephemeral huts of former times are giving way to well-constructed two-storeyed houses of sawn timber and iron roofs," and a good deal of reclamation of malarial swamp took place around Port Blair. The communal composition of the population was an odd reflection of social conditions: in 1941 Muslims were about a third, largely Moplahs from Madras deported after their 1921 rebellion; Sikhs were 3·5% against an All-India total of 1·5%, Buddhists—i.e. Burmese—over 13%. This corresponds to the prevalence of dacoity in Burma and to the Sikh *penchant* for "liquor, love, and fights".

Practically all the economic development is in the Settlement of Port Blair, an area of about 500 sq mls in the S of South Andaman; here is 90% of the population, the remainder being in forest camps. About 75,000 ac. are more or less cleared, of which about 10–15,000 are cultivated and as much grazing land. Paddy and coconuts each account for about a third of the cultivation, and there are (or were) struggling plantations of rubber and coffee, negligible in area.

The war and the Japanese occupation saw a fall in population to about 16,000, and on re-occupation the penal settlement was formally abolished. From time to time schemes of Anglo-Indian agricultural settlement have been mooted, and in March 1948 a batch of 132 families displaced from E Bengal arrived. It may be noted that some Burmese politicians periodi-

[52] 1931 Census Vol. II (Andamans and Nicobars), 11–23.

[53] The classic treatments are those of Sir Richard Temple in the 1901 Census and of A. R. Brown in *The Andaman Islanders* (1922). There is unfortunately little geography in the latter book; what there is is largely summed up in L. Garrard's 'sociograph' in *Studies in Regional Consciousness and Environment* (ed. I. C. Peate, 1930), 82.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

APPENDIX A

THE TECHNICAL CULTURE OF THE ANDAMAN ISLANDERS

In this appendix I shall give a brief account of the technical culture of the Andaman Islanders, with a few comparative notes on the technology of the Semang of the Malay Peninsula and the Negritos of the Philippine Islands. The Andamanese, the Semang and the Philippine Negritos are so similar in physical characteristics that it is reasonable to suppose that they are descended from a single stock. It is on the basis of this hypothesis that they are all spoken of as belonging to one race, the Negrito race. It is therefore of some interest to compare the culture of these three different peoples to see if we can determine what was the culture of their ancestors. 174 171

In such hypothetical reconstructions of the past it is necessary to proceed with extreme caution, as there is no means of controlling results. The method I have adopted is to compare first of all the different types of technological products or activities found in different parts of the Andamans in order to determine as far as possible what was the technical culture of the ancestors of the Andamanese when they first reached the islands, and what changes have taken place since the islands were occupied. It is only this primitive or generalised Andamanese culture that can be compared with that of the Semang or the Philippine Negritos. 174

From the point of view of technical culture the natives of the Andamans must be separated into two main divisions, which will be spoken of as the Great Andaman Division and the Little Andaman Division respectively[1]. The most plausible explanation of the differences of culture and language between these two divisions has been mentioned already. We must assume that when the islands were first peopled, or at some later time, the inhabitants of the Little Andaman became isolated from those of the Great Andaman. The language and the

[1] See Introduction, p. 13.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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are shown in the form of a diagram or tree. The justification for this arrangement will appear as we proceed. 174

There is only very scanty information available about the technical culture of the Negritos of the Malay Peninsula, whom we may speak of as the Semang. There are differences of technology between the Semang of different parts, and a careful study of these differences would serve to throw much light on changes that have been introduced since the Semang were isolated from the rest of their race. There is no doubt that the Semang have adopted many elements of their present culture from their neighbours the Sakai and others. In some instances it is possible to trace this external influence, but in others it is doubtful whether we are dealing with a primitive Semang form or with a form adopted from their neighbours[1]. 171 174

The same thing must be said about the Philippine Negritos. Our information is not sufficient to enable us to discuss the local differences, nor to determine what elements of the culture have been introduced by contact with other races[2].

Habitations.

The huts of the Andamanese are best understood by considering first of all the simplest and most temporary structures. A man away from the main camp at night (on a hunting expedition) erects for himself a simple shelter of leaves. Such hunting shelters vary considerably according to circumstances. In the rainy season they are built much more substantially than in the dry season. Sometimes shelter is found between the buttresses of large trees, a few leaves being added. There is, however, one type of hunting shelter that is usual. Two poles are cut and erected perpendicularly in the ground so that they stand about four feet apart and about four feet high. To the top of these is tied, with cane or creeper, a horizontal pole. A few poles or sticks of sufficient length are placed so as to lean against the horizontal pole at an angle of about 45°, the ends resting on the ground. On these are placed any leaves that can be obtained, 342

[1] The information here given as to the Semang is derived from two works, Skeat and Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, vol. I, quoted as *Skeat*, and Rudolf Martin, *Die Inlandstämme der Malayischen Halbinsel*, 1905, quoted as *Martin*.

[2] The information about the Philippine Negritos is derived from Reed, *Negritos of Zambales*, Manila, 1904, quoted as *Reed*, and A. B. Meyer, *Die Philippinen, II, Die Negritos*, Dresden, 1893, quoted as *Meyer*.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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In a village each hut is occupied by one family. In the communal hut (of either type) each family has a special portion of the hut marked off for its special use. Whether in a village or in a communal hut each family has its own small fire, at which the family meals are prepared. At one side of this fire is erected a small platform about a foot above the ground, supported on either three or four upright sticks. This platform is used for storing food. The natives of the Little Andaman erect low bamboo platforms to serve as beds, arranged round the communal hut, each family having its own. In the Great Andaman the natives, as a rule, make a bed of leaves on the ground and lay a sleeping mat on the top of this. In damp situations, however, they sometimes, as already mentioned, make a floor to the hut, raised a foot or two above the ground, and sleep on that. The Jarawa have a habit of sleeping in the wood-ashes of their fires in their cold weather hunting camps. 342 352

Turning now to the Semang, we find some differences in respect to their habitations. Those of the Semang who have not been influenced to a great extent by their neighbours and have not settled down to agricultural pursuits, never camp in the same spot for more than a few days, and have therefore no need to build anything except temporary shelters[1]. 171 342

The Semang often erect their shelters in trees, well above the surface of the ground. This is a feature which distinguishes them from the Andamanese. It seems probable that these tree-shelters have been adopted by the Semang as a protection against wild beasts[2]. As there are no dangerous beasts in the Andamans, the extra labour involved in building a shelter in the branches of a tree instead of on the ground would serve no useful purpose. The difference in this respect between the Semang and the Andamanese is therefore due to a difference in the circumstances in which they live.

The typical form of Semang shelter, occupied by one family, is erected by planting three or four stout sticks or poles in the ground in a row at an angle of about 60° or 75° and lashing palm-leaves across these. The screen or roof thus formed is further supported, if necessary, with one or two poles used as props in front[3]. These shelters are similar to the Andaman shelters in having a single sloping rectangular roof, but differ from them in being supported, not by upright posts, but in an altogether less adequate manner.

[1] Skeat, p. 172. [2] Skeat, p. 174.
[3] Skeat, p. 176, and plate. See also Annandale, *Fasciculi Malayensis, Anthropology*, Part I, Plate IV.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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However, the Semang shelters are apparently very easy to erect, and as they are only occupied for a night or two there is no inducement to the natives to make them more substantial.

The Semang sometimes make a shelter by planting a number of palm-leaves in the ground in a semicircle so that the overhanging ends meet in the centre[1].

As the Semang are constantly moving from place to place, they have little use for a communal hut of substantial build. One communal shelter has been described, which contained eleven sleeping-places arranged in two long rows. The upright timbers of the shelter consisted of young saplings planted in two opposite rows, across them being lashed the leaves of a palm. There were, besides, two central posts or pillars, each about a third of the distance from either end of the shelter, and a dozen poles placed as props or wind-braces in various positions and at various angles, in order to strengthen the structure and keep it from being blown over in a high wind. The two slopes of the roof were not united over a ridge-pole, but a longitudinal aperture was left between them for about two-thirds of the entire length of the roof, and through the gap thus caused the greater part of the smoke from the many fireplaces issued. All round the walls were ranged a number of bamboo sleeping-platforms, five to six feet in length by about three feet in breadth. The owner of each sleeping-platform or family unit possessed a separate fire or hearth[2].

We have only scanty information about the huts of the Philippine Negritos. In Zambales (Luzon) a certain number of the Negritos have adopted a settled mode of life and depend on agriculture for some part of their subsistence. The most advanced of these have adopted the form of hut common amongst their neighbours. The less settled Negritos of Zambales erect huts which are almost exactly the same as the family huts of the Andamanese. Two short upright posts are erected for the back of the hut, and two taller ones for the front, and on these four posts a rectangular roof of one slope is erected. A bamboo floor or platform is erected a foot or so above the ground, just as in some Andaman huts[3]. In the Zambales huts the upright posts are forked and the horizontal poles are supported in the fork.

At Casiguran the Negritos erect palm-leaf shelters similar to those of the Semang. A few poles are thrust into the ground at an angle and in a row and palm-leaves are attached to these, the screen being further supported with props[4].

[1] Skeat, p. 174. [2] Skeat, p. 177. [3] Reed, Plate XXXVIII. [4] Meyer, Plate X.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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A comparison of the three branches of the Negrito race in the light of present information shows that the usual form of habitation amongst them is a sloping roof or screen of palm-leaves. One form of this, the simplest to construct, but only suitable as a temporary shelter, is in common use amongst the Semang and is found amongst the Negritos of Casiguran. The other form, more permanent but requiring more labour to erect, is in common use in the Andamans and amongst the Negritos of Zambales. Of communal huts we have no evidence in the Philippines. The communal shelter of the Semang consists of two screens leaning towards one another. The two types of communal hut of the Andamans are both derived from the family hut.

HUNTING, FISHING, ETC.

The Andaman Islanders depend for their subsistence entirely upon the natural productions of the forest and the sea. They make no attempt whatever to cultivate the soil. Until the introduction of dogs in 1858 they had no domestic animals. Young pigs are occasionally kept in captivity till they are grown, but they are killed for food and are not bred in captivity. Thus the Andamanese provide themselves with food by three different forms of activity: (1) collecting such things as roots and fruits and honey, (2) fishing in the sea and in the creeks, (3) hunting the wild animals of the forest.

For hunting the Andamanese rely entirely on the bow and arrow. Since they have had dogs they occasionally make hunting spears, but they did not do so in former times. They make no use whatever of any method of trapping game or birds. For fishing they also make use of the bow and arrow, wading out on to the reefs and shooting the fish, and in this they are very skilful. Crustaceans, such as crabs and crayfish, are captured in the same way. In the North Andaman a sort of short fish spear was formerly in use as an occasional substitute for the bow and arrow. In all parts of the islands small nets are used by the women for catching small fish and prawns. In the Great Andaman large nets were formerly used for capturing turtle, dugong and large fish near the shore. At the present time the natives of the Great Andaman Division make use of harpoons with which they capture turtle, dugong and large fish from their canoes. Harpoons are not used in the Little Andaman. The Andamanese are also aware of methods of poisoning or stupefying fish in pools by means of certain plants that they crush and place in the water, but I have never seen them use this method of

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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227 fishing, although they say that they formerly did so. They have no
226 fish hooks and no fish traps. At the present time a few of the natives have learnt to take fish with hook and line, but they are unable to make hooks for themselves, and have to obtain them from the Settlement at Port Blair.

222 In collecting roots a digging stick is used, and a hooked pole is
412 used for gathering fruit, but they have no other special implements in use in collecting natural productions, and have no need of any. The adze is used for obtaining molluscs and for cutting honey-combs from hollow trees.

411 It is thus clear that by far the most important utensil of the Andamanese is the bow and arrow. We may say that they are essentially a bow and arrow people. This is even more true of the natives of the Little Andaman Division than of those of the Great Andaman Division.

It may be noted here that the Andamanese have no weapons that are used only for fighting. They fight with their chief hunting weapon, the bow and arrow. Nor have they any special defensive weapons, the shield being unknown.

171 The Semang in their natural condition depend for their subsistence on collecting roots and fruits from the forest, on catching fish in the streams, and on hunting animals. Their mode of subsistence is thus essentially the same as that of the Andamanese. One difference is that they have not the sea from which to draw supplies, and another is that the forests in which they live afford a much larger variety of game. A number of the Semang now practice a little rude agriculture which they have undoubtedly adopted in imitation of their neighbours of other races[1].

The principal weapon of the Semang, as of the Andamanese, is the bow and arrow. In hunting they also use spears[2], thus showing a difference from the Andamanese. Some of the Semang make use of the blow-pipe with poisoned darts, but it is practically certain that they have adopted the use of this weapon from their neighbours the Sakai[3]. They also make use to some extent of traps with which to capture jungle animals and birds. The wilder Semang living in the mountains have little opportunity of obtaining fish. Those of them that dwell near rivers use fish-spears and harpoons for catching large fish, and a small basket-work scoop for catching small fry[4]. They also fish with

[1] Skeat, p. 341.
[2] Skeat, p. 270.
[3] Skeat, p. 280.
[4] Skeat, p. 205.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

rod and line, the hooks being, as a rule, roughly manufactured from bits of brass or other wire[1]. The Semang have no special fighting weapons either offensive or defensive. 171

In the Philippines some of the Negritos practice a little rude agriculture[2]. It is practically certain that they have only adopted this mode of subsistence through contact with agricultural peoples of other races. They originally depended entirely upon collecting, fishing and hunting, and even those who now grow a few scanty crops devote a large part of their energies to hunting and collecting the natural products of the jungles[3]. The chief weapon of the Negritos of the Philippines, as of the Andamanese and the Semang, is the bow and arrow. They use the bow and arrow for shooting fish, having special fish-arrows[4]. It seems doubtful if they use spears, unless they have adopted them from their neighbours. In hunting deer the Negritos of Zambales use large nets like fish nets. They are acquainted with the use of traps for game but they seem to prefer to depend on the bow and arrow[5]. In the larger streams of Zambales they make fishing weirs of bamboo, after the manner of the Christianised natives of the same part[6].

As the most important weapon of the Andamanese, and indeed of the Negritos in general, is the bow, we may consider this first. Different kinds of bow are in use in different parts of the Andamans, but by a careful comparison of them it is possible to show how they are all derived from one original pattern. 411

The first kind of bow to be described is that in use in the Little Andaman. These bows are all made of a reddish-brown wood (possibly *Mimusops littoralis*). They are cut with an adze from a straight piece of wood, and are planed but not polished. The length varies within fairly wide limits. Six specimens selected as typical have lengths of 131, 150, 159·5, 163, 168 and 188 centimetres, giving an average of about 160 centimetres (= 63 inches). In section the bow is markedly convex on the one side and slightly convex on the other. The two figures (Fig. 1) show the section at the middle and at a point 7 cm. from the end of a typical specimen. The shape in section varies a little from one example to another, and the dimensions of breadth and thickness also vary. At the broadest point, which is in the middle, the average breadth of six bows is 3·2 cm., the broadest being 3·7 cm., and the narrowest 2·3 cm. The average thickness in the middle is 1·8 cm.,

[1] Skeat, p. 205. [2] Reed, p. 44. [3] Reed, p. 44.
[4] Reed, p. 47. [5] Reed, p. 47. [6] Reed, p. 48.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 side. This is the only bow in the whole of the Andamans in which I ever saw this feature. In all other bows of whatever type the outer side is markedly convex and the inner side is either concave, flat or only slightly convex.

It is now possible to compare one with another the different forms of bow in use in the Andamans. It would seem almost certain that the North Andaman bow can only have been derived from the form in use in the South Andaman or from one very similar to it. It is only after they were in the habit of making bows with an outward curve in the lower portion that the natives could have devised the method of seasoning this portion of the bow and keeping it in the reversed or half-strung position. It is unnecessary to argue the matter in detail, and we may conclude that the North Andaman type is derived from the South Andaman type.

It is less certain, but still highly probable, that the South Andaman form was derived from a bow similar to that still in use in the Little Andaman. The South Andaman toy bow shows a stage intermediate between the Little Andaman bow and the usual South Andaman form. The section of this toy bow is very similar to that of the Little Andaman bow. It has no blades, and therefore no waist for the handle. The shape, however, is asymmetrical. Owing to the different method of stringing it, the shoulder at the end of the bow is unnecessary, and the bow is strengthened (prevented from splitting so easily) by tapering the end to a point instead. The difference between the toy bow and the general South Andaman bow is the presence in the latter of the two blades and the waist. The broadening of the bow into the blades is necessary in order to prevent it from accidentally reversing itself.

411 171 We have still to consider the modified form of the Jarawa bow. The origin of this is easy to discover by the examination of a few typical specimens. Since the Jarawa have been in the South Andaman they have been in hostile contact with the tribes of

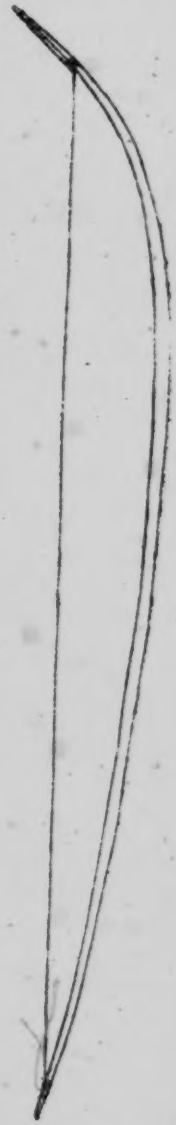
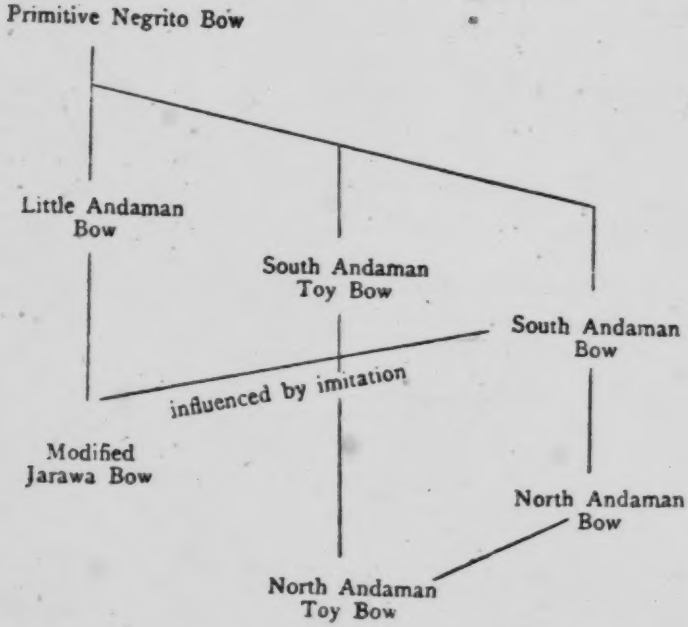


Fig. 14. Toy bow of the North Andaman

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

the South Andaman Division. They have had opportunities of handling bows of the kind made by these tribes, and they have apparently discovered that these bows are more efficient than their own, but they have had no opportunity, such as only friendly intercourse would give, of discovering the principles on which the South Andaman bow is made. They have attempted to imitate it to the best of their ability, and this they have done (1) by making their bows longer and broader, (2) by making them concavo-convex in section instead of convexo-convex, (3) by cutting them occasionally from wood that gives them an outward curve in the



lower portion, (4) by imitating the shape of the handle without, however, giving the bow a waist, (5) by serving over the bow-string with thread at the point where the arrow touches it, (6) by ornamenting their bows with incised and painted patterns. These are the only differences between the modified Jarawa type and the Little Andaman type, and all these may be explained as attempts to imitate the bows of the South Andaman Division. In not a single one of the modified Jarawa bows that I have seen is the fundamental principle of the South Andaman bow successfully applied.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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We may conclude that the ancestors of the Andamanese at one time used a bow resembling that in use in the Little Andaman at the present day, and that the S-shaped bow of the Great Andaman has been invented since the separation of the two main divisions of the race.

It is not possible, owing to lack of sufficient information, to determine exactly the types of bow used by the Semang. The following notes are based on only six specimens, two of which are in the Museum of Ethnology at Cambridge[1], while the others are in the British Museum. Four of the specimens are sufficiently similar to one another to be regarded as belonging to one type, which seems to be the usual type of Semang bow. In length they are 165, 174·5, 182 and 197·5 cm., and at the middle they vary in breadth between 2·5 and 3 cm. Three are of palm-wood, and the other is of a light-coloured

Fig. 15. Section across the middle of four Semang bows

but tough kind of wood. The shape of the section in the middle of the bow varies considerably in the different specimens, as shown in Fig. 15. There is some uncertainty as to which is the inside, and which is the outside of the bow. At each end there is a shoulder, the point or tip at one end being in every instance considerably longer than the other. The string in each case is a three-ply rope, having a spliced eye at one end and being fastened to the bow with a knot at the other end.

The other two specimens do not conform to this type. One is of wood, 134 cm. long, and 3·5 cm. broad in the middle. One end is provided with a notch on each side for the string, while the other end has three pairs of notches. The string is a three-ply cord with a loop or eye at each end. The other specimen is made of bamboo, and is 147 cm. long and 2·25 cm. broad in the middle. One end has one

[1] For information about the two specimens at Cambridge I am indebted to the kindness of Mr J. W. Layard.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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pair of notches and the other has two pairs. The string is two-ply with a loop at each end. 411

What we may perhaps regard as the usual type of Semang bow thus differs from the bow of the Little Andaman in three important respects, (1) in having a longer point at one end than at the other[1], (2) in having a string of three-ply rope instead of a strand of twisted fibre, and (3) in the variations in the section at the middle. From the four specimens available it is not possible to determine around what norm or norms the section of different specimens varies. 171

Turning to the Negritos of the Philippine Islands, although a number of bows have been described by Meyer[2], the available information is not sufficient to enable us to determine what are the different types, and what is their relation one to another. Amongst the different varieties of bow used by the Negritos there is one which is very similar to the bow of the Little Andaman. It has a rounded or convex outer side, and a flattened inner side. The string loops on to a point at each end, and the string itself is formed of twisted fibre.

From a study of the available material it seems that we are justified in concluding that the primitive Negrito bow was made of wood, with a shoulder at each end, probably with a section rounded on one side and flattened or keeled on the other, and that it had a string of twisted fibre with a loop or eye at one end, the other end being attached with a knot.

The Andaman Islanders use two different kinds of arrows, one for shooting fish and the other for shooting pigs. 411

The common fish-arrow, as at present used in all parts of the Great Andaman Division, consists of three parts—a shaft, a fore-shaft, and a point. The shaft is a length of bamboo straightened by means of heat, and may vary in length from 70 to 110 cm. At one end the bamboo is cut off about 3 cm. beyond one of the nodes, and a nock is made (Fig. 16). At this end the shaft is roughened with a *Cyrena* shell so as to give a firm grip for the fingers. At the other end the shaft is tapered for about a centimetre. At this end the bamboo is roughened with a shell to give a hold to the thread with which it is bound. The fore-shaft is a length of wood from 15 to 40 cm. long. One end is slightly tapered so that it fits tightly into the end of the bamboo shaft. The other end is tapered to a point, which is flattened on one side. The

[1] According to Skeat the end with the longer point is the lower end of the bow (Skeat, p. 273), but Martin (p. 785) describes a bow of this type and states that the longer point is the upper end.

[2] Meyer, pp. 13—17 and Plates VI—VIII.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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Arrows of this kind are used in pig-hunting. The fore-shaft is inserted into the end of the shaft, the cord attaching the two being wound spirally round the end of the shaft. When a pig is struck the barbs prevent the head from coming out of the wound. As the pig attempts to run away the shaft catches against the undergrowth of the jungle and comes loose from the fore-shaft. Sooner or later the shaft becomes entangled in the undergrowth and holds the wounded pig fast till the hunters can come up with it and despatch it. It is obvious that the cord of the arrow needs to be so strong that the pig cannot break it. 411

The natives of the Great Andaman tribes say that before they had plenty of iron they made similar pig-arrows with heads of shell and barbs of pig's bone. [177]

The natives of the Little Andaman make a pig-arrow very similar to that of the Great Andaman tribes, but on the average somewhat longer. The cord attaching the fore-shaft to the shaft consists of a length of double two-ply rope of *Hibiscus* fibre. The binding of the arrow is done with thread of the *Gnetum* fibre instead of *Anadendron*, and is not coated with composition but is smeared with bees'-wax. The barb (there being usually only one) is not fixed in the same plane as the head, but in the plane at right angles to it. (Fig. 20.)

Amongst the Jarawa the head of the pig-arrow is attached to the fore-shaft by a different method, holes being made in the iron through which the thread that holds it is passed. (Fig. 21.)

Another kind of pig-arrow is sometimes made in the Great Andaman that has not a detachable head. The shaft is a length of bamboo into one end of which is fitted a fore-shaft of wood. The end of this fore-shaft is split and a head of iron is inserted into it and bound there. Such an arrow may be without barbs or may have one or two barbs of iron. It is used only rarely and then chiefly for despatching a pig that has already been struck by an arrow of the usual kind. The natives say that in former times arrows of this kind were used in fighting in preference to ordinary pig-arrows, which, however, were also used.

In former times the natives of the Great Andaman, according to their own statements, made an arrow consisting of a bamboo shaft at the end of which was inserted a head made of *Areca* wood. An arrow of this kind, made for me by a native, is shown in Fig. 22.

None of the arrows made in any part of the Andamans is feathered.

In a comparison of the arrows of the Andamanese with those of the Semang and the Philippine Negritos the most interesting point is that 411 171

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

all three branches of the Negrito race use arrows with detachable heads. Arrows of this kind from the Philippines are described by Meyer[1]. 411 171

An important point of difference would seem to be that while the Andamanese do not feather their arrows the Semang and the Negritos of the Philippines do so. It would seem, however, from the account of Semang arrows given by Skeat[2] that the feathering is such that it is of no actual service in directing the flight of the weapon, and that it is doubtful whether the Semang really understand the principle of feathering, or whether they do not employ it as the mutilated survival of more intelligent methods or perhaps make use of it for solely magical purposes.

Another important point of difference is that the Semang poison their arrows, while the Andamanese do not. In this connection it must be remembered that the former people have for long been neighbours of people who use blow-pipes with poisoned darts.

After the bow and arrow the most important hunting weapon of the Great Andaman is the harpoon which is used in capturing dugong, turtle, porpoise, and large fish. The harpoon consists of a head, a shaft and a line. The line is a length of rope of *Hibiscus* fibre of as much as twenty fathoms or more in length. The shaft is a bamboo of about 18 feet in length. One end is cut off fairly near a node and is then served over with thread, and slightly hollowed. The head consists of a long piece of iron, such as a stout nail, brought to a sharp point at one end. The other end is served over with thread in such a way as to make it fit fairly tightly into the end of the bamboo shaft. Some distance from the point of the head two barbs of iron are attached by thread, and between this point and the lower end the line is attached. (See Fig. 23.) 411

A man using the harpoon stands on the forward platform of the canoe, holding the bamboo shaft in his hand. The head is inserted in the upper end of this, and the line passes over his shoulder and is coiled in the bottom of the canoe, the other end being attached to the forward out-rigger boom or to the thwart that takes its place in a large canoe. He poles the canoe along the reef with the harpoon shaft. When about to make a throw he raises the shaft till he can hold the butt end in his right hand, with the point directed towards the fish or turtle, and he then leaps forward so that if he succeeds in his aim the weapon strikes with all the force of his weight behind it. When the turtle or fish is struck the bamboo shaft floats loose and this is secured 411 225

[1] Meyer, Plates VI and VIII. [2] Skeat, p. 274.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

285 process that is employed in a number of different ways by the Andamanese. The most important development of wrapped work amongst them is seen in the pot-basket of the South Andaman, in the baskets of the Jarawa and Little Andaman and in the pig's-skull basket-work of the Jarawa.

Simple twined work is rare in the Andamans. There is hardly any example of it except in the mats of the South Andaman. It would seem probable that the North Andaman mat technique of wrapped-twined work is the earlier, being more in agreement with what we may call the technical habits of the Andamanese, and that the South Andaman mat technique is a later elaboration. In this connection it may be remembered that plaiting, in which also several wefts are twisted one over another, is rarely used in the Andamans.

The process of nippering, by which the natives of the Great Andaman make the cord of their pig-arrows, and the somewhat similar process used in the Little Andaman in making personal ornaments, are quite in accordance with the general trend of the technique, but when such a process is applied to a number of parallel strips of material instead of to two only it constitutes a step towards wicker-work. It is notable, however, that it is only in the Great Andaman that wicker-work is used, and this suggests that it has only been invented or adopted since the separation of the two divisions of the Andamanese.

285 171 It is very tempting to regard the different forms of basket, in the order in which they are described above, as so many stages of a process of evolution. It is, at any rate, worth while to state the argument, and to show what the differences between them exactly are. In the North Andaman pot-covering we have (1) the technique simple wrapped work, and (2) the basis six strips of cane tied together in the middle. In the South Andaman pot-basket we have both these features, but the difference in the shape of the pots allows them to be carried in a true basket and we have therefore (3) a rim, with (4) a peculiar method of attaching the uprights to the rim, (5) a number of horizontal (wrapped) wefts instead of one or two, and (6) strengthening strips applied to the horizontal wefts in wrapped work. In the rougher kind of basket made in the Little Andaman we have nearly all the features of the South Andaman pot-basket. The only differences, apart from the shape of the basket, which in each case follows the shape of the pot, are (2) more than six uprights may be used, and (5) the number of horizontal wefts, i.e. the number of spiral turns taken round the basket, is as a rule greater. In the more carefully made Little Andaman basket there are

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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several differences. The uprights are fine whole canes instead of strips of split cane. It is undoubtedly more difficult to procure whole canes of the proper size than simply to split up larger canes, but where the technique is wrapped work the circular section of the uprights improves the quality of the resulting basket, as a strip of cane is more easily wound round a whole cane than round a split cane, and there is less chance of it breaking when a strain is put upon it. Another difference is that in the better Little Andaman baskets the rows of weft are as close together as the peculiar technique will allow. This makes a finer and stronger basket, and is an obvious improvement. The third difference is that in these baskets the strengthening strips are applied not in wrapped work, but in wrapped-twined work, which, however, we have seen is a common technique in the Andamans. In the better baskets of the Little Andaman we find a special feature of some interest in the gap that is left in the weaving near the rim, to allow of strings being tied across the mouth.

When we look at the South Andaman basket the first thing that strikes us is that it is really a conical basket of much the same shape as the Little Andaman basket, but with the bottom dented in to make a kick, so allowing the basket to stand on its bottom. This denting is only rendered possible, however, by the fact that the uprights of the South Andaman basket are thin strips of cane that can be easily bent, and this again depends on the use of wicker-work in the basket instead of wrapped work. It must be remembered that the top of the weaving is finished off with three rows of wrapped-twined work, and this suggests that there may possibly have been a stage of development between the Little Andaman basket and the South Andaman form, in which the uprights were thin strips of cane, and the weft was applied in wrapped-twined work from top to bottom. This, however, is only a surmise. It does certainly seem probable that the South Andaman basket is derived immediately from a form of basket similar to that of the Little Andaman, the great difference being the change to wicker-work technique. The method of attaching the uprights to the rim was doubtless introduced owing to the fact that the original method is unsatisfactory when the uprights are thin and easily broken strips, instead of stout ones.

The North Andaman basket seems to have been derived from one similar to that of the South Andaman by the introduction of two changes, (1) the use of different materials, and (2) the change of shape. The materials used in the north are such as to give a basket on the whole stronger and more durable than that of the south. If a heavy

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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weight be carried in a southern basket the pressure of the basket on the back tends to crack the canes of which it is composed. In the case of a northern basket it may lose its shape, but the materials of which it is composed will give or bend without cracking so readily. The shape of the northern basket is certainly an improvement, as it avoids the top-heaviness of the southern shape. Both the northern and the southern baskets have a gap between the top of the weaving and the rim, like the basket of the Little Andaman.

Thus every step, or nearly every step, in a hypothetical process of evolution is exhibited in the different forms of basket-work. First we have the pot-covering of the North Andaman, then the pot-basket of the South Andaman, then the rougher kind of Little Andaman basket, of the same shape as the pot, then the South Andaman basket of cane with a kick and finally the basket of the North Andaman. The better kind of Little Andaman basket is simply an independent improvement of the other, involving no new technique.

However much or little probability we may attach to this hypothetical reconstruction of the history of basket-work in the Andamans, one thing does seem fairly certain, and that is that the original ancestors of the Andamanese were not acquainted with wicker-work, or had no use for it. In the Little Andaman Division only wrapped work and wrapped-twined work are used, and the wicker-work of the Great Andaman Division has almost certainly been adopted since the two divisions were separated. The consideration of the general technical bias of the Andamanese in their dealings with flexible materials supports the view that in their case wicker-work is later than wrapped work and wrapped-twined work. It seems more than likely that the Andamanese of the larger island have invented wicker-work in its simplest form on the basis of a previous technique of wrapped and wrapped-twined work. To us wicker-work seems such a simple process as almost to need no inventing. It must be recognized however that the general bias of the Andamanese is against using materials in this way. The Andaman Islander shows a decided preference for those processes in which he uses a single flexible material which he winds or wraps round other rigid or flexible material, as in nippering, or wrapped work or wrapped-twined work.

It is impossible to obtain confirmation of this view, however, from a comparison of the Andamanese with the Semang and the Philippine Negritos. The Semang make mat-work bags and wallets of check, and they make (or use) baskets of hexagonal work. Both check and

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

hexagonal work are used by other races in the Malay Peninsula and in Malaysia generally. The present mats and baskets of the Semang cannot therefore be regarded as original Negrito productions. They have almost certainly been adopted through contact with other cultures. 285 171

The same thing would seem to apply to the present basket-work of the Philippine Negritos, of which however we know very little.

Netted bags of string are made by the women of both the Great Andaman and the Little Andaman Divisions, and are used for carrying or storing small objects such as shells, fruit, roots, etc. The string used for these is made from the fibre of the *Gnetum edule* in the Little 286

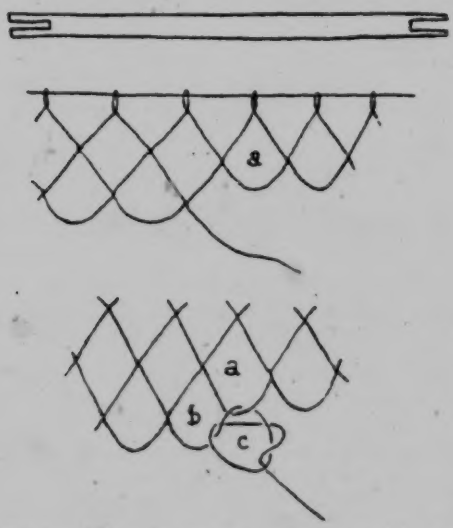

Fig. 37. Diagram showing netting needle, and method of netting

Andaman, and is generally made from the same fibre in the Great Andaman, but in the latter division the fibre of *Hibiscus scandens* is prized for this purpose and is used instead of that of the *Gnetum* when it is available. Small hand fishing nets are made by the women in both divisions from thread of *Gnetum* fibre. In the Great Andaman Division netting is also used for personal ornaments, the thread used for this purpose being generally made from *Anadendron* fibre.

The mode of netting is always the same. Netting needles are used, made from slips of bamboo or cane, and varying in size according to the work for which they are intended. The netting string or thread is wound on to this needle. For the foundation of the net a short

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

415 The pots are used for cooking, i.e. for boiling meat and vegetables. In the North Andaman small pots are specially made for melting the composition used for covering the binding on the heads of arrows.

415 171 Neither the Semang nor the Philippine Negritos make any kind of pottery. The origin of Andamanese pottery therefore is a problem of some interest. It is almost certain that the early Andamanese were acquainted with pottery before they were divided into the Great Andaman and Little Andaman Divisions. One of the very few words which is the same in all Andamanese languages is the word for pot, *buču* in the Little Andaman, *buǰ* in Aka-Bea and *peč* in Aka-Jeru. The most reasonable hypothesis would therefore seem to be that the Andamanese learnt the method of making pottery by coiling before they reached the Andaman Islands but after they had become separated

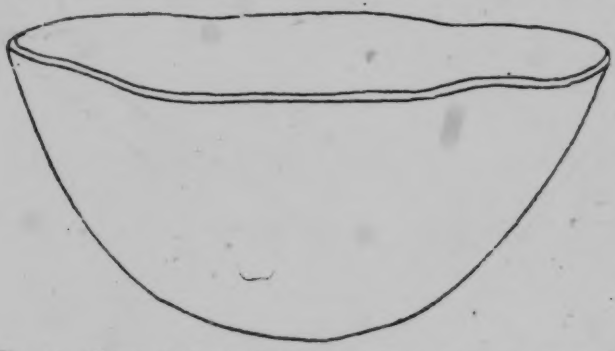

Fig. 39. Shape of South Andaman pot; actual diameter 24 cm.

from that part of the Negrito race from which the Semang and the Philippine Negritos are descended. Of course it is possible that the art of pottery may have been an original possession of the Negritos and that the Semang and Philippine Negritos may have lost it. A people could easily lose the art if they were compelled in the course of their migrations to spend three or four generations in a region that lacked clay suitable for the purpose.

415 [322] The Andamanese make buckets of wood, which they use for carrying and holding a supply of water. A solid piece is cut from the trunk of a soft-wooded tree and is hollowed out with a chisel made by attaching the blade of an adze to a stick. The natural form of the wood is retained, only the bark being removed from the outside while the inside is chiselled out to leave sides of about a centimetre thick and a bottom of somewhat greater thickness. In order to render the bottom

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PERSONAL ORNAMENT; LITTLE ANDAMAN.

The personal ornaments of the Little Andaman and of the Jarawa are different from those of the Great Andaman Division, and therefore need to be described separately. 301 291

Ornaments of bark. Strips of bark (? *Celtis cinnamonea*) are worn by the men round the waist and round the arm.

Ornamental cord. These are the ornaments most frequently met with both in the Little Andaman and amongst the Jarawa. The basis is a strip of cane, varying in breadth in different examples. On one side of this are laid strips of the yellow skin of the *Dendrobium*, varying in number according to the breadth of the cane, and the whole is served over or bound with thread. The technique in shown in Fig. 41, which represents diagrammatically the method adopted when there are two strips of *Dendrobium* skin. Such ornamental cord is made in pieces of considerable length. Often tassels of thread (of *Ficus hispida* fibre) are attached to it at intervals. The cord is worn wound round the waist, the neck, or the arm. Both men and women wear it.

Woman's girdle. In the Little Andaman this is made of a number of fine strips of cane tied together with thread. At the front is attached

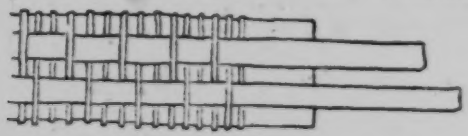

Fig. 41. Diagram showing method of making ornamental cord, Little Andaman

a tassel of fibre made from young unopened palm-leaves (the fibre called *koro* in Aka-Jeru).

Woman's shoulder strap. The women of the Little Andaman wear a strip of bark over the shoulders, crossing over the chest and passing beneath the breasts.

The above brief description of the ornaments of the Andamanese is perhaps sufficient for the purpose of this appendix, which is to determine as far as possible the elements of a primitive Negrito culture. 301 171 Any complete account of the subject would need a large number of figures and a discussion of many comparatively unimportant details. The first point of importance to be noted is that the personal ornaments of the Little Andaman Division differ markedly from those of the Great Andaman Division. One difference is that the *Pandanus* leaf, which is used so much and in so many ways in the Great Andaman,

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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seems not to be used at all in the Little Andaman. Another is that shells, which are much used in the Great Andaman, are used to a far less extent in the Little Andaman. The natives of the Little Andaman told me that they sometimes make ornaments of *Dentalium* shell, but I did not see any such ornament, nor any other ornament of shell, in use. The ornaments of netting worn in the Great Andaman, and forming the usual dancing costume, seem not to be used in the Little Andaman. Finally, perhaps most important of all, there is at present no evidence that the natives of the Little Andaman make ornaments of either human or animal bones. In the Little Andaman the lower jaw of a child is preserved by the parents and is worn by them, but I never saw a human skull (whether of child or adult) so worn, and I was not able to obtain any evidence of the use of strings of human bones such as are constantly seen in a camp of the Great Andaman.

The points of similarity between the ornaments of the Little Andaman and those of the Great Andaman are very few. One of the most striking is the great use that is made in both divisions of the yellow skin of the *Dendrobium*. It seems probable that here we have evidence of one element of a primitive Negrito culture, for the Negritos of the Philippines also are fond of using a yellow vegetable fibre for their personal ornaments. So far as it is possible to judge from the figure and description, the armlet given by Meyer in Plate III, No. 11, seems to be very similar to the ornamental cord of the Little Andaman. It is described as a "mit schwarz und gelben Grasstreifchen umflocktener Bambus-reif."

Another point of resemblance between the Great Andaman and the Little Andaman is that in both very little use is made of feathers or flowers. The natives of the Great Andaman never make use of the feathers of birds. The Jarawa occasionally wear in a chaplet a feather of the king-crow (*Dicrurus macrocercus*) if we may judge from a specimen in the British Museum. The natives of the Little Andaman certainly do not as a rule make any use of feathers. It would seem, from all accounts, that the Semang and the Philippine Negritos do not make any considerable use of feathers for personal ornament. We may perhaps hazard the conclusion that this is a mark of the Negrito culture distinguishing them from such people as the Papuans or Australians in whose personal ornaments the feathers of birds occupy an important place.

In the Great Andaman flowers are not used as personal ornaments. In the British Museum there is an ornament from the Little Andaman consisting of a strip of bark-fibre with a few flowers attached.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

As regards personal ornament, therefore, the only elements of a primitive Negrito culture that we seem to be able to trace in the Andamans at the present day are (1) the use of yellow vegetable fibre, and (2) the absence of any considerable use of feathers. 301 171

One element of a primitive Andamanese culture, though not necessarily of a primitive Negrito culture, would seem to be the use of a tassel of the fibre obtained from an unopened palm-leaf which is used by women to cover their genitals in the Little Andaman, and was similarly used until recently in the North Andaman.

Hair-dressing, Scarification, and Body-painting.

At the present time the usual method of hair-dressing in the Great Andaman is to shave a portion of the scalp all round so as to leave a sort of skull-cap of hair, as may be seen in many of the plates of this volume. In some cases a "parting" is made by shaving a narrow strip over the crown. (See Plate xv, for example.) When the hair grows so long as to be uncomfortable the whole head is shaved, and it is then permitted to grow again. In these days the natives cut their hair whenever they have an opportunity of obtaining a pair of scissors. In the Little Andaman women and old men are frequently to be seen with the head entirely shaved. The younger men shave away the lower edge of the hair all round in the same way as the natives of the Great Andaman, but this may be a recent practice. 302

The fashion of hair-dressing, at any rate for women, has changed within recent times, for Mr Man wrote in 1882 that "the majority of the women every week or ten days shave their heads almost entirely, leaving only two narrow parallel lines of hair, termed *gur*, from the crown to the nape of the neck[1]." At the present time this style of hair-dressing has fallen entirely into disuse, and the women do their hair in the same way as the men.

The operation of shaving, which is done with a flake of glass or quartz, is performed by women, and never, or very rarely, by men.

Mention has been made in an earlier part of the work of the way in which the natives of the Great Andaman scarify the skin of the body and limbs with a flake of glass or quartz. The Semang do not scarify themselves in this way, but some, at any rate, of the Negritos of the Philippines do. 304 171

The natives of the Great Andaman, as described earlier in this work, paint their bodies with a grey clay called *odu* or *og*, with a fine 302

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 77.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

501 canoe was 18 inches in diameter at the smaller end and perhaps 30 inches wide at the larger end.

This description shows that the canoe of the North Sentinel is on the whole more like that of the Little Andaman than like that of the Great Andaman.

501 171 It seems probable that the Andaman Islands were peopled by sea from the coast of Burma. If this were so, then the original ancestors of the Andamanese must have been in possession of canoes. A consideration of the present Andaman canoes suggests that their ancestors had canoes with a single outrigger on the starboard side, with a number of booms. Of the different methods of attaching the booms to the float, it is possible that the method now in use in the Little Andaman (and apparently also in the North Sentinel) is primitive, and that the Great Andaman attachment is an improvement that has been invented since the separation of the two divisions. On the other hand it is not impossible that the Great Andaman attachment is primitive, and that in the Little Andaman we have a degeneration that might be due to the fact that the Little Andaman (and equally the North Sentinel) provides much less scope for maritime pursuits than the Great Andaman.

The recent invention of the large canoe in the Great Andaman and the adoption of the principle of the oar shows that the Andamanese readily adopt new inventions when these are clearly of service to them.

Turning now to the Semang, as these people live inland they have no use for canoes. They make rafts of bamboos lashed together with which they float down the rivers, returning overland.

Some of the Philippine Negritos seem to live on the coast and possibly have canoes, but nothing is known about these.

Conclusion.

171 174 The examination of the technical culture of the Andamanese given above has been sufficient to enable us to make a few statements as to what was probably the culture of the Negritos before they were split up into isolated groups. It is highly probable that they obtained their subsistence solely by hunting and collecting vegetable products. They had bows and arrows, the form of bow being probably fairly similar to that used at the present day in the Little Andaman, while for hunting the larger animals they had arrows with detachable heads. They possibly had no knowledge of any way of making implements of stone,

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

but made use only of such materials as wood, bone, and shell. It is not probable that they possessed the art of making pottery, and their basketry and mat-work were probably confined to very simple forms. In their personal ornaments there is reason to think that they showed a fondness for bright yellow vegetable fibre, and made little or no use of the feathers of birds. The ornamentation of their utensils was probably confined to the use of the simplest forms of geometric design with a preponderance of the zig-zag and the lozenge. Finally their huts consisted of a single sloping roof sufficient to afford shelter for a single family or larger huts consisting of such small huts joined together.

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We have seen that since the Andamanese have occupied their present home, or at any rate since the Great Andaman Division and the Little Andaman Division have been separated from one another, many changes, some of considerable importance, have taken place in the Andaman technology. In general it would seem that the technical culture of the Great Andaman has changed more than that of the Little Andaman. Putting aside the effect on the technology of the introduction of iron, there is no evidence that any of the changes that have taken place in the Great Andaman have been due to outside influence. Important modifications have taken place in the form of the bow, in the forms and technique of baskets, and in personal ornaments, and in all these instances there is no reason to think that these changes have not been brought about by the natives themselves without the influence of contact with other people. Their method of working iron, based as it is, to all appearance, on their former method of working shell, shows that even here, though the iron itself came to them from outside, and even though they may have learnt its use from seeing it used by aliens, still they have not learnt from others how to fashion the metal into shape by heating it. Thus, so far as their technical culture is concerned, there is no evidence whatever that the Andamanese have ever been influenced by contact with any other race since the time, now many centuries ago, when they first reached the islands.

On the other hand there is some probability that the ancestors of the Andamanese, before they first reached the islands, or at any rate before the isolation of the Little Andaman from the Great Andaman, had learnt from some other race how to make pottery, and it is possible that at the same time they may have acquired other elements of their culture, such as the outrigger canoe. We may even give a guess as to the particular culture from which the ancestors of the

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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Andamanese may have adopted these elements, which may well have been that of a branch of that people of whom an offshoot peopled the Nicobars.

Confirmation of these hypotheses, if confirmation be ever forthcoming, can only be obtained in the study of the history of races and of culture in south-eastern Asia. Until we have much fuller knowledge of the culture of the Semang and the Negritos of the Philippines, any conclusions that may be drawn from the study of the Andamanese alone must be regarded as provisional working hypotheses only, and it is as such that they are here put forward.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

791 savage tribes,[1] imagine themselves gifted with superior wisdom, and can hardly be blamed if they endeavour to turn their talents to account by imposing a little on the credulity of their neighbours.

Tribal Distribution.—1. The inhabitants of these islands are 101 divided into at least nine tribes,[2] linguistically distinguished, 171 even if we reckon as one those communities to which I have already alluded under the title of *järawa-*, among whom it is 197 not improbable further divisions and dialects may eventually be 619 discovered. The conjecture that they are one is merely based on the assertions of the people of South Andaman, and on the circumstance that all the weapons, utensils, huts, &c., of the *järawa-*, which we have been able to examine, appear to be constructed invariably on the same model, while all such members of the various scattered communities as we have had the opportunity of observing, resemble each other in abstaining from the practice, so general among all the eight Great Andaman tribes, of shaving their heads and tattooing their persons. Still, these outward similarities are manifestly insufficient, affording as they do mere negative evidence, whereas our present knowledge, so tardily acquired, of there being inland communities, called *ē·rem-tâ·ga-*, dwelling in the heart of South and Middle Andaman, who are allied in all respects, save in their mode of life, with the *ârỳô·to-*, or coast communities of their respective tribes, would seem to justify the belief that hereafter the aborigines of Little Andaman will be found to present not only distinctions of this nature but differences also of dialect, as is the case with the inhabitants of both North and Middle Andaman, which are known to be divided into no less than six tribes.

2. As to the numerical strength of these several tribes it is 161 impossible to speak with any degree of certainty, for, as you are 619 aware, there is no part of the country which is not covered with jungle, more or less impenetrable to any but the aborigines themselves, while their capacity for estimating and expressing numbers is wholly inadequate to assist us in forming any conclusions on the subject. The surmise that the entire group contains about 4,000 souls is based on the calculation that the *.bō·jig-ngīyi-* tribe with whom we are most intimate do not at the present day exceed 400, though at the time of our advent in 1858, they are believed to have numbered about 1,000.

133 **Topography.**—1. The chief geographical landmarks of these islands are :—

1st. *Saddle Peak*, a massive hill rising to the height of

[1] *Vide* Lubbock, "On the Origin of Civilisation," &c., 4th Ed., pp. 250–1.

[2] For the names of the various tribes, and the localities they occupy, the reader is referred to the accompanying map.

3: Temple G-5 (1901) 1903 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

APPENDIX A.

POINTS OF AGREEMENT AND DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE ANDAMANESE AND THE SEMANGS.

The Semangs are found in Northern Perak, Kedah, Kelantan, Trengganu, and Northern Pahang in the Malay Peninsula. They have come considerably under outside influence and especially under that of the wavy-haired (Sakai) and the long-haired (Jakun, wild Malay) tribes of the Peninsula and even of the civilised Malays themselves. 171

Points of Agreement of Semang with Andamanese.

Hair: In colour and growth.
Height: Men 57 to 58 inches, women 53½ to 54½ inches.
Skin: In texture and colour.
Shape of head: Mesaticephalic and brachycephalic.
Eyes: In colour and shape.
Food: In its nature and elaborate preparation.
Huts: In leaf shelters; with the Onge-Jarawas, in communal huts, though not so good.
Funerals: In ceremonies and probable former disinterment of bones.
Belief: In the bridge to Paradise.
Bows: With the Onge-Jarawas only.

Points of Difference between Semangs and Andamanese.

Face: In the great variation of the Andamanese face.
Implements: In the blow-gun and *poisoned* arrows and spears.
Hunting: In trapping game.
Feeding: Men before women.
Quivers: In having reed quivers; Andamanese stick their arrows in the waist belt.
Ornamentation: In quality and artistic merit.
Ornaments: In personal ornaments, and in piercing the nose.
Huts: In rock-shelters, cave dwellings, tree huts, barricaded huts.
Clothing: Of hammered barks; loin-cloth for men, petticoat for women.
Magic: In its practice and in use of magical designs.
Music: In nose-pipe and bamboo castanets.
Songs: In their nature.
Marriage: Based on purchase and in ceremonies.
Beliefs: In Shamanism, metamorphism into tigers of living men, in ideas as to "God."
Language: In its mixture with Malay and Mon; basis can be proved *perhaps* to be (? Onge-Jarawa) Andamanese, though the specimens I have seen afford very little hope of this.

Also a portion of the Semangs have fixed habitations and a rude agriculture, this latter capacity being entirely absent in the Andamanese.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

364 spot for centuries leads to the formation of kitchen-middens [1]. In the tempo-
[367] rary camps something similar happens: the only difference consists in the fact that rubbish dumps only accumulate at the back of the temporary shelters, as a consequence of their peculiar shape that I shall not describe here. These
[136] dumps are heaven-sent love nests for insects of many species, mostly flies of a metallic green colour. They follow the Onge from camp to camp and thrive on scraps from human meals. When travelling in Little Andaman I was unmistakably warned of the nearby presence of Onge camps by the appearance of those familiar living beings.

136 The filth that coats the floors of communal Onge huts offers an ideal
[356] breeding ground also for myriads of fleas. Dogs spread them all over Little Andaman. Owing to the fact that the communal huts are deserted for months at a time during the dry season, the fleas become hungry and assault human
123 beings vehemently whenever possible. When visiting empty communal huts I myself, and the persons with me, were plagued by such assaults. Fleas advanced suddenly from feet to head in thick, shimmering brown layers, covering first our legs. We were obliged to strip and douse ourselves with insect-repellents.
136 As for other parasites, including ticks and mosquitos, equally plentiful in Little
[825] Andaman, the Onge do not appear to be inconvenienced by them.

764 The communal huts are used for another purpose as well, unhygienic but of high ethnological interest: the interment of human corpses. When they die, the inmates are buried beneath their beds. In other words, communal huts are also cemeteries. Many human skeletons are found by digging under the beds. Until 1952 this fact was unknown about the Andaman Islanders although it is encountered in all Onge communal huts without exception. An analysis of
775 this custom led to further discoveries: the Onge wish to compel the spirit of a deceased person to remain close to the living as a protection, so they offer it the communal hut for an abode, the idea being that a spirit cannot wander far from the bones of its former body. A series of Onge practices point to this
[727] belief: felled enemies must be burned and reduced to ashes in order to render them harmless. Their hostile souls, according to the Onge, rise toward the sky in smoke as the bones are consumed. For the same reason, bones of relatives
[301 765] are fashioned into necklaces. The most conspicuous of these is the *ibidanghe*, worn generally by women and young girls, which is made from a decorated
[751] human jawbone. The aim is to obtain the assistance of the departed relation in fighting illness and bad luck. Direction in hunting, fishing and even quar-
[777] relling is supposed to come from the dead kept close to the living. We can trace this belief on the connection between bones and souls to a remote origin:
[171] Southern Asia megaliths had, in my opinion, no other cause for offering shelter to spirits and promoting useful relations between the living and the dead. I reached this conclusion after studying the contemporary habits of Travancore mountain and other Indian tribes, particularly the Munda. In Nias we find traces of the same customs as among different peoples of Indonesia and Oceania, who

[1] I discussed this at the two international anthropological congresses of 1952 (Vienna) and 1956 (Philadelphia), and have more to say on the subject in my book about the Onge.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

now follow them, often ignoring their original significance and symbolism. Among the Onge, spirits are feared but not loved ; the same applies to God Himself. 775

The Onge bury their dead in trenches, no deeper than three feet. Earth is tightly packed over the graves in order to prevent exhalations. Full details on the subject of Onge burial customs appear in the book that I am writing about the Onge. I slept with the Onge in communal huts that contained fresh graves, without suffering any inconvenience from the smell of the corpses. This recalls the palaeolithic sepulchral caves, where man probably lived as the Onge live in their sepulchral huts today. 764

There are no latrines near Onge camps – whether permanent or temporary. Excrements are spread carelessly all around, lightly covered with leaves and earth. Flies lay eggs on them. The Onge's only precaution is not to defecate where drinking water might be found after rainfall. With so many opportunities for reproduction, in some places flies form such clouds as to impress the natives themselves. In the north of Little Andaman a creek was named after the flies : Bumila Creek, which means "fly creek". Smells also occasionally inspire geographical names : Tambe-é-bùie, on the north-east coast of Little Andaman, means "the smelly place" in the Onge language. Flies, fleas and ticks are tolerated by the Onge who do not fight them. Fortunately, the hymenoptera collect flies for their nests, not, however, in quantities large enough to compete with the fertility of the species. 514 [512] 736 825 [103]

2. Clothing and personal care

The only garment worn by Little Andaman women is the *naquinēghē*, a scanty grasslike apron covering the genitals. In addition, during menstrual periods, Onge women wear the *bataghē*, for hygienic purposes. This is a simple cluster of long, soft green leaves cut by the husband for his wife from special trees : Myristica longifolia and others. The only leaves used are those from the end of a stalk, a section of which is left attached to the leaves. The stalk is slipped under the *naquinēghē*, while the long leaves are passed between the thighs to be fastened at the back above the buttocks. It is curious to see Onge women in such myristical attire ! The *bataghē* is ethnographical news, new not only as regards the Andamans : it is an interesting indication of the hygienic measures employed by primitive people, and can probably be traced to prehistoric practices in analogous circumstances. The continental and insular regions nearest to the Andamans have retained no similar custom ; their only practice is the strict isolation of menstruating women. Among the Onge, on the other hand, they are allowed free circulation. Washing is unknown to the Onge : they never wash their bodies intentionally. Brushing through the thick forest and diving into the sea or the river to collect food substitute adequately for washing. The Little Andaman forest is nearly always dripping ; moving among the trees, specially in the early morning, is equivalent to bathing. The contact of wet leaves when walking cleans the Onge's skin, for they go naked ; and as they constantly dive into the sea and rivers, they do not smell. Actually they give an impression of cleanliness – as opposed to many other dark-skinned 291 841 [824] [171] 515 [147]

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

common in the Andamans, said by RADCLIFFE-BROWN (p. 273) to be eaten 262 751
by the Andaman Islanders as a protection against rheumatism, is never killed.
For some superstitious reason the Onge are simply horrified at the thought [825]
of touching such an enormous flying bat. Among the fruits, those of a plant
whose wood has such a revolting smell that it is known, in English, as "stool- [137]
tree", are believed to have exceptional protective properties for the human
body. The fruits themselves smell even worse than the wood, but this, to
the Onge, makes them appetizing rather than disgusting. Concerning honey,
and the many sugary fruits of the jungle that are available all the year round, 273
the Onge luckily ignore the simple method of distilling alcohol. No intoxicating
drink reaches Little Andaman from the outer world, whereas in Great Andaman
alcohol, together with imported syphilis, was one of the main causes of depopu- 164
lation. No syphilis appears as yet to have reached Little Andaman. This is also
confirmed by the research carried out by Dr. HERMANN LEHMANN of London's [114]
St. Bartholomew's Hospital, during February 1953 in my Onge camp in
Labanare (north-east coast of Little Andaman).

II. Effects on the People's Lives

The islanders die young, specially the men. The majority of them succumb 165
before reaching the age of 20; most of the survivors die between 20 and 40;
the rest – with a very few exceptions – before 50. Women, after marriage,
follow a similar pattern: the death rate among women, however, is slightly
different owing to a less corrosive sexual life. Some women may live to the age
of sixty, but both sexes age soon, appearing older than their years when still
in their twenties. The short Onge span of life recalls conditions which ap-
parently prevailed among prehistoric and protohistoric men. Palaeolithic man
died at an earlier age than modern man. The Onge today, in many respects,
behaves as palaeolithic man behaved countless centuries ago. – Infant mor-
tality is high; the first five days of life are the most critical for the Onge, [843]
owing, in part, to the hard life led by mothers even during pregnancy, which [844]
often causes functional damage to the placenta. Delivery is generally easy
and traumatic injury rarely occurs; but premature births are common, and [845]
so are malformations and other anomalies. Imperfect infants are quickly [847]
eliminated by their parents. As a result, only a small number of children are
allowed to grow up, but these appear normal. There are no blind and no
deaf-and-dumb people in Little Andaman. I saw only two instances of in- [732]
cipient lameness: in an unmarried boy of about twenty and in a young married
woman. Only robust infants can survive.

The Onge, so careful about their food, are completely indifferent to 841
something else that is considered very harmful in continental and insular 171
regions close to the Andamans. There, menstruating women are often segre-
gated and considered harmful to the entire community. Not so in Little
Andaman, where the remedies applied in the circumstance are extremely primi-
tive (cf. supra) and could probably be traced to palaeolithic man. I saw nothing

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

841 resembling these practices in any other part of the world. Never hitherto
171 described, they should be carefully considered. This would require a lengthy description, for which there is no space here. We may recall that menstruating Onge women are allowed to circulate freely at all times. An interesting detail
[751] is that the *naquinēghē* of first menstruations are worn by relations around their neck as having health-giving properties. The women, as we know, use special
841 soft, long leaves, collected for them by their husbands, as absorbents. They
[824] are the leaves of Myristica longifolia or of Tretanthera lanceofolia both species serving the purpose. They are applied under the *naquinēghē* and drawn back between the legs to be secured above the buttocks. – Sexual intercourse is
[834] forbidden during the menstrual period even by the Onge : illness – a swelling
[753] of the arms or legs – would follow. A curious theory about the reason for menstruation in very young girls is that it is a result of previous sexual contacts stimulated by nose rubbing – the Onge substitute for kissing. They ignore the
892 unhygienic practice of kissing with the lips, and never even kiss their children. Only nose rubbing is practiced. The anatomical structure of the Onge nose, which almost totally lacks nasal bones and is very fleshy, may explain this transference of sensation from nearby regions, i. e. the lips.

844 Births take place in the forest and are surrounded by no hygienic precautions or disinfection as conceived by us. Clay is applied to stem puerperal bleeding, without provoking infection. The only assistant is the pregnant woman's husband, and sometimes one or two old women. Their ability equals that of a herdsman delivering his goat of a kid. No inconvenience arises, in either instance, from lack of precautions. – The tiny, tender and graceful bodies
[751] of Onge infants are smeared with ochre and light-coloured clay for hygienic purposes. This is done immediately after birth, and affords some protection against the teeming legions of mosquitos and ticks that plague Little Andaman. The infant is never washed in water, not even at the very moment of birth. The placenta is buried 30 or 40 cms deep, under the bed of naked branches upon which the mother delivered her baby.

842 An argument that deserves much attention concerns the possible link
143 between lack of hygiene and sterility among the Onge. A vast number of married couples have no offspring, thereby threatening their group with extinction. Consanguinity could be given as a cause : let us examine it. No doubt the Onge are related to each other as a consequence of long interbreeding in their island with no foreigners admitted. These conditions afford an ideal field for studying the effects of endogamy on man. Nowhere in the world, as far as I know, are a people so isolated as in Little Andaman. Inbreeding has existed at 100 % ever since remote times. In other words, the Onge would seem to be the most highly inbred human population known up to the present. Could this fact alone, aside from unhealthy habits, explain their present widespread sterility ? Special
174 studies on the subject should be undertaken, keeping in mind that the Onge have certainly inhabited Little Andaman for thousands of years, on the evidence of my excavations in their kitchen-middens.

documented the fact in a number of photographs. The purpose, however, is 751
purely hygienic . an unpainted body is, in their opinion, exposed to certain 302
illness. They explained this belief to me by saying that without paint the body becomes "hot". The men who travelled with me far from women were anxious every day to spread clay on face, chest and limbs, just to avoid "heat" or, in other words, fever. I thought of malaria, but they do not suffer from it. [162]
Of this I will speak later on.

Rough clay is applied daily, on infant bodies as well as on adults, for 751
health purposes. It is used to cure all kinds of sickness, together with ochre, 757
turtle fat and honey. Honey spread on wounds appears to hasten healing. [302]
Identical curative methods are employed in Oceania. They probably existed [854]
among the Tasmanians, and are still used in Australia by the aborigines. I found nothing of the kind in Africa, where honey is plentiful. The Onge consider [752]
clay, ochre, honey and turtle fat good for external and internal treatment alike - both preventive and curative. Powdered bees' wax of a dark colour is often [171]
added. I saw mothers give their children, as a laxative, a number of pills made [825]
of similar ingredients. No bigger than common hazelnuts, the pills are red and greasy. In Onge forests I saw some small excavations, a few feet deep, [317]
made to extract the medicinal clay from special ground pockets. In its natural form the clay is light coloured, powdery and free of stones. When it is burnt [386]
the colour changes, assuming red, yellow, whitish or black shades according to the different qualities used, all believed to possess healing properties and to ensure hygienic colouring of the body. Mixed as described above, clay is used by the Onge in every circumstance from fever to snake or scorpion bite, constipation, breast infection in women, or post-delivery bleeding.

Belief in the medicinal properties of clay is as old as humanity itself. 757
Even among contemporary European peoples, notwithstanding severe criticism, 171
clay is still honoured as health-giving, not, I must say, on wholly foolish 823
grounds. The Onge, who smear their bodies constantly with clay, have the softest, most velvety skin that I ever saw anywhere in the world. Wounds [752]
spread with clay mixed with honey and fat leave negligible scars. The laxative and germ-killing action of clay is admitted by physicians in many countries, including Europe. It never causes infection. Geophagism has ancient origins, and we find it practiced by many modern populations. Children of every race and all young wild animals lick clay instinctively to absorb the mineral salts required by a developing organism. The Onge habit of using clay for healing purposes can be set, therefore, in a very wide frame.

Mental and nervous disorders are rare in Little Andaman. Few natives 164
are subject to epilepsy – an important matter for the Onge : they consider 828
such people as possessed by spirits who speak through their mouths, and [158]
respectfully question them as oracles. Several Onge chiefs, such as Chief [622]
Tchôtā of Tambē-ē-buiē, are apt to go into trances that have all the appearance of epileptic fits. They were elected chiefs on the strength of their epilepsy! [787]

Constant exercise keeps eyesight and hearing extremely sharp in the 164
Onge. I saw no single case of myopia or presbyopia among the natives, nor 151

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

no specialized physicians, the Onge do not understand that payment can be 757
exacted for medical care. This stems from the fact that wages are not con- 465
sidered by those happy people as payment for any kind of work whatsoever, 123
but only as a gift. I realized this when I tried to pay my guides after our extenu- 431
ating marches through the jungle : in order to avoid offending the natives that
we had casually met in the course of our trip, I had to give equal reward to
everybody.

The Onge consider some men or women better endowed than others with 753
anti-malefic influence ; but these too neither demand nor receive wages for [756]
their services. Evil spirits or evil persons are believed to be principally responsi-
ble for illness. A series of superstitions and remarkable habits derive from this
belief. The above-mentioned precautions concerning the *naquinĕghĕ* are among
them. For identical reasons they carefully hide hair cuttings, but not nail [515]
parings, for the simple reason that nails are never cut but worn down by
digging for edible roots, fishing, and other rough work. Superstition, as we
know, is also the reason for painting the body to prevent fever and other ills.

In the depths of their jungle the Onge appear to practice some kind
of witchcraft. On several occasions I noticed the mysterious behaviour of some 789
natives travelling with me. Occasionally a man left our marching column to
examine the inside of a huge hollow tree and signal to his friends. They did
not prevent me from looking into the hollow, where I saw only a simple struc-
ture of short sticks resembling a trap without being one. The Onge do not use [224]
traps ; moreover, those structures were far too flimsy to catch anything. Often,
two or three men assembled in consultation, rearranged the sticks that had
probably been dislodged by the passage of lizards, crabs or other small animals,
and walked away silently. I could get no explanation on the matter. Certainly
the Onge are sagacious observers of animal and vegetable life and have deep
knowledge of their hidden properties. Some trees are probably used for magical
purposes, but, I insist, it is impossible as yet to affirm it. The structures in
question consisted of four vertical sticks, about 30 cms long, joined at the top
by four more sticks of approximately the same length, placed horizontally.
The result was a box-like frame, loose and unsecured. The slightest disturbance,
such as a light breeze, could destroy the flimsy construction. As far as I could
guess they invested those structures with curative properties, but in what
manner remains a mystery. I noticed analogous practices among Central [171]
African Pygmies and other primitives.

It is very clear that the Onge dread illness and magic spells, for they 754
consider themselves at a loss in fighting such evils. Unhygienic habits are of no 751
importance to them.

Resting is considered favorable to good health. The Onge indulge vo- 517
luptuously in rest, interrupting it, however, with too frequent sexual excursions. 751
They mainly rest from doing nothing, because 90 % of their time is spent in 461
what, for them, is the most agreeable manner of enjoying life.

In mid-March, when the honey harvest reaches its peak, the Onge guzzle 262

10:Sen K-3,4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

[P.54]

CHAPTER IX

ABORIGINAL POPULATION

144 As said earlier, the aboriginal population of the Andamans belong to the negrito group which is spread over the different parts of Southeast Asia e.g. the Semangs and Sakais of Malaya, the Veddas of Ceylon, the Tapiro of New Guinea etc. The pygmies of the Equatorial Africa also show very close resemblance to the negritoes in physical as well as cultural characteristics but the latter are taller, much more dark skinned and also hairy than the former. In spite of the racial affinity with the other negrito groups of Southeast Asia, the Andamanese show a remarkable degree of purity, an outcome of the virtual seclusion and little contact with the other people. But the infiltration of the later settlers have proved a long way to bring about some changes in them. The comparison of the Andamanese with the other negritoes will prove that a good deal of evolution of the Andamanese has been attained by them independently.

Affinity with the other Negritoes of Southeast Asia

● 171 Though the fundamantals of the economy of the Andamanese do not differ appreciably from the Semangs and the other groups, some characteristic features distinguish these people from the others. The Andamanese follows a long series of food privations which is absent among the Semangs and the equipments are also more elaborate than [501] the other negritoes. The outrigger canoes of the Andamanese are more improved, the bows are of complicated S-form and the huts are considerable improvements of the rudimentary temporary camps original to the negritoes. These indicate a definite improvement of the material culture of the Andamanese over the others.

The affinity of the Andamanese with the other negrito groups i.e. the Semangs of the Malaya Peninsula and the Aetas of the Philippines can very well be traced from the study of the equipments of material culture and also from the general habits and the methods of life.

171 411 As regards the equipments, the bow, the arrow, the mode of erecting shelter and its shape show further improvements in their constuction though the prevalence of the original simple types can be detected in some parts. The original one curvature bow has considerably evolved and has developed into the S-shaped bow in the Andamans though the

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

original type can still be found in the Little Andaman. The similarity of the arrows are also striking and this has been rightly observed by Dr. Cipriani,[1] 'Similarity also with the arrows. This consists of a barbed detachable head connected to the shaft by a string. The harpoon arrow like its near relative and probable forefather, the harpoon spears, offers an interesting question in ethnography. Although the Andamans are widely separated from Malaya and Malaya from the Philippines, the three groups of negritoes have harpoon arrows, while such weapons do not seem to be present in other regions of Asia.' The huts of the Andamanese are also the outcome of further improvements over the original negrito shelter found among the other negrito groups.

In the general habits and the modes of living, a good deal of similarity if not identity is maintained with the other negritoes. But changes and modifications have crept up among the different groups in response to the different environments. Some of the original habits have been totally forgotten and some equipments have been further improved upon or in some cases, totally forgotten. The Jarawas, who are believed to have arrived in the Great Andamans from the South had the knowledge of construction and use of the canoes which served as the means of their movement from the south to the north, have totally forgotten both the construction and use of it.

Though the changes brought about among the Andamanese in response to the environment and time is in no way inconsiderable to give them an impress of individuality, little room for doubt is left that they belong to the big family of the negritoes whose remnants are only found to-day scattered over the different parts of southeast Asia.

Origin of the Andamanese

The presence of such a small group of negritoes in the deep solitude of physical separation from the other countries obviously arouses the question as to how and wherefrom they came. The attributes of the Andamanese, prove very well their affinity with the negrito groups. Much to the curiosity of the observers, the tribal people of the Nicobar Islands do not show any affinity with the Andamanese culturally or materially and such contrasts are important aspects of anthropological study. However, the distribution of the negrito group in these isolated islands have been explained by some as the passage of the people from the Lower reaches of Burma and it is accepted with greater unanimity be-

1 Cipriani, L—On the origin of the Andamanese, Andaman & Nicobar Islands, Census of India, 1961.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

and the 'peppercorn' hair (disposed in tufts with bare areas) do indeed recall the Bushmen, but superficial resemblances are not enough to classify the two peoples as at all closely related. There is an important difference between the two in the structure and cross-section of the hair. Hairs from the Onges which were examined in Calcutta were remarkably uniform, indicating the racial purity of the people, unlike those of the Arioto, which showed considerable variation in cross-section, from the almost circular straight hair of the Mongoloid type, to the flattened, almost remiform hair of the original Negritos.

Different, too, is the shape of the head; I have never seen in the Negritos the typical Bushmen head, with the prominent occiput, and I saw no Andamanese with the pseudo-mongoloid appearance of the eyes which occurs in Bushmen.

The hands and feet are also different. Among the Kung women of the northern Kalahari in particular I saw delicate hands with very long metacarpals and a very small thumb, the elongated metacarpals displacing the thumb towards the wrist. None of the Negritos appear to have anything resembling this; their hands are always rather broad. Moreover, the feet of the male Onges are nearly always flat while those of the women tend to turn in, recalling the small peoples of Indonesia and New Guinea, but not the Bushmen.

An interesting though not congenital abnormality in the Andamanese results from the carrying of weights slung from the head from too early an age. Loads are always carried on their backs by a rope made of bark, the weight being taken on the forehead. The rope presses on the head in the region of the bregma and creates the so-called bregmatic furrow. This is more marked in females, as the women normally do most of the carrying. Even the children travel on their parents' backs, hanging like parcels, until the age of five or six when they are old enough to follow the group on their own.

The Abor, a mongoloid people of small stature in the mountains of North-West Assam, carry loads in the same way, but with no resulting head furrow. The Andamanese have softer cranial bones, and the result of load-bearing is therefore clearly visible. As it occurs in both sexes, it is often hard if not impossible to determine sex from skulls if the pelvis is absent. The long bones are not of

157 522 Western standards taciturn or sly, and the Negro peoples, who frequently manifest complete abandonment in their amusement. 157 522 83 Obscenities appear to be an unfailing source of amusement to the Onges, who indulge in them at every opportunity, even with strangers, and the obscene dances of the womenfolk are a continual source of pleasure. The exchange of obscenities is, indeed, a sign of friendship, and I found that vulgarity was invariably immensely successful in provoking hilarity; any subsequent negotiations were always peaceable and satisfactory.

302 [157] An extension of this vulgarity is an infantile vanity, not without sexual significance. The care with which their bodies are painted nearly every day is one aspect of this vanity; the more a wife loves her husband the more magnificent the designs she executes on him. [153] [151] [161] The paintings on their bodies reach a peak every two or three days, as the Onges fear illness and death if they are not newly daubed, and the face at least must be continually painted, with at least smears on the chest, arms and legs. A man returning from an exceptionally successful hunting trip is met by his wife with a specially unusual and elaborate design, which she carries out with great devotion. [123] During each of my visits to the island the Onges would rush up to show me their embellishments as soon as they were finished, and took a delight in standing in front of my camera, even though they had no idea what it was for.

304 [171] It is curious that unlike most primitive peoples, the Onges do not practise tattooing, which is one of the simplest ways, if not *the* simplest, in which such peoples satisfy their craving for physical [184] [302] admiration. The other Andamanese do, puncturing the skin with tiny slivers of obsidian or quartz, but the Onges paint with ochre instead. They love, too, to weave garlands of fruit, flowers and 39 824 leaves from the forest, returning to the camp laden with them, men and women alike, delighted with their own beauty. This divergence [184] of customs in peoples essentially of the same stock, but separated for long periods of time into endogamous isolates, is very remarkable.

838 An intense preoccupation with sexual attraction and activity has led to the prevalence of aberration. All the Onges have homosexual tendencies. I became aware of this during my first visit to Little Andaman on one of my longer expeditions, when I had taken only men with me, and on subsequent occasions I therefore allowed the men to bring their wives. The effect of long periods of absence on

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

twining up into the trees, and the shorter-stemmed yams, are never disturbed. The Onges merely dig down, at a respectful distance from the plant, certain of finding what they want. On no account must there be any signs of the theft for the spirit to see, so they quietly take off roots or tubers some way from the main stem and leave the rest, patting the earth down afterwards and covering the place with leaves. The guardian spirit, not, apparently, all-seeing, notices nothing, as the plant continues to flourish, improved by the root pruning. Everyone, guardian spirit and Onges alike, is happy.

This unconscious preservation may well be the result of a decree, in some remote past, by an Onge seer who realized the danger of killing off the entire plants and invented the guardian spirits as a deterrent. The Negritos still make similar use of roots and tubers; Skeet and Blagden fifty years ago referred to the Semang eating poisonous wild yams, having removed the toxic substances.[1]

It is interesting that both in the past and even today a number of peoples at a very early stage of cultural development have progressed from the gathering of the wild yams of South-East Asia to the first signs of cultivation and agriculture. It is possible that they were the first plants ever to be cultivated by primitive Man, the Negritos with their digging sticks delving then as they do now; the genus is certainly a very ancient one, and some species, such as *Dioscorea alata*, may have spread from Asia to Africa and Oceania, and even to America, with the beginning of cultivation. But this is a stage of development which the peoples of the Andaman never reached.

The digging stick, the only implement the Onges have with which to get at the roots and tubers, has in recent times been affected, though to a very limited extent by the spread of iron. Only a few individuals possess a primitive iron tool, half a metre long, cylindrical in shape and usually not more than one and a half centimetres in diameter and flattened into a form of blade at one end. The vast majority still have only the age-old stick made of hard wood, hardly recognizable as a tool and crudely fashioned into a point at one end. This tool, so primitive that it can easily be mistaken for an odd

[1] It is interesting that the American Aborigines, especially in Brazil, do the same with manioc, but I saw nothing of this nature in the Andamans.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

TOOL, so primitive that it can easily be mistaken for an old
piece of wood, has definite uses, and none of the nomadic forest 412
peoples anywhere in the world are without it. Everywhere it is 171
found it is effective in filling huge baskets with food – baskets 285
equally simply and equally quickly made. I have already described 285
(see p. 93) the baskets made by the Onges for purely temporary use on their hunting expeditions. In the communal huts, however, the making of real baskets involves hours of careful plaiting, working the supple fibres from the strong bark of selected rushes, and expert finishing. These baskets are an invariable and prized part [428] of every family's inheritance and are preserved for as long as possible. Nowhere in the collection of basketry from Great Andaman are there baskets with more craftsmanship than the permanent ones of the Onges.[1] All the baskets are the shape of half an egg. There is little variation in size, all being about forty centimetres in diameter at the top, and about forty-five centimetres deep, unlike the temporary carriers, which vary considerably in size, according to whether they are to be carried by men, women, or even children, and what is to be carried.

At the opposite extreme from the underground harvest of roots, 222
men and women alike use long thin hooked poles to hook down [412]
fruit from the trees, climbing up into the trees when necessary to strip the highest branches and then hiding the poles in the forest until they are next required (no attempt is ever made to carry them about). When the tree is not too large, it is ruthlessly chopped down and stripped as it lies on the ground. I was horrified in the first fortnight of April to see this happen to trees which the Onges call [185] *dangbecciò*, which bear blackish-red fruit about the size of a pigeon's egg. The attraction is the flavour of the pulp, but there is little of it, surrounding a large nut. To get at the pulp a thick, hard case has to be cracked, but to the formidable Onge teeth this is no problem and the case cracks comparatively easily. The nut itself is not edible; the honey-coloured pulp is sweetish, but there is so little that it takes ten fruits to provide ten grams of it. The fruits hang in bunches at the end of branches covered with leaves rather like a chestnut. As the wood is very soft, the Onges usually hack the trees down; large ones may merely have their branches lopped

[1] Editor's note: The author indicated in manuscript at this point his intention of giving a full description of the way in which these are made, but unfortunately died before he was able to do so. [114]

11: Cipriani E-:1 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

night. Everything else stops. *Bulundanghe* are food enough, and even honey is left for the future; there will be larvae, and bees, and nests to come. Life is good!

Later come the large, heavy *Pandanus* (*Mane* to the Onges) but they are far less important. The whole fruit has hardly any smell, but immediately it is open it smells rather like a pineapple. The separate segments, actually carpals, each in its own skin, pineapple-coloured on the outside shading to a pale yellow, can be picked off one by one. Each carpal is rather like a pyramid, with the top towards the centre of the fruit, the base towards the outside, wrinkled and divided into cellules each containing an ovule. The edible part of the fruit is very small. In the Nicobars, where the huge cultivated variety can weigh anything up to two kilos, the women spend hours passing a string through and through the heavy sphere of orange pulp to comb out the short bristly fibres which damage the stomach. The Onges are not interested in such niceties! The smaller wild fruit is merely broken into pieces, ready for chewing. The result of all the chewing is hardly worth the effort; there is taste, and there is smell, but the food value is very small indeed, and even the Onges seem to realize it.

Much better are the *giogbene*, which ripen in February, and the *ghine* in mid-March. The *giogbene* are soft, red fruit, the size of a cherry but rather less rounded, hanging in bunches from the trunk and the larger branches of the tree. The green seed sprouts out of the end of the fruit, like a large bean, but is not eaten; the Onges cut it off, and eat only the pulpy fruit, raw. They love to make necklaces, twining the fruits with slender fibres into long garlands, even making some for me when I was with them, and return to the camp every night with long ropes hanging round their necks and from their arms.

Ghine are very different. From the outside they look like small medlars, covered with a leathery skin which is easy to crack off with one's teeth. The fruit itself has three segments, and is rather gelatinous, a little sour, but quite edible. The Indians with me liked them very much and ate so many that they developed severe indigestion – unlike the Onges, who ate far more with no ill effects.

776 rule the multiplication and growth of the various animals and plants useful to Man.

The Onges do not love Eiuga, or any of the other spirits. They merely fear them, and seek to evade their anger by various ex-
[784] pedients. It is curious that they never hesitate to try and deceive the spirits and think themselves very clever when they manage to
[769] steal roots or tubers from the ground. Nor do they revere the
[765] spirits of their ancestors; these are to be feared and propitiated by preservation of their bones. By definition none of the spirits, since they can be deceived by simple tricks, can be all-powerful, but this conclusion, simple though it is, is still beyond the Onges' powers of reasoning.

769 The Onges' fear of the dead is instanced by their carrying round their necks the *ibidanghe*, or necklet of human jaws, as a propitiation.
[765] The wearing of the bones prevents the spirit from going away (by analogy the bones of dead enemies are burned to force the spirit,
[764] clearly a hostile one, to leave the place). The custom of burial within the communal hut follows the same logic – the spirits of the dead are kept near their bones and hence near their relatives, to help them in the daily round of hunting, fishing and gathering food.[1]

769 Unlike most of the other peoples whose burial customs are even
778 today based on their underlying principles, the Onges have not
776 progressed beyond the stage of relating the dead directly to the
782 demands of daily life; they have no 'practices' of any kind, no con-
784 cept at all of holy places, prayers or images. Even the very names of the dead are soon forgotten. Their fears, however, are none the less very real. They do not like to speak of Eiuga or even of the lesser spirits, for fear of attracting their attention.

773 The Onges have no stories or explanatory legends, like those
538 reported by Brown for Great Andaman. They have only short
533 epics, if such they may be called, recalling extraordinary events in

[171] [1] This belief is of very remote origin, and can be traced back at least to the megaliths of southern Asia, like the splendid ones which I was able to photograph, among others, in the mountains of Travancore. Here again the object was to prevent the dead from leaving their relatives. Similar ideas are found today in India among several tribes, notably the Munda, or Nias, and among various peoples of Indonesia, and even Oceania. The rituals are probably followed today without any understanding of their meaning or symbolism; the details vary from place to place, but the underlying principle, the original fear, remains the same everywhere.

136 were approaching an Onge camp. Everywhere they go they are accompanied by flies of all sizes, and in Little Andaman the swarms are so bad that the first stranger to land called a river after them, Bumila Creek, or fly river. Their flies betray the Onges long before the barking of their dogs – no human voice ever betrays their silent presence.

628 423 123 On Little Andaman today the Onges' tacit divisions of territory are of little importance, so heavy has been the fall in population, but they still keep out of areas belonging to other 'huts', even if the huts themselves have been abandoned. I never saw any disputes over territory, or the ownership of the area in which a pig was caught (and hence ownership of the pig). The Onges who accompanied me, possibly encouraged by the prestige value of a European with them, hunted wherever we went without anyone raising any protests. Nevertheless, I always took the precaution of giving anything I or my Indians took to the Onges of the nearest hut, invariably much to their delight.

342 361 Contrary to established opinion, communal huts on Little Andaman are not found only along the coasts; the majority, and certainly the best constructed, are in the interior. Togalanghe is one, and there are a number of permanently abandoned temporary camps near it.

342 197 Both the permanent and temporary huts or shelters of the Andamans resemble those of the Semang. The latter are extremely simple, especially in the dry season; there are no walls and only a very sloping roof of leaves, high at the front and very low at the back, the beds being put so that the feet face the low part of the roof. With the Semang and Aeta the beds may be made of bamboo; this is never the case in the Andamans, as there are no large bamboos in the archipelago (Brown was wrong in this respect. The few slender bamboos on Little Andaman are only usable for making drying racks, which are found only round the hut at Beniabol in the south. As the people were away when I went there, and the site was consequently completely deserted, I was unable to establish visually what they dried, but traces of fish, particularly pilchards, were indication enough.)

352 171 137 114 417 114 251

342 These temporary shelters are put up extremely quickly. Two poles less than two metres long for the front, and two more, thirty to forty centimetres long, for the back, are fixed firmly into the

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providing not too much effort is required. The Semang and Aeta 312
dig water-holes, and several authors have regarded the Anda- [171]
manese as differing from them in this respect, but I am able to
confirm that they can and do dig water-holes. I first saw them do so 312
in 1951, and in 1952 and again in 1953, near Toqué-è-bùie, I was 123
able to enlarge one. Originally it yielded very little water, and very dirty, as the Onges never bother to go further down than they must – a handful of water is enough. After I had enlarged the well it yielded over half a cubic metre an hour, and I had to build a fence round it to prevent the dogs wallowing in it. I gave the Onges buckets, rope, pick-axes and spades so they could get at clean water, although in view of their natural indolence I rather doubted whether they would be any use. In fact, they used the metal parts for arrow heads and went on as before, drinking out of foul pools covered in rotting vegetation and refuse. It is easy to have clear water on Little Andaman, naturally filtered over the coral formations and never more than two or three metres down, but the effort is too much for the Onges! Usually they drink like [271]
animals, lying flat on their stomachs with their lips to the water; some will fold a large leaf into a crude cup, however, and occasionally a fastidious individual will use a *Nautilus* shell.

The water-hole at Toqué-è-bùie alone, if properly maintained, 312
would be able to supply enough water every day for at least five hundred people. The continual falling in of the sides, inevitable in a sandy area, could be permanently prevented by cementing them.

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The Onges are the most numerous of the three peoples surviving in the Andamans. Vigorous and apparently full of promise for the future they may well offer a suitable field for the application of eugenic measures designed to increase their numbers; this would be impossible with the Jarawas owing to their hostility towards outsiders, and the few remaining Arioto are nearly all of impure stock. If their confidence could be gained, it might be possible to encourage inter-marriage between the various groups, in the hope that fertility would increase and the ultimate total extinction of Onges, Jarawas and Arioto, would be prevented.

In the Andamanese, this physiological decline has been accompanied by cultural decadence, as my digs in the kitchen-middens all over the archipelago showed. The ancient pottery which came to light is proof enough; when one compares it with recent work the latter is indicative of secondary and not original primitiveness. The successive strata in the deposits show a gradual decline from earthenware clearly made from a very refined mix to crude ware with vegetable impurities and bits of stone left in the clay. The pots dating from ancient times were clearly well fired and the quality of the clay allowed them to have thin but nevertheless very strong walls. In the present-day ware, on the other hand, the wall has to be thick because of the coarseness of the clay, making the pots both heavy and easily broken. Moreover, firing is limited to drying the pots in the sun, and the clay is in fact only hardened when the pot is used for cooking.

Ignorance of fire-making in the Andamans may also stem from this cultural regression, as one of the effects of physiological and psychological decadence. Given the absence of magico-religious beliefs among the Andamanese, ignorance of fire-making cannot be attributed to any ritual taboo or veto. On the other hand, it is in sharp contrast to the possession of elements of cultural advance such as the bow, with highly developed arrows, the harpoon with its detachable point, and the outrigger canoe.

Few races are known, even in far distant times, which never had fire. *Sinanthropus* and nearly every fossil Man after him had fire, even if he was unable to create it and could only preserve it once received from some natural combustion. The Onges, while retaining a number of ethnic characteristics of the Palaeolithic era, have

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remains belonged to species still extant. Some chronological assistance was given, however, by four different stratifications due to evident changes in the level of the adjacent marshes, resulting not from any general marine phenomena, but from numerous land movements. On these occasions the cliffs sank, the sea flowed inland and corals flourished, later to be buried by the black ooze and mud of the mangrove swamps. 172

The maximum rise in the sea-level during the growth of the midden was a little over three metres, and affected a wide area. The date could be established by a full geological study of the archipelago as a whole, but it is clear that although this and similar occurrences had direct stratigraphic effects on the middens, the results were manifest only over very long periods of time.

Refuse from introductions of European origin, such as pipes, glass bottles, shot pellets, pieces of iron, etc., appear in the top level, only fifteen centimetres thick and dating back about a hundred years. There were no dog bones either here or anywhere else on Little or Great Andaman. Recently introduced, the dog clearly [177] caused an increase in the amount of pig remains, and a parallel reduction in shell refuse. Below the fifteen centimetres level, iron, [276] imported pipes and glass fragments disappear, and the crab-claw [237] pipes, still used today by the Onges, begin to emerge. The smoking habit must, as I have said, date from very ancient times, as traces of these claw pipes appear in the lowest strata, in contact with virgin soil.[1]

The actual consistency of the layers, which vary considerably, can tell us much. At Golpahar, we reached a depth of about four metres from the top of the midden through refuse mixed with only a little loose earth, very easy to penetrate. Bones, shells and other objects emerged clean, as if only recently rejected. The situation altered suddenly about one metre from the bottom, when the strata became hard and cemented with a mixture of ashes and earth. In these layers the shells were calcified by exposure to fire, and so fragile that they could only be recovered in broken pieces.

[1] It is obvious that smoking is a very ancient vice; leaves of the wild hemp are still [197] smoked in Africa as they were long before the discovery of tobacco and claw pipes like those of the Onges are found in Eastern New Guinea, especially on the south coast, [276] and as far as the Torres Straits and the Melville Straits. In Australia these pipes appear only in a few coastal areas in the east and north, including the Gulf of Carpentaria, and they are not found in the rest of Australia or in Polynesia.

172 It is clear from this that when they first arrived in the Andamans, the Negritos had no pottery; there are no signs of it at all in the lowest levels. Before they acquired the use of earthenware, perhaps for centuries, they baked their shellfish in ashes, so that the shells became calcified; but as time went on they came to boil them, as the islanders still do today. There is a clear distinction between the ashy, fragile, almost fossilized appearance of the former, and the cleaner solidity of the latter.

172 178 323 In the lowest level in which it appears, the pottery shows signs of careful working of the clay and good firing, degenerating towards more recent times. The uppermost layers reveal the crudest ware, the clay being impure, carelessly mixed, with bits of stone in it and hardly fired at all; it appears to have been merely dried by exposure to the sun and hardened in the course of normal use, as the Onges do today. The resulting pots break easily, despite their thickness, in contrast to the thinner, but much stronger, walls of earlier pottery. They were built up by the coil technique, exactly as they are made on Chowra, the one island in the Nicobars which specializes in pottery.

172 171 323 On Great Nicobar, among the Shom-Pen, these exists also another, cruder type of pottery which is made by a very primitive method. A basket is covered with clay, and hardened in the fire without being properly fired; fragments of this type of pottery retain the marks of the basket inside. The kitchen-middens of the Andamans contain no traces of any primitive stage of this kind; instead, a somewhat refined form of earthenware appears suddenly. There are traces of ornamentation, rows of small lines, usually roughly parallel. No such ornamentation appears on the crude ware of more recent date, however.

171 323 Andamanese pots have always been made with a pointed base which prevents their standing upright, so that they have to be carried in baskets, exactly like those of the Shom-Pen, who make their pots in complete ignorance of the Andamanese and Chowra pottery.

Pottery did not form part of the culture of the Negritos of ancient times. Neither the Semang of Malacca nor the Aetà of the Philippines, their last remnants, nor the Andamanese, had any. The custom of hollowing out logs for use as vessels, and the continuing use of the earth oven, doubtless made the absence of any pottery no hardship.

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If we may deduce from the evidence of the middens, pottery arrived in the Andamans at the same time as the pig, bones of which appear only in the upper levels; but we know nothing of the people responsible for the introduction of either. It is, however, certain that both arrived in Great Andaman and Little Andaman together.

There are indications that Little Andaman was the first to feel the benefit of pottery, possibly introduced by a light-skinned people. There are, as I have said, significant variations of skin colour and stature among the Onges; some have markedly lighter skins than the other islanders, and one would assume that this feature entered Little Andaman from the Nicobars with the unknown people who brought with them pottery and the pig. The people as an entity have disappeared as a result of inter-marriage with the indigenous population, while pigs reverted to the wild state and flourished, even spreading from one island to another by swimming (I can vouch for this, having seen them do it).[1]

The indications are that there were migrations from Little Andaman to Great Andaman long before those from which the Jarawas derive. In certain respects they resemble the Onges, whereas the surviving Arioto appear to represent a purer stock. The Onges seem to have acquired foreign blood in relatively recent times, perhaps when pigs and pottery appeared, when the kitchen-middens of Great Andaman were already being built up by the Arioto, but before the migration northwards by which the Jarawas reached their present home. Much more intensive investigation of the middens will, however, be needed before these hypotheses can be confirmed.

At Golpahar there were within the midden five graves containing human bones, not in anatomical position, and clearly filled in with fresh earth. I was surprised to find only the long bones, skulls and jawbones; the remaining bones could not be found. This may be explained by the custom among the Arioto (still prevailing

[1] One thing is puzzling: the three remaining groups of primitive Negritos in Malacca and the Philippines have the arrow harpoon with a detachable head. This is particularly valuable in the forests against the pigs, which cannot escape into the undergrowth once they have been hit. But it is difficult to see how or why the arrow harpoon reached the Andamans, where there were at that time no large mammals. It seems necessary to postulate the former spread of the weapon with the Negritos over a very wide area and its use against a much wider range of animals.

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been cooked in the same way; the bones are never charred, but always have the appearance of being cooked in an earth oven. The direct roasting of large game over the fire, postulated by some authorities, including Brown, was never practised; the islanders preferred to go on as they had done since time immemorial, because it was more efficient – witness the traces of the earth oven which are to be found all over the world, including Europe. In Polynesia and Micronesia, and among the pygmies of Asia and Africa, it was widely used; variations when they arose did so as the result of local circumstances, like that of throwing water on the fire instead of using fleshy leaves, when there were none in the area. But the basic principle remained the same everywhere, and the use of the earth oven coincides with the geographical distribution of hunting, gathering and burial customs similar to those found in the Andamans.

In April 1954 I excavated the midden at Tambe-e-buiè on Little Andaman, abandoned after the earth tremors of 1951, to investigate the position of the beds. The custom of burying the dead underneath their beds made it possible to trace the latter by the human remains below them, arranged in a circle round the periphery. The Onges themselves helped in the work, sometimes even trying to recognize the remains as they came to light.[1] There were clear signs of reburial. The body is buried immediately after death at least one metre deep; whereas after exhumation, cleaning and colouring, it is never re-interred more than thirty centimetres below the floor of the hut. When another death makes it necessary for a new grave to be dug under the bed, the piles of bones from the second are disturbed, so that in time a form of ossuary develops. In this it is not possible to identify the various remains of individuals unless some change in the position of the hut, even by a few metres, preserves the bones from disturbance by fresh graves. Traces of the graves always remain, however, as they are invariably filled with fresh earth.

We have already seen that on Little Andaman the introduction of the dog reduced the consumption of shellfish (and hence the rate

[1] The material recovered is now in the Anthropological Museum of the Andamans and Nicobars, which I helped to establish at Port Blair. The museum was inaugurated on 6 June 1955 in the presence of the Governor, Mr A. K. Ghosh and the chief Indian officials of the town.

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often extremely vicious but good hunters. The dogs often roam the forests in packs, hunting and devouring young pigs. The Onges will do nothing about it unless someone forces them to, but if this pack hunting is not stopped the pig will become extinct in ten or twenty years and in 1954 I tried myself (in vain) to draw the attention of the authorities to the situation.

The dog appears in even the most ancient of cultures in Australia, but did not spread to Tasmania, despite the geographical proximity. It arrived on Great Andaman with the establishment of the Indian penal colony and it is thus the Indian pariah which ultimately populated the whole archipelago. A despised outcast in India, the pariah became in the Andamans of enormous value, reverting to its ancient hunting instincts. Burmese police officials taught the islanders how to use the animal for hunting and within a few years it had revolutionized their methods. It led the islanders in fact, to comparative indolence; the dog worked for them, supplying with far less effort as much game as they used to catch in their long, weary and not always successful expeditions. Dogs meant invariable and abundant success in the hunt, and it is hardly surprising that the Andamanese came to develop a somewhat unbalanced affection for them.

On Little Andaman the dogs, with abundant food supplies always easily available, became physically far superior to their ancestors in India; unlike the pariahs they were well muscled, with good skins and coats, although most of them bear the marks of old and recent gashes by boar tusks.

On Great Andaman the dogs voluntarily catch and kill fallow deer. These, like the dogs, have increased to the extent of becoming a pest. The Arioto and Jarawas will not eat them for superstitious reasons, and so they have bred like wildfire, spreading to all the islands as far as Rutland. They swim well, but only with land in sight, and the greater distances involved have so far prevented them from spreading to Little Andaman.

Here the dogs have only one main prey – the pigs. Unlike the deer with their slender legs they cannot outdistance the dogs, and their only defence is to hide under the buttresses of the tree-trunks. The pig rushes underneath the tree, and faces the dogs like a stag at bay. There is no escape, only a few more terrible minutes of life. The pig fights the dogs off desperately, the males inflicting serious

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they may be, and the strays of the Andaman forests howl unceasingly. Even in the Onge encampments the dogs howl enough to wake their sleeping masters; the only way to stop the noise is for the Onges to forestall it by taking their dogs into the family bed, fleas and all. There ensues silence, warmth and more fleas!

Hunting weapons of the Andamanese, the Semang and the Aetà were originally made by all three peoples in a similar way, common to all the Negritos. None have any defensive weapons as such; their bows and arrows, never feathered, serve as arms as well as for hunting and fishing. Shields are unknown and spears, rare in the Andamans and among the Semang, are apparently no longer in use among the Aetà; where they exist they are usually mainly for hunting. All three peoples, however, have the arrow harpoon.[1]

Their bows are all clearly derived from the same source. In the Andamans, only the Onges and Jarawas have remained true to the original form, local variations arising at a later date, and they afford additional evidence in favour of Little Andaman being the original springboard from which the Negritos entered Great Andaman.

All the Negritos make their bows from one piece of wood stripped longitudinally from the living trunks of large trees such as *Mimusops littoralis* or *Pterocarpus dalbergoides*. After they have been left to season the strips are patiently fashioned into the required shape; for this the Onges use the shells of *Cyrena* (the freshwater species, which are tougher). The bows are straight, thicker in the middle and gradually tapering towards the ends, and are usually 1·6 metres long, although there are exceptions. The cross section is the same throughout the length of the bow, varying from three or four centimetres diameter at the centre to two and a half centimetres at the horns. The inner surface is so slightly curved as to be almost flat, while the back is markedly convex. The blunt horns end in a 'shoulder and neck' stop to take the string, the neck projecting about one and a half centimetres beyond the shoulders – enough to hold the bowstring. The shoulder is formed by strips of *Ficus* bark wound round the bow, or the yellow fibres of *Dendrobium*; one shoulder is invariably larger than the other. The string itself, made from long thin strips of *Ficus* bark twisted together, has a very narrow loop on one end and a larger one at the other;

[1] See p. 86.

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becomes more complex; the upper horn is more pointed than the lower, and there is a difference between the upper and lower halves of the bow, as it is necessary to prevent the loops of the strings slipping on the bow. The bow string is made not from *Ficus* bark, as in the Onge bow, but from thin *Anadendron* fibres, twisted together and waxed with beeswax; it has the usual loop at each end, and the bow is strung with the help of the foot as in the simpler version. When strung, this type of bow becomes S-shaped as a result of the variations in elasticity arising from the spear-shape of the two halves, but when drawn it assumes the normal shape. The fact that it is easier to draw an S-bow than a single-curve one, without any loss of propulsive force, is an interesting mechanical point.

The bows are only strung when required for use, and in the normal way neither they nor the arrows are ever seen by outsiders; they disappear up into the roof of the communal hut, or into the bushes round the temporary camps. Even with friendly Onges I had to ask specifically to see them, or surprise their owners out hunting.

The external influences to which the Semang and Aetà have been subjected have been strong enough to make them to a large extent forget their original form of bow, which has however survived alongside a large number of cultural inovations. The differences, for example, between the upper and lower extremities of both bow and string have persisted, and the shoulder-and-neck stop (although this is now made by notching the bow-stave deeply) so that we may reasonably assume that a close study of the Onge bow will give us the essential characteristic of a very ancient form of the weapon. The greatest modification to the original form is the one which has been made on North Andaman, and in an attempt to improve the effect of separate curving of the two sections selected trees are deliberately trained for the purpose, the cut wood being seasoned slowly over heat and smoke, paying particular care to the parts which will take the greatest strain. As a result the 'give' in the bow is markedly increased. But even here no fundamental alteration has been made in the design of the weapon.

The Onge bow, therefore, represents the forerunner of the somewhat more highly evolved type (now dying out with their owners) on Great Andaman, and adds further support to the evidence for

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screams of a wild boar can be heard for hundreds of metres, drawing the hunters in from all sides, eager to take it alive. If it proves to be a large male, whose tusks can inflict appalling injuries, the hunters kill it at once with a spear or with a third type of arrow which has a long fixed head. This type of arrow, which does not differ greatly from those found in other parts of the world, is still used by some of the Andamanese against human enemies.

The shaft of the arrow harpoon is made preferably from *Tetranthera lancifolia*, very common all over the archipelago. The wood for the shafts has to be straight, very slender at one end, where a notch is cut half a centimetre deep to take the cord, and a little thicker at the other, which is hollowed out for about one centimetre to take the head of the weapon. Splitting of the wood at the ends is, as usual, prevented by binding the shaft with *gnetum* fibres, twisted into thread and waxed with beeswax.

The efficiency of the harpoon depends on the double-strand cord, extremely strong, made from *Hibiscus* fibres. One end is fixed on to the shaft, five centimetres from the point at which the foreshaft enters it, and the other to the foreshaft, two centimetres from the base, with a thirty-two centimetre loop of cord between the two fixings.

The harpoon blade, now made of iron, is eleven centimetres long and spear-shaped, ending in a series of barbs. The haft of the blade is bound tightly on to the short foreshaft, also eleven centimetres long, which is scraped thin at the end so that the haft can be bound on smoothly. The complete weapon mounted for use is about eighty-eight centimetres long overall in the Onges and Jarawas, and slightly shorter, about sixty-five centimetres, in the Arioto.

To prepare the harpoon for use the slack of the cord is wound firmly round the shaft, and the foreshaft with the blade attached is forced in. As the harpoon strikes, the shaft becomes detached and the victim, firmly held by the barbed arrow head, drags it along on the end of the cord until it catches in the undergrowth and holds the animal fast.

There is little difference between the arrow harpoons of Little Andaman and Great Andaman, and what difference there is affects only the dimensions, the type of cord, and the form of the barbs. The basic principle remains the same wherever it is found; all the Negritos, including the Semang and Aetà still use it, although these

171 184 411 two have added feathers, and poisoned tips, in imitation of neighbouring peoples.

184 411 114 22 [484] For the capture of large fish and animals such as turtles, dolphins and dugong, the Onges and Arioto use not the arrow harpoon but the spear harpoon. Brown saw none of these among the Onges he studied in Rutland, and consequently assumed its absence on Little Andaman. The Onges carry as little as possible on their sea voyages for the sake of speed, and would not therefore take spear harpoons (used only for marine hunting) with them on trips to Rutland, which they visit only for the purpose of hunting pigs and not to fish, or to hunt marine animals. They certainly have, and use, spear harpoons even today; I myself have been with the Onges and seen their harpoons used from the canoes. I had ample opportunity to admire both the effectiveness of the weapons and the accuracy of the throwers.

411 [283] The greater structural and operational simplicity of the spear harpoon, in comparison with the arrow harpoon, leads one to suppose it the older of the two. Its cord is made of tough *Hibiscus* fibres, and with the aid of these and a straight shaft about six metres long and little over four centimetres in diameter, even the humblest of nails, seven centimetres long and three millimetres in diameter, [824] can become the point of a spear harpoon. It is fixed into the shaft (usually of mangrove wood) which is hollowed out at the thinner end to take it, and with a cord up to a hundred metres long or more attached to the nail two centimetres from the head, the spear harpoon is ready for use – shaft, point and cord.

411 225 When the harpoon is to be used for turtles, no barbs are needed, as the point is driven so firmly into the shell that blocks of wood have to be carried in the canoes to knock it out for re-use.

The harpoon throwers stand ready on the platform jutting out fore and aft of the canoes (see p. 122), the free end of the cord is tied to one of the booms to prevent it being jerked out of the canoe as the victim tries to escape, and the slack is coiled in the bottom of the canoe. The thrower holds the cord against the harpoon as he waits for the right moment and then throws. As the harpoon strikes, the point detaches from the shaft, which floats on the water till picked up – often to be used as a punt-pole in the shallow waters of the coral reefs as the canoe follows the victim, now held firmly on the end of the cord.

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Even the unique dances enjoyed by the Onges are to be seen among the Jarawas, with the characteristic marking of the rhythm by slapping the calves against the buttocks. This does not seem to have been a feature of the Arioto dances, in which the rhythm was by the *pukuta yemnga*, a kind of convex shield made of the very hard and aromatic red wood (*Pterocarpus dalbergoides*) which the termites never seem to attack. I was able to obtain one of these shields, the last that the twenty-three surviving Arioto possessed and the only musical instrument in the islands. It is played by one man with his feet, while the dancers, male and female, form lines on each side of him a short distance away. Before use the convex face is decorated with lines of white ochre and chains of tusk shells are hung from a hole at the end opposite to the one on which the player's feet beat; from the same hole runs a cord, which he holds in his hand to prevent the instrument moving away from him as he beats. The players change from time to time as the dancers shuffle on and on for hours in the light of the resin torches. But apart from the instrument itself, the rhythmic hand-clapping and the dancers singing in unison are the same throughout the Andamans.

The women clap their hands in rhythm, and then slap one thigh with the open palm of one hand, the other hand clasping the wrist, singing all the time. The men dance in Indian file, beating the ground first with the right heel, then with the left, the toes barely raised from the ground, moving a short way forward each time. As they dance they lean forward, then with hands clasped and their fingers interlaced. There are variations, but the basic step is always the same.

One difference between the Onges and the Jarawas is that in the latter both sexes are naked, while the Onge women have in recent times adopted the *naquineghe* or apron. Complete nudity was a characteristic of all the Negritos, including the Semang and Aetà, and the Jarawa migrations probably took place before the introduction of the *naquineghe*.

The present inability of the three peoples to understand each other is more a question of pronunciation than of difference in actual words. To examine the question fully it would be necessary to collect a large number of words and analyse their affinity; meanwhile we know that despite their inability to understand each other there is a close resemblance between the language of the Jarawas and Sentinellese and that of the Onges. Strict isolation can lead to

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completely lost the art of building them, probably by the same mechanism as the Jarawas, that is as a result of isolation in forest areas. The Semang sometimes prepare hasty bamboo rafts when they want to cross a river, however, and there do appear to be a few canoes among groups of Aetà living along the coasts. Facility of contact with neighbouring areas has brought about modification in both peoples, especially in the course of the last hundred years, whereas the complete isolation of the Andamans cannot be overstressed.

These later contacts, however, have not yet destroyed the ancient physical and cultural habits of the Semang and Aetà. The food of those who have remained nomadic in the forest still consists of roots, fruit, and whatever they can get by hunting and fishing. Some have certainly recently tended to settle, and have adopted a rude form of agriculture, but the rest have remained as primitive as the peoples of the Andamans, using digging sticks to get at the edible roots, and hooked sticks to get at the fruits on the trees. They do have axes with blades (now made of iron) which can split open tree-trunks to get at the honey inside or, when hafted on the end of a stick, to hollow out trunks to make vessels and clean off the exterior. But again, their bows and arrows, very similar to the ancient pattern, still remain their chief means of acquiring food.

The Negritos of Malacca and the Philippines make baskets, some of which are clearly copied from neighbouring peoples, while others correspond to the basketwork of the Andamans. The Onges, the finest of the Andaman basket workers, have two types of basket, one intended to last and one made purely for some temporary purpose. When they are on hunting or gathering trips outside Little Andaman they will hastily construct roughly made carriers for whatever they find. Anyone who saw, for example, these rough baskets on Rutland would assume reasonably enough that the Onge baskets are inferior to those of the peoples of Great Andaman, but in fact these purely temporary carriers, intended to be thrown away after their immediate use, are extremely well made. They are plaited over a frame of solid reeds, about two and a half centimetres in diameter, and split in half longways. The split reeds are arranged and tied in a star position to give the base and then bent upwards, the ends being joined to a circle of split reed, which forms the rim of the basket. Long ribbons of bark stripped from

285 anything handy are then woven over the frame, the size of the mesh being determined by the nature of the contents for which it is intended; the basket merely has to get the haul back to the camp, and is then thrown away. The real Onge baskets, however, are made with great care and are never carried on these expeditions. [171] They resemble the traditional Semang and Aetà baskets, now abandoned in favour of foreign types.

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less plentiful and containing a great deal of wax, and is greatly prized by the Onges. The darker bees, common in China, Celebes, Borneo and beyond, build their nests in cavities in the rocks, or in tree-trunks. Their honey, darker and with less wax, is more plentiful, but not so fine; when there is enough of the golden honey the Onges ignore the darker variety. 136 262

Few of the fruits on Little Andaman contain much sugar, but the Onges eat more than enough honey to compensate any deficiency that would otherwise occur. Whatever the fruit in season, men, women and children climb happily about like acrobats, hanging in the trees to get at it and the honey that goes with it. To chop the tree down is, of course, easiest and the obvious first choice for any Onge. Failing this, and their hooked poles, they climb up the nearby lianas into the branches, or walk up the trunk – an easy feat for them with their very long arms and almost prehensile toes. 222 [146]

Although there are arak nuts and betel leaves in the forest, the Onges ignore them. They are the same variety as elsewhere; *Areca catechu* and *Piper betel*. The Nicobarese are so addicted to them that many have lips and teeth hideously deformed as a result, but this is quite unknown among the Onges, contrary to earlier reports. The appearance of addiction in the Nicobars may have occurred after the separation of the peoples. 137 276 [191]

With all these fruits the Onges consume vast quantities of honey from the two species of bee, *dorsata* and *nigrocinta*. During the rainy season they can only get at the darker, poorer honey of *nigrocinta*, which builds nests under boulders or in crevices of trees or rocks. The Onges' real honey orgies occur, therefore, in the dry season, when the honey birds (Indicationidae), common in Africa and all over Asia, lead them to the trees where the golden honey of *dorsata* is hidden. 222 262 136

When one of the Onges finds a nest of bees he puts a mark on the rock or tree as a sign of ownership. None of the others would then dare to take possession of it, for fear of punishment by the group,[1] but when the time comes to take the honey everyone helps in the hard work of getting at the nest and opening it up. On one trip from Labanar to Togalanghe, on 19 March 1954, the Onges pointed out over twenty *Nigrocinta* nests to me, all reserved ready for use 222 423 [496]

[1] However deep in the forest a crime is committed, it will inevitably be discovered in the end, and punished by banishment from the community. [627]

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They have neither incantations, amulets nor propitiating signs to help them. Even the *marque de chasse* found on their arrow heads had no major significance; in all probability they merely served to indicate the best arrow and at most they served as a warning to the womenfolk not to touch them (it is interesting that I never saw any woman or child with a bow or an arrow). But this is as far as they go towards superstition, and its only effect is to enhance the division of duties between the sexes. 227 789 [982]

The Onges, unlike the Jarawas and Arioto, have never lost the art of canoe making, and the building of a new canoe is an important matter. The selected tree, always one of the three species of *Sterculia*, is felled and then hollowed out slowly and laboriously with a rudimentary form of hatchet, the work often being done by one man alone. The weight of the felled trunk makes it necessary for the work to be done where it falls, but after much patient whittling away the resulting canoe is extremely light, with thin walls, though still not light enough to be carried to the water, never far away. A series of short logs are used as rollers in the age-old way and the builder's friends all gather to help clear a way through the undergrowth and prepare the rollers. Only a few are needed; all is soon ready and the Onges watch delightedly as the canoe glides away down to the shore. These canoe-ways often provided me with an easy path to the sea if I came upon them in the forest. Sometimes they led not to shore but to one of the many creeks, where salt water and marine fauna penetrate miles inland and make it easy for the Onges to launch their canoes from a point far from the sea. 396 [184] [824] [483]

The Onge canoe, hollowed out in one piece, is a survival of the ancient canoes of the Neolithic age, found in Switzerland and elsewhere in Europe. It survives in the Andamans, and through Oceania to the Americas, in northern Asia (notably among the Ainu) in south-west Asia, and even in south-east Africa. 501 171

The canoe has no distinction between bow and stern, and is commonly navigated from either. At each end of the canoe a crude platform juts out, on which the harpoon throwers stand. Very careful attention is paid to the float, which is fragile, and is therefore kept on the lee side. The object of it is to prevent the canoe from capsizing, which it is otherwise very liable to do owing to its round keel, always left in the natural shape of the tree-trunk. I had some experiences of rough seas in one of these canoes 501

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Once struck by the harpoon the turtle is trapped by the cord tied 225
to the head of the harpoon while the shaft, detached by the blow, floats on the water till it is picked up. The target is large, the distance is short, and so the harpoon never fails.

The spirits of the night do not walk on the sea, so the turtle-hunting expeditions are all sea-borne, the canoes setting out to meet the turtles as they come in towards the shore to mate. When the moon is high the tropical seas are as clear as by day; on dark nights the resin torches carried in the canoes light the sea for a fair distance. Beyond their range, the turtles as they swim disturb tiny marine creatures, which promptly emit their phosphorescence, revealing clearly to the Onges the path of their unsuspecting victim.

These torches are about one metre long and fifteen centimetres in 225
diameter, made of twisted palm leaves tightly bound with reed 416
fibres. Inside is a carefully balanced mixture of resin and embers, 177
which burns with a very bright flame. In recent years a variant has [283]
been introduced – huge lumps of gum were driven on to the shores of Little Andaman from some unknown distant shipwreck, and the Onges, having discovered how well the unknown substance burned, began mixing it with the embers in their torches. I can still see the Onges' child-like pleasure as they admired the effect of their new product, a gift, like their petrol-drum cooking-pots, from the sea.

Their torches for use on land are much smaller – about thirty 416
centimetres long and ten centimetres in diameter, but made in 171
exactly the same way. It is interesting that similar torches are found 225
eastwards throughout Polynesia and are used everywhere in the same way for hunting turtles and their eggs from the same type of canoe.

The victim, struck as it comes to the top to breathe, disappears 225
at once into the sea, dragging the cord with it. In less than ten minutes, however, it reappears on the surface and is hoisted aboard, often almost helping itself into the canoe with its thrashing flippers. Quite often turtles are caught while they are asleep on the surface, or mating, in which case the pair are easily captured. And in stormy weather, when the high seas make it difficult for them to negotiate the reefs back to the open water, the Onges can catch them and 'ride' them to the shore. I have seen the surviving Arioto do this,

136 Andaman, in Yeratil Jig (near Port Anson, about fifteen miles from Long Island) in Diglipur (or Dilyapur) Creek, near Port Cornwallis, and in Wilima Jig,[1] but they are now extinct. In March 1952 the Onges had described the presence of crocodiles so clearly to me as to leave no doubt what they meant, and I soon received confirmation when I found their tracks on the sand about one kilometre from the mouth of Jackson Creek, on the right bank, and then saw some lying on the shore across the creek. Through my field glasses I saw small birds pecking between the teeth of the great wide-open jaws. As we approached they slid lazily into the sea, some reappearing a little later, their cavernous mouths rising vertically out of the water. Every day after that I saw them swimming quietly near the banks, and one afternoon my men and I between us saw over a dozen, near Nachuge, dozing in the mud or in the water.

[825] [198] The Onges assured me that crocodiles will come out of the water to a certain whistle. I got them to try it; the Onges whistled, and whistled again, but no crocodiles came!

237 321 276 172 Very different from the great turtles and the crocodiles, but equally important in the daily life of the Onges, are the crabs from which the islanders make their ancient and very characteristic pipes. They eat the crabs and use the claws to make the pipes, cutting them across the joint and boring a hole in the end, as they have done since time immemorial, to smoke aromatic leaves from the forest. Fragments of similar pipes, charred with use, appear in even the lowest strata of the kitchen-middens, dating back thousands of years and proving the antiquity of the smoking habit. Contrary to popular belief, smoking did not begin everywhere with the introduction of tobacco – in Asia at least men smoked thousands of years ago.

237 276 171 The claw pipes of the Onges have a groove cut round the end which goes into the mouth, so that the teeth can grip it better. I have seen identical pipes, with the same groove, in the Melville Islands, where there are many other signs of ethnographic connections with the Andamans. The canoes, for example, are identical [501] [142] with those of the Andamans; the peoples themselves, however, are today very different physically.

[165] [1] According to Portman a man was dragged into the water here on 11 May 1894 by a crocodile and killed; several similar incidents have occurred since.

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their love of existing with as little effort as possible is paramount. Since any wood is as good as the next for making a fire, the spirits conveniently have nothing to say in the matter. In other circumstances material considerations lead to quite the opposite effect: when the Onges dig up roots or tubers they not only replace the earth, but cover the place with leaves, the ritual having the good practical objective of appeasing the spirits and ensuring further supplies.

The preservation of skulls for magical purposes or out of pure superstition survives mainly in Asia and Oceania. In Asia it coincides with other beliefs which demand the killing of domestic animals by strangulation. I have seen this practised along the high reaches of the valley of the Brahmaputra, particularly among the Abor, and the Nagas, and in many other tribes to the south of Tibet and China, all of whom preserve skulls. Head-hunting, found throughout southern Asia, in the islands, and as far as Oceania, is also practised in the areas where animal skulls are preserved.

The preservation of animal skulls, particularly bear skulls, is still practised in mongoloid peoples as far as the north of Asia; apart from the Andamans and the Nicobars, human and animal bones are preserved in many parts of Indonesia and as far as New Guinea. In the corona of small islands along the west coast of Sumatra the custom coincides with many others, as well as with certain types of huts and canoes, all present in the Andamans and Nicobars. A good example are the huts raised up off the ground on stilts, common in the Nicobars, Nias, Engano, Mentawai and various parts of Indonesia. The single-boom canoes of these areas, quite apart from their general similarity of structure, all have certain identical features, even to the method of fixing the lateral float of green wood, with pointed hardwood pegs stuck in it like spills. This, again, cannot be due to chance; it must be the effect of a very ancient cultural diffusion, now surviving only in a few specific areas.

The skulls preserved by the Onges have one point of interest; it is the duty of the wife to clean the trophies brought back by her proud husband and then paint them lovingly with lines of ochre. After every successful hunting expedition the wives can be seen busily painting, while the husbands look on with satisfaction.

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head ornaments and religious ceremonies. In Oceania there is, too, the habit of changing personal names from time to time so prevalent among the Onges, and the existence of actual linguistic connections between Nicobarese, Andamanese, Semang, Aetà and peoples of Oceania have been demonstrated by experts. 174

Any differences which exist today are the result of centuries of contact with other peoples which the Semang and Aetà have experienced, unlike the Andamanese, who thus represent today the true Negritos. While life generally has changed somewhat over the centuries for the Semang and Aetà, certain typical facets of their culture have remained unaltered. Ritual cutting and distributing of game, the use of the arrow harpoon (always unfeathered) and the simple Onge-Negrito bow are still the same, despite the fact that the three groups have been separated for a very long time. Even the very absence of defensive weapons is a common feature; admittedly outside the Andamans arrows are poisoned and some may be feathered, but this is a recent and imitative innovation which is not found among the Andamanese, by virtue of their constant isolation. The persistence among the Onges of the simple bow tends to support the idea of Little Andaman as the first stage in the northward spread of the Negritos after they reached the island from Sumatra via the Nicobars. In Malacca the Semang have retained the same bow, as have the Aetà in the Philippines.

Among what may be termed similarities of physical habits is nose-rubbing as a sign of affection, found in the Andamans, in Oceania, and parts of Papuasia and Melanesia. In all these areas there is the same belief that pregnancy is due to entry of a spirit into the body, and the same habit of suckling children for as long as four years. Similar too throughout the area are the methods of 'curing' disease, such as smearing with ochre and heavy massage carried out beside a fire, swallowing of balls of ochre, and the 'smoking' of wounds, smeared with a mixture of ochre and honey. As protection from the sun or the rains (especially for the young children) crude umbrellas are made from giant palm leaves. 171 [832] [842] [843] [862] [755] [293]

There are no prayers or propitiatory sacrifices to ensure health and well being, but there is throughout the area the same concept of mysterious forces to be feared, evaded, or let loose against enemies – never loved. Generally they are thought of in terms of spirits, usually active at night. There is some divergence in the 171 778 [771] [782]

171 way in which the spirits are invoked against enemies, involving
776 the use of some personal possession – an example is the invariable destruction of the used *naquinegbe*, or of hair after shaving. The same fear of the night induced by the idea of spirits walking abroad led to the making of torches from rolled palm leaves containing a mixture of embers and resin.

[262] From the Andamans to Oceania the chief spirit is generally
[825] imagined in the form of a giant lizard, living at the top of the sky and ruling the storms; none of the peoples who believe in him ever eat any lizard or lizard-like creature. All of them have the same
171 sexually suggestive dances, both male and female, sometimes in-
535 spired by the monitor or dragon-lizard, symbol of desire, and often
776 associated with miming and dramatic representations of real and
825 imaginary scenes. These dances, with their *joie de vivre*, are accom-
171 panied by the smoking of aromatic leaves in pipes which are fre-
276 quently made from natural objects such as the claws of crustacea.
[535] The Onges in fact have since very ancient times used only this type
[172] as shown in the lower levels of the kitchen-middens dating back at least five thousand years. Everywhere, pipes of this kind are used indiscriminately by both sexes, passing from mouth to mouth. Pipes identical in every way with those of the Onges are found to the east of the archipelago, well into Oceania, and I have myself also seen them on Melville Island, north of Australia, always with the same notches for the teeth to grip. This undeniable evidence of the spread of identical pipes over so wide an area long before the possibility of European contacts cannot in my opinion be attributed other than to migration over vast distances in very ancient times.

171 Similar coincidences apply in the case of the arrow harpoon and
114 indeed harpoons in general. I cannot agree with Brown in his
411 assertion that the harpoon dates from the arrival of European influences, which brought the use of iron; the harpoon points made by long and patient working of *Tridacna* shells which I found in the kitchen-middens of the Andamans are in my view enough to refute the theory.

171 The canoes from which these harpoons are used, with the ab-
501 sence of distinction between bow and stern and the single float on the lee side, are extremely typical. They are identical in peoples which have been widely separated for a very long time and appear not only on the Andamans, and as far as Oceania, but also in North

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Queensland and (as the Cape Bedford type) elsewhere. Oars, method of fixing the booms and float – all are similar throughout the area, including the Andamans. 171 501

Even game, once caught, is treated and distributed similarly by these peoples, from the Andamans to Oceania. Cooking is done without salt, in earth ovens (whether or not fire or red-hot stones are used) very different from those of Africa and America. The Semang and Aetà of today know how to make fire by friction, as do the peoples of New Guinea, Australia and Polynesia; the Tasmans also have the knowledge to do so, but prefer to carry burning logs with them on their journeys, like the Andamanese. In certain parts of New Guinea and perhaps in some of the Pacific islands (as in the Andamans) the art of fire-making was unknown or possibly forgotten until recent times; it is said that the Papuans of the Bay of Astralobius knew nothing of the art until the middle of the nineteenth century. But the only sure information comes from the Andamans, where, whether through ignorance or loss of knowledge, the art of fire-making is unknown and fire is always carried everywhere. 171 252 [224] [263] 171 372

Among the objects typical of the Andamans and found also among the Semang, the Aetà, and other Oceanic peoples are the digging stick and the crude hatchet. The former, used for gathering edible roots and tubers, is merely a pointed stick, but every family possesses one. The hatchet is slightly more elaborate, having both handle and blade, and like the digging stick, occurs always in virtually the same form.[1] Objects woven from vegetable fibres are also very similar in appearance – often very durable and sometimes pleasing by any standards. In some places woven breast-plates are used in warfare, but here the Jarawas differ, using single sheets of bark. 171 412 [28] [714] [184]

These are but a few of the many examples which one can find of this striking similarity between these widely separated peoples. And alongside cultural similarities there exist others, anthropological and physical, which cannot be overlooked. Physically the 171 14

[1] This is simply a cutting tool fixed into a natural elbow in a suitable branch. The blade is fixed into the wood near the elbow, and the branch is cut off, so as to leave a short handle. The whole thing is reminiscent of a swan's head on a long neck, and is easily turned into a crude plane or adze by revolving the blade in the haft through a right angle.

most striking of these is ambidexterity. This is the general rule in the Onges and also appears as a normal trait in the primitive peoples of Oceania, America and Asia. Another physical characteristic of the Onges, reported also in Tasmans and various peoples of Oceania, is the early onset of ageing in both sexes; in the Tasmans the women are rarely fertile after the age of thirty, and this is also probably the case with the Onges. Unlike the Tasmans, however, the Onges, though sharing their very black skin colour, have among other physical differences markedly scant body hair. A study of their blood groups by Dr H. Lehmann (see also Mourant) has moreover lent very considerable support to the external physical evidence in favour of a relationship between the Andamanese and the people of Oceania, both past and present.

From the anthropological point of view perhaps the most outstanding feature of all these peoples is that despite their extreme aggressiveness towards outsiders their corporate sense is such that they have no need of leaders to give orders. Rarely are there hereditary leaders; such as they are, their leaders are chosen on the basis of outstanding powers, such as supposed clairvoyance, as in the Andamanese.

The Andamanese themselves know nothing of their origins, lost in the mists of time, and it is for us to trace them, working back along the paths cleared by the anthropologist, the ethnographer and the archaeologist. They represent today the survival, almost unchanged, of a culture once to be found all over Oceania, spread thousands of years ago by canoes hardly different from those the Onges use today. They carried the unknown seamen from island to island, bearing with them a way of life which in the Andamans at least was never to change – a point of arrival, rather than of departure. Driven in on themselves by circumstances of geography just as other circumstances now unknown had driven them there originally, they have remained isolated, dwindling in numbers over the centuries, until they were discovered by the modern world. Their reception of outsiders, however they come and whoever they may be, is aggressive; consciously or unconsciously the Andamanese seek to preserve the only way of life they know. And who can be sure they are wrong?

No one could deny the demographic decadence of the islanders,

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kitchen-middens to have been contemporaneous with the introduction of the pig, i.e. to have been introduced by outsiders. It would be possible, using radio carbon methods, to calculate this date more accurately, but on purely archaeological evidence the introduction of pottery would appear to have occurred some five thousand years ago. 323 172

8 ABSENCE OF CANNIBALISM

If we may accept the evidence of the kitchen-middens, there has never at any time been cannibalism in the Andamans, although the practice certainly existed in the later Palaeolithic era; the Andamanese must thus have been isolated in the archipelago long before the practice became widespread. 172 266

9 DRINK

The Andamanese ignorance of any drink other than water may be regarded as additional evidence of the great antiquity of their culture. 273 174

10 ABSENCE OF CLOTHING

The Jarawas of both sexes have always remained completely naked. The Onges have only in comparatively recent times adopted a form of genital covering for their womenfolk; this custom has spread as far as the north of Great Andaman, and it seems probable that the separation of the Jarawas from the Onges dates from this time. 291 178 174 184

11 ABSENCE OF TATTOOING

All primitive peoples who are habitually completely naked adorn the body in some way. The Onges have never progressed beyond the early stage of painting themselves with ochre, and do not tattoo. Their sole ornaments are small necklaces of tusk shells, strips of bark, and sometimes flowers. In all this they resemble the Tasmans (see, however, p. 143 for certain important differences), who seem to have remained in an equally early stage of cultural development. 30 171

12 TOTEMISM AND THE CLAN

Here again the complete absence of any traces appears to indicate isolation before the spread of these very ancient concepts. Neither the Onges nor the Jarawas have ever progressed beyond the stage of independent groups of families. 174 61 621

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101 619 remote origin, which are found in and near the harbour of Port Blair.

197 No one who has had the opportunity of seeing the natives of the various islands forming Great Andaman can fail to be struck with the similarity which marks their general appearance,[1] and to be convinced that, however much they may differ in many respects, they must at least claim a common origin. Any reasonable doubt on the subject has been removed by the discovery that although each of the several tribes possesses a distinct dialect, these are traceable to the same source, and are all in the same—*i.e.*, the agglutinative—stage of development; further, it has been ascertained that among all, or at least among the natives of Middle and South Andaman and the Archipelago, a coincidence of legends and customs is to be found, and that though the points of dissimilarity between the inhabitants of Great and Little Andaman are more marked, especially in regard to their weapons and implements, they are by no means such as would justify the belief that the latter are descendants of another branch of the Negrito family.

From what has been already said it will be understood that we are not yet in a position to decide whether one and the same dialect is spoken by all the communities designated as *jārawa-*, or whether, like the people of North and Middle Andaman, they must be regarded on linguistic grounds as representing two or more tribes.

The dialects of Great Andaman may be grouped into three classes, viz.:—

I. The *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* and *.bal·awa-*.
II. The *.bō·jig-yāb-* and *.ā·kà-.kōl-* and *.ō·ko-jū·wai-*.
III. The *.ā·kà-.ked·e-* and the two tribes of North Andaman.

But it must not be supposed that the similarity between the dialect of any of these groups is so great that a knowledge of one would enable a person to converse intelligibly with members of the other tribes in the same classification, for such is not the case; now, however, that intercommunication is less restricted it is not unusual to find that members of the various communities are sufficiently acquainted with the dialect spoken by their immediate neighbours as to hold intercourse with them.

172 Little which throws light on their past history can be gathered from the Andamanese or from their traditions, but from a study

[1] I have been told by the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* that they can distinguish a *.bal·awa-* from members of the other tribes by his high cheek-bones, and the shape of his skull, which they describe as more dolichocephalic than those of other tribesmen; but as this tribe is now well-nigh extinct, it is impossible to determine the amount of credence which may be placed on this strange statement.

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of their kitchen-middens[1] it appears that they must have inhabited these islands, and have remained in much the same state of barbarism for a very considerable period. 172

On the assumption that the members of these tribes lived entirely on the coast, it was till recently believed that the kitchen-middens[1] were always situated close to the sea-shore, and it was even said that the accident of their being found far inland would "indicate that some terrestrial changes in the islands have taken place." The incorrectness of this theory is beyond all question, as we have now ample evidence that not only on the coast, but also in the depth of the jungle, there are permanent encampments throughout the group, where we are assured many of these refuse heaps are to be found bearing traces which testify to the remoteness of their origin.

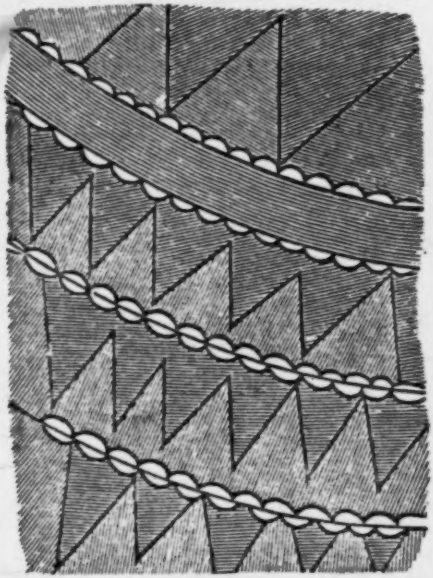
A change, however, appears to be gradually taking place in respect to the formation of these kitchen-middens, which is accounted for by the fact, that whereas in the olden days they were able to regard the slowly increasing heap with pride as witnessing to the success and skill in hunting and fishing of the community near whose encampment it was situated, nowadays all cause for boasting regarding their achievements is considered at an end in consequence of the material assistance they receive from the dogs we have given them, and the superiority (*sic*) of the weapons they have been able to manufacture from iron obtained from the Homes.

Various estimates have been hazarded as to the probable strength of the aboriginal population; but as no reliable data are procurable it is impossible to speak with any degree of certainty on the subject. From recent observations and the ascertained ravages of certain epidemics it seems hardly likely that the aggregate population of Great Andaman at the present day exceeds 2,000 souls, while the *jārawa*, who inhabit Little Andaman and a few localities in Great Andaman, may perchance number from 1,000 to 1,500 more; amongst these communities the effect of our occupation cannot have had, as yet, the prejudicial influence which has unhappily resulted among the tribes of Great Andaman from contact with alien races, the causes of which, being noticed elsewhere, need not here be particularised, especially as they are chiefly such as have been found to follow 161

[1] Col. (now Gen.) H. Man was the first to open up the kitchen-middens in and near the harbour at Port Blair, and the late M. de Röepstorff subsequently devoted some time to their examination, but it does not appear that he has left any notes as to the results of his investigations; at present all that has been published on this subject is embodied in the late Dr. Stoliczka's paper "Note on the Kjökken-möddings of the Andaman Islands" (*vide* Proc. As. Soc. Bengal, January, 1870).

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

XI. VANDYKES WITH SCOLLOPED BANDS AND CROSS LINES (? *ig-pòi·nyakuga-*). 531



Painted with *ká·ngatá-büj-* on *ó·do-*[1]

Pottery.—1. These savages evince a superiority over the Australians, Tasmanians, Fuegeans, and many of the Pacific Islanders, in possessing some knowledge of the art of making pots. 323 172

2. It was formerly believed that they had "no vessel capable of resisting the action of fire,"[2] but careful examination of their kitchen-middens has proved, beyond all doubt, that their present manufacture was equalled—if indeed it were not surpassed—many generations ago by their ancestors; the traditions current among them on the subject may also be mentioned, in passing, as pointing to a like conclusion.

3. The late Dr. Stoliczka, in his interesting paper on the Andamanese kitchen-middens,[3] writes as follows:—"In submitting the rude fragments of pottery . . . to an archæologist in Europe, no one would long hesitate in referring them to the

[1] *Nautilus* shell, used as a drinking vessel.

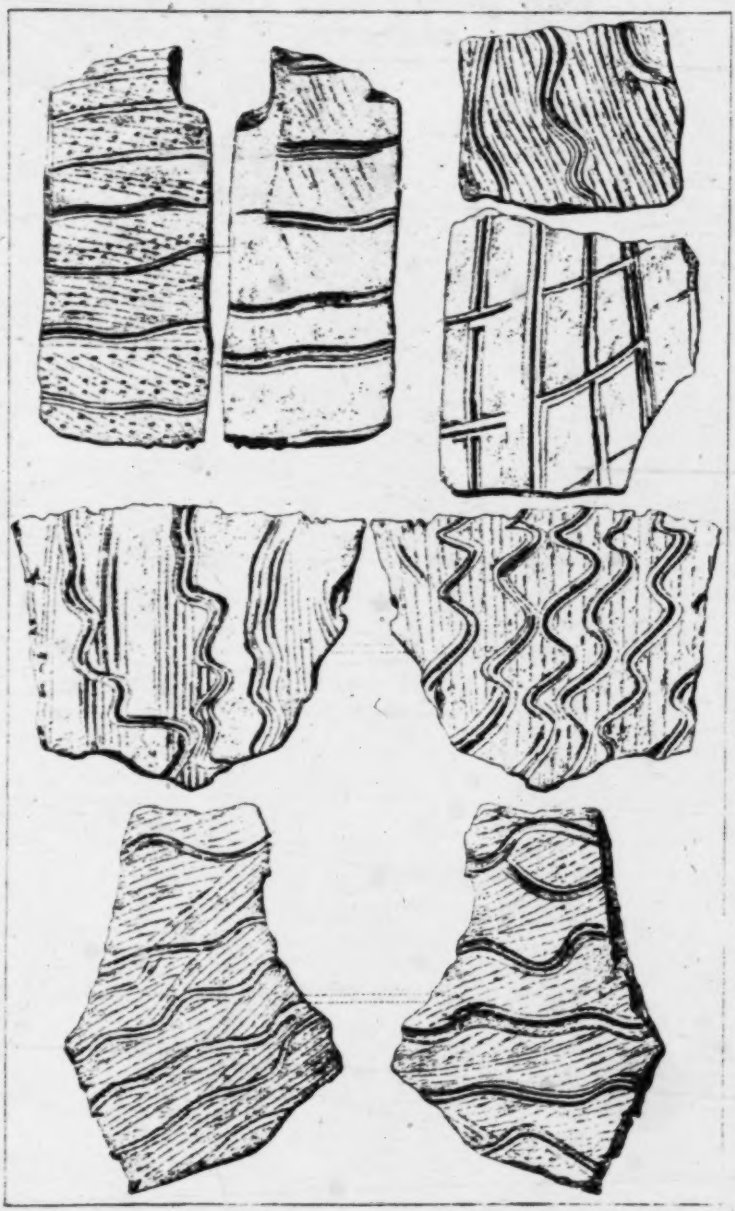
[2] *Vide* Symes, who is also incorrect in adding in a footnote: "The fragments of earthenware vessels mentioned by Mr. Colebrooke were probably brought from the Nicobars or from the Continent, by the boats that often visit the Andamans for the purpose of taking the nests before mentioned" (*i.e.*, of the *Collocalia nidifica*).

[3] *Vide* Proceedings As. Soc. Bengal, January, 1870.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Plate A.

323
.172



FRAGMENTS OF ANDAMANESE ORNAMENTED POTTERY

From a Kitchen-midden in Port Blair Harbour.

[facing p. 154]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

323 stone age, at least to the neolithic period; for, indeed, they are
172 almost identical with the fragments of pottery found in the Danish kitchen-middens, though here fragments of pottery are comparatively very rare."

323 4. The manufacture of pots (*būj-*[1]) is not confined to any particular class, or to either sex, but the better specimens are generally produced by men, and though the result is in neither case very satisfactory as regards appearance, they yet answer the purpose for which they are intended very fairly,[2] and frequently serve as objects of barter among the various communities.

5. They invariably use, unmixed with any other substance, a particular description of clay called by them *būj-pâ-*, which is only found in a few places, where, of course, the work is usually carried on: the method pursued is similar to that practised by the Kaffirs, and the only implements employed are a short pointed stick, an *Arca* shell (the variety called *pō·rma-*), and a board, which is generally either a sounding board (*pū·kuta-yem·nga-*[3]), or, if sufficiently large, an eating tray (*pū·kuta-yât-mâk·nga-*[4]).

6. As nothing of the character of a potter's wheel is known among them, the shape of the vessels depends upon the skill of the operator and upon the correctness of his eye. The first step in the process of making a pot is to remove any stones that are in the clay, which is then moistened with water and kneaded until it is of a proper consistency; several lumps are next rolled out in succession on the board, by means of the fingers and palms, into strips of about fifteen inches long and half-an-inch thick: one of these is now twisted by the artist into a cup-like shape,[5] in order to form the base of the pot, which he proceeds to build up, taking care the while to exert sufficient pressure to ensure a uniform thickness, by adding one roll above another, each one commencing where the last ended, until the required dimensions are attained; then, if it be sufficiently firm and consolidated, an *Arca* shell is carefully passed (*ngâ·tanga-*) over the inner and outer surfaces, which are thus rendered smoother, and are at the same time freed from any minute bits of stone that had previously escaped observation; the serrated edges of the

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 18.
[2] *Vide ante* "Food," paragraphs 12, 21, and 27.
[3] *Vide* Appendix B, item 19.
[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 72.
[5] The pots made by the *ye·rewa-* and *jär·awa-* tribes (*i.e.*, North and Little Andaman) have up to the present time been found to have a more pointed base than those of the five *bo·jig* tribes, but I believe no Andaman pot intended for cooking purposes has yet been made of such a shape as to allow of its standing. The small cup- (or sometimes saucer-) like pots (*vide* Plate VII, fig. 19*a*) are used for making and warming *kâ·ngatâ-būj-*.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

themselves declare that they never haft the stone chips or glass flakes, and that the former are never "sharpened," but produced in the manner already described. 324

7. Quartz is commonly met with throughout the country occupied by the tribes with which we are in friendly intercourse; no difficulty, therefore, is ever experienced in obtaining *it*, or, indeed, *any* of the other varieties of stone which they use. It is employed for no other purposes than those here indicated, as has been assumed,[1] and the art of producing fire by its means is unknown to them.[2] [135]

8. The whetstone and hammer only are offered as mediums of exchange, but no great value is attached to either of these objects, nor is any superstition associated with their usage: they are therefore—when no longer serviceable—cast aside. [436]

9. Stones are not used by them for cutting wood or bone, the latter being usually crushed by a hammer for the sake of the marrow. Before the introduction of iron, small holes were bored with bone or pieces of shell, but rarely, if ever, with stone, and no implement has been found which might be supposed to have served as a stone saw or scraper, for which purposes shells apparently have been generally employed.[3]

10. In his "Note on the Kjokken-Möddings of the Andaman Islands" the late Dr. Stoliczka also refers to a celt found in one of these refuse heaps as "a small but typical arrow-head," and describes it as of tertiary sandstone. The Andamanese, however, maintain that they never, even when iron was scarce, made arrow-heads, axes, adzes, or chisels of stone; they also affirm that the fragments which have been found in the kitchen-middens, and which have given rise to the impression of having formerly served one or other of the above purposes are merely quartz flakes or broken pieces of cooking stones or hones which, in former times as now, were thrown among the rubbish when no longer of use.[4] 324 172

11. Stones are not regarded as thunderbolts or worn as amulets: they are not placed in water previous to their being worked, and holes are never bored in them, nor is the surface ever ground or polished. 324

[1] "From the flint they manufactured knives . . . and arrow-heads" (de Röepstorff), and elsewhere he speaks of "flint hatchets," which not improbably were as much unknown in former times as at the present day. *Perna ephippium* (*ē·la-*) shells were formerly sharpened and converted into arrow-heads: hence *ē·la-* has ever since been adopted as the name of the bladed (or pig) arrow, even although iron has now been entirely or very generally substituted for shell. Adze blades were, it seems, sometimes made of *Pinna* shells.

[2] *Vide ante* "Fire," paragraphs 1 and 4.

[3] *Vide ante* "Natural Forms," paragraph 1.

[4] *Vide* my remarks on this subject in Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi, p. 271.

161 From this diagram it becomes pretty evident that the Jarawa population
for Rutland Island has been assumed at too high a figure, both for the past and
162 present time. At the same time I think that it is equally probable that the
population of the Onges has been underestimated. Taking all the calculations
and known facts into consideration, my own opinion is that the assumptions for
619 the Andaman population as a whole, both for the past and the present are
probably near the truth, but that we should decrease the Jarawa estimate for
Rutland Island (and to that extent the whole Jarawa population) by 100, and
increase the Onge estimate by 100.

Method of arriving at Former Density.—Portman, *History of our relations with the Andamanese*, Volume I, page 16, gives the following reasons for holding the Andamanese population to have been formerly stationary :—

> "When we consider that some Andamanese have no children, very few have more than three, the majority of the children die in infancy, and the grown-up Andamanese revenges the slightest injury to his person or property or even a fancied insult by a murder and also that the Tribes were continually at feud with each other, I think we may say the above estimated population (his estimate is 8,000) to be the average for many centuries past."

This is an overstatement, as in the first place it is necessary in a stationary population for each couple to produce on an average two children, who grow up and produce again in their turn, and in the next place, though an Andamanese will murder on, to us, extremely slight provocation, he is not a murderous variety of mankind and in tribal "wars" the bloodshed at each collision is very small indeed. In the next place, as Portman himself observes, the average number of children to a married woman was three, while instances of seven and eight children of one mother have been recorded. The statement is however an interesting one, as an observation on these primitive savages and their ways and as indicating the causes for the population being kept stationary.

161 **The Kitchen-Middens.**—Portman also points out (*op. cit.*, p. 17) that an
estimate of the old population can be arrived at from locating and enumerating
the existing kitchen-middens of the Andamanese, on the assumptions that each
● 172 midden represents the head-quarters of a Sept of 30 people and that apparently
each Sept, owing to the habits of the people, would require four to five such
head-quarters. A population of 5,000 would therefore require, say, 600 middens,
i.e., there should be a midden to every four square miles of territory.

The value of the kitchen-midden argument comes out thus :—(1) The size, 50 feet diameter usually, does not permit more than 30 people to live on it ; (2) change of head-quarters is frequently necessary owing to (*a*) monsoons, (*b*) exhaustion of food in the neighbourhood, (*c*) nomadic instincts, (*d*) stench from discarded food thrown around. As a matter of practice the Andamanese do not return for three months after they have left a midden, nor for about a year after a death in one, and occasionally they abandon a midden for many years, and cannot occupy one for more than a few weeks at a time from the stench about it. These considerations fix four as the smallest number of middens per 30 people.

The middens also beyond all doubt prove that the Andamanese are now as they were an exceedingly long time ago. There are but few "newer" middens, and the older ones show great age: newness and age being gauged by height. The antiquity of the old middens is proved by the fossil shells at the base. Now, except that certain shell-fish have been fashionable at one period and certain others at another, the kitchen-middens show that the Andamanese finds his food to-day as he did in the days when the now fossilised shells contained food for him. At the base of the middens are found the same refuse and the same pottery as we find shown on the surface to-day.

Here then we have a people unaltered in habits from primeval time and whose numbers, if these premises be correct, we should be able to estimate from existing data, as they must have been stationary through all time.

The questions on this argument really are therefore :—(1) how many middens are there ? (2) where are they ? To these questions it is worth while obtaining answers at the next Census or even as opportunity occurs, as the answers will either upset the theory or afford an approximate estimate of the old Andamanese population and of the strength of each tribe.

CHAPTER III.

ETHNOGRAPHY.

I. The Race.—The Affinities of the Race—Its Antiquity—Early Descriptions—The Charge of Cannibalism—The Language of the Aka-Beada Tribe used in the Report—The Twelve Tribes—Their Division into Three Groups—The Distinctions between the Groups—The Long-shore and Jungle Andamanese—The Former Isolation of the Tribes—Their Sympathies and Antipathies—Fighting Capacity—The Hostile Jarawas—Colebrooke's Knowledge of them (1789)—Explanation of the Name Mincopie for the Andamanese—Relations with the English—Jarawa Raids.

II. Physical Characteristics.—Portman and Molesworth's enquiries—Man's enquiries—High Temperature—Breathing—Age—Reproduction—Endurance—Food—Skin—Hair—Bodily Parts—Diseases—Medicine—Appearance.

III. Mental Characteristics.—Sense Development—Character—Mental Capacities—Social Emotions—General Capacities.

IV. Habits and Customs.—Dwellings—Government—Religion—Superstitions—Mythology—Initiatory Ceremonies—Amusements—Music—Song—Games—Naming of Children and Adults—Marriage Relations—Death Ceremonies.

V. Arts.—Stone Implements—Weapons—Domestic Arts—String and Netting—Weaving—Pottery—Wool and Cane work—Ornamentation, Personal and Domestic.

I. The Race.

The Affinities of the Race.—The Andaman Islands, so near to countries that have for ages attained a considerable civilisation and have been the seat of important empires, and close to the track of a great commerce which has gone on for at least 2,000 years, continue to our day the abode of savages as low in civilisation as almost any known upon earth, though close observation of them discloses the immense distance between them and the highest of the brute beasts in mental development, one most notable fact being that they eat nothing raw, cooking all their food however slightly and making pots for the purpose, and this from time immemorial. 144

As to what general variety of the existing human beings the Andamanese belong, it can be clearly predicated of them that their various tribes belong to one people, speaking varieties of one fundamental language, and that they are Negritos. Many theories have been advanced as to their affinities; the most credible being that they are connected with the Semangs of the Malay Peninsula and the Aetas of the Philippines, and the silliest, though not the least persistent, that they are descendants of shipwrecked cargoes of African slaves. On the whole the safest thing to say about them is that they are probably the relics of a bygone Negrito race, now represented by themselves, the Semangs, and the Aetas, that in very ancient times occupied the south-eastern portion of the Asiatic continent and its outlying islands before the irruptions of the oldest of the peoples, whose existence or traces can now be found there. In this view the Andamanese are of extreme interest as preserving, owing to an indefinite number of centuries of complete isolation, in their persons and customs the last pure remnant of the oldest kind of man in existence. The possibility of their representing the archaic type of the Negrito and the consequent extreme ethnological interest they arouse was long since pointed out by Sir W. Flower.

It is to be noted however that Professor Owen considered them to be not connected on anatomical grounds with the people of any existing continent. A notice of the points on which Semangs and Andamanese agree and differ will be found in Appendix A.

The antiquity of the Andamanese on their present site is proved by their kitchen-middens, rising from 12 to 15 feet and more in height, and in some cases having fossilised shells at the base. As has been already noted, the kitchen-middens show that the Andamanese now gets his food just as he did in the days when the now fossil shells contained living organisms. 172

172 The largest and traditionally the oldest, the original, home of the race by a consensus of Andamanese opinion and worth scientific exploration (any other to be greatly deprecated), is the kitchen-midden of Wota-Emi on Baratang in Elphinstone Harbour on the east coast of the South Andaman.

In reference to the kitchen-middens it is worth noting that all Andamanese tradition commences with the cataclysm accompanied by a subsidence of a large portion of the surface of their old country already noticed, and the people point to certain ancient kitchen-middens, such as that at Port Mouat, on the sea level to prove it. They say that these were commenced by the survivors of the cataclysm and that the sites were previously high up on the mountain sides, where no one could build a kitchen-midden.

175 **Early Descriptions.**—I-Tsing, the Chinese Buddhist monk, in 672 A. D. (Takakasu's Ed. p. xxx) mixed up in his account of his travels the Andamanese with the Nicobarese, and describes them thus :—

"The men are entirely naked while the women veil their person with some leaves. If the merchants in joke offer them their clothes, they wave their hands (to tell that) they do not use them."

But the earliest distinct notice of the Andamanese is in that remarkable collection of early Arab notes on India and China (851 A. D.), which was translated by Eus. Renaudot and again in our own time by M. Reinaud. It accurately represents the view entertained of this people by mariners down to our own time.

175 266 "The inhabitants of these islands eat men alive. They are black with woolly hair and in their eyes and countenances there is something quite frightful * * * they go naked and have no boats. If they had they would devour all who passed near them. Sometimes ships that are windbound and have exhausted their provision of water touch here and apply to the natives for it; in such cases the crews sometimes fall into the hands of the latter and most of them are massacred."

This traditional charge of cannibalism still persists, though it is now, and almost certainly has always been, entirely untrue. Of the massacre of shipwrecked crews up till quite recent times there is no doubt; but the policy of conciliation, which has been unremittingly pursued for the last forty years, has made the coasts quite safe for the shipwrecked, except at points where the Jarawas touch the coast and the wilder Onges reside, the south and west of Little Andaman, the North Sentinel Island, south of Rutland Island and Hut Bay on its western coast, Port Campbell and some few miles to the north of it on the west coast of the South Andaman. Everywhere else shipwrecked mariners would find the people not only friendly and helpful, but likely to give notice to Port Blair at once of their predicament.

[766] **Charge of Cannibalism.**—The charge of cannibalism seems to have arisen from three observations of the old mariners. The Andamanese attacked and murdered without provocation every stranger they could on his landing; they burnt his body (as they did in fact that of every enemy); and they had weird all-night dances round fires. Combine these three observations with the unprovoked murder of one of themselves and the fear aroused by such occurrences in a far land in ignorant mariners' minds, century after century, and a persistent charge of cannibalism is almost certain to be the result.

101 **Language of the Aka-Beada Tribe used in the Report.**—The tribe occupying the shores of the Harbour of Port Blair and its islands at the British occupation in 1858 was, in its own tongue, the Aka-Bea-da. Its language was the first to be studied and its customs the first to be ascertained. It may still be called the tribe that is the best known and understood.

Every tribe has its own name for itself and its neighbours, and it is therefore necessary for the purposes of this *Report* to adopt one set of names only throughout, and the set most convenient is naturally that of the Aka-Bea-da. In this language *aka* is a prefix with small variations to nearly all tribal names and *da* is a suffix used with almost every isolated noun. For the sake of brevity I have throughout this *Report* discarded both these affixes and used the roots only of tribal names. But it must be understood that in actual speech an Aka-Bea would, in answering such a question as "what is your tribe?", reply

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

123 411 painted with red ochre. It was perhaps left there for drying. The Jarawa would surely have returned just for this bow!

It was a straight piece of wood tapering at both ends. The outer surface was convex and was painted red, while the inner one was straight and smooth, and showed criss-cross designs and indentations. We then went to look for a 123 spring and found it at some distance behind a steep rock but there was no [312] water then. It appeared that the Jarawa had left this camp some time ago.

We then left Spike Island and sailed for Yeratia Jig. Here an old kitchen [172] midden was known to be another Jarawa haunt. No Jarawa was found even there, however. The kitchen midden was a mound strewn all over with animal bones. Fragments of typical Andamanese pottery and a blue stone bead were discovered there.

648 In recent years the Jarawa raids have been rather more frequent. [721] GUPTA (1955) has given a list of them in his report on these people. It is believed that the primary cause of the restlessness of the Jarawa is the shortage of game and other food material [3]. On the other hand the tribe appears to have been sufficiently provoked by the punitive expeditions. All the Jarawa villages that the punitive party came upon were burnt down. In the encounter of March 1911 a woman was captured alive and nobody knows what happened to her afterwards. The pregnant woman captured along with four children in 1938 off Bluff Island later on gave birth to a boy (SARKAR, 1952, Pl. IX, fig. 3) at Port Blair but it was difficult to tame her. After her delivery she attempted to swim away and was rescued from the sea. She would spend hours climbing a cocoanut tree. Her whereabouts were unknown during the Japanese occupation of the Andaman Islands during the last war. The young children were sent to the Mission at Car Nicobar, where the present writer studied them in 1948. One of them had died before.

726 On the other hand the Jarawa raids, according to the then executive [714] Government officers, are also very brutal. Before they go out for a raid the [302] Jarawa cover their chests with bark armour and paint their faces with patterns of white clay. The bark armour is stitched securely on the body by other persons and can only be removed by cutting off the stitches. These people [727] are in the habit of mutilating their victims. They take out their brains, their eyes, and their bodies are hacked all over. – The type of arrow they use is [411] almost a spear, as may be seen from fig. 4. This arrow was obtained by the present writer from the forest department officers of Long Island in 1951. It was used injuring a bush police officer of the night picket unit at Lakera Lunta in January of that year. The police, in return, shot one Jarawa dead. 726 The male nurse of the Long Island Hospital took the following body measure- 141 ments of this dead man:

Height ... 5 feet 1 inch
Chest ... 36 inches

Fig. 4

[3] They have of late been reported from about the region of Bomlungta, Rangat Bay, etc. on the east coast of Middle Andaman. (The spelling "Ronga Bay" on the map is incorrect.)

10:Sen K-3,4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

174 cause of reasonable grounds. In this search for the origin, some one has gone so far as to advocate a shipwreck of Portuguese Negro slaves whose survivors ultimately became the Andamanese. A number of theories about the origin of the Andamanese have been put forward by the different authorities.

The idea of the shipwreck and the survival of the Portuguese Negro slaves can be discarded forthwith. The negroes of Africa, though physically very much akin to the Andamanese, present appreciable differences and secondly the date of arrival of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean was 'only after the circumnavigation of the Cape of Good Hope, this would mean their coming sometime after the 15th Century, allowing not more than 500 years for the existence of the supposed shipwreck in the Andaman islands. The objections are 'great differences physi- 172 cally and materially from the people of Africa. Kitchen middens date 174 back to milleniums i.e. long before the arrival of the Portuguese anywhere in Asia.'[1]

One of the very good clues for ascertaining the date of arrival of the Andamanese has been pointed out by Dr. Cipriani and he has conducted such a study in some parts of the Little Andaman and the Great Andamans. It is the study of the kitchen middens, that is, the accumulations of refuse, mostly of kitchen. Kitchen middens are fairly widespread and they are obviously the relics of a group of persons living in one spot. The kitchen middens, as they constitute the refuse of a group of persons, consist mostly of empty shells, nearly all bivalve, thrown after the contents have been eaten. The age of the kitchen midden can be calculated by counting the number of shells and the number that can be eaten by a person in one day. Cipriani writes that, 'Considering how many shells can be eaten everyday by one person and estimating the number of persons, that through the ages constituted to the formation of the deposit, it is possible to calculate the age of the kitchen middens, After the studies carried on the Onges we may say that every kitchen midden is formed as a result of the activities of a small group of some 30 to 40 persons who may frequent the spot for 40 to 50 days in a year. Their food is rarely formed of molluscs, they resort to these only when there is nothing to eat..... In this way many of the Andamanese accumulations, often huge, required a long period for their formation, a period to be calculated in thousands of years. Even if we reduce this number to half, the resulting antiquity

1 Ciprini, L—On the origin of the Andamanese, etc.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

is not in accordance with the opinion that the Andamanese are descendants of shipwrecked Portuguese Negro slaves.' Though this process seems to be very crude for the determination of the exact date of the arrival of the Andamanese, a rough guess can very well be made. Cipriani has also advocated the measurement of the residual radioactivity of charcoal at different levels for the determination of the antiquity of the Andamanese. It is quite obvious that further research in these lines in the future can only give us a more precise idea about the date of the arrival of the aborigines.

The region wherefrom the oborigines arrived and the route of their migration are also matters of considerable controversy. It is believed that the Andaman and Nicobar islands were connected by land with the Arakan folds of Burma in the late Tertiary period, but this is also not very certain. According to Brown, the authority on the anthropology of the Andamans, the negritoes migrated from the Arakan region of Burma if there had been any land connection and if not, they migrated, not by land, but by sea from the Burmese coast (Pegu or Arakan). Brown says, 'The N. E. Monsoon could drift them thence on to the Andamans. It is conceivable that they might have travelled from Sumatra by the way of the Nicobars but the N. E. Monsoon would have appeased their progress in this direction while the S. W. Monsoon would have driven them to the coast of the Andamans. It is hardly possible to imagine them coming from the Malaya Peninsula across the wide stretch of the Andaman Sea. The balance of possibility is in favour of the view that the Andamans were peopled either by land or by sea, from the region of the Lower Burma.'[1] It is probable that the negritoes moved from Burma either at a time when a direct land connection was achieved or when shallow waters in the sea facilitated movement by the rafts of the aborigines, but the former has been considered to be thoroughly untenable because of the absence of any mammalia in the Andamans and this proves that if at all there had been any land connection of Burma and Andamans, it must have been before the evolution of the mammalia. The deep sea researches of Molengraaf (1921) have been utilised by Kaudern (1939)[2] to interpret the probable routes of migration of the negritoes into the Andaman Islands. In the Quaternary period, there had been alternating glacial and interglacial periods because of the

1 Brown, A. R—The Andaman Islands.

2 Kaudern, W—Notes on the geographical distribution of the pygmies and their possible afflicties; Etno. Stud. g, 1939.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Arioto

175 177 648 a furious aversion to foreigners. This hatred has been rekindled during the last hundred years by a number of unfortunate incidents, but at one time the islanders were favourably disposed towards seafarers passing by, if we are to believe Niccolo dei Conti and Cesare Federici, fleeting visitors to the islands in 1440 and 1569. They both wrote of the peaceful native canoes that approached their ships, and this is confirmed by other travellers, like the Italians Fra Odorico da Pordenone in 1332 and Giovan Francesco Gemelli Caresi in 1709.

Violent clashes with the coastal tribes only became frequent when the English began to take an interest in the Andamans as a possible penal colony. The first prisoners to be sent there were some Indians, in 1788. In 1796 the colony was abolished owing to the swift death of nearly all the prisoners from tropical diseases. The attempt was repeated in 1858 after a mission entrusted to F. Mouat, and this time the seeds of decline for the islanders were sown. Efforts were begun to approach the coastal peoples, and even, strangely enough, those of the forests, the now ferocious Jarawas. Some of these tentative overtures were well received, but once the islanders came to think they had been betrayed it was enough to rekindle the hatred of strangers which they have retained ever since.

166 [172] The evidence obtainable from archaeological excavations shows that for thousands of years the people encountered by the English in the coastal areas were the sole inhabitants of Great Andaman, living by fishing rather than by hunting or cultivation in the forests. The Jarawas arrived later. Migration from Little Andaman, imposed in relatively recent times by lack of food, brought them to Great Andaman. Since the entire coastal region was already occupied, the new arrivals took refuge in the forests of the hinterland. There they were happy, for they found an abundance of wild honey [628] and fruit which amply fulfilled their needs. A spontaneous equilibrium was established between the coast-people and the forest-people, and both prospered.

175 177 648 16 101 563 The arrival of an appreciable number of foreigners in 1858 immediately changed the situation. The peoples of the coast, who were the most anxious to make friends with the strangers, paid for this fatal error with virtual extermination. When the foreigners had definitely established themselves, the coastal Andamanese – *Arioto*

26 Cleaning themselves, to the Onges, means painting themselves
302 to ward off evil and to remove, so they said, the smell of pig fat
[224] after the colossal orgies which follow a particularly good hunt,
when even they find the stench too much. These orgies, which give
[164] them appalling indigestion for days, are followed by an apparently instinctive variation of their diet to raw or cooked vegetable foods. On three occasions from 1952–54 I was present at one of these solemn pork and honey orgies. The Onges ate almost till they burst, and then, hardly able to move, cleaned up by a grand painting session. The women do the painting, families vying with each other to produce weird new designs, which are then copied until the next feast.[1]

276 Fed and painted, the Onges sit down to smoke, using pipes made
26 from crabs' claws. Still regardless of hygiene the pipes go from one
302 mouth to another, the women smoking just as heavily as the men.
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One curious anomaly is that the Onges do sometimes sweep the
356 earth floor of the communal hut. The floor is not deliberately beaten down, but becomes hardened by continuous walking on it; in dry weather it turns to dust, which rises and settles everywhere, especially under the roof, where the lumps of cooked meat,
[412] fish and so on are hung. For the cleaning a broom or besom is prepared, well made with very hard, supple, palm fibres, bound tightly and carefully with cords made from reeds. The whole thing is about eighty centimetres long and as thick as a man's wrist.

356 The dirt is simply swept out all round from under the roof of the
342 hut through the gap between the roof and the ground. In the course
172 of time a ring of refuse builds up round the hut, forming a glorious
364 breeding ground for insects of all kinds. When the hut has to be rebuilt, owing to the ravages of wood-worm and termites, the ring is levelled off to form the new floor. Since the same small, well-chosen site may be used for thousands of years, the hut ends up perching on top of a small mound of refuse dating back to very

[531] [1] From one year to the next I saw no real evolution of art forms but cyclic changes of designs, with a preference for certain geometric patterns, at certain times of the year. Having watched various individuals of both sexes closely over a period of some years I can say that in the Onges at least, contrary to what is generally understood, the use of given patterns, and given kinds of ochre, does not correspond with given types of food. Any feast is always followed by painting, always with the weirdest designs possible, but always geometrical, never far from the current 'fashion', and never even remotely inspired by the basis of the feast.

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ancient times. Great Andaman abounds in these man-made humps, to which the name 'kitchen-middens' has been given, but none are in use today. In Little Andaman, on the other hand, many are still being built up.

The sweeping operations disturb clouds of flies and tiny beetles, light brown in colour, shot with metallic blue, with a highly domed back, and about five millimetres long, which always collect under bones and other human food refuse. Hordes of fleas, invisible in the dirt on the floor but multiplying busily, are also stirred up. Fortunately there are no lice on Little Andaman, owing to the absence of clothing and bed-linen, and the Onges carry no lice in their hair.

In fact the dogs' coats carry the fleas from place to place more than do their naked, smooth-skinned owners. Every time I went into a hut which had been empty for a time, as happens in the dry season when the occupants are away on a hunting trip, I was assailed by swarms of fleas such as I had never imagined! They rushed up one's body from feet to neck in absolute serried ranks, platoons of them, solid masses of tiny black moving objects. The only thing to do was to go out into the open and douse oneself in Flit, which caused them to retreat hastily. My camp-bed was always given a precautionary dose. Unfortunately Flit was not enough to disperse the clouds of ticks, tiny but dangerous, and a scourge in the forests of the Andamans. The Onges call them *anaghe* and thoroughly enjoyed helping to catch them on me in hundreds after every expedition into the forest.

None of these pests worry the Onges, who make no attempt to get rid of them. They leave mounds of filth round their huts or in their forest camps for them to breed in, and the light covering of earth or leaves which at best cover the Onges' faeces, deposited near the camp, was never any deterrent to breeding. The Onges never dig sanitary trenches or prepare any other form of latrines, even for their permanent sites; the forest is all concealing. However, they will never defaecate near, or in, a water course, even when the bed is dry, and when my men used the bed of a dried-up stream for the purpose the Onges protested to me, because the water would be contaminated. I was not disposed to contradict them.

In the forest, meeting a swarm of flies was a sure sign that we

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The Onges are the most numerous of the three peoples surviving in the Andamans. Vigorous and apparently full of promise for the future they may well offer a suitable field for the application of eugenic measures designed to increase their numbers; this would be impossible with the Jarawas owing to their hostility towards outsiders, and the few remaining Arioto are nearly all of impure stock. If their confidence could be gained, it might be possible to encourage inter-marriage between the various groups, in the hope that fertility would increase and the ultimate total extinction of Onges, Jarawas and Arioto, would be prevented.

In the Andamanese, this physiological decline has been accompanied by cultural decadence, as my digs in the kitchen-middens all over the archipelago showed. The ancient pottery which came to light is proof enough; when one compares it with recent work the latter is indicative of secondary and not original primitiveness. The successive strata in the deposits show a gradual decline from earthenware clearly made from a very refined mix to crude ware with vegetable impurities and bits of stone left in the clay. The pots dating from ancient times were clearly well fired and the quality of the clay allowed them to have thin but nevertheless very strong walls. In the present-day ware, on the other hand, the wall has to be thick because of the coarseness of the clay, making the pots both heavy and easily broken. Moreover, firing is limited to drying the pots in the sun, and the clay is in fact only hardened when the pot is used for cooking.

Ignorance of fire-making in the Andamans may also stem from this cultural regression, as one of the effects of physiological and psychological decadence. Given the absence of magico-religious beliefs among the Andamanese, ignorance of fire-making cannot be attributed to any ritual taboo or veto. On the other hand, it is in sharp contrast to the possession of elements of cultural advance such as the bow, with highly developed arrows, the harpoon with its detachable point, and the outrigger canoe.

Few races are known, even in far distant times, which never had fire. *Sinanthropus* and nearly every fossil Man after him had fire, even if he was unable to create it and could only preserve it once received from some natural combustion. The Onges, while retaining a number of ethnic characteristics of the Palaeolithic era, have

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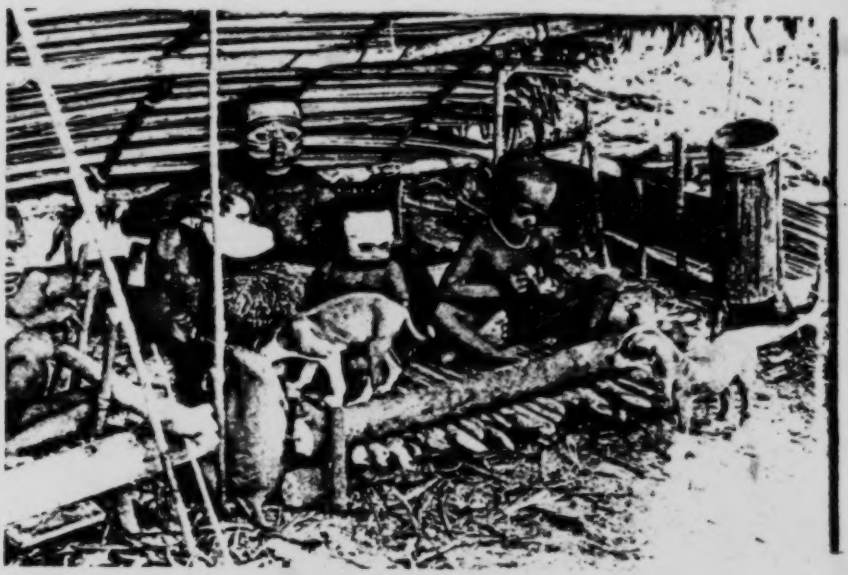

18 A family group with, on the right, the cylindrical cooking-pot, and the inevitable dogs

19 Typical shell collection from a kitchen-midden

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[facing P. 67]

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only a crude form of body decoration based on geometrical designs. 105

They are, therefore, to be included among the most backward peoples of mankind, who have remained in a very simple form of social structure. They have never progressed to any elementary [614] organization of themselves into 'clans', or even 'tribes'. They have, [619] in short, the psychological outlook and concepts of other primitive peoples, modified by local conditions. The evidence in favour of the Onges of today being the product of cultural development over [174] a very long period appears to me overwhelming, though their development has already been hindered by involution and, we must presume, a series of setbacks.

The Onges have thus remained culturally isolated and this has 105 deprived them of the opportunities offered to the rest of the world. 174 The time came when they ceased to receive or to elaborate new concepts, and from that point regression was inevitable. There is abundant evidence that their culture dates back to Palaeolithic times, so that they now represent the last and decadent expression of a very lengthy stage of biological and cultural development, a point of arrival, and not one of departure. Everywhere in the Andamans there are signs of an ancient culture which must once have spread over much of the world. It is neither logical nor practical to explain the similarity of many concepts as a series of convergences, all of independent origin; ideas must have spread outwards with the passage of time and the gradual population of habitable areas.

No study of present-day life on the Andamans can be complete 172 without an attempt to build up a valid picture of the islands as they were centuries ago, and this we can do with some accuracy by a study of the kitchen-middens. These abound on Great Andaman, but few have been excavated, and then only briefly reported. Those of Little Andaman have not, for obvious reasons, previously been investigated, but they are of considerable importance for the light they cast on their own development and history, and on that of similar mounds outside the Andamans. It is only on Little Andaman that they are still being built up, continually increasing in size, forming a unique, direct and continuous link with life on the island thousands of years ago.

Provided they have not been damaged – for example by rain or

172 earth tremors – they are all regular in shape. The base is circular, and the round mound rises as a truncated cone, at an angle of forty-five degrees. The circumference at the base varies, and can be as small as fifty metres, although a hundred and twenty to a hundred and fifty metres is more usual, and some are even larger. The height of the cone varies from two to ten metres or more, depending on the length of time the site has been in continuous occupation.

Excavations showed how slowly these mounds have accumulated, often only twenty centimetres in a hundred years. This is due to pressing down of the mound by the normal activities of the occupants of the hut, and by the fact that the Onges move so frequently from place to place; only about a sixth of the year is spent in the communal huts. It is possible that over the undisturbed centuries before outsiders came to the island the middens grew rapidly, but it is not unreasonable to assume a growth of ten metres in five thousand years. Dating by the radio-carbon method, which it is hoped is to be undertaken at the University of Rome, should confirm this estimate.

Before I began digging I had, although with some reservations, accepted the standard ideas about the formation of the kitchen-middens. I was, for example, doubtful about their regular shape, which did not seem to fit the accepted theory that those of Great Andaman were related to purely temporary encampments; I did not see that the very regular shape of the middens fitted such a picture.

On Great Andaman, the continuous strife between Arioto and Eremtaga, making permanent camps too vulnerable, led to their final disappearance at the beginning of the century and all further growth of the middens ceased. Most of them are in the coastal areas, and must therefore derive from the Arioto. Previous investigators were therefore handicapped by having to excavate abandoned mounds, of which none of the islanders had any personal knowledge and which they could not attempt to explain.

It seemed, therefore, that to gain any real knowledge of these structures, and hence of the people both past and present who built them up, it would be necessary to dig in the active mounds of Little Andaman. These derived from the communal huts on the island which interested me particularly – Cemalè, Lulera, Torabeh

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and Totamaddulù, the first a day's journey into the forest from Berié-Abdalù, the second two days from Labanar, and the others both near Togalanghe. 172

On both Great Andaman and Little Andaman the kitchen-middens yield a vast quantity of animal remains, bones and a great number of shells, with very little earth. The shells diminish in the upper levels, to be replaced by bones of *Sus andamanensis*, the wild pig of the islands, the change coinciding with the arrival of the dog in the islands; the revolution which this introduction brought into the life of the islanders is at once evident. [177]

My first excavations in 1951 were limited to establishing which mounds looked promising for future digs. I made soundings in the north, middle and south of Great Andaman and found that near each midden there were invariably abundant food supplies, as well as fresh water, sometimes running, sometimes in pools. The excavations went on for sixty days, aided by a first-class gang of men from Bihar, who even agreed, in view of the necessity of concentrated digging, to forgo their customary feast days. To these preliminary excavations I returned later on a number of occasions,[1] using them as controls.

My first real dig began on 5 January 1952 in a fine midden on Middle Andaman, a few hours' march from the forest station of Long Island, at a place known as Beehive Hill, or Golpahar in Hindi. The water pipe installed for the benefit of the colonists on Long Island draws from a spring, and on its way to the reservoir on the shore it runs right through the centre of the midden. Emerging, it runs for a hundred and fifty metres through a mangrove swamp stinking with vile black mud, which in fact served as an excellent means of dating the layers, by relating them to the rise and fall in the ground level of the swamp over the last few thousands of years. 172 114

The whole of the time we were there we had to work with look-outs posted ready for any Jarawas trying an ambush; to the north of the midden the grave of a Burmese killed by them a short time before was a grim warning. We did a great deal of shooting, but fortunately only for game. Fallow deer descended from imported 114 136

[1] With a number of young Indians very kindly allocated to my assistance by the anthropological service of the Government of India, and to all of whom I am greatly indebted for their enthusiastic help, often under the most trying conditions. [114]

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end of June 1953 there were legions of them. In contrast to the frogs, who were completely silent unless the atmosphere was calm, these cicadas only chirped when it was pouring with rain and blowing a gale, and then only at dawn and at dusk. Unlike other Asiatic species, they hopped from tree to tree between their momentary bursts of chirping, so that from minute to minute the chirping moved en bloc and made it almost impossible to catch them. When they were silent they were completely invisible against the branches, so that although we knew they were motionless we were still unable to catch them.

Surrounded by these diversions we began digging seriously. I must make it clear from the outset that in recording my findings I make no claim to saying the last word on the subject. All I hope to do is to report what I have been able to deduce from the combination of my personal observations of islanders as they are today and the evidence which I found in their kitchen-middens both of the past and of the present.

Though not as large as some I found later, the midden at Golpahar, like all the rest, was a truncated cone, beaten into a dome by the monsoons, and at the time of my excavation it was about five metres high with a circumference of a hundred and ten metres and a diameter of thirty-six metres. I removed half, leaving the other half so that others might later check my findings.

Ninety per cent of the contents proved to be shells, chiefly bivalves, and mainly *Cyrena*. As the shell content was clearly fairly constant I tried to calculate the total in the whole midden; and by taking into account the nomadic life of the present-day inhabitants of the island, and their eating habits, it was possible to reach a reasonable estimate of the age of the deposit.

Each midden can be regarded as attributable to the food refuse of groups of thirty to forty people, living at the site for forty to fifty days a year or less. Shellfish can never have been the islanders' sole diet. They are certainly not today – shellfish of any kind are only eaten when there is nothing else to be had, and then only in certain localities where it is not too much trouble to carry them to the camp. In other words, although shells formed the greater part of the deposit, they will only have been added to it sporadically. In the absence of some complete change of habits, unlikely in such cautious people as the Andamanese, we may deduce that the midden

172 rose extremely slowly, taking four to five thousand years to reach its present size. One also has to take into account periods of complete abandonment, evidenced by sterile layers of black mud, resulting from changes in the level of the nearby swamps, so that very great antiquity of the midden can be confidently assumed.

The Golpahar midden, however, does not date from the first arrival of the Negritos in the archipelago. Another nearby, with a circumference at the base of little over fifty metres, and three metres high, has in its lowest layers abundant remains of bivalves which are now rare if not absent in the Andamans, and completely absent at Golpahar itself. Among them are *Ostrea crista galli* and *Pectunculus aurantius*. The close proximity of the two middens may indicate the abandonment of the smaller for a new and larger site. Future investigations will show whether the smaller of these two is in fact the oldest attributable to the Negritos; it is the same type as that at Maya Bandar, where appalling weather and mud forced me to abandon work.

To establish comparisons between enough middens to draw any real conclusions as to their antiquity and the date of Man's arrival in the archipelago, it will be necessary to excavate and map a large number. At the moment, apart from the few previous excavations to which I have referred, mine are the only ones and I cannot overstress the necessity for further work to establish, or refute, the tentative conclusions I have drawn.

On Little Andaman food of all kinds is so abundant that shells were comparatively rare among the refuse, and the middens have grown much more slowly. It is, moreover, difficult to identify the abandoned ones, as the luxuriant vegetation hides them from view. It is not impossible, however, that they may ultimately be shown to date further back than those on Great Andaman, and that this, together with the fact of their continued growth at the present time, may provide valuable information.

At Golpahar, apart from the shells forming ninety per cent of the lower strata, I found bones of marine and land mammals, and of fish, turtles and birds, arrow-heads made of bone, *Tridacna* and the spines of large fish, bits of stone, and an enormous number of tiny splinters of obsidian and other very hard materials.

In some places it was difficult to identify the various layers. Normal palaeontological criteria were difficult to apply, as most of the

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remains belonged to species still extant. Some chronological assistance was given, however, by four different stratifications due to evident changes in the level of the adjacent marshes, resulting not from any general marine phenomena, but from numerous land movements. On these occasions the cliffs sank, the sea flowed inland and corals flourished, later to be buried by the black ooze and mud of the mangrove swamps. 172

The maximum rise in the sea-level during the growth of the midden was a little over three metres, and affected a wide area. The date could be established by a full geological study of the archipelago as a whole, but it is clear that although this and similar occurrences had direct stratigraphic effects on the middens, the results were manifest only over very long periods of time.

Refuse from introductions of European origin, such as pipes, glass bottles, shot pellets, pieces of iron, etc., appear in the top level, only fifteen centimetres thick and dating back about a hundred years. There were no dog bones either here or anywhere else on Little or Great Andaman. Recently introduced, the dog clearly caused an increase in the amount of pig remains, and a parallel reduction in shell refuse. Below the fifteen centimetres level, iron, imported pipes and glass fragments disappear, and the crab-claw pipes, still used today by the Onges, begin to emerge. The smoking habit must, as I have said, date from very ancient times, as traces of these claw pipes appear in the lowest strata, in contact with virgin soil.[1] [177] [276] [237]

The actual consistency of the layers, which vary considerably, can tell us much. At Golpahar, we reached a depth of about four metres from the top of the midden through refuse mixed with only a little loose earth, very easy to penetrate. Bones, shells and other objects emerged clean, as if only recently rejected. The situation altered suddenly about one metre from the bottom, when the strata became hard and cemented with a mixture of ashes and earth. In these layers the shells were calcified by exposure to fire, and so fragile that they could only be recovered in broken pieces.

[1] It is obvious that smoking is a very ancient vice; leaves of the wild hemp are still smoked in Africa as they were long before the discovery of tobacco and claw pipes like those of the Onges are found in Eastern New Guinea, especially on the south coast, and as far as the Torres Straits and the Melville Straits. In Australia these pipes appear only in a few coastal areas in the east and north, including the Gulf of Carpentaria, and they are not found in the rest of Australia or in Polynesia. [171] [276]

172 It is clear from this that when they first arrived in the Andamans, the Negritos had no pottery; there are no signs of it at all in the lowest levels. Before they acquired the use of earthenware, perhaps for centuries, they baked their shellfish in ashes, so that the shells became calcified; but as time went on they came to boil them, as the islanders still do today. There is a clear distinction between the ashy, fragile, almost fossilized appearance of the former, and the cleaner solidity of the latter.

172 178 323 In the lowest level in which it appears, the pottery shows signs of careful working of the clay and good firing, degenerating towards more recent times. The uppermost layers reveal the crudest ware, the clay being impure, carelessly mixed, with bits of stone in it and hardly fired at all; it appears to have been merely dried by exposure to the sun and hardened in the course of normal use, as the Onges do today. The resulting pots break easily, despite their thickness, in contrast to the thinner, but much stronger, walls of earlier pottery. They were built up by the coil technique, exactly as they are made on Chowra, the one island in the Nicobars which specializes in pottery.

172 171 323 On Great Nicobar, among the Shom-Pen, these exists also another, cruder type of pottery which is made by a very primitive method. A basket is covered with clay, and hardened in the fire without being properly fired; fragments of this type of pottery retain the marks of the basket inside. The kitchen-middens of the Andamans contain no traces of any primitive stage of this kind; instead, a somewhat refined form of earthenware appears suddenly. There are traces of ornamentation, rows of small lines, usually roughly parallel. No such ornamentation appears on the crude ware of more recent date, however.

171 323 Andamanese pots have always been made with a pointed base which prevents their standing upright, so that they have to be carried in baskets, exactly like those of the Shom-Pen, who make their pots in complete ignorance of the Andamanese and Chowra pottery.

Pottery did not form part of the culture of the Negritos of ancient times. Neither the Semang of Malacca nor the Aetà of the Philippines, their last remnants, nor the Andamanese, had any. The custom of hollowing out logs for use as vessels, and the continuing use of the earth oven, doubtless made the absence of any pottery no hardship.

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If we may deduce from the evidence of the middens, pottery arrived in the Andamans at the same time as the pig, bones of which appear only in the upper levels; but we know nothing of the people responsible for the introduction of either. It is, however, certain that both arrived in Great Andaman and Little Andaman together. 172 ●

There are indications that Little Andaman was the first to feel the benefit of pottery, possibly introduced by a light-skinned people. There are, as I have said, significant variations of skin colour and stature among the Onges; some have markedly lighter skins than the other islanders, and one would assume that this feature entered Little Andaman from the Nicobars with the unknown people who brought with them pottery and the pig. The people as an entity have disappeared as a result of inter-marriage with the indigenous population, while pigs reverted to the wild state and flourished, even spreading from one island to another by swimming (I can vouch for this, having seen them do it).[1] 172 144

The indications are that there were migrations from Little Andaman to Great Andaman long before those from which the Jarawas derive. In certain respects they resemble the Onges, whereas the surviving Arioto appear to represent a purer stock. The Onges seem to have acquired foreign blood in relatively recent times, perhaps when pigs and pottery appeared, when the kitchen-middens of Great Andaman were already being built up by the Arioto, but before the migration northwards by which the Jarawas reached their present home. Much more intensive investigation of the middens will, however, be needed before these hypotheses can be confirmed. 172 174 144

At Golpahar there were within the midden five graves containing human bones, not in anatomical position, and clearly filled in with fresh earth. I was surprised to find only the long bones, skulls and jawbones; the remaining bones could not be found. This may be explained by the custom among the Arioto (still prevailing 172 765

[1] One thing is puzzling: the three remaining groups of primitive Negritos in Malacca and the Philippines have the arrow harpoon with a detachable head. This is particularly valuable in the forests against the pigs, which cannot escape into the undergrowth once they have been hit. But it is difficult to see how or why the arrow harpoon reached the Andamans, where there were at that time no large mammals. It seems necessary to postulate the former spread of the weapon with the Negritos over a very wide area and its use against a much wider range of animals. [191] [411]

among the Onges) of wearing not only necklaces of the carpals and tarsals of deceased kin or pieces of rib, but also, in some groups, the skulls, painted with ochre and hanging from a cord round the neck. The long bones, painted red and white, were reburied in the communal hut. The Onges of today carry only the coloured jawbones of their kin.

No ornaments were found in the middens, nor did we expect to find any, as at death the Onges (and presumably their ancestors) bury all the personal objects of the deceased secretly in the forest, where the termites destroy all traces.

Not all the Arioto can have carried skulls and jawbones. Some clearly carried neither, as all the bones are sometimes found in the middens. A few middens are completely without human bones, particularly in the Port Blair area. Nevertheless at Ciauldari (or Chowldary), ten kilometres to the west, I found in January 1954 long bones without the skull or jawbones, and at Maya Bandar in 1953 I saw almost complete skeletons, not in anatomical position, owing to exhumation and reburial, but including skull, jawbones and in a number of cases the small bones as well.

The evidence of the middens thus clearly shows that burial and subsequent customs differed considerably among the various groups of islanders in the past, as they do today. The majority, judging from the Onges, seem to have remained faithful to a given custom, the dead in all cases continuing to remain a part of the group, whether or not any particular bone was carried about by the members of the group.

It is somewhat surprising to find customs varying so markedly in so primitive and numerically small a population, even though isolated in groups. The explanation lies in the fact that long-established customs may be altered overnight as the result of a 'revelation' by some seer, only to have the new customs overthrown themselves in the course of time by the next 'revelation'. I had an experience of this in the Onges when Enagaghe, a well-known seer, announced one day that he had received an order from the spirits about the way in which hunting trophies were to be displayed. No longer were pig jawbones to be impaled one behind the other on poles hung horizontally along the sloping roof of the hut a little above the hunter's bed. The whole skull, including the jawbones, was to be preserved, the bones held together in their natural

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position by reed cords, which were to be tied in front of the snout, ending in a cord by which the skull was to be hung above the hunter's bed. No sooner said than done, and at the beginning of 1954 all the old trophies were thrown out into the forest, to be gradually replaced by the new ones. Fortunately I had collected some of the old trophies before the 'revelation'!

From the evidence of the middens it would appear that these variations in burial customs have no practical basis, and probably all derive from similar 'revelations'. Further investigations in a large series of the deposits, enabling dated comparisons to be made, would be extremely revealing.

Even allowing for these sudden alterations in established customs, it is clear that their elaboration indicates slow and hardly perceptible development over long periods of time and the middens must be dated in millennia. The hypothesis put forward by some scholars that the Andamanese are descended from negro slaves who escaped while on their way to the Portuguese colonies in India in the sixteenth or, at the earliest, fifteenth centuries, seems therefore quite untenable, in face of the abundant evidence in favour of the great antiquity of the middens and of the people who built them up.

It seems clear that during the last few thousand years, successive waves of migration have taken place over a whole area bounded on the west by the Andamans and Nicobars. All indications point to a close connection between the Andamanese and the peoples to the westward, the Negrito element remaining alone and almost untouched in the Andamans, but becoming submerged in the Nicobars into the mongoloid element of more recent origin. Even today a number of Nicobarese show signs of Negrito ancestry; short in stature, they have crinkly hair which although long is very different from the straight black hair of the mongoloid element, and their heads, noses and lips bear clear signs of Negrito ancestry.

In addition to these more general conclusions the middens also cast some light on the origin, still somewhat problematical, of the wretched Jarawas of Great Andaman. Comparisons between their middens and those of the Onges show that there were in the past communal huts on Great Andaman exactly the same as those still extant today on Little Andaman.

174 342 [628] The continual fighting between the Eremtaga and the Arioto led, as we have seen, to the gradual disappearance of the communal huts of the latter as being too vulnerable. Subsequently, the con- [648] flict still going on between foreigners and Jarawas completed the destruction, so that there are now no communal huts on Great Andaman. The ever-increasing violence of the punitive expeditions against the Jarawas put an end to their numerical recovery during the last fifteen years or so, and there may indeed now be none left. [172] Today only their kitchen-middens, and the surviving Onges, remain to show us how the Jarawas must have lived.

172 184 The Jarawa middens are distinguishable from those of the Arioto by their inland position and by their content of freshwater shellfish and land gasteropods, not eaten by the peoples of the coast.

172 764 178 [186] Like the kitchen-middens of the Onges, those of the Jarawas contain human bones clearly interred in graves, and not scattered among the refuse. This refutes the Arioto accusation against the Eremtaga of cannibalism, and that of the people of South Andaman (now vanished) against the people of North Andaman and the Onges; the remains of cannibal feasts would undoubtedly have been found among kitchen refuse and not carefully buried in the ritual manner, with the graves filled in with earth. And the Jarawas and the majority of the Arioto buried their dead in the communal huts, continuing a custom which originated while they were still [184] on Little Andaman. In time variations arose, but this does not alter the evidence in favour of migration in ancient times from the south, via the Nicobars and Little Andaman.

184 172 501 The differences in culture between the islands can be explained by the ease with which primitive peoples forget. The Jarawas, for example, although they reached Great Andaman by sea from Little Andaman, forgot in a few generations the art of hollowing canoes when they were forced to live in the depths of the forests, far from the sea. Today, they have been free from the Arioto for some time, at least on the west coast, and have access to the sea, but they have [765] not started building canoes again. In other things, however, such as burial rites, the Jarawas kept faithful to the old Onge customs; their middens show the same exhumation of the bones, the same cleaning, and tinting with ochre, and careful reburial.

172 252 The general similarity of the middens in Great and Little Andaman cannot be due to chance. Animal food, for example, has clearly

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

been cooked in the same way; the bones are never charred, but always have the appearance of being cooked in an earth oven. The direct roasting of large game over the fire, postulated by some authorities, including Brown, was never practised; the islanders preferred to go on as they had done since time immemorial, because it was more efficient – witness the traces of the earth oven which are to be found all over the world, including Europe. In Polynesia and Micronesia, and among the pygmies of Asia and Africa, it was widely used; variations when they arose did so as the result of local circumstances, like that of throwing water on the fire instead of using fleshy leaves, when there were none in the area. But the basic principle remained the same everywhere, and the use of the earth oven coincides with the geographical distribution of hunting, gathering and burial customs similar to those found in the Andamans.

In April 1954 I excavated the midden at Tambe-e-buiè on Little Andaman, abandoned after the earth tremors of 1951, to investigate the position of the beds. The custom of burying the dead underneath their beds made it possible to trace the latter by the human remains below them, arranged in a circle round the periphery. The Onges themselves helped in the work, sometimes even trying to recognize the remains as they came to light.[1] There were clear signs of reburial. The body is buried immediately after death at least one metre deep; whereas after exhumation, cleaning and colouring, it is never re-interred more than thirty centimetres below the floor of the hut. When another death makes it necessary for a new grave to be dug under the bed, the piles of bones from the second are disturbed, so that in time a form of ossuary develops. In this it is not possible to identify the various remains of individuals unless some change in the position of the hut, even by a few metres, preserves the bones from disturbance by fresh graves. Traces of the graves always remain, however, as they are invariably filled with fresh earth.

We have already seen that on Little Andaman the introduction of the dog reduced the consumption of shellfish (and hence the rate

[1] The material recovered is now in the Anthropological Museum of the Andamans and Nicobars, which I helped to establish at Port Blair. The museum was inaugurated on 6 June 1955 in the presence of the Governor, Mr A. K. Ghosh and the chief Indian officials of the town.

of growth of the kitchen-middens), judging by the number of shells in the deposits. On Great Andaman, on the other hand, the Jarawas, unable to keep dogs for fear of revealing their whereabouts with the barking, continued as they had always done, and the gradual disappearance of their middens was due not to any change in eating habits but to the breakdown of the communal hut system. Among the Arioto, already decimated for over a century by fighting with the Eremtaga, the dog seems to have had no effect on the situation, as the Arioto had dogs as far back as 1857. Possibly they regarded them in the same way as the Onges who, though deeply attached to them and quite incapable of eating them at any time, never go so far as to bury their bones in the middens; the carcase is thrown out into the forests for the monitors and the termites to dispose of. It is also probable that the introduction of the dog came too late, when the Arioto were already too depleted numerically for any change in their eating habits to be appreciably reflected in their middens.

In both Great and Little Andaman the middens are found only where the communal huts have been constantly rebuilt on the same sites. Where the ground permits, the base circle (or rarely, the ellipse) has been moved somewhat from side to side, without, however, greatly affecting the regularity of the shape. At Totamaddalù on Little Andaman I was interested to see that although the diameter of the midden lessened as the numbers of the group occupying the hut dwindled, the site remained unchanged. Today the base area of the midden is very extensive compared with the size of the hut now built on it, but its anthropological value is thereby increased.

The advent of the dog into the archipelago in about 1857 vastly increased the amount of meat available to the Andamanese. Once introduced into Little Andaman[1] the dog population increased explosively, as the Onges dare not kill any of the pups; the women even go so far as to suckle motherless pups themselves. This inordinate love of dogs has allowed the animals to become a pest. They already considerably outnumber the human population; families of only three or four people may have ten or twelve dogs,

[1] The dog reached Little Andaman only at the beginning of the present century; von Eichstedt in 1928 noted that the Onges had very few of them.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The widespread use of the arrow and spear harpoons since very ancient times is evidenced by their survival in areas far removed from each other, and among primitive peoples geographically completely isolated. The arrival of the harpoon in the Andamans must in all probability have occurred thousands of years ago when it was widespread at least in the south and south-east of the Asian continent. Even the Andamanese canoes with their platforms fore and aft built specially for the harpoon throwers indicate not only the antiquity of the islanders, but also their historical and cultural connection with the peoples represented today by the few remaining Negritos.

From the evidence of the middens it is clear that the links between the Onges and the Jarawas are very close. While the date of the first migration from Little Andaman to Great Andaman remains uncertain there can be no doubt that migrations took place, followed by isolation within the islands, until today the Arioto cannot understand the Eremtaga, and the Onges neither the Jarawas nor the Sentinellese. There is very little in the literature on the Jarawas and their origin, but from my own observations I would deduce that they arrived in Great Andaman comparatively recently, as even their subsequent rigid isolation has not brought about any really essential cultural differences from the Onges.

The route of the migration will undoubtedly have led them via Rutland, whose heights can be seen as an open invitation from the north of Little Andaman. Chains of small, uninhabited islands lie between; the Onges have a name for all of them and have camp sites there for use on hunting or fishing expeditions; the Arioto, on the other hand, do not appear ever to have been to the islands. From Rutland migrations would have moved on to Great Andaman, until, filtering through to the extreme north, they became the Jarawas, or 'strangers', as the Arioto still call them. The Arioto themselves probably arrived previously by the same route but stopped in the coastal areas, then uninhabited and inviting occupation. The Arioto would have considered themselves owners of the still uninhabited areas and tried to exclude later immigrants; so began the hostility I have already described between the occupiers of the coasts and the later arrivals whom they forced into the depths of the forests.

136 Andaman, in Yeratil Jig (near Port Anson, about fifteen miles from Long Island) in Diglipur (or Dilyapur) Creek, near Port Cornwallis, and in Wilima Jig,[1] but they are now extinct. In March 1952 the Onges had described the presence of crocodiles so clearly to me as to leave no doubt what they meant, and I soon received confirmation when I found their tracks on the sand about one kilometre from the mouth of Jackson Creek, on the right bank, and then saw some lying on the shore across the creek. Through my field glasses I saw small birds pecking between the teeth of the great wide-open jaws. As we approached they slid lazily into the sea, some reappearing a little later, their cavernous mouths rising vertically out of the water. Every day after that I saw them swimming quietly near the banks, and one afternoon my men and I between us saw over a dozen, near Nachuge, dozing in the mud or in the water.

[825] [198] The Onges assured me that crocodiles will come out of the water to a certain whistle. I got them to try it; the Onges whistled, and whistled again, but no crocodiles came!

237 321 276 172 Very different from the great turtles and the crocodiles, but equally important in the daily life of the Onges, are the crabs from which the islanders make their ancient and very characteristic pipes. They eat the crabs and use the claws to make the pipes, cutting them across the joint and boring a hole in the end, as they have done since time immemorial, to smoke aromatic leaves from the forest. Fragments of similar pipes, charred with use, appear in even the lowest strata of the kitchen-middens, dating back thousands of years and proving the antiquity of the smoking habit. Contrary to popular belief, smoking did not begin everywhere with the introduction of tobacco – in Asia at least men smoked thousands of years ago.

237 276 171 The claw pipes of the Onges have a groove cut round the end which goes into the mouth, so that the teeth can grip it better. I have seen identical pipes, with the same groove, in the Melville Islands, where there are many other signs of ethnographic connections with the Andamans. The canoes, for example, are identical with those of the Andamans; the peoples themselves, however, are today very different physically.

[501] [142]

[165] [1] According to Portman a man was dragged into the water here on 11 May 1894 by a crocodile and killed; several similar incidents have occurred since.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

174 curly hair; on Car Nicobar I was taken to a cave[1] where these people are said to have lived. The ethnographical evidence is such that there may well be some truth in the legend. The close similarity in detail, even identity, of the Onge and Nicobar canoes, and spiralled pottery, the presence in the wild state of the pig – the sum of this and other evidence cannot be overlooked. Car would have been the last point before the Andamans in the Negrito advance from the east. They would have remained on Car for a long time before moving on to the Andamans, and since Car is a completely flat coral deposit, with no true stone at all, it may be assumed that it was during their sojourn on Car that the Negritos lost the art of working it; this would explain the complete absence of stone implements in the Andamans.

The Negritos would thus have occupied the Nicobars before the mongoloids, and were then, as the somatic evidence shows, partially absorbed, or moved on to the Andamans. The burial customs and superstitions of the Andamanese reflect Nicobar influence with disinterment, reburial and retention of certain bones; such customs are also found sporadically in Oceania. Ritual governing hunting trophies is also very similar, as are weapons. The three-pointed arrow was found in both the Nicobars and the Andamans until comparatively recently; the Onges have none now, but their descendants – the Sentinellese and Jarawas – still used them very recently. Both the Nicobarese and the peoples of the Andamans (also various peoples in Indonesia and Oceania) cook without any form of salt. This is also the case in certain islands of the west coast of Sumatra, where there are also other similarities from huts to

[172] [1] On 20 April 1952, I visited this cave with Sri B. S. Cengappa, head of the 1952 Nicobar Expedition; in the report of the expedition he did me the honour of naming the cave 'Cipriani Cave'. A schoolmaster on Car Nicobar told me of other caves in the archipelago, which had similar traditions of occupation in very ancient times. One facing the sea on the east coast of Catcial, one of the Nancowry group, was of considerable size, about a hundred metres long and fifteen metres high, and wider, its floor covered in a layer of guano. The same guano covered the floor of Cipriani Cave, which lies in a coral formation little more than ten metres above present sea-level. It has two openings, diametrically opposite and thirty-five metres apart. The cave consists of a wide central chamber, about seven metres in diameter, with many stalactites and stalagmites. Fortunately none of the archaeological deposit was damaged by the Japanese occupation and the traditions attached to the cave remain alive among the Nicobarese. It would need at least ten men working for at least six months to investigate the cave properly, but I am sure that the results would amply justify the cost of such an expedition.

171 way in which the spirits are invoked against enemies, involving
776 the use of some personal possession – an example is the invariable destruction of the used *naquinegbe*, or of hair after shaving. The same fear of the night induced by the idea of spirits walking abroad led to the making of torches from rolled palm leaves containing a mixture of embers and resin.

[262] From the Andamans to Oceania the chief spirit is generally
[825] imagined in the form of a giant lizard, living at the top of the sky and ruling the storms; none of the peoples who believe in him ever eat any lizard or lizard-like creature. All of them have the same
171 sexually suggestive dances, both male and female, sometimes in-
535 spired by the monitor or dragon-lizard, symbol of desire, and often
776 associated with miming and dramatic representations of real and
825 imaginary scenes. These dances, with their *joie de vivre*, are accom-
171 panied by the smoking of aromatic leaves in pipes which are fre-
276 quently made from natural objects such as the claws of crustacea.
[535] The Onges in fact have since very ancient times used only this type
[192] as shown in the lower levels of the kitchen-middens dating back at least five thousand years. Everywhere, pipes of this kind are used indiscriminately by both sexes, passing from mouth to mouth. Pipes identical in every way with those of the Onges are found to the east of the archipelago, well into Oceania, and I have myself also seen them on Melville Island, north of Australia, always with the same notches for the teeth to grip. This undeniable evidence of the spread of identical pipes over so wide an area long before the possibility of European contacts cannot in my opinion be attributed other than to migration over vast distances in very ancient times.

Similar coincidences apply in the case of the arrow harpoon and
171 indeed harpoons in general. I cannot agree with Brown in his
114 assertion that the harpoon dates from the arrival of European in-
411 fluences, which brought the use of iron; the harpoon points made by long and patient working of *Tridacna* shells which I found in the kitchen-middens of the Andamans are in my view enough to refute the theory.

171 The canoes from which these harpoons are used, with the ab-
501 sence of distinction between bow and stern and the single float on the lee side, are extremely typical. They are identical in peoples which have been widely separated for a very long time and appear not only on the Andamans, and as far as Oceania, but also in North

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Appendix

Below is given a brief summary of the evidence which in the author's opinion supports his view that the culture of the Andaman Islanders dates back at least to the Palaeolithic era. 172

1 ABSENCE OF STONE IMPLEMENTS

There are in the Andamans abundant sources of stones suitable for shaping into tools. Despite this I found no traces whatever of any stone implements even in the lowest strata of the kitchen-middens, nor is there any evidence of their being used either in the more recent past or at the present time. Until the very recent introduction of iron the Onges always (as the kitchen-middens confirm) made tools solely of wood, with the addition of parts made from *Tridacna* shells, shaped by long and patient rubbing against stone. The only objects remotely approaching the definition of stone implements are the splinters of quartz or obsidian which are carried in the hair, and used as razors or, in the Arioto only, for primitive tattooing. These splinters, which are in no way shaped after being broken off, are thrown away as soon as they become blunt, and a new piece of quartz is crudely struck from a lump, by men or women indiscriminately. The existence of this one stone implement does not, in my view, justify the classification of the Onges (or the Andamanese in general) as a true Palaeolithic people; it would be more reasonable to class them as prelithic. 172 324 [177] [322] [321] [412] [181]

2 ABSENCE OF METAL WORKING

Even today the Onges' knowledge of metal working is confined to rubbing pieces of iron against stone to reduce them to the required shape. They have no knowledge of how to forge it, nor have they the tools to do so. Iron is clearly a very recent introduction, the importance of which the 325

325 islanders, in the absence of any means of working it, have not fully realized.

3 IGNORANCE OF FIRE

372 174 The islanders' present ignorance of fire-making may possibly be the result of cultural decline, but this is not certain. In the presence of the considerable additional evidence in favour of the antiquity of the Andamanese culture it is, however, more likely that it is genuine ignorance, persisting in a pre-lithic people.

4 ABSENCE OF SALT

174 263 Although there can be no proof, it can be reasonably postulated that very primitive Man had no salt, and that in the Andamans this ignorance has persisted over thousands of years, owing to strict isolation. It is unlikely that the use of salt would have been completely lost, had it ever been introduced.

5 PRIMITIVE METHODS OF COOKING

252 172 Apart from the accidental and very recent introduction of petrol-drum cooking, the Andamanese use only the most primitive form of earth oven. This method of cooking was certainly known in the Palaeolithic era; at the entrance to the well-known Barma Grande cave near Mentone I have myself seen in the basal layers a number of stones bearing the marks of fire, too numerous merely to have formed some sort of hearth, and clearly not used to support cooking-pots, as Palaeolithic Man had none which would have withstood heat. The form of earth oven still used throughout the Andamans is undoubtedly of extreme antiquity.

6 FOOD VESSELS

415 285 172 The people of the Andamans still use for honey hollowed-out logs similar to those seen in Palaeolithic wall paintings, which also depict baskets very like those still in use throughout the archipelago. The art of basket-making can be traced back at least to the later Palaeolithic era.

7 USE OF POTTERY

323 172 As with the other Negrito peoples, pottery was unknown in the earliest culture of the Andamans. Its appearance seems from the evidence of the

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

kitchen-middens to have been contemporaneous with the introduction of the pig, i.e. to have been introduced by outsiders. It would be possible, using radio carbon methods, to calculate this date more accurately, but on purely archaeological evidence the introduction of pottery would appear to have occurred some five thousand years ago. 323 172

8 ABSENCE OF CANNIBALISM

If we may accept the evidence of the kitchen-middens, there has never at any time been cannibalism in the Andamans, although the practice certainly existed in the later Palaeolithic era; the Andamanese must thus have been isolated in the archipelago long before the practice became widespread. 172 266

9 DRINK

The Andamanese ignorance of any drink other than water may be regarded as additional evidence of the great antiquity of their culture. 273 174

10 ABSENCE OF CLOTHING

The Jarawas of both sexes have always remained completely naked. The Onges have only in comparatively recent times adopted a form of genital covering for their womenfolk; this custom has spread as far as the north of Great Andaman, and it seems probable that the separation of the Jarawas from the Onges dates from this time. 291 178 174 184

11 ABSENCE OF TATTOOING

All primitive peoples who are habitually completely naked adorn the body in some way. The Onges have never progressed beyond the early stage of painting themselves with ochre, and do not tattoo. Their sole ornaments are small necklaces of tusk shells, strips of bark, and sometimes flowers. In all this they resemble the Tasmans (see, however, p. 143 for certain important differences), who seem to have remained in an equally early stage of cultural development. 30 171

12 TOTEMISM AND THE CLAN

Here again the complete absence of any traces appears to indicate isolation before the spread of these very ancient concepts. Neither the Onges nor the Jarawas have ever progressed beyond the stage of independent groups of families. 174 61 621

000 622 groups of families. There is some spontaneous recognition of individuals as 'headmen' as a result of some generally accepted superiority of physique or discernment, but the concept goes no further than the giving of some weight to their views within the group.

13 MARRIAGE

595 837 585 The Onges are monogamous, like all peoples who have never progressed beyond the stage of hunting and gathering, and adultery is virtually unknown. Marriage consists merely of the man taking possession of the woman in the presence of the rest of the group, taking her by the hand to a new bed built for the occasion and allotted a place within the circle. The 'marriage' takes place in the late evening and is followed by frenzied dancing all night long by the light of the resin torches. The total absence [174] of any form of ritual leads one to suppose isolation from a very early date indeed, but this cannot be more than conjecture.

14 BURIAL

172 174 764 The custom of burying the dead in caves still occupied by the living apparently existed in the Palaeolithic era. The practice has continued to the present time in the Andamans, where the dead are still buried under the family bed in the communal hut. It is known from Palaeolithic burials that even in that era objects were sometimes buried with the dead, and it is thus possible that the culture of the Andamans dates back to very early times.

15 EXHUMATION AND SECOND BURIAL

172 765 The custom of exhuming the bones of the dead and re-interring them after coloration (in this case with ochre) dates from the Palaeolithic era.

16 BONE NECKLACES

301 The custom of wearing necklaces of carpals, tarsals, phalanges and fragments of rib, is of extreme antiquity, and apart from the Andamans, has virtually disappeared.

17 RELIGION

172 775 764 There is evidence that even in Palaeolithic times there existed a belief in the survival of the spirit after death, and a fear of its return (hence the

dead were buried securely bound in a knee-to-chest position, still the custom among the Andamanese). The Onges go no further than this and the idea of a Lord of the Spirits who rules all things, although on Great Andaman there has been some progress towards more anthropomorphic concepts. The complete absence of any form of cult, prayer, representation, or votive offering cannot, I feel, be the result of cultural decline from a more advanced age; this would have resulted in gross distortion and illogical superstition, but not in complete absence of any 'religious' practices of any kind.

18 SACRIFICE

No sacrifices of any kind are practised in the Andamans, nor is there any concept of propitiation, although there is evidence that even in the late Palaeolithic era some form of ritual sacrifice was practised, at least in Europe and probably over a much wider area. One would assume from this, and from paragraph 17 above, that the Andamanese is an even older culture.

19 TABOOS

Although my own experiences among the Onges have led me to think that taboos do not exist, some authors have asserted (in my view wrongly) their existence on Great Andaman. It is not, however, possible to draw any reliable conclusions on this point.

20 CEREMONIAL

The complete absence of any form of ritual surrounding birth, the purification of women, initiation, etc., or evidence of any such ritual in the past, is striking, in view of the prevalence in all the surrounding areas of strictly observed ceremonial for many occasions. As in the case of religion, such complete absence can only mean that the Andamanese became isolated before the idea of ritual spread to the area.

21 MEASUREMENT

The Andamanese have no means of counting, and no words to express gradations of time or size; to them everything is either 'small' or 'big'. They take no interest in the passing of years, and have no idea of their own age. To them life is but the passing of the seasons and the harvests of game and fish and fruits that they bring. This utter lack of any sense

802 805 or form of numerical evaluation is further support for the extremely low stage of cultural development at which they became isolated.

22 ART

302 531 532 When painting their bodies with ochre the Onges have no idea of symbolic representation, and use only geometrical designs. These invariably seem spontaneous, and in my view do not represent a degenerate form of some more highly evolved art, half forgotten over the centuries; in short, the 'artists' of the Andamans, with no conception of symbolism, are even today less advanced than their Palaeolithic counterparts.

23 DIGGING STICKS

172 412 In late Palaeolithic deposits, stones with holes in them have been found which correspond to those still in use among peoples such as the Bushmen, to add weight to their digging sticks. The absence even today of any form of weighted stick in the Andamans, where stone is plentiful, would appear to antedate the culture at least to early Palaeolithic.

24 HUNTING

224 172 [411] 229 177 The Onges still use the Palaeolithic throwing stick, although it is not their main hunting weapon. They have no idea of fixed traps, which must from the evidence have been known in Palaeolithic times, and it is hard to believe that a people so dependent upon hunting would have lost the art once it had been acquired. They have crude nets which the women use for fishing, but these are probably a comparatively recent introduction, which has arrived via the Nicobars.

25 DOMESTIC ANIMALS

231 174 The Andamanese have none, and this would seem to add weight to the evidence for their great antiquity.

26 ECONOMY

433 185 437 There is no economic system of any kind, and from the evidence available it is highly unlikely that even the most primitive form ever existed. There is no conception whatever of providing for tomorrow, or of any form of exchange or barter.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

27 WEAPONS

The wall paintings of the Palaeolithic era depict bows and arrows, the former of both the simple and the double-curve type, and the latter with one or more points, similar to those still used in the Andamans. (The same *marques de chasse* as those found on bone arrowheads of the late Palaeolithic era were on *Tridacna* arrowheads which I found in the lower strata of the kitchen-middens.) The harpoon, with detachable point and cord, was widespread in the late Palaeolithic era, and this too has persisted unchanged to the present day in the Andamans. 172 411

28 NAVIGATION

There is no proof that Palaeolithic Man travelled by water, but it can be argued that the proven antiquity of the Andamanese culture is of itself evidence in favour of the supposition that he did. 174

The author is of the opinion that the sum of the evidence outlined above is overwhelmingly in favour of the continuing existence in the Andamans of what may well be a virtually unchanged Palaeolithic or even pre-lithic culture.

[For historical sketches of cities, see category 369 or Index, category 116, 6: Spate AW1 India.]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

November. During the first half of the month the wind and weather are very uncertain; a cyclone may occur; after the middle of the month the north-east monsoon sets in. 132

December. Fairly cool; not much rain; wind N.N.E.

Many of the violent cyclonic storms that sweep across the Sea of Bengal seem to form themselves a little to the south of the Andamans. Cyclones of exceptional violence struck Port Cornwallis in 1844 and Port Blair in 1864 and 1891.

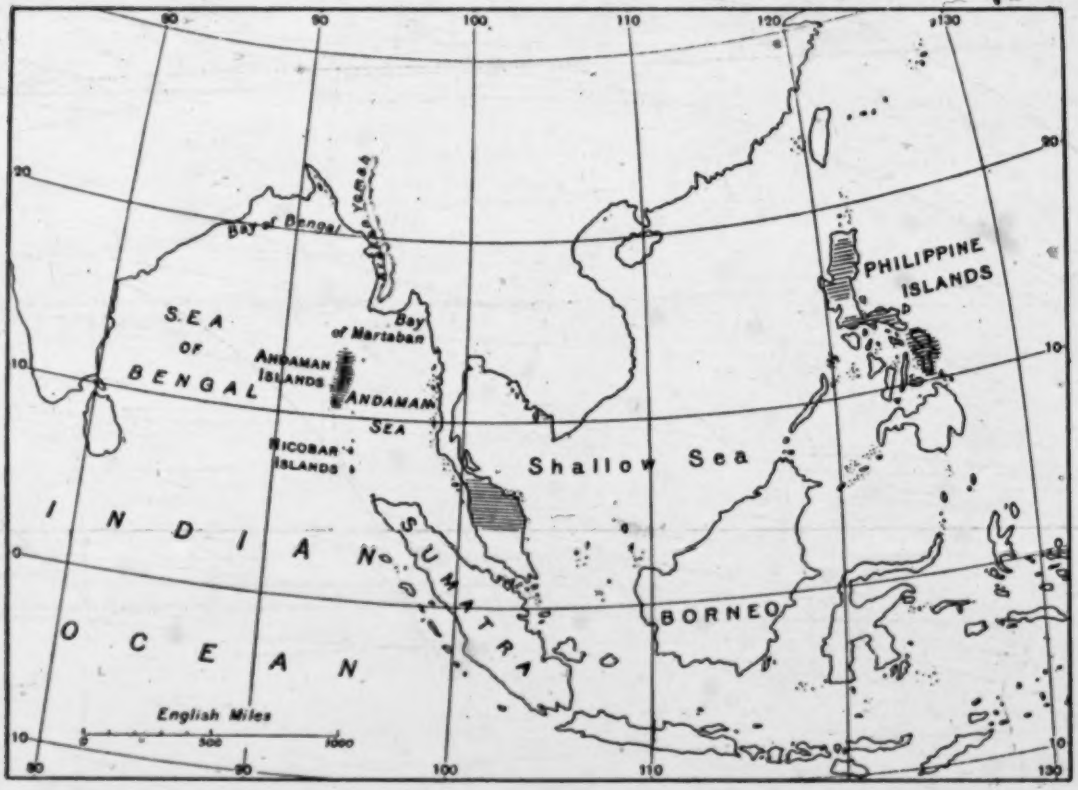
The aborigines of the Andaman Islands have been in their present home for a great many centuries. It is not possible to say with any degree of certainty how or when they first reached the islands. Geological and other evidence would seem to show that the Andamans were united to the mainland along the line of the Arakan Fold in later Tertiary times, but even this is perhaps not quite certain[1]. In any case the period of past land connection seems to be so remote that it had probably ceased to exist at the time when the islands were peopled by the ancestors of the present natives. If the ancestors of the Andamanese reached the islands at the time of a past land connection, they can only have done so from the Arakan region of Burma. On the other hand, if they travelled by sea they must almost certainly have started from the Burmese coast (Pegu or Arakan). The north-east monsoon would drift them thence on to the Andamans. It is conceivable that they might have travelled from Sumatra by way of the Nicobars, but the north-east monsoon would have opposed their progress in this direction, while the south-west monsoon would have driven them to the east of the Andamans[2]. It is hardly possible to imagine them coming from the Malay Peninsula across the wide 174

[1] The flora of the Andamans and Cocos contains a number of species, the presence of which can only be explained by the supposition of a past land connection with the Arakan region. (See Prain, "The Vegetation of the Coco Group," *Journ. Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, Vol. LX, Part II, pp. 283—406.) On the other hand, the paucity of mammalian fauna is such as to lead to the conclusion that the islands were isolated at a period when the mammals now typical of the mainland did not exist there. (See Miller, "Mammals of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands," *Proc. National Museum, U.S.A.* Vol. XXIV.)

[2] There is no evidence of the former existence of Negritos in the Nicobars, but on the other hand, there is equally no direct evidence of their former presence in Lower Burma.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

MAP I



South-eastern Asia, showing the present distribution of the Negrito Race

[facing p. 6]

174
144

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

174 stretch of the Andaman Sea. The balance of probability is in favour of the view that the Andamans were peopled, either by sea or by land, from the region of Lower Burma.

144 174 Of the Negrito race, to which the Andamanese belong, there are two other branches still in existence. The first of these consists of the people who may be conveniently spoken of as the Semang, inhabiting the interior of the Malay Peninsula between 5° and 7° N. Latitude. The other branch of this primitive race is found in the interior of the Philippine Islands. From their present distribution it is clear that the Negritos must at some long past time have wandered over a wide area in south-eastern Asia. The connection between the Andamanese and the Semang can only have been either through Sumatra and the Nicobars, or, more probably, by way of Lower Burma. Communication between the Malay Peninsula and the Philippine Islands must have been either by way of Borneo or Celebes, or else by way of Annam and Cochin China. It is certainly many centuries, and probably many thousands of years, since the three surviving branches of the race were cut off from all communication with each other[1].

In the Malay Peninsula and in the Philippines the Negritos have for a long time been living in contact with other races. They have been driven back from the coasts and fertile valleys into the less accessible districts. There is ample evidence that they have adopted many of the customs of the races around them, and have even adopted to a great extent the language of their alien neighbours. The original Negrito culture and language and even perhaps the original physical type have been modified in these two branches of the race.

In the case of the Andaman Islanders it is possible that they have been entirely isolated in their island home, and have not been affected by contact with other races, but have been free to develop their own culture in adaptation to their own environment. If a hypothesis to this effect were accepted we should see in the Andamanese the direct descendants, in physical character, in language, and in culture, of the original Negrito race.

[1] On the accompanying map of south-eastern Asia the regions now occupied by the Negritos are shown by the shading.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

the natives of the Little Andaman, but they are of sufficient importance to make it necessary to distinguish them from one another. 619

The different divisions of the Andamanese may for convenience be set out in the form of a table.

I. GREAT ANDAMAN GROUP.

A. Northern Group, including the tribes:—

Aka-Čari,
Aka-Kora,
Aka-Bo,
Aka-J̌eru.

B. Southern Group, including the tribes:—

Aka-Kede,
Aka-Kol,
Oko-J̌uwoi
A-Pučikwar,
Akar-Bale,
Aka-Bea.

II. LITTLE ANDAMAN GROUP.

A. The inhabitants of the Little Andaman (*Ōnge*).
B. The *Jarawa* of the South Andaman.
C. The inhabitants of the North Sentinel Island.

The distribution of these different groups as it was in 1858 is shown on the map.

There is one important feature of this distribution that requires a few words of explanation, and that is the presence in the South Andaman of the *J̌arawa* who are allied by language and technical culture to the natives of the Little Andaman. There can be no doubt that the *Jarawa* are the descendants of emigrants who at some time in the past made their way across from the Little Andaman and thrust themselves in upon the inhabitants of Rutland Island and the South Andaman, maintaining their footing in the new country by force of arms. 619 174

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

619
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The identity of the flora and fauna of the Little Andaman with those of the Great Andaman and the shallowness of the strait between the islands, suggests that at no very remote period they have been united by a continuous land connection. Whether or not this connection existed at the time when the islands were first peopled, it is at any rate reasonable to suppose that the original ancestors of the present Andamanese had one language and one culture. Once the Little Andaman was peopled, the strait between it and the Great Andaman seems to have acted as an effective barrier, to keep the two divisions of the race apart for many centuries. During the period of this separation each division followed its own line of development, with the result that there arose the considerable differences of language and culture that now exist.

At a much later date than this separation of the Andamanese into two isolated groups, and after the typical differences of language and culture had been developed, a party of natives must have made their way by canoe from the north of the Little Andaman to Rutland Island. They would have found that country occupied by natives of the Great Andaman Group. In spite of this they succeeded in establishing themselves in the South Andaman, and became the progenitors of the present *Jarawa*. Owing to the difference of language all communication between the Little Andaman invaders and those already occupying the invaded country would be impossible. (At the present day a native of the Little Andaman cannot make himself understood to a native of one of the Great Andaman tribes.) The result has been that the *Jarawa* have lived in a state of constant warfare with their neighbours, and this hostility has lasted down to the present day.

It is only on the above hypothesis that it is possible to explain how it comes about that we find in the South Andaman people with language and technical culture very similar to that of the Little Andaman, and differing from that of the remaining inhabitants of the Great Andaman. It is impossible to say how long it is since this invasion from the Little Andaman took place. At the end of the eighteenth century the *Jarawa* were to be found in the neighbourhood of Port Blair. Lieutenant

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Colebrooke in 1790 came across an individual of this tribe and obtained from him a vocabulary. A comparison of this vocabulary with the language of the Little Andaman shows it to be essentially the same language[1]. 619 174

A few words must be said on the position of the natives of the North Sentinel Island. Almost nothing is known of these people. What little information is available concerning their weapons and implements seems to point to their belonging to the Little Andaman Division. There is no communication between them and either the Great Andaman or the Little Andaman. It is possible that they have been separated from the other Andamanese as long as those of the Little Andaman have been separated from those of the Great Andaman, and would therefore constitute a third separate division. The South Sentinel Island is uninhabited.

The total area of the Andamans is estimated to be about 2500 square miles. This area is divided as follows:— 131 619

	Sq. miles.
North Andaman, being the territory of the four tribes Aka-Cari, Aka-Kora, Aka-Bo, and Aka-Jeru	540
Middle Andaman and Baratang, occupied by four tribes, Aka-Kede, Aka-Kol, Oko-Juwoi and A-Pucikwar	790
The Archipelago, occupied by the Akar-Bale tribe	140
The South Andaman, occupied by the Aka-Bea and the Jarawa	630
North Sentinel Island	30
Little Andaman	370
	2500

It is not possible to give accurately the area occupied by each tribe, as the boundaries are difficult to discover. The *Aka-Bea* is in an exceptional position, as there was no definite boundary between them and the *Jarawa*. The two parties of natives lived in the same territory at enmity with each other. It would seem that the *Aka-Bea* kept on the whole more to the coast, while the *Jarawa* lived in the interior.

[1] In 1906 some Little Andaman visitors to Rutland Island captured a *Jarawa* of that part. They told me that though he spoke differently from them, they could understand him fairly well.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

APPENDIX A

THE TECHNICAL CULTURE OF THE ANDAMAN ISLANDERS

In this appendix I shall give a brief account of the technical culture of the Andaman Islanders, with a few comparative notes on the technology of the Semang of the Malay Peninsula and the Negritos of the Philippine Islands. The Andamanese, the Semang and the Philippine Negritos are so similar in physical characteristics that it is reasonable to suppose that they are descended from a single stock. It is on the basis of this hypothesis that they are all spoken of as belonging to one race, the Negrito race. It is therefore of some interest to compare the culture of these three different peoples to see if we can determine what was the culture of their ancestors. 174 171

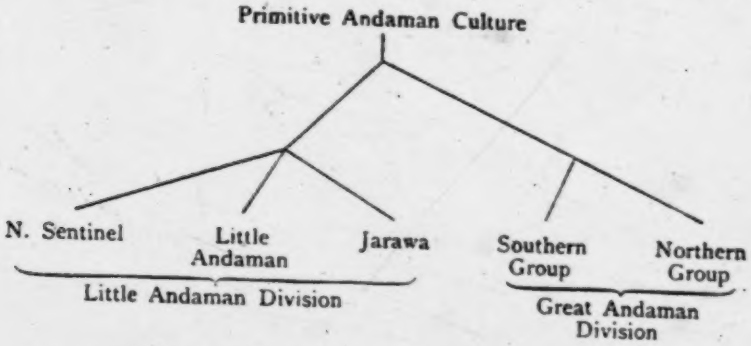
In such hypothetical reconstructions of the past it is necessary to proceed with extreme caution, as there is no means of controlling results. The method I have adopted is to compare first of all the different types of technological products or activities found in different parts of the Andamans in order to determine as far as possible what was the technical culture of the ancestors of the Andamanese when they first reached the islands, and what changes have taken place since the islands were occupied. It is only this primitive or generalised Andamanese culture that can be compared with that of the Semang or the Philippine Negritos. 174

From the point of view of technical culture the natives of the Andamans must be separated into two main divisions, which will be spoken of as the Great Andaman Division and the Little Andaman Division respectively[1]. The most plausible explanation of the differences of culture and language between these two divisions has been mentioned already. We must assume that when the islands were first peopled, or at some later time, the inhabitants of the Little Andaman became isolated from those of the Great Andaman. The language and the

[1] See Introduction, p. 12.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

174 technical culture of each of the two groups underwent a number of changes during the many centuries that followed. At a much later date, after the differences between the two divisions had been developed, and probably not many centuries ago, a party or several parties of natives must have made their way from the Little Andaman as far as Rutland Island. Here they came in conflict with the natives of the Great Andaman Division, and in this way arose the antagonism between the Jarawa (the immigrants from the Little Andaman) and the other natives of the South Andaman (who formed in 1858 the Aka-Bea tribe), which has lasted down to the present day. We shall find that the technical culture of the Jarawa has been only very slightly influenced by contact with the natives of the Great Andaman Division, and therefore differs very little from that of the Little Andaman at the present day.



I have provisionally included the natives of the North Sentinel Island in the Little Andaman Division. The ground for so doing is that the form of bow in use in the North Sentinel Island is similar to that of the Little Andaman and unlike that of the Great Andaman. Unfortunately, almost nothing is known about the technology of the North Sentinel, and nothing whatever about the language. It is possible that the natives of this outlying islet have been isolated for many centuries from both the Little Andaman and the Great Andaman, and further information about them might show that their technology is different in important respects from that of the Little Andaman.

Within the Great Andaman Division there are a number of differences in technology between the tribes of the North Andaman and those of the South Andaman and Middle Andaman.

In order to render the exposition and argument that follows more easily understood the supposed relations of the different types of culture

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

are shown in the form of a diagram or tree. The justification for this arrangement will appear as we proceed. 174

There is only very scanty information available about the technical culture of the Negritos of the Malay Peninsula, whom we may speak of as the Semang. There are differences of technology between the Semang of different parts, and a careful study of these differences would serve to throw much light on changes that have been introduced since the Semang were isolated from the rest of their race. There is no doubt that the Semang have adopted many elements of their present culture from their neighbours the Sakai and others. In some instances it is possible to trace this external influence, but in others it is doubtful whether we are dealing with a primitive Semang form or with a form adopted from their neighbours[1]. 171 174

The same thing must be said about the Philippine Negritos. Our information is not sufficient to enable us to discuss the local differences, nor to determine what elements of the culture have been introduced by contact with other races[2].

HABITATIONS.

The huts of the Andamanese are best understood by considering first of all the simplest and most temporary structures. A man away from the main camp at night (on a hunting expedition) erects for himself a simple shelter of leaves. Such hunting shelters vary considerably according to circumstances. In the rainy season they are built much more substantially than in the dry season. Sometimes shelter is found between the buttresses of large trees, a few leaves being added. There is, however, one type of hunting shelter that is usual. Two poles are cut and erected perpendicularly in the ground so that they stand about four feet apart and about four feet high. To the top of these is tied, with cane or creeper, a horizontal pole. A few poles or sticks of sufficient length are placed so as to lean against the horizontal pole at an angle of about 45°, the ends resting on the ground. On these are placed any leaves that can be obtained, 342

[1] The information here given as to the Semang is derived from two works, Skeat and Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, vol. I, quoted as *Skeat*, and Rudolf Martin, *Die Inlandstämme der Malayischen Halbinsel*, 1905, quoted as *Martin*.

[2] The information about the Philippine Negritos is derived from Reed, *Negritos of Zambales*, Manila, 1904, quoted as *Reed*, and A. B. Meyer, *Die Philippinen, II, Die Negritos*, Dresden, 1893, quoted as *Meyer*.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

501 canoe was 18 inches in diameter at the smaller end and perhaps 30 inches wide at the larger end.

This description shows that the canoe of the North Sentinel is on the whole more like that of the Little Andaman than like that of the Great Andaman.

501 171 It seems probable that the Andaman Islands were peopled by sea from the coast of Burma. If this were so, then the original ancestors of the Andamanese must have been in possession of canoes. A consideration of the present Andaman canoes suggests that their ancestors had canoes with a single outrigger on the starboard side, with a number of booms. Of the different methods of attaching the booms to the float, it is possible that the method now in use in the Little Andaman (and apparently also in the North Sentinel) is primitive, and that the Great Andaman attachment is an improvement that has been invented since the separation of the two divisions. On the other hand it is not impossible that the Great Andaman attachment is primitive, and that in the Little Andaman we have a degeneration that might be due to the fact that the Little Andaman (and equally the North Sentinel) provides much less scope for maritime pursuits than the Great Andaman.

The recent invention of the large canoe in the Great Andaman and the adoption of the principle of the oar shows that the Andamanese readily adopt new inventions when these are clearly of service to them.

Turning now to the Semang, as these people live inland they have no use for canoes. They make rafts of bamboos lashed together with which they float down the rivers, returning overland.

Some of the Philippine Negritos seem to live on the coast and possibly have canoes, but nothing is known about these.

CONCLUSION.

171 174 The examination of the technical culture of the Andamanese given above has been sufficient to enable us to make a few statements as to what was probably the culture of the Negritos before they were split up into isolated groups. It is highly probable that they obtained their subsistence solely by hunting and collecting vegetable products. They had bows and arrows, the form of bow being probably fairly similar to that used at the present day in the Little Andaman, while for hunting the larger animals they had arrows with detachable heads. They possibly had no knowledge of any way of making implements of stone,

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

but made use only of such materials as wood, bone, and shell. It is not probable that they possessed the art of making pottery, and their basketry and mat-work were probably confined to very simple forms. In their personal ornaments there is reason to think that they showed a fondness for bright yellow vegetable fibre, and made little or no use of the feathers of birds. The ornamentation of their utensils was probably confined to the use of the simplest forms of geometric design with a preponderance of the zig-zag and the lozenge. Finally their huts consisted of a single sloping roof sufficient to afford shelter for a single family or larger huts consisting of such small huts joined together. 171 174

We have seen that since the Andamanese have occupied their present home, or at any rate since the Great Andaman Division and the Little Andaman Division have been separated from one another, many changes, some of considerable importance, have taken place in the Andaman technology. In general it would seem that the technical culture of the Great Andaman has changed more than that of the Little Andaman. Putting aside the effect on the technology of the introduction of iron, there is no evidence that any of the changes that have taken place in the Great Andaman have been due to outside influence. Important modifications have taken place in the form of the bow, in the forms and technique of baskets, and in personal ornaments, and in all these instances there is no reason to think that these changes have not been brought about by the natives themselves without the influence of contact with other people. Their method of working iron, based as it is, to all appearance, on their former method of working shell, shows that even here, though the iron itself came to them from outside, and even though they may have learnt its use from seeing it used by aliens, still they have not learnt from others how to fashion the metal into shape by heating it. Thus, so far as their technical culture is concerned, there is no evidence whatever that the Andamanese have ever been influenced by contact with any other race since the time, now many centuries ago, when they first reached the islands.

On the other hand there is some probability that the ancestors of the Andamanese, before they first reached the islands, or at any rate before the isolation of the Little Andaman from the Great Andaman, had learnt from some other race how to make pottery, and it is possible that at the same time they may have acquired other elements of their culture, such as the outrigger canoe. We may even give a guess as to the particular culture from which the ancestors of the

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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Andamanese may have adopted these elements, which may well have been that of a branch of that people of whom an offshoot peopled the Nicobars.

Confirmation of these hypotheses, if confirmation be ever forthcoming, can only be obtained in the study of the history of races and of culture in south-eastern Asia. Until we have much fuller knowledge of the culture of the Semang and the Negritos of the Philippines, any conclusions that may be drawn from the study of the Andamanese alone must be regarded as provisional working hypotheses only, and it is as such that they are here put forward.

5: Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2 Nicobars AZ7 Maori OZ4

The Nicobarese values thus differ widely from the above. It will not be out of place here to mention of Eickstedt's samples from Upper Burma (Steffan, 1932) which gives 60% of O and 40% of B and stands somewhat closer to the Nicobarese data than the above figures of Mollison and Reddy.

In spite of the close cultural affinities of the Nicobarese with those of Malaya and Indo-China, in respect of their aversion to milk, the outrigger canoe, artificial deformation of head, the Malayan form of sniffing cheeks (Malay kiss), etc., the Nicobarese have so far remained ignorant of agricultu re It appears, therefore, that the Nicobarese migrated from a habitat where agriculture was unknown and it is among such peoples that their close congeners could be found.

Negritos, Australians and Polynesians

The above three ethnic stocks, though widely varying in physical features have in common the high element of blood group A. It remains to be seen how they stand in respect of the sub-groups of A and the MN factors. So far only the Australians have been subjected to the study of MN factors (Birdsell and Boyd, 1940).

The similarity of the above three peoples in respect of the blood groups was pointed out to some extent by Howells (1934) and as such Gates' statement (p. 28) is probably unjustified. The percentages of B come to 14·1 in the case of Negritos of the Philippines (Grove, 1926), to 5·00 in the case of those from the Andaman Islands and to 2·2 in the case of the Hawaiians* (Nigg, 1930). Samoa with its fairly large content of B of 19·4% (Shapiro, 1940) is already a problem. The paucity of B among the Australians is already well-known. All these appear to show that B is a later instrusion in this area and A was predominant among the Negritos and the Australoids as it is now. The Polynesian movements began towards the dawn of Christian era from Indonesia when B did not probably reach there. This might have influenced the Nicobarese as well and the 3·68% of A may be Polynesian in origin.

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* Time is ripe enough for discarding Phillips Maori data by now (see Shapiro, Howells, Graydon and Simmons, and Godley). They are compared with the recent data below :—

O	A	B	AB	
47·5%	39·5%	1·0%	12·0%	(Phillips, 1931 n=200)
41·2%	58·1%	0·7%	0	(Graydon & Simmons, 1)945 ; n=267)
45·26%	48·74%	4·07%	1·91%	(Godley, 1946-47 ; n=835)
44·27%	52·96%	1·57%	1·20%	(Paddock, 1946 ; n=1335)

5: Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Nicobars AZ7
Maori CZ4

It will be thus futile to argue that the Negritos, who by race and culture, appear undoubtedly to be the oldest inhabitants of this area, were strong in B, unless we assume that B is lost. At least that will be similar to the supposition of Phillips who contented that the Morioris, the ancestor of the present Maoris, belonged to group B.

N
A
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Summary

(1) 34 Onges grouped from the island of Little Andaman show the following distribution :—

O—14·71%, A—67·65%, B—5·88% and AB—11·76%.

(2) 22 Andamanese show the following distribution :—

O—9·09%, A—59·09%, B—22·72% and AB—9·09%.

(3) 4 Jarawa children were all found to belong to group O.

(4) 136 Nicobarese belong to the following groups :—

O—86·03%, A—3·68%, B—10·29%.

N
A
199
143
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(5) Negrito affinities are discussed. Nicobarese blood groups show the highest O in India and Indonesia. Polynesian elements are probably evidenced by the presence of A.

(6) The Negritos, the Australians and the Polynesians all have high A and the B as seen in Samoa or Melanesia probably reached these islands after the Polynesian movements began in the dawn of Christian era.

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6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

841 resembling these practices in any other part of the world. Never hitherto
171 described, they should be carefully considered. This would require a lengthy description, for which there is no space here. We may recall that menstruating Onge women are allowed to circulate freely at all times. An interesting detail
[751] is that the *naquinēghē* of first menstruations are worn by relations around their neck as having health-giving properties. The women, as we know, use special
841 soft, long leaves, collected for them by their husbands, as absorbents. They
[824] are the leaves of Myristica longifolia or of Tretanthera lanceofolia both species serving the purpose. They are applied under the *naquinēghē* and drawn back between the legs to be secured above the buttocks. – Sexual intercourse is
[834] forbidden during the menstrual period even by the Onge : illness – a swelling
[753] of the arms or legs – would follow. A curious theory about the reason for menstruation in very young girls is that it is a result of previous sexual contacts stimulated by nose rubbing – the Onge substitute for kissing. They ignore the
832 unhygienic practice of kissing with the lips, and never even kiss their children. Only nose rubbing is practiced. The anatomical structure of the Onge nose, which almost totally lacks nasal bones and is very fleshy, may explain this transference of sensation from nearby regions, i. e. the lips.

844 Births take place in the forest and are surrounded by no hygienic precautions or disinfection as conceived by us. Clay is applied to stem puerperal bleeding, without provoking infection. The only assistant is the pregnant woman's husband, and sometimes one or two old women. Their ability equals that of a herdsman delivering his goat of a kid. No inconvenience arises, in either instance, from lack of precautions. – The tiny, tender and graceful bodies
[751] of Onge infants are smeared with ochre and light-coloured clay for hygienic purposes. This is done immediately after birth, and affords some protection against the teeming legions of mosquitos and ticks that plague Little Andaman. The infant is never washed in water, not even at the very moment of birth. The placenta is buried 30 or 40 cms deep, under the bed of naked branches upon which the mother delivered her baby.

842 An argument that deserves much attention concerns the possible link
143 between lack of hygiene and sterility among the Onge. A vast number of married couples have no offspring, thereby threatening their group with extinction. Consanguinity could be given as a cause : let us examine it. No doubt the Onge are related to each other as a consequence of long interbreeding in their island with no foreigners admitted. These conditions afford an ideal field for studying the effects of endogamy on man. Nowhere in the world, as far as I know, are a people so isolated as in Little Andaman. Inbreeding has existed at 100 % ever since remote times. In other words, the Onge would seem to be the most highly inbred human population known up to the present. Could this fact alone, aside from unhealthy habits, explain their present widespread sterility ? Special
174 studies on the subject should be undertaken, keeping in mind that the Onge have certainly inhabited Little Andaman for thousands of years, on the evidence of my excavations in their kitchen-middens.

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Jarawa

101 [197] [174] [648] Although the Jarawa inhabit the jungles of South and Middle Andaman, they do not belong to the Great Andaman group of tribes, but are culturally and linguistically related to the Ongi. It is assumed that they originally came from Little Andaman. The Jarawa owe their survival to their having remained isolated as a result of their implacable hostility toward the British (now Indian) colonial settlement. Information on their raids and the punitive expeditions against them will be found in the respective volumes of the Census of India. [161] In 1931 their number was estimated at either 70 (BONINGTON) or 120 (HUTTON). Their culture conforms to the general Andamanese pattern, but differs in various respects from that of their former neighbours, the extinct Great Andaman tribes. Except for their communal huts and such of their material possessions as were found during punitive expeditions, practically nothing is known about it. Our knowledge of their language is restricted to lists of words col-

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P 51]

CHAPTER VIII

THE PEOPLE

101 144 563

The study of the people of the Andamans is rendered extremely interesting by virtue of the great diversities in the types of population. Obviously for the islands like the Andamans the diversities of population are far out of proportion. The islands remained as an abode of the aborigines, the negritoes, in complete seclusion and the only outside interference that had tampered the islands were the occasional raids by the sea pirates from Malaya. The beliefs about the occasional exchanges of commodities and ideas of the pirates with the Andamanese [114] and the trade of the Andamanese for being sold as slaves in the courts of Siam and Cambodia are still now questions of doubt. However, it 563 was only at the end of the 18th century, with the attempt of the formation of settlements and later on, of the penal settlement, that there began an influx of foreign peoples, mainly from the different parts of the 167 144 mainland of India. With the formation of the penal colony, convicts 101 were brought over to the islands in numbers and also a few attempts of free colonisation by some people from Burma and India were made. The convicts who were from the different parts of India and the free colonizors who were diverse enough in their social and cultural traits gave a character of heterogeneity to the islands. It was only after the attainment of the independence that the settlement of the East Bengal refugees and of some people from South India is taking place in the Andamans. This is going to add further to the cultural diversity of the islands. This scheme of colonisation of the East Bengal refugees and of some people from South India is the first attempt of some importance for the permanent colonization in the islands.

Such a variety in the types of people, can be broadly divided into 144 three groups. 563 101

(a) The aboriginal population.
(b) The Later Settlers, and
(c) The New Settlers. 174

The aboriginal population belongs to the negrito stock and therefore, 101 has an affinity with the Semangs and Sakais of Malaya, the Veddas of [144] Ceylon and the other negrito groups of Southeast Asia. Some attribute the origin of these aborigines to the settlement of some Portuguese negro slaves who had survived by coming to these islands after a ship-

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

174 wreck. However, this idea is totally untenable. On the other hand
101 there are sufficient grounds to believe that these aborigines came down from the lower region of Burma. On their arrival at the islands, they moved to the different parts of the islands and very likely, because of the different types of physical environment they developed different traits and as such a few groups of the population are discernible. They are the

(a) The Jarawas,
(b) " Onges,
(c) " Andamanese, and
(d) " Sentinelese.

101 All these groups, though physically akin to each other, have deve-
131 loped different social and economic traits and the ways of earning their food and constructing their shelters are conditioned by their immediate environment. These aborigines who had spread over the different parts of the Great Andamans are experiencing a gradual shrinkage in their areas of command because of the gradual expansion of the areas of the new settlers. The Jarawas are to-day confined to the western part of the South and Middle Andaman, the Andamanese, who are extremely limited in number are along the coastal areas, the Onges in the Little Andaman and Rutland Is. and the Sentinelese in the Sentinel islands. The relation of aborigines with the foreign people became one of deep distrust and hostility with some of the groups, especially the Jarawas and the Sentinelese, which has been very rightly explained by M. V. Portman as an outcome of the unfriendly attitude of the foreigners. The Onges and the Andamanese have however become very friendly with the foreigners. The number of the aboriginal population of the Andamans, is undoubtedly a matter of considerable speculation and it is more so in the case of the Jarawas and the Sentinelese whereas, for the Onges and the Andamanese the estimate is fairly correct.

161 The aboriginal population of the Andamans is fast declining in number and there is apprehension that inspite of the best of attempts, the chances of the survival of the aborigines for long ages are extremely limited. Undoubtedly, the aboriginal population of the Andamans is an object of interesting study. Such an interest grows out of its being the only purest negrito group in the world and the modes of their life depict very well the nature of symbiotic relationship existing between
[178] man and environment. Such a primitive economy of hunting and collecting has not changed appreciably inspite of the impact with the foreigners except imbibing some foreign vices.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

original type can still be found in the Little Andaman. The similarity 171
of the arrows are also striking and this has been rightly observed by 441
Dr. Cipriani,[1] 'Similarity also with the arrows. This consists of a barbed detachable head connected to the shaft by a string. The harpoon arrow like its near relative and probable forefather, the harpoon spears, offers an interesting question in ethnography. Although the Andamans are widely separated from Malaya and Malaya from the Philippines, the three groups of negritoes have harpoon arrows, while such weapons do not seem to be present in other regions of Asia.' The huts of the Andamanese are also the outcome of further improvements over the original negrito shelter found among the other negrito groups.

In the general habits and the modes of living, a good deal of simi- 171
larity if not identity is maintained with the other negritoes. But changes 178
and modifications have crept up among the different groups in response to the different environments. Some of the original habits have been totally forgotten and some equipments have been further improved upon or in some cases, totally forgotten. The Jarawas, who are believed to have arrived in the Great Andamans from the South had the knowledge of construction and use of the canoes which served as the means of their movement from the south to the north, have totally forgotten both the construction and use of it.

Though the changes brought about among the Andamanese in response to the environment and time is in no way inconsiderable to give them an impress of individuality, little room for doubt is left that they belong to the big family of the negritoes whose remnants are only found to-day scattered over the different parts of southeast Asia.

Origin of the Andamanese

The presence of such a small group of negritoes in the deep solitude 174
of physical separation from the other countries obviously arouses the question as to how and wherefrom they came. The attributes of the Andamanese, prove very well their affinity with the negrito groups. Much to the curiosity of the observers, the tribal people of the Nicobar Islands do not show any affinity with the Andamanese culturally or materially and such contrasts are important aspects of anthropological study. However, the distribution of the negrito group in these isolated islands have been explained by some as the passage of the people from the Lower reaches of Burma and it is accepted with greater unanimity be-

1 Cipriani, L—On the origin of the Andamanese, Andaman & Nicobar Islands, Census of India, 1961. [113]

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

174 cause of reasonable grounds. In this s[illegible] for the origin, some one has gone so far as to advocate a shipwreck [illegible]ortuguese Negro slaves whose survivors ultimately became the Andamanese. A number of theories about the origin of the Andamanese have been put forward by the different authorities.

The idea of the shipwreck and the survival of the Portuguese Negro slaves can be discarded forthwith. The negroes of Africa, though physically very much akin to the Andamanese, present appreciable differences and secondly the date of arrival of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean was 'only after the circumnavigation of the Cape of Good Hope, this would mean their coming sometime after the 15th Century, allowing not more than 500 years for the existence of the supposed shipwreck in the Andaman islands. The objections are 'great differences physi-
172 cally and materially from the people of Africa. Kitchen middens date
174 back to milleniums i.e. long before the arrival of the Portuguese anywhere in Asia."[1]

One of the very good clues for ascertaining the date of arrival of the Andamanese has been pointed out by Dr. Cipriani and he has conducted such a study in some parts of the Little Andaman and the Great Andamans. It is the study of the kitchen middens, that is, the accumulations of refuse, mostly of kitchen. Kitchen middens are fairly widespread and they are obviously the relics of a group of persons living in one spot. The kitchen middens, as they constitute the refuse of a group of persons, consist mostly of empty shells, nearly all bivalve, thrown after the contents have been eaten. The age of the kitchen midden can be calculated by counting the number of shells and the number that can be eaten by a person in one day. Cipriani writes that, 'Considering how many shells can be eaten everyday by one person and estimating the number of persons, that through the ages constituted to the formation of the deposit, it is possible to calculate the age of the kitchen middens, After the studies carried on the Onges we may say that every kitchen midden is formed as a result of the activities of a small group of some 30 to 40 persons who may frequent the spot for 40 to 50 days in a year. Their food is rarely formed of molluscs, they resort to these only when there is nothing to eat..... In this way many of the Andamanese accumulations, often huge, required a long period for their formation, a period to be calculated in thousands of years. Even if we reduce this number to half, the resulting antiquity

1 Ciprini, L—On the origin of the Andamanese, etc.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
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is not in accordance with the opinion that the Andamanese are descendants of shipwrecked Portuguese Negro slaves.' Though this process seems to be very crude for the determination of the exact date of the arrival of the Andamanese, a rough guess can very well be made. Cipriani has also advocated the measurement of the residual radioactivity of charcoal at different levels for the determination of the antiquity of the Andamanese. It is quite obvious that further research in these lines in the future can only give us a more precise idea about the date of the arrival of the aborigines.

The region wherefrom the oborigines arrived and the route of their migration are also matters of considerable controversy. It is believed that the Andaman and Nicobar islands were connected by land with the Arakan folds of Burma in the late Tertiary period, but this is also not very certain. According to Brown, the authority on the anthropology of the Andamans, the negritoes migrated from the Arakan region of Burma if there had been any land connection and if not, they migrated, not by land, but by sea from the Burmese coast (Pegu or Arakan). Brown says, 'The N. E. Monsoon could drift them thence on to the Andamans. It is conceivable that they might have travelled from Sumatra by the way of the Nicobars but the N. E. Monsoon would have appeased their progress in this direction while the S. W. Monsoon would have driven them to the coast of the Andamans. It is hardly possible to imagine them coming from the Malaya Peninsula across the wide stretch of the Andaman Sea. The balance of possibility is in favour of the view that the Andamans were peopled either by land or by sea, from the region of the Lower Burma.'[1] It is probable that the negritoes moved from Burma either at a time when a direct land connection was achieved or when shallow waters in the sea facilitated movement by the rafts of the aborigines, but the former has been considered to be thoroughly untenable because of the absence of any mammalia in the Andamans and this proves that if at all there had been any land connection of Burma and Andamans, it must have been before the evolution of the mammalia. The deep sea researches of Molengraaf (1921) have been utilised by Kaudern (1939)[2] to interpret the probable routes of migration of the negritoes into the Andaman Islands. In the Quaternary period, there had been alternating glacial and interglacial periods because of the

1 Brown, A. R—The Andaman Islands.

2 Kaudern, W—Notes on the geographical distribution of the pygmies and their possible afflicties; Etno. Stud. g, 1939.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

174 133 change of the climate. In the glacial period, there had been a fall in the level of the sea because of the fact that a great volume of water of the sea had transformed into ice. Hence in one such glacial period, as believed by Kaudern, there was a fall of 300 metres in the sea-level which established a direct contact with Burma facilitating the movement of the negritoes into the islands. But the absence of the Negrito group in the Nicobar Islands, only about 100 miles off the Andamans, invokes inquiry. This conspicuous absence of the negritoes in the Nicobars has been explained by Kaudern in this way:

'If the pygmies, when they migrated from the continent towards the south, were able to reach the former (the Andamans) but not the latter islands (the Nicobars), it meant that there has been at some time a fall of sea level of nearly 300 metres, but not as much as 800 metres in these tracts.'[1] As the Ten Degree channel exists between the Andamans and the Nicobars, the movement of the Negritoes further south was stopped.

174 There has been an attempt of linking up some of the tales of Hindu Mythology, Ramayana with the land and people of the Andamans. Detection of such a link has been speculated in search of the origin of the aboriginal population. Though there is no room for doubt of the affinity of the aborigines of the Andamans with the negritoes, as established from the studies of the physical and cultural anthropology, Shri S. K. Gupta, though not an anthropologist, has been a strong advocate of the opinion that the aborigines of the Andamans are the 'kiratas' of Ramayana. He writes, 'According to modern anthropology they are of the negrito stock. But according to Ramayana they are kiratas. These kiratas have been described in our literature as shiny black, with a copper coloured head of hair (Tamramurdhaja), bulging eyes, strong teeth. The description recorded several thousands years ago, holds good to-day All these tribes have copper coloured curly short hair growing as it were in separate insulated tufts."[2] Further knowledge about them is that they live on meat and fish.

The affinity of the Andamancse has been further confirmed by citing some native appellations of the Andamanese which show a striking phonetical similarity to those of the kiratas e.g., *Aka-kora* (*da*). *Aka-kede* (*da*), *Aka-kol* (*da*) etc and also the phonetical similarity of the Onge word *Boan* with Santal word *Bonga* both signifying God.

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[113] 1 Kaudern, W—Notes on the geographical distribution of the pygmies etc, Etno. Stud. 9, 1939.
2 Gupta, S. K—Andaman & Nicobar Islands, 1951.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

Sri Gupta, in conclusion, has been tempted to emphasise with firm conviction that the Andamanese are, therefore, very probably a remnant of the dwellers on the marshes of Bengal and the uplands of Santhal Paragana or the dense forests of Burma and Malaya. 174

As regards the native appellations and phonetic similarity, such apparent similarity is possibly evidenced in many groups separated from each other by long distances. Similarly, the diet of raw meat and fish is and was common to all hunting and collecting tribes of the world. Independent evolution of many tribes has been akin to each other and therefore, the further geological studies and studies in anthropology can only confirm the idea.

Since the arrival of the Andamanese in the islands, a gradual separation has taken place among the different branches of population who had moved to different parts of the islands. The micro-environment has exerted considerable influence in moulding these people ultimately giving birth to a number of sub-groups. However, the broad generalisations are their hunting and collecting economy, complete ignorance about the domestication of the plants and the animals, except the Onges who have learnt only for the last 30 years the domestication of dogs. Family is the smallest social unit and a few families constitute the communal hut. Each tribal sub-group has its hunting territory, within which it maintains a more or less nomadic life till they return to the main settlement where they have a communal hut. 105 174 [592] [423]

The doctrine of the environmental determinism exemplifies itself in the adaptation of the aborigines to the local environment. In their life, they never look beyond their local geography and the materials for houses, the food, the ornaments and every thing that they are in need of, are collected from the small territory in which a community lives. So the obvious conclusion may be drawn that the coastal tribes are dependent on fishing, turtle hunting and gathering of shells and oysters and the interior tribes on hunting. This type of primitive economy, based on hunting and collecting, cannot support more than two to four persons per square mile as against more than 300 per square mile in agricultural lands and again the density varies to a great extent according to the type of agriculture practised e.g., rice-growing regions support the maximum density of population. In spite of their all-round self-sufficiency they have some connections with the later settlers. For the want of iron, tobacoo, distilled liquor, opium etc., these aborigines (jarawas) either make periodic raids on the settlements (Onges and Andamanese) or have established friendly relations with the settlers. The necessity 105 105 177 439

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

105 177 439 of all these things, locally not available, was felt by the aborigines only due to their slight contact with the later settlers.

However, a broad two-fold division of the aboriginal population can be made.

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1. Aborigines of the Great Andaman Group — All the aborigines of the Great Andamans with the exception of the Jarawas, the most hostile aborigines living in the southwestern part of the Andamans.

2. Aborigines of the Little Andaman Group — the Onges of the Little Andaman, the Jarawas of the South Andaman & the Sentinelese of the North Sentinel island.

As to how these two groups came into being and their areas of distribution, various theories have been put forward. Long after the attainment of the individual traits of these two groups, a continuous northward movement of the aborigines from the Little Andaman was in vogue and one such party had arrived in the Great Andamans who have been lately known as the Jarawas, who were all along subjected to pressure of the local natives belonging to the Great Andaman Group, the *Aka bea* of South Andaman. The very development of the hostility of the Jarawas and their complete seclusion from the other aboriginal groups owe to their being continuously subjected to the adversities. B. V. Eickstedt[1] has been of the opinion that the aborigines of the Andamans entered into the Great Andamans in two groups—the earlier group comprises the Onge, Jarawas and the Sentinelese while to the later group belong the ancestors of the Great Andaman Group. The passage of the Great Andaman Group has led to a constant southward push of the earlier group which has ultimately led to their habitation in the islands of the south i.e., the Little Andaman, Rutland Island and a part of the South Andaman. Cipriani has been emphatic enough in justifying the views of Brown that the Jarawas reached the Great Andamans from the south. Though they are supposed to have come from the Great Andamans by canoes, the art of constructing canoes and of using them have been completely forgotten and Cipriani believes that such instances of the loss of knowledge of the construction of canoes and their uses are many. A list of the names of the camps, given by Cipriani in the 1951 census, dating back to antiquity and having a good supply of drinking water and of

101 174 182 501

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1 Eickstedt, B. V — Die Negrite der Andaman (Autho Ans).

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

food lie in a chain running from north to south along the islands between Little and Great Andamans. This has been one of the most convincing proofs of the movement of the aborigines from the south to the north. Cipriani writes, 'All these organisations, with geographical names, camps, places for water and food, indicate an ancient navigating experience moving from the south to the north. About a century and half ago the Jarawas are said to have still been in possession of canoes and the same is said of the savage inhabitants of the North Sentinel Island less than 50 years ago. In a surprisingly short period the technique of making canoes seems to have been completely forgotten as a result of the difficulties of using them."

THE ABORIGINES OF THE GREAT ANDAMAN GROUP

Andamanese, as they are called, were the most widespread and the largest in number. They had split up ultimately into a few sub-groups from the north to the south. The different groups are *Aka-kora, Aka-boa, Aka-jeru and Aka-bea.* There has been a deplorable decline in the number of these aborigines who in the bygone ages exceeded all other groups in number. At present the number is only 23, a considerable reduction from the number 625 only in the beginning of the 20th century. Though the present importance of the Andamanese because of the extremely poor number is far from significant, they are of no small interest for the study of the anthropologist, especially the impact of these people with the later settlers.

The consequences of the impact of the outsiders on the Andamanese have been far from satisfactory. With the formation of the penal colony, the aborigines continued to develop feud and on the 14th of May, 1959 a clash between the aborigines and the Govt. occurred which is known as the Battle of Aberdeen. Aberdeen is at the heart of the town of Port Blair. Efforts of pacifying these aborigines were made and for bringing them into closer terms of amity, the 'Andamanese Home' was started in 1863 by Rev. H. Corbyn Chaplain. They were employed for working with the convicts taught to speak English and wear clothes. The consequence of such an impact has been alarmingly devastating because of the infiltration of a number of vices and diseases which only paved the way for their impoverishment and decay (For further particulars see demographic characteristics).

2 Ciprianai, L — On the origin af the Andamanese, Andaman & Nicobar Islands, Census of India, 1951.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

have always been protected by the sea, which is almost invariably rough, and by a thick tropical forest which extends without a break over more than a thousand square kilometres, unpenetrated by outsiders and almost impenetrable.

THE ARIOTO

The decline of the Andamanese began with the first landing of foreigners on the island and is similar to that of so many other primitive peoples who have come into contact with civilization; a detailed account of their decline would be long and pitiful. In the case of the Andamanese, however, demographic influences arising thousands of years ago must also be taken into account. Cut off by circumstances into small groups and separated at random by large expanses of sea or by the impenetrable forest, they gradually developed somatic and cultural differences of the greatest scientific interest. Among other things, languages became modified to such an extent that members of different groups are unable to understand one another. The Onges, for example, who in my opinion are the nearest relations of the Jarawas, are quite unable to understand their language.

The peoples of Great Andaman were the first to encounter civilization, when from 1858 onwards the Indian Government, then in English hands, decided to institute at Port Blair a penitentiary for the many political prisoners after the famous 1857 mutiny. Subsequently the government sent over convicts serving long or life sentences. The life of the deportees was atrocious during the first few years, owing to malaria and the absence of medical supplies. To the majority, therefore, deportation to the Andamans meant a death sentence. Even today the only large brick building in the Andamans and Nicobars is the penitentiary at Port Blair.

Before the building of the penitentiary the English had made several desultory expeditions to the Andamans, and even before then other foreigners had landed on the archipelago. It is known that Marco Polo, probably passing within sight of the archipelago in 1292, gave it the name of Angaman, and declared the inhabitants to be ferocious cannibals with dogs' heads. As a result, even the Asian pirates were for centuries afraid to land on the islands. The barbarous forays of Arab slave traders later awoke in the islanders

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Arioto

in the local language, as opposed to the people of the interior, the *Eremtaga* – appear to have numbered between six and eight thousand. Over the years their place has been taken by more than thirteen thousand foreigners, most of whom were deportees, enjoying relative liberty as servants of government officials, farmers and foresters. The settlers, voluntarily or involuntarily, introduced the islanders to alcohol and tobacco, forcing them to turn to the foreigners in order to satisfy their craving. In the famous and extremely frank work of the English explorer M. V. Portman (*A History of our Relations with the Andamanese*, Calcutta, 1899) official letters are reproduced which give precise instructions in the matter to government officials. The result of these instructions was to transform the Arioto into alcohol and tobacco addicts. Syphilis was passed to the native women by the deportees, and from them to their men. When, a few years after the mass importation of prisoners, the government authorities became aware of the infection among the Arioto, not one of them had escaped. The miserable twenty-three survivors of the eight to nine thousand of a century ago show the ultimate result only too well, and their final extinction is imminent.

Before the advent of the new civilization, the Arioto had divided up into at least ten distinct communities, but without any true tribal organization. They respected a form of chief, chosen by tacit consent for his personal qualities rather than by name or by birth-right; but the chiefs acted merely as paternal advisers, to be respected in times of trouble, with no illusions of authority. No one commanded, and none obeyed: all were content to follow the whim of the moment, with no conception of social obligation.

When the foreigners arrived, there were five main groups of Arioto on North Andaman, the Cari, Chede, Cora, Jeru and Tabo. Another five groups were in South Andaman, the Balawa, Bea, Bogig-iab, Joi and Col. With the numerical decline of the Arioto, who had always been endogamous within their group, a tendency arose for the survivors to merge and inter-marry, so that the twenty-three alive today are in fact the result of the mixing of the northern and southern Arioto, and of these with Indians and Burmese. The chief of these twenty-three individuals is Loca, a name in itself an indication of this ethnic mixture. Loca means 'whiskers', and he himself has a moustache, whereas pure Negritos have no body or facial hair.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

144 Pesekem), although they are distinguished from them by profound cultural differences. These differences exist even between the three groups of Negritos. Whereas in Malacca and the Philippines they reflect the influx of superior cultures, these have had very little influence in the Andamans. For this reason the Andamanese have perforce remained more faithful to very ancient customs, and are also somatically the least altered.

[121] The study of the last remaining groups, the Onges and Jarawas, now on the point of extinction if they are not protected, is thus a matter of singular urgency and significance.

144 174 We know nothing of how the Negritos arrived in their present homes with somatic and cultural characteristics quite distinct from those of any other human type. Apart from some dubious remains excavated in Indochina we do not even have any fossil remains to show their probable original distribution. There is, however, reason to believe that they were once very widely dispersed, judging from the evidence of their presence today as isolates widely separated from each other.

No traces of them remain in the continental areas adjacent to the Andamans, apart from the Malaccan peninsula. At one time it was thought that traces of a Negrito element were to be found in the Kadir of Hindustan, revealed by the occasional presence of curly hair. I have myself visited the area, and must refute this suggestion; the people have nothing of the Negrito in their body structure, their hair is markedly longer than the Negrito and they have body hair. The kinky hair (never woolly) occasionally seen may derive from distant Negro crosses, or may be an accidental similarity. I have seen this type of curliness even in Europeans who certainly had no Negro or pygmy ancestry.

It has also been asserted, possibly with some foundation, although there are few data available, that there are traces of the Negrito among the people of New Guinea, such as the Tapiro. Although of small stature, their general characteristics would seem to relate the Tapiro more closely to the Papuans; they have yellowish skin, probably the lightest in that area, they are, again, hirsute and there is a marked absence of Negrito characteristics in the proportions of the body.

142 144 The first thing that strikes one on meeting the Onges – and indeed the Andamanese in general – is the exceptional blackness and

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

222 784 776 824 twining up into the trees, and the shorter-stemmed yams, are never disturbed. The Onges merely dig down, at a respectful distance from the plant, certain of finding what they want. On no account must there be any signs of the theft for the spirit to see, so they quietly take off roots or tubers some way from the main stem and leave the rest, patting the earth down afterwards and covering the place with leaves. The guardian spirit, not, apparently, all-seeing, notices nothing, as the plant continues to flourish, improved by the root pruning. Everyone, guardian spirit and Onges alike, is happy.

[185] [114] This unconscious preservation may well be the result of a decree, in some remote past, by an Onge seer who realized the danger of killing off the entire plants and invented the guardian spirits as a deterrent. The Negritos still make similar use of roots and tubers; [171] Skeet and Blagden fifty years ago referred to the Semang eating poisonous wild yams, having removed the toxic substances.[1]

241 174 It is interesting that both in the past and even today a number of peoples at a very early stage of cultural development have progressed from the gathering of the wild yams of South-East Asia to the first signs of cultivation and agriculture. It is possible that they were the first plants ever to be cultivated by primitive Man, the Negritos with their digging sticks delving then as they do now; the genus is certainly a very ancient one, and some species, such as *Dioscorea alata*, may have spread from Asia to Africa and Oceania, and even to America, with the beginning of cultivation. But this is a stage of development which the peoples of the Andaman never reached.

412 [177] [222] The digging stick, the only implement the Onges have with which to get at the roots and tubers, has in recent times been affected, though to a very limited extent by the spread of iron. Only a few individuals possess a primitive iron tool, half a metre long, cylindrical in shape and usually not more than one and a half centimetres in diameter and flattened into a form of blade at one end. The vast majority still have only the age-old stick made of hard wood, hardly recognizable as a tool and crudely fashioned into a point at one end. This tool, so primitive that it can easily be mistaken for an odd

[1] It is interesting that the American Aborigines, especially in Brazil, do the same with manioc, but I saw nothing of this nature in the Andamans.

178 392 also acquired more recent additions, so that any primitive ignorance on their part of an art so ancient and generally advantageous as that of making fire is hardly credible. One thing is, however, certain: they do not today know how to produce fire.

174 178 In order to explain their ignorance, one must remember the surprising speed with which primitive peoples forget even essential facts, even details of their own life. They can forget their father's or mother's name, or both, and important events of less than fifty years ago are sometimes forgotten by those who took part in them. Cultural regression following the forgetting of ethnographical facts, even essential facts such as the making of fire, is a phenomenon widespread in every continent. Widely differing elements of culture spread out from a number of centres and were forced to adapt to natural surroundings often incomparably different from the centre from which they spread. Sometimes these cultural migrations led to progress, but more often to regression. Particularly in the marginal areas furthest from the centres of culture, enforced modifications were profound, with ensuing cultural impoverishment. The Andamanese, probably arriving from areas to the east, remain as survivors of a series of disasters both biological and non-biological, in one of the marginal areas which, although a natural paradise, has been most affected by adverse circumstances. It is, therefore, hardly surprising if, like the Eskimos, they no longer reflect the brilliance of the past, either biologically or culturally. A similar situation is to be found in populations much larger and more advanced than the Andamanese.

105 It is not strictly accurate to define the Onges as primitive; they should more properly be regarded as involuted. They possess certain essentials which almost entitle them to recognition as a civilized people: religious concepts are not unknown, they bury their dead, they are monogamous, and they have their own language. While they are unable to produce fire they can preserve it and know how to use it, they make excellent bows, arrows, harpoons and canoes, and they know how to produce pottery.

Nevertheless, they have no agriculture, and do not keep domestic animals except the dog, introduced only within living memory and to them a faithful friend. They have no idea of the use of metals, and make no stone implements apart from the tiny splinters used for shaving. They have never developed any graphic arts and have

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

only a crude form of body decoration based on geometrical designs. 105

They are, therefore, to be included among the most backward peoples of mankind, who have remained in a very simple form of social structure. They have never progressed to any elementary [614] organization of themselves into 'clans', or even 'tribes'. They have, [619] in short, the psychological outlook and concepts of other primitive peoples, modified by local conditions. The evidence in favour of [174] the Onges of today being the product of cultural development over a very long period appears to me overwhelming, though their development has already been hindered by involution and, we must presume, a series of setbacks.

The Onges have thus remained culturally isolated and this has 105 deprived them of the opportunities offered to the rest of the world. 174 The time came when they ceased to receive or to elaborate new concepts, and from that point regression was inevitable. There is abundant evidence that their culture dates back to Palaeolithic times, so that they now represent the last and decadent expression of a very lengthy stage of biological and cultural development, a point of arrival, and not one of departure. Everywhere in the Andamans there are signs of an ancient culture which must once have spread over much of the world. It is neither logical nor practical to explain the similarity of many concepts as a series of convergences, all of independent origin; ideas must have spread outwards with the passage of time and the gradual population of habitable areas.

No study of present-day life on the Andamans can be complete 172 without an attempt to build up a valid picture of the islands as they were centuries ago, and this we can do with some accuracy by a study of the kitchen-middens. These abound on Great Andaman, but few have been excavated, and then only briefly reported. Those of Little Andaman have not, for obvious reasons, previously been investigated, but they are of considerable importance for the light they cast on their own development and history, and on that of similar mounds outside the Andamans. It is only on Little Andaman that they are still being built up, continually increasing in size, forming a unique, direct and continuous link with life on the island thousands of years ago.

Provided they have not been damaged – for example by rain or

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If we may deduce from the evidence of the middens, pottery arrived in the Andamans at the same time as the pig, bones of which appear only in the upper levels; but we know nothing of the people responsible for the introduction of either. It is, however, certain that both arrived in Great Andaman and Little Andaman together.

There are indications that Little Andaman was the first to feel the benefit of pottery, possibly introduced by a light-skinned people. There are, as I have said, significant variations of skin colour and stature among the Onges; some have markedly lighter skins than the other islanders, and one would assume that this feature entered Little Andaman from the Nicobars with the unknown people who brought with them pottery and the pig. The people as an entity have disappeared as a result of inter-marriage with the indigenous population, while pigs reverted to the wild state and flourished, even spreading from one island to another by swimming (I can vouch for this, having seen them do it).[1]

The indications are that there were migrations from Little Andaman to Great Andaman long before those from which the Jarawas derive. In certain respects they resemble the Onges, whereas the surviving Arioto appear to represent a purer stock. The Onges seem to have acquired foreign blood in relatively recent times, perhaps when pigs and pottery appeared, when the kitchen-middens of Great Andaman were already being built up by the Arioto, but before the migration northwards by which the Jarawas reached their present home. Much more intensive investigation of the middens will, however, be needed before these hypotheses can be confirmed.

At Golpahar there were within the midden five graves containing human bones, not in anatomical position, and clearly filled in with fresh earth. I was surprised to find only the long bones, skulls and jawbones; the remaining bones could not be found. This may be explained by the custom among the Arioto (still prevailing

[1] One thing is puzzling: the three remaining groups of primitive Negritos in Malacca and the Philippines have the arrow harpoon with a detachable head. This is particularly valuable in the forests against the pigs, which cannot escape into the undergrowth once they have been hit. But it is difficult to see how or why the arrow harpoon reached the Andamans, where there were at that time no large mammals. It seems necessary to postulate the former spread of the weapon with the Negritos over a very wide area and its use against a much wider range of animals.

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position by reed cords, which were to be tied in front of the snout, ending in a cord by which the skull was to be hung above the hunter's bed. No sooner said than done, and at the beginning of 1954 all the old trophies were thrown out into the forest, to be gradually replaced by the new ones. Fortunately I had collected some of the old trophies before the 'revelation'!

From the evidence of the middens it would appear that these variations in burial customs have no practical basis, and probably all derive from similar 'revelations'. Further investigations in a large series of the deposits, enabling dated comparisons to be made, would be extremely revealing.

Even allowing for these sudden alterations in established customs, it is clear that their elaboration indicates slow and hardly perceptible development over long periods of time and the middens must be dated in millennia. The hypothesis put forward by some scholars that the Andamanese are descended from negro slaves who escaped while on their way to the Portuguese colonies in India in the sixteenth or, at the earliest, fifteenth centuries, seems therefore quite untenable, in face of the abundant evidence in favour of the great antiquity of the middens and of the people who built them up.

It seems clear that during the last few thousand years, successive waves of migration have taken place over a whole area bounded on the west by the Andamans and Nicobars. All indications point to a close connection between the Andamanese and the peoples to the westward, the Negrito element remaining alone and almost untouched in the Andamans, but becoming submerged in the Nicobars into the mongoloid element of more recent origin. Even today a number of Nicobarese show signs of Negrito ancestry; short in stature, they have crinkly hair which although long is very different from the straight black hair of the mongoloid element, and their heads, noses and lips bear clear signs of Negrito ancestry.

In addition to these more general conclusions the middens also cast some light on the origin, still somewhat problematical, of the wretched Jarawas of Great Andaman. Comparisons between their middens and those of the Onges show that there were in the past communal huts on Great Andaman exactly the same as those still extant today on Little Andaman.

174 The continual fighting between the Eremtaga and the Arioto
342 led, as we have seen, to the gradual disappearance of the communal
[628] huts of the latter as being too vulnerable. Subsequently, the con-
[648] flict still going on between foreigners and Jarawas completed the destruction, so that there are now no communal huts on Great Andaman. The ever-increasing violence of the punitive expeditions against the Jarawas put an end to their numerical recovery during the last fifteen years or so, and there may indeed now be none left.
[172] Today only their kitchen-middens, and the surviving Onges, remain to show us how the Jarawas must have lived.

172 The Jarawa middens are distinguishable from those of the Arioto
184 by their inland position and by their content of freshwater shellfish and land gasteropods, not eaten by the peoples of the coast.

172 Like the kitchen-middens of the Onges, those of the Jarawas
764 contain human bones clearly interred in graves, and not scattered
178 among the refuse. This refutes the Arioto accusation against the
[186] Eremtaga of cannibalism, and that of the people of South Andaman (now vanished) against the people of North Andaman and the Onges; the remains of cannibal feasts would undoubtedly have been found among kitchen refuse and not carefully buried in the ritual manner, with the graves filled in with earth. And the Jarawas and the majority of the Arioto buried their dead in the communal huts, continuing a custom which originated while they were still
[184] on Little Andaman. In time variations arose, but this does not alter the evidence in favour of migration in ancient times from the south, via the Nicobars and Little Andaman.

184 The differences in culture between the islands can be explained
172 by the ease with which primitive peoples forget. The Jarawas, for
501 example, although they reached Great Andaman by sea from Little Andaman, forgot in a few generations the art of hollowing canoes when they were forced to live in the depths of the forests, far from the sea. Today, they have been free from the Arioto for some time, at least on the west coast, and have access to the sea, but they have
[765] not started building canoes again. In other things, however, such as burial rites, the Jarawas kept faithful to the old Onge customs; their middens show the same exhumation of the bones, the same cleaning, and tinting with ochre, and careful reburial.

172 The general similarity of the middens in Great and Little Anda-
252 man cannot be due to chance. Animal food, for example, has clearly

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they may be, and the strays of the Andaman forests howl unceasingly. Even in the Onge encampments the dogs howl enough to wake their sleeping masters; the only way to stop the noise is for the Onges to forestall it by taking their dogs into the family bed, fleas and all. There ensues silence, warmth and more fleas!

Hunting weapons of the Andamanese, the Semang and the Aetà were originally made by all three peoples in a similar way, common to all the Negritos. None have any defensive weapons as such; their bows and arrows, never feathered, serve as arms as well as for hunting and fishing. Shields are unknown and spears, rare in the Andamans and among the Semang, are apparently no longer in use among the Aetà; where they exist they are usually mainly for hunting. All three peoples, however, have the arrow harpoon.[1]

Their bows are all clearly derived from the same source. In the Andamans, only the Onges and Jarawas have remained true to the original form, local variations arising at a later date, and they afford additional evidence in favour of Little Andaman being the original springboard from which the Negritos entered Great Andaman.

All the Negritos make their bows from one piece of wood stripped longitudinally from the living trunks of large trees such as *Mimusops littoralis* or *Pterocarpus dalbergoides*. After they have been left to season the strips are patiently fashioned into the required shape; for this the Onges use the shells of *Cyrena* (the freshwater species, which are tougher). The bows are straight, thicker in the middle and gradually tapering towards the ends, and are usually 1·6 metres long, although there are exceptions. The cross section is the same throughout the length of the bow, varying from three or four centimetres diameter at the centre to two and a half centimetres at the horns. The inner surface is so slightly curved as to be almost flat, while the back is markedly convex. The blunt horns end in a 'shoulder and neck' stop to take the string, the neck projecting about one and a half centimetres beyond the shoulders – enough to hold the bowstring. The shoulder is formed by strips of *Ficus* bark wound round the bow, or the yellow fibres of *Dendrobium*; one shoulder is invariably larger than the other. The string itself, made from long thin strips of *Ficus* bark twisted together, has a very narrow loop on one end and a larger one at the other;

[1] See p. 86.

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becomes more complex; the upper horn is more pointed than the lower, and there is a difference between the upper and lower halves of the bow, as it is necessary to prevent the loops of the strings slipping on the bow. The bow string is made not from *Ficus* bark, as in the Onge bow, but from thin *Anadendron* fibres, twisted together and waxed with beeswax; it has the usual loop at each end, and the bow is strung with the help of the foot as in the simpler version. When strung, this type of bow becomes S-shaped as a result of the variations in elasticity arising from the spear-shape of the two halves, but when drawn it assumes the normal shape. The fact that it is easier to draw an S-bow than a single-curve one, without any loss of propulsive force, is an interesting mechanical point.

The bows are only strung when required for use, and in the normal way neither they nor the arrows are ever seen by outsiders; they disappear up into the roof of the communal hut, or into the bushes round the temporary camps. Even with friendly Onges I had to ask specifically to see them, or surprise their owners out hunting.

The external influences to which the Semang and Aetà have been subjected have been strong enough to make them to a large extent forget their original form of bow, which has however survived alongside a large number of cultural inovations. The differences, for example, between the upper and lower extremities of both bow and string have persisted, and the shoulder-and-neck stop (although this is now made by notching the bow-stave deeply) so that we may reasonably assume that a close study of the Onge bow will give us the essential characteristic of a very ancient form of the weapon. The greatest modification to the original form is the one which has been made on North Andaman, and in an attempt to improve the effect of separate curving of the two sections selected trees are deliberately trained for the purpose, the cut wood being seasoned slowly over heat and smoke, paying particular care to the parts which will take the greatest strain. As a result the 'give' in the bow is markedly increased. But even here no fundamental alteration has been made in the design of the weapon.

The Onge bow, therefore, represents the forerunner of the somewhat more highly evolved type (now dying out with their owners) on Great Andaman, and adds further support to the evidence for

174 the arrival of the Negritos in the Andamans from the south; yet
184 more evidence is provided by the Onge arrows. In the Andamans
411 there are two types of arrows, those used for fish, and those for game, the latter also being used against human targets.

184 The same arrows are found throughout the archipelago, con-
411 firming a common origin. Only the dimensions vary from one area to another and that only very slightly; the Onges have both the biggest fishing arrows, and the biggest arrow harpoons, and the Arioto the smallest. In the past the islanders used arrows with from two to four points for fish, but I was unable to find any traces of them; those picked up on North Sentinel some years ago were possibly the last to be made.

411 The fishing arrow of the Andamans is made basically from the small native bamboo. The Onges remove the knots by scraping [322] them down gradually with *Cyrena* shells, and then cut off a length [239] varying between seventy centimetres and about one metre. Into one end they fix securely a hardwood stick, fifteen to twenty centi-[177] metres long. This foreshaft takes the head, now nearly always iron, but in the past made of wood, fish spines or pig bone. In the kitchen-middens I also found heads made out of shaped pieces of *Tridacna*. The three parts of the arrow are then bound together with very thin waxed fibres, wound carefully round and round, great care being taken to prevent the bamboo shaft splitting where the foreshaft is forced in. The completed arrow finishes up 1–1·15 metres long overall. The head is barbed, to hold the fish once it is hit; to get it out the whole arrow has to be pulled through. Sometimes, but not always, the shaft has a notch in it, to take the cord, care being taken to make the notch never more than two centimetres from any knot, to avoid any possibility of the shaft splitting. Alternatively, splits are prevented by binding waxed thread tightly round the shaft.

The hunting arrow, or arrow harpoon, is an intelligent adaptation, the result of acute observation of wild life, and is more complicated than the fishing arrow which is intended only to pierce the
411 victim. The hunting arrow must not only score a hit, it must also
224 prevent the animal from escaping into the undergrowth and force it to reveal its position. The harpoon holds the victim cruelly and securely, and the excruciating pain caused by the drag of the cord forces the animal to reveal its position by its cries of agony. The

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The widespread use of the arrow and spear harpoons since very ancient times is evidenced by their survival in areas far removed from each other, and among primitive peoples geographically completely isolated. The arrival of the harpoon in the Andamans must in all probability have occurred thousands of years ago when it was widespread at least in the south and south-east of the Asian continent. Even the Andamanese canoes with their platforms fore and aft built specially for the harpoon throwers indicate not only the antiquity of the islanders, but also their historical and cultural connection with the peoples represented today by the few remaining Negritos.

From the evidence of the middens it is clear that the links between the Onges and the Jarawas are very close. While the date of the first migration from Little Andaman to Great Andaman remains uncertain there can be no doubt that migrations took place, followed by isolation within the islands, until today the Arioto cannot understand the Eremtaga, and the Onges neither the Jarawas nor the Sentinellese. There is very little in the literature on the Jarawas and their origin, but from my own observations I would deduce that they arrived in Great Andaman comparatively recently, as even their subsequent rigid isolation has not brought about any really essential cultural differences from the Onges.

The route of the migration will undoubtedly have led them via Rutland, whose heights can be seen as an open invitation from the north of Little Andaman. Chains of small, uninhabited islands lie between; the Onges have a name for all of them and have camp sites there for use on hunting or fishing expeditions; the Arioto, on the other hand, do not appear ever to have been to the islands. From Rutland migrations would have moved on to Great Andaman, until, filtering through to the extreme north, they became the Jarawas, or 'strangers', as the Arioto still call them. The Arioto themselves probably arrived previously by the same route but stopped in the coastal areas, then uninhabited and inviting occupation. The Arioto would have considered themselves owners of the still uninhabited areas and tried to exclude later immigrants; so began the hostility I have already described between the occupiers of the coasts and the later arrivals whom they forced into the depths of the forests.

166 All the evidence points to this being far more than mere supposition and even today the Onges persist in their tendency to expand towards the north. In 1953 I could find no trace of a number of Onges whom I had known in 1952; the others told me they were all 'dead', but it seems probable that they had migrated to the islands further north. And in 1954 nearly all the canoes belonging to the communal huts in the south-west of Little Andaman, which I had seen in 1953, had vanished and were said to have gone with the 'dead'. It is probable that they too had migrated to Great Andaman, becoming 'Jarawas'.

This is physically quite possible. Between Little Andaman and Great Andaman the Onges have a line of transit camps, still in use, where food and water are easily available. All have a name, and I followed the line myself. With the help of their fragile but very fast canoes, and without carrying food or water (which they know will be available at the next transit camp), they can travel very quickly. They take fire with them in the canoes in the form of a burning torch and while they are at sea, unlike the lazy pace of their normal attitude to life, they seem possessed by the desire to reach the next stopping point on terra firma.

Moreover, one may deduce from the fact that the names of these transit camps are all in the Onge language that the migrations have always been from south to north. Little Andaman, formed as it is mainly of coral banks and only projecting a short way above the sea, disappears from view in the tropical mists a few kilometres from the shore; from Rutland it is invisible, and as the Andamanese only travel by sea with land in sight or when its existence and direction is well known, no one from the north would have dared to travel south into the unknown.

We have already seen that the ignorance of the present-day Jarawas as regards the sea is no bar to a hypothesis of their original arrival in Great Andaman by sea. Colebrook, a hundred and fifty years ago, actually saw them with canoes, and Gilbert Rogers[1] recorded seeing canoes on the coasts of North Sentinel very similar to those of the Onges today. The accumulation, therefore, of this evidence and the general similarity of culture throughout the archipelago all adds up to inescapable conclusions.

Even the unique dances enjoyed by the Onges are to be seen

[1] *Andaman and Nicobar Gazetteer*, 2 January 1904.

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Even the unique dances enjoyed by the Onges are to be seen among the Jarawas, with the characteristic marking of the rhythm by slapping the calves against the buttocks. This does not seem to have been a feature of the Arioto dances, in which the rhythm was by the *pukuta yemnga*, a kind of convex shield made of the very hard and aromatic red wood (*Pterocarpus dalbergoides*) which the termites never seem to attack. I was able to obtain one of these shields, the last that the twenty-three surviving Arioto possessed and the only musical instrument in the islands. It is played by one man with his feet, while the dancers, male and female, form lines on each side of him a short distance away. Before use the convex face is decorated with lines of white ochre and chains of tusk shells are hung from a hole at the end opposite to the one on which the player's feet beat; from the same hole runs a cord, which he holds in his hand to prevent the instrument moving away from him as he beats. The players change from time to time as the dancers shuffle on and on for hours in the light of the resin torches. But apart from the instrument itself, the rhythmic hand-clapping and the dancers singing in unison are the same throughout the Andamans.

The women clap their hands in rhythm, and then slap one thigh with the open palm of one hand, the other hand clasping the wrist, singing all the time. The men dance in Indian file, beating the ground first with the right heel, then with the left, the toes barely raised from the ground, moving a short way forward each time. As they dance they lean forward, then with hands clasped and their fingers interlaced. There are variations, but the basic step is always the same.

One difference between the Onges and the Jarawas is that in the latter both sexes are naked, while the Onge women have in recent times adopted the *naquineghe* or apron. Complete nudity was a characteristic of all the Negritos, including the Semang and Aetà, and the Jarawa migrations probably took place before the introduction of the *naquineghe*.

The present inability of the three peoples to understand each other is more a question of pronunciation than of difference in actual words. To examine the question fully it would be necessary to collect a large number of words and analyse their affinity; meanwhile we know that despite their inability to understand each other there is a close resemblance between the language of the Jarawas and Sentinellese and that of the Onges. Strict isolation can lead to

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comparatively rapid variation and it is now difficult to establish their linguistic connections outside the Andamans, but Africa can certainly be discounted, in view of the general weight of evidence against any Negro ancestry.

Like the Onges the Jarawas are divided into endogamous groups, each with its own name, corresponding to their communal huts, and each with their own territory for the purposes of hunting, fishing and gathering food. There is little reliable information about their daily life or even their numbers; it is, however, certain and I cannot overstress this, that the Jarawas are Negrito in type,[1] with the same admixture as in the Onges.

Whoever or whatever they may be, the replacement of primitive expeditions by genuine attempts at pacification would, quite apart from the obvious humanitarian considerations involved, afford a unique opportunity for detailed study of a dying population in regeneration, and the refusal of an otherwise irrevocable progress towards final extinction.

But the problem of the Jarawas is merely one aspect of the problem of the Andamanese in general, and their connection with the Negritos both past and present. The Semang and the Aetà, as we have seen, resemble each other, and together resemble the Andamanese, in a number of essential points. Recent contacts with other influences in Malacca and the Philippines respectively have produced variations – such as the Semang use of traps and snares with which they take small animals, and also birds, which the Andamanese never touch. They have also taken to making refuges in the trees as a defence against wild animals, non-existent in the Andamans. Traps, poison, agriculture, fish-hooks, animal nets, are all late acquisitions, not found among the original Negritos. It was thought by Brown that spears, used by the Semang, were also unknown among the peoples of the Andamans, but I have myself seen them used by the Onges, though admittedly I saw only a few, and very rough specimens; I did, however, manage to bring some back with me.

In the case of the canoes, the Semang and the Aetà seem to have

[1] On 11 January 1951 a Jarawa was killed at Lekeralarta on Middle Andaman and the head is now in the Indian Museum in Calcutta. This head shows signs of beard, unlike those of two Jarawas held in the Nicobars since the September 1938 incident. Short, muscularly well-developed, strong and very black, Jarawas are normally beardless, as is usual in Negritos.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Unity of the Negritos

174 It appears that the Andamanese, before their migration to the archipelago, copied from other Asiatic and Oceanic peoples customs and rites whose origin and meaning were unknown to them. They went on and on observing these rites blindly, till they gradually degenerated to their present rudimentary form. In the Onges of today they seem like mere superstitions, badly digested importations, far from any of their original meaning. The process is a phenomenon which has occurred over and over again among primitive peoples who come in contact with other, to their eyes superior, cultures. They feel an urge to imitate something, as it were, more elegant, and so come to follow the new ways out of habit. I have seen the effects of this both in Africa and in Asia, particularly as the result of contact with European influences.

The practice of vivisecting animals for food, for instance, was widespread throughout the world, frequently in connection with certain ideologies, although these were not usually based on pure superstition. Rituals which to us are horrible beyond measure are seen by primitive peoples from childhood merely as a necessary part of cooking or the acquisition of food. And yet such practices are found also in peoples with a culture considerably beyond the primitive. Some cannibals, for example, are relatively advanced; there are in fact some cannibal peoples who have reached the stage of agriculture. The Andamanese, however, are far behind that stage of development, and they have never acquired the ideologies leading to cannibalism. One can only accept that they do genuinely believe that in practising vivisection they are acting for the common and the individual good.

224 There is an established and closely observed order of precedence

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Brown states that dugong skulls are found among the hunting trophies of the Andamanese. I can myself vouch for the fact that this is not the case among the Onges or the twenty-three surviving Arioto; both keep dugong jaws and long bones, but the skulls of only pigs and turtles. The Andamanese in general do not regard animal bones as having the same protective powers as human; the existence in the Andamans of any magical practices connected with either animal or human bones has not, in my view, been adequately proved. In the absence of such proof I feel unable to agree with the authors who assert that these practices do exist, and I am inclined to feel that the cultural level of the peoples of the Andamans is so low as to rule out the existence of magic or witchcraft in any form.

From the mass of data of all kinds I was able to collect on my trips to the Andamans, a general pattern emerges from which it is possible to draw substantial conclusions as to the cultural and somatic origins of the Onges and hence of the other peoples of the archipelago. To summarize these conclusions must inevitably involve some repetition of what has been said in previous chapters.

Taking first the people of the Nicobar Islands, the nearest geographically to the Andamanese, it is generally accepted that with the exception of the Shom-Pen of Great Nicobar the Nicobarese are culturally closely similar. Although there are no pure Negrito types in the Nicobars there are evident crosses, similar to those which appear in one area of Sumatra to the east, where a small Negrito component exists among a predominantly mongoloid type. This may well be the result of the Negritos having spread at one time over a very wide area and there is in fact cultural evidence in support of the suggestion.

The mongoloid somatic type of the Nicobars appears in the general shape and proportions of the body, skin colour, facial contours, and the hair, which is long and straight, unlike that of the Negritos. Both types, however, have scant body hair, and differ in this respect from the pygmies of Africa.

Although the size and skin colour of most Nicobarese is very different from the Onges, a few are strikingly like them in facial contours, size, and woolly hair. There are also legends of a people who lived in the Nicobars long ago, small, very black, with tight

174 curly hair; on Car Nicobar I was taken to a cave[1] where these people are said to have lived. The ethnographical evidence is such that there may well be some truth in the legend. The close similarity in detail, even identity, of the Onge and Nicobar canoes, and spiralled pottery, the presence in the wild state of the pig – the sum of this and other evidence cannot be overlooked. Car would have been the last point before the Andamans in the Negrito advance from the east. They would have remained on Car for a long time before moving on to the Andamans, and since Car is a completely flat coral deposit, with no true stone at all, it may be assumed that it was during their sojourn on Car that the Negritos lost the art of working it; this would explain the complete absence of stone implements in the Andamans.

The Negritos would thus have occupied the Nicobars before the mongoloids, and were then, as the somatic evidence shows, partially absorbed, or moved on to the Andamans. The burial customs and superstitions of the Andamanese reflect Nicobar influence with disinterment, reburial and retention of certain bones; such customs are also found sporadically in Oceania. Ritual governing hunting trophies is also very similar, as are weapons. The three-pointed arrow was found in both the Nicobars and the Andamans until comparatively recently; the Onges have none now, but their descendants – the Sentinellese and Jarawas – still used them very recently. Both the Nicobarese and the peoples of the Andamans (also various peoples in Indonesia and Oceania) cook without any form of salt. This is also the case in certain islands of the west coast of Sumatra, where there are also other similarities from huts to

[172] [1] On 20 April 1952, I visited this cave with Sri B. S. Cengappa, head of the 1952 Nicobar Expedition; in the report of the expedition he did me the honour of naming the cave 'Cipriani Cave'. A schoolmaster on Car Nicobar told me of other caves in the archipelago, which had similar traditions of occupation in very ancient times. One facing the sea on the east coast of Catcial, one of the Nancowry group, was of considerable size, about a hundred metres long and fifteen metres high, and wider, its floor covered in a layer of guano. The same guano covered the floor of Cipriani Cave, which lies in a coral formation little more than ten metres above present sea-level. It has two openings, diametrically opposite and thirty-five metres apart. The cave consists of a wide central chamber, about seven metres in diameter, with many stalactites and stalagmites. Fortunately none of the archaeological deposit was damaged by the Japanese occupation and the traditions attached to the cave remain alive among the Nicobarese. It would need at least ten men working for at least six months to investigate the cave properly, but I am sure that the results would amply justify the cost of such an expedition.

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head ornaments and religious ceremonies. In Oceania there is, too, the habit of changing personal names from time to time so prevalent among the Onges, and the existence of actual linguistic connections between Nicobarese, Andamanese, Semang, Aetà and peoples of Oceania have been demonstrated by experts.

Any differences which exist today are the result of centuries of contact with other peoples which the Semang and Aetà have experienced, unlike the Andamanese, who thus represent today the true Negritos. While life generally has changed somewhat over the centuries for the Semang and Aetà, certain typical facets of their culture have remained unaltered. Ritual cutting and distributing of game, the use of the arrow harpoon (always unfeathered) and the simple Onge-Negrito bow are still the same, despite the fact that the three groups have been separated for a very long time. Even the very absence of defensive weapons is a common feature; admittedly outside the Andamans arrows are poisoned and some may be feathered, but this is a recent and imitative innovation which is not found among the Andamanese, by virtue of their constant isolation. The persistence among the Onges of the simple bow tends to support the idea of Little Andaman as the first stage in the northward spread of the Negritos after they reached the island from Sumatra via the Nicobars. In Malacca the Semang have retained the same bow, as have the Aetà in the Philippines.

Among what may be termed similarities of physical habits is nose-rubbing as a sign of affection, found in the Andamans, in Oceania, and parts of Papuasia and Melanesia. In all these areas there is the same belief that pregnancy is due to entry of a spirit into the body, and the same habit of suckling children for as long as four years. Similar too throughout the area are the methods of 'curing' disease, such as smearing with ochre and heavy massage carried out beside a fire, swallowing of balls of ochre, and the 'smoking' of wounds, smeared with a mixture of ochre and honey. As protection from the sun or the rains (especially for the young children) crude umbrellas are made from giant palm leaves.

There are no prayers or propitiatory sacrifices to ensure health and well being, but there is throughout the area the same concept of mysterious forces to be feared, evaded, or let loose against enemies – never loved. Generally they are thought of in terms of spirits, usually active at night. There is some divergence in the

14 most striking of these is ambidexterity. This is the general rule in the Onges and also appears as a normal trait in the primitive peoples of Oceania, America and Asia. Another physical characteristic of the Onges, reported also in Tasmans and various peoples of Oceania, is the early onset of ageing in both sexes; in the Tasmans the women are rarely fertile after the age of thirty, and this is also probably the case with the Onges. Unlike the Tasmans, however, the Onges, though sharing their very black skin colour, have among other physical differences markedly scant body hair. A study of their blood groups by Dr H. Lehmann (see also Mourant) has moreover lent very considerable support to the external physical evidence in favour of a relationship between the Andamanese and the people of Oceania, both past and present.

171 609 62 From the anthropological point of view perhaps the most outstanding feature of all these peoples is that despite their extreme aggressiveness towards outsiders their corporate sense is such that they have no need of leaders to give orders. Rarely are there hereditary leaders; such as they are, their leaders are chosen on the basis of outstanding powers, such as supposed clairvoyance, as in the Andamanese.

174 [829] The Andamanese themselves know nothing of their origins, lost in the mists of time, and it is for us to trace them, working back along the paths cleared by the anthropologist, the ethnographer and the archaeologist. They represent today the survival, almost unchanged, of a culture once to be found all over Oceania, spread thousands of years ago by canoes hardly different from those the Onges use today. They carried the unknown seamen from island to island, bearing with them a way of life which in the Andamans at least was never to change – a point of arrival, rather than of departure. Driven in on themselves by circumstances of geography just as other circumstances now unknown had driven them there originally, they have remained isolated, dwindling in numbers over the centuries, until they were discovered by the modern world. Their [609] reception of outsiders, however they come and whoever they may be, is aggressive; consciously or unconsciously the Andamanese seek to preserve the only way of life they know. And who can be sure they are wrong?

000 No one could deny the demographic decadence of the islanders,

325 islanders, in the absence of any means of working it, have not fully realized.

3 IGNORANCE OF FIRE

372 The islanders' present ignorance of fire-making may possibly be the
174 result of cultural decline, but this is not certain. In the presence of the considerable additional evidence in favour of the antiquity of the Andamanese culture it is, however, more likely that it is genuine ignorance, persisting in a pre-lithic people.

4 ABSENCE OF SALT

174 Although there can be no proof, it can be reasonably postulated that very
263 primitive Man had no salt, and that in the Andamans this ignorance has persisted over thousands of years, owing to strict isolation. It is unlikely that the use of salt would have been completely lost, had it ever been introduced.

5 PRIMITIVE METHODS OF COOKING

252 Apart from the accidental and very recent introduction of petrol-drum
172 cooking, the Andamanese use only the most primitive form of earth oven. This method of cooking was certainly known in the Palaeolithic era; at the entrance to the well-known Barma Grande cave near Mentone I have myself seen in the basal layers a number of stones bearing the marks of fire, too numerous merely to have formed some sort of hearth, and clearly not used to support cooking-pots, as Palaeolithic Man had none which would have withstood heat. The form of earth oven still used throughout the Andamans is undoubtedly of extreme antiquity.

6 FOOD VESSELS

415 The people of the Andamans still use for honey hollowed-out logs simi-
285 lar to those seen in Palaeolithic wall paintings, which also depict baskets
172 very like those still in use throughout the archipelago. The art of basket-making can be traced back at least to the later Palaeolithic era.

7 USE OF POTTERY

323 As with the other Negrito peoples, pottery was unknown in the earliest
172 culture of the Andamans. Its appearance seems from the evidence of the

11: Ciprian E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

kitchen-middens to have been contemporaneous with the introduction of the pig, i.e. to have been introduced by outsiders. It would be possible, using radio carbon methods, to calculate this date more accurately, but on purely archaeological evidence the introduction of pottery would appear to have occurred some five thousand years ago. 323 172

8 ABSENCE OF CANNIBALISM

If we may accept the evidence of the kitchen-middens, there has never at any time been cannibalism in the Andamans, although the practice certainly existed in the later Palaeolithic era; the Andamanese must thus have been isolated in the archipelago long before the practice became widespread. 172 266

9 DRINK

The Andamanese ignorance of any drink other than water may be regarded as additional evidence of the great antiquity of their culture. 273 174

10 ABSENCE OF CLOTHING

The Jarawas of both sexes have always remained completely naked. The Onges have only in comparatively recent times adopted a form of genital covering for their womenfolk; this custom has spread as far as the north of Great Andaman, and it seems probable that the separation of the Jarawas from the Onges dates from this time. 291 178 174 184

11 ABSENCE OF TATTOOING

All primitive peoples who are habitually completely naked adorn the body in some way. The Onges have never progressed beyond the early stage of painting themselves with ochre, and do not tattoo. Their sole ornaments are small necklaces of tusk shells, strips of bark, and sometimes flowers. In all this they resemble the Tasmans (see, however, p. 143 for certain important differences), who seem to have remained in an equally early stage of cultural development. 30 171

12 TOTEMISM AND THE CLAN

Here again the complete absence of any traces appears to indicate isolation before the spread of these very ancient concepts. Neither the Onges nor the Jarawas have ever progressed beyond the stage of independent groups of families. 174 61 621

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672 groups of families. There is some spontaneous recognition of individuals as 'headmen' as a result of some generally accepted superiority of physique or discernment, but the concept goes no further than the giving of some weight to their views within the group.

13 MARRIAGE

595 The Onges are monogamous, like all peoples who have never progressed
837 beyond the stage of hunting and gathering, and adultery is virtually unknown. Marriage consists merely of the man taking possession of the
585 woman in the presence of the rest of the group, taking her by the hand to a new bed built for the occasion and allotted a place within the circle. The 'marriage' takes place in the late evening and is followed by frenzied dancing all night long by the light of the resin torches. The total absence
[174] of any form of ritual leads one to suppose isolation from a very early date indeed, but this cannot be more than conjecture.

14 BURIAL

172 The custom of burying the dead in caves still occupied by the living
174 apparently existed in the Palaeolithic era. The practice has continued to
764 the present time in the Andamans, where the dead are still buried under the family bed in the communal hut. It is known from Palaeolithic burials that even in that era objects were sometimes buried with the dead, and it is thus possible that the culture of the Andamans dates back to very early times.

15 EXHUMATION AND SECOND BURIAL

172
765 The custom of exhuming the bones of the dead and re-interring them after coloration (in this case with ochre) dates from the Palaeolithic era.

16 BONE NECKLACES

301 The custom of wearing necklaces of carpals, tarsals, phalanges and fragments of rib, is of extreme antiquity, and apart from the Andamans, has virtually disappeared.

17 RELIGION

172
775 There is evidence that even in Palaeolithic times there existed a belief in
764 the survival of the spirit after death, and a fear of its return (hence the

dead were buried securely bound in a knee-to-chest position, still the custom among the Andamanese). The Onges go no further than this and the idea of a Lord of the Spirits who rules all things, although on Great Andaman there has been some progress towards more anthropomorphic concepts. The complete absence of any form of cult, prayer, representation, or votive offering cannot, I feel, be the result of cultural decline from a more advanced age; this would have resulted in gross distortion and illogical superstition, but not in complete absence of any 'religious' practices of any kind.

18 SACRIFICE

No sacrifices of any kind are practised in the Andamans, nor is there any concept of propitiation, although there is evidence that even in the late Palaeolithic era some form of ritual sacrifice was practised, at least in Europe and probably over a much wider area. One would assume from this, and from paragraph 17 above, that the Andamanese is an even older culture.

19 TABOOS

Although my own experiences among the Onges have led me to think that taboos do not exist, some authors have asserted (in my view wrongly) their existence on Great Andaman. It is not, however, possible to draw any reliable conclusions on this point.

20 CEREMONIAL

The complete absence of any form of ritual surrounding birth, the purification of women, initiation, etc., or evidence of any such ritual in the past, is striking, in view of the prevalence in all the surrounding areas of strictly observed ceremonial for many occasions. As in the case of religion, such complete absence can only mean that the Andamanese became isolated before the idea of ritual spread to the area.

21 MEASUREMENT

The Andamanese have no means of counting, and no words to express gradations of time or size; to them everything is either 'small' or 'big'. They take no interest in the passing of years, and have no idea of their own age. To them life is but the passing of the seasons and the harvests of game and fish and fruits that they bring. This utter lack of any sense

802 805 or form of numerical evaluation is further support for the extremely low stage of cultural development at which they became isolated.

22 ART

302 531 532 When painting their bodies with ochre the Onges have no idea of symbolic representation, and use only geometrical designs. These invariably seem spontaneous, and in my view do not represent a degenerate form of some more highly evolved art, half forgotten over the centuries; in short, the 'artists' of the Andamans, with no conception of symbolism, are even today less advanced than their Palaeolithic counterparts.

23 DIGGING STICKS

172 412 In late Palaeolithic deposits, stones with holes in them have been found which correspond to those still in use among peoples such as the Bushmen, to add weight to their digging sticks. The absence even today of any form of weighted stick in the Andamans, where stone is plentiful, would appear to antedate the culture at least to early Palaeolithic.

24 HUNTING

224 172 411 The Onges still use the Palaeolithic throwing stick, although it is not their main hunting weapon. They have no idea of fixed traps, which must from the evidence have been known in Palaeolithic times, and it is hard to believe that a people so dependent upon hunting would have lost the art once it had been acquired. They have crude nets which the women use for fishing, but these are probably a comparatively recent introduction, which has arrived via the Nicobars.

25 DOMESTIC ANIMALS

231 174 The Andamanese have none, and this would seem to add weight to the evidence for their great antiquity.

26 ECONOMY

433 185 437 There is no economic system of any kind, and from the evidence available it is highly unlikely that even the most primitive form ever existed. There is no conception whatever of providing for tomorrow, or of any form of exchange or barter.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

27 WEAPONS

The wall paintings of the Palaeolithic era depict bows and arrows, the former of both the simple and the double-curve type, and the latter with one or more points, similar to those still used in the Andamans. (The same *marques de chasse* as those found on bone arrowheads of the late Palaeolithic era were on *Tridacna* arrowheads which I found in the lower strata of the kitchen-middens.) The harpoon, with detachable point and cord, was widespread in the late Palaeolithic era, and this too has persisted unchanged to the present day in the Andamans. 172 411

28 NAVIGATION

There is no proof that Palaeolithic Man travelled by water, but it can be argued that the proven antiquity of the Andamanese culture is of itself evidence in favour of the supposition that he did. 174

The author is of the opinion that the sum of the evidence outlined above is overwhelmingly in favour of the continuing existence in the Andamans of what may well be a virtually unchanged Palaeolithic or even pre-lithic culture.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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race. In historical times it is known that the islands have been avoided by mariners navigating the adjacent seas, owing to the fact that the natives attacked all strangers who landed or were wrecked upon their shores. Moreover, the islands offered little inducement to visitors or settlers. The coconut, which is one of the mainstays of life in tropical islands, was not found in the Andamans prior to the first European settlement.

The earliest authentic reference to the Andaman Islands seems to be that of two Arab travellers dating from A.D. 871. In the eighteenth century the Abbé Renaudot translated the account of these travels. Of the Andamans we read, "Au dela de ces deux Isles on trouve la mer appellée d'Andeman. Les peuples qui habitent sur la coste, mangent de la chair humaine, toute cruë. Ils sont noirs, ils ont les cheveux crespus, le visage et les yeux affreux, les pieds fort grands et presque longs d'une coudée, et ils vont tout nuds. Ils n'ont point de barques, et s'ils en avoient ils ne mangeroient pas tous les passants qu'ils peuvent attraper. Les vaissaux se trouvant retardez dans leur route par les vents contraires, sont souvent obligez dans ces mers de mouiller à la coste où sont ces Barbares pour y faire de l'eau, lors qu'ils ont consommé celle qu'ils avoient a bord. Ils en attrapent souvent quelques-uns, mais la pluspart se sauvent[1]."

It would seem that the Chinese and Japanese knew the islands in the first millenium A.D., and referred to them by the names Yeng-t'o-mang and Andaban respectively[2]. Marco Polo gives a brief notice of the islands. "Angaman is a very large island, not governed by a king. The inhabitants are idolaters, and are a most brutish and savage race, having heads, eyes, and teeth resembling those of the canine species. Their dispositions are cruel, and every person, not being of their own nation, whom they can lay their hands upon, they kill and eat[3]." Some of Marco Polo's statements about the Andamans, as that the natives

[1] *Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine*; De Deux Voyageurs Mahometans, qui y allerent dans le neuvième siècle; Traduites d'Arabe (par M. l'Abbé Renaudot). Paris, MDCCXVIII, pp. 5 and 6.

[2] Takakasu's Edition of I-tsing, pp. xxviii seq.

[3] *The Travels of Marco Polo*, Edited by John Masefield, *Everyman's Library*, 1908, p. 347.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

●175 live on rice and milk, and that they have coconuts, and plantains, are incorrect. It is evident that all he knew of the islands was derived from hearsay. The passage quoted is only of importance as showing that the reputation of the Andamanese was such as to cause them to be feared and avoided.

A more trustworthy account is that of Master Caesar Frederike, who passed near the Nicobars in 1566. "From Nicubar to Pegu is, as it were, a row or chain of an infinite number of islands, of which many are inhabited with wild people; and they call those islands the Islands of Andemaon, and they call their people savage or wild, because they eat one another: also, these islands have war one with another, for they have small barques, and with them they take one another, and so eat one another: and if by evil chance any ship be lost on those islands, as many have been, there is not one man of those ships lost there that escapeth uneaten or unslain. These people have not any acquaintance with any other people, neither have they trade with any, but live only of such fruits as those islands yield[1]."

There are numerous references to the Andamans in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, and all of them show that the islands were feared and avoided. During these and the previous centuries wrecks must have occurred in considerable numbers, and it is probable, from what is now known of the natives, that the mariners would be immediately slain. Visits were also paid by ships whose water supply had run out, and by Malay pirates. There is evidence that boats, either Malay or Chinese, sometimes visited the islands in search of edible birds' nests and trepang. In some cases Andamanese were captured and carried off as slaves. It is extremely improbable

[1] Extracts of Master Caesar Frederike: his Eighteene Yeeres' Indian Observations, *Purchas: his Pilgrimes*, London, 1625; Vol. II, p. 1710. In spite of the repeated descriptions of the Andamanese by early writers as ferocious cannibals, there is good reason to think that they have not deserved quite so evil a reputation. If they had ever been cannibals they had certainly abandoned the custom by the time the islands were occupied in 1858. It is improbable that such inveterate man-eaters, as they are supposed to have been, would have entirely altered their ways in the course of a century or two. The legend probably had its origin in the fact that the Andamanese attacked all strangers who landed on their coasts, and (in the North Andaman, at any rate) often disposed of the bodies of slain enemies by cutting them in pieces and burning them on a fire.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

that such visitors ever succeeded in establishing friendly relations with the islanders. 175

There is one way in which the life of the Andamanese was affected by the vessels that visited or were wrecked upon their shores, since it was by this means that they learnt the use of iron.

It is impossible now to determine the date at which they became acquainted with the metal. The earliest reference to the subject is in an account of a visit to the Andamans in 1771, where it is shown that the natives were at that time aware of the value of iron[1]. Until the middle of the nineteenth century the only supply of the metal was from wrecks, of which there have always been a fair number.

Until the end of the eighteenth century there was no attempt made to open up communication with the Andaman Islands, although the Nicobar Islands were the scene of several attempts to establish a colony. In 1788, owing to the menace to shipping constituted by the islands and their inhabitants, the East India Company, under Lord Cornwallis, commissioned Archibald Blair to start a settlement, convicts being sent as labourers. The settlement was founded in September, 1789, in the harbour now known as Port Blair, but then called Port Cornwallis. In spite of the hostility of the natives the colony seems to have been successful. In 1792 it was transferred from the first site to the harbour in the North Andaman now known as Port Cornwallis. The transfer was made with the idea of creating a naval base, for which the spot chosen was well adapted. Unfortunately the new site proved to be very unhealthy, and in 1796 the scheme was abandoned, the convicts were transferred to Penang, and the settlers returned to India.

[1] The account is that of a visit to the Andamans in 1771 by John Ritchie, published in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXX, 1901, pp. 232 seq. Two natives came off to the ship in a canoe, and Ritchie writes: "I gave them some nails and bits of old iron which pleased them much; and about three in the afternoon, they went into the canoe, and tried hard to pull the chain plates from the vessel's side. They went astern when this would not do, and dragged strongly and long at the rudder chains; but these were too well fixed; and at last, they went towards the shore at an easy rate, looking at their nails, and singing all the way."

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

175 During the next sixty years the islands remained unoccupied save by the aborigines. There were a number of wrecks in different parts of the islands, and in some cases the crews were slain. In 1839 a geologist, Dr Helfer, visited the islands in the hope of finding minerals, and was killed by the natives. In 1844 two transports, the *Briton* and the *Runnymede*, were wrecked in a cyclone on Ritchie's Archipelago, one of the ships being thrown high up over a reef into a mangrove swamp. The crew and soldiers were safely landed, and were eventually rescued with hardly any loss of life. As they were a large party they were safe from the possible attacks of the natives, and they lived on stores rescued from the wrecks.

In view of the number of wrecks that occurred on the islands and the desirability of establishing there some harbour where vessels might safely call for water or shelter from storms, the East India Company again considered the question of colonizing the Andamans. When the Company, at the end of the Indian Mutiny, found themselves with a large number of prisoners on their hands, it was decided to create a new Penal Settlement, and the site of the settlement of 1788 was chosen for this purpose, and renamed Port Blair.

175 648 The Penal Settlement was established in March 1858, and has been in existence ever since. The aborigines were hostile from the outset, and gave much trouble by their raids. They made a determined effort to oust the invaders from their country. To establish friendly relations with them an institution known as the Andamanese Homes was founded, to provide free rations and lodging, and medical attendance, to such of them as could be induced to visit the Settlement. Through the efforts of successive officers in charge of these Homes friendly relations were established, first of all with the *Aka-Bea* tribe in the neighbourhood of Port Blair, then with other tribes of the South Andaman, and at a later date with the inhabitants of the North Andaman and the Little Andaman. At the present day there is only one body of Andamanese still persistently hostile, and these are the so-called *Jarawa* of the interior of the South Andaman. These *Jarawa*, since about 1870, have made repeated attacks on isolated parties of convicts and forest

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

175 workers and on the friendly Andamanese. Punitive expeditions
648 have been sent against them on several occasions, and attempts to set up friendly relations with them have been made by leaving presents in their huts, and by capturing some of them and keeping them for a time at Port Blair. At the present time the *Jarawa* are as hostile as ever.

619 Although of one race throughout, the Andaman Islanders are divided into several groups, with differences of language and culture. There are two main divisions, which will be spoken of as the Great Andaman Group and the Little Andaman Group respectively. The Great Andaman Group includes all the natives of the Great Andaman with the exception of those of the interior of the South Andaman who are known as *Jarawa*. The Little Andaman Group includes all the inhabitants of the Little Andaman, those of the North Sentinel Island and the *Jarawa* of the South Andaman.

619 These two different divisions exhibit many differences of language and culture. All the languages of the Great Andaman
197 Group are closely related to one another. They have the same grammatical structure, and a large number of roots are the same in all or in several of them. In the same way the language of the *Jarawa*, so far as it is known, is very similar to that of the natives of the Little Andaman. On the other hand when the language of the Little Andaman is compared with the Great Andaman languages there is a very striking difference. Of a vocabulary of several hundred words collected in the Little Andaman there were less than a dozen in which the root or stem was clearly the same as that of words in the Great Andaman. While the grammatical structure of the languages of the two groups is fundamentally the same, this can only be shown in a somewhat detailed analysis, and there are many important differences.

619 With regard to technical culture the same grouping appears. There is a general similarity between all the tribes of the Great Andaman Group, while the *Jarawa* and the inhabitants of the Little Andaman have a technical culture of their own that is markedly different from that of the other division.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

175 whether they relate to individuals or to races; the origin of the belief in this instance may possibly be traceable to the inveterate hostility which they have manifested towards all strangers approaching their shores, but for which abundant excuse can be found in the accounts given by Capt. Miller[1] of the malpractices of the Malay and Chinese traders who visited these islands in search of *bêche de mer* and edible birds' nests.

To this belief may in all probability be also attributed the fact that these islands were avoided by most voyagers, and hence no records exist with reference to their history prior to the close of the last century, when the Honourable East India Company, recognising the advantages which the group afforded for a penal colony, sent down Lieutenant Blair (who had previously been commissioned to survey and report upon the islands) in charge of a small expedition and with instructions to provide for the reception of prisoners.

A Settlement was accordingly formed at Port Blair, then known as Port Cornwallis, where Blair displayed much energy and skill in his arrangements. After a brief residence of three years, during which the colony enjoyed excellent health, and Blair was able to report favourably of his relations with the aborigines),[2] orders were received from Calcutta for the removal of the entire establishment to the magnificent harbour in North Andaman, where it was proposed to form a Naval Arsenal. The transfer was effected in 1792, and the newly occupied station was named Port Cornwallis, while the recently abandoned Port was styled "Old Harbour," by which name it continued to be known till 1858, when, at Dr. Mouat's suggestion, it was appropriately changed to Port Blair. The new site selected for occupation, despite its apparent natural advantages, proved most unhealthy, and a year had hardly elapsed before it became evident that the change from South Andaman had been ill-advised; it was not, however, till February, 1796, that, in consequence of the continued sickness and high death rate, Government finally decided upon the abandonment of the colony, and the removal of the prisoners (numbering 270) to Penang, while the free settlers and troops were conveyed back to Bengal.

From this date the islands remained unoccupied by aliens for

[1] *Vide* Mouat, p. 22, and "Journ Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xii, No. 42, p. 339.

[2] Both his account and that of Lieutenant R. H. Colebrooke, who visited the islands about the same time (if not actually in each other's company), were published, the latter appearing in vol. iv. of the "Asiatic Researches." Although the accounts furnished by them do not in all respects accord with our present knowledge of the habits of these savages, it must be borne in mind that, apart from the difficulties which attend inquiries prosecuted as were theirs, with but little or no acquaintance with the language spoken by the savages; various changes or modifications have probably occurred during the long lapse of years which may account for many seeming discrepancies.

7 [Cannibalism]

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

sixty-two years, during which period all that is known regarding them or their inhabitants was derived from accounts published of casual visits paid by Government or trading vessels;[1] but as these add little to our information it is unnecessary to particularise them further than to say that they confirm the reports furnished by Colebrooke of the degraded condition of the savages and their inveterate hostility towards all strangers.

The modern history of the Andamans may be said to date from the latter end of 1857, when the scheme of founding a penal settlement and harbour of refuge in these islands, which had been under consideration for a few years, was precipitated by the events connected with the Sepoy mutiny. A Commission, composed of Dr. F. J. Mouat as President, and Dr. G. Playfair, A.M.S., and Lieutenant J. A. Heathcote, of the Indian Navy, as members, was despatched at this time with instructions to explore the coasts of these islands, to examine how far they were adapted for the establishment of a convict station, and to select a suitable site for such a Settlement.

Leaving Calcutta on the 23rd November, and travelling *viâ* Moulmein, Dr. Mouat and his colleagues reached Port Cornwallis on the 11th December; they thence visited in succession Stewart's Sound, Long Island, Barren Island, Old Harbour, McPherson's Strait, Cinque Islands, Labyrinth Islands, Port Mouat, Port Campbell, Middle Strait, and finally Port Andaman, making careful observations at each of these localities, in the course of which many adventures with the aborigines occurred, the only untoward one being at the last stage of the expedition and on the last day of the old year, when an encounter provoked by the savages took place which resulted in a few of them being killed and wounded and one being taken captive.[2] The Commission returned to Calcutta early in the new year (1858), and at once submitted their report; they advocated the selection of Old Harbour as being admirably suited for the purposes of a penal Settlement, and suggested that the name of this harbour might be appropriately changed to "Port Blair," in honour of the distinguished hydrographer.

In recognition of the excellent services performed by the Commission the special thanks of the Supreme Government were

[1] The three chief incidents recorded and mentioned by Mouat are—1. The rendezvous at Port Cornwallis in 1824 of the fleet conveying the troops for the first Burmese war; 2. The visit and treacherous murder in 1839 of Dr. Helfer, a savant engaged in scientific researches; and 3. The extraordinary shipwreck in 1844 at Havelock Island of the troopships "Briton" and "Runnymede."

[2] This lad was taken to Calcutta, where he naturally excited great interest and curiosity. After a short detention he was conveyed back to the very spot which had witnessed his capture, but, owing to the kindness with which he had been treated, he appeared loth to part with his captors.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

175 conferred upon Dr. Mouat and his colleagues for the judicious, prompt, and effectual manner in which they had carried out their instructions, and the business-like and practical shape in which they had embodied their investigations.

The Government lost no time in acting upon the recommendation of the Commission, and orders were at once sent to Captain (now General) H. Man, then on duty at Moulmein, to proceed to Port Blair and hoist the British Flag and take possession of the Andaman Islands in the name of the Honourable East India Company; before his return Captain Man was also to make arrangements for the immediate reception of a large party of convict mutineers whom it had been decided to transport thither without delay.

These instructions were duly carried into effect: the flag was hoisted on the 22nd January, and sixteen days later the first party of prisoners, numbering 200, arrived in charge of Dr. J. P. Walker, who had been appointed Superintendent of the new Settlement. During the first decade of the colony (1858–1867) the rate of mortality among the settlers was excessive, the annual average amounting to no less than 18·56 per cent., while in one year (1859) it will be seen from the annexed table to have reached the terrible figure of 63 per cent.

Year.	Death rate per cent.	Year.	Death rate per cent.
1858–59	16·00	1871–72	1·72
1859–60	63·00	1872–73	1·64
1860–61	13·40	1873–74	1·51
1861–62	14·25	1874–75	2·51
1862–63	15·53	1875–76	3·67
1863–64	21·55	1876–77	4·17
1864–65	14·64	1877–78	4·90
1865–66	6·57	1878–79	6·73
1866–67	10·56	1879–80	4·63
1867–68	10·16	1880–81	5·12
1868–69	3·9	1881–82	4·85
1869–70	2·0	1882–83	3·3
1870–71	1·2		

This extraordinary fatality was of course chiefly due to circumstances incidental to the establishment of a penal Settlement in an isolated tropical region peopled by hostile savages and covered by dense jungle largely fringed with mangrove, and rendered extremely malarious by numerous salt and fresh water swamps which are found throughout the group.

The necessity of clearing and occupying without loss of time

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

175 the most commanding localities in the fine harbour of Port-Blair, and reclaiming as far as possible the contiguous swamps, naturally led to much sickness, which was aggravated by various other circumstances, of which the following were doubtless the chief:—

1. Transportation of a large number of prisoners unfit either to withstand the climate or to perform the work required of them under the exceptional circumstances in which they were then placed.
2. Want of sufficient nitrogenous food.
3. Absence of a sanatarium for the recovery of invalids.
4. Employment of convict labour on works of every kind throughout the year without respect to the suitability of the season for those involving exposure to malarious influences, as evidenced by the mortality in the rains having about trebled that of the dry months.
5. Difficulties experienced by working parties in consequence of the harassing attacks of the aborigines.

The above facts being at length recognised as calling for stringent measures of reform, active remedial steps were at once taken by the then recently appointed Superintendent,[1] with the remarkable result that the death rate suddenly fell from 10·16 in 1867 to 3·9 in 1868, while an average of 1·6 in the five following years, during which vast clearings of jungle and other important works were accomplished, testified to the vigour and success with which the wise and considerate system which had been inaugurated was carried on.

619 186 Prior to the formation of our Settlement in 1858, and for some years after, it is clearly shown, from the early records of our relations with the aborigines, that extreme jealousy and distrust prevailed among adjacent tribesmen, and even among scattered communities of the same tribe; these feelings naturally resulted in restricting intercommunication, and it is therefore not surprising to find that in many cases no knowledge was possessed regarding tribes distant only fifteen or twenty miles.[2] Of the *.ô·ko-jū·wai-*, *.â·kà-.ked·e-*, *.â·kà-.jār·o-*, and *.âkà-.châriàr-* tribes, those living in South Andaman remained in ignorance till 1877, and it was not till 1879–80 that members of all the eight tribes of Great Andaman (*i.e.*, including the *.â-kà-.bal·awa-* of the Archipelago) were able to meet on friendly terms at the various Homes which had then been established for some years.

[1] Colonel (now General) H. Man.

[2] In 1875 it was found that the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* (or South Andaman tribe) had only then recently discovered that Middle Andaman was not, as they had supposed, occupied entirely by the *.â·kà bō·jig-yâb-*, but that it was shared by another tribe called *.â·kà-kôl-*; of the territory further north all they were able to say was that it was occupied by the *.yē·rewa-*, a people they seem to dread equally with the natives of Little Andaman.

137 occur, sometimes over large tracts, conspicuous in the dry season when the leaves are off the trees. The huge buttressing of several species is a peculiar feature, and so is the growth of the forest in certain parts in belts, dependent apparently on the soil below: *e.g.*, the tracts of the bamboo (*bambusa schizostachyoides*) which almost exclusively occupy the indurated chloritic rock. Aborescent *euphorbias*, screw-pines (*pandanus odoratissimus*), and large cycads give on the coasts a remarkable appearance to the forests. Several palms are commonly seen, though the cocoanut is not indigenous. The general character of the forests is Burmese, with an admixture of Malay types. In the cleared places about Port Blair the grazing appears to be abundant, but is not really so, owing to the action of two destructive weeds: the needle bearing grass (*avena fatua*), which is pretty but not edible by any kind of food animal and being of a stronger growth than ordinary grazing grass supplants it wherever it is not rigourously kept down; and the sensitive plant (*mimosa pudica*), an imported nuisance, which rapidly covers all open and low lying places and is edibile only by goats.

IV. History.

175 **Ancient Notices of the Islands.**—The existence of the islands now known as the Andamans has, owing to the ancient course of trade, been reported from quite early times, though which of Ptolemy's island names ought properly to be attached to them may still be regarded as a moot point. Gerini, in his ingenious paper, *Notes on the Early Geography of Indo-China*, (*J. R. A. S.* 1897, p. 551ff) gives Bazakata for the Great Andaman, Khaline for the Little Andaman, Maniola for Car Nicobar, and Agathodaimonos for Great Nicobar. In the mediæval Latin editions of Ptolemy a remark somewhat as follows often appears opposite Bazakata:—"*cuius incolæ vocantur Aginatæ qui nuai semper degere feruntur, in hac conchæ sunt multæ.*" While it is on Maniola that the people are called *anthropophagi*. Even if one is inclined to accept this plausible theory, it is nevertheless, as will be seen from what follows, probable that Yule is right in his conjecture that Ptolemy's *Agathou daimonos nesos* preserves a misunderstanding, as perhaps does also the contemporary Aginatæ (with its later corruptions Allegate, Alegada on maps) for its inhabitants, of some sailors' term near to the modern Andaman. The old error that Ptolemy's maps were drawn by Agathodæmon, the grammarian of the 5th Century, A.D., is repeated in Portman's *History of our Relations with the Andamanese*, 1899, p. 50 and elsewhere.

Little Andaman, as a name, has a curious and obscure history on the old maps. In some of them we find Isle d'Andemaon (and Andaman) and also Isle de Maon (and Man), as if "Andaman" was the Great Andaman and "Man" the Little Andaman. Then in maps we have Chitre Andaman 1595, 1642: Chique Andemaon 1710: Cite Andemaon 1720, 1720 and Crita I. 1720 obviously corrupted out of Chitre, Chique and Cite. I have seen also Cite d'Andaman responsible for a town or city in the Andamans! And it is just possible that Chique Andemaon is responsible for the modern Cinque Islands between Great and Little Andaman, which are not five but obviously two islands. Chetty Andaman survived till 1858. Little Andaman, in its modern form, does not appear till the maps of Blair in 1790 odd.

175 101 **Origin of the name.**—The Chinese and Japanese knew the Islands respectively as Yeng-t'o-mang and Audaban in the first millenium A.D. (*vide* Takakasu's Edition of I-tsing pp. xxx and xxviii ff) which clearly represent the Andaman of the *Arab Relations* of 851 A.D. Then comes Marco Polo with his Arabic dual form Angamanain in 1292. After which we have Nicolo Conti in 1430 with Andemania, and after him almost every eastern traveller and mapmaker with some form of "Andaman." All these terms seem obviously to be based on the Malay name for the islands, as the Malays of the Peninsula have, for many centuries, used the islands for their piratical practices and for a trade in Andamanese slaves to their own country and Siam (this up to about 1860) and have known them by the term Handuman, which most likely preserves the very ancient Hanuman (monkey, *scil.*, savage aborginal antagonist of the Aryans) so well-known to the Indian Epics and carried down to the Malays in story and translations.

In the great Tanjore inscription of 1050 A.D. the Andamans are mentioned under a translated name along with the Nicobars, as Timaittivu, "Islands of Impurity" and as the abode of cannibals. In the Chinese *History of the T'ang Dynasty* (618-906 A.D.) they are called the land of the Rakshasas, and the Andamanese are to-day regarded as Rakshasas (or ogres, *i.e.*, traditional savage antagonists of the Aryans) by the Natives of India on being first seen, and were so called at once when they appeared in the streets on a visit to Calcutta in 1883. As the abode of the Rakshasas the Andamans were also known to the Southern Indians in mediæval times and this persistence in regarding the Andamanese as the Rakshasas or their descendants confirms the ancient derivation of "Andaman" as a name from Hanuman through Malay Handuman. 175 101

The Andamanese have returned the compliment and know all Orientals as Chauga or ancestral ghosts, *i.e.*, demons, and have preserved an ancient knowledge of them in a term for trepang or sea-slug as the "Oriental's slug," the collection of this valuable edible and of the equally valuable birds'-nests being one object of the visits of the Malays, Burmese and Chinese in days gone by, in addition to trapping slaves, which last practice no doubt had something to do with the savage hostility of the Andamanese towards all who landed on their shores.

Mediæval and Modern Notices of the Islands.—The notices of the Islands by the old travellers are continuous, and they regularly appear in some shape or other on all maps from the "Ptolemies" of the 15th-16th Century onwards, till we reach the middle of the 18th Century, when the East India Company's and Royal Naval commanders and surveyors began to make accurate reports of parts of the coasts in charts preserved for us in the works of the indefatigable Dalrymple. Owing to the piracies and ill-treatment of shipwrecked and distressed crews, the Company under Lord Cornwallis commissioned the great surveyor Archibald Blair in 1788 to start a Settlement on the ordinary lines, to which convicts were afterwards sent as labourers. Blair, with the acuteness he shows in all his work, fixed upon the harbour he called Port Cornwallis, but now known as Port Blair, for the Settlement and began his labours there in 1789. The Settlement flourished under him at that spot, but was removed in 1792 for strategical reasons to the present Port Cornwallis, where it gradually perished miserably in 1796 from the effects of a bad, unhealthy site and want of experience of the climate. Here it was under Major Kyd. Blair's and Kyd's *Reports* have all been preserved in the *Bengal Consultations* and are published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vols. xxviii *et seq.* 175

Modern History of the Islands and People.—Thereafter notices of the Andamans are not numerous, but they must have occupied the Government attention, for a formal *résumé* of information was officially drawn up in 1802. In 1824 the fleet, formed for the attack on Burma, made its rendezvous at Port Cornwallis. In 1825 J. E. Alexander, *Travels from India to England*, gives an interesting account of a landing at the Little Andaman. In 1836, Malcom, the missionary, notices the Andamans in his *Travels in Southern Asia*. In 1839, Dr. Helfer, the geologist, was murdered north of Port Cornwallis. In 1844 the transports *Briton* and *Runnymede*, from Sydney and Gravesend, respectively, were wrecked together on the Archipelago in a cyclone on 12th November. They contained detachments of the 10th, 50th and 80th Regiments, and the full record of the occurrence that has been left affords a fine example of pluck, endurance and resource in a great emergency. In 1850, a Mr. Quigley from Moulmein wrote a misleading and mischievous account of a visit to Interview Island. There is preserved an interesting account of the wreck of the *Emily* in 1849 off the West Coast and of the subsequent efforts to assist the crew. On this occasion the second mate was murdered by the aborigines, and there are records at this period of other murders dating before 1848 and continuing on till 1856. These led to the second occupation of the Islands, a step which was hastened by the outbreak of the Mutiny in 1857. This event threw a large number of mutineers, deserters and rebels on the hands of the Government, with whom it was difficult to deal, and in November of that year it was finally decided to send them to the Andamans to start the Settlement. The Government sent the "Andaman Committee" to make a preliminary exploration, with Dr. Mouat as president, and this Committee, in a *Report* remarkable for its common sense, fixed upon Port Blair as the site of the Settlement. Upon this report and an

175 equally able report by Captain Hopkinson, Commissioner of Arakan in 1856, the great experiment in treating convicts was commenced, one of the last acts of the East India Court of Directors being the formal confirmation of the Indian Government's proceedings. In 1872 the Andamans and Nicobars were formed into a Chief Commissionership, and in that year occurred the one event of general importance that has made the Andamans well known: the murder of Lord Mayo, Viceroy of India, by a convict while on a visit of inspection to the settlement, for the welfare of whose convict population he had worked so sympathetically.

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172 The largest and traditionally the oldest, the original, home of the race by a consensus of Andamanese opinion and worth scientific exploration (any other to be greatly deprecated), is the kitchen-midden of Wota-Emi on Baratang in Elphinstone Harbour on the east coast of the South Andaman.

In reference to the kitchen-middens it is worth noting that all Andamanese tradition commences with the cataclysm accompanied by a subsidence of a large portion of the surface of their old country already noticed, and the people point to certain ancient kitchen-middens, such as that at Port Mouat, on the sea level to prove it. They say that these were commenced by the survivors of the cataclysm and that the sites were previously high up on the mountain sides, where no one could build a kitchen-midden.

175 **Early Descriptions.**—I-Tsing, the Chinese Buddhist monk, in 672 A. D. (Takakasu's Ed. p. xxx) mixed up in his account of his travels the Andamanese with the Nicobarese, and describes them thus:—

"The men are entirely naked while the women veil their person with some leaves. If the merchants in joke offer them their clothes, they wave their hands (to tell that) they do not use them."

But the earliest distinct notice of the Andamanese is in that remarkable collection of early Arab notes on India and China (851 A. D.), which was translated by Eus. Renaudot and again in our own time by M. Reinaud. It accurately represents the view entertained of this people by mariners down to our own time.

175 266 "The inhabitants of these islands eat men alive. They are black with woolly hair and in their eyes and countenances there is something quite frightful * * * they go naked and have no boats. If they had they would devour all who passed near them. Sometimes ships that are windbound and have exhausted their provision of water touch here and apply to the natives for it; in such cases the crews sometimes fall into the hands of the latter and most of them are massacred."

This traditional charge of cannibalism still persists, though it is now, and almost certainly has always been, entirely untrue. Of the massacre of shipwrecked crews up till quite recent times there is no doubt; but the policy of conciliation, which has been unremittingly pursued for the last forty years, has made the coasts quite safe for the shipwrecked, except at points where the Jarawas touch the coast and the wilder Onges reside, the south and west of Little Andaman, the North Sentinel Island, south of Rutland Island and Hut Bay on its western coast, Port Campbell and some few miles to the north of it on the west coast of the South Andaman. Everywhere else shipwrecked mariners would find the people not only friendly and helpful, but likely to give notice to Port Blair at once of their predicament.

[766] **Charge of Cannibalism.**—The charge of cannibalism seems to have arisen from three observations of the old mariners. The Andamanese attacked and murdered without provocation every stranger they could on his landing; they burnt his body (as they did in fact that of every enemy); and they had weird all-night dances round fires. Combine these three observations with the unprovoked murder of one of themselves and the fear aroused by such occurrences in a far land in ignorant mariners' minds, century after century, and a persistent charge of cannibalism is almost certain to be the result.

101 **Language of the Aka-Beada Tribe used in the Report.**—The tribe occupying the shores of the Harbour of Port Blair and its islands at the British occupation in 1858 was, in its own tongue, the Aka-Bea-da. Its language was the first to be studied and its customs the first to be ascertained. It may still be called the tribe that is the best known and understood.

Every tribe has its own name for itself and its neighbours, and it is therefore necessary for the purposes of this *Report* to adopt one set of names only throughout, and the set most convenient is naturally that of the Aka-Bea-da. In this language *aka* is a prefix with small variations to nearly all tribal names and *da* is a suffix used with almost every isolated noun. For the sake of brevity I have throughout this *Report* discarded both these affixes and used the roots only of tribal names. But it must be understood that in actual speech an Aka-Bea would, in answering such a question as "what is your tribe?", reply

726 **Fighting Capacity.**—The Andamanese are bad fighters and never attack unless certain of success. During hostilities they never take any precautions as to their own safety by sentries, works, armour, or ruses of any kind, nor in the attack beyond taking advantage of cover. The only ideas of protection yet met with are among the Jarawas, who use trunk-armour consisting of a wide belt of bark and well devised sentry stations on the paths round their permanent communal huts.

619 **The Hostile Tribe of Jarawas.**—The Jarawas and some Onges kill every stranger at sight, but the Jarawas only are in these days entirely hostile, and on the whole the Onges are friendly, the friendliness dating from the capture and subsequent judicious treatment of 24 men, women and children on the Cinque Islands in January 1885. The only positively dangerous people are thus the Jarawas, and this is to be accounted for in this way. The ancient (as proved by old separate kitchen-middens) incursion from the Little Andaman through Rutland Island of that section of the Onge tribe, which is now known as the Jarawas, into the South Andaman set up an implacable tribal hostility between them and the Beas, its other occupants, which has been extended to the foreign settlers in Port Blair, and has nowadays become an undying distrust of all strangers and an hereditary hostility towards them.

But Colebrooke, reporting in 1790, gives a vocabulary of a people, now identified with the Onge-Jarawa tribe by its speech, and as theories have been built up on this fact, it is as well to see carefully when and where Colebrooke met the natives and who they were.

175 **Colebrooke's Knowledge of them (1789).**—Colebrooke left Diamond Island (Cape Negrais) on December 20th, 1789, and reached Port Cornwallis (*now* Port Blair) on December 23rd. On the 24th he went up the harbour and saw some natives (Jarawa Tribe) on Dundas Point. On the 26th he went up the harbour with Commodore Cornwallis (brother of the Governor-General), accompanied by a native who had been wounded in a skirmish with his tribe, found to be very hostile by the people of the snow *Viper*, and was kept on board the *Ranger*, Cornwallis's ship. He is described as "very cheerful and quite reconciled to his captivity." They went up the Bumlitan Creek as far as Bumlitan and met another native (Jarawa) who ran away. They dined (lunched) on "Mount Pleasant," a hill on the harbour near Viper Island, and met another Jarawa who exchanged his bow and arrows for a knife. On the 27th the wounded native, who had been on the *Ranger* three weeks, was put ashore by the Commodore, who uniformly treated the savages with extreme consideration. On the 28th they met the Jarawa on Dundas Point whom they had seen before, with a woman and a girl and found him again friendly. On the 29th there was trouble with the Bea Tribe at Phœnix Bay and with the Jarawas at Ariel Creek.

Colebrooke then went to the Nicobars and returned to Port Blair on February 20th, 1790, starting up north on 21st February. On the 23rd March at Port Meadows he saw some of the Bea Tribe leaving Entrance Island and saw some more hostile Beas, whom the party frightened off, coming from the North. On the 26th he went to the Archipelago, and met some hostile Balawas. On the 27th he went into Colebrooke Passage and saw some Bojigyab huts and some more of the tribe, who ran away in Elphinstone Harbour on the 29th. On the 30th they met some hostile Kols in the east entrance to Homfray's Strait and some more on the 31st off the north end of Long Island. On the 3rd and 4th April they found the Yere Tribe in Stewart Sound extremely hostile. On the 6th Blair himself met some Koras at the foot of Saddle Peak, who ran away. On the 7th Blair discovered the present Port Cornwallis and Colebrooke left for India.

It is clear from this that the only native from whom Colebrooke could have procured his *Vocabulary* was the wounded man on the *Ranger* and that man, as the *Vocabulary* shows, was a Jarawa. The tribes of all sorts—Jarawa, Bea, Bojigyab, Balawa, Kol, Yere, Kora, whom Colebrooke met, except in the case of one Jarawa and his family, exhibited either extreme fear or hostility.

● 175 101 **Explanation of the name Mincopie for the Andamanese.**—The first word in Colebrooke's *Vocabulary*, the first ever made of any Andaman tongue, is Mincopie for "Andaman Island or native country," whence Mincopie has

become a persistent book-name for the Andamanese. It has been a great puzzle to scientific men ever since, though it is now to be identified, as will be seen later, with "Möngebe, I am (an) Önge," a phrase, which was perhaps pronounced and at any rate sounded in Colebrooke's ears as "Minggobie." His informant, in using it, apparently meant to explain that he was an Önge, or as the Jarawas seem to pronounce the name,—an Inggo. 175 101

Relations with the English.—Since the establishment of the Penal Settlement in 1858 an Andamanese Home has been created in Port Blair for the use of the aborigines, and several attempts have been made to civilise some of them and to bring up the children to a Christian education. These attempts have met with no reasonable success, the "civilised" returning to their original savagery at the first opportunity, the children deserting the schools and, except in an instance here and there, retaining nothing of their early education in after life. The existing use of the Home is that of a free asylum to which every Andamanese that likes is admitted. He may stay as long as he pleases and go when it suits him. While there he is housed, fed and taken care of, and for the sick there is a good and properly maintained hospital. From the Home, too, are taken such little necessaries and luxuries as the people desire to friends at a distance and during each of the many tours taken round the coasts by the officials. In return the Andamanese of the Home are employed to help in catching runaway convicts, in collecting edible birds'-nests and trepang and other natural produce, and in making "Andamanese curios," from which a small income is derived and expended on them. They have never succeeded in acquiring any true idea of money for themselves and all their earnings have to be administered for them. It is indeed against local rules to give them money, as it is at once spent in intoxicants. The present policy, in short, is to leave them alone and to do what is possible in the conditions to ameliorate their lives. The administrative objects gained by establishing friendly relations with the tribes are the cessation of the former and much too frequent murder of shipwrecked crews, the external peace of the Settlement and the creation of a jungle police to prevent escapes of convicts, and the recapture of runaways. 175 439

In the days of Blair and Kyd, 1789—96, the tribes showed themselves to be practically uniformly hostile, despite the conspicuous consideration these early officials exhibited, and remained continuously so after the commencement of the re-establishment of the Settlement in 1858, attacking the working parties of convicts, just as the Jarawas do still, for iron and articles suitable to them and robbing the gardens started for food supplies. These practices had to be repressed by force, and efforts towards friendly relations had to be postponed until respect for the settlers was established. The procedure officially then adopted and carried out with such success in the end by Messrs. Corbyn, Homfray, Man, Godwin-Austen, and Portman in succession was the simple one of providing the Home and visiting the people in their own haunts, as opportunity arose, with suitable presents.

In Appendix B will be found an abstract of the Jarawa raids on the Settlement, which have been continuous since 1872, when they were first differentiated. In the interval they have attacked convicts, usually at their work, on 20 occasions and friendly Andamanese Camps on 12 occasions. That is, they have made 32 attacks in 30 years. In these attacks 27 convicts and 4 Andamanese have been killed; 7 convicts, 2 police constables, and 5 Andamanese have been wounded. In counter expeditions and searches for the raiders 3 Jarawas have been killed, 9 wounded, and 20 captured. Of the captured 18 have been released in a short time and 2 have died. It will be seen thus that the hostility of the tribe is towards all strangers, including their own people, and that the policy of capture, kindness in captivity, and release with presents has not up to date borne any good fruit whatever. This is a very different story to that of their almost equally wild congeners the Önges.

II. Physical Characteristics.

Portman's and Molesworth's Enquiries.—The physical characteristics of the Andamanese have been considerably studied by Mr. M. V. Portman and Major W. S. Molesworth, and as their work has never been published, the 141

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

The North Sentinel Jarawa

648 175 The taming of the South Andaman Jarawa has been a moot problem of the local government in view of their occasional raids on the forest camps and offices. On this score the North Sentinel Jarawa appear to have an important function. Nothing is known of the length of their isolation on this little island of about 15 square miles but it is probably unaffected by the punitive expeditions, that are undertaken from time to time by the local government against the South Andaman Jarawa. When BONIG and his party landed on the west coast of North Sentinel Island on March 9th 1911, they were not received with volleys of arrows, but instead the "eight men on the beach and another five in two canoes" disappeared in the jungle. The same was true of those seen previously on the east coast. BONIG and his party visited some huts, which [342] were of the lean-to type, and also went some miles inland without being troubled. BONIG therefore rightly concludes the following :

"The people appear very timid and it seems not unlikely that if they are approached frequently with presents, they will become friendly of their own accord. If this fails the small area of the island and the open nature of the forest would also make it easy to capture some, and after kind treatment let them go again".

As far as the present writer's knowledge goes this method has not yet been tried, but its utility lies perhaps in taming their South Andaman congeners. They could be made to settle round Port Campbell and other suitable areas on the west coast. A few communal huts built according to the plan and style of the South Andaman Jarawa should first of all be provided. They should be given all chances of expanding their population. Such an opportunity they are likely to seize if they suffer in any way from population pressure or from shortage of food and shelter. If their canoes are not seaworthy they should be provided with suitable water transport so that there may be frequent intercourse between the two islands.

The South Andaman Jarawa

114 Although no systematic ethnographic studies on the Jarawa have been undertaken, RADCLIFFE BROWN (1922) gave sufficient hints regarding the unity of the material culture of the Negritos as a whole. Physically they belong to the Negrito race, as can be seen from the few natives captured from time to time by the local government (SARKAR, 1952). The punitive expeditions 648 have also brought to light some important facts of their material culture.

342 Thus, during the punitive expedition of March 1911 (LOWIS, 1912) near Pap-lunta-jig a big communal hut was found which had been erected on the ridge of a hill and which measured 45′ × 30′ × 15′. It was raised high above the ground and was supported by a number of stout piles. The structure [184] was different from the Onge communal huts in that the floor was raised, while in the latter the floor is just the surface of the earth. The eves of the Onge communal hut touch the ground.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P. ix]

INTRODUCTION

A group of north-south running islands as they are, the Andaman Islands have as many as 204 small islands where the impact of civilisation and growth has been little and the human history has been one of stagnation rather than of chequered career. Being a land of aborigines, the foreign intrusion has been quite feeble though mention about these islands is found in the early records of the travellers. Though the knowledge about the islands is derived from the notes which date back to 2nd Century A.D., the contacts with the foreigners have been all the time transient and extremely feeble. Before the formation of the penal settlement, the islands have been known as an island of horror because of the presence of such tribal people who would eat up the man they encounter and as regards the wealth there has been imaginary illusion, sometimes being called as the Island of Gold. The historical record of the islands which can be built with a fair degree of precision is since the formation of the penal settlement. There has been the search for resources as well as their exploitation. However, all the attempts for finding minerals and the geological explorations have shown the possibility of the existence of some poor quality coal, copper etc. Virtually there has been a conspicuous lack of efforts for the development of the islands. The penal settlement which grew up in Port Blair did not have any considerable influence on the overall development of the islands. Nevertheless with the more intimate knowledge about the islands, the forest exploitation had increased and the land around Port Blair was cleared for agriculture. The little amount of agriculture that was started and fostered by the local-borns in and around Port Blair never expanded considerably and it remained confined to a few areas of South Andaman only. The aborigines were very much widespread and in the beginning they had exercised hostility and arrogance which had in course of time given place to a very friendly and amicable terms with some of the tribal groups i.e. the Onges and the Andamanese. The Jarawas, however, still now maintain their hostility and the attempts for bringing them under amicable terms have so long proved futile.

Nothing more deserves a special note in the islands than the aboriginal population. Because of the insular nature of the islands, the aboriginal population is considered to be one of the purest type though the foreign intrusion has brought about an extremely rapid impoverishment and decay only during the last few decades of contact with these aborigines.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P. 3]

CHAPTER II
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

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The insular position of the islands has made the Andaman groups of islands extremely obscure and even to-day the obscurity of the islands has not been totally dispelled. The islands being cut off from the rest of the world have remained as the abode of the negritoes until the very late arrival of the people from the civilised countries at the end of the 18th century. Though there were occasional incidents of plunder and raids by the pirates in the islands, no account of the chronological sequence of the facts and incidents can be built up except some erratic speculations gathered from the books written by the early traders. The isolation and the obscurity of the islands were removed to a considerable degree with the arrival of the British administrators and the consequent development of the penal colony. It is only after the formation of the penal colony that the historical account of the islands is made available. The history of the islands is extremely fascinating which depicts how the melting pot gave way to different people. It is only through the proper understanding of the historical background that the land and people of the islands hold up their true character, though in a treatise like this the study of history is beyond the direct compass. From the study of the history of the islands it can be concluded that geography has largely, if not wholly, determined the history of the islands. Geography, of course, is a study of different spaces (regions) but it is not a static one because of the great interaction of man with his land which gradually moulds it into different shapes and so it has got its reflection in history, a study of the different times.

The historical phases of the islands can be roughly grouped into four main periods which show some distinct tendencies separated off from each other.

1 Upto 1788—The period of seclusion and piratical disturbances.
2. 1788-1941 — The British regime—a period of foreign intrusion and settlement.
3 1942-1945 — The Japanese Regime.
4. Post Independence Period — Attempt of all-round regional development and welfare of the islands and the settlement of the refugees mainly from East Pakistan.

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(1) *The Period of Seclusion and Piratical Disturbances*

In this period of seclusion, people had some knowledge of these islands from the travellers, traders and sea-pirates owing to the central position of the islands on the trade routes of India, Burma and the Far East. The islands were inhabited exclusively by the aborigines. Mention of these islands dates back to the 2nd Century A. D. in the writings of Claude Ptolemy. The map referred to, in his writings, indicates the Islands of Buzacata to be in the place of the Andaman Islands and it is said that this island produces quantities of shells and the inhabitants go naked and are called Agmatae. It is believed that the Island of Buzacata means to refer to the Andaman Islands and such a peculiar name (Buzacata) has been achieved through the originality of the cartographer.

Later mentions of these islands are found in the collection of early Arab notes of the 9th Century on India and China which were translated by Eus. Renaudat and the people of the Andamans have been called Angamanians. Further mention of the islands is made by two Mohammedan travellers (Pemberton's General Collection of voyages and travels), Chinese Buddhist Monk I'Tsing (672 A.D.), Marco Polo (1286 A.D.), Friar Oderic (1322 A.D.), Nicolo Conti (1430) etc. From most of their writings it was evident that the islands were inhabited by very ugly brutes who would eat up any man whom they could lay hands on. Nevertheless, this was a land of riches and was named the "Island of Gold." An idea of the knowledge of these islands in the early days can be had from the notes of Marco Polo, a portion of which is quoted below.

"Angamanian is a very long island.. The people are without a king and are idolaters and no better than wild beasts. All the men of this island of Angamanian have heads like dogs, and teeth and eye likewise; in fact, in the face they are just like big mastiff dogs. They have a quantity of species; but they are a most cruel generation, and eat everybody that they can catch, if not of their own race. They live on flesh and rice and milk and have fruits different from any of ours."

[648] These types of early notes by different travellers are largely written from second hand knowledge and tales current in the neighbouring countries of the Andamans viz. Malaya, Siam, etc. Mr. Portman[1] opines

[113] 1 Portman, M. V.—A history of our relations with the Andamanese.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

that, "it should be remembered that it was to the interest of the pirates 175
who made the Andamans a headquarters of their raids and also en- 648
slaved the aborigines, to exaggerate the real dangers they encountered and spread such tales regarding the Andamans as would keep them away." The islands have been ravaged by the Malay sea pirates from very early times. They used to come to collect shells and to carry on the slave-trade. These sea-pirates, through their exaggerated propeganda, made the islands a monopoly ground of their own and, in consequence, people used to know it as a land of horror. The slaves brought by the pirates used to find their way in the courts of Siam, Cambodia and Indo-China for many centuries, thus bringing about the deepest distrust and hostility on the part of the aborigines to all the visiters to the islands.

The name '*Andamans*' of the islands is a corrupt form of the name 101
'*Hanuman*' or 'Monkey peoples', the aboriginal antagonists of the 175
Aryan immigrants in India. In the earliest Hindu mythology, the 648
Ramayana, these islands were believed to be a land of the *Hanumans*. Malayans used to refer to them as '*Handuman*' which is even a corrupt form of *Hanuman* and from Malay the knowledge about the Andamans first spread into the different parts of the world. Hence the '*Handuman*' has further evolved into '*Andaman*'.

(2) *The British Regime and the Period of Foreign Intrusion and Settlements Since 1788.*

Factual records of the history of the Andamans can only be had 175
since 1877 with the steps taken by the British Government of India to 648
found a penal colony in the islands. The disturbing activities of the Malay pirates and the frequent massacres of the ship-wrecked crews around the Andaman Sea necessitated the Government of India to form a penal colony in the islands. For the materialisation of such a proposal, Lord Cornwallis sent Lt. Blair and Lt. Colebrook to investigate into the possibilities of such a colonisation in the islands in the year 1788. In accordance with their investigations, the first settlement was established on Chatham Island* at Port Cornwallis (now Port Blair) consisting of a free colony. It was found that the North East harbour (now Port Cornwallis) was a better place for settlement because of its fine harbour and nearness to Calcutta. So, in 1792, the settlement was transferred

* Chatham Islands is the port of the Port Blair town and is a very small island.

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to the spot but it had to be shifted again to Port Blair because of the unhealthy climate and in consequence high mortality rates in that region.

But this settlement prospered little and for the next 60 years (uptil the second settlement) we have got very scanty records of the islands. The few important events are that in 1824 the British fleet were appointed at Port Cornwallis before the First Burmese War in 1825. J. E. Alexander landed, in a very interesting way in the Little Andaman, south of the South Andaman.

In 1837 Dr. Helfer, a Russian Geologist, was murdered by the aborigines while he was making expeditions into the islands in search of gold. In 1744 happened the queerly coincidental wrecks of the ships 'Runneymede' and 'Briton' bound for Calcutta with troops from Sydney and Gravesend respectively and there were various attacks on the troops by the Andamanese.

This period of great mishaps, shipwrecks and other disturbances made the government anxious. Fortunately for the British Government, this period synchronised with the Sepoy Mutiny in North India in 1857. Again a comprehensive report was submitted for making the islands a penal colony and in March 1858, the Andamans entered into second phase of its history as a penal settlement with the first lot of prisoners, 200 in number, and the mutineers of the Indian army who for the first time attempted to overthrow the British rule in India. They were accompanied by Dr. J. P. Walker. But the number increased to 773 within 3 months but 292 of them or 37 p.c. had escaped, died or were hanged.

Very strict measures were taken by Dr. Walker to deter these convicts from escape. But the administration of Dr. Walker was further weakened by frequent attacks of the Andamanese and this culminated in the Battle of Aberdeen on the 14th May, 1859. Dudh Nath Tewari, an escaped convict, who lived long with these aborigines, warned the settlement of the attack to be made in the Aberdeen, the heart of Port Blair, and as such proper steps were taken by the settlement to fight against the Andamanese. The escaped convict was released for his timely service.

Colonel J. C. Haughton (Oct., 1859) took the charge after Dr. Walker and he was a very loving personality amongst the convicts. He adopted a very humane method of treatment of convicts and established friendly relations with the Andamanese. In 1861 the administration of the Andamans was transferred from the control of the Government of India to the Chief Commissioner of Burma.

Colonel Taylor (1862) also adopted humane methods. 149 acres of land had been cleared for cultivation and there were some 3000 convicts

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in the settlement by 1864. In this period Lord Napier of Magdala visited the islands and suggested certain reforms. The Government of India sanctioned a grant for the formation of the "Andamanese Home" which aimed at improving the relations of the civilised people with the aborigines.

In 1863 General Man took the charge when the number of convicts increased to 8873 and 3000 acres of land were cleared, 876 acres of land were brought under plough and as a result health conditions improved and death-rates fell appreciably from 10.16% to 1.2%.

General Steward (1871) followed General Man and devoted himself to the agricultural developments of these islands and while on a visit to the Andamans he was murdered by a convict at Hope Town on the 8th February, 1872. In this year the administration was first raised to the rank of Chief Commissionership and the Andaman Regulations of 1874 were drafted, placing the settlement judicially under the Government of India, instead of under the High Court of Calcutta, and making provisions for the release of the life time convicts after 20-25 years of penal servitude if they showed good conduct.

General Steward was followed by Colonel T. Cadell, who was here for 13 years and attempted the great economic development of the settlement. The Forest Department was opened and the foundation of the Cellular Jail was laid down, though it was completed in the year 1905 and the recruitment of the labourers was made from the convicts only. The Cellular Jail claims to be the biggest masonry building in the Andamans, situated on the sea-coast.

Sir Richard Temple (1894-1903) also did many constructive works such as the considerable enlargement of the Phoenix Bay dockyard and workshops, and the initial arrangements for the reclamation of South Point—Aberdeen Swamps were completed in 1918.

Later came Colonel Douglas (1913-20) and the first suggestion for abolishing the penal colony was forwarded by him. A forest colony was started in North Andaman Division which had to be closed down due to the general trade depression and the most remarkable achievement was the plantation of cocoanuts over several thousands of acres which afterwards formed a source of large revenue.

Colonel Beadon's tenure (1920-23) marked a change in the administrative policy. Only 1400 Mapilla rebels and some Punjabis were received as convicts and the general convict strength fell from 11,532 to 8823. Unmarried women convicts and also some categories of male

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convicts were sent back to India. The convicts were provided with many facilities and they were also treated leniently. The coconut plantations developed by Colonel Douglas were made over to some private enterprises. Beadon contemplated various reforms and changes in the administrative policy of the Government, but failed to translate them into action due to the shortage of funds. The local-born association was started under the Presidentship of a Government Gazetted Officer for their welfare.

Colonel Ferrar (1923-31) possibly brought about the greatest changes in the island and with the closing of the penal settlement, schemes for colonisation and developments were necessary. The settlement in the Andamans had grown up in and around Port Blair in the South Andamans and everywhere the ephemeral huts of former times were giving way to well constructed two storied houses of sawn timber and iron roof, with stair cases, glared windows and other amenities. The old period of 10 years on probation as a labouring convict was abolished and after a few months' stay in the Cellular jail all the convicts found themselves placed on a wage basis and freed from the necessity of wearing convict dresses. During this time the willing convicts were allowed to go back to the mainland to bring their wives and families to the Andamans for permanent settlement. Many of the convicts, of course, returned back to the islands with frustrated mind as they were not recognised by their societies and families in the mainland to which they originally belonged.[1] All these changes in the administrative policy had their impact on the rural and urban population. In spite of the above cases, there was a rapid increase in the number of women and children in the Andamans and the social structure gained greater stability as regards the sex ratio, and this was probably a stepping stone to the successful approach towards colonisation.

A new deep-water jetty was built up at Chatham and was connected with the main island by a wooden bridge. Malarial swamps around the harbour were filled up by dredgers. A match factory was also built up at a cost of 3½ lakhs of rupees. Hence the period of Colonel Ferrar is a period of achievement when probably new life was infused into the people of the Andamans and had its effect on the all-round development of the South Andamans.

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1 Bonington, M.C.C.—Census Report, 1931.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Nicobars AZ7

(3) *The Japanese Regime.*

Under such circumstances of smooth development in the Andamans, the World War II darkened the horizon and no other part of India was so badly affected by the war as were the Andamans. The Japanese Army landed here on the 21st March, 1942 and had these islands under their occupation till 1945. This period was really a reign of terror and tales relating to the extent of their terrorism can be heard from the people with first-hand knowledge. In the beginning the relations of the Japanese with the local people were quite amiable. But a few instances of treachery committed by the people to contact the British Government in their attempt to overthrow the Japanese rule changed their relation to a bitter one. Hundreds of local borns were killed on the least suspicious by the Japanese Government. Naval blockade prevented supplies from outside and the Japanese were the pioneers in making the Andamans self-sufficient. From high Japanese officials to menials, all people were compelled to cultivate lands in order to achieve self-sufficiency at home. They cultivated all the available lands including hill slopes where they grew sweet potatoes and tapioca. The Japanese are also believed to have bombed over the Jarawa areas and surely they killed some. On the 8th October, 1945, the S. E. A. C. took the surrender of the Japanese garrison at Port Blair and immediate steps were taken for the rehabilitation of the surviving population who were famished and ill-clad. The civil administration was re-established on the 7th February, 1946.

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Although the Japanese regime was a reign of terror, they at least showed the proper channel to develop the islands. They attained self-sufficiency in the Andamans, constructed 22 miles of road and tried for proper defence of the islands and developed industries based on local raw-materials. Whatever criticism may follow regarding such steps taken by the Japanese, it is to be believed that such isolated islands must follow this channel for their economic development.

(4) *Post-Independence Period.*

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Since the 15th August, 1947 the Andaman and Nicobar Islands have shared independence with India. They now constitute the only 'D' class 'State' of the Republic of India, ruled by a Chief Commissioner directly nominated by the Indian President. Because of the meagreness of population adult franchise is not in vogue here and as such there is no representative from the Andamans in the Indian Parliament, but there is only one representative to the Parliament from the whole of the Andamans and the Nicobars nominated by the President of India. In the Andamans a local advisory

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
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council is nominated by the President of India on the recommendation of the Chief Commissioner which has been working in the islands for a few years.

The Government of the Andamans is attempting to colonise the islands successfully in collaboration with the Government of India, and in accordance with this principle the East Bengal refugees are being rehabilitated in the islands. An all-round economic development is aimed at and its supplementation depends upon the future Five Year Plans.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

food lie in a chain running from north to south along the islands between Little and Great Andamans. This has been one of the most convincing proofs of the movement of the aborigines from the south to the north. Cipriani writes, 'All these organisations, with geographical names, camps, places for water and food, indicate an ancient navigating experience moving from the south to the north. About a century and half ago the Jarawas are said to have still been in possession of canoes and the same is said of the savage inhabitants of the North Sentinel Island less than 50 years ago. In a surprisingly short period the technique of making canoes seems to have been completely forgotten as a result of the difficulties of using them.'[2]

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THE ABORIGINES OF THE GREAT ANDAMAN GROUP

Andamanese, as they are called, were the most widespread and the largest in number. They had split up ultimately into a few sub-groups from the north to the south. The different groups are *Aka-kora, Aka-boa, Aka-jeru and Aka-bea.* There has been a deplorable decline in the number of these aborigines who in the bygone ages exceeded all other groups in number. At present the number is only 23, a considerable reduction from the number 625 only in the beginning of the 20th century. Though the present importance of the Andamanese because of the extremely poor number is far from significant, they are of no small interest for the study of the anthropologist, especially the impact of these people with the later settlers.

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The consequences of the impact of the outsiders on the Andamanese have been far from satisfactory. With the formation of the penal colony, the aborigines continued to develop feud and on the 14th of May, 1959 a clash between the aborigines and the Govt. occurred which is known as the Battle of Aberdeen. Aberdeen is at the heart of the town of Port Blair. Efforts of pacifying these aborigines were made and for bringing them into closer terms of amity, the 'Andamanese Home' was started in 1863 by Rev. H. Corbyn Chaplain. They were employed for working with the convicts taught to speak English and wear clothes. The consequence of such an impact has been alarmingly devastating because of the infiltration of a number of vices and diseases which only paved the way for their impoverishment and decay (For further particulars see demographic characteristics).

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2 Cipriani, L — On the origin of the Andamanese, Andaman & Nicobar Islands, Census of India, 1951.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

The contact of the Onges with the outsiders can only be traced since the efforts of M. V. Portman[1] to establish a friendly relation with these tribes from 1886 onwards. However the earlier contacts with the Chinese and Japanese were possible because these people used to frequent the shores of Little Andaman for collecting the valuable shells and the Onges used to be engaged by them as divers and in reciprocation they were given presents of alcohol and opium. In the initial stage of the attempt for establishing a friendly relation by Portman, the Onges proved themselves hostile which was evidenced from the poor fate of the crews of a ship 'Assam Valley' when it touched the shores of Little Andaman and it was through the great efforts of the punitive expedition led by W. L. Much that the dead bodies of the crews were recovered. Later on, a few Onges, all on a sudden, arrived at Cinque Island and were captured by M. V. Portman. Only 9 of them were detained and the rest 15 were released. These few captured Onges were closely observed and studied in Port Blair by Portman and were ultimately returned back to their native land, Little Andaman. The friendly treatment and the presents that these Onges had received from Portman, paved the path of establishing friendly relations with the Onges much easier and also made the subsequent visits of the foreigners much more welcome. After Portman, a few more contacts were made with the Onges by Prof. Lapicque in March, 1893, during the operations of 1911 and 1921, undertaken by Eicsktedt, a German anthropologist, in 1827, by Dr. B. S. Guha, Ex-Director Anthropological Survey of India in 1948 and by Lidio Cipriani, an Italian anthropologist in the year 1954 and in a few succeeding years. Still the knowledge about the Onges seems to be meagre.

Living exclusively in the Little Andaman and a few of them in the Rutland Island, the Onges live in groups on a septal basis with clear-cut boundaries of hunting group for each group. There is no permanent habitation or village of the Onges in any part of the Little Andaman and their huts are of two types—(a) the permanent type of communal hut called *bera*, and (b) the temporary type of shelter called *korale*.

The abundance of food and water has made the life of the Onges comparatively easy-going. All the groups are headed by a leader and each group is assigned a fixed territory. The community life seems to be extremely democratic in character which entertains and also maintains a perfect individual freedom and only in times of necessity, advice,

1 Portman, M. V—History of one relations with the Andamanese.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

have always been protected by the sea, which is almost invariably 101
rough, and by a thick tropical forest which extends without a break 162
over more than a thousand square kilometres, unpenetrated by 648
outsiders and almost impenetrable. 131

THE ARIOTO

The decline of the Andamanese began with the first landing of 174
foreigners on the island and is similar to that of so many other 197
primitive peoples who have come into contact with civilization; a [177]
detailed account of their decline would be long and pitiful. In the case of the Andamanese, however, demographic influences arising thousands of years ago must also be taken into account. Cut off by circumstances into small groups and separated at random by large expanses of sea or by the impenetrable forest, they gradually developed somatic and cultural differences of the greatest scientific interest. Among other things, languages became modified to such an extent that members of different groups are unable to understand one another. The Onges, for example, who in my opinion are the nearest relations of the Jarawas, are quite unable to understand their language.

The peoples of Great Andaman were the first to encounter 175
civilization, when from 1858 onwards the Indian Government, 177
then in English hands, decided to institute at Port Blair a peni- 648
tentiary for the many political prisoners after the famous 1857 mutiny. Subsequently the government sent over convicts serving long or life sentences. The life of the deportees was atrocious during the first few years, owing to malaria and the absence of medical supplies. To the majority, therefore, deportation to the Andamans meant a death sentence. Even today the only large brick building in the Andamans and Nicobars is the penitentiary at Port Blair.

Before the building of the penitentiary the English had made several desultory expeditions to the Andamans, and even before then other foreigners had landed on the archipelago. It is known that Marco Polo, probably passing within sight of the archipelago in 1292, gave it the name of Angaman, and declared the inhabitants to be ferocious cannibals with dogs' heads. As a result, even the Asian pirates were for centuries afraid to land on the islands. The barbarous forays of Arab slave traders later awoke in the islanders

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Arioto

175 a furious aversion to foreigners. This hatred has been rekindled
177 during the last hundred years by a number of unfortunate incidents,
648 but at one time the islanders were favourably disposed towards seafarers passing by, if we are to believe Niccolo dei Conti and Cesare Federici, fleeting visitors to the islands in 1440 and 1569. They both wrote of the peaceful native canoes that approached their ships, and this is confirmed by other travellers, like the Italians Fra Odorico da Pordenone in 1332 and Giovan Francesco Gemelli Caresi in 1709.

Violent clashes with the coastal tribes only became frequent when the English began to take an interest in the Andamans as a possible penal colony. The first prisoners to be sent there were some Indians, in 1788. In 1796 the colony was abolished owing to the swift death of nearly all the prisoners from tropical diseases. The attempt was repeated in 1858 after a mission entrusted to F. Mouat, and this time the seeds of decline for the islanders were sown. Efforts were begun to approach the coastal peoples, and even, strangely enough, those of the forests, the now ferocious Jarawas. Some of these tentative overtures were well received, but once the islanders came to think they had been betrayed it was enough to rekindle the hatred of strangers which they have retained ever since.

166 The evidence obtainable from archaeological excavations shows
[172] that for thousands of years the people encountered by the English in the coastal areas were the sole inhabitants of Great Andaman, living by fishing rather than by hunting or cultivation in the forests. The Jarawas arrived later. Migration from Little Andaman, imposed in relatively recent times by lack of food, brought them to Great Andaman. Since the entire coastal region was already occupied, the new arrivals took refuge in the forests of the hinterland. There they were happy, for they found an abundance of wild honey
[628] and fruit which amply fulfilled their needs. A spontaneous equilibrium was established between the coast-people and the forest-people, and both prospered.

175 The arrival of an appreciable number of foreigners in 1858 im-
177 mediately changed the situation. The peoples of the coast, who
648 were the most anxious to make friends with the strangers, paid for
16 this fatal error with virtual extermination. When the foreigners had
101 definitely established themselves, the coastal Andamanese – *Arioto*
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11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Arioto

in the local language, as opposed to the people of the interior, the *Lirentaga* – appear to have numbered between six and eight thousand. Over the years their place has been taken by more than thirteen thousand foreigners, most of whom were deportees, enjoying relative liberty as servants of government officials, farmers and foresters. The settlers, voluntarily or involuntarily, introduced the islanders to alcohol and tobacco, forcing them to turn to the foreigners in order to satisfy their craving. In the famous and extremely frank work of the English explorer M. V. Portman (*A History of our Relations with the Andamanese*, Calcutta, 1899) official letters are reproduced which give precise instructions in the matter to government officials. The result of these instructions was to transform the Arioto into alcohol and tobacco addicts. Syphilis was passed to the native women by the deportees, and from them to their men. When, a few years after the mass importation of prisoners, the government authorities became aware of the infection among the Arioto, not one of them had escaped. The miserable twenty-three survivors of the eight to nine thousand of a century ago show the ultimate result only too well, and their final extinction is imminent.

Before the advent of the new civilization, the Arioto had divided up into at least ten distinct communities, but without any true tribal organization. They respected a form of chief, chosen by tacit consent for his personal qualities rather than by name or by birth-right; but the chiefs acted merely as paternal advisers, to be respected in times of trouble, with no illusions of authority. No one commanded, and none obeyed: all were content to follow the whim of the moment, with no conception of social obligation.

When the foreigners arrived, there were five main groups of Arioto on North Andaman, the Cari, Chede, Cora, Jeru and Tabo. Another five groups were in South Andaman, the Balawa, Bea, Bogig-iab, Joi and Col. With the numerical decline of the Arioto, who had always been endogamous within their group, a tendency arose for the survivors to merge and inter-marry, so that the twenty-three alive today are in fact the result of the mixing of the northern and southern Arioto, and of these with Indians and Burmese. The chief of these twenty-three individuals is Loca, a name in itself an indication of this ethnic mixture. Loca means 'whiskers', and he himself has a moustache, whereas pure Negritos have no body or facial hair.

THE ANDAMAN ISLANDERS

has a moustache, whereas pure Negritos have no body or facial hair.

THE JARAWAS

For obvious reasons I was unable to carry out any studies on the Jarawas. Apart from a restricted area around Port Blair, on the east coast of Great Andaman, the whole island is a tangle of tropical vegetation, in many places impenetrable, or at most passable only by hacking a way through. A few roads radiate from Port Blair, but none penetrate more than twenty kilometres or so from the township. To the north of the town is a well-maintained police cordon that stretches right across the island from east to west to prevent infiltration by the Jarawas; those in the south were all rounded up some time ago. Only beyond the cordon do the Jarawas maintain their rule over the virgin forest almost unchallenged. Like all the Andamanese they are Negritos, small in stature and extremely dark skinned. Obsessed by a fierce hatred for anyone outside their own group, enemies even of the other Andamanese, they roam through the forest with their deadly arrows. Shot from their powerful bows, their dagger-sharp arrows penetrate deep into the body of the victim – they can transfix a man's chest. The bloody skirmishing which has gone on for the last hundred years shows no signs of lessening even today.

The Jarawa ferocity increased as the result of grave mishandling of the situation by the foreigners. In this connection the following sentences from Portman's *History* may be quoted: 'On our arrival the Jarawas were quiet and inoffensive towards us, nor did they ever disturb us, until we took to continuously molesting them by inciting the coastal Andamanese against them. After a few years of this disturbance, the life of the Jarawas became very hard and in retaliation they began to attack us.' As the author in part recognizes, 'It was our fault if the Jarawas became hostile'. This was a fundamental error. Petty pilfering committed in perfect innocence by the Jarawas, ignorant of Western ideas of individual property, led to vicious punitive expeditions. To this end fire-arms were given to the hereditary enemies of the Jarawas, the Arioto. Elated by their unexpected power, they at once began slaughtering any Jarawa within sight, and enjoyed themselves hugely.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawas

Portman, who was for a long time the English administrator in the Andamans, is one of the greatest authorities on the islands; in his excellent history he refers, with frank sincerity and detail, to the methods adopted in the anti-Jarawa wars. He tells of the payment of the Arioto with food, tobacco and alcohol, arms and ammunition for their ruthless fight against their forest kin. Since at one time the struggle seemed to the outsiders to be lacking in ardour and intensity, Portman received an order in 1884 to deprive the Arioto of all provisions, starting with food. This he was forced to obey, perhaps unwillingly. He certainly loved the Andamanese, and he understood and honestly appreciated their needs. 175 648

As he later did on Little Andaman, Portman then tried to approach the Jarawas; not on Great Andaman where they had become too dangerous, but on North Sentinel. He proposed to improve upon the work already initiated (with disastrous results) by Homfray who went to the island in March 1867, escorted by police and by a small group of Arioto. The hostility between Andamanese from different localities immediately made even the Sentinellese keenly resentful of the foreigners who were trying to make friends with them under the protection of their age-old enemies. The foreigners would in fact probably have been quite well received if they had not taken Arioto with them.

Homfray referred to naked men on the beach who fled with loud cries into the forest when pursued by Arioto. Portman repeated the same mistake. In his photographs, still to be seen in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, he actually uses the expression 'Hunting Jarawas' among the captions to the pictures he took on North Sentinel.

After several abortive expeditions by Portman, visits to North Sentinel were very few and far between until recent years. In 1926 a German, whose name became anglicized to Bonington, an intelligent timber merchant at Port Blair, became a government official in the Andamans once he had assumed British nationality. He reports having seen some Jarawas, who rapidly disappeared into the forest uttering such wild cries that they hardly seemed human. In 1953 other Indian government officials approached the island, and a lone Jarawa on the beach threatened them with an arrow. I myself planned to make a landing on 20 April 1954, but was prevented by a rough sea. I went right round the island, but no Jarawas appeared. 114

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

During the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries there have been many attempts by outsiders to land on Little Andaman, but until recently none have gone beyond the coast, and the interior of the island remained unknown until 1952. Several people were drowned in the tremendous breakers, and a few were killed by the aboriginals. The last (undocumented) incident, involving Chinese sailors in search of water on the west coast of the island, appears to have taken place in 1949. There are no records of any attempt to land before 1825, when an English naval officer, T. E. Alexander, managed to do so, and was the first to report, in England, the existence of a fierce tribe of naked Onges. The encounter was bloody, as were many afterwards. Rumours (erroneous) were spread of cannibalism, as some English sailors who had managed to save themselves saw their companions being torn to pieces by the Onges: their hands, feet, legs and arms were cut off and the living remains were thrown into a great fire. This was, in fact, not cannibalism, but the satisfying of a superstition, already recorded by various well-known authorities on the Andamans, such as Portman, Radcliffe-Brown and others, that the spirit is immortal and stays by its bones. The spirit of an enemy could thus become a disturbing influence, which is to be avoided by totally destroying the living body with fire, so that the spirit flies with the smoke towards the sky, where it remains.

175 648 175 648 975

Some time after Alexander, various English officials tempted providence in Little Andaman[1] and finally, on 24 July 1885, Portman landed, and began intensive efforts to pacify the Onges. Well protected by a police force, he was the first man who had the courage to pitch camp on the coast of Little Andaman. For most of March 1886, he stayed in the north of the island, and then between 28 October 1886 and 21 January 1887, he went slowly right round the island, starting from his camp at Bumila Creek. In the same year, two officials of the Indian Cartographic Service sailed round the entire coastline of Little Andaman; the resulting survey was, however, very imperfect. Portman returned for a brief visit to Bumila Creek in March 1887. This time there was a serious incident with the Onges, culminating in the severe wounding of an English

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[1] Homfray, 1867; Stewart, 1873; Homfray and Stewart, 1874; Cadel, 1880; Cadel and Portman, 1880; Portman, 1880 and 1882; Man, 1883; various abortive landings, 1884 and 1885.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

175 colonel who had accompanied him. After a series of similar inci-
648 dents involving other people Portman went to Bumila Creek on 10 November 1891, for revenge. A number of Onges, including the one responsible for wounding the colonel, were captured and taken to Port Blair.

Other visits by various people followed, always very brief and always limited to the coast, but there were no landings of note. Various expeditions visited the coast of the island for a few days and even made contact with some of the Onges, but the interior
114 of the island remained as unknown as before. In February 1951 I
122 accompanied one of these expeditions, which again did not go beyond the coast. Those five days on Little Andaman were most revealing, and enabled me to plan the landing I subsequently made in 1952. I saw that the island was teeming with game, that wild
[136] fruit and edible roots were plentiful, and that the sea round the island was full of fish, lobsters, huge crabs and turtles. Moreover, the turtles laid eggs in the sand where it was very easy to find them by following the beasts' tracks. I realized that it would be unnecessary to bring in provisions, and that it would be possible to enter the forest unencumbered with anything more than guns, cartridges and a few cooking utensils. Every day during this short stay I went with a police escort as far as possible into the forest in order to reconnoitre. In some places I noticed recent traces of small bare feet, but no Onges appeared.

122 Realizing that mobility was essential for any expedition into the interior of the island, I prepared at Port Blair a number of small watertight metal boxes to hang from the shoulder, to take a minimum of necessities. The largest items in my own personal baggage were a mosquito-net, a very light hammock and note-books. Cartridges were to be divided among the boxes. Tents, camp-beds and other large equipment would have to be left in a base camp, which would be established on the coast and left under police guard with radio transmission apparatus for communication with Port Blair. If necessary, a portable radio could follow us.

121 Several factors made me want to return. There was the mystery of the unknown interior of the island. There was the prevailing lack of information of any kind about the Onges, even of their numbers. I wanted too to carry out an investigation of their somatic characteristics, using the greatest possible number of individuals.

CHAPTER FOUR

A Journey into Prehistory

842 The complete lack of hygiene of the Onges does not explain their disturbing lack of fertility. Nor can filth, smoking or loose living fully explain the sterility of the surviving Arioto.

There must be some other cause, and this in all probability is merely biological. One might call it the senescence of a race brought about by their total isolation for thousands of years, exacerbated by being broken into small endogamous units, all mutually hostile. This is not the opinion of all (the few) who have studied the Andamanese, and the problem remains to be investigated further.

262 184 842 In the Onges at least it cannot be a question of malnutrition, as I had ample opportunity of seeing during my visits to the island. Food is abundant, both the land and the sea offer an inexhaustible supply, even to the point of sustaining life, alone, if necessary, to all the Andamanese. The Jarawas are the exception. Forced away from the sea into the forests, they are dependent on one source of food, and it is therefore possible to make some attempt to calculate the maximum number of people which could be supported by their territory. In the case of the Onges, however, living amid luxuriant vegetation, with a rich source of sea food nearby, a given area can support a far higher population, and the same is true of the Jarawas cut off on North Sentinel.

The food of the Jarawas consists mainly of pork, with fresh-water fish (including some excellent carp) river molluscs and crustacea in large quantities, roots, tubers, wild fruits and honey. The Arioto, staying as they did in the coastal areas of Great Andaman, must have lived mainly off the sea.

175 161 842 262 The small population reported in the Andamans by visitors to the islands in the middle of the last century cannot therefore be

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

attributed to scarcity of food, nor can nutrition have had any effect on the demographic decadence. Strict endogamy over thousands of years, and fragmentation into smaller and smaller groups is perhaps a more likely explanation of the situation. The last stage has now been reached; the Arioto, for instance, who numbered six hundred and twenty-five in the 1901 census, had dwindled to twenty-three in 1955. In that year there were only two young children, a boy and a girl (of different parents) and the girl, about five years old, clearly had a Burmese father. The boy, however, named Sirake and then aged about eleven, intelligent and alert, with the very blue-black skin of the Andamanese and typical hair, may well be of pure stock. He is the only hope of continuing the ancient Arioto line, but this will be impossible unless a girl of pure stock is born shortly.

This seems unlikely. With the exception of these two couples, the Arioto appear to be sterile. I have myself seen their sorrow at being deprived of children, and one of them, named Moro, of fairly pure stock, told me of his grief. He took me to his wife, also of pure Andamanese origin, and externally as normal and healthy as her husband, but deserted by the spirits of fertility. Through no fault of their own, the cause probably lies in both of them.

In all the Andamanese, fertility seems always to have increased from the age of twenty-eight and to end by the age of forty-eight – in many cases thirty-eight, although since none of them know their age, owing to the absence of any form of counting, their deceptively youthful appearance makes assessment of age extremely difficult. I met only one woman who, as far as I could estimate, had borne seven children, and of these only three were still alive in 1954; the widespread custom by which children are transferred from one family to another, even during the period of lactation, to 'share' the enjoyment of them, made all the usual means of assessing the number of births virtually impossible. In a number of childless couples whom I saw on Little Andaman, the women are under twenty-eight and there is still hope of fertility, even if it is late. This could happen in the case of the wives of the two leaders Cocheggi and Cendubài; these two men married two sisters, among the healthiest and most beautiful women on the island, Vaghèghe and Tocuaghèghe, both under twenty-two. Neither of them has ever been pregnant, although both are apparently normal and

166 [174] All the evidence points to this being far more than mere supposition and even today the Onges persist in their tendency to expand towards the north. In 1953 I could find no trace of a number of Onges whom I had known in 1952; the others told me they were all 'dead', but it seems probable that they had migrated to the islands further north. And in 1954 nearly all the canoes belonging to the communal huts in the south-west of Little Andaman, which I had seen in 1953, had vanished and were said to have gone with the 'dead'. It is probable that they too had migrated to Great Andaman, becoming 'Jarawas'.

166 484 [485] [501] This is physically quite possible. Between Little Andaman and Great Andaman the Onges have a line of transit camps, still in use, where food and water are easily available. All have a name, and I followed the line myself. With the help of their fragile but very fast canoes, and without carrying food or water (which they know will be available at the next transit camp), they can travel very quickly. [372] They take fire with them in the canoes in the form of a burning torch and while they are at sea, unlike the lazy pace of their normal attitude to life, they seem possessed by the desire to reach the next stopping point on terra firma.

174 166 Moreover, one may deduce from the fact that the names of these transit camps are all in the Onge language that the migrations have always been from south to north. Little Andaman, formed as it is mainly of coral banks and only projecting a short way above the sea, disappears from view in the tropical mists a few kilometres from the shore; from Rutland it is invisible, and as the Andamanese only travel by sea with land in sight or when its existence and direction is well known, no one from the north would have dared to travel south into the unknown.

We have already seen that the ignorance of the present-day Jarawas as regards the sea is no bar to a hypothesis of their original [175] arrival in Great Andaman by sea. Colebrook, a hundred and fifty [501] years ago, actually saw them with canoes, and Gilbert Rogers[1] [178] recorded seeing canoes on the coasts of North Sentinel very similar to those of the Onges today. The accumulation, therefore, of this [184] evidence and the general similarity of culture throughout the archipelago all adds up to inescapable conclusions.

000 Even the unique dances enjoyed by the Onges are to be seen

[113] [1] *Andaman and Nicobar Gazetteer*, 2 January 1904.

11: Ciprianí E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

attached. From it to the ring run a series of long batons, the 'ribs' of the umbrella. All along the length of the transverse bundle of canes are attached the ends of similar 'ribs', with supplementary canes at weak points. In this hut and in a number of others, extra rings of canes not supported by uprights are put in afterwards for extra strength, all securely lashed at every point. 342

At this stage of construction the hut would thus have consisted of a centre pole, first circle of uprights supporting the first ring of canes, second (unsupported) ring of canes fixed to the 'ribs' running over it, second concentric circle of uprights supporting the third ring of canes, the fourth (unsupported) ring of canes, and the third circle of uprights supporting the fifth and last ring of canes. Right across from the entrance to the opposite side of the hut ran the elliptical transverse bundle of canes. Tight rush fibre lashings at every crossing and meeting point held the whole frame solidly together.

The roof itself was then put on. This consists of palm leaves like huge fans. The Onges split these in halves down the centre vein and then lay one half on top of the other, head to tail, main ribs together. Four, six or possibly more reeds, three metres long and two to three centimetres in diameter, are then split in half lengthwise and laid out parallel on the ground. The pairs of palm leaves are then laid across the parallels and lashed securely with rush fibres, working from the bottom up, so that the edges of each pair cover the ribs of the pair below, making a water-shed. Seen from the inside of the finished hut the ribs, blackened by smoke, look almost like parallel vaulting.

In this particular hut there are beds for seven families (and their dogs) set as radii, and four transversely. Round the centre pole, on three sides only (leaving the fourth open for access to the central fire) are three fairly high platforms, rather smaller than the beds. Occasionally I saw young people sleeping on two of these, very cramped, climbing up a fixed ladder to reach them. The third platform was always used to keep meat out of the way of the dogs, and is clearly a recent innovation following their arrival in the island. The rough platforms forming the beds proper were about fifty centimetres off the ground, but this distance varies from place to place – in the south, at Beniabol I saw them about one metre off the ground, with the family fire under instead of beside them. 342 352 [417] [176]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

With regard to the comparative density per square mile of the different groups it may be pointed out that the reason for the smaller density of the South Andaman is the fact that the *Aka-Bea* and *Jarawa* were living there at war with one another, and the territory was therefore probably not so fully occupied as in other parts of the islands where boundaries between neighbouring tribes were well defined. The food supply of the Little Andaman does not seem to be so abundant as that of the Great Andaman in proportion to its area. It must be remembered that length of coast-line is of more importance to the Andamanese than the actual area of their country. The natives of the Little Andamán are not able to harpoon turtle and large fish, which constitute an important element of the food supply of the tribes of the Great Andaman.

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If the figures of the above estimate be correct, it will be seen that the population of the North Andaman has been reduced in less than fifty years (1858–1901) to about 27 per cent. of its former volume, while in the same period the population of the Middle Andaman and South Andaman has been reduced to about 18 per cent. As the tribes in the south were the first to come into contact with the Settlement, their numbers have diminished more rapidly than those of the northern tribes. It is probable that in another fifty years the natives of the Great Andaman tribes will be extinct.

The diminution of population has combined with other causes to alter considerably the mode of life of the islanders. What were formerly distinct and often hostile communities are now merged together. The different languages have become corrupt, and some tribes have adopted customs of other tribes and have abandoned their own. Most of the younger men and women of the friendly tribes of the Great Andaman now speak a little Hindustani (Urdu) in a somewhat corrupt form. The friendly natives are under the charge of an officer of the Settlement, known as the Officer in Charge of the Andamanese. A Home and Hospital are provided for them in Port Blair, and natives from all parts, even from the extreme north, go there either to be treated in the Hospital or to stay at the Home. During certain parts of the year some of the natives

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1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

•177 are employed in collecting trepang (bêche de mer) under the direction of petty officers, who are natives of India or Burma. The trepang, together with wild honey and shells collected by the Andamanese, is sold, and the money is devoted to the service of the Andamanese Department. There is also a grant of money from the Government of India, in return for which the Officer in Charge must, when necessary, provide Andamanese to track and capture any convicts who may run away from the Penal Settlement. The funds thus made available serve to provide the natives with blankets, cloth, iron tools and scrap iron, rice, sugar, tea and tobacco. The result of this system is that there is a free circulation of natives in all parts of the Great Andaman. Whereas, formerly, the natives kept carefully to their own part of the country, they now make long journeys, either in their own canoes, or in Government launches, and members of the northern tribes are to be found at Port Blair and elsewhere in the south, while men and women of the southern tribes are to be found engaged in collecting trepang in the north.

The natives of the Little Andaman have as yet scarcely been affected by these changes. Within recent years, however, some of the natives of the northern part of the Little Andaman have been in the habit of making periodical visits to Rutland Island in their canoes, and occasionally come as far as Port Blair. Their chief reason for visiting the Settlement is to obtain iron for their arrows and adzes, but they have also begun to appreciate sugar and tobacco.

114 The manners and customs of the Andaman Islanders have formed the subject of a number of writings. By far the most important of these is a work by Mr E. H. Man, who was for some years an officer of the Penal Settlement of Port Blair, and for four years of that time was in charge of the Andamanese Home. Mr Man made a special study of the language of the *Aka-Bea* tribe and compiled an extensive vocabulary, which, however, has never been published. His observations on the manners and customs of this tribe and others of the South Andaman were published in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* of the year 1882 (Volume XII), and were reprinted in the form of a book *On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the*

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

301 a position where it is not likely to get lost when running through the jungle, and where it is immediately accessible when wanted. The necklet also serves as a means of carrying bees'-wax, which is in constant use amongst the natives, a small ball of the wax being attached to one of the ends of the string of which the necklet is made.

291 As a rule, in everyday life, the men wear only a belt, or a belt and necklace. Those natives who visit the Settlement of • 177 Port Blair have been required by the European officers to wear 834 a strip of cloth over the genitals. It has now become the rule to wear such a loin cloth whenever they are in the neighbourhood of a European. This, however, is a modern custom, and in former times the men went freely with no covering whatever, as do the inhabitants of the Little Andaman at the present time. As showing the extent to which the natives have been influenced in this matter by outside opinion, it may be mentioned that at the present day many of the younger men, particularly those who have been brought up at Port Blair, regard it as very immodest to be seen without some covering over the genitals.

301 On ceremonial occasions, such as the dance at the end of mourning, or a big dance-meeting, the men put on a number of ornaments. A common costume on such occasions consists of a belt, necklace, bracelets, and garters of netting and *Dentalium* shell. A belt and necklace of this kind are to be seen in Plate V, and garters are worn by the woman in Plate IX. An alternative costume for men consists of a set of ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf (belt, chaplet, bracelets and garters), decorated with *Dentalium* and other shells. Garters of this kind are shown in Plate XII.

301 Other objects are worn by the natives for magical purposes. 755 Chief amongst these are the strings made of human bones which 751 are worn to prevent and cure sickness. The bones are attached to a length of rope, and this is generally decorated with shells or with *Dendrobium* skin. These strings of bones are worn most commonly as chaplets, necklaces or belts, but they may also be made into garters and bracelets. The bones of animals, such as pig, turtle, dugong, etc., are treated in exactly the same way

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Arrows of this kind are used in pig-hunting. The fore-shaft is inserted into the end of the shaft, the cord attaching the two being wound spirally round the end of the shaft. When a pig is struck the barbs prevent the head from coming out of the wound. As the pig attempts to run away the shaft catches against the undergrowth of the jungle and comes loose from the fore-shaft. Sooner or later the shaft becomes entangled in the undergrowth and holds the wounded pig fast till the hunters can come up with it and despatch it. It is obvious that the cord of the arrow needs to be so strong that the pig cannot break it. 411

The natives of the Great Andaman tribes say that before they had plenty of iron they made similar pig-arrows with heads of shell and barbs of pig's bone. [177]

The natives of the Little Andaman make a pig-arrow very similar to that of the Great Andaman tribes, but on the average somewhat longer. The cord attaching the fore-shaft to the shaft consists of a length of double two-ply rope of *Hibiscus* fibre. The binding of the arrow is done with thread of the *Gnetum* fibre instead of *Anadendron*, and is not coated with composition but is smeared with bees'-wax. The barb (there being usually only one) is not fixed in the same plane as the head, but in the plane at right angles to it. (Fig. 20.)

Amongst the Jarawa the head of the pig-arrow is attached to the fore-shaft by a different method, holes being made in the iron through which the thread that holds it is passed. (Fig. 21.)

Another kind of pig-arrow is sometimes made in the Great Andaman that has not a detachable head. The shaft is a length of bamboo into one end of which is fitted a fore-shaft of wood. The end of this fore-shaft is split and a head of iron is inserted into it and bound there. Such an arrow may be without barbs or may have one or two barbs of iron. It is used only rarely and then chiefly for despatching a pig that has already been struck by an arrow of the usual kind. The natives say that in former times arrows of this kind were used in fighting in preference to ordinary pig-arrows, which, however, were also used.

In former times the natives of the Great Andaman, according to their own statements, made an arrow consisting of a bamboo shaft at the end of which was inserted a head made of *Areca* wood. An arrow of this kind, made for me by a native, is shown in Fig. 22.

None of the arrows made in any part of the Andamans is feathered.

In a comparison of the arrows of the Andamanese with those of the Semang and the Philippine Negritos the most interesting point is that 411 171

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2-Andamans AZ2

441 The true fish-spear is unknown in the Andamans though use is sometimes made of a harpoon similar to the turtle harpoon, but of smaller dimensions and with a finer line, for harpooning fish.

227 In the North Andaman a sort of fish-gig was formerly in use made of about twelve pieces of *Areca* wood of about 105 to 110 cm. long and 1 cm. or less broad and with tapered and sharp-pointed ends. These were fastened side by side by means of a strip of wood near one end, as shown in Fig. 26. This weapon was used for spearing small fish in pools on the reef.

Fig. 26. North Andaman fish-gig

CUTTING IMPLEMENTS.

412 At the present time the Andamanese make use of iron for their cutting implements. It is uncertain when 177 they first learnt the use of iron, but it was certainly before the end of the eighteenth century. What iron they had was obtained from wrecks, of which there have always been a number on the Andamans. The metal has only become plentiful since the European settlement of 1858.

412 It is highly probable that the Andamanese, though 325 they may have learnt the use of iron from implements used by visitors to their shores, have not learnt from any other people the method of working the metal. Even at the present day they do not make any use of heat in the manufacture of their iron implements, the metal being worked cold. It seems highly probable that they have simply adopted in connection with iron the methods they formerly used in dealing with other materials, particularly shells.

The materials used by the Andamanese, apart from iron, are wood, bone, shell and stone. We may begin by considering their use of stone.

412 In former times quartz flakes were used by the Andamanese for the two purposes of shaving and scarifying the skin, and for hardly any 324 other purpose. (Among minor uses of stone flakes may be mentioned those of cutting the finger-nails, and sharpening boars' tusks.) A quartz pebble is held in the left hand and is struck with a hard rounded pebble of any suitable kind. A flake is thus knocked off and falls into the palm of the left hand. The flake is examined, and if it be suitable it is

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 whet-stone. The natives are always eager to obtain files which enable
412 them to do this part of the work much more rapidly. When the arrow-
325 head has been ground into shape the edges are sharpened. Blades for adzes are made in exactly the same way from any suitable piece of iron or steel, such as a cutlass or an old file or a piece of thick hoop-iron. The adze-blade is attached to a handle of mangrove wood by the method shown in Fig. 28.

The barbs of pig-arrows and the points of fish-arrows are made in the same way by breaking the metal into a suitable shape and then grinding it on a whet-stone. It is probable that this was the method that was formerly used for dealing with bone for these purposes.

In the case of the knife, iron or steel is now substituted for cane or bamboo, but the knife has retained its shape in spite of the change of material. The shape of a knife, whether of cane or of iron, with its attached skewer of *Areca* wood is shown in Fig. 28.

In the case of the harpoon the native tradition is that this implement was only made after they had discovered the use of iron.

177 At the present time both the Semang and the Negritos of the
325 Philippines make use of iron. The Semang heat the iron until it is red-hot and then batter it into shape between two stones[1]. The shapes of the iron weapons and implements which they make follow fairly closely those made by the Malays.

In an attempt to reconstruct the primitive Negrito culture it would seem that the most reasonable hypothesis is that the primitive Negritos had no knowledge of iron and had not learnt to fashion implements out of stone, but relied entirely on such materials as wood, bone and shell. The Andamanese, becoming possessed of iron through wrecks upon their islands, applied to it the technique that they had developed for dealing with shell, and thereby invented their present method of working iron without heating it. The Semang and the Negritos of the Philippines probably first learnt the use of iron from their neighbours of other races. There is not at present any evidence to show that the Negritos ever had any method of working stone except the very simple one at present in use in the Andamans for making flakes.

STRING, ROPE, MATS, BASKETS, AND NETTING.

283 For string, rope and thread the Andaman Islanders make use of a number of different vegetable substances, but they make no use what-

[1] Skeat, p. 383.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

286 length of string is taken and the two ends tied together, the loop thus formed being placed over the big toe as the woman sits on the ground.

284 The knot used in netting is that known as the fisherman's knot. in use all over the world. The needle is held in the right hand.
286 is passed from above downwards through the loop marked *a* in the figure, and is drawn through far enough to leave a new loop *b* of the required size. This loop is held between the thumb and forefinger of the left hand, the uniformity in mesh being apparently obtained largely by the sense of touch. The needle is then passed through the new loop *b* again from above and is drawn out leaving a loop *c*, through which the needle is passed once more, forming the finished knot, which is then drawn taut.

286 When netting is made for personal apparel it is generally ornamented with strips of *Dendrobium* skin worked in with the thread in the course of the netting. Netting for personal ornaments consists of a sort of bag open at both ends. Each end is tied with a string passed through the ultimate loops, and this string serves to tie the band of net round the waist or neck or wrist or knee.

286 Fishing nets are attached to a handle. The handles of the Little Andaman Division and those of the Great Andaman Division are
227 different in shape. The Great Andaman net with its hoop can be folded up compactly for carriage, while that of the Little Andaman cannot.

The nets of rope formerly used in the Great Andaman for catching turtle have been already described.

Domestic Implements and Utensils.

372 The Andamanese are perhaps the only people in the world who have no method of their own of making fire. At the present time they
177 obtain matches from the Settlement of Port Blair, and a few of them have learnt, either from Burmese or from Nicobarese, a method of making fire by the friction of pieces of split bamboo. Formerly, however, they had no knowledge of any method by which fire could be produced. Fires were and still are carefully kept alive in the village, and are carefully carried when travelling. Every hunting party carries its fire with it. The natives are very skilful in selecting wood that will smoulder for a long time without going out and without breaking into flame.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

A number of other common designs consist of parallel lines of dots or of short strokes, an example of which is shown in Fig. 42 *f*. 302 531

By far the greater number of the Andamanese designs are based on the following elements, (1) parallel lines crossing a surface from side to side at right angles to the edge or else in a sloping direction (about 45°), (2) parallel lines of dots or of short lines, i.e. parallel broken lines, as in Fig. 42 *f*, (3) zig-zag lines, which may be single, or parallel or opposed so as to make lines of lozenges. As an example of the way in which these elements may be combined two designs copied from bamboo necklaces are shown in Fig. 43.

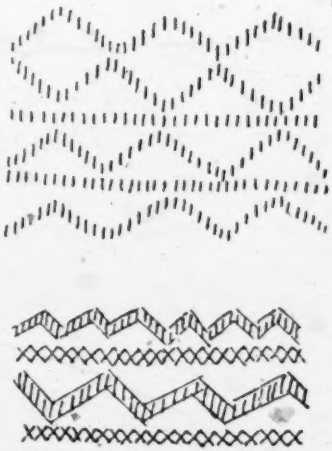

Fig. 43. Designs on bamboo necklace from the North Andaman

It would perhaps be possible to show that there is a real connection between the ornamentation of the Andamanese and that of the Semang, as there is certainly a considerable degree of superficial resemblance, but at present we understand so little the psychological processes underlying the use of ornament amongst primitive peoples that the subject is one of considerable difficulty. [177]

Canoes.

Canoes are in regular use on the coast in all parts of the islands. There are three types of canoe. (1) The Little Andaman canoe, with one outrigger, propelled with paddles or with a pole. (2) The Great Andaman small canoe, with one outrigger, propelled with paddles or with a pole. (3) The Great Andaman large canoe, without outrigger, propelled with oars. 501

The third kind of canoe mentioned above is a recent innovation. The natives themselves say that such canoes have only been made in recent times, since they have been able to obtain a plentiful supply of iron tools, and so have been able to cut down and hollow out large trunks[1]. They seem to have been invented by the natives of the South Andaman, and copied by those of the Middle and North Andaman.

[1] Man, *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* XII, p. 367, note 4.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

177 From the very commencement of the new Settlement, as has been stated, serious difficulties had to be contended with in consequence of the harassing attacks on our working parties by the aborigines, whose cupidity was excited by the iron tools and other implements which in their eyes presented an appearance of adaptability as weapons of the chase; the Government Gardens they likewise freely robbed, until at length stern repressive measures had to be adopted whereby they were instructed for the first time in the laws of private property. A wholesome dread of our power having been duly instilled, efforts were made by Government with a view to the civilisation of the race and the establishment of a better understanding between ourselves and the original possessors of the soil. Homes were accordingly erected in the vicinity of the harbour, where all who needed might obtain protection, shelter, food, and medicine. This step, which was deemed the best, if not the only means of furthering one of the objects which had prompted the re-establishment of the colony—*i.e.*, of reclaiming the savages from their barbarous custom of murdering all strangers who approached their shores—effected a marked improvement in our relations with the tribes in South Andaman[1] by affording them convincing proof of our friendly intentions towards them, so that now, as Dr. Day has stated, "the convicts are left unmolested, the implements of agriculture are not stolen, the fishing stakes are left undisturbed, the gardens are no longer pillaged, runaway convicts have been recaptured, and shipwrecked sailors assisted."

It must not, however, be supposed that these beneficial results were immediately obtained, for it could hardly be expected that the aborigines should at once believe in our goodwill towards them, or forget their resentment against the people who had taken possession of their fine harbour and ousted them from many of their favourite haunts; in process of time, however, the kind and judicious treatment they consistently met with, first from Rev. H. F. Corbyn, and during ten subsequent years from Mr. J. N. Homfray, had the desired effect, and they have learned not only to regard us with favour, but also to assist us in a variety of ways.

[1] Recently (July, 1883) four men and two women were forwarded to Calcutta for the purpose of being modelled for the International Exhibition; while there they were quartered for a few weeks in the Zoological Gardens, where they attracted great crowds of Bengalis, who had never before had an opportunity of seeing the people whom they are said to regard as the descendants of the Rakshasas (!) Circumstances proved that their Port Blair training had not been lost on these representatives of their race, for on being asked by their visitors for a souvenir in the shape of a lock of their corkscrew ringlets, they promptly demanded a rupee before granting the favour; and in like manner the pleasure of witnessing an Andaman dance was not to be obtained previous to some *ka-pu ku-* (money, lit. "slices") having been bestowed upon the performers!

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To Mr. Homfray great credit is due for the zeal and energy he displayed in conciliating the members of the various tribes who visited the Homes: he spared neither time nor his private means in promoting their welfare and gratifying their wants, and so thoroughly identified himself with their concerns and interests as to gain their entire confidence and goodwill; he also acquired a fair colloquial knowledge of the South Andaman language, but abandoned an attempt he made to form a vocabulary. As Mr. Homfray's labours may be fairly said to have paved the way, and rendered easier the task of conducting ethnological and philological researches among the aborigines, it is due to his memory that this slight acknowledgment should be here made of his good services.[1]

The Homes have effected good by bringing together members of the various tribes, between whom the way has thus been paved for intermarriages, which were of course formerly of rare occurrence; tribal feuds have also here been amicably arranged, while, through visits paid to Port Blair and other Homes by members of all the Great Andaman tribes, as well as by our visits in the station steamer to the more distant encampments, the knowledge of our power, resources, and kindly intentions has spread throughout their respective territories.

It cannot, however, be contended that our attempts to reclaim the Andamanese from their savage state have produced unmixed beneficial results, for it is found that in proportion as they gain in intelligence and tractability, the more fat and indolent do they become, and having no incentive towards exertion frequently lose in great measure their quondam skill in hunting;—availing themselves of the privileges of free board and quarters, they spend their time for days together in singing, dancing, and feasting; the spirit of independence becomes thus less conspicuous, as they learn to depend upon others for the supply of their daily requirements, instead of being compelled to make such provision for themselves. There can, moreover, be no doubt that the effect of our clearances of jungle has been prejudicial to the health of the aborigines; while the excessive tobacco-smoking[2] among members of both sexes, which has been unrestricted, has seriously undermined their already enfeebled constitutions. If the evil ended here there would be ground for regret, but a graver cause exists in the deterioration which has taken place in their morals through

[1] Mr. Homfray died suddenly at Port Blair on February 25th, 1883, after twenty years' service in the Settlement.

[2] It is pitiable to notice the evident distrelish and discomfort endured by one of these savages when first given a pipe of tobacco, yet from sheer determination to share an experience which has such apparent attractions for their compatriots they willingly undergo the misery of nausea for several days till they have habituated themselves to its use.

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177 their unavoidable contact with the alien convict population, the lamentable consequences of which will be found under the head of "Pathology."[1] So widespread is the evil influence that has been exercised, that on no point probably will future writers differ so strongly as on the social and moral virtues of the Andamanese. I wish, therefore, to make it clear to my readers that my remarks and observations on all, and especially on these points, are restricted to those communities who have been found living in their primitive state, and who may therefore be fairly considered as representatives of the race, being unaffected by the virtues or vices of so-called civilisation.

The measure of success which was considered to have attended the establishment of the Homes suggested that further good might be effected by the formation of a school or Orphanage for the education of the younger members of the aboriginal population. Accordingly in 1869 a commencement was made with a few children who had been obtained by Mr. Homfray from their guardians or relatives, and who were now placed under the care of a matron on Ross Island, where the Orphanage was opened. In 1870 two ladies from the Kidderpore Asylum (Calcutta) undertook the charge of the Orphanage, in which there were at that time more than forty children of both sexes. For some months the nature of the instruction given was of course of the simplest, comprising chiefly habits of neatness and cleanliness, the alpliabet, and a little needlework and basket-making. It soon became apparent that the children possessed much intelligence and were wonderfully apt with their fingers; they were also very amenable to discipline, and proved therefore in every respect extremely interesting and promising pupils, whose chief fault was found to be the not uncommon one of want of perseverance; nevertheless, during the first year's training the baskets made by the lads and disposed of locally realised Rs. 100, while the girls earned a further sum by their needlework and fancy articles, besides which they made up the clothing for the entire party.[2]

After two or three years' labour in the Orphanage the Kidderpore ladies resigned the charge, and some difficulty was experienced in arranging for the retention of the girls; however some were finally taken by certain residents, who were desirous of training them as servants, while others were speedily married. With regard to the boys the question was less easy of solution, for it was found that those who had been taken in hand at too advanced an age began to pine for a return to their native jungles, and so intense did this desire become, that, in spite of meeting with every discouragement, they were discovered one morning to

[1] *Vide* Part I.
[2] *Vide* Appendix N.

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have settled the matter for themselves by swimming away from the island. 177

The problem as to how the lads trained in the so-called Orphanage shall be disposed of in some profitable manner has been partially solved by training them to serve as domestic servants; but the question as to their marriage remains yet to be dealt with, for of all the girls originally trained in the Orphanage two only have continued in the Settlement, the other survivors having long since resumed the customs of their jungle homes. To encourage the marriage of the lads in question with girls brought up in the jungle, or even in one of the Homes, would probably result in re-associating, the former with those who—so strong is their general inclination towards a jungle life—would wean them from their civilised ways, thereby rendering abortive the many years' training bestowed upon them, and which has moreover unfitted them for the conditions of a savage home.

It has been ascertained that up to about the age of ten or eleven years these aborigines can hold their own with ordinary children of civilised races in respect to mental culture, but after that period further progress seems arrested. Some remarkable instances might be mentioned of boys and girls[1] who at no more than nine or ten years of age were able to read difficult passages from an Urdu book quite fluently, and explain the meaning of any word in ordinary use; it would appear, however, that, physically speaking, training has a deteriorating effect, for of all the children who have passed through the Orphanage, probably not more than ten are alive at the present time, while of those that have been married, two or three only have become parents, and of their children not one has been reared. In respect to morality, too, it must be confessed that they have suffered from contact with the convict population. 177 145

And thus, though the Orphanage, like the Homes, has not accomplished all the good anticipated by its promoters, the kindness and interest taken in their little ones have undoubtedly contributed towards strengthening the friendly relations previously established between the aborigines and ourselves. 177

Friendly intercourse among the tribes has been of late years further encouraged and extended by visits paid in the station

[1] One of these girls (Ruth) was highly trained by Mrs. Homfray, and is able to speak, read, and write English, as well as to converse glibly in Hindustani. As she has been with us from infancy, it is hardly necessary to say that she is ignorant of her native tongue. Ruth is also an accomplished needlewoman, and is clever at making designs; she wears the European costume, not excepting bonnets and hats. Some idea of the advance she has made on her fellow-countrymen (who are still in the stone age) may be gathered from the above statements, but further proof is found in the fact of her asking for and obtaining an English dictionary, which she says she finds "very useful" when writing her letters!

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177 steamer to the more distant encampments by the officer in charge of the Homes[1] accompanied by males and females of the Southern tribes.[2] On these occasions dogs, iron, beads, and various other articles highly prized by the aborigines have been deposited in the huts from which the occupants had fled, or presented to such individuals as had courage to approach; stringent measures were at the same time taken to check the almost irresistible propensity of the *bō·jig-ngī·ji-* to appropriate all portable property in the temporarily vacated camping grounds.

177 In these trips Little Andaman has been also visited, but all
121 our efforts to conciliate the *jär·awa-* (or inhabitants of that island) with their offshoot in South Andaman have hitherto proved fruitless. This may in part be due to the summary punishment[3] we have been compelled on two occasions to inflict for cruel murders perpetrated on inoffensive mariners; but it may also be attributable to the exclusiveness and hostility which appear as tribal peculiarities, and which are directed alike against their fellow savages and ourselves, as has been demonstrated by the terror with which they have in recent years inspired the South Andamanese, and in bygone years the Car-Nicobarese,[4] on whom they were formerly in the habit of making raids for purposes of plunder. For a long time now, however, they have desisted from these predatory expeditions, and have confined themselves[5] to the islands and localities which are regarded as their territory; but still, cases have occurred from time to time which keep alive the unpleasant conviction that any unfortunates who might be wrecked, or should venture to land on their coasts without sufficient means of self-defence, would be as mercilessly massacred now as at any date in their history.

177 The various measures already detailed as having been taken in order to benefit the aborigines have convinced all who have come within their influence of our friendly intentions; even the distant communities of Great Andaman are now becoming as well known and as favourably disposed towards us as are our

[1] An account of one of these visits will be found in the form of a private letter which was published in "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. vii.

[2] Experience has taught us that one of the most effective means of inspiring confidence when endeavouring to make acquaintance with these savages, is to show that we are accompanied by women, as they at once infer that whatever may be our intentions, they are at least not hostile.

[3] A further possible cause of the continued disinclination of the *jär·awa-* to accept our advances is believed to be due to one or more runaway convicts, who may have succeeded in settling in their midst, and who in order to lessen their own chances of recapture and punishment, have given unfavourable accounts of us.

[4] How the *jär·awa-* came to discover the distant low-lying island of Car-Nicobar is not known, but it is probably traceable to some trifling circumstance, such as the accidental drifting of a boat far out to sea.

[5] *Vide* Part I, "Tribal Distribution," p. 30, and "Communications," p. 45.

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immediate neighbours the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*, and we have every reason to believe that crews of vessels shipwrecked on any portion of the Great Andaman coast would not only escape molestation and attack, but would receive such assistance as it might be in the power of these savages to render. That their animosity in past years was not unfounded is attested by the reports of Captain Miller and Père Barbe, both of which will be found quoted at some length in the "Journal of the Anthropological Institute" for 1882–3, p. 339.[1]

On referring to the accompanying map of the Andamans it will be seen that according to our present knowledge[2] the aboriginal inhabitants are divided into no less than nine tribes, viz.:

.bō·jig-ngī·ji-	..	South Andaman.
.bal·awa- ..	..	Archipelago.
.bō·jig-yâb- *.ô-ko-.jū·wai-* *.â·kà-.ked·e-* *.â·kà-.kôl-*	..	Middle Andaman.
.â·kà-järo- *.â·kà-.châ·riar-*	..	North Andaman.
jär·awa- ..	..	Inhabitating Little Andaman and southern portions of Great Andaman.[4]

Although the *.bō·jig-ngī.ji-* are here shown, and in the following pages are described, as the natives of South Andaman—including Rutland and Labyrinth Island—there is no evidence to prove that they have ever been in undisputed possession of the whole of this territory; indeed, the scattered encampments of *jär·awa-*, which are marked on the map as occupying certain portions within their territory give substance to the belief that before our advent they suffered from the inroads of their marauding neighbours, whose occupancy is proved to be of no recent date by the *jär·awa* kitchen-middens,[5] evidently of

[1] *Vide* Part III, "Trade, &c.," p. 119.

[2] How erroneous were the views formerly held may be gathered from the following extracts:—"The Andamans . . . do not even exist in a state of tribedom" (Figuier). "They have no tribal distinctions" (Wood). "In Great Andaman there is only one tribe" (Mouat).

[3] These are the names by which they are designated by the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*, who, being our immediate neighbours, are the best known of all the tribes.

[4] As these communities possess many, if not all, the characteristics of the inhabitants of Little Andaman, and are presumed to have had constant communication with them in past years, they are designated by the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* by the name of *jär·awa*.

[5] These are distinguished from those of the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* with readiness by members of the latter tribe, on account of the presence of the valves of certain molluscs, which they assert were never (according to tradition) considered as articles of diet by their own immediate ancestors.

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presented by their densely wooded and hilly country, which facts have combined to isolate the various communities, and to check freedom of intercourse among them; further, in the case of Little Andaman, it may fairly be assumed that the peculiar bee-hive form of their huts, as well as certain modifications of their domestic habits and customs, have been borrowed from their neighbours, the Car Nicobarese, upon whom, in the last century, they made some hostile raids. 144 [177]

IV. That, in spite of all our endeavours to protect them, contact with civilisation has been marked with the usual lamentable result of reducing the aboriginal population; indeed, the death-rate, among those within the area of our influence, during the past twenty years has so far exceeded the birth-rate, as to compel the belief that before many decades have passed, the race, at least that portion of it which inhabits Great Andaman, will be well-nigh extinct. 165

In view of their probable early extermination, and the rapidity with which they are being meantime reduced to the standard of civilised manners, it seems very desirable that, ere it be too late, all possible information respecting their habits, customs, physical characteristics, etc., should be obtained, more especially as many of the errors which, excusably enough, found their way into the early accounts, having been allowed to pass unchallenged, are accepted as trustworthy, and false ethnological theories are built on these most imperfect bases.

Almost all accounts which have been written regarding these islanders speak of them as *Mincopies*, in explanation of which it is asserted that it is thus "these people style themselves;" but this is far from being the case, for not only is the name, or any at all resembling it, unknown to the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*,[1] *i.e.*, the inhabitants of South Andaman, but the other six tribes with which we are acquainted are in a like state of ignorance as to its origin and significance. The only sounds at all approximating it in the South Andaman dialect at the present day being *min kaich!* (come here!) and *kâ·min kâ·pi!* (stand here!). The former of these being in common use may have given rise to the term (*Mincopie*) as a nickname, to which, indeed, it may possibly have borne a more striking similarity of sound in the language spoken at the period when this name was first adopted; for each generation cannot fail to produce changes more remarkable, and even of greater importance in the phonology of an unwritten language, such as this, depending as 101

[1] For the list of symbols adopted for denoting the sounds in this language *see* Appendix A; this list has been finally adopted in accordance with the kind advice of Mr. A. J. Ellis, F.R.S., whose valuable assistance I would here again gratefully acknowledge.

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her husband. In the event, however, of the widow of a chief being young and childless, she returns to the home of her maiden days, and is in a measure lost sight of, as she sinks to her former position.

9. It is believed by the people themselves that the system above described has prevailed among them from a remote period.

Covenants, Oaths, Ordeals.—1. No forms of covenant are to be traced in their dealings with one another, nor is there to be found among them anything of the nature of an oath or of an appeal to a higher power—as Heaven or the Sun—to punish breach of faith, or to bear witness to the truth.

2. They are in too primitive a state to possess any form of trial, or even to have any belief in the efficacy of an ordeal for discovering a guilty person; nor does it appear that any such practice existed in times past.

Laws.[1]—1. Justice, as I have already said, is administered by the simple method of allowing the aggrieved party to take the law into his own hands, which he usually does, either by flinging a burning faggot, or discharging an arrow, at, or more frequently *near*, the offender, while all who may be present lose no time in beating a retreat, and—taking with them as much of their property as their haste will allow—remain in concealment until sufficient time has elapsed for the settlement of the quarrel. When such an affair seems imminent, and likely to be serious, friends often interpose, seize the disputants, and remove their weapons, which are not restored so long as there appears any risk of their misusing them.

2. Should a man kill his opponent nothing is necessarily said or done to him, though it is permissible for a friend or relative of the deceased to avenge his death; in most cases, however, the murderer succeeds in striking such terror in the minds of the community that no one ventures to assail him or even to express any disapprobation of his conduct while he is within hearing: as conscience, however, makes cowards of us all, the homicide, from prudential motives, not unfrequently absents himself till he is assured that the grief and indignation of his victim's friends have considerably abated.

3. These remarks do not now-a-days apply, to the same extent, to those living near us, for the terror inspired by the punishments inflicted in all cases of murder brought to our notice has resulted in materially diminishing crimes of this nature among them. In May, 1880, an Andamanese youth was hanged

[1] As regards laws (!) relating to inheritance, information will be found in a subsequent paper, under the heading of "Property," paragraph 3.

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at Port Blair for the murder of one of his countrymen. He had previously, in 1878, been sentenced to imprisonment for the murder of two children of his tribe, and he committed his last crime soon after his discharge. This has hitherto been the only occasion on which any of these savages has suffered the extreme penalty of British law. It may be added, that this last step was not taken until the unhappy wretch, as well as all his fellow-countrymen in South Andaman, had been repeatedly warned that no other than a capital sentence would in future be passed on those convicted of murder. 627 177

4. It is by no means an uncommon occurrence for a man, or even a boy, to vent his ill-temper, or show his resentment at any act, by destroying his own property as well as that of his neighbours, sparing only the things belonging exclusively to the chief, or other head man. The amount of damage done at such times, to canoes and other articles of more or less value, will often give occasion for several weeks' employment in repairing and replacing to himself and his companions; but as these outbreaks are looked upon as the result of a temporary "possession," and the victim considered, for the time being, dangerous, and unaccountable for his actions, no one ventures to offer any opposition, or impose any restraint upon him. 578 152

5. Women, when in a rage, occasionally act in a similar manner towards one of their own sex, or even to all the females of the encampment, injuring or destroying their nets, baskets, and other articles; at other times they will seize a burning log, and, banging it furiously on the ground, vent their feelings by some such exclamation as *ngig mūgu jābagike!* (May your face become hideous!); or they will struggle and fight till they are forcibly separated by the wife or daughter of their head man. They do not, however, attempt to settle their differences with the stronger sex, but leave it to their husbands or male relatives to obtain redress for their real or fancied grievances.

6. When a chief or elder so far forgets himself as to lose his temper, those of his own standing betake themselves to their huts, while the other members of the community, male and female, beat a hasty retreat to some secluded spot, for no one would venture to find fault with one in authority, and with some reason, for little or no harm usually results to the community, while his own reputation is sure to suffer. Should he, however, wantonly cause loss or injury to any of his people, they would be pretty certain to take an early, though secret, opportunity of repaying him in kind. 622 578 152

Crime.—1. That outcome of civilisation, suicide, is unknown among them; but, since they have seen cases of self-murder among the alien population, they have coined a lengthy com 762

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762 pound word (*ō·yun-tē·mar-tō·liganga-*) in order to express the nature of the act.

673 2. That they are not entirely devoid of moral consciousness may, I think, in some measure, be demonstrated by the fact of their possessing a word, *yū·bda-*, signifying sin or wrong doing, which is used in connection with falsehood, theft, grave assault, murder, adultery, and — burning wax (!),[1] which deeds are believed to anger *Pū·luga-*, the Creator, of whom more will be said hereafter.[2]

627 3. Cases of adultery in their own villages are said to be of rare occurrence. If detected, the injured husband would pro-
837 bably inflict condign punishment on the guilty parties, but at the risk of retaliation on the part of the male offender and his friends; there appears, however, to be an understanding, that the greater the provocation offered the less is the risk incurred of the injured person or his friends avenging the wrong, but no appeal to the chief for redress is ever made.

628 4. If an offence, such as an assault or theft, be committed by one or more members of another tribe during a visit or by
674 stealth, it is regarded as premeditated, and generally resented as a tribal affair, resulting in a feud and more or less bloodshed.

5. Intercourse with Europeans and other foreigners has, it
273 must be confessed, unhappily opened their eyes to the existence of some vices of which they had formerly no knowledge;[3]
●177 notably is this the case with regard to drunkenness, for, being, till the time they made our acquaintance, "blessed in the ignorance of spirituous liquors," they had no conception of its effects, and, to express an inebriate, have invented a word (*lē·lēkanga-*) signifying "staggerer." It must, however, be added, that in consequence of the extreme partiality for rum and other intoxicating drinks which they manifest, much care has to be taken to prevent them from gratifying the easily acquired taste.

Narcotics.—1. Prior to our advent they were also entirely
276 ignorant of narcotics in any form; but one of the evil results of their intercourse with us has been the introduction of the
177 practice of smoking, and so rapidly have they (both men and women) acquired the habit, that, when at a distance from the homes and unable to obtain tobacco, they have been seen to fill their short clay pipes, which, it is scarcely necessary to say, have been obtained from us, with *pán* leaves rather than endure entire deprivation.

[1] *Vide* "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xi, p. 288, and *post*, "Superstitions," paragraph 13.

[2] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs," paragraph 8.

[674] [3] The crimes of abduction, rape, seduction, unnatural offences, &c., appear never to have been committed among them.

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881 262 continue to watch him carefully for two or three days, lest harm should result from his recent feast, and also because they think evil spirits are not unlikely to do him some injury by taking advantage of his supposed helpless condition to make him deaf, or cause him to forget his way, and thus meet the fate which, on the faith of their traditions, they believe to have overtaken two of their antediluvian ancestors.[1]

881 6. All that has been said of youths in respect to the *yâ·dī-gū·mul-* applies equally to young women, except that matrons remove the novice's ornaments, and all but one or two of her [834] *bōd*-s (waistbelts[2]), and her *ō·bunga-* (leaf apron[3]), which are left for the sake of decency. As, while performing the concluding dance, some difficulty is experienced in regard to the *ō·bunga-*, girls are provided on these occasions with a more substantial apron of leaves, so that the feelings of the most prudish are not violated.

7. The origin of the term *gū·mul-lē·ke* is obscure, and inquiries have failed to elicit any satisfactory explanation regarding it; the literal translation is "rainy-monsoon devour-does," and though the *yâ·dī-gū·mul-* is always celebrated at that season of the year, the term is also applied to the honey feast, which can only take place during the dry months. The same equivalents are found in the other tribal dialects, so that the peculiarity is not confined to the *bō·jig-ngī·ji-*. The only reasonable explanation offered is that the expression is in allusion to the sweaty (*gū·mar-*), or rain-like (*yūm*) appearance of the novice when the melted fat or honey has been poured and smeared over his person.

881 •177 262 8. Lengthened intercourse with the alien population in their midst has naturally led to their occasionally betraying some indifference in regard to customs, such as that above described; especially is this the case with those who have been brought up in the orphanage at Ross Island. A few years ago one of these youngsters, who had been named Martin, refused to accede to the wishes of his friends in the jungle home to which he had returned, and persisted in partaking of the articles of food proscribed to all of his age; as he happened shortly after to fall sick and die, they were fully persuaded that he had incurred his fate by failing to comply with the ancient rites and ceremonies as handed down by their fathers.

881 262 9. On the conclusion of the *yâ·dī-gū·mul-*, the youth is said to be an *â·kù·gū·mul-*, and, as before stated, is addressed as *gū·ma*; but this is not the case with the girl, possibly because she, at

[1] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraph 23.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 25.
[3] *Vide* Appendix B, item 79.

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Agriculture.— 1. Before the arrival of strangers in their midst, 241
the Andamanese were entirely ignorant of agriculture, and to this circumstance is primarily to be attributed their degraded condition, while it also affords evidence of the same.

2. Notwithstanding the ample opportunities that they have now had of observing the benefits derived from cultivation, and though they undoubtedly prefer such products to the spontaneous vegetation of their jungles, they still consider that the exertion necessary to obtain the former far outweighs every advantage; in short, it is their opinion, that "*le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle.*"

3. We must not, however, lose sight of the fact that as they have hitherto seen only prisoners engaged in tillage, they cannot but be strengthened in the objections entertained by most savages to all such labour, regarding it as a degrading occupation, and fit only for such as have forfeited their freedom.

4. Further, to quote from Peschel, "it must be remembered that hunting affords supreme enjoyment, and that agriculture has nothing to offer in compensation for the excitement and delights of the chase."

Training and Domestication of Animals.—1. Prior also to our 231
occupation of these islands, the Andamanese, as will have been 177
already inferred,[1] possessed no dogs, and it was some time (1865) before they became aware of their usefulness in the chase; but now that the intelligence of certain breeds has been proved. they prize them highly, and eagerly accept any we have to give them; at the same time, though treated with every intentional kindness, and allowed to sleep, and even to eat and drink out of the same vessel as their masters, the training to which the dogs are subjected is very severe, and their attenuated condition bears witness to the state of semi-starvation in which they are commonly kept in order to render them the more keen in hunting. The custom of summoning dogs by whistling has of course been borrowed from ourselves, as is also the practice of [552]
naming them; "Jack" or "Billy"[2] are the names generally bestowed by these people upon their canine companions, whom also they address as *ligrala* (children), and who in their turn seem greatly attached to their new owners, and testify their affection by attacking all strangers, not being aborigines, who approach the encampment to which they belong.

2. It is regarded as a good omen to meet certain birds, while 787
of others the contrary belief is held;[3] the absence of migratory

[1] *Vide ante* "Trade, Exchangeable Values, &c.," paragraph 3.

[2] They sometimes nickname them as follows:—*bī·bi-bá·ratnga-* (lit., dog-mottled), *bī·bi-ngâ·nanga-* (lit., dog-beggar), *bī·bi-tá-tū·panga-* (lit., dog-bone-crusher), *bī·bi-tá-tē·ràwa-* (lit., dog-yellow), *i.e.*, according to any peculiarity that may distinguish them.

[3] *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 22.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The only other weapon in use is the pig-spear (*ĕrdū·tnga-*[1]), which is of comparatively recent introduction, its adoption being due to the abundance of iron obtainable for some time past by the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* and other tribes near our settlement at Port Blair.

411 [177]

6. To an untrained eye no difference is noticeable in the appearance of the weapons of similar style and construction, but the aborigines are quick in detecting individual peculiarities in the manner of knotting the strings of bows, arrows, &c.[2]

7. As has been remarked by General Pitt Rivers,[3] the bows of the Great Andaman tribes, especially those of the southern half, known to the islanders as the *.bō·jig kâ·rama-*, resemble those in use in Mallicollo, one of the New Hebrides, and in New Ireland, being of a "peculiar flattened S-shaped form, curved towards the firer in the upper part as held in the hand, and to a slight extent the reverse way at the bottom."[4]

8. Except in the case of boys living on or near the coast, whose toy bows are often made of the *Rhizophora conjugata*, the wood of the mangrove is rarely, if ever, used, and the bamboo *never*,[5] for they find that certain other trees,[6] are more suitable for their purpose.

[824]

9. No whalebone or sinews are used for the purpose of imparting additional elasticity to the bow, and no evidence is forthcoming to show that they ever applied poison to their arrow or spear-heads—in fact, the only poison known to them appears to be the *Nux vomica*, and this they merely avoid as a noxious or useless plant.

[824]

10. It is true that certain passages in Dr. Mouat's book[7] convey a contrary impression, for, from the observations made during his short trip round the islands, he seems to have entertained no doubt that these savages habitually applied poison to their arrow-heads;[8] but, in the sense in which I understand his

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 9.

[2] For an example of this *vide ante* "Communications," &c., paragraph 6 (footnote).

[3] *Vide* Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. vii, p. 440.

[4] In the ethnographical department of the museum at Maidstone, I have lately observed a bow from Banks Island (New Hebrides), which bears a striking resemblance to the commonest form of the peculiar *.bō·jig* bow, for sketch of which see Plates II and VI.

[5] "Their weapons are bows and lances of iron-wood. The former are bamboo. . . ." (Grant vol. ii., p. 378.) [Their spears, at least those of Great Andaman, have never yet been seen by us made of iron-wood.—E. H. M.]

[6] *Vide* Appendix B, item 1.

[7] Pp. 324 and 330.

[8] It may be of interest to mention in this place a curious alleged fact which has been brought to my notice by the petty officers and others connected with the homes, *i.e.*, that the wounds which are inflicted now-a-days by the iron-headed arrows of the Andamanese are not so painful or so liable to fester as they were formerly, and this they attribute to the fact that, while it has always been the practice of these savages when sharpening their blades to

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 [177] 22. It is not found that they have any inclination to adopt civilised weapons or tools in lieu of their own, but they have not been slow to avail themselves of the facilities afforded them in recent years for substituting iron for shell, bone, and (?) stone,[1] in the manufacture of their various implements.

23. The blow-pipe, which is used so generally by the Negritos (*Semangs*) of the Malayan peninsula, finds no place among the weapons of these savages. Its absence may be readily accounted for, firstly by their ignorance of poison, or at least of any method of utilising such knowledge as any of them may possess, and secondly by the fact that they are so well able to supply all their wants with the implements already referred to in the foregoing, that their inventive faculty has not been sharpened by the pangs of hunger to devise other or more effective means of destruction. It may be added that slings, throwing sticks, clubs, bird-bolts, or blunt-headed arrows for stunning animals or birds, are likewise not in use among them.

[224] 24. Although the pig is the object of their chase in their hunting expeditions, they invariably take a few of their pointed arrows, preferably the *tō·lbō·d-*, on the chance of coming across some smaller game, such as an iguana or paradoxurus.[2] To facilitate rapid shooting a man will often hold a number of arrows in the hand which grasps the bow.

[225] 25. From constant practice they are, as might be supposed, very skilful at shooting fish under water. Dr. Brander has correctly observed that "they seem intuitively to have calculated with great accuracy the difference of direction to be allowed for oblique aqueous refraction;" but these shots are almost always, if not invariably, made at a distance of a few yards only, and never so far as "30 yards,"[3] or "with three-pronged barbed arrows," such missiles being neither made nor used, at least by any of the Great Andaman tribes.[4]

883 224 26. Boys soon learn to practice at near objects with the small bows and arrows to which allusion has already been made, and many of them often contribute materially to the family larder by their early prowess. It is a common sight to see youths and children (and even their elders), when travelling, wantonly shoot at small passing objects, both on land and in the water, by way

[1] *Vide* Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi, p. 271.

[2] While these two animals are killed at all seasons of the year, the pig-hunts take place chiefly during the rains, when this animal is in excellent condition, and their diet, owing to the comparative scarcity of fruit and honey, less varied; even if with young the pig is not spared.

[3] The well-nigh impossibility of ever seeing from the shore or from a canoe a fish swimming at such a distance would sufficiently account for this.

[4] It is possible that Dr. Brander saw the *single* specimen of an arrow answering to this description which was obtained in 1880 from North Sentinel Island.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

And now, though there is, I feel, much more that might with advantage be recorded regarding this interesting race, I must bring these memoirs to a conclusion; but in doing so would mention as evidence of the results of our training that several Andamanese lads have been taught to wait at table, and prove both useful and handy at such duties, behaving with most becoming gravity, as if, indeed, they had been to the manner born! It is a somewhat absurd sight to see these jet-black imps dressed in white, with arms crossed and head thrown back, standing like statues behind their masters' chairs, watchful to fulfil any service required; as soon, however, as the meal is over, the white garment is replaced by a jacket, or, in *puris naturalibus*, the well-trained servant is transformed into a romping *gamin*, ready for any fun or frolic that may offer, and entering into it apparently with the full conviction that he deserves and has earned such relaxation by his exemplary conduct as a table servant. When a dance has been given in the settlement it has been amusing to watch them in the balconies endeavouring to vie with their masters' performances in valse, polka, and galop: I have seen them, after taking note of the step, select their partners (all boys) and set to work, thinking evidently that it is part of the sport for each couple to cannon against another!

But though the Andamanese can thus in a measure enter into and enjoy civilized employments and amusements, the instincts of savage life, with its unrestrained freedom of action, generally prove in the end too strong for them, and they are carried, by an apparently irresistible impulse, back to their jungle homes, where they resume their aboriginal customs and habits, thus verifying the old Horatian maxim—

"*Naturam expellas furcâ tamen usque recurret.*"

164 Going a little further into detail, it has been noticed that malarial fevers are commonest in June, at the commencement of the monsoon and during heavy bursts of rain thereafter. Malarial fevers commence as usual in their intermittent form and prove fatal as remittent fever. Other zymotic fevers are uncommon, though the Andamanese will drink the filthiest water.

A short rainfall in the Andamans is usually accompanied by high dry winds and then is the high time of the chest diseases. But though the Andamanese are susceptible to bronchial catarrh, and though chronic bronchitis is common, it is not fatal; pneumonia is however extremely fatal. Pleurisy, hæmoptysis and phthisis are comparatively rare.

Abdominal diseases, though comparatively uncommon, are very fatal, diarrhœa, including probably dysentery, claiming most victims. Dyspepsia and colic are both common. In health the stools are regular, but inclined to looseness. They have been likened to those of the lower mammals when in good health.

Of other diseases sunstroke is dreaded and always fatal. The brain and spinal cord are not often affected, though curvature of the spine is occasionally seen. Scurvy occurs at the seasons when vegetable diet, *i.e.*, such as fruits and roots afford, is too scanty. Elephantiasis occurs among the Onges, but is limited to the Little Andaman. Chronic muscular rheumatism occurs among the older people, leading to loss and withering of limbs. Ulcers, generally the result of wounds in the jungles, are common and, as with the immigrants, slow to heal. Abscesses are also common. Considering that personal uncleanliness is often extreme, skin diseases are curiously infrequent, except ringworm and exfoliated dermatitis, sometimes leading to destruction of finger and toe nails, due either to scurvy or exposure.

[146]

164 Excluding malaria, endemic disease has not been recognised among the Andamanese, and the only epidemics that have been known to attack them are imported pneumonia (1868), syphilis (1876), measles (1877), and influenza (1892), in that order: unhappily with disastrous effect. Exposure to the sun and wind in the cleared spaces, the excessive use of tobacco and over-clothing, as results of contact with civilisation, are also said to have undermined their health as a body of human beings. Intoxicants are forbidden to them by local rules and are not easily or commonly procured by them.

177

755 **Medicine.**—The diseases which the Andamanese distinguish by name are malarial fever, catarrh, coughs and rheumatism. Phthisis and heart disease are recognised, but are spirit caused and so are all internal maladies, which of course are not understood.

758

Medicine and surgery are almost absent from the Andamanese purview. They will bleed on the forehead for fever and headache and round abscesses to alleviate pain. They scarify for rheumatism and internal pain as a last resort. Red ochre and various herbal concoctions are both swallowed and applied as all-healers, in which they have great faith. Certain leaves are sometimes applied to local affections and beds made of them for the sake of their supposed medicinal odour. Cinctures, sometimes of human bones, are used to alleviate pain, but no other charms are employed. Occasionally the diet is slightly changed to relieve illness aud they are quick to avail themselves of the hospital provided for them. They are extremely afraid of European surgery and will tremble violently at the sight of the operating knife. They smear themselves with white clay and water against the heat of the sun and with red ochre and oil after dark as a protection against cold.

The sick are sympathetically and very kindly, but superstitiously, treated. There are no pregnancy customs and those at childbirth are sensible and without superstition, difficult delivery being practically unknown.

[844]

Snakebite is uncommon and seldom fatal. Ligatures above the bite and scarifying are applied, both operations showing observation and common sense. Bites of centipedes, scorpions, leeches and ticks cause little inconvenience to the Andamanese, though very much to immigrants.

142 **Appearance.**—The figures of the men are muscular and well formed and generally pleasing; often a young man is distinctly good looking, for, though there is a tendency to prognathism, it is not commonly pronounced, while a straight and well formed nose and jaw, accompanied by superior intelligence

765 neck, usually, but not always, by the widow, widower or nearest relative. Mourning closes with a ceremonial dance and the removal of the clay. The ceremonies connected with the disposal of the dead are conventional, reverential and by no means without elaboration in detail.

V. Arts.

324 **Stone Implements.**—The only stone cutting implement known to the Andamanese is the quartz flake chipped off, never worked, and held between the fingers for shaving and tattooing, and shells and fish bones are used for the small blades of the peculiar adze of this people, and for arrow points, scraping and cutting. A *cyrena* valve is the ordinary knife and scraper. Hammers, anvils, hones, and oven-stones consist of natural stones. They have never made celts.

• 177 The ends of glass bottles for some years, and iron from wrecks for a long time past, have been substituted for the indigenous implements, when and where procurable. The object of the long series of murderous raids made by the inland Jarawas on the outlying parts of the Penal Settlement has now been proved to have been made in search for iron. The implements on the whole are coarsely and roughly made.

411 **Weapons.**—The weapons of the Andamanese are bow and arrow, harpoon, fish spear, pig spear, and they have never had any notion of poisoning the blades, which however sometimes inflict dangerous septic wounds from dirt, though as a rule they are kept bright as a matter of pride. Barbed arrows and harpoons with loose heads are used for catching and pulling up game in the jungles and marking where turtle or large fish are sinking.

Domestic Arts.—Excellent information with illustrations on the domestic and other arts of the Andamanese is to be found in a minutely accurate work, Man's *Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands.*

283 **String and Netting.**—String for nets and all purposes is twisted, often neatly, from the inner bark of creepers. Large nets of this string are made for driving turtle and hand-nets for prawns and small fish and for wallets. Stout cord is made from the inner bark of the *melochia velutina.* Whole, split and scraped canes are used as binders.

285 **Weaving.**—The weaving is good, neat and stout, and baskets and mats are thus well made from strips of canes.

323 **Pottery.**—The unglazed circular clay cooking pots with rounded or pointed bottoms, to the Andamanese very valuable, are built up by hand, sun-dried and then baked, but not thoroughly, in the fire. They are often encased in basket work for safety. Their manufacture, form and ornament are typical of the Stone Age generally.

322 **Wood and Cane work.**—Buckets are hollowed out of wood or cut from the joints of the bamboo. Canoes are hollowed out of whole trunks of light, soft timber by the adze without the use of fire, do not last long and are only fair sea boats. They are however capable of holding many people and a good deal of light cargo.

301 **Ornamentation, Personal and Domestic.**—The personal ornaments made are—bunches and strips of fibres and leaves scraped, cut and hammered, fringes of dentalium shells and straw-coloured wreaths of hammered and roasted dendrobium bark. The bones, skulls and jawbones of deceased relatives are also used whole, or broken and scraped to fancy or requirement, as ornaments, besides necklaces of the bones of animals. Tattooing and painting the body are only ornamental to the extent that, in the latter case especially, deviations from the conventional designs are due to personal taste.

353 The only ornaments to dwellings and huts are the heads of turtle, pigs, iguana, paradoxurus killed in hunting. These are hung up partly as ornaments and partly as trophies, but not with any idea of record.

531 Every manufactured article has its own customary conventional line ornament in one or more of three colours and in one or more of eleven patterns approximately achieved only. The colours are red, white and brown from natural earths. The patterns are (1) chevrons, (2) close cross hatch, (3) wide cross hatch, (4) parallel lines, (5) parallels and chevrons combined, (6) lozenges, (7) plait or guilloche, (8) herring-bone, (9) cross cuts, (10) loops, (11) vandyke with scolloped bands and cross lines.

APPENDIX B

JARAWA RAIDS ON THE SETTLEMENT.

177
721

1872. Convicts robbed of tools and clothes between Aberdeen and McPherson's Strait.
1875. Four convicts killed on Kyd Island. [One convict killed and 2 captured (all runaways) at Lekerajoinga by the Beas for stealing their canoe.]
1878. Attack on Brigade Creek Andamanese Home: 1 man killed.
1880. Camp of friendly Andamanese attacked at Port Campbell.
1882. Andamanese skirmish with Jarawas at Goplakabang, but friendly signs at Kalatang.
1883. Five convicts killed at Ranguchang: 1 Jarawa woman captured.
1884. A Police Constable wounded at Maiilitilek: 1 Jarawa killed, 2 captured (1 wounded). Birds'-nest boat attacked at Ranguchang: 4 Jarawa women, 1 man (Habiyo) captured and released. Jarawa huts found in the Jarawa Khari Valley.
1885. Two convicts murdered at Ograbarnij: 2 Jarawa women captured and released.
1887. Andamanese camp at Chaual (N.-W. corner of South Andaman) attacked, 1 boy wounded.
1888. One convict killed and 1 escaped at Tusonabad and 1 killed at Mattra: 1 runaway killed: convict boat attacked at Tytler's Ghat in Port Mouat.
1889. Andamanese camp at Port Mouat attacked, 1 man wounded.
1890. Andamanese camp at Port Campbell attacked, 1 man wounded. One Jarawa child captured. Andamanese attacked at Motknnu in the Middle Strait. Three convicts attacked at Cadellganj, 1 killed, 1 wounded. Two Jarawas killed at Talalunta.
1891. One convict at Bindraban wounded.
1892. Andamanese camp at Bajajag attacked: 1 girl killed.
1893. Andamanese camp near Homfray's Strait attacked: 1 man killed, 1 wounded.
1894. An Andamanese, turtle hunting, was killed at Port Mouat.
1895. Two convicts killed at Cadellganj. Two Rutland Island Jarawas captured and released.
1896. One Jarawa wounded by an Andamanese at Bluff Island (Port Anson). Attack on Andamanese Camp at Goplakabang. Jarawa communal hut discovered at Constance Bay.
1897. One convict killed at the Tarachang Home. Jarawa village found on Torabi Hill, Port Campbell: 3 Jarawas and 1 woman wounded. Three convicts at Cadellganj killed.
1898. Ration boat in Shoal Bay attacked at Jirkatang: 1 convict and 1 police constable wounded.
1899. Jirkatang temporary convict barrack attacked: 2 convicts wounded: 1 Jarawa wounded: 1 friendly Andamanese wounded.
1901. Three convicts killed: 2 wounded at Cadellganj and Jatang.
1902. Two convicts killed at Jatang: 1 Jarawa child captured at Talalunta and 2 women, 2 children and 2 boys captured at Wibtang, Mr. Vaux killed at Wibtang.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

312 caracases of small animals. During the droughts, marine hermit crabs, of
271 which a profusion is found in Little Andaman even far from the sea-shore,
[196] often choose to die in fresh-water pools. They are not removed from the pools.
[415] A nautilus shell is sometimes used as a drinking vessel ; failing this, the Onge
[516] lap up the water like animals, on all fours, directly from the pool. Since they are
291 very fond of dogs, man and dog drink together from the same tiny pool, often holding no more than a few pints of water. Dogs reached Great Andaman as early as 1857 ; they came to Little Andaman much later. Before that time there were no dogs in the Andamanese Archipelago. They soon became the natives' cherished and much appreciated assistants in the hunting of wild pigs. Many unhygienic habits followed the appearance of dogs in the Andamans.

271 The Onge have no idea of boiling water for the purpose of disinfection ;
[147] nevertheless their health does not appear to suffer at all as a result of the pol-
123 luted water they drink. When, in 1952, I dug a well near the left bank of Dugong Creek on the north-east coast of Little Andaman, I was compelled to fence it in so as to prevent dogs from drinking it and bathing in it.

264 Dogs lick everything that smells of food, including the cooking pots,
[291] and the pots are not washed before use after the dogs have licked them.
[136] Swarms of flies of different species and small coleoptera of a brilliant blue colour, one of them 6 mms long, follow the dogs after they have "cleaned" the pots by licking them. They line the inside of the pots with a crawling, living coat, moving restlessly around in search of food. One species of fly, which is of a brilliant, metallic green colour, has a peculiarly disagreeable smell. All the flies lay eggs while feeding, but the eggs are soon devoured by the hovering bluish coleoptera. Thus in a few hours all traces of organic matter disappear from the pots. Subsequent exposure to fire undoubtedly destroys the germs that would otherwise be certainly dangerous to human beings.

415 The Onge no longer use indigenous pottery for cooking. Its disappearance
177 is recent, as the sherds that litter Little Andaman prove to the investigator.
[323] Excavation in modern kitchen-middens leads to the same conclusion. During the last war, quantities of empty petrol drums were washed up on the Andaman shores. They were found in such numbers that the Onge have not yet used them all up : after 1952 I found several of these containers abandoned, untouched, in the jungle. The primitive inhabitants sawed each container in two cylindrical halves, thus transforming them into cooking pots. The result was that within a few years the fragile ancestral pottery of the Onge disappeared altogether. Furthermore, aluminium pots were distributed among the natives after 1952. Probably the indigenous pottery will never again reappear.
[252] Each half of a petrol drum is large enough to contain a pig, or a turtle weighing 150 lbs, cut into pieces. Only the flesh of these animals is consumed by the
262 Onge ; the nourishing broth is poured out onto the ground or left in the pot
[231] to be lapped up by the dogs. The Onge believe that broth is unhealthy and avoid drinking it.

251 No matter how prodigious the catch of sardines or other fish, unobtain-
[185] able at other times of the year, no attempt is made at storing part of it in view of future shortage. The Onge are unacquainted with methods for preserv-

sedentary existence based on primitive agriculture, and abandonment of a nomad life as gatherers of wild sago and other forest products ... Although agriculture is now important, there is no doubt that the Sulungs are at heart food-gatherers and hunters, who infinitely prefer a nomadic life in the forest to the more sedentary way of life they are now taking to .... There is a good case for assuming the Sulungs to have been entirely sago-gatherers when they first came under outside domination: borne out by their own traditions that they learnt cereal cultivation from the Daflas, by the identity of technique with that tribe, and above all by their being at the present day at a stage transitional between the practice of fixed cultivation and that of food-gathering".

STONOR thought that the Sulung "are probably the only people of Mongolian stock on the Asiatic mainland who still maintain an economy based largely on food-gathering and hunting", and that "they may well be the most primitive of Mongolian tribes surviving anywhere". This is, of course, an error. Apart from the Raji of Kumaon, who are in a transitional stage to a certain extent comparable to that of the Sulung, we know the mongoloid Phi Tong Luang or Yumbri of northern Siam, who are still pure primitive food-gatherers and hunters. It is precisely their wide distribution which gives these small scattered tribes particular importance, since it sheds some light on the racial history of southern Asia and on the early cultural stages of the great mongoloid race.

STONOR estimates the number of Sulung at perhaps six or seven thousand.

CHRISTOPH VON FÜRER-HAIMENDORF, *Culture Types in Assam Himalayas*, Indian Geographical Journal, Vol. XXI, No. 2, 1946.

C. R. STONOR, *The Sulung Tribe of the Assam Himalayas*, Anthropos, Vol. XLVII, 1952, pp. 947—962.

Andaman Islands

The ten tribes of the Great Andaman group are practically extinct as a result of their contact with civilization. At the time of Dr. B. S. GUHA's visit, in 1948, only 31 persons survived. We are fortunate in having two outstanding monographs on these tribes, EDWARD HORACE MAN's *On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands*, first published in the "Journal of the Anthropological Institute" in 1882, and later as a book, and A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN's *The Andaman Islanders*, Cambridge, 1922 (2nd edition 1933). Yet, it should not be forgotten that MAN, although an excellent and conscientious observer, was not a trained anthropologist, and that at the time RADCLIFFE-BROWN was in the Andamans, 1906 to 1908, the native population had shrunk to a fraction of its original size,

In a recent paper Dr. N. DATTA-MAJUMDER, Director, Department of Anthropology, Government of India, writes: 163

"From a study of 34 Onge families contacted by us, it is found that the average size of the family is only 3.15. Thirteen families out of 34 are childless. That is, 38.2% of the married couples are sterile".

When, in 1946, proposals were made for undertaking work for the amelioration of the conditions of the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands along the same line as had been done among the Bhil and other tribes of Central India, Dr. B. S. GUHA, at that time Director of the Department of Anthropology, very reasonably observed that "the problem of the aborigines of the Andaman Islands is not the same as that of the other primitive tribes of India", and that "the need among them is not so much the spread of education and social uplift as the arrest in the decline in population which has been most alarming". 648 161 177

The Ongi have been in sporadic contact with the outside world for many years. They have been visiting Port Blair, particularly since some of them moved to Rutland Island on the southern tip of Great Andaman. This contact with civilization was bound to affect their material culture, as well as their whole mentality. We may again quote Dr. DATTA-MAJUMDER who says: 177 [166]

"As a result of this long contact the Onge have already come to appreciate a number of foreign articles, for example, tobacco leaves, tea leaves, sugar, matches, aluminium utensils and implements made of iron (especially bill-hooks and files). In order to secure these articles, they often barter away their valuable honey and shells. The afore-mentioned changes in material culture have at present touched only the fringe of Onge culture. But the demand for these articles (especially tobacco leaves and safety matches) is becoming so great that Onge culture is likely to be vitally affected in the near future". [276]

Dr. DATTA-MAJUMDER came to the conclusion that "the hunting and food-gathering Onge culture, which had been an autonomous cultural system in the past, is now breaking down". 22 182

The Ongi were repeatedly visited by government officers, but the resulting information is paltry. PORTMAN spent several months among the coastal groups of Little Andaman in 1886 and 1887 and collected a few hundred words of their language. In 1901, C. BODEN KLOSS visited a group of Ongi on Rutland Island and one on Little Andaman, both only for a few hours. At some time between 1906 and 1908, A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN went to Little Andaman for several weeks and made a preliminary study of the Ongi language. In 1928, EGON VON EICKSTEDT spent a few weeks among the Ongi on Rutland Island and visited briefly several groups on the coast of Little Andaman for the sake of physical anthropological research. 114

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

123 The second trip was made on March 12th 1948. Our party included Mr. JOSEPH and Mr. POOVIAH [2], both Sub-divisional Officers of the forest department, one Burman bush police and four Andamanese with their two canoes tied behind our motor boat. We followed the same route from Long Island and, reaching Spike Island, we anchored at its northeastern corner. We came ashore in the canoes. The beach was small and rocky. Part of it was sheltered on one side by huge rocks behind which the Jarawa were known to waylay those approaching from the sea. So we landed very cautiously. Just at [501] the outskirts of the jungle we saw huge bundles of short bamboo lengths tied to [824] one another and piled up in a heap. It was a Jarawa raft. Near the bamboo pile were three crude paddles split from the spadix of the palm called *Nipa fruticans*. We were all the more careful in our approach.

[361] Soon we came upon a clearing in the jungle. There was no Jarawa, but all around we saw traces of a temporary halt of a large party. We counted nineteen [342] fireplaces. At a distance from the fireplaces we saw a small temporary hut improvised out of the materials available on the spot. Two small shrubs were [622] tied together on two sides to form the roof of the hut. The Andamanese identified it to have been made for the Jarawa chief and his wife. Household objects [415] [824] lay scattered about. Three bamboo cylinders, closed at one end by the natural node, were found next to [412] three of the fireplaces. They are used for carrying water. A dark coloured modern glass bottle, probably acquired during a raid, was [177] [415] also found. One fireplace had a small compartment enclosed by a few wooden posts a few yards off. [354] [417] [855] The Andamanese identified it as an enclosure for keeping a child at a safe distance from the fire. This was probably correct as there was also a baby sling made of bark, exactly similar to that used by the [854] Onge for carrying a baby on its mother's back (VON EICKSTEDT, [412] 1934, fig. 211). At one corner of a fireplace the shavings of an arrowshaft or a bow were seen and nearby was a flat round pebble, one end of which was broken like that of a scraper (fig. 3). This scraper showed marks of red ochre [412] on it. Beneath a tree a circular mat, sewn out of three pieces of long triangular palm-like leaves was spread out, while on its branches was found a beautiful specimen of an unstrung bow. It appeared to have been recently prepared and

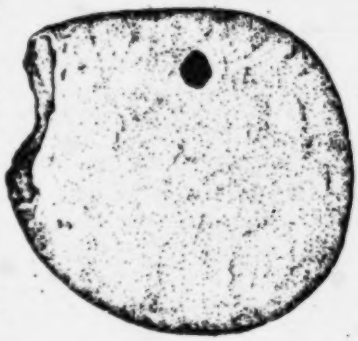

Fig. 3

[2] These two officers captured two Jarawa males, one adult and one boy, on October 19th 1948 on Spike Island. They were brought to Port Blair, wherefrom they managed to escape at night.

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

726
141

Right arm ... 2 feet 4 inches
Right index finger ... 4 inches
Right toe ... 2 inches
Length of right leg ... 2 feet 11 inches
Length of right foot ... 9 ½ inches

726 The iron blade of the arrowhead is 17 cm long and 4.9 cm broad at the base.
411 It is mounted on a wooden shaft 86.7 cm long. The barb at the base consists
177 of an ordinary iron nail which is bent at its sharp end and fixed with bark threads impregnated with resin. It must have been obtained from a forest camp during some raid.

726 According to GUPTA (1955) the above mentioned incident was not a
114 premeditated raid. He thinks – after a careful inquiry into the above incident – that the Jarawa "came out in the open, early in the morning and walked right into the camp and did not attempt to shoot, [which] would warrant a presumption that they meant a friendly visit".

Since the last few years the Andaman Government has not encouraged
648 any punitive expedition among the Jarawa. This is also evident from one of the Senior Officer's opinion quoted above. The forest workers, on the other hand, still have to face the Jarawa. They think that since no punitive action is taken against them they are gradually getting bolder. It is reported that the Jarawa beat the trunks of trees within their hearing. Consequently all these buttress beatings are immediately reported to the higher authorities and armed guards protecting the forest workers are alerted. If that is the case then the Jarawa do not attack without a warning! But who knows what they really mean? Do they want to communicate with us? Or is it a means of communication among themselves?

The Jarawa Problem

648 It has already been hinted at the problem of taming the Jarawa. It was
114 one of the special aims of the Government of India to arrange a substation of its Department of Anthropology. As a result of this the present writer visited the Andaman Islands twice and was of the opinion that the substation of the Department of Anthropology should be stationed at Long Island and not at Port Blair. There were no express plans but to carry out anthropological studies of the aborigines of the various islands. It has not yet been possible to census the friendly Onge properly (SARKAR, 1960).

The primary desideratum appears to be a knowledge of the native language. As far as the present writer knows, there is no one in the various Government departments who is acquainted with the Andamanese language,
000 not to mention the other languages spoken on the varius islands. The Onge

[4] A Jarawa vocabulary was collected from the captive pregnant Jarawa woman by Mrs. CHENGAPPA and Mrs. CHAUDHURI, and it has been published by the Andaman Government.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P. ix]

INTRODUCTION

A group of north-south running islands as they are, the Andaman Islands have as many as 204 small islands where the impact of civilisation and growth has been little and the human history has been one of stagnation rather than of chequered career. Being a land of aborigines, the foreign intrusion has been quite feeble though mention about these islands is found in the early records of the travellers. Though the knowledge about the islands is derived from the notes which date back to 2nd Century A.D., the contacts with the foreigners have been all the time transient and extremely feeble. Before the formation of the penal settlement, the islands have been known as an island of horror because of the presence of such tribal people who would eat up the man they encounter and as regards the wealth there has been imaginary illusion, sometimes being called as the Island of Gold. The historical record of the islands which can be built with a fair degree of precision is since the formation of the penal settlement. There has been the search for resources as well as their exploitation. However, all the attempts for finding minerals and the geological explorations have shown the possibility of the existence of some poor quality coal, copper etc. Virtually there has been a conspicuous lack of efforts for the development of the islands. The penal settlement which grew up in Port Blair did not have any considerable influence on the overall development of the islands. Nevertheless with the more intimate knowledge about the islands, the forest exploitation had increased and the land around Port Blair was cleared for agriculture. The little amount of agriculture that was started and fostered by the local-borns in and around Port Blair never expanded considerably and it remained confined to a few areas of South Andaman only. The aborigines were very much widespread and in the beginning they had exercised hostility and arrogance which had in course of time given place to a very friendly and amicable terms with some of the tribal groups i.e. the Onges and the Andamanese. The Jarawas, however, still now maintain their hostility and the attempts for bringing them under amicable terms have so long proved futile.

Nothing more deserves a special note in the islands than the aboriginal population. Because of the insular nature of the islands, the aboriginal population is considered to be one of the purest type though the foreign intrusion has brought about an extremely rapid impoverishment and decay only during the last few decades of contact with these aborigines.

10:Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

161 Of the two main groups of aborigines, the Great Andaman Group and the Little Andaman Group, the former being the most widespread and 177 numerous in the Great Andamans has become completely non-existent 182 depicting the example of the decay within an extremely short time, especially since the impact of the foreign people. The fate of the later group is also quite shattering—the Jarawas have experienced both numerical decay and territorial shrinkage and the Onges are the only tribes who live exclusively in the Little Andaman but they have been also facing the signs of decay.

133 A glance at the map of the Andaman islands and adjacent countries shows the continuity of these islands with the Arakan Yoma of Burma in the north and with the Indonesian islands in the south. The islands of both the Andaman and Nicobar groups are primarily of sedimentary formations of the Eocene period with occasional igneous intrusions. Later formations of coral are also quite widespread. The surface topography of the regions is typically flat-topped being typical of the sandstone regions and the peaks are in most cases formed of igneous intrusions. The islands are comprised of a number of longitudinal ranges running from the north to the south and in between the ranges short streams flow. The heights of the hills are generally 1000′ and never exceed 2500′.

132 The islands experience a high annual temperature and the yearly rainfall is as high as 130 inches in Port Blair and the amount decreases as one moves to the north and the east. The ameliorating influence of the sea is quite appreciable.

131 With an area of 2508 square miles and the number of islands being as many as 204, only 4 main islands, North Andaman (490.20 sq miles), Middle Andaman (561.00 sq miles), South Andaman (359.51 sq miles) and Little Andaman (289.90 sq miles) have an area of more than 100 sq miles and the rest are sufficiently small in size either to command human settlement or economic activity.

101 The economy of the tribal people is of the primitive form of hunting and collecting though the precise modes of living vary to some extent depending upon the nature of environment under which they have to live. The knowledge of distribution and of actual number of these aborigines is far from accurate. The Andamanese were the most widespread in all parts of the Great Andamans and in the South Andaman they (Aka bea) had to remain vigilant against the possible attacks and territorial expansion of the Jarawas. The Andamanese, as said earlier, have completely died out. The Jarawas, though have dwindled to a negligible number,

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Island	*Area*
131 Havelock and 6 other islands in the Ritchie's Archipelago Group	94.20
Rutland and 3 other islands in the South Andaman group of islands	73.86
Tarmughli and 4 other islands in the Labyrnth island	12.20
Little Andaman	289.90
166 other islands	430.97

131 114 But regarding the above statistics, Sri H. R. Shivdasani, I.C.S. writes as follows:—

'Obviously the area of 430.97 square miles for the other small islands is incorrect and far too much. It gives an average area of 2 square miles per island in which case they deserve individual mention when other islands of less than 1 square mile in area have come to special notice. Forest officers themselves admit that these 166 small islands cannot have a total area of 1430.97 square miles. We may assume that the information of the Punjab Delegation[1] is correct. Even so it would seem that if out of the other islands (735 square miles) we exclude Baratang, 90 square miles, and Little Andaman 290 square miles, there will be 200 small islands with a total area of 335 square miles'.[2]

131 177 The Andamans lie 590 miles from the Hooghly mouth, 120 miles from Cape Negrais of Burma and 340 miles from the northern extremity of Sumatra. In spite of the very close situation of the islands to the crowded countries like the mainland of India, Burma and the Indonesian countries, the contact has been quite feeble.

1 The Punjab Delegation went to the Andamans to explore the possibility of colonisation in the islands.

2 Shivdasani was sent to the Andamans with a party by the Government of India to study the aspect of colonisation in the islands in the year 1949.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

Sri Gupta, in conclusion, has been tempted to emphasise with firm conviction that the Andamanese are, therefore, very probably a remnant of the dwellers on the marshes of Bengal and the uplands of Santhal Paragana or the dense forests of Burma and Malaya. 174

As regards the native appellations and phonetic similarity, such apparent similarity is possibly evidenced in many groups separated from each other by long distances. Similarly, the diet of raw meat and fish is and was common to all hunting and collecting tribes of the world. Independent evolution of many tribes has been akin to each other and therefore, the further geological studies and studies in anthropology can only confirm the idea.

Since the arrival of the Andamanese in the islands, a gradual separation has taken place among the different branches of population who had moved to different parts of the islands. The micro-environment has exerted considerable influence in moulding these people ultimately giving birth to a number of sub-groups. However, the broad generalisations are their hunting and collecting economy, complete ignorance about the domestication of the plants and the animals, except the Onges who have learnt only for the last 30 years the domestication of dogs. Family is the smallest social unit and a few families constitute the communal hut. Each tribal sub-group has its hunting territory, within which it maintains a more or less nomadic life till they return to the main settlement where they have a communal hut. 105 174 [592] [423]

The doctrine of the environmental determinism exemplifies itself in the adaptation of the aborigines to the local environment. In their life, they never look beyond their local geography and the materials for houses, the food, the ornaments and every thing that they are in need of, are collected from the small territory in which a community lives. So the obvious conclusion may be drawn that the coastal tribes are dependent on fishing, turtle hunting and gathering of shells and oysters and the interior tribes on hunting. This type of primitive economy, based on hunting and collecting, cannot support more than two to four persons per square mile as against more than 300 per square mile in agricultural lands and again the density varies to a great extent according to the type of agriculture practised e.g., rice-growing regions support the maximum density of population. In spite of their all-round self-sufficiency they have some connections with the later settlers. For the want of iron, tobacoo, distilled liquor, opium etc., these aborigines (jarawas) either make periodic raids on the settlements (Onges and Andamanese) or have established friendly relations with the settlers. The necessity 105 105 177● 439

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
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105 177 439 of all these things, locally not available, was felt by the aborigines only due to their slight contact with the later settlers.

However, a broad two-fold division of the aboriginal population can be made.

101 174

1. Aborigines of the Great Andaman Group — All the aborigines of the Great Andamans with the exception of the Jarawas, the most hostile aborigines living in the southwestern part of the Andamans.

2. Aborigines of the Little Andaman Group — the Onges of the Little Andaman, the Jarawas of the South Andaman & the Sentinelese of the North Sentinel island.

As to how these two groups came into being and their areas of distribution, various theories have been put forward. Long after the attainment of the individual traits of these two groups, a continuous northward movement of the aborigines from the Little Andaman was in vogue and one such party had arrived in the Great Andamans who have been lately known as the Jarawas, who were all along subjected to pressure of the local natives belonging to the Great Andaman Group, the *Aka bea* of South Andaman. The very development of the hostility of the Jarawas and their complete seclusion from the other aboriginal groups owe to their being continuously subjected to the adversities. B. V. Eickstedt[1] has been of the opinion that the aborigines of the Andamans entered into the Great Andamans in two groups—the earlier group comprises the Onge, Jarawas and the Sentinelese while to the later group belong the ancestors of the Great Andaman Group. The passage of the Great Andaman Group has led to a constant southward push of the earlier group which has ultimately led to their habitation in the islands of the south i.e., the Little Andaman, Rutland Island and a part of the South Andaman. Cipriani has been emphatic enough in justifying the views of Brown that the Jarawas reached the Great Andamans from the south. Though they are supposed to have come from the Great Andamans by canoes, the art of constructing canoes and of using them have been completely forgotten and Cipriani believes that such instances of the loss of knowledge of the construction of canoes and their uses are many. A list of the names of the camps, given by Cipriani in the 1951 census, dating back to antiquity and having a good supply of drinking water and of

101 174 182 501

[113]

1 Eickstedt, B. V — Die Negrite der Andaman (Autho Ans).

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

food lie in a chain running from north to south along the islands between Little and Great Andamans. This has been one of the most convincing proofs of the movement of the aborigines from the south to the north. Cipriani writes, 'All these organisations, with geographical names, camps, places for water and food, indicate an ancient navigating experience moving from the south to the north. About a century and half ago the Jarawas are said to have still been in possession of canoes and the same is said of the savage inhabitants of the North Sentinel Island less than 50 years ago. In a surprisingly short period the technique of making canoes seems to have been completely forgotten as a result of the difficulties of using them.'[2]

101 174 182 501

THE ABORIGINES OF THE GREAT ANDAMAN GROUP

Andamanese, as they are called, were the most widespread and the largest in number. They had split up ultimately into a few sub-groups from the north to the south. The different groups are *Aka-kora, Aka-boa, Aka-jeru and Aka-bea.* There has been a deplorable decline in the number of these aborigines who in the bygone ages exceeded all other groups in number. At present the number is only 23, a considerable reduction from the number 625 only in the beginning of the 20th century. Though the present importance of the Andamanese because of the extremely poor number is far from significant, they are of no small interest for the study of the anthropologist, especially the impact of these people with the later settlers.

101 162

The consequences of the impact of the outsiders on the Andamanese have been far from satisfactory. With the formation of the penal colony, the aborigines continued to develop feud and on the 14th of May, 1959 a clash between the aborigines and the Govt. occurred which is known as the Battle of Aberdeen. Aberdeen is at the heart of the town of Port Blair. Efforts of pacifying these aborigines were made and for bringing them into closer terms of amity, the 'Andamanese Home' was started in 1863 by Rev. H. Corbyn Chaplain. They were employed for working with the convicts taught to speak English and wear clothes. The consequence of such an impact has been alarmingly devastating because of the infiltration of a number of vices and diseases which only paved the way for their impoverishment and decay (For further particulars see demographic characteristics).

175 177 648

2 Cipriani, L — On the origin of the Andamanese, Andaman & Nicobar Islands, Census of India, 1951.

10:Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

105 For the fact that the Andamanese inhabits the coastal areas of the
177 Andamans, the fishing is an well-known art to them. The pristine cul-
182 ture is virtually lost and the few who are still now surviving have been brought under the folds of government help. Still now the headmen
[225] of the Andamanese in the Middle Andaman, *Loka* is found doing turtle
[481] hunting in their canoes and climbing up the coconut trees without the help of any rope. Still now they are found dancing in groups but they are few and far between. All of them wear clothes and live in the huts made by the Forest Department.

THE ABORIGINES OF THE LITTLE ANDAMAN GROUP.

101 The Onges, the Jarawas and the Sentinelese belong to this group.

The Jarawas

177 Of all these three groups, the Jarawas only live in the Great Anda-
648 mans and their occurrence in the Great Andamans has been explained
[101] by many authorities, as has been explained earlier. The Jarawas are
[181] implacably hostile and the best of efforts to bring them under terms of amity have proved furtile. Lt. Colebrook and Archibald Blair first came in contact with the Jarawas and in course of time, the Aka-beas, belonging to the Great Andaman Group, living in the South Andaman became friendly with the foreigners while the hostility of the Jarawas remained unabated. The Jarawa hostility has been always increasing and it was more so since 1921. In 1923, 37 Jarawas were shot and in 1938, a Jarawa woman and her 4 children were captured. So the chances of meeting the Jarawas have been few and far between and the great decline in their number has in all practical senses stopped the apprehension of their raids in the new settlement areas. Still now, of course a person penetrating deep into the forests of the eastern parts of South Andaman should always be on the guard against an attack from the Jarawas.

The Onges.

The Onges, having experienced the impact of the foreigners at the latest period, are at present the most widesprend of all the aborigines of the Andamans. They do not have the truculence of the Jarawas and the attempts for bringing them under closer ties and terms of amity with the foreigners have proved successful, though the essential traits of their social, cultural and material life remain unaltered.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

The contact of the Onges with the outsiders can only be traced since the efforts of M. V. Portman[1] to establish a friendly relation with these tribes from 1886 onwards. However the earlier contacts with the Chinese and Japanese were possible because these people used to frequent the shores of Little Andaman for collecting the valuable shells and the Onges used to be engaged by them as divers and in reciprocation they were given presents of alcohol and opium. In the initial stage of the attempt for establishing a friendly relation by Portman, the Onges proved themselves hostile which was evidenced from the poor fate of the crews of a ship 'Assam Valley' when it touched the shores of Little Andaman and it was through the great efforts of the punitive expedition led by W. L. Much that the dead bodies of the crews were recovered. Later on, a few Onges, all on a sudden, arrived at Cinque Island and were captured by M. V. Portman. Only 9 of them were detained and the rest 15 were released. These few captured Onges were closely observed and studied in Port Blair by Portman and were ultimately returned back to their native land, Little Andaman. The friendly treatment and the presents that these Onges had received from Portman, paved the path of establishing friendly relations with the Onges much easier and also made the subsequent visits of the foreigners much more welcome. After Portman, a few more contacts were made with the Onges by Prof. Lapicque in March, 1893, during the operations of 1911 and 1921, undertaken by Eicsktedt, a German anthropologist, in 1827, by Dr. B. S. Guha, Ex-Director Anthropological Survey of India in 1948 and by Lidio Cipriani, an Italian anthropologist in the year 1954 and in a few succeeding years. Still the knowledge about the Onges seems to be meagre.

Living exclusively in the Little Andaman and a few of them in the Rutland Island, the Onges live in groups on a septal basis with clear-cut boundaries of hunting group for each group. There is no permanent habitation or village of the Onges in any part of the Little Andaman and their huts are of two types—(a) the permanent type of communal hut called *bera*, and (b) the temporary type of shelter called *korale*.

The abundance of food and water has made the life of the Onges comparatively easy-going. All the groups are headed by a leader and each group is assigned a fixed territory. The community life seems to be extremely democratic in character which entertains and also maintains a perfect individual freedom and only in times of necessity, advice,

1 Portman, M. V—History of one relations with the Andamanese.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

the felling of the tree, chiselling the lumber and processing it further to give the shape of a canoe. Buckets of wood are also constructed by them from the softwood tree. Two types of baskets are made, the smaller ones are more well-finished than the bigger ones. The former is known as *toleoaga* and the later *tole-laya*. Such activities have introduced the use of dahs, chisels, and iron files among the Onges, from the iron pieces derived from the sea shores. The other important pieces of their craftsmanship are the beautiful weavings of fibre, tussel of yellow fibre used by the women in their front. However, the art of making the earthen pots has been completely forgotten.

The leisure in their lives has helped the development of some amount of aesthetic senses among the Onges. All the Onges men and women shave their heads with flakes of glass, obtained from the sea-borne glass bottles. The body of the Onges are also painted with white clay which save their skin from insect-bite while red paint serves medicinal purposes if some individual is having fever. In times of mourning, red orchre paint is a taboo.[1]

Early marriage is the custom. The widows are looked down upon by the society. Some incidents of widow murder and drowning are heard. In the married life, the husband is devoted to his wife and both the husband and wife work for collecting their food.

Dances and songs are in vogue and there are practically songs for every occasion and activity. Most of their songs are more plaintive than joyous.

There are three broad divisions of the Onges of the Little Andaman :

(1) *Giremeka-Gobeule* group inhabiting the northeastern coast of the island ;

(2) *Engakwale group* live in the interior of the islands ; and

(3) *Gireraragobeule group* live in the southern and western coasts of the islands.

In spite of all the limitations, the Onges have been considered as one of the happiest people of the world with plenty of food and water to eat and drink and with very few social cankers to fight with. But as is common to all other aborigines of the Andamans, a decline in their number is discernible.

The Sentinelese

The Sentinelese are the least known of all the aborigines of the Anda-

1 The Onge of the Little Andaman—A short guide book ; Anthropological Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

10:Sen K-3,4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

101 mans. They live in the North Sentinel island and Portman had only made a few observations in the abandoned settlement of these aborigines. In 1886, Portman contacted a few Sentinelese with the help of a few [197] Onges. The affinity of the Sentinelese with the Onges have been detected but the language of the Sentinelese is different from the Onges. However, only later researches can reveal more facts about their lives.

PRESENT DAY DISTRIBUTION OF THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION

101 The islands, though remained essentially a land of the aborigines, have
161 a present day distribution which is very much discrete in nature. The
361 nature of the distribution was very likely much more widespread in different parts of the islands but the great decline in their number coupled with gradual expansion of the area of the later settlers led to a continued recession of the aborigines in the more desolate areas. Thus there has been a great shrinkage in the territory of the aborigines of the South Andaman where no settlements of any importance had developed.

There are only a few Andamanese (23) who are still now surviving in [177] the Middle and North Andamans and they live in the huts built up by the Forest Department.

The exact areas of inhabitation of the Jarawas are anybody's guess. Though the Jarawas have suffered a considerable decline in their number, no evidences of their distribution beyond the South Andaman are in view. Living under the cold patronage and hostility of the neighbours, the *Aka-beas*, a sub-group of the Andamanese, the Jarawas were always subjected to all their efforts of territorial expansion. Though their exact areas of distribution have not been traced so far, it is probable that they live in the dense forests of the South Andaman, especially in the least disturbed and unhaunted forest areas of the west. However, their biggest concentration is believed to be between Port Constance, Port Meadows and Shaol Bay.

The Sentinelese inhabit the North Sentinel Island and only further exploration in the island can furnish an idea about their exact spots of distribution.

The most predominant in number are the Onges who inhabit the [484] island of Little Andaman. However they make occasional voyages to the Rutland and Cinque Island where some of them live. The areas of distribution of the Onges in Little Andaman are mainly in the coastal areas of the northeast, south and west and also in the interior.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

in the sample of 61 adult females, 22 women were nonfecund. As such 163
the obvious female preponderance in the total sample is not of much value and the total picture of Onge population is rather that of decline only.' Such a decline of the fertility of the Andamanese women has already been pointed out.

Of all the aboriginal population, the Onges are to-day the most 16
widespread and have undoubtedly a very balanced sex-ratio. As regards the fertility, there is a gradual unproductiveness amongst all the aboriginal population. The Andamanese who are on the last legs of the decay have the youngest child of more than 10 years. Nothing definite can be said about the Jarawas and the Sentinelese but they are also on the verge of their decay.

PROBLEMS OF THE ABORIGINES

Assessment of the socio-economic and cultural problems is always 161
subjective and a true assessment is only possible through the first-hand 177
intimate acquaintance of the aborigines. The aboriginal population of the world to-day present a very gloomy picture of stagnation or decay and the aboriginal population of the Andamans are undoubtedly sharing this dismal fate of decay.

Only after the impact of the people having better material attainments the problems of the aborigines have been aggravated that paved the path of total ruination of their socio-economic traits and also initiated their gradual numerical decay. Such evidences of decay only in the last few centuries are within view in the case of the American Indians which formerly having 268 groups have dwindled to only 67 groups now surviving when the rest have been wiped out. The case of the aboriginal population of Australia, Tasmania, Malanesian Islands and the others of southeast Asia present such a gloomy picture. The causes of such a decline have been attributed to the incorporation of vices and such social poisons as alcohol and opium, attack of venereal diseases, quick adoption of foreign customs and modes of life which have been proved incongenial in their own environmental context and also to the gradual 'loss of interest in life.' This loss of interest in life, according to Rivers[1] takes away from the people the desire to live and to shoulder the burden of life, with the result that mortality incidence goes high and the more obvious causes of mortality like new diseases, the social poisons etc, tend to have greater potency for

1 Rivers, W. H. R—Essays on the depopulation of Malanesia (Ed). 1922.

10:Sen K-3,4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

161 evil and are allowed to work such ravages upon life and health of people
177 whose resistance level has already gone quite low.[2] Such a loss of interest in life is common to many of the aboriginal population. The aboriginal population of the Andamans have also been victimised to it and only in one century the aborigines of the Great Andaman Group have almost been wiped out and the Jarawas, in spite of their isolation, have been undergoing considerable decay. The Onges are also suffering from stagnation and decay. There has been the addiction to some of the social poisons e.g. tobacco, alcohol, etc.

The causes of decay of the aboriginal population of the Andamans may be summed up as being the followings:

1. Diseases;

2. Murder of the aborigines by the later settlers, especially the bombardment of the Japanese in the Jarawa infested areas have resulted in a virtual decline of the tribe;

3. Little productive capacity of the aboriginal women.

The sex-ratio in the case of the Onges is quite balanced and therefore, the sex-ratio is not a factor for the decline of the aboriginal population but very little productive capacity of the aboliginal population is undoubtedly a major factor of their decline and it has already been discussed.

178 As regards the material life, however satisfied the aboriginal population may be with their poor lot, it is in most primitive form and the only materials that they have in possession are for earning their livelihood. Cultural aspect is also desiccated with a dearth of richness. No evolution has, however, been observed for deriving much more material comforts and the aborigines with their hard struggle for life hardly find any time to develop their thinking which can lead to a betterment of their cultural and material life.

THE FUTURE

185 These aboriginal population have so far shown little urge for improving their own lot and in the absence of such attempts, the chances of their betterment as well as survival is a far cry. The only means of improving their lot seems to be possible through the efforts of the Government. The attempts for bringing the aborigines in a short period within the folds of an advanced economy and society have proved futile and contrary to it, the attempts of segregating the aboriginal population, as done in the

2 Nigam, R. C.—Little known tribes of the Andaman Islands—Their problems & prospects; Vol. VIII, April, 1960. No. 2.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

have always been protected by the sea, which is almost invariably 101
rough, and by a thick tropical forest which extends without a break 162
over more than a thousand square kilometres, unpenetrated by 648
outsiders and almost impenetrable. 131

THE ARIOTO

The decline of the Andamanese began with the first landing of 174
foreigners on the island and is similar to that of so many other 197
primitive peoples who have come into contact with civilization; a [177]
detailed account of their decline would be long and pitiful. In the case of the Andamanese, however, demographic influences arising thousands of years ago must also be taken into account. Cut off by circumstances into small groups and separated at random by large expanses of sea or by the impenetrable forest, they gradually developed somatic and cultural differences of the greatest scientific interest. Among other things, languages became modified to such an extent that members of different groups are unable to understand one another. The Onges, for example, who in my opinion are the nearest relations of the Jarawas, are quite unable to understand their language.

The peoples of Great Andaman were the first to encounter 175
civilization, when from 1858 onwards the Indian Government, 177
then in English hands, decided to institute at Port Blair a peni- 648
tentiary for the many political prisoners after the famous 1857 mutiny. Subsequently the government sent over convicts serving long or life sentences. The life of the deportees was atrocious during the first few years, owing to malaria and the absence of medical supplies. To the majority, therefore, deportation to the Andamans meant a death sentence. Even today the only large brick building in the Andamans and Nicobars is the penitentiary at Port Blair.

Before the building of the penitentiary the English had made several desultory expeditions to the Andamans, and even before then other foreigners had landed on the archipelago. It is known that Marco Polo, probably passing within sight of the archipelago in 1292, gave it the name of Angaman, and declared the inhabitants to be ferocious cannibals with dogs' heads. As a result, even the Asian pirates were for centuries afraid to land on the islands. The barbarous forays of Arab slave traders later awoke in the islanders

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
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175 a furious aversion to foreigners. This hatred has been rekindled
177 during the last hundred years by a number of unfortunate incidents,
648 but at one time the islanders were favourably disposed towards seafarers passing by, if we are to believe Niccolo dei Conti and Cesare Federici, fleeting visitors to the islands in 1440 and 1569. They both wrote of the peaceful native canoes that approached their ships, and this is confirmed by other travellers, like the Italians Fra Odorico da Pordenone in 1332 and Giovan Francesco Gemelli Caresi in 1709.

Violent clashes with the coastal tribes only became frequent when the English began to take an interest in the Andamans as a possible penal colony. The first prisoners to be sent there were some Indians, in 1788. In 1796 the colony was abolished owing to the swift death of nearly all the prisoners from tropical diseases. The attempt was repeated in 1858 after a mission entrusted to F. Mouat, and this time the seeds of decline for the islanders were sown. Efforts were begun to approach the coastal peoples, and even, strangely enough, those of the forests, the now ferocious Jarawas. Some of these tentative overtures were well received, but once the islanders came to think they had been betrayed it was enough to rekindle the hatred of strangers which they have retained ever since.

166 The evidence obtainable from archaeological excavations shows
[172] that for thousands of years the people encountered by the English in the coastal areas were the sole inhabitants of Great Andaman, living by fishing rather than by hunting or cultivation in the forests. The Jarawas arrived later. Migration from Little Andaman, imposed in relatively recent times by lack of food, brought them to Great Andaman. Since the entire coastal region was already occupied, the new arrivals took refuge in the forests of the hinterland. There they were happy, for they found an abundance of wild honey
[628] and fruit which amply fulfilled their needs. A spontaneous equilibrium was established between the coast-people and the forest-people, and both prospered.

175 The arrival of an appreciable number of foreigners in 1858 im-
177 mediately changed the situation. The peoples of the coast, who
648 were the most anxious to make friends with the strangers, paid for
76 this fatal error with virtual extermination. When the foreigners had
101 definitely established themselves, the coastal Andamanese – *Arioto*
563

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Arioto

in the local language, as opposed to the people of the interior, the *Eremtaga* – appear to have numbered between six and eight thousand. Over the years their place has been taken by more than thirteen thousand foreigners, most of whom were deportees, enjoying relative liberty as servants of government officials, farmers and foresters. The settlers, voluntarily or involuntarily, introduced the islanders to alcohol and tobacco, forcing them to turn to the foreigners in order to satisfy their craving. In the famous and extremely frank work of the English explorer M. V. Portman (*A History of our Relations with the Andamanese*, Calcutta, 1899) official letters are reproduced which give precise instructions in the matter to government officials. The result of these instructions was to transform the Arioto into alcohol and tobacco addicts. Syphilis was passed to the native women by the deportees, and from them to their men. When, a few years after the mass importation of prisoners, the government authorities became aware of the infection among the Arioto, not one of them had escaped. The miserable twenty-three survivors of the eight to nine thousand of a century ago show the ultimate result only too well, and their final extinction is imminent.

Before the advent of the new civilization, the Arioto had divided up into at least ten distinct communities, but without any true tribal organization. They respected a form of chief, chosen by tacit consent for his personal qualities rather than by name or by birth-right; but the chiefs acted merely as paternal advisers, to be respected in times of trouble, with no illusions of authority. No one commanded, and none obeyed: all were content to follow the whim of the moment, with no conception of social obligation.

When the foreigners arrived, there were five main groups of Arioto on North Andaman, the Cari, Chede, Cora, Jeru and Tabo. Another five groups were in South Andaman, the Balawa, Bea, Bogig-iab, Joi and Col. With the numerical decline of the Arioto, who had always been endogamous within their group, a tendency arose for the survivors to merge and inter-marry, so that the twenty-three alive today are in fact the result of the mixing of the northern and southern Arioto, and of these with Indians and Burmese. The chief of these twenty-three individuals is Loca, a name in itself an indication of this ethnic mixture. Loca means 'whiskers', and he himself has a moustache, whereas pure Negritos have no body or facial hair.

THE ANDAMAN ISLANDERS

114 This was a pity, as I knew that my Indian and Burmese companions were ready to run any risk with the prudence they had already shown in Little Andaman towards the Onges. Since North Sentinel is flat and its forest not impassable, a peace mission led by men accustomed to dealing with people like the Andamanese, though it would certainly need more than a brief stay, would probably be ultimately successful.

124 114 [648] My sole source of local information on the Jarawas was the wife of a government official, who had tended a pregnant woman and four children who were captured during one of the punitive expeditions on Bluff Island. She gave me a great deal of useful information, and indeed the greater part of our scanty ethnographical and linguistic data on the Jarawas has been obtained through her.

THE ONGES

179 648 114 133 Until 1952 the attitude of the various groups of Onges was very similar. Along the coast, however, they had already had some contact many years ago with a limited number of outsiders. Compared with the Jarawas they have been uniquely fortunate among surviving primitive peoples in that their extremely fertile territory has remained immune from invasion. In this they have been helped by their geographical isolation as much as by their own ferocity. Indeed Little Andaman, surrounded by an ocean that frequently turns into the proverbial boiling cauldron, presents grave risks to anyone trying to land. I had considerable experience of this myself; on many occasions I nearly gave up when the boat was overturned by giant breakers. On one occasion on the south coast of the island we were flung into the sea, and the empty boat capsized and dragged me down. No one was in a position to come to my rescue, but the momentary relief of an enormous return wave enabled me to extricate myself. The previous day the breakers had crashed down one after another and smashed us against the coral reef which runs right round Little Andaman. Our baggage and provisions had disappeared, and until help arrived we were forced to remain for two gruelling days without water or food, with no protection from the sun and in constant danger of being attacked by the Onges.

000 During the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

The Onges do not seem to require any preventive measures, and seem naturally immune to malaria. They do, however, transmit the disease to strangers, through the mosquitoes which are everywhere in Little Andaman. Like many other inhabitants of tropical areas, they probably all carry the disease without being affected by it – neither children nor adults show any sign of splenic enlargement.

In contrast to their periodic gorging, the Onges will equally cheerfully endure hunger, thirst and exhaustion. During our hazardous canoe trip to South Brother, however, they appeared much more affected than I was by long exposure to the sun. We were completely without any means of shelter for an entire afternoon in the open sea, and though the Onges tried to cover their heads as best they could, they still developed severe (and genuine) headaches, and were clearly much happier in the dark forest, which must be considered their natural environment.

Nothing has hitherto been known of the intelligence level and general psychology of the Onges. The childishness of their behaviour, however, is curiously in keeping with their strikingly child-like appearance. Like children, they seek only the satisfaction of elementary stimuli, and like children they pass in a flash from one mood to another, so that they are a people of sudden contrasts.

One example is their passionate love for their dogs, in marked contrast to the intense cruelty with which they hunt their prey. Having once realized the usefulness of dogs, first imported into the islands some thirty years ago, the Onges now pet them like little girls with their dolls, and the Onge women will suckle the family puppies quite naturally with their own children. Yet once a dog dies the other side of the Onge nature comes to the fore and the carcase is thrown into the forest – there is no looking back.

Their minds are in a sense inventive, in that they have evolved devices to help them acquire their food, but they have never, for example, thought of the fish-hook, despite the abundance of iron pieces thrown up by shipwrecks all round the islands. Anything new is taken up with a child's momentary enthusiasm, but they have no notion of sustained mental effort such as any form of counting.

Like children, too, the Onges laugh at the slightest thing, although their mirth is always restrained. In this they differ from the African peoples, particularly the Bushmen, who are often by

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

men naturally predisposed to the abnormality is enhanced by the 838
fact that the youngest and most attractive women are invariably
monopolized by the older men. So prevalent, indeed, is homo-
sexuality that one is obliged to regard it as a biological, and not as a
social or psychological abnormality. It is not, therefore, surprising [832]
to find that kissing is unknown; sexual excitement is aroused
instead by nose-rubbing.

None of the Onges have any sense of modesty. This is partly the 834
result of circumstances; privacy is impossible in the communal life 291
of the group. This is in marked contrast to the comical dignity 177
assumed during the last few years by the remaining Arioto women.
The government authorities decreed that they should be clothed,
and they immediately became so prudish that they refuse to bare
so much as an arm, and they thus present a considerable problem
to the anthropologist. Their menfolk, however, are clearly de-
lighted with this sudden modesty which was to me a somewhat 1
pathetic parody, and a further example of Andamanese childish-

1 [The remainder of this sentence has been left incomplete in the original text.--Analyst]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

and particularly of Oceania, but not with that of the Indian peninsula – a fact which is highly significant in any reconstructive study of the migration of flora and fauna to the archipelago. 137

The most recent phase in the spread of vegetation within the Andamans is less than a hundred years old; it began on Great Andaman, but none of the species has yet reached Little Andaman. The coconut has reached it during the last few years, but when I was there, there were not more than five wild palms in the whole island. The original coconuts must have floated from Great Andaman, or even the Nicobars. The Onges at once realized that they were edible, and called them *marele*. Now, however, there is a plantation of over five hundred trees to the north of Labanar, which I established by degrees on a number of occasions as a gift to the Onges. 262 123

The absence of any cultivated plants on Little Andaman led me to try pawpaws and bananas, as well as coconuts. In 1952 the Governor himself suggested a plant whose leaves are said to cure ringworm, so widespread among the Onges. The Onges, however, were not remotely interested, nor were they any more interested in the pawpaws and bananas. The pawpaws were left to lie on the ground and groves of young plants sprang up, far too close together, crowding the original tree and not sturdy enough to fruit. It was useless to show the Onges what to do. The bananas would have grown well, but their leaves were ripped to pieces by the storms. Possibly they would fare better in Great Andaman, where the hills would afford some shelter from the wind. 241 177

A rather different result, but equally unfortunate, followed the importation of grass seed into Great Andaman to improve grazing. The seed, imported from Europe, must have been contaminated with *Mimosa pudica*, which has spread widely, as it did in India and the rest of southern Asia, and within a few years has destroyed the grass so widely and become so much of a pest that in some areas it is doubtful whether it can be eradicated. The area round Port Blair is full of it, but for the moment Little Andaman remains free. 137

Culturally, the peoples of the Andamans remain today, unlike their kin in Malaysia and the Philippines, at a level almost identical with that of their ancestors thousands of years ago. They represented then, and in great measure represent today, a pure hunting and 105

105 gathering society; it is extremely probable that a study of their daily life today is virtually equivalent to a study of their life as it was in ancient times.

231 241 177 So near are the Andamanese to their original state that they show no signs of ever having had any real agriculture. The Indian Government has tried in vain to induce the surviving Arioto to keep chickens by presenting them with birds and food for them; the gifts were accepted out of politeness, but there the matter ended. Among the remaining Negritos, however, particularly in the Philippines, there are noticeable signs of the awakening of some agricultural sense, even to the extent of some commerce, and regular attendance at markets. But on Little Andaman, for example, I saw in 1952 various ginger trees growing, brought there by some unknown means and at Entigheh there was also a pumpkin. In 1953 and subsequent years there were no pumpkins at all on the island, and although the gingers were still thriving they were clearly doing so by chance, without any attention from the Onges, who ate some of the small red fruit, and seemed to like the piquant flavour, but still showed no signs of wanting to perpetuate it. In several places both on the coast and inland I saw, too, clumps of the slender native bamboo, hardly planted intentionally; the ground sites of some huts now abandoned, like Bugheneh and Odadda, were covered in them. The inhabitants had apparently wanted to procure a supply of material for roofing mats, or the drying platforms used by a few groups, and so the plantations were completely stripped – and killed.

245 177 In order to plant coconut trees for the benefit of the islanders I had even to do the planting myself, so utterly ignorant were they of agricultural methods; we even had to do all the clearing of the undergrowth in a patch of forest, and prepare the ground. The Onges watched curiously but were quite uninterested. Why should they care for a tree for ten years to get its nuts when the island and seas around are teaming with food for the taking?

824 825 In their continual search for food the Onges have acquired botanical and zoological knowledge which seems almost innate, and they know of properties in plants and animals of which we are quite unaware. Nearly every day on Little Andaman I came across examples of this. I only had to draw a rough sketch of an animal and they knew at once where it could be found; it was only thanks

222 784 976 824 twining up into the trees, and the shorter-stemmed yams, are never disturbed. The Onges merely dig down, at a respectful distance from the plant, certain of finding what they want. On no account must there be any signs of the theft for the spirit to see, so they quietly take off roots or tubers some way from the main stem and leave the rest, patting the earth down afterwards and covering the place with leaves. The guardian spirit, not, apparently, all-seeing, notices nothing, as the plant continues to flourish, improved by the root pruning. Everyone, guardian spirit and Onges alike, is happy.

[185] [114] This unconscious preservation may well be the result of a decree, in some remote past, by an Onge seer who realized the danger of killing off the entire plants and invented the guardian spirits as a deterrent. The Negritos still make similar use of roots and tubers; [191] Skeet and Blagden fifty years ago referred to the Semang eating poisonous wild yams, having removed the toxic substances.[1]

241 194 It is interesting that both in the past and even today a number of peoples at a very early stage of cultural development have progressed from the gathering of the wild yams of South-East Asia to the first signs of cultivation and agriculture. It is possible that they were the first plants ever to be cultivated by primitive Man, the Negritos with their digging sticks delving then as they do now; the genus is certainly a very ancient one, and some species, such as *Dioscorea alata*, may have spread from Asia to Africa and Oceania, and even to America, with the beginning of cultivation. But this is a stage of development which the peoples of the Andaman never reached.

412 [177] [222] The digging stick, the only implement the Onges have with which to get at the roots and tubers, has in recent times been affected, though to a very limited extent by the spread of iron. Only a few individuals possess a primitive iron tool, half a metre long, cylindrical in shape and usually not more than one and a half centimetres in diameter and flattened into a form of blade at one end. The vast majority still have only the age-old stick made of hard wood, hardly recognizable as a tool and crudely fashioned into a point at one end. This tool, so primitive that it can easily be mistaken for an odd

[1] It is interesting that the American Aborigines, especially in Brazil, do the same with manioc, but I saw nothing of this nature in the Andamans.

their hunting and fishing, or contacts with strangers, which are loudly chanted, accompanied by miming and dancing, during their nocturnal celebrations. One was sung and danced in my honour; Cendubai,[1] head of the Lulera hut, much struck by the sight of me in my hammock slung between two trees on nylon cords, delivered himself of a warning over the danger I was running using such thin cords. At the end of each 'verse' the refrain '*cuł-cian-ghégbeíbée-chéle*' (he will hurt himself) repeated his fear of the cords breaking.

Hunting and fishing episodes are to the Onges less interesting than themes like my safety, because to them they lack the repetitive refrain. In their dances, on the other hand, they prefer something else, to us monotonous, but for them always new, and even exciting; more than anything they love to dance the stages of courtship to its culmination, with the help of words and extraordinarily (to Western eyes regrettably) vivid gestures.

Birds, to the Onges, harbour the spirits of the dead, and it is for this reason that they are never eaten, contrary to the assertions of Brown.[2] Similar fears extend to lizards, the jungle cats, bats, rats and snakes. I have confirmed this among both the Onges and the Arioto. The latter even refused to eat some fat pigeons which I offered them not knowing of the taboo; they accepted the gifts, but the pigeons were eventually eaten by my own men. And the Onges whom I took with me to Port Blair for a few days refused point blank to eat pigeon or chicken.

The spirits select the Onges' food for them, in the sense that they regard everything as edible or poisonous, according to whether the guardian spirit is benign or malevolent. Given the curious adaptability of the spirits and the intensely practical way in which they operate it is hardly surprising that their benevolence or malignity coincides remarkably well with those foods which tend to promote normal health!

[1] I was sorry to learn that Cendubai died suddenly in 1955 aged barely forty.

[2] Curiously enough, while the Onges' fears lead them to reject out of hand any food of animal origin which is unknown to them, the same does not apply to vegetable foods. They ate half-rotten fruit, which I offered them, even though they had never seen it before, and they clamoured for rice and tea, so much so that in order to prevent them becoming addicted to the rice, as so often happens when primitive peoples meet a new food, I insisted on receiving equal quantities of yams in exchange for the rice and very sweet tea, to slow down their demands.

177 To truly primitive peoples like the Onges, European medical prac-
757 tices are fascinating. Men and women will refuse literally nothing once they are convinced of our intention to do them good and cure their ills. Although they have a rudimentary form of medicine, they recognize the superiority of European methods, and medical aid has therefore become our most powerful means of making contact with uncivilized peoples.

75 While I was busy trying to alleviate their ailments I became
177 aware of the power which 'medicine' has over them, and I was also able to observe their own methods of dealing with their ills.
[761] Understandably, disease, death and birth are all attributed to par-
[844] ticular supernatural beings, or to the spirits of the dead. They try not to offend these beings, but strive nevertheless, in their own way, at least to cure disease. Once primitive peoples see our methods they respect them, and are eager to be treated; strange though it all seems, they develop a blind faith in the omnipotence of the new ways.

276 There is little actual disease among the Onges and they have
[293] equally few vices. They are still unaware of the existence of alcohol,
[764] and have not learned how to ferment sugar substances, such as the honey in which the Little Andaman abounds. Tobacco is a recent
[177] introduction, and the Onges at once became wildly addicted to it;
[123] the tobacco leaves I had taken with me were in fact my best means of making my way peacefully into the island. A few Onges have acquired a supply of opium from Burmese and Chinese smugglers along the north coast, but instead of smoking it they seem to limit themselves to chewing it mixed with tobacco, and have fortunately no means of replenishing their stock.

164 Polio, tuberculosis, smallpox and cancer seem unknown, but
731 for some unknown reason the islands have on a number of occasions been struck by disastrous epidemics of measles. These epidemics struck nearly every member of some of the communal huts, judging from survivors' reports, and the sites were afterwards abandoned, leaving the huts to be destroyed by termites.

114 The census of 1931 includes a personal observation by Portman
164 of congenital syphilis in several Onges. This has since been proved wrong and in 1952 I found only one young man with nasal malformation possibly attributable to the disease, half-moon incisors, and abnormality of the skull and palate. I was not able to find him

their fires beside them. On the night of 4–5 April 1953, while I was sleeping with them in the communal hut at Berié-Abdalù a sudden storm drenched us all, forcing us to huddle together round fires under the more waterproof parts of the roof. Numb with cold, but cheerful, they began joking, singing[1] and dancing, men and women separately; this went on all night, and no one suffered any ill effects from the soaking.

The Onge lack of hygiene extends also to their cooking utensils, which are never washed. In recent years the ocean has provided the Onges with a generous and unexpected gift; currents running from the south of Asia have thrown up on to the shores of Little Andaman a shoal of empty petrol drums, stout metal cylinders 1·3 metres high and eighty centimetres in diameter. The astute Onges have patiently divided each one in two, each section big enough to take a large pig. Set on big fires these serve as wonderful cooking pots, and the Onges are delighted with them. Unfortunately, however, although they were thrown up all round the island, the supply is beginning to dry up, and they are rapidly being eaten away by rust.

To boil food, the Onges set the drums on two large logs, laid parallel, with a fire between them. Stones are rarely used to support the drums, although there are plenty about in the interior of the island. On the coast, and for a fair way inland, there is nothing but coral, hard but liable when it gets hot to disintegrate under the heavy weight of the cylinders filled to the brim.

In these gifts from the sea the Onges could prepare tasty broths, but they invariably allow nearly all the water to boil away, and the cooking process is not considered complete until all the liquid has gone. While it is boiling, however, they take care not to lose the fat floating on the top, which they adore. They have even invented a curious sort of dipping-stick for the purpose of skimming the fat off. They take a shoot about twenty centimetres long from a plant which disintegrates into fibre when chewed. One end is chewed into a loose 'brush' and no one present misses his turn to dip it into the pot again and again to skim off a mouthful of fat, even getting up in the night in their eagerness for it. One stick naturally does for everyone, men, women and children, the

[1] The Onge voice is not markedly different from the European. It has a musical quality, fairly high-pitched but never shrill; the Onges never raise their voices, even in anger – disagreements invariably end in a dignified silence.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

and Totamaddulù, the first a day's journey into the forest from Berić-Abdalù, the second two days from Labanar, and the others both near Togalanghe. 172

On both Great Andaman and Little Andaman the kitchen-middens yield a vast quantity of animal remains, bones and a great number of shells, with very little earth. The shells diminish in the upper levels, to be replaced by bones of *Sus andamanensis*, the wild pig of the islands, the change coinciding with the arrival of the dog in the islands; the revolution which this introduction brought into the life of the islanders is at once evident. [177]

My first excavations in 1951 were limited to establishing which mounds looked promising for future digs. I made soundings in the north, middle and south of Great Andaman and found that near each midden there were invariably abundant food supplies, as well as fresh water, sometimes running, sometimes in pools. The excavations went on for sixty days, aided by a first-class gang of men from Bihar, who even agreed, in view of the necessity of concentrated digging, to forgo their customary feast days. To these preliminary excavations I returned later on a number of occasions,[1] using them as controls.

My first real dig began on 5 January 1952 in a fine midden on Middle Andaman, a few hours' march from the forest station of Long Island, at a place known as Beehive Hill, or Golpahar in Hindi. The water pipe installed for the benefit of the colonists on Long Island draws from a spring, and on its way to the reservoir on the shore it runs right through the centre of the midden. Emerging, it runs for a hundred and fifty metres through a mangrove swamp stinking with vile black mud, which in fact served as an excellent means of dating the layers, by relating them to the rise and fall in the ground level of the swamp over the last few thousands of years. 172 114

The whole of the time we were there we had to work with look-outs posted ready for any Jarawas trying an ambush; to the north of the midden the grave of a Burmese killed by them a short time before was a grim warning. We did a great deal of shooting, but fortunately only for game. Fallow deer descended from imported 114 136

[1] With a number of young Indians very kindly allocated to my assistance by the anthropological service of the Government of India, and to all of whom I am greatly indebted for their enthusiastic help, often under the most trying conditions. [114]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

remains belonged to species still extant. Some chronological assistance was given, however, by four different stratifications due to evident changes in the level of the adjacent marshes, resulting not from any general marine phenomena, but from numerous land movements. On these occasions the cliffs sank, the sea flowed inland and corals flourished, later to be buried by the black ooze and mud of the mangrove swamps. 172

The maximum rise in the sea-level during the growth of the midden was a little over three metres, and affected a wide area. The date could be established by a full geological study of the archipelago as a whole, but it is clear that although this and similar occurrences had direct stratigraphic effects on the middens, the results were manifest only over very long periods of time.

Refuse from introductions of European origin, such as pipes, glass bottles, shot pellets, pieces of iron, etc., appear in the top level, only fifteen centimetres thick and dating back about a hundred years. There were no dog bones either here or anywhere else on Little or Great Andaman. Recently introduced, the dog clearly caused an increase in the amount of pig remains, and a parallel reduction in shell refuse. Below the fifteen centimetres level, iron, imported pipes and glass fragments disappear, and the crab-claw pipes, still used today by the Onges, begin to emerge. The smoking habit must, as I have said, date from very ancient times, as traces of these claw pipes appear in the lowest strata, in contact with virgin soil.[1] [177] [276] [237]

The actual consistency of the layers, which vary considerably, can tell us much. At Golpahar, we reached a depth of about four metres from the top of the midden through refuse mixed with only a little loose earth, very easy to penetrate. Bones, shells and other objects emerged clean, as if only recently rejected. The situation altered suddenly about one metre from the bottom, when the strata became hard and cemented with a mixture of ashes and earth. In these layers the shells were calcified by exposure to fire, and so fragile that they could only be recovered in broken pieces.

[1] It is obvious that smoking is a very ancient vice; leaves of the wild hemp are still smoked in Africa as they were long before the discovery of tobacco and claw pipes like those of the Onges are found in Eastern New Guinea, especially on the south coast, and as far as the Torres Straits and the Melville Straits. In Australia these pipes appear only in a few coastal areas in the east and north, including the Gulf of Carpentaria, and they are not found in the rest of Australia or in Polynesia. [171] [276]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

position by reed cords, which were to be tied in front of the snout, ending in a cord by which the skull was to be hung above the hunter's bed. No sooner said than done, and at the beginning of 1954 all the old trophies were thrown out into the forest, to be gradually replaced by the new ones. Fortunately I had collected some of the old trophies before the 'revelation'!

From the evidence of the middens it would appear that these variations in burial customs have no practical basis, and probably all derive from similar 'revelations'. Further investigations in a large series of the deposits, enabling dated comparisons to be made, would be extremely revealing.

Even allowing for these sudden alterations in established customs, it is clear that their elaboration indicates slow and hardly perceptible development over long periods of time and the middens must be dated in millennia. The hypothesis put forward by some scholars that the Andamanese are descended from negro slaves who escaped while on their way to the Portuguese colonies in India in the sixteenth or, at the earliest, fifteenth centuries, seems therefore quite untenable, in face of the abundant evidence in favour of the great antiquity of the middens and of the people who built them up.

It seems clear that during the last few thousand years, successive waves of migration have taken place over a whole area bounded on the west by the Andamans and Nicobars. All indications point to a close connection between the Andamanese and the peoples to the westward, the Negrito element remaining alone and almost untouched in the Andamans, but becoming submerged in the Nicobars into the mongoloid element of more recent origin. Even today a number of Nicobarese show signs of Negrito ancestry; short in stature, they have crinkly hair which although long is very different from the straight black hair of the mongoloid element, and their heads, noses and lips bear clear signs of Negrito ancestry.

In addition to these more general conclusions the middens also cast some light on the origin, still somewhat problematical, of the wretched Jarawas of Great Andaman. Comparisons between their middens and those of the Onges show that there were in the past communal huts on Great Andaman exactly the same as those still extant today on Little Andaman.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

been cooked in the same way; the bones are never charred, but always have the appearance of being cooked in an earth oven. The direct roasting of large game over the fire, postulated by some authorities, including Brown, was never practised; the islanders preferred to go on as they had done since time immemorial, because it was more efficient – witness the traces of the earth oven which are to be found all over the world, including Europe. In Polynesia and Micronesia, and among the pygmies of Asia and Africa, it was widely used; variations when they arose did so as the result of local circumstances, like that of throwing water on the fire instead of using fleshy leaves, when there were none in the area. But the basic principle remained the same everywhere, and the use of the earth oven coincides with the geographical distribution of hunting, gathering and burial customs similar to those found in the Andamans.

In April 1954 I excavated the midden at Tambe-e-buiè on Little Andaman, abandoned after the earth tremors of 1951, to investigate the position of the beds. The custom of burying the dead underneath their beds made it possible to trace the latter by the human remains below them, arranged in a circle round the periphery. The Onges themselves helped in the work, sometimes even trying to recognize the remains as they came to light.[1] There were clear signs of reburial. The body is buried immediately after death at least one metre deep; whereas after exhumation, cleaning and colouring, it is never re-interred more than thirty centimetres below the floor of the hut. When another death makes it necessary for a new grave to be dug under the bed, the piles of bones from the second are disturbed, so that in time a form of ossuary develops. In this it is not possible to identify the various remains of individuals unless some change in the position of the hut, even by a few metres, preserves the bones from disturbance by fresh graves. Traces of the graves always remain, however, as they are invariably filled with fresh earth.

We have already seen that on Little Andaman the introduction of the dog reduced the consumption of shellfish (and hence the rate

[1] The material recovered is now in the Anthropological Museum of the Andamans and Nicobars, which I helped to establish at Port Blair. The museum was inaugurated on 6 June 1955 in the presence of the Governor, Mr A. K. Ghosh and the chief Indian officials of the town.

231 of growth of the kitchen-middens), judging by the number of shells in the deposits. On Great Andaman, on the other hand, the Jara-
184 was, unable to keep dogs for fear of revealing their whereabouts
262 with the barking, continued as they had always done, and the
231 gradual disappearance of their middens was due not to any change
184 in eating habits but to the breakdown of the communal hut system.
177 Among the Arioto, already decimated for over a century by fight-
178 ing with the Eremtaga, the dog seems to have had no effect on the
[361] situation, as the Arioto had dogs as far back as 1857. Possibly they regarded them in the same way as the Onges who, though deeply attached to them and quite incapable of eating them at any time, never go so far as to bury their bones in the middens; the carcase is thrown out into the forests for the monitors and the termites to dispose of. It is also probable that the introduction of the dog came too late, when the Arioto were already too depleted numerically for any change in their eating habits to be appreciably reflected in their middens.

172 In both Great and Little Andaman the middens are found only
184 where the communal huts have been constantly rebuilt on the same
361 sites. Where the ground permits, the base circle (or rarely, the ellipse) has been moved somewhat from side to side, without, however, greatly affecting the regularity of the shape. At Totamaddalù on Little Andaman I was interested to see that although the diameter of the midden lessened as the numbers of the group occupying the hut dwindled, the site remained unchanged. Today the base area of the midden is very extensive compared with the size of the hut now built on it, but its anthropological value is thereby increased.

177 The advent of the dog into the archipelago in about 1857 vastly
23 increased the amount of meat available to the Andamanese. Once
[262] introduced into Little Andaman[1] the dog population increased explosively, as the Onges dare not kill any of the pups; the women even go so far as to suckle motherless pups themselves. This inordinate love of dogs has allowed the animals to become a pest. They already considerably outnumber the human population; families of only three or four people may have ten or twelve dogs,

[1] The dog reached Little Andaman only at the beginning of the present century; von Eichstedt in 1928 noted that the Onges had very few of them.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

often extremely vicious but good hunters. The dogs often roam the forests in packs, hunting and devouring young pigs. The Onges will do nothing about it unless someone forces them to, but if this pack hunting is not stopped the pig will become extinct in ten or twenty years and in 1954 I tried myself (in vain) to draw the attention of the authorities to the situation. 177 231

The dog appears in even the most ancient of cultures in Australia, but did not spread to Tasmania, despite the geographical proximity. It arrived on Great Andaman with the establishment of the Indian penal colony and it is thus the Indian pariah which ultimately populated the whole archipelago. A despised outcast in India, the pariah became in the Andamans of enormous value, reverting to its ancient hunting instincts. Burmese police officials taught the islanders how to use the animal for hunting and within a few years it had revolutionized their methods. It led the islanders in fact, to comparative indolence; the dog worked for them, supplying with far less effort as much game as they used to catch in their long, weary and not always successful expeditions. Dogs meant invariable and abundant success in the hunt, and it is hardly surprising that the Andamanese came to develop a somewhat unbalanced affection for them. 23 17 177 224

On Little Andaman the dogs, with abundant food supplies always easily available, became physically far superior to their ancestors in India; unlike the pariahs they were well muscled, with good skins and coats, although most of them bear the marks of old and recent gashes by boar tusks. 231

On Great Andaman the dogs voluntarily catch and kill fallow deer. These, like the dogs, have increased to the extent of becoming a pest. The Arioto and Jarawas will not eat them for superstitious reasons, and so they have bred like wildfire, spreading to all the islands as far as Rutland. They swim well, but only with land in sight, and the greater distances involved have so far prevented them from spreading to Little Andaman. 136 231 [262]

Here the dogs have only one main prey – the pigs. Unlike the deer with their slender legs they cannot outdistance the dogs, and their only defence is to hide under the buttresses of the tree-trunks. The pig rushes underneath the tree, and faces the dogs like a stag at bay. There is no escape, only a few more terrible minutes of life. The pig fights the dogs off desperately, the males inflicting serious 231 224

174 the arrival of the Negritos in the Andamans from the south; yet
184 more evidence is provided by the Onge arrows. In the Andamans
411 there are two types of arrows, those used for fish, and those for game, the latter also being used against human targets.

184 The same arrows are found throughout the archipelago, con-
411 firming a common origin. Only the dimensions vary from one area to another and that only very slightly; the Onges have both the biggest fishing arrows, and the biggest arrow harpoons, and the Arioto the smallest. In the past the islanders used arrows with from two to four points for fish, but I was unable to find any traces of them; those picked up on North Sentinel some years ago were possibly the last to be made.

411 The fishing arrow of the Andamans is made basically from the small native bamboo. The Onges remove the knots by scraping
[322] them down gradually with *Cyrena* shells, and then cut off a length
[237] varying between seventy centimetres and about one metre. Into one end they fix securely a hardwood stick, fifteen to twenty centi-
[177] metres long. This foreshaft takes the head, now nearly always iron, but in the past made of wood, fish spines or pig bone. In the kitchen-middens I also found heads made out of shaped pieces of *Tridacna*. The three parts of the arrow are then bound together with very thin waxed fibres, wound carefully round and round, great care being taken to prevent the bamboo shaft splitting where the foreshaft is forced in. The completed arrow finishes up 1–1·15 metres long overall. The head is barbed, to hold the fish once it is hit; to get it out the whole arrow has to be pulled through. Sometimes, but not always, the shaft has a notch in it, to take the cord, care being taken to make the notch never more than two centimetres from any knot, to avoid any possibility of the shaft splitting. Alternatively, splits are prevented by binding waxed thread tightly round the shaft.

The hunting arrow, or arrow harpoon, is an intelligent adaptation, the result of acute observation of wild life, and is more complicated than the fishing arrow which is intended only to pierce the
411 victim. The hunting arrow must not only score a hit, it must also
224 prevent the animal from escaping into the undergrowth and force it to reveal its position. The harpoon holds the victim cruelly and securely, and the excruciating pain caused by the drag of the cord forces the animal to reveal its position by its cries of agony. The

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

screams of a wild boar can be heard for hundreds of metres, drawing the hunters in from all sides, eager to take it alive. If it proves to be a large male, whose tusks can inflict appalling injuries, the hunters kill it at once with a spear or with a third type of arrow which has a long fixed head. This type of arrow, which does not differ greatly from those found in other parts of the world, is still used by some of the Andamanese against human enemies.

The shaft of the arrow harpoon is made preferably from *Tetranthera lancifolia*, very common all over the archipelago. The wood for the shafts has to be straight, very slender at one end, where a notch is cut half a centimetre deep to take the cord, and a little thicker at the other, which is hollowed out for about one centimetre to take the head of the weapon. Splitting of the wood at the ends is, as usual, prevented by binding the shaft with *gnetum* fibres, twisted into thread and waxed with beeswax.

The efficiency of the harpoon depends on the double-strand cord, extremely strong, made from *Hibiscus* fibres. One end is fixed on to the shaft, five centimetres from the point at which the foreshaft enters it, and the other to the foreshaft, two centimetres from the base, with a thirty-two centimetre loop of cord between the two fixings.

The harpoon blade, now made of iron, is eleven centimetres long and spear-shaped, ending in a series of barbs. The haft of the blade is bound tightly on to the short foreshaft, also eleven centimetres long, which is scraped thin at the end so that the haft can be bound on smoothly. The complete weapon mounted for use is about eighty-eight centimetres long overall in the Onges and Jarawas, and slightly shorter, about sixty-five centimetres, in the Arioto.

To prepare the harpoon for use the slack of the cord is wound firmly round the shaft, and the foreshaft with the blade attached is forced in. As the harpoon strikes, the shaft becomes detached and the victim, firmly held by the barbed arrow head, drags it along on the end of the cord until it catches in the undergrowth and holds the animal fast.

There is little difference between the arrow harpoons of Little Andaman and Great Andaman, and what difference there is affects only the dimensions, the type of cord, and the form of the barbs. The basic principle remains the same wherever it is found; all the Negritos, including the Semang and Aetà still use it, although these

Even the unique dances enjoyed by the Onges are to be seen among the Jarawas, with the characteristic marking of the rhythm by slapping the calves against the buttocks. This does not seem to have been a feature of the Arioto dances, in which the rhythm was by the *pukuta yemnga*, a kind of convex shield made of the very hard and aromatic red wood (*Pterocarpus dalbergoides*) which the termites never seem to attack. I was able to obtain one of these shields, the last that the twenty-three surviving Arioto possessed and the only musical instrument in the islands. It is played by one man with his feet, while the dancers, male and female, form lines on each side of him a short distance away. Before use the convex face is decorated with lines of white ochre and chains of tusk shells are hung from a hole at the end opposite to the one on which the player's feet beat; from the same hole runs a cord, which he holds in his hand to prevent the instrument moving away from him as he beats. The players change from time to time as the dancers shuffle on and on for hours in the light of the resin torches. But apart from the instrument itself, the rhythmic hand-clapping and the dancers singing in unison are the same throughout the Andamans.

The women clap their hands in rhythm, and then slap one thigh with the open palm of one hand, the other hand clasping the wrist, singing all the time. The men dance in Indian file, beating the ground first with the right heel, then with the left, the toes barely raised from the ground, moving a short way forward each time. As they dance they lean forward, then with hands clasped and their fingers interlaced. There are variations, but the basic step is always the same.

One difference between the Onges and the Jarawas is that in the latter both sexes are naked, while the Onge women have in recent times adopted the *naquineghe* or apron. Complete nudity was a characteristic of all the Negritos, including the Semang and Aetà, and the Jarawa migrations probably took place before the introduction of the *naquineghe*.

The present inability of the three peoples to understand each other is more a question of pronunciation than of difference in actual words. To examine the question fully it would be necessary to collect a large number of words and analyse their affinity; meanwhile we know that despite their inability to understand each other there is a close resemblance between the language of the Jarawas and Sentinellese and that of the Onges. Strict isolation can lead to

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

226 eyes to crack their skulls – and thrown into the small basket every woman carries on her back, hung from the usual cord round her forehead.

The fish the women catch are all the varicoloured species which always haunt the coral shallows, bright red, blue, green, black and white in a wonderful range of stripes and patterns. The Onges eat them with no respect for design, and I must confess that I myself found them very good.

226 252 Besides fish, the women catch molluscs, crustacea, lobsters, crayfish, crabs and even some species of hermit crabs (the latter are baked alive in their adopted shells, and only the abdomen is edible). Lobsters are plentiful, some striped with green and blue and weighing up to half a kilogram, with a very delicate flavour, but the Onges do not seem to be greatly interested in them. They prefer fish and crabs; *Pterocera*, again baked alive, are great favourites and I quite saw why the kitchen-middens are full of *Pterocera* shells.

227 The men prefer to fish with bows and arrows made specially for the purpose, and very different from those intended for game, the shaft being made of very light hollow cane, instead of the solid wood demanded by the mechanics of the game-arrow. The fishing arrow is made of three parts, bound tightly into one. The point, now made of iron,[1] is about four to five millimetres in diameter and [283] twenty to twenty-five centimetres long. Like that of the arrow harpoon, it is fixed by a tightly bound thread to a small stick or foreshaft about fifteen to twenty centimetres long and slightly smaller in diameter than the shaft proper (usually eighty to eighty-five centimetres long), so that the overall length of the finished [314] arrow is a hundred and ten centimetres or more. The binding [237] threads are held fast by a mixture of resin and beeswax, coloured with ochre in the case of new arrows.

227 I tried giving the Onges hooks and lines; they were intrigued by 123 my demonstration of how to leave lines overnight and draw them ● 177 in next morning loaded with fish, but no more. This was not superstition or fear of the unknown but sheer adherence to established ooo custom. They have neither incantations, amulets nor propitiating

[237] [1] Formerly made of *Tridacna*, or very hard wood. Some of the latter are still to be found, but all the other types of head – fish quills, bone, and *Tridacna* – have disappeared long ago.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

type of canoe is the only craft seen. I saw some hauled up on the beach, identical with the ones I had seen the Onges building, even to the *Nautilus* shell as a baler. In face of this and other evidence there can be little doubt that the people of North Sentinel are descended from the Onges, possibly driven off course by some storm, and then isolated on the island.

The Arioto, copying Indian and Burmese craft, have in recent times come to modify the original canoe somewhat, deepening the gunwales and doing away with the float. The result is a craft which though it remains small is unlikely to fill with water in heavy seas. But even the Arioto prefer the single outrigger canoe for sea voyages.

The only real seafarers, however, are the Onges, who make regular hunting trips as far as Rutland. In the past they sometimes made devastating raids as far as Car, but these have died out over the past hundred years as their numbers have dwindled. There is certainly no doubt that at one time the Onges undertook considerable sea voyages in canoes the same as they build today.

The work involved in the building of these canoes is, as I have said, enormous. The preparatory work on the tree, and then the felling, are hard enough without proper equipment. I gave my Onge friends some long-handled wood-cutter's axes, to help in this part of the work. In their enthusiasm they chopped so hard they soon broke the handles and chipped some of the tempered blades, so that I had to take them to Port Blair for repair! But the real work begins with the working of the felled trunk. Then a small and very crude form of hatchet[1] has to be used, flaking off small strips like a plane; fire is never used to assist in the process. Fortunately the *Sterculia* wood usually chosen is soft.

The original shape is not touched after the required length, calculated so as to allow for the harpoon-thrower's platform at each end, has been cut. The irregularities of the trunk are left intact, so that the canoes look distorted and even ugly despite their seaworthiness. During the preliminary stage of stripping the bark great care is taken not to chip the outer ring of wood immediately below the bark; this is smooth and fine-grained, and more waterproof than the inner layers. One danger is that as the wood dries

[1] The blades used to be made from *Tridacna* shell, but in more recent times they have come to be made of iron from wrecked ships cast up on the beaches.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Once struck by the harpoon the turtle is trapped by the cord tied 225
to the head of the harpoon while the shaft, detached by the blow, floats on the water till it is picked up. The target is large, the distance is short, and so the harpoon never fails.

The spirits of the night do not walk on the sea, so the turtle-hunting expeditions are all sea-borne, the canoes setting out to meet the turtles as they come in towards the shore to mate. When the moon is high the tropical seas are as clear as by day; on dark nights the resin torches carried in the canoes light the sea for a fair distance. Beyond their range, the turtles as they swim disturb tiny marine creatures, which promptly emit their phosphorescence, revealing clearly to the Onges the path of their unsuspecting victim.

These torches are about one metre long and fifteen centimetres in 225
diameter, made of twisted palm leaves tightly bound with reed 416
fibres. Inside is a carefully balanced mixture of resin and embers, 172
which burns with a very bright flame. In recent years a variant has [283]
been introduced – huge lumps of gum were driven on to the shores of Little Andaman from some unknown distant shipwreck, and the Onges, having discovered how well the unknown substance burned, began mixing it with the embers in their torches. I can still see the Onges' child-like pleasure as they admired the effect of their new product, a gift, like their petrol-drum cooking-pots, from the sea.

Their torches for use on land are much smaller – about thirty 416
centimetres long and ten centimetres in diameter, but made in 171
exactly the same way. It is interesting that similar torches are found 225
eastwards throughout Polynesia and are used everywhere in the same way for hunting turtles and their eggs from the same type of canoe.

The victim, struck as it comes to the top to breathe, disappears 225
at once into the sea, dragging the cord with it. In less than ten minutes, however, it reappears on the surface and is hoisted aboard, often almost helping itself into the canoe with its thrashing flippers. Quite often turtles are caught while they are asleep on the surface, or mating, in which case the pair are easily captured. And in stormy weather, when the high seas make it difficult for them to negotiate the reefs back to the open water, the Onges can catch them and 'ride' them to the shore. I have seen the surviving Arioto do this,

136 been found since 1500. It is found only in the seas round Australia and Malaysia, flourishing round the Andamans, growing rarer towards Indonesia, and reaching as far as the Philippines.

Although *Nautilus* shells are very often thrown up by the sea on the shores of Little Andaman (though rarely whole, because they are so fragile), I never managed to find one alive. The creature prefers to live below thirty metres, where it can be taken with a hook and line. I distributed some to the Onges and offered them every possible inducement, but no one managed to catch a live *Nautilus*. The lovely shells are striped white and rosy pink on top, shading to a mother of pearl colour underneath, and when polished and shaped make beautiful cups or ornaments. I brought some back to Italy with me, but the best were stolen. In one collection in the Zoological Museum of the University of Florence there are some fine ones set in silver, now of considerable value.

237 Another shell which the Onges use is that of the huge bivalve
302 *Tridacna*, the elephant of the mollusc world (see p. 114). For
123 many hundreds of years they have filled these shells with water and
177 used them as mirrors when they paint themselves. (The reflection is poor, however, and they fell enthusiastically on the mirrors I had taken with me. These they named *quietanga*, derived from their name for *Tridacna*, and followed me all over the island to get them.)

136 Two species of *Tridacna* are found on Little Andaman; *Tridacna*
262 *gigas*, the larger, and *Tridacna squamosa*, large, but somewhat lighter in weight. Both live in relatively shallow water and are equally terrifying once they have got a hold (see p. 114). Fortunately, the Onges have learnt to surprise them when they are open and slash the single immensely powerful muscle, which closes the two halves of the shell. The flesh is edible when well boiled, and certain parts can even be quite tasty, with a delicate sea flavour; I even ate some raw, much to the horror of the Onges. (They were equally scandalized at my eating raw some of the excellent oysters, which they despise.)

136 Some of the *Tridacna* of the Andamans and Nicobar can weigh over two and a half hundredweights. The actual flesh is not heavy – the two halves of a magnificent *T. squamosa* that I caught at Nancowry in the Nicobars and gave to the Governor of the Andamans weighed nearly one and a half hundredweights and were over 1·3

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Appendix

Below is given a brief summary of the evidence which in the author's opinion supports his view that the culture of the Andaman Islanders dates back at least to the Palaeolithic era. 172

1 ABSENCE OF STONE IMPLEMENTS

There are in the Andamans abundant sources of stones suitable for shaping into tools. Despite this I found no traces whatever of any stone implements even in the lowest strata of the kitchen-middens, nor is there any evidence of their being used either in the more recent past or at the present time. Until the very recent introduction of iron the Onges always (as the kitchen-middens confirm) made tools solely of wood, with the addition of parts made from *Tridacna* shells, shaped by long and patient rubbing against stone. The only objects remotely approaching the definition of stone implements are the splinters of quartz or obsidian which are carried in the hair, and used as razors or, in the Arioto only, for primitive tattooing. These splinters, which are in no way shaped after being broken off, are thrown away as soon as they become blunt, and a new piece of quartz is crudely struck from a lump, by men or women indiscriminately. The existence of this one stone implement does not, in my view, justify the classification of the Onges (or the Andamanese in general) as a true Palaeolithic people; it would be more reasonable to class them as prelithic. 172 324 [177] [322] [321] [412] [181]

2 ABSENCE OF METAL WORKING

Even today the Onges' knowledge of metal working is confined to rubbing pieces of iron against stone to reduce them to the required shape. They have no knowledge of how to forge it, nor have they the tools to do so. Iron is clearly a very recent introduction, the importance of which the 325

802 805 or form of numerical evaluation is further support for the extremely low stage of cultural development at which they became isolated.

22 ART

302 531 532 When painting their bodies with ochre the Onges have no idea of symbolic representation, and use only geometrical designs. These invariably seem spontaneous, and in my view do not represent a degenerate form of some more highly evolved art, half forgotten over the centuries; in short, the 'artists' of the Andamans, with no conception of symbolism, are even today less advanced than their Palaeolithic counterparts.

23 DIGGING STICKS

172 412 In late Palaeolithic deposits, stones with holes in them have been found which correspond to those still in use among peoples such as the Bushmen, to add weight to their digging sticks. The absence even today of any form of weighted stick in the Andamans, where stone is plentiful, would appear to antedate the culture at least to early Palaeolithic.

24 HUNTING

224 172 [411] 229 177 The Onges still use the Palaeolithic throwing stick, although it is not their main hunting weapon. They have no idea of fixed traps, which must from the evidence have been known in Palaeolithic times, and it is hard to believe that a people so dependent upon hunting would have lost the art once it had been acquired. They have crude nets which the women use for fishing, but these are probably a comparatively recent introduction, which has arrived via the Nicobars.

25 DOMESTIC ANIMALS

231 174 The Andamanese have none, and this would seem to add weight to the evidence for their great antiquity.

26 ECONOMY

433 There is no economic system of any kind, and from the evidence available it is highly unlikely that even the most primitive form ever existed. 185 437 There is no conception whatever of providing for tomorrow, or of any form of exchange or barter.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

122 torches for hunting by night. There were pigs everywhere. In half an hour we often got
114 six or more of them. At Chemalê, far from the coast, we had eleven in a few minutes for distribution to everybody, including roaming Onge. Pigeons and ducks also were often
[137] plentiful. The simple pleasures of hunting incited everyone to a spontaneous daily struggle through the dense forest ; and so, every month, I managed to carry out many times the work I could have done had I not kept all the men glad to follow me. On seven different occasions I spent 162 days in Little Andaman, out of a total of 634 days altogether in the Andamanese Archipelago – all of them given up to Onge research. These trips are recorded
128 in Port Blair Government offices. A few details on the subject are published in the "Bul-
114 letin of the Department of Anthropology", Government of India, starting in Vol. II, No. 1, 1953 (issued in 1956) and extended to other issues. Such papers were hurriedly prepared by me while I was halting in Calcutta on my way from the Andamans to Europe. Press proofs could never be submitted to me; there are, consequently, many misprints, particularly in the figures relating to my Onge Census. The misprints are so obvious that they could only influence a most biased critic : to be discussed in future papers and while my Onge book is in preparation. In Port Blair (South Andaman) I started an Onge Museum with material collected by me. I had the honour of inaugurating it on 6 July, 1953 in the presence of the Chief Commissioner for Andamans and Nicobars, Mr. A. K. Ghosh, one of the kindest and most intelligent Indian gentlemen that it was my pleasure to meet in Asia. On 9 March, 1954 Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD, President of the Republic of India, also visited the Museum. On that occasion I introduced to him 30 of my Onge friends (wives, husbands and children) in their most natural attire. The President questioned me at length on Onge anthropology and ethnology with the pertinence of a specialist.

123 While in Little Andaman I tried to study all possible aspects of Onge life. I also
[121] tried to count the natives : a very difficult task for they are a nomadic people, ready to vanish into the jungle at any moment. Often I was surrounded by them without seeing a single one. In the darkness of their jungle, the small, black, naked Onge easily disappear. They see us but we do not see them. They can only be counted in their sleeping quarters
[361] in communal huts ; even so, results are misleading. I found a number of communal huts in the interior regions of Little Andaman, whereas previously they were said to exist
[126] only on the coast. The larger, more solidly built huts are in the forest. With the help of my Indian assistants I obtained plans and photographs of all the huts that I saw.
[178] Unfortunately the number of Onge communal huts is rapidly diminishing – a very
361 significant fact. Many are in ruins, many more completely destroyed. Only kitchen-middens and occasional clusters of planted bamboo indicate their former location. Through an
[124] interpreter, and with two Onge speaking a little Hindi, I was able to gather information on these and other matters. Direct observation, however, proved the best way of gaining knowledge. In some places there was nothing to help me, and I was compelled to guess about communal huts whose inmates chose to hide in the jungle. Of the many personal
[551] names that I collected I must say that they are reliable only for a short period : the Onge like to change their names from time to time. All this, in addition to the Onge's nomadic
[553] way of life, causes great confusion and makes a proper Census almost impossible. Frequent changing of names also hinders the establishment of genealogies. Furthermore, the Onge
[597] custom of adopting children shifts many of them from one family to another, and adoptive parents invariably claim them as their own offspring. The parents themselves, who are ignorant of numbers, not infrequently forget how many children they have, who these children are and where they are located. It was almost useless to follow previous information concerning communal huts ; and so I decided to consider mainly the situation
[114] existing at the time of my visits. The result of my Census may be imperfect, but before criticizing it it would be advisable to know the conditions that prevail in anthropological work among the Onge. Something more than merely counting people, anyhow, was achieved by me in Little Andaman.

In this short paper I am pleased to present a peculiar aspect of Onge life, an aspect that these innocent and once hostile people did not attempt to hide from me, though they also told me nothing about it. Only direct observation could help, and it involved pro-

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

262 immense quantities of it together with pork. I was with them three times when this recurred, so I could observe their behaviour exhaustively. With their 577 bellies full, the natives rest. Their only activity is body painting, performed by 302 the women on the skin of their peacefully sleeping husbands. Designs change 178 from time to time as I said before, according to the women's inventiveness. Each family challenges the others in renewing their patterns. The best are later reproduced until the next change. From year to year I noticed no real evolution in this rudimentary art, but a cyclical fashion, with temporary preference, in males and females alike, for some geometrical designs, unconnected with whatever kind of food they had been eating. This contradicts the published af- 114 firmations of several authors, who allege that the Andamanese paint special 302 patterns in special colours for different kinds of food. There is nothing more false, at least with reference to the Onge. Merry feasting, whether on pork [262] turtle, dugong, fish or honey, leads to a period of rest and body decoration – [751] always in similar patterns and colours – with the unique purpose of preventing illness. We might say that painting the body is equal to cleaning it, but this [515] is quite unintentional. A curious exception to the Onge's filthy habits is the 264 practice of sweeping the floor after solemn banquets in communal huts. The 356 surface of the floor consists of unpacked earth hardened by casual tramping. When it is dry, sweeping raises a heavy dust that fills the hut to the ceiling. 342 It deposits there on the wooden beams where the Onge like to store cooked 251 victuals. So they eat their food, as I said before, coated with dust, no matter 262 how thick. A brush without a handle is used to sweep the floor ; it is 80 cms 412 long and no thicker than a man's wrist. It is one of the nicest tools made by the Onge, and consists of strong, hard, elastic palm fibres bound together with strips of rattan. The dirt is simply thrown out all around the hut, by pushing 356 it under the roof mats that never reach the ground.

These notes offer a first glimpse into a peculiar aspect of Onge life. It is 114 to be deplored that these vanishing people have not yet been exhaustively studied, notwithstanding their anthropological interest and high biological significance.

10:Sen K-3,4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

241 gave way to the development of agriculture over an extremely limited
563 area in South Andaman — paddy cultivation and coconut plantations have succeeded quite well. The plantations of rubber, tea and coffee also developed in the South Andaman over very small areas but ultimately did not prove very successful, partially due to the lack of adequate care. Simultaneously with the settlement of the refugees, new areas are being brought under plough which had never been interfered with human hands. The growth of agriculture based on rice cultivation together with vegetable gardening, development of orchards, coconut cultivation will bring about self-sufficiency of the islands and make the people self-supporting.

000 Industrial development of any big scale cannot be foreseen except the lumbering industry because of the lack of resources, power and also of any appreciable home market. Besides lumbering, the fishing industry, if properly co-ordinated with the mainland, can be developed to a great extent. A number of cottage industries based on coconuts, sea
[438] and forest products have developed, of which the coirmaking has developed most.

13 The characteristics, common to the tropical islands, are to a large degree manifested in these islands. The physical environment suffers from a number of limitations. Hot and humid climate is ameliorated by the influence of the sea in all parts as none of them are more than 10 miles away from the sea. The problems of soil are quite tremendous and such signs are only discernible to a small extent in the islands which might share greater proportions in the future if adequate measures of careful cultivation are not undertaken. The natural vegetation should be carefully preserved and regenerated after the felling of the trees not only for the conservation of the vegetation but also for saving the soil from the serious consequences of erosion. The
● 178 cultural environment is a mosaic of variety because of the different
433 types of people who have been living in these islands, however negligible
563 their number might be. The imbalance of regional growth, being exclusively confined to the South Andaman, is being removed with the growth of settlement in the other parts of the islands and the indications of the shift in gravity of the economic interests is synchronising with the progress of settlement in the North and Middle Andamans. Mayabunder is handling a greater share in the movement of commodities and passengers. Such changes are undoubtedly very much welcome as the lowering of the disparities in the regional economy and growth speak of an all-round regional development.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans
Nicobars AZ7

The Nicobar group of islands being separated off from the Andaman Islands by the Ten Degree Channel, though constitute a part of the continuation of the island in the north, the geographical entity of these islands are conspicuously different from that of the others. The Nicobar Islands have an area of 635 sq. miles and have 19 islands, out of which 12 islands are inhabited. The human habitats are exceedingly interesting and these people are distinctly different from the aborigines of the Andamans not only in their physical characteristics but also in their cultural attributes. Material life is much more improved and they have been all the time experiencing a healthy growth in comparison to the rapid decay of the Andaman aborigines. Culturally the affinity seems to be closer with the Indonesian islands. Shom Pens, the highlanders of the Great Nicobar, live in perfect isolation and have an extremely primitive economy. The staple crop is coconut and a number of fruit trees and yam are also grown. Some of the islands have become extremely overcrowded and need immediate dispersal to some of the less crowded islands. A detailed geographical treatment would require much more words to say about these thriving people and their contact with the foreigners than those of the Andamans. However it remains incomplete if the study of the Nicobar Islands is not incorporated in that of the Andaman islands. Therefore, in spite of the distinct geographical contrast with the Andamans, a short geographical summary has been given at the end of the book.[1]

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[1 [not processed. - Analyst]

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10:Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

174 wreck. However, this idea is totally untenable. On the other hand
101 there are sufficient grounds to believe that these aborigines came down from the lower region of Burma. On their arrival at the islands, they moved to the different parts of the islands and very likely, because of the different types of physical environment they developed different traits and as such a few groups of the population are discernible. They are the

(a) The Jarawas,
(b) " Onges,
(c) " Andamanese, and
(d) " Sentinelese.

101 All these groups, though physically akin to each other, have deve-
131 loped different social and economic traits and the ways of earning their food and constructing their shelters are conditioned by their immediate environment. These aborigines who had spread over the different parts of the Great Andamans are experiencing a gradual shrinkage in their areas of command because of the gradual expansion of the areas of the new settlers. The Jarawas are to-day confined to the western part of the South and Middle Andaman, the Andamanese, who are extremely limited in number are along the coastal areas, the Onges in the Little Andaman and Rutland Is. and the Sentinelese in the Sentinel islands. The relation of aborigines with the foreign people became one of deep distrust and hostility with some of the groups, especially the Jarawas and the Sentinelese, which has been very rightly explained by M. V. Portman as an outcome of the unfriendly attitude of the foreigners. The Onges and the Andamanese have however become very friendly with the foreigners. The number of the aboriginal population of the Andamans, is undoubtedly a matter of considerable speculation and it is more so in the case of the Jarawas and the Sentinelese whereas, for the Onges and the Andamanese the estimate is fairly correct.

161 The aboriginal population of the Andamans is fast declining in number and there is apprehension that inspite of the best of attempts, the chances of the survival of the aborigines for long ages are extremely limited. Undoubtedly, the aboriginal population of the Andamans is an object of interesting study. Such an interest grows out of its being the only purest negrito group in the world and the modes of their life depict very well the nature of symbiotic relationship existing between
[178] man and environment. Such a primitive economy of hunting and collecting has not changed appreciably inspite of the impact with the foreigners except imbibing some foreign vices.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

original type can still be found in the Little Andaman. The similarity of the arrows are also striking and this has been rightly observed by Dr. Cipriani,[1] 'Similarity also with the arrows. This consists of a barbed detachable head connected to the shaft by a string. The harpoon arrow like its near relative and probable forefather, the harpoon spears, offers an interesting question in ethnography. Although the Andamans are widely separated from Malaya and Malaya from the Philippines, the three groups of negritoes have harpoon arrows, while such weapons do not seem to be present in other regions of Asia.' The huts of the Andamanese are also the outcome of further improvements over the original negrito shelter found among the other negrito groups.

In the general habits and the modes of living, a good deal of similarity if not identity is maintained with the other negritoes. But changes and modifications have crept up among the different groups in response to the different environments. Some of the original habits have been totally forgotten and some equipments have been further improved upon or in some cases, totally forgotten. The Jarawas, who are believed to have arrived in the Great Andamans from the South had the knowledge of construction and use of the canoes which served as the means of their movement from the south to the north, have totally forgotten both the construction and use of it.

Though the changes brought about among the Andamanese in response to the environment and time is in no way inconsiderable to give them an impress of individuality, little room for doubt is left that they belong to the big family of the negritoes whose remnants are only found to-day scattered over the different parts of southeast Asia.

Origin of the Andamanese

The presence of such a small group of negritoes in the deep solitude of physical separation from the other countries obviously arouses the question as to how and wherefrom they came. The attributes of the Andamanese, prove very well their affinity with the negrito groups. Much to the curiosity of the observers, the tribal people of the Nicobar Islands do not show any affinity with the Andamanese culturally or materially and such contrasts are important aspects of anthropological study. However, the distribution of the negrito group in these isolated islands have been explained by some as the passage of the people from the Lower reaches of Burma and it is accepted with greater unanimity be-

1 Cipriani, L—On the origin of the Andamanese, Andaman & Nicobar Islands, Census of India, 1961.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

161 evil and are allowed to work such ravages upon life and health of people
177 whose resistance level has already gone quite low.[2] Such a loss of interest in life is common to many of the aboriginal population. The aboriginal population of the Andamans have also been victimised to it and only in one century the aborigines of the Great Andaman Group have almost been wiped out and the Jarawas, in spite of their isolation, have been undergoing considerable decay. The Onges are also suffering from stagnation and decay. There has been the addiction to some of the social poisons e.g. tobacco, alcohol, etc.

The causes of decay of the aboriginal population of the Andamans may be summed up as being the followings:

1. Diseases;

2. Murder of the aborigines by the later settlers, especially the bombardment of the Japanese in the Jarawa infested areas have resulted in a virtual decline of the tribe;

3. Little productive capacity of the aboriginal women.

The sex-ratio in the case of the Onges is quite balanced and therefore, the sex-ratio is not a factor for the decline of the aboriginal population but very little productive capacity of the aboriginal population is undoubtedly a major factor of their decline and it has already been discussed.

178 As regards the material life, however satisfied the aboriginal population may be with their poor lot, it is in most primitive form and the only materials that they have in possession are for earning their livelihood. Cultural aspect is also desiccated with a dearth of richness. No evolution has, however, been observed for deriving much more material comforts and the aborigines with their hard struggle for life hardly find any time to develop their thinking which can lead to a betterment of their cultural and material life.

THE FUTURE

185 These aboriginal population have so far shown little urge for improving their own lot and in the absence of such attempts, the chances of their betterment as well as survival is a far cry. The only means of improving their lot seems to be possible through the efforts of the Government. The attempts for bringing the aborigines in a short period within the folds of an advanced economy and society have proved futile and contrary to it, the attempts of segregating the aboriginal population, as done in the

2 Nigam, R. C.—Little known tribes of the Andaman Islands—Their problems & prospects; Vol. VIII, April, 1960. No. 2.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The Onges are the most numerous of the three peoples surviving in the Andamans. Vigorous and apparently full of promise for the future they may well offer a suitable field for the application of eugenic measures designed to increase their numbers; this would be impossible with the Jarawas owing to their hostility towards outsiders, and the few remaining Arioto are nearly all of impure stock. If their confidence could be gained, it might be possible to encourage inter-marriage between the various groups, in the hope that fertility would increase and the ultimate total extinction of Onges, Jarawas and Arioto, would be prevented.

In the Andamanese, this physiological decline has been accompanied by cultural decadence, as my digs in the kitchen-middens all over the archipelago showed. The ancient pottery which came to light is proof enough; when one compares it with recent work the latter is indicative of secondary and not original primitiveness. The successive strata in the deposits show a gradual decline from earthenware clearly made from a very refined mix to crude ware with vegetable impurities and bits of stone left in the clay. The pots dating from ancient times were clearly well fired and the quality of the clay allowed them to have thin but nevertheless very strong walls. In the present-day ware, on the other hand, the wall has to be thick because of the coarseness of the clay, making the pots both heavy and easily broken. Moreover, firing is limited to drying the pots in the sun, and the clay is in fact only hardened when the pot is used for cooking.

Ignorance of fire-making in the Andamans may also stem from this cultural regression, as one of the effects of physiological and psychological decadence. Given the absence of magico-religious beliefs among the Andamanese, ignorance of fire-making cannot be attributed to any ritual taboo or veto. On the other hand, it is in sharp contrast to the possession of elements of cultural advance such as the bow, with highly developed arrows, the harpoon with its detachable point, and the outrigger canoe.

Few races are known, even in far distant times, which never had fire. *Sinanthropus* and nearly every fossil Man after him had fire, even if he was unable to create it and could only preserve it once received from some natural combustion. The Onges, while retaining a number of ethnic characteristics of the Palaeolithic era, have

178 392 also acquired more recent additions, so that any primitive ignorance on their part of an art so ancient and generally advantageous as that of making fire is hardly credible. One thing is, however, certain: they do not today know how to produce fire.

174 178 In order to explain their ignorance, one must remember the surprising speed with which primitive peoples forget even essential facts, even details of their own life. They can forget their father's or mother's name, or both, and important events of less than fifty years ago are sometimes forgotten by those who took part in them. Cultural regression following the forgetting of ethnographical facts, even essential facts such as the making of fire, is a phenomenon widespread in every continent. Widely differing elements of culture spread out from a number of centres and were forced to adapt to natural surroundings often incomparably different from the centre from which they spread. Sometimes these cultural migrations led to progress, but more often to regression. Particularly in the marginal areas furthest from the centres of culture, enforced modifications were profound, with ensuing cultural impoverishment. The Andamanese, probably arriving from areas to the east, remain as survivors of a series of disasters both biological and non-biological, in one of the marginal areas which, although a natural paradise, has been most affected by adverse circumstances. It is, therefore, hardly surprising if, like the Eskimos, they no longer reflect the brilliance of the past, either biologically or culturally. A similar situation is to be found in populations much larger and more advanced than the Andamanese.

105 It is not strictly accurate to define the Onges as primitive; they should more properly be regarded as involuted. They possess certain essentials which almost entitle them to recognition as a civilized people: religious concepts are not unknown, they bury their dead, they are monogamous, and they have their own language. While they are unable to produce fire they can preserve it and know how to use it, they make excellent bows, arrows, harpoons and canoes, and they know how to produce pottery.

Nevertheless, they have no agriculture, and do not keep domestic animals except the dog, introduced only within living memory and to them a faithful friend. They have no idea of the use of metals, and make no stone implements apart from the tiny splinters used for shaving. They have never developed any graphic arts and have

172 It is clear from this that when they first arrived in the Andamans, the Negritos had no pottery; there are no signs of it at all in the lowest levels. Before they acquired the use of earthenware, perhaps for centuries, they baked their shellfish in ashes, so that the shells became calcified; but as time went on they came to boil them, as the islanders still do today. There is a clear distinction between the ashy, fragile, almost fossilized appearance of the former, and the cleaner solidity of the latter.

172 178 323 In the lowest level in which it appears, the pottery shows signs of careful working of the clay and good firing, degenerating towards more recent times. The uppermost layers reveal the crudest ware, the clay being impure, carelessly mixed, with bits of stone in it and hardly fired at all; it appears to have been merely dried by exposure to the sun and hardened in the course of normal use, as the Onges do today. The resulting pots break easily, despite their thickness, in contrast to the thinner, but much stronger, walls of earlier pottery. They were built up by the coil technique, exactly as they are made on Chowra, the one island in the Nicobars which specializes in pottery.

172 171 323 On Great Nicobar, among the Shom-Pen, these exists also another, cruder type of pottery which is made by a very primitive method. A basket is covered with clay, and hardened in the fire without being properly fired; fragments of this type of pottery retain the marks of the basket inside. The kitchen-middens of the Andamans contain no traces of any primitive stage of this kind; instead, a somewhat refined form of earthenware appears suddenly. There are traces of ornamentation, rows of small lines, usually roughly parallel. No such ornamentation appears on the crude ware of more recent date, however.

171 323 Andamanese pots have always been made with a pointed base which prevents their standing upright, so that they have to be carried in baskets, exactly like those of the Shom-Pen, who make their pots in complete ignorance of the Andamanese and Chowra pottery.

Pottery did not form part of the culture of the Negritos of ancient times. Neither the Semang of Malacca nor the Aetà of the Philippines, their last remnants, nor the Andamanese, had any. The custom of hollowing out logs for use as vessels, and the continuing use of the earth oven, doubtless made the absence of any pottery no hardship.

172 765 among the Onges) of wearing not only necklaces of the carpals and tarsals of deceased kin or pieces of rib, but also, in some groups, the skulls, painted with ochre and hanging from a cord round the neck. The long bones, painted red and white, were reburied in the communal hut. The Onges of today carry only the coloured jawbones of their kin.

172 764 No ornaments were found in the middens, nor did we expect to find any, as at death the Onges (and presumably their ancestors) bury all the personal objects of the deceased secretly in the forest, where the termites destroy all traces.

184 172 765 Not all the Arioto can have carried skulls and jawbones. Some clearly carried neither, as all the bones are sometimes found in the middens. A few middens are completely without human bones, particularly in the Port Blair area. Nevertheless at Ciauldari (or Chowldary), ten kilometres to the west, I found in January 1954 long bones without the skull or jawbones, and at Maya Bandar in 1953 I saw almost complete skeletons, not in anatomical position, owing to exhumation and reburial, but including skull, jawbones and in a number of cases the small bones as well.

The evidence of the middens thus clearly shows that burial and subsequent customs differed considerably among the various groups of islanders in the past, as they do today. The majority, judging from the Onges, seem to have remained faithful to a given custom, the dead in all cases continuing to remain a part of the group, whether or not any particular bone was carried about by the members of the group.

178 224 787 It is somewhat surprising to find customs varying so markedly in so primitive and numerically small a population, even though isolated in groups. The explanation lies in the fact that long-established customs may be altered overnight as the result of a 'revelation' by some seer, only to have the new customs overthrown themselves in the course of time by the next 'revelation'. I had an experience of this in the Onges when Enagaghe, a well-known seer, announced one day that he had received an order from the spirits about the way in which hunting trophies were to be displayed. No longer were pig jawbones to be impaled one behind the other on poles hung horizontally along the sloping roof of the hut a little above the hunter's bed. The whole skull, including the jawbones, was to be preserved, the bones held together in their natural

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

position by reed cords, which were to be tied in front of the snout, ending in a cord by which the skull was to be hung above the hunter's bed. No sooner said than done, and at the beginning of 1954 all the old trophies were thrown out into the forest, to be gradually replaced by the new ones. Fortunately I had collected some of the old trophies before the 'revelation'!

From the evidence of the middens it would appear that these variations in burial customs have no practical basis, and probably all derive from similar 'revelations'. Further investigations in a large series of the deposits, enabling dated comparisons to be made, would be extremely revealing.

Even allowing for these sudden alterations in established customs, it is clear that their elaboration indicates slow and hardly perceptible development over long periods of time and the middens must be dated in millennia. The hypothesis put forward by some scholars that the Andamanese are descended from negro slaves who escaped while on their way to the Portuguese colonies in India in the sixteenth or, at the earliest, fifteenth centuries, seems therefore quite untenable, in face of the abundant evidence in favour of the great antiquity of the middens and of the people who built them up.

It seems clear that during the last few thousand years, successive waves of migration have taken place over a whole area bounded on the west by the Andamans and Nicobars. All indications point to a close connection between the Andamanese and the peoples to the westward, the Negrito element remaining alone and almost untouched in the Andamans, but becoming submerged in the Nicobars into the mongoloid element of more recent origin. Even today a number of Nicobarese show signs of Negrito ancestry; short in stature, they have crinkly hair which although long is very different from the straight black hair of the mongoloid element, and their heads, noses and lips bear clear signs of Negrito ancestry.

In addition to these more general conclusions the middens also cast some light on the origin, still somewhat problematical, of the wretched Jarawas of Great Andaman. Comparisons between their middens and those of the Onges show that there were in the past communal huts on Great Andaman exactly the same as those still extant today on Little Andaman.

174 The continual fighting between the Eremtaga and the Arioto
342 led, as we have seen, to the gradual disappearance of the communal
[628] huts of the latter as being too vulnerable. Subsequently, the con-
[648] flict still going on between foreigners and Jarawas completed the destruction, so that there are now no communal huts on Great Andaman. The ever-increasing violence of the punitive expeditions against the Jarawas put an end to their numerical recovery during the last fifteen years or so, and there may indeed now be none left.
[172] Today only their kitchen-middens, and the surviving Onges, remain to show us how the Jarawas must have lived.

177 The Jarawa middens are distinguishable from those of the Arioto
184 by their inland position and by their content of freshwater shellfish and land gasteropods, not eaten by the peoples of the coast.

172 Like the kitchen-middens of the Onges, those of the Jarawas
764 contain human bones clearly interred in graves, and not scattered
178 among the refuse. This refutes the Arioto accusation against the Eremtaga of cannibalism, and that of the people of South Andaman
[186] (now vanished) against the people of North Andaman and the Onges; the remains of cannibal feasts would undoubtedly have been found among kitchen refuse and not carefully buried in the ritual manner, with the graves filled in with earth. And the Jarawas and the majority of the Arioto buried their dead in the communal huts, continuing a custom which originated while they were still
[184] on Little Andaman. In time variations arose, but this does not alter the evidence in favour of migration in ancient times from the south, via the Nicobars and Little Andaman.

184 The differences in culture between the islands can be explained
172 by the ease with which primitive peoples forget. The Jarawas, for
501 example, although they reached Great Andaman by sea from Little Andaman, forgot in a few generations the art of hollowing canoes when they were forced to live in the depths of the forests, far from the sea. Today, they have been free from the Arioto for some time, at least on the west coast, and have access to the sea, but they have
[765] not started building canoes again. In other things, however, such as burial rites, the Jarawas kept faithful to the old Onge customs; their middens show the same exhumation of the bones, the same cleaning, and tinting with ochre, and careful reburial.

172 The general similarity of the middens in Great and Little Anda-
252 man cannot be due to chance. Animal food, for example, has clearly

of growth of the kitchen-middens), judging by the number of shells in the deposits. On Great Andaman, on the other hand, the Jarawas, unable to keep dogs for fear of revealing their whereabouts with the barking, continued as they had always done, and the gradual disappearance of their middens was due not to any change in eating habits but to the breakdown of the communal hut system. Among the Arioto, already decimated for over a century by fighting with the Eremtaga, the dog seems to have had no effect on the situation, as the Arioto had dogs as far back as 1857. Possibly they regarded them in the same way as the Onges who, though deeply attached to them and quite incapable of eating them at any time, never go so far as to bury their bones in the middens; the carcase is thrown out into the forests for the monitors and the termites to dispose of. It is also probable that the introduction of the dog came too late, when the Arioto were already too depleted numerically for any change in their eating habits to be appreciably reflected in their middens.

In both Great and Little Andaman the middens are found only where the communal huts have been constantly rebuilt on the same sites. Where the ground permits, the base circle (or rarely, the ellipse) has been moved somewhat from side to side, without, however, greatly affecting the regularity of the shape. At Totamaddalù on Little Andaman I was interested to see that although the diameter of the midden lessened as the numbers of the group occupying the hut dwindled, the site remained unchanged. Today the base area of the midden is very extensive compared with the size of the hut now built on it, but its anthropological value is thereby increased.

The advent of the dog into the archipelago in about 1857 vastly increased the amount of meat available to the Andamanese. Once introduced into Little Andaman[1] the dog population increased explosively, as the Onges dare not kill any of the pups; the women even go so far as to suckle motherless pups themselves. This inordinate love of dogs has allowed the animals to become a pest. They already considerably outnumber the human population; families of only three or four people may have ten or twelve dogs,

[1] The dog reached Little Andaman only at the beginning of the present century; von Eichstedt in 1928 noted that the Onges had very few of them.

166 All the evidence points to this being far more than mere supposi-
[174] tion and even today the Onges persist in their tendency to expand towards the north. In 1953 I could find no trace of a number of Onges whom I had known in 1952; the others told me they were all 'dead', but it seems probable that they had migrated to the islands further north. And in 1954 nearly all the canoes belonging to the communal huts in the south-west of Little Andaman, which I had seen in 1953, had vanished and were said to have gone with the 'dead'. It is probable that they too had migrated to Great Andaman, becoming 'Jarawas'.

166 This is physically quite possible. Between Little Andaman and
484 Great Andaman the Onges have a line of transit camps, still in use,
[485] where food and water are easily available. All have a name, and I
[501] followed the line myself. With the help of their fragile but very fast canoes, and without carrying food or water (which they know will be available at the next transit camp), they can travel very quickly.
[372] They take fire with them in the canoes in the form of a burning torch and while they are at sea, unlike the lazy pace of their normal attitude to life, they seem possessed by the desire to reach the next stopping point on terra firma.

174 Moreover, one may deduce from the fact that the names of these
166 transit camps are all in the Onge language that the migrations have always been from south to north. Little Andaman, formed as it is mainly of coral banks and only projecting a short way above the sea, disappears from view in the tropical mists a few kilometres from the shore; from Rutland it is invisible, and as the Andamanese only travel by sea with land in sight or when its existence and direction is well known, no one from the north would have dared to travel south into the unknown.

We have already seen that the ignorance of the present-day Jarawas as regards the sea is no bar to a hypothesis of their original
[175] arrival in Great Andaman by sea. Colebrook, a hundred and fifty
[501] years ago, actually saw them with canoes, and Gilbert Rogers[1]
[178] recorded seeing canoes on the coasts of North Sentinel very similar to those of the Onges today. The accumulation, therefore, of this
[184] evidence and the general similarity of culture throughout the archipelago all adds up to inescapable conclusions.

000 Even the unique dances enjoyed by the Onges are to be seen

[113] [1] *Andaman and Nicobar Gazette*, 2 January 1904.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

kitchen-middens to have been contemporaneous with the introduction of the pig, i.e. to have been introduced by outsiders. It would be possible, using radio carbon methods, to calculate this date more accurately, but on purely archaeological evidence the introduction of pottery would appear to have occurred some five thousand years ago. 323 172

8 ABSENCE OF CANNIBALISM

If we may accept the evidence of the kitchen-middens, there has never at any time been cannibalism in the Andamans, although the practice certainly existed in the later Palaeolithic era; the Andamanese must thus have been isolated in the archipelago long before the practice became widespread. 172 266

9 DRINK

The Andamanese ignorance of any drink other than water may be regarded as additional evidence of the great antiquity of their culture. 273 174

10 ABSENCE OF CLOTHING

The Jarawas of both sexes have always remained completely naked. The Onges have only in comparatively recent times adopted a form of genital covering for their womenfolk; this custom has spread as far as the north of Great Andaman, and it seems probable that the separation of the Jarawas from the Onges dates from this time. 291 178 174 184

11 ABSENCE OF TATTOOING

All primitive peoples who are habitually completely naked adorn the body in some way. The Onges have never progressed beyond the early stage of painting themselves with ochre, and do not tattoo. Their sole ornaments are small necklaces of tusk shells, strips of bark, and sometimes flowers. In all this they resemble the Tasmans (see, however, p. 143 for certain important differences), who seem to have remained in an equally early stage of cultural development. 30 171

12 TOTEMISM AND THE CLAN

Here again the complete absence of any traces appears to indicate isolation before the spread of these very ancient concepts. Neither the Onges nor the Jarawas have ever progressed beyond the stage of independent groups of families. 174 61 621

and an irritable temper indicating a nervous temperament, are by no means rare. The natural good looks of many of the people are injured by the habit of shaving and smearing themselves with greasy red and white pigments. 142

The pleasing appearance of the men is not a characteristic of the women, whose habits of completely shaving the head and profusely smearing themselves, with an early tendency to stoutness and ungainliness of figure and sometimes to pronounced prognathism, frequently make them unattractive objects to Europeans. They are, however, bright and merry even into old age and are under no special social restrictions, have a good deal of influence, and in old age are often much respected. They nevertheless readily and naturally acquiesce in a position of subordination, slavery and drudgery to the men, and are apt to herd together in parties of their own sex. Variation from type is much commoner among the men than the women. 142 562

III. Mental Characteristics.

Sense Development.—The nerve development of the Andamanese is low, pain is not severely felt and wounds quickly heal. The sense development is normal and instances of unusual acuteness observed are the result of personal training in certain directions and not of heredity, *e.g.*, they will recognise one of themselves at a great distance, but not an unaccustomed object such as a European: they can smell a fire or hear the sound of dancing also at a great distance, but this is because they are always on the look-out for these things and their discernment is a matter of habit and of much consequence to themselves. They can, in short, do well such things as they pay particular or habitual attention to. 147 151

The Andamanese are naturally far sighted, and any near sight observed will be found to be due to leucoma or other disease. In respect to sight, however, they are not more highly gifted than civilized mankind. The colour sense is hardly developed at all and they are what would be called in Europe colour-blind to most colours. Black, white and red are distinguished, but green and blue are not. This is due apparently to want of observation only, as they distinguish between white paint and the white European skin. A good deal of blindness was caused by imported epidemic ophthalmia in 1877. Hearing is not abnormally acute, but is highly trained in matters pertaining to jungle craft. Touch seems to be undeveloped. The sense of smell is highly developed in matters necessary to their existence, but they have no appreciation of artificial scent or of that of flowers which do not denote food, nor can they distinguish by smell that which they cannot see unless it be an object of food. Taste is strongly developed as to honey, distinguishing that deposited from different flowers. They care nothing for scenery and do not decorate themselves with flowers. 151 [164]

Character.—In childhood the Andamanese are possessed of a bright intelligence, which, however, soon reaches its climax and the adult may be compared in this respect with the civilised child of ten or twelve. He has never had any sort of agriculture, nor until the English taught him the use of dogs did he ever domesticate any kind of animal or bird, nor did he teach himself to turn turtle or to use hook and line in fishing. He cannot count and all his ideas are hazy, inaccurate and ill-defined. He has never developed unaided any idea of drawing or making a tally or record for any purpose, but he readily understands a sketch or plan when shown him. He soon becomes mentally tired and is apt to break down physically under mental training. 181

He retains throughout life the main characteristics of the child: of very short but strong memory, suspicious of but hospitable to strangers, ungrateful, imitative and watchful of his companions and neighbours, vain and under the spur of vanity industrious and persevering, teachable up to a quickly reached limit, fond of undefined games and practical jokes, too happy and careless to be affected in temperament by his superstitions, too careless indeed to store water even for a voyage, plucky but not courageous, reckless only from ignorance or inappreciation of danger, selfish but not without generosity, chivalry or a sense of honour, petulant, hasty of temper, entirely irresponsible and childish in action in his wrath and equally quick to forget, affectionate, lively in his movements and exceedingly taking in his moments of good temper. At these times the Andamanese are gentle and pleasant to each other, considerate to the aged, the

181 weakly or the helpless and to captives, kind to their wives and proud of their children, whom they often over-pet; but when angered cruel, jealous, treacherous and vindictive, and always unstable. They are bright and merry companions, talkative, inquisitive and restless, busy in their own pursuits, keen sportsmen and naturally independent, absorbed in the chase from sheer love of it and other physical occupations and not lustful, indecent or indecently abusive.

As the years advance they are apt to become intractable, masterful and quarrelsome. A people to like but not to trust. Exceedingly conservative and bound up in ancestral custom, not amenable to civilization, all the teaching of years bestowed on some of them having introduced no abstract ideas among the tribesmen, and changed no habit in practical matters affecting comfort, health, and mode of life. Irresponsibility is a characteristic, though instances of a keen sense of responsibility are not wanting. Several Andamanese can take charge of the steering of a large steam launch through dangerous channels, exercising then caution, daring and skill though not to an European extent, and the present dynamo-man of the electric lighting on Ross Island is an Andamanese, while the wire-man is a Nicobarese, both of whom exhibit the liveliest sense of their responsibilities, though a deep-rooted unconquerable fear of the dynamo and wires when at work. The Nicobarese shows, as is to be expected, the higher order of intellect. Another Andamanese was used by Portman for years as an accountant and kept his accounts in English accurately and well.

The intelligence of the women is good, though not as a rule equal to that of the men. In old age, however, they frequently exhibit a considerable mental capacity which is respected. Several women trained in a former local Mission Orphanage from early childhood have shown much mental aptitude and capacity, the "savagery" in them however only dying down as they grew older. They can read and write well; understand and speak English correctly, have acquired European habits completely, and possess much shrewdness and common sense: one has herself taught her Andamanese husband, the dynamo-man above mentioned, to read and write English and induced him to join the Government House Press as a compositor. She writes a well expressed and correctly spelt letter in English, and has a shrewd notion of the value of money. Such women, when the instability of youth is past, make good "ayas," as their men-kind make good waiters at table.

The highest general type of intelligence yet noticed is in the Jarawa tribe.

805 **Mental Capacities.**—The Andamanese divide the day by the position of the sun and can roughly divide the night, though they have no idea of steering
823 by the sun or stars. The year is known by the three main seasons of the climate and the months rudely by the flowering and fruiting of trees of economic
821 value to them. Tides are understood and carefully noted, a necessary accomplishment to a people largely living on shell-fish and navigating shallow tidal creeks and shores. They are aware of the connection of the phases of the moon with the tides and have names for the four phases of each lunation. They know the four quarters of the compass in reference to the daily position of the sun and have names for the four chief winds that blow (N. W., N. E., S. E., S. W.). They differentiate three kinds of clouds:—Cumulus, stratus, nimbus. The only constellation they have distinguished is Orion and they have discovered the Milky Way for which they have a name, and also call it "the way of the angels" (*morowin*, the daughter-messengers of Puluga).

576 **Social Emotions.**—The social emotions are not generally expressed. The Andamanese have no words for ordinary salutations, greeting or for expressing thanks. On meeting they stare at each other for a lengthened period in silence, which the younger breaks with a commonplace remark and then follows an eager telling of news, which an Andamanese always delights in hearing. Relatives however sit in each other's laps, huddled closely together at *meeting*, weeping loudly and demonstratively, and after a long separation this may last for hours. The Onges are less demonstrative and on such occasions shed a few silent tears only and caress each other with their hands. At *parting* they take each other by the hand and blow on it, exchanging sentences of conventional farewell.

Undemonstrative though they are, the Andamanese are readily roused to emotion, finding that difficulty in separating the real from the assumed observed

161 the Sentinel islanders have been kept free from direct contact with civilization".

114 181 [48] In the Census Report of 1931 it is said that the natives "like the Jarawas are entirely hostile", but no reason is given for this statement. Previous visitors found them exceedingly shy, but not hostile. When seeing foreigners, they simply fled into the jungle. M. C. C. BONIG who visited North Sentinel Island on the 10th of March, 1911, in the course of that year's Census operations, wrote:

"The people appear very timid and it seems not unlikely that if they are approached frequently with presents, they will become friendly of their own accord".

114 No information on North Sentinel Island more recent than the 1931 Census Report has come to our knowledge. If the situation has not changed since then, the culture of its natives should be completely intact and untouched by outer influences — a unique case among the primitive tribes of southern Asia. Here, therefore, is a truly ideal opportunity for anthropological research.

113

Census of India, 1901, Vol. III, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by Sir RICHARD C. TEMPLE, pp. 4, 92 (PORTMAN's visit).

Census of India, 1911, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by R. F. LOWIS, pp. 28—29 (BONIG's Report).

Census of India, 1931, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by M. C. C. BONINGTON, pp. 22—23.

A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN, *The Andaman Islanders*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1933, pp. 412—413, 422—423, 491—492.

10:Sen K-3,4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

105 For the fact that the Andamanese inhabits the coastal areas of the
177 Andamans, the fishing is an well-known art to them. The pristine cul-
182 ture is virtually lost and the few who are still now surviving have been brought under the folds of government help. Still now the headmen
[225] of the Andamanese in the Middle Andaman, *Loka* is found doing turtle
[481] hunting in their canoes and climbing up the coconut trees without the help of any rope. Still now they are found dancing in groups but they are few and far between. All of them wear clothes and live in the huts made by the Forest Department.

THE ABORIGINES OF THE LITTLE ANDAMAN GROUP.

101 The Onges, the Jarawas and the Sentinelese belong to this group.

The Jarawas

177 Of all these three groups, the Jarawas only live in the Great Anda-
648 mans and their occurrence in the Great Andamans has been explained
[101] by many authorities, as has been explained earlier. The Jarawas are
[181] implacably hostile and the best of efforts to bring them under terms of amity have proved furtile. Lt. Colebrook and Archibald Blair first came in contact with the Jarawas and in course of time, the Aka-beas, belonging to the Great Andaman Group, living in the South Andaman became friendly with the foreigners while the hostility of the Jarawas remained unabated. The Jarawa hostility has been always increasing and it was more so since 1921. In 1923, 37 Jarawas were shot and in 1938, a Jarawa woman and her 4 children were captured. So the chances of meeting the Jarawas have been few and far between and the great decline in their number has in all practical senses stopped the apprehension of their raids in the new settlement areas. Still now, of course a person penetrating deep into the forests of the eastern parts of South Andaman should always be on the guard against an attack from the Jarawas.

The Onges.

The Onges, having experienced the impact of the foreigners at the latest period, are at present the most widesprend of all the aborigines of the Andamans. They do not have the truculence of the Jarawas and the attempts for bringing them under closer ties and terms of amity with the foreigners have proved successful, though the essential traits of their social, cultural and material life remain unaltered.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Appendix

Below is given a brief summary of the evidence which in the author's opinion supports his view that the culture of the Andaman Islanders dates back at least to the Palaeolithic era. 172

1 ABSENCE OF STONE IMPLEMENTS

There are in the Andamans abundant sources of stones suitable for shaping into tools. Despite this I found no traces whatever of any stone implements even in the lowest strata of the kitchen-middens, nor is there any evidence of their being used either in the more recent past or at the present time. Until the very recent introduction of iron the Onges always (as the kitchen-middens confirm) made tools solely of wood, with the addition of parts made from *Tridacna* shells, shaped by long and patient rubbing against stone. The only objects remotely approaching the definition of stone implements are the splinters of quartz or obsidian which are carried in the hair, and used as razors or, in the Arioto only, for primitive tattooing. These splinters, which are in no way shaped after being broken off, are thrown away as soon as they become blunt, and a new piece of quartz is crudely struck from a lump, by men or women indiscriminately. The existence of this one stone implement does not, in my view, justify the classification of the Onges (or the Andamanese in general) as a true Palaeolithic people; it would be more reasonable to class them as prelithic. 172 324 [177] [322] [321] [412] [181]

2 ABSENCE OF METAL WORKING

Even today the Onges' knowledge of metal working is confined to rubbing pieces of iron against stone to reduce them to the required shape. They have no knowledge of how to forge it, nor have they the tools to do so. Iron is clearly a very recent introduction, the importance of which the 325

1: Radcliffe-Brown
182 ●

AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[For a functional analysis of Andamanese ceremony, belief, and mythology, see category 116, pp. 229-406.]

sedentary existence based on primitive agriculture, and abandonment of a nomad life as gatherers of wild sago and other forest products ... Although agriculture is now important, there is no doubt that the Sulungs are at heart food-gatherers and hunters, who infinitely prefer a nomadic life in the forest to the more sedentary way of life they are now taking to .... There is a good case for assuming the Sulungs to have been entirely sago-gatherers when they first came under outside domination: borne out by their own traditions that they learnt cereal cultivation from the Daflas, by the identity of technique with that tribe, and above all by their being at the present day at a stage transitional between the practice of fixed cultivation and that of food-gathering".

STONOR thought that the Sulung "are probably the only people of Mongolian stock on the Asiatic mainland who still maintain an economy based largely on food-gathering and hunting", and that "they may well be the most primitive of Mongolian tribes surviving anywhere". This is, of course, an error. Apart from the Raji of Kumaon, who are in a transitional stage to a certain extent comparable to that of the Sulung, we know the mongoloid Phi Tong Luang or Yumbri of northern Siam, who are still pure primitive food-gatherers and hunters. It is precisely their wide distribution which gives these small scattered tribes particular importance, since it sheds some light on the racial history of southern Asia and on the early cultural stages of the great mongoloid race.

STONOR estimates the number of Sulung at perhaps six or seven thousand.

CHRISTOPH VON FÜRER-HAIMENDORF, *Culture Types in Assam Himalayas*, Indian Geographical Journal, Vol. XXI, No. 2, 1946.

C. R. STONOR, *The Sulung Tribe of the Assam Himalayas*, Anthropos, Vol. XLVII, 1952, pp. 947—962.

Andaman Islands

The ten tribes of the Great Andaman group are practically extinct as a result of their contact with civilization. At the time of Dr. B. S. GUHA's visit, in 1948, only 31 persons survived. We are fortunate in having two outstanding monographs on these tribes, EDWARD HORACE MAN's *On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands*, first published in the "Journal of the Anthropological Institute" in 1882, and later as a book, and A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN's *The Andaman Islanders*, Cambridge, 1922 (2nd edition 1933). Yet, it should not be forgotten that MAN, although an excellent and conscientious observer, was not a trained anthropologist, and that at the time RADCLIFFE-BROWN was in the Andamans, 1906 to 1908, the native population had shrunk to a fraction of its original size,

114 while its culture was already in the process of disintegration.
[161] Moreover, MAN dealt almost exclusively with the South Andaman
[182] tribes, mainly with the Aka-Bea, while RADCLIFFE-BROWN's researches were centered mainly on some of the northernmost tribes. As a result, not all the tribes were given equal attention. This is regrettable since their religious concepts and myths were by no means uniform. Therefore one cannot say that our information about the ten Great Andaman tribes is as full and up to modern standards as would be desirable. There is, of course, no more hope of ever filling the existing gaps in our knowledge. It is the more necessary that the still relatively intact groups of Andamanese be thoroughly studied before it is too late.

Ongi (Onge)

161 The Ongi of Little Andaman owe their survival to their isolation
[101] and to the fact that they remained hostile until the end of the 1880's
[648] and even thirty years ago were not yet considered as quite reliable. Nevertheless, their numbers are constantly decreasing as the following estimates in the various Census Reports seem to indicate

1901 . . . 672
1911 . . . 631
1921 . . . 346
1931 . . . 250

161 Of course, these figures, being mere estimates, are not reliable,
114 and the last two are too low. As Professor LIDIO CIPRIANI of Florence, who spent many months with the Ongi in 1952, 1953, and 1954, kindly informed us, he came to different results. In his letter, dated May 2nd, 1958, he writes:

" I visited all communal huts with aim of taking a census of the Ongi. Every family has a bed in a communal hut, i. e. a kind of 'ritual' bed on which they marry and under which they are buried when they die. I prepared a list of persons using each bed. This added up to about 500 Ongi, but I saw less than 200 of them. The majority is still very shy and, when approached, ready to disappear into the jungle. The names of the absent persons were given to me by other Ongi. I left this list of personal names with the Department of Anthropology, Indian Museum, Calcutta, but kept a copy".

161 This would seem to indicate that the situation is not quite as bad as appears from the Census Reports. But even so, it is very serious and is constantly deteriorating. The Census Report of 1931
[164] says that "the numbers decrease year by year mainly from infection
[182] such as influenza introduced at times of contact with civilization. Some septs have almost completely disappeared during the last years".

In a recent paper Dr. N. DATTA-MAJUMDER, Director, Department of Anthropology, Government of India, writes: 163

"From a study of 34 Onge families contacted by us, it is found that the average size of the family is only 3.15. Thirteen families out of 34 are childless. That is, 38.2% of the married couples are sterile".

When, in 1946, proposals were made for undertaking work for the amelioration of the conditions of the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands along the same line as had been done among the Bhil and other tribes of Central India, Dr. B. S. GUHA, at that time Director of the Department of Anthropology, very reasonably observed that "the problem of the aborigines of the Andaman Islands is not the same as that of the other primitive tribes of India", and that "the need among them is not so much the spread of education and social uplift as the arrest in the decline in population which has been most alarming". 648 161 177

The Ongi have been in sporadic contact with the outside world for many years. They have been visiting Port Blair, particularly since some of them moved to Rutland Island on the southern tip of Great Andaman. This contact with civilization was bound to affect their material culture, as well as their whole mentality. We may again quote Dr. DATTA-MAJUMDER who says: 177 [166]

"As a result of this long contact the Onge have already come to appreciate a number of foreign articles, for example, tobacco leaves, tea leaves, sugar, matches, aluminium utensils and implements made of iron (especially bill-hooks and files). In order to secure these articles, they often barter away their valuable honey and shells. The afore-mentioned changes in material culture have at present touched only the fringe of Onge culture. But the demand for these articles (especially tobacco leaves and safety matches) is becoming so great that Onge culture is likely to be vitally affected in the near future". [276]

Dr. DATTA-MAJUMDER came to the conclusion that "the hunting and food-gathering Onge culture, which had been an autonomous cultural system in the past, is now breaking down". 22 182

The Ongi were repeatedly visited by government officers, but the resulting information is paltry. PORTMAN spent several months among the coastal groups of Little Andaman in 1886 and 1887 and collected a few hundred words of their language. In 1901, C. BODEN KLOSS visited a group of Ongi on Rutland Island and one on Little Andaman, both only for a few hours. At some time between 1906 and 1908, A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN went to Little Andaman for several weeks and made a preliminary study of the Ongi language. In 1928, EGON VON EICKSTEDT spent a few weeks among the Ongi on Rutland Island and visited briefly several groups on the coast of Little Andaman for the sake of physical anthropological research. 114

114 Brief reconnaissance tours among the Ongi were made by Indian anthropologists in 1948 (Dr. B. S. GUHA and assistants), 1949 (Dr. A. K. MITRA and assistants) and 1955 (Dr. N. DATTA-MAJUMDER). Professor LIDIO CIPRIANI is the only scholar who engaged in prolonged research among the Ongi of Little Andaman, and this not only on the coast, but also in the interior of the island. In March, 1952, he crossed the island from the East to the West Coast. He was again among the Ongi from February to May, 1953, and from February to May, 1954. A brief report on his 1952 and 1953 expeditions was published in the Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology, Calcutta. He is planning to publish his results in a book. In 1953 and 1954, he was accompanied by a young Bengali, Mr. PRONAB GANGULI, who collected about 400 Ongi words.

[124] When all of Professor CIPRIANI's results are published we shall, no doubt, be well informed about the Ongi's physical anthropology, their material culture and such aspects of their customs as can be observed without a knowledge of their language and without an adequate interpreter. However, as he himself remarks in the letter mentioned above, "the barrier of language makes it difficult to analyze many Ongi facts". Therefore we cannot expect a deeper insight into the Ongi's social organization, religion, myths and customs.

[161] To sum up: We are confronted here with a group that is in danger of disappearing in the not very distant future. It may survive [182] for several decades in ever diminishing numbers, but its extermination may at any time be accelerated by epidemics. Moreover, its culture is already beginning to undergo substantial changes and may disintegrate very fast. If ever there was a case for urgent research, it is that of the Ongi. When, in the Census Report of 1931, BONINGTON observed with regard to them that here "a vast field of research awaits the anthropologist of the future", the Director General of the Census, J. H. HUTTON, significantly added in a footnote: "Provided, that is, that the Onge survives long enough".

The task is not only urgent, but unusually promising. An ambitious and well trained anthropologist who decides to spend the necessary time among the Ongi of Little Andaman will find an almost virgin field of research and one of the most archaic cultures still extant, a culture which, though already threatened. is at present still essentially intact. He can be sure that his researches, if properly done, will yield results of the first importance which, when published, may rank with EDWARD HORACE MAN's and RADCLIFFE-BROWN's classic works on the great Andaman tribes.

[124] Dr. CIPRIANI's experiences show that a prolonged sojourn on Little Andaman is perfectly feasible. The greatest obstacle to

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P. ix]

INTRODUCTION

A group of north-south running islands as they are, the Andaman Islands have as many as 204 small islands where the impact of civilisation and growth has been little and the human history has been one of stagnation rather than of chequered career. Being a land of aborigines, the foreign intrusion has been quite feeble though mention about these islands is found in the early records of the travellers. Though the knowledge about the islands is derived from the notes which date back to 2nd Century A.D., the contacts with the foreigners have been all the time transient and extremely feeble. Before the formation of the penal settlement, the islands have been known as an island of horror because of the presence of such tribal people who would eat up the man they encounter and as regards the wealth there has been imaginary illusion, sometimes being called as the Island of Gold. The historical record of the islands which can be built with a fair degree of precision is since the formation of the penal settlement. There has been the search for resources as well as their exploitation. However, all the attempts for finding minerals and the geological explorations have shown the possibility of the existence of some poor quality coal, copper etc. Virtually there has been a conspicuous lack of efforts for the development of the islands. The penal settlement which grew up in Port Blair did not have any considerable influence on the overall development of the islands. Nevertheless with the more intimate knowledge about the islands, the forest exploitation had increased and the land around Port Blair was cleared for agriculture. The little amount of agriculture that was started and fostered by the local-borns in and around Port Blair never expanded considerably and it remained confined to a few areas of South Andaman only. The aborigines were very much widespread and in the beginning they had exercised hostility and arrogance which had in course of time given place to a very friendly and amicable terms with some of the tribal groups i.e. the Onges and the Andamanese. The Jarawas, however, still now maintain their hostility and the attempts for bringing them under amicable terms have so long proved futile.

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Nothing more deserves a special note in the islands than the aboriginal population. Because of the insular nature of the islands, the aboriginal population is considered to be one of the purest type though the foreign intrusion has brought about an extremely rapid impoverishment and decay only during the last few decades of contact with these aborigines.

161 177 182

10:Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

161 Of the two main groups of aborigines, the Great Andaman Group and
177 the Little Andaman Group, the former being the most widespread and
182 numerous in the Great Andamans has become completely non-existent depicting the example of the decay within an extremely short time, especially since the impact of the foreign people. The fate of the later group is also quite shattering—the Jarawas have experienced both numerical decay and territorial shrinkage and the Onges are the only tribes who live exclusively in the Little Andaman but they have been also facing the signs of decay.

133 A glance at the map of the Andaman islands and adjacent countries shows the continuity of these islands with the Arakan Yoma of Burma in the north and with the Indonesian islands in the south. The islands of both the Andaman and Nicobar groups are primarily of sedimentary formations of the Eocene period with occasional igneous intrusions. Later formations of coral are also quite widespread. The surface topography of the regions is typically flat-topped being typical of the sandstone regions and the peaks are in most cases formed of igneous intrusions. The islands are comprised of a number of longitudinal ranges running from the north to the south and in between the ranges short streams flow. The heights of the hills are generally 1000′ and never exceed 2500′.

132 The islands experience a high annual temperature and the yearly rainfall is as high as 130 inches in Port Blair and the amount decreases as one moves to the north and the east. The ameliorating influence of the sea is quite appreciable.

131 With an area of 2508 square miles and the number of islands being as many as 204, only 4 main islands, North Andaman (490.20 sq miles), Middle Andaman (561.00 sq miles), South Andaman (359.51 sq miles) and Little Andaman (289.90 sq miles) have an area of more than 100 sq miles and the rest are sufficiently small in size either to command human settlement or economic activity.

101 The economy of the tribal people is of the primitive form of hunting and collecting though the precise modes of living vary to some extent depending upon the nature of environment under which they have to live. The knowledge of distribution and of actual number of these aborigines is far from accurate. The Andamanese were the most widespread in all parts of the Great Andamans and in the South Andaman they (Aka bea) had to remain vigilant against the possible attacks and territorial expansion of the Jarawas. The Andamanese, as said earlier, have completely died out. The Jarawas, though have dwindled to a negligible number,

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

105 177 439 of all these things, locally not available, was felt by the aborigines only due to their slight contact with the later settlers.

However, a broad two-fold division of the aboriginal population can be made.

101 174

1. Aborigines of the Great Andaman Group — All the aborigines of the Great Andamans with the exception of the Jarawas, the most hostile aborigines living in the southwestern part of the Andamans.

2. Aborigines of the Little Andaman Group — the Onges of the Little Andaman, the Jarawas of the South Andaman & the Sentinelese of the North Sentinel island.

As to how these two groups came into being and their areas of distribution, various theories have been put forward. Long after the attainment of the individual traits of these two groups, a continuous northward movement of the aborigines from the Little Andaman was in vogue and one such party had arrived in the Great Andamans who have been lately known as the Jarawas, who were all along subjected to pressure of the local natives belonging to the Great Andaman Group, the *Aka bea* of South Andaman. The very development of the hostility of the Jarawas and their complete seclusion from the other aboriginal groups owe to their being continuously subjected to the adversities. B. V. Eickstedt[1] has been of the opinion that the aborigines of the Andamans entered into the Great Andamans in two groups—the earlier group comprises the Onge, Jarawas and the Sentinelese while to the later group belong the ancestors of the Great Andaman Group. The passage of the Great Andaman Group has led to a constant southward push of the earlier group which has ultimately led to their habitation in the islands of the south i.e., the Little Andaman, Rutland Island and a part of the South Andaman. Cipriani has been emphatic enough in justifying the 101 174 views of Brown that the Jarawas reached the Great Andamans from the 182 south. Though they are supposed to have come from the Great Andamans 501 by canoes, the art of constructing canoes and of using them have been completely forgotten and Cipriani believes that such instances of the loss of knowledge of the construction of canoes and their uses are many. A list of the names of the camps, given by Cipriani in the 1951 census, dating back to antiquity and having a good supply of drinking water and of

[113] 1 Eickstedt, B. V — Die Negrite der Andaman (Autho Ant).

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

food lie in a chain running from north to south along the islands between Little and Great Andamans. This has been one of the most convincing proofs of the movement of the aborigines from the south to the north. Cipriani writes, 'All these organisations, with geographical names, camps, places for water and food, indicate an ancient navigating experience moving from the south to the north. About a century and half ago the Jarawas are said to have still been in possession of canoes and the same is said of the savage inhabitants of the North Sentinel Island less than 50 years ago. In a surprisingly short period the technique of making canoes seems to have been completely forgotten as a result of the difficulties of using them.'[2]

101 174 182 501

THE ABORIGINES OF THE GREAT ANDAMAN GROUP

Andamanese, as they are called, were the most widespread and the largest in number. They had split up ultimately into a few sub-groups from the north to the south. The different groups are *Aka-kora, Aka-boa, Aka-jeru and Aka-bea.* There has been a deplorable decline in the number of these aborigines who in the bygone ages exceeded all other groups in number. At present the number is only 23, a considerable reduction from the number 625 only in the beginning of the 20th century. Though the present importance of the Andamanese because of the extremely poor number is far from significant, they are of no small interest for the study of the anthropologist, especially the impact of these people with the later settlers.

101 162

The consequences of the impact of the outsiders on the Andamanese have been far from satisfactory. With the formation of the penal colony, the aborigines continued to develop feud and on the 14th of May, 1959 a clash between the aborigines and the Govt. occurred which is known as the Battle of Aberdeen. Aberdeen is at the heart of the town of Port Blair. Efforts of pacifying these aborigines were made and for bringing them into closer terms of amity, the 'Andamanese Home' was started in 1863 by Rev. H. Corbyn Chaplain. They were employed for working with the convicts taught to speak English and wear clothes. The consequence of such an impact has been alarmingly devastating because of the infiltration of a number of vices and diseases which only paved the way for their impoverishment and decay (For further particulars see demographic characteristics).

175 177 648

2 Ciprianai, L — On the origin af the Andamanese, Andaman & Nicobar Islands, Census of India, 1951.

10:Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

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[181] implacably hostile and the best of efforts to bring them under terms of amity have proved furtile. Lt. Colebrook and Archibald Blair first came in contact with the Jarawas and in course of time, the Aka-beas, belonging to the Great Andaman Group, living in the South Andaman became friendly with the foreigners while the hostility of the Jarawas remained unabated. The Jarawa hostility has been always increasing and it was more so since 1921. In 1923, 37 Jarawas were shot and in 1938, a Jarawa woman and her 4 children were captured. So the chances of meeting the Jarawas have been few and far between and the great decline in their number has in all practical senses stopped the apprehension of their raids in the new settlement areas. Still now, of course a person penetrating deep into the forests of the eastern parts of South Andaman should always be on the guard against an attack from the Jarawas.

The Onges.

The Onges, having experienced the impact of the foreigners at the latest period, are at present the most widesprend of all the aborigines of the Andamans. They do not have the truculence of the Jarawas and the attempts for bringing them under closer ties and terms of amity with the foreigners have proved successful, though the essential traits of their social, cultural and material life remain unaltered.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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628 of the murdered man, and a feud would be set up between them
682 and the local group to which the murderer belonged. Such was one of the common causes of origin of the petty warfare that formerly existed in the Andamans, which will be referred to later in the present chapter.

627 Cases of theft seem to have been rare. It was left to the
685 aggrieved person to take vengeance upon the thief, but if he killed him or seriously wounded him he would have to expect the possible vengeance of the relatives and friends. Adultery
627 was regarded as a form of theft. I gathered that a man had the
684 right to punish his wife for unfaithfulness, but if the punishment were too severe it would be an occasion for a quarrel with her relatives. It was difficult for the aggrieved husband to punish the man who had offended against him. If he killed him he would lay himself open to the revenge of the relatives. The most he could do was to vent his anger in violent words.

578 Women also occasionally quarrel with one another and swear forcibly at one another, or even get so far as to destroy one
626 another's belongings, or to fight with their fists or sticks. The men hesitate to interfere, and the quarrel can only be stopped by some woman of influence.

The frequent occurrence of serious quarrels is prevented both by the influence of the older men and by the fear that everyone has of the possible vengeance of others should he in any way offend them.

183 There are a number of actions which, while they do not offend any particular person, are regarded as being anti-social.
626 One of these is laziness. Every man is expected to take his proper share in providing both himself and others with food. Should a man shirk this obligation, nothing would be said to him, unless he were a young unmarried man, and he would still be given food by others, but he would find himself occupying a position of inferiority in the camp, and would entirely lose the esteem of his fellows. Other qualities or actions that result in a similar loss of esteem are marital unfaithfulness, lack of respect to others and particularly to elders, meanness or niggardliness, and bad temper. One man was mentioned to me as being a bad man because he refused to take a wife after he had

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reached the age when it is considered proper for a man to marry. In recent times at least one young man has refused to undergo the privations connected with the initiation ceremonies. This was of course a case of gross rebellion against the customs of the tribe, but there was no way of punishing him or of compelling him to conform, save by showing him that he was an object of contempt and ridicule to others. Probably such a refusal to conform to tribal customs could not have taken place before the British occupation of the islands. 183 626

Another class of wrong actions consists in the breaking of ritual prohibitions. There are, for example, as will be shown in a later chapter, a number of actions which it is believed may cause bad weather, such as burning bees'-wax or killing a cicada. There is, however, no punishment that can be meted out to any one who does any of these things. The punishment, if we may call it so, is a purely supernatural one, and it strikes not only the offender but every one else as well. In the legends of the Andamanese there are one or two stories related of how one of the ancestors, being angry, deliberately performed one of the forbidden actions and thus brought a storm that destroyed many human beings[1]. There are other ritual prohibitions the non-observance of which is supposed to bring its own punishment on the offender, who, it is believed, will be ill. 784 626

The medicine-men (*oko-jumu*) are credited with the power to work evil magic, and by its means to make other people ill, and even to kill them. A man suspected of evil magic might be liable to the vengeance of those who thought that they had been injured by him, but though the practice was regarded as reprehensible it does not seem that the society ever acted as a whole to punish a man suspected of it. 756

Children are reproved for improper behaviour, but they are never punished. During their years of infancy they are much spoilt, not only by their parents but by every one. During the period of adolescence every boy and girl has to undergo a somewhat severe discipline, to be described in a later chapter. 861 882

[1] See below, Chap. IV.

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616 Besides the division into tribes, and independent of it, the
●184 Andamanese recognize another division into coast-dwellers and forest-dwellers. In the *Aka-Bea* language the coast-dwellers are called *Ar-yoto*, while the forest-dwellers are called *Erem-taga*. The difference between them is due solely to the difference of their food supply. The *Ar-yoto* obtain much of their food from the sea. They are expert in fishing and turtle hunting. They make canoes and use them not only for hunting but also for travelling from one camp to another. Some portion of their food they also obtain from the forest, edible roots and fruits and the flesh of the wild pig being the chief. On the other hand the *Erem-taga* rely solely on the forest and the inland creeks for their food supply. Their only use for canoes is in the creeks. They are entirely ignorant of such matters as turtle or dugong hunting, but they are more at home than the coast-dwellers in the forest, and are generally more skilful at pig-hunting. The advantage certainly rests with the coast-dwellers, for they have both the sea and the forest to draw upon for their sustenance.

619 Some tribes consist only of coast-dwellers, such as the *Aka-*
Čari, the *Akar-Bale* and perhaps the *Aka-Kọl*. On the other
616 hand the *Aka-Bo*, although their territory includes a part of
184 the west coast, are, by their occupations and mode of life, forest-dwellers, and the same seems to have been the case of the *Ọkọ-Juwọi*. The *A-Pučikwar*, the *Aka-Kede*, the *Aka-Jeru* and perhaps also the *Aka-Kọra* tribes contained both coast-dwellers and forest-dwellers.

621 Each tribe formerly consisted of a number of independent
[421] local groups. The local group, and not the tribe, was the land-owning group, each one owning or exercising hunting rights over a certain recognized area. At the present time, owing to the breakdown of the local organisation, through the settlement of the islands and the resulting decrease of population, it is difficult to ascertain what area of country was occupied by each of these local groups. In many cases it would seem that the boundaries between two neighbouring groups are not very clearly defined, there being portions of forest over which the members of both hunted when the

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361 have failed to learn that there are permanent encampments and kitchen-middens in the heart of the jungles of Great Andaman; but, since it has been recently asserted in a paper[1] by one of the officers long resident at Port Blair, that, to quote his words, "No tribe of Negritos in the same stage of existence . . . . as the Andamanese could exist in the Andaman jungles," it is very necessary to expose his error, for repeated inquiries and personal observation prove the accuracy of the account given by one of the inhabitants of the interior of Middle Andaman, named *Wō·i*, that during the entire year the jungles afford them ample sustenance.[2]

829 2. All the tribes with which we are acquainted possess terms denoting—1, a coastman; 2, a fisherman; 3, a creek man; ●184 and 4, a jungle-man; the two former being applied to those living by the shore, *àryô·to-*, and the two latter to those living inland, *ē·remtâ·ga-*, whose subsistence depends on the spontaneous products of the jungle, which they all agree in describing as amply sufficient for the support of many times their present population.

184 3. The coastmen are divided into two classes, viz., those who are chiefly employed in constructing canoes, turtle-lines, &c., and those who are engaged in fishing and turtling, but each acquires a certain knowledge of the duties of the other, and also of hunting the *Sus Andamanensis:* in the latter accomplishment, as well as in finding their way through trackless portions of the jungle, they are naturally surpassed by the natives of the interior, who display in these, as in other respects, all the dexterity and intelligence peculiar to savages similarly situated in other tropical regions.[3]

4. Although these two distinct sections (*àryô·to-* and *ē·remtâ·ga-*) still exist in a measure among the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*, as among the people of Middle Andaman, many of their more marked characteristics have become so blended or modified, in consequence of the establishment of the homes, that it is difficult in many cases to determine to which class certain individuals originally belonged. This, it will be understood, is because those of the *ē·remtâ·ga-*, who have accompanied parties of the coastmen in

[1] *Vide* "Proceedings Asiat. Soc. Bengal," July, 1876.

[2] With reference to the above, Mr. W. T. Blanford, F.R.S., remarked at the meeting at which the paper in question was read, that "it is very difficult for a civilised human being to understand how savages live, or even to conceive what a marvellous variety of animal and vegetable productions, on which savage man, at any rate, can subsist, are to be found in the forests of all tropical regions." He added, that it was his belief that "man could certainly find food wherever monkeys could exist."

[3] *Vide* "Physical Powers and Senses," paragraphs 5 and 6, and "Communications," &c., paragraphs 4 and 6.

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fishing and turtling expeditions, at one or other of the homes, for several years, have become sufficiently skilled in these pursuits to escape the ridicule of the genuine *àryô·to-*, while these in their turn have made themselves almost as well acquainted with the interior of the jungles as were the original occupants, from whom they are, therefore, scarcely distinguishable. 184

5. It will be of interest to note in this place the nicknames employed by the "junglees" and the coastmen when quizzing each other, as they serve to indicate the peculiarities which are held to be their distinguishing characteristics. The *ē·remtâ·ga-* sometimes chaffingly address an *àryô·to-* as *ēr-châ·tâknga-*,[1] *i.e.*, one who loses his way; *ēr-lō·inga-ba*, *i.e.*, one who cannot find his way in the jungle; or, *ūn-pâg-ī·knga-ba*, *i.e.*, one who cannot follow tracks; while the terms which the coastmen will, under similar circumstances, employ towards the jungle men are *ab-mū·lwa-* and *gū·gma-tòng-*, the first implying a deaf person, for only the practised ear of an *àryô·to-* can judge of the distance of a turtle so correctly as to be able to harpoon it in pitch darkness; the second meaning "leaf of the *Trigonostemon longifolius*," in allusion to the practice, current among the inland tribes,[2] of using these leaves for the cure of fever, but to which the *àryô·to-* rarely have recourse, as they believe the scent prevents turtles from approaching a canoe in which there are any persons who have recently employed this remedy. 184 829

6. The intermingling of the members of the inland and coast communities in and near our settlement has naturally resulted in such a marked modification of many of the characteristics which distinguish them in their primitive condition that, for reliable information respecting the same, it is necessary to seek among the more distant encampments, where similar influences have not as yet been at work. 184

7. Amongst those who have now for some years resided at the principal home at Port Blair, there is a young *ē·remtâ·ga-*, named *Wō·i*, of the *.ôko-jū·wai-* tribe, who, till the end of 1875, had been living in the depths of the Middle Andaman jungle, and who then, with a few others of his village, received a message from *mai·a .lī·pa*, chief of *.bàrlâ·kàbīl-*, an encampment on the coast, inviting them to accompany him in a trip he was about to make, by way of Port Mouat, for the purpose of seeing the officer in charge of the home, and procuring some presents from him. *Wō·i* and his friends gladly availed themselves of the opportunity of visiting what must have been to them a new 184 115

[1] By way of mock respect *mai·a* (*i.e.*, Mr.) is occasionally prefixed to these epithets when used in this way.

[2] *Vide* "Medicine," paragraph 2.

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●184 115 world: on their arrival at Viper Island, they saw, for the first time, Europeans, and a mode of living of which they could have previously formed no idea. *Wō·ī's* companions returned to their tribe after spending a few months with us, but he, having lost his heart to one of the South Andaman houris, was without difficulty induced to remain behind, and settle down in our midst as a married man. As he speedily acquired a knowledge of the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* dialect, we were enabled to question him on various points, besides those referred to in the statement which forms one of the appendices to this volume,[1] and thus learned much that was before unknown concerning the habits of the inland branch of the *.ôko-jū·wai-* tribe: the information thus obtained, when compared with the result of our own observations of the customs and mode of living of the communities in the vicinity of our settlement, afforded convincing proof of the universality of the customs and practices of the respective classes of *àryô·to-* and *ē·remtâ·ga-* throughout Middle and South Andaman.

8. In Dr. Mouat's book mention is made of the capture of a youth, nicknamed "Jack," after a hostile encounter with some of the natives of Interview Island, from which circumstance it may be inferred that the lad belonged to the *.âkà-ked·e-* tribe, only one member of which had, till 1879, stayed amongst us, and he is an *e·remtâ·ga-*, who had travelled out of curiosity as far as Middle Strait, and from thence had been persuaded by the chief of that district to accompany him to Port Blair. He proved himself very intelligent and active in all jungle accomplishments, but was entirely ignorant of fishing and turtling After remaining with us a few months he was taken (in March, 1879), at his own request, to a point on the north-west coast of Middle Andaman, and landed with a heap of presents: his home, he informed us, was situated midway between that place and the east coast.

361 [768] 221 166 **Nomadism.**—1. Nomadism appears to be almost, if not entirely, confined to the *àryô·to-*, and even among them there are hamlets which are only abandoned temporarily, as with the *ē·remtâ·ga-*, in consequence of a death, or of a *jeg-* (*i.e.*, "corroboree"), at some neighbouring encampment.

2. The nature of the temporary migrations which take place among the *ē·remtâ·ga-* during the dry season, as well as of those necessitated by a death, will be explained in subsequent sections. In the case of the *àryô·to-*, migrations are occasioned by a variety of circumstances, as, for instance, fishing operations being rendered impossible by a change in the wind, the

[1] *Vide* Appendix F, a free translation of which will be found in "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xi, pp. 280–2.

619 now passing away and I well recollect 25 years ago, though the Bojigyab were then known to us, the "coming in" of the first Balawa from the Archipelago and of the first Chariar from the extreme north and the difficulty experienced in communicating with them.

In reading the following remarks on the tribes it must always be borne in mind that the statements therein made refer largely to a state of things practically already passed away and never likely to be revived. The reader can without difficulty use his discretion in separating what is from what has been in the course of his perusal.

619 184 **Their Division into three Groups.**—The Andamanese tribes are by themselves divided into three distinct groups, having certain salient characteristics: the forms of the huts, bows and arrows, of the canoes, of ornamentation, female clothing, hair dressing, and utensils, of tattooing, and of language common generally to the group, but differing in details and sometimes entirely from those of other groups. Judged by this standard the tribal affinities may be thus stated: Northern or Yerewa Group, Chariar, Kora, Tabo, Yere, Kede; Southern or Bojigngiji Group, Bea, Balawa, Bojigyab, Juwai, Kol; Outer Group, Ônge-Jarawa, who do not tattoo. Some of the tribes are divided into septs, fairly well defined under headmen and with a local area of their own, but not under any separate designation.

The Distinctions between the Groups.—It is worth while bringing together this remarkable series of differences dividing the Andamanese into three divisions; differences that more or less run through all matters concerning them.

[304] (1) *Tattooing.*—Bojigngiji; women are the tattooers cutting the skin slightly with small flakes of quartz or glass in patterns of zigzags or in straight vertical lines; face, ears, genitals, arm and knee pits are excepted. Men and women are tattooed alike. Yerewa; men are the tattooers, cutting the skin deeply with iron pig-arrow heads: short horizontal parallel cuts in three or five lines down the back and front of the trunk, round the anus and legs. Women are tattooed thus as life advances. Ônge-Jarawa; no tattooing.

[302] (2) *Hair.*—Bojigngiji; partial to complete shaving of head. Yerewa; long matted ringlets touching the shoulders. Ônge-Jarawas; closely cropped head to a mop. Ônge-Jarawa women are not shaved.

[291] (3) *Ornaments and female clothing.*—Bojigngiji women wear a bunch of five or six leaves in front: Yerewa women a loose tassel of narrow strips of bark: Ônge-Jarawa a bunching tassel of fibre. Bojigngiji women are most particular as to clothing: Yerewa women careless. Jarawa women are apt to be quite unclothed. Bojigngijis and Yerewas smear their faces with grey clay mixed with water, white clay in delicate patterns imitating the tattoo marks, red ochre mixed with turtle fat and almond oil in coarse undefined patterns. Ônge-Jarawas, with yellow clay mixed with water in coarse patches, red ochre mixed with the above mentioned oils on the head. Ônge-Jarawas wear no bone ornaments.

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[531] (4) *Ornamentation of utensils.*—Bojigngiji and Yerewas, slight: Ônge-Jarawas delicate and elaborate.

[323] (5) *Pots.*—Bojigngijis, pots with rounded bottom: Ônge-Jarawas and Yerewas with pointed bottom.

[412] (6) *Implements.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas, coarse and rough in manufacture: Ônge-Jarawas, often delicate and neat.

[285] (7) *Baskets.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas have a 'kick' and stand well: Ônge-Jarawas have uneven bottom and stand badly.

[411] (8) *Bows and arrows.*—Bojigngiji, *karama* bow and large arrows. Yerewa, *chokio* bow and small arrows. Ônge-Jarawa, curved long bow and long arrows.

(9) *Arrows.*—Generally common in type to all tribes: long with plain straight point, long with straight point and barbs, short with broad detachable barbed head for pigs.* Ônge-Jarawas and Yerewas, multiple headed arrows for fish.

(10) *Harpoons.*—For turtle, dugongs, and large fish among Bojigngijis and Yerewas: none among the Ônge-Jarawas.

* As the pig runs off, the trailing shaft is at once caught by something in the jungle and the animal is thus brought up short.

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(11) *Canoes.*—Bojigngiji and Yerewa, same pattern canoe; Onge-Jarawa [501] pattern different from above. Both out-rigged, Bojigngiji has in addition a large dug-out without outrigger.

[342] (12) *Huts.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas have temporary huts. Onge-Jarawas have large permanent communal dwellings.

[535] (13) *Dancing.*—Bojigngijis and Yerawas, sounding board and song and clapping in unison. Onge-Jarawa, standing in a ring and alternately bending and straightening the knees: also on occasion kicking the buttocks with the flat of the foot.

[352] (14) *Beds.*—Jarawas sleep on the wood ashes of the fires. Onges on raised bamboo platforms. Other tribes on leaves and in sand-holes.

[562 251] (15) *Food.*—The staple food of the Onges is the mangrove fruit, boiled, and they preserve small fish dried after cooking. None of the other tribes do this.

The Long-shore and Jungle Andamanese.—The Andamanese are by themselves again further divided into the Aryoto or long-shore men, and the Eremtaga or jungle-dwellers; the habits and capacities of these two differ, owing to surroundings, irrespective of tribe. Some tribes as the Tabo, Juwai, Kol, and the South Andaman Jarawas, are entirely Eremtaga, while the Balawa, the Chariar, and the Jarawas of the North Sentinel are entirely Aryoto. The Aryoto holds himself to be better than the Eremtaga, but beyond this there seem to be no exclusive distinctions between them and an Aryoto will marry or adopt an Eremtaga.

With the minuteness in matters concerning their surroundings that is characteristic of all entirely uneducated people, the Andamanese recognise a third division of themselves by habits into Adajig or creek-dwellers, *i.e.*, those who live on the shores of the many inlets of the sea on the coasts of the Islands. The habits of the Adajig, however, are practically those of the Aryoto.

Distinctions by habits are quickly lost by the Andamanese. The Jarawas have now no canoes in the South Andaman and are quite incapable of constructing or using them, though all Onges have them and so have the Jarawas on the North Sentinel. So also had the Jarawas that Colebrooke met a century ago. And this year (1902) it was ascertained that the young men brought up at the Duratang (Kyd Island) Home and occupied chiefly in market gardening could neither steer nor paddle a canoe, nor take up tracks in the jungles. In one generation, though there was no restriction in communication with their people, they had lost both sea and forest craft.

Former Isolation of the Tribes.—Before the arrival of the English the tribes, excepting actual neighbours, may be said to have had no general intercourse with each other, and excepting some individuals were entirely unable to converse together, though it can be conclusively shown that all the existing languages are directly descended from one parent tongue. Even Septs had but little mutual intercourse and considerable differences in details of dialect and, as has occurred in other island abodes of savages, there must have been a change of dialect or language along about every 20 miles of the coast. The tribes were in fact brought together and made definitely acquainted with each other's separate existence and peculiarities by the influence and exertions of Mr. Man between 1875 and 1880.

609 **Sympathies and Antipathies.**—The tribal feeling is expressed as follows: friendly within the tribe, courteous to other Andamanese if known, hostile to every stranger, Andamanese or other. The sympathy and antipathy exhibited are strictly natural, *i.e.*, savage, and are governed by descent. The feeling of friendliness lies in an ever-decreasing zone from the family outwards towards sept, tribe, group: hostility to all others. Even septs will fight each other and Aryoto and Eremtaga do not mix much. But there is no "caste" feeling, and tribes will, in circumstances favouring the actions (*e.g.*, living on the tribal borders), intermarry and adopt each other's children. Within the tribe there is so general a custom of adoption that children above six or seven rarely live with their own parents. It is an act of friendliness to give up or adopt a child and the custom has had the effect of making the various septs of a tribe hang together much better than would otherwise have been possible.

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000 showing what a fine sea boat she is. Two little Andamanese from the Ekudi village accompanied me, one of whom, Kogio Kai, had been in Port Blair before as a captive in 1885. On the 4th December I returned to the Little Andaman (arriving there on the 5th) with some fresh convicts and Andamanese. The weather on the way back was even worse than what we had coming up.

My absence, leaving a small party of convicts and Andamanese on the Island, had been a good test of the work done, and I found on my return that the Little Andamanese had been living with them in my camp in the most friendly manner.

I was kept in the creek by bad weather until the 12th December, during which time the crew of the *Ross* were employed in cutting firewood in order to save our coal, and the convicts and Andamanese went about with me inland and on the coast to the various villages.

I also commenced a coast line survey of the Island with prismatic compass and chain. The Little Andamanese or Ônges, as they call themselves, were constantly in camp and began to pick up a little Hindustani.

On the 12th and 13th I worked along the coast, surveying down to Tochangedu, where my work was stopped by the heavy surf, so I began on the 15th to work E. and S. from the North Point of the Island. A curious incident occurred on the 17th which will illustrate the influence I have acquired over the neighbouring people. Kogio Kai told me that a man of his own tribe had stolen some knives belonging to us. I sent for the man, admonished him and forbade him to come to the camp. Tahlai, one of his own tribe, then escorted him to Tambe Ebui, and he has not since been allowed to visit us. The Ekudi people on another occasion behaved in a similar manner to the Palalankwes who had stolen some turtle spears, refusing to allow them to land near the clearing or visit us for several days.

By the 19th of December I had surveyed as far as Titaije, meeting many people of all sizes and sexes who were very pleasant and friendly, and I then returned to Bumila Creek, beached the *Ross*, cleaned and painted her. Her Majesty's I. M. S. *Nancowry* called on the 21st, and on the 22nd I proceeded to Port Blair with the sick from my camp, and with nine Ônges picked from the following tribes:—Ekudi, Pálálankwe, Tokaie, Tambe, Ebui and Titaije.

I remained in Port Blair until the 27th when I crossed with the party to the North Sentinel Island. The Ônges gave me their name for it as Chirtakwekwe, and appeared well acquainted with it. They walked fearlessly about in the jungle, but, on catching some of the inhabitants on the evening of the 27th, it was found that they talked an entirely different language. On the 28th I visited Port Mouat, returning to Port Blair on the 29th, and on the 2nd January I returned to the Little Andaman.

During their stay in Port Blair, the greatest care was taken that the Ônges should not suffer in health, and they were shown every thing I thought would interest them, including the athletic sports and the military parade on the 1st January, and were also given quantities of presents, being allowed to have almost every thing they fancied, and they appeared so delighted with their visit that, on the way back, they said they would come up to Port Blair in their canoes in the fine weather.

On the 3rd January I started down the East Coast surveying. In addition to my party I was accompanied by Tomiti, Tahlai and Kogio Kai, who were of the greatest assistance. People came out to meet us at each village, and every one was quiet, friendly and pleasant. On the 4th I anchored in Daogule Bay, having been accompanied by nearly fifty people all along the coast. On the 5th I met at Toi-balewe, Nátúdétotali Kégé, one of the women who was captured on the Cinque Islands in 1885. On the 6th I met at Ingoie, on the South Coast, the three men who had visited me at Bumila Creek on the 3rd November last. I completed the survey on the 7th closing on Api Island, and then returned to Bumila Creek.

The weather now got stormy again, and I began to suffer very much in health. The survey being finished, I having visited all the villages round the Island and being on the best terms with all the people, and our stores being nearly exhausted, I returned to Port Blair on the 19th January with the entire party. The work I was sent down to do has, I think, been accomplished, and we are now on as friendly terms with the Little Andamanese as we are with the inhabitants of the North Andamans.

619 From what I can learn, I am of opinion that, while the whole of the Little Andaman Island is peopled by one race calling themselves Ônges, these people are sub-divided into tribes who adhere more or less to their own country, and who appear to quarrel and fight among themselves. What little I have learnt of their language I have embodied in my work on the languages of the Andamanese, written at your request, but the amount is small. It differs almost totally from any language with which we are acquainted, except that of the Jarawa tribes.

● 184

The people appear healthy, their principal diseases being chest complaints, coughs and colds, fever and itch. There is no syphilis amongst them, and in physique they compare favourably with the inhabitants of the Great Andaman.

Their manners and customs differ somewhat from those of our people, the principal differences I have noticed being the following:—

The large circular huts built by them; the raised charpoys on which they sleep; their habit of cooking, drying and storing in baskets a small fish similar to a sprat; the difference in the shape of their canoes at the bow and stern; the difference in their ornaments,

and the absence of bone necklaces and broad tasselled belts amongst them; the women wear a tassel of a yellow fibre in the place of the leaf worn in the Great Andaman; the difference in the shape of the bow, which is of the European pattern. The arrows used for fish frequently have four heads of different lengths fitted into one shaft. 619 184

The people are by no means expert in the use of a canoe in the rough water, and are unable to harpoon turtle. They paint their hair only with red earth, and not their entire bodies, and they do not allow their hair to grow long; the women do not keep their heads clean shaved.

Their staple food appears to be the seed of the mangrove, boiled, as that article of diet is always to be seen in their huts, supplemented of course by whatever else they can get.

I may here mention that, after close and continued observation of their habits, I entirely disbelieve the legend that they were formerly in the habit of visiting the Car Nicobar Island.

It was very pleasant to see the numbers of healthy children of both sexes in the various villages; the people seem to marry later in life than do the Great Andamanese, but the same system of monogamy prevails.

The music of their songs is different and more pleasing, and it is not accompanied by clapping of hands, or striking of a sounding board. Their dance is peculiar and unlike that of the other Andamanese.

They have no religion of any kind, and I have learnt nothing of their traditions or superstitions from which they seem even freer than our people.

In conclusion I may say that the people are by no means fierce, being if anything of a milder disposition than our people, and I became very much attached to them, which attachment is, I think, returned. They are easily silenced or frightened, and are in great dread of a gun.

The Island at the north end appears to consist of mangrove swamp, and low belts of sandy soil on which the aborigines live. On the west and south-west coast the land rises into low hills of a coarse sandstone, running more or less north and south. The timber appears to be much the same as that of the South Andaman, and the rocks are chiefly lime and sandstone with a good deal of actual coral rock on the east and south coast. In one place on the point south of Daogule Bay I noticed an outcrop of igneous rock. There appeared to be no minerals.

The products of the sea appear to be the same as at the Great Andaman, but that the Tubiporine family of coral, particularly *Tubipora musica*, occurs in profusion. Dugong and turtle abound in the sea, and I captured two of the former, one being a remarkably fine specimen, and many of the latter.

The Ônges are very fond of turtle which they are unable to get with the facility with which our Andamanese catch them, as they are ignorant of the use of the harpoon, and turtle always formed a great part of my presents to them.

In rough weather landing is almost impossible on most of the coast, and in calm weather there are heavy ground swells and tide rips. The following are the best anchorages of small vessels:—Bumila Creek; Eketi Bay, just inside the north end of Nachuge Point; Gijege, opposite Ingoie, about half a mile from shore; Hut Bay; Daogule Bay and Obate. Landing is difficult in most places and I always used an Andamanese canoe.

* * * * * *

With regard to their (the Ônges) behaviour to shipwrecked crews, I am of opinion that the crew of any native vessel wrecked there would still be liable to be massacred, and though a European, if wrecked on the north coast might be well treated, I should not like to guarantee his safety. Shipwrecked sailors are rarely diplomats and would be extremely likely to resent the looting of their ships or persons in a manner which would certainly lead to their being shot. This looting cannot be prevented, the temptation being too great for any savage, however tame, and the general education of the Ônges will take some years. It is quite safe for any Settlement official to visit the Island and land. I would advise him first to land at Bumila Creek and take on board either Kogio Kai, Tomiti or Tahlai, or else *one of the following:—Wane Lucgo of the Ekwdi tribe or Kogio Kebele of Pelelaabwe* village, who would act as interpreters at any other part of the island, where he wished to land. 000

The presents which the Ônges most appreciate are hoop iron, rod iron, files, sleeping mats, cocoanuts, plantains, beads, and specimens of the articles used by our Andamanese; also turtle, which can easily be got at the South Sentinel Island. The Ônges are, I believe, quite willing to come to Post Blair in their canoes in the fine weather, but great care should be taken that they do not contract any disease, particularly syphilis, if they do come up. They will take to smoking kindly, but I have not encouraged this, as my aim is to keep them in their healthy primitive state, and I believe this can be done, and they can still be brought to obey our orders and remain on friendly terms with outsiders. We require very little of them, and a close intercourse with these savages means death to them.

* * * * * *

On the 4th March the Chief Commissioner, accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts, 7th Regiment, Madras Native Infantry, Mr. Portman, on special duty at the Little Andaman Island, Mr. Metcalfe, Officer in charge of the Andamanese, and a number of Andamanese, left Port Blair in the steamer *Ross* at 6 A.M., and arriving in Bumila Creek, north end of the Little Andaman at 2 P.M. Some of the Ônges, as the natives of the Island

Report of a Survey of the Inhabitants of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands during 1948-49

[?I]

By

B. S. Guha

Director, Department of Anthropology

About the end of the year 1946, Mr H. J. Stooks, Deputy Secretary to the Ministry of Home Affairs, consulted me with regard to proposals made by Sri A. V. Thakkar of the Bharatiya Adim Jati Sevak Sangh for undertaking work for the amelioration of the conditions of the inhabitants of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands on the same lines as the Sangh has been doing among the Bhils and other tribes of Central India. The problem of the Aborigines of the Andaman Islands, however, is not the same as that of the other primitive tribes of India. These people are some of the most ancient remnants of the human race still surviving in any part of the world, who had been very little affected from contact with other people and subsist principally on fishing and hunting. The need among them is not so much the spread of education and social uplift as the arrest of the decline in population which has been most alarming. Since the establishment of the Penal Settlement at Port Blair in 1858, the condition of the "Friendly Tribes" among these inhabitants have been most distressing. Due in the beginning to armed encounters with the forces of the Government, and also as a result of ravages from diseases like tuberculosis and syphilis contracted from Indian convicts, there has been a continuous decline in the Andamanese population. From an estimated figure of about 10,000 people in 1779 the tribe has been reduced to only 70 in 1931, and at the time of our visit there were probably not more than 37 individuals still living. Whether it will be possible to save the Andamanese from the fate of the Tasmanians whose last surviving representative passed away about 1770 is extremely doubtful.

The hostile branch of the Andamanese tribes known as the Jarawa-Onge-Sentinelese group, fortunately has been spared the fate of their more "friendly" kinsmen, and as a result of implacable hostility and comparative isolation have survived to a much larger extent. In the western forest belts of Middle and South Andamans, the Little Andaman, and the North Sentinel Islands they have resisted all intrusions from outsiders and were known to have lived in these places comparatively unmolested. No accurate census of these tribes however, was ever taken, but from estimates made by people who had some knowledge of the tribes, it does not seem possible that the total strength of these people could be more than a few hundred souls altogether before the last war. What has happened since and how far these people, specially the Jarawas, have suffered from Japanese occupation cannot accurately be determined. It is known that there had been some bombing by the Japanese in the Jarawa tract, but whether any Jarawa was killed is not known. I, therefore, suggested to Mr Stooks that an anthropological survey of the Islands was essential and a probable estimate of the surviving settlements of the population made before the question of any social welfare work can be considered.

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

[P.690]

The Jarawa of the Andaman Islands

By S. S. Sarkar (Calcutta)

Introduction

101 131 The Jarawa of the Andaman Islands are confined along the western coast of South Andaman, where their movements are restricted – roughly speaking – between Port Anson on the north and Constance Bay on the south (fig. 1). They are also reported from the southwestern part of the island of Baratang – an island completely separated from South and Middle Andaman. The latter group must, therefore, use some kind of watercraft to cross over from one island to the other. The extreme northern tip of the South Andaman [501] Island was until recently used by the Jarawa for crossing over to Middle Andaman through the two intervening Islands of Spike and Bluff with the help of bamboo rafts (Sarkar, 1954). This route has now been checked owing to the establishment of a police picket on Bluff Island.

101 131 501 The Jarawa also appear to have used some sort of watercraft to migrate into North Sentinel Island in the distant past. Their craft may have been similar to the outrigger canoes described by Bonig (1912) on the occasion of his visit to this island. The distance from Port Mouat to North Sentinel is about 24 miles and although Bonig says that "the boats are not very seaworthy" this distance must at one time have been crossed by the ancestors of the present-day inhabitants of North Sentinel Island. Bonnington (1932) used the term Sentinelese for them, while Lowis (1912, 1923) preferred to call them Jarawa. It appears from what little is known about them that they are more akin to the Jarawa of South Andaman than to the other Negrito groups. No canoes are reported from among the Jarawa of South Andaman ; it appears that the bamboo raft is enough for their transport on water. The Jarawa [184] outrigger canoes of North Sentinel Island, which Bonig mentions as somewhat different from those of the Onge or the Andamanese, indicate a somewhat higher cultural status of the former as compared with the groups living on South Andaman.

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

The North Sentinel Jarawa

648 175 The taming of the South Andaman Jarawa has been a moot problem of the local government in view of their occasional raids on the forest camps and offices. On this score the North Sentinel Jarawa appear to have an important function. Nothing is known of the length of their isolation on this little island of about 15 square miles but it is probably unaffected by the punitive expeditions, that are undertaken from time to time by the local government against the South Andaman Jarawa. When BONIG and his party landed on the west coast of North Sentinel Island on March 9th 1911, they were not received with volleys of arrows, but instead the "eight men on the beach and another five in two canoes" disappeared in the jungle. The same was true of those seen previously on the east coast. BONIG and his party visited some huts, which [342] were of the lean-to type, and also went some miles inland without being troubled. BONIG therefore rightly concludes the following:

"The people appear very timid and it seems not unlikely that if they are approached frequently with presents, they will become friendly of their own accord. If this fails the small area of the island and the open nature of the forest would also make it easy to capture some, and after kind treatment let them go again".

000 As far as the present writer's knowledge goes this method has not yet been tried, but its utility lies perhaps in taming their South Andaman congeners. They could be made to settle round Port Campbell and other suitable areas on the west coast. A few communal huts built according to the plan and style of the South Andaman Jarawa should first of all be provided. They should be given all chances of expanding their population. Such an opportunity they are likely to seize if they suffer in any way from population pressure or from shortage of food and shelter. If their canoes are not seaworthy they should be provided with suitable water transport so that there may be frequent intercourse between the two islands.

The South Andaman Jarawa

114 Although no systematic ethnographic studies on the Jarawa have been undertaken, RADCLIFFE BROWN (1922) gave sufficient hints regarding the unity of the material culture of the Negritos as a whole. Physically they belong to the Negrito race, as can be seen from the few natives captured from time to time by the local government (SARKAR, 1952). The punitive expeditions 648 have also brought to light some important facts of their material culture.

342 Thus, during the punitive expedition of March 1911 (LOWIS, 1912) near Pap-lunta-jig a big communal hut was found which had been erected on the ridge of a hill and which measured 45′ × 30′ × 15′. It was raised high above the ground and was supported by a number of stout piles. The structure [184] was different from the Onge communal huts in that the floor was raised, while in the latter the floor is just the surface of the earth. The eves of the Onge communal hut touch the ground.

157 522 Western standards taciturn or sly, and the Negro peoples, who frequently manifest complete abandonment in their amusement. 157 522 831 Obscenities appear to be an unfailing source of amusement to the Onges, who indulge in them at every opportunity, even with strangers, and the obscene dances of the womenfolk are a continual source of pleasure. The exchange of obscenities is, indeed, a sign of friendship, and I found that vulgarity was invariably immensely successful in provoking hilarity; any subsequent negotiations were always peaceable and satisfactory.

302 [157] An extension of this vulgarity is an infantile vanity, not without sexual significance. The care with which their bodies are painted nearly every day is one aspect of this vanity; the more a wife loves her husband the more magnificent the designs she executes on him. [153] [151] [161] The paintings on their bodies reach a peak every two or three days, as the Onges fear illness and death if they are not newly daubed, and the face at least must be continually painted, with at least smears on the chest, arms and legs. A man returning from an exceptionally successful hunting trip is met by his wife with a specially unusual and elaborate design, which she carries out with great devotion. [123] During each of my visits to the island the Onges would rush up to show me their embellishments as soon as they were finished, and took a delight in standing in front of my camera, even though they had no idea what it was for.

304 [171] It is curious that unlike most primitive peoples, the Onges do not practise tattooing, which is one of the simplest ways, if not *the* simplest, in which such peoples satisfy their craving for physical [184] [302] admiration. The other Andamanese do, puncturing the skin with tiny slivers of obsidian or quartz, but the Onges paint with ochre instead. They love, too, to weave garlands of fruit, flowers and 381 824 leaves from the forest, returning to the camp laden with them, men and women alike, delighted with their own beauty. This divergence [184] of customs in peoples essentially of the same stock, but separated for long periods of time into endogamous isolates, is very remarkable.

838 An intense preoccupation with sexual attraction and activity has led to the prevalence of aberration. All the Onges have homosexual tendencies. I became aware of this during my first visit to Little Andaman on one of my longer expeditions, when I had taken only men with me, and on subsequent occasions I therefore allowed the men to bring their wives. The effect of long periods of absence on

11: Ciprianí E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Owing to the difficulty of pushing through the undergrowth the 484
Onges always travel in single file, following closely behind one another, the men first, then the women and children, with the dogs following all round. They never travel alone; I hardly ever met any by themselves, but always in groups of families or groups of hunters. The man who happens to be at the front of the file is the guide and when they come to an awkward part of the journey – perhaps across a deep river – everybody helps. Trees are felled to [491] fall across between the banks and a rope of lianas is run across to make the crossing easier for the aged, the women and the children, though their sense of balance is so good that most of them manage without it, even when carrying heavy loads across a single trunk.

The Onges are now nearly all related to each other in some way. 621
They all know each other, and the contacts are usually friendly. 578
The few squabbles which I saw, always over game, or food that had 22
been gathered, all blew over very quickly; normally, especially in the dry season when every group becomes nomadic in search of food, everyone went freely all over the island. On the occasions of the great hunts, or the honey feasts, a number of groups would band together for the occasion and even then they tried to divide the spoils equally and peaceably. If a dispute does arise the camp will break up into factions, but these will still keep close to each other and after a short while their differences will be made up with the usual long and tearful embraces. These scenes of reconciliation may go on for days, all starting from nothing more serious than a difference of opinion over the division of game captured by communal effort!

Much more important than the danger of offending other human 776
beings is that of causing offence to the spirits of the dead or the [775]
guardian spirits who provide food. There is, as I have said, not over- [782]
much rigidity in their observations – no propitiatory offerings of any kind are made to the spirits. The supreme being, Eiuga, who takes the shape of a lizard bigger than a crocodile, they know well. On Great Andaman he becomes Puluga, equally powerful, lord of [184] men and things but rather more anthropomorphic than his counterpart in Little Andaman. As Eiuga lives in the sky, the thunder is his voice, and the wind his breath; if he is angry he breathes out storms and throws burning tree-trunks down to the earth, setting light to the forest. Behind Eiuga are a series of minor spirits who

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

ancient times. Great Andaman abounds in these man-made humps, to which the name 'kitchen-middens' has been given, but none are in use today. In Little Andaman, on the other hand, many are still being built up.

The sweeping operations disturb clouds of flies and tiny beetles, light brown in colour, shot with metallic blue, with a highly domed back, and about five millimetres long, which always collect under bones and other human food refuse. Hordes of fleas, invisible in the dirt on the floor but multiplying busily, are also stirred up. Fortunately there are no lice on Little Andaman, owing to the absence of clothing and bed-linen, and the Onges carry no lice in their hair.

In fact the dogs' coats carry the fleas from place to place more than do their naked, smooth-skinned owners. Every time I went into a hut which had been empty for a time, as happens in the dry season when the occupants are away on a hunting trip, I was assailed by swarms of fleas such as I had never imagined! They rushed up one's body from feet to neck in absolute serried ranks, platoons of them, solid masses of tiny black moving objects. The only thing to do was to go out into the open and douse oneself in Flit, which caused them to retreat hastily. My camp-bed was always given a precautionary dose. Unfortunately Flit was not enough to disperse the clouds of ticks, tiny but dangerous, and a scourge in the forests of the Andamans. The Onges call them *anaghe* and thoroughly enjoyed helping to catch them on me in hundreds after every expedition into the forest.

None of these pests worry the Onges, who make no attempt to get rid of them. They leave mounds of filth round their huts or in their forest camps for them to breed in, and the light covering of earth or leaves which at best cover the Onges' faeces, deposited near the camp, was never any deterrent to breeding. The Onges never dig sanitary trenches or prepare any other form of latrines, even for their permanent sites; the forest is all concealing. However, they will never defaecate near, or in, a water course, even when the bed is dry, and when my men used the bed of a dried-up stream for the purpose the Onges protested to me, because the water would be contaminated. I was not disposed to contradict them.

In the forest, meeting a swarm of flies was a sure sign that we

342 allowing the smoke to escape and letting more air in – a very
354 welcome relief at times, even for the Onges!

342 I made sketch plans of all the huts I visited, with positions of the
126 supporting poles, beds, etc. Two typical ones were those at Toqué-è-bùie and Tambe-e-buiè. In March 1952 the former had some parts of the roof missing, as the inhabitants had taken the mats off to make temporary shelters in the forest; when the rains came they brought them back and replaced them. This custom explained why, on Great Andaman, some obviously temporary shelters had roofs far too well made to be intended for purely temporary use.

352 Entering the hut at Toqué-è-bùie, by the entrance proper, one
354 finds oneself facing an area with no beds in it. In the centre of this
342 area, under the apex of the roof, is a fire, a little larger than those kept burning beside each bed. This is used for communal cooking during the rainy season; at other times all cooking is done in the open. The ground area covered by the roof was 9·12 square metres, its height at the centre 3·3 metres, and the external circumference
[364] 30·65 metres. Beyond this stretched the ring of refuse built up by each short period of occupation.

342 Unlike many of the huts of Little Andaman, Toqué-è-bùie has
[184] a central pole, not thick, but of a very hard wood. In a circle round this are ten upright poles, each about two metres from the central pole. Starting on the left of the entrance and moving clockwise their heights vary slightly.[1] Outside this inner circle of supporting poles are two more concentric rings of uprights, the first, with a radius of 3·65 metres from the central pole, consists of twenty uprights with an average height of 1·35 metres, and the second, with a radius of 4·53 metres from the centre pole, has an average height of 0·38 metres. In nearly every hut each circle of uprights is attached to the roof by a ring formed by a bundle of long canes, to which each upright is lashed. Another bunch of long canes runs transversely from the entrance to the opposite side of the hut, almost touching the ground at the two ends, touching the roof in the middle, and fixed to the rings of canes to which the uprights are attached.

The bundle of canes forming this arch support is clearly set in place after the erection of the first (innermost) ring of uprights, and actually lies on top of the ring of canes to which they are

[1] 2·45, 2·35, 2·32, 2·3, 2·45, 2·35, 2·3, 2·35, 2·32, 2·35 metres.

352 The beds are supported on four convenient branches forked at the top, on which the four poles forming the bed frame rest. The size of the frame varies between 1·55 × 0·65 metres and 1·15 × 0·43 metres, and on this small platform the entire family sleeps huddled
513 together. The human members of the family lie longwise, all with their heads on the same log set as a head-rest (unless they are lucky enough to find a suitable giant bamboo washed up on the beach). Very occasionally a rush mat about half a metre square is laid on the platform, but usually the family just lies on bare canes packed tightly together on the frame parallel with the long side.

342 The hut at Tambe-e-buiè, its 1951 edition delayed till 1952 by
352 the earthquake the previous year when part of the coast dropped,
184 was rather larger than Toqué-è-bùie. In 1953 it was rebuilt twenty
[731] metres or so further back from the sea, but exactly as before. It has twelve beds, including two on the high platforms for the adolescents, one of which has two tiers, on the principle of our bunks. I saw this type of thing on a number of occasions and on one occasion I saw one being built out in the open, with the top platform three metres from the ground. All the beds at Tambe-e-buiè are rather higher than at Toqué-è-bùie (but not as high as Beniabol) and were all arranged radially; the platform on which meat was kept was two metres off the ground.

342 An unusual feature of Tambe-e-buiè, which had a diameter of
184 13·55 metres and a maximum height of 4·5 metres, was a series of six vertical poles set in a straight line to support the main transverse beam, one of which could be regarded as a centre pole. The pole on each side of the centre formed part of the innermost circle of supporting poles; there were two more circles, all supporting rings of canes. Unusually, only one of the rings of canes supporting the roof did not rest on vertical poles. The outer ring was only 0·4 metres high and the edge of the roof almost touched the ground, although one could still brush the fronds apart and crawl out. The roof mats were rectangular, very well made, and larger than at Toqué-è-bùie; some were three and a half metres by three metres or more, laid over seven or ten split reeds, instead of the usual four or five.

312 No permanent hut, or even a temporary shelter, is ever built far
[361] from water supplies adequate for the number of people in the group. If there is none visible, the Onges know how to dig for it,

CHAPTER FOUR

A Journey into Prehistory

842 The complete lack of hygiene of the Onges does not explain their disturbing lack of fertility. Nor can filth, smoking or loose living fully explain the sterility of the surviving Arioto.

There must be some other cause, and this in all probability is merely biological. One might call it the senescence of a race brought about by their total isolation for thousands of years, exacerbated by being broken into small endogamous units, all mutually hostile. This is not the opinion of all (the few) who have studied the Andamanese, and the problem remains to be investigated further.

262 184 842 In the Onges at least it cannot be a question of malnutrition, as I had ample opportunity of seeing during my visits to the island. Food is abundant, both the land and the sea offer an inexhaustible supply, even to the point of sustaining life, alone, if necessary, to all the Andamanese. The Jarawas are the exception. Forced away from the sea into the forests, they are dependent on one source of food, and it is therefore possible to make some attempt to calculate the maximum number of people which could be supported by their territory. In the case of the Onges, however, living amid luxuriant vegetation, with a rich source of sea food nearby, a given area can support a far higher population, and the same is true of the Jarawas cut off on North Sentinel.

The food of the Jarawas consists mainly of pork, with fresh-water fish (including some excellent carp) river molluscs and crustacea in large quantities, roots, tubers, wild fruits and honey. The Arioto, staying as they did in the coastal areas of Great Andaman, must have lived mainly off the sea.

175 161 842 842 262 The small population reported in the Andamans by visitors to the islands in the middle of the last century cannot therefore be

172 765 among the Onges) of wearing not only necklaces of the carpals and tarsals of deceased kin or pieces of rib, but also, in some groups, the skulls, painted with ochre and hanging from a cord round the neck. The long bones, painted red and white, were reburied in the communal hut. The Onges of today carry only the coloured jawbones of their kin.

172 764 No ornaments were found in the middens, nor did we expect to find any, as at death the Onges (and presumably their ancestors) bury all the personal objects of the deceased secretly in the forest, where the termites destroy all traces.

184 172 765 Not all the Arioto can have carried skulls and jawbones. Some clearly carried neither, as all the bones are sometimes found in the middens. A few middens are completely without human bones, particularly in the Port Blair area. Nevertheless at Ciauldari (or Chowldary), ten kilometres to the west, I found in January 1954 long bones without the skull or jawbones, and at Maya Bandar in 1953 I saw almost complete skeletons, not in anatomical position, owing to exhumation and reburial, but including skull, jawbones and in a number of cases the small bones as well.

The evidence of the middens thus clearly shows that burial and subsequent customs differed considerably among the various groups of islanders in the past, as they do today. The majority, judging from the Onges, seem to have remained faithful to a given custom, the dead in all cases continuing to remain a part of the group, whether or not any particular bone was carried about by the members of the group.

178 224 787 It is somewhat surprising to find customs varying so markedly in so primitive and numerically small a population, even though isolated in groups. The explanation lies in the fact that long-established customs may be altered overnight as the result of a 'revelation' by some seer, only to have the new customs overthrown themselves in the course of time by the next 'revelation'. I had an experience of this in the Onges when Enagaghe, a well-known seer, announced one day that he had received an order from the spirits about the way in which hunting trophies were to be displayed. No longer were pig jawbones to be impaled one behind the other on poles hung horizontally along the sloping roof of the hut a little above the hunter's bed. The whole skull, including the jawbones, was to be preserved, the bones held together in their natural

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

position by reed cords, which were to be tied in front of the snout, ending in a cord by which the skull was to be hung above the hunter's bed. No sooner said than done, and at the beginning of 1954 all the old trophies were thrown out into the forest, to be gradually replaced by the new ones. Fortunately I had collected some of the old trophies before the 'revelation'!

From the evidence of the middens it would appear that these variations in burial customs have no practical basis, and probably all derive from similar 'revelations'. Further investigations in a large series of the deposits, enabling dated comparisons to be made, would be extremely revealing.

Even allowing for these sudden alterations in established customs, it is clear that their elaboration indicates slow and hardly perceptible development over long periods of time and the middens must be dated in millennia. The hypothesis put forward by some scholars that the Andamanese are descended from negro slaves who escaped while on their way to the Portuguese colonies in India in the sixteenth or, at the earliest, fifteenth centuries, seems therefore quite untenable, in face of the abundant evidence in favour of the great antiquity of the middens and of the people who built them up.

It seems clear that during the last few thousand years, successive waves of migration have taken place over a whole area bounded on the west by the Andamans and Nicobars. All indications point to a close connection between the Andamanese and the peoples to the westward, the Negrito element remaining alone and almost untouched in the Andamans, but becoming submerged in the Nicobars into the mongoloid element of more recent origin. Even today a number of Nicobarese show signs of Negrito ancestry; short in stature, they have crinkly hair which although long is very different from the straight black hair of the mongoloid element, and their heads, noses and lips bear clear signs of Negrito ancestry.

In addition to these more general conclusions the middens also cast some light on the origin, still somewhat problematical, of the wretched Jarawas of Great Andaman. Comparisons between their middens and those of the Onges show that there were in the past communal huts on Great Andaman exactly the same as those still extant today on Little Andaman.

174 The continual fighting between the Eremtaga and the Arioto
342 led, as we have seen, to the gradual disappearance of the communal
[628] huts of the latter as being too vulnerable. Subsequently, the con-
[648] flict still going on between foreigners and Jarawas completed the destruction, so that there are now no communal huts on Great Andaman. The ever-increasing violence of the punitive expeditions against the Jarawas put an end to their numerical recovery during the last fifteen years or so, and there may indeed now be none left.
[172] Today only their kitchen-middens, and the surviving Onges, remain to show us how the Jarawas must have lived.

172 The Jarawa middens are distinguishable from those of the Arioto
184 by their inland position and by their content of freshwater shellfish and land gasteropods, not eaten by the peoples of the coast.

172 Like the kitchen-middens of the Onges, those of the Jarawas
764 contain human bones clearly interred in graves, and not scattered
178 among the refuse. This refutes the Arioto accusation against the
[186] Eremtaga of cannibalism, and that of the people of South Andaman (now vanished) against the people of North Andaman and the Onges; the remains of cannibal feasts would undoubtedly have been found among kitchen refuse and not carefully buried in the ritual manner, with the graves filled in with earth. And the Jarawas and the majority of the Arioto buried their dead in the communal huts, continuing a custom which originated while they were still
[184] on Little Andaman. In time variations arose, but this does not alter the evidence in favour of migration in ancient times from the south, via the Nicobars and Little Andaman.

184 The differences in culture between the islands can be explained
172 by the ease with which primitive peoples forget. The Jarawas, for
501 example, although they reached Great Andaman by sea from Little Andaman, forgot in a few generations the art of hollowing canoes when they were forced to live in the depths of the forests, far from the sea. Today, they have been free from the Arioto for some time, at least on the west coast, and have access to the sea, but they have
[765] not started building canoes again. In other things, however, such as burial rites, the Jarawas kept faithful to the old Onge customs; their middens show the same exhumation of the bones, the same cleaning, and tinting with ochre, and careful reburial.

172 The general similarity of the middens in Great and Little Anda-
252 man cannot be due to chance. Animal food, for example, has clearly

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

been cooked in the same way; the bones are never charred, but always have the appearance of being cooked in an earth oven. The direct roasting of large game over the fire, postulated by some authorities, including Brown, was never practised; the islanders preferred to go on as they had done since time immemorial, because it was more efficient – witness the traces of the earth oven which are to be found all over the world, including Europe. In Polynesia and Micronesia, and among the pygmies of Asia and Africa, it was widely used; variations when they arose did so as the result of local circumstances, like that of throwing water on the fire instead of using fleshy leaves, when there were none in the area. But the basic principle remained the same everywhere, and the use of the earth oven coincides with the geographical distribution of hunting, gathering and burial customs similar to those found in the Andamans.

In April 1954 I excavated the midden at Tambe-e-buiè on Little Andaman, abandoned after the earth tremors of 1951, to investigate the position of the beds. The custom of burying the dead underneath their beds made it possible to trace the latter by the human remains below them, arranged in a circle round the periphery. The Onges themselves helped in the work, sometimes even trying to recognize the remains as they came to light.[1] There were clear signs of reburial. The body is buried immediately after death at least one metre deep; whereas after exhumation, cleaning and colouring, it is never re-interred more than thirty centimetres below the floor of the hut. When another death makes it necessary for a new grave to be dug under the bed, the piles of bones from the second are disturbed, so that in time a form of ossuary develops. In this it is not possible to identify the various remains of individuals unless some change in the position of the hut, even by a few metres, preserves the bones from disturbance by fresh graves. Traces of the graves always remain, however, as they are invariably filled with fresh earth.

We have already seen that on Little Andaman the introduction of the dog reduced the consumption of shellfish (and hence the rate

[1] The material recovered is now in the Anthropological Museum of the Andamans and Nicobars, which I helped to establish at Port Blair. The museum was inaugurated on 6 June 1955 in the presence of the Governor, Mr A. K. Ghosh and the chief Indian officials of the town.

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of growth of the kitchen-middens), judging by the number of shells in the deposits. On Great Andaman, on the other hand, the Jarawas, unable to keep dogs for fear of revealing their whereabouts with the barking, continued as they had always done, and the gradual disappearance of their middens was due not to any change in eating habits but to the breakdown of the communal hut system. Among the Arioto, already decimated for over a century by fighting with the Eremtaga, the dog seems to have had no effect on the situation, as the Arioto had dogs as far back as 1857. Possibly they regarded them in the same way as the Onges who, though deeply attached to them and quite incapable of eating them at any time, never go so far as to bury their bones in the middens; the carcase is thrown out into the forests for the monitors and the termites to dispose of. It is also probable that the introduction of the dog came too late, when the Arioto were already too depleted numerically for any change in their eating habits to be appreciably reflected in their middens.

In both Great and Little Andaman the middens are found only where the communal huts have been constantly rebuilt on the same sites. Where the ground permits, the base circle (or rarely, the ellipse) has been moved somewhat from side to side, without, however, greatly affecting the regularity of the shape. At Totamaddalù on Little Andaman I was interested to see that although the diameter of the midden lessened as the numbers of the group occupying the hut dwindled, the site remained unchanged. Today the base area of the midden is very extensive compared with the size of the hut now built on it, but its anthropological value is thereby increased.

The advent of the dog into the archipelago in about 1857 vastly increased the amount of meat available to the Andamanese. Once introduced into Little Andaman[1] the dog population increased explosively, as the Onges dare not kill any of the pups; the women even go so far as to suckle motherless pups themselves. This inordinate love of dogs has allowed the animals to become a pest. They already considerably outnumber the human population; families of only three or four people may have ten or twelve dogs,

[1] The dog reached Little Andaman only at the beginning of the present century; von Eichstedt in 1928 noted that the Onges had very few of them.

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they may be, and the strays of the Andaman forests howl unceasingly. Even in the Onge encampments the dogs howl enough to wake their sleeping masters; the only way to stop the noise is for the Onges to forestall it by taking their dogs into the family bed, fleas and all. There ensues silence, warmth and more fleas!

Hunting weapons of the Andamanese, the Semang and the Aetà were originally made by all three peoples in a similar way, common to all the Negritos. None have any defensive weapons as such; their bows and arrows, never feathered, serve as arms as well as for hunting and fishing. Shields are unknown and spears, rare in the Andamans and among the Semang, are apparently no longer in use among the Aetà; where they exist they are usually mainly for hunting. All three peoples, however, have the arrow harpoon.[1]

Their bows are all clearly derived from the same source. In the Andamans, only the Onges and Jarawas have remained true to the original form, local variations arising at a later date, and they afford additional evidence in favour of Little Andaman being the original springboard from which the Negritos entered Great Andaman.

All the Negritos make their bows from one piece of wood stripped longitudinally from the living trunks of large trees such as *Mimusops littoralis* or *Pterocarpus dalbergoides*. After they have been left to season the strips are patiently fashioned into the required shape; for this the Onges use the shells of *Cyrena* (the freshwater species, which are tougher). The bows are straight, thicker in the middle and gradually tapering towards the ends, and are usually 1·6 metres long, although there are exceptions. The cross section is the same throughout the length of the bow, varying from three or four centimetres diameter at the centre to two and a half centimetres at the horns. The inner surface is so slightly curved as to be almost flat, while the back is markedly convex. The blunt horns end in a 'shoulder and neck' stop to take the string, the neck projecting about one and a half centimetres beyond the shoulders – enough to hold the bowstring. The shoulder is formed by strips of *Ficus* bark wound round the bow, or the yellow fibres of *Dendrobium*; one shoulder is invariably larger than the other. The string itself, made from long thin strips of *Ficus* bark twisted together, has a very narrow loop on one end and a larger one at the other;

[1] See p. 86.

411 [283] when stretched the string remains held in place by the two loops, one too small to slip over the lower shoulder, and the larger one held firm on the upper shoulder by the tension of the string.

184 411 When the bow is strung, it is placed upright with the lower horn firmly on the ground, the string already looped on to the small shoulder. The top of the bow is forced down (either hand being used indiscriminately), a foot being pressed against the grip to help it bend; the other end of the string, with the large loop, is then run up the stave and slipped over the larger shoulder, where the tension holds it firm. Considerable individual variation may occur in the art of making the bow and preparing the string and also in the actual stringing. In the Onges, apart from the size of the bow, the variation never went beyond slight differences in the curvature of the inner surface and back, the former being in a few cases quite flat, or even concave, as in the Jarawa bows. Neither the Onges nor the Jarawas, including those on North Sentinel, decorate their bows in any way, but the Arioto like to make a series of small straight cuts on the horns, on both the inner and outer surfaces and sometimes even cover the bow with bizarre red and white lines, which wear off very quickly with use. There appears to be no real difference between Onge and Jarawa bows, except that the latter tend to be larger, in keeping with their intended use as hostile weapons.

From the original Negrito bow of Little Andaman the so-called S-bow of the Arioto evolved as the result of a number of minor innovations. The basic principle remained the same, but in an effort to take greater advantage of the elasticity of the wood the rudiments of the distinction between the two horns later developed into a distinction between the two halves of the bow.

The unique modification which the original form of bow underwent on Great Andaman turned the stave into a composite of two spear-shaped halves, the upper almost straight, the lower slightly curved. At the horns the bow is still almost round in section, flattening as the 'spear' broadens out; the general dimensions and shape of the bow vary little between the Arioto of the south and north of the island, although the latter make the diameter at the horns rather larger. The two halves are joined at the centre of the weapon, forming a grip which is the thickest part of the bow. The simple difference in the size of the shoulders in the Onge bow now

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becomes more complex; the upper horn is more pointed than the lower, and there is a difference between the upper and lower halves of the bow, as it is necessary to prevent the loops of the strings slipping on the bow. The bow string is made not from *Ficus* bark, as in the Onge bow, but from thin *Anadendron* fibres, twisted together and waxed with beeswax; it has the usual loop at each end, and the bow is strung with the help of the foot as in the simpler version. When strung, this type of bow becomes S-shaped as a result of the variations in elasticity arising from the spear-shape of the two halves, but when drawn it assumes the normal shape. The fact that it is easier to draw an S-bow than a single-curve one, without any loss of propulsive force, is an interesting mechanical point.

The bows are only strung when required for use, and in the normal way neither they nor the arrows are ever seen by outsiders; they disappear up into the roof of the communal hut, or into the bushes round the temporary camps. Even with friendly Onges I had to ask specifically to see them, or surprise their owners out hunting.

The external influences to which the Semang and Aetà have been subjected have been strong enough to make them to a large extent forget their original form of bow, which has however survived alongside a large number of cultural inovations. The differences, for example, between the upper and lower extremities of both bow and string have persisted, and the shoulder-and-neck stop (although this is now made by notching the bow-stave deeply) so that we may reasonably assume that a close study of the Onge bow will give us the essential characteristic of a very ancient form of the weapon. The greatest modification to the original form is the one which has been made on North Andaman, and in an attempt to improve the effect of separate curving of the two sections selected trees are deliberately trained for the purpose, the cut wood being seasoned slowly over heat and smoke, paying particular care to the parts which will take the greatest strain. As a result the 'give' in the bow is markedly increased. But even here no fundamental alteration has been made in the design of the weapon.

The Onge bow, therefore, represents the forerunner of the somewhat more highly evolved type (now dying out with their owners) on Great Andaman, and adds further support to the evidence for

174 the arrival of the Negritos in the Andamans from the south; yet
184 more evidence is provided by the Onge arrows. In the Andamans
411 there are two types of arrows, those used for fish, and those for game, the latter also being used against human targets.

184 The same arrows are found throughout the archipelago, con-
411 firming a common origin. Only the dimensions vary from one area to another and that only very slightly; the Onges have both the biggest fishing arrows, and the biggest arrow harpoons, and the Arioto the smallest. In the past the islanders used arrows with from two to four points for fish, but I was unable to find any traces of them; those picked up on North Sentinel some years ago were possibly the last to be made.

411 The fishing arrow of the Andamans is made basically from the small native bamboo. The Onges remove the knots by scraping
[322] them down gradually with *Cyrena* shells, and then cut off a length
[237] varying between seventy centimetres and about one metre. Into one end they fix securely a hardwood stick, fifteen to twenty centi-
[178] metres long. This foreshaft takes the head, now nearly always iron, but in the past made of wood, fish spines or pig bone. In the kitchen-middens I also found heads made out of shaped pieces of *Tridacna*. The three parts of the arrow are then bound together with very thin waxed fibres, wound carefully round and round, great care being taken to prevent the bamboo shaft splitting where the foreshaft is forced in. The completed arrow finishes up 1–1·15 metres long overall. The head is barbed, to hold the fish once it is hit; to get it out the whole arrow has to be pulled through. Sometimes, but not always, the shaft has a notch in it, to take the cord, care being taken to make the notch never more than two centimetres from any knot, to avoid any possibility of the shaft splitting. Alternatively, splits are prevented by binding waxed thread tightly round the shaft.

The hunting arrow, or arrow harpoon, is an intelligent adaptation, the result of acute observation of wild life, and is more complicated than the fishing arrow which is intended only to pierce the
411 victim. The hunting arrow must not only score a hit, it must also
224 prevent the animal from escaping into the undergrowth and force it to reveal its position. The harpoon holds the victim cruelly and securely, and the excruciating pain caused by the drag of the cord forces the animal to reveal its position by its cries of agony. The

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screams of a wild boar can be heard for hundreds of metres, drawing the hunters in from all sides, eager to take it alive. If it proves to be a large male, whose tusks can inflict appalling injuries, the hunters kill it at once with a spear or with a third type of arrow which has a long fixed head. This type of arrow, which does not differ greatly from those found in other parts of the world, is still used by some of the Andamanese against human enemies.

The shaft of the arrow harpoon is made preferably from *Tetranthera lancifolia*, very common all over the archipelago. The wood for the shafts has to be straight, very slender at one end, where a notch is cut half a centimetre deep to take the cord, and a little thicker at the other, which is hollowed out for about one centimetre to take the head of the weapon. Splitting of the wood at the ends is, as usual, prevented by binding the shaft with *gnetum* fibres, twisted into thread and waxed with beeswax.

The efficiency of the harpoon depends on the double-strand cord, extremely strong, made from *Hibiscus* fibres. One end is fixed on to the shaft, five centimetres from the point at which the foreshaft enters it, and the other to the foreshaft, two centimetres from the base, with a thirty-two centimetre loop of cord between the two fixings.

The harpoon blade, now made of iron, is eleven centimetres long and spear-shaped, ending in a series of barbs. The haft of the blade is bound tightly on to the short foreshaft, also eleven centimetres long, which is scraped thin at the end so that the haft can be bound on smoothly. The complete weapon mounted for use is about eighty-eight centimetres long overall in the Onges and Jarawas, and slightly shorter, about sixty-five centimetres, in the Arioto.

To prepare the harpoon for use the slack of the cord is wound firmly round the shaft, and the foreshaft with the blade attached is forced in. As the harpoon strikes, the shaft becomes detached and the victim, firmly held by the barbed arrow head, drags it along on the end of the cord until it catches in the undergrowth and holds the animal fast.

There is little difference between the arrow harpoons of Little Andaman and Great Andaman, and what difference there is affects only the dimensions, the type of cord, and the form of the barbs. The basic principle remains the same wherever it is found; all the Negritos, including the Semang and Aetà still use it, although these

171 184 411 two have added feathers, and poisoned tips, in imitation of neighbouring peoples.

184 411 114 22 [484] For the capture of large fish and animals such as turtles, dolphins and dugong, the Onges and Arioto use not the arrow harpoon but the spear harpoon. Brown saw none of these among the Onges he studied in Rutland, and consequently assumed its absence on Little Andaman. The Onges carry as little as possible on their sea voyages for the sake of speed, and would not therefore take spear harpoons (used only for marine hunting) with them on trips to Rutland, which they visit only for the purpose of hunting pigs and not to fish, or to hunt marine animals. They certainly have, and use, spear harpoons even today; I myself have been with the Onges and seen their harpoons used from the canoes. I had ample opportunity to admire both the effectiveness of the weapons and the accuracy of the throwers.

411 [283] [824] The greater structural and operational simplicity of the spear harpoon, in comparison with the arrow harpoon, leads one to suppose it the older of the two. Its cord is made of tough *Hibiscus* fibres, and with the aid of these and a straight shaft about six metres long and little over four centimetres in diameter, even the humblest of nails, seven centimetres long and three millimetres in diameter, can become the point of a spear harpoon. It is fixed into the shaft (usually of mangrove wood) which is hollowed out at the thinner end to take it, and with a cord up to a hundred metres long or more attached to the nail two centimetres from the head, the spear harpoon is ready for use – shaft, point and cord.

411 225 When the harpoon is to be used for turtles, no barbs are needed, as the point is driven so firmly into the shell that blocks of wood have to be carried in the canoes to knock it out for re-use.

The harpoon throwers stand ready on the platform jutting out fore and aft of the canoes (see p. 122), the free end of the cord is tied to one of the booms to prevent it being jerked out of the canoe as the victim tries to escape, and the slack is coiled in the bottom of the canoe. The thrower holds the cord against the harpoon as he waits for the right moment and then throws. As the harpoon strikes, the point detaches from the shaft, which floats on the water till picked up – often to be used as a punt-pole in the shallow waters of the coral reefs as the canoe follows the victim, now held firmly on the end of the cord.

166 All the evidence points to this being far more than mere supposi-
[174] tion and even today the Onges persist in their tendency to expand towards the north. In 1953 I could find no trace of a number of Onges whom I had known in 1952; the others told me they were all 'dead', but it seems probable that they had migrated to the islands further north. And in 1954 nearly all the canoes belonging to the communal huts in the south-west of Little Andaman, which I had seen in 1953, had vanished and were said to have gone with the 'dead'. It is probable that they too had migrated to Great Andaman, becoming 'Jarawas'.

166 This is physically quite possible. Between Little Andaman and
484 Great Andaman the Onges have a line of transit camps, still in use,
[485] where food and water are easily available. All have a name, and I
[501] followed the line myself. With the help of their fragile but very fast canoes, and without carrying food or water (which they know will be available at the next transit camp), they can travel very quickly.
[372] They take fire with them in the canoes in the form of a burning torch and while they are at sea, unlike the lazy pace of their normal attitude to life, they seem possessed by the desire to reach the next stopping point on terra firma.

174 Moreover, one may deduce from the fact that the names of these
166 transit camps are all in the Onge language that the migrations have always been from south to north. Little Andaman, formed as it is mainly of coral banks and only projecting a short way above the sea, disappears from view in the tropical mists a few kilometres from the shore; from Rutland it is invisible, and as the Andamanese only travel by sea with land in sight or when its existence and direction is well known, no one from the north would have dared to travel south into the unknown.

We have already seen that the ignorance of the present-day Jarawas as regards the sea is no bar to a hypothesis of their original
[175] arrival in Great Andaman by sea. Colebrook, a hundred and fifty
[501] years ago, actually saw them with canoes, and Gilbert Rogers[1]
[178] recorded seeing canoes on the coasts of North Sentinel very similar to those of the Onges today. The accumulation, therefore, of this
[184] evidence and the general similarity of culture throughout the archipelago all adds up to inescapable conclusions.

000 Even the unique dances enjoyed by the Onges are to be seen

[113] [1] *Andaman and Nicobar Gazettier*, 2 January 1904.

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Even the unique dances enjoyed by the Onges are to be seen among the Jarawas, with the characteristic marking of the rhythm by slapping the calves against the buttocks. This does not seem to have been a feature of the Arioto dances, in which the rhythm was by the *pukuta yumnga*, a kind of convex shield made of the very hard and aromatic red wood (*Pterocarpus dalbergoides*) which the termites never seem to attack. I was able to obtain one of these shields, the last that the twenty-three surviving Arioto possessed and the only musical instrument in the islands. It is played by one man with his feet, while the dancers, male and female, form lines on each side of him a short distance away. Before use the convex face is decorated with lines of white ochre and chains of tusk shells are hung from a hole at the end opposite to the one on which the player's feet beat; from the same hole runs a cord, which he holds in his hand to prevent the instrument moving away from him as he beats. The players change from time to time as the dancers shuffle on and on for hours in the light of the resin torches. But apart from the instrument itself, the rhythmic hand-clapping and the dancers singing in unison are the same throughout the Andamans.

The women clap their hands in rhythm, and then slap one thigh with the open palm of one hand, the other hand clasping the wrist, singing all the time. The men dance in Indian file, beating the ground first with the right heel, then with the left, the toes barely raised from the ground, moving a short way forward each time. As they dance they lean forward, then with hands clasped and their fingers interlaced. There are variations, but the basic step is always the same.

One difference between the Onges and the Jarawas is that in the latter both sexes are naked, while the Onge women have in recent times adopted the *naquineghe* or apron. Complete nudity was a characteristic of all the Negritos, including the Semang and Aetà, and the Jarawa migrations probably took place before the introduction of the *naquineghe*.

The present inability of the three peoples to understand each other is more a question of pronunciation than of difference in actual words. To examine the question fully it would be necessary to collect a large number of words and analyse their affinity; meanwhile we know that despite their inability to understand each other there is a close resemblance between the language of the Jarawas and Sentinellese and that of the Onges. Strict isolation can lead to

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completely lost the art of building them, probably by the same mechanism as the Jarawas, that is as a result of isolation in forest areas. The Semang sometimes prepare hasty bamboo rafts when they want to cross a river, however, and there do appear to be a few canoes among groups of Aetà living along the coasts. Facility of contact with neighbouring areas has brought about modification in both peoples, especially in the course of the last hundred years, whereas the complete isolation of the Andamans cannot be overstressed.

These later contacts, however, have not yet destroyed the ancient physical and cultural habits of the Semang and Aetà. The food of those who have remained nomadic in the forest still consists of roots, fruit, and whatever they can get by hunting and fishing. Some have certainly recently tended to settle, and have adopted a rude form of agriculture, but the rest have remained as primitive as the peoples of the Andamans, using digging sticks to get at the edible roots, and hooked sticks to get at the fruits on the trees. They do have axes with blades (now made of iron) which can split open tree-trunks to get at the honey inside or, when hafted on the end of a stick, to hollow out trunks to make vessels and clean off the exterior. But again, their bows and arrows, very similar to the ancient pattern, still remain their chief means of acquiring food.

The Negritos of Malacca and the Philippines make baskets, some of which are clearly copied from neighbouring peoples, while others correspond to the basketwork of the Andamans. The Onges, the finest of the Andaman basket workers, have two types of basket, one intended to last and one made purely for some temporary purpose. When they are on hunting or gathering trips outside Little Andaman they will hastily construct roughly made carriers for whatever they find. Anyone who saw, for example, these rough baskets on Rutland would assume reasonably enough that the Onge baskets are inferior to those of the peoples of Great Andaman, but in fact these purely temporary carriers, intended to be thrown away after their immediate use, are extremely well made. They are plaited over a frame of solid reeds, about two and a half centimetres in diameter, and split in half longways. The split reeds are arranged and tied in a star position to give the base and then bent upwards, the ends being joined to a circle of split reed, which forms the rim of the basket. Long ribbons of bark stripped from

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They have neither incantations, amulets nor propitiating signs to help them. Even the *marque de chasse* found on their arrow heads had no major significance; in all probability they merely served to indicate the best arrow and at most they served as a warning to the womenfolk not to touch them (it is interesting that I never saw any woman or child with a bow or an arrow). But this is as far as they go towards superstition, and its only effect is to enhance the division of duties between the sexes. 227 789 [982]

The Onges, unlike the Jarawas and Arioto, have never lost the art of canoe making, and the building of a new canoe is an important matter. The selected tree, always one of the three species of *Sterculia*, is felled and then hollowed out slowly and laboriously with a rudimentary form of hatchet, the work often being done by one man alone. The weight of the felled trunk makes it necessary for the work to be done where it falls, but after much patient whittling away the resulting canoe is extremely light, with thin walls, though still not light enough to be carried to the water, never far away. A series of short logs are used as rollers in the age-old way and the builder's friends all gather to help clear a way through the undergrowth and prepare the rollers. Only a few are needed; all is soon ready and the Onges watch delightedly as the canoe glides away down to the shore. These canoe-ways often provided me with an easy path to the sea if I came upon them in the forest. Sometimes they led not to shore but to one of the many creeks, where salt water and marine fauna penetrate miles inland and make it easy for the Onges to launch their canoes from a point far from the sea. 396 [184] [824] [483]

The Onge canoe, hollowed out in one piece, is a survival of the ancient canoes of the Neolithic age, found in Switzerland and elsewhere in Europe. It survives in the Andamans, and through Oceania to the Americas, in northern Asia (notably among the Ainu) in south-west Asia, and even in south-east Africa. 501 171

The canoe has no distinction between bow and stern, and is commonly navigated from either. At each end of the canoe a crude platform juts out, on which the harpoon throwers stand. Very careful attention is paid to the float, which is fragile, and is therefore kept on the lee side. The object of it is to prevent the canoe from capsizing, which it is otherwise very liable to do owing to its round keel, always left in the natural shape of the tree-trunk. I had some experiences of rough seas in one of these canoes 501

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501 – I saw the float roll over my head and the entire contents of the canoe, men and cargo alike, rolled out into the water. The Onges regard this as a great joke; the canoe cannot sink, it is easily righted, and they have neither clothes nor baggage, so why worry? But even so, their canoes are far more stable in the water than any European-type craft of the same size.

When the sea is rough the Onges all move to the side of the canoe which carries the float and one lies out on the float itself to prevent it from rising out of the water as the trunk rolls. Very light waves will swamp the canoe, but it never sinks, as the float always remains on the surface, with the occupants of the canoe clinging to it. I had to do this myself on several occasions, while the Onges dived after all my baggage in great glee.

All over the world local craft are always the best adapted to local conditions. Several times I was able to land on Little Andaman in stormy weather only by leaving a modern sloop for the Onges' frail craft, identical with those in which they reached and spread over the archipelago in ancient times.

So important are their canoes to the Onges that they will expend what is for them an enormous amount of time and energy in choosing the right tree and removing the branches and the lianas twining round it. Then they wait with (for them) quite extraordinary patience for the scars to heal and become watertight before they fell the tree and begin the real work of making the canoe.

[184] On Little Andaman the single outrigger canoe is the only craft used. On Great Andaman the Jarawas, who lost the art of canoe-building during their centuries of enforced hiding in the forests, only put together very primitive rafts, hastily constructed when they have to cross a creek or a river, and then abandoned on the far side to the termites.

These rafts are merely a number of tree-trunks laid side by side and bound together with lianas and *Ficus* bark. I have seen them lying abandoned on Middle Andaman and in 1938 one was taken by the police on the occasion of the capture of three Jarawa children. Extremely roughly made, these rafts are never taken out to sea, but in recent years they have been enough to encourage the spread of the Jarawas towards North Andaman.

Among the few surviving Negritos on North Sentinel the Onge

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type of canoe is the only craft seen. I saw some hauled up on the beach, identical with the ones I had seen the Onges building, even to the *Nautilus* shell as a baler. In face of this and other evidence there can be little doubt that the people of North Sentinel are descended from the Onges, possibly driven off course by some storm, and then isolated on the island.

The Arioto, copying Indian and Burmese craft, have in recent times come to modify the original canoe somewhat, deepening the gunwales and doing away with the float. The result is a craft which though it remains small is unlikely to fill with water in heavy seas. But even the Arioto prefer the single outrigger canoe for sea voyages.

The only real seafarers, however, are the Onges, who make regular hunting trips as far as Rutland. In the past they sometimes made devastating raids as far as Car, but these have died out over the past hundred years as their numbers have dwindled. There is certainly no doubt that at one time the Onges undertook considerable sea voyages in canoes the same as they build today.

The work involved in the building of these canoes is, as I have said, enormous. The preparatory work on the tree, and then the felling, are hard enough without proper equipment. I gave my Onge friends some long-handled wood-cutter's axes, to help in this part of the work. In their enthusiasm they chopped so hard they soon broke the handles and chipped some of the tempered blades, so that I had to take them to Port Blair for repair! But the real work begins with the working of the felled trunk. Then a small and very crude form of hatchet[1] has to be used, flaking off small strips like a plane; fire is never used to assist in the process. Fortunately the *Sterculia* wood usually chosen is soft.

The original shape is not touched after the required length, calculated so as to allow for the harpoon-thrower's platform at each end, has been cut. The irregularities of the trunk are left intact, so that the canoes look distorted and even ugly despite their seaworthiness. During the preliminary stage of stripping the bark great care is taken not to chip the outer ring of wood immediately below the bark; this is smooth and fine-grained, and more waterproof than the inner layers. One danger is that as the wood dries

[1] The blades used to be made from *Tridacna* shell, but in more recent times they have come to be made of iron from wrecked ships cast up on the beaches.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

136 many smaller ones, all good to eat. Near my base camp at Labanar,
[222] the men caught sackfuls of them, and I found young ones near the communal hut at Togalanghe.

There a rocky path winds down to the banks of the river Tciongarè (or Chongaree) to the south of the camp. In various places, where the path levels out, black muddy water collects into pools full of rotting leaves, lying on a bed of ooze and slime. In these pools, which appear and dry up again very quickly, I was surprised to catch a number of *silurides*. When it rains heavily, however, the pools link and join up with the river where the fish live, so that as the water disappears again any fish which have entered the pools are prevented from returning to the river, and are left lying in the slime as the water evaporates. These silurides have no gills, and are equipped instead with nostrils of an unusual type; from the nostrils protrude two cylindrical tubes, half a centimetre long in fish fifteen centimetres long, the same blackish colour as the rest of the body. The tail and the long dorsal fin are yellowish, and the long ventral fin running from the anus to the tail is whitish. There are two large lateral pectoral fins, with two very small ones between them. The eyes are large, starting out of the head like tiny glass domes. Very unfortunately a number of specimens which I had most carefully preserved were lost in transit from Port Blair to Calcutta, when some of my baggage, including the crabs and a collection of face masks of Nicobarese which had cost me a great deal of trouble, mysteriously disappeared *en route*.

136 The Onges do not eat eels,[1] which they regard as snakes, but they
262 several times brought me examples of a very fine freshwater eel
226 whose presence on Little Andaman I had not suspected. The Onges caught them, as they do all fish, with their bows and arrows. All weighed over half a kilogram and looked and tasted like European eels.

136 The eel of the Andamans, like those of Europe and America, has a long, almost cylindrical body and a single fin which begins on the back, circles the tail, and ends under the body just in front of the anus. There is also a pair of strong pectoral fins. The head distinguishes it from other eels, its rounded snout and wide mouth being

[184] [1] The Arioso, however, eat eels, and also mice and other small animals, although food is given to them by the Governor in return for police duties. Brown also refers to the eating of snakes and mice on Great Andaman.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Queensland and (as the Cape Bedford type) elsewhere. Oars, 171
method of fixing the booms and float – all are similar throughout 501
the area, including the Andamans.

Even game, once caught, is treated and distributed similarly by 171
these peoples, from the Andamans to Oceania. Cooking is done 252
without salt, in earth ovens (whether or not fire or red-hot stones 224
are used) very different from those of Africa and America. The 263
Semang and Aetà of today know how to make fire by friction, as 171
do the peoples of New Guinea, Australia and Polynesia; the Tas- 372
mans also have the knowledge to do so, but prefer to carry burning logs with them on their journeys, like the Andamanese. In certain parts of New Guinea and perhaps in some of the Pacific islands (as in the Andamans) the art of fire-making was unknown or possibly forgotten until recent times; it is said that the Papuans of the Bay of Astralobius knew nothing of the art until the middle of the nineteenth century. But the only sure information comes from the Andamans, where, whether through ignorance or loss of knowledge, the art of fire-making is unknown and fire is always carried everywhere.

Among the objects typical of the Andamans and found also 171
among the Semang, the Aetà, and other Oceanic peoples are the 412
digging stick and the crude hatchet. The former, used for gathering edible roots and tubers, is merely a pointed stick, but every family possesses one. The hatchet is slightly more elaborate, having both handle and blade, and like the digging stick, occurs always in virtually the same form.[1] Objects woven from vegetable fibres are 28
also very similar in appearance – often very durable and sometimes 714
pleasing by any standards. In some places woven breast-plates are 784
used in warfare, but here the Jarawas differ, using single sheets of bark.

These are but a few of the many examples which one can find of 171
this striking similarity between these widely separated peoples. And alongside cultural similarities there exist others, anthropo- 14
logical and physical, which cannot be overlooked. Physically the

[1] This is simply a cutting tool fixed into a natural elbow in a suitable branch. The blade is fixed into the wood near the elbow, and the branch is cut off, so as to leave a short handle. The whole thing is reminiscent of a swan's head on a long neck, and is easily turned into a crude plane or adze by revolving the blade in the haft through a right angle.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

kitchen-middens to have been contemporaneous with the introduction of the pig, i.e. to have been introduced by outsiders. It would be possible, using radio carbon methods, to calculate this date more accurately, but on purely archaeological evidence the introduction of pottery would appear to have occurred some five thousand years ago.

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8 ABSENCE OF CANNIBALISM

If we may accept the evidence of the kitchen-middens, there has never at any time been cannibalism in the Andamans, although the practice certainly existed in the later Palaeolithic era; the Andamanese must thus have been isolated in the archipelago long before the practice became widespread.

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9 DRINK

The Andamanese ignorance of any drink other than water may be regarded as additional evidence of the great antiquity of their culture.

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10 ABSENCE OF CLOTHING

The Jarawas of both sexes have always remained completely naked. The Onges have only in comparatively recent times adopted a form of genital covering for their womenfolk; this custom has spread as far as the north of Great Andaman, and it seems probable that the separation of the Jarawas from the Onges dates from this time.

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11 ABSENCE OF TATTOOING

All primitive peoples who are habitually completely naked adorn the body in some way. The Onges have never progressed beyond the early stage of painting themselves with ochre, and do not tattoo. Their sole ornaments are small necklaces of tusk shells, strips of bark, and sometimes flowers. In all this they resemble the Tasmans (see, however, p. 143 for certain important differences), who seem to have remained in an equally early stage of cultural development.

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12 TOTEMISM AND THE CLAN

Here again the complete absence of any traces appears to indicate isolation before the spread of these very ancient concepts. Neither the Onges nor the Jarawas have ever progressed beyond the stage of independent groups of families.

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dead were buried securely bound in a knee-to-chest position, still the custom among the Andamanese). The Onges go no further than this and the idea of a Lord of the Spirits who rules all things, although on Great Andaman there has been some progress towards more anthropomorphic concepts. The complete absence of any form of cult, prayer, representation, or votive offering cannot, I feel, be the result of cultural decline from a more advanced age; this would have resulted in gross distortion and illogical superstition, but not in complete absence of any 'religious' practices of any kind.

18 SACRIFICE

No sacrifices of any kind are practised in the Andamans, nor is there any concept of propitiation, although there is evidence that even in the late Palaeolithic era some form of ritual sacrifice was practised, at least in Europe and probably over a much wider area. One would assume from this, and from paragraph 17 above, that the Andamanese is an even older culture.

19 TABOOS

Although my own experiences among the Onges have led me to think that taboos do not exist, some authors have asserted (in my view wrongly) their existence on Great Andaman. It is not, however, possible to draw any reliable conclusions on this point.

20 CEREMONIAL

The complete absence of any form of ritual surrounding birth, the purification of women, initiation, etc., or evidence of any such ritual in the past, is striking, in view of the prevalence in all the surrounding areas of strictly observed ceremonial for many occasions. As in the case of religion, such complete absence can only mean that the Andamanese became isolated before the idea of ritual spread to the area.

21 MEASUREMENT

The Andamanese have no means of counting, and no words to express gradations of time or size; to them everything is either 'small' or 'big'. They take no interest in the passing of years, and have no idea of their own age. To them life is but the passing of the seasons and the harvests of game and fish and fruits that they bring. This utter lack of any sense

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

312 caracases of small animals. During the droughts, marine hermit crabs, of
271 which a profusion is found in Little Andaman even far from the sea-shore,
[196] often choose to die in fresh-water pools. They are not removed from the pools.
[415] A nautilus shell is sometimes used as a drinking vessel ; failing this, the Onge lap up the water like animals, on all fours, directly from the pool. Since they are
[516] very fond of dogs, man and dog drink together from the same tiny pool, often holding no more than a few pints of water. Dogs reached Great Andaman as
231 early as 1857 ; they came to Little Andaman much later. Before that time there were no dogs in the Andamanese Archipelago. They soon became the natives' cherished and much appreciated assistants in the hunting of wild pigs. Many unhygienic habits followed the appearance of dogs in the Andamans.

271 The Onge have no idea of boiling water for the purpose of disinfection ;
[47] nevertheless their health does not appear to suffer at all as a result of the pol-
123 luted water they drink. When, in 1952, I dug a well near the left bank of Dugong Creek on the north-east coast of Little Andaman, I was compelled to fence it in so as to prevent dogs from drinking it and bathing in it.

264 Dogs lick everything that smells of food, including the cooking pots,
[281] and the pots are not washed before use after the dogs have licked them.
[136] Swarms of flies of different species and small coleoptera of a brilliant blue colour, one of them 6 mms long, follow the dogs after they have "cleaned" the pots by licking them. They line the inside of the pots with a crawling, living coat, moving restlessly around in search of food. One species of fly, which is of a brilliant, metallic green colour, has a peculiarly disagreeable smell. All the flies lay eggs while feeding, but the eggs are soon devoured by the hovering bluish coleoptera. Thus in a few hours all traces of organic matter disappear from the pots. Subsequent exposure to fire undoubtedly destroys the germs that would otherwise be certainly dangerous to human beings.

415 The Onge no longer use indigenous pottery for cooking. Its disappearance
177 is recent, as the sherds that litter Little Andaman prove to the investigator.
[323] Excavation in modern kitchen-middens leads to the same conclusion. During the last war, quantities of empty petrol drums were washed up on the Andaman shores. They were found in such numbers that the Onge have not yet used them all up : after 1952 I found several of these containers abandoned, untouched, in the jungle. The primitive inhabitants sawed each container in two cylindrical halves, thus transforming them into cooking pots. The result was that within a few years the fragile ancestral pottery of the Onge disappeared altogether. Furthermore, aluminium pots were distributed among the natives after 1952. Probably the indigenous pottery will never again reappear.
[252] Each half of a petrol drum is large enough to contain a pig, or a turtle weighing 150 lbs, cut into pieces. Only the flesh of these animals is consumed by the
262 Onge ; the nourishing broth is poured out onto the ground or left in the pot
[231] to be lapped up by the dogs. The Onge believe that broth is unhealthy and avoid drinking it.

251 No matter how prodigious the catch of sardines or other fish, unobtain-
[185] able at other times of the year, no attempt is made at storing part of it in view of future shortage. The Onge are unacquainted with methods for preserv-

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

approximate estimate of the output of the different types of timber is given below. 313 433

Annual yield — 675,000 tons,

Padauk — 7000 tons, Garjan — 28,0000 tons, White Dhup — 21,000 tons, Papita — 28,000 tons, Koko — 500 tons, White Chuglam — 7,000 tons, Black Chuglam — 2,500 tons, Pyinma — 1,500 tons, Badam — 11,000 tons, Didu — 7,000 tons and others — 14,000 tons.

Source: Chengapa, B. S.—The Andaman forests and their development; Census of India, 1951, Volume XVII, Andaman & Nicobar Islands by A. K. Ghosh.

The limitations in the exploitation of the forest resources of the Andamans are not few. The problems faced upto 1934-35 were primarily because of the inefficient methods in the extraction of timber and absence of due attention in the regeneration of the forests. Previously the exploitation was confined only to the coastal areas because of the easy accessibility, but the vast tracts of rich resources in the interior remained virtually untapped in the absence of any economic device. The construction of an experimental tramline in the Rangat valley, however, proved successful. The regeneration of the forests was also little cared for. The new plantations hardly exceeded 100 acres though the exploitation was widespread over large areas. Improvements in the line of regeneration were discernible since the year 1932 and marked improvements were brought about by the year 1936-37. According to this new device, the old crop is removed in two or more successive fellings allowing nature to do the sowing. 313 185

However, some of the limiting factors in the exploitation, transportation and marketing of the forest products are given below. 313 433

(1) The selection of the forests for exploitation is made from a very vague idea and proper surveys are hardly undertaken to realise the actual conditions in the fields which really happen to be quite different from theoretical speculations. It is found that many forests specially in the North Andaman are yet to be explored. Hence the insufficiency of knowledge regarding the forests has made the proper selections of the actual spots of exploitation an impossibility.

(2) The forest working in many regions have to be abandoned because of the seasonal water-supply.

(3) The trees in the forests do not occur in pure stands and hence random felling operations are done irrespective of the type of trees. It is estimated that the total wastage of timber in the Andaman forests is approximately 1 crore of rupees in value.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

161 evil and are allowed to work such ravages upon life and health of people
177 whose resistance level has already gone quite low.[2] Such a loss of interest in life is common to many of the aboriginal population. The aboriginal population of the Andamans have also been victimised to it and only in one century the aborigines of the Great Andaman Group have almost been wiped out and the Jarawas, in spite of their isolation, have been undergoing considerable decay. The Onges are also suffering, from stagnation and decay. There has been the addiction to some of the social poisons e.g. tobacco, alcohol, etc.

The causes of decay of the aboriginal population of the Andamans may be summed up as being the followings:

1. Diseases;

2. Murder of the aborigines by the later settlers, especially the bombardment of the Japanese in the Jarawa infested areas have resulted in a virtual decline of the tribe;

3. Little productive capacity of the aboriginal women.

The sex-ratio in the case of the Onges is quite balanced and therefore, the sex-ratio is not a factor for the decline of the aboriginal population but very little productive capacity of the aboriginal population is undoubtedly a major factor of their decline and it has already been discussed.

178 As regards the material life, however satisfied the aboriginal population may be with their poor lot, it is in most primitive form and the only materials that they have in possession are for earning their livelihood. Cultural aspect is also desiccated with a dearth of richness. No evolution has, however, been observed for deriving much more material comforts and the aborigines with their hard struggle for life hardly find any time to develop their thinking which can lead to a betterment of their cultural and material life.

THE FUTURE

185 These aboriginal population have so far shown little urge for improving their own lot and in the absence of such attempts, the chances of their
CCO betterment as well as survival is a far cry. The only means of improving their lot seems to be possible through the efforts of the Government. The attempts for bringing the aborigines in a short period within the folds of an advanced economy and society have proved futile and contrary to it, the attempts of segregating the aboriginal population, as done in the

2 Nigam, R. C.—Little known tribes of the Andaman Islands—Their problems & prospects; Vol. VIII, April, 1960, No. 2.

222 784 776 824 twining up into the trees, and the shorter-stemmed yams, are never disturbed. The Onges merely dig down, at a respectful distance from the plant, certain of finding what they want. On no account must there be any signs of the theft for the spirit to see, so they quietly take off roots or tubers some way from the main stem and leave the rest, patting the earth down afterwards and covering the place with leaves. The guardian spirit, not, apparently, all-seeing, notices nothing, as the plant continues to flourish, improved by the root pruning. Everyone, guardian spirit and Onges alike, is happy.

[185] [114] This unconscious preservation may well be the result of a decree, in some remote past, by an Onge seer who realized the danger of killing off the entire plants and invented the guardian spirits as a deterrent. The Negritos still make similar use of roots and tubers; [191] Skeet and Blagden fifty years ago referred to the Semang eating poisonous wild yams, having removed the toxic substances.[1]

241 194 It is interesting that both in the past and even today a number of peoples at a very early stage of cultural development have progressed from the gathering of the wild yams of South-East Asia to the first signs of cultivation and agriculture. It is possible that they were the first plants ever to be cultivated by primitive Man, the Negritos with their digging sticks delving then as they do now; the genus is certainly a very ancient one, and some species, such as *Dioscorea alata*, may have spread from Asia to Africa and Oceania, and even to America, with the beginning of cultivation. But this is a stage of development which the peoples of the Andaman never reached.

412 [177] [222] The digging stick, the only implement the Onges have with which to get at the roots and tubers, has in recent times been affected, though to a very limited extent by the spread of iron. Only a few individuals possess a primitive iron tool, half a metre long, cylindrical in shape and usually not more than one and a half centimetres in diameter and flattened into a form of blade at one end. The vast majority still have only the age-old stick made of hard wood, hardly recognizable as a tool and crudely fashioned into a point at one end. This tool, so primitive that it can easily be mistaken for an odd

[1] It is interesting that the American Aborigines, especially in Brazil, do the same with manioc, but I saw nothing of this nature in the Andamans.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

This tool, so primitive that it can easily be mistaken for an old piece of wood, has definite uses, and none of the nomadic forest peoples anywhere in the world are without it. Everywhere it is found it is effective in filling huge baskets with food – baskets equally simply and equally quickly made. I have already described (see p. 93) the baskets made by the Onges for purely temporary use on their hunting expeditions. In the communal huts, however, the making of real baskets involves hours of careful plaiting, working the supple fibres from the strong bark of selected rushes, and expert finishing. These baskets are an invariable and prized part of every family's inheritance and are preserved for as long as possible. Nowhere in the collection of basketry from Great Andaman are there baskets with more craftsmanship than the permanent ones of the Onges.[1] All the baskets are the shape of half an egg. There is little variation in size, all being about forty centimetres in diameter at the top, and about forty-five centimetres deep, unlike the temporary carriers, which vary considerably in size, according to whether they are to be carried by men, women, or even children, and what is to be carried.

At the opposite extreme from the underground harvest of roots, men and women alike use long thin hooked poles to hook down fruit from the trees, climbing up into the trees when necessary to strip the highest branches and then hiding the poles in the forest until they are next required (no attempt is ever made to carry them about). When the tree is not too large, it is ruthlessly chopped down and stripped as it lies on the ground. I was horrified in the first fortnight of April to see this happen to trees which the Onges call *dangbecciò*, which bear blackish-red fruit about the size of a pigeon's egg. The attraction is the flavour of the pulp, but there is little of it, surrounding a large nut. To get at the pulp a thick, hard case has to be cracked, but to the formidable Onge teeth this is no problem and the case cracks comparatively easily. The nut itself is not edible; the honey-coloured pulp is sweetish, but there is so little that it takes ten fruits to provide ten grams of it. The fruits hang in bunches at the end of branches covered with leaves rather like a chestnut. As the wood is very soft, the Onges usually hack the trees down; large ones may merely have their branches lopped

[1] Editor's note: The author indicated in manuscript at this point his intention of giving a full description of the way in which these are made, but unfortunately died before he was able to do so.

222 off, so that they may eventually recover, although they may take several years to do so.

The fruit they gather most, however, is the *bulundanghe*, a wild form of the so-called jack-fruit. This ripens a little later than the *dangheccio* at the end of April, and is the occasion of intense activity. Men, women and children swarm to the harvest, returning to the camp loaded every night. When fully ripe the *bulundanghe* fall open if rubbed between the fingers. I found the pulp very pleasant, but the seeds need the Onge stomach to cope with them. They would [185] in fact be suitable for storage over long periods as they do not seem to deteriorate, but the Onges would never think of this.

At no other time of year did I see so many baskets lying round the Onge camps, cast aside after use. As early as mid-March, impatient for the fruit, bitter but already fully grown to the size of a child's head, the Onges begin to strip the trees. When fully ripe the fruit are a yellowish-green, with a very wrinkled outer case, marked off as it were into tiny compartments, geometrical in shape, and mostly pentagonal. If one presses a finger on one of these it goes through into the fruit, which has the appearance of innumerable tiny cells, all separated by a membrane, each terminating in a seed at the central core of the fruit. The cells are an orange-yellow on the surface, becoming a very pale yellow inside when the pulp becomes softer. The seeds are covered by a sweetish orange skin, and are arranged regularly along the core, which is itself an extension of the stout, woody stalk.

The best parts to eat are the seeds and their sweetish skin. When the fruits are still unripe, sour, and hard, enormous quantities have to be gathered and carried to the camp where they are boiled until they are soft enough to open. The seeds are taken out and all the rest of the fruit is thrown away. When properly ripe, on the other hand, the seeds in their skins can be extracted on the spot, leaving the weight of the useless residue behind, lying in heaps under the tree. For eating, the skins are slit open with a *Cyrena* shell, the seeds [252] extracted, and the skins and seeds piled up separately on huge leaves. The leaves are then tied up with the usual cords of vegetable fibres, and the bags laid on hot ashes. The skins turn into a sticky paste, not bad tasting, and the roasted seeds are greatly improved to our taste, though still very indigestible.

[262] In April and May the Onges eat *bulundanghe* morning, noon and

802 805 or form of numerical evaluation is further support for the extremely low stage of cultural development at which they became isolated.

22 ART

302 531 532 When painting their bodies with ochre the Onges have no idea of symbolic representation, and use only geometrical designs. These invariably seem spontaneous, and in my view do not represent a degenerate form of some more highly evolved art, half forgotten over the centuries; in short, the 'artists' of the Andamans, with no conception of symbolism, are even today less advanced than their Palaeolithic counterparts.

23 DIGGING STICKS

172 412 In late Palaeolithic deposits, stones with holes in them have been found which correspond to those still in use among peoples such as the Bushmen, to add weight to their digging sticks. The absence even today of any form of weighted stick in the Andamans, where stone is plentiful, would appear to antedate the culture at least to early Palaeolithic.

24 HUNTING

224 172 [411] 229 177 The Onges still use the Palaeolithic throwing stick, although it is not their main hunting weapon. They have no idea of fixed traps, which must from the evidence have been known in Palaeolithic times, and it is hard to believe that a people so dependent upon hunting would have lost the art once it had been acquired. They have crude nets which the women use for fishing, but these are probably a comparatively recent introduction, which has arrived via the Nicobars.

25 DOMESTIC ANIMALS

231 174 The Andamanese have none, and this would seem to add weight to the evidence for their great antiquity.

26 ECONOMY

433 185 437 There is no economic system of any kind, and from the evidence available it is highly unlikely that even the most primitive form ever existed. There is no conception whatever of providing for tomorrow, or of any form of exchange or barter.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

When an Andamanese man or woman dies he or she becomes a spirit, i.e., a *Lau* or *Čauga*. The bones of a dead person, which are dug up after the flesh has decayed, are called *Lau ṭoi* in the North Andaman, *ṭoi* being the word for "bone." The skull is *Lau t'ęr-čo*, from the word *ęr-čo* meaning "head." Exactly similar terms are in use in *Aka-Bea*, the bones of a dead man being called *Čauga ta* (spirit bones). 775

The Andamanese relate legends, to be described in the next chapter, which concern the doings of mythical ancestors. As all Andamanese, when they die, become *Lau*, these ancestors are of course included under that term. They are often distinguished from the spirits of persons recently dead by being denoted as *Lau t'ęr-kuro*, from the word *ęr-kuro* meaning "big," and applied to human beings to denote importance of social position. Just as a man who occupies a prominent position in his tribe is called a "big" man (*ęr-kuro*), so the ancestors of the Andamanese legends are called "big" spirits. The *Aka-Bea* use a similar term, *Čauga tabaya*, to distinguish the ancestors from the spirits of ordinary persons.

The name *Lau* or *Čauga* is also applied by the Andamanese to the natives of India and Burma whom they see in the Penal Settlement of Port Blair. The *Aka-J̌eru* name for the Penal Settlement is *Lau-t'ara-nyu*, literally "the village of the spirits." At the present time the term *Lau* or *Čauga* is not applied to Europeans, who are generally spoken of in the North Andaman by the Hindustani word "sahib." Natives of the North Andaman told me that in former times (before 1875) they applied the term *Lau* to Europeans also not distinguishing them from other light-skinned aliens. The necessity for distinguishing between Asiatics, such as natives of India, and Europeans, has only arisen since they have come to have dealings with the Penal Settlement. 186 775

The term *Lau* is not applied by the Andamanese to aliens of their own race. Nor would it be applied, I believe, to men of other black races such as the African negro. I showed the natives photographs of Semang from the Malay Peninsula and also of natives of Africa and New Guinea, and in all cases they called them *J̌arawa*, that being the term applied by the Great

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

186 Andaman tribes to the natives of the Little Andaman. On the
775 other hand they called Polynesians *Lau*.

For many centuries the Andaman Islanders have been accustomed to see light-skinned men visit their shores in ships, Europeans, natives from the coasts of India, Burma and Malaya, and occasionally perhaps Chinese. To these aliens they gave the name of *Lau*, apparently regarding them as visitors from the only other world they knew of, the world of spirits[1]. The clothes that these "spirits" wore they called *Lau ot-julu*, the word *ot-julu* meaning "cold."

775 The spirits of the forest and the sea are believed to be generally invisible, but there are tales of men and women who have seen them, and their personal appearance is sometimes described. The descriptions vary considerably from one informant to another. One of the commonest statements is that they are light or white skinned. (The Andamanese vocabulary does not allow of any distinction between white and a light gray or a light shade of colour.) One man, however, said that the forest spirits are black (or dark), while the sea spirits are white (or light). I was told several times that the spirits have long hair and beards (the Andamanese having, as a rule, no beard, and their hair, being frizzy, never growing to any length). Their arms and legs are said to be abnormally long, while they have only small bodies. Though there is no uniformity in the way in which the natives describe the spirits of the jungle and the sea, there is a notable tendency to associate them with the grotesque, the ugly, and the fearful. There is a common belief that the spirits, both of the jungle and of the sea, carry about with them lights, which several men and women claim to have seen.

In reply to the question as to how the spirits of the forest and the sea originated, the natives all agree in saying that they are the spirits of dead men and women.

791 The jungle spirits live in a village (or villages) in the forest.
775 There is a belief that mortals wandering by themselves in the jungle have been captured by the spirits. Should the captive

[1] A similar custom is found in many savage tribes. Thus in many parts of Australia the aborigines call white men by the same name that they apply to the spirits of the dead.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

175 the most commanding localities in the fine harbour of Port-Blair, and reclaiming as far as possible the contiguous swamps, naturally led to much sickness, which was aggravated by various other circumstances, of which the following were doubtless the chief:—

1. Transportation of a large number of prisoners unfit either to withstand the climate or to perform the work required of them under the exceptional circumstances in which they were then placed.
2. Want of sufficient nitrogenous food.
3. Absence of a sanatarium for the recovery of invalids.
4. Employment of convict labour on works of every kind throughout the year without respect to the suitability of the season for those involving exposure to malarious influences, as evidenced by the mortality in the rains having about trebled that of the dry months.
5. Difficulties experienced by working parties in consequence of the harassing attacks of the aborigines.

The above facts being at length recognised as calling for stringent measures of reform, active remedial steps were at once taken by the then recently appointed Superintendent,[1] with the remarkable result that the death rate suddenly fell from 10·16 in 1867 to 3·9 in 1868, while an average of 1·6 in the five following years, during which vast clearings of jungle and other important works were accomplished, testified to the vigour and success with which the wise and considerate system which had been inaugurated was carried on.

619 186 Prior to the formation of our Settlement in 1858, and for some years after, it is clearly shown, from the early records of our relations with the aborigines, that extreme jealousy and distrust prevailed among adjacent tribesmen, and even among scattered communities of the same tribe; these feelings naturally resulted in restricting intercommunication, and it is therefore not surprising to find that in many cases no knowledge was possessed regarding tribes distant only fifteen or twenty miles.[2] Of the *.ô·ko-jũ·wai-*, *.â·kà-.ked·e-*, *.â·kà-.jãr·o-*, and *.âkà-.châriàr-* tribes, those living in South Andaman remained in ignorance till 1877, and it was not till 1879–80 that members of all the eight tribes of Great Andaman (*i.e.*, including the *.â-kà-.bal·awa-* of the Archipelago) were able to meet on friendly terms at the various Homes which had then been established for some years.

[1] Colonel (now General) H. Man.

[2] In 1875 it was found that the *.bõ·jig-ngĩ·ji-* (or South Andaman tribe) had only then recently discovered that Middle Andaman was not, as they had supposed, occupied entirely by the *.â·kà bõ·jig-yâb-*, but that it was shared by another tribe called *.â·kà-kôl-*; of the territory further north all they were able to say was that it was occupied by the *.yẽ·rema-*, a people they seem to dread equally with the natives of Little Andaman.

The continual fighting between the Eremtaga and the Arioto led, as we have seen, to the gradual disappearance of the communal huts of the latter as being too vulnerable. Subsequently, the conflict still going on between foreigners and Jarawas completed the destruction, so that there are now no communal huts on Great Andaman. The ever-increasing violence of the punitive expeditions against the Jarawas put an end to their numerical recovery during the last fifteen years or so, and there may indeed now be none left. Today only their kitchen-middens, and the surviving Onges, remain to show us how the Jarawas must have lived.

The Jarawa middens are distinguishable from those of the Arioto by their inland position and by their content of freshwater shellfish and land gasteropods, not eaten by the peoples of the coast.

Like the kitchen-middens of the Onges, those of the Jarawas contain human bones clearly interred in graves, and not scattered among the refuse. This refutes the Arioto accusation against the Eremtaga of cannibalism, and that of the people of South Andaman (now vanished) against the people of North Andaman and the Onges; the remains of cannibal feasts would undoubtedly have been found among kitchen refuse and not carefully buried in the ritual manner, with the graves filled in with earth. And the Jarawas and the majority of the Arioto buried their dead in the communal huts, continuing a custom which originated while they were still on Little Andaman. In time variations arose, but this does not alter the evidence in favour of migration in ancient times from the south, via the Nicobars and Little Andaman.

The differences in culture between the islands can be explained by the ease with which primitive peoples forget. The Jarawas, for example, although they reached Great Andaman by sea from Little Andaman, forgot in a few generations the art of hollowing canoes when they were forced to live in the depths of the forests, far from the sea. Today, they have been free from the Arioto for some time, at least on the west coast, and have access to the sea, but they have not started building canoes again. In other things, however, such as burial rites, the Jarawas kept faithful to the old Onge customs; their middens show the same exhumation of the bones, the same cleaning, and tinting with ochre, and careful reburial.

The general similarity of the middens in Great and Little Andaman cannot be due to chance. Animal food, for example, has clearly

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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114 question the natives about their customs and beliefs and understand their answers. I was therefore regretfully compelled to give up the idea of making a study of the people of the Little Andaman, and devoted the remainder of my time to the study of the tribes of the Great Andaman, particularly those of the North Andaman among whom Mr Man had not worked. I kept one boy from the Little Andaman with me for some months in the hope that he would learn sufficient Hindustani to act as an interpreter and so enable any future investigator to begin work with the great advantage that I had lacked.

124 In my work amongst the natives of the Great Andaman I at [191] first made use of Hindustani, which the younger men and women all speak more or less imperfectly, and gradually acquired a knowledge of the dialects of the North Andaman. Towards the end of my stay in the islands I was able to obtain the services as interpreter of a man of the *Akar-Bale* tribe who spoke English well and was of considerable intelligence. He is shown in the photographs of Plates V and XIII. With his help I was able to do some work with the *Akar-Bale* and *A-Pučikwar* tribes, and I found that with such an interpreter I was able to obtain much fuller and more reliable results than I could by using my own knowledge of the native language supplemented by Hindustani. If I had had his services from the outset my work would have been much easier and more thorough.

128 The results of my researches on the physical anthropology of the Andaman Islanders have not been published. I hoped to be able to obtain the services of some one more competent in such matters than myself to assist or direct me in the measurement and study of the collection of skulls and skeletons that I brought to England and that is now in the Anthropological Museum at Cambridge. In this I was disappointed, and absence from England has prevented me from completing my work in this branch of research.

The languages of the Andaman Islands are chiefly of interest as affording material for the study of comparative grammar and

their fires beside them. On the night of 4–5 April 1953, while I was sleeping with them in the communal hut at Berié-Abdalù a sudden storm drenched us all, forcing us to huddle together round fires under the more waterproof parts of the roof. Numb with cold, but cheerful, they began joking, singing[1] and dancing, men and women separately; this went on all night, and no one suffered any ill effects from the soaking.

The Onge lack of hygiene extends also to their cooking utensils, which are never washed. In recent years the ocean has provided the Onges with a generous and unexpected gift; currents running from the south of Asia have thrown up on to the shores of Little Andaman a shoal of empty petrol drums, stout metal cylinders 1·3 metres high and eighty centimetres in diameter. The astute Onges have patiently divided each one in two, each section big enough to take a large pig. Set on big fires these serve as wonderful cooking pots, and the Onges are delighted with them. Unfortunately, however, although they were thrown up all round the island, the supply is beginning to dry up, and they are rapidly being eaten away by rust.

To boil food, the Onges set the drums on two large logs, laid parallel, with a fire between them. Stones are rarely used to support the drums, although there are plenty about in the interior of the island. On the coast, and for a fair way inland, there is nothing but coral, hard but liable when it gets hot to disintegrate under the heavy weight of the cylinders filled to the brim.

In these gifts from the sea the Onges could prepare tasty broths, but they invariably allow nearly all the water to boil away, and the cooking process is not considered complete until all the liquid has gone. While it is boiling, however, they take care not to lose the fat floating on the top, which they adore. They have even invented a curious sort of dipping-stick for the purpose of skimming the fat off. They take a shoot about twenty centimetres long from a plant which disintegrates into fibre when chewed. One end is chewed into a loose 'brush' and no one present misses his turn to dip it into the pot again and again to skim off a mouthful of fat, even getting up in the night in their eagerness for it. One stick naturally does for everyone, men, women and children, the

[1] The Onge voice is not markedly different from the European. It has a musical quality, fairly high-pitched but never shrill; the Onges never raise their voices, even in anger – disagreements invariably end in a dignified silence.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PART II.

Language—Adoption—Relationships—Proper Names—Initiatory Ceremonies—Marriage—Death and Burial—Meeting and Parting, &c.—Fire—Superstitions—Religious Beliefs and Demonology—Mythology.

BEFORE we enter upon the consideratiion of the marital relations 197
customs, superstitions, traditions, and beliefs of these aborigines, I wish to say a few words in reference to the dialects or languages spoken by the various tribes, more especially the language spoken by the *bō·jig-ngī·ji-*, or South Andaman tribe. As I shall presently show, the people themselves have a legend[1] to account for the linguistical distinctions existing in their midst; but, on a subject of such importance as the origin of an unwritten language, the traditions current among the savages who speak it have rarely, if ever, I believe, been known to throw any light.

Language.—1. A few short lists off Andamanese words have 192
been prepared from time to time, commencing, I think, with 114
Colebrooke, who visited the islands mearly a century ago; but

[1] *Vide post* "Mythology," paraggraphs 14 and 22.

[p. 49]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

192 owing to a variety of circumstances, not the least of which was the absence of any system of representing the sounds in the 114 language—each author having chosen to employ a phonetic code best understood by himself and capable of varying interpretation by others—the result has been, to say the least, unsatisfactory, and the words for the most part are, in their printed form, either wholly unrecognisable by the people themselves, or possess a meaning differing very much from that given.

2. I do not make these remarks with a view of depreciating the efforts of others, for I fully recognise the difficulties with which they had to contend, and am aware that these exceeded any I have had to overcome, consequent on the improved relations which have subsisted between ourselves and the aborigines in recent years.

3. It must also be borne in mind that time necessarily works vast changes in all savage languages, which depend so entirely upon the oral correctness of the whole population for their accurate transmission.

128 4. As my knowledge of the other dialects is not as yet sufficient for me to be able to describe them comparatively at any length—leisure having failed me to obtain more than a few hundred words of five of the seven remaining tribes of Great Andaman—I wish it to be understood that, except where otherwise stated, my remarks refer to the *.bōjig-ngī·ji-*, or South Andaman dialect.

192 5. The Andamanese are, as a rule, very conservative, and prefer to coin from their own resources rather than to borrow from aliens, words expressing ideas or objects which are new to them. To give only one of many examples:—having themselves no forms of worship, they had no word for "prayer," but since seeing the Mahomedans at their daily devotions, and learning that they are addressing an Invisible Being, they express the act by a compound word, *ā·rlalik-yā·b-*, signifying "daily repetition" (viz.: *ā·rla-* daily, and *ik-yā·b-* repetition).

533 6. They have also a distinct poetical dialect, and in their 195 songs subordinate everything to rhythm, the greatest liberties being thereby taken not only with the forms of their words, but even with the grammatical construction of the sentences. For instance the chorus of one of their songs runs thus:—

.Ābālā yā lak·a mīj·rā?

which means "who missed the hard (backed) turtle?" the prose construction of the sentence being *mīja yā·dī chē·balen lā·kāchī·re?* It will be at once noticed how great is the difference between the two versions, for in this, as in most of their songs,

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APPENDIX F(*a*).

PHILOLOGICAL HARP.[1]

	Denoting	Near.	Remote.	Interrogative.	Relative.	Correlative.
		This, *ū·cha-*	That, *ō·lla*...	Who {*mij·a-* / *mij·ola*} ... ... Which, *tenchd·-*	Who / Which } *d·te-* ... ... (In construction *yd·te-*)	That same, *ōl-bē·dig*
1	Time	Now, *d·chitik*	Then, *dchi·haiya*[4] ... Then (indef. past), *dchin·haiya*	When, *tain-*	When, *ō·na-* ... .. At such time as, *kian-ārū·balik*	Then, *ūgd* At the same time, *kich·ikan*
2	Place	Here {*kd·re-* / *kd·rin-* / *kd·min-* / *kam-* / *kd-*} ...	There {*kd·to-*, *t·tan-* / *ū·chumen-*[5] / *ū·chum*[5]}	Where, *tān-*	Wherever, *mi·n-ya* ...	There, *ōl-bē·dig-ya*
3		Hither, *kach-*	Thither, *kd·tik-*	Whither, *tekarichd·-* ...	Whither, *min len* ...	Thither, *ig*
4		Hence {*ū·chik-*[2] / *kd·rin-tek* / *kd·rik-*[3]} ...	Thence {*kd·to-tek* / *ū·chumek*} ...	Whence {*tekarichd·-tek* / *mich·ima-tek*}	Whence, *min tek*... ...	Thence *ōl-bē·dig tek*
5	Manner	Thus, *kian-d·ri-* ...	In that way, *ekd·ra-* ...	How, *kichikachd·-* ...	As, *ignū·rum-*	So, *chd-*
6	Likeness	Like this, *ū·cha-nai·kan*	Like that {*ōl-nai·kan* / *kd·to-nai·kan*}	Like what, *kich·ika-* ...	Like which {*kdū·ba-* / *kich·ikan-*}	Like the same {*ū·chuba-* / *kich·ikan-* / *kich·ikan-nai·kan*}
7	Quantity	This much or so much {*kian-nai·-* / *ki·an-* / *kai·*}	That much, *ū·chutū·n-* ...	How much, *tāntū·n-* ...	As much[6]	So much[6]
8	Number	This many, *kianchai·a-*...	That many, *ū·chichdtū·n-*	How many {*kich·ikan-tūn-* / *kichi·k-*}	As many[6]	So many[6]

[1] This scheme is taken from Forbes's well-known Hindustani Grammar (p. 68).
[2] Probably abbreviated from *ū·cha tek* (lit., this from).
[3] Probably abbreviated from *kd·re tek* (lit., here from).
[4] In reference to a past period.
[5] Generally used in an indefinite sense, signifying "thereabout"; also when pointing towards an object partly hidden and not easily discernible.
[6] Hitherto unascertainable.

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APPENDIX G.

THE SEVEN FORMS OF THE POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS IN RELATION TO PARTS OF THE BODY (HUMAN AND ANIMAL).

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I.

dōt	..	*my* ..
ngōt	..	*thy* ..
ōt	..	*his* ..
l'ōt	..	*—'s* ..
mō·tot	..	*our* ..
ngō·tot	..	*your* ..
ō·tot	..	*their*
l'ō·tot	..	*—s'* ..

chē·ta-, *head;* mūn-, *brain;* yâ-, *occiput;* kâ·kà-, *scalp;* lō·ngota-, *neck;* iâ·pta-, *nape;* chāl·ma-, *chest;* â·wa-, *lung;* nē-, *prostate gland;* tū·lēpo-, *phlegm;* kūg-, *heart (the seat of the affections and passions), the bosom;* kū·ktà-ban·a-, *heart (the organ).*

Ex.—ōt chē·ta bō·dia-. *His head is large.*
His head large.

II.

dōng	..	*my* ..
ngōng	..	*thy* ..
ōng	..	*his* ..
l'ōng	..	*—'s* ..
mòi·ot	..	*our* ..
ngòi·ot	..	*your*
òi·ot	..	*their*
l'òi·ot	..	*—s'* ..

kō·ro-, *hand, or finger;* kō·ro-mū·gu-châl-, *large (lit., middle) finger;* ī·ti-pī·l-, *little finger;* kō·ro-dō·ga-, *thumb;* el·ma-, *palm of hand,* also *sole of foot;* tō·go-, *wrist;* kū·tur-, *knuckle;* bō·do-, *nail of finger,* or *toe;* pâg-, *foot;* rō·koma-, *toe;* tū·chab-, *large toe;* ī·lam-, *small toe;* gū·chul-, *heel;* târ-, *ankle;* châg-, *kidney;* tâ·banga-, *small intestine;* tâ·ga-, *peritoneum.*

Ex.—dōng kō·ro ngōng tek kē·tia-. *My hand is smaller than thine.*
my hand thy from (than) small.

III.

dâ·kà	..	*my* ..
ngâ·kà		*thy* ..
â·kà	..	*his* ..
l'â·kà	..	*—'s* ..
mak·at	..	*our* ..
ngak·at	..	*your*
ak·at	..	*their*
l'ak·at	..	*—s'* ..

bang-, *mouth;* dē·liya-, *palate (of mouth);* â·dal-, *chin;* pai-, *lip;* pai·la-pīd-, *moustache;* ô·rma-, *throat;* ē·tel-, *tongue;* del·ta-, *gullet;* ô·rma-bā-, *windpipe;* ē·kib-, *jaw-bone;* ī·kib-pīd-, *beard;* ted·imo-, *uvula;* gō·dla-, *collar-bone;* châ·ga-, *side;* tū·bal-, *saliva;* chai·ad-, *breath.*

Ex.—kâ·to .bòi·goli l'àrdū·ru l'ak·at ē·kib-pīd lâ·panga-.
There European all their beard long.
All those Europeans have long beards.

IV.

dab	..	*my* ..
ngab	..	*thy* ..
ab	..	*his* ..
l'ab	..	*—'s* ..
mat	..	*our* ..
ngat	..	*your*
at	..	*their* ..
l'at	..	*—s'* ..

chàu-, *body;* gū·dur- *and* làn-, *back;* gō·rob-, *spine;* pō·dikma-, *shoulder-blade;* pai·cha-, *thigh (also lap);* pē·ke-, *groin;* châ·lta-, *shin;* châ·lta-dam·a-, *calf of leg;* kō·pa-, *elbow;* kō·pa-dam·a-, *fleshy part of fore-arm;* kū·rupi-dam·a-, *fleshy part of upper arm;* lō-, *knee;* â·pita-, *hough;* pâ·retâ-, *rib;* â·pa-chàu-, *belly (abdominal walls);* ū·r-, *navel;* ū·pta-, *stomach proper;* jō·do-, *entrails, bowels;* jī·ri-,[1] *supra-renal fat and omentum;* mūg-, *liver;* pī·lma-, *spleen;* ī·jnga-, *uterus;* â·wa-, *arm-pit;* yī·lnga, *tendon Achilles;* nē·ma-, *gall-bladder.*

[1] For a description of the *reg-jī ri-gū·mul-*, *vide* Part II, "Initiatory Ceremonies," paragraphs 15–17.

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V.

dig (*or* di) ..	*my* ..	dal-[1] *or* dòl-[1] *eye*; dal àr pīd-,[1] *or* dòl àr pīd-,[1] *eye-lash*; dal ōt ēd-,[1] *or* dòl ōt ēd-,[1] *eyelid*; pū'nyur-, *eyebrow*; mū'gu-, *face* (*also forehead*); pū'ku, *ear*; chō'ronga-, *nose*; tī'mar-, *temple*; âb-, *cheek*; âb-pīd-, *whiskers*; tō'go-, *shoulder*; tūg-, *tooth*; gūd-, *arm*; kū'rupi-, *upper arm*; kō'pa-, *fore-arm*; gō'ra-, *biceps*; kâm-, *breast*; kâm l'ōt chē'ta-, *nipple of breast*; dē'riya-, *gum*; t'ī-, *tear*.
ngig (*or* ngi) ..	*thy* ..	
ig (*or* i) ..	*his* ..	
l'ig (*or* l'i) ..	—'s ..	
mit'ig (*or* mit'i)	*our* ..	
ngit'ig (*or* ngit'i)	*your*	
it'ig (*or* it'i)	*their*	
l'it'ig (*or* l'it'i)	—*s'* ..	

Ex.—ōl ab-gō'ra dō'gada, ig gō'ra igbà'di! *He is very strong; see his biceps!*
He strong very, his biceps see!

VI.

dar	*my* ..	châg-, *leg*; chō'rog-, *hip*; ē'te-, *loin*; mâl'wit-, *large intestine*; kòl'am-, *mesentery*; gū'dwin-, *os coccygis*; ū'lu-, *urine*; ū'lu l'ïa ēr-, *bladder* (ēr = *abode*); ô'ta-, *testicle*; tô-, ô'no-, *and* dam'a-, *buttocks*; mū'ga-, *rectum*; tū'mur-, *anus*.
ngar	*thy* ..	
ar	*his* ..	
l'ar	—'s ..	
mar'at ..	*our* ..	
ngar'at ..	*your*	
ar'at	*their*	
l'ar'at	—*s'* ..	

Ex.—mar'at châg-, *our legs*.

VII.

dô'to	*my* ..	kī'nab-, *waist*. This appears to be the only part of the body with which this form is used.
ngô'to ..	*thy, your*	
ô'to ..	*his, their*	
l'ô'to ..	—'s, —*s'* ..	
mô'to	*our* ..	

N.B.—In the case of the following words, the possessive adjective peculiar to the part referred to is taken:—pīd, *hair*; ēd-, *skin*; tâ-, *bone*; tī-, *blood*; mū'rudi-, *gore*; gū'mar, *sweat*; yī'inga-, *vein, muscle*; wain'ya-, *cuticle*; mūn-, *pus*; dē'kin-, *pulse*.

Ex.—mō'tot pīd-, *the hair of our heads*;
ngak'at ēd-, *the skin of your lips*;
dig ta-, *the bone of my arm*;
ngar tī-, *the blood of thy leg*;
&c.;

i.e., the above would be understood to represent mō'tot chē'ta pīd-; ngak'at pai ēd-; dig gud tâ-; ngar châg tī-.

[1] These words generally take the abbreviated form, *di*, *ngi*, &c.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

APPENDIX K.

LIST OF TERMS APPLIED TO MALES AND FEMALES FROM BIRTH TO OLD AGE IN ORDER TO INDICATE THEIR AGE, CONDITION, &C.

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Males.

During the first year ..	*abdē·reka-*	*ō·ta-*[1]	The term *ablâ·panga-* (long) is applied to a boy who is tall for his age.
During the second year ..	*abkē·tia-*	*ō·ta-*[1]	
During the third and fourth years	*abdō·ga-*	*ō·ta-*[1]	
From four till ten years of age	*àwal·aganga-* or *àwal·agare*	*abli·ga-*[2]	Until the commencement of the probationary "fast" (as well as after its completion) he is called *bō·tiga-*.
During the eleventh and twelfth years	*â·kà-kâ·daka-*	*abli·ga-*[2]	
From twelve to fifteen years of age (the ordinary "fasting" period)	*â·kà - kâ·daka - dō·ya-*	*dâ·la-*	During such portion of this period as he "fasts" he is called *â·kà - yâb-*, or *â·kà-yā·ba-*.
After breaking the probationary "fast" (for first month)	*â·kà-gō·i-*	*abwá·ra-*[3]	He now breaks the "fast," and is called *gū·ma* until he becomes a father.
From then till he becomes a father	*â·kà-gū·mul-*	*abwá·ra-*[3]	He is addressed as *gū·ma* from the time of his breaking the "fast" till his wife's first pregnancy, when he becomes *mai·a*. Should he never have a child he is called *mai·a* a little later in life.
Single — bachelor only ..	*abwá·ra-*		
Single — whether bachelor or widower	*kâ·ga-tō·go-*		
Bridegroom	*abdē·rebil-*		
Full grown (whether married or single)	*abwá·ra-gō·i-*		
Newly married (during first few days only)	*arwē·red-* ; *ōng-tāg-gō·i-*		
Newly married (during first few months only)	*ūn-jâ·ti-gō·i-*		Only applied to young persons.
Married (while still without a child)	*ōng-tāg-*[4]		While his wife is *enceinte* he is called *pij-jā·bag-*.
Married (having had a child)	*châ·bil-* ; *châ·bil-chàu-* ; *mai·a*		During the first two or three months after the death of his child he is called *mai·a ō·kolī·nga-*.
Married (more than once—not applied during widowhood)	*tarwá·ki-*		
Widower	*mai-arlē·ba-*		The *survivor* of an old couple who have been united since their youth is called *abrá·ji-gō·i-*.
Old	*abjang·gi-* ; *abchō·roga-*		
White-haired	*abtól-*		

[1] Signifies testicle. [2] A child. [3] A bachelor.
[4] Their jungle-bed of leaves is called *tāg-*.

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Females.

During the first year ..	*abdē·reka-*[1]	*kā·ta-*[2]	The term *ā·kà-tā·ng-* (tree) is applied to a girl who is tall for her age.
During the second year ..	*abkē·tia-*[1]		
During the third and fourth years	*abdō·ga-*[1]	*abli·ga-*[3]	As in the case of males, both before and after the probationary "fast"[5] she is called *bō·tiga-*.
From four till ten years of age	*àwal·aganga-*[1] or *àwal·agare*		
During the eleventh and twelfth years	*àryō·ngi-*	*pō·itola*	
From twelve till about sixteen years of age (her ordinary "fasting"[5] period)	*àryō·ngi-pō·i-*	*abjad·i-jōg-*[4]	She commences her "fast" during this period, and while so doing is called *ā·kà-yāb-*, or *ā·kà-yā·ba-*.
After breaking the probationary "fast" (for first month)	*ā·kà-gō·i-*[1]		As soon as she attains maturity she is called *ūnlā·wi-*, or *ā·kā-lā·wi-*, and then receives her "flower" name (*vide* Appendix H).
Spinster	*abjad·i-jōg-*		
Bride	*abdē·rebil-pail-*		
Full grown: if unmarried	*abjad·i-jōg-gō·i-*		
Full grown: if married (but not yet a mother)	*ōng-tāg-*;[6] *ablā·ga-*		
Full grown: if married (but with no child alive)	*ablā·ga-*		
Newly married (during first few days only)	*arwē·red*;[1] *ōng-tāg-gō·i-*[1]		
Newly married (during first few months only)	*ūn-jā·ti-gō·i-*;[1] *ōng-tāg-*[1]		Only applied to young persons.
Married (while still without a child)	*ōng-tāg-*[1]		While *enceinte* she is called *pīj-jā·bag-*.
Married (having had a child)	*chā·nre*; *chān-chàu-*; *chān·a*; *chā·nola-*		During the first two or three months after the death of her child she is called *chān·a ōkolī·nga*
Married (more than once—not applied during widowhood)	*tarwā·ki-*[1]		
Widow	*chān-arlē·ba-*		
Old	*abjang·gi-*;[1] *abchō·roga-*[1]		
White-haired	*abtōl-*[1]		

[1] In those cases in which the term is common to both sexes, or ambiguity would otherwise exist, the word *pail-* (female) is added when a woman is referred to. Ex.: *ōng-tāg-pail-*; *abtōl-pail-*.

[2] Signifies the genitals of a female.

[3] A child.

[4] A spinster.

[5] As elsewhere explained (*vide* Part II, "Initiatory Ceremonies") this term is used merely to imply abstention, during a period varying from one to four or more years, from certain favourite articles of diet.

[6] Their jungle-bed of leaves is called *tāg-*.

APPENDIX B.

AN ÖNGE VOCABULARY.

The "Outer Group" of the Andamanese (Önges and Jarawas) bears the closest resemblance in customs, etc., *i.e.*, assuming them to bear any at all, to the Samangs and Aetas, of all the Andamanese Tribes, and hence there is much interest exhibited in their languages. In this Appendix, therefore, is gathered together as much of the Önge Vocabulary as can be with any degree of safety extracted from Portman's *Andamanese Manual*, the information in which is not, however, unfortunately, as clear as is desirable. In the following Table the roots have been separated from the prefixes and suffixes. 192

Önge Vocabulary.

abundant	gene
abuse (to)	önu-kweba-be
ache (to)	öni-dang-wule-be (bones a.)
acid	a-öoii
adze	doii
ant	chantibo-de
apron (women's)	ng-a-kwinyoga-le (your a.)
armlet	ibi-kwe
arrow (iron)	bartoi
arrow (wood)	tota-le
arrow (fish)	tome
arrow (pig)	takōi
arrow-shaft	takete-le
ashes	tongkute
awake (to)	lōga-be
bag (of netting)	kumumwi, tangu-le
bale out (to)	gaive-bōko-be
bamboo	ō-da-le
banana	yolō-le
bark	gangwi
barb (arrow)	tome
basket	tō-le
beard	öngu-bo-de
beat (to)	yōkwō-be
beetle	todanchu
belt (round)	m-are-kwa-ge (my b.)
belt (broad, flat)	m-ino-kwe (my b.)
binder	tu-kwe
bite (to)	öni-baga-be
black	be
blood	gache-nge
blow (to)	a-kwōbō-be
boil (to)	tamboi-(be)
bone	ichin-da-nge
bone (human)	uni-da-nge
bow	a-ai
break (to)	ng-i-kwa-be (you b.)
breast	ng-a-ka-ge (your b.)
breathe (to)	kwaiō-be
broom	da-ge
bucket (wood)	ukwi
bucket (bamboo)	kubuda-nge
butterfly	bebe-le
call (to)	eng-yō-be, önai-waba-be
cane	tati
cane-necklace	i-deda-le
canoe	da-nge
cast away (to)	yōbobine-be
cheek	ng-ig-boi (your c.)
chin	ibi-da-nge
clam	taga-le
clap (to)	abo-bana-bekwe-be
clay (white for smearing)	we
cloud	baije
cocoanut	da-ge (? wood, tree)
cold (to feel)	ungi-te-be
come (to)	inai-ōba-be, önu-kwange-me
copulate (to)	ng-ō-tōlō-be (you c.)
cough	udu-ge
crab	kagaia
creek	kuai
cyrena-shell (scraper)	totu-le
dance	öno-la-ge
dead (to be)	beckame-me
deaf	ik-aibene
dish (wooden)	da-nge- (wood) töba-nge
drink (to)	injo-be
dugong	twowe
ear	ik-kwa-ge
earth	tutano
eat (to)	eni-lokwale-be
ebb tide	ga-de
embrace	ku-ge
eye	uni-jeboi
fall (to)	i-teka-be
fastening (a)	gwi-kwe
feather	gō-de
fern	tomōjai, lakakai
fever (to have)	ungi-te-be
fight (to)	önu-kwe-be
finger	ome
fire	tuke
fish	cho-ge
fist	o-beke
flip (to)	öni-tōtōge-be
flood tide	kobakwe-le
fly	ngönoi
food (to take)	ng-i-da-be (you t. f.)
foot	m-uge (my f.)
forbid (to)	gobokwe-be
glad (to be)	a-kiokō-be
go (to)	öni-tōto-be (come), bujio-be (walk)
"God"	Ulu-ge
good	i-wado
grass	tokwongōye
green	totanda-nge
gun	uni-nye
hair	m-ode (my h.)
hand	m-ome (my h.)
head-dress (cane)	ng-i-deda-le (your h. d.)
heavy (to be)	ng-a-tukwō-be (you are h.)
hip	öni-boi
hiss	ng-ik-iki (you h.)
hit (with arrow)	gai-be
honey	tanjai
hook (for fish)	tome
hop (to)	ichin-kwōle-be
hot (to be)	jonjome-be
how much?	chiō?

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hum (to)	gojai
hungry (to be)	angi-ai-me
hut	bedai
I, my	mi
Indian (an)	i-nene
iguana	giti
iron (knife)	lea
jawbone (human) ornament	ang-bo-de
jump (to)	akwa-tokwa-be
kick (to)	öni-tekwöme-be
kiss (to) (? small)	nyönyö-be
knee	m-ola-ge-(my k.)
kneel	öno-lakwöchö-be
laugh (to)	ng-eng-ema-be- (you l.)
leaf	be-be (to be flat)
lick (to)	ng-i-tuno-be (you l.)
lie down (to)	ng-ainyi-be (you l. d.)
lip	öngu-me
lizard	kö-ge
man	uni-agi-le-(married m.)
mangrove	tun-da-nge (sea tree)
mangrove fruit	kwea
marry (to)	ini-a-be
mat (sleeping)	emai
micturate	ö-chölö-be
moon	chile-me (to be bright)
mouse	ala-nge
much	liwa-nga
murder (to)	ölölaji-be
nail	m-obeda-nge (my n.)
nautilus-shell (cup)	gaai
navel	öni-kwa-le
neck	öna-ngito
necklace	m-a-ngitoke (my n.)
net	chi-kwe
nose	uni-nyaibei
orchid	köyö
ornament (of shavings)	kwibo-le
outrigger	i-bedu-ge
paddle	taai
pandanus fruit	ba-le
path	iche-le
peel	gangwi
pig	kwi
pinch	öni-gini-be
prick	öni-takwa-be
pot (cooking)	buchu (*tö-le*, its case)
quick, be	ing-kö!
rain	gujö-nge
red ochre	alame
red wax	kwengane
resin	mone
ringworm	jwichwi
rope	kwöla-ge
rub (to)	eb-ele-be
run (to)	akwe-bele-be
saline	ngie
saliva	ina-kwe-nge
salt	inje
sand	belai
scar	öni-bare
scratch (to)	akwe-ö-be
sea	i-nge (water)
shampoo (to)	ine-ö-be
shark	kadu
sharp	giechare
sharpen (to)	totökwe-be
shave	öno-tale-be
shell	todandwi
shoot (arrow)	gai-be
sing (to)	ng-ö-gaba-be(you s.)
sit (to)	unan-tökö-be
skin	gangwi (peel)
sky	bengo-nge (what is flat)
sleep (to)	omo-ka-be
small	baiai
smoke	eno-taboi
snake	tomogwi
snake (sea)	tebu-le
sneeze	e-chi-be
sore (a)	öni-bai
spill (to)	ng-i-bu-be (you s.)
spine	öno-noda-kwoi
spitting	una-kwa-nge
sprinkle (to)	una-nadi-be
squeak (to)	gilako-be
squeeze (to)	une-ge-be
stand	doka-be
stomach	önan-nga-nge
stone	taiyi
stool (to)	öni-yu-be
stretch (to)	ina-kwombwoke-be
stretch (to s. oneself)	ng-i-götö-be (you s. yourself)
strike (to)	kwöke-be
string (to)	e-be
stroke (to)	una-be-be
sun	eke
surf	balame
swallow (a)	tugede-le
sweep (to)	tote-be
swim (to)	kwane-be
take away (to)	ng-eakingkö-be (you t. a.)
take hold (to)	ng-enge-be (you t. h.)
tattoo (to)	ng-ulukwone-be (you t.)
tear (to)	i-dokwö-be
testicles	öni-kwö-ge
thorn	tundankie
throat	ö-ngito
throw	wötaikwö-be
thunder	ölu-ge ("God")
tiptoe (to be on)	önu-jagaiö-be
tongue	alan-da-nge
tooth	m-a-kwe (my t.)
torch	to-kwe
tray (for food)	toba-ge
tumble (to)	i-teka-be
turtle	nadela-nge, takwatoai
turtle eggs	kwagane
tusk (pig)	a-kwe
umbrella (leaf)	o-modu
untie (to)	i-lebu-be
vomit (to)	ö-bulö-be
water	i-nge
wax (white bees')	chileme
weep (to)	wana-be
whetstone	tijiö-be
whisk (for flies)	tomo-ge
whistling	öni-anga-le
white	tonkute
wife	uni-au-le
wind	totöte
wound	öni-ba-le
yawn (to)	öna-langötö-be
yes	une-laije

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

in the division of all meat. Certain cuts are the property of the hunter, of his helpers, and of his relations and after them, in order, of the remaining members of the group; everyone knows his position in advance. Each portion is tied round with a reed fibre, which is allowed to dangle out over the top of the communal cooking-pot ready to haul the meat out when required.

In the case of pork the prized cut is one which comprises the kidneys and the surrounding fat; this fat is called *cian*,[1] and is very highly esteemed. Some authors (Brown, for example) have stated that turtles and pigs are always cut up with the head ritually pointing towards the sea as otherwise the meat would be considered inedible. This is certainly not the case on Little Andaman, and I have never seen any such directional ritual among any of the Negritos, all of whom practise division of meat according to a prescribed order of precedence. Turtles at any rate are slaughtered facing up the sloping beach simply because it is then easier to hold the beast from behind and avoid its bite. Ritual there is, but usually with a good practical basis.

More ritual attaches to the way in which the game is carried back to the camp, and the wood to be used for the cooking fire. Pigs, killed and gutted, are tied in ropes made of *Ficus laccifera* and carried somehow on the back of the victorious hunter. If it is not far to the camp he will not bother to tie up the snout and feet, but otherwise the front and back legs are tied, and one long cord joins both pairs to the snout – again a practical ritual, giving the hunter a more compact weight to carry.

Man, Portman, Brown and others all say that each type of game has to be cooked over a fire of a particular wood. My own observations showed that whereas the ritual of dissection is inviolable, the Onges always use the first wood that comes to hand, regardless of its source, taking as usual the line of least resistance. This is again in keeping with the tendency of primitive peoples to expend only the very minimum of energy to achieve their object. Their religious beliefs and superstitions are not carried to the limit, simply because

[1] It is interesting that in their very restricted world the Onges have few standards of comparison or words to express condemnation or approval, and this word *cian* is used as one of high praise, applied to inanimate objects, animals, and people alike. The precise qualities which are conveyed by the word are difficult to evaluate in the absence of fuller knowledge of the Onge language.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

194 fricative). Many of the words of the Northern languages that I have written with a p are often pronounced with a p̆ sound.

The vowels are

i u
e o ö
e̲ o̲
a̲ a̲
a

These may be pronounced as follows:

i, intermediate between the vowels of "it" and "eat."
e, as the vowel in "say."
e̲, as the *e* in "error" or the *a* in "Mary."
a̲, as the *a* in "man."
a, as the *a* in French "pas."
a̲, as the *a* in "path."
o̲, as the vowel in "not" or in "nought."
o, as in "go."
u, as the vowel in "fool."
ö, nearly as the German ö.

I have not attempted to distinguish all the different varieties of vowel sounds that are found in the different dialects. Slightly different but closely related sounds are represented by the same letter[1].

193 In writing Andamanese words I have followed the practice of separating by hyphens the affixes from the stems in each word. In the Andamanese languages there are two main classes of words. The first class consists of words each of which is a simple stem (without affixes). Such words are the names of what the Andaman Islander regards as simple independent objects or things, such as *roa*, canoe, *baraba*, a mat, *ra*, a pig. The second class consists of words each of which is formed of a stem and a prefix. In the language of the Little Andaman (and in that of the Jarawa as far as known) these prefixes are simple vowels, *i-*, *e-*, *a-*, *o-*, and *u-*. In the languages of the Great Andaman Division they are such as *ot-*, *aka-*, *era-*, *e-*, *u-*, *ab-*, etc. Such words are used to denote dependent objects such as the parts, qualities or actions of a

[1] Although I had acquired some knowledge of phonetics before I went to the Andamans, as a necessary part of the preliminary training of an ethnologist, yet it was not really sufficient to enable me to deal in a thoroughly scientific manner with the problems of Andamanese phonetics, and my further studies of the subject give me reason to believe that my phonetic analysis of the Andaman languages was not as thorough as it might have been.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

thing. Thus while a pig (*ra*) or a canoe (*roa*) is an independent object and is therefore denoted by a simple stem, the head or prow of a pig or canoe, being a part of a "thing," is denoted by a word (*ot-čo*) consisting of a stem (*-čo*) and a prefix (*ot-*). So also the quality of bigness which may belong to a pig or a canoe is denoted by a word (*er-kuro*) consisting of a stem (*-kuro*) and a prefix (*er-*). 193

Thus the second class includes many words that we should call nouns, all the words we should call adjectives and practically all those we should regard as verbs. In the Andamanese languages the distinction between nouns and adjectives is not very clear and even less so is the distinction between adjectives and verbs. Whereas the distinction between things (independent objects) on the one hand, and the parts, qualities, actions, etc. of things on the other, is of the utmost importance. For this reason I have thought it advisable always to separate by a hyphen the prefix and the stem in words of the second class.

In compound words or phrases in which the second word consists of prefix and stem it is common to insert before the prefix a *t* or an *l*. Thus *ra t'er-kuro* is "a big pig" and *ra t'ot-čo* is "a pig's head." In writing such words I have placed an inverted comma between the *t* or *l* and the prefix. This infix *t* must not be confused with the first personal pronoun in the North Andaman, *Tio*, contracted to *T'* before a prefix.

[p. 498 is blank]

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

variations in colour are not confined within certain tribal limits, but are alike found in all, whether living inland or on the coast; and it would therefore appear that the cause is not attributable to diet, habits, or, indeed, to any external circumstance. 142

3. The opinion expressed on this subject by Dr. Mouat was that "their hue is remarkably black and lustrous;" while Surgeon-Major Hodder[1] describes them as "extremely black, more so than the African negro, and some have a dull leaden hue like that of a black-leaded stove." In this latter remark I fully concur; indeed, the simile strikes me as an exceedingly happy one, and as exactly expressing the predominating colour of their skin.

4. On examining a number of individuals, and comparing the colour of their skin and eyes with the standard tables prepared by the late M. Broca, it was found that the skin of the face and shoulders of the majority corresponded most nearly with No. 42, the variations tending towards 27 and 28, while that of the trunk, in the generality of cases, agreed with No. 27, and in certain others with No. 49. The prevailing hue of the eyes was found to be most closely represented by No. 16, one exception, which had to be classed under No. 1, being found among those tested.

Odour.—1. The ammoniacal, rancid, goat-like exhalations of the negro are not found among them, and the peculiarity of odour which attaches to their persons is chiefly due to the unguent, called *kòi-ob-da*,[2] composed of red oxide of iron mixed with either turtle or pig's fat, with which they delight to paint themselves. When in health, and under ordinary circumstances, their breath is sweet.[3] 302

Anatomy and Physiology (*continued*).—2. Their powers of abstinence from solid food have never, to our knowledge, been severely tested; but it has been noticed that, on rare occasions, when forced to make a long day's journey through the jungles without a halt, they are in the habit of binding a strip of bark or other substance round their waists, to reduce, as much as possible, the inconvenience and pain which are caused by what they consider a long fast. Whether in exercise or repose they 261

[1] *Vide* "Pall Mall Budget," 20th April, 1877.

[2] Substantives, adjectives, and many adverbs have the termination "da," which, as mentioned in my previous paper, I believe to be traceable to the defective or partially obsolete verb, *edā-ke*, to be; it is dropped before prepositions and in construction generally, but is usually heard when the word occurs alone. Hence, when I write a hyphen at the end of an Andamanese word, I shall mean that in its full form it has *da*. [193]

[3] It is, nevertheless, commonly noticed, that after feasting on turtle and certain kinds of fish, they are unpleasant neighbours, their breath and hands being then highly odoriferous.

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the words in their poetic form are so mutilated to suit the metre as to be scarcely recognisable; indeed, it not unfrequently happens that the composer of a new song has to explain its meaning in the ordinary vernacular to his chorus[1] as well as to the audience in general.

7. It may perhaps interest some of my readers to see a comparative table which I have prepared of the various forms of the possessive pronominal adjectives in most frequent use among five of the eight tribes of Great Andaman:

	.bō·jig-ngī·ji-	*.bō·jig-yâ·b-*	*.â·kà-kó·l-*	*.ôko-jū·wai-*	*.bal·awa-*
my ..	*dī·a-* ..	*tī·ya-* ..	*tī·ya* ..	*tī·ya* ..	*deg·e.*
thy ..	*ngī·a-* .	*ngī·ya-* ..	*ngī·ya* ..	*ngī·ya* ..	*ngeg·e.*
his ..	*ī·a-* ..	*ī·ya-* ..	*ī·ya* ..	*ài·ya* ..	*eg·e.*
our ..	*mē·ta-* ..	*mī·ya-* ..	*mī·ya* ..	*mī·ya* ..	*mâ·tat.*
your ..	*ē·ta-* ..	*ngàrdī·ra-* *lī·ya-* ..	*ngàrdī·ra-* *tē·ya* ..	*ngachâ·par-* *lī·ya* ..	*ngâ·tat.*
their ..	*ó·nta-* ..	*nó·ngtâ·le-* *lī·ya-* ..	*ntâ·le-* *eka-tē·ya* ..	*narâ·ngòich-* *lī·ya* ..	*á·tat.*

8. There are in each dialect several other forms of possessive pronominal adjectives, each of which must be used with its own class of nouns, but I do not now purpose entering into particulars regarding these. The form which, roughly speaking, is of general application among the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* is, as I have just shown, that of *dī·a-*, *ngī·a-*, &c. Ex. :—*dī·a kâ·ramà-*, my bow; *mē·ta yâ·dī-*, our turtle; the exceptions to its use being, (*a*) those nouns denoting human objects, (*b*) those indicating the various parts of the body,[2] and (*c*) certain other nouns denoting degrees of relationship. To be as brief as possible, I will give but one or two examples of each.

(*a*)

dī·a-, my..	*mē·tat*, our	Ex. *dī·a àbū·la-*, my man.
ngī·a-, thy	*ē·tat*, your	*mē·tat at-pail-*, our women.
ī·a-, his	*ó·ntat*, their	
l'ī.a-, ——'s	*l'ó·ntat*, ——s'	

[1] I cannot here enter into particulars regarding their songs and choruses, an account of which will be hereafter given under "Games and Amusements."

[2] For a complete list of these *vide* Appendix G.

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(*b*)

•193 I. Used with words indicating the head, brain, occiput, scalp, neck, nape, chest, lung, heart, &c.

dōt, my	*mō·tot*, our	Ex.: *dōt chē·ta-*,
ngōt, thy..	*ngō·tot*, your	my head.
ōt, his	*ō·tot*, their	*ō·tot lō·ngota-*,
l'ōt, ——'s	*l'ō·tot*, ——s'	their necks.

II. Used with words indicating the hand, finger, wrist, knuckle, nail, foot, toe, heel, ankle, &c.

dōng, my	*mōi·ot*, our	Ex.: *ngōng tō·go-*,
ngōng, thy	*ngōi·ot*, your	thy wrist.
ōng, his	*ōi·ot*, their	*ōi·ot pág-*,
l'ōng, ——'s	*l'ōi·ot*, ——s'	their feet.

III. Used with words indicating the shoulder, arm, breast, face, temple, cheek, nose, ear, eye, gum, tear, tooth, &c.

dig, my	*mit·ig*, our	Ex.: *ngig tō·go-*,
ngig, thy	*ngit·ig*, your	thy shoulder.
ig, his	*it·ig*, their	*mit·ig tūg-*,
l'ig, ——'s	*l'it·ig*, ——s'	our teeth.

(N.B.—The words for eye, eye-lid, and eye-lash, generally take the abbreviated form, *dī*, *ngī*, *ī*, *mit·i*, *ngit·i*, *it·i*.)

IV. Used with words indicating the body, back, spine, thigh, calf of leg, elbow, knee, rib, stomach, spleen, liver, shoulder-blade, &c.

dab, my	*mat*, our	Ex.: *dab chāu-*,
ngab, thy	*ngat*, your	my body.
ab, his	*at*, their	*at pā·retá-*,
l'ab, ——'s	*l'at*, ——s'	their ribs.

V. Used with the words indicating leg, hip, loin, bladder, &c.

dar, my	*mar·at*, our	Ex.: *dar chág-*,
ngar, thy	*ngar·at*, your	my leg.
ar, his	*ar·at*, their .. .	*ar·at chō·rog-*,
l'ar, ——'s	*l'ar·at*, ——s'	their hips.

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VI. Used with words indicating mouth, chin, lip, throat, palate, tongue, gullet, jaw-bone, collar-bone, breath, &c. 193

dá·kà, my	*mak·at*, our	Ex.: *ngá·kà bang-*,
ngá·kà, thy	*ngak·at*, your	thy mouth.
á·kà, his	*ak·at*, their	*ak·at ē·kib-*,
l'á·kà, ——'s	*l'ak·at*, ——s'	their jaw-bones.

VII. Used apparently only with the word indicating waist.

dó·to, my	*mó·to*, our	Ex.: *dó·to ki·nab-*,
ngó·to, thy	*ngó·to*, your	my waist.
ó·to, his	*ó·to*, their	*mó·to ki·nab-*,
l'ó·to, ——'s	*l'ó·to*, ——s'	our waists.

I. (c)

dab, my	*mat*, our	Ex.: *dab mai·ola*,
ngab, thy	*ngat*, your	my father.
ab, his	*at*, their	*dab ē·tinga-*,
l'ab, ——'s	*l'at*, ——s'	my mother.

II.

dá·kà, my	*mak·at*, our	Ex.: *dá·kà kám-*,
ngá·kà, thy	*ngak·at*, your	my younger brother.
á·kà, his	*ak·at*, their	
l'á·kà, ——'s	*l'ak·at*, ——s'	

III.

dar or *dár*, my	*mar·at*, our	Ex.: *dar ē·dire*,
ngar or *ngár*, thy ..	*ngar·at*, your	my son.
ar or *ár*, his	*ar·at*, their	
l'ar or *l'ár*, —— 's ..	*l'ar·at*, ——s'	

IV.

dai, my	*mē·tat*, our	Ex.: *dai ik·yá·te-*,
ngai, thy..	*ē·tat*, your	my wife.
ai, his	*ó·ntat*, their	*ó·ntat pail-*,
l'ai, ——'s	*l'ó·ntat*, ——s'	their wives.

V.

ad, my	*mē·tat*, our	Ex.: *ad ik·yá·te-*,
ang, thy	*ē·tat*, your	my husband.
á, his	*ó·ntat*, their	*ē·tat bū·la-*,
l'á, ——'s	*l'ó·ntat*, ——s'	your husbands.

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ad-en, my	*am-et*, our	Ex.: *ad-en tô·bare*,
ang-en, thy	*ang-et*, your	my elder brother.
á-en, his	*á-et*, their	*ang-et tô·bare-pail-*,
l'á-en, ——'s	*l'á-et*, ——s'	your elder sisters.

VII.

dôt, my	*mô·tot*, our	Ex.: *dôt châ·tnga-*,
ngôt, thy	*ngô·tot*, your	my adopted son.
ôt, his	*ô·tot*, their	
l'ôt, ——'s	*l'ô·tot*, ——s'	

VIII.

deb, my	*meb·et*, our	Ex: *deb adex·ire*,
ngeb, thy	*ngeb·et*, your	my step-son.
eb, his	*eb·et*, their	
l'eb, ——'s	*l'eb·et*, ——s'	

9. Lieutenant R. C. Temple, in his Notes on my translation of the Lord's Prayer into *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* quotes some of the remarks made by Dr. Caldwell on the Australian languages, which he considers can with perfect truth be applied to the Andamanese dialects. The grammatical structure exhibits a general agreement with the languages of the Scythian group; in both we find the use of postpositions instead of prepositions; they also agree in the formation of inceptive, causative, and reflective verbs by the addition of certain particles to the root, as well as generally in the agglutinative structure of words and their position in a sentence.

193 10. In the same work, six sentences in *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* and *.bō·jig-yâ·b-*,[1] such as would occur in daily conversation, are given
197 as examples to illustrate the diversity of speech in two adjacent tribes. Only three out of some thirty words are there

[1] Or, in the language of that district, *.pū·chik-wár-*. Both *yâb-* in South Andaman, and *wár-* in South of Middle Andaman, signify "language." As will shortly be explained under "Mythology," the belief held by all, or the majority of the tribes of Great Andaman, is that the *.bō·jig-yâ·b-* is the original language spoken by their remote ancestors, and from which the various other existing dialects have sprung. The word *bō·jig* is used in a special sense to denote "our," or "our style of." Ex.: *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* (the South Andaman tribe's name for itself), literally, *our* friends; *.bō·jig-yâ·b-* (their name for the tribe on their northern border), literally, *our* language; *mij·a ngen kâ·to bō·jig kâ·rama mâ·nre?* Who gave you that *bō·jig* (*i.e.*, our style of) bow? [As shown in Appendix B, item 1, this term is used to distinguish the description used by the five tribes occupying Middle and South Andaman and the Archipelago, from the bows of the *.yē·rewa-* (*i.e.*, the three North Andaman tribes), and the *jār·awa-*.]

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shown to be the same in both languages, while they differ in *every inflection*, from which fact it will readily be understood that, apart from the great difficulties of inter-communication, the task of acquiring a knowledge of the dialects of the remaining eight tribes must be one involving considerable sacrifice of time and labour, such as, I fear, it is hopeless to expect any government officer, unless specially deputed for the work, will be able to accomplish during his term of service.

11. Before concluding this part of my subject I will add an extract from a letter received in August, 1881, from my friend and fellow-worker in this branch of my studies, Lieutenant R. C. Temple (cantonment magistrate at Ambála), which he authorises me to publish as embodying his opinion after a careful study of the vocabularies and other data which I have collected and forwarded to him: "The Andaman languages are one group; they are like (*i.e.*, connected with) no other group; they have no affinities by which we might infer their connection with any other known group. The word-construction (the etymology of the old grammarians) is two-fold, *i.e.*, they have affixes and prefixes to the root of a *grammatical* nature. The general principle of word-construction is agglutination pure and simple. In adding their affixes they follow the principles of the ordinary agglutinative tongues; in adding their prefixes they follow the well defined principles of the South African tongues. Hitherto, as far as I know, the two principles in full play have never been found together in any other language. Languages which are found to follow the one have the other in only a rudimentary form present in them. In Andamanese both are fully developed, so much so as to interfere with each other's grammatical functions. The collocation of the words[1] (or 'syntax,' to follow the old nomenclature) is that of the agglutinative languages purely. The presence of the peculiar prefixes does not interfere with this; the only way in which they affect the syntax is to render the frequent use possible of long compounds almost polysynthetic in their nature, or, to put it another way, of long compounds which are sentences in themselves, but the construction of these words is not synthetic but agglutinative, and they are *as words* either compound nouns or verbs taking their place in the sentence, and having the same relation to the other words in it as they would were they to be introduced into a sentence in any other agglutinative language. There are of course many peculiarities of grammar in the Andamanese group, and even in each member of the group, but these are only

[1] For an example of this the reader is referred to "*Wood's statement*," which will be found in Appendix F.

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such as are incidental to the grammar of the other languages, and do not affect its general tenor. I consider, therefore, that the Andamanese languages belong to the agglutinative stage of development, and are distinguished from other groups by the presence in full development of the principle of prefixed and affixed grammatical additions to the roots of words."

12. As it is my intention to arrange and publish at an early date the results of my study of the various Andamanese dialects, I will not detain the reader with any further remarks on the subject. I have the less scruple in here dealing cursorily with this important point, as I have been so fortunate as to interest no less an authority than Mr. A. J. Ellis, F.R.S., who—after examining my vocabulary, containing probably about 6,000 words,[1] with examples of their use, together with a copious treatise on the grammar prepared by Lieutenant Temple from my notes[2]—incorporated a valuable paper on the South Andamanese language in his annual presidential address, which was delivered before the Philological Society on the 19th May, 1882.[3]

Adoption.—1. I have already pointed out several instances in which we find, on closer acquaintance with the race, that mistaken views have been entertained, and that both astonishment and merriment were evoked from the aborigines by the narration of certain of the habits and customs attributed to them, especially in connection with their social and marital relations.

2. It is generally admitted that one of the surest tests of a man's character may be found in the treatment women meet with at his hands; judged by this standard these savages are qualified to teach a valuable lesson to many of the fellow-countrymen of those who have hastily set them down as "an anomalous race of the most degraded description."

3. In a previous section I have mentioned that self-respect and modesty characterise their intercourse with one another, and

[1] And yet we find it stated by Figuier that "language is extremely limited among them;" and by Surgeon-Major Hodder that it "consists of a few words, and these sound harsh and explosive, and are principally monosyllables;" but it will be sufficient to refer to Mr. Ellis's interesting digest of the Andaman MSS. above mentioned, and to *Wood*'s statement (Appendix F), to disprove the assertions of these writers.

[2] I would take this opportunity to express my acknowledgments of the great assistance afforded me by Mr. Temple in my philological researches. The result of his study of my vocabulary and notes on the Andamanese languages during a little over two years, is comprised in a large number of MSS. on the Grammar (above referred to) which, from lack of leisure, he has been compelled reluctantly to return to me for completion.

[3] A reprint of which instructive report is, with the kind permission of the author, appended to this monograph.

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APPENDIX F(*a*).

PHILOLOGICAL HARP.[1]

	Denoting	Near.	Remote.	Interrogative.	Relative.	Correlative.
		This, *ü·cha-*	That, *ö·lla*...	Who {*mij·a-*, *mij·ola*} ... ... Which, *tenchá·-*	Who, Which } *d·te-* ... ... (In construction *yd·te-*)	That same, *öl-bë·dig*
1	Time	Now, *d·chitik*	Then, *dchi·baiya*[4] ... Then (indef. past), *dchin·baiya*	When, *tain-*	When, *ö·na-* ... .. At such time as, *klan-ërü·-balik*	Then, *ñgd* At the same time, *kich·-ikan*
2	Place	Here {*kd·re-*, *kd·rin-*, *kd·min-*, *kam-*, *kö-*} ...	There {*kd·to-*, *t'tan-*, *ü·chumen-*[5], *ü·chum*[5]}	Where, *tän-*	Wherever, *mi·n-ya* ...	There, *öl-bë·dig-ya*
3		Hither, *kach-*	Thither, *kd·tik-*	Whither, *tekarichá·-* ...	Whither, *min len* ...	Thither, *ig*
4		Hence {*ü·chik*[3], *kd·rin-tek*, *kd·rik*[3]} ...	Thence {*kd·to-tek*, *ü·chumek*} ...	Whence {*tekarichá·-tek*, *mich·ima-tek*}	Whence, *min tek*... ...	Thence *öl-bë·dig tek*
5	Manner	Thus, *klan-d·ri-* ...	In that way, *ekd·ya-* ...	How, *kichikachá·-* ...	As, *ignü·rum-*	So, *ehd-*
6	Likeness	Like this, *ü·cha-nai·kan*	Like that {*öl-nai·kan*, *kd·to-nai·kan*}	Like what, *kich·ika-* ...	Like which {*kdü·ba-*, *kich·ikan*}	Like the same {*ü·chuba-*, *kich·ikan-*, *kich·ikan-nai·kan*}
7	Quantity	This much or so much {*klan-nai·-*, *kl·an-*, *kat·*}	That much, *ü·chutü·n-* ...	How much, *täntü·n-* ...	As much[6]	So much[6]
8	Number	This many, *klanchai·a-*...	That many, *ü·chichdtü·n-*	How many {*kich·ikan-tün-*, *kicht·k-*}	As many[6]	So many[6]

[1] This scheme is taken from Forbes's well-known Hindustani Grammar (p. 68).
[2] Probably abbreviated from *ü·cha tek* (lit., this from).
[3] Probably abbreviated from *kd·re tek* (lit., here from).
[4] In reference to a past period.
[5] Generally used in an indefinite sense, signifying "thereabout"; also when pointing towards an object partly hidden and not easily discernible.
[6] Hitherto unascertainable.

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APPENDIX G.

THE SEVEN FORMS OF THE POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS IN RELATION TO PARTS OF THE BODY (HUMAN AND ANIMAL).

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I.

dōt	..	*my* ..
ngōt	..	*thy* ..
ōt ..	..	*his* ..
l'ōt..	..	*—'s* ..
mō·tot	..	*our* ..
ngō·tot	..	*your*..
ō·tot	..	*their*
l'ō·tot	..	*—s'* ..

chē·ta-, *head;* mūn-, *brain;* yâ-, *occiput;* kâ·kà-, *scalp;* lō·ngota-, *neck;* là·pta-, *nape;* châl·ma-, *chest;* â·wa-, *lung;* nē-, *prostate gland;* tū·lēpo-, *phlegm;* kūg-, *heart (the seat of the affections and passions), the bosom;* kū·ktà-ban·a-, *heart (the organ).*

Ex.—ōt chē·ta bō·dia-. *His head is large.*
His head large.

II.

dōng	..	*my* ..
ngōng	..	*thy* ..
ōng..	..	*his* ..
l'ōng	..	*—'s* ..
mòi·ot	..	*our* ..
ngòi·ot	..	*your*
òi·ot-	..	*their*
l'òi·ot	..	*—s'* ..

kò·ro-, *hand, or finger;* kò·ro-mū·gu-châl-, *large (lit., middle) finger;* ī·ti-pī·l-, *little finger;* kò·ro-dō·ga-, *thumb;* el·ma-, *palm of hand,* also *sole of foot;* tò·go-, *wrist;* kū·tur-, *knuckle;* bō·do-, *nail of finger,* or *toe;* pâg-, *foot;* rō·koma-, *toe;* tū·chab-, *large toe;* ī·lam-, *small toe;* gū·chul-, *heel;* târ-, *ankle;* châg-, *kidney;* tâ·banga-, *small intestine;* tâ·ga-, *peritoneum.*

Ex.—dōng kò·ro ngōng tek kē·tia-. *My hand is smaller than thine.*
my hand thy from (than) small.

III.

dâ·kà	..	*my* ..
ngâ·kà		*thy* ..
â·kà	..	*his* ..
l'â·kà	..	*—'s* ..
mak·at	..	*our* ..
ngak·at	..	*your*
ak·at	..	*their*
l'ak·at	..	*—s'* ..

bang-, *mouth;* dē·liya-, *palate (of mouth);* â·dal-, *chin;* pai-, *lip;* pai·la-pīd-, *moustache;* ō·rma-, *throat;* ē·tel-, *tongue;* del·ta-, *gullet;* ō·rma-bā-, *windpipe;* ē·kib-, *jaw-bone;* ī·kib-pīd-, *beard;* ted·imo-, *uvula;* gō·dla-, *collar-bone;* châ·ga-, *side;* tū·bal-, *saliva;* chai·ad-, *breath.*

Ex.—kâ·to .bòi·goli l'àrdū·ru l'ak·at ē·kib-pīd lâ·panga-.
There European all their beard long.
All those Europeans have long beards.

IV.

dab	..	*my* ..
ngab	..	*thy* ..
ab	..	*his* ..
l'ab	..	*—'s* ..
mat	..	*our* ..
ngat	..	*your*
at	..	*their*..
l'at	..	*—s'* ..

châu-, *body;* gū·dur- *and* làn-, *back;* gō·rob-, *spine;* pò·dikma-, *shoulder-blade;* pai·cha-, *thigh (also lap);* pē·ke-, *groin;* châ·lta-, *shin;* châ·lta-dam·a-, *calf of leg;* kò·pa-, *elbow;* kò·pa-dam·a-, *fleshy part of fore-arm;* kū·rupi-dam·a-, *fleshy part of upper arm;* lō-, *knee;* â·pita-, *hough;* pà·retâ-, *rib;* â·pa-châu-, *belly (abdominal walls);* ēr-, *navel;* ū·pta-, *stomach proper;* jō·do-, *entrails, bowels;* jī·ri-,[1] *supra-renal fat and omentum;* mūg-, *liver;* pī·lma-, *spleen;* ī·jnga-, *uterus;* â·wa-, *arm-pit;* yī·lnga-, *tendon Achilles;* nē·ma-, *gall-bladder.*

[1] For a description of the *reg-jī ri-gū·mul-*, *vide* Part II, "Initiatory Ceremonies," paragraphs 15–17.

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V.

dig (*or* di) ..	*my* ..	dal-[1] *or* dòl-[1] *eye*; dal àr pid-,[1] *or* dòl àr pid-,[1] *eye-lash*; dal ŏt ĕd-,[1] *or* dòl ŏt ĕd-,[1] *eyelid*; pŭ·nyur-, *eyebrow*; mŭ·gu-, *face* (*also forehead*); pŭ·ku, *ear*; chŏ·ronga-, *nose*; tĭ·mar-, *temple*; ăb-, *cheek*; ăb-pid-, *whiskers*; tŏ·go-, *shoulder*; tŭg-, *tooth*; gŭd-, *arm*; kŭ·rupi-, *upper arm*; kŏ·pa-, *fore-arm*; gŏ·ra-, *biceps*; kăm-, *breast*; kăm l'ŏt chĕ·ta-, *nipple of breast*; dĕ·riya-, *gum*; t'i-, *tear*.
ngig (*or* ngi) ..	*thy* ..	
ig (*or* i) ..	*his* ..	
l'ig (*or* l'i) ..	—'s ..	
mit·ig (*or* mit·i)	*our* ..	
ngit·ig (*or* ngit·i)	*your*	
it·ig (*or* it·i) ..	*their*	
l'it·ig (*or* l'it·i)	—s' ..	

Ex.—ŏl ab-gŏ·ra dŏ·gada, ig gŏ·ra igbă·di! *He is very strong; see his biceps!*
He strong very, his biceps see!

VI.

dar	*my* ..	chăg-, *leg*; chŏ·rog-, *hip*; ĕ·te-, *loin*; măl·wit-, *large intestine*; kòl·am-, *mesentery*; gŭ·dwin-, *os coccygis*; ŭ·lu-, *urine*; ŭ·lu l'ĭa ĕr-, *bladder* (ĕr = *abode*); ŏ·ta-, *testicle*; tŏ-, ŏ·no-, *and* dam·a-, *buttocks*; mŭ·ga-, *rectum*; tŭ·mur-, *anus*.
ngar	*thy* ..	
ar	*his* ..	
l'ar	—'s ..	
mar·at ..	*our* ..	
ngar·at ..	*your*	
ar·at	*their*	
l'ar·at	—s' ..	

Ex.—mar·at chăg-, *our legs*.

VII.

dŏ·to	*my* ..	kĭ·nab-, *waist*. This appears to be the only part of the body with which this form is used.
ngŏ·to ..	*thy, your*	
ŏ·to ..	*his, their*	
l'ŏ·to ..	—'s, —s' ..	
mŏ·to	*our* ..	

N.B.—In the case of the following words, the possessive adjective peculiar to the part referred to is taken:—pid, *hair*; ĕd-, *skin*; tă-, *bone*; ti-, *blood*; mŭ·rudi-, *go*; gŭ·mar, *sweat*; yĭ·inga-, *vein, muscle*; wain·ya-, *cuticle*; mŭn-, *pus*; dĕ·kin-, *pulse*.

Ex.—mŏ·tot pid-, *the hair of our heads*;
ngak·at ĕd-, *the skin of your lips*;
dig ta-, *the bone of my arm*;
ngar ti-, *the blood of thy leg*;
&c.;

i.e., the above would be understood to represent mŏ·tot chĕ·ta pid-; ngak·at pai ĕd-; dig gud tă-; ngar chăg ti-.

[1] These words generally take the abbreviated form, *di*, *ngi*, &c.

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All the papers mentioned above have been placed in my 000
hands for the purpose of drawing up this report, and Mr. Man has also given me much personal instruction and looked over the whole of what I have written to guard against any error of fact or language. I have examined the grammar drawn up with such care and acuteness by Mr. Temple, and the vocabulary of Mr. Man, and I shall endeavour to give an account of the results at which they have arrived.

The following, written by Mr. Temple in July, 1881, on finally returning the MSS. to Mr. Man, sums up his opinion of the nature of the South and other Andaman languages:

"The Andaman languages are one group. They are like, 197
that is, connected with no other group. They have no affinities by which we might infer their connexion with any other known group. The word-construction (the 'etymology' 193
of the old grammarians) is two-fold, that is, they have affixes[1] and prefixes to the root, of a *grammatical* nature. The general principle of word-construction is agglutination pure and simple. In adding their affixes, they follow the principles of the ordinary agglutinative tongues. In adding their prefixes, they follow the well-defined principles of the South African tongues. Hitherto, as far as I know, the two principles in full play have never been found together in any other language. Languages which are found to follow the one have the other in only a rudimentary form present in them. In Andamanese both are fully developed, so much so as to interfere with each other's grammatical functions. The collocation of words (or 'syntax' to follow the old nomenclature) is that of the agglutinative languages purely. The presence of the peculiar prefixes does not interfere with this.

[1] Mr. Temple, following the usual unetymological definition given in dictionaries, here uses *affix* in place of *suffix*. In what follows I shall adopt the practice of Prof. S. S. Haldeman in his "Affixes in their origin and application," Philadelphia, 1865, p. 27. "*Affixes* are additions to roots, stems, and words, serving to modify their meaning and use. They are two kinds, *prefixes*, those at the beginning, and *suffixes*, those at the end of the word bases to which they are affixed. Several affixes occur in long words like *in-com-pre-hen-s-ib-il-it-y*, which has three prefixes and five suffixes." Affixes also include *infixes* (or, as Prof. Haldeman calls them, *interfixes*), where the modifying letter or syllable is introduced into the middle of the base, as in the Semitic and other languages.

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193 The only way in which they affect the syntax is to render possible the frequent use of long compounds almost polysynthetic in their nature, or, to put it in another way, of long compounds which are sentences in themselves. But the construction of these words is not synthetic, but agglutinative. They are, *as words*, either compound nouns or verbs, taking their place in the sentence and having the same relation to the other words in it, as they would were they to be introduced into a sentence in any other agglutinative language. There are, of course, many peculiarities of grammar in the Andaman group, and even in each member of the group, but these are only such as are incidental to the grammar of other languages, and do not affect its general tenor. I consider, therefore, that the Andaman languages belong to the agglutinative stage of development, and are distinguished from other groups by the presence in full development of the principle of prefixed and affixed grammatical additions to the roots of words."

The South Andaman language, called by the natives *bō·jig-ngī·ji-da*,[1] consists in the first place of a series of base forms, which Mr. Temple reduces to roots. These forms may answer to any part of speech, and in particular to what we call substantives, adjectives or verbs. These forms do not vary in construction, and are not subject to inflexion proper. Hence there is nothing resembling the grammatical gender, declension or conjugation of Aryan languages; but the functions of such Aryan forms are discharged by prefixes, postpositions, and suffixes. It is only in the pronouns and pronominal adjectives that there is anything which simulates declension. And it is only by the use of the prefixes that anything like concord can be established.

The Andamanese have of course words which imply sex,

[1] The word *bō·jig* appears to mean our-make-of, according to our habits. Mr. Man only knows it in the names of the tribes *bō·jig-noī·ji-* and *bō·jig-yá·b-*, our-make-of friends, our make of speech, and in such expressions as *bō-jig ká·rama-* our make of bows to shoot with, *bō·jig dá·kar-* our make of buckets *bō·jig bū·j-* our make of cooking-pots etc. The *bō·jig-yá·bda* inhabit the Southern portion of Middle Andaman, and most closely resemble the South Andamanese in speech.

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but they are in general quite unrelated forms; thus: *àbū·lada* man *àpai·lda* woman; *âkàkâ·dakada* boy, *aryō·ngida* girl; *àrō·dingada* father, *àbē·tingada* mother. 'Male' and 'female' are represented even for animals by the above words for 'man' and 'woman,' without the affixes, which are usually omitted in composition,[1] as *bū·la, pail*, and when the animals are young by the names *abwâ·rada* bachelor, or *abjad·ijō·gda* spinster, rejecting the affixes as *wâ·ra, jad·ijō·g*, see letter to *Jam·bu*, p. 63, sentences 15 and 16. Even in the Aryan languages 'gender,' the Latin 'genus,' means only a 'kind,' and as it so happened that the kind with one termination included males, with another females, and with a third sexless things, the time-honoured names masculine, feminine and neuter arose. But the classification thus formed has, properly speaking, nothing to do with sex, as may be seen at once from sentinel being feminine in French (*la sentinelle*) and woman neuter in German (*das Weib*). We may see from the discussions in Grimm's grammar how difficult, or rather impossible, it is to recover the feeling which led to that grouping in German, and the same difficulty is felt in other languages. The Andamanese grouping which takes the place of gender is, on the contrary, clear enough in the main. The Andamanese consider, first, objects generally, including everything thinkable. Then these are divided into animate and inanimate. Of course the vegetable kingdom is included in the latter. The animate objects are again divided into human and non-human. Of the human objects there is a sevenfold division as to the part of the body referred to, and this division is curiously extended to the inanimate objects which affect or are considered in relation to certain parts of the body. These group distinctions are pointed out by prefixes, and by the form assumed by the pronominal adjectives. So natural and rooted are these distinctions in the minds of the Andamanese that any use of a wrong prefix or wrong possessive form occasions unintelligibility or surprise or raises a laugh, just as when we use

[1] This expression includes both prefix and suffix, see foot-note, p. 51. The suffix *-da* is occasionally retained at the end of clauses, p. 54, l. 15.

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193 false concords in European languages. I shall give examples on p. 57, which have been drawn up for me by Mr. Man. These prefixes are added to what in our translations become substantives, adjectives, and verbs, and which for purposes of general intelligibility to an Aryan audience had better be so designated. But we require new terms and an entirely new set of grammatical conceptions which shall not bend an agglutinative language to our inflexional translation. With this warning, that they are radically incorrect, I shall freely use inflexional terms, as Mr. Temple does throughout his grammar, meaning merely that the language uses such and such forms to express what in other languages are distinguished by the corresponding inflexional terms, which really do not apply to this.

Substantives, adjectives, and adverbs, generally end in *-da*, which is usually dropped before postpositions and in construction; hence when I write a hyphen at the end of a word, I shall mean that in its full form it has *-da*. Subs. and adj. also occasionally end in *-re* for human objects, and this *-re* is not dropped before postpositions. This same suffix *-re* is also extensively used in verbs, for our past tense active, or past participle passive. A common termination is also *-la*, which as well as *-re* implies human, and *-ola*, which is also honorific. What answers to our verbal substantives denoting either actor or action, is expressed by the suffix *-nga* added to verbal bases, both active and passive. What corresponds to the Aryan declension is carried out entirely by postpositions, as in fact it might be in English by prepositions, if we had a preposition to point out the accusative as in Spanish. In Andamanese these postpositions are generally *ĭa* of, or more usually *lĭa* of (where the *l*, as very frequently, is merely a euphonic prefix to vowels); *len*, to, in (but *len* also frequently marks out the object); *lat* to, towards; *tek* from and by; *la* by means of (instrument).

The plural is expressed by the addition of *lō·ng-kâ·lak*[1] to the singular, when the distinction is considered necessary,

[1] Here *lōng* is probably 'their,' 4th person, see Cl. 5, p. 59. *kâ·lak* is apparently no longer found separately.

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which is not often, as the plural is left to be implied by the context, or is indicated by a prefix. Abstract subst. are formed from adj. by adding *yō·ma-* quality, or property, as *lâ·pangada* long, *lâ·panga-yō·mada* length. Negative subst. are formed by adding *ba*, an abbreviation for *yā·ba*, as *ablī·gada* child, *ablī·gaba* not a child, but a boy or girl.

Active verbs use the suffixes *-ke* for our gerundial form of infinitive,[1] for our pres. part., pres. ind., and occasionally future; *-re* for past time, *-ka* imperfect, *-ngabo* for future, *-nga* for verbal subst., actor and action; with numerous auxiliaries answering to our 'may, might, shall, should, will, would.' Passive verbs use *-nga* for the gerundial infinitive, the future, and verbal substantive, *-ngaba* for pres. and imperf. indic., *-ngata* for perf. and *entô·ba—ngata* pluperf., and *-re* for past participle.[2] Certain verbs distinguish the subject and others the object, as human and non-human, by change of prefix, but no rule can be given as to when a verb does one or the

[1] In his glossary Mr. Man uses the form in *-ke* (just as we say gerundially 'to exist') to shew that he means a verbal form. He says that if you ask an Andamanese the name of any action which you shew him, he will give you the form in *-ke*. But it remains to be established that this corresponds to our gerundial infinitive, at least I have not detected it in any example which Mr. Man has furnished, nor could he recall one. In Latin dictionaries *audio*, *amo*, are Englished 'to hear, to love,' which they certainly do not mean. But as it is usual to give Latin verbs in this form, so it may be usual to give Andamanese verbs in the form in *-ke*, which would be like using *audit*, *amat* in Latin. Our gerundial or supine infinitive answers to the Latin *ad audiendum*, *auditum*. Dr. Morris prefers calling it the "dative infinitive" (Hist. Outlines of Engl. Accidence, 1872, p. 177). It is frequently used for the pure infinitive in English. The pure infinitive is properly only a verbal subst., and most nearly corresponds to one of the senses of the Andamanese form with the suffix *-nga*, but in point of fact there is nothing in Andamanese identical with the Aryan infinitive.

[2] Mr. Man 'conjugates' a verb thus, using the inflexional names. I translate the suffixes *-ke* do, does, *-ka* -ing -was, *-re* did, etc., as the nearest inflexional representatives, but they do not give the true feeling of the original, to which we have nothing which corresponds in English.

ACTIVE. Inf. *mâ·mi-ke* sleep-to. Pres. *dōl mâ·mi-ke* I sleep-do. Imperf. *dōl mâ·mi-ka* I sleep-ing-was. Perf. *dōl mâ·mi-re* I sleep-did (I slept). Pluperf. *dōl entô·ba mâ·mi-re* I already sleep-did. Fut. *dōl mâ·mi-ngabo* I sleep-will. Imperative *dō mâ·mi-ke* me sleep-let, *mâ·mi sleep!*, *ō mâ·mi-ke* him sleep-let, *mō·cho mâ·mi-ke* us sleep-let. Optative *dōl mâ·mi-nga tō·guk* I sleep-(verbal subs.) might. Continuative participle, *mâ·mi-nga bē·dig* sleep-(verbal subs.) while = while sleeping.

PASSIVE. Inf. *kō·p-nga* scoop(ed)-to-be. Pres. *kâ·rama dō·l-la kō·p-ngaba* bow me-by scooped-is-being. Imperf. *kâ·rama dō·l-la âchī·baiya kō·p-ngaba* bow me-by then scooped-was-being. Perf. *kâ·rama dō·l-la kō·p-ngata* bow me-by scooped-has-been. Pluperf. *kâ·rama dō·l-la entô·ba kō·p-ngata* bow me-by already scooped-had-been. Fut. *kâ·rama dō·l-la kō·p-nga* bow me-by scooped-will-be.

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193 other, so that this is a mere matter of practice. There are also reflective verbs formed by pronouns.

The greatest peculiarity of the language is the treatment of the personal and possessive pronoun. All the pronouns are sexless, but the forms used for the so-called dative seem to vary with the group. The normal form is that for the third person, 'he, she, it,' for which I will use 'it' only for brevity, and 'they' for the plural. We have then sing. *ō* it (subject), *ia* of it, *en*, *ūl*, *at*, *ik*, *eb* to it, in different forms, *en* it (object), and in it: pl. *òl·òichik* they, *ò·nta* of them, *el*, *ū·lat*, *at·at*, *ò·ntat*, *ō·llet*, *eb·et* to them, in different forms, *et* them, *ō·llet* in them. These relations may also be expressed by the postpositions answering to case. Then for the first person *d-* sing. and *m-* plur., and for the second *ng-* sing. and plur., are prefixed to these forms; as *ōl* it, *dōi* I, *ngōl* thou, *mòl·òichik* we, *ngòl·òichik* you. There is also what Mr. Temple calls a "fourth person," obtained by prefixing *l* to those forms of the third person, which are not the subject of the sentence, and these give common postpositional forms, as *lī·a* of a or the (or English possessive *'s*), *len* to or in a or the, and also the object of a verb, *lat*, *leb* to a or the.

These preliminary explanations will serve to make intelligible the following examples which have been furnished by Mr. Man, and will shew the structure of the language better than a long series of grammatical explanations. Observe that in all these examples a hyphen at the end of a word means that the suffix *-da* (applied to all things) may be added, but that it is omitted in construction, and heard only in isolated words or at the end of a clause. The hyphens between parts of a word separate the prefix, the suffix, the postposition and the parts of which the word is compounded, and are used merely for the purpose of assisting the unaccustomed reader, generally they should all be written together in one word without hyphens, just as in German *ereifern* and not *er-eifer-n*, though the latter shews the approximate composition.

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Prefixes Illustrated.

Cited as No. 1, 2, *etc.*

No. 1 *bē·ri-nga* good (animate but non-human, or inanimate).

No. 2. *jā·bag-* bad (ditto).

No. 3. *à-bē·ri-nga-* good (human).

No. 4. *ab-jā·bag-* bad (ditto).

No. 5. *ad-bē·ri-nga-* well, that is, not sick (animate).

No. 6. *ad-jā·bag-* ill, that is, not well (ditto).

No. 7. *ũn-bē·ri-nga-* clever (that is hand-good, *ũn* referring to *ōng* its, applied to *kō·ro-* hand, see Cl. 5, p. 59).

No. 8. *ũn-jā·bag-* stupid (that is, hand-bad, ditto).

No. 9. *ig-bē·ri-nga-* sharp-sighted (that is, eye-good, *ig* its, being applied to *dal-* eye, see Cl. 4, p. 58).

No. 10. *ig-jā·bag-* dull-sighted (that is, eye-bad, ditto).

No. 11. *à·kà-bē·ri-nga* nice-tasted (that is, mouth-good, *à·kà* its, applied to *bang-* mouth, *dē·li-ya-* palate, see Cl. 3, p. 58).

No. 12. *ũn-tig-bē·ri-nga-* good "all round" (that is, *ũn* hand and *ig* eye, good, *t* being euphonic).

No. 13. *ũn-tig-jā·bag-a* "duffer" (that is, hand and eye bad).

No. 14. *ōt-bē·ri-nga-* virtuous (that is, head and heart good, *ōt* its, applied to *chē·ta-* head and *kūg-* heart, see Cl. 6, p. 59).

No. 15. *ōt-jā·bag-* vice, evil, vicious (that is, head and heart bad).

No. 1–15. Example: *à·rtàm dō·ra ab-jā·bag l'edā·re, dōna à·chitik à-bē·ri-nga* (or *à-bē·ri-nga-ke*). Free translation: Dō·ra was formerly a bad man, but now he is a good man. [Analytical translation: *à·rtàm* formerly, *dō·ra* name of man, *ab-jā·bag* (human)-bad, *l'edā·re* exist-did. *dō·na* but, *à·chitik* now, *à-bē·ri-nga-* (human)-good [or *à-bē·ri-nga-ke* (human)-good-is].] The 'is' generally unexpressed, in *l'edā·re* the *l'* is the common euphonic prefix, *edā·* v. exist, *-re* past time; which may be expressed as 'exist-did,' the verb being always put in the infinitive (properly unlimited, undefined) form, and the suffix *-re* being expressed by 'did,' as *-ke* may be by 'does,' etc., as the simplest way of expressing present and past time, see the conjugation of the verb in note 2, p. 55; the simple copula is never expressed, but in the second form *àbē·ringa* is treated as a verb, and *ke* being added makes it present, so that there is an apparent expression of the copula. Mr. Man believes the termination *-da* as applied to anything which exists, to be derived from the partially obsolete v. *edā·* exist.

No. 16. *ũn-là·ma-* one who misses striking an object with *hand* or *foot*, see Nos. 7 and 8 above.

No. 17. *ig-là·ma-* one who fails to *see* or *find* an object such as honey, a lost article, etc., see Nos. 9 and 10 above.

No. 18. *ōt-là·ma-* one who is wanting in *head*, that is, *sense*, see Nos. 14 and 15 above.

No. 19. *ab-là·ma-* one who is a "duffer" at getting turtles after they are speared, that is, by diving and seizing them, where *ab* his refers to *chàn* body, see Cl. 1, below.

No. 20. *ō·ko-là·ma-* applied to a weapon which fails to penetrate the object struck through the fault of the striker.

No. 21. *à·kà-là·ma-* who uses a wrong word to express his meaning (*à·ka* its, being applied to *bang* mouth, and *teg·ili* voice, see Cl. 3, p. 58).

This will suffice to show the curious action of the South Andaman prefixes, which it will be seen presently refer especially to the different forms of the possessive pronoun when applied to different parts of the human body. The following table was drawn up by Mr. Man, and has only been slightly rearranged.

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•193 The forms of possessive pronouns are arranged according to the alphabetic order of the word signifying *his, her,* or *its,* singular and plural, from which the forms for the first, second, and so-called fourth person, can be deduced by prefixing *d, ng, l'* for the singular *my, thy,—'s,* and *m, ng, l'* for the plural *our, your,—s'.*

THE SEVEN FORMS OF THE POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS IN RELATION TO PARTS OF THE HUMAN BODY.

(*Cited as Cl.* 1, 2, *etc.*)

CLASS 1. Sing. *ab*, pl. *at*.

chàu- body, *gŭ·ăur-* or *lân-* back, *gō·rob-* spine, *pai·cha-* thigh, lap, *châ·lta-* shin, *châ·lta dam·a-* shin-(fleshy part), calf, *pē·ke-* groin, *kō·pa-* elbow, *kô·pa-damsa-* fore arm-(fleshy part), *kŭ·rupi-ăam·a-* upper arm-(fleshy part), *lō-* knee, *â·pita-* hollow of knee, *pâ·retâ-* rib, *ĕr-* navel, *â·pa-chàu-* belly, abdominal walls, *ŭ·pta-* stomach proper, *jō·do-* entrails, bowels, *mūg-* liver, *pĭ·lma-* spleen, *nē·ma-* gall-bladder, *ĭ·j-nga-* womb, *jĭ·ri-* supra-renal fat and omentum, *â·wa-* armpit, *pô·dik-ma-* shoulder-blade, *yĭ·l-nga-* tendon of Achilles.

CLASS 2. Sing. *ar*, pl. *ar·at*.

châg- leg, *chô·rog-* hip, *ĕ·te-* loin, *gŭd-win-* os coccygis, *mŭ·ga-* rectum, *tŭ·mur-* anus. *ŭ·lu-* urine, *ŭ·lu-lĭ·a-ĕ·r-* bladder (urine-of-abode), *kòl·am* mesentery, *mäl·wit-* large intestine, *ô·ta-* testicle, *tô-*, *ô·no-*, or *dam·a-* buttocks. EXAMPLE: *med·a* (or *môl·òichik*) *jär·awa l'ar·at châ-glen ablŭ·re*, we saw the legs of the *jär·awa*. [*med·a* we, a contracted form frequently used instead of the regular *môl·òichik*. *jär·awa* the South Andaman name for a tribe inhabiting Little Andaman, and having settlements in South Andaman, where they are much feared by the natives. *l'ar·at* (*l* euphonic) their, agreeing with *châg* legs, which is made plural by the preceding plural form *l'ar·at*. *len* marks the object on to which the action passes. *ab-lŭ·re* (human)-see-did, the 'human' *ab* 'agrees' with the 'human' subject 'we.']

CLASS 3. Sing. *â·kà*, pl. *ak·at*.

bang- mouth, *dĕ·li-ya-* palate, *â·dal-* chin, *pai-* lip, *pai·-la-pĭ·d-* moustache, that is, lip-(*la* euphonic)-hair, *ĕ·tel-* tongue, *del·ta-* gullet, *ô·rma-* throat, *ô·rma-bā* wind-pipe, *i.e.* throat-small, *ted·imo-* uvula, *ĕ·kib-* jaw-bone, *ĕ·kib-pĭ·d-* beard, that is, jaw-bone-hair, *gō·d-la-* collar-bone, *châ·ga-* side, *tŭ·bal-* saliva, *chai·ad-* breath. 1 v

CLASS 4. Sing. *ig*, pl. *it·ig*, contracted to *ĭ*, *it·i* with the words marked *.

**dal-* **dòl-* eye, **dal·-ar-pĭ·d-* and **dòl·-ar-pĭ·d-* eyelash, that is, eye-its-hair, **dal·-ōt-ĕ·d-* or **dòl·-ōt-ĕ·d-* eyelid, that is, eye-its- (*i.e.* belonging to the head)-skin, *pŭ·-nyur-* eyebrow, *dĕ·riya-* gum, *mŭ·ga-* face, forehead, *pŭ·ku-* ear, *chô·ro-nga-* nose, *dô-* cheek, *â·b-pĭ·d-* whiskers, that is, cheek-hair, *tĭ·mar-* temple (of head), *tŭg-* tooth, *tô go-* shoulder, *gŭd-* arm, *kŭ·rupi-* upper arm, *kô·pa-* forearm, *gô·ra-* biceps of upper arm, *kàm-* breast, *kàm l'ōt chĕ·ta-* nipple of the breast, that is, breast-its-head, see *ōt* Class 6, *t'ĭ-tear* (of the eye).

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1 v [Errata: read ô·na for chai·ad. Cp. Errata sheet, p. 256, Cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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Class 5. Sing. *ōng*, pl. *ōi·ot*.

kō·ro- hand or finger, *el·ma-* palm of the hand and sole of the foot, *kō·ro-mū·-guchâl-* middle finger, that is, hand-(third of five), [the fourth of five is *mū·guchâl tàrō·lo*; the first is *ō·tolâ·-* and the second (general) *àrō·lo-*, but (animate) *ō·rtonàu·-*; the last but one *ō·totī·r-tàrō·lo-*; and the last *tàrō·lo*; there are only two cardinal numbers *ū·ba-tū·l* one, and *īkpō·r-* two, beyond that they can in general only tap their nose with their fingers, commencing with the little finger, or say *àrdū·ru* several, 10 to 20, *jeg·chàu-* (human) many, say 50, *jī·baba-* very many, *ū·baba-* (non-human), but *ōt-ū·baba* (lower animals) and *atū·bàba-* (human) countless, a few of the most intelligent natives, however, occasionally use words for numbers up to 7, though different speakers differ as to their precise meaning.] *ī·ti-pī·l-* little finger, *kō·-ro-dō·ga-* thumb, that is, finger-big, *tō·go-* wrist, *kū·tur-* knuckle, *bō·do-* nail of finger or toe (in this sense the *ō* of *bō·do* is inordinately lengthened, to distinguish it from *bō·do* sun, in which the *ō* is rather of medial length than long, hence we may distinguish *bō·do-*, nail, and *bō·do-* sun), *pōg-* foot, *rō·koma-* toe, *tū·chab-* great toe, *ī·lam-* small toe, *gū·chul-* heel, *tàr-* ankle, *chàg-* kidney, *tà·ga-* peritoneum, *tà·banga-* small intestine. Example: *dōng kō·ro ngō·ngtek kē·tia-*, my hand is smaller than thine. [*dōng* my, *kō-ro* hand, *ngō·ng-tek* thy-from (that is, thy hand-from = than thy hand, corresponding precisely to the ablative case after comparative in Latin), *kē·tia-* small in size (not in quantity, for which *bā* or *dō·gaba* not much, is used). No mark of second degree of comparison is added, as that is implied by *tek*.]

Class 6. Sing. *ōt*, pl. *ō·tot*.

chē·ta- head, *lō·ngota-* neck, *chāl·ma-* chest, *mūn-* brain, *yà-* occiput, *làp·ta-* nape, *kà·kà-* scalp, *à·wa-* lung, *tū·lēpo-* phlegm, *nē-* prostate gland, *kūg-* the seat of the affections and passions, also the bosom, the heart, *kū·ktà-bana-* the heart itself. Example: *mō·da l'ōt chē·ta bō·diada* Moda's head is large, [*mō·da* a man's name, *l'ōt* his, *chēta* head, *bō·diada* large.]

Class 7. Sing. and pl. *ō·to*.

kī·nab- waist, this is apparently the only part of the body for which this pronoun is used; it also means 'narrow,' see 48, p. 68.

From this determinate use of possessive pronouns arises the custom of omitting the name of the part of the body referred to after a possessive pronoun, where it is clear what it must be. This is especially the case when the word could refer to many parts of the human body, sufficiently distinguished by the form of the possessive pronoun, as *pīd-* hair, *ēd-* skin, *tà-* bone, *tī-* blood, *mū·rudi-* gore, *gū·mar-* sweat, *yī·lnga-* vein, muscle, *wai·nya-* cuticle, *dē·kia* pulse, *mūn-* pus. When any doubt is felt, the full phrase is used.

Examples.

(*Cited as Om.* 1, 2, *etc.*)

Omission 1. *mō·tot chē·ta pīd-* the hair of our heads. [*mō·tot* our, see *ōt* No. 6 above, and hence *chē·ta* heads must be taken as plural, *pīd-* hair.] This is contracted into *mō·tot pīd-*, as out of the Class 6 above, it is only the head to which *pīd-* hair applies.

Omission 2. *ngak·at pai ēd-* the skin

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[Errata: See cat. 116, p. 256 for correction -- Analyst]

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of your lips [*ngak·at* your, plural in Class 3, *pai* lip must therefore be pluralised, *ĕd-* skin], might be contracted to *ngak·at ĕd-*, but this would be slightly ambiguous, as *â·dal-* chin belongs to this class.

OMISSION 3. *dig gŭp tâ-* the bone of my arm [*dig* singular of Class 4, *gŭd* arm, *tâ* bone], might be contracted, but not with much certainty, except the arm were stretched out, to *dig tâ-*.

OMISSION 4. *ngar châg tĭ-* the blood of thy leg [*ngar* thy, in Class No. 2, *châg* leg, *tĭ* blood], might be contracted into *ngar tĭ-* with considerable risk of ambiguity, unless the leg had been previously referred to, or was otherwise indicated.

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As it is neither possible nor desirable to expand this report into a treatise on the South Andaman language, I looked about for some genuine native utterances, not translations, which might illustrate the natural speech of the country. Fortunately, Mr. Man was able to furnish me with precisely what I wanted. When he was sent officially to the Nicobar Islands, he took with him several young native Andamanese,[1] and in order to keep up their connection with their friends, and especially with their head-man, *jam·bu* (as he was always called, though that was not his real name), Mr. Man wrote letters for them at their dictation. He had to treat them quite like children for whom one writes letters, suggesting subjects, asking what they would say if they saw *jam·bu*, and so on. It was laborious work, which, however, Mr. Man did not regret, as it often furnished him with new words or phrases. These letters were then sent to the British officer in charge of the Homes at Port Blair, who did not know the language, but, from an explanation furnished, read the phonetic writing to *jam·bu*, sufficiently well to be understood, but to assist this officer Mr. Man furnished a free and an interlinear translation. I give two of these letters, which certainly, if any exist, are genuine specimens of South

[1] Their names and nicknames (in parenthesis) were *.ĭ·ra-* (*.kŏ·ro-* hand), *.bĭ·da* (*.ĭ·dal-* eye, as he had large saucer eyes), *.lŏ·ra* (Henry, his name when at the Ross orphanage), *.wŏ·i* (Tom, the name Mr. Man gave him when he first came to Viper Island), *.ĭ·ra* (*.jŏ·do-* entrails, so called from his protuberant belly when a child). These names may be preserved as those of the unwitting originators of Andaman literature. One other name of a native should be added, although he was not taken with Mr. Man to the Nicobars, on account of illness, and indeed he died shortly after Mr. Man left. This was *.bĭ·a* (*.pă·g-* foot, so called from his large feet). He was the elder brother of the above-named *.lŏ·ra* (Henry). All the time that Mr. Man was in charge of the Andaman Homes, about four years, *.bĭ·a* worked with him. He was the most intelligent and helpful native Mr. Man met, and was his principal informant throughout. Mr. Man often told him that he would bring his name to notice, and thus redeems his promise.

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lat-ke cause-fall-does; *tô·lat* is to drop, and is here made causative by prefixing *en*, = makes us fall, see *en-ôt-je·rke* in 21.]

50. *mô·da ngôl bî·rma-chê·lewa len min ârdü·ru ngâ·na yâ·te itità·nke yâ·ba, mòl·òichik kûkjâ·bagike.* If you don't send us by the (incoming) steamer all the things we asked for, we shall be very disappointed. [*mô·da* if. *ngôl* you. *bî·rma-chê·lewa* steamer, see 3. *len* in, postp. *min* things, see 23. *ârdü·ru* all. *ngâ·na* v. beg, ask for, *yâ·te* which we asked for, but there is no indication of person or time. *itità·nke* send, see 24. *yâ·ba* not. *mol·òichik* we. *kûk-jâ·bagi-ke* heart-bad-are see 23, euphonically inserted *i* before *-ke*.]

51. *kâ·rin·ñgâ târtî·t yâ·ba.* There is no more news to tell you. [*kâ·rin* here. *ñgâ* more. *târtî·t* news. *yâ·ba* not.]

52. *med·a ngôll' ârdü·ru tek târtî·t bê·ringa igâ·rike.* We are longing to have good accounts of you all. [*med·a* we. *ngôl-lâ* you. *ârdü·ru* all. *tek* from, postp. *târtî·t* news. *i-gâ·ri-ke* long-for-do, *i* prefix, an abbreviation of *ig*, Nos. 9 and 10.]

53. *ñgâ·kâ yûm bâ lapâ·re.* But little rain has fallen up to the present time. [*ñgâ·kâ* as yet, see 5. *yûm* rain. *bâ* little. *la-pâ-re* (euphonic *la*, frequently prefixed to verbs). fall-did.]

54. *kam wai mòl·òichik.* Good bye. [See 29.]

The above examples shew the mode of thought of the natives, and what most occupies their attention. They are some of the very few expressions of genuine untutored barbarians which we possess. The analytical translation which I have been enabled to give, by the help of Mr. Man (who has very carefully revised the whole), shews not only the meaning of the parts of the words and the method of construction, but the great depth to which Mr. Man has been able to penetrate, entirely from oral instruction, into the genius and vocabulary of the language.

The agglutinative nature of the language tends directly to the detection of basic forms, and Mr. Temple has very acutely pursued this into the theory of roots. He conceives that the roots are all properly monosyllabic, and generally end with a consonant, but that these monosyllables are frequently extended by the addition of a vowel or diphthong, or the same preceded by a consonant, in which the real meaning lies in the first syllable, though it has now been lost, while the expansions serve as modifications. Occasionally the roots are of three syllables. This chapter in Mr. Temple's grammar is one of the longest and most carefully studied, but his materials were too scanty, and, as the vocabulary increased, Mr. Man found it necessary to suggest such multifarious points for reconsideration, that it would be obviously premature to give the lists which Mr. Temple has furnished. It is to be hoped that the fuller vocabulary

CHAPTER IV.

THE LANGUAGES.

I. General Description.—Philological Value—Savage Nature—Agglutinative—Samples of Minuteness in Detailed Terms—Specimens of Andamanese Method of Speech.

II. Grammar.—History of the Study—The Theory of Universal Grammar—The Position of the Andamanese Languages in the General Scheme—Examples of Sentences of One Word—Elliptical Speech—Portman's Fire Legend in the Bea Version dissected to illustrate Grammar—Subject and Predicate—Principal and Subordinate Words—Functions of the Words—Order of Sentence—Order of Connected Sentences—Interrogative Sentences—Mode of expressing the Functions and Interrelations of Words—The Use of Affixes; Prefixes, Infixes, Suffixes—Differentiation of Classes of Words—Indication of Classes—Qualitative Affixes—Composition of the Words—Agglutinative Principle—Identity of the Five Languages of the Southern Group of Tribes.

III. Etymology.—The Use of the Roots—Anthropomorphism Colours the whole Linguistic System—The Use of the Prefixes to Roots—To Words denoting the Human Body—To Words referring to the Human Body—The Prefix of Intimate Relation—The Prefix System—Prefixes to Words relating to Objects—General Senses of the Prefixes to Roots—The Use of the "Personal Pronouns"—Limited Pre-inflexion—Limited Correlated Variation (Concord)—Expression of Plurality by Radical Prefixes—Qualitative Prefixes—Functional Suffixes—Functional Suffixes are Lost Roots: attempt at recovery.

IV. Phonology.—The Voice of the Andamanese—History of the Reduction of the Language to Writing—Peculiarities of Speech.

V. The Northern and Outer Groups.—Proof of the Identity of the Northern and Southern Groups of Languages—The Outer Group (Onge-Jarawa) examined—The Limited Knowledge of it—Recovery of Colebrooke's Jarawa Vocabulary, 1790—Proof of its Identity with the Other Group—Derivation of "Mincopie."

Appendix A.—The Theory of Universal Grammar.

Appendix B.—An Onge Vocabulary.

Appendix C.—The Fire Legend in the Bojigngiji Group.

I. General Description.

193 **Philological Value.**—The Andaman Languages are extremely interesting from the philological standpoint, on account alone of their isolated development, due to the very recent contact with the outer world on the part of the speakers. Of the speech of the only peoples, who may be looked upon as the physical congeners of the Andamanese,—the Samangs of the Malay Peninsula and the Aetas of the Phillipine Archipelago,—no *Vocabulary* or *Grammar* is available to me of the latter, and the only specimens of the Samang tongue I have seen bear no resemblance or roots common to any Andamanese Language.

The Andamanese Languages exhibit the expression only of the most direct and simplest thought, show few signs of syntactical, though every indication of a very long etymological, growth, are purely colloquial and wanting in the modifications always necessary for communication by writing. The Andamanese show, however, by the very frequent use of ellipsis and of clipped and curtailed words, a long familiarity with their speech.

The sense of even Proper Names is usually immediately apparent, and the speakers invariably exhibit difficulty in getting out of the region of concrete into that of abstract ideas, though none in expanding or in mentally differentiating or classifying ideas, or in connecting several closely together. Generic terms are usually wanting, and specific terms are numerous and extremely detailed. Narration almost always concerns themselves and the chase. Only the absolutely necessary is usually employed and the speech is jerky, incomplete, elliptical and disjointed. Introductory words are not much used and no forward references are made. Back references by means of words for that purpose are not common, nor are conjunctions, adjectives, adverbs and even pronouns. An Andamanese will manage to convey his meaning without employing any of the subsidiary and connecting parts of speech. He ekes out with a clever mimicry a great deal by manner, tone and

action; and this habit he abundantly exhibits in the form of his speech. His narration is, nevertheless, clear, in proper consecutive order and not confused, showing that he possesses powers of co-ordination. 193

Savage Nature.—The general indications that the Languages give of representing the speech of undeveloped savages are confirmed by the intense anthropomorphism exhibited therein. As will be seen later on, the Andamanese regard not only all objects, but also every idea associated with them, as connected with themselves and their necessities, or with the parts of their bodies and their attributes. They have no means of expressing the majority of objects and ideas without such reference; *e.g.*, they cannot say "head" or "heads," but must say "my, your, his, or ———'s, this one's, or that one's head" or "our, your, their, or ———'s, or these ones', those ones' heads."

But though they are "savage" languages, limited in range to the requirements of a people capable of but few mental processes, the Andamanese Languages are far from being "primitive." In the evolution of a system of pre-flexion in order to intimately connect words together, to build up compounds and to indicate back references, and in a limited exhibition of the idea of concord by means of post-inflexion of pronouns, they indicate a development as complete and complicated as that of an advanced tongue, representing the speech of a highly intellectual people. These lowest of savages show themselves to be, indeed, human beings immeasurably superior in mental capacity to the highest of the brute beasts.

Agglutinative.—The Andamanese Languages all belong to one Family, divided into three Groups, plainly closely connected generally to the eye on paper, but mutually unintelligible to the ear. They are agglutinative in nature, synthesis being present in rudiments only. They follow the general grammar of agglutinative languages. All the affixes to roots are readily separable, and all analysis of words shows a very simple mental mechanism and a low limit in range and richness of thought and in the development of ideas. Suffixes and prefixes are largely used, and infixes also to build up compound words. As with every other language, foreign words have lately been fitted into the grammar with such changes of form as are necessary for absorption into the general structure of Andamanese speech.

Samples of Minuteness in Detailed Terms.—The following are examples of the extent to which the use of specific terms to describe details of importance to the Andamanese is carried by them.

Stages in the growth of fruit:—*Otdereka*, small: *chimiti*, sour: *putungaij*, black: *chebada*, hard: *telebick*, seed not formed: *gad*, seed forming: *gama*, seed formed: *tela*, half-ripe: *munukel*, ripe: *roichada*, fully ripe: *otyobda*, soft: *chorure*, rotten.

Stages of the day: *Waingala*, first dawn: *elawainga*, before sunrise: *bodola deatinga*, sunrise: *lilti (dilma)*, early morning: *bodola kagalnga*, morning: *bodola kagnga*, full morning: *bodo chonog*, forenoon: *bodo chau*, noon: *bodola loringa*, afternoon: *bodo l'ardiyanga*, full afternoon: *elardiyanga*, evening: *dila*, before sunset: *bodola lotinga*, sunset: *elakadanya*, twilight: *elaryitinga*, dark: *gurug chau*, midnight.

Specimen of Andamanese Method of Speech.—The following account of a story, abstracted from Portman, of an imaginary pig hunt as told by a Bea *eremtaga* (forest-man) for the amusement of his friends, will go far to explain the Andamanese mode of speech, and the form that its Grammar takes.

The narrator sits on the ground, facing a half circle of lounging Andamanese. After a short silence, he leans forward with his head bent down. Suddenly he sits erect with brightening eyes and speaks in a quick, excited way, acting as if carrying on a conversation with another person. "After how many days will you return?" And then answering as if for himself: "I will come back to-morrow morning, I am off pig-hunting now." A pause. "I am going." Very suddenly. "You stay here." Moving as if going away. "I am going to another place." Squeaking like a young pig with pantomime of shooting it. "It is only a little pig. I will take it to the hut." Moving his shoulders as if carrying. "They roasted it there." Wave of the hands signifying that the pig was of no account. Pause. "I started in the early morning after a big one,——a big pig." Motions of hands to show length and breadth of pig. To an imaginary friend. "I will sharpen pig arrows to take

193 with me. Come after me and we will hunt together." Imitation with the hands of a pig running, shooting arrows, slap on the left breast, squeals of several wounded pigs, and so on. A pause. "You take them in front of me." Directions by pantomime to other persons as to the pigs. "They were cooking them for me in the hut, cooking them well." Brightens up and begins again. "I will bring several more." Pretends to listen. "We have got them. The dogs are barking." And so on for hours.

The actual expressions for such a story are :—

Ba bichika arla—P'—eate ago on ? Wainga—len do on . Ña do reg
How many day——past you come? Morning——in I come. Now I pig
dele. Kam wai del. Kam wai do on . D'-ärleg—len
hunt. Away indeed I . Away indeed I come (go). Me-behind-in
ka . Wai do jala——ka. Rep-ka . Kam wai do ik on
there. Indeed I go-away-do. Pig-little. Away indeed I take come.
Wai ka eda etjoi . Do lilti doga——lat. Reg
Indeed there they roasted. I (in-the)—early morning big-(pig)—for. Pig
doga. Do ela Pigjit——ka. D'-okanuma-kon. Keich d'-arole.
big . I pig-arrow sharpen—do. I—go——do. Come me-after.
De-ag'—igdele. D'—okotelema ik on . Wai d'a-be etjoi——ka
I—you-hunt . Me——before take come. Indeed me-for cooking—were
kud-len. Tua roicha-beringa-ka. Ña do ikpogi—ka. Ikre ka .
hut-in . Very ripe—good—do. Now I several-do. Getting—were.
Wai eda ikkrawa.
Indeed they barked .

Nothing could show more clearly how "savage" the speech is in reality, how purely colloquial, how entirely it depends on concurrent action for comprehension. When the party, who were out with Mr. Vaux when he was killed by the Jarawas in February 1902, returned, they explained the occurrence to their friends at the Home in Port Blair by much action and pantomime and few words. The manner of his death was explained by the narrator lying down and following his movements on the ground.

II. Grammar.

121 193 **History of the Study.**—I have taken so large a share in the development of the knowledge of the Andamanese tongue that a brief personal explanation is here necessary to make clear the mode of presenting it that now follows.

The first person to seriously study the Andamanese Languages and reduce them to writing was Mr. E. H. Man, and in this work I joined him for a time soon after it was commenced, and in 1877 we jointly produced a small book with an account of the speech of the Bojigngiji Group, or more strictly, of the Bea Tribe. We then worked together on it, making such comparisons with the speech of the other Andaman Tribes as were then possible and compiling voluminous notes for a Grammar and Vocabulary, which are still in manuscript. In 1882 the late Mr. A. J. Ellis used these notes for an account of the Bea Language in his Presidential Address to the Philological Society.

In compiling our manuscript, Mr. Man and myself had used the accepted grammatical terms, and these Mr. Ellis found to be so little suited to the adequate representation for scientific readers of such a form of speech as the Andamanese, that he stated in his Address that :—

> "We require new terms and an entirely new set of grammatical conceptions, which shall not bend an agglutinative language to our inflexional translation."

And in 1883 he asked me, in a letter, if it were not possible "to throw over the inflexional treatment of an uninflected language."

The Theory of Universal Grammar.—Pondering, for the purpose of an adequate presentation of Andamanese, on what was then a novel, though not an unknown, idea, never put into practice, I gradually framed a Theory of Universal Grammar, privately printed and circulated in that year. This Theory remained unused, until Mr. M. V. Portman compiled his notes for a

Comparative Grammar of the Bojigngiji (South Andaman) Languages in 1896, based avowedly, but not fully, on my Theory. These notes I examined in a second article on the Theory of Universal Grammar in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1899, which again was subjected to the favourable criticism of Mr. Sidney Ray, who has since successfully applied it in outline to 16 languages, selected because unrelated and morphologically distinct, viz.— 121 193

1. English.
2. Hungarian.
3. Latin.
4. Khasi, Hills of N. E. Bengal.
5. Anam, French Cochin China.
6. Ashanti, West Africa.
7. Kafir, South Africa.
8. Malagasy, Madagascar.
9. Olo Ngadju or Dayak, South East Borneo.
10. Nufor, Dutch New Guinea.
11. Motu, British New Guinea.
12. Mortlock Islands, Caroline Group. Micronesia.
13. Mota, Banks' Islands, Melanesia.
14. Samoan, Polynesia.
15. Awabakal, Lake Macquarie, Australia.
16. Dakota, North America.

With this brief history of the study of the Andamanese Languages, I will now give an exposition of the Theory so closely bound up with it as briefly and clearly as I can, in order to explain the method employed for exhibiting the peculiarities of Andamanese speech. A more detailed account, specially developed to a considerable extent for the present purpose, will be found in Appendix A.

All speech expresses a communication between man and man by talking or by signs. Languages are varieties of speech. The unit of every language is the expression of a complete communication, *i.e.*, the sentence. All sentences are divided into incomplete expressions of communication, *i.e.*, words, and are as naturally multiplied into languages. Thus there is a development both ways from the sentence.

The necessary primary division of every sentence made up of words is into the matter communicated (subject) and the communication made about it (predicate). The words in each of these divisions are of necessity in the relation of principal and subordinate, which involves the fulfilment of a function by every word.

The function of the principal word of the subject is obviously to indicate the matter communicated and of the subordinate words to explain the indication and illustrate that explanation. Similarly the principal word of the predicate indicates the communication made and the subordinate words illustrate the indication or complete it.

Therefore, in every language the essential words in a sentence are:—

(1) indicator, indicating the subject or the complement,
(2) explicator, explaining that indication,
(3) predicator, indicating the predicate,
(4) illustrators, illustrating the predicator or the explicator.

As all speech expresses a communication, it has a purpose, and the function of the sentences is to express one of the five following purposes:—(1) affirmation, (2) denial, (3) interrogation, (4) exhortation, (5) information. The methods adopted for indicating the purpose of a sentence are (1) placing the components in a particular order, or (2) varying their forms or the tones in which they are spoken, or (3) adding special introductory words. When the purposes of speech are by their nature connected together, this connection is naturally indicated by connected sentences in the relation of principal and subordinate, which is expressed by methods similar to those above noted, *viz.*, placing them in a particular order, or varying the forms or tones of their components, or adding special referent words of two kinds, (1) simple conjoining words, (2) words substituting themselves in the subordinate sentence for the words in the principal sentence to which they refer.

The relation of the words composing the parts of a sentence is also expressed by the similar methods of adding special connecting words, or of varying the forms or tones of the words; and so, too, the intimate relation between indicator and predicator, indicator and explicator, illustrator and predicator, predicator and complement, referent substitute and principal, is similarly expressed by special connecting words, by correlated variation of the words in intimate relation, by their relative position, or by the tones used in severally expressing them.

Complete communication can be, and is habitually, in every language, made without a complete expression of it in speech, and so referent words are made to refer to words unexpressed and to be related or correlated to them, and referent substitutes are made to indicate the unexpressed subject or complement of a sentence.

The function of the sentence and the inter-relation of the words composing it are therefore in all speech expressed by three methods: position, variation, or addition of special words. Every language adopts one or more or all of these methods.

Therefore, in every language the optional words in a sentence are:—

(5) connector, explaining the inter-relation of the components,
(6) introducer, explaining its purpose,

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(7) referent conjunctor, joining connected sentences,
(8) referent substitutes, indicating the inter-relation of connected sentences or unexpressed communications.

To the essential and optional components of the sentence must be added (9) the integer, or word that of necessity in every language expresses in itself a complete communication, *i.e.*, is a sentence.

Thus is explainable the natural resolution of the sentence into its component words, but any word can be and habitually is extended to many words, used collectively to express its meaning. Words thus used collectively form a phrase, which is substituted for its original. When a phrase contains in itself a complete meaning, and thus is a sentence substituted for a word, it becomes a clause. Therefore, clauses and phrases are merely expanded words, fulfilling the functions and bearing the relations of the words for which they are substituted in an expanded sentence or period. Therefore also, the period is a true sentence in the sense of being the expression of a complete meaning and so the unit of every language adopting it.

In all speech words are made to indicate the functions they fulfil in a sentence by their position in it, with or without using tones and with or without variation in form, and this habit gives rise of necessity to classes of words according to function. And as any given word can naturally fulfil more than one function, it becomes as naturally transferable from its own class to another, the transfer being indicated by position in the sentence with or without variation in form or tone. The class of a word thus indicates its function, and its position, alone or combined with its form or tone, indicates its class.

So when a word is transferred from its original class, it necessarily fulfils a new function and becomes a new word, connected with the original word in the relation of parent and offshoot, each equally of necessity assuming the form or tone of its own class.

The functions of words in a sentence, and consequently their classes, are therefore in all speech expressed by two methods: position or position combined with variation. Every language adopts one or other or both.

When in any language connected words differ in form, they are made to consist of a principal part or stem and an additional part or functional affix. The stem is used for indicating the meaning of the word and the functional affix for modifying that meaning according to function, by indicating the class to which the word belongs or its relation or correlation to the other words in the sentence.

A simple stem necessarily indicates an original meaning, but a stem can be and habitually is used for indicating a modification of an original meaning. It then naturally becomes a compound stem, *i.e.*, made up, by the same method as that above noted, of a principal part or root and of additional parts or radical affixes, each with its own function, the root to indicate the original meaning and the affix its modification into meaning of the stem.

As all words differing in form or tone of necessity fulfil functions and belong to classes, they must possess a nature, *i.e.*, qualities inherent in themselves, and these, in all languages using such words, are indicated by the addition of qualitative affixes or by the tones in which they are spoken.

Every affix is of necessity fixed into the midst of, or prefixed or suffixed to, a root, stem or word, the affixing being naturally effected in full or in a varied form. Whenever there is variation of form amounting to material change, there is necessarily inflexion, or inseparability of the affixes. Inflexion can therefore be made to fulfil all the functions of affixes, and inflected words to conform to particular kinds of inflexion, in order to indicate function and class: and as tone can be equally made to indicate the functions and classes of words, it takes the place of inflexion.

Words are therefore made to fulfil their functions merely by the tone in which they are spoken, or by an external development effected by affixes, and to express modifications of their original meaning by a similar use of tones or of internal development. In both cases the affixes are prefixes, infixes or suffixes affixed in full or varied form or by inflexion. All languages, using variation of form for causing the components of sentences, *i.e.*, words, to fulfil their functions, adopt one or other or all the above methods of effecting the variation.

Therefore in all speech, communication expressed in a sentence is rendered complete by the combination of the meaning of its components with their position, tones or forms, or with position combined with form or tone.

The methods adopted in developing the sentence, *i. e.*, the unit of speech itself, are found to entirely govern those adopted in its further development into a language or variety of speech.

Languages differ naturally in the position of their words in the sentence, or in their forms or tones, or in the combination of position with form or tone. Thus are set up naturally two primary classes of languages:—Syntactical Languages, which express complete communication by the position, and Formative Languages, which express it by the forms of their words.

As position alone or combined with tone can fulfil all the functions of speech, the Syntactical Languages employ one or both of these methods, and thus are created respectively Analytical Languages and Tonic Languages.

Again, as in speech, variety of form is secured by affixes attached to words in an unaltered or an altered form. Formative Languages necessarily divide themselves into Agglutinative Languages, attaching affixes in an unaltered form, and Synthetic Languages, attaching them in an altered form. These two classes are both further naturally divisible into (1) Permutative, (2) Intromutative, (3) Postmutative Languages, according as they attach affixes as prefixes, infixes or suffixes.

6: Temple C-8 (1901) 1903 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

In obedience to a fundamental Law of Nature, no language has ever developed along a single line, and therefore every language belongs of necessity primarily to one of the above classes, and secondarily to others, by partial adoption of their methods. 121

Languages, varying the form, tones or position, without varying the meanings of their words, form naturally Connected Languages in the relation of parent and offshoot. Connected Languages, whose stems, *i.e.*, the meanings of whose words, are common to all, form a natural Group of Languages, and those Connected Languages, whose roots, *i. e.*, the original meanings of whose words, are common to all, form a natural Family of Languages. Therefore also of necessity all Connected Languages belonging to a Group belong to the same Family. 193

As the above method of expounding the Theory involves the use of unfamiliar terms, it is as well to state that the new and the old terms of Grammar roughly, though not exactly, correspond as follow; it being remembered that the old terms are themselves the outcome of another tacit Theory, based upon other observations of natural laws or phenomena.

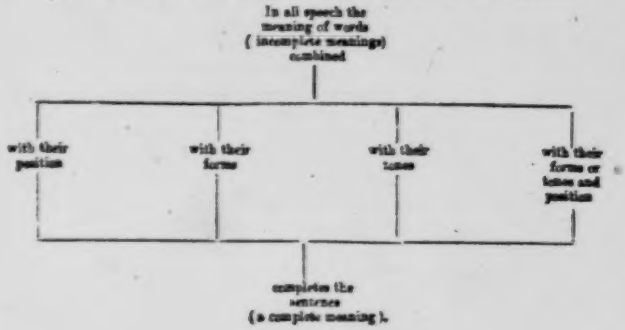
TABLE OF COMPARATIVE GRAMMATICAL TERMS.

Old.	New.
Noun.	Indicator.
Adjective.	Explicator.
Verb.	Predicator.
Adverbs of different classes.	Illustrator. / Introducer.
Preposition. / Postposition. / Conjunction.	Connector.
Interjection.	Integer.
Pronoun. / Relative Adverb. / Relative Particle.	Referent Substitute.
Gender, Number, Case. / Declension. / Person, Mood, Tense. / Conjugation.	Inflexion of different kinds.
Concord, Agreement. / Government.	Correlated Variation. / Intimate Relation.

The two following diagrams will serve to explain the lines upon which the Theory works itself out:—

DIAGRAM I.

Principle of the Development of the Sentence out of its Components.



3: Temple G-5 (1901) 1903 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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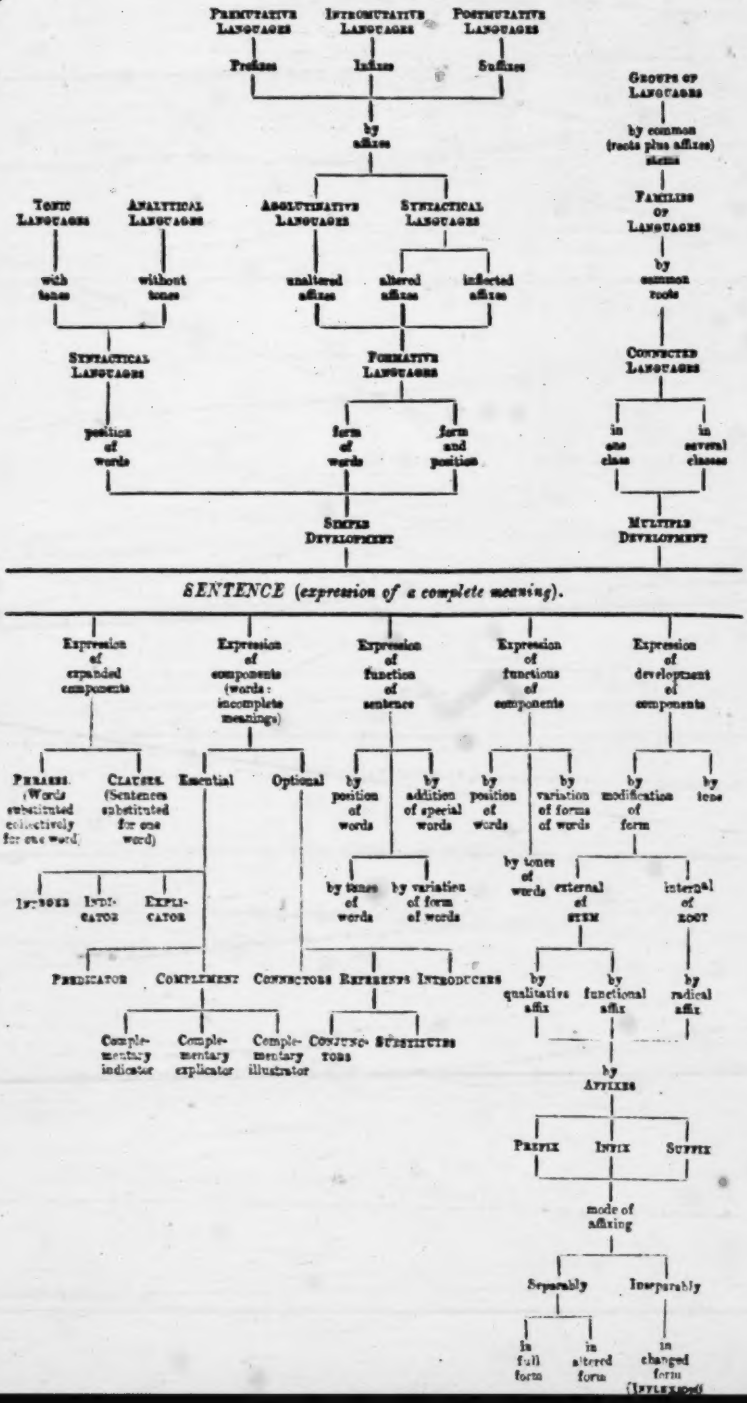
DIAGRAM II.

Development of the sentence or complete meaning, upwards into languages, downwards into its components.



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Position of the Andamanese Languages in the General Scheme.—The next point for consideration is: Where do the Andamanese Languages come into the general scheme? This will be shown in the following general account of them, and as the grammatical terms used will be novel to the reader, the corresponding familiar terms will be inserted beside them in brackets, wherever necessary to make the statements clear in a familiar manner. Diacritical marks will only be used when necessary to the elucidation of the text.

Examples of Sentences of One Word.—The Andamanese Languages are rich in integer words, which are sentences in themselves, because they express a complete meaning. The following examples are culled from Portman's lists:—

TABLE OF INTEGER WORDS.

English	Bea	Balawa	Bojigyab	Juwai
Hurrah.	Yui	Yui	Yui	Yui
I don't know.	Uchin	Maka	Konkete	Koien
Very well: go (with a lift of the chin).	Uchik	Kobaie	Köi	Köi
Humbug.	Akanoiyadake	Akanoiyadake	Omkotichwake	Okamkoti-chwachin.
Oh: I say (ironical).	Betek ...	Ya ...	Kalaiitata / Kalat	Yokokene
It's broken.	Turushno	Turuit	Turush	T'ruish
Back me up. Say 'yes.'	Jegô ...	Jegô	Jeklungi	Atokwe
Not exactly.	Kak	Kak	Kaka	Alö
Nonsense.	Cho	Ya	Aikut	Kene
Yes (ironical).	Wai (drawled)	Wai (drawled)	Köle	K'le
What a stink.	Chunye	Chunye	Chunyeno	Chunye
How sweet (smell, with a puffing out of the lips).	Pue	Pue	Pue	Pue
It hurts.	Eyi	Yi	Yi (drawled)	Eyô (indignantly).
Oh (shock).	Yite (with a gasp)	Yite	Yite	Jite
Don't worry.	Ijiyomaingata	Idiyomaingata	Iramyolano	Remjolokne
What? Where?	Ten?	Tan?	Dekot?	Alech?
Is it so?	An wai?	An yatya?	En köle?	An k'le?
Lor.	Kakatek	Kakate	Keleba	Alöbai

Elliptical Speech.—Portman's *Vocabulary* shows that the habit of speaking by integers, *i.e.*, single words, or by extremely elliptical phrases is carried very far in Andamanese, and the *Fire Legends* themselves give the clearest instances of it, as these Legends have been recorded by Portman.

The Bea version winds up with the enigmatic single word "Tomolola," which has to be translated by "they, the ancestors, were the Tomolola." In the Kol version occurs the single-word sentence "Kölotatke," *lit.*, "Kölotat-ke," which has to be translated: "Now there was one Kölotat," In the first instance, one word in the indicator (noun) form completes the whole sense; in the second, one word in the predicator (verb) form does so. Such elliptical expressions as the above and as the term of abuse, "*Ngalgórob*" (*ng*+*ab*+*górob*, you+special—radical—prefix+spine), would be accompanied by tone, manner, or gesture to explain its meaning to the listener. Thus, the latter would be made to convey "You hump-back," or "Break your spine," by the accompanying manner.

Portman's Fire Legend in the Bea Version Dissected to Illustrate Grammar.—The Andamanese sentence, when it gets beyond an exclamation or one word, is capable of clear division into subject and predicate, as can be seen by an analysis of the sentences in a genuine specimen of the speech, Portman's "Fire Legend" in the five languages of the South Andaman (Bojigngiji) Group. In the Bea Language it runs thus:—

BEA VERSION OF THE FIRE LEGEND.

Tôl-l'cko-tiwa-len	*Puluga-la*	*mani—ka.*	*Luretut-la*	*chapa*	*tap—aga*	*emo—re.*
(a Place)——in	God	asleep—was.	(a Bird)	fire	steal-ing	bring-did.
chapa-la	*Puluga-la*	*pugat—ka.*	*Puluga-la*	*boi——ka.*	*Puluga-la*	*chapa*
fire	God	burning-was.	God	awake—was.	God	fire

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eni——ke.	*a*	*ik*	*chapa-lik*	*Luratut*	*Pot-pugari-re.*	*jek*	*Luratut-la*
seizing—was.	he	taking	fire—by	(Bird)	burn—t.	at-once	(Bird)
eni——ka.	*ai—Tarcheker*		*Pot-pugari-re.*		*Wota-Emi-baroij—ien*		*Changa-tabanga*
taking—was.	he	(a Bird)	burn—t.		Wota-Emi-village-in		The—ancestors
eko—dol-re.	*Tomolola.*						
made-fires.	Tomolola.						

Portman's Rendering.—God was sleeping at Tôl-l'okotima. Luratut came, stealing fire. The fire burnt God. God woke up. God seized the fire; He took the fire and burnt Luratut with it. Then Luratut took (the fire;) he burnt Tarcheker in Wota-Emi village, (where then) the Ancestors lit fires. (The Ancestors referred to were) the Tomolola.

Subject and Predicate.—Taking this Legend, sentence by sentence, the subject and predicate come out clearly thus:—(P=predicate: S=subject.)

(1) Tôllokotimalen (P) Pulugala (S) mamika (P.).
(2) Luratutla (S) chapatapnga (S) omore (P).
(3) Chapala (S) Pulugala (P) pugatka (P).
(4) Pulugala (S) boika (P).
(5) Pulugala (S) chapa (P) enika (P).
(6) A (S) ik (S) chapalik (P) Luratut (P) lotpugarire (P).
(7) Jek (P) Luratutla (S) enika (P).
(8) A (S) Itarcheker (P) lotpugarite (P).
(9) Wota-Emi-baraijlen (P) Changa-tabanga (S) okodalre (P).
(10) Tomolola (S) (P. unexpressed).

Principal and Subordinate Words.—That the words in the above sentences are in the relation of principal and subordinate is equally clear; thus:—

(1) In the Predicate. *Tôllokotimalen* is subordinate to the principal *mamika*.
(2) In the Subject. *Luratutla* is the principal with its subordinate *chapatapnga*.
(3) In the Predicate, *chapa* is subordinate to the principal *enika*.
And so on, without presentation of any difficulties.

Functions of Words.—The next stage in analysis is to examine the functions of the words used in the above sentences, and for this purpose the following abbreviations will be used:—

ABBREVIATIONS USED.

int.	integer.
in.	indicator.
e.	explicator.
p.	predicator.
ill.	illustrator.
c.	connector.
intd.	introducer.
r. c.	referent conjunctor.
r. s.	referent substitute.
c. in	complementary indicator.
c. e.	complementary explicator.
c. ill.	complementary illustrator.

In this view the sentences can be analysed thus:—

(1) Tôll'okotimalen (ill. of P.) Pulugala (in.) mamika (p.).
(2) Luratutla (in.)—chapa—(c. in.) -tapnga (p., the whole an e. phrase) omore (p.).
(3) Chapala (in.) Pulugala (c. in.) pugatka (p.).
(4) Pulugala (in.) boika (p.).
(5) Pulugala (in.) chapa (c. in.) enika (p.).
(6) A (r. s., in.) ik (e.) chapalik (ill.) Luratut (c. in.) Pôtpugarire (p.).
(7) Jek (r. c.) Luratutla (in.) enika (p.).
(8) A (r. s., in.) Itarcheke (c. in) l'otpugarire (p).
(9) Wota-Emi-baraijlen (ill. phrase of P.) changatabanga (in. phrase) okodalre (p.).
(10) Tomolola (in., P. unexpressed).

Order of Sentence.—By this analysis we arrive at the following facts. The purpose of all the sentences is information, and the Andamanese indicate that purpose, which is perhaps the commonest of speech, by the order of the words in the sentence thus:—

(1) Subject before Predicate:
Pulugala (S.) boika (P.).

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(2) Subject, Complement (object), Predicate:
Pulugala (S.) chapa (c. in.) emika (P.).
(3) Indicator (noun) before explicator (adjective):
Lurutulia (in.) chapa-tapuga (c. phrase) omore (p.).
(4) Illustrator of Predicate (adverb) before Subject:
Töll'ekotimalen (ill. of P.) Pulugala (in.) mamika (p.).
But illustrators can be placed elsewhere,* thus:
A (r. s. used as in.) ik (p. of elliptic c. phrase, c. in. unexpressed) chapalik (ill.) Lurutut (c. in.) I'o'pugarire (p.).
(5) Referent conjunctor (conjunction) commences sentence:
Jek (r. c.) Lurututia (in.) emika (p.).
(6) Referent substitutes (pronouns) follow position of the originals:
A (r. s. in.) Itarchake (c. in.) I'otpugarire (p.).

From these examples, which cover the whole of the kinds of words used in the sentence, except the introducers and connectors, the absence of which is remarkable, we get the following as the order of Andamanese speech:—

A. (1) Subject (2) Predicate.
B. (1) Subject (2) Complement (object) (3) Predicate.
C. (1) Indicator (noun) before its explicator (adjective).
D. Illustrator (adverb) where convenient.
E. Referent conjunctors (conjunctions) before everything in connected sentences.

We have also a fine example of an extremely elliptical form of speech in the wind-up of the story by the one word "Tomolola" as its last sentence, in the sense "(the ancestors who did this were the) Tomolola." *Jek Lurututia emika* is also elliptic, as the complement is unexpressed.

Order of Connected Sentences.—Connected sentences are used in the order of principal and then subordinate:

Pulugala chapa emika (principal sentence) and then *a ik chapalik Lurutut I'otpugarire* (subordinate sentence), after which *jek Lurututia emika* (connected sentence) joined by "*jek* at once"), and then *a Itarchaker I'otpugarire* (subordinate to the previous sentence).

The sentences quoted show that the Andamanese mind works in its speech steadily from point to point in a natural order of precedence in the development of an information (story, tale), and not in an inverted order, as does that of the speakers of many languages.

Interrogative Sentences.—It may also be noted here, though no interrogatory phrases occur in the Fire Legend, that the Andamanese convey interrogation by introducers (adverbs) always placed at the commencement of a sentence or connected sentences.

The introducers of interrogation in Ben are *Bâ*? and *Ân*? And so, too, "Is———? or ———?" are introduced by "*An*———? *an*——— ?" Either these introducers are used, or an interrogative sentence begins with a special introducer, like "*Tra*? Where? *Mirikha*? What? *Majola*, or *Mija*? Who?" and so on.

The Mode of Expressing the Functions and the Inter-relation of Words.—But the Andamanese do not rely entirely on position to express the function of the sentence and the functions and inter-relation of its words. By varying the ends of their words, they express the functions of such sentences as convey information, and at the same time the functions of the words composing them.

Thus, the final form of *Pulugala*, *Lurututia*, *chapala*, *Tomolola* proclaim them to be indicators (nouns): of *mamika*, *baika*, *pugatka*, *omore*, *chodalre*, *I'otpugarire* to be predicators (verbs): of *chapa-tapuga* (phrase) to be an explicator (adjective): of *Töll'ekotimalen* (phrase), *chapalik*, *Wota-Emi-barajilen* (phrase) to be illustrators (adverbs).

Expression of Intimate Relation.—The intimate Relation between words is expressed by change of form at the *commencement* of the latter of them.

Thus in *Lurutut* (c. in.) *I'otpugarire* (p.), where *Lurutut* is the complement (object) and *I'otpugarire* is the predicator (verb), the intimate relation between them is expressed by the *I'* of *I'otpugarire*. So again in *Itarchaker I'otpugarire*.

* We have this in English:—"Suddenly John died; John suddenly died; John died suddenly."

193 In phrases, or words that are fundamentally phrases, the same method of intimately joining them is adopted.

Thus *Töl-l'oke-time-len* means in practice "in Töll'okotima," a place so named, but fundamentally

Töl——————l'————okotima-len
Tol (tree)————(its)————corner—in

means "in (the encampment at, unexpressed) the corner of the Tol (trees, unexpressed)." Here the intimate relation between *töl* and *okotima* is expressed by the intervening *l'*.

The actual use of the phrases is precisely that of the words they represent. Thus—

Wota—Emi—baraij——len
Wota—Emi—village——in

Here a phrase, consisting of three indicators (nouns) placed in juxtaposition, is used as one illustrator word (adverb).

Use of the Affixes; Prefixes, Infixes, Suffixes.—It follows from what has been above said that the Adamanese partly make words fulfil their functions by varying their forms by means of affixes.

Thus they use suffixes to indicate the class of a word, *e. g.*, *ka*, *re*, to indicate predicators (verbs): *la*, *da*, for indicators (nouns): *aga* for explicators (adj.): *len*, *lik* for illustrators (adverbs). They use prefixes, *e.g.*, *l'*, to indicate intimate relation, and infixes for joining up phrases into compound words, based on the prefix *l'*.

It also follows that their functional affixes are prefixes, infixes and suffixes.

It is further clear that they effect the transfer of a word from class to class by means of suffixes.

Thus, the compound indicator (noun) *Töll'okotima* is transferred to illustrator (adverb) by suffixing *len*: indicator (noun) *chopa* to illustrator (adverb) by suffixing *lik*: indicator (noun) phrase *Wota-Emi-baraij* to illustrator (adverb) by suffixing *len*: predicator (verb) *tap* (*-la*, *-da*, *-re*) to explicator (adj.) by suffixing *aga*.

A very strong instance of the power of a suffix to transfer a word from one class to another occurs in the Kol version of the Fire Legend, where *Kölotat-ke* occurs, Kölotat being a man's name and therefore an indicator (noun), transferred to the predicator (verb) class by merely affixing the suffix of that class. The word *Kölotatke* in the Kol version of the Fire Legend occurs as a sentence by itself in the sense of "now, there was one Kölotat."

Differentiation of the Meanings of Connected Words by Radical Prefixes.—Fortunately in the sentences under examination, two words occur, which exhibit the next point of analysis for elucidation. These are:—

chapala Pulugala pugat——ka
fire Gol burning—was

and then

a Itarcheker P'otpugari-re
he (a Bird) burn——t
a ik chapa-lik Luratat P'otpugari-re
he taking fire——by (Bird) burn——t

Here is an instance of connected words, one of which is differentiated in meaning from the other by the affix *ot*, prefixed to that part which denotes the original meaning or root (*pugat*, *pugari*) of both. Therefore, in Andamanese the use of radical prefixes (prefixes to root) is to differentiate connected words.

The simple stem in the above instances is *pugat* and the connected compound stem *otpugari*. Similarly *okotima*, *okodalre*, occurring in the Fire Legend, are compound stems, where the roots are *tima* and *dal*.

Indication of the Classes of Words: Qualitative Suffixes.—The last point in this analysis is that the words are made to indicate their class, *i.e.*, their nature (original idea conveyed by a word) by the Andamanese by affixing qualitative suffixes, thus:

ka, *re* to indicate the predicator class (verbs): *aga*, to indicate the explicator (adj.) class: *la*, *da* to indicate the indicator (noun) class: *lik*, *len*, to indicate the illustrator (adverb) class.

Composition of the Words.—The words in the sentences under consideration can thus be broken up into their constituents as follows:— 193

Using the abbreviations R.=Root: S.=Stem: P. F.=prefix, functional: P. R.=prefix, radical: I.=Infix: S. F.=suffix, functional: S. Q.=suffix, qualitative.

(1) Mami (S.)—ka (S. Q). So also pugat-ka, boi-ka, emi-ka.
sleeping——was.

(2) Chapa (S.).
fire.

(3) Tap (S.)—nga (S. Q.).
steal——ing.

(4) Omo (S.)—re (S. Q).
bring——did.

(5) Chapa (S.)—la (S. Q.).
fire—(honorific suff.).

(6) A (S.).
be.

(7) Ik (S.).
tak—(ing).

(8) Chapa (S.)—lik (S. F.).
fire——by.

(9) l' (P. F.) ot (P. R.) pugari (R.)—re (S. Q.).
(referent prefixes)——burn——t.

(10) Jek (S).
at-once.

(11) Baraij (S.)—len (S. F.).
village——in.

(12) Oko (P. R.)—dal (R.)—re (S. Q.).
—fire——(light)—did.

The Agglutinative Principle.—Words are, therefore, made to fulfil their functions in the Andamanese Languages by an external development effected by affixes, and to express modifications of their original meanings by a similar internal development. Also, the meaning of the sentences is rendered complete by a combination of the meanings of their component words with their position and form.

The sentences analysed further show that the Languages express a complete communication chiefly by the forms of their words, and so these languages are Formative Languages; and because their affixes, as will have been seen above, are attached to roots, stems and words mainly in an unaltered form, the languages are Agglutinative Languages. It will be seen later on, too, as a matter of great philological interest, that the Languages possess premutation (principle of affixing prefixes) and postmutation (principle of affixing suffixes) in almost equal development: intro-mutation (principle of affixing infixes) being merely rudimentary.

Identity of the Five Languages of the Southern Group of Tribes.— 197
The above observations, being the outcome of the examination of the ten sentences under analysis, are based only on the Bea speech, but in Appendix C will be found a similar analysis of the sentences conveying the Fire Legend in the five South Andaman Languages (Bojigngiji Group), which fully bears out all that has been above said. And from this Appendix is here attached a series of Tables, showing roughly how these Languages agree and differ in the essentials of word-building, premising that they all agree in Syntax, or sentence-building, exactly. An examination of the Tables goes far to show that the Andamanese Languages must belong to one Family.

COMPARATIVE TABLES OF ROOTS AND STEMS OF THE SAME MEANING OCCURRING IN THE FIRE LEGEND.

English	Bea	Balawa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
		Indicators (nouns).			
camp	baraij	baroij	...	...	pôroich
fire	chapa	choapa	at	at	at

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English	Pu	Bakwa	Bejigyab	Juwai	Kol
jawbone	ekib	tos	ta	tô	teip
lip	pe	pa	pei	paka	paka
shoulder	pôdikma	pôdiatos	bea	bea	bein
thigh	paicha	poaicho	baichato	baichatokan	baichetôkan
knee	lo	lo	la	la	la
shin	chalta	chalanta	chalta	cholto	chaltô
belly	jodo	jôdo	chute	chute	chute
navel	er	akar	tar	takar	takar
armpit	anwa	ôkar	kôrting	kôrteng	kôrteng
eye	dal	dal	kôdak	kôdag	kôdak
eyebrow	punur	punu	bein	beaksiñ	beakiñ
forehead	mugu	mugu	mike	mike	mike
ear	puku	puku	bo	bôkô	bokô
nose	chôronga	chôronga	kôte	kôte	kôte
cheek	ab	koab	kap	kap	kap
arm	gud	gud	kit	kit	kit
breast	kam	koam	kôme	kôme	kôme
spine	gôrob	kategôrob	kinab	kurup	kurup
leg	chag	chag	chok	chok	chok
buttocks	dama	doamo	tome	tome	tome
arms	tomur	bang	tomur	kôlang	kôlang

Pulled to pieces, Andamanese words of any Group of the Languages seem to be practically the same, but this fact is not apparent in actual speech, when they are given in full with their appropriate affixes, thus—

English	Pu	Bakwa	Bejigyab	Juwai	Kol
head	otchetada	ôtchekta	otetada	ôtotôlekile	ôtetoiche
knee	abloda	ablo	abloda	alalekile	olache
forehead	igmugada	idmugu	irmikada	remilekile	ermikeche

Any one who has had practice in listening to a foreign and partially understood tongue knows how a small difference in pronunciation, or even in accentuation, will render unintelligible words philologically immediately recognisable on paper.

III. Etymology.

The Use of the Roots.—As the Andamanese usually build up the full words of their sentences by the simple agglutination of affixes on to roots and stems, the word construction of their language would present no difficulties were it not for one peculiarity, most interesting in itself and easy of general explanation, though difficult in the extreme to discover: *experto crede.* 193 197

The Andamanese suffixes perform the ordinary functions of their kind in all agglutinative languages, and the peculiarity of the infixed *l'* occurring in compound words depends on the prefixes. It is the prefixes and their use that demand an extended examination.

Anthropomorphism Colours the whole Linguistic System.—To Andamanese instinct or feeling, words as original meanings, *i.e.*, roots, divide themselves roughly into Five Groups, denoting—

(1) mankind and parts of his body (nouns):
(2) other natural objects (nouns):
(3) ideas relating to objects (adj., verbs):
(4) reference to objects (pronouns):
(5) ideas relating to the ideas about objects (adv., connecting words, Proper Names).

The instinct of the Andamanese next exhibits an intense anthropomorphism, as it leads them to differentiate the words in the First Group, *i.e.*, those relating directly to themselves, from all others, by adding special prefixes through mere agglutination to their roots.

The Use of the Prefixes to the Roots.—These special radical prefixes by, some process of reasoning forgotten by the people and now obscure, but not at all in every case irrecoverable, divide the parts of the human body into Six Classes, thus, without giving a full list of the words in each class :—

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RADICAL PREFIXES IN WORDS DENOTING PARTS OF THE HUMAN BODY BY CLASSES.

Class	English	Bea	Bakawa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
I	Head, Brains, Neck, Heart	ot-	ôt-	ete-	ôto-	ôto-
II	Hand, Wrist, Knuckle, Nail, Foot, Ankle	on-	ong-	ong-	ôn-	ôn-
III	Mouth	akan-				
	Chin, Tongue, Jawbone	aka-	aka-	e-	ôkô-	e-
	Lip	ôkô-	ôkô-			
IV	Shoulder, Thigh, Knee, Shin, Belly, Navel, Armpit	ab-	ab-	ab-	a-	a-
V	Eye	i-				
	Eyebrow, Forehead, Ear, Nose, Cheek, Arm, Breech	ik-, ig-	id-	ir-	ra-	er-
		i-				
VI	Spine, Leg, Buttock, Arms	ar-	ar-	ar-	ra-	a-

Prefixes to Words referring to the Human Body.—Next, in obedience to their strong anthropomorphic instinct, the Andamanese extend their prefixes to all words in the other Groups, when in relation to the human body, its parts, attributes and necessities, and thus in practice refer all words, capable of such reference, to themselves by means of prefixes added to their roots. In an Andamanese Language one cannot, as a matter of fact, say "head," "hand," "heart;" one can only say—

my
your
his
(so and so) —'s
(that one) —'s
(this one) —'s
} head, hand, heart.

The Prefixes of Intimate Relation.—It is thus that the otherwise extremely difficult secondary functional prefix (always prefixed to the radical prefix, which is usually in Bojigngiji *le-* or *la-*, but practically always used in its curtailed form *l'-*, or *k'-*, *n'-*, *t'-* in certain circumstances) is clearly explainable. It is used to denote intimate relation between two words; and when between two indicators (nouns) it corresponds to the English connector (of), the Persian *izafat* (*-i-*), and so on, and to the suffix denoting the "genitive case" in the inflected languages. The Andamanese also use it to indicate intimate relation between predicator (verb) and complement (object), when it corresponds to the suffix of the "accusative case" in the inflected languages, and indeed to cases generally.

The Prefix System.—Starting with these general principles, the Andamanese have developed a complicated system of prefixes, making their language an intricate and difficult one for a foreigner to clearly apprehend when spoken to, or to speak so as to be readily understood.

As examples of this, let us take the stem *beri-aga* good: then *a-beri-aga*, good (human being); *an-beri-aga* (good hand, *a* pref. of hand), clever; *ig-beri-aga* (good eye, *ik* pref. of

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eye), sharp-sighted; *aka-beri-nga* (good mouth or tongue, *aka* pref. of mouth and tongue), clever at (other Andamanese) languages; *ot-beri-nga* (good head and heart, *ot* pref. of both head and heart), virtuous; *un-t'ig-beri-nga* (good hand and eye, *un* pref. of hand, *ig* pref. of eye, joined by *t'* pref. of intimate relation), good all round.

So, too, with *jabag*, bad: *ab-jabag*, bad (human being); *un-jabag*, stupid; *ig-jabag*, dull-sighted; *aka-jabag*, stupid at (other Andamanese) languages; *ot-jabag*, vicious; *un-t'-ig-jabag*, a duffer.

So again with *lama*, failing: *un-lama* (failing hand or foot), missing to strike; *ig-lama* (failing eye), failing to find; *ot-lama* (failing head), wanting in sense; *aka-lama* (failing tongue), using a wrong word.

Lastly, in the elliptic speech of the Andamanese, the root, when evident, can be left unexpressed, if the prefix is sufficient to express the sense, thus—

i-beri-nga-da! may mean, "his-(face, pref. *i*-)-good-(is)." That is, "he is good-looking!".

d'-aka-cham-ke! may mean "my-(mouth, pref. *aka*)-sore-is." That is, "my mouth is sore!".

Prefixes to Words Relating to Objects.—The system of using radical prefixes to express the relation of ideas to mankind and its body is extended to express the relation of ideas to objects in general. Thus—

ad-beringa, well (*i. e.*, not sick): *ad-jabag*, ill (*i. e.*, not well): *oko-lama* (applied to a weapon), failing to penetrate the object struck through the fault of the striker. So *ig-beringa* means pretty (of things): *aka-beringa*, nice (to taste): all in addition to the senses above given.

This is carried, with more or less obvious reference to origin, throughout the language. Thus—

In Bea: *yop*, pliable, soft. Then a cushion or sponge is *ot-yop*, soft: a cane is *ôto-yop*, pliable: a stick or pencil is *aka-yop*, or *ôko-yop*, pointed: the human body is *ab-yop*, soft: Class II of its parts (hand, wrist, etc.,) are *ong-yop*, soft: fallen trees are *ar-yop*, rotten: an adze is *ig-yop*, blunt.

So again, in Bea: *chôrogunga*, tying up, (whence also that which is usually tied up in a bundle, *viz.*, a bundle of plantains, faggots). Then *ôt-chôrogunga* is tying up a pig's carcase: *aka-chôrogunga*, tying up jack-fruit: *ar-chôrogunga*, tying up birds: *ong-chôrogunga*, tying up the feet of sucking pigs.

General Sense of Prefixes to Roots.—Possibly the feeling or instinct, which prompts the use of the prefixes correctly, could be caught up by a foreigner, just as the Andamanese roots might be traced by a sufficiently patient etymologist, but it would be very difficult and would require deep study. The Andamanese themselves, however, unerringly apply them without hesitation, even in the case of such novel objects to them as cushions, sponges and pencils; using *ot* in the two former cases, because they are round and globular, and *aka* in the latter, because they are rounded off to an end. In both these cases one can detect an echo of the application of the prefixes to the body: *ot* of head, neck, heart, etc.; *aka* of tongue, chin, etc.

Portman gives somewhat doubtfully the following as the concrete modifying references of such prefixes to the names of things:—

ot-	round things.
ôto-	long, thin, pointed, or wooden things.
aka-, ôko-	hard things.
ar-	upright things.
ig-	weapons, utensils, things manufactured.
ad-	speech (noises) of animals.

With this habit may be compared the use of numeral co-efficients in Burmese and many other languages.

From Portman also may be abstracted, doubtfully again, the following modifying abstract references of some of the radical prefixes:—

ot-, oto-, ôto-	special relation.
ig-, ik-, i-	reference in singular to another person.
iji-	reference in plural to other persons.
eb-, ep-	reference to ideas.
akan-	reference to self.
ar-, ara-	plural reference to persons generally.
ar-, ara-	(also) agency.
ad-	action of self.
ab-	action or condition transferred to another in singular.
aiyo-	action transferred to others in plural

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The following preliminary statement of the function of the radical prefixes can, therefore, be made out, *viz.*, to modify the meanings of roots by denoting—

(1) the phenomena of man and parts of his body:
(2) the phenomena of objects:
(3) the relation of ideas to the human body and objects:
(4) reference to self:
(5) reference to other persons:
(6) ideas; *i. e.*, (*a*) actions of self, (*b*) actions transferred to others, (*c*) actions of others (agency):
(7) reference to ideas.

The Use of the "Personal Pronouns."—The habit of the Andamanese of referring everything directly to themselves makes the use of the referent substitutes for their own names (personal pronouns) a prominent feature in their speech. These are in full in the Bojigngiji group as follow:—

THE "PERSONAL PRONOUNS."

English	Bea	Balawa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
I	d'ol-la	d'ol	t'u-le	t'u-le	la-t'u-le
thou	ng'ol-la	ng'ol	ng'u-le	ng'a-kile	la-ng'u-le
he, she, it	ol-la	ol	u-le	a-kile	laka-u-le
we	m'oloi-chik	m'ŏlo-chit	m-u-le	m'e-kile	la-m'u-le
you	ng'oloi-chik	ng'olo-chit	ng'uwe'l	ng'e'l-kile	la-ng'uwe'l
they	oloi-chik	olo-chit	n'u-le	n'e-kile	kuchla-n'u-le

Limited Pre-inflexion.—In combination with and before the radical prefixes the "personal pronouns" are abbreviated thus in all the languages of the Bojigngiji Group:—

ABBREVIATED "PRONOMINAL" FORMS.

I, my	d'- in Bea, Balawa.
	t'- in Bojigyab, Juwai, Kol.
thou, thy	ng'- in all the Group
he, his, etc.	not expressed in the Group.
we, our	m'- in all the Group.
you, your	ng - in Bea, Balawa, Bojigyab.
	ng'————'l in Juwai, Kol.
they, their	not expressed in Bea, Balawa.
	n'- in Bojigyab, Juwai, Kol.
this, that one	k'- in Bea, Balawa, Kol.
	not expressed in Bojigyab, Juwai.
that one	t'- in all the Group.

In this way it can be shown that there are no real "singular possessives" in Andamanese, as the so-called "possessive pronouns" are merely the abbreviated forms of the "personal pronouns" plus *ia* (*-da*), etc.= belonging to, (property) thus—

"POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS."

English	Bea	Balawa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
my, mine	d'ia-da	d'ege	t'iya-da	t'iyea-kile	t'iyi-che
thy, thine	ng'ia-da	ng'ege	ng'iye-da	ng'iyea-kile	ng'iye-dele
his, her, its	ia-da	ege	iye-da	eyea-kile	iye-dele

The "plural possessives" have been brought into line with the expression of plurality by radical prefixes, as will be seen later on.

Now, it is easy enough to express on paper the true nature of the above abbreviations by the use of the apostrophe, but in speech there is no distinction made. Thus, one can write "*d'un-lamo-re*, I missed (my) blow," but one must say "*dunlamare*." So one can write "*ng'ot-jabag-da*, you (are a) vicious (brute)," but one must say "*ngotjabagda*." So also one can write:—

er-tam	*d'un-t'ig-jabag-da*	*l'eda-re.*
formerly	I–hand–eye–bad.	exist-did.
achitik	*d'un–t'ig–l'ri nga*	
now	I–hand–eye–good.	

(once I was a duffer, now I am good all round.)

But one must say "*artam duntigjabag ledare, achitik duntigberinga.*" It would therefore be correct to assert that, though Andamanese is an agglutinative

tongue, it possesses a very limited pre-inflexion, *i.e.*, inflexion at the commencement of its words. 193●

Limited Correlated Variation (Concord).—The Andamanese also express the intimate relation of the "personal pronouns" with their predicators (verbs) by a rudimentary correlated variation (post-inflexion in the form of concord) of forms:—Thus— 197

mami-ke	mamik-ka	mami-re	mami-nga
sleeping-is	sleeping-was	sleep-did	sleep-ing

Thus,

do	mami-ke	I am sleeping.
da	mami-ka	I was sleeping.
da	mamire	I slept.
dona	mamings	I (me) sleeping.

This peculiarity is shown in all the Bojigngiji Group, except Kol; thus—

English	Bea	Balawa	Bojigyab	Juwai
		"In the Present Tense" (*ke*)		
I	do	do	tuk	te
thou	ngo	ngo	nguk	ngo
he, she, it	a	ong	uk	a
we	moicho	môt	môt	me
you	ngoicho	ngôngot	nuk	ngel
they	eda	ôngot	net	a
		"In the Past Tense" (*ka and re*)		
I	da	do	tong	te
thou	nga	ngo	ngong	ngo
he, she, it	a	ong	ong	a
we	meda	mongot	môt	me
you	ngeda	ngongot	ngonget	ngel
they	eda	ongot	net	ne
		"In the Present Participle" (*nga*)		
I	dona	...	tong	tôn
thou	ngôna	...	ngong	ngôn
he, she, it	oda	...	ong	ôn
we	moda	...	môt	mon
you	ngoda	...	ngowel	ngôwel
they	oda	...	nong	ne

Expression of Plurality by Radical Prefixes.—The examination of the "pronouns" shows that the Andamanese can express things taken together (plural) as well as things taken by themselves (singular). This in their language generally is expressed by changing the forms of the radical prefixes, in Bea and Balawa habitually and in Kol and Juwai occasionally. Thus—

Sing.	Pla.	Sing.	Pla.	Sing.	Pla.
		In Bea.			
et-	eiot-	ong-, on-	eiot-	ig-, ik-, i-	itig-
ab-	at-	ar-, ara-	arat-	aka-	akat-
ôto-	ôtot-	eb-	ebet-	iji-	ijit-, ijet-
ôko-	ôkot-	ad-	ad-	akan-	akan-
en-	et-				
		In Balawa.			
ôt-	ôtot-	ông-	ôngot-	id-	idit-
ap-	at-	ar-, ara-	arat-	aka-	akat-
ôto-	ôtot-	eb-	ebet-	idi-	idit-
ôko-	ôkot-	ad-	ad-	akan-	akan-
en-	et-				
		In Juwai.			
ir-	ir-	ab-	at-	iche-	iche-
iran-	iran-	in-	in-		
		In Kol.			
re-	ri-	a-	e-	eche-	iche-
rem-	rim-	en-	in-		

As has been already noted, the plural of the "personal pronouns" in the "possessive" form has been made to fall into line with the plan of expressing plurality by means of the radical prefixes. Thus—

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TABLE OF SINGULAR AND PLURAL "POSSESSIVES."

	English	Ben	Balawa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
Sing.	my	diada	dege	tiyeda	tiyeakile	tiyiche
Plu.	our	metat	matat	miyeda	miye	miyedele
Sing.	thy	ngiada	ngege	ngiyeda	ngiyeakile	ngiyedele
Plu.	your	ngetat	ngatat	ngiyida	ngiyel	ngiyil
Sing.	his	iada	ege	iyeda	eyeakile	iyedele
Plu.	their	etat	atat	niyeda	niye	niyiche

Qualitative Suffixes.—The suffixes of Andamanese are (radical) qualitative (expressing the class of a word), or functional (expressing its function in the sentence). The radical qualitative suffixes usually employed are—

For Indicators (nouns)

Ben	Balawa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
-da	-da, -nga, -ke	-da	-lekile, -kile	-che, la
-la, -ola	-le	-le		-le
-la, -lo	-o, ô-	-o	-ô	-o
-ba				

The first of these is usually dropped in Balawa, and in all the languages also unless the word is used as an integer, or sentence in itself. The second is an honorific and is always added in full. The third is "vocative" and is suffixed to the name called out. The fourth is a negative: thus, abliga-da, a child; abliga-ba, not a child, a boy or girl.

For Explicators (adjectives)

-da			
-is			
-re	-et, -ot, -t		

The second is honorific: the third applies to attributes, etc., of human beings. Generally, these affixes follow the rule for those of the indicators (nouns).

For Predicators (verbs)

English	Ben	Balawa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
(kill)s	-ke, -kan	-ke, -ken	-ke, -kan	-che, -chine	-ye
was (kill)ing	-ka	-ka, -te, -kate	-ya, -ye	-chike	-ye, -k
(kill)ed	-re	-t, -et	-nga, -nen	-chikan	-an, -wan, -nen
don't (kill)	-kok	-ton	-k	-chik	-k
(kill)ing	-nga	-t, -et, -ña	-nga	...	-in
(kill)s not	-ba, -bo	-ba	-na	...	...
(kill)ed not	-ta	...	...	...	...

The last two suffixes are added to the suffix *-nga* in Ben, thus—

dona	mami-nga-bo	
I	sleep-ing-not	(I am not asleep)
dona	karama	kop-nga-ta
I	bow	cutt-ing-(was)-not (I was not making a bow).

The Functional Suffixes.—The usual functional suffixes in Andamanese are—

TABLE OF SUFFIXES.

English	Ben	Balawa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
In, to, at	-len	-len, -a	-an	-an	-an
From	-tek	-te, -le	-e, -te, -le	-e, -lak	-e, -lake, -kate
To, towards	-lat	-lat	-lat	-late	-late
Of	-lin	-lege	-liye	-leye	-liye
For	-leb	-leb	-leb	-lebe	-lebe
After	-lik	-le	-le	-le	-le

The Functional Suffixes are Lost Roots—Attempt at Recovery.—It may be taken as certain that the functional suffixes are roots, now lost to Andamanese recognition, agglutinated to the ends of words by the usual means in their languages, as exhibited in the prefixes; *viz.*, by prefixing to them *l'-*, *t'-*, *k'*—in the manner already explained. The roots of some of the suffixes can be fairly made out thus, from the *Vocabularies*.

(1) *Len, lin, a, an*, "in, to, at," seem to be clearly *l'-*, *l'-*+the root *en, e, ik*,' "take, hold, carry, seize."

(2) *Tek, te, le, e, lak, lake, kate,* "from" seem to be *l'-, t'-, k'-* + the root *ik, i, ek,* "take away." 193

(3) *Lat, late,* "to, towards," seem to be *l'-* + the root *at, ate,* "approach." 197

(4) *Lia, lege, liye, leye,* "of" seem to be *l'-* + the root *ia, ege, ii, eye,* "belonging to."

(5) *Leb, lebe,* "for" seem to be *l'-* + a root not traced.

(6) *Lik, le,* "with, after" seem to be *l'-* + the root *ik, e, ak,* "to go with, follow on."

IV. Phonology.

The Voice of the Andamanese.—The voice of the Andamanese, though occasionally deep and hoarse, is usually pleasant and musical. The mode of speech is gentle and slow, and among the women a shrill voice is used in speaking; but though the tendency is towards a drawled pronunciation, they can express their meaning quickly enough on occasion, too quickly, indeed, for a foreigner to clearly follow the minutiæ of pronunciation without very close attention. The general tone of the voice in speaking is low. 194

On an examination of the prevalent vowels and vowel interchanges and tendencies in the languages of the South Andaman (Bojigngiji) Group of Tribes, as described by Portman, it may be said that they relatively speak thus from a close to an open mouth :—

Juwai	with closed lips.
Bojigyab and Kol	with flattened lips.
Balawa	with open lips.
Bea	with lips tending to open wide.

It is interesting to note that the above results carry one straight from North to South.

History of the Reduction of the Language to Writing.—The Andamanese speech, as it is now studied, was first committed to writing on a system devised by myself, which was an adaptation of the system invented by Sir William Jones in 1794 for the Indian Languages and afterwards adopted, with some practical modifications introduced by Sir W. W. Hunter, by the Government of India as the "Hunterian System." My method of writing Andamanese was subsequently modified for scientific purposes by Mr. A. J. Ellis in 1882, and having so highly trained and competent a guide, one cannot do better than use here a modification of his system, adapted to the needs of a general publication. Portman, unfortunately, has, in his publications, gone his own way, to the great puzzle of students.

In this view, there is no necessity to say anything of the consonants used, and as to the vowels, the following table will sufficiently exhibit them in the Bea Language :—

The Vowels in Bea.

	English	Bea		English	Bea
a	idea, cut	alaba	o	indolent	boigoli
ā	car	bā, yāba	ō	pole	jōb
ä	father	dāke	ö	könig (Ger.)	tö
ä	fathom	järawa	ò	pot	pòlike
e	bed	ēmej	ô	awful	tôgo
ē	fade	akabēada	u	influence	bûkura
ë	pair	ēla	ū	pool	pūdre
i	lid	igbadigre	ai	bite	daike
ī	police	yādi	au	house	chopana
...	...	...	àu	haus (Ger.)	chàu
...	...	...	òi	boil	bòigoli

Peculiarities of Speech.—Stress in Andamanese is placed on every long vowel, or on the first syllable of the root or stem. Peculiarities of pronunciation in the South Andaman Languages are as follow :—

Bea.

Sibilants tend to become palatals, *s* to *ch*: *ō* and *ö* are interchangeable: final open *ó* and *é* tend to *a* and *e*: *t* is an indistinct palato-dental.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908) 1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

APPENDIX B

THE SPELLING OF ANDAMANESE WORDS

In writing words of the Andaman languages I have used a slightly modified form of the "Anthropos" Alphabet of Father Schmidt[1], which I consider to be by far the most scientific alphabet for writing down the languages of primitive peoples. The consonants are 194

k	g		y	ŋ		
		ć	ǰ			
				ń		
t	d			n	l	r
p	b		w	m		

The letter ŋ is used for the nasalised guttural stop (*ng* in English) which should always be written with one letter, since it is a single consonant, quite distinct from the double consonant *ng* of "ungodly." The letter ń stands for a palatalised *n*, something like the sound in French "agneau." The č and ǰ, which, in the "Anthropos" Alphabet represent the sounds in English "church" and "judge" respectively, should, I think, really be written t′ and d′. The t′ is a palatalised *t*, as heard in "Tuesday," whereas the č is a fricative, often regarded as a compound of *t* and *sh*. It is not always easy to distinguish t′ from č and d′ from ǰ, but I believe the Andamanese sounds are really t′ and d′, and this is to some extent confirmed by the fact that they have no s, z, sh or zh in their languages. I have used the č and ǰ because former writers had written these sounds ch and j and it seemed worth while to make some sacrifice of scientific exactness in order to avoid too great a divergence in spelling from previous workers in the same field.

The remaining consonants may be pronounced as in English. I have not distinguished between different varieties of the consonants l, r, t, d, k and g. Further I have not distinguished between p and p̌ (the labial

[1] Published in Vol. II of the journal *Anthropos*, 1907.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

194 fricative). Many of the words of the Northern languages that I have written with a p are often pronounced with a p̆ sound.

The vowels are

i u
e o ö
e̱ o̱
a̱ a̱
a

These may be pronounced as follows:

i, intermediate between the vowels of "it" and "eat."
e, as the vowel in "say."
e̱, as the *e* in "error" or the *a* in "Mary."
a̱, as the *a* in "man."
a, as the *a* in French "pas."
a̱, as the *a* in "path."
o̱, as the vowel in "not" or in "nought."
o, as in "go."
u, as the vowel in "fool."
ö, nearly as the German ö.

I have not attempted to distinguish all the different varieties of vowel sounds that are found in the different dialects. Slightly different but closely related sounds are represented by the same letter[1].

193 In writing Andamanese words I have followed the practice of separating by hyphens the affixes from the stems in each word. In the Andamanese languages there are two main classes of words. The first class consists of words each of which is a simple stem (without affixes). Such words are the names of what the Andaman Islander regards as simple independent objects or things, such as *roa*, canoe, *baraba*, a mat, *ra*, a pig. The second class consists of words each of which is formed of a stem and a prefix. In the language of the Little Andaman (and in that of the Jarawa as far as known) these prefixes are simple vowels, *i-*, *e-*, *a-*, *o-*, and *u-*. In the languages of the Great Andaman Division they are such as *ot-*, *aka-*, *era-*, *e-*, *u-*, *ab-*, etc. Such words are used to denote dependent objects such as the parts, qualities or actions of a

[1] Although I had acquired some knowledge of phonetics before I went to the Andamans, as a necessary part of the preliminary training of an ethnologist, yet it was not really sufficient to enable me to deal in a thoroughly scientific manner with the problems of Andamanese phonetics, and my further studies of the subject give me reason to believe that my phonetic analysis of the Andaman languages was not as thorough as it might have been.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

APPENDIX A.

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ALPHABET FOR WRITING THE SOUTH ANDAMAN LANGUAGE.[1]

SIGN.	ENGLISH, &c.	SOUTH ANDAMAN.
	Oral Vowels and Diphthongs.	
a	.. idea cut..	*al·aba*, *Anadendrum paniculatum*
ä	.. cur (with untrilled *r*)	*bä* small, *yä·ba* not
à	.. Ital. casa	*elà·kà* region
â	.. father	.. *dâ·-ke* don't (imperative)
ä (1)	fathom	.. *jär·awa* name of a tribe
e (2)	bed	.. *ē·mej Terminalia bialata*
	chaotic	.. *pü·d·re* burn-did
ē (3)	pair	.. *ē·la* pig-arrow
i	.. lid	.. *ig-bâ·dig-re* see-did
ī	.. police	.. *yâ·dī* turtle, *pīd* hair
o	.. indolent..	*.bòi·goli* European
ō (4)	pole	.. *jōb* basket
ò	.. pot	.. *pòl·i·ke* dwell-does
ô	.. awful	.. *tô·go* wrist, shoulder
u	.. influence	*bü·kura Diospyros sp.*
ü	.. pool	.. *pü·d-re* burn-did
ai	.. bite	.. *dai·-ke* understand-does
au	.. house	.. *chôpaw·a* narrow
àu	.. Germ. haus	.. *chàu* body
òi	.. boil	.. *.bòi·goli* European
	Consonants.	
b	.. bed	.. *bäd* hut
ch	.. church	.. *châk* ability, *mich·alen* why, *.rüch* Ross Island
d	.. dip	.. *dō·ga* large
g	.. gap	.. *gōb* bamboo utensil
h	.. hay	.. *hē* ho! *áwē·h* (*h* sounded, see note 5) etcetera
j	.. judge	.. *jä·bag* bad, *ē·mej Terminalia bialata*
k	.. king	.. *kâ·gal-ke* ascend-does
l	.. lap	.. *lōg* navigable channel
m	.. man	.. *mü·gu* face
n	.. nun	.. *nà u-ke* walk-does, *rō·pan* toad
ñ	.. Fr. gagner	*ōtñâ·ba* another, one more
ng	.. bring	.. *ngī·jī* friend, *ērkē·dang-ke* in-trees-search-does (11)
ñg (6)		*ñgâ* more
p	.. pap	.. *pīd* hair
r (7)	rest	.. *râb* necklace of netting, *râ·tà* wooden arrow
r (8)	torrent	.. *râ·ta* sea water
s	.. sad	.. not found (9)
t	.. ten	.. *tī* blood
t'	..	*t'ī* tear (from the eye) (10)
w	.. wet	.. *wō·lo* adze, *.bal·awa* name of a tribe
y	.. yolk	.. *yabä·* a little

RULES.

The syllable under stress in any word is shown by placing a turned period (·) after a long vowel, or the consonant following a short vowel, in every word of more than one syllable.

When no stress is marked, it should be placed on every long vowel and diphthong in a word, or if there are none such, on the first syllable.

As it is not usual to find capitals cast for the accented letters, the capital at the beginning of a word is for uniformity in all cases indicated by prefixing a direct period, as *.bal·awa*.

Substantives, adjectives, and adverbs generally end in "*da*," which is usually dropped before postpositions and in construction; hence when I write a hyphen at the end of a word, I mean that in its full form it has "*da*."

NOTES

(1) *ä* accented before a consonant, is the English *a* in *mat*, as distinguished from *à*, which is the short of *â* or Italian *a* in *anno*.

(2) *e* accented in closed syllables, as in bed; in open syllables unaccented, as in chaotic, or Italian padre, amore.

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[1] As elsewhere mentioned, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. A. J. Ellis, F.R.S., for the improvements and additions to the list of symbols formerly employed by me. This alphabet is an extract from his able "Report on Researches into the Language of the South Andaman Island, &c.," which formed part of the President's annual address for 1882 to the Philological Society.

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•194 (3) No vanishing sound of *i* as in *say*.

(4) No vanishing sound of *u* as in English *know*.

(5) *h* is sounded after a vowel by continuing breath through the position of the mouth, while remitting the voice.

(6) *ñg* is a palatalised *ng*, and bears the same relation to it as *ñ* bears to *n*. To pronounce *ñ* attempt to say *n* and *y* simultaneously; to pronounce *ñg* do the same for *ng* and *y*.

(7) This *r* is soft and gentle, with no sensible ripple of the tongue, as very frequently in English, but is not merely vocal.

(8) This *r̄* is strongly trilled, as *r* in Scotch or Italian *r*, or Spanish *rr*.

(9) The Andamanese cannot hiss, and hence they substitute *ch* for *s*, thus *.rŭch* for *Rŭs*, the Hindi corruption of Ross.

(10) This *t'* is a post-aspirated *t*, like the Indian *th*, quite different from English *th*, and hence to prevent confusion, the Greek *spiritus asper* is imitated by a turned comma. The sound *t'*, is common in Irish-English, and may often be heard in England.

(11) When *ng* is followed by a vowel, it must run on to that vowel only, and not be run on to the preceding vowel, either as in "finger" or in "singer," thus *bē·ri-nga-da* "good," not *bē·ring-a-da*, *bē·ring-gad-a*, or *bē·rin-ga-da*. It is only when no vowel follows that *ng* is run on to the preceding vowel.

APPENDIX B.

List of Objects made and used by the Andamanese.[1]

411 1. *kâ·rama-*.[2] Bow of a flattened S-shaped form, as made and used by the tribes of South and Middle Andaman, and the Archipelago, viz.: *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*, *.bō·jig-yá·b-*, *.ôko-jū·wai-*, *.â·kà-.kó·l-*, and *.bal·awa-*,[3] and called by them *bō·jig kâ·rama-*[4] (our style of bow), to distinguish it from the bows used by the inhabitants of North and Little Andaman: it is made of a hard wood, generally of a variety called *chai-*, or—though less frequently—of the *bad·ama-*, *yá·rla-*, *pō·rud-*, or *chá·dak-*.[5] For hunting in the interior, the usual length of these bows, for the sake of convenience, is about 4 feet; the same or somewhat larger bows are used in the open jungle, along the coast, or when shooting fish; when made for presentation rather than for use, they are elaborately ornamented and carefully prepared in every way, and measure 6½ or 7 feet in length. It is customary to ornament

[1] In arranging this list, I have taken care to retain the numbers which are attached to each object in the Andamanese collection presented by me to General Pitt Rivers in 1878, and which is now exhibited in the South Kensington Museum. Except where otherwise specified, these objects are those used by the people of South Andaman; many of them, however, are believed to differ but slightly from such as are made by the remaining seven tribes of Great Andaman; but greater diversities are to be found among objects made by the Little Andaman and other *.jâr·awa-* tribes.

[2] *Vide* Plate VI, *fig.* 1.

[3] For the situation of these tribes *vide* the accompanying map.

[4] For the purposes of inflection and syntax, the termination *da*, which belongs to most substantives, adjectives, and many adverbs, is invariably dropped (*vide* Appendix A, "Rules").

[5] The botanical names of the various trees which have as yet been identified will be found in Appendix L.

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194 In January of this year Mr. Man was introduced to me through Mr. Brandreth, a member of our Council, in order to settle the alphabet before printing it in his Anthropological papers. I was then quite ignorant of the facts just detailed, and merely endeavoured to complete the alphabet on the lines which Mr. Man had used. These had been laid down, as we have seen, by Mr. Temple, and were to some extent Anglo-Indian, especially in the use of *a*, not only for *a* in Americ*a*, but for *a*, *u*, *o* in the colloquial pronunciation of *a*ssumption. A minimum of change was thus produced. The alphabet was extended to the Nicobarese language, which has all the Andamanese sounds and several others, and among these a peculiar double series of nasal vowels. The following is the alphabet finally settled by Mr. Man and myself, with examples in Andamanese and Nicobarese. This scheme is found to work well, and will be employed in all Andaman words used in this report.[1] It will be observed that the South Andaman language is very rich in vowel sounds, but is totally deficient in the hisses *f*, *th*, *s*, *sh*, and the corresponding buzzes *v*, *dh*, *z*, *zh*. Of course this alphabet has been constructed solely upon Mr. Man's pronunciation of the languages, and hence the orthography might require modification on a study of the sounds as produced by the natives themselves. This refers especially to the distinctions *ä à*, *â à*, *au àu*, *o ò*, *ô*, and the two senses of *i*, *e*, according as they occur in closed or open syllables. But as the natives understand Mr. Man readily, his pronunciation cannot be far wrong.

to six of the Andaman tribes; Tickell's (*Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, No. ii. 1864), though referring to South Andaman, is curiously incorrect, translating, for instance, '*yâd dô*' as 'much fish,' and giving separately *yâd* 'much' *dô* 'fish,' in place of *yâd* 'fish,' *dô·gaya* 'much'; and de Röepstorff's is also full of error. See Mr. Temple's preface to "The Lord's Prayer."

[1] In the following comparative list Mr. Temple's symbols stand first (and, with one exception, are roman), those here adopted stand second (and are all in italics): a *a*, *a ä*, à *à* and *ä*, â *à* and *à*, e *e*, ê *ê* and *e*, è *è*, i *i*, î *î* and *i*, o *o* and *ò*, ô *ô* and *o*, ò *ò*, aw *ô*, u *u*, û *ü* and *u*, ai *ai*, au *au*, âü *àu*, oi *òi*, b *b*, ch *ch*, d *d*, g *g*, h *h*, j *j*, k *k*, l *l*, m *m*, n *n*, ng *ng ñ ñg*, p *p*, r *r* and *r*, t *t*, ṭ *t'*, w *w*, y *y*. In Mr. Temple's writing, short *à e i o u* in open syllables were not distinguished from the long sounds, and the position of stress was rarely marked. I adopted his short *a e i o u* and made the long of them *ä*, *ê*, *î*, *ô*, *ü*. Then adopting his '*ä*, *ò*,' I made their short and long sounds respectively, *à*, *ô*, and thus got rid of the exclusively English symbol *aw*.

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ALPHABET FOR WRITING THE SOUTH ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR LANGUAGES.

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SIGN.	ENGLISH, ETC.	SOUTH ANDAMAN.	NICOBAR.
		Oral Vowels and Diphthongs.	
a	idea cut	*al·aba* kind of tree	*yang* without
ä	cur (with untrilled *r*)	*bä* small, *yä·ba* not	?
à	Ital. casa	*elà·kà* region	
â	father	*dâ·-ke* don't (imperative)	*kân* wife
ä̂ (1)	fathom	*jär·awa* name of a tribe	*lä·ät* finished
e (2)	bed	*ē·mej* name of a tree	*enyâ·h* (*h* heard, see note 8) after (in time), *heng* day, sun
	chaotic	*pü·d-re* burn-did	*lä·bare* book
ē (3)	pair	*ē·la* pig-arrow	*lä·ang* word
i	lid	*ig-bâ·dig-re* see-did	*ifû·* sweep
ī	police	*yâ·dī* turtle, *pīd* hair	*wī* make
o	indolent	*.bòi·goli* European	*yō·kolai* bathe
ō (4)	pole	*jōb* basket	*larō·m* Pandanus Mellori
ò	pōt	*pòl·i-ke* dwell-does	*òmtō·m* all
ß	awful	*tō·go* wrist, shoulder	*lß·e* cloth
ö	Germ. könig	not found	*kàtö·* remain, *dōk* come
u	influence	*bū·kura* name of a tree	*kō·la-rue* landing place
ü	pool	*pü·d-re* burn-did	*hü·ya* egg
ü̂	Germ. über	not found	*chü·a* I
ai	bite	*dai·-ke* understand-does	*taiyâ·k* cocoanut shell cup
au	house	*chōpau·a* narrow	*karàu·* a charm
àu	Germ. haus	*chàu* body	*oàu·* vomit
òi	boil	*.bòi·goli* European	*enlòi·n* wallow
		Nasal Vowels and Diphthongs.	
aṅ	Fr. *un*	not found	*holī·aṅ* spinster, *ongī·haṅh* (5) wood
àṅ	(6)	not found	*miàṅ·* spear having prongs, *mòm-àṅ ya* two pronged spear, *kò-yàṅh·wa* guava
eṅ	Fri. *vin*	not found	*heṅ·ha* otherwise, *hinweṅh·* harpoon spear
iṅ	Port. *sim*	not found	*koiṅ·ha* scrape *amiṅh* (5) rain
oṅ	Fri. *on*	not found	*haroṅh·* stalk game
òṅ	(6)	not found	*shin-kòṅ·-hata* knock down, *òṅh* fuel
aiṅ	(7)	not found	*tanaiṅ·* five, *taiṅ·ya* white
òiṅ	(7)	not found	*òm-hòi·ṅ* tobacco
		Consonants.	
b	bed	*būd* hut	*lä·bare* book
ch	church	*châk* ability, *mich·alen* why, *.rūch* Ross Island	*chakâ·* face, *raich* micturition
d	dip	*dō·ga* large	*kamin·do* rainbow
f	fen	not found	*if·ē* you (said of three or more), *fäp* thick
g	gap	*gōb* bamboo utensil	*kòg·nare* be off!
h	hay	*hē* ho! *àweh·* (*h* sounded, see note 8) etcetera	*hü·ya* egg, *paiyü·h* married or widowed person
j	judge	*jä·big* bad, *ē·mej* name of a tree	*chij* abstain
k	king	*kâ·gal-ke* ascend-does	*kâ·nēäl* last quarter of moon
l	lap	*lōy* navigable channel	*lä·ang* word
m	man	*mü·gu* face	*òmtō·m* all
n	nun	*nàu-ke* walk-does, *rō·pan* toad	*nōt* pig
ñ	Fr. gagner	*ōtñâ·ba* another, one more	*manie·ña* exorcist

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SIGN.	ENGLISH, ETC.	SOUTH ANDAMAN.	NICOBAR.
ng	*bring*	*ngi·yi* friend, *ĕrkē·dang-ka* in trees-search-does (14)	*yang* without
ñg (9)		*ñgá* more	not found
p	*pap*	*pid* hair	*paiyū·h* (8) married or widowed person
r (10)	*rest*	*rāb* necklace of netting, *rā·tà* wooden arrow	*karu·* large
ṛ (11)	*torrent*	*ṛā·ta* sea water	not found
s	*sad*	not found (12)	*sā·la* anvil
sh	*she*	not found	*sho-hō·ng* west
t	*ten*	*ti* blood	*tō·ak* toddy
t'		*t'i* tear (from the eye) (13)	not found
v	*evil*	not found	*ben-whā·va* ashes
w	*wet*	*wō·lo* adze, *.bal·awa* name of a tribe	*wōt* don't (imperative)
wh	*whet*	not found	*ben-whā·va* ashes
y	*yolk*	*yabā·* a little	*yang* without

Rules.

The syllable under stress in any word is shown by placing a turned period (·) after a long vowel, or the consonant following a short vowel, in every word of more than one syllable.

As it is not usual to find capitals cast for the accented letters, the capital at the beginning of a word is for uniformity in all cases indicated by prefixing a direct period, as *.bal·awa*.

Notes.

(1) *ā* accented before a consonant, is the English *a* in m*a*t, as distinguished from *ā*, which is the short of *ā* or Italian *a* in *a*nno.

(2) *e* accented in closed syllables, as in bed; in open syllables unaccented as in chaotic or Italian padr*e*, amor*e*.

(3) No vanishing sound of *i* as in English s*ay*.

(4) No vanishing sound of *u* as in English kn*ow*.

(5) Where *nh* is written, as in *anh*, *inh*, the nasal is followed by nasalised breath, remitting the voice, but retaining the position of the vocal organs.

(6) In *ān* the sound has more of the *ā* in it, than the French *an*, and in *ōn* it has more of the *ō* than the French *on*.

(7) In the diphthongs *ain*, *ōin*, the nasality principally affects *a* and *ō*, but it is retained through the whole diphthong, that is, the nasal passages remain open.

(8) *h* is sounded after a vowel by continuing breath through the position of the mouth, while remitting the voice.

(9) *ñg* is a palatalised *ng*, and bears the same relation to it as *ñ* bears to *n*. To pronounce *ñ* attempt to say *n* and *y* simultaneously; to pronounce *ñg* do the same for *ng* and *y*.

(10) This *r* is soft and gentle, with no sensible ripple of the tongue, as very frequently in English, but not merely vocal.

(11) This *ṛ* is strongly trilled, as *r* in Scotch or Italian *r*, or Spanish *rr*.

(12) The Andamanese cannot hiss, and hence they substitute *ch* for *s*, thus *Rūch* for *Rūs* the Hindī corruption of Ross.

(13) This *t'* is a post-aspirated *t*, like the Indian *th*, quite different from English *th*, and hence to prevent confusion the Greek *spiritus asper* is imitated by a turned comma. The sound *t'* is common in Irish English, and may often be heard in England.

(14) When *ng* is followed by a vowel, it must run on to that vowel only, and not be run on to the preceding vowel either as in 'finger' or in 'singer,' thus *bē·-ri-nga-da* 'good,' not *bē·-ring-a-da*, *bē·-ring-ga-da*, or *bē·-rin-ga-da*. It is only when no vowel follows that *ng* is run on to the preceding vowel.

(2) *Tek, te, le, e, lak, lake, kate,* "from" seem to be *l'–, t'–, k'–* + the root *ik, i, ek,* "take away." 193

(3) *Lat, late,* "to, towards," seem to be *l'–* + the root *at, ate,* "approach." 197

(4) *Lia, lege, liye, leye,* "of" seem to be *l'–* + the root *ia, eye, ii, eye,* "belonging to."

(5) *Leb, lebe,* "for" seem to be *l'–* + a root not traced.

(6) *Lik, le,* "with, after" seem to be *l'–* + the root *ik, e, ak,* "to go with, follow on."

IV. Phonology.

The Voice of the Andamanese.—The voice of the Andamanese, though occasionally deep and hoarse, is usually pleasant and musical. The mode of speech is gentle and slow, and among the women a shrill voice is used in speaking; but though the tendency is towards a drawled pronunciation, they can express their meaning quickly enough on occasion, too quickly, indeed, for a foreigner to clearly follow the minutiæ of pronunciation without very close attention. The general tone of the voice in speaking is low. 194

On an examination of the prevalent vowels and vowel interchanges and tendencies in the languages of the South Andaman (Bojigngiji) Group of Tribes, as described by Portman, it may be said that they relatively speak thus from a close to an open mouth :—

Juwai	with closed lips.
Bojigyab and Kol	with flattened lips.
Balawa	with open lips.
Bea	with lips tending to open wide.

It is interesting to note that the above results carry one straight from North to South.

History of the Reduction of the Language to Writing.—The Andamanese speech, as it is now studied, was first committed to writing on a system devised by myself, which was an adaptation of the system invented by Sir William Jones in 1794 for the Indian Languages and afterwards adopted, with some practical modifications introduced by Sir W. W. Hunter, by the Government of India as the "Hunterian System." My method of writing Andamanese was subsequently modified for scientific purposes by Mr. A. J. Ellis in 1882, and having so highly trained and competent a guide, one cannot do better than use here a modification of his system, adapted to the needs of a general publication. Portman, unfortunately, has, in his publications, gone his own way, to the great puzzle of students.

In this view, there is no necessity to say anything of the consonants used, and as to the vowels, the following table will sufficiently exhibit them in the Bea Language :—

The Vowels in Bea.

	English	Bea		English	Bea
a	idea, cut	alaba	o	indolent	boigoli
ā	car	bā, yāba	ò	pole	jòb
á	father	dáke	ō	könig (Ger.)	tō
ā	fathom	jārawa	ò	pot	pòlike
e	bed	ēmej	ô	awful	tôgo
ē	fade	akabēada	u	influence	bûkura
ē	pair	ēla	ū	pool	pūdre
i	lid	igbadigre	ai	bite	daike
ī	police	yādi	au	house	chopana
...	...	...	àu	haus (Ger.)	chàu
...	...	...	òi	boil	bòigoli

Peculiarities of Speech.—Stress in Andamanese is placed on every long vowel, or on the first syllable of the root or stem. Peculiarities of pronunciation in the South Andaman Languages are as follow :—

Bea.

Sibilants tend to become palatals, *s* to *ch*: *ō* and *ō* are interchangeable: final open *á* and *é* tend to *a* and *e*: *t* is an indistinct palato-dental.

BALAWA.

194 *t* is palato-dental and lisped, *cf.* Irish pronunciation of English *t* and *d*. The *a* vowels tend to be drawn out: *a* to become *o*, and *á* to become *oá*. There is also an incipient *sandhi* in words ending in gutturals: *e.g.*, *rák*, pig; *rág-dõomo*, pig's flesh.

BOJIGYAB.

cá is palato-dental and tends to *t*, and the *cá* of Ben tends in Bojigyab to become *s*; *i.e.*, palatals tend to become sibilants.

JUWAI.

Short vowels are not clearly marked: *e* and *a* are interchangeable: final *e* an *é* tend to *i*. Vanishing short vowels are common and are shown thus, *j'rõngap*: *o* is often drawled to *ô*: penultimate *e* is lengthened to *é*, and stressed *é* is drawled to *éa*. There is *sandhi* of final and initial vowels in connected consecutive words. Dental, palatal and cerebral *t* all exist: palatals tend to dentals, *cá* to *t*: *p* tends to soften to *pá* and almost to *f*.

KOL.

ã interchanges with *ô*: *á* tends to *aá*, *cf.* old English pronunciation *gyarden* for *garden*: *e* tends to *é*: final open vowels are uncertain.

V. THE NORTHERN AND OUTER GROUPS.

197 **Proofs of the Identity of the Northern and Southern Groups of Languages.**—Of the Five Languages of the Northern (Yerewa) Group, two, Kora and Tabo, are still quite unstudied, the knowledge of the existence of the tribes speaking them being of less than two years' standing, and the language of the Yere Tribe is very little known. Portman has, however, preserved long lists, unfortunately to be treated with much caution, of Kede and Chariar words, together with many sentences, and it will be sufficient here to give a series of roots and stems, showing where the Northern and Southern Languages meet, and how closely related they are by roots: premising that the syntax and word-structure of the Northern Group is identical with that of the Southern Group, and that affixes, notably the radical prefixes, are used precisely in the same way in both Groups. It is in the names for common objects and things that languages show their relationship, and the Bojigngiji and Yerewa Groups form no exception to this rule.

TABLE OF SOME BOJIGNGIJI AND YEREWA ROOTS SHOWING A COMMON ORIGIN.

English	Ben	Bojigyab	Kede	Chariar
pig	reg	re	ra	ra
turtle	tau	tare	tôrô	tôrô
clam	chowai	chowai	chowai	choa
grub	butu	peti	pata	pata
fish	yat	taiye	tajeu	tajeu
bow (N.)	chokio	chokio	chokie	chokwi
bow (S.)	karama	ko	ku	ku
wooden arrow	tirlech	tolô	tirleich	tirleit
wooden pig a.	peligma	paligma	paligma	paligma
wooden a. head	cham	cham	chôm	chom
harpoon string	betmo	kôri	betmô	luremô
bamboo bucket	gob	bire	kup	kup
shell-dish	chidi	kar	kar	kar
shell-cup	odo	kor	kur	kor
adze	wolu	wole	wo	olo
baby-sling	chip	chepe	chipa	chiba
cord-ornament	ra	ra	ro	iku
leaf-wrapper	kapa	kaba	kôbo	kôbu
red-ochre	koiob	keyep	keip	keip
stone hammer	tailibana	me	mio	meô
stone anvil	rôrop	rarap	rôrop	rôrop
canoe	roko	ro	ro	rua
c. outrigged	charigma	charikma	chorok	chorok

The same community of roots is to be seen in the names of the trees on the islands, establishing beyond doubt the close common origin of the Andaman Tribes of the Yerewa and Bojigngiji Groups, though it will, of course, be

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192 owing to a variety of circumstances, not the least of which was
114 the absence of any system of representing the sounds in the language—each author having chosen to employ a phonetic code best understood by himself and capable of varying interpretation by others—the result has been, to say the least, unsatisfactory, and the words for the most part are, in their printed form, either wholly unrecognisable by the people themselves, or possess a meaning differing very much from that given.

2. I do not make these remarks with a view of depreciating the efforts of others, for I fully recognise the difficulties with which they had to contend, and am aware that these exceeded any I have had to overcome, consequent on the improved relations which have subsisted between ourselves and the aborigines in recent years.

3. It must also be borne in mind that time necessarily works vast changes in all savage languages, which depend so entirely upon the oral correctness of the whole population for their accurate transmission.

128 4. As my knowledge of the other dialects is not as yet sufficient for me to be able to describe them comparatively at any length—leisure having failed me to obtain more than a few hundred words of five of the seven remaining tribes of Great Andaman—I wish it to be understood that, except where otherwise stated, my remarks refer to the *.bōjig-ngīji-*, or South Andaman dialect.

192 5. The Andamanese are, as a rule, very conservative, and prefer to coin from their own resources rather than to borrow from aliens, words expressing ideas or objects which are new to them. To give only one of many examples:—having themselves no forms of worship, they had no word for "prayer," but since seeing the Mahomedans at their daily devotions, and learning that they are addressing an Invisible Being, they express the act by a compound word, *ârlalik-yâ·b-*, signifying "daily repetition" (viz.: *ârla-* daily, and *ik-yâ·b-* repetition).

533 6. They have also a distinct poetical dialect, and in their
●195 songs subordinate everything to rhythm, the greatest liberties being thereby taken not only with the forms of their words, but even with the grammatical construction of the sentences. For instance the chorus of one of their songs runs thus:—

chēklū yâ lak·u mēj·rà?

which means "who missed the hard (backed) turtle?" the prose construction of the sentence being *mīja yâ·dī chē·balen lâ·kàchī·re?* It will be at once noticed how great is the difference between the two versions, for in this, as in most of their songs,

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535 the words in their poetic form are so mutilated to suit the metre as to be scarcely recognisable; indeed, it not unfrequently happens that the composer of a new song has to explain its meaning in the ordinary vernacular to his chorus[1] as well as to the audience in general.

7. It may perhaps interest some of my readers to see a comparative table which I have prepared of the various forms of the possessive pronominal adjectives in most frequent use among five of the eight tribes of Great Andaman:

	.bō·jig-ngī·ji-	*.bō·jig-yá·b-*	*.á·kà-kó·l-*	*.ko-jū·wai-*	*.bal·awa-*
my ..	*dī·a-* ..	*ī·ya-* ..	*ī·ya* ..	*ī·ya* ..	*deg·e.*
thy ..	*ngī·a-* .	*ngī·ya-* ..	*ngī·ya* ..	*ngī·ya* ..	*ngeg·e.*
his ..	*ī·a-* ..	*ī·ya-* ..	*ī·ya* ..	*dī·ya* ..	*eg·e.*
our ..	*mē·ta-* ..	*mī·ya-* ..	*mī·ya* ..	*mī·ya* ..	*mā·tat.*
your ..	*ē·ta-* ..	*ngārdī·ra-* *ī·ya-* ..	*ngārdī·ra-* *ī·ya* ..	*ngachá·par-* *ī·ya* ..	*ngā·tat.*
their ..	*ó·nta-* ..	*ná·ngtá·le-* *ī·ya-* ..	*ó·ntá·le-* *eka-ī·ya* ..	*nará·ngóich-* *-ī·ya* ..	*á·tat.*

8. There are in each dialect several other forms of possessive pronominal adjectives, each of which must be used with its own class of nouns, but I do not now purpose entering into particulars regarding these. The form which, roughly speaking, is of general application among the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* is, as I have just shown, that of *dī·a-*, *ngī·a-*, &c. Ex.:—*dī·a kā·rama-*, my bow; *mē·ta yá·dī-*, our turtle; the exceptions to its use being, (*a*) those nouns denoting human objects, (*b*) those indicating the various parts of the body,[2] and (*c*) certain other nouns denoting degrees of relationship. To be as brief as possible, I will give but one or two examples of each.

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(*a*)

dī·a-, my	*mē·tat*, our	Ex. *dī·a ábū·la-*, my man.
ngī·a-, thy	*ē·tat*, your	*mē·tat at·pail-*, our women.
ī·a-, his	*ó·ntat*, their	
ī·a-, ——'s	*ī·ó·ntat*, ——s'	

[1] I cannot here enter into particulars regarding their songs and choruses, an account of which will be hereafter given under "Games and Amusements."

[2] For a complete list of these *vide* Appendix G.

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(which has now about 6000 entries of the English-Andamanese part only), and the corrected grammar will be published in course of time. They are obviously of great importance to the Indian Government, on account of its penal settlement at Port Blair, and are well worthy of its patronage.

The Andamanese have poetry, and that of a most remarkable kind. Their only musical instrument is a stamping board to keep time, and to this rhythm everything seems to be sacrificed. The words, their order, the prefixes, the suffixes, the postpositions, are all more or less changed, the order of the words suffers, in short the poetical language requires a special study, which is the more difficult to give, as songs are always impromptu, and not, as a rule, sung again after the one occasion for which they were composed, and then only by the composer. Of the music Mr. Man regrets to state that he is unable to give any information, as he is, unfortunately, totally unacquainted with the subject. The following specimen of a song composed by the *jam·bu*, to whom the above letters were addressed, after his liberation from a six months' imprisonment, about 1865, for having shot down a sailor whom he found taking liberties with his wife, was given to Mr. Man by the author.

I. As it was sung.

Solo. *ngô do kūk l'àrtâ·lagī·ka,*
mô·ro el·ma kâ igbâ·dà·la
mô·ro el·mo lē aden·yarâ
pô-tôt läh.

Chorus. *aden·yarâ pô-tôt läh.*

II. Literal Translation of the Poetry.

thou heart sad
sky surface there look-at
sky surface of ripple
bamboo spear.

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III. Prose Andamanese Version by Mr. Man.

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ngöl kûk l'àrtâ·lagike
mô·ro el·ma len kâ·to igbâ·dignga bêdig,
mô·ro el·ma lī·a en·yar len igbâ·dignga bêdig
pô-tôg len tăg·imike.

IV. Literal Translation of Prose Version.

thou heart-sad-art
sky-surface to there looking while,
sky-surface of ripple to looking while,
bamboo spear on lean-dost.

V. Free Translation of Prose Version.

thou art sad at heart,
gazing there at the sky's surface,
gazing at the ripple on the sky's surface,
leaning on the bamboo spear.

The rhythm, as read by Mr. Man, was:

-- | -- * | -- | --
--	--	*	---
-	-	-

The syllables marked * were of medial length. There were two short syllables at the end of the second and third lines. The three long syllables in the fourth line were very long and slow, each filling up a whole measure. Strange as some of the changes and omissions were, this is one of the least altered of the songs in Mr. Temple's grammar. We must suppose the man to be standing before his companions after liberation from prison, gazing sadly at the sky again and resting on his bamboo spear, and then the action would make the words intelligible.

An important question arises as to the durability of the 000

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On the other hand [628] 621

there were often quarrels between neighbouring groups, which might result in a state of feud between them for many months. Between communities separated from one another by a distance of only 50 miles or even less there were no direct relations whatever. The members of one community kept to their own part of the country, only leaving it to visit their friends within a narrow radius.

These local groups were united into what are here called tribes. A tribe consisted of a number of local groups all speaking what the natives themselves regard as one language, each tribe having its own language and its name. The tribe was of very little importance in regulating the social life, and was merely a loose aggregate of independent local groups. 619 197

The local groups are further distinguished by the natives themselves as being of two kinds according as they lived on the coast or inland. This division was independent of that into tribes. Some tribes consisted of coast-dwellers only, while others included both coast-dwellers and forest-dwellers. 619 616

Within the local group the only division was that into families. A family consists of a man and his wife and their unmarried children own or adopted. 594

These were the only social divisions existing among the Andamanese, who were without any of those divisions known as "clans" which are characteristic of many primitive societies.

The natives of the Great Andaman (leaving aside the *Jarawa*, who by language and culture belong to the Little Andaman division of the race) are divided into ten tribes, each occupying a certain area of country. Each tribe consists of a number of persons who speak what is regarded by the natives themselves as one language. That the tribe is fundamentally a linguistic group is shown by the tribal names. These are all formed from a stem with the prefix *aka-*, which prefix is used in the languages of the Great Andaman to convey a reference to the mouth and thereby to the function of speech. Thus in the *Aka-Jeru* language the stem *poŋ* means "a hole of any kind," and *aka-poŋ* means "the mouth," there being no other word for that part of the body. In the same language the stem *-ar-* meaning "to talk" can only be used 619 197 196

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619 with the prefix *aka-*, as *ak'-ar-ka*, "he says." The prefix
197 which is characteristic of the tribal names, indicates, therefore, that these are really the names of languages.

196 The meanings or derivations of some of the tribal names have not been ascertained with certainty. The name *Aka-Čari* is derived from the word *čari* meaning "salt water," and therefore means "the salt-water language." Similarly the name *Aka-Jeru* is derived from *jeru*, a species of Sterculia from which canoes are made. In the Northern languages the word *ot-bo* means "the back" of anything, and *oŋ-kọra* means "the hand." It is possible that the names *Aka-Bo* and *Aka-Kọra* are derived from these stems (the *ot-* and the *oŋ-* being prefixes), but there is no evidence that they are associated with them in the minds of the natives of the present day. Among the Southern tribes the name *Akar-Bale* is derived from a word meaning "the other side" of a creek or strait, thus referring to their position in the Archipelago. The name *A-Pučik-war* (of which the *Aka-Bea* equivalent is *Aka-Bojig-yab*) means "those who speak our own language," from a stem *pučik* (*Aka-Bea, bojig*) which means "belonging to ourselves" as opposed to strangers of the same race. Mr Portman[1] gives the following meanings of the other tribal names of the South and Middle Andaman, but the derivations are somewhat doubtful.

Aka-Bea	Fresh water.
Okọ-Juwọi	They cut patterns on their bows.
Aka-Kọl	Bitter or salt taste.

I may take this opportunity of pointing out two errors in the names of the tribes given in the "Census Report" of 1901. The name *Aka-Čari* is given as *Aka-Chariar*; the stem *-ar-* means "to talk" and is not an essential part of the tribal name; *Aka-Čari-ar-bom* means "he talks the *Čari* language." The name *Aka-Bo* is given as *Aka-Tabo*; *t'a-Bo* means "I (am) *Aka-Bo*," just as *t'a-Jeru* means "I (am) *Aka-Jeru*," the prefix *aka-* being contracted to *a-* after the personal pronoun *t'* = I or my.

619 Although the natives themselves thus recognize and give
197 names to ten distinct languages, all of them are closely related. There is, on the whole, not a great deal of difference between

[1] *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes*, p. 27.

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savoury smell of the food of which they have partaken. Again, when heated by travelling or by hunting or dancing, they have recourse to the same wash, but in these cases it is applied thinly[1]."

There are here two explanations of fundamentally different character. First the Andamanese practice of painting their bodies with clay is explained as having a purely utilitarian purpose, being intended to cool them when they are heated. In the second statement the explanation given is that the custom is intended to protect them from danger.

My own observations do not altogether agree with the statements of Mr Man. I found that the natives painted themselves just as much in the cold season as in the hot season. The principal, if not the sole, occasion on which the clay is used is after or immediately before a meal, and therefore generally in the late afternoon or evening when the heat of the day is past. I do not feel so satisfied as Mr Man appears to be, that the clay really has the effect of keeping a person cool, particularly when it is remembered that the painting may consist of a few lines each as broad as a finger. Moreover, Mr Man's explanation does not afford any reason for the fact that the clay is always applied in some sort of pattern. If it were merely to keep himself cool, we should expect to see a man cover himself all over with a plain coating evenly spread over the body. Such an even coating is never used, in the Great Andaman tribes, except by persons mourning for the dead, and is the essential mark of a mourner.

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It is easy to explain how Mr Man has fallen into an error in this matter. On many occasions, when I questioned the natives as to their reason for painting themselves with clay I received the answer, "When we have eaten pork or turtle or dugong, we become *ot-kimil* and so we take clay and paint ourselves." Now the word *ot-kimil* in the *Aka-Jeru* language is the word that the natives use to express what we mean by the word "hot." But while "hot" may always be translated by *ot-kimil* or *er-kimil*, the latter word cannot always be adequately rendered in English by the word "hot." Mr Man seems to have supposed that when an Andaman Islander says "hot" he means by the word only what we mean, whereas he really means a great deal more.

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 333.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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Let us examine briefly the word in question. In the languages of the North Andaman the stem is *-kimil*. With the prefix *ot-* or *er-* it is used to mean "hot" as in *T'ot-kimil-bom*, "I am hot," or *Ino ot-kimil bi* or *Ino er-kimil bi*, "The water is hot." Used by itself the stem *kimil* is the name of the latter part of the rainy season, when the weather is not hot but cool. A youth or girl who is passing through the initiation ceremonies is said to be *aka-kimil*, and is addressed or spoken of as *Kimil*, instead of by his or her proper name. The turtle-eating ceremony is called *čokbi-kimil*, or *čokbi-jo* or *kimil-jo*, *čokbi* meaning "turtle" and *jo* meaning "eating." The word "hot" is used by the natives in several unusual ways when they are talking their own language or Hindustani. Thus a stormy or rough sea is said to be "hot," and one native in describing to me (in Hindustani) the cessation of a cyclone said "the sea became cold." A person who is ill is said to be hot, and getting well is expressed by the phrase "getting cool."

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In the *Aka-Bea* language the word "hot" is translated by Mr Portman by the stem *uya*. The stem *kimil* appears in the form *gumul* in only some of the uses it has in the Northern languages. *Gumul* is the name of the latter part of the rainy season. A youth passing through the initiation ceremonies is said to be *aka-gumul* and is addressed or spoken of as *Guma*. The turtle-eating ceremony is called *gumul-le-ke*, *le-ke* meaning "eating." The word thus means "the *gumul* eating" and is the literal equivalent of the *kimil-jo* of the North.

The uses of the word *kimil* may be summarised as follows:

(1) to mean "hot" in the sense of the English word;

(2) in connection with illness;

(3) in speaking of stormy weather;

(4) as the name of the latter part of the rainy season;

(5) to denote the condition of a youth or girl who is passing through or has recently passed through the initiation ceremonies, and to denote the ceremonies themselves;

(6) to denote a condition in a person consequent on eating certain foods, and perhaps sometimes due to other causes, to remedy or obviate which the natives make use of clay painted in patterns on their bodies.

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PREFACE

122 THIS book contains some part of the results of anthropological research carried out in the Andaman Islands in the years 1906 to 1908, under the terms of the Anthony Wilkin Studentship in Ethnology of the University of Cambridge. The funds supplied by the studentship were supplemented by grants from the Royal Society and from the government of India. In its original form the monograph was presented as a fellowship thesis at Trinity College. The work of rewriting it was interrupted by absence from England and was only completed in 1914. There has since been a long delay in publication as a result of the war.

127 The book deals with the social institutions of the tribes of the Great Andaman. These had previously been studied by Mr E. H. Man to whose work I have been obliged to make many references in order that my account may be as complete as 114 possible. I should have preferred to devote my attention almost exclusively to the natives of the Little Andaman, about whom very little is known. I found, however, that it was not possible in the time at my disposal to do any satisfactory work amongst these people owing to the difficulty of language. The natives of [197] the Little Andaman know no language but their own, and that is so little related to the languages of the Great Andaman that even a thorough knowledge of the latter is of almost no use in an attempt to learn the former. I spent nearly three months camped with natives of the Little Andaman, giving most of the time to learning their language. No one who has not actually made the attempt to learn the language of a savage people without the help of an interpreter, can form an adequate idea of the difficulties of the task. At the end of three months I found that at the same rate of progress it would take me two or three years to learn to speak the language sufficiently well to begin to

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175 workers and on the friendly Andamanese. Punitive expeditions
648 have been sent against them on several occasions, and attempts to set up friendly relations with them have been made by leaving presents in their huts, and by capturing some of them and keeping them for a time at Port Blair. At the present time the *J̌ạrawa* are as hostile as ever.

619 Although of one race throughout, the Andaman Islanders are divided into several groups, with differences of language and culture. There are two main divisions, which will be spoken of as the Great Andaman Group and the Little Andaman Group respectively. The Great Andaman Group includes all the natives of the Great Andaman with the exception of those of the interior of the South Andaman who are known as *J̌ạrawa*. The Little Andaman Group includes all the inhabitants of the Little Andaman, those of the North Sentinel Island and the *J̌ạrawa* of the South Andaman.

619 These two different divisions exhibit many differences of language and culture. All the languages of the Great Andaman
•197 Group are closely related to one another. They have the same grammatical structure, and a large number of roots are the same in all or in several of them. In the same way the language of the *J̌ạrawa*, so far as it is known, is very similar to that of the natives of the Little Andaman. On the other hand when the language of the Little Andaman is compared with the Great Andaman languages there is a very striking difference. Of a vocabulary of several hundred words collected in the Little Andaman there were less than a dozen in which the root or stem was clearly the same as that of words in the Great Andaman. While the grammatical structure of the languages of the two groups is fundamentally the same, this can only be shown in a somewhat detailed analysis, and there are many important differences.

619 With regard to technical culture the same grouping appears. There is a general similarity between all the tribes of the Great Andaman Group, while the *J̌ạrawa* and the inhabitants of the Little Andaman have a technical culture of their own that is markedly different from that of the other division.

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On the other hand [628]

there were often quarrels between neighbouring groups, which 621
might result in a state of feud between them for many months. Between communities separated from one another by a distance of only 50 miles or even less there were no direct relations whatever. The members of one community kept to their own part of the country, only leaving it to visit their friends within a narrow radius.

These local groups were united into what are here called 619
tribes. A tribe consisted of a number of local groups all 197
speaking what the natives themselves regard as one language, each tribe having its own language and its name. The tribe was of very little importance in regulating the social life, and was merely a loose aggregate of independent local groups.

The local groups are further distinguished by the natives 619
themselves as being of two kinds according as they lived on 616
the coast or inland. This division was independent of that into tribes. Some tribes consisted of coast-dwellers only, while others included both coast-dwellers and forest-dwellers.

Within the local group the only division was that into 594
families. A family consists of a man and his wife and their unmarried children own or adopted.

These were the only social divisions existing among the Andamanese, who were without any of those divisions known as "clans" which are characteristic of many primitive societies.

The natives of the Great Andaman (leaving aside the 619
ʃarawa, who by language and culture belong to the Little 197
Andaman division of the race) are divided into ten tribes, 196
each occupying a certain area of country. Each tribe consists of a number of persons who speak what is regarded by the natives themselves as one language. That the tribe is fundamentally a linguistic group is shown by the tribal names. These are all formed from a stem with the prefix *aka-*, which prefix is used in the languages of the Great Andaman to convey a reference to the mouth and thereby to the function of speech. Thus in the *Aka-ʃeru* language the stem *poŋ* means "a hole of any kind," and *aka-poŋ* means "the mouth," there being no other word for that part of the body. In the same language the stem *-ar-* meaning "to talk" can only be used

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619 with the prefix *aka-*, as *ak'-ar-ka*, "he says." The prefix
•197 which is characteristic of the tribal names, indicates, therefore,
that these are really the names of languages.
196 The meanings or derivations of some of the tribal names have not been ascertained with certainty. The name *Aka-Čari* is derived from the word *čari* meaning "salt water," and therefore means "the salt-water language." Similarly the name *Aka-Jeru* is derived from *jeru*, a species of Sterculia from which canoes are made. In the Northern languages the word *ot-bo* means "the back" of anything, and *oŋ-kọra* means "the hand." It is possible that the names *Aka-Bo* and *Aka-Kọra* are derived from these stems (the *ot-* and the *oŋ-* being prefixes), but there is no evidence that they are associated with them in the minds of the natives of the present day. Among the Southern tribes the name *Akar-Bale* is derived from a word meaning "the other side" of a creek or strait, thus referring to their position in the Archipelago. The name *A-Pučik-war* (of which the *Aka-Bea* equivalent is *Aka-Bojig-yab*) means "those who speak our own language," from a stem *pučik* (*Aka-Bea*, *bojig*) which means "belonging to ourselves" as opposed to strangers of the same race. Mr Portman[1] gives the following meanings of the other tribal names of the South and Middle Andaman, but the derivations are somewhat doubtful.

Aka-Bea	Fresh water.
Ọkọ-Juwọi	They cut patterns on their bows.
Aka-Kọl	Bitter or salt taste.

I may take this opportunity of pointing out two errors in the names of the tribes given in the "Census Report" of 1901. The name *Aka-Čari* is given as *Aka-Chariar*; the stem *-ar-* means "to talk" and is not an essential part of the tribal name; *Aka-Čari-ar-bom* means "he talks the *Čari* language." The name *Aka-Bo* is given as *Aka-Tabo*; *t'a-Bo* means "I (am) *Aka-Bo*," just as *t'a-Jeru* means "I (am) *Aka-Jeru*," the prefix *aka-* being contracted to *a-* after the personal pronoun *t'* = I or my.

619 Although the natives themselves thus recognize and give
197 names to ten distinct languages, all of them are closely related. There is, on the whole, not a great deal of difference between

[1] *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes*, p. 27.

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two neighbouring languages. A man of the *Aka-Jeru* tribe could understand without any great difficulty a man speaking *Aka-Bo*. On the other hand many of the languages included two or even more distinct dialects. In the *Akar-Bale* tribe there were two dialects, one in the southern half of the Archipelago, which was allied to *Aka-Bea*, and the other in the northern half, showing affinities with *A-Pučikwar*. Even in such a small tribe as the *Aka-Čari* it would seem that there were differences of dialect. Thus, even from the point of view of language, the tribe was not entirely homogeneous. 619 197

Leaving aside the *Aka-Bea*, the average extent of territory occupied by a tribe was about 165 square miles. Of the nine tribes the largest, as regards area, was the *Aka-Kede*, with over 300 square miles, while the smallest was probably the *Aka-Čari*, with less than 100 square miles. Save in the case of the *Akar-Bale* tribe, which occupied the islands of Ritchie's Archipelago, it is difficult to find any marked geographical features that might be supposed to have determined the extent and the boundaries of the different tribes. 619 161

The *Aka-Bea* tribe was in an abnormal position as there was no recognized boundary between them and the *Jarawa*. Together, these two divisions of the Andamanese occupied an area of about 600 square miles. The *Aka-Bea* seem to have kept more to the coast while the *Jarawa* occupied the interior of the South Andaman and Rutland Island.

If the estimate previously given[1] of the former population of the islands be correct, the nine tribes (leaving aside the *Aka-Bea*) would have formerly contained about 3750 persons of all ages. At the present time the four tribes of the North Andaman number altogether about 400, of whom about 100 or less are children. The other six tribes taken together (including the almost extinct *Aka-Bea*) number about 200, of whom not more than 30 are children. Mr Man estimated the numbers of the *Aka-Bea* tribe (called by him *Bojig-ŋiji-da*) in 1882 at about 400, and supposes them to have numbered about 1000 in 1858. In 1901 that tribe consisted of only 37 persons.

[1] Page 18 above.

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101 619 remote origin, which are found in and near the harbour of Port Blair.

197 No one who has had the opportunity of seeing the natives of the various islands forming Great Andaman can fail to be struck with the similarity which marks their general appearance,[1] and to be convinced that, however much they may differ in many respects, they must at least claim a common origin. Any reasonable doubt on the subject has been removed by the discovery that although each of the several tribes possesses a distinct dialect, these are traceable to the same source, and are all in the same—*i.e.*, the agglutinative—stage of development; further, it has been ascertained that among all, or at least among the natives of Middle and South Andaman and the Archipelago, a coincidence of legends and customs is to be found, and that though the points of dissimilarity between the inhabitants of Great and Little Andaman are more marked, especially in regard to their weapons and implements, they are by no means such as would justify the belief that the latter are descendants of another branch of the Negrito family.

From what has been already said it will be understood that we are not yet in a position to decide whether one and the same dialect is spoken by all the communities designated as *jārawa-*, or whether, like the people of North and Middle Andaman, they must be regarded on linguistic grounds as representing two or more tribes.

The dialects of Great Andaman may be grouped into three classes, viz.:—

I. The *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* and *.bal·awa-*.
II. The *.bō·jig-yāb-* and *.ā·kà-.kôl-* and *.ô·ko-jū·wai-*.
III. The *.ā·kà-.ked·e-* and the two tribes of North Andaman.

But it must not be supposed that the similarity between the dialect of any of these groups is so great that a knowledge of one would enable a person to converse intelligibly with members of the other tribes in the same classification, for such is not the case; now, however, that intercommunication is less restricted it is not unusual to find that members of the various communities are sufficiently acquainted with the dialect spoken by their immediate neighbours as to hold intercourse with them.

172 Little which throws light on their past history can be gathered from the Andamanese or from their traditions, but from a study

[1] I have been told by the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* that they can distinguish a *.bal·awa-* from members of the other tribes by his high cheek-bones, and the shape of his skull, which they describe as more dolichocephalic than those of other tribesmen; but as this tribe is now well-nigh extinct, it is impossible to determine the amount of credence which may be placed on this strange statement.

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791 savage tribes,[1] imagine themselves gifted with superior wisdom, and can hardly be blamed if they endeavour to turn their talents to account by imposing a little on the credulity of their neighbours.

101 **Tribal Distribution.**—1. The inhabitants of these islands are divided into at least nine tribes,[2] linguistically distinguished, 171 even if we reckon as one those communities to which I have 197 already alluded under the title of *järawa-*, among whom it is not improbable further divisions and dialects may eventually be 619 discovered. The conjecture that they are one is merely based on the assertions of the people of South Andaman, and on the circumstance that all the weapons, utensils, huts, &c., of the *järawa-*, which we have been able to examine, appear to be constructed invariably on the same model, while all such members of the various scattered communities as we have had the opportunity of observing, resemble each other in abstaining from the practice, so general among all the eight Great Andaman tribes, of shaving their heads and tattooing their persons. Still, these outward similarities are manifestly insufficient, affording as they do mere negative evidence, whereas our present knowledge, so tardily acquired, of there being inland communities, called *ē·rem-tâ·ga-*, dwelling in the heart of South and Middle Andaman, who are allied in all respects, save in their mode of life, with the *ȧryô·to-*, or coast communities of their respective tribes, would seem to justify the belief that hereafter the aborigines of Little Andaman will be found to present not only distinctions of this nature but differences also of dialect, as is the case with the inhabitants of both North and Middle Andaman, which are known to be divided into no less than six tribes.

161 2. As to the numerical strength of these several tribes it is impossible to speak with any degree of certainty, for, as you are 619 aware, there is no part of the country which is not covered with jungle, more or less impenetrable to any but the aborigines themselves, while their capacity for estimating and expressing numbers is wholly inadequate to assist us in forming any conclusions on the subject. The surmise that the entire group contains about 4,000 souls is based on the calculation that the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* tribe with whom we are most intimate do not at the present day exceed 400, though at the time of our advent in 1858, they are believed to have numbered about 1,000.

133 **Topography.**—1. The chief geographical landmarks of these islands are:—

1st. *Saddle Peak*, a massive hill rising to the height of

[1] *Vide* Lubbock, "On the Origin of Civilisation," &c., 4th Ed., pp. 250–1.

[2] For the names of the various tribes, and the localities they occupy, the reader is referred to the accompanying map.

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PART II.

Language—Adoption—Relationships—Proper Names—Initiatory Ceremonies—Marriage—Death and Burial—Meeting and Parting, &c.—Fire—Superstitions—Religious Beliefs and Demonology—Mythology.

BEFORE we enter upon the consideration of the marital relations customs, superstitions, traditions, and beliefs of these aborigines, I wish to say a few words in reference to the dialects or languages spoken by the various tribes, more especially the language spoken by the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*, or South Andaman tribe. As I shall presently show, the people themselves have a legend[1] to account for the linguistical distinctions existing in their midst; but, on a subject of such importance as the origin of an unwritten language, the traditions current among the savages who speak it have rarely, if ever, I believe, been known to throw any light. 197

Language.—1. A few short lists of Andamanese words have been prepared from time to time, commencing, I think, with Colebrooke, who visited the islands nearly a century ago; but 192 114

[1] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraphs 14 and 22.

[p. 49]

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535 195 the words in their poetic form are so mutilated to suit the metre as to be scarcely recognisable; indeed, it not unfrequently happens that the composer of a new song has to explain its meaning in the ordinary vernacular to his chorus[1] as well as to the audience in general.

7. It may perhaps interest some of my readers to see a comparative table which I have prepared of the various forms of the possessive pronominal adjectives in most frequent use among five of the eight tribes of Great Andaman:

193 • 197

	.bō·jig-ngī·ji-	*.bō·jig-yâ·b-*	*.â·kà-kó·l-*	*.ôko-jū·wai-*	*.bal·awa-*
my ..	*dī·a-* ..	*tī·ya-* ..	*tī·ya* ..	*tī·ya* ..	*deg·e.*
thy ..	*ngī·a-* .	*ngī·ya-* ..	*ngī·ya* ..	*ngī·ya* ..	*ngeg·e.*
his ..	*ī·a-* ..	*ī·ya-* ..	*ī·ya* ..	*ài·ya* ..	*eg·e.*
our ..	*mē·ta-* ..	*mī·ya-* ..	*mī·ya* ..	*mī·ya* ..	*mâ·tat.*
your ..	*ē·ta-* ..	*ngàrdī·ra-* *lī·ya-* ..	*ngàrdī·ra-* *tē·ya* ..	*ngachâ·par-* *lī·ya* ..	*ngâ·tat.*
their ..	*ó·nta-* ..	*nó·ngtâ·le-* *lī·ya-* ..	*ó·ntâ·le-* *eka-tē·ya* ..	*narâ·ngòich-* *-lī·ya* ..	*â·tat.*

8. There are in each dialect several other forms of possessive pronominal adjectives, each of which must be used with its own class of nouns, but I do not now purpose entering into particulars regarding these. The form which, roughly speaking, is of general application among the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* is, as I have just shown, that of *dī·a-*, *ngī·a-*, &c. Ex.:—*dī·a kâ·ramà-*, my bow; *mē·ta yâ·dī-*, our turtle; the exceptions to its use being, (*a*) those nouns denoting human objects, (*b*) those indicating the various parts of the body,[2] and (*c*) certain other nouns denoting degrees of relationship. To be as brief as possible, I will give but one or two examples of each.

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(*a*)

dī·a-, my..	*mē·tat*, our	Ex. *dī·a àbū·la-*, my man.
ngī·a-, thy	*ē·tat*, your	*mē·tat at-pail-*, our women.
ī·a-, his	*ó·ntat*, their	
l'ī.a-, ——'s	*l'ó·ntat*, ——s'	

[1] I cannot here enter into particulars regarding their songs and choruses, an account of which will be hereafter given under "Games and Amusements."

[2] For a complete list of these *vide* Appendix G.

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VI.

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ad-en, my	*am-et*, our	Ex.: *ad-en tó·bare*,
ang-en, thy	*ang-et*, your	my elder brother.
á-en, his	*á-et*, their	*ang-et tó·bare-pail-*,
l'á-en, ——'s	*l'á-et*, ——s'	your elder sisters.

VII.

dōt, my	*mō·tot*, our	Ex.: *dōt chá·tnga-*,
ngōt, thy	*ngō·tot*, your	my adopted son.
ōt, his	*ō·tot*, their	
l'ōt, ——'s	*l'ō·tot*, ——s'	

VIII.

deb, my	*meb·et*, our	Ex: *deb adew·ire*,
ngeb, thy	*ngeb·et*, your	my step-son.
eb, his	*eb·et*, their	
l'eb, ——'s	*l'eb·et*, ——s'	

9. Lieutenant R. C. Temple, in his Notes on my translation of the Lord's Prayer into *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* quotes some of the remarks made by Dr. Caldwell on the Australian languages, which he considers can with perfect truth be applied to the Andamanese dialects. The grammatical structure exhibits a general agreement with the languages of the Scythian group; in both we find the use of postpositions instead of prepositions; they also agree in the formation of inceptive, causative, and reflective verbs by the addition of certain particles to the root, as well as generally in the agglutinative structure of words and their position in a sentence.

193 10. In the same work, six sentences in *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* and *.bō·jig-yâ·b-*,[1] such as would occur in daily conversation, are given •197 as examples to illustrate the diversity of speech in two adjacent tribes. Only three out of some thirty words are there

[1] Or, in the language of that district, *.pū·chik-wár-*. Both *yâb-* in South Andaman, and *wár-* in South of Middle Andaman, signify "language." As will shortly be explained under "Mythology," the belief held by all, or the majority of the tribes of Great Andaman, is that the *.bō·jig-yâ·b-* is the original language spoken by their remote ancestors, and from which the various other existing dialects have sprung. The word *bō·jig* is used in a special sense to denote "our," or "our style of." Ex.: *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* (the South Andaman tribe's name for itself), literally, *our* friends; *.bō·jig-yâ·b-* (their name for the tribe on their northern border), literally, *our* language; *mij·a ngen kâ·to bō·jig kâ·rama mâ·nre?* Who gave you that *bō·jig* (*i.e.*, our style of) bow? [As shown in Appendix B, item 1, this term is used to distinguish the description used by the five tribes occupying Middle and South Andaman and the Archipelago, from the bows of the *.yē·rewa-* (*i.e.*, the three North Andaman tribes), and the *jār·awa-*.]

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shown to be the same in both languages, while they differ in *every inflection*, from which fact it will readily be understood that, apart from the great difficulties of inter-communication, the task of acquiring a knowledge of the dialects of the remaining eight tribes must be one involving considerable sacrifice of time and labour, such as, I fear, it is hopeless to expect any government officer, unless specially deputed for the work, will be able to accomplish during his term of service. 193 197

11. Before concluding this part of my subject I will add an extract from a letter received in August, 1881, from my friend and fellow-worker in this branch of my studies, Lieutenant R. C. Temple (cantonment magistrate at Ambála), which he authorises me to publish as embodying his opinion after a careful study of the vocabularies and other data which I have collected and forwarded to him: "The Andaman languages are one group; they are like (*i.e.*, connected with) no other group; they have no affinities by which we might infer their connection with any other known group. The word-construction (the etymology of the old grammarians) is two-fold, *i.e.*, they have affixes and prefixes to the root of a *grammatical* nature. The general principle of word-construction is agglutination pure and simple. In adding their affixes they follow the principles of the ordinary agglutinative tongues; in adding their prefixes they follow the well defined principles of the South African tongues. Hitherto, as far as I know, the two principles in full play have never been found together in any other language. Languages which are found to follow the one have the other in only a rudimentary form present in them. In Andamanese both are fully developed, so much so as to interfere with each other's grammatical functions. The collocation of the words[1] (or 'syntax,' to follow the old nomenclature) is that of the agglutinative languages purely. The presence of the peculiar prefixes does not interfere with this; the only way in which they affect the syntax is to render the frequent use possible of long compounds almost polysynthetic in their nature, or, to put it another way, of long compounds which are sentences in themselves, but the construction of these words is not synthetic but agglutinative, and they are *as words* either compound nouns or verbs taking their place in the sentence, and having the same relation to the other words in it as they would were they to be introduced into a sentence in any other agglutinative language. There are of course many peculiarities of grammar in the Andamanese group, and even in each member of the group, but these are only

[1] For an example of this the reader is referred to "*Wo*'s statement," which will be found in Appendix F.

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193 such as are incidental to the grammar of the other languages, and do not affect its general tenor. I consider, therefore, that
•197 the Andamanese languages belong to the agglutinative stage of development, and are distinguished from other groups by the presence in full development of the principle of prefixed and affixed grammatical additions to the roots of words."

12. As it is my intention to arrange and publish at an early date the results of my study of the various Andamanese dialects, I will not detain the reader with any further remarks on the subject. I have the less scruple in here dealing cursorily with this important point, as I have been so fortunate as to interest no less an authority than Mr. A. J. Ellis, F.R.S., who—after examining my vocabulary, containing probably about 6,000 words,[1] with examples of their use, together with a copious treatise on the grammar prepared by Lieutenant Temple from my notes[2]—incorporated a valuable paper on the South Andamanese language in his annual presidential address, which was delivered before the Philological Society on the 19th May, 1882.[3]

000 **Adoption.**—1. I have already pointed out several instances in which we find, on closer acquaintance with the race, that mistaken views have been entertained, and that both astonishment and merriment were evoked from the aborigines by the narration of certain of the habits and customs attributed to them, especially in connection with their social and marital relations.

2. It is generally admitted that one of the surest tests of a man's character may be found in the treatment women meet with at his hands; judged by this standard these savages are qualified to teach a valuable lesson to many of the fellow-countrymen of those who have hastily set them down as "an anomalous race of the most degraded description."

3. In a previous section I have mentioned that self-respect and modesty characterise their intercourse with one another, and

[1] And yet we find it stated by Figuier that "language is extremely limited among them;" and by Surgeon-Major Hodder that it "consists of a few words, and these sound harsh and explosive, and are principally monosyllables;" but it will be sufficient to refer to Mr. Ellis's interesting digest of the Andaman MSS. above mentioned, and to *Wōt*'s statement (Appendix F), to disprove the assertions of these writers.

[2] I would take this opportunity to express my acknowledgments of the great assistance afforded me by Mr. Temple in my philological researches. The result of his study of my vocabulary and notes on the Andamanese languages during a little over two years, is comprised in a large number of MSS. on the Grammar (above referred to) which, from lack of leisure, he has been compelled reluctantly to return to me for completion.

[3] A reprint of which instructive report is, with the kind permission of the author, appended to this monograph.

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All the papers mentioned above have been placed in my hands for the purpose of drawing up this report, and Mr. Man has also given me much personal instruction and looked over the whole of what I have written to guard against any error of fact or language. I have examined the grammar drawn up with such care and acuteness by Mr. Temple, and the vocabulary of Mr. Man, and I shall endeavour to give an account of the results at which they have arrived.

The following, written by Mr. Temple in July, 1881, on finally returning the MSS. to Mr. Man, sums up his opinion of the nature of the South and other Andaman languages:

"The Andaman languages are one group. They are like, that is, connected with no other group. They have no affinities by which we might infer their connexion with any other known group. The word-construction (the 'etymology' of the old grammarians) is two-fold, that is, they have affixes[1] and prefixes to the root, of a *grammatical* nature. The general principle of word-construction is agglutination pure and simple. In adding their affixes, they follow the principles of the ordinary agglutinative tongues. In adding their prefixes, they follow the well-defined principles of the South African tongues. Hitherto, as far as I know, the two principles in full play have never been found together in any other language. Languages which are found to follow the one have the other in only a rudimentary form present in them. In Andamanese both are fully developed, so much so as to interfere with each other's grammatical functions. The collocation of words (or 'syntax' to follow the old nomenclature) is that of the agglutinative languages purely. The presence of the peculiar prefixes does not interfere with this.

[1] Mr. Temple, following the usual unetymological definition given in dictionaries, here uses *affix* in place of *suffix*. In what follows I shall adopt the practice of Prof. S. S. Haldeman in his "Affixes in their origin and application," Philadelphia, 1865, p. 27. "*Affixes* are additions to roots, stems, and words, serving to modify their meaning and use. They are two kinds, *prefixes*, those at the beginning, and *suffixes*, those at the end of the word bases to which they are affixed. Several affixes occur in long words like *in-com-pre-hen-s-ib-il-it-y*, which has three prefixes and five suffixes." Affixes also include *infixes* (or, as Prof. Haldeman calls them, *interfixes*), where the modifying letter or syllable is introduced into the middle of the base, as in the Semitic and other languages.

Composition of the Words.—The words in the sentences under consideration can thus be broken up into their constituents as follows:— 193

Using the abbreviations R.=Root: S.=Stem: P. F.=prefix, functional: P. R.=prefix, radical: I.=Infix: S. F.=suffix, functional: S. Q.=suffix, qualitative.

(1) Mami (S.)—ka (S. Q). So also pugat-ka, boi-ka, emi-ka.
sleeping——was.

(2) Chapa (S.).
fire.

(3) Tap (S.)—nga (S. Q.).
steal——ing.

(4) Omo (S.)—re (S. Q).
bring——did.

(5) Chapa (S.)—la (S. Q.).
fire—(honorific suff.).

(6) A (S.).
he.

(7) Ik (S.).
tak—(ing).

(8) Chapa (S.)—lik (S. F.).
fire——by.

(9) I (P. F.) ot (P. R.) pugari (R.)—re (S. Q.).
(referent prefixes)——burn——t.

(10) Jek (S).
at-once.

(11) Baraij (S.)—len (S. F.).
village——in.

(12) Oko (P. R.)—dal (R.)—re (S. Q.).
—fire——(light)—did.

The Agglutinative Principle.—Words are, therefore, made to fulfil their functions in the Andamanese Languages by an external development effected by affixes, and to express modifications of their original meanings by a similar internal development. Also, the meaning of the sentences is rendered complete by a combination of the meanings of their component words with their position and form.

The sentences analysed further show that the Languages express a complete communication chiefly by the forms of their words, and so these languages are Formative Languages; and because their affixes, as will have been seen above, are attached to roots, stems and words mainly in an unaltered form, the languages are Agglutinative Languages. It will be seen later on, too, as a matter of great philological interest, that the Languages possess premutation (principle of affixing prefixes) and postmutation (principle of affixing suffixes) in almost equal development: intro-mutation (principle of affixing infixes) being merely rudimentary.

Identity of the Five Languages of the Southern Group of Tribes.— 197
The above observations, being the outcome of the examination of the ten sentences under analysis, are based only on the Bea speech, but in Appendix C will be found a similar analysis of the sentences conveying the Fire Legend in the five South Andaman Languages (Bojigngiji Group), which fully bears out all that has been above said. And from this Appendix is here attached a series of Tables, showing roughly how these Languages agree and differ in the essentials of word-building, premising that they all agree in Syntax, or sentence-building, exactly. An examination of the Tables goes far to show that the Andamanese Languages must belong to one Family.

COMPARATIVE TABLES OF ROOTS AND STEMS OF THE SAME MEANING OCCURRING IN THE FIRE LEGEND.

English	Bea	Balawa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
		Indicators (nouns).			
camp	baraij	baroij	...	...	pôroich
fire	chapa	chopa	at	at	at

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Predicators (verbs).

English	Bea	Bakwa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
make	eni	ema	di, li	...	...
take	ik	ik	ik	...	...
light-a-fire	dal	dal	kadak	kôdak	kôdak
sleep	mami	...	pat	ema	pat
steal	tap	...	...	top	...
bring	omo	omo	lechi	...	...
burn	pugut, pugari	pugura	...	...	...
wake	boi	...	konyi	...	...

Referent Substitutes (pronouns).

he	a	i, ong	ong	a	...
(they)	...	ongot	n'ong	...	n'a

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF AFFIXES OCCURRING IN THE FIRE LEGEND.

English	Bea	Bakwa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
Prefixes, functional, of intimate relation.					
(hi-, it-)-s	I'-	I'-	I'-	I'-, t'-	I'-
(hi-, it-)-s	...	...	k'-	...	k'-
(their-)-s	...	...	n'-	...	n'-
Prefixes, radical.					
...	ot-	oto-	oto-	...	otam-, ote-
...	...	atak-	...	atak-	...
...	oko-	oko-	oko-	ôkô-, ôko-	oko-
...	...	...	o-	...	ô-
...	...	ar-	...	...	ir-, iram-
...	i-	i-	...	...	...
...	...	ong-	...	on-	...
Suffixes, functional.					
by	-lik	-te	-ke	...	-lak
in	-len	-a	-in, -an, -en	-in	-en
to	...	...	-len	-lin	-kete
Suffixes, qualitative.					
was	-ka	-kate, -ia	...	-chike	-ke
-ing	-nga	-nga	-nga	...	...
did	-re	-t, -te	-ye, -an	-t	-an, -chine
(hon. of in.)	-la, -cla	-le	-la	...	-la

Many further proofs of the existence of the Andamanese Languages as a Family, subdivided into three main Groups, will be found later on in considering that great difficulty of the Languages, the use of the prefixes, and it will be sufficient here to further illustrate the differences and agreements between those of the South Andaman Group by a comparison of the roots of the words for the parts of the human body, a set of words which looms preponderatingly before the Andamanese mental vision.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF ROOTS AND STEMS DENOTING PARTS OF THE HUMAN BODY.

English	Bea	Bakwa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
head	cheta	chekta	ta	tô	toi
brains	mun	mun	mine	mine	mine
neck	longota	longato	longe	longe	longe
heart	kuktabana	kuktabana	kapône	poktô	poktoi
hand	kôro	kôro	kûre	korô	kôre
wrist	tango	tango	to	to	to
knuckle	kutur	godla	kutar	kutar	kutar
nail	bodo	bôdo	pute	pute	pute
foot	pag	pog	ta	tok	tok
ankle	togur	tôgar	togar	togar	togar
mouth	bang	boang	pong	pong	pong
chin	ada	koada	teri	t'reye	t'reye
tongue	etal	atal	tatal	tatal	tâtal

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English	Bea	Bakwa	Bejigyab	Juwai	Kol
jawbone	ekib	toa	ta	tô	teip
lip	pe	pa	pai	paka	paka
shoulder	pôdikma	pôdiatoa	ban	ban	bein
thigh	paicha	poaicho	baichato	boichatokan	baichetôkan
knee	lo	lo	lu	lu	lu
shin	chalta	chalanta	chalta	cholto	chaltô
belly	jodo	jôdo	chute	chute	chute
navel	er	akar	tar	takar	takar
armpit	anwa	ôkar	kôrting	kôrteng	kôrteng
eye	dal	dal	kôdak	kôdag	kôdak
eyebrow	punur	punu	bein	beakaiñ	beakiñ
forehead	mugu	mugu	mike	mike	mike
ear	puku	puku	bo	bôkô	bokô
nose	chôronga	chôronga	kôte	kôte	kôte
cheek	ab	koab	kap	kap	kap
arm	gud	gud	kit	kit	kit
breast	kam	koam	kôme	kôme	kôme
spine	gôrob	kategôrob	kinab	kurup	kurup
leg	chag	chag	chok	chok	chok
buttocks	dama	doamo	tome	tome	tome
arms	tomur	bang	tomur	kôlang	kôlang

Pulled to pieces, Andamanese words of any Group of the Languages seem to be practically the same, but this fact is not apparent in actual speech, when they are given in full with their appropriate affixes, thus—

English	Bea	Bakwa	Bejigyab	Juwai	Kol
head	otchetada	ôtchekta	otetada	ôtotôlekile	ôtetoiche
knee	abloda	ablo	abluda	alulekile	oluche
forehead	igmuguda	idmugu	irmikeda	remilekile	ermikeche

Any one who has had practice in listening to a foreign and partially understood tongue knows how a small difference in pronunciation, or even in accentuation, will render unintelligible words philologically immediately recognisable on paper.

III. Etymology.

The Use of the Roots.—As the Andamanese usually build up the full words of their sentences by the simple agglutination of affixes on to roots and stems, the word construction of their language would present no difficulties were it not for one peculiarity, most interesting in itself and easy of general explanation, though difficult in the extreme to discover: *experto crede.* 193 197

The Andamanese suffixes perform the ordinary functions of their kind in all agglutinative languages, and the peculiarity of the infixed *l'* occurring in compound words depends on the prefixes. It is the prefixes and their use that demand an extended examination.

Anthropomorphism Colours the whole Linguistic System.—To Andamanese instinct or feeling, words as original meanings, *i.e.*, roots, divide themselves roughly into Five Groups, denoting—

(1) mankind and parts of his body (nouns):
(2) other natural objects (nouns):
(3) ideas relating to objects (adj., verbs):
(4) reference to objects (pronouns):
(5) ideas relating to the ideas about objects (adv., connecting words, Proper Names).

The instinct of the Andamanese next exhibits an intense anthropomorphism, as it leads them to differentiate the words in the First Group, *i.e.*, those relating directly to themselves, from all others, by adding special prefixes through mere agglutination to their roots.

The Use of the Prefixes to the Roots.—These special radical prefixes by, some process of reasoning forgotten by the people and now obscure, but not at all in every case irrecoverable, divide the parts of the human body into Six Classes, thus, without giving a full list of the words in each class :—

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RADICAL PREFIXES IN WORDS DENOTING PARTS OF THE HUMAN BODY BY CLASSES.

Class	English	Ben	Bakwa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
I	Head Brains Neck Heart	ot-	ôt-	ote-	ôto-	ôto-
II	Hand Wrist Knuckle Nail Foot Ankle	on-	ong-	ong-	ôn-	ôn-
III	Mouth Chin Tongue Jawbone Lip	akan- aka- ôkô-	aka- ôkô-	o-	ôkô-	o-
IV	Shoulder Thigh Knee Shin Belly Navel Armpit	ab-	ab-	ab-	a-	o-
V	Eye Eyebrow Forehead Ear Nose Cheek Arm Breech	i- ik-, ig- i-	id-	ir-	re-	er-
VI	Spine Leg Buttock Arms	ar-	ar-	ar-	ra-	a-

Prefixes to Words referring to the Human Body.—Next, in obedience to their strong anthropomorphic instinct, the Andamanese extend their prefixes to all words in the other Groups, when in relation to the human body, its parts, attributes and necessities, and thus in practice refer all words, capable of such reference, to themselves by means of prefixes added to their roots. In an Andamanese Language one cannot, as a matter of fact, say "head," "hand," "heart;" one can only say—

my
your
his
(so and so) —'s
(that one) —'s
(this one) —'s } head, hand, heart.

The Prefixes of Intimate Relation.—It is thus that the otherwise extremely difficult secondary functional prefix (always prefixed to the radical prefix, which is usually in Bojigngiji *le-* or *la-*, but practically always used in its curtailed form *l'-*, or *k'-*, *n'-*, *t'-* in certain circumstances) is clearly explainable. It is used to denote intimate relation between two words; and when between two indicators (nouns) it corresponds to the English connector (of), the Persian *izafat* (*-i-*), and so on, and to the suffix denoting the "genitive case" in the inflected languages. The Andamanese also use it to indicate intimate relation between predicator (verb) and complement (object), when it corresponds to the suffix of the "accusative case" in the inflected languages, and indeed to cases generally.

The Prefix System.—Starting with these general principles, the Andamanese have developed a complicated system of prefixes, making their language an intricate and difficult one for a foreigner to clearly apprehend when spoken to, or to speak so as to be readily understood.

As examples of this, let us take the stem *beri-aga* good: then *a-beri-aga*, good (human being); *an-beri-aga* (good hand, *an* pref. of hand), clever; *ig-beri-aga* (good eye, *ik* pref. of

eye), sharp-sighted; *aka-beri-nga* (good mouth or tongue, *aka* pref. of mouth and tongue), clever at (other Andamanese) languages; *ot-beri-nga* (good head and heart, *ot* pref. of both head and heart), virtuous; *un-t'ig-beri-nga* (good hand and eye, *on* pref. of hand, *ig* pref. of eye, joined by *t'* pref. of intimate relation), good all round. 193 197

So, too, with *jabag*, bad: *ab-jabag*, bad (human being); *un-jabag*, stupid; *ig-jabag*, dull-sighted; *aka-jabag*, stupid at (other Andamanese) languages; *ot-jabag*, vicious; *un-t'-ig-jabag*, a duffer.

So again with *lama*, failing: *un-lama* (failing hand or foot), missing to strike; *ig-lama* (failing eye), failing to find; *ot-lama* (failing head), wanting in sense; *aka-lama* (failing tongue), using a wrong word.

Lastly, in the elliptic speech of the Andamanese, the root, when evident, can be left unexpressed, if the prefix is sufficient to express the sense, thus—

i-beri-nga-da! may mean, "his-(face, pref. *i*-)-good-(is)." That is, "he is good-looking!".

d'-aka-chan-ke! may mean "my-(mouth, pref. *aka*)-sore-is." That is, "my mouth is sore!".

Prefixes to Words Relating to Objects.—The system of using radical prefixes to express the relation of ideas to mankind and its body is extended to express the relation of ideas to objects in general. Thus—

ad-beringa, well (*i. e.*, not sick): *ad-jabag*, ill (*i. e.*, not well): *oko-lama* (applied to a weapon), failing to penetrate the object struck through the fault of the striker. So *ig-beringa* means pretty (of things): *aka-beringa*, nice (to taste): all in addition to the senses above given.

This is carried, with more or less obvious reference to origin, throughout the language. Thus—

In Bea: *yop*, pliable, soft. Then a cushion or sponge is *ot-yop*, soft: a cane is *ôto-yop*, pliable: a stick or pencil is *aka-yop*, or *ôko-yop*, pointed: the human body is *ab-yop*, soft: Class II of its parts (hand, wrist, etc.,) are *ong-yop*, soft: fallen trees are *ar-yop*, rotten: an adze is *ig-yop*, blunt.

So again, in Bea: *chôrogunga*, tying up, (whence also that which is usually tied up in a bundle, *viz.*, a bundle of plantains, faggots). Then *ôt-chôrogunga* is tying up a pig's carcase: *aka-chôrogunga*, tying up jack-fruit: *ar-chôrogunga*, tying up birds: *ong-chôrogunga*, tying up the feet of sucking pigs.

General Sense of Prefixes to Roots.—Possibly the feeling or instinct, which prompts the use of the prefixes correctly, could be caught up by a foreigner, just as the Andamanese roots might be traced by a sufficiently patient etymologist, but it would be very difficult and would require deep study. The Andamanese themselves, however, unerringly apply them without hesitation, even in the case of such novel objects to them as cushions, sponges and pencils; using *ot* in the two former cases, because they are round and globular, and *aka* in the latter, because they are rounded off to an end. In both these cases one can detect an echo of the application of the prefixes to the body: *ot* of head, neck, heart, etc.; *aka* of tongue, chin, etc.

Portman gives somewhat doubtfully the following as the concrete modifying references of such prefixes to the names of things:—

ot-	round things.
ôto-	long, thin, pointed, or wooden things.
aka-, ôko-	hard things.
ar-	upright things.
ig-	weapons, utensils, things manufactured.
ad-	speech (noises) of animals.

With this habit may be compared the use of numeral co-efficients in Burmese and many other languages.

From Portman also may be abstracted, doubtfully again, the following modifying abstract references of some of the radical prefixes:—

ot-, oto-, ôto-	special relation.
ig-, ik-, i-	reference in singular to another person.
iji-	reference in plural to other persons.
eb-, ep-	reference to ideas.
akan-	reference to self.
ar-, ara-	plural reference to persons generally.
ar-, ara-	(also) agency.
ad-	action of self.
ab-	action or condition transferred to another in singular.
aiye-	action transferred to others in plural

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The following preliminary statement of the function of the radical prefixes can, therefore, be made out, viz., to modify the meanings of roots by denoting—

(1) the phenomena of man and parts of his body:
(2) the phenomena of objects:
(3) the relation of ideas to the human body and objects:
(4) reference to self:
(5) reference to other persons:
(6) ideas; *i. e.*, (*a*) actions of self, (*b*) actions transferred to others, (*c*) actions of others (agency):
(7) reference to ideas.

The Use of the "Personal Pronouns."—The habit of the Andamanese of referring everything directly to themselves makes the use of the referent substitutes for their own names (personal pronouns) a prominent feature in their speech. These are in full in the Bojigngiji group as follow :—

THE "PERSONAL PRONOUNS."

English	Bea	Balawa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
I	d'ol-la	d'ol	t'u-le	t'u-le	la-t'u-le
thou	ng'ol-la	ng'ol	ng'u-le	ng'a-kile	la-ng'u-le
he, she, it	ol-la	ol	u-le	a-kile	laka-u-le
we	m'oloi-chik	m'olo-chit	m-u-le	m'e-kile	la-m'u-le
you	ng'oloi-chik	ng'olo-chit	ng'uwe'l	ng'e'l-kile	la-ng'uwe'l
they	oloi-chik	olo-chit	n'u-le	n'e-kile	kuchla-n'u-le

Limited Pre-inflexion.—In combination with and before the radical prefixes the "personal pronouns" are abbreviated thus in all the languages of the Bojigngiji Group :—

	ABBREVIATED "PRONOMINAL" FORMS.
I, my	d'- in Bea, Balawa.
	t'- in Bojigyab, Juwai, Kol.
thou, thy	ng'- in all the Group
he, his, etc.	not expressed in the Group.
we, our	m'- in all the Group.
you, your	ng - in Bea, Balawa, Bojigyab.
	ng'————'l in Juwai, Kol.
they, their	not expressed in Bea, Balawa.
	n'- in Bojigyab, Juwai, Kol.
this, that one	k'- in Bea, Balawa, Kol.
	not expressed in Bojigyab, Juwai.
that one	t'- in all the Group.

In this way it can be shown that there are no real "singular possessives" in Andamanese, as the so-called "possessive pronouns" are merely the abbreviated forms of the "personal pronouns" plus *ia* (*-da*), etc.= belonging to, (property) thus—

"POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS."

English	Bea	Balawa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
my, mine	d'ia-da	d'ege	t'iya-da	t'iyea-kile	t'iyi-che
thy, thine	ng'ia-da	ng'ege	ng'iye-da	ng'iyea-kile	ng'iye-dele
his, her, its	ia-da	ege	iye-da	eyea-kile	iye-dele

The "plural possessives" have been brought into line with the expression of plurality by radical prefixes, as will be seen later on.

Now, it is easy enough to express on paper the true nature of the above abbreviations by the use of the apostrophe, but in speech there is no distinction made. Thus, one can write "*d'un-lama-re*, I missed (my) blow," but one must say "*dunlamare*." So one can write "*ng'ot-jabag-da*, you (are a) vicious (brute)," but one must say "*ngotjabagda*." So also one can write :—

ar-tam	*d'un-t'ig-jabag-da*	*l'eda-re.*
formerly	I-hand-eye-bad.	exist-did.
achitik	*d'un-t'ig-l'eri nga*	
now	I-hand-eye-good.	

(once I was a duffer, now I am good all round.)

But one must say "*artam duntigjabag ledare, achitik duntigberinga.*" It would therefore be correct to assert that, though Andamanese is an agglutinative

tongue, it possesses a very limited pre-inflexion, *i.e.*, inflexion at the commencement of its words. 193

Limited Correlated Variation (Concord).—The Andamanese also express the intimate relation of the "personal pronouns" with their predicators (verbs) by a rudimentary correlated variation (post-inflexion in the form of concord) of forms:—Thus— 197

mami-ke	mamik-ka	mami-re	mami-nga
sleeping-is	sleeping-was	sleep-did	sleep-ing

Then,

do	mami-ke	I am sleeping.
da	mami-ka	I was sleeping.
da	mamire	I slept.
dona	mamingo	I (me) sleeping.

This peculiarity is shown in all the Bojigngiji Group, except Kol; thus—

English	Bea	Balawa	Bejigyab	Juwai
		"In the Present Tense" (*ke*)		
I	do	do	tuk	te
thou	ngo	ngo	nguk	nge
he, she, it	a	ong	uk	a
we	moicho	môt	môt	me
you	ngoicho	ngôngot	nuk	ngel
they	eda	ôngot	net	a
		"In the Past Tense" (*ka and re*)		
I	da	do	tong	te
thou	uga	ngo	ngong	nge
he, she, it	a	ong	ong	a
we	meda	mongot	môt	me
you	ngeda	ngongot	ngonget	ngel
they	eda	ongot	net	ne
		"In the Present Participle" (*nga*)		
I	dona	...	tong	tôn
thou	ngôna	...	ngong	ngôn
he, she, it	oda	...	ong	ôn
we	moda	...	môt	mon
you	ngoda	...	ngowel	ngôwel
they	eda	...	nong	ne

Expression of Plurality by Radical Prefixes.—The examination of the "pronouns" shows that the Andamanese can express things taken together (plural) as well as things taken by themselves (singular). This in their language generally is expressed by changing the forms of the radical prefixes, in Bea and Balawa habitually and in Kol and Juwai occasionally. Thus—

Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.
		In Bea.			
et-	otot-	ong-, on-	oiot-	ig-, ik-, i-	itig-
ab-	at-	ar-, ara-	arat-	aka-	akat-
ôto-	ôtot-	eb-	ebet-	iji-	ijit-, ijet-
ôko-	ôkot-	ad-	ad-	akan-	akan-
en-	et-				
		In Balawa.			
ôt-	ôtot-	ông-	ôngot-	id-	idit-
ap-	at-	ar-, ara-	arat-	aka-	akat-
ôto-	ôtot-	eb-	ebet-	idi-	idit-
ôko-	ôkot-	ad-	ad-	akan-	akan-
en-	et-				
		In Juwai.			
ir-	ir-	ab-	at-	iche-	iche-
iram-	iram-	in-	in-		
		In Kol.			
re-	ri-	a-	o-	eche-	iche-
rem-	rim-	en-	in-		

As has been already noted, the plural of the "personal pronouns" in the "possessive" form has been made to fall into line with the plan of expressing plurality by means of the radical prefixes. Thus—

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TABLE OF SINGULAR AND PLURAL "POSSESSIVES."

	English	Bea	Balawa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
Sing.	my	diada	dege	tiyeda	tiyeakile	tiyiche
Plu.	our	metat	matat	miyeda	miye	miyedele
Sing.	thy	ngiada	ngege	ngiyeda	ngiyeakile	ngiyedele
Plu.	your	ngetat	ngatat	ngiyida	ngiyel	ngiyil
Sing.	his	iada	ege	iyeda	eyeakile	iyedele
Plu.	their	etat	atat	niyeda	niye	niyiche

Qualitative Suffixes.—The suffixes of Andamanese are (radical) qualitative (expressing the class of a word), or functional (expressing its function in the sentence). The radical qualitative suffixes usually employed are—

For Indicators (nouns)

Bea	Balawa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
-da	-da, -nga, -ke	-da	-lekile, -kile	-che, la
-la, -ola	-le	-le		-le
-la, -lo	-o, ó-	-o	-ó	-o
-ba				

The first of these is usually dropped in Balawa, and in all the languages also unless the word is used as an integer, or sentence in itself. The second is an honorific and is always added in full. The third is "vocative" and is suffixed to the name called out. The fourth is a negative: thus, abliga-da, a child; abliga-ba, not a child, a boy or girl.

For Explicators (adjectives)

-da
-la
-re -et, -ot, -t

The second is honorific: the third applies to attributes, etc., of human beings. Generally, these affixes follow the rule for those of the indicators (nouns).

For Predicators (verbs)

English	Bea	Balawa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
(kill)s	-ke, -kan	-ke, -ken	-ke, -kan	-che, -chine	-ye
was (kill)ing	-ka	-ka, -te, -kate	-ya, -ye	-chike	-ye, -k
(kill)ed	-re	-t, -et	-nga, -nen	-chikan	-an, -wan, -nen
don't (kill)	-kok	-ton	-k	-chik	-k
(kill)ing	-nga	-t, -et, -fia	-nga	...	-in
(kill)s not	-ba, -bo	-ba	-na	...	...
(kill)ed not	-ta	...	...	...	...

The last two suffixes are added to the suffix *-nga* in Bea, thus—

dona	mami-nga-bo	
I	sleep-ing-not	(I am not asleep)
dona	karama	kop-nga-ta
I	bow	cutt-ing-(was)-not (I was not making a bow).

The Functional Suffixes.—The usual functional suffixes in Andamanese are—

TABLE OF SUFFIXES.

English	Bea	Balawa	Bojigyab	Juwai	Kol
In, to, at	-ken	-ken, -a	-an	-an	-an
From	-tek	-te, -le	-e, -te, -le	-e, -lak	-e, -lake, -kate
To, towards	-lat	-lat	-lat	-late	-late
Of	-lia	-lege	-liye	-leye	-liye
For	-leb	-leb	-leb	-lebe	-lebe
After	-lik	-le	-le	-le	-le

The Functional Suffixes are Lost Roots—Attempt at Recovery.—It may be taken as certain that the functional suffixes are roots, now lost to Andamanese recognition, agglutinated to the ends of words by the usual means in their languages, as exhibited in the prefixes; *viz.*, by prefixing to them *l'-*, *t'-*, *k'*—in the manner already explained. The roots of some of the suffixes can be fairly made out thus, from the *Vocabularies*.

(1) *Len, ken, a, an*, "in, to, at," seem to be clearly *l'-*, *k'-*+the root *en, e, ik*, 'take, hold, carry, seize."

(2) *Tek, te, le, e, lak, lake, kate,* "from" seem to be *l'-, t'-, k'-* + the root *ik, i, ak,* "take away." 193

(3) *Lat, late,* "to, towards," seem to be *l'-* + the root *at, ate,* "approach." 197

(4) *Lie, leye, liye, leye,* "of" seem to be *l'-* + the root *ie, eye, ii, eye,* "belonging to."

(5) *Leb, lebe,* "for" seem to be *l'-* + a root not traced.

(6) *Lik, le,* "with, after" seem to be *l'-* + the root *ik, e, ak,* "to go with, follow on."

IV. Phonology.

The Voice of the Andamanese.—The voice of the Andamanese, though occasionally deep and hoarse, is usually pleasant and musical. The mode of speech is gentle and slow, and among the women a shrill voice is used in speaking; but though the tendency is towards a drawled pronunciation, they can express their meaning quickly enough on occasion, too quickly, indeed, for a foreigner to clearly follow the minutiæ of pronunciation without very close attention. The general tone of the voice in speaking is low. 194

On an examination of the prevalent vowels and vowel interchanges and tendencies in the languages of the South Andaman (Bojigngiji) Group of Tribes, as described by Portman, it may be said that they relatively speak thus from a close to an open mouth :—

Juwai	with closed lips.
Bojigyab and Kol	with flattened lips.
Balawa	with open lips.
Bea	with lips tending to open wide.

It is interesting to note that the above results carry one straight from North to South.

History of the Reduction of the Language to Writing.—The Andamanese speech, as it is now studied, was first committed to writing on a system devised by myself, which was an adaptation of the system invented by Sir William Jones in 1794 for the Indian Languages and afterwards adopted, with some practical modifications introduced by Sir W. W. Hunter, by the Government of India as the "Hunterian System." My method of writing Andamanese was subsequently modified for scientific purposes by Mr. A. J. Ellis in 1882, and having so highly trained and competent a guide, one cannot do better than use here a modification of his system, adapted to the needs of a general publication. Portman, unfortunately, has, in his publications, gone his own way, to the great puzzle of students.

In this view, there is no necessity to say anything of the consonants used, and as to the vowels, the following table will sufficiently exhibit them in the Bea Language :—

The Vowels in Bea.

	English	Bea		English	Bea
a	idea, cut	alaba	e	indolent	boigoli
ā	ear	bā, yāba	ō	pole	jōb
ä	father	dāke	ö	könig (Ger.)	tö
ā	fathom	jārawa	ò	pot	pòlike
e	bed	ēmej	ô	awful	tôgo
ē	fade	akabēada	u	influence	bûkura
ē	pair	ēla	û	pool	pûdre
i	lid	igbadigre	ai	bite	daike
ī	police	yādi	au	house	chopana
...	...	...	àu	haus (Ger.)	chàu
...	...	...	òi	boil	bòigoli

Peculiarities of Speech.—Stress in Andamanese is placed on every long vowel, or on the first syllable of the root or stem. Peculiarities of pronunciation in the South Andaman Languages are as follow :—

Bea.

Sibilants tend to become palatals, *s* to *ch*: *ö* and *ô* are interchangeable: final open *ô* and *e* tend to *a* and *e*: *t* is an indistinct palato-dental.

BALAWA.

194 *t* is palato-dental and lisped, *cf.* Irish pronunciation of English *t* and *d*. The *a* vowels tend to be drawn out: *a* to become *o*, and *á* to become *ol*. There is also an incipient *sandhi* in words ending in gutturals: *e.g.*, *rák*, pig; *rág-dôamo*, pig's flesh.

BOJIGYAB.

cá is palato-dental and tends to *t*, and the *cá* of Bea tends in Bojigyab to become *s*; *i.e.*, palatals tend to become sibilants.

JUWAI.

Short vowels are not clearly marked: *e* and *a* are interchangeable: final *e* an *é* tend to *i*. Vanishing short vowels are common and are shown thus, *j'rôagap*: *o* is often drawled to *ô*: penultimate *e* is lengthened to *é*, and stressed *é* is drawled to *éa*. There is *sandhi* of final and initial vowels in connected consecutive words. Dental, palatal and cerebral *t* all exist: palatals tend to dentals, *cá* to *t*: *p* tends to soften to *pá* and almost to *f*.

KOL.

ã interchanges with *ô*: *á* tends to *ol*, *cf.* old English pronunciation *gyarden* for *garden*: *e* tends to *é*: final open vowels are uncertain.

V. THE NORTHERN AND OUTER GROUPS.

● 197 **Proofs of the Identity of the Northern and Southern Groups of Languages.**—Of the Five Languages of the Northern (Yerewa) Group, two, Kora and Tabo, are still quite unstudied, the knowledge of the existence of the tribes speaking them being of less than two years' standing, and the language of the Yere Tribe is very little known. Portman has, however, preserved long lists, unfortunately to be treated with much caution, of Kede and Chariar words, together with many sentences, and it will be sufficient here to give a series of roots and stems, showing where the Northern and Southern Languages meet, and how closely related they are by roots: premising that the syntax and word-structure of the Northern Group is identical with that of the Southern Group, and that affixes, notably the radical prefixes, are used precisely in the same way in both Groups. It is in the names for common objects and things that languages show their relationship, and the Bojigngiji and Yerewa Groups form no exception to this rule.

TABLE OF SOME BOJIGNGIJI AND YEREWA ROOTS SHOWING A COMMON ORIGIN.

English	Bea	Bojigyab	Kede	Chariar
pig	rag	re	ra	ra
turtle	tau	tare	tôrô	tôrô
clam	chowai	chowai	chowai	choa
grub	butu	peti	pata	pata
fish	yat	taiye	tajeu	tajeu
bow (N.)	chokio	chokio	chokie	chokwi
bow (S.)	karama	ko	ku	ku
wooden arrow	tirlech	tolô	tirleich	tirleit
wooden pig a.	peligma	paligma	paligma	paligma
wooden a. head	cham	cham	chôm	chom
harpoon string	betmo	kôri	betmô	luremô
bamboo bucket	gob	bire	kup	kup
shell-dish	chidi	kar	kar	kar
shell-cup	edo	kur	kur	kor
adze	wolu	wole	wo	olo
baby-sling	chip	chepe	chipa	chiba
cord-ornament	ra	ra	ro	iku
leaf-wrapper	kapa	kaba	kôbo	kâbu
red-ochre	kosob	keyep	keip	keip
stone hammer	tailibana	me	mio	meô
stone anvil	rôrop	rarap	rôrop	rôrop
canoe	roko	ro	ro	rua
c. outrigged	charigma	charikma	chorok	chorok

The same community of roots is to be seen in the names of the trees on the islands, establishing beyond doubt the close common origin of the Andaman Tribes of the Yerewa and Bojigngiji Groups, though it will, of course, be

understood that in full form, with prefixes and suffixes, very nearly related words are, in practice, unintelligible to the ear. There are, equally of course, a great number of words, the roots of which, while common to each other in the Yerewa Group, differ entirely from those common to the Bojigngiji Group: thus— 197

TABLE OF VARYING BOJIGNGIJI AND YEREWA ROOTS.

English	Bea	Bojigyab	Kede	Charlar
ornamental net	rab	rap	chirebale	chirbale
jungle-cat	baiyan	beyen	chan	chan
belt, round	bod	bal	tôtô	tôtô
b. flat, broad	rugan	rogan	kuto	kudu
iron fish, arrow	tôlbod	pôt	rautal	rautul
larvæ in comb	tô	to	jotu	joto
honey	aja	koi	tumel	tumel
black honey	tubal	tipal	maro	maro
eeckles	ula	tale	bun	bun

It is to be observed that in the above list, the compound stem in Bea for iron-fish-arrow, *tôlbod*, is made up apparently of the roots *pôt* and *tul* in the other languages quoted: while *rautul* seems to have become transferred from the pig, *ra*, to the fish, *tajeu*. A similar transfer has taken place between *tumel*, *timel*, the "black honey" of the North and *tubal*, *tipal*, the "honey" of the South. All of which observations tend to confirm the close connection between the Tribes and the Languages of both Groups.

The Outer Group (Önge-Jarawa) examined.—In turning to the Önge-Jarawa Group, one finds that the hostility of the Jarawas, and the only recent friendliness of the Önges combined with the inaccessibility of the island they inhabit, have caused the knowledge of their language to be but slight. However, we have the careful *Vocabulary* of Colebrooke made in 1790 and those made by Portman just a century later. An examination of these affords sufficient results for the present purpose: *viz.*, proof of the fundamental identity of the language of these people with that of the rest of the Andaman Tribes, and what is, perhaps, quite as interesting, proof that Colebrooke's informant really was a Jarawa.

The Limited Knowledge of it.—A comparison of such of Portman's words as can be compared with Colebrooke's, when shown with roots and affixes separated and reduced to one system of transcription, produces the following results; noting that in their actual lists, both enquirers fell into the natural error of taking the prefixed inflected "personal pronouns" to be essential parts of the words to which they were attached.

A LIST OF ÖNGE-JARAWA WORDS.

English.	Colebrooke's Jarawa	Portman's Önge
arm	pi-li	öni-bi-le
arrow	batoi	bartoi
bamboo	o-ta-li	o-da-le
basket	tere-nge	tô-le
bead	tahi	taiyi (stone)
beat	ingo-taiya (b. a person)	yökwö-be
belt	oto-go-le	are-kwa-ge
bite	m-o-paka-be (b. me)	oni-baga-be (b. a person)
black	chigeu-ge	be
blood	koche-nge	gache-nge
bone	ng-i-to-nge (your b.)	ichin-da-ge
bow	ta-nge (? wood), ta-hi (as shown in ng-i-tahi) (your bow)	asi
breast	ka	ng-a-ga-ge (your b.)
canoe	lak-ke	tafe
chin	pi-to-nge (c. bone)	ibi-ta-nge (c. bone)
cold	choma	ugite-be (to be c.)
cough	ingo-talie (? ta-be)	udu-be
drink	m-inggo-be (I d.)	injo-be
ear	kwa-ge	ik-kwa-ge
earth	totanga-ge	tutano-nge
eat	ingo-lolia (? imp.)	öni-lokwale-be
elbow	m-aha-lajebe (my e.)	aha-lageboi

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English	Colebrooke's Jarawa	Portman's Ónge
eye	jebe	öni-jeboi
finger	m-ome (my f.)	ome
fire	m-ona (my f.)	tu-ke
fish	ng-a-bohi (your f.)	cho-nge
hair	ot-ti	o-de
hand	ng-oni (your h.) m-oni (my h.)	ome
head	tebe	öni-tolajiboi (man's head)
honey	lo-ke	tanjai
house	bede	bedai
iron (adze-head)	dahi	doii
jump	i-to-le (a j.)	akwa-tokwa-be (to j.)
knee	ingo-le-ke (man's k.)	o-la-ge
laugh	onke-me-be	önge-ma-be
nail	m-o-bejeda-nga (my n.)	m-o-bedu-nge (my n.)
neck	tohi	öni-ngito
net	bato-li	chi-kwe
nose	m-e-li (my n.)	öni-nyuboi
paddle	m-ekal (my p.)	taai
path	echo-li	iche-le
pig	atwi	kwi
pinch	ingi—gini—cha body-pinch-don't (don't pinch me)	öni-gini-be
plantain-tree	chole-li	yolô-le
pot	buchuhi	buchu
pull	toto-be (+tigikwa)	tötö-be (go)
rain	oye	gujö-nge
run	ng-aha-bela-be (you r.)	aha-bela-be
scratch	inga-ben-be	a-kwea-be
sing	goko-be	gögaba-be
sit	ng-ong-tahi (s. you)	önan-tokö
sleep	ng-omo-ka (s. you)	omo-ka-be
sky	madamo	be-nge-nge (flattened out)
sneeze	o-che-ke (a s.)	e-chi-be (to s.)
spitting	inga-hwa-nge	öna-kwa-nge
star	chilo-be (? shines)	chilome-be (moon : ? shines)
stone	wu-le	taiyi
sun	ehe	eke
swim	kwa-be	kwane-be
take up	ng-a-toha (you t. u.)	genge-be
teeth	m-ahoi (my t.)	m-akwe (my t.)
tongue	ta-li	alan-da-nge
walk	bunijwa-be	bujiö-be
water	m-igwe (my w.)	i-nge
weep	wana-be	wana-be
wind	tomjame	totóte
wood (tree)	ta-nge	da-nge

In addition to this list of words offering comparisons, the following from Colebrooke can more or less clearly be made out on the same lines :—

Colebrooke's Jarawa Words.

English	Jarawa	English	Jarawa
(white) ant	do-nge	friend	padu
bat	witwi-le	leg	chi-ge
belly	ng-a-poi (your b.)	man	ng-amo-lan (you are a man ?)
bind	to-be, toto-be	mouth	m-ona (my m.)
bird	lohe	seed	kita-nge
bracelet	a-le	smoke	bali-ngi
charcoal	wahi	swallow	hi-be
crow	nabe	thigh	poi
flesh	wuhi	wash (self)	inga-doha-be

Portman is unfortunately always difficult to follow in his linguistic statements, as they are so uncertain. His vocabularies are apt to differ frequently from the statements in his lists of sentences, and where his vocabularies can be compared they are inconstant: but at p. 731, Vol. II, of his *History of our Relations with the Andamanese*, he gives a comparative list of Jarawa and Ónge words from his own observations.

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PORTMAN'S ÔNGE-JARAWA WORDS.

English	Jarawa	Ônge
arrow	bartoi	bartoi
axe	doii	doii
bamboo	otale	ôdale
bow	aaii	aai
bucket	uhu	ukui
crab	kagai	kagaia
drink	injowa	injobe
eye	injamma	unijeboi
fire	tuhawe	tuke
foot	monge	muge
hair	enoide	môde
hand	moma	mome
iron	tanhi	doii (iron adze)
leaf	bebe	bebe
nautilus	gaai	gaai
navel	inkwa	onikwale
net	bortai	chikwe
nose	inama	uningaiboi
road	ischele	ichele
run	ahabelabe	akwebelabe
sea	etale	detale (Passage Id, an islet in the sea)
sit down	atôn	unantokobe
sky	baingala	bengonge
sleep	omohan	omokabe
string	etai	ebe
stone	uli	taiyi
tooth	anwai	makwe
water	enule	inge

In some of the above words, where Colebrooke differs from Portman, it will be found that Colebrooke's forms, when reduced to a common transcription, are nearest the Ônge.

Recovery of Colebrooke's Jarawa Vocabulary of 1790.—By pulling the words in the first list to pieces, the identity in race of Colebrooke's native (Jarawa) with Portman's natives (Ônges) will be at once evident. Many roots and affixes are common, and the words are clearly built up precisely as are all other Andamanese words by radical prefixes to roots relating fundamentally to the body and its parts and by qualitative suffixes. In addition to this, the prefixes are joined to the "personal pronouns" by pre-inflexion in the manner peculiar to the Andamanese languages. And although we have nothing more on record of the Jarawa tongue than Colebrooke's list, supplemented by Portman's, of any value, we have thus enough to establish the relation of Jarawa and Ônge as languages of the same Group, and the relation of both as languages of the same Family as the other Andamanese tongues.

In Jarawa the *k* of Ônge tends to interchange with *h*, and by inference the Jarawas appear to use *ngg* for the Ônge *ng* and to say *i-aggo* in place of *ô-age*.

Leaving the roots to explain themselves, the inflected forms of the "pronouns" show themselves, thus—

ÔNGE-JARAWA "PRONOUNS."

English	Jarawa	Ônge
I, my	m'–	m'–
You, your	ng'–	ng'–

The qualitative suffixes appear to be as follow—

ÔNGE-JARAWA QUALITATIVE SUFFIXES.

for "nouns"	–li, –le	–le
for "verbal nouns"	–nge, –nga, –ge, –ka	–nge, –ng, –ge, –ke
for "verbs"	–be	–be, –me

The radical prefixes are given in a great variety of forms, which will probably disappear on closer knowledge of the languages.

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ÖNGE-JARAWA RADICAL PREFIXES.

Jarawa	Önge
ingo-, ingi-, inga-, enke-, öng-, ö-	öni-, öna-, öno-, öno-, önan-, ina-, ine-, eng-, eni-, önge-
uni-	u-
e-, i-, ö-	ö-, ö-, a-, e-
i-	eje-, ichin-, e-
pi-	ibi-, ebe-
i-	akwa-, akwe-, ako-, ik-, ig-, i-
aha-, a-	aha-, a-
emo-	emo-
eto-	are-
	alan-

Of these, as prefixes relating to mankind and the human body, the following occur :—

öni-, a general prefix of the body and then,

Class I	öni-	head, lip, neck, nose, navel, hip, testicles, stomach.
Class II	ik-, ig-, i-	cheek, ear.
Class III	ibi-	chin.
Class IV	e-	fist, knee, nail, throat.
Class V	alan	teeth.

That the relation between concrete words for the parts of the body and those for ideas belonging to them is shown by the prefixes, comes out neatly in *ik-kwa-ge*, ear : *ik-aibene*, deaf. So, too, the words *ichin-da-nge* and *i-to-nge* given for "bone" probably refer to a bone of Class II.

Proof of the Identity of Öngo-Jarawa with the other Groups.—Among an untutored people, so long isolated even from the other Andamanese, one would hardly look for many roots now in common with them, but the following, which occur in such short lists as those available, sufficiently establish a common origin for the Family.

SOME COMMON ROOTS IN THE ANDAMAN LANGUAGES.

English	Önge-Jarawa	Remaining Languages
bat	witwi	wôt, wat, wot.
cold	choma	choki (Bea).
red ochre	gyalap	bilap, ujla.
net	chi	chi.
mouse	che, chi	chiba (Bea, Balawa).
"God"	Ulaga : (*Slage*, thunder)	Pulaga, Bilak (Bea *wal-aga*, storm).
turtle	chibe	chokbe (Kede, Chariar).
water	i, ig	ina (Bea, Balawa).
bone	to	ta, tea (Bea, Balawa).
wood	ta, da	ta, toa, te.

Colebrooke showed all sorts of impossible things to his Jarawa to name, and one interesting result is the following :—

English	Jarawa	Önge
cotton cloth } paper }	pa—nge——be flat—become—is	ba—nge——be flat—become—is

Of course, no Jarawa had ever seen before anything approaching to either object, and this man's one expression for both means "it is (has been) flattened," which is what the savage meant to convey when asked anything so impossible as to name them.

In Appendix B will be found a further list of Önge words to aid in the study of this interesting language.

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Derivation of Mincopie.—We are now in a position to solve a great puzzle of ethnographists for a century and more: why were the Andamanese called Mincopie by Europeans? What word does this transcription represent? It can now be split up thus—

M-ö——nge—be.
I—man-kind-am
(I am an Önge)

Or, as the the Jarawas perhaps pronounce the expression "M-inggo-be" or even "M-injo-be," I am an Inggo (Injo). The name given by the ونges to

fieldwork among the Ongi is the language problem. Dr. DATTA-MAJUMDER writes: 114 124

"It should be noted that very little information about the social organization of the Onge has been gathered so far on account of the barrier of language. Not a single interpreter knowing Onge language is available. We came across only two Onge men who knew just a few words of Hindi as a result of their occasional visits to Port Blair".

This was confirmed by Professor CIPRIANI who, in his letter, also mentions the two Ongi who know a little Hindi and adds: "No real Ongi interpreter is, as yet, available". RADCLIFFE-BROWN's experience had been similar. He found only two Ongi men who knew about 20 words of Hindustani.

PORTMAN seems to have been more fortunate in 1886—87. He mentions having had Ongi interpreters. These may have been members of a group of eleven persons who had been captured in the Cinque Islands, between Great and Little Andaman, in 1885 and who had been brought to Port Blair. It would be of great help for anthropological research if a few Ongi could be induced to stay some time in Port Blair and to learn either Hindi or English. In any case, however, an anthropologist wishing to do serious work on Little Andaman will have to remain long enough on the island to acquire sufficient knowledge of the language. He could prepare himself in advance for this task through a thorough study of the available literature on the Great Andaman languages (MAN, PORTMAN, TEMPLE, BASU). Although the languages are different, they are related, and their structure is probably more or less similar. For the Ongi language itself, we have only RADCLIFFE-BROWN's "Notes on the Languages of the Andaman Islands", the list of Ongi words in PORTMAN's "Manual of the Andamanese Languages" (1887) — which RADCLIFFE-BROWN found "of no service whatever" — and a vocabulary of the Ongi language, compiled by M. C. C. BONIG in 1903 and published in Port Blair. 114 122 197

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Jarawa

101 Although the Jarawa inhabit the jungles of South and Middle
[197] Andaman, they do not belong to the Great Andaman group of tribes,
[174] but are culturally and linguistically related to the Ongi. It is assumed
that they originally came from Little Andaman. The Jarawa owe
[48] their survival to their having remained isolated as a result of their
implacable hostility toward the British (now Indian) colonial settlement. Information on their raids and the punitive expeditions against
them will be found in the respective volumes of the Census of India.
[161] In 1931 their number was estimated at either 70 (Bonington) or
120 (Hutton). Their culture conforms to the general Andamanese
pattern, but differs in various respects from that of their former
neighbours, the extinct Great Andaman tribes. Except for their
communal huts and such of their material possessions as were found
during punitive expeditions, practically nothing is known about it.
COD Our knowledge of their language is restricted to lists of words col-

8: Heine-Geldern & Hohenwart-Gerlachstein E-4 (no date) 1958
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Our knowledge of their language is restricted to lists of words collected from captive Jarawas by COLEBROOK in 1789—90 and by PORTMAN in the 19th century. 114 648

Research on the Jarawa would by highly desirable, but will be impossible as long as they remain hostile.

Census of India, 1901, Vol. III, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by Sir RICHARD C. TEMPLE, pp. 4, 52—53, 68—90, 117—121. 113

Census of India, 1911, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by R. F. LOWIS, pp. 7, 31—39, 82—83.

Census of India, 1921, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by R. F. LOWIS, pp. 5, 39—43.

Census of India, 1931, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by M. C. C. BONINGTON, pp. 8—9, 15—16, 23.

A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN, *Notes on the Languages of the Andaman Islands*, Anthropos, vol. IX, 1914, pp. 38—39.

The Andaman Islanders, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1933, pp. 86, 410, 413—415, 423, 432—433, 439—440.

North Sentinel Island

North Sentinel is an island of about 30 square miles west of the southern tip of Great Andaman. It has been briefly visited by Government officers on various occasions, but it seems that no contacts were ever made with the natives, except on December 27th, 1886, when the Ongi, who accompanied PORTMAN on his trip, "caught" some of them (Census of India, 1901, p. 92). From PORTMAN's report it does not become clear whether or not he saw these temporary captives himself. Our knowledge of the culture is restricted to a few observations on their material possessions. The communal huts differ from those of the rest of the Andamanese. The canoes differ from those of both Great and Little Andaman, but are more like those of the latter. The bows resemble those of the Jarawa and Ongi. On the basis of this it is assumed that the natives are related to the Jarawa and Ongi, but PORTMAN's Ongi companions are said to have found that the persons whom they had caught talked "an entirely different language". 101 131 648 197

In 1901 the number of the natives was estimated as 117. This estimate was based on the area of the island and the assumption that the density of the population was approximately the same as that of great Andaman in precolonial times. The figure was not changed in either 1911 or 1921. In 1931 the number was estimated as 50 "on conclusions arrived at from several visits during the last decade and after counting the number of huts found and the sleeping places", but it is said that this does not necessarily mean a decrease in population. "It is believed that the population is stationary, for 161

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

101 mans. They live in the North Sentinel island and Portman had only made a few observations in the abandoned settlement of these aborigines. In 1886, Portman contacted a few Sentinelese with the help of a few [197] Onges. The affinity of the Sentinelese with the Onges have been detected but the language of the Sentinelese is different from the Onges. However, only later researches can reveal more facts about their lives.

PRESENT DAY DISTRIBUTION OF THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION

101 The islands, though remained essentially a land of the aborigines, have
161 a present day distribution which is very much discrete in nature. The
361 nature of the distribution was very likely much more widespread in different parts of the islands but the great decline in their number coupled with gradual expansion of the area of the later settlers led to a continued recession of the aborigines in the more desolate areas. Thus there has been a great shrinkage in the territory of the aborigines of the South Andaman where no settlements of any importance had developed.

There are only a few Andamanese (23) who are still now surviving in [177] the Middle and North Andamans and they live in the huts built up by the Forest Department.

The exact areas of inhabitation of the Jarawas are anybody's guess. Though the Jarawas have suffered a considerable decline in their number, no evidences of their distribution beyond the South Andaman are in view. Living under the cold patronage and hostility of the neighbours, the *Aka-beas*, a sub-group of the Andamanese, the Jarawas were always subjected to all their efforts of territorial expansion. Though their exact areas of distribution have not been traced so far, it is probable that they live in the dense forests of the South Andaman, especially in the least disturbed and unhaunted forest areas of the west. However, their biggest concentration is believed to be between Port Constance, Port Meadows and Shaol Bay.

The Sentinelese inhabit the North Sentinel Island and only further exploration in the island can furnish an idea about their exact spots of distribution.

The most predominant in number are the Onges who inhabit the [484] island of Little Andaman. However they make occasional voyages to the Rutland and Cinque Island where some of them live. The areas of distribution of the Onges in Little Andaman are mainly in the coastal areas of the northeast, south and west and also in the interior.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

have always been protected by the sea, which is almost invariably rough, and by a thick tropical forest which extends without a break over more than a thousand square kilometres, unpenetrated by outsiders and almost impenetrable.

THE ARIOTO

The decline of the Andamanese began with the first landing of foreigners on the island and is similar to that of so many other primitive peoples who have come into contact with civilization; a detailed account of their decline would be long and pitiful. In the case of the Andamanese, however, demographic influences arising thousands of years ago must also be taken into account. Cut off by circumstances into small groups and separated at random by large expanses of sea or by the impenetrable forest, they gradually developed somatic and cultural differences of the greatest scientific interest. Among other things, languages became modified to such an extent that members of different groups are unable to understand one another. The Onges, for example, who in my opinion are the nearest relations of the Jarawas, are quite unable to understand their language.

The peoples of Great Andaman were the first to encounter civilization, when from 1858 onwards the Indian Government, then in English hands, decided to institute at Port Blair a penitentiary for the many political prisoners after the famous 1857 mutiny. Subsequently the government sent over convicts serving long or life sentences. The life of the deportees was atrocious during the first few years, owing to malaria and the absence of medical supplies. To the majority, therefore, deportation to the Andamans meant a death sentence. Even today the only large brick building in the Andamans and Nicobars is the penitentiary at Port Blair.

Before the building of the penitentiary the English had made several desultory expeditions to the Andamans, and even before then other foreigners had landed on the archipelago. It is known that Marco Polo, probably passing within sight of the archipelago in 1292, gave it the name of Angaman, and declared the inhabitants to be ferocious cannibals with dogs' heads. As a result, even the Asian pirates were for centuries afraid to land on the islands. The barbarous forays of Arab slave traders later awoke in the islanders

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Even the unique dances enjoyed by the Onges are to be seen among the Jarawas, with the characteristic marking of the rhythm by slapping the calves against the buttocks. This does not seem to have been a feature of the Arioto dances, in which the rhythm was by the *pukuta yemnga*, a kind of convex shield made of the very hard and aromatic red wood (*Pterocarpus dalbergoides*) which the termites never seem to attack. I was able to obtain one of these shields, the last that the twenty-three surviving Arioto possessed and the only musical instrument in the islands. It is played by one man with his feet, while the dancers, male and female, form lines on each side of him a short distance away. Before use the convex face is decorated with lines of white ochre and chains of tusk shells are hung from a hole at the end opposite to the one on which the player's feet beat; from the same hole runs a cord, which he holds in his hand to prevent the instrument moving away from him as he beats. The players change from time to time as the dancers shuffle on and on for hours in the light of the resin torches. But apart from the instrument itself, the rhythmic hand-clapping and the dancers singing in unison are the same throughout the Andamans.

The women clap their hands in rhythm, and then slap one thigh with the open palm of one hand, the other hand clasping the wrist, singing all the time. The men dance in Indian file, beating the ground first with the right heel, then with the left, the toes barely raised from the ground, moving a short way forward each time. As they dance they lean forward, then with hands clasped and their fingers interlaced. There are variations, but the basic step is always the same.

One difference between the Onges and the Jarawas is that in the latter both sexes are naked, while the Onge women have in recent times adopted the *naquineghe* or apron. Complete nudity was a characteristic of all the Negritos, including the Semang and Aetà, and the Jarawa migrations probably took place before the introduction of the *naquineghe*.

The present inability of the three peoples to understand each other is more a question of pronunciation than of difference in actual words. To examine the question fully it would be necessary to collect a large number of words and analyse their affinity; meanwhile we know that despite their inability to understand each other there is a close resemblance between the language of the Jarawas and Sentinellese and that of the Onges. Strict isolation can lead to

comparatively rapid variation and it is now difficult to establish their linguistic connections outside the Andamans, but Africa can certainly be discounted, in view of the general weight of evidence against any Negro ancestry.

Like the Onges the Jarawas are divided into endogamous groups, each with its own name, corresponding to their communal huts, and each with their own territory for the purposes of hunting, fishing and gathering food. There is little reliable information about their daily life or even their numbers; it is, however, certain and I cannot overstress this, that the Jarawas are Negrito in type,[1] with the same admixture as in the Onges.

Whoever or whatever they may be, the replacement of primitive expeditions by genuine attempts at pacification would, quite apart from the obvious humanitarian considerations involved, afford a unique opportunity for detailed study of a dying population in regeneration, and the refusal of an otherwise irrevocable progress towards final extinction.

But the problem of the Jarawas is merely one aspect of the problem of the Andamanese in general, and their connection with the Negritos both past and present. The Semang and the Aetà, as we have seen, resemble each other, and together resemble the Andamanese, in a number of essential points. Recent contacts with other influences in Malacca and the Philippines respectively have produced variations – such as the Semang use of traps and snares with which they take small animals, and also birds, which the Andamanese never touch. They have also taken to making refuges in the trees as a defence against wild animals, non-existent in the Andamans. Traps, poison, agriculture, fish-hooks, animal nets, are all late acquisitions, not found among the original Negritos. It was thought by Brown that spears, used by the Semang, were also unknown among the peoples of the Andamans, but I have myself seen them used by the Onges, though admittedly I saw only a few, and very rough specimens; I did, however, manage to bring some back with me.

In the case of the canoes, the Semang and the Aetà seem to have

[1] On 11 January 1951 a Jarawa was killed at Lekeralarta on Middle Andaman and the head is now in the Indian Museum in Calcutta. This head shows signs of beard, unlike those of two Jarawas held in the Nicobars since the September 1938 incident. Short, muscularly well-developed, strong and very black, Jarawas are normally beardless, as is usual in Negritos.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

136 Andaman, in Yeratil Jig (near Port Anson, about fifteen miles from Long Island) in Diglipur (or Dilyapur) Creek, near Port Cornwallis, and in Wilima Jig,[1] but they are now extinct. In March 1952 the Onges had described the presence of crocodiles so clearly to me as to leave no doubt what they meant, and I soon received confirmation when I found their tracks on the sand about one kilometre from the mouth of Jackson Creek, on the right bank, and then saw some lying on the shore across the creek. Through my field glasses I saw small birds pecking between the teeth of the great wide-open jaws. As we approached they slid lazily into the sea, some reappearing a little later, their cavernous mouths rising vertically out of the water. Every day after that I saw them swimming quietly near the banks, and one afternoon my men and I between us saw over a dozen, near Nachuge, dozing in the mud or in the water.

[825] [198] The Onges assured me that crocodiles will come out of the water to a certain whistle. I got them to try it; the Onges whistled, and whistled again, but no crocodiles came!

237 321 276 172 Very different from the great turtles and the crocodiles, but equally important in the daily life of the Onges, are the crabs from which the islanders make their ancient and very characteristic pipes. They eat the crabs and use the claws to make the pipes, cutting them across the joint and boring a hole in the end, as they have done since time immemorial, to smoke aromatic leaves from the forest. Fragments of similar pipes, charred with use, appear in even the lowest strata of the kitchen-middens, dating back thousands of years and proving the antiquity of the smoking habit. Contrary to popular belief, smoking did not begin everywhere with the introduction of tobacco – in Asia at least men smoked thousands of years ago.

237 276 171 The claw pipes of the Onges have a groove cut round the end which goes into the mouth, so that the teeth can grip it better. I have seen identical pipes, with the same groove, in the Melville Islands, where there are many other signs of ethnographic connections with the Andamans. The canoes, for example, are identical with those of the Andamans; the peoples themselves, however, are today very different physically.

[501] [142]

[165] [1] According to Portman a man was dragged into the water here on 11 May 1894 by a crocodile and killed; several similar incidents have occurred since.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

262 Thus one man of the North Andaman told me that he would not eat dugong when he was with me in the South Andaman. Another said that though he would eat the fish *komar* when he was at home, he would not eat it when he was in a strange place, as at the Settlement of Port Blair, for fear that it would make him ill.

In the North Andaman I was told that when a dugong is caught and the people feast on it they do not leave the camp till some hours after the meat is all finished, either to go fishing or hunting. The reason they give for this is that the spirits of the jungle and the sea may smell them, attracted by the odour of the food they have eaten and may cause them to be ill. They therefore remain in the camp and eat up all the dugong and do not venture out till they begin to feel hungry and must go in search of food. I believe that the same custom is observed in the South Andaman also.

A few other customs connected with food may be mentioned here. There is only one way in which a turtle may be killed[1]. It must be laid on its back with its head pointing towards the open sea, and a skewer of wood is then thrust through the eye-socket into the brain. The natives say that if a turtle were killed in any other way than this, the meat would be "bad," i.e., uneatable.

252 Turtle meat may only be cooked on a fire of the wood of the
262 *Hibiscus tiliaceus.*

A pig is killed as it runs, without ceremony, but there is one special way in which it must be cut up. The pig is first disembowelled, and the joints of the legs are severed. The abdominal cavity is then filled with leaves, of which only certain special kinds are used. It is placed on a fire and roasted whole, and is then cut up. Should the carcase be cut up by any other than the traditional method, the natives believe that the meat would be "bad," and they would not eat it.

A number of beliefs relating to vegetable foods will be mentioned in the next chapter.

576 In several of the ceremonies described in this chapter it
● 201 will be noticed that the weeping of relatives and friends occurs

[1] Turtle are captured alive by means of harpoons, and may be kept alive several days before they are killed and eaten.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

as an essential part of the ceremony. The female relatives of a youth or girl who is being initiated come and weep over him or her at the turtle-eating ceremony. Their friends weep over, or with, the mourners at the dance at the end of mourning. The friends of a bride and bridegroom weep over them when they are married. The friends and relatives weep over a corpse before it is buried and over the bones when they are recovered. In all cases it is real weeping. The man or woman sits down and wails or howls, and the tears stream down his or her face. On one occasion I asked the natives to show how it was done and two or three of them sat down and were immediately weeping real tears at my request. The weeping in this way is really a ceremony or rite. When two friends or relatives meet who have been separated from one another for a few weeks or longer, they greet each other by sitting down, one on the lap of the other, with their arms around each other's necks, and weeping and wailing for two or three minutes till they are tired. Two brothers greet each other in this way, and so do father and son, mother and son, mother and daughter, and husband and wife. When husband and wife meet, it is the man who sits on the lap of the woman. When two friends part from one another, one of them lifts up the hand of the other towards his mouth and gently blows on it. 576 201

Reference has already been made in this chapter to a number of customs relating to personal names. It will be useful to bring together the scattered references, and give a general account of the whole matter. 551 553

Every Andaman Islander has a personal name that is given to him or her before birth, and which we may speak of as the birth-name. As soon as a woman realises that she is pregnant, she and her husband begin to think of a name for the child. The name is selected by the parents, but the suggestions of their friends and relatives are always considered. It is regarded as a compliment to name the child after some man or woman. Sometimes a man may request the parents that the child shall be named after him, and such a request is rarely, if ever, refused. The names given before birth are of course applicable to both sexes, there being no difference between

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

into account the explanation given by the natives themselves. Although these explanations are not of the same kind as the scientific explanations that are the objects of our search yet they are of great importance as data. Like the civilised man of Western Europe the savage of the Andamans seeks to rationalise his behaviour; being impelled to certain actions by mental dispositions of whose origin and real nature he is unaware, he seeks to formulate reasons for his conduct, or even if he does not so when left to himself he is compelled to when the enquiring ethnologist attacks him with questions. Such a reason as is produced by this process of rationalisation is rarely if ever identical with the psychological cause of the action that it justifies, yet it will nearly always help us in our search for the cause. At any rate the reason given as explaining an action is so intimately connected with the action itself that we cannot regard any hypothesis as to the meaning of a custom as being satisfactory unless it explains not only the custom but also the reasons that the natives give for following it. (2) The assumption is made that when the same or a similar custom is practised on different occasions it has the same or a similar meaning in all of them. For example, there are different occasions on which a personal name is avoided; it is assumed that there is something in common to all these occasions and that the meaning of the custom is to be discovered by ascertaining what that common element is. (3) It is assumed that when different customs are practised together on one and the same occasion there is a common element in the customs. This rule is the inverse of the last. As an example may be mentioned the different customs observed by mourners, which may be assumed to be all related to one another. The discovery of what is common to them all will explain the meaning of each. (4) I have avoided, as being misleading as well as unnecessary, any comparison of Andamanese customs with similar customs of other races. Only in one or two instances have I broken this rule, and in those I believe I am justified by special considerations.

We can conveniently begin by considering the Andamanese marriage ceremony, which is one of the simplest and most easily understood. The main feature of it is that the bride and bride-

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

X 182 585 ● 201

groom are required publicly to embrace each other. In the North Andaman the embrace is made gradually, by stages as it were, each stage being more intimate than the preceding. At first the two sit side by side, then their arms are placed around each other, and finally the bridegroom is made to sit on the bride's lap[1].

Everywhere in human life the embrace is employed as an expression of such feelings as love, affection, friendship, i.e. of feelings of attachment between persons. There is no need to enquire into the psycho-physical basis of this expression. It is probably intimately related to the nursing of the infant by the mother, and is certainly very closely connected with the development of the sex instinct. It is sufficient for our purpose to satisfy ourselves that the embrace in all its forms does always express feelings of one generic kind. Nor is it necessary for us to consider the peculiar form of the Andamanese embrace, in which one person sits down and extends his or her legs, while the other person sits on the lap so formed and the two wrap their arms round one another's necks and shoulders.

X 182 585

The meaning of the marriage ceremony is readily seen. By marriage the man and woman are brought into a special and intimate relation to one another; they are, as we say, united. The social union is symbolised or expressed by the physical union of the embrace. The ceremony brings vividly to the minds of the young couple and also to those of the spectators the consciousness that the two are entering upon a new social relation of which the essential feature is the affection in which they must hold one another.

The rite has two aspects according as we regard it from the standpoint of the witnesses or from that of the couple themselves. The witnesses, by their presence, give their sanction to the union that is thus enacted before them. The man who conducts the ceremony is merely the active representative of the community; in what he does and says he acts as a deputy and not as a private individual. Thus the ceremony serves to make it clear that the marriage is a matter which concerns not only those who are entering into it, but the whole community,

[1] See p. 73 above.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

in the feelings of the two parties towards one another, feelings of enmity being replaced through it by feelings of friendship and solidarity. It depends for its effect on the fact that anger and similar aggressive feelings may be appeased by being freely expressed. Its social function is to restore the condition of solidarity between two local groups that has been destroyed by some act of offence. 182x 728

The marriage ceremony and the peace-making dance both afford examples of the custom which the Andamanese have of weeping together under certain circumstances. The principal occasions of this ceremonial weeping are as follows: (1) when two friends or relatives meet after having been for some time parted, they embrace each other and weep together; (2) at the peace-making ceremony the two parties of former enemies weep together, embracing each other; (3) at the end of the period of mourning the friends of the mourners (who have not themselves been mourning) weep with the latter; (4) after a death the relatives and friends embrace the corpse and weep over it; (5) when the bones of a dead man or woman are recovered from the grave they are wept over; (6) on the occasion of a marriage the relatives of each weep over the bride and bridegroom; (7) at various stages of the initiation ceremonies the female relatives of a youth or girl weep over him or her. 182x 728 201

First of all it is necessary to note that not in any of the above-mentioned instances is the weeping simply a spontaneous expression of feeling. It is always a rite the proper performance of which is demanded by custom. (As mentioned in an earlier chapter, the Andamanese are able to sit down and shed tears at will.) Nor can we explain the weeping as being an expression of sorrow. It is true that some of the occasions are such as to produce sorrowful feelings (4 and 5, for example), but there are others on which there would seem to be no reason for sorrow but rather for joy. The Andamanese do weep from sorrow and spontaneously. A child cries when he is scolded or hurt; a widow weeps thinking of her recently dead husband. Men rarely weep spontaneously for any reason, though they shed tears abundantly when taking part in the rite. The weeping on the occasions enumerated is therefore not a spontaneous expression 182x 201

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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201

of individual emotion but is an example of what I have called ceremonial customs. In certain circumstances men and women are required by custom to embrace one another and weep, and if they neglected to do so it would be an offence condemned by all right-thinking persons.

According to the postulate of method laid down at the beginning of the chapter we have to seek such an explanation of this custom as will account for all the different occasions on which the rite is performed, since we must assume that one and the same rite has the same meaning in whatever circumstances it may take place. It must be noted, however, that there are two varieties of the rite. In the first three instances enumerated above the rite is reciprocal, i.e. two persons or two distinct groups of persons weep together and embrace each other, both parties to the rite being active. In the other four instances it is one-sided; a person or group of persons weeps over another person (or the relics of a person) who has only a passive part in the ceremony. Any explanation, to be satisfactory, must take account of the difference between these two varieties.

I would explain the rite as being an expression of that feeling of attachment between persons which is of such importance in the almost domestic life of the Andaman society. In other words the purpose of the rite is to affirm the existence of a social bond between two or more persons.

There are two elements in the ceremony, the embrace and the weeping. We have already seen that the embrace is an expression, in the Andamans as elsewhere, of the feeling of attachment, i.e. the feeling of which love, friendship, affection are varieties. Turning to the second element of the ceremony, we are accustomed to think of weeping as more particularly an expression of sorrow. We are familiar, however, with tears of joy, and I have myself observed tears that were the result neither of joy nor of sorrow but of a sudden overwhelming feeling of affection. I believe that we may describe weeping as being a means by which the mind obtains relief from a condition of emotional tension, and that it is because such conditions of tension are most common in feelings of grief and pain that

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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weeping comes to be associated with painful feelings. It is impossible here to discuss this subject, and I am therefore compelled to assume without proof this proposition on which my explanation of the rite is based[1]. My own conclusion, based on careful observation, is that in this rite the weeping is an expression of what has been called the tender emotion[2]. Without doubt, on some of the occasions of the rite, as when weeping over a dead friend, the participants are suffering a painful emotion, but this is evidently not so on all occasions. It is true, however, as I shall show, that on every occasion of the rite there is a condition of emotional tension due to the sudden calling into activity of the sentiment of personal attachment.

When two friends or relatives meet after having been separated, the social relation between them that has been interrupted is about to be renewed. This social relation implies or depends upon the existence of a specific bond of solidarity between them. The weeping rite (together with the subsequent exchange of presents) is the affirmation of this bond. The rite, which, it must be remembered, is obligatory, compels the two participants to act as though they felt certain emotions, and thereby does, to some extent, produce those emotions in them. When the two friends meet their first feeling seems to be one of shyness mingled with pleasure at seeing each other again. This is according to the statements of the natives as well as my own observation. Now this shyness (the Andamanese use the same word as they do for "shame") is itself a condition of emotional tension, which has to be relieved in some way. The embrace awakens to full activity that feeling of affection or friendship that has been dormant and which it is the business of the rite to renew. The weeping gives relief to the emotional tension just noted, and also reinforces the effect of the embrace. This it does owing to the fact that a strong feeling of personal attachment is always produced when two persons join together in sharing and simul-

[1] In a few words the psycho-physical theory here assumed is that weeping is a substitute for motor activity when the kinetic system of the body (motor centres, thyroid, suprarenals, etc.) is stimulated but no effective action in direct response to the stimulus is possible at the moment. When a sentiment is stimulated and action to which it might lead is frustrated, the resultant emotional state is usually painful, and hence weeping is commonly associated with painful states.

[2] McDougall, *Social Psychology*.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

X 182 taneously expressing one and the same emotion[1]. The little
● 201 ceremony thus serves to dispel the initial feeling of shyness and to reinstate the condition of intimacy and affection that existed before the separation.

X 182 In the peace-making ceremony the purpose of the whole rite
201 is to abolish a condition of enmity and replace it by one of
728 friendship. The once friendly relations between the two groups have been interrupted by a longer or shorter period of antagonism. We have seen that the effect of the dance is to dispel the wrath of the one group by giving it free expression. The weeping that follows is the renewal of the friendship. The rite is here exactly parallel to that on the meeting of two friends, except that not two individuals but two groups are concerned, and that owing to the number of persons involved the emotional condition is one of much greater intensity[2]. Here therefore also we see that the rite is an affirmation of solidarity or social union, in this instance between the groups, and that the rule is in its nature such as to make the participants feel that they are bound to each other by ties of friendship.

X 182 We now come to a more difficult example of the rite, that at
765 the end of mourning. It will be shown later in the chapter that
201 during the period of mourning the mourners are cut off from the ordinary life of the community. By reason of the ties that still bind them to the dead person they are placed, as it were, outside the society and the bonds that unite them to their group are temporarily loosened. At the end of the mourning period they re-enter the society and take up once more their place in the social life. Their return to the community is the occasion on which they and their friends weep together. In this instance also, therefore, the rite may be explained as having for its purpose the renewal of the social relations that have been interrupted. This explanation will seem more convincing when we have considered in detail the customs of mourning. If it be accepted, then it

[1] Active sympathy, the habitual sharing of joyful and painful emotions, is of the utmost importance in the formation of sentiments of personal attachment.

[2] It is a commonplace of psychology that a collective emotion, i.e. one felt and expressed at the same moment by a number of persons, is felt much more intensely than an unshared emotion of the same kind.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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may be seen that in the first three instances of the rite of weeping (those in which the action is reciprocal) we have conditions in which social relations that have been interrupted are about to be renewed, and the rite serves as a ceremony of aggregation.

182x 765 20P

Let us now consider the second variety of the rite, and first of all its meaning as part of the ceremony of marriage. By marriage the social bonds that have to that time united the bride and bridegroom to their respective relatives, particularly their female relatives such as mother, mother's sister, father's sister and adopted mother, are modified. The unmarried youth or girl is in a position of dependence upon his or her older relatives, and by the marriage this dependence is partly abolished. Whereas the principal duties of the bride were formerly those towards her mother and older female relatives, henceforth her chief duties in life will be towards her husband. The position of the bridegroom is similar, and it must be noted that his social relations with his male relatives are less affected by his marriage than those with his female relatives. Yet, though the ties that have bound the bride and bridegroom to their relatives are about to be modified or partially destroyed by the new ties of marriage with its new duties and rights they will still continue to exist in a weakened and changed condition. The rite of weeping is the expression of this. It serves to make real (by feeling), in those taking part in it, the presence of the social ties that are being modified.

182x 201 585

When the mother of the bride or bridegroom weeps at a marriage she feels that her son or daughter is being taken from her care. She has the sorrow of a partial separation and she consoles herself by expressing in the rite her continued feeling of tenderness and affection towards him in the new condition that he is entering upon. For her the chief result of the rite is to make her feel that her child is still an object of her affection, still bound to her by close ties, in spite of the fact that he or she is being taken from her care.

Exactly the same explanation holds with regard to the weeping at the initiation ceremonies. By these ceremonies the youth (or girl) is gradually withdrawn from a condition of dependence on his mother and older female relatives and is made an independent

182x 201 881

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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X 182 201 881

member of the community. The initiation is a long process that is only completed by marriage. At every stage of the lengthy ceremonies therefore, the social ties that unite the initiate to these relatives are modified or weakened, and the rite of weeping is the means by which the significance of the change is impressed upon those taking part in it. For the mother the weeping expresses her resignation at her necessary loss, and acts as a consolation by making her feel that her son is still hers, though now being withdrawn from her care. For the boy the rite has a different meaning. He realises that he is no longer merely a child, dependent upon his mother, but is now entering upon manhood. His former feelings towards his mother must be modified. That he is being separated from her is, for him, the most important aspect of the matter, and therefore while she weeps he must give no sign of tenderness in return but must sit passive and silent. So also in the marriage ceremony, the rite serves to impress upon the young man and woman that they are, by reason of the new ties that they are forming with one another, severing their ties with their families.

X 182 201 765

When a person dies the social bonds that unite him to the survivors are profoundly modified. They are not in an instant utterly destroyed, as we shall see better when we deal with the funeral and mourning customs, for the friends and relatives still feel towards the dead person that affection in which they held him when alive, and this has now become a source of deep grief. It is this affection still binding them to him that they express in the rite of weeping over the corpse. Here rite and natural expression of emotion coincide, but it must be noted that the weeping is obligatory, a matter of duty. In this instance, then, the rite is similar to that at marriage and initiation. The man is by death cut off from the society to which he belonged, and from association with his friends, but the latter still feel towards him that attachment that bound them together while he lived, and it is this attachment that they express when they embrace the lifeless corpse and weep over it.

There remains only one more instance of the rite to be considered. When the period of mourning for a dead person is over and the bones are recovered the modification in the relations

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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between the dead and the living, which begins at death, and is, as we shall see, carried out by the mourning customs and ceremonies, is finally accomplished. The dead person is now entirely cut off from the world of the living, save that his bones are to be treasured as relics and amulets. The weeping over the bones must be taken, I think, as a rite of aggregation whereby the bones as representative of the dead person (all that is left of him) are received back into the society henceforth to fill a special place in the social life. It really constitutes a renewal of social relations with the dead person, after a period during which all active social relations have been interrupted owing to the danger in all contact between the living and the dead. By the rite the affection that was once felt towards the dead person is revived and is now directed to the skeletal relics of the man or woman that once was their object. If this explanation seem unsatisfactory, I would ask the reader to suspend his judgment until the funeral customs of the Andamans have been discussed, and then to return to this point. 182x 201 765

The proffered explanation of the rite of weeping should now be plain. I regard it as being the affirmation of a bond of social solidarity between those taking part in it, and as producing in them a realisation of that bond by arousing the sentiment of attachment. In some instances the rite therefore serves to renew social relations when they have been interrupted, and in such instances the rite is reciprocal. In others it serves to show the continued existence of the social bond when it is being weakened or modified, as by marriage, initiation or death. In all instances we may say that the purpose of the rite is to bring about a new state of the affective dispositions that regulate the conduct of persons to one another, either by reviving sentiments that have lain dormant, or producing a recognition of a change in the condition of personal relations. 182x 201

The study of these simple ceremonies has shown us several things of importance. (1) In every instance the ceremony is the expression of an affective state of mind shared by two or more persons. Thus the weeping rite expresses feelings of solidarity, the exchange of presents expresses good-will. (2) But the ceremonies are not spontaneous expressions of feeling; they are all 182x

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

752 case of a similar kind occurred a few years since in McPherson's Strait. When bitten by a centipede on the leg or hand, urine is applied; less inconvenience seems to be caused by these injuries to the Andamanese than to the natives of other countries, although the insects are here larger than in many districts, measuring sometimes as much as eight inches. The scorpions, on the other hand, are small and comparatively innocuous; no attention is therefore paid to the bites they inflict.

164 18. Elephantiasis appears never to have occurred among them; but since seeing cases of this complaint among the Nicobarese, they have given it a name, *ld·pi-*, from *ld·pike*, to swell (as a bruise).

752 19. Bandages of leaves are applied to gunshot wounds, ulcers, fractures, sprains, or bruises.

201 **Physiognomy.**—1. When an Andamanese is in good spirits, his eyes sparkle and the surrounding skin is slightly wrinkled, while the corners of the mouth, which is partially opened, are drawn back; if he be in low spirits the eyes are directed to the ground, the forehead is transversely wrinkled in the centre, and the lips are closed, but the corners of the mouth are not depressed; under the influence of great grief the nostrils are observed to dilate.

2. In thinking deeply, or while endeavouring to understand the construction of some object, the eyes are fixed intently on it, and a slight elevation of the lower lid is noticeable.

3. Astonishment is expressed by the eyebrows being raised, the mouth opened a little and covered with the left hand, while the right hand is brought smartly to the left side just above the heart; a man will also, on being reminded of an unintentional omission to fulfil some promise, act either in this manner, or he will slap his thigh and then place the hand over his opened mouth. Women show their surprise (and also joy) by striking the thigh, which is raised for the purpose, with the open hand. To this practice may be attributed the mistaken notion entertained by an early writer,[1] that "their salutation is performed by lifting up a leg and smacking with their hand the lower part of the thigh."

4. Indications of slyness, guilt, and jealousy can be detected in the eye only.

5. Disgust is shown by throwing the head back, dilating the nostrils, drawing down the corners of the mouth, and slightly protruding the lower lip: no expiration is, however, made.

6. Shame is evinced by the head being averted, the eyes lowered, and the hands raised so as to conceal the portion of the face exposed to view.

[1] *Vide* Colebrooke.

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7. Defiance is expressed by raising and slightly averting the head, and slowly uttering the word *ārtâ·lō·g-ba*, which is equivalent to "try it on." 201

8. Women and children, when too frightened to run away, throw themselves on their faces on the ground and raise shrill cries, while men, under similar circumstances, show their alarm by falling backwards, with their hands uplifted, and their eyes rolling. Laughter is sometimes carried to such an extreme as to bring tears.

9. When very angry a man does not stamp his foot, but he places his left hand, palm uppermost, between his teeth, and glares fiercely at some object on the ground *near* the offender; he, at the same time, raises some weapon with his right hand, and utters, as well as the position of the other hand permits, words of terrible import.

10. A man, if threatening another, does not clench his fist, but will seize some weapon or missile, and express his intention of inflicting an injury with it.

11. A dogged or obstinate expression is indicated by averting the head, closing the lips, lowering the eyes, as if ignoring the presence of others, and frowning slightly.

12. When sneering, the teeth are clenched, the upper lip slightly curled, and the eyes are fixed on some object *near* the person addressed.

13. Children, when sulky, behave much as those in other lands, for they pout, frown, and utter noises which betoken discontent.

14. When a man wishes to show that he cannot prevent something being done, or cannot himself do something, he averts his head and pouts his lips, but does not shrug his shoulders.

15. In beckoning, the head is nodded vertically and a hand outstretched, the fingers with the knuckles uppermost being waved towards himself.

16. In affirmation the head is nodded vertically, in negation it is shaken laterally.

Motions.—1. The attitudes of these savages are usually easy; the body when in motion is fairly balanced, the leg, if standing, is straightened; the foot is usually evenly planted, with the toes turned slightly outward; when stalking game they go on tiptoe, but, as a rule, the gait is energetic only under momentary excitement. The average length of a man's pace on level ground is 29–30 inches, and of a woman's about 24 inches. The arms (which they swing when walking) are habitually held with the palms turned inward. If pointing to any object, they usually do so with one finger, and not with the open hand. 481 [201]

2. In climbing up a rope or large creeper they proceed hand over hand with great rapidity, assisted by the big and second

137 the Onges as hiding-places or temporary shelters. In these cavities,
[136] which remain full of water right through the dry season, flourish a horde of amphibia, many hitherto unknown.

The great trees are sometimes so close together that it is literally impossible to pass between them, yet it is rare to find two of the same species next to each other, so great is the variety. Huge clumps of ferns are everywhere, hiding the roots of dying trees, hundreds of years old, and fallen trunks rotting on the ground. Some of the thicker and taller trees protect themselves from the monsoon gales by developing buttresses, usually four or six to a tree, which stand out from the trunk like right-angled triangles, with the apex about ten metres from the ground. If a blanket is stretched between the sloping sides of two of the buttresses one can improvise a shelter which is extremely comfortable by local standards, and both man and animals take advantage of this natural cover; I myself took shelter like this on many occasions. (They need to be treated with caution, however, as the local snakes have a predilection for siestas
824 in the darkest corners.) If a hard piece of wood is struck against one
202 of the buttresses it echoes hollowly, and the Andamanese often make use of them to transmit warning messages over considerable distances, using a form of code. A few beats can make every inhabitant within a wide radius vanish from sight, hastily making for the nearest hiding-place. It is hopeless to try and ferret them out once they have been warned, and there is always a risk of being killed by one of their arrows in the process.

123 Sometimes the Onges used to disappear suddenly for fun. The
[522] blackness of their skin is a great help in this, since even on the brightest afternoon it is intensified by the obscurity of the forest. One has a disturbing sensation of being entirely alone, yet knowing that dozens of pairs of eyes are watching as the Onges glide silently from trunk to trunk between the buttresses.

137 The whole island is a mass of knotted vegetation, and it is useless
484 to attempt to cut any form of lasting path, as the plants immediately
487 grow back. 'Walking' in the Andamans therefore means opening
[481] up a way with a hatchet, unless one adopts the rapid but exhausting Onge method of swinging over obstacles by the lianas. This is the kingdom of the epiphytes. The lianas cover their hosts as if determined to hide them, and clumps of orchids hang from nearly every trunk, although their flowers are unfortunately very small.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

619 neighbouring tribe, an express invitation or permission is required,
unless, indeed, the party entering happens to be accompanied by
486 one or more members of the district visited, or when, from long and friendly intercommunication, a right of way has been tacitly sanctioned. In cases where there has been a breach of this observance sharp retribution has generally followed, causing sometimes serious loss of life, and resulting in a long-standing tribal feud.

619 3. Those communities of *ē·rem-tâ·ga-* and *àryô·to-*, living
within a few miles of each other and speaking the same dialect,
578 arrange from time to time large gatherings—generally numbering
437 about a hundred persons[1]—for purposes of barter, or for the celebration of some particular event. Though not unfrequently on these occasions old enmities are healed and friendships formed, fresh tribal feuds and personal quarrels sometimes originate in consequence of a misunderstanding or dispute over some comparative trifle.[2]

487 4. There are numerous paths intersecting each territory, the result of continuous traffic over the same ground. When, for some reason, a new course is taken through the jungle, the route is indicated to those following by bending the twigs of the brushwood in a *reverse* direction at intervals along the track. This is especially the case during the dry season, when, owing to the parched condition of the soil, there is some difficulty in distinguishing footprints.[3]

212 5. No marks on rocks, trees or other objects, made for purposes of record, are believed by them to exist, and, with the exception of the supposititious hieroglyphics,[4] hereafter to be mentioned, nothing of the nature of writing is to be found among these tribes, nor have they any method of recording the name and exploits of a deceased chief or other individual who may have gained distinction during his life, save the narration —more or less garbled—of the same by their admiring descendants. The messenger who conveys intelligence to a distant encampment bears no outward token with him to testify to the authenticity or character of the communication he has to make.

211 6. Although no method of signs exists, such as tying knots in
411 a string, making notches in a tally, or figures on wood, bark, or stone, they have means of distinguishing arrows and spears belonging to one another, by certain differences peculiar to each

[1] It is believed that no larger number than 300 has ever been assembled at one time in any place in our vicinity, at least since our advent.

[2] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraphs 24 and 37.

[3] No prejudice exists in respect to crossing water, going by certain paths, or handling particular objects, excepting the *Anadendrum paniculatum*. *Vide post*, Part III, "String," paragraph 3.

[4] *Vide* "Mythology," paragraph 29.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

individual in the method of tying and knotting the string employed in the manufacture of these missiles;[1] these, however, are often so slight that, even when pointed out, they are scarcely to be detected by a stranger, unless he be one who has bestowed careful attention to the subject. 211 411

7. In their savage state they never attempt to represent any object, and, though they do not appear to possess any natural taste for drawing, they differ from the Australians[2] in the intelligence they display in recognising any familiar form depicted in a sketch; and while no such method for indicating the situation of any place is known or employed among themselves, some of them are quick in understanding a chart of their own country, and are able to point out the sites of their various encampments. 532 151

8. It is hardly necessary to state that they have nothing answering to mile-stones or roadside marks. Swamps are never crossed, but in all cases avoided by circuitous routes; experience seems to have taught them the natural line of fords from salient to salient banks, and, when a creek has to be crossed, they always avail themselves of the advantages thus afforded, even making a detour in order to do so.[3] This applies, however, to those occasions when they are not heavily laden, or are carrying articles liable to be damaged by immersion, or which would hinder them from swimming. 487

Swimming.—1. With the exception of some of the *ē·rem-tâ·ga-*,[4] a knowledge of the art of swimming is common to members of both sexes; the *children* even, learning almost as soon as they can run, speedily acquire great proficiency. In this accomplishment the Andamanese greatly surpass the majority of Europeans, but it is probable that, in competition with an experienced English swimmer, their best men would be distanced in the first few hundred yards, it being not so much for speed, as for the length of time they can remain in the water, that they are remarkable. 481

[1] With reference to this circumstance, it may be mentioned that, a few years ago (1876), five aborigines, concerned in the murder near Kyd Island of some Chinese traders with whom they had had a dispute, were discovered by means of the arrows found on the spot, as these were identified by some of their acquaintances then living at Port Blair.

[2] Brown. [From remarks, however, contained in a recent article, entitled "The Indo-Chinese and Oceanic Races," by Mr. A. H. Keane, which appeared in "Nature" (Jan. 6th, 1881), it would appear that the low estimate of the Australian intellect formed by certain ethnologists is not shared by all, and "many instances are given of their skill even in drawing, a capacity for which was wholly denied them."]

[3] Wells are not dug, but when encamping, whether for days or months, care is always taken that the spot selected be near some fresh-water stream.

[4] The reason of this is obvious, as it is known that the majority of the creeks are fordable in many places within three miles of the coast, even in the rainy season, and, therefore, the necessity of acquiring the art of natation has never been experienced by those permanently resident in the interior.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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In a recent paper Dr. N. DATTA-MAJUMDER, Director, Department of Anthropology, Government of India, writes: 163

"From a study of 34 Onge families contacted by us, it is found that the average size of the family is only 3.15. Thirteen families out of 34 are childless. That is, 38.2% of the married couples are sterile".

When, in 1946, proposals were made for undertaking work for the amelioration of the conditions of the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands along the same line as had been done among the Bhil and other tribes of Central India, Dr. B. S. GUHA, at that time Director of the Department of Anthropology, very reasonably observed that "the problem of the aborigines of the Andaman Islands is not the same as that of the other primitive tribes of India", and that "the need among them is not so much the spread of education and social uplift as the arrest in the decline in population which has been most alarming". 648 161 177

The Ongi have been in sporadic contact with the outside world for many years. They have been visiting Port Blair, particularly since some of them moved to Rutland Island on the southern tip of Great Andaman. This contact with civilization was bound to affect their material culture, as well as their whole mentality. We may again quote Dr. DATTA-MAJUMDER who says: 177 [166]

"As a result of this long contact the Onge have already come to appreciate a number of foreign articles, for example, tobacco leaves, tea leaves, sugar, matches, aluminium utensils and implements made of iron (especially bill-hooks and files). In order to secure these articles, they often barter away their valuable honey and shells. The afore-mentioned changes in material culture have at present touched only the fringe of Onge culture. But the demand for these articles (especially tobacco leaves and safety matches) is becoming so great that Onge culture is likely to be vitally affected in the near future". [276]

Dr. DATTA-MAJUMDER came to the conclusion that "the hunting and food-gathering Onge culture, which had been an autonomous cultural system in the past, is now breaking down". 22 182

The Ongi were repeatedly visited by government officers, but the resulting information is paltry. PORTMAN spent several months among the coastal groups of Little Andaman in 1886 and 1887 and collected a few hundred words of their language. In 1901, C. BODEN KLOSS visited a group of Ongi on Rutland Island and one on Little Andaman, both only for a few hours. At some time between 1906 and 1908, A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN went to Little Andaman for several weeks and made a preliminary study of the Ongi language. In 1928, EGON VON EICKSTEDT spent a few weeks among the Ongi on Rutland Island and visited briefly several groups on the coast of Little Andaman for the sake of physical anthropological research. 114

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

621 rather than order is given by the leader. Cipriani observes.[1] "For
622 instance, it is very amusing for them to think that a man gives orders to others. This means that they have no real chiefs. A so-called Onge
[592] chief, or raja, is only the head of a group of families living in the same communal hut, and giving not orders but only advice. It is the most experienced man who is considered chief in the hut, but his authority if at all never goes beyond that hut. In other words no real chief exists in the Little Andaman. Notwithstanding this, there is a perfect order in the island, because nobody interferes with the work or encroches upon what can be considered the rights of others."

124 As is common to most of the aborigines, the Onges are generally
162 not very receptive when the questions about their numbers and other groups are enquired. The headman says that there are many many fifty Onges. However the number of the Onges are approximately 600.

22 As regards the mode of living of the Onges, the hunting and collec-
231 ting are the basis of their economy. The domestication of the plants
241 i.e. art of agriculture is not known to them and it is only 30 years back, the dogs arrived in the island and have been domesticated by the Onges for chasing the pigs, their main prey. In the absence of agriculture, the natural products of the sea and the forest provide them with all
[262] their items of diet. Animal and vegetable products and honey are the main items of their diet and there has been, so far, no introduction of salt in their diet. The most important victims of their hunting are pigs and turtles, the former is chased by dogs and are killed with great
252 cruelty. The cooking of the fish, meat, roots, tubers, jackfruits etc are
251 done by putting them under fire. Preservation of foodstuffs is not widely practised except the jackfruit seeds which are tied up in a small net inside water on the bank of some stream and taken out during rainy season, when the other vegetable foodstuffs are not available. On
146 the whole, the Onges have a very balanced diet with a fair richness of all the nutrients. In this connection the observations of Dr. Cipriani during his survey in the Little Andaman throws considerable light in
[157] their conditions of life. He has estimated the Onges as one of the happiest people of the world, who in spite of their primitive economy, are not the miserable victims of poor health, ill nutrition and oddities of life.

396 Some amount of artistry and craftsmanship have developed among these people. A canoe can be constructed by a man, all by himself from

[1] 1 Cipriani, L—Survey of Little Andaman during 1954; Bul. Dept. Anth.,

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Owing to the difficulty of pushing through the undergrowth the Onges always travel in single file, following closely behind one another, the men first, then the women and children, with the dogs following all round. They never travel alone; I hardly ever met any by themselves, but always in groups of families or groups of hunters. The man who happens to be at the front of the file is the guide and when they come to an awkward part of the journey – perhaps across a deep river – everybody helps. Trees are felled to fall across between the banks and a rope of lianas is run across to make the crossing easier for the aged, the women and the children, though their sense of balance is so good that most of them manage without it, even when carrying heavy loads across a single trunk.

The Onges are now nearly all related to each other in some way. They all know each other, and the contacts are usually friendly. The few scuabbles which I saw, always over game, or food that had been gathered, all blew over very quickly; normally, especially in the dry seison when every group becomes nomadic in search of food, everyone went freely all over the island. On the occasions of the great hunts, or the honey feasts, a number of groups would band together for the occasion and even then they tried to divide the spoils equally and peaceably. If a dispute does arise the camp will break up into factions, but these will still keep close to each other and after a short while their differences will be made up with the usual bng and tearful embraces. These scenes of reconciliation may go on for days, all starting from nothing more serious than a difference of opinion over the division of game captured by communa effort!

Much more important than the danger of offending other human beings is that of causing offence to the spirits of the dead or the guardian spirits who provide food. There is, as I have said, not overmuch rigility in their observations – no propitiatory offerings of any kind are made to the spirits. The supreme being, Eiuga, who takes the shape of a lizard bigger than a crocodile, they know well. On Great Andaman he becomes Puluga, equally powerful, lord of men and things but rather more anthropomorphic than his counterpart in Little Andaman. As Eiuga lives in the sky, the thunder is his voice, and the wind his breath; if he is angry he breathes out storms and throws burning tree-trunks down to the earth, setting light to the forest. Behind Eiuga are a series of minor spirits who

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

171 184 411 two have added feathers, and poisoned tips, in imitation of neighbouring peoples.

For the capture of large fish and animals such as turtles, dolphins 184 and dugong, the Onges and Arioto use not the arrow harpoon but 411 the spear harpoon. Brown saw none of these among the Onges he 114 studied in Rutland, and consequently assumed its absence on Little 22 Andaman. The Onges carry as little as possible on their sea voyages [484] for the sake of speed, and would not therefore take spear harpoons (used only for marine hunting) with them on trips to Rutland, which they visit only for the purpose of hunting pigs and not to fish, or to hunt marine animals. They certainly have, and use, spear harpoons even today; I myself have been with the Onges and seen their harpoons used from the canoes. I had ample opportunity to admire both the effectiveness of the weapons and the accuracy of the throwers.

411 The greater structural and operational simplicity of the spear harpoon, in comparison with the arrow harpoon, leads one to [283] suppose it the older of the two. Its cord is made of tough *Hibiscus* fibres, and with the aid of these and a straight shaft about six metres long and little over four centimetres in diameter, even the humblest of nails, seven centimetres long and three millimetres in diameter, [824] can become the point of a spear harpoon. It is fixed into the shaft (usually of mangrove wood) which is hollowed out at the thinner end to take it, and with a cord up to a hundred metres long or more attached to the nail two centimetres from the head, the spear harpoon is ready for use – shaft, point and cord.

418 225 When the harpoon is to be used for turtles, no barbs are needed, as the point is driven so firmly into the shell that blocks of wood have to be carried in the canoes to knock it out for re-use.

The harpoon throwers stand ready on the platform jutting out fore and aft of the canoes (see p. 122), the free end of the cord is tied to one of the booms to prevent it being jerked out of the canoe as the victim tries to escape, and the slack is coiled in the bottom of the canoe. The thrower holds the cord against the harpoon as he waits for the right moment and then throws. As the harpoon strikes, the point detaches from the shaft, which floats on the water till picked up – often to be used as a punt-pole in the shallow waters of the coral reefs as the canoe follows the victim, now held firmly on the end of the cord.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

361 the heaps of refuse many feet deep, chiefly consisting of the shells of molluscs and the bones of animals. Such kitchen-middens, as they have been called, are to be found in numbers all around the coasts of the islands.

In the case of the coast-dwelling communities the camping sites are always close to the sea-shore or to a creek, so that they can be reached by canoe. In the case of those dwelling [312] inland this is of course not so. In any case one of the chief factors determining the choice of the site is the existence of a supply of fresh water. This is of extreme importance in the case of a site to be occupied during the dry season when fresh water becomes scarce.

•221 Within their own territory the local group is what we may 361 speak of as semi-nomadic. The coast-dwellers rarely reside continuously at the same spot for more than a few months, but [268] shift from one camp to another, moved by different causes. If a death occurs the camp is deserted for several months and a new one is occupied. A change of camp often takes place at a change of season, some spots presenting particular advantages, such as shelter from the prevailing wind, or better hunting or fishing, at certain times of the year. Another cause of the [364] abandonment of a camp by the coast-dwellers is that all refuse is thrown away close to the camp, and after a few months the decaying animal matter thus accumulated renders the spot uninhabitable. The natives seem to find it easier to move their camp than to clear away their refuse. The truth is, perhaps, that they are so accustomed to change their camp from one spot to another, in order to make the best use of the natural resources available, that there is no necessity for them to take those sanitary measures that would be essential if they wished to remain for many months continuously at the same place.

The forest-dwellers are less nomadic in their habits than the coast-dwellers. One of the reasons for this is that as they cannot convey their belongings from one place to another by canoe, but must carry them overland, the moving of a camp is a more tiresome business with them than it is with the coast-dwellers. During a great part of the year the forest-dwellers

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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221 361 were accustomed to remain at one camp, which was thus the chief camp of the group. In particular they would spend there the whole of the rainy season. During the cool and hot seasons they would leave the chief camp for a few months, leading during that time a more nomadic life, living in temporary hunting camps and paying visits to their friends in other groups. At the opening of the rainy season they would return once more to the main camp.

361 342 The camps of the natives of the Great Andaman may be distinguished as being of three kinds. Of the first kind are what may be spoken of as permanent encampments. Certainly every group of the forest-dwellers, and probably every group of the coast-dwellers had its permanent encampment, which was, so to speak, the headquarters of the group. At this spot there would be erected either a communal hut, or a carefully built village. Communal huts have in recent times fallen into disuse, as the natives now wander about the islands much more freely than was their wont. I did not see a single one in the Great Andaman during my visit, though I was told of one that was falling to ruins in the interior of the Middle Andaman. One such communal hut was photographed in 1895 by M. L. Lapicque, at a spot called *Lekera-l'un-ta*[1]. It was perhaps the last that the natives of the Great Andaman erected. What the communal hut was like it is possible to discover both from the statements of the natives and also from the fact that they are still to the present day used by the natives of the Little Andaman and by the *Jarawa*. The hut was roughly circular in form and might be as big as 60 feet in diameter and 20 or 30 feet high at the centre. The shape was somewhat that of a beehive. Two concentric circles, one of tall posts near the centre and the other of shorter posts near the circumference, were connected by horizontal and sloping roof-timbers, and on these were laid and fastened a number of mats of palm-leaves. These mats reached, as a rule, as far as the ground, a small doorway being left on one side.

Such communal huts, while still used in the Little Andaman

[1] The photograph is reproduced in *Le Tour du Monde*, 1895, p. 447.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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is to be seen but the dim light of the little fires burning in each 512
hut or in each of the family quarters.

On a day when there is plenty of food left from the day before, or on a day of stormy weather even when food is not too plentiful, the men may remain in camp instead of going hunting. They busy themselves with making weapons and implements, such as bows, arrows, adzes, etc.

On occasions when game is not very plentiful a party of hunters may stay away from the camp for a few days, not returning till they have been successful in obtaining a fair supply of food. The women and children and old men, with perhaps a few of the able bodied men also, remain at home and provide for themselves as well as they can, the women devoting their time to collecting what vegetable foods are in season.

At the end of the rainy season there comes a brief period 221
of unsettled weather, called by the natives of the North Andaman 262
Kimil, and by those of the South, *Gumul*. During this season some of the vegetable foods begin to be available, though not in any quantities. At this time of the year the natives are able to obtain and feast upon what they regard as great delicacies, the larvae of the cicada and of the great capricornis beetle. The cool season, when fruits and roots are plentiful, begins at the end of November. The forest dwellers leave their main encampment during this season. Some of them go off to pay visits [574]
to their friends of other local groups. Such visits may last two
or three months. Those who remain occupy temporary camps 221
in convenient places. The men join the women in looking for 222
roots and fruits, and do not spend so much of their time in 262
hunting. Some of the men visit the main camp at intervals of a few days to see that it is all right. As the cool season gives way to the hot season (March to May) honey begins to be plentiful. At that time hunting for pig is almost abandoned. The pigs are in poor condition, and even when one is killed it is often left in the jungle by the natives as not being good enough to eat. On the other hand everyone is busy collecting honey. [462]
This is work in which both men and women join, though it is the men who climb up the trees and cut down the honeycomb. The natives have no means of keeping the honey for more than

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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221 222 262 a very short time, as it rapidly ferments. While it is plentiful they almost live on it, supplementing it with roots and fruits and with fish, if they are near a creek. Towards the end of the hot season the fruit of the *Artocarpus chaplasha*, which is a favourite food of the natives, becomes ripe. The men and women, at this time, spend much of their time collecting the fruit. When it is collected the fruit is broken open and each of the seeds is sucked to obtain the juicy pulp or aril with which it is surrounded, and which has a very pleasant taste. The seeds are then partly boiled and are buried in the ground to remain there for a few weeks, when they will be dug up again and cooked and eaten. Any natives who may have been away from home on a visit, return before the *Artocarpus* comes into fruit in order to take their share in collecting it and providing a supply of the seeds for consumption in the rainy season. The natives then return to the headquarters camp and make any necessary repairs to the hut in preparation for the rainy season, which begins about the middle of May.

221 262 The coast-dwellers are not quite so much influenced by the seasons as the forest-dwellers. They can fish and collect molluscs all the year round. In the rainy season they divide their time between hunting pig in the forest and fishing or turtle hunting. They do not need, however, to remain at the same camp during the whole of the rainy season, but after a month or two at one place can move to what they hope to find better hunting grounds. During the cool and hot seasons they pay visits to one another. In the fine weather the men often go off on turtle-hunting expeditions for several days, leaving the women and children and older men in the village, where they provide for themselves with vegetable food and with fish and molluscs from the reefs.

It is during the fine weather that there take place the meetings of two or more local groups that are an important feature of the social life of the Andaman Islanders. These meetings will be described later in the present chapter.

462 Besides their food, which they must find from day to day, the natives have need of nothing save their weapons and implements. Of these each person makes his own, each man making his

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violent storms (cyclones) are very rare. Between the rainy season proper and the cool season there is a period of six or eight weeks in which the weather is unsettled; the wind is variable; fine weather alternates with storms that are sometimes of terrific violence; waterspouts are frequent; it is at this season that violent cyclonic storms are likely to occur. This season is called by the Andamanese *Kimil* (*Gumul* of *Aka-Bea*). We have seen in the last chapter that the word *kimil* denotes a condition of social danger, or of contact with the power possessed by all things that can affect the life and safety of the society. It is obviously in this sense, and not as meaning "hot," that it is applied to the season in question, for the months of October and November are fairly cool, certainly very much cooler than February and March. We shall find that this is an important point in connection with the *Biliku* myth.

The life of the Andaman Islander is profoundly affected by the alternation of the seasons. There are, first of all, the violent cyclonic storms that occasionally occur. Such a storm may uproot the jungle for miles, making it impassable for years to come, and thus destroying some of the native hunting grounds. The wind is sometimes so violent as to tear every leaf from the trees in its path. While the storm lasts there is danger to the lives of the natives. An old man recounted to me how on the occasion of a violent cyclone he and the others of his village took refuge in the sea and on the open shore from the danger of falling trees, and remained there till the violence of the storm had abated. The usual name for a cyclone in *Aka-Jeru* is *tɔko-pu*, i.e. "falling wood" or "falling trees." Even if all the natives escape the danger of death or injury, there is still the extreme fear and discomfort of the experience. If a storm lasts for any length of time the natives, who are unable or afraid to go out hunting, have to do without food until it is over. Incidentally the storm may destroy their huts, canoes, and other property and thus cause loss that has to be made up by toil.

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The second important effect of the seasons on the life of the Andamanese is through the food supply. During the cool season, and the succeeding hot season, a number of vegetable foods, including the very important roots and some of the most

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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prized fruits, are available. On the other hand, during these seasons the land animals are in poor condition. In the hot season, at any rate, lizards, snakes and the civet-cat are not eaten. Pigs are breeding and are in such poor condition that often a pig that has been killed is left in the jungle as being not good enough to eat. The hot season is pre-eminently the season of honey, which is so abundant that the natives are able to obtain much more than they can consume. In the rainy season there are few vegetable foods and very little honey, but on the other hand the jungle animals are in good condition and flesh food is abundant; fish are more plentiful in this season than during the dry weather. In the *Kimil* season (October and November) the natives add to their food supply two varieties of grub (the laryæ of the cicada and of a beetle) which are regarded as great delicacies. Roughly we can say that the rainy season is the season of flesh food, the *Kimil* season is the season of grubs, the cool season is the season of fruits and roots, and the hot season is the season of honey.

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By reference to the prevailing wind the year may be divided into two parts, the N.E. monsoon from November to May, and the S.W. monsoon from May to November.

I propose to show that the Andaman Islanders express the social value of the phenomena of the weather and the seasons, i.e., the way these phenomena affect the social life and the social sentiments, by means of legends and beliefs relating to the two mythical beings whom they call *Biliku* and *Tarai*. Using the word personification in a sense to be defined later in the chapter, we may say that the Andamanese personify the weather and the seasons in the persons of *Biliku* and *Tarai*. *Biliku* is associated with the N.E. monsoon; she lives in the N.E.; the wind from that quarter is called "the *Biliku* wind"; to *Biliku*, therefore, belong the cool and the hot seasons, these being the seasons of the N.E. monsoon. *Tarai* is associated with the S.W. monsoon; he lives in the S.W.; the wind from that quarter is called "the *Tarai* wind," or, in *Aka-Bea*, simply *Deria*; to *Tarai* therefore belongs the rainy season. It is possible to show that the Andaman Islanders associate with these two beings all the phenomena of the weather and the seasons, and are able to

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184 world: on their arrival at Viper Island, they saw, for the first
115 time, Europeans, and a mode of living of which they could have previously formed no idea. *Wō·ī's* companions returned to their tribe after spending a few months with us, but he, having lost his heart to one of the South Andaman houris, was without difficulty induced to remain behind, and settle down in our midst as a married man. As he speedily acquired a knowledge of the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* dialect, we were enabled to question him on various points, besides those referred to in the statement which forms one of the appendices to this volume,[1] and thus learned much that was before unknown concerning the habits of the inland branch of the *.ôko-jū·wai-* tribe: the information thus obtained, when compared with the result of our own observations of the customs and mode of living of the communities in the vicinity of our settlement, afforded convincing proof of the universality of the customs and practices of the respective classes of *àryô·to-* and *ē·remtâ·ga-* throughout Middle and South Andaman.

8. In Dr. Mouat's book mention is made of the capture of a youth, nicknamed "Jack," after a hostile encounter with some of the natives of Interview Island, from which circumstance it may be inferred that the lad belonged to the *.âkà-.ked·e-* tribe, only one member of which had, till 1879, stayed amongst us, and he is an *ē·remtâ·ga-*, who had travelled out of curiosity as far as Middle Strait, and from thence had been persuaded by the chief of that district to accompany him to Port Blair. He proved himself very intelligent and active in all jungle accomplishments, but was entirely ignorant of fishing and turtling After remaining with us a few months he was taken (in March, 1879), at his own request, to a point on the north-west coast of Middle Andaman, and landed with a heap of presents: his home, he informed us, was situated midway between that place and the east coast.

361 **Nomadism.**—1. Nomadism appears to be almost, if not
[768] entirely confined to the *àryô·to-*, and even among them there are hamlets which are only abandoned temporarily, as with
●221 the *ē·remtâ·ga-*, in consequence of a death, or of a *jeg-* (*i.e.*,
166 "corroboree"), at some neighbouring encampment.

2. The nature of the temporary migrations which take place among the *ē·remtâ·ga-* during the dry season, as well as of those necessitated by a death, will be explained in subsequent sections. In the case of the *àryô·to-*, migrations are occasioned by a variety of circumstances, as, for instance, fishing operations being rendered impossible by a change in the wind, the

[1] *Vide* Appendix F, a free translation of which will be found in "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xi, pp. 285–2[illegible]

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361 suitability of a particular spot for fishing and turtling during certain phases of the moon, on account of the character of the
●221 foreshore, or the configuration of the coast, and the hope of
166 meeting with better luck elsewhere—to these might be added the love of a change, and the prospect of seeing some of their friends; but it must not be supposed that a long journey is thereby involved; the move being generally made to a spot only a mile or two further on, and thus, by short stages, they sometimes proceed along the entire coast-line of their tribal territory, spending a few days or weeks at each halting place, according to the special attractions it may happen to possess in affording good sport on land or sea, or in supplying a rich harvest of fruit, honey, &c.

364 3. The necessity of a migration is also frequently forced on them by the consequences of their neglect to sweep away the refuse of their meals, it being regarded by these *insouciant* and unclean creatures as not worth their while to take so much trouble, when only a short stay is contemplated.

4. That the necessity for observing *some* sanitary measures has long since been recognised by the Andamanese is evident from the existence of numerous kitchen-middens throughout their territory, many of which are doubtless of remote origin. These refuse-heaps are still in course of formation by communities living at a distance from Port Blair, and are invariably found near camping grounds which have been, or are still more or less, permanently occupied. In those sites, where they are not seen, evidence is at once afforded of the temporary nature of the occupancy: the rubbish and refuse of food in these latter places is only swept aside if the ground be needed for a dance, wedding, or other ceremony, so that injury may not befall the revellers through inadvertently treading on a bone, stone, or shell. Crows, hermit-crabs, and, of late years, dogs, are the principal scavengers of these ill-ordered and dirty habitations, the two former performing their useful office as soon as a migration takes place.

Habitations.—1. We will now pass to the consideration of the
342 three varieties of huts which are commonly met with in the permanent and temporary encampments throughout the territory of the eight Great Andaman tribes, and which are known as *chàng-tē·pinga-*, *chàng-tō·rnga-*, and *chàng-dar·anga*.

2. To commence with the *chàng-tē·pinga-*, which is made by men, and erected in all permanent encampments as being the most durable. No particular kind of wood is used for the posts, which are four in number, two in front and two in rear, the former varying from six to nine feet in height, and the latter from two to three feet; upon these, slender rafters and two light transverse poles are secured, so as to form the framework of

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17. The fruit of three varieties of mangrove,[1] known to them as *jū·mu-*,[2] *ngâ·tya-*, and *bâ·taga-*, are occasionally eaten, but only by way of change; they are prepared like the *kâd-* (*vide* above). 262 137

18. The following table contains a fairly complete list of the different kinds of food eaten by the Andamanese during the varying seasons of the year; their ordinary diet, as will be gathered from the foregoing, consists of pigs,[3] paradoxurus, iguanas,[4] eggs of the hawkbill turtle, turtles, shell and other sea-fish and prawns, with occasional treats of dugong and porpoise,[5] and for married persons certain birds, already named: the fruit of the *Pandanus* and black honey must also be added, besides which, during the dry season, fresh-water fish, shell-fish, eggs of the green turtle, honey, the bee-bread, and that portion of the comb in which the larvæ are found, as well as the *Caryota sobolifera*, yams, and numerous fruits, about to be named, are eaten with great relish; while during the rains they vary their fare with preserved seeds of the *Artocarpus chaplasha*, *Semecarpus*,[6] and the fallen seeds of the *Entada pursætha*,[7] with three grubs, viz.: the *bū·tu-*, *pi·rigi-*, and the larvæ of the Great Capricornis beetle (*ôi·yum-*), and certain fruits. Although on one occasion I saw a man (a member of the *.â·kà-.ked·e-* tribe) actually eat an *ôi·yum-* alive (!) their usual practice is to collect a quantity of the above-named insects and to wrap them up in leaves and place them on the burning embers, turning the bundle from time to time, so that its contents may be thoroughly cooked, whereupon, in the case of the *bū·tu-*, after breaking off the tails, they are consumed with evident gusto.[8] 262 136 137 221

19. The native names[9] of most of the fruits in season during the dry (*a*), wet and cool (*b*) months are:— 262 221 137

[1] Some terrible calamity, such as another Deluge, would result, so they say, from any one rashly presuming to taste the fruit of a certain species of mangrove, called *tô·kal-*.

[2] *Bruquiera gymnorhiza.*

[3] Not only are the sows eaten when with young, but even their unborn litter is not rejected.

[4] Iguanas and paradoxuri are in better condition during the rains, and are consequently more eaten at that season.

[5] There are special restrictions connected with eating both the dugong and porpoise for the first time (*vide post* "Tabu," paragraph 2).

[6] *Vide* paragraph 32.

[7] *Vide ante* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 12.

[8] The *ôi·yum-* is found in newly fallen logs, and they say that they do not treat it like the *bū·tu-*—viz., in breaking off its tail—because it does not live in such rotten Gurjon trees.

[9] The botanical names of most of these, as well as of many others, will be found in Appendix L.

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(*a*)

•‡mâng-
•‡ï·til- } either cooked or uncooked.
dō·gota-
jâ-
ū·dala-
kôn-
§châ·kan-
•bō·to-kô·ko-
kū·nra-
§pū·lia-
§pū·lain-
•pī·dga-
§gel·dim-
•ô·rta-tāt-
•†§chaij-
kär·ega-
ūd-
§ñgē·bēr-
§ē·mej-
•eng·ara-
§lō·gaj-

(N.B.—The best fruits, and those which are most abundant, are in season during these months and at the commencement of the rains.)

(*b*)

†ô·ropa-
§pâ-
•†kai-
†§kai·ta-
†chôb-
†ô·dorma-
•â·bnga-
§ { *jū·mu-* / *ngâ·tya-* / *bâ·taga-* }
•kâ·pa-
pī·cha-
§pai·tla-
•kär·ed-[1]
§•jang·ma-[2]
•jī·ni-
†pū·ta-
•pôr-
•âm-
•†mū·twin-
tâ·tib-
•eng·ara-

During the *pâ·par-wâb-* (cool season) and *yē·re-bō·do-* (dry months) the six varieties of edible roots mentioned above (*vide* paragraph 11) are also eaten.

(It will be understood that those fruits that are unmarked in the above list are eaten in the ordinary way).

262 [263] 252

20. Many fruits they merely suck for the sake of the flavour;[3] others are eaten with fine wood-ash,[4] taken from the hut fires *in lieu of sugar*, to diminish their extreme acidity,[5] while a few are cooked,[6] and the stones of several[7] are cracked for the sake of their kernels. The favourite fruits are *dō·gota-*, *ô·ropa-*, *kôn-*, *chôb-*, *jâ-*, *pâ-*, *kai·ta-*, *kär·ega-*, *châ·kan-*, *jū·mu-*, *ngâ·tya-*, *bâ·taga-*, *ñgē·bēr-*, *pū·lia-*, and *pū·lain-*.

21. The fruit of the *ñgē·bēr-*, *châ·kan-*, *pū·lia-*, *pū·lain-*, *pai·tla-*, *gel·dim-*, *lō·gaj-*, and the seeds of the three above-named varieties of mangrove (*i.e.*, *jū·mu-*, *ngâ·tya-*, and *bâ·taga-*), are freed from their husk or rind and boiled in water until quite soft; when cold they are cut in slices, and left to soak for two days or more in salt or fresh water, after which they are baked in leaves, or again boiled in a *būj-*.

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22. The Andamanese are, now-a-days at least,[8] extremely particular over the cooking of their food, and will not eat certain

[1] This is a small yellow fruit, the seed of which, after being sucked, is broken, and the outer portion eaten while the kernel is thrown away.

[2] This is a small red fruit, about the size of a bean or filbert, containing one stone; it is wrapped in leaves and baked, because they say that if eaten uncooked it would cause them to forget their way in the jungle, as well as entire loss of memory on all points.

[3] These are marked in the preceding paragraph by a •

[4] Their immunity from scurvy may not improbably be due to the chemical combination of the acid, contained in many of the fruits, with the potash of the burnt wood.

[5] These are marked in the preceding paragraph by a †.

[6] These are marked in the preceding paragraph by a §.

[7] These are marked in the preceding paragraph by a ‡.

[8] They are very expert in spearing their fish, which they consume in a half-cooked state (Anderson); Symes also writes that "they throw the food on the fire, and devour it half broiled."

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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512 until they come upon the animal feeding. In former days much
224 skill was required to creep noiselessly through the jungle until they were sufficiently near either to discharge an arrow, or, if the jungle were more open, to rush in upon the animal shouting and shoot it before it could escape. At the present day it is the dogs that scent out the pig and bring it to bay, when the natives shoot it with their arrows.

512 When a pig has been killed it may be tied up and carried to the camp on the shoulders of one of the hunters, or a fire may
252 be lighted then and there and the pig eviscerated and roasted. A cut is made in the abdomen and the viscera removed. The cavity is filled with leaves, the joints of the legs are half severed and the carcase is placed on the fire and turned over and shifted until every part is evenly roasted. It is then removed from the fire, the burnt skin is scraped clean and the meat is cut up. Meanwhile the intestines or some of the internal organs are cooked and eaten by the hunters. The meat is tied up in leaves and is carried to the camp. If the pig be carried home whole the process of roasting it and cutting it up is performed in exactly the same way at the public cooking place of the camp, the meat being distributed only after it has been thus partially cooked.

512 If the hunting party should come across a civet cat (*Paradoxurus*) or a monitor lizard they would endeavour to kill
223 it[1], but the main object of every hunting party is to obtain pork. Snakes and even rats are killed and eaten. Birds, though plentiful in the islands are not often obtained, for the density of the jungle and the height of the trees in which the birds conceal themselves, make it very difficult for the natives to shoot them with their bows and arrows. A man does not care to risk the loss of his arrow in a chance shot at a bird. The Andamanese do not trap either birds or animals, though some of the birds, particularly the rail, might be very easily caught in traps.

512 As the hunting party traverses the forest they may come across roots or fruits or seeds, or wild honey, and these are
222 collected and carried home. In the rainy season only small

[1] They are only eaten in the rainy season.

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512 combs of black honey are to be found[1], and these are generally
222 consumed by the hunters on the spot.

The provision of the vegetable food of the community is the work of the women, who must also supply the camp with firewood and water. While the men are away hunting the
462 women, attended by the children, cut and carry the firewood,
512 and either remain in the camp making baskets or nets or other
222 objects, or else go into the forest to look for fruits and seeds. Thus by midday the camp may be quite deserted, save perhaps for one or two old men and women, and a few of the children.

In the afternoon the women return with what food they have
512 obtained and then the men come in with their provision. The
252 camp, unless the hunters have been unsuccessful, is then busy with the preparation of the evening meal, which is the chief meal of the day. If a pig has been brought home whole it is cooked at the public cooking place and is then cut up. The meat is distributed amongst the members of the community and the woman of each family then proceeds to cook the family meal. The pork, after it has been roasted and cut up, is further cooked by being boiled. The family meal is prepared at the fire that each family has in its hut. The meal is a family one, partaken
[264] by a man and his wife and children. The bachelors cook and eat their own meal, and the unmarried women also eat by themselves.

512 After the meal is over, darkness having by this time fallen, the
[535] men may spend an hour or two in dancing to the accompaniment of a song sung by one of them with the help of a chorus of women.
537 In that case they would probably eat another meal after the dance was over. Another favourite amusement for the evening is what may be called "yarning." A man sits down with a few listeners and tells them, with few words, and with many dramatic gestures, how he killed a pig. The same man may go on with
512 tale after tale, till, by the time he finishes he has killed twenty or thirty pigs. Finally the whole camp retires to rest and nothing

[1] There are two kinds of wild bee in the Andamans. A small species makes black honeycombs in hollow trees, and these may be found at any time of the year. A larger species of bee builds white combs suspended from the underside of branches in tall trees. Such combs are found in abundance only in the hot season, and not at all in the middle of the rainy season.

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is to be seen but the dim light of the little fires burning in each 512
hut or in each of the family quarters.

On a day when there is plenty of food left from the day before, or on a day of stormy weather even when food is not too plentiful, the men may remain in camp instead of going hunting. They busy themselves with making weapons and implements, such as bows, arrows, adzes, etc.

On occasions when game is not very plentiful a party of hunters may stay away from the camp for a few days, not returning till they have been successful in obtaining a fair supply of food. The women and children and old men, with perhaps a few of the able bodied men also, remain at home and provide for themselves as well as they can, the women devoting their time to collecting what vegetable foods are in season.

At the end of the rainy season there comes a brief period 221
of unsettled weather, called by the natives of the North Andaman 262
Kimil, and by those of the South, *Gumul*. During this season some of the vegetable foods begin to be available, though not in any quantities. At this time of the year the natives are able to obtain and feast upon what they regard as great delicacies, the larvae of the cicada and of the great capricornis beetle. The cool season, when fruits and roots are plentiful, begins at the end of November. The forest dwellers leave their main encampment during this season. Some of them go off to pay visits [574]
to their friends of other local groups. Such visits may last two
or three months. Those who remain occupy temporary camps 221
in convenient places. The men join the women in looking for 222
roots and fruits, and do not spend so much of their time in 262
hunting. Some of the men visit the main camp at intervals of a few days to see that it is all right. As the cool season gives way to the hot season (March to May) honey begins to be plentiful. At that time hunting for pig is almost abandoned. The pigs are in poor condition, and even when one is killed it is often left in the jungle by the natives as not being good enough to eat. On the other hand everyone is busy collecting honey. [462]
This is work in which both men and women join, though it is the men who climb up the trees and cut down the honeycomb. The natives have no means of keeping the honey for more than

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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221
222 a very short time, as it rapidly ferments.' While it is plentiful
262 they almost live on it, supplementing it with roots and fruits and with fish, if they are near a creek. Towards the end of the hot season the fruit of the *Artocarpus chaplasha*, which is a favourite food of the natives, becomes ripe. The men and women, at this time, spend much of their time collecting the fruit. When it is collected the fruit is broken open and each of the seeds is sucked to obtain the juicy pulp or aril with which it is surrounded, and which has a very pleasant taste. The seeds are then partly boiled and are buried in the ground to remain there for a few weeks, when they will be dug up again and cooked and eaten. Any natives who may have been away from home on a visit, return before the *Artocarpus* comes into fruit in order to take their share in collecting it and providing a supply of the seeds for consumption in the rainy season. The natives then return to the headquarters camp and make any necessary repairs to the hut in preparation for the rainy season, which begins about the middle of May.

221 The coast-dwellers are not quite so much influenced by the
262 seasons as the forest-dwellers. They can fish and collect molluscs all the year round. In the rainy season they divide their time between hunting pig in the forest and fishing or turtle hunting. They do not need, however, to remain at the same camp during the whole of the rainy season, but after a month or two at one place can move to what they hope to find better hunting grounds. During the cool and hot seasons they pay visits to one another. In the fine weather the men often go off on turtle-hunting expeditions for several days, leaving the women and children and older men in the village, where they provide for themselves with vegetable food and with fish and molluscs from the reefs.

000 It is during the fine weather that there take place the meetings of two or more local groups that are an important feature of the social life of the Andaman Islanders. These meetings will be described later in the present chapter.

462 Besides their food, which they must find from day to day, the natives have need of nothing save their weapons and implements. Of these each person makes his own, each man making his

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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227 fishing, although they say that they formerly did so. They have no
226 fish hooks and no fish traps. At the present time a few of the natives have learnt to take fish with hook and line, but they are unable to make hooks for themselves, and have to obtain them from the Settlement at Port Blair.

222 In collecting roots a digging stick is used, and a hooked pole is
412 used for gathering fruit, but they have no other special implements in use in collecting natural productions, and have no need of any. The adze is used for obtaining molluscs and for cutting honey-combs from hollow trees.

411 It is thus clear that by far the most important utensil of the Andamanese is the bow and arrow. We may say that they are essentially a bow and arrow people. This is even more true of the natives of the Little Andaman Division than of those of the Great Andaman Division.

It may be noted here that the Andamanese have no weapons that are used only for fighting. They fight with their chief hunting weapon, the bow and arrow. Nor have they any special defensive weapons, the shield being unknown.

171 The Semang in their natural condition depend for their subsistence on collecting roots and fruits from the forest, on catching fish in the streams, and on hunting animals. Their mode of subsistence is thus essentially the same as that of the Andamanese. One difference is that they have not the sea from which to draw supplies, and another is that the forests in which they live afford a much larger variety of game. A number of the Semang now practice a little rude agriculture which they have undoubtedly adopted in imitation of their neighbours of other races[1].

The principal weapon of the Semang, as of the Andamanese, is the bow and arrow. In hunting they also use spears[2], thus showing a difference from the Andamanese. Some of the Semang make use of the blow-pipe with poisoned darts, but it is practically certain that they have adopted the use of this weapon from their neighbours the Sakai[3]. They also make use to some extent of traps with which to capture jungle animals and birds. The wilder Semang living in the mountains have little opportunity of obtaining fish. Those of them that dwell near rivers use fish-spears and harpoons for catching large fish, and a small basket-work scoop for catching small fry[4]. They also fish with

[1] Skeat, p. 341.
[2] Skeat, p. 270.
[3] Skeat, p. 280.
[4] Skeat, p. 205.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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412 Bamboo tongs are made by bending double a piece split from a bamboo, and cutting the ends to the required shape. They are used for lifting from the fire anything too hot to be taken in the hand and are chiefly of service in cooking.

Digging sticks are made from various kinds of wood, being simply pointed at one or both ends. These sticks are not as a rule preserved, but made as required with an adze and thrown away after use. They are used for digging up edible roots.

222 227 Hooks for picking fruit, such as the *Artocarpus*, are made by attaching a small piece of wood to the end of a bamboo. Hooks for catching crabs are made from the wood of the *Rhizophora* by taking advantage of the natural form where a small branch joins a larger one.

352 824 The fan-shaped leaf of a *Licuala* palm is made use of in many ways. The edges of the leaflets are sewn together with fine strips of cane, and the sewn leaf is then used either as a sunshade or umbrella for protection from sunshine or rain, as a sleeping mat if the proper article be lacking, as a screen to make the roof or sides of a hut more wind or rain proof, as a wrapper for making objects of all sorts into bundles, and as a winding sheet for a corpse.

373 Torches are made from resin, which is broken into small pieces and wrapped up in leaves of a species of *Crinum* (? *lorifolium*), a few pieces of smouldering charcoal being added before it is tied up. The torch is then parcelled by marling with a strip of cane or a length of some tough creeper These resin torches are used in turtle-hunting and fishing expeditions on dark nights.

Other torches are made of fragments of rotten *Dipterocarpus* wood. They are used only in the village.

PERSONAL ORNAMENT; GREAT ANDAMAN.

291 At the present time the natives of the Great Andaman Division obtain from the Settlement of Port Blair cloth which both men and women wear round the loins. They also obtain beads from which they make necklaces.

The following is a list of the various personal ornaments made by the natives of the Great Andaman Division, and worn by them.

Rope girdle. Every man wears some sort of girdle round his waist, and this was formerly the only object that was constantly worn by men. The girdle may consist of a length of rope of *Hibiscus* fibre or a length of ornamental cord made by wrapping the yellow skin of

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such, not because they find any difficulty in procuring other food.[1] 262

3. Both *àryó to-* and *ē·rem-tá·ga-* find ample[2] provisions for their simple wants in their immediate surroundings, without exerting themselves to any great extent, and their eagerness in the chase is induced almost as much by actual love of sport as by the necessity of obtaining food: were this not the case they would hardly be found spending so much time in dancing and singing, in personal decorations, and in the preparation of their meals, while they reject with aversion anything that has become at all tainted. Further, it may be fairly estimated that one-third of the food daily consumed by them consists of edible roots, fruits, and honey, and the remaining portion of the flesh of one or more of the following, viz.: pig, paradoxurus,[3] iguana, turtle, fish, and molluscs, with rare additions of pigeons and jungle fowls;[4] Flying-foxes, bats, rats, sea- (not land-) snakes, the larvæ of the Great Capricornis beetle (*Cerambyx heros*) called *òi·yum-*,[5] as well as two other insects, called *bū·tu-* and *pī·rigi-*,[6] are, it is true, also eaten, but they are partaken of by way of variety, and the latter are regarded as luxuries (*á·kà-rá·rnga-*, tid-bits) to supplement (not substitute) other fare.[7] 224 136 262 222

4. The Andamanese are nominally content with two meals a day, viz.: breakfast (*á·kà-ná·-*) and a heavy supper (*á·kan-go·lajnga-*) after sun-down; they will, however, often help themselves to small quantities of food from time to time in the course of the day when engaged on any work; and, when leaving on a 264

[1] "It cannot be wondered at that these savages love the unfettered life of their own wild jungles, where their simple wants are easily supplied—a lean-to serving them for quarters, and food such as they are accustomed to being found in great abundance. Nothing comes amiss to an Andamanese maw; roots, wild fruits, berries, crabs, clams, fish, wild pigs, and turtle are all ravenously devoured, and a glance at the well-nourished bodies of men, women, and children amply convinces one that they do not starve" (*vide* "Bombay Gazette," 2nd August, 1881: "The Andamans, our Indian Penal Settlement;" *vide* also paper by Professor Owen, F.R.S., "On the Psychical and Physical Characteristics of the Mincopies," Report of British Association, 1861. p. 246.)

[2] *Vide* "Tribal Communities," paragraph 2, and Appendix F (*Wō·i's* statement).

[3] It is presumed that Dr. Day refers to this animal when he states that "they eat cats," for they do not appear ever to have had any fancy for the flesh of *pū·chī*, the name they have adopted for the domestic cat, from the English "pussy."

[4] *Vide* "Tabu," paragraph 2 (footnote).

[5] Probably the "fat grub, about three or four inches long, much relished by the natives" (Australians), mentioned by Mr. H. W. Bates, in his "Illustrated Travels," is identical with the *òi·yum-*.

[6] The *bū·tu-* is found in rotten logs of jungle trees, especially the *Dipterocarpus lævis* (*á·rain-*), *Gluta longipetiolata* (*já-*), and *Chickrassia tabularis* (*ó·ro-*).

[7] Their fancy for grubs does not extend to the *Teredo navalis*.

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251 implement, and all take a share in the feast.[1] Meat thus prepared will keep good for several days.

252 32. I alluded just now to their method of preparing the seeds
251 of the *Semecarpus* and *Artocarpus chaplasha* for consumption during the rains; it is as follows:—The outer husk, or skin, having been removed, a quantity of the fruit is placed on a wooden platter, and each person present renders assistance by partially sucking (!) the various pieces, which, after this preliminary process, are half boiled in water, and then wrapped up in large bundles of leaves, and buried in moist soil; no mark is made over the spot, but there appears to be no fear offorgetting it, though several weeks usually elapse before the monsoon breaks, and these decaying deposits are dug up, when the smell, as may be supposed, is most offensive to all but those who are to the manner born; by them, however, strange to relate, it is evidently highly appreciated. The next stage through which the seeds have to pass consists in freeing them inwater from the decaying matter, and drying them in the sun, orover the fire, where they are left in nets (*chā·panga-*[2]) or leaves until required for use, when they are again baked. With this exception no food is dried in the sun, nor is anything salted or intentionally smoked, though this last cannot fail to be, to some extent, the result of their mode of storing food, as described in the previous paragraph.

222 33. Besides the various fruits already mentioned as in season
137 during the dry months, yams and honey are very abundant; as
824 their method of treating both fruits and yams has been already described, it now remains for me to notice the ingenious way
825 in which they procure honey, and to name the special trees which, flowering in succession, afford ample material from whence the bees produce a more or less abundant store.

34. At the close of the monsoon one of the large jungle trees, called by them *rār-* (*Eugenia* sp.), comes into bloom, and though no honey is made from its flowers, it is said to act beneficially on the bees as a purgative, and to prepare them for the commencement of the honey season.[3] The *lē·kera-* (*Leguminosæ* sp.), blossoming a little later, is the first honey-yielding flower; the *dū·mla-*,[4] *chī·lib-* (? *Diospyros densiflora*), *ō·o-* (*Chickrassia tabularis*), and *chā·dak-* (*Rubiaceæ*) coming next into season, enable the bees to produce large combs, but the finest are found after the *pâ-* (*Semecarpus*), *bâ·ji-* (*Sterculia* (!) *villosa*), *yē·re-* (*Sterculia* sp.), *jī·dya-*,[4] have

[1] *Vide post* "Hunting and Fishing," paragraphs 30 and 31.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B. item 22.
[3] Hence *re·rie*, (to) clean.
[4] The botanical names of these have not as yet been ascertained.

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blossomed: this is considered the height of the honey season, and is called *lad·u chàu-*.[1] It appears that on moonlight nights just at this time the bees consume a great portion of their honey, so that the "junglees" declare it to be useless to go for combs, either by day or night, until the moon has sensibly waned. 222 137 824 825

35. When about to make a raid on the hives, the Andamanese procure a certain plant, believed to be of the *Alpinia* species, called *jī·ni-*, and having stripped off the leaves, chew the stem and smear the essence thus extracted over their bodies; the mouth is also filled with the same juice, and thus armed *cap-à-pie* they proceed to disperse the bees, who, on attempting to attack them, are at once repelled by the obnoxious odour of the *jī·ni-*, emitted in a fine spray from the mouths, and also attaching to the persons of their despoilers, who sometimes make further use of the chewed stalks of the offensive plant in driving off the last remaining defenders of the hive.

36. Small combs[2] of both the white and black honey are commonly obtainable till about September—*i.e.*, so long as the *Dipterocarpus lævis*, the *Pterocarpus dalbergioides*, and a few other trees continue to blossom.[3]

37. While I had charge of the homes (and probably ever since), a large sum was annually realised by the aborigines towards their support from the sale of honey thus obtained to the free residents at Port Blair. So much indeed did they collect that we were able to store it in barrels and bottles, and generally found we had sufficient to meet all demands until the approach of the following season. 000

Tabu.—1. Besides the articles of food from which all abstain during the *á·kà-yáp-*,[4] we have seen that there are certain fruits, edible roots, &c., which, in supposed obedience to *Pū·luga-*'s commands, are not gathered at prescribed seasons of the year,[5] and that mourners[6] (*á·kà-ōg-*) also deny themselves by refusing to partake of their favourite viands until after the *t'ī-tó·latnga-*;[7] but beyond these restrictions, which are of general application, 262

[1] *Vide* Appendix H.

[2] The combs produced from the blossoms of the under-mentioned trees—*i.e.*: *.tá·tib-* (*Croton arguratus*), *.bi·bs-* (*Terminalia* (?) *citrina*), and *.bal·ya-* are much less plentiful, and they are smaller; this is also found to be the case with those made from the *chá·langa-* (*Pterocarpus dalbergioides*), *.mó·nag-* (*Messua ferrea*), *.è·mej-* (*Terminalia bialata*), *.já-* (*Gluta longipetiolata*), and *.púb-* (*Lagerstrœmia hypoleuca* (?) *regina*).

[3] As they are not, in their savage state, in the habit of storing honey, they are without any but the black honey during a great portion of the year.

[4] *Vide ante* "Initiatory Ceremonies," paragraphs 2 and 10.

[5] *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 12.

[6] If the mourners are *è·rem-tá·ga-* they abstain from pork, and if they are *àruó·to-* they abjure turtle (*vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 4).

[7] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 7.

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415 14. *ō·do-*.[1] Nautilus shells painted with *kā·ngatā-būj-* (item 62), and used as drinking vessels.

412 15. *wō·lo-*.[2] Adze: this tool is used not only in making canoes, buckets, bows, &c., but in digging graves. The handle consists of an L-shaped piece of mangrove wood, *Rhizophora conjugata* (Andam., *bad·a-*), and the blade is generally made of such pieces of iron as the keel-plate of a boat; formerly *Pinna* and such like shells are said to have been used, but strange to say it does not appear that stone celts were ever so employed.

[222] 16. *lā·kà-*.[3] A long pointed stick of the *Memecylon varians*, (Andam., *pē·taing-*) or *Rhizophora conjugata* (Andam., *bad·a-*), which is used as a hoe in digging up yams and other edible roots.

[NOTE.—A similar implement is found in use among the Australians.[4]]

17. *tōg-ngā·tanga-*.[5] Pole, 12 to 15 feet long, of *Bambusa nana* (Andam., *rī·di-*), to which a short piece of bamboo is securely fastened, with a strip of cane (Andam., *pī·dga-*), or stout cord, to [222] form a hook; it is used in gathering fruit—especially jack-fruit (*Artocarpus chaplasha*)—and is the only object of the nature of a hook *made* by the Andamanese.

415 18. *būj-*.[6] Cooking pot: these are made of various sizes by members of both sexes, and are shaped by the hand and eye only,[7] after being sun-dried they are surrounded with, and filled by pieces of lighted wood in order to complete the process of baking. When needed for travelling they are fitted with light wicker frames (*būj-rā·mata-*) to facilitate their removal, and to protect them from injury. The capacity of an average-sized pot is 9 or 10 pints.

[NOTE.—The *yē·rera-* and *jārawa-* pots have a conical base, and in this respect differ from those made by the tribes of South Andaman.]

534 19. *pū·kuta-yem·nga-*.[8] Sounding-boards—used for marking time during a song or dance[9]—which are scooped out of the fallen trunks of the *Pterocarpus dalbergioides* (Andam., *chā·langa-*), the wood of which is very hard; they are always of the same shield-like shape, and are frequently as much as 5 feet long and 2 feet wide; the concave side is generally ornamented with designs in white clay (*tā·la-ōg-*, item 58). When in use the

[1] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 20.
[2] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 13.
[3] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 2.
[4] *Vide* "Anthropology," p. 216, by Dr. E. B. Tylor, F.R.S.
[5] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 1.
[6] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 19.
[7] *Vide* Part III, "Pottery," paragraphs 4 and 6.
[8] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 15.
[9] *Vide* Part III, "Games and Amusements," paragraph 27.

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APPENDIX L.

List of some of the Trees and Plants in the Andaman Jungles.

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Andamanese name.	Botanical name.[1]	Remarks.
á·buga- (*a*)	Dillenia pilosa.	
ain·ya-	Dipterocarpus alatus .	(Burm.) *Kanyin agi.*
al·aba-	Melochia velutina ..	(*vide* Appendix B, item 66)
ám- (*a*) (*e*)	Calamus, sp. No. 1.	
á·para- (*d*) (*k*) .. .. Also *á·bad-*	Ptychosperma Kuhlii ..	
á·raga-	.. ..	(Hindi.) *Palawa.* (Burm.) *Bé·bia.*
á·rain- (*m*)	Dipterocarpus lævis ..	(Burm.) *Kanyin byu-*, Gurjon oil tree.
bad·a- (*o*)	Rhizophora conjugata ..	(Burm.) *Byáma.*
bad·ar- (*a*)	Sometia tomentosa (?)	
bai·la- (*a*) (*b*) . .	Terminalia procera ..	(Burm.) *Bambway byu.*
bá·ja- (*y*)	Sterculia (? villosa) ..	(Burm.) *Sabu-bani.*
bá·lak-	.. .. ..	*Vide* Part II, "Religious Beliefs," paragraph 19.
bal·ya-		
bá·rata- (*c*)	Carvota sobolifera.	
bá·taga- (*s*)	Ceriops Candolleana ..	(Burm.) *Madamá.*
bé·lu-	Natsatium herpestes.	
bé·ma-	Albizzia Lebbek (?) ..	(Burm.) *Kák·ko*
bé·rekád-	Glycosinis pentaphylla.	
bé·rewi-	Claoxylon affine (?)	
bi·bi-	Terminalia (? citrina).	
bi·riga-	Planchonia valida ..	(Burm.) *Bambway ngi.*
bi·rtát-		
bi·tim-	Sophora sp.	
ból- (*v*)	Calamus sp. .. .	Ground rattan.
bó·ma-	Claoxylon sp.	
bó·rowa- (*u*)	Myristica longifolia ..	(Hindi.) *Jaiphal.* (Burm.) *Zá·dipho.*
bó·to-kó·ko- (*v*)	Sabia (?)	
búb-	Ancistrocladus extensus (?)	
bú·kura- (*i*)	Diospyros (?) nigricans ..	Bastard ebony, or marble wood (superior variety).
búr-		
bú·tu-	.. .. . .	Extensively used in the manufacture of arrows.
chób- (*a*)	.. ..	(Hindi.) *Badám.*
chá·dak-	Rubiaceæ.	
chág·e-	Paratropia venulosa.	
chai-	.. ..	Bows made from this tree.

[1] It has been chiefly owing to the kind assistance afforded by Dr. G. King, Superintendent of the Botanical Garden, Howrah (near Calcutta), that I have been able to ascertain the botanical names of so many of the trees in this list.

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Andamanese name.	Botanical name.	Remarks.
chaij- (*a*) (*b*)	Semecarpus anacardium	(Hindi.) *Biláwa.*
chá·kan- (*b*)	Entada pursætha.	
chá·langa- (*q*)	Pterocarpus dalbergioides	(Hindi.) *Sīsu.* (Burm.) *Padauk.*
chám- (*j*)	Areca laxa of Hamilton (a variety of Areca triandra).	
chá·mti-	Cynometra polyandra.	
chàng·ta-	Calamus sp.	Leaves used in thatching huts, and for making the warning wreaths round a grave or deserted encampment.
chép-	Terminalia sp.	
chá·to-	Albizzia Lebbek (?) ..	(Hindi.) *Sirīs.* (Burm.) *Tsit.*
chàu·ga-gū·anga-	Hopea odorata	(Burm.) *Thingán-byū-.*
chē·nir-	Leea sambucina.	
chī·lib-	Diospyros densiflora (?)	
chō·ad-	.. ..	(Burm.) *Máukarāung.*
chō·bal-	Atalántia sp.	
chō·ngara- (*a*)		
chū·pa- (*a*)	Leguminosæ.	
chôb- (*a*)	Calamus sp. No. 2 ..	The fruit somewhat resembles a medlar in flavour.
chô·kuga-	Goniothalamus Griffithii.	
chô·lij-	Hypolytrum trinervium.	
chôr- (*i*)	Celtis cinnamomea.	
dá·kar-tá·la-	Hydnocarpus (?) ..	(Hindi.) ? *Lál chīni.* (Burm.) ? *Chándu.*
dē·debla-	Xanthophyllum glaucum.	
dōd-	Myristica Irya	Sometimes used for paddle making.
dō·gata- (*a*) (*f*)	Mimusops Indica (or ? littoralis)	(Hindi.) *Mōwa.* (Burm.) *Kapāli thit.*
dō·mto- (*p*)	Guettarda speciosa.	
dū·mla-	.. ..	(Burm.) *Pichám.*
dū·ra-	Barringtonia racemosa.	
eiétā·la-		
ē·mej- (*b*)	Terminalia bialata.	
eug·ara- (*a*)	.. ..	Wild plantain.
ē·repaid-tāt-	Strychnos nux vomica.	
gā·cha-		
gad-	Calophyllum spectabile.	
gel·dim- (*a*)	Leguminosæ sp.	
ger·eng- (*a*)	Bombax malabaricum ..	(Hindi.) *Semhal.* (Burm.) *Didu.*
gū·gma-	Trigonostemon longifolius	Leaves used medicinally as a febrifuge.
i·fil- (*b*)	Pandanus (?)	
jū- (*a*)	Gluta longipetiolata ..	(Burm.) *Thip-pyū.*
jū·la-	Rubiaceæ.	
jūg·ma- (*a*)	Stephania hernandifolia.	

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Andamanese name.	Botanical name.	Remarks.
jirdga		
jī·ni- (*a*)	Alpinia sp.	(*Vide* Part I "Medicine," para. 4, and Part III, "Food," para. 35.)
jór-	Odina Wodier	(Burm.) *Nabbâ.*
jū·laij- (*b*)	Dendrolobium umbellatum	
jū·mu- (*a*)..	? Bruguiera gymnorhiza, *or* Rhizphora mucronata	(Burm.) *Byabe.*
kā·daka-	Ficus hispida.	
kai- (*a*)	Mangifera sylvatica ..	Wild mango.
kai·ta- (*a*) (*b*	Artocarpus chaplasha ..	(Hindi.) *Kathar.* (Burm.) *Toung-peng.*
kā·pa- (*a*) (*b*)	Licuala (probably peltata)	
kār·ed- (*a*)..	? Sterculia (*or* Sanadera Indica)	The fruit contains a nut which after being sucked is broken, when the *shell* is eaten and the *kernel* thrown away.
kār·ega- (*a*)	Diospyros sp.	
kō·kan- (*r*) ..	Pajanelia multijuga.	
kón- (*a*)	Diospyros sp.	
kō·rtā·la-	Griffithia longiflora.	
kū·daga-	One of the Rubiaceæ.	
kū·nru-	Dracontomelum sylvestre.	
lē·che-	Lactaria salubris ..	The fruit being large and round is often used as a moving target by being rolled along the ground or down a slope and shot at while in motion.
lō·kera-	Leguminosæ sp.	
lō-gaj- (*a*)	Angiopteris evecta.	
lō·koma-		
mā·chal-	Atalantia sp.	
mai·i- (*x*)	Sterculia (?)	(Burm.) *Ank pauk.*
máng- (*a*) (*b*) (*l*).. ..	Pandanus Andamanensium.	(Hindi.) *Kiora.*
mō·nag-	Mesua ferrea	(Hindi.) *Sāl.* (Burm.) *Gangun.*
mōt-	Heritiera littoralis.	
mū·tcin- (*a*)	Anacardiaceæ.	
ngā·tya- (*a*)	Bruguiera sp.	
ñgā·bēr- (*b*)	Cynas Rumphii.	
nyū·raimo-	Ficus sp. No. 1.	
ō·dag-	Eugenia sp.	
ō·dorma- (*a*)		
ō·li- (*a*)	Ficus (probably macrophylla).	
ō·lma-	.. ..	(Burm.) *Thiousiow.*
ō·ro-	Chickrassia tabularis ..	(Burm.) *Nga·zu.*
ō·ropa- (*a*) (*b*) (*c*) .	Baccaurea sapida ..	(Hindi.) *Khatta phal.* (Burm.) *Kanaso.*
ō·rta-tāt- (*a*) (*g*)	Uvaria micrantha.	
pū- (*b*)	Semecarpus (?)	(Burm.) *Thikadoe.*

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Andamanese name.	Botanical name.	Remarks.
pai'mo-	Clausena (probably Wallichii).	
pai'tla- (*b*)		
pib-	Lagerstromia regina (? hypoleuca)	(Burm.) *Pinn.*
pir-	Leguminosæ sp.	
pi'ra-		
pi'rud-	Gramineæ.	
pi'tag-	Melicoma simplicifolia ..	Leaves sometimes used as aprons by women (*vide di'pala-*). The kernel of the seed is eaten.
pi'dag-		
pi'li- (*a*)	Gnetum scandens.	
pi'taiag-	Memecylon varians	
pi'cha- (*i*)	Diospyros sp.	Bastard ebony, or marble wood (inferior variety).
pi'dga- (*w*)	.. ..	Common cane.
pi'lita-	Gnetum edule	Fibre extensively used (*vide* Appendix B, item 65).
pi'rij-	Afzelia bijuga.	
pi'ti-	Derris scandens.	
pi- (*t*)	Bambusa Andamanica.	
pir- (*a*)	Korthalsia (or Calamosagus) scaphigera.	
pi'rud-	probably Schmidelia glabra	(Burm.) *Kimberlin.*
pi'a-	Bambusa	Used for making the shaft of the turtle spear, and for poling canoes.
pi'lain- (*b*)	.. ..	(Burm.) *Ngi'ra* sp. No. 1.
pi'lin- (*b*)	Mucuna sp.	
pi'lka-	Memecylon (probably capitellatum).	
pi'ta- (*b*)	Nipa fruticans	Dhunny leaf palm.
rd-	Dendrobium secundum.	
rib-	Phœnix sp.	(Hindi.) *Kajúr.*
rir-	Eugenia (?)	(Hindi.) *Chandan.* (Burm.) *Tun-ngim.*
rio-	Ficus laccifera	(Hindi.) *Bargat.* (Burm.) *Ngiau.*
ri'che-	Eugenia sp.	(Burm.) *Mai ámba.*
erg lá'kà chál-	Polyalthia Jenkinsii.	
ri'di-	Bambusa (?)	Used for making the shafts of the *ri'tà-*, *ti'rlid-*, and *tá'lkid* arrows.
rim- (*s*)	Celtis (or Gironniera) ..	(Burm.) *Tiagim.*
ri'toin-	Syzygium Jambolanum.	
tá lunga-tát-	Antitaris calocarpa ..	(Burm.) *Ganqua ngre.*
tá lapa-	Terminalia trilata (?) ..	(Hindi.) *Chéglam.* (Burm.) ? *Ngi'ra* sp. No. 2, or *Kyá na lin.*

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Andamanese name.	Botanical name.	Remarks.
tão-		
tō'pee-	Erycibe coriacea.	
tō'tib- (a) (i)	Croton argyratus (Blyth)	(Burm.) *Chèuse.*
ti-		
tō'kūl-	.. ..	(Burm.) *Kiddaleng.*
tōl-	Amomum dealbatum (or sericeum).	
tōp-	Barringtonia Asiatica.	
tō'ta-	.. ..	(Burm.) *Pyā.*
ūd- (b)	Menispermaceæ.	
ū'dalo-	Pandanus verus.	
ūj- (c)	Tetranthera lanceifolia ..	(*Vide* Appendix B, item 76.)
ūl-	Carapa obovata	(Burm.) *Pralieng.*
ū'tara-	Maranta grandis (or Phrynium grande).	
wai'ya-		
wā'nga-	Pterospermum acerifolium.	
wai'nago-	.. ..	(Hindi.) *Jungli saigon;* (Burm.) *Pinn.*
wī'limo-	Podocarpus polystachia..	(Burm.) *Thit min.*
yā'rla-		
yātig'i-	Rubiaceæ.	
yō'ro-	Sterculia sp.	
yō'lba-	Anodendron paniculatum.	

Additional Notes.

(*a*) Fruit is eaten.
(*b*) Seed is eaten.
(*c*) Heart of the tree is eaten.
(*d*) Pulpy portion of spathe is eaten.
(*e*) Leaf stems used in manufacture of sleeping mats. Leaves used for thatching purposes.
(*f*) Leaves used by women as aprons (*ū'bunga-*); rotten logs used for fuel (see also "Superstitions," para. 8).
(*g*) Stem of this plant used for the frame and handle of the hand-net (*kūd-*) (*vide* Appendix B, item 29).
(*h*) Leaves used for thatching, for screens (*vide* Appendix B, item 74), for bedding, for wrapping round corpse, for packing food for journey, &c., and prior to cooking.
(*i*) Rotten logs used for fuel.
(*j*) Used in manufacture of the foreshaft of the *rā'tā-*, *tī'rlē'd-*, *tō'lbō'd-*, and *chim-* arrows (*vide* Appendix B, items 2, 3, 4, 8), and sometimes also the skewer.
(*k*) Leaves used for thatching and for bedding.
(*l*) Leaves used in the manufacture of articles of personal attire (*vide* Appendix B, items 25 and 28).
(*m*) The middle portion of rotten logs used for torches.
(*n*) Rarely used for making canoes.
(*o*) Used for adzes, sometimes for foreshafts of arrows, and for making children's bows.
(*p*) Leaves used for flooring of huts.
(*q*) Buttress-like slab roots used for making the sounding-boards employed when dancing.

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(*r*) Used for making canoes.
(*s*) Resin used in manufacture of *kâ·ngatá·bŭj-* (*vide* Appendix B, item 62).
(*t*) Used in making the *gŏb-*, *kai-*, and sometimes the *tŏg-* (*vide* Appendix B, items 82, 80, and 10)
(*u*) Generally used for making paddles, and the leaves for bedding.
(*v*) Used for making shaft of hog-spear.
(*w*) Used for making baskets, fastenings of adzes, turtle-spears, torches (*tô·ug-*), and of bundles; also for suspending buckets, for stitching cracks in canoes, and in thatching.
(*x*) Used for making canoes; the resin is employed in making torches.
(*y*) Used for making canoes, pails, and eating trays.

APPENDIX M.

LIST OF SHELLS AND SHELL FISH COMMONLY KNOWN TO THE ANDAMANESE.

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Andamanese name.	Scientific name.[1]	Remarks.
bad[illegible]la- (*a*)	Monodonta (? labeo).	
bad[illegible]la- (*a*)	Delphinula laciniata.	
b[illegible]	Pecten (?) Indica	Scallop.
chá·pata- (*b*)	Pteroceras chiragra	Scorpion shell.
chàu·ga lŏt chŭ·kul-	Murex tribulus.	
chej- (also *chŏ·la-*)	Pinna (? squamosa)	Bouquet-holder shell.
chŭ·d[illegible] (*b*)	Pinna (?)	
cho kot[illegible]	? Conus eburneus.	
c[illegible]rom- (*a*)	Scolymus cornigerus.	
chŏ wai- (*a*)	Tridacna crocea.	
chŭ- (*a*)	Murex (? palma-rosæ)	Rose-bud shell.
è·la-	Perna ephippium.	
gar·en-	Dentalium octogonum.	
gar·en-ó·la- (*a*)	Turbo (?)	Top-shell.
i·na-ó·la- (*a*)	Nassa (? tœnia)	Dog-whelk.
jar·awa·[illegible]la- (*a*)	Purpura Persica.	
ji·rka-ŭ-	Cyrena (?)	
jŏ·rol- (*b*)	Cerithidea telescopium.	
jŭ·ru·wan lŏ·kà bang-	Solen vagina	Razor-fish.
kâ·mrŭj-	Trochus (? obeliscus).	
kâ·rada-	Arca granosa.	
kô·nop- (*a*)	Tridacna squamosa.	
lŭ·do-	Turbo marmoratus	Is eaten by the *bal·awa-* tribe only.
lŭ·ta- (*a*)	Cassis glaucus	Helmet-shell.
mal·to- (*a*)	Venus (?)	
mâ·ved- (*a*)	Venus meroë	Pattern-shot Venus.
mâ·reno- (*a*)	Patella variabilis	Rock-limpet.

[1] To the Rev. T. L. J. Warneford, formerly chaplain at the Andamans, I am indebted for the classical names of many of the shells in this list.

(*a*) denotes those that are cooked and eaten.

(*b*) denotes those that are cooked and eaten by *married* persons only.

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Andamanese name.	Scientific name.	Remarks.
nyē·red-	Mitra adusta	Mitre-shell.
ō·do-	Nautilus (? zic-zac).	
ō·la- (*a*)	Ceritbium (? nodulosum).	
ō·log-	Strombus (? pugilis).	
pai·dek- (*a*)	Arca (? barbata).	
pail- (*b*)	Mytilus smaragdinus ..	Sea-mussel.
pai·lta- (*b*)	Pharus (?)	
pāp-ō·la- (*a*)	Turbo porphyreticus.	
pē·te- (*a*)	Circe (?)	
pō·rma- (*a*)	Arca (?)	
pū·luga làr ā·lang- ..	Dolium latelabris (? also galea).	
rē·keto-	Hemicardium unedo.	
rō·kta- (*b*)	Cyrena (?)	
tā·ra-ō·la- (*a*)	Natica albumen.	
tai·lig-pū·nur-	Conus (? nobilis).	
teb- (*a*)	Bulla naucum	Bubble-shell.
tē·lim-	Cypræa Arabica	Cowry.
"	" Mauritiana.	
"	" Talpa.	
"	" Tigris.	
"	" Vitellus	
til-	Cassis Madagascariensis (? also tuberosa)	Queen-conch.
tòi·ña-	Ostrea (?)	Eaten many years ago but not now.
tū·a- (*a*)	Trochus Niloticus.	
ū- (*a*)	Cyrena (?)	
ū·chup-	Conus textile	Cone shell.
ū·yo-	? Turbinella pyrum, *or* Pyrula (? ficus)	Shank shell.
wal- (*b*)	Spondylus (?)	Thorny oyster.
wā·ngata- (*a*)	Arca (? granosa).	
wōp- (*b*)	Ostrea (?)	Oyster.
yā·dī làr ē·te- (*a*) ..	Haliotis glabra (*also* " asininus)	Ear-shell.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

164 do they suffer from the eye infections that are so common in the tropics. Their
151 highly trained eye can distinguish at a great distance small vessels on the troubled waters of the sea that people with normal eyesight could not perceive without a telescope. Normal vision, I suppose, is the same for the entire human
123 race ; but we exercise our eyesight less. In the dark fastness of the jungle, the
151 Onge were able to point out birds sitting motionless high up in the trees, quite invisible to me notwithstanding my experience in collecting even the tiniest specimens. With their sharp eyes they sought out for me a collection of minute mimetic amphibians living far from the ground on tree trunks, previously unknown to science. The same thing often happened when I was unable to see as far as they did. The help of my savage friends was invaluable in avoiding the poisonous snakes that we met with daily in our camps or while travelling. For our protection, the Onge always marched in front of my men. They could discern reptiles hanging from branches among thick foliage, waiting to bite us on the neck, or lying perfectly still in the tall grass, ready to attack our legs. The only trouble we had with snakes was when the men I had brought from India, in moments of enthusiasm ran ahead into the interior of the jungle, eluding their Onge vanguard.

752 The Onge themselves, however, are sometimes bitten by snakes, with
123 dire consequences. Happily the Andamanese snakes are less deadly than the
[136] same species on the continent, and few deaths occur from snake bite ; but it can curtail a man's activity for several months. In March 1953 an Onge friend
[222] of about 25 who had climbed a tall tree to collect honey, inadvertently seized with his left hand a snake concealed in a tuft of creepers, and was bitten above the elbow. Frightful swelling ensued, together with shooting pains and a raging fever. The man was brought to me unconscious, his left arm had already assumed the appearance of a huge, rigid, elongated sausage. The Onge had smeared all his body, and particularly the wounded arm, with ochre mixed with honey, turtle fat and rough clay. They have no specific remedy for snake bite. It was too late, but in an attempt to save the patient an antiophidic injection was practiced on him. Within a few hours he appeared to rally. I saw him again after eleven days ; his arm had been treated in the Onge way and put in a sling made of ficus bark cut into narrow strips. Fever had disappeared, and in part also the swelling, so he could move his elbow a little. The skin peeled off the whole length of the arm. Where the fangs had entered the flesh two round, red, suppurating wounds, 1 cm in diameter, were discernible under a layer of clay and honey. The man recovered in about two months. During his
476 illness the people who shared his communal hut exempted him, his wife and his children from all work, and supplied them with all requirements. This occurs in every case of illness, showing the complete solidarity that prevails among those simple people once considered ferocious. Always, if the wife is ill, the husband is automatically relieved of his hunting, fishing and food-collecting duties. Friends provide food for the family, no matter how many the members thereof.

164 In Little Andaman, we Europeans are constantly threatened with mala-
143 ria. Should we fail to take all necessary precautions we would catch it upon setting foot on the island. The Onge are all infected, but it does not upset

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

simultaneously with it a successful all-round regional development of the islands. 563 648

The resources of the islands having a small areal extent are very limited though the forest and sea products are fairly rich to deserve special mention. The presence of a variety of valuable species of timber in these islands has led to their exploitation since the development of the Penal settlement. The important species of timber found in the Andaman forests are padauk, garjan etc. In the previous decades, the forest exploitation was never associated with a commensurate amount of forest regeneration. Such policies are being followed at present for saving the forest resources from ruthless exploitation without any adequate means of ensuring a perennial supply of timber by systematic regeneration. The recent colonisation scheme has invoked the enquiry for the clearance of the forests. Andaman forests being rich in timber and also being the only major revenue earning source of the islands should by no means be ruthlessly cleared for settlement. Not only it depletes the forest resources but also degenerates the soil—the soil erosion being the immediate victim after such clearance of forests. Considering the primary importance of the forest resources of the islands, it seems to be a plausible agreement that at least 50% of the land should be reserved under forest cover and a further curtailment from this percentage will undoubtedly lead to serious consequences of the soil simultaneously with a great decrease in the resources of the islands. 313

The sea products range from a wide variety of products from sea shells to sea fisheries. The collection of sea shells is in vogue from a fairly long time and the sea fisheries, mostly being confined to the coastal areas, is conducted by the fishermen and the tribal people for their own consumption. There is a good deal of possibility for furthering the development of marine fisheries on a commercial scale but the lack of enterprise and capital investment has not given rise to any appreciable development. The only two enterprises of the fisheries are those of Trochus and Turbo shells by the Japanese during 1930-36 and another enterprise by a business concern in 1947. Even the present catch from the coastal areas amount to only 300 lbs., a considerable lag from the demand within the islands. 226 228

The means of earning livelihood in the islands were hunting and collecting by the aboriginal population who have not even to-day learnt the techniques of domesticating plants and also animals except the Onges who have domesticated the dogs very recently. The penal settlement and the subsequent expansion of the administrative seat at Port Blair 222 224 231 563 241

to them that I was able to find the various amphibia which subsequently proved to be new species. They know poisonous and non-poisonous snakes by sight and how to avoid being bitten. They could tell me which trees flowered and when, because they knew this affected the whereabouts and the quality of the honey, and they knew which flowers and roots had medicinal properties. The necessity, in accordance with their superstitions, of keeping their prey alive as long as possible has also given them a somewhat gruesome knowledge of anatomy and physiology. The call of food has also made them weather experts; they know which air currents and winds bring what animals, or cause them to vanish, and what game is likely to haunt what terrain. They could tell me where to find certain fish, or crustacea, or where certain roots or fruit in season were to be found.

The striking feature of their knowledge was that it did not merely relate to what was edible or inedible. Amphibia, reptiles and birds for example, they never eat under any circumstances; but they knew where to find them all for me, and they knew the bird migrations and how these related to the movements of the marine fauna.

Providentially, the exactitude of the Onges' botanical and zoological knowledge is matched by the magnitude of their superstitious fears. Were it not for this all the edible vegetation on the islands would have disappeared long ago as a result of their incredibly thoughtless destruction. The effect, therefore, is almost that of a purely involuntary, embryonic form of 'agriculture', contrasting strangely with their persisting, persistent and complete lack of interest in any formal care, however primitive. The Onges believe that the plants which produce edible roots and tubers belong to a spirit related to Eiuga, whose anger is aroused if he sees his plants being taken; his vengeance is quick and terrible.

There are on Little Andaman a number of creepers with edible fleshy roots, sometimes as thick as a man's wrist, sticking out horizontally at least fifty to sixty centimetres from the main stem, only just below the surface. They invariably grow in light soil, where there are no rocks, and are very easy for the Onges to reach with their digging sticks. These and the yams, sometimes as big as a football, which are to be found everywhere, the Onges have to steal from the spirit who owns them. The creepers themselves,

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

222 784 776 824 twining up into the trees, and the shorter-stemmed yams, are never disturbed. The Onges merely dig down, at a respectful distance from the plant, certain of finding what they want. On no account must there be any signs of the theft for the spirit to see, so they quietly take off roots or tubers some way from the main stem and leave the rest, patting the earth down afterwards and covering the place with leaves. The guardian spirit, not, apparently, all-seeing, notices nothing, as the plant continues to flourish, improved by the root pruning. Everyone, guardian spirit and Onges alike, is happy.

[185] [114] This unconscious preservation may well be the result of a decree, in some remote past, by an Onge seer who realized the danger of killing off the entire plants and invented the guardian spirits as a deterrent. The Negritos still make similar use of roots and tubers; [171] Skeet and Blagden fifty years ago referred to the Semang eating poisonous wild yams, having removed the toxic substances.[1]

241 174 It is interesting that both in the past and even today a number of peoples at a very early stage of cultural development have progressed from the gathering of the wild yams of South-East Asia to the first signs of cultivation and agriculture. It is possible that they were the first plants ever to be cultivated by primitive Man, the Negritos with their digging sticks delving then as they do now; the genus is certainly a very ancient one, and some species, such as *Dioscorea alata*, may have spread from Asia to Africa and Oceania, and even to America, with the beginning of cultivation. But this is a stage of development which the peoples of the Andaman never reached.

412 [177] [222] The digging stick, the only implement the Onges have with which to get at the roots and tubers, has in recent times been affected, though to a very limited extent by the spread of iron. Only a few individuals possess a primitive iron tool, half a metre long, cylindrical in shape and usually not more than one and a half centimetres in diameter and flattened into a form of blade at one end. The vast majority still have only the age-old stick made of hard wood, hardly recognizable as a tool and crudely fashioned into a point at one end. This tool, so primitive that it can easily be mistaken for an odd

[1] It is interesting that the American Aborigines, especially in Brazil, do the same with manioc, but I saw nothing of this nature in the Andamans.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

This tool, so primitive that it can easily be mistaken for an old piece of wood, has definite uses, and none of the nomadic forest peoples anywhere in the world are without it. Everywhere it is found it is effective in filling huge baskets with food – baskets equally simply and equally quickly made. I have already described (see p. 93) the baskets made by the Onges for purely temporary use on their hunting expeditions. In the communal huts, however, the making of real baskets involves hours of careful plaiting, working the supple fibres from the strong bark of selected rushes, and expert finishing. These baskets are an invariable and prized part of every family's inheritance and are preserved for as long as possible. Nowhere in the collection of basketry from Great Andaman are there baskets with more craftsmanship than the permanent ones of the Onges.[1] All the baskets are the shape of half an egg. There is little variation in size, all being about forty centimetres in diameter at the top, and about forty-five centimetres deep, unlike the temporary carriers, which vary considerably in size, according to whether they are to be carried by men, women, or even children, and what is to be carried.

At the opposite extreme from the underground harvest of roots, men and women alike use long thin hooked poles to hook down fruit from the trees, climbing up into the trees when necessary to strip the highest branches and then hiding the poles in the forest until they are next required (no attempt is ever made to carry them about). When the tree is not too large, it is ruthlessly chopped down and stripped as it lies on the ground. I was horrified in the first fortnight of April to see this happen to trees which the Onges call *danghecciò*, which bear blackish-red fruit about the size of a pigeon's egg. The attraction is the flavour of the pulp, but there is little of it, surrounding a large nut. To get at the pulp a thick, hard case has to be cracked, but to the formidable Onge teeth this is no problem and the case cracks comparatively easily. The nut itself is not edible; the honey-coloured pulp is sweetish, but there is so little that it takes ten fruits to provide ten grams of it. The fruits hang in bunches at the end of branches covered with leaves rather like a chestnut. As the wood is very soft, the Onges usually hack the trees down; large ones may merely have their branches lopped

[1] Editor's note: The author indicated in manuscript at this point his intention of giving a full description of the way in which these are made, but unfortunately died before he was able to do so.

222 off, so that they may eventually recover, although they may take several years to do so.

The fruit they gather most, however, is the *bulundanghe*, a wild form of the so-called jack-fruit. This ripens a little later than the *dangheccio* at the end of April, and is the occasion of intense activity. Men, women and children swarm to the harvest, returning to the camp loaded every night. When fully ripe the *bulundanghe* fall open if rubbed between the fingers. I found the pulp very pleasant, but the seeds need the Onge stomach to cope with them. They would [185] in fact be suitable for storage over long periods as they do not seem to deteriorate, but the Onges would never think of this.

At no other time of year did I see so many baskets lying round the Onge camps, cast aside after use. As early as mid-March, impatient for the fruit, bitter but already fully grown to the size of a child's head, the Onges begin to strip the trees. When fully ripe the fruit are a yellowish-green, with a very wrinkled outer case, marked off as it were into tiny compartments, geometrical in shape, and mostly pentagonal. If one presses a finger on one of these it goes through into the fruit, which has the appearance of innumerable tiny cells, all separated by a membrane, each terminating in a seed at the central core of the fruit. The cells are an orange-yellow on the surface, becoming a very pale yellow inside when the pulp becomes softer. The seeds are covered by a sweetish orange skin, and are arranged regularly along the core, which is itself an extension of the stout, woody stalk.

The best parts to eat are the seeds and their sweetish skin. When the fruits are still unripe, sour, and hard, enormous quantities have to be gathered and carried to the camp where they are boiled until they are soft enough to open. The seeds are taken out and all the rest of the fruit is thrown away. When properly ripe, on the other hand, the seeds in their skins can be extracted on the spot, leaving the weight of the useless residue behind, lying in heaps under the tree. For eating, the skins are slit open with a *Cyrena* shell, the seeds [252] extracted, and the skins and seeds piled up separately on huge leaves. The leaves are then tied up with the usual cords of vegetable fibres, and the bags laid on hot ashes. The skins turn into a sticky paste, not bad tasting, and the roasted seeds are greatly improved to our taste, though still very indigestible.

[262] In April and May the Onges eat *bulundanghe* morning, noon and

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

night. Everything else stops. *Bulundanghe* are food enough, and even honey is left for the future; there will be larvae, and bees, and nests to come. Life is good!

Later come the large, heavy *Pandanus* (*Mane* to the Onges) but they are far less important. The whole fruit has hardly any smell, but immediately it is open it smells rather like a pineapple. The separate segments, actually carpals, each in its own skin, pineapple-coloured on the outside shading to a pale yellow, can be picked off one by one. Each carpal is rather like a pyramid, with the top towards the centre of the fruit, the base towards the outside, wrinkled and divided into cellules each containing an ovule. The edible part of the fruit is very small. In the Nicobars, where the huge cultivated variety can weigh anything up to two kilos, the women spend hours passing a string through and through the heavy sphere of orange pulp to comb out the short bristly fibres which damage the stomach. The Onges are not interested in such niceties! The smaller wild fruit is merely broken into pieces, ready for chewing. The result of all the chewing is hardly worth the effort; there is taste, and there is smell, but the food value is very small indeed, and even the Onges seem to realize it.

Much better are the *giogbene*, which ripen in February, and the *ghine* in mid-March. The *giogbene* are soft, red fruit, the size of a cherry but rather less rounded, hanging in bunches from the trunk and the larger branches of the tree. The green seed sprouts out of the end of the fruit, like a large bean, but is not eaten; the Onges cut it off, and eat only the pulpy fruit, raw. They love to make necklaces, twining the fruits with slender fibres into long garlands, even making some for me when I was with them, and return to the camp every night with long ropes hanging round their necks and from their arms.

Ghine are very different. From the outside they look like small medlars, covered with a leathery skin which is easy to crack off with one's teeth. The fruit itself has three segments, and is rather gelatinous, a little sour, but quite edible. The Indians with me liked them very much and ate so many that they developed severe indigestion – unlike the Onges, who ate far more with no ill effects.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

less plentiful and containing a great deal of wax, and is greatly prized by the Onges. The darker bees, common in China, Celebes, Borneo and beyond, build their nests in cavities in the rocks, or in tree-trunks. Their honey, darker and with less wax, is more plentiful, but not so fine; when there is enough of the golden honey the Onges ignore the darker variety.

Few of the fruits on Little Andaman contain much sugar, but the Onges eat more than enough honey to compensate any deficiency that would otherwise occur. Whatever the fruit in season, men, women and children climb happily about like acrobats, hanging in the trees to get at it and the honey that goes with it. To chop the tree down is, of course, easiest and the obvious first choice for any Onge. Failing this, and their hooked poles, they climb up the nearby lianas into the branches, or walk up the trunk – an easy feat for them with their very long arms and almost prehensile toes.

Although there are arak nuts and betel leaves in the forest, the Onges ignore them. They are the same variety as elsewhere; *Areca catechu* and *Piper betel*. The Nicobarese are so addicted to them that many have lips and teeth hideously deformed as a result, but this is quite unknown among the Onges, contrary to earlier reports. The appearance of addiction in the Nicobars may have occurred after the separation of the peoples.

With all these fruits the Onges consume vast quantities of honey from the two species of bee, *dorsata* and *nigrocinta*. During the rainy season they can only get at the darker, poorer honey of *nigrocinta*, which builds nests under boulders or in crevices of trees or rocks. The Onges' real honey orgies occur, therefore, in the dry season, when the honey birds (Indicationidae), common in Africa and all over Asia, lead them to the trees where the golden honey of *dorsata* is hidden.

When one of the Onges finds a nest of bees he puts a mark on the rock or tree as a sign of ownership. None of the others would then dare to take possession of it, for fear of punishment by the group,[1] but when the time comes to take the honey everyone helps in the hard work of getting at the nest and opening it up. On one trip from Labanar to Togalanghe, on 19 March 1954, the Onges pointed out over twenty *Nigrocinta* nests to me, all reserved ready for use

[1] However deep in the forest a crime is committed, it will inevitably be discovered in the end, and punished by banishment from the community.

222 [423] when the supply of *dorsata* diminished at the onset of the stormy season, when the gales lashing the branches dislodge the nests and hurl them to the ground.

Unlike the beekeepers of the civilized world, the Onges make no attempt to protect their bare bodies while they are extracting honey. Yet they are never stung, and watching them one felt in the presence of some age-old mystery, lost by the civilized world. I watched an Onge from the ground with my field glasses as he climbed up a tree to a *dorsata* nest and saw him, as it were, blowing on the bees round about the trunk as he went up. As he approached the nest they huddled round it in a protective cloud, hiding it completely from view. Suddenly, as the Onge's face came within twenty centimetres of the boiling, humming mass, the bees seemed to shrink back as he blew on them. Not one moved to attack as he gouged out the combs with his bare hands, throwing handfuls of bees out into the air. And then the whole cloud of bees gathered into a swarm and left the tree and the nest to the interloper.

The Onge stripped lengths of green bark from the lianas growing [283] up the tree, and then broke the nest up. Tying the combs to his back with the strips of bark he lowered himself down to the ground, 222 swinging like an ape from liana to liana. There, while his friends 515 fell on the honey, he calmly cleaned himself down – with not one sting on him. This he did in a way unusual for the Onges, filling his mouth with water from a nearby pond and squirting it into his cupped hands, until he had enough in his hands for a perfunctory rub down. This method of washing is common in primitive peoples but advanced for the Onges. When they have been painting themselves with the usual fat and ochre paste, for example, the women will clean their hands to their satisfaction by wiping them on their *naquineghe*, while the men use the dogs' coats as a convenient towel.

222 In March 1952, in the middle of the honey season, I was on the west coast of Little Andaman, near Nachuge. Twelve Onges were with me, and when they noticed a bees' nest high up in a *Pterocarpus* the youngest of them at once climbed up after it. As soon as he saw that the combs were full of honey, with no larvae, he called for a [283] container. With amazing speed he tore enough bark off the nearest liana with his teeth to make a cord over twenty metres long and the hollowed-out log was soon hauled up, to come down again crammed with combs brimming with pale golden honey, very

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

sweet, and delicately flower-scented. No one waited for the climber to reach the ground. With my men and the Onges the party numbered twenty-two in all, every one of them hungry. The log was thirty centimetres across, and besides the combs there was a good four inches of honey in the bottom, but even so I only managed to set aside two litres for the man who did all the work, before the combs had all disappeared and the remaining liquid as well. The whole lot was gone in a matter of minutes.

What puzzled me was how the bees were quietened. I knew from personal observation that both the varieties of bee on Little Andaman could and did sting badly, and I knew that the Onges I had watched had done nothing deliberately to avoid stings.

In Man, the olfactory sense can detect minute amounts of iodoform, for example, but we are completely insensitive to other substances strongly repellent to flies, mosquitoes and other insects. Some similar mechanism must also operate in the case of bees. The Onges cannot understand anything of this, but they must possess some age-old, almost intuitive and innate knowledge, which they apply unconsciously. At some time someone must have found that the juice of a certain plant they call *tonjoghe*, apparently inodorous, has the power of deterring bees, and this knowledge, handed down from generation to generation, is applied with delightful simplicity.

In the forests of Little Andaman there are bushes of *tonjoghe* everywhere, and the Onge who is to go after the honey simply grabs a handful of the leaves and stuffs them into his mouth. With some vigorous chewing they are quickly reduced to a greenish pulp, which is smeared all over the body, particularly the hair. Another huge mouthful chewed on the way up and spat at the bees to make quite sure that they will be deterred even to the point of failing to attack the unsmeared bystanders. I have myself tried the leaves, and like the Onges found them quite tasteless and odourless. The Onges say that the 'magic' was revealed by a seer, and it is a curious fact that of all the luxuriant vegetation on the island only this one plant is effective.

I am unfortunately not in a position to say definitely to what species *tonjoghe* belongs. I took some plants to Port Blair, where they were planted in the Governor's garden; unfortunately before they could flower the then Governor left, and a new gardener

thought they were weeds and pulled them up. I never managed to see the plant in flower in the wild state, as this occurs at the height of the rainy season, and as no final definition is possible in the absence of the flower it remains unidentified.

The Onges take full advantage of the plant's properties as a bee-deterrent and in mid-March they eat honey, paint themselves, and dance, twenty-four hours a day. During these orgies I have seen a group of about sixty Onges demolish in a few days ten pigs and a dozen large, wooden vessels full of honey, with basket after basket of fish, caught every night by the women, who were apparently not in the least tired by the long daily treks into the forest after the honey. I can never look back on the Onges without a feeling of profound respect for their powers of digestion!

Yet another source of food for the islanders is the cicada. On Little Andaman there are a few species a little larger than the European variety and others rather smaller. The Onges collect the pupae as they emerge from the ground, usually in the mornings, and roast them as a great treat. They are actually very clean insects, which develop slowly under the earth over a period of years sucking lymph from the roots of the trees. When they emerge from the ground the pupae become leathery, but this presents no problem to the indomitable teeth of the Onges. Inside the cicada chrysalids are a mass of delicate tissues, so white and clean that one can understand the Onges' predilection for them.

On Little Andaman the cicadas chirp intermittently, with long silences; most of the day one hears nothing of them and when they suddenly start up the Onges fall absolutely quiet, terrified of frightening them away and losing their chrysalids.[1] In a few moments the whole forest suddenly echoes with a chorus of cicadas, as they all start up as one and then, a minute later, fall silent. Their intermittent chirping is not confined to the Andamans; it is a feature of several species throughout southern Asia. At Golpahar when I was in the middle of the forest excavating kitchen-middens I heard cicadas start up every day at 6.30 p.m., and then stop until the following day. In the mountains of South India, on the slopes

[1] The Onges do not seem to share the superstitions reported by Man and Brown among the Arioto, who appear to believe in fantastic connections between cicadas, the sun, and storms.

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of Pushpaghiri ('mountain of the flowers'), I saw workmen using the cicadas to mark the end of their shift, so regular were they in starting up. The whole valley echoed with their chirping for three minutes, and promptly at the signal everyone stopped work. 825 136

As well as cicada chrysalids, the Onges love the white larvae of the long-horned grasshoppers (Tettigonidae) which are common all over the island. They are the size of a man's finger and the larvae, like those of the cicadas, feed exclusively on vegetable matter and are very tasty. I have watched the Onges collecting them and managed to see something of the life cycle of the Longhorns. Both the larvae and the chrysalids live in cylindrical holes in trees, which the larvae bore out by eating at the wood. Before turning into a chrysalis the larva prepares the way out for the adult insect, which is less well adapted for gnawing. The chrysalids themselves seem determined to take up as little space as possible; as in all the Longhorns the future elytra are clearly visible on the creature's back, with the membranous wings, and the three pairs of legs are always curled up, with the first and second pairs very close to each other. The third pair is further away, clearly so as to balance the embryonic antennae. These are very long and spring from the sides of the head, passing down on either side of the thorax, between the first and second pairs of legs, to finish neatly coiled in front of the thorax, touching the elytra and the second pair of legs. Curled up like this into two or three coils, according to sex, the thread-like, whitish antennae look like intestinal worms inside the chrysalids. Each pair of legs lies motionless against the thorax, the feet touching in a precise line down the centre of the body. When the creature wakes from its long sleep, all the parts unfold, and the elytra and other external parts harden and colour according to the species. A new stage in the life cycle, shorter but more intense, has begun. [262] [222] 136

The Onges are not interested in the mole-crickets, but I found them fascinating. It is known that animals can find their nests or their usual haunts even if they are moved quite considerable distances away and deliberately confused, but the mechanism is not yet fully understood. It is likely that the same mechanism operates whether in the air, or on the ground, or below ground. The mole-cricket, for example digs long galleries underground and does not often come out into the open. The galleries are interconnected,

build it (when I wanted to acquire two for the new anthropological museum at Port Blair and the Indian Museum in Calcutta I had to bargain with the men recognized as the owners, although the price had to be distributed among all the members of the group).

The chief delight of the men on their fishing trips is the capture of a Giant Turtle. I have already described (p. 88) the spear harpoons which the Onges use to catch them. Once caught, the wretched animals are subjected to a form of vivisection utterly incomprehensible to the Western mind; they are literally cut up alive and the pieces thrown into the boiling cooking-pot. Nor have I ever witnessed anything so terrible as the way in which the Onges, in the absence of any suitable cooking vessel, or the materials for an earth oven, roast these turtles whole and alive over a slow fire. They seem totally unable to realize that animals can feel pain and laugh like children at the other atrocious tortures they unwittingly inflict not only on the turtles, but on every living thing that falls into their hands.

These marine turtles (as far as I was able to see there were no land turtles in the Andamans) yield a far greater amount of food than the dugong, and provide the islanders with both meat and eggs. Two species are common in the seas round the islands, *Chelonia virgata*, or the green turtle, and *Caretta imbricata*, which supplies the shells normally sold commercially. The Onges prefer the former, which are both meaty and more plentiful.

Turtle-hunting and egg-collecting is done by the menfolk. The method is very like that used for dugong and large fish, using the harpoon. Owing to their fear of the spirits abroad in the night, the Onges never go near the beaches between dusk and dawn, when it would be easy to take the turtles on land and immobilize them by turning them on their backs. They do know this trick, however, and use it when captured turtles (often weighing up to a hundredweight) are too heavy to carry in the canoe; the animals are turned on their backs and dumped on the beach ready to pick up later.

The Onges harpoon the turtles from canoes, preferably at night when the turtles are nearing the shore, which they never approach in the day time. When there is a moon the creatures are easily seen, and on dark nights the phosphorescence of the sea helps.

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225 turning the turtle over on its back as soon as it is landed, and then blinding the wretched creature by putting both eyes out with a sharp stick, so that it cannot escape even if it manages to right itself.

● 222 Turtle eggs are easy to find. Before laying them in the sand about one metre deep, the turtle makes several visits about a fortnight beforehand to choose the spot. The huge footprints she leaves in the sand are easily seen, and watch is kept on the spot. When the Onges know roughly where to look they know that by poking in the sand with a stick they must in the end find the eggs. As one man, and happy as sandboys, they dig in the sand, lower and lower, till the sight of the first egg is greeted with a shout of triumph. One by one the eggs emerge to fill the baskets, hastily improvised and lined with great leaves.

The female may actually be seen depositing the eggs, up to two hundred at a time. Some will be infertile, and are smaller, with no yolk, but normally they are the size and shape of a billiard ball, deposited one after another at the rate of ten a minute. As they are laid a viscous secretion flows over them so that the sand sticks to them. As it dries, however, the sand can be rubbed off the shells, which are not rigid and resemble a shining white parchment; on each egg is a tiny round indentation, which increases in size within two or three days and makes the egg look as though it has shrivelled in the sun. In fact, the eggs will not hatch unless they remain buried deep in the sand.

136 222 Not more than half the turtle eggs laid in the Andamans hatch out into young turtles, so eager for them are man and beast alike. Man is their worst enemy, and it is no exaggeration to say that no clutch laid on Little Andaman has any hope of hatching. Man and animals alike range the beaches in search of the delicacy. First come the pigs, so greedy that if they come upon a female in the act of laying they give her no time even to cover the eggs. Then come the monitors, voracious lizards two metres long, and on the east coast near Nachuge, huge crocodiles as well. Finally, *Paradoxurus*, the wild cat of the Andamans, takes anything that is left.

The Onges have to compete with all these for turtle eggs, and they are nearly always too late. They have to look instead to the 136 deserted islands, like the nearby South and North Brother. Here the young turtles have some chance of hatching, but as soon as they

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metres in diameter. They are now used for the holy water in the new church of San Piero in Palco, in Florence, like those in the church of St Sulpice in Paris. Two valves of *T. gigas*, rather smaller, are being used for the same purpose in the church of Marco Polo in Viareggio.

Among the creatures the Onges hunt on the shores are crayfish, which can be taken in plenty in the streams of Little Andaman, although I found none on Great Andaman or in the Nicobars. As they were so common I assumed they were a known species and did not bother to collect any. In Madras, however, an expert on freshwater crustacea, Sri Sada Siva, told me that this appeared to be a new species and it would be well worth while returning to Little Andaman to collect further specimens, as the few I had brought are now lost. There are tens of thousands of them everywhere.

These freshwater crayfish are so tasty that they have entered into Onge folklore, and their tastiness is praised in song. They are baked on burning embers, without salt, as always, and just the charred shell is removed before they are eaten. The clean fresh water in which they live prevents any taint in the flavour. I must confess to having eaten them every day without realizing their importance as a possible new species. They are fairly large, about fifteen centimetres long, and almost black, in natural imitation of the dark rocks among which they try to vanish out of sight, although the Onges never fail to spot them. The males have slender pereiopods, with claws almost twice as long as the whole body; these the creatures thrust out before them, and so slender are they that it is difficult to catch a male with both pereiopods intact. After hatching, the young, which are identical with the adults as soon as they hatch and can therefore be sexed by the presence and absence of pereiopods, cling bunched together for several weeks, attached by their claws to their mother's swimmerets before making their way into the troubled waters of the rivers, where the great carp are waiting to prey on them.

Yet another freshwater creature eagerly sought by the Onges is one that is almost black in colour, a strange survival of some remote geological era. Like other members of the family it has no scales, and the mouth, armed with teeth, is not protractile. On Little Andaman I saw several specimens weighing over a kilogram, and

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136 many smaller ones, all good to eat. Near my base camp at Labanar,
[222] the men caught sackfuls of them, and I found young ones near the communal hut at Togalanghe.

There a rocky path winds down to the banks of the river Tciongarè (or Chongarec) to the south of the camp. In various places, where the path levels out, black muddy water collects into pools full of rotting leaves, lying on a bed of ooze and slime. In these pools, which appear and dry up again very quickly, I was surprised to catch a number of *silurides*. When it rains heavily, however, the pools link and join up with the river where the fish live, so that as the water disappears again any fish which have entered the pools are prevented from returning to the river, and are left lying in the slime as the water evaporates. These silurides have no gills, and are equipped instead with nostrils of an unusual type; from the nostrils protrude two cylindrical tubes, half a centimetre long in fish fifteen centimetres long, the same blackish colour as the rest of the body. The tail and the long dorsal fin are yellowish, and the long ventral fin running from the anus to the tail is whitish. There are two large lateral pectoral fins, with two very small ones between them. The eyes are large, starting out of the head like tiny glass domes. Very unfortunately a number of specimens which I had most carefully preserved were lost in transit from Port Blair to Calcutta, when some of my baggage, including the crabs and a collection of face masks of Nicobarese which had cost me a great deal of trouble, mysteriously disappeared *en route*.

136 The Onges do not eat eels,[1] which they regard as snakes, but they
262 several times brought me examples of a very fine freshwater eel
226 whose presence on Little Andaman I had not suspected. The Onges caught them, as they do all fish, with their bows and arrows. All weighed over half a kilogram and looked and tasted like European eels.

136 The eel of the Andamans, like those of Europe and America, has a long, almost cylindrical body and a single fin which begins on the back, circles the tail, and ends under the body just in front of the anus. There is also a pair of strong pectoral fins. The head distinguishes it from other eels, its rounded snout and wide mouth being

[184] [1] The Arioto, however, eat eels, and also mice and other small animals, although food is given to them by the Governor in return for police duties. Brown also refers to the eating of snakes and mice on Great Andaman.

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their love of existing with as little effort as possible is paramount. Since any wood is as good as the next for making a fire, the spirits conveniently have nothing to say in the matter. In other circumstances material considerations lead to quite the opposite effect: when the Onges dig up roots or tubers they not only replace the earth, but cover the place with leaves, the ritual having the good practical objective of appeasing the spirits and ensuring further supplies.

The preservation of skulls for magical purposes or out of pure superstition survives mainly in Asia and Oceania. In Asia it coincides with other beliefs which demand the killing of domestic animals by strangulation. I have seen this practised along the high reaches of the valley of the Brahmaputra, particularly among the Abor, and the Nagas, and in many other tribes to the south of Tibet and China, all of whom preserve skulls. Head-hunting, found throughout southern Asia, in the islands, and as far as Oceania, is also practised in the areas where animal skulls are preserved.

The preservation of animal skulls, particularly bear skulls, is still practised in mongoloid peoples as far as the north of Asia; apart from the Andamans and the Nicobars, human and animal bones are preserved in many parts of Indonesia and as far as New Guinea. In the corona of small islands along the west coast of Sumatra the custom coincides with many others, as well as with certain types of huts and canoes, all present in the Andamans and Nicobars. A good example are the huts raised up off the ground on stilts, common in the Nicobars, Nias, Engano, Mentawai and various parts of Indonesia. The single-boom canoes of these areas, quite apart from their general similarity of structure, all have certain identical features, even to the method of fixing the lateral float of green wood, with pointed hardwood pegs stuck in it like spills. This, again, cannot be due to chance; it must be the effect of a very ancient cultural diffusion, now surviving only in a few specific areas.

The skulls preserved by the Onges have one point of interest; it is the duty of the wife to clean the trophies brought back by her proud husband and then paint them lovingly with lines of ochre. After every successful hunting expedition the wives can be seen busily painting, while the husbands look on with satisfaction.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

512 until they come upon the animal feeding. In former days much
224 skill was required to creep noiselessly through the jungle until they were sufficiently near either to discharge an arrow, or, if the jungle were more open, to rush in upon the animal shouting and shoot it before it could escape. At the present day it is the dogs that scent out the pig and bring it to bay, when the natives shoot it with their arrows.

512 When a pig has been killed it may be tied up and carried to the camp on the shoulders of one of the hunters, or a fire may
252 be lighted then and there and the pig eviscerated and roasted. A cut is made in the abdomen and the viscera removed. The cavity is filled with leaves, the joints of the legs are half severed and the carcase is placed on the fire and turned over and shifted until every part is evenly roasted. It is then removed from the fire, the burnt skin is scraped clean and the meat is cut up. Meanwhile the intestines or some of the internal organs are cooked and eaten by the hunters. The meat is tied up in leaves and is carried to the camp. If the pig be carried home whole the process of roasting it and cutting it up is performed in exactly the same way at the public cooking place of the camp, the meat being distributed only after it has been thus partially cooked.

512 If the hunting party should come across a civet cat (*Paradoxurus*) or a monitor lizard they would endeavour to kill
223 it[1], but the main object of every hunting party is to obtain pork. Snakes and even rats are killed and eaten. Birds, though plentiful in the islands, are not often obtained, for the density of the jungle and the height of the trees in which the birds conceal themselves, make it very difficult for the natives to shoot them with their bows and arrows. A man does not care to risk the loss of his arrow in a chance shot at a bird. The Andamanese do not trap either birds or animals, though some of the birds, particularly the rail, might be very easily caught in traps.

512 As the hunting party traverses the forest they may come across roots or fruits or seeds, or wild honey, and these are
222 collected and carried home. In the rainy season only small

[1] They are only eaten in the rainy season.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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adjoining mainland were called *Tarotọlo koloko*. When a man was asked to what part of the country he belonged he would generally answer by mentioning one of the chief camping places of his local group. Thus a man of the *Tarotọlo koloko* might say that he belonged to *Laropuli*, this being one of the chief camps of that country. A man of the *Teraut buliu koloko* might similarly say that he belonged to the village of *Čaičue*. 621

A man or woman is generally regarded as belonging to the local group in the country of which he or she was born. There is nothing, however, to prevent a person from taking up his residence with any other local group if he so wishes, and if the members of that group are willing to welcome him. It would seem that there were a fair number of such cases in which a man or a woman left his or her own local group to join another. In particular, when two young people belonging to different groups got married they might fix their residence either with his or with her parents. [591]

The local group, as stated above, was characterised as the land-owning group. A man might hunt over the country of his own group at all times, but he might not hunt over the country of another group without the permission of the members of that group. Even at the present day, when the local organisation has largely broken down, some of these hunting rights are still observed. I noticed a case in which some of the men asked and obtained permission to hunt pig in a certain part from a man who was explained to be the owner of that part of the country, being one of the few survivors of the local group to which it belonged. It would, in former times, have been an offence that might easily have led to a serious quarrel for the men of one group to hunt or fish in the country or the waters of another group without having been granted permission to do so. 621 421 224 [628]

Within the territory of each local group there are a number of recognized camping places. During the greater part of every year the members of the local group would be found living together at one or other of these. Some of these camping-grounds have been in use for many centuries, as is shown by 361

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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361 very plainly the constitution of a local group, consisting as it
621 does of a few families. Each group seems to have contained, on an average, about ten families, with a few unmarried males and females.

262 The Andaman Islanders depend for their subsistence entirely on the natural products of the sea and the forest. From the sea they obtain dugong, turtle (both green and hawksbill), an enormous variety of different sorts of fish, crustaceans (crabs, crayfish and prawns) and molluscs. Fish and crabs are also to be found in the salt-water creeks which in many places penetrate inland for some miles. From the forest they obtain the flesh of the wild pig, wild honey, and a large number of vegetable foods—roots, fruits, and seeds.

512 The life of the forest folk is more simple and uniform than that of the coast people and we may therefore consider it first. During the rainy season, which lasts from the middle of May to the end of September, the local group lives at its headquarters camp, which, as we have seen, formerly often took the form of a
[262] communal hut. During this season animal food is plentiful, as the jungle animals are in good condition; on the other hand there is not much vegetable food to be obtained. The following brief account will give an idea of how the day is spent in such a camp at that time of year. Some time after sunrise the camp begins to be astir. The various members of the community make a
512 meal of any food that may have been saved from the day before.
224 The men start off for the day's hunting. At the present time
[231] dogs are used for pig-hunting. These dogs were obtained in the first instance from the Settlement of Port Blair, and their use in pig-hunting was learnt from the Burmese convicts. Nowadays every married man has at least one dog[1]. Before the dogs were obtained, hunting was a pursuit requiring a great deal more skill than it does at present. A hunting party consists of from two to five men. Each man carries his bow and two or three pig arrows, and one of the party carries a smouldering fire-brand. They make their way through the jungle until they find the fresh tracks of a pig, or follow up some of the usual pig runs

[1] In the North Andaman the times before the Settlement are spoken of as the time when there were no dogs, *Bibi ɲaiye* = "Dog not."

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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A comparison of the three branches of the Negrito race in the light of present information shows that the usual form of habitation amongst them is a sloping roof or screen of palm-leaves. One form of this, the simplest to construct, but only suitable as a temporary shelter, is in common use amongst the Semang and is found amongst the Negritos of Casiguran. The other form, more permanent but requiring more labour to erect, is in common use in the Andamans and amongst the Negritos of Zambales. Of communal huts we have no evidence in the Philippines. The communal shelter of the Semang consists of two screens leaning towards one another. The two types of communal hut of the Andamans are both derived from the family hut. 171 342

HUNTING, FISHING, ETC.

The Andaman Islanders depend for their subsistence entirely upon the natural productions of the forest and the sea. They make no attempt whatever to cultivate the soil. Until the introduction of dogs in 1858 they had no domestic animals. Young pigs are occasionally kept in captivity till they are grown, but they are killed for food and are not bred in captivity. Thus the Andamanese provide themselves with food by three different forms of activity: (1) collecting such things as roots and fruits and honey, (2) fishing in the sea and in the creeks, (3) hunting the wild animals of the forest. 231 241

For hunting the Andamanese rely entirely on the bow and arrow. Since they have had dogs they occasionally make hunting spears, but they did not do so in former times. They make no use whatever of any method of trapping game or birds. For fishing they also make use of the bow and arrow, wading out on to the reefs and shooting the fish, and in this they are very skilful. Crustaceans, such as crabs and cray-fish, are captured in the same way. In the North Andaman a sort of short fish spear was formerly in use as an occasional substitute for the bow and arrow. In all parts of the islands small nets are used by the women for catching small fish and prawns. In the Great Andaman large nets were formerly used for capturing turtle, dugong and large fish near the shore. At the present time the natives of the Great Andaman Division make use of harpoons with which they capture turtle, dugong and large fish from their canoes. Harpoons are not used in the Little Andaman. The Andamanese are also aware of methods of poisoning or stupefying fish in pools by means of certain plants that they crush and place in the water, but I have never seen them use this method of 224 411 227 226

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such, not because they find any difficulty in procuring other food.[1] 262

3. Both *àryô to-* and *ē·rem-tâ·ga-* find ample[2] provisions for their simple wants in their immediate surroundings, without exerting themselves to any great extent, and their eagerness in the chase is induced almost as much by actual love of sport as by the necessity of obtaining food: were this not the case they would hardly be found spending so much time in dancing and singing, in personal decorations, and in the preparation of their meals, while they reject with aversion anything that has become at all tainted. Further, it may be fairly estimated that one-third of the food daily consumed by them consists of edible roots, fruits, and honey, and the remaining portion of the flesh of one or more of the following, viz.: pig, paradoxurus,[3] iguana, turtle, fish, and molluscs, with rare additions of pigeons and jungle fowls;[4] Flying-foxes, bats, rats, sea- (not land-) snakes, the larvæ of the Great Capricornis beetle (*Cerambyx heros*) called *òi·yum-*,[5] as well as two other insects, called *bū·tu-* and *pī·rigi-*,[6] are, it is true, also eaten, but they are partaken of by way of variety, and the latter are regarded as luxuries (*â·kà-râ·rnga-*, tid-bits) to supplement (not substitute) other fare.[7] 224 136 262 222

4. The Andamanese are nominally content with two meals a day, viz.: breakfast (*â·kà-nâ·-*) and a heavy supper (*â·kan-go·lajnga-*) after sun-down; they will, however, often help themselves to small quantities of food from time to time in the course of the day when engaged on any work; and, when leaving on a 264

[1] "It cannot be wondered at that these savages love the unfettered life of their own wild jungles, where their simple wants are easily supplied—a lean-to serving them for quarters, and food such as they are accustomed to being found in great abundance. Nothing comes amiss to an Andamanese maw; roots, wild fruits, berries, crabs, clams, fish, wild pigs, and turtle are all ravenously devoured, and a glance at the well-nourished bodies of men, women, and children amply convinces one that they do not starve" (*vide* "Bombay Gazette," 2nd August, 1881: "The Andamans, our Indian Penal Settlement;" *vide* also paper by Professor Owen, F.R.S., "On the Psychical and Physical Characteristics of the Mincopies," Report of British Association, 1861. p. 246.)

[2] *Vide* "Tribal Communities," paragraph 2, and Appendix F (*Wō·t's* statement).

[3] It is presumed that Dr. Day refers to this animal when he states that "they eat cats," for they do not appear ever to have had any fancy for the flesh of *pūchi*, the name they have adopted for the domestic cat, from the English "pussy."

[4] *Vide* "Tabu," paragraph 2 (footnote).

[5] Probably the "fat grub, about three or four inches long, much relished by the natives" (Australians), mentioned by Mr. H. W. Bates, in his "Illustrated Travels," is identical with the *òi·yum-*.

[6] The *bū·tu-* is found in rotten logs of jungle trees, especially the *Dipterocarpus lævis* (*â·rain-*), *Gluta longipetiolata* (*já-*), and *Chickrassia tabularis* (*ô·ro-*).

[7] Their fancy for grubs does not extend to the *Teredo navalis*.

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[136] prove that they are, and always have been, fairly numerous.[1] The pig hunts are most frequent during the rains, not only because these animals are then more plentiful and in better condition, but because it is no longer the *râp-wâb-*, or season of abundance of jungle fruit and honey; from this, however, it must not be inferred that scarcity is then experienced, for those who choose to help themselves need never be in want.

11. During the cool season, *pâ·par-wâb-*,[2] the people themselves are alleged to become noticeably thinner: this they attribute not to a deficiency of food, but to the meagre condition of the pigs, which are then breeding, and to the fact that the edible roots (or yams), and other fruits then in season are not fattening. There are six varieties of esculent roots, viz.: the *gō·no-*, *châ·ti-*, *kâd-*,[3] *bō·to-*, *mal·ag-*, and *tägi-*, which are eaten alone (preferably cold), and not with meat; their chief difference consists in the extra care in preparation which some require, in consequence of their very acrid flavour.

12. The *gō·no-* is cooked in three ways: (*a*) it is placed on the fire in the condition in which it is found until it is soft, when it is freed from the burnt earth and eaten; (*b*) the root, after being washed, is cut up into small pieces and boiled in a pot; and (*c*) after being washed and cut up, the pieces are wrapped in large leaves and baked on burning logs.

13. The *châ·ti-* is cooked in the first of the above-mentioned methods, or by surrounding it with hot stones,[4] and covering the whole with leaves and weights, in order to confine the heat as much as possible.

14. The *kâd-* is first cooked as found, the skin is then peeled off, and a number of thin slices are cut and placed in water for a couple of days, so as to lessen the bitterness of its flavour; afterwards it is either baked in leaves or boiled, as already described in speaking of the *gō·no-*.

15. The other three varieties are never boiled, but are placed on the fire without leaves, and the outer skin is removed before they are eaten.

16. The seed of a species of sea-weed, known to them as *tô·no-tòng-*, on which turtles and dugongs feed, and which can only be obtained in small quantities, is carefully cooked and eaten as a relish.

[1] In his examination of a kitchen-midden near Port Blair harbour the late Dr. Stoliczka recorded that "the large number of bones of the Andaman pig is remarkable."

[2] This is the period between the rains and the dry season, and lasts about ten weeks, between the middle of November and the middle of February.

[3] The *gō·no-*, *châ·ti-*, and *kâd-*, are very plentiful during the cool season, and are much relished.

[4] *Vide post* "Stone Implements," paragraph 1.

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726 they use shields,[1] and the idea of throwing up earth-banks, or constructing any species of defence for the better protection of their numerous encampments, does not seem to have occurred to them.[2]

4. Night attacks have been made now and again, but the favourite time is the break of day, when the unsuspecting enemy are sound asleep; or at a late hour when they are likely to be engaged in the preparation or consumption of their evening meal.

727 5. Women and children incur a like risk with men on these occasions, but it would not be considered a matter for boasting should any of them fall victims in the strife, while a child which might be captured uninjured would meet with kindly treatment, in the hope of his (or her) being induced ultimately to become a member of the captor's tribe.

6. The property of the vanquished is of course treated with little ceremony: everything portable is appropriated, and all else is injured or destroyed.

●224 7. No confirmatory evidence is required to prove the truth of a statement declaring a man to have slain one or more foes, but if, in hunting, he should kill at a distance from home an animal too heavy for him to carry back unassisted, he would cut off the tail or some other portion which would afford ocular demonstration of its size, and serve as an inducement to his friends to assist him in bringing in the carcass.

Hunting and Fishing.—1. As I stated in an earlier section, the Andamanese are, for the most part, keen huntsmen, and their eagerness in the chase is one of the chief hindrances in the way of their becoming agriculturists, for a great portion of their time being thus spent, the sites of their temporary (as of their permanent) encampments are to a great extent determined by the advantages which they offer for the pursuit of their favourite pastime.

2. There do not appear to be any omens or superstitions in this connection, nor are there special ceremonies observed previous to the start or on the return of the party, save the somewhat peculiar custom, to which I have elsewhere alluded, of maintaining a glum silence for some time at the close of the day's sport.[3]

[1] Their sounding or stamping boards (*pŭ·kuta-yem·nga-*), used in their dances, have, in consequence of their resemblance to shields, been mistaken by more than one visitor as such.

[2] For the weapons used in warfare, *vide post* "Hunting," paragraph 5.

[3] *Vide* Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi, p. 287. It may here be added that the only explanation which they offer to account for this practice is that they intend thereby to convey to their friends an exaggerated notion of the fatigues they have endured for the general weal.

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3. Females take no part in these expeditions, and boys seldom accompany their elders until after their twelfth year. 224

4. If more than a few hours' absence is anticipated, besides a supply of provisions, a smouldering log is entrusted to some one member of the party, whose duty it is to prevent its extinction,[1] and to kindle it into a blaze whenever a fire is required. No immediate honours are conferred upon the successful sportsman, but stories of feats of extraordinary prowess are related, with more or less embellishment, from time to time for the benefit of the young and the edification of strangers. No record is kept of the game killed, but, as those distant tribes who are not yet possessed of dogs (or only of a very few) still retain the primitive custom of suspending the skulls of their victims from the eaves or on poles round their huts, a fair idea of their success can be formed by themselves and others from the number thus displayed.

5. Whether in hunting game or in attacking an enemy, the bow (*kâ·rama-*) and arrow are employed, and these are almost[2] identical in form among all the eight tribes of Great Andaman. For spearing turtles and large fish a harpoon (*kowai·a l'ô·ko dū·tnga-*[3]) is used: as a description of this serviceable weapon and of the mode in which it is employed, has been given in Appendix B, it is unnecessary to repeat the information in this place.[4] The only other weapon in use is the pig-spear 411

[1] *Vide ante* "Fire," paragraph 6.

[2] The comparatively slight difference existing between the form of the five *bōjig* and three *yē·rewa-* bows, and the wide distinction observable between both of these and the *jär·awa-* (Little Andaman) bow will be best seen by referring to Plate VI, figs. 1, 4, and 3 (*vide* also Appendix B, item 1).

[3] *Vide* Appendix B, item 10.

[4] In reference to the subject of *fish-spears* an interesting discovery was made on the occasion of the last visit (October, 1882) paid by Mr. H. Godwin-Austen, now in charge of the Andaman Homes, to North Andaman. Some six or more specimens of what, I believe, is quite an unique wooden fish-spear were seen in one or two of the *yē·rewa-* canoes. As one was fortunately brought away a sketch is here given of it. It reminds one somewhat of the fish-spears used by the Nicobarese (*vide* Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. vii, Plate XV), though very inferior, and is doubtless, like them, intended for spearing small fish. It is called *ti·remo*. 227

The eight long wooden spikes are not tied together in a circular form as in the case of the Nicobar *hokpâk* but in a row, and, as will be inferred from the drawing, they are held in that position by means of two short pieces of wood lashed to them at right angles: from the appearance of the lower end of this weapon, it would seem probable that it is fixed—like the *kowai·a l'ô·ko dū·tnga*—into a bamboo shaft when about to be hurled, but I have ascertained lately that this is not the case, it is merely held at the pointed end.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 [177] 22. It is not found that they have any inclination to adopt civilised weapons or tools in lieu of their own, but they have not been slow to avail themselves of the facilities afforded them in recent years for substituting iron for shell, bone, and (?) stone,[1] in the manufacture of their various implements.

23. The blow-pipe, which is used so generally by the Negritos (*Semangs*) of the Malayan peninsula, finds no place among the weapons of these savages. Its absence may be readily accounted for, firstly by their ignorance of poison, or at least of any method of utilising such knowledge as any of them may possess, and secondly by the fact that they are so well able to supply all their wants with the implements already referred to in the foregoing, that their inventive faculty has not been sharpened by the pangs of hunger to devise other or more effective means of destruction. It may be added that slings, throwing sticks, clubs, bird-bolts, or blunt-headed arrows for stunning animals or birds, are likewise not in use among them.

[224] 24. Although the pig is the object of their chase in their hunting expeditions, they invariably take a few of their pointed arrows, preferably the *tō·lbō·d-*, on the chance of coming across some smaller game, such as an iguana or paradoxurus.[2] To facilitate rapid shooting a man will often hold a number of arrows in the hand which grasps the bow.

[225] 25. From constant practice they are, as might be supposed, very skilful at shooting fish under water. Dr. Brander has correctly observed that "they seem intuitively to have calculated with great accuracy the difference of direction to be allowed for oblique aqueous refraction;" but these shots are almost always, if not invariably, made at a distance of a few yards only, and never so far as "30 yards,"[3] or "with three-pronged barbed arrows," such missiles being neither made nor used, at least by any of the Great Andaman tribes.[4]

883 224 26. Boys soon learn to practice at near objects with the small bows and arrows to which allusion has already been made, and many of them often contribute materially to the family larder by their early prowess. It is a common sight to see youths and children (and even their elders), when travelling, wantonly shoot at small passing objects, both on land and in the water, by way

[1] *Vide* Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi, p. 271.

[2] While these two animals are killed at all seasons of the year, the pig-hunts take place chiefly during the rains, when this animal is in excellent condition, and their diet, owing to the comparative scarcity of fruit and honey, less varied; even if with young the pig is not spared.

[3] The well-nigh impossibility of ever seeing from the shore or from a canoe a fish swimming at such a distance would sufficiently account for this.

[4] It is possible that Dr. Brander saw the *single* specimen of an arrow answering to this description which was obtained in 1880 from North Sentinel Island.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

of practice or to display their skill. No reproach is offered by the bystanders to one who wounds an animal without killing it. 883 224

27. Pigeons, waterfowl, ducks, and flying-foxes are sometimes shot, but never while on the wing, or when perched in such a position as to risk the recovery of the arrow.

28. In addition to the bows and arrows, their hunting gear consists generally of a hone (*tâ·lag-*[1]), a *Cyrena* shell (*ū·ta-*[2]), an adze (*wō·lo-*[3]), and often now-a-days a spear (*ēr-dū·tnga-*[4]); sometimes a knife (*chô-* or *kô·no-*[5]) is also taken, but as the blade of the pig-arrow or spear can be made to serve this purpose, it is not regarded as an essential part of their equipment. 224 411

29. They employ no stratagems for deceiving or decoying game, nor do they prepare snares or pitfalls for it. 224

30. When unaccompanied by dogs the hunters usually follow the pig's tracks, evincing while doing so their accurate knowledge of its habits. Immediately the object of their search is sighted they endeavour to surround it as noiselessly as possible—taking no precautions, however, against approaching it from windward—and, finally rushing forward and yelling vociferously, discharge their arrows. This practice of driving is generally adopted near the coast and in the vicinity of a belt of *Rhizophora conjugata* where the animals, becoming entangled among the roots or sinking into the soft soil, are easily captured or despatched. The ownership of the carcass is decided in favour of the person who inflicted the first serious wound, and he is exempt, if he please, from carrying home his prize or from any further trouble in connection with it; the cleaning, cooking, and quartering of the animal is undertaken by any one who chooses to volunteer his services, during which interval the day's adventures are narrated: those who have remained at home share equally with the hunters[6] in the spoil, for they are supposed to have been engaged in contributing to the general wants of the community.

31. There are, of course, some in every encampment who, from laziness or want of skill, are of very little use in this respect, but, since any ill-natured remarks at their expense would inevitably result in a more or less serious quarrel, they are rarely twitted with the circumstance, but are permitted to partake of the feast. [461]

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 52; also *post* "Stone Implements," paragraph 2.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 51; also *post* "Natural Forms, &c.," paragraph 1.
[3] *Vide* Appendix B, item 15; also *post* "Natural Forms, &c.," paragraph 2.
[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 9; also *ante* paragraph 5.
[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 77; also *post* "Natural Forms, &c.," paragraph 4.
[6] On the return of the hunting party the chief is apprised of the nature and amount of the "bags;" whatever is brought in by the married men is taken to their private huts and distributed as they please, but the spoils of the bachelors are at the disposal of the chief, and are distributed according to his orders.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

224 535 32. At the conclusion of the repast, the sportsman who has most distinguished himself during a more than ordinarily successful chase is expected to entertain the company, while they dance, with an impromptu song, in the chorus of which the women join.

225 33. Much of the foregoing applies to the *àryô·to-*, as well as to the *ē·remtâ·ga-*, except of course that, with the former, hunting expeditions are less frequent than turtling and fishing operations.

34. Turtle-hunts take place during the flood-tide, both by day and night; the favourite hour of all is that between sunset and the rising of the waning moon,[1] for then, with the aid of the phosphorescent light, called *pēwō·i-*, caused by the movements of the canoe, they are often able to discover and harpoon the turtle before it is at all aware of their approach; on these occasions they select, if possible, a rocky portion of the coast, where there is little or no foreshore, giving it as their reason that turtles frequent such places on dark nights in order to lay their eggs, and are then easily captured. At other times, the localities preferred for these expeditions are those styled *yàw·la-*, where there is a fine stretch of sand with an extensive foreshore, the reason, of course, being that every dark object is so easily seen in shallow water against a clear sandy bottom.

35. The green or edible turtle (*Chelonia virgata*), called *yâ·dī-*, is hunted both by day and night, but the hawkbill (*Caretta imbricata*), called *tàu-*, only by day, as they declare the latter is never seen on dark nights.[2] The flesh of the former is of course preferred, and no use being made of the tortoiseshell obtainable from the latter, it is treated after the feast with as little consideration as the valueless shell of the *yâ·dī-*.[3]

36. The practice of capturing turtles by "turning" them when on shore is unknown among these savages; whether this be due to their regarding it as mean and unsportsmanlike, as the disdainful looks and remarks of those I questioned on the subject would lead one to suppose, or whether it be because they so thoroughly enjoy their own methods of procedure, which so fully answer their requirements, I am not prepared to determine, but it is, nevertheless, certain that although well aware, from their knowledge of the animal's habits, that it could be easily surprised

[1] This period has accordingly received a specific name, viz., *â·kà-tig-pâ·la-*.

[2] An average size *yâ·dī-* weighs about 80 to 100 lbs., and a *tàu-* considerably less. The heaviest specimen of the former which ever came under my notice weighed about 400 lbs. The ordinary price of a full-grown turtle at Port Blair is five rupees.

[3] These remarks do not of course apply to those living at the homes, as they have long since learnt to benefit considerably by disposing of their tortoiseshell to visitors and residents at Port Blair.

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Report of a Survey of the Inhabitants of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands during 1948-49

[21]

By

B. S. Guha

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About the end of the year 1946, Mr H. J. Stooks, Deputy Secretary to the Ministry of Home Affairs, consulted me with regard to proposals made by Sri A. V. Thakkar of the Bharatiya Adim Jati Sevak Sangh for undertaking work for the amelioration of the conditions of the inhabitants of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands on the same lines as the Sangh has been doing among the Bhils and other tribes of Central India. The problem of the Aborigines of the Andaman Islands, however, is not the same as that of the other primitive tribes of India. These people are some of the most ancient remnants of the human race still surviving in any part of the world, who had been very little affected from contact with other people and subsist principally on fishing and hunting. The need among them is not so much the spread of education and social uplift as the arrest of the decline in population which has been most alarming. Since the establishment of the Penal Settlement at Port Blair in 1858, the condition of the "Friendly Tribes" among these inhabitants have been most distressing. Due in the beginning to armed encounters with the forces of the Government, and also as a result of ravages from diseases like tuberculosis and syphilis contracted from Indian convicts, there has been a continuous decline in the Andamanese population. From an estimated figure of about 10,000 people in 1779 the tribe has been reduced to only 70 in 1931, and at the time of our visit there were probably not more than 37 individuals still living. Whether it will be possible to save the Andamanese from the fate of the Tasmanians whose last surviving representative passed away about 1770 is extremely doubtful.

The hostile branch of the Andamanese tribes known as the Jarawa-Onge-Sentinelese group, fortunately has been spared the fate of their more "friendly" kinsmen, and as a result of implacable hostility and comparative isolation have survived to a much larger extent. In the western forest belts of Middle and South Andamans, the Little Andaman, and the North Sentinel Islands they have resisted all intrusions from outsiders and were known to have lived in these places comparatively unmolested. No accurate census of these tribes however, was ever taken, but from estimates made by people who had some knowledge of the tribes, it does not seem possible that the total strength of these people could be more than a few hundred souls altogether before the last war. What has happened since and how far these people, specially the Jarawas, have suffered from Japanese occupation cannot accurately be determined. It is known that there had been some bombing by the Japanese in the Jarawa tract, but whether any Jarawa was killed is not known. I, therefore, suggested to Mr Stooks that an anthropological survey of the Islands was essential and a probable estimate of the surviving settlements of the population made before the question of any social welfare work can be considered.

no specialized physicians, the Onge do not understand that payment can be 757
exacted for medical care. This stems from the fact that wages are not con- 465
sidered by those happy people as payment for any kind of work whatsoever, 123
but only as a gift. I realized this when I tried to pay my guides after our extenu- 431
ating marches through the jungle : in order to avoid offending the natives that
we had casually met in the course of our trip, I had to give equal reward to
everybody.

The Onge consider some men or women better endowed than others with 753
anti-malefic influence ; but these too neither demand nor receive wages for [756]
their services. Evil spirits or evil persons are believed to be principally responsi-
ble for illness. A series of superstitions and remarkable habits derive from this
belief. The above-mentioned precautions concerning the *naquinĕghĕ* are among
them. For identical reasons they carefully hide hair cuttings, but not nail [515]
parings, for the simple reason that nails are never cut but worn down by
digging for edible roots, fishing, and other rough work. Superstition, as we
know, is also the reason for painting the body to prevent fever and other ills.

In the depths of their jungle the Onge appear to practice some kind
of witchcraft. On several occasions I noticed the mysterious behaviour of some 789
natives travelling with me. Occasionally a man left our marching column to
examine the inside of a huge hollow tree and signal to his friends. They did
not prevent me from looking into the hollow, where I saw only a simple struc-
ture of short sticks resembling a trap without being one. The Onge do not use [224]
traps ; moreover, those structures were far too flimsy to catch anything. Often,
two or three men assembled in consultation, rearranged the sticks that had
probably been dislodged by the passage of lizards, crabs or other small animals,
and walked away silently. I could get no explanation on the matter. Certainly
the Onge are sagacious observers of animal and vegetable life and have deep
knowledge of their hidden properties. Some trees are probably used for magical
purposes, but, I insist, it is impossible as yet to affirm it. The structures in
question consisted of four vertical sticks, about 30 cms long, joined at the top
by four more sticks of approximately the same length, placed horizontally.
The result was a box-like frame, loose and unsecured. The slightest disturbance,
such as a light breeze, could destroy the flimsy construction. As far as I could
guess they invested those structures with curative properties, but in what
manner remains a mystery. I noticed analogous practices among Central [171]
African Pygmies and other primitives.

It is very clear that the Onge dread illness and magic spells, for they 754
consider themselves at a loss in fighting such evils. Unhygienic habits are of no 751
importance to them.

Resting is considered favorable to good health. The Onge indulge vo- 517
luptuously in rest, interrupting it, however, with too frequent sexual excursions. 751
They mainly rest from doing nothing, because 90 % of their time is spent in 461
what, for them, is the most agreeable manner of enjoying life.

In mid-March, when the honey harvest reaches its peak, the Onge guzzle 262

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

simultaneously with it a successful all-round regional development of the islands. 563 648

The resources of the islands having a small areal extent are very limited though the forest and sea products are fairly rich to deserve special mention. The presence of a variety of valuable species of timber in these islands has led to their exploitation since the development of the Penal settlement. The important species of timber found in the Andaman forests are padauk, garjan etc. In the previous decades, the forest exploitation was never associated with a commensurate amount of forest regeneration. Such policies are being followed at present for saving the forest resources from ruthless exploitation without any adequate means of ensuring a perennial supply of timber by systematic regeneration. The recent colonisation scheme has invoked the enquiry for the clearance of the forests. Andaman forests being rich in timber and also being the only major revenue earning source of the islands should by no means be ruthlessly cleared for settlement. Not only it depletes the forest resources but also degenerates the soil—the soil erosion being the immediate victim after such clearance of forests. Considering the primary importance of the forest resources of the islands, it seems to be a plausible agreement that at least 50% of the land should be reserved under forest cover and a further curtailment from this percentage will undoubtedly lead to serious consequences of the soil simultaneously with a great decrease in the resources of the islands. 313

The sea products range from a wide variety of products from sea shells to sea fisheries. The collection of sea shells is in vogue from a fairly long time and the sea fisheries, mostly being confined to the coastal areas, is conducted by the fishermen and the tribal people for their own consumption. There is a good deal of possibility for furthering the development of marine fisheries on a commercial scale but the lack of enterprise and capital investment has not given rise to any appreciable development. The only two enterprises of the fisheries are those of Trochus and Turbo shells by the Japanese during 1930-36 and another enterprise by a business concern in 1947. Even the present catch from the coastal areas amount to only 300 lbs., a considerable lag from the demand within the islands. 226 228

The means of earning livelihood in the islands were hunting and collecting by the aboriginal population who have not even to-day learnt the techniques of domesticating plants and also animals except the Onges who have domesticated the dogs very recently. The penal settlement and the subsequent expansion of the administrative seat at Port Blair 222 224 231 563 241

26 Cleaning themselves, to the Onges, means painting themselves
302 to ward off evil and to remove, so they said, the smell of pig fat
[224] after the colossal orgies which follow a particularly good hunt,
when even they find the stench too much. These orgies, which give
[164] them appalling indigestion for days, are followed by an apparently instinctive variation of their diet to raw or cooked vegetable foods. On three occasions from 1952–54 I was present at one of these solemn pork and honey orgies. The Onges ate almost till they burst, and then, hardly able to move, cleaned up by a grand painting session. The women do the painting, families vying with each other to produce weird new designs, which are then copied until the next feast.[1]

276 Fed and painted, the Onges sit down to smoke, using pipes made
26 from crabs' claws. Still regardless of hygiene the pipes go from one
302 mouth to another, the women smoking just as heavily as the men.
237 One curious anomaly is that the Onges do sometimes sweep the
356 earth floor of the communal hut. The floor is not deliberately beaten down, but becomes hardened by continuous walking on it; in dry weather it turns to dust, which rises and settles everywhere, especially under the roof, where the lumps of cooked meat,
[412] fish and so on are hung. For the cleaning a broom or besom is prepared, well made with very hard, supple, palm fibres, bound tightly and carefully with cords made from reeds. The whole thing is about eighty centimetres long and as thick as a man's wrist.

356 The dirt is simply swept out all round from under the roof of the
342 hut through the gap between the roof and the ground. In the course
172 of time a ring of refuse builds up round the hut, forming a glorious
364 breeding ground for insects of all kinds. When the hut has to be rebuilt, owing to the ravages of wood-worm and termites, the ring is levelled off to form the new floor. Since the same small, well-chosen site may be used for thousands of years, the hut ends up perching on top of a small mound of refuse dating back to very

[531] [1] From one year to the next I saw no real evolution of art forms but cyclic changes of designs, with a preference for certain geometric patterns, at certain times of the year. Having watched various individuals of both sexes closely over a period of some years I can say that in the Onges at least, contrary to what is generally understood, the use of given patterns, and given kinds of ochre, does not correspond with given types of food. Any feast is always followed by painting, always with the weirdest designs possible, but always geometrical, never far from the current 'fashion', and never even remotely inspired by the basis of the feast.

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11 *Above* Launching an outrigger canoe
12 *Below* Hunter with a monitor lizard
13 Mother and child

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411
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[Facing P. 66, H]

172 765 among the Onges) of wearing not only necklaces of the carpals and tarsals of deceased kin or pieces of rib, but also, in some groups, the skulls, painted with ochre and hanging from a cord round the neck. The long bones, painted red and white, were reburied in the communal hut. The Onges of today carry only the coloured jawbones of their kin.

172 764 No ornaments were found in the middens, nor did we expect to find any, as at death the Onges (and presumably their ancestors) bury all the personal objects of the deceased secretly in the forest, where the termites destroy all traces.

184 172 765 Not all the Arioto can have carried skulls and jawbones. Some clearly carried neither, as all the bones are sometimes found in the middens. A few middens are completely without human bones, particularly in the Port Blair area. Nevertheless at Ciauldari (or Chowldary), ten kilometres to the west, I found in January 1954 long bones without the skull or jawbones, and at Maya Bandar in 1953 I saw almost complete skeletons, not in anatomical position, owing to exhumation and reburial, but including skull, jawbones and in a number of cases the small bones as well.

The evidence of the middens thus clearly shows that burial and subsequent customs differed considerably among the various groups of islanders in the past, as they do today. The majority, judging from the Onges, seem to have remained faithful to a given custom, the dead in all cases continuing to remain a part of the group, whether or not any particular bone was carried about by the members of the group.

178 224 787 It is somewhat surprising to find customs varying so markedly in so primitive and numerically small a population, even though isolated in groups. The explanation lies in the fact that long-established customs may be altered overnight as the result of a 'revelation' by some seer, only to have the new customs overthrown themselves in the course of time by the next 'revelation'. I had an experience of this in the Onges when Enagaghe, a well-known seer, announced one day that he had received an order from the spirits about the way in which hunting trophies were to be displayed. No longer were pig jawbones to be impaled one behind the other on poles hung horizontally along the sloping roof of the hut a little above the hunter's bed. The whole skull, including the jawbones, was to be preserved, the bones held together in their natural

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

position by reed cords, which were to be tied in front of the snout, ending in a cord by which the skull was to be hung above the hunter's bed. No sooner said than done, and at the beginning of 1954 all the old trophies were thrown out into the forest, to be gradually replaced by the new ones. Fortunately I had collected some of the old trophies before the 'revelation'!

From the evidence of the middens it would appear that these variations in burial customs have no practical basis, and probably all derive from similar 'revelations'. Further investigations in a large series of the deposits, enabling dated comparisons to be made, would be extremely revealing.

Even allowing for these sudden alterations in established customs, it is clear that their elaboration indicates slow and hardly perceptible development over long periods of time and the middens must be dated in millennia. The hypothesis put forward by some scholars that the Andamanese are descended from negro slaves who escaped while on their way to the Portuguese colonies in India in the sixteenth or, at the earliest, fifteenth centuries, seems therefore quite untenable, in face of the abundant evidence in favour of the great antiquity of the middens and of the people who built them up.

It seems clear that during the last few thousand years, successive waves of migration have taken place over a whole area bounded on the west by the Andamans and Nicobars. All indications point to a close connection between the Andamanese and the peoples to the westward, the Negrito element remaining alone and almost untouched in the Andamans, but becoming submerged in the Nicobars into the mongoloid element of more recent origin. Even today a number of Nicobarese show signs of Negrito ancestry; short in stature, they have crinkly hair which although long is very different from the straight black hair of the mongoloid element, and their heads, noses and lips bear clear signs of Negrito ancestry.

In addition to these more general conclusions the middens also cast some light on the origin, still somewhat problematical, of the wretched Jarawas of Great Andaman. Comparisons between their middens and those of the Onges show that there were in the past communal huts on Great Andaman exactly the same as those still extant today on Little Andaman.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

often extremely vicious but good hunters. The dogs often roam the forests in packs, hunting and devouring young pigs. The Onges will do nothing about it unless someone forces them to, but if this pack hunting is not stopped the pig will become extinct in ten or twenty years and in 1954 I tried myself (in vain) to draw the attention of the authorities to the situation.

The dog appears in even the most ancient of cultures in Australia, but did not spread to Tasmania, despite the geographical proximity. It arrived on Great Andaman with the establishment of the Indian penal colony and it is thus the Indian pariah which ultimately populated the whole archipelago. A despised outcast in India, the pariah became in the Andamans of enormous value, reverting to its ancient hunting instincts. Burmese police officials taught the islanders how to use the animal for hunting and within a few years it had revolutionized their methods. It led the islanders in fact, to comparative indolence; the dog worked for them, supplying with far less effort as much game as they used to catch in their long, weary and not always successful expeditions. Dogs meant invariable and abundant success in the hunt, and it is hardly surprising that the Andamanese came to develop a somewhat unbalanced affection for them.

On Little Andaman the dogs, with abundant food supplies always easily available, became physically far superior to their ancestors in India; unlike the pariahs they were well muscled, with good skins and coats, although most of them bear the marks of old and recent gashes by boar tusks.

On Great Andaman the dogs voluntarily catch and kill fallow deer. These, like the dogs, have increased to the extent of becoming a pest. The Arioto and Jarawas will not eat them for superstitious reasons, and so they have bred like wildfire, spreading to all the islands as far as Rutland. They swim well, but only with land in sight, and the greater distances involved have so far prevented them from spreading to Little Andaman.

Here the dogs have only one main prey – the pigs. Unlike the deer with their slender legs they cannot outdistance the dogs, and their only defence is to hide under the buttresses of the tree-trunks. The pig rushes underneath the tree, and faces the dogs like a stag at bay. There is no escape, only a few more terrible minutes of life. The pig fights the dogs off desperately, the males inflicting serious

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

231 gashes with their tusks, unaware of the spear thrower coming up
224 from behind. The result is inevitable. The dangerous boars are killed outright, but whenever possible the pig is, like the turtles, trussed helplessly and vivisected, again strictly according to established ritual, and again with an unconscious cruelty that is to Western eyes unbelievable. The liver, lungs, heart and intestines are the dogs' reward, and in a matter of minutes they are gone and the last drop of blood licked up.

224 Before every hunt the dogs are left hungry, on the principle that a well-fed dog does not hunt. If a young or small pig is caught by the pack during the hunt the Onges at once drag the body away and lodge it in the fork of a bush or tree. I have also seen this done if a full-grown pig is caught which is too thin, or unhealthy, or if a sow is taken, as the Onges find the females less tasty. In the dry season, when food is scarce and the pigs are less aggressive, they can be caught by one dog alone.

[261] In the rainy season pork is, to the Onge palate, at its best. The pigs are fat and tasty, gorging on the lush vegetation that follows the onset of the south-west monsoon till they become slow, and easy prey. The dogs follow their tracks easily on the sodden ground, and the usual orgy of slaughter follows day after day, the Onges caring little for tomorrow and nothing for the day after. It is only owing to the fall in the numbers of the human population that the pig is still extant on the island; in compensation for the continuous slaughter I saw whole areas of forest round deserted communal huts where the earth had been literally ploughed up by the snouts of innumerable pigs rooting undisturbed for tubers.

231 During the hunt a number of dogs inevitably lose themselves in the maze of vegetation, and are cut off from the pack. Usually they manage to find their way back to one of the camps. When I went on long journeys into the forest we were always followed by strays. Greeting each other as though they were old friends they would quickly join the pack we used to take with us to hunt for the party. A stray will always try to find its own master, and any that are left behind during the hunt howl desperately like jackals. Others join in, in an eerie chorus, pausing every now and again as though waiting for their master's reply. Their howling is a curious reversion to the wild state – all the canines fear solitude, wherever

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

174 the arrival of the Negritos in the Andamans from the south; yet
184 more evidence is provided by the Onge arrows. In the Andamans
411 there are two types of arrows, those used for fish, and those for game, the latter also being used against human targets.

184 The same arrows are found throughout the archipelago, con-
411 firming a common origin. Only the dimensions vary from one area to another and that only very slightly; the Onges have both the biggest fishing arrows, and the biggest arrow harpoons, and the Arioto the smallest. In the past the islanders used arrows with from two to four points for fish, but I was unable to find any traces of them; those picked up on North Sentinel some years ago were possibly the last to be made.

411 The fishing arrow of the Andamans is made basically from the small native bamboo. The Onges remove the knots by scraping
[322] them down gradually with *Cyrena* shells, and then cut off a length
[237] varying between seventy centimetres and about one metre. Into one end they fix securely a hardwood stick, fifteen to twenty centi-
[177] metres long. This foreshaft takes the head, now nearly always iron, but in the past made of wood, fish spines or pig bone. In the kitchen-middens I also found heads made out of shaped pieces of *Tridacna*. The three parts of the arrow are then bound together with very thin waxed fibres, wound carefully round and round, great care being taken to prevent the bamboo shaft splitting where the foreshaft is forced in. The completed arrow finishes up 1–1·15 metres long overall. The head is barbed, to hold the fish once it is hit; to get it out the whole arrow has to be pulled through. Sometimes, but not always, the shaft has a notch in it, to take the cord, care being taken to make the notch never more than two centimetres from any knot, to avoid any possibility of the shaft splitting. Alternatively, splits are prevented by binding waxed thread tightly round the shaft.

The hunting arrow, or arrow harpoon, is an intelligent adaptation, the result of acute observation of wild life, and is more complicated than the fishing arrow which is intended only to pierce the
411 victim. The hunting arrow must not only score a hit, it must also
224 prevent the animal from escaping into the undergrowth and force it to reveal its position. The harpoon holds the victim cruelly and securely, and the excruciating pain caused by the drag of the cord forces the animal to reveal its position by its cries of agony. The

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

screams of a wild boar can be heard for hundreds of metres, drawing the hunters in from all sides, eager to take it alive. If it proves to be a large male, whose tusks can inflict appalling injuries, the hunters kill it at once with a spear or with a third type of arrow which has a long fixed head. This type of arrow, which does not differ greatly from those found in other parts of the world, is still used by some of the Andamanese against human enemies.

The shaft of the arrow harpoon is made preferably from *Tetranthera lancifolia*, very common all over the archipelago. The wood for the shafts has to be straight, very slender at one end, where a notch is cut half a centimetre deep to take the cord, and a little thicker at the other, which is hollowed out for about one centimetre to take the head of the weapon. Splitting of the wood at the ends is, as usual, prevented by binding the shaft with *gnetum* fibres, twisted into thread and waxed with beeswax.

The efficiency of the harpoon depends on the double-strand cord, extremely strong, made from *Hibiscus* fibres. One end is fixed on to the shaft, five centimetres from the point at which the foreshaft enters it, and the other to the foreshaft, two centimetres from the base, with a thirty-two centimetre loop of cord between the two fixings.

The harpoon blade, now made of iron, is eleven centimetres long and spear-shaped, ending in a series of barbs. The haft of the blade is bound tightly on to the short foreshaft, also eleven centimetres long, which is scraped thin at the end so that the haft can be bound on smoothly. The complete weapon mounted for use is about eighty-eight centimetres long overall in the Onges and Jarawas, and slightly shorter, about sixty-five centimetres, in the Arioto.

To prepare the harpoon for use the slack of the cord is wound firmly round the shaft, and the foreshaft with the blade attached is forced in. As the harpoon strikes, the shaft becomes detached and the victim, firmly held by the barbed arrow head, drags it along on the end of the cord until it catches in the undergrowth and holds the animal fast.

There is little difference between the arrow harpoons of Little Andaman and Great Andaman, and what difference there is affects only the dimensions, the type of cord, and the form of the barbs. The basic principle remains the same wherever it is found; all the Negritos, including the Semang and Aetà still use it, although these

136 *fortispine*, uses a similar action on the larger bivalves. Its shell is equipped with a very effective form of tin-opener, which it keeps polished by vigorous rubbing.)

I watched a *Pterocera* attentively scrutinizing the hand holding it. After exploring it very carefully, the creature tried to free itself by beating violently with its foot, causing considerable pain. I held one by one of its protuberances, which was like a large right-angled hook. Suddenly, while my attention was held by a shoal of fish, I felt a sharp pain on the back of my hand. Taken by surprise, I watched the creature to try and discover what it had done. From a furrow at the base of one large front hook, a little to its left, I saw a tentacle emerge, able to turn in any direction, with a retractable eye at its tip. The eye, after a few exploratory movements, fixed its gaze on the place on my hand the creature intended to hit, and then the foot began to beat wildly on my hand, time and time again, causing a quite surprising degree of pain.

462 226 224 It is during the honey feasts, when the tides are exceptionally low and the seas calm, that the womenfolk come into prominence. While the men normally do all the hunting for game and large fish, using arrows and harpoons, the women, with their nets, catch the smaller fish in the rivers and marshes, and among the coral reefs at low tide. Their contribution to the everyday diet is by no means negligible, and during the season of very low tides their daily haul is tremendous.

262 825 The importance of fish to the Onges is shown by the fact that their word for it, *cioghe*, is also used to mean food in general, and clearly dates back to the time before the arrival of the pigs on the island, when fish and sea food in general was the basis of their diet. [251] So plentiful is it that even at the height of the season the most they do in the way of preserving anything for future use is to expose the fish to smoke in order to deter flies from laying eggs on it for a day or two.

462 226 Only on very rare occasions do the men help in the net-fishing, and then only when they can completely fill the canoes with fish very quickly. I saw it happen for the first time on 24 March 1953, in the great coral reef near Nachuge, just as it happens all over the island at this time of year, when the pilchard shoals are so far inshore that there are not enough canoes to hold the catch. As the

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Unity of the Negritos

174 It appears that the Andamanese, before their migration to the archipelago, copied from other Asiatic and Oceanic peoples customs and rites whose origin and meaning were unknown to them. They went on and on observing these rites blindly, till they gradually degenerated to their present rudimentary form. In the Onges of today they seem like mere superstitions, badly digested importations, far from any of their original meaning. The process is a phenomenon which has occurred over and over again among primitive peoples who come in contact with other, to their eyes superior, cultures. They feel an urge to imitate something, as it were, more elegant, and so come to follow the new ways out of habit. I have seen the effects of this both in Africa and in Asia, particularly as the result of contact with European influences.

The practice of vivisecting animals for food, for instance, was widespread throughout the world, frequently in connection with certain ideologies, although these were not usually based on pure superstition. Rituals which to us are horrible beyond measure are seen by primitive peoples from childhood merely as a necessary part of cooking or the acquisition of food. And yet such practices are found also in peoples with a culture considerably beyond the primitive. Some cannibals, for example, are relatively advanced; there are in fact some cannibal peoples who have reached the stage of agriculture. The Andamanese, however, are far behind that stage of development, and they have never acquired the ideologies leading to cannibalism. One can only accept that they do genuinely believe that in practising vivisection they are acting for the common and the individual good.

224 There is an established and closely observed order of precedence

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

in the division of all meat. Certain cuts are the property of the hunter, of his helpers, and of his relations and after them, in order, of the remaining members of the group; everyone knows his position in advance. Each portion is tied round with a reed fibre, which is allowed to dangle out over the top of the communal cooking-pot ready to haul the meat out when required.

In the case of pork the prized cut is one which comprises the kidneys and the surrounding fat; this fat is called *cian*,[1] and is very highly esteemed. Some authors (Brown, for example) have stated that turtles and pigs are always cut up with the head ritually pointing towards the sea as otherwise the meat would be considered inedible. This is certainly not the case on Little Andaman, and I have never seen any such directional ritual among any of the Negritos, all of whom practise division of meat according to a prescribed order of precedence. Turtles at any rate are slaughtered facing up the sloping beach simply because it is then easier to hold the beast from behind and avoid its bite. Ritual there is, but usually with a good practical basis.

More ritual attaches to the way in which the game is carried back to the camp, and the wood to be used for the cooking fire. Pigs, killed and gutted, are tied in ropes made of *Ficus laccifera* and carried somehow on the back of the victorious hunter. If it is not far to the camp he will not bother to tie up the snout and feet, but otherwise the front and back legs are tied, and one long cord joins both pairs to the snout – again a practical ritual, giving the hunter a more compact weight to carry.

Man, Portman, Brown and others all say that each type of game has to be cooked over a fire of a particular wood. My own observations showed that whereas the ritual of dissection is inviolable, the Onges always use the first wood that comes to hand, regardless of its source, taking as usual the line of least resistance. This is again in keeping with the tendency of primitive peoples to expend only the very minimum of energy to achieve their object. Their religious beliefs and superstitions are not carried to the limit, simply because

[1] It is interesting that in their very restricted world the Onges have few standards of comparison or words to express condemnation or approval, and this word *cian* is used as one of high praise, applied to inanimate objects, animals, and people alike. The precise qualities which are conveyed by the word are difficult to evaluate in the absence of fuller knowledge of the Onge language.

11: Ciprian E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

their love of existing with as little effort as possible is paramount. Since any wood is as good as the next for making a fire, the spirits conveniently have nothing to say in the matter. In other circumstances material considerations lead to quite the opposite effect: when the Onges dig up roots or tubers they not only replace the earth, but cover the place with leaves, the ritual having the good practical objective of appeasing the spirits and ensuring further supplies.

The preservation of skulls for magical purposes or out of pure superstition survives mainly in Asia and Oceania. In Asia it coincides with other beliefs which demand the killing of domestic animals by strangulation. I have seen this practised along the high reaches of the valley of the Brahmaputra, particularly among the Abor, and the Nagas, and in many other tribes to the south of Tibet and China, all of whom preserve skulls. Head-hunting, found throughout southern Asia, in the islands, and as far as Oceania, is also practised in the areas where animal skulls are preserved.

The preservation of animal skulls, particularly bear skulls, is still practised in mongoloid peoples as far as the north of Asia; apart from the Andamans and the Nicobars, human and animal bones are preserved in many parts of Indonesia and as far as New Guinea. In the corona of small islands along the west coast of Sumatra the custom coincides with many others, as well as with certain types of huts and canoes, all present in the Andamans and Nicobars. A good example are the huts raised up off the ground on stilts, common in the Nicobars, Nias, Engano, Mentawai and various parts of Indonesia. The single-boom canoes of these areas, quite apart from their general similarity of structure, all have certain identical features, even to the method of fixing the lateral float of green wood, with pointed hardwood pegs stuck in it like spills. This, again, cannot be due to chance; it must be the effect of a very ancient cultural diffusion, now surviving only in a few specific areas.

The skulls preserved by the Onges have one point of interest; it is the duty of the wife to clean the trophies brought back by her proud husband and then paint them lovingly with lines of ochre. After every successful hunting expedition the wives can be seen busily painting, while the husbands look on with satisfaction.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Brown states that dugong skulls are found among the hunting trophies of the Andamanese. I can myself vouch for the fact that this is not the case among the Onges or the twenty-three surviving Arioto; both keep dugong jaws and long bones, but the skulls of only pigs and turtles. The Andamanese in general do not regard animal bones as having the same protective powers as human; the existence in the Andamans of any magical practices connected with either animal or human bones has not, in my view, been adequately proved. In the absence of such proof I feel unable to agree with the authors who assert that these practices do exist, and I am inclined to feel that the cultural level of the peoples of the Andamans is so low as to rule out the existence of magic or witchcraft in any form.

From the mass of data of all kinds I was able to collect on my trips to the Andamans, a general pattern emerges from which it is possible to draw substantial conclusions as to the cultural and somatic origins of the Onges and hence of the other peoples of the archipelago. To summarize these conclusions must inevitably involve some repetition of what has been said in previous chapters.

Taking first the people of the Nicobar Islands, the nearest geographically to the Andamanese, it is generally accepted that with the exception of the Shom-Pen of Great Nicobar the Nicobarese are culturally closely similar. Although there are no pure Negrito types in the Nicobars there are evident crosses, similar to those which appear in one area of Sumatra to the east, where a small Negrito component exists among a predominantly mongoloid type. This may well be the result of the Negritos having spread at one time over a very wide area and there is in fact cultural evidence in support of the suggestion.

The mongoloid somatic type of the Nicobars appears in the general shape and proportions of the body, skin colour, facial contours, and the hair, which is long and straight, unlike that of the Negritos. Both types, however, have scant body hair, and differ in this respect from the pygmies of Africa.

Although the size and skin colour of most Nicobarese is very different from the Onges, a few are strikingly like them in facial contours, size, and woolly hair. There are also legends of a people who lived in the Nicobars long ago, small, very black, with tight

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Queensland and (as the Cape Bedford type) elsewhere. Oars, method of fixing the booms and float – all are similar throughout the area, including the Andamans. 171 501

Even game, once caught, is treated and distributed similarly by these peoples, from the Andamans to Oceania. Cooking is done without salt, in earth ovens (whether or not fire or red-hot stones are used) very different from those of Africa and America. The Semang and Aetà of today know how to make fire by friction, as do the peoples of New Guinea, Australia and Polynesia; the Tasmans also have the knowledge to do so, but prefer to carry burning logs with them on their journeys, like the Andamanese. In certain parts of New Guinea and perhaps in some of the Pacific islands (as in the Andamans) the art of fire-making was unknown or possibly forgotten until recent times; it is said that the Papuans of the Bay of Astralobius knew nothing of the art until the middle of the nineteenth century. But the only sure information comes from the Andamans, where, whether through ignorance or loss of knowledge, the art of fire-making is unknown and fire is always carried everywhere. 171 252 [224] [263] 171 372

Among the objects typical of the Andamans and found also among the Semang, the Aetà, and other Oceanic peoples are the digging stick and the crude hatchet. The former, used for gathering edible roots and tubers, is merely a pointed stick, but every family possesses one. The hatchet is slightly more elaborate, having both handle and blade, and like the digging stick, occurs always in virtually the same form.[1] Objects woven from vegetable fibres are also very similar in appearance – often very durable and sometimes pleasing by any standards. In some places woven breast-plates are used in warfare, but here the Jarawas differ, using single sheets of bark. 171 412 [28] [714] [184]

These are but a few of the many examples which one can find of this striking similarity between these widely separated peoples. And alongside cultural similarities there exist others, anthropological and physical, which cannot be overlooked. Physically the 171 14

[1] This is simply a cutting tool fixed into a natural elbow in a suitable branch. The blade is fixed into the wood near the elbow, and the branch is cut off, so as to leave a short handle. The whole thing is reminiscent of a swan's head on a long neck, and is easily turned into a crude plane or adze by revolving the blade in the haft through a right angle.

802 805 or form of numerical evaluation is further support for the extremely low stage of cultural development at which they became isolated.

22 ART

302 531 532 When painting their bodies with ochre the Onges have no idea of symbolic representation, and use only geometrical designs. These invariably seem spontaneous, and in my view do not represent a degenerate form of some more highly evolved art, half forgotten over the centuries; in short, the 'artists' of the Andamans, with no conception of symbolism, are even today less advanced than their Palaeolithic counterparts.

23 DIGGING STICKS

172 412 In late Palaeolithic deposits, stones with holes in them have been found which correspond to those still in use among peoples such as the Bushmen, to add weight to their digging sticks. The absence even today of any form of weighted stick in the Andamans, where stone is plentiful, would appear to antedate the culture at least to early Palaeolithic.

24 HUNTING

224 172 [411] 227 177 The Onges still use the Palaeolithic throwing stick, although it is not their main hunting weapon. They have no idea of fixed traps, which must from the evidence have been known in Palaeolithic times, and it is hard to believe that a people so dependent upon hunting would have lost the art once it had been acquired. They have crude nets which the women use for fishing, but these are probably a comparatively recent introduction, which has arrived via the Nicobars.

25 DOMESTIC ANIMALS

231 174 The Andamanese have none, and this would seem to add weight to the evidence for their great antiquity.

26 ECONOMY

433 185 437 There is no economic system of any kind, and from the evidence available it is highly unlikely that even the most primitive form ever existed. There is no conception whatever of providing for tomorrow, or of any form of exchange or barter.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

all three branches of the Negrito race use arrows with detachable heads. Arrows of this kind from the Philippines are described by Meyer[1]. 411 171

An important point of difference would seem to be that while the Andamanese do not feather their arrows the Semang and the Negritos of the Philippines do so. It would seem, however, from the account of Semang arrows given by Skeat[2] that the feathering is such that it is of no actual service in directing the flight of the weapon, and that it is doubtful whether the Semang really understand the principle of feathering, or whether they do not employ it as the mutilated survival of more intelligent methods or perhaps make use of it for solely magical purposes.

Another important point of difference is that the Semang poison their arrows, while the Andamanese do not. In this connection it must be remembered that the former people have for long been neighbours of people who use blow-pipes with poisoned darts.

After the bow and arrow the most important hunting weapon of the Great Andaman is the harpoon which is used in capturing dugong, turtle, porpoise, and large fish. The harpoon consists of a head, a shaft and a line. The line is a length of rope of *Hibiscus* fibre of as much as twenty fathoms or more in length. The shaft is a bamboo of about 18 feet in length. One end is cut off fairly near a node and is then served over with thread, and slightly hollowed. The head consists of a long piece of iron, such as a stout nail, brought to a sharp point at one end. The other end is served over with thread in such a way as to make it fit fairly tightly into the end of the bamboo shaft. Some distance from the point of the head two barbs of iron are attached by thread, and between this point and the lower end the line is attached. (See Fig. 23.) 411

A man using the harpoon stands on the forward platform of the canoe, holding the bamboo shaft in his hand. The head is inserted in the upper end of this, and the line passes over his shoulder and is coiled in the bottom of the canoe, the other end being attached to the forward out-rigger boom or to the thwart that takes its place in a large canoe. He poles the canoe along the reef with the harpoon shaft. When about to make a throw he raises the shaft till he can hold the butt end in his right hand, with the point directed towards the fish or turtle, and he then leaps forward so that if he succeeds in his aim the weapon strikes with all the force of his weight behind it. When the turtle or fish is struck the bamboo shaft floats loose and this is secured 411 225

[1] Meyer, Plates VI and VIII.

[2] Skeat, p. 274.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411
225

by the man in the water, who returns to the canoe. It may be necessary to strike the prey with a second harpoon, but if the first was well thrown the animal is firmly held by the line.

[284
286]

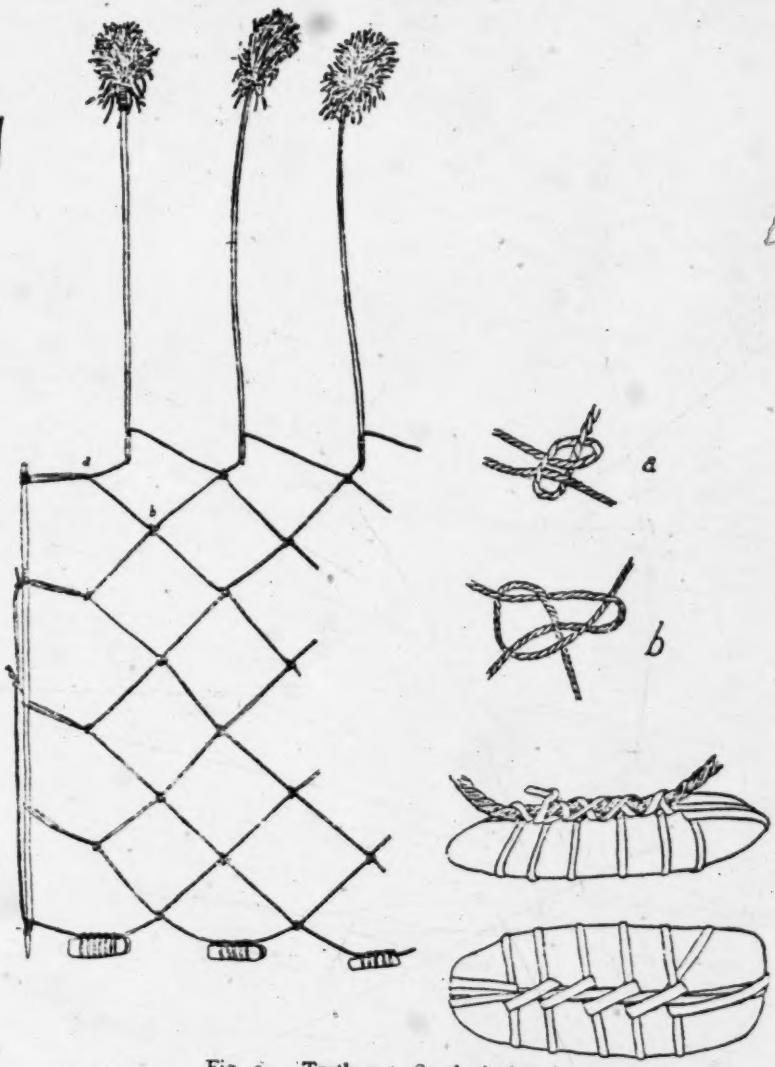

Fig. 24. Turtle net, South Andaman

Harpoons are not used in the Little Andaman. The natives of the Great Andaman say that they themselves have only used them since

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

they were able to obtain iron and that before that time they could only capture turtle and dugong in nets. It would seem therefore that the harpoon has been invented or adopted by the tribes of the Great Andaman Division in comparatively recent times, and was not an element of the primitive Andamanese culture. 411 225

The turtle net is no longer used, as the natives prefer the harpoon and have all the iron they need. Such nets were formerly made of rope of *Hibiscus* fibre. A net was about 150 cm. in width and of variable length. One specimen that was made for me had an open mesh of about 25 cm. square, while another had a smaller mesh. The knot used in a net from the South Andaman is the ordinary fisherman's knot shown in Fig. 24 *b*. In a net from the North Andaman the knot used is a slip-knot, one strand being tied with an overhand knot over another which it crosses at right angles as shown in Fig. 25. 225 286 284

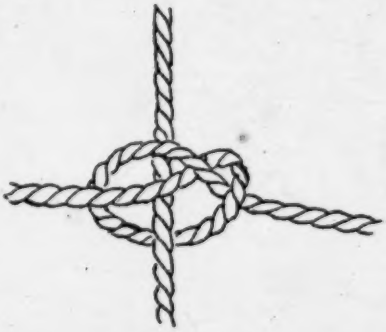

Fig. 25. Knot used in making the North Andaman turtle net

Each end of the turtle net is attached to a stake pointed at the lower end. The lower edge of the net is weighted with stones attached as shown in Fig. 24, while to the upper edge are attached a number of floats, each consisting of a long thin stick of *Hibiscus* wood to the upper end of which is attached a tassel of fibre.

The net was placed in shallow water so that the stones rested on the bottom while the tassels at the upper ends of the floats appeared above the surface. As soon as a turtle was entangled in the net the agitation could be observed by those watching who would proceed to the spot to secure their capture.

So far as is known it would seem that nets of this description are not used in the Little Andaman.

The Andamanese make practically no use of spears. At the present time the natives of the Great Andaman Division sometimes make pig-spears of a length of stout cane or rattan with a head of iron attached. The natives themselves say that such spears have only been made since the occupation of the islands, and it is probable that they were first made in imitation of spears used by Burmese convicts for pig-hunting. They are hardly ever used, the pig-arrow being preferred. 411

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

501 better in a rough sea than a smaller one with an outrigger. It is possible that at first these large canoes were propelled with paddles just as the outrigger canoes are, the paddlers facing forward. Having learnt to understand the principle of the oar, through their contact with the Penal Settlement, the natives applied this principle to their own canoes. It could not, of course, be applied to the small canoes, as the shape of the canoe and the position of the paddler make the use of an oar impossible. It could be applied very easily, however, to the new large canoes. In these the oarsman does not sit on a level with the gunwale, but sits down in the hull itself on a piece of wood resting on the two sides of the hull a few inches above the floor. The gunwale of the canoe is thus about on a level with the bottom of his sternum. A number of holes are made in the gunwale on each side, and by means of these, loops of cane are attached to the gunwale. The oar, which is shaped in imitation of European oars, but with a short shaft, is thrust through the loop of cane, which serves as a fulcrum or rowlock. The rowers face aft. A man at the stern steers with a paddle. In shallow water the large canoes are propelled with poles in exactly the same way as the smaller canoes.

In the bow, at about the position that would be occupied by the foremost boom in an outrigger canoe, holes are made in the gunwale on each side and a piece of wood is thrust through them as a sort of thwart. This is to provide a means of making fast the end of the harpoon line or the anchor line, and thus serves a purpose that is served by the foremost boom in the outrigger canoe.

•225 The large canoes are not quite so useful in turtle-hunting as the smaller outrigger variety, as they cannot be so quickly turned when the pursued turtle doubles. Very often a large canoe and a small canoe are taken together on an expedition, the harpooning being mostly done from the smaller one while the captured turtles are placed in the larger one. A small canoe with three or four men cannot hold more than one or at most two big turtles, whereas as many as ten or a dozen can be stowed in one of the large canoes.

501 505 The chief use of the large canoes is to make journeys from place to place. One of the largest will hold as many as thirty men and women with their baggage, whereas an outrigger canoe would never carry more than nine or ten. Further, there is less chance of an even heavily laden big canoe capsizing in a rough sea than of an outrigger canoe doing so. One result of the introduction of the large canoe has therefore been to enable the natives to move much

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 [177] 22. It is not found that they have any inclination to adopt civilised weapons or tools in lieu of their own, but they have not been slow to avail themselves of the facilities afforded them in recent years for substituting iron for shell, bone, and (?) stone,[1] in the manufacture of their various implements.

23. The blow-pipe, which is used so generally by the Negritos (*Semangs*) of the Malayan peninsula, finds no place among the weapons of these savages. Its absence may be readily accounted for, firstly by their ignorance of poison, or at least of any method of utilising such knowledge as any of them may possess, and secondly by the fact that they are so well able to supply all their wants with the implements already referred to in the foregoing, that their inventive faculty has not been sharpened by the pangs of hunger to devise other or more effective means of destruction. It may be added that slings, throwing sticks, clubs, bird-bolts, or blunt-headed arrows for stunning animals or birds, are likewise not in use among them.

[224] 24. Although the pig is the object of their chase in their hunting expeditions, they invariably take a few of their pointed arrows, preferably the *tō·lbō·d-*, on the chance of coming across some smaller game, such as an iguana or paradoxurus.[2] To facilitate rapid shooting a man will often hold a number of arrows in the hand which grasps the bow.

[225] 25. From constant practice they are, as might be supposed, very skilful at shooting fish under water. Dr. Brander has correctly observed that "they seem intuitively to have calculated with great accuracy the difference of direction to be allowed for oblique aqueous refraction;" but these shots are almost always, if not invariably, made at a distance of a few yards only, and never so far as "30 yards,"[3] or "with three-pronged barbed arrows," such missiles being neither made nor used, at least by any of the Great Andaman tribes.[4]

882 224 26. Boys soon learn to practice at near objects with the small bows and arrows to which allusion has already been made, and many of them often contribute materially to the family larder by their early prowess. It is a common sight to see youths and children (and even their elders), when travelling, wantonly shoot at small passing objects, both on land and in the water, by way

[1] *Vide* Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi, p. 271.

[2] While these two animals are killed at all seasons of the year, the pig-hunts take place chiefly during the rains, when this animal is in excellent condition, and their diet, owing to the comparative scarcity of fruit and honey, less varied; even if with young the pig is not spared.

[3] The well-nigh impossibility of ever seeing from the shore or from a canoe a fish swimming at such a distance would sufficiently account for this.

[4] It is possible that Dr. Brander saw the *single* specimen of an arrow answering to this description which was obtained in 1880 from North Sentinel Island.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

224 535 32. At the conclusion of the repast, the sportsman who has most distinguished himself during a more than ordinarily successful chase is expected to entertain the company, while they dance, with an impromptu song, in the chorus of which the women join.

225 33. Much of the foregoing applies to the *àryô·to-*, as well as to the *ē·remtâ·ga-*, except of course that, with the former, hunting expeditions are less frequent than turtling and fishing operations.

34. Turtle-hunts take place during the flood-tide, both by day and night; the favourite hour of all is that between sunset and the rising of the waning moon,[1] for then, with the aid of the phosphorescent light, called *pēwō·i-*, caused by the movements of the canoe, they are often able to discover and harpoon the turtle before it is at all aware of their approach; on these occasions they select, if possible, a rocky portion of the coast, where there is little or no foreshore, giving it as their reason that turtles frequent such places on dark nights in order to lay their eggs, and are then easily captured. At other times, the localities preferred for these expeditions are those styled *yàu·la-*, where there is a fine stretch of sand with an extensive foreshore, the reason, of course, being that every dark object is so easily seen in shallow water against a clear sandy bottom.

35. The green or edible turtle (*Chelonia virgata*), called *yâ·dī-*, is hunted both by day and night, but the hawkbill (*Caretta imbricata*), called *tàu-*, only by day, as they declare the latter is never seen on dark nights.[2] The flesh of the former is of course preferred, and no use being made of the tortoiseshell obtainable from the latter, it is treated after the feast with as little consideration as the valueless shell of the *yâ·dī-*.[3]

36. The practice of capturing turtles by "turning" them when on shore is unknown among these savages; whether this be due to their regarding it as mean and unsportsmanlike, as the disdainful looks and remarks of those I questioned on the subject would lead one to suppose, or whether it be because they so thoroughly enjoy their own methods of procedure, which so fully answer their requirements, I am not prepared to determine, but it is, nevertheless, certain that although well aware, from their knowledge of the animal's habits, that it could be easily surprised

[1] This period has accordingly received a specific name, viz., *á·kà-tig-pâ·la-*.

[2] An average size *yâ·dī-* weighs about 80 to 100 lbs., and a *tàu-* considerably less. The heaviest specimen of the former which ever came under my notice weighed about 400 lbs. The ordinary price of a full-grown turtle at Port Blair is five rupees.

[3] These remarks do not of course apply to those living at the homes, as they have long since learnt to benefit considerably by disposing of their tortoiseshell to visitors and residents at Port Blair.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

and captured when frequenting the shore, they never take advantage of the opportunities thus presented. 225

37. Even on the darkest nights many turtles are speared at the moment when they rise to the surface in order to breathe. The sound which they then make, though slight, is sufficient at once to attract the attention of the keen-eared *àryô·to-*[1] standing on the projecting prow, and to enable him to direct his harpoon with unerring aim; he usually jumps into the water after his victim, lest the barbed head should, in the act of dragging the line, slip out of the wound and the animal escape. When the turtle is in such deep water as to render spearing it from the canoe an impossibility, the harpooner leaps into the water feet foremost, with the spear in his hand, and frequently succeeds at once in transfixing the animal. After spearing a sting-ray, they drag it by means of the harpoon to the boat, whereupon one of the party seizes it by its tail, and holding it firmly between his *teeth*, knocks off, with a piece of wood or other instrument, the formidable spike or spikes which project from the root of the tail; after thus disarming their victim, they proceed to drag it into the canoe or to the shore.[2]

38. From the accounts of some writers respecting the prowess of the Andaman Islanders in the water, it might be inferred that they rival or even excel the "finny denizens of the deep" in their own element. This is, of course, incorrect, and due to misapprehension; the secret of their "invariably returning to the surface with some scaly prize" finds its explanation in the fact that they never think of diving[3] after a fish that has not been first transfixed (according to its size) by an arrow or harpoon.[4]

39. The art of fishing with a hook and line was unknown to, and has not found favour among them, as they are far more successful than ourselves in catching fish by their own methods,[5] which are as follow:—at low water the women and children with hand-nets capture such fish and shell-fish[6] as are left by the 266

[1] *Vide ante* "Tribal Communities," paragraph 5.

[2] Two or three fatal accidents have, to my knowledge, occurred in recent years on dark nights to inexperienced turtle-hunters at one or other of the homes, in consequence of their having plunged on to the back of one of these fish after harpooning it, mistaking their victim in the darkness for a turtle.

[3] "Should the fish be large some of those in the boat dive down, attacking the victim with knives and spears" (Day).

[4] They are, moreover, not in the habit of "diving for shell-fish"—except it be for a *Tridacna crocea*, which they occasionally discover in deep water—for quantities are always found in shallow water at low tide.

[5] "The present writer has seen a party of Andamanese shoot and secure nearly one hundred fish during one low tide on a coral reef, and that with no very extraordinary exertion" (*vide* "Bombay Gazette," 2nd August, 1881).

[6] The favourite time for collecting shell-fish is the low tide at daybreak occurring about the third and fourth days after new and full moon, and known to them by the name of *tô·ya-*.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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PLATE XI.

A TURTLE-HUNT.

[facing p. 164]

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Report of a Survey of the Inhabitants of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands during 1948-49

[P1]

By

B. S. Guha

Director, Department of Anthropology

About the end of the year 1946, Mr H. J. Stooks, Deputy Secretary to the Ministry of Home Affairs, consulted me with regard to proposals made by Sri A. V. Thakkar of the Bharatiya Adim Jati Sevak Sangh for undertaking work for the amelioration of the conditions of the inhabitants of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands on the same lines as the Sangh has been doing among the Bhils and other tribes of Central India. The problem of the Aborigines of the Andaman Islands, however, is not the same as that of the other primitive tribes of India. These people are some of the most ancient remnants of the human race still surviving in any part of the world, who had been very little affected from contact with other people and subsist principally on fishing and hunting. The need among them is not so much the spread of education and social uplift as the arrest of the decline in population which has been most alarming. Since the establishment of the Penal Settlement at Port Blair in 1858, the condition of the "Friendly Tribes" among these inhabitants have been most distressing. Due in the beginning to armed encounters with the forces of the Government, and also as a result of ravages from diseases like tuberculosis and syphilis contracted from Indian convicts, there has been a continuous decline in the Andamanese population. From an estimated figure of about 10,000 people in 1779 the tribe has been reduced to only 70 in 1931, and at the time of our visit there were probably not more than 37 individuals still living. Whether it will be possible to save the Andamanese from the fate of the Tasmanians whose last surviving representative passed away about 1770 is extremely doubtful.

The hostile branch of the Andamanese tribes known as the Jarawa-Onge-Sentinelese group, fortunately has been spared the fate of their more "friendly" kinsmen, and as a result of implacable hostility and comparative isolation have survived to a much larger extent. In the western forest belts of Middle and South Andamans, the Little Andaman, and the North Sentinel Islands they have resisted all intrusions from outsiders and were known to have lived in these places comparatively unmolested. No accurate census of these tribes however, was ever taken, but from estimates made by people who had some knowledge of the tribes, it does not seem possible that the total strength of these people could be more than a few hundred souls altogether before the last war. What has happened since and how far these people, specially the Jarawas, have suffered from Japanese occupation cannot accurately be determined. It is known that there had been some bombing by the Japanese in the Jarawa tract, but whether any Jarawa was killed is not known. I, therefore, suggested to Mr Stooks that an anthropological survey of the Islands was essential and a probable estimate of the surviving settlements of the population made before the question of any social welfare work can be considered.

crew of the ship called him 'Raja' and we adopted this name (*see* Plate IV, Figs. 1 & 2). He was the only one among the Onges who was fully armed with knives, bows and arrows. Among the contents of the canoes, we found complete fishing out-fits, bows and arrows, ropes and nautilous shells, for bailing out water. There was also a kind of bamboo float about 1½ ft. long, probably used for turtle fishing. We gave them food, cigarettes and other presents. After they became quite familiar with us and friendly, they were subjected to full anthropometric measurements by me. Their blood was also tapped by Mr Sarkar for typing. The presents given were iron nails, strips of red cloth, tea and tobacco leaves. Among all these objects what they liked most were the tobacco leaves. Cooked rice, dal (cooked lentils) and fish curry served to them from the launch Mess were however not much appreciated. With the few Hindi words that they were able to understand, we told them that we would like to visit their camp next morning and meet other members of the party. After the canoes had left, we anchored at this point for the night and after taking an early breakfast we left for the shore in two batches. We were informed by the crew that the creek near the Onge camp was called the *Dugong Creek*. We had to wade through brakish water and coast fringing with coral beds for about two miles, before we reached the Onge settlement. There was one large circular communal hut characteristic of the Onges and several lean-to's (*see* Plate I, Fig. 2). We noticed three canoes on the beach apparently those with which they came to meet us on the previous day. We saw also several small dogs and the entrails of a pig strewn round. We met all the 12 Onges we saw the day before, along with Ukla and his family. In addition there were a number of women and children. We took out our presents of dried tobacco leaves, iron nails and two large fishes that we had caught on our way from Port Blair. These were distributed to the Onges. There were altogether 17 men, 15 women, 4 boys and 3 girls. The children were between 1½ to 4 years. The entire party of Onges behaved towards us in a friendly manner and subjected to our measurements and tapping of blood from their fingers without any protest. We went inside their hut and inspected the settlement very thoroughly. A large number of photographs were taken. We found that the name of this village was *Tambebui*. As it became rather late, we decided to return to 'Molly' in the Andamanese canoes, rather than walk through the coral beds for 2 miles. The Onges understood our signs and glad'y escorted us back to the launch. We found there were several other Onges waiting for us in the launch who came from the neighbouring village *Gabilong*. All of these Onges appear to be under the influence of the man nick-named as 'Raja' (*see* Plate IV, Figs. 1-2).

We could not proceed towards Hut Bay as the launch had to return for duty at Port Blair, where we reached at about mid-night.

After reaching Port Blair, I discussed the matter of transport with the Chief Commissioner, Mr Majid. A thorough coastal survey of Little Andaman would take at least 15 to 20 days. As it was found impossible to get either from the Forest Department or from the Harbour Master any of their launches

for such a fairly long period, it was decided to give up the idea of continuing our survey of the Little Andaman that year. A 122

At the suggestion of Mr Majid it was finally decided instead to pay a visit to the surviving members of the Friendly Andamanese tribes at Neil and Havelock Islands where they had now been transferred and settled. Unfortunately, as it was March and the closing month of the financial year, I had to return to my headquarters at Banaras and leave Mr Sarkar in charge of the party to carry on further surveys in the North and Middle Andamans as far as this was found possible. A 121 [131]

Accordingly Mr Sarkar with his party left Port Blair on 6-3-48 on the Forest Motor Launch "Lindsay" and arrived at Long Island at about 8 A.M. on the following day. Mr Sarkar was met by Mr Joseph, T. S. D. O. who brought "Loka" and his party of four Andamanese. They were studied by him. The party left Long Island on the Forest Launch "Kokhari" at about 7-30 A.M. on the following day. Mr Joseph accompanied the party, who halted at the Guitar Island where some of Loka's associates were hunting turtles with harpoons. After leaving Guitar Island, the launch passed through Homfray Strait. Mr Joseph showed the spot where the Jarawas in 1925 attacked his camp. This is near the place from where the Jarawas usually crossed from the Baratang Island to the Middle Andamans. Proceeding further westwards, Mr Sarkar and his party reached the north-east end of the Spike Island. This is another route of migration of the Jarawas from the South to North Andamans. Usually they come from the South Andaman and cross over to Bluff Island and then reach the Spike Island opposite to it. Loka gave the information that it was about this place that several Jarawas were shot sometime back and their bodies were buried in the Bluff Island. The party went along the coast of Neil Island and anchored off Foul Bay. Human footprints identified by Mr Joseph and Loka as belonging to the Jarawas were found in the sand. Following the footprints the party found the remnants of burnt ashes and cinder in a spot in the jungle. There were also vessels made of leaves for carrying water which were still wet. These were collected as specimens of Jarawa objects for the Department's collections. No traces of Jarawas themselves could however be found who must have moved into the jungles just prior to our party's visit. Our men then crossed over to Bluff Island and searched for the Jarawa skeletons, but none were found. On the 9th of March the "Kokhari" returned to Long Island, where it anchored. Loka brought his party of 21 individuals who were now settled in Neil Island. These people were carefully studied by Mr Sarkar and notes taken regarding their geneology, family structure and physical state, etc. On the 9th the Deputy Chief Commissioner, Mr S. C. Gupta with his wife arrived at Long Island. Mr Sarkar and his party accompanied him to Stewart Sound in his boat "Elsa". Unfortunately the few Andamanese who were living there happened to have gone out in their canoes for fishing and could not be contacted (*see* Plate I, Fig. 5). A 115 A 114 A 225 [411] A 115 [126] A [115]

They then went with Mr Gupta to the Karen village called *Webi* situated at a short distance from Stewart Sound. There were no Andamanese there, K 361

10:Sen K-3,4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

105 For the fact that the Andamanese inhabits the coastal areas of the
177 Andamans, the fishing is an well-known art to them. The pristine cul-
182 ture is virtually lost and the few who are still now surviving have been brought under the folds of government help. Still now the headmen
[225] of the Andamanese in the Middle Andaman, *Loka* is found doing turtle
[48] hunting in their canoes and climbing up the coconut trees without the help of any rope. Still now they are found dancing in groups but they are few and far between. All of them wear clothes and live in the huts made by the Forest Department.

THE ABORIGINES OF THE LITTLE ANDAMAN GROUP.

101 The Onges, the Jarawas and the Sentinelese belong to this group.

The Jarawas

177 Of all these three groups, the Jarawas only live in the Great Anda-
648 mans and their occurrence in the Great Andamans has been explained
[101] by many authorities, as has been explained earlier. The Jarawas are implacably hostile and the best of efforts to bring them under terms
[18] of amity have proved furtile. Lt. Colebrook and Archibald Blair first came in contact with the Jarawas and in course of time, the Aka-beas, belonging to the Great Andaman Group, living in the South Andaman became friendly with the foreigners while the hostility of the Jarawas remained unabated. The Jarawa hostility has been always increasing and it was more so since 1921. In 1923, 37 Jarawas were shot and in 1938, a Jarawa woman and her 4 children were captured. So the chances of meeting the Jarawas have been few and far between and the great decline in their number has in all practical senses stopped the apprehension of their raids in the new settlement areas. Still now, of course a person penetrating deep into the forests of the eastern parts of South Andaman should always be on the guard against an attack from the Jarawas.

The Onges.

The Onges, having experienced the impact of the foreigners at the latest period, are at present the most widesprend of all the aborigines of the Andamans. They do not have the truculence of the Jarawas and the attempts for bringing them under closer ties and terms of amity with the foreigners have proved successful, though the essential traits of their social, cultural and material life remain unaltered.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

171 184 411 two have added feathers, and poisoned tips, in imitation of neighbouring peoples.

For the capture of large fish and animals such as turtles, dolphins 184 and dugong, the Onges and Arioto use not the arrow harpoon but 411 the spear harpoon. Brown saw none of these among the Onges he 114 studied in Rutland, and consequently assumed its absence on Little 22 Andaman. The Onges carry as little as possible on their sea voyages [484] for the sake of speed, and would not therefore take spear harpoons (used only for marine hunting) with them on trips to Rutland, which they visit only for the purpose of hunting pigs and not to fish, or to hunt marine animals. They certainly have, and use, spear harpoons even today; I myself have been with the Onges and seen their harpoons used from the canoes. I had ample opportunity to admire both the effectiveness of the weapons and the accuracy of the throwers.

411 The greater structural and operational simplicity of the spear harpoon, in comparison with the arrow harpoon, leads one to [283] suppose it the older of the two. Its cord is made of tough *Hibiscus* fibres, and with the aid of these and a straight shaft about six metres long and little over four centimetres in diameter, even the humblest of nails, seven centimetres long and three millimetres in diameter, [824] can become the point of a spear harpoon. It is fixed into the shaft (usually of mangrove wood) which is hollowed out at the thinner end to take it, and with a cord up to a hundred metres long or more attached to the nail two centimetres from the head, the spear harpoon is ready for use – shaft, point and cord.

411 When the harpoon is to be used for turtles, no barbs are needed, 225 as the point is driven so firmly into the shell that blocks of wood have to be carried in the canoes to knock it out for re-use.

The harpoon throwers stand ready on the platform jutting out fore and aft of the canoes (see p. 122), the free end of the cord is tied to one of the booms to prevent it being jerked out of the canoe as the victim tries to escape, and the slack is coiled in the bottom of the canoe. The thrower holds the cord against the harpoon as he waits for the right moment and then throws. As the harpoon strikes, the point detaches from the shaft, which floats on the water till picked up – often to be used as a punt-pole in the shallow waters of the coral reef, as the canoe follows the victim, now held firmly on the end of the cord.

50 53 422 126 build it (when I wanted to acquire two for the new anthropological museum at Port Blair and the Indian Museum in Calcutta I had to bargain with the men recognized as the owners, although the price had to be distributed among all the members of the group).

225 252 The chief delight of the men on their fishing trips is the capture of a Giant Turtle. I have already described (p. 88) the spear harpoons which the Onges use to catch them. Once caught, the wretched animals are subjected to a form of vivisection utterly incomprehensible to the Western mind; they are literally cut up alive and the pieces thrown into the boiling cooking-pot. Nor have I ever witnessed anything so terrible as the way in which the Onges, in the absence of any suitable cooking vessel, or the materials for an earth oven, roast these turtles whole and alive over a slow fire. [157] They seem totally unable to realize that animals can feel pain and laugh like children at the other atrocious tortures they unwittingly inflict not only on the turtles, but on every living thing that falls into their hands.

825 262 These marine turtles (as far as I was able to see there were no land turtles in the Andamans) yield a far greater amount of food than the dugong, and provide the islanders with both meat and eggs. Two [136] species are common in the seas round the islands, *Chelonia virgata*, or the green turtle, and *Caretta imbricata*, which supplies the shells normally sold commercially. The Onges prefer the former, which are both meaty and more plentiful.

222 225 467 [176] Turtle-hunting and egg-collecting is done by the menfolk. The method is very like that used for dugong and large fish, using the harpoon. Owing to their fear of the spirits abroad in the night, the Onges never go near the beaches between dusk and dawn, when it would be easy to take the turtles on land and immobilize them by turning them on their backs. They do know this trick, however, and use it when captured turtles (often weighing up to a hundredweight) are too heavy to carry in the canoe; the animals are turned on their backs and dumped on the beach ready to pick up later.

225 The Onges harpoon the turtles from canoes, preferably at night when the turtles are nearing the shore, which they never approach in the day time. When there is a moon the creatures are easily seen, and on dark nights the phosphorescence of the sea helps.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Once struck by the harpoon the turtle is trapped by the cord tied 225
to the head of the harpoon while the shaft, detached by the blow, floats on the water till it is picked up. The target is large, the distance is short, and so the harpoon never fails.

The spirits of the night do not walk on the sea, so the turtle-hunting expeditions are all sea-borne, the canoes setting out to meet the turtles as they come in towards the shore to mate. When the moon is high the tropical seas are as clear as by day; on dark nights the resin torches carried in the canoes light the sea for a fair distance. Beyond their range, the turtles as they swim disturb tiny marine creatures, which promptly emit their phosphorescence, revealing clearly to the Onges the path of their unsuspecting victim.

These torches are about one metre long and fifteen centimetres in 225
diameter, made of twisted palm leaves tightly bound with reed 416
fibres. Inside is a carefully balanced mixture of resin and embers, 177
which burns with a very bright flame. In recent years a variant has [283]
been introduced – huge lumps of gum were driven on to the shores of Little Andaman from some unknown distant shipwreck, and the Onges, having discovered how well the unknown substance burned, began mixing it with the embers in their torches. I can still see the Onges' child-like pleasure as they admired the effect of their new product, a gift, like their petrol-drum cooking-pots, from the sea.

Their torches for use on land are much smaller – about thirty 416
centimetres long and ten centimetres in diameter, but made in 171
exactly the same way. It is interesting that similar torches are found 225
eastwards throughout Polynesia and are used everywhere in the same way for hunting turtles and their eggs from the same type of canoe.

The victim, struck as it comes to the top to breathe, disappears 225
at once into the sea, dragging the cord with it. In less than ten minutes, however, it reappears on the surface and is hoisted aboard, often almost helping itself into the canoe with its thrashing flippers. Quite often turtles are caught while they are asleep on the surface, or mating, in which case the pair are easily captured. And in stormy weather, when the high seas make it difficult for them to negotiate the reefs back to the open water, the Onges can catch them and 'ride' them to the shore. I have seen the surviving Arioto do this,

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

225 turning the turtle over on its back as soon as it is landed, and then blinding the wretched creature by putting both eyes out with a sharp stick, so that it cannot escape even if it manages to right itself.

222 Turtle eggs are easy to find. Before laying them in the sand about one metre deep, the turtle makes several visits about a fortnight beforehand to choose the spot. The huge footprints she leaves in the sand are easily seen, and watch is kept on the spot. When the Onges know roughly where to look they know that by poking in the sand with a stick they must in the end find the eggs. As one man, and happy as sandboys, they dig in the sand, lower and lower, till the sight of the first egg is greeted with a shout of triumph. One by one the eggs emerge to fill the baskets, hastily improvised and lined with great leaves.

The female may actually be seen depositing the eggs, up to two hundred at a time. Some will be infertile, and are smaller, with no yolk, but normally they are the size and shape of a billiard ball, deposited one after another at the rate of ten a minute. As they are laid a viscous secretion flows over them so that the sand sticks to them. As it dries, however, the sand can be rubbed off the shells, which are not rigid and resemble a shining white parchment; on each egg is a tiny round indentation, which increases in size within two or three days and makes the egg look as though it has shrivelled in the sun. In fact, the eggs will not hatch unless they remain buried deep in the sand.

136 222 Not more than half the turtle eggs laid in the Andamans hatch out into young turtles, so eager for them are man and beast alike. Man is their worst enemy, and it is no exaggeration to say that no clutch laid on Little Andaman has any hope of hatching. Man and animals alike range the beaches in search of the delicacy. First come the pigs, so greedy that if they come upon a female in the act of laying they give her no time even to cover the eggs. Then come the monitors, voracious lizards two metres long, and on the east coast near Nachuge, huge crocodiles as well. Finally, *Paradoxurus*, the wild cat of the Andamans, takes anything that is left.

The Onges have to compete with all these for turtle eggs, and they are nearly always too late. They have to look instead to the 136 deserted islands, like the nearby South and North Brother. Here the young turtles have some chance of hatching, but as soon as they

136 for them and feeding them on the table. As soon as they saw worms
126 wriggling, they would move cautiously towards them and then snap them up like lightning. They became used to sitting in my hand quite undisturbed, looking round in two directions at once in an interested way. Flies held by the wings fascinated them more than anything, and they used to stare at the insects as though hoping to mesmerize them. They made delightful pets.

136 More prosaically, they are very good fried. Outside Little Anda-
114 man I found hundreds every day near Golpahar on Middle Andaman, and as the fish market in Port Blair was over a day's journey away we used many for non-scientific purposes.

136 Dugong, monitors, snakes, jungle cats, bats, leeches – all abound in Little Andaman and I had ample opportunities to study them. The dugong are well known to the Onges, but I only saw them at Bumila Creek (Cuateniabo) and Jackson Creek, where I did not have the time to catch any; the Onges tried, but without result.

Dugong (from the Malayan *Dyong*, introduced into scientific Latin as the family Dugongidae), are large mammals of the order *Sirenia*. They have a short fish-like body, with closeable nostrils above a cavernous mouth, which is surrounded by short bristly whiskers and armed with a brush-like, horny plate. In the male two short tusks hang down each side of the mouth, like a miniature hippopotamus, giving the animals a cumbersome, ugly look. The
[225] Onges prize the dugong, but rarely manage to capture one; when they do, there is great feasting. I was never able to try it, or even acquire any really close observations of the creatures.

136 Monitors or dragon-lizards, on the other hand were under my
126 feet every day, although the islanders never eat them. I used to put out as bait fish or pig carcasses rejected by the Onges as being too
[262] lean, and we could then shoot as many as we wanted as they rushed to the bait from all sides. I collected their skins for various museums, using the carcasses as further bait.

136 The Andamanese variety is well known and it closely resembles *Varanus niloticus*, the Nile monitor, to which it is related. The largest can be two metres long, including the long, very tapering tail. As they approach their prey, sniffing at it, their forked tongue, twice the length of the head, flashes in and out of its sheath with incredible speed. Although they have strong legs they move slowly and it is easy to catch them by the tail, providing one takes care to

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

in the division of all meat. Certain cuts are the property of the hunter, of his helpers, and of his relations and after them, in order, of the remaining members of the group; everyone knows his position in advance. Each portion is tied round with a reed fibre, which is allowed to dangle out over the top of the communal cooking-pot ready to haul the meat out when required.

In the case of pork the prized cut is one which comprises the kidneys and the surrounding fat; this fat is called *cian*,[1] and is very highly esteemed. Some authors (Brown, for example) have stated that turtles and pigs are always cut up with the head ritually pointing towards the sea as otherwise the meat would be considered inedible. This is certainly not the case on Little Andaman, and I have never seen any such directional ritual among any of the Negritos, all of whom practise division of meat according to a prescribed order of precedence. Turtles at any rate are slaughtered facing up the sloping beach simply because it is then easier to hold the beast from behind and avoid its bite. Ritual there is, but usually with a good practical basis.

More ritual attaches to the way in which the game is carried back to the camp, and the wood to be used for the cooking fire. Pigs, killed and gutted, are tied in ropes made of *Ficus laccifera* and carried somehow on the back of the victorious hunter. If it is not far to the camp he will not bother to tie up the snout and feet, but otherwise the front and back legs are tied, and one long cord joins both pairs to the snout – again a practical ritual, giving the hunter a more compact weight to carry.

Man, Portman, Brown and others all say that each type of game has to be cooked over a fire of a particular wood. My own observations showed that whereas the ritual of dissection is inviolable, the Onges always use the first wood that comes to hand, regardless of its source, taking as usual the line of least resistance. This is again in keeping with the tendency of primitive peoples to expend only the very minimum of energy to achieve their object. Their religious beliefs and superstitions are not carried to the limit, simply because

[1] It is interesting that in their very restricted world the Onges have few standards of comparison or words to express condemnation or approval, and this word *cian* is used as one of high praise, applied to inanimate objects, animals, and people alike. The precise qualities which are conveyed by the word are difficult to evaluate in the absence of fuller knowledge of the Onge language.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

• 226

An Andaman Islander shooting fish with bow and arrow on the reefs at Port Blair

Frontispiece

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

A comparison of the three branches of the Negrito race in the light of present information shows that the usual form of habitation amongst them is a sloping roof or screen of palm-leaves. One form of this, the simplest to construct, but only suitable as a temporary shelter, is in common use amongst the Semang and is found amongst the Negritos of Casiguran. The other form, more permanent but requiring more labour to erect, is in common use in the Andamans and amongst the Negritos of Zambales. Of communal huts we have no evidence in the Philippines. The communal shelter of the Semang consists of two screens leaning towards one another. The two types of communal hut of the Andamans are both derived from the family hut. 171 342

HUNTING, FISHING, ETC.

The Andaman Islanders depend for their subsistence entirely upon the natural productions of the forest and the sea. They make no attempt whatever to cultivate the soil. Until the introduction of dogs in 1858 they had no domestic animals. Young pigs are occasionally kept in captivity till they are grown, but they are killed for food and are not bred in captivity. Thus the Andamanese provide themselves with food by three different forms of activity: (1) collecting such things as roots and fruits and honey, (2) fishing in the sea and in the creeks, (3) hunting the wild animals of the forest. 231 241

For hunting the Andamanese rely entirely on the bow and arrow. Since they have had dogs they occasionally make hunting spears, but they did not do so in former times. They make no use whatever of any method of trapping game or birds. For fishing they also make use of the bow and arrow, wading out on to the reefs and shooting the fish, and in this they are very skilful. Crustaceans, such as crabs and crayfish, are captured in the same way. In the North Andaman a sort of short fish spear was formerly in use as an occasional substitute for the bow and arrow. In all parts of the islands small nets are used by the women for catching small fish and prawns. In the Great Andaman large nets were formerly used for capturing turtle, dugong and large fish near the shore. At the present time the natives of the Great Andaman Division make use of harpoons with which they capture turtle, dugong and large fish from their canoes. Harpoons are not used in the Little Andaman. The Andamanese are also aware of methods of poisoning or stupefying fish in pools by means of certain plants that they crush and place in the water, but I have never seen them use this method of 224 411 227 226

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

227 fishing, although they say that they formerly did so. They have no
226 fish hooks and no fish traps. At the present time a few of the natives have learnt to take fish with hook and line, but they are unable to make hooks for themselves, and have to obtain them from the Settlement at Port Blair.

222 In collecting roots a digging stick is used, and a hooked pole is
412 used for gathering fruit, but they have no other special implements in use in collecting natural productions, and have no need of any. The adze is used for obtaining molluscs and for cutting honey-combs from hollow trees.

411 It is thus clear that by far the most important utensil of the Andamanese is the bow and arrow. We may say that they are essentially a bow and arrow people. This is even more true of the natives of the Little Andaman Division than of those of the Great Andaman Division.

It may be noted here that the Andamanese have no weapons that are used only for fighting. They fight with their chief hunting weapon, the bow and arrow. Nor have they any special defensive weapons, the shield being unknown.

171 The Semang in their natural condition depend for their subsistence on collecting roots and fruits from the forest, on catching fish in the streams, and on hunting animals. Their mode of subsistence is thus essentially the same as that of the Andamanese. One difference is that they have not the sea from which to draw supplies, and another is that the forests in which they live afford a much larger variety of game. A number of the Semang now practice a little rude agriculture which they have undoubtedly adopted in imitation of their neighbours of other races[1].

The principal weapon of the Semang, as of the Andamanese, is the bow and arrow. In hunting they also use spears[2], thus showing a difference from the Andamanese. Some of the Semang make use of the blow-pipe with poisoned darts, but it is practically certain that they have adopted the use of this weapon from their neighbours the Sakai[3]. They also make use to some extent of traps with which to capture jungle animals and birds. The wilder Semang living in the mountains have little opportunity of obtaining fish. Those of them that dwell near rivers use fish-spears and harpoons for catching large fish, and a small basket-work scoop for catching small fry[4]. They also fish with

[1] Skeat, p. 341.
[2] Skeat, p. 270.
[3] Skeat, p. 280.
[4] Skeat, p. 305.

Z:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE IX.

SHOOTING FISH IN TIDAL CREEK NEAR PORT BLAIR.

[Facing p. 146]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

226 receding waves in the rocky hollows on the foreshore, and at the turn of the tide the men are usually to be seen standing up to their waists in water, or poling along the shore in their canoes, and shooting with their bows and arrows at the fish as they dart past.[1]

[824] 40. The seeds of a plant called *tō·rog-*[2] are sometimes crushed and thrown into creeks where fish and prawns are likely to be, as it has the effect of driving the fish from their hiding place, and leads to their easy capture in hand-nets held in position for the purpose.

41. In former times, and even now in the more distant communities, large nets of about 80 feet in length and 15 feet in depth, with meshes of several inches in diameter, were spread at the mouths of creeks for catching turtles and big fish; but since iron has been so easily obtained and canoes and harpoons have become more numerous, the *àryō·to-* usually capture their turtles, &c., by these means in preference to the older method, which entailed much labour in the manufacture. The following is the mode employed when nets are used:—one side is sunk by means of stones, and the other is kept up by floating sticks called *t'ā·lag-*, of the *al·aba-*[3] tree (*Melochia velutina*), to each of which a cane-leaf is attached; the ends are then drawn across such parts or creeks into which fish may easily be driven by beating the water with the bamboo shafts of their turtle spears. When any turtle or fish is driven into the net, the exact spot is at once indicated by the disturbance of one of the logs, with its tuft of leaves, whereupon they generally find little difficulty in despatching their captive.

502 **Navigation.**—1. It is a subject of surprise to all who, during the past fifteen or twenty years, have come in contact with the Andamanese, and have observed the style and capabilities of their canoes, to read the high encomiums that have been bestowed on the skill with which they are constructed, and to find that they are credited with such extraordinary speed as to distance easily a cutter, as well as a gig, manned respectively by picked crews of blue-jackets and Chinamen,[4] the former of whom "said, in their own usual exaggerated style of remark, they nearly killed

[1] The results obtained by the men are said to be inferior to those obtained by the women and children, but this is probably due to the large quantity of molluscs and crustaceans usually collected in the hand-nets.

[2] A species of *Lagerstrœmia*. This is similar to the custom among the Gaboon tribes described by Dr. Brown, who mentions that "at the Gaboon it is the leaves of a pretty leguminous plant, with yellow flowers . . . which is used. So rapid is the poison that if a handful of the bruised leaves are thrown into a pool the fish will almost immediately die and come to the surface."

[3] *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 7, and *post* "String," paragraph 1.

[4] *Vide* Mouat, pp. 315–321.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

515 people. Furthermore, the Onge skin is very soft and more elastic than is usual
[147] in human beings. For us, clothed and with a less resilient skin, a trip through the thorny Andaman forest means many small, bleeding scratches. Not so for the naked Onge. – To cover them with clothes would endanger their health. Nakedness inures them to the sudden changes of temperature so frequent in
[513] Little Andaman and preserves them from catching cold when sleeping, uncovered, on their rough, unprotected bed of boughs. As with primitives all over the world, clothes make them miserable and, I may add, very ungainly and dirty.

515 Part of their general negligence with regard to hygiene is their carelessness about their teeth. They never clean them. They do keep bamboo sticks,
[413] 1 mm thick and 8 cms long, tucked into their hair to be ostensibly used as toothpicks ; but the sticks, to tell the truth, are more of an ornament than a tool.
142 The Onge's teeth are so compact and sound that there is no space between them for food particles to collect. No caries or decay of any sort are to be
[164] noticed. In a number of skeletons that I dug up from under the beds in communal huts, the teeth gave evidence of one peculiarity : old people had worn them down to the root. The Onge habit of using teeth as working instruments,
[283] to prepare fibre for ropes and in many other circumstances – apart from their permanent chewing on hard foodstuffs – explains this fact.

515 As a consequence of never washing, the natives' hands are sometimes extremely dirty. The Onge themselves are conscious of this. I shall give an
226 instance. It so happened that I arrived in Nachugé, on the west coast, toward the end of March, when the sea was teeming with migrating sardines. In Little Andaman sardines can weigh up to a pound ; but a normal catch, obtained with small hand-nets cast from canoes among shoals of fish imprisoned by the low tide within the coral reef that surrounds the island, contains specimens of
[264] every dimension. All are eaten as soon as possible. The quantity of fish brought back to the camps on such occasions puts all inmates to work and induces everybody to abandon all other occupations for the time being. In the low tidal waters the men push their canoes from rock to rock, using them as receptacles for the abundant food so easily collected. In some "pockets" nets prove unnecessary : the fish is gathered in handfuls and rapidly thrown into the canoes. The hecatomb ends when the canoes are filled to the gunwales. In no other part of the world have I seen food made available to primitive people in such large quantities and with so little effort.

252 Back at the camp, the sardines are "graded" according to size and cooked immediately. They are not washed or cleaned, the inner organs are eaten to-
[263] gether with the flesh. Men, women and children feverishly take part in the cooking ; the fish is boiled without salt. All the natives then plunge their hands
264 avidly into the heap of sardines. From time to time the women clean their
515 hands by rubbing them on the *naqninēghē*. Very soon this garment becomes
[231] extremely smelly. Men and children clean their hands in a different way : by rubbing them on the dogs. On such occasions, everything and everybody smells of fish for days and days. The first to become clean again are the dogs, because they hate to be smeared with fish and wash themselves in the sea as soon as they have a chance.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

3. Food

In the absence of men, women also are good at fishing inside the coral reefs. They do this with two small nets used together. Their catch generally consists of brilliantly coloured fish with yellow, red, green, blue, black and white stripes forming varied and attractive designs. The Onge eat all fish without discrimination. My Indian collaborators, on the other hand, considered the coloured fish dangerous to their health and refused to cook them ; the Sacred Vedas, in fact, advise the avoidance of brigthly hued fish and of fish without scales. I wanted to try both kinds, and found them perfectly palatable, tasty and harmless.

No tool, used for any purpose by the Onge, ever gets a cleaning. Cleanliness, I repeat, is unknown in Little Andaman. See how food is prepared and disposed of ! Care is taken only not to throw big pieces of meat intended for cooking directly on the bare ground ; but once it is cooked, food is treated with the utmost disregard for dirt, dust, cobwebs and other such things. It is usually left lying around on large leaves spread out for the purpose. The remains of the Onge's orgiastic meals are kept out of reach of the dogs on the ceiling of the huts, to be covered with flies when no fire is lit directly below. Sand and grit may get wedged annoyingly in the teeth, but not such impalpable things as dust or cobwebs. The use of unclean food is not repugnant to the Onge. The same can be said for water polluted by dogs drinking and bathing in it, or by the presence of putrefying carcases. In the west of Little Andaman I saw some Onge avidly drinking from pools of a blackish water with a revolting sulphurous smell. After thoroughly filtering and boiling it, I too used such water, for it was the only water available in the neighborhood. This caused no ill effects. My Indian men considered it perfectly healthy and invigorating, and drank it safely in its natural condition.

The Onge eat with their unwashed fingers, without the help of tools. On rare occasions they use platters made of the flattened-out stems – or bracts – of *areca* palms. They sometimes carry these platters when travelling, but of course never wash them although they become coated in rancid, greasy filth. They soon assume a dark colour and a truly revolting appearance – aside from the awful smell. A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN's statement – that the Andamanese paint their bodies to neutralize the unpleasant smell of food that clings to them after their orgiastic feedings – shows only indirect knowledge of the life and manners of those people. Even the horrible flatulence that follows their pork orgies is not considered an inconvenience ; yet it is much more revolting than all the other body odours.

Although the Onge observe few hygienic precautions they do follow a number of medical practices, not all devoid of beneficial effects. Here are a few more remarks on their eating and drinking habits. For about six months of the year, between November and April, water is scarce in Little Andaman. Every kind of fresh water is then considered good by the Onge, regardless of whether it is a murky infusion of rotting leaves or afloat with the putrefied

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

simultaneously with it a successful all-round regional development of the islands. 563 648

The resources of the islands having a small areal extent are very limited though the forest and sea products are fairly rich to deserve special mention. The presence of a variety of valuable species of timber in these islands has led to their exploitation since the development of the Penal settlement. The important species of timber found in the Andaman forests are padauk, garjan etc. In the previous decades, the forest exploitation was never associated with a commensurate amount of forest regeneration. Such policies are being followed at present for saving the forest resources from ruthless exploitation without any adequate means of ensuring a perennial supply of timber by systematic regeneration. The recent colonisation scheme has invoked the enquiry for the clearance of the forests. Andaman forests being rich in timber and also being the only major revenue earning source of the islands should by no means be ruthlessly cleared for settlement. Not only it depletes the forest resources but also degenerates the soil—the soil erosion being the immediate victim after such clearance of forests. Considering the primary importance of the forest resources of the islands, it seems to be a plausible agreement that at least 50% of the land should be reserved under forest cover and a further curtailment from this percentage will undoubtedly lead to serious consequences of the soil simultaneously with a great decrease in the resources of the islands. 313

The sea products range from a wide variety of products from sea shells to sea fisheries. The collection of sea shells is in vogue from a fairly long time and the sea fisheries, mostly being confined to the coastal areas, is conducted by the fishermen and the tribal people for their own consumption. There is a good deal of possibility for furthering the development of marine fisheries on a commercial scale but the lack of enterprise and capital investment has not given rise to any appreciable development. The only two enterprises of the fisheries are those of Trochus and Turbo shells by the Japanese during 1930-36 and another enterprise by a business concern in 1947. Even the present catch from the coastal areas amount to only 300 lbs., a considerable lag from the demand within the islands. 226 228

The means of earning livelihood in the islands were hunting and collecting by the aboriginal population who have not even to-day learnt the techniques of domesticating plants and also animals except the Onges who have domesticated the dogs very recently. The penal settlement and the subsequent expansion of the administrative seat at Port Blair 222 224 231 563 241

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9 The bow and arrow is the main weapon used for hunting; in this photograph the archer has the long arrow harpoon used for spearing large fish

10 Fishing in the coral shallows

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226

[facing p. 66, G]

133 to six metres or more, with sudden vertical drops and dangerous overhangs. It is here, however, that underwater life is at its most 133 beautiful. Swarms of fish, painted in fantastic variegated stripes, 136 spots and patches in imitation of their surroundings, live among these caverns, rushing about in the wells of deep water. When they are pursued by bigger fish, the shoals will leap suddenly out of the water, only to be caught by the gulls who are always lying in wait for them. I have watched the shoals from the shore, and seen them leap out of the sea to lie gasping on the sand, dying quickly in the heat.

136 Where there are channels in direct communication with the open sea, small sharks slightly over a metre in length move in to meet any swimmers, though a clap of the hands is enough to put them to flight. Fish weighing several kilograms hide in the recesses of the [226] rocks bordering the corals, but they quickly emerge if poked with a stick, and the Onge women have an ingenious system of catching them. Rocks sticking up out of the water swarm with crustacea and tiny molluscs. Apart from the crabs, I was struck by their poor relations, the hermit crabs, comical tenants of all kinds of shells. One species, common in Little Andaman but rare on Great Andaman, is a beautiful tomato red all over, while others are bluish or grey.

The underwater world round the islands is completed by large numbers of several Holothuria, lazy, but conspicuous, and the huge bivalve molusc, *Tridacna* or Giant Clam. Some of these are anything up to a hundred years old and well over a metre in diameter, and weigh between two and three hundredweight. Always open, and incapable of moving from place to place, they feed by means of a multicoloured 'fringe' attached to the hem of each shell, the beating cilia which wave unceasingly causing eddies in the surrounding water and so drawing in plankton from a wide radius. Under normally calm conditions, this process of drawing in and swallowing plankton goes on without stopping, day and night. The huge molluscs look like simple baskets of blue, red, green and white flowers set on the sea bed, but they are in fact terrible creatures. If a man's hand or a foot should be sucked into the quite strong eddy the 'fringe' of cilia immediately folds back and the *Tridacna* suddenly closes like a giant eye silently, viciously, and so violently as to crush completely the limb caught between the two

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

136 *fortispine*, uses a similar action on the larger bivalves. Its shell is equipped with a very effective form of tin-opener, which it keeps polished by vigorous rubbing.)

I watched a *Pterocera* attentively scrutinizing the hand holding it. After exploring it very carefully, the creature tried to free itself by beating violently with its foot, causing considerable pain. I held one by one of its protuberances, which was like a large right-angled hook. Suddenly, while my attention was held by a shoal of fish, I felt a sharp pain on the back of my hand. Taken by surprise, I watched the creature to try and discover what it had done. From a furrow at the base of one large front hook, a little to its left, I saw a tentacle emerge, able to turn in any direction, with a retractable eye at its tip. The eye, after a few exploratory movements, fixed its gaze on the place on my hand the creature intended to hit, and then the foot began to beat wildly on my hand, time and time again, causing a quite surprising degree of pain.

462 It is during the honey feasts, when the tides are exceptionally low
226 and the seas calm, that the womenfolk come into prominence.
224 While the men normally do all the hunting for game and large fish, using arrows and harpoons, the women, with their nets, catch the smaller fish in the rivers and marshes, and among the coral reefs at low tide. Their contribution to the everyday diet is by no means negligible, and during the season of very low tides their daily haul is tremendous.

262 The importance of fish to the Onges is shown by the fact that
825 their word for it, *cioghe*, is also used to mean food in general, and clearly dates back to the time before the arrival of the pigs on the island, when fish and sea food in general was the basis of their diet.
[251] So plentiful is it that even at the height of the season the most they do in the way of preserving anything for future use is to expose the fish to smoke in order to deter flies from laying eggs on it for a day or two.

462 Only on very rare occasions do the men help in the net-fishing,
226 and then only when they can completely fill the canoes with fish very quickly. I saw it happen for the first time on 24 March 1953, in the great coral reef near Nachuge, just as it happens all over the island at this time of year, when the pilchard shoals are so far inshore that there are not enough canoes to hold the catch. As the

11: Ciprianí E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

tide goes down, the shoals are caught in the reefs stretching out to sea all round the island and the Onges leave everything to man-handle the canoes from pool to pool and fill them to overflowing. The water is almost saturated with fish, and the Onges go on and on until they have nothing more they can use to hold the catch. Nowhere else in the world have I seen anything like this wholesale slaughter.

The pilchards of the Andamans are rather larger than usual, some weighing as much as half a kilogram or more. The Onges catch them regardless of size and then sort them into lengths before cooking (cooking, needless to say, without stopping to gut them). Men, women and children work feverishly, plunging their hands into the heaving mass of fish so that they reek of it for days, together with the dogs, whose coats become the inevitable hand-towels.

Every available vessel is used for the cooking, and the rest of the haul is cooked directly over hot ashes. The biggest are cooked alone; the smaller ones, in batches of half to one kilogram, are wrapped in big fleshy leaves, tied up with vegetable fibres and cooked for ten minutes or so, turned regularly all the while. To boil the fish, an entire netful of fish roughly equal in size is plunged into boiling water, and boiled as usual far too long for our taste.

Everyone cooks and eats at the same time until (temporarily) unable to eat any more, when the rest of the haul is laid on improvised racks with fires of green wood making smoke underneath. When, a few days later, all is gone, fishing begins again. And so life goes on for weeks, until the shoals have passed the islands.

The real fishing, however, is done by the men. The women use small nets about fifty centimetres in diameter, and about the same depth. The opening consists of a pliable cane, barely three centimetres in diameter, bent into a circle and tied with the ends crossing each other and projecting about twenty centimetres to form the handles. Each woman handles two nets, one held between the legs and the other in one hand, while the other hand pokes with a stick into the crevices in the reefs under the water to drive out the fish which have taken refuge as the tide goes out. Once found the fish are killed – very simply, by biting them between the

226 eyes to crack their skulls – and thrown into the small basket every woman carries on her back, hung from the usual cord round her forehead.

The fish the women catch are all the varicoloured species which always haunt the coral shallows, bright red, blue, green, black and white in a wonderful range of stripes and patterns. The Onges eat them with no respect for design, and I must confess that I myself found them very good.

226 252 Besides fish, the women catch molluscs, crustacea, lobsters, crayfish, crabs and even some species of hermit crabs (the latter are baked alive in their adopted shells, and only the abdomen is edible). Lobsters are plentiful, some striped with green and blue and weighing up to half a kilogram, with a very delicate flavour, but the Onges do not seem to be greatly interested in them. They prefer fish and crabs; *Pterocera*, again baked alive, are great favourites and I quite saw why the kitchen-middens are full of *Pterocera* shells.

227 The men prefer to fish with bows and arrows made specially for the purpose, and very different from those intended for game, the shaft being made of very light hollow cane, instead of the solid wood demanded by the mechanics of the game-arrow. The fishing arrow is made of three parts, bound tightly into one. The point, now made of iron,[1] is about four to five millimetres in diameter and [283] twenty to twenty-five centimetres long. Like that of the arrow harpoon, it is fixed by a tightly bound thread to a small stick or foreshaft about fifteen to twenty centimetres long and slightly smaller in diameter than the shaft proper (usually eighty to eighty-five centimetres long), so that the overall length of the finished [314] arrow is a hundred and ten centimetres or more. The binding [237] threads are held fast by a mixture of resin and beeswax, coloured with ochre in the case of new arrows.

227 I tried giving the Onges hooks and lines; they were intrigued by 123 my demonstration of how to leave lines overnight and draw them 177 in next morning loaded with fish, but no more. This was not superstition or fear of the unknown but sheer adherence to established ooo custom. They have neither incantations, amulets nor propitiating

[237] [1] Formerly made of *Tridacna*, or very hard wood. Some of the latter are still to be found, but all the other types of head – fish quills, bone, and *Tridacna* – have disappeared long ago.

136 many smaller ones, all good to eat. Near my base camp at Labanar,
[222] the men caught sackfuls of them, and I found young ones near the communal hut at Togalanghe.

There a rocky path winds down to the banks of the river Tciongarè (or Chongaree) to the south of the camp. In various places, where the path levels out, black muddy water collects into pools full of rotting leaves, lying on a bed of ooze and slime. In these pools, which appear and dry up again very quickly, I was surprised to catch a number of *silurides*. When it rains heavily, however, the pools link and join up with the river where the fish live, so that as the water disappears again any fish which have entered the pools are prevented from returning to the river, and are left lying in the slime as the water evaporates. These silurides have no gills, and are equipped instead with nostrils of an unusual type; from the nostrils protrude two cylindrical tubes, half a centimetre long in fish fifteen centimetres long, the same blackish colour as the rest of the body. The tail and the long dorsal fin are yellowish, and the long ventral fin running from the anus to the tail is whitish. There are two large lateral pectoral fins, with two very small ones between them. The eyes are large, starting out of the head like tiny glass domes. Very unfortunately a number of specimens which I had most carefully preserved were lost in transit from Port Blair to Calcutta, when some of my baggage, including the crabs and a collection of face masks of Nicobarese which had cost me a great deal of trouble, mysteriously disappeared *en route*.

136 The Onges do not eat eels,[1] which they regard as snakes, but they
262 several times brought me examples of a very fine freshwater eel
226 whose presence on Little Andaman I had not suspected. The Onges caught them, as they do all fish, with their bows and arrows. All weighed over half a kilogram and looked and tasted like European eels.

136 The eel of the Andamans, like those of Europe and America, has a long, almost cylindrical body and a single fin which begins on the back, circles the tail, and ends under the body just in front of the anus. There is also a pair of strong pectoral fins. The head distinguishes it from other eels, its rounded snout and wide mouth being

[184] [1] The Arioto, however, eat eels, and also mice and other small animals, although food is given to them by the Governor in return for police duties. Brown also refers to the eating of snakes and mice on Great Andaman.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

rather shorter than in other species, with rows of small teeth covering the palate. The jaws themselves, however, have only one row of teeth, all very pointed. To my intense annoyance, my eel specimens were lost with the silurides. 136

On rare occasions the Onges manage to catch the toad fish of the mangrove swamps. These curious little animals are apparently a compromise between the fish and the frog; they can breathe both in the air and under water and like to come out of the water to take a walk. They wriggle about in the pools left by the ebb tide, popping out into the air as soon as they meet anything suspicious, and hopping away over quite considerable distances. But normally they wander peacefully about on the mud, propelling themselves with their two pectoral fins, which are attached to the end of a form of arm. In size (never over twenty centimetres long) and colour they remind one of the gudgeon, to which they are related. They belong to the genus *Periophthalmus*, of the order Gobiidi. They seem to prefer living in the open rather than in the water, and appear to look forward to low tide, when the tiny creatures on which they feed are about. Hunger satisfied, they cling to some stone or tree-trunk, often in an almost vertical position, and will stay there over half an hour, particularly if their tail is touching the water, as this keeps their body damp and helps them to breathe by means of ingenious gill sacs filled with air. [226]

Toad fish move into the marshes as the sea recedes and move back as the tide returns. In the middle of the day they seek the shade in the damp crevices of the mangrove swamps. They seem to glory in the first rays of the morning sun, their huge erectile eyes, which never rest, moving endlessly from side to side. Their independent movement enables the creature to gaze at the sun with one eye and look for likely prey with the other. The two eyes, set closely together on top of their flat heads make them look rather ridiculous. Another striking feature about them is a kind of sucker, or adhesive disc, formed by the ventral thoracic fins. These have a loose fold of skin on the back, so that when the fins are brought together in front of the body, the skin falls into a funnel shape, which when pressed against a stone or tree-trunk adheres to it by suction, holding the animal fast.

I was amused by the way toad fish can be domesticated as soon as they are caught. I kept some in my tent, leaving water available [126]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

A comparison of the three branches of the Negrito race in the light of present information shows that the usual form of habitation amongst them is a sloping roof or screen of palm-leaves. One form of this, the simplest to construct, but only suitable as a temporary shelter, is in common use amongst the Semang and is found amongst the Negritos of Casiguran. The other form, more permanent but requiring more labour to erect, is in common use in the Andamans and amongst the Negritos of Zambales. Of communal huts we have no evidence in the Philippines. The communal shelter of the Semang consists of two screens leaning towards one another. The two types of communal hut of the Andamans are both derived from the family hut.

Hunting, Fishing, etc.

The Andaman Islanders depend for their subsistence entirely upon the natural productions of the forest and the sea. They make no attempt whatever to cultivate the soil. Until the introduction of dogs in 1858 they had no domestic animals. Young pigs are occasionally kept in captivity till they are grown, but they are killed for food and are not bred in captivity. Thus the Andamanese provide themselves with food by three different forms of activity: (1) collecting such things as roots and fruits and honey, (2) fishing in the sea and in the creeks, (3) hunting the wild animals of the forest.

For hunting the Andamanese rely entirely on the bow and arrow. Since they have had dogs they occasionally make hunting spears, but they did not do so in former times. They make no use whatever of any method of trapping game or birds. For fishing they also make use of the bow and arrow, wading out on to the reefs and shooting the fish, and in this they are very skilful. Crustaceans, such as crabs and crayfish, are captured in the same way. In the North Andaman a sort of short fish spear was formerly in use as an occasional substitute for the bow and arrow. In all parts of the islands small nets are used by the women for catching small fish and prawns. In the Great Andaman large nets were formerly used for capturing turtle, dugong and large fish near the shore. At the present time the natives of the Great Andaman Division make use of harpoons with which they capture turtle, dugong and large fish from their canoes. Harpoons are not used in the Little Andaman. The Andamanese are also aware of methods of poisoning or stupefying fish in pools by means of certain plants that they crush and place in the water, but I have never seen them use this method of

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

227 fishing, although they say that they formerly did so. They have no
226 fish hooks and no fish traps. At the present time a few of the natives have learnt to take fish with hook and line, but they are unable to make hooks for themselves, and have to obtain them from the Settlement at Port Blair.

In collecting roots a digging stick is used, and a hooked pole is
222 used for gathering fruit, but they have no other special implements in
412 use in collecting natural productions, and have no need of any. The adze is used for obtaining molluscs and for cutting honey-combs from hollow trees.

It is thus clear that by far the most important utensil of the
411 Andamanese is the bow and arrow. We may say that they are essentially a bow and arrow people. This is even more true of the natives of the Little Andaman Division than of those of the Great Andaman Division.

It may be noted here that the Andamanese have no weapons that are used only for fighting. They fight with their chief hunting weapon, the bow and arrow. Nor have they any special defensive weapons, the shield being unknown.

The Semang in their natural condition depend for their subsistence
171 on collecting roots and fruits from the forest, on catching fish in the streams, and on hunting animals. Their mode of subsistence is thus essentially the same as that of the Andamanese. One difference is that they have not the sea from which to draw supplies, and another is that the forests in which they live afford a much larger variety of game. A number of the Semang now practice a little rude agriculture which they have undoubtedly adopted in imitation of their neighbours of other races[1].

The principal weapon of the Semang, as of the Andamanese, is the bow and arrow. In hunting they also use spears[2], thus showing a difference from the Andamanese. Some of the Semang make use of the blow-pipe with poisoned darts, but it is practically certain that they have adopted the use of this weapon from their neighbours the Sakai[3]. They also make use to some extent of traps with which to capture jungle animals and birds. The wilder Semang living in the mountains have little opportunity of obtaining fish. Those of them that dwell near rivers use fish-spears and harpoons for catching large fish, and a small basket-work scoop for catching small fry[4]. They also fish with

[1] Skeat, p. 341. [2] Skeat, p. 270.
[3] Skeat, p. 280. [4] Skeat, p. 205.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

441 The true fish-spear is unknown in the Andamans though use is sometimes made of a harpoon similar to the turtle harpoon, but of smaller dimensions and with a finer line, for harpooning fish.

227 In the North Andaman a sort of fish-gig was formerly in use made of about twelve pieces of *Areca* wood of about 105 to 110 cm. long and 1 cm. or less broad and with tapered and sharp-pointed ends. These were fastened side by side by means of a strip of wood near one end, as shown in Fig. 26. This weapon was used for spearing small fish in pools on the reef.

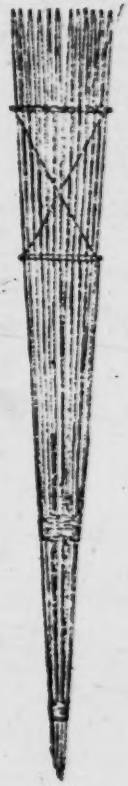


Fig. 26. North Andaman fish-gig

CUTTING IMPLEMENTS.

412 At the present time the Andamanese make use of iron for their cutting implements. It is uncertain when 177 they first learnt the use of iron, but it was certainly before the end of the eighteenth century. What iron they had was obtained from wrecks, of which there have always been a number on the Andamans. The metal has only become plentiful since the European settlement of 1858.

412 It is highly probaole that the Andamanese, though they may have learnt the use of iron from implements 325 used by visitors to their shores, have not learnt from any other people the method of working the metal. Even at the present day they do not make any use of heat in the manufacture of their iron implements, the metal being worked cold. It seems highly probable that they have simply adopted in connection with iron the methods they formerly used in dealing with other materials, particularly shells.

The materials used by the Andamanese, apart from iron, are wood, bone, shell and stone. We may begin by considering their use of stone.

412 In former times quartz flakes were used by the Andamanese for the two purposes of shaving and scarifying the skin, and for hardly any 324 other purpose. (Among minor uses of stone flakes may be mentioned those of cutting the finger-nails, and sharpening boars' tusks.) A quartz pebble is held in the left hand and is struck with a hard rounded pebble of any suitable kind. A flake is thus knocked off and falls into the palm of the left hand. The flake is examined, and if it be suitable it is

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

286 length of string is taken and the two ends tied together, the loop thus formed being placed over the big toe as the woman sits on the ground.

284 The knot used in netting is that known as the fisherman's knot. in use all over the world. The needle is held in the right hand.
286 is passed from above downwards through the loop marked *a* in the figure, and is drawn through far enough to leave a new loop *b* of the required size. This loop is held between the thumb and forefinger of the left hand, the uniformity in mesh being apparently obtained largely by the sense of touch. The needle is then passed through the new loop *b* again from above and is drawn out leaving a loop *c*, through which the needle is passed once more, forming the finished knot, which is then drawn taut.

286 When netting is made for personal apparel it is generally ornamented with strips of *Dendrobium* skin worked in with the thread in the course of the netting. Netting for personal ornaments consists of a sort of bag open at both ends. Each end is tied with a string passed through the ultimate loops, and this string serves to tie the band of net round the waist or neck or wrist or knee.

286 Fishing nets are attached to a handle. The handles of the Little Andaman Division and those of the Great Andaman Division are
●227 different in shape. The Great Andaman net with its hoop can be folded up compactly for carriage, while that of the Little Andaman cannot.

The nets of rope formerly used in the Great Andaman for catching turtle have been already described.

Domestic Implements and Utensils.

372 The Andamanese are perhaps the only people in the world who have no method of their own of making fire. At the present time they
177 obtain matches from the Settlement of Port Blair, and a few of them have learnt, either from Burmese or from Nicobarese, a method of making fire by the friction of pieces of split bamboo. Formerly, however, they had no knowledge of any method by which fire could be produced. Fires were and still are carefully kept alive in the village, and are carefully carried when travelling. Every hunting party carries its fire with it. The natives are very skilful in selecting wood that will smoulder for a long time without going out and without breaking into flame.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

412 Bamboo tongs are made by bending double a piece split from a bamboo, and cutting the ends to the required shape. They are used for lifting from the fire anything too hot to be taken in the hand and are chiefly of service in cooking.

Digging sticks are made from various kinds of wood, being simply pointed at one or both ends. These sticks are not as a rule preserved, but made as required with an adze and thrown away after use. They are used for digging up edible roots.

222 Hooks for picking fruit, such as the *Artocarpus*, are made by
227 attaching a small piece of wood to the end of a bamboo. Hooks for catching crabs are made from the wood of the *Rhizophora* by taking advantage of the natural form where a small branch joins a larger one.

The fan-shaped leaf of a *Licuala* palm is made use of in many ways.
352 The edges of the leaflets are sewn together with fine strips of cane, and
824 the sewn leaf is then used either as a sunshade or umbrella for protection from sunshine or rain, as a sleeping mat if the proper article be lacking, as a screen to make the roof or sides of a hut more wind or rain proof, as a wrapper for making objects of all sorts into bundles, and as a winding sheet for a corpse.

373 Torches are made from resin, which is broken into small pieces and wrapped up in leaves of a species of *Crinum* (? *lorifolium*), a few pieces of smouldering charcoal being added before it is tied up. The torch is then parcelled by marling with a strip of cane or a length of some tough creeper. These resin torches are used in turtle-hunting and fishing expeditions on dark nights.

Other torches are made of fragments of rotten *Dipterocarpus* wood. They are used only in the village.

PERSONAL ORNAMENT; GREAT ANDAMAN.

291 At the present time the natives of the Great Andaman Division obtain from the Settlement of Port Blair cloth which both men and women wear round the loins. They also obtain beads from which they make necklaces.

The following is a list of the various personal ornaments made by the natives of the Great Andaman Division, and worn by them.

Rope girdle. Every man wears some sort of girdle round his waist, and this was formerly the only object that was constantly worn by men. The girdle may consist of a length of rope of *Hibiscus* fibre or a length of ornamental cord made by wrapping the yellow skin of

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

3. Females take no part in these expeditions, and boys seldom accompany their elders until after their twelfth year. 224

4. If more than a few hours' absence is anticipated, besides a supply of provisions, a smouldering log is entrusted to some one member of the party, whose duty it is to prevent its extinction,[1] and to kindle it into a blaze whenever a fire is required. No immediate honours are conferred upon the successful sportsman, but stories of feats of extraordinary prowess are related, with more or less embellishment, from time to time for the benefit of the young and the edification of strangers. No record is kept of the game killed, but, as those distant tribes who are not yet possessed of dogs (or only of a very few) still retain the primitive custom of suspending the skulls of their victims from the eaves or on poles round their huts, a fair idea of their success can be formed by themselves and others from the number thus displayed.

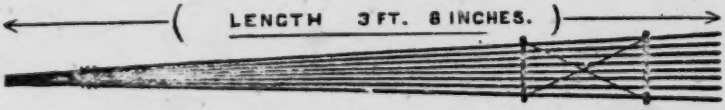
5. Whether in hunting game or in attacking an enemy, the bow (*kâ·rama-*) and arrow are employed, and these are almost[2] identical in form among all the eight tribes of Great Andaman. For spearing turtles and large fish a harpoon (*kowai·a l'ô·ko dū·tnga-*[3]) is used: as a description of this serviceable weapon and of the mode in which it is employed, has been given in Appendix B, it is unnecessary to repeat the information in this place.[4] The only other weapon in use is the pig-spear 411

[1] *Vide ante* "Fire," paragraph 6.

[2] The comparatively slight difference existing between the form of the five *kōjig* and three *yē·rewa-* bows, and the wide distinction observable between both of these and the *jär·awa-* (Little Andaman) bow will be best seen by referring to Plate VI, figs. 1, 4, and 3 (*vide* also Appendix B, item 1).

[3] *Vide* Appendix B, item 10.

[4] In reference to the subject of *fish-spears* an interesting discovery was made on the occasion of the last visit (October, 1882) paid by Mr. H. Godwin-Austen, now in charge of the Andaman Homes, to North Andaman. Some six or more specimens of what, I believe, is quite an unique wooden fish-spear were seen in one or two of the *yē·rewa-* canoes. As one was fortunately brought away a sketch is here given of it. It reminds one somewhat of the fish-spears used by the Nicobarese (*vide* Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. vii, Plate XV), though very inferior, and is doubtless, like them, intended for spearing small fish. It is called *ti·remo*. 227



The eight long wooden spikes are not tied together in a circular form as in the case of the Nicobar *hokpâk* but in a row, and, as will be inferred from the drawing, they are held in that position by means of two short pieces of wood lashed to them at right angles: from the appearance of the lower end of this weapon, it would seem probable that it is fixed—like the *kowai·a l'ô·ko dū·tnga*—into a bamboo shaft when about to be hurled, but I have ascertained lately that this is not the case, it is merely held at the pointed end.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 of the string striking the lower or convex portion of the weapon.[1]

● 227 411 15. There are five varieties of arrows, viz.: the *rà·tà-*, the *tī·rlē·d-*, the *tō·lbō·d-*, the *ē·la-*, and the *ē·la l'à·kà lū·pa-*, none of which are provided with more than one point or blade.

16. The first of these (*rà·tà-*) is used in their games, and is the first form which their fish arrows take; it consists of a shaft made of *Bambusa nana*, to the end of which is fastened a piece of hard wood, which is rendered harder and less liable to split by being gradually heated over a fire: this foreshaft also gives the necessary weight to ensure accuracy of flight, and to increase the force of penetration. The *tī·rlē·d-* is merely a *rà·tà-* with its point sharpened for use, in shooting the smaller varieties of fish. The *tō·lbō·d-* is a *rà·tà-* with an iron point, and generally a barb as well, secured to the head: it is chiefly used in fishing. The above three arrows usually measure 4 feet 6 inches to 4 feet 9 inches in length, while the remaining two, of which a sufficient description will be found in Appendix B, do not generally exceed 3 feet 6 inches.

411 17. The Andamanese take especial pride in keeping the bladed heads of their arrows and spears as bright as possible: the shafts are straightened by dint of pressure with teeth and fingers, but no feathers or other devices are employed to increase the velocity of flight. As illustrations of their arrows and other weapons will be found in Plates VI, VII, VIII, and IX, and as, in Appendix B, I have described their manufacture, it is unnecessary for me here to repeat the information which can be obtained by reference.

18. There are one or two points connected with the iron-bladed arrows to which, I believe, attention has never yet been drawn. I allude to the position of the barbs and the object of the seam. In the *ē·la-* the blade is so fixed as to be in a line with the seam of the fastening at the end of the shaft, and, whether provided with one or more barbs, these are always placed in a line with the blade, the seam above referred to being used as a "sight." In the *ē·la l'à·kà lū·pa-*, which has no seam, the barb which is most in a line with the blade is used as a "sight," and accordingly placed uppermost. In forming these blades they shape them so as to allow of a small portion being inserted in the foreshaft (see fig.), and it is then fixed as firmly

accounted for by the resemblance it presents to the ordinary European pattern; this, however, appears to be the sole advantage which it possesses over the two varieties used in Great Andaman.

[1] *Vide* "Superstitions," paragraph 5, and "Religious Beliefs," paragraph 19

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Plate C.

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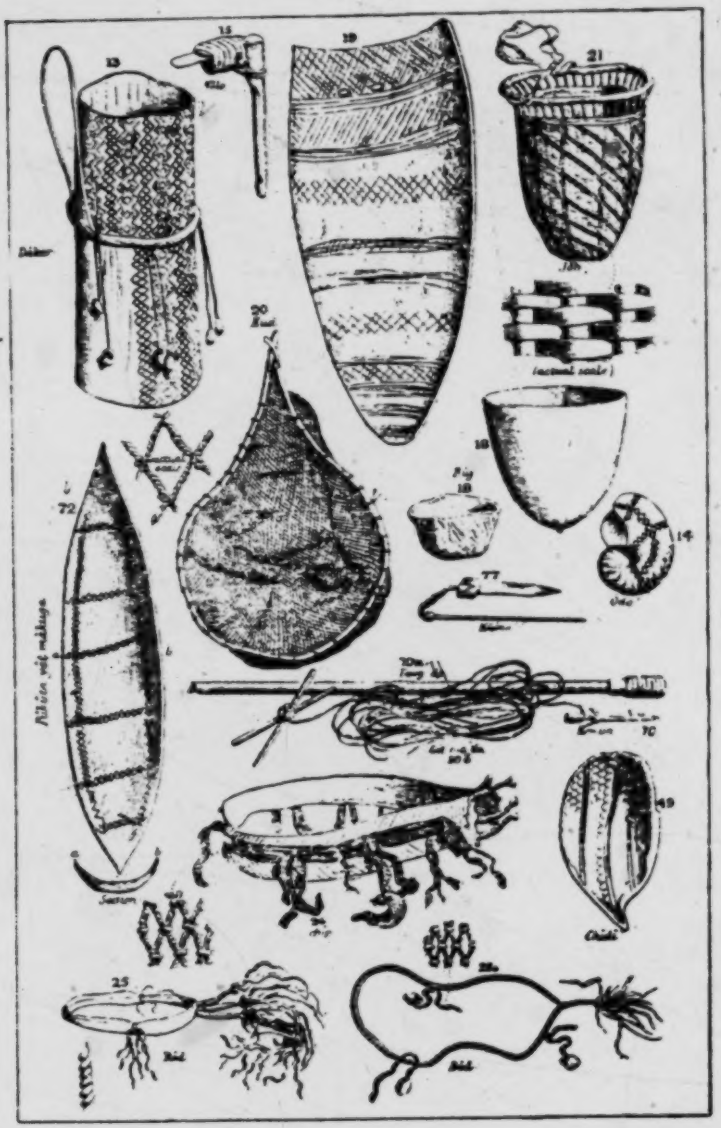


ANDAMANESE OBJECTS.

[facing p. 178]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

534 convex side is uppermost; the pointed end is stuck in the ground, and kept in position with one foot; a stone is then placed under the board to enable the performer to make more noise when keeping time, which he does by thumping or kicking the board with the heel of the other foot.

227 462 20. *kūd-*.[1] Hand fishing-net constructed from the prepared fibre of the *Gnetum edule* (Andam., *pīlita-*) by women and girls, who also by its means catch large quantities of fish and prawns, both in streams and among rocks along the coast at low tide. It is about the size of an ordinary butterfly-net; the frame is made of a length of a creeper known to them as *ôrta-tāt-*, the ends being bound together to form a handle.

285 462 21. *jōb-*.[2] Baskets used by all the Great Andaman tribes for carrying food and various other articles: they are generally made by women.[3]

[NOTE.—The baskets made by the *yērewa-* or North Andaman tribes, differ from those found among the *bōjig* tribes in having a wider base and a smaller mouth.[4]]

21*a*. The *jārawa-*[5] baskets differ from those in use among the Great Andaman tribes in having no firm base.

286 462 22. *châpanga-*.[6] Netted reticules made and used by women for carrying small objects: the string used for this purpose is generally prepared from the fibre of the *Anadendrum paniculatum* (Andam., *yōlba-*, item 64), but as this is not always obtainable the less-valued fibre of the *Gnetum edule* (Andam., *pīlita-*) is sometimes employed as a substitute.

23. *pārepa-*.[7] Sleeping mat made by women of strips of a species of *Calamus* fastened securely in the ordinary manner with string made from the fibre of the *Gnetum edule* (Andam., *pīlita-*, item 65). When in use the rolled-up portion of these mats—which are generally 15 to 20 feet long—serves as a pillow.

23*a*. The *jārawa-*[8] sleeping mats hitherto found have always been of short lengths, but as wooden pillows similar to those in use among the Nicobarese have been found in their huts, it is probable that the specimens obtained represent full sized mats.

854 462 24. *chīp-*.[9] Sling or band made by women from the bark of

[1] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 18.
[2] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 17.
[3] *Vide* Part III, "Basket-work," paragraphs 2 and 3.
[4] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 14.
[5] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 14*a*.
[6] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 33.
[7] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 15.
[8] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 15*a*.
[9] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 25.

crew of the ship called him 'Raja' and we adopted this name (*see* Plate IV, Figs. 1 & 2). He was the only one among the Onges who was fully armed with knives, bows and arrows. Among the contents of the canoes, we found complete fishing out-fits, bows and arrows, ropes and nautilous shells, for bailing out water. There was also a kind of bamboo float about 1½ ft. long, probably used for turtle fishing. We gave them food, cigarettes and other presents. After they became quite familiar with us and friendly, they were subjected to full anthropometric measurements by me. Their blood was also tapped by Mr Sarkar for typing. The presents given were iron nails, strips of red cloth, tea and tobacco leaves. Among all these objects what they liked most were the tobacco leaves. Cooked rice, dal (cooked lentils) and fish curry served to them from the launch Mess were however not much appreciated. With the few Hindi words that they were able to understand, we told them that we would like to visit their camp next morning and meet other members of the party. After the canoes had left, we anchored at this point for the night and after taking an early breakfast we left for the shore in two batches. We were informed by the crew that the creek near the Onge camp was called the *Dugong Creek*. We had to wade through brakish water and coast fringing with coral beds for about two miles, before we reached the Onge settlement. There was one large circular communal hut characteristic of the Onges and several lean-to's (*see* Plate I, Fig. 2). We noticed three canoes on the beach apparently those with which they came to meet us on the previous day. We saw also several small dogs and the entrails of a pig strewn round. We met all the 12 Onges we saw the day before, along with Ukla and his family. In addition there were a number of women and children. We took out our presents of dried tobacco leaves, iron nails and two large fishes that we had caught on our way from Port Blair. These were distributed to the Onges. There were altogether 17 men, 15 women, 4 boys and 3 girls. The children were between 1½ to 4 years. The entire party of Onges behaved towards us in a friendly manner and subjected to our measurements and tapping of blood from their fingers without any protest. We went inside their hut and inspected the settlement very thoroughly. A large number of photographs were taken. We found that the name of this village was *Tambebui*. As it became rather late, we decided to return to 'Molly' in the Andamanese canoes, rather than walk through the coral beds for 2 miles. The Onges understood our signs and gladly escorted us back to the launch. We found there were several other Onges waiting for us in the launch who came from the neighbouring village *Gabilong*. All of these Onges appear to be under the influence of the man nick-named as 'Raja' (*see* Plate IV, Figs. 1-2).

We could not proceed towards Hut Bay as the launch had to return for duty at Port Blair, where we reached at about mid-night.

After reaching Port Blair, I discussed the matter of transport with the Chief Commissioner, Mr Majid. A thorough coastal survey of Little Andaman would take at least 15 to 20 days. As it was found impossible to get either from the Forest Department or from the Harbour Master any of their launches

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

226 eyes to crack their skulls – and thrown into the small basket every woman carries on her back, hung from the usual cord round her forehead.

The fish the women catch are all the varicoloured species which always haunt the coral shallows, bright red, blue, green, black and white in a wonderful range of stripes and patterns. The Onges eat them with no respect for design, and I must confess that I myself found them very good.

226 252 Besides fish, the women catch molluscs, crustacea, lobsters, crayfish, crabs and even some species of hermit crabs (the latter are baked alive in their adopted shells, and only the abdomen is edible). Lobsters are plentiful, some striped with green and blue and weighing up to half a kilogram, with a very delicate flavour, but the Onges do not seem to be greatly interested in them. They prefer fish and crabs; *Pterocera*, again baked alive, are great favourites and I quite saw why the kitchen-middens are full of *Pterocera* shells.

227 The men prefer to fish with bows and arrows made specially for the purpose, and very different from those intended for game, the shaft being made of very light hollow cane, instead of the solid wood demanded by the mechanics of the game-arrow. The fishing arrow is made of three parts, bound tightly into one. The point, now made of iron,[1] is about four to five millimetres in diameter and [283] twenty to twenty-five centimetres long. Like that of the arrow harpoon, it is fixed by a tightly bound thread to a small stick or foreshaft about fifteen to twenty centimetres long and slightly smaller in diameter than the shaft proper (usually eighty to eighty-five centimetres long), so that the overall length of the finished [314] arrow is a hundred and ten centimetres or more. The binding [237] threads are held fast by a mixture of resin and beeswax, coloured with ochre in the case of new arrows.

227 I tried giving the Onges hooks and lines; they were intrigued by 123 my demonstration of how to leave lines overnight and draw them 177 in next morning loaded with fish, but no more. This was not superstition or fear of the unknown but sheer adherence to established σσο custom. They have neither incantations, amulets nor propitiating

[237] [1] Formerly made of *Tridacna*, or very hard wood. Some of the latter are still to be found, but all the other types of head – fish quills, bone, and *Tridacna* – have disappeared long ago.

They have neither incantations, amulets nor propitiating signs to help them. Even the *marque de chasse* found on their arrow 227 heads had no major significance; in all probability they merely 789 served to indicate the best arrow and at most they served as a [782] warning to the womenfolk not to touch them (it is interesting that I never saw any woman or child with a bow or an arrow). But this is as far as they go towards superstition, and its only effect is to enhance the division of duties between the sexes.

The Onges, unlike the Jarawas and Arioto, have never lost the 396 art of canoe making, and the building of a new canoe is an impor- [184] tant matter. The selected tree, always one of the three species of [824] *Sterculia*, is felled and then hollowed out slowly and laboriously with a rudimentary form of hatchet, the work often being done by one man alone. The weight of the felled trunk makes it necessary for the work to be done where it falls, but after much patient whittling away the resulting canoe is extremely light, with thin walls, though still not light enough to be carried to the water, never far away. A series of short logs are used as rollers in the age- [483] old way and the builder's friends all gather to help clear a way through the undergrowth and prepare the rollers. Only a few are needed; all is soon ready and the Onges watch delightedly as the canoe glides away down to the shore. These canoe-ways often provided me with an easy path to the sea if I came upon them in the forest. Sometimes they led not to shore but to one of the many creeks, where salt water and marine fauna penetrate miles inland and make it easy for the Onges to launch their canoes from a point far from the sea.

The Onge canoe, hollowed out in one piece, is a survival of the 501 ancient canoes of the Neolithic age, found in Switzerland and else- 171 where in Europe. It survives in the Andamans, and through Oceania to the Americas, in northern Asia (notably among the Ainu) in south-west Asia, and even in south-east Africa.

The canoe has no distinction between bow and stern, and is 501 commonly navigated from either. At each end of the canoe a crude platform juts out, on which the harpoon throwers stand. Very careful attention is paid to the float, which is fragile, and is therefore kept on the lee side. The object of it is to prevent the canoe from capsizing, which it is otherwise very liable to do owing to its round keel, always left in the natural shape of the tree-trunk. I had some experiences of rough seas in one of these canoes

802 805 or form of numerical evaluation is further support for the extremely low stage of cultural development at which they became isolated.

22 ART

302 531 532 When painting their bodies with ochre the Onges have no idea of symbolic representation, and use only geometrical designs. These invariably seem spontaneous, and in my view do not represent a degenerate form of some more highly evolved art, half forgotten over the centuries; in short, the 'artists' of the Andamans, with no conception of symbolism, are even today less advanced than their Palaeolithic counterparts.

23 DIGGING STICKS

172 412 In late Palaeolithic deposits, stones with holes in them have been found which correspond to those still in use among peoples such as the Bushmen, to add weight to their digging sticks. The absence even today of any form of weighted stick in the Andamans, where stone is plentiful, would appear to antedate the culture at least to early Palaeolithic.

24 HUNTING

224 172 [411] The Onges still use the Palaeolithic throwing stick, although it is not their main hunting weapon. They have no idea of fixed traps, which must from the evidence have been known in Palaeolithic times, and it is hard to believe that a people so dependent upon hunting would have lost the art once it had been acquired. They have crude nets which the women use for fishing, but these are probably a comparatively recent introduction, which has arrived via the Nicobars.

● 227 177

25 DOMESTIC ANIMALS

231 174 The Andamanese have none, and this would seem to add weight to the evidence for their great antiquity.

26 ECONOMY

433 There is no economic system of any kind, and from the evidence available it is highly unlikely that even the most primitive form ever existed. There is no conception whatever of providing for tomorrow, or of any form of exchange or barter.

185 437

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

simultaneously with it a successful all-round regional development of the islands. 563 648

The resources of the islands having a small areal extent are very limited though the forest and sea products are fairly rich to deserve special mention. The presence of a variety of valuable species of timber in these islands has led to their exploitation since the development of the Penal settlement. The important species of timber found in the Andaman forests are padauk, garjan etc. In the previous decades, the forest exploitation was never associated with a commensurate amount of forest regeneration. Such policies are being followed at present for saving the forest resources from ruthless exploitation without any adequate means of ensuring a perennial supply of timber by systematic regeneration. The recent colonisation scheme has invoked the enquiry for the clearance of the forests. Andaman forests being rich in timber and also being the only major revenue earning source of the islands should by no means be ruthlessly cleared for settlement. Not only it depletes the forest resources but also degenerates the soil—the soil erosion being the immediate victim after such clearance of forests. Considering the primary importance of the forest resources of the islands, it seems to be a plausible agreement that at least 50% of the land should be reserved under forest cover and a further curtailment from this percentage will undoubtedly lead to serious consequences of the soil simultaneously with a great decrease in the resources of the islands. 313

The sea products range from a wide variety of products from sea shells to sea fisheries. The collection of sea shells is in vogue from a fairly long time and the sea fisheries, mostly being confined to the coastal areas, is conducted by the fishermen and the tribal people for their own consumption. There is a good deal of possibility for furthering the development of marine fisheries on a commercial scale but the lack of enterprise and capital investment has not given rise to any appreciable development. The only two enterprises of the fisheries are those of Trochus and Turbo shells by the Japanese during 1930-36 and another enterprise by a business concern in 1947. Even the present catch from the coastal areas amount to only 300 lbs., a considerable lag from the demand within the islands. 226 228

The means of earning livelihood in the islands were hunting and collecting by the aboriginal population who have not even to-day learnt the techniques of domesticating plants and also animals except the Onges who have domesticated the dogs very recently. The penal settlement and the subsequent expansion of the administrative seat at Port Blair 222 224 231 563 241

[For a general discussion of animal husbandry in India, see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. 228-231.]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

361 very plainly the constitution of a local group, consisting as it
621 does of a few families. Each group seems to have contained, on an average, about ten families, with a few unmarried males and females.

262 The Andaman Islanders depend for their subsistence entirely on the natural products of the sea and the forest. From the sea they obtain dugong, turtle (both green and hawksbill), an enormous variety of different sorts of fish, crustaceans (crabs, crayfish and prawns) and molluscs. Fish and crabs are also to be found in the salt-water creeks which in many places penetrate inland for some miles. From the forest they obtain the flesh of the wild pig, wild honey, and a large number of vegetable foods—roots, fruits, and seeds.

512 The life of the forest folk is more simple and uniform than that of the coast people and we may therefore consider it first. During the rainy season, which lasts from the middle of May to the end of September, the local group lives at its headquarters camp, which, as we have seen, formerly often took the form of a [262] communal hut. During this season animal food is plentiful, as the jungle animals are in good condition; on the other hand there is not much vegetable food to be obtained. The following brief account will give an idea of how the day is spent in such a camp at that time of year. Some time after sunrise the camp begins to be astir. The various members of the community make a
512 meal of any food that may have been saved from the day before.
224 The men start off for the day's hunting. At the present time
[231] dogs are used for pig-hunting. These dogs were obtained in the first instance from the Settlement of Port Blair, and their use in pig-hunting was learnt from the Burmese convicts. Nowadays every married man has at least one dog[1]. Before the dogs were obtained, hunting was a pursuit requiring a great deal more skill than it does at present. A hunting party consists of from two to five men. Each man carries his bow and two or three pig arrows, and one of the party carries a smouldering fire-brand. They make their way through the jungle until they find the fresh tracks of a pig, or follow up some of the usual pig runs

[1] In the North Andaman the times before the Settlement are spoken of as the time when there were no dogs, *Bibi paiye* = "Dog not."

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

A comparison of the three branches of the Negrito race in the light of present information shows that the usual form of habitation amongst them is a sloping roof or screen of palm-leaves. One form of this, the simplest to construct, but only suitable as a temporary shelter, is in common use amongst the Semang and is found amongst the Negritos of Casiguran. The other form, more permanent but requiring more labour to erect, is in common use in the Andamans and amongst the Negritos of Zambales. Of communal huts we have no evidence in the Philippines. The communal shelter of the Semang consists of two screens leaning towards one another. The two types of communal hut of the Andamans are both derived from the family hut. 171 342

Hunting, Fishing, etc.

The Andaman Islanders depend for their subsistence entirely upon the natural productions of the forest and the sea. They make no attempt whatever to cultivate the soil. Until the introduction of dogs in 1858 they had no domestic animals. Young pigs are occasionally kept in captivity till they are grown, but they are killed for food and are not bred in captivity. Thus the Andamanese provide themselves with food by three different forms of activity: (1) collecting such things as roots and fruits and honey, (2) fishing in the sea and in the creeks, (3) hunting the wild animals of the forest. 231 241

For hunting the Andamanese rely entirely on the bow and arrow. Since they have had dogs they occasionally make hunting spears, but they did not do so in former times. They make no use whatever of any method of trapping game or birds. For fishing they also make use of the bow and arrow, wading out on to the reefs and shooting the fish, and in this they are very skilful. Crustaceans, such as crabs and crayfish, are captured in the same way. In the North Andaman a sort of short fish spear was formerly in use as an occasional substitute for the bow and arrow. In all parts of the islands small nets are used by the women for catching small fish and prawns. In the Great Andaman large nets were formerly used for capturing turtle, dugong and large fish near the shore. At the present time the natives of the Great Andaman Division make use of harpoons with which they capture turtle, dugong and large fish from their canoes. Harpoons are not used in the Little Andaman. The Andamanese are also aware of methods of poisoning or stupefying fish in pools by means of certain plants that they crush and place in the water, but I have never seen them use this method of 224 411 227 226

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Agriculture.— 1. Before the arrival of strangers in their midst, 241
the Andamanese were entirely ignorant of agriculture, and to this circumstance is primarily to be attributed their degraded condition, while it also affords evidence of the same.

2. Notwithstanding the ample opportunities that they have now had of observing the benefits derived from cultivation, and though they undoubtedly prefer such products to the spontaneous vegetation of their jungles, they still consider that the exertion necessary to obtain the former far outweighs every advantage; in short, it is their opinion, that "*le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle.*"

3. We must not, however, lose sight of the fact that as they have hitherto seen only prisoners engaged in tillage, they cannot but be strengthened in the objections entertained by most savages to all such labour, regarding it as a degrading occupation, and fit only for such as have forfeited their freedom.

4. Further, to quote from Peschel, "it must be remembered that hunting affords supreme enjoyment, and that agriculture has nothing to offer in compensation for the excitement and delights of the chase."

Training and Domestication of Animals.—1. Prior also to our 231 ●
occupation of these islands, the Andamanese, as will have been
already inferred,[1] possessed no dogs, and it was some time (1865) 177
before they became aware of their usefulness in the chase; but now that the intelligence of certain breeds has been proved, they prize them highly, and eagerly accept any we have to give them; at the same time, though treated with every intentional kindness, and allowed to sleep, and even to eat and drink out of the same vessel as their masters, the training to which the dogs are subjected is very severe, and their attenuated condition bears witness to the state of semi-starvation in which they are commonly kept in order to render them the more keen in hunting. The custom of summoning dogs by whistling has of course been borrowed from ourselves, as is also the practice of [552]
naming them; "Jack" or "Billy"[2] are the names generally bestowed by these people upon their canine companions, whom also they address as *ligala* (children), and who in their turn seem greatly attached to their new owners, and testify their affection by attacking all strangers, not being aborigines, who approach the encampment to which they belong.

2. It is regarded as a good omen to meet certain birds, while 787
of others the contrary belief is held;[3] the absence of migratory

[1] *Vide ante* "Trade, Exchangeable Values, &c.," paragraph 3.

[2] They sometimes nickname them as follows:—*bī·bi-bá·ratnga-* (lit., dog-mottled), *bī·bi-ngá·nanga-* (lit., dog-beggar), *bī·bi-tá-tū·panga-* (lit., dog-bone-crusher), *bī·bi-tá-tē·ràwa-* (lit., dog-yellow), *i.e.*, according to any peculiarity that may distinguish them.

[3] *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 22.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

787 species at certain seasons is now accounted for by saying that they are visiting some of the adjacent isles.

775 3. Of mythological animals,[1] such as dragons and unicorns, they have no knowledge, nor do they venerate or regard as sacred any quadruped, bird,[2] or fish, even though the names of several are identical with those borne, according to tradition, by their antediluvian ancestors,[3] who are supposed to have been transformed into, or to have assumed the forms of, such creatures Beyond the instances already mentioned, no trace can be found of a belief in transmigration, and, now-a-days at all events, the souls of animals and men are not considered by these savages as interchangeable.

231 4. The names of four animals only appear to have originated in their cries, viz.: *dū·ku-* iguana, *mū·rud-* pigeon, *bī·bi-* dog, *rō·go-* pig; of these the dog only is trained, or in any way domesticated, and they do not, as has been supposed, keep poultry.[4]

262 **Food.**—1. Among the many erroneous statements regarding the life and habits of these islanders, none seem at the present day so devoid of foundation as that which declared that they are constantly reduced to want and even to starvation.[5]

2. It has been conjectured by some writers that these savages "glean a miserable subsistence," judging, it would seem, merely from the fact of their eating the larvæ of beetles,[6] and certain other articles, the predilection for which seems, to civilised palates, equally revolting;[7] but evidence is not wanting to disprove this assumption, for during the season, when such things are obtainable, they may frequently be seen enjoying a handful of cooked larvæ when a quantity of pork or turtle is lying beside them, and, if questioned, they declare that they regard the former as dainties (*á·kà-râ·rnga-*), and eat them as

[1] The legend regarding the *ū·chu-* can hardly be included in this category (*vide ante* "Mythology," paragraph 29).

[2] *Vide ante* "Mythology," paragraph 16 (footnote 3).

[3] *Vide ante* "Mythology," paragraph 29 (footnote 2).

[4] "They have no dogs nor any domestic animals, unless indeed their poultry may be regarded as such" (Lubbock, "Prehistoric Times," 4th edition, p. 450).

[5] "In tempestuous weather they are reduced to the utmost want, feeding on rats, lizards, and snakes, and perishing when these resources fail" (Grant).

"In the jungles, beyond a few berries and the wild hog, there was no food to be found" (de Roepstorff).

[6] The Looshais, however, appear to be even less fastidious, for they are said to "eat everything that flies, runs, crawls, or creeps, as well as the grub in its ante-natal tomb" ("On the Looshais or Kookees," *vide* Journ. Anthrop. Inst., March, 1873).

[7] "Nor are civilised Europeans justified in shuddering . . . . when they themselves do not shrink from the trail of snipe, nor from lobster and crayfish, although the latter, as water scavengers, act both as grave-digger and grave" (*vide* Peschel, p. 159).

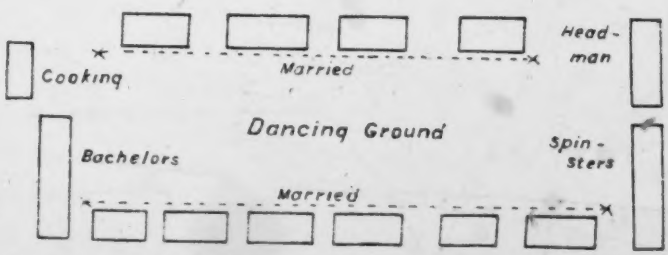
in other savages. At Government House, Calcutta, in 1895, when a party was told to sit down and weep to show the custom at meetings, in a few moments the weeping became genuine, and when after a short time they were told to stop and get up, tears were streaming down their faces. 576

General Capacities.—The Andamanese are good climbers, and rapid walkers and runners, moving with a free and independent gait, and can travel considerable distances at a time. The Jarawas turn their toes in, due to the necessity of stooping to pass along their paths through the tangled jungle. The Eremtaga are good but not remarkable trackers. The Aryoto are good swimmers and are much at home in the water. The Andamanese generally show a dexterity in getting about their thick and tangled jungles which baffles all immigrants, though in this respect the Eremtaga quite out-distance the Aryoto, and the Jarawas apparently all the others. In the jungles all shooting with arrows is necessarily at very short distance, and generally the Andamanese are good shots at short distances only, judging direction very well but distance hardly at all. They can however at the very short distance required for shooting fish allow accurately for refraction in moving water and will shoot their fish successfully even in the surf in a manner that is inimitable: this is really due to accurate judgment of direction. 481

The Andamanese are unadventurous seamen, poling and paddling their canoes with small spade paddles at considerable speed, faster than that of an ordinary ship's boat for a little distance though they could not paddle away from one in even a short chase, but they never go out of sight of land, have never been even to the Cocos (30 miles), nor to Narcondam and Barren Island, nor had they ever any knowledge of the existence of the Nicobars till our arrival. Man has a legend from Car Nicobar doubtfully going to show that the Onges from the Little Andaman once made raids on that island: but if this were true they would do so still. 502

IV. Habits and Customs.

Dwellings.—Except in the Little Andaman and among the Jarawas there are no fixed habitations, the search for easily obtained food and insanitary habits obliging the people to be nomads, for they have no practice of cultivation and domesticate no animal whatever except dogs obtained from the English. They thus dwell in various customary encampments, situate within their respective territories. At these encampments, usually fixed in sheltered spots, they erect about 14 temporary huts capable of holding up to 50 to 80 persons, arranged facing inwards on an oval plan always more or less irregular, thus— 621 [242] [231]



The central space is the dancing ground. A hut is merely a thatch about 4 feet long by 3 feet wide, sloping from 8 inches behind to 4½ feet in front, placed on four uprights and some cross-pieces without walls. In unsheltered spots and at the Head-Quarters of Septs large circular huts are built with a good deal of ingenuity, having eaves nearly touching the ground. These will be as much as 15 feet high and 30 feet in diameter. For hunting purposes mere thatched shelters are erected for protection from the wind. Close to every hut is a very small platform for surplus food about 18 inches from the ground, and in it at least one fire is carefully preserved. This is the one thing that the Andamanese are really careful about for they do not know how to make fire, though 342 [251] 372

554 crew of the ship called him 'Raja' and we adopted this name (*see* Plate IV,
Figs. 1 & 2). He was the only one among the Onges who was fully armed with
[911] knives, bows and arrows. Among the contents of the canoes, we found com-
[227] plete fishing out-fits, bows and arrows, ropes and nautilous shells, for bailing
325 out water. There was also a kind of bamboo float about 1½ ft. long, probably
used for turtle fishing. We gave them food, cigarettes and other presents.
After they became quite familiar with us and friendly, they were subjected
123 to full anthropometric measurements by me. Their blood was also tapped by
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tea and tobacco leaves. Among all these objects what they liked most were
the tobacco leaves. Cooked rice, dal (cooked lentils) and fish curry served
to them from the launch Mess were however not much appreciated. With
the few Hindi words that they were able to understand, we told them that
we would like to visit their camp next morning and meet other members of
the party. After the canoes had left, we anchored at this point for the night
and after taking an early breakfast we left for the shore in two batches. We
were informed by the crew that the creek near the Onge camp was called the
Dugong Creek. We had to wade through brakish water and coast fringing with
361 coral beds for about two miles, before we reached the Onge settlement. There
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162 There were altogether 17 men, 15 women, 4 boys and 3 girls. The children
were between 1½ to 4 years. The entire party of Onges behaved towards us
609 in a friendly manner and subjected to our measurements and tapping of blood
from their fingers without any protest. We went inside their hut and inspected
[126] the settlement very thoroughly. A large number of photographs were taken.
We found that the name of this village was *Tambebui*. As it became rather
late, we decided to return to 'Molly' in the Andamanese canoes, rather than
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Onges waiting for us in the launch who came from the neighbouring village
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122 We could not proceed towards Hut Bay as the launch had to return for
duty at Port Blair, where we reached at about mid-night.

After reaching Port Blair, I discussed the matter of transport with the Chief Commissioner, Mr Majid. A thorough coastal survey of Little Andaman would take at least 15 to 20 days. As it was found impossible to get either from the Forest Department or from the Harbour Master any of their launches

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

515 people. Furthermore, the Onge skin is very soft and more elastic than is usual
[147] in human beings. For us, clothed and with a less resilient skin, a trip through the thorny Andaman forest means many small, bleeding scratches. Not so for the naked Onge. – To cover them with clothes would endanger their health. Nakedness inures them to the sudden changes of temperature so frequent in
[513] Little Andaman and preserves them from catching cold when sleeping, uncovered, on their rough, unprotected bed of boughs. As with primitives all over the world, clothes make them miserable and, I may add, very ungainly and dirty.

515 Part of their general negligence with regard to hygiene is their carelessness about their teeth. They never clean them. They do keep bamboo sticks,
[413] 1 mm thick and 8 cms long, tucked into their hair to be ostensibly used as toothpicks ; but the sticks, to tell the truth, are more of an ornament than a tool.
142 The Onge's teeth are so compact and sound that there is no space between them for food particles to collect. No caries or decay of any sort are to be
[164] noticed. In a number of skeletons that I dug up from under the beds in communal huts, the teeth gave evidence of one peculiarity : old people had worn them down to the root. The Onge habit of using teeth as working instruments,
[289] to prepare fibre for ropes and in many other circumstances – apart from their permanent chewing on hard foodstuffs – explains this fact.

515 As a consequence of never washing, the natives' hands are sometimes extremely dirty. The Onge themselves are conscious of this. I shall give an
226 instance. It so happened that I arrived in Nachugé, on the west coast, toward the end of March, when the sea was teeming with migrating sardines. In Little Andaman sardines can weigh up to a pound ; but a normal catch, obtained with small hand-nets cast from canoes among shoals of fish imprisoned by the low tide within the coral reef that surrounds the island, contains specimens of
[264] every dimension. All are eaten as soon as possible. The quantity of fish brought back to the camps on such occasions puts all inmates to work and induces everybody to abandon all other occupations for the time being. In the low tidal waters the men push their canoes from rock to rock, using them as receptacles for the abundant food so easily collected. In some "pockets" nets prove unnecessary : the fish is gathered in handfuls and rapidly thrown into the canoes. The hecatomb ends when the canoes are filled to the gunwales. In no other part of the world have I seen food made available to primitive people in such large quantities and with so little effort.

252 Back at the camp, the sardines are "graded" according to size and cooked immediately. They are not washed or cleaned, the inner organs are eaten together with the flesh. Men, women and children feverishly take part in the
[263] cooking ; the fish is boiled without salt. All the natives then plunge their hands
264 avidly into the heap of sardines. From time to time the women clean their
515 hands by rubbing them on the *naquinēghē*. Very soon this garment becomes
[231] extremely smelly. Men and children clean their hands in a different way : by rubbing them on the dogs. On such occasions, everything and everybody smells of fish for days and days. The first to become clean again are the dogs, because they hate to be smeared with fish and wash themselves in the sea as soon as they have a chance.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

312 caracases of small animals. During the droughts, marine hermit crabs, of
271 which a profusion is found in Little Andaman even far from the sea-shore,
[136] often choose to die in fresh-water pools. They are not removed from the pools.
[415] A nautilus shell is sometimes used as a drinking vessel ; failing this, the Onge
[516] lap up the water like animals, on all fours, directly from the pool. Since they are
231 very fond of dogs, man and dog drink together from the same tiny pool, often holding no more than a few pints of water. Dogs reached Great Andaman as early as 1857 ; they came to Little Andaman much later. Before that time there were no dogs in the Andamanese Archipelago. They soon became the natives' cherished and much appreciated assistants in the hunting of wild pigs. Many unhygienic habits followed the appearance of dogs in the Andamans.

271 The Onge have no idea of boiling water for the purpose of disinfection ;
[147] nevertheless their health does not appear to suffer at all as a result of the pol-
123 luted water they drink. When, in 1952, I dug a well near the left bank of Dugong Creek on the north-east coast of Little Andaman, I was compelled to fence it in so as to prevent dogs from drinking it and bathing in it.

264 Dogs lick everything that smells of food, including the cooking pots,
[231] and the pots are not washed before use after the dogs have licked them.
[136] Swarms of flies of different species and small coleoptera of a brilliant blue colour, one of them 6 mms long, follow the dogs after they have "cleaned" the pots by licking them. They line the inside of the pots with a crawling, living coat, moving restlessly around in search of food. One species of fly, which is of a brilliant, metallic green colour, has a peculiarly disagreeable smell. All the flies lay eggs while feeding, but the eggs are soon devoured by the hovering bluish coleoptera. Thus in a few hours all traces of organic matter disappear from the pots. Subsequent exposure to fire undoubtedly destroys the germs that would otherwise be certainly dangerous to human beings.

415 The Onge no longer use indigenous pottery for cooking. Its disappearance
177 is recent, as the sherds that litter Little Andaman prove to the investigator.
[323] Excavation in modern kitchen-middens leads to the same conclusion. During the last war, quantities of empty petrol drums were washed up on the Andaman shores. They were found in such numbers that the Onge have not yet used them all up : after 1952 I found several of these containers abandoned, untouched, in the jungle. The primitive inhabitants sawed each container in two cylindrical halves, thus transforming them into cooking pots. The result was that within a few years the fragile ancestral pottery of the Onge disappeared altogether. Furthermore, aluminium pots were distributed among the natives after 1952. Probably the indigenous pottery will never again reappear.
[252] Each half of a petrol drum is large enough to contain a pig, or a turtle weighing
262 150 lbs, cut into pieces. Only the flesh of these animals is consumed by the
[231] Onge ; the nourishing broth is poured out onto the ground or left in the pot to be lapped up by the dogs. The Onge believe that broth is unhealthy and avoid drinking it.

251 No matter how prodigious the catch of sardines or other fish, unobtain-
[185] able at other times of the year, no attempt is made at storing part of it in view of future shortage. The Onge are unacquainted with methods for preserv-

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

262 and therefore dangerous to offend by cooking them. Luckily they accepted
123 fish of almost every description, and vegetables. To convince them of our
[775] good intentions concerning their food, at Port Blair an Onge observer was
[825] stationed permanently near the kitchen to watch the preparation of meals. Nevertheless, within a few days all 30 Onge fell ill as a consequence of the different food and climate. In their island they sleep, completely naked and
513 uncovered, lying directly on beds made of rough branches. Their only precau-
123 tion, as I mentioned before, is to keep a fire permanently burning close to the bed. This was not feasible in the rooms with wooden floors that were provided for them in Port Blair, and blankets did not avail. So the 30 Onge developed a fever and we were obliged to take them urgently back to Little Andaman, where they promptly recovered. The incident gave me a further opportunity to observe the curative methods of the Onge.

262 With regard to their care to avoid illness from food, I must point out the
114 fact that misleading information has been published on the subject even in reputed papers on the Andamans. I will discuss them in my Onge book, but I wish here to briefly stress a few points: the Onge, and the present residual coastal or forest Andamanese, refuse to eat – besides birds and fish such as shark, ray, eel or muraenae – some other animals such as paradoxurus, bats, rats, varanus and snakes. The contrary is affirmed in those papers. To quote the well-known book by A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN ("The Andaman Islanders", pp. 37, 91 and 389), all Andaman Islanders, including the Onge, consider the above-mentioned species edible. Varanus is supposed to be acceptable for its
[832] lustful habits that make of it an aphrodisiac. My direct and protracted experience both in Little and in Great Andaman compels me to state that such information is false. It is true, however, that the Andaman Islanders believe
261 they acquire some of the properties of their devoured victims. This occurs
252 only if the animals are cut up alive. Therefore turtles, pigs and dugongs are
[231] cruelly sectioned while still alive, and the Onge also believe that their health
266 and energy profit by it. Cannibalism may be founded on such beliefs, but it is completely unknown to Andaman Islanders of all times and places. Young
262 sucking-pigs are avoided, as food, by men, and even withheld from the dogs; but the Onge are partial to other things which, in our opinion, are far worse: crickets, and the fat larvae of coleoptera that collect in tree trunks.

Without giving here a full list of the foods that are considered harmful or curative, I shall add just a few remarks on the subject. The healthiest, as well as the tastiest part of the pig is supposed to be the kidney and its surround-
[888] ing fat. It is offered to old or distinguished people, as a sign of favour. As I
123 helped the Onge, as much as possible, with gifts of tools and medicines, they
553 found it complimentary to name me after their favorite titbit, intending thereby to honour me as a friend and healer. By such a name I came to be known in Little Andaman, and this made my work easier. In the Onge language the word for kidney fat is *cue-changhĕghĕ*; I was delighted with it, for it proclaimed the high esteem I was held in by my Onge friends.

262 Foods considered healthy by the Onge include honey, yams, several
751 succulent roots and the fat of turtle and dugong. Pteropus, a giant bat very
[825]

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

simultaneously with it a successful all-round regional development of the islands. 563 648

The resources of the islands having a small areal extent are very limited though the forest and sea products are fairly rich to deserve special mention. The presence of a variety of valuable species of timber in these islands has led to their exploitation since the development of the Penal settlement. The important species of timber found in the Andaman forests are padauk, garjan etc. In the previous decades, the forest exploitation was never associated with a commensurate amount of forest regeneration. Such policies are being followed at present for saving the forest resources from ruthless exploitation without any adequate means of ensuring a perennial supply of timber by systematic regeneration. The recent colonisation scheme has invoked the enquiry for the clearance of the forests. Andaman forests being rich in timber and also being the only major revenue earning source of the islands should by no means be ruthlessly cleared for settlement. Not only it depletes the forest resources but also degenerates the soil—the soil erosion being the immediate victim after such clearance of forests. Considering the primary importance of the forest resources of the islands, it seems to be a plausible agreement that at least 50% of the land should be reserved under forest cover and a further curtailment from this percentage will undoubtedly lead to serious consequences of the soil simultaneously with a great decrease in the resources of the islands. 313

The sea products range from a wide variety of products from sea shells to sea fisheries. The collection of sea shells is in vogue from a fairly long time and the sea fisheries, mostly being confined to the coastal areas, is conducted by the fishermen and the tribal people for their own consumption. There is a good deal of possibility for furthering the development of marine fisheries on a commercial scale but the lack of enterprise and capital investment has not given rise to any appreciable development. The only two enterprises of the fisheries are those of Trochus and Turbo shells by the Japanese during 1930-36 and another enterprise by a business concern in 1947. Even the present catch from the coastal areas amount to only 300 lbs., a considerable lag from the demand within the islands. 226 228

The means of earning livelihood in the islands were hunting and collecting by the aboriginal population who have not even to-day learnt the techniques of domesticating plants and also animals except the Onges who have domesticated the dogs very recently. The penal settlement and the subsequent expansion of the administrative seat at Port Blair 222 224 231 563 241

10:Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

621 rather than order is given by the leader. Cipriani observes.[1] "For
622 instance, it is very amusing for them to think that a man gives orders to others. This means that they have no real chiefs. A so-called Onge
[592] chief, or raja, is only the head of a group of families living in the same communal hut, and giving not orders but only advice. It is the most experienced man who is considered chief in the hut, but his authority if at all never goes beyond that hut. In other words no real chief exists in the Little Andaman. Notwithstanding this, there is a perfect order in the island, because nobody interferes with the work or encroches upon what can be considered the rights of others."

124 As is common to most of the aborigines, the Onges are generally
162 not very receptive when the questions about their numbers and other groups are enquired. The headman says that there are many many fifty Onges. However the number of the Onges are approximately 600.

22 As regards the mode of living of the Onges, the hunting and collec-
231 ting are the basis of their economy. The domestication of the plants
241 i.e. art of agriculture is not known to them and it is only 30 years back, the dogs arrived in the island and have been domesticated by the Onges for chasing the pigs, their main prey. In the absence of agriculture, the natural products of the sea and the forest provide them with all
[262] their items of diet. Animal and vegetable products and honey are the main items of their diet and there has been, so far, no introduction of salt in their diet. The most important victims of their hunting are pigs and turtles, the former is chased by dogs and are killed with great
252 cruelty. The cooking of the fish, meat, roots, tubers, jackfruits etc are
251 done by putting them under fire. Preservation of foodstuffs is not widely practised except the jackfruit seeds which are tied up in a small net inside water on the bank of some stream and taken out during rainy season, when the other vegetable foodstuffs are not available. On
146 the whole, the Onges have a very balanced diet with a fair richness of all the nutrients. In this connection the observations of Dr. Cipriani during his survey in the Little Andaman throws considerable light in
[157] their conditions of life. He has estimated the Onges as one of the happiest people of the world, who in spite of their primitive economy, are not the miserable victims of poor health, ill nutrition and oddities of life.

396 Some amount of artistry and craftsmanship have developed among these people. A canoe can be constructed by a man, all by himself from

[113] 1 Cipriani, L—Survey of Little Andaman during 1954; Bul. Dept. Anth.,

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

The Onges do not seem to require any preventive measures, and seem naturally immune to malaria. They do, however, transmit the disease to strangers, through the mosquitoes which are everywhere in Little Andaman. Like many other inhabitants of tropical areas, they probably all carry the disease without being affected by it – neither children nor adults show any sign of splenic enlargement. 164 [136]

In contrast to their periodic gorging, the Onges will equally cheerfully endure hunger, thirst and exhaustion. During our hazardous canoe trip to South Brother, however, they appeared much more affected than I was by long exposure to the sun. We were completely without any means of shelter for an entire afternoon in the open sea, and though the Onges tried to cover their heads as best they could, they still developed severe (and genuine) headaches, and were clearly much happier in the dark forest, which must be considered their natural environment. 147 [26]

Nothing has hitherto been known of the intelligence level and general psychology of the Onges. The childishness of their behaviour, however, is curiously in keeping with their strikingly child-like appearance. Like children, they seek only the satisfaction of elementary stimuli, and like children they pass in a flash from one mood to another, so that they are a people of sudden contrasts. 15

One example is their passionate love for their dogs, in marked contrast to the intense cruelty with which they hunt their prey. Having once realized the usefulness of dogs, first imported into the islands some thirty years ago, the Onges now pet them like little girls with their dolls, and the Onge women will suckle the family puppies quite naturally with their own children. Yet once a dog dies the other side of the Onge nature comes to the fore and the carcase is thrown into the forest – there is no looking back. 231 162 [177]

Their minds are in a sense inventive, in that they have evolved devices to help them acquire their food, but they have never, for example, thought of the fish-hook, despite the abundance of iron pieces thrown up by shipwrecks all round the islands. Anything new is taken up with a child's momentary enthusiasm, but they have no notion of sustained mental effort such as any form of counting. 157 [802]

Like children, too, the Onges laugh at the slightest thing, although their mirth is always restrained. In this they differ from the African peoples, particularly the Bushmen, who are often by 157 522

105 gathering society; it is extremely probable that a study of their daily life today is virtually equivalent to a study of their life as it was in ancient times.

231 241 177 So near are the Andamanese to their original state that they show no signs of ever having had any real agriculture. The Indian Government has tried in vain to induce the surviving Arioto to keep chickens by presenting them with birds and food for them; the gifts were accepted out of politeness, but there the matter ended. Among the remaining Negritos, however, particularly in the Philippines, there are noticeable signs of the awakening of some agricultural sense, even to the extent of some commerce, and regular attendance at markets. But on Little Andaman, for example, I saw in 1952 various ginger trees growing, brought there by some unknown means and at Entigheh there was also a pumpkin. In 1953 and subsequent years there were no pumpkins at all on the island, and although the gingers were still thriving they were clearly doing so by chance, without any attention from the Onges, who ate some of the small red fruit, and seemed to like the piquant flavour, but still showed no signs of wanting to perpetuate it. In several places both on the coast and inland I saw, too, clumps of the slender native bamboo, hardly planted intentionally; the ground sites of some huts now abandoned, like Bugheneh and Odadda, were covered in them. The inhabitants had apparently wanted to procure a supply of material for roofing mats, or the drying platforms used by a few groups, and so the plantations were completely stripped – and killed.

245 177 In order to plant coconut trees for the benefit of the islanders I had even to do the planting myself, so utterly ignorant were they of agricultural methods; we even had to do all the clearing of the undergrowth in a patch of forest, and prepare the ground. The Onges watched curiously but were quite uninterested. Why should they care for a tree for ten years to get its nuts when the island and seas around are teaming with food for the taking?

824 825 In their continual search for food the Onges have acquired botanical and zoological knowledge which seems almost innate, and they know of properties in plants and animals of which we are quite unaware. Nearly every day on Little Andaman I came across examples of this. I only had to draw a rough sketch of an animal and they knew at once where it could be found; it was only thanks

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

mothers offering it to the waiting children one after another in strict order. This alone would be enough to explain the spread of the devastating measles epidemics which can attack every member of a hut.

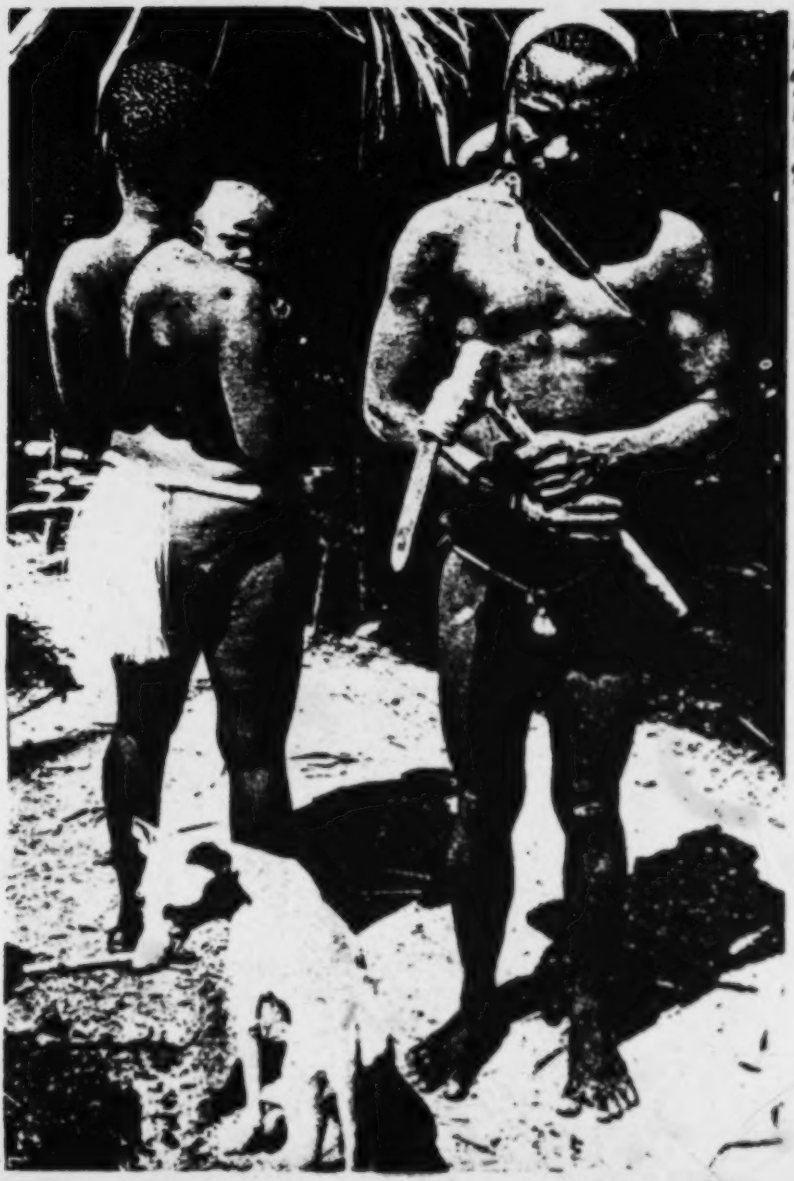
While they love the liquid fat, they despise the broth left behind, and once the meat has been eaten, a thick yellowish soup, not unpleasant, is left in the drum. The dogs love this, and rush for it, putting their paws right into the drum, fighting and snarling in their eagerness to get at it. When they have finished licking, the drum is shining clean and ready for use, with no washing up to do! Clouds of flies descend on the drums, packing into a black swarm all over the bottom and sides, eager to finish off the dogs' work. Sea or river water is often only a yard or two from camp, but no one would dream of washing anything.

Once the meat or fish is cooked, it is often hung in the roof of the hut, out of reach of the dogs. The fact that the roof is dusty and covered in spiders to foul the meat, does not matter; earth and sand get in the way of the teeth, dust and spiders do not. The Onges happily eat contaminated flesh and drink water from pools in which animal carcasses are rotting or dogs are bathing and drinking; the dogs share literally everything with their masters.

On my visits to the island I always had to fence off the wells I had dug out, to avoid a constant battle with the dogs. I always found water only a few metres down, and the dogs revelled in it. In the east, near Nachuge, I saw Onges and dogs together avidly drinking in brackish pools which stank of sulphur, although I must confess that after repeated filtration and boiling the water lost its smell and I was myself able to use it without any ill effects. My men thought it was good for the health to drink it as it was.

During all Onge orgies, and particularly the honey feasts, there is, if possible, even less regard for hygiene. Although the honey is full of wax, larvae, and a few odd bees, their brush-stick only picks up the honey itself. They have another even better way of getting out the honey. A strip of bark about one metre long and as wide as the palm of the hand is taken from a *Ficus*. This is well chewed to make it pliable, and when this is dipped into the honey mixture it emerges dripping with pure honey. Everyone bites at it avidly, young and old, men, women and children, one after another, to the last drop.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2



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[facing P. 66, E]

/6 ... The axe is one of the few primitive tools in use in the Andamans/

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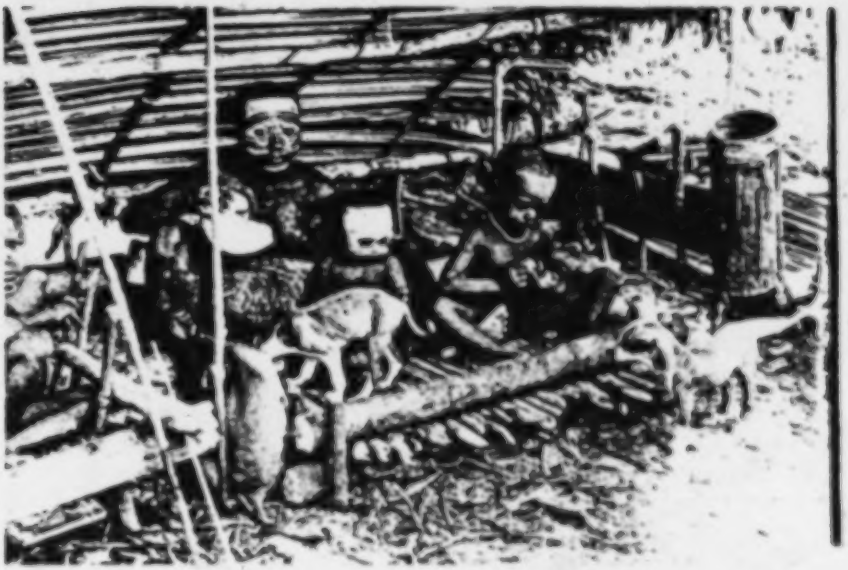

18 A family group with, on the right, the cylindrical cooking-pot, and the inevitable dogs

19 Typical shell collection from a kitchen-midden

172

[facing P. 67]

11; Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

been cooked in the same way; the bones are never charred, but always have the appearance of being cooked in an earth oven. The direct roasting of large game over the fire, postulated by some authorities, including Brown, was never practised; the islanders preferred to go on as they had done since time immemorial, because it was more efficient – witness the traces of the earth oven which are to be found all over the world, including Europe. In Polynesia and Micronesia, and among the pygmies of Asia and Africa, it was widely used; variations when they arose did so as the result of local circumstances, like that of throwing water on the fire instead of using fleshy leaves, when there were none in the area. But the basic principle remained the same everywhere, and the use of the earth oven coincides with the geographical distribution of hunting, gathering and burial customs similar to those found in the Andamans.

In April 1954 I excavated the midden at Tambe-e-buiè on Little Andaman, abandoned after the earth tremors of 1951, to investigate the position of the beds. The custom of burying the dead underneath their beds made it possible to trace the latter by the human remains below them, arranged in a circle round the periphery. The Onges themselves helped in the work, sometimes even trying to recognize the remains as they came to light.[1] There were clear signs of reburial. The body is buried immediately after death at least one metre deep; whereas after exhumation, cleaning and colouring, it is never re-interred more than thirty centimetres below the floor of the hut. When another death makes it necessary for a new grave to be dug under the bed, the piles of bones from the second are disturbed, so that in time a form of ossuary develops. In this it is not possible to identify the various remains of individuals unless some change in the position of the hut, even by a few metres, preserves the bones from disturbance by fresh graves. Traces of the graves always remain, however, as they are invariably filled with fresh earth.

We have already seen that on Little Andaman the introduction of the dog reduced the consumption of shellfish (and hence the rate

[1] The material recovered is now in the Anthropological Museum of the Andamans and Nicobars, which I helped to establish at Port Blair. The museum was inaugurated on 6 June 1955 in the presence of the Governor, Mr A. K. Ghosh and the chief Indian officials of the town.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 - AZ2 Andamans AZ2

of growth of the kitchen-middens), judging by the number of shells in the deposits. On Great Andaman, on the other hand, the Jarawa, unable to keep dogs for fear of revealing their whereabouts with the barking, continued as they had always done; and the gradual disappearance of their middens was due not to any change in eating habits but to the breakdown of the communal hut system. Among the Arioto, already decimated for over a century by fighting with the Eremtaga, the dog seems to have had no effect on the situation, as the Arioto had dogs as far back as 1857. Possibly they regarded them in the same way as the Onges who, though deeply attached to them and quite incapable of eating them at any time, never go so far as to bury their bones in the middens; the carcase is thrown out into the forests for the monitors and the termites to dispose of. It is also probable that the introduction of the dog came too late, when the Arioto were already too depleted numerically for any change in their eating habits to be appreciably reflected in their middens.

In both Great and Little Andaman the middens are found only where the communal huts have been constantly rebuilt on the same sites. Where the ground permits, the base circle (or rarely, the ellipse) has been moved somewhat from side to side, without, however, greatly affecting the regularity of the shape. At Totamaddalù on Little Andaman I was interested to see that although the diameter of the midden lessened as the numbers of the group occupying the hut dwindled, the site remained unchanged. Today the base area of the midden is very extensive compared with the size of the hut now built on it, but its anthropological value is thereby increased.

The advent of the dog into the archipelago in about 1857 vastly increased the amount of meat available to the Andamanese. Once introduced into Little Andaman[1] the dog population increased explosively, as the Onges dare not kill any of the pups; the women even go so far as to suckle motherless pups themselves. This inordinate love of dogs has allowed the animals to become a pest. They already considerably outnumber the human population; families of only three or four people may have ten or twelve dogs,

[1] The dog reached Little Andaman only at the beginning of the present century; von Eichstedt in 1928 noted that the Onges had very few of them.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

often extremely vicious but good hunters. The dogs often roam the forests in packs, hunting and devouring young pigs. The Onges will do nothing about it unless someone forces them to, but if this pack hunting is not stopped the pig will become extinct in ten or twenty years and in 1954 I tried myself (in vain) to draw the attention of the authorities to the situation.

The dog appears in even the most ancient of cultures in Australia, but did not spread to Tasmania, despite the geographical proximity. It arrived on Great Andaman with the establishment of the Indian penal colony and it is thus the Indian pariah which ultimately populated the whole archipelago. A despised outcast in India, the pariah became in the Andamans of enormous value, reverting to its ancient hunting instincts. Burmese police officials taught the islanders how to use the animal for hunting and within a few years it had revolutionized their methods. It led the islanders in fact, to comparative indolence; the dog worked for them, supplying with far less effort as much game as they used to catch in their long, weary and not always successful expeditions. Dogs meant invariable and abundant success in the hunt, and it is hardly surprising that the Andamanese came to develop a somewhat unbalanced affection for them.

On Little Andaman the dogs, with abundant food supplies always easily available, became physically far superior to their ancestors in India; unlike the pariahs they were well muscled, with good skins and coats, although most of them bear the marks of old and recent gashes by boar tusks.

On Great Andaman the dogs voluntarily catch and kill fallow deer. These, like the dogs, have increased to the extent of becoming a pest. The Arioto and Jarawas will not eat them for superstitious reasons, and so they have bred like wildfire, spreading to all the islands as far as Rutland. They swim well, but only with land in sight, and the greater distances involved have so far prevented them from spreading to Little Andaman.

Here the dogs have only one main prey – the pigs. Unlike the deer with their slender legs they cannot outdistance the dogs, and their only defence is to hide under the buttresses of the tree-trunks. The pig rushes underneath the tree, and faces the dogs like a stag at bay. There is no escape, only a few more terrible minutes of life. The pig fights the dogs off desperately, the males inflicting serious

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

231 224 gashes with their tusks, unaware of the spear thrower coming up from behind. The result is inevitable. The dangerous boars are killed outright, but whenever possible the pig is, like the turtles, trussed helplessly and vivisected, again strictly according to established ritual, and again with an unconscious cruelty that is to Western eyes unbelievable. The liver, lungs, heart and intestines are the dogs' reward, and in a matter of minutes they are gone and the last drop of blood licked up.

224 Before every hunt the dogs are left hungry, on the principle that a well-fed dog does not hunt. If a young or small pig is caught by the pack during the hunt the Onges at once drag the body away and lodge it in the fork of a bush or tree. I have also seen this done if a full-grown pig is caught which is too thin, or unhealthy, or if a sow is taken, as the Onges find the females less tasty. In the dry season, when food is scarce and the pigs are less aggressive, they can be caught by one dog alone.

[261] In the rainy season pork is, to the Onge palate, at its best. The pigs are fat and tasty, gorging on the lush vegetation that follows the onset of the south-west monsoon till they become slow, and easy prey. The dogs follow their tracks easily on the sodden ground, and the usual orgy of slaughter follows day after day, the Onges caring little for tomorrow and nothing for the day after. It is only owing to the fall in the numbers of the human population that the pig is still extant on the island; in compensation for the continuous slaughter I saw whole areas of forest round deserted communal huts where the earth had been literally ploughed up by the snouts of innumerable pigs rooting undisturbed for tubers.

231 During the hunt a number of dogs inevitably lose themselves in the maze of vegetation, and are cut off from the pack. Usually they manage to find their way back to one of the camps. When I went on long journeys into the forest we were always followed by strays. Greeting each other as though they were old friends they would quickly join the pack we used to take with us to hunt for the party. A stray will always try to find its own master, and any that are left behind during the hunt howl desperately like jackals. Others join in, in an eerie chorus, pausing every now and again as though waiting for their master's reply. Their howling is a curious reversion to the wild state – all the canines fear solitude, wherever

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

they may be, and the strays of the Andaman forests howl unceasingly. Even in the Onge encampments the dogs howl enough to wake their sleeping masters; the only way to stop the noise is for the Onges to forestall it by taking their dogs into the family bed, fleas and all. There ensues silence, warmth and more fleas!

Hunting weapons of the Andamanese, the Semang and the Aetà were originally made by all three peoples in a similar way, common to all the Negritos. None have any defensive weapons as such; their bows and arrows, never feathered, serve as arms as well as for hunting and fishing. Shields are unknown and spears, rare in the Andamans and among the Semang, are apparently no longer in use among the Aetà; where they exist they are usually mainly for hunting. All three peoples, however, have the arrow harpoon.[1]

Their bows are all clearly derived from the same source. In the Andamans, only the Onges and Jarawas have remained true to the original form, local variations arising at a later date, and they afford additional evidence in favour of Little Andaman being the original springboard from which the Negritos entered Great Andaman.

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[1] See p. 86.

802 805 or form of numerical evaluation is further support for the extremely low stage of cultural development at which they became isolated.

22 ART

302 531 532 When painting their bodies with ochre the Onges have no idea of symbolic representation, and use only geometrical designs. These invariably seem spontaneous, and in my view do not represent a degenerate form of some more highly evolved art, half forgotten over the centuries; in short, the 'artists' of the Andamans, with no conception of symbolism, are even today less advanced than their Palaeolithic counterparts.

23 DIGGING STICKS

172 412 In late Palaeolithic deposits, stones with holes in them have been found which correspond to those still in use among peoples such as the Bushmen, to add weight to their digging sticks. The absence even today of any form of weighted stick in the Andamans, where stone is plentiful, would appear to antedate the culture at least to early Palaeolithic.

24 HUNTING

224 172 [411] 227 177 The Onges still use the Palaeolithic throwing stick, although it is not their main hunting weapon. They have no idea of fixed traps, which must from the evidence have been known in Palaeolithic times, and it is hard to believe that a people so dependent upon hunting would have lost the art once it had been acquired. They have crude nets which the women use for fishing, but these are probably a comparatively recent introduction, which has arrived via the Nicobars.

25 DOMESTIC ANIMALS

231 174 The Andamanese have none, and this would seem to add weight to the evidence for their great antiquity.

26 ECONOMY

433 185 43 There is no economic system of any kind, and from the evidence available it is highly unlikely that even the most primitive form ever existed. There is no conception whatever of providing for tomorrow, or of any form of exchange or barter.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2-Andamans AZ2

501 Canoes of this type are propelled by rowing with short oars, except in shallow water where they are poled. This method of propulsion (rowing as opposed to paddling) was adopted in imitation of the boats with which they have become familiar since the European occupation.

For the small canoe of the Great Andaman five or six species of soft-wooded trees are used, of which three are species of *Sterculia*. A suitable tree is selected near the shore or a creek, and is felled. Care is taken to make it fall in a particular direction. Thus, if the trunk is curved, the convex side of the curve will have to be the bottom of the canoe, and the tree should fall so that this side lies on the ground. Trees are very rarely regular and before beginning the work of cutting the natives have to decide how it should be cut so as to give the best result, i.e., the greatest stability.

396 501 After the tree is felled the trunk is cut to the requisite length. The inside of the canoe is first roughly hollowed out with the adze, no use being made of fire. The bark is then removed from the outside of the trunk and the two ends are shaped. Finally, the inside is carefully finished with the adze so as to reduce the sides and bottom to the requisite thickness.

Except at the stem and stern, the canoe retains the shape of the tree, only the bark being removed, and the sides and bottom being formed of the alburnum or sap-wood. At the stern a small platform is cut projecting over the water, which serves as a seat for the steersman. At the prow a larger platform is cut, on which the harpooner stands when he is harpooning turtle or fish. Below these two platforms the ends are not cut away squarely but are rounded from side to side. The prow of the canoe is in every case the lower and therefore broader end of the trunk. It is only in this way that a sufficiently large platform can be provided for the harpooner.

The trees used for canoes have a pithy core and there is therefore a small patch in both the prow and the stern which would admit the [237] water. In former times these two places were caulked with bees'-wax. At the present time the natives often nail a piece of tin (part of an old kerosene tin, for example), with some rags beneath it, on the outside of the canoe at these two places.

When the hull of the canoe is finished it is moved to the shore or to the bank of a creek and the outrigger is attached. The float is a straight spar of light wood. In the North Andaman the wood of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus* is often used, but Mr Man says that in the South Andaman the float is always made from a species of *Sterculia* (*mai* in

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

412 50. *tô·lma l'ôko tūg-* and *bī·jma l'ôko tūg-*.[1] Quartz and glass flakes and chips used for shaving, scarifying, and tattooing.[2]

51. *ū·ta-*.[3] *Cyrena* shell: great use is made of this, and of other varieties of this class, viz., as knives for cutting thatching leaves, for making the ornamental incisions on bows, paddles, &c., for planing, for sharpening the boar's tusk (item 47), for dressing and preparing arrows, for making the *ūj-* (item 76), for preparing the fibres obtained from the *Melochia velutina* (Andam., *al·aba-*), *Gnetum edule* (Andam., *pī·lita-*), and the *Anodendron paniculatum* (Andam., *yō·lba-*); they are also used as spoons in eating the gravy of pork, turtle, &c., and are in fact so constantly in demand that a supply is always kept and carried about ready for use.

52. *tâ·lag-*.[4] Hone or whetstone, which when in use is held in the right hand and applied to the edge of the blade, which is generally held over the inner side of the left foot, the operator being seated on the ground; pointed weapons are sharpened on it in the usual way.

53. *nīp l'âr bū·l-*. Serrated bone at the root of the tail of the sting-ray; in former times their *tô·lbōd-* arrows (items 4 and 7) were headed with these bones, and it is believed that the early reports of the poisoned arrows of the Andamanese are entirely due to this circumstance; for, owing to their fragile spikes, these bones are apt to cause very serious flesh wounds.[5]

54. *gar·en-*. *Dentalium octogonum* used in the manufacture of various personal ornaments.

314 55. *rīm-*. Resin obtained from a large tree (*Celtis* or *Gironniera*) of that name, which is used in making *kâ·ngatâ-būj-* (*vide* item 62).

237 56. *â·ja-pīd-*. Wax of the white honeycomb: it is one of the ingredients in *kâ·ngatâ-būj-* (item 62), and is also used in the manufacture of the *châ·panga-* (item 22).

57. *tō·bul-pīd-* or *lē·re-*. Wax of the black honeycomb, made by a small description of bee in the hollows of trees: it is generally procured by men, and is applied to bowstrings, arrow fastenings, and the *kūd* (item 20) is used for caulking cracks in canoes and buckets.

[NOTE.—The honey is eaten, but is not so much relished as that from the white combs.]

[1] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 61.
[2] *Vide* Part III, "Stone Implements," paragraphs 3–6.
[3] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 63.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 56.
[5] "These wounds often cause great inflammation, whence a notion has been prevalent from ancient times that the sting is charged with venom, but of this there is no evidence. Other species of the sting-ray are plentiful in the warmer parts of the world, and they are everywhere dreaded. The spine is used by the savages of the South Sea Islands to point their spears" ("Chambers's Cyclop.").

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

attempts to help, after binding his throat, had consisted in smearing the man's entire body with a mixture of ochre, turtle fat and honey with an extra layer on the bitten limb. Although it was very late to start treatment I injected antiserum, and the next day the man seemed a little better. I next saw him eleven days after the injection, when the arm appeared much less swollen, and the pain had almost disappeared, although clear traces of the accident remained; the skin was cracked and peeling, and the two puncture marks at the site of the bite were still gaping open, each revealing red, purulent flesh over a circular area more than two centimetres in diameter. The arm looked almost gangrenous, but its owner did not seem worried, and joined in cheerfully with the others round me. Just over a month after the accident the wound was completely healed, leaving one very grateful patient.

The incident shows the complete solidarity of this simple and reputedly so warlike community; by tacit agreement the patient was relieved of all work, and provided with food by the other families in the communal hut. While he was seriously ill his wife went hunting and fished, normally the man's work. Similar help is given in the case of the aged, or if a wife and mother falls ill; food is provided for them, and for the children, and certain 'soothsayers' appear to be at least partially provided with food by the rest of the community on a permanent basis.

For any kind of fever the Onges turn immediately to their stock remedy, smearing the entire body with the usual mixture of ochre, turtle fat and honey. The legs, arms, chest and abdomen are then tightly bound with strips of *Ficus* bark, which are removed and renewed from time to time. Whether the patient has pains in the abdomen or in the chest, or elsewhere, or has a cough, he is invariably stretched out on the ground, and the appropriate part is given a form of vigorous massage by the feet of one of the bystanders. Usually the entire body is pummelled for quite a time, the patient being turned over and over. The patient ends up looking rather like a mummy plastered in ochre and the whole process is to us somewhat amusing, but the Onges all practise it, and submit to it, very seriously, believing implicitly in its efficiency. The mechanism by which the treatment works has yet to be determined!

Balls of ochre the size of a hazelnut and varying in colour from bright red to whitish-yellow are given by mouth, particularly to

751 children. I have seen anything up to half a dozen given, one after another. Their laxative effect is sometimes violent, as the ochre is mixed with the usual turtle fat, plus lumps of pure wax from the hives of the black bees.

752 Another 'cure' is the smoking of the affected part. One young woman well known to me, Nabinibbi (wife of Maritòi, leader of the Cemalè group), plump and in her own way graceful, had burnt two toes of her right foot, and was unable to sleep with the pain. She smeared the foot well beyond the burn with the usual mixture and held it out to the smoke of great fresh liana seeds laid among embers. The seeds, the size of a large chestnut, but lenticular and covered with a dark brown, leathery skin, burnt with a dense smoke.

757 Another treatment, rather different, was applied to one of my Onge guides, Toncutèi, who developed a high fever on the night of 28 March 1954, while he was in the communal hut known as Entiguèh, in the north-central area of the island. In fact, it was merely violent indigestion caused by too much pork – Toncutèi, like his father Enagaghe, an indefatigable trencherman, had availed himself too freely of the boars shot that day by my men. His friends laid him on his side on the ground on a rectangular mat barely large enough to take his body, with his legs bent up to his chest. They then lit low fires along two adjoining sides of the mat, turning him from time to time so that he 'cooked' evenly. One Onge began spitting on the patient's hair, and rubbing the spittle into the skin, stopping every now and again to press the victim's head between his hands. Another dissolved ochre in water, and after heating it, rubbed it well into the patient's chest, throat and neck. Meanwhile, a third beat his hands vigorously on Toncutèi's. This went on for just over a quarter of an hour, after which the patient was stretched out on his stomach with his feet sticking out over the end of the mat, ready for the foot massage. As the masseur's foot reached the chest he stopped, pressing hard to enforce complete emptying of the lungs. Half an hour of this led to further rubbing with hands and feet for another fifteen minutes, particularly over the sacrum. Finally Toncutèi was left in peace beside the fire. By dawn the fever was gone (aided possibly by the strong purgative I had administered), although it was a couple of days before he had fully recovered.

26 Cleaning themselves, to the Onges, means painting themselves
302 to ward off evil and to remove, so they said, the smell of pig fat
[224] after the colossal orgies which follow a particularly good hunt,
when even they find the stench too much. These orgies, which give
[164] them appalling indigestion for days, are followed by an apparently instinctive variation of their diet to raw or cooked vegetable foods. On three occasions from 1952–54 I was present at one of these solemn pork and honey orgies. The Onges ate almost till they burst, and then, hardly able to move, cleaned up by a grand painting session. The women do the painting, families vying with each other to produce weird new designs, which are then copied until the next feast.[1]

276 Fed and painted, the Onges sit down to smoke, using pipes made
26 from crabs' claws. Still regardless of hygiene the pipes go from one
302 mouth to another, the women smoking just as heavily as the men.
237 One curious anomaly is that the Onges do sometimes sweep the
356 earth floor of the communal hut. The floor is not deliberately beaten down, but becomes hardened by continuous walking on it; in dry weather it turns to dust, which rises and settles everywhere, especially under the roof, where the lumps of cooked meat,
[412] fish and so on are hung. For the cleaning a broom or besom is prepared, well made with very hard, supple, palm fibres, bound tightly and carefully with cords made from reeds. The whole thing is about eighty centimetres long and as thick as a man's wrist.

356 The dirt is simply swept out all round from under the roof of the
342 hut through the gap between the roof and the ground. In the course
172 of time a ring of refuse builds up round the hut, forming a glorious
364 breeding ground for insects of all kinds. When the hut has to be rebuilt, owing to the ravages of wood-worm and termites, the ring is levelled off to form the new floor. Since the same small, well-chosen site may be used for thousands of years, the hut ends up perching on top of a small mound of refuse dating back to very

[531] [1] From one year to the next I saw no real evolution of art forms but cyclic changes of designs, with a preference for certain geometric patterns, at certain times of the year. Having watched various individuals of both sexes closely over a period of some years I can say that in the Onges at least, contrary to what is generally understood, the use of given patterns, and given kinds of ochre, does not correspond with given types of food. Any feast is always followed by painting, always with the weirdest designs possible, but always geometrical, never far from the current 'fashion', and never even remotely inspired by the basis of the feast.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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291
853
854
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5 *Above* Mother feeding her baby from a Nautilus shell
6 *Right* The axe is one of the few primitive tools in use in the Andamans

[facing P. 66, D]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

remains belonged to species still extant. Some chronological assistance was given, however, by four different stratifications due to evident changes in the level of the adjacent marshes, resulting not from any general marine phenomena, but from numerous land movements. On these occasions the cliffs sank, the sea flowed inland and corals flourished, later to be buried by the black ooze and mud of the mangrove swamps. 172

The maximum rise in the sea-level during the growth of the midden was a little over three metres, and affected a wide area. The date could be established by a full geological study of the archipelago as a whole, but it is clear that although this and similar occurrences had direct stratigraphic effects on the middens, the results were manifest only over very long periods of time.

Refuse from introductions of European origin, such as pipes, glass bottles, shot pellets, pieces of iron, etc., appear in the top level, only fifteen centimetres thick and dating back about a hundred years. There were no dog bones either here or anywhere else on Little or Great Andaman. Recently introduced, the dog clearly [177] caused an increase in the amount of pig remains, and a parallel reduction in shell refuse. Below the fifteen centimetres level, iron, [276] imported pipes and glass fragments disappear, and the crab-claw [237] pipes, still used today by the Onges, begin to emerge. The smoking habit must, as I have said, date from very ancient times, as traces of these claw pipes appear in the lowest strata, in contact with virgin soil.[1]

The actual consistency of the layers, which vary considerably, can tell us much. At Golpahar, we reached a depth of about four metres from the top of the midden through refuse mixed with only a little loose earth, very easy to penetrate. Bones, shells and other objects emerged clean, as if only recently rejected. The situation altered suddenly about one metre from the bottom, when the strata became hard and cemented with a mixture of ashes and earth. In these layers the shells were calcified by exposure to fire, and so fragile that they could only be recovered in broken pieces.

[1] It is obvious that smoking is a very ancient vice; leaves of the wild hemp are still [171] smoked in Africa as they were long before the discovery of tobacco and claw pipes like [276] those of the Onges are found in Eastern New Guinea, especially on the south coast, and as far as the Torres Straits and the Melville Straits. In Australia these pipes appear only in a few coastal areas in the east and north, including the Gulf of Carpentaria, and they are not found in the rest of Australia or in Polynesia.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

they may be, and the strays of the Andaman forests howl unceasingly. Even in the Onge encampments the dogs howl enough to wake their sleeping masters; the only way to stop the noise is for the Onges to forestall it by taking their dogs into the family bed, fleas and all. There ensues silence, warmth and more fleas!

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[1] See p. 86.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

174 the arrival of the Negritos in the Andamans from the south; yet
184 more evidence is provided by the Onge arrows. In the Andamans
411 there are two types of arrows, those used for fish, and those for game, the latter also being used against human targets.

184 The same arrows are found throughout the archipelago, con-
411 firming a common origin. Only the dimensions vary from one area to another and that only very slightly; the Onges have both the biggest fishing arrows, and the biggest arrow harpoons, and the Arioto the smallest. In the past the islanders used arrows with from two to four points for fish, but I was unable to find any traces of them; those picked up on North Sentinel some years ago were possibly the last to be made.

411 The fishing arrow of the Andamans is made basically from the small native bamboo. The Onges remove the knots by scraping
[322] them down gradually with *Cyrena* shells, and then cut off a length
[237] varying between seventy centimetres and about one metre. Into one end they fix securely a hardwood stick, fifteen to twenty centi-
[177] metres long. This foreshaft takes the head, now nearly always iron, but in the past made of wood, fish spines or pig bone. In the kitchen-middens I also found heads made out of shaped pieces of *Tridacna*. The three parts of the arrow are then bound together with very thin waxed fibres, wound carefully round and round, great care being taken to prevent the bamboo shaft splitting where the foreshaft is forced in. The completed arrow finishes up 1–1·15 metres long overall. The head is barbed, to hold the fish once it is hit; to get it out the whole arrow has to be pulled through. Sometimes, but not always, the shaft has a notch in it, to take the cord, care being taken to make the notch never more than two centimetres from any knot, to avoid any possibility of the shaft splitting. Alternatively, splits are prevented by binding waxed thread tightly round the shaft.

The hunting arrow, or arrow harpoon, is an intelligent adaptation, the result of acute observation of wild life, and is more complicated than the fishing arrow which is intended only to pierce the
411 victim. The hunting arrow must not only score a hit, it must also
224 prevent the animal from escaping into the undergrowth and force it to reveal its position. The harpoon holds the victim cruelly and securely, and the excruciating pain caused by the drag of the cord forces the animal to reveal its position by its cries of agony. The

226 eyes to crack their skulls – and thrown into the small basket every woman carries on her back, hung from the usual cord round her forehead.

The fish the women catch are all the varicoloured species which always haunt the coral shallows, bright red, blue, green, black and white in a wonderful range of stripes and patterns. The Onges eat them with no respect for design, and I must confess that I myself found them very good.

226 252 Besides fish, the women catch molluscs, crustacea, lobsters, crayfish, crabs and even some species of hermit crabs (the latter are baked alive in their adopted shells, and only the abdomen is edible). Lobsters are plentiful, some striped with green and blue and weighing up to half a kilogram, with a very delicate flavour, but the Onges do not seem to be greatly interested in them. They prefer fish and crabs; *Pterocera*, again baked alive, are great favourites and I quite saw why the kitchen-middens are full of *Pterocera* shells.

227 The men prefer to fish with bows and arrows made specially for the purpose, and very different from those intended for game, the shaft being made of very light hollow cane, instead of the solid wood demanded by the mechanics of the game-arrow. The fishing arrow is made of three parts, bound tightly into one. The point, now made of iron,[1] is about four to five millimetres in diameter and [283] twenty to twenty-five centimetres long. Like that of the arrow harpoon, it is fixed by a tightly bound thread to a small stick or foreshaft about fifteen to twenty centimetres long and slightly smaller in diameter than the shaft proper (usually eighty to eighty-five centimetres long), so that the overall length of the finished [314] arrow is a hundred and ten centimetres or more. The binding [237] threads are held fast by a mixture of resin and beeswax, coloured with ochre in the case of new arrows.

229 123 199 I tried giving the Onges hooks and lines; they were intrigued by my demonstration of how to leave lines overnight and draw them in next morning loaded with fish, but no more. This was not superstition or fear of the unknown but sheer adherence to established ooo custom. They have neither incantations, amulets nor propitiating

[237] [1] Formerly made of *Tridacna*, or very hard wood. Some of the latter are still to be found, but all the other types of head – fish quills, bone, and *Tridacna* – have disappeared long ago.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

type of canoe is the only craft seen. I saw some hauled up on the beach, identical with the ones I had seen the Onges building, even to the *Nautilus* shell as a baler. In face of this and other evidence there can be little doubt that the people of North Sentinel are descended from the Onges, possibly driven off course by some storm, and then isolated on the island.

The Arioto, copying Indian and Burmese craft, have in recent times come to modify the original canoe somewhat, deepening the gunwales and doing away with the float. The result is a craft which though it remains small is unlikely to fill with water in heavy seas. But even the Arioto prefer the single outrigger canoe for sea voyages.

The only real seafarers, however, are the Onges, who make regular hunting trips as far as Rutland. In the past they sometimes made devastating raids as far as Car, but these have died out over the past hundred years as their numbers have dwindled. There is certainly no doubt that at one time the Onges undertook considerable sea voyages in canoes the same as they build today.

The work involved in the building of these canoes is, as I have said, enormous. The preparatory work on the tree, and then the felling, are hard enough without proper equipment. I gave my Onge friends some long-handled wood-cutter's axes, to help in this part of the work. In their enthusiasm they chopped so hard they soon broke the handles and chipped some of the tempered blades, so that I had to take them to Port Blair for repair! But the real work begins with the working of the felled trunk. Then a small and very crude form of hatchet[1] has to be used, flaking off small strips like a plane; fire is never used to assist in the process. Fortunately the *Sterculia* wood usually chosen is soft.

The original shape is not touched after the required length, calculated so as to allow for the harpoon-thrower's platform at each end, has been cut. The irregularities of the trunk are left intact, so that the canoes look distorted and even ugly despite their seaworthiness. During the preliminary stage of stripping the bark great care is taken not to chip the outer ring of wood immediately below the bark; this is smooth and fine-grained, and more waterproof than the inner layers. One danger is that as the wood dries

[1] The blades used to be made from *Tridacna* shell, but in more recent times they have come to be made of iron from wrecked ships cast up on the beaches.

One danger is that as the wood dries
396 out small cracks will open up and let water through the end of the
[314] canoe; these the Onges stop with resin.

Then comes the decision which side of the trunk is to be the keel. Once this has been decided, the upper surface is chipped flat and the hollowing out of the centre section begins, leaving the flat platform at each end. The finished shell is often no more than three centimetres in thickness, increasing slightly under the end platforms to protect the ends of the canoe as they grate on the reefs.

The float and booms, which project considerably, are for obvious reasons attached after the canoe has been rolled to the water. The
[824] booms are made of heavy hard wood, but the float itself, made of *Hibiscus tiliaceus* or *Sterculia villosa*, has to be not only light, so as to float, but soft, so that the fixing pegs can be driven in easily. These are set into the float in a series of triangles, held in securely by the expansion of the wet wood and the upward force of the sea. The free ends of the pegs are then lashed together in groups of three so that each triangular set becomes a pyramid. The outrigger booms are set parallel to each other; each runs right across the hull, firmly lashed into holes bored on each side of the canoe high in the gunwales, and extends at least three metres out on one side. The apex of each pyramid formed by the float pegs is lashed up to one of the booms, holding the float fast to the booms above it.

The canoes have no reinforcing ribs either inside or out, and because of their inherent fragility they are never left in the water; they are dragged up over specially cleared runways to the communal huts near the shore. There they are left lying in the sun among the Ipomeas.

The direct heat dries them so rapidly that the wood invariably
[314] develops cracks, and the Onges resort patiently to their invariable remedy; resin is smeared over the cracks inside and out, and reinforced by a network of fibres laid on top, with a further layer of resin to seal them over.

[137] Once on shore the canoes are left lying till they are next wanted, but with everything ready; the invaluable *Nautilus* is ready to bale out, so too are the point, cord and shaft of the harpoon, the large flat stones on which fire is carried without damaging the craft, and the blocks of wood to knock the harpoons out of the turtle shells.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

I examined a number of canoes drawn up on the beach. They 501
varied in size from some eight to ten metres long, built to carry twenty people, to small single-manned craft three to four metres long, and there were some very small ones clearly intended to encourage the children to set out on their own. The very large canoes are, however, rare. The beam also varied considerably from some barely wide enough to admit a man's knees to others of one and a half metres or more.[1]

In the shallows, contrary to some assertions, paddles are never used; the booms would make alternate paddling extremely difficult. Reversed harpoon shafts are instead used as punt poles and oars, [824] usually made of *Myristica longifolia*, are used only in deep water. They are sometimes but not always lashed into the holes in the gunwale through which the booms pass. They are short, not more than 1·3 metres long and are always rowed forwards (obviously there would be a danger of stubbing a reef if the European style of rowing was used). Like the canoes, the oars vary somewhat in size. Very roughly made they consist of a handle ninety centimetres long and a forty-centimetre blade. The grip tapers almost to a point and increases gradually in diameter towards the blade, which is long, narrow, blunt-ended and flat-convex in section. Usually it is [237] merely roughly shaped with the Onges' crude hatchet, but occa- [412] sionally it is smoothed off with a sharp *Cypraea* shell. The helmsman and pilot stand on the two platforms, guiding the canoe with oars. As far as possible the rowers avoid the side bearing the outrigger mechanism; any deviation of course caused by the unilateral rowing is corrected by the two steersmen.

When they first launch a canoe the Onges decorate it with ochre 501
designs like those on their bodies and the hollowed logs used to 531
hold honey, although they are washed off as soon as the craft enters the water. As usual the men do all the work up to that point [462] and the women do the painting. The initial painting is the only [422] form of ornament on the canoes; there is not even a mark of owner- [126] ship, although each canoe is curiously enough recognised as the property of one man, despite the fact that everyone has helped to

[1] I am unable to agree with Brown that the Onge canoes are extremely small, that they have bow and stern, and that their floats are inefficient. My own experiences of travelling in the canoes has led me to the opinion that on these and other points Brown was wrong, possibly partly because he never actually visited Little Andaman. [114]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

136 Andaman, in Yeratil Jig (near Port Anson, about fifteen miles from Long Island) in Diglipur (or Dilyapur) Creek, near Port Cornwallis, and in Wilima Jig,[1] but they are now extinct. In March 1952 the Onges had described the presence of crocodiles so clearly to me as to leave no doubt what they meant, and I soon received confirmation when I found their tracks on the sand about one kilometre from the mouth of Jackson Creek, on the right bank, and then saw some lying on the shore across the creek. Through my field glasses I saw small birds pecking between the teeth of the great wide-open jaws. As we approached they slid lazily into the sea, some reappearing a little later, their cavernous mouths rising vertically out of the water. Every day after that I saw them swimming quietly near the banks, and one afternoon my men and I between us saw over a dozen, near Nachuge, dozing in the mud or in the water.

[825] [198] The Onges assured me that crocodiles will come out of the water to a certain whistle. I got them to try it; the Onges whistled, and whistled again, but no crocodiles came!

237 32 276 172 Very different from the great turtles and the crocodiles, but equally important in the daily life of the Onges, are the crabs from which the islanders make their ancient and very characteristic pipes. They eat the crabs and use the claws to make the pipes, cutting them across the joint and boring a hole in the end, as they have done since time immemorial, to smoke aromatic leaves from the forest. Fragments of similar pipes, charred with use, appear in even the lowest strata of the kitchen-middens, dating back thousands of years and proving the antiquity of the smoking habit. Contrary to popular belief, smoking did not begin everywhere with the introduction of tobacco – in Asia at least men smoked thousands of years ago.

237 276 171 The claw pipes of the Onges have a groove cut round the end which goes into the mouth, so that the teeth can grip it better. I have seen identical pipes, with the same groove, in the Melville Islands, where there are many other signs of ethnographic connections with the Andamans. The canoes, for example, are identical with those of the Andamans; the peoples themselves, however, are today very different physically.

[501] [142]

[165] [1] According to Portman a man was dragged into the water here on 11 May 1894 by a crocodile and killed; several similar incidents have occurred since.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

These crabs are enormous, weighing one and a half kilograms, and are very tasty. Like many land crabs they have one large claw and a smaller one, the difference being quite marked in the males, though hardly noticeable in females. Some appear left-handed, some right-handed; I confirmed this by looking at thousands of them with the help of my Indians, and sent some to the Institute of Zoology at the University of Genoa for further examination.

On the inside of the large claw, to hold the prey while the crab bites, are protuberances that look like teeth. They have a very similar function and are a good example of superficial similarity in different types of organs designed for a similar purpose.

The females, like those of other crabs, carry the mass of round, almost transparent, orange-coloured eggs under the abdomen, attached to her swimmerets and well protected. In the great crabs from which the Onges make their pipes the bluish-green shell is reflected on to the eggs, giving them a beautiful sheen. Immediately the young are hatched, they cling underneath the mother's abdomen like the eggs, so that if a female is caught one can be sure of having the whole brood. Even at this stage the sex and the disparity of the claws is discernible as the young are exact replicas of the adults. Two curious things about them are that the number of the two sexes in any brood are exactly equal, and that in the males there are equal numbers right- and left-handed. The point is an interesting one, and I hope geneticists will be able to investigate it further.

Another important feature in Onge life is the *Nautilus*, the cephalopod whose shells provide the only drinking vessels they know. *Nautilus* shells, unlike those of gastropods, are spiral in one plane, with interlocular septa. The mollusc occupies the last, or largest, of the whorls, which communicates with the rest of the spiral by a cylindrical syphuncle running through the mid-line of the shell. This is connected to the creature's viscera by a vascular tube, which for hydrostatic purposes regulates the amount of air and water in the chambers. Each chamber is concave on the side nearest the aperture, and the distance between the septa increases with the size of the whorls, to a fixed maximum, limited by their number, which is constant in adults. *Nautilus*, a living fossil from the time of the ammonites, is the last survivor of a genus dating from the Silurian period; long ago there were many species, although only four have

136 been found since 1500. It is found only in the seas round Australia and Malaysia, flourishing round the Andamans, growing rarer towards Indonesia, and reaching as far as the Philippines.

Although *Nautilus* shells are very often thrown up by the sea on the shores of Little Andaman (though rarely whole, because they are so fragile), I never managed to find one alive. The creature prefers to live below thirty metres, where it can be taken with a hook and line. I distributed some to the Onges and offered them every possible inducement, but no one managed to catch a live *Nautilus*. The lovely shells are striped white and rosy pink on top, shading to a mother of pearl colour underneath, and when polished and shaped make beautiful cups or ornaments. I brought some back to Italy with me, but the best were stolen. In one collection in the Zoological Museum of the University of Florence there are some fine ones set in silver, now of considerable value.

237 302 123 177 Another shell which the Onges use is that of the huge bivalve *Tridacna*, the elephant of the mollusc world (see p. 114). For many hundreds of years they have filled these shells with water and used them as mirrors when they paint themselves. (The reflection is poor, however, and they fell enthusiastically on the mirrors I had taken with me. These they named *quietanga*, derived from their name for *Tridacna*, and followed me all over the island to get them.)

136 262 Two species of *Tridacna* are found on Little Andaman; *Tridacna gigas*, the larger, and *Tridacna squamosa*, large, but somewhat lighter in weight. Both live in relatively shallow water and are equally terrifying once they have got a hold (see p. 114). Fortunately, the Onges have learnt to surprise them when they are open and slash the single immensely powerful muscle, which closes the two halves of the shell. The flesh is edible when well boiled, and certain parts can even be quite tasty, with a delicate sea flavour; I even ate some raw, much to the horror of the Onges. (They were equally scandalized at my eating raw some of the excellent oysters, which they despise.)

136 Some of the *Tridacna* of the Andamans and Nicobar can weigh over two and a half hundredweights. The actual flesh is not heavy – the two halves of a magnificent *T. squamosa* that I caught at Nancowry in the Nicobars and gave to the Governor of the Andamans weighed nearly one and a half hundredweights and were over 1·3

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

A comparison of the three branches of the Negrito race in the light of present information shows that the usual form of habitation amongst them is a sloping roof or screen of palm-leaves. One form of this, the simplest to construct, but only suitable as a temporary shelter, is in common use amongst the Semang and is found amongst the Negritos of Casiguran. The other form, more permanent but requiring more labour to erect, is in common use in the Andamans and amongst the Negritos of Zambales. Of communal huts we have no evidence in the Philippines. The communal shelter of the Semang consists of two screens leaning towards one another. The two types of communal hut of the Andamans are both derived from the family hut.

HUNTING, FISHING, ETC.

The Andaman Islanders depend for their subsistence entirely upon the natural productions of the forest and the sea. They make no attempt whatever to cultivate the soil. Until the introduction of dogs in 1858 they had no domestic animals. Young pigs are occasionally kept in captivity till they are grown, but they are killed for food and are not bred in captivity. Thus the Andamanese provide themselves with food by three different forms of activity: (1) collecting such things as roots and fruits and honey, (2) fishing in the sea and in the creeks, (3) hunting the wild animals of the forest.

For hunting the Andamanese rely entirely on the bow and arrow. Since they have had dogs they occasionally make hunting spears, but they did not do so in former times. They make no use whatever of any method of trapping game or birds. For fishing they also make use of the bow and arrow, wading out on to the reefs and shooting the fish, and in this they are very skilful. Crustaceans, such as crabs and cray-fish, are captured in the same way. In the North Andaman a sort of short fish spear was formerly in use as an occasional substitute for the bow and arrow. In all parts of the islands small nets are used by the women for catching small fish and prawns. In the Great Andaman large nets were formerly used for capturing turtle, dugong and large fish near the shore. At the present time the natives of the Great Andaman Division make use of harpoons with which they capture turtle, dugong and large fish from their canoes. Harpoons are not used in the Little Andaman. The Andamanese are also aware of methods of poisoning or stupefying fish in pools by means of certain plants that they crush and place in the water, but I have never seen them use this method of

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Agriculture.— 1. Before the arrival of strangers in their midst, 241 the Andamanese were entirely ignorant of agriculture, and to this circumstance is primarily to be attributed their degraded condition, while it also affords evidence of the same.

2. Notwithstanding the ample opportunities that they have now had of observing the benefits derived from cultivation, and though they undoubtedly prefer such products to the spontaneous vegetation of their jungles, they still consider that the exertion necessary to obtain the former far outweighs every advantage; in short, it is their opinion, that "*le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle.*"

3. We must not, however, lose sight of the fact that as they have hitherto seen only prisoners engaged in tillage, they cannot but be strengthened in the objections entertained by most savages to all such labour, regarding it as a degrading occupation, and fit only for such as have forfeited their freedom.

4. Further, to quote from Peschel, "it must be remembered that hunting affords supreme enjoyment, and that agriculture has nothing to offer in compensation for the excitement and delights of the chase."

Training and Domestication of Animals.—1. Prior also to our 231 occupation of these islands, the Andamanese, as will have been 177 already inferred,[1] possessed no dogs, and it was some time (1865) before they became aware of their usefulness in the chase; but now that the intelligence of certain breeds has been proved, they prize them highly, and eagerly accept any we have to give them; at the same time, though treated with every intentional kindness, and allowed to sleep, and even to eat and drink out of the same vessel as their masters, the training to which the dogs are subjected is very severe, and their attenuated condition bears witness to the state of semi-starvation in which they are commonly kept in order to render them the more keen in hunting. The custom of summoning dogs by whistling has of course been borrowed from ourselves, as is also the practice of [552] naming them; "Jack" or "Billy"[2] are the names generally bestowed by these people upon their canine companions, whom also they address as *ligala* (children), and who in their turn seem greatly attached to their new owners, and testify their affection by attacking all strangers, not being aborigines, who approach the encampment to which they belong.

2. It is regarded as a good omen to meet certain birds, while 787 of others the contrary belief is held;[3] the absence of migratory

[1] *Vide ante* "Trade, Exchangeable Values, &c.," paragraph 3.

[2] They sometimes nickname them as follows:—*bī·bi-bā·ratnga-* (lit., dog-mottled), *bī·bi-ngā·nanga-* (lit., dog-beggar), *bī·bi-tá-tū·panga-* (lit., dog-bone-crusher), *bī·bi-tá-tē·ràwa-* (lit., dog-yellow), *i.e.*, according to any peculiarity that may distinguish them.

[3] *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 22.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

simultaneously with it a successful all-round regional development of the islands. 563 648

The resources of the islands having a small areal extent are very limited though the forest and sea products are fairly rich to deserve special mention. The presence of a variety of valuable species of timber in these islands has led to their exploitation since the development of the Penal settlement. The important species of timber found in the Andaman forests are padauk, garjan etc. In the previous decades, the forest exploitation was never associated with a commensurate amount of forest regeneration. Such policies are being followed at present for saving the forest resources from ruthless exploitation without any adequate means of ensuring a perennial supply of timber by systematic regeneration. The recent colonisation scheme has invoked the enquiry for the clearance of the forests. Andaman forests being rich in timber and also being the only major revenue earning source of the islands should by no means be ruthlessly cleared for settlement. Not only it depletes the forest resources but also degenerates the soil—the soil erosion being the immediate victim after such clearance of forests. Considering the primary importance of the forest resources of the islands, it seems to be a plausible agreement that at least 50% of the land should be reserved under forest cover and a further curtailment from this percentage will undoubtedly lead to serious consequences of the soil simultaneously with a great decrease in the resources of the islands. 313

The sea products range from a wide variety of products from sea shells to sea fisheries. The collection of sea shells is in vogue from a fairly long time and the sea fisheries, mostly being confined to the coastal areas, is conducted by the fishermen and the tribal people for their own consumption. There is a good deal of possibility for furthering the development of marine fisheries on a commercial scale but the lack of enterprise and capital investment has not given rise to any appreciable development. The only two enterprises of the fisheries are those of Trochus and Turbo shells by the Japanese during 1930-36 and another enterprise by a business concern in 1947. Even the present catch from the coastal areas amount to only 300 lbs., a considerable lag from the demand within the islands. 226 228

The means of earning livelihood in the islands were hunting and collecting by the aboriginal population who have not even to-day learnt the techniques of domesticating plants and also animals except the Onges who have domesticated the dogs very recently. The penal settlement and the subsequent expansion of the administrative seat at Port Blair 222 224 231 563 241

10:Sen K-3,4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

241 gave way to the development of agriculture over an extremely limited
563 area in South Andaman — paddy cultivation and coconut plantations have succeeded quite well. The plantations of rubber, tea and coffee also developed in the South Andaman over very small areas but ultimately did not prove very successful, partially due to the lack of adequate care. Simultaneously with the settlement of the refugees, new areas are being brought under plough which had never been interfered with human hands. The growth of agriculture based on rice cultivation together with vegetable gardening, development of orchards, coconut cultivation will bring about self-sufficiency of the islands and make the people self-supporting.

Industrial development of any big scale cannot be foreseen except the lumbering industry because of the lack of resources, power and also of any appreciable home market. Besides lumbering, the fishing industry, if properly co-ordinated with the mainland, can be developed to a great extent. A number of cottage industries based on coconuts, sea
[438] and forest products have developed, of which the coirmaking has developed most.

13 The characteristics, common to the tropical islands, are to a large degree manifested in these islands. The physical environment suffers from a number of limitations. Hot and humid climate is ameliorated by the influence of the sea in all parts as none of them are more than 10 miles away from the sea. The problems of soil are quite tremendous and such signs are only discernible to a small extent in the islands which might share greater proportions in the future if adequate measures of careful cultivation are not undertaken. The natural vegetation should be carefully preserved and regenerated after the felling of the trees not only for the conservation of the vegetation but also for saving the soil from the serious consequences of erosion. The
178 cultural environment is a mosaic of variety because of the different
433 types of people who have been living in these islands, however negligible
563 their number might be. The imbalance of regional growth, being exclusively confined to the South Andaman, is being removed with the growth of settlement in the other parts of the islands and the indications of the shift in gravity of the economic interests is synchronising with the progress of settlement in the North and Middle Andamans. Mayabunder is handling a greater share in the movement of commodities and passengers. Such changes are undoubtedly very much welcome as the lowering of the disparities in the regional economy and growth speak of an all-round regional development.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans
Nicobars AZ.7

The Nicobar group of islands being separated off from the Andaman Islands by the Ten Degree Channel, though constitute a part of the continuation of the island in the north, the geographical entity of these islands are conspicuously different from that of the others. The Nicobar Islands have an area of 635 sq. miles and have 19 islands, out of which 12 islands are inhabited. The human habitats are exceedingly interesting and these people are distinctly different from the aborigines of the Andamans not only in their physical characteristics but also in their cultural attributes. Material life is much more improved and they have been all the time experiencing a healthy growth in comparison to the rapid decay of the Andaman aborigines. Culturally the affinity seems to be closer with the Indonesian islands. Shom Pens, the highlanders of the Great Nicobar, live in perfect isolation and have an extremely primitive economy. The staple crop is coconut and a number of fruit trees and yam are also grown. Some of the islands have become extremely overcrowded and need immediate dispersal to some of the less crowded islands. A detailed geographical treatment would require much more words to say about these thriving people and their contact with the foreigners than those of the Andamans. However it remains incomplete if the study of the Nicobar Islands is not incorporated in that of the Andaman islands. Therefore, in spite of the distinct geographical contrast with the Andamans, a short geographical summary has been given at the end of the book.[1]

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1 [not processed. - Analyst]

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10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

621 rather than order is given by the leader. Cipriani observes.[1] "For
622 instance, it is very amusing for them to think that a man gives orders to others. This means that they have no real chiefs. A so-called Onge
[592] chief, or raja, is only the head of a group of families living in the same communal hut, and giving not orders but only advice. It is the most experienced man who is considered chief in the hut, but his authority if at all never goes beyond that hut. In other words no real chief exists in the Little Andaman. Notwithstanding this, there is a perfect order in the island, because nobody interferes with the work or encroches upon what can be considered the rights of others."

124 As is common to most of the aborigines, the Onges are generally
162 not very receptive when the questions about their numbers and other groups are enquired. The headman says that there are many many fifty Onges. However the number of the Onges are approximately 600.

22 As regards the mode of living of the Onges, the hunting and collec-
231 ting are the basis of their economy. The domestication of the plants
241 i.e. art of agriculture is not known to them and it is only 30 years back, the dogs arrived in the island and have been domesticated by the Onges for chasing the pigs, their main prey. In the absence of agriculture, the natural products of the sea and the forest provide them with all
[262] their items of diet. Animal and vegetable products and honey are the main items of their diet and there has been, so far, no introduction of salt in their diet. The most important victims of their hunting are pigs and turtles, the former is chased by dogs and are killed with great
252 cruelty. The cooking of the fish, meat, roots, tubers, jackfruits etc are
251 done by putting them under fire. Preservation of foodstuffs is not widely practised except the jackfruit seeds which are tied up in a small net inside water on the bank of some stream and taken out during rainy season, when the other vegetable foodstuffs are not available. On
146 the whole, the Onges have a very balanced diet with a fair richness of all the nutrients. In this connection the observations of Dr. Cipriani during his survey in the Little Andaman throws considerable light in
[157] their conditions of life. He has estimated the Onges as one of the happiest people of the world, who in spite of their primitive economy, are not the miserable victims of poor health, ill nutrition and oddities of life.

396 Some amount of artistry and craftsmanship have developed among these people. A canoe can be constructed by a man, all by himself from

[113] 1 Cipriani, L—Survey of Little Andaman during 1954; Bul. Dept. Anth.,

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

and particularly of Oceania, but not with that of the Indian peninsula – a fact which is highly significant in any reconstructive study of the migration of flora and fauna to the archipelago. 137

The most recent phase in the spread of vegetation within the Andamans is less than a hundred years old; it began on Great Andaman, but none of the species has yet reached Little Andaman. The coconut has reached it during the last few years, but when I was there, there were not more than five wild palms in the whole island. The original coconuts must have floated from Great Andaman, or even the Nicobars. The Onges at once realized that they were edible, and called them *marele*. Now, however, there is a plantation of over five hundred trees to the north of Labanar, which I established by degrees on a number of occasions as a gift to the Onges. [262] [123]

The absence of any cultivated plants on Little Andaman led me to try pawpaws and bananas, as well as coconuts. In 1952 the Governor himself suggested a plant whose leaves are said to cure ringworm, so widespread among the Onges. The Onges, however, were not remotely interested, nor were they any more interested in the pawpaws and bananas. The pawpaws were left to lie on the ground and groves of young plants sprang up, far too close together, crowding the original tree and not sturdy enough to fruit. It was useless to show the Onges what to do. The bananas would have grown well, but their leaves were ripped to pieces by the storms. Possibly they would fare better in Great Andaman, where the hills would afford some shelter from the wind. 241 177

A rather different result, but equally unfortunate, followed the importation of grass seed into Great Andaman to improve grazing. The seed, imported from Europe, must have been contaminated with *Mimosa pudica*, which has spread widely, as it did in India and the rest of southern Asia, and within a few years has destroyed the grass so widely and become so much of a pest that in some areas it is doubtful whether it can be eradicated. The area round Port Blair is full of it, but for the moment Little Andaman remains free. 137

Culturally, the peoples of the Andamans remain today, unlike their kin in Malaysia and the Philippines, at a level almost identical with that of their ancestors thousands of years ago. They represented then, and in great measure represent today, a pure hunting and 105

105 gathering society; it is extremely probable that a study of their daily life today is virtually equivalent to a study of their life as it was in ancient times.

231 So near are the Andamanese to their original state that they show
241 no signs of ever having had any real agriculture. The Indian
177 Government has tried in vain to induce the surviving Arioto to keep chickens by presenting them with birds and food for them; the gifts were accepted out of politeness, but there the matter ended. Among the remaining Negritos, however, particularly in the Philippines, there are noticeable signs of the awakening of some agricultural sense, even to the extent of some commerce, and regular attendance at markets. But on Little Andaman, for example, I saw in 1952 various ginger trees growing, brought there by some unknown means and at Entigheh there was also a pumpkin. In 1953 and subsequent years there were no pumpkins at all on the island, and although the gingers were still thriving they were clearly doing so by chance, without any attention from the Onges, who ate some of the small red fruit, and seemed to like the piquant flavour, but still showed no signs of wanting to perpetuate it. In several places both on the coast and inland I saw, too, clumps of the slender native bamboo, hardly planted intentionally; the ground sites of some huts now abandoned, like Bugheneh and Odadda, were covered in them. The inhabitants had apparently wanted to procure a supply of material for roofing mats, or the drying platforms used by a few groups, and so the plantations were completely stripped – and killed.

245 In order to plant coconut trees for the benefit of the islanders I
177 had even to do the planting myself, so utterly ignorant were they of agricultural methods; we even had to do all the clearing of the undergrowth in a patch of forest, and prepare the ground. The Onges watched curiously but were quite uninterested. Why should they care for a tree for ten years to get its nuts when the island and seas around are teaming with food for the taking?

824 In their continual search for food the Onges have acquired
825 botanical and zoological knowledge which seems almost innate, and they know of properties in plants and animals of which we are quite unaware. Nearly every day on Little Andaman I came across examples of this. I only had to draw a rough sketch of an animal and they knew at once where it could be found; it was only thanks

222 784 776 824 twining up into the trees, and the shorter-stemmed yams, are never disturbed. The Onges merely dig down, at a respectful distance from the plant, certain of finding what they want. On no account must there be any signs of the theft for the spirit to see, so they quietly take off roots or tubers some way from the main stem and leave the rest, patting the earth down afterwards and covering the place with leaves. The guardian spirit, not, apparently, all-seeing, notices nothing, as the plant continues to flourish, improved by the root pruning. Everyone, guardian spirit and Onges alike, is happy.

[185] [114] This unconscious preservation may well be the result of a decree, in some remote past, by an Onge seer who realized the danger of killing off the entire plants and invented the guardian spirits as a deterrent. The Negritos still make similar use of roots and tubers; [191] Skeet and Blagden fifty years ago referred to the Semang eating poisonous wild yams, having removed the toxic substances.[1]

241 174 It is interesting that both in the past and even today a number of peoples at a very early stage of cultural development have progressed from the gathering of the wild yams of South-East Asia to the first signs of cultivation and agriculture. It is possible that they were the first plants ever to be cultivated by primitive Man, the Negritos with their digging sticks delving then as they do now; the genus is certainly a very ancient one, and some species, such as *Dioscorea alata*, may have spread from Asia to Africa and Oceania, and even to America, with the beginning of cultivation. But this is a stage of development which the peoples of the Andaman never reached.

412 [179] [222] The digging stick, the only implement the Onges have with which to get at the roots and tubers, has in recent times been affected, though to a very limited extent by the spread of iron. Only a few individuals possess a primitive iron tool, half a metre long, cylindrical in shape and usually not more than one and a half centimetres in diameter and flattened into a form of blade at one end. The vast majority still have only the age-old stick made of hard wood, hardly recognizable as a tool and crudely fashioned into a point at one end. This tool, so primitive that it can easily be mistaken for an odd

[1] It is interesting that the American Aborigines, especially in Brazil, do the same with manioc, but I saw nothing of this nature in the Andamans.

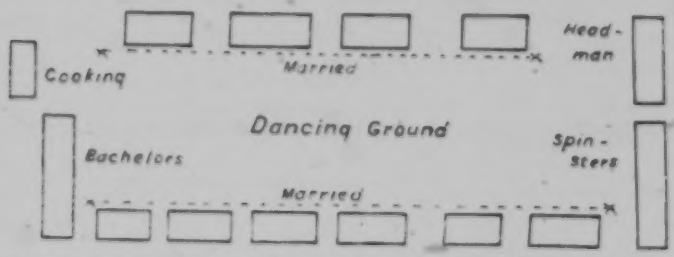
in other savages. At Government House, Calcutta, in 1895, when a party was told to sit down and weep to show the custom at meetings, in a few moments the weeping became genuine, and when after a short time they were told to stop and get up, tears were streaming down their faces. 576

General Capacities.—The Andamanese are good climbers, and rapid walkers and runners, moving with a free and independent gait, and can travel considerable distances at a time. The Jarawas turn their toes in, due to the necessity of stooping to pass along their paths through the tangled jungle. The Eremtaga are good but not remarkable trackers. The Aryoto are good swimmers and are much at home in the water. The Andamanese generally show a dexterity in getting about their thick and tangled jungles which baffles all immigrants, though in this respect the Eremtaga quite out-distance the Aryoto, and the Jarawas apparently all the others. In the jungles all shooting with arrows is necessarily at very short distance, and generally the Andamanese are good shots at short distances only, judging direction very well but distance hardly at all. They can however at the very short distance required for shooting fish allow accurately for refraction in moving water and will shoot their fish successfully even in the surf in a manner that is inimitable: this is really due to accurate judgment of direction. 481

The Andamanese are unadventurous seamen, poling and paddling their canoes with small spade paddles at considerable speed, faster than that of an ordinary ship's boat for a little distance though they could not paddle away from one in even a short chase, but they never go out of sight of land, have never been even to the Cocos (30 miles), nor to Narcondam and Barren Island, nor had they ever any knowledge of the existence of the Nicobars till our arrival. Man has a legend from Car Nicobar doubtfully going to show that the Onges from the Little Andaman once made raids on that island: but if this were true they would do so still. 502

IV. Habits and Customs.

Dwellings.—Except in the Little Andaman and among the Jarawas there are no fixed habitations, the search for easily obtained food and insanitary habits obliging the people to be nomads, for they have no practice of cultivation and domesticate no animal whatever except dogs obtained from the English. They thus dwell in various customary encampments, situate within their respective territories. At these encampments, usually fixed in sheltered spots, they erect about 14 temporary huts capable of holding up to 50 to 80 persons, arranged facing inwards on an oval plan always more or less irregular, thus— 621 [242] [231]



The central space is the dancing ground. A hut is merely a thatch about 4 feet long by 3 feet wide, sloping from 8 inches behind to 4½ feet in front, placed on four uprights and some cross-pieces without walls. In unsheltered spots and at the Head-Quarters of Septs large circular huts are built with a good deal of ingenuity, having eaves nearly touching the ground. These will be as much as 15 feet high and 30 feet in diameter. For hunting purposes mere thatched shelters are erected for protection from the wind. Close to every hut is a very small platform for surplus food about 18 inches from the ground, and in it at least one fire is carefully preserved. This is the one thing that the Andamanese are really careful about for they do not know how to make fire, though 342 [251] 372

105 gathering society; it is extremely probable that a study of their daily life today is virtually equivalent to a study of their life as it was in ancient times.

231 241 177 So near are the Andamanese to their original state that they show no signs of ever having had any real agriculture. The Indian Government has tried in vain to induce the surviving Arioto to keep chickens by presenting them with birds and food for them; the gifts were accepted out of politeness, but there the matter ended. Among the remaining Negritos, however, particularly in the Philippines, there are noticeable signs of the awakening of some agricultural sense, even to the extent of some commerce, and regular attendance at markets. But on Little Andaman, for example, I saw in 1952 various ginger trees growing, brought there by some unknown means and at Entigheh there was also a pumpkin. In 1953 and subsequent years there were no pumpkins at all on the island, and although the gingers were still thriving they were clearly doing so by chance, without any attention from the Onges, who ate some of the small red fruit, and seemed to like the piquant flavour, but still showed no signs of wanting to perpetuate it. In several places both on the coast and inland I saw, too, clumps of the slender native bamboo, hardly planted intentionally; the ground sites of some huts now abandoned, like Bugheneh and Odadda, were covered in them. The inhabitants had apparently wanted to procure a supply of material for roofing mats, or the drying platforms used by a few groups, and so the plantations were completely stripped – and killed.

245 177 In order to plant coconut trees for the benefit of the islanders I had even to do the planting myself, so utterly ignorant were they of agricultural methods; we even had to do all the clearing of the undergrowth in a patch of forest, and prepare the ground. The Onges watched curiously but were quite uninterested. Why should they care for a tree for ten years to get its nuts when the island and seas around are teaming with food for the taking?

824 825 In their continual search for food the Onges have acquired botanical and zoological knowledge which seems almost innate, and they know of properties in plants and animals of which we are quite unaware. Nearly every day on Little Andaman I came across examples of this. I only had to draw a rough sketch of an animal and they knew at once where it could be found; it was only thanks

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

342 the roof, which is thatched with palm leaves of the variety called *chà·ngta-*. These are neatly plaited together, and fastened with cane, *pī·dga-*, and then placed in rows and tied, so that, when complete, the whole forms a capital roof impervious to the heaviest shower of rain.

[462] 3. The second variety, *chàng-tō·rnga-*,[1] are erected when temporary homes are required, which will last for a few months, as during the period of mourning;[2] they are made by men, and differ only from the *chàng-tē·pinga-* in being generally somewhat smaller, and less neatly thatched; another variety of palm leaf, called *ám-*, is sometimes substituted for the *chà·ngta-*.

4. The *chàng-dar·anga-*, or the third variety, being only intended to serve as shelter during a halt or short visit, is constructed in

[462] a yet more simple manner. The duty of erecting dwellings of this class devolves on the women, and from the following description it will be seen that the labour required is not excessive: two slender posts, about five feet long, are driven into the ground about five or six feet apart, and connected by means of a light pole or stick, which is secured to their upper ends. The roof is then formed by placing, stem downwards and firmly fixed in the ground, large palm leaves, which are made to overlap each other in such a way as to provide a fairly rain-proof shelter for one or two persons.[3] The leaves used for the purpose are either the *chà·ngta-*, *kā·pa-*, or *ā·para-*.

[353] 5. Above the small fire, without which no hut is complete, a small wooden platform or shelf, called *chā·pa lī tā·ga-*, or *ydt lek tā·ga-*, is placed on one or more sticks. On this they deposit

•[251] their spare food, so that it may be preserved by the smoke from the attacks of insects, &c.[4] By way of adornment, trophies of

[353] the chase, such as the skulls of pigs,[5] turtles, dugongs, &c., are suspended from the fromt of the roof.[6]

6. It seems desirable to draw attention to the following passage in Dr. Dobson's paper, lest, if left unnoticed, some misapprehension should arise on the subject. He states that "the Andamanese, at least the inhabitants of the southern island, erect no kind of house whatever . . . . When walking along the beach in the vicinity of Port Mouat,

[1] This variety is shown in Plate III, fig. 2.

[2] *Vide post* "Death and Burial," paragraph 4.

[3] Similar leaf shelters are erected by the Puris. *Vide* E. B. Tylor's "Anthropology."

[4] *Vide post* "Food," paragraph 31.

[5] This style of decoration is now-a-days falling into disuse, especially in South Andaman, for, with the assistance of dogs, hunting is much less arduous now than formerly, and a large collection of pig skulls is, therefore, easily obtained by the least skilful among them.

[6] Figuier speaks also of "large dried fish tied in bunches" being similarly treated, but no ground for such a statement can be discovered.

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to beat a log of this description on a stone or other hard substance a few times before it breaks up into as small pieces as are needed. 372

6. In each hut that is occupied there is invariably a fire, the object of which is to keep the owner warm, to drive away insects, and to cook food, while the smoke is useful in preserving the store of provisions, which are placed about two feet above it for that purpose.[1] [251]

7. Council fires, or fires burnt on special occasions, are not among their institutions; even the household fire is not held sacred, or regarded as symbolical of family ties, and no rites are connected with it; there are no superstitious beliefs in reference to its extinction or pollution, and it is never employed literally or figuratively as a means of purification from uncleanness, blood, death, or moral guilt.

8. Fires are generally kindled by fanning the embers with a frond of the *Asplenium nidus* (*pd·tla-*), and they are extinguished by pressing the burning logs against some such object as a tree, canoe, or stone.

9. Reference must here be made to the mis-statement which has found its way into several papers concerning the existence of so-called "oven-trees" among the Andamanese. The belief appears to have originated in the practice which prevails among them of taking advantage, during brief halts, of the natural shelter afforded by the peculiar formation of the roots of the *Pterocarpus dalbergioides*, and trees of the *Ficus* genus, so common in these islands, and which, extending like buttresses on all sides of the trunk, are, especially when roofed over with a light thatch such as these people are accustomed to make in a few minutes, capable of accommodating small parties suddenly overtaken by a storm, or needing a temporary resting-place: the traces of fires lighted by successive parties against these trees, and the hollows thus caused, having been noticed, the opinion was formed, and, without sufficient corroborative evidence, promulgated, that they were "purposely charred," and that "great pains is taken in their preservation."[2] As a matter of fact, the Andamanese no more employ oven-trees than do the gypsies in Bulgaria, alluded to by General Pitt-Rivers, F.R.S.,[3] who, using constantly the same trees, have formed a semi-cylindrical chimney, which might reasonably be regarded, by one unacquainted with their habits, as an attempt to form an oven. 114

10. While it is the women's business to collect the wood, the duty of maintaining the fires, whether at home or while travelling 372

[1] *Vide ante* "Habitations" paragraph 5.
[2] *Vide* Mouat, pp. 308–9.
[3] *Vide* Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi. pp. 273 and 290 (Appendix 3).

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462 required in making their various weapons, utensils, &c.; but though he has no hesitation in sharing and lightening his wife's labours up to this point, it is only in cases of stern necessity that he will condescend to procure either wood or water for the family requirements; the supply of these essentials of daily life being considered as peculiarly feminine duties and derogatory to the lords of creation.

3. Every woman is supposed to be a proficient in shaving,[1] tattooing,[2] and scarifying; she has also to prepare the *kbi-de-*, *tá-la-ōg-*, and *ká-ngatá-būj-*,[3] which are needed on so many occasions. The erection of the *chàng-dar-angn-*,[4] and the manufacture of personal ornaments,[5] and various other objects in constant use,[6] is also confined to the fair (!) sex, and when to these are added their daily duties of procuring certain kinds of food, cooking, and providing the water and fuel required for the family, it will be seen that the Andamanese materfamilias—who has not several children old enough to give her material assistance—has her time fully employed, or at least sufficiently so to prevent her getting into much mischief.

461 4. It is the duty of those men and women who remain at home to attend to the sick, infants, and others who are in a dependent position, to look after the fires in the various huts, and, of course, if needs be, to protect the property of absentees: for all those who are not physically incapable are supposed to employ themselves in some way, either for their own benefit or that of the community to which they belong.

574 5. It is customary for every family to maintain a supply of provisions in excess of its own requirements for the use of 251 friends who may chance to visit the encampment; but in the storage of their food—owing probably to the ease with which it is generally procured—much is often wasted which might without difficulty be preserved. The seeds of the *Artocarpus chaplasha*, and of a species of *Semecarpus*, are alone kept for any length of time. The manner in which this is effected will be described in the section treating of "Food."[7]

462 6. Migrations and other events affecting the movements of a whole community are arranged by the chief and elders; women 562 in such matters are not consulted, though while on the march it is they who are expected to carry the heaviest loads: this

[1] *Vide ante* "Hair," paragraph 4, and *post* "Shaving," paragraph 2.
[2] *Vide post* "Tattooing," paragraph 2.
[3] *Vide* Appendix B, items 60, 58, 62.
[4] *Vide ante* "Habitations," paragraph 4.
[5] *Vide post* "Attire," paragraph 1.
[6] In Appendix B will be found detailed the various objects manufactured by both men and women.
[7] *Vide post* "Food," paragraph 32.

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28. For brains and marrow they have a great *penchant*, and, in order to extract the latter, will often crush the smaller bones with their teeth, while they break up the larger ones with a stone hammer. 262 252

29. The blood of the turtle only are they careful not to spill,[1] and this, though not preferred to the flesh, is considered a dainty, and is eaten separately, after it has been boiled in its own shell until quite thick.

30. They do not preserve the carapace of either description of turtle, but, having removed the flesh, place the shell over the fire, that all the remaining fat may be melted, when—with an appreciation worthy of a City alderman—they ladle it into their mouths with *Cyrena* shells, which thus serve as spoons. So great a delicacy do they consider this that the shell is finally broken up and divided, that no particle may be lost! This fat is largely used in the manufacture of *kòi·ob-*, and it may be judged how highly they prize the unguent since they are willing to deny themselves this dainty rather than allow their supply to run short.

31. Food is preserved by placing it on the small grating (*yût-leb-tâ·ga-*)[2] above the hut fire,[3] or in the following rather peculiar fashion:—having procured and cleaned a length of bamboo (*fem. sp.*), they heat it over a fire that the juices contained in it may be gradually absorbed. When this is satisfactorily accomplished, half-cooked pieces of pork, turtle, or any other food,[4] are packed tightly into it, and the vessel is again by degrees put over the fire, in order to heat it slowly, lest the rapid expansion of the meat should cause a crack; when steam ceases to issue forth, the bamboo is taken off the fire, and, after the opening has been closed by leaves, is set aside with its contents until a meal is required, when it is replaced on a fire, for, as I have remarked in another place, it is a peculiarity of these savages to eat their food in an almost boiling state.[5] As soon as the meat has been once more thoroughly baked, the bamboo is split open with an adze or other 251

[1] To kill a turtle they pierce the eye with a skewer or arrow (*ì·dal jè·ralike*); when the flappers and belly-shell are removed (*tó·latke*), the animal is cut up (*wá·ratke*) prior to distribution.

[2] *Vide* "Habitations," paragraph 5.

[3] Jean de Lery, in the account of his adventures among the Indians of Brazil (about 1557), describes the "wooden grating set up on four forked posts; . . . and as they did not salt their meat this process served them as a means of keeping their game and fish."—(E. B. Tylor's "Early History of Mankind," p. 262.)

[4] They have not acquired a liking for either beef or mutton, but are very fond of fowls, rice, dhall, sugar, and sweets of all kinds; it is strange, therefore, to find in Colonel Tickell's paper that "fish they were indifferent to, also to rice."

[5] *Vide ante* "Anatomy and Physiology," paragraph 8.

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251 implement, and all take a share in the feast.[1] Meat thus prepared will keep good for several days.

32. I alluded just now to their method of preparing the seeds
252 of the *Semecarpus* and *Artocarpus chaplasha* for consumption
251 during the rains; it is as follows:—The outer husk, or skin, having been removed, a quantity of the fruit is placed on a wooden platter, and each person present renders assistance by partially sucking (!) the various pieces, which, after this preliminary process, are half boiled in water, and then wrapped up in large bundles of leaves, and buried in moist soil; no mark is made over the spot, but there appears to be no fear of forgetting it, though several weeks usually elapse before the monsoon breaks, and these decaying deposits are dug up, when the smell, as may be supposed, is most offensive to all but those who are to the manner born; by them, however, strange to relate, it is evidently highly appreciated. The next stage through which the seeds have to pass consists in freeing them in water from the decaying matter, and drying them in the sun, or over the fire, where they are left in nets (*châ·panga-*[2]) or leaves until required for use, when they are again baked. With this exception no food is dried in the sun, nor is anything salted or intentionally smoked, though this last cannot fail to be, to some extent, the result of their mode of storing food, as described in the previous paragraph.

222 33. Besides the various fruits already mentioned as in season
137 during the dry months, yams and honey are very abundant; as
824 their method of treating both fruits and yams has been already
825 described, it now remains for me to notice the ingenious way in which they procure honey, and to name the special trees which, flowering in succession, afford ample material from whence the bees produce a more or less abundant store.

34. At the close of the monsoon one of the large jungle trees, called by them *rár-* (*Eugenia* sp.), comes into bloom, and though no honey is made from its flowers, it is said to act beneficially on the bees as a purgative, and to prepare them for the commencement of the honey season.[3] The *lē·kera-* (*Leguminosæ* sp.), blossoming a little later, is the first honey-yielding flower; the *dū·mla-*,[4] *chī·lib-* (? *Diospyros densiflora*), *ó·ro-* (*Chickrassia tabularis*), and *châ·dak-* (*Rubiaceæ*) coming next into season, enable the bees to produce large combs, but the finest are found after the *pâ-* (*Semecarpus*), *bâ·jâ-* (*Sterculia* (?) *villosa*), *yē·re-* (*Sterculia* sp.), *jī·dya-*,[4] have

[1] *Vide post* "Hunting and Fishing," paragraphs 30 and 31.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 22.
[3] Hence *ra·rke*, (to) clean.
[4] The botanical names of these have not as yet been ascertained.

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(11) *Canoes.*—Bojigngiji and Yerewa, same pattern canoe; Onge-Jarawa
[501] pattern different from above. Both out-rigged, Bojigngiji has in addition a large dug-out without outrigger.

[342] (12) *Huts.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas have temporary huts. Onge-Jarawas have large permanent communal dwellings.

[535] (13) *Dancing.*—Bojigngijis and Yerawas, sounding board and song and clapping in unison. Onge-Jarawa, standing in a ring and alternately bending and straightening the knees: also on occasion kicking the buttocks with the flat of the foot.

[352] (14) *Beds.*—Jarawas sleep on the wood ashes of the fires. Onges on raised bamboo platforms. Other tribes on leaves and in sand-holes.

[262 251] (15) *Food.*—The staple food of the Onges is the mangrove fruit, boiled, and they preserve small fish dried after cooking. None of the other tribes do this.

The Long-shore and Jungle Andamanese.—The Andamanese are by themselves again further divided into the Aryoto or long-shore men, and the Eremtaga or jungle-dwellers; the habits and capacities of these two differ, owing to surroundings, irrespective of tribe. Some tribes as the Tabo, Juwai, Kol, and the South Andaman Jarawas, are entirely Eremtaga, while the Balawa, the Chariar, and the Jarawas of the North Sentinel are entirely Aryoto. The Aryoto holds himself to be better than the Eremtaga, but beyond this there seem to be no exclusive distinctions between them and an Aryoto will marry or adopt an Eremtaga.

With the minuteness in matters concerning their surroundings that is characteristic of all entirely uneducated people, the Andamanese recognise a third division of themselves by habits into Adajig or creek-dwellers, *i.e.*, those who live on the shores of the many inlets of the sea on the coasts of the Islands. The habits of the Adajig, however, are practically those of the Aryoto.

Distinctions by habits are quickly lost by the Andamanese. The Jarawas have now no canoes in the South Andaman and are quite incapable of constructing or using them, though all Onges have them and so have the Jarawas on the North Sentinel. So also had the Jarawas that Colebrooke met a century ago. And this year (1902) it was ascertained that the young men brought up at the Duratang (Kyd Island) Home and occupied chiefly in market gardening could neither steer nor paddle a canoe, nor take up tracks in the jungles. In one generation, though there was no restriction in communication with their people, they had lost both sea and forest craft.

Former Isolation of the Tribes.—Before the arrival of the English the tribes, excepting actual neighbours, may be said to have had no general intercourse with each other, and excepting some individuals were entirely unable to converse together, though it can be conclusively shown that all the existing languages are directly descended from one parent tongue. Even Septs had but little mutual intercourse and considerable differences in details of dialect and, as has occurred in other island abodes of savages, there must have been a change of dialect or language along about every 20 miles of the coast. The tribes were in fact brought together and made definitely acquainted with each other's separate existence and peculiarities by the influence and exertions of Mr. Man between 1875 and 1880.

609 **Sympathies and Antipathies.**—The tribal feeling is expressed as follows: friendly within the tribe, courteous to other Andamanese if known, hostile to every stranger, Andamanese or other. The sympathy and antipathy exhibited are strictly natural, *i.e.*, savage, and are governed by descent. The feeling of friendliness lies in an ever-decreasing zone from the family outwards towards sept, tribe, group: hostility to all others. Even septs will fight each other and Aryoto and Eremtaga do not mix much. But there is no "caste" feeling, and tribes will, in circumstances favouring the actions (*e.g.*, living on the tribal borders), intermarry and adopt each other's children. Within the tribe there is so
597 general a custom of adoption that children above six or seven rarely live with their own parents. It is an act of friendliness to give up or adopt a child and the custom has had the effect of making the various septs of a tribe hang together much better than would otherwise have been possible.

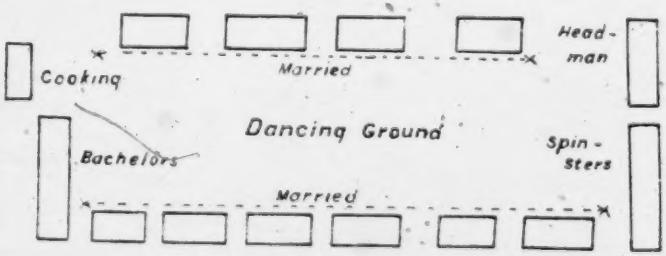
in other savages. At Government House, Calcutta, in 1895, when a party was told to sit down and weep to show the custom at meetings, in a few moments the weeping became genuine, and when after a short time they were told to stop and get up, tears were streaming down their faces. 576

General Capacities.—The Andamanese are good climbers, and rapid walkers and runners, moving with a free and independent gait, and can travel considerable distances at a time. The Jarawas turn their toes in, due to the necessity of stooping to pass along their paths through the tangled jungle. The Eremtaga are good but not remarkable trackers. The Aryoto are good swimmers and are much at home in the water. The Andamanese generally show a dexterity in getting about their thick and tangled jungles which baffles all immigrants, though in this respect the Eremtaga quite out-distance the Aryoto, and the Jarawas apparently all the others. In the jungles all shooting with arrows is necessarily at very short distance, and generally the Andamanese are good shots at short distances only, judging direction very well but distance hardly at all. They can however at the very short distance required for shooting fish allow accurately for refraction in moving water and will shoot their fish successfully even in the surf in a manner that is inimitable: this is really due to accurate judgment of direction. 481

The Andamanese are unadventurous seamen, poling and paddling their canoes with small spade paddles at considerable speed, faster than that of an ordinary ship's boat for a little distance though they could not paddle away from one in even a short chase, but they never go out of sight of land, have never been even to the Cocos (30 miles), nor to Narcondam and Barren Island, nor had they ever any knowledge of the existence of the Nicobars till our arrival. Man has a legend from Car Nicobar doubtfully going to show that the Onges from the Little Andaman once made raids on that island: but if this were true they would do so still. 502

IV. Habits and Customs.

Dwellings.—Except in the Little Andaman and among the Jarawas there are no fixed habitations, the search for easily obtained food and insanitary habits obliging the people to be nomads, for they have no practice of cultivation and domesticate no animal whatever except dogs obtained from the English. They thus dwell in various customary encampments, situate within their respective territories. At these encampments, usually fixed in sheltered spots, they erect about 14 temporary huts capable of holding up to 50 to 80 persons, arranged facing inwards on an oval plan always more or less irregular, thus— 621 [242] [231]



The central space is the dancing ground. A hut is merely a thatch about 4 feet long by 3 feet wide, sloping from 8 inches behind to 4½ feet in front, placed on four uprights and some cross-pieces without walls. In unsheltered spots and at the Head-Quarters of Septs large circular huts are built with a good deal of ingenuity, having eaves nearly touching the ground. These will be as much as 15 feet high and 30 feet in diameter. For hunting purposes mere thatched shelters are erected for protection from the wind. Close to every hut is a very small platform for surplus food about 18 inches from the ground, and in it at least one fire is carefully preserved. This is the one thing that the Andamanese are really careful about for they do not know how to make fire, though 342 [251] 372

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

3. Food

In the absence of men, women also are good at fishing inside the coral reefs. They do this with two small nets used together. Their catch generally consists of brilliantly coloured fish with yellow, red, green, blue, black and white stripes forming varied and attractive designs. The Onge eat all fish without discrimination. My Indian collaborators, on the other hand, considered the coloured fish dangerous to their health and refused to cook them ; the Sacred Vedas, in fact, advise the avoidance of brigthly hued fish and of fish without scales. I wanted to try both kinds, and found them perfectly palatable, tasty and harmless. 226 [462] 262 123

No tool, used for any purpose by the Onge, ever gets a cleaning. Cleanliness, I repeat, is unknown in Little Andaman. See how food is prepared and disposed of ! Care is taken only not to throw big pieces of meat intended for cooking directly on the bare ground ; but once it is cooked, food is treated with the utmost disregard for dirt, dust, cobwebs and other such things. It is usually left lying around on large leaves spread out for the purpose. The remains of the Onge's orgiastic meals are kept out of reach of the dogs on the ceiling of the huts, to be covered with flies when no fire is lit directly below. Sand and grit may get wedged annoyingly in the teeth, but not such impalpable things as dust or cobwebs. The use of unclean food is not repugnant to the Onge. The same can be said for water polluted by dogs drinking and bathing in it, or by the presence of putrefying carcases. In the west of Little Andaman I saw some Onge avidly drinking from pools of a blackish water with a revolting sulphurous smell. After thoroughly filtering and boiling it, I too used such water, for it was the only water available in the neighborhood. This caused no ill effects. My Indian men considered it perfectly healthy and invigorating, and drank it safely in its natural condition. 264 [252] [251] 271 123

The Onge eat with their unwashed fingers, without the help of tools. On rare occasions they use platters made of the flattened-out stems – or bracts – of *areca* palms. They sometimes carry these platters when travelling, but of course never wash them although they become coated in rancid, greasy filth. They soon assume a dark colour and a truly revolting appearance – aside from the awful smell. A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN's statement – that the Andamanese paint their bodies to neutralize the unpleasant smell of food that clings to them after their orgiastic feedings – shows only indirect knowledge of the life and manners of those people. Even the horrible flatulence that follows their pork orgies is not considered an inconvenience ; yet it is much more revolting than all the other body odours. 264 [415] 114 302 147 827

Although the Onge observe few hygienic precautions they do follow a number of medical practices, not all devoid of beneficial effects. Here are a few more remarks on their eating and drinking habits. For about six months of the year, between November and April, water is scarce in Little Andaman. Every kind of fresh water is then considered good by the Onge, regardless of whether it is a murky infusion of rotting leaves or afloat with the putrefied 751 812 271

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

312 caracases of small animals. During the droughts, marine hermit crabs, of
271 which a profusion is found in Little Andaman even far from the sea-shore,
[136] often choose to die in fresh-water pools. They are not removed from the pools.
[415] A nautilus shell is sometimes used as a drinking vessel ; failing this, the Onge
[516] lap up the water like animals, on all fours, directly from the pool. Since they are
231 very fond of dogs, man and dog drink together from the same tiny pool, often holding no more than a few pints of water. Dogs reached Great Andaman as early as 1857 ; they came to Little Andaman much later. Before that time there were no dogs in the Andamanese Archipelago. They soon became the natives' cherished and much appreciated assistants in the hunting of wild pigs. Many unhygienic habits followed the appearance of dogs in the Andamans.

271 The Onge have no idea of boiling water for the purpose of disinfection ;
[147] nevertheless their health does not appear to suffer at all as a result of the pol-
123 luted water they drink. When, in 1952, I dug a well near the left bank of Dugong Creek on the north-east coast of Little Andaman, I was compelled to fence it in so as to prevent dogs from drinking it and bathing in it.

264 Dogs lick everything that smells of food, including the cooking pots,
[231] and the pots are not washed before use after the dogs have licked them.
[136] Swarms of flies of different species and small coleoptera of a brilliant blue colour, one of them 6 mms long, follow the dogs after they have "cleaned" the pots by licking them. They line the inside of the pots with a crawling, living coat, moving restlessly around in search of food. One species of fly, which is of a brilliant, metallic green colour, has a peculiarly disagreeable smell. All the flies lay eggs while feeding, but the eggs are soon devoured by the hovering bluish coleoptera. Thus in a few hours all traces of organic matter disappear from the pots. Subsequent exposure to fire undoubtedly destroys the germs that would otherwise be certainly dangerous to human beings.

415 The Onge no longer use indigenous pottery for cooking. Its disappearance
177 is recent, as the sherds that litter Little Andaman prove to the investigator.
[323] Excavation in modern kitchen-middens leads to the same conclusion. During the last war, quantities of empty petrol drums were washed up on the Andaman shores. They were found in such numbers that the Onge have not yet used them all up : after 1952 I found several of these containers abandoned, untouched, in the jungle. The primitive inhabitants sawed each container in two cylindrical halves, thus transforming them into cooking pots. The result was that within a few years the fragile ancestral pottery of the Onge disappeared altogether. Furthermore, aluminium pots were distributed among the natives after 1952. Probably the indigenous pottery will never again reappear.
[252] Each half of a petrol drum is large enough to contain a pig, or a turtle weighing 150 lbs, cut into pieces. Only the flesh of these animals is consumed by the
262 Onge ; the nourishing broth is poured out onto the ground or left in the pot
[231] to be lapped up by the dogs. The Onge believe that broth is unhealthy and avoid drinking it.

251 No matter how prodigious the catch of sardines or other fish, unobtain-
[185] able at other times of the year, no attempt is made at storing part of it in view of future shortage. The Onge are unacquainted with methods for preserv-

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

ing edible matter ; furthermore, they don't care to take the trouble as food is generally plentiful. We must also realize that they find salt repulsive. Even honey – so easily kept for many months – is disposed of, if possible, on the very same day it is collected. Incredible quantities of this or other food may be consumed for days and nights on end until everything disappears. Very few of the islanders care to vary their meat diet with an occasional diet of vegetables in order to disintoxicate the system ; yet nourishing yams and other roots grow wild and plentiful. They are so rich in carbohydrates that I preferred them to potatoes and rice. I may add that the Onge, on my request, brought me yams and roots that they were glad to barter with rice, tea and sugar – soon declared by their wise men to possess medicinal properties.

The Onge's stomach, intestines and general physiological equilibrium suffer from lack of salt and such bad nutritional habits as those described. They damage the human body, together with unrestrained sexual activity.

One highly unhygienic custom of the Onge is the use, all over Little Andaman, of peculiar sucking-sticks. These pass from mouth to mouth during the frequent meat or honey orgies indulged in by the natives.

When boiling pork or turtle, a quantity of liquid fat floats on the surface of the broth. Though the Onge despise the broth, they don't like to waste the fat. So they devised an efficient solution : they suck the fat up by means of a wad of absorbent matter obtained by chewing the end of a fibrous stick selected among many species of trees in the forest. The end of the stick is chewed along a section of 5 cms, the remaining part – about 25 cms long and 2 cms thick – is used as a handle to prevent the fingers from burning.

In every Onge camp sucking-sticks are permanently in evidence owing to the inmates' frequent ingestion of liquid fat or honey. A second version of the sucking-stick consists in a narrow, cotton-like strip, up to 80 cms long, with only a small part of the original wood remaining. This serves as a handle for dipping the stick into a wooden barrel full of honey. In both instances the same tool passes for hours from mouth to mouth : from older people to greedy children, anxious to suck the coveted delicacy off the stick that has been dipped into the pot. The rapid spreading of epidemics, which often occur in the Andamans, is certainly encouraged by the use of these sucking-sticks. I found no reference to this practice in books on the Andaman Islands.

Everything they eat, particularly meat, the Onge consider as either remedial or harmful. They are therefore chary of accepting proffered food if it is unknown to them. When I brought 30 Onge to Port Blair to introduce them to Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD, President of the Indian Republic, they were troublesome about food. In Port Blair it was not as easy as in Little Andaman to procure whole pigs ; sometimes only pieces were available. The Andamanese Forest Department was quickly informed of the difficulty and kindly supplied the desired animals. In moments of shortage I tried to give the Onge cooked lamb, goat, chicken and pigeons ; they resolutely refused them as unhealthy. Birds are never eaten by the Onge, who consider them shelters for human souls

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
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262 immense quantities of it together with pork. I was with them three times when this recurred, so I could observe their behaviour exhaustively. With their
517 bellies full, the natives rest. Their only activity is body painting, performed by
302 the women on the skin of their peacefully sleeping husbands. Designs change
178 from time to time as I said before, according to the women's inventiveness. Each family challenges the others in renewing their patterns. The best are later reproduced until the next change. From year to year I noticed no real evolution in this rudimentary art, but a cyclical fashion, with temporary preference, in males and females alike, for some geometrical designs, unconnected with whatever kind of food they had been eating. This contradicts the published af-
114 firmations of several authors, who allege that the Andamanese paint special
302 patterns in special colours for different kinds of food. There is nothing more false, at least with reference to the Onge. Merry feasting, whether on pork
[262] turtle, dugong, fish or honey, leads to a period of rest and body decoration –
[751] always in similar patterns and colours – with the unique purpose of preventing illness. We might say that painting the body is equal to cleaning it, but this
[515] is quite unintentional. A curious exception to the Onge's filthy habits is the practice of sweeping the floor after solemn banquets in communal huts. The
264 surface of the floor consists of unpacked earth hardened by casual tramping.
356 When it is dry, sweeping raises a heavy dust that fills the hut to the ceiling.
342 It deposits there on the wooden beams where the Onge like to store cooked
251 victuals. So they eat their food, as I said before, coated with dust, no matter
262 how thick. A brush without a handle is used to sweep the floor ; it is 80 cms
412 long and no thicker than a man's wrist. It is one of the nicest tools made by the Onge, and consists of strong, hard, elastic palm fibres bound together with strips of rattan. The dirt is simply thrown out all around the hut, by pushing
356 it under the roof mats that never reach the ground.

These notes offer a first glimpse into a peculiar aspect of Onge life. It is
114 to be deplored that these vanishing people have not yet been exhaustively studied, notwithstanding their anthropological interest and high biological significance.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

621 rather than order is given by the leader. Cipriani observes.[1] "For
622 instance, it is very amusing for them to think that a man gives orders to others. This means that they have no real chiefs. A so-called Onge
[592] chief, or raja, is only the head of a group of families living in the same communal hut, and giving not orders but only advice. It is the most experienced man who is considered chief in the hut, but his authority if at all never goes beyond that hut. In other words no real chief exists in the Little Andaman. Notwithstanding this, there is a perfect order in the island, because nobody interferes with the work or encroches upon what can be considered the rights of others."

124 As is common to most of the aborigines, the Onges are generally
162 not very receptive when the questions about their numbers and other groups are enquired. The headman says that there are many many fifty Onges. However the number of the Onges are approximately 600.

22 As regards the mode of living of the Onges, the hunting and collec-
231 ting are the basis of their economy. The domestication of the plants
241 i.e. art of agriculture is not known to them and it is only 30 years back, the dogs arrived in the island and have been domesticated by the Onges for chasing the pigs, their main prey. In the absence of agriculture, the natural products of the sea and the forest provide them with all
[262] their items of diet. Animal and vegetable products and honey are the main items of their diet and there has been, so far, no introduction of salt in their diet. The most important victims of their hunting are pigs and turtles, the former is chased by dogs and are killed with great
252 cruelty. The cooking of the fish, meat, roots, tubers, jackfruits etc are
251 done by putting them under fire. Preservation of foodstuffs is not widely practised except the jackfruit seeds which are tied up in a small net inside water on the bank of some stream and taken out during rainy season, when the other vegetable foodstuffs are not available. On
146 the whole, the Onges have a very balanced diet with a fair richness of all the nutrients. In this connection the observations of Dr. Cipriani during his survey in the Little Andaman throws considerable light in
[157] their conditions of life. He has estimated the Onges as one of the happiest people of the world, who in spite of their primitive economy, are not the miserable victims of poor health, ill nutrition and oddities of life.

396 Some amount of artistry and craftsmanship have developed among these people. A canoe can be constructed by a man, all by himself from

[113] 1 Cipriani, L—Survey of Little Andaman during 1954; Bul. Dept. Anth.,

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

mothers offering it to the waiting children one after another in strict order. This alone would be enough to explain the spread of the devastating measles epidemics which can attack every member of a hut.

While they love the liquid fat, they despise the broth left behind, and once the meat has been eaten, a thick yellowish soup, not unpleasant, is left in the drum. The dogs love this, and rush for it, putting their paws right into the drum, fighting and snarling in their eagerness to get at it. When they have finished licking, the drum is shining clean and ready for use, with no washing up to do! Clouds of flies descend on the drums, packing into a black swarm all over the bottom and sides, eager to finish off the dogs' work. Sea or river water is often only a yard or two from camp, but no one would dream of washing anything.

Once the meat or fish is cooked, it is often hung in the roof of the hut, out of reach of the dogs. The fact that the roof is dusty and covered in spiders to foul the meat, does not matter; earth and sand get in the way of the teeth, dust and spiders do not. The Onges happily eat contaminated flesh and drink water from pools in which animal carcasses are rotting or dogs are bathing and drinking; the dogs share literally everything with their masters.

On my visits to the island I always had to fence off the wells I had dug out, to avoid a constant battle with the dogs. I always found water only a few metres down, and the dogs revelled in it. In the east, near Nachuge, I saw Onges and dogs together avidly drinking in brackish pools which stank of sulphur, although I must confess that after repeated filtration and boiling the water lost its smell and I was myself able to use it without any ill effects. My men thought it was good for the health to drink it as it was.

During all Onge orgies, and particularly the honey feasts, there is, if possible, even less regard for hygiene. Although the honey is full of wax, larvae, and a few odd bees, their brush-stick only picks up the honey itself. They have another even better way of getting out the honey. A strip of bark about one metre long and as wide as the palm of the hand is taken from a *Ficus*. This is well chewed to make it pliable, and when this is dipped into the honey mixture it emerges dripping with pure honey. Everyone bites at it avidly, young and old, men, women and children, one after another, to the last drop.

were approaching an Onge camp. Everywhere they go they are accompanied by flies of all sizes, and in Little Andaman the swarms are so bad that the first stranger to land called a river after them, Bumila Creek, or fly river. Their flies betray the Onges long before the barking of their dogs – no human voice ever betrays their silent presence.

On Little Andaman today the Onges' tacit divisions of territory are of little importance, so heavy has been the fall in population, but they still keep out of areas belonging to other 'huts', even if the huts themselves have been abandoned. I never saw any disputes over territory, or the ownership of the area in which a pig was caught (and hence ownership of the pig). The Onges who accompanied me, possibly encouraged by the prestige value of a European with them, hunted wherever we went without anyone raising any protests. Nevertheless, I always took the precaution of giving anything I or my Indians took to the Onges of the nearest hut, invariably much to their delight.

Contrary to established opinion, communal huts on Little Andaman are not found only along the coasts; the majority, and certainly the best constructed, are in the interior. Togalanghe is one, and there are a number of permanently abandoned temporary camps near it.

Both the permanent and temporary huts or shelters of the Andamans resemble those of the Semang. The latter are extremely simple, especially in the dry season; there are no walls and only a very sloping roof of leaves, high at the front and very low at the back, the beds being put so that the feet face the low part of the roof. With the Semang and Aeta the beds may be made of bamboo; this is never the case in the Andamans, as there are no large bamboos in the archipelago (Brown was wrong in this respect. The few slender bamboos on Little Andaman are only usable for making drying racks, which are found only round the hut at Beniabol in the south. As the people were away when I went there, and the site was consequently completely deserted, I was unable to establish visually what they dried, but traces of fish, particularly pilchards, were indication enough.)

These temporary shelters are put up extremely quickly. Two poles less than two metres long for the front, and two more, thirty to forty centimetres long, for the back, are fixed firmly into the

136 *fortispine*, uses a similar action on the larger bivalves. Its shell is equipped with a very effective form of tin-opener, which it keeps polished by vigorous rubbing.)

I watched a *Pterocera* attentively scrutinizing the hand holding it. After exploring it very carefully, the creature tried to free itself by beating violently with its foot, causing considerable pain. I held one by one of its protuberances, which was like a large right-angled hook. Suddenly, while my attention was held by a shoal of fish, I felt a sharp pain on the back of my hand. Taken by surprise, I watched the creature to try and discover what it had done. From a furrow at the base of one large front hook, a little to its left, I saw a tentacle emerge, able to turn in any direction, with a retractable eye at its tip. The eye, after a few exploratory movements, fixed its gaze on the place on my hand the creature intended to hit, and then the foot began to beat wildly on my hand, time and time again, causing a quite surprising degree of pain.

462 226 224 It is during the honey feasts, when the tides are exceptionally low and the seas calm, that the womenfolk come into prominence. While the men normally do all the hunting for game and large fish, using arrows and harpoons, the women, with their nets, catch the smaller fish in the rivers and marshes, and among the coral reefs at low tide. Their contribution to the everyday diet is by no means negligible, and during the season of very low tides their daily haul is tremendous.

262 825 The importance of fish to the Onges is shown by the fact that their word for it, *ciogbe*, is also used to mean food in general, and clearly dates back to the time before the arrival of the pigs on the island, when fish and sea food in general was the basis of their diet. [251] So plentiful is it that even at the height of the season the most they do in the way of preserving anything for future use is to expose the fish to smoke in order to deter flies from laying eggs on it for a day or two.

462 226 Only on very rare occasions do the men help in the net-fishing, and then only when they can completely fill the canoes with fish very quickly. I saw it happen for the first time on 24 March 1953, in the great coral reef near Nachuge, just as it happens all over the island at this time of year, when the pilchard shoals are so far inshore that there are not enough canoes to hold the catch. As the

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

tide goes down, the shoals are caught in the reefs stretching out to sea all round the island and the Onges leave everything to manhandle the canoes from pool to pool and fill them to overflowing. The water is almost saturated with fish, and the Onges go on and on until they have nothing more they can use to hold the catch. Nowhere else in the world have I seen anything like this wholesale slaughter.

The pilchards of the Andamans are rather larger than usual, some weighing as much as half a kilogram or more. The Onges catch them regardless of size and then sort them into lengths before cooking (cooking, needless to say, without stopping to gut them). Men, women and children work feverishly, plunging their hands into the heaving mass of fish so that they reek of it for days, together with the dogs, whose coats become the inevitable handtowels.

Every available vessel is used for the cooking, and the rest of the haul is cooked directly over hot ashes. The biggest are cooked alone; the smaller ones, in batches of half to one kilogram, are wrapped in big fleshy leaves, tied up with vegetable fibres and cooked for ten minutes or so, turned regularly all the while. To boil the fish, an entire netful of fish roughly equal in size is plunged into boiling water, and boiled as usual far too long for our taste.

Everyone cooks and eats at the same time until (temporarily) unable to eat any more, when the rest of the haul is laid on improvised racks with fires of green wood making smoke underneath. When, a few days later, all is gone, fishing begins again. And so life goes on for weeks, until the shoals have passed the islands.

The real fishing, however, is done by the men. The women use small nets about fifty centimetres in diameter, and about the same depth. The opening consists of a pliable cane, barely three centimetres in diameter, bent into a circle and tied with the ends crossing each other and projecting about twenty centimetres to form the handles. Each woman handles two nets, one held between the legs and the other in one hand, while the other hand pokes with a stick into the crevices in the reefs under the water to drive out the fish which have taken refuge as the tide goes out. Once found the fish are killed – very simply, by biting them between the

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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512 until they come upon the animal feeding. In former days much
224 skill was required to creep noiselessly through the jungle until they were sufficiently near either to discharge an arrow, or, if the jungle were more open, to rush in upon the animal shouting and shoot it before it could escape. At the present day it is the dogs that scent out the pig and bring it to bay, when the natives shoot it with their arrows.

512 When a pig has been killed it may be tied up and carried to the camp on the shoulders of one of the hunters, or a fire may
252 be lighted then and there and the pig eviscerated and roasted. A cut is made in the abdomen and the viscera removed. The cavity is filled with leaves, the joints of the legs are half severed and the carcase is placed on the fire and turned over and shifted until every part is evenly roasted. It is then removed from the fire, the burnt skin is scraped clean and the meat is cut up. Meanwhile the intestines or some of the internal organs are cooked and eaten by the hunters. The meat is tied up in leaves and is carried to the camp. If the pig be carried home whole the process of roasting it and cutting it up is performed in exactly the same way at the public cooking place of the camp, the meat being distributed only after it has been thus partially cooked.

512 If the hunting party should come across a civet cat (*Paradoxurus*) or a monitor lizard they would endeavour to kill
223 it[1], but the main object of every hunting party is to obtain pork. Snakes and even rats are killed and eaten. Birds, though plentiful in the islands, are not often obtained, for the density of the jungle and the height of the trees in which the birds conceal themselves, make it very difficult for the natives to shoot them with their bows and arrows. A man does not care to risk the loss of his arrow in a chance shot at a bird. The Andamanese do not trap either birds or animals, though some of the birds, particularly the rail, might be very easily caught in traps.

512 As the hunting party traverses the forest they may come across roots or fruits or seeds, or wild honey, and these are
222 collected and carried home. In the rainy season only small

[1] They are only eaten in the rainy season.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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512 combs of black honey are to be found[1], and these are generally
222 consumed by the hunters on the spot.

The provision of the vegetable food of the community is the work of the women, who must also supply the camp with firewood and water. While the men are away hunting the
462 women, attended by the children, cut and carry the firewood,
512 and either remain in the camp making baskets or nets or other
222 objects, or else go into the forest to look for fruits and seeds. Thus by midday the camp may be quite deserted, save perhaps for one or two old men and women, and a few of the children.

In the afternoon the women return with what food they have
512 obtained and then the men come in with their provision. The
252 camp, unless the hunters have been unsuccessful, is then busy with the preparation of the evening meal, which is the chief meal of the day. If a pig has been brought home whole it is cooked at the public cooking place and is then cut up. The meat is distributed amongst the members of the community and the woman of each family then proceeds to cook the family meal. The pork, after it has been roasted and cut up, is further cooked by being boiled. The family meal is prepared at the fire that each family has in its hut. The meal is a family one, partaken
[264] by a man and his wife and children. The bachelors cook and eat their own meal, and the unmarried women also eat by themselves.

512 After the meal is over, darkness having by this time fallen, the
[535] men may spend an hour or two in dancing to the accompaniment of a song sung by one of them with the help of a chorus of women.
537 In that case they would probably eat another meal after the dance was over. Another favourite amusement for the evening is what may be called "yarning." A man sits down with a few listeners and tells them, with few words, and with many dramatic gestures, how he killed a pig. The same man may go on with
512 tale after tale, till, by the time he finishes he has killed twenty or thirty pigs. Finally the whole camp retires to rest and nothing

[1] There are two kinds of wild bee in the Andamans. A small species makes black honeycombs in hollow trees, and these may be found at any time of the year. A larger species of bee builds white combs suspended from the underside of branches in tall trees. Such combs are found in abundance only in the hot season, and not at all in the middle of the rainy season.

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262 Thus one man of the North Andaman told me that he would not eat dugong when he was with me in the South Andaman. Another said that though he would eat the fish *komar* when he was at home, he would not eat it when he was in a strange place, as at the Settlement of Port Blair, for fear that it would make him ill.

In the North Andaman I was told that when a dugong is caught and the people feast on it they do not leave the camp till some hours after the meat is all finished, either to go fishing or hunting. The reason they give for this is that the spirits of the jungle and the sea may smell them, attracted by the odour of the food they have eaten and may cause them to be ill. They therefore remain in the camp and eat up all the dugong and do not venture out till they begin to feel hungry and must go in search of food. I believe that the same custom is observed in the South Andaman also.

A few other customs connected with food may be mentioned here. There is only one way in which a turtle may be killed[1]. It must be laid on its back with its head pointing towards the open sea, and a skewer of wood is then thrust through the eye-socket into the brain. The natives say that if a turtle were killed in any other way than this, the meat would be "bad," i.e., uneatable.

252 Turtle meat may only be cooked on a fire of the wood of the
262 *Hibiscus tiliaceus.*

A pig is killed as it runs, without ceremony, but there is one special way in which it must be cut up. The pig is first disembowelled, and the joints of the legs are severed. The abdominal cavity is then filled with leaves, of which only certain special kinds are used. It is placed on a fire and roasted whole, and is then cut up. Should the carcase be cut up by any other than the traditional method, the natives believe that the meat would be "bad," and they would not eat it.

A number of beliefs relating to vegetable foods will be mentioned in the next chapter.

576 In several of the ceremonies described in this chapter it
201 will be noticed that the weeping of relatives and friends occurs

[1] Turtle are captured alive by means of harpoons, and may be kept alive several days before they are killed and eaten.

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heads or jump overboard, and even at times try to alleviate 271
their sufferings by swallowing salt water.[1]

8. In opening certain shell-fish[2] the adze is not employed, 252
but one of the valves of the *Cyrena* is dexterously inserted 262
between the lips, which are thus forced apart, after which the 136
fish is killed with a knife or bladed arrow, and boiled; the *Tridacna crocea* and *Tridacna squamosa* are opened by inserting a piece of wood as a wedge between the valves,[3] afterwards the fish is despatched by stabbing it with an arrow point or blade; the various *Arca* species and the *Mytilus smaragdinus* are, however, not so treated, but are placed among a heap of burning logs for a few moments, the object being merely to part the valves, which would otherwise be a matter of some difficulty: when this is accomplished the shells are removed by means of the bamboo tongs (*kai-*[4]), and their half-cooked contents are transferred to a pot[5] (*būj-*) in which a little water has been placed; after being boiled a short time the gravy and flesh are eaten with the help of the shells. In former times oysters were eaten *cooked*,[6] but now their consumption appears to be confined to the inhabitants of North (and possibly also Little) Andaman: they give no reason for this change, but it may be due to their having occasionally suffered by feasting unconsciously on the poisonous, or at least indigestible, variety so commonly found in the mangrove swamps.

9. Dr. Day remarked that the mullet was their favourite fish, 262
and "one day, having placed a quantity of different species 136
before them, they helped themselves in the following order: . . . . *Chorinemus*, *Platycephalus*, horse-mackerel or *Caranx*, *Chrysophrys calamara*, and lastly *Tetrodon*, or frog-fish, which latter has generally the credit of being poisonous." My experience is that there are apparently no fresh-water, and but few salt-water, fish[7] which they will not eat.

10. It is a mistake to suppose that pigs were ever scarce in 136
these islands, for though it was formerly more difficult than at the present day to shoot them, there is no lack of evidence to

[1] *Vide ante* "Medicine," paragraph 4.

[2] Viz., those of the *Pinna* and *Cyrena* species.

[3] This is only attempted when they succeed in surprising the fish before it has time to close its valves.

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 80.

[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 18. [Note.—Water is boiled in a *būj-* by the ordinary process, and not by heated stones being dropped into it.]

[6] That Europeans should swallow these molluscs *raw* is a matter of considerable surprise to them.

[7] They prefer the fleshy part of the head to any other portion. To cut a fish is termed *chō·lke*, while to remove its head, tail, and entrails is styled *arwā·gke*.

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[136] prove that they are, and always have been, fairly numerous.[1] The pig hunts are most frequent during the rains, not only because these animals are then more plentiful and in better condition, but because it is no longer the *râp-wâb-*, or season of abundance of jungle fruit and honey; from this, however, it must not be inferred that scarcity is then experienced, for those who choose to help themselves need never be in want.

11. During the cool season, *pâ·par-wâb-*,[2] the people themselves are alleged to become noticeably thinner: this they attribute not to a deficiency of food, but to the meagre condition of the pigs, which are then breeding, and to the fact that the edible roots (or yams), and other fruits then in season are not fattening. There are six varieties of esculent roots, viz.: the *gō·no-*, *châ·ti-*, *kâd-*,[3] *bō·to-*, *mal·ag-*, and *tāg·i-*, which are eaten alone (preferably cold) and not with meat; their chief difference consists in the extra care in preparation which some require, in consequence of their very acrid flavour.

12. The *gō·no-* is cooked in three ways: (*a*) it is placed on the fire in the condition in which it is found until it is soft, when it is freed from the burnt earth and eaten; (*b*) the root, after being washed, is cut up into small pieces and boiled in a pot; and (*c*) after being washed and cut up, the pieces are wrapped in large leaves and baked on burning logs.

13. The *châ·ti-* is cooked in the first of the above-mentioned methods, or by surrounding it with hot stones,[4] and covering the whole with leaves and weights, in order to confine the heat as much as possible.

14. The *kâd-* is first cooked as found, the skin is then peeled off, and a number of thin slices are cut and placed in water for a couple of days, so as to lessen the bitterness of its flavour; afterwards it is either baked in leaves or boiled, as already described in speaking of the *gō·no-*.

15. The other three varieties are never boiled, but are placed on the fire without leaves, and the outer skin is removed before they are eaten.

16. The seed of a species of sea-weed, known to them as *tô·no-tòng-*, on which turtles and dugongs feed, and which can only be obtained in small quantities, is carefully cooked and eaten as a relish.

[1] In his examination of a kitchen-midden near Port Blair harbour the late Dr. Stoliczka recorded that "the large number of bones of the Andaman pig is remarkable."

[2] This is the period between the rains and the dry season, and lasts about ten weeks, between the middle of November and the middle of February.

[3] The *gō·no-*, *châ·ti-*, and *kâd-*, are very plentiful during the cool season, and are much relished.

[4] *Vide post* "Stone Implements," paragraph 1.

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(a)

*‡mâng-
*‡ī·til-
} either cooked or uncooked.

dō·gota-
jâ-
ū·dala-
kōa-
§*châ·kan-*
**bō·to-kō·ko-*
kū·ara-
§*pū·lia-*

§*pū·lain-*
**pi·dga-*
§*gel·dim-*
**ō·rta-tāt-*
*†§*chaij-*
kār·ega-
ūd-
§*ñgē·bēr-*
§*ē·mej-*
**eng·ara-*
§*lō·gaj-*

(N.B.—The best fruits, and those which are most abundant, are in season during these months and at the commencement of the rains.)

(b)

†*ō·ropa-*
§*pâ-*
*†*kai-*
†§*kai·ta-*
†*chôb-*
†*ū·dorma-*
**d·bnga-*
§ { *jū·mu-*, *ngâ·tya-*, *bâ·taga-* }
**kâ·pa-*

pī·cha-
§*pai·tla-*
**kār·ed-*[1]
§**jang·ma-*[2]
**jī·ni-*
†*pū·ta-*
**pôr-*
**ām-*
*†*mū·twin-*
tâ·tib-
**eng·ara-*

During the *pâ·par-wâb-* (cool season) and *yē·re-bō·do-* (dry months) the six varieties of edible roots mentioned above (*vide* paragraph 11) are also eaten.

(It will be understood that those fruits that are unmarked in the above list are eaten in the ordinary way).

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[263]
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20. Many fruits they merely suck for the sake of the flavour;[3] others are eaten with fine wood-ash,[4] taken from the hut fires *in lieu of sugar*, to diminish their extreme acidity,[5] while a few are cooked,[6] and the stones of several[7] are cracked for the sake of their kernels. The favourite fruits are *dō·gota-*, *ō·ropa-*, *kôn-*, *chôb-*, *jâ-*, *pâ-*, *kai·ta-*, *kār·ega-*, *châ·kan-*, *jū·mu-*, *ngâ·tya-*, *bâ·taga-*, *ñgē·bēr-*, *pū·lia-*, and *pū·lain-*.

21. The fruit of the *ñgē·bēr-*, *châ·kan-*, *pū·lia-*, *pū·lain-*, *pai·tla-*, *gel·dim-*, *lō·gaj-*, and the seeds of the three above-named varieties of mangrove (*i.e.*, *jū·mu-*, *ngâ·tya-*, and *bâ·taga-*), are freed from their husk or rind and boiled in water until quite soft; when cold they are cut in slices, and left to soak for two days or more in salt or fresh water, after which they are baked in leaves, or again boiled in a *būj-*.

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22. The Andamanese are, now-a-days at least,[8] extremely particular over the cooking of their food, and will not eat certain

[1] This is a small yellow fruit, the seed of which, after being sucked, is broken, and the outer portion eaten while the kernel is thrown away.

[2] This is a small red fruit, about the size of a bean or filbert, containing one stone; it is wrapped in leaves and baked, because they say that if eaten uncooked it would cause them to forget their way in the jungle, as well as entire loss of memory on all points.

[3] These are marked in the preceding paragraph by a *.

[4] Their immunity from scurvy may not improbably be due to the chemical combination of the acid, contained in many of the fruits, with the potash of the burnt wood.

[5] These are marked in the preceding paragraph by a †.

[6] These are marked in the preceding paragraph by a §.

[7] These are marked in the preceding paragraph by a ‡.

[8] They are very expert in spearing their fish, which they consume in a half-cooked state (Anderson); Symes also writes that "they throw the food on the fire, and devour it half broiled."

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fruits and vegetables, much less fish, flesh, or fowl that is raw,[1] or, as far as I could ascertain, even underdone.[2] 252

23. On ordinary occasions the meals are prepared by these estimable wives in the absence of their lords, but when their labours in procuring wood and water are exceptionally heavy, as on gala days, or after a very successful hunt, the cooking is performed in the special fire-place[3] set apart for the purpose in each community, by some male volunteer, who, when the meat is partly done, distributes[4] it among those present, leaving them to complete over their own fires the necessary preparation of their several shares.[5]

24. Sometimes it happens that the animal is cut up and distributed without being even partially cooked, but the person undertaking this duty is under a tacit obligation to help the slayer of the animal and himself to the last two portions

25. Small pigs, if caught alive, are sometimes kept and fattened up (*chī·lyuke*) for slaughter;[6] with these, as with others killed while hunting, the same system is observed: the entrails, lungs, liver, kidneys, &c., are first removed (*jō·do-lòi·chrake*), and replaced by leaves (*koktâ·r-râ·mke*), to which they set fire—care is always taken to select such as, being entirely free from scent and taste, will not affect the flavour of the meat—the object of this is that all parts may be equally heated when the carcass is placed on the burning logs, where it is left, not until thoroughly

[1] A recent writer (*vide* "Bombay Gazette," May 24, June 7, July 1, July 5, August 2, 1881), in giving an instance of the skill of these savages in shooting fish, affirms that he observed "that most of these fish were just scorched on hastily-lit fires and devoured at once half raw, care being taken that the children present (there were no women) had their full share of the spoils." I am, nevertheless, sure that he is mistaken in supposing that the fish were otherwise than thoroughly cooked, for besides having made close observations myself at the homes, on the point in question, I have made careful inquiries of the aborigines, who assure me (as do also the Hindustani attendants, who have paid numerous visits to the tribes in Middle Andaman) that they never eat fish, flesh, or vegetable until it is thoroughly cooked.

[2] Exception, however, must be made in regard to turtles' eggs, which are eaten with other food or alone, as the case may be, and which, though preferred soft boiled, are sometimes eaten raw: they are among the articles of food proscribed to an *â·kà-yàb-*. Dr. Day says he has seen them "cook a prawn by placing it inside the bowl of a pipe which they had been smoking!"

[3] This is generally an open space at one end of the encampment. [The *jär·awa-* have a separate hut, which is used exclusively for cooking purposes.]

[4] The "cook" is under an obligation to taste a morsel before all present; should the chief happen to be there he receives the first and lion's share; after him all the men are helped, and then the women and children, while the remainder falls to the share of the distributor.

[5] During the process of cooking all that the Andamanese Soyer requires in the way of impedimenta are a skewer, *chám*, and a pair of bamboo tongs, *kai*. (*vide* Appendix B, items 70 and 80)

[6] If the pig should die a natural death while being thus kept it would be eaten, unless visibly diseased.

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252 cooked, but until the bristles have been singed and the skin dried sufficiently to allow of the dirt adhering to it being scraped off; this done, the remains of the charred leaves are removed, and the tendons at the joints being severed (*pū·nuke*), the carcass is cut up (*wâ·ratke*) and distributed; while thus engaged, the operator not unfrequently helps himself to choice morsels which he may chance to find done to a turn, as his perquisite. The lining and flesh of the stomach are usually first disposed of;[1] the skin of the entrails, after being thoroughly cleansed, is also frequently consumed.

252 26. From the account given under "Initiatory Ceremonies"[2]
262 it will be seen that the kidney-fat and omentum (*reg-jī·ri-*) are considered as luxuries from which the young of both sexes must abstain during a certain period. The lungs, liver, and eyes are also eaten, and they are quite of a mind with the Chinese in their estimation of "crackling"[3] (*ōt-â·gam-*, also *ōt-gō·ma-*), which they consider one of the choicest parts, and enjoy so much that they are even willing to run the risk of offending the *chôl-*[4] by baking their pigs, rather than eat them boiled.

262 27. When, from some circumstance or other—such as possibly a death from sunstroke[5]—the dread of these demons is paramount, and they boil their pork, it has been observed that, as their pots are small, they remove each piece when partially cooked to make room for others, which afterwards, in the same way, are in turn replaced until thoroughly done; the reason given is that the flavour of the whole animal is thus equally distributed in every portion. On other occasions when the pig is not broiled whole on burning logs, or apportioned among the several families of the community for cooking in their own huts, the flesh is baked in leaves by means of heated stones (*lâ-*), which are placed between alternate layers of the meat; in every case the chief concern appears to be that the whole should be so wrapped in leaves that none of the juices be dried up, though every portion be thoroughly well done.[6]

[1] Experience and inquiries have alike failed to find an explanation of the following peculiar statement made by Dr. Day:—"The children and weakly persons eat sucklings, the bachelors and spinsters use those of medium size, whilst adults prefer the stronger boar."

[2] *Vide* paragraphs 15–17.

[3] The skin of the iguana is also eaten, but that of the *paradoxurus* is thrown away.

[4] *Vide ante* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 15.

[5] *Vide ante* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 16.

[6] In this respect they differ much from the Australians, who "never take the trouble to cook their food, but merely tear off the interior skin of the animal and, after holding the body over the fire for a few minutes, eagerly devour it in its uncleaned state, and frequently eat so voraciously as to be in a state of inactivity and torpor for several hours afterwards" ("A Ride across the Frontier of Victoria," by P. H. Eagle).

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28. For brains and marrow they have a great *penchant*, and, in order to extract the latter, will often crush the smaller bones with their teeth, while they break up the larger ones with a stone hammer. 262 252

29. The blood of the turtle only are they careful not to spill,[1] and this, though not preferred to the flesh, is considered a dainty, and is eaten separately, after it has been boiled in its own shell until quite thick.

30. They do not preserve the carapace of either description of turtle, but, having removed the flesh, place the shell over the fire, that all the remaining fat may be melted, when—with an appreciation worthy of a City alderman—they ladle it into their mouths with *Cyrena* shells, which thus serve as spoons. So great a delicacy do they consider this that the shell is finally broken up and divided, that no particle may be lost! This fat is largely used in the manufacture of *kòi·ob-*, and it may be judged how highly they prize the unguent since they are willing to deny themselves this dainty rather than allow their supply to run short.

31. Food is preserved by placing it on the small grating (*yıt-leb-tá·ga-*)[2] above the hut fire,[3] or in the following rather peculiar fashion:—having procured and cleaned a length of bamboo (*fem. sp.*), they heat it over a fire that the juices contained in it may be gradually absorbed. When this is satisfactorily accomplished, half-cooked pieces of pork, turtle, or any other food,[4] are packed tightly into it, and the vessel is again by degrees put over the fire, in order to heat it slowly, lest the rapid expansion of the meat should cause a crack; when steam ceases to issue forth, the bamboo is taken off the fire, and, after the opening has been closed by leaves, is set aside with its contents until a meal is required, when it is replaced on a fire, for, as I have remarked in another place, it is a peculiarity of these savages to eat their food in an almost boiling state.[5] As soon as the meat has been once more thoroughly baked, the bamboo is split open with an adze or other 251

[1] To kill a turtle they pierce the eye with a skewer or arrow (*ī·dal jē·ralike*); when the flappers and belly-shell are removed (*tó·latke*), the animal is cut up (*wá·ratke*) prior to distribution.

[2] *Vide* "Habitations," paragraph 5.

[3] Jean de Lery, in the account of his adventures among the Indians of Brazil (about 1557), describes the "wooden grating set up on four forked posts; . . . and as they did not salt their meat this process served them as a means of keeping their game and fish."—(E. B. Tylor's "Early History of Mankind," p. 262.)

[4] They have not acquired a liking for either beef or mutton, but are very fond of fowls, rice, dhall, sugar, and sweets of all kinds; it is strange, therefore, to find in Colonel Tickell's paper that "fish they were indifferent to, also to rice."

[5] *Vide ante* "Anatomy and Physiology," paragraph 8.

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251 implement, and all take a share in the feast.[1] Meat thus prepared will keep good for several days.

32. I alluded just now to their method of preparing the seeds
252 of the *Semecarpus* and *Artocarpus chaplasha* for consumption
251 during the rains; it is as follows:—The outer husk, or skin, having been removed, a quantity of the fruit is placed on a wooden platter, and each person present renders assistance by partially sucking (!) the various pieces, which, after this preliminary process, are half boiled in water, and then wrapped up in large bundles of leaves, and buried in moist soil; no mark is made over the spot, but there appears to be no fear of forgetting it, though several weeks usually elapse before the monsoon breaks, and these decaying deposits are dug up, when the smell, as may be supposed, is most offensive to all but those who are to the manner born; by them, however, strange to relate, it is evidently highly appreciated. The next stage through which the seeds have to pass consists in freeing them in water from the decaying matter, and drying them in the sun, or over the fire, where they are left in nets (*chá·panga-*[2]) or leaves until required for use, when they are again baked. With this exception no food is dried in the sun, nor is anything salted or intentionally smoked, though this last cannot fail to be, to some extent, the result of their mode of storing food, as described in the previous paragraph.

222 33. Besides the various fruits already mentioned as in season
137 during the dry months, yams and honey are very abundant; as
824 their method of treating both fruits and yams has been already described, it now remains for me to notice the ingenious way
825 in which they procure honey, and to name the special trees which, flowering in succession, afford ample material from whence the bees produce a more or less abundant store.

34. At the close of the monsoon one of the large jungle trees, called by them *rár-* (*Eugenia* sp.), comes into bloom, and though no honey is made from its flowers, it is said to act beneficially on the bees as a purgative, and to prepare them for the commencement of the honey season.[3] The *lē·kera-* (*Leguminosæ* sp.), blossoming a little later, is the first honey-yielding flower; the *dū·mla-*,[4] *chī·lib-* (? *Diospyros densiflora*), *ó·ro-* (*Chickrassia tabularis*), and *chá·dak-* (*Rubiaceæ*) coming next into season, enable the bees to produce large combs, but the finest are found after the *pâ-* (*Semecarpus*), *bá·ji-* (*Sterculia* (?) *villosa*), *yē·re-* (*Sterculia* sp.), *jī·dga-*,[4] have

[1] *Vide post* "Hunting and Fishing," paragraphs 30 and 31.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 22.
[3] Hence *ra·rke*, (to) clean.
[4] The botanical names of these have not as yet been ascertained.

145 to about 60 to 65, if he reaches "old age." Except as to marriage at an earlier age, about 18, these figures apply fairly to the women also, who, however, 582 live somewhat longer than the men, retaining in old age both health and mental faculties.

163 **Reproduction.**—The marriages are infructuous, though barrenness is [853] uncommon, a couple rarely producing families of even moderate size and many none at all. The child-bearing age is from 16 to 35; weaning is much delayed.

291 **Endurance.**—Left to themselves the Andamanese go stark naked and 147 with head uncovered, except that the women wear, as clothing and not ornament, one or more leaves in front and a bunch of leaves tied round the waist behind, or a tassel of leaves all round. Jarawas, however, of both sexes have been seen entirely naked. They dislike and fear cold, but not heat, though they avoid exposure to the sun; and being accustomed to gratify every sensation as it arises, they endure thirst, hunger, want of sleep, fatigue and bodily discomfort badly. Want of sleep, such as occurs at their dances for occasionally as much as [482] four days and nights, exhausts them greatly. A man's load is 40 lbs. and his distance 15 miles for a day or two only. After that he will rest, whatever the urgency.

● 252 **Food.**—The food consists of fish, pork, turtle, iguana, "wild cat" (*paradoxurus sp.*), shell-fish, turtle eggs, certain larvæ, and a great variety of fruit, 262 seeds, roots, and honey, and is plentiful both by sea and land. They never starve, though they are habitually heavy eaters. The food is always cooked and commonly eaten very hot. As much as possible of an animal is eaten and the Andamanese, like most hunters, have found out the dietary value of tripe. The Andamanese are expert cooks and adept at preparing delicacies from parts of animals and fish.

142 **Skin.**—The skin, which is smooth, greasy and satiny, varies in colour from an intense sheeny black to a reddish brown on the unexposed parts and also on the collar bones, cheeks and other prominences of the body. Its general appearance has been likened to a "black-leaded stove." The scalp, the lips and nostrils are black, and there are black patches on the palate. The soles of the feet are brownish yellow. The Bojigngiji Group (South Andaman) are the darkest, and among the Onges parts of the face are a light reddish-brown. The Jarawas are distinctly fairer than the rest, the general colour being a deep reddish brown. Leucoderma occurs on the fingers and lips.

Hair.—The hair varies from a sooty black to dark and light brown, yellowish brown and red. The general appearance of it is sooty black or yellowish brown. Except on the head the hair is scanty, but not absent: on the head it grows in small rings, which give it the appearance of growing in tufts, though it is really closely and evenly distributed over the whole scalp. Limited baldness is unknown, but temporary general baldness after disease occurs with a weak growth [302] of the hair afterwards. The hair is not shaved, except on the head and eyebrows, and each tribe has, with many fantastic individual variants, its own [145] method of wearing it. It turns grey at about 40, but white hair is not common.

Shaving is "woman's work" and was performed by small flakes of quartz, but nowadays flakes from the kicks of glass bottles are substituted. It is effective and close, but a painful operation on an European's face, as I proved by personal experience many years ago.

Bodily Parts.—The mouth is large, the palate hard and highly arched, the lips well formed. The hands and feet are small and well made. The ears are small and well shaped, the eyes are generally dark to a very dark brown, bright, liquid and clear, but prominent with slightly elevated outer angles and become dulled with age. The teeth, in the young, except amongst the Onges, are white, good and on the whole free from disease. Those of the Onges are irregular and discoloured. As age advances the teeth generally lose their whiteness and become worn, but without much caries. The teeth are roughly used without any care whatever. Dentition is early.

164 **Diseases.**—The muscular strength of the Andamanese is great, but their vitality is nevertheless low, and the apparently robust quickly die after sickening

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515 people. Furthermore, the Onge skin is very soft and more elastic than is usual
[147] in human beings. For us, clothed and with a less resilient skin, a trip through the thorny Andaman forest means many small, bleeding scratches. Not so for the naked Onge. – To cover them with clothes would endanger their health. Nakedness inures them to the sudden changes of temperature so frequent in
[513] Little Andaman and preserves them from catching cold when sleeping, uncovered, on their rough, unprotected bed of boughs. As with primitives all over the world, clothes make them miserable and, I may add, very ungainly and dirty.

515 Part of their general negligence with regard to hygiene is their carelessness about their teeth. They never clean them. They do keep bamboo sticks,
[413] 1 mm thick and 8 cms long, tucked into their hair to be ostensibly used as toothpicks ; but the sticks, to tell the truth, are more of an ornament than a tool.
142 The Onge's teeth are so compact and sound that there is no space between them for food particles to collect. No caries or decay of any sort are to be
[164] noticed. In a number of skeletons that I dug up from under the beds in communal huts, the teeth gave evidence of one peculiarity : old people had worn them down to the root. The Onge habit of using teeth as working instruments,
[283] to prepare fibre for ropes and in many other circumstances – apart from their permanent chewing on hard foodstuffs – explains this fact.

515 As a consequence of never washing, the natives' hands are sometimes extremely dirty. The Onge themselves are conscious of this. I shall give an
226 instance. It so happened that I arrived in Nachugé, on the west coast, toward the end of March, when the sea was teeming with migrating sardines. In Little Andaman sardines can weigh up to a pound ; but a normal catch, obtained with small hand-nets cast from canoes among shoals of fish imprisoned by the low tide within the coral reef that surrounds the island, contains specimens of
[264] every dimension. All are eaten as soon as possible. The quantity of fish brought back to the camps on such occasions puts all inmates to work and induces everybody to abandon all other occupations for the time being. In the low tidal waters the men push their canoes from rock to rock, using them as receptacles for the abundant food so easily collected. In some "pockets" nets prove unnecessary : the fish is gathered in handfuls and rapidly thrown into the canoes. The hecatomb ends when the canoes are filled to the gunwales. In no other part of the world have I seen food made available to primitive people in such large quantities and with so little effort.

252 Back at the camp, the sardines are "graded" according to size and cooked immediately. They are not washed or cleaned, the inner organs are eaten to-
[263] gether with the flesh. Men, women and children feverishly take part in the cooking ; the fish is boiled without salt. All the natives then plunge their hands
264 avidly into the heap of sardines. From time to time the women clean their
515 hands by rubbing them on the *naquinĕghĕ*. Very soon this garment becomes
[231] extremely smelly. Men and children clean their hands in a different way : by rubbing them on the dogs. On such occasions, everything and everybody smells of fish for days and days. The first to become clean again are the dogs, because they hate to be smeared with fish and wash themselves in the sea as soon as they have a chance.

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3. Food

In the absence of men, women also are good at fishing inside the coral reefs. They do this with two small nets used together. Their catch generally consists of brilliantly coloured fish with yellow, red, green, blue, black and white stripes forming varied and attractive designs. The Onge eat all fish without discrimination. My Indian collaborators, on the other hand, considered the coloured fish dangerous to their health and refused to cook them ; the Sacred Vedas, in fact, advise the avoidance of brigthly hued fish and of fish without scales. I wanted to try both kinds, and found them perfectly palatable, tasty and harmless. 226 [462] 262 123

No tool, used for any purpose by the Onge, ever gets a cleaning. Cleanliness, I repeat, is unknown in Little Andaman. See how food is prepared and disposed of ! Care is taken only not to throw big pieces of meat intended for cooking directly on the bare ground ; but once it is cooked, food is treated with the utmost disregard for dirt, dust, cobwebs and other such things. It is usually left lying around on large leaves spread out for the purpose. The remains of the Onge's orgiastic meals are kept out of reach of the dogs on the ceiling of the huts, to be covered with flies when no fire is lit directly below. Sand and grit may get wedged annoyingly in the teeth, but not such impalpable things as dust or cobwebs. The use of unclean food is not repugnant to the Onge. The same can be said for water polluted by dogs drinking and bathing in it, or by the presence of putrefying carcases. In the west of Little Andaman I saw some Onge avidly drinking from pools of a blackish water with a revolting sulphurous smell. After thoroughly filtering and boiling it, I too used such water, for it was the only water available in the neighborhood. This caused no ill effects. My Indian men considered it perfectly healthy and invigorating, and drank it safely in its natural condition. 264 [252] [251] 271 123

The Onge eat with their unwashed fingers, without the help of tools. On rare occasions they use platters made of the flattened-out stems – or bracts – of *areca* palms. They sometimes carry these platters when travelling, but of course never wash them although they become coated in rancid, greasy filth. They soon assume a dark colour and a truly revolting appearance – aside from the awful smell. A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN's statement – that the Andamanese paint their bodies to neutralize the unpleasant smell of food that clings to them after their orgiastic feedings – shows only indirect knowledge of the life and manners of those people. Even the horrible flatulence that follows their pork orgies is not considered an inconvenience ; yet it is much more revolting than all the other body odours. 264 [415] 114 302 147 827

Although the Onge observe few hygienic precautions they do follow a number of medical practices, not all devoid of beneficial effects. Here are a few more remarks on their eating and drinking habits. For about six months of the year, between November and April, water is scarce in Little Andaman. Every kind of fresh water is then considered good by the Onge, regardless of whether it is a murky infusion of rotting leaves or afloat with the putrefied 751 312 271

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312 caracases of small animals. During the droughts, marine hermit crabs, of
271 which a profusion is found in Little Andaman even far from the sea-shore,
[196] often choose to die in fresh-water pools. They are not removed from the pools.
[415] A nautilus shell is sometimes used as a drinking vessel ; failing this, the Onge
[516] lap up the water like animals, on all fours, directly from the pool. Since they are
231 very fond of dogs, man and dog drink together from the same tiny pool, often holding no more than a few pints of water. Dogs reached Great Andaman as early as 1857 ; they came to Little Andaman much later. Before that time there were no dogs in the Andamanese Archipelago. They soon became the natives' cherished and much appreciated assistants in the hunting of wild pigs. Many unhygienic habits followed the appearance of dogs in the Andamans.

271 The Onge have no idea of boiling water for the purpose of disinfection ;
[149] nevertheless their health does not appear to suffer at all as a result of the pol-
123 luted water they drink. When, in 1952, I dug a well near the left bank of Dugong Creek on the north-east coast of Little Andaman, I was compelled to fence it in so as to prevent dogs from drinking it and bathing in it.

264 Dogs lick everything that smells of food, including the cooking pots,
[231] and the pots are not washed before use after the dogs have licked them.
[136] Swarms of flies of different species and small coleoptera of a brilliant blue colour, one of them 6 mms long, follow the dogs after they have "cleaned" the pots by licking them. They line the inside of the pots with a crawling, living coat, moving restlessly around in search of food. One species of fly, which is of a brilliant, metallic green colour, has a peculiarly disagreeable smell. All the flies lay eggs while feeding, but the eggs are soon devoured by the hovering bluish coleoptera. Thus in a few hours all traces of organic matter disappear from the pots. Subsequent exposure to fire undoubtedly destroys the germs that would otherwise be certainly dangerous to human beings.

415 The Onge no longer use indigenous pottery for cooking. Its disappearance
177 is recent, as the sherds that litter Little Andaman prove to the investigator.
[323] Excavation in modern kitchen-middens leads to the same conclusion. During the last war, quantities of empty petrol drums were washed up on the Andaman shores. They were found in such numbers that the Onge have not yet used them all up : after 1952 I found several of these containers abandoned, untouched, in the jungle. The primitive inhabitants sawed each container in two cylindrical halves, thus transforming them into cooking pots. The result was that within a few years the fragile ancestral pottery of the Onge disappeared altogether. Furthermore, aluminium pots were distributed among the natives after 1952. Probably the indigenous pottery will never again reappear.
[252] Each half of a petrol drum is large enough to contain a pig, or a turtle weighing
262 150 lbs, cut into pieces. Only the flesh of these animals is consumed by the
[231] Onge ; the nourishing broth is poured out onto the ground or left in the pot to be lapped up by the dogs. The Onge believe that broth is unhealthy and avoid drinking it.

251 No matter how prodigious the catch of sardines or other fish, unobtain-
[185] able at other times of the year, no attempt is made at storing part of it in view of future shortage. The Onge are unacquainted with methods for preserv-

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262 and therefore dangerous to offend by cooking them. Luckily they accepted
123 fish of almost every description, and vegetables. To convince them of our
[775] good intentions concerning their food, at Port Blair an Onge observer was
[825] stationed permanently near the kitchen to watch the preparation of meals.
Nevertheless, within a few days all 30 Onge fell ill as a consequence of the
513 different food and climate. In their island they sleep, completely naked and
123 uncovered, lying directly on beds made of rough branches. Their only precaution, as I mentioned before, is to keep a fire permanently burning close to the bed. This was not feasible in the rooms with wooden floors that were provided for them in Port Blair, and blankets did not avail. So the 30 Onge developed a fever and we were obliged to take them urgently back to Little Andaman, where they promptly recovered. The incident gave me a further opportunity to observe the curative methods of the Onge.

262 With regard to their care to avoid illness from food, I must point out the
114 fact that misleading information has been published on the subject even in reputed papers on the Andamans. I will discuss them in my Onge book, but I wish here to briefly stress a few points : the Onge, and the present residual coastal or forest Andamanese, refuse to eat – besides birds and fish such as shark, ray, eel or muraenae – some other animals such as paradoxurus, bats, rats, varanus and snakes. The contrary is affirmed in those papers. To quote the well-known book by A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN ("The Andaman Islanders", pp. 37, 91 and 389), all Andaman Islanders, including the Onge, consider the above-mentioned species edible. Varanus is supposed to be acceptable for its
[832] lustful habits that make of it an aphrodisiac. My direct and protracted experience both in Little and in Great Andaman compels me to state that such information is false. It is true, however, that the Andaman Islanders believe
261 they acquire some of the properties of their devoured victims. This occurs
● 252 only if the animals are cut up alive. Therefore turtles, pigs and dugongs are
[231] cruelly sectioned while still alive, and the Onge also believe that their health and energy profit by it. Cannibalism may be founded on such beliefs, but it is
266 completely unknown to Andaman Islanders of all times and places. Young
262 sucking-pigs are avoided, as food, by men, and even withheld from the dogs ; but the Onge are partial to other things which, in our opinion, are far worse : crickets, and the fat larvae of coleoptera that collect in tree trunks.

Without giving here a full list of the foods that are considered harmful or curative, I shall add just a few remarks on the subject. The healthiest, as well as the tastiest part of the pig is supposed to be the kidney and its surrounding fat. It is offered to old or distinguished people, as a sign of favour. As I
[888] helped the Onge, as much as possible, with gifts of tools and medicines, they
123 found it complimentary to name me after their favorite titbit, intending thereby
553 to honour me as a friend and healer. By such a name I came to be known in Little Andaman, and this made my work easier. In the Onge language the word for kidney fat is *cue-changhēghē* ; I was delighted with it, for it proclaimed the high esteem I was held in by my Onge friends.

262 Foods considered healthy by the Onge include honey, yams, several
751 succulent roots and the fat of turtle and dugong. Pteropus, a giant bat very
[825]

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

621 rather than order is given by the leader. Cipriani observes.[1] "For
622 instance, it is very amusing for them to think that a man gives orders to others. This means that they have no real chiefs. A so-called Onge
[592] chief, or raja, is only the head of a group of families living in the same communal hut, and giving not orders but only advice. It is the most experienced man who is considered chief in the hut, but his authority if at all never goes beyond that hut. In other words no real chief exists in the Little Andaman. Notwithstanding this, there is a perfect order in the island, because nobody interferes with the work or encroches upon what can be considered the rights of others."

124 As is common to most of the aborigines, the Onges are generally
162 not very receptive when the questions about their numbers and other groups are enquired. The headman says that there are many many fifty Onges. However the number of the Onges are approximately 600.

22 As regards the mode of living of the Onges, the hunting and collec-
231 ting are the basis of their economy. The domestication of the plants
241 i.e. art of agriculture is not known to them and it is only 30 years back, the dogs arrived in the island and have been domesticated by the Onges for chasing the pigs, their main prey. In the absence of agriculture, the natural products of the sea and the forest provide them with all
[262] their items of diet. Animal and vegetable products and honey are the main items of their diet and there has been, so far, no introduction of salt in their diet. The most important victims of their hunting are pigs and turtles, the former is chased by dogs and are killed with great
252 cruelty. The cooking of the fish, meat, roots, tubers, jackfruits etc are
251 done by putting them under fire. Preservation of foodstuffs is not widely practised except the jackfruit seeds which are tied up in a small net inside water on the bank of some stream and taken out during rainy season, when the other vegetable foodstuffs are not available. On
146 the whole, the Onges have a very balanced diet with a fair richness of all the nutrients. In this connection the observations of Dr. Cipriani during his survey in the Little Andaman throws considerable light in
[157] their conditions of life. He has estimated the Onges as one of the happiest people of the world, who in spite of their primitive economy, are not the miserable victims of poor health, ill nutrition and oddities of life.

396 Some amount of artistry and craftsmanship have developed among these people. A canoe can be constructed by a man, all by himself from

[113] 1 Cipriani, L—Survey of Little Andaman during 1954; Bul. Dept. Anth.,

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

taste. The liquid content of these stems is so great that it makes 824 them extremely heavy to carry. These lianas are very common all 312 over the islands and anyone who knows them need never die of thirst. To get at the liquid one only has to break the stem and put it to one's mouth; if one puts a receptacle under the break, a litre or so of liquid can be obtained in a matter of minutes. When the first strangers came to the archipelago, the Andamanese watched them tear down parts of the forest, including these lianas, and tried in vain to protest at the vandalism. No one understood their protests, but they were right.

The forest abounds in trees whose fruits in season form an im- 824 portant source of food for the islanders. One is the so-called jack- 262 fruit, *Artocarpus communis*, which here grows wild, though various [137] species are cultivated all over Asia. The fruits, which appear on the thickest branches as well as on the trunk, are smaller in the wild variety, rarely weighing more than thirty grams, but the yield is enormous and the islanders enjoy them for months, especially from March to May. The Onges call them *bulundanghe*, and roast them in [252] hot ashes till the hard pulp and seeds are eatable; the latter, the size of a hazelnut but tougher, are the best part.

Another useful plant is the *Pandanus*, or screw-pine. On Little 137 Andaman extensive areas are covered with nothing else, making progress very difficult owing to the twisting roots and the spines on the long, tough leaves. It seems to prefer the coastal areas, particularly the marshes, where it often grows into an impenetrable jungle. There are at least two species, one of which is gregarious. The other, which grows as isolated specimens, is longer leaved, with bigger fruits and stems like candelabra, standing up on an arch of roots, as though on stilts. With the leaves of this variety, fluted and 824 easy to arrange like roof tiles, the Onges can quickly improvise a 301 waterproof covering. The young leaves provide them with orna- 262 ments which they wear for their dances, while the pulp of the fruit, which looks rather like a pineapple, perfumed and delicately flavoured, is nutritious though somewhat stringy.

Along the coasts where there are no *Pandanus*, one very often sees 137 something very different – mangroves. The islanders use the wood [824] for their canoe floats, and for fixing pegs (see p. 122) and the supply [396] is unlimited, as the growth and spread of the mangroves are assured by a number of factors which have made them one of the best

222 off, so that they may eventually recover, although they may take several years to do so.

The fruit they gather most, however, is the *bulundanghe*, a wild form of the so-called jack-fruit. This ripens a little later than the *dangbecciò* at the end of April, and is the occasion of intense activity. Men, women and children swarm to the harvest, returning to the camp loaded every night. When fully ripe the *bulundanghe* fall open if rubbed between the fingers. I found the pulp very pleasant, but the seeds need the Onge stomach to cope with them. They would [185] in fact be suitable for storage over long periods as they do not seem to deteriorate, but the Onges would never think of this.

At no other time of year did I see so many baskets lying round the Onge camps, cast aside after use. As early as mid-March, impatient for the fruit, bitter but already fully grown to the size of a child's head, the Onges begin to strip the trees. When fully ripe the fruit are a yellowish-green, with a very wrinkled outer case, marked off as it were into tiny compartments, geometrical in shape, and mostly pentagonal. If one presses a finger on one of these it goes through into the fruit, which has the appearance of innumerable tiny cells, all separated by a membrane, each terminating in a seed at the central core of the fruit. The cells are an orange-yellow on the surface, becoming a very pale yellow inside when the pulp becomes softer. The seeds are covered by a sweetish orange skin, and are arranged regularly along the core, which is itself an extension of the stout, woody stalk.

The best parts to eat are the seeds and their sweetish skin. When the fruits are still unripe, sour, and hard, enormous quantities have to be gathered and carried to the camp where they are boiled until they are soft enough to open. The seeds are taken out and all the rest of the fruit is thrown away. When properly ripe, on the other hand, the seeds in their skins can be extracted on the spot, leaving the weight of the useless residue behind, lying in heaps under the tree. For eating, the skins are slit open with a *Cyrena* shell, the seeds [252] extracted, and the skins and seeds piled up separately on huge leaves. The leaves are then tied up with the usual cords of vegetable fibres, and the bags laid on hot ashes. The skins turn into a sticky paste, not bad tasting, and the roasted seeds are greatly improved to our taste, though still very indigestible.

[262] In April and May the Onges eat *bulundanghe* morning, noon and

their fires beside them. On the night of 4–5 April 1953, while I was sleeping with them in the communal hut at Berié-Abdalù a sudden storm drenched us all, forcing us to huddle together round fires under the more waterproof parts of the roof. Numb with cold, but cheerful, they began joking, singing[1] and dancing, men and women separately; this went on all night, and no one suffered any ill effects from the soaking.

The Onge lack of hygiene extends also to their cooking utensils, which are never washed. In recent years the ocean has provided the Onges with a generous and unexpected gift; currents running from the south of Asia have thrown up on to the shores of Little Andaman a shoal of empty petrol drums, stout metal cylinders 1·3 metres high and eighty centimetres in diameter. The astute Onges have patiently divided each one in two, each section big enough to take a large pig. Set on big fires these serve as wonderful cooking pots, and the Onges are delighted with them. Unfortunately, however, although they were thrown up all round the island, the supply is beginning to dry up, and they are rapidly being eaten away by rust.

To boil food, the Onges set the drums on two large logs, laid parallel, with a fire between them. Stones are rarely used to support the drums, although there are plenty about in the interior of the island. On the coast, and for a fair way inland, there is nothing but coral, hard but liable when it gets hot to disintegrate under the heavy weight of the cylinders filled to the brim.

In these gifts from the sea the Onges could prepare tasty broths, but they invariably allow nearly all the water to boil away, and the cooking process is not considered complete until all the liquid has gone. While it is boiling, however, they take care not to lose the fat floating on the top, which they adore. They have even invented a curious sort of dipping-stick for the purpose of skimming the fat off. They take a shoot about twenty centimetres long from a plant which disintegrates into fibre when chewed. One end is chewed into a loose 'brush' and no one present misses his turn to dip it into the pot again and again to skim off a mouthful of fat, even getting up in the night in their eagerness for it. One stick naturally does for everyone, men, women and children, the

[1] The Onge voice is not markedly different from the European. It has a musical quality, fairly high-pitched but never shrill; the Onges never raise their voices, even in anger – disagreements invariably end in a dignified silence.

174 The continual fighting between the Eremtaga and the Arioto
342 led, as we have seen, to the gradual disappearance of the communal
[628] huts of the latter as being too vulnerable. Subsequently, the con-
[648] flict still going on between foreigners and Jarawas completed the destruction, so that there are now no communal huts on Great Andaman. The ever-increasing violence of the punitive expeditions against the Jarawas put an end to their numerical recovery during the last fifteen years or so, and there may indeed now be none left.
[172] Today only their kitchen-middens, and the surviving Onges, remain to show us how the Jarawas must have lived.

172 The Jarawa middens are distinguishable from those of the Arioto
184 by their inland position and by their content of freshwater shellfish and land gasteropods, not eaten by the peoples of the coast.

172 Like the kitchen-middens of the Onges, those of the Jarawas
764 contain human bones clearly interred in graves, and not scattered
178 among the refuse. This refutes the Arioto accusation against the
[186] Eremtaga of cannibalism, and that of the people of South Andaman (now vanished) against the people of North Andaman and the Onges; the remains of cannibal feasts would undoubtedly have been found among kitchen refuse and not carefully buried in the ritual manner, with the graves filled in with earth. And the Jarawas and the majority of the Arioto buried their dead in the communal huts, continuing a custom which originated while they were still
[184] on Little Andaman. In time variations arose, but this does not alter the evidence in favour of migration in ancient times from the south, via the Nicobars and Little Andaman.

184 The differences in culture between the islands can be explained
172 by the ease with which primitive peoples forget. The Jarawas, for
501 example, although they reached Great Andaman by sea from Little Andaman, forgot in a few generations the art of hollowing canoes when they were forced to live in the depths of the forests, far from the sea. Today, they have been free from the Arioto for some time, at least on the west coast, and have access to the sea, but they have
[765] not started building canoes again. In other things, however, such as burial rites, the Jarawas kept faithful to the old Onge customs; their middens show the same exhumation of the bones, the same cleaning, and tinting with ochre, and careful reburial.

172 The general similarity of the middens in Great and Little Anda-
● 252 man cannot be due to chance. Animal food, for example, has clearly

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been cooked in the same way; the bones are never charred, but always have the appearance of being cooked in an earth oven. The direct roasting of large game over the fire, postulated by some authorities, including Brown, was never practised; the islanders preferred to go on as they had done since time immemorial, because it was more efficient – witness the traces of the earth oven which are to be found all over the world, including Europe. In Polynesia and Micronesia, and among the pygmies of Asia and Africa, it was widely used; variations when they arose did so as the result of local circumstances, like that of throwing water on the fire instead of using fleshy leaves, when there were none in the area. But the basic principle remained the same everywhere, and the use of the earth oven coincides with the geographical distribution of hunting, gathering and burial customs similar to those found in the Andamans.

In April 1954 I excavated the midden at Tambe-e-buiè on Little Andaman, abandoned after the earth tremors of 1951, to investigate the position of the beds. The custom of burying the dead underneath their beds made it possible to trace the latter by the human remains below them, arranged in a circle round the periphery. The Onges themselves helped in the work, sometimes even trying to recognize the remains as they came to light.[1] There were clear signs of reburial. The body is buried immediately after death at least one metre deep; whereas after exhumation, cleaning and colouring, it is never re-interred more than thirty centimetres below the floor of the hut. When another death makes it necessary for a new grave to be dug under the bed, the piles of bones from the second are disturbed, so that in time a form of ossuary develops. In this it is not possible to identify the various remains of individuals unless some change in the position of the hut, even by a few metres, preserves the bones from disturbance by fresh graves. Traces of the graves always remain, however, as they are invariably filled with fresh earth.

We have already seen that on Little Andaman the introduction of the dog reduced the consumption of shellfish (and hence the rate

[1] The material recovered is now in the Anthropological Museum of the Andamans and Nicobars, which I helped to establish at Port Blair. The museum was inaugurated on 6 June 1955 in the presence of the Governor, Mr A. K. Ghosh and the chief Indian officials of the town.

thought they were weeds and pulled them up. I never managed to see the plant in flower in the wild state, as this occurs at the height of the rainy season, and as no final definition is possible in the absence of the flower it remains unidentified.

The Onges take full advantage of the plant's properties as a bee-deterrent and in mid-March they eat honey, paint themselves, and dance, twenty-four hours a day. During these orgies I have seen a group of about sixty Onges demolish in a few days ten pigs and a dozen large, wooden vessels full of honey, with basket after basket of fish, caught every night by the women, who were apparently not in the least tired by the long daily treks into the forest after the honey. I can never look back on the Onges without a feeling of profound respect for their powers of digestion!

Yet another source of food for the islanders is the cicada. On Little Andaman there are a few species a little larger than the European variety and others rather smaller. The Onges collect the pupae as they emerge from the ground, usually in the mornings, and roast them as a great treat. They are actually very clean insects, which develop slowly under the earth over a period of years sucking lymph from the roots of the trees. When they emerge from the ground the pupae become leathery, but this presents no problem to the indomitable teeth of the Onges. Inside the cicada chrysalids are a mass of delicate tissues, so white and clean that one can understand the Onges' predilection for them.

On Little Andaman the cicadas chirp intermittently, with long silences; most of the day one hears nothing of them and when they suddenly start up the Onges fall absolutely quiet, terrified of frightening them away and losing their chrysalids.[1] In a few moments the whole forest suddenly echoes with a chorus of cicadas, as they all start up as one and then, a minute later, fall silent. Their intermittent chirping is not confined to the Andamans; it is a feature of several species throughout southern Asia. At Golpahar when I was in the middle of the forest excavating kitchen-middens I heard cicadas start up every day at 6.30 p.m., and then stop until the following day. In the mountains of South India, on the slopes

[1] The Onges do not seem to share the superstitions reported by Man and Brown among the Arioto, who appear to believe in fantastic connections between cicadas, the sun, and storms.

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tide goes down, the shoals are caught in the reefs stretching out to sea all round the island and the Onges leave everything to manhandle the canoes from pool to pool and fill them to overflowing. The water is almost saturated with fish, and the Onges go on and on until they have nothing more they can use to hold the catch. Nowhere else in the world have I seen anything like this wholesale slaughter.

The pilchards of the Andamans are rather larger than usual, some weighing as much as half a kilogram or more. The Onges catch them regardless of size and then sort them into lengths before cooking (cooking, needless to say, without stopping to gut them). Men, women and children work feverishly, plunging their hands into the heaving mass of fish so that they reek of it for days, together with the dogs, whose coats become the inevitable handtowels.

Every available vessel is used for the cooking, and the rest of the haul is cooked directly over hot ashes. The biggest are cooked alone; the smaller ones, in batches of half to one kilogram, are wrapped in big fleshy leaves, tied up with vegetable fibres and cooked for ten minutes or so, turned regularly all the while. To boil the fish, an entire netful of fish roughly equal in size is plunged into boiling water, and boiled as usual far too long for our taste.

Everyone cooks and eats at the same time until (temporarily) unable to eat any more, when the rest of the haul is laid on improvised racks with fires of green wood making smoke underneath. When, a few days later, all is gone, fishing begins again. And so life goes on for weeks, until the shoals have passed the islands.

The real fishing, however, is done by the men. The women use small nets about fifty centimetres in diameter, and about the same depth. The opening consists of a pliable cane, barely three centimetres in diameter, bent into a circle and tied with the ends crossing each other and projecting about twenty centimetres to form the handles. Each woman handles two nets, one held between the legs and the other in one hand, while the other hand pokes with a stick into the crevices in the reefs under the water to drive out the fish which have taken refuge as the tide goes out. Once found the fish are killed – very simply, by biting them between the

226 eyes to crack their skulls – and thrown into the small basket every woman carries on her back, hung from the usual cord round her forehead.

The fish the women catch are all the varicoloured species which always haunt the coral shallows, bright red, blue, green, black and white in a wonderful range of stripes and patterns. The Onges eat them with no respect for design, and I must confess that I myself found them very good.

226 Besides fish, the women catch molluscs, crustacea, lobsters, cray-
252 fish, crabs and even some species of hermit crabs (the latter are baked alive in their adopted shells, and only the abdomen is edible). Lobsters are plentiful, some striped with green and blue and weighing up to half a kilogram, with a very delicate flavour, but the Onges do not seem to be greatly interested in them. They prefer fish and crabs; *Pterocera*, again baked alive, are great favourites and I quite saw why the kitchen-middens are full of *Pterocera* shells.

227 The men prefer to fish with bows and arrows made specially for the purpose, and very different from those intended for game, the shaft being made of very light hollow cane, instead of the solid wood demanded by the mechanics of the game-arrow. The fishing arrow is made of three parts, bound tightly into one. The point, now made of iron,[1] is about four to five millimetres in diameter and
[283] twenty to twenty-five centimetres long. Like that of the arrow harpoon, it is fixed by a tightly bound thread to a small stick or foreshaft about fifteen to twenty centimetres long and slightly smaller in diameter than the shaft proper (usually eighty to eighty-five centimetres long), so that the overall length of the finished
[314] arrow is a hundred and ten centimetres or more. The binding
[237] threads are held fast by a mixture of resin and beeswax, coloured with ochre in the case of new arrows.

227 I tried giving the Onges hooks and lines; they were intrigued by
123 my demonstration of how to leave lines overnight and draw them
177 in next morning loaded with fish, but no more. This was not superstition or fear of the unknown but sheer adherence to established
ooo custom. They have neither incantations, amulets nor propitiating

[237] [1] Formerly made of *Tridacna*, or very hard wood. Some of the latter are still to be found, but all the other types of head – fish quills, bone, and *Tridacna* – have disappeared long ago.

50 53 422 126 build it (when I wanted to acquire two for the new anthropological museum at Port Blair and the Indian Museum in Calcutta I had to bargain with the men recognized as the owners, although the price had to be distributed among all the members of the group).

225 252 The chief delight of the men on their fishing trips is the capture of a Giant Turtle. I have already described (p. 88) the spear harpoons which the Onges use to catch them. Once caught, the wretched animals are subjected to a form of vivisection utterly incomprehensible to the Western mind; they are literally cut up alive and the pieces thrown into the boiling cooking-pot. Nor have I ever witnessed anything so terrible as the way in which the Onges, in the absence of any suitable cooking vessel, or the materials for an earth oven, roast these turtles whole and alive over a slow fire. [157] They seem totally unable to realize that animals can feel pain and laugh like children at the other atrocious tortures they unwittingly inflict not only on the turtles, but on every living thing that falls into their hands.

825 262 These marine turtles (as far as I was able to see there were no land turtles in the Andamans) yield a far greater amount of food than the dugong, and provide the islanders with both meat and eggs. Two [136] species are common in the seas round the islands, *Chelonia virgata*, or the green turtle, and *Caretta imbricata*, which supplies the shells normally sold commercially. The Onges prefer the former, which are both meaty and more plentiful.

222 225 462 [996] Turtle-hunting and egg-collecting is done by the menfolk. The method is very like that used for dugong and large fish, using the harpoon. Owing to their fear of the spirits abroad in the night, the Onges never go near the beaches between dusk and dawn, when it would be easy to take the turtles on land and immobilize them by turning them on their backs. They do know this trick, however, and use it when captured turtles (often weighing up to a hundredweight) are too heavy to carry in the canoe; the animals are turned on their backs and dumped on the beach ready to pick up later.

225 The Onges harpoon the turtles from canoes, preferably at night when the turtles are nearing the shore, which they never approach in the day time. When there is a moon the creatures are easily seen, and on dark nights the phosphorescence of the sea helps.

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metres in diameter. They are now used for the holy water in the new church of San Piero in Palco, in Florence, like those in the church of St Sulpice in Paris. Two valves of *T. gigas*, rather smaller, are being used for the same purpose in the church of Marco Polo in Viareggio. 136

Among the creatures the Onges hunt on the shores are crayfish, which can be taken in plenty in the streams of Little Andaman, although I found none on Great Andaman or in the Nicobars. As they were so common I assumed they were a known species and did not bother to collect any. In Madras, however, an expert on freshwater crustacea, Sri Sada Siva, told me that this appeared to be a new species and it would be well worth while returning to Little Andaman to collect further specimens, as the few I had brought are now lost. There are tens of thousands of them everywhere. [222]

These freshwater crayfish are so tasty that they have entered into Onge folklore, and their tastiness is praised in song. They are baked on burning embers, without salt, as always, and just the charred shell is removed before they are eaten. The clean fresh water in which they live prevents any taint in the flavour. I must confess to having eaten them every day without realizing their importance as a possible new species. They are fairly large, about fifteen centimetres long, and almost black, in natural imitation of the dark rocks among which they try to vanish out of sight, although the Onges never fail to spot them. The males have slender pereiopods, with claws almost twice as long as the whole body; these the creatures thrust out before them, and so slender are they that it is difficult to catch a male with both pereiopods intact. After hatching, the young, which are identical with the adults as soon as they hatch and can therefore be sexed by the presence and absence of pereiopods, cling bunched together for several weeks, attached by their claws to their mother's swimmerets before making their way into the troubled waters of the rivers, where the great carp are waiting to prey on them. [262] [538] [252]

Yet another freshwater creature eagerly sought by the Onges is one that is almost black in colour, a strange survival of some remote geological era. Like other members of the family it has no scales, and the mouth, armed with teeth, is not protractile. On Little Andaman I saw several specimens weighing over a kilogram, and

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in the division of all meat. Certain cuts are the property of the hunter, of his helpers, and of his relations and after them, in order, of the remaining members of the group; everyone knows his position in advance. Each portion is tied round with a reed fibre, which is allowed to dangle out over the top of the communal cooking-pot ready to haul the meat out when required.

In the case of pork the prized cut is one which comprises the kidneys and the surrounding fat; this fat is called *cian*,[1] and is very highly esteemed. Some authors (Brown, for example) have stated that turtles and pigs are always cut up with the head ritually pointing towards the sea as otherwise the meat would be considered inedible. This is certainly not the case on Little Andaman, and I have never seen any such directional ritual among any of the Negritos, all of whom practise division of meat according to a prescribed order of precedence. Turtles at any rate are slaughtered facing up the sloping beach simply because it is then easier to hold the beast from behind and avoid its bite. Ritual there is, but usually with a good practical basis.

More ritual attaches to the way in which the game is carried back to the camp, and the wood to be used for the cooking fire. Pigs, killed and gutted, are tied in ropes made of *Ficus laccifera* and carried somehow on the back of the victorious hunter. If it is not far to the camp he will not bother to tie up the snout and feet, but otherwise the front and back legs are tied, and one long cord joins both pairs to the snout – again a practical ritual, giving the hunter a more compact weight to carry.

Man, Portman, Brown and others all say that each type of game has to be cooked over a fire of a particular wood. My own observations showed that whereas the ritual of dissection is inviolable, the Onges always use the first wood that comes to hand, regardless of its source, taking as usual the line of least resistance. This is again in keeping with the tendency of primitive peoples to expend only the very minimum of energy to achieve their object. Their religious beliefs and superstitions are not carried to the limit, simply because

[1] It is interesting that in their very restricted world the Onges have few standards of comparison or words to express condemnation or approval, and this word *cian* is used as one of high praise, applied to inanimate objects, animals, and people alike. The precise qualities which are conveyed by the word are difficult to evaluate in the absence of fuller knowledge of the Onge language.

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252 their love of existing with as little effort as possible is paramount.
372 Since any wood is as good as the next for making a fire, the
824 spirits conveniently have nothing to say in the matter. In other
782 circumstances material considerations lead to quite the opposite
222 effect: when the Onges dig up roots or tubers they not only replace the earth, but cover the place with leaves, the ritual having the good practical objective of appeasing the spirits and ensuring further supplies.

171 The preservation of skulls for magical purposes or out of pure
224 superstition survives mainly in Asia and Oceania. In Asia it coincides with other beliefs which demand the killing of domestic animals by strangulation. I have seen this practised along the high reaches of the valley of the Brahmaputra, particularly among the Abor, and the Nagas, and in many other tribes to the south of Tibet and China, all of whom preserve skulls. Head-hunting, found throughout southern Asia, in the islands, and as far as Oceania, is also practised in the areas where animal skulls are preserved.

171 The preservation of animal skulls, particularly bear skulls, is still practised in mongoloid peoples as far as the north of Asia; apart from the Andamans and the Nicobars, human and animal bones are preserved in many parts of Indonesia and as far as New Guinea. In the corona of small islands along the west coast of Sumatra the custom coincides with many others, as well as with certain types of huts and canoes, all present in the Andamans and Nicobars. A good example are the huts raised up off the ground on stilts, common in the Nicobars, Nias, Engano, Mentawai and various parts of Indonesia. The single-boom canoes of these areas, quite apart from their general similarity of structure, all have certain identical features, even to the method of fixing the lateral float of green wood, with pointed hardwood pegs stuck in it like spills. This, again, cannot be due to chance; it must be the effect of a very ancient cultural diffusion, now surviving only in a few specific areas.

224 The skulls preserved by the Onges have one point of interest;
531 it is the duty of the wife to clean the trophies brought back by her
462 proud husband and then paint them lovingly with lines of ochre. After every successful hunting expedition the wives can be seen busily painting, while the husbands look on with satisfaction.

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Queensland and (as the Cape Bedford type) elsewhere. Oars, 171
method of fixing the booms and float – all are similar throughout 501
the area, including the Andamans.

Even game, once caught, is treated and distributed similarly by 171
these peoples, from the Andamans to Oceania. Cooking is done 252
without salt, in earth ovens (whether or not fire or red-hot stones [224]
are used) very different from those of Africa and America. The [263]
Semang and Aetà of today know how to make fire by friction, as 171
do the peoples of New Guinea, Australia and Polynesia; the Tas- 372
mans also have the knowledge to do so, but prefer to carry burning logs with them on their journeys, like the Andamanese. In certain parts of New Guinea and perhaps in some of the Pacific islands (as in the Andamans) the art of fire-making was unknown or possibly forgotten until recent times; it is said that the Papuans of the Bay of Astralobius knew nothing of the art until the middle of the nineteenth century. But the only sure information comes from the Andamans, where, whether through ignorance or loss of knowledge, the art of fire-making is unknown and fire is always carried everywhere.

Among the objects typical of the Andamans and found also 171
among the Semang, the Aetà, and other Oceanic peoples are the 412
digging stick and the crude hatchet. The former, used for gathering edible roots and tubers, is merely a pointed stick, but every family possesses one. The hatchet is slightly more elaborate, having both handle and blade, and like the digging stick, occurs always in virtually the same form.[1] Objects woven from vegetable fibres are [28]
also very similar in appearance – often very durable and sometimes pleasing by any standards. In some places woven breast-plates are [714]
used in warfare, but here the Jarawas differ, using single sheets of [184]
bark.

These are but a few of the many examples which one can find of 171
this striking similarity between these widely separated peoples. And alongside cultural similarities there exist others, anthropo- 14
logical and physical, which cannot be overlooked. Physically the

[1] This is simply a cutting tool fixed into a natural elbow in a suitable branch. The blade is fixed into the wood near the elbow, and the branch is cut off, so as to leave a short handle. The whole thing is reminiscent of a swan's head on a long neck, and is easily turned into a crude plane or adze by revolving the blade in the haft through a right angle.

325 islanders, in the absence of any means of working it, have not fully realized.

3 IGNORANCE OF FIRE

372 174 The islanders' present ignorance of fire-making may possibly be the result of cultural decline, but this is not certain. In the presence of the considerable additional evidence in favour of the antiquity of the Andamanese culture it is, however, more likely that it is genuine ignorance, persisting in a pre-lithic people.

4 ABSENCE OF SALT

174 263 Although there can be no proof, it can be reasonably postulated that very primitive Man had no salt, and that in the Andamans this ignorance has persisted over thousands of years, owing to strict isolation. It is unlikely that the use of salt would have been completely lost, had it ever been introduced.

5 PRIMITIVE METHODS OF COOKING

252 172 Apart from the accidental and very recent introduction of petrol-drum cooking, the Andamanese use only the most primitive form of earth oven. This method of cooking was certainly known in the Palaeolithic era; at the entrance to the well-known Barma Grande cave near Mentone I have myself seen in the basal layers a number of stones bearing the marks of fire, too numerous merely to have formed some sort of hearth, and clearly not used to support cooking-pots, as Palaeolithic Man had none which would have withstood heat. The form of earth oven still used throughout the Andamans is undoubtedly of extreme antiquity.

6 FOOD VESSELS

415 285 172 The people of the Andamans still use for honey hollowed-out logs similar to those seen in Palaeolithic wall paintings, which also depict baskets very like those still in use throughout the archipelago. The art of basket-making can be traced back at least to the later Palaeolithic era.

7 USE OF POTTERY

323 172 As with the other Negrito peoples, pottery was unknown in the earliest culture of the Andamans. Its appearance seems from the evidence of the

26 302 [224] [164] Cleaning themselves, to the Onges, means painting themselves to ward off evil and to remove, so they said, the smell of pig fat after the colossal orgies which follow a particularly good hunt, when even they find the stench too much. These orgies, which give them appalling indigestion for days, are followed by an apparently instinctive variation of their diet to raw or cooked vegetable foods. On three occasions from 1952–54 I was present at one of these solemn pork and honey orgies. The Onges ate almost till they burst, and then, hardly able to move, cleaned up by a grand painting session. The women do the painting, families vying with each other to produce weird new designs, which are then copied until the next feast.[1]

276 26 302 237 Fed and painted, the Onges sit down to smoke, using pipes made from crabs' claws. Still regardless of hygiene the pipes go from one mouth to another, the women smoking just as heavily as the men.

356 One curious anomaly is that the Onges do sometimes sweep the earth floor of the communal hut. The floor is not deliberately beaten down, but becomes hardened by continuous walking on it; in dry weather it turns to dust, which rises and settles everywhere, especially under the roof, where the lumps of cooked meat, fish and so on are hung. For the cleaning a broom or besom is prepared, well made with very hard, supple, palm fibres, bound tightly and carefully with cords made from reeds. The whole thing is about eighty centimetres long and as thick as a man's wrist. [412]

356 342 172 364 The dirt is simply swept out all round from under the roof of the hut through the gap between the roof and the ground. In the course of time a ring of refuse builds up round the hut, forming a glorious breeding ground for insects of all kinds. When the hut has to be rebuilt, owing to the ravages of wood-worm and termites, the ring is levelled off to form the new floor. Since the same small, well-chosen site may be used for thousands of years, the hut ends up perching on top of a small mound of refuse dating back to very

[531] [1] From one year to the next I saw no real evolution of art forms but cyclic changes of designs, with a preference for certain geometric patterns, at certain times of the year. Having watched various individuals of both sexes closely over a period of some years I can say that in the Onges at least, contrary to what is generally understood, the use of given patterns, and given kinds of ochre, does not correspond with given types of food. Any feast is always followed by painting, always with the weirdest designs possible, but always geometrical, never far from the current 'fashion', and never even remotely inspired by the basis of the feast.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

variations in colour are not confined within certain tribal limits, but are alike found in all, whether living inland or on the coast; and it would therefore appear that the cause is not attributable to diet, habits, or, indeed, to any external circumstance. 142

3. The opinion expressed on this subject by Dr. Mouat was that "their hue is remarkably black and lustrous;" while Surgeon-Major Hodder[1] describes them as "extremely black, more so than the African negro, and some have a dull leaden hue like that of a black-leaded stove." In this latter remark I fully concur; indeed, the simile strikes me as an exceedingly happy one, and as exactly expressing the predominating colour of their skin.

4. On examining a number of individuals, and comparing the colour of their skin and eyes with the standard tables prepared by the late M. Broca, it was found that the skin of the face and shoulders of the majority corresponded most nearly with No. 42, the variations tending towards 27 and 28, while that of the trunk, in the generality of cases, agreed with No. 27, and in certain others with No. 49. The prevailing hue of the eyes was found to be most closely represented by No. 16, one exception, which had to be classed under No. 1, being found among those tested.

Odour.—1. The ammoniacal, rancid, goat-like exhalations of the negro are not found among them, and the peculiarity of odour which attaches to their persons is chiefly due to the unguent, called *kòi·ob-da*,[2] composed of red oxide of iron mixed with either turtle or pig's fat, with which they delight to paint themselves. When in health, and under ordinary circumstances, their breath is sweet.[3] 302

Anatomy and Physiology (*continued*).—2. Their powers of abstinence from solid food have never, to our knowledge, been severely tested; but it has been noticed that, on rare occasions, when forced to make a long day's journey through the jungles without a halt, they are in the habit of binding a strip of bark or other substance round their waists, to reduce, as much as possible, the inconvenience and pain which are caused by what they consider a long fast. Whether in exercise or repose they 261

[1] *Vide* "Pall Mall Budget," 20th April, 1877.

[2] Substantives, adjectives, and many adverbs have the termination "da," which, as mentioned in my previous paper, I believe to be traceable to the defective or partially obsolete verb, *edà·ke*, to be; it is dropped before prepositions and in construction generally, but is usually heard when the word occurs alone. Hence, when I write a hyphen at the end of an Andamanese word, I shall mean that in its full form it has *da*. [193]

[3] It is, nevertheless, commonly noticed, that after feasting on turtle and certain kinds of fish, they are unpleasant neighbours, their breath and hands being then highly odoriferous.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

261 cannot apparently abstain from food without inconvenience for more than eight hours at a time.

271 [445] 3. When exerting themselves in any way they perspire freely, which may account for their inordinate thirst. So great, indeed, is their inability to endure any privation in respect to drink, that they seldom leave home on the shortest expedition, whether by land or sea, without providing themselves with one or more bamboo vessels, called *gōb-*, containing a supply of fresh water.

513 4. Loss of sleep they can bear well only when under the influence of strong excitement, as in turtle hunting, or at festive gatherings, where singing and dancing are kept up for many successive hours;[1] they have even been known to spend forty-eight hours at such times without taking any rest.

151 5. What little cool weather there is in the latitude of their islands, during December and January, they dislike extremely; in striking evidence of this they are found, as I will elsewhere mention,[2] unconsciously concurring with the great Italian poet in depicting the region of punishment, for the souls of the wicked, as one of intense cold. After this, it will appear somewhat strange to say that, in spite of their aversion to what they consider cold weather—which never registers less than 69° F. 302 on the highest elevation in South Andaman—they are careful, during the hot season, to avoid any lengthened exposure to the direct rays of the sun, and endeavour to lessen the discomfort caused by the heat by smearing their persons with a white-wash of common white clay and water.[3] It has long been erroneously believed that they have recourse to this expedient in order to allay the inconvenience which they would otherwise suffer from the bites of mosquitoes and other jungle pests; but the true reason for the practice is, I am well assured, that which I have above given, for the various insects which might annoy them are, for the most part, kept away by the smoke of the hut fire, beside which a great portion of their time is spent when at rest, or when engaged in any sedentary occupation.

147 6. The voices of the men are usually clear without being deep, while those of the women, especially when raised, are very shrill.

142 7. The mucous membrane of the mouth is stained with pigment to a greater degree than was found to be the case with such of the natives of India as were compared with them.

8. The general excellence of the teeth strikes one as remark-

[1] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraph 32.

[2] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 25.

[3] I would here draw attention to the fact, that while the object in smearing themselves with *ōg-* wash is to keep themselves as cool as possible, they often daub their bodies with *kòi-ob-* after sundown for the opposite reason, *i.e.*, for the sake of warmth.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

264 day's hunt, they usually provide themselves with some fire and a *gōb-*[1] of food, which they warm up and enjoy about midday:[2] no difference is made between the sexes, but all fare alike.

261 5. The average amount eaten by an Andamanese adult appears to exceed that of a native of India, and to average three or four pounds daily, while, like many other savages, after a successful hunt, or on some special occasion, when dancing is carried on through the entire night,[3] the consumption of food is surprising, and has, in some instances, been estimated at upwards of ten pounds of pork, or turtle, in the twenty-four hours, helped out by mouthfuls of some one or more of the delicacies above enumerated.[4]

264 6. As may be assumed from foregoing sections, caste distinctions are unknown; while, however, all members of a family take their meals together, a married man is only permitted to eat with other Benedicts and bachelors, but never with any women save those of his own household, unless indeed he be well advanced in years. Bachelors as well as spinsters are required to take their meals apart with those of their respective sexes.

7. Their mode of eating meat is to cram a large piece into the mouth, and then to cut off whatever is in excess[5] with a bamboo or cane (now-a-days generally a steel) knife. The same custom, carried to a more disgusting extreme, is found among
271 the Esquimaux.[6] Speaking generally of the Andamanese it may be said that water is their only beverage, for though the aborigines in the vicinity of Port Blair have acquired a strong liking for rum, &c., they have not been permitted to gratify it; if very thirsty while on a fishing expedition, and all the fresh water supply be exhausted[7] the *àryô·to-* pour water over their

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 82.

[2] This applies to the meat of the turtle, pig, iguana, and paradoxurus; the remains of a feast of fish, shell-fish, and prawns are not warmed up a second time; a further distinction is made in the case of turtles' eggs, the three insects mentioned in paragraph 3, edible roots, and such fruits as are cooked (*vide post* paragraph 19), for these are left to cool before they are eaten.

[3] *Vide* "Games and Amusements," paragraphs 21 and 22.

[262] [4] *Bêche de mer* and edible birds'-nests, so highly esteemed by some, and of which large supplies are obtainable along their coasts, are not regarded by the Andamanese as fit for food.

[5] For the following note, which refers to a similar practice among the Napo-Indians of South America, I am indebted to Mr. W. L. Distant:—"In eating meat (usually monkey, sea-cow, and peccari) we observed that they did not tear or bite it, but, putting one end of a long piece in the mouth, cut off what they could not get in, as Darwin noticed among the Fuegians" (Jas. Orton: "Andes and the Amazon," p. 168).

[6] *Vide* Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times," p. 486.

[7] They will now-a-days occasionally assuage their thirst, when away from home, by cutting off a piece of ground rattan (*bōl-*); this practice is only known to the people of South Andaman, and has been borrowed from the Burmese convicts.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

262 and therefore dangerous to offend by cooking them. Luckily they accepted
123 fish of almost every description, and vegetables. To convince them of our
[775] good intentions concerning their food, at Port Blair an Onge observer was
[825] stationed permanently near the kitchen to watch the preparation of meals.
Nevertheless, within a few days all 30 Onge fell ill as a consequence of the
513 different food and climate. In their island they sleep, completely naked and
123 uncovered, lying directly on beds made of rough branches. Their only precaution, as I mentioned before, is to keep a fire permanently burning close to the bed. This was not feasible in the rooms with wooden floors that were provided for them in Port Blair, and blankets did not avail. So the 30 Onge developed a fever and we were obliged to take them urgently back to Little Andaman, where they promptly recovered. The incident gave me a further opportunity to observe the curative methods of the Onge.

262 With regard to their care to avoid illness from food, I must point out the
114 fact that misleading information has been published on the subject even in reputed papers on the Andamans. I will discuss them in my Onge book, but I wish here to briefly stress a few points : the Onge, and the present residual coastal or forest Andamanese, refuse to eat – besides birds and fish such as shark, ray, eel or muraenae – some other animals such as paradoxurus, bats, rats, varanus and snakes. The contrary is affirmed in those papers. To quote the well-known book by A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN ("The Andaman Islanders", pp. 37, 91 and 389), all Andaman Islanders, including the Onge, consider the above-mentioned species edible. Varanus is supposed to be acceptable for its
[832] lustful habits that make of it an aphrodisiac. My direct and protracted experience both in Little and in Great Andaman compels me to state that such information is false. It is true, however, that the Andaman Islanders believe
● 261 they acquire some of the properties of their devoured victims. This occurs
252 only if the animals are cut up alive. Therefore turtles, pigs and dugongs are
[231] cruelly sectioned while still alive, and the Onge also believe that their health
266 and energy profit by it. Cannibalism may be founded on such beliefs, but it is completely unknown to Andaman Islanders of all times and places. Young
262 sucking-pigs are avoided, as food, by men, and even withheld from the dogs ; but the Onge are partial to other things which, in our opinion, are far worse : crickets, and the fat larvae of coleoptera that collect in tree trunks.

Without giving here a full list of the foods that are considered harmful or curative, I shall add just a few remarks on the subject. The healthiest, as well as the tastiest part of the pig is supposed to be the kidney and its surrounding fat. It is offered to old or distinguished people, as a sign of favour. As I
[888] helped the Onge, as much as possible, with gifts of tools and medicines, they
123 found it complimentary to name me after their favorite titbit, intending thereby
553 to honour me as a friend and healer. By such a name I came to be known in Little Andaman, and this made my work easier. In the Onge language the word for kidney fat is *cue-changhēghē* ; I was delighted with it, for it proclaimed the high esteem I was held in by my Onge friends.

262 Foods considered healthy by the Onge include honey, yams, several
751 succulent roots and the fat of turtle and dugong. Pteropus, a giant bat very
[825]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

The Onges do not seem to require any preventive measures, and seem naturally immune to malaria. They do, however, transmit the disease to strangers, through the mosquitoes which are everywhere in Little Andaman. Like many other inhabitants of tropical areas, they probably all carry the disease without being affected by it – neither children nor adults show any sign of splenic enlargement.

In contrast to their periodic gorging, the Onges will equally cheerfully endure hunger, thirst and exhaustion. During our hazardous canoe trip to South Brother, however, they appeared much more affected than I was by long exposure to the sun. We were completely without any means of shelter for an entire afternoon in the open sea, and though the Onges tried to cover their heads as best they could, they still developed severe (and genuine) headaches, and were clearly much happier in the dark forest, which must be considered their natural environment.

Nothing has hitherto been known of the intelligence level and general psychology of the Onges. The childishness of their behaviour, however, is curiously in keeping with their strikingly child-like appearance. Like children, they seek only the satisfaction of elementary stimuli, and like children they pass in a flash from one mood to another, so that they are a people of sudden contrasts.

One example is their passionate love for their dogs, in marked contrast to the intense cruelty with which they hunt their prey. Having once realized the usefulness of dogs, first imported into the islands some thirty years ago, the Onges now pet them like little girls with their dolls, and the Onge women will suckle the family puppies quite naturally with their own children. Yet once a dog dies the other side of the Onge nature comes to the fore and the carcase is thrown into the forest – there is no looking back.

Their minds are in a sense inventive, in that they have evolved devices to help them acquire their food, but they have never, for example, thought of the fish-hook, despite the abundance of iron pieces thrown up by shipwrecks all round the islands. Anything new is taken up with a child's momentary enthusiasm, but they have no notion of sustained mental effort such as any form of counting.

Like children, too, the Onges laugh at the slightest thing, although their mirth is always restrained. In this they differ from the African peoples, particularly the Bushmen, who are often by

gashes with their tusks, unaware of the spear thrower coming up from behind. The result is inevitable. The dangerous boars are killed outright, but whenever possible the pig is, like the turtles, trussed helplessly and vivisected, again strictly according to established ritual, and again with an unconscious cruelty that is to Western eyes unbelievable. The liver, lungs, heart and intestines are the dogs' reward, and in a matter of minutes they are gone and the last drop of blood licked up.

Before every hunt the dogs are left hungry, on the principle that a well-fed dog does not hunt. If a young or small pig is caught by the pack during the hunt the Onges at once drag the body away and lodge it in the fork of a bush or tree. I have also seen this done if a full-grown pig is caught which is too thin, or unhealthy, or if a sow is taken, as the Onges find the females less tasty. In the dry season, when food is scarce and the pigs are less aggressive, they can be caught by one dog alone.

In the rainy season pork is, to the Onge palate, at its best. The pigs are fat and tasty, gorging on the lush vegetation that follows the onset of the south-west monsoon till they become slow, and easy prey. The dogs follow their tracks easily on the sodden ground, and the usual orgy of slaughter follows day after day, the Onges caring little for tomorrow and nothing for the day after. It is only owing to the fall in the numbers of the human population that the pig is still extant on the island; in compensation for the continuous slaughter I saw whole areas of forest round deserted communal huts where the earth had been literally ploughed up by the snouts of innumerable pigs rooting undisturbed for tubers.

During the hunt a number of dogs inevitably lose themselves in the maze of vegetation, and are cut off from the pack. Usually they manage to find their way back to one of the camps. When I went on long journeys into the forest we were always followed by strays. Greeting each other as though they were old friends they would quickly join the pack we used to take with us to hunt for the party. A stray will always try to find its own master, and any that are left behind during the hunt howl desperately like jackals. Others join in, in an eerie chorus, pausing every now and again as though waiting for their master's reply. Their howling is a curious reversion to the wild state – all the canines fear solitude, wherever

thought they were weeds and pulled them up. I never managed to see the plant in flower in the wild state, as this occurs at the height of the rainy season, and as no final definition is possible in the absence of the flower it remains unidentified.

The Onges take full advantage of the plant's properties as a bee-deterrent and in mid-March they eat honey, paint themselves, and dance, twenty-four hours a day. During these orgies I have seen a group of about sixty Onges demolish in a few days ten pigs and a dozen large, wooden vessels full of honey, with basket after basket of fish, caught every night by the women, who were apparently not in the least tired by the long daily treks into the forest after the honey. I can never look back on the Onges without a feeling of profound respect for their powers of digestion!

Yet another source of food for the islanders is the cicada. On Little Andaman there are a few species a little larger than the European variety and others rather smaller. The Onges collect the pupae as they emerge from the ground, usually in the mornings, and roast them as a great treat. They are actually very clean insects, which develop slowly under the earth over a period of years sucking lymph from the roots of the trees. When they emerge from the ground the pupae become leathery, but this presents no problem to the indomitable teeth of the Onges. Inside the cicada chrysalids are a mass of delicate tissues, so white and clean that one can understand the Onges' predilection for them.

On Little Andaman the cicadas chirp intermittently, with long silences; most of the day one hears nothing of them and when they suddenly start up the Onges fall absolutely quiet, terrified of frightening them away and losing their chrysalids.[1] In a few moments the whole forest suddenly echoes with a chorus of cicadas, as they all start up as one and then, a minute later, fall silent. Their intermittent chirping is not confined to the Andamans; it is a feature of several species throughout southern Asia. At Golpahar when I was in the middle of the forest excavating kitchen-middens I heard cicadas start up every day at 6.30 p.m., and then stop until the following day. In the mountains of South India, on the slopes

[1] The Onges do not seem to share the superstitions reported by Man and Brown among the Arioto, who appear to believe in fantastic connections between cicadas, the sun, and storms.

136 the hole is enlarged downwards, still the same width, for thirty centimetres or so, to end in an oval cavity large enough to take the incubating female. In both cases all the tapping is done while the bird clings on to the trunk with its claws, which have reversible digits; it is balanced by the tail with its hard, bristle-tipped feathers.

The musical drumming during the mating season is rhythmic, and less violent. The bird selects a hollow trunk and will return to the same one for months. The beak strikes at the rate of about seven to ten blows per second and always in one place, so that no bark is chipped out. The sound diminishes in intensity from the first blow to the last, unlike the food- or nest-drumming. Like the cicada the bird uses its own body as a sound box to aid reverberation, filling itself with as much air as possible. As part of the flight mechanism, all birds have air cavities connected to their lungs and in the woodpecker the system is extremely well developed. These cavities help to increase the vibrations made by drumming on the wood. The head is held at the right angle to obtain the best reverberation (not the best angle for chipping out bark, as when the bird is looking for food), and the bird itself vibrates with the wood, absorbing the short sound-waves and increasing the resonance.

136 825 [261] Although to the naturalist there is enough in the wild life of the Andamans for endless studies of everything from cuckoos to parrots, sea snakes, shells with their beautiful spiral patterns – and the wealth of material almost overwhelms one – it must be admitted that the Onges see all the beauty around them mainly in terms of food.

They will search for hours for the nests of the salangana or *Collocalia esculenta*, the swallow which builds well-known edible nests so greatly prized in many parts of the world. The bird secretes a gummy saliva, which hardens when exposed to the air, and it is of this that it builds its nest in caves near the sea, ejecting saliva on to the roof of the caves. The substance acts in Man as an aphrodisiac, which may account for the value placed upon swallows' nests in 136 China. The nests are found usually in the darkest parts of the caves, hanging from the roof, sometimes seven or eight in a bunch. It is not known why these swallows like to nest in the dark, or how they manage to find their own eggs and young when they return to the cave after foraging, or are driven away from the nest by intruders such as snakes. It seems on the face of it impossible for snakes to

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

361 very plainly the constitution of a local group, consisting as it
621 does of a few families. Each group seems to have contained, on an average, about ten families, with a few unmarried males and females.

•262 The Andaman Islanders depend for their subsistence entirely on the natural products of the sea and the forest. From the sea they obtain dugong, turtle (both green and hawksbill), an enormous variety of different sorts of fish, crustaceans (crabs, crayfish and prawns) and molluscs. Fish and crabs are also to be found in the salt-water creeks which in many places penetrate inland for some miles. From the forest they obtain the flesh of the wild pig, wild honey, and a large number of vegetable foods—roots, fruits, and seeds.

512 The life of the forest folk is more simple and uniform than that of the coast people and we may therefore consider it first. During the rainy season, which lasts from the middle of May to the end of September, the local group lives at its headquarters camp, which, as we have seen, formerly often took the form of a
[262] communal hut. During this season animal food is plentiful, as the jungle animals are in good condition; on the other hand there is not much vegetable food to be obtained. The following brief account will give an idea of how the day is spent in such a camp at that time of year. Some time after sunrise the camp begins to be astir. The various members of the community make a
512 meal of any food that may have been saved from the day before.
224 The men start off for the day's hunting. At the present time
[31] dogs are used for pig-hunting. These dogs were obtained in the first instance from the Settlement of Port Blair, and their use in pig-hunting was learnt from the Burmese convicts. Nowadays every married man has at least one dog[1]. Before the dogs were obtained, hunting was a pursuit requiring a great deal more skill than it does at present. A hunting party consists of from two to five men. Each man carries his bow and two or three pig arrows, and one of the party carries a smouldering fire-brand. They make their way through the jungle until they find the fresh tracks of a pig, or follow up some of the usual pig runs

[1] In the North Andaman the times before the Settlement are spoken of as the time when there were no dogs, *Bibi poiye*="Dog not."

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

is to be seen but the dim light of the little fires burning in each 512
hut or in each of the family quarters.

On a day when there is plenty of food left from the day before, or on a day of stormy weather even when food is not too plentiful, the men may remain in camp instead of going hunting. They busy themselves with making weapons and implements, such as bows, arrows, adzes, etc.

On occasions when game is not very plentiful a party of hunters may stay away from the camp for a few days, not returning till they have been successful in obtaining a fair supply of food. The women and children and old men, with perhaps a few of the able bodied men also, remain at home and provide for themselves as well as they can, the women devoting their time to collecting what vegetable foods are in season.

At the end of the rainy season there comes a brief period 221
of unsettled weather, called by the natives of the North Andaman 262
Kimil, and by those of the South, *Gumul*. During this season some of the vegetable foods begin to be available, though not in any quantities. At this time of the year the natives are able to obtain and feast upon what they regard as great delicacies, the larvae of the cicada and of the great capricornis beetle. The cool season, when fruits and roots are plentiful, begins at the end of November. The forest dwellers leave their main encampment during this season. Some of them go off to pay visits [574]
to their friends of other local groups. Such visits may last two 221
or three months. Those who remain occupy temporary camps 222
in convenient places. The men join the women in looking for 262
roots and fruits, and do not spend so much of their time in hunting. Some of the men visit the main camp at intervals of a few days to see that it is all right. As the cool season gives way to the hot season (March to May) honey begins to be plentiful. At that time hunting for pig is almost abandoned. The pigs are in poor condition, and even when one is killed it is often left in the jungle by the natives as not being good enough to eat. On the other hand everyone is busy collecting honey. [462]
This is work in which both men and women join, though it is the men who climb up the trees and cut down the honeycomb. The natives have no means of keeping the honey for more than

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

221
222 a very short time, as it rapidly ferments.' While it is plentiful
•262 they almost live on it, supplementing it with roots and fruits and with fish, if they are near a creek. Towards the end of the hot season the fruit of the *Artocarpus chaplasha*, which is a favourite food of the natives, becomes ripe. The men and women, at this time, spend much of their time collecting the fruit. When it is collected the fruit is broken open and each of the seeds is sucked to obtain the juicy pulp or aril with which it is surrounded, and which has a very pleasant taste. The seeds are then partly boiled and are buried in the ground to remain there for a few weeks, when they will be dug up again and cooked and eaten. Any natives who may have been away from home on a visit, return before the *Artocarpus* comes into fruit in order to take their share in collecting it and providing a supply of the seeds for consumption in the rainy season. The natives then return to the headquarters camp and make any necessary repairs to the hut in preparation for the rainy season, which begins about the middle of May.

221 The coast-dwellers are not quite so much influenced by the seasons as the forest-dwellers. They can fish and collect
262 molluscs all the year round. In the rainy season they divide their time between hunting pig in the forest and fishing or turtle hunting. They do not need, however, to remain at the same camp during the whole of the rainy season, but after a month or two at one place can move to what they hope to find better hunting grounds. During the cool and hot seasons they pay visits to one another. In the fine weather the men often go off on turtle-hunting expeditions for several days, leaving the women and children and older men in the village, where they provide for themselves with vegetable food and with fish and molluscs from the reefs.

000 It is during the fine weather that there take place the meetings of two or more local groups that are an important feature of the social life of the Andaman Islanders. These meetings will be described later in the present chapter.

462 Besides their food, which they must find from day to day, the natives have need of nothing save their weapons and implements. Of these each person makes his own, each man making his

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It is not pretended that this division of social customs into three different kinds is of any great or permanent value, and it is only introduced as an aid to the exposition of the customs of the Andamanese. It will be argued in a later chapter that many of the customs described in the present chapter have a common psychological basis. 000

Of any customs in connection with the birth of children I was able to learn very little, as no births at which I could be present occurred during my stay at the islands. Earlier writers have given very little information on this subject. 844 843 262

During the latter part of the period of pregnancy, and for about a month after the birth of the child, the mother and father must observe certain restrictions. In particular there are certain foods that they may not eat. The statements of different informants on this matter did not quite agree with each other, and it seems that there were slightly different rules in different tribes. According to an *Akar-Bale* informant the man and woman may not eat dugong, honey and yams; they may eat the flesh of small but not of full-grown pigs and turtle. An informant of one of the Northern tribes said that the woman may not eat full-grown pig, *Paradoxurus*, turtle, dugong, the fish *komar*, monitor lizard, honey and yams; her husband may eat these things but must carefully avoid eating certain fishes.

The natives give two different reasons for these rules. One is that if these foods be eaten by the parents the child will be ill. The other is that the parents themselves will be ill. The latter is the explanation most commonly offered.

The baby is named some time before it is born, and from that time the parents are not addressed or spoken of by name. For example, if the name chosen be *Rea*, the father will be spoken of as *Rea aka-mai* (Rea's father) instead of by his own name. The mother may be referred to as *Rea it-pet*, from the word *it-pet* meaning "belly." This practice is continued till some weeks after the birth, when the use of the names of the parents is once more resumed. 551 553

In child-birth the woman is assisted by the matrons of the camp. She is seated in her hut in the village on fresh leaves, and a piece of wood is placed at her back for her to lean against. 844

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whole night till he is tired. As soon as morning breaks he is made to bathe in the sea for two hours or so. He is then seated in some convenient place, not in a hut. The boy kneels down and bends forward till his elbows rest on the ground in front. One of the older men takes a pig-arrow and with the sharpened blade makes a series of cuts on the boy's back. Each cut is horizontal, and they are arranged in three vertical rows, each row consisting of from 20 to 30 cuts. When the cutting is finished the boy sits up, with a fire at his back, until the bleeding stops. During the operation and for a few hours following it the boy must remain silent. There is no treatment of the wounds to produce raised scars. The scars are much more noticeable on some men than on others. 881 304

The boy does not receive a new name on this occasion, but for a few weeks his own name is dropped and he is addressed and spoken of as *Ejido*. From this time the boy is described as being *oko-taliŋ-kolot*, this being the masculine term corresponding to *aka-ndu-kolot* for girls. From the time the cuts are made on his back the boy becomes *aka-op* and is under certain restrictions as to what foods he may eat. [551]

When the wounds on his back are thoroughly healed similar cuts are made on his chest. I found a certain number of men who had no visible scars on their chests, but in the North Andaman every man has the three rows of scars on his back. Some of the women of the North Andaman have similar scars on their chests and a very few have them also on the back. These scars on women are not regularly made as part of the initiation ceremonies, and may be made after the woman has been married for some years.

During the period that a boy or girl is *aka-op* he or she is required by the customs of the tribe to abstain from eating certain foods. The exact rules in this matter differ from tribe to tribe. More particularly there are important differences between the coast-dwellers on the one hand and the jungle-dwellers on the other. The general principle, however, is in all cases the same. The boy (or girl) must abstain from all the chief foods of the people, and since he could not abstain from them all at one time without starving, he takes them in 881 262

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turn. It is in the order in which the different foods are forbidden that the chief differences occur.

In the *Aka-Čari* tribe of the North Andaman, where all are coast-dwellers, the boy or girl, during the first part of the *aka-op* period must not eat turtle, dugong, porpoise, *komar* (a fish), hawksbill turtle, the two kinds of edible grubs (*pata* and *čokele*), the monitor lizard, the flying fox (*Pteropus*), certain birds (perhaps all birds), certain shell-fish, the four varieties of mangrove seed (*kao*, *čimi*, *kabal* and *kaplo*), three edible roots (*mino*, *labo* and *mikulu*), and a large number of other vegetable foods, including *lṵitok*, *poroto* (if cooked, but it may be eaten raw), *bijo*, *čorogo*, *celet*, *burog*, *bui*, *bakle*, *čo*, *čatali*, and *kata*. A certain number of fishes must be added to this list. This period is brought to a end by the turtle-eating ceremony which will be presently described. After this ceremony, turtle, which is one of the chief foods of the *Aka-Čari*, may be eaten, although certain parts of the turtle (such as the intestinal fat) are still forbidden, and the youth is also allowed to eat many of the other foods previously forbidden. On the other hand he is now required not to eat pork and a number of other foods both animal and vegetable. During this second period certain minor ceremonies take place, as for instance on the first occasion on which turtle's eggs are eaten. This period is brought to an end by the pig-eating ceremony. After that the youth is again free to eat pork. As turtle and pork are the two most important foods the ceremonies and observances in connection with these occupy a position of greater importance. After the pig-eating ceremony the youth is made free of one food after another, until some time after he is married he becomes free to partake of any of the foods available. In the case of some of the more important foods, such as honey, dugong, porpoise, the fish *komar*, etc., there is a sort of minor ceremony. The only ceremonies of any great importance in this tribe are the turtle-eating and the pig-eating ceremonies.

In the forest-dwelling communities of the North Andaman things are necessarily different. These people only eat such foods as turtle, dugong, etc. when they are visiting their friends on the coast. The three most important ceremonies amongst these people are the *ńyuri*-eating, the pig-eating and the

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honey-eating ceremonies. (The *ńyuri* is a fish that is found in the creeks.) According to my informants of the *Aka-Bo* tribe the foods that must be avoided during the first part of the abstention period are all species of fish found in inland creeks (*ńyuri*, *burto*, *bari*, *bol*, *kuato*), the monitor lizard, sucking-pig, two species of snake (*or-čubi* and *uluku-čubi*), a number of vegetable foods and also honey. After the *ńyuri*-eating ceremony the different kinds of fish mentioned may be eaten, but the youth or girl must then abstain from pork.

These examples, without entering into further details, will suffice to show what is the nature of the *aka-op* period. During that period the youth must abstain for a certain length of time from each one of the more important foods of his community. After a certain period of abstention he is permitted to eat the particular food. On each occasion of thus eating a food for the first time after the abstention, there are certain ritual customs that must be observed, and these customs are more important in some cases (such as pig, turtle and honey) than in others. In the case of some of the foods the only ritual observed is that the food must be given by an older man, who is himself free to eat it, that it must be eaten in silence, and that the man must be painted afterwards with clay (*odu*). In the case of pork and turtle, however, there are fairly elaborate ceremonies. The ceremonies are very similar in different parts of the islands. The description given below applies to the coast-dwellers of the North Andaman. In these communities the period of abstention from turtle and other foods begins in the case of a girl at the first menstruation, and in the case of a boy when his back is cut. It may last only one year or several years, according to circumstances, and is brought to a close by the turtle-eating ceremony. The details of this are exactly the same in the case of a girl and a boy.

When the older men decide that it is time for a boy who has been abstaining from turtle to be released from the restriction, a turtle-hunting expedition is arranged, and this is continued until a fair number of good turtle are captured. The best of these is selected, killed, and cooked. The youth is seated in a hut, either that of his parents, or one placed at his disposal by

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a friend or one specially built[1]. All his ornaments are removed. (In the case of a girl one belt of *Pandanus* leaf is retained.) He is seated on leaves of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, or if these be not obtainable, on those of the *Myristica longifolia*, and a bundle of the same leaves is placed under his folded arms so as to cover his belly, while another bundle is placed at his back where there is some sort of rest provided for him to lean against. He must sit still with folded arms and with legs stretched out in front, the two big toes clasping each other. He sits facing towards the open sea, and a fire is placed near him, generally just beyond his feet.

Some man is chosen to take charge of the ceremony. This may be one of the older men of the community to which the youth belongs or a distinguished visitor, if there be any such present in the camp at the time. This man selects some of the meat and fat of the cooked turtle, placing them in a wooden dish. He comes to where the youth is seated, while the friends and relatives gather round. Taking some of the fat he rubs it first over the lips and then over the whole body of the youth, while the female relatives of the latter sit near and weep loudly. When the youth's body is thoroughly covered with fat the man who is performing the ceremony takes some burnt oxide of iron, such as is used for making red paint, and rubs it over the youth's whole body, except the hair of his head. He then takes a piece of turtle fat and places it in the youth's mouth, feeding him thus with a few mouthfuls which the youth eats in silence. At this point the weeping of the relatives is taken up again with renewed vigour and then gradually comes to an end. Having fed the youth the man then proceeds to massage him. He first stands behind him and placing his hands on his shoulders presses down on them with all his weight. Then he seizes a roll of flesh on each side of the youth's belly and shakes it up and down as though to shake down what has been eaten. The arms are next massaged and the wrists and knuckles are forcibly flexed so as to make the joints "crack." The legs are similarly massaged, either with the hands or with the feet, the performer

[1] There is no secrecy about any of the proceedings; the whole ceremony is performed in the village and may be witnessed by anybody.

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(in the latter case) standing on the outstretched legs of the youth and rolling the muscles beneath his feet[1]. The joints of the toes are forcibly bent with the hand to make them "crack" if possible. A mixture of clay (*odu*) and water has been prepared in a wooden dish. The performer dips his hands into this and spatters it over the youth's body from head to foot, either by holding his hands near the youth and clapping them together, or by jerking the clay off his fingers with a flicking motion. During the whole of these proceedings the youth sits passive and silent.

The first part of the ceremony is now over. The food tray containing turtle meat and fat, cut into small pieces, is placed beside the youth and he is provided with a skewer of the wood of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, as he may not touch the meat with his fingers. He must sit in the same position with legs outstretched and arms folded and surrounded with *Hibiscus* leaves. To feed himself he may unloose one arm, and when his legs are cramped he may double them up beneath him. He may not lie down nor speak nor sleep for 48 hours. During this period he may eat nothing but turtle and drink nothing but water[2]. The man in charge of the ceremony sits behind him and gives him instructions as to what foods he may and what he may not eat after the ceremony. Some of the men and women take it in turn to sit beside the youth, attending to his wants and talking or singing to keep him awake.

On the morning of the third day a belt and necklace are made of pieces of the creeper called *terkobito-balo*, i.e. "centipede creeper" (*Pothos scandens*), and these are placed round the youth's waist and neck. On this day he is permitted to sleep. Either on the same day, or early the next morning, he has a bath in the sea, to remove some of the red paint and clay, and he is then decorated with red paint made of red ochre and turtle fat, and with white clay (*tol-odu*). The red paint is put on in stripes over his body, and his ears are daubed with it. The white clay

[1] In the Southern tribes large stones are placed on the youth's thighs.

[2] In these days the natives are very fond of tea, which they obtain from the Andamanese Homes; during the ceremony described above the youth or girl is not permitted to drink tea.

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881 passed through the ceremony is said to be *aka-gumul*, and is addressed and spoken of, not by name, but by the term *Guma*[1].

881 262 In the coast-dwelling communities of the Northern tribes, the youth or girl who has passed through the turtle-eating ceremony is thereafter free to eat turtle flesh (though not the liver nor the intestinal fat of the turtle) and a certain number of the other foods that were previously forbidden. On the other hand, he or she is now forbidden to eat pork and a number of other foods which previously were permitted. The period during which these new prohibitions are in force may last for a few months or for a year or even longer. It is, however, generally shorter than the first period of abstention from turtle. It is brought to an end by a pig-eating ceremony which is similar in many ways to the turtle-eating ceremony already described. A boar must be killed if the initiate be a youth, or a sow if it be a girl who is to go through the ceremony. The youth is seated in a hut on leaves of the *čelmo* (*Tetranthera*) and the carcase of the boar is brought and pressed upon the youth's shoulders and back by one of the men. The girl is not treated in this way. The pork is then cooked and the youth is first anointed and then fed with some of the fat. He is then rubbed with red ochre, massaged and splashed with clay, just as in the turtle-eating ceremony. He must sit silent with arms crossed, and covered with *Tetranthera* leaves for a day and a night. During this time he may only eat pork, and must not touch his food with his hands but must use a skewer of *Tetranthera* wood. On the following day he is decorated with white clay (*tǫl-odu*) and with red paint, and takes part in a dance. The dance is almost exactly the same as the dance on the occasion of the turtle-eating ceremony, the only differences being that instead of *Hibiscus* leaves those of the *Tetranthera* are used, and that the dancer does not leap with both feet from the ground, but raises one foot and stamps with it.

In the Northern tribes these are the two most important ceremonies. After the pig-eating ceremony the youth is free to eat pork and a certain number of previously forbidden foods.

[1] The meaning of the word *kimil* (or *gumul*) will be discussed in a later chapter.

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There remain a considerable number of foods, however, which he is still forbidden. In connection with each of these there is some sort of minor ceremony. The older men, when occasion arises, offer the youth or girl some of the forbidden food, first rubbing it over his or her mouth. The food is then eaten in silence. I only saw one such ceremony, when a man ate for the first time after his abstention the intestinal fat of the turtle. The man was about 24 years of age and had long since been through the chief ceremonies, and was married. The ceremony is perhaps more elaborate in the case of the similar first eating of honey, dugong and a few other foods. One after another of the food prohibitions is removed until the man or woman is free to eat anything. There is no regular order in which this takes place, as in each case it is determined by chance circumstances. The only order that is rigorously observed is that of the two chief ceremonies connected with pork and turtle. These two are the principal meat foods of the coast-dwellers.

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The above description applies strictly only to the coast-dwellers of the North Andaman (*Aka-Čari*, *Aka-Jeru* and *Aka-Kora*). I was not able to see any ceremonies performed by the jungle-dwellers. The old men of the *Aka-Bo* tribe told me that the period of abstention begins when a boy or girl is forbidden to eat the fish *ńyuri* (*Plotosus sp.* probably *P. arab*), and a certain number of other foods, not including pork. The first ceremony is the eating of the *ńyuri*. The boy or girl is seated on leaves (*kibir* or *tare* or *ra-čiro*) and bundles of these are placed in his belt before and behind. A belt of *Pandanus* leaf is worn by the boys at this ceremony as well as by the girls. The initiate sits with his legs doubled up beneath him, and is fed with the fish. The ceremony lasts only one day. There is no special dance, but the initiate joins in an ordinary dance at the end of the ceremony, being decorated for this purpose with white clay. After this ceremony the youth must abstain from pork and other foods. The pig-eating ceremony, which closes this period of abstention, lasts altogether for three or four days, the initiate remaining awake for one night. The leaves used are the same as those of the first (fish-eating) ceremony. The third important ceremony of these communities is the

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honey-eating. The initiate sits cross-legged and honey is rubbed over his or her shoulders and chest, and he or she is fed with it.

I was told by one of my informants that in the *Aka-Kede* tribe the pig-eating ceremony precedes the turtle-eating, but I could not obtain reliable information about the ceremonies of this tribe.

My informants of the *Akar-Bale* tribe, which consists of coast-dwelling communities only, told me that the period of abstention begins with turtle, honey, turtle's eggs, yams, and a number of fruits and seeds. This period lasts for three or four years. Then comes the turtle-eating ceremony, which is said to be similar in its details to that already described from the North Andaman. After this ceremony the initiate may not eat dugong, porpoise and a considerable number of fishes (including *Tetrodon sp.*, *Plotosus sp.*, *Anguilla bengalensis*, *Trygon bleekari*, *T. siphen*, *Urogymnus asperrimus*, *Carcharias gangeticus*, etc.). He must also abstain from turtle's eggs, pig, yams, honey, and certain fruits (e.g. *Artocarpus chaplasha*, *Mimusops littoralis*, *Baccaurea sapida*, etc.). A few months after the turtle-eating ceremony there is a minor ceremony of eating turtle's eggs, the eggs being eaten in silence and the meal followed by a dance. After another period follows the ceremony of eating pig's kidney-fat. Then, as opportunity occurs, the initiate eats dugong, honey and the other forbidden foods, one after another. The ceremony in each case is not elaborate except in connection with such important foods as dugong and honey.

Mr E. H. Man has given a description of the ceremonies of the *Aka-Bea* tribe, which shows that they are essentially similar to those of the North. He does not distinguish between the ceremonies of the *aryoto* (coast-dwellers) and those of the *eremtaga* (jungle-dwellers). He states that the fasting period (*aka-yaba*) is divided into three parts, the first ending with the *yadi-* (turtle) *gumul*, the second with the *aja-* (honey) *gumul*, and the third with the *reg-jiri-* (kidney-fat of pig) *gumul*.

As I was not able to witness the honey-eating ceremony, I venture to reproduce below the description that Mr Man gives of this ceremony as it is conducted in the *Aka-Bea* tribe.

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"When the honey fast is to be broken a quantity of honey-combs, according to the number assembled, are on the appointed day procured: the *aka-yab* being placed in the midst of the group, the chief or other elder goes to him with a large honey-comb wrapped in leaves; after helping the novice to a large mouthful, which he does by means of a bamboo or iron knife, he presents the remainder to him, and then leaves him to devour it in silence: this he does, not, however, by the ordinary method, for it is an essential part of the ceremony that he should not use his fingers to break off pieces, but eat it bear-fashion, by holding the comb up to his mouth and attacking it with his teeth and lips. After satisfying his present requirements, he wraps what is left of the comb in leaves for later consumption. The chief then takes another comb and anoints the youth by squeezing it over his head, rubbing the honey well into his body as it trickles down. The proceedings at this stage are interrupted by a bath, in order to remove all traces of the honey, which would otherwise be a source of considerable inconvenience by attracting ants. Beyond the observance of silence, and continued abstention from *reg-jiri* (pig's kidney-fat), the youth is under no special restrictions, being able to eat, drink and sleep as much as he pleases. Early the following morning the lad decorates himself with leaves of a species of *Alpinia*, called *jini*[1], and then, in the presence of his friends, goes into the sea (or, if he be an *eremtaga*, into a creek) up to his waist, where, locking his thumbs together, he splashes as much water as possible over himself and the by-standers, occasionally ducking his head under the surface as well. This is considered a safeguard or charm against *snakes*, and the onlookers cry "*ọto-pedike, kinig wara-jobo lọtike*" (Go and splash yourself, or *Wara-jobo*[2] will get inside you), for they imagine that unless they go through this splashing performance, this snake will by some means enter their stomachs and so cause death. The only difference between the sexes with respect to the *aja-gumul* is that with females it cannot take place until

[1] This plant is selected because it is associated with honey-gathering; its bitter sap, being extremely obnoxious to bees, is smeared over their persons when taking a comb, and enables them to escape scot free with their prize. (Note by Mr Man.)

[2] This is believed to be the *Ophiophagus elaps*. (Note by Mr Man.)

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881 262 after the birth of the first child; they are also required to abstain from honey during each subsequent pregnancy; and in their case, too, a chief or elder (preferably a relative) officiates, and not a woman[1]."

753 761 We may now proceed to the ritual customs connected with death and burial. In all the Great Andaman tribes disease and death are supposed to be due to the spirits of the jungle and the sea. The subject will be dealt with in the next chapter.

764 On the occurrence of a death the news quickly spreads through the camp, and all the women collect round the body and, sitting down, weep loudly until they are exhausted. The women then retire and the men come and weep over the corpse. All the adult members of the community then proceed to cover themselves with a wash of common clay smeared evenly over their bodies and limbs. This clay is of the kind called *odu* in *Aka-Jeru* and *og* in *Aka-Bea*. The nearer relatives and more intimate friends of the deceased also plaster some of the same clay on their heads.

Some of the women, generally, but not necessarily, relatives, remove any ornaments the dead person may have been wearing, shave the head and decorate the body. This decoration consists of lines of fine pattern in white clay alternating with bands of red paint. A band of red paint is placed across the upper lip passing from ear to ear and the ears themselves are smeared with the pigment. The greater the estimation in which the deceased person is held the greater is the care lavished upon this the last decoration.

Thus decorated the body is prepared for burial. The legs and arms are flexed so that the knees come up under the chin and the fists rest against the cheeks. A *Cyrena* shell (or sometimes in these days a steel knife) is placed in the closed hand. A sleeping mat is wrapped round the body, and over this a number of the large palm leaves known as *kobo* (*Aka-Jeru*) are arranged and the whole is made into a bundle and tied up with rope. Before the ropes are all tied the relatives of the dead person take their last farewell by gently blowing on the face of the corpse.

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 133.

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"the shedding of tears." The object of this ceremony is to release the mourners from the restrictions that they have had to observe. The ceremony takes place in the evening, and an occasion is chosen when there are plenty of people in the camp. The mourners, male and female, remove the *odu* clay from their foreheads and decorate themselves with red paint and white clay in the way described in connection with dancing. They also put on what ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf or netting and *Dentalium* shell they may possess or be able to borrow. When all the members of the camp are assembled around the dancing ground one of the male mourners takes his stand at the sounding-board and sings a song. This song does not refer in any way to the dead man or woman; it is just an ordinary song of hunting or canoe-cutting or any other subject, though it may have been specially composed for the occasion. Those women who are not in mourning sit near the singer and take up the chorus. When the song is fairly started the mourners, male and female, begin to dance. There is nothing special about the dance, which is exactly like any other dance. After dancing for a short time the mourners seat themselves at one end of the dancing ground and their friends begin to weep and wail. Everybody present joins in the lamentation until they are tired. The mourners then rise and again dance. After a time the women retire and seat themselves with the chorus, but the men continue the dance (in which they are joined by the other men present), till they are tired, which often means till near dawn. After this ceremony the mourners are free to eat any of the foods up till then forbidden, and are free once more to use red paint and white clay and to take their part in all dances and other festivities.

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It has been seen from the preceding descriptions that the Andamanese have a number of ritual customs relating to food. There are certain occasions in the life of every individual when he or she must abstain from eating certain foods. A person mourning for the death of a relative is subjected to restrictions of this kind, and so are the parents of a new-born child for a short period before and after the birth. A woman must not eat certain things when she is menstruating. Restrictions

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as to diet are imposed by custom on all persons who are ill. 262 The most important restrictions, however, are those imposed on every boy and girl during the period of adolescence. During this period of life, as we have seen, the initiate is required to abstain for a longer or shorter period from all the most important foods of the Andamanese.

Mr Man states that "every Andamanese man or woman is prohibited all through life from eating some one (or more) fish or animal: in most cases the forbidden dainty is one which in childhood was observed (or imagined) by the mother to occasion some functional derangement; when of an age to understand it the circumstance is explained, and cause and effect being clearly demonstrated, the individual in question thenceforth considers that particular meat his *yat-tub*, and avoids it carefully. In cases where no evil consequences have resulted from partaking of any kind of food, the fortunate person is privileged to select his own *yat-tub*, and is of course shrewd enough to decide upon some fish, such as shark or skate, which is little relished, and to abstain from which consequently entails no exercise of self-denial[1]."

Although I made repeated enquiries amongst the natives of both the North and the South Andaman I was not able to confirm this observation of Mr Man. It is quite true that if a certain food is observed to disagree with a child he or she is taught to avoid that food for the rest of life, but it is not necessary for every person to have some forbidden food. Many men told me that they were under no such prohibition and might eat any food they liked, apart from the restrictions on special occasions. On a minor point it may be noted that skate and even shark are not by any means so little relished as the statement of Mr Man would imply. The liver of skates and rays, and even the liver of sharks is rather regarded as a delicacy.

I noticed on several occasions that men would not eat certain foods when they were away from their own part of the islands.

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 354. Mr Man adds in a note that "it is believed that *Puluga* would punish severely any person who might be guilty of eating his *yat-tub*, either by causing his skin to peel off (*wainyabe*) or by turning his hair white and flaying him alive." On *Puluga* see later, Chaps. III and IV.

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262 Thus one man of the North Andaman told me that he would not eat dugong when he was with me in the South Andaman. Another said that though he would eat the fish *komar* when he was at home, he would not eat it when he was in a strange place, as at the Settlement of Port Blair, for fear that it would make him ill.

In the North Andaman I was told that when a dugong is caught and the people feast on it they do not leave the camp till some hours after the meat is all finished, either to go fishing or hunting. The reason they give for this is that the spirits of the jungle and the sea may smell them, attracted by the odour of the food they have eaten and may cause them to be ill. They therefore remain in the camp and eat up all the dugong and do not venture out till they begin to feel hungry and must go in search of food. I believe that the same custom is observed in the South Andaman also.

A few other customs connected with food may be mentioned here. There is only one way in which a turtle may be killed[1]. It must be laid on its back with its head pointing towards the open sea, and a skewer of wood is then thrust through the eye-socket into the brain. The natives say that if a turtle were killed in any other way than this, the meat would be "bad," i.e., uneatable.

252 Turtle meat may only be cooked on a fire of the wood of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*.

262 A pig is killed as it runs, without ceremony, but there is one special way in which it must be cut up. The pig is first disembowelled, and the joints of the legs are severed. The abdominal cavity is then filled with leaves, of which only certain special kinds are used. It is placed on a fire and roasted whole, and is then cut up. Should the carcase be cut up by any other than the traditional method, the natives believe that the meat would be "bad," and they would not eat it.

A number of beliefs relating to vegetable foods will be mentioned in the next chapter.

576 In several of the ceremonies described in this chapter it
201 will be noticed that the weeping of relatives and friends occurs

[1] Turtle are captured alive by means of harpoons, and may be kept alive several days before they are killed and eaten.

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the person who has eaten food will, unless he takes certain precautions, be liable to be ill. Now sickness is believed to be caused by the spirits of the jungle and the sea, and therefore an alternative or equivalent statement of the same belief is that after a person has eaten food he is in danger from the spirits. We may therefore conclude that the word *ot-kimil*, when it is used to describe the condition of a person who has eaten food, denotes simply this condition of danger, and nothing more. For this we shall find ample confirmation later on. Subject to such later confirmation I will here state what has been maintained, which is (1) that the *ora-puli* patterns are to be explained as being protective, (2) that the eating of food is regarded as dangerous, and (3) that this danger is associated in the minds of the natives with sickness and with the spirits. It will be convenient to leave the first of these three propositions for later discussion and take up the second, seeking to find the meaning of this belief in the dangerous properties of food.

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Not all foods are equally dangerous. I was able to establish roughly a sort of scale. The most dangerous foods are dugong, the fish called *komar*; some of the snakes; the internal fat such as the kidney-fat or the intestinal fat of pig, turtle, monitor lizard and *Paradoxurus*; the liver of sharks, sting-rays and *Plotosus*; and honey. Next in order come the flesh of pigs, turtle, monitor lizard and *Paradoxurus* and of the fishes mentioned above; also the eggs of turtle. To these should perhaps be added the edible grubs and some vegetable foods such as the yams and the *Artocarpus* fruit and seed. Lowest in the scale, that is, least dangerous, are molluscs and the commoner sorts of fish and vegetable foods.

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The principles underlying this grading of foods are two. Those foods that are difficult or dangerous to procure are considered more dangerous than others. Thus all the fishes that are thought most dangerous to eat are actually dangerous, such as the sharks, the sting-rays, the armed *Plotosus*, and the fish *komar* that has a powerful spike on its head with which it can inflict a dangerous wound. Secondly the foods that are most prized are regarded as being more dangerous than those that are less prized. The internal fat of animals is regarded as a great delicacy and therefore occupies a high place in the scale. It is this also that explains

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the position of honey and of the edible grubs. The dugong, which is of all foods the most difficult and dangerous to procure, and is at the same time more highly prized than any other, is regarded as more dangerous to eat than any other.

It is this difference in the danger attributed to different foods that gives the clue to the explanation of the beliefs relating to them. The hypothesis I wish to put forward is that the custom of painting the body after eating food is an expression of the social value of food.

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In a simple community such as that of the Andaman Islands, in which the necessary food has to be provided from day to day, food occupies a predominant position, and is the chief source of those variations or oscillations between conditions of euphoria and dysphoria that constitute the emotional life of the society. Food is obtainable only by the expenditure of effort, and the effort is a communal one. The obtaining of food is the principal social activity and it is an activity in which every able-bodied member of the community is required by custom to join. A man's first duty to the society may be defined as the duty of providing food for himself and others, and no one is looked on with more contempt than one who is lazy or careless in this respect. On the contrary the man who stands highest in the esteem of others is the skilful hunter who is generous in distributing to others the food he obtains. The food provides the community with its chief joys and sorrows. When food is scarce the whole community suffers. The men spend all their time in hunting but are disappointed. They have to fall back upon foods that are little relished, such as the commoner kinds of molluscs. On the contrary when there is plenty of food the whole society rejoices together. Every one has as much as he or she can eat. Hunting and fishing become pleasant sports instead of arduous labour.

Viewing the matter from its relation to the feelings of the individual we may say that it is particularly in connection with food that he is made to feel that he is a member of the community, sharing with others their joys and sorrows, taking part in a common activity, often dependent upon others for the satisfaction of his hunger, and obliged by custom to share with those others what he himself obtains. Thus food is, for the Andaman Islander,

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the one object above all others that serves to awaken in him day after day the feeling of his relation to his fellows. It is also the source of a very large proportion of his joys and sorrows, his excitements and disappointments. Thus it is that when the natives wish to amuse each other it is by tales of hunting that they do so, and a large proportion of their songs relate to the getting of food.

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It is thus clear that food becomes an important secondary object of the fundamental affective dispositions that regulate the emotional attitude of the individual to the society to which he belongs. It is connected very closely with the feeling of moral obligation; the most valued moral qualities in the Andaman Islands are energy in providing food and generosity in distributing it; among the worst faults are laziness in hunting and meanness in giving to others. Similarly food is closely associated with the feeling of dependence. During childhood, particularly, the individual has to depend on others for his food; even later in life the food that a man eats is more often provided by others than by himself; he depends on the community even for his daily nourishment.

Different foods have different social values. Thus a dugong provides a large supply of a highly-prized delicacy, but on the other hand can only be obtained by strenuous and dangerous efforts of skilful hunters. At the other end of the scale the social value of shell-fish is very little. They are not relished and are only eaten when there is nothing better, while the labour of obtaining them is simply one of drudgery requiring little skill.

Finally it must be pointed out that the value of food is both positive and negative. It is the source of conditions of social euphoria when it is plentiful; while it is equally the source of social dysphoria when it is lacking. In other words, on different occasions it is the source of both pleasurable and painful states of the fundamental social sentiments.

All these experiences connected with food organise themselves around the notion that foods, or the animals that are used for food, are things to be treated carefully, with respect, or, in other words, with ritual precautions. The sense of the social value of food reveals itself as a belief that food may be a source of danger

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X 182 262 unless it is approached with circumspection, and this belief, translated into action, gives rise to the rite of painting the body after eating. This does not mean that when the Andaman Islander eats turtle he is actually in a state of fear; he feels that he would have reason to be afraid if it were not that the society has provided him with a means of avoiding the dangers of turtle eating. What he does feel, then, as I have tried to show, is not a fear of food but a sense of the value of food.

This interpretation will, I hope, be amply justified later, and the psychological processes assumed by it will be further illustrated. One point needs to be emphasised here, namely that the suggested interpretation affords, as no other would seem to do, an explanation of the fact that some foods are believed to be more dangerous than others, and that while it is obligatory to paint the body after eating the more dangerous foods, it is not necessary to do so after eating those that are less dangerous. If the rite is simply the expression of the social value of foods, it will follow that different food substances, having different social values, must be subject to differences in ritual treatment.

X 182 784 262 There are a few other customs connected with food, recorded in an earlier chapter, which show that in general food is regarded as something that may only be approached with ritual precautions. A turtle must be killed with its head towards the open sea, and must be cut up in one particular way, otherwise the meat would be "bad." A pig must also be cut up in a particular way, and must be stuffed with certain leaves before it is roasted. A man will not eat certain foods when he is away from his own country, as he is afraid that to do so might make him ill. (This corresponds to the belief that there is less chance of illness in one's own country than away from it, and that the spirits of a strange place are more dangerous than those that haunt the jungles and the waters of a man's own home.) All these customs, I believe, are so many different expressions of the social value of food.

I have maintained earlier in the chapter that the sense of the social value of such things as fire and the materials used for weapons translates itself into the belief that these things afford protection against danger. This would seem, at first sight, to be

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contradicted by the explanation that I have just given of the belief in the danger of food. The apparent contradiction must be faced and resolved before we can proceed further.

First, it can be shown that the various things that are regarded as affording protection when used according to custom, are also believed to be dangerous, just in the same way that food is dangerous. One example of this will suffice. The fibre of the *Anadendron paniculatum*, which is used for bow-strings and other purposes, has been shown to possess a power which gives it efficacy against dangers of the sea such as sharks. This same power, however, may have injurious effects if the plant is handled without proper precautions. Thus, if a piece of the green creeper, or a person who has recently been handling it, should be in a canoe, it would be impossible to capture turtle from that canoe, as they would be driven away by the "smell" of the plant. If a piece of the creeper were burnt in the fire there would be a great storm, according to one statement, or all the turtle would be driven away from the vicinity, according to another. The handling of the plant in the preparation of the fibre, by scraping it on the thigh, is believed to be the cause of rheumatism. Turtle meat that might by accident come in contact with the plant would be dangerous and would therefore not be eaten. These different beliefs show us that while this plant possesses powers that make it of service to the society, both directly as a material for weapons, and indirectly as a magical protection against evil, it is also dangerous, i.e. it will produce undesirable effects unless treated with the proper ritual precautions.

Now just as materials such as the *Anadendron* are dangerous but may yet be used protectively, so it can be shown that the things used for food are also capable of affording protection against evil. It may be recalled that an important element of the treatment of sickness is by the use of special foods. Yams, honey, the fat of turtle and dugong and other foods are believed to possess curative properties. The flesh of the flying-fox is used as a remedy for rheumatism. But the clearest evidence is provided by the custom of wearing ornaments made of the bones of animals that have been eaten. These ornaments are believed to possess protective powers of the same kind as those attributed to

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human bones, but they are considered to be more particularly of value to the hunter when he is in the forest or on the sea. They are made chiefly from the bones of those animals that are believed to be most dangerous to eat. These animals are difficult and often dangerous to capture or kill. When obtained they become very important sources of well-being to the society. The Andamanese express their sense of the social value of these animals in the belief that it is necessary to adopt certain measures of ritual precaution in dealing with them. When these due precautions are taken, however, then the society is able to make use of the flesh to serve its own ends. So, when an animal has been eaten, and has thus been made to serve as a source of advantage, of strength, the bones, which are the permanent remains of the feast, acquire a symbolic value as evidence of past social well-being, and omens of future security. They are a visible proof of the ability of the society to protect itself and its members from the dangers that are believed to threaten the human being in the most important activity of his life, the obtaining and eating of food.

Formerly the Andamanese preserved the skulls of all large animals such as pigs, turtle and dugong. At the present day they no longer preserve the skulls of pigs, giving as their reason that owing to the dogs obtained from Europeans they now have little difficulty in killing pigs; but they still preserve the skulls of dugongs, and a fair proportion of the skulls of turtle. The *Jarawa* still seem to preserve with great care the skulls of all the pigs they kill, going to the pains of enclosing each one in a case of basket-work. These skulls, we must conclude, are more than mere trophies of the chase. As visible proofs of the ability of the society in the past to overcome the hostile powers of nature, they form, as it were, the guarantee of a similar ability in the future, and I believe that their preservation is regarded as a means of ensuring success in hunting as well as protection for the hunters. The turtle skulls that are often suspended under the forward platform of a canoe, are, I believe, intended both to protect the occupants of the canoe from the dangers of the sea and to help them to obtain a good catch.

The Andamanese belief in the power of the bones of animals

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to protect them from danger and to bring them luck, is therefore very similar to their belief in the protective power of the materials used for weapons and implements. The consideration of the apparent contradiction mentioned above has led us to a more exact statement of the real beliefs in these matters. They believe, we may say, that all the things from the jungle and the sea of which they make use as food or as materials, are dangerous unless approached with proper ritual precautions, but when so approached they become sources of strength and well-being and also of protection from unseen dangers.

To return to the main argument, which was concerned with the meaning of the patterns of clay painted on the body after eating the more dangerous foods, it would seem that this action is really a rite or ceremony, of the same general character as other ceremonial customs of the Andamans. It is an action required by custom, the performance of which on appropriate occasions serves to keep alive in the mind of the individual a certain system of sentiments necessary for the regulation of conduct in conformity to the needs of the society. By it the individual is made to feel (or to act as though he felt) that his life is one of continually repeated dangers from which he can only be preserved by conforming to the customs of the society as they have been handed down by tradition. He is made to feel that the eating of food is not merely the satisfaction of an animal appetite, but an act of communion, that the food itself is something "sacred" (if we may use that word in the sense of the original Latin "sacer"). It serves also, like any other rite in which all join, to make the individual feel the solidarity and unity of the community; all share in the common repast and the common danger, and each man sees on his neighbour the clay with which he himself is daubed.

Of course it is probable that the Andamanese custom of painting the body after eating, like our own grace before and after meat, with which it is parallel, tends to become a formality accompanied by little real feeling, but it can be shown, I believe, that such customs do possess a real value—a real psychological function—in keeping alive ideas and sentiments that will on occasion play an important part in influencing conduct.

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We have not yet completed the study of the Andamanese beliefs about food. To do so we must examine the initiation ceremonies. I hope to show that these ceremonies are the means by which the society powerfully impresses upon the initiate the sense of the social value of food, and keeps the same sense alive in the minds of the spectators of the ceremony.

The position in the social life occupied by a child is different from that of an adult; the child is dependent upon and closely united to his parents, and is not an independent member of the community. To this difference in social position there corresponds a difference in the attitude of a person towards a child and towards an adult, and also a difference in the attitude of a child and that of an adult towards the society. As the child grows up a change takes place in his position in the social life, and this must be accompanied by a change in the emotional dispositions of the child himself in so far as these regulate his attitude towards the society, and by a change in the attitude towards the child of the other members of the group. The initiation ceremonies are the means by which these changes are brought about, and by which, therefore, the child is made an independent member of the society.

The ceremonies have two aspects according as we regard them from the point of view of the society or from that of the initiate. For the society they are to be described as the recognition of the change of status of the initiate, just as the marriage ceremony is the social recognition of the change of status by marriage. For the initiate they constitute a sort of moral or social education.

To fit a child for his proper place in the community he needs to be educated. Part of the process consists of learning how to hunt, how to make bows and arrows, and so on. This necessary knowledge he acquires gradually by imitation of his elders, in which he is guided and encouraged by them. But in addition to this he has to acquire those sentiments or emotional dispositions which regulate the conduct of members of the society and constitute morality. Part of this education in morality, this education of the sentiments, takes place gradually as the child grows up, less by any actual instruction than by processes of imitation and suggestion; but in this connection an extremely important part is played by the initiation ceremonies. That the long series of

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abstentions and ceremonies does have a very powerful emotional effect on the youth or girl may be readily observed by an eye-witness; that their permanent effect is to create in his or her mind a number of sentiments that previously existed not at all or only in an undeveloped condition will be shown in the course of the present argument. 182X 881 262

Since in the life of the Andamans by far the most important social activity is the getting of food, and it is in connection with food that the social sentiments are most frequently called into action, it is therefore appropriate that it should be through his relation to food that the child should be taught his relation to the society, and thus have those sentiments implanted in him or brought to the necessary degree of strength. During his infancy the child is almost entirely unrestrained and acts with great comparative freedom. He does not realise, in any adequate manner, that the food with which he is freely provided (for children are the last to suffer hunger) is only obtained by skill and effort, nor does he realise that he will one day be required to labour to supply food for others. There follows a period of restraint, during which the growing boy or girl has to give up eating certain relished foods, and has to pass through a number of ceremonies, some of them painful, and all solemn and awe-inspiring. These restraints on the action of the individual are not imposed by one person, but by the whole society backed by the whole force of tradition. Through a series of years, just at what is, for physiological reasons, the most impressionable age, the individual learns to subordinate his own desires to the requirements of the society or of custom, as explained to him by his elders. He is thus impressed, in a forcible manner, with the importance of the moral law, and at the same time he is impressed with a sense of the social value of food. The ceremonies thus afford a moral education adapted to the requirements of life as it is lived in the Andamans. It would need a very lengthy analysis to show all the effects of the ceremonies on the emotional life of those who undergo them, and for the purpose of this chapter such an analysis is unnecessary. It will suffice merely to mention a few of the more important. As stated above, the ceremonies teach the boy or girl self-control or self-restraint, and they do so in relation to one of the two [853]

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fundamental human instincts,—hunger. The cutting of the boy's back in the North Andaman gives a still sharper lesson in self-control in the endurance of pain. Secondly the ceremonies teach the initiate, for the first time in life, to view life and its duties and obligations seriously. The various ceremonies are all very solemn affairs for the initiate. Again, the growing boy or girl is made to feel very strongly the importance of conforming to the customs of the community to which he belongs, thus having implanted in his mind what is certainly one of the most powerful of the sentiments that regulate conduct in the Andamans. In this connection there may also be mentioned the respect for elders which is a most important element in the regulation of social life in all savage communities, and which is strongly impressed on the initiate throughout the ceremonies. And yet again, the ceremonies awaken and develop in the adolescent that fear of unseen danger which, as we shall see later, has a very important place in the mental life of the Andamanese and an important function in their moral life. Finally, the whole series of abstentions and ceremonies serves to develop in the mind of every new member of the society that sense of the social value of foods with which our argument has been concerned, which may be briefly described as being a realisation that food is a possession of the society, that not only the power to obtain food, but also the power to use it without danger is something that the individual owes to the society, and that the bestowal upon him of this power involves the acceptance on his part of corresponding obligations.

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We may say, to look at the matter under another aspect, that the initiation ceremonies teach the youth or girl to realise what is implied in being a member of the society by putting him or her during the period of adolescence in an exceptional position, and, as it were, outside the society. The youth is no longer a child and may not act as a child; but he is not yet an adult and may not act as adults do. He feels himself cut off, as it were, from the ordinary life of the group, having as yet no share in it. As a child he was not yet aware of what it means to be a member of a society, but now, by means of the ceremonies, his attention is directed to the society and its life, by his being placed in a position of isolation outside it. He begins to look forward to the

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557 novice) is attached to the boy's birth-name; he is also addressed
881 as *mar*[1] *gū·ma* (master novice) if senior to, and alone with the speaker: this term *gū·ma* is retained until the lad is married and is a father, after which *mai·a*[2] (Mr.)—or, if a chief, *mai·ola*—is adopted in its place, and by this title he would be known for the rest of his life. A young chief, however, attains the honorary designation of *mai·a* as soon as the novitiate terminates.[3]

881 2. The *â·kà-yâ·p-*, or fasting period (during which turtle, honey,
pork, fish, and a few other favourite articles of food[4] are *choses*
●262 *défendues*), commences between the 11th and 13th year, and varies in length from one to five years; it is observed by both sexes, but lasts longer in the case of girls, with whom, indeed, it is not terminable till some time after matrimony. As an *â·kà-yâ·b-* makes up for these restrictions by eating a larger quantity of other food, he (or she) does not ordinarily suffer in physique during the probationary period. It does not rest with the youth or maiden to determine when he, or she, will resume eating the various articles above mentioned, but with the chief, who decides when each individual's powers of endurance and self-denial have been sufficiently tested. Exceptional cases are cited in which the probationer has expressed a desire to prolong the time of abstinence, it being a cause for boasting when the average period has been exceeded.

3. As at present understood, the *â·kà-yâ·p-* is regarded as a test of the endurance, or, more properly speaking, of the self-denial of young persons, and as affording evidence of their fitness and ability to support a family. It is divided into three periods: 1st, the *yâ·dī-* (turtle) *gū·mul-*; 2nd, the *â·ja-* (honey) *gū·mul-*; and 3rd, the *reg-jī·ri-* (kidney-fat of pig) *gū·mul-*.[5]

4. When the youth is permitted, and agrees, to break his turtle fast, a feast is arranged by his friends, consisting entirely of that delicacy. The chief, or headman present, first boils in a pot (*būj-*[6]) a large piece of turtle-fat, which, when sufficiently cool, he

may appear, there is no connection between *gūm-*, a ray-fish, and *gū·ma* (a youth who has undergone his probationary fast); moreover, as mentioned in a foregoing section (*vide* "Proper Names"), marriageable young women do not derive their "flower" names in the manner here described; in point of fact, no such custom as "wearing flowers" is practised by any class.

[1] *Vide* section on "Relationships," paragraph 6.

[2] As with the term *chāu·a* among women, the title is not bestowed for several years if there be no child.

[3] Both before and after the *â·kà-yâ·p* the individual is said to be *bó·tiga-*.

[4] These comprise the flesh of the iguana and paradoxurus, the larvæ of the Great Capricornis beetle (*òi·yum-*), and a smaller insect called *bū·tu-*.

[5] It will thus be seen that the *gū·mul-* answers very much to the Australian "bora," or ceremony of initiation into the privileges of manhood, spoken of by the Rev. W. Ridley in his Report on Australian Languages and Traditions (*vide* "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. ii, p. 269, 1873).

[6] *Vide* Appendix B, item 18.

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pours over the head of the lad, who remains seated and perfectly still in the midst of his friends while the oil streams over his body. The men present remove any ornaments that he may be wearing, and rub the grease into his person; the women and children meantime occupy themselves with crying, the idea being that, after abstaining from turtle for a long time, madness, illness, or even death, may result from partaking of it again.[1] After this the novice, who may not wash off the oil with which he has been anointed at least until late on the following day, is fed with the flesh of the turtle,[2] of which a certain quantity is reserved for his consumption on the ensuing two or three days, and the remainder is distributed among those assembled. He is then led to his hut and directed to sit cross-legged on a spot covered with leaves of the *Myristica longifolia*, with a support behind him against which he may lean. The turtle flesh, previously cooked and set apart for him, is deposited at his side, and one or more of his friends take it by turns to sit with him, it being their duty to enjoin silence, to supply his wants, and to prevent him from falling asleep by singing from time to time as the night wears away. The following morning his mother, sister, and other female relatives, come and weep[3] over him, and paint, first, his ears and the adjoining parts with *yâ·dī-kòi·ob-*, and afterwards his entire person with alternate stripes of this compound and *tâ·la·ōg-*. Some large leaves[4] made into two broom-like bundles are placed in his hands, and other leaves are placed in his waistbelt. Thus provided he rises and dances frantically,[5] swinging his arms at the same time, for an hour or more, while the women, who are seated with legs outstretched, keep time for him by slapping the hollow between their thighs with the palm of the right hand, which is held at the wrist by the other hand; the males look on, or, if they have gone through the ceremony themselves, accompany him in his performance.

5. After an hour or so, when, fatigued with his exertions, the youth stops dancing, the *yâ·dī-gū·mul-* is considered at an end, and the new *gū·ma* mingles with his friends, who, nevertheless,

[1] The same reason is given for the silence which the neophyte has to observe during this ceremony, as well as at the *á·ja-gū·mul-* and *reg-jī·ri-gū·mul-*.

[2] He is then said to *gū·mul māg·ke* (or *gū·mul lē·ke*), *i.e.*, to eat, or devour, the *gū·mul-*.

[3] The reason given for this demonstration of grief is that the youth has now entered upon an important epoch in his life, and is about to experience the trials and vicissitudes incidental thereto.

[4] The leaves of the *Myristica longifolia* (*bō·rowa-*) are usually selected on these occasions, apparently because this tree is associated with turtle-hunting, paddles being made of the wood.

[5] The step is a peculiar one, and is only seen on these occasions: the performer keeps his heels together and stamps on the ground, at the same time he swings his arms violently, holding in his hands the two leaf brooms.

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881 continue to watch him carefully for two or three days, lest harm should result from his recent feast, and also because they ●262 think evil spirits are not unlikely to do him some injury by taking advantage of his supposed helpless condition to make him deaf, or cause him to forget his way, and thus meet the fate which, on the faith of their traditions, they believe to have overtaken two of their antediluvian ancestors.[1]

881 6. All that has been said of youths in respect to the *yâ·dī-gū·mul-* applies equally to young women, except that matrons remove the novice's ornaments, and all but one or two of her [834] *bōd*-s (waistbelts[2]), and her *ō·bunga-* (leaf apron[3]), which are left for the sake of decency. As, while performing the concluding dance, some difficulty is experienced in regard to the *ō·bunga-*, girls are provided on these occasions with a more substantial apron of leaves, so that the feelings of the most prudish are not violated.

7. The origin of the term *gū·mul-lē·ke* is obscure, and inquiries have failed to elicit any satisfactory explanation regarding it; the literal translation is "rainy-monsoon devour-does," and though the *yâ·dī-gū·mul-* is always celebrated at that season of the year, the term is also applied to the honey feast, which can only take place during the dry months. The same equivalents are found in the other tribal dialects, so that the peculiarity is not confined to the *bō·jig-ngī·ji-*. The only reasonable explanation offered is that the expression is in allusion to the sweaty (*gū·mar-*), or rain-like (*yūm-*), appearance of the novice when the melted fat or honey has been poured and smeared over his person.

881 8. Lengthened intercourse with the alien population in their midst has naturally led to their occasionally betraying some 177 indifference in regard to customs, such as that above described; 262 especially is this the case with those who have been brought up in the orphanage at Ross Island. A few years ago one of these youngsters, who had been named Martin, refused to accede to the wishes of his friends in the jungle home to which he had returned, and persisted in partaking of the articles of food proscribed to all of his age; as he happened shortly after to fall sick and die, they were fully persuaded that he had incurred his fate by failing to comply with the ancient rites and ceremonies as handed down by their fathers.

881 9. On the conclusion of the *yâ·dī-gū·mul-*, the youth is said to 262 be an *â·kà·gū·mul-*, and, as before stated, is addressed as *gū·ma;* but this is not the case with the girl, possibly because she, at

[1] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraph 23.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 25.
[3] *Vide* Appendix B, item 79.

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this period of her life, receives a "flower" name,[1] and does not, therefore require any additional designation to denote that she has attained maturity. If more than one become *gū·ma* on the same day they call each other *gū·ma l'àrjō·pinga-*.[2] After the *yâ·dī-gū·mul-* turtles' eggs and the kidney-fat of the ray-fish and turtle may, at the bidding of the chief, be again eaten by the novice, and in the first ensuing dry season edible roots, and the heart of the *Caryota sobolifera* may be added to the bill of fare without further ceremony than the observance of strict silence on the first occasion of partaking of them.

10. Between the *yâ·dī-gū·mul-* and the *â·ja-gū·mul-* no fruit may be eaten by the novices, who have, moreover, to abstain till after the *reg-jī·ri-gū·mul-* from pig's flesh of any kind.

11. When the honey fast is to be broken, a quantity of honeycombs, according to the number assembled, are on the appointed day procured: the *â·kà-yâ·b-* being placed in the midst of the group, the chief or other elder goes to him with a large honeycomb wrapped in leaves; after helping the novice to a large mouthful, which he does by means of a bamboo or iron knife, he presents the remainder to him, and then leaves him to devour it in silence: this he does, not, however, by the ordinary method, for it is an essential part of the ceremony that he should not use his fingers to break off pieces, but eat it bear-fashion, by holding the comb up to his mouth and attacking it with his teeth and lips.[3] After satisfying his present requirements, he wraps what is left of the comb in leaves for later consumption.

12. The chief then takes another comb and anoints the youth by squeezing it over his head, rubbing the honey well into his body as it trickles down. The proceedings at this stage are interrupted by a bath, in order to remove all traces of the honey, which would otherwise be a source of considerable inconvenience by attracting ants. Beyond the observance of silence, and continued abstention from *reg-jī·ri-*, the youth is under no special restrictions, being able to eat, drink, and sleep as much as he pleases.

13. Early the following morning the lad decorates himself with leaves of a species of *Alpinia*, called *jī·ni-*,[4] and then, in the presence of his friends, goes into the sea (or, if he be an *ē·rem-tâ·ga-*, into a creek) up to his waist, where, locking his thumbs

[1] *Vide ante* "Proper Names," paragraph 3.

[2] *àrjō·pike*, to share, or to be a partner with another.

[3] This mode of eating is termed *pai·ke* (to use the lips), from *pai-*, the lip.

[4] This plant is selected because it is associated with honey-gathering; its bitter sap, being extremely obnoxious to bees, is smeared over their persons when taking a comb, and enables them to escape scot free with their prize (*vide post* "Food," paragraph 35).

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881 together, with open hands he splashes as much water as possible over himself and the bystanders, occasionally ducking his head under the surface as well. This is considered a safeguard or charm against *snakes*, and the on-lookers cry "*ô·to-ped·ike, kī·nig wâ·ra-jō·bo lô·tike* (Go and splash yourself, or *Wâ·ra-jō·bo*[1] will get inside you), for they imagine that unless they go through this splashing performance, this snake will by some means enter their stomachs and so cause death.

881 14. The only difference between the sexes with respect to the
● 262 *âja-gū·mul-* is that with females it cannot take place until after
843 the birth of the first child; they are also required to abstain from honey during each subsequent pregnancy; in their case, too, a chief or elder (preferably a relative) officiates, and not a woman.

881 15. A year is generally allowed to elapse between the *yâ·dī-gū·mul-* and the *reg-jī·ri-gū·mul-*. When this final step is determined on, the friends and relatives of the *â·kà-yâ·b-* start on a pig hunt, and, if unsuccessful, the *gū·mul-* has to be postponed for, in the case of a young man, it is necessary that the ceremony be performed with a boar, while for females a sow must be procured.

16. When all is ready, and the party assembled, the chief presses the carcass of the boar heavily on the shoulders, back, and limbs of the young man as he sits on the ground,[2] silent and motionless, this is in token of his hereafter becoming, or proving himself to be, courageous and strong. The animal is then cut up, and when the fat has been melted, as in the previous cases, it is poured over the novice, and rubbed into his person; he is then fed with *reg-jī·ri-*, and if he makes signs for water it is given him, but, until the following day, he may not utter a word, rise, or even sleep. Two or three friends generally remain with him to attend to his requirements, which he makes known to them by gestures.

17. In the morning fresh leaves of a tree called *reg lâ·kà chàl-*—the fruit of which is much eaten by the *Sus And.*—are brought, and a quantity of them are placed in the hands of the youth, and some more in his waistbelt; he then rises and, as at the turtle feast, dances until fairly exhausted. During the month
[262] following the *reg-jī·ri-gū·mul-*, the young persons are called *â·kà-gō·i-*, *i.e.*, "one commencing to eat."

18. It should be added that, whatever may have been the intention and practice in former years, it is not necessary at the present day for a youth to undergo these several ordeals before

[1] This is believed to be the *Ophiophagus elaps.*

[2] In the case of the woman, the carcass of the sow is not pressed in this manner on her limbs or body.

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766 two or three times in token of farewell;[1] then, replacing the leaves, they put the corpse into the grave in a sitting posture, and fill in and level the earth; next, having procured a quantity of the young leaves of the common jungle cane, they split them and make long fringe-like wreaths, called *â·ra-*,[2] which they fasten to the trees surrounding the hut, or encircling the entire camping ground, the object being to apprise any stranger or friend who might chance to visit the spot, that a death has recently occurred, and that they would therefore do well to keep away.

[775] 4. After suspending the *â·ra-* the fire is rekindled and the mother places a shell containing some of her own milk beside the grave, obviously in order that the child's spirit, which is believed to haunt its late home for a few days, may not lack nourishment. All in the encampment then pack up those things which are mostly needed and depart to some other camping ground,[3] generally not less than two or three miles distant, where they at once construct huts, usually of the description called *chàng-tô·rnga-*,[4] to serve as shelter during the mourning period, which as a rule lasts about three months; and during which the parents and relatives, naturally enough, refrain from 262 taking any part in the festivities occurring among their neighbours. While mourning it is customary for the *ē·rem-tâ·ga-* to 165 abstain from pork, and for the *àryô·to-* to deny themselves turtle as well as other luxuries, in token of the sincerity of their grief, but they never mutilate themselves by cutting off joints of their fingers, &c., as do the Hottentots and the Papuans of the Fiji Islands, nor have they, as has been erroneously asserted in Dr. Day's paper, daily, during periods of deep sorrow, to throw honey-comb, if obtainable, into the fire.[5]

5. At the expiration of the time mutually agreed upon, they all return to the deserted encampment and remove and destroy the *â·ra-*. The parents then exhume the remains, which are taken by the father to the sea-shore, or the nearest creek, there to be cleansed[6] from all putrefying matter: this done, he brings

[1] *Vide* ceremony at parting (*post*, "Meeting and Parting," paragraph 6).

[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 73.

[3] Similarly do the Koi-Koin (Hottentots) "break up their kraals after every case of death, to avoid the proximity of the grave" (Peschel).

[4] *Vide* "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xi, p. 283, and *ante*, "Habitations," paragraph 3.

[5] The practice here referred to is evidently that of burning beeswax (not honey-comb), the object of which will shortly be explained under "Superstitions," paragraph 13, and is not that here stated.

[6] This repulsive duty is always performed by one of the near *male* relatives of a deceased person. Dr. Day was led to believe that "the extraction of the skull and bones, it is considered, requires great skill and courage," but experience and the statements of all those aborigines who have been questioned on the subject, do not bear out this view.

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their encampment when the phenomenon occurs, they invariably secrete themselves, at the bottom of a boat, for example, if fishing, and remain silent for a short time before venturing to resume their interrupted employment. 776 821

5. Between dawn and sunrise they will do no work, save what is noiseless, lest the sun should be offended, and cause an eclipse, storm, or other misfortune to overtake them. If, therefore, they have occasion to start on a journey or hunting expedition at so early an hour, they proceed as quietly as possible, and refrain from the practice, observed at other periods of the day, of testing the strength of their bow-strings, as the snapping noise caused thereby is one of those to which the sun objects. 784 821

6. They invariably partake of a meal soon after rising, as it is believed that no luck can attend any one who starts to his day's work on an empty stomach. 777 264

7. They dare not use the wood of the tree called *al·aba-* (the bark of which supplies the fibre used in making harpoon lines and turtle nets) for cooking turtle, for, as will be found elsewhere,[1] this is an act so abhorrent to *mava ·ōgar-* that he visits the offenders with summary and condign punishment. 776

8. In tempestuous weather the leaves of the *Mimusops Indica* are constantly thrown on the fires, as the popping sounds thus produced are thought to have the effect of assuaging *Pū·luga-*'s fury and causing the weather to moderate. 821 776 [789]

9. When they see a dark cloud approaching at a time when rain would prove very inconvenient, as when hunting, travelling, &c., they advise *Pū·luga-* to divert its course by shouting "*·wâ·ra-jō·bo kō·pke, kō·pke, kō·pke*" [*Wā·ra-jōbo*[2] will bite, bite, bite (you)]. If in spite of this a shower falls they imagine that *Pū·luga-* is undeterred by their warning.

10. This practice of menacing *Pū·luga-* is probably that to which Colonel Symes alluded when he wrote that "they confess the influence of a malignant Being, and, during the south-west monsoon, when tempests prevail with unusual violence, they deprecate his wrath by wild choruses."

11. Storms are regarded as indications of *Pū·luga-*'s anger; winds are his breath, and are caused to be blown by his will; when it thunders *Pū·luga-* is said to be growling at something which has annoyed him; and lightning, they say, is a burning log flung by him at the object of his wrath.

12. There is an idea current that if during the first half of the rainy season they eat the *Caryota sobolifera*, or pluck and eat the seeds of the *Entada pursætha*, or gather yams or other edible 821 776 262

[1] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraph 32.

[2] This snake, as already mentioned under "Medicine," appears to be the *Ophiophagus elaps*.

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821 776 262 roots, another deluge would be the consequence, for *Pū·luga-* is supposed to require these for his own consumption at that period of the year; the restriction, however, does not extend to the *fallen* seeds of the *Entada pursætha*, which may be collected and eaten at any time with impunity.

821 776 789 13. Another of the offences visited by *Pū·luga-* with storms is the burning of beeswax,[1] the smell of which is said to be peculiarly obnoxious to him. Owing to this belief it is a common practice secretly to burn wax when a person against whom they bear ill-will is engaged in fishing, hunting, or the like, the object being to spoil his sport and cause him as much discomfort as possible; hence arises the saying among them, when suddenly overtaken by a storm, that some one must be burning wax.

776 821 787 14. The rainbow is regarded as *ē·rem-chàu·gala*'s dancing or sounding board, which is only visible at certain times; its appearance is said to betoken approaching sickness or death to one of their number, and is, therefore, inauspicious.[2]

823 776 15. There are no superstitions anent hills, valleys, rocks, &c., which, as stated in my last paper,[3] *Pū·luga-* is believed to have formed for some purpose of his own. The formation of creeks is attributed to a fortunate accident, the account of which being connected with their traditions must be reserved for that section.[4]

823 775 16. They imagine earthquakes to be caused by some mischievous male spirits of their deceased ancestors, who, in their impatience at the delay in the resurrection, combine to shake the palm-tree on which they believe the earth to rest, in the hope thereby of destroying the cane-bridge[5] which stretches between this world and heaven, and alone maintains the former in its present position. These selfish spirits are, however, said to be careful never to indulge in such practices during the dry months, as they imagine that, in consequence of the surface of the earth being then much cracked with heat, there would be considerable risk of its tumbling about their ears and crushing them instead of toppling over in one solid mass. They are said, therefore, never to play at earthquakes except during, or shortly after, the rainy season. But for the intervention of female spirits, who do their utmost to dissuade or prevent their male companions from continued enjoyment of this dangerous pastime, they are persuaded that there would be much cause for alarm on every occurrence of an earthquake.

775 17. They believe that every child which is conceived has had a

[1] *d'ja pid-* (*vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 4, footnote).
[2] The Chippeway Indians call it the dancing spirit (*vide* "Travels in the Interior of North America," by Maximilian, Prince of Wied).
[3] *Vide ante* "Topography," paragraph 3.
[4] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraph 13.
[5] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 25.

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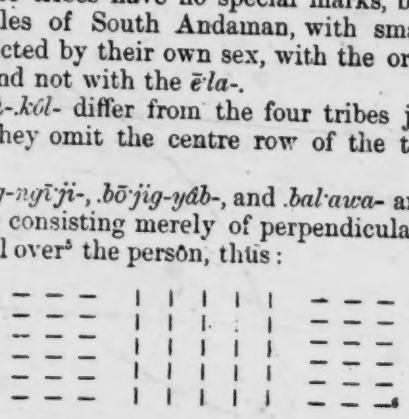
304 sides, abdomen, and also on the upper part of the feet and back of the hands.

5. Cicatrices are often observed on the persons of both sexes, but these are due to scarification (*tū·pke*[1]), or some accidental circumstance whereby the cut has been obliterated, or has failed to heal in the same manner as the others forming the design.[2]

6. The *.â·kà-.châ·riàr-*, *.â·kà-.jār·o-*, *.â·kà-.ked·e-*, and *.ó·ko-.jū·wai-*[3] are most given to tattooing their persons, and may be specially distinguished by three rows of cuts down the back and chest: these latter marks are ordinarily much fainter than the former. Though women do the greater part of this work, the three lines down the back are almost exclusively made by some male friend with the *ē·la-*,[4] or pig arrow; except the three lines in front, the women of these tribes have no special marks, but are covered, like the females of South Andaman, with small raised cuts, which are inflicted by their own sex, with the ordinary glass or quartz flake, and not with the *ē·la-*.

7. The *.â·kà-.kôl-* differ from the four tribes just mentioned, only in that they omit the centre row of the three down the back.

8. The *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*, *.bō·jig-yâb-*, and *.bal·awa-* are covered with plain tattooing consisting merely of perpendicular and horizontal incisions all over[5] the person, thus:



852 9. There is no distinction made in the mode of tattooing a
304 chief's child and the other children of the tribe; the marks have no special significance, being merely regarded as ornamental;

[1] *Vide ante* "Medicine," paragraphs 5, 6, 12, 16 and 17.

[2] They are not raised by producing "proud" flesh.

[3] Among these tribes the first and most severe operation consists in making the three rows down the back; during the time the wounds take to heal, the patient abstains from pork, in the belief that his recovery will thus be expedited.

[262]

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 5.

[5] The special poss. pron. denoting the various parts of the body are also used, in connection with tattooing, to express the particular limb or member to which reference is intended; thus:—

ōt-yī·tinga-	tattooing on chest or neck.	
ig-yī·tinga-	,,	arm, shoulder, or breast.
ar-yī·tinga-	,,	leg.
ab-yī·tinga-	,,	back, body, or thigh.
ōng-yī·tinga-	,,	foot or hand.
á·kà-yī·tinga-	,,	side.

[6] *Vide* Plate II. fig. 1. Where, however, it will be seen that they do not quite attain to the regularity in marking here represented by the printing press.

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787 species at certain seasons is now accounted for by saying that they are visiting some of the adjacent isles.

775 3. Of mythological animals,[1] such as dragons and unicorns, they have no knowledge, nor do they venerate or regard as sacred any quadruped, bird,[2] or fish, even though the names of several are identical with those borne, according to tradition, by their antediluvian ancestors,[3] who are supposed to have been transformed into, or to have assumed the forms of, such creatures Beyond the instances already mentioned, no trace can be found of a belief in transmigration, and, now-a-days at all events, the souls of animals and men are not considered by these savages as interchangeable.

231 4. The names of four animals only appear to have originated in their cries, viz.: *dū·ku-* iguana, *mū·rud-* pigeon, *bī·bi-* dog, *rō·go-* pig; of these the dog only is trained, or in any way domesticated, and they do not, as has been supposed, keep poultry.[4]

262 **Food.**—1. Among the many erroneous statements regarding the life and habits of these islanders, none seem at the present day so devoid of foundation as that which declared that they are constantly reduced to want and even to starvation.[5]

2. It has been conjectured by some writers that these savages "glean a miserable subsistence," judging, it would seem, merely from the fact of their eating the larvæ of beetles,[6] and certain other articles, the predilection for which seems, to civilised palates, equally revolting;[7] but evidence is not wanting to disprove this assumption, for during the season, when such things are obtainable, they may frequently be seen enjoying a handful of cooked larvæ when a quantity of pork or turtle is lying beside them, and, if questioned, they declare that they regard the former as dainties (*á·kà-râ·rnga-*), and eat them as

[1] The legend regarding the *ū·chu-* can hardly be included in this category (*vide ante* "Mythology," paragraph 29).

[2] *Vide ante* "Mythology," paragraph 16 (footnote 3).

[3] *Vide ante* "Mythology," paragraph 29 (footnote 2).

[4] "They have no dogs nor any domestic animals, unless indeed their poultry may be regarded as such" (Lubbock, "Prehistoric Times," 4th edition, p. 450).

[5] "In tempestuous weather they are reduced to the utmost want, feeding on rats, lizards, and snakes, and perishing when these resources fail" (Grant). "In the jungles, beyond a few berries and the wild hog, there was no food to be found" (de Röepstorff).

[6] The Looshais, however, appear to be even less fastidious, for they are said to "eat everything that flies, runs, crawls, or creeps, as well as the grub in its ante-natal tomb" ("On the Looshais or Kookees," *vide* Journ. Anthrop. Inst., March, 1873).

[7] "Nor are civilised Europeans justified in shuddering . . . . when they themselves do not shrink from the trail of snipe, nor from lobster and crayfish, although the latter, as water scavengers, act both as grave-digger and grave" (*vide* Peschel, p. 159).

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such, not because they find any difficulty in procuring other food.[1] 262

3. Both *àryó to-* and *ē·rem-tâ·ga-* find ample[2] provisions for their simple wants in their immediate surroundings, without exerting themselves to any great extent, and their eagerness in the chase is induced almost as much by actual love of sport as by the necessity of obtaining food: were this not the case they would hardly be found spending so much time in dancing and singing, in personal decorations, and in the preparation of their meals, while they reject with aversion anything that has become at all tainted. Further, it may be fairly estimated that one-third of the food daily consumed by them consists of edible roots, fruits, and honey, and the remaining portion of the flesh of one or more of the following, viz.: pig, paradoxurus,[3] iguana, turtle, fish, and molluscs, with rare additions of pigeons and jungle fowls;[4] Flying-foxes, bats, rats, sea- (not land-) snakes, the larvæ of the Great Capricornis beetle (*Cerambyx heros*) called *òi·yum-*,[5] as well as two other insects, called *bū·tu-* and *pī·rigi-*,[6] are, it is true, also eaten, but they are partaken of by way of variety, and the latter are regarded as luxuries (*â·kà-râ·rnga-*, tid-bits) to supplement (not substitute) other fare.[7] 224 136 262 222

4. The Andamanese are nominally content with two meals a day, viz.: breakfast (*â·kà-nâ·-*) and a heavy supper (*â·kan-go·lajnga-*) after sun-down; they will, however, often help themselves to small quantities of food from time to time in the course of the day when engaged on any work; and, when leaving on a 264

[1] "It cannot be wondered at that these savages love the unfettered life of their own wild jungles, where their simple wants are easily supplied—a lean-to serving them for quarters, and food such as they are accustomed to being found in great abundance. Nothing comes amiss to an Andamanese maw; roots, wild fruits, berries, crabs, clams, fish, wild pigs, and turtle are all ravenously devoured, and a glance at the well-nourished bodies of men, women, and children amply convinces one that they do not starve" (*vide* "Bombay Gazette," 2nd August, 1881: "The Andamans, our Indian Penal Settlement;" *vide* also paper by Professor Owen, F.R.S., "On the Psychical and Physical Characteristics of the Mincopies," Report of British Association, 1861. p. 246.)

[2] *Vide* "Tribal Communities," paragraph 2, and Appendix F (*Wō·i's* statement).

[3] It is presumed that Dr. Day refers to this animal when he states that "they eat cats," for they do not appear ever to have had any fancy for the flesh of *pū·chī*, the name they have adopted for the domestic cat, from the English "pussy."

[4] *Vide* "Tabu," paragraph 2 (footnote).

[5] Probably the "fat grub, about three or four inches long, much relished by the natives" (Australians), mentioned by Mr. H. W. Bates, in his "Illustrated Travels," is identical with the *òi·yum-*.

[6] The *bū·tu-* is found in rotten logs of jungle trees, especially the *Dipterocarpus lævis* (*à·rain-*), *Gluta longipetiolata* (*já-*), and *Chickrassia tabularis* (*ō·ro-*).

[7] Their fancy for grubs does not extend to the *Teredo navalis*.

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264 day's hunt, they usually provide themselves with some fire and a *gōb-*[1] of food, which they warm up and enjoy about midday:[2] no difference is made between the sexes, but all fare alike.

261 5. The average amount eaten by an Andamanese adult appears to exceed that of a native of India, and to average three or four pounds daily, while, like many other savages, after a successful hunt, or on some special occasion, when dancing is carried on through the entire night,[3] the consumption of food is surprising, and has, in some instances, been estimated at upwards of ten pounds of pork, or turtle, in the twenty-four hours, helped out by mouthfuls of some one or more of the delicacies above enumerated.[4]

264 6. As may be assumed from foregoing sections, caste distinctions are unknown; while, however, all members of a family take their meals together, a married man is only permitted to eat with other Benedicts and bachelors, but never with any women save those of his own household, unless indeed he be well advanced in years. Bachelors as well as spinsters are required to take their meals apart with those of their respective sexes.

7. Their mode of eating meat is to cram a large piece into the mouth, and then to cut off whatever is in excess[5] with a bamboo or cane (now-a-days generally a steel) knife. The same custom, carried to a more disgusting extreme, is found among 271 the Esquimaux.[6] Speaking generally of the Andamanese it may be said that water is their only beverage, for though the aborigines in the vicinity of Port Blair have acquired a strong liking for rum, &c., they have not been permitted to gratify it; if very thirsty while on a fishing expedition, and all the fresh water supply be exhausted[7] the *àryô·to-* pour water over their

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 82.

[2] This applies to the meat of the turtle, pig, iguana, and paradoxurus; the remains of a feast of fish, shell-fish, and prawns are not warmed up a second time; a further distinction is made in the case of turtles' eggs, the three insects mentioned in paragraph 3, edible roots, and such fruits as are cooked (*vide post* paragraph 19), for these are left to cool before they are eaten.

[3] *Vide* "Games and Amusements," paragraphs 21 and 22.

[4] *Bêche de mer* and edible birds'-nests, so highly esteemed by some, and of [262] which large supplies are obtainable along their coasts, are not regarded by the Andamanese as fit for food.

[5] For the following note, which refers to a similar practice among the Napo-Indians of South America, I am indebted to Mr. W. L. Distant:—"In eating meat (usually monkey, sea-cow, and peccari) we observed that they did not tear or bite it, but, putting one end of a long piece in the mouth, cut off what they could not get in, as Darwin noticed among the Fuegians" (Jas. Orton: "Andes and the Amazon," p. 168).

[6] *Vide* Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times," p. 486.

[7] They will now-a-days occasionally assuage their thirst, when away from home, by cutting off a piece of ground rattan (*bôl-*); this practice is only known to the people of South Andaman, and has been borrowed from the Burmese convicts.

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heads or jump overboard, and even at times try to alleviate 271
their sufferings by swallowing salt water.[1]

8. In opening certain shell-fish[2] the adze is not employed, 252
but one of the valves of the *Cyrena* is dexterously inserted 262
between the lips, which are thus forced apart, after which the 136
fish is killed with a knife or bladed arrow, and boiled; the *Tridacna crocea* and *Tridacna squamosa* are opened by inserting a piece of wood as a wedge between the valves,[3] afterwards the fish is despatched by stabbing it with an arrow point or blade; the various *Arca* species and the *Mytilus smaragdinus* are, however, not so treated, but are placed among a heap of burning logs for a few moments, the object being merely to part the valves, which would otherwise be a matter of some difficulty: when this is accomplished the shells are removed by means of the bamboo tongs (*kai-*[4]), and their half-cooked contents are transferred to a pot[5] (*būj-*) in which a little water has been placed; after being boiled a short time the gravy and flesh are eaten with the help of the shells. [In former times oysters were eaten *cooked*,[6] but now their consumption appears to be confined to the inhabitants of North (and possibly also Little) Andaman: they give no reason for this change, but it may be due to their having occasionally suffered by feasting unconsciously on the poisonous, or at least indigestible, variety so commonly found in the mangrove swamps.]

9. Dr. Day remarked that the mullet was their favourite fish, 262
and "one day, having placed a quantity of different species 136
before them, they helped themselves in the following order: . . . . *Chorinemus*, *Platycephalus*, horse-mackerel or *Caranx*, *Chrysophrys calamara*, and lastly *Tetrodon*, or frog-fish, which latter has generally the credit of being poisonous." My experience is that there are apparently no fresh-water, and but few salt-water, fish[7] which they will not eat.

10. It is a mistake to suppose that pigs were ever scarce in 136
these islands, for though it was formerly more difficult than at the present day to shoot them, there is no lack of evidence to

[1] *Vide ante* "Medicine," paragraph 4.

[2] Viz., those of the *Pinna* and *Cyrena* species.

[3] This is only attempted when they succeed in surprising the fish before it has time to close its valves.

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 80.

[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 18. [Note.—Water is boiled in a *būj-* by the ordinary process, and not by heated stones being dropped into it.]

[6] That Europeans should swallow these molluscs *raw* is a matter of considerable surprise to them.

[7] They prefer the fleshy part of the head to any other portion. To cut a fish is termed *chō·lke*, while to remove its head, tail, and entrails is styled *arwá·gke*.

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[136] prove that they are, and always have been, fairly numerous.[1] The pig hunts are most frequent during the rains, not only 224 because these animals are then more plentiful and in better condition, but because it is no longer the *râp-wâb-*, or season of abundance of jungle fruit and honey; from this, however, it must not be inferred that scarcity is then experienced, for those who choose to help themselves need never be in want.

262 11. During the cool season, *pâ·par-wâb-*,[2] the people them- 137 selves are alleged to become noticeably thinner: this they 252 attribute not to a deficiency of food, but to the meagre condition of the pigs, which are then breeding, and to the fact that the edible roots (or yams), and other fruits then in season are not fattening. There are six varieties of esculent roots, viz.: the *gō·no-*, *châ·ti-*, *kâd-*,[3] *bō·to-*, *mal·ag-*, and *tāg·i-*, which are eaten alone (preferably cold), and not with meat; their chief difference consists in the extra care in preparation which some require, in consequence of their very acrid flavour.

12. The *gō·no-* is cooked in three ways: (*a*) it is placed on the fire in the condition in which it is found until it is soft, when it is freed from the burnt earth and eaten; (*b*) the root, after being washed, is cut up into small pieces and boiled in a pot; and (*c*) after being washed and cut up, the pieces are wrapped in large leaves and baked on burning logs.

13. The *châ·ti-* is cooked in the first of the above-mentioned methods, or by surrounding it with hot stones,[4] and covering the whole with leaves and weights, in order to confine the heat as much as possible.

14. The *kâd-* is first cooked as found, the skin is then peeled off, and a number of thin slices are cut and placed in water for a couple of days, so as to lessen the bitterness of its flavour; afterwards it is either baked in leaves or boiled, as already described in speaking of the *gō·no-*.

15. The other three varieties are never boiled, but are placed on the fire without leaves, and the outer skin is removed before they are eaten.

16. The seed of a species of sea-weed, known to them as *tō·no-tòng-*, on which turtles and dugongs feed, and which can only be obtained in small quantities, is carefully cooked and eaten as a relish.

[1] In his examination of a kitchen-midden near Port Blair harbour the late Dr. Stoliczka recorded that "the large number of bones of the Andaman pig is remarkable."

[2] This is the period between the rains and the dry season, and lasts about ten weeks, between the middle of November and the middle of February.

[3] The *gō·no-*, *châ·ti-*, and *kâd-*, are very plentiful during the cool season, and are much relished.

[4] *Vide post* "Stone Implements," paragraph 1.

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17. The fruit of three varieties of mangrove,[1] known to them as *jū mu-*,[2] *ngâ·tya-*, and *bâ·taga-*, are occasionally eaten, but only by way of change; they are prepared like the *kâd-* (*vide* above). 262 137

18. The following table contains a fairly complete list of the different kinds of food eaten by the Andamanese during the varying seasons of the year; their ordinary diet, as will be gathered from the foregoing, consists of pigs,[3] paradoxurus, iguanas,[4] eggs of the hawkbill turtle, turtles, shell and other sea-fish and prawns, with occasional treats of dugong and porpoise,[5] and for married persons certain birds, already named: the fruit of the *Pandanus* and black honey must also be added, besides which, during the dry season, fresh-water fish, shell-fish, eggs of the green turtle, honey, the bee-bread, and that portion of the comb in which the larvæ are found, as well as the *Caryota sobolifera*, yams, and numerous fruits, about to be named, are eaten with great relish; while during the rains they vary their fare with preserved seeds of the *Artocarpus chaplasha*, *Semecarpus*,[6] and the fallen seeds of the *Entada pursætha*,[7] with three grubs, viz.: the *bū·tu-*, *pi·rigi-*, and the larvæ of the Great Capricornis beetle (*ò·yum-*), and certain fruits. Although on one occasion I saw a man (a member of the *.à·kà-.ked·e-* tribe) actually eat an *ò·yum-* alive (!) their usual practice is to collect a quantity of the above-named insects and to wrap them up in leaves and place them on the burning embers, turning the bundle from time to time, so that its contents may be thoroughly cooked, whereupon, in the case of the *bū·tu-*, after breaking off the tails, they are consumed with evident gusto.[8] 262 136 137 221

19. The native names[9] of most of the fruits in season during the dry (*a*), wet and cool (*b*) months are:— 262 221 137

[1] Some terrible calamity, such as another Deluge, would result, so they say, from any one rashly presuming to taste the fruit of a certain species of mangrove, called *tō·kal-*.

[2] *Bruguiera gymnorhiza.*

[3] Not only are the sows eaten when with young, but even their unborn litter is not rejected.

[4] Iguanas and paradoxuri are in better condition during the rains, and are consequently more eaten at that season.

[5] There are special restrictions connected with eating both the dugong and porpoise for the first time (*vide post* "Tabu," paragraph 2).

[6] *Vide* paragraph 32.

[7] *Vide ante* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 12.

[8] The *ò·yum-* is found in newly fallen logs, and they say that they do not treat it like the *bū·tu-*—viz., in breaking off its tail—because it does not live in such rotten Gurjon trees.

[9] The botanical names of most of these, as well as of many others, will be found in Appendix L.

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(a)

*‡*máng-*
*‡*ī·til-* } either cooked or uncooked.
dō·gota-
jâ-
ū·dala-
kón-
§*châ·kan-*
**bō·to-kō·ko-*
kū·nra-
§*pū·lia-*
§*pū·lain-*
**pi·dga-*
§*gel·dim-*
**ō·rta-tāt-*
*†§*chnij-*
kār·ega-
ūd-
§*ñgē·bēr-*
ē·mej-
**eng·ara-*
§*lō·gaj-*

(N.B.—The best fruits, and those which are most abundant, are in season during these months and at the commencement of the rains.)

(b)

†ō·ropa-
§*pâ-*
**†kai-*
†§kai·ta-
†chób-
†ō·dorma-
**â·bnga-*
§ { *jū·mu-*, *ngâ·tya-*, *bâ·taga-* }
**kâ·pa-*
pī·cha-
§*pai·tla-*
**kār·ed-*[1]
§**jang·ma-*[2]
**jī·ni-*
†pū·ta-
**pōr-*
**âm-*
**†mū·twin-*
tâ·tib-
**eng·ara-*

During the *pâ·par-wâb-* (cool season) and *yē·re-bō·do-* (dry months) the six varieties of edible roots mentioned above (*vide* paragraph 11) are also eaten.

(It will be understood that those fruits that are unmarked in the above list are eaten in the ordinary way).

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20. Many fruits they merely suck for the sake of the flavour;[3] others are eaten with fine wood-ash,[4] taken from the hut fires *in lieu of sugar*, to diminish their extreme acidity,[5] while a few are cooked,[6] and the stones of several[7] are cracked for the sake of their kernels. The favourite fruits are *dō·gota-*, *ō·ropa-*, *kón-*, *chób-*, *jâ-*, *pâ-*, *kai·ta-*, *kār·ega-*, *châ·kan-*, *jū·mu-*, *ngâ·tya-*, *bâ·taga-*, *ñgē·bēr-*, *pū·lia-*, and *pū·lain-*.

21. The fruit of the *ñgē·bēr-*, *châ·kan-*, *pū·lia-*, *pū·lain-*, *pai·tla-*, *gel·dim-*, *lō·gaj-*, and the seeds of the three above-named varieties of mangrove (*i.e.*, *jū·mu-*, *ngâ·tya-*, and *bâ·taga-*), are freed from their husk or rind and boiled in water until quite soft; when cold they are cut in slices, and left to soak for two days or more in salt or fresh water, after which they are baked in leaves, or again boiled in a *būj-*.

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22. The Andamanese are, now-a-days at least,[8] extremely particular over the cooking of their food, and will not eat certain

[1] This is a small yellow fruit, the seed of which, after being sucked, is broken, and the outer portion eaten while the kernel is thrown away.

[2] This is a small red fruit, about the size of a bean or filbert, containing one stone; it is wrapped in leaves and baked, because they say that if eaten uncooked it would cause them to forget their way in the jungle, as well as entire loss of memory on all points.

[3] These are marked in the preceding paragraph by a *

[4] Their immunity from scurvy may not improbably be due to the chemical combination of the acid, contained in many of the fruits, with the potash of the burnt wood.

[5] These are marked in the preceding paragraph by a †.

[6] These are marked in the preceding paragraph by a §.

[7] These are marked in the preceding paragraph by a ‡.

[8] They are very expert in spearing their fish, which they consume in a half-cooked state (Anderson); Symes also writes that "they throw the food on the fire, and devour it half broiled."

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252 cooked, but until the bristles have been singed and the skin dried sufficiently to allow of the dirt adhering to it being scraped off; this done, the remains of the charred leaves are removed, and the tendons at the joints being severed (*pū·nuke*), the carcass is cut up (*wâ·ratke*) and distributed; while thus engaged, the operator not unfrequently helps himself to choice morsels which he may chance to find done to a turn, as his perquisite. The lining and flesh of the stomach are usually first disposed of;[1] the skin of the entrails, after being thoroughly cleansed, is also frequently consumed.

252 262 26. From the account given under "Initiatory Ceremonies"[2] it will be seen that the kidney-fat and omentum (*reg-jī·ri-*) are considered as luxuries from which the young of both sexes must abstain during a certain period. The lungs, liver, and eyes are also eaten, and they are quite of a mind with the Chinese in their estimation of "crackling"[3] (*ōt-â·gam-*, also *ōt-gō·ma-*), which they consider one of the choicest parts, and enjoy so much that they are even willing to run the risk of offending the *chôl-*[4] by baking their pigs, rather than eat them boiled.

262 27. When, from some circumstance or other—such as possibly a death from sunstroke[5]—the dread of these demons is paramount, and they boil their pork, it has been observed that, as their pots are small, they remove each piece when partially cooked to make room for others, which afterwards, in the same way, are in turn replaced until thoroughly done; the reason given is that the flavour of the whole animal is thus equally distributed in every portion. On other occasions when the pig is not broiled whole on burning logs, or apportioned among the several families of the community for cooking in their own huts, the flesh is baked in leaves by means of heated stones (*lâ-*), which are placed between alternate layers of the meat; in every case the chief concern appears to be that the whole should be so wrapped in leaves that none of the juices be dried up, though every portion be thoroughly well done.[6]

[1] Experience and inquiries have alike failed to find an explanation of the following peculiar statement made by Dr. Day:—"The children and weakly persons eat sucklings, the bachelors and spinsters use those of medium size, whilst adults prefer the stronger boar."

[2] *Vide* paragraphs 15–17.

[3] The skin of the iguana is also eaten, but that of the *paradoxurus* is thrown away.

[4] *Vide ante* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 15.

[5] *Vide ante* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 16.

[6] In this respect they differ much from the Australians, who "never take the trouble to cook their food, but merely tear off the interior skin of the animal and, after holding the body over the fire for a few minutes, eagerly devour it in its uncleaned state, and frequently eat so voraciously as to be in a state of inactivity and torpor for several hours afterwards" ("A Ride across the Frontier of Victoria," by P. H. Eagle).

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28. For brains and marrow they have a great *penchant*, and, in order to extract the latter, will often crush the smaller bones with their teeth, while they break up the larger ones with a stone hammer. 262 252

29. The blood of the turtle only are they careful not to spill,[1] and this, though not preferred to the flesh, is considered a dainty, and is eaten separately, after it has been boiled in its own shell until quite thick.

30. They do not preserve the carapace of either description of turtle, but, having removed the flesh, place the shell over the fire, that all the remaining fat may be melted, when—with an appreciation worthy of a City alderman—they ladle it into their mouths with *Cyrena* shells, which thus serve as spoons. So great a delicacy do they consider this that the shell is finally broken up and divided, that no particle may be lost! This fat is largely used in the manufacture of *kòi·ob-*, and it may be judged how highly they prize the unguent since they are willing to deny themselves this dainty rather than allow their supply to run short.

31. Food is preserved by placing it on the small grating (*yât-leb-tâ·ga-*)[2] above the hut fire,[3] or in the following rather peculiar fashion:—having procured and cleaned a length of bamboo (*fem. sp.*), they heat it over a fire that the juices contained in it may be gradually absorbed. When this is satisfactorily accomplished, half-cooked pieces of pork, turtle, or any other food,[4] are packed tightly into it, and the vessel is again by degrees put over the fire, in order to heat it slowly, lest the rapid expansion of the meat should cause a crack; when steam ceases to issue forth, the bamboo is taken off the fire, and, after the opening has been closed by leaves, is set aside with its contents until a meal is required, when it is replaced on a fire, for, as I have remarked in another place, it is a peculiarity of these savages to eat their food in an almost boiling state.[5] As soon as the meat has been once more thoroughly baked, the bamboo is split open with an adze or other 251

[1] To kill a turtle they pierce the eye with a skewer or arrow (*ī·dal jē·ralike*); when the flappers and belly-shell are removed (*tô·latke*), the animal is cut up (*wâ·ratke*) prior to distribution.

[2] *Vide* "Habitations," paragraph 5.

[3] Jean de Lery, in the account of his adventures among the Indians of Brazil (about 1557), describes the "wooden grating set up on four forked posts; . . . and as they did not salt their meat this process served them as a means of keeping their game and fish."—(E. B. Tylor's "Early History of Mankind," p. 262.)

[4] They have not acquired a liking for either beef or mutton, but are very fond of fowls, rice, dhall, sugar, and sweets of all kinds; it is strange, therefore, to find in Colonel Tickell's paper that "fish they were indifferent to, also to rice."

[5] *Vide ante* "Anatomy and Physiology," paragraph 8.

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blossomed: this is considered the height of the honey season, and is called *lad·u chàu-*.[1] It appears that on moonlight nights just at this time the bees consume a great portion of their honey, so that the "junglees" declare it to be useless to go for combs, either by day or night, until the moon has sensibly waned.

35. When about to make a raid on the hives, the Andamanese procure a certain plant, believed to be of the *Alpinia* species, called *jī·ni-*, and having stripped off the leaves, chew the stem and smear the essence thus extracted over their bodies; the mouth is also filled with the same juice, and thus armed *cap-à-pie* they proceed to disperse the bees, who, on attempting to attack them, are at once repelled by the obnoxious odour of the *jī·ni-*, emitted in a fine spray from the mouths, and also attaching to the persons of their despoilers, who sometimes make further use of the chewed stalks of the offensive plant in driving off the last remaining defenders of the hive.

36. Small combs[2] of both the white and black honey are commonly obtainable till about September—*i.e.*, so long as the *Dipterocarpus lævis*, the *Pterocarpus dalbergioides*, and a few other trees continue to blossom.[3]

37. While I had charge of the homes (and probably ever since), a large sum was annually realised by the aborigines towards their support from the sale of honey thus obtained to the free residents at Port Blair. So much indeed did they collect that we were able to store it in barrels and bottles, and generally found we had sufficient to meet all demands until the approach of the following season.

Tabu.—1. Besides the articles of food from which all abstain during the *à·kà-yâp-*,[4] we have seen that there are certain fruits, edible roots, &c., which, in supposed obedience to *Pū·luga-*'s commands, are not gathered at prescribed seasons of the year,[5] and that mourners[6] (*à·kà-ōg-*) also deny themselves by refusing to partake of their favourite viands until after the *t'ī-tō·latnga-*;[7] but beyond these restrictions, which are of general application,

[1] *Vide* Appendix H.

[2] The combs produced from the blossoms of the under-mentioned trees—*i.e.*: *.tâ·tib-* (*Croton argyratus*), *.bi·bi-* (*Terminalia* (?) *citrina*), and *.bal·ya-* are much less plentiful, and they are smaller; this is also found to be the case with those made from the *.chà·langa-* (*Pterocarpus dalbergioides*), *.mô·nag-* (*Messua ferrea*), *.ē·mej-* (*Terminalia bialata*), *.já-* (*Gluta longipetiolata*), and *.púb-* (*Lagerstrœmia hypoleuca* (?) *regina*).

[3] As they are not, in their savage state, in the habit of storing honey, they are without any but the black honey during a great portion of the year.

[4] *Vide ante* "Initiatory Ceremonies," paragraphs 2 and 10.

[5] *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 12.

[6] If the mourners are *t'rem-tà·ga-* they abstain from pork, and if they are *àrwó·to-* they abjure turtle (*vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 4).

[7] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 7.

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262 every Andamanese man and woman is prohibited all through life from eating some one (or more) fish or animal: in most cases the forbidden dainty is one which in childhood was observed (or imagined) by the mother to occasion some functional derangement; when of an age to understand it the circumstance is explained, and cause and effect being clearly demonstrated, the individual in question thenceforth considers that particular meat his *yát-tūb-*,[1] and avoids it carefully. In cases where no evil consequences have resulted from partaking of any kind of food, the fortunate person is privileged to select his own *yát-tūb-*,[2] and is of course shrewd enough to decide upon some fish, such as shark or skate, which is little relished, and to abstain from which consequently entails no exercise of self-denial.

2. No one who has not attained the dignity of *gū·ma*,[3] by passing through the rites of initiation, is permitted to eat the flesh of either the dugong or porpoise; and further, it is necessary that the novice should be fed, on the first occasion of tasting either of these meats, by some friend or relative, who, having previously passed through the prescribed ordeal, is qualified thereby to admit others to the like privilege.

3. Except during the initiatory ceremonies, no prohibitions exist with regard to persons feeding themselves, or touching the food of others; after marriage the husband and wife only may eat together;[4] childless widows and widowers usually take their meals with the unmarried of their respective sexes.[5]

4. When an Andamanese woman finds that she is about to become a mother she abstains from pork, turtle, honey,[6] iguana, and paradoxurus; after a while her husband follows her example with respect to the two last-named meats, in the belief that the embryo would suffer were he to indulge in such food.[7]

[1] *tūb-* can only be applied to food, and is therefore not so generally applicable as *tabu* among the Polynesians. The equivalent of *yát-tūb-* in the *bō·jig-yáb-* dialect is *tām·a-tāp-*.

[2] It is believed that *Pū·luga-* would punish severely any person who might be guilty of eating his *yát-tūb-*, either by causing his skin to peel off (*wei·nyake*), or by turning his hair white and flaying him alive!

[3] *Vide ante* "Initiatory Ceremonies," paragraphs 1 and 9.

[4] The few birds that are ever shot for food (*vide post* "Hunting," &c., paragraph 27), are said to be, strictly speaking, *tabued* to all but *married* persons.

[5] *Vide ante* "Marriage," paragraphs 17 and 18.

[6] *Vide ante* "Initiatory Ceremonies," paragraph 14.

[7] Among the Abipones, if the infant dies during the first few days, the women accuse the father of heartless frivolity, as their excesses or abstinence are believed to affect the new-born infant. Again, Peschel states that in the Antilles, the father who is expecting offspring might not eat the flesh of the turtle or the manatee, for in the first case deafness and deficiency of brain, and in the second disfigurement by small round eyes, might be apprehended for the child.

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283 286 thigh, and the cuticle is removed by means of the *Cyrena* shell; the underlying white fibres are left for a week or ten days in the sun until thoroughly dry, when they separate readily, and are easily worked up into fine or coarse twine, as may be required by the manipulator.

283 824 3. The fibre of the *Anodendron paniculatum* (*yō·lba-*) is chiefly used for making bowstrings, reticules (*chá·panga-*), necklaces, and twine for arrow fastenings; its manufacture is accordingly not restricted to either sex. When the bark has been stripped off, in lengths of 8 to 15 inches, the operator presses the inner portion upon his (or her) thigh, and then rapidly but carefully passes a *Cyrena* shell along the outer surface until the fibres alone remain; these are then, as in the previous cases, dried in the sun, or before a fire; when a sufficient supply of material has been thus obtained, it is made into fine twine or, if not required for immediate use, wrapped in leaves in order that it may be kept fresh. Although apparently free [262] from any obnoxious properties, this plant, as well as the fibres obtained therefrom, until it is converted into twine or bowstrings, is believed by the Andamanese to render the flesh of a turtle uneatable if placed near it; consequently this meat, when inadvertently so contaminated, is thrown away; further, no one who has been collecting *yō·lba-*, or who has been engaged in preparing the fibre, can (for a period extending to three days) be allowed to cook a turtle, or even to accompany a party engaged [825] on a turtling expedition! Sharks and other dangerous fish are also credited with having so wholesome a horror or detestation of this plant (and also of *Cyrena* shells!) that the aborigines are in the habit of attaching some *yō·lba-*, or *Cyrena* shells (or both), to their cinctures as a safeguard when about to swim in parts believed to be infested by these creatures.

[531] 4. The yellow skin of the root of a certain orchid, called *rá-*, which is commonly found on trees near the shore, is often seen intertwined with their *yō·lba-* string, in personal ornaments, and occasionally in the decoration of weapons, but where strength is a requisite it is of course not used.

5. Bowstrings of *pī·lita-* and *yō·lba-* are made in the manner described in the manufacture of *al·gba-* rope, but ordinary string is made in the following manner:—a few of the prepared filaments are twisted into a yarn on the thigh with the palm of the hand; when two lengths have been obtained, they are together rolled into string of the desired strength, and beeswax is smeared over it to make assurance doubly sure.

6. Twine, made from the *yō·lba-*, is used in netting the fine chains (*rāb-*[1]) and the reticules (*chá·panga-*[2]); for turtle-

[1] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 5, and Appendix B, item 42.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 22.

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(11) *Canoes.*—Bojigngiji and Yerewa, same pattern canoe; Ônge-Jarawa
[501] pattern different from above. Both out-rigged, Bojigngiji has in addition a large dug-out without outrigger.

[342] (12) *Huts.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas have temporary huts. Ônge-Jarawas have large permanent communal dwellings.

[535] (13) *Dancing.*—Bojigngijis and Yerawas, sounding board and song and clapping in unison. Ônge-Jarawa, standing in a ring and alternately bending and straightening the knees: also on occasion kicking the buttocks with the flat of the foot.

[352] (14) *Beds.*—Jarawas sleep on the wood ashes of the fires. Ônges on raised bamboo platforms. Other tribes on leaves and in sand-holes.

[262 251] (15) *Food.*—The staple food of the Ônges is the mangrove fruit, boiled, and they preserve small fish dried after cooking. None of the other tribes do this.

The Long-shore and Jungle Andamanese.—The Andamanese are by themselves again further divided into the Aryoto or long-shore men, and the Eremtaga or jungle-dwellers; the habits and capacities of these two differ, owing to surroundings, irrespective of tribe. Some tribes as the Tabo, Juwai, Kol, and the South Andaman Jarawas, are entirely Eremtaga, while the Balawa, the Chariar, and the Jarawas of the North Sentinel are entirely Aryoto. The Aryoto holds himself to be better than the Eremtaga, but beyond this there seem to be no exclusive distinctions between them and an Aryoto will marry or adopt an Eremtaga.

With the minuteness in matters concerning their surroundings that is characteristic of all entirely uneducated people, the Andamanese recognise a third division of themselves by habits into Adajig or creek-dwellers, *i.e.*, those who live on the shores of the many inlets of the sea on the coasts of the Islands. The habits of the Adajig, however, are practically those of the Aryoto.

Distinctions by habits are quickly lost by the Andamanese. The Jarawas have now no canoes in the South Andaman and are quite incapable of constructing or using them, though all Ônges have them and so have the Jarawas on the North Sentinel. So also had the Jarawas that Colebrooke met a century ago. And this year (1902) it was ascertained that the young men brought up at the Duratang (Kyd Island) Home and occupied chiefly in market gardening could neither steer nor paddle a canoe, nor take up tracks in the jungles. In one generation, though there was no restriction in communication with their people, they had lost both sea and forest craft.

Former Isolation of the Tribes.—Before the arrival of the English the tribes, excepting actual neighbours, may be said to have had no general intercourse with each other, and excepting some individuals were entirely unable to converse together, though it can be conclusively shown that all the existing languages are directly descended from one parent tongue. Even Septs had but little mutual intercourse and considerable differences in details of dialect and, as has occurred in other island abodes of savages, there must have been a change of dialect or language along about every 20 miles of the coast. The tribes were in fact brought together and made definitely acquainted with each other's separate existence and peculiarities by the influence and exertions of Mr. Man between 1875 and 1880.

609 **Sympathies and Antipathies.**—The tribal feeling is expressed as follows: friendly within the tribe, courteous to other Andamanese if known, hostile to every stranger, Andamanese or other. The sympathy and antipathy exhibited are strictly natural, *i.e.*, savage, and are governed by descent. The feeling of friendliness lies in an ever-decreasing zone from the family outwards towards sept, tribe, group: hostility to all others. Even septs will fight each other and Aryoto and Eremtaga do not mix much. But there is no "caste" feeling, and tribes will, in circumstances favouring the actions (*e.g.*, living on the tribal borders), intermarry and adopt each other's children. Within the tribe there is so
597 general a custom of adoption that children above six or seven rarely live with their own parents. It is an act of friendliness to give up or adopt a child and the custom has had the effect of making the various septs of a tribe hang together much better than would otherwise have been possible.

145 to about 60 to 65, if he reaches "old age." Except as to marriage at an ear-
582 lier age, about 18, these figures apply fairly to the women also, who, however, live somewhat longer than the men, retaining in old age both health and mental faculties.

163 **Reproduction.**—The marriages are infructuous, though barrenness is
[853] uncommon, a couple rarely producing families of even moderate size and many none at all. The child-bearing age is from 16 to 35; weaning is much delayed.

291 **Endurance.**—Left to themselves the Andamanese go stark naked and
147 with head uncovered, except that the women wear, as clothing and not ornament, one or more leaves in front and a bunch of leaves tied round the waist behind, or a tassel of leaves all round. Jarawas, however, of both sexes have been seen entirely naked. They dislike and fear cold, but not heat, though they avoid exposure to the sun; and being accustomed to gratify every sensation as it arises, they endure thirst, hunger, want of sleep, fatigue and bodily discomfort badly. Want of sleep, such as occurs at their dances for occasionally as much as
[482] four days and nights, exhausts them greatly. A man's load is 40 lbs. and his distance 15 miles for a day or two only. After that he will rest, whatever the urgency.

252 **Food.**—The food consists of fish, pork, turtle, iguana, "wild cat" (*para-*
262 *doxurus sp.*), shell-fish, turtle eggs, certain larvæ, and a great variety of fruit, seeds, roots, and honey, and is plentiful both by sea and land. They never starve, though they are habitually heavy eaters. The food is always cooked and commonly eaten very hot. As much as possible of an animal is eaten and the Andamanese, like most hunters, have found out the dietary value of tripe. The Andamanese are expert cooks and adept at preparing delicacies from parts of animals and fish.

142 **Skin.**—The skin, which is smooth, greasy and satiny, varies in colour from an intense sheeny black to a reddish brown on the unexposed parts and also on the collar bones, cheeks and other prominences of the body. Its general appearance has been likened to a "black-leaded stove." The scalp, the lips and nostrils are black, and there are black patches on the palate. The soles of the feet are brownish yellow. The Bojigngiji Group (South Andaman) are the darkest, and among the Onges parts of the face are a light reddish-brown. The Jarawas are distinctly fairer than the rest, the general colour being a deep reddish brown. Leucoderma occurs on the fingers and lips.

Hair.—The hair varies from a sooty black to dark and light brown, yellowish brown and red. The general appearance of it is sooty black or yellowish brown. Except on the head the hair is scanty, but not absent: on the head it grows in small rings, which give it the appearance of growing in tufts, though it is really closely and evenly distributed over the whole scalp. Limited baldness is un-
[302] known, but temporary general baldness after disease occurs with a weak growth of the hair afterwards. The hair is not shaved, except on the head and eye-
[145] brows, and each tribe has, with many fantastic individual variants, its own method of wearing it. It turns grey at about 40, but white hair is not common.

Shaving is "woman's work" and was performed by small flakes of quartz, but nowadays flakes from the kicks of glass bottles are substituted. It is effective and close, but a painful operation on an European's face, as I proved by personal experience many years ago.

Bodily Parts.—The mouth is large, the palate hard and highly arched, the lips well formed. The hands and feet are small and well made. The ears are small and well shaped, the eyes are generally dark to a very dark brown, bright, liquid and clear, but prominent with slightly elevated outer angles and become dulled with age. The teeth, in the young, except amongst the Onges, are white, good and on the whole free from disease. Those of the Onges are irregular and discoloured. As age advances the teeth generally lose their whiteness and become worn, but without much caries. The teeth are roughly used without any care whatever. Dentition is early.

164 **Diseases.**—The muscular strength of the Andamanese is great, but their vitality is nevertheless low, and the apparently robust quickly die after sickening

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2 Pottery vessels.
5 Net bags, empty.
1 Do. with 2 packets red ochre in palm leaves and fibres for binding arrows.
1 Packet honeycomb.
2 Baskets, cane.
2 Andaman adzes, made out of dahs.
1 Basula, new, of Forest Department marked with ⅄ (broad arrow). Stolen on 22nd November 1901.
1 Bowstring.
2 Bows.
92 Bamboo-shaft and wooden-pointed fish-arrows.
92 Do. iron-pointed fish-arrows.
3 Barbed iron pig-arrows.
16 Bamboo arrow-shafts.

LIST OF JARAWA ARTICLES TAKEN BY MR. C. G. ROGERS, FROM THE HUNTING CAMP AT WIBTANG ON 24TH FEBRUARY 1902.

6 Honey pots, empty.
1 Do. with fibre.
1 Do. with fibre in honey and child's wooden feeding brush.
5 Andaman adzes, of sizes.
1 Axe, European head.
2 Knife blades made of dahs.
1 Adze head—European make.
1 Honey pot with king-crow chaplet, 2 bowstrings, 2 string cards, 2 pieces of resin, and 5 shells.
1 Palm leaf containing netting materials in net.
7 Empty nets.
1 Net containing 2 pots of pigment for pig arrows.
1 Net do. 2 pieces of iron and 4 shells for pigment.
1 Packet red ochre.
1 Net containing 2 pieces of iron and 2 small nets.
1 Piece of hollowed wood, containing red ochre prepared for arrow heads.
7 Iron-headed arrows.
2 Pots.
96 Bamboo wooden-headed fish-arrows.
8 Bows.
5 Arrow-shafts.
5 Pig-arrows, iron.
1 Iron arrow head.

REPORT BY MR. C. G. ROGERS, DATED THE 19TH MAY 1902, ON JARAWA CAPTIVES WHILE AT PORT BLAIR.

262

An infant boy and a little girl, called Orlai, captured by the late Mr. Vaux near Bajalunta (Talaplongta of the maps) were brought to Port Blair by Mr. Bonig, Assistant Harbour Master, on the 21st February 1902. The little girl, Orlai, had a very pronounced squint in her left eye. She was kept at Government House until the 26th February, when she was allowed to join the other Jarawa captives, who were taken at Wibtang on the night of the 24th February and reached Port Blair on the 26th in the *Belle* in the charge of Messrs. Rogers and Bonig. The captives taken at Wibtang comprised two women and six children including two babies. They were kept at first in the hospital at Haddo and after that in the Haddo Andamanese Home, as they got out of the hospital one morning early and were found at the *ghat* evidently trying to escape. After this they were placed definitely in the charge of Luke and the watchman at the Home and did not again try to escape.

The Jarawas would not touch rice, or any of the rations supplied to the Andamanese, nor would they smoke. They were fed on yams, fish, pig's flesh, when it could be obtained for them, and crabs. They cooked their food very thoroughly before eating it. They were very fond of cocoanuts, when they were given them, and had evidently eaten them before. They drank water, but did not care for either milk or tea. They did not like sugar or anything sweet. They would not touch honey from the Andamanese store, which had fermented slightly, but liked fresh honey in the honey-comb. The friendly Andamanese could not understand a word of the Jarawa language nor could the Jarawas understand the Andamanese; they made themselves understood to a certain extent by signs. While the captives were at Port Blair we only learnt what we believe to be their names and a few words for the food they eat.

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The Jarawas were quite friendly and evidently felt that they would be well treated. Mr. Bonig and myself went to see them almost every evening while they were in Port Blair and took them out for walks, and they looked forward to our visits and the women usually took our arms, while the children clung to us. While they were in Port Blair we took them over Ross, Phœnix Bay Workshops and Chatham Sawmills. They evinced no astonishment at what they saw, but some fright. They do not seem capable of evincing pronounced emotions of any kind, either of grief or astonishment or pleasure. On

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3. Food

In the absence of men, women also are good at fishing inside the coral reefs. They do this with two small nets used together. Their catch generally consists of brilliantly coloured fish with yellow, red, green, blue, black and white stripes forming varied and attractive designs. The Onge eat all fish without discrimination. My Indian collaborators, on the other hand, considered the coloured fish dangerous to their health and refused to cook them ; the Sacred Vedas, in fact, advise the avoidance of brigthly hued fish and of fish without scales. I wanted to try both kinds, and found them perfectly palatable, tasty and harmless.

No tool, used for any purpose by the Onge, ever gets a cleaning. Cleanliness, I repeat, is unknown in Little Andaman. See how food is prepared and disposed of ! Care is taken only not to throw big pieces of meat intended for cooking directly on the bare ground ; but once it is cooked, food is treated with the utmost disregard for dirt, dust, cobwebs and other such things. It is usually left lying around on large leaves spread out for the purpose. The remains of the Onge's orgiastic meals are kept out of reach of the dogs on the ceiling of the huts, to be covered with flies when no fire is lit directly below. Sand and grit may get wedged annoyingly in the teeth, but not such impalpable things as dust or cobwebs. The use of unclean food is not repugnant to the Onge. The same can be said for water polluted by dogs drinking and bathing in it, or by the presence of putrefying carcases. In the west of Little Andaman I saw some Onge avidly drinking from pools of a blackish water with a revolting sulphurous smell. After thoroughly filtering and boiling it, I too used such water, for it was the only water available in the neighborhood. This caused no ill effects. My Indian men considered it perfectly healthy and invigorating, and drank it safely in its natural condition.

The Onge eat with their unwashed fingers, without the help of tools. On rare occasions they use platters made of the flattened-out stems – or bracts – of *areca* palms. They sometimes carry these platters when travelling, but of course never wash them although they become coated in rancid, greasy filth. They soon assume a dark colour and a truly revolting appearance – aside from the awful smell. A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN's statement – that the Andamanese paint their bodies to neutralize the unpleasant smell of food that clings to them after their orgiastic feedings – shows only indirect knowledge of the life and manners of those people. Even the horrible flatulence that follows their pork orgies is not considered an inconvenience ; yet it is much more revolting than all the other body odours.

Although the Onge observe few hygienic precautions they do follow a number of medical practices, not all devoid of beneficial effects. Here are a few more remarks on their eating and drinking habits. For about six months of the year, between November and April, water is scarce in Little Andaman. Every kind of fresh water is then considered good by the Onge, regardless of whether it is a murky infusion of rotting leaves or afloat with the putrefied

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312 caracases of small animals. During the droughts, marine hermit crabs, of
271 which a profusion is found in Little Andaman even far from the sea-shore,
[136] often choose to die in fresh-water pools. They are not removed from the pools.
[415] A nautilus shell is sometimes used as a drinking vessel ; failing this, the Onge
[516] lap up the water like animals, on all fours, directly from the pool. Since they are
231 very fond of dogs, man and dog drink together from the same tiny pool, often holding no more than a few pints of water. Dogs reached Great Andaman as early as 1857 ; they came to Little Andaman much later. Before that time there were no dogs in the Andamanese Archipelago. They soon became the natives' cherished and much appreciated assistants in the hunting of wild pigs. Many unhygienic habits followed the appearance of dogs in the Andamans.

271 The Onge have no idea of boiling water for the purpose of disinfection ;
[149] nevertheless their health does not appear to suffer at all as a result of the pol-
123 luted water they drink. When, in 1952, I dug a well near the left bank of Dugong Creek on the north-east coast of Little Andaman, I was compelled to fence it in so as to prevent dogs from drinking it and bathing in it.

264 Dogs lick everything that smells of food, including the cooking pots,
[291] and the pots are not washed before use after the dogs have licked them.
[136] Swarms of flies of different species and small coleoptera of a brilliant blue colour, one of them 6 mms long, follow the dogs after they have "cleaned" the pots by licking them. They line the inside of the pots with a crawling, living coat, moving restlessly around in search of food. One species of fly, which is of a brilliant, metallic green colour, has a peculiarly disagreeable smell. All the flies lay eggs while feeding, but the eggs are soon devoured by the hovering bluish coleoptera. Thus in a few hours all traces of organic matter disappear from the pots. Subsequent exposure to fire undoubtedly destroys the germs that would otherwise be certainly dangerous to human beings.

415 The Onge no longer use indigenous pottery for cooking. Its disappearance
177 is recent, as the sherds that litter Little Andaman prove to the investigator.
[323] Excavation in modern kitchen-middens leads to the same conclusion. During the last war, quantities of empty petrol drums were washed up on the Andaman shores. They were found in such numbers that the Onge have not yet used them all up : after 1952 I found several of these containers abandoned, untouched, in the jungle. The primitive inhabitants sawed each container in two cylindrical halves, thus transforming them into cooking pots. The result was that within a few years the fragile ancestral pottery of the Onge disappeared altogether. Furthermore, aluminium pots were distributed among the natives after 1952. Probably the indigenous pottery will never again reappear.
[252] Each half of a petrol drum is large enough to contain a pig, or a turtle weighing 150 lbs, cut into pieces. Only the flesh of these animals is consumed by the
262 Onge ; the nourishing broth is poured out onto the ground or left in the pot
[231] to be lapped up by the dogs. The Onge believe that broth is unhealthy and avoid drinking it.

251 No matter how prodigious the catch of sardines or other fish, unobtain-
[185] able at other times of the year, no attempt is made at storing part of it in view of future shortage. The Onge are unacquainted with methods for preserv-

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ing edible matter ; furthermore, they don't care to take the trouble as food 251
is generally plentiful. We must also realize that they find salt repulsive. Even [263]
honey – so easily kept for many months – is disposed of, if possible, on the 264
very same day it is collected. Incredible quantities of this or other food may be 262
consumed for days and nights on end until everything disappears. Very few of the islanders care to vary their meat diet with an occasional diet of vegetables in order to disintoxicate the system ; yet nourishing yams and other roots [137]
grow wild and plentiful. They are so rich in carbohydrates that I preferred [123]
them to potatoes and rice. I may add that the Onge, on my request, brought me yams and roots that they were glad to barter with rice, tea and sugar – soon declared by their wise men to possess medicinal properties.

The Onge's stomach, intestines and general physiological equilibrium 147
suffer from lack of salt and such bad nutritional habits as those described. They damage the human body, together with unrestrained sexual activity.

One highly unhygienic custom of the Onge is the use, all over Little 264
Andaman, of peculiar sucking-sticks. These pass from mouth to mouth during 412
the frequent meat or honey orgies indulged in by the natives.

When boiling pork or turtle, a quantity of liquid fat floats on the sur- [262]
face of the broth. Though the Onge despise the broth, they don't like to waste the fat. So they devised an efficient solution : they suck the fat up by means of a wad of absorbent matter obtained by chewing the end of a fibrous stick selected among many species of trees in the forest. The end of the stick is chewed along a section of 5 cms, the remaining part – about 25 cms long and 2 cms thick – is used as a handle to prevent the fingers from burning.

In every Onge camp sucking-sticks are permanently in evidence owing [262]
to the inmates' frequent ingestion of liquid fat or honey. A second version of the sucking-stick consists in a narrow, cotton-like strip, up to 80 cms long, with only a small part of the original wood remaining. This serves as a handle for dipping the stick into a wooden barrel full of honey. In both instances the same tool passes for hours from mouth to mouth : from older people to greedy children, anxious to suck the coveted delicacy off the stick that has been dipped into the pot. The rapid spreading of epidemics, which often occur [164]
in the Andamans, is certainly encouraged by the use of these sucking-sticks. I found no reference to this practice in books on the Andaman Islands.

Everything they eat, particularly meat, the Onge consider as either 262
remedial or harmful. They are therefore chary of accepting proffered food 123
if it is unknown to them. When I brought 30 Onge to Port Blair to introduce them to Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD, President of the Indian Republic, they were troublesome about food. In Port Blair it was not as easy as in Little Andaman to procure whole pigs ; sometimes only pieces were available. The Andamanese Forest Department was quickly informed of the difficulty and kindly supplied the desired animals. In moments of shortage I tried to give the Onge cooked [775]
lamb, goat, chicken and pigeons ; they resolutely refused them as unhealthy. [825]
Birds are never eaten by the Onge, who consider them shelters for human souls

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Onge

262 and therefore dangerous to offend by cooking them. Luckily they accepted
123 fish of almost every description, and vegetables. To convince them of our
[975] good intentions concerning their food, at Port Blair an Onge observer was
[825] stationed permanently near the kitchen to watch the preparation of meals.
Nevertheless, within a few days all 30 Onge fell ill as a consequence of the
513 different food and climate. In their island they sleep, completely naked and
123 uncovered, lying directly on beds made of rough branches. Their only precaution, as I mentioned before, is to keep a fire permanently burning close to the bed. This was not feasible in the rooms with wooden floors that were provided for them in Port Blair, and blankets did not avail. So the 30 Onge developed a fever and we were obliged to take them urgently back to Little Andaman, where they promptly recovered. The incident gave me a further opportunity to observe the curative methods of the Onge.

262 With regard to their care to avoid illness from food, I must point out the
114 fact that misleading information has been published on the subject even in reputed papers on the Andamans. I will discuss them in my Onge book, but I wish here to briefly stress a few points : the Onge, and the present residual coastal or forest Andamanese, refuse to eat – besides birds and fish such as shark, ray, eel or muraenae – some other animals such as paradoxurus, bats, rats, varanus and snakes. The contrary is affirmed in those papers. To quote the well-known book by A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN ("The Andaman Islanders", pp. 37, 91 and 389), all Andaman Islanders, including the Onge, consider the above-mentioned species edible. Varanus is supposed to be acceptable for its
[832] lustful habits that make of it an aphrodisiac. My direct and protracted experience both in Little and in Great Andaman compels me to state that such information is false. It is true, however, that the Andaman Islanders believe
261 they acquire some of the properties of their devoured victims. This occurs
252 only if the animals are cut up alive. Therefore turtles, pigs and dugongs are
[231] cruelly sectioned while still alive, and the Onge also believe that their health
266 and energy profit by it. Cannibalism may be founded on such beliefs, but it is
262 completely unknown to Andaman Islanders of all times and places. Young sucking-pigs are avoided, as food, by men, and even withheld from the dogs ; but the Onge are partial to other things which, in our opinion, are far worse : crickets, and the fat larvae of coleoptera that collect in tree trunks.

Without giving here a full list of the foods that are considered harmful or curative, I shall add just a few remarks on the subject. The healthiest, as well as the tastiest part of the pig is supposed to be the kidney and its surrounding fat. It is offered to old or distinguished people, as a sign of favour. As I
[888] helped the Onge, as much as possible, with gifts of tools and medicines, they
123 found it complimentary to name me after their favorite titbit, intending thereby
553 to honour me as a friend and healer. By such a name I came to be known in Little Andaman, and this made my work easier. In the Onge language the word for kidney fat is *cue-changhēghē* ; I was delighted with it, for it proclaimed the high esteem I was held in by my Onge friends.

262 Foods considered healthy by the Onge include honey, yams, several
751 succulent roots and the fat of turtle and dugong. Pteropus, a giant bat very
[825]

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common in the Andamans, said by RADCLIFFE-BROWN (p. 273) to be eaten by the Andaman Islanders as a protection against rheumatism, is never killed. For some superstitious reason the Onge are simply horrified at the thought of touching such an enormous flying bat. Among the fruits, those of a plant whose wood has such a revolting smell that it is known, in English, as "stool-tree", are believed to have exceptional protective properties for the human body. The fruits themselves smell even worse than the wood, but this, to the Onge, makes them appetizing rather than disgusting. Concerning honey, and the many sugary fruits of the jungle that are available all the year round, the Onge luckily ignore the simple method of distilling alcohol. No intoxicating drink reaches Little Andaman from the outer world, whereas in Great Andaman alcohol, together with imported syphilis, was one of the main causes of depopulation. No syphilis appears as yet to have reached Little Andaman. This is also confirmed by the research carried out by Dr. HERMANN LEHMANN of London's St. Bartholomew's Hospital, during February 1953 in my Onge camp in Labanare (north-east coast of Little Andaman).

II. Effects on the People's Lives

The islanders die young, specially the men. The majority of them succumb before reaching the age of 20; most of the survivors die between 20 and 40; the rest – with a very few exceptions – before 50. Women, after marriage, follow a similar pattern: the death rate among women, however, is slightly different owing to a less corrosive sexual life. Some women may live to the age of sixty, but both sexes age soon, appearing older than their years when still in their twenties. The short Onge span of life recalls conditions which apparently prevailed among prehistoric and protohistoric men. Palaeolithic man died at an earlier age than modern man. The Onge today, in many respects, behaves as palaeolithic man behaved countless centuries ago. – Infant mortality is high; the first five days of life are the most critical for the Onge, owing, in part, to the hard life led by mothers even during pregnancy, which often causes functional damage to the placenta. Delivery is generally easy and traumatic injury rarely occurs; but premature births are common, and so are malformations and other anomalies. Imperfect infants are quickly eliminated by their parents. As a result, only a small number of children are allowed to grow up, but these appear normal. There are no blind and no deaf-and-dumb people in Little Andaman. I saw only two instances of incipient lameness: in an unmarried boy of about twenty and in a young married woman. Only robust infants can survive.

The Onge, so careful about their food, are completely indifferent to something else that is considered very harmful in continental and insular regions close to the Andamans. There, menstruating women are often segregated and considered harmful to the entire community. Not so in Little Andaman, where the remedies applied in the circumstance are extremely primitive (cf. supra) and could probably be traced to palaeolithic man. I saw nothing

no specialized physicians, the Onge do not understand that payment can be 757
exacted for medical care. This stems from the fact that wages are not con- 465
sidered by those happy people as payment for any kind of work whatsoever, 123
but only as a gift. I realized this when I tried to pay my guides after our extenu- 431
ating marches through the jungle : in order to avoid offending the natives that we had casually met in the course of our trip, I had to give equal reward to everybody.

The Onge consider some men or women better endowed than others with 753
anti-malefic influence ; but these too neither demand nor receive wages for [756]
their services. Evil spirits or evil persons are believed to be principally responsible for illness. A series of superstitions and remarkable habits derive from this belief. The above-mentioned precautions concerning the *naquinēghē* are among them. For identical reasons they carefully hide hair cuttings, but not nail [515]
parings, for the simple reason that nails are never cut but worn down by digging for edible roots, fishing, and other rough work. Superstition, as we know, is also the reason for painting the body to prevent fever and other ills.

In the depths of their jungle the Onge appear to practice some kind
of witchcraft. On several occasions I noticed the mysterious behaviour of some 789
natives travelling with me. Occasionally a man left our marching column to examine the inside of a huge hollow tree and signal to his friends. They did not prevent me from looking into the hollow, where I saw only a simple structure of short sticks resembling a trap without being one. The Onge do not use [224]
traps ; moreover, those structures were far too flimsy to catch anything. Often, two or three men assembled in consultation, rearranged the sticks that had probably been dislodged by the passage of lizards, crabs or other small animals, and walked away silently. I could get no explanation on the matter. Certainly the Onge are sagacious observers of animal and vegetable life and have deep knowledge of their hidden properties. Some trees are probably used for magical purposes, but, I insist, it is impossible as yet to affirm it. The structures in question consisted of four vertical sticks, about 30 cms long, joined at the top by four more sticks of approximately the same length, placed horizontally. The result was a box-like frame, loose and unsecured. The slightest disturbance, such as a light breeze, could destroy the flimsy construction. As far as I could guess they invested those structures with curative properties, but in what manner remains a mystery. I noticed analogous practices among Central [171]
African Pygmies and other primitives.

It is very clear that the Onge dread illness and magic spells, for they 754
consider themselves at a loss in fighting such evils. Unhygienic habits are of no 751
importance to them.

2

Resting is considered favorable to good health. The Onge indulge vo- 517
luptuously in rest, interrupting it, however, with too frequent sexual excursions. 751
They mainly rest from doing nothing, because 90 % of their time is spent in 461
what, for them, is the most agreeable manner of enjoying life.

In mid-March, when the honey harvest reaches its peak, the Onge guzzle 262

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262 immense quantities of it together with pork. I was with them three times when
517 this recurred, so I could observe their behaviour exhaustively. With their
302 bellies full, the natives rest. Their only activity is body painting, performed by
178 the women on the skin of their peacefully sleeping husbands. Designs change from time to time as I said before, according to the women's inventiveness. Each family challenges the others in renewing their patterns. The best are later reproduced until the next change. From year to year I noticed no real evolution in this rudimentary art, but a cyclical fashion, with temporary preference, in males and females alike, for some geometrical designs, unconnected with whatever kind of food they had been eating. This contradicts the published af-
114 firmations of several authors, who allege that the Andamanese paint special
302 patterns in special colours for different kinds of food. There is nothing more false, at least with reference to the Onge. Merry feasting, whether on pork
[262] turtle, dugong, fish or honey, leads to a period of rest and body decoration –
[751] always in similar patterns and colours – with the unique purpose of preventing
[515] illness. We might say that painting the body is equal to cleaning it, but this is quite unintentional. A curious exception to the Onge's filthy habits is the
264 practice of sweeping the floor after solemn banquets in communal huts. The
356 surface of the floor consists of unpacked earth hardened by casual tramping.
342 When it is dry, sweeping raises a heavy dust that fills the hut to the ceiling.
251 It deposits there on the wooden beams where the Onge like to store cooked
262 victuals. So they eat their food, as I said before, coated with dust, no matter
412 how thick. A brush without a handle is used to sweep the floor ; it is 80 cms long and no thicker than a man's wrist. It is one of the nicest tools made by the Onge, and consists of strong, hard, elastic palm fibres bound together with strips of rattan. The dirt is simply thrown out all around the hut, by pushing
356 it under the roof mats that never reach the ground.

These notes offer a first glimpse into a peculiar aspect of Onge life. It is
114 to be deplored that these vanishing people have not yet been exhaustively studied, notwithstanding their anthropological interest and high biological significance.

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621 rather than order is given by the leader. Cipriani observes.[1] "For
622 instance, it is very amusing for them to think that a man gives orders to others. This means that they have no real chiefs. A so-called Onge
[592] chief, or raja, is only the head of a group of families living in the same communal hut, and giving not orders but only advice. It is the most experienced man who is considered chief in the hut, but his authority if at all never goes beyond that hut. In other words no real chief exists in the Little Andaman. Notwithstanding this, there is a perfect order in the island, because nobody interferes with the work or encroches upon what can be considered the rights of others."

124 As is common to most of the aborigines, the Onges are generally
162 not very receptive when the questions about their numbers and other groups are enquired. The headman says that there are many many fifty Onges. However the number of the Onges are approximately 600.

22 As regards the mode of living of the Onges, the hunting and collec-
231 ting are the basis of their economy. The domestication of the plants
241 i.e. art of agriculture is not known to them and it is only 30 years back, the dogs arrived in the island and have been domesticated by the Onges for chasing the pigs, their main prey. In the absence of agriculture, the natural products of the sea and the forest provide them with all
[262] their items of diet. Animal and vegetable products and honey are the main items of their diet and there has been, so far, no introduction of salt in their diet. The most important victims of their hunting are pigs and turtles, the former is chased by dogs and are killed with great
252 cruelty. The cooking of the fish, meat, roots, tubers, jackfruits etc are
251 done by putting them under fire. Preservation of foodstuffs is not widely practised except the jackfruit seeds which are tied up in a small net inside water on the bank of some stream and taken out during rainy season, when the other vegetable foodstuffs are not available. On
146 the whole, the Onges have a very balanced diet with a fair richness of all the nutrients. In this connection the observations of Dr. Cipriani during his survey in the Little Andaman throws considerable light in
[157] their conditions of life. He has estimated the Onges as one of the happiest people of the world, who in spite of their primitive economy, are not the miserable victims of poor health, ill nutrition and oddities of life.

396 Some amount of artistry and craftsmanship have developed among these people. A canoe can be constructed by a man, all by himself from

[113] 1 Cipriani, L—Survey of Little Andaman during 1954; Bul. Dept. Anth.,

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taste. The liquid content of these stems is so great that it makes them extremely heavy to carry. These lianas are very common all over the islands and anyone who knows them need never die of thirst. To get at the liquid one only has to break the stem and put it to one's mouth; if one puts a receptacle under the break, a litre or so of liquid can be obtained in a matter of minutes. When the first strangers came to the archipelago, the Andamanese watched them tear down parts of the forest, including these lianas, and tried in vain to protest at the vandalism. No one understood their protests, but they were right.

The forest abounds in trees whose fruits in season form an important source of food for the islanders. One is the so-called jackfruit, *Artocarpus communis*, which here grows wild, though various species are cultivated all over Asia. The fruits, which appear on the thickest branches as well as on the trunk, are smaller in the wild variety, rarely weighing more than thirty grams, but the yield is enormous and the islanders enjoy them for months, especially from March to May. The Onges call them *bulundanghe*, and roast them in hot ashes till the hard pulp and seeds are eatable; the latter, the size of a hazelnut but tougher, are the best part.

Another useful plant is the *Pandanus*, or screw-pine. On Little Andaman extensive areas are covered with nothing else, making progress very difficult owing to the twisting roots and the spines on the long, tough leaves. It seems to prefer the coastal areas, particularly the marshes, where it often grows into an impenetrable jungle. There are at least two species, one of which is gregarious. The other, which grows as isolated specimens, is longer leaved, with bigger fruits and stems like candelabra, standing up on an arch of roots, as though on stilts. With the leaves of this variety, fluted and easy to arrange like roof tiles, the Onges can quickly improvise a waterproof covering. The young leaves provide them with ornaments which they wear for their dances, while the pulp of the fruit, which looks rather like a pineapple, perfumed and delicately flavoured, is nutritious though somewhat stringy.

Along the coasts where there are no *Pandanus*, one very often sees something very different – mangroves. The islanders use the wood for their canoe floats, and for fixing pegs (see p. 122) and the supply is unlimited, as the growth and spread of the mangroves are assured by a number of factors which have made them one of the best

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and particularly of Oceania, but not with that of the Indian peninsula – a fact which is highly significant in any reconstructive study of the migration of flora and fauna to the archipelago. 137

The most recent phase in the spread of vegetation within the Andamans is less than a hundred years old; it began on Great Andaman, but none of the species has yet reached Little Andaman. The coconut has reached it during the last few years, but when I was there, there were not more than five wild palms in the whole island. The original coconuts must have floated from Great Andaman, or even the Nicobars. The Onges at once realized that they were edible, and called them *marele*. Now, however, there is a plantation of over five hundred trees to the north of Labanar, which I established by degrees on a number of occasions as a gift to the Onges. [262] [123]

The absence of any cultivated plants on Little Andaman led me to try pawpaws and bananas, as well as coconuts. In 1952 the Governor himself suggested a plant whose leaves are said to cure ringworm, so widespread among the Onges. The Onges, however, were not remotely interested, nor were they any more interested in the pawpaws and bananas. The pawpaws were left to lie on the ground and groves of young plants sprang up, far too close together, crowding the original tree and not sturdy enough to fruit. It was useless to show the Onges what to do. The bananas would have grown well, but their leaves were ripped to pieces by the storms. Possibly they would fare better in Great Andaman, where the hills would afford some shelter from the wind. 241 177

A rather different result, but equally unfortunate, followed the importation of grass seed into Great Andaman to improve grazing. The seed, imported from Europe, must have been contaminated with *Mimosa pudica*, which has spread widely, as it did in India and the rest of southern Asia, and within a few years has destroyed the grass so widely and become so much of a pest that in some areas it is doubtful whether it can be eradicated. The area round Port Blair is full of it, but for the moment Little Andaman remains free. 137

Culturally, the peoples of the Andamans remain today, unlike their kin in Malaysia and the Philippines, at a level almost identical with that of their ancestors thousands of years ago. They represented then, and in great measure represent today, a pure hunting and 105

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to them that I was able to find the various amphibia which subsequently proved to be new species. They know poisonous and non-poisonous snakes by sight and how to avoid being bitten. They could tell me which trees flowered and when, because they knew this affected the whereabouts and the quality of the honey, and they knew which flowers and roots had medicinal properties. The necessity, in accordance with their superstitions, of keeping their prey alive as long as possible has also given them a somewhat gruesome knowledge of anatomy and physiology. The call of food has also made them weather experts; they know which air currents and winds bring what animals, or cause them to vanish, and what game is likely to haunt what terrain. They could tell me where to find certain fish, or crustacea, or where certain roots or fruit in season were to be found.

The striking feature of their knowledge was that it did not merely relate to what was edible or inedible. Amphibia, reptiles and birds for example, they never eat under any circumstances; but they knew where to find them all for me, and they knew the bird migrations and how these related to the movements of the marine fauna.

Providentially, the exactitude of the Onges' botanical and zoological knowledge is matched by the magnitude of their superstitious fears. Were it not for this all the edible vegetation on the islands would have disappeared long ago as a result of their incredibly thoughtless destruction. The effect, therefore, is almost that of a purely involuntary, embryonic form of 'agriculture', contrasting strangely with their persisting, persistent and complete lack of interest in any formal care, however primitive. The Onges believe that the plants which produce edible roots and tubers belong to a spirit related to Eiuga, whose anger is aroused if he sees his plants being taken; his vengeance is quick and terrible.

There are on Little Andaman a number of creepers with edible fleshy roots, sometimes as thick as a man's wrist, sticking out horizontally at least fifty to sixty centimetres from the main stem, only just below the surface. They invariably grow in light soil, where there are no rocks, and are very easy for the Onges to reach with their digging sticks. These and the yams, sometimes as big as a football, which are to be found everywhere, the Onges have to steal from the spirit who owns them. The creepers themselves,

222 off, so that they may eventually recover, although they may take several years to do so.

The fruit they gather most, however, is the *bulumdanghe*, a wild form of the so-called jack-fruit. This ripens a little later than the *dangbecciò* at the end of April, and is the occasion of intense activity. Men, women and children swarm to the harvest, returning to the camp loaded every night. When fully ripe the *bulumdanghe* fall open if rubbed between the fingers. I found the pulp very pleasant, but the seeds need the Onge stomach to cope with them. They would [185] in fact be suitable for storage over long periods as they do not seem to deteriorate, but the Onges would never think of this.

At no other time of year did I see so many baskets lying round the Onge camps, cast aside after use. As early as mid-March, impatient for the fruit, bitter but already fully grown to the size of a child's head, the Onges begin to strip the trees. When fully ripe the fruit are a yellowish-green, with a very wrinkled outer case, marked off as it were into tiny compartments, geometrical in shape, and mostly pentagonal. If one presses a finger on one of these it goes through into the fruit, which has the appearance of innumerable tiny cells, all separated by a membrane, each terminating in a seed at the central core of the fruit. The cells are an orange-yellow on the surface, becoming a very pale yellow inside when the pulp becomes softer. The seeds are covered by a sweetish orange skin, and are arranged regularly along the core, which is itself an extension of the stout, woody stalk.

The best parts to eat are the seeds and their sweetish skin. When the fruits are still unripe, sour, and hard, enormous quantities have to be gathered and carried to the camp where they are boiled until they are soft enough to open. The seeds are taken out and all the rest of the fruit is thrown away. When properly ripe, on the other hand, the seeds in their skins can be extracted on the spot, leaving the weight of the useless residue behind, lying in heaps under the tree. For eating, the skins are slit open with a *Cyrena* shell, the seeds [252] extracted, and the skins and seeds piled up separately on huge leaves. The leaves are then tied up with the usual cords of vegetable fibres, and the bags laid on hot ashes. The skins turn into a sticky paste, not bad tasting, and the roasted seeds are greatly improved to our taste, though still very indigestible.

[262] In April and May the Onges eat *bulumdanghe* morning, noon and

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night. Everything else stops. *Bulundanghe* are food enough, and even honey is left for the future; there will be larvae, and bees, and nests to come. Life is good! 222 [262]

Later come the large, heavy *Pandanus* (*Mane* to the Onges) but they are far less important. The whole fruit has hardly any smell, but immediately it is open it smells rather like a pineapple. The separate segments, actually carpals, each in its own skin, pineapple-coloured on the outside shading to a pale yellow, can be picked off one by one. Each carpal is rather like a pyramid, with the top towards the centre of the fruit, the base towards the outside, wrinkled and divided into cellules each containing an ovule. The edible part of the fruit is very small. In the Nicobars, where the huge cultivated variety can weigh anything up to two kilos, the women [171] spend hours passing a string through and through the heavy sphere of orange pulp to comb out the short bristly fibres which damage the stomach. The Onges are not interested in such niceties! The smaller wild fruit is merely broken into pieces, ready for chewing. The result of all the chewing is hardly worth the effort; there is taste, and there is smell, but the food value is very small indeed, and even the Onges seem to realize it.

Much better are the *gioghene*, which ripen in February, and the *ghine* in mid-March. The *gioghene* are soft, red fruit, the size of a cherry but rather less rounded, hanging in bunches from the trunk and the larger branches of the tree. The green seed sprouts out of the end of the fruit, like a large bean, but is not eaten; the Onges cut it off, and eat only the pulpy fruit, raw. They love to make [301] necklaces, twining the fruits with slender fibres into long garlands, [324] even making some for me when I was with them, and return to the camp every night with long ropes hanging round their necks and from their arms.

Ghine are very different. From the outside they look like small medlars, covered with a leathery skin which is easy to crack off with one's teeth. The fruit itself has three segments, and is rather gelatinous, a little sour, but quite edible. The Indians with me liked them very much and ate so many that they developed severe indigestion – unlike the Onges, who ate far more with no ill effects.

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their hunting and fishing, or contacts with strangers, which are loudly chanted, accompanied by miming and dancing, during their nocturnal celebrations. One was sung and danced in my honour; Cendubai,[1] head of the Lulera hut, much struck by the sight of me in my hammock slung between two trees on nylon cords, delivered himself of a warning over the danger I was running using such thin cords. At the end of each 'verse' the refrain '*cuá-cian-ghéghechée-chéle*' (he will hurt himself) repeated his fear of the cords breaking.

Hunting and fishing episodes are to the Onges less interesting than themes like my safety, because to them they lack the repetitive refrain. In their dances, on the other hand, they prefer something else, to us monotonous, but for them always new, and even exciting; more than anything they love to dance the stages of courtship to its culmination, with the help of words and extraordinarily (to Western eyes regrettably) vivid gestures.

Birds, to the Onges, harbour the spirits of the dead, and it is for this reason that they are never eaten, contrary to the assertions of Brown.[2] Similar fears extend to lizards, the jungle cats, bats, rats and snakes. I have confirmed this among both the Onges and the Arioto. The latter even refused to eat some fat pigeons which I offered them not knowing of the taboo; they accepted the gifts, but the pigeons were eventually eaten by my own men. And the Onges whom I took with me to Port Blair for a few days refused point blank to eat pigeon or chicken.

The spirits select the Onges' food for them, in the sense that they regard everything as edible or poisonous, according to whether the guardian spirit is benign or malevolent. Given the curious adaptability of the spirits and the intensely practical way in which they operate it is hardly surprising that their benevolence or malignity coincides remarkably well with those foods which tend to promote normal health.

[1] I was sorry to learn that Cendubai died suddenly in 1955 aged barely forty.

[2] Curiously enough, while the Onges' fears lead them to reject out of hand any food of animal origin which is unknown to them, the same does not apply to vegetable foods. They ate half-rotten fruit, which I offered them, even though they had never seen it before, and they clamoured for rice and tea, so much so that in order to prevent them becoming addicted to the rice, as so often happens when primitive peoples meet a new food, I insisted on receiving equal quantities of yams in exchange for the rice and very sweet tea, to slow down their demands.

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mothers offering it to the waiting children one after another in strict order. This alone would be enough to explain the spread of the devastating measles epidemics which can attack every member of a hut.

While they love the liquid fat, they despise the broth left behind, and once the meat has been eaten, a thick yellowish soup, not unpleasant, is left in the drum. The dogs love this, and rush for it, putting their paws right into the drum, fighting and snarling in their eagerness to get at it. When they have finished licking, the drum is shining clean and ready for use, with no washing up to do! Clouds of flies descend on the drums, packing into a black swarm all over the bottom and sides, eager to finish off the dogs' work. Sea or river water is often only a yard or two from camp, but no one would dream of washing anything.

Once the meat or fish is cooked, it is often hung in the roof of the hut, out of reach of the dogs. The fact that the roof is dusty and covered in spiders to foul the meat, does not matter; earth and sand get in the way of the teeth, dust and spiders do not. The Onges happily eat contaminated flesh and drink water from pools in which animal carcasses are rotting or dogs are bathing and drinking; the dogs share literally everything with their masters.

On my visits to the island I always had to fence off the wells I had dug out, to avoid a constant battle with the dogs. I always found water only a few metres down, and the dogs revelled in it. In the east, near Nachuge, I saw Onges and dogs together avidly drinking in brackish pools which stank of sulphur, although I must confess that after repeated filtration and boiling the water lost its smell and I was myself able to use it without any ill effects. My men thought it was good for the health to drink it as it was.

During all Onge orgies, and particularly the honey feasts, there is, if possible, even less regard for hygiene. Although the honey is full of wax, larvae, and a few odd bees, their brush-stick only picks up the honey itself. They have another even better way of getting out the honey. A strip of bark about one metre long and as wide as the palm of the hand is taken from a *Ficus*. This is well chewed to make it pliable, and when this is dipped into the honey mixture it emerges dripping with pure honey. Everyone bites at it avidly, young and old, men, women and children, one after another, to the last drop.

CHAPTER FOUR

A Journey into Prehistory

842 The complete lack of hygiene of the Onges does not explain their disturbing lack of fertility. Nor can filth, smoking or loose living fully explain the sterility of the surviving Arioto.

There must be some other cause, and this in all probability is merely biological. One might call it the senescence of a race brought about by their total isolation for thousands of years, exacerbated by being broken into small endogamous units, all mutually hostile. This is not the opinion of all (the few) who have studied the Andamanese, and the problem remains to be investigated further.

262 184 842 In the Onges at least it cannot be a question of malnutrition, as I had ample opportunity of seeing during my visits to the island. Food is abundant, both the land and the sea offer an inexhaustible supply, even to the point of sustaining life, alone, if necessary, to all the Andamanese. The Jarawas are the exception. Forced away from the sea into the forests, they are dependent on one source of food, and it is therefore possible to make some attempt to calculate the maximum number of people which could be supported by their territory. In the case of the Onges, however, living amid luxuriant vegetation, with a rich source of sea food nearby, a given area can support a far higher population, and the same is true of the Jarawas cut off on North Sentinel.

The food of the Jarawas consists mainly of pork, with fresh-water fish (including some excellent carp) river molluscs and crustacea in large quantities, roots, tubers, wild fruits and honey. The Arioto, staying as they did in the coastal areas of Great Andaman, must have lived mainly off the sea.

175 161 842 262 The small population reported in the Andamans by visitors to the islands in the middle of the last century cannot therefore be

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attributed to scarcity of food, nor can nutrition have had any effect on the demographic decadence. Strict endogamy over thousands of years, and fragmentation into smaller and smaller groups is perhaps a more likely explanation of the situation. The last stage has now been reached; the Arioto, for instance, who numbered six hundred and twenty-five in the 1901 census, had dwindled to twenty-three in 1955. In that year there were only two young children, a boy and a girl (of different parents) and the girl, about five years old, clearly had a Burmese father. The boy, however, named Sirake and then aged about eleven, intelligent and alert, with the very blue-black skin of the Andamanese and typical hair, may well be of pure stock. He is the only hope of continuing the ancient Arioto line, but this will be impossible unless a girl of pure stock is born shortly.

This seems unlikely. With the exception of these two couples, the Arioto appear to be sterile. I have myself seen their sorrow at being deprived of children, and one of them, named Moro, of fairly pure stock, told me of his grief. He took me to his wife, also of pure Andamanese origin, and externally as normal and healthy as her husband, but deserted by the spirits of fertility. Through no fault of their own, the cause probably lies in both of them.

In all the Andamanese, fertility seems always to have increased from the age of twenty-eight and to end by the age of forty-eight – in many cases thirty-eight, although since none of them know their age, owing to the absence of any form of counting, their deceptively youthful appearance makes assessment of age extremely difficult. I met only one woman who, as far as I could estimate, had borne seven children, and of these only three were still alive in 1954; the widespread custom by which children are transferred from one family to another, even during the period of lactation, to 'share' the enjoyment of them, made all the usual means of assessing the number of births virtually impossible. In a number of childless couples whom I saw on Little Andaman, the women are under twenty-eight and there is still hope of fertility, even if it is late. This could happen in the case of the wives of the two leaders Cocheggi and Cendubài; these two men married two sisters, among the healthiest and most beautiful women on the island, Vaghèghe and Tocuaghèghe, both under twenty-two. Neither of them has ever been pregnant, although both are apparently normal and

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end of June 1953 there were legions of them. In contrast to the frogs, who were completely silent unless the atmosphere was calm, these cicadas only chirped when it was pouring with rain and blowing a gale, and then only at dawn and at dusk. Unlike other Asiatic species, they hopped from tree to tree between their momentary bursts of chirping, so that from minute to minute the chirping moved en bloc and made it almost impossible to catch them. When they were silent they were completely invisible against the branches, so that although we knew they were motionless we were still unable to catch them. 114 136

Surrounded by these diversions we began digging seriously. I must make it clear from the outset that in recording my findings I make no claim to saying the last word on the subject. All I hope to do is to report what I have been able to deduce from the combination of my personal observations of islanders as they are today and the evidence which I found in their kitchen-middens both of the past and of the present. 114 172

Though not as large as some I found later, the midden at Golpahar, like all the rest, was a truncated cone, beaten into a dome by the monsoons, and at the time of my excavation it was about five metres high with a circumference of a hundred and ten metres and a diameter of thirty-six metres. I removed half, leaving the other half so that others might later check my findings. 172

Ninety per cent of the contents proved to be shells, chiefly bivalves, and mainly *Cyrena*. As the shell content was clearly fairly constant I tried to calculate the total in the whole midden; and by taking into account the nomadic life of the present-day inhabitants of the island, and their eating habits, it was possible to reach a reasonable estimate of the age of the deposit.

Each midden can be regarded as attributable to the food refuse of groups of thirty to forty people, living at the site for forty to fifty days a year or less. Shellfish can never have been the islanders' sole diet. They are certainly not today – shellfish of any kind are only [262]

eaten when there is nothing else to be had, and then only in certain

eaten when there is nothing else to be had, and then only in certain localities where it is not too much trouble to carry them to the camp. In other words, although shells formed the greater part of the deposit, they will only have been added to it sporadically. In the absence of some complete change of habits, unlikely in such cautious people as the Andamanese, we may deduce that the midden

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been cooked in the same way; the bones are never charred, but always have the appearance of being cooked in an earth oven. The direct roasting of large game over the fire, postulated by some authorities, including Brown, was never practised; the islanders preferred to go on as they had done since time immemorial, because it was more efficient – witness the traces of the earth oven which are to be found all over the world, including Europe. In Polynesia and Micronesia, and among the pygmies of Asia and Africa, it was widely used; variations when they arose did so as the result of local circumstances, like that of throwing water on the fire instead of using fleshy leaves, when there were none in the area. But the basic principle remained the same everywhere, and the use of the earth oven coincides with the geographical distribution of hunting, gathering and burial customs similar to those found in the Andamans.

In April 1954 I excavated the midden at Tambe-e-buiè on Little Andaman, abandoned after the earth tremors of 1951, to investigate the position of the beds. The custom of burying the dead underneath their beds made it possible to trace the latter by the human remains below them, arranged in a circle round the periphery. The Onges themselves helped in the work, sometimes even trying to recognize the remains as they came to light.[1] There were clear signs of reburial. The body is buried immediately after death at least one metre deep; whereas after exhumation, cleaning and colouring, it is never re-interred more than thirty centimetres below the floor of the hut. When another death makes it necessary for a new grave to be dug under the bed, the piles of bones from the second are disturbed, so that in time a form of ossuary develops. In this it is not possible to identify the various remains of individuals unless some change in the position of the hut, even by a few metres, preserves the bones from disturbance by fresh graves. Traces of the graves always remain, however, as they are invariably filled with fresh earth.

We have already seen that on Little Andaman the introduction of the dog reduced the consumption of shellfish (and hence the rate

[1] The material recovered is now in the Anthropological Museum of the Andamans and Nicobars, which I helped to establish at Port Blair. The museum was inaugurated on 6 June 1955 in the presence of the Governor, Mr A. K. Ghosh and the chief Indian officials of the town.

of growth of the kitchen-middens), judging by the number of shells in the deposits. On Great Andaman, on the other hand, the Jarawas, unable to keep dogs for fear of revealing their whereabouts with the barking, continued as they had always done, and the gradual disappearance of their middens was due not to any change in eating habits but to the breakdown of the communal hut system. Among the Arioto, already decimated for over a century by fighting with the Eremtaga, the dog seems to have had no effect on the situation, as the Arioto had dogs as far back as 1857. Possibly they regarded them in the same way as the Onges who, though deeply attached to them and quite incapable of eating them at any time, never go so far as to bury their bones in the middens; the carcase is thrown out into the forests for the monitors and the termites to dispose of. It is also probable that the introduction of the dog came too late, when the Arioto were already too depleted numerically for any change in their eating habits to be appreciably reflected in their middens.

In both Great and Little Andaman the middens are found only where the communal huts have been constantly rebuilt on the same sites. Where the ground permits, the base circle (or rarely, the ellipse) has been moved somewhat from side to side, without, however, greatly affecting the regularity of the shape. At Totamaldalù on Little Andaman I was interested to see that although the diameter of the midden lessened as the numbers of the group occupying the hut dwindled, the site remained unchanged. Today the base area of the midden is very extensive compared with the size of the hut now built on it, but its anthropological value is thereby increased.

The advent of the dog into the archipelago in about 1857 vastly increased the amount of meat available to the Andamanese. Once introduced into Little Andaman[1] the dog population increased explosively, as the Onges dare not kill any of the pups; the women even go so far as to suckle motherless pups themselves. This inordinate love of dogs has allowed the animals to become a pest. They already considerably outnumber the human population; families of only three or four people may have ten or twelve dogs,

[1] The dog reached Little Andaman only at the beginning of the present century; von Eichstedt in 1928 noted that the Onges had very few of them.

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often extremely vicious but good hunters. The dogs often roam the forests in packs, hunting and devouring young pigs. The Onges will do nothing about it unless someone forces them to, but if this pack hunting is not stopped the pig will become extinct in ten or twenty years and in 1954 I tried myself (in vain) to draw the attention of the authorities to the situation.

The dog appears in even the most ancient of cultures in Australia, but did not spread to Tasmania, despite the geographical proximity. It arrived on Great Andaman with the establishment of the Indian penal colony and it is thus the Indian pariah which ultimately populated the whole archipelago. A despised outcast in India, the pariah became in the Andamans of enormous value, reverting to its ancient hunting instincts. Burmese police officials taught the islanders how to use the animal for hunting and within a few years it had revolutionized their methods. It led the islanders in fact, to comparative indolence; the dog worked for them, supplying with far less effort as much game as they used to catch in their long, weary and not always successful expeditions. Dogs meant invariable and abundant success in the hunt, and it is hardly surprising that the Andamanese came to develop a somewhat unbalanced affection for them.

On Little Andaman the dogs, with abundant food supplies always easily available, became physically far superior to their ancestors in India; unlike the pariahs they were well muscled, with good skins and coats, although most of them bear the marks of old and recent gashes by boar tusks.

On Great Andaman the dogs voluntarily catch and kill fallow deer. These, like the dogs, have increased to the extent of becoming a pest. The Arioto and Jarawas will not eat them for superstitious reasons, and so they have bred like wildfire, spreading to all the islands as far as Rutland. They swim well, but only with land in sight, and the greater distances involved have so far prevented them from spreading to Little Andaman.

Here the dogs have only one main prey – the pigs. Unlike the deer with their slender legs they cannot outdistance the dogs, and their only defence is to hide under the buttresses of the tree-trunks. The pig rushes underneath the tree, and faces the dogs like a stag at bay. There is no escape, only a few more terrible minutes of life. The pig fights the dogs off desperately, the males inflicting serious

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136 In sharp contrast to the termites, with their highly developed social structure, is the solitary life of the fly-eating Hymenoptera. I saw one for the first time in my camp near Labanar. My Indian porters had put up a clothes-line and as soon as the washing had been taken down, the lines immediately became covered with flies; suddenly, as though attracted by the easy prey one of these insects appeared as if by magic. Half flying, half jumping, fluttering its wings very characteristically the whole time, it went from one end of the line to the other in pursuit of flies. Many of them managed to escape, only to alight again on the line and be chased a second time. In an instant they were seized and swallowed.

Smaller, but equally numerous, are various kinds of wasps, and their presence enabled me to continue some observations I had begun in Italy. Wasps look after their larvae very carefully, continuously putting food into the mouths of the dumpy, wiggling creatures. The larvae are in fact so voracious, continually thrusting their heads out of their cells for food, that they will accept food offered to them on the point of a needle, especially if the 'nurses' are removed from the nest.

Wasp larvae secrete silk like those of the red ants, but it is used only to seal the aperture of the cell in which the larvae grow. The sealing occurs spontaneously, in the day time or at night, at precisely the right stage of larval development, and takes about half an hour. The silk is ejected from the mouth, very fine and shining in the sun, and hardens almost immediately into a tiny white dome, closing the aperture of the cell. The larva inside then passes into the chrysalis stage and emerges as an adult wasp. To get out of the cell the young wasp attacks the centre of the seal with its mandibles, not just tearing it away, but actually eating it, so that its own silk becomes its first adult meal. Once emerged, it is at once ready to take its place in the work of tending new generations of larvae. It begins by passing the food brought into the nest by the workers to the young larvae, receiving the food in its mouth from the foragers and passing it to the next generation. And so the eternal cycle continues.

136 262 Besides the wasps, two varieties of bee are found on Little Andaman, the larger, yellow *Apis dorsata* and the smaller brown *Apis nigrocinta*. The former, common in Central and Southern India and the Malaysian archipelago, builds large nests, hanging from the branches of trees. Its honey is the best, clear and golden, though

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less plentiful and containing a great deal of wax, and is greatly prized by the Onges. The darker bees, common in China, Celebes, Borneo and beyond, build their nests in cavities in the rocks, or in tree-trunks. Their honey, darker and with less wax, is more plentiful, but not so fine; when there is enough of the golden honey the Onges ignore the darker variety.

Few of the fruits on Little Andaman contain much sugar, but the Onges eat more than enough honey to compensate any deficiency that would otherwise occur. Whatever the fruit in season, men, women and children climb happily about like acrobats, hanging in the trees to get at it and the honey that goes with it. To chop the tree down is, of course, easiest and the obvious first choice for any Onge. Failing this, and their hooked poles, they climb up the nearby lianas into the branches, or walk up the trunk – an easy feat for them with their very long arms and almost prehensile toes.

Although there are arak nuts and betel leaves in the forest, the Onges ignore them. They are the same variety as elsewhere; *Areca catechu* and *Piper betel*. The Nicobarese are so addicted to them that many have lips and teeth hideously deformed as a result, but this is quite unknown among the Onges, contrary to earlier reports. The appearance of addiction in the Nicobars may have occurred after the separation of the peoples.

With all these fruits the Onges consume vast quantities of honey from the two species of bee, *dorsata* and *nigrocinta*. During the rainy season they can only get at the darker, poorer honey of *nigrocinta*, which builds nests under boulders or in crevices of trees or rocks. The Onges' real honey orgies occur, therefore, in the dry season, when the honey birds (Indicationidae), common in Africa and all over Asia, lead them to the trees where the golden honey of *dorsata* is hidden.

When one of the Onges finds a nest of bees he puts a mark on the rock or tree as a sign of ownership. None of the others would then dare to take possession of it, for fear of punishment by the group,[1] but when the time comes to take the honey everyone helps in the hard work of getting at the nest and opening it up. On one trip from Labanar to Togalanghe, on 19 March 1954, the Onges pointed out over twenty *Nigrocinta* nests to me, all reserved ready for use

[1] However deep in the forest a crime is committed, it will inevitably be discovered in the end, and punished by banishment from the community.

thought they were weeds and pulled them up. I never managed to see the plant in flower in the wild state, as this occurs at the height of the rainy season, and as no final definition is possible in the absence of the flower it remains unidentified.

The Onges take full advantage of the plant's properties as a bee-deterrent and in mid-March they eat honey, paint themselves, and dance, twenty-four hours a day. During these orgies I have seen a group of about sixty Onges demolish in a few days ten pigs and a dozen large, wooden vessels full of honey, with basket after basket of fish, caught every night by the women, who were apparently not in the least tired by the long daily treks into the forest after the honey. I can never look back on the Onges without a feeling of profound respect for their powers of digestion!

Yet another source of food for the islanders is the cicada. On Little Andaman there are a few species a little larger than the European variety and others rather smaller. The Onges collect the pupae as they emerge from the ground, usually in the mornings, and roast them as a great treat. They are actually very clean insects, which develop slowly under the earth over a period of years sucking lymph from the roots of the trees. When they emerge from the ground the pupae become leathery, but this presents no problem to the indomitable teeth of the Onges. Inside the cicada chrysalids are a mass of delicate tissues, so white and clean that one can understand the Onges' predilection for them.

On Little Andaman the cicadas chirp intermittently, with long silences; most of the day one hears nothing of them and when they suddenly start up the Onges fall absolutely quiet, terrified of frightening them away and losing their chrysalids.[1] In a few moments the whole forest suddenly echoes with a chorus of cicadas, as they all start up as one and then, a minute later, fall silent. Their intermittent chirping is not confined to the Andamans; it is a feature of several species throughout southern Asia. At Golpahar when I was in the middle of the forest excavating kitchen-middens I heard cicadas start up every day at 6.30 p.m., and then stop until the following day. In the mountains of South India, on the slopes

[1] The Onges do not seem to share the superstitions reported by Man and Brown among the Arioto, who appear to believe in fantastic connections between cicadas, the sun, and storms.

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of Pushpaghiri ('mountain of the flowers'), I saw workmen using the cicadas to mark the end of their shift, so regular were they in starting up. The whole valley echoed with their chirping for three minutes, and promptly at the signal everyone stopped work. 825 136

As well as cicada chrysalids, the Onges love the white larvae of the long-horned grasshoppers (Tettigonidae) which are common all over the island. They are the size of a man's finger and the larvae, like those of the cicadas, feed exclusively on vegetable matter and are very tasty. I have watched the Onges collecting them and managed to see something of the life cycle of the Longhorns. Both the larvae and the chrysalids live in cylindrical holes in trees, which the larvae bore out by eating at the wood. Before turning into a chrysalis the larva prepares the way out for the adult insect, which is less well adapted for gnawing. The chrysalids themselves seem determined to take up as little space as possible; as in all the Longhorns the future elytra are clearly visible on the creature's back, with the membranous wings, and the three pairs of legs are always curled up, with the first and second pairs very close to each other. The third pair is further away, clearly so as to balance the embryonic antennae. These are very long and spring from the sides of the head, passing down on either side of the thorax, between the first and second pairs of legs, to finish neatly coiled in front of the thorax, touching the elytra and the second pair of legs. Curled up like this into two or three coils, according to sex, the thread-like, whitish antennae look like intestinal worms inside the chrysalids. Each pair of legs lies motionless against the thorax, the feet touching in a precise line down the centre of the body. When the creature wakes from its long sleep, all the parts unfold, and the elytra and other external parts harden and colour according to the species. A new stage in the life cycle, shorter but more intense, has begun. [262] [222] 136

The Onges are not interested in the mole-crickets, but I found them fascinating. It is known that animals can find their nests or their usual haunts even if they are moved quite considerable distances away and deliberately confused, but the mechanism is not yet fully understood. It is likely that the same mechanism operates whether in the air, or on the ground, or below ground. The mole-cricket, for example digs long galleries underground and does not often come out into the open. The galleries are interconnected,

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136 *fortispine*, uses a similar action on the larger bivalves. Its shell is equipped with a very effective form of tin-opener, which it keeps polished by vigorous rubbing.)

I watched a *Pterocera* attentively scrutinizing the hand holding it. After exploring it very carefully, the creature tried to free itself by beating violently with its foot, causing considerable pain. I held one by one of its protuberances, which was like a large right-angled hook. Suddenly, while my attention was held by a shoal of fish, I felt a sharp pain on the back of my hand. Taken by surprise, I watched the creature to try and discover what it had done. From a furrow at the base of one large front hook, a little to its left, I saw a tentacle emerge, able to turn in any direction, with a retractable eye at its tip. The eye, after a few exploratory movements, fixed its gaze on the place on my hand the creature intended to hit, and then the foot began to beat wildly on my hand, time and time again, causing a quite surprising degree of pain.

462 226 224 It is during the honey feasts, when the tides are exceptionally low and the seas calm, that the womenfolk come into prominence. While the men normally do all the hunting for game and large fish, using arrows and harpoons, the women, with their nets, catch the smaller fish in the rivers and marshes, and among the coral reefs at low tide. Their contribution to the everyday diet is by no means negligible, and during the season of very low tides their daily haul is tremendous.

262 825 The importance of fish to the Onges is shown by the fact that their word for it, *cioghe*, is also used to mean food in general, and clearly dates back to the time before the arrival of the pigs on the island, when fish and sea food in general was the basis of their diet. [251] So plentiful is it that even at the height of the season the most they do in the way of preserving anything for future use is to expose the fish to smoke in order to deter flies from laying eggs on it for a day or two.

462 226 Only on very rare occasions do the men help in the net-fishing, and then only when they can completely fill the canoes with fish very quickly. I saw it happen for the first time on 24 March 1955, in the great coral reef near Nachuge, just as it happens all over the island at this time of year, when the pilchard shoals are so far inshore that there are not enough canoes to hold the catch. As the

50 53 422 126 build it (when I wanted to acquire two for the new anthropological museum at Port Blair and the Indian Museum in Calcutta I had to bargain with the men recognized as the owners, although the price had to be distributed among all the members of the group).

225 252 The chief delight of the men on their fishing trips is the capture of a Giant Turtle. I have already described (p. 88) the spear harpoons which the Onges use to catch them. Once caught, the wretched animals are subjected to a form of vivisection utterly incomprehensible to the Western mind; they are literally cut up alive and the pieces thrown into the boiling cooking-pot. Nor have I ever witnessed anything so terrible as the way in which the Onges, in the absence of any suitable cooking vessel, or the materials for an earth oven, roast these turtles whole and alive over a slow fire. [157] They seem totally unable to realize that animals can feel pain and laugh like children at the other atrocious tortures they unwittingly inflict not only on the turtles, but on every living thing that falls into their hands.

825 262 These marine turtles (as far as I was able to see there were no land turtles in the Andamans) yield a far greater amount of food than the dugong, and provide the islanders with both meat and eggs. Two [136] species are common in the seas round the islands, *Chelonia virgata*, or the green turtle, and *Caretta imbricata*, which supplies the shells normally sold commercially. The Onges prefer the former, which are both meaty and more plentiful.

222 225 462 [196] Turtle-hunting and egg-collecting is done by the menfolk. The method is very like that used for dugong and large fish, using the harpoon. Owing to their fear of the spirits abroad in the night, the Onges never go near the beaches between dusk and dawn, when it would be easy to take the turtles on land and immobilize them by turning them on their backs. They do know this trick, however, and use it when captured turtles (often weighing up to a hundredweight) are too heavy to carry in the canoe; the animals are turned on their backs and dumped on the beach ready to pick up later.

225 The Onges harpoon the turtles from canoes, preferably at night when the turtles are nearing the shore, which they never approach in the day time. When there is a moon the creatures are easily seen, and on dark nights the phosphorescence of the sea helps.

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emerge from the eggs and make their way towards the sea, led by 136
some unerring instinct, fresh predators are ready to pounce on them. Hungry gulls and fish, and the giant crabs, lie in wait and sometimes not one escapes.

But the annual survival of only ten young from each female would be enough to allay any fears for the extinction of the species and fortunately reproduction takes place several times a year, often four or five times, according to the Onges, mainly from March to September.

In the case of eggs which I protected and watched, incubation 136
lasted sixty to seventy days depending on the time of year. During 262
the whole of the incubation period the Onges regard them as edible, like the Bushmen of the Kalahari, whom I saw take and eat birds' eggs regardless of their age or state of development. The Onges even like the turtle embryos when cooked, and the other contents of the shell. Curiously enough, however long they are cooked the whites of turtle eggs never set, although the yolk does and is excellent. The Onges, as a sign of great respect, often gave [123]
me baskets full of the hard-boiled yolks.

Turtles, despite their peaceable appearance, are extremely agres- 136
sive, and will take on nearly anything they meet. Their battles are one of the most amusing things in the animal world. The males of the marine turtles rarely approach the shore, except to fight each other. This they do ferociously, biting at everything within reach, regardless of being bitten themselves, as the land turtles do in the mating season. The aim is to overturn one's enemy so that he is quite helpless, after which the winner ambles off, leaving the vanquished to his own devices (the trick is to get one's head under one's opponent's body and lever upwards). A turtle, once on its back, takes hours to right itself, which it can only do by accident, when its frantic wriggling and beating in the air with its legs hollows the sand away underneath its back so that it flops over the right way up.

One of the Onges' greatest enemies in their search for food is the crocodile, *teboirona*, as they call it. They have no means of fighting [825]
the creature, so they limit themselves to fearing it and building stories round it. On Little Andaman crocodiles are found only near Nachuge on the west coast, in the deep waters of Jackson Creek, *To-ggw*. There used to be numbers of them in a few places on Great

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136 been found since 1500. It is found only in the seas round Australia and Malaysia, flourishing round the Andamans, growing rarer towards Indonesia, and reaching as far as the Philippines.

Although *Nautilus* shells are very often thrown up by the sea on the shores of Little Andaman (though rarely whole, because they are so fragile), I never managed to find one alive. The creature prefers to live below thirty metres, where it can be taken with a hook and line. I distributed some to the Onges and offered them every possible inducement, but no one managed to catch a live *Nautilus*. The lovely shells are striped white and rosy pink on top, shading to a mother of pearl colour underneath, and when polished and shaped make beautiful cups or ornaments. I brought some back to Italy with me, but the best were stolen. In one collection in the Zoological Museum of the University of Florence there are some fine ones set in silver, now of considerable value.

237 Another shell which the Onges use is that of the huge bivalve
302 *Tridacna*, the elephant of the mollusc world (see p. 114). For
123 many hundreds of years they have filled these shells with water and
177 used them as mirrors when they paint themselves. (The reflection is poor, however, and they fell enthusiastically on the mirrors I had taken with me. These they named *quietanga*, derived from their name for *Tridacna*, and followed me all over the island to get them.)

136 Two species of *Tridacna* are found on Little Andaman; *Tridacna*
262 *gigas*, the larger, and *Tridacna squamosa*, large, but somewhat lighter in weight. Both live in relatively shallow water and are equally terrifying once they have got a hold (see p. 114). Fortunately, the Onges have learnt to surprise them when they are open and slash the single immensely powerful muscle, which closes the two halves of the shell. The flesh is edible when well boiled, and certain parts can even be quite tasty, with a delicate sea flavour; I even ate some raw, much to the horror of the Onges. (They were equally scandalized at my eating raw some of the excellent oysters, which they despise.)

136 Some of the *Tridacna* of the Andamans and Nicobar can weigh over two and a half hundredweights. The actual flesh is not heavy – the two halves of a magnificent *T. squamosa* that I caught at Nancowry in the Nicobars and gave to the Governor of the Andamans weighed nearly one and a half hundredweights and were over 1·3

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metres in diameter. They are now used for the holy water in the new church of San Piero in Palco, in Florence, like those in the church of St Sulpice in Paris. Two valves of *T. gigas*, rather smaller, are being used for the same purpose in the church of Marco Polo in Viareggio.

Among the creatures the Onges hunt on the shores are crayfish, which can be taken in plenty in the streams of Little Andaman, although I found none on Great Andaman or in the Nicobars. As they were so common I assumed they were a known species and did not bother to collect any. In Madras, however, an expert on freshwater crustacea, Sri Sada Siva, told me that this appeared to be a new species and it would be well worth while returning to Little Andaman to collect further specimens, as the few I had brought are now lost. There are tens of thousands of them everywhere.

These freshwater crayfish are so tasty that they have entered into Onge folklore, and their tastiness is praised in song. They are baked on burning embers, without salt, as always, and just the charred shell is removed before they are eaten. The clean fresh water in which they live prevents any taint in the flavour. I must confess to having eaten them every day without realizing their importance as a possible new species. They are fairly large, about fifteen centimetres long, and almost black, in natural imitation of the dark rocks among which they try to vanish out of sight, although the Onges never fail to spot them. The males have slender pereiopods, with claws almost twice as long as the whole body; these the creatures thrust out before them, and so slender are they that it is difficult to catch a male with both pereiopods intact. After hatching, the young, which are identical with the adults as soon as they hatch and can therefore be sexed by the presence and absence of pereiopods, cling bunched together for several weeks, attached by their claws to their mother's swimmerets before making their way into the troubled waters of the rivers, where the great carp are waiting to prey on them.

Yet another freshwater creature eagerly sought by the Onges is one that is almost black in colour, a strange survival of some remote geological era. Like other members of the family it has no scales, and the mouth, armed with teeth, is not protractile. On Little Andaman I saw several specimens weighing over a kilogram, and

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136 many smaller ones, all good to eat. Near my base camp at Labanar,
[222] the men caught sackfuls of them, and I found young ones near the communal hut at Togalanghe.

There a rocky path winds down to the banks of the river Tciongarè (or Chongaree) to the south of the camp. In various places, where the path levels out, black muddy water collects into pools full of rotting leaves, lying on a bed of ooze and slime. In these pools, which appear and dry up again very quickly, I was surprised to catch a number of *silurides*. When it rains heavily, however, the pools link and join up with the river where the fish live, so that as the water disappears again any fish which have entered the pools are prevented from returning to the river, and are left lying in the slime as the water evaporates. These silurides have no gills, and are equipped instead with nostrils of an unusual type; from the nostrils protrude two cylindrical tubes, half a centimetre long in fish fifteen centimetres long, the same blackish colour as the rest of the body. The tail and the long dorsal fin are yellowish, and the long ventral fin running from the anus to the tail is whitish. There are two large lateral pectoral fins, with two very small ones between them. The eyes are large, starting out of the head like tiny glass domes. Very unfortunately a number of specimens which I had most carefully preserved were lost in transit from Port Blair to Calcutta, when some of my baggage, including the crabs and a collection of face masks of Nicobarese which had cost me a great deal of trouble, mysteriously disappeared *en route*.

136 The Onges do not eat eels,[1] which they regard as snakes, but they
262 several times brought me examples of a very fine freshwater eel
226 whose presence on Little Andaman I had not suspected. The Onges caught them, as they do all fish, with their bows and arrows. All weighed over half a kilogram and looked and tasted like European eels.

136 The eel of the Andamans, like those of Europe and America, has a long, almost cylindrical body and a single fin which begins on the back, circles the tail, and ends under the body just in front of the anus. There is also a pair of strong pectoral fins. The head distinguishes it from other eels, its rounded snout and wide mouth being

[184] [1] The Arioto, however, eat eels, and also mice and other small animals, although food is given to them by the Governor in return for police duties. Brown also refers to the eating of snakes and mice on Great Andaman.

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136 for them and feeding them on the table. As soon as they saw worms
126 wriggling, they would move cautiously towards them and then snap them up like lightning. They became used to sitting in my hand quite undisturbed, looking round in two directions at once in an interested way. Flies held by the wings fascinated them more than anything, and they used to stare at the insects as though hoping to mesmerize them. They made delightful pets.

136 More prosaically, they are very good fried. Outside Little Anda-
114 man I found hundreds every day near Golpahar on Middle Andaman, and as the fish market in Port Blair was over a day's journey away we used many for non-scientific purposes.

136 Dugong, monitors, snakes, jungle cats, bats, leeches – all abound in Little Andaman and I had ample opportunities to study them. The dugong are well known to the Onges, but I only saw them at Bumila Creek (Cuateniabo) and Jackson Creek, where I did not have the time to catch any; the Onges tried, but without result.

Dugong (from the Malayan *Dyong*, introduced into scientific Latin as the family Dugongidae), are large mammals of the order *Sirenia*. They have a short fish-like body, with closeable nostrils above a cavernous mouth, which is surrounded by short bristly whiskers and armed with a brush-like, horny plate. In the male two short tusks hang down each side of the mouth, like a miniature hippopotamus, giving the animals a cumbersome, ugly look. The
[225] Onges prize the dugong, but rarely manage to capture one; when they do, there is great feasting. I was never able to try it, or even acquire any really close observations of the creatures.

136 Monitors or dragon-lizards, on the other hand were under my feet every day, although the islanders never eat them. I used to put
126 out as bait fish or pig carcasses rejected by the Onges as being too
[262] lean, and we could then shoot as many as we wanted as they rushed to the bait from all sides. I collected their skins for various museums, using the carcasses as further bait.

136 The Andamanese variety is well known and it closely resembles *Varanus niloticus*, the Nile monitor, to which it is related. The largest can be two metres long, including the long, very tapering tail. As they approach their prey, sniffing at it, their forked tongue, twice the length of the head, flashes in and out of its sheath with incredible speed. Although they have strong legs they move slowly and it is easy to catch them by the tail, providing one takes care to

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in the division of all meat. Certain cuts are the property of the hunter, of his helpers, and of his relations and after them, in order, of the remaining members of the group; everyone knows his position in advance. Each portion is tied round with a reed fibre, which is allowed to dangle out over the top of the communal cooking-pot ready to haul the meat out when required.

In the case of pork the prized cut is one which comprises the kidneys and the surrounding fat; this fat is called *cian*,[1] and is very highly esteemed. Some authors (Brown, for example) have stated that turtles and pigs are always cut up with the head ritually pointing towards the sea as otherwise the meat would be considered inedible. This is certainly not the case on Little Andaman, and I have never seen any such directional ritual among any of the Negritos, all of whom practise division of meat according to a prescribed order of precedence. Turtles at any rate are slaughtered facing up the sloping beach simply because it is then easier to hold the beast from behind and avoid its bite. Ritual there is, but usually with a good practical basis.

More ritual attaches to the way in which the game is carried back to the camp, and the wood to be used for the cooking fire. Pigs, killed and gutted, are tied in ropes made of *Ficus laccifera* and carried somehow on the back of the victorious hunter. If it is not far to the camp he will not bother to tie up the snout and feet, but otherwise the front and back legs are tied, and one long cord joins both pairs to the snout – again a practical ritual, giving the hunter a more compact weight to carry.

Man, Portman, Brown and others all say that each type of game has to be cooked over a fire of a particular wood. My own observations showed that whereas the ritual of dissection is inviolable, the Onges always use the first wood that comes to hand, regardless of its source, taking as usual the line of least resistance. This is again in keeping with the tendency of primitive peoples to expend only the very minimum of energy to achieve their object. Their religious beliefs and superstitions are not carried to the limit, simply because

[1] It is interesting that in their very restricted world the Onges have few standards of comparison or words to express condemnation or approval, and this word *cian* is used as one of high praise, applied to inanimate objects, animals, and people alike. The precise qualities which are conveyed by the word are difficult to evaluate in the absence of fuller knowledge of the Onge language.

171 way in which the spirits are invoked against enemies, involving
776 the use of some personal possession – an example is the invariable destruction of the used *naquinegbe*, or of hair after shaving. The same fear of the night induced by the idea of spirits walking abroad led to the making of torches from rolled palm leaves containing a mixture of embers and resin.

[262] From the Andamans to Oceania the chief spirit is generally
[825] imagined in the form of a giant lizard, living at the top of the sky and ruling the storms; none of the peoples who believe in him ever eat any lizard or lizard-like creature. All of them have the same
171 sexually suggestive dances, both male and female, sometimes in-
535 spired by the monitor or dragon-lizard, symbol of desire, and often
776 associated with miming and dramatic representations of real and
825 imaginary scenes. These dances, with their *joie de vivre*, are accompanied by the smoking of aromatic leaves in pipes which are fre-
171 quently made from natural objects such as the claws of crustacea.
276 The Onges in fact have since very ancient times used only this type
[535] as shown in the lower levels of the kitchen-middens dating back
[172] at least five thousand years. Everywhere, pipes of this kind are used indiscriminately by both sexes, passing from mouth to mouth. Pipes identical in every way with those of the Onges are found to the east of the archipelago, well into Oceania, and I have myself also seen them on Melville Island, north of Australia, always with the same notches for the teeth to grip. This undeniable evidence of the spread of identical pipes over so wide an area long before the possibility of European contacts cannot in my opinion be attributed other than to migration over vast distances in very ancient times.

171 Similar coincidences apply in the case of the arrow harpoon and
114 indeed harpoons in general. I cannot agree with Brown in his
411 assertion that the harpoon dates from the arrival of European influences, which brought the use of iron; the harpoon points made by long and patient working of *Tridacna* shells which I found in the kitchen-middens of the Andamans are in my view enough to refute the theory.

171 The canoes from which these harpoons are used, with the ab-
501 sence of distinction between bow and stern and the single float on the lee side, are extremely typical. They are identical in peoples which have been widely separated for a very long time and appear not only on the Andamans, and as far as Oceania, but also in North

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221
137

(a)

‡mâag-	either cooked or uncooked.	§*pū·lain-*
‡i·til-		*pi·dga-*
		§*gel·dim-*
		ó·rta-tāt-
dō·gota-		*†§chaij-*
jâ-		*kār·ega-*
ū·dala-		*ūd-*
kón-		§*ñgē·bēr-*
§*châ·kan-*		*ē·mej-*
bō·to-kó·ko-		*eng·ara-*
kū·nra-		§*lō·gaj-*
§*pū·lia-*		

(N.B.—The best fruits, and those which are most abundant, are in season during these months and at the commencement of the rains.)

(b)

†*ó·ropa-*	*pi·cha-*
§*pâ-*	§*pai·tla-*
†kai-	*kār·ed-*[1]
†§*kai·ta-*	§**jang·ma-*[2]
†*chôb-*	*jī·ni-*
†*ó·dorma-*	†*pū·ta-*
d·bnga-	*pâr-*
§ *jū·mu-*	*âm-*
§ *ngâ·tya-*	*†mā·twin-*
§ *bâ·taga-*	*tâ·tib-*
kâ·pa-	*eng·ara-*

During the *pâ·par-wôb-* (cool season) and *yē·re-bō·do-* (dry months) the six varieties of edible roots mentioned above (*vide* paragraph 11) are also eaten.

(It will be understood that those fruits that are unmarked in the above list are eaten in the ordinary way).

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[263]
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20. Many fruits they merely suck for the sake of the flavour;[3] others are eaten with fine wood-ash,[4] taken from the hut fires *in lieu of sugar*, to diminish their extreme acidity,[5] while a few are cooked,[6] and the stones of several[7] are cracked for the sake of their kernels. The favourite fruits are *dō·gota-*, *ó·ropa-*, *kón-*, *chôb-*, *jâ-*, *pâ-*, *kai·ta-*, *kār·ega-*, *châ·kan-*, *jū·mu-*, *ngâ·tya-*, *bâ·taga-*, *ñgē·bēr-*, *pū·lia-*, and *pū·lain-*.

21. The fruit of the *ñgē·bēr-*, *châ·kan-*, *pū·lia-*, *pū·lain-*, *pai·tla-*, *gel·dim-*, *lō·gaj-*, and the seeds of the three above-named varieties of mangrove (*i.e.*, *jū·mu-*, *ngâ·tya-*, and *bâ·taga-*), are freed from their husk or rind and boiled in water until quite soft; when cold they are cut in slices, and left to soak for two days or more in salt or fresh water, after which they are baked in leaves, or again boiled in a *būj-*.

252

22. The Andamanese are, now-a-days at least,[8] extremely particular over the cooking of their food, and will not eat certain

[1] This is a small yellow fruit, the seed of which, after being sucked, is broken, and the outer portion eaten while the kernel is thrown away.

[2] This is a small red fruit, about the size of a bean or filbert, containing one stone; it is wrapped in leaves and baked, because they say that if eaten uncooked it would cause them to forget their way in the jungle, as well as entire loss of memory on all points.

[3] These are marked in the preceding paragraph by a *.

[4] Their immunity from scurvy may not improbably be due to the chemical combination of the acid, contained in many of the fruits, with the potash of the burnt wood.

[5] These are marked in the preceding paragraph by a †.

[6] These are marked in the preceding paragraph by a §.

[7] These are marked in the preceding paragraph by a ‡.

[8] They are very expert in spearing their fish, which they consume in a half-cooked state (Anderson); Symes also writes that "they throw the food on the fire, and devour it half broiled."

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

515 people. Furthermore, the Onge skin is very soft and more elastic than is usual
[147] in human beings. For us, clothed and with a less resilient skin, a trip through the thorny Andaman forest means many small, bleeding scratches. Not so for the naked Onge. – To cover them with clothes would endanger their health. Nakedness inures them to the sudden changes of temperature so frequent in
[513] Little Andaman and preserves them from catching cold when sleeping, uncovered, on their rough, unprotected bed of boughs. As with primitives all over the world, clothes make them miserable and, I may add, very ungainly and dirty.

515 Part of their general negligence with regard to hygiene is their carelessness about their teeth. They never clean them. They do keep bamboo sticks,
[413] 1 mm thick and 8 cms long, tucked into their hair to be ostensibly used as toothpicks ; but the sticks, to tell the truth, are more of an ornament than a tool.
142 The Onge's teeth are so compact and sound that there is no space between them for food particles to collect. No caries or decay of any sort are to be
[164] noticed. In a number of skeletons that I dug up from under the beds in communal huts, the teeth gave evidence of one peculiarity : old people had worn them down to the root. The Onge habit of using teeth as working instruments,
[289] to prepare fibre for ropes and in many other circumstances – apart from their permanent chewing on hard foodstuffs – explains this fact.

515 As a consequence of never washing, the natives' hands are sometimes extremely dirty. The Onge themselves are conscious of this. I shall give an
226 instance. It so happened that I arrived in Nachugé, on the west coast, toward the end of March, when the sea was teeming with migrating sardines. In Little Andaman sardines can weigh up to a pound ; but a normal catch, obtained with small hand-nets cast from canoes among shoals of fish imprisoned by the low tide within the coral reef that surrounds the island, contains specimens of every dimension. All are eaten as soon as possible. The quantity of fish brought
[264] back to the camps on such occasions puts all inmates to work and induces everybody to abandon all other occupations for the time being. In the low tidal waters the men push their canoes from rock to rock, using them as receptacles for the abundant food so easily collected. In some "pockets" nets prove unnecessary : the fish is gathered in handfuls and rapidly thrown into the canoes. The hecatomb ends when the canoes are filled to the gunwales. In no other part of the world have I seen food made available to primitive people in such large quantities and with so little effort.

252 Back at the camp, the sardines are "graded" according to size and cooked immediately. They are not washed or cleaned, the inner organs are eaten to-
[263] gether with the flesh. Men, women and children feverishly take part in the cooking ; the fish is boiled without salt. All the natives then plunge their hands
264 avidly into the heap of sardines. From time to time the women clean their
515 hands by rubbing them on the *naquinéghé*. Very soon this garment becomes
[231] extremely smelly. Men and children clean their hands in a different way : by rubbing them on the dogs. On such occasions, everything and everybody smells of fish for days and days. The first to become clean again are the dogs, because they hate to be smeared with fish and wash themselves in the sea as soon as they have a chance.

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Onge

ing edible matter; furthermore, they don't care to take the trouble as food 251
is generally plentiful. We must also realize that they find salt repulsive. Even [263]
honey – so easily kept for many months – is disposed of, if possible, on the 264
very same day it is collected. Incredible quantities of this or other food may be 262
consumed for days and nights on end until everything disappears. Very few of the islanders care to vary their meat diet with an occasional diet of vegetables in order to disintoxicate the system; yet nourishing yams and other roots [137]
grow wild and plentiful. They are so rich in carbohydrates that I preferred [123]
them to potatoes and rice. I may add that the Onge, on my request, brought me yams and roots that they were glad to barter with rice, tea and sugar – soon declared by their wise men to possess medicinal properties.

The Onge's stomach, intestines and general physiological equilibrium 147
suffer from lack of salt and such bad nutritional habits as those described. They damage the human body, together with unrestrained sexual activity.

One highly unhygienic custom of the Onge is the use, all over Little 264
Andaman, of peculiar sucking-sticks. These pass from mouth to mouth during 412
the frequent meat or honey orgies indulged in by the natives.

When boiling pork or turtle, a quantity of liquid fat floats on the surface of the broth. Though the Onge despise the broth, they don't like to waste [262]
the fat. So they devised an efficient solution: they suck the fat up by means of a wad of absorbent matter obtained by chewing the end of a fibrous stick selected among many species of trees in the forest. The end of the stick is chewed along a section of 5 cms, the remaining part – about 25 cms long and 2 cms thick – is used as a handle to prevent the fingers from burning.

In every Onge camp sucking-sticks are permanently in evidence owing [262]
to the inmates' frequent ingestion of liquid fat or honey. A second version of the sucking-stick consists in a narrow, cotton-like strip, up to 80 cms long, with only a small part of the original wood remaining. This serves as a handle for dipping the stick into a wooden barrel full of honey. In both instances the same tool passes for hours from mouth to mouth: from older people to greedy children, anxious to suck the coveted delicacy off the stick that has been dipped into the pot. The rapid spreading of epidemics, which often occur [164]
in the Andamans, is certainly encouraged by the use of these sucking-sticks. I found no reference to this practice in books on the Andaman Islands.

Everything they eat, particularly meat, the Onge consider as either 262
remedial or harmful. They are therefore chary of accepting proffered food 123
if it is unknown to them. When I brought 30 Onge to Port Blair to introduce them to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Indian Republic, they were troublesome about food. In Port Blair it was not as easy as in Little Andaman to procure whole pigs; sometimes only pieces were available. The Andamanese Forest Department was quickly informed of the difficulty and kindly supplied the desired animals. In moments of shortage I tried to give the Onge cooked [775]
lamb, goat, chicken and pigeons; they resolutely refused them as unhealthy. [825]
Birds are never eaten by the Onge, who consider them shelters for human souls

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
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291 754 *naquinēghē* exposes the former owner to harm. Ill-disposed persons could use it for black magic practices. I collected specimens of this garment, all of them, however, brand-new – for the above-mentioned reason. To avoid trouble to the owner, nobody is allowed to touch the *naquinēghē*, which is worn in front of the vulva. To touch it is a deadly offence. Aside from the *naquinēghē*, Andaman 842 colonists attribute the natives' sterility to their abhorrence of salt. Another 263 opinion would have it that the lack of salt transforms human saliva into poison: the Jarawas, by spitting on their arrows render them poisonous. The absurdity of this belief is so evident that it requires no confutation. The Onge refuse to eat salt because they consider it unhealthy, or, to say the least, disgusting.

III. Illnesses and Onge Curative Methods

164 Few illnesses affect the Onge, but they succumb to those few with surprising speed. Often they become seriously ill for mysterious reasons and in spite of their robust appearance. Smallpox, tuberculosis and poliomyelitis are unknown in Little Andaman, although they sometimes strike in the nearby Nicobars. Measles broke out on the island on more than one occasion, killing off all the inhabitants of several communal huts, which I later found deserted and in ruins. With regard to syphilis, the Indian Census of 1931 quotes an old remark of PORTMAN's concerning a few individuals considered by him as infected. This was later denied.

Onge women are more resistant to illness than men. Wounds heal prompt- [752] ly in both sexes, without the aid of remedies. A few of the older men, hov- ever, had suppurating sores on their legs, slow to disappear even when disin- [123] fected and treated by me with European medicines. No similar sores were found on women. On the other hand, women suffer more than men from ringworm, mainly in the umbilical region. Nothing is done to rid them of it because the discomfort is slight. I suggested an Indian cure made with the leaves of the neem tree, or Melia azedarach, very common in Southern Asia where it is considered sacred. I imported the plant to Little Andaman, but [123] the Onge displayed no interest in it. I found a single instance of leucoderma, in a woman with whitish spots on her hands and lips. I could get no reliable information about the incidence of cancer, but it appears to be rare on the island. No baldness is to be seen in Little Andaman, and I found few traces of [142] greying hair, as the Onge die young. A transversal bregmatic furrow is noticeable in all individuals, male and female, as a consequence of carrying loads hung [482] from their heads by a strip of bark. The Onge start doing this in childhood. An artificial, unintentional deformation of the skull is the result of that uncomfortable habit.

751 For hygienic reasons the Little Andaman aborigines paint their bodies with 302 refined clay and ochre of various shades, mainly reddish. This gives the women occasion to embellish the bodies of their husbands with an endless variety of [386] geometrical designs. Every year I found changes in their patterns, and I

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Queensland and (as the Cape Bedford type) elsewhere. Oars, 171
method of fixing the booms and float – all are similar throughout 501
the area, including the Andamans.

Even game, once caught, is treated and distributed similarly by 171
these peoples, from the Andamans to Oceania. Cooking is done 252
without salt, in earth ovens (whether or not fire or red-hot stones [224]
are used) very different from those of Africa and America. The [263]
Semang and Aetà of today know how to make fire by friction, as 171
do the peoples of New Guinea, Australia and Polynesia; the Tas- 372
mans also have the knowledge to do so, but prefer to carry burning logs with them on their journeys, like the Andamanese. In certain parts of New Guinea and perhaps in some of the Pacific islands (as in the Andamans) the art of fire-making was unknown or possibly forgotten until recent times; it is said that the Papuans of the Bay of Astralobius knew nothing of the art until the middle of the nineteenth century. But the only sure information comes from the Andamans, where, whether through ignorance or loss of knowledge, the art of fire-making is unknown and fire is always carried everywhere.

Among the objects typical of the Andamans and found also 171
among the Semang, the Aetà, and other Oceanic peoples are the 412
digging stick and the crude hatchet. The former, used for gathering edible roots and tubers, is merely a pointed stick, but every family possesses one. The hatchet is slightly more elaborate, having both handle and blade, and like the digging stick, occurs always in virtually the same form.[1] Objects woven from vegetable fibres are [28]
also very similar in appearance – often very durable and sometimes pleasing by any standards. In some places woven breast-plates are [714]
used in warfare, but here the Jarawas differ, using single sheets of [184]
bark.

These are but a few of the many examples which one can find of 171
this striking similarity between these widely separated peoples. And alongside cultural similarities there exist others, anthropo- 14
logical and physical, which cannot be overlooked. Physically the

[1] This is simply a cutting tool fixed into a natural elbow in a suitable branch. The blade is fixed into the wood near the elbow, and the branch is cut off, so as to leave a short handle. The whole thing is reminiscent of a swan's head on a long neck, and is easily turned into a crude plane or adze by revolving the blade in the haft through a right angle.

11: Ciprianí E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

325 islanders, in the absence of any means of working it, have not fully realized.

3 IGNORANCE OF FIRE

372 174 The islanders' present ignorance of fire-making may possibly be the result of cultural decline, but this is not certain. In the presence of the considerable additional evidence in favour of the antiquity of the Andamanese culture it is, however, more likely that it is genuine ignorance, persisting in a pre-lithic people.

4 ABSENCE OF SALT

174 263 Although there can be no proof, it can be reasonably postulated that very primitive Man had no salt, and that in the Andamans this ignorance has persisted over thousands of years, owing to strict isolation. It is unlikely that the use of salt would have been completely lost, had it ever been introduced.

5 PRIMITIVE METHODS OF COOKING

252 172 Apart from the accidental and very recent introduction of petrol-drum cooking, the Andamanese use only the most primitive form of earth oven. This method of cooking was certainly known in the Palaeolithic era; at the entrance to the well-known Barma Grande cave near Mentone I have myself seen in the basal layers a number of stones bearing the marks of fire, too numerous merely to have formed some sort of hearth, and clearly not used to support cooking-pots, as Palaeolithic Man had none which would have withstood heat. The form of earth oven still used throughout the Andamans is undoubtedly of extreme antiquity.

6 FOOD VESSELS

415 285 172 The people of the Andamans still use for honey hollowed-out logs similar to those seen in Palaeolithic wall paintings, which also depict baskets very like those still in use throughout the archipelago. The art of basket-making can be traced back at least to the later Palaeolithic era.

7 USE OF POTTERY

323 172 As with the other Negrito peoples, pottery was unknown in the earliest culture of the Andamans. Its appearance seems from the evidence of the

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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512 combs of black honey are to be found[1], and these are generally
222 consumed by the hunters on the spot.

The provision of the vegetable food of the community is the work of the women, who must also supply the camp with firewood and water. While the men are away hunting the
462 women, attended by the children, cut and carry the firewood,
512 and either remain in the camp making baskets or nets or other
222 objects, or else go into the forest to look for fruits and seeds. Thus by midday the camp may be quite deserted, save perhaps for one or two old men and women, and a few of the children.

In the afternoon the women return with what food they have
512 obtained and then the men come in with their provision. The
252 camp, unless the hunters have been unsuccessful, is then busy with the preparation of the evening meal, which is the chief meal of the day. If a pig has been brought home whole it is cooked at the public cooking place and is then cut up. The meat is distributed amongst the members of the community and the woman of each family then proceeds to cook the family meal. The pork, after it has been roasted and cut up, is further cooked by being boiled. The family meal is prepared at the fire that each family has in its hut. The meat is a family one, partaken
[264] by a man and his wife and children. The bachelors cook and eat their own meal, and the unmarried women also eat by themselves.

512 After the meal is over, darkness having by this time fallen, the
[535] men may spend an hour or two in dancing to the accompaniment of a song sung by one of them with the help of a chorus of women.
537 In that case they would probably eat another meal after the dance was over. Another favourite amusement for the evening is what may be called "yarning." A man sits down with a few listeners and tells them, with few words, and with many dramatic gestures, how he killed a pig. The same man may go on with
512 tale after tale, till, by the time he finishes he has killed twenty or thirty pigs. Finally the whole camp retires to rest and nothing

[1] There are two kinds of wild bee in the Andamans. A small species makes black honeycombs in hollow trees, and these may be found at any time of the year. A larger species of bee builds white combs suspended from the underside of branches in tall trees. Such combs are found in abundance only in the hot season, and not at all in the middle of the rainy season.

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savoury smell of the food of which they have partaken. Again, when heated by travelling or by hunting or dancing, they have recourse to the same wash, but in these cases it is applied thinly[1]."

There are here two explanations of fundamentally different character. First the Andamanese practice of painting their bodies with clay is explained as having a purely utilitarian purpose, being intended to cool them when they are heated. In the second statement the explanation given is that the custom is intended to protect them from danger.

My own observations do not altogether agree with the statements of Mr Man. I found that the natives painted themselves just as much in the cold season as in the hot season. The principal, if not the sole, occasion on which the clay is used is after or immediately before a meal, and therefore generally in the late afternoon or evening when the heat of the day is past. I do not feel so satisfied as Mr Man appears to be, that the clay really has the effect of keeping a person cool, particularly when it is remembered that the painting may consist of a few lines each as broad as a finger. Moreover, Mr Man's explanation does not afford any reason for the fact that the clay is always applied in some sort of pattern. If it were merely to keep himself cool, we should expect to see a man cover himself all over with a plain coating evenly spread over the body. Such an even coating is never used, in the Great Andaman tribes, except by persons mourning for the dead, and is the essential mark of a mourner.

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It is easy to explain how Mr Man has fallen into an error in this matter. On many occasions, when I questioned the natives as to their reason for painting themselves with clay I received the answer, "When we have eaten pork or turtle or dugong, we become *ot-kimil* and so we take clay and paint ourselves." Now the word *ot-kimil* in the *Aka-Jeru* language is the word that the natives use to express what we mean by the word "hot." But while "hot" may always be translated by *ot-kimil* or *er-kimil*, the latter word cannot always be adequately rendered in English by the word "hot." Mr Man seems to have supposed that when an Andaman Islander says "hot" he means by the word only what we mean, whereas he really means a great deal more.

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 333.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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Let us examine briefly the word in question. In the languages of the North Andaman the stem is *-kimil*. With the prefix *ot-* or *er-* it is used to mean "hot" as in *T'ot-kimil-bom*, "I am hot," or *Ino ot-kimil bi* or *Ino er-kimil bi*, "The water is hot." Used by itself the stem *kimil* is the name of the latter part of the rainy season, when the weather is not hot but cool. A youth or girl who is passing through the initiation ceremonies is said to be *aka-kimil*, and is addressed or spoken of as *Kimil*, instead of by his or her proper name. The turtle-eating ceremony is called *čokbi-kimil*, or *čokbi-jo* or *kimil-jo*, *čokbi* meaning "turtle" and *jo* meaning "eating." The word "hot" is used by the natives in several unusual ways when they are talking their own language or Hindustani. Thus a stormy or rough sea is said to be "hot," and one native in describing to me (in Hindustani) the cessation of a cyclone said "the sea became cold." A person who is ill is said to be hot, and getting well is expressed by the phrase "getting cool."

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In the *Aka-Bea* language the word "hot" is translated by Mr Portman by the stem *uya*. The stem *kimil* appears in the form *gumul* in only some of the uses it has in the Northern languages. *Gumul* is the name of the latter part of the rainy season. A youth passing through the initiation ceremonies is said to be *aka-gumul* and is addressed or spoken of as *Guma*. The turtle-eating ceremony is called *gumul-le-ke*, *le-ke* meaning "eating." The word thus means "the *gumul* eating" and is the literal equivalent of the *kimil-jo* of the North.

The uses of the word *kimil* may be summarised as follows:

(1) to mean "hot" in the sense of the English word;

(2) in connection with illness;

(3) in speaking of stormy weather;

(4) as the name of the latter part of the rainy season;

(5) to denote the condition of a youth or girl who is passing through or has recently passed through the initiation ceremonies, and to denote the ceremonies themselves;

(6) to denote a condition in a person consequent on eating certain foods, and perhaps sometimes due to other causes, to remedy or obviate which the natives make use of clay painted in patterns on their bodies.

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It is probable, then, that when a native says that after eating food he is *ot-limil* and therefore paints himself with clay he does not mean simply that he is hot. This will be still more evident when we consider the second explanation of the custom that is given by the natives. Many of those whom I questioned stated that after eating dugong, pork, turtle, etc., the body emits an odour, that this odour may attract the spirits of the jungle or the sea, and that to obviate this they paint themselves with clay. This agrees exactly with what Mr Man says in the second passage quoted above. It is confirmed by other customs. I was told that a man who has eaten dugong will not leave the camp until some time after the dugong meat is all finished, for fear that the spirits may smell him and do him harm. It is to be noted in passing that painting the body with clay does not by any means remove the odour that does actually characterise a native after he has been eating fat meat of any kind. We must be careful, in this instance also, not to assume that an Andaman Islander means by "smell" exactly what we mean by it and nothing more. It will be shown later in the chapter that the Andamanese identify the smell of an object with its active magical principle. One example may be given here to show this. The origin of rheumatism in the legs is explained by the natives as being the result of the common practice of preparing the fibre of the *Anadendron paniculatum* by scraping it on the thigh. During this process, they say, the "smell" of the plant enters the thigh and is the cause of rheumatic or sciatic pains.

The natives give yet a third statement of their reasons for using clay. On many occasions I asked them what would happen if they ate pork or turtle and did not paint themselves. In every case I received the reply that any man who did such a thing would almost certainly be ill.

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When a number of persons give three different reasons for one and the same action, and are equally sincere throughout, it is to be presumed that the three different statements are so many different ways of saying one and the same thing. We may therefore conclude that the Andaman Islanders believe that there is a peculiar power in foods (or in some foods) which makes it dangerous to eat them. This danger may be expressed by saying that

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the person who has eaten food will, unless he takes certain precautions, be liable to be ill. Now sickness is believed to be caused by the spirits of the jungle and the sea, and therefore an alternative or equivalent statement of the same belief is that after a person has eaten food he is in danger from the spirits. We may therefore conclude that the word *ot-kimil*, when it is used to describe the condition of a person who has eaten food, denotes simply this condition of danger, and nothing more. For this we shall find ample confirmation later on. Subject to such later confirmation I will here state what has been maintained, which is (1) that the *ra-puli* patterns are to be explained as being protective, (2) that the eating of food is regarded as dangerous, and (3) that this danger is associated in the minds of the natives with sickness and with the spirits. It will be convenient to leave the first of these three propositions for later discussion and take up the second, seeking to find the meaning of this belief in the dangerous properties of food.

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Not all foods are equally dangerous. I was able to establish roughly a sort of scale. The most dangerous foods are dugong; the fish called *komar*; some of the snakes; the internal fat such as the kidney-fat or the intestinal fat of pig, turtle, monitor lizard and *Paradoxurus*; the liver of sharks, sting-rays and *Plotosus*; and honey. Next in order come the flesh of pigs, turtle, monitor lizard and *Paradoxurus* and of the fishes mentioned above; also the eggs of turtle. To these should perhaps be added the edible grubs and some vegetable foods such as the yams and the *Artocarpus* fruit and seed. Lowest in the scale, that is, least dangerous, are molluscs and the commoner sorts of fish and vegetable foods.

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The principles underlying this grading of foods are two. Those foods that are difficult or dangerous to procure are considered more dangerous than others. Thus all the fishes that are thought most dangerous to eat are actually dangerous, such as the sharks, the sting-rays, the armed *Plotosus*, and the fish *komar* that has a powerful spike on its head with which it can inflict a dangerous wound. Secondly the foods that are most prized are regarded as being more dangerous than those that are less prized. The internal fat of animals is regarded as a great delicacy and therefore occupies a high place in the scale. It is this also that explains

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to protect them from danger and to bring them luck, is therefore very similar to their belief in the protective power of the materials used for weapons and implements. The consideration of the apparent contradiction mentioned above has led us to a more exact statement of the real beliefs in these matters. They believe, we may say, that all the things from the jungle and the sea of which they make use as food or as materials, are dangerous unless approached with proper ritual precautions, but when so approached they become sources of strength and well-being and also of protection from unseen dangers. 182X 784 262

To return to the main argument, which was concerned with the meaning of the patterns of clay painted on the body after eating the more dangerous foods, it would seem that this action is really a rite or ceremony, of the same general character as other ceremonial customs of the Andamans. It is an action required by custom, the performance of which on appropriate occasions serves to keep alive in the mind of the individual a certain system of sentiments necessary for the regulation of conduct in conformity to the needs of the society. By it the individual is made to feel (or to act as though he felt) that his life is one of continually repeated dangers from which he can only be preserved by conforming to the customs of the society as they have been handed down by tradition. He is made to feel that the eating of food is not merely the satisfaction of an animal appetite, but an act of communion, that the food itself is something "sacred" (if we may use that word in the sense of the original Latin "sacer"). It serves also, like any other rite in which all join, to make the individual feel the solidarity and unity of the community; all share in the common repast and the common danger, and each man sees on his neighbour the clay with which he himself is daubed. 182X 302 264 751

Of course it is probable that the Andamanese custom of painting the body after eating, like our own grace before and after meat, with which it is parallel, tends to become a formality accompanied by little real feeling, but it can be shown, I believe, that such customs do possess a real value—a real psychological function—in keeping alive ideas and sentiments that will on occasion play an important part in influencing conduct.

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142 [264]

able, for not only are no precautions taken for their preservation, but they are used roughly, small bones being broken by them, and food commonly eaten at almost boiling point. The grinding surface of the molars is generally much abraded: five or six tubercles are occasionally observed in the posterior molars, but are not all marked with equal distinctness; in some cases, indeed, they are scarcely distinguishable. The crowns of these teeth frequently present one long and comparatively even surface, and the peculiarity is of course due to the practice above referred to, of grinding hard substances with them. The canines are not longer or more prominent than the other teeth; caries appear to be rare, except with those well advanced in years. The front teeth of the lower jaw are generally the first cut: the first dentition is completed apparently at an earlier age than is usual among ourselves. [145]

Hair.—1. Dr. Allen Thomson, F.R.S., who has kindly examined some of the hair microscopically, gives it as his opinion that the form of the transverse section is *oval*. Having, however, only a small quantity at his disposal, he has not been able to make a sufficient examination as yet, so he adds that, "it may be that some sections are oblique, but a number are certainly transverse, and none of them have a circular outline." In appearance it is extremely frizzly and seems to grow in spiral tufts,[1] but examination proves that the roots are uniformly distributed over the scalp: it is fine in texture and fairly abundant, but lustreless, and seldom more than two or three inches long, or five inches if the actual length when untwisted be measured; in a few instances it has been found to be eight or ten inches long, but the ends were matted, dead-like, and easily broken.

2. The majority of the women every week or ten days shave their heads almost entirely, leaving only two narrow parallel lines of hair, termed *gôr-*, from the crown to the nape of the neck. The *gôr-* is never allowed to exceed one-eighth of an inch in length; therefore, as they have no means of clipping it, it is constantly shaven off, and a fresh *gôr-* is made with the hair which has grown since the last operation.[2] 302

[1] Just ten years ago it was pointed out by Dr. J. Barnard Davis, F.R.S., that the delicate ribbon-like hair of these islanders is exactly similar to that of the now extinct race of Tasmanians ("Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. ii, p. 100).

[2] I would here call attention to some errors of the artist by whom Dr. Mouat's book was illustrated. He has represented the men as shaven and the women with their curly wigs intact, whereas it is the latter only who as a rule shave their heads; and they do not go about entirely nude, but wear leaves, as will be explained in another place (*vide post* "Psychology and Morals," paragraph 8, and "Attire," paragraph 3). They are further incorrectly represented in the same plate as using a gipsy's tripod for cooking purposes.

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their encampment when the phenomenon occurs, they invariably secrete themselves, at the bottom of a boat, for example, if fishing, and remain silent for a short time before venturing to resume their interrupted employment. 776 821

5. Between dawn and sunrise they will do no work, save what is noiseless, lest the sun should be offended, and cause an eclipse, storm, or other misfortune to overtake them. If, therefore, they have occasion to start on a journey or hunting expedition at so early an hour, they proceed as quietly as possible, and refrain from the practice, observed at other periods of the day, of testing the strength of their bow-strings, as the snapping noise caused thereby is one of those to which the sun objects. 784 821

6. They invariably partake of a meal soon after rising, as it is believed that no luck can attend any one who starts to his day's work on an empty stomach. 777 264

7. They dare not use the wood of the tree called *al·aba-* (the bark of which supplies the fibre used in making harpoon lines and turtle nets) for cooking turtle, for, as will be found elsewhere,[1] this is an act so abhorrent to *mava ·ō·gar-* that he visits the offender with summary and condign punishment. 776

8. In tempestuous weather the leaves of the *Mimusops Indica* are constantly thrown on the fires, as the popping sounds thus produced are thought to have the effect of assuaging *Pū·luga-*'s fury and causing the weather to moderate. 821 776 [789]

9. When they see a dark cloud approaching at a time when rain would prove very inconvenient, as when hunting, travelling, &c., they advise *Pū·luga-* to divert its course by shouting "*·wâ·ra-jō·bo kō·pke kō·pke, kō·pke*" [*Wā·ra-jōbo*[2] will bite, bite, bite (you)]. If in spite of this a shower falls they imagine that *Pū·luga-* is undeterred by their warning.

10. This practice of menacing *Pū·luga-* is probably that to which Colonel Symes alluded when he wrote that "they confess the influence of a malignant Being, and, during the south-west monsoon, when tempests prevail with unusual violence, they deprecate his wrath by wild choruses."

11. Storms are regarded as indications of *Pū·luga-*'s anger; winds are his breath, and are caused to be blown by his will; when it thunders *Pū·luga-* is said to be growling at something which has annoyed him; and lightning, they say, is a burning log flung by him at the object of his wrath.

12. There is an idea current that if during the first half of the rainy season they eat the *Caryota sobolifera*, or pluck and eat the seeds of the *Entada pursatha*, or gather yams or other edible 821 776 262

[1] *Vide post*, "Mythology," paragraph 32.

[2] This snake, as already mentioned under "Medicine," appears to be the *Ophiophagus-laps*.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

such, not because they find any difficulty in procuring other food.[1] 262

3. Both *àryô to-* and *ē·rem-tâ·ga-* find ample[2] provisions for their simple wants in their immediate surroundings, without exerting themselves to any great extent, and their eagerness in the chase is induced almost as much by actual love of sport as by the necessity of obtaining food: were this not the case they would hardly be found spending so much time in dancing and singing, in personal decorations, and in the preparation of their meals, while they reject with aversion anything that has become at all tainted. Further, it may be fairly estimated that one-third of the food daily consumed by them consists of edible roots, fruits, and honey, and the remaining portion of the flesh of one or more of the following, viz.: pig, paradoxurus,[3] iguana, turtle, fish, and molluscs, with rare additions of pigeons and jungle fowls;[4] Flying-foxes, bats, rats, sea- (not land-) snakes, the larvæ of the Great Capricornis beetle (*Cerambyx heros*) called *òi·yum-*,[5] as well as two other insects, called *bū·tu-* and *pī·rigi-*,[6] are, it is true, also eaten, but they are partaken of by way of variety, and the latter are regarded as luxuries (*â·kà-râ·rnga-*, tid-bits) to supplement (not substitute) other fare.[7] 224 136 262 222

4. The Andamanese are nominally content with two meals a day, viz.: breakfast (*â·kà-nâ·-*) and a heavy supper (*â·kan-go·lajnga-*) after sun-down; they will, however, often help themselves to small quantities of food from time to time in the course of the day when engaged on any work; and, when leaving on a 264

[1] "It cannot be wondered at that these savages love the unfettered life of their own wild jungles, where their simple wants are easily supplied—a lean-to serving them for quarters, and food such as they are accustomed to being found in great abundance. Nothing comes amiss to an Andamanese maw; roots, wild fruits, berries, crabs, clams, fish, wild pigs, and turtle are all ravenously devoured, and a glance at the well-nourished bodies of men, women, and children amply convinces one that they do not starve" (*vide* "Bombay Gazette," 2nd August, 1881: "The Andamans, our Indian Penal Settlement;" *vide* also paper by Professor Owen, F.R.S., "On the Psychical and Physical Characteristics of the Mincopies," Report of British Association, 1861. p. 216.)

[2] *Vide* "Tribal Communities," paragraph 2, and Appendix F (*Wō·i's* statement).

[3] It is presumed that Dr. Day refers to this animal when he states that "they eat cats," for they do not appear ever to have had any fancy for the flesh of *pū·chī*, the name they have adopted for the domestic cat, from the English "pussy."

[4] *Vide* "Tabu," paragraph 2 (footnote).

[5] Probably the "fat grub, about three or four inches long, much relished by the natives" (Australians), mentioned by Mr. H. W. Bates, in his "Illustrated Travels," is identical with the *òi·yum-*.

[6] The *bū·tu-* is found in rotten logs of jungle trees, especially the *Dipterocarpus lævis* (*â·rain-*), *Gluta longipetiolata* (*já-*), and *Chickrassia tabularis* (*ô·ro-*).

[7] Their fancy for grubs does not extend to the *Teredo navalis*.

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264 day's hunt, they usually provide themselves with some fire and a *gōb-*[1] of food, which they warm up and enjoy about midday:[2] no difference is made between the sexes, but all fare alike.

261 5. The average amount eaten by an Andamanese adult appears to exceed that of a native of India, and to average three or four pounds daily, while, like many other savages, after a successful hunt, or on some special occasion, when dancing is carried on through the entire night,[3] the consumption of food is surprising, and has, in some instances, been estimated at upwards of ten pounds of pork, or turtle, in the twenty-four hours, helped out by mouthfuls of some one or more of the delicacies above enumerated.[4]

264 6. As may be assumed from foregoing sections, caste distinctions are unknown; while, however, all members of a family take their meals together, a married man is only permitted to eat with other Benedicts and bachelors, but never with any women save those of his own household, unless indeed he be well advanced in years. Bachelors as well as spinsters are required to take their meals apart with those of their respective sexes.

7. Their mode of eating meat is to cram a large piece into the mouth, and then to cut off whatever is in excess[5] with a bamboo or cane (now-a-days generally a steel) knife. The same custom, carried to a more disgusting extreme, is found among
271 the Esquimaux.[6] Speaking generally of the Andamanese it may be said that water is their only beverage, for though the aborigines in the vicinity of Port Blair have acquired a strong liking for rum, &c., they have not been permitted to gratify it; if very thirsty while on a fishing expedition, and all the fresh water supply be exhausted[7] the *àryô·to-* pour water over their

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 82.

[2] This applies to the meat of the turtle, pig, iguana, and paradoxurus; the remains of a feast of fish, shell-fish, and prawns are not warmed up a second time; a further distinction is made in the case of turtles' eggs, the three insects mentioned in paragraph 3, edible roots, and such fruits as are cooked (*vide post* paragraph 19), for these are left to cool before they are eaten.

[3] *Vide* "Games and Amusements," paragraphs 21 and 22.

[262] [4] *Bêche de mer* and edible birds'-nests, so highly esteemed by some, and of which large supplies are obtainable along their coasts, are not regarded by the Andamanese as fit for food.

[5] For the following note, which refers to a similar practice among the Napo-Indians of South America, I am indebted to Mr. W. L. Distant:—"In eating meat (usually monkey, sea-cow, and peccari) we observed that they did not tear or bite it, but putting one end of a long piece in the mouth, cut off what they could not get in, as Darwin noticed among the Fuegians" (Jas. Orton: "Andes and the Amazon," p. 168).

[6] *Vide* Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times," p. 486.

[7] They will now-a-days occasionally assuage their thirst, when away from home, by cutting off a piece of ground rattan (*bōl-*); this practice is only known to the people of South Andaman, and has been borrowed from the Burmese convicts.

881 and pointing to a limited tabu. On reaching puberty or thereabouts, between 12 and 16 years of age, abstention from about 6 kinds of food, each in turn, is voluntarily commenced and continued for some years. At the end of each abstention there are a few ceremonies and some dancing and the youth of both sexes become "grown up." There is nothing else to mark this period beyond the application of an honorific name while it lasts, no secret to be communicated, no religious ceremony. In after-life, however, men who have gone through the initiatory period together will not fight, quarrel, nor call each other by name. They will assume great friendship, while avoiding each other with a mutual shyness. The women also practise a limited tabu as to food during menstruation and pregnancy. The idea of tabu does undoubtedly exist as to food and every man has his own tabued articles through life, which is, however, usually something observed to disagree with him in childhood or to be unpalatable.

264 576 There are also limitations as to sexual family relations. Only husband and wife can eat together. Widows and widowers, bachelors and maidens eat with their own sex only. A man may not address directly a married woman younger than himself or touch his wife's sister or the wife of a younger relative, and *vice versâ*.

302 304 The tattooing is partly ceremonial, as a test of courage and endurance of pain, and so is painting the body with clays, oils, etc. By the material and design is shown sickness, sorrow or festivity and the unmarried condition.

535 **Amusements.**—The great amusement of the Andamanese, indeed their chief object in life after the chase, is the formal evening or night dance, a curious monotonous performance accompanied by drumming the feet rythmically on a special sounding board, like a Crusader's shield and mistaken for a shield by several observers, singing a song more or less impromptu and of a compass limited to four semitones and the intermediate quarter tones, and clapping the hands on the thighs in unison. The dance takes place every evening whenever there are enough for it, and lasts for hours and all night at meetings of the tribes or septs for the purpose. It then becomes ceremonial and is continued for several nights in succession. Both sexes take allotted parts in it. This and turtle hunting are the only things which will keep the Andamanese awake all night long. There are five varieties of the dance among the tribes: that of the Ónge-Jarawas being an entirely separate performance.

533 **Music.**—The Andamanese appreciate rhythm and time, but not pitch or tune. They sing in unison, but not in parts, and can neither sing in chorus nor repeat or even catch an air. The key in which a solo or chorus is started is quite accidental. They can be readily taught any dance step and can teach it themselves from observation.

Song.—Every man who respects himself is a composer of songs, always consisting of a solo and refrain, and sings without action or gesticulation and always to the same rhythm. The songs relate only to travel, sport and personal adventures, never to love, children and the usual objects of poetry, and very rarely to beliefs and superstition. The wording is enigmatic and excessively elliptic, the words themselves being in grammatical order, but shorn of all affixes as a rule. As in all poetry unusual words are employed. But clipped as the wording is and prosaic as the subjects are, the Andamanese are far from being unable to give a poetic turn to their phraseology and ideas. The women have lullabies for their babies.

524 **Games.**—The Andamanese are childishly fond of games and have an indigenous blind-man's-buff, leap-frog and hide-and-seek. Mock pig and turtle hunts, mock burials, and "ghost" hunts are favourite sports. Matches in swinging, swimming, throwing, skimming (ducks and drakes), shooting (archery), and wrestling are practised.

551 **Naming of Children and Adults.**—Every child is named for life after one of about twenty conventional names by the mother, of course without reference to sex, immediately upon pregnancy becoming evident, to which afterwards a nickname, varying occasionally as life proceeds, is added from personal peculiarities, deformities, disfigurements, or eccentricities and sometimes from flattery or reverence. Girls are also given "flower names" after one of sixteen selected trees which happen to be in flower at the time they reach puberty.

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tracted hardship and considerable risk, not so much from the natives themselves as from the implacable Andaman sea. We had a terrible time during several of our landings from the open Indian Ocean. Constant danger additionally stimulated the development of research in Little Andaman. All the Indians and the Burmese behaved bravely. Among them I wish to mention here my Indian stenographer, a married man nearing thirty, from Bengal: RANHADIR KUMAR DEY, who, on 12 and 13 February, 1953, on the south coast of the island shared two frightfully narrow escapes with me. I am sure that neither of us will ever forget it. I later found a comfortable landing place, now indicated by floating buoys, on the north coast. Two other Bengalese assistants who were a great help to me in Little Andaman and had been selected from a number of young aspirants, are PRONAB GANGULI and BIMAL CHANDRA ROY. My work in the Andamans could not have been accomplished without them and without the initiative and encouragement of officers such as Dr. B. S. GUHA, Director of the Department of Anthropology of the Indian Government, Mr. AJAY K. GHOSH, the kind, open-minded Chief Commissioner of Andamans and Nicobars during my 1951-1953 stay there, and Mr. S. N. MAITRA, who succeeded Mr. GHOSH as Chief Commissioner. In a book that I am writing I try to point out the significance of my work in the Andamans, carried out with the help of such distinguished, and sometimes heroic, Indian collaborators.

I. Hygienic Conditions

1. Habitation

The nomadic Onge have two kinds of shelter: one temporary, the other permanent, used only for short periods at a time. The Little Andaman forest is full of abandoned temporary shelters; the permanent camps are fewer, mainly situated along the coast. They consist of communal huts, strongly built by a number of families roaming under the direction of a leader. The huts have a ritual significance, as we shall presently see. Inside each communal hut are a number of beds generally equal to the number of families. Small fires are kept burning day and night near the beds, a precaution that I was thankful for on many cold nights succeeded by hot days. The Onge require nothing more against the cold. In their camps they can withstand the heaviest storms and drenching rains. In order to avoid chills it is enough for them to protect their fires from extinction. This applied to me too, while living among the Onge. The warmth and the dry air ensured good health for us all.

A few additional beds are for the use of bachelors nearing marriage. Most of the beds are marginally and radially placed; a few are placed transversally. Normal beds accommodate father, mother (the Onge are monogamous), children and dogs, all in a heap. In temporary as in permanent shelters it is customary for families to eat separately, each close to its bed. The low, round roof of the communal hut does not reach the ground; a gap of 30 cms is left free for creeping in and out at will without using the main door (a simple mat to be lifted). Rubbish is thrown carelessly everywhere, e. g. directly outside the circular hut, which is consequently surrounded by a malodorous ring of bones, imperfectly cleaned shells, bits of rotting shellfish and other animals – a rich breeding ground for flies and various other insects that rapidly destroy everything edible, leaving the grass to grow until the next lot of garbage accumulates. Building and rebuilding a communal hut always on the same

515 people. Furthermore, the Onge skin is very soft and more elastic than is usual
[147] in human beings. For us, clothed and with a less resilient skin, a trip through the thorny Andaman forest means many small, bleeding scratches. Not so for the naked Onge. – To cover them with clothes would endanger their health. Nakedness inures them to the sudden changes of temperature so frequent in
[513] Little Andaman and preserves them from catching cold when sleeping, uncovered, on their rough, unprotected bed of boughs. As with primitives all over the world, clothes make them miserable and, I may add, very ungainly and dirty.

515 Part of their general negligence with regard to hygiene is their carelessness about their teeth. They never clean them. They do keep bamboo sticks,
[413] 1 mm thick and 8 cms long, tucked into their hair to be ostensibly used as toothpicks ; but the sticks, to tell the truth, are more of an ornament than a tool.
142 The Onge's teeth are so compact and sound that there is no space between them for food particles to collect. No caries or decay of any sort are to be
[164] noticed. In a number of skeletons that I dug up from under the beds in communal huts, the teeth gave evidence of one peculiarity : old people had worn them down to the root. The Onge habit of using teeth as working instruments,
[289] to prepare fibre for ropes and in many other circumstances – apart from their permanent chewing on hard foodstuffs – explains this fact.

515 As a consequence of never washing, the natives' hands are sometimes extremely dirty. The Onge themselves are conscious of this. I shall give an
226 instance. It so happened that I arrived in Nachugé, on the west coast, toward the end of March, when the sea was teeming with migrating sardines. In Little Andaman sardines can weigh up to a pound ; but a normal catch, obtained with small hand-nets cast from canoes among shoals of fish imprisoned by the low tide within the coral reef that surrounds the island, contains specimens of
[264] every dimension. All are eaten as soon as possible. The quantity of fish brought back to the camps on such occasions puts all inmates to work and induces everybody to abandon all other occupations for the time being. In the low tidal waters the men push their canoes from rock to rock, using them as receptacles for the abundant food so easily collected. In some "pockets" nets prove unnecessary : the fish is gathered in handfuls and rapidly thrown into the canoes. The hecatomb ends when the canoes are filled to the gunwales. In no other part of the world have I seen food made available to primitive people in such large quantities and with so little effort.

252 Back at the camp, the sardines are "graded" according to size and cooked immediately. They are not washed or cleaned, the inner organs are eaten to-
[263] gether with the flesh. Men, women and children feverishly take part in the cooking ; the fish is boiled without salt. All the natives then plunge their hands
264 avidly into the heap of sardines. From time to time the women clean their
515 hands by rubbing them on the *naqnuēghē*. Very soon this garment becomes
[231] extremely smelly. Men and children clean their hands in a different way : by rubbing them on the dogs. On such occasions, everything and everybody smells of fish for days and days. The first to become clean again are the dogs, because they hate to be smeared with fish and wash themselves in the sea as soon as they have a chance.

3. Food

In the absence of men, women also are good at fishing inside the coral reefs. They do this with two small nets used together. Their catch generally consists of brilliantly coloured fish with yellow, red, green, blue, black and white stripes forming varied and attractive designs. The Onge eat all fish without discrimination. My Indian collaborators, on the other hand, considered the coloured fish dangerous to their health and refused to cook them ; the Sacred Vedas, in fact, advise the avoidance of brigthly hued fish and of fish without scales. I wanted to try both kinds, and found them perfectly palatable, tasty and harmless. 226 [462] 262 123

No tool, used for any purpose by the Onge, ever gets a cleaning. Cleanliness, I repeat, is unknown in Little Andaman. See how food is prepared and disposed of ! Care is taken only not to throw big pieces of meat intended for cooking directly on the bare ground ; but once it is cooked, food is treated with the utmost disregard for dirt, dust, cobwebs and other such things. It is usually left lying around on large leaves spread out for the purpose. The remains of the Onge's orgiastic meals are kept out of reach of the dogs on the ceiling of the huts, to be covered with flies when no fire is lit directly below. Sand and grit may get wedged annoyingly in the teeth, but not such impalpable things as dust or cobwebs. The use of unclean food is not repugnant to the Onge. The same can be said for water polluted by dogs drinking and bathing in it, or by the presence of putrefying carcases. In the west of Little Andaman I saw some Onge avidly drinking from pools of a blackish water with a revolting sulphurous smell. After thoroughly filtering and boiling it, I too used such water, for it was the only water available in the neighborhood. This caused no ill effects. My Indian men considered it perfectly healthy and invigorating, and drank it safely in its natural condition. 264 [252] [251] 271 123

The Onge eat with their unwashed fingers, without the help of tools. On rare occasions they use platters made of the flattened-out stems – or bracts – of *areca* palms. They sometimes carry these platters when travelling, but of course never wash them although they become coated in rancid, greasy filth. They soon assume a dark colour and a truly revolting appearance – aside from the awful smell. A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN's statement – that the Andamanese paint their bodies to neutralize the unpleasant smell of food that clings to them after their orgiastic feedings – shows only indirect knowledge of the life and manners of those people. Even the horrible flatulence that follows their pork orgies is not considered an inconvenience ; yet it is much more revolting than all the other body odours. 264 [415] 114 302 147 827

Although the Onge observe few hygienic precautions they do follow a number of medical practices, not all devoid of beneficial effects. Here are a few more remarks on their eating and drinking habits. For about six months of the year, between November and April, water is scarce in Little Andaman. Every kind of fresh water is then considered good by the Onge, regardless of whether it is a murky infusion of rotting leaves or afloat with the putrefied 751 312 271

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312 caracases of small animals. During the droughts, marine hermit crabs, of
271 which a profusion is found in Little Andaman even far from the sea-shore,
[196] often choose to die in fresh-water pools. They are not removed from the pools.
[415] A nautilus shell is sometimes used as a drinking vessel ; failing this, the Onge
[516] lap up the water like animals, on all fours, directly from the pool. Since they are
291 very fond of dogs, man and dog drink together from the same tiny pool, often holding no more than a few pints of water. Dogs reached Great Andaman as early as 1857 ; they came to Little Andaman much later. Before that time there were no dogs in the Andamanese Archipelago. They soon became the natives' cherished and much appreciated assistants in the hunting of wild pigs. Many unhygienic habits followed the appearance of dogs in the Andamans.

271 The Onge have no idea of boiling water for the purpose of disinfection ;
[147] nevertheless their health does not appear to suffer at all as a result of the pol-
123 luted water they drink. When, in 1952, I dug a well near the left bank of Dugong Creek on the north-east coast of Little Andaman, I was compelled to fence it in so as to prevent dogs from drinking it and bathing in it.

264 Dogs lick everything that smells of food, including the cooking pots,
[291] and the pots are not washed before use after the dogs have licked them.
[136] Swarms of flies of different species and small coleoptera of a brilliant blue colour, one of them 6 mms long, follow the dogs after they have "cleaned" the pots by licking them. They line the inside of the pots with a crawling, living coat, moving restlessly around in search of food. One species of fly, which is of a brilliant, metallic green colour, has a peculiarly disagreeable smell. All the flies lay eggs while feeding, but the eggs are soon devoured by the hovering bluish coleoptera. Thus in a few hours all traces of organic matter disappear from the pots. Subsequent exposure to fire undoubtedly destroys the germs that would otherwise be certainly dangerous to human beings.

415 The Onge no longer use indigenous pottery for cooking. Its disappearance
177 is recent, as the sherds that litter Little Andaman prove to the investigator.
[323] Excavation in modern kitchen-middens leads to the same conclusion. During the last war, quantities of empty petrol drums were washed up on the Andaman shores. They were found in such numbers that the Onge have not yet used them all up : after 1952 I found several of these containers abandoned, untouched, in the jungle. The primitive inhabitants sawed each container in two cylindrical halves, thus transforming them into cooking pots. The result was that within a few years the fragile ancestral pottery of the Onge disappeared altogether. Furthermore, aluminium pots were distributed among the natives after 1952. Probably the indigenous pottery will never again reappear.
[252] Each half of a petrol drum is large enough to contain a pig, or a turtle weighing
262 150 lbs, cut into pieces. Only the flesh of these animals is consumed by the
[231] Onge ; the nourishing broth is poured out onto the ground or left in the pot to be lapped up by the dogs. The Onge believe that broth is unhealthy and avoid drinking it.

251 No matter how prodigious the catch of sardines or other fish, unobtain-
[185] able at other times of the year, no attempt is made at storing part of it in view of future shortage. The Onge are unacquainted with methods for preserv-

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ing edible matter ; furthermore, they don't care to take the trouble as food 251
is generally plentiful. We must also realize that they find salt repulsive. Even [263]
honey – so easily kept for many months – is disposed of, if possible, on the 264
very same day it is collected. Incredible quantities of this or other food may be 262
consumed for days and nights on end until everything disappears. Very few
of the islanders care to vary their meat diet with an occasional diet of vegetables
in order to disintoxicate the system ; yet nourishing yams and other roots [137]
grow wild and plentiful. They are so rich in carbohydrates that I preferred [123]
them to potatoes and rice. I may add that the Onge, on my request, brought
me yams and roots that they were glad to barter with rice, tea and sugar – soon
declared by their wise men to possess medicinal properties.

The Onge's stomach, intestines and general physiological equilibrium 147
suffer from lack of salt and such bad nutritional habits as those described.
They damage the human body, together with unrestrained sexual activity.

One highly unhygienic custom of the Onge is the use, all over Little 264
Andaman, of peculiar sucking-sticks. These pass from mouth to mouth during 412
the frequent meat or honey orgies indulged in by the natives.

When boiling pork or turtle, a quantity of liquid fat floats on the sur- [262]
face of the broth. Though the Onge despise the broth, they don't like to waste
the fat. So they devised an efficient solution : they suck the fat up by means of
a wad of absorbent matter obtained by chewing the end of a fibrous stick
selected among many species of trees in the forest. The end of the stick is
chewed along a section of 5 cms, the remaining part – about 25 cms long and
2 cms thick – is used as a handle to prevent the fingers from burning.

In every Onge camp sucking-sticks are permanently in evidence owing [262]
to the inmates' frequent ingestion of liquid fat or honey. A second version of
the sucking-stick consists in a narrow, cotton-like strip, up to 80 cms long,
with only a small part of the original wood remaining. This serves as a handle
for dipping the stick into a wooden barrel full of honey. In both instances
the same tool passes for hours from mouth to mouth ; from older people to
greedy children, anxious to suck the coveted delicacy off the stick that has
been dipped into the pot. The rapid spreading of epidemics, which often occur [264]
in the Andamans, is certainly encouraged by the use of these sucking-sticks.
I found no reference to this practice in books on the Andaman Islands.

Everything they eat, particularly meat, the Onge consider as either 262
remedial or harmful. They are therefore chary of accepting proffered food 123
if it is unknown to them. When I brought 30 Onge to Port Blair to introduce
them to Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD, President of the Indian Republic, they were
troublesome about food. In Port Blair it was not as easy as in Little Andaman
to procure whole pigs ; sometimes only pieces were available. The Andamanese
Forest Department was quickly informed of the difficulty and kindly supplied
the desired animals. In moments of shortage I tried to give the Onge cooked [775]
lamb, goat, chicken and pigeons ; they resolutely refused them as unhealthy. [825]
Birds are never eaten by the Onge, who consider them shelters for human souls

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

262 immense quantities of it together with pork. I was with them three times when this recurred, so I could observe their behaviour exhaustively. With their 517 bellies full, the natives rest. Their only activity is body painting, performed by 302 the women on the skin of their peacefully sleeping husbands. Designs change 178 from time to time as I said before, according to the women's inventiveness. Each family challenges the others in renewing their patterns. The best are later reproduced until the next change. From year to year I noticed no real evolution in this rudimentary art, but a cyclical fashion, with temporary preference, in males and females alike, for some geometrical designs, unconnected with whatever kind of food they had been eating. This contradicts the published af- 114 firmations of several authors, who allege that the Andamanese paint special 302 patterns in special colours for different kinds of food. There is nothing more false, at least with reference to the Onge. Merry feasting, whether on pork [262] turtle, dugong, fish or honey, leads to a period of rest and body decoration – [751] always in similar patterns and colours – with the unique purpose of preventing illness. We might say that painting the body is equal to cleaning it, but this [515] is quite unintentional. A curious exception to the Onge's filthy habits is the practice of sweeping the floor after solemn banquets in communal huts. The 264 surface of the floor consists of unpacked earth hardened by casual tramping. 356 When it is dry, sweeping raises a heavy dust that fills the hut to the ceiling. 342 It deposits there on the wooden beams where the Onge like to store cooked 251 victuals. So they eat their food, as I said before, coated with dust, no matter 262 how thick. A brush without a handle is used to sweep the floor ; it is 80 cms 412 long and no thicker than a man's wrist. It is one of the nicest tools made by the Onge, and consists of strong, hard, elastic palm fibres bound together with strips of rattan. The dirt is simply thrown out all around the hut, by pushing 356 it under the roof mats that never reach the ground.

These notes offer a first glimpse into a peculiar aspect of Onge life. It is 114 to be deplored that these vanishing people have not yet been exhaustively studied, notwithstanding their anthropological interest and high biological significance.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

CHAPTER IX
ABORIGINAL POPULATION

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Communal dinner of the Onges (Courtesy A. S. I.)

[facing P. 62]

142 147 482 much assistance in this respect, as the muscular insertions are exaggerated in both sexes, both being subjected to continued physical effort resulting in muscular bulk.

142 147 164 [304] [515] One quite outstanding physical feature in the Onges is their teeth. The palate is unusually arched, unlike that of the African pygmies or the Bushmen. The teeth, which are never filed or cut, as many primitive peoples do for decorative purposes, are very white; caries is rare, and although never cleaned the teeth are retained till late in life. A common abnormality is that the lateral incisors are as pointed as the canines. This, with the whiteness of the teeth and eyes against the blackness of the skin, gives the Onges a sinister appearance, which may account for the old description of the Andamanese as men with ferocious dogs' heads. The only 142 515 (summary) cleaning the Onge teeth receive is the use of toothpicks, thinner and rather longer than the European variety and made from the tough, flexible bark of a certain reed. After use, they are carefully thrust into the hair for future occasions. Every Onge has one or more threaded through the hair on top of the head.

142 147 [264] [514] The strength of the Onge teeth enables their owners to champ their way through what are for us inconceivable quantities of food, both animal and vegetable, which is chewed slowly and determinedly, dust, earth, sand and all, and then swallowed without apparent ill effects, other than the flatulence arising from overconsumption of animal matter. But the Onges use their teeth for other purposes besides eating. In time the teeth become worn down by the inevitable grinding of dirt and grit, but this does not prevent the Onges from continuing to chew the bark of trees and cords, which is a lifelong occupation. This duty falls mainly on the women, and I have seen aged women, their teeth worn almost to the gums, doggedly chewing bark as their contribution to the communal life of the group. The strength of the teeth is unbelievable – I have seen children of ten to fifteen years crush nails up to two millimetres thick, and dent lumps of iron.

114 123 142 147 [37] I myself once had good cause to be grateful for their power. My party and I found ourselves stranded in the forest on South Brother without guns or even knives, and without cooking utensils. There were large clutches of turtle eggs buried in the sand nearby and my two Onge companions pointed out a coconut tree loaded with nuts (which turned out to be the only one on the islands, seeded

their fires beside them. On the night of 4–5 April 1953, while I was sleeping with them in the communal hut at Berié-Abdalù a sudden storm drenched us all, forcing us to huddle together round fires under the more waterproof parts of the roof. Numb with cold, but cheerful, they began joking, singing[1] and dancing, men and women separately; this went on all night, and no one suffered any ill effects from the soaking.

The Onge lack of hygiene extends also to their cooking utensils, which are never washed. In recent years the ocean has provided the Onges with a generous and unexpected gift; currents running from the south of Asia have thrown up on to the shores of Little Andaman a shoal of empty petrol drums, stout metal cylinders 1·3 metres high and eighty centimetres in diameter. The astute Onges have patiently divided each one in two, each section big enough to take a large pig. Set on big fires these serve as wonderful cooking pots, and the Onges are delighted with them. Unfortunately, however, although they were thrown up all round the island, the supply is beginning to dry up, and they are rapidly being eaten away by rust.

To boil food, the Onges set the drums on two large logs, laid parallel, with a fire between them. Stones are rarely used to support the drums, although there are plenty about in the interior of the island. On the coast, and for a fair way inland, there is nothing but coral, hard but liable when it gets hot to disintegrate under the heavy weight of the cylinders filled to the brim.

In these gifts from the sea the Onges could prepare tasty broths, but they invariably allow nearly all the water to boil away, and the cooking process is not considered complete until all the liquid has gone. While it is boiling, however, they take care not to lose the fat floating on the top, which they adore. They have even invented a curious sort of dipping-stick for the purpose of skimming the fat off. They take a shoot about twenty centimetres long from a plant which disintegrates into fibre when chewed. One end is chewed into a loose 'brush' and no one present misses his turn to dip it into the pot again and again to skim off a mouthful of fat, even getting up in the night in their eagerness for it. One stick naturally does for everyone, men, women and children, the

[1] The Onge voice is not markedly different from the European. It has a musical quality, fairly high-pitched but never shrill; the Onges never raise their voices, even in anger – disagreements invariably end in a dignified silence.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

mothers offering it to the waiting children one after another in strict order. This alone would be enough to explain the spread of the devastating measles epidemics which can attack every member of a hut.

While they love the liquid fat, they despise the broth left behind, and once the meat has been eaten, a thick yellowish soup, not unpleasant, is left in the drum. The dogs love this, and rush for it, putting their paws right into the drum, fighting and snarling in their eagerness to get at it. When they have finished licking, the drum is shining clean and ready for use, with no washing up to do! Clouds of flies descend on the drums, packing into a black swarm all over the bottom and sides, eager to finish off the dogs' work. Sea or river water is often only a yard or two from camp, but no one would dream of washing anything.

Once the meat or fish is cooked, it is often hung in the roof of the hut, out of reach of the dogs. The fact that the roof is dusty and covered in spiders to foul the meat, does not matter; earth and sand get in the way of the teeth, dust and spiders do not. The Onges happily eat contaminated flesh and drink water from pools in which animal carcasses are rotting or dogs are bathing and drinking; the dogs share literally everything with their masters.

On my visits to the island I always had to fence off the wells I had dug out, to avoid a constant battle with the dogs. I always found water only a few metres down, and the dogs revelled in it. In the east, near Nachuge, I saw Onges and dogs together avidly drinking in brackish pools which stank of sulphur, although I must confess that after repeated filtration and boiling the water lost its smell and I was myself able to use it without any ill effects. My men thought it was good for the health to drink it as it was.

During all Onge orgies, and particularly the honey feasts, there is, if possible, even less regard for hygiene. Although the honey is full of wax, larvae, and a few odd bees, their brush-stick only picks up the honey itself. They have another even better way of getting out the honey. A strip of bark about one metre long and as wide as the palm of the hand is taken from a *Ficus*. This is well chewed to make it pliable, and when this is dipped into the honey mixture it emerges dripping with pure honey. Everyone bites at it avidly, young and old, men, women and children, one after another, to the last drop.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

tide goes down, the shoals are caught in the reefs stretching out to sea all round the island and the Onges leave everything to man- 462 221
handle the canoes from pool to pool and fill them to overflowing. The water is almost saturated with fish, and the Onges go on and on until they have nothing more they can use to hold the catch. Nowhere else in the world have I seen anything like this wholesale slaughter.

The pilchards of the Andamans are rather larger than usual, some 226
weighing as much as half a kilogram or more. The Onges catch 252
them regardless of size and then sort them into lengths before [136]
cooking (cooking, needless to say, without stopping to gut them). Men, women and children work feverishly, plunging their hands into the heaving mass of fish so that they reek of it for days, together with the dogs, whose coats become the inevitable handtowels.

Every available vessel is used for the cooking, and the rest of the haul is cooked directly over hot ashes. The biggest are cooked alone; the smaller ones, in batches of half to one kilogram, are wrapped in big fleshy leaves, tied up with vegetable fibres and cooked for ten minutes or so, turned regularly all the while. To boil the fish, an entire netful of fish roughly equal in size is plunged into boiling water, and boiled as usual far too long for our taste.

Everyone cooks and eats at the same time until (temporarily) 252
unable to eat any more, when the rest of the haul is laid on im- 264
provised racks with fires of green wood making smoke under- 251
neath. When, a few days later, all is gone, fishing begins again. And so life goes on for weeks, until the shoals have passed the islands.

The real fishing, however, is done by the men. The women use 226
small nets about fifty centimetres in diameter, and about the same 462
depth. The opening consists of a pliable cane, barely three centimetres in diameter, bent into a circle and tied with the ends crossing each other and projecting about twenty centimetres to form the handles. Each woman handles two nets, one held between the legs and the other in one hand, while the other hand pokes with a stick into the crevices in the reefs under the water to drive out the fish which have taken refuge as the tide goes out. Once 226
found the fish are killed – very simply, by biting them between the

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

766 of by cutting it into pieces and burning it on a fire. The natives say that if this be done the 'blood' and the 'fat' of the dead man go up to the sky and this removes all danger to the living from the dead man. The blood of persons so burnt is seen in the sky at sunset. If a man were killed in a fight between two communities and his body remained with the enemy, they would dispose of it in this way. If the friends secured the body they would bury it in the usual way. It may be worthy of remark 766 that this custom of burning the bodies of slain enemies is 266 perhaps the real origin of the belief that the Andamanese are or were cannibals. We can well imagine that when, as must have often happened, sailors venturing to land on the islands have been killed and the survivors have seen the bodies of their companions cut up and placed on fires, they would readily conclude that they were witnessing a cannibal feast. There can be no doubt whatever that since the islands were occupied in 1858 the inhabitants have not practised cannibalism, and there is no good reason to suppose that they once followed the custom and then abandoned it.

764 The burial is conducted, if possible, on the day of the death. If it has to be deferred till the morrow all the inhabitants of the camp keep awake. The relatives sit round the corpse weeping at intervals, while some of the men take it in turn to sing songs during the hours of darkness. This, so they say, is to keep away the spirits that have caused the death, and so prevent them from further mischief. When a man or woman dies in the prime of [152] life after a short illness the friends and relatives often break out in anger which they express in different ways. A man will shout threats and curses at the spirits that he conceives to be responsible for the death of his friend. He may pick up his bow and discharge his arrows in all directions, or in some other way give expression to his angry feelings. On the occasion of a death in one of the *Akar-Bale* villages the relatives expressed their grief by cutting down a coconut tree that grew there.

765 The period of mourning for near relatives—parent, adult child, consort, brother or sister—lasts for several months. In the case of a young child only the parents mourn. The essentials

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

2. I have used the word "evil" advisedly, for there can be no doubt, from observations extending over many years, that the result of their excessive indulgence in smoking has been seriously to impair their constitutions. The attempts that have been made to check the mischief have hitherto failed, as it has been found difficult, if not impossible, to induce them to do a stroke of work without the accompaniment of the "fragrant weed." 276

Cannibalism.—1. The early stories regarding the prevalence of cannibalism among these savages do not at the present day require refutation.[1] No lengthened investigation was needed to disprove the long credited fiction, for not a trace could be discovered of the existence of such a practice in their midst, even in far-off times. 266

2. It is curious, however, to note, that while they express the greatest horror of the custom, and indignantly deny that it ever held a place among their institutions, a very general belief has been entertained by the tribes living in South and Middle Andaman as to its prevalence in other races, and even among their own countrymen inhabiting North and Little Andaman; and to this cause is chiefly ascribed the dread which they and their fathers have, from a distant period, evinced of their neighbours, and the animosity displayed towards strangers who have approached or landed on their shores; but these sentiments are now confined to those individuals who have had but scant opportunity of becoming acquainted with ourselves and other aliens, or with the results of the visits paid by us to the dreaded *.yē·rewa-* and *.jār·awa-* territories.

Communications, Chirography, and Drawing.—1. The density of the Andaman jungles, and the unsuitability of their canoes for long expeditions by sea, would of themselves be serious hindrances to free intercourse between the various tribes, even were there not the further difficulty—due in great measure to the above circumstances—of difference of language to contend with. 619

2. There are no marked boundaries between the various tribal districts, but a general understanding exists between neighbouring tribes regarding the limits of their respective domains, which are usually defined by such natural barriers as a range of hills, a creek, or even a belt of dense jungle. So careful are they to respect these boundaries, that, before even travelling through, and particularly before hunting or fishing in, the territory of a 619 486

[1] Papuans being regarded as such inveterate anthropophagi, ethnologists will probably agree in considering that the non-existence—nay, even horror—of this custom among the Andamanese furnishes an important item in the array of facts which militate against the theory held by some that the latter form a branch of the great Papuan family.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

and captured when frequenting the shore, they never take advantage of the opportunities thus presented.

37. Even on the darkest nights many turtles are speared at the moment when they rise to the surface in order to breathe. The sound which they then make, though slight, is sufficient at once to attract the attention of the keen-eared *àryó·to-*[1] standing on the projecting prow, and to enable him to direct his harpoon with unerring aim; he usually jumps into the water after his victim, lest the barbed head should, in the act of dragging the line, slip out of the wound and the animal escape. When the turtle is in such deep water as to render spearing it from the canoe an impossibility, the harpooner leaps into the water feet foremost, with the spear in his hand, and frequently succeeds at once in transfixing the animal. After spearing a sting-ray, they drag it by means of the harpoon to the boat, whereupon one of the party seizes it by its tail, and holding it firmly between his *teeth*, knocks off, with a piece of wood or other instrument, the formidable spike or spikes which project from the root of the tail; after thus disarming their victim, they proceed to drag it into the canoe or to the shore.[2]

38. From the accounts of some writers respecting the prowess of the Andaman Islanders in the water, it might be inferred that they rival or even excel the "finny denizens of the deep" in their own element. This is, of course, incorrect, and due to misapprehension; the secret of their "invariably returning to the surface with some scaly prize" finds its explanation in the fact that they never think of diving[3] after a fish that has not been first transfixed (according to its size) by an arrow or harpoon.[4]

39. The art of fishing with a hook and line was unknown to, and has not found favour among them, as they are far more successful than ourselves in catching fish by their own methods,[5] which are as follow:—at low water the women and children with hand-nets capture such fish and shell-fish[6] as are left by the

[1] *Vide ante* "Tribal Communities," paragraph 5.

[2] Two or three fatal accidents have, to my knowledge, occurred in recent years on dark nights to inexperienced turtle-hunters at one or other of the homes, in consequence of their having plunged on to the back of one of these fish after harpooning it, mistaking their victim in the darkness for a turtle.

[3] "Should the fish be large some of those in the boat dive down, attacking the victim with knives and spears" (Day).

[4] They are, moreover, not in the habit of "diving for shell-fish"—except it be for a *Tridacna crocea*, which they occasionally discover in deep water—for quantities are always found in shallow water at low tide.

[5] "The present writer has seen a party of Andamanese shoot and secure nearly one hundred fish during one low tide on a coral reef, and that with no very extraordinary exertion" (*vide* "Bombay Gazette," 2nd August, 1881).

[6] The favourite time for collecting shell-fish is the low tide at daybreak occurring about the third and fourth days after new and full moon, and known to them by the name of *tó·ya-*.

172 The largest and traditionally the oldest, the original, home of the race by a consensus of Andamanese opinion and worth scientific exploration (any other to be greatly deprecated), is the kitchen-midden of Wota-Emi on Baratang in Elphinstone Harbour on the east coast of the South Andaman.

In reference to the kitchen-middens it is worth noting that all Andamanese tradition commences with the cataclysm accompanied by a subsidence of a large portion of the surface of their old country already noticed, and the people point to certain ancient kitchen-middens, such as that at Port Mouat, on the sea level to prove it. They say that these were commenced by the survivors of the cataclysm and that the sites were previously high up on the mountain sides, where no one could build a kitchen-midden.

175 **Early Descriptions.**—I-Tsing, the Chinese Buddhist monk, in 672 A. D. (Takakasu's Ed. p. xxx) mixed up in his account of his travels the Andamanese with the Nicobarese, and describes them thus:—

"The men are entirely naked while the women veil their person with some leaves. If the merchants in joke offer them their clothes, they wave their hands (to tell that) they do not use them."

But the earliest distinct notice of the Andamanese is in that remarkable collection of early Arab notes on India and China (851 A. D.), which was translated by Eus. Renaudot and again in our own time by M. Reinaud. It accurately represents the view entertained of this people by mariners down to our own time.

175 266 "The inhabitants of these islands eat men alive. They are black with woolly hair and in their eyes and countenances there is something quite frightful * * * they go naked and have no boats. If they had they would devour all who passed near them. Sometimes ships that are windbound and have exhausted their provision of water touch here and apply to the natives for it; in such cases the crews sometimes fall into the hands of the latter and most of them are massacred."

This traditional charge of cannibalism still persists, though it is now, and almost certainly has always been, entirely untrue. Of the massacre of shipwrecked crews up till quite recent times there is no doubt; but the policy of conciliation, which has been unremittingly pursued for the last forty years, has made the coasts quite safe for the shipwrecked, except at points where the Jarawas touch the coast and the wilder Onges reside, the south and west of Little Andaman, the North Sentinel Island, south of Rutland Island and Hut Bay on its western coast, Port Campbell and some few miles to the north of it on the west coast of the South Andaman. Everywhere else shipwrecked mariners would find the people not only friendly and helpful, but likely to give notice to Port Blair at once of their predicament.

[766] **Charge of Cannibalism.**—The charge of cannibalism seems to have arisen from three observations of the old mariners. The Andamanese attacked and murdered without provocation every stranger they could on his landing; they burnt his body (as they did in fact that of every enemy); and they had weird all-night dances round fires. Combine these three observations with the unprovoked murder of one of themselves and the fear aroused by such occurrences in a far land in ignorant mariners' minds, century after century, and a persistent charge of cannibalism is almost certain to be the result.

101 **Language of the Aka-Beada Tribe used in the Report.**—The tribe occupying the shores of the Harbour of Port Blair and its islands at the British occupation in 1858 was, in its own tongue, the Aka-Bea-da. Its language was the first to be studied and its customs the first to be ascertained. It may still be called the tribe that is the best known and understood.

Every tribe has its own name for itself and its neighbours, and it is therefore necessary for the purposes of this *Report* to adopt one set of names only throughout, and the set most convenient is naturally that of the Aka-Bea-da. In this language *aka* is a prefix with small variations to nearly all tribal names and *da* is a suffix used with almost every isolated noun. For the sake of brevity I have throughout this *Report* discarded both these affixes and used the roots only of tribal names. But it must be understood that in actual speech an Aka-Bea would, in answering such a question as "what is your tribe?", reply

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

262 and therefore dangerous to offend by cooking them. Luckily they accepted
123 fish of almost every description, and vegetables. To convince them of our
[775] good intentions concerning their food, at Port Blair an Onge observer was
[825] stationed permanently near the kitchen to watch the preparation of meals. Nevertheless, within a few days all 30 Onge fell ill as a consequence of the different food and climate. In their island they sleep, completely naked and
513 uncovered, lying directly on beds made of rough branches. Their only precau-
123 tion, as I mentioned before, is to keep a fire permanently burning close to the bed. This was not feasible in the rooms with wooden floors that were provided for them in Port Blair, and blankets did not avail. So the 30 Onge developed a fever and we were obliged to take them urgently back to Little Andaman, where they promptly recovered. The incident gave me a further opportunity to observe the curative methods of the Onge.

262 With regard to their care to avoid illness from food, I must point out the
114 fact that misleading information has been published on the subject even in reputed papers on the Andamans. I will discuss them in my Onge book, but I wish here to briefly stress a few points : the Onge, and the present residual coastal or forest Andamanese, refuse to eat – besides birds and fish such as shark, ray, eel or muraenae – some other animals such as paradoxurus, bats, rats, varanus and snakes. The contrary is affirmed in those papers. To quote the well-known book by A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN ("The Andaman Islanders", pp. 37, 91 and 389), all Andaman Islanders, including the Onge, consider the above-mentioned species edible. Varanus is supposed to be acceptable for its
[832] lustful habits that make of it an aphrodisiac. My direct and protracted experience both in Little and in Great Andaman compels me to state that such information is false. It is true, however, that the Andaman Islanders believe
261 they acquire some of the properties of their devoured victims. This occurs
252 only if the animals are cut up alive. Therefore turtles, pigs and dugongs are
[231] cruelly sectioned while still alive, and the Onge also believe that their health and energy profit by it. Cannibalism may be founded on such beliefs, but it is
● 266 completely unknown to Andaman Islanders of all times and places. Young
262 sucking-pigs are avoided as food, by men, and even withheld from the dogs ; but the Onge are partial to other things which, in our opinion, are far worse : crickets, and the fat larvae of coleoptera that collect in tree trunks.

Without giving here a full list of the foods that are considered harmful or curative, I shall add just a few remarks on the subject. The healthiest, as well as the tastiest part of the pig is supposed to be the kidney and its surround-
[888] ing fat. It is offered to old or distinguished people, as a sign of favour. As I
123 helped the Onge, as much as possible, with gifts of tools and medicines, they
553 found it complimentary to name me after their favorite titbit, intending thereby to honour me as a friend and healer. By such a name I came to be known in Little Andaman, and this made my work easier. In the Onge language the word for kidney fat is *cue-changhĕghĕ* ; I was delighted with it, for it proclaimed the high esteem I was held in by my Onge friends.

262 Foods considered healthy by the Onge include honey, yams, several
751 succulent roots and the fat of turtle and dugong. Pteropus, a giant bat very
[825]

kitchen-middens to have been contemporaneous with the introduction of the pig, i.e. to have been introduced by outsiders. It would be possible, using radio carbon methods, to calculate this date more accurately, but on purely archaeological evidence the introduction of pottery would appear to have occurred some five thousand years ago. 323 172

8 ABSENCE OF CANNIBALISM

If we may accept the evidence of the kitchen-middens, there has never at any time been cannibalism in the Andamans, although the practice certainly existed in the later Palaeolithic era; the Andamanese must thus have been isolated in the archipelago long before the practice became widespread. 172 266

9 DRINK

The Andamanese ignorance of any drink other than water may be regarded as additional evidence of the great antiquity of their culture. 273 174

10 ABSENCE OF CLOTHING

The Jarawas of both sexes have always remained completely naked. The Onges have only in comparatively recent times adopted a form of genital covering for their womenfolk; this custom has spread as far as the north of Great Andaman, and it seems probable that the separation of the Jarawas from the Onges dates from this time. 291 178 174 184

11 ABSENCE OF TATTOOING

All primitive peoples who are habitually completely naked adorn the body in some way. The Onges have never progressed beyond the early stage of painting themselves with ochre, and do not tattoo. Their sole ornaments are small necklaces of tusk shells, strips of bark, and sometimes flowers. In all this they resemble the Tasmans (see, however, p. 143 for certain important differences), who seem to have remained in an equally early stage of cultural development. 30 171

12 TOTEMISM AND THE CLAN

Here again the complete absence of any traces appears to indicate isolation before the spread of these very ancient concepts. Neither the Onges nor the Jarawas have ever progressed beyond the stage of independent groups of families. 174 81 621

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

261 cannot apparently abstain from food without inconvenience for more than eight hours at a time.

271 [415] 3. When exerting themselves in any way they perspire freely, which may account for their inordinate thirst. So great, indeed, is their inability to endure any privation in respect to drink, that they seldom leave home on the shortest expedition, whether by land or sea, without providing themselves with one or more bamboo vessels, called *gōb-*, containing a supply of fresh water.

513 4. Loss of sleep they can bear well only when under the influence of strong excitement, as in turtle hunting, or at festive gatherings, where singing and dancing are kept up for many successive hours;[1] they have even been known to spend forty-eight hours at such times without taking any rest.

151 5. What little cool weather there is in the latitude of their islands, during December and January, they dislike extremely; in striking evidence of this they are found, as I will elsewhere mention,[2] unconsciously concurring with the great Italian poet in depicting the region of punishment, for the souls of the wicked, as one of intense cold. After this, it will appear somewhat strange to say that, in spite of their aversion to what they consider cold weather—which never registers less than 69° F. on the highest elevation in South Andaman—they are careful, during the hot season, to avoid any lengthened exposure to the direct rays of the sun, and endeavour to lessen the discomfort caused by the heat by smearing their persons with a white-wash of common white clay and water.[3] It has long been erroneously believed that they have recourse to this expedient in order to allay the inconvenience which they would otherwise suffer from the bites of mosquitoes and other jungle pests; but the true reason for the practice is, I am well assured, that which I have above given, for the various insects which might annoy them are, for the most part, kept away by the smoke of the hut fire, beside which a great portion of their time is spent when at rest, or when engaged in any sedentary occupation.

302

147 6. The voices of the men are usually clear without being deep, while those of the women, especially when raised, are very shrill.

142 7. The mucous membrane of the mouth is stained with pigment to a greater degree than was found to be the case with such of the natives of India as were compared with them.

8. The general excellence of the teeth strikes one as remark-

[1] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraph 32.

[2] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 25.

[3] I would here draw attention to the fact, that while the object in smearing themselves with *ōg-* wash is to keep themselves as cool as possible, they often daub their bodies with *kōi ob-* after sundown for the opposite reason, *i.e.*, for the sake of warmth.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

264 day's hunt, they usually provide themselves with some fire and a *gōb-*[1] of food, which they warm up and enjoy about midday:[2] no difference is made between the sexes, but all fare alike.

261 5. The average amount eaten by an Andamanese adult appears to exceed that of a native of India, and to average three or four pounds daily, while, like many other savages, after a successful hunt, or on some special occasion, when dancing is carried on through the entire night,[3] the consumption of food is surprising, and has, in some instances, been estimated at upwards of ten pounds of pork, or turtle, in the twenty-four hours, helped out by mouthfuls of some one or more of the delicacies above enumerated.[4]

264 6. As may be assumed from foregoing sections, caste distinctions are unknown; while, however, all members of a family take their meals together, a married man is only permitted to eat with other Benedicts and bachelors, but never with any women save those of his own household, unless indeed he be well advanced in years. Bachelors as well as spinsters are required to take their meals apart with those of their respective sexes.

7. Their mode of eating meat is to cram a large piece into the mouth, and then to cut off whatever is in excess[5] with a bamboo or cane (now-a-days generally a steel) knife. The same custom, carried to a more disgusting extreme, is found among
271 the Esquimaux.[6] Speaking generally of the Andamanese it may be said that water is their only beverage, for though the aborigines in the vicinity of Port Blair have acquired a strong liking for rum, &c., they have not been permitted to gratify it; if very thirsty while on a fishing expedition, and all the fresh water supply be exhausted[7] the *àryô·to-* pour water over their

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 82.

[2] This applies to the meat of the turtle, pig, iguana, and paradoxurus; the remains of a feast of fish, shell-fish, and prawns are not warmed up a second time; a further distinction is made in the case of turtles' eggs, the three insects mentioned in paragraph 3, edible roots, and such fruits as are cooked (*vide post* paragraph 19), for these are left to cool before they are eaten.

[3] *Vide* "Games and Amusements," paragraphs 21 and 22.

[4] *Bêche de mer* and edible birds'-nests, so highly esteemed by some, and of
[262] which large supplies are obtainable along their coasts, are not regarded by the Andamanese as fit for food.

[5] For the following note, which refers to a similar practice among the Napo-Indians of South America, I am indebted to Mr. W. L. Distant:—"In eating meat (usually monkey, sea-cow, and peccari) we observed that they did not tear or bite it, but, putting one end of a long piece in the mouth, cut off what they could not get in, as Darwin noticed among the Fuegians" (Jas. Orton: "Andes and the Amazon," p. 168).

[6] *Vide* Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times," p. 486.

[7] They will now-a-days occasionally assuage their thirst, when away from home, by cutting off a piece of ground rattan (*bôl-*); this practice is only known to the people of South Andaman, and has been borrowed from the Burmese convicts.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

heads or jump overboard, and even at times try to alleviate 271
their sufferings by swallowing salt water.[1]

8. In opening certain shell-fish[2] the adze is not employed, 252
but one of the valves of the *Cyrena* is dexterously inserted 262
between the lips, which are thus forced apart, after which the 136
fish is killed with a knife or bladed arrow, and boiled; the *Tridacna crocea* and *Tridacna squamosa* are opened by inserting a piece of wood as a wedge between the valves,[3] afterwards the fish is despatched by stabbing it with an arrow point or blade; the various *Arca* species and the *Mytilus smaragdinus* are, however, not so treated, but are placed among a heap of burning logs for a few moments, the object being merely to part the valves, which would otherwise be a matter of some difficulty: when this is accomplished the shells are removed by means of the bamboo tongs (*kai-*[4]), and their half-cooked contents are transferred to a pot[5] (*būj-*) in which a little water has been placed; after being boiled a short time the gravy and flesh are eaten with the help of the shells. In former times oysters were eaten *cooked*,[6] but now their consumption appears to be confined to the inhabitants of North (and possibly also Little) Andaman: they give no reason for this change, but it may be due to their having occasionally suffered by feasting unconsciously on the poisonous, or at least indigestible, variety so commonly found in the mangrove swamps.

9. Dr. Day remarked that the mullet was their favourite fish, 262
and "one day, having placed a quantity of different species 136
before them, they helped themselves in the following order: . . . . *Chorinemus*, *Platycephalus*, horse-mackerel or *Caranx*, *Chrysophrys calamara*, and lastly *Tetrodon*, or frog-fish, which latter has generally the credit of being poisonous." My experience is that there are apparently no fresh-water, and but few salt-water, fish[7] which they will not eat.

10. It is a mistake to suppose that pigs were ever scarce in 136
these islands, for though it was formerly more difficult than at the present day to shoot them, there is no lack of evidence to

[1] *Vide ante* "Medicine," paragraph 4.

[2] Viz., those of the *Pinna* and *Cyrena* species.

[3] This is only attempted when they succeed in surprising the fish before it has time to close its valves.

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 80.

[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 18. [Note.—Water is boiled in a *būj-* by the ordinary process, and not by heated stones being dropped into it.]

[6] That Europeans should swallow these molluscs *raw* is a matter of considerable surprise to them.

[7] They prefer the fleshy part of the head to any other portion. To cut a fish is termed *chō·lke*, while to remove its head, tail, and entrails is styled *arwā·gke*.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

3. Food

In the absence of men, women also are good at fishing inside the coral reefs. They do this with two small nets used together. Their catch generally consists of brilliantly coloured fish with yellow, red, green, blue, black and white stripes forming varied and attractive designs. The Onge eat all fish without discrimination. My Indian collaborators, on the other hand, considered the coloured fish dangerous to their health and refused to cook them ; the Sacred Vedas, in fact, advise the avoidance of brigthly hued fish and of fish without scales. I wanted to try both kinds, and found them perfectly palatable, tasty and harmless.

No tool, used for any purpose by the Onge, ever gets a cleaning. Cleanliness, I repeat, is unknown in Little Andaman. See how food is prepared and disposed of ! Care is taken only not to throw big pieces of meat intended for cooking directly on the bare ground ; but once it is cooked, food is treated with the utmost disregard for dirt, dust, cobwebs and other such things. It is usually left lying around on large leaves spread out for the purpose. The remains of the Onge's orgiastic meals are kept out of reach of the dogs on the ceiling of the huts, to be covered with flies when no fire is lit directly below. Sand and grit may get wedged annoyingly in the teeth, but not such impalpable things as dust or cobwebs. The use of unclean food is not repugnant to the Onge. The same can be said for water polluted by dogs drinking and bathing in it, or by the presence of putrefying carcases. In the west of Little Andaman I saw some Onge avidly drinking from pools of a blackish water with a revolting sulphurous smell. After thoroughly filtering and boiling it, I too used such water, for it was the only water available in the neighborhood. This caused no ill effects. My Indian men considered it perfectly healthy and invigorating, and drank it safely in its natural condition.

The Onge eat with their unwashed fingers, without the help of tools. On rare occasions they use platters made of the flattened-out stems – or bracts – of *areca* palms. They sometimes carry these platters when travelling, but of course never wash them although they become coated in rancid, greasy filth. They soon assume a dark colour and a truly revolting appearance – aside from the awful smell. A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN's statement – that the Andamanese paint their bodies to neutralize the unpleasant smell of food that clings to them after their orgiastic feedings – shows only indirect knowledge of the life and manners of those people. Even the horrible flatulence that follows their pork orgies is not considered an inconvenience ; yet it is much more revolting than all the other body odours.

Although the Onge observe few hygienic precautions they do follow a number of medical practices, not all devoid of beneficial effects. Here are a few more remarks on their eating and drinking habits. For about six months of the year, between November and April, water is scarce in Little Andaman. Every kind of fresh water is then considered good by the Onge, regardless of whether it is a murky infusion of rotting leaves or afloat with the putrefied

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

312 caracases of small animals. During the droughts, marine hermit crabs, of
271 which a profusion is found in Little Andaman even far from the sea-shore,
[136] often choose to die in fresh-water pools. They are not removed from the pools.
[415] A nautilus shell is sometimes used as a drinking vessel ; failing this, the Onge
[516] lap up the water like animals, on all fours, directly from the pool. Since they are
231 very fond of dogs, man and dog drink together from the same tiny pool, often holding no more than a few pints of water. Dogs reached Great Andaman as early as 1857 ; they came to Little Andaman much later. Before that time there were no dogs in the Andamanese Archipelago. They soon became the natives' cherished and much appreciated assistants in the hunting of wild pigs. Many unhygienic habits followed the appearance of dogs in the Andamans.

271 The Onge have no idea of boiling water for the purpose of disinfection ;
[47] nevertheless their health does not appear to suffer at all as a result of the pol-
123 luted water they drink. When, in 1952, I dug a well near the left bank of Dugong Creek on the north-east coast of Little Andaman, I was compelled to fence it in so as to prevent dogs from drinking it and bathing in it.

264 Dogs lick everything that smells of food, including the cooking pots,
[231] and the pots are not washed before use after the dogs have licked them.
[136] Swarms of flies of different species and small coleoptera of a brilliant blue colour, one of them 6 mms long, follow the dogs after they have "cleaned" the pots by licking them. They line the inside of the pots with a crawling, living coat, moving restlessly around in search of food. One species of fly, which is of a brilliant, metallic green colour, has a peculiarly disagreeable smell. All the flies lay eggs while feeding, but the eggs are soon devoured by the hovering bluish coleoptera. Thus in a few hours all traces of organic matter disappear from the pots. Subsequent exposure to fire undoubtedly destroys the germs that would otherwise be certainly dangerous to human beings.

415 The Onge no longer use indigenous pottery for cooking. Its disappearance
177 is recent, as the sherds that litter Little Andaman prove to the investigator.
[323] Excavation in modern kitchen-middens leads to the same conclusion. During the last war, quantities of empty petrol drums were washed up on the Andaman shores. They were found in such numbers that the Onge have not yet used them all up : after 1952 I found several of these containers abandoned, untouched, in the jungle. The primitive inhabitants sawed each container in two cylindrical halves, thus transforming them into cooking pots. The result was that within a few years the fragile ancestral pottery of the Onge disappeared altogether. Furthermore, aluminium pots were distributed among the natives after 1952. Probably the indigenous pottery will never again reappear.
[252] Each half of a petrol drum is large enough to contain a pig, or a turtle weighing
262 150 lbs, cut into pieces. Only the flesh of these animals is consumed by the
[231] Onge ; the nourishing broth is poured out onto the ground or left in the pot to be lapped up by the dogs. The Onge believe that broth is unhealthy and avoid drinking it.

251 No matter how prodigious the catch of sardines or other fish, unobtain-
[185] able at other times of the year, no attempt is made at storing part of it in view of future shortage. The Onge are unacquainted with methods for preserv-

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

LIDIO CIPRIANI, Hygiene and Medical Practices among the Onge (Little Andaman)

Plate 1

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a) Onge communal hut.
b) Painted Onge woman drinking from a nautilus shell.
c) Woman with *bataghē* leaves.
d) Filter going from mouth to mouth.

[p. 488 (A)]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

mothers offering it to the waiting children one after another in strict order. This alone would be enough to explain the spread of the devastating measles epidemics which can attack every member of a hut.

While they love the liquid fat, they despise the broth left behind, and once the meat has been eaten, a thick yellowish soup, not unpleasant, is left in the drum. The dogs love this, and rush for it, putting their paws right into the drum, fighting and snarling in their eagerness to get at it. When they have finished licking, the drum is shining clean and ready for use, with no washing up to do! Clouds of flies descend on the drums, packing into a black swarm all over the bottom and sides, eager to finish off the dogs' work. Sea or river water is often only a yard or two from camp, but no one would dream of washing anything.

Once the meat or fish is cooked, it is often hung in the roof of the hut, out of reach of the dogs. The fact that the roof is dusty and covered in spiders to foul the meat, does not matter; earth and sand get in the way of the teeth, dust and spiders do not. The Onges happily eat contaminated flesh and drink water from pools in which animal carcasses are rotting or dogs are bathing and drinking; the dogs share literally everything with their masters.

On my visits to the island I always had to fence off the wells I had dug out, to avoid a constant battle with the dogs. I always found water only a few metres down, and the dogs revelled in it. In the east, near Nachuge, I saw Onges and dogs together avidly drinking in brackish pools which stank of sulphur, although I must confess that after repeated filtration and boiling the water lost its smell and I was myself able to use it without any ill effects. My men thought it was good for the health to drink it as it was.

During all Onge orgies, and particularly the honey feasts, there is, if possible, even less regard for hygiene. Although the honey is full of wax, larvae, and a few odd bees, their brush-stick only picks up the honey itself. They have another even better way of getting out the honey. A strip of bark about one metre long and as wide as the palm of the hand is taken from a *Ficus*. This is well chewed to make it pliable, and when this is dipped into the honey mixture it emerges dripping with pure honey. Everyone bites at it avidly, young and old, men, women and children, one after another, to the last drop.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

providing not too much effort is required. The Semang and Aeta dig water-holes, and several authors have regarded the Andamanese as differing from them in this respect, but I am able to confirm that they can and do dig water-holes. I first saw them do so in 1951, and in 1952 and again in 1953, near Toqué-è-bùie, I was able to enlarge one. Originally it yielded very little water, and very dirty, as the Onges never bother to go further down than they must – a handful of water is enough. After I had enlarged the well it yielded over half a cubic metre an hour, and I had to build a fence round it to prevent the dogs wallowing in it. I gave the Onges buckets, rope, pick-axes and spades so they could get at clean water, although in view of their natural indolence I rather doubted whether they would be any use. In fact, they used the metal parts for arrow heads and went on as before, drinking out of foul pools covered in rotting vegetation and refuse. It is easy to have clear water on Little Andaman, naturally filtered over the coral formations and never more than two or three metres down, but the effort is too much for the Onges! Usually they drink like animals, lying flat on their stomachs with their lips to the water; some will fold a large leaf into a crude cup, however, and occasionally a fastidious individual will use a *Nautilus* shell.

The water-hole at Toqué-è-bùie alone, if properly maintained, would be able to supply enough water every day for at least five hundred people. The continual falling in of the sides, inevitable in a sandy area, could be permanently prevented by cementing them.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

762 pound word (*ō·yun-tē·mar-tô·liganga-*) in order to express the nature of the act.

673 2. That they are not entirely devoid of moral consciousness may, I think, in some measure, be demonstrated by the fact of their possessing a word, *yū·bda-*, signifying sin or wrong doing, which is used in connection with falsehood, theft, grave assault, murder, adultery, and — burning wax (!),[1] which deeds are believed to anger *Pū·luga-*, the Creator, of whom more will be said hereafter.[2]

627 3. Cases of adultery in their own villages are said to be of rare occurrence. If detected, the injured husband would pro-
837 bably inflict condign punishment on the guilty parties, but at the risk of retaliation on the part of the male offender and his friends; there appears, however, to be an understanding, that the greater the provocation offered the less is the risk incurred of the injured person or his friends avenging the wrong, but no appeal to the chief for redress is ever made.

628 4. If an offence, such as an assault or theft, be committed by
674 one or more members of another tribe during a visit or by stealth, it is regarded as premeditated, and generally resented as a tribal affair, resulting in a feud and more or less bloodshed.

273 5. Intercourse with Europeans and other foreigners has, it
177 must be confessed, unhappily opened their eyes to the existence of some vices of which they had formerly no knowledge;[3] notably is this the case with regard to drunkenness, for, being, till the time they made our acquaintance, "blessed in the ignorance of spirituous liquors," they had no conception of its effects, and, to express an inebriate, have invented a word (*lē·lēkanga-*) signifying "staggerer." It must, however, be added, that in consequence of the extreme partiality for rum and other intoxicating drinks which they manifest, much care has to be taken to prevent them from gratifying the easily acquired taste.

Narcotics.—1. Prior to our advent they were also entirely
276 ignorant of narcotics in any form; but one of the evil results of
177 their intercourse with us has been the introduction of the practice of smoking, and so rapidly have they (both men and women) acquired the habit, that, when at a distance from the homes and unable to obtain tobacco, they have been seen to fill their short clay pipes, which, it is scarcely necessary to say, have been obtained from us, with *pán* leaves rather than endure entire deprivation.

[1] *Vide*, "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xi, p. 288, and *post*, "Superstitions," paragraph 13.

[2] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs," paragraph 8.

[674] [3] The crimes of abduction, rape, seduction, unnatural offences, &c., appear never to have been committed among them.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

common in the Andamans, said by RADCLIFFE-BROWN (p. 273) to be eaten 262 751 by the Andaman Islanders as a protection against rheumatism, is never killed. [825] For some superstitious reason the Onge are simply horrified at the thought of touching such an enormous flying bat. Among the fruits, those of a plant whose wood has such a revolting smell that it is known, in English, as "stool-[137] tree", are believed to have exceptional protective properties for the human body. The fruits themselves smell even worse than the wood, but this, to the Onge, makes them appetizing rather than disgusting. Concerning honey, and the many sugary fruits of the jungle that are available all the year round, 273 the Onge luckily ignore the simple method of distilling alcohol. No intoxicating drink reaches Little Andaman from the outer world, whereas in Great Andaman alcohol, together with imported syphilis, was one of the main causes of depopu- 164 lation. No syphilis appears as yet to have reached Little Andaman. This is also confirmed by the research carried out by Dr. HERMANN LEHMANN of London's [114] St. Bartholomew's Hospital, during February 1953 in my Onge camp in Labanare (north-east coast of Little Andaman).

II. Effects on the People's Lives

The islanders die young, specially the men. The majority of them succumb 165 before reaching the age of 20 ; most of the survivors die between 20 and 40 ; the rest – with a very few exceptions – before 50. Women, after marriage, follow a similar pattern : the death rate among women, however, is slightly different owing to a less corrosive sexual life. Some women may live to the age of sixty, but both sexes age soon, appearing older than their years when still in their twenties. The short Onge span of life recalls conditions which apparently prevailed among prehistoric and protohistoric men. Palaeolithic man died at an earlier age than modern man. The Onge today, in many respects, behaves as palaeolithic man behaved countless centuries ago. – Infant mortality is high ; the first five days of life are the most critical for the Onge, owing, in part, to the hard life led by mothers even during pregnancy, which [843] often causes functional damage to the placenta. Delivery is generally easy [844] and traumatic injury rarely occurs ; but premature births are common, and [845] so are malformations and other anomalies. Imperfect infants are quickly [847] eliminated by their parents. As a result, only a small number of children are allowed to grow up, but these appear normal. There are no blind and no deaf-and-dumb people in Little Andaman. I saw only two instances of in- [732] cipient lameness : in an unmarried boy of about twenty and in a young married woman. Only robust infants can survive.

The Onge, so careful about their food, are completely indifferent to 841 something else that is considered very harmful in continental and insular 171 regions close to the Andamans. There, menstruating women are often segregated and considered harmful to the entire community. Not so in Little Andaman, where the remedies applied in the circumstance are extremely primitive (cf. supra) and could probably be traced to palaeolithic man. I saw nothing

To truly primitive peoples like the Onges, European medical practices are fascinating. Men and women will refuse literally nothing once they are convinced of our intention to do them good and cure their ills. Although they have a rudimentary form of medicine, they recognize the superiority of European methods, and medical aid has therefore become our most powerful means of making contact with uncivilized peoples.

While I was busy trying to alleviate their ailments I became aware of the power which 'medicine' has over them, and I was also able to observe their own methods of dealing with their ills. Understandably, disease, death and birth are all attributed to particular supernatural beings, or to the spirits of the dead. They try not to offend these beings, but strive nevertheless, in their own way, at least to cure disease. Once primitive peoples see our methods they respect them, and are eager to be treated; strange though it all seems, they develop a blind faith in the omnipotence of the new ways.

There is little actual disease among the Onges and they have equally few vices. They are still unaware of the existence of alcohol, and have not learned how to ferment sugar substances, such as the honey in which the Little Andaman abounds. Tobacco is a recent introduction, and the Onges at once became wildly addicted to it; the tobacco leaves I had taken with me were in fact my best means of making my way peacefully into the island. A few Onges have acquired a supply of opium from Burmese and Chinese smugglers along the north coast, but instead of smoking it they seem to limit themselves to chewing it mixed with tobacco, and have fortunately no means of replenishing their stock.

Polio, tuberculosis, smallpox and cancer seem unknown, but for some unknown reason the islands have on a number of occasions been struck by disastrous epidemics of measles. These epidemics struck nearly every member of some of the communal huts, judging from survivors' reports, and the sites were afterwards abandoned, leaving the huts to be destroyed by termites.

The census of 1931 includes a personal observation by Portman of congenital syphilis in several Onges. This has since been proved wrong and in 1952 I found only one young man with nasal malformation possibly attributable to the disease, half-moon incisors, and abnormality of the skull and palate. I was not able to find him

kitchen-middens to have been contemporaneous with the introduction of the pig, i.e. to have been introduced by outsiders. It would be possible, using radio carbon methods, to calculate this date more accurately, but on purely archaeological evidence the introduction of pottery would appear to have occurred some five thousand years ago. 323 172

8 ABSENCE OF CANNIBALISM

If we may accept the evidence of the kitchen-middens, there has never at any time been cannibalism in the Andamans, although the practice certainly existed in the later Palaeolithic era; the Andamanese must thus have been isolated in the archipelago long before the practice became widespread. 172 266

9 DRINK

The Andamanese ignorance of any drink other than water may be regarded as additional evidence of the great antiquity of their culture. 273 174

10 ABSENCE OF CLOTHING

The Jarawas of both sexes have always remained completely naked. The Onges have only in comparatively recent times adopted a form of genital covering for their womenfolk; this custom has spread as far as the north of Great Andaman, and it seems probable that the separation of the Jarawas from the Onges dates from this time. 291 178 174 184

11 ABSENCE OF TATTOOING

All primitive peoples who are habitually completely naked adorn the body in some way. The Onges have never progressed beyond the early stage of painting themselves with ochre, and do not tattoo. Their sole ornaments are small necklaces of tusk shells, strips of bark, and sometimes flowers. In all this they resemble the Tasmans (see, however, p. 143 for certain important differences), who seem to have remained in an equally early stage of cultural development. 30 171

12 TOTEMISM AND THE CLAN

Here again the complete absence of any traces appears to indicate isolation before the spread of these very ancient concepts. Neither the Onges nor the Jarawas have ever progressed beyond the stage of independent groups of families. 174 61 621

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762 pound word (*ō·yun-tē·mar-tô·liganga-*) in order to express the nature of the act.

673 2. That they are not entirely devoid of moral consciousness may, I think, in some measure, be demonstrated by the fact of their possessing a word, *yū·bda-*, signifying sin or wrong doing, which is used in connection with falsehood, theft, grave assault, murder, adultery, and — burning wax (!),[1] which deeds are believed to anger *Pū·luga-*, the Creator, of whom more will be said hereafter.[2]

627 3. Cases of adultery in their own villages are said to be of rare occurrence. If detected, the injured husband would pro-
837 bably inflict condign punishment on the guilty parties, but at the risk of retaliation on the part of the male offender and his friends; there appears, however, to be an understanding, that the greater the provocation offered the less is the risk incurred of the injured person or his friends avenging the wrong, but no appeal to the chief for redress is ever made.

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5. Intercourse with Europeans and other foreigners has, it
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177 of some vices of which they had formerly no knowledge;[3] notably is this the case with regard to drunkenness, for, being, till the time they made our acquaintance, "blessed in the ignorance of spirituous liquors," they had no conception of its effects, and, to express an inebriate, have invented a word (*lē·lēkanga-*) signifying "staggerer." It must, however, be added, that in consequence of the extreme partiality for rum and other intoxicating drinks which they manifest, much care has to be taken to prevent them from gratifying the easily acquired taste.

Narcotics.—1. Prior to our advent they were also entirely
•276 ignorant of narcotics in any form; but one of the evil results of
177 their intercourse with us has been the introduction of the practice of smoking, and so rapidly have they (both men and women) acquired the habit, that, when at a distance from the homes and unable to obtain tobacco, they have been seen to fill their short clay pipes, which, it is scarcely necessary to say, have been obtained from us, with *pán* leaves rather than endure entire deprivation.

[1] *Vide* "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xi, p. 288, and *post*, "Superstitions," paragraph 13.

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2. I have used the word "evil" advisedly, for there can be no doubt, from observations extending over many years, that the result of their excessive indulgence in smoking has been seriously to impair their constitutions. The attempts that have been made to check the mischief have hitherto failed, as it has been found difficult, if not impossible, to induce them to do a stroke of work without the accompaniment of the "fragrant weed." 276

Cannibalism.—1. The early stories regarding the prevalence of cannibalism among these savages do not at the present day require refutation.[1] No lengthened investigation was needed to disprove the long credited fiction, for not a trace could be discovered of the existence of such a practice in their midst, even in far-off times. 266

2. It is curious, however, to note, that while they express the greatest horror of the custom, and indignantly deny that it ever held a place among their institutions, a very general belief has been entertained by the tribes living in South and Middle Andaman as to its prevalence in other races, and even among their own countrymen inhabiting North and Little Andaman; and to this cause is chiefly ascribed the dread which they and their fathers have, from a distant period, evinced of their neighbours, and the animosity displayed towards strangers who have approached or landed on their shores; but these sentiments are now confined to those individuals who have had but scant opportunity of becoming acquainted with ourselves and other aliens, or with the results of the visits paid by us to the dreaded *yēʼrewa-* and *jārʼawa-* territories.

Communications, Chirography, and Drawing.—1. The density of the Andaman jungles, and the unsuitability of their canoes for long expeditions by sea, would of themselves be serious hindrances to free intercourse between the various tribes, even were there not the further difficulty—due in great measure to the above circumstances—of difference of language to contend with. 619

2. There are no marked boundaries between the various tribal districts, but a general understanding exists between neighbouring tribes regarding the limits of their respective domains, which are usually defined by such natural barriers as a range of hills, a creek, or even a belt of dense jungle. So careful are they to respect these boundaries, that, before even travelling through, and particularly before hunting or fishing in, the territory of a 619 486

[1] Papuans being regarded as such inveterate anthropophagi, ethnologists will probably agree in considering that the non-existence—nay, even horror—of this custom among the Andamanese furnishes an important item in the array of facts which militate against the theory held by some that the latter form a branch of the great Papuan family.

In a recent paper Dr. N. DATTA-MAJUMDER, Director, Department of Anthropology, Government of India, writes: 163

"From a study of 34 Onge families contacted by us, it is found that the average size of the family is only 3.15. Thirteen families out of 34 are childless. That is, 38.2% of the married couples are sterile".

When, in 1946, proposals were made for undertaking work for the amelioration of the conditions of the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands along the same line as had been done among the Bhil and other tribes of Central India, Dr. B. S. GUHA, at that time Director of the Department of Anthropology, very reasonably observed that "the problem of the aborigines of the Andaman Islands is not the same as that of the other primitive tribes of India", and that "the need among them is not so much the spread of education and social uplift as the arrest in the decline in population which has been most alarming". 648 161 177

The Ongi have been in sporadic contact with the outside world for many years. They have been visiting Port Blair, particularly since some of them moved to Rutland Island on the southern tip of Great Andaman. This contact with civilization was bound to affect their material culture, as well as their whole mentality. We may again quote Dr. DATTA-MAJUMDER who says: 177 [166]

"As a result of this long contact the Onge have already come to appreciate a number of foreign articles, for example, tobacco leaves, tea leaves, sugar, matches, aluminium utensils and implements made of iron (especially bill-hooks and files). In order to secure these articles, they often barter away their valuable honey and shells. The afore-mentioned changes in material culture have at present touched only the fringe of Onge culture. But the demand for these articles (especially tobacco leaves and safety matches) is becoming so great that Onge culture is likely to be vitally affected in the near future". [276]

Dr. DATTA-MAJUMDER came to the conclusion that "the hunting and food-gathering Onge culture, which had been an autonomous cultural system in the past, is now breaking down". 22 182

The Ongi were repeatedly visited by government officers, but the resulting information is paltry. PORTMAN spent several months among the coastal groups of Little Andaman in 1886 and 1887 and collected a few hundred words of their language. In 1901, C. BODEN KLOSS visited a group of Ongi on Rutland Island and one on Little Andaman, both only for a few hours. At some time between 1906 and 1908, A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN went to Little Andaman for several weeks and made a preliminary study of the Ongi language. In 1928, EGON VON EICKSTEDT spent a few weeks among the Ongi on Rutland Island and visited briefly several groups on the coast of Little Andaman for the sake of physical anthropological research. 114

177 757 To truly primitive peoples like the Onges, European medical practices are fascinating. Men and women will refuse literally nothing once they are convinced of our intention to do them good and cure their ills. Although they have a rudimentary form of medicine, they recognize the superiority of European methods, and medical aid has therefore become our most powerful means of making contact with uncivilized peoples.

75 177 While I was busy trying to alleviate their ailments I became aware of the power which 'medicine' has over them, and I was also able to observe their own methods of dealing with their ills. [761] [844] Understandably, disease, death and birth are all attributed to particular supernatural beings, or to the spirits of the dead. They try not to offend these beings, but strive nevertheless, in their own way, at least to cure disease. Once primitive peoples see our methods they respect them, and are eager to be treated; strange though it all seems, they develop a blind faith in the omnipotence of the new ways.

276 [273] [164] There is little actual disease among the Onges and they have equally few vices. They are still unaware of the existence of alcohol, and have not learned how to ferment sugar substances, such as the honey in which the Little Andaman abounds. [177] [123] Tobacco is a recent introduction, and the Onges at once became wildly addicted to it; the tobacco leaves I had taken with me were in fact my best means of making my way peacefully into the island. A few Onges have acquired a supply of opium from Burmese and Chinese smugglers along the north coast, but instead of smoking it they seem to limit themselves to chewing it mixed with tobacco, and have fortunately no means of replenishing their stock.

164 731 Polio, tuberculosis, smallpox and cancer seem unknown, but for some unknown reason the islands have on a number of occasions been struck by disastrous epidemics of measles. These epidemics struck nearly every member of some of the communal huts, judging from survivors' reports, and the sites were afterwards abandoned, leaving the huts to be destroyed by termites.

114 164 The census of 1931 includes a personal observation by Portman of congenital syphilis in several Onges. This has since been proved wrong and in 1952 I found only one young man with nasal malformation possibly attributable to the disease, half-moon incisors, and abnormality of the skull and palate. I was not able to find him

26 Cleaning themselves, to the Onges, means painting themselves
302 to ward off evil and to remove, so they said, the smell of pig fat
[224] after the colossal orgies which follow a particularly good hunt,
[164] when even they find the stench too much. These orgies, which give them appalling indigestion for days, are followed by an apparently instinctive variation of their diet to raw or cooked vegetable foods. On three occasions from 1952–54 I was present at one of these solemn pork and honey orgies. The Onges ate almost till they burst, and then, hardly able to move, cleaned up by a grand painting session. The women do the painting, families vying with each other to produce weird new designs, which are then copied until the next feast.[1]

276 Fed and painted, the Onges sit down to smoke, using pipes made
26 from crabs' claws. Still regardless of hygiene the pipes go from one
302 mouth to another, the women smoking just as heavily as the men.
237 One curious anomaly is that the Onges do sometimes sweep the
356 earth floor of the communal hut. The floor is not deliberately beaten down, but becomes hardened by continuous walking on it; in dry weather it turns to dust, which rises and settles everywhere, especially under the roof, where the lumps of cooked meat,
[412] fish and so on are hung. For the cleaning a broom or besom is prepared, well made with very hard, supple, palm fibres, bound tightly and carefully with cords made from reeds. The whole thing is about eighty centimetres long and as thick as a man's wrist.

356 The dirt is simply swept out all round from under the roof of the
342 hut through the gap between the roof and the ground. In the course
172 of time a ring of refuse builds up round the hut, forming a glorious
364 breeding ground for insects of all kinds. When the hut has to be rebuilt, owing to the ravages of wood-worm and termites, the ring is levelled off to form the new floor. Since the same small, well-chosen site may be used for thousands of years, the hut ends up perching on top of a small mound of refuse dating back to very

[531] [1] From one year to the next I saw no real evolution of art forms but cyclic changes of designs, with a preference for certain geometric patterns, at certain times of the year. Having watched various individuals of both sexes closely over a period of some years I can say that in the Onges at least, contrary to what is generally understood, the use of given patterns, and given kinds of ochre, does not correspond with given types of food. Any feast is always followed by painting, always with the weirdest designs possible, but always geometrical, never far from the current 'fashion', and never even remotely inspired by the basis of the feast.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

remains belonged to species still extant. Some chronological assistance was given, however, by four different stratifications due to evident changes in the level of the adjacent marshes, resulting not from any general marine phenomena, but from numerous land movements. On these occasions the cliffs sank, the sea flowed inland and corals flourished, later to be buried by the black ooze and mud of the mangrove swamps. 172

The maximum rise in the sea-level during the growth of the midden was a little over three metres, and affected a wide area. The date could be established by a full geological study of the archipelago as a whole, but it is clear that although this and similar occurrences had direct stratigraphic effects on the middens, the results were manifest only over very long periods of time.

Refuse from introductions of European origin, such as pipes, glass bottles, shot pellets, pieces of iron, etc., appear in the top level, only fifteen centimetres thick and dating back about a hundred years. There were no dog bones either here or anywhere else on Little or Great Andaman. Recently introduced, the dog clearly [177] caused an increase in the amount of pig remains, and a parallel reduction in shell refuse. Below the fifteen centimetres level, iron, [276] imported pipes and glass fragments disappear, and the crab-claw [237] pipes, still used today by the Onges, begin to emerge. The smoking habit must, as I have said, date from very ancient times, as traces of these claw pipes appear in the lowest strata, in contact with virgin soil.[1]

The actual consistency of the layers, which vary considerably, can tell us much. At Golpahar, we reached a depth of about four metres from the top of the midden through refuse mixed with only a little loose earth, very easy to penetrate. Bones, shells and other objects emerged clean, as if only recently rejected. The situation altered suddenly about one metre from the bottom, when the strata became hard and cemented with a mixture of ashes and earth. In these layers the shells were calcified by exposure to fire, and so fragile that they could only be recovered in broken pieces.

[1] It is obvious that smoking is a very ancient vice; leaves of the wild hemp are still smoked in Africa as they were long before the discovery of tobacco and claw pipes like those of the Onges are found in Eastern New Guinea, especially on the south coast, and as far as the Torres Straits and the Melville Straits. In Australia these pipes appear only in a few coastal areas in the east and north, including the Gulf of Carpentaria, and they are not found in the rest of Australia or in Polynesia. [171] [276]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

less plentiful and containing a great deal of wax, and is greatly 136
prized by the Onges. The darker bees, common in China, Celebes, 262
Borneo and beyond, build their nests in cavities in the rocks, or in tree-trunks. Their honey, darker and with less wax, is more plentiful, but not so fine; when there is enough of the golden honey the Onges ignore the darker variety.

Few of the fruits on Little Andaman contain much sugar, but 222
the Onges eat more than enough honey to compensate any defi- [146]
ciency that would otherwise occur. Whatever the fruit in season, men, women and children climb happily about like acrobats, hanging in the trees to get at it and the honey that goes with it. To chop the tree down is, of course, easiest and the obvious first choice for any Onge. Failing this, and their hooked poles, they climb up the nearby lianas into the branches, or walk up the trunk – an easy feat for them with their very long arms and almost prehensile toes.

Although there are arak nuts and betel leaves in the forest, the 137
Onges ignore them. They are the same variety as elsewhere; *Areca* 276
catechu and *Piper betel*. The Nicobarese are so addicted to them that [171]
many have lips and teeth hideously deformed as a result, but this is quite unknown among the Onges, contrary to earlier reports. The appearance of addiction in the Nicobars may have occurred after the separation of the peoples.

With all these fruits the Onges consume vast quantities of 222
honey from the two species of bee, *dorsata* and *nigrocinta*. 262
During the rainy season they can only get at the darker, poorer 136
honey of *nigrocinta*, which builds nests under boulders or in crevices of trees or rocks. The Onges' real honey orgies occur, therefore, in the dry season, when the honey birds (Indicationidae), common in Africa and all over Asia, lead them to the trees where the golden honey of *dorsata* is hidden.

When one of the Onges finds a nest of bees he puts a mark on the 222
rock or tree as a sign of ownership. None of the others would then 423
dare to take possession of it, for fear of punishment by the group,[1] [496]
but when the time comes to take the honey everyone helps in the hard work of getting at the nest and opening it up. On one trip from Labanar to Togalanghe, on 19 March 1954, the Onges pointed out over twenty *Nigrocinta* nests to me, all reserved ready for use

[1] However deep in the forest a crime is committed, it will inevitably be discovered in the end, and punished by banishment from the community. [627]

136 Andaman, in Yeratil Jig (near Port Anson, about fifteen miles from Long Island) in Diglipur (or Dilyapur) Creek, near Port Cornwallis, and in Wilima Jig,[1] but they are now extinct. In March 1952 the Onges had described the presence of crocodiles so clearly to me as to leave no doubt what they meant, and I soon received confirmation when I found their tracks on the sand about one kilometre from the mouth of Jackson Creek, on the right bank, and then saw some lying on the shore across the creek. Through my field glasses I saw small birds pecking between the teeth of the great wide-open jaws. As we approached they slid lazily into the sea, some reappearing a little later, their cavernous mouths rising vertically out of the water. Every day after that I saw them swimming quietly near the banks, and one afternoon my men and I between us saw over a dozen, near Nachuge, dozing in the mud or in the water.

[825] [198] The Onges assured me that crocodiles will come out of the water to a certain whistle. I got them to try it; the Onges whistled, and whistled again, but no crocodiles came!

237 321 276 172 Very different from the great turtles and the crocodiles, but equally important in the daily life of the Onges, are the crabs from which the islanders make their ancient and very characteristic pipes. They eat the crabs and use the claws to make the pipes, cutting them across the joint and boring a hole in the end, as they have done since time immemorial, to smoke aromatic leaves from the forest. Fragments of similar pipes, charred with use, appear in even the lowest strata of the kitchen-middens, dating back thousands of years and proving the antiquity of the smoking habit. Contrary to popular belief, smoking did not begin everywhere with the introduction of tobacco – in Asia at least men smoked thousands of years ago.

237 276 171 The claw pipes of the Onges have a groove cut round the end which goes into the mouth, so that the teeth can grip it better. I have seen identical pipes, with the same groove, in the Melville Islands, where there are many other signs of ethnographic connections with the Andamans. The canoes, for example, are identical with those of the Andamans; the peoples themselves, however, are today very different physically. [501] [142]

[165] [1] According to Portman a man was dragged into the water here on 11 May 1894 by a crocodile and killed; several similar incidents have occurred since.

171 776 way in which the spirits are invoked against enemies, involving the use of some personal possession – an example is the invariable destruction of the used *naquineghe*, or of hair after shaving. The same fear of the night induced by the idea of spirits walking abroad led to the making of torches from rolled palm leaves containing a mixture of embers and resin.

[262] [825] From the Andamans to Oceania the chief spirit is generally imagined in the form of a giant lizard, living at the top of the sky and ruling the storms; none of the peoples who believe in him ever eat any lizard or lizard-like creature. All of them have the same 171 535 776 825 sexually suggestive dances, both male and female, sometimes inspired by the monitor or dragon-lizard, symbol of desire, and often associated with miming and dramatic representations of real and imaginary scenes. These dances, with their *joie de vivre*, are accompanied by the smoking of aromatic leaves in pipes which are frequently made from natural objects such as the claws of crustacea. 171 276 [535] [172] The Onges in fact have since very ancient times used only this type as shown in the lower levels of the kitchen-middens dating back at least five thousand years. Everywhere, pipes of this kind are used indiscriminately by both sexes, passing from mouth to mouth. Pipes identical in every way with those of the Onges are found to the east of the archipelago, well into Oceania, and I have myself also seen them on Melville Island, north of Australia, always with the same notches for the teeth to grip. This undeniable evidence of the spread of identical pipes over so wide an area long before the possibility of European contacts cannot in my opinion be attributed other than to migration over vast distances in very ancient times.

171 114 411 Similar coincidences apply in the case of the arrow harpoon and indeed harpoons in general. I cannot agree with Brown in his assertion that the harpoon dates from the arrival of European influences, which brought the use of iron; the harpoon points made by long and patient working of *Tridacna* shells which I found in the kitchen-middens of the Andamans are in my view enough to refute the theory.

171 501 The canoes from which these harpoons are used, with the absence of distinction between bow and stern and the single float on the lee side, are extremely typical. They are identical in peoples which have been widely separated for a very long time and appear not only on the Andamans, and as far as Oceania, but also in North

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

a piece of the *Anadendron paniculatum* and diving with it into the sea where he placed it under a rock on the reef. A more recent example is very similar. A man still living, named *Jire Pilečar*, who was, in a way, the successor of the man formerly mentioned, is said to have stopped a violent storm by using the leaves and bark of the *Ficus laccifera* in the same way, that is by crushing them and placing them under a rock in the sea. In both these cases it would seem that the rite was directed not against *Biliku* and *Tarai*, but against the *Jurua*.

Apart from his power to communicate directly with the spirits, the *oko-jumu* owes his position to a superior knowledge of the magical properties of common substances and objects. This knowledge he is supposed to obtain from the spirits. However, a lesser degree of knowledge on such matters is possessed by everybody. Thus in the treatment of sickness there are a number of magical remedies of which anyone can make use without consulting an *oko-jumu*.

A complete enumeration of all the things that are believed to possess magical properties is, of course, not possible, but the following notes refer to all the most important.

We may consider first of all the magical properties of mineral substances. One of the most important of these is red ochre. Yellow ochre, which is found in pockets in many parts of the islands, is collected and burnt, when it turns red, and the powder so obtained is either used by itself or is made into a paint with pig or turtle fat. The powder is mixed with water and taken internally. Red paint is applied to the throat and chest for coughs and colds and sore throats, and round the ear for ear-ache. When a man feels unwell he often smears red paint on his upper lip just below his nostrils. In this way, the natives say, the "smell" of the paint cures his sickness. The paint is sometimes used as a dressing for wounds or centipede bites. Its use for ornamenting the body on ceremonial occasions has already been noted in the last chapter.

In the North Andaman a soft red stone is found, called *talar*. This is used as a substitute for red paint. It is rubbed on the body, or it is powdered and the powder is mixed with water and taken internally.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

755 White clay (*tol-odu* in *Aka-Jeru*) is sometimes used medi-
●278 cinally, both externally and internally. The commoner clay
823 (*odu* in *Aka-Jeru*) is plastered on sores, and has the effect of keeping off flies, if it does nothing else.

An olive-coloured earth (called *čulya* in *Aka-Bea*), found in certain springs, is prized as a remedy. It is mixed with water and taken internally as a general remedy for all sorts of complaints.

824 Turning now to the magical properties of vegetable sub-
784 stances, there are a large number of these, and some of them have not been botanically identified.

The *Anadendron paniculatum* is a plant from which the Andamanese obtain a valuable fibre, which they use for their bow-strings, and for thread with which to make their arrows and harpoons. A number of magical properties are attributed to this
[753] plant. Rheumatism is supposed to be due to the "smell" of the plant getting into the system when the fibre is being prepared[1]. The "smell" of the green plant, or of the fibre until it has been thoroughly dried for some days, is believed to frighten away turtle. A man who has been preparing the fibre would not dream of joining a turtle-hunting expedition, for his presence in the canoe would be sufficient to drive away all the turtle. A turtle-hunting expedition would be a failure if a piece of the green creeper were in the canoe. A man who has been handling the plant may not cook turtle, for the meat would be "bad," i.e., uneatable. The same thing would happen if turtle meat accidentally came in contact with a piece of the plant. All this applies only to the green creeper, and not to the fibre after it has been properly prepared and dried. The fibre itself is used for binding the heads of turtle-harpoons, so it is evidently regarded as harmless.

If a piece of the *Anadendron* creeper were burnt in the fire the natives believe that it would drive all the turtle away from the neighbourhood, or, according to another statement, that there would be a great storm.

000 So far we have considered the properties of the plant only in

[1] In preparing the fibre, the skin or bark of the young shoots of the plant is torn off in strips and these are placed on the thigh and scraped with a *Cyrena* shell.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

824 784 the species were cut there would be a storm. The bark of the aerial roots of the tree affords a fibre used in the Little Andaman for bow-strings, but only used in the Great Andaman for making personal ornaments. It is possible that some magical properties are attributed to the ornaments made from this fibre.

The *Pterocarpus dalbergioides* is one of the most striking trees of the Andamans. It has a very hard red wood, from which the natives make their sounding-boards. There is an obscure belief in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe (and possibly also in other tribes) that it is dangerous to look at the tree when it is in flower. I was twice told a story of how some people were affected by looking at the flowers, and either went mad or died. On one occasion my interpreter translated the words of my informant by saying "They saw the flowers, and went giddy, and they all went to hell (*Jereg-l'ar-mugu*)." Men must be careful when the tree is in flower, not to look at it too long. In the North Andaman I was told that string games (*jipre*) must not be played when the *Pterocarpus* tree is in flower. They may be indulged in with safety at any other time of the year. (String games, according to one statement, were invented by the *Lau*, while another account attributes the invention to the crab.)

824 751 The *Tetranthera lancœfolia* is a small tree from which the natives obtain the wood for the shafts of their pig arrows. The leaves of this tree are believed to have the power to keep away the spirits of the forest. They are used in the pig-eating ceremony described in the last chapter. The wood is shredded and made into plumes, and these plumes are believed to have magical properties. They are worn by a man who has killed another, and are believed to protect him from the vengeance of the spirit of the dead man.

824 278 757 A common remedy for sickness of different kinds is a small tree called *gugma* in *Aka-Bea*, which Mr Man identifies as being *Trigonostemon longifolius*. The leaves of this tree are made into a bed for the patient to lie upon. They are also crushed and rubbed over the patient's body, or he is made to inhale the odour of the crushed leaves. The natives say that it is the "smell" of the plant that possesses medical properties. The

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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"smell" will drive away turtle, and leaves should therefore not be taken in a canoe. A man who has been handling the leaves would not go turtle-hunting. 824 278 757

Another remedy is a species of *Alpinia*. The leaves and stems of this plant are chewed and the juice swallowed for certain ailments. The plant is also used when taking honey. A man takes some of the leaves in his mouth and chews them well. Before taking the honeycomb he sprays the saliva from his mouth over and around it. He may also rub the chewed leaves over his body. The natives say that in this way they are able to prevent the bees from stinging them.

Magical properties are attributed to a number of plants that have not been botanically identified. Thus the leaves of a small tree called *tare* in *Aka-Jeru* are crushed and moistened with water and rubbed over the body as a remedy for illness. A strip of bark from the same tree is tied round the chest of a man with a pain in his chest. The bark of two trees called (in *Aka-Jeru*) *tip* and *laro* is crushed and moistened and rubbed over a sick man's body. The leaves of a plant called *pare* are crushed with water and the infusion is drunk by persons suffering from diarrhœa and abdominal pains. A creeper called *korotli* is crushed and tied round a limb in cases of snake-bite. The seeds of the *Entada scandens* are heated in the fire and applied (while hot) to such wounds as that from the tusk of a boar.

There are a certain number of trees and plants about which the natives say that any person cutting them will become blind. The names of four of these in *Aka-Jeru* are *jin*, *burut*, *dey*, and *mit*.

We may turn now to animals and animal substances. Magical properties are attributed to bees'-wax, particularly to black bees'-wax. In a case of pleurisy black bees'-wax was heated until it was soft, and then smeared over the man's chest. Bees'-wax is believed to keep away the spirits of the forest. 825 278 755

If a man be bitten by a snake and the snake be killed it is skinned and the inner surface of the skin is applied to the wound.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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827 A hiccough is supposed to be the result of inadvertently swallowing a tree lizard, whose call rather resembles the sound of a person hiccoughing.

The condition popularly called "pins and needles" or described as an arm or leg "going to sleep" is believed by the Andamanese to be due to the bite of a rat. If a man wakes up in the night with one of his limbs benumbed in this way, he believes that a rat has bitten him while he slept.

The Andamanese say that the bite of a civet-cat (*Paradoxurus*) will produce cramp. I was once told that if a man eats the flesh of the civet-cat and then goes into the water he will become "lame." This means, I think, that he will have cramp, and so will be unable to swim.

278 The flesh and particularly the fat of the flying fox (*Pteropus*) is believed to be a remedy for rheumatism. An old man who was suffering from this ailment once asked me to shoot for him some of these bats, which he cooked and ate.

784 If turtle-fat be permitted to burn in the fire there will be a storm.

751 755 Mention has already been made of the magical value attributed to human bones. They are esteemed as a means of driving away spirits, and therefore of curing or preventing sickness. A human jaw-bone was hanging in my hut in such a position that it could swing in the wind. The natives attributed to this the illness from which I and several of them were suffering at the time, and asked me to put the bone away in a basket, where it could not move.

Bones of animals are made into ornaments in the same way as human bones, and magical properties of a similar kind seem to be attributed to them.

755 372 Of other objects possessing magical properties the most important is fire. Fire is believed to have the power of keeping away spirits of the sea and of the forest. A fire is always kept alight beside a sick man or woman. For dysentery stones are heated in a fire and the patient is required to defecate on to these.

000 In conclusion, mention must be made of one favourite remedy

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

164 **Medicine.**—1. The diseases most common among these tribes are:—

1st, malarial fever (*did·dirya-*).
2nd, catarrh (*ngī·rib-*).
3rd, coughs (*ō·dag-*).
4th, rheumatism (*mōl-*).
5th, phthisis.
6th, pneumonia.
7th, heart disease.[1]

757 2. In febrile complaints the treatment adopted by those living in the interior, and less frequently by the coast dwellers,[2] is the
●278 following:—A bed is made for the patient of the leaves of the *Trigonostemon longifolius* (*gū·gma-*), and his body is rubbed with these leaves, which are sometimes first boiled, while he sniffs at some crushed pieces of the same; after a time *chū·luga-*[3] is given him to drink, and then with some of their patent ointment, *kòi·ob-*,[4] which is not used internally, as has been supposed,[5] the upper lip is painted and also the neck, if the invalid be married. When the fever is accompanied by pains in the chest or head, a *chàw·ga-tâ-*[6] is tied tightly round the part affected, as this is
[755] believed to act as a charm, internal pains being always ascribed to the malign influence of evil spirits. During the course of the fever, the patient is constantly rubbed with *gū·gma-* leaves by one or more friends, who insist also upon his swallowing large quantities of *chū·luga-*; scarifying is never practised at such times. As only a small proportion of cases of this kind have a fatal result, great faith is placed in the treatment above described, and, at all events, it is certain that no injurious effects are caused by it.

757 3. The first half of the rainy season is usually the most sickly time with them, as with ourselves, in regard to fever and bowel

among the women of suckling each other's infants; in fact many parents have thus become tainted with the disease, the characteristics of which have in almost every case been most strongly marked, presenting an interesting study to the medical officers who have had charge of the patients. Great benefit was derived from the treatment and remedies (mercury and iodide of potassium) usually employed in Europe, but time alone will show how far our efforts will avail to prevent the disease from infecting the entire population, if, indeed, it do not, as in certain parts of Australia, lead to the early extermination of the race.

[753] Because of the insidious nature, and (to them) mysterious origin, of the last three named diseases, they say that either *ā·rem-chàw·gala* has shot the sufferer, or *jū·ru-win-* has speared him. Regarding these evil spirits further reference will be found at "Death and Burial," paragraph 25, and "Religious Beliefs and Demonology," paragraphs 12 and 14.

[1] The reason for this will be found under "Tribal Communities," paragraph 5.

[2] *Vide* Appendix B, No. 63.

[3] *Vide* Appendix B, No. 60.

[4] *Vide* Mouat, p. 306.

[5] *Vide* Appendix B, No. 44.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

affections. Those natives who have been long with us, have great faith in our medicines, especially in the efficacy of quinine for curing fever, from which, as exposure is very trying to their constitutions, they suffer greatly when living in the clearings we have made at Port Blair. 757

4. For a cold in the head they merely remain at home and nurse themselves, crouching over the fire; for a cough, sea-water is often drunk, or they will chew the thick portion of the long leaves of a plant called *jī·ni-* (of the *Alpinia* species), and when the bitter juice has been extracted and swallowed, tie the chewed fibre round the neck; if benefit be not derived from this, they then take a piece of the upper portion of the stem of the *Calamosagus laciniosus*, called *pôr-*, and, removing the bark, chew the rest, and swallow the sap. Many cures having been attributed to the wonderful properties of the two descriptions of *chū·lnga-*, one or two quarts daily are prescribed to the unhappy patient, until the cough leaves him. 757 278

5. In cases of rheumatism and paralysis, a *chàu·ga-tâ-* is tied round the parts affected, and *chū·lnga-*, moist as found, is rubbed into them: if no relief is experienced within a day or so, warm water is poured over the suffering members, which are then shampooed; should no improvement result, even after these measures, recourse is had to scarification; this is done with a quartz or glass flake, by a woman, generally the wife or one near of kin to the sufferer. It has been noticed that but few of those who have been attacked by rheumatism in the jungle ever regain the full use of their limbs. 757 304

6. In phthisis, or when any internal organ is diseased, steps are taken by the friends of the patient to defeat the machinations of the evil one, to whom the victim's sufferings are attributed; to this end, one or more *chàu·ga-tâ-* are first fastened tightly over the seat of pain, a lump of black beeswax, *tō·bul-pīd-*,[1] is then held over a fire till it begins to melt, when it is instantly applied, being passed rapidly over the flesh; the wax which adheres is not removed, but wears off in a few days. The patient is also subjected to pressure with the hands by a relative or friend of the same sex, while an attendant frequently sucks the skin. Scarification is the *dernier ressort* when the bad symptoms increase.[2] [755] [278]

7. Every attention is paid to the wants and wishes of the sick, and the friends do all in their power to effect recovery, but no charms, excepting the *chàu·ga-tâ-*, are employed in the hope of 757 751

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, No. 57.

[2] As many bad cases of lung disease among those in the homes have been successfully treated with cod liver oil, they have now great faith in that medicine.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Soon after delivery, some warm water is given to the woman to drink; she is also fed with meat-gravy, and the water in which shell or other fish have been boiled; after a time, should she desire it, fish, shell-fish, yams, or fruit are given her, but no meat.[1] During the first two or three days, she remains in a sitting posture, propped up by articles arranged so as to form a couch. As might be supposed, from the active habits and unsophisticated manners of these people, their women rarely suffer much during labour and child-birth; in fact, no instances of difficult delivery are known.[2] 846

12. For ear-ache, head-ache, and tooth-ache, recourse is had, in the first instance, to the *chàwga-tâ-*, then to scarification, should the pain continue and cause swelling. 755

13. In cases of skin disease, they afford relief, at least from irritation, by applying to the parts affected a large smooth stone previously warmed over a fire. 757

14. When a wound is inflicted by a thorn, stone, shell, &c., hot water is poured over it from a *Cyrena* shell, which is then heated and applied to the part as hot as it can be borne; or, if the injury be slight, sea-bathing is prescribed, as it is said to expedite the healing process. In treating a boil, they scarify all round the swelling in order to reduce the inflammation, and afterwards bathe it with *chū·lnga-* "lotion." This substance is also taken internally when suffering from dysentery, while for diarrhœa they swallow small quantities of a whitish clay, called *kôtrē·o-*. 752 278

15. The *larvæ* of bees found attached to honeycombs is eaten to correct constipation, or, if in season, the fruits of two trees, *ô·ropa-* and *chôb-*, which are much relished, and not without reason. 757 278

16. Their method of treating a case of epilepsy is to sprinkle the patient with cold water, and then to scarify his brow. 757

17. When bitten by a snake (especially a venomous one), if they succeed in killing it, they cut it open, and apply the kidney fat to the wound, rubbing it in for some time; should they fail in capturing the reptile, a ligament is tied above the bite, and the surrounding flesh is scarified. Deaths from snake bites, though not unknown, are rare. The late chief of the Middle Strait community died in a few hours from the bite of a certain tree snake called *tâ·ga-jō·bo-*,[3] in September, 1878, and another 752

[1] During menstruation they abstain from pork, *Paradoxurus*, turtle, honey, and yams, and live upon certain varieties of fish, sour fruits, iguanas, and prawns.

[2] The custom known by the name of *couvade*, or the paternal lying-in, is quite unknown among the Andamanese.

[3] This snake is said to be the most deadly, after which the *lá·raba-* and *ná·ra-jō·bo-* are the most dreaded. The last appears to be the *Ophiophagus elaps*. Further allusion to the *lá·raba-* and the *ná·ra-jō·bo-* will be made under "Superstitions."

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Queensland and (as the Cape Bedford type) elsewhere. Oars, method of fixing the booms and float – all are similar throughout the area, including the Andamans.

Even game, once caught, is treated and distributed similarly by these peoples, from the Andamans to Oceania. Cooking is done without salt, in earth ovens (whether or not fire or red-hot stones are used) very different from those of Africa and America. The Semang and Aetà of today know how to make fire by friction, as do the peoples of New Guinea, Australia and Polynesia; the Tasmans also have the knowledge to do so, but prefer to carry burning logs with them on their journeys, like the Andamanese. In certain parts of New Guinea and perhaps in some of the Pacific islands (as in the Andamans) the art of fire-making was unknown or possibly forgotten until recent times; it is said that the Papuans of the Bay of Astralobius knew nothing of the art until the middle of the nineteenth century. But the only sure information comes from the Andamans, where, whether through ignorance or loss of knowledge, the art of fire-making is unknown and fire is always carried everywhere.

Among the objects typical of the Andamans and found also among the Semang, the Aetà, and other Oceanic peoples are the digging stick and the crude hatchet. The former, used for gathering edible roots and tubers, is merely a pointed stick, but every family possesses one. The hatchet is slightly more elaborate, having both handle and blade, and like the digging stick, occurs always in virtually the same form.[1] Objects woven from vegetable fibres are also very similar in appearance – often very durable and sometimes pleasing by any standards. In some places woven breast-plates are used in warfare, but here the Jarawas differ, using single sheets of bark.

These are but a few of the many examples which one can find of this striking similarity between these widely separated peoples. And alongside cultural similarities there exist others, anthropological and physical, which cannot be overlooked. Physically the

[1] This is simply a cutting tool fixed into a natural elbow in a suitable branch. The blade is fixed into the wood near the elbow, and the branch is cut off, so as to leave a short handle. The whole thing is reminiscent of a swan's head on a long neck, and is easily turned into a crude plane or adze by revolving the blade in the haft through a right angle.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

412 over a fire, and sharpened by means of a *Cyrena* shell; *netting-*
314 *needles* (*pô·tòkla-*[1]) and *tongs* (*kai-*[2]), which last consist merely of a strip of bamboo, bent double, with pointed ends;[3] the slender *Bambusa nana*, called *rī·di-*, is generally selected for forming the hooked pole (*ngâ·tanga-*[4]), and it is likewise invariably employed for the shafts of their wooden and iron-pointed arrows.

534 5. Although there are materials ready to hand wherewith they might easily construct a few such simple musical instruments as are made and used by the Nicobarese, no attempt seems to have been made by them in this direction, for the rude sounding board (*pū·kuta-yem·ngo-*[5]) can hardly be included under this head. This circumstance seems to find its explanation in the fact that though they are good timists their talent for music is (as will be presently shown,[6] on the testimony of more than one competent authority) of the lowest type.

412 6. A brush, suitable for painting the stripes on their baskets (*jōb-*[7]), baby-slings (*chīp-*[8]), &c., is obtained from a drupe of the small fruit of the *Pandanus Andamanensium* (*mâng-*), the pulp having been first extracted by means of a *Cyrena* shell.

[281] 7. Skins of animals, thorns, or spines of trees are not made
314 use of by these people in any way, nor do they have recourse to caves, rock-shelters, or tree-tops for their dwellings, though they occasionally, as I have before mentioned, avail themselves of the buttress-like formations of the roots of such trees as the *Ficus laccifera*, *Bombax malabaricum*, *Sterculia villosa*, &c., when travelling in bad weather, or when suddenly overtaken by a storm. Palm-leaves, as I explained when describing their habitations,[9] are employed for thatching purposes.

281 **Leather-work.**—From the last paragraph it will be correctly inferred that there is no evidence of their having ever possessed a knowledge of the art of dressing and preparing skins for use in any form: this may be due as much to the limited number and variety of those animals[10] whose hides might be turned to account in this way as to the equable temperature of the climate, which renders such, or indeed any covering unnecessary.

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 67.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 80.
[3] A narrow and pointed piece of bamboo, bitten at the end so as to loosen the fibres, is made to serve as a brush in painting designs on their buckets, sounding boards, &c.
[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 17.
[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 19.
[6] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraph 35, and footnote.
[7] *Vide post* "Basket-work," paragraph 3, and Appendix B, item 21.
[8] *Vide* Appendix B, item 24.
[9] *Vide ante* "Habitations," paragraph 2.
[10] Viz., dugong, porpoise, paradoxurus, iguana, and pig.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 the actual figures ranging from 2·1 to 1·3 cm. From the middle the bow tapers slightly towards each end. At a distance of 7 cm. from the end of the bow the average breadth is 1·8 cm., and the average thickness 1·2 cm.

The flatter side is the inside of the bow. Referring to the figures, the side marked *A* is that which faces a man as he holds the bow ready to shoot (called here the inside). *C* is thus the right-hand side and *D* the left-hand. By breadth is meant the distance from *C* to *D*, and by thickness the distance from *A* to *B*.

At each end of the bow there is a shoulder, as shown in Fig. 2. The length from the shoulder to the end of the bow, i.e. the length of

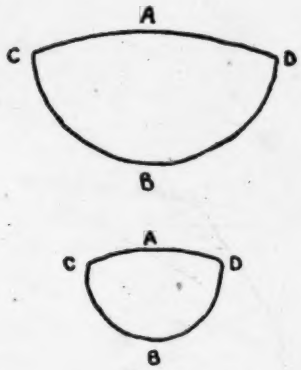

Fig. 1

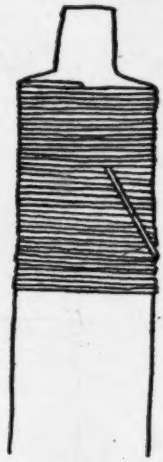

Fig. 2

Fig. 1. Section of Little Andaman bow, in the middle and near the end
Fig. 2. Shoulder of Little Andaman bow

the point on which the string is looped, is about 10 to 12 mm. Both ends are the same. For a few centimetres below the shoulder the bow is served over with string or fibre. In a carefully finished bow the serving is usually done with ornamental string, i.e. with string round which is twisted the dried yellow skin of the *Dendrobium*. In other examples plain string is used, or a strip of twisted *Ficus* fibre, or even nowadays a twisted strip of cotton cloth.

Bows are never ornamented in the Little Andaman either with paint or with incised patterns.

411 283 The bow-string of the Little Andaman is made of strips of the bark of the *Ficus laccifera*. The number and width of the strips used

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

depend on the size of the bow. In a small bow now in the Cambridge Museum the string is made of a single strip of bark about 1 cm. in width. This strip is simply twisted, the twist being that of a right-hand or male screw. When two strips are used they are not twisted around one another in the way that a two-ply rope is made, but are laid flat together and twisted together, so that when the string is finished only one of the strips is visible, the other being inside. In a stout string for a large bow three or four strips may be twisted together in this way. The bow-string is not a rope, but a twisted strand (Fig. 3.) 411 283

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 3. Bow-string of twisted fibre, Little Andaman
Fig. 4. Diagram showing the method of making the loop in the end of the Little Andaman bow-string

At one end of the string a loop is made, as shown in Fig. 4. The end is doubled over to make a loop of the right size, a round turn is made over the standing part (*A*) and the end (*B*) is twisted in with the standing part by untwisting the latter, laying the end in, and twisting up again. If this splicing, as it may perhaps be loosely called, be not sufficiently secure, it is served over or stopped with finer fibre of the same kind. This loop is of sufficient size to slip down over the shoulders. At the other end the string is attached to the peg either with a knot, or else by means of a small loop (just large enough to go over the peg, but not large enough to slip over the shoulder) made in 411 [284]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 Bows of this kind vary in length between 180 and 210 cm., the n ost usual length being between 190 and 195 cm. At the upper end the bow is brought to a point approximately circular in section. From this point it broadens out until, at a distance of about 50 or 55 cm., or between one-quarter and one-third of the length of the bow, it reaches its maximum breadth, which is, on the average, about 5·5 cm. The section of the bow at this point is convex on the outer side, while on the inner side it may be flat or slightly concave, or even in rare instances slightly convex. In many specimens there is a very slightly raised keel running down the middle of the inside of the bow. The thickness of the bow at the point mentioned is usually 1·5 to 1·75 cm., and there is little variation in this respect in different specimens. (See Fig. 8.)

At the middle the bow decreases in breadth and increases in thickness to form a handle. At the handle the usual section may be described as pear-shaped, the greatest diameter being the thickness (from inside to outside) and not the breadth.

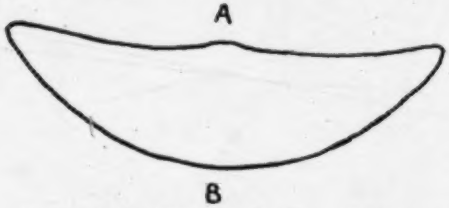

Fig. 8. Section across the blade of a South Andaman bow

From the handle towards the lower end the bow again increases in breadth, so that the lower portion is about the same breadth and thickness as the upper portion. At the lower end it tapers to a point, circular in section, but the point is blunter than at the upper end.

Thus the whole bow consists of a leaf-shaped upper portion or blade which is straight (i.e. neither curved inwards nor outwards), a waist or handle, and a lower blade that is curved backwards or outwards at about its middle, this being the position of the bend in the wood from which it is cut. A bow of this type is shown in Plate v.

Near each end the bow is served over with string for a distance of 3 or 4 cm., leaving a bare point at the upper end of about 7 cm. long, and a point at the lower end of about 1·5 cm. (Fig. 7.)

411 283 A bow-string is made from the fibre of the *Anadendron*. A number of strands of the fibre are taken and are waxed with black bees'-wax. Four of these strands are taken, three of them are placed together and

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

the fourth is wound spirally round them. When the end of the active strand (the one being twisted round the others) is neared, a new strand is taken and laid in. The twisting is continued for a few turns and the newly inserted one is then taken, the end of the first active strand being laid in and wound over in its turn. The process continues in this way, new strands being added until a cord of sufficient length has been made. This is again waxed over on the outside. 411 283

At one end of the cord a knot is tied. At the other end a loop or eye is formed. To make this eye, when the cord is of sufficient length, the end of it is bent over to form a loop of about 1 cm. or a little more in diameter. This loop is then served over with thread made of *Anadendron* fibre. The serving is continued over the neck of the loop for about 1·5 cm. This gives an eye with the appearance shown in Fig. 9. A loose strand of fibre is left at the neck of the loop. This is wound spirally over the cord, as described before, new strands being added one after another until the cord has been treated in this way for about 35 cm. from the eye. It is then stopped by serving it over for 411 284

Fig. 9. Loop of bow-string, South Andaman

about 2 cm. with *Anadendron* thread. It is clear from this description that the cord is somewhat thicker for about 35 cm. from the end with the eye than it is in the rest of its length.

To string the bow the knotted end of the bow-string is fastened round the top end of the bow with a slip knot, so that it rests on the top of the string serving. The bow is then turned upside down and the top end (now temporarily at the bottom) is fixed in the ground or against a stone, so that it will not slip. The other end of the bow is taken by the left hand, while the cord is held in the right, the right foot is placed against the handle or middle of the bow and the bow is bent, the end held by the hand being drawn towards the operator until he is able to slip over it the eye or loop at the end of the string. 411

After the bow has been strung the upper portion, which before was straight, is now curved inwards, and the bow therefore appears as S-shaped when seen from the side. When a man starts out hunting or fishing he strings his bow and tests it, and it remains strung till he returns, when he unstrings it and places it in his hut.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 from the end the section is slightly flattened or oval, and the maximum diameter (the breadth from side to side) is about 1·5 cm. From this the bow broadens fairly rapidly, until at a distance of about 60 cm. from the end it is 7 cm. broad. The section at a point 60 cm. from the end is shown in Fig. 11, where it may be seen to be convex on the outside and only very slightly convex on the inside. At about 75 cm. from the end the bow narrows in breadth to form a handle, at the same time increasing slightly in thickness. The handle is approximately circular in section in the middle, which is about 95 cm. from the upper end, and about 80 cm. from the lower end, the diameter being about 2·2 cm. Below the handle the bow broadens out once more into a lower blade which in shape and section is similar to the upper blade. At a distance of about 30 cm. from the lower end the bow once more narrows off to a point approximately circular in section. The lower point of the bow is not so long or so tapering as the upper point.

The whole bow thus consists of two blade-shaped portions tapering to a point at each end, and with a waist or handle between them. The upper blade is straight, i.e. is not curved either outwards or inwards. The lower blade is curved outwards (like that of the South Andaman bow) in nearly every newly made bow and in every bow that has been in use.

The upper part of the bow is served over with string for about 1·5 cm. (at a distance of 15·5 cm. from the end in the bow that has been described), and the lower end is similarly served (at a distance of 6 cm. from the end). The general shape of the bow as seen from inside is shown in Fig. 12.

283 411 The bow-string of the North Andaman is made from *Anadendron* fibre in much the same way as described in connection with the South Andaman bow, but in the North there is a loop or eye at both ends of the string. As soon as the first few centimetres of the cord have been made (by the method previously described) it is bent over into a loop, and this loop is served with *Anadendron* thread, just as in the case of the South Andaman string. The making of the string then proceeds in the usual way until a sufficient length has been made, this depending, of course, on the length of the bow for which it is intended. The end is then bent over into a loop, and this loop is served over with thread. The loose end of fibre is not in this case (as it is in the South Andaman string) twisted round the standing part of the cord, but is laid beside it, and the thread that has been used for serving is wound spirally round them both for a distance of about 10 cm. from the neck of the loop, so that the end is stopped.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 cut, and the arrow is served with thread of *Anadendron* fibre for about 1·6 cm. above the nock, in order to prevent splitting. At the other end the shaft is hollowed out to a depth of about a centimetre. This hollowing is done with the point of a fish-arrow or other similar piece of pointed iron. For a distance of about 1·5 cm. the end of the shaft is served over with thread of *Anadendron* fibre, so as to prevent it from splitting.

The fore-shaft consists of a piece of tough wood one end of which is cut to such a size that it will fit fairly tightly into the hollow at the end of the shaft. At the other end it is split so as to admit the head.

411 325 The head consists of a piece of iron broken into shape with the aid of a stone hammer and then ground down and sharpened on a whetstone or with a file if one be obtainable. The usual shape is shown in Fig. 17. The head is inserted into the split end of the fore-shaft and the end of the latter is then served over with thread. A few centimetres below the head either one or two sharp-pointed pieces of iron wire are placed against the fore-shaft in the same plane as the head and are bound firmly to it with the thread, so as to provide a barb or barbs.

411 283 A cord is made and one end of it is attached to the shaft and the other end to the fore-shaft. This cord is made as follows. A number of strands of *Anadendron* fibre are taken and waxed with bees'-wax. These are made into a cord by the same method as that described in connection with the Great Andaman bow-string, one strand being wrapped round the others. About 40 cm. of single cord is made in this way and the two ends are tied together. A piece of elastic wood is bent into the form of an arc and the loop of cord is placed over this so that it is stretched tight. A length of thread (of *Anadendron* fibre) is made and wound on to a fine netting needle or on to a thin slip of wood, and the two cords as they are stretched side by side are bound together with this thread by the process known as "nippering" (Fig. 19). In this way a firm and strong flattened cord is produced. One end of this is fastened to the fore-shaft immediately above the end that fits into the shaft. The other end is fastened to the shaft a few centimetres from the end, leaving a short length of the shaft around which the cord may be spirally wound when the arrow is in use. (Fig. 18.)

411 Finally, the thread on the fore-shaft, i.e. that which holds the head and barbs in place, and also that which serves to attach the end of the cord, are covered with the composition already described as used on fish-arrows.

7/1 [Head of pig-arrow — Analyst]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 whet-stone. The natives are always eager to obtain files which enable
412 them to do this part of the work much more rapidly. When the arrow-
325 head has been ground into shape the edges are sharpened. Blades for adzes are made in exactly the same way from any suitable piece of iron or steel, such as a cutlass or an old file or a piece of thick hoop-iron. The adze-blade is attached to a handle of mangrove wood by the method shown in Fig. 28.

The barbs of pig-arrows and the points of fish-arrows are made in the same way by breaking the metal into a suitable shape and then grinding it on a whet-stone. It is probable that this was the method that was formerly used for dealing with bone for these purposes.

In the case of the knife, iron or steel is now substituted for cane or bamboo, but the knife has retained its shape in spite of the change of material. The shape of a knife, whether of cane or of iron, with its attached skewer of *Areca* wood is shown in Fig. 28.

In the case of the harpoon the native tradition is that this implement was only made after they had discovered the use of iron.

177 At the present time both the Semang and the Negritos of the
325 Philippines make use of iron. The Semang heat the iron until it is red-hot and then batter it into shape between two stones[1]. The shapes of the iron weapons and implements which they make follow fairly closely those made by the Malays.

In an attempt to reconstruct the primitive Negrito culture it would seem that the most reasonable hypothesis is that the primitive Negritos had no knowledge of iron and had not learnt to fashion implements out of stone, but relied entirely on such materials as wood, bone and shell. The Andamanese, becoming possessed of iron through wrecks upon their islands, applied to it the technique that they had developed for dealing with shell, and thereby invented their present method of working iron without heating it. The Semang and the Negritos of the Philippines probably first learnt the use of iron from their neighbours of other races. There is not at present any evidence to show that the Negritos ever had any method of working stone except the very simple one at present in use in the Andamans for making flakes.

STRING, ROPE, MATS, BASKETS, AND NETTING.

283 For string, rope and thread the Andaman Islanders make use of a number of different vegetable substances, but they make no use what-

[1] Skeat, p. 383.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

ever of any animal substances. Some of the more important fibres, with their uses and the methods of preparing them, are mentioned below. 283

The bark of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, which occurs in the beach vegetation in all parts of the islands, provides the Andamanese with one of their most important fibres. By the coast-dwellers of the Great and Little Andaman Divisions it is used for making rope. In the Great Andaman Division the rope made from it was formerly used for making turtle nets, and is now used for the lines of turtle harpoons, and for hawsers to attach a canoe either to a stone used as an anchor or to a tree. No other fibre is used for these purposes. The *Hibiscus* rope does not seem to be much affected by salt water. The forest-dwellers of the Great Andaman have less use for rope, and at the same time are not able to obtain so readily the *Hibiscus* fibre. What rope they do have is therefore obtained from the coast-dwellers or is made of some other fibre. In the Little Andaman the *Hibiscus* is regularly used for rope. It is also used for the short cord by which the detachable head of the pig-arrow is attached to the shaft. In the Great Andaman a strip of the bark of the *Hibiscus* is used for the sling in which children are carried. Strips of the bark are worn by the women of the Little Andaman across their shoulders and breasts, as a sort of ornament. 283 824

To obtain the fibre young straight shoots of about 120 cm. in length are cut from the tree, those free from gnarls, and having a smooth bark, being chosen. The bark (inner and outer layers) is peeled off in strips of from 1·5 to 3 cm. in width. The inner or liber layer is then separated from the outer layer of the bark, is well scraped with a *Cyrena* shell and dried in the sun or over a fire. When dry it is worked in the hands until the various layers of fibre separate one from another. It is then ready to be made into rope. The fibre is interlacing, and when freshly made is a lustrous greyish brown. After exposure to salt water it turns a dark brown.

Mr E. H. Man, in his work on the Andamans, speaks of the *Melochia velutina* as providing fibre for rope. This is an error. The tree to which Mr Man refers is the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*. It is extremely common on the shores of the islands, as it is in many other parts of the tropics. It is very easily identified, as it bears its characteristic yellow flowers for a long time every year. There is no doubt whatever that this is the tree from which the natives regularly obtain the fibre for the rope they use in turtle-hunting and fishing and in their canoes. Other writers, following Mr Man, have repeated his error in calling it

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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the *Melochia velutina*, for example Sir Richard Temple and Mr Portman. In Mr Portman's collection of photographs in the British Museum there is a good photograph of a *Hibiscus tiliaceus* tree labelled "*Melochia velutina*." I looked carefully in the Andaman jungles for the *Melochia velutina* but was unable to find it, and I am quite certain that in any case, even if it be found there, it is not commonly used by the natives for rope.

The bark of a number of other trees provides fibre of which the natives occasionally make use. Amongst these are one or more species of *Sterculia* (*S. villosa* ?), and a tree that I identified somewhat doubtfully as *Grewia laevigata*. The coarse fibre of the liber layer of these trees may be made into rope by the same method as that employed in dealing with *Hibiscus tiliaceus*. Very little actual use is made of them however. A fibre which looks very like that obtained from one species of *Sterculia* is frequently used by the natives of the Little Andaman (and also by the Jarawa) for their personal ornaments. Mr Portman says that this fibre is obtained from the *Celtis cinnamonea*.

A species of *Hibiscus*, which I believe is *Hibiscus scandens*, growing in the jungles and not along the shore, provides a fibre that is prized by the natives of the Great Andaman tribes for making string or fine rope. The fibre is less easily obtained than that of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, but owing to its quality (it is not so interlacing) is capable of being made into finer rope and string. It is often made into string and then used for making netted bags. I did not find this fibre in use in the Little Andaman, but as it is not very often met with even in the Great Andaman, it may possibly be used in the Little Andaman.

There are several species of *Ficus* in the Andaman forests, and the natives know that they can obtain fibre from the bark of these trees. The only one that is regularly made use of is the *Ficus laccifera*. The natives of the Great Andaman Division use the bark of this tree for making their personal ornaments. In the Little Andaman it is used for bow-strings. A fibre called in the Little Andaman *ulu*, and said by Mr Portman to be obtained from the *Ficus hispida*, is used in that island, and by the Jarawa, for making personal ornaments.

The *Gnetum edule*, a climbing plant that is fairly common, is used in all parts of the Andamans for thread and string. The creeper is cut into short lengths at the nodes and is dried for a few days. The outer layer of bark is then scraped off with a *Cyrena* shell, and the liber layer beneath it is peeled off in fine strips and these are made into thread or string. This string is used in the Great Andaman Division for making

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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netted bags and fishing nets. In the Little Andaman it is used for binding their arrows, as well as for netting. 824 283

The most valuable fibre of the Great Andaman tribes is that of the *Anadendron paniculatum*, which is used for string and thread and for bow-strings. Until recent times the method of preparing the fibre was not known to the natives of the Little Andaman, but they have now learnt it from the natives of the Great Andaman with whom they have been brought in contact, and the use of the fibre for string and thread is coming in amongst them.

The fibre is not easy to prepare. Long thin branches of the creeper are cut, which must be neither too young nor too old. To obtain these it is often necessary to climb up into high trees, for the *Anadendron* is a climbing plant. The creeper is cut into lengths of from 20 to 40 cm. The bark (inner and outer layers) is peeled off these in strips of from 7 to 10 mm. in width. A strip of the bark is taken and placed on the thigh, inner surface downwards, and is scraped with a *Cyrena* shell until the outer bark is entirely removed and the fibres remain clean and separate. These are dried in the sun or over a fire and, if not needed for immediate use, are stored for future occasion. The fibre is fine and of a light greyish brown colour. In its qualities it somewhat resembles ramie fibre. It is extremely strong.

There are a number of other trees and plants that are known by the natives to afford fibre, but they are not used, or if they are, it is extremely rarely.

The Andaman jungles have a number of different species of *Calamus*, and the canes or rattans of these are put to all sorts of uses, such as the making of baskets, the lashings and furnishings of canoes, and in building huts. In the Little Andaman one species of cane is used to provide the fibre for women's belts. The outer skin is removed and the remainder of the cane is divided into fine strips or threads. A bundle of these tied together constitutes the belt worn by the women of the Little Andaman. The outer sheath of the leaf-stem of the *Calamus tigrinus* is used by the natives of the Great Andaman Division for making mats. Lengths of the leaf-stem are cut and the outer skin is removed in strips of about 3 to 5 mm. in width. The still adhering pith is removed with a *Cyrena* shell, and the strips are dried in the sun and then made into mats. 824 285 [501] [291]

The leaf-stem of a species of palm is cut while green and is then shredded into long strips. The fibre thus obtained really consists of the leaflets of the young unopened leaves of the palm. It is used in the 824 291

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824 Little Andaman to make the tassel that women wear over the pudenda.
291 The women of the North Andaman formerly wore a tassel of this fibre, but have now discontinued the custom, since their contact with the South Andaman. In the Great Andaman tribes this material has
824 important ceremonial uses. It is called *kəro* in Aka-Jeru and *ara* in Aka-Bea, and has been frequently mentioned in this volume. A tassel of the fibre is suspended near the grave of a dead person and at the entrance of the village at which the death took place. In the North Andaman a suspended cane hung with a fringe of the fibre is erected for the peace-making ceremony. (See Plate XIX.)

Two plants that were not identified are used in the North Andaman for making baskets. The methods of preparing these will be described later.

824 The natives of the Great Andaman Division make use of the leaves
291 of the *Pandanus Andamanensium* for making belts for women and ornaments that are worn on ceremonial occasions. These leaves do not seem to be used in the Little Andaman.

824 The pods of one or more species of *Dendrobium* are collected by the natives of both Great Andaman and Little Andaman. They are
531 roasted in the fire, until the outer skin turns a bright yellow, and this is torn off in strips and used for ornamenting nets, baskets, rope, etc.

824 The above description includes all the more important vegetable substances used by the Andamanese for their rope, string, netting, and basket-work. There are many other substances that they might use if they wished, of the properties of which they are fully aware. Their knowledge of the trees and plants of the forests and of the peculiar properties of each is very extensive. They themselves say that they use only those that best serve their purposes.

283 The Andamanese make rope and string or thread, but in all cases it is only two-ply. Rope is made by men only, and is used for the lines of turtle harpoons, and was formerly used for turtle nets. The ropes made from *Hibiscus* fibre are very strong and durable, being quite as good as the best hempen ropes of the same diameter. In rope-making the *Hibiscus* or other fibre (*Sterculia* or *Grewia*) is taken and twisted into a long strand, either with the fingers, or on the thigh by rolling beneath the palm of the hand, short lengths of fibre being added until a single twisted strand of sufficient length and uniform thickness is produced. The middle of this strand is passed over a piece of wood held by the toes, one half of it being wound on to a reel (*kutobi* in Aka-Jeru) made by tying together crossways two pieces of cane or wood

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each about 20 cm. long and 6 mm. in diameter. The other half of the strand is loose, and is held (near the point where it is tied to the wood held in the toes) between the finger and thumb of the left hand, the rest of it passing across the palm, over the left forearm, under the armpit, across the back and over the right shoulder, hanging down loosely to the worker's right side. This arrangement is in order that the loose strand shall not become entangled or get in the man's way as he works. The reel is held in the right hand and is passed first under the left hand, then back again over it, the two strands being thus twisted into a firm two-ply cord. 283

The natives of the Little Andaman make rope in much the same way, but they pass the reel from right to left over the other strand and back under it, the twist being thus in the opposite direction from that used in the Great Andaman.

String or thread is made by both men and women. It is put to many uses, the chief being for binding the heads of arrows, harpoons and spears and the ends of bows, and in making nets, baskets, mats and personal ornaments. In making string the man or woman sits down with legs outstretched. Thin strands of fibre, varying in thickness according to the thickness of the string required, are taken and each twisted singly by being rolled between the palm of the right hand and the right thigh, the motion being away from the body. When a sufficient number of short single strands has been thus made, two of them are taken and placed together on the thigh, being held at one end in the left hand. The two strands are rolled together beneath the palm of the right hand, the motion being inwards towards the body. A well twisted thread is thus produced. When some 10 cm. or so have been thus twisted, the thread is rolled once beneath the palm of the hand in the opposite direction, i.e. away from the body, this action rendering it more compact. As soon as the end of the two strands that are being twisted is neared, two more are taken and joined on, first one and then the other, by being rolled in with the first two. Fresh strands are thus continually added as the string grows in length. String of any desired length is made in this way, of considerable strength and of surprisingly uniform thickness.

String is made in this way from the fibre of *Anadendron*, *Gnetum* and *Hibiscus scandens* in the Great Andaman Division, and from *Gnetum* and *ulu* fibre in the Little Andaman. In the Great Andaman string made from *Anadendron* fibre is rendered more durable by being waxed with black bee's-wax, but this treatment is not considered

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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283 necessary for string made from *Gnetum* fibre or from *Hibiscus scandens*.

Ornamental rope is made for men's belts in the Great Andaman. *Hibiscus* fibre is twisted into a single strand. Around this strand strips of *Dendrobium* skin are wound spirally so that it is entirely covered, and the strand itself is twisted into a two-ply cord.

Two other forms of cord have been already mentioned, namely the bow-string, of twisted fibre of the *Ficus laccifera* in the Little Andaman, and of wrapped fibre of the *Anadendron* in the Great Andaman Division, and the special cord used in the Great Andaman for attaching the head of a pig-arrow to the shaft. The Andamanese make very little use of plaited cord. I have only met with it in personal ornaments made of *Pandanus* leaf in the Great Andaman.

285

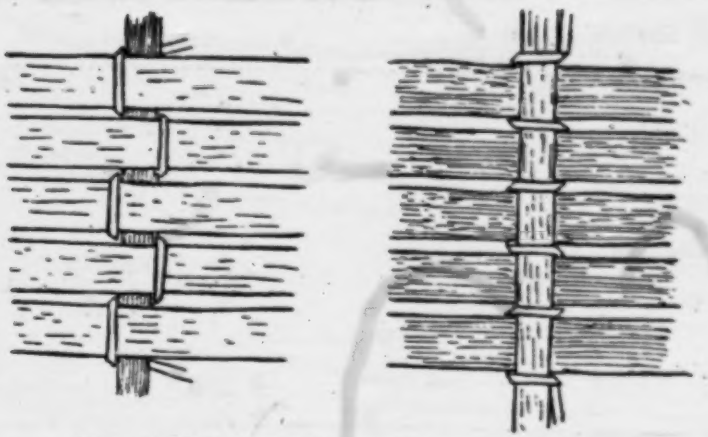

Fig. 29. Method of making bamboo mat, Little Andaman

The mat-work of the Andamanese is very simple. The natives of the Little Andaman make bamboo mats on which they sleep. Strips of bamboo of about 120 cm. in length and ·75 cm. in width are attached by means of thin strips of cane to other strips of bamboo at right angles to the first series. The technique is illustrated in Fig. 29 which shows the back and the front of a portion of such a mat. It is that usually known as wrapped-twined work.

A similar technique is used in both the Little Andaman and the Great Andaman in making thatching of cane-leaves. There is a difference, however, the wrapping used in making thatch being that shown diagrammatically in Fig. 30.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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One more form of basket-work remains to be briefly mentioned. The natives of all parts of the islands were formerly in the habit of preserving as trophies the skulls of pigs and turtle that were killed in the chase. The natives of the Great Andaman Division do not now trouble to preserve all the skulls of the pigs they kill, and they give as their reason for this that now that they have dogs the hunting of pigs is not a sport that requires any great skill. The Jarawa however still keep up the old custom, and they go so far as carefully to encase every skull in basket-work. As may be seen from Fig. 36 the basket-work in question is of simple wrapped work, the material being strips of cane. 285

It is of some interest to consider the different forms of technique used by the Andamanese in dealing with flexible materials. Rope and string are only made two-ply. It would seem that the Andamanese have not discovered that three-ply cord is stronger for a given diameter than two-ply. They have, in the bow-string of the Great Andaman, an interesting form of cord that may perhaps best be described as wrapped cord. The making of a rope involves the twisting of two strands of material around one another. The making of a wrapped cord involves the spiral wrapping of one strand of material round another. This is exactly the same process as "serving," and it is one that is used by the Andamanese in all sorts of ways. In serving their arrows with thread and in serving the ends of bows and the heads of harpoons the Andamanese have several different methods of making fast the ends, and I regret that I did not take more detailed notes on this subject. Their skill in handling this technique is shown in the strength of the binding on their arrows. 283

This spiral wrapping of one strand round a flexible or rigid object lies at the base of much else in their technique. We have seen that they make considerable use of wrapped-twined work. In this work a strip of material crosses at right angles a number of strips of the same or other material, and a weft is wound round the former, taking in one of the latter at each turn. There are two methods of doing this, either by simple spiral wrapping, as in the mats of thatch, or by what may be called "right and left" or "zig-zag" wrapping, as in the bamboo mat of the Little Andaman. A difference is also made according as the strip of material around which the weft is wrapped is rigid, as in the Little Andaman bamboo mat or in thatching, or flexible, as in the North Andaman mat, where it is one thread while the weft is another thread. 285

Wrapped work, in which a strip of weft is wound successively round one after another of a number of rigid stakes, is another very simple

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285 **Basket-work.**—1. Among the few remaining industries of these savages on which I have a few words to say is that of basket-making: these baskets are invariably made from the best [824] specimens of the common cane called *pīdga-* which is similar to, if not identically the same as that ordinarily used by our basket-makers and chair-menders.

2. After removing the leaves, part of the cane is cut into lengths of 3½ or 4 feet, and the "skin" or cuticle is shredded off into strips ¼ or ⅓ inch wide; the remainder of the cane is split into as long pieces as possible, and the "skin" is cut into strips somewhat narrower than the others; shorter lengths of the canes form the "ribs" or "stakes," in and out of which the strips are woven or "slewed."

3. In order that the basket may stand steadily[1] it has always a "kick" like our bottles, and to construct this is of course the first object; when the stakes have been firmly secured in the centre, they are placed over a small hole scooped out of the ground, and the heel of the basket-maker is placed on them while the weaving is commenced; when it has been carried on to a breadth of 2 or 3 inches the heel is removed, the canes reversed, and the work proceeds in the ordinary way until within an inch of the required depth, where, for the sake of appearance, the interweaving is omitted: the handle is then formed out of a strip of the bark of the *Melochia velutina* (*al·aba-*); stripes of *tá·la-ōg-* and *kòi·ob-* are usually added by way of ornamentation;[2] no method of rendering them waterproof is known. Baskets are not converted into moulds for pottery; but sometimes, when travelling, earthen vessels are placed in a loose wicker casing, in order to protect them, and at the same time to facilitate their removal.

4. There is a marked difference[3] between the baskets made by the five *.bōjig* tribes and those manufactured by the *.yē·rewa-*; with the latter the work is more neatly finished, and the opening is small instead of being wide, as is the case among the former.[4]

5. Baskets are used for all sorts of purposes by men, women, and children, and, considering the rough usage to which they are subjected, last fairly well, for they seldom require to be renewed for several months: they are not used as strainers or colanders, the fine net (*chá·panga-*) serving this purpose.

●283 824 **String, &c.**—1. The Andamanese do not produce their stout cord (*bō·tma-*), string (*bō·tma-tā-*), or twine (*mó·la-*), from animal

[1] The *.jōrawa-* baskets are generally small at the base, and having no "kick" are not usually able to stand unless placed between logs of wood or other objects.

[2] The rim of these baskets is formed of a piece of *Uraria micrantha* (*ó·rta-tāt-*) round which one or more strips of the cane above described are neatly twined.

[3] The reader is referred to the excellent sketch of an Andamanese basket (*vide* Plate VII, fig. 17).

[4] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 14.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

substances, but from the bark fibres of trees and shrubs, known to them by the names of *al·aba-* (*Melochia velutina*), *pī·lita-* (*Gnetum edule*), and *yō·lba-* (*Anadendrum paniculatum*). The first of these is found growing near the shore, where it seldom attains a height of 20 feet; it is from fibre obtained from the bark of this tree that their cinctures (*bē·tma-bā*), harpoon-lines (*bē·tma-*), and turtle-nets (*yō·to-tē·pinga*) are manufactured. When any of the articles have to be made or replaced, it becomes the duty of some member of the male sex to procure a smooth clean branch—one which is also fairly straight and free from gnarls being preferred—and to remove the bark; the cellular integument is next scraped with a *Cyrena* shell (*ū·ta-*) until the fibres which it encloses are laid bare: these are then placed in the sun, or before a fire, to dry; when ready for use (*i.e.*, when thoroughly dry) the ropemaker ties several of the filaments to his toe and proceeds with his work by winding another strand spirally round them, adding a fresh length from time to time. When special strength or durability is needed, a coating of black wax (*tō·bul-pūd-*) is finally applied. The yarn thus produced is termed *bē·tma-mai·anga-*. When a long piece of this has been made (say 30 yards), a large portion of it is wound round the two cross-sticks forming the *kū·tegbo-*.[1] The operator, having then seated himself with legs outstretched, places a stick or cane between the big toes of his feet, and over this bar he passes the *kū·tegbo-*, thus enabling him to wind it continuously round the other half-length of the yarn, which, for convenience sake, he has previously placed by his right side, so that it is drawn behind his neck and over his left shoulder as the work proceeds. After the first foot or so of the cord has been thus made, the operator holds or clutches that portion with his toes. It will be understood that in employing the *kū·tegbo-* in the above manner, it becomes necessary at frequent intervals to unwind a certain quantity from that implement, in order to enable the work to progress. The cord thus made is called *bē·tma-*, and this it is of which their harpoon-lines and turtle-nets are made. The *bē·tma-bā-* (lit., small *bē·tma-*), mentioned above, is made in the same way, but of course less fibre and a smaller *kū·tegbo-* are used.

283 [824]

2. For making hand fishing-nets (*kūd-*) and sleeping-mats (*pār·epa*[2]), the fibre of the *Gnetum edule* (*pī·lita-*) is used; in the preparation and manufacture of these, women exclusively are concerned; the first process is to cut a number of the trailers into lengths which are determined by the distances between the knots and joints: these are held against the

283 286 [824]

[1] "The cord (used for large nets, &c.) possesses the valuable quality of hardening in the water" (*vide* Mouat, p. 326).

[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 65.

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283 286 thigh, and the cuticle is removed by means of the *Cyrena* shell; the underlying white fibres are left for a week or ten days in the sun until thoroughly dry, when they separate readily, and are easily worked up into fine or coarse twine, as may be required by the manipulator.

283 824 3. The fibre of the *Anodendron paniculatum* (*yō·lba-*) is chiefly used for making bowstrings, reticules (*chá·panga-*), necklaces, and twine for arrow fastenings; its manufacture is accordingly not restricted to either sex. When the bark has been stripped off, in lengths of 8 to 15 inches, the operator presses the inner portion upon his (or her) thigh, and then rapidly but carefully passes a *Cyrena* shell along the outer surface until the fibres alone remain; these are then, as in the previous cases, dried in the sun, or before a fire; when a sufficient supply of material has been thus obtained, it is made into fine twine or, if not required for immediate use, wrapped in leaves in order that it may be kept fresh. Although apparently free [262] from any obnoxious properties, this plant, as well as the fibres obtained therefrom, until it is converted into twine or bowstrings, is believed by the Andamanese to render the flesh of a turtle uneatable if placed near it; consequently this meat, when inadvertently so contaminated, is thrown away; further, no one who has been collecting *yō·lba-*, or who has been engaged in preparing the fibre, can (for a period extending to three days) be allowed to cook a turtle, or even to accompany a party engaged [845] on a turtling expedition! Sharks and other dangerous fish are also credited with having so wholesome a horror or detestation of this plant (and also of *Cyrena* shells!) that the aborigines are in the habit of attaching some *yō·lba-*, or *Cyrena* shells (or both), to their cinctures as a safeguard when about to swim in parts believed to be infested by these creatures.

[531] 4. The yellow skin of the root of a certain orchid, called *rá-*, which is commonly found on trees near the shore, is often seen intertwined with their *yō·lba-* string, in personal ornaments, and occasionally in the decoration of weapons, but where strength is a requisite it is of course not used.

5. Bowstrings of *pī·lita-* and *yō·lba-* are made in the manner described in the manufacture of *al·ga-* rope, but ordinary string is made in the following manner:—a few of the prepared filaments are twisted into a yarn on the thigh with the palm of the hand; when two lengths have been obtained, they are together rolled into string of the desired strength, and beeswax is smeared over it to make assurance doubly sure.

6. Twine, made from the *yō·lba-*, is used in netting the fine chains (*rób-*[1]) and the reticules (*chá·panga-*[2]); for turtle-

[1] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 5, and Appendix B, item 42.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 22.

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283 nets the stronger *al·aba-* is employed, while for the hand fishing-nets (*kūd-*[1]) string, made from the *pī·lita-*, is almost exclusively reserved. In this handicraft the Andamanese are especially skilful, and regulate to a nicety the size of the mesh by using the little or forefinger; it should be mentioned that their rude netting needles of bamboo (*pō·tòkla-*[2]) are not very dissimilar to those used in Europe. Sewing is to them an almost unknown art, but they describe needlework by the word *jâ·tke*, which expresses their manner of uniting the large *kâ·pa-* leaves, to form a screen, with the pliable stem of this leaf, and also their mode of repairing a canoe, holes being bored and strips of cane (*pī·dga-*) threaded above and below the crack, which has been previously filled in on both sides with *tō·bul-pīd-*.[3]

524 **Games and Amusements.**—1. And now, having passed in brief review their various arts and manufactures, I will bring my account of Andamanese life to a close with a brief description of their games and amusements.

2. Unlike many Eastern races they evince from their earliest years a partiality for active pursuits in which monotony or great bodily exertion are not entailed, and great was the delight of the children in the Orphanage when they were instructed in some of our English games, especially kite-flying, and see-saw;[4] it is at the same time curious to note that, though not borrowed from aliens, their pastimes, in many instances, bear close resemblance to those in vogue among children in this and other lands; notably is this the case with regard to those known to us as blind-man's-buff,[5] leap-frog,[6] and hide-and-seek.[7]

3. With respect to the first-named of these, large leaves, in lieu of a handkerchief, are fastened over the eyes, and the difficulties of the "blind man" are greatly increased by its being obligatory for him to catch the person who blinded him, while being pulled about and jostled by the rest of the players.

4. In "leap-frog," instead of stooping, one man squats on his heels while his companion bounds over him without touching him and takes the same position, to be in his turn jumped over.

5. Mock pig-hunting[8] after dark is another very favourite amusement; one of the party undertakes the *rôle* of the pig and, betaking himself to a distance, runs hither and thither

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 20.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 67.
[3] *Vide* Appendix B, item 57.
[4] To this game they have given the name *ad-yē·nenga-*
[5] Called by them *ij·i-tâ·pa-lī·rnga-*.
[6] Called by them *koktâ·r-tidō·atinga-*.
[7] Called by them *ab-â·tanga-*.
[8] Called by them *ad-reg·ignga-*.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

substituted. These three substances are melted and stirred over a fire until of a proper consistency; the pigment is then poured into small pots or large shallow shells, where on cooling it soon hardens. When required for use the pot or shell is placed on the fire and the melting wax applied according to fancy. The string fastenings of fish and pig arrows (items 4, 5, and 6) the turtle harpoon (item 10), and pig spear (item 9), are protected with a coating of this wax, and it is applied ornamentally to the food trays (item 72), nautilus shells (item 14), and the outside of buckets (item 13); it is also used for closing cracks in buckets, and in canoes if not too large. 302 386

63. *chū·lnga-*. olive-coloured clay found in small springs in the jungles: in its liquid form it is applied medicinally after the manner of *kòi·ob-chū·lnga-* (*vide* footnote [5], p. 184). 386 758

64. *yō·lba-*. (*Anodendron paniculatum*), the fibre of which is much valued on account of its excellence; string made from it is used for bowstrings and arrow fastenings, for netting the *châ·panga-* (item 22), and *rāb-* (item 42), for making their various necklaces and other personal ornaments, and also for the fastenings of knives and turtle harpoons. 283

65. *pī·lita-* (*Gnetum edule*), from the fibre of which string is prepared and used almost exclusively by women, chiefly for the manufacture of the *kūd-* (item 20), and *pār·epa-* (item 23); it is not sufficiently strong to serve as arrow fastenings, though on an emergency it is sometimes used for this purpose. [462]

66. *al·aba-* (*Melochia velutina*). From fibre obtained from this tree rope is made for turtle-lines (*bē·tmo-*), nets, and cables, the preparation and manufacture of which devolve on men; the bark of this tree also furnishes the material of which the *chīp* (item 24) or baby-slings are made. [462]

67. *pō·tòkla-*.[1] Netting-needles, made in two sizes of bamboo and used in making nets. 412

[NOTE.—The turtle-net (item 12) is not made with netting-needles, but with two sticks called *kū·tegbo-*.[2]] [286]

68. *pō-chō-*. Bamboo knives, which are shaped into form while green and then dried and charred over a fire to render them sharp and fit for use; formerly they were employed for cutting meat and other food.[3]

69. *wai-chō-* and *pōr-chō-*. Two varieties of cane knives, but similar to item 68.

70. *tō·ug-*.[4] Torch, made by women, of resin wrapped in a large leaf (*Crinum lorifolium*); it is used when fishing, travelling, or 373 [462]

[1] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 12.
[2] These are made of a light hard wood known as *bē·rewil-*.
[3] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 10.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 66.

765 neck, usually, but not always, by the widow, widower or nearest relative. Mourning closes with a ceremonial dance and the removal of the clay. The ceremonies connected with the disposal of the dead are conventional, reverential and by no means without elaboration in detail.

V. Arts.

324 **Stone Implements.**—The only stone cutting implement known to the Andamanese is the quartz flake chipped off, never worked, and held between the fingers for shaving and tattooing, and shells and fish bones are used for the small blades of the peculiar adze of this people, and for arrow points, scraping and cutting. A *cyrena* valve is the ordinary knife and scraper. Hammers, anvils, hones, and oven-stones consist of natural stones. They have never made celts.

177 The ends of glass bottles for some years, and iron from wrecks for a long time past, have been substituted for the indigenous implements, when and where procurable. The object of the long series of murderous raids made by the inland Jarawas on the outlying parts of the Penal Settlement has now been proved to have been made in search for iron. The implements on the whole are coarsely and roughly made.

411 **Weapons.**—The weapons of the Andamanese are bow and arrow, harpoon, fish spear, pig spear, and they have never had any notion of poisoning the blades, which however sometimes inflict dangerous septic wounds from dirt, though as a rule they are kept bright as a matter of pride. Barbed arrows and harpoons with loose heads are used for catching and pulling up game in the jungles and marking where turtle or large fish are sinking.

Domestic Arts.—Excellent information with illustrations on the domestic and other arts of the Andamanese is to be found in a minutely accurate work, Man's *Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands.*

283 **String and Netting.**—String for nets and all purposes is twisted, often neatly, from the inner bark of creepers. Large nets of this string are made for driving turtle and hand-nets for prawns and small fish and for wallets. Stout cord is made from the inner bark of the *melochia velutina.* Whole, split and scraped canes are used as binders.

285 **Weaving.**—The weaving is good, neat and stout, and baskets and mats are thus well made from strips of canes.

323 **Pottery.**—The unglazed circular clay cooking pots with rounded or pointed bottoms, to the Andamanese very valuable, are built up by hand, sun-dried and then baked, but not thoroughly, in the fire. They are often encased in basket work for safety. Their manufacture, form and ornament are typical of the Stone Age generally.

322 **Wood and Cane work.**—Buckets are hollowed out of wood or cut from the joints of the bamboo. Canoes are hollowed out of whole trunks of light, soft timber by the adze without the use of fire, do not last long and are only fair sea boats. They are however capable of holding many people and a good deal of light cargo.

301 **Ornamentation, Personal and Domestic.**—The personal ornaments made are—bunches and strips of fibres and leaves scraped, cut and hammered, fringes of dentalium shells and straw-coloured wreaths of hammered and roasted dendrobium bark. The bones, skulls and jawbones of deceased relatives are also used whole, or broken and scraped to fancy or requirement, as ornaments, besides necklaces of the bones of animals. Tattooing and painting the body are only ornamental to the extent that, in the latter case especially, deviations from the conventional designs are due to personal taste.

353 The only ornaments to dwellings and huts are the heads of turtle, pigs, iguana, paradoxurus killed in hunting. These are hung up partly as ornaments and partly as trophies, but not with any idea of record.

531 Every manufactured article has its own customary conventional line ornament in one or more of three colours and in one or more of eleven patterns approximately achieved only. The colours are red, white and brown from natural earths. The patterns are (1) chevrons, (2) close cross hatch, (3) wide cross hatch, (4) parallel lines, (5) parallels and chevrons combined, (6) lozenges, (7) plait or guilloche, (8) herring-bone, (9) cross cuts, (10) loops, (11) vandyke with scolloped bands and cross lines.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

515 people. Furthermore, the Onge skin is very soft and more elastic than is usual
[147] in human beings. For us, clothed and with a less resilient skin, a trip through the thorny Andaman forest means many small, bleeding scratches. Not so for the naked Onge. – To cover them with clothes would endanger their health. Nakedness inures them to the sudden changes of temperature so frequent in
[513] Little Andaman and preserves them from catching cold when sleeping, uncovered, on their rough, unprotected bed of boughs. As with primitives all over the world, clothes make them miserable and, I may add, very ungainly and dirty.

515 Part of their general negligence with regard to hygiene is their carelessness about their teeth. They never clean them. They do keep bamboo sticks,
[413] 1 mm thick and 8 cms long, tucked into their hair to be ostensibly used as toothpicks ; but the sticks, to tell the truth, are more of an ornament than a tool.
142 The Onge's teeth are so compact and sound that there is no space between them for food particles to collect. No caries or decay of any sort are to be
[164] noticed. In a number of skeletons that I dug up from under the beds in communal huts, the teeth gave evidence of one peculiarity : old people had worn them down to the root. The Onge habit of using teeth as working instruments,
[289] to prepare fibre for ropes and in many other circumstances – apart from their permanent chewing on hard foodstuffs – explains this fact.

515 As a consequence of never washing, the natives' hands are sometimes extremely dirty. The Onge themselves are conscious of this. I shall give an
226 instance. It so happened that I arrived in Nachugé, on the west coast, toward the end of March, when the sea was teeming with migrating sardines. In Little Andaman sardines can weigh up to a pound ; but a normal catch, obtained with small hand-nets cast from canoes among shoals of fish imprisoned by the low tide within the coral reef that surrounds the island, contains specimens of
[264] every dimension. All are eaten as soon as possible. The quantity of fish brought back to the camps on such occasions puts all inmates to work and induces everybody to abandon all other occupations for the time being. In the low tidal waters the men push their canoes from rock to rock, using them as receptacles for the abundant food so easily collected. In some "pockets" nets prove unnecessary : the fish is gathered in handfuls and rapidly thrown into the canoes. The hecatomb ends when the canoes are filled to the gunwales. In no other part of the world have I seen food made available to primitive people in such large quantities and with so little effort.

252 Back at the camp, the sardines are "graded" according to size and cooked immediately. They are not washed or cleaned, the inner organs are eaten to-
[263] gether with the flesh. Men, women and children feverishly take part in the cooking ; the fish is boiled without salt. All the natives then plunge their hands
264 avidly into the heap of sardines. From time to time the women clean their
515 hands by rubbing them on the *naquinēghē*. Very soon this garment becomes
[231] extremely smelly. Men and children clean their hands in a different way : by rubbing them on the dogs. On such occasions, everything and everybody smells of fish for days and days. The first to become clean again are the dogs, because they hate to be smeared with fish and wash themselves in the sea as soon as they have a chance.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

their arched vaults of roots, strong enough to bear a man's weight 137
without bending. In some places I had to travel hundreds of metres across them, clambering from arch to arch, before I could reach dry land and sweeter air (the air in the swamps is foul with the stench of dead fish, crustacea and debris of all kinds from the sea, caught in the network of roots). Among the roots swarm crabs of [136]
all kinds, including the blue crabs, while kingfishers and other brilliantly coloured birds dart gaily in after the easy prey.

Near the mangrove swamps, in the mouths of the rivers, giant 136
fronds of the Nipah palm stick up out of the water here and there. 137
The feathery fronds, standing several metres high, are used by the crabs to climb out of the water and tiny toad fish, (see p. 133) equipped with both gills for life under water and lungs for air breathing, like to cling to them for an airing when there are no stones handy. Every day these fascinating little creatures stay in the sun for hours before dropping back into the waters of the swamps and in some places they are everywhere, always ready to jump out of the water on to a convenient projection to have a look at what is going on.

The Andamans, with their luxurious growth of vegetation of all 137
kinds, are an ideal place to study plant dispersal. I have already mentioned the *Ficus* and the mangroves, but there are many other equally fascinating plants. Some used by the Onges for the production of fibres are widely distributed from India to Malaysia and the [283] [824]
Pacific. Among these are *Gnetum gnemon* and *G. macrocarpum*, generally spread by the doves which flourish undisturbed on Little Andaman. In April, when the winds come, swarms of curious elongated parachutes equipped with an air trap which causes their spinning flight are blown from *Pterocarpus dalbergoides*, which provides the well-known *padàk* wood. The weight of the seeds (the size of a pea) at the base of the parachutes and the effects of the air trap give them a horizontal, screwing flight which carries them far from the parent tree. I have seen these parachutes in the sea, hundreds of kilometres from the nearest land. Mathematically designed by Nature to trap the right amount of air, the tiny parachutes are barely ten centimetres long. Their efficiency is self-evident – *padàk* is one of the most widely spread trees in the archipelago, in the Nicobars and far beyond.

In the stagnant pools on Little Andaman I found a species of explosive fungus which closely resembles, if it is not in fact identical

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they may be, and the strays of the Andaman forests howl unceasingly. Even in the Onge encampments the dogs howl enough to wake their sleeping masters; the only way to stop the noise is for the Onges to forestall it by taking their dogs into the family bed, fleas and all. There ensues silence, warmth and more fleas!

Hunting weapons of the Andamanese, the Semang and the Aetà were originally made by all three peoples in a similar way, common to all the Negritos. None have any defensive weapons as such; their bows and arrows, never feathered, serve as arms as well as for hunting and fishing. Shields are unknown and spears, rare in the Andamans and among the Semang, are apparently no longer in use among the Aetà; where they exist they are usually mainly for hunting. All three peoples, however, have the arrow harpoon.[1]

Their bows are all clearly derived from the same source. In the Andamans, only the Onges and Jarawas have remained true to the original form, local variations arising at a later date, and they afford additional evidence in favour of Little Andaman being the original springboard from which the Negritos entered Great Andaman.

All the Negritos make their bows from one piece of wood stripped longitudinally from the living trunks of large trees such as *Mimusops littoralis* or *Pterocarpus dalbergoides*. After they have been left to season the strips are patiently fashioned into the required shape; for this the Onges use the shells of *Cyrena* (the freshwater species, which are tougher). The bows are straight, thicker in the middle and gradually tapering towards the ends, and are usually 1·6 metres long, although there are exceptions. The cross section is the same throughout the length of the bow, varying from three or four centimetres diameter at the centre to two and a half centimetres at the horns. The inner surface is so slightly curved as to be almost flat, while the back is markedly convex. The blunt horns end in a 'shoulder and neck' stop to take the string, the neck projecting about one and a half centimetres beyond the shoulders – enough to hold the bowstring. The shoulder is formed by strips of *Ficus* bark wound round the bow, or the yellow fibres of *Dendrobium*; one shoulder is invariably larger than the other. The string itself, made from long thin strips of *Ficus* bark twisted together, has a very narrow loop on one end and a larger one at the other;

[1] See p. 86.

411 [283] when stretched the string remains held in place by the two loops, one too small to slip over the lower shoulder, and the larger one held firm on the upper shoulder by the tension of the string.

184 411 When the bow is strung, it is placed upright with the lower horn firmly on the ground, the string already looped on to the small shoulder. The top of the bow is forced down (either hand being used indiscriminately), a foot being pressed against the grip to help it bend; the other end of the string, with the large loop, is then run up the stave and slipped over the larger shoulder, where the tension holds it firm. Considerable individual variation may occur in the art of making the bow and preparing the string and also in the actual stringing. In the Onges, apart from the size of the bow, the variation never went beyond slight differences in the curvature of the inner surface and back, the former being in a few cases quite flat, or even concave, as in the Jarawa bows. Neither the Onges nor the Jarawas, including those on North Sentinel, decorate their bows in any way, but the Arioto like to make a series of small straight cuts on the horns, on both the inner and outer surfaces and sometimes even cover the bow with bizarre red and white lines, which wear off very quickly with use. There appears to be no real difference between Onge and Jarawa bows, except that the latter tend to be larger, in keeping with their intended use as hostile weapons.

From the original Negrito bow of Little Andaman the so-called S-bow of the Arioto evolved as the result of a number of minor innovations. The basic principle remained the same, but in an effort to take greater advantage of the elasticity of the wood the rudiments of the distinction between the two horns later developed into a distinction between the two halves of the bow.

The unique modification which the original form of bow underwent on Great Andaman turned the stave into a composite of two spear-shaped halves, the upper almost straight, the lower slightly curved. At the horns the bow is still almost round in section, flattening as the 'spear' broadens out; the general dimensions and shape of the bow vary little between the Arioto of the south and north of the island, although the latter make the diameter at the horns rather larger. The two halves are joined at the centre of the weapon, forming a grip which is the thickest part of the bow. The simple difference in the size of the shoulders in the Onge bow now

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becomes more complex; the upper horn is more pointed than the lower, and there is a difference between the upper and lower halves of the bow, as it is necessary to prevent the loops of the strings slipping on the bow. The bow string is made not from *Ficus* bark, as in the Onge bow, but from thin *Anadendron* fibres, twisted together and waxed with beeswax; it has the usual loop at each end, and the bow is strung with the help of the foot as in the simpler version. When strung, this type of bow becomes S-shaped as a result of the variations in elasticity arising from the spear-shape of the two halves, but when drawn it assumes the normal shape. The fact that it is easier to draw an S-bow than a single-curve one, without any loss of propulsive force, is an interesting mechanical point.

The bows are only strung when required for use, and in the normal way neither they nor the arrows are ever seen by outsiders; they disappear up into the roof of the communal hut, or into the bushes round the temporary camps. Even with friendly Onges I had to ask specifically to see them, or surprise their owners out hunting.

The external influences to which the Semang and Aetà have been subjected have been strong enough to make them to a large extent forget their original form of bow, which has however survived alongside a large number of cultural inovations. The differences, for example, between the upper and lower extremities of both bow and string have persisted, and the shoulder-and-neck stop (although this is now made by notching the bow-stave deeply) so that we may reasonably assume that a close study of the Onge bow will give us the essential characteristic of a very ancient form of the weapon. The greatest modification to the original form is the one which has been made on North Andaman, and in an attempt to improve the effect of separate curving of the two sections selected trees are deliberately trained for the purpose, the cut wood being seasoned slowly over heat and smoke, paying particular care to the parts which will take the greatest strain. As a result the 'give' in the bow is markedly increased. But even here no fundamental alteration has been made in the design of the weapon.

The Onge bow, therefore, represents the forerunner of the somewhat more highly evolved type (now dying out with their owners) on Great Andaman, and adds further support to the evidence for

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screams of a wild boar can be heard for hundreds of metres, drawing the hunters in from all sides, eager to take it alive. If it proves to be a large male, whose tusks can inflict appalling injuries, the hunters kill it at once with a spear or with a third type of arrow which has a long fixed head. This type of arrow, which does not differ greatly from those found in other parts of the world, is still used by some of the Andamanese against human enemies.

The shaft of the arrow harpoon is made preferably from *Tetranthera lancifolia*, very common all over the archipelago. The wood for the shafts has to be straight, very slender at one end, where a notch is cut half a centimetre deep to take the cord, and a little thicker at the other, which is hollowed out for about one centimetre to take the head of the weapon. Splitting of the wood at the ends is, as usual, prevented by binding the shaft with *gnetum* fibres, twisted into thread and waxed with beeswax.

The efficiency of the harpoon depends on the double-strand cord, extremely strong, made from *Hibiscus* fibres. One end is fixed on to the shaft, five centimetres from the point at which the foreshaft enters it, and the other to the foreshaft, two centimetres from the base, with a thirty-two centimetre loop of cord between the two fixings.

The harpoon blade, now made of iron, is eleven centimetres long and spear-shaped, ending in a series of barbs. The haft of the blade is bound tightly on to the short foreshaft, also eleven centimetres long, which is scraped thin at the end so that the haft can be bound on smoothly. The complete weapon mounted for use is about eighty-eight centimetres long overall in the Onges and Jarawas, and slightly shorter, about sixty-five centimetres, in the Arioto.

To prepare the harpoon for use the slack of the cord is wound firmly round the shaft, and the foreshaft with the blade attached is forced in. As the harpoon strikes, the shaft becomes detached and the victim, firmly held by the barbed arrow head, drags it along on the end of the cord until it catches in the undergrowth and holds the animal fast.

There is little difference between the arrow harpoons of Little Andaman and Great Andaman, and what difference there is affects only the dimensions, the type of cord, and the form of the barbs. The basic principle remains the same wherever it is found; all the Negritos, including the Semang and Aetà still use it, although these

171 184 411 two have added feathers, and poisoned tips, in imitation of neighbouring peoples.

For the capture of large fish and animals such as turtles, dolphins 184 and dugong, the Onges and Arioto use not the arrow harpoon but 411 the spear harpoon. Brown saw none of these among the Onges he 114 studied in Rutland, and consequently assumed its absence on Little 22 Andaman. The Onges carry as little as possible on their sea voyages [484] for the sake of speed, and would not therefore take spear harpoons (used only for marine hunting) with them on trips to Rutland, which they visit only for the purpose of hunting pigs and not to fish, or to hunt marine animals. They certainly have, and use, spear harpoons even today; I myself have been with the Onges and seen their harpoons used from the canoes. I had ample opportunity to admire both the effectiveness of the weapons and the accuracy of the throwers.

411 The greater structural and operational simplicity of the spear harpoon, in comparison with the arrow harpoon, leads one to [283] suppose it the older of the two. Its cord is made of tough *Hibiscus* fibres, and with the aid of these and a straight shaft about six metres long and little over four centimetres in diameter, even the humblest of nails, seven centimetres long and three millimetres in diameter, [824] can become the point of a spear harpoon. It is fixed into the shaft (usually of mangrove wood) which is hollowed out at the thinner end to take it, and with a cord up to a hundred metres long or more attached to the nail two centimetres from the head, the spear harpoon is ready for use – shaft, point and cord.

411 225 When the harpoon is to be used for turtles, no barbs are needed, as the point is driven so firmly into the shell that blocks of wood have to be carried in the canoes to knock it out for re-use.

The harpoon throwers stand ready on the platform jutting out fore and aft of the canoes (see p. 122), the free end of the cord is tied to one of the booms to prevent it being jerked out of the canoe as the victim tries to escape, and the slack is coiled in the bottom of the canoe. The thrower holds the cord against the harpoon as he waits for the right moment and then throws. As the harpoon strikes, the point detaches from the shaft, which floats on the water till picked up – often to be used as a punt-pole in the shallow waters of the coral reefs as the canoe follows the victim, now held firmly on the end of the cord.

222 [423] when the supply of *dorsata* diminished at the onset of the stormy season, when the gales lashing the branches dislodge the nests and hurl them to the ground.

Unlike the beekeepers of the civilized world, the Onges make no attempt to protect their bare bodies while they are extracting honey. Yet they are never stung, and watching them one felt in the presence of some age-old mystery, lost by the civilized world. I watched an Onge from the ground with my field glasses as he climbed up a tree to a *dorsata* nest and saw him, as it were, blowing on the bees round about the trunk as he went up. As he approached the nest they huddled round it in a protective cloud, hiding it completely from view. Suddenly, as the Onge's face came within twenty centimetres of the boiling, humming mass, the bees seemed to shrink back as he blew on them. Not one moved to attack as he gouged out the combs with his bare hands, throwing handfuls of bees out into the air. And then the whole cloud of bees gathered into a swarm and left the tree and the nest to the interloper.

The Onge stripped lengths of green bark from the lianas growing [283] up the tree, and then broke the nest up. Tying the combs to his back with the strips of bark he lowered himself down to the ground, 222 swinging like an ape from liana to liana. There, while his friends 515 fell on the honey, he calmly cleaned himself down – with not one sting on him. This he did in a way unusual for the Onges, filling his mouth with water from a nearby pond and squirting it into his cupped hands, until he had enough in his hands for a perfunctory rub down. This method of washing is common in primitive peoples but advanced for the Onges. When they have been painting themselves with the usual fat and ochre paste, for example, the women will clean their hands to their satisfaction by wiping them on their *naquineghe*, while the men use the dogs' coats as a convenient towel.

222 In March 1952, in the middle of the honey season, I was on the west coast of Little Andaman, near Nachuge. Twelve Onges were with me, and when they noticed a bees' nest high up in a *Pterocarpus* the youngest of them at once climbed up after it. As soon as he saw that the combs were full of honey, with no larvae, he called for a [283] container. With amazing speed he tore enough bark off the nearest liana with his teeth to make a cord over twenty metres long and the hollowed-out log was soon hauled up, to come down again crammed with combs brimming with pale golden honey, very

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

226 eyes to crack their skulls – and thrown into the small basket every woman carries on her back, hung from the usual cord round her forehead.

The fish the women catch are all the varicoloured species which always haunt the coral shallows, bright red, blue, green, black and white in a wonderful range of stripes and patterns. The Onges eat them with no respect for design, and I must confess that I myself found them very good.

226 252 Besides fish, the women catch molluscs, crustacea, lobsters, crayfish, crabs and even some species of hermit crabs (the latter are baked alive in their adopted shells, and only the abdomen is edible). Lobsters are plentiful, some striped with green and blue and weighing up to half a kilogram, with a very delicate flavour, but the Onges do not seem to be greatly interested in them. They prefer fish and crabs; *Pterocera*, again baked alive, are great favourites and I quite saw why the kitchen-middens are full of *Pterocera* shells.

227 The men prefer to fish with bows and arrows made specially for the purpose, and very different from those intended for game, the shaft being made of very light hollow cane, instead of the solid wood demanded by the mechanics of the game-arrow. The fishing arrow is made of three parts, bound tightly into one. The point, now made of iron,[1] is about four to five millimetres in diameter and [283] twenty to twenty-five centimetres long. Like that of the arrow harpoon, it is fixed by a tightly bound thread to a small stick or foreshaft about fifteen to twenty centimetres long and slightly smaller in diameter than the shaft proper (usually eighty to eighty-five centimetres long), so that the overall length of the finished [314] arrow is a hundred and ten centimetres or more. The binding [237] threads are held fast by a mixture of resin and beeswax, coloured with ochre in the case of new arrows.

227 I tried giving the Onges hooks and lines; they were intrigued by 123 my demonstration of how to leave lines overnight and draw them 177 in next morning loaded with fish, but no more. This was not superstition or fear of the unknown but sheer adherence to established ooo custom. They have neither incantations, amulets nor propitiating

[237] [1] Formerly made of *Tridacna*, or very hard wood. Some of the latter are still to be found, but all the other types of head – fish quills, bone, and *Tridacna* – have disappeared long ago.

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Once struck by the harpoon the turtle is trapped by the cord tied 225
to the head of the harpoon while the shaft, detached by the blow, floats on the water till it is picked up. The target is large, the distance is short, and so the harpoon never fails.

The spirits of the night do not walk on the sea, so the turtle-hunting expeditions are all sea-borne, the canoes setting out to meet the turtles as they come in towards the shore to mate. When the moon is high the tropical seas are as clear as by day; on dark nights the resin torches carried in the canoes light the sea for a fair distance. Beyond their range, the turtles as they swim disturb tiny marine creatures, which promptly emit their phosphorescence, revealing clearly to the Onges the path of their unsuspecting victim.

These torches are about one metre long and fifteen centimetres in 225
diameter, made of twisted palm leaves tightly bound with reed 416
fibres. Inside is a carefully balanced mixture of resin and embers, 177
which burns with a very bright flame. In recent years a variant has [283]
been introduced – huge lumps of gum were driven on to the shores of Little Andaman from some unknown distant shipwreck, and the Onges, having discovered how well the unknown substance burned, began mixing it with the embers in their torches. I can still see the Onges' child-like pleasure as they admired the effect of their new product, a gift, like their petrol-drum cooking-pots, from the sea.

Their torches for use on land are much smaller – about thirty 416
centimetres long and ten centimetres in diameter, but made in 171
exactly the same way. It is interesting that similar torches are found 225
eastwards throughout Polynesia and are used everywhere in the same way for hunting turtles and their eggs from the same type of canoe.

The victim, struck as it comes to the top to breathe, disappears 225
at once into the sea, dragging the cord with it. In less than ten minutes, however, it reappears on the surface and is hoisted aboard, often almost helping itself into the canoe with its thrashing flippers. Quite often turtles are caught while they are asleep on the surface, or mating, in which case the pair are easily captured. And in stormy weather, when the high seas make it difficult for them to negotiate the reefs back to the open water, the Onges can catch them and 'ride' them to the shore. I have seen the surviving Arioto do this,

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in the division of all meat. Certain cuts are the property of the hunter, of his helpers, and of his relations and after them, in order, of the remaining members of the group; everyone knows his position in advance. Each portion is tied round with a reed fibre, which is allowed to dangle out over the top of the communal cooking-pot ready to haul the meat out when required.

In the case of pork the prized cut is one which comprises the kidneys and the surrounding fat; this fat is called *cian*,[1] and is very highly esteemed. Some authors (Brown, for example) have stated that turtles and pigs are always cut up with the head ritually pointing towards the sea as otherwise the meat would be considered inedible. This is certainly not the case on Little Andaman, and I have never seen any such directional ritual among any of the Negritos, all of whom practise division of meat according to a prescribed order of precedence. Turtles at any rate are slaughtered facing up the sloping beach simply because it is then easier to hold the beast from behind and avoid its bite. Ritual there is, but usually with a good practical basis.

More ritual attaches to the way in which the game is carried back to the camp, and the wood to be used for the cooking fire. Pigs, killed and gutted, are tied in ropes made of *Ficus laccifera* and carried somehow on the back of the victorious hunter. If it is not far to the camp he will not bother to tie up the snout and feet, but otherwise the front and back legs are tied, and one long cord joins both pairs to the snout – again a practical ritual, giving the hunter a more compact weight to carry.

Man, Portman, Brown and others all say that each type of game has to be cooked over a fire of a particular wood. My own observations showed that whereas the ritual of dissection is inviolable, the Onges always use the first wood that comes to hand, regardless of its source, taking as usual the line of least resistance. This is again in keeping with the tendency of primitive peoples to expend only the very minimum of energy to achieve their object. Their religious beliefs and superstitions are not carried to the limit, simply because

[1] It is interesting that in their very restricted world the Onges have few standards of comparison or words to express condemnation or approval, and this word *cian* is used as one of high praise, applied to inanimate objects, animals, and people alike. The precise qualities which are conveyed by the word are difficult to evaluate in the absence of fuller knowledge of the Onge language.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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depend on the size of the bow. In a small bow now in the Cambridge Museum the string is made of a single strip of bark about 1 cm. in width. This strip is simply twisted, the twist being that of a right-hand or male screw. When two strips are used they are not twisted around one another in the way that a two-ply rope is made, but are laid flat together and twisted together, so that when the string is finished only one of the strips is visible, the other being inside. In a stout string for a large bow three or four strips may be twisted together in this way. The bow-string is not a rope, but a twisted strand (Fig. 3.) 411 283

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 3. Bow-string of twisted fibre, Little Andaman
Fig. 4. Diagram showing the method of making the loop in the end of the Little Andaman bow-string

At one end of the string a loop is made, as shown in Fig. 4. The end is doubled over to make a loop of the right size, a round turn is made over the standing part (*A*) and the end (*B*) is twisted in with the standing part by untwisting the latter, laying the end in, and twisting up again. If this splicing, as it may perhaps be loosely called, be not sufficiently secure, it is served over or stopped with finer fibre of the same kind. This loop is of sufficient size to slip down over the shoulders. At the other end the string is attached to the peg either with a knot, or else by means of a small loop (just large enough to go over the peg, but not large enough to slip over the shoulder) made in 411 [284]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

the fourth is wound spirally round them. When the end of the active strand (the one being twisted round the others) is neared, a new strand is taken and laid in. The twisting is continued for a few turns and the newly inserted one is then taken, the end of the first active strand being laid in and wound over in its turn. The process continues in this way, new strands being added until a cord of sufficient length has been made. This is again waxed over on the outside. 411 283

At one end of the cord a knot is tied. At the other end a loop or eye is formed. To make this eye, when the cord is of sufficient length, the end of it is bent over to form a loop of about 1 cm. or a little more in diameter. This loop is then served over with thread made of *Anadendron* fibre. The serving is continued over the neck of the loop for about 1·5 cm. This gives an eye with the appearance shown in Fig. 9. A loose strand of fibre is left at the neck of the loop. This is wound spirally over the cord, as described before, new strands being added one after another until the cord has been treated in this way for about 35 cm. from the eye. It is then stopped by serving it over for 411 284

Fig. 9. Loop of bow-string, South Andaman

about 2 cm. with *Anadendron* thread. It is clear from this description that the cord is somewhat thicker for about 35 cm. from the end with the eye than it is in the rest of its length.

To string the bow the knotted end of the bow-string is fastened round the top end of the bow with a slip knot, so that it rests on the top of the string serving. The bow is then turned upside down and the top end (now temporarily at the bottom) is fixed in the ground or against a stone, so that it will not slip. The other end of the bow is taken by the left hand, while the cord is held in the right, the right foot is placed against the handle or middle of the bow and the bow is bent, the end held by the hand being drawn towards the operator until he is able to slip over it the eye or loop at the end of the string. 411

After the bow has been strung the upper portion, which before was straight, is now curved inwards, and the bow therefore appears as S-shaped when seen from the side. When a man starts out hunting or fishing he strings his bow and tests it, and it remains strung till he returns, when he unstrings it and places it in his hut.

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Fig. 16

Fig. 17

Fig. 18

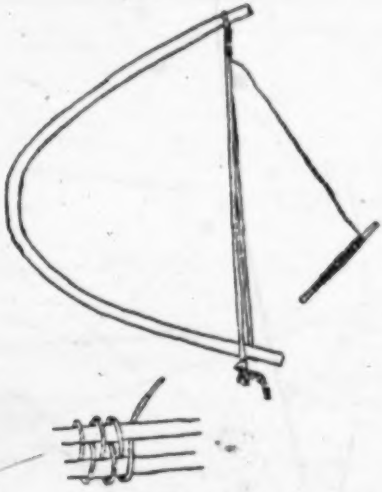

Fig. 19

Fig. 16. Fish-arrow of the Great Andaman
Fig. 17. Head of pig-arrow, Great Andaman
Fig. 18. Pig-arrow with detachable head, Great Andaman
Fig. 19. Method of making the cord of the Great Andaman pig-arrow

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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Fig. 20

Fig. 21

Fig. 22

Fig. 23

Fig. 20. Pig-arrow, Little Andaman
Fig. 21. Head of Jarawa pig-arrow
Fig. 22. Arrow with head of *Areca* wood, Great Andaman
Fig. 23. Harpoon, Great Andaman

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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411 225 by the man in the water, who returns to the canoe. It may be necessary to strike the prey with a second harpoon, but if the first was well thrown the animal is firmly held by the line.

[284 286]

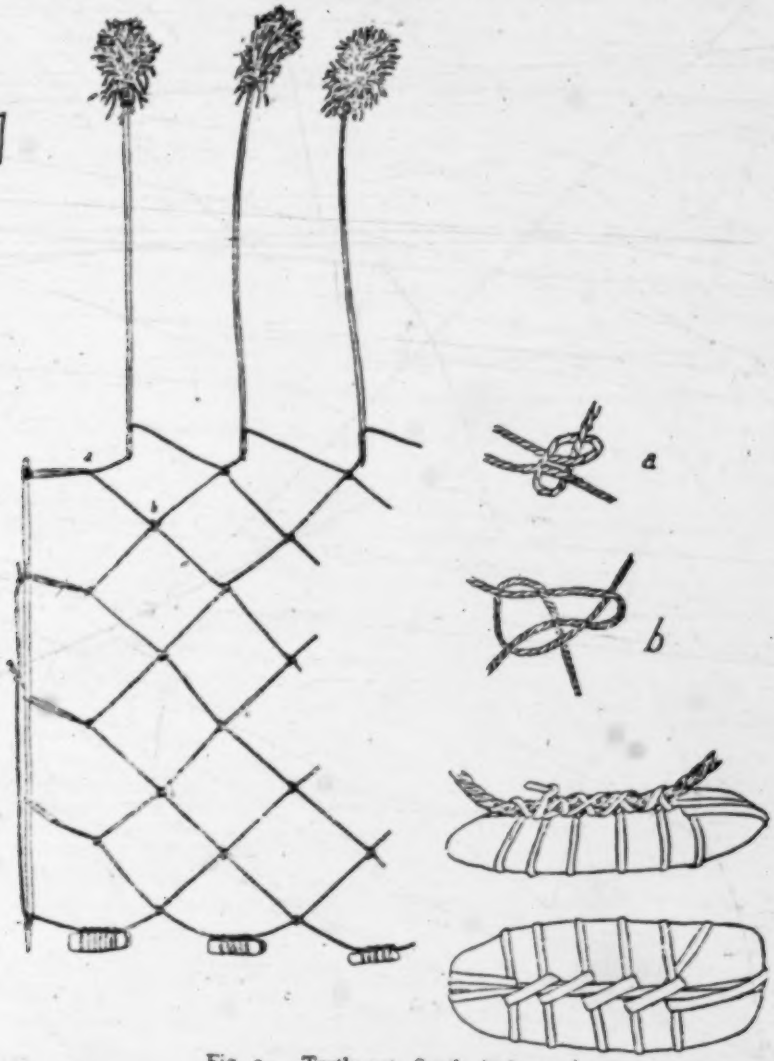

Fig. 24. Turtle net, South Andaman

Harpoons are not used in the Little Andaman. The natives of the Great Andaman say that they themselves have only used them since

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they were able to obtain iron and that before that time they could only capture turtle and dugong in nets. It would seem therefore that the harpoon has been invented or adopted by the tribes of the Great Andaman Division in comparatively recent times, and was not an element of the primitive Andamanese culture. 411 225

The turtle net is no longer used, as the natives prefer the harpoon and have all the iron they need. Such nets were formerly made of rope of *Hibiscus* fibre. A net was about 150 cm. in width and of variable length. One specimen that was made for me had an open mesh of about 25 cm. square, while another had a smaller mesh. The knot used in a net from the South Andaman is the ordinary fisherman's knot shown in Fig. 24 *b*. In a net from the North Andaman the knot used is a slip-knot, one strand being tied with an overhand knot over another which it crosses at right angles as shown in Fig. 25. 225 286 284

Fig. 25. Knot used in making the North Andaman turtle net.

Each end of the turtle net is attached to a stake pointed at the lower end. The lower edge of the net is weighted with stones attached as shown in Fig. 24, while to the upper edge are attached a number of floats, each consisting of a long thin stick of *Hibiscus* wood to the upper end of which is attached a tassel of fibre.

The net was placed in shallow water so that the stones rested on the bottom while the tassels at the upper ends of the floats appeared above the surface. As soon as a turtle was entangled in the net the agitation could be observed by those watching who would proceed to the spot to secure their capture.

So far as is known it would seem that nets of this description are not used in the Little Andaman.

The Andamanese make practically no use of spears. At the present time the natives of the Great Andaman Division sometimes make pig-spears of a length of stout cane or rattan with a head of iron attached. The natives themselves say that such spears have only been made since the occupation of the islands, and it is probable that they were first made in imitation of spears used by Burmese convicts for pig-hunting. They are hardly ever used, the pig-arrow being preferred. 411

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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286 length of string is taken and the two ends tied together, the loop thus formed being placed over the big toe as the woman sits on the ground.

•284 The knot used in netting is that known as the fisherman's knot. in use all over the world. The needle is held in the right hand.
286 is passed from above downwards through the loop marked *a* in the figure, and is drawn through far enough to leave a new loop *b* of the required size. This loop is held between the thumb and forefinger of the left hand, the uniformity in mesh being apparently obtained largely by the sense of touch. The needle is then passed through the new loop *b* again from above and is drawn out leaving a loop *c*, through which the needle is passed once more, forming the finished knot, which is then drawn taut.

286 When netting is made for personal apparel it is generally ornamented with strips of *Dendrobium* skin worked in with the thread in the course of the netting. Netting for personal ornaments consists of a sort of bag open at both ends. Each end is tied with a string passed through the ultimate loops, and this string serves to tie the band of net round the waist or neck or wrist or knee.

286 Fishing nets are attached to a handle. The handles of the Little
227 Andaman Division and those of the Great Andaman Division are different in shape. The Great Andaman net with its hoop can be folded up compactly for carriage, while that of the Little Andaman cannot.

The nets of rope formerly used in the Great Andaman for catching turtle have been already described.

Domestic Implements and Utensils.

372 The Andamanese are perhaps the only people in the world who have no method of their own of making fire. At the present time they
177 obtain matches from the Settlement of Port Blair, and a few of them have learnt, either from Burmese or from Nicobarese, a method of making fire by the friction of pieces of split bamboo. Formerly, however, they had no knowledge of any method by which fire could be produced. Fires were and still are carefully kept alive in the village, and are carefully carried when travelling. Every hunting party carries its fire with it. The natives are very skilful in selecting wood that will smoulder for a long time without going out and without breaking into flame.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 bamboo (male species preferred), often 18 feet or more in length; for the reception of the harpoon a socket is prepared at the small end, which is strengthened by pieces of mangrove wood, over which strips of cane are neatly tied. The harpoon consists of a strong barbed iron head fastened to a short piece of wood to which a long line (*bē·tma-*) is attached. When a turtle or large fish is struck the harpoon detaches itself from the shaft, which floats and is picked up after the capture has been effected.

[NOTE.—A harpooner almost invariably follows up a successful cast by plunging into the water, lest in the act of dragging the line the harpoon should slip out of the wound and his victim should thus escape.]

501 11. *rō·ko-*.[1] Generic name of the various kinds of canoes made in recent years[2] by the aborigines of South Andaman and adjacent parts, where, owing to the facility of obtaining iron tools, large dug-outs, called *gī·lyanga-*, capable of accommodating twenty to forty persons, are constructed in place of the small outrigger canoes (*chā·rigma-*) with which the other tribes have still to content themselves. They are usually made of the *Sterculia villosa* (Andam., *bā·ja-*), and are often ornamentally painted.

[NOTE.—The outrigger is called *tel-*, and is always made of the wood of *maiī·-* (one of the *Sterculiaceæ*), which is soft and light.]

11*a*. *wāl·igma-*.[3] Paddle: these are not made by women, nor are they of any prescribed size, this being regulated merely by the fancy of the maker, and the material at his disposal; they are frequently adorned by women with chevrons[4] (*jō·bo-tàrtā·nga-*) of *kòi·ob-* (item 60) or *tā·la-ōg-* (item 58).

286 12. *yôto-tē·pinga-*. Turtle-net, made by men,[5] of a stout cord
●[584] (*bē·tma-*), which is prepared from the bark fibre of the *Melochia velutina* (Andam., *al·aba-*); the meshes vary in size according to the fancy or skill of the maker.[6]

415 13. *dā·kar-*.[7] Bucket made by the Great Andaman tribes of
322 the wood used in constructing canoes, *i.e.*, *Sterculia villosa*, with a loop of cane to form the handle; the implement used in hollowing out these vessels is the blade of the adze (*wō·lo-*, item 15), which is detached from its handle and fastened to a straight piece of wood so as to form a sort of chisel

[NOTE.—The Little Andaman and other *jār·awa-* buckets are made in the same manner, but are much larger and superior in every way; they are, moreover, neatly ornamented round the sides with strips of cane, evenly laid on and fastened at the rim by plaiting.]

[1] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 69.
[2] *Vide* Part III, "Navigation," paragraph 4, and footnote.
[3] *Vide* Plate VI, fig. 70
[4] *Vide* Part III, "Ornamentation," paragraph 6.
[5] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 60.
[6] *Vide* Part III, "String," paragraph 6.
[7] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 14.

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Plate D.

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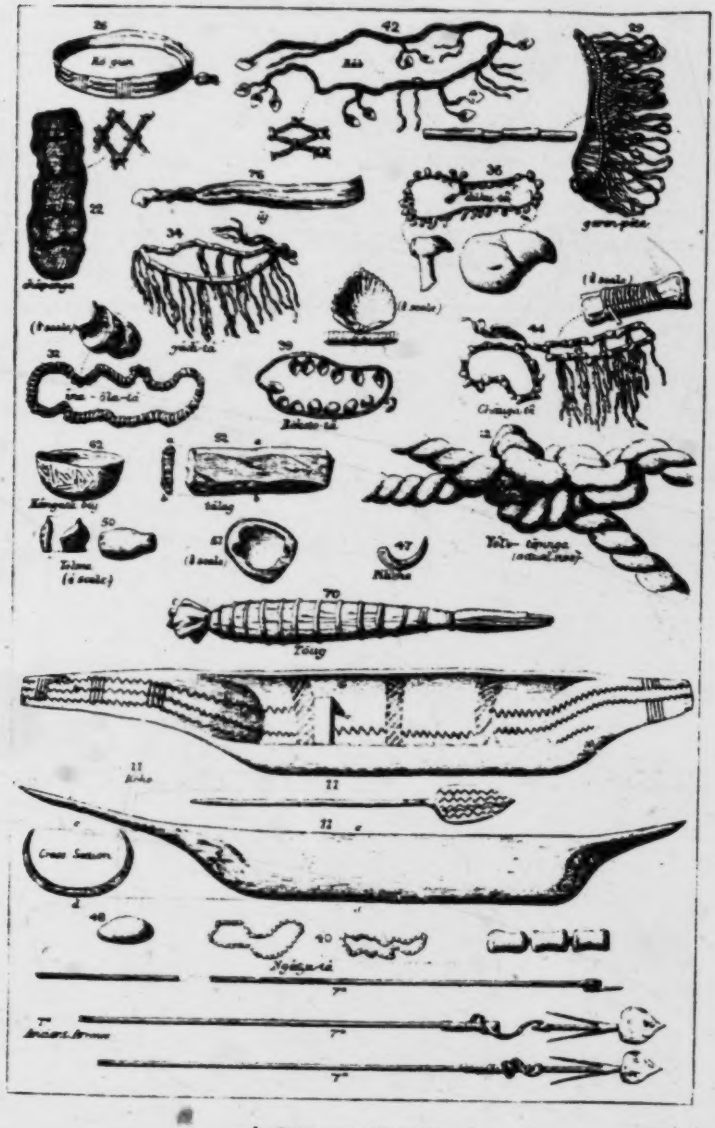

ANDAMANESE OBJECTS.

[facing p. 182]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

netted bags and fishing nets. In the Little Andaman it is used for binding their arrows, as well as for netting. 824 283

The most valuable fibre of the Great Andaman tribes is that of the *Anadendron paniculatum*, which is used for string and thread and for bow-strings. Until recent times the method of preparing the fibre was not known to the natives of the Little Andaman, but they have now learnt it from the natives of the Great Andaman with whom they have been brought in contact, and the use of the fibre for string and thread is coming in amongst them.

The fibre is not easy to prepare. Long thin branches of the creeper are cut, which must be neither too young nor too old. To obtain these it is often necessary to climb up into high trees, for the *Anadendron* is a climbing plant. The creeper is cut into lengths of from 20 to 40 cm. The bark (inner and outer layers) is peeled off these in strips of from 7 to 10 mm. in width. A strip of the bark is taken and placed on the thigh, inner surface downwards, and is scraped with a *Cyrena* shell until the outer bark is entirely removed and the fibres remain clean and separate. These are dried in the sun or over a fire and, if not needed for immediate use, are stored for future occasion. The fibre is fine and of a light greyish brown colour. In its qualities it somewhat resembles ramie fibre. It is extremely strong.

There are a number of other trees and plants that are known by the natives to afford fibre, but they are not used, or if they are, it is extremely rarely.

The Andaman jungles have a number of different species of *Calamus*, and the canes or rattans of these are put to all sorts of uses, such as the making of baskets, the lashings and furnishings of canoes, and in building huts. In the Little Andaman one species of cane is used to provide the fibre for women's belts. The outer skin is removed and the remainder of the cane is divided into fine strips or threads. A bundle of these tied together constitutes the belt worn by the women of the Little Andaman. The outer sheath of the leaf-stem of the *Calamus tigrinus* is used by the natives of the Great Andaman Division for making mats. Lengths of the leaf-stem are cut and the outer skin is removed in strips of about 3 to 5 mm. in width. The still adhering pith is removed with a *Cyrena* shell, and the strips are dried in the sun and then made into mats. 824 285 [501] [291]

The leaf-stem of a species of palm is cut while green and is then shredded into long strips. The fibre thus obtained really consists of the leaflets of the young unopened leaves of the palm. It is used in the 824 291

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

283 necessary for string made from *Gnetum* fibre or from *Hibiscus scandens*.

Ornamental rope is made for men's belts in the Great Andaman. *Hibiscus* fibre is twisted into a single strand. Around this strand strips of *Dendrobium* skin are wound spirally so that it is entirely covered, and the strand itself is twisted into a two-ply cord.

Two other forms of cord have been already mentioned, namely the bow-string, of twisted fibre of the *Ficus laccifera* in the Little Andaman, and of wrapped fibre of the *Anadendron* in the Great Andaman Division, and the special cord used in the Great Andaman for attaching the head of a pig-arrow to the shaft. The Andamanese make very little use of plaited cord. I have only met with it in personal ornaments made of *Pandanus* leaf in the Great Andaman.

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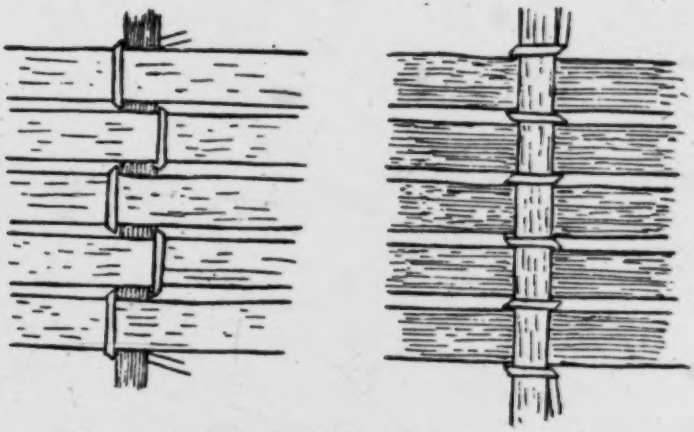

Fig. 29. Method of making bamboo mat, Little Andaman

The mat-work of the Andamanese is very simple. The natives of the Little Andaman make bamboo mats on which they sleep. Strips of bamboo of about 120 cm. in length and ·75 cm. in width are attached by means of thin strips of cane to other strips of bamboo at right angles to the first series. The technique is illustrated in Fig. 29 which shows the back and the front of a portion of such a mat. It is that usually known as wrapped-twined work.

A similar technique is used in both the Little Andaman and the Great Andaman in making thatching of cane-leaves. There is a difference, however, the wrapping used in making thatch being that shown diagrammatically in Fig. 30.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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The natives of the Great Andaman make sleeping mats from the outer sheath of the leaf-stem of the *Calamus tigrinus*. Lengths of the material are prepared and cleaned and are cut to a uniform length, generally about 60 to 80 cm., having a breadth of 3 to 5 mm. A length 285 [352]

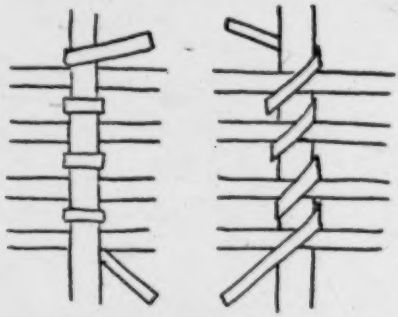

Fig. 30. Diagram showing the technique used in making mats of thatch

of thread, generally of the less valuable *Gnetum* fibre, but occasionally of *Anadendron* fibre, is made and is wound on to two netting needles, one half on each. With this thread the strips of cane-leaf are fastened together. The technique is different in the North Andaman and in the South Andaman.

In the North the technique, which is represented diagrammatically in Fig. 31, *A* is that known as wrapped-twined work. One of the two threads of which the work is composed is held taut, the needle on

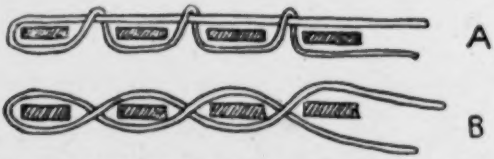

Fig. 31. Diagram showing the technique used in Great Andaman mats
A, North Andaman; *B*, South Andaman

which it is wound being held in the toes, and the other thread is wrapped spirally round it, one of the strips of cane-leaf sheath being enclosed at every turn. Thus the method is exactly the same as that adopted in making mats of thatch.

In the South the technique is that known as twined work or fitching. The two wefts (i.e. the threads) are twisted together in the same direction one under the other, enclosing at each half turn one of the strips of leaf-sheath. This is shown diagrammatically in Fig. 31, *B*.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

•285 The mat is made by parallel lines of such twining or wrapped-twining. At each side of the mat the line of threading is quite close to the ends of the strips of which the mat is made. In the South Andaman the work on each side of the mat is different from that in the middle. Each of the two threads is alternately given a complete turn round one of the strips of material.

Mats may be of any length, and examples vary from 1 metre to 10 metres. When in use about a metre and a half is unrolled and the remainder serves as a pillow. If the mat be short a split log does service as a pillow instead, but the full-length mat is certainly a more comfortable bed. When a mat begins to wear or fall to pieces in some part it is not thrown away, but this part is kept rolled up, and an unbroken part of the mat is unrolled to sleep on, the remainder being kept rolled up either at the head, where it forms a pillow, or at the foot. An old mat may be continually increased in length by additions made to it. The work of making these mats is performed by women only.

The Jarawa and the natives of the Little Andaman make mats of a somewhat similar pattern, but I have not been able to secure one so as to see how it is made.

To explain the different forms of the Andamanese baskets, it is most convenient to begin by considering the way in which the natives of the North Andaman tie up their pots. The small cooking-pots of the North Andaman are fragile things and are not easily made, and it is therefore necessary to take care of them. A leaf of the *Licuala* palm is taken. The leaflets are plaited over one another, close to the point of their insertion in the petiole, so as to form a sort of rosette with leaflets radiating from it in every direction (Fig. 32 *a*). This is laid on the ground, the pot is placed on it upside down, and the leaflets are brought up all round the pot so as to meet at the point, and are there roughly fastened. Three strips of cane are then taken and are tied together crossways in the middle so as to form a sort of six-rayed star with six approximately equal angles. This is laid on the ground with the outer surface of the canes downwards, the pot is placed on it upside down, and the strips of cane are bent upwards over the pot so as to meet at the point. The ends of two opposite strips of cane are left projecting for a few centimetres above the point, and the ends of the other four are fastened firmly down. Another strip of cane is now fastened round the middle of the pot, being applied to the six canes previously mentioned by wrapping, i.e. a turn is taken with it round each of the six strips in turn. The pot is now safely tied up and can be hung in the hut or

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

carried on a journey without much fear of its coming to grief. To use the pot it is of course necessary to untie it. A pot wrapped up in this way is shown in Fig. 32 *a* and *b*. 285

In the South Andaman the pots have rounded bottoms. They are not tied up in the same way as in the North Andaman, but for purposes of safety and carriage each pot is provided with a rude basket. The basket is made so as to fit the pot. Six strips of cane are taken and tied together in the middle, as previously described. A stout strip of

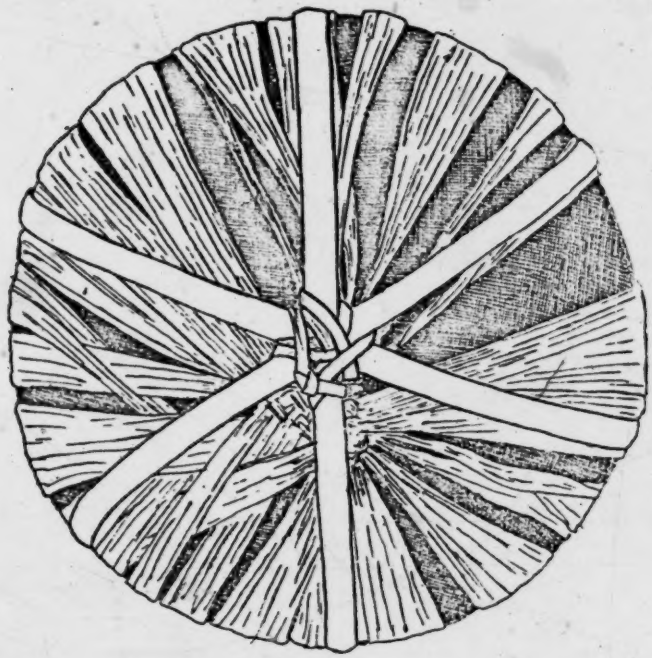

Fig. 32 *a*

cane is then taken and is bent round into a circle so as to be just a little larger than the outside rim of the pot. This, which is to form the rim of the basket, is placed in position and the six strips of cane before mentioned are bent round and attached to it. The manner of attaching the uprights of the basket to the rim is shown in Fig. 33. The strip of cane forming the upright is thinned down beyond the point where it reaches the rim. It is given one turn round the rim, ascending on the outside and descending inside, then a half turn round the standing part of itself, immediately below the rim from left to right, then another

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

285 complete turn round the rim ascending inside and descending outside, a half turn behind its own standing part below the rim, a third complete turn round the rim, and the end is fastened with an overhand knot.

A thinner strip of cane is now taken and wound round the six uprights (the warp of the basket) being given a turn round one after

Fig. 32 *b*. Pot, tied up for carrying, North Andaman

another. The technique is that known as wrapped work. If the strip be not long enough another is joined to it with a reef or sailor's knot. The weft (as this thinner strip may be called) is given five or six spiral turns, and thus leaves a very open and rather weak basket. The basket is then further strengthened by other strips of cane attached by one end

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

to the rim and carried downwards, with one turn round each of the horizontal canes (weft) and the other end attached to the centre of the bottom of the basket. A strip of cane or bark is attached to the rim by its two ends to provide a strap by which the basket with its pot may be carried on the back. Before the pot is placed in it the basket is lined with the leaflets of the *Licuala* palm.

We may now turn to the baskets of the Little Andaman, of which there are two varieties, one made with more care than the other. As regards shape both varieties are the same, and the shape is exactly that of the Little Andaman pots.

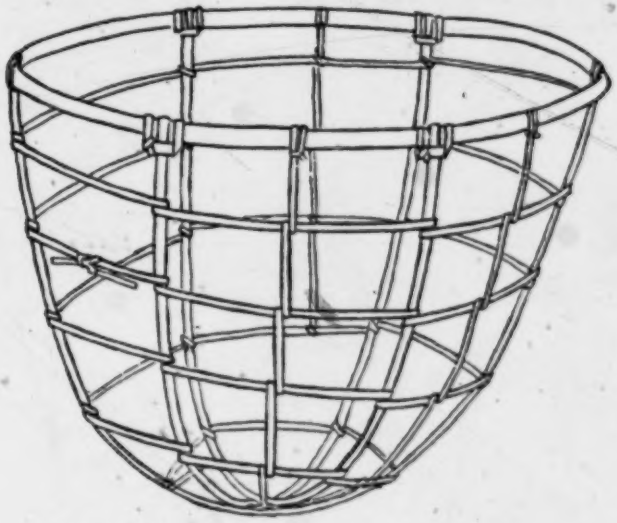

Fig. 33. Basket for carrying pot, South Andaman

The following is a description of a small but typical specimen of the better variety of Little Andaman basket. The foundation consists of twelve whole canes. A little under 80 cm. of the cane is left whole, and at each end it is thinned down to a strip. The twelve canes are taken in four bundles of three each and placed so as to cross each other in the middle. They are bent into a somewhat conical shape, and the ends (where the cane is thinned) are attached to a rim composed of a whole cane bent into a circle and tied. The method by which each of the uprights or stakes is attached to the rim is shown in Fig. 34. It is almost identical with that used in the South Andaman pot basket. The weaving is then begun near the bottom of the basket. A thin strip

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

285 of the outside of a cane is taken, and is applied to the uprights (warp or stakes) by wrapped work, i.e. it is given a complete turn round each of them in turn. This wrapped weaving is continued spirally from near the bottom of the basket to near the rim. Near the top of the basket, between 4 and 5 cm. from the rim, the weaving is so arranged that for about three-quarters of the way round the basket there is a gap of about 1·5 cm. between two rows of weft (see Fig. 34). The purpose of this will be mentioned later. The basket now consists of a rim to which are attached twelve uprights forming the warp of the basket, around which a fine strip of cane has been spirally wrapped from the bottom to the top. Twelve fine strips of the outside of a

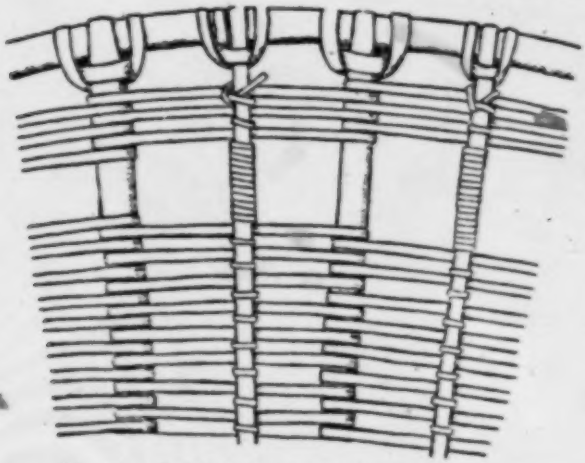

Fig. 34. Portion of basket of Little Andaman

cane are now taken. One end of each is fastened to the rim in between two of the stakes, the mode of fastening being shown in Fig. 34. The strip is then carried down the basket, on the outside, as far as the bottom row of weaving, round which it is doubled, and is then wound spirally, from the bottom to the top of the basket, around its own standing part, including at each spiral turn one of the wefts. Thus each of these twelve strips of cane is attached to the outside of the basket by the process known as wrapped-twined work. The basket is furnished with a handle of bark fibre which is attached by its two ends to the rim on that side where there is no gap between the rows of weft near the top.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

In the less carefully made baskets of the Little Andaman there are a few important differences. The stakes of the basket are not thin whole canes, but are strips of larger canes. The weft is applied in wrapped work, as in the basket already described, but the rows of weft are not so close together and are therefore not so numerous. After the first process, when the basket consists of stakes and horizontal (spiral) weft only, vertical strengthening strips are added, but these are applied, not in wrapped-twined work as in the basket described, but in wrapped work, in exactly the same way as in the South Andaman pot-basket. Thus, apart from its shape, which is that of the Little Andaman pot, the Little Andaman basket of this kind is very similar to the South Andaman pot-basket. 285

The natives of the Little Andaman make pots that are much larger and deeper than those of the South Andaman, and have a more rounded bottom than those of the North Andaman. For every pot a basket is made that exactly fits it, and in this basket it is stored and carried. Every basket that is made in the Little Andaman, whether it be used for carrying a pot or for any other purpose, is made of exactly the same shape.

The purpose of the gap that is left near the top of the basket as described above is in order that strips of string or fibre may be tied across the mouth of the basket, from side to side, in order to keep its contents safe.

We may now return to the Great Andaman and consider the baskets of the South Andaman Group of tribes. These are made from the best canes. From 80 to 120 fine strips of cane are taken which are to form the stakes or uprights. A slight hollow is made in the ground, and the strips of cane are placed crossways across one another in this hollow, the inner surfaces of the canes being downwards. As the strips are being arranged, and when the weaving is begun, the centre, i.e., the point where the strips cross one another in the middle of the hollow, is pressed firmly beneath the heel so as to maintain them in position. The first few strips are sometimes tied together in the middle, but this is not always done. When all the strips are arranged evenly the weaving of the basket is begun with a length of thread, which is slewed in and out between the strips of cane, beginning as near the centre as possible, the stroke being that of ordinary wicker-work. After four or five spiral turns have been taken with the thread it is fastened. The bottom of the basket is then reversed, the stakes being bent over, and the weaving proper is begun with a fine strip of cane.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

285 This is applied by wicker-work nearly as far as the top of the basket. At the top, the weaving is finished off with three or four spiral turns of wrapped-twined work in cane (see Fig. 35). The rim of the basket is formed of a thin piece of wood (circular in section) bent round into a circle of the right size and the two ends tied together. The stakes or uprights are attached to this rim (after the weaving is finished) but a space of about 5 cm. is left between the top of the weaving and

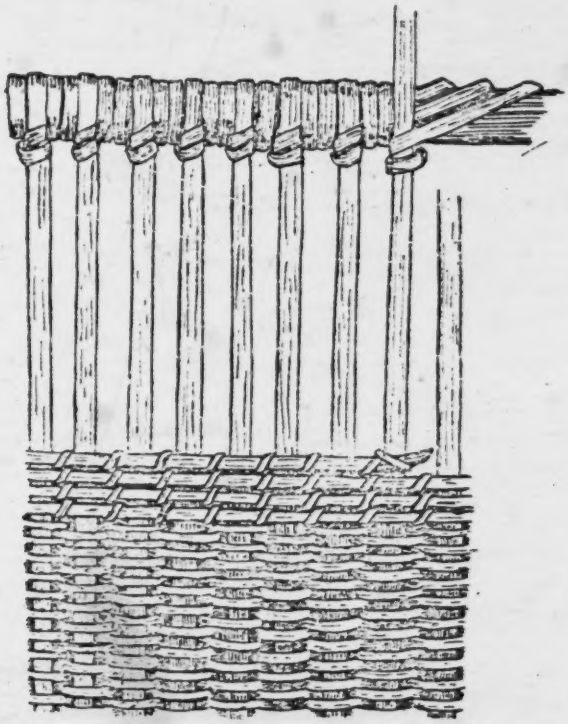

Fig. 35. Portion of basket of South Andaman

the rim. The mode of attaching the uprights to the rim is shown in Fig. 35.

The South Andaman basket is really a conical basket with the bottom reversed or dented inwards to form a "kick" like the kick of a bottle. If it were not for the kick it would be the same shape as the Little Andaman basket. The kick enables it to stand upright, although it is inclined to be top-heavy, but renders it unfit for carrying pots.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The space between the top of the weaving and the rim is to admit of strings being tied across the mouth of the basket to keep its contents safe. 285

A handle of *Hibiscus* fibre is attached to the rim and rests across the front of the chest when the basket is carried on the back.

South Andaman baskets are sometimes ornamented, in the process of making, with strips of *Dendrobium* skin, applied horizontally by overlaid interlacing. The strip of *Dendrobium* skin is laid over the weft and woven in with it for one turn round the basket. I have never seen ornamentation with *Dendrobium* skin applied to the South Andaman baskets by any method save this one.

Patterns of red paint and white clay are occasionally painted on baskets when they are newly made. Shells are sometimes attached to different parts of the basket by thread, for the purpose of ornament. [531]

In the North Andaman, baskets are made that differ in several important features from those of the South Andaman. They are not made of cane but of two different materials. One of these is the stem of a creeper called *čup-ṭoi*. Lengths of the creeper are cut and dried and then split lengthways into two or three pieces according to their size. The outer bark or skin is then scraped off with a *Cyrena* shell. These strips are to form the stakes or warp of the basket. The other material is another creeper called *bobi*. The long tough tendrils of this plant are taken and the soft outer sheath removed by drawing the tendril through a piece of split cane or bamboo bent double so that the tendril is scraped between the two inner surfaces. The fibre that remains is split longitudinally into two pieces and dried.

A bundle of strips of the *čup-ṭoi* is taken, sufficient in length and number for the required size of basket. The bundle is divided into two equal bundles and these are tied together in the middle crossways with thread. This cross forms the beginning of the basket. The weaving is begun with thread, which is slewed in and out between the warp, from 4 to 7 spiral turns being made. During this process the centre of the basket, i.e., the cross, is pressed beneath the heel into a slight hollow made in the ground, to give it a curve which, in the finished basket, will form the "kick." The thread is tied, the bottom is turned upside down, the stakes are bent back and the weaving is continued, not with thread but with strips of *bobi*, till a short distance from the top of the basket, and then three or four rows of wrapped-twined work are made, the strip of *bobi* being coiled round the basket and attached to the uprights with thread. A rim is made of a strip of cane bent into a circle. This is placed inside the uprights and

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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tied to them in two or three places. The remaining portion of each of the uprights, projecting above the rim, is bent down outside and slightly obliquely, and tied down by a thread passing over each in turn and round the rim. A very rough and untidy rim is thus produced, and this is again served or bound over with thread. A handle of *Hibiscus* fibre is added.

In the North Andaman baskets, as in those of the South Andaman, a space of a few centimetres is left between the top of the weaving and the rim, there being for that space only warp or uprights and no weft. This allows string to be tied in any direction across the mouth of the basket, so as to keep its contents safe.

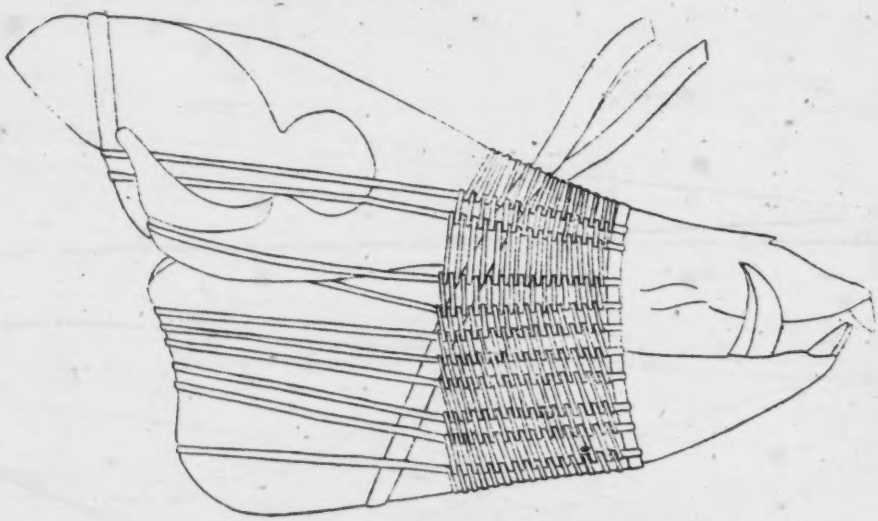

Fig. 36. Pig's skull with basket-work, Jarawa

The shape of the North Andaman baskets is different from that of the southern baskets, the former having a sort of belly at the bottom and narrowing somewhat above. The result is that the northern baskets will stand more firmly, being less top-heavy when either full or empty than those of the south.

In the North Andaman baskets are ornamented as they are made with worked-in strips of *Dendrobium* fibre. There are several different methods of working this ornamentation, resulting in different patterns. Baskets are also ornamented, when new, with painted patterns in white and red, though this is not general, and occasionally shells are attached to them by thread.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

One more form of basket-work remains to be briefly mentioned. The natives of all parts of the islands were formerly in the habit of preserving as trophies the skulls of pigs and turtle that were killed in the chase. The natives of the Great Andaman Division do not now trouble to preserve all the skulls of the pigs they kill, and they give as their reason for this that now that they have dogs the hunting of pigs is not a sport that requires any great skill. The Jarawa however still keep up the old custom, and they go so far as carefully to encase every skull in basket-work. As may be seen from Fig. 36 the basket-work in question is of simple wrapped work, the material being strips of cane. 285

It is of some interest to consider the different forms of technique used by the Andamanese in dealing with flexible materials. Rope and string are only made two-ply. It would seem that the Andamanese have not discovered that three-ply cord is stronger for a given diameter than two-ply. They have, in the bow-string of the Great Andaman, an interesting form of cord that may perhaps best be described as wrapped cord. The making of a rope involves the twisting of two strands of material around one another. The making of a wrapped cord involves the spiral wrapping of one strand of material round another. This is exactly the same process as "serving," and it is one that is used by the Andamanese in all sorts of ways. In serving their arrows with thread and in serving the ends of bows and the heads of harpoons the Andamanese have several different methods of making fast the ends, and I regret that I did not take more detailed notes on this subject. Their skill in handling this technique is shown in the strength of the binding on their arrows. 283

This spiral wrapping of one strand round a flexible or rigid object lies at the base of much else in their technique. We have seen that they make considerable use of wrapped-twined work. In this work a strip of material crosses at right angles a number of strips of the same or other material, and a weft is wound round the former, taking in one of the latter at each turn. There are two methods of doing this, either by simple spiral wrapping, as in the mats of thatch, or by what may be called "right and left" or "zig-zag" wrapping, as in the bamboo mat of the Little Andaman. A difference is also made according as the strip of material around which the weft is wrapped is rigid, as in the Little Andaman bamboo mat or in thatching, or flexible, as in the North Andaman mat, where it is one thread while the weft is another thread. 285

Wrapped work, in which a strip of weft is wound successively round one after another of a number of rigid stakes, is another very simple

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

285 process that is employed in a number of different ways by the Andamanese. The most important development of wrapped work amongst them is seen in the pot-basket of the South Andaman, in the baskets of the Jarawa and Little Andaman and in the pig's-skull basket-work of the Jarawa.

Simple twined work is rare in the Andamans. There is hardly any example of it except in the mats of the South Andaman. It would seem probable that the North Andaman mat technique of wrapped-twined work is the earlier, being more in agreement with what we may call the technical habits of the Andamanese, and that the South Andaman mat technique is a later elaboration. In this connection it may be remembered that plaiting, in which also several wefts are twisted one over another, is rarely used in the Andamans.

The process of nippering, by which the natives of the Great Andaman make the cord of their pig-arrows, and the somewhat similar process used in the Little Andaman in making personal ornaments, are quite in accordance with the general trend of the technique, but when such a process is applied to a number of parallel strips of material instead of to two only it constitutes a step towards wicker-work. It is notable, however, that it is only in the Great Andaman that wicker-work is used, and this suggests that it has only been invented or adopted since the separation of the two divisions of the Andamanese.

285 171 It is very tempting to regard the different forms of basket, in the order in which they are described above, as so many stages of a process of evolution. It is, at any rate, worth while to state the argument, and to show what the differences between them exactly are. In the North Andaman pot-covering we have (1) the technique simple wrapped work, and (2) the basis six strips of cane tied together in the middle. In the South Andaman pot-basket we have both these features, but the difference in the shape of the pots allows them to be carried in a true basket and we have therefore (3) a rim, with (4) a peculiar method of attaching the uprights to the rim, (5) a number of horizontal (wrapped) wefts instead of one or two, and (6) strengthening strips applied to the horizontal wefts in wrapped work. In the rougher kind of basket made in the Little Andaman we have nearly all the features of the South Andaman pot-basket. The only differences, apart from the shape of the basket, which in each case follows the shape of the pot, are (2) more than six uprights may be used, and (5) the number of horizontal wefts, i.e. the number of spiral turns taken round the basket, is as a rule greater. In the more carefully made Little Andaman basket there are

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

several differences. The uprights are fine whole canes instead of strips of split cane. It is undoubtedly more difficult to procure whole canes of the proper size than simply to split up larger canes, but where the technique is wrapped work the circular section of the uprights improves the quality of the resulting basket, as a strip of cane is more easily wound round a whole cane than round a split cane, and there is less chance of it breaking when a strain is put upon it. Another difference is that in the better Little Andaman baskets the rows of weft are as close together as the peculiar technique will allow. This makes a finer and stronger basket, and is an obvious improvement. The third difference is that in these baskets the strengthening strips are applied not in wrapped work, but in wrapped-twined work, which, however, we have seen is a common technique in the Andamans. In the better baskets of the Little Andaman we find a special feature of some interest in the gap that is left in the weaving near the rim, to allow of strings being tied across the mouth.

When we look at the South Andaman basket the first thing that strikes us is that it is really a conical basket of much the same shape as the Little Andaman basket, but with the bottom dented in to make a kick, so allowing the basket to stand on its bottom. This denting is only rendered possible, however, by the fact that the uprights of the South Andaman basket are thin strips of cane that can be easily bent, and this again depends on the use of wicker-work in the basket instead of wrapped work. It must be remembered that the top of the weaving is finished off with three rows of wrapped-twined work, and this suggests that there may possibly have been a stage of development between the Little Andaman basket and the South Andaman form, in which the uprights were thin strips of cane, and the weft was applied in wrapped-twined work from top to bottom. This, however, is only a surmise. It does certainly seem probable that the South Andaman basket is derived immediately from a form of basket similar to that of the Little Andaman, the great difference being the change to wicker-work technique. The method of attaching the uprights to the rim was doubtless introduced owing to the fact that the original method is unsatisfactory when the uprights are thin and easily broken strips, instead of stout ones.

The North Andaman basket seems to have been derived from one similar to that of the South Andaman by the introduction of two changes, (1) the use of different materials, and (2) the change of shape. The materials used in the north are such as to give a basket on the whole stronger and more durable than that of the south. If a heavy

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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weight be carried in a southern basket the pressure of the basket on the back tends to crack the canes of which it is composed. In the case of a northern basket it may lose its shape, but the materials of which it is composed will give or bend without cracking so readily. The shape of the northern basket is certainly an improvement, as it avoids the top-heaviness of the southern shape. Both the northern and the southern baskets have a gap between the top of the weaving and the rim, like the basket of the Little Andaman.

Thus every step, or nearly every step, in a hypothetical process of evolution is exhibited in the different forms of basket-work. First we have the pot-covering of the North Andaman, then the pot-basket of the South Andaman, then the rougher kind of Little Andaman basket, of the same shape as the pot, then the South Andaman basket of cane with a kick and finally the basket of the North Andaman. The better kind of Little Andaman basket is simply an independent improvement of the other, involving no new technique.

However much or little probability we may attach to this hypothetical reconstruction of the history of basket-work in the Andamans, one thing does seem fairly certain, and that is that the original ancestors of the Andamanese were not acquainted with wicker-work, or had no use for it. In the Little Andaman Division only wrapped work and wrapped-twined work are used, and the wicker-work of the Great Andaman Division has almost certainly been adopted since the two divisions were separated. The consideration of the general technical bias of the Andamanese in their dealings with flexible materials supports the view that in their case wicker-work is later than wrapped work and wrapped-twined work. It seems more than likely that the Andamanese of the larger island have invented wicker-work in its simplest form on the basis of a previous technique of wrapped and wrapped-twined work. To us wicker-work seems such a simple process as almost to need no inventing. It must be recognized however that the general bias of the Andamanese is against using materials in this way. The Andaman Islander shows a decided preference for those processes in which he uses a single flexible material which he winds or wraps round other rigid or flexible material, as in nippering, or wrapped work or wrapped-twined work.

It is impossible to obtain confirmation of this view, however, from a comparison of the Andamanese with the Semang and the Philippine Negritos. The Semang make mat-work bags and wallets of check, and they make (or use) baskets of hexagonal work. Both check and

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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hexagonal work are used by other races in the Malay Peninsula and in Malaysia generally. The present mats and baskets of the Semang cannot therefore be regarded as original Negrito productions. They have almost certainly been adopted through contact with other cultures. 285 171

The same thing would seem to apply to the present basket-work of the Philippine Negritos, of which however we know very little.

Netted bags of string are made by the women of both the Great Andaman and the Little Andaman Divisions, and are used for carrying or storing small objects such as shells, fruit, roots, etc. The string used for these is made from the fibre of the *Gnetum edule* in the Little 286

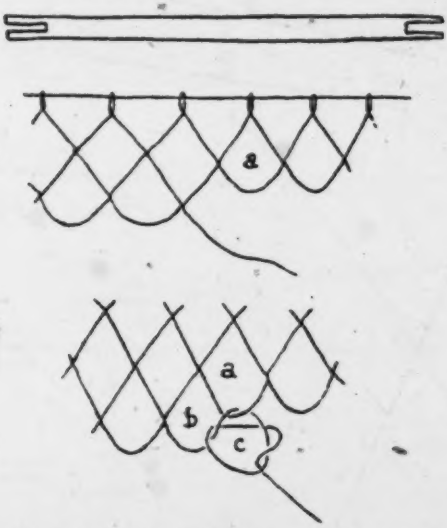

Fig. 37. Diagram showing netting needle, and method of netting

Andaman, and is generally made from the same fibre in the Great Andaman, but in the latter division the fibre of *Hibiscus scandens* is prized for this purpose and is used instead of that of the *Gnetum* when it is available. Small hand fishing nets are made by the women in both divisions from thread of *Gnetum* fibre. In the Great Andaman Division netting is also used for personal ornaments, the thread used for this purpose being generally made from *Anadendron* fibre.

The mode of netting is always the same. Netting needles are used, made from slips of bamboo or cane, and varying in size according to the work for which they are intended. The netting string or thread is wound on to this needle. For the foundation of the net a short

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE VI.

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GREAT ANDAMAN TYPES AT PORT BLAIR HOME.

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CHANG-TONGA (SECOND-CLASS LEAN-TO) IN SOUTH ANDAMAN; FRIENDS WEEPING TOGETHER AFTER LONG SEPARATION; ATTITUDE IN SLEEP, ETC.

[facing p. 78]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

323 shell also impart a more finished appearance to the vessel ere it is further engraved (*ō·inga-*) on both surfaces[1] in wavy, checked, or striped designs,[2] not, as has been assumed,[3] by the finger-nail, but by means of the pointed stick before mentioned. The potter then places the utensil in the sun to dry, or, if the weather be wet or cloudy, before a fire, taking care to alter its position from time to time so that all parts may be equally subjected to heat. When sufficiently hardened, he bakes it thoroughly by placing burning pieces of wood both inside and around the vessel; occasionally during this process the pot cracks, which of course renders it useless, but if this does not happen it is allowed to cool, and is then considered ready for use.

323 415 7. With good management a pot is ordinarily fit for use by the close of the day on which it is made. They may be said to be all of one quality and to differ only in size so as to be suitable for the use of a single family or a large party. The largest description is usually only to be seen in permanent encampments, the smaller kinds being taken when occasion arises for a migration, as for instance on account of a death,[4] or because arrangements have been made for an entertainment at some other place.[5] The medium size is almost invariably [285] provided with a rough basket-work casing, which not only renders it more portable but also serves to protect it, in some measure, from the many accidents to which it is liable.

8. The pots ordinarily made will hold about nine pints, but the larger kinds possess double this capacity, while others again are no larger than half an ordinary cocoanut-shell; these last are employed in making *kâ·ngatâ-būj-*, and also when using it;[6] with this exception none of the vessels are reserved or manufactured for any special purpose, but serve alike for all times, whether for festivals, migrations, or ordinary occasions. No substitutes for

[1] Perhaps the original object of this practice may be explained by the conjecture contained in the following extract from Peschel's work:—"In examining the site of an old pottery manufactory of the Red Indians on the Cahokia, ... Carl Rau discovered half-finished vessels, that is to say, baskets of rushes or willow, lined inside with clay. When the vessel was baked the fire naturally consumed the external covering. . . . That the Europeans of prehistoric times also originally lined basket-work with clay, may be inferred from the decorations of vessels of the stone age. These decorations consist merely of rows of marks made with the finger-nail, as if to represent the traces left by the basket-work. When some bold individual began to shape the clay by hand, his earthen vessels were perhaps regarded as not genuine, or of inferior quality, as they had not originated in the time-honoured fashion; in order to meet these doubts he may have counterfeited the impressions of the rushes with his nail."

[2] *Vide* Plate V, for illustration of these.

[3] *Vide* de Röepstorff.

[4] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraphs 4 and 15.

Vide post "Games and Amusements," paragraph 22.

[6] *Vide* Appendix B, item 62.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

● 285 **Basket-work.**—1. Among the few remaining industries of these savages on which I have a few words to say is that of basket-making: these baskets are invariably made from the best [824] specimens of the common cane called *pī·dga-* which is similar to, if not identically the same as that ordinarily used by our basket-makers and chair-menders.

2. After removing the leaves, part of the cane is cut into lengths of 3½ or 4 feet, and the "skin" or cuticle is shredded off into strips ¼ or ⅕ inch wide; the remainder of the cane is split into as long pieces as possible, and the "skin" is cut into strips somewhat narrower than the others; shorter lengths of the canes form the "ribs" or "stakes," in and out of which the strips are woven or "slewed."

3. In order that the basket may stand steadily[1] it has always a "kick" like our bottles, and to construct this is of course the first object; when the stakes have been firmly secured in the centre, they are placed over a small hole scooped out of the ground, and the heel of the basket-maker is placed on them while the weaving is commenced; when it has been carried on to a breadth of 2 or 3 inches the heel is removed, the canes reversed, and the work proceeds in the ordinary way until within an inch of the required depth, where, for the sake of appearance, the interweaving is omitted: the handle is then formed out of a strip of the bark of the *Melochia velutina* (*al·aba-*); stripes of *tā·la-ōg-* and *kòi·ob-* are usually added by way of ornamentation;[2] no method of rendering them waterproof is known. Baskets are not converted into moulds for pottery; but sometimes, when travelling, earthen vessels are placed in a loose wicker casing, in order to protect them, and at the same time to facilitate their removal.

4. There is a marked difference[3] between the baskets made by the five *bōjiq* tribes and those manufactured by the *yē·rewa-*; with the latter the work is more neatly finished, and the opening is small instead of being wide, as is the case among the former.[4]

5. Baskets are used for all sorts of purposes by men, women, and children, and, considering the rough usage to which they are subjected, last fairly well, for they seldom require to be renewed for several months: they are not used as strainers or colanders, the fine net (*chá·panga-*) serving this purpose.

283 824 **String, &c.**—1. The Andamanese do not produce their stout cord (*bē·tma-*), string (*bē·tma-lā-*), or twine (*mō·la-*), from animal

[1] The *jārawa-* baskets are generally small at the base, and having no "kick" are not usually able to stand unless placed between logs of wood or other objects.

[2] The rim of these baskets is formed of a piece of *Uraria micrantha* (*ō·rta-tāt-*) round which one or more strips of the cane above described are neatly twined.

[3] The reader is referred to the excellent sketch of an Andamanese basket (*vide* Plate VII, fig. 17).

[4] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 14.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Plate C.

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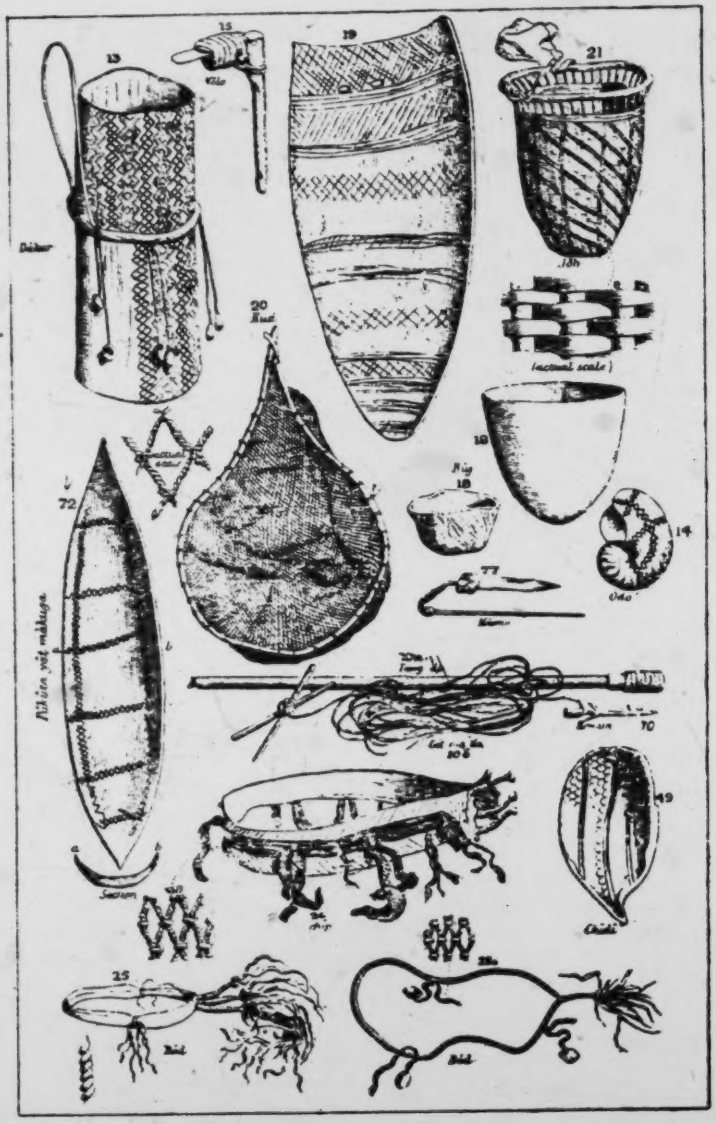

ANDAMANESE OBJECTS.

[facing p. 178]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

534 convex side is uppermost; the pointed end is stuck in the ground, and kept in position with one foot; a stone is then placed under the board to enable the performer to make more noise when keeping time, which he does by thumping or kicking the board with the heel of the other foot.

227 462 20. *kūd-*.[1] Hand fishing-net constructed from the prepared fibre of the *Gnetum edule* (Andam., *pīlita-*) by women and girls, who also by its means catch large quantities of fish and prawns, both in streams and among rocks along the coast at low tide. It is about the size of an ordinary butterfly-net; the frame is made of a length of a creeper known to them as *ôrta-tāt-*, the ends being bound together to form a handle.

285 462 21. *jōb-*.[2] Baskets used by all the Great Andaman tribes for carrying food and various other articles: they are generally made by women.[3]

[NOTE.—The baskets made by the *.yērewa-* or North Andaman tribes, differ from those found among the *.bōjig* tribes in having a wider base and a smaller mouth.[4]]

21*a*. The *jārawa-*[5] baskets differ from those in use among the Great Andaman tribes in having no firm base.

286 462 22. *châpanga-*.[6] Netted reticules made and used by women for carrying small objects: the string used for this purpose is generally prepared from the fibre of the *Anadendrum paniculatum* (Andam., *yōlbā-*, item 64), but as this is not always obtainable the less-valued fibre of the *Gnetum edule* (Andam., *pīlita-*) is sometimes employed as a substitute.

23. *pārepa-*.[7] Sleeping mat made by women of strips of a species of *Calamus* fastened securely in the ordinary manner with string made from the fibre of the *Gnetum edule* (Andam., *pīlita-*, item 65). When in use the rolled-up portion of these mats—which are generally 15 to 20 feet long—serves as a pillow.

23*a*. The *jārawa-*[8] sleeping mats hitherto found have always been of short lengths, but as wooden pillows similar to those in use among the Nicobarese have been found in their huts, it is probable that the specimens obtained represent full sized mats.

854 462 24. *chīp-*.[9] Sling or band made by women from the bark of

[1] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 18.
[2] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 17.
[3] *Vide* Part III, "Basket-work," paragraphs 2 and 3.
[4] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 14.
[5] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 14*a*.
[6] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 33.
[7] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 15.
[8] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 15*a*.
[9] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 25.

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Plate E.

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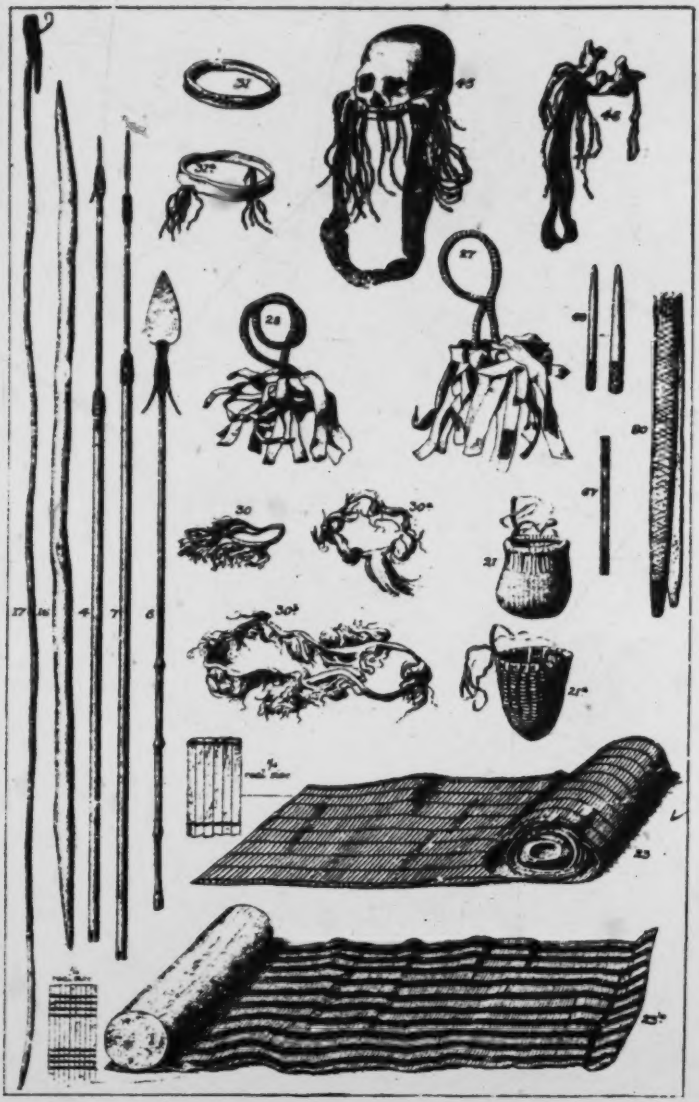

ANDAMANESE OBJECTS

[facing p. 186]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

373 dancing by night: the resin is obtained from a large tree called by them *maiī·-*, which also is often employed in the construction of their largest canoes. A larger description of torch is made by men, and used when fishing by night.

71. *lâ·pi-*. Gurjon wood torch, obtained from the heart of rotten logs of the *Dipterocarpus lævis* (Andam., *â·rain-*): as these do not burn so readily as the *tō·ug-* (item 70) they are rarely used outside their huts.

415 72. *pū·kuta-yât-māk·nga-*.[1] Food tray, made by men of some
[462] soft wood, generally of the large flat buttress roots of the trees (*Sterculiaceæ*) of which their canoes are made.

764 73. *â·ra-*. Long fringe-like cane-leaf wreaths, which are made by women, and suspended from trees, &c., round an encamp-
[462] ment or hut where a death has occurred, and round the spot where the corpse is deposited in order to warn off persons inadvertently approaching the place, which is believed to be haunted by the spirit of the deceased.[2]

285 74. *kâ·pa-jâ·tnga-*. Fan-like screen, made by women, of a description of palm-leaf (Andam., *kâ·pa-*), two of which are
[462] fastened together with leaf stems: it is used for many purposes, amongst others as a protection from rain and from the direct rays of the sun in hot weather; in the absence of a *pār·epâ-* (item 23) it is often used as a sleeping mat, and it serves also as a wrapper for bundles of various kinds.

75. *kâ·pa-*. Leaf wrappers, as described above, are employed for storing and packing the red oxide of iron.

293 76. *ūj-*.[3] Long brush-like shavings of the *Tetranthera lancæfolia*, prepared by men with the sharp edge of a *Cyrena* shell. When dancing these are often held (by both sexes) in their hands, or are stuck in their waistbelts or other personal ornaments.

412 77. *kô·no-*.[4] Iron knife used in cutting up food; to some a wooden or iron skewer is attached, they are then called *châm-chô-*.

78.[5]

291 79. *ō·bunga-*. Species of apron, consisting of one to six leaves of the *Mimusops Indica* (Andam., *dō·gota-*), which are fastened to the lowest *bōd-* by women from motives of modesty;[6] the leaves are not spread out so as to cover a wide surface, but are laid one above the other, and removed separately as each becomes stiff and shrivelled: the reason given for the selection of this

[1] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 16.
[2] *Vide* Part II. "Death and Burial," paragraph 3.
[3] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 37.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 21.
[5] This No. is attached to "Specimens of Andamanese Hair" (*vide* footnote 1, p. 175).
[6] *Vide* Part I, "Psychology and Morals," paragraph 8, and footnote.

619 now passing away and I well recollect 25 years ago, though the Bojigyab were then known to us, the "coming in" of the first Balawa from the Archipelago and of the first Chariar from the extreme north and the difficulty experienced in communicating with them.

In reading the following remarks on the tribes it must always be borne in mind that the statements therein made refer largely to a state of things practically already passed away and never likely to be revived. The reader can without difficulty use his discretion in separating what is from what has been in the course of his perusal.

619 184 **Their Division into three Groups.**—The Andamanese tribes are by themselves divided into three distinct groups, having certain salient characteristics: the forms of the huts, bows and arrows, of the canoes, of ornamentation, female clothing, hair dressing, and utensils, of tattooing, and of language common generally to the group, but differing in details and sometimes entirely from those of other groups. Judged by this standard the tribal affinities may be thus stated: Northern or Yerewa Group, Chariar, Kora, Tabo, Yere, Kede; Southern or Bojigngiji Group, Bea, Balawa, Bojigyab, Juwai, Kol; Outer Group, Ônge-Jarawa, who do not tattoo. Some of the tribes are divided into septs, fairly well defined under headmen and with a local area of their own, but not under any separate designation.

The Distinctions between the Groups.—It is worth while bringing together this remarkable series of differences dividing the Andamanese into three divisions; differences that more or less run through all matters concerning them.

[304] (1) *Tattooing.*—Bojigngiji; women are the tattooers cutting the skin slightly with small flakes of quartz or glass in patterns of zigzags or in straight vertical lines; face, ears, genitals, arm and knee pits are excepted. Men and women are tattooed alike. Yerewa; men are the tattooers, cutting the skin deeply with iron pig-arrow heads: short horizontal parallel cuts in three or five lines down the back and front of the trunk, round the anus and legs. Women are tattooed thus as life advances. Ônge-Jarawa, no tattooing.

[302] (2) *Hair.*—Bojigngiji; partial to complete shaving of head. Yerewa; long matted ringlets touching the shoulders. Ônge-Jarawas; closely cropped head to a mop. Ônge-Jarawa women are not shaved.

[291] (3) *Ornaments and female clothing.*—Bojigngiji women wear a bunch of five or six leaves in front: Yerewa women a loose tassel of narrow strips of bark: Ônge-Jarawa a bunching tassel of fibre. Bojigngiji women are most particular as to clothing: Yerewa women careless. Jarawa women are apt to be quite unclothed. Bojigngijis and Yerewas smear their faces with grey clay mixed with water, white clay in delicate patterns imitating the tattoo marks, red ochre mixed with turtle fat and almond oil in coarse undefined patterns. Ônge-Jarawas, with yellow clay mixed with water in coarse patches, red ochre mixed with the above mentioned oils on the head. Ônge-Jarawas wear no bone ornaments.

[302]

[531] (4) *Ornamentation of utensils.*—Bojigngiji and Yerewas, slight: Ônge-Jarawas delicate and elaborate.

[323] (5) *Pots.*—Bojigngijis, pots with rounded bottom: Ônge-Jarawas and Yerewas with pointed bottom.

[412] (6) *Implements.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas, coarse and rough in manufacture: Ônge-Jarawas, often delicate and neat.

● [285] (7) *Baskets.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas have a 'kick' and stand well: Ônge-Jarawas have uneven bottom and stand badly.

[411] (8) *Bows and arrows.*—Bojigngiji, *karama* bow and large arrows. Yerewa, *chokio* bow and small arrows. Ônge-Jarawa, curved long bow and long arrows.

(9) *Arrows.*—Generally common in type to all tribes: long with plain straight point, long with straight point and barbs, short with broad detachable barbed head for pigs.* Ônge-Jarawas and Yerewas, multiple headed arrows for fish.

(10) *Harpoons.*—For turtle, dugongs, and large fish among Bojigngijis and Yerewas: none among the Ônge-Jarawas.

* As the pig runs off, the trailing shaft is at once caught by something in the jungle and the animal is thus brought up short.

765 neck, usually, but not always, by the widow, widower or nearest relative. Mourning closes with a ceremonial dance and the removal of the clay. The ceremonies connected with the disposal of the dead are conventional, reverential and by no means without elaboration in detail.

V. Arts.

324 **Stone Implements.**—The only stone cutting implement known to the Andamanese is the quartz flake chipped off, never worked, and held between the fingers for shaving and tattooing, and shells and fish bones are used for the small blades of the peculiar adze of this people, and for arrow points, scraping and cutting. A *cyrena* valve is the ordinary knife and scraper. Hammers, anvils, hones, and oven-stones consist of natural stones. They have never made celts.

177 The ends of glass bottles for some years, and iron from wrecks for a long time past, have been substituted for the indigenous implements, when and where procurable. The object of the long series of murderous raids made by the inland Jarawas on the outlying parts of the Penal Settlement has now been proved to have been made in search for iron. The implements on the whole are coarsely and roughly made.

411 **Weapons.**—The weapons of the Andamanese are bow and arrow, harpoon, fish spear, pig spear, and they have never had any notion of poisoning the blades, which however sometimes inflict dangerous septic wounds from dirt, though as a rule they are kept bright as a matter of pride. Barbed arrows and harpoons with loose heads are used for catching and pulling up game in the jungles and marking where turtle or large fish are sinking.

Domestic Arts.—Excellent information with illustrations on the domestic and other arts of the Andamanese is to be found in a minutely accurate work, Man's *Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands.*

283 **String and Netting.**—String for nets and all purposes is twisted, often neatly, from the inner bark of creepers. Large nets of this string are made for driving turtle and hand-nets for prawns and small fish and for wallets. Stout cord is made from the inner bark of the *melochia velutina.* Whole, split and scraped canes are used as binders.

285 **Weaving.**—The weaving is good, neat and stout, and baskets and mats are thus well made from strips of canes.

323 **Pottery.**—The unglazed circular clay cooking pots with rounded or pointed bottoms, to the Andamanese very valuable, are built up by hand, sun-dried and then baked, but not thoroughly, in the fire. They are often encased in basket work for safety. Their manufacture, form and ornament are typical of the Stone Age generally.

322 **Wood and Cane work.**—Buckets are hollowed out of wood or cut from the joints of the bamboo. Canoes are hollowed out of whole trunks of light, soft timber by the adze without the use of fire, do not last long and are only fair sea boats. They are however capable of holding many people and a good deal of light cargo.

301 **Ornamentation, Personal and Domestic.**—The personal ornaments made are—bunches and strips of fibres and leaves scraped, cut and hammered, fringes of dentalium shells and straw-coloured wreaths of hammered and roasted dendrobium bark. The bones, skulls and jawbones of deceased relatives are also used whole, or broken and scraped to fancy or requirement, as ornaments, besides necklaces of the bones of animals. Tattooing and painting the body are only ornamental to the extent that, in the latter case especially, deviations from the conventional designs are due to personal taste.

353 The only ornaments to dwellings and huts are the heads of turtle, pigs, iguana, paradoxurus killed in hunting. These are hung up partly as ornaments and partly as trophies, but not with any idea of record.

531 Every manufactured article has its own customary conventional line ornament in one or more of three colours and in one or more of eleven patterns approximately achieved only. The colours are red, white and brown from natural earths. The patterns are (1) chevrons, (2) close cross hatch, (3) wide cross hatch, (4) parallel lines, (5) parallels and chevrons combined, (6) lozenges, (7) plait or guilloche, (8) herring-bone, (9) cross cuts, (10) loops, (11) vandyke with scolloped bands and cross lines.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

the felling of the tree, chiselling the lumber and processing it further to give the shape of a canoe. Buckets of wood are also constructed by them from the softwood tree. Two types of baskets are made, the smaller ones are more well-finished than the bigger ones. The former is known as *tolcoaga* and the later *tole-laya*. Such activities have introduced the use of dahs, chisels, and iron files among the Onges, from the iron pieces derived from the sea shores. The other important pieces of their craftsmanship are the beautiful weavings of fibre, tussel of yellow fibre used by the women in their front. However, the art of making the earthen pots has been completely forgotten.

The leisure in their lives has helped the development of some amount of aesthetic senses among the Onges. All the Onges men and women shave their heads with flakes of glass, obtained from the sea-borne glass bottles. The body of the Onges are also painted with white clay which save their skin from insect-bite while red paint serves medicinal purposes if some individual is having fever. In times of mourning, red ochre paint is a taboo.[1]

Early marriage is the custom. The widows are looked down upon by the society. Some incidents of widow murder and drowning are heard. In the married life, the husband is devoted to his wife and both the husband and wife work for collecting their food.

Dances and songs are in vogue and there are practically songs for every occasion and activity. Most of their songs are more plaintive than joyous.

There are three broad divisions of the Onges of the Little Andaman :

(1) *Giremeka-Gobeule* group inhabiting the northeastern coast of the island ;

(2) *Engakwale group* live in the interior of the islands ; and

(3) *Gireraragobeule group* live in the southern and western coasts of the islands.

In spite of all the limitations, the Onges have been considered as one of the happiest people of the world with plenty of food and water to eat and drink and with very few social cankers to fight with. But as is common to all other aborigines of the Andamans, a decline in their number is discernible.

The Sentinelese

The Sentinelese are the least known of all the aborigines of the Anda-

1 The Onge of the Little Andaman—A short guide book ; Anthropological Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

This tool, so primitive that it can easily be mistaken for an old piece of wood, has definite uses, and none of the nomadic forest peoples anywhere in the world are without it. Everywhere it is found it is effective in filling huge baskets with food – baskets equally simply and equally quickly made. I have already described (see p. 93) the baskets made by the Onges for purely temporary use on their hunting expeditions. In the communal huts, however, the making of real baskets involves hours of careful plaiting, working the supple fibres from the strong bark of selected rushes, and expert finishing. These baskets are an invariable and prized part of every family's inheritance and are preserved for as long as possible. Nowhere in the collection of basketry from Great Andaman are there baskets with more craftsmanship than the permanent ones of the Onges.[1] All the baskets are the shape of half an egg. There is little variation in size, all being about forty centimetres in diameter at the top, and about forty-five centimetres deep, unlike the temporary carriers, which vary considerably in size, according to whether they are to be carried by men, women, or even children, and what is to be carried.

412 171 285 285 [428]

At the opposite extreme from the underground harvest of roots, men and women alike use long thin hooked poles to hook down fruit from the trees, climbing up into the trees when necessary to strip the highest branches and then hiding the poles in the forest until they are next required (no attempt is ever made to carry them about). When the tree is not too large, it is ruthlessly chopped down and stripped as it lies on the ground. I was horrified in the first fortnight of April to see this happen to trees which the Onges call *dangbecciò*, which bear blackish-red fruit about the size of a pigeon's egg. The attraction is the flavour of the pulp, but there is little of it, surrounding a large nut. To get at the pulp a thick, hard case has to be cracked, but to the formidable Onge teeth this is no problem and the case cracks comparatively easily. The nut itself is not edible; the honey-coloured pulp is sweetish, but there is so little that it takes ten fruits to provide ten grams of it. The fruits hang in bunches at the end of branches covered with leaves rather like a chestnut. As the wood is very soft, the Onges usually hack the trees down; large ones may merely have their branches lopped

222 [412] [185]

[1] Editor's note: The author indicated in manuscript at this point his intention of giving a full description of the way in which these are made, but unfortunately died before he was able to do so. [114]

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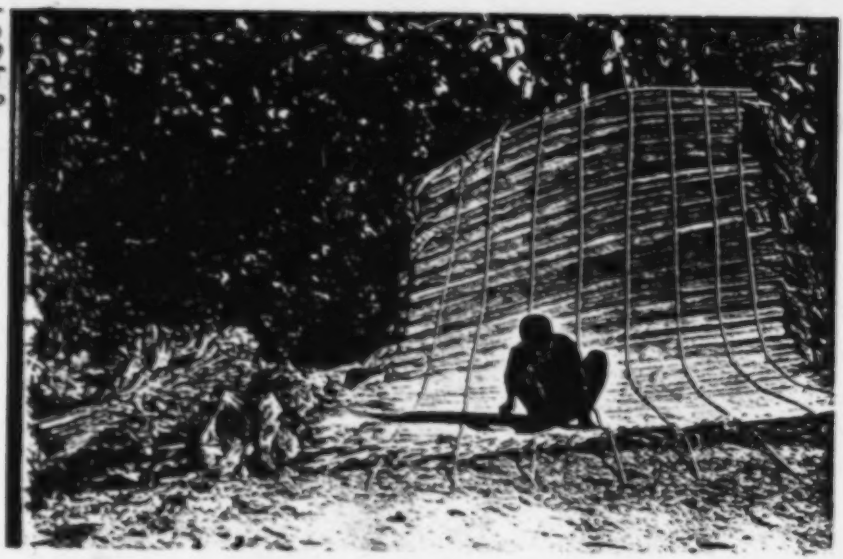

16 Making a roof section from palm fronds for a permanent dwelling

342
[764]

17 Completed permanent dwelling, which is also used for burial of the inhabitants

[facing P. 66, K]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

completely lost the art of building them, probably by the same mechanism as the Jarawas, that is as a result of isolation in forest areas. The Semang sometimes prepare hasty bamboo rafts when they want to cross a river, however, and there do appear to be a few canoes among groups of Aetà living along the coasts. Facility of contact with neighbouring areas has brought about modification in both peoples, especially in the course of the last hundred years, whereas the complete isolation of the Andamans cannot be overstressed.

These later contacts, however, have not yet destroyed the ancient physical and cultural habits of the Semang and Aetà. The food of those who have remained nomadic in the forest still consists of roots, fruit, and whatever they can get by hunting and fishing. Some have certainly recently tended to settle, and have adopted a rude form of agriculture, but the rest have remained as primitive as the peoples of the Andamans, using digging sticks to get at the edible roots, and hooked sticks to get at the fruits on the trees. They do have axes with blades (now made of iron) which can split open tree-trunks to get at the honey inside or, when hafted on the end of a stick, to hollow out trunks to make vessels and clean off the exterior. But again, their bows and arrows, very similar to the ancient pattern, still remain their chief means of acquiring food.

The Negritos of Malacca and the Philippines make baskets, some of which are clearly copied from neighbouring peoples, while others correspond to the basketwork of the Andamans. The Onges, the finest of the Andaman basket workers, have two types of basket, one intended to last and one made purely for some temporary purpose. When they are on hunting or gathering trips outside Little Andaman they will hastily construct roughly made carriers for whatever they find. Anyone who saw, for example, these rough baskets on Rutland would assume reasonably enough that the Onge baskets are inferior to those of the peoples of Great Andaman, but in fact these purely temporary carriers, intended to be thrown away after their immediate use, are extremely well made. They are plaited over a frame of solid reeds, about two and a half centimetres in diameter, and split in half longways. The split reeds are arranged and tied in a star position to give the base and then bent upwards, the ends being joined to a circle of split reed, which forms the rim of the basket. Long ribbons of bark stripped from

285 anything handy are then woven over the frame, the size of the mesh being determined by the nature of the contents for which it is intended; the basket merely has to get the haul back to the camp, and is then thrown away. The real Onge baskets, however, are made with great care and are never carried on these expeditions. [191] They resemble the traditional Semang and Aetà baskets, now abandoned in favour of foreign types.

325 islanders, in the absence of any means of working it, have not fully realized.

3 IGNORANCE OF FIRE

372 174 The islanders' present ignorance of fire-making may possibly be the result of cultural decline, but this is not certain. In the presence of the considerable additional evidence in favour of the antiquity of the Andamanese culture it is, however, more likely that it is genuine ignorance, persisting in a pre-lithic people.

4 ABSENCE OF SALT

174 263 Although there can be no proof, it can be reasonably postulated that very primitive Man had no salt, and that in the Andamans this ignorance has persisted over thousands of years, owing to strict isolation. It is unlikely that the use of salt would have been completely lost, had it ever been introduced.

5 PRIMITIVE METHODS OF COOKING

252 172 Apart from the accidental and very recent introduction of petrol-drum cooking, the Andamanese use only the most primitive form of earth oven. This method of cooking was certainly known in the Palaeolithic era; at the entrance to the well-known Barma Grande cave near Mentone I have myself seen in the basal layers a number of stones bearing the marks of fire, too numerous merely to have formed some sort of hearth, and clearly not used to support cooking-pots, as Palaeolithic Man had none which would have withstood heat. The form of earth oven still used throughout the Andamans is undoubtedly of extreme antiquity.

6 FOOD VESSELS

415 285 172 The people of the Andamans still use for honey hollowed-out logs similar to those seen in Palaeolithic wall paintings, which also depict baskets very like those still in use throughout the archipelago. The art of basket-making can be traced back at least to the later Palaeolithic era.

7 USE OF POTTERY

323 172 As with the other Negrito peoples, pottery was unknown in the earliest culture of the Andamans. Its appearance seems from the evidence of the

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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by the man in the water, who returns to the canoe. It may be necessary to strike the prey with a second harpoon, but if the first was well thrown the animal is firmly held by the line.

[284
286]

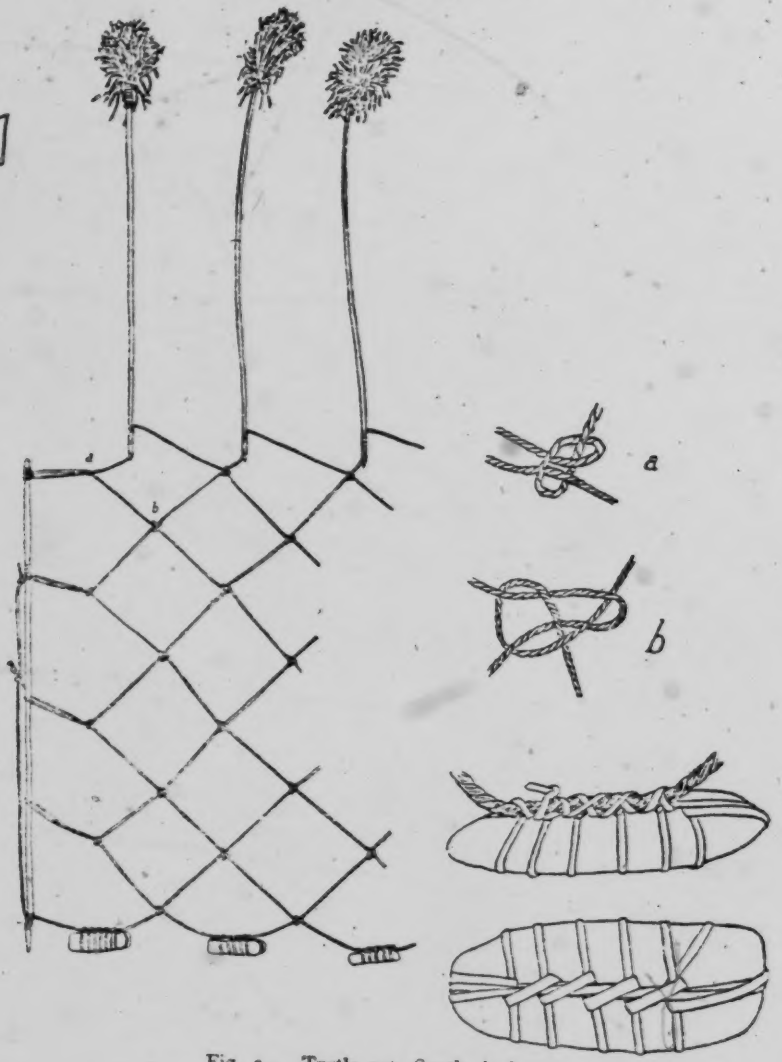

Fig. 24. Turtle net, South Andaman

Harpoons are not used in the Little Andaman. The natives of the Great Andaman say that they themselves have only used them since

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

they were able to obtain iron and that before that time they could only capture turtle and dugong in nets. It would seem therefore that the harpoon has been invented or adopted by the tribes of the Great Andaman Division in comparatively recent times, and was not an element of the primitive Andamanese culture. 411 225

The turtle net is no longer used, as the natives prefer the harpoon and have all the iron they need. Such nets were formerly made of rope of *Hibiscus* fibre. A net was about 150 cm. in width and of variable length. One specimen that was made for me had an open mesh of about 25 cm. square, while another had a smaller mesh. The knot used in a net from the South Andaman is the ordinary fisherman's knot shown in Fig. 24 *b*. In a net from the North Andaman the knot used is a slip-knot, one strand being tied with an overhand knot over another which it crosses at right angles as shown in Fig. 25. 225 286 284

Fig. 25. Knot used in making the North Andaman turtle net

Each end of the turtle net is attached to a stake pointed at the lower end. The lower edge of the net is weighted with stones attached as shown in Fig. 24, while to the upper edge are attached a number of floats, each consisting of a long thin stick of *Hibiscus* wood to the upper end of which is attached a tassel of fibre.

The net was placed in shallow water so that the stones rested on the bottom while the tassels at the upper ends of the floats appeared above the surface. As soon as a turtle was entangled in the net the agitation could be observed by those watching who would proceed to the spot to secure their capture.

So far as is known it would seem that nets of this description are not used in the Little Andaman.

The Andamanese make practically no use of spears. At the present time the natives of the Great Andaman Division sometimes make pig-spears of a length of stout cane or rattan with a head of iron attached. The natives themselves say that such spears have only been made since the occupation of the islands, and it is probable that they were first made in imitation of spears used by Burmese convicts for pig-hunting. They are hardly ever used, the pig-arrow being preferred. 411

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

hexagonal work are used by other races in the Malay Peninsula and in Malaysia generally. The present mats and baskets of the Semang cannot therefore be regarded as original Negrito productions. They have almost certainly been adopted through contact with other cultures. 285 171

The same thing would seem to apply to the present basket-work of the Philippine Negritos, of which however we know very little.

Netted bags of string are made by the women of both the Great Andaman and the Little Andaman Divisions, and are used for carrying or storing small objects such as shells, fruit, roots, etc. The string used for these is made from the fibre of the *Gnetum edule* in the Little 286

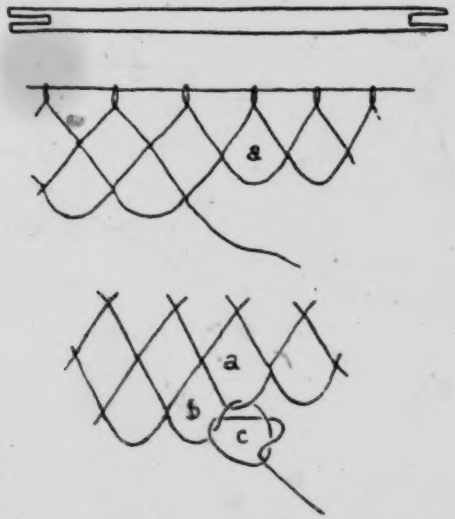

Fig. 37. Diagram showing netting needle, and method of netting

Andaman, and is generally made from the same fibre in the Great Andaman, but in the latter division the fibre of *Hibiscus scandens* is prized for this purpose and is used instead of that of the *Gnetum* when it is available. Small hand fishing nets are made by the women in both divisions from thread of *Gnetum* fibre. In the Great Andaman Division netting is also used for personal ornaments, the thread used for this purpose being generally made from *Anadendron* fibre.

The mode of netting is always the same. Netting needles are used, made from slips of bamboo or cane, and varying in size according to the work for which they are intended. The netting string or thread is wound on to this needle. For the foundation of the net a short

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

286 length of string is taken and the two ends tied together, the loop thus formed being placed over the big toe as the woman sits on the ground.

284 The knot used in netting is that known as the fisherman's knot. in use all over the world. The needle is held in the right hand.
286 is passed from above downwards through the loop marked *a* in the figure, and is drawn through far enough to leave a new loop *b* of the required size. This loop is held between the thumb and forefinger of the left hand, the uniformity in mesh being apparently obtained largely by the sense of touch. The needle is then passed through the new loop *b* again from above and is drawn out leaving a loop *c*, through which the needle is passed once more, forming the finished knot, which is then drawn taut.

286 When netting is made for personal apparel it is generally ornamented with strips of *Dendrobium* skin worked in with the thread in the course of the netting. Netting for personal ornaments consists of a sort of bag open at both ends. Each end is tied with a string passed through the ultimate loops, and this string serves to tie the band of net round the waist or neck or wrist or knee.

286 Fishing nets are attached to a handle. The handles of the Little Andaman Division and those of the Great Andaman Division are
227 different in shape. The Great Andaman net with its hoop can be folded up compactly for carriage, while that of the Little Andaman cannot.

The nets of rope formerly used in the Great Andaman for catching turtle have been already described.

Domestic Implements and Utensils.

372 The Andamanese are perhaps the only people in the world who have no method of their own of making fire. At the present time they
177 obtain matches from the Settlement of Port Blair, and a few of them have learnt, either from Burmese or from Nicobarese, a method of making fire by the friction of pieces of split bamboo. Formerly, however, they had no knowledge of any method by which fire could be produced. Fires were and still are carefully kept alive in the village, and are carefully carried when travelling. Every hunting party carries its fire with it. The natives are very skilful in selecting wood that will smoulder for a long time without going out and without breaking into flame.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

substances, but from the bark fibres of trees and shrubs, known to them by the names of *al·uba-* (*Melochia velutina*), *pī·lita-* (*Gnetum edule*), and *yō·lba-* (*Anadendrum paniculatum*). The first of these is found growing near the shore, where it seldom attains a height of 20 feet; it is from fibre obtained from the bark of this tree that their cinctures (*bē·tma-bā*), harpoon-lines (*bē·tma-*), and turtle-nets (*yô·to-tē·pinga*) are manufactured. When any of the articles have to be made or replaced, it becomes the duty of some member of the male sex to procure a smooth clean branch—one which is also fairly straight and free from gnarls being preferred—and to remove the bark; the cellular integument is next scraped with a *Cyrena* shell (*ū·ta-*) until the fibres which it encloses are laid bare: these are then placed in the sun, or before a fire, to dry; when ready for use (*i.e.*, when thoroughly dry) the ropemaker ties several of the filaments to his toe and proceeds with his work by winding another strand spirally round them, adding a fresh length from time to time. When special strength or durability is needed, a coating of black wax (*tō·bul-pūd-*) is finally applied. The yarn thus produced is termed *bē·tma-mai·anga-*. When a long piece of this has been made (say 30 yards), a large portion of it is wound round the two cross-sticks forming the *kū·teybo-*.[1] The operator, having then seated himself with legs outstretched, places a stick or cane between the big toes of his feet, and over this bar he passes the *kū·teybo-*, thus enabling him to wind it continuously round the other half-length of the yarn, which, for convenience sake, he has previously placed by his right side, so that it is drawn behind his neck and over his left shoulder as the work proceeds. After the first foot or so of the cord has been thus made, the operator holds or clutches that portion with his toes. It will be understood that in employing the *kū·teybo-* in the above manner, it becomes necessary at frequent intervals to unwind a certain quantity from that implement, in order to enable the work to progress. The cord thus made is called *bē·tma-*, and this it is of which their harpoon-lines and turtle-nets are made. The *bē·tma-bā-* (lit., small *bē·tma-*), mentioned above, is made in the same way, but of course less fibre and a smaller *kū·teybo-* are used.

283 [824]

2. For making hand fishing-nets (*kūd-*) and sleeping-mats (*pār·epa-*[2]), the fibre of the *Gnetum edule* (*pī·lita-*) is used; in the preparation and manufacture of these, women exclusively are concerned; the first process is to cut a number of the trailers into lengths which are determined by the distances between the knots and joints: these are held against the

283 286 [824]

[1] "The cord (used for large nets, &c.) possesses the valuable quality of hardening in the water" (*vide* Mount, p. 326).

[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 65.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

283 thigh, and the cuticle is removed by means of the *Cyrena* shell; the underlying white fibres are left for a week or ten 286 days in the sun until thoroughly dry, when they separate readily, and are easily worked up into fine or coarse twine, as may be required by the manipulator.

283 3. The fibre of the *Anodendron paniculatum* (*yō·lba-*) is 824 chiefly used for making bowstrings, reticules (*châ·panga-*), necklaces, and twine for arrow fastenings; its manufacture is accordingly not restricted to either sex. When the bark has been stripped off, in lengths of 8 to 15 inches, the operator presses the inner portion upon his (or her) thigh, and then rapidly but carefully passes a *Cyrena* shell along the outer surface until the fibres alone remain; these are then, as in the previous cases, dried in the sun, or before a fire; when a sufficient supply of material has been thus obtained, it is made into fine twine or, if not required for immediate use, wrapped in leaves in order that it may be kept fresh. Although apparently free [262] from any obnoxious properties, this plant, as well as the fibres obtained therefrom, until it is converted into twine or bowstrings, is believed by the Andamanese to render the flesh of a turtle uneatable if placed near it; consequently this meat, when inadvertently so contaminated, is thrown away; further, no one who has been collecting *yō·lba-*, or who has been engaged in preparing the fibre, can (for a period extending to three days) be allowed to cook a turtle, or even to accompany a party engaged [825] on a turtling expedition! Sharks and other dangerous fish are also credited with having so wholesome a horror or detestation of this plant (and also of *Cyrena* shells!) that the aborigines are in the habit of attaching some *yō·lba-*, or *Cyrena* shells (or both), to their cinctures as a safeguard when about to swim in parts believed to be infested by these creatures.

[531] 4. The yellow skin of the root of a certain orchid, called *râ-*, which is commonly found on trees near the shore, is often seen intertwined with their *yō·lba-* string, in personal ornaments, and occasionally in the decoration of weapons, but where strength is a requisite it is of course not used.

5. Bowstrings of *pī·lita-* and *yō·lba-* are made in the manner described in the manufacture of *al·gba-* rope, but ordinary string is made in the following manner:—a few of the prepared filaments are twisted into a yarn on the thigh with the palm of the hand; when two lengths have been obtained, they are together rolled into string of the desired strength, and beeswax is smeared over it to make assurance doubly sure.

6. Twine, made from the *yō·lba-*, is used in netting the fine chains (*râb-*[1]) and the reticules (*châ·panga-*[2]); for turtle-

[1] Vide ante "Death and Burial," paragraph 5, and Appendix B, item 42.
[2] Vide Appendix B, item 22.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Plate C.

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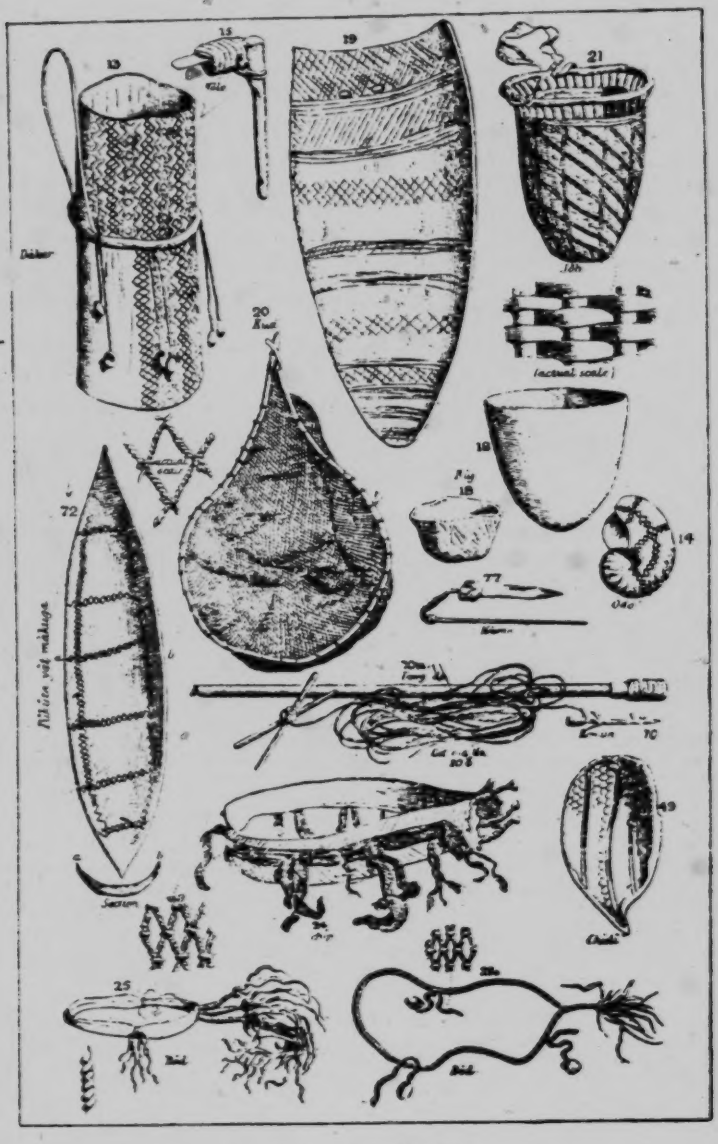

ANDAMANESE OBJECTS.

[facing p. 178]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 bamboo (male species preferred), often 18 feet or more in length; for the reception of the harpoon a socket is prepared at the small end, which is strengthened by pieces of mangrove wood, over which strips of cane are neatly tied. The harpoon consists of a strong barbed iron head fastened to a short piece of wood to which a long line (*bē·tma-*) is attached. When a turtle or large fish is struck the harpoon detaches itself from the shaft, which floats and is picked up after the capture has been effected.

[NOTE.—A harpooner almost invariably follows up a successful cast by plunging into the water, lest in the act of dragging the line the harpoon should slip out of the wound and his victim should thus escape.]

501 11. *rō·ko-*.[1] Generic name of the various kinds of canoes made in recent years[2] by the aborigines of South Andaman and adjacent parts, where, owing to the facility of obtaining iron tools, large dug-outs, called *gī·lyanga-*, capable of accommodating twenty to forty persons, are constructed in place of the small outrigger canoes (*chā·rigma-*) with which the other tribes have still to content themselves. They are usually made of the *Sterculia villosa* (Andam., *bā·ja-*), and are often ornamentally painted.

[NOTE.—The outrigger is called *tel-*, and is always made of the wood of *mall·-* (one of the *Sterculiaceæ*), which is soft and light.]

11*a*. *wāl·igma-*.[3] Paddle: these are not made by women, nor are they of any prescribed size, this being regulated merely by the fancy of the maker, and the material at his disposal; they are frequently adorned by women with chevrons[4] (*jō·bo-tàrtā·nga-*) of *kō·ob-* (item 60) or *tā·la-ōg-* (item 58).

●286 12. *yôto-tē·pinga-*. Turtle-net, made by men,[5] of a stout cord
[584] (*bē·tna-*), which is prepared from the bark fibre of the *Melochia velutina* (Andam., *al·aba-*); the meshes vary in size according to the fancy or skill of the maker.[6]

415 13. *dā·kar-*.[7] Bucket made by the Great Andaman tribes of
322 the wood used in constructing canoes, *i.e.*, *Sterculia villosa*, with a loop of cane to form the handle; the implement used in hollowing out these vessels is the blade of the adze (*wō·lo-*, item 15), which is detached from its handle and fastened to a straight piece of wood so as to form a sort of chisel.

[NOTE.—The Little Andaman and other *jār·awa-* buckets are made in the same manner, but are much larger and superior in every way; they are, moreover, neatly ornamented round the sides with strips of cane, evenly laid on and fastened at the rim by plaiting.]

[1] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 69.
[2] *Vide* Part III, "Navigation," paragraph 4, and footnote.
[3] *Vide* Plate VI, fig. 70.
[4] *Vide* Part III, "Ornamentation," paragraph 6.
[5] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 60.
[6] *Vide* Part III, "String," paragraph 6.
[7] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 14.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

534 convex side is uppermost; the pointed end is stuck in the ground, and kept in position with one foot; a stone is then placed under the board to enable the performer to make more noise when keeping time, which he does by thumping or kicking the board with the heel of the other foot.

227 462 20. *kūd-*.[1] Hand fishing-net constructed from the prepared fibre of the *Gnetum edule* (Andam., *pī·lita-*) by women and girls, who also by its means catch large quantities of fish and prawns, both in streams and among rocks along the coast at low tide. It is about the size of an ordinary butterfly-net; the frame is made of a length of a creeper known to them as *ō·rta-tāt-*, the ends being bound together to form a handle.

285 462 21. *jōb-*.[2] Baskets used by all the Great Andaman tribes for carrying food and various other articles: they are generally made by women.[3]

[NOTE.—The baskets made by the *.yē·rewa-* or North Andaman tribes, differ from those found among the *.bō·jig* tribes in having a wider base and a smaller mouth.[4]]

21*a*. The *jār·awa-*[5] baskets differ from those in use among the Great Andaman tribes in having no firm base.

286 462 22. *chā·panga-*.[6] Netted reticules made and used by women for carrying small objects: the string used for this purpose is generally prepared from the fibre of the *Anadendrum paniculatum* (Andam., *yō·lba-*, item 64), but as this is not always obtainable the less-valued fibre of the *Gnetum edule* (Andam., *pī·lita-*) is sometimes employed as a substitute.

23. *pār·epa-*.[7] Sleeping mat made by women of strips of a species of *Calamus* fastened securely in the ordinary manner with string made from the fibre of the *Gnetum edule* (Andam., *pī·lita-*, item 65). When in use the rolled-up portion of these mats—which are generally 15 to 20 feet long—serves as a pillow.

23*a*. The *jār·awa-*[8] sleeping mats hitherto found have always been of short lengths, but as wooden pillows similar to those in use among the Nicobarese have been found in their huts, it is probable that the specimens obtained represent full sized mats.

854 462 24. *chīp-*.[9] Sling or band made by women from the bark of

[1] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 18.
[2] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 17.
[3] *Vide* Part III, "Basket-work," paragraphs 2 and 3.
[4] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 14.
[5] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 14*a*.
[6] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 33.
[7] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 15.
[8] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 15*a*.
[9] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 25.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

substituted. These three substances are melted and stirred over a fire until of a proper consistency; the pigment is then poured into small pots or large shallow shells, where on cooling it soon hardens. When required for use the pot or shell is placed on the fire and the melting wax applied according to fancy. The string fastenings of fish and pig arrows (items 4, 5, and 6) the turtle harpoon (item 10), and pig spear (item 9), are protected with a coating of this wax, and it is applied ornamentally to the food trays (item 72), nautilus shells (item 14), and the outside of buckets (item 13); it is also used for closing cracks in buckets, and in canoes if not too large. 302 386

63. *chū·lnga-*. olive-coloured clay found in small springs in the jungles: in its liquid form it is applied medicinally after the manner of *kòi·ob-chū·lnga-* (*vide* footnote [5], p. 184). 386 758

64. *yō·lba-*. (*Anodendron paniculatum*), the fibre of which is much valued on account of its excellence; string made from it is used for bowstrings and arrow fastenings, for netting the *châ·panga-* (item 22), and *rāb-* (item 42), for making their various necklaces and other personal ornaments, and also for the fastenings of knives and turtle harpoons. 283

65. *pī·lita-* (*Gnetum edule*), from the fibre of which string is prepared and used almost exclusively by women, chiefly for the manufacture of the *kūd-* (item 20), and *pār·epa-* (item 23); it is not sufficiently strong to serve as arrow fastenings, though on an emergency it is sometimes used for this purpose. [462]

66. *al·aba-* (*Melochia velutina*). From fibre obtained from this tree rope is made for turtle-lines (*bē·tmo-*), nets, and cables, the preparation and manufacture of which devolve on men; the bark of this tree also furnishes the material of which the *chīp* (item 24) or baby-slings are made. [462]

67. *pô·tòkla-*.[1] Netting-needles, made in two sizes of bamboo and used in making nets. 412

[NOTE.—The turtle-net (item 12) is not made with netting-needles, but with two sticks called *kū·tegbo-*.[2]] [286]

68. *pô-chô-*. Bamboo knives, which are shaped into form while green and then dried and charred over a fire to render them sharp and fit for use; formerly they were employed for cutting meat and other food.[3]

69. *wai-chô-* and *pór-chô-*. Two varieties of cane knives, but similar to item 68.

70. *tō·ug-*.[4] Torch, made by women, of resin wrapped in a large leaf (*Crinum lorifolium*); it is used when fishing, travelling, or 373 [462]

[1] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 12.
[2] These are made of a light hard wood known as *bē·rewil-*.
[3] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 10.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 66.

291

291 NORMAL GARB--nude and covered parts of body; services of clothing (e.g., protection, vanity, modesty); standard costume; age and sex differences; seasonal variations; styles and fashions; description of individual garments; means of attachment and suspension (e.g., belt); etc. See also:

Cyclical trends in fashions 178
Sumptuary laws 434
Sexual modesty 834
Swaddling and infant attire 854

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE I

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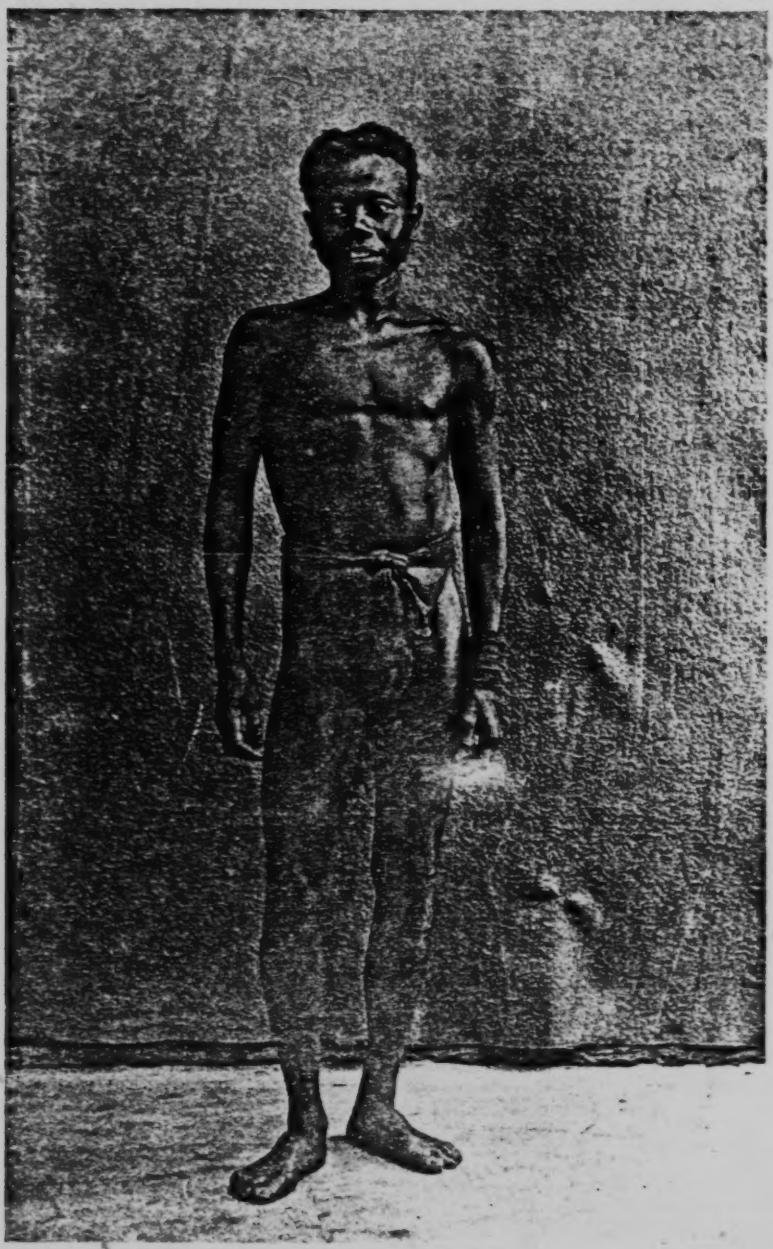

A young man of the North Andaman

[P-26B]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE II

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A young married woman

[p. 26B]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE IV

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A married woman of the Great Andaman wearing belts of *Pandanus* leaf and ornaments of *Dentalium* shell

[p. 28 B]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE V

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A man of the *Akar-Bale* tribe with South Andaman bow and arrows, wearing belt and necklace of netting and *Dentalium* shell. (Height 1494 mm., 4 feet 9 inches)

[facing p. 30]

I: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE IX

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Woman decorated with *odu* clay

[p. 120A]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE X

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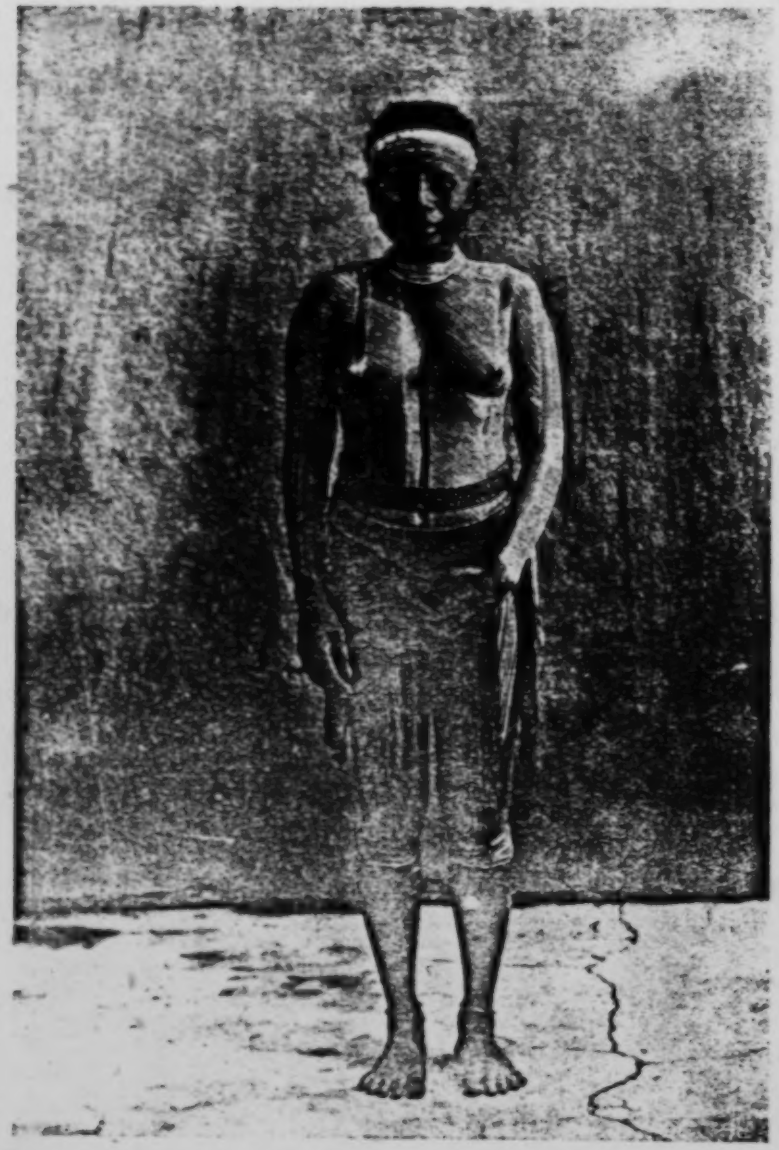

Woman decorated with *odu* clay

[p. 120B]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE XII

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A young man decorated with white clay in readiness for a dance [p. 124 A]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

301 a position where it is not likely to get lost when running through the jungle, and where it is immediately accessible when wanted. The necklet also serves as a means of carrying bees'-wax, which is in constant use amongst the natives, a small ball of the wax being attached to one of the ends of the string of which the necklet is made.

291 As a rule, in everyday life, the men wear only a belt, or a belt and necklace. Those natives who visit the Settlement of 177 Port Blair have been required by the European officers to wear 834 a strip of cloth over the genitals. It has now become the rule to wear such a loin cloth whenever they are in the neighbourhood of a European. This, however, is a modern custom, and in former times the men went freely with no covering whatever, as do the inhabitants of the Little Andaman at the present time. As showing the extent to which the natives have been influenced in this matter by outside opinion, it may be mentioned that at the present day many of the younger men, particularly those who have been brought up at Port Blair, regard it as very immodest to be seen without some covering over the genitals.

301 On ceremonial occasions, such as the dance at the end of mourning, or a big dance-meeting, the men put on a number of ornaments. A common costume on such occasions consists of a belt, necklace, bracelets, and garters of netting and *Dentalium* shell. A belt and necklace of this kind are to be seen in Plate V, and garters are worn by the woman in Plate IX. An alternative costume for men consists of a set of ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf (belt, chaplet, bracelets and garters), decorated with *Dentalium* and other shells. Garters of this kind are shown in Plate XII.

301 Other objects are worn by the natives for magical purposes. 755 Chief amongst these are the strings made of human bones which 751 are worn to prevent and cure sickness. The bones are attached to a length of rope, and this is generally decorated with shells or with *Dendrobium* skin. These strings of bones are worn most commonly as chaplets, necklaces or belts, but they may also be made into garters and bracelets. The bones of animals, such as pig, turtle, dugong, etc., are treated in exactly the same way

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE XIV

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A woman with her child [p. 126A]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE XV

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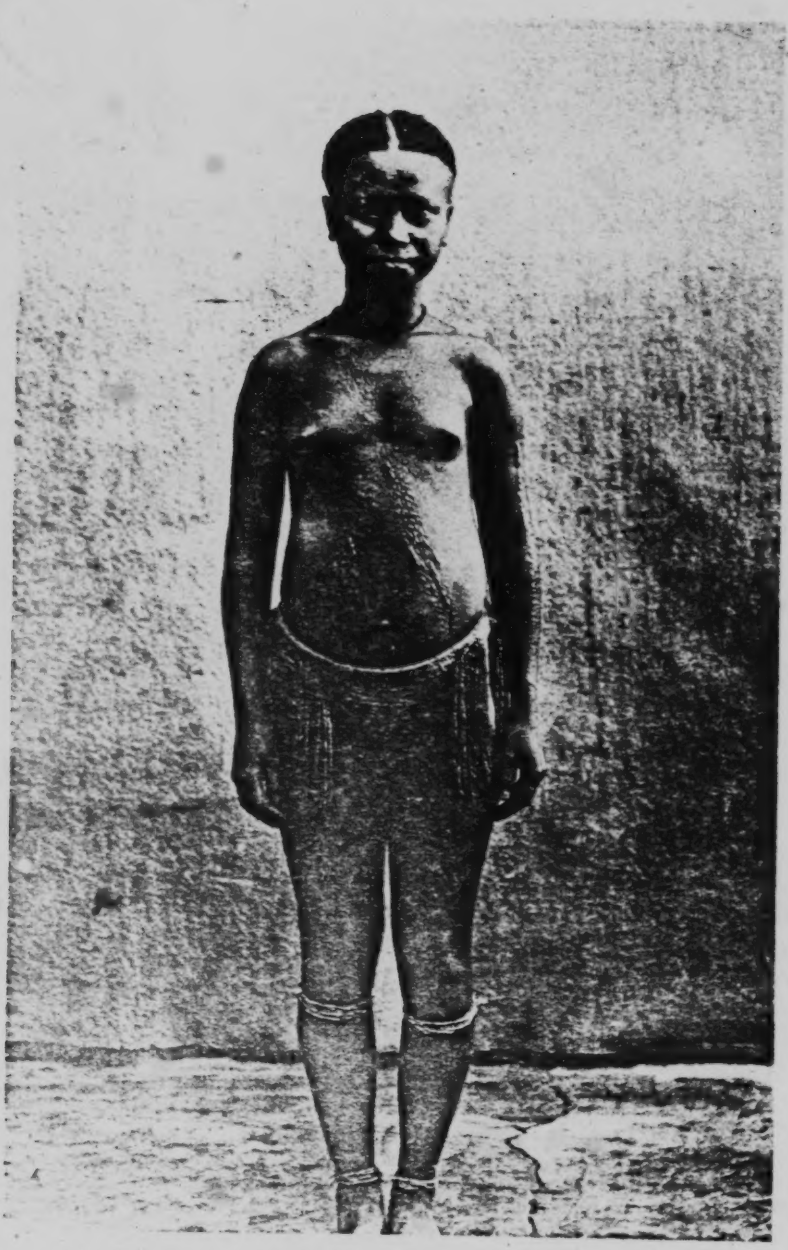

A young married woman, showing pattern scarified on body and arms

[p. 126B]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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as human bones, and ornaments made of them are commonly worn. 301

There are a number of other ornaments that are commonly worn, not only on ceremonial occasions, which, unlike the strings of human bones, do not obviously have a magical purpose. Such are necklaces made of various kinds of shells, and of mangrove seeds. At the present time the natives obtain beads from Port Blair and make ornaments of these. 301

The ordinary costume of the women is different from that of the men. Every woman and girl wears at least one belt of *Pandanus* leaf. There is one kind of belt that is always worn by married women and which may not be worn by unmarried girls. There is another kind of belt that may only be worn by unmarried girls. The women of the Southern tribes wear a bundle of leaves of the *Mimusops littoralis* laid one over another suspended from the front of the belt so as to cover the pudenda. In the Northern tribes it was formerly the custom for the women to wear a similar apron of the leaves of a plant called *čainyo*, and over this they also wore a tassel of shredded palm-leaf stem (*koro*). Within recent years the Northern tribes have given up their own custom in this matter and have adopted the custom of the Southern tribes. 291

Women often wear round the neck a piece of string similar to that worn by the men, but as they do not carry knives it does not serve the same purpose. It is more usual for a woman to wear a necklace of some sort. Nowadays they are rather fond of necklaces of beads which they obtain from the Settlement at Port Blair. In former times different kinds of shells were used, such as the *Dentalium octogonum*. 301

With the exception that men wear the belt of rope, and women wear the belt of *Pandanus* leaf and the apron of leaves, there is no difference between the ornaments worn by men and by women. On the occasion of a dance or other ceremony a woman may wear any of the objects described as being worn by men on such occasions. They also wear in the same way strings of human or animal bones.

One object which would seem to have a purely utilitarian purpose is the sling used for carrying children (called in *Aka-* 301 482

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

netted bags and fishing nets. In the Little Andaman it is used for binding their arrows, as well as for netting. 824 283

The most valuable fibre of the Great Andaman tribes is that of the *Anadendron paniculatum*, which is used for string and thread and for bow-strings. Until recent times the method of preparing the fibre was not known to the natives of the Little Andaman, but they have now learnt it from the natives of the Great Andaman with whom they have been brought in contact, and the use of the fibre for string and thread is coming in amongst them.

The fibre is not easy to prepare. Long thin branches of the creeper are cut, which must be neither too young nor too old. To obtain these it is often necessary to climb up into high trees, for the *Anadendron* is a climbing plant. The creeper is cut into lengths of from 20 to 40 cm. The bark (inner and outer layers) is peeled off these in strips of from 7 to 10 mm. in width. A strip of the bark is taken and placed on the thigh, inner surface downwards, and is scraped with a *Cyrena* shell until the outer bark is entirely removed and the fibres remain clean and separate. These are dried in the sun or over a fire and, if not needed for immediate use, are stored for future occasion. The fibre is fine and of a light greyish brown colour. In its qualities it somewhat resembles ramie fibre. It is extremely strong.

There are a number of other trees and plants that are known by the natives to afford fibre, but they are not used, or if they are, it is extremely rarely.

The Andaman jungles have a number of different species of *Calamus*, and the canes or rattans of these are put to all sorts of uses, such as the making of baskets, the lashings and furnishings of canoes, and in building huts. In the Little Andaman one species of cane is used to provide the fibre for women's belts. The outer skin is removed and the remainder of the cane is divided into fine strips or threads. A bundle of these tied together constitutes the belt worn by the women of the Little Andaman. The outer sheath of the leaf-stem of the *Calamus tigrinus* is used by the natives of the Great Andaman Division for making mats. Lengths of the leaf-stem are cut and the outer skin is removed in strips of about 3 to 5 mm. in width. The still adhering pith is removed with a *Cyrena* shell, and the strips are dried in the sun and then made into mats. 824 285 [501] [291]

The leaf-stem of a species of palm is cut while green and is then shredded into long strips. The fibre thus obtained really consists of the leaflets of the young unopened leaves of the palm. It is used in the 824 291

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

824 Little Andaman to make the tassel that women wear over the pudenda.
291 The women of the North Andaman formerly wore a tassel of this fibre, but have now discontinued the custom, since their contact with the South Andaman. In the Great Andaman tribes this material has
824 important ceremonial uses. It is called *kero* in Aka-Jeru and *ara* in Aka-Bea, and has been frequently mentioned in this volume. A tassel of the fibre is suspended near the grave of a dead person and at the entrance of the village at which the death took place. In the North Andaman a suspended cane hung with a fringe of the fibre is erected for the peace-making ceremony. (See Plate XIX.)

Two plants that were not identified are used in the North Andaman for making baskets. The methods of preparing these will be described later.

824 The natives of the Great Andaman Division make use of the leaves
291 of the *Pandanus Andamanensium* for making belts for women and ornaments that are worn on ceremonial occasions. These leaves do not seem to be used in the Little Andaman.

824 The pods of one or more species of *Dendrobium* are collected by
531 the natives of both Great Andaman and Little Andaman. They are roasted in the fire, until the outer skin turns a bright yellow, and this is torn off in strips and used for ornamenting nets, baskets, rope, etc.

824 The above description includes all the more important vegetable substances used by the Andamanese for their rope, string, netting, and basket-work. There are many other substances that they might use if they wished, of the properties of which they are fully aware. Their knowledge of the trees and plants of the forests and of the peculiar properties of each is very extensive. They themselves say that they use only those that best serve their purposes.

283 The Andamanese make rope and string or thread, but in all cases it is only two-ply. Rope is made by men only, and is used for the lines of turtle harpoons, and was formerly used for turtle nets. The ropes made from *Hibiscus* fibre are very strong and durable, being quite as good as the best hempen ropes of the same diameter. In rope-making the *Hibiscus* or other fibre (*Sterculia* or *Grewia*) is taken and twisted into a long strand, either with the fingers, or on the thigh by rolling beneath the palm of the hand, short lengths of fibre being added until a single twisted strand of sufficient length and uniform thickness is produced. The middle of this strand is passed over a piece of wood held by the toes, one half of it being wound on to a reel (*kutobi* in Aka-Jeru) made by tying together crossways two pieces of cane or wood

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AZ2 Andamans AZ2

412 Bamboo tongs are made by bending double a piece split from a bamboo, and cutting the ends to the required shape. They are used for lifting from the fire anything too hot to be taken in the hand and are chiefly of service in cooking.

Digging sticks are made from various kinds of wood, being simply pointed at one or both ends. These sticks are not as a rule preserved, but made as required with an adze and thrown away after use. They are used for digging up edible roots.

222 227 Hooks for picking fruit, such as the *Artocarpus*, are made by attaching a small piece of wood to the end of a bamboo. Hooks for catching crabs are made from the wood of the *Rhizophora* by taking advantage of the natural form where a small branch joins a larger one.

352 824 The fan-shaped leaf of a *Licuala* palm is made use of in many ways. The edges of the leaflets are sewn together with fine strips of cane, and the sewn leaf is then used either as a sunshade or umbrella for protection from sunshine or rain, as a sleeping mat if the proper article be lacking, as a screen to make the roof or sides of a hut more wind or rain proof, as a wrapper for making objects of all sorts into bundles, and as a winding sheet for a corpse.

373 Torches are made from resin, which is broken into small pieces and wrapped up in leaves of a species of *Crinum* (? *lorifolium*), a few pieces of smouldering charcoal being added before it is tied up. The torch is then parcelled by marling with a strip of cane or a length of some tough creeper These resin torches are used in turtle-hunting and fishing expeditions on dark nights.

Other torches are made of fragments of rotten *Dipterocarpus* wood. They are used only in the village.

PERSONAL ORNAMENT; GREAT ANDAMAN.

•291 At the present time the natives of the Great Andaman Division obtain from the Settlement of Port Blair cloth which both men and women wear round the loins. They also obtain beads from which they make necklaces.

The following is a list of the various personal ornaments made by the natives of the Great Andaman Division, and worn by them.

Rope girdle. Every man wears some sort of girdle round his waist, and this was formerly the only object that was constantly worn by men. The girdle may consist of a length of rope of *Hibiscus* fibre or a length of ornamental cord made by wrapping the yellow skin of

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AZ2 Andamans AZ2

the *Dendrobium* over two strands of *Hibiscus* fibre and then twisting these into a two-ply cord. 291

Necklaces and garters of string. Both men and women are often to be seen with a simple piece of string, usually of *Anadendron* fibre, tied round the neck or around the leg just below the knee. 301

Ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf. Every married woman always wears a belt of *Pandanus* leaf which she is never without for even a moment. When the belt she is wearing needs renewing she puts the new one on before taking the other off. To make such a belt two leaves of the *Pandanus Andamanensium* are taken and cut to a sufficient length (about 20 cm.). The thorns at the edge of the leaf are removed by cutting off a strip of about 3 mm. wide from the edge, leaving a strip of leaf about 4 cm. broad. The two leaves are placed one on the other and are wound spirally round in three turns so as to give a belt of six thicknesses of leaf, the upper surface of the leaf being on the outside of the belt. The leaves are secured together by tying with thread at the back where the two ends just overlap. At the point where the leaves are tied one or two bundles of strips of *Pandanus* leaf are attached with thread. The bundle is made of a number of strips of leaf about 90 cm. long and 2·5 cm. broad which are chewed in the mouth to make them soft and then placed together and served over with thread for about 12 cm. in the middle. Belts of this kind are generally worn by married women, but precisely similar belts are worn by men on certain ceremonial occasions. They are called *toto t'er-bua* in Aka-Jeru. 291

A very similar belt is made in exactly the same way save that the tassel of leaves at the back consists of narrow strips of *Pandanus* leaf instead of broad strips. This kind of belt is worn by women only. Examples may be seen in Plate IV (the lower belt of the two) and in Plate XVIII. It is called *toto t'er-nyarab* in Aka-Jeru.

A belt is made in much the same way out of *Pandanus* leaves split in half down the midrib, giving strips of about 2·5 cm. broad. Such belts have only a scanty tassel of thin strips of leaf at the back. They are worn by girls and women only. They are called *kudu* in Aka-Jeru.

Yet another variety of belt is made of whole leaves in exactly the same way as the *toto t'er-bua* but has no tassel at the back. An example may be seen in Plate IV (the upper belt). It is worn by women.

Girdles are made of strips of *Pandanus* leaf of about 1·25 cm. broad without any tassel, but with strings of *Dentalium* shell attached at various points. A girdle of this kind is shown in Plate XV.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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291 Girdles are also made by cutting a number of strips of leaf and softening them by chewing them in the mouth. These strips are laid together and either served over or marled with thread so as to make a girdle of round section. A tassel of leaves similar to that of the *toto t'er-bua* is attached to the back, and very frequently strings of *Dentalium* shell are attached at various points. Such a girdle may be worn by either men or women. It is called *toto t'er-ŋau* in Aka-Jeru.

Yet another kind of girdle is made by splitting *Pandanus* leaves into thin strips and making them into a kind of wrapped cord, one strip being wrapped spirally round one or more others by the same technique as that used in making bow-strings. A number of coils of strands made in this way are tied together with thread at various points and a tassel similar to that of the *toto t'er-bua* is added at the back. Such girdles are usually improved by the addition of a few pendent strings of *Dentalium* shell. They may be worn by either men or women. Their name in Aka-Jeru is *toto t'er-moi*.

301 Ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf to be worn either round the leg just below the knee or round the wrist are made in exactly the same way as the belt called *toto t'er-bua*, each having a tassel of *Pandanus* leaf strips attached. Such garters and bracelets are worn at a dance by men.

Other ornaments for wearing round the wrist or knee when dancing are made by the same method as the girdle called *toto t'er-ŋau*, each having a tassel of strips of leaf.

Similar dancing ornaments are made by plaiting strips of leaf into a three-plait cord of the right length, a tassel of loose leaf strips being left at each end. These are tied round the wrist or knee.

Ornaments for the knee or wrist, such as those shown on the legs of the man in Plate XII, are made by winding spirally a narrow strip of leaf and sewing it. A number of pendent strings of *Dentalium* shell are attached round it, and often strings are attached at the end of which small shells hang suspended which rattle against one another as the wearer walks or dances.

Chaplets or headdresses worn by men when dancing, and occasionally by women, are made of fairly broad strips of leaf in the same way as the *toto t'er-bua*. Such a chaplet may have a tassel of narrow strips of *Pandanus* leaf at the back to which are attached shells that rattle as the wearer moves, or it may have pendent strings of *Dentalium* shells round the hinder half of its circumference.

In making ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf such as the *toto t'er-bua* the upper surface of the strip of leaf is usually ornamented with a design

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

scratched on it with a pointed piece of wood. The design usually covers not only the portion of leaf that is visible when the belt or other object is finished, but also that portion which is not visible, being underneath. Many ornaments of this kind are further decorated when finished with the composition used for covering the bindings of arrows, which is applied with a pointed stick in simple geometrical patterns. The woman shown in Plate x is wearing two belts that have been ornamented with composition in this way. 301

Woman's leaf apron. In the South Andaman the women wear a sort of small apron consisting of a number of leaves of the *Mimusops littoralis* laid one over the other, the stalk ends of the leaves being tucked in between the layers of a belt of *Pandanus* leaf. The leaves thus hang suspended so as to cover, somewhat inadequately, the pudenda. The natives say that the leaves of the *Mimusops* are chosen because they remain green longer than those of any other species. As soon as the leaves fade and turn yellow they are renewed. The appearance of the leaf apron may be seen in Plates IV and XV. 291

The women of the North Andaman have within recent years adopted the fashion of those of the South Andaman in this matter, but formerly they made a similar use of a different kind of leaf from a plant called *čainyo* in Aka-Jeru, and over the top of the leaves they wore a tassel of the fibre called *ko̱ro*.

Ornaments of netting and *Dentalium* shells. Bands of netting (in shape of a cylinder or bag open at both ends) are made of suitable size to tie round the waist, the neck, the leg below the knee or the wrist. Such netting is generally ornamented as it is being made with strips of *Dendrobium* skin worked in the net. Along the lower edge of the band of netting are attached a number of threads each having *Dentalium* shells strung on to it like beads. Ornaments of this kind are shown in Plates V and IX. They are worn by both men and women, but usually only on the occasion of a dance or some other ceremony. 301

Ornaments of bone, etc. These are made with human bones, with the bones of such animals as pig, turtle, dugong, *Paradoxurus*, monitor lizard, or with pieces of wood or cane, or of coral, of suitable shape. A length of cord, of the fibre of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus* or of the *Ficus laccifera*, is taken, and the bones are attached to it by thread. As a rule, strips of *Dendrobium* skin are worked in, being laid on the bone and bound over with the thread.

Ornaments of shell. Various kinds of shells are perforated and attached to string and are worn round the neck, the head, the knee, or

1: Raccliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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PERSONAL ORNAMENT; LITTLE ANDAMAN.

The personal ornaments of the Little Andaman and of the Jarawa are different from those of the Great Andaman Division, and therefore need to be described separately. 301 291

Ornaments of bark. Strips of bark (? *Celtis cinnamonea*) are worn by the men round the waist and round the arm.

Ornamental cord. These are the ornaments most frequently met with both in the Little Andaman and amongst the Jarawa. The basis is a strip of cane, varying in breadth in different examples. On one side of this are laid strips of the yellow skin of the *Dendrobium*, varying in number according to the breadth of the cane, and the whole is served over or bound with thread. The technique in shown in Fig. 41, which represents diagrammatically the method adopted when there are two strips of *Dendrobium* skin. Such ornamental cord is made in pieces of considerable length. Often tassels of thread (of *Ficus hispida* fibre) are atached to it at intervals. The cord is worn wound round the waist, the neck, or the arm. Both men and women wear it.

Womans girdle. In the Little Andaman this is made of a number of fine strips of cane tied together with thread. At the front is attached

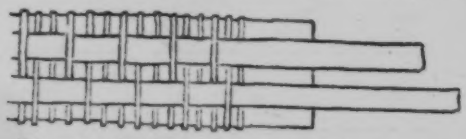

Fig. 41. Diagram showing method of making ornamental cord, Little Andaman

a tassel of fibre made from young unopened palm-leaves (the fibre called *kōro* in Aka-Jeru).

Woman's shoulder strap. The women of the Little Andaman wear a strip of bark over the shoulders, crossing over the chest and passing beneath the breasts.

The above brief description of the ornaments of the Andamanese is perhaps sufficient for the purpose of this appendix, which is to determine as far as possible the elements of a primitive Negrito culture. 301 171 Any complete account of the subject would need a large number of figures and a discussion of many comparatively unimportant details. The first point of importance to be noted is that the personal ornaments of the Little Andaman Division differ markedly from those of the Great Andaman Division. One difference is that the *Pandanus* leaf, which is used so much and in so many ways in the Great Andaman,

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PLATE III.

ANDAMANESE MAN AND WOMAN, SHOWING PROFILES.

ANDAMANESE CHIEF, WITH BOW AND ARROWS.

[facing p. 10]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE VI.

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GREAT ANDAMAN TYPES AT PORT BLAIR HOME.

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CHANG-TONGA (SECOND-CLASS LEAN-TO) IN SOUTH ANDAMAN: FRIENDS WEEPING TOGETHER AFTER LONG SEPARATION; ATTITUDE IN SLEEP, ETC.

[facing p. 78]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

arises from no want of consideration for the weaker vessel, but simply because, if unnecessarily encumbered, the men would be unable to shoot or pursue any animal which might cross their path.

7. Such training as the children receive is undertaken by their parents or guardians; in the case of boys it consists merely in providing them with miniature weapons suitable to their age, and instructing them in their use: as they advance in years they accompany the men in their hunting and fishing expeditions, and, being by nature intelligent and emulous, they speedily acquire sufficient skill to enable them to afford material assistance to their elders.

8. The girls, similarly, are taught by their mothers, or other female guardians, how to fulfil the various duties which are regarded as essentially pertaining to their sex, and which I have described in the foregoing.

9. It seems hardly necessary to add that the unnatural custom of infanticide is unknown to the Andamanese,[1] and though the mortality among infants is excessive,[2] it is traceable to no want of affection, but to the injudicious treatment and lavish attentions bestowed upon the little ones by their ignorant though well-intentioned elders.[3]

10. For the better security of their babies, when travelling, women are in the habit of hanging round their necks a string the ends of which have been previously fastened to the infant's wrists; the child being then placed in a *chīp-*,[4] cannot by any accident meet with a serious fall.

Attire.—1. Madame de Staël speaks of certain children being "*vêtu du climât:*" the same expressive remark may be applied to the Andamanese, for no clothing, as we understand the word, is worn by either sex; there are, however, certain so-called ornamental circlets, garters, bracelets, cinctures, and necklaces of bones,[5] wood, or shell, which are its substitute[6] and serve to

[1] The birth of a girl is usually as gratifying to the parents as that of a boy.

[2] *Vide ante* "Reproduction," paragraph 4.

[3] Dr. Day has correctly stated that "men and women seem equally fond of carrying the babies about; all pet them; when they cry for anything, they give it; and over-kindness early consigns the little one to the grave."

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 24.

[5] As far as we at present know, the *jārawa-* do not wear necklaces of bone, or the skulls of their deceased relatives. The males of this tribe wear round their heads, waists, knees, and arms, fringes of string attached to a cord or cane, which are called by the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*, *bē·ria-* (*vide* Plate IX, figs. 13, 13*a*, 13*b*).

[6] The relatives of a deceased person will commonly wear such of the ornaments as are in good condition, "in memoriam;" this is not, however, a distinguishing peculiarity, or one confined to savages.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE VIII.

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ANDAMANESE EQUIPPED FOR JOURNEY.

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ANDAMANESE SHOOTING, DANCING, SLEEPING, AND GREETING.

[facing p. 110]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

291 remove in some measure the impression that they are naked;[1] these appendages are not worn as symbols of rank or (if we except the *rō·gun-*) of status, and their manufacture devolves always upon the females of the community.

2. When fully attired[2] the men are seen with peculiar shredded bunches of *Pandanus* leaves attached to their knees and wrists (termed *tá-chō·nga-* and *tō·go-chō·nga-*), and a folded Pandanus leaf round their heads (called *ij·i-gō·nga-*[3]), which, as well as the belt (*bōd-*[4]), is common to both sexes; if, however, they (*i.e.* the men) were denuded of one and all, they would be in no way distressed, and in point of fact, often, as while hunting, when perfect freedom of action is needed, they strip themselves of all except the *bōd-*, or other still lighter cincture, in which are inserted any portable objects, such as arrows and knives, that might be required at a moment's notice during the chase.

3. It is otherwise with women, who never[5] appear without an *ō·bunga-*,[6] or small apron of leaves, which is kept in position by the lowest *bōd-*; while men are usually content with one *bōd-* women almost invariably wear four or five, and have been seen with as many as eight round their waists: in addition to the *ō·bunga-* and *bōd-*s married women[7] wear the *rō·gun-*.

291 834 4. It seems probable that Colonel Colebrooke's remarks on the want of decency shown by the Andamanese women referred to the *yē·rewa-*,[8] or to the tribe we now know as *jār·awa-*[9] for they alone answer to his description in going about perfectly nude: all my experience tends to prove that the females of the tribes of South Andaman are strikingly modest; indeed so particular are they

[1] As has been remarked by Peschel of other black-skinned races, their "dark colour almost removes the impression of nudity."

[462] [2] All ornaments are made by women, whether for themselves or their relatives. Sometimes at a "*jeg-*" (*vide* Games and Amusements) females exchange their girdles (*bōd-*s) and necklaces as keepsakes.

[3] They wear no head covering, but carry a large leaf screen (*ká·pa-já·tnga-*) as a protection against sun and rain.

[4] For a complete list of personal ornaments, *vide* Appendix B, items 25 to 43.

[5] "Nudity prevails among both sexes of the Australians, the Andaman Islanders, sundry tribes on the White Nile, the Red Negroes of the Soudan, and the Bushmen, all of which tribes have as yet no sense of shame" (Peschel, p. 173).

[6] A description of these cinctures, aprons, &c., will be found at Appendix B, items 25 to 43.

[843] [7] During pregnancy loose *bōd-*s (*bōd-lār-gō·rob-*) are worn by women in lieu of the ordinary kind, which are tight fitting; the *rō·gun-* is also discarded when it becomes inconvenient: after the birth of the child both these cinctures are resumed, the former being fastened as tightly as possible for several days.

[8] *Vide* Appendix B, item 79 and footnote.

[9] The *jār·awa-* women have hitherto been seen with only armlets and cinctures of string, to which a few short fibres were attached, obviously only for ornamental purposes.

2: Man 3-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

291 in this respect, that they will not remove or replace their
834 *ō-bunga-*[1] in the presence of any person, even though of their own sex.[2]

Tattooing.—1. With regard to the practice of tattooing,[3]—so
304 general among the eight tribes[4] of Great Andaman, and which, as Peschel remarks, "is only another substitute for raiment"—it has been erroneously asserted that its object is to "harden the skin against the stings of mosquitoes, sandflies, &c., and also for jungle travelling;" but so far from any such benefit being derived therefrom the aborigines aver that the skin becomes more sensitive after undergoing the ordeal, which is considered, primarily, as ornamental, and secondly, as proving the courage of the individual, and his (or her) power of enduring pain.

2. There are no special ceremonies connected with the operation, which, except in the northern tribes, is almost invariably performed by women, who, however, receive no remuneration, but rest satisfied with the honour of being considered competent to fulfil the task; all the sex are not equally skilled, and therefore, those who have gained distinction by former successes are, it may be said, the recognised practitioners, though no special status, or profit, in a material sense, is gained thereby.

304 3. Very few children[5] of either sex are allowed to remain
852 untattooed after about the eighth year, and the final operation is often not attempted until the sixteenth or eighteenth year, the process being carried on gradually during the intervening period.[6]

[143] 4. The instrument used on these occasions is a flake of quartz,
304 or, now-a-days, glass,[7] which is not "inserted in a stick," but held between the forefinger and thumb; the markings are found chiefly on the back, shoulders, nape of the neck, chest,

[1] The *ō-bunga-* is first worn by girls when they are about five or six years of age.

[2] *Vide ante* "Psychology and Morals," paragraph 8, and footnote.

[3] The legend explaining its supposed origin has been given in Part II (*vide* "Mythology," paragraph 26).

[4] So far as our present knowledge enables us to say, the *jārawa-* do not tattoo or shave themselves (*vide* "Tribal Distribution," paragraph 2).

[5] Even in the homes the practice is still observed, and one strong-minded youth, *ī̄ra-jō-do-*, who has hitherto declined to undergo the operation, which he has ventured to stigmatise as unnecessary, has earned for himself the (to them) unenviable designation of "*ab-lō̄ta-*," *i.e.*, the "untattooed."

[6] The arms are generally the first part tattooed, and this is accomplished *prior* to the probationary period; the back is ornamented *during* the continuance of the fast and the chest, belly, legs, &c., *subsequently*. Sometimes an *ā-kà-kā daka-*, *i.e.*, a youth about 11–12, requests that he may be tattooed on his back and on the nape of his neck before attaining the usual age; such a request from a lad is considered manly, and, indeed, almost heroic, for ordinarily the painful operation is postponed until some years later.

[7] *Vide post* "Stone Implements," paragraphs 6 and 7.

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Plate C.

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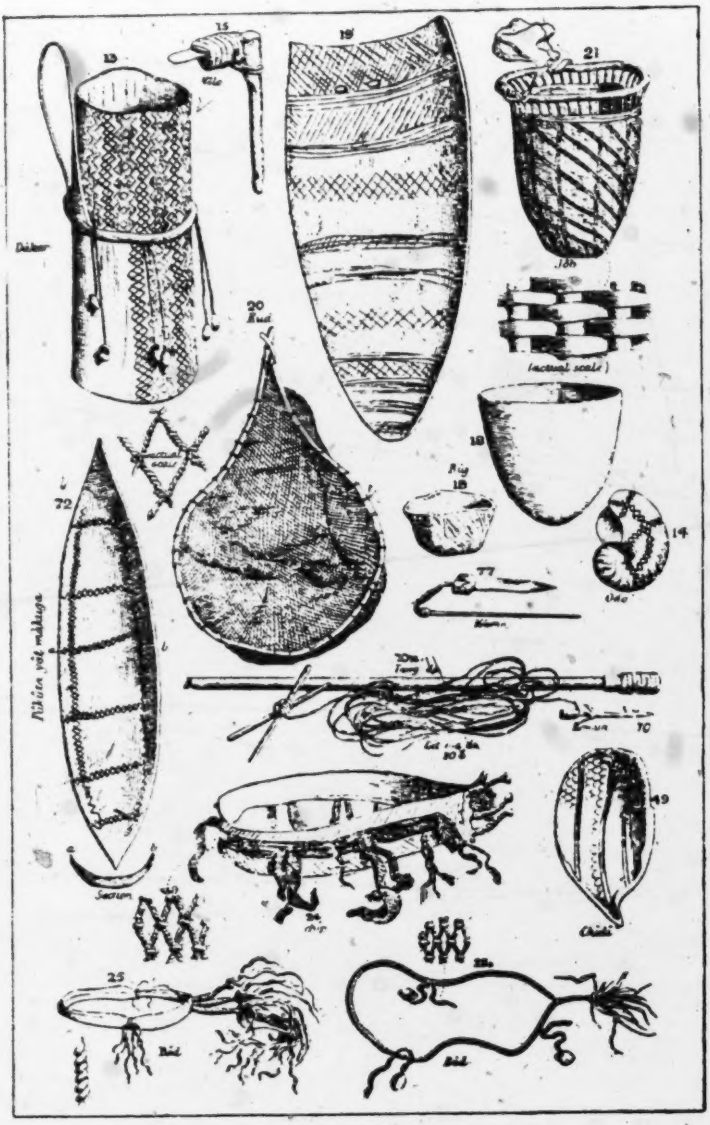

ANDAMANESE OBJECTS.

[facing p. 178]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

the *Melochia velutina* (Andam., *al·aba-*), which is worn like a sash over one shoulder by women, and sometimes by men, when carrying infants.[1]

The plain specimens are called *chīp-lū·pa-*.

Those ornamented with netting *chīp-râ·b-*.

Those ornamented with shells *chīp-yâ·mnga-*.

25. *bōd-*.[2] Waistbelt made from the leaves of the young screw-pine (*Pandanus Andamanensium*); the bunch of leaves or tail is worn at the back.

[NOTE.—These specimens are of the kind worn by women and girls of the eight Great Andaman tribes; the females of the *jār·awa-* tribes appear to go entirely nude.]

25*a*. *bōd-*.[3] Waistbelts of similar description, but having a less bushy tail, are worn more or less generally by men and youths of the eight Great Andaman tribes.

26. *rō·gun-*.[4] Belt made from the leaves of the young screw-pine, which is worn by adult married women only.

27. *tâ-chô·nga-*.[5] Garters, which are frequently worn by men and youths: they are made in the same way as the *bōd-* (item 25.)

28. *tô·go-chô·nga-*.[6] Bracelets, also worn by men and youths, much resembling the last-named object.

29. *gar·en-pē·ta-*.[7] Ornamental waistbelt of *Dentalium octogonum*, which is worn occasionally by both sexes.

30. *bē·ria-*[8] *jār·awa-* waistbelts, necklets, and armlets, which are believed to be worn by men and youths only.

31. *ij·i-gō·nga-*.[9] Head-dress of Pandanus-leaf, worn occasionally by young men and women.

The following ten articles are worn by both sexes as ornaments either round the neck or head:—

32. *ī·na-ô·la-tâ-*[10]	..	made of fresh water-shells.
33. *pē·r-tâ-* ..	..	" cane or wood.
34. *yâ·dī-tâ-*[11]	..	" turtle bones.
35. *bai·an-tâ-*	..	" paradoxurus bones.
36. *dū·ku-tâ-*[12]	..	" iguana bones.

[1] *Vide* Part III, "Social Relations, &c.," paragraph 10.
[2] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 27.
[3] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 27*a*.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 29.
[5] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 9.
[6] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 8.
[7] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 35.
[8] *Vide* Plate IX, figs. 13, 13*a*, and 13*b*.
[9] *Vide* Plate IX, figs. 6 and 6*a*.
[10] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 42.
[11] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 38.
[12] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 40.

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Plate D.

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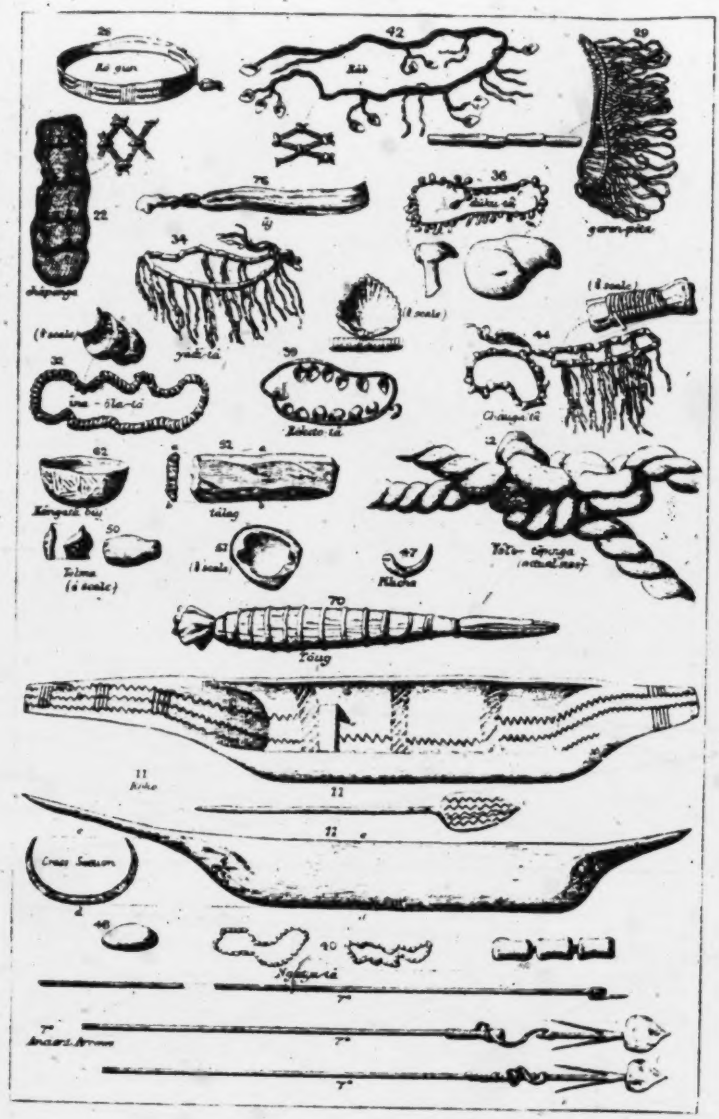

ANDAMANESE OBJECTS.

[facing p. 182]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Plate E.

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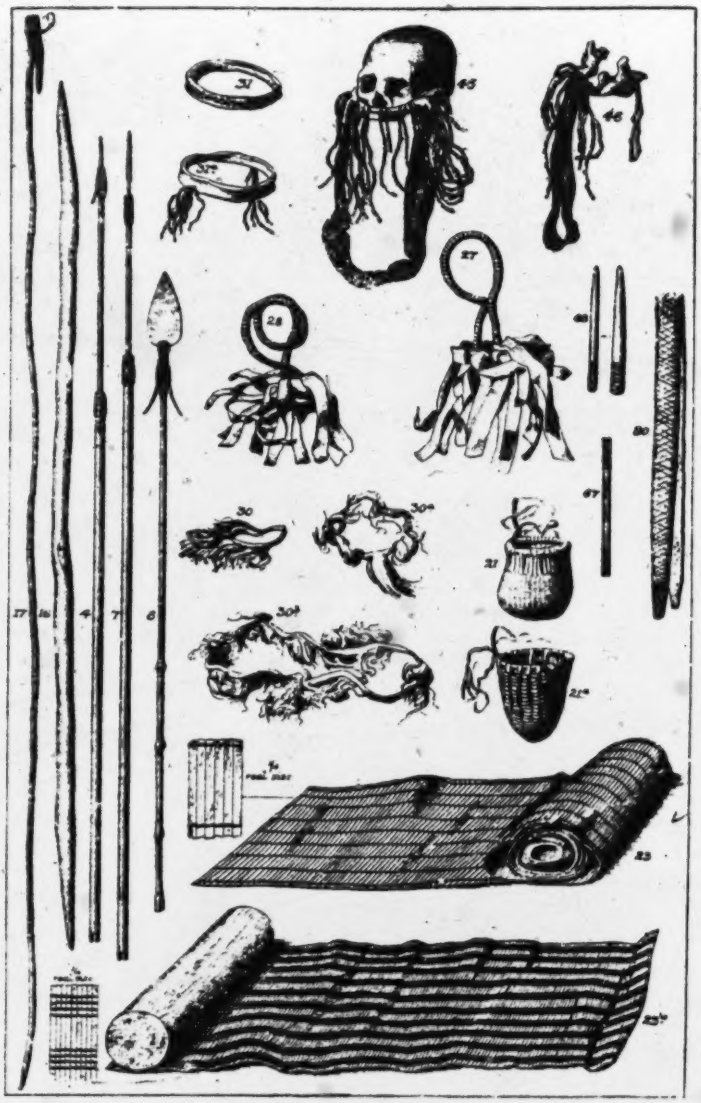

ANDAMANESE OBJECTS

[facing p. 186]

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373 dancing by night: the resin is obtained from a large tree called by them *maiī-*, which also is often employed in the construction of their largest canoes. A larger description of torch is made by men, and used when fishing by night.

71. *lâ·pi-*. Gurjon wood torch, obtained from the heart of rotten logs of the *Dipterocarpus lævis* (Andam., *â·rain-*): as these do not burn so readily as the *tō·ug-* (item 70) they are rarely used outside their huts.

415 72. *pū·kuta-yāt-māk·nga-*.[1] Food tray, made by men of some [462] soft wood, generally of the large flat buttress roots of the trees (*Sterculiaceæ*) of which their canoes are made.

764 73. *â·ra-*. Long fringe-like cane-leaf wreaths, which are made by women, and suspended from trees, &c., round an encamp- [462] ment or hut where a death has occurred, and round the spot where the corpse is deposited in order to warn off persons inadvertently approaching the place, which is believed to be haunted by the spirit of the deceased.[2]

285 74. *kâ·pa-jâ·tnga-*. Fan-like screen, made by women, of a description of palm-leaf (Andam., *kâ·pa-*), two of which are [462] fastened together with leaf stems: it is used for many purposes, amongst others as a protection from rain and from the direct rays of the sun in hot weather; in the absence of a *pār·epa-* (item 23) it is often used as a sleeping mat, and it serves also as a wrapper for bundles of various kinds.

75. *kâ·pa-*. Leaf wrappers, as described above, are employed for storing and packing the red oxide of iron.

293 76. *ūj-*.[3] Long brush-like shavings of the *Tetranthera lancæfolia*, prepared by men with the sharp edge of a *Cyrena* shell. When dancing these are often held (by both sexes) in their hands, or are stuck in their waistbelts or other personal ornaments.

412 77. *kô·no-*.[4] Iron knife used in cutting up food; to some a wooden or iron skewer is attached, they are then called *châm-chô-*.

78.[5]

•291 79. *ō·bunga-*. Species of apron, consisting of one to six leaves of the *Mimusops Indica* (Andam., *dō·gota-*), which are fastened to the lowest *bōd-* by women from motives of modesty;[6] the leaves are not spread out so as to cover a wide surface, but are laid one above the other, and removed separately as each becomes stiff and shrivelled: the reason given for the selection of this

[1] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 16.
[2] *Vide* Part II. "Death and Burial," paragraph 3.
[3] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 37.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 21.
[5] This No. is attached to "Specimens of Andamanese Hair" (*vide* footnote 1, p. 175).
[6] *Vide* Part I, "Psychology and Morals," paragraph 8, and footnote.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

291 particular leaf is that it keeps green and fresh for a longer time than any other.

[NOTE.—The women of the North Andaman tribes, until recent years, appear to have worn no *ô·bunga*, or only in a very modified form; the change which is now observable among them in this respect is doubtless to be traced to their intercourse with the people of South Andaman.]

412 80. *kai-*.[1] Bamboo tongs, made by women, and used for any [462] purpose which would involve a risk of burning or scalding the fingers, such as lifting a pot or piece of cooked food off the fire.

81. *ko·pòt-*. Bucket made from a single joint of the *Bambusa* 415 *gigantea*, pieces of which are sometimes found on the coast, having floated ashore from the neighbouring continent or from wrecks; they are much valued on account of their lightness and the labour saved in making a wooden bucket (*dâ·kar-*, item 13), which being, as before described, scooped out of a single piece of wood, is a laborious undertaking.

[NOTE.—The origin of the *dâ·kar-* is doubtless to be traced to the *ko·pòt-*.]

82. *gōb-*. Bamboo vessel, of which there are two varieties, viz., (*a*) for use as a water-holder: this is often 4 or 5 feet long, the partitions at the joints being broken through with a spear head or other suitable instrument, the lowest one only being left to form the bottom of the vessel; and (*b*) for use as a cooking pot and food-holder: its length consists of a single joint of bamboo, into which—after it has been cleaned, washed, and dried over a fire—food is packed and cooked; as will be seen by reference to Part III,[2] these vessels are only capable of serving on a single occasion; the handle is formed with a piece of *bē·tma-*.

83. *lâ-*. Cooking stones: the mode in which they are used is described in Part III.[3]

412 84. *kâ·ta-ngâ·tanga-* (*lit.*, crab-hook). An implement employed for picking up live crabs between rocks, in order to save the fingers from being nipped; it consists merely of a branch broken off the *Rhizophora conjugata*, which (unlike other trees) at once furnishes a strong hook suitable for the above purpose.

85. *â·ra-tig-jē·rabnga-*. Tufted leaf brushes, which are used for the same purpose as the *â·ra-* (item 73), and also by persons recently tattooed to drive away flies.

[A few other objects, omitted from this list, will be found described in Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. vii, pp. 457–465.]

[1] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 11.
[2] *Vide* "Food," paragraph 31.
[3] *Vide* paragraph 27, and "Stone Implements," paragraph 2.

619 now passing away and I well recollect 25 years ago, though the Bojigyab were then known to us, the "coming in" of the first Balawa from the Archipelago and of the first Chariar from the extreme north and the difficulty experienced in communicating with them.

In reading the following remarks on the tribes it must always be borne in mind that the statements therein made refer largely to a state of things practically already passed away and never likely to be revived. The reader can without difficulty use his discretion in separating what is from what has been in the course of his perusal.

619 184 **Their Division into three Groups.**—The Andamanese tribes are by themselves divided into three distinct groups, having certain salient characteristics: the forms of the huts, bows and arrows, of the canoes, of ornamentation, female clothing, hair dressing, and utensils, of tattooing, and of language common generally to the group, but differing in details and sometimes entirely from those of other groups. Judged by this standard the tribal affinities may be thus stated: Northern or Yerewa Group, Chariar, Kora, Tabo, Yere, Kede; Southern or Bojigngiji Group, Bea, Balawa, Bojigyab, Juwai, Kol; Outer Group, Onge-Jarawa, who do not tattoo. Some of the tribes are divided into septs, fairly well defined under headmen and with a local area of their own, but not under any separate designation.

The Distinctions between the Groups.—It is worth while bringing together this remarkable series of differences dividing the Andamanese into three divisions; differences that more or less run through all matters concerning them.

[304] (1) *Tattooing.*—Bojigngiji; women are the tattooers cutting the skin slightly with small flakes of quartz or glass in patterns of zigzags or in straight vertical lines; face, ears, genitals, arm and knee pits are excepted. Men and women are tattooed alike. Yerewa; men are the tattooers, cutting the skin deeply with iron pig-arrow heads: short horizontal parallel cuts in three or five lines down the back and front of the trunk, round the anus and legs. Women are tattooed thus as life advances. Onge-Jarawa; no tattooing.

[302] (2) *Hair.*—Bojigngiji; partial to complete shaving of head. Yerewa; long matted ringlets touching the shoulders. Onge-Jarawas; closely cropped head to a mop. Onge-Jarawa women are not shaved.

[291] (3) *Ornaments and female clothing.*—Bojigngiji women wear a bunch of five or six leaves in front: Yerewa women a loose tassel of narrow strips of bark: Onge-Jarawa a bunching tassel of fibre. Bojigngiji women are most particular as to clothing: Yerewa women careless. Jarawa women are apt to be quite unclothed. Bojigngijis and Yerewas smear their faces with grey clay mixed with water; white clay in delicate patterns imitating the tattoo marks, red ochre mixed with turtle fat and almond oil in coarse undefined patterns. Onge-Jarawas, with yellow clay mixed with water in coarse patches, red ochre mixed with the above mentioned oils on the head. Onge-Jarawas wear no bone ornaments.

[302]

[531] (4) *Ornamentation of utensils.*—Bojigngiji and Yerewas, slight: Onge-Jarawas delicate and elaborate.

[323] (5) *Pots.*—Bojigngijis, pots with rounded bottom: Onge-Jarawas and Yerewas with pointed bottom.

[412] (6) *Implements.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas, coarse and rough in manufacture: Onge-Jarawas, often delicate and neat.

[285] (7) *Baskets.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas have a 'kick' and stand well: Onge-Jarawas have uneven bottom and stand badly.

[411] (8) *Bows and arrows.*—Bojigngiji, *karama* bow and large arrows. Yerewa, *chokio* bow and small arrows. Onge-Jarawa, curved long bow and long arrows.

(9) *Arrows.*—Generally common in type to all tribes: long with plain straight point, long with straight point and barbs, short with broad detachable barbed head for pigs.* Onge-Jarawas and Yerewas, multiple headed arrows for fish.

(10) *Harpoons.*—For turtle, dugongs, and large fish among Bojigngijis and Yerewas: none among the Onge-Jarawas.

* As the pig runs off, the trailing shaft is at once caught by something in the jungle and the animal is thus brought up short.

145 to about 60 to 65, if he reaches "old age." Except as to marriage at an earlier age, about 18, these figures apply fairly to the women also, who, however, 582 live somewhat longer than the men, retaining in old age both health and mental faculties.

163 **Reproduction.**—The marriages are infructuous, though barrenness is [853] uncommon, a couple rarely producing families of even moderate size and many none at all. The child-bearing age is from 16 to 35; weaning is much delayed.

●291 **Endurance.**—Left to themselves the Andamanese go stark naked and 147 with head uncovered, except that the women wear, as clothing and not ornament, one or more leaves in front and a bunch of leaves tied round the waist behind, or a tassel of leaves all round. Jarawas, however, of both sexes have been seen entirely naked. They dislike and fear cold, but not heat, though they avoid exposure to the sun; and being accustomed to gratify every sensation as it arises, they endure thirst, hunger, want of sleep, fatigue and bodily discomfort badly. Want of sleep, such as occurs at their dances for occasionally as much as [482] four days and nights, exhausts them greatly. A man's load is 40 lbs. and his distance 15 miles for a day or two only. After that he will rest, whatever the urgency.

252 **Food.**—The food consists of fish, pork, turtle, iguana, "wild cat" (*paradoxurus sp.*), shell-fish, turtle eggs, certain larvæ, and a great variety of fruit, 262 seeds, roots, and honey, and is plentiful both by sea and land. They never starve, though they are habitually heavy eaters. The food is always cooked and commonly eaten very hot. As much as possible of an animal is eaten and the Andamanese, like most hunters, have found out the dietary value of tripe. The Andamanese are expert cooks and adept at preparing delicacies from parts of animals and fish.

142 **Skin.**—The skin, which is smooth, greasy and satiny, varies in colour from an intense sheeny black to a reddish brown on the unexposed parts and also on the collar bones, cheeks and other prominences of the body. Its general appearance has been likened to a "black-leaded stove." The scalp, the lips and nostrils are black, and there are black patches on the palate. The soles of the feet are brownish yellow. The Bojigngiji Group (South Andaman) are the darkest, and among the Onges parts of the face are a light reddish-brown. The Jarawas are distinctly fairer than the rest, the general colour being a deep reddish brown. Leucoderma occurs on the fingers and lips.

Hair.—The hair varies from a sooty black to dark and light brown, yellowish brown and red. The general appearance of it is sooty black or yellowish brown. Except on the head the hair is scanty, but not absent: on the head it grows in small rings, which give it the appearance of growing in tufts, though it is really closely and evenly distributed over the whole scalp. Limited baldness is unknown, but temporary general baldness after disease occurs with a weak growth [302] of the hair afterwards. The hair is not shaved, except on the head and eyebrows, and each tribe has, with many fantastic individual variants, its own [145] method of wearing it. It turns grey at about 40, but white hair is not common.

Shaving is "woman's work" and was performed by small flakes of quartz, but nowadays flakes from the kicks of glass bottles are substituted. It is effective and close, but a painful operation on an European's face, as I proved by personal experience many years ago.

Bodily Parts.—The mouth is large, the palate hard and highly arched, the lips well formed. The hands and feet are small and well made. The ears are small and well shaped, the eyes are generally dark to a very dark brown, bright, liquid and clear, but prominent with slightly elevated outer angles and become dulled with age. The teeth, in the young, except amongst the Onges, are white, good and on the whole free from disease. Those of the Onges are irregular and discoloured. As age advances the teeth generally lose their whiteness and become worn, but without much caries. The teeth are roughly used without any care whatever. Dentition is early.

164 **Diseases.**—The muscular strength of the Andamanese is great, but their vitality is nevertheless low, and the apparently robust quickly die after sickening

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
[P. 4(A)]

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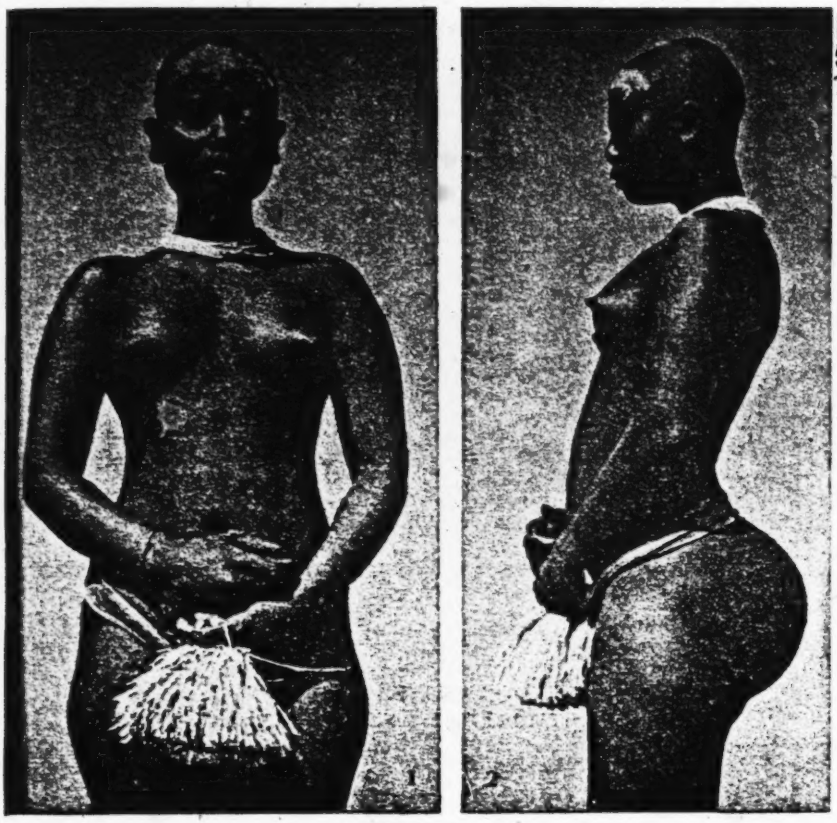

PLATE II.

Figs. 1 & 2—Onge female of the hut No. 2, Plate 1, in Little Andaman Island (front and profile).

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P 4(B)]

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PLATE III

Onge females living in hut No. 2, Plate 1.

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P.4(C)]

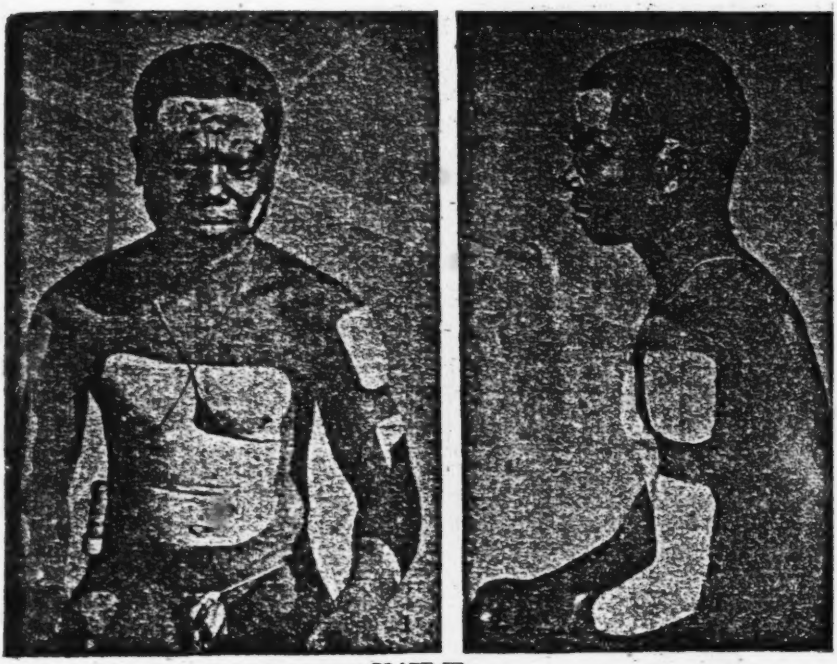

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PLATE IV.

Figs. 1 & 2—Onge male (Raja) decorated with paints on board the "Molly" in Little Andaman waters.

5: Sarkar D-5 (1948)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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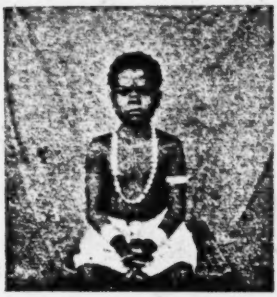

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Plate IX. Captive Jarawa Children.
[P. 26(A)]

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

now follow them, often ignoring their original significance and symbolism. Among the Onge, spirits are feared but not loved ; the same applies to God Himself. 775

The Onge bury their dead in trenches, no deeper than three feet. Earth is tightly packed over the graves in order to prevent exhalations. Full details on the subject of Onge burial customs appear in the book that I am writing about the Onge. I slept with the Onge in communal huts that contained fresh graves, without suffering any inconvenience from the smell of the corpses. This recalls the palaeolithic sepulchral caves, where man probably lived as the Onge live in their sepulchral huts today. 764

There are no latrines near Onge camps – whether permanent or temporary. Excrements are spread carelessly all around, lightly covered with leaves and earth. Flies lay eggs on them. The Onge's only precaution is not to defecate where drinking water might be found after rainfall. With so many opportunities for reproduction, in some places flies form such clouds as to impress the natives themselves. In the north of Little Andaman a creek was named after the flies : Bumila Creek, which means "fly creek". Smells also occasionally inspire geographical names : Tambe-é-bùie, on the north-east coast of Little Andaman, means "the smelly place" in the Onge language. Flies, fleas and ticks are tolerated by the Onge who do not fight them. Fortunately, the hymenoptera collect flies for their nests, not, however, in quantities large enough to compete with the fertility of the species. 514 [312] 136 825 [103]

2. Clothing and personal care

The only garment worn by Little Andaman women is the *naquinēghē*, a scanty grasslike apron covering the genitals. In addition, during menstrual periods, Onge women wear the *bataghē*, for hygienic purposes. This is a simple cluster of long, soft green leaves cut by the husband for his wife from special trees : Myristica longifolia and others. The only leaves used are those from the end of a stalk, a section of which is left attached to the leaves. The stalk is slipped under the *naquinēghē*, while the long leaves are passed between the thighs to be fastened at the back above the buttocks. It is curious to see Onge women in such myristical attire ! The *bataghē* is ethnographical news, new not only as regards the Andamans : it is an interesting indication of the hygienic measures employed by primitive people, and can probably be traced to prehistoric practices in analogous circumstances. The continental and insular regions nearest to the Andamans have retained no similar custom ; their only practice is the strict isolation of menstruating women. Among the Onge, on the other hand, they are allowed free circulation. Washing is unknown to the Onge : they never wash their bodies intentionally. Brushing through the thick forest and diving into the sea or the river to collect food substitute adequately for washing. The Little Andaman forest is nearly always dripping ; moving among the trees, specially in the early morning, is equivalent to bathing. The contact of wet leaves when walking cleans the Onge's skin, for they go naked ; and as they constantly dive into the sea and rivers, they do not smell. Actually they give an impression of cleanliness – as opposed to many other dark-skinned 291 841 [324] [171] 515 [147]

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

LIDIO CIPRIANI, Hygiene and Medical Practices among the Onge (Little Andaman)

Plate 1

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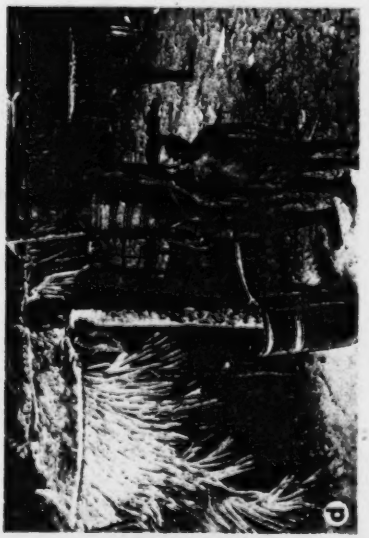

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a) Onge communal hut.
b) Painted Onge woman drinking from a nautilus shell.
c) Woman with *bataghé* leaves.
d) Filter going from mouth to mouth.

[p. 488 (A)]

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

LIDIO CIPRIANI, Hygiene and Medical Practices among the Onge (Little Andaman)

Plate 2

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a) and *c*) Women and girls wearing *ibidanghē*.
b) Bandages of ficus bark against fever.
d) Wife and husband in their usual attire.

[p. 488 (B)]

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

Endogamous life, or the habit of never washing even the female genital organs, cannot be the only cause of Andamanese sterility. Alcohol and venereal diseases such as syphilis may only be a complementary cause. The Onge's limited fertility probably derives from other factors besides their protracted and inceasingly strict endogamy. 842 [515] [582]

We can only remark that Onge women rarely become pregnant before 28 ; their fertility ceases around the age of 48. The high rate of sterility among Onge women after marriage (which generally takes place at the age of 14) is puzzling indeed. Of several childless couples that I studied in Little Andaman, the woman was under 28. There is hope of fertility after that age. It could so happen, for instance, in the case of two young Onge chiefs, Okkeggi and Chendubai, married to two sisters among the most beautiful and flourishing girls on the island : Ooaghēghē and Tocooaghēghē, both around 20. They never became pregnant, although menstruation was normal and they had plenty of sexual intercourse, even extra-marital. 842 147 [582] [837]

The delayed appearance of fertility in Andamanese women is probably connected with a general biological condition fostered by unhygienic habits. For instance : young Onge females have a high vagina acidity content that is certainly harmful to spermatozoa. It decreases with age, facilitating, we may suppose, fecundation. Vaginal washing would help, but the Onge women never recur to it. But this is only one side of the question. It is evidently urgent to do whatever is necessary to save the Onge from extinction. We must remember that civilized nations, through international agreements, are anxious to protect plant and animal species from disappearance. The same should be done for man, and equivalent international laws are needed. The Onge as a human group are on the verge of extinction ; but they still retain enough vitality to be rescued before they finally vanish into eternity. 147 515 161

Without enlarging here on the disorders of Onge sexual life and their dire effects also on the number of births, I wish to point out one more fact : Onge homosexuality as a normal occurrence. It is a plague in Little Andaman, helped by the regular physiological functions of both extremities of the digestive tube. The sexual tendencies that prevail in Little Andaman are a strong criticism of FREUD's theories on sexual life, but I will not discuss this here. I would rather say a few words about some opinions regarding the cause of Onge sterility that I heard expressed in the Andamans. Foreigners there ascribe it to the *naquinēghē* – the grass-like apron worn by women. Colonists believe that this garment leads to copulation from the rear, reducing the chances of fecundation. This idea is incorrect : the Onge never do this because the *naquinēghē* can be easily lifted as required, and pulled up over the abdomen. It is true that Onge women remove the *naquinēghē* only to replace it with a fresh one ; they wear it even when sleeping. Not for a single instant must women remain "undressed", for superstitious reasons. When a new *naquinēghē* is needed, the old one is furtively disposed of. Husband and wife repair secretely to a remote part of the forest, the woman slipping the new garment over her head before removing the old one, and burying the latter, which is quickly destroyed by white ants. The Onge believe that possession by a stranger of a worn 838 842 833 291 [513] [754]

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

291 754 *naquinĕghĕ* exposes the former owner to harm. Ill-disposed persons could use it for black magic practices. I collected specimens of this garment, all of them, however, brand-new – for the above-mentioned reason. To avoid trouble to the owner, nobody is allowed to touch the *naquinĕghĕ*, which is worn in front of the vulva. To touch it is a deadly offence. Aside from the *naquinĕghĕ*, Andaman 842 263 colonists attribute the natives' sterility to their abhorrence of salt. Another opinion would have it that the lack of salt transforms human saliva into poison: the Jarawas, by spitting on their arrows render them poisonous. The absurdity of this belief is so evident that it requires no confutation. The Onge refuse to eat salt because they consider it unhealthy, or, to say the least, disgusting.

III. Illnesses and Onge Curative Methods

164 Few illnesses affect the Onge, but they succumb to those few with surprising speed. Often they become seriously ill for mysterious reasons and in spite of their robust appearance. Smallpox, tuberculosis and poliomyelitis are unknown in Little Andaman, although they sometimes strike in the nearby Nicobars. Measles broke out on the island on more than one occasion, killing off all the inhabitants of several communal huts, which I later found deserted and in ruins. With regard to syphilis, the Indian Census of 1931 quotes an old remark of PORTMAN's concerning a few individuals considered by him as infected. This was later denied.

Onge women are more resistant to illness than men. Wounds heal prompt- [752] ly in both sexes, without the aid of remedies. A few of the older men, however, had suppurating sores on their legs, slow to disappear even when disin- [123] fected and treated by me with European medicines. No similar sores were found on women. On the other hand, women suffer more than men from ringworm, mainly in the umbilical region. Nothing is done to rid them of it because the discomfort is slight. I suggested an Indian cure made with the leaves of the neem tree, or Melia azedarach, very common in Southern Asia where it is considered sacred. I imported the plant to Little Andaman, but [123] the Onge displayed no interest in it. I found a single instance of leucoderma, in a woman with whitish spots on her hands and lips. I could get no reliable information about the incidence of cancer, but it appears to be rare on the island. No baldness is to be seen in Little Andaman, and I found few traces of [142] greying hair, as the Onge die young. A transversal bregmatic furrow is noticeable [482] in all individuals, male and female, as a consequence of carrying loads hung from their heads by a strip of bark. The Onge start doing this in childhood. An artificial, unintentional deformation of the skull is the result of that uncomfortable habit.

751 For hygienic reasons the Little Andaman aborigines paint their bodies with 302 refined clay and ochre of various shades, mainly reddish. This gives the women [386] occasion to embellish the bodies of their husbands with an endless variety of geometrical designs. Every year I found changes in their patterns, and I

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge
Andamanese

CHAPTER IX
ABORIGINAL POPULATION
A group of Onges

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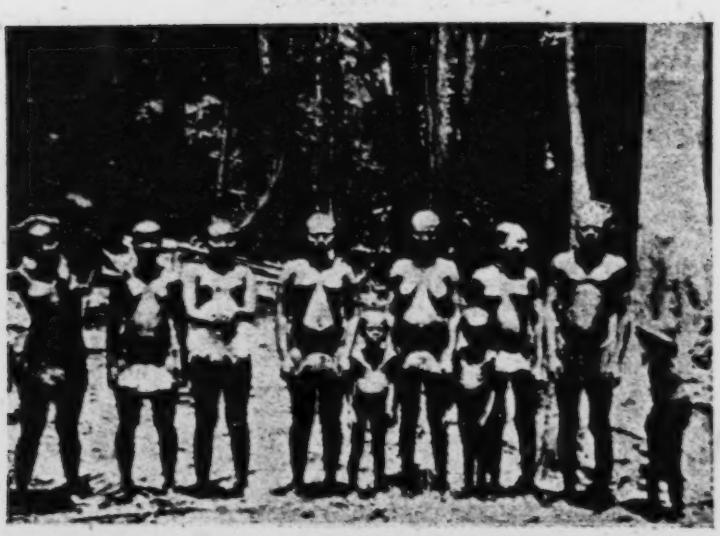

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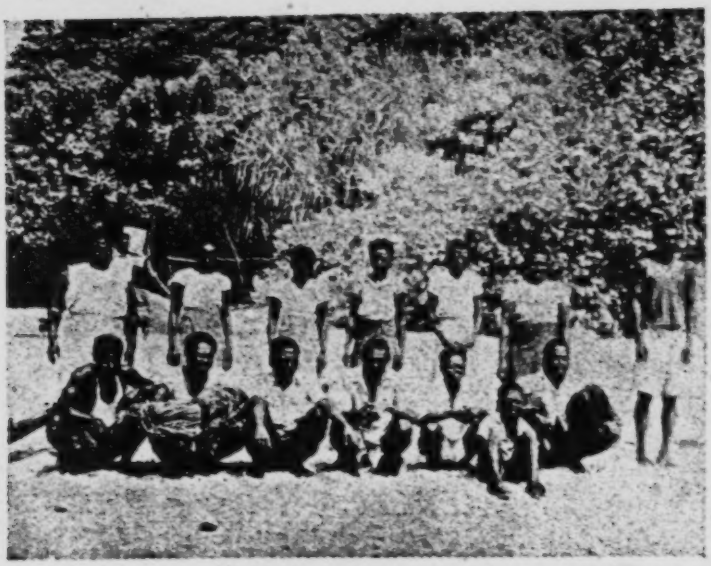

A group of Andamanese (Courtesy A. S. I.)

[facing p. 59]

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

CHAPTER IX
ABORIGINAL POPULATION

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Communal dinner of the Onges (Courtesy A. S. I.)

[facing P. 62]

men naturally predisposed to the abnormality is enhanced by the 838
fact that the youngest and most attractive women are invariably monopolized by the older men. So prevalent, indeed, is homosexuality that one is obliged to regard it as a biological, and not as a social or psychological abnormality. It is not, therefore, surprising [832]
to find that kissing is unknown; sexual excitement is aroused instead by nose-rubbing.

None of the Onges have any sense of modesty. This is partly the 834
result of circumstances; privacy is impossible in the communal life 291
of the group. This is in marked contrast to the comical dignity 177
assumed during the last few years by the remaining Arioto women. The government authorities decreed that they should be clothed, and they immediately became so prudish that they refuse to bare so much as an arm, and they thus present a considerable problem to the anthropologist. Their menfolk, however, are clearly delighted with this sudden modesty which was to me a somewhat 2
pathetic parody, and a further example of Andamanese childish- A

2 A [The remainder of this sentence has been left incomplete in the original text.--Analyst]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Near my camp at Labanar, in March 1952, I witnessed a distressing and fatal case. A young woman, with a baby a month old, had suckled another child, as the Onge women do. The older infant, which had cut its teeth, caused damage to the nipples and the ensuing infection spread throughout the body. The wretched woman was writhing with fever and the pain from her infected breasts and suppressed lactation. Her body had been smeared with a vermilion ochre, held to be the most powerful balm, and tightly bound, as usual. Her condition was so poor that I suggested sending her at once to Port Blair for treatment. Unfortunately, however, at that time I was only just beginning to establish contact with the Onges, and the woman's husband, after all the arrangements had been made, refused to let her go. I had not yet gained the Onges' confidence enough to be allowed near the woman, and although I was able to photograph her I could do nothing to prevent her death. 757 123

The decision to administer 'medicine' and subject patients to various treatments is not the province of any specialists, but is taken by anyone in the group; all, including the patient, accept the decision, since all are utterly convinced that it will benefit them. Medicine men and sorcerers, so numerous in Africa and elsewhere, do not exist among the Andamanese. 75

The Onges have not the slightest idea of any standards of hygiene. They never wash intentionally; the forest, dripping from every leaf, and frequent immersion in water while out hunting, take care of the problem. One must admit that in the circumstances their nakedness is hygienic. A small fire is kept burning beside each bed at night for warmth, a useful precaution which I found very welcome on the many cold nights which followed a very hot day. Deprived of these fires the Onges fall ill at once, a fact of which I had ample proof on several occasions when I took Onges with me out of Little Andaman; they were provided with beds and coverings in well-constructed wooden houses, but although none of them complained about the absence of the fires by their beds they all developed feverish chills. 515 [291] 304 513 164

And yet in their own territory I have seen them lie soaking wet all night in one of their temporary forest camps or a communal hut with a leaking roof without any ill effects, simply because they had

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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1 The author with two adult islanders

[facing P. 66, A]

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[facing P. 66, B]

/2 . . . Two examples of the geometric patterns which are painted on the face and torso/

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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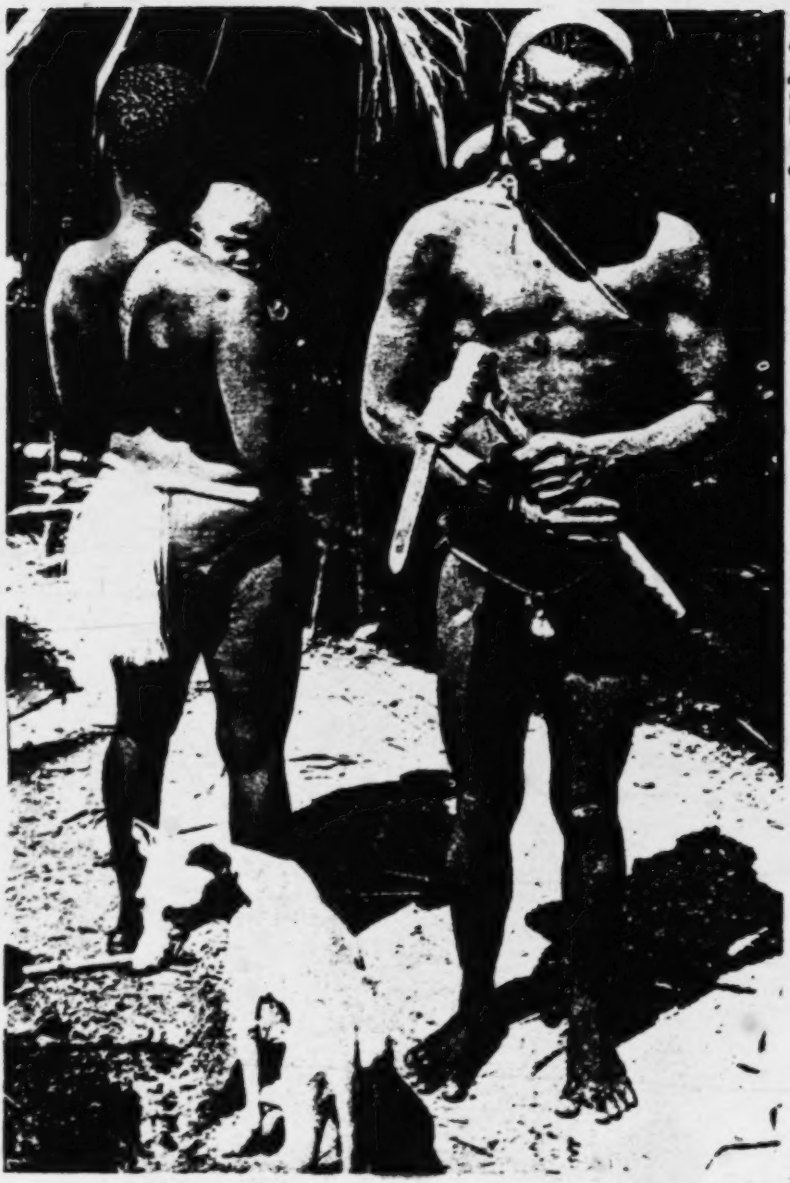
5 *Above* Mother feeding her baby from a Nautilus shell
6 *Right* The axe is one of the few primitive tools in use in the Andamans

[Facing P. 66, D]



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[facing P. 66, E]

/6 ... The axe is one of the few primitive tools in use in the Andamans/

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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[facing P. 66, I]

/13 Mother and child/

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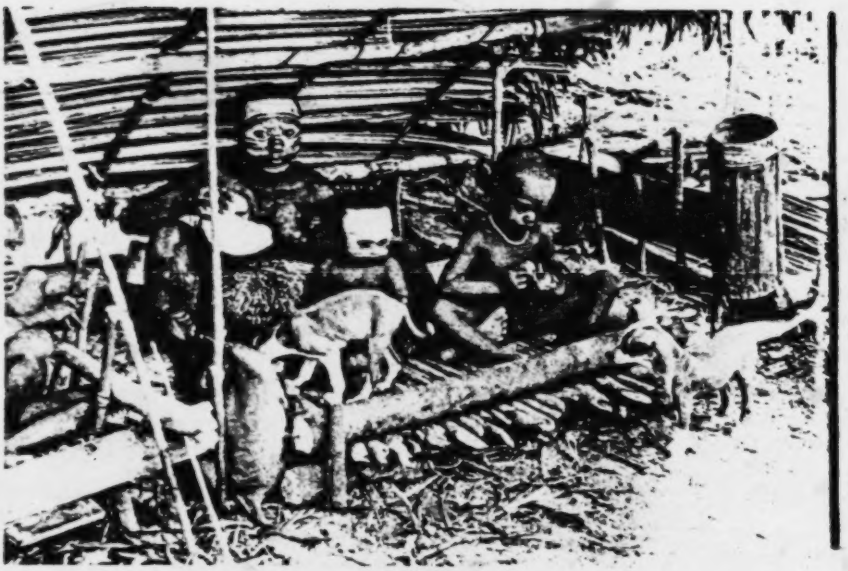

18 A family group with, on the right, the cylindrical cooking-pot, and the inevitable dogs

19 Typical shell collection from a kitchen-midden

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[Facing P. 67]

Even the unique dances enjoyed by the Onges are to be seen among the Jarawas, with the characteristic marking of the rhythm by slapping the calves against the buttocks. This does not seem to have been a feature of the Arioto dances, in which the rhythm was by the *pukuta yemnga*, a kind of convex shield made of the very hard and aromatic red wood (*Pterocarpus dalbergoides*) which the termites never seem to attack. I was able to obtain one of these shields, the last that the twenty-three surviving Arioto possessed and the only musical instrument in the islands. It is played by one man with his feet, while the dancers, male and female, form lines on each side of him a short distance away. Before use the convex face is decorated with lines of white ochre and chains of tusk shells are hung from a hole at the end opposite to the one on which the player's feet beat; from the same hole runs a cord, which he holds in his hand to prevent the instrument moving away from him as he beats. The players change from time to time as the dancers shuffle on and on for hours in the light of the resin torches. But apart from the instrument itself, the rhythmic hand-clapping and the dancers singing in unison are the same throughout the Andamans.

The women clap their hands in rhythm, and then slap one thigh with the open palm of one hand, the other hand clasping the wrist, singing all the time. The men dance in Indian file, beating the ground first with the right heel, then with the left, the toes barely raised from the ground, moving a short way forward each time. As they dance they lean forward, then with hands clasped and their fingers interlaced. There are variations, but the basic step is always the same.

One difference between the Onges and the Jarawas is that in the latter both sexes are naked, while the Onge women have in recent times adopted the *naquineghe* or apron. Complete nudity was a characteristic of all the Negritos, including the Semang and Aetà, and the Jarawa migrations probably took place before the introduction of the *naquineghe*.

The present inability of the three peoples to understand each other is more a question of pronunciation than of difference in actual words. To examine the question fully it would be necessary to collect a large number of words and analyse their affinity; meanwhile we know that despite their inability to understand each other there is a close resemblance between the language of the Jarawas and Sentinellese and that of the Onges. Strict isolation can lead to

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

kitchen-middens to have been contemporaneous with the introduction of the pig, i.e. to have been introduced by outsiders. It would be possible, using radio carbon methods, to calculate this date more accurately, but on purely archaeological evidence the introduction of pottery would appear to have occurred some five thousand years ago. 323 172

8 ABSENCE OF CANNIBALISM

If we may accept the evidence of the kitchen-middens, there has never at any time been cannibalism in the Andamans, although the practice certainly existed in the later Palaeolithic era; the Andamanese must thus have been isolated in the archipelago long before the practice became widespread. 172 266

9 DRINK

The Andamanese ignorance of any drink other than water may be regarded as additional evidence of the great antiquity of their culture. 273 174

10 ABSENCE OF CLOTHING

The Jarawas of both sexes have always remained completely naked. The Onges have only in comparatively recent times adopted a form of genital covering for their womenfolk; this custom has spread as far as the north of Great Andaman, and it seems probable that the separation of the Jarawas from the Onges dates from this time. 291 178 174 184

11 ABSENCE OF TATTOOING

All primitive peoples who are habitually completely naked adorn the body in some way. The Onges have never progressed beyond the early stage of painting themselves with ochre, and do not tattoo. Their sole ornaments are small necklaces of tusk shells, strips of bark, and sometimes flowers. In all this they resemble the Tasmans (see, however, p. 143 for certain important differences), who seem to have remained in an equally early stage of cultural development. 30 171

12 TOTEMISM AND THE CLAN

Here again the complete absence of any traces appears to indicate isolation before the spread of these very ancient concepts. Neither the Onges nor the Jarawas have ever progressed beyond the stage of independent groups of families. 174 61 621

18: Kleiweg de Zwaan E-5 (1906-1910) 1925 OB1 Indonesia
Andamans AZ2

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Fig. 12. Mincopie Woman of the Andamans

Photo A. R. Brown.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

852 304 Every boy and girl has to undergo the operation of scarification. This is begun when the child is quite young, and a small portion of the body is operated on. The operation is repeated at intervals during childhood, until the whole body has been scarified. A small flake of quartz or glass is used, and a series of fine incisions are made in the skin. The usual method is to cover a small portion of the skin with a number of parallel rows of short cuts. The choice of the design (if it can be called such) rests entirely with the person who performs the operation, who is in all cases a woman. The incisions leave scars that can usually only be seen when close to the person. In the photograph of Plate XV a pattern of scars may be seen. In this case the incisions became infected and raised scars were produced, and it is for this reason that they are visible in the photograph. In ordinary cases raised scars are not produced and the scarification is hardly visible in a photograph.

The only reason that the natives give for this custom is either that it improves the personal appearance, or else that it helps to make the child grow strong.

881 In the case of a girl the period of childhood is brought to a close by a ceremony that takes place on the occasion of her first menstrual discharge. The ceremony I describe is that in use in the Northern tribes, but I believe that the ceremony of the Southern tribes is very similar. On the occurrence of the first menstrual discharge the girl tells her parents, who weep over her. She must then go and bathe in the sea for an hour [343] or two by herself. After that she goes back to her parents' hut or to a special shelter that is put up for the occasion. She is 881 not required to go away from the camp. All ornaments are removed from her, only a single belt of *Pandanus* leaf being 292 left, with an apron of *čainyo* leaves. Strips of *Pandanus* leaf are attached round her arms near the shoulders and round her wrists, and others are placed as bands crossing her chest from the shoulder to the waist on the opposite side, and crossing her abdomen from the iliac crest on the one side to the trochanter on the other. These are so attached that the long loose ends hang down at the girl's side. Bunches of leaves, either *čelmo* (*Tetranthera lancœfolia*) or, if these be not obtainable, *poramo* (*Myristica longifolia*) are

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

fastened beneath her belt before and behind. Other leaves of the same kind are placed for her to sit upon. The strips of *Pandanus* leaf and the bundle of leaves are visible in the photograph reproduced in Plate XVI. 881 292

Thus covered with leaves the girl must sit in the hut allotted to her, with her legs doubled up beneath her and her arms folded. A piece of wood or bamboo is placed at her back for her to lean against, as she may not lie down. If she is cramped she may stretch one of her legs or one of her arms, but not both arms or both legs at the same time. To feed herself she may release one of her hands, but she must not take up the food with her fingers; a skewer of *čainyo* wood[1] is given her with which to feed herself. She may not speak nor sleep for 24 hours. Her wants are attended to by her parents and their friends, who sit near her to keep her from falling asleep. 881 784

The girl sits thus for three days. Early every morning she leaves the hut to bathe for an hour in the sea. At the end of the three days she resumes her life in the village. For a month following she must bathe in the sea every morning at dawn. [783]

During the ceremony and for a short time afterwards the girl is not addressed or spoken of by name, but is referred to as *Alebe* or *Toto*. The meaning of the first word is not known. *Toto* is the name of the species of *Pandanus* from which women's belts are made and the leaves of which are used in the ceremony. On the occasion of this ceremony the girl is given a new name, her "flower-name," and from this time till after the birth of her first child she is never addressed or spoken of by the name which she had as a child, but only by the name given to her at this ceremony. The name given is that of a plant or tree which is in flower at the time. If the ceremony takes place when the *jili* is in flower she is called *J̌ili*; if when the *jeru* is in flower she is named *J̌eru*, and so on. These names will be mentioned again later in the present chapter. 881 784 551

[1] This is the plant (not identified) of which the leaves were, till recent times, worn by the women of the North Andaman to cover the pudenda. In the South Andaman the leaves of the *Mimusops littoralis* are in use for this purpose, and the Northern tribes have recently given up their own custom and adopted that of the South.

[On first menstruation – Analyst]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Plate D.

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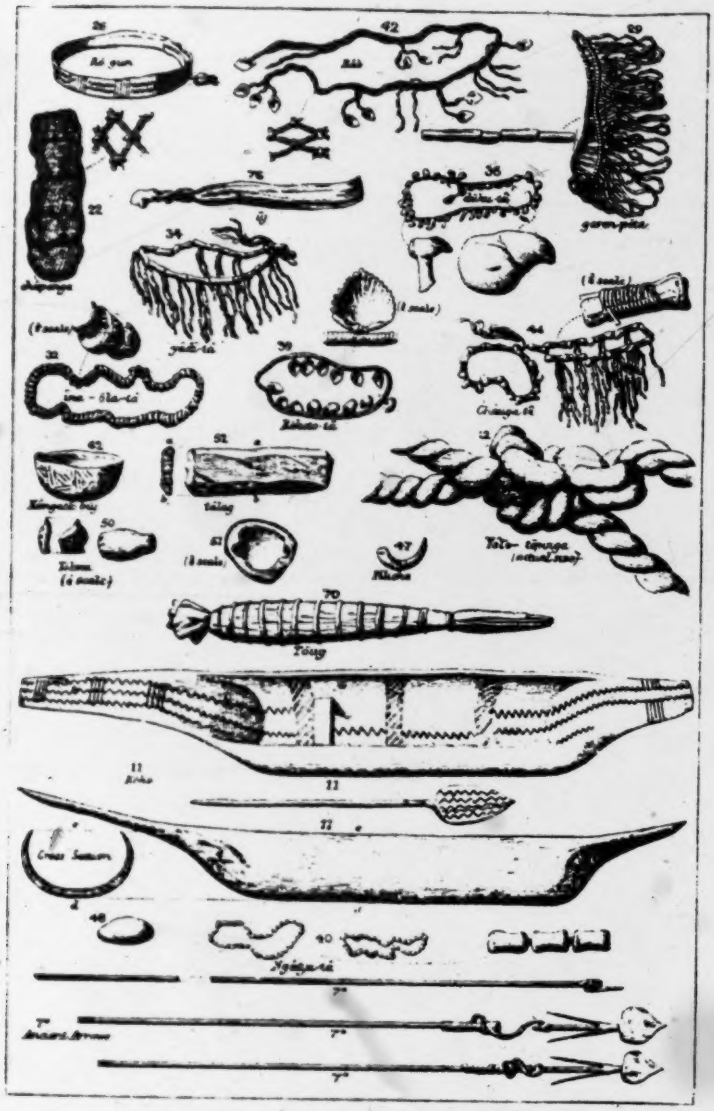

ANDAMANESE OBJECTS.

[facing p. 182]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

373 dancing by night: the resin is obtained from a large tree called by them *maiī·-*, which also is often employed in the construction of their largest canoes. A larger description of torch is made by men, and used when fishing by night.

71. *lâ·pi-*. Gurjon wood torch, obtained from the heart of rotten logs of the *Dipterocarpus lævis* (Andam., *â·rain-*): as these do not burn so readily as the *tō·ug-* (item 70) they are rarely used outside their huts.

415 72. *pū·kuta-yât-māk·nga-*.[1] Food tray, made by men of some [462] soft wood, generally of the large flat buttress roots of the trees (*Sterculiaceæ*) of which their canoes are made.

764 73. *â·ra-*. Long fringe-like cane-leaf wreaths, which are made by women, and suspended from trees, &c., round an encamp- [462] ment or hut where a death has occurred, and round the spot where the corpse is deposited in order to warn off persons inadvertently approaching the place, which is believed to be haunted by the spirit of the deceased.[2]

285 74. *kâ·pa-jâ·tnga-*. Fan-like screen, made by women, of a description of palm-leaf (Andam., *kâ·pa-*), two of which are [462] fastened together with leaf stems: it is used for many purposes, amongst others as a protection from rain and from the direct rays of the sun in hot weather; in the absence of a *pār·epa-* (item 23) it is often used as a sleeping mat, and it serves also as a wrapper for bundles of various kinds.

75. *kâ·pa-*. Leaf wrappers, as described above, are employed for storing and packing the red oxide of iron.

●293 76. *ūj-*.[3] Long brush-like shavings of the *Tetranthera lanceæfolia*, prepared by men with the sharp edge of a *Cyrena* shell. When dancing these are often held (by both sexes) in their hands, or are stuck in their waistbelts or other personal ornaments.

412 77. *kô·no-*.[4] Iron knife used in cutting up food; to some a wooden or iron skewer is attached, they are then called *châm-chô-*.

78.[5]

291 79. *ō·bunga-*. Species of apron, consisting of one to six leaves of the *Mimusops Indica* (Andam., *dō·gota-*), which are fastened to the lowest *bōd-* by women from motives of modesty;[6] the leaves are not spread out so as to cover a wide surface, but are laid one above the other, and removed separately as each becomes stiff and shrivelled: the reason given for the selection of this

[1] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 16.
[2] *Vide* Part II. "Death and Burial," paragraph 3.
[3] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 37.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 21.
[5] This No. is attached to "Specimens of Andamanese Hair" (*vide* footnote 1, p. 175).
[6] *Vide* Part I, "Psychology and Morals," paragraph 8, and footnote.

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

namely, that they are a very dark pigmy tribe, with short round head and infantile features. The hair of the head is wholly of the distinctly "peppercorn" pattern, *i.e.*, it grows in small tufts with intervening vacant spaces between (*see* Plate VII). The women were noticed to possess steotopygia in a markedly developed form (*see* Plate II, Fig. 2). 142

Freiherr von Eickstedt who visited the Islands in December 1926, claimed that he was the first scientist to observe these two traits among the Andamanese. His contentions, however, cannot stand scrutiny, for in a paper read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh on February 2, 1880, entitled "Remarks on the Aborigines of the Andaman Islands" and published in the Proceedings of that Society, Surgeon E. S. Brander, who was stationed at Port Blair as Second Medical Officer, speaking about the general features of the Andamanese women, remarked that they "undergo exceptional enlargement of the gluteal region, the appearance of which is enhanced by their custom of attaching branches of twigs to their waist bands, so as to hang over this region. This large development of abdomen, hip and buttocks, added to a very waddling style of gait, gives these women in progression a most grotesque appearance". Eight years after, in a paper published in the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography, Maurice Portman, who was the Officer-in-Charge of the Andamanese, in describing his visit to the Little Andaman, wrote about "the Hottentot Venus order of beauty" of the Onge women. The Hottentot Venus, as is well-known, is noted for her steotopygic development. These two papers appeared over 40 years before von Eickstedt's publication. 114 142 [293] [481]

A detailed comparative review of the somatic traits of the Onges based on the measurements taken by members of this Department will be published in the next issue of the Bulletin. Mr S. S. Sarkar's analysis of the blood group data is, however, published in this issue. 114

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11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

head ornaments and religious ceremonies. In Oceania there is, too, the habit of changing personal names from time to time so prevalent among the Onges, and the existence of actual linguistic connections between Nicobarese, Andamanese, Semang, Aetà and peoples of Oceania have been demonstrated by experts. 174

Any differences which exist today are the result of centuries of contact with other peoples which the Semang and Aetà have experienced, unlike the Andamanese, who thus represent today the true Negritos. While life generally has changed somewhat over the centuries for the Semang and Aetà, certain typical facets of their culture have remained unaltered. Ritual cutting and distributing of game, the use of the arrow harpoon (always unfeathered) and the simple Onge-Negrito bow are still the same, despite the fact that the three groups have been separated for a very long time. Even the very absence of defensive weapons is a common feature; admittedly outside the Andamans arrows are poisoned and some may be feathered, but this is a recent and imitative innovation which is not found among the Andamanese, by virtue of their constant isolation. The persistence among the Onges of the simple bow tends to support the idea of Little Andaman as the first stage in the northward spread of the Negritos after they reached the island from Sumatra via the Nicobars. In Malacca the Semang have retained the same bow, as have the Aetà in the Philippines.

Among what may be termed similarities of physical habits is nose-rubbing as a sign of affection, found in the Andamans, in Oceania, and parts of Papuasia and Melanesia. In all these areas there is the same belief that pregnancy is due to entry of a spirit into the body, and the same habit of suckling children for as long as four years. Similar too throughout the area are the methods of 'curing' disease, such as smearing with ochre and heavy massage carried out beside a fire, swallowing of balls of ochre, and the 'smoking' of wounds, smeared with a mixture of ochre and honey. As protection from the sun or the rains (especially for the young children) crude umbrellas are made from giant palm leaves. 171 [832] [842] [843] [862] [755] [293]

There are no prayers or propitiatory sacrifices to ensure health and well being, but there is throughout the area the same concept of mysterious forces to be feared, evaded, or let loose against enemies – never loved. Generally they are thought of in terms of spirits, usually active at night. There is some divergence in the 171 776 [771] [782]

294

294 CLOTHING MANUFACTURE--techniques of manufacture (e.g., cutting, fitting, sewing); special treatment of particular materials and products (e.g., shoemaking, hat manufacture); decoration (e.g., embroidery); use of special implements and apparatus (e.g., sewing machines); specialization (e.g., dressmakers, tailors, cobblers, hatters); etc. See also:

Leather and textile industries 28
Factory buildings 348
Household sewing machines 404
Decorative art 531

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

CHAPTER IX
ABORIGINAL POPULATION
Painted faces of the Onges (Courtesy A.S.I)

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Preparation of a tussel by an Onge Woman (Courtesy A.S.I.)

Construction of the hut by an Onges (Courtesy A.S.I.)

[facing P. 64]

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

the felling of the tree, chiselling the lumber and processing it further to give the shape of a canoe. Buckets of wood are also constructed by them from the softwood tree. Two types of baskets are made, the smaller ones are more well-finished than the bigger ones. The former is known as *toleoaga* and the later *tole-laya*. Such activities have introduced the use of dahs, chisels, and iron files among the Onges, from the iron pieces derived from the sea shores. The other important pieces of their craftsmanship are the beautiful weavings of fibre, tussel of yellow fibre used by the women in their front. However, the art of making the earthen pots has been completely forgotten.

The leisure in their lives has helped the development of some amount of aesthetic senses among the Onges. All the Onges men and women shave their heads with flakes of glass, obtained from the sea-borne glass bottles. The body of the Onges are also painted with white clay which save their skin from insect-bite while red paint serves medicinal purposes if some individual is having fever. In times of mourning, red orchre paint is a taboo.[1]

Early marriage is the custom. The widows are looked down upon by the society. Some incidents of widow murder and drowning are heard. In the married life, the husband is devoted to his wife and both the husband and wife work for collecting their food.

Dances and songs are in vogue and there are practically songs for every occasion and activity. Most of their songs are more plaintive than joyous.

There are three broad divisions of the Onges of the Little Andaman :

(1) *Giremeka-Gobeule* group inhabiting the northeastern coast of the island ;

(2) *Engakwale group* live in the interior of the islands ; and

(3) *Gireraragobeule group* live in the southern and western coasts of the islands.

In spite of all the limitations, the Onges have been considered as one of the happiest people of the world with plenty of food and water to eat and drink and with very few social cankers to fight with. But as is common to all other aborigines of the Andamans, a decline in their number is discernible.

The Sentinelese

The Sentinelese are the least known of all the aborigines of the Anda-

1 The Onge of the Little Andaman—A short guide book ; Anthropological Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

30

30 ADORNMENT--general statements dealing with several aspects of methods of adorning the body other than by the wearing of clothing, and with the manufacture of the means of adornment.

kitchen-middens to have been contemporaneous with the introduction of the pig, i.e. to have been introduced by outsiders. It would be possible, using radio carbon methods, to calculate this date more accurately, but on purely archaeological evidence the introduction of pottery would appear to have occurred some five thousand years ago. 323 172

8 ABSENCE OF CANNIBALISM

If we may accept the evidence of the kitchen-middens, there has never at any time been cannibalism in the Andamans, although the practice certainly existed in the later Palaeolithic era; the Andamanese must thus have been isolated in the archipelago long before the practice became widespread. 172 266

9 DRINK

The Andamanese ignorance of any drink other than water may be regarded as additional evidence of the great antiquity of their culture. 273 174

10 ABSENCE OF CLOTHING

The Jarawas of both sexes have always remained completely naked. The Onges have only in comparatively recent times adopted a form of genital covering for their womenfolk; this custom has spread as far as the north of Great Andaman, and it seems probable that the separation of the Jarawas from the Onges dates from this time. 291 178 174 184

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All primitive peoples who are habitually completely naked adorn the body in some way. The Onges have never progressed beyond the early stage of painting themselves with ochre, and do not tattoo. Their sole ornaments are small necklaces of tusk shells, strips of bark, and sometimes flowers. In all this they resemble the Tasmans (see, however, p. 143 for certain important differences), who seem to have remained in an equally early stage of cultural development. 30 171

12 TOTEMISM AND THE CLAN

Here again the complete absence of any traces appears to indicate isolation before the spread of these very ancient concepts. Neither the Onges nor the Jarawas have ever progressed beyond the stage of independent groups of families. 174 61 621

301

301 ORNAMENT--types of ornament worn (e.g., necklaces, bracelets, rings, anklets, earrings, labrets, hair ornaments); mode of attachment or suspension; age, sex, and status differences; materials and manufacture; occasions of use; etc. See also:

Work in bone, horn, and shell 321

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE II

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A young married woman

[p. 26B]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE IV

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A married woman of the Great Andaman wearing belts of *Pandanus* leaf and ornaments of *Dentalium* shell

[p. 28 B]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE V

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A man of the *Akar-Bale* tribe with South Andaman bow and arrows, wearing belt and necklace of netting and *Dentalium* shell. (Height 1494 mm., 4 feet 9 inches)

[facing p. 30]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

(in the latter case) standing on the outstretched legs of the youth and rolling the muscles beneath his feet[1]. The joints of the toes are forcibly bent with the hand to make them "crack" if possible. A mixture of clay (*odu*) and water has been prepared in a wooden dish. The performer dips his hands into this and spatters it over the youth's body from head to foot, either by holding his hands near the youth and clapping them together, or by jerking the clay off his fingers with a flicking motion. During the whole of these proceedings the youth sits passive and silent.

The first part of the ceremony is now over. The food tray containing turtle meat and fat, cut into small pieces, is placed beside the youth and he is provided with a skewer of the wood of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, as he may not touch the meat with his fingers. He must sit in the same position with legs outstretched and arms folded and surrounded with *Hibiscus* leaves. To feed himself he may unloose one arm, and when his legs are cramped he may double them up beneath him. He may not lie down nor speak nor sleep for 48 hours. During this period he may eat nothing but turtle and drink nothing but water[2]. The man in charge of the ceremony sits behind him and gives him instructions as to what foods he may and what he may not eat after the ceremony. Some of the men and women take it in turn to sit beside the youth, attending to his wants and talking or singing to keep him awake.

On the morning of the third day a belt and necklace are made of pieces of the creeper called *terkobito-balo*, i.e. "centipede creeper" (*Pothos scandens*), and these are placed round the youth's waist and neck. On this day he is permitted to sleep. Either on the same day, or early the next morning, he has a bath in the sea, to remove some of the red paint and clay, and he is then decorated with red paint made of red ochre and turtle fat, and with white clay (*tol-odu*). The red paint is put on in stripes over his body, and his ears are daubed with it. The white clay

[1] In the Southern tribes large stones are placed on the youth's thighs.

[2] In these days the natives are very fond of tea, which they obtain from the Andamanese Homes; during the ceremony described above the youth or girl is not permitted to drink tea.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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is put on in a zig-zag pattern to be described later, the lines of white clay alternating with those of red paint. This decoration is done by female relatives.

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Early on the morning of the fourth day, soon after daybreak, the whole village is astir. One of the older men takes his stand by the sounding-board used for marking time at dances, and the women sit down near him. The youth comes out from his hut and stands in the middle of the dancing ground, and five or six men stand round him in a circle, each of them facing towards the youth. Each of the men, including the youth, holds in each hand a bundle of twigs of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus* or, if such be not obtainable, of the *Myristica longifolia*. The man at the sounding-board sings a song, beating time with his foot, in the usual way, on the sounding-board, and at the chorus the women join in and mark the time by clapping their hands on their thighs. The song may be on any subject and is selected by the singer from his own repertory. A song referring to turtle-hunting is preferred. During the first song the dancers stand at their positions on the dancing ground, lifting up their leaf bundles at short intervals and bringing them down against their knees. The singer then commences a new song or repeats the former one, and when the song comes to an end the youth and those with him begin their dance. Each dancer flexes his hips so that his back is nearly horizontal. He raises his hands to the back of his neck so that the two bundles of leaves in his hands rest on his back. With knees flexed he leaps from the ground with both feet, keeping time to the beating of the sounding-board, which is about 144 beats to the minute. At the end of every eight jumps or so, the dancer brings his hands forwards, downwards and backwards, giving a vigorous sweep with the bundles of leaves, which scrape the ground at each side of his feet, and then brings back the bundles to their former position. They dance thus for 15 or 30 seconds and then pause to rest. The dance is repeated several times, until the youth is tired out. As the dance is extremely fatiguing this does not take long[1].

[1] I believe that the dance is intended to imitate the movement of a turtle as it swims through the water.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE IX

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Woman decorated with *odu* clay

[p. 120A]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE X

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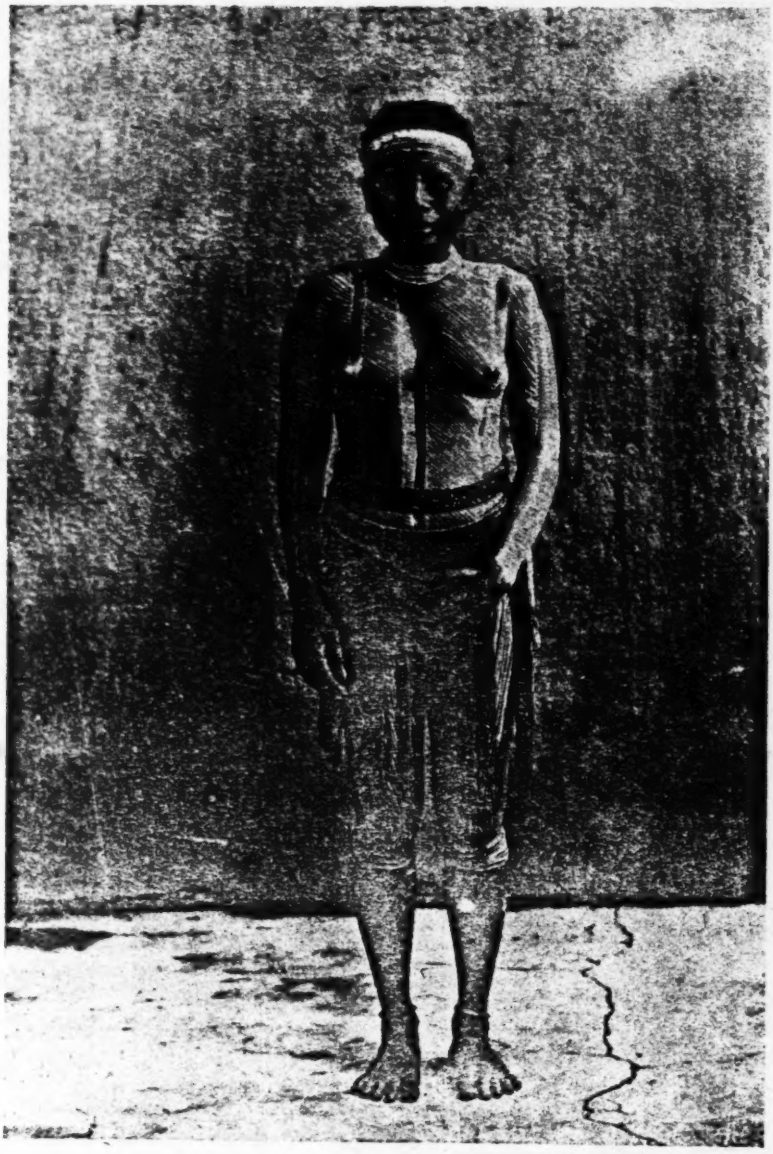

Woman decorated with *odu* clay

[p. 120B]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE XIII

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A man with a pattern of white clay on his face

[p. 124 B]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The same pattern is used to decorate a bride and bridegroom after their marriage. In the initiation ceremonies the youth or girl is decorated in this way before the dances at the turtle-eating and pig-eating ceremonies. The same pattern is also made on a corpse before burial. 302

In all these cases the whole body is decorated. On less ceremonial occasions, such as an ordinary dance when there are no visitors of importance in the camp, a man frequently has his face alone decorated with white clay, as in the photograph of Plate XIII.

The third kind of material used for painting the body is red paint. This is applied in two different ways. When a man or woman is ill he or she is generally to be seen with some part of his body smeared with red paint. For colds and coughs the chest and neck are painted. In fevers red paint is smeared on the upper lip. Besides the medical use of red paint, if we may call it so, there is a ceremonial use, the pigment being used in combination with white clay, lines of red paint being applied to the body between the lines of clay of the snake pattern. It is used in this way to decorate the body of a dead person for burial, and on ceremonial occasions such as the dance at the end of mourning and the dances in connection with the initiation ceremonies. 302 755

Most of the ornaments worn at various times by the Andaman Islanders have a ceremonial or a magical purpose. The only things worn by men that can be considered to have a utilitarian value are the belt of rope and the necklet of string. The belt may be a plain piece of rope, or it may be ornamented with the yellow skin of a species of *Dendrobium*. It serves as a receptacle in which the natives carry such things as adzes, fish, roots, or even arrows. It is the one object that is constantly worn by men. The string necklet is simply a length of thin string tied round the neck. It serves as a means of carrying a knife and skewer. The knife, in former days made of a slip of cane, but in these times from a piece of scrap iron, is attached to a skewer of *Areca* wood by a short length of rope or stout string. By sliding either the knife or the skewer under the necklet at the back of the neck the double implement hangs securely in 301

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

301 a position where it is not likely to get lost when running through the jungle, and where it is immediately accessible when wanted. The necklet also serves as a means of carrying bees'-wax, which is in constant use amongst the natives, a small ball of the wax being attached to one of the ends of the string of which the necklet is made.

291 As a rule, in everyday life, the men wear only a belt, or a belt and necklace. Those natives who visit the Settlement of 177 Port Blair have been required by the European officers to wear 834 a strip of cloth over the genitals. It has now become the rule to wear such a loin cloth whenever they are in the neighbourhood of a European. This, however, is a modern custom, and in former times the men went freely with no covering whatever, as do the inhabitants of the Little Andaman at the present time. As showing the extent to which the natives have been influenced in this matter by outside opinion, it may be mentioned that at the present day many of the younger men, particularly those who have been brought up at Port Blair, regard it as very immodest to be seen without some covering over the genitals.

301 On ceremonial occasions, such as the dance at the end of mourning, or a big dance-meeting, the men put on a number of ornaments. A common costume on such occasions consists of a belt, necklace, bracelets, and garters of netting and *Dentalium* shell. A belt and necklace of this kind are to be seen in Plate V, and garters are worn by the woman in Plate IX. An alternative costume for men consists of a set of ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf (belt, chaplet, bracelets and garters), decorated with *Dentalium* and other shells. Garters of this kind are shown in Plate XII.

301 Other objects are worn by the natives for magical purposes. 755 Chief amongst these are the strings made of human bones which 751 are worn to prevent and cure sickness. The bones are attached to a length of rope, and this is generally decorated with shells or with *Dendrobium* skin. These strings of bones are worn most commonly as chaplets, necklaces or belts, but they may also be made into garters and bracelets. The bones of animals, such as pig, turtle, dugong, etc., are treated in exactly the same way

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PLATE XIV

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A woman with her child

[p. 126A]

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as human bones, and ornaments made of them are commonly worn. 301

There are a number of other ornaments that are commonly worn, not only on ceremonial occasions, which, unlike the strings of human bones, do not obviously have a magical purpose. Such are necklaces made of various kinds of shells, and of mangrove seeds. At the present time the natives obtain beads from Port Blair and make ornaments of these. 301

The ordinary costume of the women is different from that of the men. Every woman and girl wears at least one belt of *Pandanus* leaf. There is one kind of belt that is always worn by married women and which may not be worn by unmarried girls. There is another kind of belt that may only be worn by unmarried girls. The women of the Southern tribes wear a bundle of leaves of the *Mimusops littoralis* laid one over another suspended from the front of the belt so as to cover the pudenda. In the Northern tribes it was formerly the custom for the women to wear a similar apron of the leaves of a plant called *čainyo*, and over this they also wore a tassel of shredded palm-leaf stem (*koro*). Within recent years the Northern tribes have given up their own custom in this matter and have adopted the custom of the Southern tribes. 291

Women often wear round the neck a piece of string similar to that worn by the men, but as they do not carry knives it does not serve the same purpose. It is more usual for a woman to wear a necklace of some sort. Nowadays they are rather fond of necklaces of beads which they obtain from the Settlement at Port Blair. In former times different kinds of shells were used, such as the *Dentalium octogonum*. 301

With the exception that men wear the belt of rope, and women wear the belt of *Pandanus* leaf and the apron of leaves, there is no difference between the ornaments worn by men and by women. On the occasion of a dance or other ceremony a woman may wear any of the objects described as being worn by men on such occasions. They also wear in the same way strings of human or animal bones.

One object which would seem to have a purely utilitarian purpose is the sling used for carrying children (called in *Aka-* 301 482

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301 482 *Jeru čiba*). This object, however, seems to have its ceremonial uses also. In one of the initiation ceremonies that I saw, the man who was officiating wore such a sling round his shoulders during the ceremony.

535 In the earlier parts of this chapter reference has been made several times to the dance of the Andaman Islanders. For the natives the dance is both a means of enjoyment and also a ceremony. The period of mourning for the dead is brought to a close by a dance, in which all the mourners join. As will be shown later, a dance was generally held before a fight, in former times when fights occurred. The ceremony by which two hostile local groups made peace with one another was a dance.

In the initiation ceremonies there are special dances, which have already been described, in connection with the pig-eating and turtle-eating ceremonies. With the exception of these special dances, and the peace-making dance to be described later, there is only one kind of dance in any given tribe. Thus the dance at the end of mourning, or before setting out on an attack on enemies, is in all essentials exactly the same as the dance in which the natives indulge when the day's hunting has been successful and the evening is fine.

The time for dancing, except in connection with certain ceremonies, is at night, after the evening meal. The dance takes place on the open ground in the centre of the village. This is swept clean by the women and the younger men. One or two fires are lighted, and little heaps of resin are placed in convenient situations to provide lights. These have to be replenished from time to time as the dance proceeds. Near one end of the [534] dancing ground is placed a sounding-board, upon which it is the duty of one man to beat time with his foot. A sounding-board is a piece of wood somewhat of the shape of a large shield, cut from the hard *Pterocarpus* tree. One is shown in Plate VI. Behind the sounding-board, or a little to one side of it, the women, who form the chorus, sit in a row, with their legs stretched out in front of them, facing the dancing-ground. The men who intend to dance sit or stand round the edge of the space reserved for the dance.

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533 composes his own songs. No one would ever sing (at a dance) a song composed by any other person. There are no traditional songs. Women occasionally compose songs, but I never heard a woman sing at a dance except in the chorus.

Every man composes songs, and the boys begin to practise themselves in the art of composition when they are still young. A man composes his song as he cuts a canoe or a bow or as he paddles a canoe, singing it over softly to himself, until he is satisfied with it. He then awaits an opportunity to sing it in public, and for this he has to wait for a dance. Before the dance he takes care to teach the chorus to one or two of his female relatives so that they can lead the chorus of women. He sings his song, and if it is successful he repeats it several times, and thereafter it becomes part of his repertory, for every man of any age has a repertory of songs that he is prepared to repeat at any time. If the song is not successful, if the chorus and dancers do not like it, the composer abandons it and does not repeat it. Some men are recognized as being more skilful song-makers than others.

The songs all deal with everyday subjects such as hunting or cutting a canoe. The important thing about a song is not its sense, but its sound, i.e., its rhythm and melody. A translation of an *Akar-Bale* song, which is quite typical, is "*Poio*, the son of *Mam Golat*, wants to know when I am going to finish my canoe. He comes every day. That is why I make haste to get it launched as soon as possible." Another on the same subject runs: "Knots are very hard to cut with an adze. They blunt the edge of the adze. How hard I am working cutting these knots." The singer here refers to the cutting of a canoe. A number of songs in the native languages with translations, are given by Mr Portman[1]. To these the reader may refer for further information.

535 628 301 According to the statements of the natives it was formerly the custom to have a dance before setting out to a fight. There was no special war-dance, the warriors joining in an ordinary dance such as has just been described. Those who intended

[1] Portman, *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes*, pp. 166—188.

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535 628 •301 to take part in the attack on their enemies, i.e., all the able-bodied adult males, decorated themselves with red paint and white clay, and put on ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf or netting and shells. Each man held in his hands or placed in his belt or head-dress plumes of shredded *Tetranthera* wood (called *čelmo* in *Aka-Jeru*, *uj* in *Aka-Bea*). These plumes of shredded wood are now often worn or carried in an ordinary dance, but I believe that in former times they were the distinctive sign of a war-dance. To make them, a short length of the wood is taken (generally a piece of an old broken pig-arrow) and the wood is carefully shredded with a *Cyrena* shell, care being taken not to break any of the longitudinal fibres. One end is then tied with a piece of string or fibre. Similar plumes are made from *Pandanus* wood, and are carried or worn in a similar manner.

When the attacking party set out from their village each man wears a plume of shredded *Tetranthera* wood thrust into the back of his belt. They rub their bows with the shredded wood, [789] and say that this has the effect of making their own bows shoot well and those of their enemies shoot badly.

682 784 If a man kills another in a fight between two villages, or in a private quarrel, he leaves his village and goes to live by himself in the jungle, where he must stay for some weeks, or even months. His wife, and one or two of his friends may live with him or visit him and attend to his wants. For some weeks the homicide must observe a rigorous tabu. He must not handle a bow or arrow. He must not feed himself or touch any food with his hands, but must be fed by his wife or a friend. He must keep his neck and upper lip covered with red paint, and must wear plumes of shredded *Tetranthera* wood (*čelmo*) in his belt before and behind, and in his necklace at the back of his neck. If he breaks any of these rules it is supposed that the spirit of the man he has killed will cause him to be ill. At the end of a few weeks the homicide undergoes a sort of purification ceremony. [783] His hands are first rubbed with white clay (*tol-odu*) and then with red paint. After this he may wash his hands and may then feed himself with his hands and may handle bows and arrows. He retains the plumes of shredded wood for a year or so.

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X 182 535 some importance, such as a war-dance, or a dance of two groups together, the dancers decorate themselves by putting on various ornaments and by painting their bodies with red paint and white clay. The explanation of the dance cannot therefore be regarded as complete till we have considered the meaning of this personal adornment connected with it.

X 182 535 ● 301 302 If the Andaman Islander be asked why he adorns himself for the dance, his reply is invariably that he wishes to look well, to improve his personal appearance. In other words his conscious motive is personal vanity.

One of the features of the dance, and a not unimportant one, is that it offers an opportunity for the gratification of personal vanity. The dancer, painted, and hung over with ornaments, becomes pleasantly conscious of himself, of his own skill and agility, and of his striking or at least satisfactory appearance, and so he becomes also conscious of his relation to others, of their admiration, actual or possible, and of the approval and good-will that go with admiration. In brief, the ornamented dancer is pleasantly conscious of his own personal value. We may therefore say that the most important function of any such adorning of the body is to express or mark the personal value of the decorated individual.

X 182 301 302 This explanation only applies to certain bodily ornaments and to certain ways of painting the body. It applies to the painting of white clay, with or without red paint, that is adopted at dances and on other ceremonial occasions. It applies to such personal ornaments as those made of netting and *Dentalium* shell which constitute what may be called the ceremonial costume of the Andamanese. It is of these that the natives say that they use them in order to look well.

The occasions on which such personal decoration is used are strictly defined by custom. In other words the society dictates to the individual when and how he shall be permitted to express his own personal value. It is obvious that personal vanity is of great importance in directing the conduct of the individual in his dealings with his fellows, and much more amongst a primitive people such as the Andamanese than amongst ourselves, and it is therefore necessary that the society should have some means of

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controlling the sentiment and directing it towards social ends. We have seen that the dance is the expression of the unity and harmony of the society, and by permitting at the dance the free expression of personal vanity the society ensures that the individual shall learn to feel, even if only subconsciously, that his personal value depends upon the harmony between himself and his fellows. 182X 301 302

The bride and bridegroom are painted with white clay, and wear ornaments of *Dentalium* shell on the day following their marriage. We have seen that marriage involves a change of social status, and we may say that it gives an increased social value to the married pair, the social position of a married man or woman being of greater importance and dignity than that of a bachelor or spinster. They are, after marriage, the objects of higher regard on the part of their fellows than they were before. It is therefore appropriate that the personal value of the bride and bridegroom should be expressed so that both they themselves and their fellows should have their attention drawn to it, and this is clearly the function of the painting and ornaments.

After the completion of any of the more important of the initiation ceremonies, such as the eating of turtle, the initiate is painted with white clay and red paint and wears ornaments of *Dentalium* shell. This is exactly parallel to the painting of the bride and bridegroom. The initiate, by reason of the ceremony he has been through, has acquired new dignity and importance, and by having fulfilled the requirements of custom has deserved the approval of his fellows. The decoration of his body after the ceremony is thus the expression of his increased social value.

A corpse, before burial, is decorated in the same manner as the body of a dancer. This, we may take it, is the means by which the surviving relatives and friends express their regard for the dead, i.e. their sense of his value. We need not suppose that they believe the dead man to be conscious of what they are doing. It is to satisfy themselves that they decorate the corpse, not to satisfy the spirit. When a man is painted he feels that he has the regard and good-will of his fellows, and those who see him, at any rate in the instance of a bridegroom or initiate, 182X 302 764

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realise that he has deserved their regard. So, to express their regard for the dead man they paint the inanimate body. Hence it is that the greater the esteem in which the dead man or woman is held, the greater is the care bestowed on the last painting.

We may conclude therefore that the painting of the body with white clay and the wearing of ornaments of *Dentalium* shell is a rite or ceremony by which the value of the individual to the society is expressed on appropriate occasions. We shall find confirmation of this later in the chapter.

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Before passing on to consider the meaning of other methods of decorating the body there is one matter that is worthy of mention. It is often assumed or stated that both personal ornament and dancing, amongst uncivilised peoples, are connected with sexual emotion. It is, of course, extremely difficult to disprove a statement of this sort. So far as the Andamanese are concerned I was unable to find any trace whatever of a definitely sexual element in either their dances or their personal adornment. It may be recalled that both men and women wear exactly the same ornaments on ceremonial occasions, and this is to some extent evidence that such have no sexual value. It is possible that some observers might see in the dance of the women (which is only performed on rare occasions) a suggestion of something of a sexual nature. I was unable to find that the natives themselves consider that there is anything suggestive of sex in either the dance of the men or that of the women. If it were true that the most important feature of the dance was that it appealed in some way to sexual feelings it is difficult to see how we are to explain the different occasions on which dancing takes place, as before a fight, at the end of mourning, etc., whereas these are adequately accounted for by the hypothesis that the dance is a method of expressing the unity and harmony of the society. Similarly the explanation of personal ornament as being connected with sexual feeling would fail to account for the occasions on which it is regarded as obligatory. There is therefore, I believe, no special connection between the dancing and personal ornament of the Andamanese and sexual feeling. It would still be possible to hold that there is a general

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connection of great importance between the affective dispositions underlying these and other customs and the complex affective disposition that we call the sex instinct. The nature of that connection, important as it is, lies outside the scope of this work.

I remarked above that the explanation which I have given of the meaning of personal ornament does not apply to all the objects that the Andaman Islanders wear on their body, but only to certain of them. If an Andaman Islander be asked why he paints himself with white clay, or why he wears a belt or necklace of *Dentalium* shell he replies that he does so in order to look well; but if he be asked why he wears a string of human bones round his head or neck or waist, he gives quite a different answer, to the effect that he does so in order to protect himself from dangers of a special kind. According to circumstances he will say either that he is wearing the bones to cure himself of illness, or else that he wears them as a protection against spirits. Thus while some things are worn on the body in order to improve the personal appearance, and consequently, as explained above, to give the individual a sense of his own value, others are worn because they are believed to have a protective power, and thereby arouse in the person a sense of security. Exactly the some sort of protective power is attributed to things that cannot be worn on the body, such as fire, and it will therefore be convenient to consider together all the things that afford this kind of protection, whether they can be worn on the body or not.

The interpretation here offered is that the customs connected with this belief in the protective power of objects of various kinds are means by which is expressed and thereby maintained at the necessary degree of energy a very important social sentiment, which, for lack of a better term, I shall call the sentiment of dependence. In such a primitive society as that of the Andamans one of the most powerful means of maintaining the cohesion of the society and of enforcing that conformity to custom and tradition without which social life is impossible, is the recognition by the individual that for his security and well-being he depends entirely upon the society. Now for the Andaman Islander the society is not sufficiently concrete and particular

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to act as the object of such a sentiment, and he therefore feels his dependence upon the society not directly but in a number of indirect ways. The particular way with which we are now concerned is that the individual experiences this feeling of dependence towards every important possession of the society, towards every object which for the society has constant and important uses.

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The most prominent example of such an object is fire. It may be said to be the one object on which the society most of all depends for its well-being. It provides warmth on cold nights; it is the means whereby they prepare their food, for they eat nothing raw save a few fruits; it is a possession that has to be constantly guarded, for they have no means of producing it, and must therefore take care to keep it always alight; it is the first thing they think of carrying with them when they go on a journey by land or sea; it is the centre around which the social life moves, the family hearth being the centr. of the family life, while the communal cooking place is the centre round which the men often gather after the day's hunting is over. To the mind of the Andaman Islander, therefore, the social life of which his own life is a fragment, the social well-being which is the source of his own happiness, depend upon the possession of fire, without which the society could not exist. In this way it comes about that his dependence on the society appears in his consciousness as a sense of dependence upon fire and a belief that it possesses power to protect him from dangers of all kinds.

The belief in the protective power of fire is very strong. A man would never move even a few yards out of camp at night without a fire-stick. More than any other object fire is believed to keep away the spirits that cause disease and death. This belief, it is here maintained, is one of the ways in which the individual is made to feel his dependence upon the society.

Now this hypothesis is capable of being very strictly tested by the facts, for if it is true we must expect to find that the same protective power is attributed to every object on which the social life depends. An examination of the Andamanese beliefs shows that this is so, and thereby confirms the hypothesis.

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In their daily life the Andamanese depend on the instrinsic qualities of the materials they use for their bows and arrows and

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X 182 751 824 dwellers live entirely in the forest and have dealings with forest things; they develop knowledge and powers that make them better woodsmen than the coast-dwellers. The latter live by the sea and are chiefly occupied with things of the sea, being skilled in the occupations of fishing and canoeing. There is thus a contrast or opposition between the life of the forest and the life of the shore that runs through all the social life, and I believe that it is this opposition which explains the belief that the *Anadendron* and the *Gnetum*, which are essentially forest things, are possessed of a quality that makes them contrary or opposed to all things of the sea.

X 182 751 824 301 Personal ornaments are made from the fibres that have been mentioned (*Hibiscus*, *Anadendron*, *Gnetum*), and we are justified, I think, in regarding such ornaments as being to some extent amulets. I purchased from a man in the Little Andaman a charm that was hanging round his neck, which he seemed to value highly. I imagined that it might contain a human bone, but when I had unwound the ornamental thread with which it was bound and opened out the covering of bark I found inside the parcel only a carefully folded length of rope made from *Hibiscus* fibre.

There is one fibre from which the natives of the Great Andaman make themselves ornaments, which they do not regularly use in any other way, namely that of the *Ficus laccifera*. We may perhaps regard this as a genuine and demonstrable example of a survival in custom. The natives of the Little Andaman, who, until their recent contact with those of the Great Andaman, did not know the use of the *Anadendron*, use the fibre of the *Ficus* for their bow-strings. We are justified in assuming, I believe, that the natives of the Great Andaman made a similar use of the same fibre before they had learnt to use the *Anadendron*. In those days much of the power that is now attributed to the *Anadendron*, because of its service as the material for bow-strings, must then have been attributed to the *Ficus*. When the substitution of the superior *Anadendron* fibre came about, the belief in the efficacy of the *Ficus* did not disappear, although the ground of the belief (if we may call it so) had ceased to exist. If this be so, then the present use of the *Ficus* fibre as an amulet

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is an example of survival. It may be noted that the qualities of the *Ficus* are supposed to be similar to those of the *Anadendron*. Thus while one medicine-man stopped a storm with *Anadendron*, another did the same thing on another occasion with *Ficus*. 182X 751 824 301

The above examples are sufficient to justify the generalisation that the Andamanese attribute protective power to all those substances on the strength and other qualities of which they rely in order to obtain their food or overcome their enemies. 182X 751 There are one or two other positive instances that have not been mentioned. Bees'-wax, which is used for waxing thread and bow-strings, is believed to have power to keep spirits away and to cure sickness. Cane, which is used by the natives for many different purposes, seems also to have its use as an amulet, for belts and other personal ornaments are made of pieces of cane attached to a length of rope.

Negative instances are more difficult to discover. When I was in the Andamans I had not formulated the explanation that is offered here, and I therefore did not make any search for negative instances that might have afforded a means of testing the value of the hypothesis. I have no satisfactory evidence that protective power is attributed to iron, or to the shells that were formerly used, as iron now is, for the heads and barbs of arrows, but it is quite possible that I may have overlooked evidence that was really there. I do not think that any particular protective properties are attributed to such things as the materials from which baskets are made and the clay that is used for pottery. These things, however, may be regarded as luxuries rather than necessities; they are not of the same immediate service to the society in its fundamental activity (that of providing food) as are weapons and the materials used in them.

There are still two important kinds of amulets that remain to be considered. First, protective power is attributed to the bones of animals, which are made into personal ornaments; these cannot be dealt with until we have considered some of the beliefs relating to food. Secondly, a very high degree of protective power is attributed to human bones, but the discussion of this belief must wait till we have discovered the meaning of the funeral customs of the Andamanese.

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contact with some source of that power which belongs to the things that affect the social life, and it thereby serves to keep alive the sentiments associated with that notion of power. The painting after eating reminds the individual of his dependence upon and obligation towards the society, and, since all join in the rite, it serves also to maintain the unity of the community. 182X 778

We may now return to the question of the meaning of personal ornament in general. It is a commonplace of psychology that the development of the sense of self is closely connected with the perception of one's own body. It is also generally recognized that the development of the moral and social sentiments in man is dependent upon the development of self-consciousness, of the sense of self. These two important principles will help us to appreciate the hypothesis to which the discussion has now led, that in the Andamans the customary regulation of personal ornament is a means by which the society acts upon, modifies, and regulates the sense of self in the individual. 182X 304 301 302

There are three methods of ornamenting the body in the Andamans, (1) by scarification, (2) by painting, and (3) by the putting on of ornaments.

The natives give two reasons for the custom of scarification, that it improves the personal appearance and that it makes the boy or girl grow up strong. Both these mean that scarification gives or marks an added value. The explanation of the rite would therefore seem to be that it marks the passage from childhood to manhood and is a means by which the society bestows upon the individual that power, or social value, which is possessed by the adult but not by the child. The individual is made to feel that his value—his strength and the qualities of which he may be proud—is not his by nature but is received by him from the society to which he is admitted. The scars on his body are the visible marks of his admission. The individual is proud or vain of the scars which are the mark of his manhood, and thus the society makes use of the very powerful sentiment of personal vanity to strengthen the social sentiments. 182X 304

Turning now to the painting of the body, we have seen that the pattern of white clay serves to make both the painted individual and those who see him feel his social value, and we 182X 302

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(for some special reason) necessary for him to feel. As the value of the individual depends upon his strength or force, the red paint is thus a suitable means of expressing the value of him on whose body it is painted, and really expresses, though by different means, exactly the same thing as the pattern of white clay with which it is combined. 182x 302 822

We are now in a position to understand the use of white clay and red paint in the purification of a homicide. This takes place at the end of a period of isolation, during which the man is entirely cut off from the social life, and lives in a condition of supposed extreme danger on account of the blood that he has shed. During this time he may not use his hands to touch food, and at the end his hands are purified by the application to them of red paint and white clay. It is clearly because these two substances are both of them in different ways symbols of conditions of well-being that magical virtue is ascribed to their use in this instance. It is perhaps worth while to recall that both red ochre and white clay are sometimes given internally as remedies against sickness.

For the sake of the argument it has been necessary to separate the two motives underlying the use of personal ornament, the desire for protection and the desire for display. But we now see that these two motives are very intimately related and are really both involved in every kind of ornament. All ornament in some way marks the relation of the individual to the society and to that force or power in the society to which he owes his well-being and happiness. When painting or ornament is used to give protection, it is, as we have seen, the protective power of the society itself that is appealed to, and what is expressed is the dependence of the individual on the society. When ornament or paint is used for display it is again the dependence on the society that is expressed, though in a different way and on occasions of a different kind. We have seen that scarification is also a means of marking the dependence of the individual on the society, and it is very important to note that the Andamanese sometimes explain it as due to the desire for display and sometimes to the need of protection (enabling the child to grow strong and so avoid the dangers of sickness), showing very clearly that there is some 182x 301 302 304

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intimate connection between these two motives, or at any rate that one and the same method of ornamentation can satisfy both. There is the further example of red paint, which is combined with the pattern of white clay for purposes of display, and is also constantly used in many ways as affording protection.

We are thus brought to the final conclusion that the scarification and painting of the body and the wearing of most if not all of the customary ornaments are rites which have the function of marking the fact that the individual is in a particular permanent or temporary relation to that power in the society and in all things that affect the social life, the notion of which we have seen to underlie so much of the Andaman ceremonial.

The scarification of a boy or girl leaves permanent marks of the permanent relation between the adult and the society. By means of it and the initiation ceremonies that follow or accompany it, and of which it may really be considered to be a part, the society gives the individual his social value, of which the scars remain as a visible sign for him to be proud of, and at the same time endows him with the power to avoid the dangers with which his life is beset.

X 182 302

The paintings of clay after food mark the temporary relation between the individual and the power present in the food he has eaten. It is chiefly thought of by the natives themselves as protective, as we have seen, but it also gives an opportunity for the exercise of personal vanity, for much care is taken in the designing and execution of the pattern, which therefore affords the painted individual much the same sort of satisfaction as the snake pattern of white clay. It calls his attention to his own appearance, and makes him feel pleased or satisfied with himself, conscious of his own personal value. A condition of unity and harmony is produced in the community by a feast as well as by a dance, and in each instance that harmony is expressed by the painting of every member with the same material in a similar design. The relation of the individual to the society is made visible on his body. By means of the paintings after food the society not only protects itself from danger but also rejoices in the well-being that is produced by a supply of relished food.

Inversely it can now also be shown that the painting of white

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

clay and red paint worn at a dance and after marriage and initiation is not only a means of display but is also protective. Both red paint and white clay are used to give protection in sickness, and they are similarly used in the purification of the hands of a homicide. Moreover we have seen, in reference to the word *ot-kimil*, that the dance is a condition of danger by reason of the contact it involves between the individual and the power of the society. The few days following an initiation ceremony are definitely believed to be a period of danger for the initiate, and during this time the pattern of white clay and red paint must not be washed off but must be allowed to wear off. By the time the last traces of the pattern have disappeared the danger is considered to be over. There is evidence that the first few days of marriage are regarded as a period of danger. It would seem that the natives do attribute to the painting with white clay and red paint some power of protection, but this is hidden under the importance of such painting as a means of display. 182x 302

Of the various ornaments that are worn on the body some would seem to be worn almost solely for purposes of display, because they are pleasing to the eye. Such are the necklaces and other ornaments of small shells. It would seem that the same motive is also responsible for the use of the yellow skin of the *Dendrobium* of which the Andamanese are so fond. The ornaments of netting and shell seem to be worn primarily for display, but it is quite possible that some protective power is attributed to them, as to the paintings of white clay with which they are regularly worn. The belts of *Pandanus* leaf that are worn by women are a mark of the sex, and the style of belt worn differs with the social status of the woman. They thus serve to exhibit the special social value of the woman in so far as it depends upon her sex and her social status, but I believe that the Andamanese attribute to the belt and to the apron of leaves worn with it a power of protection against the special dangers to which women are believed to be subject. Ths is suggested by the use of the *Pandanus* leaf in the ceremony at a girl's first menstruation[1]. I failed to discover any special ideas connected 182x 301

[1] I am unfortunately obliged to leave a big gap in this chapter and in the book, owing to my inability to discuss the Andamanese notions about sex. The natives of 831

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

X 182
●301

with the ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf that are sometimes worn by both men and women at dances. The ornaments that are worn primarily for their protective power are those made of human and animal bones and those of pieces of canes or of fibres of *Hibiscus* or *Ficus*. These are always made decorative by the addition of shells and yellow *Dendrobium* skin, and therefore besides their primary function also serve as means of display.

It is clear then that in the various methods of ornamenting the body the two chief motives that we have considered are so combined that they can hardly be estimated separately, and it is this mingling of motives that has led us to the final understanding of the meaning and social function of bodily ornament. Each of the different kinds of ornament serves to make manifest the existence of some special relation between the individual and the society, and therefore of some special relation between him and that system of powers on which the welfare of the society and of the individual depends. One of the most important aspects of the relation of the individual to the society is his dependence upon it for his safety and well-being and this is revealed in all painting and ornament worn for protection. But the society not only protects the individual from danger; it is the direct source of his well-being; and this makes itself felt in the customary regulation by which the use of the more important ornaments used for display is confined to occasions on which it is quite clear that his happiness is directly due to the society, such as a dance or feast. Thus the customs relating to the ornamentation of the body are of the kind that I have here called ceremonial. They are means by which the society exercises on

831

the Great Andaman at the present time show an unusual prudery in their conversation and dealings with white men, but there is good reason to suspect that this is due to the influence of officers who have been in charge of the Andaman Home in former years. At the present time all the men except a few of the oldest in remote parts are very careful never to appear before a white man without some covering although formerly they wore nothing. In their conversation in the presence of a white man they are careful to avoid reference to sexual matters. The men of the Little Andaman who have not come under the influence of the Andamanese Homes, still go naked and unashamed, and indulge in obscene gestures and jokes. At the time I was in the Andamans I failed to realise the very great importance of a thorough knowledge of the notions of a primitive people on matters of sex in any attempt to understand their customs, and therefore failed to make the necessary enquiries.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

182x
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appropriate occasions some of the important social sentiments, thereby maintaining them at the necessary degree of energy required to maintain the social cohesion.

182x
531

To complete the discussion of ornament in general it is necessary to refer very briefly to the ornamentation of objects such as bows, canoes and baskets. Such ornamentation consists of (1) incised patterns (on bows, etc.), which may be compared with the scarification of the body, (2) painting with red paint and white clay (bows, canoes, skulls, etc.), or with prepared wax (Nautilus shell cups, etc.), (3) patterns made with the yellow skin of the *Dendrobium* (baskets, etc.), and (4) shells attached by thread (baskets, baby-sling, etc.). The important point to note is that the decoration applied to utensils is of the same character throughout as that which, when applied to the body, has been shown to be an expression of the social value of the person. Thus the pattern painted on a canoe with white clay and red paint is the same as that on the body of a dancer. It would seem, therefore, that the ornamentation of utensils is a means of expressing or marking the social value of the decorated object, and it might even be held that the application of ornament to utensils is really a matter of ceremonial. Just as a newly married man is painted with the snake pattern which wears off and is not renewed, so a new canoe or a new South Andaman bow is painted with the same pattern as soon as it is finished, and after this pattern wears off it is not renewed. It is the act of bringing a new canoe or bow into use that is the occasion of the ceremonial expression of its value, if we may so regard the painting. A new relation is established between the society and an object, which thereby acquires a special social value, just as a youth acquires a special new social value at the conclusion of one of the initiation ceremonies. This example is sufficient to show that at least there is nothing in the ornamentation of utensils that conflicts with the explanation of bodily ornament given in this chapter[1].

[1] In order to carry the analysis further it would be necessary to consider in detail the whole question of the relation of art and ceremonial, and that of the social function of art which is involved in it, and also to deal with the notion of "value" as it appears in primitive societies. The material from the Andaman Islands is not suitable for the discussion of these problems.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

the *Dendrobium* over two strands of *Hibiscus* fibre and then twisting these into a two-ply cord. 291

Necklaces and garters of string. Both men and women are often to be seen with a simple piece of string, usually of *Anadendron* fibre, tied round the neck or around the leg just below the knee. 301

Ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf. Every married woman always wears a belt of *Pandanus* leaf which she is never without for even a moment. When the belt she is wearing needs renewing she puts the new one on before taking the other off. To make such a belt two leaves of the *Pandanus Andamanensium* are taken and cut to a sufficient length (about 20 cm.). The thorns at the edge of the leaf are removed by cutting off a strip of about 3 mm. wide from the edge, leaving a strip of leaf about 4 cm. broad. The two leaves are placed one on the other and are wound spirally round in three turns so as to give a belt of six thicknesses of leaf, the upper surface of the leaf being on the outside of the belt. The leaves are secured together by tying with thread at the back where the two ends just overlap. At the point where the leaves are tied one or two bundles of strips of *Pandanus* leaf are attached with thread. The bundle is made of a number of strips of leaf about 90 cm. long and 2·5 cm. broad which are chewed in the mouth to make them soft and then placed together and served over with thread for about 12 cm. in the middle. Belts of this kind are generally worn by married women, but precisely similar belts are worn by men on certain ceremonial occasions. They are called *toto t'er-bua* in Aka-Jeru. 291

A very similar belt is made in exactly the same way save that the tassel of leaves at the back consists of narrow strips of *Pandanus* leaf instead of broad strips. This kind of belt is worn by women only. Examples may be seen in Plate IV (the lower belt of the two) and in Plate XVIII. It is called *toto t'er-nyarab* in Aka-Jeru.

A belt is made in much the same way out of *Pandanus* leaves split in half down the midrib, giving strips of about 2·5 cm. broad. Such belts have only a scanty tassel of thin strips of leaf at the back. They are worn by girls and women only. They are called *kudu* in Aka-Jeru.

Yet another variety of belt is made of whole leaves in exactly the same way as the *toto t'er-bua* but has no tassel at the back. An example may be seen in Plate IV (the upper belt). It is worn by women.

Girdles are made of strips of *Pandanus* leaf of about 1·25 cm. broad without any tassel, but with strings of *Dentalium* shell attached at various points. A girdle of this kind is shown in Plate XV.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2-Andamans AZ2

291 Girdles are also made by cutting a number of strips of leaf and softening them by chewing them in the mouth. These strips are laid together and either served over or marled with thread so as to make a girdle of round section. A tassel of leaves similar to that of the *toto t'er-bua* is attached to the back, and very frequently strings of *Dentalium* shell are attached at various points. Such a girdle may be worn by either men or women. It is called *toto t'er-ŋau* in Aka-Jeru.

Yet another kind of girdle is made by splitting *Pandanus* leaves into thin strips and making them into a kind of wrapped cord, one strip being wrapped spirally round one or more others by the same technique as that used in making bow-strings. A number of coils of strands made in this way are tied together with thread at various points and a tassel similar to that of the *toto t'er-bua* is added at the back. Such girdles are usually improved by the addition of a few pendent strings of *Dentalium* shell. They may be worn by either men or women. Their name in Aka-Jeru is *toto t'er-mǫi*.

•301 Ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf to be worn either round the leg just below the knee or round the wrist are made in exactly the same way as the belt called *toto t'er-bua*, each having a tassel of *Pandanus* leaf strips attached. Such garters and bracelets are worn at a dance by men.

Other ornaments for wearing round the wrist or knee when dancing are made by the same method as the girdle called *toto t'er-ŋau*, each having a tassel of strips of leaf.

Similar dancing ornaments are made by plaiting strips of leaf into a three-plait cord of the right length, a tassel of loose leaf strips being left at each end. These are tied round the wrist or knee.

Ornaments for the knee or wrist, such as those shown on the legs of the man in Plate XII, are made by winding spirally a narrow strip of leaf and sewing it. A number of pendent strings of *Dentalium* shell are attached round it, and often strings are attached at the end of which small shells hang suspended which rattle against one another as the wearer walks or dances.

Chaplets or headdresses worn by men when dancing, and occasionally by women, are made of fairly broad strips of leaf in the same way as the *toto t'er-bua*. Such a chaplet may have a tassel of narrow strips of *Pandanus* leaf at the back to which are attached shells that rattle as the wearer moves, or it may have pendent strings of *Dentalium* shells round the hinder half of its circumference.

In making ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf such as the *toto t'er-bua* the upper surface of the strip of leaf is usually ornamented with a design

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

scratched on it with a pointed piece of wood. The design usually covers not only the portion of leaf that is visible when the belt or other object is finished, but also that portion which is not visible, being underneath. Many ornaments of this kind are further decorated when finished with the composition used for covering the bindings of arrows, which is applied with a pointed stick in simple geometrical patterns. The woman shown in Plate x is wearing two belts that have been ornamented with composition in this way. 301

Woman's leaf apron. In the South Andaman the women wear a sort of small apron consisting of a number of leaves of the *Mimusops littoralis* laid one over the other, the stalk ends of the leaves being tucked in between the layers of a belt of *Pandanus* leaf. The leaves thus hang suspended so as to cover, somewhat inadequately, the pudenda. The natives say that the leaves of the *Mimusops* are chosen because they remain green longer than those of any other species. As soon as the leaves fade and turn yellow they are renewed. The appearance of the leaf apron may be seen in Plates IV and XV. 291

The women of the North Andaman have within recent years adopted the fashion of those of the South Andaman in this matter, but formerly they made a similar use of a different kind of leaf from a plant called *čainyo* in Aka-Jeru, and over the top of the leaves they wore a tassel of the fibre called *kọro*.

Ornaments of netting and *Dentalium* shells. Bands of netting (in shape of a cylinder or bag open at both ends) are made of suitable size to tie round the waist, the neck, the leg below the knee or the wrist. Such netting is generally ornamented as it is being made with strips of *Dendrobium* skin worked in the net. Along the lower edge of the band of netting are attached a number of threads each having *Dentalium* shells strung on to it like beads. Ornaments of this kind are shown in Plates V and IX. They are worn by both men and women, but usually only on the occasion of a dance or some other ceremony. 301

Ornaments of bone, etc. These are made with human bones, with the bones of such animals as pig, turtle, dugong, *Paradoxurus*, monitor lizard, or with pieces of wood or cane, or of coral, of suitable shape. A length of cord, of the fibre of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus* or of the *Ficus laccifera*, is taken, and the bones are attached to it by thread. As a rule, strips of *Dendrobium* skin are worked in, being laid on the bone and bound over with the thread.

Ornaments of shell. Various kinds of shells are perforated and attached to string and are worn round the neck, the head, the knee, or

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

301 the wrist. A necklace of fresh-water shells (*ino kọlo tọi* in Aka-Jeru) is shown in Plate IX. A necklace of small sea-shells is shown in Plate XIII. The favourite shell of the Great Andaman tribes is the *Dentalium octogonum*. The shells are collected from the shore by the women. The closed end of each is bitten off with the teeth and the shells, which thus form cylindrical beads, are strung on to a piece of thread. These strings of shell are worn as necklaces, as shown in Plates IV and XII, and are tied round the wrist and knee and ankle as shown in Plate IV.

Ornaments of seed. The seed-tops of two or three species of mangrove are collected and strung on to thread and worn round the neck. Fig. 40 shows the two kinds of mangrove seed commonly used in this way.

Bamboo necklaces. A necklace is sometimes made of a number of short pieces of bamboo arrow-shaft threaded on to a string. The pieces of bamboo are ornamented with simple designs scratched or cut on them with a shell.

Sling of bark. Another object that may perhaps be mentioned amongst objects of personal ornament is the sling used in carrying children. It is made of a broad strip of the bark of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*. Some slings are covered entirely with netting, while others are ornamented with shells in various ways. Plate XIV shows one with strings of *Dentalium* shell sewn on to it.

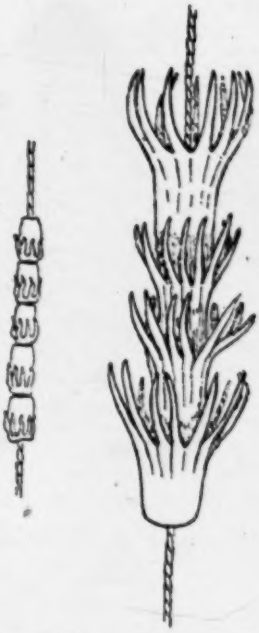

Fig. 40. Necklaces of mangrove seed-tops, Great Andaman

Dancing ornaments of *Tetranthera* wood. A piece of *Tetranthera* wood, usually part of the shaft of an old pig-arrow, about 30 to 35 cm. long, is taken and made into shavings with a *Cyrena* shell. The wood is shaved carefully round and round, so as to make a continuous sheet of fibre, as though unwinding a roll of material. A bundle of these shavings is tied at one end and covered with red paint, and forms an object that is carried in the hand or worn in the belt at dances.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PERSONAL ORNAMENT; LITTLE ANDAMAN.

The personal ornaments of the Little Andaman and of the Jarawa are different from those of the Great Andaman Division, and therefore need to be described separately. 301 291

Ornaments of bark. Strips of bark (? *Celtis cinnamonea*) are worn by the men round the waist and round the arm.

Ornamental cord. These are the ornaments most frequently met with both in the Little Andaman and amongst the Jarawa. The basis is a strip of cane, varying in breadth in different examples. On one side of this are laid strips of the yellow skin of the *Dendrobium*, varying in number according to the breadth of the cane, and the whole is served over or bound with thread. The technique in shown in Fig. 41, which represents diagrammatically the method adopted when there are two strips of *Dendrobium* skin. Such ornamental cord is made in pieces of considerable length. Often tassels of thread (of *Ficus hispida* fibre) are attached to it at intervals. The cord is worn wound round the waist, the neck, or the arm. Both men and women wear it.

Woman's girdle. In the Little Andaman this is made of a number of fine strips of cane tied together with thread. At the front is attached

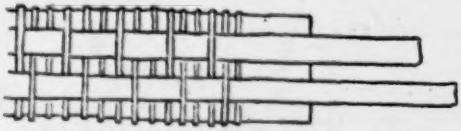

Fig. 41. Diagram showing method of making ornamental cord, Little Andaman

a tassel of fibre made from young unopened palm-leaves (the fibre called *kgro* in Aka-Jeru).

Woman's shoulder strap. The women of the Little Andaman wear a strip of bark over the shoulders, crossing over the chest and passing beneath the breasts.

The above brief description of the ornaments of the Andamanese is perhaps sufficient for the purpose of this appendix, which is to determine as far as possible the elements of a primitive Negrito culture. Any complete account of the subject would need a large number of figures and a discussion of many comparatively unimportant details. The first point of importance to be noted is that the personal ornaments of the Little Andaman Division differ markedly from those of the Great Andaman Division. One difference is that the *Pandanus* leaf, which is used so much and in so many ways in the Great Andaman, 301 171

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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seems not to be used at all in the Little Andaman. Another is that shells, which are much used in the Great Andaman, are used to a far less extent in the Little Andaman. The natives of the Little Andaman told me that they sometimes make ornaments of *Dentalium* shell, but I did not see any such ornament, nor any other ornament of shell, in use. The ornaments of netting worn in the Great Andaman, and forming the usual dancing costume, seem not to be used in the Little Andaman. Finally, perhaps most important of all, there is at present no evidence that the natives of the Little Andaman make ornaments of either human or animal bones. In the Little Andaman the lower jaw of a child is preserved by the parents and is worn by them, but I never saw a human skull (whether of child or adult) so worn, and I was not able to obtain any evidence of the use of strings of human bones such as are constantly seen in a camp of the Great Andaman.

The points of similarity between the ornaments of the Little Andaman and those of the Great Andaman are very few. One of the most striking is the great use that is made in both divisions of the yellow skin of the *Dendrobium*. It seems probable that here we have evidence of one element of a primitive Negrito culture, for the Negritos of the Philippines also are fond of using a yellow vegetable fibre for their personal ornaments. So far as it is possible to judge from the figure and description, the armlet given by Meyer in Plate III, No. 11, seems to be very similar to the ornamental cord of the Little Andaman. It is described as a "mit schwarz und gelben Grasstreifchen umflocktener Bambus-reif."

Another point of resemblance between the Great Andaman and the Little Andaman is that in both very little use is made of feathers or flowers. The natives of the Great Andaman never make use of the feathers of birds. The Jarawa occasionally wear in a chaplet a feather of the king-crow (*Dicrurus macrocercus*) if we may judge from a specimen in the British Museum. The natives of the Little Andaman certainly do not as a rule make any use of feathers. It would seem, from all accounts, that the Semang and the Philippine Negritos do not make any considerable use of feathers for personal ornament. We may perhaps hazard the conclusion that this is a mark of the Negrito culture distinguishing them from such people as the Papuans or Australians in whose personal ornaments the feathers of birds occupy an important place.

In the Great Andaman flowers are not used as personal ornaments. In the British Museum there is an ornament from the Little Andaman consisting of a strip of bark-fibre with a few flowers attached.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

As regards personal ornament, therefore, the only elements of a primitive Negrito culture that we seem to be able to trace in the Andamans at the present day are (1) the use of yellow vegetable fibre, and (2) the absence of any considerable use of feathers. 301 171

One element of a primitive Andamanese culture, though not necessarily of a primitive Negrito culture, would seem to be the use of a tassel of the fibre obtained from an unopened palm-leaf which is used by women to cover their genitals in the Little Andaman, and was similarly used until recently in the North Andaman.

Hair-dressing, Scarification, and Body-painting.

At the present time the usual method of hair-dressing in the Great Andaman is to shave a portion of the scalp all round so as to leave a sort of skull-cap of hair, as may be seen in many of the plates of this volume. In some cases a "parting" is made by shaving a narrow strip over the crown. (See Plate xv, for example.) When the hair grows so long as to be uncomfortable the whole head is shaved, and it is then permitted to grow again. In these days the natives cut their hair whenever they have an opportunity of obtaining a pair of scissors. In the Little Andaman women and old men are frequently to be seen with the head entirely shaved. The younger men shave away the lower edge of the hair all round in the same way as the natives of the Great Andaman, but this may be a recent practice. 302

The fashion of hair-dressing, at any rate for women, has changed within recent times, for Mr Man wrote in 1882 that "the majority of the women every week or ten days shave their heads almost entirely, leaving only two narrow parallel lines of hair, termed *gor*, from the crown to the nape of the neck[1]." At the present time this style of hair-dressing has fallen entirely into disuse, and the women do their hair in the same way as the men.

The operation of shaving, which is done with a flake of glass or quartz, is performed by women, and never, or very rarely, by men.

Mention has been made in an earlier part of the work of the way in which the natives of the Great Andaman scarify the skin of the body and limbs with a flake of glass or quartz. The Semang do not scarify themselves in this way, but some, at any rate, of the Negritos of the Philippines do. 304 171

The natives of the Great Andaman, as described earlier in this work, paint their bodies with a grey clay called *odu* or *og*, with a fine 302

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 77.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

502 deep water, by paddles (*wāl·igma-*[1]), the size of which is not determined by custom, but varies according to the whim of the maker and the size of the piece of wood (generally of the *Myristica longifolia*) at his disposal;[2] all, whether small or large, are used indiscriminately, either with the outriggers or simple "dug-outs;" paddles are never made by women, to whom, however, their ornamentation with *kòi·ob-* and *kā·ngatā-būj-* is afterwards entrusted.[3]

531 **Ornamentation.**—1. While the Andamanese habitually ornament their various utensils, weapons, &c., they never attempt to show their talent or originality by representing natural objects, or by devising a new pattern, but slavishly adhere to those which custom has prescribed for each article.[4]

2. These designs are executed by means of a *Cyrena* shell, or are painted in *kòi·ob-*, *tā·la-ōg-*, or *kā·ngatā-būj-*; occasionally they content themselves with smearing the entire surface of the object with either of the two first-named pigments, but more often a background is thus formed for the better display of further embellishments.

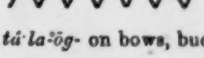
3. These three substances supply their only colours, *i.e.*: brick-red (*kòi·ob-*), white (*tā·la-ōg-*), and brown (*kā·ngatā-būj-*).

[301] 4. Small land and sea shells[5] (especially the *Dentalium octogonum*), certain seeds and bones are much prized, not only for making personal ornaments, but also for the adornment of weapons and implements, as well as the human skulls and jawbones which they often wear and carry about with them.

5. It may be added that the details of ornamentation are in most cases subordinate to the general form and outline of the object in question.

6. The following is believed to be a complete list of the designs,[6] both carved and painted, which are in use:—

I. CHEVRONS (*jō·bo-tàrtā·nga-*).



Painted with *kòi·ob-* or *tā·la-ōg-* on bows, buckets, canoes, and paddles.

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 11*a*.

[2] Dr. Mouat states (p. 319) that they are made of three sizes, and (p. 320) that "the work of making them is entrusted solely to the women and children," but I have failed in discovering any foundation for these assertions.

[3] The canoes, too, are often similarly ornamented, especially when new.

[4] Of enamelling they possess no knowledge.

[5] Beads, when offered by us, are gladly accepted for use in lieu of small shells.

[6] When it is stated that all these designs are executed by means of pointed sticks, shells, or even the finger-tips, it is scarcely necessary to add that they fall far short of the neatness and mathematical precision characterising most of these illustrations, which therefore can only be taken as representing the particular pattern *attempted*.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

the *Melochia velutina* (Andam., *al·aba-*), which is worn like a sash over one shoulder by women, and sometimes by men, when carrying infants.[1] 462 854

The plain specimens are called *chīp-lū·pa-*.

Those ornamented with netting *chīp-rá·b-*.

Those ornamented with shells *chīp-yâ·mnga-*.

25. *bōd-*.[2] Waistbelt made from the leaves of the young screw-pine (*Pandanus Andamanensium*); the bunch of leaves or tail is worn at the back. 291

[NOTE.—These specimens are of the kind worn by women and girls of the eight Great Andaman tribes; the females of the *jār·awa-* tribes appear to go entirely nude.]

25*a*. *bōd-*.[3] Waistbelts of similar description, but having a less bushy tail, are worn more or less generally by men and youths of the eight Great Andaman tribes.

26. *ro·gun-*.[4] Belt made from the leaves of the young screw-pine, which is worn by adult married women only.

27. *tâ-chô·nga-*.[5] Garters, which are frequently worn by men and youths: they are made in the same way as the *bōd-* (item 25.)

28. *tô·go-chô·nga-*.[6] Bracelets, also worn by men and youths, much resembling the last-named object.

29. *gar·en-pē·ta-*.[7] Ornamental waistbelt of *Dentalium octogonum*, which is worn occasionally by both sexes.

30. *bē·ria-*[8] *jār·awa-* waistbelts, necklets, and armlets, which are believed to be worn by men and youths only.

31. *ij·i-gō·nga-*.[9] Head-dress of Pandanus-leaf, worn occasionally by young men and women.

The following ten articles are worn by both sexes as ornaments either round the neck or head:— 301

32. *ī·na-ó·la-tâ-*[10]	..	made of fresh water-shells.
33. *pē·r-tâ-* ..	..	" cane or wood.
34. *yâ·dī-tâ-*[11]	..	" turtle bones.
35. *bai·an-tâ-*	..	" paradoxurus bones.
36. *dū·ku-tâ-*[12]	..	" iguana bones.

[1] *Vide* Part III, "Social Relations, &c.," paragraph 10.
[2] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 27.
[3] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 27*a*.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 29.
[5] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 9.
[6] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 8.
[7] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 35.
[8] *Vide* Plate IX, figs. 13, 13*a*, and 13*b*.
[9] *Vide* Plate IX, figs. 6 and 6*a*.
[10] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 42.
[11] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 38.
[12] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 40.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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37. *bē·wa-tâ-* .. made of red coral.
38. *râ·ta-ō·la-tâ-* .. „ small sea shells.
39. *rē·keto-tâ-*[1] .. „ *Hemicardium unedo* shells.
40. *ngâ·tya-tâ-*[2] and *jū·mu-ta-* „ mangrove seed tops.
41. *garen len pī·d-* .. „ *Dentalium octogonum* and children's hair.[3]

42. *râb-*.[4] Fine netting, plain or ornamented with shells, worn occasionally by both sexes as necklaces, armlets, &c. Baby-slings (item 24), bows, pig-spears, &c., are sometimes ornamented with pieces of this netting.

[462] 43. *rā-*. Ornamental cord, made by men from the yellow skin of an orchid root, and worn round the waist intertwined sometimes with fibres of the *Melochia velutina* (Andam., *al·aba-*). It is also occasionally interwoven with fibres of the *Anodendron paniculatum* (Andam., *yō·lba-*), in order to make ornamental fastenings for arrows, turtle harpoons, and personal adornments.

[751] 44. *chāu·ga-tā-*.[5] Human bone necklaces sometimes ornamented with *Dentalium octogonum*. These are worn as charms during illness by friends or relatives of the deceased, and may be often seen tied tightly round the part in pain; they are also worn when in health to ward off disease.[6]

45. *chàu·ga l'ōt chē·ta-*.[7] Human skull, carried *in memoriam* by relatives of the deceased.[8]

46. *chàu·ga l'â·kà ē·kib-*.[9] Human jaw, which is carried in a similar manner.[10]

412 47. *pī·licha-*.[11] Boar's tusk, used for planing bows, paddles, &c., as it answers this purpose, in *their* hands, admirably, it is much valued; when required for use the inner edge is sharpened with a *Cyrena* shell.

48. *tai li-ban·a-*.[12] Stone hammer, which the men now use principally in beating out iron for arrow-heads, &c., and the women when making bone necklaces.

49. *chī·di-*.[13] *Pinna* shell, used as plates for food, or as receptacles for pigments.

[1] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 45.
[2] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 73.
[3] An interesting description of these various necklaces will be found in a paper by Dr. Allen Thomson, F.R.S., Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi, p. 295.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 34.
[5] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 46.
[6] *Vide* Part I, "Medicine," paragraphs 2, 7, 8.
[7] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 7.
[8] *Vide* Part II, "Death and Burial," paragraphs 5 and 19.
[9] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 7a.
[10] *Vide* Part I, "Medicine," paragraph 9.
[11] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 65.
[12] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 72.
[13] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 26.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Plate D.

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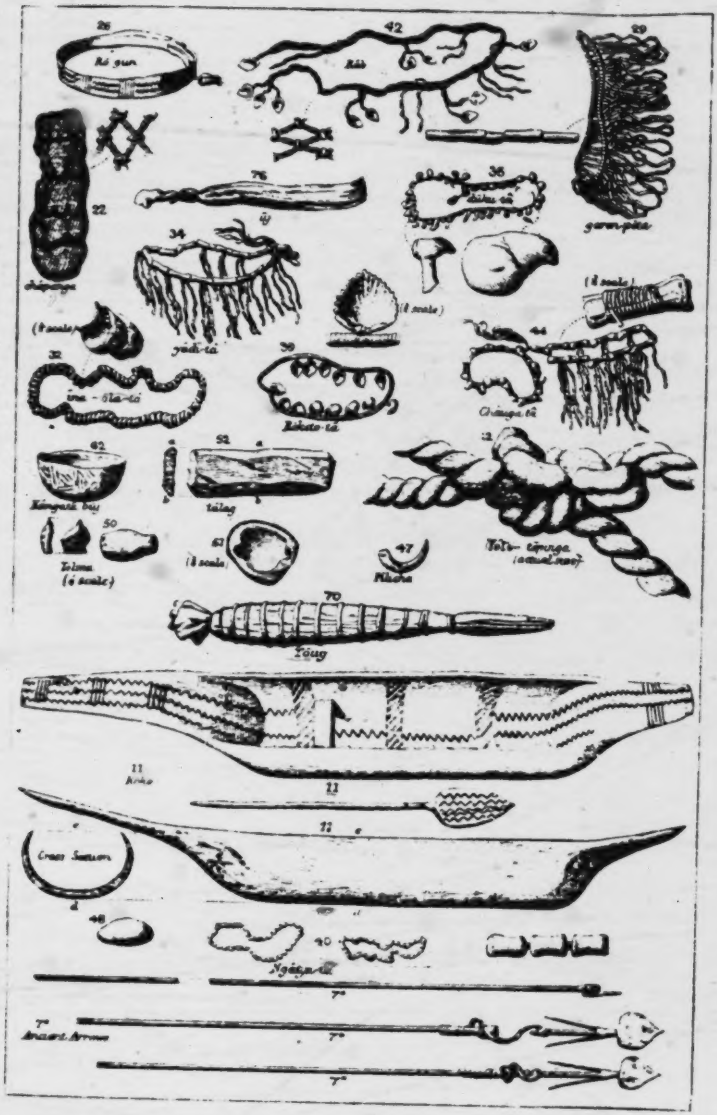

ANDAMANESE OBJECTS.

[facing p. 182]

765 neck, usually, but not always, by the widow, widower or nearest relative. Mourning closes with a ceremonial dance and the removal of the clay. The ceremonies connected with the disposal of the dead are conventional, reverential and by no means without elaboration in detail.

V. Arts.

324 **Stone Implements.**—The only stone cutting implement known to the Andamanese is the quartz flake chipped off, never worked, and held between the fingers for shaving and tattooing, and shells and fish bones are used for the small blades of the peculiar adze of this people, and for arrow points, scraping and cutting. A *cyrena* valve is the ordinary knife and scraper. Hammers, anvils, hones, and oven-stones consist of natural stones. They have never made celts.

177 The ends of glass bottles for some years, and iron from wrecks for a long time past, have been substituted for the indigenous implements, when and where procurable. The object of the long series of murderous raids made by the inland Jarawas on the outlying parts of the Penal Settlement has now been proved to have been made in search for iron. The implements on the whole are coarsely and roughly made.

411 **Weapons.**—The weapons of the Andamanese are bow and arrow, harpoon, fish spear, pig spear, and they have never had any notion of poisoning the blades, which however sometimes inflict dangerous septic wounds from dirt, though as a rule they are kept bright as a matter of pride. Barbed arrows and harpoons with loose heads are used for catching and pulling up game in the jungles and marking where turtle or large fish are sinking.

Domestic Arts.—Excellent information with illustrations on the domestic and other arts of the Andamanese is to be found in a minutely accurate work, Man's *Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands.*

283 **String and Netting.**—String for nets and all purposes is twisted, often neatly, from the inner bark of creepers. Large nets of this string are made for driving turtle and hand-nets for prawns and small fish and for wallets. Stout cord is made from the inner bark of the *melochia velutina.* Whole, split and scraped canes are used as binders.

285 **Weaving.**—The weaving is good, neat and stout, and baskets and mats are thus well made from strips of canes.

323 **Pottery.**—The unglazed circular clay cooking pots with rounded or pointed bottoms, to the Andamanese very valuable, are built up by hand, sun-dried and then baked, but not thoroughly, in the fire. They are often encased in basket work for safety. Their manufacture, form and ornament are typical of the Stone Age generally.

322 **Wood and Cane work.**—Buckets are hollowed out of wood or cut from the joints of the bamboo. Canoes are hollowed out of whole trunks of light, soft timber by the adze without the use of fire, do not last long and are only fair sea boats. They are however capable of holding many people and a good deal of light cargo.

301 **Ornamentation, Personal and Domestic.**—The personal ornaments made are—bunches and strips of fibres and leaves scraped, cut and hammered, fringes of dentalium shells and straw-coloured wreaths of hammered and roasted dendrobium bark. The bones, skulls and jawbones of deceased relatives are also used whole, or broken and scraped to fancy or requirement, as ornaments, besides necklaces of the bones of animals. Tattooing and painting the body are only ornamental to the extent that, in the latter case especially, deviations from the conventional designs are due to personal taste.

353 The only ornaments to dwellings and huts are the heads of turtle, pigs, iguana, paradoxurus killed in hunting. These are hung up partly as ornaments and partly as trophies, but not with any idea of record.

531 Every manufactured article has its own customary conventional line ornament in one or more of three colours and in one or more of eleven patterns approximately achieved only. The colours are red, white and brown from natural earths. The patterns are (1) chevrons, (2) close cross hatch, (3) wide cross hatch, (4) parallel lines, (5) parallels and chevrons combined, (6) lozenges, (7) plait or guilloche, (8) herring-bone, (9) cross cuts, (10) loops, (11) vandyke with scolloped bands and cross lines.

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
[P.4(A)]

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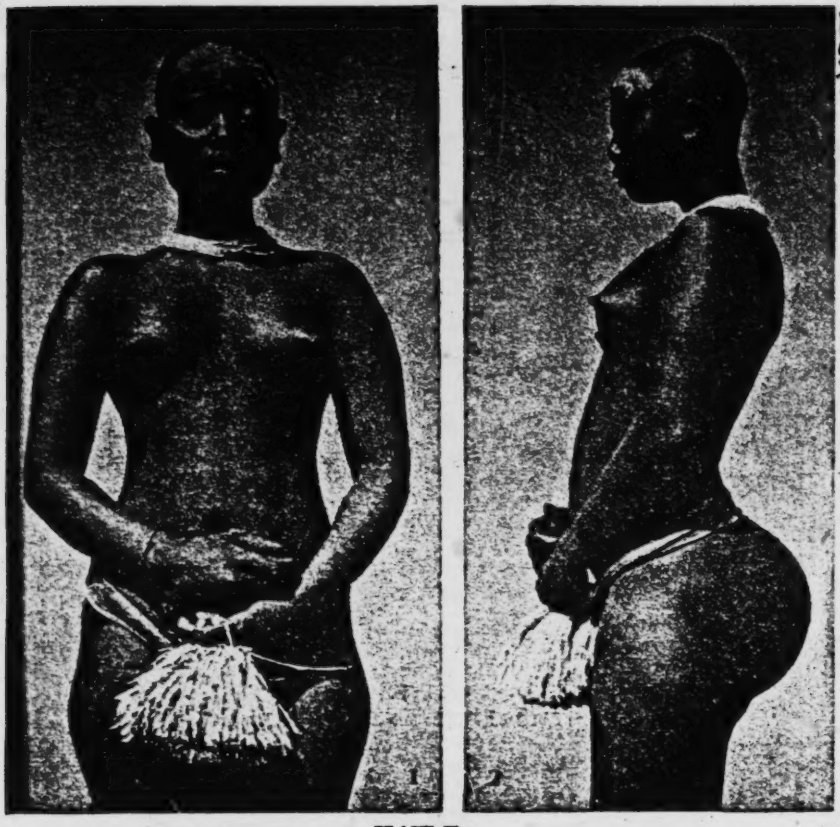

PLATE II.

Figs. 1 & 2—Onge female of the hut No. 2, Plate 1, in Little Andaman Island (front and profile).

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P 4(B)]

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PLATE III

Onge females living in hut No. 2, Plate 1.

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P. 6 (C)]

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PLATE VII.

Onge male showing pepper-corn type of hair.

5:Sarkar D-5 (1948)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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Plate IX. Captive Jarawa Children.

[P. 26(A)]

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

364 spot for centuries leads to the formation of kitchen-middens [1]. In the tempo-
[367] rary camps something similar happens: the only difference consists in the fact that rubbish dumps only accumulate at the back of the temporary shelters, as a consequence of their peculiar shape that I shall not describe here. These
[136] dumps are heaven-sent love nests for insects of many species, mostly flies of a metallic green colour. They follow the Onge from camp to camp and thrive on scraps from human meals. When travelling in Little Andaman I was unmistakably warned of the nearby presence of Onge camps by the appearance of those familiar living beings.

136 The filth that coats the floors of communal Onge huts offers an ideal
[356] breeding ground also for myriads of fleas. Dogs spread them all over Little Andaman. Owing to the fact that the communal huts are deserted for months at a time during the dry season, the fleas become hungry and assault human
123 beings vehemently whenever possible. When visiting empty communal huts I myself, and the persons with me, were plagued by such assaults. Fleas advanced suddenly from feet to head in thick, shimmering brown layers, covering first our legs. We were obliged to strip and douse ourselves with insect-repellents.
136 As for other parasites, including ticks and mosquitos, equally plentiful in Little
[825] Andaman, the Onge do not appear to be inconvenienced by them.

764 The communal huts are used for another purpose as well, unhygienic but of high ethnological interest: the interment of human corpses. When they die, the inmates are buried beneath their beds. In other words, communal huts are also cemeteries. Many human skeletons are found by digging under the beds. Until 1952 this fact was unknown about the Andaman Islanders although it is encountered in all Onge communal huts without exception. An analysis of
775 this custom led to further discoveries: the Onge wish to compel the spirit of a deceased person to remain close to the living as a protection, so they offer it the communal hut for an abode, the idea being that a spirit cannot wander far from the bones of its former body. A series of Onge practices point to this
[727] belief: felled enemies must be burned and reduced to ashes in order to render them harmless. Their hostile souls, according to the Onge, rise toward the sky in smoke as the bones are consumed. For the same reason, bones of relatives
[301] [765] are fashioned into necklaces. The most conspicuous of these is the *ibidanghe*, worn generally by women and young girls, which is made from a decorated
[751] human jawbone. The aim is to obtain the assistance of the departed relation in fighting illness and bad luck. Direction in hunting, fishing and even quar-
[777] relling is supposed to come from the dead kept close to the living. We can trace this belief on the connection between bones and souls to a remote origin:
[171] Southern Asia megaliths had, in my opinion, no other cause for offering shelter to spirits and promoting useful relations between the living and the dead. I reached this conclusion after studying the contemporary habits of Travancore mountain and other Indian tribes, particularly the Munda. In Nias we find traces of the same customs as among different peoples of Indonesia and Oceania, who

[1] I discussed this at the two international anthropological congresses of 1952 (Vienna) and 1956 (Philadelphia), and have more to say on the subject in my book about the Onge.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

LIDIO CIPRIANI, Hygiene and Medical Practices among the Onge (Little Andaman)

Plate 2

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a) and *c*) Women and girls wearing *ibidanghi*.
b) Bandages of ficus bark against fever.
d) Wife and husband in their usual attire.

[p. 488 (B)]

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

CHAPTER IX
ABORIGINAL POPULATION

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Communal dinner of the Onges (Courtesy A. S. I.)

[facing P. 62]

157 522 Western standards taciturn or sly, and the Negro peoples, who frequently manifest complete abandonment in their amusement. 157 522 831 Obscenities appear to be an unfailing source of amusement to the Onges, who indulge in them at every opportunity, even with strangers, and the obscene dances of the womenfolk are a continual source of pleasure. The exchange of obscenities is, indeed, a sign of friendship, and I found that vulgarity was invariably immensely successful in provoking hilarity; any subsequent negotiations were always peaceable and satisfactory.

302 [157] An extension of this vulgarity is an infantile vanity, not without sexual significance. The care with which their bodies are painted nearly every day is one aspect of this vanity; the more a wife loves her husband the more magnificent the designs she executes on him. [153] [151] [161] The paintings on their bodies reach a peak every two or three days, as the Onges fear illness and death if they are not newly daubed, and the face at least must be continually painted, with at least smears on the chest, arms and legs. A man returning from an exceptionally successful hunting trip is met by his wife with a specially unusual and elaborate design, which she carries out with great devotion. [123] During each of my visits to the island the Onges would rush up to show me their embellishments as soon as they were finished, and took a delight in standing in front of my camera, even though they had no idea what it was for.

304 [171] It is curious that unlike most primitive peoples, the Onges do not practise tattooing, which is one of the simplest ways, if not *the* simplest, in which such peoples satisfy their craving for physical [184] [302] admiration. The other Andamanese do, puncturing the skin with tiny slivers of obsidian or quartz, but the Onges paint with ochre instead. They love, too, to weave garlands of fruit, flowers and 301 824 leaves from the forest, returning to the camp laden with them, men and women alike, delighted with their own beauty. This divergence [184] of customs in peoples essentially of the same stock, but separated for long periods of time into endogamous isolates, is very remarkable.

838 An intense preoccupation with sexual attraction and activity has led to the prevalence of aberration. All the Onges have homosexual tendencies. I became aware of this during my first visit to Little Andaman on one of my longer expeditions, when I had taken only men with me, and on subsequent occasions I therefore allowed the men to bring their wives. The effect of long periods of absence on

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

taste. The liquid content of these stems is so great that it makes them extremely heavy to carry. These lianas are very common all over the islands and anyone who knows them need never die of thirst. To get at the liquid one only has to break the stem and put it to one's mouth; if one puts a receptacle under the break, a litre or so of liquid can be obtained in a matter of minutes. When the first strangers came to the archipelago, the Andamanese watched them tear down parts of the forest, including these lianas, and tried in vain to protest at the vandalism. No one understood their protests, but they were right.

The forest abounds in trees whose fruits in season form an important source of food for the islanders. One is the so-called jackfruit, *Artocarpus communis*, which here grows wild, though various species are cultivated all over Asia. The fruits, which appear on the thickest branches as well as on the trunk, are smaller in the wild variety, rarely weighing more than thirty grams, but the yield is enormous and the islanders enjoy them for months, especially from March to May. The Onges call them *bulundanghe*, and roast them in hot ashes till the hard pulp and seeds are eatable; the latter, the size of a hazelnut but tougher, are the best part.

Another useful plant is the *Pandanus*, or screw-pine. On Little Andaman extensive areas are covered with nothing else, making progress very difficult owing to the twisting roots and the spines on the long, tough leaves. It seems to prefer the coastal areas, particularly the marshes, where it often grows into an impenetrable jungle. There are at least two species, one of which is gregarious. The other, which grows as isolated specimens, is longer leaved, with bigger fruits and stems like candelabra, standing up on an arch of roots, as though on stilts. With the leaves of this variety, fluted and easy to arrange like roof tiles, the Onges can quickly improvise a waterproof covering. The young leaves provide them with ornaments which they wear for their dances, while the pulp of the fruit, which looks rather like a pineapple, perfumed and delicately flavoured, is nutritious though somewhat stringy.

Along the coasts where there are no *Pandanus*, one very often sees something very different – mangroves. The islanders use the wood for their canoe floats, and for fixing pegs (see p. 122) and the supply is unlimited, as the growth and spread of the mangroves are assured by a number of factors which have made them one of the best

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

night. Everything else stops. *Bulundanghe* are food enough, and even honey is left for the future; there will be larvae, and bees, and nests to come. Life is good! 222 [262]

Later come the large, heavy *Pandanus* (*Mane* to the Onges) but they are far less important. The whole fruit has hardly any smell, but immediately it is open it smells rather like a pineapple. The separate segments, actually carpals, each in its own skin, pineapple-coloured on the outside shading to a pale yellow, can be picked off one by one. Each carpal is rather like a pyramid, with the top towards the centre of the fruit, the base towards the outside, wrinkled and divided into cellules each containing an ovule. The edible part of the fruit is very small. In the Nicobars, where the huge cultivated variety can weigh anything up to two kilos, the women [171] spend hours passing a string through and through the heavy sphere of orange pulp to comb out the short bristly fibres which damage the stomach. The Onges are not interested in such niceties! The smaller wild fruit is merely broken into pieces, ready for chewing. The result of all the chewing is hardly worth the effort; there is taste, and there is smell, but the food value is very small indeed, and even the Onges seem to realize it.

Much better are the *giogbene*, which ripen in February, and the *ghine* in mid-March. The *giogbene* are soft, red fruit, the size of a cherry but rather less rounded, hanging in bunches from the trunk and the larger branches of the tree. The green seed sprouts out of the end of the fruit, like a large bean, but is not eaten; the Onges cut it off, and eat only the pulpy fruit, raw. They love to make [301] ● necklaces, twining the fruits with slender fibres into long garlands, [824] even making some for me when I was with them, and return to the camp every night with long ropes hanging round their necks and from their arms.

Ghine are very different. From the outside they look like small medlars, covered with a leathery skin which is easy to crack off with one's teeth. The fruit itself has three segments, and is rather gelatinous, a little sour, but quite edible. The Indians with me liked them very much and ate so many that they developed severe indigestion – unlike the Onges, who ate far more with no ill effects.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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3 *Above top* A group of Onges resting against the bastion roots of a tree. The man in the centre is smoking a crab-claw pipe
4 *Above* A typical example of tight binding of the body as a cure for disease
2 *Left* Two examples of the geometric patterns which are painted on the face and torso

[facing P. 66, C]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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[facing P. 66, I]

/13 Mother and child/

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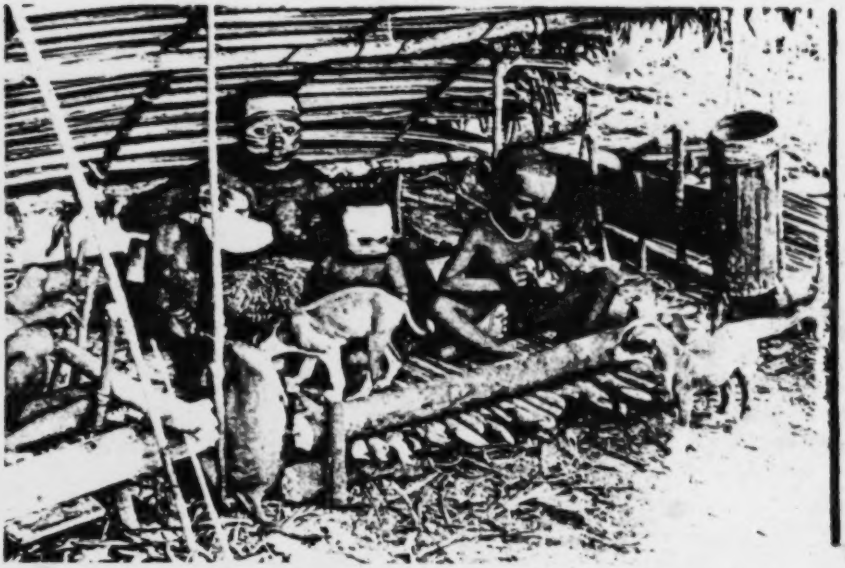

18 A family group with, on the right, the cylindrical cooking-pot, and the inevitable dogs

19 Typical shell collection from a kitchen-midden

172

[facing P. 67]

000 622 groups of families. There is some spontaneous recognition of individuals as 'headmen' as a result of some generally accepted superiority of physique or discernment, but the concept goes no further than the giving of some weight to their views within the group.

13 MARRIAGE

595 837 585 The Onges are monogamous, like all peoples who have never progressed beyond the stage of hunting and gathering, and adultery is virtually unknown. Marriage consists merely of the man taking possession of the woman in the presence of the rest of the group, taking her by the hand to a new bed built for the occasion and allotted a place within the circle. The 'marriage' takes place in the late evening and is followed by frenzied dancing all night long by the light of the resin torches. The total absence [174] of any form of ritual leads one to suppose isolation from a very early date indeed, but this cannot be more than conjecture.

14 BURIAL

172 174 764 The custom of burying the dead in caves still occupied by the living apparently existed in the Palaeolithic era. The practice has continued to the present time in the Andamans, where the dead are still buried under the family bed in the communal hut. It is known from Palaeolithic burials that even in that era objects were sometimes buried with the dead, and it is thus possible that the culture of the Andamans dates back to very early times.

15 EXHUMATION AND SECOND BURIAL

172 765 The custom of exhuming the bones of the dead and re-interring them after coloration (in this case with ochre) dates from the Palaeolithic era.

16 BONE NECKLACES

● 301 The custom of wearing necklaces of carpals, tarsals, phalanges and fragments of rib, is of extreme antiquity, and apart from the Andamans, has virtually disappeared.

17 RELIGION

172 775 764 There is evidence that even in Palaeolithic times there existed a belief in the survival of the spirit after death, and a fear of its return (hence the

18: Kleiweg de Zwaan E-5 (1906-1910) 1925 OB1 Indonesia
Andamans AZ

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Fig. 12. Mincopie Woman of the Andamans

Photo A. R. Brown.

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302 TOILET--shaving and depilation; hair styles (e.g., cutting, parting, arranging); care of the hair (e.g., washing, brushing); care of the nails (e.g., cutting, filing); body painting; use of cosmetics, ointments and perfumes; age, sex, and status differences in toilet; associated beliefs and practices; etc. See also:

Electrical appliances	403	Bathing and laving	515
Combs, brushes, etc.	412	Decorative art	531
Barbering tools	413	War paint	714
Elimination	514	Menstrual hygiene	841

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[p. 28A]

PLATE III

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A man of the North Andaman and his son. (The man's height is 1438 mm., 4 feet 8 inches)

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The essentials of mourning are (1) the use of clay (*odu*), and (2) abstention from certain foods, from dancing, and from the use of white clay (*tol*) and red paint. As stated above, every adult in the camp covers himself or herself with clay on the death of an adult member of the community, but when this wears off, or is washed off in the course of two or three days, it is not renewed. The near relatives retain this covering of clay for many weeks, constantly renewing it. The clay is smeared evenly over the body, and is not put on in patterns, as on other occasions. The relatives, but not the others, plaster some of the same clay on their heads. A widow mourning for her husband covers her whole head with a thick layer of clay, renewing it from time to time. For a lesser degree of mourning, the custom is to plaster clay on the forehead only. After some weeks or months of mourning, the near relatives discontinue the use of clay on their bodies, but retain a band of clay over the forehead as shown in Plates IX, X, and XVII. 765 302

The name of the clay thus used is *odu* in the Northern languages, and a mourner is called *aka-odu*. In the *Aka-Bea* language the name of the clay is *og* and the term for a mourner is *aka-og*.

During the period of mourning the name of the dead person is carefully avoided and no one uses it. If it is necessary to refer to the dead this is done by using some such phrase as "he who is buried by the big rock" or "he who is laid in the fig tree" or by mentioning the name of the place of burial. There is no prohibition against mentioning the name itself in other connections. Thus if a man were called *Buio*, from the name of a species of *Mucuna*, it is not necessary to avoid the word *buio* when speaking of the plant. Further if there is another person alive of the same name as the dead man it is not necessary to avoid the name in referring to the living individual. The custom is that a dead person must not be spoken of unless it is absolutely necessary, and then must not be spoken of by name. After the period of mourning is over the dead person may again be spoken of by name. 765 551

During the period of mourning a near relative of the deceased is never addressed or spoken of by name. There are certain 765

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE IX

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Woman decorated with *odu* clay

[p. 120A]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE X

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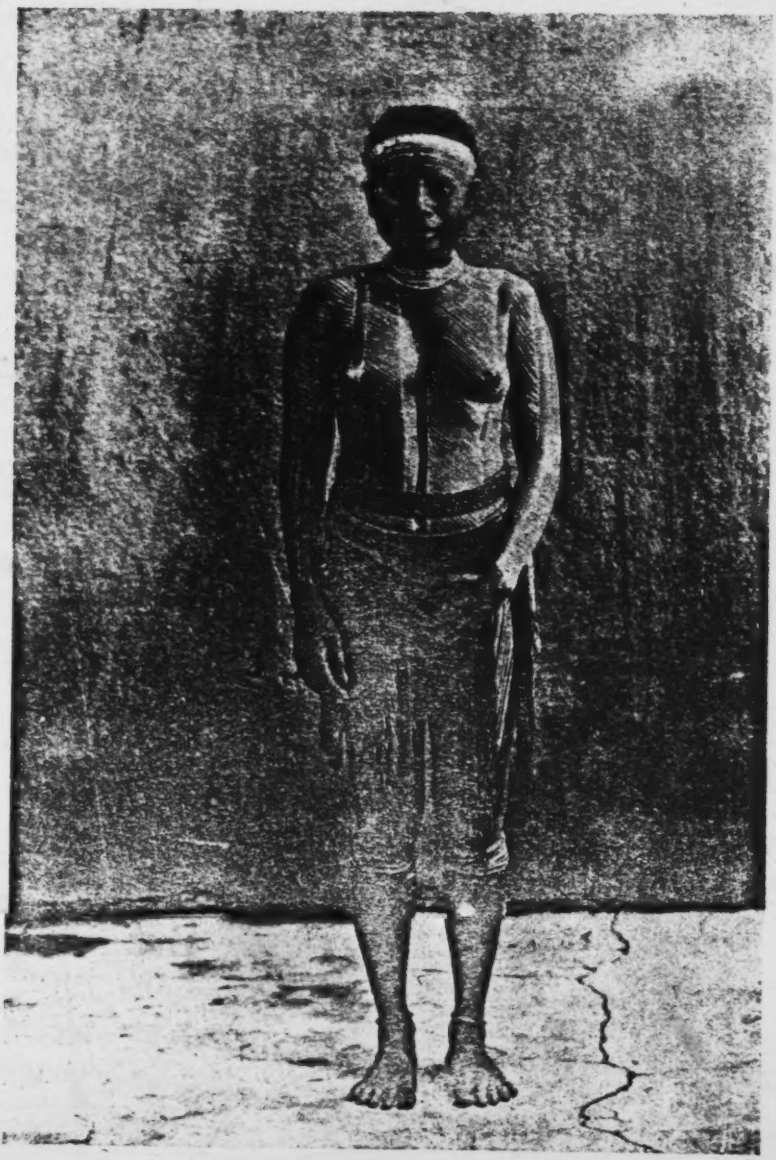

Woman decorated with *odu* clay

[p. 120B]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

either by itself, or prefixed to the name of the person spoken to, as *Maia Buio*, *Mimi Kaba*, etc. A native generally hesitates to tell his own name, and if asked the question "What is your name?" often asks a bystander to give the required information. There is, however, no hesitation about mentioning the name of any other person, except under certain special conditions. 551

There are certain occasions when the name of a man or woman is temporarily avoided. After the death of a relative and during the period of mourning, a mourner's name is not mentioned, either in speaking to him or of him. There are a few terms that may be used instead. One who has lost a parent is addressed as *Bolok*, one who has lost a brother or sister as *Ropuč*. For a short time before and after the birth of a child the names of the father and mother are not mentioned. A bride and bridegroom are not addressed or spoken of by name for a short period after their marriage, though if their names be A and B there seems to be no harm in referring to A as "the husband of B," or to B as "the wife of A." During the initiation ceremonies through which every boy and girl must pass, the name of the initiate is avoided. Thus on the occasion of the turtle-eating ceremony or the pig-eating ceremony, during the few days the ceremony lasts and for a few weeks afterwards, the youth or girl is never addressed or spoken of by name, but is referred to as *Kimil*. During the ceremony that takes place on the occasion of the advent of puberty, and for some weeks after, a girl is not spoken of or to either by her birth-name or her flower-name, but is called *Toto*. When a boy, in the Northern tribes, has the scars made on his back, which show him to be no longer a child, his name is avoided for a few weeks and he is called *Ejido*. 551 784

The name of a dead man or woman is not mentioned during the period of mourning, which lasts for some months after the death.

In the preceding portions of the chapter reference has been made several times to the ornamentation of the body with clay and pigment. In the Great Andaman three different substances are used for painting the body. These are (1) a common clay of which different specimens are gray, yellow or pink, called *odu* 302

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PLATE XI

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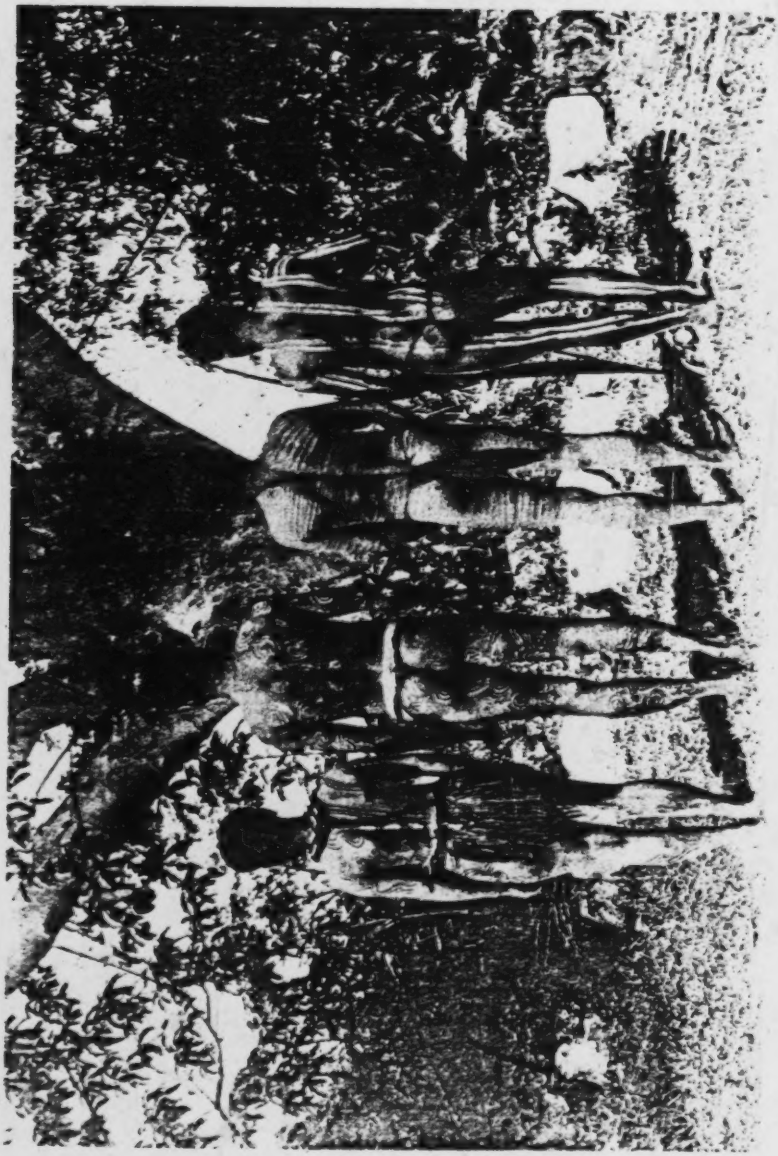

Three men and a young woman decorated with *odu* clay

[Facing p. 122]

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302 in *Aka-Jeru* and *og* in *Aka-Bea*; (2) a fine white pipe-clay which is rarer than the common clay and is more highly prized, called *tọl* or *tọl-odu* in *Aka-Jeru* and *tala-og* in *Aka-Bea*; (3) a red pigment made by mixing burnt oxide of iron with animal or vegetable fat or oil, called *keyip* in *Aka-Jeru* and *kọiob* in *Aka-Bea*.

The common clay (*odu*) is used in three different ways. After the death of a relative a man or woman smears himself all over with this clay and plasters it on his head. From this custom a person who is mourning for a dead relative is called *aka-odu* in *Aka-Jeru* or *aka-og* in *Aka-Bea*. The same clay is used at a certain stage of the initiation ceremonies, as described above, being spattered over the initiate in the turtle-eating and pig-eating ceremonies. The third and most common use of this clay is to decorate the bodies of men and women with patterns called (in *Aka-Jeru*) *ẹra-puli*. These patterns are always made by the women, who decorate each other and their male relatives. The clay is mixed with water in a wooden dish or a shell and the mixture is applied to the body with the fingers. There is an almost indefinite variety in the patterns employed, although there are a certain number of what may be called usual designs. Each woman vies with others in her endeavours to produce some novelty of detail in her designs, and a successful innovation is immediately copied by others. I was able to watch the rise and development and ultimate disappearance of "fashions" in this connection in one of the camps of the North Andaman.

The design is made in one of two ways. It may, in some cases, be formed by painting with the finger on the body, that is by tracing white (or gray) lines on a black surface. A design of this kind is shown on the back of the man on the right in the photograph of Plate XI. On the other hand, an equally common method is to cover a part of the body with an even smear of clay and then to scrape it away either with the fingers or with a small fish-bone or with a little instrument made of small strips of bamboo, so as to leave a design of black lines where the skin shows through the smeared clay. Two not very striking designs of this kind are shown in Plates IX and X. As a rule the designs are more or less symmetrical, the right

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302 and the left sides of the body being treated alike, but in a few cases different patterns are made on the two sides, and I have seen a man with one side of his body painted and the other not. The painting may cover the whole of the body and limbs with the exception of the hands and feet, or it may be confined to the front and back of the trunk, or it may be on the front only. The face is often painted, the designs being made with greater care than those on the body.

These patterns are made in the afternoon after the men return from their day's hunting, and always either just before or just after a meal.

If a man be asked what pattern he is painted with, he replies by mentioning the food that he has just eaten. A man who has been eating turtle will say that the painting on his body is *čokbi-t'ęra-puli*, turtle pattern, while if he has been eating pork he will call it *ra-t'ęra-puli*, pig pattern. There is not, however, a strict uniformity in the use of particular patterns in connection with special foods. When the whole camp has been feasting on turtle many different and (apparently) unrelated designs are to be seen on the bodies of the men and women. I did not find it possible, even after a study of the matter, to distinguish by means of the design a man who has been eating turtle from one who has been eating pork. There is one design, or group of closely related designs, that seemed to be based on the pattern of the plates on a turtle's carapace. A pattern of this distinctive kind was never, so far as my experience went, used except after eating turtle. Other patterns, however, which were used after eating turtle, did not seem to me to be related in any way to what I may call the specific turtle pattern. In some of the patterns used after eating pork I noticed a tendency to make use of vertical lines or bands on the back and chest. There may be a connection here with the longitudinal markings on the back of the wild pig.

Of special patterns I was only able to discover two. One of these is called *kimil-t'ęra-puli* and is only used to paint a person who is *aka-kimil*, i.e., who has just been through one of the initiation ceremonies. This pattern is shown on the back of a man in the photograph reproduced as Plate XI (the second

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302 figure from the left). Another special pattern is called *toto-t'ęra-puli* (*Pandanus* pattern), and is used, I believe, to decorate a girl after the ceremony at her first menstruation.

The fine white clay called *tọl-odu* in *Aka-Jeru* is used in a different way and on different occasions. When it is used to ornament the body it is always applied in one customary pattern. The name of this pattern in *Aka-Jeru* is *ọr-čubi-t'ęra-bat*, from the name of a species of snake, *ọr-čubi*. Exactly the same name is used in *A-Pučikwar*, *wara-čupi-l'ar-par*. Mr Man gives the *Aka-Bea* name as *jobo-tartaya*, from *jobo* the name for snake in general. A man decorated with this "snake pattern," as it may be called, is shown in Plate XII, and a pattern of the same kind is shown on the head of the man in Plate XIII. The pattern is built up of zig-zag lines. They are made by taking a little of the clay mixed with water between the thumb and first finger; by a movement of the thumb the space between the nail and the skin of the finger is filled with the clay, and the end of the finger is then applied to the skin so that it leaves a short and fine line of clay. A zig-zag line is thus built up of short lines each a finger's breadth in length. A second line is then added, not parallel to the first, but opposed to it, so that the two lines together form a row of lozenges. A third and sometimes a fourth or fifth line are similarly added. As shown in Plate XII the lines of pattern are carried down the front of the body, down the sides of the arms, and down the front of the legs, and they are similarly worked on the back of the body, and the back of the legs. The face also is decorated. These patterns are made by the women. It is one of the duties of a wife to decorate her husband in this way when occasion requires.

The only reason that the natives give for ornamenting themselves in this way is that it makes them "look well." On the occasion of a big dance many of the performers are thus ornamented. This is always so at the dances held when two or more local groups meet together. There are certain special occasions, already mentioned in this chapter, when the use of the "snake pattern" is required by custom. One of these is the dance at the end of mourning. During the period of mourning the mourners are forbidden to make use of this form of decoration.

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PLATE XII

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A young man decorated with white clay in readiness for a dance [p. 124A]

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PLATE XIII

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A man with a pattern of white clay on his face

[p. 124 B]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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The same pattern is used to decorate a bride and bridegroom after their marriage. In the initiation ceremonies the youth or girl is decorated in this way before the dances at the turtle-eating and pig-eating ceremonies. The same pattern is also made on a corpse before burial. 302

In all these cases the whole body is decorated. On less ceremonial occasions, such as an ordinary dance when there are no visitors of importance in the camp, a man frequently has his face alone decorated with white clay, as in the photograph of Plate XIII.

The third kind of material used for painting the body is red paint. This is applied in two different ways. When a man or woman is ill he or she is generally to be seen with some part of his body smeared with red paint. For colds and coughs the chest and neck are painted. In fevers red paint is smeared on the upper lip. Besides the medical use of red paint, if we may call it so, there is a ceremonial use, the pigment being used in combination with white clay, lines of red paint being applied to the body between the lines of clay of the snake pattern. It is used in this way to decorate the body of a dead person for burial, and on ceremonial occasions such as the dance at the end of mourning and the dances in connection with the initiation ceremonies. 302 755

Most of the ornaments worn at various times by the Andaman Islanders have a ceremonial or a magical purpose. The only things worn by men that can be considered to have a utilitarian value are the belt of rope and the necklet of string. The belt may be a plain piece of rope, or it may be ornamented with the yellow skin of a species of *Dendrobium*. It serves as a receptacle in which the natives carry such things as adzes, fish, roots, or even arrows. It is the one object that is constantly worn by men. The string necklet is simply a length of thin string tied round the neck. It serves as a means of carrying a knife and skewer. The knife, in former days made of a slip of cane, but in these times from a piece of scrap iron, is attached to a skewer of *Areca* wood by a short length of rope or stout string. By sliding either the knife or the skewer under the necklet at the back of the neck the double implement hangs securely in 301

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X 182 535 some importance, such as a war-dance, or a dance of two groups together, the dancers decorate themselves by putting on various ornaments and by painting their bodies with red paint and white clay. The explanation of the dance cannot therefore be regarded as complete till we have considered the meaning of this personal adornment connected with it.

X 182 535 301 302 If the Andaman Islander be asked why he adorns himself for the dance, his reply is invariably that he wishes to look well, to improve his personal appearance. In other words his conscious motive is personal vanity.

One of the features of the dance, and a not unimportant one, is that it offers an opportunity for the gratification of personal vanity. The dancer, painted, and hung over with ornaments, becomes pleasantly conscious of himself, of his own skill and agility and of his striking or at least satisfactory appearance, and so he becomes also conscious of his relation to others, of their admiration, actual or possible, and of the approval and good-will that go with admiration. In brief, the ornamented dancer is pleasantly conscious of his own personal value. We may therefore say that the most important function of any such adorning of the body is to express or mark the personal value of the decorated individual.

X 182 301 302 This explanation only applies to certain bodily ornaments and to certain ways of painting the body. It applies to the painting of white clay, with or without red paint, that is adopted at dances and on other ceremonial occasions. It applies to such personal ornaments as those made of netting and *Dentalium* shell which constitute what may be called the ceremonial costume of the Andamanese. It is of these that the natives say that they use them in order to look well.

The occasions on which such personal decoration is used are strictly defined by custom. In other words the society dictates to the individual when and how he shall be permitted to express his own personal value. It is obvious that personal vanity is of great importance in directing the conduct of the individual in his dealings with his fellows, and much more amongst a primitive people such as the Andamanese than amongst ourselves, and it is therefore necessary that the society should have some means of

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controlling the sentiment and directing it towards social ends. We have seen that the dance is the expression of the unity and harmony of the society, and by permitting at the dance the free expression of personal vanity the society ensures that the individual shall learn to feel, even if only subconsciously, that his personal value depends upon the harmony between himself and his fellows. 182X 301 302

The bride and bridegroom are painted with white clay, and wear ornaments of *Dentalium* shell on the day following their marriage. We have seen that marriage involves a change of social status, and we may say that it gives an increased social value to the married pair, the social position of a married man or woman being of greater importance and dignity than that of a bachelor or spinster. They are, after marriage, the objects of higher regard on the part of their fellows than they were before. It is therefore appropriate that the personal value of the bride and bridegroom should be expressed so that both they themselves and their fellows should have their attention drawn to it, and this is clearly the function of the painting and ornaments.

After the completion of any of the more important of the initiation ceremonies, such as the eating of turtle, the initiate is painted with white clay and red paint and wears ornaments of *Dentalium* shell. This is exactly parallel to the painting of the bride and bridegroom. The initiate, by reason of the ceremony he has been through, has acquired new dignity and importance, and by having fulfilled the requirements of custom has deserved the approval of his fellows. The decoration of his body after the ceremony is thus the expression of his increased social value.

A corpse, before burial, is decorated in the same manner as the body of a dancer. This, we may take it, is the means by which the surviving relatives and friends express their regard for the dead, i.e. their sense of his value. We need not suppose that they believe the dead man to be conscious of what they are doing. It is to satisfy themselves that they decorate the corpse, not to satisfy the spirit. When a man is painted he feels that he has the regard and good-will of his fellows, and those who see him, at any rate in the instance of a bridegroom or initiate, 182X 302 764

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realise that he has deserved their regard. So, to express their regard for the dead man they paint the inanimate body. Hence it is that the greater the esteem in which the dead man or woman is held, the greater is the care bestowed on the last painting.

We may conclude therefore that the painting of the body with white clay and the wearing of ornaments of *Dentalium* shell is a rite or ceremony by which the value of the individual to the society is expressed on appropriate occasions. We shall find confirmation of this later in the chapter.

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Before passing on to consider the meaning of other methods of decorating the body there is one matter that is worthy of mention. It is often assumed or stated that both personal ornament and dancing, amongst uncivilised peoples, are connected with sexual emotion. It is, of course, extremely difficult to disprove a statement of this sort. So far as the Andamanese are concerned I was unable to find any trace whatever of a definitely sexual element in either their dances or their personal adornment. It may be recalled that both men and women wear exactly the same ornaments on ceremonial occasions, and this is to some extent evidence that such have no sexual value. It is possible that some observers might see in the dance of the women (which is only performed on rare occasions) a suggestion of something of a sexual nature. I was unable to find that the natives themselves consider that there is anything suggestive of sex in either the dance of the men or that of the women. If it were true that the most important feature of the dance was that it appealed in some way to sexual feelings it is difficult to see how we are to explain the different occasions on which dancing takes place, as before a fight, at the end of mourning, etc., whereas these are adequately accounted for by the hypothesis that the dance is a method of expressing the unity and harmony of the society. Similarly the explanation of personal ornament as being connected with sexual feeling would fail to account for the occasions on which it is regarded as obligatory. There is therefore, I believe, no special connection between the dancing and personal ornament of the Andamanese and sexual feeling. It would still be possible to hold that there is a general

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against evil; (2) the degree of protective power it is believed to possess depends on the importance of the services it actually renders to the society; (3) the kind of special protection it is supposed to afford is often related to the kind of special service that it does actually render.

We were led to the consideration of the protective power of objects through an attempt to understand the meaning of the methods of ornamenting the body in the Andamans. We have seen that some ornaments are worn in order to express the personal value of the individual, while others are worn for the sake of the protection they are believed to afford. We have also seen that one method of painting the body (with white clay) is a means of expressing the personal value of the painted individual. We will next consider the use of the clay called *odu*. This clay is painted on the body of a mourner and is the outward sign of mourning; it is used at certain stages of the initiation ceremonies; it is also regularly used for painting the body with the designs known as *era-puli*. According to the rule of method laid down at the beginning of the chapter we must seek some common explanation of these different uses of the same substance.

We may consider, first of all, the patterns (*era-puli*) that are made with this clay on the body and face after eating certain foods such as pork and turtle.

Mr Man gives two explanations of the use of these paintings of clay. During the hot season, he says, the natives "endeavour to lessen the discomfort caused by the heat by smearing their bodies with a white-wash of common white clay and water." He adds: "it has long been erroneously believed that they have recourse to this expedient in order to allay the inconvenience which they would otherwise suffer from the bites of mosquitoes and other jungle pests; but the true reason for the practice is, I am well assured, that which I have given above[1]." In another place he says: "After eating pork or turtle they are in the habit of smearing *og* over their bodies with their fingers, in the belief that it affects their breath, and that evil spirits will be unable to detect, and therefore will not be attracted to, them by the

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 76.

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savoury smell of the food of which they have partaken. Again, when heated by travelling or by hunting or dancing, they have recourse to the same wash, but in these cases it is applied thinly[1]."

There are here two explanations of fundamentally different character. First the Andamanese practice of painting their bodies with clay is explained as having a purely utilitarian purpose, being intended to cool them when they are heated. In the second statement the explanation given is that the custom is intended to protect them from danger.

My own observations do not altogether agree with the statements of Mr Man. I found that the natives painted themselves just as much in the cold season as in the hot season. The principal, if not the sole, occasion on which the clay is used is after or immediately before a meal, and therefore generally in the late afternoon or evening when the heat of the day is past. I do not feel so satisfied as Mr Man appears to be, that the clay really has the effect of keeping a person cool, particularly when it is remembered that the painting may consist of a few lines each as broad as a finger. Moreover, Mr Man's explanation does not afford any reason for the fact that the clay is always applied in some sort of pattern. If it were merely to keep himself cool, we should expect to see a man cover himself all over with a plain coating evenly spread over the body. Such an even coating is never used, in the Great Andaman tribes, except by persons mourning for the dead, and is the essential mark of a mourner.

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It is easy to explain how Mr Man has fallen into an error in this matter. On many occasions, when I questioned the natives as to their reason for painting themselves with clay I received the answer, "When we have eaten pork or turtle or dugong, we become *ot-kimil* and so we take clay and paint ourselves." Now the word *ot-kimil* in the *Aka-Jeru* language is the word that the natives use to express what we mean by the word "hot." But while "hot" may always be translated by *ot-kimil* or *er-kimil*, the latter word cannot always be adequately rendered in English by the word "hot." Mr Man seems to have supposed that when an Andaman Islander says "hot" he means by the word only what we mean, whereas he really means a great deal more.

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 333.

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It is probable, then, that when a native says that after eating food he is *ot-limil* and therefore paints himself with clay he does not mean simply that he is hot. This will be still more evident when we consider the second explanation of the custom that is given by the natives. Many of those whom I questioned stated that after eating dugong, pork, turtle, etc., the body emits an odour, that this odour may attract the spirits of the jungle or the sea, and that to obviate this they paint themselves with clay. This agrees exactly with what Mr Man says in the second passage quoted above. It is confirmed by other customs. I was told that a man who has eaten dugong will not leave the camp until some time after the dugong meat is all finished, for fear that the spirits may smell him and do him harm. It is to be noted in passing that painting the body with clay does not by any means remove the odour that does actually characterise a native after he has been eating fat meat of any kind. We must be careful, in this instance also, not to assume that an Andaman Islander means by "smell" exactly what we mean by it and nothing more. It will be shown later in the chapter that the Andamanese identify the smell of an object with its active magical principle. One example may be given here to show this. The origin of rheumatism in the legs is explained by the natives as being the result of the common practice of preparing the fibre of the *Anadendron paniculatum* by scraping it on the thigh. During this process, they say, the "smell" of the plant enters the thigh and is the cause of rheumatic or sciatic pains.

The natives give yet a third statement of their reasons for using clay. On many occasions I asked them what would happen if they ate pork or turtle and did not paint themselves. In every case I received the reply that any man who did such a thing would almost certainly be ill.

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When a number of persons give three different reasons for one and the same action, and are equally sincere throughout, it is to be presumed that the three different statements are so many different ways of saying one and the same thing. We may therefore conclude that the Andaman Islanders believe that there is a peculiar power in foods (or in some foods) which makes it dangerous to eat them. This danger may be expressed by saying that

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to protect them from danger and to bring them luck, is therefore very similar to their belief in the protective power of the materials used for weapons and implements. The consideration of the apparent contradiction mentioned above has led us to a more exact statement of the real beliefs in these matters. They believe, we may say, that all the things from the jungle and the sea of which they make use as food or as materials, are dangerous unless approached with proper ritual precautions, but when so approached they become sources of strength and well-being and also of protection from unseen dangers.

To return to the main argument, which was concerned with the meaning of the patterns of clay painted on the body after eating the more dangerous foods, it would seem that this action is really a rite or ceremony, of the same general character as other ceremonial customs of the Andamans. It is an action required by custom, the performance of which on appropriate occasions serves to keep alive in the mind of the individual a certain system of sentiments necessary for the regulation of conduct in conformity to the needs of the society. By it the individual is made to feel (or to act as though he felt) that his life is one of continually repeated dangers from which he can only be preserved by conforming to the customs of the society as they have been handed down by tradition. He is made to feel that the eating of food is not merely the satisfaction of an animal appetite, but an act of communion, that the food itself is something "sacred" (if we may use that word in the sense of the original Latin "sacer"). It serves also, like any other rite in which all join, to make the individual feel the solidarity and unity of the community; all share in the common repast and the common danger, and each man sees on his neighbour the clay with which he himself is daubed.

Of course it is probable that the Andamanese custom of painting the body after eating, like our own grace before and after meat, with which it is parallel, tends to become a formality accompanied by little real feeling, but it can be shown, I believe, that such customs do possess a real value—a real psychological function—in keeping alive ideas and sentiments that will on occasion play an important part in influencing conduct.

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contact with some source of that power which belongs to the things that affect the social life, and it thereby serves to keep alive the sentiments associated with that notion of power. The painting after eating reminds the individual of his dependence upon and obligation towards the society, and, since all join in the rite, it serves also to maintain the unity of the community. 182X 778

We may now return to the question of the meaning of personal ornament in general. It is a commonplace of psychology that the development of the sense of self is closely connected with the perception of one's own body. It is also generally recognized that the development of the moral and social sentiments in man is dependent upon the development of self-consciousness, of the sense of self. These two important principles will help us to appreciate the hypothesis to which the discussion has now led, that in the Andamans the customary regulation of personal ornament is a means by which the society acts upon, modifies, and regulates the sense of self in the individual. 182X 304 301 302

There are three methods of ornamenting the body in the Andamans, (1) by scarification, (2) by painting, and (3) by the putting on of ornaments.

The natives give two reasons for the custom of scarification, that it improves the personal appearance and that it makes the boy or girl grow up strong. Both these mean that scarification gives or marks an added value. The explanation of the rite would therefore seem to be that it marks the passage from childhood to manhood and is a means by which the society bestows upon the individual that power, or social value, which is possessed by the adult but not by the child. The individual is made to feel that his value—his strength and the qualities of which he may be proud—is not his by nature but is received by him from the society to which he is admitted. The scars on his body are the visible marks of his admission. The individual is proud or vain of the scars which are the mark of his manhood, and thus the society makes use of the very powerful sentiment of personal vanity to strengthen the social sentiments. 182X 304

Turning now to the painting of the body, we have seen that the pattern of white clay serves to make both the painted individual and those who see him feel his social value, and we 182X 302

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have seen that this interpretation explains the occasions on which such painting is used. To complete the argument it is necessary to consider the occasions on which the use of white clay is forbidden.

Those to whom this prohibition applies are (1) a youth or girl who is *aka-op*, i.e., who is abstaining from certain foods during the initiation period, (2) a mourner, (3) a homicide during the period of isolation, and (4) a person who is ill. All these persons are excluded from full participation in the active social life, and therefore the social value of each of them is diminished. It would obviously be wrong for a person in such a condition to express by decorating himself a social value that he did not at the time possess.

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The occasions on which this style of painting is used or forbidden are thus all satisfactorily explained by our hypothesis. It remains to consider the nature of the painting itself, and how far it is an appropriate means of expression. To do this we must discuss very briefly some of the processes of symbolic thought of the Andamanese. Conditions of well-being (both individual and social) are associated in the minds of the Andamanese with fine weather, both directly (through physiological action) and indirectly (through the effect of fine weather on the social life). Hence *Tomo*, who, as we shall see in the next chapter, is a personification of fine weather, is a being who is connected with goodness and happiness. With fine weather, and therefore with individual and social well-being, the Andamanese associate brightness and whiteness (for which they have only one word) and any bright or light colour. The association of light and dark with euphoric and dysphoric conditions respectively has a psycho-physical basis, for it seems to be universal in human nature. Now the clay that the Andamanese call *tol-odu* is the whitest substance they know, and is for this reason fitted to be symbolical of conditions of well-being. Fine weather is associated, in the minds of the Andamanese with honey, because in the season of fine weather honey is plentiful, and is also associated for a similar reason with snakes. Sweetness itself is universally associated with pleasant things, again through a psycho-physical link. The Andamanese believe in a special con-

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nection between honey and a species of large snake called *wara-jobo* or *or-čubi*[1], so that this snake comes to be representative of fine weather and sweetness and therefore generally of states of well-being. Now, throughout the Great Andaman the pattern in which white clay is painted on the body is called after this snake, and the zig-zags of which the pattern is composed may be supposed to be representative of the snake itself. When, therefore, a man paints himself with white clay in a pattern which he regards as representing the snake *wara-jobo*, it is evident that the painting is meant to express a condition of well-being, with which the snake itself, and whiteness, are, by a number of links, closely associated. This is not all, however. The Andamanese, we may not doubt, derive from the painted pattern an esthetic pleasure due to its rhythmical character, its shape as an arrangement of lines and spaces. Further it provides the pleasure that we obtain from a thing elegantly and skilfully made, and this explains why so much care is taken in the making of the pattern. This pleasure at what we may call the beauty of the pattern heightens the effect produced by its symbolic references. The real value of the pattern, its pleasure-giving quality, is transferred to the man on whose body it is executed. He himself is pleased with it, proud of it, and so becomes pleased with and proud of himself, for the pattern by being imprinted on his body becomes part of him. The sense of self attaches to it, as with us the sense of self attaches to our clothes.

It would be interesting to carry the analysis of the mental processes involved in all this a stage or two further, but enough has been said, I hope, to show that the nature of the painting with clay is appropriate to its use as marking or expressing value.

Patterns are sometimes painted with this same white clay on the face alone, such patterns being built up either of the zig-zags of the snake pattern, or of rhythmically arranged series of short lines. The use of such paintings is regulated by a sort of etiquette. By so having his face decorated a man expresses that he is pleased with himself, and obviously there are occasions on which it is appropriate and others on which it is inappropriate

[1] See p. 227.

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that he should feel thus. A man who has been successful in the day's hunting, for example, is quite justified in having his face ornamented in this way, and it is on such occasions as this that the custom is observed.

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When a man is painted for a dance, or on any other ceremonial occasion, with white clay, he is also painted at the same time with red paint. In these instances we must suppose that the red paint serves the same purpose as the pattern of white clay with which it is combined, namely to make the decorated person pleasantly aware of his or her social value. Red paint is also used, however, in sickness, and on other occasions, as affording protection against evil, particularly evil from the spirit-world.

This double use of red paint is to be explained by reference to the colour symbolism of the Andaman Islanders. For them the colour red is pre-eminently the colour of blood and of fire. There is ample evidence of this which it is perhaps not necessary to state. Now blood is identified with the warmth of the body and with life; the blood and the fat are sometimes spoken of as the two vital principles. Fire, as I have already shown, is taken as a symbol of activity and of mental excitement. Thus the colour comes to be associated in the minds of the Andamanese with all euphoric conditions, with excitement, vitality, mental and bodily activity, and with energy or force in general. It is possible that this symbolism, which seems to be much the same in all divisions of mankind, has a psycho-physical basis in the stimulating dynamogenic power of sensations of redness.

When a person is sick he is in need of vitality, of energy, and so his body is daubed with the red paint that is a symbol of the things that he needs, and by a simple mental process he comes to believe that by applying the paint to his body he increases his energy and vitality, and so helps himself to get rid of the sickness. At a dance, or on other ceremonial occasions, it is required that the individual shall have a sense of his own value, and for this he must experience that sense of personal force and vitality that is produced, as we have seen, by the action of the dance. This effect is reinforced by the use of the red paint which is the symbol of that condition of energy and vitality that it is

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(for some special reason) necessary for him to feel. As the value of the individual depends upon his strength or force, the red paint is thus a suitable means of expressing the value of him on whose body it is painted, and really expresses, though by different means, exactly the same thing as the pattern of white clay with which it is combined. 182* 302 822

We are now in a position to understand the use of white clay and red paint in the purification of a homicide. This takes place at the end of a period of isolation, during which the man is entirely cut off from the social life, and lives in a condition of supposed extreme danger on account of the blood that he has shed. During this time he may not use his hands to touch food, and at the end his hands are purified by the application to them of red paint and white clay. It is clearly because these two substances are both of them in different ways symbols of conditions of well-being that magical virtue is ascribed to their use in this instance. It is perhaps worth while to recall that both red ochre and white clay are sometimes given internally as remedies against sickness.

For the sake of the argument it has been necessary to separate the two motives underlying the use of personal ornament, the desire for protection and the desire for display. But we now see that these two motives are very intimately related and are really both involved in every kind of ornament. All ornament in some way marks the relation of the individual to the society and to that force or power in the society to which he owes his well-being and happiness. When painting or ornament is used to give protection, it is, as we have seen, the protective power of the society itself that is appealed to, and what is expressed is the dependence of the individual on the society. When ornament or paint is used for display it is again the dependence on the society that is expressed, though in a different way and on occasions of a different kind. We have seen that scarification is also a means of marking the dependence of the individual on the society, and it is very important to note that the Andamanese sometimes explain it as due to the desire for display and sometimes to the need of protection (enabling the child to grow strong and so avoid the dangers of sickness), showing very clearly that there is some 182* 301 302 304

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intimate connection between these two motives, or at any rate that one and the same method of ornamentation can satisfy both. There is the further example of red paint, which is combined with the pattern of white clay for purposes of display, and is also constantly used in many ways as affording protection.

We are thus brought to the final conclusion that the scarification and painting of the body and the wearing of most if not all of the customary ornaments are rites which have the function of marking the fact that the individual is in a particular permanent or temporary relation to that power in the society and in all things that affect the social life, the notion of which we have seen to underlie so much of the Andaman ceremonial.

The scarification of a boy or girl leaves permanent marks of the permanent relation between the adult and the society. By means of it and the initiation ceremonies that follow or accompany it, and of which it may really be considered to be a part, the society gives the individual his social value, of which the scars remain as a visible sign for him to be proud of, and at the same time endows him with the power to avoid the dangers with which his life is beset.

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The paintings of clay after food mark the temporary relation between the individual and the power present in the food he has eaten. It is chiefly thought of by the natives themselves as protective, as we have seen, but it also gives an opportunity for the exercise of personal vanity, for much care is taken in the designing and execution of the pattern, which therefore affords the painted individual much the same sort of satisfaction as the snake pattern of white clay. It calls his attention to his own appearance, and makes him feel pleased or satisfied with himself, conscious of his own personal value. A condition of unity and harmony is produced in the community by a feast as well as by a dance, and in each instance that harmony is expressed by the painting of every member with the same material in a similar design. The relation of the individual to the society is made visible on his body. By means of the paintings after food the society not only protects itself from danger but also rejoices in the well-being that is produced by a supply of relished food.

Inversely it can now also be shown that the painting of white

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clay and red paint worn at a dance and after marriage and initiation is not only a means of display but is also protective. Both red paint and white clay are used to give protection in sickness, and they are similarly used in the purification of the hands of a homicide. Moreover we have seen, in reference to the word *ot-kimil*, that the dance is a condition of danger by reason of the contact it involves between the individual and the power of the society. The few days following an initiation ceremony are definitely believed to be a period of danger for the initiate, and during this time the pattern of white clay and red paint must not be washed off but must be allowed to wear off. By the time the last traces of the pattern have disappeared the danger is considered to be over. There is evidence that the first few days of marriage are regarded as a period of danger. It would seem that the natives do attribute to the painting with white clay and red paint some power of protection, but this is hidden under the importance of such painting as a means of display. 182X 302

Of the various ornaments that are worn on the body some would seem to be worn almost solely for purposes of display, because they are pleasing to the eye. Such are the necklaces and other ornaments of small shells. It would seem that the same motive is also responsible for the use of the yellow skin of the *Dendrobium* of which the Andamanese are so fond. The ornaments of netting and shell seem to be worn primarily for display, but it is quite possible that some protective power is attributed to them, as to the paintings of white clay with which they are regularly worn. The belts of *Pandanus* leaf that are worn by women are a mark of the sex, and the style of belt worn differs with the social status of the woman. They thus serve to exhibit the special social value of the woman in so far as it depends upon her sex and her social status, but I believe that the Andamanese attribute to the belt and to the apron of leaves worn with it a power of protection against the special dangers to which women are believed to be subject. Ths is suggested by the use of the *Pandanus* leaf in the ceremony at a girl's first menstruation[1]. I failed to discover any special ideas connected 182X 301

[1] I am unfortunately obliged to leave a big gap in this chapter and in the book, owing to my inability to discuss the Andamanese notions about sex. The natives of 831

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As regards personal ornament, therefore, the only elements of a primitive Negrito culture that we seem to be able to trace in the Andamans at the present day are (1) the use of yellow vegetable fibre, and (2) the absence of any considerable use of feathers. 301 171

One element of a primitive Andamanese culture, though not necessarily of a primitive Negrito culture, would seem to be the use of a tassel of the fibre obtained from an unopened palm-leaf which is used by women to cover their genitals in the Little Andaman, and was similarly used until recently in the North Andaman.

Hair-dressing, Scarification, and Body-painting.

At the present time the usual method of hair-dressing in the Great Andaman is to shave a portion of the scalp all round so as to leave a sort of skull-cap of hair, as may be seen in many of the plates of this volume. In some cases a "parting" is made by shaving a narrow strip over the crown. (See Plate xv, for example.) When the hair grows so long as to be uncomfortable the whole head is shaved, and it is then permitted to grow again. In these days the natives cut their hair whenever they have an opportunity of obtaining a pair of scissors. In the Little Andaman women and old men are frequently to be seen with the head entirely shaved. The younger men shave away the lower edge of the hair all round in the same way as the natives of the Great Andaman, but this may be a recent practice. 302

The fashion of hair-dressing, at any rate for women, has changed within recent times, for Mr Man wrote in 1882 that "the majority of the women every week or ten days shave their heads almost entirely, leaving only two narrow parallel lines of hair, termed *gor*, from the crown to the nape of the neck[1]." At the present time this style of hair-dressing has fallen entirely into disuse, and the women do their hair in the same way as the men.

The operation of shaving, which is done with a flake of glass or quartz, is performed by women, and never, or very rarely, by men.

Mention has been made in an earlier part of the work of the way in which the natives of the Great Andaman scarify the skin of the body and limbs with a flake of glass or quartz. The Semang do not scarify themselves in this way, but some, at any rate, of the Negritos of the Philippines do. 304 171

The natives of the Great Andaman, as described earlier in this work, paint their bodies with a grey clay called *odu* or *og*, with a fine 302

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 77.

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302 white clay, and with red paint made by mixing burnt oxide of iron with fat or oil. The natives of the Little Andaman use the same kind of clay as that called *odu* or *og* in the Great Andaman, but instead of applying it in patterns they smear it roughly on the back and front of the trunk. They also use red paint, with which they smear their hair, a practice never met with in the Great Andaman.

ORNAMENTATION.

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The Andamanese have simple designs which they paint or incise

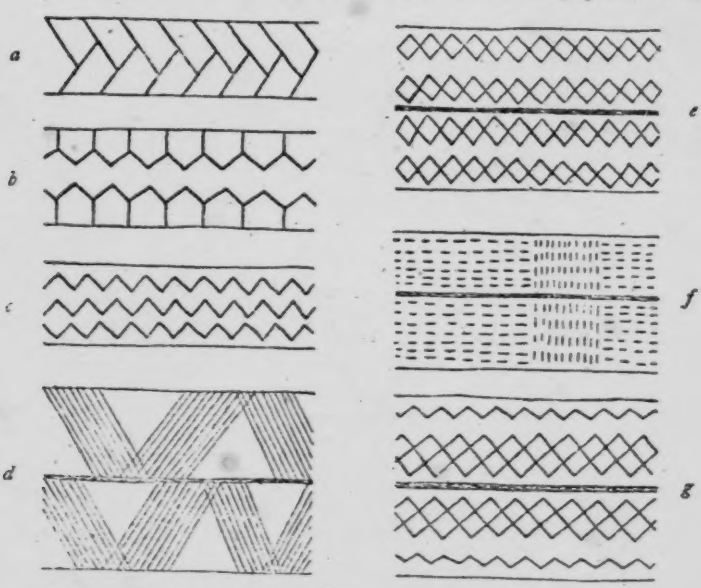

Fig. 42. Designs incised or painted on belts of *Pandanus* leaf, Great Andaman

on their bodies and on a great number of the objects that they make and use. A few typical designs such as are incised or painted on belts of *Pandanus* leaf are shown in Fig. 42. A very large number of designs are based on the zig-zag line. Examples are shown in Fig. 42 *c*, *e*, and *g*. In all parts of the Great Andaman and also in the Little Andaman the zig-zag line is associated with snakes. Thus in the Little Andaman the simple zig-zag line is called *dobo kwolage* (*dobo* = snake). In the North Andaman the design of zig-zag lines painted on the body with white clay is called *or-čubi t'era-bat*, *or-čubi* being the name of a species of large snake.

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A number of other common designs consist of parallel lines of dots or of short strokes, an example of which is shown in Fig. 42 *f*. 302 531

By far the greater number of the Andamanese designs are based on the following elements, (1) parallel lines crossing a surface from side to side at right angles to the edge or else in a sloping direction (about 45°), (2) parallel lines of dots or of short lines, i.e. parallel broken lines, as in Fig. 42 *f*, (3) zig-zag lines, which may be single, or parallel or opposed so as to make lines of lozenges. As an example of the way in which these elements may be combined two designs copied from bamboo necklaces are shown in Fig. 43.

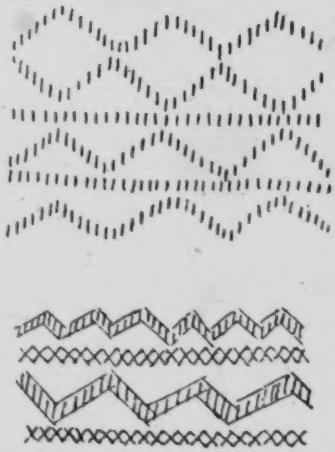

Fig. 43. Designs on bamboo necklace from the North Andaman

It would perhaps be possible to show that there is a real connection between the ornamentation of the Andamanese and that of the Semang, as there is certainly a considerable degree of superficial resemblance, but at present we understand so little the psychological processes underlying the use of ornament amongst primitive peoples that the subject is one of considerable difficulty. [177]

Canoes.

Canoes are in regular use on the coast in all parts of the islands. 501
There are three types of canoe. (1) The Little Andaman canoe, with one outrigger, propelled with paddles or with a pole. (2) The Great Andaman small canoe, with one outrigger, propelled with paddles or with a pole. (3) The Great Andaman large canoe, without outrigger, propelled with oars.

The third kind of canoe mentioned above is a recent innovation. The natives themselves say that such canoes have only been made in recent times, since they have been able to obtain a plentiful supply of iron tools, and so have been able to cut down and hollow out large trunks[1]. They seem to have been invented by the natives of the South Andaman, and copied by those of the Middle and North Andaman.

[1] Man, *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* XII, p. 367, note 4.

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variations in colour are not confined within certain tribal limits, but are alike found in all, whether living inland or on the coast; and it would therefore appear that the cause is not attributable to diet, habits, or, indeed, to any external circumstance. 142

3. The opinion expressed on this subject by Dr. Mouat was that "their hue is remarkably black and lustrous;" while Surgeon-Major Hodder[1] describes them as "extremely black, more so than the African negro, and some have a dull leaden hue like that of a black-leaded stove." In this latter remark I fully concur; indeed, the simile strikes me as an exceedingly happy one, and as exactly expressing the predominating colour of their skin.

4. On examining a number of individuals, and comparing the colour of their skin and eyes with the standard tables prepared by the late M. Broca, it was found that the skin of the face and shoulders of the majority corresponded most nearly with No. 42, the variations tending towards 27 and 28, while that of the trunk, in the generality of cases, agreed with No. 27, and in certain others with No. 49. The prevailing hue of the eyes was found to be most closely represented by No. 16, one exception, which had to be classed under No. 1, being found among those tested.

Odour.—1. The ammoniacal, rancid, goat-like exhalations of the negro are not found among them, and the peculiarity of odour which attaches to their persons is chiefly due to the unguent, called *kòi·ob-da*,[2] composed of red oxide of iron mixed with either turtle or pig's fat, with which they delight to paint themselves. When in health, and under ordinary circumstances, their breath is sweet.[3] 302●

Anatomy and Physiology (*continued*).—2. Their powers of abstinence from solid food have never, to our knowledge, been severely tested; but it has been noticed that, on rare occasions, when forced to make a long day's journey through the jungles without a halt, they are in the habit of binding a strip of bark or other substance round their waists, to reduce, as much as possible, the inconvenience and pain which are caused by what they consider a long fast. Whether in exercise or repose they 261

[1] *Vide* "Pall Mall Budget," 20th April, 1877.

[2] Substantives, adjectives, and many adverbs have the termination "da," which, as mentioned in my previous paper, I believe to be traceable to the defective or partially obsolete verb, *edā·ke*, to be; it is dropped before prepositions and in construction generally, but is usually heard when the word occurs alone. Hence, when I write a hyphen at the end of an Andamanese word, I shall mean that in its full form it has *da*. [193]

[3] It is, nevertheless, commonly noticed, that after feasting on turtle and certain kinds of fish, they are unpleasant neighbours, their breath and hands being then highly odoriferous.

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261 cannot apparently abstain from food without inconvenience for more than eight hours at a time.

271 [415] 3. When exerting themselves in any way they perspire freely, which may account for their inordinate thirst. So great, indeed, is their inability to endure any privation in respect to drink, that they seldom leave home on the shortest expedition, whether by land or sea, without providing themselves with one or more bamboo vessels, called *gōb-*, containing a supply of fresh water.

513 4. Loss of sleep they can bear well only when under the influence of strong excitement, as in turtle hunting, or at festive gatherings, where singing and dancing are kept up for many successive hours;[1] they have even been known to spend forty-eight hours at such times without taking any rest.

151 5. What little cool weather there is in the latitude of their islands, during December and January, they dislike extremely; in striking evidence of this they are found, as I will elsewhere mention,[2] unconsciously concurring with the great Italian poet in depicting the region of punishment, for the souls of the wicked, as one of intense cold. After this, it will appear somewhat strange to say that, in spite of their aversion to what they consider cold weather—which never registers less than 69° F. •302 on the highest elevation in South Andaman—they are careful, during the hot season, to avoid any lengthened exposure to the direct rays of the sun, and endeavour to lessen the discomfort caused by the heat by smearing their persons with a white-wash of common white clay and water.[3] It has long been erroneously believed that they have recourse to this expedient in order to allay the inconvenience which they would otherwise suffer from the bites of mosquitoes and other jungle pests; but the true reason for the practice is, I am well assured, that which I have above given, for the various insects which might annoy them are, for the most part, kept away by the smoke of the hut fire, beside which a great portion of their time is spent when at rest, or when engaged in any sedentary occupation.

147 6. The voices of the men are usually clear without being deep, while those of the women, especially when raised, are very shrill.

142 7. The mucous membrane of the mouth is stained with pigment to a greater degree than was found to be the case with such of the natives of India as were compared with them.

8. The general excellence of the teeth strikes one as remark-

[1] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraph 32.

[2] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 25.

[3] I would here draw attention to the fact, that while the object in smearing themselves with *ōg-* wash is to keep themselves as cool as possible, they often daub their bodies with *kōi-ob-* after sundown for the opposite reason, *i.e.*, for the sake of warmth.

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142 [264]

able, for not only are no precautions taken for their preservation, but they are used roughly, small bones being broken by them, and food commonly eaten at almost boiling point. The grinding surface of the molars is generally much abraded: five or six tubercles are occasionally observed in the posterior molars, but are not all marked with equal distinctness; in some cases, indeed, they are scarcely distinguishable. The crowns of these teeth frequently present one long and comparatively even surface, and the peculiarity is of course due to the practice above referred to, of grinding hard substances with them. The canines are not longer or more prominent than the other teeth; caries appear to be rare, except with those well advanced in years. The front teeth of the lower jaw are generally the first cut: the first dentition is completed apparently at an earlier age than is usual among ourselves. [145]

Hair.—1. Dr. Allen Thomson, F.R.S., who has kindly examined some of the hair microscopically, gives it as his opinion that the form of the transverse section is *oval*. Having, however, only a small quantity at his disposal, he has not been able to make a sufficient examination as yet, so he adds that, "it may be that some sections are oblique, but a number are certainly transverse, and none of them have a circular outline." In appearance it is extremely frizzly and seems to grow in spiral tufts,[1] but examination proves that the roots are uniformly distributed over the scalp: it is fine in texture and fairly abundant, but lustreless, and seldom more than two or three inches long, or five inches if the actual length when untwisted be measured; in a few instances it has been found to be eight or ten inches long, but the ends were matted, dead-like, and easily broken.

2. The majority of the women every week or ten days shave their heads almost entirely, leaving only two narrow parallel lines of hair, termed *gôr-*, from the crown to the nape of the neck. The *gôr-* is never allowed to exceed one-eighth of an inch in length; therefore, as they have no means of clipping it, it is constantly shaven off, and a fresh *gôr-* is made with the hair which has grown since the last operation.[2] 302

[1] Just ten years ago it was pointed out by Dr. J. Barnard Davis, F.R.S., that the delicate ribbon-like hair of these islanders is exactly similar to that of the now extinct race of Tasmanians ("Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. ii, p. 100).

[2] I would here call attention to some errors of the artist by whom Dr. Mouat's book was illustrated. He has represented the men as shaven and the women with their curly wigs intact, whereas it is the latter only who as a rule shave their heads; and they do not go about entirely nude, but wear leaves, as will be explained in another place (*vide post* "Psychology and Morals," paragraph 8, and "Attire," paragraph 3). They are further incorrectly represented in the same plate as using a gipsy's tripod for cooking purposes.

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302 3. Though many of the men were and are in the habit of having their heads shaved like the women, the style of hair-dressing most affected by them before our arrival left only a circular patch of hair, about six or eight inches in diameter, like a skull cap, on the top of the head. Of late, however, they have indulged in many fanciful modes, such as shaving a piece about two or three inches broad between the forehead and the nape of the neck, or making a large tonsure. From this it will be seen that the Andamanese cannot be instanced as a tribe that "goes bald always," as has been asserted.[1]

4. Men will sometimes shave each other's heads, but only when the services of a woman are not available; for it is one of the duties of the fair sex in these tribes to act as barbers, regarding which fact I shall have occasion to make further reference in subsequent sections.[2]

5. When, in consequence of its having attained an unusual length, the hair is found to be oppressively hot and difficult to clean, it is shaved off entirely or in part, clipping, as already mentioned, being impracticable, owing to the lack of a suitable instrument. On these occasions the eyebrows are generally removed, which explains Dr. Day's remark, that "they rarely have eyebrows."

[142] 6. With the exception of the eyelashes and eyebrows, which are of slight growth, hair is only occasionally seen on the face, and then but scantily and in patches on the upper lip and chin, where it has a tendency to grow in spiral tufts: as it is esteemed a decoration it is never shaved or depilated.

7. It has been rumoured[3] that there are tribes of a long-haired race on Interview and also on Rutland Islands; but, with regard to the former, none of the Northerners who have been to Port Blair have possessed this characteristic, or will allow that it is to be met with amongst their communities, while our relations with the inhabitants of the latter enable us to contradict the assertion, which, indeed, can only be explained by supposing that runaway convicts, who have frequently escaped thither, must have been mistaken for aborigines.

[142] 8. That baldness has been known among them may be assumed from their having a word in their language to express it, but such cases would appear to be of very rare occurrence since none have come under my notice.

9. It has been asserted that "they are in the habit of dyeing their hair with red ochre;" but, whatever may have been the custom in former times, this is certainly not now the case, as

[1] *Vide* "Anthropology," p. 238, by Dr. E. B. Tylor, F.R.S.
[2] *Vide post* "Social Relations, &c.," paragraph 3, *and* "Shaving," paragraph 2.
[3] "Encycl. Brit."

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302 they never intentionally interfere with the natural colour, but some of the pigment, *kòi·ob-*, with which they so frequently paint their persons sometimes accidentally adheres to their curly wigs, these being often used for wiping or drying their hands.

142 10. The colour of the hair among different individuals varies between black, greyish-black, and sooty, the last perhaps predominating; it is apparently uninfluenced by, and does not correspond with, the hue of the eye or skin; it commences to turn grey about the fortieth year, but the number of those who exceed that age being small, white hair is seldom seen.

165 **Development and Decay.**—1. The average length of life, owing to excessive infant mortality as well as to the small number that attain old age, can hardly be reckoned as much, if at all, beyond 22 years. Not more than three generations of the same family have ever been known to be alive at the same time.

2. Fifty years is believed to be the extreme limit of age among them, and the majority of those who attain it are women.

145 3. Judging from those whose births have been registered by us, it would seem that physical development takes place at a late age as compared with natives of India, the males not attaining puberty till about the 16th year, and the females not before the 15th,[1] while the maxima of stature and bulk are not reached till two or three years later; should the opinion thus formed be confirmed by further observations, the fact will serve to weaken the theories that have been advanced by some anthropologists to account for the phenomenon hitherto assumed to be of universal application, that "the period of immaturity is curtailed in inverse proportion to the approximation to the equator or the polar circle;"[2] but, as the same writer goes on to say, "probably the latitude of the abode has no reference to this phenomenon; it may more probably have some connection with the darkness of the skin."

141 4. Among the Andamanese, when the head is in the customary position, the line taken by a horizontal plane drawn through the *meatus auditorius* would, in most cases, pass through the apex of the facial angle, or, in exceptional cases, somewhat lower. I cannot entirely concur in the opinion expressed by Dr. Brander regarding the variety of the facial type found among them, as he says that "some faces seem to resemble the Negraic, some the Malayan, and some even the Aryan in character;" it is, however, a curious physiognomical fact, of which there can be little or no question, that a remarkable diversity in this respect *does* exist among them, though it is

[1] The extreme ages for child-bearing appear to be 16 and 35 years.

[2] Peschel.

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seniors, a good deal of flirtation, and often something more, is carried on by the young people without arousing any suspicions as to their sentiments for one another, until the affair has become too serious to be broken off, and has to end, sooner or later, in their marriage and start in life on their own account. In some cases, when the guardians have reason to believe that a lad has, notwithstanding his assurances to the contrary, a *sub silentio* attachment, they adopt the following method for testing the truth of his asseveration; on a given day it is arranged by the friends of the suspected couple that they shall (without the knowledge of either) be painted respectively with the red oxide of iron unguent, *kòi·ob-*, and the white clay *tâ·la-ōg-*, for, as they would not meet till night-fall, the risk of their discovering the trap laid for them is reduced to a minimum, while a glance on the following morning would suffice to betray them if guilty, and the guardians' object would be attained, for, from shame at his secret being known, and his falsehood exposed, the youth feels in honour bound to break off his connection with the girl, at least for some time.

Relationships.—1. In all the relations of life the question of propinquity is, in their eyes, of paramount importance, and marriage is only permissible between those who are known to be not even distantly connected, except by wedlock, with each other; so inexorable, indeed, is this rule, that it extends, and applies equally, to such as are related merely by the custom of adoption to which I have just referred.

2. A first cousin, actual or by adoption, is regarded as a half-brother or half-sister, as the case may be, and nephews and nieces almost as sons and daughters, while the terms used to denote a grandfather, grandmother, grandson, and grand-daughter are equally applied to indicate respectively a grand-uncle, grand-aunt, grand-nephew, and grand-niece.

3. Parents, when addressing, or referring to their children and not using their names, employ distinct terms, the father calling his son *dar ō·dire*, *i.e.*, he that has been begotten by me, and his daughter *dar ō·dire-pail-*; while the mother makes use of the word *dab ē·tire*, *i.e.*, he whom I have borne, for the former, and *dab ē·tire-pail-* for the latter; similarly, friends in speaking of children to their parents say respectively, *ngar ō·dire*, or *ngab ē·tire* (your son), *ngar ō·dire-pail-*, or *ngab ē·tire-pail-* (your daughter).[1]

4. Uncles and aunts on the father's are not distinguished from those on the mother's side; relationships are traced in both lines, and the system with reference to either sex is identical.

[1] Foster-parents employ the terms *dōt chá·tnga-* and *dōt chá·tnga-pail-* in referring to their adopted son and daughter respectively.

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pours over the head of the lad, who remains seated and perfectly still in the midst of his friends while the oil streams over his body. The men present remove any ornaments that he may be wearing, and rub the grease into his person; the women and children meantime occupy themselves with crying, the idea being that, after abstaining from turtle for a long time, madness, illness, or even death, may result from partaking of it again.[1] After this the novice, who may not wash off the oil with which he has been anointed at least until late on the following day, is fed with the flesh of the turtle,[2] of which a certain quantity is reserved for his consumption on the ensuing two or three days, and the remainder is distributed among those assembled. He is then led to his hut and directed to sit cross-legged on a spot covered with leaves of the *Myristica longifolia*, with a support behind him against which he may lean. The turtle flesh, previously cooked and set apart for him, is deposited at his side, and one or more of his friends take it by turns to sit with him, it being their duty to enjoin silence, to supply his wants, and to prevent him from falling asleep by singing from time to time as the night wears away. The following morning his mother, sister, and other female relatives, come and weep[3] over him, and paint, first, his ears and the adjoining parts with *yâ·dī-kòi·ob-*, and afterwards his entire person with alternate stripes of this compound and *tâ·la·ōg-*. Some large leaves[4] made into two broom-like bundles are placed in his hands, and other leaves are placed in his waistbelt. Thus provided he rises and dances frantically,[5] swinging his arms at the same time, for an hour or more, while the women, who are seated with legs outstretched, keep time for him by slapping the hollow between their thighs with the palm of the right hand, which is held at the wrist by the other hand; the males look on, or, if they have gone through the ceremony themselves, accompany him in his performance.

5. After an hour or so, when, fatigued with his exertions, the youth stops dancing, the *yâ·dī-gū·mul-* is considered at an end, and the new *gū·ma* mingles with his friends, who, nevertheless,

[1] The same reason is given for the silence which the neophyte has to observe during this ceremony, as well as at the *á·ja-gū·mul-* and *reg-jī·ri-gū·mul-*.

[2] He is then said to *gū·mul māg·ke* (or *gū·mul lē·ke*), *i.e.*, to eat, or devour, the *gū·mul-*.

[3] The reason given for this demonstration of grief is that the youth has now entered upon an important epoch in his life, and is about to experience the trials and vicissitudes incidental thereto.

[4] The leaves of the *Myristica longifolia* (*bō·rowa-*) are usually selected on these occasions, apparently because this tree is associated with turtle-hunting, paddles being made of the wood.

[5] The step is a peculiar one, and is only seen on these occasions: the performer keeps his heels together and stamps on the ground, at the same time he swings his arms violently, holding in his hands the two leaf brooms.

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the skull and bones back to his hut and breaks up the latter into small pieces suitable for necklaces.[1] The mother, after painting the skull with *kòi·ob-*, and decorating it with small shells attached to pieces of string, hangs it round her neck with a netted chain, called *râb-*.[2] After the first few days her husband often relieves her by wearing it himself. Infants' skulls, being fragile, are generally preserved carefully from risk of injury by being entirely covered with string, but (except temporarily as when travelling, fishing, &c.) these souvenirs are not carried about in a basket. The next few days are spent by the mother in converting the bones into necklaces, called *chàu·ga-tâ-*, and when several have been made, she and her husband pay visits to their friends, among whom they distribute these mementoes, together with any of the pieces that may remain over, in order that they may make additional necklets for themselves. 765

6. Before this distribution takes place, it should be mentioned that the mourners remove from their heads the lump of clay placed there on the day of the child's death; the wife also paints her husband's neck, waist, wrists, and knees with *kòi·ob-* and further adorns him with a stripe of the same compound from his throat to his navel, and afterwards decorates herself in a similar manner. [302]

7. All due preparations having thus been made, the friends assemble round the hut to pay their final visit of condolence; whereupon the bereaved father sings some old song of his, which he last sang, perchance, with his little one alive and well in his arms, on which all except himself express their grief and sympathy by breaking out into loud lamentations. The chorus of the song is chanted by the women while the parents perform a dance which goes by the name of *t'ī-tô·latnga-* (*lit.*, the shedding of tears); when wearied with their exertions they retire to their hut, and cease from any further display of sorrow, whereupon their friends generally take up and continue the melancholy dance and song for many hours, the women being then joined by the men, who, till this stage of the proceedings, have merely acted the part of spectators. It should be explained that the character of this dance does not differ from that which is customary at a wedding or other occasion of rejoicing, except in the doleful appearance of the performers. 765 535

8. On the death of an adult and others, the relatives (as in the case of an infant) smear themselves with *ōg-* and place a lump of the clay on their heads, where it must remain until the *t'ī-tô·latnga-*; any necklaces, waistbelts, &c., which the deceased was wearing are removed; women then paint the 764

[1] *Vide* Appendix B. item 44.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B item 42.

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576 shouting invitations and promises for a future date until beyond earshot.

7. When nearing home, after an unusually successful hunting or fishing expedition, the men raise a shout[1] of triumph in order to apprise their friends of their good fortune, and the women take up the cry and express their delight by yelling[2] and slapping their thighs; but when the encampment is entered, these sounds of rejoicing almost invariably cease for a while, and, after depositing their spoils, the hunters remain speechless for some time ere recounting their adventures and exploits: for this strange practice they appear unable to account.

8. No matutinal greetings pass between friends or between husband and wife, and inquiries relating to health are unusual unless addressed to an invalid.

515 9. When a man is thirsty and wishes also to wash his hands, he first, if alone, stoops down and drinks from the stream, or raises the water to his lips in a leaf or vessel; then, filling his mouth with water, he squirts it over his hands, using his unkempt locks as a towel. Should any one else be present, he would pour the water over his friend's hands as well, not from his mouth, but from a leaf.

10. They do not bathe daily, but at irregular intervals, when oppressed with the heat, or when, from some cause, as, for instance, in gathering honey,[3] their persons become sticky and unpleasant, and ablutions, consistently with comfort at least, cannot be dispensed with. It will be understood that these remarks apply to the *ē·remtâ·ga-*, rather than the *àryô·to-*, who, from the nature of their pursuits, are on the whole fairly clean.[4]

[302] 11. During the hot weather they smear their bodies with common white clay, called *ōg-*,[5] dissolved in water, and avoid, as far as they are able, any lengthened exposure to the direct rays of the sun. If compelled to leave the shelter of the jungle, they are in the habit of holding a large leaf screen, *kâ·pa-jâ·tnga-*,[6] over their heads as a protection (this is also done during a shower); should they be travelling by boat they lessen the discomfort caused by excessive heat by pouring water over themselves, or by plunging overboard and swimming alongside the canoe for some part of the way.

[1] There is a specific term for this description of shouting, viz.: *tē·reblake*, while that of the women in answer thereto is called —

[2] *rō·moke.*

[3] *Vide* Appendix H (*lad·a châu-*, lit., dirty body).

[4] They never allow vermin to breed on their persons — in fact, such a thing could not possibly occur, owing to the constant shaving of the head, painting of the person, and, in the case of the *àryô·to-*, immersion in the sea while fishing and turtling.

[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 59.

[6] *Vide* Appendix B, item 74.

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no coloured pigments or other preparations are rubbed into the wounds, which are left to heal of themselves: before leaving this subject I would mention that the face is never tattooed. 304 852

Painting.—1. Besides the permanent tattooing decorations, these savages employ three kinds of pigments for the further adornment of their dusky persons; and from the mode of their application it can be at once ascertained whether the individual be sick, or sorry, or whether he has taken, or is about to take, part in a merry-making. 302

2. No distinction with regard to rank or sex is made in the designs executed, yet, though these are not very numerous, no two persons are ordinarily painted exactly in the same way, as the pattern traced may be in one case on the chest, in another on the arm, in a third on the face, and so on; a temporary restriction is, however, laid upon the unmarried, who are not permitted to use the paint to their necks, either by way of ornament, or to relieve their pains.[1]

3. We have seen that according to their traditions[2] this was one of the arts in which *Pū·luga-* instructed their first parents, and though temporarily lost after the Deluge it was revived by the accidental re-discovery of the necessary pigments: it may, therefore, be reasonably inferred that the practice is a very ancient one among these tribes.

4. The materials used are *ōg-*, *tâ·la-ōg-*, and *kòi·ob-*, which are applied, respectively, as a wash and in designs, more or less minute, with the nail or the tips of the fingers.

5. The first (*ōg-*), is a pale "whitish-grey" clay,[3] which is mixed with water and smeared thickly over the entire person with the palms of the hand, to denote mourning;[4] a lump of the same compound (*del·a-*) is also placed on the head at these times: hence the term *ā·kà-ōg-*, a mourner.

6. After eating pork or turtle they are also in the habit of smearing *ōg-* over their bodies with their fingers, in the belief that it affects their breath, and that evil spirits will be unable to detect, and therefore will not be attracted to, them by the savoury smell of the food of which they have partaken. Again, when heated by travelling, or by hunting or dancing, they have recourse to the same wash, but in these cases it is applied thinly.[5] [57]

[1] *Vide ante* "Medicine," paragraph 2.

[2] *Vide ante* "Mythology," paragraphs 9 and 27.

[3] "I may remark that the natives far West . . . . when mourning for the dead, paint the whole of the body of a white or yellow colour; while in the East of New Guinea the natives for a similar event paint themselves with black" (*vide* paper by Signor S. M. D'Albertis: "Travels in New Guinea," Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. vi, p. 215.)

[4] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 2.

[5] *Vide* "Anatomy and Physiology," paragraph 5.

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7. *tâ·la-ōg-* is a pure white clay, which, being comparatively scarce, is more prized than *ōg-*, and consequently more sparingly used; it is applied ornamentally, usually with the nail of the forefinger, in fine tattoo-like patterns, to the cheeks, body and limbs; the designs are invariably executed by women, who, when adorning their relatives[1] for a *jeg-* or other festivity,[2] vie with one another, both as regards the variety and the neatness of their work.

8. *kòi·ob-* consists of burnt yellow ochre mixed with the melted fat of the pig, turtle, iguana, or dugong, and occasionally with oil obtained from a species of almond called *ē·mej-*; this unguent is much used[3] in decorating both the living and the dead[4] and is also employed as a remedy in certain forms of suffering;[5] but it is never applied to the person when in mourning, or, as has been so often asserted, in order to protect the body from the stings of insects.[6]

9. Both *tâ·la-ōg-* and *kòi-ob-* are used to adorn their weapons and the various utensils, &c., in daily use.

10. With *kòi·ob-*, of course, no delicate patterns can be worked, but rough zig-zags and stripes are made with the finger tips all over the body: judging from the appearance of a person who had been shortly before painted with *kòi·ob-*, one might easily suppose that the unguent had been smeared over his person, but this is not the case, for it is always applied in some sort of design, which, however, is speedily effaced, as the heat of the body causes the oleaginous pigment to liquify.

Shaving.—1. Under an earlier section[7] shaving was necessarily, to a great extent, included; it remains, however, to be here added, that it is commenced at a very early age: indeed, within a few hours of its birth the Andamanese baby has its head shaved and painted with *kòi·ob-*,[8] while its diminutive face and body are adorned with a design in *tâ·la-ōg-*:[9] this latter, as may

[1] These substances are not employed with a view of improving the texture of the skin; they never stain their nails or apply cosmetics to their eyes to increase their lustre.

[2] Though *tâ·la-ōg-* is never used by mourners on their own persons it is always applied, as is *kòi·ob-*, to a corpse before it is interred (*vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 3).

[3] The *jâr·awa-* are believed to use *kòi·ob-* only for the ornamentation of their implements and weapons.

[4] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraphs 3 and 8.

[5] *Vide ante* "Medicine," paragraph 2.

[6] It may, however, be said to be used also as a perfume, for it is often applied to the upper lip after a feast on pork or turtle, as the odour of the unguent at such times is apparently particularly agreeable to them. This act of painting the upper lip with *kòi·ob-* is termed *ā·kan-lē·mâudike*.

[7] *Vide ante* Part I: "Hair," paragraphs 2, 3, and 5.

[8] *Vide ante* "Painting," paragraph 7.

[9] *Vide ante* "Painting," paragraph 6.

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be supposed, is soon obliterated, and requires therefore to be 302
constantly renewed.

2. Only in very exceptional cases, when the services of a woman are not obtainable, will men consent to operate upon one another, for among these savages shaving is regarded as essentially a feminine occupation:[1] the instrument used for this purpose is effective, if rude, and consists merely of a flake of quartz, or now more generally of glass; the manner in which these primitive razors are made is described under "Stone Implements."[2]

3. Previous to shaving an *infant*, the mother usually moistens the head with milk which she presses from her breast, but when operating upon bigger children and adults, water only is used.

Deformations.—1. Unless tattooing can be so regarded, these 304
savages do not intentionally produce any deformities, or practice artificial deformations in any way.[3] No attempt is made to alter the shape of the nose by flattening or pinching it, nor is the cartilaginous septum ever perforated for the purpose of inserting ornamental bars or rings.

2. In this, as in many other respects, the Andamanese differ greatly from their neighbours, the Nicobarese, who not only flatten the occiputs of their children in infancy, but, from the period of puberty, blacken their teeth,[4] and perforate the lobes of their ears to such an extent as to enable them, by the time they are full grown, to insert a wooden cylindrical instrument three-quarters of an inch thick.

3. There is, however, a deformity of the skull observable in 304
most Andamanese women, but it is caused unintentionally, and arises from the practice, to which allusion has already been made,[5] 482
of placing the cane or cord by which a load is borne across the anterior portion of the cranium: this habit, especially when commenced at an early age, cannot fail to produce a more or less deep indentation.[6]

[1] *Vide ante* "Social Relations," paragraph 3.

[2] *Vide post* "Stone Implements," paragraph 4.

[3] Mutilation, such as the amputation of a part, or whole, of the fingers, which is practised among certain African tribes, is quite unknown to this race, as are also the customs of circumcision and castration.

[4] "Men and women use so large a quantity of betel-nut lime and betel-leaves that their teeth are as black as ink, and the space between them being filled with that matter they appear as a solid piece, much like the horn inserted in the jaws of the tortoise" (*vide* "Notice of the Nicobar Islands," by the Rev. P. Barbe).

[5] *Vide ante* "Physical Powers and Senses," paragraph 2.

[6] So strongly marked is the deformation in most cases, that the late Dr. J. Barnard Davis, being unaware of its true cause, in a letter to me on the subject, wrote as follows:—"The skull shows unmistakably that she has been subjected to the same barbarous treatment which the women among Australians have to submit to: every Australian woman's skull that I have

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302 386 [462] 58. *tâ·la-ōg-*.[1] White clay, used mixed with water, for ornamental painting of the person and of various articles, *e.g.*, bows, baskets, buckets, trays, &c.: the work is done by women: when painting their relatives they spare no pains in executing neat designs with their finger-nails.

[843] [NOTE.—Women during pregnancy are in the habit of nibbling small quantities of this substance from time to time, in the belief that it is beneficial to their condition.]

59. *ōg-*. Common whitish-grey clay, lumps of which are found somewhat plentifully in various parts of the islands. It is used, mixed with water, for smearing over the body when the heat is oppressive.[2] A lump of it is placed on the top of the forehead as a symbol of bereavement, and kept there generally until the expiration of the mourning period.[3] It is also sometimes used by way of ornament on the person, by smearing the trunk and limbs with the wash and then, before it has had time to dry, passing the outspread finger-tips over the surface so as to form some pattern.[4]

60. *kòi·ob-*.[5] Red-ochre paint, which is made by mixing red oxide of iron, *ū·pla-* (*vide* next item), with some greasy substance, the fat of the pig or turtle, sometimes of the iguana, dugong, &c., and occasionally the oil of an almond, called *ē·mej-*, is used. This pigment is applied to the person either ornamentally or otherwise. It is accredited with hygienic properties,[6] and from its mode of application it can be readily determined whether the wearer is suffering or rejoicing. The nostrils and centre of the upper lip are occasionally painted with it, as the smell of the fat is agreeable to them.[7] Before a corpse is removed for burial it is smeared over the face and neck with [764] this paint as a mark of respect, and in order to please the departed spirit.

61. *ū·pla-*. Red oxide of iron after it has been dried and baked. It is principally used in making the pigment described in the preceding paragraph. It is also employed in the manufacture of the red wax, called *kâ·ngatâ-bōj-* (*vide* next item).

[462] 62. *kâ·ngatâ-bōj-*. Red wax, generally prepared by men, composed of *ō·ja-pīd-*, *rim-*, and *ū·pla-* (items 56, 55, and 61); in the absence of the last-named ingredient *kòi·ob-* (item 60) is

[1] *Vide* Part III, "Painting," paragraph 7.
[2] *Vide* Part I, "Anatomy and Physiology," paragraph 5.
[3] *Vide* Part II, "Death and Burial," paragraphs 2, 6, 8, and footnote [1].
[4] *Vide* Part III, "Painting," paragraphs 5 and 6.
[758] [5] *ū·pla-* is collected chiefly during the dry months; in its natural condition, as found, it is called *kòi·ob-ekâ·lnga-*; in that condition it is applied to sores, and to the persons of fever patients; it is administered internally for coughs, fevers, &c. (*vide* Part I, "Medicine," paragraphs 4 and 5).
[6] *Vide* Part I, "Medicine," paragraph 2.
[7] *Vide* Part I, "Odour."

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substituted. These three substances are melted and stirred over a fire until of a proper consistency; the pigment is then poured into small pots or large shallow shells, where on cooling it soon hardens. When required for use the pot or shell is placed on the fire and the melting wax applied according to fancy. The string fastenings of fish and pig arrows (items 4, 5, and 6) the turtle harpoon (item 10), and pig spear (item 9), are protected with a coating of this wax, and it is applied ornamentally to the food trays (item 72), nautilus shells (item 14), and the outside of buckets (item 13); it is also used for closing cracks in buckets, and in canoes if not too large. 302 386

63. *chū·lnga-*. olive-coloured clay found in small springs in the jungles: in its liquid form it is applied medicinally after the manner of *kòi·ob-chū·lnga-* (*vide* footnote [6], p. 184). 386 758

64. *yō·lba-*. (*Anodendron paniculatum*), the fibre of which is much valued on account of its excellence; string made from it is used for bowstrings and arrow fastenings, for netting the *châ·panga-* (item 22), and *rāb-* (item 42), for making their various necklaces and other personal ornaments, and also for the fastenings of knives and turtle harpoons. 283

65. *pī·lita-* (*Gnetum edule*), from the fibre of which string is prepared and used almost exclusively by women, chiefly for the manufacture of the *kūd-* (item 20), and *pār·epa-* (item 23); it is not sufficiently strong to serve as arrow fastenings, though on an emergency it is sometimes used for this purpose. [462]

66. *al·aba-* (*Melochia velutina*). From fibre obtained from this tree rope is made for turtle-lines (*bē·tmo-*), nets, and cables, the preparation and manufacture of which devolve on men; the bark of this tree also furnishes the material of which the *chīp* (item 24) or baby-slings are made. [462]

67. *pō·tòkla-*.[1] Netting-needles, made in two sizes of bamboo and used in making nets. 412

[NOTE.—The turtle-net (item 12) is not made with netting-needles, but with two sticks called *kū·teybo-*.[2]] [286]

68. *pō-chô-*. Bamboo knives, which are shaped into form while green and then dried and charred over a fire to render them sharp and fit for use; formerly they were employed for cutting meat and other food.[3]

69. *wai-chô-* and *pór-chô-*. Two varieties of cane knives, but similar to item 68.

70. *tō·ug-*.[4] Torch, made by women, of resin wrapped in a large leaf (*Crinum lorifolium*); it is used when fishing, travelling, or 373 [462]

[1] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 12.
[2] These are made of a light hard wood known as *bē·rewil-*.
[3] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 10.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 16.

619 now passing away and I well recollect 25 years ago, though the Bojigyab were then known to us, the "coming in" of the first Balawa from the Archipelago and of the first Chariar from the extreme north and the difficulty experienced in communicating with them.

In reading the following remarks on the tribes it must always be borne in mind that the statements therein made refer largely to a state of things practically already passed away and never likely to be revived. The reader can without difficulty use his discretion in separating what is from what has been in the course of his perusal.

619 184 **Their Division into three Groups.**—The Andamanese tribes are by themselves divided into three distinct groups, having certain salient characteristics: the forms of the huts, bows and arrows, of the canoes, of ornamentation, female clothing, hair dressing, and utensils, of tattooing, and of language common generally to the group, but differing in details and sometimes entirely from those of other groups. Judged by this standard the tribal affinities may be thus stated: Northern or Yerewa Group, Chariar, Kora, Tabo, Yere, Kede; Southern or Bojigngiji Group, Bea, Balawa, Bojigyab, Juwai, Kol; Outer Group, Ónge-Jarawa, who do not tattoo. Some of the tribes are divided into septs, fairly well defined under headmen and with a local area of their own, but not under any separate designation.

The Distinctions between the Groups.—It is worth while bringing together this remarkable series of differences dividing the Andamanese into three divisions; differences that more or less run through all matters concerning them.

[304] (1) *Tattooing.*—Bojigngiji; women are the tattooers cutting the skin slightly with small flakes of quartz or glass in patterns of zigzags or in straight vertical lines; face, ears, genitals, arm and knee pits are excepted. Men and women are tattooed alike. Yerewa; men are the tattooers, cutting the skin deeply with iron pig-arrow heads: short horizontal parallel cuts in three or five lines down the back and front of the trunk, round the anus and legs. Women are tattooed thus as life advances. Ónge-Jarawa; no tattooing.

[302] (2) *Hair.*—Bojigngiji; partial to complete shaving of head. Yerewa; long matted ringlets touching the shoulders. Ónge-Jarawas; closely cropped head to a mop. Ónge-Jarawa women are not shaved.

[291] (3) *Ornaments and female clothing.*—Bojigngiji women wear a bunch of five or six leaves in front: Yerewa women a loose tassel of narrow strips of bark: Ónge-Jarawa a bunching tassel of fibre. Bojigngiji women are most particular as to clothing: Yerewa women careless. Jarawa women are apt to be quite unclothed. Bojigngijis and Yerewas smear their faces with grey clay mixed with water, white clay in delicate patterns imitating the tattoo marks, red ochre mixed with turtle fat and almond oil in coarse undefined patterns. Ónge-Jarawas, with yellow clay mixed with water in coarse patches, red ochre mixed with the above mentioned oils on the head. Ónge-Jarawas wear no bone ornaments.

[302]

[531] (4) *Ornamentation of utensils.*—Bojigngiji and Yerewas, slight: Ónge-Jarawas delicate and elaborate.

[323] (5) *Pots.*—Bojigngijis, pots with rounded bottom: Ónge-Jarawas and Yerewas with pointed bottom.

[412] (6) *Implements.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas, coarse and rough in manufacture: Ónge-Jarawas, often delicate and neat.

[285] (7) *Baskets.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas have a 'kick' and stand well: Ónge-Jarawas have uneven bottom and stand badly.

[411] (8) *Bows and arrows.*—Bojigngiji, *karama* bow and large arrows. Yerewa, *chokio* bow and small arrows. Ónge-Jarawa, curved long bow and long arrows.

(9) *Arrows.*—Generally common in type to all tribes: long with plain straight point, long with straight point and barbs, short with broad detachable barbed head for pigs.* Ónge-Jarawas and Yerewas, multiple headed arrows for fish.

(10) *Harpoons.*—For turtle, dugongs, and large fish among Bojigngijis and Yerewas: none among the Ónge-Jarawas.

* As the pig runs off, the trailing shaft is at once caught by something in the jungle and the animal is thus brought up short.

145 to about 60 to 65, if he reaches "old age." Except as to marriage at an ear-
582 lier age, about 18, these figures apply fairly to the women also, who, however, live somewhat longer than the men, retaining in old age both health and mental faculties.

163 **Reproduction.**—The marriages are infructuous, though barrenness is
[853] uncommon, a couple rarely producing families of even moderate size and many none at all. The child-bearing age is from 16 to 35; weaning is much delayed.

291 **Endurance.**—Left to themselves the Andamanese go stark naked and
147 with head uncovered, except that the women wear, as clothing and not ornament, one or more leaves in front and a bunch of leaves tied round the waist behind, or a tassel of leaves all round. Jarawas, however, of both sexes have been seen entirely naked. They dislike and fear cold, but not heat, though they avoid exposure to the sun; and being accustomed to gratify every sensation as it arises, they endure thirst, hunger, want of sleep, fatigue and bodily discomfort badly. Want of sleep, such as occurs at their dances for occasionally as much as
[482] four days and nights, exhausts them greatly. A man's load is 40 lbs. and his distance 15 miles for a day or two only. After that he will rest, whatever the urgency.

252 **Food.**—The food consists of fish, pork, turtle, iguana, "wild cat" (*para-*
262 *doxurus sp.*), shell-fish, turtle eggs, certain larvæ, and a great variety of fruit, seeds, roots, and honey, and is plentiful both by sea and land. They never starve, though they are habitually heavy eaters. The food is always cooked and commonly eaten very hot. As much as possible of an animal is eaten and the Andamanese, like most hunters, have found out the dietary value of tripe. The Andamanese are expert cooks and adept at preparing delicacies from parts of animals and fish.

142 **Skin.**—The skin, which is smooth, greasy and satiny, varies in colour from an intense sheeny black to a reddish brown on the unexposed parts and also on the collar bones, cheeks and other prominences of the body. Its general appearance has been likened to a "black-leaded stove." The scalp, the lips and nostrils are black, and there are black patches on the palate. The soles of the feet are brownish yellow. The Bojigngiji Group (South Andaman) are the darkest, and among the Onges parts of the face are a light reddish-brown. The Jarawas are distinctly fairer than the rest, the general colour being a deep reddish brown. Leucoderma occurs on the fingers and lips.

Hair.—The hair varies from a sooty black to dark and light brown, yellowish brown and red. The general appearance of it is sooty black or yellowish brown. Except on the head the hair is scanty, but not absent: on the head it grows in small rings, which give it the appearance of growing in tufts, though it is really closely and evenly distributed over the whole scalp. Limited baldness is un-
●[302] known, but temporary general baldness after disease occurs with a weak growth of the hair afterwards. The hair is not shaved, except on the head and eye-
[145] brows, and each tribe has, with many fantastic individual variants, its own method of wearing it. It turns grey at about 40, but white hair is not common.

Shaving is "woman's work" and was performed by small flakes of quartz, but nowadays flakes from the kicks of glass bottles are substituted. It is effective and close, but a painful operation on an European's face, as I proved by personal experience many years ago.

Bodily Parts.—The mouth is large, the palate hard and highly arched, the lips well formed. The hands and feet are small and well made. The ears are small and well shaped, the eyes are generally dark to a very dark brown, bright, liquid and clear, but prominent with slightly elevated outer angles and become dulled with age. The teeth, in the young, except amongst the Onges, are white, good and on the whole free from disease. Those of the Onges are irregular and discoloured. As age advances the teeth generally lose their whiteness and become worn, but without much caries. The teeth are roughly used without any care whatever. Dentition is early.

164 **Diseases.**—The muscular strength of the Andamanese is great, but their vitality is nevertheless low, and the apparently robust quickly die after sickening

881 and pointing to a limited tabu. On reaching puberty or thereabouts, between 12 and 16 years of age, abstention from about 6 kinds of food, each in turn, is voluntarily commenced and continued for some years. At the end of each abstention there are a few ceremonies and some dancing and the youth of both sexes become "grown up." There is nothing else to mark this period beyond the application of an honorific name while it lasts, no secret to be communicated, no religious ceremony. In after-life, however, men who have gone through the initiatory period together will not fight, quarrel, nor call each other by name. They will assume great friendship, while avoiding each other with a mutual shyness. The women also practise a limited tabu as to food during menstruation and pregnancy. The idea of tabu does undoubtedly exist as to food and every man has his own tabued articles through life, which is, however, usually something observed to disagree with him in childhood or to be unpalatable.

264 There are also limitations as to sexual family relations. Only husband and wife can eat together. Widows and widowers, bachelors and maidens eat with
576 their own sex only. A man may not address directly a married woman younger than himself or touch his wife's sister or the wife of a younger relative, and *vice versâ*.

302 The tattooing is partly ceremonial, as a test of courage and endurance of
304 pain, and so is painting the body with clays, oils, etc. By the material and design is shown sickness, sorrow or festivity and the unmarried condition.

535 **Amusements.**—The great amusement of the Andamanese, indeed their chief object in life after the chase, is the formal evening or night dance, a curious monotonous performance accompanied by drumming the feet rythmically on a special sounding board, like a Crusader's shield and mistaken for a shield by several observers, singing a song more or less impromptu and of a compass limited to four semitones and the intermediate quarter tones, and clapping the hands on the thighs in unison. The dance takes place every evening whenever there are enough for it, and lasts for hours and all night at meetings of the tribes or septs for the purpose. It then becomes ceremonial and is continued for several nights in succession. Both sexes take allotted parts in it. This and turtle hunting are the only things which will keep the Andamanese awake all night long. There are five varieties of the dance among the tribes: that of the Onge-Jarawas being an entirely separate performance.

533 **Music.**—The Andamanese appreciate rhythm and time, but not pitch or tune. They sing in unison, but not in parts, and can neither sing in chorus nor repeat or even catch an air. The key in which a solo or chorus is started is quite accidental. They can be readily taught any dance step and can teach it themselves from observation.

Song.—Every man who respects himself is a composer of songs, always consisting of a solo and refrain, and sings without action or gesticulation and always to the same rhythm. The songs relate only to travel, sport and personal adventures, never to love, children and the usual objects of poetry, and very rarely to beliefs and superstition. The wording is enigmatic and excessively elliptic, the words themselves being in grammatical order, but shorn of all affixes as a rule. As in all poetry unusual words are employed. But clipped as the wording is and prosaic as the subjects are, the Andamanese are far from being unable to give a poetic turn to their phraseology and ideas. The women have lullabies for their babies.

524 **Games.**—The Andamanese are childishly fond of games and have an indigenous blind-man's-buff, leap-frog and hide-and-seek. Mock pig and turtle hunts, mock burials, and "ghost" hunts are favourite sports. Matches in swinging, swimming, throwing, skimming (ducks and drakes), shooting (archery), and wrestling are practised.

551 **Naming of Children and Adults.**—Every child is named for life after one of about twenty conventional names by the mother, of course without reference to sex, immediately upon pregnancy becoming evident, to which afterwards a nickname, varying occasionally as life proceeds, is added from personal peculiarities, deformities, disfigurements, or eccentricities and sometimes from flattery or reverence. Girls are also given "flower names" after one of sixteen selected trees which happen to be in flower at the time they reach puberty.

Mr Subramanian of the Forest Department and Mr Majid's young son also 114
accompanied us. We reached Bumila Creek on the north eastern coast of the 123
Little Andaman at about 3 P.M. and having sighted an Andamanese hut we decided to anchor the launch there. The beach was about 2 miles from the place of anchorage. We took out a small boat and rowed to the beach and reached the hut at about 4 P.M. It was found to be abandoned but there were signs of human occupation and within a few yards a water-hole was [312]
discovered. A broken canoe, with a single out-rigger was found close to the [501]
hut (*see* Plate I, Fig. 1). Burnt coal and smouldering ashes in the centre of the hut showed that it was probably deserted by the Aborigines as soon as they had sighted us. After making a careful inspection of the place we returned to our launch and decided to anchor there for the night. Unfortunately the choppy sea and the strong current coming from the Bumila Creek tossed our small boat throughout the whole night, as a result of which all of us had an uncomfortable time.

We left southwards towards Hut Bay early in the morning and as we moved along the coast we sighted another Onge hut. This did not seem to be deserted as we saw a few people moving about. We decided to stop there and investigate. We took out a boat and moved towards the coast with such presents as we had brought from Port Blair on the advice of the Chief Commissioner. When we got near the coast, we left the boat and walked for about a furlong through coral beds finally reaching the shore. The hut was found [342]
to be circular in shape and not too large, and was occupied by 2 adult females, [592]
1 adult male and a young boy. The adult male, *Ukla*, was the father of the young boy and husband of the younger woman. The older woman was his 609
mother-in-law. These people appeared very friendly. We gave them presents 123
we had brought and took photographs and made drawings of their hut. 126
In addition, full anthropometric measurements were taken by me and blood was taken from fingers for typing by Mr Sarkar. Ukla was able to speak a few Hindi words and we gathered that he had been to Port Blair and knew Mr Bonington, formerly of the Forest Department, Andaman Islands. We found in front of the hut, hanging from a large tree 825
the skull and mandible of a Dugong (*see* Plate I, Figs. 3 & 4). We enquired 124
about its significance from Ukla, but unfortunately his knowledge of Hindi was not sufficient to explain it to us. We learned from him, however, that the name of the village was *Laito*. After making friendly gestures, we returned to 'Molly' and proceeded immediately towards Hut Bay. At about noon 501
time while we were having our lunch, we suddenly saw three outrigger canoes 609
(of single outrigger type) coming towards us, each carrying about 4 Onges. 122
We signalled to them and they came to our launch and tied their canoes with it and came on board. The men appeared to be friendly and not afraid of us. Our greatest difficulty, however, was language, as we could not make ourselves understood as none of the crew or any other member including Mr Subramaniam of the Forest Department knew that language. There was one man 55A
who seemed to occupy a position of authority among these men, and was [302]
painted with red and yellow ochre on the forehead, arms and breast. The

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P 4(B)]

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PLATE III.

Onge females living in hut No. 2, Plate 1.

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P.9(C)]

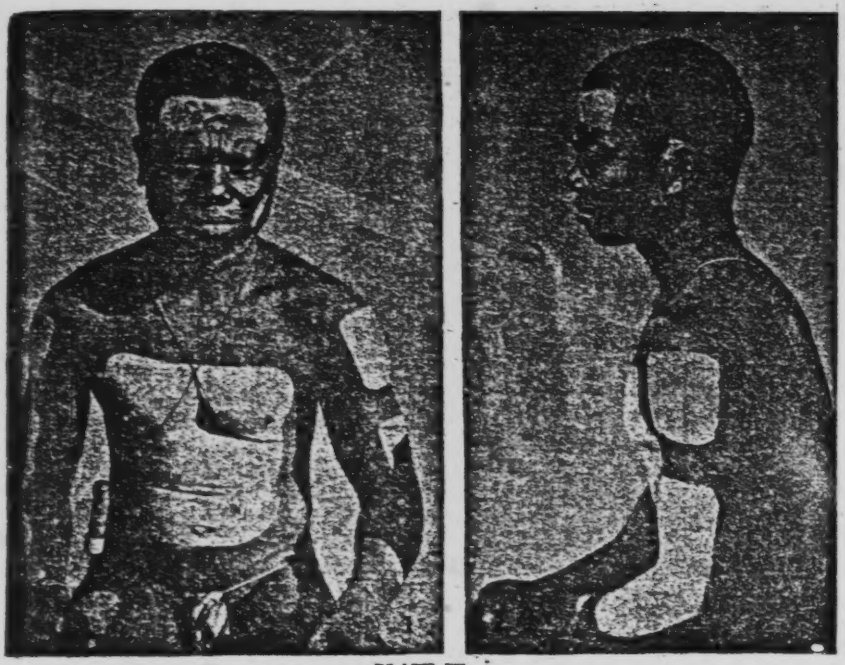

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PLATE IV.

Figs. 1 & 2—Onge male (Raja) decorated with paints on board the "Molly" in Little Andaman waters.

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
[P.6(1)]

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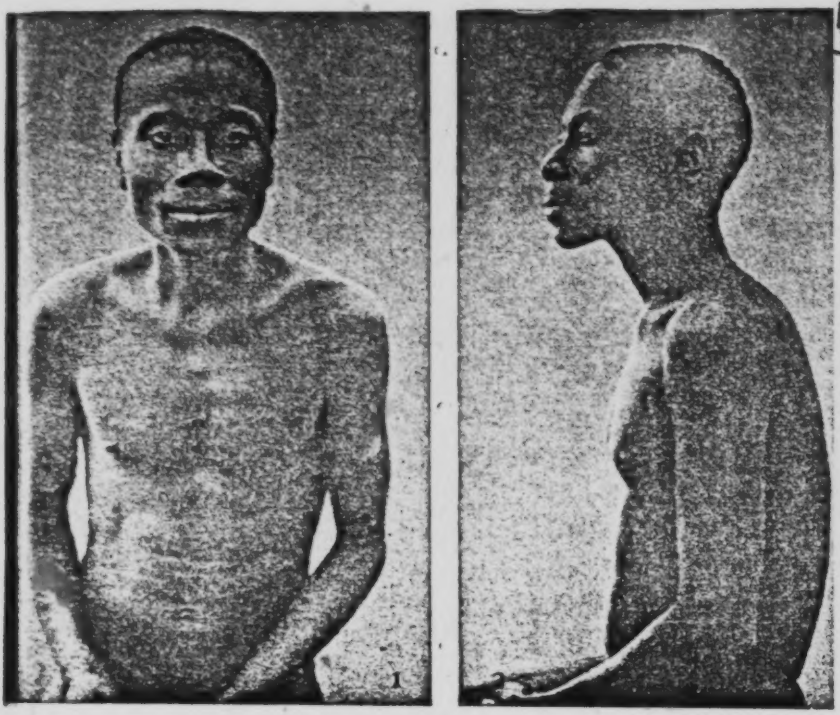

PLATE V.

Figs. 1 & 2—Onge male, front and profile views.

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
[P.6(B)]

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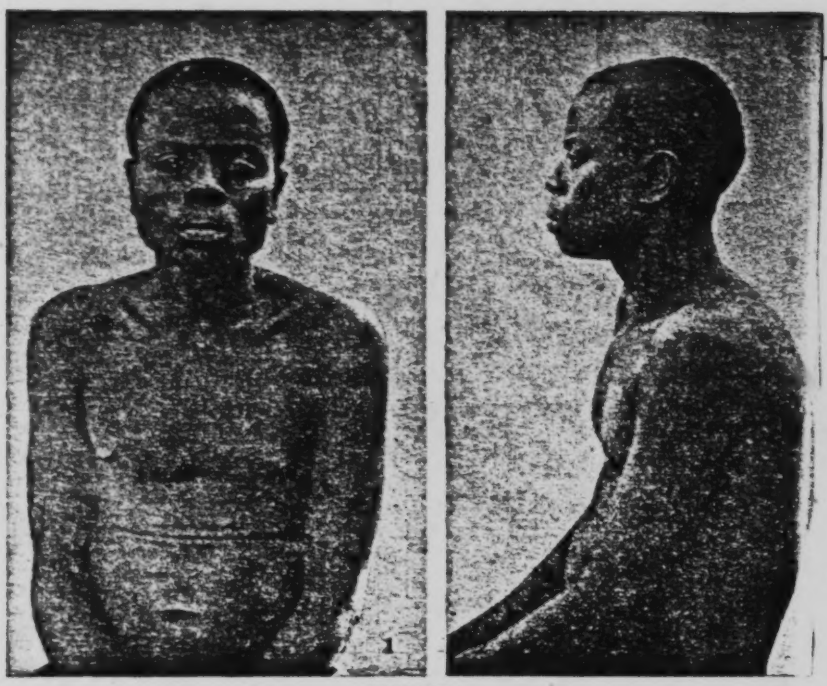

PLATE VI

Figs. 1 & 2—Onge male, front and profile views.

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P. 6(c)]

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PLATE VII

Onge male showing pepper-corn type of hair.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

3. Food

In the absence of men, women also are good at fishing inside the coral reefs. They do this with two small nets used together. Their catch generally consists of brilliantly coloured fish with yellow, red, green, blue, black and white stripes forming varied and attractive designs. The Onge eat all fish without discrimination. My Indian collaborators, on the other hand, considered the coloured fish dangerous to their health and refused to cook them ; the Sacred Vedas, in fact, advise the avoidance of brigthly hued fish and of fish without scales. I wanted to try both kinds, and found them perfectly palatable, tasty and harmless. 226 [462] 262 123

No tool, used for any purpose by the Onge, ever gets a cleaning. Cleanliness, I repeat, is unknown in Little Andaman. See how food is prepared and disposed of ! Care is taken only not to throw big pieces of meat intended for cooking directly on the bare ground ; but once it is cooked, food is treated with the utmost disregard for dirt, dust, cobwebs and other such things. It is usually left lying around on large leaves spread out for the purpose. The remains of the Onge's orgiastic meals are kept out of reach of the dogs on the ceiling of the huts, to be covered with flies when no fire is lit directly below. Sand and grit may get wedged annoyingly in the teeth, but not such impalpable things as dust or cobwebs. The use of unclean food is not repugnant to the Onge. The same can be said for water polluted by dogs drinking and bathing in it, or by the presence of putrefying carcases. In the west of Little Andaman I saw some Onge avidly drinking from pools of a blackish water with a revolting sulphurous smell. After thoroughly filtering and boiling it, I too used such water, for it was the only water available in the neighborhood. This caused no ill effects. My Indian men considered it perfectly healthy and invigorating, and drank it safely in its natural condition. 264 [252] [251] 271 123

The Onge eat with their unwashed fingers, without the help of tools. On rare occasions they use platters made of the flattened-out stems – or bracts – of *areca* palms. They sometimes carry these platters when travelling, but of course never wash them although they become coated in rancid, greasy filth. They soon assume a dark colour and a truly revolting appearance – aside from the awful smell. A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN's statement – that the Andamanese paint their bodies to neutralize the unpleasant smell of food that clings to them after their orgiastic feedings – shows only indirect knowledge of the life and manners of those people. Even the horrible flatulence that follows their pork orgies is not considered an inconvenience ; yet it is much more revolting than all the other body odours. 264 [415] 114 302 147 827

Although the Onge observe few hygienic precautions they do follow a number of medical practices, not all devoid of beneficial effects. Here are a few more remarks on their eating and drinking habits. For about six months of the year, between November and April, water is scarce in Little Andaman. Every kind of fresh water is then considered good by the Onge, regardless of whether it is a murky infusion of rotting leaves or afloat with the putrefied 751 812 271

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

LIDIO CIPRIANI, Hygiene and Medical Practices among the Onge (Little Andaman)

Plate 1

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a) Onge communal hut.
b) Painted Onge woman drinking from a nautilus shell.
c) Woman with *bataghĕ* leaves.
d) Filter going from mouth to mouth.

[p. 488 (A)]

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

LIDIO CIPRIANI, Hygiene and Medical Practices among the Onge (Little Andaman)

Plate 2

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a) and *c*) Women and girls wearing *ibidanghé*.
b) Bandages of ficus bark against fever.
d) Wife and husband in their usual attire.

[p. 488 (B)]

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

291 754 *naquinēghē* exposes the former owner to harm. Ill-disposed persons could use it for black magic practices. I collected specimens of this garment, all of them, however, brand-new – for the above-mentioned reason. To avoid trouble to the owner, nobody is allowed to touch the *naquinēghē*, which is worn in front of the vulva. To touch it is a deadly offence. Aside from the *naquinēghē*, Andaman 842 colonists attribute the natives' sterility to their abhorrence of salt. Another 263 opinion would have it that the lack of salt transforms human saliva into poison: the Jarawas, by spitting on their arrows render them poisonous. The absurdity of this belief is so evident that it requires no confutation. The Onge refuse to eat salt because they consider it unhealthy, or, to say the least, disgusting.

III. Illnesses and Onge Curative Methods

164 Few illnesses affect the Onge, but they succumb to those few with surprising speed. Often they become seriously ill for mysterious reasons and in spite of their robust appearance. Smallpox, tuberculosis and poliomyelitis are unknown in Little Andaman, although they sometimes strike in the nearby Nicobars. Measles broke out on the island on more than one occasion, killing off all the inhabitants of several communal huts, which I later found deserted and in ruins. With regard to syphilis, the Indian Census of 1931 quotes an old remark of PORTMAN's concerning a few individuals considered by him as infected. This was later denied.

Onge women are more resistant to illness than men. Wounds heal prompt- [752] ly in both sexes, without the aid of remedies. A few of the older men, however, had suppurating sores on their legs, slow to disappear even when disin- [123] fected and treated by me with European medicines. No similar sores were found on women. On the other hand, women suffer more than men from ringworm, mainly in the umbilical region. Nothing is done to rid them of it because the discomfort is slight. I suggested an Indian cure made with the leaves of the neem tree, or Melia azedarach, very common in Southern Asia where it is considered sacred. I imported the plant to Little Andaman, but [123] the Onge displayed no interest in it. I found a single instance of leucoderma, in a woman with whitish spots on her hands and lips. I could get no reliable information about the incidence of cancer, but it appears to be rare on the island. No baldness is to be seen in Little Andaman, and I found few traces of [142] greying hair, as the Onge die young. A transversal bregmatic furrow is noticeable [482] in all individuals, male and female, as a consequence of carrying loads hung from their heads by a strip of bark. The Onge start doing this in childhood. An artificial, unintentional deformation of the skull is the result of that uncomfortable habit.

751 For hygienic reasons the Little Andaman aborigines paint their bodies with 302 refined clay and ochre of various shades, mainly reddish. This gives the women [386] occasion to embellish the bodies of their husbands with an endless variety of geometrical designs. Every year I found changes in their patterns, and I

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

documented the fact in a number of photographs. The purpose, however, is 751
purely hygienic : an unpainted body is, in their opinion, exposed to certain 302
illness. They explained this belief to me by saying that without paint the body
becomes "hot". The men who travelled with me far from women were anxious
every day to spread clay on face, chest and limbs, just to avoid "heat" or,
in other words, fever. I thought of malaria, but they do not suffer from it. [162]
Of this I will speak later on.

Rough clay is applied daily, on infant bodies as well as on adults, for 751
health purposes. It is used to cure all kinds of sickness, together with ochre, 757
turtle fat and honey. Honey spread on wounds appears to hasten healing. [302]
Identical curative methods are employed in Oceania. They probably existed [854]
among the Tasmanians, and are still used in Australia by the aborigines. I
found nothing of the kind in Africa, where honey is plentiful. The Onge consider [752]
clay, ochre, honey and turtle fat good for external and internal treatment alike – [171]
both preventive and curative. Powdered bees' wax of a dark colour is often
added. I saw mothers give their children, as a laxative, a number of pills made [825]
of similar ingredients. No bigger than common hazelnuts, the pills are red
and greasy. In Onge forests I saw some small excavations, a few feet deep, [317]
made to extract the medicinal clay from special ground pockets. In its natural
form the clay is light coloured, powdery and free of stones. When it is burnt [386]
the colour changes, assuming red, yellow, whitish or black shades according to
the different qualities used, all believed to possess healing properties and to
ensure hygienic colouring of the body. Mixed as described above, clay is used
by the Onge in every circumstance from fever to snake or scorpion bite, constipation, breast infection in women, or post-delivery bleeding.

Belief in the medicinal properties of clay is as old as humanity itself. 757
Even among contemporary European peoples, notwithstanding severe criticism, 171
clay is still honoured as health-giving, not, I must say, on wholly foolish 823
grounds. The Onge, who smear their bodies constantly with clay, have the
softest, most velvety skin that I ever saw anywhere in the world. Wounds [752]
spread with clay mixed with honey and fat leave negligible scars. The laxative
and germ-killing action of clay is admitted by physicians in many countries,
including Europe. It never causes infection. Geophagism has ancient origins,
and we find it practiced by many modern populations. Children of every race
and all young wild animals lick clay instinctively to absorb the mineral salts
required by a developing organism. The Onge habit of using clay for healing
purposes can be set, therefore, in a very wide frame.

Mental and nervous disorders are rare in Little Andaman. Few natives 164
are subject to epilepsy – an important matter for the Onge : they consider 828
such people as possessed by spirits who speak through their mouths, and [158]
respectfully question them as oracles. Several Onge chiefs, such as Chief [622]
Tchôtā of Tambē-ē-buiē, are apt to go into trances that have all the appearance
of epileptic fits. They were elected chiefs on the strength of their epilepsy! [787]

Constant exercise keeps eyesight and hearing extremely sharp in the 164
Onge. I saw no single case of myopia or presbyopia among the natives, nor 151

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

262 immense quantities of it together with pork. I was with them three times when this recurred, so I could observe their behaviour exhaustively. With their
517 bellies full, the natives rest. Their only activity is body painting, performed by
302 the women on the skin of their peacefully sleeping husbands. Designs change
178 from time to time as I said before, according to the women's inventiveness. Each family challenges the others in renewing their patterns. The best are later reproduced until the next change. From year to year I noticed no real evolution in this rudimentary art, but a cyclical fashion, with temporary preference, in males and females alike, for some geometrical designs, unconnected with whatever kind of food they had been eating. This contradicts the published af-
114 firmations of several authors, who allege that the Andamanese paint special
302 patterns in special colours for different kinds of food. There is nothing more false, at least with reference to the Onge. Merry feasting, whether on pork
[262] turtle, dugong, fish or honey, leads to a period of rest and body decoration –
[751] always in similar patterns and colours – with the unique purpose of preventing illness. We might say that painting the body is equal to cleaning it, but this
[515] is quite unintentional. A curious exception to the Onge's filthy habits is the
264 practice of sweeping the floor after solemn banquets in communal huts. The
356 surface of the floor consists of unpacked earth hardened by casual tramping. When it is dry, sweeping raises a heavy dust that fills the hut to the ceiling.
342 It deposits there on the wooden beams where the Onge like to store cooked
251 victuals. So they eat their food, as I said before, coated with dust, no matter
262 how thick. A brush without a handle is used to sweep the floor ; it is 80 cms
412 long and no thicker than a man's wrist. It is one of the nicest tools made by the Onge, and consists of strong, hard, elastic palm fibres bound together with strips of rattan. The dirt is simply thrown out all around the hut, by pushing
356 it under the roof mats that never reach the ground.

These notes offer a first glimpse into a peculiar aspect of Onge life. It is
114 to be deplored that these vanishing people have not yet been exhaustively studied, notwithstanding their anthropological interest and high biological significance.

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

123 411 painted with red ochre. It was perhaps left there for drying. The Jarawa would surely have returned just for this bow!

It was a straight piece of wood tapering at both ends. The outer surface was convex and was painted red, while the inner one was straight and smooth, and showed criss-cross designs and indentations. We then went to look for a 123 spring and found it at some distance behind a steep rock but there was no [312] water then. It appeared that the Jarawa had left this camp some time ago.

We then left Spiké Island and sailed for Yeratia Jig. Here an old kitchen [172] midden was known to be another Jarawa haunt. No Jarawa was found even there, however. The kitchen midden was a mound strewn all over with animal bones. Fragments of typical Andamanese pottery and a blue stone bead were discovered there.

648 In recent years the Jarawa raids have been rather more frequent. [721] GUPTA (1955) has given a list of them in his report on these people. It is believed that the primary cause of the restlessness of the Jarawa is the shortage of game and other food material [3]. On the other hand the tribe appears to have been sufficiently provoked by the punitive expeditions. All the Jarawa villages that the punitive party came upon were burnt down. In the encounter of March 1911 a woman was captured alive and nobody knows what happened to her afterwards. The pregnant woman captured along with four children in 1938 off Bluff Island later on gave birth to a boy (SARKAR, 1952, Pl. IX, fig. 3) at Port Blair but it was difficult to tame her. After her delivery she attempted to swim away and was rescued from the sea. She would spend hours climbing a cocoanut tree. Her whereabouts were unknown during the Japanese occupation of the Andaman Islands during the last war. The young children were sent to the Mission at Car Nicobar, where the present writer studied them in 1948. One of them had died before.

726 On the other hand the Jarawa raids, according to the then executive [714] Government officers, are also very brutal. Before they go out for a raid the 302 Jarawa cover their chests with bark armour and paint their faces with patterns of white clay. The bark armour is stitched securely on the body by other persons and can only be removed by cutting off the stitches. These people [727] are in the habit of mutilating their victims. They take out their brains, their eyes, and their bodies are hacked all over. – The type of arrow they use is [411] almost a spear, as may be seen from fig. 4. This arrow was obtained by the present writer from the forest department officers of Long Island in 1951. It was used injuring a bush police officer of the night picket unit at Lakera Lunta in January of that year. The police, in return, shot one Jarawa dead. 726 The male nurse of the Long Island Hospital took the following body measure- 141 ments of this dead man:

Height ... 5 feet 1 inch
Chest ... 36 inches

Fig. 4

[3] They have of late been reported from about the region of Bomlungta, Rangat Bay, etc. on the east coast of Middle Andaman. (The spelling "Ronga Bay" on the map is incorrect.)

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

CHAPTER IX
ABORIGINAL POPULATION
Painted faces of the Onges (Courtesy A.S.I)

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←

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Preparation of a tussel by an Onge Woman (Courtesy A.S.I.)

Construction of the hut by an Onges (Courtesy A.S.I.)

[facing P. 64]

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

the felling of the tree, chiselling the lumber and processing it further to give the shape of a canoe. Buckets of wood are also constructed by them from the softwood tree. Two types of baskets are made, the smaller ones are more well-finished than the bigger ones. The former is known as *tolcouga* and the later *tole-laya*. Such activities have introduced the use of dahs, chisels, and iron files among the Onges, from the iron pieces derived from the sea shores. The other important pieces of their craftsmanship are the beautiful weavings of fibre, tussel of yellow fibre used by the women in their front. However, the art of making the earthen pots has been completely forgotten.

The leisure in their lives has helped the development of some amount of aesthetic senses among the Onges. All the Onges men and women shave their heads with flakes of glass, obtained from the sea-borne glass bottles. The body of the Onges are also painted with white clay which save their skin from insect-bite while red paint serves medicinal purposes if some individual is having fever. In times of mourning, red orchre paint is a taboo.[1]

Early marriage is the custom. The widows are looked down upon by the society. Some incidents of widow murder and drowning are heard. In the married life, the husband is devoted to his wife and both the husband and wife work for collecting their food.

Dances and songs are in vogue and there are practically songs for every occasion and activity. Most of their songs are more plaintive than joyous.

There are three broad divisions of the Onges of the Little Andaman :

(1) *Giremeka-Gobeule* group inhabiting the northeastern coast of the island ;

(2) *Engakwale group* live in the interior of the islands ; and

(3) *Gireragobeule group* live in the southern and western coasts of the islands.

In spite of all the limitations, the Onges have been considered as one of the happiest people of the world with plenty of food and water to eat and drink and with very few social cankers to fight with. But as is common to all other aborigines of the Andamans, a decline in their number is discernible.

The Sentinelese

The Sentinelese are the least known of all the aborigines of the Anda-

1 The Onge of the Little Andaman—A short guide book ; Anthropological Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

the finger-tips and almost pink, with pale chocolate moons and 142
yellowish-brown palms and soles. In the adults the nails and soles of the feet remain pale, the palms being a little darker. The head, and the visible buccal and nasal epithelia, were almost black, and the gums were pink, as was the inside of the lips, with dark petecchiae, in adults very noticeable, at the base of the teeth and over the tongue and palate. The cheeks, however, were a reddish-brown, although the whole skin was already showing signs of darkening after twelve hours. Nasal cartilage was minimal, but that of the ears well-developed. The darkest area of skin were the forehead, eye sockets, lids, nipples and genitalia.

In general, therefore, the infant's skin was very slightly lighter [844]
than that of the adults, though before I could be sure of this I had [302]
to wash off the thick layer of ochre which is smeared over the un- [854]
washed infants immediately after birth. As the infants are extremely
carefully protected from the sun by 'umbrella' hats made of lobed [751]
palm leaves, the darkening, which is complete by the end of the first year, is clearly biological and is not effected by tanning. As, however, the Onges interchange or 'adopt' children freely, [597]
it was impossible to carry out any proper colorimetric observations.

I saw no albinos in the Onges, usually fairly common in dark- 143
skinned peoples. I saw several in Africa, with apparently normal 826
parents. Some African peoples destroy albinos at birth as they do [847]
those with deformities, and the Andamanese may do the same, as I
saw little congenital deformity (see, however, p. 46). Fear of being [626]
held responsible for disasters which befall the group carries great weight, and it is possible that the two cases of abnormality which
I did see did not manifest symptoms at birth. Twins, however, are [845]
clearly (and gladly) accepted, so eager are the Onges to have [842]
children.

It was already clear in the infant that it would have the somatic 142
characteristics common to all Negritos as regards the proportions of the body, the form and dimensions of the head, absence of prognathism, comparatively fine lips, nose and ears, black skin, and woolly hair, and would be well below 1·5 metres in height when fully grown. Above all, the Andamanese have a large forehead, very wide-angled jaw and large mouths, with the upper lips not invariably full, as in Negroes. Many Onges, in fact, have fine features,

157 522 Western standards taciturn or sly, and the Negro peoples, who frequently manifest complete abandonment in their amusement. 157 522 831 Obscenities appear to be an unfailing source of amusement to the Onges, who indulge in them at every opportunity, even with strangers, and the obscene dances of the womenfolk are a continual source of pleasure. The exchange of obscenities is, indeed, a sign of friendship, and I found that vulgarity was invariably immensely successful in provoking hilarity; any subsequent negotiations were always peaceable and satisfactory.

302 [157] An extension of this vulgarity is an infantile vanity, not without sexual significance. The care with which their bodies are painted nearly every day is one aspect of this vanity; the more a wife loves her husband the more magnificent the designs she executes on him. [153] [151] [161] The paintings on their bodies reach a peak every two or three days, as the Onges fear illness and death if they are not newly daubed, and the face at least must be continually painted, with at least smears on the chest, arms and legs. A man returning from an exceptionally successful hunting trip is met by his wife with a specially unusual and elaborate design, which she carries out with great devotion. [123] During each of my visits to the island the Onges would rush up to show me their embellishments as soon as they were finished, and took a delight in standing in front of my camera, even though they had no idea what it was for.

304 [171] It is curious that unlike most primitive peoples, the Onges do not practise tattooing, which is one of the simplest ways, if not *the* simplest, in which such peoples satisfy their craving for physical [184] [302] admiration. The other Andamanese do, puncturing the skin with tiny slivers of obsidian or quartz, but the Onges paint with ochre instead. They love, too, to weave garlands of fruit, flowers and 301 824 leaves from the forest, returning to the camp laden with them, men and women alike, delighted with their own beauty. This divergence [184] of customs in peoples essentially of the same stock, but separated for long periods of time into endogamous isolates, is very remarkable.

838 An intense preoccupation with sexual attraction and activity has led to the prevalence of aberration. All the Onges have homosexual tendencies. I became aware of this during my first visit to Little Andaman on one of my longer expeditions, when I had taken only men with me, and on subsequent occasions I therefore allowed the men to bring their wives. The effect of long periods of absence on

26 Cleaning themselves, to the Onges, means painting themselves
302 to ward off evil and to remove, so they said, the smell of pig fat
[224] after the colossal orgies which follow a particularly good hunt,
[164] when even they find the stench too much. These orgies, which give them appalling indigestion for days, are followed by an apparently instinctive variation of their diet to raw or cooked vegetable foods. On three occasions from 1952–54 I was present at one of these solemn pork and honey orgies. The Onges ate almost till they burst, and then, hardly able to move, cleaned up by a grand painting session. The women do the painting, families vying with each other to produce weird new designs, which are then copied until the next feast.[1]

276 Fed and painted, the Onges sit down to smoke, using pipes made
26 from crabs' claws. Still regardless of hygiene the pipes go from one
302 mouth to another, the women smoking just as heavily as the men.
237 One curious anomaly is that the Onges do sometimes sweep the
356 earth floor of the communal hut. The floor is not deliberately beaten down, but becomes hardened by continuous walking on it; in dry weather it turns to dust, which rises and settles everywhere, especially under the roof, where the lumps of cooked meat,
[412] fish and so on are hung. For the cleaning a broom or besom is prepared, well made with very hard, supple, palm fibres, bound tightly and carefully with cords made from reeds. The whole thing is about eighty centimetres long and as thick as a man's wrist.

356 The dirt is simply swept out all round from under the roof of the
342 hut through the gap between the roof and the ground. In the course
172 of time a ring of refuse builds up round the hut, forming a glorious
364 breeding ground for insects of all kinds. When the hut has to be rebuilt, owing to the ravages of wood-worm and termites, the ring is levelled off to form the new floor. Since the same small, well-chosen site may be used for thousands of years, the hut ends up perching on top of a small mound of refuse dating back to very

[531] [1] From one year to the next I saw no real evolution of art forms but cyclic changes of designs, with a preference for certain geometric patterns, at certain times of the year. Having watched various individuals of both sexes closely over a period of some years I can say that in the Onges at least, contrary to what is generally understood, the use of given patterns, and given kinds of ochre, does not correspond with given types of food. Any feast is always followed by painting, always with the weirdest designs possible, but always geometrical, never far from the current 'fashion', and never even remotely inspired by the basis of the feast.

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[facing P. 66, B]

/2 . . . Two examples of the geometric patterns which are painted on the face and torso/

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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3 *Above top* A group of Onges resting against the bastion roots of a tree. The man in the centre is smoking a crab-claw pipe
4 *Above* A typical example of tight binding of the body as a cure for disease
2 *Left* Two examples of the geometric patterns which are painted on the face and torso

[facing P. 66, C]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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[facing P.66, I]

/13 Mother and child/

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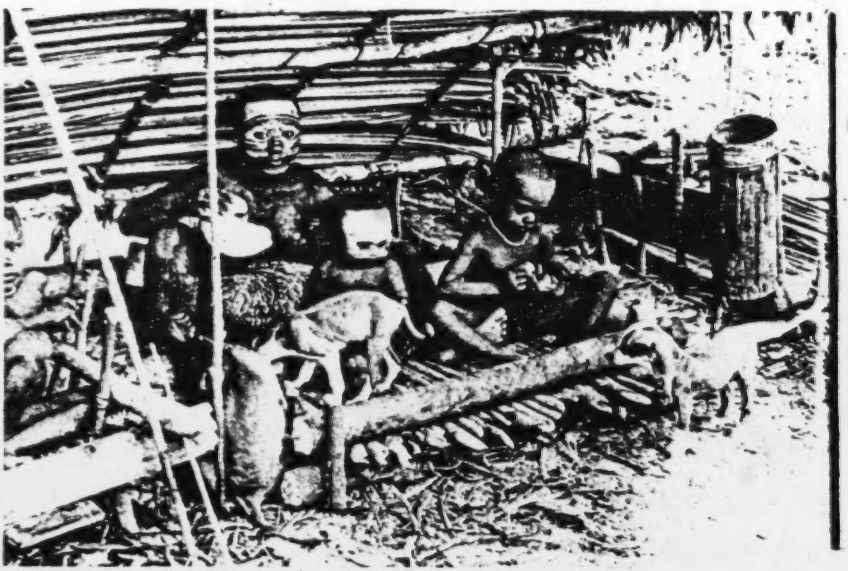

18 A family group with, on the right, the cylindrical cooking-pot, and the inevitable dogs

19 Typical shell collection from a kitchén-midden

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[facing P. 67]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

136 been found since 1500. It is found only in the seas round Australia and Malaysia, flourishing round the Andamans, growing rarer towards Indonesia, and reaching as far as the Philippines.

Although *Nautilus* shells are very often thrown up by the sea on the shores of Little Andaman (though rarely whole, because they are so fragile), I never managed to find one alive. The creature prefers to live below thirty metres, where it can be taken with a hook and line. I distributed some to the Onges and offered them every possible inducement, but no one managed to catch a live *Nautilus*. The lovely shells are striped white and rosy pink on top, shading to a mother of pearl colour underneath, and when polished and shaped make beautiful cups or ornaments. I brought some back to Italy with me, but the best were stolen. In one collection in the Zoological Museum of the University of Florence there are some fine ones set in silver, now of considerable value.

237 302 123 177 Another shell which the Onges use is that of the huge bivalve *Tridacna*, the elephant of the mollusc world (see p. 114). For many hundreds of years they have filled these shells with water and used them as mirrors when they paint themselves. (The reflection is poor, however, and they fell enthusiastically on the mirrors I had taken with me. These they named *quietanga*, derived from their name for *Tridacna*, and followed me all over the island to get them.)

136 262 Two species of *Tridacna* are found on Little Andaman; *Tridacna gigas*, the larger, and *Tridacna squamosa*, large, but somewhat lighter in weight. Both live in relatively shallow water and are equally terrifying once they have got a hold (see p. 114). Fortunately, the Onges have learnt to surprise them when they are open and slash the single immensely powerful muscle, which closes the two halves of the shell. The flesh is edible when well boiled, and certain parts can even be quite tasty, with a delicate sea flavour; I even ate some raw, much to the horror of the Onges. (They were equally scandalized at my eating raw some of the excellent oysters, which they despise.)

136 Some of the *Tridacna* of the Andamans and Nicobar can weigh over two and a half hundredweights. The actual flesh is not heavy – the two halves of a magnificent *T. squamosa* that I caught at Nancowry in the Nicobars and gave to the Governor of the Andamans weighed nearly one and a half hundredweights and were over 1·3

802 805 or form of numerical evaluation is further support for the extremely low stage of cultural development at which they became isolated.

22 ART

302 531 532 When painting their bodies with ochre the Onges have no idea of symbolic representation, and use only geometrical designs. These invariably seem spontaneous, and in my view do not represent a degenerate form of some more highly evolved art, half forgotten over the centuries; in short, the 'artists' of the Andamans, with no conception of symbolism, are even today less advanced than their Palaeolithic counterparts.

23 DIGGING STICKS

172 412 In late Palaeolithic deposits, stones with holes in them have been found which correspond to those still in use among peoples such as the Bushmen, to add weight to their digging sticks. The absence even today of any form of weighted stick in the Andamans, where stone is plentiful, would appear to antedate the culture at least to early Palaeolithic.

24 HUNTING

224 172 [411] 227 177 The Onges still use the Palaeolithic throwing stick, although it is not their main hunting weapon. They have no idea of fixed traps, which must from the evidence have been known in Palaeolithic times, and it is hard to believe that a people so dependent upon hunting would have lost the art once it had been acquired. They have crude nets which the women use for fishing, but these are probably a comparatively recent introduction, which has arrived via the Nicobars.

25 DOMESTIC ANIMALS

231 174 The Andamanese have none, and this would seem to add weight to the evidence for their great antiquity.

26 ECONOMY

433 185 437 There is no economic system of any kind, and from the evidence available it is highly unlikely that even the most primitive form ever existed. There is no conception whatever of providing for tomorrow, or of any form of exchange or barter.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

852 304 Every boy and girl has to undergo the operation of scarification. This is begun when the child is quite young, and a small portion of the body is operated on. The operation is repeated at intervals during childhood, until the whole body has been scarified. A small flake of quartz or glass is used, and a series of fine incisions are made in the skin. The usual method is to cover a small portion of the skin with a number of parallel rows of short cuts. The choice of the design (if it can be called such) rests entirely with the person who performs the operation, who is in all cases a woman. The incisions leave scars that can usually only be seen when close to the person. In the photograph of Plate XV a pattern of scars may be seen. In this case the incisions became infected and raised scars were produced, and it is for this reason that they are visible in the photograph. In ordinary cases raised scars are not produced and the scarification is hardly visible in a photograph.

The only reason that the natives give for this custom is either that it improves the personal appearance, or else that it helps to make the child grow strong.

881 In the case of a girl the period of childhood is brought to a close by a ceremony that takes place on the occasion of her first menstrual discharge. The ceremony I describe is that in use in the Northern tribes, but I believe that the ceremony of the Southern tribes is very similar. On the occurrence of the first menstrual discharge the girl tells her parents, who weep over her. She must then go and bathe in the sea for an hour [343] or two by herself. After that she goes back to her parents' hut or to a special shelter that is put up for the occasion. She is 881 not required to go away from the camp. All ornaments are removed from her, only a single belt of *Pandanus* leaf being 292 left, with an apron of *čaiuyo* leaves. Strips of *Pandanus* leaf are attached round her arms near the shoulders and round her wrists, and others are placed as bands crossing her chest from the shoulder to the waist on the opposite side, and crossing her abdomen from the iliac crest on the one side to the trochanter on the other. These are so attached that the long loose ends hang down at the girl's side. Bunches of leaves, either *čelmo* (*Tetranthera lancœfolia*) or, if these be not obtainable, *poramo* (*Myristica longifolia*) are

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

881 184 After this ceremony the girl is said to be *aka-ndu-kolot*. For some time afterwards she must not have her head shaved, and she must not use red paint or white clay.

841 184 I was not able to learn much about the native ideas in connection with the menstrual function. According to the account given me by one informant I gathered that the girl's first menstrual discharge is supposed to be due to sexual intercourse. The man's breath goes into her nose and this produces the discharge. It is believed that if a man were to touch a girl during this period, either during the ceremony or for some time after it, his arm would swell up.

At every recurrence of the menstrual period a woman is required to abstain from eating certain foods. According to an *Akar-Bale* informant these are, in that tribe, pork, turtle, *Paradoxurus*, honey and yams. An *Aka-Čari* informant added to the above list dugong, monitor lizard, and the fish *komar*. If she ate any of these things at such a time she would be ill. This continues throughout her life till the climacteric. A menstruating woman is not required to leave the camp, as she is in many savage communities.

From the moment of the ceremony just described the girl enters a new condition which is denoted in the *Aka-Jeru* language by the word *aka-op* (*aka-yaba* in *Aka-Bea*). This word means that the person to whom it is applied is under certain ritual restrictions, chiefly concerned with foods that may not be eaten.

881 304 In the case of a boy there is no physiological event so clearly marked as there is in that of a girl. It rests with the relatives and friends to decide when the boy is to become *aka-op*. It would seem that in the Southern tribes there is no ceremony on this occasion. Among the Northern tribes the boy is made *aka-op* by means of a ceremony that consists of making the scars on his back that are customary in these tribes[1].

When the friends and relatives of a boy decide that he is old enough to have the incisions made in his back a dance is held in the evening, and the boy is required to dance through the

[1] Unfortunately I was not able to see this ceremony performed, and my information is therefore derived from the statements of the natives.

7 [See pp. 92-94, cat. 116 — Analyst]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

whole night till he is tired. As soon as morning breaks he is made to bathe in the sea for two hours or so. He is then seated in some convenient place, not in a hut. The boy kneels down and bends forward till his elbows rest on the ground in front. One of the older men takes a pig-arrow and with the sharpened blade makes a series of cuts on the boy's back. Each cut is horizontal, and they are arranged in three vertical rows, each row consisting of from 20 to 30 cuts. When the cutting is finished the boy sits up, with a fire at his back, until the bleeding stops. During the operation and for a few hours following it the boy must remain silent. There is no treatment of the wounds to produce raised scars. The scars are much more noticeable on some men than on others. 881 304

The boy does not receive a new name on this occasion, but for a few weeks his own name is dropped and he is addressed and spoken of as *Ejido*. From this time the boy is described as being *oko-taliŋ-kolot*, this being the masculine term corresponding to *aka-ndu-kolot* for girls. From the time the cuts are made on his back the boy becomes *aka-op* and is under certain restrictions as to what foods he may eat. [551]

When the wounds on his back are thoroughly healed similar cuts are made on his chest. I found a certain number of men who had no visible scars on their chests, but in the North Andaman every man has the three rows of scars on his back. Some of the women of the North Andaman have similar scars on their chests and a very few have them also on the back. These scars on women are not regularly made as part of the initiation ceremonies, and may be made after the woman has been married for some years.

During the period that a boy or girl is *aka-op* he or she is required by the customs of the tribe to abstain from eating certain foods. The exact rules in this matter differ from tribe to tribe. More particularly there are important differences between the coast-dwellers on the one hand and the jungle-dwellers on the other. The general principle, however, is in all cases the same. The boy (or girl) must abstain from all the chief foods of the people, and since he could not abstain from them all at one time without starving, he takes them in 881 262

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE XV

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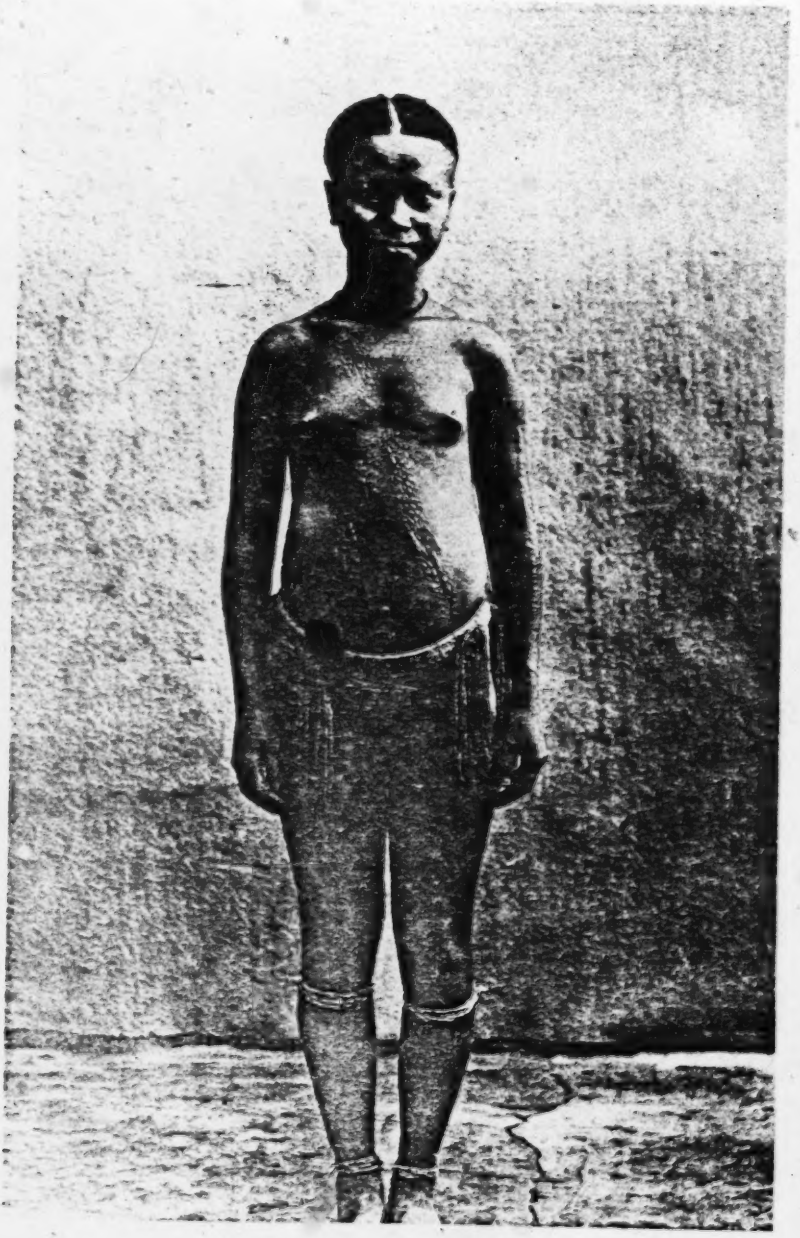

A young married woman, showing pattern scarified on body and arms

[p. 126B]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

In conclusion, mention must be made of one favourite remedy of the Andamanese, namely scarification. The part of the body that is the seat of pain is scarified, as the forehead for headaches, the cheek for toothache. A number of very small incisions are made in the skin close together, with a sharp flake of quartz or glass. The incisions are just deep enough to cut through the skin and cause a little blood to ooze out, but not so deep as to produce a flow of blood. The operation is the work of women. It is probably more frequently used than any other remedy except red paint and human bones. 304 755

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

followed the turtle. They could not catch him. The turtle swam away and the canoes followed. When the canoes were far from land the big turtle came and upset the canoes. The men were all turned into turtles of the same kind and size as those that are seen now. The canoes (and the big turtle?) were turned into a reef." 773 539

In the South Andaman it is supposed that the custom of scarifying the skin was invented by the first ancestor of the Andamanese, the monitor lizard. An *Akar-Bale* version of the story is as follows. 773 539 304

"*Duku* (Monitor Lizard) lived with his wife *Bain* (Civet-cat). *Duku* said 'I am going to scarify myself.' His wife tried to dissuade him. He would not listen to her. He went into the jungle and found a piece of *tolma* (quartz) and scarified himself all over. His wife was very angry and asked him why he had done it. *Duku* replied 'I look very well like this, and you will see, all the other people will do the same'."

Mr Man gives a version of the same legend.

"*Maia Duku*, who appears to be identical with *Tomo*, is said to have been the first to tattoo himself. One day, while out on a fishing expedition, he shot an arrow; missing its object it struck a hard substance which proved to be a piece of iron, the first ever found. With it *Duku* made an arrow-head and tattooed himself, after which he sang the ditty:—

Toŋ ma lir pireŋa? toŋ yitiken! toŋ yitiken!
toŋ ma lir pireŋa? toŋ yitiken!

the interpretation of which is

'What can now strike me?
I am tattooed, I am tattooed!' etc. (Da capo)[1]."

It would seem that Mr Man, or else his informant, was not very clear about the details of the legend. In the South Andaman scarification is never performed with an arrow-head, nor with any instrument of iron, but with a flake of quartz or glass. It is only in the North and Middle Andaman that an arrow-head is used for such a purpose, and even then it is only so used to make the big scars on the back and chest, the ordinary scarifica-

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 170.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

773 539 304 tion being performed with a flake of stone or glass. The legend is certainly a Southern one, and the song given is in the *Aka-Bea* language. The accuracy of the transcription of the legend therefore seems very doubtful.

773 539 Yams and honey, being two of the most important foods of the Andaman Islanders, are the subject of several legends. A common belief about yams is that they were made, or their qualities were first discovered, by *Biliku* or *Puluga*. We have already seen that there is a special connection between *Biliku* (or *Puluga*) and the yams and other edible roots. There are also other legends, however, on the same subject. An account of the first discovery of the yam called *gono* is contained in the *Akar-Bale* legend of the origin of night, already given[1].

In the North Andaman the following tale is told about the discovery of one kind of yam.

"*Maia Dik* (Sir Prawn) discovered *kǫnmo* (*Dioscorea* sp.). He was very hungry and went to look for something to eat. He found a very large *kǫnmo*. There was only one *kǫnmo*. He cooked it in the fire and ate as much as he could. He dashed the remainder on a rock, and the fragments scattered everywhere and grew into fresh plants. After this there were plenty of *kǫnmo* everywhere."

A legend is also told in the North Andaman about the first discovery of another kind of yam.

"*Maia Pulimu* (Sir Fly) and *Maia Mǫičo* (Sir Rail) went to hunt pig. They killed one pig. There was nothing to tie up the pig (to carry it home). *Maia Pulimu* went to look for a creeper (with which to tie up the pig). He caught hold of a creeper and pulled it and found it was a *mino* (*Dioscorea* sp.). *Maia Pulimu* was a long time away. *Maia Mǫičo* went and found some creeper for himself and tied up the pig and carried it home. When *Maia Pulimu* came back he found that *Maia Mǫičo* had gone and taken the pig. He followed him and went home. He showed the ancestors how to cook and eat *mino*."

I believe that there is a fuller version of this legend, which I was unable, however, to obtain. Another of my informants told me the story as follows.

[1] Page 214.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

contact with some source of that power which belongs to the things that affect the social life, and it thereby serves to keep alive the sentiments associated with that notion of power. The painting after eating reminds the individual of his dependence upon and obligation towards the society, and, since all join in the rite, it serves also to maintain the unity of the community. 182X 778

We may now return to the question of the meaning of personal ornament in general. It is a commonplace of psychology that the development of the sense of self is closely connected with the perception of one's own body. It is also generally recognized that the development of the moral and social sentiments in man is dependent upon the development of self-consciousness, of the sense of self. These two important principles will help us to appreciate the hypothesis to which the discussion has now led, that in the Andamans the customary regulation of personal ornament is a means by which the society acts upon, modifies, and regulates the sense of self in the individual. 182X 304 301 302

There are three methods of ornamenting the body in the Andamans, (1) by scarification, (2) by painting, and (3) by the putting on of ornaments.

The natives give two reasons for the custom of scarification, that it improves the personal appearance and that it makes the boy or girl grow up strong. Both these mean that scarification gives or marks an added value. The explanation of the rite would therefore seem to be that it marks the passage from childhood to manhood and is a means by which the society bestows upon the individual that power, or social value, which is possessed by the adult but not by the child. The individual is made to feel that his value—his strength and the qualities of which he may be proud—is not his by nature but is received by him from the society to which he is admitted. The scars on his body are the visible marks of his admission. The individual is proud or vain of the scars which are the mark of his manhood, and thus the society makes use of the very powerful sentiment of personal vanity to strengthen the social sentiments. 182X 304

Turning now to the painting of the body, we have seen that the pattern of white clay serves to make both the painted individual and those who see him feel his social value, and we 182X 302

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

(for some special reason) necessary for him to feel. As the value of the individual depends upon his strength or force, the red paint is thus a suitable means of expressing the value of him on whose body it is painted, and really expresses, though by different means, exactly the same thing as the pattern of white clay with which it is combined. 182x 302 822

We are now in a position to understand the use of white clay and red paint in the purification of a homicide. This takes place at the end of a period of isolation, during which the man is entirely cut off from the social life, and lives in a condition of supposed extreme danger on account of the blood that he has shed. During this time he may not use his hands to touch food, and at the end his hands are purified by the application to them of red paint and white clay. It is clearly because these two substances are both of them in different ways symbols of conditions of well-being that magical virtue is ascribed to their use in this instance. It is perhaps worth while to recall that both red ochre and white clay are sometimes given internally as remedies against sickness.

For the sake of the argument it has been necessary to separate the two motives underlying the use of personal ornament, the desire for protection and the desire for display. But we now see that these two motives are very intimately related and are really both involved in every kind of ornament. All ornament in some way marks the relation of the individual to the society and to that force or power in the society to which he owes his well-being and happiness. When painting or ornament is used to give protection, it is, as we have seen, the protective power of the society itself that is appealed to, and what is expressed is the dependence of the individual on the society. When ornament or paint is used for display it is again the dependence on the society that is expressed, though in a different way and on occasions of a different kind. We have seen that scarification is also a means of marking the dependence of the individual on the society, and it is very important to note that the Andamanese sometimes explain it as due to the desire for display and sometimes to the need of protection (enabling the child to grow strong and so avoid the dangers of sickness), showing very clearly that there is some 182x 301 302 304

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

X 182 302 301 304

intimate connection between these two motives, or at any rate that one and the same method of ornamentation can satisfy both. There is the further example of red paint, which is combined with the pattern of white clay for purposes of display, and is also constantly used in many ways as affording protection.

We are thus brought to the final conclusion that the scarification and painting of the body and the wearing of most if not all of the customary ornaments are rites which have the function of marking the fact that the individual is in a particular permanent or temporary relation to that power in the society and in all things that affect the social life, the notion of which we have seen to underlie so much of the Andaman ceremonial.

The scarification of a boy or girl leaves permanent marks of the permanent relation between the adult and the society. By means of it and the initiation ceremonies that follow or accompany it, and of which it may really be considered to be a part, the society gives the individual his social value, of which the scars remain as a visible sign for him to be proud of, and at the same time endows him with the power to avoid the dangers with which his life is beset.

X 182 302

The paintings of clay after food mark the temporary relation between the individual and the power present in the food he has eaten. It is chiefly thought of by the natives themselves as protective, as we have seen, but it also gives an opportunity for the exercise of personal vanity, for much care is taken in the designing and execution of the pattern, which therefore affords the painted individual much the same sort of satisfaction as the snake pattern of white clay. It calls his attention to his own appearance, and makes him feel pleased or satisfied with himself, conscious of his own personal value. A condition of unity and harmony is produced in the community by a feast as well as by a dance, and in each instance that harmony is expressed by the painting of every member with the same material in a similar design. The relation of the individual to the society is made visible on his body. By means of the paintings after food the society not only protects itself from danger but also rejoices in the well-being that is produced by a supply of relished food.

Inversely it can now also be shown that the painting of white

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

As regards personal ornament, therefore, the only elements of a primitive Negrito culture that we seem to be able to trace in the Andamans at the present day are (1) the use of yellow vegetable fibre, and (2) the absence of any considerable use of feathers. 301 171

One element of a primitive Andamanese culture, though not necessarily of a primitive Negrito culture, would seem to be the use of a tassel of the fibre obtained from an unopened palm-leaf which is used by women to cover their genitals in the Little Andaman, and was similarly used until recently in the North Andaman.

Hair-dressing, Scarification, and Body-painting.

At the present time the usual method of hair-dressing in the Great Andaman is to shave a portion of the scalp all round so as to leave a sort of skull-cap of hair, as may be seen in many of the plates of this volume. In some cases a "parting" is made by shaving a narrow strip over the crown. (See Plate xv, for example.) When the hair grows so long as to be uncomfortable the whole head is shaved, and it is then permitted to grow again. In these days the natives cut their hair whenever they have an opportunity of obtaining a pair of scissors. In the Little Andaman women and old men are frequently to be seen with the head entirely shaved. The younger men shave away the lower edge of the hair all round in the same way as the natives of the Great Andaman, but this may be a recent practice. 302

The fashion of hair-dressing, at any rate for women, has changed within recent times, for Mr Man wrote in 1882 that "the majority of the women every week or ten days shave their heads almost entirely, leaving only two narrow parallel lines of hair, termed *gor*, from the crown to the nape of the neck[1]." At the present time this style of hair-dressing has fallen entirely into disuse, and the women do their hair in the same way as the men.

The operation of shaving, which is done with a flake of glass or quartz, is performed by women, and never, or very rarely, by men.

Mention has been made in an earlier part of the work of the way in which the natives of the Great Andaman scarify the skin of the body and limbs with a flake of glass or quartz. The Semang do not scarify themselves in this way, but some, at any rate, of the Negritos of the Philippines do. 304 171

The natives of the Great Andaman, as described earlier in this work, paint their bodies with a grey clay called *odu* or *og*, with a fine 302

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 77.

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affections. Those natives who have been long with us, have great faith in our medicines, especially in the efficacy of quinine for curing fever, from which, as exposure is very trying to their constitutions, they suffer greatly when living in the clearings we have made at Port Blair. 757

4. For a cold in the head they merely remain at home and nurse themselves, crouching over the fire; for a cough, sea-water is often drunk, or they will chew the thick portion of the long leaves of a plant called *jī·ni-* (of the *Alpinia* species), and when the bitter juice has been extracted and swallowed, tie the chewed fibre round the neck; if benefit be not derived from this, they then take a piece of the upper portion of the stem of the *Calamosagus laciniosus*, called *pôr-*, and, removing the bark, chew the rest, and swallow the sap. Many cures having been attributed to the wonderful properties of the two descriptions of *chū·lnga-*, one or two quarts daily are prescribed to the unhappy patient, until the cough leaves him. 757 278

5. In cases of rheumatism and paralysis, a *chàu·ga-tâ-* is tied round the parts affected, and *chū·lnga-*, moist as found, is rubbed into them: if no relief is experienced within a day or so, warm water is poured over the suffering members, which are then shampooed; should no improvement result, even after these measures, recourse is had to scarification; this is done with a quartz or glass flake, by a woman, generally the wife or one near of kin to the sufferer. It has been noticed that but few of those who have been attacked by rheumatism in the jungle ever regain the full use of their limbs. 757 304

6. In phthisis, or when any internal organ is diseased, steps are taken by the friends of the patient to defeat the machinations of the evil one, to whom the victim's sufferings are attributed; to this end, one or more *chàu·ga-tâ-* are first fastened tightly over the seat of pain, a lump of black beeswax, *tō·bul-pid-*,[1] is then held over a fire till it begins to melt, when it is instantly applied, being passed rapidly over the flesh; the wax which adheres is not removed, but wears off in a few days. The patient is also subjected to pressure with the hands by a relative or friend of the same sex, while an attendant frequently sucks the skin. Scarification is the *dernier ressort* when the bad symptoms increase.[2] [755] [278]

7. Every attention is paid to the wants and wishes of the sick, and the friends do all in their power to effect recovery, but no charms, excepting the *chàu·ga-tâ-*, are employed in the hope of 757 751

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, No. 57.

[2] As many bad cases of lung disease among those in the homes have been successfully treated with cod liver oil, they have now great faith in that medicine.

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291 in this respect, that they will not remove or replace their
834 *ō·bunga-*[1] in the presence of any person, even though of their own sex.[2]

Tattooing.—1. With regard to the practice of tattooing,[3]—so
304 general among the eight tribes[4] of Great Andaman, and which, as Peschel remarks, "is only another substitute for raiment"—it has been erroneously asserted that its object is to "harden the skin against the stings of mosquitoes, sandflies, &c., and also for jungle travelling;" but so far from any such benefit being derived therefrom the aborigines aver that the skin becomes more sensitive after undergoing the ordeal, which is considered, primarily, as ornamental, and secondly, as proving the courage of the individual, and his (or her) power of enduring pain.

2. There are no special ceremonies connected with the operation, which, except in the northern tribes, is almost invariably performed by women, who, however, receive no remuneration, but rest satisfied with the honour of being considered competent to fulfil the task; all the sex are not equally skilled, and therefore, those who have gained distinction by former successes are, it may be said, the recognised practitioners, though no special status, or profit, in a material sense, is gained thereby.

304 3. Very few children[5] of either sex are allowed to remain
852 untattooed after about the eighth year, and the final operation is often not attempted until the sixteenth or eighteenth year, the process being carried on gradually during the intervening period.[6]

[413] 4. The instrument used on these occasions is a flake of quartz,
304 or, now-a-days, glass,[7] which is not "inserted in a stick," but held between the forefinger and thumb; the markings are found chiefly on the back, shoulders, nape of the neck, chest,

[1] The *ō·bunga-* is first worn by girls when they are about five or six years of age.

[2] *Vide ante* "Psychology and Morals," paragraph 8, and footnote.

[3] The legend explaining its supposed origin has been given in Part II (*vide* "Mythology," paragraph 26).

[4] So far as our present knowledge enables us to say, the *jär·awa-* do not tattoo or shave themselves (*vide* "Tribal Distribution," paragraph 2).

[5] Even in the homes the practice is still observed, and one strong-minded youth, *ī·ra-jō·do-*, who has hitherto declined to undergo the operation, which he has ventured to stigmatise as unnecessary, has earned for himself the (to them) unenviable designation of "*ab-lū·ta-*," *i.e.*, the "untattooed."

[6] The arms are generally the first part tattooed, and this is accomplished *prior* to the probationary period; the back is ornamented *during* the continuance of the fast and the chest, belly, legs, &c., *subsequently*. Sometimes an *á·kà-kâ daka-*, *i.e.*, a youth about 11–12, requests that he may be tattooed on his back and on the nape of his neck before attaining the usual age; such a request from a lad is considered manly, and, indeed, almost heroic, for ordinarily the painful operation is postponed until some years later.

[7] *Vide post* "Stone Implements," paragraphs 6 and 7.

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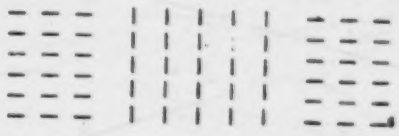
304 sides, abdomen, and also on the upper part of the feet and back of the hands.

5. Cicatrices are often observed on the persons of both sexes, but these are due to scarification (*tū·pke*[1]), or some accidental circumstance whereby the cut has been obliterated, or has failed to heal in the same manner as the others forming the design.[2]

6. The *.ā·kà-.chā·riàr-*, *.ā·kà-jār·o-*, *.ā·kà-.ked·e-*, and *.ō·ko-jū·wai-*[3] are most given to tattooing their persons, and may be specially distinguished by three rows of cuts down the back and chest: these latter marks are ordinarily much fainter than the former. Though women do the greater part of this work, the three lines down the back are almost exclusively made by some male friend with the *ē·la-*,[4] or pig arrow; except the three lines in front, the women of these tribes have no special marks, but are covered, like the females of South Andaman, with small raised cuts, which are inflicted by their own sex, with the ordinary glass or quartz flake, and not with the *ē·la-*.

7. The *.ā·kà-.kōl-* differ from the four tribes just mentioned, only in that they omit the centre row of the three down the back.

8. The *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*, *.bō·jig-yāb-*, and *.bal·awa-* are covered with plain tattooing consisting merely of perpendicular and horizontal incisions all over[5] the person, thus:



852 9. There is no distinction made in the mode of tattooing a
304 chief's child and the other children of the tribe; the marks have no special significance, being merely regarded as ornamental;

[1] *Vide ante* "Medicine," paragraphs 5, 6, 12, 16 and 17.

[2] They are not raised by producing "proud" flesh.

[3] Among these tribes the first and most severe operation consists in making the three rows down the back; during the time the wounds take to heal, the patient abstains from pork, in the belief that his recovery will thus be expedited. [262]

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 5.

[5] The special poss. pron. denoting the various parts of the body are also used, in connection with tattooing, to express the particular limb or member to which reference is intended; thus:—

ōt-yī tinga-	tattooing on chest or neck.	
ig-yī tinga-	"	arm, shoulder, or breast.
ar-yī tinga-	"	leg.
ab-yī tinga-	"	back body, or thigh.
ōng-yī tinga-	"	foot or hand.
ā·kà-yī tinga-	"	side.

[6] *Vide* Plate II. fig. 1. Where, however, it will be seen that they do not quite attain to the regularity in marking here represented by the printing press.

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no coloured pigments or other preparations are rubbed into the wounds, which are left to heal of themselves: before leaving this subject I would mention that the face is never tattooed. 304 852

Painting.—1. Besides the permanent tattooing decorations, these savages employ three kinds of pigments for the further adornment of their dusky persons; and from the mode of their application it can be at once ascertained whether the individual be sick, or sorry, or whether he has taken, or is about to take, part in a merry-making. 312

2. No distinction with regard to rank or sex is made in the designs executed, yet, though these are not very numerous, no two persons are ordinarily painted exactly in the same way, as the pattern traced may be in one case on the chest, in another on the arm, in a third on the face, and so on; a temporary restriction is, however, laid upon the unmarried, who are not permitted to use the paint to their necks, either by way of ornament, or to relieve their pains.[1]

3. We have seen that according to their traditions[2] this was one of the arts in which *Pū·luga-* instructed their first parents, and though temporarily lost after the Deluge it was revived by the accidental re-discovery of the necessary pigments: it may, therefore, be reasonably inferred that the practice is a very ancient one among these tribes.

4. The materials used are *ōg-*, *tā·la-ōg-*, and *kòi·ob-*, which are applied, respectively, as a wash and in designs, more or less minute, with the nail or the tips of the fingers.

5. The first (*ōg-*), is a pale "whitish-grey" clay,[3] which is mixed with water and smeared thickly over the entire person with the palms of the hand, to denote mourning;[4] a lump of the same compound (*del·a-*) is also placed on the head at these times: hence the term *ā·kà-ōg-*, a mourner.

6. After eating pork or turtle they are also in the habit of smearing *ōg-* over their bodies with their fingers, in the belief that it affects their breath, and that evil spirits will be unable to detect, and therefore will not be attracted to, them by the savoury smell of the food of which they have partaken. Again, when heated by travelling, or by hunting or dancing, they have recourse to the same wash, but in these cases it is applied thinly.[5] [75]

[1] *Vide ante* "Medicine," paragraph 2.

[2] *Vide ante* "Mythology," paragraphs 9 and 27.

[3] "I may remark that the natives far West . . . . when mourning for the dead, paint the whole of the body of a white or yellow colour; while in the East of New Guinea the natives for a similar event paint themselves with black" (*vide* paper by Signor S. M. D'Albertis: "Travels in New Guinea," Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. vi, p. 215.)

[4] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 2.

[5] *Vide* "Anatomy and Physiology," paragraph 5.

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be supposed, is soon obliterated, and requires therefore to be 302
constantly renewed.

2. Only in very exceptional cases, when the services of a woman are not obtainable, will men consent to operate upon one another, for among these savages shaving is regarded as essentially a feminine occupation:[1] the instrument used for this purpose is effective, if rude, and consists merely of a flake of quartz, or now more generally of glass; the manner in which these primitive razors are made is described under "Stone Implements."[2]

3. Previous to shaving an *infant*, the mother usually moistens the head with milk which she presses from her breast, but when operating upon bigger children and adults, water only is used.

Deformations.—1. Unless tattooing can be so regarded, these 304 ●
savages do not intentionally produce any deformities, or practice artificial deformations in any way.[3] No attempt is made to alter the shape of the nose by flattening or pinching it, nor is the cartilaginous septum ever perforated for the purpose of inserting ornamental bars or rings.

2. In this, as in many other respects, the Andamanese differ greatly from their neighbours, the Nicobarese, who not only flatten the occiputs of their children in infancy, but, from the period of puberty, blacken their teeth,[4] and perforate the lobes of their ears to such an extent as to enable them, by the time they are full grown, to insert a wooden cylindrical instrument three-quarters of an inch thick.

3. There is, however, a deformity of the skull observable in 304
most Andamanese women, but it is caused unintentionally, and 482
arises from the practice, to which allusion has already been made,[5] of placing the cane or cord by which a load is borne across the anterior portion of the cranium: this habit, especially when commenced at an early age, cannot fail to produce a more or less deep indentation.[6]

[1] *Vide ante* "Social Relations," paragraph 3.

[2] *Vide post* "Stone Implements," paragraph 4.

[3] Mutilation, such as the amputation of a part, or whole, of the fingers, which is practised among certain African tribes, is quite unknown to this race, as are also the customs of circumcision and castration.

[4] "Men and women use so large a quantity of betel-nut lime and betel-leaves that their teeth are as black as ink, and the space between them being filled with that matter they appear as a solid piece, much like the horn inserted in the jaws of the tortoise" (*vide* "Notice of the Nicobar Islands," by the Rev. P. Barbé).

[5] *Vide ante* "Physical Powers and Senses," paragraph 2.

[6] So strongly marked is the deformation in most cases, that the late Dr. J. Barnard Davis, being unaware of its true cause, in a letter to me on the subject, wrote as follows:—"The skull shows unmistakably that she has been subjected to the same barbarous treatment which the women among Australians have to submit to: every Australian woman's skull that I have

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804 **Weights and Measures.**—1. When speaking of their physical powers I stated that 40 lbs. is ordinarily the maximum of a man's burden; but this is, of course, only an approximate estimate, for among these savages there is no recognised standard of weights or measures, corresponding to the nail, finger-joint, thumb, span, or pace.

2. In referring to the size, shape, or weight of a small object, they would, if possible, liken it to some seed, such as that of the *Entada pursætha*, or fruit, such as mangosteen, jack-fruit, or cocoa-nut; of larger weights they would say, "as much as" or "more than one man could carry" or "lift;" for expressing capacity or quantity they would say "a bucketful," "basketful," "handful," "canoe-load," as the case might be.

3. There is no prescribed or uniform size for any mat, tool, weapon, or utensil, the dimensions of each and all being dependent on the will of the maker, and on the material at his disposal.

[802] 4. No tallies are kept of numbers of articles, nor are counters such as seeds, stones, &c., employed in counting.

5. In speaking of a short distance, as, for example, 50 yards, they would compare it to "a bowshot," but in describing the distance of a certain spot it would be defined as equal to that separating two places, well known to the speaker and the person addressed; any distance over 15 miles would be said to "exceed a day's journey."

805 **Astronomy.**—1. It has been stated by Dr. Day that the Andamanese "divide the day into three portions, sunrise, mid-day, and sunset, recognising no subdivisions;" this is, however, incorrect, for though they are naturally content with a, to us, rough method of reckoning time, there are no less than thirteen periods of the day and night distinguished by definite terms, viz.:—

wâ·ngala-, the first appearance of dawn.
ela-wâ·nga-, between dawn and sunrise.
bō·do-la-dō·atinga-, sunrise.[1]
lī·li-, or *dī·lma-*, from sunrise to about 7 a.m.
bō·do-la-kâ·galnga-, } forenoon.
bō·do-la-kâ·ynga-, or } forenoon.
bō·do-châ·nag-, } forenoon.
bō·do-châ·u-, noon.

[304] met with has borne ineffaceable marks of injuries from which the living woman has suffered during her lifetime. And this is clearly the fate of the *Miscopie* woman also."

[1] Although they are aware of the variation in the sun's position at the same hour at different seasons they do not take the fact into consideration.

000 establish friendly relations by means of the woman's cries we put off to the *Bess*, hove up anchor and stood out of the harbour.

I greatly regret that the necessity for shooting this man should have arisen and that it should have devolved upon me to do it; but from our Andamanese we learnt that the damaged man undoubtedly belonged to the same raiding party that, between two and three weeks before, murdered one of our convict petty officers while out in the forest looking after the garjan-oil collectors. They also told us they had frequently encountered him before, recognised him by his large moustache and that he was an absolutely implacably hostile villain. As our boat was, at the time of the attack, lying in shallow water, bows to the shore, and the crew had to stand on the thwarts to fend her off the coral knobs and were thereby terribly exposed, a speedy retreat, as well as being very impolitic, was impracticable. Two alternatives then remained, to allow the savages to fire into our crowded boat with the certainty of hitting some one, or forestalling them by shooting one of their number. Our Andamanese were certainly physically not the equals of the Jarawas, so that we could hardly rely on their shooting as well as their opponents and repelling the attack with their bows and arrows, hampered as they were for want of room and the necessity of looking after the boat. Moreover, we had ordered them not to display or even touch their weapons to provoke an attack and they had behaved with exemplary self-control in strictly obeying their orders, relying implicitly on the protection of the weapons in our hands. Had the three men fired simultaneously, as was their evident intent, into our midst, the arrows, coming from such different directions, must have hit some of us and a disaster would almost certainly have ensued. I need hardly say that the Andamanese in our boat desired the total extermination of their life-long enemies, the Jarawas, while those in the *Belle* were most indignant and aggrieved at not being permitted to land to share in the fight.

After leaving Port Campbell we steered south and at 4-30 dropped our anchor off the Mount Augusta Home in Port Mouat where we spent the night. One of the women in the home was overjoyed at hearing that a Jarawa had been injured, as they had ousted her tribe from their possessions in Port Campbell. The knowledge now imparted to the Jarawas that rifles can injure as well as make a noise, may save the lives of any mariners who chance to be shipwrecked on these coasts.

17th February 1901.—Left Port Mouat at dawn, 5-30, towing a large Andamanese canoe, a present for the Onges. To the south of Rutland Island the wind freshed considerably, the canoe upset and we were a good deal delayed by collecting the scattered oars, seats and steersmen and finally hoisting the canoe up to our rail. After anchoring the *Belle* between the Cinque Islands, taking Mr. Bonig and the Onges aboard, we left at 10 A.M. for Little Andaman, picking eight Onge women and two boys off South Cinque Island where they had been awaiting the return of their husbands from Port Blair. We reached Bumila Creek at 3 P.M., landed the Onges, planted some cocoanuts, explained and exhibited the effects of rifle fire to the people, saw their dances, gave them presents and left them happy and contented at 5 P.M. Bumila Creek we found well deserved its name, as crowds of flies settled on our boat and accompanied us back to the *Bess*. Several of the Onge women had large scars on their backs, many 6—8 inches in length, some women having four to eight such scars. These are said to be caused by cuts inflicted by their irate husbands to mark their displeasure at conjugal infidelity, which, to judge by the large proportion of scarred women, is not uncommon. After a very rough passage rendered difficult by the darkness of the night and the absence of a good compass, we anchored off Cinque Island at 8-30.

304 837

18th February 1901.—Landed on south Cinque Island to collect specimens of the bare rocks which form such a marked feature of parts of Rutland and the Cinque Islands, returned to the *Bess* at 8-30, hove up anchor, left for Port Blair, and reached there 11-30 A.M.

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Diary of Mr. H. H. D'Oyly, Third Assistant Superintendent, Port Blair, on the second tour round the Andaman Islands on Census duty from the 15th to the 18th February 1901.

15th February 1901.—Left Port Blair with Mr. E. H. Man, C.I.E., and Captain A. R. S. Anderson, I.M.S., in the steam launch *Bess* at 6 A.M., following close behind the steam launch *Belle* which was navigated by Mr. Bonig, Assistant Harbour Master, going north *viâ* Kyd Island. As the weather was bad for two or three days previously until last night, it was decided to reverse the original programme drawn up by the Chief Commissioner, so as to give time for the sea to calm down before attempting the passage to the Little Andaman. We stopped for half an hour at Kyd Island to question the people at the Andamanese Home there, where we went before in the first tour, and to leave some cocoanuts to be planted; then proceeded through Middle Strait to Kwangtung Harbour. No people were found on the way. At the village in the mouth of the Harbour, there were 51 people, counting women and children, collected according to directions given by Mr. Man, in the first tour, from the surrounding country. Details are given in the Census forms, to be submitted to the Chief Commissioner, at the end of the operations. Remained in this Harbour for the night.

16th February 1901.—Left Kwangtung Harbour at 6 A.M., the *Bess* following the *Belle*, and ran down the west coast of South Andaman to Port Campbell. In entering the port we blew the steam whistle several times before seeing any people on shore. At length when we had turned to run out of the port, about a dozen Andamanese including some women were seen walking fast along the shore from the mouth of the Harbour towards the interior. Our

619 now passing away and I well recollect 25 years ago, though the Bojigyab were then known to us, the "coming in" of the first Balawa from the Archipelago and of the first Chariar from the extreme north and the difficulty experienced in communicating with them.

In reading the following remarks on the tribes it must always be borne in mind that the statements therein made refer largely to a state of things practically already passed away and never likely to be revived. The reader can without difficulty use his discretion in separating what is from what has been in the course of his perusal.

619 184 **Their Division into three Groups.**—The Andamanese tribes are by themselves divided into three distinct groups, having certain salient characteristics: the forms of the huts, bows and arrows, of the canoes, of ornamentation, female clothing, hair dressing, and utensils, of tattooing, and of language common generally to the group, but differing in details and sometimes entirely from those of other groups. Judged by this standard the tribal affinities may be thus stated: Northern or Yerewa Group, Chariar, Kora, Tabo, Yere, Kede; Southern or Bojigngiji Group, Bea, Balawa, Bojigyab, Juwai, Kol; Outer Group, Ônge-Jarawa, who do not tattoo. Some of the tribes are divided into septs, fairly well defined under headmen and with a local area of their own, but not under any separate designation.

The Distinctions between the Groups.—It is worth while bringing together this remarkable series of differences dividing the Andamanese into three divisions; differences that more or less run through all matters concerning them.

[304] (1) *Tattooing.*—Bojigngiji; women are the tattooers cutting the skin slightly with small flakes of quartz or glass in patterns of zigzags or in straight vertical lines; face, ears, genitals, arm and knee pits are excepted. Men and women are tattooed alike. Yerewa; men are the tattooers, cutting the skin deeply with iron pig-arrow heads: short horizontal parallel cuts in three or five lines down the back and front of the trunk, round the anus and legs. Women are tattooed thus as life advances. Ônge-Jarawa; no tattooing.

[302] (2) *Hair.*—Bojigngiji; partial to complete shaving of head. Yerewa; long matted ringlets touching the shoulders. Ônge-Jarawas; closely cropped head to a mop. Ônge-Jarawa women are not shaved.

[291] (3) *Ornaments and female clothing.*—Bojigngiji women wear a bunch of five or six leaves in front: Yerewa women a loose tassel of narrow strips of bark: Ônge-Jarawa a bunching tassel of fibre. Bojigngiji women are most particular as to clothing: Yerewa women careless. Jarawa women are apt to be quite unclothed. Bojigngijis and Yerewas smear their faces with grey clay mixed with water, white clay in delicate patterns imitating the tattoo marks, red ochre mixed with turtle fat and almond oil in coarse undefined patterns. Ônge-Jarawas, with yellow clay mixed with water in coarse patches, red ochre mixed with the above mentioned oils on the head. Ônge-Jarawas wear no bone ornaments.

[302]

[531] (4) *Ornamentation of utensils.*—Bojigngiji and Yerewas, slight: Ônge-Jarawas delicate and elaborate.

[323] (5) *Pots.*—Bojigngijis, pots with rounded bottom: Ônge-Jarawas and Yerewas with pointed bottom.

[412] (6) *Implements.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas, coarse and rough in manufacture: Ônge-Jarawas, often delicate and neat.

[285] (7) *Baskets.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas have a 'kick' and stand well: Ônge-Jarawas have uneven bottom and stand badly.

[411] (8) *Bows and arrows.*—Bojigngiji, *karama* bow and large arrows. Yerewa, *chokio* bow and small arrows. Ônge-Jarawa, curved long bow and long arrows.

(9) *Arrows.*—Generally common in type to all tribes: long with plain straight point, long with straight point and barbs, short with broad detachable barbed head for pigs.* Ônge-Jarawas and Yerewas, multiple headed arrows for fish.

(10) *Harpoons.*—For turtle, dugongs, and large fish among Bojigngijis and Yerewas: none among the Ônge-Jarawas.

* As the pig runs off, the trailing shaft is at once caught by something in the jungle and the animal is thus brought up short.

or severe injury. However, like many of the lower mammals, they recover quickly from illness when they overcome it. 164

Idiocy, insanity and natural deformities are rare among them. Epilepsy is however recognised and homicidal mania occurs sometimes with concomitants of insanity, such as eating raw flesh or earth and drinking the blood of the victim. 158 732

An unintentional artificial depression of the forehead and sides and top of the skull is produced in some women, chiefly among the Onges, caused by using a strap to carry loads on the back when young. [304]

No parts of the body are intentionally pierced, injured, or deformed for the wearing of ornaments and other purposes, though the skin is extensively tatooed.

The statements at my disposal as to the relative prevalence of diseases among the Andamanese and their relative fatality are unsatisfactory, but so far as I can make out the following is a fair statement of the case in order of importance:— 164

I.—Fevers	45 per cent. of all cases.
II.—Respiratory organs	35 " " "
III.—Digestive organs	18 " " "
IV.—Other diseases	2 " " "

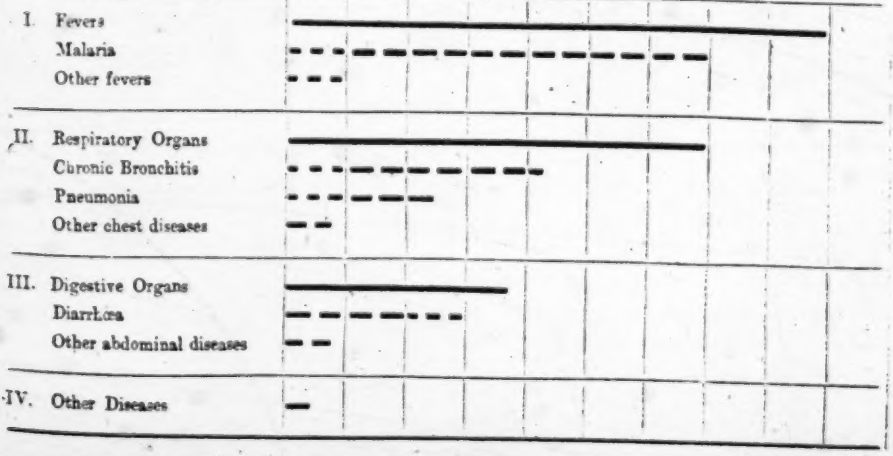
These classes may be further divided up more specifically thus:—

I.—Malaria	40 per cent. of all cases.
Other fevers	5 " " "
II.—Chronic bronchitis	21 " " "
Pneumonia	12 " " "
Other chest diseases	3 " " "
III.—Diarrhœa	15 " " "
Other abdominal diseases	3 " " "
IV.—Other diseases	1 " " "

Without placing too much reliance on the above table, it serves to bring out the fact that among the Andamanese, as among the alien immigrants, malarial fevers are the overwhelming prevalent causes of sickness. As also in the case of immigrants, malarial fevers are not nearly so fatal in proportion to cases as the diseases of the respiratory and digestive organs. Thus I make out that deaths from malarial fevers occur in 8·5 per cent. of the cases, while those from diseases of the respiratory organs in 90 per cent., and of the digestive organs in 74 per cent. These considerations prepare us for the old statement that the prevalent diseases among the Andamanese are climatic and the same as those of the foreign immigrants.

The following diagram brings into clear relief the relative prevalence of diseases among the Andamanese as disclosed by the above tables:—

DIAGRAM OF RELATIVE PREVALENCE OF DISEASES AMONG THE ANDAMANESE.



881 and pointing to a limited tabu. On reaching puberty or thereabouts, between 12 and 16 years of age, abstention from about 6 kinds of food, each in turn, is voluntarily commenced and continued for some years. At the end of each abstention there are a few ceremonies and some dancing and the youth of both sexes become "grown up." There is nothing else to mark this period beyond the application of an honorific name while it lasts, no secret to be communicated, no religious ceremony. In after-life, however, men who have gone through the initiatory period together will not fight, quarrel, nor call each other by name. They will assume great friendship, while avoiding each other with a mutual shyness. The women also practise a limited tabu as to food during menstruation and pregnancy. The idea of tabu does undoubtedly exist as to food and every man has his own tabued articles through life, which is, however, usually something observed to disagree with him in childhood or to be unpalatable.

264 576 There are also limitations as to sexual family relations. Only husband and wife can eat together. Widows and widowers, bachelors and maidens eat with their own sex only. A man may not address directly a married woman younger than himself or touch his wife's sister or the wife of a younger relative, and *vice versâ*.

302 304 The tattooing is partly ceremonial, as a test of courage and endurance of pain, and so is painting the body with clays, oils, etc. By the material and design is shown sickness, sorrow or festivity and the unmarried condition.

535 **Amusements.**—The great amusement of the Andamanese, indeed their chief object in life after the chase, is the formal evening or night dance, a curious monotonous performance accompanied by drumming the feet rythmically on a special sounding board, like a Crusader's shield and mistaken for a shield by several observers, singing a song more or less impromptu and of a compass limited to four semitones and the intermediate quarter tones, and clapping the hands on the thighs in unison. The dance takes place every evening whenever there are enough for it, and lasts for hours and all night at meetings of the tribes or septs for the purpose. It then becomes ceremonial and is continued for several nights in succession. Both sexes take allotted parts in it. This and turtle hunting are the only things which will keep the Andamanese awake all night long. There are five varieties of the dance among the tribes: that of the Onge-Jarawas being an entirely separate performance.

533 **Music.**—The Andamanese appreciate rhythm and time, but not pitch or tune. They sing in unison, but not in parts, and can neither sing in chorus nor repeat or even catch an air. The key in which a solo or chorus is started is quite accidental. They can be readily taught any dance step and can teach it themselves from observation.

Song.—Every man who respects himself is a composer of songs, always consisting of a solo and refrain, and sings without action or gesticulation and always to the same rhythm. The songs relate only to travel, sport and personal adventures, never to love, children and the usual objects of poetry, and very rarely to beliefs and superstition. The wording is enigmatic and excessively elliptic, the words themselves being in grammatical order, but shorn of all affixes as a rule. As in all poetry unusual words are employed. But clipped as the wording is and prosaic as the subjects are, the Andamanese are far from being unable to give a poetic turn to their phraseology and ideas. The women have lullabies for their babies.

524 **Games.**—The Andamanese are childishly fond of games and have an indigenous blind-man's-buff, leap-frog and hide-and-seek. Mock pig and turtle hunts, mock burials, and "ghost" hunts are favourite sports. Matches in swinging, swimming, throwing, skimming (ducks and drakes), shooting (archery), and wrestling are practised.

551 **Naming of Children and Adults.**—Every child is named for life after one of about twenty conventional names by the mother, of course without reference to sex, immediately upon pregnancy becoming evident, to which afterwards a nickname, varying occasionally as life proceeds, is added from personal peculiarities, deformities, disfigurements, or eccentricities and sometimes from flattery or reverence. Girls are also given "flower names" after one of sixteen selected trees which happen to be in flower at the time they reach puberty.

142 147 482 much assistance in this respect, as the muscular insertions are exaggerated in both sexes, both being subjected to continued physical effort resulting in muscular bulk.

142 147 164 [304] [515] One quite outstanding physical feature in the Onges is their teeth. The palate is unusually arched, unlike that of the African pygmies or the Bushmen. The teeth, which are never filed or cut, as many primitive peoples do for decorative purposes, are very white; caries is rare, and although never cleaned the teeth are retained till late in life. A common abnormality is that the lateral incisors are as pointed as the canines. This, with the whiteness of the teeth and eyes against the blackness of the skin, gives the Onges a sinister appearance, which may account for the old description of the Andamanese as men with ferocious dogs' heads. The only 142 515 (summary) cleaning the Onge teeth receive is the use of toothpicks, thinner and rather longer than the European variety and made from the tough, flexible bark of a certain reed. After use, they are carefully thrust into the hair for future occasions. Every Onge has one or more threaded through the hair on top of the head.

142 147 [264] [514] The strength of the Onge teeth enables their owners to champ their way through what are for us inconceivable quantities of food, both animal and vegetable, which is chewed slowly and determinedly, dust, earth, sand and all, and then swallowed without apparent ill effects, other than the flatulence arising from overconsumption of animal matter. But the Onges use their teeth for other purposes besides eating. In time the teeth become worn down by the inevitable grinding of dirt and grit, but this does not prevent the Onges from continuing to chew the bark of trees and cords, which is a lifelong occupation. This duty falls mainly on the women, and I have seen aged women, their teeth worn almost to the gums, doggedly chewing bark as their contribution to the communal life of the group. The strength of the teeth is unbelievable – I have seen children of ten to fifteen years crush nails up to two millimetres thick, and dent lumps of iron.

114 123 142 147 [137] I myself once had good cause to be grateful for their power. My party and I found ourselves stranded in the forest on South Brother without guns or even knives, and without cooking utensils. There were large clutches of turtle eggs buried in the sand nearby and my two Onge companions pointed out a coconut tree loaded with nuts (which turned out to be the only one on the islands, seeded

157 522 Western standards taciturn or sly, and the Negro peoples, who frequently manifest complete abandonment in their amusement. 157 522 831 Obscenities appear to be an unfailing source of amusement to the Onges, who indulge in them at every opportunity, even with strangers, and the obscene dances of the womenfolk are a continual source of pleasure. The exchange of obscenities is, indeed, a sign of friendship, and I found that vulgarity was invariably immensely successful in provoking hilarity; any subsequent negotiations were always peaceable and satisfactory.

302 [157] An extension of this vulgarity is an infantile vanity, not without sexual significance. The care with which their bodies are painted nearly every day is one aspect of this vanity; the more a wife loves her husband the more magnificent the designs she executes on him. [153] [151] [161] The paintings on their bodies reach a peak every two or three days, as the Onges fear illness and death if they are not newly daubed, and the face at least must be continually painted, with at least smears on the chest, arms and legs. A man returning from an exceptionally successful hunting trip is met by his wife with a specially unusual and elaborate design, which she carries out with great devotion. [123] During each of my visits to the island the Onges would rush up to show me their embellishments as soon as they were finished, and took a delight in standing in front of my camera, even though they had no idea what it was for.

304 [171] It is curious that unlike most primitive peoples, the Onges do not practise tattooing, which is one of the simplest ways, if not *the* simplest, in which such peoples satisfy their craving for physical [184] [302] admiration. The other Andamanese do, puncturing the skin with tiny slivers of obsidian or quartz, but the Onges paint with ochre instead. They love, too, to weave garlands of fruit, flowers and 30 824 leaves from the forest, returning to the camp laden with them, men and women alike, delighted with their own beauty. This divergence [184] of customs in peoples essentially of the same stock, but separated for long periods of time into endogamous isolates, is very remarkable.

838 An intense preoccupation with sexual attraction and activity has led to the prevalence of aberration. All the Onges have homosexual tendencies. I became aware of this during my first visit to Little Andaman on one of my longer expeditions, when I had taken only men with me, and on subsequent occasions I therefore allowed the men to bring their wives. The effect of long periods of absence on

18: Kleiweg de Zwaan E-5 (1906-1910) 1925 OB1 Indonesia
Andamans AZ2

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291
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Fig. 12. Mincopic Woman of the Andamans

Photo A. R. Brown.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P. ix]

INTRODUCTION

A group of north-south running islands as they are, the Andaman Islands have as many as 204 small islands where the impact of civilisation and growth has been little and the human history has been one of stagnation rather than of chequered career. Being a land of aborigines, the foreign intrusion has been quite feeble though mention about these islands is found in the early records of the travellers. Though the knowledge about the islands is derived from the notes which date back to 2nd Century A.D., the contacts with the foreigners have been all the time transient and extremely feeble. Before the formation of the penal settlement, the islands have been known as an island of horror because of the presence of such tribal people who would eat up the man they encounter and as regards the wealth there has been imaginary illusion, sometimes being called as the Island of Gold. The historical record of the islands which can be built with a fair degree of precision is since the formation of the penal settlement. There has been the search for resources as well as their exploitation. However, all the attempts for finding minerals and the geological explorations have shown the possibility of the existence of some poor quality coal, copper etc. Virtually there has been a conspicuous lack of efforts for the development of the islands. The penal settlement which grew up in Port Blair did not have any considerable influence on the overall development of the islands. Nevertheless with the more intimate knowledge about the islands, the forest exploitation had increased and the land around Port Blair was cleared for agriculture. The little amount of agriculture that was started and fostered by the local-borns in and around Port Blair never expanded considerably and it remained confined to a few areas of South Andaman only. The aborigines were very much widespread and in the beginning they had exercised hostility and arrogance which had in course of time given place to a very friendly and amicable terms with some of the tribal groups i.e. the Onges and the Andamanese. The Jarawas, however, still now maintain their hostility and the attempts for bringing them under amicable terms have so long proved futile.

Nothing more deserves a special note in the islands than the aboriginal population. Because of the insular nature of the islands, the aboriginal population is considered to be one of the purest type though the foreign intrusion has brought about an extremely rapid impoverishment and decay only during the last few decades of contact with these aborigines.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AWI India
Andamans A22

mariners from massacre. Despite efforts at conciliation there was violence on both sides; attempts were made indeed to settle some of the more friendly groups in an 'Andamans Home' as fishers of trepang (sea-slug) and collectors of edible bird-nests, both for the Chinese market. But the only result was to civilise them out of existence, largely by venereal disease.[52] The Andamanese are—perhaps one should say were—Negritos, and as they represented perhaps the nearest approach to a 'pure primitive' society, both ethnically and culturally, these hunters and gatherers have attracted anthropological attention out of proportion to their numbers.[53]

Transportation of convicts to the Andamans began after the Mutiny. Latterly there was a change of emphasis, hopeless criminals being re-transported to India and the settlement becoming in effect an open prison for young men condemned to life sentences for more or less excusable homicide. After a few months in jail convicts were allowed to become wage-earning employees of Government, to wear ordinary dress, and to marry or bring out their wives. These changes were reflected in the sex composition of the population: 15,158 males to 2980 females in 1901, 14,872 to 6444 in 1941. The cultural landscape also changed: "Everywhere the ephemeral huts of former times are giving way to well-constructed two-storeyed houses of sawn timber and iron roofs," and a good deal of reclamation of malarial swamp took place around Port Blair. The communal composition of the population was an odd reflection of social conditions: in 1941 Muslims were about a third, largely Moplahs from Madras deported after their 1921 rebellion; Sikhs were 3·5% against an All-India total of 1·5%, Buddhists—i.e. Burmese—over 13%. This corresponds to the prevalence of dacoity in Burma and to the Sikh *penchant* for "liquor, love, and fights".

Practically all the economic development is in the Settlement of Port Blair, an area of about 500 sq mls in the S of South Andaman; here is 90% of the population, the remainder being in forest camps. About 75,000 ac. are more or less cleared, of which about 10–15,000 are cultivated and as much grazing land. Paddy and coconuts each account for about a third of the cultivation, and there are (or were) struggling plantations of rubber and coffee, negligible in area.

The war and the Japanese occupation saw a fall in population to about 16,000, and on re-occupation the penal settlement was formally abolished. From time to time schemes of Anglo-Indian agricultural settlement have been mooted, and in March 1948 a batch of 132 families displaced from E Bengal arrived. It may be noted that some Burmese politicians periodi-

[52] 1931 Census Vol. II (Andamans and Nicobars), 11–23.

[53] The classic treatments are those of Sir Richard Temple in the 1901 Census and of A. R. Brown in *The Andaman Islanders* (1922). There is unfortunately little geography in the latter book; what there is is largely summed up in L. Garrard's 'sociograph' in *Studies in Regional Consciousness and Environment* (ed. I. C. Peate, 1930), 82.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

361 the heaps of refuse many feet deep, chiefly consisting of the shells of molluscs and the bones of animals. Such kitchen-middens, as they have been called, are to be found in numbers all around the coasts of the islands.

In the case of the coast-dwelling communities the camping sites are always close to the sea-shore or to a creek, so that they can be reached by canoe. In the case of those dwelling [312] inland this is of course not so. In any case one of the chief factors determining the choice of the site is the existence of a supply of fresh water. This is of extreme importance in the case of a site to be occupied during the dry season when fresh water becomes scarce.

221 Within their own territory the local group is what we may 361 speak of as semi-nomadic. The coast-dwellers rarely reside continuously at the same spot for more than a few months, but [268] shift from one camp to another, moved by different causes. If a death occurs the camp is deserted for several months and a new one is occupied. A change of camp often takes place at a change of season, some spots presenting particular advantages, such as shelter from the prevailing wind, or better hunting or fishing, at certain times of the year. Another cause of the [364] abandonment of a camp by the coast-dwellers is that all refuse is thrown away close to the camp, and after a few months the decaying animal matter thus accumulated renders the spot uninhabitable. The natives seem to find it easier to move their camp than to clear away their refuse. The truth is, perhaps, that they are so accustomed to change their camp from one spot to another, in order to make the best use of the natural resources available, that there is no necessity for them to take those sanitary measures that would be essential if they wished to remain for many months continuously at the same place.

The forest-dwellers are less nomadic in their habits than the coast-dwellers. One of the reasons for this is that as they cannot convey their belongings from one place to another by canoe, but must carry them overland, the moving of a camp is a more tiresome business with them than it is with the coast-dwellers. During a great part of the year the forest-dwellers

Mr Subramanian of the Forest Department and Mr Majid's young son also accompanied us. We reached Bumila Creek on the north eastern coast of the Little Andaman at about 3 P.M. and having sighted an Andamanese hut we decided to anchor the launch there. The beach was about 2 miles from the place of anchorage. We took out a small boat and rowed to the beach and reached the hut at about 4 P.M. It was found to be abandoned but there were signs of human occupation and within a few yards a water-hole was discovered. A broken canoe, with a single out-rigger was found close to the hut (*see* Plate I, Fig. 1). Burnt coal and smouldering ashes in the centre of the hut showed that it was probably deserted by the Aborigines as soon as they had sighted us. After making a careful inspection of the place we returned to our launch and decided to anchor there for the night. Unfortunately the choppy sea and the strong current coming from the Bumila Creek tossed our small boat throughout the whole night, as a result of which all of us had an uncomfortable time.

We left southwards towards Hut Bay early in the morning and as we moved along the coast we sighted another Onge hut. This did not seem to be deserted as we saw a few people moving about. We decided to stop there and investigate. We took out a boat and moved towards the coast with such presents as we had brought from Port Blair on the advice of the Chief Commissioner. When we got near the coast, we left the boat and walked for about a furlong through coral beds finally reaching the shore. The hut was found to be circular in shape and not too large, and was occupied by 2 adult females, 1 adult male and a young boy. The adult male, *Ukla*, was the father of the young boy and husband of the younger woman. The older woman was his mother-in-law. These people appeared very friendly. We gave them presents we had brought and took photographs and made drawings of their hut. In addition, full anthropometric measurements were taken by me and blood was taken from fingers for typing by Mr Sarkar. Ukla was able to speak a few Hindi words and we gathered that he had been to Port Blair and knew Mr Bonington, formerly of the Forest Department, Andaman Islands. We found in front of the hut, hanging from a large tree the skull and mandible of a Dugong (*see* Plate I, Figs. 3 & 4). We enquired about its significance from Ukla, but unfortunately his knowledge of Hindi was not sufficient to explain it to us. We learned from him, however, that the name of the village was *Laito*. After making friendly gestures, we returned to 'Molly' and proceeded immediately towards Hut Bay. At about noon time while we were having our lunch, we suddenly saw three outrigger canoes (of single outrigger type) coming towards us, each carrying about 4 Onges. We signalled to them and they came to our launch and tied their canoes with it and came on board. The men appeared to be friendly and not afraid of us. Our greatest difficulty, however, was language, as we could not make ourselves understood as none of the crew or any other member including Mr Subramaniam of the Forest Department knew that language. There was one man who seemed to occupy a position of authority among these men, and was painted with red and yellow ochre on the forehead, arms and breast. The

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 * AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

now follow them, often ignoring their original significance and symbolism. Among the Onge, spirits are feared but not loved ; the same applies to God Himself. 775

The Onge bury their dead in trenches, no deeper than three feet. Earth is tightly packed over the graves in order to prevent exhalations. Full details on the subject of Onge burial customs appear in the book that I am writing about the Onge. I slept with the Onge in communal huts that contained fresh graves, without suffering any inconvenience from the smell of the corpses. This recalls the palaeolithic sepulchral caves, where man probably lived as the Onge live in their sepulchral huts today. 764

There are no latrines near Onge camps – whether permanent or temporary. Excrements are spread carelessly all around, lightly covered with leaves and earth. Flies lay eggs on them. The Onge's only precaution is not to defecate where drinking water might be found after rainfall. With so many opportunities for reproduction, in some places flies form such clouds as to impress the natives themselves. In the north of Little Andaman a creek was named after the flies : Bumila Creek, which means "fly creek". Smells also occasionally inspire geographical names : Tambe-é-bùie, on the north-east coast of Little Andaman, means "the smelly place" in the Onge language. Flies, fleas and ticks are tolerated by the Onge who do not fight them. Fortunately, the hymenoptera collect flies for their nests, not, however, in quantities large enough to compete with the fertility of the species. 514 [512] 736 825 [103]

2. Clothing and personal care

The only garment worn by Little Andaman women is the *naquinēghē*, a scanty grasslike apron covering the genitals. In addition, during menstrual periods, Onge women wear the *bataghē*, for hygienic purposes. This is a simple cluster of long, soft green leaves cut by the husband for his wife from special trees : Myristica longifolia and others. The only leaves used are those from the end of a stalk, a section of which is left attached to the leaves. The stalk is slipped under the *naquinēghē*, while the long leaves are passed between the thighs to be fastened at the back above the buttocks. It is curious to see Onge women in such myristical attire ! The *bataghē* is ethnographical news, new not only as regards the Andamans : it is an interesting indication of the hygienic measures employed by primitive people, and can probably be traced to prehistoric practices in analogous circumstances. The continental and insular regions nearest to the Andamans have retained no similar custom ; their only practice is the strict isolation of menstruating women. Among the Onge, on the other hand, they are allowed free circulation. Washing is unknown to the Onge : they never wash their bodies intentionally. Brushing through the thick forest and diving into the sea or the river to collect food substitute adequately for washing. The Little Andaman forest is nearly always dripping ; moving among the trees, specially in the early morning, is equivalent to bathing. The contact of wet leaves when walking cleans the Onge's skin, for they go naked ; and as they constantly dive into the sea and rivers, they do not smell. Actually they give an impression of cleanliness – as opposed to many other dark-skinned 291 841 [824] [171] 515 [147]

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

3. Food

In the absence of men, women also are good at fishing inside the coral reefs. They do this with two small nets used together. Their catch generally consists of brilliantly coloured fish with yellow, red, green, blue, black and white stripes forming varied and attractive designs. The Onge eat all fish without discrimination. My Indian collaborators, on the other hand, considered the coloured fish dangerous to their health and refused to cook them ; the Sacred Vedas, in fact, advise the avoidance of brigthly hued fish and of fish without scales. I wanted to try both kinds, and found them perfectly palatable, tasty and harmless. 226 [462] 262 123

No tool, used for any purpose by the Onge, ever gets a cleaning. Cleanliness, I repeat, is unknown in Little Andaman. See how food is prepared and disposed of ! Care is taken only not to throw big pieces of meat intended for cooking directly on the bare ground ; but once it is cooked, food is treated with the utmost disregard for dirt, dust, cobwebs and other such things. It is usually left lying around on large leaves spread out for the purpose. The remains of the Onge's orgiastic meals are kept out of reach of the dogs on the ceiling of the huts, to be covered with flies when no fire is lit directly below. Sand and grit may get wedged annoyingly in the teeth, but not such impalpable things as dust or cobwebs. The use of unclean food is not repugnant to the Onge. The same can be said for water polluted by dogs drinking and bathing in it, or by the presence of putrefying carcases. In the west of Little Andaman I saw some Onge avidly drinking from pools of a blackish water with a revolting sulphurous smell. After thoroughly filtering and boiling it, I too used such water, for it was the only water available in the neighborhood. This caused no ill effects. My Indian men considered it perfectly healthy and invigorating, and drank it safely in its natural condition. 264 [252] [251] 271 123

The Onge eat with their unwashed fingers, without the help of tools. On rare occasions they use platters made of the flattened-out stems – or bracts – of *areca* palms. They sometimes carry these platters when travelling, but of course never wash them although they become coated in rancid, greasy filth. They soon assume a dark colour and a truly revolting appearance – aside from the awful smell. A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN's statement – that the Andamanese paint their bodies to neutralize the unpleasant smell of food that clings to them after their orgiastic feedings – shows only indirect knowledge of the life and manners of those people. Even the horrible flatulence that follows their pork orgies is not considered an inconvenience ; yet it is much more revolting than all the other body odours. 264 [415] 114 302 147 827

Although the Onge observe few hygienic precautions they do follow a number of medical practices, not all devoid of beneficial effects. Here are a few more remarks on their eating and drinking habits. For about six months of the year, between November and April, water is scarce in Little Andaman. Every kind of fresh water is then considered good by the Onge, regardless of whether it is a murky infusion of rotting leaves or afloat with the putrefied 751 312 271

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

312 caracases of small animals. During the droughts, marine hermit crabs, of
271 which a profusion is found in Little Andaman even far from the sea-shore,
[136] often choose to die in fresh-water pools. They are not removed from the pools.
[415] A nautilus shell is sometimes used as a drinking vessel ; failing this, the Onge
[516] lap up the water like animals, on all fours, directly from the pool. Since they are
231 very fond of dogs, man and dog drink together from the same tiny pool, often holding no more than a few pints of water. Dogs reached Great Andaman as early as 1857 ; they came to Little Andaman much later. Before that time there were no dogs in the Andamanese Archipelago. They soon became the natives' cherished and much appreciated assistants in the hunting of wild pigs. Many unhygienic habits followed the appearance of dogs in the Andamans.

271 The Onge have no idea of boiling water for the purpose of disinfection ;
[147] nevertheless their health does not appear to suffer at all as a result of the pol-
123 luted water they drink. When, in 1952, I dug a well near the left bank of Dugong Creek on the north-east coast of Little Andaman, I was compelled to fence it in so as to prevent dogs from drinking it and bathing in it.

264 Dogs lick everything that smells of food, including the cooking pots,
[231] and the pots are not washed before use after the dogs have licked them.
[136] Swarms of flies of different species and small coleoptera of a brilliant blue colour, one of them 6 mms long, follow the dogs after they have "cleaned" the pots by licking them. They line the inside of the pots with a crawling, living coat, moving restlessly around in search of food. One species of fly, which is of a brilliant, metallic green colour, has a peculiarly disagreeable smell. All the flies lay eggs while feeding, but the eggs are soon devoured by the hovering bluish coleoptera. Thus in a few hours all traces of organic matter disappear from the pots. Subsequent exposure to fire undoubtedly destroys the germs that would otherwise be certainly dangerous to human beings.

415 The Onge no longer use indigenous pottery for cooking. Its disappearance
177 is recent, as the sherds that litter Little Andaman prove to the investigator.
[323] Excavation in modern kitchen-middens leads to the same conclusion. During the last war, quantities of empty petrol drums were washed up on the Andaman shores. They were found in such numbers that the Onge have not yet used them all up : after 1952 I found several of these containers abandoned, untouched, in the jungle. The primitive inhabitants sawed each container in two cylindrical halves, thus transforming them into cooking pots. The result was that within a few years the fragile ancestral pottery of the Onge disappeared altogether. Furthermore, aluminium pots were distributed among the natives after 1952. Probably the indigenous pottery will never again reappear.
[252] Each half of a petrol drum is large enough to contain a pig, or a turtle weighing
262 150 lbs, cut into pieces. Only the flesh of these animals is consumed by the
[231] Onge ; the nourishing broth is poured out onto the ground or left in the pot to be lapped up by the dogs. The Onge believe that broth is unhealthy and avoid drinking it.

251 No matter how prodigious the catch of sardines or other fish, unobtain-
[185] able at other times of the year, no attempt is made at storing part of it in view of future shortage. The Onge are unacquainted with methods for preserv-

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

123 411 painted with red ochre. It was perhaps left there for drying. The Jarawa would surely have returned just for this bow!

It was a straight piece of wood tapering at both ends. The outer surface was convex and was painted red, while the inner one was straight and smooth, and showed criss-cross designs and indentations. We then went to look for a 123 spring and found it at some distance behind a steep rock but there was no [312] water then. It appeared that the Jarawa had left this camp some time ago.

We then left Spike Island and sailed for Yeratia Jig. Here an old kitchen [172] midden was known to be another Jarawa haunt. No Jarawa was found even there, however. The kitchen midden was a mound strewn all over with animal bones. Fragments of typical Andamanese pottery and a blue stone bead were discovered there.

Fig. 4

In recent years the Jarawa raids have been rather more frequent. 648 GUPTA (1955) has given a list of them in his report on these people. It is be- [724] lieved that the primary cause of the restlessness of the Jarawa is the shortage of game and other food material [3]. On the other hand the tribe appears to have been sufficiently provoked by the punitive expeditions. All the Jarawa villages that the punitive party came upon were burnt down. In the encounter of March 1911 a woman was captured alive and nobody knows what happened to her afterwards. The pregnant woman captured along with four children in 1938 off Bluff Island later on gave birth to a boy (SARKAR, 1952, Pl. IX, fig. 3) at Port Blair but it was difficult to tame her. After her delivery she attempted to swim away and was rescued from the sea. She would spend hours climbing a cocoanut tree. Her whereabouts were unknown during the Japanese occupation of the Andaman Islands during the last war. The young children were sent to the Mission at Car Nicobar, where the present writer studied them in 1948. One of them had died before.

726 On the other hand the Jarawa raids, according to the then executive [714] Government officers, are also very brutal. Before they go out for a raid the [302] Jarawa cover their chests with bark armour and paint their faces with patterns of white clay. The bark armour is stitched securely on the body by other persons and can only be removed by cutting off the stitches. These people [727] are in the habit of mutilating their victims. They take out their brains, their eyes, and their bodies are hacked all over. – The type of arrow they use is [411] almost a spear; as may be seen from fig. 4. This arrow was obtained by the present writer from the forest department officers of Long Island in 1951. It was used injuring a bush police officer of the night picket unit at Lakera Lunta in January of that year. The police, in return, shot one Jarawa dead. 726 The male nurse of the Long Island Hospital took the following body measure- 141 ments of this dead man:

Height ... 5 feet 1 inch
Chest ... 36 inches

[3] They have of late been reported from about the region of Homlungta, Rangat Bay, etc. on the east coast of Middle Andaman. (The spelling "Ronga Bay" on the map is incorrect.)

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

137 chance landing of a tiny seed means inevitable death by strangulation and the new plant ends by covering its victim with its own leaves, rising above the wreck till it looks like an independent tree.

In another form this struggle between plant and plant goes on all over the Andamans. In many places, especially where the ground is flat, the foliage overhead kills the undergrowth by cutting off the light. The tops of the trees, thickened by the festoons of climbers growing over them, form a blanket high above the ground, keeping out the light in their own struggle to reach the sun. In the darkness below the vegetation is sparse and thin, and I took advantage of the fact many times on journeys on Little Andaman, and also on Bluff Island, Long Island and Great Andaman. On the steeper slopes, all thickly wooded, the sun penetrates more easily, however, and the undergrowth flourishes, particularly thorny plants, and the need to try and avoid being gashed always added considerably to the effort of struggling up the slopes.

There is one climber[1] which bears growths that have the appearance of halberds. I never succeeded in finding out the function or the purpose of these adornments. The plant is a liana of incredible length, which climbs from tree to tree right to the top, often over fifty metres up, to find the sun. Throughout its upward twists and turns the diameter of the stem remains the same, not more than five centimetres. From top to bottom it puts out shoots of varying lengths which hang straight down and it is on these that the halberds appear. Green at first, the growths dry almost to black. They are neither leaves nor spines and they have no apparent function but to grace the shoots that carry them. I measured some of the shoots which are very pliable; they taper a little, but are almost filiform, varying in size from half a metre to 1·2 metres long, with a diameter of three centimetres at the base. Around each of these shoots or spikes, the 'halberds' are arranged with absolute symmetry, in opposite pairs, each pair set at right angles to the previous pair. The 'wings' of the halberds are not more than three centimetres wide, and the overall length of each pair is about six centimetres.

824 Among the lianas are some valued by the islanders because they
● 312 provide a clear liquid which has a pleasant, rather bitter, vegetable

[1] The author gives no name for this climber, which has been tentatively identified from the description as the rattan, or climbing palm.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

taste. The liquid content of these stems is so great that it makes them extremely heavy to carry. These lianas are very common all over the islands and anyone who knows them need never die of thirst. To get at the liquid one only has to break the stem and put it to one's mouth; if one puts a receptacle under the break, a litre or so of liquid can be obtained in a matter of minutes. When the first strangers came to the archipelago, the Andamanese watched them tear down parts of the forest, including these lianas, and tried in vain to protest at the vandalism. No one understood their protests, but they were right.

The forest abounds in trees whose fruits in season form an important source of food for the islanders. One is the so-called jackfruit, *Artocarpus communis*, which here grows wild, though various species are cultivated all over Asia. The fruits, which appear on the thickest branches as well as on the trunk, are smaller in the wild variety, rarely weighing more than thirty grams, but the yield is enormous and the islanders enjoy them for months, especially from March to May. The Onges call them *bulundanghe*, and roast them in hot ashes till the hard pulp and seeds are eatable; the latter, the size of a hazelnut but tougher, are the best part.

Another useful plant is the *Pandanus*, or screw-pine. On Little Andaman extensive areas are covered with nothing else, making progress very difficult owing to the twisting roots and the spines on the long, tough leaves. It seems to prefer the coastal areas, particularly the marshes, where it often grows into an impenetrable jungle. There are at least two species, one of which is gregarious. The other, which grows as isolated specimens, is longer leaved, with bigger fruits and stems like candelabra, standing up on an arch of roots, as though on stilts. With the leaves of this variety, fluted and easy to arrange like roof tiles, the Onges can quickly improvise a waterproof covering. The young leaves provide them with ornaments which they wear for their dances, while the pulp of the fruit, which looks rather like a pineapple, perfumed and delicately flavoured, is nutritious though somewhat stringy.

Along the coasts where there are no *Pandanus*, one very often sees something very different – mangroves. The islanders use the wood for their canoe floats, and for fixing pegs (see p. 122) and the supply is unlimited, as the growth and spread of the mangroves are assured by a number of factors which have made them one of the best

352 The beds are supported on four convenient branches forked at the top, on which the four poles forming the bed frame rest. The size of the frame varies between 1·55 × 0·65 metres and 1·15 × 0·43 metres, and on this small platform the entire family sleeps huddled
513 together. The human members of the family lie longwise, all with their heads on the same log set as a head-rest (unless they are lucky enough to find a suitable giant bamboo washed up on the beach). Very occasionally a rush mat about half a metre square is laid on the platform, but usually the family just lies on bare canes packed tightly together on the frame parallel with the long side.

342 The hut at Tambe-e-buiè, its 1951 edition delayed till 1952 by
352 the earthquake the previous year when part of the coast dropped,
184 was rather larger than Toqué-è-bùie. In 1953 it was rebuilt twenty
[731] metres or so further back from the sea, but exactly as before. It has twelve beds, including two on the high platforms for the adolescents, one of which has two tiers, on the principle of our bunks. I saw this type of thing on a number of occasions and on one occasion I saw one being built out in the open, with the top platform three metres from the ground. All the beds at Tambe-e-buiè are rather higher than at Toqué-è-bùie (but not as high as Beniaboi) and were all arranged radially; the platform on which meat was kept was two metres off the ground.

342 An unusual feature of Tambe-e-buiè, which had a diameter of
184 13·55 metres and a maximum height of 4·5 metres, was a series of six vertical poles set in a straight line to support the main transverse beam, one of which could be regarded as a centre pole. The pole on each side of the centre formed part of the innermost circle of supporting poles; there were two more circles, all supporting rings of canes. Unusually, only one of the rings of canes supporting the roof did not rest on vertical poles. The outer ring was only 0·4 metres high and the edge of the roof almost touched the ground, although one could still brush the fronds apart and crawl out. The roof mats were rectangular, very well made, and larger than at Toqué-è-bùie; some were three and a half metres by three metres or more, laid over seven or ten split reeds, instead of the usual four or five.

● 312 No permanent hut, or even a temporary shelter, is ever built far
[361] from water supplies adequate for the number of people in the group. If there is none visible, the Onges know how to dig for it,

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

providing not too much effort is required. The Semang and Aeta dig water-holes, and several authors have regarded the Andamanese as differing from them in this respect, but I am able to confirm that they can and do dig water-holes. I first saw them do so in 1951, and in 1952 and again in 1953, near Toqué-è-bùie, I was able to enlarge one. Originally it yielded very little water, and very dirty, as the Onges never bother to go further down than they must – a handful of water is enough. After I had enlarged the well it yielded over half a cubic metre an hour, and I had to build a fence round it to prevent the dogs wallowing in it. I gave the Onges buckets, rope, pick-axes and spades so they could get at clean water, although in view of their natural indolence I rather doubted whether they would be any use. In fact, they used the metal parts for arrow heads and went on as before, drinking out of foul pools covered in rotting vegetation and refuse. It is easy to have clear water on Little Andaman, naturally filtered over the coral formations and never more than two or three metres down, but the effort is too much for the Onges! Usually they drink like animals, lying flat on their stomachs with their lips to the water; some will fold a large leaf into a crude cup, however, and occasionally a fastidious individual will use a *Nautilus* shell.

The water-hole at Toqué-è-bùie alone, if properly maintained, would be able to supply enough water every day for at least five hundred people. The continual falling in of the sides, inevitable in a sandy area, could be permanently prevented by cementing them.

136 **Marine Fauna.**—The marine fauna of the Andamans is of unusual interest and the aquarium on Ross Island under construction should prove of great scientific value. On examination the marine life goes to show what other physiological facts have proved—the close connection of the Islands with both Burma and Sumatra and the distant alliance with the Indian Peninsula. The land fauna, in several particulars, shows that the Andamans are closely allied zoologically with their neighbours, Arakan and Burma.

Economic Zoology.—The economic zoology of the islands has been thus summarised by Major A. R. S. Anderson.

"The coral reefs and dead shells afford an immense field for obtaining a very fine quality of lime, which has for many years past been used in the Andamans in building operations. Sea cucumbers or trepang are collected, dried and exported to the Chinese market. Wax and honey are obtainable in fairly large quantities in the forests; the honey is, however, of rather poor quality. Cuttle bones in large numbers can easily be picked up all round the islands wherever there is a sloping shore. Ornamental shells can be obtained with great ease in the rocky pools, reefs and shallow waters. Edible oysters are very plentiful. Pearls and mother-of-pearl oysters are occasionally obtained, but no systematic search for these valuable products has ever been instituted. The edible turtle and tortoise-shell turtle are plentiful. The former are sparingly exported and the shell of the latter is collected and exported. Edible birds'-nests of the finest quality are found in many of the caves in both groups of Islands. They are exported to the Chinese market."

Conchology.—The existing sea shells have been extensively collected by local residents for many years past, but there does not appear to be anything specially distinctive about them, and the various species have been incorporated into the general standard works on conchology. The presence of *scalaria preciosa* and of *argonauta argo* is noteworthy. But the land shells are more distinctive in their nature, and seem to corroborate the evidence procurable from the flora and the fauna of the Islands. They have received a good deal of attention both from scientific expeditions and from local collectors. There was a well appointed expedition fitted out by the Danish Government in 1846, in the frigate *Galathea* in which the zoologist, Reinhardt, first paid much attention to the mollusca. The conclusion apparently to be drawn from such knowledge as has been accumulated is, on the high authority of Godwin-Austen, that there is a distinct and close relationship in the past shown with Burma and Arakan by many closely allied species, and equally marked is the paucity of forms having an alliance with Peninsular India. On the other hand, some species are common to these islands and to Sumatra and Java.

137 **Forests.**—A section of the general Forest Department of India has been established in the Andamans since 1883 and, in the neighbourhood of Port Blair, 156 square miles have been formally set apart for regular forest operations. The activity of the department is strictly limited by the amount of convict labour from time to time available, as there is no indigenous labour whatever. The annual value of forest produce used in the Settlement during the last seven years has averaged R1,13,683, and the annual value of exported timber has averaged for the same period R1,69,633. This last product is increasing rapidly in value.

313 137 **The Timber and its Economic Uses.**—The timber available for economic purposes is both plentiful and various. It is divided for commercial objects into three classes, known by their commercial names thus:—First class, Padouk, Koko, Chuglam, Marble-wood, Satin-wood; Second class, Pyimma, Bombway, Chai, Lakuch, Lalchini, Pongyet, Thitmin, Mowha, Khaya, Gangaw, Thingan; Third class, Didu, Ywegyi, Toungpeingyi and Gurjan. Padouk is the chief timber for export to Europe at a very high price per ton, but other first class timbers also find a market there. Third class timbers find a ready market in Calcutta, while the second class are extensively used locally.

The trees chiefly used as timber by the Andamanese for their own purposes are mangrove, padouk, *melochia velutina*, some of the sterculiaceæ, *bombax insigne*, *areca laxa*, pandanus, bamboo, *anadendron paniculatum*. They also gather and eat the fruit of a great variety of trees and use the leaves of the following for medicinal purposes:—*trigonostemon longifolius*, *alpinia* species. *Calamosagus laciniosus*.

Padouk (*pterocarpus dalbergioides*) can be used for buildings and boats, for furniture and fine joinery, and for all purposes to which teak, mahogany, hickory, oak, and ash are applied. It seasons quickly and easily, and is immune from the attacks of white ants and borers, except the marine worm (*teredo navalis*), and from rot of all kinds: colour, pale and dark red and brown. Koko (*albizzia lebbek*) is used for battens and furniture; colour, greenish grey, light brown and chocolate with dark markings. White Chuglam (*terminalia bialata*) and black Chuglam (*myristica irya*) are used for furniture, cars, shafts, and planking; colour, grey with darker markings. Marble or zebra wood (*diospyros kurzii*) makes furniture and joinery; colour, ebony with streaks of grey or light brown. Satin-wood (*murraya exotica*), which is not the satin-wood of Ceylon (*chloroxylon swietenia*), makes delicate furniture; colour, yellow. The proper names for the woods of the second class are as follows:—Pyimma, *lagerstrœmia hypoleuca*: Bombway, *terminalia procera*: Chai, *alphonsea ventricosa*: Lakuch, *artocarpus lakoocha*: Lalchini, *calophyllum spectabile*: Ponyet, *calophyllum inophyllum*: Thitmin, *podocarpus neriifolia*: Mowha, *mimusops littoralis*: Khaya, *mimusops elenchi*: Gangaw, *messua ferrea*: Thingan, *hopea odorata*. These are used for a great variety of economic purposes locally connected with the building, ship and carriage making, furniture and joinery trades. Of the third class timbers, Didu (*bombax insigne*) is used for tea boxes and packing cases; Toungpeingyi (*artocarpus chaplasha*) for cases and planking; Ywegyi (*adenanthera pavonina*) for inferior cabinet furniture; Gurjan (*dipterocarpus turbinatus*) for slabs and planking and wood-paving. Lakuch and Ywegyi yield a yellow dye, Khaya the pagoda gum of Madras, Gurjan a resin and the well known oil. 137 313

The great mangrove swamps supply unlimited fire-wood of the best quality, and the bark of the trees a tan, as does also that of the bombway. The best mixture for steeping wooden shingles, is 3 lbs. of gurjan oil, 1 lb. of crude petroleum, 1 lb. of red ochre or metallic paint: the first and third ingredients are produced in the Andamans. Other minor products of the forests are several species of bamboo and cane and two thatching palms, *nipa fruticans* and *licuala peltata*. The cane roots are largely used in Calcutta for walking sticks: the majority of those sold by street vendors there from 4 annas to 8 annas each are from the Andamans. The inner bark of the *sterculia villosa* is used for making elephant harness for dragging timber, and the long climbing canes for ferry ropes and boat fenders. As regards general capabilities the Andaman forests, in addition to the invaluable and largely spread padouk, there is an extremely abundant supply of gurjan, gangaw (the Assam iron-wood) suitable for sleepers, and didu for tea boxes. Labour only is required to bring them on to the suitable markets. Safe anchorages are numerous and there is no difficulty in providing convenient points at which to ship the timber when extracted, especially as the localities of the valuable timbers are situate on, or near to, navigable creeks leading direct to the sea and thus rendering the forests capable of easy and economical working.

Imported Flora.—Both Kurz and Prain have written elaborately on the imported flora of the Andamans, and among the intentionally introduced plants and trees may be mentioned tea (*camellia theifera*), Liberian coffee (*coffea liberica*), Cocoa (*theobroma cacao*), Ceara rubber (*manihot glaziovii*) which has not done well, Manilla hemp (*musa textilis*), teak (*tectona grandis*), cocoa-nut (*cocos nucifera*), besides a number of shade and ornamental trees, fruit trees especially of the anti-scorbutic kinds, vegetables and garden plants. Among the shade trees, the most interesting is the flourishing rain-tree (*pithecolobium saman*) of the West Indies and American Continent, and among the vegetables the Otaheite potato (*dioscorea species.*). An attempt has also been made to introduce the Bahamas aloe (*agave sisalana*), but though it has flowered and given out bulbils in quantities, success is not yet assured. Tea is grown in considerable quantities and the cultivation is under a department of the Penal Settlement. The outturn for the last seven years has been on an average 2,519 chests per annum. 137

General Character of the Forests.—Generally the forests are filled with ever-green trees covered all over with climbers, but patches of deciduous forest

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

simultaneously with it a successful all-round regional development of the islands. 563 648

The resources of the islands having a small areal extent are very limited though the forest and sea products are fairly rich to deserve special mention. The presence of a variety of valuable species of timber in these islands has led to their exploitation since the development of the Penal settlement. The important species of timber found in the Andaman forests are padauk, garjan etc. In the previous decades, the forest exploitation was never associated with a commensurate amount of forest regeneration. Such policies are being followed at present for saving the forest resources from ruthless exploitation without any adequate means of ensuring a perennial supply of timber by systematic regeneration. The recent colonisation scheme has invoked the enquiry for the clearance of the forests. Andaman forests being rich in timber and also being the only major revenue earning source of the islands should by no means be ruthlessly cleared for settlement. Not only it depletes the forest resources but also degenerates the soil—the soil erosion being the immediate victim after such clearance of forests. Considering the primary importance of the forest resources of the islands, it seems to be a plausible agreement that at least 50% of the land should be reserved under forest cover and a further curtailment from this percentage will undoubtedly lead to serious consequences of the soil simultaneously with a great decrease in the resources of the islands. 313

The sea products range from a wide variety of products from sea shells to sea fisheries. The collection of sea shells is in vogue from a fairly long time and the sea fisheries, mostly being confined to the coastal areas, is conducted by the fishermen and the tribal people for their own consumption. There is a good deal of possibility for furthering the development of marine fisheries on a commercial scale but the lack of enterprise and capital investment has not given rise to any appreciable development. The only two enterprises of the fisheries are those of Trochus and Turbo shells by the Japanese during 1930-36 and another enterprise by a business concern in 1947. Even the present catch from the coastal areas amount to only 300 lbs., a considerable lag from the demand within the islands. 226 228

The means of earning livelihood in the islands were hunting and collecting by the aboriginal population who have not even to-day learnt the techniques of domesticating plants and also animals except the Onges who have domesticated the dogs very recently. The penal settlement and the subsequent expansion of the administrative seat at Port Blair 222 224 231 563 241

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

CHAPTER V
NATURAL VEGETATION

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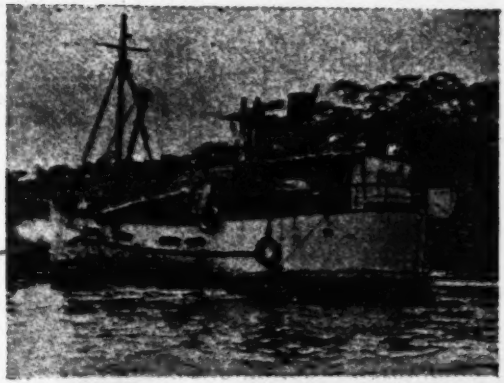

A timber carrying launch of the Andamans.

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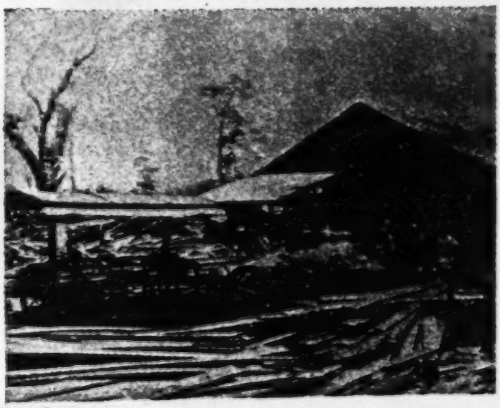

A view of the Saw Mill at Chatham Island.

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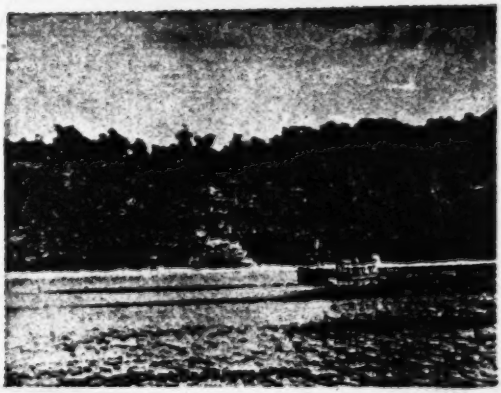

A view of the natural vegetation along the Sea coast.

[facing p. 36]

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The Evergreen forests are obviously concentrated in the regions of perennial water supply of water and therefore, are found in the moist valleys of the fresh water streams and also on the high hills as they experience relatively greater amount of rainfall. The principal trees are various species of Garjan (Dipterocarpus) associated with Black Chuglam (myristica irya), Lalchini (Calophyllum spectabile), Toungpeing (Artocarpus Chaplasha) etc. besides a number of minor species. 137

The Deciduous forests exist primarily on the lower and more gentle slopes of the hills. Padauk (Pterocarpus dalbergioides) forms the principal tree associated with Canarium euphyllum, Papita (Sterculia campanulata), Koko (Albizzia lebbek), Didu (Bombax Chaplasha), Pyimma (Lagerstreamia hypoleuca), White chuglam (terminalia bialata). Besides these few important species, a host of other types of trees are found in the islands but they are not so important from the point of view of revenue.

The Mangrove forests are widespread almost all along the coasts and especially along the estuaries of many creeks in a belt varying from a few yards to over a mile in width. As the creeks penetrate deep into the islands, the mangrove forests are also found to do so. The species of importance are Bruguiera gymnorhiza, Rhizophers Conjugata and Mucronata. The first one of them is of supreme importance which grow in pure stands. It attains a height of 70 to 80 feet and a girth of 5 feet.

Economic Value of the Forests of the Andamans.

The forest resources hold a key position in the list of the resources of the islands. The tropical vegetation inspite of its luxuriance, is generally much inferior to the temperate forests from the economic point of view. The absence of the growth of the different species in pure stands, the non-availability of the dense tropical vegetation, a sultry climate being incongenial for the tiresome and strainous labour required for lumbering operations and the great distance of the forest areas from the areas of consumption are the factors which have decisively proved the inferiority of the tropical forests. In many parts of the tropics, the forests being accessible and having good communication facilities, have paved the path for the development of the lumbering industry. Only because of these advantages the forests of the Caribbean Islands, Puerto Rico etc. have been virtually exhausted and many of the southeast Asian countries have started it at a very rapid pace. 137 313

The forests of the Andamans, in spite of their luxuriance, donot have very many valuable species though a few of them are useful for a large

10:Sen K-3,4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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313

number of purposes. The important species are padauk (Pterocarpus dalbergioides), garjan (Dipterocarpus spp), white dhup (Canarium euphyllum), papita (Sterculia campanulata) and the other ones of lesser importance are koko, white chuglam, lakuch, thingan, ywegi, lal bambwn, etc. A classification of the species according to their economic value and uses has been attempted below.

Class I type — Padauk, Koko, Chuglam, Marble wood and Satin wood.

Class II type — Pyimma, Bambwn, Chai Lakuch, Lakuch, Lalchini, Pongyet, Thitmin, Mowha, Khaya, Gangaw, Thingau.

Class III type—Didu, Ywegyi, Toungpeingyi and Garjan.

Of the class 1 woods, the padauk is of the most superior quality. Its average weight is 48 lbs. per cubic foot. It is a deep red wood, often with darker streaks, moderately hard and durable and seasons well and takes a fine polish. Some trees produce pale coloured wood, known in the trade as 'off colour' padauk which though good for construction purposes is of less value than the red padauk for ornamental use. Padauk is generally used for building boats, furniture, fine joinery and for all purposes to which teak,mahagany, hickory, oak and ash are applied. It is immuned from the attacks of white ants and borers, except the marine worm (toredo navalis) and form rats of all kinds.

The kako is of the colour of greenish grey or light brown or chocolate with dark markings with an average dry weight between 45-50 lbs. per cubic ft. It is not so hard and lustrous like padauk and as such is used in battons and furniture making.

The white and the black chuglams are of grey colour with darker markings. They are generally used for furniture, shafts and planking.

The marble or zebra wood is ebony with streaks of grey or light brown. It is used generally for furniture joinery makings.

The stain wood[1] is genearlly yellow in colour and it is soft and light. It is used for the manufacture of delicate furniture.

The Class II woods are used for a great variety of purposes. The pyimma is of considerable importance in the export list of the trees. The average dry weight is about 40 lbs. per cubic foot and is pale in colour, hard, durable and seasons well but swells when wet. It is largely used for building purposes specially as beams of the roof.

These informations were collected from the Forest Department, Andamans.

1. It is confused by many with the Satjon Wood of Ceylon.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The bombwn is the second most important type in the Class II type of woods. It has an averge weight of 40 lbs. per cubic ft. and is generally yellowish grey in colour with darker streaks. The durability of the wood is quite long but it cannot stand exposures. It is generally used for making of furniture and joineries. 137 313

The rest of the woods have also got an widespread application in a variety of purposes e.g. house building, shipmaking, carriage and furniture making. But the amount exploited from the forests is not of significance.

The didu and garjan are the most important in the class III type of woods. The former is of readdishy greay or yellowish in colour and is very soft and light. As such it is widely used in the making of packing cases for tea specially. The garjan is of the greatest demand of the Andaman forest woods. It has an average weight of 45-56 lbs. per cubic foot and is moderately hard. It is reddish grey to reddish brown in colour and is of moderate duration and as such the wood cannot be used for railway sleepers unless treated. It is used for planking and wood-paving now-a-days.

Ywegyi, being not a durable and hard type of wood, is generally used for the making of inferior cabinets. The trees yield a yellow dye which is also of wide use. [314]

Besides these, there are a host of other forest woods such as the several species of bamboo, cane, thatching palms etc. (For the industries based on forest products, see the Chapter on Industry.)

Forest Working.

The exploitation of timber from the forest has been attempted since the formation of the penal colony in the islands. For the systematic working of the forest, a Forest Department was opened in the year 1883 and a saw mill at Chatham was established in 1915 with a monthly outturn of 100 tons. But this was closed and another saw mill was set up by the Burma Trading Company having a monthly output of 750 tons and a second mill, an American circular mill in Chatham in 1927 and another mill in the North Andaman in 1925. But fortunately the wanton destruction of the forests was not possible because of the limited convict labour, and the fear of working in the aborigine-infested areas. The elephants were proved to be uneconomical in the exploilation of forest and an attempt for replacing the elephants by skidder was made in 1930. But the latter one was found to be uneconomical compared to the elephant power and this resulted again in the engagement of elephant 313 [492]

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

313 492 power in the forests. The net revenue of the forests from 1869 amounted to Rs. 45,65,764 inclusive of a capital asset of Rs. 21,39,983.

313 The present day forest exploitation has to some extent been revitalised with the introduction of regenerating processes and use of disel engines for the trams carrying logs from the spot of exploitation to the jetty wherefrom it is carried down to Port Blair for sawing and finally exported to the mainland and London. The working of the forest in the Andamans and its preparation for marketing undergo a number of stages. After a proper survey, a spot of exploitation is selected where a forest camp is opened near the jetty with a sufficient strength of imported labourers from India. The forest camps are erected with local timber and the exploitation proceeds from the spot in the immediate neighbourhood of the jetty (exclusive of the mangrove forests) to the interior regions. Along with the expansion of the exploitation area, tram lines are laid down from the jetty onwards. The felling is done by chiselling the trunk of the trees and then it is pulled by a few elephants for breaking it down. This completes the felling of the tree and after properly cutting all the branches, the logs are carried by an elephant with the help of his trunk and are unloaded from the tram. Afterwards, it is taken to the jetty where the logs are again unloaded and rafted in a tank-landing craft to make them ready for transportation to Chatham Island where it is shown into standard size (not always) and is exported to the markets. The transportation of the logs from the spot of exploitation to Port Blair is always done on water ways. The success in the transportation of the logs have been facilitated by the innumerable harbours and creeks making easy the passage of the boat into the interior parts of the islands and it is found that the average drag seldom exceeds a mile and at the same time exploitation requires some experience of local conditions and foresight, as the coastal areas are exposed to the open seas and advantage has to be taken of the different seasons of the year to work in different tracts.

313 505

313 433 The yield of merchantable timber is only 15 tons per acre. An assessment of the future potentialities of merchantable timber with the introduction of the present method of regeneration has been given by Sri Chengapa[1]. The sustained or perpetual yield of the forests is about 135,000 tons per year and according to him, with the introduction of the present method of regeneration, the yield per acre is expected to be as much as 75 tons per acre, a five fold increase of the present yield. The

[113] 1 Chengapa, B. S. — The Andaman forests and their development; Census of India, 1951, Volume XVII, Andaman & Nicobar Islands by A. K. Ghosh.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

approximate estimate of the output of the different types of timber is given below. 313 433

Annual yield — 675,000 tons,

Padauk — 7000 tons, Garjan — 28,0000 tons, White Dhup — 21,000 tons, Papita — 28,000 tons, Koko — 500 tons, White Chuglam — 7,000 tons, Black Chuglam — 2,500 tons, Pyinma — 1,500 tons, Badam — 11,000 tons, Didu — 7,000 tons and others — 14,000 tons.

Source: Chengapa, B. S.—The Andaman forests and their development; Census of India, 1951, Volume XVII, Andaman & Nicobar Islands by A. K. Ghosh.

The limitations in the exploitation of the forest resources of the Andamans are not few. The problems faced upto 1934-35 were primarily because of the inefficient methods in the extraction of timber and absence of due attention in the regeneration of the forests. Previously the exploitation was confined only to the coastal areas because of the easy accessibility, but the vast tracts of rich resources in the interior remained virtually untapped in the absence of any economic device. The construction of an experimental tramline in the Rangat valley, however, proved successful. The regeneration of the forests was also little cared for. The new plantations hardly exceeded 100 acres though the exploitation was widespread over large areas. Improvements in the line of regeneration were discernible since the year 1932 and marked improvements were brought about by the year 1936-37. According to this new device, the old crop is removed in two or more successive fellings allowing nature to do the sowing. 313 185

However, some of the limiting factors in the exploitation, transportation and marketing of the forest products are given below. 313 433

(1) The selection of the forests for exploitation is made from a very vague idea and proper surveys are hardly undertaken to realise the actual conditions in the fields which really happen to be quite different from theoretical speculations. It is found that many forests specially in the North Andaman are yet to be explored. Hence the insufficiency of knowledge regarding the forests has made the proper selections of the actual spots of exploitation an impossibility.

(2) The forest working in many regions have to be abandoned because of the seasonal water-supply.

(3) The trees in the forests do not occur in pure stands and hence random felling operations are done irrespective of the type of trees. It is estimated that the total wastage of timber in the Andaman forests is approximately 1 crore of rupees in value.

10:Sen K-3,4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

313 (4) The amount of exploitation of timber in the Andamans reflects the nature of demand and its amount. The demand being highly elastic so long, the exploitation, in consequence, has suffered. The sale system of timber is far from satisfactory as the prices of the timbers are informed by the farms who buy them and on this basis the prices of the timbers are fixed and Sri Shivdasani writes[1] that "the purchasers themselves are the suppliers of information on which the department fixes the price. The effect of refusal to sell to anyone who wants the produce is to eliminate one of the main price determining factors i.e., extent of demand. The tendency of selected purchasers who become middlemen and pass on the timber to consumers after keeping a profit for themselves is to be more interested in buying those varieties of timber produced that have the best market. At the hands of the selected purchasers the marketing of Andaman timber cannot receive the attention required to ensure that as many categories as possible are sold. The interests and profit of the selected purchasers came first. Not only are they in a position to obtain disproportionate profit but the fixing of the price of such an important commodity being left to negotiations between one officer and interested purchasers is fraught with other dangers also."

(5) The problem of labour supply is also not satisfactory. Local labourers are not available because of their reluctance to do all these jobs. Labourers are to be brought from the mainland and they are either Ranchi or South Indian labourers.

The immediate steps that should be taken for the proper working of the forest are the fundamental change in the sale-system, addition of transports facilities from the Andamans to the mainland, formation of a permanent source of local labourers and proper surveys before the forests are worked. Regeneration of the forests have been introduced in recent times. The over importance given by the Forest Department to a few farms in the sale of Andaman timbers has led the department to be a tool in the hands of the farms. The sale of these timbers should be made to any farm found suitable by the Forest Department after proper consideration and the fixation of the price should also be determined by the department.

Unless the transportation facilities of timbers from the islands to the mainland are increased, the amount of forest working can hardly

[113] 1 Shivdasani, H. R.—Report on the possibilities of Colonization and development of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, 1949.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

be accelerated. It is believed that the demand for timber in the mainland is so much that it can easily absorb as much timber as the islands can produce. The transportation problem, is one of the, if not, the most important limiting factor in the amount of forest exploitation. In this connection, it may be recalled that the Forest Department can hardly cope with the forest clearance as well as find a market for the timber in the recent colonisation scheme in the country. These are obviously due to the scarcity of labour supply, shortage of elephant power, labour supply and transportation facilities.

313

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
[Tinnevelly] Tamil AW17
Andamans AZ2

T 369

the river and indeed so practically contiguous that the towns are virtually one.

T 312 377 241

The real interest of the Tamprabarni, its irrigation apart, lies in the future. The Tamprabarni is probably unique among Indian rivers in that it was harnessed to provide direct hydraulic power for cotton spinning: the first of two turbine-driven mills was set up in 1885. At Papanasam there is a 300-ft fall which is being developed to produce 21,000 kW (ultimate capacity 28,000). The actual engineering work is completed, and full development is limited only by doubts as to the need of conserving water for irrigation; but the possibilities of cheap electricity in this area are manifold: foremost perhaps an increase of well-irrigation in the half-dead edaphically arid tracts, and industrially the revivification of the palmyra sugar industry, the extension of cotton in all its branches. Oilseeds could certainly be more widely cultivated in the red soil area, possibly leading to soap and allied industries, and the hills contain vast reserves of bamboo for paper-making.

The Andaman and Nicobar Islands

A 133

These two groups, directly under Delhi, continue the trend of the Arakan Yomas, linking them to the Sumatran ranges. They differ between themselves to a marked extent; both physically and culturally.

1. *The Andamans*

These number over 200, extending NNE/SSW for some 220 miles between 10° and 14° N; the total area is 2500 sq mls, of which the great bulk is in the three major islands of North, Middle, and South Andaman. These three, indeed, are separated only by narrow mangrove-fringed inlets, so that they are often referred to as virtually one island, Great Andaman. The islands are formed of sandstones, limestones, clays, and some serpentines, probably mainly Tertiary, and are highly dissected, rising to 2400 ft. With a temperature never far from 85° F, rainfall over 100 ins., and a monsoonal distribution with no really rainless season, they are naturally jungle-covered: mangrove along coasts and inlets, tropical evergreen along valleys and on steeper wetter slopes, elsewhere moist deciduous. Forestry is perhaps the most important economic activity and is fairly well organised; a match factory was set up about 1930.

A [132] A 313 381 A 161 563

The total population in 1941 was 21,316, but this included a strange medley: aboriginals, convicts and ex-convicts with their 'local-born' children, officials. A century ago the aboriginals probably numbered about 5000; in 1931 they were estimated at about 460, in 1941 at 62; many tribes have died right out. At once shy and savage, they had a reputation for ferocity, and early settlement was avowedly to protect shipwrecked

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

2. *Arca* shells, on account of their serrated lips, serve the double purpose—when a pot is being manufactured—of removing pieces of stone from the outer surface, and of imparting a more finished appearance to the vessel. *Pinna* shells are kept as receptacles for *tâ·la-ōg-*, and as plates for food, while *Nautilus* shells do duty as drinking vessels. No evidence can be found in support of Mr. St. John's statement,[1] that human skulls are used as boxes to contain small objects, for neither these nor the skulls of animals appear to have been ever so employed;[2] the former are kept and carried, as I have elsewhere explained, merely as mementoes of the departed, and the latter are stuck on poles, or hung round the eaves of their huts, as trophies of the chase. *Pinna* and other shells are said to have been used in former times as adze blades, but this is no longer the case, for quantities of iron are always obtainable. Strange as it may seem to some of my readers, there is no trace or tradition of stone having been utilised for this purpose. 412

3. The only instances in which these tribes appear to have had recourse to the natural defences of animals in the manufacture of their weapons are—(*a*) in the use of the serrated bone at the root of the tail of the sting-ray[3] for their fish-arrows; and (*b*) of the valves of *Perna ephippium*,[4] which were formerly—after being ground and shaped—fastened to their wooden-headed arrows, for use in hunting, and in hostile expeditions. Since, however, they have found themselves able to procure ample supplies of iron, these shell arrow-heads, like the shell adze-blades, have been discarded in favour of iron wire, nails, hoop-iron, &c.

4. The bamboo, although not employed by the Andamanese in such a variety of ways as it is by many savages, is yet in constant use in one or other of the following modes, viz:— of the ordinary medium size (male species) they form the *shafts* of their turtle-harpoons;[5] of the female species[6] they make *water-holders*, and receptacles for cooked food[7] when travelling (*gōb-*[8]); *knives* (*pô-chô-*[9]), which are narrow pieces hardened 412 314

[1] Transactions of the Ethnol. Soc., vol. v, p. 43.

[2] Very possibly the belief originated in the manner I suggested in a previous paper (*vide* Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi, p. 273).

[3] *Vide ante* "Hunting, &c.," paragraph 11.

[4] *Vide post* "Stone Implements," paragraph 5 (footnote).

[5] The shafts of their pig spear, being short are made of heavier material, viz., the thick rattan.

[6] Pieces of *Bambusa gigantea*, which have floated across from Burmah, or have reached their shores from wrecks, are much prized as buckets, none but the small ordinary bamboo being indigenous.

[7] *Vide ante* "Food," paragraph 31.

[8] *Vide* Appendix B, item 82.

[9] *Ibid.*, 69.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

412 over a fire, and sharpened by means of a *Cyrena* shell; *netting-*
314 *needles* (*pō·tòkla-*[1]) and *tongs* (*kai-*[2]), which last consist merely of a strip of bamboo, bent double, with pointed ends;[3] the slender *Bambusa nana*, called *rī·di-*, is generally selected for forming the hooked pole (*ngâ·tanga-*[4]), and it is likewise invariably employed for the shafts of their wooden and iron-pointed arrows.

534 5. Although there are materials ready to hand wherewith they might easily construct a few such simple musical instruments as are made and used by the Nicobarese, no attempt seems to have been made by them in this direction, for the rude sounding board (*pū·kuta-yem·ngo-*[5]) can hardly be included under this head. This circumstance seems to find its explanation in the fact that though they are good timists their talent for music is (as will be presently shown,[6] on the testimony of more than one competent authority) of the lowest type.

412 6. A brush, suitable for painting the stripes on their baskets (*jōb-*[7]), baby-slings (*chīp-*[8]), &c., is obtained from a drupe of the small fruit of the *Pandanus Andamanensium* (*mâng-*), the pulp having been first extracted by means of a *Cyrena* shell.

[281] 7. Skins of animals, thorns, or spines of trees are not made
314 use of by these people in any way, nor do they have recourse to caves, rock-shelters, or tree-tops for their dwellings, though they occasionally, as I have before mentioned, avail themselves of the buttress-like formations of the roots of such trees as the *Ficus laccifera*, *Bombax malabaricum*, *Sterculia villosa*, &c., when travelling in bad weather, or when suddenly overtaken by a storm. Palm-leaves, as I explained when describing their habitations,[9] are employed for thatching purposes.

281 **Leather-work.**—From the last paragraph it will be correctly inferred that there is no evidence of their having ever possessed a knowledge of the art of dressing and preparing skins for use in any form: this may be due as much to the limited number and variety of those animals[10] whose hides might be turned to account in this way as to the equable temperature of the climate, which renders such, or indeed any covering unnecessary.

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 67.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 80.
[3] A narrow and pointed piece of bamboo, bitten at the end so as to loosen the fibres, is made to serve as a brush in painting designs on their buckets, sounding boards, &c.
[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 17.
[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 19.
[6] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraph 35, and footnote.
[7] *Vide post* "Basket-work," paragraph 3, and Appendix B, item 21.
[8] *Vide* Appendix B, item 24.
[9] *Vide ante* "Habitations," paragraph 2.
[10] Viz., dugong, porpoise, paradoxurus, iguana, and pig.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

412 50. *tō·lma l'ōko tūg-* and *bī·jma l'ōko tūg-*.[1] Quartz and glass flakes and chips used for shaving, scarifying, and tattooing.[2]

51. *ā·ta-*.[3] *Cyrena* shell: great use is made of this, and of other varieties of this class, viz., as knives for cutting thatching leaves, for making the ornamental incisions on bows, paddles, &c., for planing, for sharpening the boar's tusk (item 47), for dressing and preparing arrows, for making the *ūj-* (item 76), for preparing the fibres obtained from the *Melochia velutina* (Andam., *al·aba-*), *Gnetum edule* (Andam., *pī·lita-*), and the *Anodendron paniculatum* (Andam., *yō·lba-*); they are also used as spoons in eating the gravy of pork, turtle, &c., and are in fact so constantly in demand that a supply is always kept and carried about ready for use.

52. *tā·lag-*.[4] Hone or whetstone, which when in use is held in the right hand and applied to the edge of the blade, which is generally held over the inner side of the left foot, the operator being seated on the ground; pointed weapons are sharpened on it in the usual way.

53. *nīp l'ār bū·l-*. Serrated bone at the root of the tail of the sting-ray; in former times their *tō·lbōd-* arrows (items 4 and 7) were headed with these bones, and it is believed that the early reports of the poisoned arrows of the Andamanese are entirely due to this circumstance; for, owing to their fragile spikes, these bones are apt to cause very serious flesh wounds.[5]

54. *gar·en-*. *Dentalium octogonum* used in the manufacture of various personal ornaments.

●314 55. *rīm-*. Resin obtained from a large tree (*Celtis* or *Gironniera*) of that name, which is used in making *kā·ngatā-būj-* (*vide* item 62).

237 56. *ā·ja-pīd-*. Wax of the white honeycomb: it is one of the ingredients in *kā·ngatā-būj-* (item 62), and is also used in the manufacture of the *chā·panga-* (item 22).

57. *tō·bul-pīd-* or *lē·re-*. Wax of the black honeycomb, made by a small description of bee in the hollows of trees: it is generally procured by men, and is applied to bowstrings, arrow fastenings, and the *kūd* (item 20) is used for caulking cracks in canoes and buckets.

[NOTE.—The honey is eaten, but is not so much relished as that from the white combs.]

[1] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 61.
[2] *Vide* Part III, "Stone Implements," paragraphs 3–6.
[3] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 63.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 56.
[5] "These wounds often cause great inflammation, whence a notion has been prevalent from ancient times that the sting is charged with venom, but of this there is no evidence. Other species of the sting-ray are plentiful in the warmer parts of the world, and they are everywhere dreaded. The spine is used by the savages of the South Sea Islands to point their spears" ("Chambers's Cyclop.").

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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226 eyes to crack their skulls – and thrown into the small basket every woman carries on her back, hung from the usual cord round her forehead.

The fish the women catch are all the varicoloured species which always haunt the coral shallows, bright red, blue, green, black and white in a wonderful range of stripes and patterns. The Onges eat them with no respect for design, and I must confess that I myself found them very good.

226 252 Besides fish, the women catch molluscs, crustacea, lobsters, crayfish, crabs and even some species of hermit crabs (the latter are baked alive in their adopted shells, and only the abdomen is edible). Lobsters are plentiful, some striped with green and blue and weighing up to half a kilogram, with a very delicate flavour, but the Onges do not seem to be greatly interested in them. They prefer fish and crabs; *Pterocera*, again baked alive, are great favourites and I quite saw why the kitchen-middens are full of *Pterocera* shells.

227 The men prefer to fish with bows and arrows made specially for the purpose, and very different from those intended for game, the shaft being made of very light hollow cane, instead of the solid wood demanded by the mechanics of the game-arrow. The fishing arrow is made of three parts, bound tightly into one. The point, now made of iron,[1] is about four to five millimetres in diameter and [283] twenty to twenty-five centimetres long. Like that of the arrow harpoon, it is fixed by a tightly bound thread to a small stick or foreshaft about fifteen to twenty centimetres long and slightly smaller in diameter than the shaft proper (usually eighty to eighty-five centimetres long), so that the overall length of the finished [314] arrow is a hundred and ten centimetres or more. The binding [237] threads are held fast by a mixture of resin and beeswax, coloured with ochre in the case of new arrows.

227 I tried giving the Onges hooks and lines; they were intrigued by 123 my demonstration of how to leave lines overnight and draw them 177 in next morning loaded with fish, but no more. This was not superstition or fear of the unknown but sheer adherence to established σσ custom. They have neither incantations, amulets nor propitiating

[237] [1] Formerly made of *Tridacna*, or very hard wood. Some of the latter are still to be found, but all the other types of head – fish quills, bone, and *Tridacna* – have disappeared long ago.

One danger is that as the wood dries
396 out small cracks will open up and let water through the end of the
[314] canoe; these the Onges stop with resin.

Then comes the decision which side of the trunk is to be the keel. Once this has been decided, the upper surface is chipped flat and the hollowing out of the centre section begins, leaving the flat platform at each end. The finished shell is often no more than three centimetres in thickness, increasing slightly under the end platforms to protect the ends of the canoe as they grate on the reefs.

The float and booms, which project considerably, are for obvious reasons attached after the canoe has been rolled to the water. The
[824] booms are made of heavy hard wood, but the float itself, made of *Hibiscus tiliaeus* or *Sterculia villosa*, has to be not only light, so as to float, but soft, so that the fixing pegs can be driven in easily. These are set into the float in a series of triangles, held in securely by the expansion of the wet wood and the upward force of the sea. The free ends of the pegs are then lashed together in groups of three so that each triangular set becomes a pyramid. The outrigger booms are set parallel to each other; each runs right across the hull, firmly lashed into holes bored on each side of the canoe high in the gunwales, and extends at least three metres out on one side. The apex of each pyramid formed by the float pegs is lashed up to one of the booms, holding the float fast to the booms above it.

The canoes have no reinforcing ribs either inside or out, and because of their inherent fragility they are never left in the water; they are dragged up over specially cleared runways to the communal huts near the shore. There they are left lying in the sun among the Ipomeas.

[314] The direct heat dries them so rapidly that the wood invariably develops cracks, and the Onges resort patiently to their invariable remedy; resin is smeared over the cracks inside and out, and reinforced by a network of fibres laid on top, with a further layer of resin to seal them over.

[237] Once on shore the canoes are left lying till they are next wanted, but with everything ready; the invaluable *Nautilus* is ready to bale out, so too are the point, cord and shaft of the harpoon, the large flat stones on which fire is carried without damaging the craft, and the blocks of wood to knock the harpoons out of the turtle shells.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

documented the fact in a number of photographs. The purpose, however, is 751
purely hygienic: an unpainted body is, in their opinion, exposed to certain 302
illness. They explained this belief to me by saying that without paint the body becomes "hot". The men who travelled with me far from women were anxious every day to spread clay on face, chest and limbs, just to avoid "heat" or, in other words, fever. I thought of malaria, but they do not suffer from it. [162] Of this I will speak later on.

Rough clay is applied daily, on infant bodies as well as on adults, for 751
health purposes. It is used to cure all kinds of sickness, together with ochre, 757
turtle fat and honey. Honey spread on wounds appears to hasten healing. [302]
Identical curative methods are employed in Oceania. They probably existed [854]
among the Tasmanians, and are still used in Australia by the aborigines. I found nothing of the kind in Africa, where honey is plentiful. The Onge consider [752]
clay, ochre, honey and turtle fat good for external and internal treatment alike — both preventive and curative. Powdered bees' wax of a dark colour is often [171]
added. I saw mothers give their children, as a laxative, a number of pills made [825]
of similar ingredients. No bigger than common hazelnuts, the pills are red and greasy. In Onge forests I saw some small excavations, a few feet deep, [317]
made to extract the medicinal clay from special ground pockets. In its natural form the clay is light coloured, powdery and free of stones. When it is burnt [386]
the colour changes, assuming red, yellow, whitish or black shades according to the different qualities used, all believed to possess healing properties and to ensure hygienic colouring of the body. Mixed as described above, clay is used by the Onge in every circumstance from fever to snake or scorpion bite, constipation, breast infection in women, or post-delivery bleeding.

Belief in the medicinal properties of clay is as old as humanity itself. 757
Even among contemporary European peoples, notwithstanding severe criticism, 171
clay is still honoured as health-giving, not, I must say, on wholly foolish 823
grounds. The Onge, who smear their bodies constantly with clay, have the softest, most velvety skin that I ever saw anywhere in the world. Wounds [752]
spread with clay mixed with honey and fat leave negligible scars. The laxative and germ-killing action of clay is admitted by physicians in many countries, including Europe. It never causes infection. Geophagism has ancient origins, and we find it practiced by many modern populations. Children of every race and all young wild animals lick clay instinctively to absorb the mineral salts required by a developing organism. The Onge habit of using clay for healing purposes can be set, therefore, in a very wide frame.

Mental and nervous disorders are rare in Little Andaman. Few natives 164
are subject to epilepsy — an important matter for the Onge: they consider 828
such people as possessed by spirits who speak through their mouths, and [158]
respectfully question them as oracles. Several Onge chiefs, such as Chief [622]
Tchôtā of Tambē-ē-buiē, are apt to go into trances that have all the appearance of epileptic fits. They were elected chiefs on the strength of their epilepsy! [787]

Constant exercise keeps eyesight and hearing extremely sharp in the 164
Onge. I saw no single case of myopia or presbyopia among the natives, nor 151

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

412 the oldest men all agreed in stating that they never used stone
324 for their adzes. We may conclude that Colebrooke's statement is untrustworthy.

Stoliczka records the finding in the South Andaman of a stone celt and a stone arrow-head in the kitchen-middens of the South Andaman. The chief reason for doubting the value of this find is that Stoliczka states that these implements were made of tertiary sandstone, which it is very hard to believe would be of any use whatever. We may therefore adopt the opinion of M. Lapicque[1] that Stoliczka had found fragments of a whet-stone of sandstone and had been mislead into thinking that he had found an axe and an arrow-head.

A third statement that needs to be considered is one by Mr Portman, who presented to the British Museum an arrow with a head of stone made specially for him by a native of the North Andaman who stated that in former times such arrow-heads were used by the Andamanese. At the present time the arrow-head is broken and it would seem to be so fragile as to be entirely worthless for the purpose to which it was supposed to be put. The natives of the North Andaman whom I questioned stated that they did not use stone for their arrow-heads, but shell. We may therefore hold that the evidence given by Mr Portman is not at all satisfactory.

In the Akar-Bale tribe I heard a legend that at a certain spot there is a kind of stone which was used by the ancestors for making adzes. I visited the spot and the stone was pointed out to me. Unfortunately the specimen that I took was lost and I am therefore unable to state what the stone was, but it was such that it would have been utterly impossible to make any sort of adze out of it. It was of a crystalline nature and was easily fractured by a blow against even a soft substance such as wood. It was clear that the native statements about it were merely a legend having no historical value.

We may justifiably conclude that it is probable that the statement of the natives to the effect that before they possessed iron in any quantity they made their adzes and arrow-heads out of shell and not out of stone, is correct. Their use of stone for cutting was therefore confined to the flakes which have been described.

412 The most important material to the Andamanese seems to have
321 been shell. Mollusc shells were used in the natural form or after
● having been manufactured. The chief shell used in its natural form is

[1] Lapicque, "Ethnographie des Iles Andaman," *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, 1894, p. 370.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans A22

the *Cyrena* which serves at the present time as a knife, a scraper and a spoon. Even when they have knives of iron and steel they still use the *Cyrena* shell in preference for some purposes. It is used as a scraper in preparing fibres for rope and thread, in making arrows, as a knife for cutting thatching leaves and cane and even thread and rope, and for making incised patterns on bows and arrows. The shells are always to be found lying about their encampments, and a few are always carried with them when they migrate to a fresh camp. Those living inland obtain their supply of shells from their friends on the coast.

412
321

When in use the shell is clasped between the thumb and first finger, the thumb passing over the convex side and the finger round the hinged edge. The remaining fingers are used to clasp the object that is being scraped or cut. In cutting, the motion is away from the body, being produced by a twist of the wrist. In scraping the motion is away from the body, or from left to right. A knife of iron or steel is held in this way by the natives whenever it is used for any purpose for which they formerly would have used a shell. The blade is clasped near the handle between the thumb and first finger, the back of the blade pressing against the root of the thumb, and the handle away from the body.

Another shell that is used in its natural form is a small whelk shell that is used as a scraper for scraping off the outer skin of mangrove seeds in preparing them for food.

A shell that is used in very nearly its natural form is a kind of pearl shell that grows along creeks through the mangrove swamps. The shell is only very slightly curved and it is for this reason that it is selected as suitable. The weak edge or lip of the valve is broken away, and the edge is then slightly ground on a stone. This implement is used by women for slicing yam and certain other vegetables such as some kinds of seeds when they are being prepared for food.

The natives say that before iron was plentiful they used shells for the heads of their pig-arrows. Several different species of shell seem to have been used, the chief concern being to obtain a piece of sufficient size that was as nearly flat as possible. Such shells are those belonging to the larger bivalves. The natives state that their method of working the shell was to break it roughly into shape with stones and then grind it down on a whet-stone until it was given a sufficiently sharp point and edge. Some arrow-heads of shell were made for me by this method at my request by one of the old men of the North Andaman.

The natives state that before they had iron they made their adzes of shell. Two different men of the North Andaman made two shell adzes

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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for me, one of *Pinna* shell, and the other of a shell that I omitted to identify. The *Pinna* shell adze seemed to me only suitable for light work such as finishing off a bow or a canoe, as it seemed likely to break under a strong blow. The other adze was much stronger and therefore capable of heavy work, and although the edge seemed to me to make it a poor implement with which to cut down a tree yet it certainly did not seem less suitable than the stone adzes used by many primitive peoples. If I were given a choice of implements with which to fell a tree, between the shell adze of the Andamanese and a stone axe of South-western Australia I should certainly choose the former.

According to the natives they formerly used bone for the points of their fish-arrows and for the barbs of their pig-arrows. For both of these purposes they now use iron. The bone was broken into a piece of suitable length and then ground down with a whet-stone. Apparently the bone most frequently used was the tibia of the pig. For their fish-arrows they also made use of the bone of the tail of the sting-ray,—its "sting." When the fish was caught the bone was knocked off and reserved for use. It required no treatment whatever, being simply bound on to the point of the fore-shaft in the same way that an iron point is now attached.

Colebrooke, in 1789, described their arrows as "headed with fish-bones or the tusks of wild hogs, sometimes merely with a sharp bit of wood hardened in the fire." By fish-bone he probably means the bone of the sting-ray. Where he writes the tusks of wild hogs we should probably read "the bones." A boar's tusk is curved, and it seems impossible to imagine how it could possibly be used as an arrow-head or arrow-point.

The boar's tusk is used by the Andamanese as an implement, however, making a very efficient sort of spokeshave. The edge which is used is kept sharp by scraping with a quartz or glass flake or with a *Cyrena* shell. The edge is near the point (at *a* in Fig. 27) and the tusk is clasped at the other end between the forefinger and the root of the thumb (at *b* in Fig. 27), the movement being away from the body. It is used for planing bows and paddles, and in the

Fig. 27. Boar's tusk, used as a spokeshave

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

hands of an Andaman Islander is a very efficient implement, producing a beautifully smooth and even surface.

Of wood the Andamanese formerly made knives and arrow-points. The knives were made of a slip of bamboo or cane shaped and sharpened with a *Cyrena* shell. Such knives were used for cutting meat and apparently for no other purpose. A knife was always attached by a short length of cord to a skewer of pointed *Areca* wood. The double implement was used in cooking and eating, the skewer serving to lift pieces of meat in and out of a pot, while the knife served to cut them. At the present time the cane or bamboo knife is replaced by a knife made from hoop-iron, but the shape of the original implement is retained as nearly as possible and a skewer of *Areca* wood is generally attached to it.

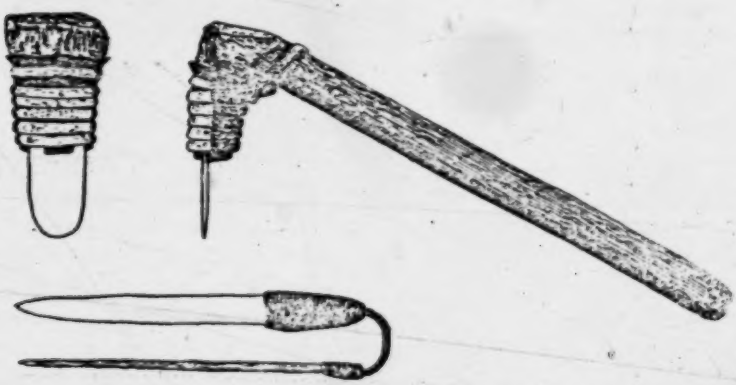

Fig. 28. Adze and knife

As has been already stated the Andamanese formerly used hard wood such as that of the *Areca* palm for the points and heads of their arrows. They do not seem to have made use of bamboo in this way.

At the present time iron is used for the blades of adzes, for the heads and barbs of pig-arrows, the points of fish-arrows, the heads of harpoons, and for knives. The method of working the metal is apparently exactly the same as the method they formerly used for working shell and bone. For the head of a pig-arrow a suitable piece of iron is taken and a fragment of about the right size is broken off by means of a stone hammer. This is then roughly broken into the required shape, no heat being used, and no advantage being taken of the malleability of the metal. The next process is to grind it on a

136 Andaman, in Yeratil Jig (near Port Anson, about fifteen miles from Long Island) in Diglipur (or Dilyapur) Creek, near Port Cornwallis, and in Wilima Jig,[1] but they are now extinct. In March 1952 the Onges had described the presence of crocodiles so clearly to me as to leave no doubt what they meant, and I soon received confirmation when I found their tracks on the sand about one kilometre from the mouth of Jackson Creek, on the right bank, and then saw some lying on the shore across the creek. Through my field glasses I saw small birds pecking between the teeth of the great wide-open jaws. As we approached they slid lazily into the sea, some reappearing a little later, their cavernous mouths rising vertically out of the water. Every day after that I saw them swimming quietly near the banks, and one afternoon my men and I between us saw over a dozen, near Nachuge, dozing in the mud or in the water.

[825] [198] The Onges assured me that crocodiles will come out of the water to a certain whistle. I got them to try it; the Onges whistled, and whistled again, but no crocodiles came!

237 321 276 172 Very different from the great turtles and the crocodiles, but equally important in the daily life of the Onges, are the crabs from which the islanders make their ancient and very characteristic pipes. They eat the crabs and use the claws to make the pipes, cutting them across the joint and boring a hole in the end, as they have done since time immemorial, to smoke aromatic leaves from the forest. Fragments of similar pipes, charred with use, appear in even the lowest strata of the kitchen-middens, dating back thousands of years and proving the antiquity of the smoking habit. Contrary to popular belief, smoking did not begin everywhere with the introduction of tobacco – in Asia at least men smoked thousands of years ago.

237 276 171 The claw pipes of the Onges have a groove cut round the end which goes into the mouth, so that the teeth can grip it better. I have seen identical pipes, with the same groove, in the Melville Islands, where there are many other signs of ethnographic connections with the Andamans. The canoes, for example, are identical with those of the Andamans; the peoples themselves, however, are today very different physically.

[501] [142]

[165] [1] According to Portman a man was dragged into the water here on 11 May 1894 by a crocodile and killed; several similar incidents have occurred since.

Appendix

Below is given a brief summary of the evidence which in the author's opinion supports his view that the culture of the Andaman Islanders dates back at least to the Palaeolithic era. 172

1 ABSENCE OF STONE IMPLEMENTS

There are in the Andamans abundant sources of stones suitable for shaping into tools. Despite this I found no traces whatever of any stone implements even in the lowest strata of the kitchen-middens, nor is there any evidence of their being used either in the more recent past or at the present time. Until the very recent introduction of iron the Onges always (as the kitchen-middens confirm) made tools solely of wood, with the addition of parts made from *Tridacna* shells, shaped by long and patient rubbing against stone. The only objects remotely approaching the definition of stone implements are the splinters of quartz or obsidian which are carried in the hair, and used as razors or, in the Arioto only, for primitive tattooing. These splinters, which are in no way shaped after being broken off, are thrown away as soon as they become blunt, and a new piece of quartz is crudely struck from a lump, by men or women indiscriminately. The existence of this one stone implement does not, in my view, justify the classification of the Onges (or the Andamanese in general) as a true Palaeolithic people; it would be more reasonable to class them as prelithic. 172 324 [177] [322] [321] [412] [181]

2 ABSENCE OF METAL WORKING

Even today the Onges' knowledge of metal working is confined to rubbing pieces of iron against stone to reduce them to the required shape. They have no knowledge of how to forge it, nor have they the tools to do so. Iron is clearly a very recent introduction, the importance of which the 325

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

412
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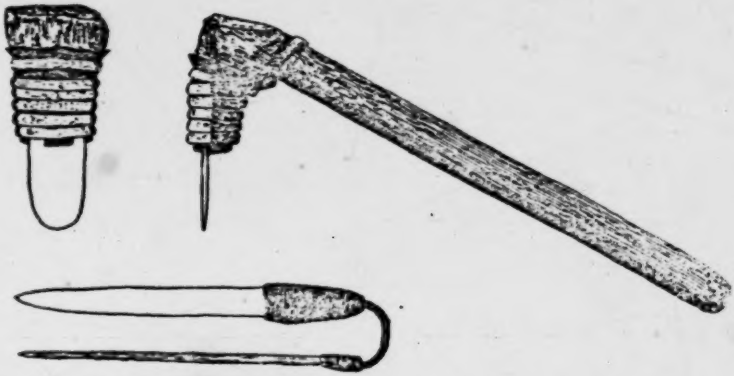

Fig. 28. Adze and knife

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harpoons, and for knives. The method of working the metal is
apparently exactly the same as the method they formerly used for 325
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1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

415 The pots are used for cooking, i.e. for boiling meat and vegetables. In the North Andaman small pots are specially made for melting the composition used for covering the binding on the heads of arrows.

415 171 Neither the Semang nor the Philippine Negritos make any kind of pottery. The origin of Andamanese pottery therefore is a problem of some interest. It is almost certain that the early Andamanese were acquainted with pottery before they were divided into the Great Andaman and Little Andaman Divisions. One of the very few words which is the same in all Andamanese languages is the word for pot, *buču* in the Little Andaman, *buj* in Aka-Bea and *peč* in Aka-Jeru. The most reasonable hypothesis would therefore seem to be that the Andamanese learnt the method of making pottery by coiling before they reached the Andaman Islands but after they had become separated

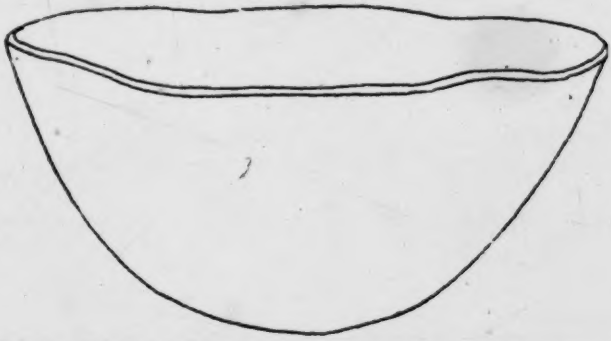


Fig. 39. Shape of South Andaman pot; actual diameter 24 cm.

from that part of the Negrito race from which the Semang and the Philippine Negritos are descended. Of course it is possible that the art of pottery may have been an original possession of the Negritos and that the Semang and Philippine Negritos may have lost it. A people could easily lose the art if they were compelled in the course of their migrations to spend three or four generations in a region that lacked clay suitable for the purpose.

415 [322] The Andamanese make buckets of wood, which they use for carrying and holding a supply of water. A solid piece is cut from the trunk of a soft-wooded tree and is hollowed out with a chisel made by attaching the blade of an adze to a stick. The natural form of the wood is retained, only the bark being removed from the outside while the inside is chiselled out to leave sides of about a centimetre thick and a bottom of somewhat greater thickness. In order to render the bottom

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

of the bucket water-tight the natives of the Little Andaman pour over it on the inside melted bees'-wax. The natives of the Great Andaman use for this purpose the same composition with which they cover the bindings of their arrows, which certainly is superior to bees'-wax. 415

A bucket of the shape used in the Great Andaman is shown in Plate VII, on the left. A strip of cane is attached round the middle of the bucket, and to this in turn is attached another strip of cane which, being passed across the front of the chest, enables the bucket to be carried on the back.

The buckets of the Little Andaman are cut with thinner sides than those of the Great Andaman. A strip of cane is fastened round the bucket near the top. From this two other strips of cane are attached by both ends, passing under the bottom, and a third strip is attached which passes over the head and supports the bucket when it is carried on the back. In the Little Andaman the outside of the bucket is charred with fire.

Occasionally pieces of the giant bamboo, which does not grow in the Andamans, are found on the shore, having drifted from the Burma coast. When a sound piece is found it is made into buckets each formed of a single joint.

Water vessels are made from bamboos that do grow in the islands. A length of bamboo of good diameter is cut, containing three joints. The partition of the lowest node is preserved to serve as a bottom, and the other partitions are broken through with an arrow. This is the usual vessel used for carrying water on a journey by land or in a canoe, and for keeping a supply of drinking water in the hut.

A single joint of the same kind of bamboo is used as a cooking vessel. It is cleaned, washed, and dried, and is then filled with meat tightly packed. The top is closed with leaves and the bamboo is placed on the fire until the meat is cooked. Meat is not cooked in this way for immediate consumption. It will keep for twenty-four hours or even longer if not opened. To obtain the contents the bamboo is split open with an adze.

Trays used for food are cut from soft wood of a species of *Sterculia* with an adze. They are shallow and somewhat long and narrow, with pointed ends. [322]

A large *Pinna* shell is occasionally used as a tray or dish for holding food, or for mixing clay with water for painting. A *Nautilus* shell forms a fairly convenient cup or drinking vessel and is frequently used for that purpose, as well as for baling out water from a canoe.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 bamboo (male species preferred), often 18 feet or more in length; for the reception of the harpoon a socket is prepared at the small end, which is strengthened by pieces of mangrove wood, over which strips of cane are neatly tied. The harpoon consists of a strong barbed iron head fastened to a short piece of wood to which a long line (*bē·tma-*) is attached. When a turtle or large fish is struck the harpoon detaches itself from the shaft, which floats and is picked up after the capture has been effected.

[NOTE.—A harpooner almost invariably follows up a successful cast by plunging into the water, lest in the act of dragging the line the harpoon should slip out of the wound and his victim should thus escape.]

501 11. *rō·ko-*.[1] Generic name of the various kinds of canoes made in recent years[2] by the aborigines of South Andaman and adjacent parts, where, owing to the facility of obtaining iron tools, large dug-outs, called *gī·lyanga-*, capable of accommodating twenty to forty persons, are constructed in place of the small outrigger canoes (*chā·rigma-*) with which the other tribes have still to content themselves. They are usually made of the *Sterculia villosa* (Andam., *bā·ja-*), and are often ornamentally painted.

[NOTE.—The outrigger is called *tel-*, and is always made of the wood of *maii·-* (one of the *Sterculiaceæ*), which is soft and light.]

11*a*. *wāl·igma-*.[3] Paddle: these are not made by women, nor are they of any prescribed size, this being regulated merely by the fancy of the maker, and the material at his disposal; they are frequently adorned by women with chevrons[4] (*jō·bo-tàrtā·nga-*) of *kòi·ob-* (item 60) or *tā·la-ōg-* (item 58).

286 [284] 12. *yôto-tē·pinga-*. Turtle-net, made by men,[5] of a stout cord (*bē·tma-*), which is prepared from the bark fibre of the *Melochia velutina* (Andam., *al·aba-*); the meshes vary in size according to the fancy or skill of the maker.[6]

415 ●322 13. *dā·kar-*.[7] Bucket made by the Great Andaman tribes of the wood used in constructing canoes, *i.e.*, *Sterculia villosa*, with a loop of cane to form the handle; the implement used in hollowing out these vessels is the blade of the adze (*wō·lo-*, item 15), which is detached from its handle and fastened to a straight piece of wood so as to form a sort of chisel

[NOTE.—The Little Andaman and other *jār·awa-* buckets are made in the same manner, but are much larger and superior in every way; they are, moreover, neatly ornamented round the sides with strips of cane, evenly laid on and fastened at the rim by plaiting.]

[1] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 69.
[2] *Vide* Part III, "Navigation," paragraph 4, and footnote.
[3] *Vide* Plate VI, fig. 70
[4] *Vide* Part III, "Ornamentation," paragraph 6.
[5] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 60.
[6] *Vide* Part III, "String," paragraph 6.
[7] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 14.

765 neck, usually, but not always, by the widow, widower or nearest relative. Mourning closes with a ceremonial dance and the removal of the clay. The ceremonies connected with the disposal of the dead are conventional, reverential and by no means without elaboration in detail.

V. Arts.

324 **Stone Implements.**—The only stone cutting implement known to the Andamanese is the quartz flake chipped off, never worked, and held between the fingers for shaving and tattooing, and shells and fish bones are used for the small blades of the peculiar adze of this people, and for arrow points, scraping and cutting. A *cyrena* valve is the ordinary knife and scraper. Hammers, anvils, hones, and oven-stones consist of natural stones. They have never made celts.

177 The ends of glass bottles for some years, and iron from wrecks for a long time past, have been substituted for the indigenous implements, when and where procurable. The object of the long series of murderous raids made by the inland Jarawas on the outlying parts of the Penal Settlement has now been proved to have been made in search for iron. The implements on the whole are coarsely and roughly made.

411 **Weapons.**—The weapons of the Andamanese are bow and arrow, harpoon, fish spear, pig spear, and they have never had any notion of poisoning the blades, which however sometimes inflict dangerous septic wounds from dirt, though as a rule they are kept bright as a matter of pride. Barbed arrows and harpoons with loose heads are used for catching and pulling up game in the jungles and marking where turtle or large fish are sinking.

Domestic Arts.—Excellent information with illustrations on the domestic and other arts of the Andamanese is to be found in a minutely accurate work, Man's *Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands.*

283 **String and Netting.**—String for nets and all purposes is twisted, often neatly, from the inner bark of creepers. Large nets of this string are made for driving turtle and hand-nets for prawns and small fish and for wallets. Stout cord is made from the inner bark of the *melochia velutina.* Whole, split and scraped canes are used as binders.

285 **Weaving.**—The weaving is good, neat and stout, and baskets and mats are thus well made from strips of canes.

323 **Pottery.**—The unglazed circular clay cooking pots with rounded or pointed bottoms, to the Andamanese very valuable, are built up by hand, sun-dried and then baked, but not thoroughly, in the fire. They are often encased in basket work for safety. Their manufacture, form and ornament are typical of the Stone Age generally.

322 **Wood and Cane work.**—Buckets are hollowed out of wood or cut from the joints of the bamboo. Canoes are hollowed out of whole trunks of light, soft timber by the adze without the use of fire, do not last long and are only fair sea boats. They are however capable of holding many people and a good deal of light cargo.

301 **Ornamentation, Personal and Domestic.**—The personal ornaments made are—bunches and strips of fibres and leaves scraped, cut and hammered, fringes of dentalium shells and straw-coloured wreaths of hammered and roasted dendrobium bark. The bones, skulls and jawbones of deceased relatives are also used whole, or broken and scraped to fancy or requirement, as ornaments, besides necklaces of the bones of animals. Tattooing and painting the body are only ornamental to the extent that, in the latter case especially, deviations from the conventional designs are due to personal taste.

353 The only ornaments to dwellings and huts are the heads of turtle, pigs, iguana, paradoxurus killed in hunting. These are hung up partly as ornaments and partly as trophies, but not with any idea of record.

531 Every manufactured article has its own customary conventional line ornament in one or more of three colours and in one or more of eleven patterns approximately achieved only. The colours are red, white and brown from natural earths. The patterns are (1) chevrons, (2) close cross hatch, (3) wide cross hatch, (4) parallel lines, (5) parallels and chevrons combined, (6) lozenges, (7) plait or guilloche, (8) herring-bone, (9) cross cuts, (10) loops, (11) vandyke with scolloped bands and cross lines.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
ONge

the felling of the tree, chiselling the lumber and processing it further to give the shape of a canoe. Buckets of wood are also constructed by them from the softwood tree. Two types of baskets are made, the smaller ones are more well-finished than the bigger ones. The former is known as *toleoaga* and the later *tole-laya*. Such activities have introduced the use of dahs, chisels, and iron files among the Onges, from the iron pieces derived from the sea shores. The other important pieces of their craftsmanship are the beautiful weavings of fibre, tussel of yellow fibre used by the women in their front. However, the art of making the earthen pots has been completely forgotten.

The leisure in their lives has helped the development of some amount of aesthetic senses among the Onges. All the Onges men and women shave their heads with flakes of glass, obtained from the sea-borne glass bottles. The body of the Onges are also painted with white clay which save their skin from insect-bite while red paint serves medicinal purposes if some individual is having fever. In times of mourning, red orchre paint is a taboo.[1]

Early marriage is the custom. The widows are looked down upon by the society. Some incidents of widow murder and drowning are heard. In the married life, the husband is devoted to his wife and both the husband and wife work for collecting their food.

Dances and songs are in vogue and there are practically songs for every occasion and activity. Most of their songs are more plaintive than joyous.

There are three broad divisions of the Onges of the Little Andaman :

(1) *Giremeka-Gobeule* group inhabiting the northeastern coast of the island ;

(2) *Engakwale group* live in the interior of the islands ; and

(3) *Gireraragobeule group* live in the southern and western coasts of the islands.

In spite of all the limitations, the Onges have been considered as one of the happiest people of the world with plenty of food and water to eat and drink and with very few social cankers to fight with. But as is common to all other aborigines of the Andamans, a decline in their number is discernible.

The Sentinelese

The Sentinelese are the least known of all the aborigines of the Anda-

1 The Onge of the Little Andaman—A short guide book ; Anthropological Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

174 the arrival of the Negritos in the Andamans from the south; yet
184 more evidence is provided by the Onge arrows. In the Andamans
411 there are two types of arrows, those used for fish, and those for game, the latter also being used against human targets.

184 The same arrows are found throughout the archipelago, con-
411 firming a common origin. Only the dimensions vary from one area to another and that only very slightly; the Onges have both the biggest fishing arrows, and the biggest arrow harpoons, and the Arioto the smallest. In the past the islanders used arrows with from two to four points for fish, but I was unable to find any traces of them; those picked up on North Sentinel some years ago were possibly the last to be made.

411 The fishing arrow of the Andamans is made basically from the small native bamboo. The Onges remove the knots by scraping
[322] them down gradually with *Cyrena* shells, and then cut off a length
[237] varying between seventy centimetres and about one metre. Into one end they fix securely a hardwood stick, fifteen to twenty centi-
[177] metres long. This foreshaft takes the head, now nearly always iron, but in the past made of wood, fish spines or pig bone. In the kitchen-middens I also found heads made out of shaped pieces of *Tridacna*. The three parts of the arrow are then bound together with very thin waxed fibres, wound carefully round and round, great care being taken to prevent the bamboo shaft splitting where the foreshaft is forced in. The completed arrow finishes up 1–1·15 metres long overall. The head is barbed, to hold the fish once it is hit; to get it out the whole arrow has to be pulled through. Sometimes, but not always, the shaft has a notch in it, to take the cord, care being taken to make the notch never more than two centimetres from any knot, to avoid any possibility of the shaft splitting. Alternatively, splits are prevented by binding waxed thread tightly round the shaft.

The hunting arrow, or arrow harpoon, is an intelligent adaptation, the result of acute observation of wild life, and is more complicated than the fishing arrow which is intended only to pierce the
411 victim. The hunting arrow must not only score a hit, it must also
224 prevent the animal from escaping into the undergrowth and force it to reveal its position. The harpoon holds the victim cruelly and securely, and the excruciating pain caused by the drag of the cord forces the animal to reveal its position by its cries of agony. The

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Appendix

Below is given a brief summary of the evidence which in the author's opinion supports his view that the culture of the Andaman Islanders dates back at least to the Palaeolithic era. 172

1 ABSENCE OF STONE IMPLEMENTS

There are in the Andamans abundant sources of stones suitable for shaping into tools. Despite this I found no traces whatever of any stone implements even in the lowest strata of the kitchen-middens, nor is there any evidence of their being used either in the more recent past or at the present time. Until the very recent introduction of iron the Onges always (as the kitchen-middens confirm) made tools solely of wood, with the addition of parts made from *Tridacna* shells, shaped by long and patient rubbing against stone. The only objects remotely approaching the definition of stone implements are the splinters of quartz or obsidian which are carried in the hair, and used as razors or, in the Arioto only, for primitive tattooing. These splinters, which are in no way shaped after being broken off, are thrown away as soon as they become blunt, and a new piece of quartz is crudely struck from a lump, by men or women indiscriminately. The existence of this one stone implement does not, in my view, justify the classification of the Onges (or the Andamanese in general) as a true Palaeolithic people; it would be more reasonable to class them as prelithic. 172 324 [177] [322] [321] [412] [181]

2 ABSENCE OF METAL WORKING

Even today the Onges' knowledge of metal working is confined to rubbing pieces of iron against stone to reduce them to the required shape. They have no knowledge of how to forge it, nor have they the tools to do so. Iron is clearly a very recent introduction, the importance of which the 325

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The most interesting of the Andamanese domestic utensils is undoubtedly the cooking-pot. Pots are made in all parts of the Andamans where suitable clay is to be found. The clay is obtained and is freed as far as possible from stones and gritty matter with the hands. It is then moistened with water and kneaded on a board consisting of a portion of a broken canoe. It is worked very stiff and after kneading is rolled beneath the palm of the hand into long thin rolls. These are built up into a pot by coiling, the requisite degree of thickness being obtained by pressure of the thumb and first finger. When the pot has been built up to the required size and shape, the surface, inside and out, is moistened and is scraped over in all directions with an *Arca* shell. The pot is dried in the sun for a few hours and is then baked by placing inside and around it pieces of burning wood. The pot often cracks in the baking, and another has to be made. 415 323

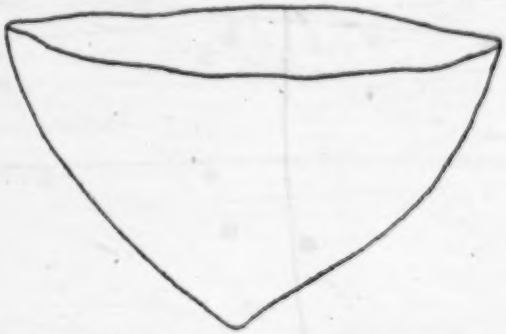


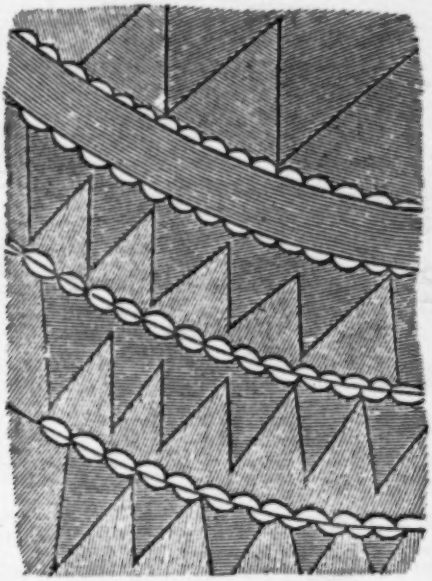
Fig. 38. Shape of North Andaman pot; actual diameter 17 cm.

In the North Andaman the pots are made with pointed bottoms, and are generally small, the largest having a capacity of only six or seven pints. They are made by women only. In the South Andaman the pots have rounded bottoms and, on the average, are larger and thicker than those of the North Andaman. They are made by both men and women, the best being made by men. In the Little Andaman the pots are larger, and, particularly, deeper than those of the South Andaman, and have somewhat pointed bottoms. The pots of the Jarawa are similar to those of the Little Andaman.

In the North Andaman pots are not ornamented, but in the South Andaman they are decorated with usually simple patterns of dots and lines made with a small pointed stick. The Little Andaman pots that I have seen were not decorated. [531]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

XI. VANDYKES WITH SCOLLOPED BANDS AND CROSS LINES (? *ig-pòi·nyakuga-*). 531



Painted with *kâ·ngatâ-bŭj-* on *ó·do-*[1]

Pottery.—1. These savages evince a superiority over the Australians, Tasmanians, Fuegeans, and many of the Pacific Islanders, in possessing some knowledge of the art of making pots. 323 172

2. It was formerly believed that they had "no vessel capable of resisting the action of fire,"[2] but careful examination of their kitchen-middens has proved, beyond all doubt, that their present manufacture was equalled—if indeed it were not surpassed—many generations ago by their ancestors; the traditions current among them on the subject may also be mentioned, in passing, as pointing to a like conclusion.

3. The late Dr. Stoliczka, in his interesting paper on the Andamanese kitchen-middens,[3] writes as follows:—"In submitting the rude fragments of pottery . . . to an archæologist in Europe, no one would long hesitate in referring them to the

[1] *Nautilus* shell, used as a drinking vessel.

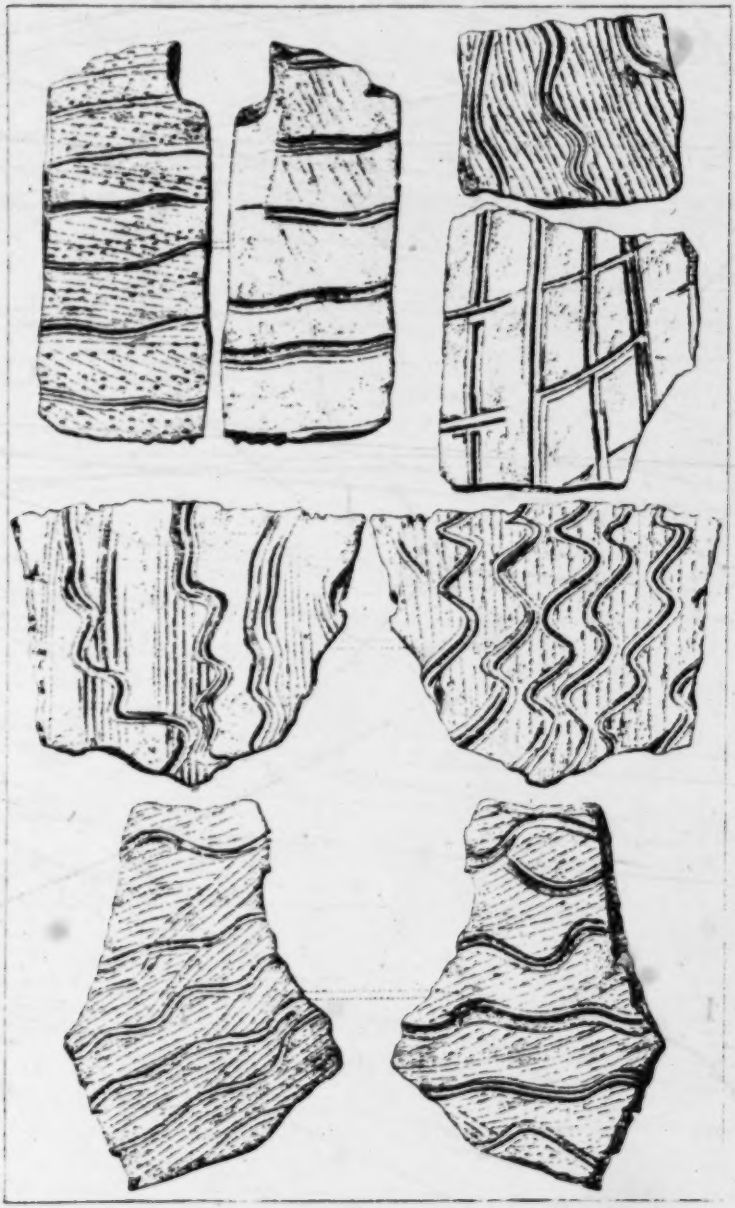
[2] *Vide* Symes, who is also incorrect in adding in a footnote: "The fragments of earthenware vessels mentioned by Mr. Colebrooke were probably brought from the Nicobars or from the Continent, by the boats that often visit the Andamans for the purpose of taking the nests before mentioned" (*i.e.*, of the *Collocalia nidifica*).

[3] *Vide* Proceedings As. Soc. Bengal, January, 1870.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Plate A.

•323
172



FRAGMENTS OF ANDAMANESE ORNAMENTED POTTERY

From a Kitchen-midden in Port Blair Harbour.

[facing p. 154]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

323 172 stone age, at least to the neolithic period; for, indeed, they are almost identical with the fragments of pottery found in the Danish kitchen-middens, though here fragments of pottery are comparatively very rare."

323 4. The manufacture of pots (*būj-*[1]) is not confined to any particular class, or to either sex, but the better specimens are generally produced by men, and though the result is in neither case very satisfactory as regards appearance, they yet answer the purpose for which they are intended very fairly,[2] and frequently serve as objects of barter among the various communities.

5. They invariably use, unmixed with any other substance, a particular description of clay called by them *būj-pâ-*, which is only found in a few places, where, of course, the work is usually carried on: the method pursued is similar to that practised by the Kaffirs, and the only implements employed are a short pointed stick, an *Arca* shell (the variety called *pō·rma-*), and a board, which is generally either a sounding board (*pū·kuta-yem·nga-*[3]), or, if sufficiently large, an eating tray (*pū·kuta-yât-māk·nga-*[4]).

6. As nothing of the character of a potter's wheel is known among them, the shape of the vessels depends upon the skill of the operator and upon the correctness of his eye. The first step in the process of making a pot is to remove any stones that are in the clay, which is then moistened with water and kneaded until it is of a proper consistency; several lumps are next rolled out in succession on the board, by means of the fingers and palms, into strips of about fifteen inches long and half-an-inch thick: one of these is now twisted by the artist into a cup-like shape,[5] in order to form the base of the pot, which he proceeds to build up, taking care the while to exert sufficient pressure to ensure a uniform thickness, by adding one roll above another, each one commencing where the last ended, until the required dimensions are attained; then, if it be sufficiently firm and consolidated, an *Arca* shell is carefully passed (*ngâ·tanga-*) over the inner and outer surfaces, which are thus rendered smoother, and are at the same time freed from any minute bits of stone that had previously escaped observation; the serrated edges of the

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 18.
[2] *Vide ante* "Food," paragraphs 12, 21, and 27.
[3] *Vide* Appendix B, item 19.
[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 72.
[5] The pots made by the *.yē·rewa-* and *.jär·awa-* tribes (*i.e.*, North and Little Andaman) have up to the present time been found to have a more pointed base than those of the five *.bō·jig* tribes, but I believe no Andaman pot intended for cooking purposes has yet been made of such a shape as to allow of its standing. The small cup- (or sometimes saucer-) like pots (*vide* Plate VII, fig. 19*a*) are used for making and warming *kâ·ngatâ-būj-*.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

323 shell also impart a more finished appearance to the vessel ere it is further engraved (*ō·inga-*) on both surfaces[1] in wavy, checked, or striped designs,[2] not, as has been assumed,[3] by the finger-nail, but by means of the pointed stick before mentioned. The potter then places the utensil in the sun to dry, or, if the weather be wet or cloudy, before a fire, taking care to alter its position from time to time so that all parts may be equally subjected to heat. When sufficiently hardened, he bakes it thoroughly by placing burning pieces of wood both inside and around the vessel; occasionally during this process the pot cracks, which of course renders it useless, but if this does not happen it is allowed to cool, and is then considered ready for use.

323 415 7. With good management a pot is ordinarily fit for use by the close of the day on which it is made. They may be said to be all of one quality and to differ only in size so as to be suitable for the use of a single family or a large party. The largest description is usually only to be seen in permanent encampments, the smaller kinds being taken when occasion arises for a migration, as for instance on account of a death,[4] or because arrangements have been made for an entertainment at some other place.[5] The medium size is almost invariably [285] provided with a rough basket-work casing, which not only renders it more portable but also serves to protect it, in some measure, from the many accidents to which it is liable.

8. The pots ordinarily made will hold about nine pints, but the larger kinds possess double this capacity, while others again are no larger than half an ordinary cocoanut-shell; these last are employed in making *kā·ngatā-būj-*, and also when using it;[6] with this exception none of the vessels are reserved or manufactured for any special purpose, but serve alike for all times, whether for festivals, migrations, or ordinary occasions. No substitutes for

[1] Perhaps the original object of this practice may be explained by the conjecture contained in the following extract from Peschel's work:—"In examining the site of an old pottery manufactory of the Red Indians on the Cahokia, ... Carl Rau discovered half-finished vessels, that is to say, baskets of rushes or willow, lined inside with clay. When the vessel was baked the fire naturally consumed the external covering. . . . That the Europeans of prehistoric times also originally lined basket-work with clay, may be inferred from the decorations of vessels of the stone age. These decorations consist merely of rows of marks made with the finger-nail, as if to represent the traces left by the basket-work. When some bold individual began to shape the clay by hand, his earthen vessels were perhaps regarded as not genuine, or of inferior quality, as they had not originated in the time-honoured fashion; in order to meet these doubts he may have counterfeited the impressions of the rushes with his nail."

[2] *Vide* Plate V, for illustration of these.

[3] *Vide* de Röepstorff.

[4] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraphs 4 and 15.
Vide post "Games and Amusements," paragraph 22.

[6] *Vide* Appendix B, item 62.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

323 415 pottery are in use, as has been supposed,[1] unless the fact of certain molluscs[2] being cooked in their shells can be so described. Broken pottery is not buried in graves or beneath landmarks, but is cast aside as rubbish.

9. No kind of painting or varnishing is ever attempted, and models of men or animals are never made. They are also ignorant of glazing and of making porous pottery for cooling vessels.

412 **Natural Forms and Miscellaneous Manufactures.**—1. The natural forms of stones are employed by the Andamanese, as by other savage tribes, as anvils and hammers. Like the natives of New Guinea,[3] they always carry with them, or keep ready for use, one or more *Cyrena* shells (*ūta-*), as these serve them in a great variety of ways: for example, in *dressing* and *preparing* the wooden portion of their arrows; in *sharpening* their bamboo and cane[4] knives, and the inner edge of the boar's tusk, in order to adapt it for use as a plane; as a *spoon*,[5] in eating gravy, &c.; as a *knife*, in cutting thatching leaves, &c., and in severing the joints of meat; and as a *scraper* in separating the pulp from the fibre of the *Anodendron paniculatum* and other plants, from which they manufacture their various descriptions of string and cord; these shells are likewise employed in making the ornamental incisions in their weapons, implements, leaf-ornaments, &c.,[6] in preparing the peculiar *ūj-*[7] appendage (worn when dancing); and they are also frequently used for planing purposes.[8] Indeed, I think I may fairly say that among their savage arts there is probably nothing so calculated to surprise and interest a stranger as the many and clever uses to which necessity has taught them to put this simple but highly effective tool.

[1] This refers to the following passage in the late Dr. Stoliczka's "Note on the Kjökken-Möddings of the Andaman Islands":—"I have been informed that in some parts of the island their only cooking utensils are large specimens of *Turbo marmoratus*, valves of *Tridacna gigas*, and others."

[2] Viz.:—*Cyrena*, *Arca*, *Mytilus smaragdinus*, *Ceritheum*, *Patella variabilis* (limpet), and a few other small varieties.

[3] "They always carry with them a bamboo knife; . . . when required they sharpen the edge with a shell (a fresh water species of *Cyrena*), which is always carried for the purpose. . . ." (See a paper on the natives of the Fly River, New Guinea, by Signor L. M. d'Albertis, in the Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. vi, p. 215, 1876).

[4] Like the Tahitians and Fijians of former times they have also been in the habit of using bamboo knives; these are made of the outside of a piece of bamboo, are shaped into form while green, and are then dried and charred so as to render them as hard and sharp as possible.

[5] "The mussel-shell suggested the first idea of the spoon, and still performs its functions on the Atlantic shores of Morocco" (Peschel).

[6] *Vide* "Ornamentation," paragraph 2.

[7] *Vide* Appendix B, item 76.

[8] It has already been mentioned under "Food" (paragraph 8) that the *Cyrena* is also used in opening other bivalves.

619 now passing away and I well recollect 25 years ago, though the Bojigyab were then known to us, the "coming in" of the first Balawa from the Archipelago and of the first Chariar from the extreme north and the difficulty experienced in communicating with them.

In reading the following remarks on the tribes it must always be borne in mind that the statements therein made refer largely to a state of things practically already passed away and never likely to be revived. The reader can without difficulty use his discretion in separating what is from what has been in the course of his perusal.

619 184 **Their Division into three Groups.**—The Andamanese tribes are by themselves divided into three distinct groups, having certain salient characteristics: the forms of the huts, bows and arrows, of the canoes, of ornamentation, female clothing, hair dressing, and utensils, of tattooing, and of language common generally to the group, but differing in details and sometimes entirely from those of other groups. Judged by this standard the tribal affinities may be thus stated: Northern or Yerewa Group, Chariar, Kora, Tabo, Yere, Kede; Southern or Bojigngiji Group, Bea, Balawa, Bojigyab, Juwai, Kol; Outer Group, Ônge-Jarawa, who do not tattoo. Some of the tribes are divided into septs, fairly well defined under headmen and with a local area of their own, but not under any separate designation.

The Distinctions between the Groups.—It is worth while bringing together this remarkable series of differences dividing the Andamanese into three divisions; differences that more or less run through all matters concerning them.

[304] (1) *Tattooing.*—Bojigngiji; women are the tattooers cutting the skin slightly with small flakes of quartz or glass in patterns of zigzags or in straight vertical lines; face, ears, genitals, arm and knee pits are excepted. Men and women are tattooed alike. Yerewa; men are the tattooers, cutting the skin deeply with iron pig-arrow heads: short horizontal parallel cuts in three or five lines down the back and front of the trunk, round the anus and legs. Women are tattooed thus as life advances. Ônge-Jarawa; no tattooing.

[302] (2) *Hair.*—Bojigngiji; partial to complete shaving of head. Yerewa; long matted ringlets touching the shoulders. Ônge-Jarawas; closely cropped head to a mop. Ônge-Jarawa women are not shaved.

[291] (3) *Ornaments and female clothing.*—Bojigngiji women wear a bunch of five or six leaves in front: Yerewa women a loose tassel of narrow strips of bark: Ônge-Jarawa a bunching tassel of fibre. Bojigngiji women are most particular as to clothing: Yerewa women careless. Jarawa women are apt to be quite unclothed. Bojigngijis and Yerewas smear their faces with grey clay mixed with water, white clay in delicate patterns imitating the tattoo marks, red ochre mixed with turtle fat and almond oil in coarse undefined patterns. Ônge-Jarawas, with yellow clay mixed with water in coarse patches, red ochre mixed with the above mentioned oils on the head. Ônge-Jarawas wear no bone ornaments.

[302]

[531] (4) *Ornamentation of utensils.*—Bojigngiji and Yerewas, slight: Ônge-Jarawas delicate and elaborate.

[323] (5) *Pots.*—Bojigngijis, pots with rounded bottom: Ônge-Jarawas and Yerewas with pointed bottom.

[412] (6) *Implements.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas, coarse and rough in manufacture: Ônge-Jarawas, often delicate and neat.

[285] (7) *Baskets.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas have a 'kick' and stand well: Ônge-Jarawas have uneven bottom and stand badly.

[411] (8) *Bows and arrows.*—Bojigngiji, *karama* bow and large arrows. Yerewa, *chokio* bow and small arrows. Ônge-Jarawa, curved long bow and long arrows.

(9) *Arrows.*—Generally common in type to all tribes: long with plain straight point, long with straight point and barbs, short with broad detachable barbed head for pigs.* Ônge-Jarawas and Yerewas, multiple headed arrows for fish.

(10) *Harpoons.*—For turtle, dugongs, and large fish among Bojigngijis and Yerewas: none among the Ônge-Jarawas.

* As the pig runs off, the trailing shaft is at once caught by something in the jungle and the animal is thus brought up short.

765 neck, usually, but not always, by the widow, widower or nearest relative. Mourning closes with a ceremonial dance and the removal of the clay. The ceremonies connected with the disposal of the dead are conventional, reverential and by no means without elaboration in detail.

V. Arts.

324 **Stone Implements.**—The only stone cutting implement known to the Andamanese is the quartz flake chipped off, never worked, and held between the fingers for shaving and tattooing, and shells and fish bones are used for the small blades of the peculiar adze of this people, and for arrow points, scraping and cutting. A *cyrena* valve is the ordinary knife and scraper. Hammers, anvils, hones, and oven-stones consist of natural stones. They have never made celts.

177 The ends of glass bottles for some years, and iron from wrecks for a long time past, have been substituted for the indigenous implements, when and where procurable. The object of the long series of murderous raids made by the inland Jarawas on the outlying parts of the Penal Settlement has now been proved to have been made in search for iron. The implements on the whole are coarsely and roughly made.

411 **Weapons.**—The weapons of the Andamanese are bow and arrow, harpoon, fish spear, pig spear, and they have never had any notion of poisoning the blades, which however sometimes inflict dangerous septic wounds from dirt, though as a rule they are kept bright as a matter of pride. Barbed arrows and harpoons with loose heads are used for catching and pulling up game in the jungles and marking where turtle or large fish are sinking.

Domestic Arts.—Excellent information with illustrations on the domestic and other arts of the Andamanese is to be found in a minutely accurate work, Man's *Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands.*

283 **String and Netting.**—String for nets and all purposes is twisted, often neatly, from the inner bark of creepers. Large nets of this string are made for driving turtle and hand-nets for prawns and small fish and for wallets. Stout cord is made from the inner bark of the *melochia velutina.* Whole, split and scraped canes are used as binders.

285 **Weaving.**—The weaving is good, neat and stout, and baskets and mats are thus well made from strips of canes.

323 **Pottery.**—The unglazed circular clay cooking pots with rounded or pointed bottoms, to the Andamanese very valuable, are built up by hand, sun-dried and then baked, but not thoroughly, in the fire. They are often encased in basket work for safety. Their manufacture, form and ornament are typical of the Stone Age generally.

322 **Wood and Cane work.**—Buckets are hollowed out of wood or cut from the joints of the bamboo. Canoes are hollowed out of whole trunks of light, soft timber by the adze without the use of fire, do not last long and are only fair sea boats. They are however capable of holding many people and a good deal of light cargo.

301 **Ornamentation, Personal and Domestic.**—The personal ornaments made are—bunches and strips of fibres and leaves scraped, cut and hammered, fringes of dentalium shells and straw-coloured wreaths of hammered and roasted dendrobium bark. The bones, skulls and jawbones of deceased relatives are also used whole, or broken and scraped to fancy or requirement, as ornaments, besides necklaces of the bones of animals. Tattooing and painting the body are only ornamental to the extent that, in the latter case especially, deviations from the conventional designs are due to personal taste.

353 The only ornaments to dwellings and huts are the heads of turtle, pigs, iguana, paradoxurus killed in hunting. These are hung up partly as ornaments and partly as trophies, but not with any idea of record.

531 Every manufactured article has its own customary conventional line ornament in one or more of three colours and in one or more of eleven patterns approximately achieved only. The colours are red, white and brown from natural earths. The patterns are (1) chevrons, (2) close cross hatch, (3) wide cross hatch, (4) parallel lines, (5) parallels and chevrons combined, (6) lozenges, (7) plait or guilloche, (8) herring-bone, (9) cross cuts, (10) loops, (11) vandyke with scolloped bands and cross lines.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

312 caracases of small animals. During the droughts, marine hermit crabs, of
271 which a profusion is found in Little Andaman even far from the sea-shore,
[196] often choose to die in fresh-water pools. They are not removed from the pools.
[415] A nautilus shell is sometimes used as a drinking vessel ; failing this, the Onge
[516] lap up the water like animals, on all fours, directly from the pool. Since they are
291 very fond of dogs, man and dog drink together from the same tiny pool, often holding no more than a few pints of water. Dogs reached Great Andaman as early as 1857 ; they came to Little Andaman much later. Before that time there were no dogs in the Andamanese Archipelago. They soon became the natives' cherished and much appreciated assistants in the hunting of wild pigs. Many unhygienic habits followed the appearance of dogs in the Andamans.

271 The Onge have no idea of boiling water for the purpose of disinfection ;
[47] nevertheless their health does not appear to suffer at all as a result of the pol-
123 luted water they drink. When, in 1952, I dug a well near the left bank of Dugong Creek on the north-east coast of Little Andaman, I was compelled to fence it in so as to prevent dogs from drinking it and bathing in it.

264 Dogs lick everything that smells of food, including the cooking pots,
[281] and the pots are not washed before use after the dogs have licked them.
[136] Swarms of flies of different species and small coleoptera of a brilliant blue colour, one of them 6 mms long, follow the dogs after they have "cleaned" the pots by licking them. They line the inside of the pots with a crawling, living coat, moving restlessly around in search of food. One species of fly, which is of a brilliant, metallic green colour, has a peculiarly disagreeable smell. All the flies lay eggs while feeding, but the eggs are soon devoured by the hovering bluish coleoptera. Thus in a few hours all traces of organic matter disappear from the pots. Subsequent exposure to fire undoubtedly destroys the germs that would otherwise be certainly dangerous to human beings.

415 The Onge no longer use indigenous pottery for cooking. Its disappearance
177 is recent, as the sherds that litter Little Andaman prove to the investigator.
[323] Excavation in modern kitchen-middens leads to the same conclusion. During the last war, quantities of empty petrol drums were washed up on the Andaman shores. They were found in such numbers that the Onge have not yet used them all up : after 1952 I found several of these containers abandoned, untouched, in the jungle. The primitive inhabitants sawed each container in two cylindrical halves, thus transforming them into cooking pots. The result was that within a few years the fragile ancestral pottery of the Onge disappeared altogether. Furthermore, aluminium pots were distributed among the natives after 1952. Probably the indigenous pottery will never again reappear.
[252] Each half of a petrol drum is large enough to contain a pig, or a turtle weighing
262 150 lbs, cut into pieces. Only the flesh of these animals is consumed by the
[231] Onge ; the nourishing broth is poured out onto the ground or left in the pot to be lapped up by the dogs. The Onge believe that broth is unhealthy and avoid drinking it.

251 No matter how prodigious the catch of sardines or other fish, unobtain-
[185] able at other times of the year, no attempt is made at storing part of it in view of future shortage. The Onge are unacquainted with methods for preserv-

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

Another item of material culture found during the above expedition was a few unbaked pots which show that the Jarawa manufacture earthenware articles – an art not reported so far from among the Onge. Coiled pottery was known among the Andamanese (MAN, 1932). It can be found in the Andamanese kitchen middens as well. 323

The present writer had the opportunity of being twice after the trail of the South Andaman Jarawa in the year 1948. During these two tours a large number of ethnographic objects of the Jarawa was collected. They are now deposited at the office of the Anthropological Survey of India [1], Indian Museum, Calcutta. 126

It was known that the Jarawa were using Bluff and Spike Islands as temporary halting stations in their to-and-fro migrations from South Andaman to Middle Andaman. In September 1938, a pregnant Jarawa woman and four young children (SARKAR, 1952) were captured while they were crossing on a raft on the coast off Bluff Island. A few of their haunts were known to the then officers of the local forest department. 166

In 1948 while the present writer was camping at Long Island, studying the Andamanese, two such opportunities-of visiting the Jarawa areas arose. The presence of the Jarawa north of Port Anson was reported to us. We left for Port Anson in a motor launch on March 7th 1948, in the company of an Andamanese – whose canoe was tied behind our launch – under the leadership, of Mr. Joseph, the then Sub-divisional Officer of the forest department. We had one gun only and a *dao* (billhook) each. 123

We passed through Homfray Strait and, reaching Port Anson, we went along the western coast of Middle Andaman. We then anchored our vessel off Foul Bay and came ashore in the Andamanese canoe. This flat open coast is known to be a good place for deer hunting and the animals could be seen from the sea. When the deer were not seen from the canoe we presumed that some human beings had been there shortly before; we suspected them to be Jarawa. Soon we discovered on the beach small footprints, which both Mr. JOSEPH and the Andamanese recognized as Jarawa ones. We traced them inside the jungle and came across a small fire which was still smouldering. A few yards away we found two bags for carrying water made of leaves (fig. 2) which were still wet. The few drops therein tasted sweet. We walked about for some time since the footprints could no longer be traced. There seemed to have been only two people. We then came to Bluff Island along the east coast of Spike Island but found nothing of the Jarawa. [415] [415]

Fig. 2

[1] Thanks are due to its Director, Professor NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE for his kindness in helping the writer with the illustrations of this paper.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

the felling of the tree, chiselling the lumber and processing it further to give the shape of a canoe. Buckets of wood are also constructed by them from the softwood tree. Two types of baskets are made, the smaller ones are more well-finished than the bigger ones. The former is known as *tolcoaga* and the later *tole-laya*. Such activities have introduced the use of dahs, chisels, and iron files among the Onges, from the iron pieces derived from the sea shores. The other important pieces of their craftsmanship are the beautiful weavings of fibre, tussel of yellow fibre used by the women in their front. However, the art of making the earthen pots has been completely forgotten.

The leisure in their lives has helped the development of some amount of aesthetic senses among the Onges. All the Onges men and women shave their heads with flakes of glass, obtained from the sea-borne glass bottles. The body of the Onges are also painted with white clay which save their skin from insect-bite while red paint serves medicinal purposes if some individual is having fever. In times of mourning, red orchre paint is a taboo.[1]

Early marriage is the custom. The widows are looked down upon by the society. Some incidents of widow murder and drowning are heard. In the married life, the husband is devoted to his wife and both the husband and wife work for collecting their food.

Dances and songs are in vogue and there are practically songs for every occasion and activity. Most of their songs are more plaintive than joyous.

There are three broad divisions of the Onges of the Little Andaman :

(1) *Giremeka-Gobeule* group inhabiting the northeastern coast of the island ;

(2) *Engakwale group* live in the interior of the islands ; and

(3) *Gireraragobeule group* live in the southern and western coasts of the islands.

In spite of all the limitations, the Onges have been considered as one of the happiest people of the world with plenty of food and water to eat and drink and with very few social cankers to fight with. But as is common to all other aborigines of the Andamans, a decline in their number is discernible.

The Sentinelese

The Sentinelese are the least known of all the aborigines of the Anda-

1 The Onge of the Little Andaman—A short guide book ; Anthropological Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 . AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The Onges are the most numerous of the three peoples surviving in the Andamans. Vigorous and apparently full of promise for the future they may well offer a suitable field for the application of eugenic measures designed to increase their numbers; this would be impossible with the Jarawas owing to their hostility towards outsiders, and the few remaining Arioto are nearly all of impure stock. If their confidence could be gained, it might be possible to encourage inter-marriage between the various groups, in the hope that fertility would increase and the ultimate total extinction of Onges, Jarawas and Arioto, would be prevented.

In the Andamanese, this physiological decline has been accompanied by cultural decadence, as my digs in the kitchen-middens all over the archipelago showed. The ancient pottery which came to light is proof enough; when one compares it with recent work the latter is indicative of secondary and not original primitiveness. The successive strata in the deposits show a gradual decline from earthenware clearly made from a very refined mix to crude ware with vegetable impurities and bits of stone left in the clay. The pots dating from ancient times were clearly well fired and the quality of the clay allowed them to have thin but nevertheless very strong walls. In the present-day ware, on the other hand, the wall has to be thick because of the coarseness of the clay, making the pots both heavy and easily broken. Moreover, firing is limited to drying the pots in the sun, and the clay is in fact only hardened when the pot is used for cooking.

Ignorance of fire-making in the Andamans may also stem from this cultural regression, as one of the effects of physiological and psychological decadence. Given the absence of magico-religious beliefs among the Andamanese, ignorance of fire-making cannot be attributed to any ritual taboo or veto. On the other hand, it is in sharp contrast to the possession of elements of cultural advance such as the bow, with highly developed arrows, the harpoon with its detachable point, and the outrigger canoe.

Few races are known, even in far distant times, which never had fire. *Sinanthropus* and nearly every fossil Man after him had fire, even if he was unable to create it and could only preserve it once received from some natural combustion. The Onges, while retaining a number of ethnic characteristics of the Palaeolithic era, have

172 It is clear from this that when they first arrived in the Andamans, the Negritos had no pottery; there are no signs of it at all in the lowest levels. Before they acquired the use of earthenware, perhaps for centuries, they baked their shellfish in ashes, so that the shells became calcified; but as time went on they came to boil them, as the islanders still do today. There is a clear distinction between the ashy, fragile, almost fossilized appearance of the former, and the cleaner solidity of the latter.

172 178 323 In the lowest level in which it appears, the pottery shows signs of careful working of the clay and good firing, degenerating towards more recent times. The uppermost layers reveal the crudest ware, the clay being impure, carelessly mixed, with bits of stone in it and hardly fired at all; it appears to have been merely dried by exposure to the sun and hardened in the course of normal use, as the Onges do today. The resulting pots break easily, despite their thickness, in contrast to the thinner, but much stronger, walls of earlier pottery. They were built up by the coil technique, exactly as they are made on Chowra, the one island in the Nicobars which specializes in pottery.

172 171 323 On Great Nicobar, among the Shom-Pen, these exists also another, cruder type of pottery which is made by a very primitive method. A basket is covered with clay, and hardened in the fire without being properly fired; fragments of this type of pottery retain the marks of the basket inside. The kitchen-middens of the Andamans contain no traces of any primitive stage of this kind; instead, a somewhat refined form of earthenware appears suddenly. There are traces of ornamentation, rows of small lines, usually roughly parallel. No such ornamentation appears on the crude ware of more recent date, however.

171 323 Andamanese pots have always been made with a pointed base which prevents their standing upright, so that they have to be carried in baskets, exactly like those of the Shom-Pen, who make their pots in complete ignorance of the Andamanese and Chowra pottery.

Pottery did not form part of the culture of the Negritos of ancient times. Neither the Semang of Malacca nor the Aetà of the Philippines, their last remnants, nor the Andamanese, had any. The custom of hollowing out logs for use as vessels, and the continuing use of the earth oven, doubtless made the absence of any pottery no hardship.

325 islanders, in the absence of any means of working it, have not fully realized.

3 IGNORANCE OF FIRE

372 174 The islanders' present ignorance of fire-making may possibly be the result of cultural decline, but this is not certain. In the presence of the considerable additional evidence in favour of the antiquity of the Andamanese culture it is, however, more likely that it is genuine ignorance, persisting in a pre-lithic people.

4 ABSENCE OF SALT

174 263 Although there can be no proof, it can be reasonably postulated that very primitive Man had no salt, and that in the Andamans this ignorance has persisted over thousands of years, owing to strict isolation. It is unlikely that the use of salt would have been completely lost, had it ever been introduced.

5 PRIMITIVE METHODS OF COOKING

252 172 Apart from the accidental and very recent introduction of petrol-drum cooking, the Andamanese use only the most primitive form of earth oven. This method of cooking was certainly known in the Palaeolithic era; at the entrance to the well-known Barma Grande cave near Mentone I have myself seen in the basal layers a number of stones bearing the marks of fire, too numerous merely to have formed some sort of hearth, and clearly not used to support cooking-pots, as Palaeolithic Man had none which would have withstood heat. The form of earth oven still used throughout the Andamans is undoubtedly of extreme antiquity.

6 FOOD VESSELS

415 285 172 The people of the Andamans still use for honey hollowed-out logs similar to those seen in Palaeolithic wall paintings, which also depict baskets very like those still in use throughout the archipelago. The art of basket-making can be traced back at least to the later Palaeolithic era.

7 USE OF POTTERY

323 172 As with the other Negrito peoples, pottery was unknown in the earliest culture of the Andamans. Its appearance seems from the evidence of the

11: Ciprianí E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

kitchen-middens to have been contemporaneous with the introduction of the pig, i.e. to have been introduced by outsiders. It would be possible, using radio carbon methods, to calculate this date more accurately, but on purely archaeological evidence the introduction of pottery would appear to have occurred some five thousand years ago. 323 172

8 ABSENCE OF CANNIBALISM

If we may accept the evidence of the kitchen-middens, there has never at any time been cannibalism in the Andamans, although the practice certainly existed in the later Palaeolithic era; the Andamanese must thus have been isolated in the archipelago long before the practice became widespread. 172 266

9 DRINK

The Andamanese ignorance of any drink other than water may be regarded as additional evidence of the great antiquity of their culture. 273 174

10 ABSENCE OF CLOTHING

The Jarawas of both sexes have always remained completely naked. The Onges have only in comparatively recent times adopted a form of genital covering for their womenfolk; this custom has spread as far as the north of Great Andaman, and it seems probable that the separation of the Jarawas from the Onges dates from this time. 291 178 174 184

11 ABSENCE OF TATTOOING

All primitive peoples who are habitually completely naked adorn the body in some way. The Onges have never progressed beyond the early stage of painting themselves with ochre, and do not tattoo. Their sole ornaments are small necklaces of tusk shells, strips of bark, and sometimes flowers. In all this they resemble the Tasmans (see, however, p. 143 for certain important differences), who seem to have remained in an equally early stage of cultural development. 30 171

12 TOTEMISM AND THE CLAN

Here again the complete absence of any traces appears to indicate isolation before the spread of these very ancient concepts. Neither the Onges nor the Jarawas have ever progressed beyond the stage of independent groups of families. 174 61 621

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

441 The true fish-spear is unknown in the Andamans though use is sometimes made of a harpoon similar to the turtle harpoon, but of smaller dimensions and with a finer line, for harpooning fish.

227 In the North Andaman a sort of fish-gig was formerly in use made of about twelve pieces of *Areca* wood of about 105 to 110 cm. long and 1 cm. or less broad and with tapered and sharp-pointed ends. These were fastened side by side by means of a strip of wood near one end, as shown in Fig. 26. This weapon was used for spearing small fish in pools on the reef.

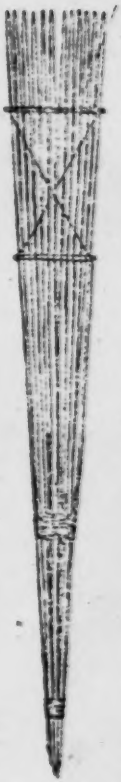


Fig. 26. North Andaman fish-gig

CUTTING IMPLEMENTS.

412 At the present time the Andamanese make use of iron for their cutting implements. It is uncertain when 177 they first learnt the use of iron, but it was certainly before the end of the eighteenth century. What iron they had was obtained from wrecks, of which there have always been a number on the Andamans. The metal has only become plentiful since the European settlement of 1858.

412 It is highly probable that the Andamanese, though they may have learnt the use of iron from implements 325 used by visitors to their shores, have not learnt from any other people the method of working the metal. Even at the present day they do not make any use of heat in the manufacture of their iron implements, the metal being worked cold. It seems highly probable that they have simply adopted in connection with iron the methods they formerly used in dealing with other materials, particularly shells.

The materials used by the Andamanese, apart from iron, are wood, bone, shell and stone. We may begin by considering their use of stone.

412 In former times quartz flakes were used by the Andamanese for the two purposes of shaving and scarifying the skin, and for hardly any 324 other purpose. (Among minor uses of stone flakes may be mentioned those of cutting the finger-nails, and sharpening boars' tusks.) A quartz pebble is held in the left hand and is struck with a hard rounded pebble of any suitable kind. A flake is thus knocked off and falls into the palm of the left hand. The flake is examined, and if it be suitable it is

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

at once used. If it be unsuitable it is thrown away and another made. For shaving, flakes with a sharp blade-like edge are required; for scarifying, flakes with a fine point are preferred. A flake is used till its fine edge is lost and is then thrown away and another made. Thus a woman who is shaving some one's head may use as many as twenty flakes one after another, and to obtain twenty suitable flakes she probably makes as many as forty or even more. The kitchen-middens or heaps of refuse that are found on the sites of old encampments contain thousands of quartz pebbles that have been used as cores, and thousands of flakes. 412 324

Besides quartz there is a flinty kind of stone that is used in much the same way for making flakes. Suitable pieces of the stone are obtained and are placed in the fire for a few hours. They are taken out, and when they are cold are used in exactly the same way as a quartz pebble.

At the present time quartz is hardly ever used in this way, for the natives greatly prefer glass, and they obtain sufficient old bottles from Port Blair to satisfy their requirements. The bottom of a bottle is treated in every way as though it was a quartz pebble, a flake being knocked off and used, and then another and so on till the operation in hand (whether shaving or scarifying) is completed. The flake is held between the thumb and first finger when it is being used. In no case is a flake of quartz or glass ever kept. It is only made when required and after having been used is thrown away.

The natives themselves say that they formerly never made any use of stone for cutting purposes save in the case of stone flakes as described above. As against this there are three statements that must be considered. Colebrooke, who visited the islands in 1789, says of the Andamanese that "their canoes are hollowed out of the trunks of trees by means of fire and instruments of stone, having no iron in use amongst them, except such utensils as they have procured from the Europeans and sailors who have lately visited these islands; or from the wrecks of vessels formerly stranded on their coasts." The accuracy of Colebrooke's statement is made doubtful by the fact that at the present time (since 1858) the natives do not use fire in making their canoes, and it seems improbable that if they had this custom in 1789 they should have discontinued it and have entirely forgotten that it ever existed. Further if they used implements of stone in 1789 it is certainly strange that by 1858 they should have entirely forgotten that they ever did so. When Mr Man was making his enquiries

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

412 the oldest men all agreed in stating that they never used stone
324 for their adzes. We may conclude that Colebrooke's statement is untrustworthy.

Stoliczka records the finding in the South Andaman of a stone celt and a stone arrow-head in the kitchen-middens of the South Andaman. The chief reason for doubting the value of this find is that Stoliczka states that these implements were made of tertiary sandstone, which it is very hard to believe would be of any use whatever. We may therefore adopt the opinion of M. Lapicque[1] that Stoliczka had found fragments of a whet-stone of sandstone and had been mislead into thinking that he had found an axe and an arrow-head.

A third statement that needs to be considered is one by Mr Portman, who presented to the British Museum an arrow with a head of stone made specially for him by a native of the North Andaman who stated that in former times such arrow-heads were used by the Andamanese. At the present time the arrow-head is broken and it would seem to be so fragile as to be entirely worthless for the purpose to which it was supposed to be put. The natives of the North Andaman whom I questioned stated that they did not use stone for their arrow-heads, but shell. We may therefore hold that the evidence given by Mr Portman is not at all satisfactory.

In the Akar-Bale tribe I heard a legend that at a certain spot there is a kind of stone which was used by the ancestors for making adzes. I visited the spot and the stone was pointed out to me. Unfortunately the specimen that I took was lost and I am therefore unable to state what the stone was, but it was such that it would have been utterly impossible to make any sort of adze out of it. It was of a crystalline nature and was easily fractured by a blow against even a soft substance such as wood. It was clear that the native statements about it were merely a legend having no historical value.

We may justifiably conclude that it is probable that the statement of the natives to the effect that before they possessed iron in any quantity they made their adzes and arrow-heads out of shell and not out of stone, is correct. Their use of stone for cutting was therefore confined to the flakes which have been described.

412 The most important material to the Andamanese seems to have
321 been shell. Mollusc shells were used in the natural form or after having been manufactured. The chief shell used in its natural form is

[1] Lapicque, "Ethnographie des Iles Andaman," *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, 1894, p. 370.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Metallurgy.—Having been, till comparatively recent times, ignorant almost of the existence as well as of the uses of iron, it is not to be wondered at that smelting and forging have been to them unknown arts. Now that they are better informed, and are able to procure pieces of hoop-iron, keel-plate, &c., they apply them to the manufacture of their blades and adzes, reducing them to the required thinness by continually striking the cold metal with a hard smooth stone (*tai·li-ban·a-*[1]) on a rude anvil (*râ·rap-*) of the same substance; such portions of the iron as are then found to exceed the dimensions requisite for the weapon or tool under construction are placed over the edge of the anvil and broken off by dint of repeated blows: the new edge thus formed, being more or less jagged, is then ground on a hone till the blade assumes the desired shape. Many of the aborigines who have been living for some time at Port Blair have, however, advanced a stage beyond this, for, by using such old chisels as they may succeed in procuring, they contrive to make their arrow-heads and other implements much more speedily than by the old method. The pointed weapons, *e.g.*, the *kowai·a-* and *tô·lbō·d-*, are made from pieces of stout wire, large nails, &c., by dint of laborious and patient hammering on the *râ·rap-*, and grinding on the *tâ·lag-*. 325

Stone Implements.—1. Although a great portion of the inhabitants of Great Andaman have for some time past been able through us to procure iron in sufficient quantities to substitute it for stone (not to mention bones and shells), still they can by no means be said to have passed out of the stone age; indeed, the more distant tribes still retain the use, with scarcely any modification, of most of the stone and other implements which served their ancestors. Even the inmates of the homes at Port Blair may still often be seen employing one or other of them, evidently therefore from choice: this more especially refers to the first three in the following list,[2] which comprises the small number of stone implements in ordinary use among the present aboriginal inhabitants of the islands:— 324 412

râ·rap-, the anvil.

tai·li-ban·a-, the hammer (probably a smooth round piece of dolerite or fine-grained basalt).

tâ·lag-, the whetstone (consisting of slightly micaceous sandstone).

tô·lma lô·ko tūg-[3] (lit., *quartz tooth*), chips or flakes for shaving, tattooing, &c.

[1] *Vide* next section, paragraph 1.

[2] There are no special makers, or procurers, of these stones.

[3] These are either fragments of opaque whitish vein quartz, or of transparent rock crystal, or are obtained from pebbles of opaque bluish-white quartz with

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

324
412
324

lá-, cooking stones; common pebbles, about a couple of inches in diameter, which are heated, and then placed on all sides of the food which it is intended to cook.

2. When a new *whetstone* is required—as no method of cutting stone is known to them—a block of soft sandstone is chosen, which, if too large, is placed on a fire till it breaks; the piece best adapted for the purpose is then taken and shaped according to fancy, by the aid of one of the hard smooth stone hammers; after being used a short time the edges wear down, and it answers as a hone for several months.[1]

3. Chips and flakes are never used more than once; in fact, several are generally employed in each operation: those having a sharp blade-like edge are reserved for shaving, while others with a fine point are kept for tattooing or scarifying; when done with they are thrown on a refuse heap, or otherwise disposed of, lest injury should befall anyone by inadvertently treading on them. [462] Flaking is regarded as one of the duties of women, and is usually performed by them.[2]

4. For making *chips* two pieces of white quartz are needed; the stones are not pressed against the thigh, nor are they bound round tightly so as to increase the line of least resistance to the blow of the flaker; but one of the pieces is first heated and afterwards allowed to cool, it is then held firmly and struck at right angles with the other stone: by this means is obtained in a few moments a number of fragments suitable for the purposes above mentioned. A certain knack is apparently necessary in order to produce the kind of chips which are at the time required: the smallest flakes are obtained in the same manner and never by pressure.

5. Glass chips are now generally used by all who are in communication with ourselves, in preference to those of flint, as they are sharper and more effective; the method in which they are obtained is the same, the thick lump of glass forming the bottom of beer and wine bottles being selected for the purpose, and never the thinner portions.

6. It has been stated[3] that formerly, for tattooing, a "sharpened flint bound to a stick" was used, and that the present instrument is a bit of broken bottle "inserted into the split extremity of a stick;" no instance has, however, been found confirmatory of the words quoted, and the Andamanese

fatty lustre, thin chips of which are translucent at the edges. (For this description I am indebted to Mr. F. W. Rudler.)

[1] For the mode of use *vide* Appendix B, item 52.

[2] All women can scarify and act as barbers, but only about 50 per cent. of them undertake the more difficult task of tattooing.

[3] *Vide* Dr. Day.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

themselves declare that they never haft the stone chips or glass flakes, and that the former are never "sharpened," but produced in the manner already described. 324

7. Quartz is commonly met with throughout the country occupied by the tribes with which we are in friendly intercourse; no difficulty, therefore, is ever experienced in obtaining *it*, or, indeed, *any* of the other varieties of stone which they use. It is employed for no other purposes than those here indicated, as has been assumed,[1] and the art of producing fire by its means is unknown to them.[2] [135]

8. The whetstone and hammer only are offered as mediums of exchange, but no great value is attached to either of these objects, nor is any superstition associated with their usage: they are therefore—when no longer serviceable—cast aside. [436]

9. Stones are not used by them for cutting wood or bone, the latter being usually crushed by a hammer for the sake of the marrow. Before the introduction of iron, small holes were bored with bone or pieces of shell, but rarely, if ever, with stone, and no implement has been found which might be supposed to have served as a stone saw or scraper, for which purposes shells apparently have been generally employed.[3]

10. In his "Note on the Kjokken-Möddings of the Andaman Islands" the late Dr. Stoliczka also refers to a celt found in one of these refuse heaps as "a small but typical arrow-head," and describes it as of tertiary sandstone. The Andamanese, however, maintain that they never, even when iron was scarce, made arrow-heads, axes, adzes, or chisels of stone; they also affirm that the fragments which have been found in the kitchen-middens, and which have given rise to the impression of having formerly served one or other of the above purposes are merely quartz flakes or broken pieces of cooking stones or hones which, in former times as now, were thrown among the rubbish when no longer of use.[4] 324 172

11. Stones are not regarded as thunderbolts or worn as amulets: they are not placed in water previous to their being worked, and holes are never bored in them, nor is the surface ever ground or polished. 324

[1] "From the flint they manufactured knives . . . and arrow-heads" (de Röepstorff), and elsewhere he speaks of "flint hatchets," which not improbably were as much unknown in former times as at the present day. *Perna ephippium* (*ē·la-*) shells were formerly sharpened and converted into arrow-heads: hence *ē·la-* has ever since been adopted as the name of the bladed (or pig) arrow, even although iron has now been entirely or very generally substituted for shell. Adze blades were, it seems, sometimes made of *Pinna* shells.

[2] *Vide ante* "Fire," paragraphs 1 and 4.

[3] *Vide ante* "Natural Forms," paragraph 1.

[4] *Vide* my remarks on this subject in Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi, p. 271.

765 neck, usually, but not always, by the widow, widower or nearest relative. Mourning closes with a ceremonial dance and the removal of the clay. The ceremonies connected with the disposal of the dead are conventional, reverential and by no means without elaboration in detail.

V. Arts.

324 **Stone Implements.**—The only stone cutting implement known to the Andamanese is the quartz flake chipped off, never worked, and held between the fingers for shaving and tattooing, and shells and fish bones are used for the small blades of the peculiar adze of this people, and for arrow points, scraping and cutting. A *cyrena* valve is the ordinary knife and scraper. Hammers, anvils, hones, and oven-stones consist of natural stones. They have never made celts.

177 The ends of glass bottles for some years, and iron from wrecks for a long time past, have been substituted for the indigenous implements, when and where procurable. The object of the long series of murderous raids made by the inland Jarawas on the outlying parts of the Penal Settlement has now been proved to have been made in search for iron. The implements on the whole are coarsely and roughly made.

411 **Weapons.**—The weapons of the Andamanese are bow and arrow, harpoon, fish spear, pig spear, and they have never had any notion of poisoning the blades, which however sometimes inflict dangerous septic wounds from dirt, though as a rule they are kept bright as a matter of pride. Barbed arrows and harpoons with loose heads are used for catching and pulling up game in the jungles and marking where turtle or large fish are sinking.

Domestic Arts.—Excellent information with illustrations on the domestic and other arts of the Andamanese is to be found in a minutely accurate work, Man's *Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands.*

283 **String and Netting.**—String for nets and all purposes is twisted, often neatly, from the inner bark of creepers. Large nets of this string are made for driving turtle and hand-nets for prawns and small fish and for wallets. Stout cord is made from the inner bark of the *melochia velutina.* Whole, split and scraped canes are used as binders.

285 **Weaving.**—The weaving is good, neat and stout, and baskets and mats are thus well made from strips of canes.

323 **Pottery.**—The unglazed circular clay cooking pots with rounded or pointed bottoms, to the Andamanese very valuable, are built up by hand, sun-dried and then baked, but not thoroughly, in the fire. They are often encased in basket work for safety. Their manufacture, form and ornament are typical of the Stone Age generally.

322 **Wood and Cane work.**—Buckets are hollowed out of wood or cut from the joints of the bamboo. Canoes are hollowed out of whole trunks of light, soft timber by the adze without the use of fire, do not last long and are only fair sea boats. They are however capable of holding many people and a good deal of light cargo.

301 **Ornamentation, Personal and Domestic.**—The personal ornaments made are—bunches and strips of fibres and leaves scraped, cut and hammered, fringes of dentalium shells and straw-coloured wreaths of hammered and roasted dendrobium bark. The bones, skulls and jawbones of deceased relatives are also used whole, or broken and scraped to fancy or requirement, as ornaments, besides necklaces of the bones of animals. Tattooing and painting the body are only ornamental to the extent that, in the latter case especially, deviations from the conventional designs are due to personal taste.

353 The only ornaments to dwellings and huts are the heads of turtle, pigs, iguana, paradoxurus killed in hunting. These are hung up partly as ornaments and partly as trophies, but not with any idea of record.

531 Every manufactured article has its own customary conventional line ornament in one or more of three colours and in one or more of eleven patterns approximately achieved only. The colours are red, white and brown from natural earths. The patterns are (1) chevrons, (2) close cross hatch, (3) wide cross hatch, (4) parallel lines, (5) parallels and chevrons combined, (6) lozenges, (7) plait or guilloche, (8) herring-bone, (9) cross cuts, (10) loops, (11) vandyke with scolloped bands and cross lines.

Appendix

Below is given a brief summary of the evidence which in the author's opinion supports his view that the culture of the Andaman Islanders dates back at least to the Palaeolithic era. 172

1 ABSENCE OF STONE IMPLEMENTS

There are in the Andamans abundant sources of stones suitable for shaping into tools. Despite this I found no traces whatever of any stone implements even in the lowest strata of the kitchen-middens, nor is there any evidence of their being used either in the more recent past or at the present time. Until the very recent introduction of iron the Onges always (as the kitchen-middens confirm) made tools solely of wood, with the addition of parts made from *Tridacna* shells, shaped by long and patient rubbing against stone. The only objects remotely approaching the definition of stone implements are the splinters of quartz or obsidian which are carried in the hair, and used as razors or, in the Arioto only, for primitive tattooing. These splinters, which are in no way shaped after being broken off, are thrown away as soon as they become blunt, and a new piece of quartz is crudely struck from a lump, by men or women indiscriminately. The existence of this one stone implement does not, in my view, justify the classification of the Onges (or the Andamanese in general) as a true Palaeolithic people; it would be more reasonable to class them as prelithic. 172 324 [177] [322] [321] [412] [181]

2 ABSENCE OF METAL WORKING

Even today the Onges' knowledge of metal working is confined to rubbing pieces of iron against stone to reduce them to the required shape. They have no knowledge of how to forge it, nor have they the tools to do so. Iron is clearly a very recent introduction, the importance of which the 325

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 cut, and the arrow is served with thread of *Anadendron* fibre for about 1·6 cm. above the nock, in order to prevent splitting. At the other end the shaft is hollowed out to a depth of about a centimetre. This hollowing is done with the point of a fish-arrow or other similar piece of pointed iron. For a distance of about 1·5 cm. the end of the shaft is served over with thread of *Anadendron* fibre, so as to prevent it from splitting.

The fore-shaft consists of a piece of tough wood one end of which is cut to such a size that it will fit fairly tightly into the hollow at the end of the shaft. At the other end it is split so as to admit the head.

411 325 The head[1] consists of a piece of iron broken into shape with the aid of a stone hammer and then ground down and sharpened on a whetstone or with a file if one be obtainable. The usual shape is shown in Fig. 17. The head is inserted into the split end of the fore-shaft and the end of the latter is then served over with thread. A few centimetres below the head either one or two sharp-pointed pieces of iron wire are placed against the fore-shaft in the same plane as the head and are bound firmly to it with the thread, so as to provide a barb or barbs.

411 283 A cord is made and one end of it is attached to the shaft and the other end to the fore-shaft. This cord is made as follows. A number of strands of *Anadendron* fibre are taken and waxed with bees'-wax. These are made into a cord by the same method as that described in connection with the Great Andaman bow-string, one strand being wrapped round the others. About 40 cm. of single cord is made in this way and the two ends are tied together. A piece of elastic wood is bent into the form of an arc and the loop of cord is placed over this so that it is stretched tight. A length of thread (of *Anadendron* fibre) is made and wound on to a fine netting needle or on to a thin slip of wood, and the two cords as they are stretched side by side are bound together with this thread by the process known as "nippering" (Fig. 19). In this way a firm and strong flattened cord is produced. One end of this is fastened to the fore-shaft immediately above the end that fits into the shaft. The other end is fastened to the shaft a few centimetres from the end, leaving a short length of the shaft around which the cord may be spirally wound when the arrow is in use. (Fig. 18.)

411 Finally, the thread on the fore-shaft, i.e. that which holds the head and barbs in place, and also that which serves to attach the end of the cord, are covered with the composition already described as used on fish-arrows.

[1] [Head of pig-arrow — Analyst]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

441 The true fish-spear is unknown in the Andamans though use is sometimes made of a harpoon similar to the turtle harpoon, but of smaller dimensions and with a finer line, for harpooning fish.

227 In the North Andaman a sort of fish-gig was formerly in use made of about twelve pieces of *Areca* wood of about 105 to 110 cm. long and 1 cm. or less broad and with tapered and sharp-pointed ends. These were fastened side by side by means of a strip of wood near one end, as shown in Fig. 26. This weapon was used for spearing small fish in pools on the reef.

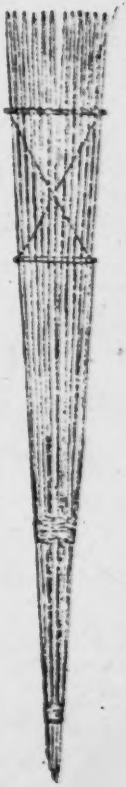


Fig. 26. North Andaman fish-gig

CUTTING IMPLEMENTS.

412 At the present time the Andamanese make use of iron for their cutting implements. It is uncertain when 177 they first learnt the use of iron, but it was certainly before the end of the eighteenth century. What iron they had was obtained from wrecks, of which there have always been a number on the Andamans. The metal has only become plentiful since the European settlement of 1858.

412 It is highly probable that the Andamanese, though they may have learnt the use of iron from implements 325 used by visitors to their shores, have not learnt from any other people the method of working the metal. Even at the present day they do not make any use of heat in the manufacture of their iron implements, the metal being worked cold. It seems highly probable that they have simply adopted in connection with iron the methods they formerly used in dealing with other materials, particularly shells.

The materials used by the Andamanese, apart from iron, are wood, bone, shell and stone. We may begin by considering their use of stone.

412 In former times quartz flakes were used by the Andamanese for the two purposes of shaving and scarifying the skin, and for hardly any 324 other purpose. (Among minor uses of stone flakes may be mentioned those of cutting the finger-nails, and sharpening boars' tusks.) A quartz pebble is held in the left hand and is struck with a hard rounded pebble of any suitable kind. A flake is thus knocked off and falls into the palm of the left hand. The flake is examined, and if it be suitable it is

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

hands of an Andaman Islander is a very efficient implement, producing a beautifully smooth and even surface. 412 321

Of wood the Andamanese formerly made knives and arrow-points. The knives were made of a slip of bamboo or cane shaped and sharpened with a *Cyrena* shell. Such knives were used for cutting meat and apparently for no other purpose. A knife was always attached by a short length of cord to a skewer of pointed *Areca* wood. The double implement was used in cooking and eating, the skewer serving to lift pieces of meat in and out of a pot, while the knife served to cut them. At the present time the cane or bamboo knife is replaced by a knife made from hoop-iron, but the shape of the original implement is retained as nearly as possible and a skewer of *Areca* wood is generally attached to it. 412 322

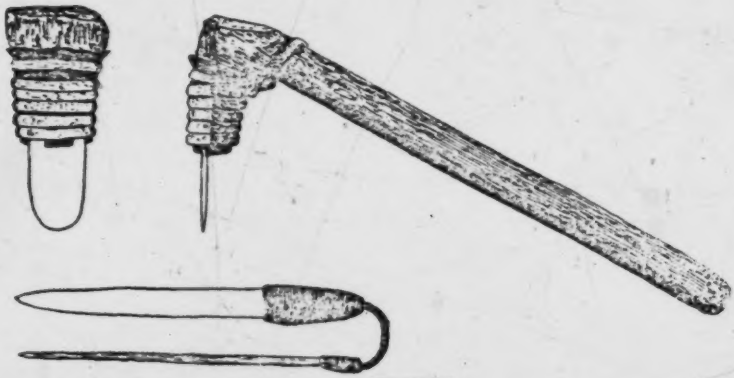


Fig. 28. Adze and knife

As has been already stated the Andamanese formerly used hard wood such as that of the *Areca* palm for the points and heads of their arrows. They do not seem to have made use of bamboo in this way.

At the present time iron is used for the blades of adzes, for the heads and barbs of pig-arrows, the points of fish-arrows, the heads of harpoons, and for knives. The method of working the metal is apparently exactly the same as the method they formerly used for working shell and bone. For the head of a pig-arrow a suitable piece of iron is taken and a fragment of about the right size is broken off by means of a stone hammer. This is then roughly broken into the required shape, no heat being used, and no advantage being taken of the malleability of the metal. The next process is to grind it on a 411 412 325

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 whet-stone. The natives are always eager to obtain files which enable
412 them to do this part of the work much more rapidly. When the arrow-
325 head has been ground into shape the edges are sharpened. Blades for adzes are made in exactly the same way from any suitable piece of iron or steel, such as a cutlass or an old file or a piece of thick hoop-iron. The adze-blade is attached to a handle of mangrove wood by the method shown in Fig. 28.

The barbs of pig-arrows and the points of fish-arrows are made in the same way by breaking the metal into a suitable shape and then grinding it on a whet-stone. It is probable that this was the method that was formerly used for dealing with bone for these purposes.

In the case of the knife, iron or steel is now substituted for cane or bamboo, but the knife has retained its shape in spite of the change of material. The shape of a knife, whether of cane or of iron, with its attached skewer of *Areca* wood is shown in Fig. 28.

In the case of the harpoon the native tradition is that this implement was only made after they had discovered the use of iron.

177 At the present time both the Semang and the Negritos of the
325 Philippines make use of iron. The Semang heat the iron until it is red-hot and then batter it into shape between two stones[1]. The shapes of the iron weapons and implements which they make follow fairly closely those made by the Malays.

In an attempt to reconstruct the primitive Negrito culture it would seem that the most reasonable hypothesis is that the primitive Negritos had no knowledge of iron and had not learnt to fashion implements out of stone, but relied entirely on such materials as wood, bone and shell. The Andamanese, becoming possessed of iron through wrecks upon their islands, applied to it the technique that they had developed for dealing with shell, and thereby invented their present method of working iron without heating it. The Semang and the Negritos of the Philippines probably first learnt the use of iron from their neighbours of other races. There is not at present any evidence to show that the Negritos ever had any method of working stone except the very simple one at present in use in the Andamans for making flakes.

STRING, ROPE, MATS, BASKETS, AND NETTING.

283 For string, rope and thread the Andaman Islanders make use of a number of different vegetable substances, but they make no use what-

[1] Skeat, p. 38.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Metallurgy.—Having been, till comparatively recent times, ignorant almost of the existence as well as of the uses of iron, it is not to be wondered at that smelting and forging have been to them unknown arts. Now that they are better informed, and are able to procure pieces of hoop-iron, keel-plate, &c., they apply them to the manufacture of their blades and adzes, reducing them to the required thinness by continually striking the cold metal with a hard smooth stone (*tai·li-ban·a-*[1]) on a rude anvil (*râ·rap-*) of the same substance; such portions of the iron as are then found to exceed the dimensions requisite for the weapon or tool under construction are placed over the edge of the anvil and broken off by dint of repeated blows: the new edge thus formed, being more or less jagged, is then ground on a hone till the blade assumes the desired shape. Many of the aborigines who have been living for some time at Port Blair have, however, advanced a stage beyond this, for, by using such old chisels as they may succeed in procuring, they contrive to make their arrow-heads and other implements much more speedily than by the old method. The pointed weapons, *e.g.*, the *kowai·a-* and *tô·lbō·d-*, are made from pieces of stout wire, large nails, &c., by dint of laborious and patient hammering on the *râ·rap-*, and grinding on the *tâ·lag-*. 325

Stone Implements.—1. Although a great portion of the inhabitants of Great Andaman have for some time past been able through us to procure iron in sufficient quantities to substitute it for stone (not to mention bones and shells), still they can by no means be said to have passed out of the stone age; indeed, the more distant tribes still retain the use, with scarcely any modification, of most of the stone and other implements which served their ancestors. Even the inmates of the homes at Port Blair may still often be seen employing one or other of them, evidently therefore from choice: this more especially refers to the first three in the following list,[2] which comprises the small number of stone implements in ordinary use among the present aboriginal inhabitants of the islands:— 324 412

râ·rap-, the anvil.

tai·li-ban·a-, the hammer (probably a smooth round piece of dolerite or fine-grained basalt).

tâ·lag-, the whetstone (consisting of slightly micaceous sandstone).

tô·lma lô·ko tūg-[3] (lit., *quartz tooth*), chips or flakes for shaving, tattooing, &c.

[1] *Vide* next section, paragraph 1.

[2] There are no special makers, or procurers, of these stones.

[3] These are either fragments of opaque whitish vein quartz, or of transparent rock crystal, or are obtained from pebbles of opaque bluish-white quartz with

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Appendix

Below is given a brief summary of the evidence which in the author's opinion supports his view that the culture of the Andaman Islanders dates back at least to the Palaeolithic era. 172

1 ABSENCE OF STONE IMPLEMENTS

There are in the Andamans abundant sources of stones suitable for shaping into tools. Despite this I found no traces whatever of any stone implements even in the lowest strata of the kitchen-middens, nor is there any evidence of their being used either in the more recent past or at the present time. Until the very recent introduction of iron the Onges always (as the kitchen-middens confirm) made tools solely of wood, with the addition of parts made from *Tridacna* shells, shaped by long and patient rubbing against stone. The only objects remotely approaching the definition of stone implements are the splinters of quartz or obsidian which are carried in the hair, and used as razors or, in the Arioto only, for primitive tattooing. These splinters, which are in no way shaped after being broken off, are thrown away as soon as they become blunt, and a new piece of quartz is crudely struck from a lump, by men or women indiscriminately. The existence of this one stone implement does not, in my view, justify the classification of the Onges (or the Andamanese in general) as a true Palaeolithic people; it would be more reasonable to class them as prelithic. 172 324 [177] [322] [321] [412] [181]

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325 islanders, in the absence of any means of working it, have not fully realized.

3 IGNORANCE OF FIRE

372 174 The islanders' present ignorance of fire-making may possibly be the result of cultural decline, but this is not certain. In the presence of the considerable additional evidence in favour of the antiquity of the Andamanese culture it is, however, more likely that it is genuine ignorance, persisting in a pre-lithic people.

4 ABSENCE OF SALT

174 263 Although there can be no proof, it can be reasonably postulated that very primitive Man had no salt, and that in the Andamans this ignorance has persisted over thousands of years, owing to strict isolation. It is unlikely that the use of salt would have been completely lost, had it ever been introduced.

5 PRIMITIVE METHODS OF COOKING

252 172 Apart from the accidental and very recent introduction of petrol-drum cooking, the Andamanese use only the most primitive form of earth oven. This method of cooking was certainly known in the Palaeolithic era; at the entrance to the well-known Barma Grande cave near Mentone I have myself seen in the basal layers a number of stones bearing the marks of fire, too numerous merely to have formed some sort of hearth, and clearly not used to support cooking-pots, as Palaeolithic Man had none which would have withstood heat. The form of earth oven still used throughout the Andamans is undoubtedly of extreme antiquity.

6 FOOD VESSELS

415 285 172 The people of the Andamans still use for honey hollowed-out logs similar to those seen in Palaeolithic wall paintings, which also depict baskets very like those still in use throughout the archipelago. The art of basket-making can be traced back at least to the later Palaeolithic era.

7 USE OF POTTERY

323 172 As with the other Negrito peoples, pottery was unknown in the earliest culture of the Andamans. Its appearance seems from the evidence of the

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

221 361 were accustomed to remain at one camp, which was thus the chief camp of the group. In particular they would spend there the whole of the rainy season. During the cool and hot seasons they would leave the chief camp for a few months, leading during that time a more nomadic life, living in temporary hunting camps and paying visits to their friends in other groups. At the opening of the rainy season they would return once more to the main camp.

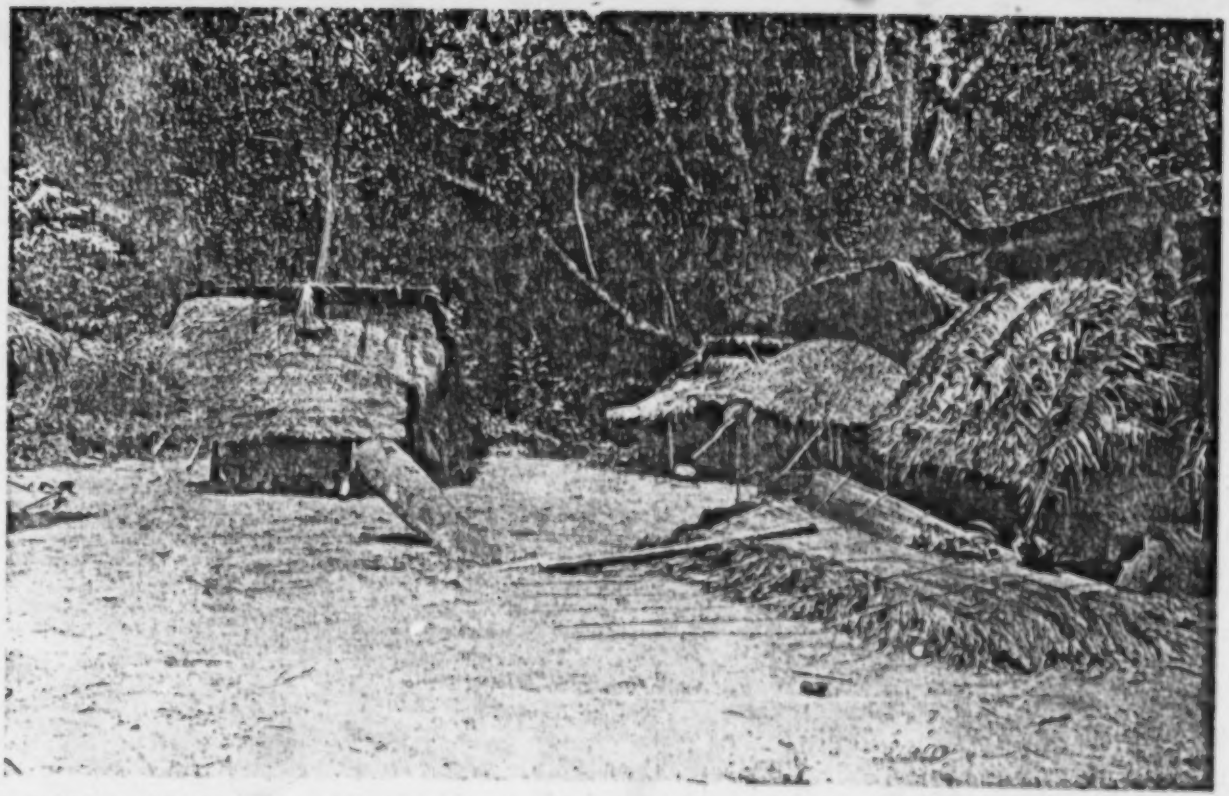
361 342 The camps of the natives of the Great Andaman may be distinguished as being of three kinds. Of the first kind are what may be spoken of as permanent encampments. Certainly every group of the forest-dwellers, and probably every group of the coast-dwellers had its permanent encampment, which was, so to speak, the headquarters of the group. At this spot there would be erected either a communal hut, or a carefully built village. Communal huts have in recent times fallen into disuse, as the natives now wander about the islands much more freely than was their wont. I did not see a single one in the Great Andaman during my visit, though I was told of one that was falling to ruins in the interior of the Middle Andaman. One such communal hut was photographed in 1895 by M. L. Lapicque, at a spot called *Lekera-l'un-ta*[1]. It was perhaps the last that the natives of the Great Andaman erected. What the communal hut was like it is possible to discover both from the statements of the natives and also from the fact that they are still to the present day used by the natives of the Little Andaman and by the *Jarawa*. The hut was roughly circular in form and might be as big as 60 feet in diameter and 20 or 30 feet high at the centre. The shape was somewhat that of a beehive. Two concentric circles, one of tall posts near the centre and the other of shorter posts near the circumference, were connected by horizontal and sloping roof-timbers, and on these were laid and fastened a number of mats of palm-leaves. These mats reached, as a rule, as far as the ground, a small doorway being left on one side.

Such communal huts, while still used in the Little Andaman

[1] The photograph is reproduced in *Le Tour du Monde*, 1895, p. 447.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE VI



Portion of the village of Moi-lepto, *Akar-Bale* tribe. On the right is an unfinished mat of palm leaves for the roof of a new hut

342

[facing p. 32]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

361
342

and by the *Jarawa*, and formerly used by the forest-dwellers of the Great Andaman, were apparently not often erected by the coast-dwellers of the larger island at the time the islands were occupied in 1858. Mr Man seems to have regarded them as being peculiarly characteristic of the *Jarawa* and the natives of the Little Andaman[1]. There is evidence, however, that even the coast-dwellers formerly erected such huts, for in the *Akar-Bale* tribe there are several places with names such as *Parny Bud* and *Golugma Bud*, which show that communal huts existed there at some time. The word *bud* is used to denote a communal hut, as compared with a village, which is called *baraij*.

A large communal hut took some little time to erect. The posts had to be cut and erected, this being the work of the men, and the palm-leaves had to be collected and then made into mats by the women. Once the hut was built it would last for several years, and if it were in fairly constant use, particularly if it were not abandoned in the rains, it might be used, with a little occasional patching, for ten years or even more.

Among the coast-dwellers it was more usual to erect at the headquarters a semi-permanent village. A portion of such a village is shown in the photographs reproduced in Plates VI and VII.

The village occupied a small clearing in the forest close to the sea-shore at a place called *Moi-lepto* in the country of the *Akar-Bale* tribe. A spring or soak close to the village provided the fresh water. The site is a favourite one as it is well sheltered, and is within convenient distance of good fishing and turtle hunting grounds. It was formerly one of the chief camping places of the local group known as the *Boroin wa* (Hill people).

The village was composed of eight huts, ranged round a central open space, and all of them facing inwards towards the centre. This open space is kept clear and clean for dancing, and is simply the village dancing ground. Each of the single huts was occupied by a family group, consisting of

[1] See *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. XII, p. 71.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

361
342

a man and his wife with their children and dependants. One hut was occupied by an old widower and a bachelor.

The way the huts are built can be seen in the photographs. In the simplest form the hut consists of a sloping roof made of palm-leaves, erected on four posts, two taller ones at the front and two short ones at the back. A hut of this kind is shown in Plate VII. If more shelter is required a second roof is added in such a way that the top of one overhangs the top of the other. In some cases a third roof may be added on one side. In Plates VI and VII two mats of palm-leaf are shown in the course of construction, lying on the ground.

Huts such as these, in which the leaves are first made into a mat which is then attached to the rafters, will last for some time. Even if the village be deserted for several weeks, at any rate in the dry weather, very little work will be needed to make it habitable again when the occupants return to it.

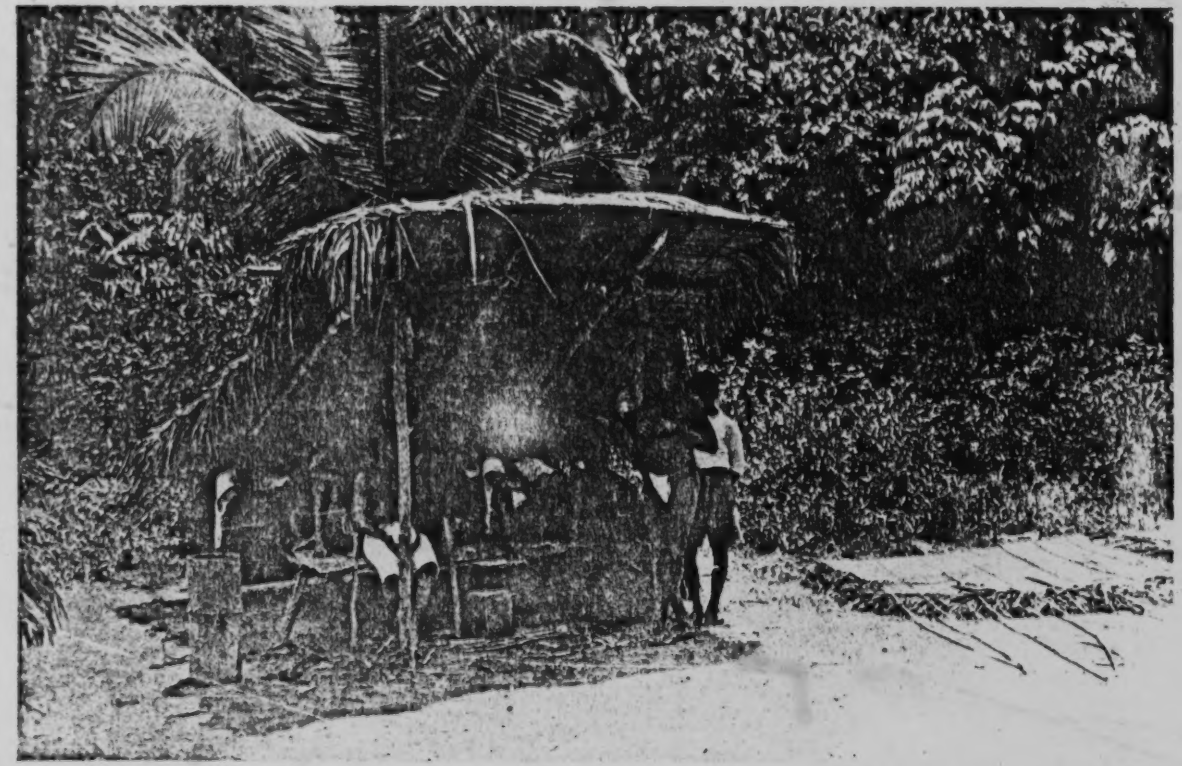
A second kind of camp was made when the natives did not intend to stay more than two to three months. Such camps were erected by the forest folk during the dry season, or at any time when they were compelled to leave their chief camp through the death there of one of their number. Such a temporary camp is always put up in the form of a village, and never as a communal hut. The huts are similar to those already described, but are made more carelessly. The thatching leaves, instead of being made into mats, are simply tied in bundles on to the rafters. A hut of this kind will last quite well for three months or so and it can be built very rapidly at any place where there is a sufficient supply of thatching leaves. At the present day the natives rarely build a permanent camp for themselves, but are contented with temporary camps of the kind here described.

A third kind of camp remains to be briefly mentioned, which we may call the hunting camp. A hunting party (which may include women as well as men) spending a few days away from one of the main camps will erect for themselves a few huts or shelters consisting of nothing more than a simple lean-to of leaves.

Caves or rock shelters suitable for human occupation are

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE VII



A hut in the village of Moi-lepto, showing the mode of construction

342

[facing p. 34]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

361 almost unknown in the Andamans. In the Archipelago there are
342 one or two small rock shelters that are occasionally used by a hunting party away from home for a night. I was told by the natives that on one of the islands off the west coast of the North Andaman there is a rock shelter of a fair size that was formerly used as one of their chief camps.

The following figure will give an idea of the Andamanese village and its arrangement. In hunting camps which are intended only to be occupied for a few days or a few weeks, this arrangement is not observed, but the huts or shelters are placed

Plan of Andamanese Village

a. Huts of married people.
b. Bachelors' hut.
c. Public cooking place.
d. Dancing ground.

so as to give shelter from the prevailing wind with no particular regard to the respective position of the different units.

361 The constitution of the local group is illustrated by the
621 arrangement of the village. The whole village consists of a number of separate huts, each hut occupied by a family. A family consists of a man and his wife and such of their children own or adopted as are not of an age to be independent. Besides the families each group necessarily contains a small number of unmarried men and widowers and some unmarried girls and widows. The unmarried men and widowers without children occupy a separate hut (or huts) which we may speak of as the bachelors' hut. Mr Man states that the spinsters (i.e., the

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

361 unmarried women who are of marriageable age) and widows
621 occupy a hut of their own similarly to the bachelors[1]. In the camps that I visited I did not find any such spinsters' hut. What unmarried females there were, I found attached to one or other of the families of the village, each one living in the hut of some married relative, generally the parent or foster-parent.

All the huts face inwards towards an open space which is the dancing ground of the village, and, except in exposed situations, are generally entirely open in front. At some convenient spot on one side of the dancing ground is to be found the communal cooking place of the village. This is generally close to the bachelors' hut, as it is the bachelors who attend to such cooking as is carried on there. Besides the public cooking place each family has its own fireplace in its own hut, on which a fire is kept continually alight. In the village two or
[592] more families may build their huts adjoining one another in such a way that they become for all practical purposes one hut, of which each family retains its own special portion. Two brothers will thus often make a sort of common household.

361 The communal hut, in the way in which it is arranged, and even in the way in which it is built, is really a village with
621 all the huts drawn together so that each one is joined to the one
● 342 next to it and the roofs meet in the middle. In the centre of the hut there is an open space corresponding to the dancing ground of the village. It is even used as a dancing ground, though for this purpose it is somewhat small. It is the public part of the hut. Around this are arranged the different families, each occupying its own special portion of the hut, which is marked off by means of short lengths of wood laid on the floor. The public cooking place is sometimes inside the hut, and there is the space marked off for the unmarried men. The advantage of the communal hut is that it affords a better protection from the weather; its disadvantage is that it leaves almost no room for dancing.

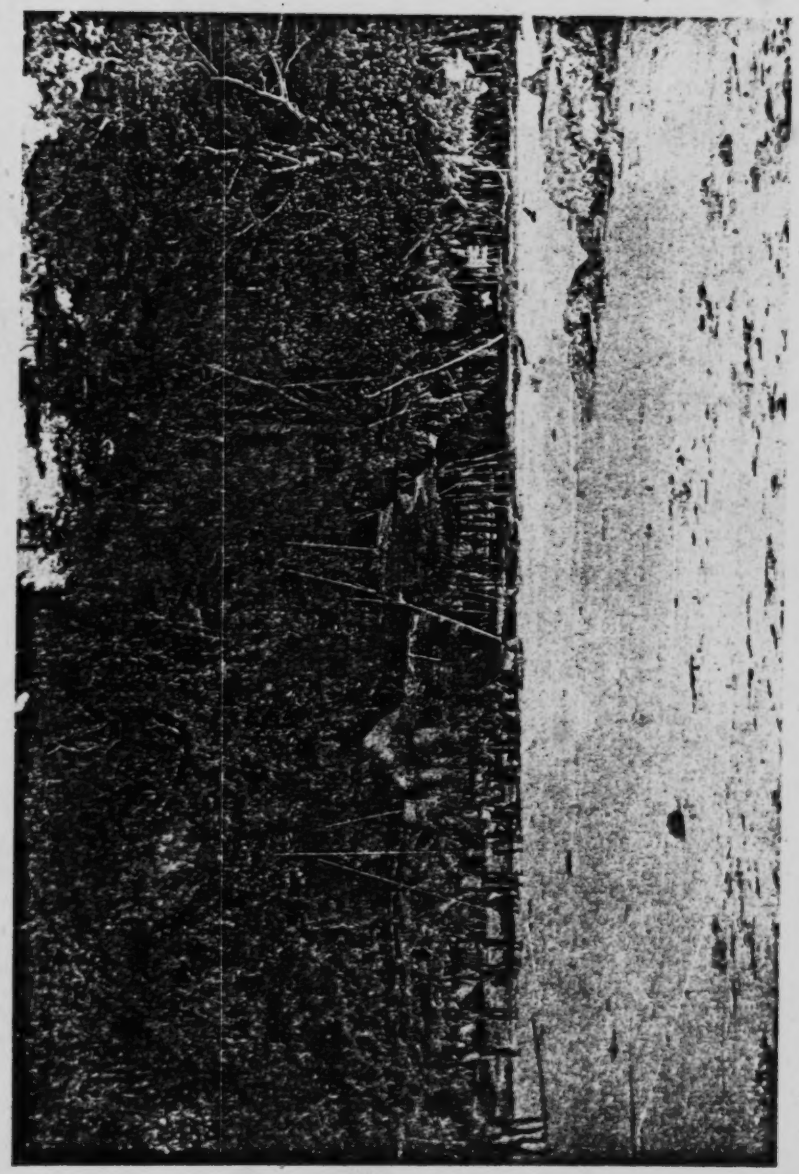
361 Thus it may be seen that the arrangement of the camp shows
621

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 108.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE VIII

342
361



A village of the Middle Andaman

[facing p. 36]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

own bow, arrows, adze, etc., while the wife makes her baskets, 462
nets and so on.

The economic life of the local group, though in effect it 421
approaches to a sort of communism, is yet based on the notion of private property. Land is the only thing that is owned in common. The hunting grounds of a local group belong to the whole group, and all the members have an equal right to hunt over any part of it. There exists, however, a certain private ownership of trees. A man of one of the local groups of the coast may notice in the jungle a tree suitable for a canoe. He will tell the others that he has noticed such a tree, describing it and its whereabouts. Thenceforward that tree is regarded as his property, and even if some years should elapse, and he has made no use of it, yet another man would not cut it down without first asking the owner to give him the tree. In a similar way certain men claim to possess certain *Artocarpus* trees, though how the ownership in these cases had arisen I was unable to determine. No one would pick the fruit off such a tree without the permission of the owner, and having received permission and gathered the fruit he would give some part of it to the owner of the tree.

A pig belongs to the man whose arrow first strikes it, though if the arrow merely glanced off and did not remain in the wound it would not give any claim to ownership. A turtle or a dugong or big fish belongs to the man who throws the harpoon with which it is taken. A honeycomb belongs to the man who climbs the tree and cuts it down. The fish that a man shoots belong to him, and to a woman belong the roots she digs up, the seeds that she collects, the fish or prawns that she takes in her net or the molluscs that she brings from the reefs. Any weapon that a man makes belongs to him alone to do what he pleases with, and anything that a woman makes is her own [562]
property. A man is not free to dispose of the personal property of his wife without her permission.

In the village each family erects and keeps in repair its own 421
hut, and the wife provides the hut with the firewood and water 594
needed. In the case of a communal hut it would seem that this 342
is really an example of a possession common to the whole group.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

421 This is so, however, only in appearance. The hut is built by all
594 the different families, but each family is regarded as owning
342 a certain portion of the hut when it is finished, and it is the family that keeps this part of the hut in repair.

421 A canoe is cut by a number of men together. From the
501 outset, however, it is the property of one man, who selects the tree and superintends the operation of cutting it into shape.
476 He is always one of the older men, and he enlists the services of the younger men to help him. When finished the canoe is his property, and he can do with it what he pleases, giving it away, if he wishes, and no one has any share of ownership in a canoe on the ground that he helped to make it.

421 While all portable property is thus owned by individuals, the
431 Andamanese have customs which result in an approach to communism. One of these is the custom of constantly exchanging
574 presents with one another. When two friends meet who have not seen each other for some time, one of the first things they do is to exchange presents with one another. Even in the ordinary everyday life of the village there is a constant giving and receiving of presents. A younger man or woman may give some article to an older one without expecting or receiving any return, but between equals a person who gives a present always expects that he will receive something of equal value in exchange. At the meetings that take place between neighbouring local groups the exchange of presents is of great importance. Each of the visitors brings with him a number of articles that he distributes amongst the members of the group that he visits. When the visitors depart they are loaded with presents received from their hosts. It requires a good deal of tact on the part of everyone concerned to avoid the unpleasantness that may arise if a man thinks that he has not received things as valuable as he has given, or if he fancies that he has not received quite the same amount of attention as has been accorded to others.

431 It is considered a breach of good manners ever to refuse
576 the request of another. Thus if a man be asked by another to give him anything that he may possess, he will immediately do so. If the two men are equals a return of about the same value will have to be made. As between an older married man

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

are shown in the form of a diagram or tree. The justification for this arrangement will appear as we proceed. 174

There is only very scanty information available about the technical culture of the Negritos of the Malay Peninsula, whom we may speak of as the Semang. There are differences of technology between the Semang of different parts, and a careful study of these differences would serve to throw much light on changes that have been introduced since the Semang were isolated from the rest of their race. There is no doubt that the Semang have adopted many elements of their present culture from their neighbours the Sakai and others. In some instances it is possible to trace this external influence, but in others it is doubtful whether we are dealing with a primitive Semang form or with a form adopted from their neighbours[1]. 171 174

The same thing must be said about the Philippine Negritos. Our information is not sufficient to enable us to discuss the local differences, nor to determine what elements of the culture have been introduced by contact with other races[2].

HABITATIONS.

The huts of the Andamanese are best understood by considering first of all the simplest and most temporary structures. A man away from the main camp at night (on a hunting expedition) erects for himself a simple shelter of leaves. Such hunting shelters vary considerably according to circumstances. In the rainy season they are built much more substantially than in the dry season. Sometimes shelter is found between the buttresses of large trees, a few leaves being added. There is, however, one type of hunting shelter that is usual. Two poles are cut and erected perpendicularly in the ground so that they stand about four feet apart and about four feet high. To the top of these is tied, with cane or creeper, a horizontal pole. A few poles or sticks of sufficient length are placed so as to lean against the horizontal pole at an angle of about 45°, the ends resting on the ground. On these are placed any leaves that can be obtained, 342

[1] The information here given as to the Semang is derived from two works, Skeat and Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, vol. I, quoted as *Skeat*, and Rudolf Martin, *Die Inlandstämme der Malayischen Halbinsel*, 1905, quoted as *Martin*.

[2] The information about the Philippine Negritos is derived from Reed, *Negritos of Zambales*, Manila, 1904, quoted as *Reed*, and A. B. Meyer, *Die Philippinen, II, Die Negritos*, Dresden, 1893, quoted as *Meyer*.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

342 preferably the leaves of canes and other palms. The shelter thus consists of a single rectangular roof, one end of which rests on the ground, while the other rests on a horizontal bar attached to the top of two perpendicular supports. The shelter is built facing to leeward.

The usual family hut of the Andamans is built on exactly the same principles as a hunter's shelter, but, being intended for occupation for some weeks or even months, is more carefully built. For a small hut, to be occupied by one family, four posts are erected, two at the back being from two to four feet high above the ground, while two at the front are from five to seven feet high. Two horizontal poles are attached, one to the top of the front posts and the other to the back posts, with strips of cane. If poles of a convenient size and forked at the top are available these may be used for the posts of the hut, the horizontal poles being supported in the forks, but a native would not trouble to search for such timbers, being satisfied with an unforked post. A few slender timbers, preferably of mangrove wood (*Bruguiera*), are placed on the two horizontal poles and bound to them with cane. These rafters, as they may be called, project for a foot or two above or beyond the higher horizontal, and similarly project a foot beyond the lower one so as almost to reach the ground.

In the better kind of hut a mat is made of palm leaves, and this mat is placed on the rafters and tied to them with strips of cane. To make a mat a number of strips of bamboo or cane of sufficient length are taken and placed on the ground parallel to each other. Leaves of a species of cane are collected and each leaf is divided into two parts down the middle. These half-leaves are then attached to the strips of bamboo or cane, by means of strips of the outside of canes, the technique being wrapped-twined work. The half-leaves are attached so that the leaflets, which are attached to the leaf-stem at an angle, incline alternately to one side and the other. The photograph reproduced in Plate VII shows a hut of the kind here described. Mats in course of making are shown lying on the ground in Plates VI and VII.

A quicker, but less efficient way of thatching the hut is to take the half-leaves such as are used for making a mat and fasten them in bundles of five or six directly to the rafters.

Huts of this type, each occupied by a single family, are built by the natives of the Great Andaman Division in the form of villages. The Jarawa and the natives of the Little Andaman build similar huts in their hunting camps, occupied during the fine weather.

Some huts of this type are provided with a floor raised above the

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

ground. Such a floor is erected on short posts, and may be made of 342
bamboos or of planks or pieces of broken-up canoes. A floor of this kind, raised a foot or so above the ground, is shown in Plate VII. Huts are sometimes to be seen with a floor raised as much as three feet above the ground.

The simple Andaman hut as above described is entirely open at the front and on each side. In an exposed situation screens of palm-leaves may be erected at the side. If still more shelter is required, a hut may be built with two roofs. Such a hut requires six posts, two taller ones six or seven feet high, and four shorter ones, two on each side. For such a hut two mats are made, and are so attached that one mat projects above the other. No attempt is made to fasten the two mats together at the top, but on the contrary a space of several inches is left between them to allow the smoke of the fire to escape, rain being excluded by the overhang of one of the mats. Huts of this type may be seen in Plate VI.

Each of the huts hitherto described is occupied by a single family. 361
In order to understand the communal huts it is necessary to consider the arrangement of small huts in a camp or village. In the tribes of the Great Andaman there are two main types of such arrangement. The first type is that of the hunting camp, which is occupied for a few nights only. In this all the huts are placed facing in the same direction (to leeward) and in a line with one another. The second type is that of a village to be occupied for some weeks or months. In this the huts are arranged round an open space, all facing inwards, as described earlier in this book[1]. All encampments in the Great Andaman tend to conform to one or other of these types, but variations are introduced according to the nature of the site occupied. Thus in a hunting camp the site may not permit of the erection of the huts in one line. A village is, as a rule, only put up at a spot that has been used from time immemorial, where there is an open space of sufficient size, but if, for any reason, a site is selected where there is not room to arrange all the huts around the dancing ground, the arrangement of the village may be irregular.

The hunting camps of the Jarawa are sometimes arranged on the same principle as those of the tribes of the Great Andaman Division, i.e., all facing in one direction and as nearly in one line side by side as the site will allow.

The natives of the Little Andaman erect hunting camps in the fine

[1] See p. 34.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

361 weather. In the only one that I have seen the huts were arranged irregularly so as to make the best use of the available space.

A few words must be said on the sites chosen for encampments. It must be remembered that the islands are entirely covered with forest. The natives will not, if they can avoid it, put their camp under high trees, for fear of the danger of falling branches in a storm. At the same time they prefer a situation where there is an open space surrounded with forest so that they are sheltered from the wind. The coast-dwellers always camp immediately within the jungle on the shore of the sea or of a creek. The forest-dwellers usually choose a position on a hill or ridge, and this is particularly the case with the Jarawa. The camp must be close to a supply of fresh water. In the tribes of the Great Andaman Division no precautions are taken against a possible attack by enemies, but the Jarawa do take precautions, clearing the trees around their camps so that they have a good view of the approaches, and even, apparently, placing look-out stations at the tops of the paths[1].

Amongst the coast-dwelling tribes there are sites that have been used for encampments for many centuries. At these spots there are found heaps of refuse that have accumulated year by year. These kitchen-middens, as they are sometimes called, consist of the shells of molluscs, bones of animals, stones that have been used for cooking, fragments of pottery, and loam produced from decayed wood and other refuse.

342 361 The two types of camp arrangement which are seen in the village and the hunting camp are exhibited in two different types of communal hut. One of these, corresponding to the hunting camp, may be termed the long shelter. It is apparently only used in the North Sentinel Island. A hut of this type was seen by Mr Gilbert Rogers in 1903. It was rectangular, 40 feet long and 12 feet wide. The roof was supported on three rows of small posts ranging in height from 3 feet at the back to 6 feet at the front of the hut. The roof projected about 2 feet in either direction beyond the posts and was about 2 feet from the ground at the back and 7 feet above the ground at the front. There were twelve places for fires, six in front and six at the back of the hut, and near each, on the right-hand side, was a platform supported on four sticks, of the usual Andamanese type, for keeping food. There were two rows of sleeping places which were separated by small poles, making rectangles on the ground about 5 feet

[1] See *Census Report*, 1901.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

by 4 feet, each of which was probably occupied by a man and his wife and small children[1]. 342 361

The relation of this type of communal hut, in which all the members of one local group are brought together under a single roof of one slope, to the ordinary family hut of the Andamans, and the arrangement of the hunting camp in a line, is obvious.

To the arrangement of huts in a village around a central open space corresponds the second type of communal hut, which may be called the round hut. Communal huts of this type were formerly built by the natives of the Great Andaman Division, but have fallen into disuse in recent times, owing to the natives having become much more migratory in their habits. Huts of the same type are built at the present day by the natives of the Little Andaman and by the Jarawa.

In its typical form this kind of hut is built by erecting two circles of posts, a smaller circle of tall posts, and a wider circle of shorter posts. The tops of these posts are connected by horizontal and sloping timbers, which make the framework of the roof. The roof is made of a number of mats of palm-leaves, which are laid on the rafters and tied to them with strips of cane. The mats are made in exactly the same way as the smaller mats used for the small huts and already described. They are sometimes rectangular in shape, though occasionally an attempt is made to make them narrower at the top and broader at the bottom. They are arranged on the roof so as to overlap one another and thus make the hut rain-proof. They are not joined in the centre, but a small space is left for the smoke of the fires to escape, and the rain is prevented from entering by letting one or two of the mats overhang the others at the top. 342

In the round huts of the Jarawa and the Little Andaman there is no centre-post, and according to the statements made to me by the natives of the Great Andaman they did not use a centre-post for their huts. In the description attached to a photograph in the British Museum Mr Portman speaks of the centre-post of a communal hut, which is shown in the photograph still standing, although the hut had been pulled down. It would therefore seem that in the Great Andaman the natives did sometimes erect a centre-post for their round huts. The typical round hut, however, has no centre-post.

It is clear that the round hut has been developed from the village. If all the small huts of a village be drawn together so as to touch each

[1] Supplement to the *Andaman and Nicobar Gazette*, January 2, 1904.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

342 other, and if the mats of thatching be lengthened so as to meet and overlap in the middle, we have a round hut in its typical form. The evidence that this is so is afforded by the thatching, consisting of separate mats, often rectangular in shape (like the mats used for family huts), placed so as to overlap one another. This crude way of thatching could hardly have originated in any other way. Further evidence is afforded, as we shall see, by the internal arrangement of the hut.

Although the hut is here called a round hut, it must not be supposed that the shape is always regularly circular. It may be somewhat oval, and in any case is rarely very regularly constructed. In general, however, the shape approaches more or less nearly to a circle.

Huts of this kind vary in size according to the number of families occupying them. The height in the middle may be as much as 30 feet and the diameter may be 60 feet. The smallest I have seen was a Jarawa hut on Rutland Island, which was only nine feet high and 15 feet maximum diameter. In exposed situations the mats of thatching reach as far as the ground, but huts are sometimes built in sheltered situations with a space of a foot or two left between the ends of the thatch and the ground. A low doorway is provided on one side.

Within the hut there is a central space that is the common part of the hut and corresponds to the dancing ground of the village. In the wet season the communal fire is situated in this open space, and here the communal cooking is performed. In Jarawa huts the roof of the central part of the hut is hung with trophies of the chase consisting of pigs' skulls bound with cane. In former times the natives of the Great Andaman Division hung similar trophies in their round huts. Around the central space are the spaces allotted to the different families, these being marked off by means of short lengths of wood laid on the ground.

It is thus clear that the basis of Andamanese architecture is the use of a single rectangular roof giving a shelter open at the front. This is the usual form of the hunter's shelter and of the family hut in the village. For additional shelter two such roofs may be used, but no attempt is made to join them, one being made to overlap the other. There are two customary modes of arranging huts, either side by side facing in the same direction or round an open space facing inwards. Where, instead of separate roofs for each family, we have a united roof, these two arrangements of the camp give rise to two different types of communal hut, the long hut and the round hut.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

In a village each hut is occupied by one family. In the communal hut (of either type) each family has a special portion of the hut marked off for its special use. Whether in a village or in a communal hut each family has its own small fire, at which the family meals are prepared. At one side of this fire is erected a small platform about a foot above the ground, supported on either three or four upright sticks. This platform is used for storing food. The natives of the Little Andaman erect low bamboo platforms to serve as beds, arranged round the communal hut, each family having its own. In the Great Andaman the natives, as a rule, make a bed of leaves on the ground and lay a sleeping mat on the top of this. In damp situations, however, they sometimes, as already mentioned, make a floor to the hut, raised a foot or two above the ground, and sleep on that. The Jarawa have a habit of sleeping in the wood-ashes of their fires in their cold weather hunting camps. 342 352

Turning now to the Semang, we find some differences in respect to their habitations. Those of the Semang who have not been influenced to a great extent by their neighbours and have not settled down to agricultural pursuits, never camp in the same spot for more than a few days, and have therefore no need to build anything except temporary shelters[1]. 171 342

The Semang often erect their shelters in trees, well above the surface of the ground. This is a feature which distinguishes them from the Andamanese. It seems probable that these tree-shelters have been adopted by the Semang as a protection against wild beasts[2]. As there are no dangerous beasts in the Andamans, the extra labour involved in building a shelter in the branches of a tree instead of on the ground would serve no useful purpose. The difference in this respect between the Semang and the Andamanese is therefore due to a difference in the circumstances in which they live.

The typical form of Semang shelter, occupied by one family, is erected by planting three or four stout sticks or poles in the ground in a row at an angle of about 60° or 75° and lashing palm-leaves across these. The screen or roof thus formed is further supported, if necessary, with one or two poles used as props in front[3]. These shelters are similar to the Andaman shelters in having a single sloping rectangular roof, but differ from them in being supported, not by upright posts, but in an altogether less adequate manner.

[1] Skeat, p. 172. [2] Skeat, p. 174.

[3] Skeat, p. 176, and plate. See also Annandale, *Fasciculi Malayensis, Anthropology*, Part I, Plate IV.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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However, the Semang shelters are apparently very easy to erect, and as they are only occupied for a night or two there is no inducement to the natives to make them more substantial.

The Semang sometimes make a shelter by planting a number of palm-leaves in the ground in a semicircle so that the overhanging ends meet in the centre[1].

As the Semang are constantly moving from place to place, they have little use for a communal hut of substantial build. One communal shelter has been described, which contained eleven sleeping-places arranged in two long rows. The upright timbers of the shelter consisted of young saplings planted in two opposite rows, across them being lashed the leaves of a palm. There were, besides, two central posts or pillars, each about a third of the distance from either end of the shelter, and a dozen poles placed as props or wind-braces in various positions and at various angles, in order to strengthen the structure and keep it from being blown over in a high wind. The two slopes of the roof were not united over a ridge-pole, but a longitudinal aperture was left between them for about two-thirds of the entire length of the roof, and through the gap thus caused the greater part of the smoke from the many fireplaces issued. All round the walls were ranged a number of bamboo sleeping-platforms, five to six feet in length by about three feet in breadth. The owner of each sleeping-platform or family unit possessed a separate fire or hearth[2].

We have only scanty information about the huts of the Philippine Negritos. In Zambales (Luzon) a certain number of the Negritos have adopted a settled mode of life and depend on agriculture for some part of their subsistence. The most advanced of these have adopted the form of hut common amongst their neighbours. The less settled Negritos of Zambales erect huts which are almost exactly the same as the family huts of the Andamanese. Two short upright posts are erected for the back of the hut, and two taller ones for the front, and on these four posts a rectangular roof of one slope is erected. A bamboo floor or platform is erected a foot or so above the ground, just as in some Andaman huts[3]. In the Zambales huts the upright posts are forked and the horizontal poles are supported in the fork.

At Casiguran the Negritos erect palm-leaf shelters similar to those of the Semang. A few poles are thrust into the ground at an angle and in a row and palm-leaves are attached to these, the screen being further supported with props[4].

[1] Skeat, p. 174. [2] Skeat, p. 177. [3] Reed, Plate XXXVIII. [4] Meyer, Plate X.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

A comparison of the three branches of the Negrito race in the light of present information shows that the usual form of habitation amongst them is a sloping roof or screen of palm-leaves. One form of this, the simplest to construct, but only suitable as a temporary shelter, is in common use amongst the Semang and is found amongst the Negritos of Casiguran. The other form, more permanent but requiring more labour to erect, is in common use in the Andamans and amongst the Negritos of Zambales. Of communal huts we have no evidence in the Philippines. The communal shelter of the Semang consists of two screens leaning towards one another. The two types of communal hut of the Andamans are both derived from the family hut. 171 342

Hunting, Fishing, etc.

The Andaman Islanders depend for their subsistence entirely upon the natural productions of the forest and the sea. They make no attempt whatever to cultivate the soil. Until the introduction of dogs in 1858 they had no domestic animals. Young pigs are occasionally kept in captivity till they are grown, but they are killed for food and are not bred in captivity. Thus the Andamanese provide themselves with food by three different forms of activity: (1) collecting such things as roots and fruits and honey, (2) fishing in the sea and in the creeks, (3) hunting the wild animals of the forest. 231 241

For hunting the Andamanese rely entirely on the bow and arrow. Since they have had dogs they occasionally make hunting spears, but they did not do so in former times. They make no use whatever of any method of trapping game or birds. For fishing they also make use of the bow and arrow, wading out on to the reefs and shooting the fish, and in this they are very skilful. Crustaceans, such as crabs and crayfish, are captured in the same way. In the North Andaman a sort of short fish spear was formerly in use as an occasional substitute for the bow and arrow. In all parts of the islands small nets are used by the women for catching small fish and prawns. In the Great Andaman large nets were formerly used for capturing turtle, dugong and large fish near the shore. At the present time the natives of the Great Andaman Division make use of harpoons with which they capture turtle, dugong and large fish from their canoes. Harpoons are not used in the Little Andaman. The Andamanese are also aware of methods of poisoning or stupefying fish in pools by means of certain plants that they crush and place in the water, but I have never seen them use this method of 224 411 227 226

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZZ Andamans AZZ

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PLATE 5

COMMUNAL HUT AT MÓT-KÚNU IN PORT ANSON HARBOUR (NORTH-EAST OF SPIKE ISLAND).

[facing p. 36]

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

361 suitability of a particular spot for fishing and turtling during
221 certain phases of the moon, on account of the character of the
166 foreshore, or the configuration of the coast, and the hope of meeting with better luck elsewhere—to these might be added the love of a change, and the prospect of seeing some of their friends; but it must not be supposed that a long journey is thereby involved; the move being generally made to a spot only a mile or two further on, and thus, by short stages, they sometimes proceed along the entire coast-line of their tribal territory, spending a few days or weeks at each halting place, according to the special attractions it may happen to possess in affording good sport on land or sea, or in supplying a rich harvest of fruit, honey, &c.

364 3. The necessity of a migration is also frequently forced on them by the consequences of their neglect to sweep away the refuse of their meals, it being regarded by these *insouciant* and unclean creatures as not worth their while to take so much trouble, when only a short stay is contemplated.

4. That the necessity for observing *some* sanitary measures has long since been recognised by the Andamanese is evident from the existence of numerous kitchen-middens throughout their territory, many of which are doubtless of remote origin. These refuse-heaps are still in course of formation by communities living at a distance from Port Blair, and are invariably found near camping grounds which have been, or are still more or less, permanently occupied. In those sites, where they are not seen, evidence is at once afforded of the temporary nature of the occupancy: the rubbish and refuse of food in these latter places is only swept aside if the ground be needed for a dance, wedding, or other ceremony, so that injury may not befall the revellers through inadvertently treading on a bone, stone, or shell. Crows, hermit-crabs, and, of late years, dogs, are the principal scavengers of these ill-ordered and dirty habitations, the two former performing their useful office as soon as a migration takes place.

Habitations.—1. We will now pass to the consideration of the
342 three varieties of huts which are commonly met with in the permanent and temporary encampments throughout the territory of the eight Great Andaman tribes, and which are known as *chàng-tē·pinga-*, *chàng-tō·rnga-*, and *chàng-dar·anga*.

2. To commence with the *chàng-tē·pinga-*, which is made by men, and erected in all permanent encampments as being the most durable. No particular kind of wood is used for the posts, which are four in number, two in front and two in rear, the former varying from six to nine feet in height, and the latter from two to three feet; upon these, slender rafters and two light transverse poles are secured, so as to form the framework of

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

342 the roof, which is thatched with palm leaves of the variety called *chà·ngta-*. These are neatly plaited together, and fastened with cane, *pī·dga-*, and then placed in rows and tied, so that, when complete, the whole forms a capital roof impervious to the heaviest shower of rain.

[462] 3. The second variety, *chàng-tô·rnga-*,[1] are erected when temporary homes are required, which will last for a few months, as during the period of mourning;[2] they are made by men, and differ only from the *chàng-tē·pinga-* in being generally somewhat smaller, and less neatly thatched; another variety of palm leaf, called *ám-*, is sometimes substituted for the *chà·ngta-*.

4. The *chàng-daranga-*, or the third variety, being only intended to serve as shelter during a halt or short visit, is constructed in [462] a yet more simple manner. The duty of erecting dwellings of this class devolves on the women, and from the following description it will be seen that the labour required is not excessive: two slender posts, about five feet long, are driven into the ground about five or six feet apart, and connected by means of a light pole or stick, which is secured to their upper ends. The roof is then formed by placing, stem downwards and firmly fixed in the ground, large palm leaves, which are made to overlap each other in such a way as to provide a fairly rain-proof shelter for one or two persons.[3] The leaves used for the purpose are either the *chà·ngta-*, *kâ·pa-*, or *â·para-*.

[353] 5. Above the small fire, without which no hut is complete, a small wooden platform or shelf, called *châ·pa lī tâ·ga-*, or *yât leb* [251] *tâ·ga-*, is placed on one or more sticks. On this they deposit their spare food, so that it may be preserved by the smoke from the attacks of insects, &c.[4] By way of adornment, trophies of [353] the chase, such as the skulls of pigs,[5] turtles, dugongs, &c., are suspended from the front of the roof.[6]

6. It seems desirable to draw attention to the following passage in Dr. Dobson's paper, lest, if left unnoticed, some misapprehension should arise on the subject. He states that "the Andamanese, at least the inhabitants of the southern island, erect no kind of house whatever . . . . When walking along the beach in the vicinity of Port Mouat,

[1] This variety is shown in Plate III, fig. 2.

[2] *Vide post* "Death and Burial," paragraph 4.

[3] Similar leaf shelters are erected by the Puris. *Vide* E. B. Tylor's "Anthropology."

[4] *Vide post* "Food," paragraph 31.

[5] This style of decoration is now-a-days falling into disuse, especially in South Andaman, for, with the assistance of dogs, hunting is much less arduous now than formerly, and a large collection of pig skulls is, therefore, easily obtained by the least skilful among them.

[6] Figuier speaks also of "large dried fish tied in bunches" being similarly treated but no ground for such a statement can be discovered.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

I have often come across one of their temporary habitations, which consists of a hole scooped out in the sand, beneath an over-hanging rock, large enough to contain a single person." As these savages are *never* in the habit of sleeping on the sand, or in holes scooped in the ground, but on a mat, or leaves spread under one or other of the three varieties of huts described above, it is difficult to account for what Dr. Dobson saw, unless they were the resting places of ticket-of leave fishermen or convict runaways. No other explanation than this could be given when some aborigines, and an experienced attendant at the homes, were questioned by me on the subject. One other solution only is possible, and that is, that the "holes scooped out in the sand" were the result of a game of mock burial, which, as I shall mention under "Games and Amusements," is rather a favourite recreation of the *àryô·to-* children.

7. The majority of the Great Andaman huts[1] partake of the character of a lean-to, the only respects in which the three varieties differ being[2] size and durability. They are found either standing alone, or, as is more especially the case in permanent encampments, so joined together as to form (at least, in their owners' eyes) a commodious as well as a weather-proof dwelling; and, constructed, as they usually are, in well-sheltered localities, away from the prevailing wind, they fulfil all the requirements of a savage home.

8. Permanent encampments vary in size, and consist of several huts, which in all are rarely inhabited by more than from 50 to 80 persons, though they are capable of affording accommodation, of a kind, to a much larger number if necessity arise as happens not unfrequently when festive tribal gatherings are arranged in honor of a wedding or other occasion of rejoicing.

9. The permanent encampments of the *àryô·to-* are established in those sites which offer special advantages for fishing and turtling at all seasons. Wherever there is a fine stretch of sandy beach, with an extensive foreshore, they will be invariably found, for, at such places, throughout the year the women are able at low tide to catch fish in pools with their hand-nets, and to collect large quantities of shell-fish; while, during the flood

[1] One of the huts in the *jăr·awa-* territory, between Port Blair and Port Campbell, when visited a few years ago, was found to measure 46 feet × 42 feet; and Mr. Homfray, in 1867, described the huts at Little Andaman as capable (*more Andamanico*) of accommodating 100 persons, being 50 feet in diameter and 30 feet in height. The leaf employed by this tribe for thatching purposes appears to be invariably the variety called *ám-*, and not the *chà·ngta-*.

[2] The largest hut of the ordinary type is rarely found capable of accommodating more than six persons. Sometimes these huts are placed together so as to resemble small sheds, but as this has hitherto been seen only in or near South Andaman, it is possible that the form of our barracks gave rise to the idea.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE VI.

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GREAT ANDAMAN TYPES AT PORT BLAIR HOME.

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CHANG-TONGA (SECOND-CLASS LEAN-TO) IN SOUTH ANDAMAN: FRIENDS WEEPING TOGETHER AFTER LONG SEPARATION; ATTITUDE IN SLEEP, ETC.

[facing p. 78]

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[501] (11) *Canoes.*—Bojigngiji and Yerewa, same pattern canoe; Ônge-Jarawa pattern different from above. Both out-rigged, Bojigngiji has in addition a large dug-out without outrigger.

[342] (12) *Huts.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas have temporary huts. Ônge-Jarawas have large permanent communal dwellings.

[535] (13) *Dancing.*—Bojigngijis and Yerawas, sounding board and song and clapping in unison. Ônge-Jarawa, standing in a ring and alternately bending and straightening the knees: also on occasion kicking the buttocks with the flat of the foot.

[352] (14) *Beds.*—Jarawas sleep on the wood ashes of the fires. Ônges on raised bamboo platforms. Other tribes on leaves and in sand-holes.

[262 251] (15) *Food.*—The staple food of the Ônges is the mangrove fruit, boiled, and they preserve small fish dried after cooking. None of the other tribes do this.

The Long-shore and Jungle Andamanese.—The Andamanese are by themselves again further divided into the Aryoto or long-shore men, and the Eremtaga or jungle-dwellers; the habits and capacities of these two differ, owing to surroundings, irrespective of tribe. Some tribes as the Tabo, Juwai, Kol, and the South Andaman Jarawas, are entirely Eremtaga, while the Balawa, the Chariar, and the Jarawas of the North Sentinel are entirely Aryoto. The Aryoto holds himself to be better than the Eremtaga, but beyond this there seem to be no exclusive distinctions between them and an Aryoto will marry or adopt an Eremtaga.

With the minuteness in matters concerning their surroundings that is characteristic of all entirely uneducated people, the Andamanese recognise a third division of themselves by habits into Adajig or creek-dwellers, *i.e.*, those who live on the shores of the many inlets of the sea on the coasts of the Islands. The habits of the Adajig, however, are practically those of the Aryoto.

Distinctions by habits are quickly lost by the Andamanese. The Jarawas have now no canoes in the South Andaman and are quite incapable of constructing or using them, though all Ônges have them and so have the Jarawas on the North Sentinel. So also had the Jarawas that Colebrooke met a century ago. And this year (1902) it was ascertained that the young men brought up at the Duratang (Eyd Island) Home and occupied chiefly in market gardening could neither steer nor paddle a canoe, nor take up tracks in the jungles. In one generation, though there was no restriction in communication with their people, they had lost both sea and forest craft.

Former Isolation of the Tribes.—Before the arrival of the English the tribes, excepting actual neighbours, may be said to have had no general intercourse with each other, and excepting some individuals were entirely unable to converse together, though it can be conclusively shown that all the existing languages are directly descended from one parent tongue. Even Septs had but little mutual intercourse and considerable differences in details of dialect and, as has occurred in other island abodes of savages, there must have been a change of dialect or language along about every 20 miles of the coast. The tribes were in fact brought together and made definitely acquainted with each other's separate existence and peculiarities by the influence and exertions of Mr. Man between 1875 and 1880.

609 **Sympathies and Antipathies.**—The tribal feeling is expressed as follows: friendly within the tribe, courteous to other Andamanese if known, hostile to every stranger, Andamanese or other. The sympathy and antipathy exhibited are strictly natural, *i.e.*, savage, and are governed by descent. The feeling of friendliness lies in an ever-decreasing zone from the family outwards towards sept, tribe, group: hostility to all others. Even septs will fight each other and Aryoto and Eremtaga do not mix much. But there is no "caste" feeling, and tribes will, in circumstances favouring the actions (*e.g.*, living on the tribal borders), intermarry and adopt each other's children. Within the tribe there is so general a custom of adoption that children above six or seven rarely live with their own parents. It is an act of friendliness to give up or adopt a child and the custom has had the effect of making the various septs of a tribe hang together much better than would otherwise have been possible.

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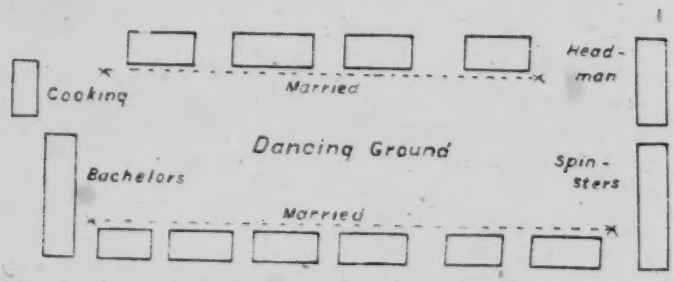
in other savages. At Government House, Calcutta, in 1895, when a party was told to sit down and weep to show the custom at meetings, in a few moments the weeping became genuine, and when after a short time they were told to stop and get up, tears were streaming down their faces. 576

General Capacities.—The Andamanese are good climbers, and rapid walkers and runners, moving with a free and independent gait, and can travel considerable distances at a time. The Jarawas turn their toes in, due to the necessity of stooping to pass along their paths through the tangled jungle. The Eremtaga are good but not remarkable trackers. The Aryoto are good swimmers and are much at home in the water. The Andamanese generally show a dexterity in getting about their thick and tangled jungles which baffles all immigrants, though in this respect the Eremtaga quite out-distance the Aryoto, and the Jarawas apparently all the others. In the jungles all shooting with arrows is necessarily at very short distance, and generally the Andamanese are good shots at short distances only, judging direction very well but distance hardly at all. They can however at the very short distance required for shooting fish allow accurately for refraction in moving water and will shoot their fish successfully even in the surf in a manner that is inimitable: this is really due to accurate judgment of direction. 481

The Andamanese are unadventurous seamen, poling and paddling their canoes with small spade paddles at considerable speed, faster than that of an ordinary ship's boat for a little distance though they could not paddle away from one in even a short chase, but they never go out of sight of land, have never been even to the Cocos (30 miles), nor to Narcondam and Barren Island, nor had they ever any knowledge of the existence of the Nicobars till our arrival. Man has a legend from Car Nicobar doubtfully going to show that the Onges from the Little Andaman once made raids on that island: but if this were true they would do so still. 502

IV. Habits and Customs.

Dwellings.—Except in the Little Andaman and among the Jarawas there are no fixed habitations, the search for easily obtained food and insanitary habits obliging the people to be nomads, for they have no practice of cultivation and domesticate no animal whatever except dogs obtained from the English. They thus dwell in various customary encampments, situate within their respective territories. At these encampments, usually fixed in sheltered spots, they erect about 14 temporary huts capable of holding up to 50 to 80 persons, arranged facing inwards on an oval plan always more or less irregular, thus— 621 [242] [231]



The central space is the dancing ground. A hut is merely a thatch about 4 feet long by 3 feet wide, sloping from 8 inches behind to 4½ feet in front, placed on four uprights and some cross-pieces without walls. In unsheltered spots and at the Head-Quarters of Septs large circular huts are built with a good deal of ingenuity, having eaves nearly touching the ground. These will be as much as 15 feet high and 30 feet in diameter. For hunting purposes mere thatched shelters are erected for protection from the wind. Close to every hut is a very small platform for surplus food about 18 inches from the ground, and in it at least one fire is carefully preserved. This is the one thing that the Andamanese are really careful about for they do not know how to make fire, though 342 [251] 372

372 they show much skill in so carrying smouldering logs with them by land or sea that they are not extinguished. Their ignorance of this fundamental requirement of civilization is shown in their fire-legend that fire was originally stolen from their deity Puluga and has never been allowed to become extinct since. Excepting guns, nothing has more impressed the Andamanese with European power and resources than the use of matches, *i.e.*, of making fire whenever required with ease.

342 In the Little Andaman and among the Jarawas of the South Andaman, large permanent huts for use in the wet season are built up of solid materials to 30 feet in height and 60 in breadth to hold the fires of 7 to 8 hunting parties, say 60 to 70 people, *i.e.*, they contain 7 to 8 fires with about 8 persons to each "fire." The Jarawa hunting camp is much the same as that of any other Andamanese and his great communal hut is built on the same principle as the larger huts of the other Andamanese.

The use of the flimsy hunting shelters and camp huts of the Andamanese is rendered possible in the wet and stormy weather so common in the Islands by the denseness of the jungle, which prevents the winds from reaching them even when close to the sea-beach and causes the rain to fall vertically upon them.

619 **Government.**—There is no idea of Government, but to each tribe and to each sept of it there is a recognised head, who has attained that position by 622 tacit agreement on account of some admitted superiority, mental or physical, and commands a limited respect and such obedience as the self interest of the other individual men of the tribe or sept dictates. There is a tendency to [554] hereditary right in the natural selection of chiefs, but there is no social status that is not personally acquired. The social position of a chief's family follows that of the chief himself and admits of many privileges in the shape of tribal influence and immunity from drudgery. His wife is among women what he is [888] among men and at his death, if a mother and not young, she retains his privileges. Age commands respect and the young are deferential to the elders. Offences, *i.e.*, murder, theft, adultery, mischief, assault, are punished by the 627 aggrieved party on his own account by injury to the body and property or by murder, without more active interference on the part of others than is consistent with their own safety, and without any fear of consequences except vengeance from the friends of the other side, and even this is usually avoided by disappearance till the short memory of the people has obliterated wrath.

421 Property is communal, as is all the land, and ideas as to individual possessions are but rudimentary, accompanied with an incipient tabu of the property belonging to a chief. An Andamanese will often readily part with ornaments to any one who asks for them. Theft, or the taking of property without leave, is only recognised as to things of absolute necessity, as arrows, pig's flesh, fire. 437 A very rude barter exists between tribes of the same group in regard to articles not locally obtainable or manufactured. This applies especially to cooking pots, which are made of a special clay found only in certain parts of the islands. The barter is really a gift of one article in expectation of another of assumed corresponding value in return, and a row if it is not forthcoming. The territory of other tribes is carefully respected without however there being any fixed boundaries.

562 The duties of men and women are clearly defined by custom, but not so as to make that of the women comparatively hard. The women have a tacitly acknowledged inferior position, but it is not such as to be marked or to leave them without influence.

771 **Religion.**—The religion is simple animism and consists of fear of the evil spirits of the wood, the sea, disease and ancestors, and of avoidance of acts traditionally displeasing to them, and this in spite of an abundance of mythological tales told in a confused, disjointed manner that is most instructive to the student of such things. There is neither ceremonial worship nor propitiation. There is an anthropomorphic deity, Puluga, the cause of all things, whom it is not, however, necessary to propitiate, though sins, *i.e.*, acts displeasing to him, are avoided for fear of damage to the products of the jungle. Puluga dwells now in the sky, but used to live on the top of Saddle Peak, their highest mountain. The Andamanese have an idea that the "soul" will go under the earth by an aerial bridge after death, but there is no heaven nor hell nor any idea of a cor-

those on board. There were two policemen on board. There were also an Andamanese boy Henry, who was lame, through having fallen on the rocks two days previously, three Andamanese women, the whole of the crew, free and convict, and a lame convict *mullah*. Out of all these people none had the sense to get the Andamanese canoe along-side, get it manned and row over and approach the Jarawas. The rest of us had done all we possibly could to come up with Jarawas and here they were in sight of over a dozen men waiting to be approached, and were allowed to remain and to leave unmolested. After the hardships we had been through, this piece of news was really too discouraging. I may as well add here what had really happened, though this we did not discover until a careful examination of the tracks the following day. A party of two or three men, a woman, and a child had left the last huts I had visited early in the morning. Proceeding by a Jarawa track, to the river bed, their high-way to the sea, they had come on the tracks of my party and followed them down to see who we were, and where we had come from. Having arrived at nearly the bottom of the river they broke off through the jungle in order to avoid the deep water, and came out on the coast, thus missing my boat. Here they found the launch, and after watching it for an hour and-a-half, and finding themselves unmolested, they had strolled off and found their way to Mr. Bonig's boat. Having looted this they returned, either to the huts from which they came, or to some others near by. While they were following my tracks Mr. Bonig and his party had come on theirs, and were hurrying after them as fast as possible, arriving an hour too late, and it was then too late to hunt them further so they had had the narrowest escape. I had been an hour or so too early for them, Mr. Bonig a bare hour too late, while the people on the launch had had them in view for a whole hour and more and had done nothing.

30th January.—To-day was a day of comparative rest. As our efforts to come across the Jarawas in the jungle had all been fruitless, we tried to tempt them to attack us. For this purpose the Andamanese were ordered to bathe and play about on the beach, the three women we had with us being landed with the rest. Only two policemen, Mr. Bonig and myself landed and strolled about in an unconcerned manner. But all to no purpose. The wily savages, either from fright or some other reason, declined to oblige us. The Andamanese said that finding so many people about, they had gone to give intelligence to the remainder of the tribe. However that may be, we could see no signs of them and at half past one after frequent blowing of the whistle we left, Mr. Bonig took the steam launch up to Kaichwa Bay, while I marched up the coast. I found an old shelter on the shore close to Port Campbell, and after that the whole way up the coast the only sign I could find of them was an old piece of wreckage with nails in it, out of which the Jarawas had evidently removed several nails. After the last two days' operations the journey was quite an easy march of 8 miles or so along the beach. On arrival I found Mr. Bonig had taken a party in to search the jungle. He returned at 6 P.M. having found no signs of any one.

3[illegible] *January.*—Left Kaichwa at 6 A.M., for Port Anson, arriving at 9 A.M. Picked up two Andamanese who knew the country well here and proceeded to the southern end of the harbour called by the Andamanese Dum-la-chorag. Set off for the shore at once with four policemen and a large party of Andamanese. We rowed a short way up a creek called by the Adamanese Dum-la-chorag-jig, and then landed in the mangrove swamp, taking the precaution to hide our rowlocks in the jungle. We marched through this for 2 or 3 miles. It was fairly open ground, but the mangrove mud was rather trying walking. At the end of the swamp we divided into two parties and separated to search for tracks. My party soon picked up some footsteps, and after a little hesitation found a Jarawa path and proceeded along it. This was of the same description as those I had previously struck and I knew we were on a Jarawa highway. After going about a quarter of a mile we overtook Mr. Bonig's party, which had struck the track a little sooner. We all proceeded along together, and after going up and down hill for 2 or 3 miles, as we ascended a steep hill, a clearing was visible through the jungle. With extreme caution the Andamanese advanced, and on the summit sure enough was the big Jarawa camp. The Andamanese call the place Pochang, and it was as far as I can judge 5 miles from the mouth of Dum-la-chorag-jig Creek. We advanced to the hut and found it empty. After seeing the substantial hunting huts erected by the Jarawas in the jungle, I had been prepared for a big house, but I never expected such a large, well constructed building. It was roughly oval in shape, the length being 60 feet and the breadth 40 feet, while it was 54 yards in circumference. Seven stout posts in a rough circle in the centre of the house were the main supports of the roof. These were about 17 feet in height, and some were 8 inches in diameter, and all were barked and smoothened. Rafters stretched from these to bullies on the outer circle, where the roof sloped to about 3 feet from the ground. Except that it had no floor it was quite as good as an ordinary Shan or Karen house, and was large enough to contain from 80 to 100 people. From the top of the roof, between the 7 centre posts were suspended, on strips of cane, 9 or 10 feet long, over 250 pig skulls, neatly fastened up in basket work. Below the skulls was the big fire-place, around the sides of the hut were the smaller fire-places, evidently used by separate families. There were about half-a-dozen of these, but when the house is in full occupation there would be at least a dozen. Each fire-place consists of four stakes driven into the ground. Between these the fire is lighted, and some 3 feet from the ground a piece of neat matting like a chick is fastened to the stakes so as to form a shelf for the meat, etc. A dozen well made vessels which the Andamanese said were honey pots were suspended from the rafters, as well as baskets of all sizes, unstrung bows, leaf water vessels, and other things. The thatching was decorated with

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bunches of leaves like fans used in their dances, and of these there were hundreds. Several children's bows were found, also wooden balls for them to play with, and a rough circular piece of wood which the Andamanese said was rolled along, and into which they shot their arrows. There was a large *degchi* made out of a tree trunk fitted into one of the honey pots, and neatly-worked mats used as shelves for the food, and also I think to sit on. Among other things I discovered a glass bottle, and it is worthy of note that they had a stock of firewood chopped and tied up with cane ready for use in one corner of the building. The house was on the summit of a hill, and there were seven paths leading up to it. All were well cleared at their opening on to the hill and each could be commanded by a man with a bow and arrow. Over two of the entrances were raised platforms of logs sloping from the ground to about 3 feet in height. These were the look-outs and each commanded a path and my own impression is that when the camp is in habitation, over each path a similar platform is erected, and each path thus well commanded. The main approach leading due north was as well cleared as a Forest Department road, and must have been 15 yards broad at the exit from the camp. Large trees had been felled and saplings cut a foot from the ground, and around the hut the grass had been cleared as carefully as at a jungle pongyi-kyaung in Burma. They had even taken the trouble to cut down several large trees, one quite 5 feet in diameter, evidently to have a view of the next ridge. In fact so much care had been taken both in the building of the house, and the clearing of the precincts, and so well were both done, that it is difficult to believe that savages have been able to do this unaided. The Andamanese say there is another, possibly two similar huts to this. They say that the whole Jarawa tribe collects in one of these in the rains. I am rather doubtful myself whether the whole tribe could occupy the house; I rather think they under-rate their numbers, as the traces of them on every side in the jungle make me think there are from 80 to 100 men, whereas the Andamanese put down their numbers at 100 all told. They say that they burned a similar hut to this some years ago at Maiilitilek. In the dry weather the Jarawas scatter hunting and live in their hunting huts.

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After exploiting the house we considered what was best to be done. At first we determined to camp in the house for the night, and for that purpose sent back a party to bring up food. Then leaving a guard of Police and Andamanese we went down the main path towards the north. It was very easy going, and though it narrowed from its 15-yard entrance to a path only wide enough for a man, there was no difficulty in getting along. We, however, found no fresh traces, indeed the only track we saw was that of a man who the Andamanese said was going to look after the house. They explained that every two or three days in the dry weather a man or two goes to see that nothing is wrong with the house. After proceeding about a mile we again considered what it was best to do, and eventually I came to the conclusion to leave the house and to return. I took one specimen of everything to take back to Port Blair, and left everything else in its place so as not to frighten the Jarawas. We then returned as fast as we could, reaching the launch at 6 P.M. To-day's expedition was not a hard one. We had had a tramp of 5 miles or so to the camp and a mile further on and back, so the whole day's march was not more than 12 or 13 miles.

February 1st.—Started from Port Anson at 6 A.M. and arrived 10-30 A.M. at Port Blair. Received orders to start the next day, and return with Mr. Rogers.

February 2nd.—Left Port Blair at 7-45 A.M. and arrived at Duratang at 10-45 A.M. Proceeded on to Jatang at 11-30 A.M. Met Mr. Rogers and handed him the Superintendent's letter. Returned with him at once getting back to the launch at 4 P.M.

February 3rd.—Started at day-break and anchored in Port Anson harbour at Dum-lachorag at 9 A.M. Started off for the Jarawa house in boats at 9-30. On this occasion we pulled considerably further up the creek so as to avoid as much as possible of the mangrove swamp. On landing we almost at once came on the fresh tracks of five Jarawas, so leaving a guard of one policeman and several Andamanese at the boat, Mr. Bonig and myself followed them for about half a mile, but as we found they were only following our tracks of Friday we returned, and all made for the Jarawa camp at Pochang. We arrived about noon. We found the Jarawas had visited it since our discovery of it on January 31st and had carried off all the more valuable articles, such as the *degchi* and the honey pots. I had feared this when we came on their fresh footsteps. They had also slightly dismantled the house so as to make rude barricades on the unprotected approaches. I sent our Andamanese into the jungle to see that there were none lurking near, and then Mr. Rogers photographed the house, exterior and interior, while Mr. Needham, who was also with us, sketched it, after which we removed all the remaining baskets and other belongings, and cut down the pig skulls in the centre. After this we collected the Andamanese and they executed a war dance with the Jarawa leaf-fans. Then gathering up the trophies, consisting mostly of pig skulls, we returned to the launch, arriving at 4 P.M. Weighed anchor and proceeded to the Andaman Home at Port Anson, where we remained for the night.

February 4th.—Left Port Anson at 11-30 A.M., arriving at Port Blair at 4-30 P.M.

The four policemen who accompanied Mr. Bonig and myself on our several marches worked very well, and were always close to us. The work of the smarter boys among the Andamanese was splendid, and their tracking was a revelation to me. Their unerring knowledge of the jungle too was marvellous. For instance they had only visited Gering-chapa-jig once previously and that years before. Yet without a compass and with hardly a glimpse of the sun to guide them, they never faltered, knew exactly where they were and took the nearest way home. Two or three of them afterwards pointed out our position

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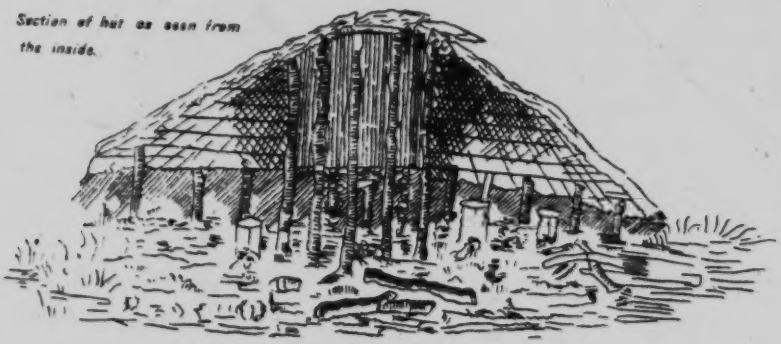
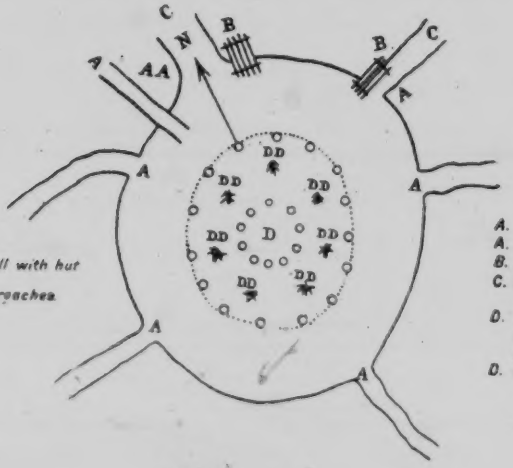
View of hut.

Section of hut as seen from the inside.





Plan of top of hill with hut and approaches.

A. A. Main approach.
A. Pathway.
B. Look out posts.
C. Jungle clearing in front of look out post.
D. Main fire place above which hung about 300 Pigakula.
D. D. Small fire places.

[Facing p. 78]

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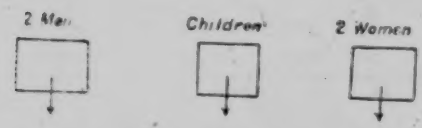
The camp consisted of three huts arranged thus:—



Arrows show entrance into huts.

The Andamanese said the camp had been occupied by two grown up men, two women and some children. The huts or shelters were about 5 feet long and 4 broad, and 4 feet high. They are made of a framework of sticks, some poles being bent down also and tied; leaves of a large palm cut with long stalks stuck into the ground, formed the back and roof of the huts. There were remains of fires inside the huts and in front of them and a considerable amount of white wood ash.

19th February.—Started at 6 A.M. and returned to the place we had landed to wait for Mr. Vaux. Mr. Bonig was asleep when I left. I left a message for him to say that I would be back at 9 A.M. He came to me about 7-30 A.M. and I asked him to go down the coast and see if Mr. Vaux had got out on to the coast and if so to bring him back, and asked him to be back on the launch by nightfall. I told him that if Mr. Vaux did not return by 9 A.M., I should go back to the launch, have some food and start off to follow Mr. Vaux's tracks and see what had happened to him. 000

Mr. Vaux did not return to our landing place, so I went back to the launch and had some breakfast, while the Andamanese had their food and made preparations to follow Mr. Vaux's tracks and to stay out a night in the forest, if necessary; as I had told Mr. Bonig I would do this and that he was not to be anxious about me, as I should return without fail the day after. Got ready food for Andamanese and Mr. Vaux.

While at breakfast I heard the report of a gun and saw Mr. Vaux and party on the shore at the mouth of the estuary of the creek we had gone up. Put off at once to fetch him and found that he had come across the Jarawa party, whose camp we had found. He had attacked the camp at night and taken two children prisoners. One child was a girl four or five years old, and the other a baby boy of about nine months. Mr. Vaux had camped on the site of the Jarawa camp and had shots fired at intervals to keep off the Jarawas, but was not attacked. The two men in it were said to have been wounded by the Andamanese who were with Mr. Vaux. The Andamanese shot at the men in the camp, while Mr. Vaux rushed into it. The Andamanese say there were two men, two women and two large boys and some small children.

We waited for Mr. Bonig, who returned about 6-30 P.M. He had seen a party on the shore on his way down the coast and thought it was mine; so went on and then landed and struck into the interior, but found no new traces of Jarawas, and so returned to the shore and came back to the launch soon after sunset.

20th February.—The capture of the girl and baby boy upset all our plans, as it was necessary to take the baby somewhere, where it could be fed. The Andamanese said there was a woman with a baby at Lekeralunta, (Port Anson), so we decided to take the baby there and return to Fort Campbell or Bilap (see Mr. Vaux's report of his first reconnaissance) and continue our search for Jarawa houses.

Left Bajalunta at 7-30 A.M., and arrived at Lekeralunta at 1 P.M. The Andamanese woman was out on a hunting trip, and as she was expected back in the evening we waited for her.

21st February.—As the Andamanese woman with a child did not come back, Mr. Vaux decided that Mr. Bonig should take the two Jarawa children to Port Blair, while myself and Mr. Vaux went to the large Jarawa hut at Pochang and looked for the main track south, and that Mr. Bonig was to join us the next morning at Pochang.

Weighed anchor at 6-30 A.M. Reached Dum-lachorag at 7-30 A.M., disembarked and sent the boat back to launch. Mr. Vaux, self, servants, 8 policemen and 13 Andamanese landed, while 4 policemen and 4 Andamanese went with Mr. Bonig to Port Blair. The tide was up, so we had considerable difficulty in getting up the estuary to Pochang, the site of the large Jarawa hut, which we had discovered on the first expedition. We reached Pochang about 1 P.M. and pitched camp a little beyond and above the site of the large Jarawa hut.

22nd February.—Mr. Vaux and self, each accompanied by one policeman and four Andamanese, started off in different directions to look for the main track of the Jarawas from their large hut. We left camp at 7-30 A.M. I followed the stream, from which we got our drinking water, (it flowed a little east of south for half an hour), and then climbed up the ridge, which we could see south from the camp running in a generally north and south direction. At 10 minutes past 9 we picked up some old Jarawa tracks in the bed of stream and at 9-40 reached a very old disused hunting camp on a ridge to the south of the stream, which there bent to the West. We then crossed the ridge and went south-east, and at 10 o'clock reached another stream flowing south, which we followed, and at 10-10 A.M. reached a salt water stream, which flows to the east of south and probably flows into the Middle Strait. Where we met it, it was about 40 feet wide. This is probably Pap-lunta Jig.

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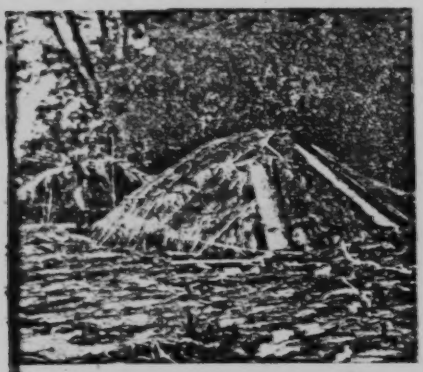

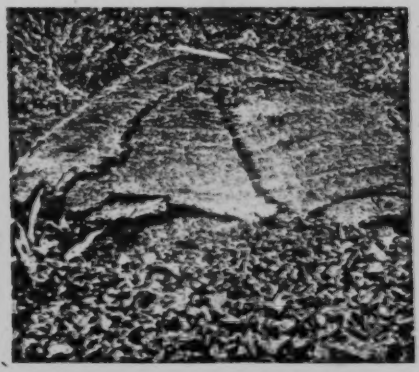

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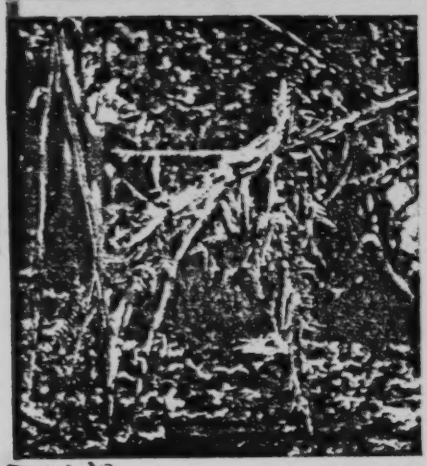

[P.2(A)] Captions will be found on P.2(B)-Analyst]

4:Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P.2(B)]

PLATE I

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Fig. 1—Onge hut, north of Dugong Creek, in Little Andaman Island.

Fig. 2—Onge hut, north of Dugong Creek, in Little Andaman Island.

Fig. 3—Entrance to Onge hut north of Dugong Creek in Little Andaman.

Fig. 4—Onges in front of their hut in Little Andaman (South of Dugong Creek). [142]

Fig. 5—Jarawa Shelter at Spike Island in Middle Andaman.

Fig. 6—Onge canoes with single outrigger in Little Andaman waters. [501]

Mr Subramanian of the Forest Department and Mr Majid's young son also 114
accompanied us. We reached Bumila Creek on the north eastern coast of the 123
Little Andaman at about 3 P.M. and having sighted an Andamanese hut we decided to anchor the launch there. The beach was about 2 miles from the place of anchorage. We took out a small boat and rowed to the beach and reached the hut at about 4 P.M. It was found to be abandoned but there were signs of human occupation and within a few yards a water-hole was [312] discovered. A broken canoe, with a single out-rigger was found close to the [501] hut (*see* Plate I, Fig. 1). Burnt coal and smouldering ashes in the centre of the hut showed that it was probably deserted by the Aborigines as soon as they had sighted us. After making a careful inspection of the place we returned to our launch and decided to anchor there for the night. Unfortunately the choppy sea and the strong current coming from the Bumila Creek tossed our small boat throughout the whole night, as a result of which all of us had an uncomfortable time.

We left southwards towards Hut Bay early in the morning and as we moved along the coast we sighted another Onge hut. This did not seem to be deserted as we saw a few people moving about. We decided to stop there and investigate. We took out a boat and moved towards the coast with such presents as we had brought from Port Blair on the advice of the Chief Commissioner. When we got near the coast, we left the boat and walked for about a furlong through coral beds finally reaching the shore. The hut was found [342] to be circular in shape and not too large, and was occupied by 2 adult females, [592] 1 adult male and a young boy. The adult male, *Ukla*, was the father of the 609
young boy and husband of the younger woman. The older woman was his 123
mother-in-law. These people appeared very friendly. We gave them presents 126
we had brought and took photographs and made drawings of their hut. In addition, full anthropometric measurements were taken by me and blood was taken from fingers for typing by Mr Sarkar. Ukla was able to speak a few Hindi words and we gathered that he had been to Port Blair and knew Mr Bonington, formerly of the Forest Department, Andaman Islands. We found in front of the hut, hanging from a large tree 825
the skull and mandible of a Dugong (*see* Plate I, Figs. 3 & 4). We enquired 124
about its significance from Ukla, but unfortunately his knowledge of Hindi was not sufficient to explain it to us. We learned from him, however, that the name of the village was *Laito*. After making friendly gestures, we returned to 'Molly' and proceeded immediately towards Hut Bay. At about noon 501
time while we were having our lunch, we suddenly saw three outrigger canoes 609
(of single outrigger type) coming towards us, each carrying about 4 Onges. 122
We signalled to them and they came to our launch and tied their canoes with it and came on board. The men appeared to be friendly and not afraid of us. Our greatest difficulty, however, was language, as we could not make ourselves understood as none of the crew or any other member including Mr Subramaniam of the Forest Department knew that language. There was one man 554
who seemed to occupy a position of authority among these men, and was [302] painted with red and yellow ochre on the forehead, arms and breast. The

there were no Andamanese There,
but 400 people consisting of 133 males and 130 females who migrated from Bassein in 1924. They were Karen Christians who had settled there. After returning to Long Island on the 12th, Mr Sarkar and party left in the motor boat "Return" for a short cruise along the Jarawa country. Besides Mr Joseph, there were Mr Poovial and a few of his Burman Bush Police armed with rifles and guns. The party passed through the Homfray's Strait and anchored at the north eastern corner of the Spike Island. Loka and his party of three Andamanese accompanied them in their two canoes. They came to the shore in one of the Andamanese canoes and after entering the forest they found bundles of bamboos piled up at one corner. This was identified as a Jarawa raft. There were also three paddles made out of a palm tree. These specimens were procured for the Department. After proceeding some distance in the jungle, 19 small fire places were counted in scattered manner. A temporary hut was also noticed at a short distance. A number of objects usually used by the Andamanese tribes for household purposes was found including a sling for carrying babies. A beautiful specimen of a Jarawa Bow painted in red in geometrical designs was also found. Photographs were taken of the settlements of the Jarawa camp and objects collected for the Museum. In another place at *Yeratiajig* remnants of a Jarawa camp including pottery and bones of animals, etc., were found. The party returned to Long Island on 14-3-48 and examined 8 of the remaining members of Loka's party. It left the same day for Port Blair where it arrived at 10 P.M. On the 25th Mr Sarkar and his party with the Deputy Chief Commissioner Mr Gupta, left for Kar Nicobar where it arrived on the following day. It returned to Port Blair after staying for a few days. During this time in Kar Nicobar, besides studying the Nicobarese of the Island Mr Sarkar met two Jarawa children who were captured and brought over there and placed in a local Mission School for education.

In the following year in January 1949, another small party was sent under Dr A. K. Mitra with Messrs H. K. Bose and A. Bhattacharyya, to continue the survey of the Little Andaman further along the eastern coast. They visited *Hut Bay* on the 28th and went to the Onge settlement there. A large circular hut similar to that seen by us at Tambebui was observed. It contained nine cots with a fire place in the centre. There were also two outrigger canoes, one in front of the hut and another on the beach. Altogether 11 Onges were found consisting of 2 adult males, 6 females and 3 young children between the ages of 6 to 15. The 8 adults and the adolescent boys were carefully measured and observations noted about their special somatic characters. After leaving Hut Bay they went as far as the South Point which is the southernmost point on the eastern coast of the Little Andaman, but did not see any other Onge settlement. They had to return on the 31st as the launch could not be spared any further.

The Onges were found to be strong and healthy and free from venereal disease, a scourge, which along with tuberculosis were chiefly responsible for the rapid depopulation of the Andamanese tribes. Our observations agree with the accounts of the Negritos of the Andaman Islands published before

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

tracted hardship and considerable risk, not so much from the natives themselves as from the implacable Andaman sea. We had a terrible time during several of our landings from the open Indian Ocean. Constant danger additionally stimulated the development of research in Little Andaman. All the Indians and the Burmese behaved bravely. Among them I wish to mention here my Indian stenographer, a married man nearing thirty, from Bengal: RANHADIR KUMAR DEV, who, on 12 and 13 February, 1953, on the south coast of the island shared two frightfully narrow escapes with me. I am sure that neither of us will ever forget it. I later found a comfortable landing place, now indicated by floating buoys, on the north coast. Two other Bengalese assistants who were a great help to me in Little Andaman and had been selected from a number of young aspirants, are PRONAB GANGULI and BIMAL CHANDRA ROY. My work in the Andamans could not have been accomplished without them and without the initiative and encouragement of officers such as Dr. B. S. GUHA, Director of the Department of Anthropology of the Indian Government, Mr. AJAY K. GHOSH, the kind, open-minded Chief Commissioner of Andamans and Nicobars during my 1951-1953 stay there, and Mr. S. N. MAITRA, who succeeded Mr. GHOSH as Chief Commissioner. In a book that I am writing I try to point out the significance of my work in the Andamans, carried out with the help of such distinguished, and sometimes heroic, Indian collaborators.

I. Hygienic Conditions

1. Habitation

The nomadic Onge have two kinds of shelter: one temporary, the other permanent, used only for short periods at a time. The Little Andaman forest is full of abandoned temporary shelters; the permanent camps are fewer, mainly situated along the coast. They consist of communal huts, strongly built by a number of families roaming under the direction of a leader. The huts have a ritual significance, as we shall presently see. Inside each communal hut are a number of beds generally equal to the number of families. Small fires are kept burning day and night near the beds, a precaution that I was thankful for on many cold nights succeeded by hot days. The Onge require nothing more against the cold. In their camps they can withstand the heaviest storms and drenching rains. In order to avoid chills it is enough for them to protect their fires from extinction. This applied to me too, while living among the Onge. The warmth and the dry air ensured good health for us all.

A few additional beds are for the use of bachelors nearing marriage. Most of the beds are marginally and radially placed; a few are placed transversally. Normal beds accommodate father, mother (the Onge are monogamous), children and dogs, all in a heap. In temporary as in permanent shelters it is customary for families to eat separately, each close to its bed. The low, round roof of the communal hut does not reach the ground; a gap of 30 cms is left free for creeping in and out at will without using the main door (a simple mat, to be lifted). Rubbish is thrown carelessly everywhere, e. g. directly outside the circular hut, which is consequently surrounded by a malodorous ring of bones, imperfectly cleaned shells, bits of rotting shellfish and other animals – a rich breeding ground for flies and various other insects that rapidly destroy everything edible, leaving the grass to grow until the next lot of garbage accumulates. Building and rebuilding a communal hut always on the same

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

LIDIO CIPRIANI, Hygiene and Medical Practices among the Onge (Little Andaman)

Plate 1

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a) Onge communal hut.
b) Painted Onge woman drinking from a nautilus shell.
c) Woman with *bataghé* leaves.
d) Filter going from mouth to mouth.

[p. 489 (A)]

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

262 immense quantities of it together with pork. I was with them three times when
this recurred, so I could observe their behaviour exhaustively. With their
517 bellies full, the natives rest. Their only activity is body painting, performed by
302 the women on the skin of their peacefully sleeping husbands. Designs change
178 from time to time as I said before, according to the women's inventiveness.
Each family challenges the others in renewing their patterns. The best are later
reproduced until the next change. From year to year I noticed no real evolution
in this rudimentary art, but a cyclical fashion, with temporary preference, in
males and females alike, for some geometrical designs, unconnected with what-
ever kind of food they had been eating. This contradicts the published af-
114 firmations of several authors, who allege that the Andamanese paint special
302 patterns in special colours for different kinds of food. There is nothing more
[262] false, at least with reference to the Onge. Merry feasting, whether on pork
[751] turtle, dugong, fish or honey, leads to a period of rest and body decoration –
always in similar patterns and colours – with the unique purpose of preventing
[515] illness. We might say that painting the body is equal to cleaning it, but this
is quite unintentional. A curious exception to the Onge's filthy habits is the
264 practice of sweeping the floor after solemn banquets in communal huts. The
356 surface of the floor consists of unpacked earth hardened by casual tramping.
●342 When it is dry, sweeping raises a heavy dust that fills the hut to the ceiling.
251 It deposits there on the wooden beams where the Onge like to store cooked
262 victuals. So they eat their food, as I said before, coated with dust, no matter
412 how thick. A brush without a handle is used to sweep the floor ; it is 80 cms
long and no thicker than a man's wrist. It is one of the nicest tools made by
the Onge, and consists of strong, hard, elastic palm fibres bound together with
strips of rattan. The dirt is simply thrown out all around the hut, by pushing
356 it under the roof mats that never reach the ground.

These notes offer a first glimpse into a peculiar aspect of Onge life. It is
114 to be deplored that these vanishing people have not yet been exhaustively
studied, notwithstanding their anthropological interest and high biological
significance.

7: Sarkar D-4,5 (1948) 1960 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

161 the actual Onge population. He has estimated the population instead of giving a simple
162 population figure for each of the Onge settlements he visited. His estimates are based
114 on the number of sleeping places in a hut, though nothing definite could be found either with regard to the total number of communal huts or the sleeping places. Then, to find out the sex of the individuals from the sleeping places seems preposterous. CIPRIANI (1956) estimates the total Onge population to be 607, comprising "229 adult men, 241 adult women and 137 children". He was able to determine the sex of the children in about 80 % of the cases, since immediately after the above quotation, he states: "Of the latter 48 are boys, 42 girls, and of 27 sex could not be ascertained". In the same paper and just two sentences before, where he gave the above figures, he mentioned a total of 497 individuals, comprising 242 men and 255 women. If the latter figures are meant only for adults then with the addition of 137 children to the above adult population of 497, the total Onge population appears to be 634. Even then the discrepancies in the adult population remain to be explained; it adds up to 470 (229 males, 241 females) once and to 497 (242 males, 255 females) another time.

The only thing that has some value in the demography of the Onges is that he has collected personal names of 107 adult males and 105 adult females. It is not known why the children have been excluded. At any rate, the personal names indicate a slightly higher number of males (50.5 %) than females while the total estimate for adults shows a hitherto unknown Onge sex ratio. With an adult population of 229 males and 241 females, the sex ratio works up to 48.7 % males and 51.3 % females.

Population estimates are always hazardous and, from all reports, the Onges appear to be a dwindling population. R. F. LOWIS, the Census Superintendent for the Andamans during 1911 and 1921 was frank enough to admit in 1921 that his 1911 estimate was "too high", though he gave one for 1921.

It is surprising that neither the Andaman Government nor the Department of Anthropology provided CIPRIANI with an assistant, trained among aboriginal people, who could have been of much help to him. At least the Onges could have been counted in each of the localities visited.

36 **Settlements.** — The typical Onge settlement is the communal hut, which is
[342] usually located on the beach. CIPRIANI mentions the communal huts in the interior of the island, but does not describe their details.

During the 1911 and 1921 Censuses coastal trips round the island were made and the former Census provides a very good map with the names of twenty settlements
[103] scattered on the island. The names are: 1) *Tambeibui* [4], 2) Uede, 3) *Nachuge*, 4) Tochiewe, 5) Tochengedu, 6) Quomame, 7) *Geejege*, 8) *Ingoi-tijala*, 9) *Ende-geleda*, 10) To-to-bwe (unoccupied), 11) *Titugalante*, 12) *Tothalawe*, 13) Tordeada (unoccupied), 14) *Kwanie-to-huage*, 15) Koreale, 16) Porale, 17) *Chetamale*, 18) *Titaiye*, 19) Ogechai, 20) Obate.

The names of the settlements visited during the 1921 Census are given at the beginning of this paper. It was also mentioned that 14 huts were seen in comparison to 19 (this will probably be 20) in 1911. The names of 15 settlements could be gathered from the Census Report of 1931 and the 10 settlements italicized above can be rather easily correlated with those of 1911.

114 CIPRIANI's map is again difficult to follow. Firstly, he has not given any idea of the
361 medium of language by which he communicated with the Onges. He has located in his map 18 existing coastal huts, of which the name of one between Otirubara and Benyaboi is missing. The position of the "supposed" huts within the jungle is misleading. Was he equipped with surveying instruments? Then he mentions 11 huts which are "no more in existence". How were they recognised? In what earlier context have they been identified as such? Only five of the eleven names (Obate, Palalankwe [or Kwalalanque, according to CIPRIANI], Ogechai, Ingoi-tijala and Chetamale) could be correlated with earlier records. Of the 20 coastal huts listed by him four (Nachuge, Geejege [or Gâje, according to CIPRIANI], Titaje and Tambeibui) could be correlated with the names of the 1931 Census map.

[4] So spelt in the 1911 Census.

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

The North Sentinel Jarawa

648 175 The taming of the South Andaman Jarawa has been a moot problem of the local government in view of their occasional raids on the forest camps and offices. On this score the North Sentinel Jarawa appear to have an important function. Nothing is known of the length of their isolation on this little island of about 15 square miles but it is probably unaffected by the punitive expeditions, that are undertaken from time to time by the local government against the South Andaman Jarawa. When BONIG and his party landed on the west coast of North Sentinel Island on March 9th 1911, they were not received with volleys of arrows, but instead the "eight men on the beach and another five in two canoes" disappeared in the jungle. The same was true of those seen previously on the east coast. BONIG and his party visited some huts, which [342] were of the lean-to type, and also went some miles inland without being troubled. BONIG therefore rightly concludes the following:

"The people appear very timid and it seems not unlikely that if they are approached frequently with presents, they will become friendly of their own accord. If this fails the small area of the island and the open nature of the forest would also make it easy to capture some, and after kind treatment let them go again".

000 As far as the present writer's knowledge goes this method has not yet been tried, but its utility lies perhaps in taming their South Andaman congeners. They could be made to settle round Port Campbell and other suitable areas on the west coast. A few communal huts built according to the plan and style of the South Andaman Jarawa should first of all be provided. They should be given all chances of expanding their population. Such an opportunity they are likely to seize if they suffer in any way from population pressure or from shortage of food and shelter. If their canoes are not seaworthy they should be provided with suitable water transport so that there may be frequent intercourse between the two islands.

The South Andaman Jarawa

114 Although no systematic ethnographic studies on the Jarawa have been undertaken, RADCLIFFE BROWN (1922) gave sufficient hints regarding the unity of the material culture of the Negritos as a whole. Physically they belong to the Negrito race, as can be seen from the few natives captured from time to time by the local government (SARKAR, 1952). The punitive expeditions 648 have also brought to light some important facts of their material culture.

342 Thus, during the punitive expedition of March 1911 (LOWIS, 1912) near Pap-lunta-jig a big communal hut was found which had been erected on the ridge of a hill and which measured 45′ × 30′ × 15′. It was raised high above the ground and was supported by a number of stout piles. The structure [184] was different from the Onge communal huts in that the floor was raised, while in the latter the floor is just the surface of the earth. The eves of the Onge communal hut touch the ground.

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

123 The second trip was made on March 12th 1948. Our party included Mr. JOSEPH and Mr. POOVIAH [2], both Sub-divisional Officers of the forest department, one Burman bush police and four Andamanese with their two canoes tied behind our motor boat. We followed the same route from Long Island and, reaching Spike Island, we anchored at its northeastern corner. We came ashore in the canoes. The beach was small and rocky. Part of it was sheltered on one side by huge rocks behind which the Jarawa were known to waylay those approaching from the sea. So we landed very cautiously. Just at [501] the outskirts of the jungle we saw huge bundles of short bamboo lengths tied to [824] one another and piled up in a heap. It was a Jarawa raft. Near the bamboo pile were three crude paddles split from the spadix of the palm called *Nipa fruticans*. We were all the more careful in our approach.

[361] Soon we came upon a clearing in the jungle. There was no Jarawa, but all around we saw traces of a temporary halt of a large party. We counted nineteen [342] fireplaces. At a distance from the fireplaces we saw a small temporary hut [622] improvised out of the materials available on the spot. Two small shrubs were tied together on two sides to form the roof of the hut. The Andamanese identified it to have been made for the Jarawa chief and his wife. Household objects [415] [824] lay scattered about. Three bamboo cylinders, closed at one end by the natural node, were found next to three of the fireplaces. They are [412] used for carrying water. A dark coloured modern glass bottle, probably acquired during a raid, was [177] [415] also found. One fireplace had a small compartment enclosed by a few wooden posts a few yards off. [354] [417] [855] The Andamanese identified it as an enclosure for keeping a child at a safe distance from the fire. This was probably correct as there was also a baby sling made of bark, exactly similar to that used by the [854] Onge for carrying a baby on its mother's back (VON EICKSTEDT, [412] 1934, fig. 211). At one corner of a fireplace the shavings of an arrowshaft or a bow were seen and nearby was a flat round pebble, one end of which was broken like that of a scraper (fig. 3). This scraper showed marks of red ochre [412] on it. Beneath a tree a circular mat, sewn out of three pieces of long triangular palm-like leaves was spread out, while on its branches was found a beautiful specimen of an unstrung bow. It appeared to have been recently prepared and

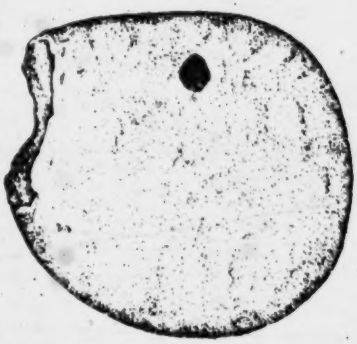

Fig. 3

[2] These two officers captured two Jarawa males, one adult and one boy, on October 19th 1948 on Spike Island. They were brought to Port Blair, wherefrom they managed to escape at night.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

The contact of the Onges with the outsiders can only be traced since the efforts of M. V. Portman[1] to establish a friendly relation with these tribes from 1886 onwards. However the earlier contacts with the Chinese and Japanese were possible because these people used to frequent the shores of Little Andaman for collecting the valuable shells and the Onges used to be engaged by them as divers and in reciprocation they were given presents of alcohol and opium. In the initial stage of the attempt for establishing a friendly relation by Portman, the Onges proved themselves hostile which was evidenced from the poor fate of the crews of a ship 'Assam Valley' when it touched the shores of Little Andaman and it was through the great efforts of the punitive expedition led by W. L. Much that the dead bodies of the crews were recovered. Later on, a few Onges, all on a sudden, arrived at Cinque Island and were captured by M. V. Portman. Only 9 of them were detained and the rest 15 were released. These few captured Onges were closely observed and studied in Port Blair by Portman and were ultimately returned back to their native land, Little Andaman. The friendly treatment and the presents that these Onges had received from Portman, paved the path of establishing friendly relations with the Onges much easier and also made the subsequent visits of the foreigners much more welcome. After Portman, a few more contacts were made with the Onges by Prof. Lapicque in March, 1893, during the operations of 1911 and 1921, undertaken by Eicsktedt, a German anthropologist, in 1827, by Dr. B. S. Guha, Ex-Director Anthropological Survey of India in 1948 and by Lidio Cipriani, an Italian anthropologist in the year 1954 and in a few succeeding years. Still the knowledge about the Onges seems to be meagre.

Living exclusively in the Little Andaman and a few of them in the Rutland Island, the Onges live in groups on a septal basis with clear-cut boundaries of hunting group for each group. There is no permanent habitation or village of the Onges in any part of the Little Andaman and their huts are of two types—(a) the permanent type of communal hut called *bera*, and (b) the temporary type of shelter called *korale*.

The abundance of food and water has made the life of the Onges comparatively easy-going. All the groups are headed by a leader and each group is assigned a fixed territory. The community life seems to be extremely democratic in character which entertains and also maintains a perfect individual freedom and only in times of necessity, advice,

1 Portman, M. V—History of one relations with the Andamanese.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

CHAPTER IX
ABORIGINAL POPULATION

Painted faces of the Onges (Courtesy A.S.I)

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Preparation of a tussel by an Onge Woman (Courtesy A.S.I.)

Construction of the hut by an Onges (Courtesy A.S.I.)

[facing p. 64]

26 Cleaning themselves, to the Onges, means painting themselves
302 to ward off evil and to remove, so they said, the smell of pig fat
[224] after the colossal orgies which follow a particularly good hunt, when even they find the stench too much. These orgies, which give
[164] them appalling indigestion for days, are followed by an apparently instinctive variation of their diet to raw or cooked vegetable foods. On three occasions from 1952–54 I was present at one of these solemn pork and honey orgies. The Onges ate almost till they burst, and then, hardly able to move, cleaned up by a grand painting session. The women do the painting, families vying with each other to produce weird new designs, which are then copied until the next feast.[1]

276 Fed and painted, the Onges sit down to smoke, using pipes made
26 from crabs' claws. Still regardless of hygiene the pipes go from one
302 mouth to another, the women smoking just as heavily as the men.
237 One curious anomaly is that the Onges do sometimes sweep the
356 earth floor of the communal hut. The floor is not deliberately beaten down, but becomes hardened by continuous walking on it; in dry weather it turns to dust, which rises and settles everywhere, especially under the roof, where the lumps of cooked meat,
[412] fish and so on are hung. For the cleaning a broom or besom is prepared, well made with very hard, supple, palm fibres, bound tightly and carefully with cords made from reeds. The whole thing is about eighty centimetres long and as thick as a man's wrist.

356 The dirt is simply swept out all round from under the roof of the
342 hut through the gap between the roof and the ground. In the course
172 of time a ring of refuse builds up round the hut, forming a glorious
364 breeding ground for insects of all kinds. When the hut has to be rebuilt, owing to the ravages of wood-worm and termites, the ring is levelled off to form the new floor. Since the same small, well-chosen site may be used for thousands of years, the hut ends up perching on top of a small mound of refuse dating back to very

[531] [1] From one year to the next I saw no real evolution of art forms but cyclic changes of designs, with a preference for certain geometric patterns, at certain times of the year. Having watched various individuals of both sexes closely over a period of some years I can say that in the Onges at least, contrary to what is generally understood, the use of given patterns, and given kinds of ochre, does not correspond with given types of food. Any feast is always followed by painting, always with the weirdest designs possible, but always geometrical, never far from the current 'fashion', and never even remotely inspired by the basis of the feast.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

ancient times. Great Andaman abounds in these man-made humps, to which the name 'kitchen-middens' has been given, but none are in use today. In Little Andaman, on the other hand, many are still being built up.

The sweeping operations disturb clouds of flies and tiny beetles, light brown in colour, shot with metallic blue, with a highly domed back, and about five millimetres long, which always collect under bones and other human food refuse. Hordes of fleas, invisible in the dirt on the floor but multiplying busily, are also stirred up. Fortunately there are no lice on Little Andaman, owing to the absence of clothing and bed-linen, and the Onges carry no lice in their hair.

In fact the dogs' coats carry the fleas from place to place more than do their naked, smooth-skinned owners. Every time I went into a hut which had been empty for a time, as happens in the dry season when the occupants are away on a hunting trip, I was assailed by swarms of fleas such as I had never imagined! They rushed up one's body from feet to neck in absolute serried ranks, platoons of them, solid masses of tiny black moving objects. The only thing to do was to go out into the open and douse oneself in Flit, which caused them to retreat hastily. My camp-bed was always given a precautionary dose. Unfortunately Flit was not enough to disperse the clouds of ticks, tiny but dangerous, and a scourge in the forests of the Andamans. The Onges call them *anaghe* and thoroughly enjoyed helping to catch them on me in hundreds after every expedition into the forest.

None of these pests worry the Onges, who make no attempt to get rid of them. They leave mounds of filth round their huts or in their forest camps for them to breed in, and the light covering of earth or leaves which at best cover the Onges' faeces, deposited near the camp, was never any deterrent to breeding. The Onges never dig sanitary trenches or prepare any other form of latrines, even for their permanent sites; the forest is all concealing. However, they will never defaecate near, or in, a water course, even when the bed is dry, and when my men used the bed of a dried-up stream for the purpose the Onges protested to me, because the water would be contaminated, I was not disposed to contradict them.

In the forest, meeting a swarm of flies was a sure sign that we

were approaching an Onge camp. Everywhere they go they are accompanied by flies of all sizes, and in Little Andaman the swarms are so bad that the first stranger to land called a river after them, Bumila Creek, or fly river. Their flies betray the Onges long before the barking of their dogs – no human voice ever betrays their silent presence.

On Little Andaman today the Onges' tacit divisions of territory are of little importance, so heavy has been the fall in population, but they still keep out of areas belonging to other 'huts', even if the huts themselves have been abandoned. I never saw any disputes over territory, or the ownership of the area in which a pig was caught (and hence ownership of the pig). The Onges who accompanied me, possibly encouraged by the prestige value of a European with them, hunted wherever we went without anyone raising any protests. Nevertheless, I always took the precaution of giving anything I or my Indians took to the Onges of the nearest hut, invariably much to their delight.

Contrary to established opinion, communal huts on Little Andaman are not found only along the coasts; the majority, and certainly the best constructed, are in the interior. Togalanghe is one, and there are a number of permanently abandoned temporary camps near it.

Both the permanent and temporary huts or shelters of the Andamans resemble those of the Semang. The latter are extremely simple, especially in the dry season; there are no walls and only a very sloping roof of leaves, high at the front and very low at the back, the beds being put so that the feet face the low part of the roof. With the Semang and Aeta the beds may be made of bamboo; this is never the case in the Andamans, as there are no large bamboos in the archipelago (Brown was wrong in this respect. The few slender bamboos on Little Andaman are only usable for making drying racks, which are found only round the hut at Beniabol in the south. As the people were away when I went there, and the site was consequently completely deserted, I was unable to establish visually what they dried, but traces of fish, particularly pilchards, were indication enough.)

These temporary shelters are put up extremely quickly. Two poles less than two metres long for the front, and two more, thirty to forty centimetres long, for the back, are fixed firmly into the

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

ground. Two parallel transverse poles of equal length, one front and one back, complete the frame, which is lashed together with the usual rush fibres. The roof consists of fresh *Pandanus* leaves, palms, or grass. It never actually touches the ground, and food refuse is thrown out from underneath it in the usual way, covering the ground round the shelter.

The bed takes a little longer than the roof to put up, as a number of sticks have to be gathered to make the compact platform, raised about half a metre from the ground on four stout props driven into the ground, one at each corner, and a suitable trunk has to be found for the head-rest. Normally one bed takes an entire family – mother, father, children and dogs, all well packed on the platform with the inevitable fire beside. On rare occasions, when the shelter is intended purely for the menfolk on a hunting expedition, only one bed is prepared, but generally every hunter has his family with him. I have myself slept like this with the Onges on trips where the forest was too dense for any baggage to be carried.

As the kitchen-middens show (see p. 68), their permanent huts are, with very few exceptions, circular and are still extremely simple. The essential feature is the waterproof roof-mats, well overlapped, which form the enormous umbrella roof. From the outside the whole thing looks in danger of collapsing, but from the interior it is obviously safely held by a frame of poles, lashed with innumerable ties to stout uprights fixed firmly into the ground. No central pillar is needed, and when there is one it is only by chance; I saw very few on Little Andaman. There are no divisions into rooms or compartments – everything is open to the eyes of all the occupants of the beds. Most of these are arranged as the radii of a circle, fairly near the outer edge of the hut, the roof coming down so close to the ground that everyone sleeps with their heads towards the centre, but there may be some beds across the centre space.

At the circumference the roof is only thirty to forty centimetres from the ground, the roofing mats being well lashed on to uprights in case of high winds, and one can wriggle in and out of the hut on one's stomach, crawling over the refuse thrown out through the convenient gap. There is always, however, a 'proper' entrance, where one edge of the roof-wall can be lifted up. At the top of the roof, on the lee side, one section can be propped open on poles,

allowing the smoke to escape and letting more air in – a very welcome relief at times, even for the Onges!

I made sketch plans of all the huts I visited, with positions of the supporting poles, beds, etc. Two typical ones were those at Toqué-è-bùie and Tambe-e-buiè. In March 1952 the former had some parts of the roof missing, as the inhabitants had taken the mats off to make temporary shelters in the forest; when the rains came they brought them back and replaced them. This custom explained why, on Great Andaman, some obviously temporary shelters had roofs far too well made to be intended for purely temporary use.

Entering the hut at Toqué-è-bùie, by the entrance proper, one finds oneself facing an area with no beds in it. In the centre of this area, under the apex of the roof, is a fire, a little larger than those kept burning beside each bed. This is used for communal cooking during the rainy season; at other times all cooking is done in the open. The ground area covered by the roof was 9·12 square metres, its height at the centre 3·3 metres, and the external circumference 30·65 metres. Beyond this stretched the ring of refuse built up by each short period of occupation.

Unlike many of the huts of Little Andaman, Toqué-è-bùie has a central pole, not thick, but of a very hard wood. In a circle round this are ten upright poles, each about two metres from the central pole. Starting on the left of the entrance and moving clockwise their heights vary slightly.[1] Outside this inner circle of supporting poles are two more concentric rings of uprights, the first, with a radius of 3·65 metres from the central pole, consists of twenty uprights with an average height of 1·35 metres, and the second, with a radius of 4·53 metres from the centre pole, has an average height of 0·38 metres. In nearly every hut each circle of uprights is attached to the roof by a ring formed by a bundle of long canes, to which each upright is lashed. Another bunch of long canes runs transversely from the entrance to the opposite side of the hut, almost touching the ground at the two ends, touching the roof in the middle, and fixed to the rings of canes to which the uprights are attached.

The bundle of canes forming this arch support is clearly set in place after the erection of the first (innermost) ring of uprights, and actually lies on top of the ring of canes to which they are

[1] 2·45, 2·35, 2·32, 2·3, 2·45, 2·35, 2·3, 2·35, 2·32, 2·35 metres.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

attached. From it to the ring run a series of long batons, the 'ribs' of the umbrella. All along the length of the transverse bundle of canes are attached the ends of similar 'ribs', with supplementary canes at weak points. In this hut and in a number of others, extra rings of canes not supported by uprights are put in afterwards for extra strength, all securely lashed at every point. 342

At this stage of construction the hut would thus have consisted of a centre pole, first circle of uprights supporting the first ring of canes, second (unsupported) ring of canes fixed to the 'ribs' running over it, second concentric circle of uprights supporting the third ring of canes, the fourth (unsupported) ring of canes, and the third circle of uprights supporting the fifth and last ring of canes. Right across from the entrance to the opposite side of the hut ran the elliptical transverse bundle of canes. Tight rush fibre lashings at every crossing and meeting point held the whole frame solidly together.

The roof itself was then put on. This consists of palm leaves like huge fans. The Onges split these in halves down the centre vein and then lay one half on top of the other, head to tail, main ribs together. Four, six or possibly more reeds, three metres long and two to three centimetres in diameter, are then split in half lengthwise and laid out parallel on the ground. The pairs of palm leaves are then laid across the parallels and lashed securely with rush fibres, working from the bottom up, so that the edges of each pair cover the ribs of the pair below, making a water-shed. Seen from the inside of the finished hut the ribs, blackened by smoke, look almost like parallel vaulting.

In this particular hut there are beds for seven families (and their dogs) set as radii, and four transversely. Round the centre pole, on three sides only (leaving the fourth open for access to the central fire) are three fairly high platforms, rather smaller than the beds. Occasionally I saw young people sleeping on two of these, very cramped, climbing up a fixed ladder to reach them. The third platform was always used to keep meat out of the way of the dogs, and is clearly a recent innovation following their arrival in the island. The rough platforms forming the beds proper were about fifty centimetres off the ground, but this distance varies from place to place – in the south, at Beniabol I saw them about one metre off the ground, with the family fire under instead of beside them. 342 352 [417] [176]

352 The beds are supported on four convenient branches forked at the top, on which the four poles forming the bed frame rest. The size of the frame varies between 1·55 × 0·65 metres and 1·15 × 0·43 metres, and on this small platform the entire family sleeps huddled 513 together. The human members of the family lie longwise, all with their heads on the same log set as a head-rest (unless they are lucky enough to find a suitable giant bamboo washed up on the beach). Very occasionally a rush mat about half a metre square is laid on the platform, but usually the family just lies on bare canes packed tightly together on the frame parallel with the long side.

342 The hut at Tambe-e-buiè, its 1951 edition delayed till 1952 by 352 the earthquake the previous year when part of the coast dropped, 184 was rather larger than Toqué-è-bùie. In 1953 it was rebuilt twenty [731] metres or so further back from the sea, but exactly as before. It has twelve beds, including two on the high platforms for the adolescents, one of which has two tiers, on the principle of our bunks. I saw this type of thing on a number of occasions and on one occasion I saw one being built out in the open, with the top platform three metres from the ground. All the beds at Tambe-e-buiè are rather higher than at Toqué-è-bùie (but not as high as Beniabol) and were all arranged radially; the platform on which meat was kept was two metres off the ground.

342 An unusual feature of Tambe-e-buiè, which had a diameter of 184 13·55 metres and a maximum height of 4·5 metres, was a series of six vertical poles set in a straight line to support the main transverse beam, one of which could be regarded as a centre pole. The pole on each side of the centre formed part of the innermost circle of supporting poles; there were two more circles, all supporting rings of canes. Unusually, only one of the rings of canes supporting the roof did not rest on vertical poles. The outer ring was only 0·4 metres high and the edge of the roof almost touched the ground, although one could still brush the fronds apart and crawl out. The roof mats were rectangular, very well made, and larger than at Toqué-è-bùie; some were three and a half metres by three metres or more, laid over seven or ten split reeds, instead of the usual four or five.

312 No permanent hut, or even a temporary shelter, is ever built far [361] from water supplies adequate for the number of people in the group. If there is none visible, the Onges know how to dig for it,

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[147]

14 In spite of their size, the Andaman islanders are capable of carrying enormous weights

15 A temporary shelter in the forest

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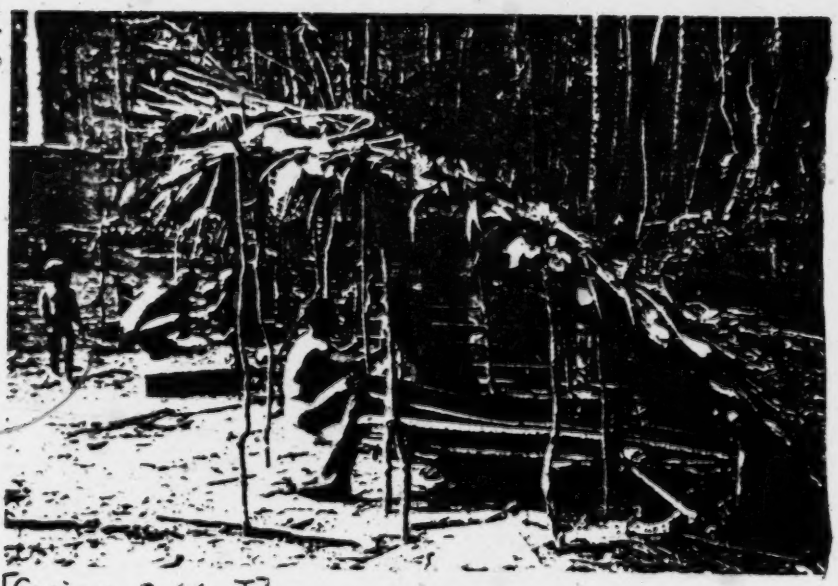

[facing P. 66, J]

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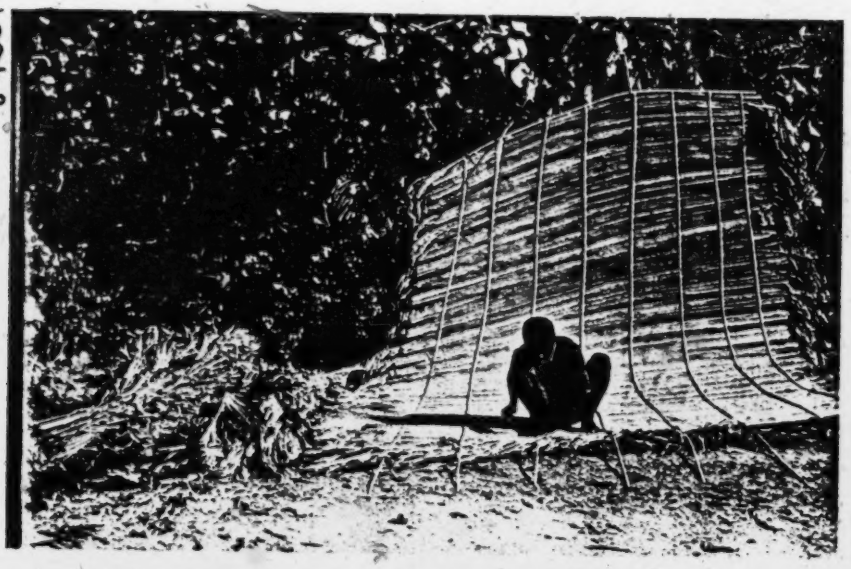

16 Making a roof section from palm fronds for a permanent dwelling

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[764]

17 Completed permanent dwelling, which is also used for burial of the inhabitants

[facing P. 66, K]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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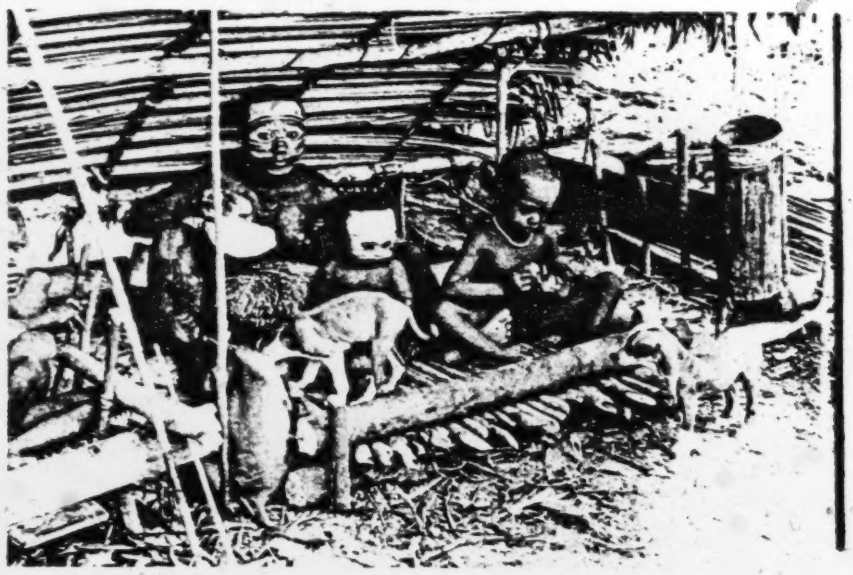

18 A family group with, on the right, the cylindrical cooking-pot, and the inevitable dogs

19 Typical shell collection from a kitchen-midden

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[facing P. 67]

174 342 [628] The continual fighting between the Eremtaga and the Arioto led, as we have seen, to the gradual disappearance of the communal huts of the latter as being too vulnerable. Subsequently, the con-
[648] flict still going on between foreigners and Jarawas completed the destruction, so that there are now no communal huts on Great Andaman. The ever-increasing violence of the punitive expeditions against the Jarawas put an end to their numerical recovery during the last fifteen years or so, and there may indeed now be none left.
[172] Today only their kitchen-middens, and the surviving Onges, remain to show us how the Jarawas must have lived.

172 184 The Jarawa middens are distinguishable from those of the Arioto by their inland position and by their content of freshwater shellfish and land gasteropods, not eaten by the peoples of the coast.

172 761 178 [186] Like the kitchen-middens of the Onges, those of the Jarawas contain human bones clearly interred in graves, and not scattered among the refuse. This refutes the Arioto accusation against the Eremtaga of cannibalism, and that of the people of South Andaman (now vanished) against the people of North Andaman and the Onges; the remains of cannibal feasts would undoubtedly have been found among kitchen refuse and not carefully buried in the ritual manner, with the graves filled in with earth. And the Jarawas and the majority of the Arioto buried their dead in the communal huts, continuing a custom which originated while they were still
[184] on Little Andaman. In time variations arose, but this does not alter the evidence in favour of migration in ancient times from the south, via the Nicobars and Little Andaman.

184 172 501 The differences in culture between the islands can be explained by the ease with which primitive peoples forget. The Jarawas, for example, although they reached Great Andaman by sea from Little Andaman, forgot in a few generations the art of hollowing canoes when they were forced to live in the depths of the forests, far from the sea. Today, they have been free from the Arioto for some time, at least on the west coast, and have access to the sea, but they have
[765] not started building canoes again. In other things, however, such as burial rites, the Jarawas kept faithful to the old Onge customs; their middens show the same exhumation of the bones, the same cleaning, and tinting with ochre, and careful reburial.

172 252 The general similarity of the middens in Great and Little Andaman cannot be due to chance. Animal food, for example, has clearly

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

136 to grasp the edge of another leaf and draw it to him. A series of these chains, working side by side with their efforts synchronized, are strong enough to draw two leaves together, all the heads of the chains gripping one leaf in their jaws and the rear pairs of feet clinging with their tiny, sharp hooks on to the other. If the two leaves are growing close together, a single row of ants side by side is enough and they seem instinctively to know how many are needed.

Once the edges are together, the weaving squad can begin work. Each ant is armed with a larva gripped tightly in its jaws, moving it to and fro like a shuttle so that the fine thread of liquid emerges over the joint between leaves, hardening almost before it reaches them. And so the 'weaving' with the larvae 'shuttles' continues until in the end the two leaves are joined firmly, one party holding the leaves together while the other joins them with the silken web. This is repeated until enough leaves are joined together in a sphere to form the nest, any odd gaps remaining being sealed with further layers of thread.

The weaving is done only by the hordes of workers, who are completely sterile throughout their life (the single queen enclosed with a few males in each colony lays the eggs). The amazing thing is that there appear to be no leaders superintending the work, or deciding what must be done at any given moment. Yet the work proceeds smoothly and silently, with no interruptions, as though done by a single craftsman, each ant obeying while none commands.

Equally fascinating, and far more destructive, are the termites, whose life cycle and activities are the same all over the world. The [342] Onges' communal huts, which would otherwise last for a considerable time, are constantly ravaged by them and reduced to dust under their onslaught. Their annual swarms are much the same on Little Andaman as elsewhere. Clouds of them rise out of the ground when the rains come and in mid-April every year I used to see myriads of them attracted by the lights of my camp on the north-east coast of the island. They would swarm round the camp, many landing on the table in front of me, while thousands more piled up on the ground below. The moment they landed they stopped dead, firmly planted on all six legs as though paralysed, and arched the lower part of their body up and over their back, touching their four wings one after the other with the tip of the abdomen. The

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Andamans A22

mariners from massacre. Despite efforts at conciliation there was violence on both sides; attempts were made indeed to settle some of the more friendly groups in an 'Andamans Home' as fishers of trepang (sea-slug) and collectors of edible bird-nests, both for the Chinese market. But the only result was to civilise them out of existence, largely by venereal disease.[52] The Andamanese are—perhaps one should say were—Negritos, and as they represented perhaps the nearest approach to a 'pure primitive' society, both ethnically and culturally, these hunters and gatherers have attracted anthropological attention out of proportion to their numbers.[53]

Transportation of convicts to the Andamans began after the Mutiny. Latterly there was a change of emphasis, hopeless criminals being re-transported to India and the settlement becoming in effect an open prison for young men condemned to life sentences for more or less excusable homicide. After a few months in jail convicts were allowed to become wage-earning employees of Government, to wear ordinary dress, and to marry or bring out their wives. These changes were reflected in the sex composition of the population: 15,158 males to 2980 females in 1901, 14,872 to 6444 in 1941. The cultural landscape also changed: "Everywhere the ephemeral huts of former times are giving way to well-constructed two-storeyed houses of sawn timber and iron roofs," and a good deal of reclamation of malarial swamp took place around Port Blair. The communal composition of the population was an odd reflection of social conditions: in 1941 Muslims were about a third, largely Moplahs from Madras deported after their 1921 rebellion; Sikhs were 3·5% against an All-India total of 1·5%, Buddhists—i.e. Burmese—over 13%. This corresponds to the prevalence of dacoity in Burma and to the Sikh *penchant* for "liquor, love, and fights".

Practically all the economic development is in the Settlement of Port Blair, an area of about 500 sq mls in the S of South Andaman; here is 90% of the population, the remainder being in forest camps. About 75,000 ac. are more or less cleared, of which about 10–15,000 are cultivated and as much grazing land. Paddy and coconuts each account for about a third of the cultivation, and there are (or were) struggling plantations of rubber and coffee, negligible in area.

The war and the Japanese occupation saw a fall in population to about 16,000, and on re-occupation the penal settlement was formally abolished. From time to time schemes of Anglo-Indian agricultural settlement have been mooted, and in March 1948 a batch of 132 families displaced from E Bengal arrived. It may be noted that some Burmese politicians periodi-

[52] 1931 Census Vol. II (Andamans and Nicobars), 11–23.

[53] The classic treatments are those of Sir Richard Temple in the 1901 Census and of A. R. Brown in *The Andaman Islanders* (1922). There is unfortunately little geography in the latter book; what there is is largely summed up in L. Garrard's 'sociograph' in *Studies in Regional Consciousness and Environment* (ed. I. C. Peate, 1930), 82.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

852 304 Every boy and girl has to undergo the operation of scarification. This is begun when the child is quite young, and a small portion of the body is operated on. The operation is repeated at intervals during childhood, until the whole body has been scarified. A small flake of quartz or glass is used, and a series of fine incisions are made in the skin. The usual method is to cover a small portion of the skin with a number of parallel rows of short cuts. The choice of the design (if it can be called such) rests entirely with the person who performs the operation, who is in all cases a woman. The incisions leave scars that can usually only be seen when close to the person. In the photograph of Plate XV a pattern of scars may be seen. In this case the incisions became infected and raised scars were produced, and it is for this reason that they are visible in the photograph. In ordinary cases raised scars are not produced and the scarification is hardly visible in a photograph.

The only reason that the natives give for this custom is either that it improves the personal appearance, or else that it helps to make the child grow strong.

881 In the case of a girl the period of childhood is brought to a close by a ceremony that takes place on the occasion of her first menstrual discharge. The ceremony I describe is that in use in the Northern tribes, but I believe that the ceremony of the Southern tribes is very similar. On the occurrence of the first menstrual discharge the girl tells her parents, who weep over her. She must then go and bathe in the sea for an hour [343] or two by herself. After that she goes back to her parents' hut or to a special shelter that is put up for the occasion. She is 881 not required to go away from the camp. All ornaments are 292 removed from her, only a single belt of *Pandanus* leaf being left, with an apron of *čainyo* leaves. Strips of *Pandanus* leaf are attached round her arms near the shoulders and round her wrists, and others are placed as bands crossing her chest from the shoulder to the waist on the opposite side, and crossing her abdomen from the iliac crest on the one side to the trochanter on the other. These are so attached that the long loose ends hang down at the girl's side. Bunches of leaves, either *čelmo* (*Tetranthera lancæfolia*) or, if these be not obtainable, *poramo* (*Myristica longifolia*) are

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

In a village each hut is occupied by one family. In the communal hut (of either type) each family has a special portion of the hut marked off for its special use. Whether in a village or in a communal hut each family has its own small fire, at which the family meals are prepared. At one side of this fire is erected a small platform about a foot above the ground, supported on either three or four upright sticks. This platform is used for storing food. The natives of the Little Andaman erect low bamboo platforms to serve as beds, arranged round the communal hut, each family having its own. In the Great Andaman the natives, as a rule, make a bed of leaves on the ground and lay a sleeping mat on the top of this. In damp situations, however, they sometimes, as already mentioned, make a floor to the hut, raised a foot or two above the ground, and sleep on that. The Jarawa have a habit of sleeping in the wood-ashes of their fires in their cold weather hunting camps. 342 352

Turning now to the Semang, we find some differences in respect to their habitations. Those of the Semang who have not been influenced to a great extent by their neighbours and have not settled down to agricultural pursuits, never camp in the same spot for more than a few days, and have therefore no need to build anything except temporary shelters[1]. 171 342

The Semang often erect their shelters in trees, well above the surface of the ground. This is a feature which distinguishes them from the Andamanese. It seems probable that these tree-shelters have been adopted by the Semang as a protection against wild beasts[2]. As there are no dangerous beasts in the Andamans, the extra labour involved in building a shelter in the branches of a tree instead of on the ground would serve no useful purpose. The difference in this respect between the Semang and the Andamanese is therefore due to a difference in the circumstances in which they live.

The typical form of Semang shelter, occupied by one family, is erected by planting three or four stout sticks or poles in the ground in a row at an angle of about 60° or 75° and lashing palm-leaves across these. The screen or roof thus formed is further supported, if necessary, with one or two poles used as props in front[3]. These shelters are similar to the Andaman shelters in having a single sloping rectangular roof, but differ from them in being supported, not by upright posts, but in an altogether less adequate manner.

[1] Skeat, p. 172. [2] Skeat, p. 174.

[3] Skeat, p. 176, and plate. See also Annandale, *Fasciculi Malayensis, Anthropology*, Part I, Plate IV.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The natives of the Great Andaman make sleeping mats from the outer sheath of the leaf-stem of the *Calamus tigrinus*. Lengths of the material are prepared and cleaned and are cut to a uniform length, generally about 60 to 80 cm., having a breadth of 3 to 5 mm. A length 285 [352]

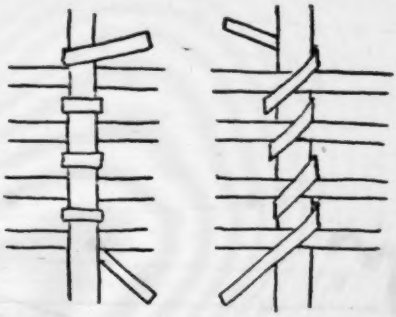

Fig. 30. Diagram showing the technique used in making mats of thatch

of thread, generally of the less valuable *Gnetum* fibre, but occasionally of *Anadendron* fibre, is made and is wound on to two netting needles, one half on each. With this thread the strips of cane-leaf are fastened together. The technique is different in the North Andaman and in the South Andaman.

In the North the technique, which is represented diagrammatically in Fig. 31, *A* is that known as wrapped-twined work. One of the two threads of which the work is composed is held taut, the needle on

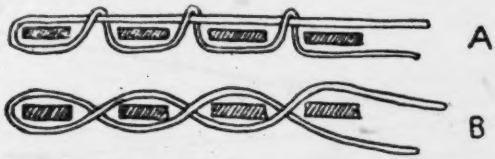

Fig. 31. Diagram showing the technique used in Great Andaman mats
A, North Andaman; *B*, South Andaman

which it is wound being held in the toes, and the other thread is wrapped spirally round it, one of the strips of cane-leaf sheath being enclosed at every turn. Thus the method is exactly the same as that adopted in making mats of thatch.

In the South the technique is that known as twined work or fitching. The two wefts (i.e. the threads) are twisted together in the same direction one under the other, enclosing at each half turn one of the strips of leaf-sheath. This is shown diagrammatically in Fig. 31, *B*.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

412 Bamboo tongs are made by bending double a piece split from a bamboo, and cutting the ends to the required shape. They are used for lifting from the fire anything too hot to be taken in the hand and are chiefly of service in cooking.

Digging sticks are made from various kinds of wood, being simply pointed at one or both ends. These sticks are not as a rule preserved, but made as required with an adze and thrown away after use. They are used for digging up edible roots.

222 227 Hooks for picking fruit, such as the *Artocarpus*, are made by attaching a small piece of wood to the end of a bamboo. Hooks for catching crabs are made from the wood of the *Rhizophora* by taking advantage of the natural form where a small branch joins a larger one.

352 824 The fan-shaped leaf of a *Licuala* palm is made use of in many ways. The edges of the leaflets are sewn together with fine strips of cane, and the sewn leaf is then used either as a sunshade or umbrella for protection from sunshine or rain, as a sleeping mat if the proper article be lacking, as a screen to make the roof or sides of a hut more wind or rain proof, as a wrapper for making objects of all sorts into bundles, and as a winding sheet for a corpse.

373 Torches are made from resin, which is broken into small pieces and wrapped up in leaves of a species of *Crinum* (? *lorifolium*), a few pieces of smouldering charcoal being added before it is tied up. The torch is then parcelled by marling with a strip of cane or a length of some tough creeper. These resin torches are used in turtle-hunting and fishing expeditions on dark nights.

Other torches are made of fragments of rotten *Dipterocarpus* wood. They are used only in the village.

PERSONAL ORNAMENT; GREAT ANDAMAN.

291 At the present time the natives of the Great Andaman Division obtain from the Settlement of Port Blair cloth which both men and women wear round the loins. They also obtain beads from which they make necklaces.

The following is a list of the various personal ornaments made by the natives of the Great Andaman Division, and worn by them.

Rope girdle. Every man wears some sort of girdle round his waist, and this was formerly the only object that was constantly worn by men. The girdle may consist of a length of rope of *Hibiscus* fibre or a length of ornamental cord made by wrapping the yellow skin of

619
184

[501] (11) *Canoes.*—Bojigngiji and Yerewa, same pattern canoe; Onge-Jarawa pattern different from above. Both out-rigged, Bojigngiji has in addition a large dug-out without outrigger.

[342] (12) *Huts.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas have temporary huts. Onge-Jarawas have large permanent communal dwellings.

[535] (13) *Dancing.*—Bojigngijis and Yerawas, sounding board and song and clapping in unison. Onge-Jarawa, standing in a ring and alternately bending and straightening the knees: also on occasion kicking the buttocks with the flat of the foot.

[352] (14) *Beds.*—Jarawas sleep on the wood ashes of the fires. Onges on raised bamboo platforms. Other tribes on leaves and in sand-holes.

[562 551] (15) *Food.*—The staple food of the Onges is the mangrove fruit, boiled, and they preserve small fish dried after cooking. None of the other tribes do this.

The Long-shore and Jungle Andamanese.—The Andamanese are by themselves again further divided into the Aryoto or long-shore men, and the Eremtaga or jungle-dwellers; the habits and capacities of these two differ, owing to surroundings, irrespective of tribe. Some tribes as the Tabo, Juwai, Kol, and the South Andaman Jarawas, are entirely Eremtaga, while the Balawa, the Chariar, and the Jarawas of the North Sentinel are entirely Aryoto. The Aryoto holds himself to be better than the Eremtaga, but beyond this there seem to be no exclusive distinctions between them and an Aryoto will marry or adopt an Eremtaga.

With the minuteness in matters concerning their surroundings that is characteristic of all entirely uneducated people, the Andamanese recognise a third division of themselves by habits into Adajig or creek-dwellers, *i.e.*, those who live on the shores of the many inlets of the sea on the coasts of the Islands. The habits of the Adajig, however, are practically those of the Aryoto.

Distinctions by habits are quickly lost by the Andamanese. The Jarawas have now no canoes in the South Andaman and are quite incapable of constructing or using them, though all Onges have them and so have the Jarawas on the North Sentinel. So also had the Jarawas that Colebrooke met a century ago. And this year (1902) it was ascertained that the young men brought up at the Duratang (Kyd Island) Home and occupied chiefly in market gardening could neither steer nor paddle a canoe, nor take up tracks in the jungles. In one generation, though there was no restriction in communication with their people, they had lost both sea and forest craft.

Former Isolation of the Tribes.—Before the arrival of the English the tribes, excepting actual neighbours, may be said to have had no general intercourse with each other, and excepting some individuals were entirely unable to converse together, though it can be conclusively shown that all the existing languages are directly descended from one parent tongue. Even Septs had but little mutual intercourse and considerable differences in details of dialect and, as has occurred in other island abodes of savages, there must have been a change of dialect or language along about every 20 miles of the coast. The tribes were in fact brought together and made definitely acquainted with each other's separate existence and peculiarities by the influence and exertions of Mr. Man between 1875 and 1880.

609 **Sympathies and Antipathies.**—The tribal feeling is expressed as follows: friendly within the tribe, courteous to other Andamanese if known, hostile to every stranger, Andamanese or other. The sympathy and antipathy exhibited are strictly natural, *i.e.*, savage, and are governed by descent. The feeling of friendliness lies in an ever-decreasing zone from the family outwards towards sept, tribe, group: hostility to all others. Even septs will fight each other and Aryoto and Eremtaga do not mix much. But there is no "caste" feeling, and tribes will, in circumstances favouring the actions (*e.g.*, living on the tribal borders), intermarry and adopt each other's children. Within the tribe there is so
597 general a custom of adoption that children above six or seven rarely live with their own parents. It is an act of friendliness to give up or adopt a child and the custom has had the effect of making the various septs of a tribe hang together much better than would otherwise have been possible.

There were no Andamanese There,
but 400 people consisting of 133 males and 130 females who migrated from Bassein in 1924. They were Karen Christians who had settled there. After returning to Long Island on the 12th, Mr Sarkar and party left in the motor boat "Return" for a short cruise along the Jarawa country. Besides Mr Joseph, there were Mr Pooviah and a few of his Burman Bush Police armed with rifles and guns. The party passed through the Homfray's Strait and anchored at the north eastern corner of the Spike Island. Loka and his party of three Andamanese accompanied them in their two canoes. They came to the shore in one of the Andamanese canoes and after entering the forest they found bundles of bamboos piled up at one corner. This was identified as a Jarawa raft. There were also three paddles made out of a palm tree. These specimens were procured for the Department. After proceeding some distance in the jungle, 19 small fire places were counted in scattered manner. A temporary hut was also noticed at a short distance. A number of objects usually used by the Andamanese tribes for household purposes was found including a sling for carrying babies. A beautiful specimen of a Jarawa Bow painted in red in geometrical designs was also found. Photographs were taken of the settlements of the Jarawa camp and objects collected for the Museum. In another place at *Yeratiajig* remnants of a Jarawa camp including pottery and bones of animals, etc., were found. The party returned to Long Island on 14-3-48 and examined 8 of the remaining members of Loka's party. It left the same day for Port Blair where it arrived at 10 P.M. On the 25th Mr Sarkar and his party with the Deputy Chief Commissioner Mr Gupta, left for Kar Nicobar where it arrived on the following day. It returned to Port Blair after staying for a few days. During this time in Kar Nicobar, besides studying the Nicobarese of the Island Mr Sarkar met two Jarawa children who were captured and brought over there and placed in a local Mission School for education.

In the following year in January 1949, another small party was sent under Dr A. K. Mitra with Messrs H. K. Bose and A. Bhattacharyya, to continue the survey of the Little Andaman further along the eastern coast. They visited *Hut Bay* on the 28th and went to the Onge settlement there. A large circular hut similar to that seen by us at Tambobui was observed. It contained nine cots with a fire place in the centre. There were also two outrigger canoes, one in front of the hut and another on the beach. Altogether 11 Onges were found consisting of 2 adult males, 6 females and 3 young children between the ages of 6 to 15. The 8 adults and the adolescent boys were carefully measured and observations noted about their special somatic characters. After leaving Hut Bay they went as far as the South Point which is the southernmost point on the eastern coast of the Little Andaman, but did not see any other Onge settlement. They had to return on the 31st as the launch could not be spared any further.

The Onges were found to be strong and healthy and free from venereal disease, a scourge, which along with tuberculosis were chiefly responsible for the rapid depopulation of the Andamanese tribes. Our observations agree with the accounts of the Negritos of the Andaman Islands published before

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

tracted hardship and considerable risk, not so much from the natives themselves as from the implacable Andaman sea. We had a terrible time during several of our landings from the open Indian Ocean. Constant danger additionally stimulated the development of research in Little Andaman. All the Indians and the Burmese behaved bravely. Among them I wish to mention here my Indian stenographer, a married man nearing thirty, from Bengal: RANHADIR KUMAR DEY, who, on 12 and 13 February, 1953, on the south coast of the island shared two frightfully narrow escapes with me. I am sure that neither of us will ever forget it. I later found a comfortable landing place, now indicated by floating buoys, on the north coast. Two other Bengalese assistants who were a great help to me in Little Andaman and had been selected from a number of young aspirants, are PRONAB GANGULI and BIMAL CHANDRA ROY. My work in the Andamans could not have been accomplished without them and without the initiative and encouragement of officers such as Dr. B. S. GUHA, Director of the Department of Anthropology of the Indian Government, Mr. AJNY K. GHOSH, the kind, open-minded Chief Commissioner of Andamans and Nicobars during my 1951-1953 stay there, and Mr. S. N. MAITRA, who succeeded Mr. GHOSH as Chief Commissioner. In a book that I am writing I try to point out the significance of my work in the Andamans, carried out with the help of such distinguished, and sometimes heroic, Indian collaborators.

I. Hygienic Conditions

1. Habitation

The nomadic Onge have two kinds of shelter: one temporary, the other permanent, used only for short periods at a time. The Little Andaman forest is full of abandoned temporary shelters; the permanent camps are fewer, mainly situated along the coast. They consist of communal huts, strongly built by a number of families roaming under the direction of a leader. The huts have a ritual significance, as we shall presently see. Inside each communal hut are a number of beds generally equal to the number of families. Small fires are kept burning day and night near the beds, a precaution that I was thankful for on many cold nights succeeded by hot days. The Onge require nothing more against the cold. In their camps they can withstand the heaviest storms and drenching rains. In order to avoid chills it is enough for them to protect their fires from extinction. This applied to me too, while living among the Onge. The warmth and the dry air ensured good health for us all.

A few additional beds are for the use of bachelors nearing marriage. Most of the beds are marginally and radially placed; a few are placed transversally. Normal beds accommodate father, mother (the Onge are monogamous), children and dogs, all in a heap. In temporary as in permanent shelters it is customary for families to eat separately, each close to its bed. The low, round roof of the communal hut does not reach the ground; a gap of 30 cms is left free for creeping in and out at will without using the main door (a simple mat to be lifted). Rubbish is thrown carelessly everywhere, e. g. directly outside the circular hut, which is consequently surrounded by a malodorous ring of bones, imperfectly cleaned shells, bits of rotting shellfish and other animals – a rich breeding ground for flies and various other insects that rapidly destroy everything edible, leaving the grass to grow until the next lot of garbage accumulates. Building and rebuilding a communal hut always on the same

were approaching an Onge camp. Everywhere they go they are accompanied by flies of all sizes, and in Little Andaman the swarms are so bad that the first stranger to land called a river after them, Bumila Creek, or fly river. Their flies betray the Onges long before the barking of their dogs – no human voice ever betrays their silent presence.

On Little Andaman today the Onges' tacit divisions of territory are of little importance, so heavy has been the fall in population, but they still keep out of areas belonging to other 'huts', even if the huts themselves have been abandoned. I never saw any disputes over territory, or the ownership of the area in which a pig was caught (and hence ownership of the pig). The Onges who accompanied me, possibly encouraged by the prestige value of a European with them, hunted wherever we went without anyone raising any protests. Nevertheless, I always took the precaution of giving anything I or my Indians took to the Onges of the nearest hut, invariably much to their delight.

Contrary to established opinion, communal huts on Little Andaman are not found only along the coasts; the majority, and certainly the best constructed, are in the interior. Togalanghe is one, and there are a number of permanently abandoned temporary camps near it.

Both the permanent and temporary huts or shelters of the Andamans resemble those of the Semang. The latter are extremely simple, especially in the dry season; there are no walls and only a very sloping roof of leaves, high at the front and very low at the back, the beds being put so that the feet face the low part of the roof. With the Semang and Aeta the beds may be made of bamboo; this is never the case in the Andamans, as there are no large bamboos in the archipelago (Brown was wrong in this respect. The few slender bamboos on Little Andaman are only usable for making drying racks, which are found only round the hut at Beniabol in the south. As the people were away when I went there, and the site was consequently completely deserted, I was unable to establish visually what they dried, but traces of fish, particularly pilchards, were indication enough.)

These temporary shelters are put up extremely quickly. Two poles less than two metres long for the front, and two more, thirty to forty centimetres long, for the back, are fixed firmly into the

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

ground. Two parallel transverse poles of equal length, one front 342
and one back, complete the frame, which is lashed together with
the usual rush fibres. The roof consists of fresh *Pandanus* leaves, [824]
palms, or grass. It never actually touches the ground, and food [364]
refuse is thrown out from underneath it in the usual way, covering
the ground round the shelter.

The bed takes a little longer than the roof to put up, as a number 513
of sticks have to be gathered to make the compact platform, raised 352
about half a metre from the ground on four stout props driven into
the ground, one at each corner, and a suitable trunk has to be found
for the head-rest. Normally one bed takes an entire family – mother,
father, children and dogs, all well packed on the platform with the
inevitable fire beside. On rare occasions, when the shelter is in-
tended purely for the menfolk on a hunting expedition, only one
bed is prepared, but generally every hunter has his family with him.
I have myself slept like this with the Onges on trips where the [122]
forest was too dense for any baggage to be carried.

As the kitchen-middens show (see p. 68), their permanent huts 342
are, with very few exceptions, circular and are still extremely
simple. The essential feature is the waterproof roof-mats, well
overlapped, which form the enormous umbrella roof. From the
outside the whole thing looks in danger of collapsing, but from the
interior it is obviously safely held by a frame of poles, lashed with
innumerable ties to stout uprights fixed firmly into the ground.
No central pillar is needed, and when there is one it is only by
chance; I saw very few on Little Andaman. There are no divisions
into rooms or compartments – everything is open to the eyes of
all the occupants of the beds. Most of these are arranged as the [513]
radii of a circle, fairly near the outer edge of the hut, the roof [352]
coming down so close to the ground that everyone sleeps with
their heads towards the centre, but there may be some beds across
the centre space.

At the circumference the roof is only thirty to forty centimetres 342
from the ground, the roofing mats being well lashed on to uprights
in case of high winds, and one can wriggle in and out of the hut
on one's stomach, crawling over the refuse thrown out through
the convenient gap. There is always, however, a 'proper' entrance,
where one edge of the roof-wall can be lifted up. At the top of the [354]
roof, on the lee side, one section can be propped open on poles,

342 354 allowing the smoke to escape and letting more air in – a very welcome relief at times, even for the Onges!

342 12C I made sketch plans of all the huts I visited, with positions of the supporting poles, beds, etc. Two typical ones were those at Toqué-è-bùie and Tambe-e-buiè. In March 1952 the former had some parts of the roof missing, as the inhabitants had taken the mats off to make temporary shelters in the forest; when the rains came they brought them back and replaced them. This custom explained why, on Great Andaman, some obviously temporary shelters had roofs far too well made to be intended for purely temporary use.

352 354 342 Entering the hut at Toqué-è-bùie, by the entrance proper, one finds oneself facing an area with no beds in it. In the centre of this area, under the apex of the roof, is a fire, a little larger than those kept burning beside each bed. This is used for communal cooking during the rainy season; at other times all cooking is done in the open. The ground area covered by the roof was 9·12 square metres, its height at the centre 3·3 metres, and the external circumference [364] 30·65 metres. Beyond this stretched the ring of refuse built up by each short period of occupation.

342 [184] Unlike many of the huts of Little Andaman, Toqué-è-bùie has a central pole, not thick, but of a very hard wood. In a circle round this are ten upright poles, each about two metres from the central pole. Starting on the left of the entrance and moving clockwise their heights vary slightly.[1] Outside this inner circle of supporting poles are two more concentric rings of uprights, the first, with a radius of 3·65 metres from the central pole, consists of twenty uprights with an average height of 1·35 metres, and the second, with a radius of 4·53 metres from the centre pole, has an average height of 0·38 metres. In nearly every hut each circle of uprights is attached to the roof by a ring formed by a bundle of long canes, to which each upright is lashed. Another bunch of long canes runs transversely from the entrance to the opposite side of the hut, almost touching the ground at the two ends, touching the roof in the middle, and fixed to the rings of canes to which the uprights are attached.

The bundle of canes forming this arch support is clearly set in place after the erection of the first (innermost) ring of uprights, and actually lies on top of the ring of canes to which they are

[1] 2·45, 2·35, 2·32, 2·3, 2·45, 2·35, 2·3, 2·35, 2·32, 2·35 metres.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

attached. From it to the ring run a series of long batons, the 'ribs' of the umbrella. All along the length of the transverse bundle of canes are attached the ends of similar 'ribs', with supplementary canes at weak points. In this hut and in a number of others, extra rings of canes not supported by uprights are put in afterwards for extra strength, all securely lashed at every point. 342

At this stage of construction the hut would thus have consisted of a centre pole, first circle of uprights supporting the first ring of canes, second (unsupported) ring of canes fixed to the 'ribs' running over it, second concentric circle of uprights supporting the third ring of canes, the fourth (unsupported) ring of canes, and the third circle of uprights supporting the fifth and last ring of canes. Right across from the entrance to the opposite side of the hut ran the elliptical transverse bundle of canes. Tight rush fibre lashings at every crossing and meeting point held the whole frame solidly together.

The roof itself was then put on. This consists of palm leaves like huge fans. The Onges split these in halves down the centre vein and then lay one half on top of the other, head to tail, main ribs together. Four, six or possibly more reeds, three metres long and two to three centimetres in diameter, are then split in half lengthwise and laid out parallel on the ground. The pairs of palm leaves are then laid across the parallels and lashed securely with rush fibres, working from the bottom up, so that the edges of each pair cover the ribs of the pair below, making a water-shed. Seen from the inside of the finished hut the ribs, blackened by smoke, look almost like parallel vaulting.

In this particular hut there are beds for seven families (and their dogs) set as radii, and four transversely. Round the centre pole, on three sides only (leaving the fourth open for access to the central fire) are three fairly high platforms, rather smaller than the beds. Occasionally I saw young people sleeping on two of these, very cramped, climbing up a fixed ladder to reach them. The third platform was always used to keep meat out of the way of the dogs, and is clearly a recent innovation following their arrival in the island. The rough platforms forming the beds proper were about fifty centimetres off the ground, but this distance varies from place to place – in the south, at Beniabol I saw them about one metre off the ground, with the family fire under instead of beside them. 342 352 [417] [176]

352 The beds are supported on four convenient branches forked at the top, on which the four poles forming the bed frame rest. The size of the frame varies between 1·55 × 0·65 metres and 1·15 × 0·45 metres, and on this small platform the entire family sleeps huddled together. The human members of the family lie longwise, all with 513 their heads on the same log set as a head-rest (unless they are lucky enough to find a suitable giant bamboo washed up on the beach). Very occasionally a rush mat about half a metre square is laid on the platform, but usually the family just lies on bare canes packed tightly together on the frame parallel with the long side.

342 The hut at Tambe-e-buiè, its 1951 edition delayed till 1952 by 352 the earthquake the previous year when part of the coast dropped, 184 was rather larger than Toqué-è-bùie. In 1953 it was rebuilt twenty [731] metres or so further back from the sea, but exactly as before. It has twelve beds, including two on the high platforms for the adolescents, one of which has two tiers, on the principle of our bunks. I saw this type of thing on a number of occasions and on one occasion I saw one being built out in the open, with the top platform three metres from the ground. All the beds at Tambe-e-buiè are rather higher than at Toqué-è-bùie (but not as high as Beniaboì) and were all arranged radially; the platform on which meat was kept was two metres off the ground.

342 An unusual feature of Tambe-e-buiè, which had a diameter of 184 13·55 metres and a maximum height of 4·5 metres, was a series of six vertical poles set in a straight line to support the main transverse beam, one of which could be regarded as a centre pole. The pole on each side of the centre formed part of the innermost circle of supporting poles; there were two more circles, all supporting rings of canes. Unusually, only one of the rings of canes supporting the roof did not rest on vertical poles. The outer ring was only 0·4 metres high and the edge of the roof almost touched the ground, although one could still brush the fronds apart and crawl out. The roof mats were rectangular, very well made, and larger than at Toqué-è-bùie; some were three and a half metres by three metres or more, laid over seven or ten split reeds, instead of the usual four or five.

312 No permanent hut, or even a temporary shelter, is ever built far [361] from water supplies adequate for the number of people in the group. If there is none visible, the Onges know how to dig for it,

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

342 the roof, which is thatched with palm leaves of the variety called *chà·ngta-*. These are neatly plaited together, and fastened with cane, *pī·dga-*, and then placed in rows and tied, so that, when complete, the whole forms a capital roof impervious to the heaviest shower of rain.

[462] 3. The second variety, *chàng-tô·rnga-*,[1] are erected when temporary homes are required, which will last for a few months, as during the period of mourning;[2] they are made by men, and differ only from the *chàng-tē·pinga-* in being generally somewhat smaller, and less neatly thatched; another variety of palm leaf, called *âm-*, is sometimes substituted for the *chà·ngta-*.

4. The *chàng-dar·anga-*, or the third variety, being only intended to serve as shelter during a halt or short visit, is constructed in [462] a yet more simple manner. The duty of erecting dwellings of this class devolves on the women, and from the following description it will be seen that the labour required is not excessive: two slender posts, about five feet long, are driven into the ground about five or six feet apart, and connected by means of a light pole or stick, which is secured to their upper ends. The roof is then formed by placing, stem downwards and firmly fixed in the ground, large palm leaves, which are made to overlap each other in such a way as to provide a fairly rain-proof shelter for one or two persons.[3] The leaves used for the purpose are either the *chà·ngta-*, *kâ·pa-*, or *â·para-*.

• [353] 5. Above the small fire, without which no hut is complete, a small wooden platform or shelf, called *châ·pa lī tâ·ga-*, or *yât let tâ·ga-*, is placed on one or more sticks. On this they deposit [251] their spare food, so that it may be preserved by the smoke from the attacks of insects, &c.[4] By way of adornment, trophies of [353] the chase, such as the skulls of pigs,[5] turtles, dugongs, &c., are suspended from the front of the roof.[6]

6. It seems desirable to draw attention to the following passage in Dr. Dobson's paper, lest, if left unnoticed, some misapprehension should arise on the subject. He states that "the Andamanese, at least the inhabitants of the southern island, erect no kind of house whatever . . . . When walking along the beach in the vicinity of Port Mouat,

[1] This variety is shown in Plate III, fig. 2.

[2] *Vide post* "Death and Burial," paragraph 4.

[3] Similar leaf shelters are erected by the Puris. *Vide* E. B. Tylor's "Anthropology."

[4] *Vide post* "Food," paragraph 31.

[5] This style of decoration is now-a-days falling into disuse, especially in South Andaman, for, with the assistance of dogs, hunting is much less arduous now than formerly, and a large collection of pig skulls is, therefore, easily obtained by the least skilful among them.

[6] Figuier speaks also of "large dried fish tied in bunches" being similarly treated, but no ground for such a statement can be discovered.

765 neck, usually, but not always, by the widow, widower or nearest relative. Mourning closes with a ceremonial dance and the removal of the clay. The ceremonies connected with the disposal of the dead are conventional, reverential and by no means without elaboration in detail.

V. Arts.

324 **Stone Implements.**—The only stone cutting implement known to the Andamanese is the quartz flake chipped off, never worked, and held between the fingers for shaving and tattooing, and shells and fish bones are used for the small blades of the peculiar adze of this people, and for arrow points, scraping and cutting. A *cyrena* valve is the ordinary knife and scraper. Hammers, anvils, hones, and oven-stones consist of natural stones. They have never made celts.

177 The ends of glass bottles for some years, and iron from wrecks for a long time past, have been substituted for the indigenous implements, when and where procurable. The object of the long series of murderous raids made by the inland Jarawas on the outlying parts of the Penal Settlement has now been proved to have been made in search for iron. The implements on the whole are coarsely and roughly made.

411 **Weapons.**—The weapons of the Andamanese are bow and arrow, harpoon, fish spear, pig spear, and they have never had any notion of poisoning the blades, which however sometimes inflict dangerous septic wounds from dirt, though as a rule they are kept bright as a matter of pride. Barbed arrows and harpoons with loose heads are used for catching and pulling up game in the jungles and marking where turtle or large fish are sinking.

Domestic Arts.—Excellent information with illustrations on the domestic and other arts of the Andamanese is to be found in a minutely accurate work, Man's *Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands.*

283 **String and Netting.**—String for nets and all purposes is twisted, often neatly, from the inner bark of creepers. Large nets of this string are made for driving turtle and hand-nets for prawns and small fish and for wallets. Stout cord is made from the inner bark of the *melochia velutina.* Whole, split and scraped canes are used as binders.

285 **Weaving.**—The weaving is good, neat and stout, and baskets and mats are thus well made from strips of canes.

323 **Pottery.**—The unglazed circular clay cooking pots with rounded or pointed bottoms, to the Andamanese very valuable, are built up by hand, sun-dried and then baked, but not thoroughly, in the fire. They are often encased in basket work for safety. Their manufacture, form and ornament are typical of the Stone Age generally.

322 **Wood and Cane work.**—Buckets are hollowed out of wood or cut from the joints of the bamboo. Canoes are hollowed out of whole trunks of light, soft timber by the adze without the use of fire, do not last long and are only fair sea boats. They are however capable of holding many people and a good deal of light cargo.

301 **Ornamentation, Personal and Domestic.**—The personal ornaments made are—bunches and strips of fibres and leaves scraped, cut and hammered, fringes of dentalium shells and straw-coloured wreaths of hammered and roasted dendrobium bark. The bones, skulls and jawbones of deceased relatives are also used whole, or broken and scraped to fancy or requirement, as ornaments, besides necklaces of the bones of animals. Tattooing and painting the body are only ornamental to the extent that, in the latter case especially, deviations from the conventional designs are due to personal taste.

353 The only ornaments to dwellings and huts are the heads of turtle, pigs, iguana, paradoxurus killed in hunting. These are hung up partly as ornaments and partly as trophies, but not with any idea of record.

531 Every manufactured article has its own customary conventional line ornament in one or more of three colours and in one or more of eleven patterns approximately achieved only. The colours are red, white and brown from natural earths. The patterns are (1) chevrons, (2) close cross hatch, (3) wide cross hatch, (4) parallel lines, (5) parallels and chevrons combined, (6) lozenges, (7) plait or guilloche, (8) herring-bone, (9) cross cuts, (10) loops, (11) vandyke with scolloped bands and cross lines.

There were no Andamanese There,
but 400 people consisting of 133 males and 130 females who migrated from Bassein in 1924. They were Karen Christians who had settled there. After returning to Long Island on the 12th, Mr Sarkar and party left in the motor boat "Return" for a short cruise along the Jarawa country. Besides Mr Joseph, there were Mr Pooviah and a few of his Burman Bush Police armed with rifles and guns. The party passed through the Homfray's Strait and anchored at the north eastern corner of the Spike Island. Loka and his party of three Andamanese accompanied them in their two canoes. They came to the shore in one of the Andamanese canoes and after entering the forest they found bundles of bamboos piled up at one corner. This was identified as a Jarawa raft. There were also three paddles made out of a palm tree. These specimens were procured for the Department. After proceeding some distance in the jungle, 19 small fire places were counted in scattered manner. A temporary hut was also noticed at a short distance. A number of objects usually used by the Andamanese tribes for household purposes was found including a sling for carrying babies. A beautiful specimen of a Jarawa Bow painted in red in geometrical designs was also found. Photographs were taken of the settlements of the Jarawa camp and objects collected for the Museum. In another place at *Yeratiajig* remnants of a Jarawa camp including pottery and bones of animals, etc., were found. The party returned to Long Island on 14-3-48 and examined 8 of the remaining members of Loka's party. It left the same day for Port Blair where it arrived at 10 P.M. On the 25th Mr Sarkar and his party with the Deputy Chief Commissioner Mr Gupta, left for Kar Nicobar where it arrived on the following day. It returned to Port Blair after staying for a few days. During this time in Kar Nicobar, besides studying the Nicobarese of the Island Mr Sarkar met two Jarawa children who were captured and brought over there and placed in a local Mission School for education.

In the following year in January 1949, another small party was sent under Dr A. K. Mitra with Messrs H. K. Bose and A. Bhattacharyya, to continue the survey of the Little Andaman further along the eastern coast. They visited *Hut Bay* on the 28th and went to the Onge settlement there. A large circular hut similar to that seen by us at Tambebui was observed. It contained nine cots with a fire place in the centre. There were also two outrigger canoes, one in front of the hut and another on the beach. Altogether 11 Onges were found consisting of 2 adult males, 6 females and 3 young children between the ages of 6 to 15. The 8 adults and the adolescent boys were carefully measured and observations noted about their special somatic characters. After leaving Hut Bay they went as far as the South Point which is the southernmost point on the eastern coast of the Little Andaman, but did not see any other Onge settlement. They had to return on the 31st as the launch could not be spared any further.

The Onges were found to be strong and healthy and free from venereal disease, a scourge, which along with tuberculosis were chiefly responsible for the rapid depopulation of the Andamanese tribes. Our observations agree with the accounts of the Negritos of the Andaman Islands published before

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

tracted hardship and considerable risk, not so much from the natives themselves as from the implacable Andaman sea. We had a terrible time during several of our landings from the open Indian Ocean. Constant danger additionally stimulated the development of research in Little Andaman. All the Indians and the Burmese behaved bravely. Among them I wish to mention here my Indian stenographer, a married man nearing thirty, from Bengal: RANHADIR KUMAR DEY, who, on 12 and 13 February, 1953, on the south coast of the island shared two frightfully narrow escapes with me. I am sure that neither of us will ever forget it. I later found a comfortable landing place, now indicated by floating buoys, on the north coast. Two other Bengalese assistants who were a great help to me in Little Andaman and had been selected from a number of young aspirants, are PRONAB GANGULI and BIMAL CHANDRA ROY. My work in the Andamans could not have been accomplished without them and without the initiative and encouragement of officers such as Dr. B. S. GUHA, Director of the Department of Anthropology of the Indian Government, Mr. AJSY K. GHOSH, the kind, open-minded Chief Commissioner of Andamans and Nicobars during my 1951-1953 stay there, and Mr. S. N. MAITRA, who succeeded Mr. GHOSH as Chief Commissioner. In a book that I am writing I try to point out the significance of my work in the Andamans, carried out with the help of such distinguished, and sometimes heroic, Indian collaborators.

I. Hygienic Conditions

1. Habitation

The nomadic Onge have two kinds of shelter: one temporary, the other permanent, used only for short periods at a time. The Little Andaman forest is full of abandoned temporary shelters; the permanent camps are fewer, mainly situated along the coast. They consist of communal huts, strongly built by a number of families roaming under the direction of a leader. The huts have a ritual significance, as we shall presently see. Inside each communal hut are a number of beds generally equal to the number of families. Small fires are kept burning day and night near the beds, a precaution that I was thankful for on many cold nights succeeded by hot days. The Onge require nothing more against the cold. In their camps they can withstand the heaviest storms and drenching rains. In order to avoid chills it is enough for them to protect their fires from extinction. This applied to me too, while living among the Onge. The warmth and the dry air ensured good health for us all.

A few additional beds are for the use of bachelors nearing marriage. Most of the beds are marginally and radially placed; a few are placed transversally. Normal beds accommodate father, mother (the Onge are monogamous), children and dogs, all in a heap. In temporary as in permanent shelters it is customary for families to eat separately, each close to its bed. The low, round roof of the communal hut does not reach the ground; a gap of 30 cms is left free for creeping in and out at will without using the main door (a simple mat to be lifted). Rubbish is thrown carelessly everywhere, e. g. directly outside the circular hut, which is consequently surrounded by a malodorous ring of bones, imperfectly cleaned shells, bits of rotting shellfish and other animals – a rich breeding ground for flies and various other insects that rapidly destroy everything edible, leaving the grass to grow until the next lot of garbage accumulates. Building and rebuilding a communal hut always on the same

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

123 The second trip was made on March 12th 1948. Our party included Mr. JOSEPH and Mr. POOVIAH [3], both Sub-divisional Officers of the forest department, one Burman bush police and four Andamanese with their two canoes tied behind our motor boat. We followed the same route from Long Island and, reaching Spike Island, we anchored at its northeastern corner. We came ashore in the canoes. The beach was small and rocky. Part of it was sheltered on one side by huge rocks behind which the Jarawa were known to waylay those approaching from the sea. So we landed very cautiously. Just at [501] the outskirts of the jungle we saw huge bundles of short bamboo lengths tied to [824] one another and piled up in a heap. It was a Jarawa raft. Near the bamboo pile were three crude paddles split from the spadix of the palm called *Nipa fruticans*. We were all the more careful in our approach.

[361] Soon we came upon a clearing in the jungle. There was no Jarawa, but all around we saw traces of a temporary halt of a large party. We counted nineteen [342] fireplaces. At a distance from the fireplaces we saw a small temporary hut [622] improvised out of the materials available on the spot. Two small shrubs were tied together on two sides to form the roof of the hut. The Andamanese identified it to have been made for the Jarawa chief and his wife. Household objects [415] [824] lay scattered about. Three bamboo cylinders, closed at one end by the natural node, were found next to [412] three of the fireplaces. They are used for carrying water. A dark coloured modern glass bottle, probably acquired during a raid, was [177] [415] also found. One fireplace had a small compartment enclosed by a [354] few wooden posts a few yards off. [417] The Andamanese identified it as [855] an enclosure for keeping a child at a safe distance from the fire. This was probably correct as there was also a baby sling made of bark, [854] exactly similar to that used by the Onge for carrying a baby on its mother's back (VON EICKSTEDT, [412] 1934, fig. 211). At one corner of a fireplace the shavings of an arrowshaft or a bow were seen and nearby was a flat round pebble, one end of which was broken like that of a scraper (fig. 3). This scraper showed marks of red ochre [412] on it. Beneath a tree a circular mat, sewn out of three pieces of long triangular palm-like leaves was spread out, while on its branches was found a beautiful specimen of an unstrung bow. It appeared to have been recently prepared and

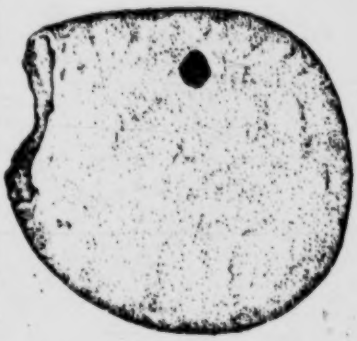

Fig. 3

[3] These two officers captured two Jarawa males, one adult and one boy, on October 19th 1948 on Spike Island. They were brought to Port Blair, wherefrom they managed to escape at night.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

ground. Two parallel transverse poles of equal length, one front 342
and one back, complete the frame, which is lashed together with
the usual rush fibres. The roof consists of fresh *Pandanus* leaves, [824]
palms, or grass. It never actually touches the ground, and food [364]
refuse is thrown out from underneath it in the usual way, covering
the ground round the shelter.

The bed takes a little longer than the roof to put up, as a number 513
of sticks have to be gathered to make the compact platform, raised 352
about half a metre from the ground on four stout props driven into
the ground, one at each corner, and a suitable trunk has to be found
for the head-rest. Normally one bed takes an entire family – mother,
father, children and dogs, all well packed on the platform with the
inevitable fire beside. On rare occasions, when the shelter is in-
tended purely for the menfolk on a hunting expedition, only one
bed is prepared, but generally every hunter has his family with him.
I have myself slept like this with the Onges on trips where the [122]
forest was too dense for any baggage to be carried.

As the kitchen-middens show (see p. 68), their permanent huts 342
are, with very few exceptions, circular and are still extremely
simple. The essential feature is the waterproof roof-mats, well
overlapped, which form the enormous umbrella roof. From the
outside the whole thing looks in danger of collapsing, but from the
interior it is obviously safely held by a frame of poles, lashed with
innumerable ties to stout uprights fixed firmly into the ground.
No central pillar is needed, and when there is one it is only by
chance; I saw very few on Little Andaman. There are no divisions
into rooms or compartments – everything is open to the eyes of
all the occupants of the beds. Most of these are arranged as the [513]
radii of a circle, fairly near the outer edge of the hut, the roof [352]
coming down so close to the ground that everyone sleeps with
their heads towards the centre, but there may be some beds across
the centre space.

At the circumference the roof is only thirty to forty centimetres 342
from the ground, the roofing mats being well lashed on to uprights
in case of high winds, and one can wriggle in and out of the hut
on one's stomach, crawling over the refuse thrown out through
the convenient gap. There is always, however, a 'proper' entrance,
where one edge of the roof-wall can be lifted up. At the top of the [354]
roof, on the lee side, one section can be propped open on poles,

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

342 354 allowing the smoke to escape and letting more air in – a very welcome relief at times, even for the Onges!

342 12C I made sketch plans of all the huts I visited, with positions of the supporting poles, beds, etc. Two typical ones were those at Toqué-è-bùie and Tambe-e-buiè. In March 1952 the former had some parts of the roof missing, as the inhabitants had taken the mats off to make temporary shelters in the forest; when the rains came they brought them back and replaced them. This custom explained why, on Great Andaman, some obviously temporary shelters had roofs far too well made to be intended for purely temporary use.

352 354 342 Entering the hut at Toqué-è-bùie, by the entrance proper, one finds oneself facing an area with no beds in it. In the centre of this area, under the apex of the roof, is a fire, a little larger than those kept burning beside each bed. This is used for communal cooking during the rainy season; at other times all cooking is done in the open. The ground area covered by the roof was 9·12 square metres, its height at the centre 3·3 metres, and the external circumference [364] 30·65 metres. Beyond this stretched the ring of refuse built up by each short period of occupation.

342 [184] Unlike many of the huts of Little Andaman, Toqué-è-bùie has a central pole, not thick, but of a very hard wood. In a circle round this are ten upright poles, each about two metres from the central pole. Starting on the left of the entrance and moving clockwise their heights vary slightly.[1] Outside this inner circle of supporting poles are two more concentric rings of uprights, the first, with a radius of 3·65 metres from the central pole, consists of twenty uprights with an average height of 1·35 metres, and the second, with a radius of 4·53 metres from the centre pole, has an average height of 0·38 metres. In nearly every hut each circle of uprights is attached to the roof by a ring formed by a bundle of long canes, to which each upright is lashed. Another bunch of long canes runs transversely from the entrance to the opposite side of the hut, almost touching the ground at the two ends, touching the roof in the middle, and fixed to the rings of canes to which the uprights are attached.

The bundle of canes forming this arch support is clearly set in place after the erection of the first (innermost) ring of uprights, and actually lies on top of the ring of canes to which they are

[1] 2·45, 2·35, 2·32, 2·3, 2·45, 2·35, 2·3, 2·35, 2·32, 2·35 metres.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

spot for centuries leads to the formation of kitchen-middens [1]. In the temporary camps something similar happens: the only difference consists in the fact that rubbish dumps only accumulate at the back of the temporary shelters, as a consequence of their peculiar shape that I shall not describe here. These dumps are heaven-sent love nests for insects of many species, mostly flies of a metallic green colour. They follow the Onge from camp to camp and thrive on scraps from human meals. When travelling in Little Andaman I was unmistakably warned of the nearby presence of Onge camps by the appearance of those familiar living beings.

The filth that coats the floors of communal Onge huts offers an ideal breeding ground also for myriads of fleas. Dogs spread them all over Little Andaman. Owing to the fact that the communal huts are deserted for months at a time during the dry season, the fleas become hungry and assault human beings vehemently whenever possible. When visiting empty communal huts I myself, and the persons with me, were plagued by such assaults. Fleas advanced suddenly from feet to head in thick, shimmering brown layers, covering first our legs. We were obliged to strip and douse ourselves with insect-repellents. As for other parasites, including ticks and mosquitos, equally plentiful in Little Andaman, the Onge do not appear to be inconvenienced by them.

The communal huts are used for another purpose as well, unhygienic but of high ethnological interest: the interment of human corpses. When they die, the inmates are buried beneath their beds. In other words, communal huts are also cemeteries. Many human skeletons are found by digging under the beds. Until 1952 this fact was unknown about the Andaman Islanders although it is encountered in all Onge communal huts without exception. An analysis of this custom led to further discoveries: the Onge wish to compel the spirit of a deceased person to remain close to the living as a protection, so they offer it the communal hut for an abode, the idea being that a spirit cannot wander far from the bones of its former body. A series of Onge practices point to this belief: felled enemies must be burned and reduced to ashes in order to render them harmless. Their hostile souls, according to the Onge, rise toward the sky in smoke as the bones are consumed. For the same reason, bones of relatives are fashioned into necklaces. The most conspicuous of these is the *ibidanghe*, worn generally by women and young girls, which is made from a decorated human jawbone. The aim is to obtain the assistance of the departed relation in fighting illness and bad luck. Direction in hunting, fishing and even quarrelling is supposed to come from the dead kept close to the living. We can trace this belief on the connection between bones and souls to a remote origin: Southern Asia megaliths had, in my opinion, no other cause for offering shelter to spirits and promoting useful relations between the living and the dead. I reached this conclusion after studying the contemporary habits of Travancore mountain and other Indian tribes, particularly the Munda. In Nias we find traces of the same customs as among different peoples of Indonesia and Oceania, who

[1] I discussed this at the two international anthropological congresses of 1952 (Vienna) and 1956 (Philadelphia), and have more to say on the subject in my book about the Onge.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

262 immense quantities of it together with pork. I was with them three times when this recurred, so I could observe their behaviour exhaustively. With their 517 bellies full, the natives rest. Their only activity is body painting, performed by 302 the women on the skin of their peacefully sleeping husbands. Designs change 178 from time to time as I said before, according to the women's inventiveness. Each family challenges the others in renewing their patterns. The best are later reproduced until the next change. From year to year I noticed no real evolution in this rudimentary art, but a cyclical fashion, with temporary preference, in males and females alike, for some geometrical designs, unconnected with whatever kind of food they had been eating. This contradicts the published af- 114 firmations of several authors, who allege that the Andamanese paint special 302 patterns in special colours for different kinds of food. There is nothing more false, at least with reference to the Onge. Merry feasting, whether on pork [262] turtle, dugong, fish or honey, leads to a period of rest and body decoration – [751] always in similar patterns and colours – with the unique purpose of preventing illness. We might say that painting the body is equal to cleaning it, but this [515] is quite unintentional. A curious exception to the Onge's filthy habits is the 264 practice of sweeping the floor after solemn banquets in communal huts. The surface of the floor consists of unpacked earth hardened by casual tramping. 356 When it is dry, sweeping raises a heavy dust that fills the hut to the ceiling. 342 It deposits there on the wooden beams where the Onge like to store cooked 251 victuals. So they eat their food, as I said before, coated with dust, no matter 262 how thick. A brush without a handle is used to sweep the floor ; it is 80 cms 412 long and no thicker than a man's wrist. It is one of the nicest tools made by the Onge, and consists of strong, hard, elastic palm fibres bound together with strips of rattan. The dirt is simply thrown out all around the hut, by pushing 356 it under the roof mats that never reach the ground.

These notes offer a first glimpse into a peculiar aspect of Onge life. It is 114 to be deplored that these vanishing people have not yet been exhaustively studied, notwithstanding their anthropological interest and high biological significance.

26 Cleaning themselves, to the Onges, means painting themselves
302 to ward off evil and to remove, so they said, the smell of pig fat
[224] after the colossal orgies which follow a particularly good hunt,
when even they find the stench too much. These orgies, which give
[164] them appalling indigestion for days, are followed by an apparently instinctive variation of their diet to raw or cooked vegetable foods. On three occasions from 1952–54 I was present at one of these solemn pork and honey orgies. The Onges ate almost till they burst, and then, hardly able to move, cleaned up by a grand painting session. The women do the painting, families vying with each other to produce weird new designs, which are then copied until the next feast.[1]

276 Fed and painted, the Onges sit down to smoke, using pipes made
26 from crabs' claws. Still regardless of hygiene the pipes go from one
302 mouth to another, the women smoking just as heavily as the men.
237 One curious anomaly is that the Onges do sometimes sweep the
● 356 earth floor of the communal hut. The floor is not deliberately beaten down, but becomes hardened by continuous walking on it; in dry weather it turns to dust, which rises and settles everywhere, especially under the roof, where the lumps of cooked meat,
[412] fish and so on are hung. For the cleaning a broom or besom is prepared, well made with very hard, supple, palm fibres, bound tightly and carefully with cords made from reeds. The whole thing is about eighty centimetres long and as thick as a man's wrist.

356 The dirt is simply swept out all round from under the roof of the
342 hut through the gap between the roof and the ground. In the course
172 of time a ring of refuse builds up round the hut, forming a glorious
364 breeding ground for insects of all kinds. When the hut has to be rebuilt, owing to the ravages of wood-worm and termites, the ring is levelled off to form the new floor. Since the same small, well-chosen site may be used for thousands of years, the hut ends up perching on top of a small mound of refuse dating back to very

[531] [1] From one year to the next I saw no real evolution of art forms but cyclic changes of designs, with a preference for certain geometric patterns, at certain times of the year. Having watched various individuals of both sexes closely over a period of some years I can say that in the Onges at least, contrary to what is generally understood, the use of given patterns, and given kinds of ochre, does not correspond with given types of food. Any feast is always followed by painting, always with the weirdest designs possible, but always geometrical, never far from the current 'fashion', and never even remotely inspired by the basis of the feast.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

ancient times. Great Andaman abounds in these man-made humps, to which the name 'kitchen-middens' has been given, but none are in use today. In Little Andaman, on the other hand, many are still being built up.

The sweeping operations disturb clouds of flies and tiny beetles, light brown in colour, shot with metallic blue, with a highly domed back, and about five millimetres long, which always collect under bones and other human food refuse. Hordes of fleas, invisible in the dirt on the floor but multiplying busily, are also stirred up. Fortunately there are no lice on Little Andaman, owing to the absence of clothing and bed-linen, and the Onges carry no lice in their hair.

In fact the dogs' coats carry the fleas from place to place more than do their naked, smooth-skinned owners. Every time I went into a hut which had been empty for a time, as happens in the dry season when the occupants are away on a hunting trip, I was assailed by swarms of fleas such as I had never imagined! They rushed up one's body from feet to neck in absolute serried ranks, platoons of them, solid masses of tiny black moving objects. The only thing to do was to go out into the open and douse oneself in Flit, which caused them to retreat hastily. My camp-bed was always given a precautionary dose. Unfortunately Flit was not enough to disperse the clouds of ticks, tiny but dangerous, and a scourge in the forests of the Andamans. The Onges call them *anagbe* and thoroughly enjoyed helping to catch them on me in hundreds after every expedition into the forest.

None of these pests worry the Onges, who make no attempt to get rid of them. They leave mounds of filth round their huts or in their forest camps for them to breed in, and the light covering of earth or leaves which at best cover the Onges' faeces, deposited near the camp, was never any deterrent to breeding. The Onges never dig sanitary trenches or prepare any other form of latrines, even for their permanent sites; the forest is all concealing. However, they will never defaecate near, or in, a water course, even when the bed is dry, and when my men used the bed of a dried-up stream for the purpose the Onges protested to me, because the water would be contaminated. I was not disposed to contradict them.

In the forest, meeting a swarm of flies was a sure sign that we

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

CHAPTER I

THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION

000 In the present chapter we are to deal with the customs and institutions by which the natives of the Great Andaman regulate the conduct of persons one to another. At the outset it is necessary to get as clear an idea as possible of the structure of the Andamanese society. That structure, as will be shown, is extremely simple.

What is really of interest to the ethnologist is the social organisation of these tribes as it existed before the European occupation of the islands. The changes that have taken place in recent years have been extensive, the most important being the great diminution in numbers and the merging together of what were formerly distinct and often hostile communities. It is fairly easy, however, to discover from the natives themselves what was the constitution of the society in former times, though there remain a few points about which no satisfactory information can be obtained.

621 When the islands were first occupied by the British, before depopulation had affected their institutions, the natives of the [361] Great Andaman were to be found living in small communities scattered over the islands, mostly on the coast, but some of them in the forest of the interior of the island. Each such community, which will be spoken of as a "local group," was independent and autonomous, leading its own life and regulating its own affairs. Each group had occasional relations with other neighbouring groups; visitors might pass from one to another; or the two groups might meet together for a few days and join in feasting and dancing. On the other hand

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

621
[361]

groups were at peace[1]. There is no doubt that in the more favourable localities, particularly on the coast, the country occupied by a single group was smaller than in places of less abundant food supply. It is probable that the forest-dwelling local groups occupied considerably larger areas in each case than the coast groups. Some of the coast-dwelling groups seem to have occupied areas of less than ten square miles.

It is not easy to discover at this time exactly what number of persons would have been included in one local group. Mouat, who visited the islands in 1857–8, says of the natives, "They are rarely or never seen living alone, several of their little huts being raised in the same locality, where they dwell together in numbers varying between thirty and three hundred[2]." In another passage he states, "They are generally divided into small groups, the numbers of which vary considerably, some not containing more than ten individuals, while in others as many as two or three hundred may be found. The great majority of these groups of the natives consist on an average of from thirty to fifty men, women, and children, although sometimes as many as three hundred are found together[3]." It is probable that, if so small a party as ten were seen, they were a hunting party spending a day or a few days away from the main camp. On the other hand so large a number as three hundred could only be found together on the occasion of one of the periodical meetings of several local groups for purposes of festivity. Mouat's statement that the groups consisted on the average of from thirty to fifty persons, agrees very well with the statements of the natives themselves, and may be taken as being fairly accurate. Mr Man, writing in 1882, speaks of the Andamanese as divided into communities "each consisting of from twenty to fifty individuals," and elsewhere says that "permanent encampments vary in size and

[1] A few small areas were not occupied at all, for example the greater part of Saddle Peak in the North Andaman, which is covered with dense jungle and is supposed by the natives to be the haunt of large and deadly snakes and of evil spirits.

[2] Mouat, F. J., *Adventures and Researches among the Andaman Islanders*, London, 1863, p. 313.

[3] *Loc. cit.* p. 300.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

adjoining mainland were called *Tarotǫlo koloko*. When a man was asked to what part of the country he belonged he would generally answer by mentioning one of the chief camping places of his local group. Thus a man of the *Tarotǫlo koloko* might say that he belonged to *Laropuli*, this being one of the chief camps of that country. A man of the *Teraut buliu koloko* might similarly say that he belonged to the village of *Čaičue*. 621

A man or woman is generally regarded as belonging to the local group in the country of which he or she was born. There is nothing, however, to prevent a person from taking up his residence with any other local group if he so wishes, and if the members of that group are willing to welcome him. It would seem that there were a fair number of such cases in which a man or a woman left his or her own local group to join another. In particular, when two young people belonging to different groups got married they might fix their residence either with his or with her parents. [591]

The local group, as stated above, was characterised as the land-owning group. A man might hunt over the country of his own group at all times, but he might not hunt over the country of another group without the permission of the members of that group. Even at the present day, when the local organisation has largely broken down, some of these hunting rights are still observed. I noticed a case in which some of the men asked and obtained permission to hunt pig in a certain part from a man who was explained to be the owner of that part of the country, being one of the few survivors of the local group to which it belonged. It would, in former times, have been an offence that might easily have led to a serious quarrel for the men of one group to hunt or fish in the country or the waters of another group without having been granted permission to do so. 621 421 224 [628]

Within the territory of each local group there are a number of recognized camping places. During the greater part of every year the members of the local group would be found living together at one or other of these. Some of these camping-grounds have been in use for many centuries, as is shown by 361

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

•361 the heaps of refuse many feet deep, chiefly consisting of the shells of molluscs and the bones of animals. Such kitchen-middens, as they have been called, are to be found in numbers all around the coasts of the islands.

In the case of the coast-dwelling communities the camping sites are always close to the sea-shore or to a creek, so that they can be reached by canoe. In the case of those dwelling [312] inland this is of course not so. In any case one of the chief factors determining the choice of the site is the existence of a supply of fresh water. This is of extreme importance in the case of a site to be occupied during the dry season when fresh water becomes scarce.

221 Within their own territory the local group is what we may 361 speak of as semi-nomadic. The coast-dwellers rarely reside continuously at the same spot for more than a few months, but [268] shift from one camp to another, moved by different causes. If a death occurs the camp is deserted for several months and a new one is occupied. A change of camp often takes place at a change of season, some spots presenting particular advantages, such as shelter from the prevailing wind, or better hunting or fishing, at certain times of the year. Another cause of the [364] abandonment of a camp by the coast-dwellers is that all refuse is thrown away close to the camp, and after a few months the decaying animal matter thus accumulated renders the spot uninhabitable. The natives seem to find it easier to move their camp than to clear away their refuse. The truth is, perhaps, that they are so accustomed to change their camp from one spot to another, in order to make the best use of the natural resources available, that there is no necessity for them to take those sanitary measures that would be essential if they wished to remain for many months continuously at the same place.

The forest-dwellers are less nomadic in their habits than the coast-dwellers. One of the reasons for this is that as they cannot convey their belongings from one place to another by canoe, but must carry them overland, the moving of a camp is a more tiresome business with them than it is with the coast-dwellers. During a great part of the year the forest-dwellers

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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221 361 were accustomed to remain at one camp, which was thus the chief camp of the group. In particular they would spend there the whole of the rainy season. During the cool and hot seasons they would leave the chief camp for a few months, leading during that time a more nomadic life, living in temporary hunting camps and paying visits to their friends in other groups. At the opening of the rainy season they would return once more to the main camp.

361 342 The camps of the natives of the Great Andaman may be distinguished as being of three kinds. Of the first kind are what may be spoken of as permanent encampments. Certainly every group of the forest-dwellers, and probably every group of the coast-dwellers had its permanent encampment, which was, so to speak, the headquarters of the group. At this spot there would be erected either a communal hut, or a carefully built village. Communal huts have in recent times fallen into disuse, as the natives now wander about the islands much more freely than was their wont. I did not see a single one in the Great Andaman during my visit, though I was told of one that was falling to ruins in the interior of the Middle Andaman. One such communal hut was photographed in 1895 by M. L. Lapicque, at a spot called *Lekera-l'un-ta*[1]. It was perhaps the last that the natives of the Great Andaman erected. What the communal hut was like it is possible to discover both from the statements of the natives and also from the fact that they are still to the present day used by the natives of the Little Andaman and by the *Jarawa*. The hut was roughly circular in form and might be as big as 60 feet in diameter and 20 or 30 feet high at the centre. The shape was somewhat that of a beehive. Two concentric circles, one of tall posts near the centre and the other of shorter posts near the circumference, were connected by horizontal and sloping roof-timbers, and on these were laid and fastened a number of mats of palm-leaves. These mats reached, as a rule, as far as the ground, a small doorway being left on one side.

Such communal huts, while still used in the Little Andaman

[1] The photograph is reproduced in *Le Tour du Monde*, 1895, p. 447.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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and by the *Jarawa*, and formerly used by the forest-dwellers of the Great Andaman, were apparently not often erected by the coast-dwellers of the larger island at the time the islands were occupied in 1858. Mr Man seems to have regarded them as being peculiarly characteristic of the *Jarawa* and the natives of the Little Andaman[1]. There is evidence, however, that even the coast-dwellers formerly erected such huts, for in the *Akar-Bale* tribe there are several places with names such as *Paruŋ Bud* and *Golugma Bud*, which show that communal huts existed there at some time. The word *bud* is used to denote a communal hut, as compared with a village, which is called *baraij*.

A large communal hut took some little time to erect. The posts had to be cut and erected, this being the work of the men, and the palm-leaves had to be collected and then made into mats by the women. Once the hut was built it would last for several years, and if it were in fairly constant use, particularly if it were not abandoned in the rains, it might be used, with a little occasional patching, for ten years or even more.

Among the coast-dwellers it was more usual to erect at the headquarters a semi-permanent village. A portion of such a village is shown in the photographs reproduced in Plates VI and VII.

The village occupied a small clearing in the forest close to the sea-shore at a place called *Moi-lepto* in the country of the *Akar-Bale* tribe. A spring or soak close to the village provided the fresh water. The site is a favourite one as it is well sheltered, and is within convenient distance of good fishing and turtle hunting grounds. It was formerly one of the chief camping places of the local group known as the *Boroin wa* (Hill people).

The village was composed of eight huts, ranged round a central open space, and all of them facing inwards towards the centre. This open space is kept clear and clean for dancing, and is simply the village dancing ground. Each of the single huts was occupied by a family group, consisting of

[1] See *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. XII, p. 71.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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•361 a man and his wife with their children and dependants. One hut was occupied by an old widower and a bachelor.

342 The way the huts are built can be seen in the photographs. In the simplest form the hut consists of a sloping roof made of palm-leaves, erected on four posts, two taller ones at the front and two short ones at the back. A hut of this kind is shown in Plate VII. If more shelter is required a second roof is added in such a way that the top of one overhangs the top of the other. In some cases a third roof may be added on one side. In Plates VI and VII two mats of palm-leaf are shown in the course of construction, lying on the ground.

Huts such as these, in which the leaves are first made into a mat which is then attached to the rafters, will last for some time. Even if the village be deserted for several weeks, at any rate in the dry weather, very little work will be needed to make it habitable again when the occupants return to it.

A second kind of camp was made when the natives did not intend to stay more than two to three months. Such camps were erected by the forest folk during the dry season, or at any time when they were compelled to leave their chief camp through the death there of one of their number. Such a temporary camp is always put up in the form of a village, and never as a communal hut. The huts are similar to those already described, but are made more carelessly. The thatching leaves, instead of being made into mats, are simply tied in bundles on to the rafters. A hut of this kind will last quite well for three months or so and it can be built very rapidly at any place where there is a sufficient supply of thatching leaves. At the present day the natives rarely build a permanent camp for themselves, but are contented with temporary camps of the kind here described.

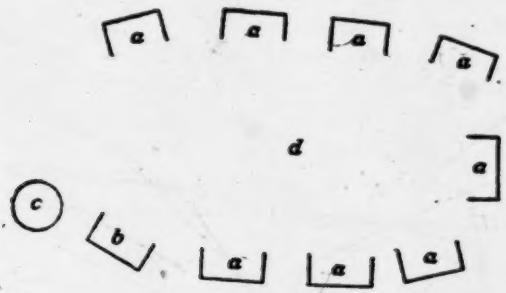
A third kind of camp remains to be briefly mentioned, which we may call the hunting camp. A hunting party (which may include women as well as men) spending a few days away from one of the main camps will erect for themselves a few huts or shelters consisting of nothing more than a simple lean-to of leaves.

Caves or rock shelters suitable for human occupation are

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

361 almost unknown in the Andamans. In the Archipelago there are
342 one or two small rock shelters that are occasionally used by a hunting party away from home for a night. I was told by the natives that on one of the islands off the west coast of the North Andaman there is a rock shelter of a fair size that was formerly used as one of their chief camps.

The following figure will give an idea of the Andamanese village and its arrangement. In hunting camps which are intended only to be occupied for a few days or a few weeks, this arrangement is not observed, but the huts or shelters are placed



Plan of Andamanese Village

a. Huts of married people.
b. Bachelors' hut.
c. Public cooking place.
d. Dancing ground.

so as to give shelter from the prevailing wind with no particular regard to the respective position of the different units.

361 The constitution of the local group is illustrated by the
621 arrangement of the village. The whole village consists of a number of separate huts, each hut occupied by a family. A family consists of a man and his wife and such of their children own or adopted as are not of an age to be independent. Besides the families each group necessarily contains a small number of unmarried men and widowers and some unmarried girls and widows. The unmarried men and widowers without children occupy a separate hut (or huts) which we may speak of as the bachelors' hut. Mr Man states that the spinsters (i.e., the

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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361 unmarried women who are of marriageable age) and widows
621 occupy a hut of their own similarly to the bachelors[1]. In the camps that I visited I did not find any such spinsters' hut. What unmarried females there were, I found attached to one or other of the families of the village, each one living in the hut of some married relative, generally the parent or foster-parent.

All the huts face inwards towards an open space which is the dancing ground of the village, and, except in exposed situations, are generally entirely open in front. At some convenient spot on one side of the dancing ground is to be found the communal cooking place of the village. This is generally close to the bachelors' hut, as it is the bachelors who attend to such cooking as is carried on there. Besides the public cooking place each family has its own fireplace in its own hut, on which a fire is kept continually alight. In the village two or
[592] more families may build their huts adjoining one another in such a way that they become for all practical purposes one hut, of which each family retains its own special portion. Two brothers will thus often make a sort of common household.

361 The communal hut, in the way in which it is arranged, and even in the way in which it is built, is really a village with
621 all the huts drawn together so that each one is joined to the one
342 next to it and the roofs meet in the middle. In the centre of the hut there is an open space corresponding to the dancing ground of the village. It is even used as a dancing ground, though for this purpose it is somewhat small. It is the public part of the hut. Around this are arranged the different families, each occupying its own special portion of the hut, which is marked off by means of short lengths of wood laid on the floor. The public cooking place is sometimes inside the hut, and there is the space marked off for the unmarried men. The advantage of the communal hut is that it affords a better protection from the weather; its disadvantage is that it leaves almost no room for dancing.

361 Thus it may be seen that the arrangement of the camp shows
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[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 108.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE VIII

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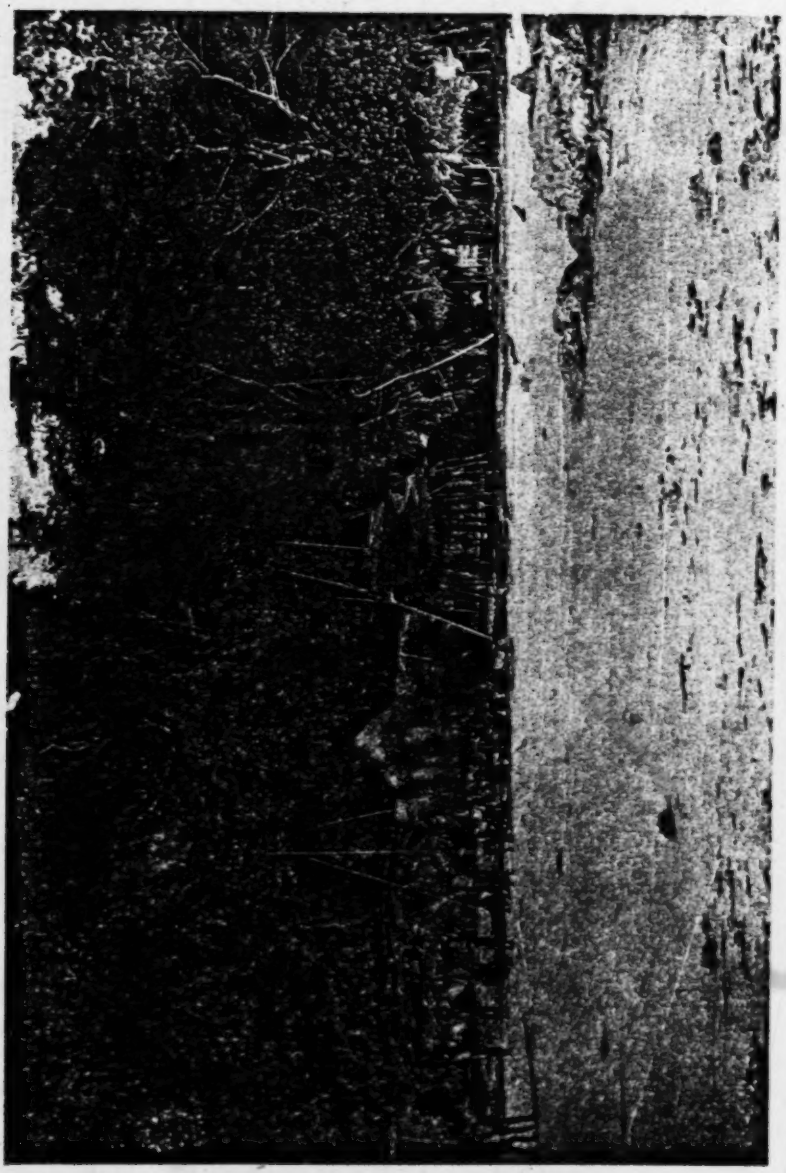

A village of the Middle Andaman

[facing p. 36]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

very plainly the constitution of a local group, consisting as it does of a few families. Each group seems to have contained, on an average, about ten families, with a few unmarried males and females.

The Andaman Islanders depend for their subsistence entirely on the natural products of the sea and the forest. From the sea they obtain dugong, turtle (both green and hawksbill), an enormous variety of different sorts of fish, crustaceans (crabs, crayfish and prawns) and molluscs. Fish and crabs are also to be found in the salt-water creeks which in many places penetrate inland for some miles. From the forest they obtain the flesh of the wild pig, wild honey, and a large number of vegetable foods—roots, fruits, and seeds.

The life of the forest folk is more simple and uniform than that of the coast people and we may therefore consider it first. During the rainy season, which lasts from the middle of May to the end of September, the local group lives at its headquarters camp, which, as we have seen, formerly often took the form of a communal hut. During this season animal food is plentiful, as the jungle animals are in good condition ; on the other hand there is not much vegetable food to be obtained. The following brief account will give an idea of how the day is spent in such a camp at that time of year. Some time after sunrise the camp begins to be astir. The various members of the community make a meal of any food that may have been saved from the day before. The men start off for the day's hunting. At the present time dogs are used for pig-hunting. These dogs were obtained in the first instance from the Settlement of Port Blair, and their use in pig-hunting was learnt from the Burmese convicts. Nowadays every married man has at least one dog[1]. Before the dogs were obtained, hunting was a pursuit requiring a great deal more skill than it does at present. A hunting party consists of from two to five men. Each man carries his bow and two or three pig arrows, and one of the party carries a smouldering fire-brand. They make their way through the jungle until they find the fresh tracks of a pig, or follow up some of the usual pig runs

[1] In the North Andaman the times before the Settlement are spoken of as the time when there were no dogs, *Bibi poiye* = "Dog not."

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

ground. Such a floor is erected on short posts, and may be made of 342
bamboos or of planks or pieces of broken-up canoes. A floor of this kind, raised a foot or so above the ground, is shown in Plate VII. Huts are sometimes to be seen with a floor raised as much as three feet above the ground.

The simple Andaman hut as above described is entirely open at the front and on each side. In an exposed situation screens of palm-leaves may be erected at the side. If still more shelter is required, a hut may be built with two roofs. Such a hut requires six posts, two taller ones six or seven feet high, and four shorter ones, two on each side. For such a hut two mats are made, and are so attached that one mat projects above the other. No attempt is made to fasten the two mats together at the top, but on the contrary a space of several inches is left between them to allow the smoke of the fire to escape, rain being excluded by the overhang of one of the mats. Huts of this type may be seen in Plate VI.

Each of the huts hitherto described is occupied by a single family. 361
In order to understand the communal huts it is necessary to consider the arrangement of small huts in a camp or village. In the tribes of the Great Andaman there are two main types of such arrangement. The first type is that of the hunting camp, which is occupied for a few nights only. In this all the huts are placed facing in the same direction (to leeward) and in a line with one another. The second type is that of a village to be occupied for some weeks or months. In this the huts are arranged round an open space, all facing inwards, as described earlier in this book[1]. All encampments in the Great Andaman tend to conform to one or other of these types, but variations are introduced according to the nature of the site occupied. Thus in a hunting camp the site may not permit of the erection of the huts in one line. A village is, as a rule, only put up at a spot that has been used from time immemorial, where there is an open space of sufficient size, but if, for any reason, a site is selected where there is not room to arrange all the huts around the dancing ground, the arrangement of the village may be irregular.

The hunting camps of the Jarawa are sometimes arranged on the same principle as those of the tribes of the Great Andaman Division, i.e., all facing in one direction and as nearly in one line side by side as the site will allow.

The natives of the Little Andaman erect hunting camps in the fine

[1] See p. 34.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

361 weather. In the only one that I have seen the huts were arranged irregularly so as to make the best use of the available space.

A few words must be said on the sites chosen for encampments. It must be remembered that the islands are entirely covered with forest. The natives will not, if they can avoid it, put their camp under high trees, for fear of the danger of falling branches in a storm. At the same time they prefer a situation where there is an open space surrounded with forest so that they are sheltered from the wind. The coast-dwellers always camp immediately within the jungle on the shore of the sea or of a creek. The forest-dwellers usually choose a position on a hill or ridge, and this is particularly the case with the Jarawa. The camp must be close to a supply of fresh water. In the tribes of the Great Andaman Division no precautions are taken against a possible attack by enemies, but the Jarawa do take precautions, clearing the trees around their camps so that they have a good view of the approaches, and even, apparently, placing look-out stations at the tops of the paths[1].

Amongst the coast-dwelling tribes there are sites that have been used for encampments for many centuries. At these spots there are found heaps of refuse that have accumulated year by year. These kitchen-middens, as they are sometimes called, consist of the shells of molluscs, bones of animals, stones that have been used for cooking, fragments of pottery, and loam produced from decayed wood and other refuse.

342 361 The two types of camp arrangement which are seen in the village and the hunting camp are exhibited in two different types of communal hut. One of these, corresponding to the hunting camp, may be termed the long shelter. It is apparently only used in the North Sentinel Island. A hut of this type was seen by Mr Gilbert Rogers in 1903. It was rectangular, 40 feet long and 12 feet wide. The roof was supported on three rows of small posts ranging in height from 3 feet at the back to 6 feet at the front of the hut. The roof projected about 2 feet in either direction beyond the posts and was about 2 feet from the ground at the back and 7 feet above the ground at the front. There were twelve places for fires, six in front and six at the back of the hut, and near each, on the right-hand side, was a platform supported on four sticks, of the usual Andamanese type, for keeping food. There were two rows of sleeping places which were separated by small poles, making rectangles on the ground about 5 feet

[1] See *Census Report*, 1901.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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by 4 feet, each of which was probably occupied by a man and his wife and small children[1]. 342 361

The relation of this type of communal hut, in which all the members of one local group are brought together under a single roof of one slope, to the ordinary family hut of the Andamans, and the arrangement of the hunting camp in a line, is obvious.

To the arrangement of huts in a village around a central open space corresponds the second type of communal hut, which may be called the round hut. Communal huts of this type were formerly built by the natives of the Great Andaman Division, but have fallen into disuse in recent times, owing to the natives having become much more migratory in their habits. Huts of the same type are built at the present day by the natives of the Little Andaman and by the Jarawa.

In its typical form this kind of hut is built by erecting two circles of posts, a smaller circle of tall posts, and a wider circle of shorter posts. The tops of these posts are connected by horizontal and sloping timbers, which make the framework of the roof. The roof is made of a number of mats of palm-leaves, which are laid on the rafters and tied to them with strips of cane. The mats are made in exactly the same way as the smaller mats used for the small huts and already described. They are sometimes rectangular in shape, though occasionally an attempt is made to make them narrower at the top and broader at the bottom. They are arranged on the roof so as to overlap one another and thus make the hut rain-proof. They are not joined in the centre, but a small space is left for the smoke of the fires to escape, and the rain is prevented from entering by letting one or two of the mats overhang the others at the top. 342

In the round huts of the Jarawa and the Little Andaman there is no centre-post, and according to the statements made to me by the natives of the Great Andaman they did not use a centre-post for their huts. In the description attached to a photograph in the British Museum Mr Portman speaks of the centre-post of a communal hut, which is shown in the photograph still standing, although the hut had been pulled down. It would therefore seem that in the Great Andaman the natives did sometimes erect a centre-post for their round huts. The typical round hut, however, has no centre-post.

It is clear that the round hut has been developed from the village. If all the small huts of a village be drawn together so as to touch each

[1] Supplement to the *Andaman and Nicobar Gazette*, January 2, 1904.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

823 neighbouring coast of Burmah, much less of the world at large, and consequently imagined that their islands formed almost the entire terrene area, and that they themselves comprised the bulk of the inhabitants.

715 7. The few voyagers who from time to time ventured near their shores were regarded as deceased ancestors, who, by some dispensation, had been permitted to re-visit the earth, and who were supposed to live on some small island in the vicinity of their *ē·rema-*, *i.e.*, world. In confirmation of this may be cited the name by which natives of India are to this day called, viz., *chàw·gala* (*lit.* departed spirits).

103 **Etymology.**—1. From the following list of some of the numerous encampments of the natives of South Andaman,[1] it will be observed that the names are usually derived from some circumstance peculiar to the spot, or from some tree overshadowing the site:—

.tâ-bô·roga-, coral (*tâ-*), shore (*bô·roga-*).
.tigbang·-, rock-hole, there being at that place a hole in a large rock through which a canoe can pass.
.tàrmū·gu-.[2] West (island).
.yū·kala-chàng·-, grassy (*yū·kala-*), camp (*chàng-*).
.dū·mla-paicha-òng·-, anchorage (*òng-*), in neighbourhood (*paicha-*), of the (*la*), *Dūm-* tree.
.lē·kera-bar·nga-, a row (*bar·nga-*) of *Lēkera-* trees.
.ū·dala lâr chū·lnga-, the spring (*chū·lnga-*), at the (*lâr*, *lit.* of the) *.ū·dala-* tree (*Pandanus verus*).
.chē·la- dôk·nga-, the dragging (*dôk·nga-*) of the ship (*chē·lewa-*). A ship was once wrecked there.
.būd lōt deg·ranga-. Defeat camp; the defeat (*deg·ranga-*) at the (*lōt*, *lit.* of the) camp (*būd-*). There was once a severe fight there.

2. There are a few place-names which are unintelligible to the present inhabitants, *e.g.*, *.lū·rwa-*, *.tū·rubūn-*, though it is believed that they conveyed a meaning to former generations. Many of the names show an old, but unmistakable form of the present language, while others, again, might be judged to be of recent adoption, but they are not so in point of fact.

●361 **Tribal Communities.**—1. It is no matter of surprise that, during the *first* years of our present occupation, when our acquaintance with the aborigines was so limited, we should

[1] A fairly complete list of the names of these encampments, and the meanings of the greater number of them, will be found in a short paper, entitled "Note on two Maps of the Andaman Islands," by E. H. Man and R. C. Temple, which was published in the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," 1880.

[2] Vide "Astronomy," paragraph 5. (*West*, the disappearing face place.)

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361 have failed to learn that there are permanent encampments and kitchen-middens in the heart of the jungles of Great Andaman; but, since it has been recently asserted in a paper[1] by one of the officers long resident at Port Blair, that, to quote his words, "No tribe of Negritos in the same stage of existence . . . . as the Andamanese could exist in the Andaman jungles," it is very necessary to expose his error, for repeated inquiries and personal observation prove the accuracy of the account given by one of the inhabitants of the interior of Middle Andaman, named *Wō·i*, that during the entire year the jungles afford them ample sustenance.[2]

829 184 2. All the tribes with which we are acquainted possess terms denoting—1, a coastman; 2, a fisherman; 3, a creek man; and 4, a jungle-man; the two former being applied to those living by the shore, *àryô·to-*, and the two latter to those living inland, *ē·remtâ·ga-*, whose subsistence depends on the spontaneous products of the jungle, which they all agree in describing as amply sufficient for the support of many times their present population.

184 3. The coastmen are divided into two classes, viz., those who are chiefly employed in constructing canoes, turtle-lines, &c., and those who are engaged in fishing and turtling, but each acquires a certain knowledge of the duties of the other, and also of hunting the *Sus Andamanensis:* in the latter accomplishment, as well as in finding their way through trackless portions of the jungle, they are naturally surpassed by the natives of the interior, who display in these, as in other respects, all the dexterity and intelligence peculiar to savages similarly situated in other tropical regions.[3]

4. Although these two distinct sections (*àryô·to-* and *ē·remtâ·ga-*) still exist in a measure among the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*, as among the people of Middle Andaman, many of their more marked characteristics have become so blended or modified, in consequence of the establishment of the homes, that it is difficult in many cases to determine to which class certain individuals originally belonged. This, it will be understood, is because those of the *ē·remtâ·ga-*, who have accompanied parties of the coastmen in

[1] *Vide* "Proceedings Asiat. Soc. Bengal," July, 1876.

[2] With reference to the above, Mr. W. T. Blanford, F.R.S., remarked at the meeting at which the paper in question was read, that "it is very difficult for a civilised human being to understand how savages live, or even to conceive what a marvellous variety of animal and vegetable productions, on which savage man, at any rate, can subsist, are to be found in the forests of all tropical regions." He added, that it was his belief that "man could certainly find food wherever monkeys could exist."

[3] *Vide* "Physical Powers and Senses," paragraphs 5 and 6, and "Communications," &c., paragraphs 4 and 6.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

184 world: on their arrival at Viper Island, they saw, for the first
115 time, Europeans, and a mode of living of which they could have previously formed no idea. *Wō·ī's* companions returned to their tribe after spending a few months with us, but he, having lost his heart to one of the South Andaman houris, was without difficulty induced to remain behind, and settle down in our midst as a married man. As he speedily acquired a knowledge of the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* dialect, we were enabled to question him on various points, besides those referred to in the statement which forms one of the appendices to this volume,[1] and thus learned much that was before unknown concerning the habits of the inland branch of the *.ôko-jū·wai-* tribe: the information thus obtained, when compared with the result of our own observations of the customs and mode of living of the communities in the vicinity of our settlement, afforded convincing proof of the universality of the customs and practices of the respective classes of *àryô·to-* and *ē·remtâ·ga-* throughout Middle and South Andaman.

8. In Dr. Mouat's book mention is made of the capture of a youth, nicknamed "Jack," after a hostile encounter with some of the natives of Interview Island, from which circumstance it may be inferred that the lad belonged to the *.âkà-.ked·e-* tribe, only one member of which had, till 1879, stayed amongst us, and he is an *e·remtâ·ga-*, who had travelled out of curiosity as far as Middle Strait, and from thence had been persuaded by the chief of that district to accompany him to Port Blair. He proved himself very intelligent and active in all jungle accomplishments, but was entirely ignorant of fishing and turtling After remaining with us a few months he was taken (in March, 1879), at his own request, to a point on the north-west coast of Middle Andaman, and landed with a heap of presents: his home, he informed us, was situated midway between that place and the east coast.

361 **Nomadism.**—1. Nomadism appears to be almost, if not
[768] entirely, confined to the *àryô·to-*, and even among them there are hamlets which are only abandoned temporarily, as with
221 the *ē·remtâ·ga-*, in consequence of a death, or of a *jeg-* (*i.e.*,
166 "corroboree"), at some neighbouring encampment.

2. The nature of the temporary migrations which take place among the *ē·remtâ·ga-* during the dry season, as well as of those necessitated by a death, will be explained in subsequent sections. In the case of the *àryô·to-*, migrations are occasioned by a variety of circumstances, as, for instance, fishing operations being rendered impossible by a change in the wind, the

[1] *Vide* Appendix F, a free translation of which will be found in "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xi, pp. 280–2.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

•361 suitability of a particular spot for fishing and turtling during
221 certain phases of the moon, on account of the character of the
166 foreshore, or the configuration of the coast, and the hope of meeting with better luck elsewhere—to these might be added the love of a change, and the prospect of seeing some of their friends; but it must not be supposed that a long journey is thereby involved; the move being generally made to a spot only a mile or two further on, and thus, by short stages, they sometimes proceed along the entire coast-line of their tribal territory, spending a few days or weeks at each halting place, according to the special attractions it may happen to possess in affording good sport on land or sea, or in supplying a rich harvest of fruit, honey, &c.

364 3. The necessity of a migration is also frequently forced on them by the consequences of their neglect to sweep away the refuse of their meals, it being regarded by these *insouciant* and unclean creatures as not worth their while to take so much trouble, when only a short stay is contemplated.

4. That the necessity for observing *some* sanitary measures has long since been recognised by the Andamanese is evident from the existence of numerous kitchen-middens throughout their territory, many of which are doubtless of remote origin. These refuse-heaps are still in course of formation by communities living at a distance from Port Blair, and are invariably found near camping grounds which have been, or are still more or less, permanently occupied. In those sites, where they are not seen, evidence is at once afforded of the temporary nature of the occupancy: the rubbish and refuse of food in these latter places is only swept aside if the ground be needed for a dance, wedding, or other ceremony, so that injury may not befall the revellers through inadvertently treading on a bone, stone, or shell. Crows, hermit-crabs, and, of late years, dogs, are the principal scavengers of these ill-ordered and dirty habitations, the two former performing their useful office as soon as a migration takes place.

342 **Habitations.**—1. We will now pass to the consideration of the three varieties of huts which are commonly met with in the permanent and temporary encampments throughout the territory of the eight Great Andaman tribes, and which are known as *chàng-tē·pinga-*, *chàng-tō·rnga-*, and *chàng-dar·anga.*

2. To commence with the *chàng-tē·pinga-*, which is made by men, and erected in all permanent encampments as being the most durable. No particular kind of wood is used for the posts, which are four in number, two in front and two in rear, the former varying from six to nine feet in height, and the latter from two to three feet; upon these, slender rafters and two light transverse poles are secured, so as to form the framework of

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

I have often come across one of their temporary habitations, which consists of a hole scooped out in the sand, beneath an over-hanging rock, large enough to contain a single person." As these savages are *never* in the habit of sleeping on the sand, or in holes scooped in the ground, but on a mat, or leaves spread under one or other of the three varieties of huts described above, it is difficult to account for what Dr. Dobson saw, unless they were the resting places of ticket-of leave fishermen or convict runaways. No other explanation than this could be given when some aborigines, and an experienced attendant at the homes, were questioned by me on the subject. One other solution only is possible, and that is, that the "holes scooped out in the sand" were the result of a game of mock burial, which, as I shall mention under "Games and Amusements," is rather a favourite recreation of the *dryô·to-* children. 342 [513]

7. The majority of the Great Andaman huts[1] partake of the character of a lean-to, the only respects in which the three varieties differ being[2] size and durability. They are found either standing alone, or, as is more especially the case in permanent encampments, so joined together as to form (at least, in their owners' eyes) a commodious as well as a weather-proof dwelling; and, constructed, as they usually are, in well-sheltered localities, away from the prevailing wind, they fulfil all the requirements of a savage home.

8. Permanent encampments vary in size, and consist of several huts, which in all are rarely inhabited by more than from 50 to 80 persons, though they are capable of affording accommodation, of a kind, to a much larger number if necessity arise as happens not unfrequently when festive tribal gatherings are arranged in honor of a wedding or other occasion of rejoicing. 361

9. The permanent encampments of the *dryô·to-* are established in those sites which offer special advantages for fishing and turtling at all seasons. Wherever there is a fine stretch of sandy beach, with an extensive foreshore, they will be invariably found, for, at such places, throughout the year the women are able at low tide to catch fish in pools with their hand-nets, and to collect large quantities of shell-fish; while, during the flood

[1] One of the huts in the *jâr·awa-* territory, between Port Blair and Port Campbell, when visited a few years ago, was found to measure 46 feet × 42 feet; and Mr. Homfray, in 1867, described the huts at Little Andaman as capable (*more Andamanico*) of accommodating 100 persons, being 50 feet in diameter and 30 feet in height. The leaf employed by this tribe for thatching purposes appears to be invariably the variety called *âm-*, and not the *câd·ngta-*.

[2] The largest hut of the ordinary type is rarely found capable of accommodating more than six persons. Sometimes these huts are placed together so as to resemble small sheds, but as this has hitherto been seen only in or near South Andaman, it is possible that the form of our barracks gave rise to the idea.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

361 tides, the men enjoy exceptional facilities for shooting fish and harpooning turtles, &c.

10. Although the sites selected for occupation are usually well-sheltered, it is not always found possible in tempestuous weather, even in the dense jungle which covers every portion of their country, to obtain shelter sufficient to allow of their huts being so placed as to face inwards towards the *bū·lum-*, or dancing ground. The primary consideration being naturally to secure as much comfort as possible, the sloping roof is at such times presented towards the prevailing wind.

11. The following diagram will give a general idea of the plan commonly adopted in laying out an encampment consisting of several huts, though the form depends much on the nature of the ground, and on the relative position of the surrounding trees, for they do not consider it worth their while to fell these, or to clear away anything but the lightest brushwood for the mere purpose of providing space for their huts, and dancing ground. Another point to be taken into account is the possibility of accidents being caused by falling branches, and, therefore, when erecting their frail dwellings, they are careful to guard against this danger as far as possible, and so much judgment do they display in the matter that accidents of this nature are comparatively unknown.

a. Married persons.[1]
b. Bachelors.[1]
c. Spinsters.[1]
d. Public cooking place.
e. Dancing ground (bu·lum-).

619 **Government.**—1. The entire country is apportioned among the
62 various tribes, and the territory occupied by each is considered
[421] the common property of all its members, and not as belonging exclusively to the chiefs.

2. Their domestic polity may be described as a communism modified by the authority, more or less nominal, of the chief. The head chief of a tribe is called *mai·a-iglā·-*, and the elders, or sub-chiefs, *i.e.*, those in authority over each community, consisting of from 20 to 50 individuals, *mai·ola*.

3. The head chief, who usually resides at a permanent

[1] Even at the homes they are careful to maintain this order, viz.: of placing the bachelors and spinsters at either end of the building, and the married couples in the space between.

000 We turned back from this and went west and turned south at 10-35 A.M., following down a stream which flowed into the same salt water *khori*, which was here 50 feet wide. We reached the *khori* the second time at 10-45 A.M. and swam across it. My watch got under water and stopped and my revolver also got wet. We crossed a ridge to the west of the *khori*, and came into a fresh water stream flowing south which we followed, and soon picked up a well defined track going along the flank of a low ridge with gentle slope going south. We followed along this for about 1½ miles and came on to a large hunting camp with six huts, which had been recently occupied. The huts were arranged as shown below. The arrows show the entrance into the huts.

361

[see p. 82 B]

The Andamanese were satisfied that this was a hunting camp on the Jarawa path going south and that we should find another large hut, if we continued to march south along the track.

000 Decided to return to Pochang as it was about 3 o'clock and consult with Mr. Vaux and find out what he had found. Followed the track, which was most distinct the whole way right back to the Jarawa camp at Pochang. Found Mr. Vaux in camp. Mr. Bonig had come and had gone out to look for tracks. Mr. Vaux had not come upon any tracks and we decided to move camp the next day to the camp I had found. Mr. Bonig did not come back this night.

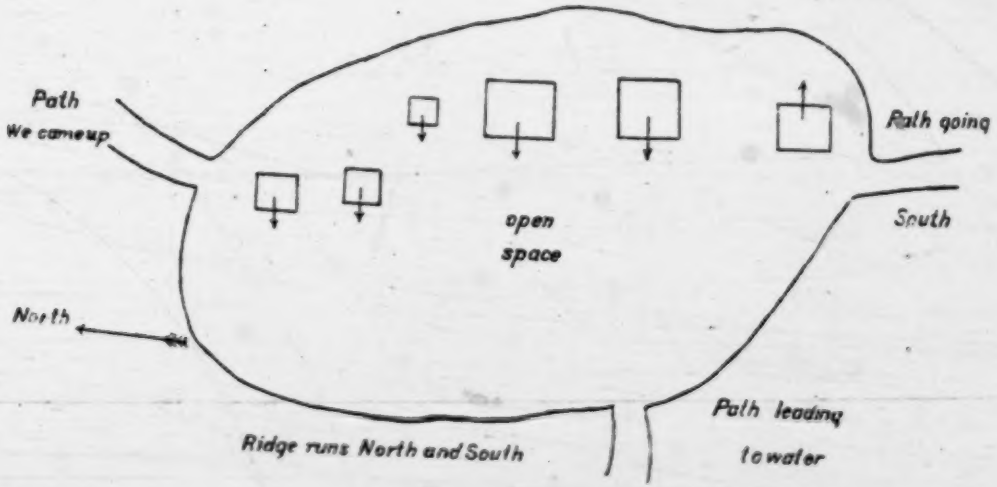
23rd February.—Waited some time for Mr. Bonig, and as he did not return, left a message for him to say where we had gone and moved our camp to the Jarawa hunting camp that my party had found the day before. Followed along the Jarawa track and reached the camp about 2 P.M. Blazed trees along the track to show Mr. Bonig where we had gone.

When we were about one mile from the camp an Andamanese (Daniel) caught us up. He had been sent by Mr. Bonig to tell us that he was going back to Pochang, as he thought we were looking for him. Daniel told us that Mr. Bonig had fever and was going back to the launch. About half an hour before nightfall, however, Mr. Bonig arrived. He had felt better when he reached Pochang, so came on and joined us instead of returning to the launch as he had first intended to do.

We came part of the way another route to the Jarawa camp and passed through another camp, which Mr. Bonig had seen yesterday and also found his footprints, so knew that he had come the way we had yesterday. He must have followed the track which led to the camp I found for a long way, and eventually gone off to some other track, where they had found fresh Jarawa tracks; which shows how extremely difficult it is to follow a Jarawa track, even when you have found it. The Andamanese called this camp Gorlakabang.

[p. 82 A]

361


Path
We cameup
Path going
South
open
space
North
Path leading
to water
Ridge runs North and South

P. 82 B

361 There were six huts in this camp arranged as shown below. The thatching leaves were still green.

000 We reached this camp about 10-30 A.M. and went on along the flank of the hill and then down a stream, both going generally south. About 11-30 A.M. we heard the sounds of an axe and also voices, which were Jarawas'. So we at once retired up the stream, while the Andamanese went down a little way to see where the camp was, or if it was a camp. They came back soon after to say there was a camp with six huts and probably eight men belonging to it. So we decided to wait till evening till the men had come home with their bows, arrows, and tools, and to rush the camp when the moon rose, and try and capture a woman to suckle the Jarawa baby Mr. Vaux had taken. It was of no use taking the camp till the men had returned, as they would have their bows, arrows, and tools with them.

We waited till the moon was almost visible and then started down the stream towards the camp. It was too dark, so we soon had to halt until we could see a little better. After two halts we came to a more open place, from which we thought we could see the red glow of the smouldering logs of the Jarawa fires and after a short halt crept on once more. Three Andamanese went first, then came Mr. Vaux holding the hand of an Andamanese, I held Mr. Vaux's hand, Mr. Bonig held mine, the Policeman held his ; and so on.

We crept down into a depression and then seeing dimly huts in front of us, Mr. Vaux sprang up and rushed forwards to the nearest hut. I followed, passed him and rushed into a hut to the left. The Andamanese behind us fired arrows into the huts, while we were rushing on them. One shot was fired. My *mallah*, Sher Khan, followed me. I caught sight of a figure trying to escape and found that I had secured a woman with a baby. My *mallah* secured another woman with a baby.

Soon after this Mr. Bonig came to me and said that Mr. Vaux was badly wounded and he thought was done for. As soon as I could see some one to whom I could make over the woman I had caught, I went to Mr. Vaux's help, as Mr. Bonig had come to me a second time. Meanwhile the sepoy and Mr. Vaux's Burman (a free man) were firing carbines. I did not use my revolver. When I came to Mr. Vaux I found him in a semi-unconscious state, and he died two minutes afterwards.

When Mr. Vaux had passed away, I stopped the indiscriminate firing of carbines which was going on, secured the prisoners, two women and six children, including two babies, and posted the sepoy on one flank of the camp, some Andamanese to look out all around the camp, and went to the other flank myself, while Mr. Bonig stayed mid-way between myself and the policeman. The moon was not very bright, so it was impossible to make a thorough search of the huts, nor to make our way back : so I decided to stay where I was till daylight appeared and then to search the camp thoroughly for tools and pots, etc., and if possible to get back to the steam-launch with Mr. Vaux's body. The police sentry stuck to his watch well all through the night.

Mr. Bonig, self, and sentry fired shots occasionally to show the Jarawas we were on the alert and to prevent a night attack. The Andamanese gradually all fell asleep and it was very hard to keep any of them awake, but Mr. Bonig, self, policeman, and my *mallah* kept watch the whole night through. We were not attacked and I was very thankful when the first rays of dawn became apparent.

25th and 26th February.—As soon as it was light enough I sent off two Andamanese to fetch six policemen to help to carry Mr. Vaux's body.

We then made a thorough search of the camp and found one axe of European manufacture, several Andamanese adzes, and two rude knives, probably made of dahs, and a number of honey-pots, etc., of which we took away as many as we could, as well as all the bows and arrows that we could find.

Daylight showed that the huts were arranged, as shown below, on a flat piece of land in the bend of the stream. 361

[See p. 85B]

The stream had well defined steep banks from 3 to 6 feet high around the camp; where we entered it, the bank was about 4 feet high. No dead bodies of Jarawas were found in the camp, and we did not go down the stream to look for them.

As it was a very long way from the launch I had to push on as quickly as possible, so as to reach the launch before nightfall. The place where Mr. Vaux was killed is called Wibtang, and it had taken us three days to get from the launch to this spot. The Andamanese know the names of these places, as they once occupied this country and were driven out of it by the Jarawas, when they were pushed north by the expansion of the settlement. 000

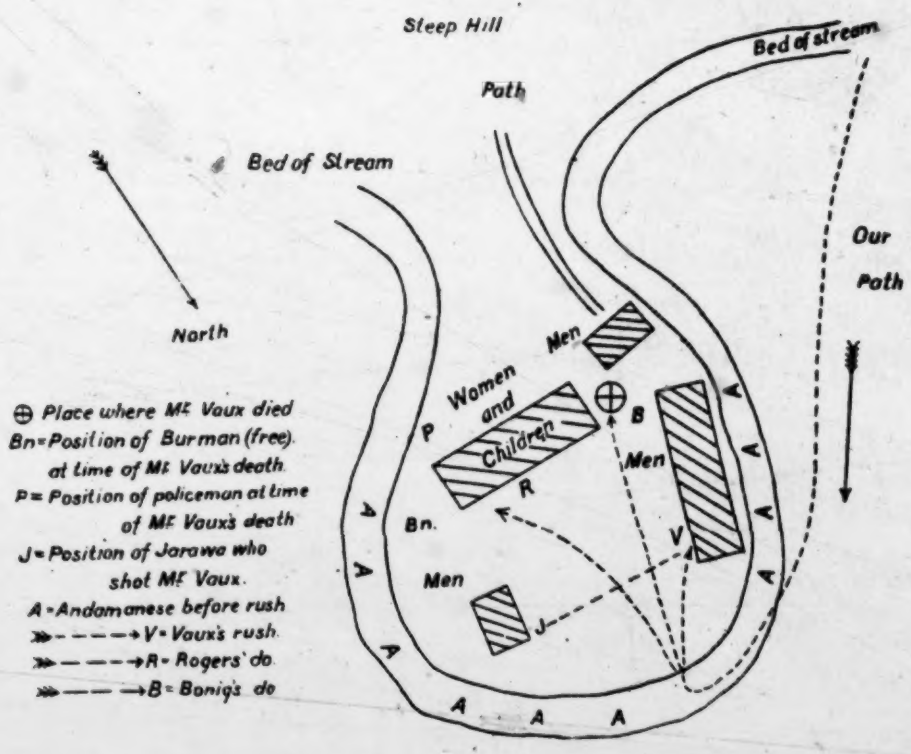
Mr. Vaux's body was slung to a strong bamboo and hung down from it and the bamboo was carried by:—(1) the policeman, (2) my *mallah* Sher Khan, (3) Mr. Vaux's Burman, (4) Mr. Bonig's Burman, until the Police met us and after that it was carried by the Police to the coast.

The policemen behaved admirably. They met us about half mile to the south of the Rains Camp on the high hill (intersection point on survey map). We left the camp which we had rushed at daybreak and must have reached the camp where the policemen were left behind about 11 o'clock. The women and children came with us quite cheerfully and willingly and gave us no trouble.

We halted about quarter of an hour at Gorlakabang Camp, where we all had some food, while the things were packed up, and then pushed on to Pochang Camp, leaving behind us what rations we had not consumed, so as to lighten the loads to be carried as much as possible. About 4 miles from the Pochang Camp Mr. Bonig, who was in the front part of the line, told me that Andamanese Mathew had been shot in the arm by a Jarawa. Shortly before this some of the Andamanese with me told me that they thought they had heard some Jarawas going on ahead.

Mr. Bonig then led the line, while I stayed in the rear with two policemen and three Andamanese, and I put some more policemen in the middle, and after a temporary halt pushed on as fast as we could, keeping all close together and firing at intervals to keep off the Jarawas. I was not told how many Jarawas had been seen and what they had done, so was anxious until we had got right out to the estuary. We reached the estuary of Dum-la-c'orag about 5-30 P.M.: so if we consider that we walked 1½ miles an hour, which I think we did, we must have covered about 17 miles of country.

[p. 85A]


Steep Hill
Path
Bed of stream
Bed of Stream
Our Path
North
Men
Women and Children
P
R
B
Men
Bn.
Men
V
J
A
⊕ Place where Mr Vaux died
Bn = Position of Burman (free) at time of Mr Vaux's death
P = Position of policeman at time of Mr Vaux's death
J = Position of Jarawa who shot Mr Vaux.
A = Andamanese before rush
V = Vaux's rush
R = Rogers' do
B = Boniq's do

[P. 85 B]

crew of the ship called him 'Raja' and we adopted this name (*see* Plate IV, Figs. 1 & 2). He was the only one among the Onges who was fully armed with knives, bows and arrows. Among the contents of the canoes, we found complete fishing out-fits, bows and arrows, ropes and nautilous shells, for bailing out water. There was also a kind of bamboo float about 1½ ft. long, probably used for turtle fishing. We gave them food, cigarettes and other presents. After they became quite familiar with us and friendly, they were subjected to full anthropometric measurements by me. Their blood was also tapped by Mr Sarkar for typing. The presents given were iron nails, strips of red cloth, tea and tobacco leaves. Among all these objects what they liked most were the tobacco leaves. Cooked rice, dal (cooked lentils) and fish curry served to them from the launch Mess were however not much appreciated. With the few Hindi words that they were able to understand, we told them that we would like to visit their camp next morning and meet other members of the party. After the canoes had left, we anchored at this point for the night and after taking an early breakfast we left for the shore in two batches. We were informed by the crew that the creek near the Onge camp was called the *Dugong Creek*. We had to wade through brakish water and coast fringing with coral beds for about two miles, before we reached the Onge settlement. There was one large circular communal hut characteristic of the Onges and several lean-to's (*see* Plate I, Fig. 2). We noticed three canoes on the beach apparently those with which they came to meet us on the previous day. We saw also several small dogs and the entrails of a pig strewn round. We met all the 12 Onges we saw the day before, along with Ukla and his family. In addition there were a number of women and children. We took out our presents of dried tobacco leaves, iron nails and two large fishes that we had caught on our way from Port Blair. These were distributed to the Onges. There were altogether 17 men, 15 women, 4 boys and 3 girls. The children were between 1½ to 4 years. The entire party of Onges behaved towards us in a friendly manner and subjected to our measurements and tapping of blood from their fingers without any protest. We went inside their hut and inspected the settlement very thoroughly. A large number of photographs were taken. We found that the name of this village was *Tambebui*. As it became rather late, we decided to return to 'Molly' in the Andamanese canoes, rather than walk through the coral beds for 2 miles. The Onges understood our signs and gladly escorted us back to the launch. We found there were several other Onges waiting for us in the launch who came from the neighbouring village *Gabilong*. All of these Onges appear to be under the influence of the man nick-named as 'Raja' (*see* Plate IV, Figs. 1-2).

We could not proceed towards Hut Bay as the launch had to return for duty at Port Blair, where we reached at about mid-night.

After reaching Port Blair, I discussed the matter of transport with the Chief Commissioner, Mr Majid. A thorough coastal survey of Little Andaman would take at least 15 to 20 days. As it was found impossible to get either from the Forest Department or from the Harbour Master any of their launches

there were no Andamanese There,

but 400 people consisting of 133 males and 130 females who migrated from Bassein in 1924. They were Karen Christians who had settled there. After returning to Long Island on the 12th, Mr Sarkar and party left in the motor boat "Return" for a short cruise along the Jarawa country. Besides Mr Joseph, there were Mr Pooviah and a few of his Burman Bush Police armed with rifles and guns. The party passed through the Homfray's Strait and anchored at the north eastern corner of the Spike Island. Loka and his party of three Andamanese accompanied them in their two canoes. They came to the shore in one of the Andamanese canoes and after entering the forest they found bundles of bamboos piled up at one corner. This was identified as a Jarawa raft. There were also three paddles made out of a palm tree. These specimens were procured for the Department. After proceeding some distance in the jungle, 19 small fire places were counted in scattered manner. A temporary hut was also noticed at a short distance. A number of objects usually used by the Andamanese tribes for household purposes was found including a sling for carrying babies. A beautiful specimen of a Jarawa Bow painted in red in geometrical designs was also found. Photographs were taken of the settlements of the Jarawa camp and objects collected for the Museum. In another place at *Yeratiajig* remnants of a Jarawa camp including pottery and bones of animals, etc., were found. The party returned to Long Island on 14-3-48 and examined 8 of the remaining members of Loka's party. It left the same day for Port Blair where it arrived at 10 P.M. On the 25th Mr Sarkar and his party with the Deputy Chief Commissioner Mr Gupta, left for Kar Nicobar where it arrived on the following day. It returned to Port Blair after staying for a few days. During this time in Kar Nicobar, besides studying the Nicobarese of the Island Mr Sarkar met two Jarawa children who were captured and brought over there and placed in a local Mission School for education.

In the following year in January 1949, another small party was sent under Dr A. K. Mitra with Messrs H. K. Bose and A. Bhattacharyya, to continue the survey of the Little Andaman further along the eastern coast. They visited *Hut Bay* on the 28th and went to the Onge settlement there. A large circular hut similar to that seen by us at Tambebui was observed. It contained nine cots with a fire place in the centre. There were also two outrigger canoes, one in front of the hut and another on the beach. Altogether 11 Onges were found consisting of 2 adult males, 6 females and 3 young children between the ages of 6 to 15. The 8 adults and the adolescent boys were carefully measured and observations noted about their special somatic characters. After leaving Hut Bay they went as far as the South Point which is the southernmost point on the eastern coast of the Little Andaman, but did not see any other Onge settlement. They had to return on the 31st as the launch could not be spared any further.

The Onges were found to be strong and healthy and free from venereal disease, a scourge, which along with tuberculosis were chiefly responsible for the rapid depopulation of the Andamanese tribes. Our observations agree with the accounts of the Negritos of the Andaman Islands published before

Blood Groups from the Andaman and Nicobar Islands

By

S. S. Sarkar

The following blood group data were collected during the months of February-April, 1948 in the course of a visit to Little Andaman, Long Island and Car Nicobar by a party under Dr B. S. Guha from the Department of Anthropology, of which the present writer was a member. The data grouped according to the different tribes are as follows :— 143 121 114 [128]

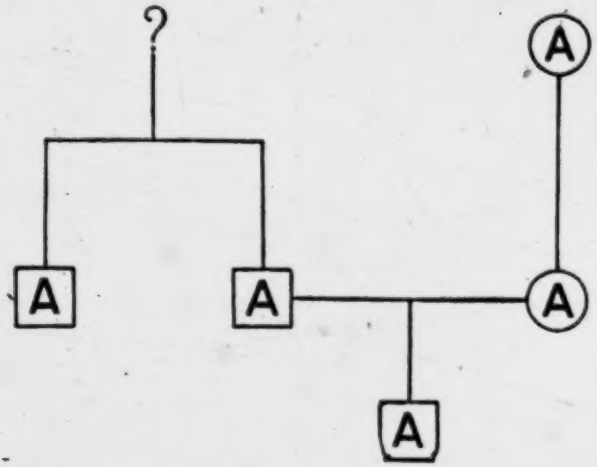
Onges

34 Onges, 19 males and 15 females, were grouped from the island of Little Andaman. They were collected from the settlements round about Bumila Creek, Dugong Creek and the village Tambebui on the N. E. part of the island. The blood group distribution is as follows :— 125 361 143

O	5	14·71%
A	23	67·65%
B	2	5·88%
AB	4	11·76%
	34	

The predominance of group A was already noticeable from Chaudhuri's (Gates, 1940) earlier study of 5 Onges, 3 of whom belonged to A and 1 each to Group O and B.

This will be also apparent from the following pedigree, where three generations show only A. [601]



6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

122 torches for hunting by night. There were pigs everywhere. In half an hour we often got
114 six or more of them. At Chemalê, far from the coast, we had eleven in a few minutes for
distribution to everybody, including roaming Onge. Pigeons and ducks also were often
[137] plentiful. The simple pleasures of hunting incited everyone to a spontaneous daily struggle
through the dense forest ; and so, every month, I managed to carry out many times the
work I could have done had I not kept all the men glad to follow me. On seven different
occasions I spent 162 days in Little Andaman, out of a total of 634 days altogether in the
Andamanese Archipelago – all of them given up to Onge research. These trips are recorded
128 in Port Blair Government offices. A few details on the subject are published in the "Bul-
114 letin of the Department of Anthropology", Government of India, starting in Vol. II,
No. 1, 1953 (issued in 1956) and extended to other issues. Such papers were hurriedly
prepared by me while I was halting in Calcutta on my way from the Andamans to Europe.
Press proofs could never be submitted to me; there are, consequently, many misprints,
particularly in the figures relating to my Onge Census. The misprints are so obvious that
they could only influence a most biased critic : to be discussed in future papers and while
my Onge book is in preparation. In Port Blair (South Andaman) I started an Onge Mu-
seum with material collected by me. I had the honour of inaugurating it on 6 July,
1953 in the presence of the Chief Commissioner for Andamans and Nicobars, Mr. A. K.
GHOSH, one of the kindest and most intelligent Indian gentlemen that it was my pleasure
to meet in Asia. On 9 March, 1954 Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD, President of the Republic of
India, also visited the Museum. On that occasion I introduced to him 30 of my Onge
friends (wives, husbands and children) in their most natural attire. The President ques-
tioned me at length on Onge anthropology and ethnology with the pertinence of a specialist.

123 While in Little Andaman I tried to study all possible aspects of Onge life. I also
[121] tried to count the natives : a very difficult task for they are a nomadic people, ready to
vanish into the jungle at any moment. Often I was surrounded by them without seeing
a single one. In the darkness of their jungle, the small, black, naked Onge easily disappear.
They see us but we do not see them. They can only be counted in their sleeping quarters
[361] in communal huts ; even so, results are misleading. I found a number of communal huts
in the interior regions of Little Andaman, whereas previously they were said to exist
[126] only on the coast. The larger, more solidly built huts are in the forest. With the help
of my Indian assistants I obtained plans and photographs of all the huts that I saw.
[178] Unfortunately the number of Onge communal huts is rapidly diminishing – a very
[361] significant fact. Many are in ruins, many more completely destroyed. Only kitchen-middens
and occasional clusters of planted bamboo indicate their former location. Through an
[124] interpreter, and with two Onge speaking a little Hindi, I was able to gather information
on these and other matters. Direct observation, however, proved the best way of gaining
knowledge. In some places there was nothing to help me, and I was compelled to guess
about communal huts whose inmates chose to hide in the jungle. Of the many personal
[551] names that I collected I must say that they are reliable only for a short period : the Onge
like to change their names from time to time. All this, in addition to the Onge's nomadic
[553] way of life, causes great confusion and makes a proper Census almost impossible. Frequent
changing of names also hinders the establishment of genealogies. Furthermore, the Onge
[547] custom of adopting children shifts many of them from one family to another, and adoptive
parents invariably claim them as their own offspring. The parents themselves, who are
ignorant of numbers, not infrequently forget how many children they have, who these
children are and where they are located. It was almost useless to follow previous informa-
tion concerning communal huts ; and so I decided to consider mainly the situation
[114] existing at the time of my visits. The result of my Census may be imperfect, but before
criticizing it it would be advisable to know the conditions that prevail in anthropological
work among the Onge. Something more than merely counting people, anyhow, was
achieved by me in Little Andaman.

In this short paper I am pleased to present a peculiar aspect of Onge life, an aspect that these innocent and once hostile people did not attempt to hide from me, though they also told me nothing about it. Only direct observation could help, and it involved pro-

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

tracted hardship and considerable risk, not so much from the natives themselves as from the implacable Andaman sea. We had a terrible time during several of our landings from the open Indian Ocean. Constant danger additionally stimulated the development of research in Little Andaman. All the Indians and the Burmese behaved bravely. Among them I wish to mention here my Indian stenographer, a married man nearing thirty, from Bengal: RANHADIR KUMAR DEY, who, on 12 and 13 February, 1953, on the south coast of the island shared two frightfully narrow escapes with me. I am sure that neither of us will ever forget it. I later found a comfortable landing place, now indicated by floating buoys, on the north coast. Two other Bengalese assistants who were a great help to me in Little Andaman and had been selected from a number of young aspirants, are PRONAB GANGULI and BIMAL CHANDRA ROY. My work in the Andamans could not have been accomplished without them and without the initiative and encouragement of officers such as Dr. B. S. GUHA, Director of the Department of Anthropology of the Indian Government, Mr. AJNY K. GHOSH, the kind, open-minded Chief Commissioner of Andamans and Nicobars during my 1951-1953 stay there, and Mr. S. N. MAITRA, who succeeded Mr. GHOSH as Chief Commissioner. In a book that I am writing I try to point out the significance of my work in the Andamans, carried out with the help of such distinguished, and sometimes heroic, Indian collaborators.

I. Hygienic Conditions

1. Habitation

The nomadic Onge have two kinds of shelter: one temporary, the other permanent, used only for short periods at a time. The Little Andaman forest is full of abandoned temporary shelters; the permanent camps are fewer, mainly situated along the coast. They consist of communal huts, strongly built by a number of families roaming under the direction of a leader. The huts have a ritual significance, as we shall presently see. Inside each communal hut are a number of beds generally equal to the number of families. Small fires are kept burning day and night near the beds, a precaution that I was thankful for on many cold nights succeeded by hot days. The Onge require nothing more against the cold. In their camps they can withstand the heaviest storms and drenching rains. In order to avoid chills it is enough for them to protect their fires from extinction. This applied to me too, while living among the Onge. The warmth and the dry air ensured good health for us all.

A few additional beds are for the use of bachelors nearing marriage. Most of the beds are marginally and radially placed; a few are placed transversally. Normal beds accommodate father, mother (the Onge are monogamous), children and dogs, all in a heap. In temporary as in permanent shelters it is customary for families to eat separately, each close to its bed. The low, round roof of the communal hut does not reach the ground; a gap of 30 cms is left free for creeping in and out at will without using the main door (a simple mat to be lifted). Rubbish is thrown carelessly everywhere, e. g. directly outside the circular hut, which is consequently surrounded by a malodorous ring of bones, imperfectly cleaned shells, bits of rotting shellfish and other animals – a rich breeding ground for flies and various other insects that rapidly destroy everything edible, leaving the grass to grow until the next lot of garbage accumulates. Building and rebuilding a communal hut always on the same

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

364 spot for centuries leads to the formation of kitchen-middens [1]. In the tempo-
[361] rary camps something similar happens: the only difference consists in the fact that rubbish dumps only accumulate at the back of the temporary shelters, as a consequence of their peculiar shape that I shall not describe here. These
[136] dumps are heaven-sent love nests for insects of many species, mostly flies of a metallic green colour. They follow the Onge from camp to camp and thrive on scraps from human meals. When travelling in Little Andaman I was unmistakably warned of the nearby presence of Onge camps by the appearance of those familiar living beings.

136 The filth that coats the floors of communal Onge huts offers an ideal
[356] breeding ground also for myriads of fleas. Dogs spread them all over Little Andaman. Owing to the fact that the communal huts are deserted for months at a time during the dry season, the fleas become hungry and assault human
123 beings vehemently whenever possible. When visiting empty communal huts I myself, and the persons with me, were plagued by such assaults. Fleas advanced suddenly from feet to head in thick, shimmering brown layers, covering first our legs. We were obliged to strip and douse ourselves with insect-repellents.
136 As for other parasites, including ticks and mosquitos, equally plentiful in Little
[825] Andaman, the Onge do not appear to be inconvenienced by them.

764 The communal huts are used for another purpose as well, unhygienic but of high ethnological interest: the interment of human corpses. When they die, the inmates are buried beneath their beds. In other words, communal huts are also cemeteries. Many human skeletons are found by digging under the beds. Until 1952 this fact was unknown about the Andaman Islanders although it is encountered in all Onge communal huts without exception. An analysis of
775 this custom led to further discoveries: the Onge wish to compel the spirit of a deceased person to remain close to the living as a protection, so they offer it the communal hut for an abode, the idea being that a spirit cannot wander far from the bones of its former body. A series of Onge practices point to this
[727] belief: felled enemies must be burned and reduced to ashes in order to render them harmless. Their hostile souls, according to the Onge, rise toward the sky in smoke as the bones are consumed. For the same reason, bones of relatives
[301] are fashioned into necklaces. The most conspicuous of these is the *ibidanghe*,
[765] worn generally by women and young girls, which is made from a decorated
[751] human jawbone. The aim is to obtain the assistance of the departed relation in fighting illness and bad luck. Direction in hunting, fishing and even quar-
[777] relling is supposed to come from the dead kept close to the living. We can trace this belief on the connection between bones and souls to a remote origin:
[171] Southern Asia megaliths had, in my opinion, no other cause for offering shelter to spirits and promoting useful relations between the living and the dead. I reached this conclusion after studying the contemporary habits of Travancore mountain and other Indian tribes, particularly the Munda. In Nias we find traces of the same customs as among different peoples of Indonesia and Oceania, who

[1] I discussed this at the two international anthropological congresses of 1952 (Vienna) and 1956 (Philadelphia), and have more to say on the subject in my book about the Onge.

7: Sarkar D-4, 5 (1948) 1960 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

161 the actual Onge population. He has estimated the population instead of giving a simple
162 population figure for each of the Onge settlements he visited. His estimates are based
114 on the number of sleeping places in a hut, though nothing definite could be found either with regard to the total number of communal huts or the sleeping places. Then, to find out the sex of the individuals from the sleeping places seems preposterous. CIPRIANI (1956) estimates the total Onge population to be 607, comprising "229 adult men, 241 adult women and 137 children". He was able to determine the sex of the children in about 80 % of the cases, since immediately after the above quotation, he states: "Of the latter 48 are boys, 62 girls, and of 27 sex could not be ascertained". In the same paper and just two sentences before, where he gave the above figures, he mentioned a total of 497 individuals, comprising 242 men and 255 women. If the latter figures are meant only for adults then with the addition of 137 children to the above adult population of 497, the total Onge population appears to be 634. Even then the discrepancies in the adult population remain to be explained; it adds up to 470 (229 males, 241 females) once and to 497 (242 males, 255 females) another time.

The only thing that has some value in the demography of the Onges is that he has collected personal names of 107 adult males and 105 adult females. It is not known why the children have been excluded. At any rate, the personal names indicate a slightly higher number of males (50.5 %) than females while the total estimate for adults shows a hitherto unknown Onge sex ratio. With an adult population of 229 males and 241 females, the sex ratio works up to 48.7 % males and 51.3 % females.

Population estimates are always hazardous and, from all reports, the Onges appear to be a dwindling population. R. F. Lowis, the Census Superintendent for the Andamans during 1911 and 1921 was frank enough to admit in 1921 that his 1911 estimate was "too high", though he gave one for 1921.

It is surprising that neither the Andaman Government nor the Department of Anthropology provided CIPRIANI with an assistant, trained among aboriginal people, who could have been of much help to him. At least the Onges could have been counted in each of the localities visited.

361 Settlements. — The typical Onge settlement is the communal hut, which is
[342] usually located on the beach. CIPRIANI mentions the communal huts in the interior of the island, but does not describe their details.

During the 1911 and 1921 Censuses coastal trips round the island were made and the former Census provides a very good map with the names of twenty settlements
[103] scattered on the island. The names are: 1) *Tambeibui* [4], 2) Uede, 3) *Nachuge*, 4) Tochiewo, 5) Tochengedu, 6) Quoname, 7) *Geejege*, 8) *Ingoi-tijala*, 9) *Endea-geleda*, 10) To-to-bwe (unoccupied), 11) *Titugalanie*, 12) *Toibalawe*, 13) Tordeada (unoccupied), 14) *Kwanie-tu-kuage*, 15) Koreale, 16) Porale, 17) *Chetamale*, 18) *Titaiye*, 19) Ogechai, 20) Obate.

The names of the settlements visited during the 1921 Census are given at the beginning of this paper. It was also mentioned that 14 huts were seen in comparison to 19 (this will probably be 20) in 1911. The names of 15 settlements could be gathered from the Census Report of 1931 and the 10 settlements italicized above can be rather easily correlated with those of 1911.

114 CIPRIANI's map is again difficult to follow. Firstly, he has not given any idea of the
361 medium of language by which he communicated with the Onges. He has located in his map 18 existing coastal huts, of which the name of one between Otirubara and Benyaboi is missing. The position of the "supposed" huts within the jungle is misleading. Was he equipped with surveying instruments? Then he mentions 11 huts which are "no more in existence". How were they recognised? In what earlier context have they been identified as such? Only five of the eleven names (Obate, Palalankwe [or Kwalalanque, according to CIPRIANI], Ogechai, Ingoi-tijala and Chetamale) could be correlated with earlier records. Of the 20 coastal huts listed by him four (Nachuge, Geejege [or Gaje, according to CIPRIANI], Titaje and Tambeibui) could be correlated with the names of the 1931 Census map.

[4] So spelt in the 1911 Census.

7:Sarkar D-4,5 (1948) 1960 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
.Onge

and seven with those of the 1911 Census. The total number of twenty existing huts, however, agree in both CIPRIANI's map and the 1911 Census map; only names differ. It would have added greatly to our knowledge had CIPRIANI based his investigations on the 1911 Census map and commented on each of the place names given therein. He also mentions two huts in ruins besides eleven "no more in existence". There is no mention of any newly built hut. All this proves the decadent condition of the Onges. The coastal huts are probably more numerous than those within the jungles and their total number appears to be constant both in 1911 and in 1953. 114 361

The Onges have, in recent years, been visited so many times by anthropologists that a well-directed effort could have brought the whole population into a few genealogies — an elementary task in anthropology. 114

Postscript. — CIPRIANI has now (1959) published[8] the Census figures of the different communal huts. Instead of clarifying the earlier anomalies stated above, his recent population figures have raised further complications, as will be discussed below. 161 162

Cipriani now (1959) mentions in a footnote on p. 89 of his paper that 195 individuals, comprising 48 adult males, 44 adult females, 22 boys and 11 girls, *have beds in different communal huts*. He gives a total population figure of 394 (130 adult males, 129 adult females, 65 boys and 70 girls) obtained by actual Census from 21 communal huts. To this total figure of 394 he adds another total of 175 individuals (adult males and females 74 each, and 27 children, the latter shown as "males" on p. 90 but as "siblings" on p. 76) estimated for another 7 communal huts. Thus according to a Census of 21 huts and an estimate of 7 others, CIPRIANI now finds a total Onge population of 596, in comparison to his earlier variable figures stated above. There is no attempt to explain the discrepancies in the population figures. It is also unknown why the population of the 7 huts could not be censused, although all of them were visited between March 22 and April 4, 1953. 114

It is now apparent that his method of Census of the Onges is untenable since about 31.7 % (125 out of 394) of the population have beds in different communal huts. This is in harmony with the roving nature of the Onges, but it shows that only about one third of the population is migratory and about two thirds sedentary. This is probably not true for the Onges. At least, the fixed nature of beds in the communal huts loses its significance and is probably an uncertain criterion for an Onge Census. [361]

As to a recalculation of the Census figures for each of the 21 huts, it is seen that the total population appears to be 382 (129 adult males, 126 adult females, 64 boys and 63 girls) instead of 394 given by CIPRIANI. This definitely shows high masculinity not only among adults but also among the children. With an adult population of 129 males and 126 females the sex ratio works up to 50.6 % males and 49.4 % females, the excess of 1.2 % being statistically significant.

In the present publication CIPRIANI has published personal names of 133 adult males and 140 female adults, but the Onge habit of frequently changing names, mentioned by him on p. 70, has not been substantiated. Since the same issue of the journal contains an anthropometric study of the Onges, in which names of the individuals measured were noted, it would have been worth while testing how far the Onges practise the above custom. As will be obvious from the foregoing as well as from this P. S., CIPRIANI has not started with the known to unravel the unknown. [553]

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[8] L. CIPRIANI, A Survey of Little Andaman during 1954. Bull. Dept. of Anthr. 3. 1959, pp. 66-94. [113]

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

123 The second trip was made on March 12th 1948. Our party included Mr. JOSEPH and Mr. POOVIAH [2], both Sub-divisional Officers of the forest department, one Burman bush police and four Andamanese with their two canoes tied behind our motor boat. We followed the same route from Long Island and, reaching Spike Island, we anchored at its northeastern corner. We came ashore in the canoes. The beach was small and rocky. Part of it was sheltered on one side by huge rocks behind which the Jarawa were known to waylay those approaching from the sea. So we landed very cautiously. Just at [501] the outskirts of the jungle we saw huge bundles of short bamboo lengths tied to [824] one another and piled up in a heap. It was a Jarawa raft. Near the bamboo pile were three crude paddles split from the spadix of the palm called *Nipa fruticans*. We were all the more careful in our approach.

[361] Soon we came upon a clearing in the jungle. There was no Jarawa, but all around we saw traces of a temporary halt of a large party. We counted nineteen [342] fireplaces. At a distance from the fireplaces we saw a small temporary hut [622] improvised out of the materials available on the spot. Two small shrubs were tied together on two sides to form the roof of the hut. The Andamanese identified it to have been made for the Jarawa chief and his wife. Household objects [415] [824] lay scattered about. Three bamboo cylinders, closed at one end by the natural node, were found next to [412] three of the fireplaces. They are used for carrying water. A dark coloured modern glass bottle, probably acquired during a raid, was [177] [415] also found. One fireplace had a small compartment enclosed by a few wooden posts a few yards off. [354] [417] [855] The Andamanese identified it as an enclosure for keeping a child at a safe distance from the fire. This was probably correct as there was also a baby sling made of bark, [854] exactly similar to that used by the Onge for carrying a baby on its mother's back (VON EICKSTEDT, [412] 1934, fig. 211). At one corner of a fireplace the shavings of an arrowshaft or a bow were seen and nearby was a flat round pebble, one end of which was [412] broken like that of a scraper (fig. 3). This scraper showed marks of red ochre on it. Beneath a tree a circular mat, sewn out of three pieces of long triangular palm-like leaves was spread out, while on its branches was found a beautiful specimen of an unstrung bow. It appeared to have been recently prepared and

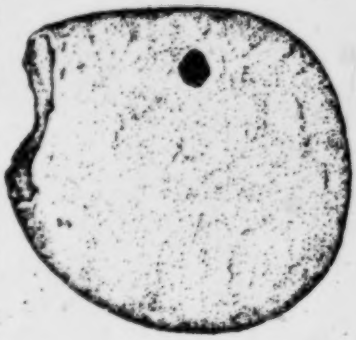

Fig. 3

[2] These two officers captured two Jarawa males, one adult and one boy, on October 19th 1948 on Spike Island. They were brought to Port Blair, wherefrom they managed to escape at night.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

The contact of the Onges with the outsiders can only be traced since the efforts of M. V. Portman[1] to establish a friendly relation with these tribes from 1886 onwards. However the earlier contacts with the Chinese and Japanese were possible because these people used to frequent the shores of Little Andaman for collecting the valuable shells and the Onges used to be engaged by them as divers and in reciprocation they were given presents of alcohol and opium. In the initial stage of the attempt for establishing a friendly relation by Portman, the Onges proved themselves hostile which was evidenced from the poor fate of the crews of a ship 'Assam Valley' when it touched the shores of Little Andaman and it was through the great efforts of the punitive expedition led by W. L. Much that the dead bodies of the crews were recovered. Later on, a few Onges, all on a sudden, arrived at Cinque Island and were captured by M. V. Portman. Only 9 of them were detained and the rest 15 were released. These few captured Onges were closely observed and studied in Port Blair by Portman and were ultimately returned back to their native land, Little Andaman. The friendly treatment and the presents that these Onges had received from Portman, paved the path of establishing friendly relations with the Onges much easier and also made the subsequent visits of the foreigners much more welcome. After Portman, a few more contacts were made with the Onges by Prof. Lapicque in March, 1893, during the operations of 1911 and 1921, undertaken by Eicsktedt, a German anthropologist, in 1827, by Dr. B. S. Guha, Ex-Director Anthropological Survey of India in 1948 and by Lidio Cipriani, an Italian anthropologist in the year 1954 and in a few succeeding years. Still the knowledge about the Onges seems to be meagre.

Living exclusively in the Little Andaman and a few of them in the Rutland Island, the Onges live in groups on a septal basis with clear-cut boundaries of hunting group for each group. There is no permanent habitation or village of the Onges in any part of the Little Andaman and their huts are of two types—(a) the permanent type of communal hut called *bera*, and (b) the temporary type of shelter called *korale*.

The abundance of food and water has made the life of the Onges comparatively easy-going. All the groups are headed by a leader and each group is assigned a fixed territory. The community life seems to be extremely democratic in character which entertains and also maintains a perfect individual freedom and only in times of necessity, advice,

1 Portman, M. V—History of one relations with the Andamanese.

10:Sen K-3,4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

101 mans. They live in the North Sentinel island and Portman had only made a few observations in the abandoned settlement of these aborigines. In 1886, Portman contacted a few Sentinelese with the help of a few [197] Onges. The affinity of the Sentinelese with the Onges have been detected but the language of the Sentinelese is different from the Onges. However, only later researches can reveal more facts about their lives.

PRESENT DAY DISTRIBUTION OF THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION

101 The islands, though remained essentially a land of the aborigines, have
161 a present day distribution which is very much discrete in nature. The
361 nature of the distribution was very likely much more widespread in different parts of the islands but the great decline in their number coupled with gradual expansion of the area of the later settlers led to a continued recession of the aborigines in the more desolate areas. Thus there has been a great shrinkage in the territory of the aborigines of the South Andaman where no settlements of any importance had developed.

There are only a few Andamanese (23) who are still now surviving in [177] the Middle and North Andamans and they live in the huts built up by the Forest Department.

The exact areas of inhabitation of the Jarawas are anybody's guess. Though the Jarawas have suffered a considerable decline in their number, no evidences of their distribution beyond the South Andaman are in view. Living under the cold patronage and hostility of the neighbours, the *Aka-beas*, a sub-group of the Andamanese, the Jarawas were always subjected to all their efforts of territorial expansion. Though their exact areas of distribution have not been traced so far, it is probable that they live in the dense forests of the South Andaman, especially in the least disturbed and unhaunted forest areas of the west. However, their biggest concentration is believed to be between Port Constance, Port Meadows and Shaol Bay.

The Sentinelese inhabit the North Sentinel Island and only further exploration in the island can furnish an idea about their exact spots of distribution.

The most predominant in number are the Onges who inhabit the [484] island of Little Andaman. However they make occasional voyages to the Rutland and Cinque Island where some of them live. The areas of distribution of the Onges in Little Andaman are mainly in the coastal areas of the northeast, south and west and also in the interior.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

This speaks very well how in some isolated spots of the islands a 101
remnant of the widespread negrito of the past stand on the verge of 161
imminent decay.

AREAS OF DISTRIBUTION
OF THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION

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102
131
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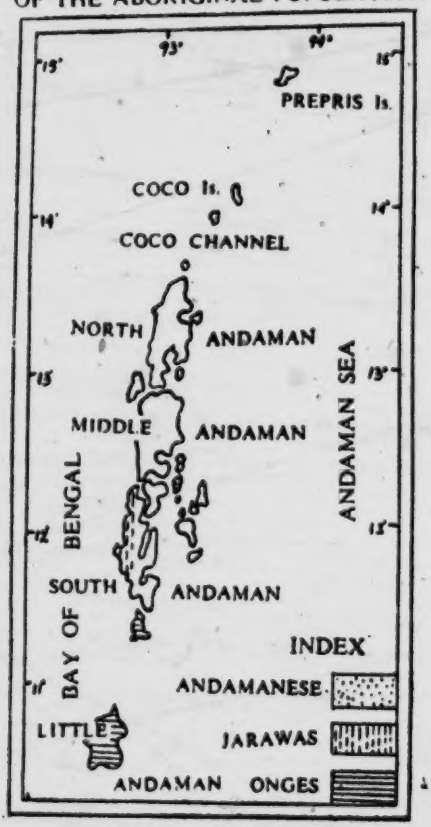

SCALE 1 TO 70 MILES

DEMOGRAPHIC SET UP

A group of aborigines with their pristine culture in these isolated 161
islands are sharing the same fate with many other aboriginal population
of the world, of a considerable decline and impoverishment. It is be-

were approaching an Onge camp. Everywhere they go they are accompanied by flies of all sizes, and in Little Andaman the swarms are so bad that the first stranger to land called a river after them, Bumila Creek, or fly river. Their flies betray the Onges long before the barking of their dogs – no human voice ever betrays their silent presence.

On Little Andaman today the Onges' tacit divisions of territory are of little importance, so heavy has been the fall in population, but they still keep out of areas belonging to other 'huts', even if the huts themselves have been abandoned. I never saw any disputes over territory, or the ownership of the area in which a pig was caught (and hence ownership of the pig). The Onges who accompanied me, possibly encouraged by the prestige value of a European with them, hunted wherever we went without anyone raising any protests. Nevertheless, I always took the precaution of giving anything I or my Indians took to the Onges of the nearest hut, invariably much to their delight.

Contrary to established opinion, communal huts on Little Andaman are not found only along the coasts; the majority, and certainly the best constructed, are in the interior. Togalanghe is one, and there are a number of permanently abandoned temporary camps near it.

Both the permanent and temporary huts or shelters of the Andamans resemble those of the Semang. The latter are extremely simple, especially in the dry season; there are no walls and only a very sloping roof of leaves, high at the front and very low at the back, the beds being put so that the feet face the low part of the roof. With the Semang and Aeta the beds may be made of bamboo; this is never the case in the Andamans, as there are no large bamboos in the archipelago (Brown was wrong in this respect. The few slender bamboos on Little Andaman are only usable for making drying racks, which are found only round the hut at Beniabol in the south. As the people were away when I went there, and the site was consequently completely deserted, I was unable to establish visually what they dried, but traces of fish, particularly pilchards, were indication enough.)

These temporary shelters are put up extremely quickly. Two poles less than two metres long for the front, and two more, thirty to forty centimetres long, for the back, are fixed firmly into the

352 The beds are supported on four convenient branches forked at the top, on which the four poles forming the bed frame rest. The size of the frame varies between 1·55 × 0·65 metres and 1·15 × 0·43 metres, and on this small platform the entire family sleeps huddled 513 together. The human members of the family lie longwise, all with their heads on the same log set as a head-rest (unless they are lucky enough to find a suitable giant bamboo washed up on the beach). Very occasionally a rush mat about half a metre square is laid on the platform, but usually the family just lies on bare canes packed tightly together on the frame parallel with the long side.

342 The hut at Tambe-e-buiè, its 1951 edition delayed till 1952 by 352 the earthquake the previous year when part of the coast dropped, 184 was rather larger than Toqué-è-bùie. In 1953 it was rebuilt twenty [731] metres or so further back from the sea, but exactly as before. It has twelve beds, including two on the high platforms for the adolescents, one of which has two tiers, on the principle of our bunks. I saw this type of thing on a number of occasions and on one occasion I saw one being built out in the open, with the top platform three metres from the ground. All the beds at Tambe-e-buiè are rather higher than at Toqué-è-bùie (but not as high as Beniaboi) and were all arranged radially; the platform on which meat was kept was two metres off the ground.

342 An unusual feature of Tambe-e-buiè, which had a diameter of 184 13·55 metres and a maximum height of 4·5 metres, was a series of six vertical poles set in a straight line to support the main transverse beam, one of which could be regarded as a centre pole. The pole on each side of the centre formed part of the innermost circle of supporting poles; there were two more circles, all supporting rings of canes. Unusually, only one of the rings of canes supporting the roof did not rest on vertical poles. The outer ring was only 0·4 metres high and the edge of the roof almost touched the ground, although one could still brush the fronds apart and crawl out. The roof mats were rectangular, very well made, and larger than at Toqué-è-bùie; some were three and a half metres by three metres or more, laid over seven or ten split reeds, instead of the usual four or five.

312 No permanent hut, or even a temporary shelter, is ever built far [361] from water supplies adequate for the number of people in the group. If there is none visible, the Onges know how to dig for it,

231 of growth of the kitchen-middens), judging by the number of shells in the deposits. On Great Andaman, on the other hand, the Jara-
184 was, unable to keep dogs for fear of revealing their whereabouts
262 with the barking, continued as they had always done, and the
231 gradual disappearance of their middens was due not to any change
184 in eating habits but to the breakdown of the communal hut system.
177 Among the Arioto, already decimated for over a century by fight-
178 ing with the Eremtaga, the dog seems to have had no effect on the
[361] situation, as the Arioto had dogs as far back as 1857. Possibly they regarded them in the same way as the Onges who, though deeply attached to them and quite incapable of eating them at any time, never go so far as to bury their bones in the middens; the carcase is thrown out into the forests for the monitors and the termites to dispose of. It is also probable that the introduction of the dog came too late, when the Arioto were already too depleted numerically for any change in their eating habits to be appreciably reflected in their middens.

172 In both Great and Little Andaman the middens are found only
184 where the communal huts have been constantly rebuilt on the same
361 sites. Where the ground permits, the base circle (or rarely, the ellipse) has been moved somewhat from side to side, without, however, greatly affecting the regularity of the shape. At Totamaddalù on Little Andaman I was interested to see that although the diameter of the midden lessened as the numbers of the group occupying the hut dwindled, the site remained unchanged. Today the base area of the midden is very extensive compared with the size of the hut now built on it, but its anthropological value is thereby increased.

177 The advent of the dog into the archipelago in about 1857 vastly
23 increased the amount of meat available to the Andamanese. Once
[262] introduced into Little Andaman[1] the dog population increased explosively, as the Onges dare not kill any of the pups; the women even go so far as to suckle motherless pups themselves. This inordinate love of dogs has allowed the animals to become a pest. They already considerably outnumber the human population; families of only three or four people may have ten or twelve dogs,

[1] The dog reached Little Andaman only at the beginning of the present century; von Eichstedt in 1928 noted that the Onges had very few of them.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

361 the heaps of refuse many feet deep, chiefly consisting of the shells of molluscs and the bones of animals. Such kitchen-middens, as they have been called, are to be found in numbers all around the coasts of the islands.

In the case of the coast-dwelling communities the camping sites are always close to the sea-shore or to a creek, so that they can be reached by canoe. In the case of those dwelling [312] inland this is of course not so. In any case one of the chief factors determining the choice of the site is the existence of a supply of fresh water. This is of extreme importance in the case of a site to be occupied during the dry season when fresh water becomes scarce.

221 Within their own territory the local group is what we may 361 speak of as semi-nomadic. The coast-dwellers rarely reside continuously at the same spot for more than a few months, but [268] shift from one camp to another, moved by different causes. If a death occurs the camp is deserted for several months and a new one is occupied. A change of camp often takes place at a change of season, some spots presenting particular advantages, such as shelter from the prevailing wind, or better hunting or fishing, at certain times of the year. Another cause of the [364] abandonment of a camp by the coast-dwellers is that all refuse is thrown away close to the camp, and after a few months the decaying animal matter thus accumulated renders the spot uninhabitable. The natives seem to find it easier to move their camp than to clear away their refuse. The truth is, perhaps, that they are so accustomed to change their camp from one spot to another, in order to make the best use of the natural resources available, that there is no necessity for them to take those sanitary measures that would be essential if they wished to remain for many months continuously at the same place.

The forest-dwellers are less nomadic in their habits than the coast-dwellers. One of the reasons for this is that as they cannot convey their belongings from one place to another by canoe, but must carry them overland, the moving of a camp is a more tiresome business with them than it is with the coast-dwellers. During a great part of the year the forest-dwellers

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

361 suitability of a particular spot for fishing and turtling during
221 certain phases of the moon, on account of the character of the
166 foreshore, or the configuration of the coast, and the hope of meeting with better luck elsewhere—to these might be added the love of a change, and the prospect of seeing some of their friends; but it must not be supposed that a long journey is thereby involved; the move being generally made to a spot only a mile or two further on, and thus, by short stages, they sometimes proceed along the entire coast-line of their tribal territory, spending a few days or weeks at each halting place, according to the special attractions it may happen to possess in affording good sport on land or sea, or in supplying a rich harvest of fruit, honey, &c.

●364 3. The necessity of a migration is also frequently forced on them by the consequences of their neglect to sweep away the refuse of their meals, it being regarded by these *insouciant* and unclean creatures as not worth their while to take so much trouble, when only a short stay is contemplated.

4. That the necessity for observing *some* sanitary measures has long since been recognised by the Andamanese is evident from the existence of numerous kitchen-middens throughout their territory, many of which are doubtless of remote origin. These refuse-heaps are still in course of formation by communities living at a distance from Port Blair, and are invariably found near camping grounds which have been, or are still more or less, permanently occupied. In those sites, where they are not seen, evidence is at once afforded of the temporary nature of the occupancy: the rubbish and refuse of food in these latter places is only swept aside if the ground be needed for a dance, wedding, or other ceremony, so that injury may not befall the revellers through inadvertently treading on a bone, stone, or shell. Crows, hermit-crabs, and, of late years, dogs, are the principal scavengers of these ill-ordered and dirty habitations, the two former performing their useful office as soon as a migration takes place.

Habitations.—1. We will now pass to the consideration of the
342 three varieties of huts which are commonly met with in the permanent and temporary encampments throughout the territory of the eight Great Andaman tribes, and which are known as *chàng-tē·pinga-*, *chàng-tô·rnga-*, and *chàng-dar·anga*.

2. To commence with the *chàng-tē·pinga-*, which is made by men, and erected in all permanent encampments as being the most durable. No particular kind of wood is used for the posts, which are four in number, two in front and two in rear, the former varying from six to nine feet in height, and the latter from two to three feet; upon these, slender rafters and two light transverse poles are secured, so as to form the framework of

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

tracted hardship and considerable risk, not so much from the natives themselves as from the implacable Andaman sea. We had a terrible time during several of our landings from the open Indian Ocean. Constant danger additionally stimulated the development of research in Little Andaman. All the Indians and the Burmese behaved bravely. Among them I wish to mention here my Indian stenographer, a married man nearing thirty, from Bengal: RANDHADIR KUMAR DEY, who, on 12 and 13 February, 1953, on the south coast of the island shared two frightfully narrow escapes with me. I am sure that neither of us will ever forget it. I later found a comfortable landing place, now indicated by floating buoys, on the north coast. Two other Bengalese assistants who were a great help to me in Little Andaman and had been selected from a number of young aspirants, are PRONAB GANGULI and BIMAL CHANDRA ROY. My work in the Andamans could not have been accomplished without them and without the initiative and encouragement of officers such as Dr. B. S. GUHA, Director of the Department of Anthropology of the Indian Government, Mr. AJSY K. GHOSH, the kind, open-minded Chief Commissioner of Andamans and Nicobars during my 1951-1953 stay there, and Mr. S. N. MAITRA, who succeeded Mr. GHOSH as Chief Commissioner. In a book that I am writing I try to point out the significance of my work in the Andamans, carried out with the help of such distinguished, and sometimes heroic, Indian collaborators.

I. Hygienic Conditions

1. Habitation

The nomadic Onge have two kinds of shelter: one temporary, the other permanent, used only for short periods at a time. The Little Andaman forest is full of abandoned temporary shelters; the permanent camps are fewer, mainly situated along the coast. They consist of communal huts, strongly built by a number of families roaming under the direction of a leader. The huts have a ritual significance, as we shall presently see. Inside each communal hut are a number of beds generally equal to the number of families. Small fires are kept burning day and night near the beds, a precaution that I was thankful for on many cold nights succeeded by hot days. The Onge require nothing more against the cold. In their camps they can withstand the heaviest storms and drenching rains. In order to avoid chills it is enough for them to protect their fires from extinction. This applied to me too, while living among the Onge. The warmth and the dry air ensured good health for us all.

A few additional beds are for the use of bachelors nearing marriage. Most of the beds are marginally and radially placed; a few are placed transversally. Normal beds accommodate father, mother (the Onge are monogamous), children and dogs, all in a heap. In temporary as in permanent shelters it is customary for families to eat separately, each close to its bed. The low, round roof of the communal hut does not reach the ground; a gap of 30 cms is left free for creeping in and out at will without using the main door (a simple mat to be lifted). Rubbish is thrown carelessly everywhere, e. g. directly outside the circular hut, which is consequently surrounded by a malodorous ring of bones, imperfectly cleaned shells, bits of rotting shellfish and other animals – a rich breeding ground for flies and various other insects that rapidly destroy everything edible, leaving the grass to grow until the next lot of garbage accumulates. Building and rebuilding a communal hut always on the same

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

364 spot for centuries leads to the formation of kitchen-middens [1]. In the tempo-
[361] rary camps something similar happens: the only difference consists in the fact that rubbish dumps only accumulate at the back of the temporary shelters, as a consequence of their peculiar shape that I shall not describe here. These
[136] dumps are heaven-sent love nests for insects of many species, mostly flies of a metallic green colour. They follow the Onge from camp to camp and thrive on scraps from human meals. When travelling in Little Andaman I was unmistakably warned of the nearby presence of Onge camps by the appearance of those familiar living beings.

136 The filth that coats the floors of communal Onge huts offers an ideal
[356] breeding ground also for myriads of fleas. Dogs spread them all over Little Andaman. Owing to the fact that the communal huts are deserted for months at a time during the dry season, the fleas become hungry and assault human
123 beings vehemently whenever possible. When visiting empty communal huts I myself, and the persons with me, were plagued by such assaults. Fleas advanced suddenly from feet to head in thick, shimmering brown layers, covering first our legs. We were obliged to strip and douse ourselves with insect-repellents.
136 As for other parasites, including ticks and mosquitos, equally plentiful in Little
[825] Andaman, the Onge do not appear to be inconvenienced by them.

764 The communal huts are used for another purpose as well, unhygienic but of high ethnological interest: the interment of human corpses. When they die, the inmates are buried beneath their beds. In other words, communal huts are also cemeteries. Many human skeletons are found by digging under the beds. Until 1952 this fact was unknown about the Andaman Islanders although it is encountered in all Onge communal huts without exception. An analysis of
775 this custom led to further discoveries: the Onge wish to compel the spirit of a deceased person to remain close to the living as a protection, so they offer it the communal hut for an abode, the idea being that a spirit cannot wander far from the bones of its former body. A series of Onge practices point to this
[727] belief: felled enemies must be burned and reduced to ashes in order to render them harmless. Their hostile souls, according to the Onge, rise toward the sky in smoke as the bones are consumed. For the same reason, bones of relatives
[301] [765] are fashioned into necklaces. The most conspicuous of these is the *ibidaughe*, worn generally by women and young girls, which is made from a decorated
[751] human jawbone. The aim is to obtain the assistance of the departed relation in fighting illness and bad luck. Direction in hunting, fishing and even quar-
[777] relling is supposed to come from the dead kept close to the living. We can trace this belief on the connection between bones and souls to a remote origin:
[171] Southern Asia megaliths had, in my opinion, no other cause for offering shelter to spirits and promoting useful relations between the living and the dead. I reached this conclusion after studying the contemporary habits of Travancore mountain and other Indian tribes, particularly the Munda. In Nias we find traces of the same customs as among different peoples of Indonesia and Oceania, who

[1] I discussed this at the two international anthropological congresses of 1952 (Vienna) and 1956 (Philadelphia), and have more to say on the subject in my book about the Onge.

26 Cleaning themselves, to the Onges, means painting themselves
302 to ward off evil and to remove, so they said, the smell of pig fat
[224] after the colossal orgies which follow a particularly good hunt,
when even they find the stench too much. These orgies, which give
[164] them appalling indigestion for days, are followed by an apparently instinctive variation of their diet to raw or cooked vegetable foods. On three occasions from 1952–54 I was present at one of these solemn pork and honey orgies. The Onges ate almost till they burst, and then, hardly able to move, cleaned up by a grand painting session. The women do the painting, families vying with each other to produce weird new designs, which are then copied until the next feast.[1]

276 Fed and painted, the Onges sit down to smoke, using pipes made
26 from crabs' claws. Still regardless of hygiene the pipes go from one
302 mouth to another, the women smoking just as heavily as the men.
237 One curious anomaly is that the Onges do sometimes sweep the
356 earth floor of the communal hut. The floor is not deliberately beaten down, but becomes hardened by continuous walking on it; in dry weather it turns to dust, which rises and settles everywhere, especially under the roof, where the lumps of cooked meat,
[412] fish and so on are hung. For the cleaning a broom or besom is prepared, well made with very hard, supple, palm fibres, bound tightly and carefully with cords made from reeds. The whole thing is about eighty centimetres long and as thick as a man's wrist.

356 The dirt is simply swept out all round from under the roof of the
342 hut through the gap between the roof and the ground. In the course
172 of time a ring of refuse builds up round the hut, forming a glorious
breeding ground for insects of all kinds. When the hut has to be
364 rebuilt, owing to the ravages of wood-worm and termites, the ring is levelled off to form the new floor. Since the same small, well-chosen site may be used for thousands of years, the hut ends up perching on top of a small mound of refuse dating back to very

[531] [1] From one year to the next I saw no real evolution of art forms but cyclic changes of designs, with a preference for certain geometric patterns, at certain times of the year. Having watched various individuals of both sexes closely over a period of some years I can say that in the Onges at least, contrary to what is generally understood, the use of given patterns, and given kinds of ochre, does not correspond with given types of food. Any feast is always followed by painting, always with the weirdest designs possible, but always geometrical, never far from the current 'fashion', and never even remotely inspired by the basis of the feast.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

ancient times. Great Andaman abounds in these man-made humps, to which the name 'kitchen-middens' has been given, but none are in use today. In Little Andaman, on the other hand, many are still being built up.

The sweeping operations disturb clouds of flies and tiny beetles, light brown in colour, shot with metallic blue, with a highly domed back, and about five millimetres long, which always collect under bones and other human food refuse. Hordes of fleas, invisible in the dirt on the floor but multiplying busily, are also stirred up. Fortunately there are no lice on Little Andaman, owing to the absence of clothing and bed-linen, and the Onges carry no lice in their hair.

In fact the dogs' coats carry the fleas from place to place more than do their naked, smooth-skinned owners. Every time I went into a hut which had been empty for a time, as happens in the dry season when the occupants are away on a hunting trip, I was assailed by swarms of fleas such as I had never imagined! They rushed up one's body from feet to neck in absolute serried ranks, platoons of them, solid masses of tiny black moving objects. The only thing to do was to go out into the open and douse oneself in Flit, which caused them to retreat hastily. My camp-bed was always given a precautionary dose. Unfortunately Flit was not enough to disperse the clouds of ticks, tiny but dangerous, and a scourge in the forests of the Andamans. The Onges call them *anaghe* and thoroughly enjoyed helping to catch them on me in hundreds after every expedition into the forest.

None of these pests worry the Onges, who make no attempt to get rid of them. They leave mounds of filth round their huts or in their forest camps for them to breed in, and the light covering of earth or leaves which at best cover the Onges' faeces, deposited near the camp, was never any deterrent to breeding. The Onges never dig sanitary trenches or prepare any other form of latrines, even for their permanent sites; the forest is all concealing. However, they will never defaecate near, or in, a water course, even when the bed is dry, and when my men used the bed of a dried-up stream for the purpose the Onges protested to me, because the water would be contaminated. I was not disposed to contradict them.

In the forest, meeting a swarm of flies was a sure sign that we

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

ground. Two parallel transverse poles of equal length, one front and one back, complete the frame, which is lashed together with the usual rush fibres. The roof consists of fresh *Pandanus* leaves, palms, or grass. It never actually touches the ground, and food refuse is thrown out from underneath it in the usual way, covering the ground round the shelter.

The bed takes a little longer than the roof to put up, as a number of sticks have to be gathered to make the compact platform, raised about half a metre from the ground on four stout props driven into the ground, one at each corner, and a suitable trunk has to be found for the head-rest. Normally one bed takes an entire family – mother, father, children and dogs, all well packed on the platform with the inevitable fire beside. On rare occasions, when the shelter is intended purely for the menfolk on a hunting expedition, only one bed is prepared, but generally every hunter has his family with him. I have myself slept like this with the Onges on trips where the forest was too dense for any baggage to be carried.

As the kitchen-middens show (see p. 68), their permanent huts are, with very few exceptions, circular and are still extremely simple. The essential feature is the waterproof roof-mats, well overlapped, which form the enormous umbrella roof. From the outside the whole thing looks in danger of collapsing, but from the interior it is obviously safely held by a frame of poles, lashed with innumerable ties to stout uprights fixed firmly into the ground. No central pillar is needed, and when there is one it is only by chance; I saw very few on Little Andaman. There are no divisions into rooms or compartments – everything is open to the eyes of all the occupants of the beds. Most of these are arranged as the radii of a circle, fairly near the outer edge of the hut, the roof coming down so close to the ground that everyone sleeps with their heads towards the centre, but there may be some beds across the centre space.

At the circumference the roof is only thirty to forty centimetres from the ground, the roofing mats being well lashed on to uprights in case of high winds, and one can wriggle in and out of the hut on one's stomach, crawling over the refuse thrown out through the convenient gap. There is always, however, a 'proper' entrance, where one edge of the roof-wall can be lifted up. At the top of the roof, on the lee side, one section can be propped open on poles,

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

allowing the smoke to escape and letting more air in – a very welcome relief at times, even for the Onges!

I made sketch plans of all the huts I visited, with positions of the supporting poles, beds, etc. Two typical ones were those at Toqué-è-bùie and Tambe-e-buiè. In March 1952 the former had some parts of the roof missing, as the inhabitants had taken the mats off to make temporary shelters in the forest; when the rains came they brought them back and replaced them. This custom explained why, on Great Andaman, some obviously temporary shelters had roofs far too well made to be intended for purely temporary use.

Entering the hut at Toqué-è-bùie, by the entrance proper, one finds oneself facing an area with no beds in it. In the centre of this area, under the apex of the roof, is a fire, a little larger than those kept burning beside each bed. This is used for communal cooking during the rainy season; at other times all cooking is done in the open. The ground area covered by the roof was 9·12 square metres, its height at the centre 3·3 metres, and the external circumference 30·65 metres. Beyond this stretched the ring of refuse built up by each short period of occupation.

Unlike many of the huts of Little Andaman, Toqué-è-bùie has a central pole, not thick, but of a very hard wood. In a circle round this are ten upright poles, each about two metres from the central pole. Starting on the left of the entrance and moving clockwise their heights vary slightly.[1] Outside this inner circle of supporting poles are two more concentric rings of uprights, the first, with a radius of 3·65 metres from the central pole, consists of twenty uprights with an average height of 1·35 metres, and the second, with a radius of 4·53 metres from the centre pole, has an average height of 0·38 metres. In nearly every hut each circle of uprights is attached to the roof by a ring formed by a bundle of long canes, to which each upright is lashed. Another bunch of long canes runs transversely from the entrance to the opposite side of the hut, almost touching the ground at the two ends, touching the roof in the middle, and fixed to the rings of canes to which the uprights are attached.

The bundle of canes forming this arch support is clearly set in place after the erection of the first (innermost) ring of uprights, and actually lies on top of the ring of canes to which they are

[1] 2·45, 2·35, 2·32, 2·5, 2·45, 2·35, 2·3, 2·35, 2·32, 2·35 metres.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

827 A hiccough is supposed to be the result of inadvertently swallowing a tree lizard, whose call rather resembles the sound of a person hiccoughing.

The condition popularly called "pins and needles" or described as an arm or leg "going to sleep" is believed by the Andamanese to be due to the bite of a rat. If a man wakes up in the night with one of his limbs benumbed in this way, he believes that a rat has bitten him while he slept.

The Andamanese say that the bite of a civet-cat (*Paradoxurus*) will produce cramp. I was once told that if a man eats the flesh of the civet-cat and then goes into the water he will become "lame." This means, I think, that he will have cramp, and so will be unable to swim.

278 The flesh and particularly the fat of the flying fox (*Pteropus*) is believed to be a remedy for rheumatism. An old man who was suffering from this ailment once asked me to shoot for him some of these bats, which he cooked and ate.

784 If turtle-fat be permitted to burn in the fire there will be a storm.

751 Mention has already been made of the magical value attri-
755 buted to human bones. They are esteemed as a means of driving away spirits, and therefore of curing or preventing sickness. A human jaw-bone was hanging in my hut in such a position that it could swing in the wind. The natives attributed to this the illness from which I and several of them were suffering at the time, and asked me to put the bone away in a basket, where it could not move.

Bones of animals are made into ornaments in the same way as human bones, and magical properties of a similar kind seem to be attributed to them.

755 Of other objects possessing magical properties the most
• 372 important is fire. Fire is believed to have the power of keeping away spirits of the sea and of the forest. A fire is always kept alight beside a sick man or woman. For dysentery stones are heated in a fire and the patient is required to defecate on to these.

000 In conclusion, mention must be made of one favourite remedy

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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X 182 301 751

to act as the object of such a sentiment, and he therefore feels his dependence upon the society not directly but in a number of indirect ways. The particular way with which we are now concerned is that the individual experiences this feeling of dependence towards every important possession of the society, towards every object which for the society has constant and important uses.

X 182 751 372

The most prominent example of such an object is fire. It may be said to be the one object on which the society most of all depends for its well-being. It provides warmth on cold nights; it is the means whereby they prepare their food, for they eat nothing raw save a few fruits; it is a possession that has to be constantly guarded, for they have no means of producing it, and must therefore take care to keep it always alight; it is the first thing they think of carrying with them when they go on a journey by land or sea; it is the centre around which the social life moves, the family hearth being the centre of the family life, while the communal cooking place is the centre round which the men often gather after the day's hunting is over. To the mind of the Andaman Islander, therefore, the social life of which his own life is a fragment, the social well-being which is the source of his own happiness, depend upon the possession of fire, without which the society could not exist. In this way it comes about that his dependence on the society appears in his consciousness as a sense of dependence upon fire and a belief that it possesses power to protect him from dangers of all kinds.

The belief in the protective power of fire is very strong. A man would never move even a few yards out of camp at night without a fire-stick. More than any other object fire is believed to keep away the spirits that cause disease and death. This belief, it is here maintained, is one of the ways in which the individual is made to feel his dependence upon the society.

Now this hypothesis is capable of being very strictly tested by the facts, for if it is true we must expect to find that the same protective power is attributed to every object on which the social life depends. An examination of the Andamanese beliefs shows that this is so, and thereby confirms the hypothesis.

X 182 751 411

In their daily life the Andamanese depend on the instrinsic qualities of the materials they use for their bows and arrows and

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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286 length of string is taken and the two ends tied together, the loop thus formed being placed over the big toe as the woman sits on the ground.

284 The knot used in netting is that known as the fisherman's knot. in use all over the world. The needle is held in the right hand.
286 is passed from above downwards through the loop marked *a* in the figure, and is drawn through far enough to leave a new loop *b* of the required size. This loop is held between the thumb and forefinger of the left hand, the uniformity in mesh being apparently obtained largely by the sense of touch. The needle is then passed through the new loop *b* again from above and is drawn out leaving a loop *c*, through which the needle is passed once more, forming the finished knot, which is then drawn taut.

286 When netting is made for personal apparel it is generally ornamented with strips of *Dendrobium* skin worked in with the thread in the course of the netting. Netting for personal ornaments consists of a sort of bag open at both ends. Each end is tied with a string passed through the ultimate loops, and this string serves to tie the band of net round the waist or neck or wrist or knee.

286 Fishing nets are attached to a handle. The handles of the Little
227 Andaman Division and those of the Great Andaman Division are different in shape. The Great Andaman net with its hoop can be folded up compactly for carriage, while that of the Little Andaman cannot.

The nets of rope formerly used in the Great Andaman for catching turtle have been already described.

Domestic Implements and Utensils.

• 372 The Andamanese are perhaps the only people in the world who
177 have no method of their own of making fire. At the present time they obtain matches from the Settlement of Port Blair, and a few of them have learnt, either from Burmese or from Nicobarese, a method of making fire by the friction of pieces of split bamboo. Formerly, however, they had no knowledge of any method by which fire could be produced. Fires were and still are carefully kept alive in the village, and are carefully carried when travelling. Every hunting party carries its fire with it. The natives are very skilful in selecting wood that will smoulder for a long time without going out and without breaking into flame.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

372 **Fire.**—1. It would seem that the Andamanese, like the quondam aborigines of Tasmania, have always been ignorant of the art of producing fire.

2. The assertion[1] that these tribes when first discovered, assuming that this refers to either the second or ninth century,[2] were ignorant of the use of fire may or may not be correct; but if any faith can be placed in the traditions held by them on the subject, their acquaintance with it dates from no later period than the Creation![3]

3. The most satisfactory conjecture as to the source whence they first obtained fire appears to me to be based on the fact of there being two islands attached to the group, one of which (Barren Island) contains an active volcano, and the other (Narcondam Island[4]) a now extinct one.

4. Being strangers to any method of producing a flame, they naturally display much care and skill in the measures they adopt for avoiding such inconvenience as might be caused by the extinction of their fires.

5. Both when encamped and while journeying, the means employed are at once simple and effective. When they all leave an encampment with the intention of returning in a few days, besides taking with them one or more smouldering logs, wrapped in leaves if the weather be wet, they place a large burning log or faggot in some sheltered spot, where, owing to the character and condition of the wood invariably selected on these occasions, it smoulders for several days, and can be easily rekindled when [824] required. Decayed pieces of the *Croton argyratus*, and two species of *Diospyros*,[5] and a fourth, called by them *chôr-*, but not yet identified, are chiefly used as fuel. As may be inferred, all labour of splitting and chopping is saved, as it is only necessary

[1] *Vide* Brown.

[2] *Vide* Part I (commencement).

[3] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraphs 5 and 6.

[4] Regarding this island, which is sometimes shown as Narkandam, Colonel Yule, in his "Marco Polo," writes as follows:—

"Abraham Roger tells us that the Coromandel Brahmins used to say that the *Rakshasas* or Demons had their abode 'on the Island of Andaman, lying on the route from Pulicat to Pegu,' and also that they were man-eaters. This would be very curious if it were a genuine old Brahminical *Saga*; but I fear it may have been gathered from the Arab seamen. Still it is remarkable that a strange weird looking island, which rises, covered with forest, a steep and regular volcanic cone, straight out of the deep sea to the eastward of the Andaman group, bears the name of *Narkandam* in which one cannot but recognise नरक, (*Narak*), 'Hell.' Can it be that in old times, but still contemporary with Hindu navigation, this volcano was active, and that some Brahmin St. Brandon recognised in it the mouth of Hell, congenial to the Rakshasas of the adjacent group?"

Colonel Yule adds: "I cannot trace any probable meaning of Andam, yet it looks as if *Narak-andam* and *Andám-da* were akin."

[5] Bastard ebony or marble wood.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

to beat a log of this description on a stone or other hard substance a few times before it breaks up into as small pieces as are needed. 372

6. In each hut that is occupied there is invariably a fire, the object of which is to keep the owner warm, to drive away insects, and to cook food, while the smoke is useful in preserving the store of provisions, which are placed about two feet above it for that purpose.[1] [251]

7. Council fires, or fires burnt on special occasions, are not among their institutions; even the household fire is not held sacred, or regarded as symbolical of family ties, and no rites are connected with it; there are no superstitious beliefs in reference to its extinction or pollution, and it is never employed literally or figuratively as a means of purification from uncleanness, blood, death, or moral guilt.

8. Fires are generally kindled by fanning the embers with a frond of the *Asplenium nidus* (*pâ·tla-*), and they are extinguished by pressing the burning logs against some such object as a tree, canoe, or stone.

9. Reference must here be made to the mis-statement which has found its way into several papers concerning the existence of so-called "oven-trees" among the Andamanese. The belief appears to have originated in the practice which prevails among them of taking advantage, during brief halts, of the natural shelter afforded by the peculiar formation of the roots of the *Pterocarpus dalbergioides*, and trees of the *Ficus* genus, so common in these islands, and which, extending like buttresses on all sides of the trunk, are, especially when roofed over with a light thatch such as these people are accustomed to make in a few minutes, capable of accommodating small parties suddenly overtaken by a storm, or needing a temporary resting-place: the traces of fires lighted by successive parties against these trees, and the hollows thus caused, having been noticed, the opinion was formed, and, without sufficient corroborative evidence, promulgated, that they were "purposely charred," and that "great pains is taken in their preservation."[2] As a matter of fact, the Andamanese no more employ oven-trees than do the gypsies in Bulgaria, alluded to by General Pitt-Rivers, F.R.S.,[3] who, using constantly the same trees, have formed a semi-cylindrical chimney, which might reasonably be regarded, by one unacquainted with their habits, as an attempt to form an oven. 114

10. While it is the women's business to collect the wood, the duty of maintaining the fires, whether at home or while travelling 372

[1] *Vide ante* "Habitations" paragraph 5.
[2] *Vide* Mouat, pp. 308–9.
[3] *Vide* Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi. pp. 273 and 290 (Appendix I).

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

372 by land or sea, is not confined to them, but is undertaken by those of either sex who have most leisure or are least burdened.

11. Probably nothing introduced by us so impressed them with the extent of our power and resources as *matches;* that we should be able to produce fire with such ease and by such means was not unnaturally regarded as evidence of our being superhumanly gifted.

Superstitions.—1. Fire is supposed to possess the power of
372 driving away evil spirits: when, therefore, at night they hear in
776 imagination the approach of the dreaded *.ē·rem-chàw·gala,*[1] they throw burning logs into the jungle surrounding the encampment. Again, should any of the community have occasion to leave their huts at night, no matter how short the distance, he (or she) invariably takes some fire as a protection against any demons that may be in the vicinity; a torch is also taken if it be very dark at the time.

[821] 2. Of darkness they assert that it was instituted on account of the misconduct of two of their ancestors, as will shortly be mentioned.[2]

776 3. From fear of displeasing *mai·a .ō·gar-*[3] (Mr. Moon), during
784 the first few evenings of the third quarter, when he rises after
821 sundown, they preserve silence, cease from any work on which they may be engaged—even halting should they be travelling—and almost extinguish any light or fire which they may be burning. This is owing to the belief that he is jealous of attention being distracted to other objects than himself at such a time, or of any other light being employed than that which he has been graciously pleased to afford so abundantly. By the time the moon has ascended a few degrees, however, they restore their fires and resume their former occupations, as they consider they have then sufficiently complied with *mai·a .ō·gar-*'s wishes and requirements. The glowing aspect of the full moon on its first appearance above the horizon is supposed to indicate that *mai·a .ō·gar-* is enraged at finding some persons neglecting to observe these conciliatory measures; there is also an idea that, if he be greatly annoyed, he will punish them by withdrawing or diminishing the light of his countenance.

776 4. Regarding meteorolites they appear to possess no super-
821 stition. Shooting stars and meteors they view with apprehension, believing them to be lighted faggots hurled into the air by *.ē·rem-chàw·gala* in order to ascertain the whereabouts of any unhappy wight in his vicinity; if, therefore, they happen to be away from

[1] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 12.
[2] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraph 31.
[3] Singing, dancing, and thumping on the sounding board at that hour are, however, not displeasing to him.

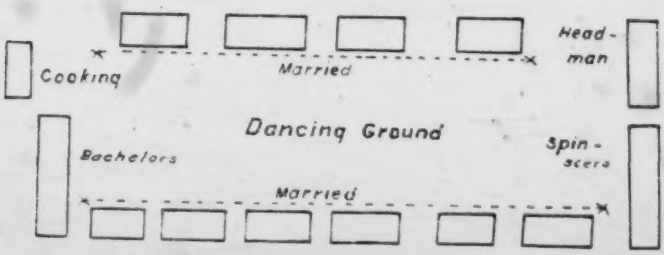
in other savages. At Government House, Calcutta, in 1895, when a party was told to sit down and weep to show the custom at meetings, in a few moments the weeping became genuine, and when after a short time they were told to stop and get up, tears were streaming down their faces. 576

General Capacities.—The Andamanese are good climbers, and rapid walkers and runners, moving with a free and independent gait, and can travel considerable distances at a time. The Jarawas turn their toes in, due to the necessity of stooping to pass along their paths through the tangled jungle. The Eremtaga are good but not remarkable trackers. The Aryoto are good swimmers and are much at home in the water. The Andamanese generally show a dexterity in getting about their thick and tangled jungles which baffles all immigrants, though in this respect the Eremtaga quite out-distance the Aryoto, and the Jarawas apparently all the others. In the jungles all shooting with arrows is necessarily at very short distance, and generally the Andamanese are good shots at short distances only, judging direction very well but distance hardly at all. They can however at the very short distance required for shooting fish allow accurately for refraction in moving water and will shoot their fish successfully even in the surf in a manner that is inimitable: this is really due to accurate judgment of direction. 481

The Andamanese are unadventurous seamen, poling and paddling their canoes with small spade paddles at considerable speed, faster than that of an ordinary ship's boat for a little distance though they could not paddle away from one in even a short chase, but they never go out of sight of land, have never been even to the Cocos (30 miles), nor to Narcondam and Barren Island, nor had they ever any knowledge of the existence of the Nicobars till our arrival. Man has a legend from Car Nicobar doubtfully going to show that the Onges from the Little Andaman once made raids on that island: but if this were true they would do so still. 502

IV. Habits and Customs.

Dwellings.—Except in the Little Andaman and among the Jarawas there are no fixed habitations, the search for easily obtained food and insanitary habits obliging the people to be nomads, for they have no practice of cultivation and domesticate no animal whatever except dogs obtained from the English. They thus dwell in various customary encampments, situate within their respective territories. At these encampments, usually fixed in sheltered spots, they erect about 14 temporary huts capable of holding up to 50 to 80 persons, arranged facing inwards on an oval plan always more or less irregular, thus— 621 [242] [231]



The central space is the dancing ground. A hut is merely a thatch about 4 feet long by 3 feet wide, sloping from 8 inches behind to 4½ feet in front, placed on four uprights and some cross-pieces without walls. In unsheltered spots and at the Head-Quarters of Septs large circular huts are built with a good deal of ingenuity, having eaves nearly touching the ground. These will be as much as 15 feet high and 30 feet in diameter. For hunting purposes mere thatched shelters are erected for protection from the wind. Close to every hut is a very small platform for surplus food about 18 inches from the ground, and in it at least one fire is carefully preserved. This is the one thing that the Andamanese are really careful about for they do not know how to make fire, though 342 [251] 372

372 they show much skill in so carrying smouldering logs with them by land or sea that they are not extinguished. Their ignorance of this fundamental requirement of civilization is shown in their fire-legend that fire was originally stolen from their deity Puluga and has never been allowed to become extinct since. Excepting guns, nothing has more impressed the Andamanese with European power and resources than the use of matches, *i.e.*, of making fire whenever required with ease.

342 In the Little Andaman and among the Jarawas of the South Andaman, large permanent huts for use in the wet season are built up of solid materials to 30 feet in height and 60 in breadth to hold the fires of 7 to 8 hunting parties, say 60 to 70 people, *i.e.*, they contain 7 to 8 fires with about 8 persons to each "fire." The Jarawa hunting camp is much the same as that of any other Andamanese and his great communal hut is built on the same principle as the larger huts of the other Andamanese.

The use of the flimsy hunting shelters and camp huts of the Andamanese is rendered possible in the wet and stormy weather so common in the Islands by the denseness of the jungle, which prevents the winds from reaching them even when close to the sea-beach and causes the rain to fall vertically upon them.

619 **Government.**—There is no idea of Government, but to each tribe and to each sept of it there is a recognised head, who has attained that position by 622 tacit agreement on account of some admitted superiority, mental or physical, and commands a limited respect and such obedience as the self interest of the other individual men of the tribe or sept dictates. There is a tendency to [554] hereditary right in the natural selection of chiefs, but there is no social status that is not personally acquired. The social position of a chief's family follows that of the chief himself and admits of many privileges in the shape of tribal influence and immunity from drudgery. His wife is among women what he is [888] among men and at his death, if a mother and not young, she retains his privileges. Age commands respect and the young are deferential to the elders. Offences, *i.e.*, murder, theft, adultery, mischief, assault, are punished by the 627 aggrieved party on his own account by injury to the body and property or by murder, without more active interference on the part of others than is consistent with their own safety, and without any fear of consequences except vengeance from the friends of the other side, and even this is usually avoided by disappearance till the short memory of the people has obliterated wrath.

421 Property is communal, as is all the land, and ideas as to individual possessions are but rudimentary, accompanied with an incipient tabu of the property belonging to a chief. An Andamanese will often readily part with ornaments to any one who asks for them. Theft, or the taking of property without leave, is only recognised as to things of absolute necessity, as arrows, pig's flesh, fire. 437 A very rude barter exists between tribes of the same group in regard to articles not locally obtainable or manufactured. This applies especially to cooking pots, which are made of a special clay found only in certain parts of the islands. The barter is really a gift of one article in expectation of another of assumed corresponding value in return, and a row if it is not forthcoming. The territory of other tribes is carefully respected without however there being any fixed boundaries.

562 The duties of men and women are clearly defined by custom, but not so as to make that of the women comparatively hard. The women have a tacitly acknowledged inferior position, but it is not such as to be marked or to leave them without influence.

771 **Religion.**—The religion is simple animism and consists of fear of the evil spirits of the wood, the sea, disease and ancestors, and of avoidance of acts traditionally displeasing to them, and this in spite of an abundance of mythological tales told in a confused, disjointed manner that is most instructive to the student of such things. There is neither ceremonial worship nor propitiation. There is an anthropomorphic deity, Puluga, the cause of all things, whom it is not, however, necessary to propitiate, though sins, *i.e.*, acts displeasing to him, are avoided for fear of damage to the products of the jungle. Puluga dwells now in the sky, but used to live on the top of Saddle Peak, their highest mountain. The Andamanese have an idea that the "soul" will go under the earth by an aerial bridge after death, but there is no heaven nor hell nor any idea of a cor-

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

them ; neither children nor adults have dilated spleens. Inhabitants of other regions where malaria incidence is high often show the same immunity, supposedly attained through local adaptation. Papuasians, Melanesians and Africans sometimes appear insensitive to malaria, although they all carry the germs of the disease. In opposition to their resistance to malaria, the Onge are vulnerable to minor lung infections and measles, which we would not consider serious. 164 143

When fever occurs, whatever the cause, the Onge recur to their universal remedy : plastering the entire body with clay, ochre, turtle fat and honey. Legs, arms and trunk are swaddled in tight bandages made of strips of ficus bark. These bandages hinder superficial blood circulation. The strips are removed from time to time and replaced after vigorous massaging of the body with hands and feet. Stomach and chest pains, as well as insistent coughing, are treated by stretching the patient horizontally on the ground and rubbing him energetically with hands and feet. The feet compress the body, with special attention to the affected part. The entire trunk is worked over in this manner, inch by inch, and the patient is carefully rotated until he has been completely turned around to receive treatment on all sides. This process lasts half an hour or more. It is a curious sight to see a man transformed into a kind of sausage, all tied up in strings and subjected to violent treatment on the bare ground, with a crowd of spectators surrounding him, obviously taking the whole performance quite seriously. The result is kill or cure ; the former helped, I should say, by rough treatment performed with the best intentions. 757

Exposure to hot smoke is another Onge cure for wounds and pains. I saw it applied, for instance, on Nabimbōi, the fat young wife of Maritōi, chief of Chemalē. She had scorched her right foot by stepping inadvertently on smouldering ashes. The pain made it impossible for her to sleep, so she was treated by covering the burn with the usual mixture of clay, turtle fat and honey, and exposing it to hot smoke. The smoke was provided by burning the fresh seeds of a creeper, each as big as a horse-chestnut and of the same colour, but of a lenticular shape. Incisions are made in the seeds to prevent explosion, and they are laid on the fire where they give out a thick smoke. The injured foot was held as close to the fire as possible. Recovery promptly ensued, but I would not swear that it was due to the treatment. 752

Fire is used by the Onge also against fever, whatever its cause. I shall quote an instance. On the night of 28 March, 1954, one of my guides, Toncootēi, a very intelligent Onge, suffered a strong attack of fever while resting in the Antiguēh communal hut in the interior of the island. I diagnosed the trouble as indigestion from immoderate guzzling of pork meat. Friends stretched Toncootēi on the ground, resting on his right side. Two lines of burning charcoal, set at right angles, outlined his back and head. Then one of the Onge started spitting on Toncootēi's hair. This was followed by vigorous rubbing of his scalp, with occasional pauses to seize his head and press it strongly with both hands. Following this, diluted ochre and clay – very hot – was spread on his thorax, throat and neck and rubbed in vigorously, whereupon the patient was brought closer to the fire. In the meantime a young fellow 757 372 123

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757 started slapping his hands on Toncootēi's and exposing them intermittently to
372 the fire. All this lasted over a quarter of an hour. The patient was then made
123 to lie prone, with his legs spread out, to receive a foot massage as described above, for another quarter of an hour. Torso, feet and hands were worked over, with short pauses for artificial respiration by means of compression. Subsequently his back, and particularly the sacral region, was vigorously rubbed by willing hands and feet. Three men performed this operation. Toncootēi was finally allowed to rest, between two fires kept burning all night. Sunrise found him alive, and the fever had abated, due, I think, to a good European laxative that I had persuaded him to take.

164 In March 1952, I witnessed a sad episode, followed by the death of
123 the patient, near my Labanare camp. A young mother was suffering from breast rhagades. Her baby was less than a month old, and she was also suckling
[862] another child, almost two years old, who had sharp teeth. It is a frequent
[597] kindly habit of the Onge to adopt babies ; and it is customary to breast-feed them up to the age of four. Some interesting consequences arise out of this habit, but I shall not analyze them here. A minor detail : since they are allowed to suckle when they wish and are weaned so late, Onge children do not indulge in thumb sucking. Considerable reactions are spontaneously established between the two terminal parts of the digestive tube – oral and anal, as though in physiological conflict. Once more I affirm that the evidence of Onge sexual
[864] behaviour positively denies Freudian theories with regard to the sexual life of children. Furthermore, young anthropoids and primitive people behave identically in this respect.

164 The adopted baby gave the young mother nipple wounds that became
123 infected and suppurated. For lack of proper care and in unhygienic surroundings, the infection spread to the rest of her body. I found her suffering terribly
752 from pain in the breast, muscular spasm and high fever. The Onge had applied their usual external remedies to her body, from head to foot. Very tight bandages of ficus bark, renewed three times a day, were wrapped arounds legs, arms, trunk and abdomen. Bright red ochre – rare in Little Andaman and considered more effective because of its brilliant colour – was painted onto the afflicted breast. The poor young woman looked at me hopefully. I suggested her immediate removal to Port Blair Hospital, and sent radio messages from my camp to the Chief Commissioner, Mr. A. K. GHOSH. He responded generously by ordering a ship to call for the patient, but the journey was useless because her relations were opposed to displacing her. In March 1952 my friendship with the Onge was only starting ; this will explain their refusal to follow my advice. Without proper care, in a place like Little Andaman, the patient died four days after my arrival at the camp.

756 Prescription of medicines and treatments such as those described above
[759] is not determined by specialists. Everybody submits to treatment, with general approval, convinced of its effectiveness. Witch doctors do not exist and perhaps never existed in the Andamans. Nothing, then, is known by the
755 Onge of the dances and exhibitions, commonly executed elsewhere for curative
757 purposes, that influence the patient on a psychobiological basis. As they have

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sea itself, but to the rising and falling of the land with the recurring 133
movements. Even between 1951 and 1952 there was a noticeable alteration in the level of the north-east coast of Little Andaman, following an earthquake in July 1951; the Onges had to move the communal hut at Tambe-e-buiè further inland, because the sea, previously twenty metres away, had begun to come right up to the hut. In several places giant trees centuries old crashed to the ground, their roots left without any foothold as the level of the land fell suddenly all along the coast. If this can happen in one year, it is hardly surprising that what now appears as an archipelago is in reality a continuous mountain chain, its levels broken and rebroken over thousands of years till the islands became separated by the sea for good, their coasts so eroded that subsequent quakes have failed to reunite them.

It is highly unwise even to attempt a landing on Little Andaman 132
during the monsoons. Both the north-east monsoon in June and August and the south-west in November and January whip the seas up into a frenzy, but in late April and again in late September the sea is quite calm. Since both monsoons pass over vast tracts of sea, they become saturated with water vapour and bring torrential rains, not infrequently accompanied by hurricanes violent enough to strip all the leaves off the trees. After these storms the jungle, normally almost impenetrable, is made even more so by the tangle of fallen branches and the trunks of old trees torn up by the wind or the lightning. The lightning strikes the tallest trees, which may 132
smoulder for days on end without setting fire to the sodden forest, 372
so great is the humidity. I have often seen one of these flaming torches; the Onges, ignorant as they are of the art of making fire, take advantage of the phenomenon, as a continuous supply of burning wood is a necessity in a climate which is so damp and humid all the year round that matches become useless after twenty-four hours unless suitable precautions are taken.

Once on the island, virgin forest stretches endlessly before one 137
in undulating waves of treetops, black and terrifying. From the tops of the trees thousands of lianas hang everywhere, winding like snakes from trunk to trunk, forming an inextricable tangle, yet somehow always elegant, binding the entire forest into one dense mass. Many of the tree-trunks reach diameters unheard of in temperate climates. Some of them have hollow cavities, treasured by [824]
the Onges as hiding-places or temporary shelters.

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The Onges are the most numerous of the three peoples surviving in the Andamans. Vigorous and apparently full of promise for the future they may well offer a suitable field for the application of eugenic measures designed to increase their numbers; this would be impossible with the Jarawas owing to their hostility towards outsiders, and the few remaining Arioto are nearly all of impure stock. If their confidence could be gained, it might be possible to encourage inter-marriage between the various groups, in the hope that fertility would increase and the ultimate total extinction of Onges, Jarawas and Arioto, would be prevented.

In the Andamanese, this physiological decline has been accompanied by cultural decadence, as my digs in the kitchen-middens all over the archipelago showed. The ancient pottery which came to light is proof enough; when one compares it with recent work the latter is indicative of secondary and not original primitiveness. The successive strata in the deposits show a gradual decline from earthenware clearly made from a very refined mix to crude ware with vegetable impurities and bits of stone left in the clay. The pots dating from ancient times were clearly well fired and the quality of the clay allowed them to have thin but nevertheless very strong walls. In the present-day ware, on the other hand, the wall has to be thick because of the coarseness of the clay, making the pots both heavy and easily broken. Moreover, firing is limited to drying the pots in the sun, and the clay is in fact only hardened when the pot is used for cooking.

Ignorance of fire-making in the Andamans may also stem from this cultural regression, as one of the effects of physiological and psychological decadence. Given the absence of magico-religious beliefs among the Andamanese, ignorance of fire-making cannot be attributed to any ritual taboo or veto. On the other hand, it is in sharp contrast to the possession of elements of cultural advance such as the bow, with highly developed arrows, the harpoon with its detachable point, and the outrigger canoe.

Few races are known, even in far distant times, which never had fire. *Sinanthropus* and nearly every fossil Man after him had fire, even if he was unable to create it and could only preserve it once received from some natural combustion. The Onges, while retaining a number of ethnic characteristics of the Palaeolithic era, have

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178 also acquired more recent additions, so that any primitive ignor-
●392 ance on their part of an art so ancient and generally advantageous as that of making fire is hardly credible. One thing is, however, certain: they do not today know how to produce fire.

174 In order to explain their ignorance, one must remember the
178 surprising speed with which primitive peoples forget even essential facts, even details of their own life. They can forget their father's or mother's name, or both, and important events of less than fifty years ago are sometimes forgotten by those who took part in them. Cultural regression following the forgetting of ethnographical facts, even essential facts such as the making of fire, is a phenomenon widespread in every continent. Widely differing elements of culture spread out from a number of centres and were forced to adapt to natural surroundings often incomparably different from the centre from which they spread. Sometimes these cultural migrations led to progress, but more often to regression. Particularly in the marginal areas furthest from the centres of culture, enforced modifications were profound, with ensuing cultural impoverishment. The Andamanese, probably arriving from areas to the east, remain as survivors of a series of disasters both biological and non-biological, in one of the marginal areas which, although a natural paradise, has been most affected by adverse circumstances. It is, therefore, hardly surprising if, like the Eskimos, they no longer reflect the brilliance of the past, either biologically or culturally. A similar situation is to be found in populations much larger and more advanced than the Andamanese.

105 It is not strictly accurate to define the Onges as primitive; they should more properly be regarded as involuted. They possess certain essentials which almost entitle them to recognition as a civilized people: religious concepts are not unknown, they bury their dead, they are monogamous, and they have their own language. While they are unable to produce fire they can preserve it and know how to use it, they make excellent bows, arrows, harpoons and canoes, and they know how to produce pottery.

Nevertheless, they have no agriculture, and do not keep domestic animals except the dog, introduced only within living memory and to them a faithful friend. They have no idea of the use of metals, and make no stone implements apart from the tiny splinters used for shaving. They have never developed any graphic arts and have

166 All the evidence points to this being far more than mere supposi-
[174] tion and even today the Onges persist in their tendency to expand towards the north. In 1953 I could find no trace of a number of Onges whom I had known in 1952; the others told me they were all 'dead', but it seems probable that they had migrated to the islands further north. And in 1954 nearly all the canoes belonging to the communal huts in the south-west of Little Andaman, which I had seen in 1953, had vanished and were said to have gone with the 'dead'. It is probable that they too had migrated to Great Andaman, becoming 'Jarawas'.

166 This is physically quite possible. Between Little Andaman and
484 Great Andaman the Onges have a line of transit camps, still in use,
[485] where food and water are easily available. All have a name, and I
[501] followed the line myself. With the help of their fragile but very fast canoes, and without carrying food or water (which they know will be available at the next transit camp), they can travel very quickly.
[372] They take fire with them in the canoes in the form of a burning torch and while they are at sea, unlike the lazy pace of their normal attitude to life, they seem possessed by the desire to reach the next stopping point on terra firma.

174 Moreover, one may deduce from the fact that the names of these
166 transit camps are all in the Onge language that the migrations have always been from south to north. Little Andaman, formed as it is mainly of coral banks and only projecting a short way above the sea, disappears from view in the tropical mists a few kilometres from the shore; from Rutland it is invisible, and as the Andamanese only travel by sea with land in sight or when its existence and direction is well known, no one from the north would have dared to travel south into the unknown.

We have already seen that the ignorance of the present-day Jarawas as regards the sea is no bar to a hypothesis of their original
[175] arrival in Great Andaman by sea. Colebrook, a hundred and fifty
[501] years ago, actually saw them with canoes, and Gilbert Rogers[1]
[178] recorded seeing canoes on the coasts of North Sentinel very similar to those of the Onges today. The accumulation, therefore, of this
[184] evidence and the general similarity of culture throughout the archipelago all adds up to inescapable conclusions.

000 Even the unique dances enjoyed by the Onges are to be seen

[113] [1] *Andaman and Nicobar Gazetteer*, 2 January 1904.

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in the division of all meat. Certain cuts are the property of the hunter, of his helpers, and of his relations and after them, in order, of the remaining members of the group; everyone knows his position in advance. Each portion is tied round with a reed fibre, which is allowed to dangle out over the top of the communal cooking-pot ready to haul the meat out when required.

In the case of pork the prized cut is one which comprises the kidneys and the surrounding fat; this fat is called *cian*,[1] and is very highly esteemed. Some authors (Brown, for example) have stated that turtles and pigs are always cut up with the head ritually pointing towards the sea as otherwise the meat would be considered inedible. This is certainly not the case on Little Andaman, and I have never seen any such directional ritual among any of the Negritos, all of whom practise division of meat according to a prescribed order of precedence. Turtles at any rate are slaughtered facing up the sloping beach simply because it is then easier to hold the beast from behind and avoid its bite. Ritual there is, but usually with a good practical basis.

More ritual attaches to the way in which the game is carried back to the camp, and the wood to be used for the cooking fire. Pigs, killed and gutted, are tied in ropes made of *Ficus laccifera* and carried somehow on the back of the victorious hunter. If it is not far to the camp he will not bother to tie up the snout and feet, but otherwise the front and back legs are tied, and one long cord joins both pairs to the snout – again a practical ritual, giving the hunter a more compact weight to carry.

Man, Portman, Brown and others all say that each type of game has to be cooked over a fire of a particular wood. My own observations showed that whereas the ritual of dissection is inviolable, the Onges always use the first wood that comes to hand, regardless of its source, taking as usual the line of least resistance. This is again in keeping with the tendency of primitive peoples to expend only the very minimum of energy to achieve their object. Their religious beliefs and superstitions are not carried to the limit, simply because

[1] It is interesting that in their very restricted world the Onges have few standards of comparison or words to express condemnation or approval, and this word *cian* is used as one of high praise, applied to inanimate objects, animals, and people alike. The precise qualities which are conveyed by the word are difficult to evaluate in the absence of fuller knowledge of the Onge language.

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252 their love of existing with as little effort as possible is paramount.
372 Since any wood is as good as the next for making a fire, the
824 spirits conveniently have nothing to say in the matter. In other
787 circumstances material considerations lead to quite the opposite
222 effect: when the Onges dig up roots or tubers they not only replace the earth, but cover the place with leaves, the ritual having the good practical objective of appeasing the spirits and ensuring further supplies.

171 The preservation of skulls for magical purposes or out of pure
224 superstition survives mainly in Asia and Oceania. In Asia it coincides with other beliefs which demand the killing of domestic animals by strangulation. I have seen this practised along the high reaches of the valley of the Brahmaputra, particularly among the Abor, and the Nagas, and in many other tribes to the south of Tibet and China, all of whom preserve skulls. Head-hunting, found throughout southern Asia, in the islands, and as far as Oceania, is also practised in the areas where animal skulls are preserved.

171 The preservation of animal skulls, particularly bear skulls, is still practised in mongoloid peoples as far as the north of Asia; apart from the Andamans and the Nicobars, human and animal bones are preserved in many parts of Indonesia and as far as New Guinea. In the corona of small islands along the west coast of Sumatra the custom coincides with many others, as well as with certain types of huts and canoes, all present in the Andamans and Nicobars. A good example are the huts raised up off the ground on stilts, common in the Nicobars, Nias, Engano, Mentawai and various parts of Indonesia. The single-boom canoes of these areas, quite apart from their general similarity of structure, all have certain identical features, even to the method of fixing the lateral float of green wood, with pointed hardwood pegs stuck in it like spills. This, again, cannot be due to chance; it must be the effect of a very ancient cultural diffusion, now surviving only in a few specific areas.

224 The skulls preserved by the Onges have one point of interest;
531 it is the duty of the wife to clean the trophies brought back by her
462 proud husband and then paint them lovingly with lines of ochre. After every successful hunting expedition the wives can be seen busily painting, while the husbands look on with satisfaction.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Queensland and (as the Cape Bedford type) elsewhere. Oars, 171
method of fixing the booms and float – all are similar throughout 501
the area, including the Andamans.

Even game, once caught, is treated and distributed similarly by 171
these peoples, from the Andamans to Oceania. Cooking is done 252
without salt, in earth ovens (whether or not fire or red-hot stones [224]
are used) very different from those of Africa and America. The [263]
Semang and Aetà of today know how to make fire by friction, as 171
do the peoples of New Guinea, Australia and Polynesia; the Tas- 372
mans also have the knowledge to do so, but prefer to carry burning logs with them on their journeys, like the Andamanese. In certain parts of New Guinea and perhaps in some of the Pacific islands (as in the Andamans) the art of fire-making was unknown or possibly forgotten until recent times; it is said that the Papuans of the Bay of Astralobius knew nothing of the art until the middle of the nineteenth century. But the only sure information comes from the Andamans, where, whether through ignorance or loss of knowledge, the art of fire-making is unknown and fire is always carried everywhere.

Among the objects typical of the Andamans and found also 171
among the Semang, the Aetà, and other Oceanic peoples are the 412
digging stick and the crude hatchet. The former, used for gathering edible roots and tubers, is merely a pointed stick, but every family possesses one. The hatchet is slightly more elaborate, having both handle and blade, and like the digging stick, occurs always in virtually the same form.[1] Objects woven from vegetable fibres are [28]
also very similar in appearance – often very durable and sometimes
pleasing by any standards. In some places woven breast-plates are [714]
used in warfare, but here the Jarawas differ, using single sheets of [784]
bark.

These are but a few of the many examples which one can find of 171
this striking similarity between these widely separated peoples.
And alongside cultural similarities there exist others, anthropo- 14
logical and physical, which cannot be overlooked. Physically the

[1] This is simply a cutting tool fixed into a natural elbow in a suitable branch. The blade is fixed into the wood near the elbow, and the branch is cut off, so as to leave a short handle. The whole thing is reminiscent of a swan's head on a long neck, and is easily turned into a crude plane or adze by revolving the blade in the haft through a right angle.

325 islanders, in the absence of any means of working it, have not fully realized.

3 IGNORANCE OF FIRE

372 174 The islanders' present ignorance of fire-making may possibly be the result of cultural decline, but this is not certain. In the presence of the considerable additional evidence in favour of the antiquity of the Andamanese culture it is, however, more likely that it is genuine ignorance, persisting in a pre-lithic people.

4 ABSENCE OF SALT

174 263 Although there can be no proof, it can be reasonably postulated that very primitive Man had no salt, and that in the Andamans this ignorance has persisted over thousands of years, owing to strict isolation. It is unlikely that the use of salt would have been completely lost, had it ever been introduced.

5 PRIMITIVE METHODS OF COOKING

252 172 Apart from the accidental and very recent introduction of petrol-drum cooking, the Andamanese use only the most primitive form of earth oven. This method of cooking was certainly known in the Palaeolithic era; at the entrance to the well-known Barma Grande cave near Mentone I have myself seen in the basal layers a number of stones bearing the marks of fire, too numerous merely to have formed some sort of hearth, and clearly not used to support cooking-pots, as Palaeolithic Man had none which would have withstood heat. The form of earth oven still used throughout the Andamans is undoubtedly of extreme antiquity.

6 FOOD VESSELS

415 285 172 The people of the Andamans still use for honey hollowed-out logs similar to those seen in Palaeolithic wall paintings, which also depict baskets very like those still in use throughout the archipelago. The art of basket-making can be traced back at least to the later Palaeolithic era.

7 USE OF POTTERY

323 172 As with the other Negrito peoples, pottery was unknown in the earliest culture of the Andamans. Its appearance seems from the evidence of the

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

412 Bamboo tongs are made by bending double a piece split from a bamboo, and cutting the ends to the required shape. They are used for lifting from the fire anything too hot to be taken in the hand and are chiefly of service in cooking.

Digging sticks are made from various kinds of wood, being simply pointed at one or both ends. These sticks are not as a rule preserved, but made as required with an adze and thrown away after use. They are used for digging up edible roots.

222 227 Hooks for picking fruit, such as the *Artocarpus*, are made by attaching a small piece of wood to the end of a bamboo. Hooks for catching crabs are made from the wood of the *Rhizophora* by taking advantage of the natural form where a small branch joins a larger one.

352 824 The fan-shaped leaf of a *Licuala* palm is made use of in many ways. The edges of the leaflets are sewn together with fine strips of cane, and the sewn leaf is then used either as a sunshade or umbrella for protection from sunshine or rain, as a sleeping mat if the proper article be lacking, as a screen to make the roof or sides of a hut more wind or rain proof, as a wrapper for making objects of all sorts into bundles, and as a winding sheet for a corpse.

373 Torches are made from resin, which is broken into small pieces and wrapped up in leaves of a species of *Crinum* (? *lorifolium*), a few pieces of smouldering charcoal being added before it is tied up. The torch is then parcelled by marling with a strip of cane or a length of some tough creeper. These resin torches are used in turtle-hunting and fishing expeditions on dark nights.

Other torches are made of fragments of rotten *Dipterocarpus* wood. They are used only in the village.

PERSONAL ORNAMENT; GREAT ANDAMAN.

291 At the present time the natives of the Great Andaman Division obtain from the Settlement of Port Blair cloth which both men and women wear round the loins. They also obtain beads from which they make necklaces.

The following is a list of the various personal ornaments made by the natives of the Great Andaman Division, and worn by them.

Rope girdle. Every man wears some sort of girdle round his waist, and this was formerly the only object that was constantly worn by men. The girdle may consist of a length of rope of *Hibiscus* fibre or a length of ornamental cord made by wrapping the yellow skin of

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Plate D.

301
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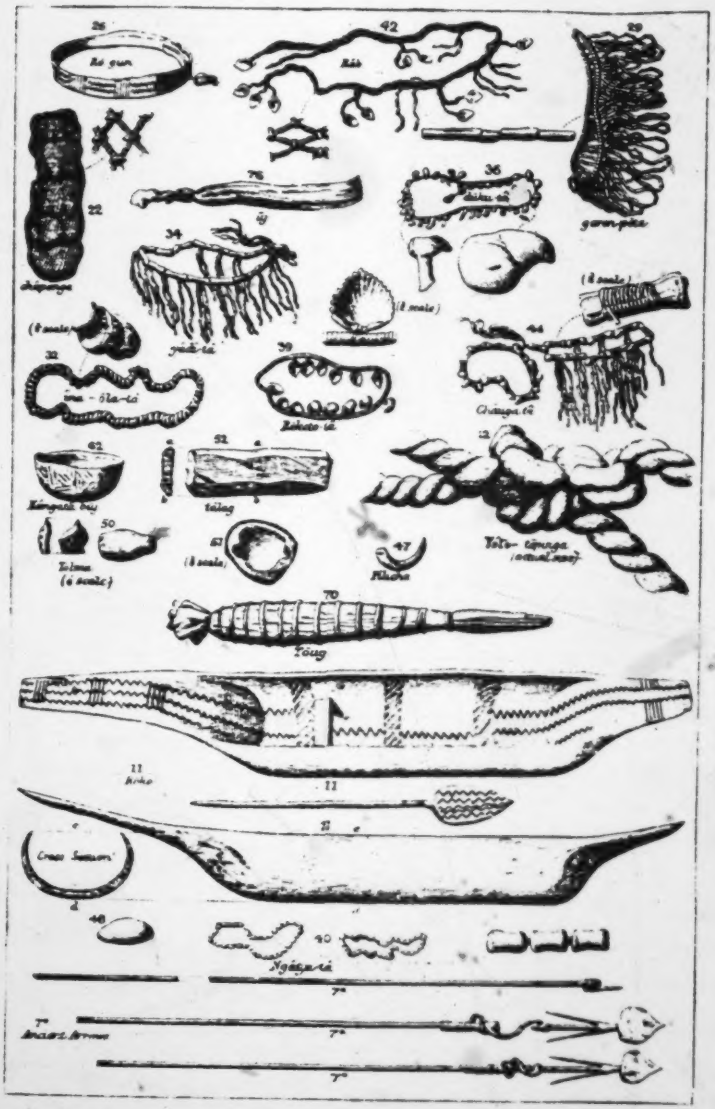

ANDAMANESE OBJECTS.

[facing p. 182]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

substituted. These three substances are melted and stirred over a fire until of a proper consistency; the pigment is then poured into small pots or large shallow shells, where on cooling it soon hardens. When required for use the pot or shell is placed on the fire and the melting wax applied according to fancy. The string fastenings of fish and pig arrows (items 4, 5, and 6) the turtle harpoon (item 10), and pig spear (item 9), are protected with a coating of this wax, and it is applied ornamentally to the food trays (item 72), nautilus shells (item 14), and the outside of buckets (item 13); it is also used for closing cracks in buckets, and in canoes if not too large. 302 386

63. *chū·lnga-*. olive-coloured clay found in small springs in the jungles: in its liquid form it is applied medicinally after the manner of *kòi·ob-chū·lnga-* (*vide* footnote [5], p. 184). 386 758

64. *yō·lba-*. (*Anodendron paniculatum*), the fibre of which is much valued on account of its excellence; string made from it is used for bowstrings and arrow fastenings, for netting the *châ·panga-* (item 22), and *rāb-* (item 42), for making their various necklaces and other personal ornaments, and also for the fastenings of knives and turtle harpoons. 283

65. *pī·lita-* (*Gnetum edule*), from the fibre of which string is prepared and used almost exclusively by women, chiefly for the manufacture of the *kūd-* (item 20), and *pār·epa-* (item 23); it is not sufficiently strong to serve as arrow fastenings, though on an emergency it is sometimes used for this purpose. [462]

66. *al·aba-* (*Melochia velutina*). From fibre obtained from this tree rope is made for turtle-lines (*bē·tmo-*), nets, and cables, the preparation and manufacture of which devolve on men; the bark of this tree also furnishes the material of which the *chīp* (item 24) or baby-slings are made. [462]

67. *pō·tòkla-*.[1] Netting-needles, made in two sizes of bamboo and used in making nets. 412

[NOTE.—The turtle-net (item 12) is not made with netting-needles, but with two sticks called *kū·tegbo-*.[2]] [286]

68. *pô-chô-*. Bamboo knives, which are shaped into form while green and then dried and charred over a fire to render them sharp and fit for use; formerly they were employed for cutting meat and other food.[3]

69. *wai-chô-* and *pôr-chô-*. Two varieties of cane knives, but similar to item 68.

70. *tō·ug-*.[4] Torch, made by women, of resin wrapped in a large leaf (*Crinum lorifolium*); it is used when fishing, travelling, or 373 [462]

[1] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 12.
[2] These are made of a light hard wood known as *bē·rewil-*.
[3] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 10.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 66.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

373 dancing by night: the resin is obtained from a large tree called by them *maiī-*, which also is often employed in the construction of their largest canoes. A larger description of torch is made by men, and used when fishing by night.

71. *lâ·pi-*. Gurjon wood torch, obtained from the heart of rotten logs of the *Dipterocarpus lævis* (Andam., *â·rain-*): as these do not burn so readily as the *tō·ug-* (item 70) they are rarely used outside their huts.

415 72. *pū·kuta-yāt-māk·nga-*.[1] Food tray, made by men of some [462] soft wood, generally of the large flat buttress roots of the trees (*Sterculiaceæ*) of which their canoes are made.

764 73. *â·ra-*. Long fringe-like cane-leaf wreaths, which are made by women, and suspended from trees, &c., round an encamp- [462] ment or hut where a death has occurred, and round the spot where the corpse is deposited in order to warn off persons inadvertently approaching the place, which is believed to be haunted by the spirit of the deceased.[2]

285 74. *kâ·pa-jâ·tnga-*. Fan-like screen, made by women, of a description of palm-leaf (Andam., *kâ·pa-*), two of which are [462] fastened together with leaf stems: it is used for many purposes, amongst others as a protection from rain and from the direct rays of the sun in hot weather; in the absence of a *pār·epa-* (item 23) it is often used as a sleeping mat, and it serves also as a wrapper for bundles of various kinds.

75. *kâ·pa-*. Leaf wrappers, as described above, are employed for storing and packing the red oxide of iron.

293 76. *ūj-*.[3] Long brush-like shavings of the *Tetranthera lanceæfolia*, prepared by men with the sharp edge of a *Cyrena* shell. When dancing these are often held (by both sexes) in their hands, or are stuck in their waistbelts or other personal ornaments.

412 77. *kō·no-*.[4] Iron knife used in cutting up food; to some a wooden or iron skewer is attached, they are then called *châm-chô-*.

78.[5]

291 79. *ō·bunga-*. Species of apron, consisting of one to six leaves of the *Mimusops Indica* (Andam., *dō·gota-*), which are fastened to the lowest *bōd-* by women from motives of modesty;[6] the leaves are not spread out so as to cover a wide surface, but are laid one above the other, and removed separately as each becomes stiff and shrivelled: the reason given for the selection of this

[1] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 16.
[2] *Vide* Part II. "Death and Burial," paragraph 3.
[3] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 37.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 21.
[5] This No. is attached to "Specimens of Andamanese Hair" (*vide* footnote 1, p. 175).
[6] *Vide* Part I, "Psychology and Morals," paragraph 8, and footnote.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Near my camp at Labanar, in March 1952, I witnessed a distressing and fatal case. A young woman, with a baby a month old, had suckled another child, as the Onge women do. The older infant, which had cut its teeth, caused damage to the nipples and the ensuing infection spread throughout the body. The wretched woman was writhing with fever and the pain from her infected breasts and suppressed lactation. Her body had been smeared with a vermilion ochre, held to be the most powerful balm, and tightly bound, as usual. Her condition was so poor that I suggested sending her at once to Port Blair for treatment. Unfortunately, however, at that time I was only just beginning to establish contact with the Onges, and the woman's husband, after all the arrangements had been made, refused to let her go. I had not yet gained the Onges' confidence enough to be allowed near the woman, and although I was able to photograph her I could do nothing to prevent her death.

The decision to administer 'medicine' and subject patients to various treatments is not the province of any specialists, but is taken by anyone in the group; all, including the patient, accept the decision, since all are utterly convinced that it will benefit them. Medicine men and sorcerers, so numerous in Africa and elsewhere, do not exist among the Andamanese.

The Onges have not the slightest idea of any standards of hygiene. They never wash intentionally; the forest, dripping from every leaf, and frequent immersion in water while out hunting, take care of the problem. One must admit that in the circumstances their nakedness is hygienic. A small fire is kept burning beside each bed at night for warmth, a useful precaution which I found very welcome on the many cold nights which followed a very hot day. Deprived of these fires the Onges fall ill at once, a fact of which I had ample proof on several occasions when I took Onges with me out of Little Andaman; they were provided with beds and coverings in well-constructed wooden houses, but although none of them complained about the absence of the fires by their beds they all developed feverish chills.

And yet in their own territory I have seen them lie soaking wet all night in one of their temporary forest camps or a communal hut with a leaking roof without any ill effects, simply because they had

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

their fires beside them. On the night of 4–5 April 1953, while I was sleeping with them in the communal hut at Berié-Abdalù a sudden storm drenched us all, forcing us to huddle together round fires under the more waterproof parts of the roof. Numb with cold, but cheerful, they began joking, singing[1] and dancing, men and women separately; this went on all night, and no one suffered any ill effects from the soaking.

The Onge lack of hygiene extends also to their cooking utensils, which are never washed. In recent years the ocean has provided the Onges with a generous and unexpected gift; currents running from the south of Asia have thrown up on to the shores of Little Andaman a shoal of empty petrol drums, stout metal cylinders 1·3 metres high and eighty centimetres in diameter. The astute Onges have patiently divided each one in two, each section big enough to take a large pig. Set on big fires these serve as wonderful cooking pots, and the Onges are delighted with them. Unfortunately, however, although they were thrown up all round the island, the supply is beginning to dry up, and they are rapidly being eaten away by rust.

To boil food, the Onges set the drums on two large logs, laid parallel, with a fire between them. Stones are rarely used to support the drums, although there are plenty about in the interior of the island. On the coast, and for a fair way inland, there is nothing but coral, hard but liable when it gets hot to disintegrate under the heavy weight of the cylinders filled to the brim.

In these gifts from the sea the Onges could prepare tasty broths, but they invariably allow nearly all the water to boil away, and the cooking process is not considered complete until all the liquid has gone. While it is boiling, however, they take care not to lose the fat floating on the top, which they adore. They have even invented a curious sort of dipping-stick for the purpose of skimming the fat off. They take a shoot about twenty centimetres long from a plant which disintegrates into fibre when chewed. One end is chewed into a loose 'brush' and no one present misses his turn to dip it into the pot again and again to skim off a mouthful of fat, even getting up in the night in their eagerness for it. One stick naturally does for everyone, men, women and children, the

[1] The Onge voice is not markedly different from the European. It has a musical quality, fairly high-pitched but never shrill; the Onges never raise their voices, even in anger – disagreements invariably end in a dignified silence.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
[Tinnevelly] Tamil AW17
Andamans AZ2

T 369

the river and indeed so practically contiguous that the towns are virtually one.

T 312 377 241

The real interest of the Tamprabarni, its irrigation apart, lies in the future. The Tamprabarni is probably unique among Indian rivers in that it was harnessed to provide direct hydraulic power for cotton spinning: the first of two turbine-driven mills was set up in 1885. At Papanasam there is a 300-ft fall which is being developed to produce 21,000 kW (ultimate capacity 28,000). The actual engineering work is completed, and full development is limited only by doubts as to the need of conserving water for irrigation; but the possibilities of cheap electricity in this area are manifold: foremost perhaps an increase of well-irrigation in the half-dead edaphically arid tracts, and industrially the revivification of the palmyra sugar industry, the extension of cotton in all its branches. Oilseeds could certainly be more widely cultivated in the red soil area, possibly leading to soap and allied industries, and the hills contain vast reserves of bamboo for paper-making.

The Andaman and Nicobar Islands

A 133

These two groups, directly under Delhi, continue the trend of the Arakan Yomas, linking them to the Sumatran ranges. They differ between themselves to a marked extent; both physically and culturally.

1. *The Andamans*

These number over 200, extending NNE/SSW for some 220 miles between 10° and 14° N; the total area is 2500 sq mls, of which the great bulk is in the three major islands of North, Middle, and South Andaman. These three, indeed, are separated only by narrow mangrove-fringed inlets, so that they are often referred to as virtually one island, Great Andaman. The islands are formed of sandstones, limestones, clays, and some serpentines, probably mainly Tertiary, and are highly dissected, rising to 2400 ft. With a temperature never far from 85° F, rainfall over 100 ins., and a monsoonal distribution with no really rainless season, they are naturally jungle-covered: mangrove along coasts and inlets, tropical evergreen along valleys and on steeper wetter slopes, elsewhere moist deciduous. Forestry is perhaps the most important economic activity and is fairly well organised; a match factory was set up about 1930.

A [132] A 313 381 A 161 563

The total population in 1941 was 21,316, but this included a strange medley: aboriginals, convicts and ex-convicts with their 'local-born' children, officials. A century ago the aboriginals probably numbered about 5000; in 1931 they were estimated at about 460, in 1941 at 62; many tribes have died right out. At once shy and savage, they had a reputation for ferocity, and early settlement was avowedly to protect shipwrecked

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

302 58. *tâ·la-ōg-*.[1] White clay, used mixed with water, for ornamental painting of the person and of various articles, *e.g.*, bows, ●386 baskets, buckets, trays, &c.: the work is done by women: when [462] painting their relatives they spare no pains in executing neat designs with their finger-nails.

[843] [NOTE.—Women during pregnancy are in the habit of nibbling small quantities of this substance from time to time, in the belief that it is beneficial to their condition.]

59. *ōg-*. Common whitish-grey clay, lumps of which are found somewhat plentifully in various parts of the islands. It is used, mixed with water, for smearing over the body when the heat is oppressive.[2] A lump of it is placed on the top of the forehead as a symbol of bereavement, and kept there generally until the expiration of the mourning period.[3] It is also sometimes used by way of ornament on the person, by smearing the trunk and limbs with the wash and then, before it has had time to dry, passing the outspread finger-tips over the surface so as to form some pattern.[4]

60. *kòi·ob-*.[5] Red-ochre paint, which is made by mixing red oxide of iron, *ū·pla-* (*vide* next item), with some greasy substance, the fat of the pig or turtle, sometimes of the iguana, dugong, &c., and occasionally the oil of an almond, called *ē·mej-*, is used. This pigment is applied to the person either ornamentally or otherwise. It is accredited with hygienic properties,[6] and from its mode of application it can be readily determined whether the wearer is suffering or rejoicing. The nostrils and centre of the upper lip are occasionally painted with it, as the smell of the fat is agreeable to them.[7] Before a corpse is removed for burial it is smeared over the face and neck with [764] this paint as a mark of respect, and in order to please the departed spirit.

61. *ū·pla-*. Red oxide of iron after it has been dried and baked. It is principally used in making the pigment described in the preceding paragraph. It is also employed in the manufacture of the red wax, called *kâ·ngatâ-būj-* (*vide* next item).

[462] 62. *kâ·ngatâ-būj-*. Red wax, generally prepared by men, composed of *â·ja-pīd-*, *rīm-*, and *ū·pla-* (items 56, 55, and 61); in the absence of the last-named ingredient *kòi·ob-* (item 60) is

[1] *Vide* Part III, "Painting," paragraph 7.
[2] *Vide* Part I, "Anatomy and Physiology," paragraph 5.
[3] *Vide* Part II, "Death and Burial," paragraphs 2, 6, 8, and footnote [1].
[4] *Vide* Part III, "Painting," paragraphs 5 and 6.
[758] [5] *ū·pla-* is collected chiefly during the dry months; in its natural condition, as found, it is called *kòi·ob-ch̄ū·lnga-*; in that condition it is applied to sores, and to the persons of fever patients; it is administered internally for coughs, fevers, &c. (*vide* Part I, "Medicine," paragraphs 4 and 5).
[6] *Vide* Part I, "Medicine," paragraph 2.
[7] *Vide* Part I, "Odour."

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

substituted. These three substances are melted and stirred over a fire until of a proper consistency; the pigment is then poured into small pots or large shallow shells, where on cooling it soon hardens. When required for use the pot or shell is placed on the fire and the melting wax applied according to fancy. The string fastenings of fish and pig arrows (items 4, 5, and 6) the turtle harpoon (item 10), and pig spear (item 9), are protected with a coating of this wax, and it is applied ornamentally to the food trays (item 72), nautilus shells (item 14), and the outside of buckets (item 13); it is also used for closing cracks in buckets, and in canoes if not too large. 302 386

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[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 66.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

291 754 *naquinēghē* exposes the former owner to harm. Ill-disposed persons could use it for black magic practices. I collected specimens of this garment, all of them, however, brand-new – for the above-mentioned reason. To avoid trouble to the owner, nobody is allowed to touch the *naquinēghē*, which is worn in front of the vulva. To touch it is a deadly offence. Aside from the *naquinēghē*, Andaman 842 colonists attribute the natives' sterility to their abhorrence of salt. Another 263 opinion would have it that the lack of salt transforms human saliva into poison: the Jarawas, by spitting on their arrows render them poisonous. The absurdity of this belief is so evident that it requires no confutation. The Onge refuse to eat salt because they consider it unhealthy, or, to say the least, disgusting.

III. Illnesses and Onge Curative Methods

164 Few illnesses affect the Onge, but they succumb to those few with surprising speed. Often they become seriously ill for mysterious reasons and in spite of their robust appearance. Smallpox, tuberculosis and poliomyelitis are unknown in Little Andaman, although they sometimes strike in the nearby Nicobars. Measles broke out on the island on more than one occasion, killing off all the inhabitants of several communal huts, which I later found deserted and in ruins. With regard to syphilis, the Indian Census of 1931 quotes an old remark of PORTMAN's concerning a few individuals considered by him as infected. This was later denied.

Onge women are more resistant to illness than men. Wounds heal prompt- [752] ly in both sexes, without the aid of remedies. A few of the older men, however, had suppurating sores on their legs, slow to disappear even when disin- [123] fected and treated by me with European medicines. No similar sores were found on women. On the other hand, women suffer more than men from ringworm, mainly in the umbilical region. Nothing is done to rid them of it because the discomfort is slight. I suggested an Indian cure made with the leaves of the neem tree, or Melia azedarach, very common in Southern Asia where it is considered sacred. I imported the plant to Little Andaman, but [123] the Onge displayed no interest in it. I found a single instance of leucoderma, in a woman with whitish spots on her hands and lips. I could get no reliable information about the incidence of cancer, but it appears to be rare on the island. No baldness is to be seen in Little Andaman, and I found few traces of [142] greying hair, as the Onge die young. A transversal bregmatic furrow is noticeable [482] in all individuals, male and female, as a consequence of carrying loads hung from their heads by a strip of bark. The Onge start doing this in childhood. An artificial, unintentional deformation of the skull is the result of that uncomfortable habit.

751 For hygienic reasons the Little Andaman aborigines paint their bodies with 302 refined clay and ochre of various shades, mainly reddish. This gives the women occasion to embellish the bodies of their husbands with an endless variety of [386] geometrical designs. Every year I found changes in their patterns, and I

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

documented the fact in a number of photographs. The purpose, however, is 751
purely hygienic . an unpainted body is, in their opinion, exposed to certain 302
illness. They explained this belief to me by saying that without paint the body
becomes "hot". The men who travelled with me far from women were anxious
every day to spread clay on face, chest and limbs, just to avoid "heat" or,
in other words, fever. I thought of malaria, but they do not suffer from it. [162]
Of this I will speak later on.

Rough clay is applied daily, on infant bodies as well as on adults, for 751
health purposes. It is used to cure all kinds of sickness, together with ochre, 757
turtle fat and honey. Honey spread on wounds appears to hasten healing. [302]
Identical curative methods are employed in Oceania. They probably existed 854
among the Tasmanians, and are still used in Australia by the aborigines. I
found nothing of the kind in Africa, where honey is plentiful. The Onge consider [752]
clay, ochre, honey and turtle fat good for external and internal treatment alike
both preventive and curative. Powdered bees' wax of a dark colour is often [171]
added. I saw mothers give their children, as a laxative, a number of pills made 825
of similar ingredients. No bigger than common hazelnuts, the pills are red
and greasy. In Onge forests I saw some small excavations, a few feet deep, [317]
made to extract the medicinal clay from special ground pockets. In its natural
form the clay is light coloured, powdery and free of stones. When it is burnt [386]
the colour changes, assuming red, yellow, whitish or black shades according to
the different qualities used, all believed to possess healing properties and to
ensure hygienic colouring of the body. Mixed as described above, clay is used
by the Onge in every circumstance from fever to snake or scorpion bite, consti-
pation, breast infection in women, or post-delivery bleeding.

Belief in the medicinal properties of clay is as old as humanity itself. 757
Even among contemporary European peoples, notwithstanding severe criticism, 171
clay is still honoured as health-giving, not, I must say, on wholly foolish 823
grounds. The Onge, who smear their bodies constantly with clay, have the
softest, most velvety skin that I ever saw anywhere in the world. Wounds [752]
spread with clay mixed with honey and fat leave negligible scars. The laxative
and germ-killing action of clay is admitted by physicians in many countries,
including Europe. It never causes infection. Geophagism has ancient origins,
and we find it practiced by many modern populations. Children of every race
and all young wild animals lick clay instinctively to absorb the mineral salts
required by a developing organism. The Onge habit of using clay for healing
purposes can be set, therefore, in a very wide frame.

Mental and nervous disorders are rare in Little Andaman. Few natives 164
are subject to epilepsy — an important matter for the Onge: they consider 828
such people as possessed by spirits who speak through their mouths, and [158]
respectfully question them as oracles. Several Onge chiefs, such as Chief [622]
Tchôtâ of Tambê-ê-buiê, are apt to go into trances that have all the appearance
of epileptic fits. They were elected chiefs on the strength of their epilepsy! [787]

Constant exercise keeps eyesight and hearing extremely sharp in the 164
Onge. I saw no single case of myopia or presbyopia among the natives, nor 151

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2-Andamans AZ2

501 Canoes of this type are propelled by rowing with short oars, except in shallow water where they are poled. This method of propulsion (rowing as opposed to paddling) was adopted in imitation of the boats with which they have become familiar since the European occupation.

For the small canoe of the Great Andaman five or six species of soft-wooded trees are used, of which three are species of *Sterculia*. A suitable tree is selected near the shore or a creek, and is felled. Care is taken to make it fall in a particular direction. Thus, if the trunk is curved, the convex side of the curve will have to be the bottom of the canoe, and the tree should fall so that this side lies on the ground. Trees are very rarely regular and before beginning the work of cutting the natives have to decide how it should be cut so as to give the best result, i.e., the greatest stability.

396 501 After the tree is felled the trunk is cut to the requisite length. The inside of the canoe is first roughly hollowed out with the adze, no use being made of fire. The bark is then removed from the outside of the trunk and the two ends are shaped. Finally, the inside is carefully finished with the adze so as to reduce the sides and bottom to the requisite thickness.

Except at the stem and stern, the canoe retains the shape of the tree, only the bark being removed, and the sides and bottom being formed of the alburnum or sap-wood. At the stern a small platform is cut projecting over the water, which serves as a seat for the steersman. At the prow a larger platform is cut, on which the harpooner stands when he is harpooning turtle or fish. Below these two platforms the ends are not cut away squarely but are rounded from side to side. The prow of the canoe is in every case the lower and therefore broader end of the trunk. It is only in this way that a sufficiently large platform can be provided for the harpooner.

The trees used for canoes have a pithy core and there is therefore a small patch in both the prow and the stern which would admit the [237] water. In former times these two places were caulked with bees'-wax. At the present time the natives often nail a piece of tin (part of an old kerosene tin, for example), with some rags beneath it, on the outside of the canoe at these two places.

When the hull of the canoe is finished it is moved to the shore or to the bank of a creek and the outrigger is attached. The float is a straight spar of light wood. In the North Andaman the wood of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus* is often used, but Mr Man says that in the South Andaman the float is always made from a species of *Sterculia* (*mai* in

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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Aka-Bea)[1]. The ends of the float are only roughly shaped. The broader end of the float is forward.

The float is attached to a number of booms, of which there are never less than three in the smallest canoes, while there may be as many as eight or nine in a large canoe. A medium-sized canoe has five or six booms. The boom is a thin straight piece of tough wood, of which one end is sharpened and thrust right through two holes cut in the gunwales of the canoe opposite to one another, the sharpened end projecting for a few inches on the port side of the canoe. The boom thus projects about three feet on the starboard side on the level of the gunwale.

Where the boom passes through the gunwales of the canoe it is bound with cane, and the cane is bound round the whole of that part of the boom that is within the canoe between the two gunwales. (See

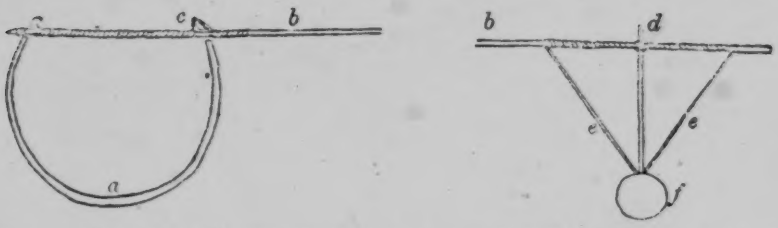

Fig. 44. Transverse section of canoe and outrigger. *a*, hull; *b*, boom; *c*, cane binding over boom; *d*, stick attaching boom to float; *e*, stays of cane; *f*, float

Fig. 44.) This portion of the boom forms a seat for the man paddling the canoe, so that he sits on a level with the gunwale with his feet on the floor of the canoe.

The boom is attached to the float by means of sticks of tough wood. These sticks, having pointed ends, are driven into the float, one perpendicular, and the other two at an angle on each side. The tops of the three sticks are fastened to the boom a few inches from its end by means of a strip of cane. The arrangement of the three sticks is shown in Fig. 45.

The strip of cane with which the sticks are bound to the boom is wound spirally round the boom itself for a few inches and is then carried down round the float and back to the boom again on the other side. The three sticks provide an efficient resistance against a longitudinal thrust (i.e., a thrust in the same direction as the line of the

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 397.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

501 canoe). The strip of cane passing from the boom round the float and back to the boom again provides a resistance against any lateral thrust on the float. The three sticks, being driven in when the wood of the float is dry, do not readily work loose, as the water in which it is constantly immersed keeps the wood swollen. The cane binding, including the stays on each side, may work loose, but can readily be tightened or renewed. Each of the booms is attached to the float in exactly the same way, and the whole arrangement is very efficient in keeping the float rigidly attached to the hull in such a position that it rests on the surface of the water when the hull itself rides freely balanced.

501 Canoes of this type vary in dimensions within wide limits. A small canoe with only three booms, which would carry three persons, measured 4·85 metres in length over all with a beam of about 35 centimetres. A large canoe may measure as much as 9 metres with a proportionate beam.

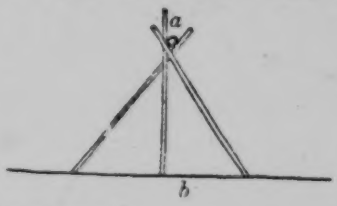

Fig. 45. Showing manner in which the boom (*a*) is connected with the float (*b*).

A well-made canoe will often balance well enough as it stands, but it is sometimes necessary to balance it with ballast of stones or pieces of coral. In any case the canoe is easily overturned in a rough sea unless the occupants can maintain the balance with their bodies. As the canoe is made of light wood it cannot sink even when full of water, and the natives easily right an overturned canoe, bale it out, and get in again, even in a rough sea.

The furniture of a canoe consists of the ballast (of stone), a piece of stone (or sometimes a piece of tin) on which to keep a small fire smouldering, an anchor consisting of a lump of coral or stone attached to a length of rope, a *Nautilus* shell or two for baling out the canoe, a bamboo pole of about 18 feet in length for poling the canoe in shallow water, and paddles.

In the platform overhanging the prow a few holes are cut. These holes are sometimes used to attach the rope by which the canoe is fastened to an anchor. One or more turtle skulls are often attached so as to hang down beneath the platform. In turtle-hunting expeditions on dark nights a torch is slung beneath the forward platform so as to shed its light on the water while the harpooner remains in shadow.

501 531 When a canoe is finished it is decorated with designs painted on it with red paint and white clay, particularly on the forward platform and

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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[531]

along the gunwale. These designs soon wear off when the canoe is in use and are not renewed.

The paddles used by the Andamanese vary considerably in size and to some extent in shape, but the following description with its accompanying figure gives a fair idea of a typical specimen. The whole paddle has a length of 123·5 centimetres, the shaft being 85 centimetres and the blade 38·5 centimetres. The diameter of the shaft from the blade to the middle is 2·6 centimetres, and from the middle towards the handle end it tapers to a point. The shaft is circular in section throughout its length. The blade is leaf-shaped, pointed bluntly at the apex. In section it is plano-convex, with a maximum thickness of 1·3 centimetres and a width of 8·7 centimetres. Paddles are cut with an adze from the wood of the *Myristica longifolia* and planed with a boar's tusk. They are often ornamented, when new, with painted designs in red and white.

Fig. 46. Paddle

In deep water the canoe is paddled. Each of the occupants sits facing forward. The steersman sits on the stern platform. The others sit on the seats provided by the outrigger booms. Each man paddles on which side he chooses. It rests with the steersman to maintain the canoe in its proper course. In shallow water the canoe is propelled with a pole. A man stands on the forward platform and poles the canoe, steering as he does so. In a fairly large canoe a man at the stern may also take a pole and, standing up, help to propel the canoe.

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All the work connected with the making of canoes and paddles is done by men alone, except the painting, which is usually done by women. It is the men also who make most use of canoes.

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The large canoe, that is now made by all the tribes of the Great Andaman Division, is simply a canoe of the same general shape as the Great Andaman outrigger canoe, cut from a larger tree and without the outrigger. The shape of the hull, with its platforms fore and aft, is exactly the same. It seems that when the natives obtained a plentiful supply of iron tools (after 1858) they began to cut down and hollow out larger trees than formerly. Having made these larger canoes they found that they would, when well cut and ballasted with stone, float quite well without an outrigger. (It may be mentioned that the hull of a small canoe is always tested on the water before the outrigger is attached.) Indeed a well cut canoe of large size floats and balances

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2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

502 themselves in their effort to maintain the credit of their ship, their cutter, and their flag."

502 396 2. Nowhere on Great Andaman, at all events at the present day, have any aborigines been found capable of propelling a canoe at more than half the speed of one of the ordinary gigs in common use at Port Blair; moreover, in respect to the extreme buoyancy of their skiffs, but little κύδος seems due to the Andamanese boat-builder, for having had, until quite lately, no other implement than a rude, though tolerably effective, adze with which to form them, he was compelled to select for his purpose the lightest and softest woods that were procurable. At the same time there is no doubt that if they possessed the requisite knowledge, and the means were available for constructing stronger and more seaworthy craft, they would lose no time in employing them; for they fully recognise the inferiority of their boats, both in regard to workmanship and speed, to those used by Europeans, or by their neighbours the Nicobarese. In one respect only do they consider that their own canoes surpass all others, and that is in the projecting prow, which enables them to spear fish and turtle with more ease than is possible in boats of a different construction.[1]

501 3. The current tradition[2] of the escape of four persons in a boat when the world was submerged, may be fairly considered as affording some evidence that this mode of transit is not regarded as of recent introduction.

4. Many conflicting opinions have been expressed by different writers under this head, and the form of canoe originally manufactured by the Andamanese has been much discussed. They themselves declare that the outrigger (*châ·rigma-*) was adopted immediately after the Deluge, in consequence of the deterioration of a species of *Pandanus* tree, called *mâng-*,[3] of which, prior to that catastrophe, they had been able to make large plain "dug-outs." Until recently[4] the outrigger continued

[1] In the South Kensington Museum there are models of canoes made by the natives of the Andamans and Nicobars, which will give to any interested in the subject a fair idea of their relative merits, as well as of the skill of their respective makers; and it may be added that in the entrance court of the India Museum (South Kensington) a specimen of a fair-sized Andamanese canoe is now to be seen minus its outrigger.

[2] *Vide* "Mythology," paragraph 16.

[3] *Vide* "List of Trees," Appendix L.

[4] The following information was obtained from an Andamanese chief:—"We have used outrigger canoes from time immemorial. It is in recent times that we have commenced making the large plain canoes, and this we were induced to do from the facility with which we have been able to obtain iron. Owing to their large size they do not require outriggers. When the sea is rough we prefer these large dug-outs, and the small outrigger canoes when it is calm; the latter are more easily made, but do not last many months when in constant use, whereas the former will serve for a year or more."

10:Sen K-3,4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

621 rather than order is given by the leader. Cipriani observes.[1] "For
622 instance, it is very amusing for them to think that a man gives orders to others. This means that they have no real chiefs. A so-called Onge
[592] chief, or raja, is only the head of a group of families living in the same communal hut, and giving not orders but only advice. It is the most experienced man who is considered chief in the hut, but his authority if at all never goes beyond that hut. In other words no real chief exists in the Little Andaman. Notwithstanding this, there is a perfect order in the island, because nobody interferes with the work or encroches upon what can be considered the rights of others."

124 As is common to most of the aborigines, the Onges are generally
162 not very receptive when the questions about their numbers and other groups are enquired. The headman says that there are many many fifty Onges. However the number of the Onges are approximately 600.

22 As regards the mode of living of the Onges, the hunting and collec-
231 ting are the basis of their economy. The domestication of the plants
241 i.e. art of agriculture is not known to them and it is only 30 years back, the dogs arrived in the island and have been domesticated by the Onges for chasing the pigs, their main prey. In the absence of agriculture, the natural products of the sea and the forest provide them with all
[262] their items of diet. Animal and vegetable products and honey are the main items of their diet and there has been, so far, no introduction of salt in their diet. The most important victims of their hunting are pigs and turtles, the former is chased by dogs and are killed with great
252 cruelty. The cooking of the fish, meat, roots, tubers, jackfruits etc are
251 done by putting them under fire. Preservation of foodstuffs is not widely practised except the jackfruit seeds which are tied up in a small net inside water on the bank of some stream and taken out during rainy season, when the other vegetable foodstuffs are not available. On
146 the whole, the Onges have a very balanced diet with a fair richness of all the nutrients. In this connection the observations of Dr. Cipriani during his survey in the Little Andaman throws considerable light in
[157] their conditions of life. He has estimated the Onges as one of the happiest people of the world, who in spite of their primitive economy, are not the miserable victims of poor health, ill nutrition and oddities of life.

396 Some amount of artistry and craftsmanship have developed among these people. A canoe can be constructed by a man, all by himself from

[113] 1 Cipriani, L—Survey of Little Andaman during 1954; Bul. Dept. Anth.,

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

the felling of the tree, chiselling the lumber and processing it further to give the shape of a canoe. Buckets of wood are also constructed by them from the softwood tree. Two types of baskets are made, the smaller ones are more well-finished than the bigger ones. The former is known as *tolcoaga* and the later *tole-laya*. Such activities have introduced the use of dahs, chisels, and iron files among the Onges, from the iron pieces derived from the sea shores. The other important pieces of their craftsmanship are the beautiful weavings of fibre, tussel of yellow fibre used by the women in their front. However, the art of making the earthen pots has been completely forgotten.

The leisure in their lives has helped the development of some amount of aesthetic senses among the Onges. All the Onges men and women shave their heads with flakes of glass, obtained from the sea-borne glass bottles. The body of the Onges are also painted with white clay which save their skin from insect-bite while red paint serves medicinal purposes if some individual is having fever. In times of mourning, red orchre paint is a taboo.[1]

Early marriage is the custom. The widows are looked down upon by the society. Some incidents of widow murder and drowning are heard. In the married life, the husband is devoted to his wife and both the husband and wife work for collecting their food.

Dances and songs are in vogue and there are practically songs for every occasion and activity. Most of their songs are more plaintive than joyous.

There are three broad divisions of the Onges of the Little Andaman :

(1) *Giremeka-Gobeule* group inhabiting the northeastern coast of the island ;

(2) *Engakwale group* live in the interior of the islands ; and

(3) *Gireraragobeule group* live in the southern and western coasts of the islands.

In spite of all the limitations, the Onges have been considered as one of the happiest people of the world with plenty of food and water to eat and drink and with very few social cankers to fight with. But as is common to all other aborigines of the Andamans, a decline in their number is discernible.

The Sentinelese

The Sentinelese are the least known of all the aborigines of the Anda-

1 The Onge of the Little Andaman—A short guide book ; Anthropological Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

taste. The liquid content of these stems is so great that it makes them extremely heavy to carry. These lianas are very common all over the islands and anyone who knows them need never die of thirst. To get at the liquid one only has to break the stem and put it to one's mouth; if one puts a receptacle under the break, a litre or so of liquid can be obtained in a matter of minutes. When the first strangers came to the archipelago, the Andamanese watched them tear down parts of the forest, including these lianas, and tried in vain to protest at the vandalism. No one understood their protests, but they were right.

The forest abounds in trees whose fruits in season form an important source of food for the islanders. One is the so-called jackfruit, *Artocarpus communis*, which here grows wild, though various species are cultivated all over Asia. The fruits, which appear on the thickest branches as well as on the trunk, are smaller in the wild variety, rarely weighing more than thirty grams, but the yield is enormous and the islanders enjoy them for months, especially from March to May. The Onges call them *bulundanghe*, and roast them in hot ashes till the hard pulp and seeds are eatable; the latter, the size of a hazelnut but tougher, are the best part.

Another useful plant is the *Pandanus*, or screw-pine. On Little Andaman extensive areas are covered with nothing else, making progress very difficult owing to the twisting roots and the spines on the long, tough leaves. It seems to prefer the coastal areas, particularly the marshes, where it often grows into an impenetrable jungle. There are at least two species, one of which is gregarious. The other, which grows as isolated specimens, is longer leaved, with bigger fruits and stems like candelabra, standing up on an arch of roots, as though on stilts. With the leaves of this variety, fluted and easy to arrange like roof tiles, the Onges can quickly improvise a waterproof covering. The young leaves provide them with ornaments which they wear for their dances, while the pulp of the fruit, which looks rather like a pineapple, perfumed and delicately flavoured, is nutritious though somewhat stringy.

Along the coasts where there are no *Pandanus*, one very often sees something very different – mangroves. The islanders use the wood for their canoe floats, and for fixing pegs (see p. 122) and the supply is unlimited, as the growth and spread of the mangroves are assured by a number of factors which have made them one of the best

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

They have neither incantations, amulets nor propitiating signs to help them. Even the *marque de chasse* found on their arrow heads had no major significance; in all probability they merely served to indicate the best arrow and at most they served as a warning to the womenfolk not to touch them (it is interesting that I never saw any woman or child with a bow or an arrow). But this is as far as they go towards superstition, and its only effect is to enhance the division of duties between the sexes. 227 789 [082]

The Onges, unlike the Jarawas and Arioto, have never lost the art of canoe making, and the building of a new canoe is an important matter. The selected tree, always one of the three species of *Sterculia*, is felled and then hollowed out slowly and laboriously with a rudimentary form of hatchet, the work often being done by one man alone. The weight of the felled trunk makes it necessary for the work to be done where it falls, but after much patient whittling away the resulting canoe is extremely light, with thin walls, though still not light enough to be carried to the water, never far away. A series of short logs are used as rollers in the age-old way and the builder's friends all gather to help clear a way through the undergrowth and prepare the rollers. Only a few are needed; all is soon ready and the Onges watch delightedly as the canoe glides away down to the shore. These canoe-ways often provided me with an easy path to the sea if I came upon them in the forest. Sometimes they led not to shore but to one of the many creeks, where salt water and marine fauna penetrate miles inland and make it easy for the Onges to launch their canoes from a point far from the sea. 396 [184] [824] [483]

The Onge canoe, hollowed out in one piece, is a survival of the ancient canoes of the Neolithic age, found in Switzerland and elsewhere in Europe. It survives in the Andamans, and through Oceania to the Americas, in northern Asia (notably among the Ainu) in south-west Asia, and even in south-east Africa. 501 171

The canoe has no distinction between bow and stern, and is commonly navigated from either. At each end of the canoe a crude platform juts out, on which the harpoon throwers stand. Very careful attention is paid to the float, which is fragile, and is therefore kept on the lee side. The object of it is to prevent the canoe from capsizing, which it is otherwise very liable to do owing to its round keel, always left in the natural shape of the tree-trunk. I had some experiences of rough seas in one of these canoes 501

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

type of canoe is the only craft seen. I saw some hauled up on the beach, identical with the ones I had seen the Onges building, even to the *Nautilus* shell as a baler. In face of this and other evidence there can be little doubt that the people of North Sentinel are descended from the Onges, possibly driven off course by some storm, and then isolated on the island.

The Arioto, copying Indian and Burmese craft, have in recent times come to modify the original canoe somewhat, deepening the gunwales and doing away with the float. The result is a craft which though it remains small is unlikely to fill with water in heavy seas. But even the Arioto prefer the single outrigger canoe for sea voyages.

The only real seafarers, however, are the Onges, who make regular hunting trips as far as Rutland. In the past they sometimes made devastating raids as far as Car, but these have died out over the past hundred years as their numbers have dwindled. There is certainly no doubt that at one time the Onges undertook considerable sea voyages in canoes the same as they build today.

The work involved in the building of these canoes is, as I have said, enormous. The preparatory work on the tree, and then the felling, are hard enough without proper equipment. I gave my Onge friends some long-handled wood-cutter's axes, to help in this part of the work. In their enthusiasm they chopped so hard they soon broke the handles and chipped some of the tempered blades, so that I had to take them to Port Blair for repair! But the real work begins with the working of the felled trunk. Then a small and very crude form of hatchet[1] has to be used, flaking off small strips like a plane; fire is never used to assist in the process. Fortunately the *Sterculia* wood usually chosen is soft.

The original shape is not touched after the required length, calculated so as to allow for the harpoon-thrower's platform at each end, has been cut. The irregularities of the trunk are left intact, so that the canoes look distorted and even ugly despite their seaworthiness. During the preliminary stage of stripping the bark great care is taken not to chip the outer ring of wood immediately below the bark; this is smooth and fine-grained, and more waterproof than the inner layers. One danger is that as the wood dries

[1] The blades used to be made from *Tridacna* shell, but in more recent times they have come to be made of iron from wrecked ships cast up on the beaches.

One danger is that as the wood dries
396 out small cracks will open up and let water through the end of the
[314] canoe; these the Onges stop with resin.

Then comes the decision which side of the trunk is to be the keel. Once this has been decided, the upper surface is chipped flat and the hollowing out of the centre section begins, leaving the flat platform at each end. The finished shell is often no more than three centimetres in thickness, increasing slightly under the end platforms to protect the ends of the canoe as they grate on the reefs.

The float and booms, which project considerably, are for obvious reasons attached after the canoe has been rolled to the water. The
[824] booms are made of heavy hard wood, but the float itself, made of *Hibiscus tiliaceus* or *Sterculia villosa*, has to be not only light, so as to float, but soft, so that the fixing pegs can be driven in easily. These are set into the float in a series of triangles, held in securely by the expansion of the wet wood and the upward force of the sea. The free ends of the pegs are then lashed together in groups of three so that each triangular set becomes a pyramid. The outrigger booms are set parallel to each other; each runs right across the hull, firmly lashed into holes bored on each side of the canoe high in the gunwales, and extends at least three metres out on one side. The apex of each pyramid formed by the float pegs is lashed up to one of the booms, holding the float fast to the booms above it.

The canoes have no reinforcing ribs either inside or out, and because of their inherent fragility they are never left in the water; they are dragged up over specially cleared runways to the communal huts near the shore. There they are left lying in the sun among the Ipomeas.

The direct heat dries them so rapidly that the wood invariably
[314] develops cracks, and the Onges resort patiently to their invariable remedy; resin is smeared over the cracks inside and out, and reinforced by a network of fibres laid on top, with a further layer of resin to seal them over.

Once on shore the canoes are left lying till they are next wanted,
[137] but with everything ready; the invaluable *Nautilus* is ready to bale out, so too are the point, cord and shaft of the harpoon, the large flat stones on which fire is carried without damaging the craft, and the blocks of wood to knock the harpoons out of the turtle shells.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE V

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A man of the *Akar-Bale* tribe with South Andaman bow and arrows, wearing belt and necklace of netting and *Dentalium* shell. (Height 1494 mm., 4 feet 9 inches)

Facing p. 30

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

It does not seem that there was ever such a thing as a stand-up fight between two parties. The whole art of fighting was to come upon your enemies by surprise, kill one or two of them and then retreat. A local group that had some grievance against another would decide to make an attack. They might seek and obtain the aid of friends from other local groups. The men who were to take part in the expedition would paint themselves and put on various ornaments and join in a dance[1]. They would then set out, either by land or by sea, in the direction of the encampment they meant to attack. Their weapons consisted of bows and arrows, and they carried no shields or other defensive weapons. They would not venture to attack the enemy's camp unless they were certain of taking it by surprise. For this reason such attacks were generally made either in the evening when the camp would be busy with the preparation of the evening meal, or at early dawn, when every one would be asleep. The attacking party would rush the camp and shoot as many men as they could. If they met with any serious resistance or lost one of their own number they would immediately retire. Those attacked, if they were really taken by surprise, were generally compelled to save themselves by flight. Though the aim of the attacking party was to kill the men, it often happened that women or children were killed. The whole fight would last only a few minutes, ending either with the retirement of the attackers before resistance, or the flight of those attacked into the jungle. A wounded enemy would be killed if found.

Such attacks and counter-attacks might be continued for some years, thus establishing a feud between two neighbouring local groups. More usually, however, after one or two such fights peace would be made. In the tribes of the North Andaman there was a special peace-making ceremony, that will be described in the next chapter. All peace negotiations were conducted through the women. One or two of the women of the one group would be sent to interview the women of the other group to see if they were willing to forget the past and make friends. It seems that it was largely the rancour of the

[1] The dance is described in the next chapter.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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X 182 301 751

to act as the object of such a sentiment, and he therefore feels his dependence upon the society not directly but in a number of indirect ways. The particular way with which we are now concerned is that the individual experiences this feeling of dependence towards every important possession of the society, towards every object which for the society has constant and important uses.

X 182 751 372

The most prominent example of such an object is fire. It may be said to be the one object on which the society most of all depends for its well-being. It provides warmth on cold nights; it is the means whereby they prepare their food, for they eat nothing raw save a few fruits; it is a possession that has to be constantly guarded, for they have no means of producing it, and must therefore take care to keep it always alight; it is the first thing they think of carrying with them when they go on a journey by land or sea; it is the centre around which the social life moves, the family hearth being the centr. of the family life, while the communal cooking place is the centre round which the men often gather after the day's hunting is over. To the mind of the Andaman Islander, therefore, the social life of which his own life is a fragment, the social well-being which is the source of his own happiness, depend upon the possession of fire, without which the society could not exist. In this way it comes about that his dependence on the society appears in his consciousness as a sense of dependence upon fire and a belief that it possesses power to protect him from dangers of all kinds.

The belief in the protective power of fire is very strong. A man would never move even a few yards out of camp at night without a fire-stick. More than any other object fire is believed to keep away the spirits that cause disease and death. This belief, it is here maintained, is one of the ways in which the individual is made to feel his dependence upon the society.

Now this hypothesis is capable of being very strictly tested by the facts, for if it is true we must expect to find that the same protective power is attributed to every object on which the social life depends. An examination of the Andamanese beliefs shows that this is so, and thereby confirms the hypothesis.

X 182 751 411

In their daily life the Andamanese depend on the instrinsic qualities of the materials they use for their bows and arrows and

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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harpoons and other hunting implements, and it can be shown that they do attribute to these implements and to the materials from which they are made powers of protection against evil. Moreover it is even possible to apply a quantitative test and show that the more important the place a thing occupies in the social life the greater is the degree of protective power attributed to it. Finally I shall be able to show that as different materials are used for special purposes so they are supposed to have certain special powers of protection against certain sorts of danger. Thus the hypothesis I have stated is capable of being as nearly demonstrated as is possible in such psychological enquiries as the one we are engaged in.

182X 751 411

A man carrying his bow and arrows is supposed to be less likely to fall a victim to the spirits than one who has no weapons with him. One way of stopping a violent storm is to go into the sea (storms being supposed to be due to the spirits of the sea) and swish the water about with arrows. The natives sometimes wear a necklace formed of short lengths of the bamboo shaft of a fish-arrow. All the examples of such necklaces that I met with had been made from an old arrow. I asked a native to make one for me, and although he could readily have made one from bamboo that had never served as an arrow he did not do so, but used the shaft of one of his arrows. Such a necklace may therefore be described as an arrow in such a form that it can be worn round the neck and thus carried continually without trouble. The protective power of the bow is at first sight not quite so evident, but the material used for the string is regarded as possessing protective power, and to this I shall return shortly.

The best demonstration of the truth of the explanation offered is to be found by considering the different vegetable fibres of which use is made. The most important of these are the *Anadendron paniculatum* (used for bow-strings and for fine string), the *Hibiscus tiliaceus* (used for rope) and the *Gnetum edule* (used for string, and inferior to the *Anadendron*). All these fibres are believed to possess power to keep away dangers, but there is a sort of specialisation in their use.

182X 751 824

The fibre of the *Hibiscus* is used mainly in the hunting of turtle and big fish. Consequently the tree itself from which the

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

A comparison of the three branches of the Negrito race in the light of present information shows that the usual form of habitation amongst them is a sloping roof or screen of palm-leaves. One form of this, the simplest to construct, but only suitable as a temporary shelter, is in common use amongst the Semang and is found amongst the Negritos of Casiguran. The other form, more permanent but requiring more labour to erect, is in common use in the Andamans and amongst the Negritos of Zambales. Of communal huts we have no evidence in the Philippines. The communal shelter of the Semang consists of two screens leaning towards one another. The two types of communal hut of the Andamans are both derived from the family hut.

HUNTING, FISHING, ETC.

The Andaman Islanders depend for their subsistence entirely upon the natural productions of the forest and the sea. They make no attempt whatever to cultivate the soil. Until the introduction of dogs in 1858 they had no domestic animals. Young pigs are occasionally kept in captivity till they are grown, but they are killed for food and are not bred in captivity. Thus the Andamanese provide themselves with food by three different forms of activity: (1) collecting such things as roots and fruits and honey, (2) fishing in the sea and in the creeks, (3) hunting the wild animals of the forest.

For hunting the Andamanese rely entirely on the bow and arrow. Since they have had dogs they occasionally make hunting spears, but they did not do so in former times. They make no use whatever of any method of trapping game or birds. For fishing they also make use of the bow and arrow, wading out on to the reefs and shooting the fish, and in this they are very skilful. Crustaceans, such as crabs and crayfish, are captured in the same way. In the North Andaman a sort of short fish spear was formerly in use as an occasional substitute for the bow and arrow. In all parts of the islands small nets are used by the women for catching small fish and prawns. In the Great Andaman large nets were formerly used for capturing turtle, dugong and large fish near the shore. At the present time the natives of the Great Andaman Division make use of harpoons with which they capture turtle, dugong and large fish from their canoes. Harpoons are not used in the Little Andaman. The Andamanese are also aware of methods of poisoning or stupefying fish in pools by means of certain plants that they crush and place in the water, but I have never seen them use this method of

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

227 fishing, although they say that they formerly did so. They have no
226 fish hooks and no fish traps. At the present time a few of the natives have learnt to take fish with hook and line, but they are unable to make hooks for themselves, and have to obtain them from the Settlement at Port Blair.

In collecting roots a digging stick is used, and a hooked pole is
222 used for gathering fruit, but they have no other special implements in
412 use in collecting natural productions, and have no need of any. The adze is used for obtaining molluscs and for cutting honey-combs from hollow trees.

411 It is thus clear that by far the most important utensil of the Andamanese is the bow and arrow. We may say that they are essentially a bow and arrow people. This is even more true of the natives of the Little Andaman Division than of those of the Great Andaman Division.

It may be noted here that the Andamanese have no weapons that are used only for fighting. They fight with their chief hunting weapon, the bow and arrow. Nor have they any special defensive weapons, the shield being unknown.

171 The Semang in their natural condition depend for their subsistence on collecting roots and fruits from the forest, on catching fish in the streams, and on hunting animals. Their mode of subsistence is thus essentially the same as that of the Andamanese. One difference is that they have not the sea from which to draw supplies, and another is that the forests in which they live afford a much larger variety of game. A number of the Semang now practice a little rude agriculture which they have undoubtedly adopted in imitation of their neighbours of other races[1].

The principal weapon of the Semang, as of the Andamanese, is the bow and arrow. In hunting they also use spears[2], thus showing a difference from the Andamanese. Some of the Semang make use of the blow-pipe with poisoned darts, but it is practically certain that they have adopted the use of this weapon from their neighbours the Sakai[3]. They also make use to some extent of traps with which to capture jungle animals and birds. The wilder Semang living in the mountains have little opportunity of obtaining fish. Those of them that dwell near rivers use fish-spears and harpoons for catching large fish, and a small basket-work scoop for catching small fry[4]. They also fish with

[1] Skeat, p. 341. [2] Skeat, p. 270.
[3] Skeat, p. 280. [4] Skeat, p. 205.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

rod and line, the hooks being, as a rule, roughly manufactured from bits of brass or other wire[1]. The Semang have no special fighting weapons either offensive or defensive. 171

In the Philippines some of the Negritos practice a little rude agriculture[2]. It is practically certain that they have only adopted this mode of subsistence through contact with agricultural peoples of other races. They originally depended entirely upon collecting, fishing and hunting, and even those who now grow a few scanty crops devote a large part of their energies to hunting and collecting the natural products of the jungles[3]. The chief weapon of the Negritos of the Philippines, as of the Andamanese and the Semang, is the bow and arrow. They use the bow and arrow for shooting fish, having special fish-arrows[4]. It seems doubtful if they use spears, unless they have adopted them from their neighbours. In hunting deer the Negritos of Zambales use large nets like fish nets. They are acquainted with the use of traps for game but they seem to prefer to depend on the bow and arrow[5]. In the larger streams of Zambales they make fishing weirs of bamboo, after the manner of the Christianised natives of the same part[6].

As the most important weapon of the Andamanese, and indeed of the Negritos in general, is the bow, we may consider this first. Different kinds of bow are in use in different parts of the Andamans, but by a careful comparison of them it is possible to show how they are all derived from one original pattern. 411

The first kind of bow to be described is that in use in the Little Andaman. These bows are all made of a reddish-brown wood (possibly *Mimusops littoralis*). They are cut with an adze from a straight piece of wood, and are planed but not polished. The length varies within fairly wide limits. Six specimens selected as typical have lengths of 131, 150, 159·5, 163, 168 and 188 centimetres, giving an average of about 160 centimetres (= 63 inches). In section the bow is markedly convex on the one side and slightly convex on the other. The two figures (Fig. 1) show the section at the middle and at a point 7 cm. from the end of a typical specimen. The shape in section varies a little from one example to another, and the dimensions of breadth and thickness also vary. At the broadest point, which is in the middle, the average breadth of six bows is 3·2 cm., the broadest being 3·7 cm., and the narrowest 2·3 cm. The average thickness in the middle is 1·8 cm.,

[1] Skeat, p. 205. [2] Reed, p. 44. [3] Reed, p. 44.
[4] Reed, p. 47. [5] Reed, p. 47. [6] Reed, p. 48.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 the actual figures ranging from 2·1 to 1·3 cm. From the middle the bow tapers slightly towards each end. At a distance of 7 cm. from the end of the bow the average breadth is 1·8 cm., and the average thickness 1·2 cm.

The flatter side is the inside of the bow. Referring to the figures, the side marked *A* is that which faces a man as he holds the bow ready to shoot (called here the inside). *C* is thus the right-hand side and *D* the left-hand. By breadth is meant the distance from *C* to *D*, and by thickness the distance from *A* to *B*.

At each end of the bow there is a shoulder, as shown in Fig. 2. The length from the shoulder to the end of the bow, i.e. the length of

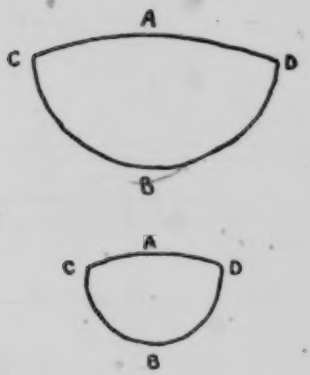

Fig. 1

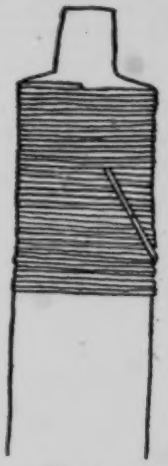

Fig. 2

Fig. 1. Section of Little Andaman bow, in the middle and near the end
Fig. 2. Shoulder of Little Andaman bow

the point on which the string is looped, is about 10 to 12 mm. Both ends are the same. For a few centimetres below the shoulder the bow is served over with string or fibre. In a carefully finished bow the serving is usually done with ornamental string, i.e. with string round which is twisted the dried yellow skin of the *Dendrobium*. In other examples plain string is used, or a strip of twisted *Ficus* fibre, or even nowadays a twisted strip of cotton cloth.

Bows are never ornamented in the Little Andaman either with paint or with incised patterns.

411 283 The bow-string of the Little Andaman is made of strips of the bark of the *Ficus laccifera*. The number and width of the strips used

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

depend on the size of the bow. In a small bow now in the Cambridge Museum the string is made of a single strip of bark about 1 cm. in width. This strip is simply twisted, the twist being that of a right-hand or male screw. When two strips are used they are not twisted around one another in the way that a two-ply rope is made, but are laid flat together and twisted together, so that when the string is finished only one of the strips is visible, the other being inside. In a stout string for a large bow three or four strips may be twisted together in this way. The bow-string is not a rope, but a twisted strand (Fig. 3.) 411 283

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 3. Bow-string of twisted fibre, Little Andaman
Fig. 4. Diagram showing the method of making the loop in the end of the Little Andaman bow-string

At one end of the string a loop is made, as shown in Fig. 4. The end is doubled over to make a loop of the right size, a round turn is made over the standing part (*A*) and the end (*B*) is twisted in with the standing part by untwisting the latter, laying the end in, and twisting up again. If this splicing, as it may perhaps be loosely called, be not sufficiently secure, it is served over or stopped with finer fibre of the same kind. This loop is of sufficient size to slip down over the shoulders. At the other end the string is attached to the peg either with a knot, or else by means of a small loop (just large enough to go over the peg, but not large enough to slip over the shoulder) made in 411 [284]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 exactly the same way as the loop already described. When the bow is to be strung the larger loop is slipped over the peg at the top end of the bow and is pushed down over the shoulder. The other end (with the smaller loop) is then slipped on the peg at the lower end, resting on the shoulder. The lower end is placed on the ground, while the top end is held in the hand. The man places his foot against the middle of the bow and draws the top towards him until he is able to slip the top loop of the string up over the shoulder so that it catches the peg or tip. The bow is then ready for use.

Toy bows are made for small boys of exactly the same general pattern as the large bows. A toy bow of this kind, now in the Cambridge Museum, is 107 cm. long and 18 mm. broad in the middle.

The next type of bow to be considered is that used by the natives of the North Sentinel Island. I have only been able to see one specimen

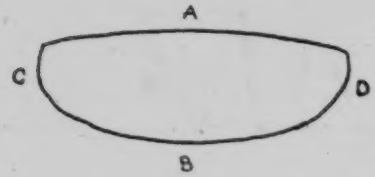

Fig. 5

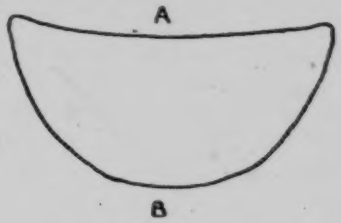

Fig. 6

Fig. 5. Section of bow from North Sentinel Island
Fig. 6. Section of Jarawa bow

of this type, which is in the British Museum. It is made of a different kind of wood from that used in the Little Andaman. The length is 155·5 cm., and the breadth at the middle is 4·3 cm. The section in the middle, which is shown in Fig. 5, is slightly different from that of the average Little Andaman bow, but it has the same feature of greater convexity on the outside and less convexity on the inside, and it lies just within the range of variation of the Little Andaman type. The ends of the bow are shaped in the same way as those of the Little Andaman bow. The breadth at the shoulder, however, is 2·5 cm., which is greater than the corresponding measurement of the Little Andaman bow. The bow is not ornamented either with a painted or incised pattern. The string is missing. There is no binding at the ends below the shoulders, but this has possibly been present and come off, as the specimen is one that has been thrown away by its owner owing to the wood having split. So far as we can tell from this single specimen

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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the bow of the North Sentinel differs very little from that of the Little Andaman. 411

We now come to the bows of the Jarawa of the South Andaman. The Jarawa of Rutland Island, of whom there are now very few, but of whom there were a larger number twenty or thirty years ago, make bows exactly like those of the Little Andaman, and apparently do not make any other kind. The Jarawa to the north of Port Blair, who have been driven northwards by the spread of the Penal Settlement, also make bows of this type, which it is not possible to distinguish from Little Andaman bows. These northern Jarawa, however, also make bows of a different kind. These will be spoken of as belonging to the "modified Jarawa type." They are larger than Little Andaman bows, having an average length of about 185 cm., with a breadth of about 5 cm. The section, throughout the greater part of the length, is either plano-convex, or, more frequently, concavo-convex. The section of a typical example is shown in Fig. 6. At the middle of the bow, where it is held in the

Fig. 7. Upper end of South Andaman bow

hand, there is a slight thickening produced by a protuberance on the inside, i.e. on the flat or concave side. In a certain number of specimens the bow, instead of being straight, is slightly recurved outwards. Finally, the wood from which these bows are cut is not the same as that used in the Little Andaman.

The Little Andaman bow, the North Sentinel bow and the Jarawa bow are all varieties of one type. The Little Andaman form is probably nearest to the original of the type, and I shall show later how the modifications found in the modified Jarawa type came to be adopted.

We now come to bows of a different type, of which there are two varieties, one used in the South and Middle Andaman, and the other used in the North Andaman.

The bow of the South Andaman tribes is not cut from a straight piece of wood, but is cut from a tree that has bent in the course of its growth into a suitable curve. A tree has to be found that will provide a piece of wood of the required shape. From this the bow is shaped with an adze, and is finished by planing with a boar's tusk.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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411 Bows of this kind vary in length between 180 and 210 cm., the most usual length being between 190 and 195 cm. At the upper end the bow is brought to a point approximately circular in section. From this point it broadens out until, at a distance of about 50 or 55 cm., or between one-quarter and one-third of the length of the bow, it reaches its maximum breadth, which is, on the average, about 5·5 cm. The section of the bow at this point is convex on the outer side, while on the inner side it may be flat or slightly concave, or even in rare instances slightly convex. In many specimens there is a very slightly raised keel running down the middle of the inside of the bow. The thickness of the bow at the point mentioned is usually 1·5 to 1·75 cm., and there is little variation in this respect in different specimens. (See Fig. 8.)

At the middle the bow decreases in breadth and increases in thickness to form a handle. At the handle the usual section may be described as pear-shaped, the greatest diameter being the thickness (from inside to outside) and not the breadth.

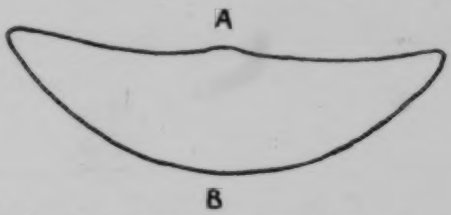

Fig. 8. Section across the blade of a South Andaman bow

From the handle towards the lower end the bow again increases in breadth, so that the lower portion is about the same breadth and thickness as the upper portion. At the lower end it tapers to a point, circular in section, but the point is blunter than at the upper end.

Thus the whole bow consists of a leaf-shaped upper portion or blade which is straight (i.e. neither curved inwards nor outwards), a waist or handle, and a lower blade that is curved backwards or outwards at about its middle, this being the position of the bend in the wood from which it is cut. A bow of this type is shown in Plate v.

Near each end the bow is served over with string for a distance of 3 or 4 cm., leaving a bare point at the upper end of about 7 cm. long, and a point at the lower end of about 1·5 cm. (Fig. 7.)

411 283 A bow-string is made from the fibre of the *Anadendron*. A number of strands of the fibre are taken and are waxed with black bees'-wax. Four of these strands are taken, three of them are placed together and

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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the fourth is wound spirally round them. When the end of the active strand (the one being twisted round the others) is neared, a new strand is taken and laid in. The twisting is continued for a few turns and the newly inserted one is then taken, the end of the first active strand being laid in and wound over in its turn. The process continues in this way, new strands being added until a cord of sufficient length has been made. This is again waxed over on the outside. 411 283

At one end of the cord a knot is tied. At the other end a loop or eye is formed. To make this eye, when the cord is of sufficient length, the end of it is bent over to form a loop of about 1 cm. or a little more in diameter. This loop is then served over with thread made of *Anadendron* fibre. The serving is continued over the neck of the loop for about 1·5 cm. This gives an eye with the appearance shown in Fig. 9. A loose strand of fibre is left at the neck of the loop. This is wound spirally over the cord, as described before, new strands being added one after another until the cord has been treated in this way for about 35 cm. from the eye. It is then stopped by serving it over for 411 284

Fig. 9. Loop of bow-string, South Andaman

about 2 cm. with *Anadendron* thread. It is clear from this description that the cord is somewhat thicker for about 35 cm. from the end with the eye than it is in the rest of its length.

To string the bow the knotted end of the bow-string is fastened round the top end of the bow with a slip knot, so that it rests on the top of the string serving. The bow is then turned upside down and the top end (now temporarily at the bottom) is fixed in the ground or against a stone, so that it will not slip. The other end of the bow is taken by the left hand, while the cord is held in the right, the right foot is placed against the handle or middle of the bow and the bow is bent, the end held by the hand being drawn towards the operator until he is able to slip over it the eye or loop at the end of the string. 411

After the bow has been strung the upper portion, which before was straight, is now curved inwards, and the bow therefore appears as S-shaped when seen from the side. When a man starts out hunting or fishing he strings his bow and tests it, and it remains strung till he returns, when he unstrings it and places it in his hut.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 The advantage of having a knot at one end of the string seems to be that should the string be stretched by use it can be tightened by altering the position of the knot.

At the point where the nock of the arrow is placed when the bow is drawn, it is usual to serve the string over with thread of *Anadendron* fibre.

The peculiar features of the South Andaman bow depend on the fact that the bow takes advantage of the greater toughness and elasticity of wood that has been compressed in the course of its growth. When the bow is drawn the strain does not fall evenly, but, by reason of the shape of the bow, is concentrated on one portion, namely the lower portion of the bow where it is curved outwards. This is easily seen when a bow is strongly drawn, for from the S-shape that it has before, it becomes very nearly true arc-shaped when fully drawn. The lower portion of the bow works as though hinged, and thus the strain is largely borne by the curved portion of the bow. Now this portion is cut from the concave side of a tree that has been bent while growing, and consequently the fibres of the wood are here stronger, tougher and

[531]

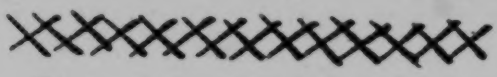

Fig. 10. Ornament on South Andaman bow

more elastic. The result is that for a given amount of energy spent in drawing the bow a greater force of propulsion is given to the arrow than with a bow of the Little Andaman type.

The breadth of the bow is necessitated by its shape, for if it were narrow the string would slip round on to the outside of the bow. The narrowing at the handle is necessary for holding the bow. The adoption of tapered ends instead of shoulders is a definite improvement as it makes the bow less liable to split at the ends.

411 531 The bows of the South Andaman group of tribes are always decorated with incised patterns. The conventional pattern is shown in Fig. 10. One line of such pattern runs down each edge of both the inside and the outside of the bow, and on the inside a similar line of pattern runs down the middle. When bows are newly made they are often also decorated with designs in red paint and white clay, particularly if they are intended as gifts. These painted designs soon wear off and are not renewed.

411 In these tribes bows are sometimes made of a size so large as to be almost useless for hunting. One such bow, now in the Cambridge

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Museum, is 220 cm. long and with a maximum breadth of 10 cm. Such bows are very carefully made and decorated and are intended as gifts. A man generally makes such a bow with the deliberate intention of giving it to some person whom he wishes to please. The bow that I have was specially made to give to me in this way. A man who possessed such a bow would not dream of using it in hunting, but he might use it in a shooting match, in order to show his skill. 411

In the South Andaman tribes toy bows are made for boys of somewhat the same shape as the ordinary hunting bow. An example of such a bow, now in the Cambridge Museum, is 121 cm. long. It is cut from a bent piece of wood in such a way that the lower portion is curved outwards. The section in the middle is plano-convex, very nearly the half of a circle, the breadth being 26 mm. and the thickness 13 mm. It is broadest in the middle, and tapers towards each end. When strung it assumes the typical S-shape of the South Andaman bow. It is served over with thread at one end and with a strip of

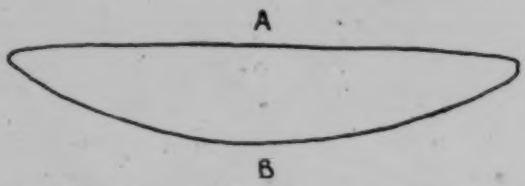

Fig. 11. Section across the blade of a North Andaman bow

cotton cloth at the other, leaving two points for the string. The latter is of the usual South Andaman type, but of smaller dimensions.

We must turn now to the bow used by the four tribes of the North Andaman, which is of a somewhat different pattern from that just described. It is, in the first place, shorter, lighter and more slenderly made. Of ten typical specimens the shortest is 153 cm. long, and the longest is 182 cm. The usual length is about 160 to 165 cm. In its broadest part the North Andaman bow is broader than the South Andaman bow, the breadth varying from 6·5 to 7·5 cm. in different specimens.

Although the North Andaman bow is, as a rule, cut from a curved piece of wood, it may, on occasion, be cut from a piece that is practically straight.

At the upper end of the bow there is a long point. In a specimen that is in every way typical, at about 5 cm. from the point the section is circular and the diameter is about 5 mm.; at about 30 cm.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 from the end the section is slightly flattened or oval, and the maximum diameter (the breadth from side to side) is about 1·5 cm. From this the bow broadens fairly rapidly, until at a distance of about 60 cm. from the end it is 7 cm. broad. The section at a point 60 cm. from the end is shown in Fig. 11, where it may be seen to be convex on the outside and only very slightly convex on the inside. At about 75 cm. from the end the bow narrows in breadth to form a handle, at the same time increasing slightly in thickness. The handle is approximately circular in section in the middle, which is about 95 cm. from the upper end, and about 80 cm. from the lower end, the diameter being about 2·2 cm. Below the handle the bow broadens out once more into a lower blade which in shape and section is similar to the upper blade. At a distance of about 30 cm. from the lower end the bow once more narrows off to a point approximately circular in section. The lower point of the bow is not so long or so tapering as the upper point.

The whole bow thus consists of two blade-shaped portions tapering to a point at each end, and with a waist or handle between them. The upper blade is straight, i.e. is not curved either outwards or inwards. The lower blade is curved outwards (like that of the South Andaman bow) in nearly every newly made bow and in every bow that has been in use.

The upper part of the bow is served over with string for about 1·5 cm. (at a distance of 15·5 cm. from the end in the bow that has been described), and the lower end is similarly served (at a distance of 6 cm. from the end). The general shape of the bow as seen from inside is shown in Fig. 12.

283 411 The bow-string of the North Andaman is made from *Anadendron* fibre in much the same way as described in connection with the South Andaman bow, but in the North there is a loop or eye at both ends of the string. As soon as the first few centimetres of the cord have been made (by the method previously described) it is bent over into a loop, and this loop is served with *Anadendron* thread, just as in the case of the South Andaman string. The making of the string then proceeds in the usual way until a sufficient length has been made, this depending, of course, on the length of the bow for which it is intended. The end is then bent over into a loop, and this loop is served over with thread. The loose end of fibre is not in this case (as it is in the South Andaman string) twisted round the standing part of the cord, but is laid beside it, and the thread that has been used for serving is wound spirally round them both for a distance of about 10 cm. from the neck of the loop, so that the end is stopped.

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Fig. 12

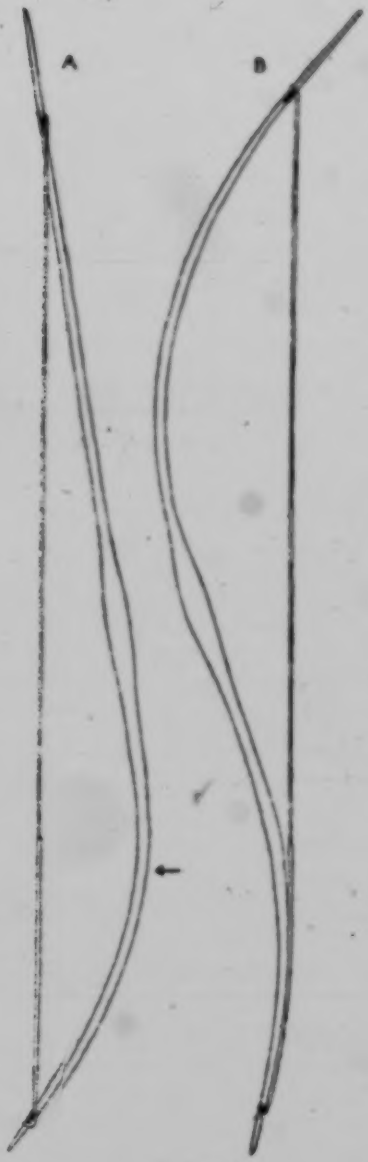

Fig. 13

Fig. 12. North Andaman bow seen from the front

Fig. 13. North Andaman bow; *A*, in the half-strung or reversed position, *B*, in the fully strung position. The arrow shows the point where the bow is seasoned over the fire.

[p. 429]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

•411 When the bow is to be strung the first made loop is slipped over the top end of the bow so that it rests on the thread serving already mentioned, the neck of the loop being on the inside of the bow. The bow is then laid on the ground, inside downwards, a foot is placed on the middle, and the lower end of the bow is bent upwards (and therefore outwards) far enough to allow the other loop of the cord to be slipped over the end. The bow is now in what may be called the half-strung position, and in order to understand the mechanical principles of this type of bow it is necessary to make quite clear what this position is. It is shown in Fig. 13, *A*. The string passes from the top to the bottom on the outside of the bow, so that the bow is, so to speak, reversed, and is subjected to a strain that causes it to curve outwards. In most bows, when they are first made, there is an outward curve in the lower portion, owing to the bow having been cut from a curved piece of wood. When the bow is half strung this outward curvature is increased. If a bow be made from a straight piece of wood, an outward curve is produced by the operation of stringing it, as described above.

As soon as a bow is completed it is strung in the reversed position described, and is then placed over a fire, in such a position that the lower (curved) blade is immediately above the fire. The smoke and heat of the fire season the wood of this portion of the bow. Any specimen of a bow of this type, unless it has been newly made and not seasoned, is blackened on the inner surface of its lower part. The bow is left to season in this way for some time. A man places his bow over the fire of his own hut, which is kept constantly burning day and night. It must be remembered that all the time it is being seasoned the bow is subjected to a slight strain curving it outwards.

After the bow has been sufficiently seasoned it is brought into use. When a bow that is half strung or strung in a reversed way is to be used, it is taken by the handle in the left hand, with the string away from the body, the bow being upside down. The lower part of the bow (i.e. what is really the top of the bow when it is in its normal position) is rested against the thigh. The string is taken in the right hand and pulled over towards the body, so that the bow reverses itself and appears in the fully strung position shown in Fig. 13, *B*. It is then ready for immediate use.

A bow of this type is hardly ever entirely unstrung. When a man has finished with his bow for the time being, he puts it once more in the half-strung position, by an action the reverse of that described above, and then hangs the bow over the fire. Thus while the bow is in active

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

use it is in the fully strung position, and at all other times it is kept in the half-strung position. 411

It is clear that the North Andaman bow depends on a principle that is not made use of in the South Andaman bow, which we may state by saying that if a piece of wood be subjected to the influence of heat and smoke while it is bent in one position it will acquire greater strength and elasticity to react against a strain that bends it in the opposite direction. When the bow is fully strung it is S-shaped. When it is drawn the greater part of the strain falls on the lower portion where it is curved outwards. It is this portion of the bow that is strengthened by seasoning. 411 823

The North Andaman bow is very much lighter than the South Andaman bow and is much more elastic. I always found it very difficult to shoot with a South Andaman bow, but on the other hand I found the North Andaman bow very easy to use. In drawing it only a slight pull is required in order to send an arrow with considerable velocity. The disadvantage of the northern bow is that, owing to its slighter build, it does not last very long, and is liable to be broken. However, it only takes a man a few days to make a new bow, string included, and the very definite superiority of the North Andaman bow over that of the South Andaman amply compensates for its shorter life. 411

Bows of exactly the same shape but of smaller dimensions are made in the North Andaman for boys, the length varying from about 90 cm. to about 120 cm. For very small boys toy bows of a different pattern are made. The bow is formed of a piece of wood about 90 cm. long and from 2 to 2·5 cm. broad in the middle. The section in the middle is convexo-convex, with a high degree of convexity on the outside and a much slighter convexity on the inside. The bow tapers to a point at each end, but it tapers more gradually at the top than at the bottom. The bow-string is a simple piece of string (two-ply) made of *Anadendron* fibre. It is tied to the lower end of the bow at a distance of 1·5 to 3 cm. from the end, and at the top it is tied at from 4 to 7 cm. from the end. The shape of a toy bow of this kind as seen from the side is shown in Fig. 14. It is not S-shaped, like the toy bow of the South Andaman previously described, but the curvature is asymmetrical.

I obtained a specimen of a toy bow made of bamboo. Unfortunately there was no string, but it was probably intended to be strung in the fashion of the North Andaman toy bow just described. The outer surface of the bamboo was the outside of the bow, with the result that in section the inner side of the bow was more convex than the outer

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 side. This is the only bow in the whole of the Andamans in which I ever saw this feature. In all other bows of whatever type the outer side is markedly convex and the inner side is either concave, flat or only slightly convex.

It is now possible to compare one with another the different forms of bow in use in the Andamans. It would seem almost certain that the North Andaman bow can only have been derived from the form in use in the South Andaman or from one very similar to it. It is only after they were in the habit of making bows with an outward curve in the lower portion that the natives could have devised the method of seasoning this portion of the bow and keeping it in the reversed or half-strung position. It is unnecessary to argue the matter in detail, and we may conclude that the North Andaman type is derived from the South Andaman type.

It is less certain, but still highly probable, that the South Andaman form was derived from a bow similar to that still in use in the Little Andaman. The South Andaman toy bow shows a stage intermediate between the Little Andaman bow and the usual South Andaman form. The section of this toy bow is very similar to that of the Little Andaman bow. It has no blades, and therefore no waist for the handle. The shape, however, is asymmetrical. Owing to the different method of stringing it, the shoulder at the end of the bow is unnecessary, and the bow is strengthened (prevented from splitting so easily) by tapering the end to a point instead. The difference between the toy bow and the general South Andaman bow is the presence in the latter of the two blades and the waist. The broadening of the bow into the blades is necessary in order to prevent it from accidentally reversing itself.

411 171 We have still to consider the modified form of the Jarawa bow. The origin of this is easy to discover by the examination of a few typical specimens. Since the Jarawa have been in the South Andaman they have been in hostile contact with the tribes of

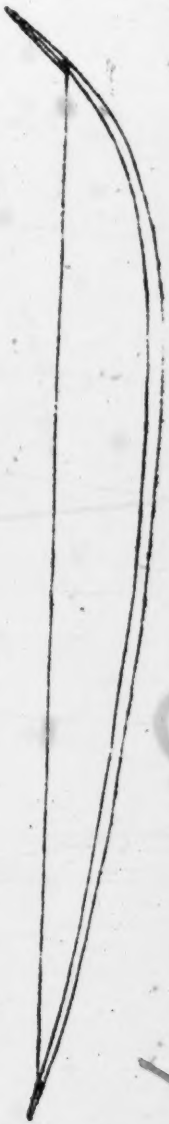

Fig. 14. Toy bow of the North Andaman

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

the South Andaman Division. They have had opportunities of handling bows of the kind made by these tribes, and they have apparently discovered that these bows are more efficient than their own, but they have had no opportunity, such as only friendly intercourse would give, of discovering the principles on which the South Andaman bow is made. They have attempted to imitate it to the best of their ability, and this they have done (1) by making their bows longer and broader, (2) by making them concavo-convex in section instead of convexo-convex, (3) by cutting them occasionally from wood that gives them an outward curve in the

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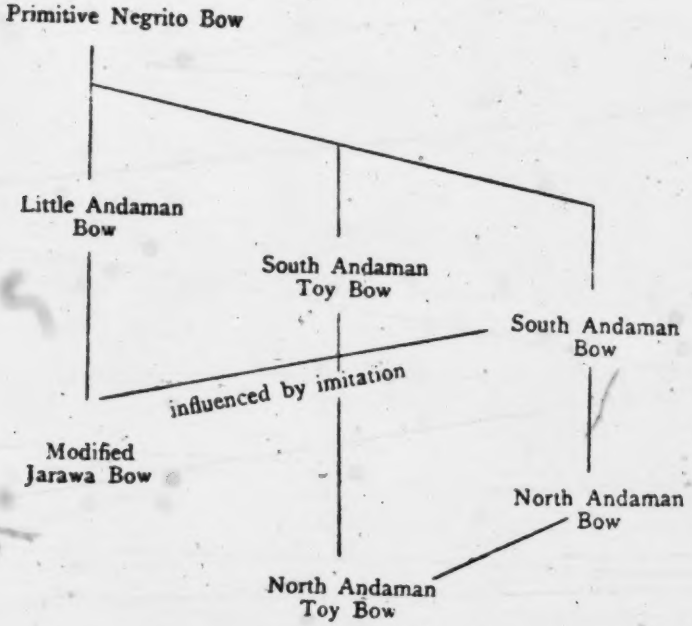

lower portion, (4) by imitating the shape of the handle without, however, giving the bow a waist, (5) by serving over the bow-string with thread at the point where the arrow touches it, (6) by ornamenting their bows with incised and painted patterns. These are the only differences between the modified Jarawa type and the Little Andaman type, and all these may be explained as attempts to imitate the bows of the South Andaman Division. In not a single one of the modified Jarawa bows that I have seen is the fundamental principle of the South Andaman bow successfully applied.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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We may conclude that the ancestors of the Andamanese at one time used a bow resembling that in use in the Little Andaman at the present day, and that the S-shaped bow of the Great Andaman has been invented since the separation of the two main divisions of the race.

It is not possible, owing to lack of sufficient information, to determine exactly the types of bow used by the Semang. The following notes are based on only six specimens, two of which are in the Museum of Ethnology at Cambridge[1], while the others are in the British Museum. Four of the specimens are sufficiently similar to one another to be regarded as belonging to one type, which seems to be the usual type of Semang bow. In length they are 165, 174·5, 182 and 197·5 cm., and at the middle they vary in breadth between 2·5 and 3 cm. Three are of palm-wood, and the other is of a light-coloured

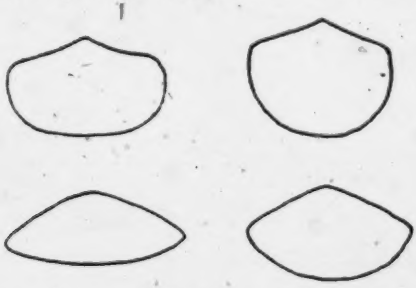

Fig. 15. Section across the middle of four Semang bows

but tough kind of wood. The shape of the section in the middle of the bow varies considerably in the different specimens, as shown in Fig. 15. There is some uncertainty as to which is the inside, and which is the outside of the bow. At each end there is a shoulder, the point or tip at one end being in every instance considerably longer than the other. The string in each case is a three-ply rope, having a spliced eye at one end and being fastened to the bow with a knot at the other end.

The other two specimens do not conform to this type. One is of wood, 134 cm. long, and 3·5 cm. broad in the middle. One end is provided with a notch on each side for the string, while the other end has three pairs of notches. The string is a three-ply cord with a loop or eye at each end. The other specimen is made of bamboo, and is 147 cm. long and 2·25 cm. broad in the middle. One end has one

[1] For information about the two specimens at Cambridge I am indebted to the kindness of Mr J. W. Layard.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

pair of notches and the other has two pairs. The string is two-ply with a loop at each end. 411 171

What we may perhaps regard as the usual type of Semang bow thus differs from the bow of the Little Andaman in three important respects, (1) in having a longer point at one end than at the other[1], (2) in having a string of three-ply rope instead of a strand of twisted fibre, and (3) in the variations in the section at the middle. From the four specimens available it is not possible to determine around what norm or norms the section of different specimens varies.

Turning to the Negritos of the Philippine Islands, although a number of bows have been described by Meyer[2], the available information is not sufficient to enable us to determine what are the different types, and what is their relation one to another. Amongst the different varieties of bow used by the Negritos there is one which is very similar to the bow of the Little Andaman. It has a rounded or convex outer side, and a flattened inner side. The string loops on to a point at each end, and the string itself is formed of twisted fibre.

From a study of the available material it seems that we are justified in concluding that the primitive Negrito bow was made of wood, with a shoulder at each end, probably with a section rounded on one side and flattened or keeled on the other, and that it had a string of twisted fibre with a loop or eye at one end, the other end being attached with a knot.

The Andaman Islanders use two different kinds of arrows, one for shooting fish and the other for shooting pigs. 411

The common fish-arrow, as at present used in all parts of the Great Andaman Division, consists of three parts—a shaft, a fore-shaft, and a point. The shaft is a length of bamboo straightened by means of heat, and may vary in length from 70 to 110 cm. At one end the bamboo is cut off about 3 cm. beyond one of the nodes, and a nock is made (Fig. 16). At this end the shaft is roughened with a *Cyrena* shell so as to give a firm grip for the fingers. At the other end the shaft is tapered for about a centimetre. At this end the bamboo is roughened with a shell to give a hold to the thread with which it is bound. The fore-shaft is a length of wood from 15 to 40 cm. long. One end is slightly tapered so that it fits tightly into the end of the bamboo shaft. The other end is tapered to a point, which is flattened on one side. The

[1] According to Skeat the end with the longer point is the lower end of the bow (Skeat, p. 273), but Martin (p. 785) describes a bow of this type and states that the longer point is the upper end.

[2] Meyer, pp. 13—17 and Plates VI—VIII.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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fore-shaft is inserted into the end of the shaft and the joint is bound over for a distance of about 2·5 cm. with thread. The point consists of a piece of iron wire, sharply pointed at both ends. This is laid against the flattened side of the fore-shaft and is bound to it with thread in such a way that one point projects at the back to form a barb (Fig. 16). When the binding is completed it is covered entirely over with a composition made by melting together bees'-wax, resin and red ochre. The composition is melted over a fire, is applied with a short piece of wood and is then smoothed over with a hot *Cyrena* shell. Only the binding attaching the point to the fore-shaft is covered with composition, and not that at the joining of the fore-shaft and the shaft.

Arrows of this kind are used for shooting fish, but they also serve to shoot snakes or rats and on rare occasions birds.

Similar fish-arrows are made in the Little Andaman, but they are larger (i.e. both longer and thicker) than those of the Great Andaman Division. The two ends of the bamboo shaft are not roughened, and the binding attaching the point to the fore-shaft is not covered with composition (which seems to be unknown in the Little Andaman) but with bees'-wax only.

This seems to be the traditional form of fish-arrow of the Andamans. Before iron was plentiful the point consisted either of the serrated bone from the tail of the sting-ray or of a piece of the tibia of a pig ground down to the requisite dimensions on a piece of stone, and sharpened at each end.

In the Little Andaman fish-arrows are sometimes used with two or four prongs attached to a bamboo shaft. In the British Museum there is an arrow from the North Sentinel Island with four prongs tied on to a wooden shaft, each prong being barbed by a detached piece of wood at the end.

A simple form of arrow is made in both the Great Andaman and the Little Andaman consisting of a bamboo shaft with a pointed wooden head, the point being hardened in the fire. Such arrows are now very rarely used, save for shooting at a mark, but it is probable that before iron was plentiful they were used as a substitute for the fish-arrow described above, being easier to make although less serviceable.

The pig-arrow in use in the Great Andaman consists of a shaft, and a fore-shaft to which is attached a head. The shaft is a piece of the wood of the *Tetranthera lancæfolia*, cut from the tree and straightened by means of heat. At the narrower end a nock about 1 cm. deep is

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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Fig. 16

Fig. 17

Fig. 18

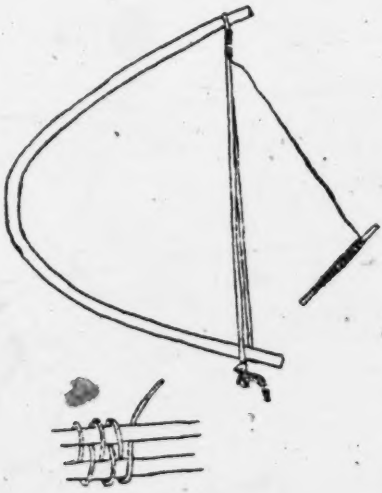

Fig. 19

Fig. 16. Fish-arrow of the Great Andaman
Fig. 17. Head of pig-arrow, Great Andaman
Fig. 18. Pig-arrow with detachable head, Great Andaman
Fig. 19. Method of making the cord of the Great Andaman pig-arrow

[p. 437]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 cut, and the arrow is served with thread of *Anadendron* fibre for about 1·6 cm. above the nock, in order to prevent splitting. At the other end the shaft is hollowed out to a depth of about a centimetre. This hollowing is done with the point of a fish-arrow or other similar piece of pointed iron. For a distance of about 1·5 cm. the end of the shaft is served over with thread of *Anadendron* fibre, so as to prevent it from splitting.

The fore-shaft consists of a piece of tough wood one end of which is cut to such a size that it will fit fairly tightly into the hollow at the end of the shaft. At the other end it is split so as to admit the head.

411 325 The head consists of a piece of iron broken into shape with the aid of a stone hammer and then ground down and sharpened on a whetstone or with a file if one be obtainable. The usual shape is shown in Fig. 17. The head is inserted into the split end of the fore-shaft and the end of the latter is then served over with thread. A few centimetres below the head either one or two sharp-pointed pieces of iron wire are placed against the fore-shaft in the same plane as the head and are bound firmly to it with the thread, so as to provide a barb or barbs.

411 283 A cord is made and one end of it is attached to the shaft and the other end to the fore-shaft. This cord is made as follows. A number of strands of *Anadendron* fibre are taken and waxed with bees'-wax. These are made into a cord by the same method as that described in connection with the Great Andaman bow-string, one strand being wrapped round the others. About 40 cm. of single cord is made in this way and the two ends are tied together. A piece of elastic wood is bent into the form of an arc and the loop of cord is placed over this so that it is stretched tight. A length of thread (of *Anadendron* fibre) is made and wound on to a fine netting needle or on to a thin slip of wood, and the two cords as they are stretched side by side are bound together with this thread by the process known as "nippering" (Fig. 19). In this way a firm and strong flattened cord is produced. One end of this is fastened to the fore-shaft immediately above the end that fits into the shaft. The other end is fastened to the shaft a few centimetres from the end, leaving a short length of the shaft around which the cord may be spirally wound when the arrow is in use. (Fig. 18.)

411 Finally, the thread on the fore-shaft, i.e. that which holds the head and barbs in place, and also that which serves to attach the end of the cord, are covered with the composition already described as used on fish-arrows.

[Head of pig-arrow — Analyst]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Arrows of this kind are used in pig-hunting. The fore-shaft is inserted into the end of the shaft, the cord attaching the two being wound spirally round the end of the shaft. When a pig is struck the barbs prevent the head from coming out of the wound. As the pig attempts to run away the shaft catches against the undergrowth of the jungle and comes loose from the fore-shaft. Sooner or later the shaft becomes entangled in the undergrowth and holds the wounded pig fast till the hunters can come up with it and despatch it. It is obvious that the cord of the arrow needs to be so strong that the pig cannot break it. 411

The natives of the Great Andaman tribes say that before they had plenty of iron they made similar pig-arrows with heads of shell and barbs of pig's bone. [177]

The natives of the Little Andaman make a pig-arrow very similar to that of the Great Andaman tribes, but on the average somewhat longer. The cord attaching the fore-shaft to the shaft consists of a length of double two-ply rope of *Hibiscus* fibre. The binding of the arrow is done with thread of the *Gnetum* fibre instead of *Anadendron*, and is not coated with composition but is smeared with bees'-wax. The barb (there being usually only one) is not fixed in the same plane as the head, but in the plane at right angles to it. (Fig. 20.)

Amongst the Jarawa the head of the pig-arrow is attached to the fore-shaft by a different method, holes being made in the iron through which the thread that holds it is passed. (Fig. 21.)

Another kind of pig-arrow is sometimes made in the Great Andaman that has not a detachable head. The shaft is a length of bamboo into one end of which is fitted a fore-shaft of wood. The end of this fore-shaft is split and a head of iron is inserted into it and bound there. Such an arrow may be without barbs or may have one or two barbs of iron. It is used only rarely and then chiefly for despatching a pig that has already been struck by an arrow of the usual kind. The natives say that in former times arrows of this kind were used in fighting in preference to ordinary pig-arrows, which, however, were also used.

In former times the natives of the Great Andaman, according to their own statements, made an arrow consisting of a bamboo shaft at the end of which was inserted a head made of *Areca* wood. An arrow of this kind, made for me by a native, is shown in Fig. 22.

None of the arrows made in any part of the Andamans is feathered.

In a comparison of the arrows of the Andamanese with those of the Semang and the Philippine Negritos the most interesting point is that 411 171

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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Fig. 20

Fig. 21

Fig. 22

Fig. 23

Fig. 20. Pig-arrow, Little Andaman
Fig. 21. Head of Jarawa pig-arrow
Fig. 22. Arrow with head of *Areca* wood, Great Andaman
Fig. 23. Harpoon, Great Andaman

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

all three branches of the Negrito race use arrows with detachable heads. Arrows of this kind from the Philippines are described by Meyer[1]. 411 171

An important point of difference would seem to be that while the Andamanese do not feather their arrows the Semang and the Negritos of the Philippines do so. It would seem, however, from the account of Semang arrows given by Skeat[2] that the feathering is such that it is of no actual service in directing the flight of the weapon, and that it is doubtful whether the Semang really understand the principle of feathering, or whether they do not employ it as the mutilated survival of more intelligent methods or perhaps make use of it for solely magical purposes.

Another important point of difference is that the Semang poison their arrows, while the Andamanese do not. In this connection it must be remembered that the former people have for long been neighbours of people who use blow-pipes with poisoned darts.

After the bow and arrow the most important hunting weapon of the Great Andaman is the harpoon which is used in capturing dugong, turtle, porpoise, and large fish. The harpoon consists of a head, a shaft and a line. The line is a length of rope of *Hibiscus* fibre of as much as twenty fathoms or more in length. The shaft is a bamboo of about 18 feet in length. One end is cut off fairly near a node and is then served over with thread, and slightly hollowed. The head consists of a long piece of iron, such as a stout nail, brought to a sharp point at one end. The other end is served over with thread in such a way as to make it fit fairly tightly into the end of the bamboo shaft. Some distance from the point of the head two barbs of iron are attached by thread, and between this point and the lower end the line is attached. (See Fig. 23.) 411

A man using the harpoon stands on the forward platform of the canoe, holding the bamboo shaft in his hand. The head is inserted in the upper end of this, and the line passes over his shoulder and is coiled in the bottom of the canoe, the other end being attached to the forward out-rigger boom or to the thwart that takes its place in a large canoe. He poles the canoe along the reef with the harpoon shaft. When about to make a throw he raises the shaft till he can hold the butt end in his right hand, with the point directed towards the fish or turtle, and he then leaps forward so that if he succeeds in his aim the weapon strikes with all the force of his weight behind it. When the turtle or fish is struck the bamboo shaft floats loose and this is secured 411 225

[1] Meyer, Plates VI and VIII.

[2] Skeat, p. 274.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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by the man in the water, who returns to the canoe. It may be necessary to strike the prey with a second harpoon, but if the first was well thrown the animal is firmly held by the line.

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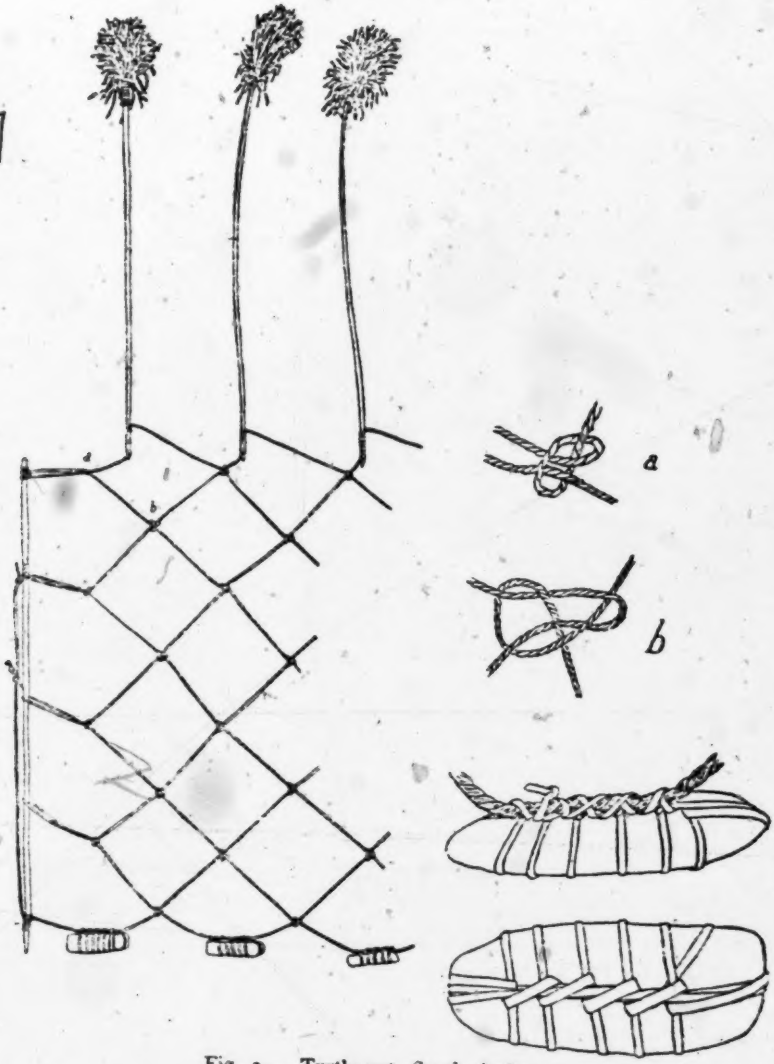

Fig. 24. Turtle net, South Andaman

Harpoons are not used in the Little Andaman. The natives of the Great Andaman say that they themselves have only used them since

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

they were able to obtain iron and that before that time they could only capture turtle and dugong in nets. It would seem therefore that the harpoon has been invented or adopted by the tribes of the Great Andaman Division in comparatively recent times, and was not an element of the primitive Andamanese culture. 411 225

The turtle net is no longer used, as the natives prefer the harpoon and have all the iron they need. Such nets were formerly made of rope of *Hibiscus* fibre. A net was about 150 cm. in width and of variable length. One specimen that was made for me had an open mesh of about 25 cm. square, while another had a smaller mesh. The knot used in a net from the South Andaman is the ordinary fisherman's knot shown in Fig. 24 *b*. In a net from the North Andaman the knot used is a slip-knot, one strand being tied with an overhand knot over another which it crosses at right angles as shown in Fig. 25. 225 286 284

Fig. 25. Knot used in making the North Andaman turtle net

Each end of the turtle net is attached to a stake pointed at the lower end. The lower edge of the net is weighted with stones attached as shown in Fig. 24, while to the upper edge are attached a number of floats, each consisting of a long thin stick of *Hibiscus* wood to the upper end of which is attached a tassel of fibre.

The net was placed in shallow water so that the stones rested on the bottom while the tassels at the upper ends of the floats appeared above the surface. As soon as a turtle was entangled in the net the agitation could be observed by those watching who would proceed to the spot to secure their capture.

So far as is known it would seem that nets of this description are not used in the Little Andaman.

The Andamanese make practically no use of spears. At the present time the natives of the Great Andaman Division sometimes make pig-spears of a length of stout cane or rattan with a head of iron attached. The natives themselves say that such spears have only been made since the occupation of the islands, and it is probable that they were first made in imitation of spears used by Burmese convicts for pig-hunting. They are hardly ever used, the pig-arrow being preferred. 411

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

441 The true fish-spear is unknown in the Andamans though use is sometimes made of a harpoon similar to the turtle harpoon, but of smaller dimensions and with a finer line, for harpooning fish.

227 In the North Andaman a sort of fish-gig was formerly in use made of about twelve pieces of *Areca* wood of about 105 to 110 cm. long and 1 cm. or less broad and with tapered and sharp-pointed ends. These were fastened side by side by means of a strip of wood near one end, as shown in Fig. 26. This weapon was used for spearing small fish in pools on the reef.

Fig. 26. North Andaman fish-gig

CUTTING IMPLEMENTS.

412 177 At the present time the Andamanese make use of iron for their cutting implements. It is uncertain when they first learnt the use of iron, but it was certainly before the end of the eighteenth century. What iron they had was obtained from wrecks, of which there have always been a number on the Andamans. The metal has only become plentiful since the European settlement of 1858.

412 325 It is highly probable that the Andamanese, though they may have learnt the use of iron from implements used by visitors to their shores, have not learnt from any other people the method of working the metal. Even at the present day they do not make any use of heat in the manufacture of their iron implements, the metal being worked cold. It seems highly probable that they have simply adopted in connection with iron the methods they formerly used in dealing with other materials, particularly shells.

The materials used by the Andamanese, apart from iron, are wood, bone, shell and stone. We may begin by considering their use of stone.

412 324 In former times quartz flakes were used by the Andamanese for the two purposes of shaving and scarifying the skin, and for hardly any other purpose. (Among minor uses of stone flakes may be mentioned those of cutting the finger-nails, and sharpening boars' tusks.) A quartz pebble is held in the left hand and is struck with a hard rounded pebble of any suitable kind. A flake is thus knocked off and falls into the palm of the left hand. The flake is examined, and if it be suitable it is

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

412
hands of an Andaman Islander is a very efficient implement, producing 321
a beautifully smooth and even surface.

Of wood the Andamanese formerly made knives and arrow-points. 412
The knives were made of a slip of bamboo or cane shaped and 322
sharpened with a *Cyrena* shell. Such knives were used for cutting meat and apparently for no other purpose. A knife was always attached by a short length of cord to a skewer of pointed *Areca* wood. The double implement was used in cooking and eating, the skewer serving to lift pieces of meat in and out of a pot, while the knife served to cut them. At the present time the cane or bamboo knife is replaced by a knife made from hoop-iron, but the shape of the original implement is retained as nearly as possible and a skewer of *Areca* wood is generally attached to it.

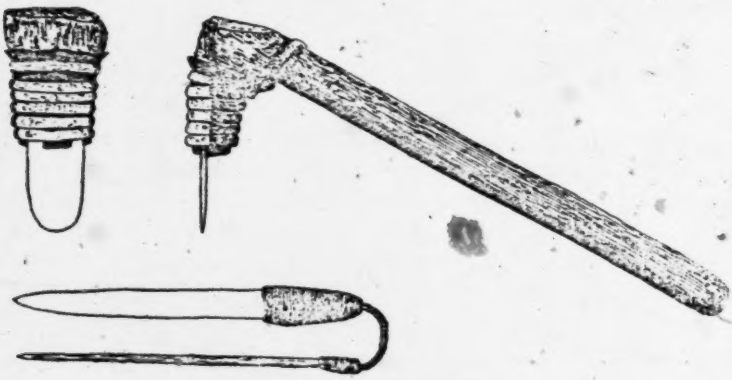

Fig. 28. Adze and knife

As has been already stated the Andamanese formerly used hard wood such as that of the *Areca* palm for the points and heads of their arrows. They do not seem to have made use of bamboo in this way.

At the present time iron is used for the blades of adzes, for the 411
heads and barbs of pig-arrows, the points of fish-arrows, the heads of 412
harpoons, and for knives. The method of working the metal is 325
apparently exactly the same as the method they formerly used for working shell and bone. For the head of a pig-arrow a suitable piece of iron is taken and a fragment of about the right size is broken off by means of a stone hammer. This is then roughly broken into the required shape, no heat being used, and no advantage being taken of the malleability of the metal. The next process is to grind it on a

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 whet-stone. The natives are always eager to obtain files which enable
412 them to do this part of the work much more rapidly. When the arrow-
325 head has been ground into shape the edges are sharpened. Blades for adzes are made in exactly the same way from any suitable piece of iron or steel, such as a cutlass or an old file or a piece of thick hoop-iron. The adze-blade is attached to a handle of mangrove wood by the method shown in Fig. 28.

The barbs of pig-arrows and the points of fish-arrows are made in the same way by breaking the metal into a suitable shape and then grinding it on a whet-stone. It is probable that this was the method that was formerly used for dealing with bone for these purposes.

In the case of the knife, iron or steel is now substituted for cane or bamboo, but the knife has retained its shape in spite of the change of material. The shape of a knife, whether of cane or of iron, with its attached skewer of *Areca* wood is shown in Fig. 28.

In the case of the harpoon the native tradition is that this implement was only made after they had discovered the use of iron.

177 At the present time both the Semang and the Negritos of the
325 Philippines make use of iron. The Semang heat the iron until it is red-hot and then batter it into shape between two stones[1]. The shapes of the iron weapons and implements which they make follow fairly closely those made by the Malays.

In an attempt to reconstruct the primitive Negrito culture it would seem that the most reasonable hypothesis is that the primitive Negritos had no knowledge of iron and had not learnt to fashion implements out of stone, but relied entirely on such materials as wood, bone and shell. The Andamanese, becoming possessed of iron through wrecks upon their islands, applied to it the technique that they had developed for dealing with shell, and thereby invented their present method of working iron without heating it. The Semang and the Negritos of the Philippines probably first learnt the use of iron from their neighbours of other races. There is not at present any evidence to show that the Negritos ever had any method of working stone except the very simple one at present in use in the Andamans for making flakes.

STRING, ROPE, MATS, BASKETS, AND NETTING.

283 For string, rope and thread the Andaman Islanders make use of a number of different vegetable substances, but they make no use what-

[1] Skeat, p. 383.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE I.

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E. H. MAN, IN 1875 WITH NATIVE BOYS, THE FIVE JOINT AUTHORS OF THE "LETTERS TO JAMBU" IN 1879.

(*See* p. 60, Alexander J. Ellis's Report.)

[facing p. VI]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

619 neighbouring tribe, an express invitation or permission is required,
unless, indeed, the party entering happens to be accompanied by
486 one or more members of the district visited, or when, from long and friendly intercommunication, a right of way has been tacitly sanctioned. In cases where there has been a breach of this observance sharp retribution has generally followed, causing sometimes serious loss of life, and resulting in a long-standing tribal feud.

619 3. Those communities of *ē·rem-tâ·ga-* and *àryô·to-*, living
within a few miles of each other and speaking the same dialect,
578 arrange from time to time large gatherings—generally numbering
437 about a hundred persons[1]—for purposes of barter, or for the celebration of some particular event. Though not unfrequently on these occasions old enmities are healed and friendships formed, fresh tribal feuds and personal quarrels sometimes originate in consequence of a misunderstanding or dispute over some comparative trifle.[2]

487 4. There are numerous paths intersecting each territory, the result of continuous traffic over the same ground. When, for some reason, a new course is taken through the jungle, the route is indicated to those following by bending the twigs of the brushwood in a *reverse* direction at intervals along the track. This is especially the case during the dry season, when, owing to the parched condition of the soil, there is some difficulty in distinguishing footprints.[3]

212 5. No marks on rocks, trees or other objects, made for purposes of record, are believed by them to exist, and, with the exception of the supposititious hieroglyphics,[4] hereafter to be mentioned, nothing of the nature of writing is to be found among these tribes, nor have they any method of recording the name and exploits of a deceased chief or other individual who may have gained distinction during his life, save the narration —more or less garbled—of the same by their admiring descendants. The messenger who conveys intelligence to a distant encampment bears no outward token with him to testify to the authenticity or character of the communication he has to make.

211 6. Although no method of signs exists, such as tying knots in
a string, making notches in a tally, or figures on wood, bark, or
411 stone, they have means of distinguishing arrows and spears belonging to one another, by certain differences peculiar to each

[1] It is believed that no larger number than 300 has ever been assembled at one time in any place in our vicinity, at least since our advent.

[2] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraphs 24 and 37.

[3] No prejudice exists in respect to crossing water, going by certain paths, or handling particular objects, excepting the *Anadendrum paniculatum*. *Vide post*, Part III, "String," paragraph 3.

[4] *Vide* "Mythology," paragraph 29.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

individual in the method of tying and knotting the string employed in the manufacture of these missiles;[1] these, however, are often so slight that, even when pointed out, they are scarcely to be detected by a stranger, unless he be one who has bestowed careful attention to the subject. 211 411

7. In their savage state they never attempt to represent any object, and, though they do not appear to possess any natural taste for drawing, they differ from the Australians[2] in the intelligence they display in recognising any familiar form depicted in a sketch; and while no such method for indicating the situation of any place is known or employed among themselves, some of them are quick in understanding a chart of their own country, and are able to point out the sites of their various encampments. 532 151

8. It is hardly necessary to state that they have nothing answering to mile-stones or roadside marks. Swamps are never crossed, but in all cases avoided by circuitous routes; experience seems to have taught them the natural line of fords from salient to salient banks, and, when a creek has to be crossed, they always avail themselves of the advantages thus afforded, even making a detour in order to do so.[3] This applies, however, to those occasions when they are not heavily laden, or are carrying articles liable to be damaged by immersion, or which would hinder them from swimming. 487

Swimming.—1. With the exception of some of the *ē·rem-tâ·ga-*,[4] a knowledge of the art of swimming is common to members of both sexes; the *children* even, learning almost as soon as they can run, speedily acquire great proficiency. In this accomplishment the Andamanese greatly surpass the majority of Europeans, but it is probable that, in competition with an experienced English swimmer, their best men would be distanced in the first few hundred yards, it being not so much for speed, as for the length of time they can remain in the water, that they are remarkable. 481

[1] With reference to this circumstance, it may be mentioned that, a few years ago (1876), five aborigines, concerned in the murder near Kyd Island of some Chinese traders with whom they had had a dispute, were discovered by means of the arrows found on the spot, as these were identified by some of their acquaintances then living at Port Blair.

[2] Brown. [From remarks, however, contained in a recent article, entitled "The Indo-Chinese and Oceanic Races," by Mr. A. H. Keane, which appeared in "Nature" (Jan. 6th, 1881), it would appear that the low estimate of the Australian intellect formed by certain ethnologists is not shared by all, and "many instances are given of their skill even in drawing, a capacity for which was wholly denied them."]

[3] Wells are not dug, but when encamping, whether for days or months, care is always taken that the spot selected be near some fresh-water stream.

[4] The reason of this is obvious, as it is known that the majority of the creeks are fordable in many places within three miles of the coast, even in the rainy season, and, therefore, the necessity of acquiring the art of natation has never been experienced by those permanently resident in the interior.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE VIII.

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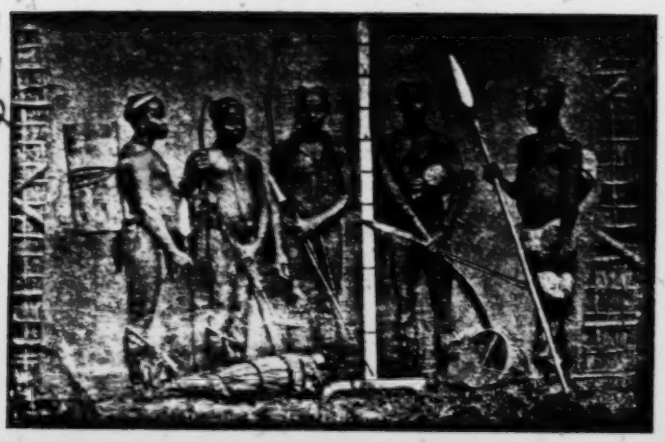

ANDAMANESE EQUIPPED FOR JOURNEY.

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ANDAMANESE SHOOTING, DANCING, SLEEPING, AND GREETING.

[facing p. 110]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

3. Females take no part in these expeditions, and boys seldom accompany their elders until after their twelfth year. 224

4. If more than a few hours' absence is anticipated, besides a supply of provisions, a smouldering log is entrusted to some one member of the party, whose duty it is to prevent its extinction,[1] and to kindle it into a blaze whenever a fire is required. No immediate honours are conferred upon the successful sportsman, but stories of feats of extraordinary prowess are related, with more or less embellishment, from time to time for the benefit of the young and the edification of strangers. No record is kept of the game killed, but, as those distant tribes who are not yet possessed of dogs (or only of a very few) still retain the primitive custom of suspending the skulls of their victims from the eaves or on poles round their huts, a fair idea of their success can be formed by themselves and others from the number thus displayed.

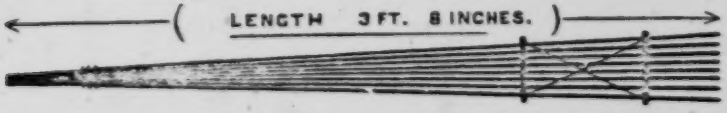
5. Whether in hunting game or in attacking an enemy, the bow (*kâ·rama-*) and arrow are employed, and these are almost[2] identical in form among all the eight tribes of Great Andaman. For spearing turtles and large fish a harpoon (*kowai·a l'ó·ko dū·tnga-*[3]) is used: as a description of this serviceable weapon and of the mode in which it is employed, has been given in Appendix B, it is unnecessary to repeat the information in this place.[4] The only other weapon in use is the pig-spear 411

[1] *Vide ante* "Fire," paragraph 6.

[2] The comparatively slight difference existing between the form of the five *bōjig* and three *yē·rewa-* bows, and the wide distinction observable between both of these and the *jār·awa-* (Little Andaman) bow will be best seen by referring to Plate VI, figs. 1, 4, and 3 (*vide* also Appendix B, item 1).

[3] *Vide* Appendix B, item 10.

[4] In reference to the subject of *fish-spears* an interesting discovery was made on the occasion of the last visit (October, 1882) paid by Mr. H. Godwin-Austen, now in charge of the Andaman Homes, to North Andaman. Some six or more specimens of what, I believe, is quite an unique wooden fish-spear were seen in one or two of the *yē·rewa-* canoes. As one was fortunately brought away a sketch is here given of it. It reminds one somewhat of the fish-spears used by the Nicobarese (*vide* Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. vii, Plate XV), though very inferior, and is doubtless, like them, intended for spearing small fish. It is called *ti·remo.* 227



The eight long wooden spikes are not tied together in a circular form as in the case of the Nicobar *hokpāk* but in a row, and, as will be inferred from the drawing, they are held in that position by means of two short pieces of wood lashed to them at right angles: from the appearance of the lower end of this weapon, it would seem probable that it is fixed—like the *kowai·a l'ó·ko dū·tnga*—into a bamboo shaft when about to be hurled, but I have ascertained lately that this is not the case, it is merely held at the pointed end.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The only other weapon in use is the pig-spear

411 [177] (*ĕrdū·tnga-*[1]), which is of comparatively recent introduction, its adoption being due to the abundance of iron obtainable for some time past by the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* and other tribes near our settlement at Port Blair.

6. To an untrained eye no difference is noticeable in the appearance of the weapons of similar style and construction, but the aborigines are quick in detecting individual peculiarities in the manner of knotting the strings of bows, arrows, &c.[2]

7. As has been remarked by General Pitt Rivers,[3] the bows of the Great Andaman tribes, especially those of the southern half, known to the islanders as the *.bō·jig kā·rama-*, resemble those in use in Mallicollo, one of the New Hebrides, and in New Ireland, being of a "peculiar flattened S-shaped form, curved towards the firer in the upper part as held in the hand, and to a slight extent the reverse way at the bottom."[4]

8. Except in the case of boys living on or near the coast, [824] whose toy bows are often made of the *Rhizophora conjugata*, the wood of the mangrove is rarely, if ever, used, and the bamboo *never*,[5] for they find that certain other trees,[6] are more suitable for their purpose.

9. No whalebone or sinews are used for the purpose of imparting additional elasticity to the bow, and no evidence is forthcoming to show that they ever applied poison to their arrow or spear-heads—in fact, the only poison known to them [824a] appears to be the *Nux vomica*, and this they merely avoid as a noxious or useless plant.

10. It is true that certain passages in Dr. Mouat's book[7] convey a contrary impression, for, from the observations made during his short trip round the islands, he seems to have entertained no doubt that these savages habitually applied poison to their arrow-heads;[8] but, in the sense in which I understand his

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 9.

[2] For an example of this *vide ante* "Communications," &c., paragraph 6 (footnote).

[3] *Vide* Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. vii, p. 440.

[4] In the ethnographical department of the museum at Maidstone, I have lately observed a bow from Banks Island (New Hebrides), which bears a striking resemblance to the commonest form of the peculiar *.bō·jig* bow, for sketch of which see Plates II and VI.

[5] "Their weapons are bows and lances of iron-wood. The former are bamboo. . . ." (Grant vol. ii., p. 378.) [Their spears, at least those of Great Andaman, have never yet been seen by us made of iron-wood.—E. H. M.]

[6] *Vide* Appendix B, item 1.

[7] Pp. 324 and 330.

[8] It may be of interest to mention in this place a curious alleged fact which has been brought to my notice by the petty officers and others connected with the homes, *i.e.*, that the wounds which are inflicted now-a-days by the iron-headed arrows of the Andamanese are not so painful or so liable to fester as they were formerly, and this they attribute to the fact that, while it has always been the practice of these savages when sharpening their blades to

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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remarks, I am persuaded that he has credited them with more intelligence on this point than they possess.

11. The origin of the belief appears to be traceable to the fact that they generally in former times tipped their arrow-heads with fish-bones,[1] more particularly the serrated tail-bone of the sting-ray, which, as is well known, is capable of inflicting a very serious wound in consequence of the liability of the fine brittle spikes to break off and remain in the flesh after the extraction of the arrow, thereby causing, in the majority of cases, bad ulcers, which, in the absence of skilful treatment, frequently resulted in the sufferer's death.[2]

[825]

12. The maladroitness of strangers who have failed even to bend the Andamanese bows[3] has apparently been due to their having held the wrong end uppermost, for, so far from there being any difficulty in using even their strongest bows, it has been proved that after a little practice Europeans are able to compete almost on even terms with all but the few "crack" shots among the aborigines, provided at least that the object aimed at be stationary; but they less readily acquire the skill which the Andamanese display in rapid shooting, and in discharging the arrow with the full force of which it is capable.

13. The large bows (from 5½ to 7 feet long) are constructed chiefly for ornament and presentation to friends, and are seldom used except for shooting fish and pigs along the shore. The smaller kinds are preferred in jungle expeditions, and on most other occasions, as they are more convenient and also more easily replaced in case of accident, less time and trouble being required for their manufacture.

14. One of the chief drawbacks to the bows used by these tribes is that they cannot be fired in silence,[4] in consequence

moisten them with saliva, the inmates of the homes—who are those chiefly employed as jungle police—now eat *salt* with their food, which was never the case fifteen or twenty years ago. Whether, assuming the story to be true, the effect can be accounted for by the circumstance stated, or, as seems more probable, is due to the improvement in the physical condition of the convicts since the early days of the settlement, is a question for medical authorities to decide.

[1] Writing nearly a century ago, Colebrooke mentioned that "their arrows are headed with fish-bones, or the tusks of wild hogs; sometimes merely with a sharp bit of wood, hardened in the fire, but these are sufficiently destructive." [The *fibula* (*ar-pĕ̈ti-*) of the pig was also used for the same purpose.]

[2] *Vide* footnote to Appendix B, item 53.

[3] *Vide* Mouat, p. 321. Had Dr. Mouat's remarks applied to the Little Andaman or other *järawa-* bows, which are of totally different construction (*vide* Plate VI), they would have been more readily understood, for even the aborigines of Great Andaman have experienced much difficulty in shooting with the few specimens of this weapon which have fallen into their hands; doubtless, therefore, much knack and practice, as well as strength, are needed in using them.

[4] From this defect the *järawa-* bow appears to be exempt which is easily

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 of the string striking the lower or convex portion of the weapon.[1]

227 411 15. There are five varieties of arrows, viz.: the *râ·tà-*, the *tī·rlē·d-*, the *tô·lbō·d-*, the *ē·la-*, and the *ē·la l'â·kà lū·pa-*, none of which are provided with more than one point or blade.

16. The first of these (*râ·tà-*) is used in their games, and is the first form which their fish arrows take; it consists of a shaft made of *Bambusa nana*, to the end of which is fastened a piece of hard wood, which is rendered harder and less liable to split by being gradually heated over a fire: this foreshaft also gives the necessary weight to ensure accuracy of flight, and to increase the force of penetration. The *tī·rlē·d-* is merely a *râ·tà-* with its point sharpened for use, in shooting the smaller varieties of fish. The *tô·lbō·d-* is a *râ·tà-* with an iron point, and generally a barb as well, secured to the head: it is chiefly used in fishing. The above three arrows usually measure 4 feet 6 inches to 4 feet 9 inches in length, while the remaining two, of which a sufficient description will be found in Appendix B, do not generally exceed 3 feet 6 inches.

411 17. The Andamanese take especial pride in keeping the bladed heads of their arrows and spears as bright as possible: the shafts are straightened by dint of pressure with teeth and fingers, but no feathers or other devices are employed to increase the velocity of flight. As illustrations of their arrows and other weapons will be found in Plates VI, VII, VIII, and IX, and as, in Appendix B, I have described their manufacture, it is unnecessary for me here to repeat the information which can be obtained by reference.

18. There are one or two points connected with the iron-bladed arrows to which, I believe, attention has never yet been drawn. I allude to the position of the barbs and the object of the seam. In the *ē·la-* the blade is so fixed as to be in a line with the seam of the fastening at the end of the shaft, and, whether provided with one or more barbs, these are always placed in a line with the blade; the seam above referred to being used as a "sight." In the *ē·la l'â·kà lū·pa-*, which has no seam, the barb which is most in a line with the blade is used as a "sight," and accordingly placed uppermost. In forming these blades they shape them so as to allow of a small portion being inserted in the foreshaft (see fig.), and it is then fixed as firmly

accounted for by the resemblance it presents to the ordinary European pattern; this, however, appears to be the sole advantage which it possesses over the two varieties used in Great Andaman.

[1] *Vide* "Superstitions," paragraph 5, and "Religious Beliefs," paragraph 19

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

as possible by means of string,[1] which is protected with a coating of *kâ·ngatâ-bŭj-*.[2] 411

19. It is a singular fact that the mode in which the tribes of Great Andaman discharge their arrows differs from that in vogue among the *jār·awā-*. While the latter are said to adopt the plan usual among ourselves of holding the nock of the arrow *inside* the string by means of the middle joints of the fore and middle fingers and drawing the string with the same joints, it is the practice among the former to place the arrow in position between the thumb and top joint of the forefinger, and to draw the string to the mouth with the middle and third fingers. The feet are only used in stringing and unstringing the bows, and never for bending the bow in shooting, as was at one time supposed to be the practice among the *jār·awa-*, whose long and clumsy *kâ·rama-* have puzzled the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*, as well as ourselves, to use with any effect.

20. In Great Andaman the waistbelt[3] (*bōd-*) or other cincture often does duty as a quiver while fishing and hunting, and the arrows are placed behind, with the heads upwards, both in order to avoid causing injury or inconvenience by hindering freedom of action, and to be readily seized and brought into position for firing.

21. Their pointed arrows carry with considerable effect to a distance of 40 or 50 yards. A *tō·lbō·d-* has been found to pierce a deal plank 1½ inch thick at the former range, and probably up to 100 yards one of these arrows is capable of inflicting a serious wound, but an accurate aim is scarcely possible beyond less than half that distance. In the case of the two varieties of pig-arrow much less can be attempted, as these ill-balanced, though formidable, missiles will not carry with certainty further than 12 to 15 yards, and if fired at wider ranges usually fly very wildly.

[1] A better method has, however, been adopted by the *jār·awa-*, viz., that of making three holes in the blade, and passing through them the string which secures it to the foreshaft, thus rendering disconnection of the parts a matter of some difficulty. The precaution thus taken against loss of the blade is evidently due to the comparative scarcity of iron in their territory, which circumstance is the natural consequence of the attitude of hostility, or of avoidance of intercourse, which has been persistently maintained towards the eight Great Andaman tribes, as well as towards ourselves, by one and all of the various scattered *jār·awa-* communities. [With reference both to this sketch and that of the *.bō·jig ō·la-* head, in paragraph 18, it should be added that these are mere sectional drawings of these objects. In the finished arrow the string-fastening is carried up to the base of the blade, and the whole of this string work is finally coated with *kâ·ngatâ-bŭj-*.]

[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 62.

[3] *Vide ante* "Attire," paragraph 3.

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•411 [177] 22. It is not found that they have any inclination to adopt civilised weapons or tools in lieu of their own, but they have not been slow to avail themselves of the facilities afforded them in recent years for substituting iron for shell, bone, and (?) stone,[1] in the manufacture of their various implements.

23. The blow-pipe, which is used so generally by the Negritos (*Semangs*) of the Malayan peninsula, finds no place among the weapons of these savages. Its absence may be readily accounted for, firstly by their ignorance of poison, or at least of any method of utilising such knowledge as any of them may possess, and secondly by the fact that they are so well able to supply all their wants with the implements already referred to in the foregoing, that their inventive faculty has not been sharpened by the pangs of hunger to devise other or more effective means of destruction. It may be added that slings, throwing sticks, clubs, bird-bolts, or blunt-headed arrows for stunning animals or birds, are likewise not in use among them.

[224] 24. Although the pig is the object of their chase in their hunting expeditions, they invariably take a few of their pointed arrows, preferably the *tó·lbō·d-*, on the chance of coming across some smaller game, such as an iguana or paradoxurus.[2] To facilitate rapid shooting a man will often hold a number of arrows in the hand which grasps the bow.

[225] 25. From constant practice they are, as might be supposed, very skilful at shooting fish under water. Dr. Brander has correctly observed that "they seem intuitively to have calculated with great accuracy the difference of direction to be allowed for oblique aqueous refraction;" but these shots are almost always, if not invariably, made at a distance of a few yards only, and never so far as "30 yards,"[3] or "with three-pronged barbed arrows," such missiles being neither made nor used, at least by any of the Great Andaman tribes.[4]

883 224 26. Boys soon learn to practice at near objects with the small bows and arrows to which allusion has already been made, and many of them often contribute materially to the family larder by their early prowess. It is a common sight to see youths and children (and even their elders), when travelling, wantonly shoot at small passing objects, both on land and in the water, by way

[1] *Vide* Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi, p. 271.

[2] While these two animals are killed at all seasons of the year, the pig-hunts take place chiefly during the rains, when this animal is in excellent condition, and their diet, owing to the comparative scarcity of fruit and honey, less varied; even if with young the pig is not spared.

[3] The well-nigh impossibility of ever seeing from the shore or from a canoe a fish swimming at such a distance would sufficiently account for this.

[4] It is possible that Dr. Brander saw the *single* specimen of an arrow answering to this description which was obtained in 1880 from North Sentinel Island.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

of practice or to display their skill. No reproach is offered by the bystanders to one who wounds an animal without killing it. 883 224

27. Pigeons, waterfowl, ducks, and flying-foxes are sometimes shot, but never while on the wing, or when perched in such a position as to risk the recovery of the arrow.

28. In addition to the bows and arrows, their hunting gear consists generally of a hone (*tâ·lag-*[1]), a *Cyrena* shell (*ū·ta-*[2]), an adze (*wō·lo-*[3]), and often now-a-days a spear (*ēr-dū·tnga-*[4]); sometimes a knife (*chô-* or *kô·no-*[5]) is also taken, but as the blade of the pig-arrow or spear can be made to serve this purpose, it is not regarded as an essential part of their equipment. 224 411

29. They employ no stratagems for deceiving or decoying game, nor do they prepare snares or pitfalls for it. 224

30. When unaccompanied by dogs the hunters usually follow the pig's tracks, evincing while doing so their accurate knowledge of its habits. Immediately the object of their search is sighted they endeavour to surround it as noiselessly as possible—taking no precautions, however, against approaching it from windward—and, finally rushing forward and yelling vociferously, discharge their arrows. This practice of driving is generally adopted near the coast and in the vicinity of a belt of *Rhizophora conjugata* where the animals, becoming entangled among the roots or sinking into the soft soil, are easily captured or despatched. The ownership of the carcass is decided in favour of the person who inflicted the first serious wound, and he is exempt, if he please, from carrying home his prize or from any further trouble in connection with it; the cleaning, cooking, and quartering of the animal is undertaken by any one who chooses to volunteer his services, during which interval the day's adventures are narrated: those who have remained at home share equally with the hunters[6] in the spoil, for they are supposed to have been engaged in contributing to the general wants of the community.

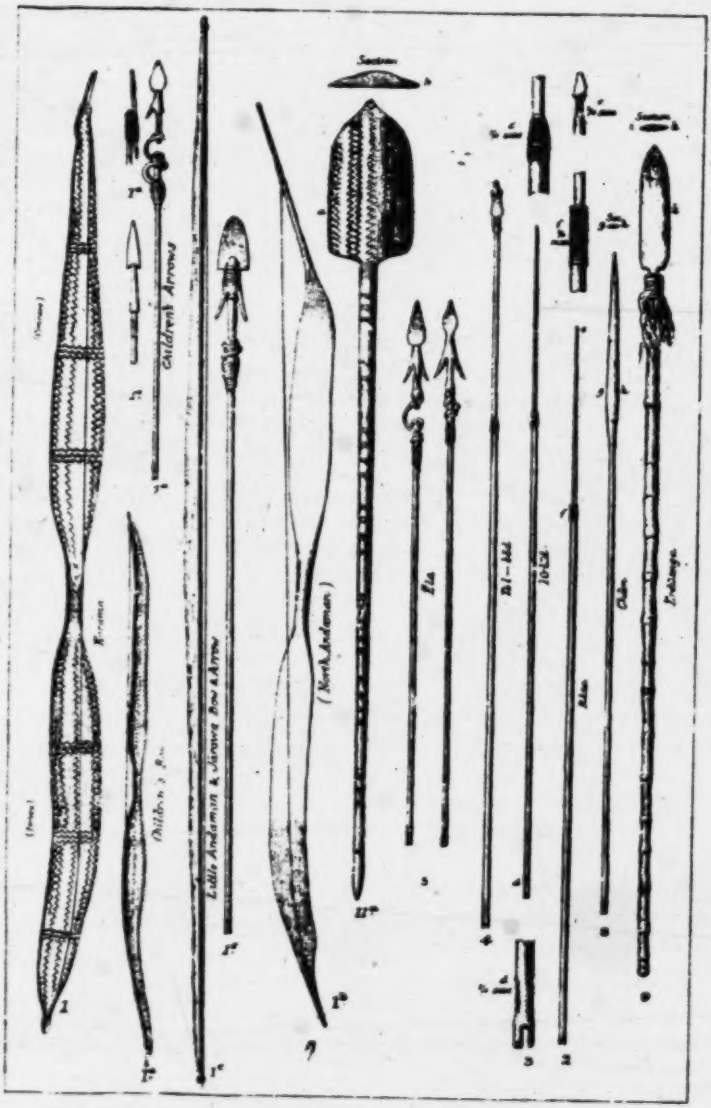
31. There are, of course, some in every encampment who, from laziness or want of skill, are of very little use in this respect, but, since any ill-natured remarks at their expense would inevitably result in a more or less serious quarrel, they are rarely twitted with the circumstance, but are permitted to partake of the feast. [461]

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 52; also *post* "Stone Implements," paragraph 2.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 51; also *post* "Natural Forms, &c.," paragraph 1.
[3] *Vide* Appendix B, item 15; also *post* "Natural Forms, &c.," paragraph 2.
[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 9; also *ante* paragraph 5.
[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 77; also *post* "Natural Forms, &c.," paragraph 4.
[6] On the return of the hunting party the chief is apprised of the nature and amount of the "bags;" whatever is brought in by the married men is taken to their private huts and distributed as they please, but the spoils of the bachelors are at the disposal of the chief, and are distributed according to his orders.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Plate B.

411



ANDAMANESE OBJECTS.

[facing p. 174]

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194 (3) No vanishing sound of *i* as in *say*.

(4) No vanishing sound of *u* as in English *know*.

(5) *h* is sounded after a vowel by continuing breath through the position of the mouth, while remitting the voice.

(6) *ñg* is a palatalised *ng*, and bears the same relation to it as *ñ* bears to *n*. To pronounce *ñ* attempt to say *n* and *y* simultaneously; to pronounce *ñg* do the same for *ng* and *y*.

(7) This *r* is soft and gentle, with no sensible ripple of the tongue, as very frequently in English, but is not merely vocal.

(8) This *r* is strongly trilled, as *r* in Scotch or Italian *r*, or Spanish *rr*.

(9) The Andamanese cannot hiss, and hence they substitute *ch* for *s*, thus *.rüch* for *Rüs*, the Hindi corruption of Ross.

(10) This *t'* is a post-aspirated *t*, like the Indian *th*, quite different from English *th*, and hence to prevent confusion, the Greek *spiritus asper* is imitated by a turned comma. The sound *t'*, is common in Irish-English, and may often be heard in England.

(11) When *ng* is followed by a vowel, it must run on to that vowel only, and not be run on to the preceding vowel, either as in "finger" or in "singer," thus *bē'-ri-nga-da* "good," not *bē'-ring-a-da*, *bē'-ring-gad-a*, or *bē'-rin-ga-da*. It is only when no vowel follows that *ng* is run on to the preceding vowel.

APPENDIX B.

List of Objects made and used by the Andamanese.[1]

411 1. *kâ'rama-*.[2] Bow of a flattened S-shaped form, as made and used by the tribes of South and Middle Andaman, and the Archipelago, viz.: *.bō'jig-ngī'ji-*, *.bō'jig-yá'b-*, *.ôko-jū'wai-*, *.â'kà-.kō'l-*, and *.bal'awa-*,[3] and called by them *bō'jig kâ'rama-*[4] (our style of bow), to distinguish it from the bows used by the inhabitants of North and Little Andaman: it is made of a hard wood, generally of a variety called *chai-*, or—though less frequently—of the *bad'ama-*, *yâ'rla-*, *pū'rud-*, or *châ'dak-*.[5] For hunting in the interior, the usual length of these bows, for the sake of convenience, is about 4 feet; the same or somewhat larger bows are used in the open jungle, along the coast, or when shooting fish; when made for presentation rather than for use, they are elaborately ornamented and carefully prepared in every way, and measure 6½ or 7 feet in length. It is customary to ornament

[1] In arranging this list, I have taken care to retain the numbers which are attached to each object in the Andamanese collection presented by me to General Pitt Rivers in 1878, and which is now exhibited in the South Kensington Museum. Except where otherwise specified, these objects are those used by the people of South Andaman; many of them, however, are believed to differ but slightly from such as are made by the remaining seven tribes of Great Andaman; but greater diversities are to be found among objects made by the Little Andaman and other *.jâr'awa-* tribes.

[2] *Vide* Plate VI, fig. 1.

[3] For the situation of these tribes *vide* the accompanying map.

[4] For the purposes of inflection and syntax, the termination *da*, which belongs to most substantives, adjectives, and many adverbs, is invariably dropped (*vide* Appendix A, "Rules").

[5] The botanical names of the various trees which have as yet been identified will be found in Appendix L.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 both sides of every *bō·jig* bow, first by cutting a rough ×-like pattern along the edge from end to end with a *Cyrena* shell, and then with grass or leaves smearing *kòi·ob-* (item 60) over both surfaces, to form a background, upon which they finally paint a design in *tâ·la-ōg-* (item 58); the upper end, or nock, of the bow is also frequently decorated with a piece of fine netting called *râb-* (item 42); the bowstring is made of the bark fibre of the *Anadendrum paniculatum* (Andam., *yō·lba-*, item 64), to which, to increase its strength, a coating of black beeswax (*tō·bul-pūd-*, item 57) is frequently applied. Children's bows[1] only are ever made of mangrove wood, and then the *Rhizophora conjugata* is usually preferred.[2]

[NOTE.—The North Andaman bows, called *chô·kio-*,[3] which are generally, if not always, made from the tree they call *bad·ama-*, differ somewhat in design from those just described: they are also more neatly made, and are never painted or otherwise ornamented, and are almost invariably of a uniform size, *i.e.*, 5 to 5½ feet in length. The Little Andaman and other *jär·awa-* bows[4] are of a totally different form, and appear to be commonly made of the wood of the tree known to them as *lō·koma-*.]

2. *râ·tà-*.[5] The common blunt wooden-headed arrow, used when practising at an object:[6] the shaft consists of a reed-like variety of bamboo (*Bambusa nana*) called *rī·di-*, and the foreshaft is generally a piece of the hard portion of the wood of the Areca, or less frequently of the root of the *Rhizophora conjugata*: the point is usually hardened over a fire, and straightened by means of their teeth.

3. *tī·rlē·d-*.[7] The ordinary fish arrow, which differs from the *râ·tà-* only in that the point is sharpened.

4. *tō·lbō·d-*.[8] Fish arrow, about 4½ feet long, made like the preceding varieties, but provided with an iron head and barb; the string fastenings attaching the same to the foreshaft are covered with *kâ·ngatâ-būj-* (item 62). In former times the head of this arrow consisted of a fish-bone; the serrated bone at the root of the tail of the sting-ray (item 53) was often employed for this purpose.

5. *ē·la-*.[9] Pig arrow, about 3½ feet in length: the foreshaft consists of a triangular piece of flattened iron fastened to the end of a small stick about 4 inches in length; at the base of the

[1] *Vide* Plate VI, fig. 2.

[2] This of course is only procurable by those living on or near the coast. The bows of the *ē·rem-tà·ga-* children are usually made of wood of the *Trigonostemon longifolius*.

[3] *Vide* Plate VI, fig. 4.

[4] *Vide* Plate VI, fig. 3.

[5] *Vide* Plate VI, fig. 8.

[6] *Vide* Part III, "Games and Amusements," paragraph 14.

[7] *Vide* Plate VI, fig. 7.

[8] *Vide* Plate VI, fig. 6.

[9] *Vide* Plate VI, fig. 5.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 head one or two (rarely three) iron barbs are fixed to the stick, the end of which is fitted into a socket (*â·kà-chà·nga-*) provided for it in the shaft; the head and shaft are connected by a flattened thong about 8 inches long, made from the fibre of the *Anodendron paniculatum*, and which, before the arrow is fired, is always wound round the wooden portion of the foreshaft by twisting the latter when placing it in its socket; when an animal is struck the head of the arrow is retained in the flesh by the barbs (*archâ·ga-*), and as the foreshaft slips out of its socket by reason of the struggles and movements of the animal in its efforts to escape, the trailing shaft quickly becomes entangled in the brushwood, thereby detaining the victim and ensuring its capture.

6. *ē·la l'â·kà lū·pa-*.[1] This, as indicated by its name, is merely a plain pig arrow, having no foreshaft like the more elaborate *ē·la-*: it is less effective than the latter, but more easily made.

7. *tô·lbō·d l'â·rtâm-*.[2]

7*a*. *ē·la l'â·rtâm-*[3] (lit., ancient). Fish and pig arrows, headed respectively with fish bone (*nūp l'àr bū·l-*, item 53) and the *Perna ephippium* shell, which are said to have been used in former times when iron was unobtainable.

8. *châm-pâ·ligma-*.[4] Plain wooden arrows, about 3½ feet in length, made of the wood of the Areca palm: it is said that when iron was scarce these were shaped somewhat like the *ē·la-* (item 5) or *tī·rle·d-* (item 3), and used as pig and fish arrows, but now they are never so employed, being apparently made only for the "sake of auld lang syne," or to display the skill of the maker.

[NOTE.—The *jār·awa-* are only as yet known to employ the two varieties of arrows, viz., the *ē·la-* and the *tī·rlē·d-*; the latter much resembles those bearing the same name and made by the eight Great Andaman tribes, but the former is a more formidable weapon, being larger and more strongly made.]

9. *ēr-dū·tnga-* or *gal·ain-*.[5] Pig spear, generally 6 or 7 feet long; the shaft consists ordinarily of a piece of ground rattan (*bōl-*), and a large double-edged blade forms the head. This weapon is rarely used, the *ē·la* (item 5) being preferred.

[NOTE.—It appears that none of the North Andaman or *jār·awa-* tribes have ever been seen with such a spear; probably this is partly due to the difficulty they experience in obtaining iron.]

10. *kowai·a l'ôko dū·tnga-*[6] Turtle spear: the shaft[7] is a

[1] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 5.
[2] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 4.
[3] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 76.
[4] *Vide* Plate VI, fig. 9.
[5] *Vide* Plate VI, fig. 12.
[6] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 24.
[7] This shaft is called *tôg-*, and is used for poling the canoe along the shore.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 bamboo (male species preferred), often 18 feet or more in length; for the reception of the harpoon a socket is prepared at the small end, which is strengthened by pieces of mangrove wood, over which strips of cane are neatly tied. The harpoon consists of a strong barbed iron head fastened to a short piece of wood to which a long line (*bē·tma-*) is attached. When a turtle or large fish is struck the harpoon detaches itself from the shaft, which floats and is picked up after the capture has been effected.

[NOTE.—A harpooner almost invariably follows up a successful cast by plunging into the water, lest in the act of dragging the line the harpoon should slip out of the wound and his victim should thus escape.]

501 11. *rō·ko-*.[1] Generic name of the various kinds of canoes made in recent years[2] by the aborigines of South Andaman and adjacent parts, where, owing to the facility of obtaining iron tools, large dug-outs, called *gī·lyanga-*, capable of accommodating twenty to forty persons, are constructed in place of the small outrigger canoes (*chā·rigma-*) with which the other tribes have still to content themselves. They are usually made of the *Sterculia villosa* (Andam., *bā·ja-*), and are often ornamentally painted.

[NOTE.—The outrigger is called *tel-*, and is always made of the wood of *maü·-* (one of the *Sterculiaceæ*), which is soft and light.]

11*a*. *wāl·igma-*.[3] Paddle: these are not made by women, nor are they of any prescribed size, this being regulated merely by the fancy of the maker, and the material at his disposal; they are frequently adorned by women with chevrons[4] (*jō·bo-tàrtā·nga-*) of *kòi·ob-* (item 60) or *tā·la-ōg-* (item 58).

286 12. *yôto-tē·pinga-*. Turtle-net, made by men,[5] of a stout cord [584] (*bē·tma-*), which is prepared from the bark fibre of the *Melochia velutina* (Andam., *al·aba-*); the meshes vary in size according to the fancy or skill of the maker.[6]

415 13. *dā·kar-*.[7] Bucket made by the Great Andaman tribes of 322 the wood used in constructing canoes, *i.e.*, *Sterculia villosa*, with a loop of cane to form the handle; the implement used in hollowing out these vessels is the blade of the adze (*wō·lo-*, item 15), which is detached from its handle and fastened to a straight piece of wood so as to form a sort of chisel.

[NOTE.—The Little Andaman and other *jār·awa-* buckets are made in the same manner, but are much larger and superior in every way; they are, moreover, neatly ornamented round the sides with strips of cane, evenly laid on and fastened at the rim by plaiting.]

[1] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 69.
[2] *Vide* Part III, "Navigation," paragraph 4, and footnote.
[3] *Vide* Plate VI, fig. 70
[4] *Vide* Part III, "Ornamentation," paragraph 6.
[5] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 60.
[6] *Vide* Part III, "String," paragraph 6.
[7] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 14.

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Plate D.

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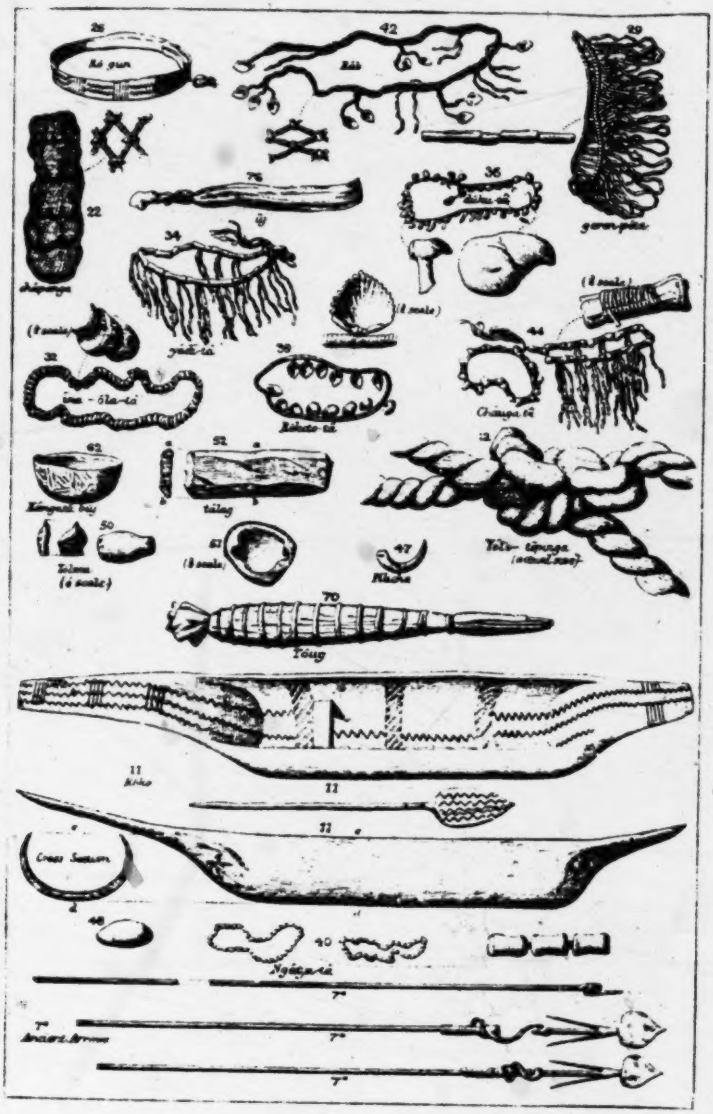

ANDAMANESE OBJECTS.

[facing p. 182]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Plate E.

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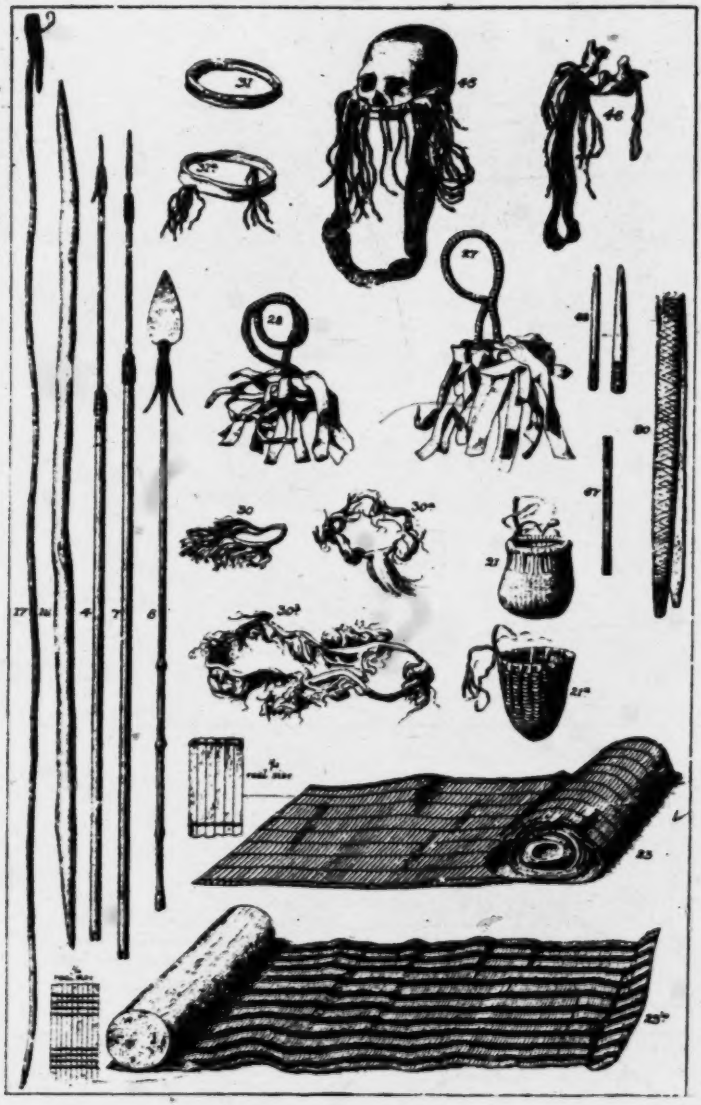

ANDAMANESE OBJECTS

[facing p. 186]

619 now passing away and I well recollect 25 years ago, though the Bojigyab were then known to us, the "coming in" of the first Balawa from the Archipelago and of the first Chariar from the extreme north and the difficulty experienced in communicating with them.

In reading the following remarks on the tribes it must always be borne in mind that the statements therein made refer largely to a state of things practically already passed away and never likely to be revived. The reader can without difficulty use his discretion in separating what is from what has been in the course of his perusal.

619 184 **Their Division into three Groups.**—The Andamanese tribes are by themselves divided into three distinct groups, having certain salient characteristics: the forms of the huts, bows and arrows, of the canoes, of ornamentation, female clothing, hair dressing, and utensils, of tattooing, and of language common generally to the group, but differing in details and sometimes entirely from those of other groups. Judged by this standard the tribal affinities may be thus stated: Northern or Yerewa Group, Chariar, Kora, Tabo, Yere, Kede; Southern or Bojigngiji Group, Bea, Balawa, Bojigyab, Juwai, Kol; Outer Group, Ônge-Jarawa, who do not tattoo. Some of the tribes are divided into septs, fairly well defined under headmen and with a local area of their own, but not under any separate designation.

The Distinctions between the Groups.—It is worth while bringing together this remarkable series of differences dividing the Andamanese into three divisions; differences that more or less run through all matters concerning them.

[304] (1) *Tattooing.*—Bojigngiji; women are the tattooers cutting the skin slightly with small flakes of quartz or glass in patterns of zigzags or in straight vertical lines; face, ears, genitals, arm and knee pits are excepted. Men and women are tattooed alike. Yerewa; men are the tattooers, cutting the skin deeply with iron pig-arrow heads: short horizontal parallel cuts in three or five lines down the back and front of the trunk, round the anus and legs. Women are tattooed thus as life advances. Ônge-Jarawa; no tattooing.

[302] (2) *Hair.*—Bojigngiji; partial to complete shaving of head. Yerewa; long matted ringlets touching the shoulders. Ônge-Jarawas; closely cropped head to a mop. Ônge-Jarawa women are not shaved.

[291] (3) *Ornaments and female clothing.*—Bojigngiji women wear a bunch of five or six leaves in front: Yerewa women a loose tassel of narrow strips of bark: Ônge-Jarawa a bunching tassel of fibre. Bojigngiji women are most particular as to clothing: Yerewa women careless. Jarawa women are apt to be quite unclothed. Bojigngijis and Yerewas smear their faces with grey clay mixed with water, white clay in delicate patterns imitating the tattoo marks, red ochre mixed with turtle fat and almond oil in coarse undefined patterns. Ônge-Jarawas, with yellow clay mixed with water in coarse patches, red ochre mixed with the above mentioned oils on the head. Ônge-Jarawas wear no bone ornaments.

[302]

[531] (4) *Ornamentation of utensils.*—Bojigngiji and Yerewas, slight: Ônge-Jarawas delicate and elaborate.

[323] (5) *Pots.*—Bojigngijis, pots with rounded bottom: Ônge-Jarawas and Yerewas with pointed bottom.

[412] (6) *Implements.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas, coarse and rough in manufacture: Ônge-Jarawas, often delicate and neat.

[285] (7) *Baskets.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas have a 'kick' and stand well: Ônge-Jarawas have uneven bottom and stand badly.

[411] (8) *Bows and arrows.*—Bojigngiji, *karama* bow and large arrows. Yerewa, *chokio* bow and small arrows. Ônge-Jarawa, curved long bow and long arrows.

(9) *Arrows.*—Generally common in type to all tribes: long with plain straight point, long with straight point and barbs, short with broad detachable barbed head for pigs.* Ônge-Jarawas and Yerewas, multiple headed arrows for fish.

(10) *Harpoons.*—For turtle, dugongs, and large fish among Bojigngijis and Yerewas: none among the Ônge-Jarawas.

* As the pig runs off, the trailing shaft is at once caught by something in the jungle and the animal is thus brought up short.

765 neck, usually, but not always, by the widow, widower or nearest relative. Mourning closes with a ceremonial dance and the removal of the clay. The ceremonies connected with the disposal of the dead are conventional, reverential and by no means without elaboration in detail.

V. Arts.

324 **Stone Implements.**—The only stone cutting implement known to the Andamanese is the quartz flake chipped off, never worked, and held between the fingers for shaving and tattooing, and shells and fish bones are used for the small blades of the peculiar adze of this people, and for arrow points, scraping and cutting. A *cyrena* valve is the ordinary knife and scraper. Hammers, anvils, hones, and oven-stones consist of natural stones. They have never made celts.

177 The ends of glass bottles for some years, and iron from wrecks for a long time past, have been substituted for the indigenous implements, when and where procurable. The object of the long series of murderous raids made by the inland Jarawas on the outlying parts of the Penal Settlement has now been proved to have been made in search for iron. The implements on the whole are coarsely and roughly made.

411 **Weapons.**—The weapons of the Andamanese are bow and arrow, harpoon, fish spear, pig spear, and they have never had any notion of poisoning the blades, which however sometimes inflict dangerous septic wounds from dirt, though as a rule they are kept bright as a matter of pride. Barbed arrows and harpoons with loose heads are used for catching and pulling up game in the jungles and marking where turtle or large fish are sinking.

Domestic Arts.—Excellent information with illustrations on the domestic and other arts of the Andamanese is to be found in a minutely accurate work, Man's *Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands.*

283 **String and Netting.**—String for nets and all purposes is twisted, often neatly, from the inner bark of creepers. Large nets of this string are made for driving turtle and hand-nets for prawns and small fish and for wallets. Stout cord is made from the inner bark of the *melochia velutina.* Whole, split and scraped canes are used as binders.

285 **Weaving.**—The weaving is good, neat and stout, and baskets and mats are thus well made from strips of canes.

323 **Pottery.**—The unglazed circular clay cooking pots with rounded or pointed bottoms, to the Andamanese very valuable, are built up by hand, sun-dried and then baked, but not thoroughly, in the fire. They are often encased in basket work for safety. Their manufacture, form and ornament are typical of the Stone Age generally.

322 **Wood and Cane work.**—Buckets are hollowed out of wood or cut from the joints of the bamboo. Canoes are hollowed out of whole trunks of light, soft timber by the adze without the use of fire, do not last long and are only fair sea boats. They are however capable of holding many people and a good deal of light cargo.

301 **Ornamentation, Personal and Domestic.**—The personal ornaments made are—bunches and strips of fibres and leaves scraped, cut and hammered, fringes of dentalium shells and straw-coloured wreaths of hammered and roasted dendrobium bark. The bones, skulls and jawbones of deceased relatives are also used whole, or broken and scraped to fancy or requirement, as ornaments, besides necklaces of the bones of animals. Tattooing and painting the body are only ornamental to the extent that, in the latter case especially, deviations from the conventional designs are due to personal taste.

353 The only ornaments to dwellings and huts are the heads of turtle, pigs, iguana, paradoxurus killed in hunting. These are hung up partly as ornaments and partly as trophies, but not with any idea of record.

531 Every manufactured article has its own customary conventional line ornament in one or more of three colours and in one or more of eleven patterns approximately achieved only. The colours are red, white and brown from natural earths. The patterns are (1) chevrons, (2) close cross hatch, (3) wide cross hatch, (4) parallel lines, (5) parallels and chevrons combined, (6) lozenges, (7) plait or guilloche, (8) herring-bone, (9) cross cuts, (10) loops, (11) vandyke with scolloped bands and cross lines.

crew of the ship called him 'Raja' and we adopted this name (*see* Plate IV, Figs. 1 & 2). He was the only one among the Onges who was fully armed with knives, bows and arrows. Among the contents of the canoes, we found complete fishing out-fits, bows and arrows, ropes and nautilous shells, for bailing out water. There was also a kind of bamboo float about 1½ ft. long, probably used for turtle fishing. We gave them food, cigarettes and other presents. After they became quite familiar with us and friendly, they were subjected to full anthropometric measurements by me. Their blood was also tapped by Mr Sarkar for typing. The presents given were iron nails, strips of red cloth, tea and tobacco leaves. Among all these objects what they liked most were the tobacco leaves. Cooked rice, dal (cooked lentils) and fish curry served to them from the launch Mess were however not much appreciated. With the few Hindi words that they were able to understand, we told them that we would like to visit their camp next morning and meet other members of the party. After the canoes had left, we anchored at this point for the night and after taking an early breakfast we left for the shore in two batches. We were informed by the crew that the creek near the Onge camp was called the *Dugong Creek*. We had to wade through brakish water and coast fringing with coral beds for about two miles, before we reached the Onge settlement. There was one large circular communal hut characteristic of the Onges and several lean-to's (*see* Plate I, Fig. 2). We noticed three canoes on the beach apparently those with which they came to meet us on the previous day. We saw also several small dogs and the entrails of a pig strewn round. We met all the 12 Onges we saw the day before, along with Ukla and his family. In addition there were a number of women and children. We took out our presents of dried tobacco leaves, iron nails and two large fishes that we had caught on our way from Port Blair. These were distributed to the Onges. There were altogether 17 men, 15 women, 4 boys and 3 girls. The children were between 1½ to 4 years. The entire party of Onges behaved towards us in a friendly manner and subjected to our measurements and tapping of blood from their fingers without any protest. We went inside their hut and inspected the settlement very thoroughly. A large number of photographs were taken. We found that the name of this village was *Tambebui*. As it became rather late, we decided to return to 'Molly' in the Andamanese canoes, rather than walk through the coral beds for 2 miles. The Onges understood our signs and gladly escorted us back to the launch. We found there were several other Onges waiting for us in the launch who came from the neighbouring village *Gabilong*. All of these Onges appear to be under the influence of the man nick-named as 'Raja' (*see* Plate IV, Figs. 1-2).

We could not proceed towards Hut Bay as the launch had to return for duty at Port Blair, where we reached at about mid-night.

After reaching Port Blair, I discussed the matter of transport with the Chief Commissioner, Mr Majid. A thorough coastal survey of Little Andaman would take at least 15 to 20 days. As it was found impossible to get either from the Forest Department or from the Harbour Master any of their launches

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Karen AP7

for such a fairly long period, it was decided to give up the idea of continuing our survey of the Little Andaman that year. A 122

At the suggestion of Mr Majid it was finally decided instead to pay a visit to the surviving members of the Friendly Andamanese tribes at Neil and Havelock Islands where they had now been transferred and settled. Unfortunately, as it was March and the closing month of the financial year, I had to return to my headquarters at Banaras and leave Mr Sarkar in charge of the party to carry on further surveys in the North and Middle Andamans as far as this was found possible. A 121 [131]

Accordingly Mr Sarkar with his party left Port Blair on 6-3-48 on the Forest Motor Launch "Lindsay" and arrived at Long Island at about 8 A.M. on the following day. Mr Sarkar was met by Mr Joseph, T. S. D. O. who brought "Loka" and his party of four Andamanese. They were studied by him. The party left Long Island on the Forest Launch "Kokhari" at about 7-30 A.M. on the following day. Mr Joseph accompanied the party, who halted at the Guitar Island where some of Loka's associates were hunting turtles with harpoons. After leaving Guitar Island, the launch passed through Homfray Strait. Mr Joseph showed the spot where the Jarawas in 1925 attacked his camp. This is near the place from where the Jarawas usually crossed from the Baratang Island to the Middle Andamans. Proceeding further westwards, Mr Sarkar and his party reached the north-east end of the Spike Island. This is another route of migration of the Jarawas from the South to North Andamans. Usually they come from the South Andaman and cross over to Bluff Island and then reach the Spike Island opposite to it. Loka gave the information that it was about this place that several Jarawas were shot sometime back and their bodies were buried in the Bluff Island. The party went along the coast of Neil Island and anchored off Foul Bay. Human footprints identified by Mr Joseph and Loka as belonging to the Jarawas were found in the sand. Following the footprints the party found the remnants of burnt ashes and cinder in a spot in the jungle. There were also vessels made of leaves for carrying water which were still wet. These were collected as specimens of Jarawa objects for the Department's collections. No traces of Jarawas themselves could however be found who must have moved into the jungles just prior to our party's visit. Our men then crossed over to Bluff Island and searched for the Jarawa skeletons, but none were found. On the 9th of March the "Kokhari" returned to Long Island, where it anchored. Loka brought his party of 21 individuals who were now settled in Neil Island. These people were carefully studied by Mr Sarkar and notes taken regarding their geneology, family structure and physical state, etc. On the 9th the Deputy Chief Commissioner, Mr S. C. Gupta with his wife arrived at Long Island. Mr Sarkar and his party accompanied him to Stewart Sound in his boat "Elsa". Unfortunately the few Andamanese who were living there happened to have gone out in their canoes for fishing and could not be contacted (*see* Plate I, Fig. 5). A 115 A 114 A [225] [411] A 115 [126] A [115]

They then went with Mr Gupta to the Karen village called *Webi* situated at a short distance from Stewart Sound. There were no Andamanese there, K 361

There were no Andamanese There,

K 36 [62] A 114 but 400 people consisting of 133 males and 130 females who migrated from Bassein in 1924. They were Karen Christians who had settled there. After returning to Long Island on the 12th, Mr Sarkar and party left in the motor boat "Return" for a short cruise along the Jarawa country. Besides Mr Joseph, there were Mr Pooviah and a few of his Burman Bush Police armed with rifles and guns. The party passed through the Homfray's Strait and anchored at the north eastern corner of the Spike Island. Loka and his party of three Andamanese accompanied them in their two canoes. They came to the shore in one of the Andamanese canoes and after entering the forest they found A [501] bundles of bamboos piled up at one corner. This was identified as a Jarawa raft. There were also three paddles made out of a palm tree. These specimens were procured for the Department. After proceeding some distance in the jungle, 19 small fire places were counted in scattered manner. A temporary hut was also noticed at a short distance. A number of objects usually A [34] [487] [411] [531] used by the Andamanese tribes for household purposes was found including a sling for carrying babies. A beautiful specimen of a Jarawa Bow painted in red in geometrical designs was also found. Photographs were taken of the settlements of the Jarawa camp and objects collected for the Museum. In another place at *Yeratiajig* remnants of a Jarawa camp including pottery and bones of animals, etc., were found. The party returned to Long Island on 14-3-48 and examined 8 of the remaining members of Loka's party. It left the same day for Port Blair where it arrived at 10 P.M. On the 25th Mr Sarkar and his party with the Deputy Chief Commissioner Mr Gupta, left for Kar Nicobar where it arrived on the following day. It returned to Port Blair after staying for a few days. During this time in Kar Nicobar, besides studying the Nicobarese of the Island Mr Sarkar met two Jarawa children who were captured and brought over there and placed in a local Mission School for education.

In the following year in January 1949, another small party was sent under Dr A. K. Mitra with Messrs H. K. Bose and A. Bhattacharyya, to continue A the survey of the Little Andaman further along the eastern coast. They [361] visited *Hut Bay* on the 28th and went to the Onge settlement there. A large [342] circular hut similar to that seen by us at Tambebui was observed. It contained [350] nine cots with a fire place in the centre. There were also two outrigger canoes, [354] one in front of the hut and another on the beach. Altogether 11 Onges were [162] found consisting of 2 adult males, 6 females and 3 young children between [125] the ages of 6 to 15. The 8 adults and the adolescent boys were carefully measured and observations noted about their special somatic characters. After leaving Hut Bay they went as far as the South Point which is the southernmost point on the eastern coast of the Little Andaman, but did not see any other Onge settlement. They had to return on the 31st as the launch could not be spared any further.

A 142 164 The Onges were found to be strong and healthy and free from venereal disease, a scourge, which along with tuberculosis were chiefly responsible for the rapid depopulation of the Andamanese tribes. Our observations agree A 142 with the accounts of the Negritos of the Andaman Islands published before

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

123 411 painted with red ochre. It was perhaps left there for drying. The Jarawa would surely have returned just for this bow!

It was a straight piece of wood tapering at both ends. The outer surface was convex and was painted red, while the inner one was straight and smooth, and showed criss-cross designs and indentations. We then went to look for a 123 spring and found it at some distance behind a steep rock but there was no [312] water then. It appeared that the Jarawa had left this camp some time ago.

We then left Spike Island and sailed for Yeratia Jig. Here an old kitchen [172] midden was known to be another Jarawa haunt. No Jarawa was found even there, however. The kitchen midden was a mound strewn all over with animal bones. Fragments of typical Andamanese pottery and a blue stone bead were discovered there.

648 [721] In recent years the Jarawa raids have been rather more frequent. GUPTA (1955) has given a list of them in his report on these people. It is believed that the primary cause of the restlessness of the Jarawa is the shortage of game and other food material [3]. On the other hand the tribe appears to have been sufficiently provoked by the punitive expeditions. All the Jarawa villages that the punitive party came upon were burnt down. In the encounter of March 1911 a woman was captured alive and nobody knows what happened to her afterwards. The pregnant woman captured along with four children in 1938 off Bluff Island later on gave birth to a boy (SARKAR, 1952, Pl. IX, fig. 3) at Port Blair but it was difficult to tame her. After her delivery she attempted to swim away and was rescued from the sea. She would spend hours climbing a cocoanut tree. Her whereabouts were unknown during the Japanese occupation of the Andaman Islands during the last war. The young children were sent to the Mission at Car Nicobar, where the present writer studied them in 1948. One of them had died before.

726 [714] [302] On the other hand the Jarawa raids, according to the then executive Government officers, are also very brutal. Before they go out for a raid the Jarawa cover their chests with bark armour and paint their faces with patterns of white clay. The bark armour is stitched securely on the body by other persons and can only be removed by cutting off the stitches. These people [727] are in the habit of mutilating their victims. They take out their brains, their eyes, and their bodies are hacked all over. – The type of arrow they use is [411] almost a spear, as may be seen from fig. 4. This arrow was obtained by the present writer from the forest department officers of Long Island in 1951. It was used injuring a bush police officer of the night picket unit at Lakera Lunta in January of that year. The police, in return, shot one Jarawa dead. 726 The male nurse of the Long Island Hospital took the following body measurements of this dead man: 141

Height ... 5 feet 1 inch
Chest ... 36 inches

Fig. 4

[3] They have of late been reported from about the region of Homlungta, Rangat Bay, etc. on the east coast of Middle Andaman. (The spelling "Ronga Bay" on the map is incorrect.)

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

726
141

Right arm ... 2 feet 4 inches
Right index finger ... 4 inches
Right toe ... 2 inches
Length of right leg ... 2 feet 11 inches
Length of right foot ... 9 ½ inches

726 The iron blade of the arrowhead is 17 cm long and 4.9 cm broad at the base. It is mounted on a wooden shaft 86.7 cm long. The barb at the base consists
411 of an ordinary iron nail which is bent at its sharp end and fixed with bark
177 threads impregnated with resin. It must have been obtained from a forest camp during some raid.

726 According to GUPTA (1955) the above mentioned incident was not a
114 premeditated raid. He thinks – after a careful inquiry into the above incident – that the Jarawa "came out in the open, early in the morning and walked right into the camp and did not attempt to shoot, [which] would warrant a presumption that they meant a friendly visit".

Since the last few years the Andaman Government has not encouraged
648 any punitive expedition among the Jarawa. This is also evident from one of the Senior Officer's opinion quoted above. The forest workers, on the other hand, still have to face the Jarawa. They think that since no punitive action is taken against them they are gradually getting bolder. It is reported that the Jarawa beat the trunks of trees within their hearing. Consequently all these buttress beatings are immediately reported to the higher authorities and armed guards protecting the forest workers are alerted. If that is the case then the Jarawa do not attack without a warning! But who knows what they really mean? Do they want to communicate with us? Or is it a means of communication among themselves?

The Jarawa Problem

648 It has already been hinted at the problem of taming the Jarawa. It was
114 one of the special aims of the Government of India to arrange a substation of its Department of Anthropology. As a result of this the present writer visited the Andaman Islands twice and was of the opinion that the substation of the Department of Anthropology should be stationed at Long Island and not at Port Blair. There were no express plans but to carry out anthropological studies of the aborigines of the various islands. It has not yet been possible to census the friendly Onge properly (SARKAR, 1960).

The primary desideratum appears to be a knowledge of the native language. As far as the present writer knows, there is no one in the various Government departments who is acquainted with the Andamanese language,
000 not to mention the other languages spoken on the varius islands. The Onge

* A Jarawa vocabulary was collected from the captive pregnant Jarawa woman by Mrs. CHENGAPPA and Mrs. CHAUDHURI, and it has been published by the Andaman Government.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

CHAPTER IX

ABORIGINAL POPULATION

144 As said earlier, the aboriginal population of the Andamans belong to the negrito group which is spread over the different parts of Southeast Asia e.g. the Semangs and Sakais of Malaya, the Veddas of Ceylon, the Tapiro of New Guinea etc. The pygmies of the Equatorial Africa also show very close resemblance to the negritoes in physical as well as cultural characteristics but the latter are taller, much more dark skinned and also hairy than the former. In spite of the racial affinity with the other negrito groups of Southeast Asia, the Andamanese show a remarkable degree of purity, an outcome of the virtual seclusion and little contact with the other people. But the infiltration of the later settlers have proved a long way to bring about some changes in them. The comparison of the Andamanese with the other negritoes will prove that a good deal of evolution of the Andamanese has been attained by them independently.

Affinity with the other Negritoes of Southeast Asia

171 Though the fundamantals of the economy of the Andamanese do not differ appreciably from the Semangs and the other groups, some characteristic features distinguish these people from the others. The Andamanese follows a long series of food privations which is absent among the Semangs and the equipments are also more elaborate than [501] the other negritoes. The outrigger canoes of the Andamanese are more improved, the bows are of complicated S-form and the huts are considerable improvements of the rudimentary temporary camps original to the negritoes. These indicate a definite improvement of the material culture of the Andamanese over the others.

The affinity of the Andamanese with the other negrito groups i.e. the Semangs of the Malaya Peninsula and the Aetas of the Philippines can very well be traced from the study of the equipments of material culture and also from the general habits and the methods of life.

171 As regards the equipments, the bow, the arrow, the mode of erecting shelter and its shape show further improvements in their constuction 411 though the prevalence of the original simple types can be detected in some parts. The original one curvature bow has considerably evolved and has developed into the S-shaped bow in the Andamans though the

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

original type can still be found in the Little Andaman. The similarity of the arrows are also striking and this has been rightly observed by Dr. Cipriani,[1] 'Similarity also with the arrows. This consists of a barbed detachable head connected to the shaft by a string. The harpoon arrow like its near relative and probable forefather, the harpoon spears, offers an interesting question in ethnography. Although the Andamans are widely separated from Malaya and Malaya from the Philippines, the three groups of negritoes have harpoon arrows, while such weapons do not seem to be present in other regions of Asia.' The huts of the Andamanese are also the outcome of further improvements over the original negrito shelter found among the other negrito groups.

In the general habits and the modes of living, a good deal of similarity if not identity is maintained with the other negritoes. But changes and modifications have crept up among the different groups in response to the different environments. Some of the original habits have been totally forgotten and some equipments have been further improved upon or in some cases, totally forgotten. The Jarawas, who are believed to have arrived in the Great Andamans from the South had the knowledge of construction and use of the canoes which served as the means of their movement from the south to the north, have totally forgotten both the construction and use of it.

Though the changes brought about among the Andamanese in response to the environment and time is in no way inconsiderable to give them an impress of individuality, little room for doubt is left that they belong to the big family of the negritoes whose remnants are only found to-day scattered over the different parts of southeast Asia.

Origin of the Andamanese

The presence of such a small group of negritoes in the deep solitude of physical separation from the other countries obviously arouses the question as to how and wherefrom they came. The attributes of the Andamanese, prove very well their affinity with the negrito groups. Much to the curiosity of the observers, the tribal people of the Nicobar Islands do not show any affinity with the Andamanese culturally or materially and such contrasts are important aspects of anthropological study. However, the distribution of the negrito group in these isolated islands have been explained by some as the passage of the people from the Lower reaches of Burma and it is accepted with greater unanimity be-

1 Cipriani, L—On the origin of the Andamanese, Andaman & Nicobar Islands, Census of India, 1961.

Arioto
Jarawas

has a moustache, whereas pure Negritos have no body or facial hair.

THE JARAWAS

648 For obvious reasons I was unable to carry out any studies on the [114] Jarawas. Apart from a restricted area around Port Blair, on the east [137] coast of Great Andaman, the whole island is a tangle of tropical vegetation, in many places impenetrable, or at most passable only [491] by hacking a way through. A few roads radiate from Port Blair, but none penetrate more than twenty kilometres or so from the township. To the north of the town is a well-maintained police cordon that stretches right across the island from east to west to prevent infiltration by the Jarawas; those in the south were all rounded up some time ago. Only beyond the cordon do the Jarawas maintain [142] their rule over the virgin forest almost unchallenged. Like all the Andamanese they are Negritos, small in stature and extremely dark skinned. Obsessed by a fierce hatred for anyone outside their own group, enemies even of the other Andamanese, they roam through the forest with their deadly arrows. Shot from their powerful bows, [411] their dagger-sharp arrows penetrate deep into the body of the victim – they can transfix a man's chest. The bloody skirmishing which has gone on for the last hundred years shows no signs of lessening even today.

175 The Jarawa ferocity increased as the result of grave mishandling 648 of the situation by the foreigners. In this connection the following sentences from Portman's *History* may be quoted: 'On our arrival the Jarawas were quiet and inoffensive towards us, nor did they ever disturb us, until we took to continuously molesting them by inciting the coastal Andamanese against them. After a few years of this disturbance, the life of the Jarawas became very hard and in retaliation they began to attack us.' As the author in part recognizes, 'It was our fault if the Jarawas became hostile'. This was a fundamental error. Petty pilfering committed in perfect innocence by the Jarawas, ignorant of Western ideas of individual property, led to vicious punitive expeditions. To this end fire-arms were given to the hereditary enemies of the Jarawas, the Arioto. Elated by their unexpected power, they at once began slaughtering any Jarawa within sight, and enjoyed themselves hugely.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The Onges are the most numerous of the three peoples surviving in the Andamans. Vigorous and apparently full of promise for the future they may well offer a suitable field for the application of eugenic measures designed to increase their numbers; this would be impossible with the Jarawas owing to their hostility towards outsiders, and the few remaining Arioto are nearly all of impure stock. If their confidence could be gained, it might be possible to encourage inter-marriage between the various groups, in the hope that fertility would increase and the ultimate total extinction of Onges, Jarawas and Arioto, would be prevented.

In the Andamanese, this physiological decline has been accompanied by cultural decadence, as my digs in the kitchen-middens all over the archipelago showed. The ancient pottery which came to light is proof enough; when one compares it with recent work the latter is indicative of secondary and not original primitiveness. The successive strata in the deposits show a gradual decline from earthenware clearly made from a very refined mix to crude ware with vegetable impurities and bits of stone left in the clay. The pots dating from ancient times were clearly well fired and the quality of the clay allowed them to have thin but nevertheless very strong walls. In the present-day ware, on the other hand, the wall has to be thick because of the coarseness of the clay, making the pots both heavy and easily broken. Moreover, firing is limited to drying the pots in the sun, and the clay is in fact only hardened when the pot is used for cooking.

Ignorance of fire-making in the Andamans may also stem from this cultural regression, as one of the effects of physiological and psychological decadence. Given the absence of magico-religious beliefs among the Andamanese, ignorance of fire-making cannot be attributed to any ritual taboo or veto. On the other hand, it is in sharp contrast to the possession of elements of cultural advance such as the bow, with highly developed arrows, the harpoon with its detachable point, and the outrigger canoe.

Few races are known, even in far distant times, which never had fire. *Sinanthropus* and nearly every fossil Man after him had fire, even if he was unable to create it and could only preserve it once received from some natural combustion. The Onges, while retaining a number of ethnic characteristics of the Palaeolithic era, have

11: Cipriani E-3 (1961-1965) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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411
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9 The bow and arrow is the main weapon used for hunting; in this photograph the archer has the long arrow harpoon used for spearing large fish

10 Fishing in the coral shallows

133
226

[facing p. 66, G]

501

11 *Above* Launching an outrigger canoe
12 *Below* Hunter with a monitor lizard
13 Mother and child

142
224
411
516

[facing P. 66, H]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

If we may deduce from the evidence of the middens, pottery arrived in the Andamans at the same time as the pig, bones of which appear only in the upper levels; but we know nothing of the people responsible for the introduction of either. It is, however, certain that both arrived in Great Andaman and Little Andaman together.

There are indications that Little Andaman was the first to feel the benefit of pottery, possibly introduced by a light-skinned people. There are, as I have said, significant variations of skin colour and stature among the Onges; some have markedly lighter skins than the other islanders, and one would assume that this feature entered Little Andaman from the Nicobars with the unknown people who brought with them pottery and the pig. The people as an entity have disappeared as a result of inter-marriage with the indigenous population, while pigs reverted to the wild state and flourished, even spreading from one island to another by swimming (I can vouch for this, having seen them do it).[1]

The indications are that there were migrations from Little Andaman to Great Andaman long before those from which the Jarawas derive. In certain respects they resemble the Onges, whereas the surviving Arioto appear to represent a purer stock. The Onges seem to have acquired foreign blood in relatively recent times, perhaps when pigs and pottery appeared, when the kitchen-middens of Great Andaman were already being built up by the Arioto, but before the migration northwards by which the Jarawas reached their present home. Much more intensive investigation of the middens will, however, be needed before these hypotheses can be confirmed.

At Golpahar there were within the midden five graves containing human bones, not in anatomical position, and clearly filled in with fresh earth. I was surprised to find only the long bones, skulls and jawbones; the remaining bones could not be found. This may be explained by the custom among the Arioto (still prevailing

[1] One thing is puzzling: the three remaining groups of primitive Negritos in Malacca and the Philippines have the arrow harpoon with a detachable head. This is particularly valuable in the forests against the pigs, which cannot escape into the undergrowth once they have been hit. But it is difficult to see how or why the arrow harpoon reached the Andamans, where there were at that time no large mammals. It seems necessary to postulate the former spread of the weapon with the Negritos over a very wide area and its use against a much wider range of animals.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

they may be, and the strays of the Andaman forests howl unceasingly. Even in the Onge encampments the dogs howl enough to wake their sleeping masters; the only way to stop the noise is for the Onges to forestall it by taking their dogs into the family bed, fleas and all. There ensues silence, warmth and more fleas!

Hunting weapons of the Andamanese, the Semang and the Aetà were originally made by all three peoples in a similar way, common to all the Negritos. None have any defensive weapons as such; their bows and arrows, never feathered, serve as arms as well as for hunting and fishing. Shields are unknown and spears, rare in the Andamans and among the Semang, are apparently no longer in use among the Aetà; where they exist they are usually mainly for hunting. All three peoples, however, have the arrow harpoon.[1]

Their bows are all clearly derived from the same source. In the Andamans, only the Onges and Jarawas have remained true to the original form, local variations arising at a later date, and they afford additional evidence in favour of Little Andaman being the original springboard from which the Negritos entered Great Andaman.

All the Negritos make their bows from one piece of wood stripped longitudinally from the living trunks of large trees such as *Mimusops littoralis* or *Pterocarpus dalbergoides*. After they have been left to season the strips are patiently fashioned into the required shape; for this the Onges use the shells of *Cyrena* (the freshwater species, which are tougher). The bows are straight, thicker in the middle and gradually tapering towards the ends, and are usually 1·6 metres long, although there are exceptions. The cross section is the same throughout the length of the bow, varying from three or four centimetres diameter at the centre to two and a half centimetres at the horns. The inner surface is so slightly curved as to be almost flat, while the back is markedly convex. The blunt horns end in a 'shoulder and neck' stop to take the string, the neck projecting about one and a half centimetres beyond the shoulders – enough to hold the bowstring. The shoulder is formed by strips of *Ficus* bark wound round the bow, or the yellow fibres of *Dendrobium*; one shoulder is invariably larger than the other. The string itself, made from long thin strips of *Ficus* bark twisted together, has a very narrow loop on one end and a larger one at the other;

[1] See p. 86.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 [283] when stretched the string remains held in place by the two loops, one too small to slip over the lower shoulder, and the larger one held firm on the upper shoulder by the tension of the string.

184 411 When the bow is strung, it is placed upright with the lower horn firmly on the ground, the string already looped on to the small shoulder. The top of the bow is forced down (either hand being used indiscriminately), a foot being pressed against the grip to help it bend; the other end of the string, with the large loop, is then run up the stave and slipped over the larger shoulder, where the tension holds it firm. Considerable individual variation may occur in the art of making the bow and preparing the string and also in the actual stringing. In the Onges, apart from the size of the bow, the variation never went beyond slight differences in the curvature of the inner surface and back, the former being in a few cases quite flat, or even concave, as in the Jarawa bows. Neither the Onges nor the Jarawas, including those on North Sentinel, decorate their bows in any way, but the Arioto like to make a series of small straight cuts on the horns, on both the inner and outer surfaces and sometimes even cover the bow with bizarre red and white lines, which wear off very quickly with use. There appears to be no real difference between Onge and Jarawa bows, except that the latter tend to be larger, in keeping with their intended use as hostile weapons.

From the original Negrito bow of Little Andaman the so-called S-bow of the Arioto evolved as the result of a number of minor innovations. The basic principle remained the same, but in an effort to take greater advantage of the elasticity of the wood the rudiments of the distinction between the two horns later developed into a distinction between the two halves of the bow.

The unique modification which the original form of bow underwent on Great Andaman turned the stave into a composite of two spear-shaped halves, the upper almost straight, the lower slightly curved. At the horns the bow is still almost round in section, flattening as the 'spear' broadens out; the general dimensions and shape of the bow vary little between the Arioto of the south and north of the island, although the latter make the diameter at the horns rather larger. The two halves are joined at the centre of the weapon, forming a grip which is the thickest part of the bow. The simple difference in the size of the shoulders in the Onge bow now

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becomes more complex; the upper horn is more pointed than the lower, and there is a difference between the upper and lower halves of the bow, as it is necessary to prevent the loops of the strings slipping on the bow. The bow string is made not from *Ficus* bark, as in the Onge bow, but from thin *Anadendron* fibres, twisted together and waxed with beeswax; it has the usual loop at each end, and the bow is strung with the help of the foot as in the simpler version. When strung, this type of bow becomes S-shaped as a result of the variations in elasticity arising from the spear-shape of the two halves, but when drawn it assumes the normal shape. The fact that it is easier to draw an S-bow than a single-curve one, without any loss of propulsive force, is an interesting mechanical point.

The bows are only strung when required for use, and in the normal way neither they nor the arrows are ever seen by outsiders; they disappear up into the roof of the communal hut, or into the bushes round the temporary camps. Even with friendly Onges I had to ask specifically to see them, or surprise their owners out hunting.

The external influences to which the Semang and Aetà have been subjected have been strong enough to make them to a large extent forget their original form of bow, which has however survived alongside a large number of cultural inovations. The differences, for example, between the upper and lower extremities of both bow and string have persisted, and the shoulder-and-neck stop (although this is now made by notching the bow-stave deeply) so that we may reasonably assume that a close study of the Onge bow will give us the essential characteristic of a very ancient form of the weapon. The greatest modification to the original form is the one which has been made on North Andaman, and in an attempt to improve the effect of separate curving of the two sections selected trees are deliberately trained for the purpose, the cut wood being seasoned slowly over heat and smoke, paying particular care to the parts which will take the greatest strain. As a result the 'give' in the bow is markedly increased. But even here no fundamental alteration has been made in the design of the weapon.

The Onge bow, therefore, represents the forerunner of the somewhat more highly evolved type (now dying out with their owners) on Great Andaman, and adds further support to the evidence for

174 the arrival of the Negritos in the Andamans from the south; yet
184 more evidence is provided by the Onge arrows. In the Andamans
411 there are two types of arrows, those used for fish, and those for game, the latter also being used against human targets.

184 The same arrows are found throughout the archipelago, con-
411 firming a common origin. Only the dimensions vary from one area to another and that only very slightly; the Onges have both the biggest fishing arrows, and the biggest arrow harpoons, and the Arioto the smallest. In the past the islanders used arrows with from two to four points for fish, but I was unable to find any traces of them; those picked up on North Sentinel some years ago were possibly the last to be made.

411 The fishing arrow of the Andamans is made basically from the small native bamboo. The Onges remove the knots by scraping
[322] them down gradually with *Cyrena* shells, and then cut off a length
[237] varying between seventy centimetres and about one metre. Into one end they fix securely a hardwood stick, fifteen to twenty centi-
[177] metres long. This foreshaft takes the head, now nearly always iron, but in the past made of wood, fish spines or pig bone. In the kitchen-middens I also found heads made out of shaped pieces of *Tridacna*. The three parts of the arrow are then bound together with very thin waxed fibres, wound carefully round and round, great care being taken to prevent the bamboo shaft splitting where the foreshaft is forced in. The completed arrow finishes up 1–1·15 metres long overall. The head is barbed, to hold the fish once it is hit; to get it out the whole arrow has to be pulled through. Sometimes, but not always, the shaft has a notch in it, to take the cord, care being taken to make the notch never more than two centimetres from any knot, to avoid any possibility of the shaft splitting. Alternatively, splits are prevented by binding waxed thread tightly round the shaft.

The hunting arrow, or arrow harpoon, is an intelligent adaptation, the result of acute observation of wild life, and is more complicated than the fishing arrow which is intended only to pierce the
411 victim. The hunting arrow must not only score a hit, it must also
224 prevent the animal from escaping into the undergrowth and force it to reveal its position. The harpoon holds the victim cruelly and securely, and the excruciating pain caused by the drag of the cord forces the animal to reveal its position by its cries of agony. The

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

screams of a wild boar can be heard for hundreds of metres, drawing the hunters in from all sides, eager to take it alive. If it proves to be a large male, whose tusks can inflict appalling injuries, the hunters kill it at once with a spear or with a third type of arrow which has a long fixed head. This type of arrow, which does not differ greatly from those found in other parts of the world, is still used by some of the Andamanese against human enemies.

The shaft of the arrow harpoon is made preferably from *Tetranthera lancifolia*, very common all over the archipelago. The wood for the shafts has to be straight, very slender at one end, where a notch is cut half a centimetre deep to take the cord, and a little thicker at the other, which is hollowed out for about one centimetre to take the head of the weapon. Splitting of the wood at the ends is, as usual, prevented by binding the shaft with *gnetum* fibres, twisted into thread and waxed with beeswax.

The efficiency of the harpoon depends on the double-strand cord, extremely strong, made from *Hibiscus* fibres. One end is fixed on to the shaft, five centimetres from the point at which the foreshaft enters it, and the other to the foreshaft, two centimetres from the base, with a thirty-two centimetre loop of cord between the two fixings.

The harpoon blade, now made of iron, is eleven centimetres long and spear-shaped, ending in a series of barbs. The haft of the blade is bound tightly on to the short foreshaft, also eleven centimetres long, which is scraped thin at the end so that the haft can be bound on smoothly. The complete weapon mounted for use is about eighty-eight centimetres long overall in the Onges and Jarawas, and slightly shorter, about sixty-five centimetres, in the Arioto.

To prepare the harpoon for use the slack of the cord is wound firmly round the shaft, and the foreshaft with the blade attached is forced in. As the harpoon strikes, the shaft becomes detached and the victim, firmly held by the barbed arrow head, drags it along on the end of the cord until it catches in the undergrowth and holds the animal fast.

There is little difference between the arrow harpoons of Little Andaman and Great Andaman, and what difference there is affects only the dimensions, the type of cord, and the form of the barbs. The basic principle remains the same wherever it is found; all the Negritos, including the Semang and Aetà still use it, although these

two have added feathers, and poisoned tips, in imitation of neighbouring peoples.

For the capture of large fish and animals such as turtles, dolphins and dugong, the Onges and Arioto use not the arrow harpoon but the spear harpoon. Brown saw none of these among the Onges he studied in Rutland, and consequently assumed its absence on Little Andaman. The Onges carry as little as possible on their sea voyages for the sake of speed, and would not therefore take spear harpoons (used only for marine hunting) with them on trips to Rutland, which they visit only for the purpose of hunting pigs and not to fish, or to hunt marine animals. They certainly have, and use, spear harpoons even today; I myself have been with the Onges and seen their harpoons used from the canoes. I had ample opportunity to admire both the effectiveness of the weapons and the accuracy of the throwers.

The greater structural and operational simplicity of the spear harpoon, in comparison with the arrow harpoon, leads one to suppose it the older of the two. Its cord is made of tough *Hibiscus* fibres, and with the aid of these and a straight shaft about six metres long and little over four centimetres in diameter, even the humblest of nails, seven centimetres long and three millimetres in diameter, can become the point of a spear harpoon. It is fixed into the shaft (usually of mangrove wood) which is hollowed out at the thinner end to take it, and with a cord up to a hundred metres long or more attached to the nail two centimetres from the head, the spear harpoon is ready for use – shaft, point and cord.

When the harpoon is to be used for turtles, no barbs are needed, as the point is driven so firmly into the shell that blocks of wood have to be carried in the canoes to knock it out for re-use.

The harpoon throwers stand ready on the platform jutting out fore and aft of the canoes (see p. 122), the free end of the cord is tied to one of the booms to prevent it being jerked out of the canoe as the victim tries to escape, and the slack is coiled in the bottom of the canoe. The thrower holds the cord against the harpoon as he waits for the right moment and then throws. As the harpoon strikes, the point detaches from the shaft, which floats on the water till picked up – often to be used as a punt-pole in the shallow waters of the coral reefs as the canoe follows the victim, now held firmly on the end of the cord.

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The widespread use of the arrow and spear harpoons since very ancient times is evidenced by their survival in areas far removed from each other, and among primitive peoples geographically completely isolated. The arrival of the harpoon in the Andamans must in all probability have occurred thousands of years ago when it was widespread at least in the south and south-east of the Asian continent. Even the Andamanese canoes with their platforms fore and aft built specially for the harpoon throwers indicate not only the antiquity of the islanders, but also their historical and cultural connection with the peoples represented today by the few remaining Negritos.

From the evidence of the middens it is clear that the links between the Onges and the Jarawas are very close. While the date of the first migration from Little Andaman to Great Andaman remains uncertain there can be no doubt that migrations took place, followed by isolation within the islands, until today the Arioto cannot understand the Eremtaga, and the Onges neither the Jarawas nor the Sentinellese. There is very little in the literature on the Jarawas and their origin, but from my own observations I would deduce that they arrived in Great Andaman comparatively recently, as even their subsequent rigid isolation has not brought about any really essential cultural differences from the Onges.

The route of the migration will undoubtedly have led them via Rutland, whose heights can be seen as an open invitation from the north of Little Andaman. Chains of small, uninhabited islands lie between; the Onges have a name for all of them and have camp sites there for use on hunting or fishing expeditions; the Arioto, on the other hand, do not appear ever to have been to the islands. From Rutland migrations would have moved on to Great Andaman, until, filtering through to the extreme north, they became the Jarawas, or 'strangers', as the Arioto still call them. The Arioto themselves probably arrived previously by the same route but stopped in the coastal areas, then uninhabited and inviting occupation. The Arioto would have considered themselves owners of the still uninhabited areas and tried to exclude later immigrants; so began the hostility I have already described between the occupiers of the coasts and the later arrivals whom they forced into the depths of the forests.

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comparatively rapid variation and it is now difficult to establish their linguistic connections outside the Andamans, but Africa can certainly be discounted, in view of the general weight of evidence against any Negro ancestry.

Like the Onges the Jarawas are divided into endogamous groups, each with its own name, corresponding to their communal huts, and each with their own territory for the purposes of hunting, fishing and gathering food. There is little reliable information about their daily life or even their numbers; it is, however, certain and I cannot overstress this, that the Jarawas are Negrito in type,[1] with the same admixture as in the Onges.

Whoever or whatever they may be, the replacement of primitive expeditions by genuine attempts at pacification would, quite apart from the obvious humanitarian considerations involved, afford a unique opportunity for detailed study of a dying population in regeneration, and the refusal of an otherwise irrevocable progress towards final extinction.

But the problem of the Jarawas is merely one aspect of the problem of the Andamanese in general, and their connection with the Negritos both past and present. The Semang and the Aetà, as we have seen, resemble each other, and together resemble the Andamanese, in a number of essential points. Recent contacts with other influences in Malacca and the Philippines respectively have produced variations – such as the Semang use of traps and snares with which they take small animals, and also birds, which the Andamanese never touch. They have also taken to making refuges in the trees as a defence against wild animals, non-existent in the Andamans. Traps, poison, agriculture, fish-hooks, animal nets, are all late acquisitions, not found among the original Negritos. It was thought by Brown that spears, used by the Semang, were also unknown among the peoples of the Andamans, but I have myself seen them used by the Onges, though admittedly I saw only a few, and very rough specimens; I did, however, manage to bring some back with me.

In the case of the canoes, the Semang and the Aetà seem to have

[1] On 11 January 1931 a Jarawa was killed at Lekeralarta on Middle Andaman and the head is now in the Indian Museum in Calcutta. This head shows signs of beard, unlike those of two Jarawas held in the Nicobars since the September 1938 incident. Short, muscularly well-developed, strong and very black, Jarawas are normally beardless, as is usual in Negritos.

171 way in which the spirits are invoked against enemies, involving
776 the use of some personal possession – an example is the invariable destruction of the used *naquinegbe*, or of hair after shaving. The same fear of the night induced by the idea of spirits walking abroad led to the making of torches from rolled palm leaves containing a mixture of embers and resin.

From the Andamans to Oceania the chief spirit is generally
[262] imagined in the form of a giant lizard, living at the top of the sky
[825] and ruling the storms; none of the peoples who believe in him ever eat any lizard or lizard-like creature. All of them have the same
171 sexually suggestive dances, both male and female, sometimes in-
535 spired by the monitor or dragon-lizard, symbol of desire, and often
776 associated with miming and dramatic representations of real and
825 imaginary scenes. These dances, with their *joie de vivre*, are accom-
171 panied by the smoking of aromatic leaves in pipes which are fre-
276 quently made from natural objects such as the claws of crustacea.
[535] The Onges in fact have since very ancient times used only this type
[172] as shown in the lower levels of the kitchen-middens dating back at least five thousand years. Everywhere, pipes of this kind are used indiscriminately by both sexes, passing from mouth to mouth. Pipes identical in every way with those of the Onges are found to the east of the archipelago, well into Oceania, and I have myself also seen them on Melville Island, north of Australia, always with the same notches for the teeth to grip. This undeniable evidence of the spread of identical pipes over so wide an area long before the possibility of European contacts cannot in my opinion be attributed other than to migration over vast distances in very ancient times.

Similar coincidences apply in the case of the arrow harpoon and
171 indeed harpoons in general. I cannot agree with Brown in his
114 assertion that the harpoon dates from the arrival of European in-
411 fluences, which brought the use of iron; the harpoon points made by long and patient working of *Tridacna* shells which I found in the kitchen-middens of the Andamans are in my view enough to refute the theory.

171 The canoes from which these harpoons are used, with the ab-
501 sence of distinction between bow and stern and the single float on the lee side, are extremely typical. They are identical in peoples which have been widely separated for a very long time and appear not only on the Andamans, and as far as Oceania, but also in North

802 805 or form of numerical evaluation is further support for the extremely low stage of cultural development at which they became isolated.

22 ART

302 531 532 When painting their bodies with ochre the Onges have no idea of symbolic representation, and use only geometrical designs. These invariably seem spontaneous, and in my view do not represent a degenerate form of some more highly evolved art, half forgotten over the centuries; in short, the 'artists' of the Andamans, with no conception of symbolism, are even today less advanced than their Palaeolithic counterparts.

23 DIGGING STICKS

172 412 In late Palaeolithic deposits, stones with holes in them have been found which correspond to those still in use among peoples such as the Bushmen, to add weight to their digging sticks. The absence even today of any form of weighted stick in the Andamans, where stone is plentiful, would appear to antedate the culture at least to early Palaeolithic.

24 HUNTING

224 172 [411] 229 177 The Onges still use the Palaeolithic throwing stick, although it is not their main hunting weapon. They have no idea of fixed traps, which must from the evidence have been known in Palaeolithic times, and it is hard to believe that a people so dependent upon hunting would have lost the art once it had been acquired. They have crude nets which the women use for fishing, but these are probably a comparatively recent introduction, which has arrived via the Nicobars.

25 DOMESTIC ANIMALS

231 174 The Andamanese have none, and this would seem to add weight to the evidence for their great antiquity.

26 ECONOMY

433 185 437 There is no economic system of any kind, and from the evidence available it is highly unlikely that even the most primitive form ever existed. There is no conception whatever of providing for tomorrow, or of any form of exchange or barter.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

27 WEAPONS

The wall paintings of the Palaeolithic era depict bows and arrows, the former of both the simple and the double-curve type, and the latter with one or more points, similar to those still used in the Andamans. (The same *marques de chasse* as those found on bone arrowheads of the late Palaeolithic era were on *Tridacna* arrowheads which I found in the lower strata of the kitchen-middens.) The harpoon, with detachable point and cord, was widespread in the late Palaeolithic era, and this too has persisted unchanged to the present day in the Andamans. 172 411

28 NAVIGATION

There is no proof that Palaeolithic Man travelled by water, but it can be argued that the proven antiquity of the Andamanese culture is of itself evidence in favour of the supposition that he did. 174

The author is of the opinion that the sum of the evidence outlined above is overwhelmingly in favour of the continuing existence in the Andamans of what may well be a virtually unchanged Palaeolithic or even pre-lithic culture.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

227 fishing, although they say that they formerly did so. They have no
226 fish hooks and no fish traps. At the present time a few of the natives have learnt to take fish with hook and line, but they are unable to make hooks for themselves, and have to obtain them from the Settlement at Port Blair.

In collecting roots a digging stick is used, and a hooked pole is
222 used for gathering fruit, but they have no other special implements in
412 use in collecting natural productions, and have no need of any. The adze is used for obtaining molluscs and for cutting honey-combs from hollow trees.

411 It is thus clear that by far the most important utensil of the Andamanese is the bow and arrow. We may say that they are essentially a bow and arrow people. This is even more true of the natives of the Little Andaman Division than of those of the Great Andaman Division.

It may be noted here that the Andamanese have no weapons that are used only for fighting. They fight with their chief hunting weapon, the bow and arrow. Nor have they any special defensive weapons, the shield being unknown.

171 The Semang in their natural condition depend for their subsistence on collecting roots and fruits from the forest, on catching fish in the streams, and on hunting animals. Their mode of subsistence is thus essentially the same as that of the Andamanese. One difference is that they have not the sea from which to draw supplies, and another is that the forests in which they live afford a much larger variety of game. A number of the Semang now practice a little rude agriculture which they have undoubtedly adopted in imitation of their neighbours of other races[1].

The principal weapon of the Semang, as of the Andamanese, is the bow and arrow. In hunting they also use spears[2], thus showing a difference from the Andamanese. Some of the Semang make use of the blow-pipe with poisoned darts, but it is practically certain that they have adopted the use of this weapon from their neighbours the Sakai[3]. They also make use to some extent of traps with which to capture jungle animals and birds. The wilder Semang living in the mountains have little opportunity of obtaining fish. Those of them that dwell near rivers use fish-spears and harpoons for catching large fish, and a small basket-work scoop for catching small fry[4]. They also fish with

[1] Skeat, p. 341.
[2] Skeat, p. 270.
[3] Skeat, p. 280.
[4] Skeat, p. 205.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

441 The true fish-spear is unknown in the Andamans though use is sometimes made of a harpoon similar to the turtle harpoon, but of smaller dimensions and with a finer line, for harpooning fish.

227 In the North Andaman a sort of fish-gig was formerly in use made of about twelve pieces of *Areca* wood of about 105 to 110 cm. long and 1 cm. or less broad and with tapered and sharp-pointed ends. These were fastened side by side by means of a strip of wood near one end, as shown in Fig. 26. This weapon was used for spearing small fish in pools on the reef.

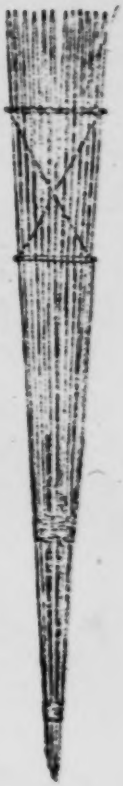

Fig. 26. North Andaman fish-gig

CUTTING IMPLEMENTS.

412 177 At the present time the Andamanese make use of iron for their cutting implements. It is uncertain when they first learnt the use of iron, but it was certainly before the end of the eighteenth century. What iron they had was obtained from wrecks, of which there have always been a number on the Andamans. The metal has only become plentiful since the European settlement of 1858.

412 325 It is highly probaole that the Andamanese, though they may have learnt the use of iron from implements used by visitors to their shores, have not learnt from any other people the method of working the metal. Even at the present day they do not make any use of heat in the manufacture of their iron implements, the metal being worked cold. It seems highly probable that they have simply adopted in connection with iron the methods they formerly used in dealing with other materials, particularly shells.

The materials used by the Andamanese, apart from iron, are wood, bone, shell and stone. We may begin by considering their use of stone.

412 324 In former times quartz flakes were used by the Andamanese for the two purposes of shaving and scarifying the skin, and for hardly any other purpose. (Among minor uses of stone flakes may be mentioned those of cutting the finger-nails, and sharpening boars' tusks.) A quartz pebble is held in the left hand and is struck with a hard rounded pebble of any suitable kind. A flake is thus knocked off and falls into the palm of the left hand. The flake is examined, and if it be suitable it is

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

at once used. If it be unsuitable it is thrown away and another made. For shaving, flakes with a sharp blade-like edge are required; for scarifying, flakes with a fine point are preferred. A flake is used till its fine edge is lost and is then thrown away and another made. Thus a woman who is shaving some one's head may use as many as twenty flakes one after another, and to obtain twenty suitable flakes she probably makes as many as forty or even more. The kitchen-middens or heaps of refuse that are found on the sites of old encampments contain thousands of quartz pebbles that have been used as cores, and thousands of flakes.

412 324

Besides quartz there is a flinty kind of stone that is used in much the same way for making flakes. Suitable pieces of the stone are obtained and are placed in the fire for a few hours. They are taken out, and when they are cold are used in exactly the same way as a quartz pebble.

At the present time quartz is hardly ever used in this way, for the natives greatly prefer glass, and they obtain sufficient old bottles from Port Blair to satisfy their requirements. The bottom of a bottle is treated in every way as though it was a quartz pebble, a flake being knocked off and used, and then another and so on till the operation in hand (whether shaving or scarifying) is completed. The flake is held between the thumb and first finger when it is being used. In no case is a flake of quartz or glass ever kept. It is only made when required and after having been used is thrown away.

The natives themselves say that they formerly never made any use of stone for cutting purposes save in the case of stone flakes as described above. As against this there are three statements that must be considered. Colebrooke, who visited the islands in 1789, says of the Andamanese that "their canoes are hollowed out of the trunks of trees by means of fire and instruments of stone, having no iron in use amongst them, except such utensils as they have procured from the Europeans and sailors who have lately visited these islands; or from the wrecks of vessels formerly stranded on their coasts." The accuracy of Colebrooke's statement is made doubtful by the fact that at the present time (since 1858) the natives do not use fire in making their canoes, and it seems improbable that if they had this custom in 1789 they should have discontinued it and have entirely forgotten that it ever existed. Further if they used implements of stone in 1789 it is certainly strange that by 1858 they should have entirely forgotten that they ever did so. When Mr Man was making his enquiries

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

412 324 the oldest men all agreed in stating that they never used stone for their adzes. We may conclude that Colebrooke's statement is untrustworthy.

Stoliczka records the finding in the South Andaman of a stone celt and a stone arrow-head in the kitchen-middens of the South Andaman. The chief reason for doubting the value of this find is that Stoliczka states that these implements were made of tertiary sandstone, which it is very hard to believe would be of any use whatever. We may therefore adopt the opinion of M. Lapicque[1] that Stoliczka had found fragments of a whet-stone of sandstone and had been mislead into thinking that he had found an axe and an arrow-head.

A third statement that needs to be considered is one by Mr Portman, who presented to the British Museum an arrow with a head of stone made specially for him by a native of the North Andaman who stated that in former times such arrow-heads were used by the Andamanese. At the present time the arrow-head is broken and it would seem to be so fragile as to be entirely worthless for the purpose to which it was supposed to be put. The natives of the North Andaman whom I questioned stated that they did not use stone for their arrow-heads, but shell. We may therefore hold that the evidence given by Mr Portman is not at all satisfactory.

In the Akar-Bale tribe I heard a legend that at a certain spot there is a kind of stone which was used by the ancestors for making adzes. I visited the spot and the stone was pointed out to me. Unfortunately the specimen that I took was lost and I am therefore unable to state what the stone was, but it was such that it would have been utterly impossible to make any sort of adze out of it. It was of a crystalline nature and was easily fractured by a blow against even a soft substance such as wood. It was clear that the native statements about it were merely a legend having no historical value.

We may justifiably conclude that it is probable that the statement of the natives to the effect that before they possessed iron in any quantity they made their adzes and arrow-heads out of shell and not out of stone, is correct. Their use of stone for cutting was therefore confined to the flakes which have been described.

412 321 The most important material to the Andamanese seems to have been shell. Mollusc shells were used in the natural form or after having been manufactured. The chief shell used in its natural form is

[1] Lapicque, "Ethnographie des Iles Andaman," *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, 1894, p. 370.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans A22

the *Cyrena* which serves at the present time as a knife, a scraper and a spoon. Even when they have knives of iron and steel they still use the *Cyrena* shell in preference for some purposes. It is used as a scraper in preparing fibres for rope and thread, in making arrows, as a knife for cutting thatching leaves and cane and even thread and rope, and for making incised patterns on bows and arrows. The shells are always to be found lying about their encampments, and a few are always carried with them when they migrate to a fresh camp. Those living inland obtain their supply of shells from their friends on the coast.

412 ●
321

When in use the shell is clasped between the thumb and first finger, the thumb passing over the convex side and the finger round the hinged edge. The remaining fingers are used to clasp the object that is being scraped or cut. In cutting, the motion is away from the body, being produced by a twist of the wrist. In scraping the motion is away from the body, or from left to right. A knife of iron or steel is held in this way by the natives whenever it is used for any purpose for which they formerly would have used a shell. The blade is clasped near the handle between the thumb and first finger, the back of the blade pressing against the root of the thumb, and the handle away from the body.

Another shell that is used in its natural form is a small whelk shell that is used as a scraper for scraping off the outer skin of mangrove seeds in preparing them for food.

A shell that is used in very nearly its natural form is a kind of pearl shell that grows along creeks through the mangrove swamps. The shell is only very slightly curved and it is for this reason that it is selected as suitable. The weak edge or lip of the valve is broken away, and the edge is then slightly ground on a stone. This implement is used by women for slicing yams and certain other vegetables such as some kinds of seeds when they are being prepared for food.

The natives say that before iron was plentiful they used shells for the heads of their pig-arrows. Several different species of shell seem to have been used, the chief concern being to obtain a piece of sufficient size that was as nearly flat as possible. Such shells are those belonging to the larger bivalves. The natives state that their method of working the shell was to break it roughly into shape with stones and then grind it down on a whet-stone until it was given a sufficiently sharp point and edge. Some arrow-heads of shell were made for me by this method at my request by one of the old men of the North Andaman.

The natives state that before they had iron they made their adzes of shell. Two different men of the North Andaman made two shell adzes

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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for me, one of *Pinna* shell, and the other of a shell that I omitted to identify. The *Pinna* shell adze seemed to me only suitable for light work such as finishing off a bow or a canoe, as it seemed likely to break under a strong blow. The other adze was much stronger and therefore capable of heavy work, and although the edge seemed to me to make it a poor implement with which to cut down a tree yet it certainly did not seem less suitable than the stone adzes used by many primitive peoples. If I were given a choice of implements with which to fell a tree, between the shell adze of the Andamanese and a stone axe of South-western Australia I should certainly choose the former.

According to the natives they formerly used bone for the points of their fish-arrows and for the barbs of their pig-arrows. For both of these purposes they now use iron. The bone was broken into a piece of suitable length and then ground down with a whet-stone. Apparently the bone most frequently used was the tibia of the pig. For their fish-arrows they also made use of the bone of the tail of the sting-ray,—its "sting." When the fish was caught the bone was knocked off and reserved for use. It required no treatment whatever, being simply bound on to the point of the fore-shaft in the same way that an iron point is now attached.

Colebrooke, in 1789, described their arrows as "headed with fish-bones or the tusks of wild hogs, sometimes merely with a sharp bit of wood hardened in the fire." By fish-bone he probably means the bone of the sting-ray. Where he writes the tusks of wild hogs we should probably read "the bones." A boar's tusk is curved, and it seems impossible to imagine how it could possibly be used as an arrow-head or arrow-point.

The boar's tusk is used by the Andamanese as an implement, however, making a very efficient sort of spokeshave. The edge which is used is kept sharp by scraping with a quartz or glass flake or with a *Cyrena* shell. The edge is near the point (at *a* in Fig. 27) and the tusk is clasped at the other end between the forefinger and the root of the thumb (at *b* in Fig. 27), the movement being away from the body. It is used for planing bows and paddles, and in the

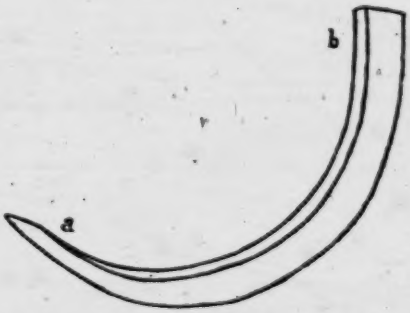

Fig. 27. Boar's tusk, used as a spokeshave

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

hands of an Andaman Islander is a very efficient implement, producing a beautifully smooth and even surface.

Of wood the Andamanese formerly made knives and arrow-points. The knives were made of a slip of bamboo or cane shaped and sharpened with a *Cyrena* shell. Such knives were used for cutting meat and apparently for no other purpose. A knife was always attached by a short length of cord to a skewer of pointed *Areca* wood. The double implement was used in cooking and eating, the skewer serving to lift pieces of meat in and out of a pot, while the knife served to cut them. At the present time the cane or bamboo knife is replaced by a knife made from hoop-iron, but the shape of the original implement is retained as nearly as possible and a skewer of *Areca* wood is generally attached to it.

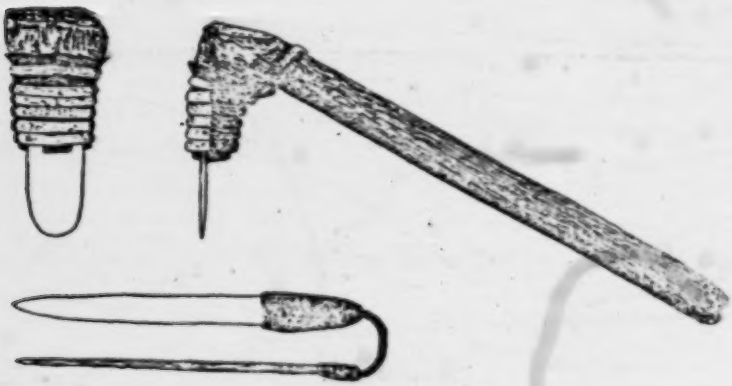

Fig. 28. Adze and knife

As has been already stated the Andamanese formerly used hard wood such as that of the *Areca* palm for the points and heads of their arrows. They do not seem to have made use of bamboo in this way.

At the present time iron is used for the blades of adzes, for the heads and barbs of pig-arrows, the points of fish-arrows, the heads of harpoons, and for knives. The method of working the metal is apparently exactly the same as the method they formerly used for working shell and bone. For the head of a pig-arrow a suitable piece of iron is taken and a fragment of about the right size is broken off by means of a stone hammer. This is then roughly broken into the required shape, no heat being used, and no advantage being taken of the malleability of the metal. The next process is to grind it on a

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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411 whet-stone. The natives are always eager to obtain files which enable
412 them to do this part of the work much more rapidly. When the arrow-
325 head has been ground into shape the edges are sharpened. Blades for adzes are made in exactly the same way from any suitable piece of iron or steel, such as a cutlass or an old file or a piece of thick hoop-iron. The adze-blade is attached to a handle of mangrove wood by the method shown in Fig. 28.

The barbs of pig-arrows and the points of fish-arrows are made in the same way by breaking the metal into a suitable shape and then grinding it on a whet-stone. It is probable that this was the method that was formerly used for dealing with bone for these purposes.

In the case of the knife, iron or steel is now substituted for cane or bamboo, but the knife has retained its shape in spite of the change of material. The shape of a knife, whether of cane or of iron, with its attached skewer of *Areca* wood is shown in Fig. 28.

In the case of the harpoon the native tradition is that this implement was only made after they had discovered the use of iron.

177 At the present time both the Semang and the Negritos of the
325 Philippines make use of iron. The Semang heat the iron until it is red-hot and then batter it into shape between two stones[1]. The shapes of the iron weapons and implements which they make follow fairly closely those made by the Malays.

In an attempt to reconstruct the primitive Negrito culture it would seem that the most reasonable hypothesis is that the primitive Negritos had no knowledge of iron and had not learnt to fashion implements out of stone, but relied entirely on such materials as wood, bone and shell. The Andamanese, becoming possessed of iron through wrecks upon their islands, applied to it the technique that they had developed for dealing with shell, and thereby invented their present method of working iron without heating it. The Semang and the Negritos of the Philippines probably first learnt the use of iron from their neighbours of other races. There is not at present any evidence to show that the Negritos ever had any method of working stone except the very simple one at present in use in the Andamans for making flakes.

STRING, ROPE, MATS, BASKETS, AND NETTING.

283 For string, rope and thread the Andaman Islanders make use of a number of different vegetable substances, but they make no use what-

[1] Skeat, p. 383.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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412 Bamboo tongs are made by bending double a piece split from a bamboo, and cutting the ends to the required shape. They are used for lifting from the fire anything too hot to be taken in the hand and are chiefly of service in cooking.

Digging sticks are made from various kinds of wood, being simply pointed at one or both ends. These sticks are not as a rule preserved, but made as required with an adze and thrown away after use. They are used for digging up edible roots.

222 227 Hooks for picking fruit, such as the *Artocarpus*, are made by attaching a small piece of wood to the end of a bamboo. Hooks for catching crabs are made from the wood of the *Rhizophora* by taking advantage of the natural form where a small branch joins a larger one.

352 824 The fan-shaped leaf of a *Licuala* palm is made use of in many ways. The edges of the leaflets are sewn together with fine strips of cane, and the sewn leaf is then used either as a sunshade or umbrella for protection from sunshine or rain, as a sleeping mat if the proper article be lacking, as a screen to make the roof or sides of a hut more wind or rain proof, as a wrapper for making objects of all sorts into bundles, and as a winding sheet for a corpse.

373 Torches are made from resin, which is broken into small pieces and wrapped up in leaves of a species of *Crinum* (? *lorifolium*), a few pieces of smouldering charcoal being added before it is tied up. The torch is then parcelled by marling with a strip of cane or a length of some tough creeper. These resin torches are used in turtle-hunting and fishing expeditions on dark nights.

Other torches are made of fragments of rotten *Dipterocarpus* wood. They are used only in the village.

PERSONAL ORNAMENT; GREAT ANDAMAN.

291 At the present time the natives of the Great Andaman Division obtain from the Settlement of Port Blair cloth which both men and women wear round the loins. They also obtain beads from which they make necklaces.

The following is a list of the various personal ornaments made by the natives of the Great Andaman Division, and worn by them.

Rope girdle. Every man wears some sort of girdle round his waist, and this was formerly the only object that was constantly worn by men. The girdle may consist of a length of rope of *Hibiscus* fibre or a length of ornamental cord made by wrapping the yellow skin of

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

323 415 pottery are in use, as has been supposed,[1] unless the fact of certain molluscs[2] being cooked in their shells can be so described. Broken pottery is not buried in graves or beneath landmarks, but is cast aside as rubbish.

9. No kind of painting or varnishing is ever attempted, and models of men or animals are never made. They are also ignorant of glazing and of making porous pottery for cooling vessels.

412 **Natural Forms and Miscellaneous Manufactures.**—1. The natural forms of stones are employed by the Andamanese, as by other savage tribes, as anvils and hammers. Like the natives of New Guinea,[3] they always carry with them, or keep ready for use, one or more *Cyrena* shells (*ūta-*), as these serve them in a great variety of ways: for example, in *dressing* and *preparing* the wooden portion of their arrows; in *sharpening* their bamboo and cane[4] knives, and the inner edge of the boar's tusk, in order to adapt it for use as a plane; as a *spoon*,[5] in eating gravy, &c.; as a *knife*, in cutting thatching leaves, &c., and in severing the joints of meat; and as a *scraper* in separating the pulp from the fibre of the *Anodendron paniculatum* and other plants, from which they manufacture their various descriptions of string and cord; these shells are likewise employed in making the ornamental incisions in their weapons, implements, leaf-ornaments, &c.,[6] in preparing the peculiar *ūj-*[7] appendage (worn when dancing); and they are also frequently used for planing purposes.[8] Indeed, I think I may fairly say that among their savage arts there is probably nothing so calculated to surprise and interest a stranger as the many and clever uses to which necessity has taught them to put this simple but highly effective tool.

[1] This refers to the following passage in the late Dr. Stoliczka's "Note on the Kjökken-Möddings of the Andaman Islands";—"I have been informed that in some parts of the island their only cooking utensils are large specimens of *Turbo marmoratus*, valves of *Tridacna gigas*, and others."

[2] Viz.:—*Cyrena*, *Arca*, *Mytilus smaragdinus*, *Cerithium*, *Patella variabilis* (limpet), and a few other small varieties.

[3] "They always carry with them a bamboo knife; . . . when required they sharpen the edge with a shell (a fresh water species of *Cyrena*), which is always carried for the purpose. . . ." (See a paper on the natives of the Fly River, New Guinea, by Signor L. M. d'Albertis, in the Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. vi, p. 215, 1876).

[4] Like the Tahitians and Fijians of former times they have also been in the habit of using bamboo knives; these are made of the outside of a piece of bamboo, are shaped into form while green, and are then dried and charred so as to render them as hard and sharp as possible.

[5] "The mussel-shell suggested the first idea of the spoon, and still performs its functions on the Atlantic shores of Morocco" (Peschel).

[6] *Vide* "Ornamentation," paragraph 2.

[7] *Vide* Appendix B, item 76.

[8] It has already been mentioned under "Food" (paragraph 8) that the *Cyrena* is also used in opening other bivalves.

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2. *Arca* shells, on account of their serrated lips, serve the double purpose—when a pot is being manufactured—of removing pieces of stone from the outer surface, and of imparting a more finished appearance to the vessel. *Pinna* shells are kept as receptacles for *tâ-la-ōg-*, and as plates for food, while *Nautilus* shells do duty as drinking vessels. No evidence can be found in support of Mr. St. John's statement,[1] that human skulls are used as boxes to contain small objects, for neither these nor the skulls of animals appear to have been ever so employed;[2] the former are kept and carried, as I have elsewhere explained, merely as mementoes of the departed, and the latter are stuck on poles, or hung round the eaves of their huts, as trophies of the chase. *Pinna* and other shells are said to have been used in former times as adze blades, but this is no longer the case, for quantities of iron are always obtainable. Strange as it may seem to some of my readers, there is no trace or tradition of stone having been utilised for this purpose. 412 •

3. The only instances in which these tribes appear to have had recourse to the natural defences of animals in the manufacture of their weapons are—(*a*) in the use of the serrated bone at the root of the tail of the sting-ray[3] for their fish-arrows; and (*b*) of the valves of *Perna ephippium*,[4] which were formerly—after being ground and shaped—fastened to their wooden-headed arrows, for use in hunting, and in hostile expeditions. Since, however, they have found themselves able to procure ample supplies of iron, these shell arrow-heads, like the shell adze-blades, have been discarded in favour of iron wire, nails, hoop-iron, &c.

4. The bamboo, although not employed by the Andamanese in such a variety of ways as it is by many savages, is yet in constant use in one or other of the following modes, viz:— of the ordinary medium size (male species) they form the *shafts* of their turtle-harpoons;[5] of the female species[6] they make *water-holders*, and receptacles for cooked food[7] when travelling (*gōb-*[8]); *knives* (*pô-chô-*[9]), which are narrow pieces hardened 412 314

[1] Transactions of the Ethnol. Soc., vol. v, p. 43.

[2] Very possibly the belief originated in the manner I suggested in a previous paper (*vide* Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi, p. 273).

[3] *Vide ante* "Hunting, &c.," paragraph 11.

[4] *Vide post* "Stone Implements," paragraph 5 (footnote).

[5] The shafts of their pig spear, being short are made of heavier material, viz., the thick rattan.

[6] Pieces of *Bambusa gigantea*, which have floated across from Burmah, or have reached their shores from wrecks, are much prized as buckets, none but the small ordinary bamboo being indigenous.

[7] *Vide ante* "Food," paragraph 31.

[8] *Vide* Appendix B, item 82.

[9] *Ibid.*, 69.

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412 over a fire, and sharpened by means of a *Cyrena* shell; *netting-needles* (*pō·tòkla-*[1]) and *tongs* (*kai-*[2]), which last consist merely
314 of a strip of bamboo, bent double, with pointed ends;[3] the slender *Bambusa nana*, called *rī·di-*, is generally selected for forming the hooked pole (*ngâ·tanga-*[4]), and it is likewise invariably employed for the shafts of their wooden and iron-pointed arrows.

534 5. Although there are materials ready to hand wherewith they might easily construct a few such simple musical instruments as are made and used by the Nicobarese, no attempt seems to have been made by them in this direction, for the rude sounding board (*pū·kuta-yem·ngo-*[5]) can hardly be included under this head. This circumstance seems to find its explanation in the fact that though they are good timists their talent for music is (as will be presently shown,[6] on the testimony of more than one competent authority) of the lowest type.

412 6. A brush, suitable for painting the stripes on their baskets (*jōb-*[7]), baby-slings (*chīp-*[8]), &c., is obtained from a drupe of the small fruit of the *Pandanus Andamanensium* (*mâng-*), the pulp having been first extracted by means of a *Cyrena* shell.

[281] 7. Skins of animals, thorns, or spines of trees are not made use of by these people in any way, nor do they have recourse to
314 caves, rock-shelters, or tree-tops for their dwellings, though they occasionally, as I have before mentioned, avail themselves of the buttress-like formations of the roots of such trees as the *Ficus laccifera*, *Bombax malabaricum*, *Sterculia villosa*, &c., when travelling in bad weather, or when suddenly overtaken by a storm. Palm-leaves, as I explained when describing their habitations,[9] are employed for thatching purposes.

281 **Leather-work.**—From the last paragraph it will be correctly inferred that there is no evidence of their having ever possessed a knowledge of the art of dressing and preparing skins for use in any form: this may be due as much to the limited number and variety of those animals[10] whose hides might be turned to account in this way as to the equable temperature of the climate, which renders such, or indeed any covering unnecessary.

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 67.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 80.
[3] A narrow and pointed piece of bamboo, bitten at the end so as to loosen the fibres, is made to serve as a brush in painting designs on their buckets, sounding boards, &c.
[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 17.
[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 19.
[6] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraph 35, and footnote.
[7] *Vide post* "Basket-work," paragraph 3, and Appendix B, item 21.
[8] *Vide* Appendix B, item 24.
[9] *Vide ante* "Habitations," paragraph 2.
[10] Viz., dugong, porpoise, paradoxurus, iguana, and pig.

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Metallurgy.—Having been, till comparatively recent times, ignorant almost of the existence as well as of the uses of iron, it is not to be wondered at that smelting and forging have been to them unknown arts. Now that they are better informed, and are able to procure pieces of hoop-iron, keel-plate, &c., they apply them to the manufacture of their blades and adzes, reducing them to the required thinness by continually striking the cold metal with a hard smooth stone (*tai·li-ban·a-*[1]) on a rude anvil (*râ·rap-*) of the same substance; such portions of the iron as are then found to exceed the dimensions requisite for the weapon or tool under construction are placed over the edge of the anvil and broken off by dint of repeated blows: the new edge thus formed, being more or less jagged, is then ground on a hone till the blade assumes the desired shape. Many of the aborigines who have been living for some time at Port Blair have, however, advanced a stage beyond this, for, by using such old chisels as they may succeed in procuring, they contrive to make their arrow-heads and other implements much more speedily than by the old method. The pointed weapons, *e.g.*, the *kowai·a-* and *tô·lbō·d-*, are made from pieces of stout wire, large nails, &c., by dint of laborious and patient hammering on the *râ·rap-*, and grinding on the *tâ·lag-*. 325

Stone Implements.—1. Although a great portion of the inhabitants of Great Andaman have for some time past been able through us to procure iron in sufficient quantities to substitute it for stone (not to mention bones and shells), still they can by no means be said to have passed out of the stone age; indeed, the more distant tribes still retain the use, with scarcely any modification, of most of the stone and other implements which served their ancestors. Even the inmates of the homes at Port Blair may still often be seen employing one or other of them, evidently therefore from choice: this more especially refers to the first three in the following list,[2] which comprises the small number of stone implements in ordinary use among the present aboriginal inhabitants of the islands:— 324 412

râ·rap-, the anvil.

tai·li-ban·a-, the hammer (probably a smooth round piece of dolerite or fine-grained basalt).

tâ·lag-, the whetstone (consisting of slightly micaceous sandstone).

tô·lma lô·ko tūg-[3] (lit., *quartz tooth*), chips or flakes for shaving, tattooing, &c.

[1] *Vide* next section, paragraph 1.

[2] There are no special makers, or procurers, of these stones.

[3] These are either fragments of opaque whitish vein quartz, or of transparent rock crystal, or are obtained from pebbles of opaque bluish-white quartz with

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lâ-, cooking stones; common pebbles, about a couple of inches in diameter, which are heated, and then placed on all sides of the food which it is intended to cook.

2. When a new *whetstone* is required—as no method of cutting stone is known to them—a block of soft sandstone is chosen, which, if too large, is placed on a fire till it breaks; the piece best adapted for the purpose is then taken and shaped according to fancy, by the aid of one of the hard smooth stone hammers; after being used a short time the edges wear down, and it answers as a hone for several months.[1]

3. Chips and flakes are never used more than once; in fact, several are generally employed in each operation: those having a sharp blade-like edge are reserved for shaving, while others with a fine point are kept for tattooing or scarifying; when done with they are thrown on a refuse heap, or otherwise disposed of, lest injury should befall anyone by inadvertently treading on them. [462] Flaking is regarded as one of the duties of women, and is usually performed by them.[2]

4. For making *chips* two pieces of white quartz are needed; the stones are not pressed against the thigh, nor are they bound round tightly so as to increase the line of least resistance to the blow of the flaker; but one of the pieces is first heated and afterwards allowed to cool, it is then held firmly and struck at right angles with the other stone: by this means is obtained in a few moments a number of fragments suitable for the purposes above mentioned. A certain knack is apparently necessary in order to produce the kind of chips which are at the time required: the smallest flakes are obtained in the same manner and never by pressure.

5. Glass chips are now generally used by all who are in communication with ourselves, in preference to those of flint, as they are sharper and more effective; the method in which they are obtained is the same, the thick lump of glass forming the bottom of beer and wine bottles being selected for the purpose, and never the thinner portions.

6. It has been stated[3] that formerly, for tattooing, a "sharpened flint bound to a stick" was used, and that the present instrument is a bit of broken bottle "inserted into the split extremity of a stick;" no instance has, however, been found confirmatory of the words quoted, and the Andamanese

fatty lustre, thin chips of which are translucent at the edges. (For this description I am indebted to Mr. F. W. Rudler.)

[1] For the mode of use *vide* Appendix B, item 52.

[2] All women can scarify and act as barbers, but only about 50 per cent. of them undertake the more difficult task of tattooing.

[3] *Vide* Dr. Day.

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Plate C.

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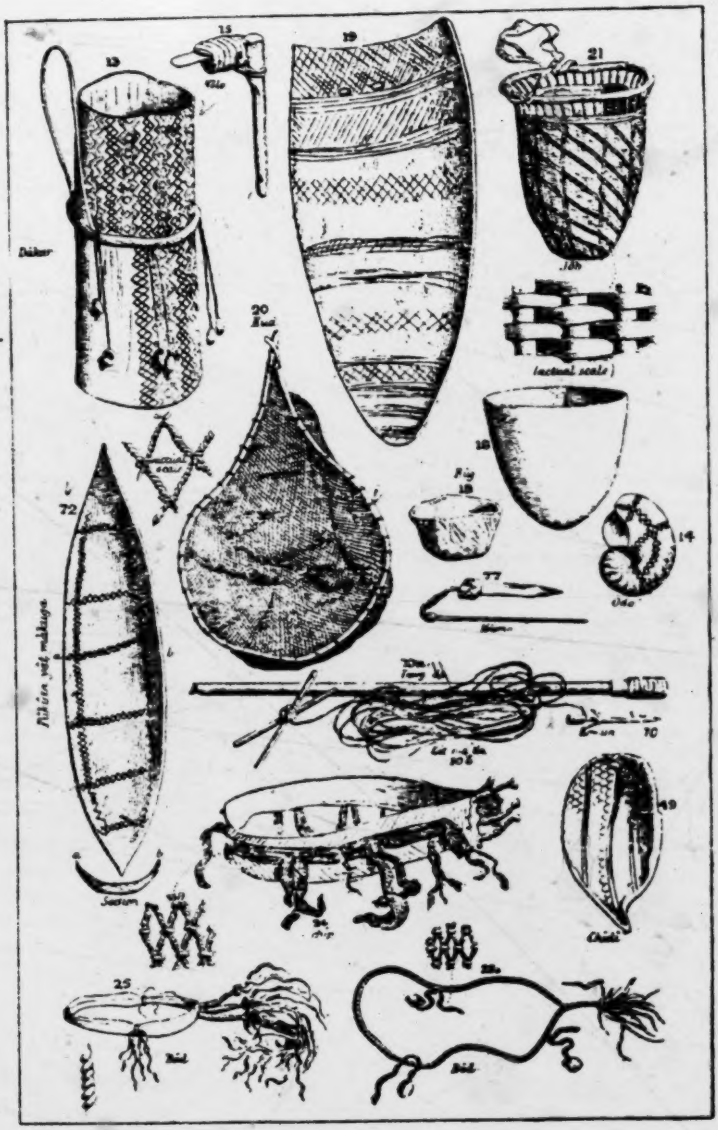

ANDAMANESE OBJECTS,

[facing p. 178]

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415 14. *ō·do-*.[1] Nautilus shells painted with *kā·ngatā-būj-* (item 62), and used as drinking vessels.

412 15. *wō·lo-*.[2] Adze: this tool is used not only in making canoes, buckets, bows, &c., but in digging graves. The handle consists of an L-shaped piece of mangrove wood, *Rhizophora conjugata* (Andam., *bad·a-*), and the blade is generally made of such pieces of iron as the keel-plate of a boat; formerly *Pinna* and such like shells are said to have been used, but strange to say it does not appear that stone celts were ever so employed.

[222] 16. *lā·kā-*.[3] A long pointed stick of the *Memecylon varians*, (Andam., *pē·taing-*) or *Rhizophora conjugata* (Andam., *bad·a-*), which is used as a hoe in digging up yams and other edible roots.

[NOTE.—A similar implement is found in use among the Australians.[4]]

17. *tōg-ngā·tanga-*.[5] Pole, 12 to 15 feet long, of *Bambusa nana* (Andam., *rī·di-*), to which a short piece of bamboo is securely fastened, with a strip of cane (Andam., *pī·dga-*), or stout cord, to form a hook; it is used in gathering fruit—especially jack-fruit (*Artocarpus chaplasha*)—and is the only object of the nature of a hook *made* by the Andamanese.

[222]

415 18. *būj-*.[6] Cooking pot: these are made of various sizes by members of both sexes, and are shaped by the hand and eye only;[7] after being sun-dried they are surrounded with, and filled by pieces of lighted wood in order to complete the process of baking. When needed for travelling they are fitted with light wicker frames (*būj-rā·mata-*) to facilitate their removal, and to protect them from injury. The capacity of an average-sized pot is 9 or 10 pints.

[NOTE.—The *yē·rewa-* and *jār·awa-* pots have a conical base, and in this respect differ from those made by the tribes of South Andaman.]

534 19. *pū·kuta-yem·nga-*.[8] Sounding-boards—used for marking time during a song or dance[9]—which are scooped out of the fallen trunks of the *Pterocarpus dalbergioides* (Andam., *chā·langa-*), the wood of which is very hard; they are always of the same shield-like shape, and are frequently as much as 5 feet long and 2 feet wide; the concave side is generally ornamented with designs in white clay (*tā·la-ōg-*, item 58). When in use the

[1] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 20.
[2] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 13.
[3] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 2.
[4] *Vide* "Anthropology," p. 216, by Dr. E. B. Tylor, F.R.S.
[5] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 1.
[6] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 19.
[7] *Vide* Part III, "Pottery," paragraphs 4 and 6.
[8] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 15.
[9] *Vide* Part III, "Games and Amusements," paragraph 27.

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Plate D.

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ANDAMANESE OBJECTS.

[facing p. 182]

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37. *bē·wa-tâ-* .. made of red coral.
38. *râ·ta-ō·la-tâ-* .. „ small sea shells.
39. *rē·keto-tâ-*[1] .. „ *Hemicardium unedo* shells.
40. *ngâ·tya-tâ-*[2] and *jū·mu-ta-* „ mangrove seed tops.
41. *gar·en len pī·d-* .. „ *Dentalium octogonum* and children's hair.[3]

42. *râb-*.[4] Fine netting, plain or ornamented with shells, worn occasionally by both sexes as necklaces, armlets, &c. Baby-slings (item 24), bows, pig-spears, &c., are sometimes ornamented with pieces of this netting.

[462] 43. *râ-*. Ornamental cord, made by men from the yellow skin of an orchid root, and worn round the waist intertwined sometimes with fibres of the *Melochia velutina* (Andam., *al·aba-*). It is also occasionally interwoven with fibres of the *Anodendron paniculatum* (Andam., *yō·lba-*), in order to make ornamental fastenings for arrows, turtle harpoons, and personal adornments.

[751] 44. *châu·ga-tâ-*.[5] Human bone necklaces sometimes ornamented with *Dentalium octogonum*. These are worn as charms during illness by friends or relatives of the deceased, and may be often seen tied tightly round the part in pain; they are also worn when in health to ward off disease.[6]

45. *châu·ga l'ōt chē·ta-*.[7] Human skull, carried *in memoriam* by relatives of the deceased.[8]

46. *châu·ga l'â·kâ ē·kib-*.[9] Human jaw, which is carried in a similar manner.[10]

412 47. *pī·licha-*.[11] Boar's tusk, used for planing bows, paddles, &c., as it answers this purpose, in *their* hands, admirably, it is much valued; when required for use the inner edge is sharpened with a *Cyrena* shell.

48. *tai·li-ban·a-*.[12] Stone hammer, which the men now use principally in beating out iron for arrow-heads, &c., and the women when making bone necklaces.

49. *chī·di-*.[13] *Pinna* shell, used as plates for food, or as receptacles for pigments.

[1] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 45.
[2] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 73.
[3] An interesting description of these various necklaces will be found in a paper by Dr. Allen Thomson, F.R.S., Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi, p. 295.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 34.
[5] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 46.
[6] *Vide* Part I, "Medicine," paragraphs 2, 7, 8.
[7] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 7.
[8] *Vide* Part II, "Death and Burial," paragraphs 5 and 19.
[9] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 7a.
[10] *Vide* Part I, "Medicine," paragraph 9.
[11] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 65.
[12] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 72.
[13] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 26.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

412 50. *tō·lma l'ôko tūg-* and *bī·jma l'ôko tūg-*.[1] Quartz and glass flakes and chips used for shaving, scarifying, and tattooing.[2]

51. *ū·ta-*.[3] *Cyrena* shell: great use is made of this, and of other varieties of this class, viz., as knives for cutting thatching leaves, for making the ornamental incisions on bows, paddles, &c., for planing, for sharpening the boar's tusk (item 47), for dressing and preparing arrows, for making the *ūj-* (item 76), for preparing the fibres obtained from the *Melochia velutina* (Andam., *al·aba-*), *Gnetum edule* (Andam., *pī·lita-*), and the *Anodendron paniculatum* (Andam., *yō·lba-*); they are also used as spoons in eating the gravy of pork, turtle, &c., and are in fact so constantly in demand that a supply is always kept and carried about ready for use.

52. *tâ·lag-*.[4] Hone or whetstone, which when in use is held in the right hand and applied to the edge of the blade, which is generally held over the inner side of the left foot, the operator being seated on the ground; pointed weapons are sharpened on it in the usual way.

53. *nīp l'âr bū·l-*. Serrated bone at the root of the tail of the sting-ray; in former times their *tō·lbōd-* arrows (items 4 and 7) were headed with these bones, and it is believed that the early reports of the poisoned arrows of the Andamanese are entirely due to this circumstance; for, owing to their fragile spikes, these bones are apt to cause very serious flesh wounds.[5]

54. *gar·en-*. *Dentalium octogonum* used in the manufacture of various personal ornaments.

314 55. *rīm-*. Resin obtained from a large tree (*Celtis* or *Gironniera*) of that name, which is used in making *kâ·ngatâ-būj-* (*vide* item 62).

237 56. *ā·ja-pīd-*. Wax of the white honeycomb: it is one of the ingredients in *kâ·ngatâ-būj-* (item 62), and is also used in the manufacture of the *châ·panga-* (item 22).

57. *tō·bul-pīd-* or *lē·re-*. Wax of the black honeycomb, made by a small description of bee in the hollows of trees: it is generally procured by men, and is applied to bowstrings, arrow fastenings, and the *kūd* (item 20) is used for caulking cracks in canoes and buckets.

[NOTE.—The honey is eaten, but is not so much relished as that from the white combs.]

[1] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 61.
[2] *Vide* Part III, "Stone Implements," paragraphs 3–6.
[3] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 63.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 56.
[5] "These wounds often cause great inflammation, whence a notion has been prevalent from ancient times that the sting is charged with venom, but of this there is no evidence. Other species of the sting-ray are plentiful in the warmer parts of the world, and they are everywhere dreaded. The spine is used by the savages of the South Sea Islands to point their spears" ("Chambers's Cyclop.").

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

substituted. These three substances are melted and stirred over a fire until of a proper consistency; the pigment is then poured into small pots or large shallow shells, where on cooling it soon hardens. When required for use the pot or shell is placed on the fire and the melting wax applied according to fancy. The string fastenings of fish and pig arrows (items 4, 5, and 6) the turtle harpoon (item 10), and pig spear (item 9), are protected with a coating of this wax, and it is applied ornamentally to the food trays (item 72), nautilus shells (item 14), and the outside of buckets (item 13); it is also used for closing cracks in buckets, and in canoes if not too large. 302 386

63. *chū·lnga-*. olive-coloured clay found in small springs in the jungles: in its liquid form it is applied medicinally after the manner of *kòi·ob-chū·lnga-* (*vide* footnote [5], p. 184). 386 758

64. *yō·lba-*. (*Anodendron paniculatum*), the fibre of which is much valued on account of its excellence; string made from it is used for bowstrings and arrow fastenings, for netting the *châ·panga-* (item 22), and *rdb-* (item 42), for making their various necklaces and other personal ornaments, and also for the fastenings of knives and turtle harpoons. 283

65. *pī·lita-* (*Gnetum edule*), from the fibre of which string is prepared and used almost exclusively by women, chiefly for the manufacture of the *kūd-* (item 20), and *pār·epa-* (item 23); it is not sufficiently strong to serve as arrow fastenings, though on an emergency it is sometimes used for this purpose. [462]

66. *al·aba-* (*Melochia velutina*). From fibre obtained from this tree rope is made for turtle-lines (*bē·tmo-*), nets, and cables, the preparation and manufacture of which devolve on men; the bark of this tree also furnishes the material of which the *chīp* (item 24) or baby-slings are made. [462]

67. *pō·tòkla-*.[1] Netting-needles, made in two sizes of bamboo and used in making nets. 412

[NOTE.—The turtle-net (item 12) is not made with netting-needles, but with two sticks called *kū·tegbo-*.[2]] [286]

68. *pō-chô-*. Bamboo knives, which are shaped into form while green and then dried and charred over a fire to render them sharp and fit for use; formerly they were employed for cutting meat and other food.[3]

69. *wai-chô-* and *pór-chô-*. Two varieties of cane knives, but similar to item 68.

70. *tō·ug-*.[4] Torch, made by women, of resin wrapped in a large leaf (*Crinum lorifolium*); it is used when fishing, travelling, or 373 [462]

[1] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 12.
[2] These are made of a light hard wood known as *bē·rewil-*.
[3] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 10.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 66.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Plate E.

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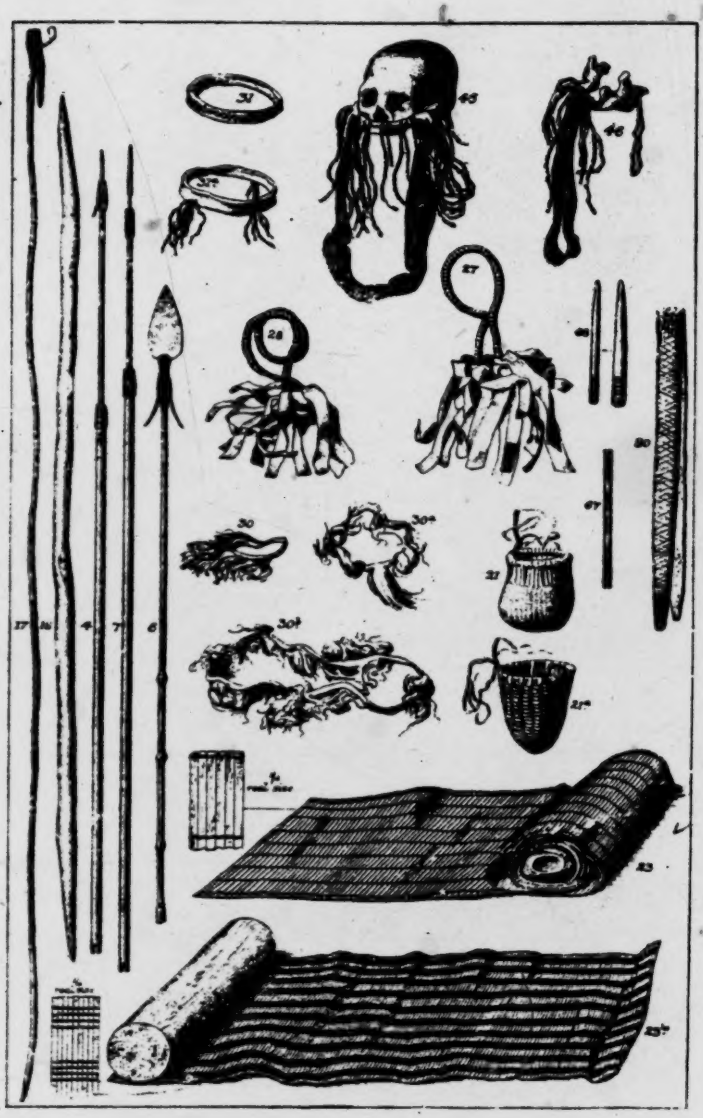

ANDAMANESE OBJECTS

[facing p. 186]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

373 dancing by night: the resin is obtained from a large tree called by them *maiī-*, which also is often employed in the construction of their largest canoes. A larger description of torch is made by men, and used when fishing by night.

71. *lâ·pi-*. Gurjon wood torch, obtained from the heart of rotten logs of the *Dipterocarpus lævis* (Andam., *â·rain-*): as these do not burn so readily as the *tō·ug-* (item 70) they are rarely used outside their huts.

415 72. *pū·kuta-yât-mâk·nga-*.[1] Food tray, made by men of some [462] soft wood, generally of the large flat buttress roots of the trees (*Sterculiaceæ*) of which their canoes are made.

764 73. *â·ra-*. Long fringe-like cane-leaf wreaths, which are made by women, and suspended from trees, &c., round an encamp- [462] ment or hut where a death has occurred, and round the spot where the corpse is deposited in order to warn off persons inadvertently approaching the place, which is believed to be haunted by the spirit of the deceased.[2]

285 74. *kâ·pa-jâ·tnga-*. Fan-like screen, made by women, of a description of palm-leaf (Andam., *kâ·pa-*), two of which are [462] fastened together with leaf stems: it is used for many purposes, amongst others as a protection from rain and from the direct rays of the sun in hot weather; in the absence of a *pār·epa-* (item 23) it is often used as a sleeping mat, and it serves also as a wrapper for bundles of various kinds.

75. *kâ·pa-*. Leaf wrappers, as described above, are employed for storing and packing the red oxide of iron.

293 76. *ūj-*.[3] Long brush-like shavings of the *Tetranthera lancæfolia*, prepared by men with the sharp edge of a *Cyrena* shell. When dancing these are often held (by both sexes) in their hands, or are stuck in their waistbelts or other personal ornaments.

● 412 77. *kô·no-*.[4] Iron knife used in cutting up food; to some a wooden or iron skewer is attached, they are then called *châm-chô-*.

78.[5]

291 79. *ō·bunga-*. Species of apron, consisting of one to six leaves of the *Mimusops Indica* (Andam., *dō·gota-*), which are fastened to the lowest *bōd-* by women from motives of modesty;[6] the leaves are not spread out so as to cover a wide surface, but are laid one above the other, and removed separately as each becomes stiff and shrivelled: the reason given for the selection of this

[1] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 16.
[2] *Vide* Part II. "Death and Burial," paragraph 3.
[3] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 37.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 21.
[5] This No. is attached to "Specimens of Andamanese Hair" (*vide* footnote 1, p. 175).
[6] *Vide* Part I, "Psychology and Morals," paragraph 8, and footnote.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

.291 particular leaf is that it keeps green and fresh for a longer time than any other.

[NOTE.—The women of the North Andaman tribes, until recent years, appear to have worn no *ā·bunga*, or only in a very modified form; the change which is now observable among them in this respect is doubtless to be traced to their intercourse with the people of South Andaman.]

•412 80. *kai-*.[1] Bamboo tongs, made by women, and used for any [462] purpose which would involve a risk of burning or scalding the fingers, such as lifting a pot or piece of cooked food off the fire.

415 81. *ko·pòt-*. Bucket made from a single joint of the *Bambusa gigantea*, pieces of which are sometimes found on the coast, having floated ashore from the neighbouring continent or from wrecks; they are much valued on account of their lightness and the labour saved in making a wooden bucket (*dā·kar-*, item 13), which being, as before described, scooped out of a single piece of wood, is a laborious undertaking.

[NOTE.—The origin of the *dā·kar-* is doubtless to be traced to the people.]

82. *gōb-*. Bamboo vessel, of which there are two varieties, viz., (*a*) for use as a water-holder: this is often 4 or 5 feet long, the partitions at the joints being broken through with a spear head or other suitable instrument, the lowest one only being left to form the bottom of the vessel; and (*b*) for use as a cooking pot and food-holder: its length consists of a single joint of bamboo, into which—after it has been cleaned, washed, and dried over a fire—food is packed and cooked; as will be seen by reference to Part III,[2] these vessels are only capable of serving on a single occasion; the handle is formed with a piece of *bē·tma-*.

83. *lā-*. Cooking stones: the mode in which they are used is described in Part III.[3]

412 84. *kā·ta-ngā·tanga-* (*lit.*, crab-hook). An implement employed for picking up live crabs between rocks, in order to save the fingers from being nipped; it consists merely of a branch broken off the *Rhizophora conjugata*, which (unlike other trees) at once furnishes a strong hook suitable for the above purpose.

85. *ā·ra-tig-jē·rabnga-*. Tufted leaf brushes, which are used for the same purpose as the *ā·ra-* (item 73), and also by persons recently tattooed to drive away flies.

[A few other objects, omitted from this list, will be found described in Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. vii, pp. 457–465.]

[1] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 11.
[2] *Vide* "Food," paragraph 31.
[3] *Vide* paragraph 27, and "Stone Implements," paragraph 2.

619 now passing away and I well recollect 25 years ago, though the Bojigyab were then known to us, the "coming in" of the first Balawa from the Archipelago and of the first Chariar from the extreme north and the difficulty experienced in communicating with them.

In reading the following remarks on the tribes it must always be borne in mind that the statements therein made refer largely to a state of things practically already passed away and never likely to be revived. The reader can without difficulty use his discretion in separating what is from what has been in the course of his perusal.

619 184 **Their Division into three Groups.**—The Andamanese tribes are by themselves divided into three distinct groups, having certain salient characteristics: the forms of the huts, bows and arrows, of the canoes, of ornamentation, female clothing, hair dressing, and utensils, of tattooing, and of language common generally to the group, but differing in details and sometimes entirely from those of other groups. Judged by this standard the tribal affinities may be thus stated: Northern or Yerewa Group, Chariar, Kora, Tabo, Yere, Kede; Southern or Bojigngiji Group, Bea, Balawa, Bojigyab, Juwai, Kol; Outer Group, Ônge-Jarawa, who do not tattoo. Some of the tribes are divided into septs, fairly well defined under headmen and with a local area of their own, but not under any separate designation.

The Distinctions between the Groups.—It is worth while bringing together this remarkable series of differences dividing the Andamanese into three divisions; differences that more or less run through all matters concerning them.

[304] (1) *Tattooing.*—Bojigngiji; women are the tattooers cutting the skin slightly with small flakes of quartz or glass in patterns of zigzags or in straight vertical lines; face, ears, genitals, arm and knee pits are excepted. Men and women are tattooed alike. Yerewa; men are the tattooers, cutting the skin deeply with iron pig-arrow heads: short horizontal parallel cuts in three or five lines down the back and front of the trunk, round the anus and legs. Women are tattooed thus as life advances. Ônge-Jarawa; no tattooing.

[302] (2) *Hair.*—Bojigngiji; partial to complete shaving of head. Yerewa; long matted ringlets touching the shoulders. Ônge-Jarawas; closely cropped head to a mop. Ônge-Jarawa women are not shaved.

[291] (3) *Ornaments and female clothing.*—Bojigngiji women wear a bunch of five or six leaves in front: Yerewa women a loose tassel of narrow strips of bark: Ônge-Jarawa a bunching tassel of fibre. Bojigngiji women are most particular as to clothing: Yerewa women careless. Jarawa women are apt to be quite unclothed. Bojigngijis and Yerewas smear their faces with grey clay mixed with water, white clay in delicate patterns imitating the tattoo marks, red ochre mixed with turtle fat and almond oil in coarse undefined patterns. Ônge-Jarawas, with yellow clay mixed with water in coarse patches, red ochre mixed with the above mentioned oils on the head. Ônge-Jarawas wear no bone ornaments.

[302]

[531] (4) *Ornamentation of utensils.*—Bojigngiji and Yerewas, slight: Ônge-Jarawas delicate and elaborate.

[323] (5) *Pots.*—Bojigngijis, pots with rounded bottom: Ônge-Jarawas and Yerewas with pointed bottom.

[412] (6) *Implements.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas, coarse and rough in manufacture: Ônge-Jarawas, often delicate and neat.

[285] (7) *Baskets.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas have a 'kick' and stand well: Ônge-Jarawas have uneven bottom and stand badly.

[411] (8) *Bows and arrows.*—Bojigngiji, *karama* bow and large arrows. Yerewa, *chokio* bow and small arrows. Ônge-Jarawa, curved long bow and long arrows.

(9) *Arrows.*—Generally common in type to all tribes: long with plain straight point, long with straight point and barbs, short with broad detachable barbed head for pigs.* Ônge-Jarawas and Yerewas, multiple headed arrows for fish.

(10) *Harpoons.*—For turtle, dugongs, and large fish among Bojigngijis and Yerewas: none among the Ônge-Jarawas.

* As the pig runs off, the trailing shaft is at once caught by something in the jungle and the animal is thus brought up short.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

LIDIO CIPRIANI, Hygiene and Medical Practices among the Onge (Little Andaman)

Plate 1

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a) Onge communal hut.
b) Painted Onge woman drinking from a nautilus shell.
c) Woman with *bataghē* leaves.
d) Filter going from mouth to mouth.

[p. 489 (A)]

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

ing edible matter ; furthermore, they don't care to take the trouble as food 251
is generally plentiful. We must also realize that they find salt repulsive. Even [263]
honey – so easily kept for many months – is disposed of, if possible, on the 264
very same day it is collected. Incredible quantities of this or other food may be 262
consumed for days and nights on end until everything disappears. Very few of the islanders care to vary their meat diet with an occasional diet of vegetables in order to disintoxicate the system ; yet nourishing yams and other roots [137]
grow wild and plentiful. They are so rich in carbohydrates that I preferred [123]
them to potatoes and rice. I may add that the Onge, on my request, brought me yams and roots that they were glad to barter with rice, tea and sugar – soon declared by their wise men to possess medicinal properties.

The Onge's stomach, intestines and general physiological equilibrium 147
suffer from lack of salt and such bad nutritional habits as those described. They damage the human body, together with unrestrained sexual activity.

One highly unhygienic custom of the Onge is the use, all over Little 264
Andaman, of peculiar sucking-sticks. These pass from mouth to mouth during 412
the frequent meat or honey orgies indulged in by the natives.

When boiling pork or turtle, a quantity of liquid fat floats on the sur- [262]
face of the broth. Though the Onge despise the broth, they don't like to waste the fat. So they devised an efficient solution : they suck the fat up by means of a wad of absorbent matter obtained by chewing the end of a fibrous stick selected among many species of trees in the forest. The end of the stick is chewed along a section of 5 cms, the remaining part – about 25 cms long and 2 cms thick – is used as a handle to prevent the fingers from burning.

In every Onge camp sucking-sticks are permanently in evidence owing [262]
to the inmates' frequent ingestion of liquid fat or honey. A second version of the sucking-stick consists in a narrow, cotton-like strip, up to 80 cms long, with only a small part of the original wood remaining. This serves as a handle for dipping the stick into a wooden barrel full of honey. In both instances the same tool passes for hours from mouth to mouth : from older people to greedy children, anxious to suck the coveted delicacy off the stick that has been dipped into the pot. The rapid spreading of epidemics, which often occur [164]
in the Andamans, is certainly encouraged by the use of these sucking-sticks. I found no reference to this practice in books on the Andaman Islands.

Everything they eat, particularly meat, the Onge consider as either 262
remedial or harmful. They are therefore chary of accepting proffered food 123
if it is unknown to them. When I brought 30 Onge to Port Blair to introduce them to Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD, President of the Indian Republic, they were troublesome about food. In Port Blair it was not as easy as in Little Andaman to procure whole pigs ; sometimes only pieces were available. The Andamanese Forest Department was quickly informed of the difficulty and kindly supplied the desired animals. In moments of shortage I tried to give the Onge cooked [775]
lamb, goat, chicken and pigeons ; they resolutely refused them as unhealthy. [825]
Birds are never eaten by the Onge, who consider them shelters for human souls

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

262 immense quantities of it together with pork. I was with them three times when this recurred, so I could observe their behaviour exhaustively. With their
517 bellies full, the natives rest. Their only activity is body painting, performed by
302 the women on the skin of their peacefully sleeping husbands. Designs change
178 from time to time as I said before, according to the women's inventiveness. Each family challenges the others in renewing their patterns. The best are later reproduced until the next change. From year to year I noticed no real evolution in this rudimentary art, but a cyclical fashion, with temporary preference, in males and females alike, for some geometrical designs, unconnected with whatever kind of food they had been eating. This contradicts the published af-
114 firmations of several authors, who allege that the Andamanese paint special
302 patterns in special colours for different kinds of food. There is nothing more false, at least with reference to the Onge. Merry feasting, whether on pork
[262] turtle, dugong, fish or honey, leads to a period of rest and body decoration –
[751] always in similar patterns and colours – with the unique purpose of preventing illness. We might say that painting the body is equal to cleaning it, but this
[515] is quite unintentional. A curious exception to the Onge's filthy habits is the
264 practice of sweeping the floor after solemn banquets in communal huts. The surface of the floor consists of unpacked earth hardened by casual tramping.
356 When it is dry, sweeping raises a heavy dust that fills the hut to the ceiling.
342 It deposits there on the wooden beams where the Onge like to store cooked
251 victuals. So they eat their food, as I said before, coated with dust, no matter
262 how thick. A brush without a handle is used to sweep the floor ; it is 80 cms
412 long and no thicker than a man's wrist. It is one of the nicest tools made by the Onge, and consists of strong, hard, elastic palm fibres bound together with strips of rattan. The dirt is simply thrown out all around the hut, by pushing
356 it under the roof mats that never reach the ground.

These notes offer a first glimpse into a peculiar aspect of Onge life. It is
114 to be deplored that these vanishing people have not yet been exhaustively studied, notwithstanding their anthropological interest and high biological significance.

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

123 The second trip was made on March 12th 1948. Our party included Mr. JOSEPH and Mr. POOVIAH [8], both Sub-divisional Officers of the forest department, one Burman bush police and four Andamanese with their two canoes tied behind our motor boat. We followed the same route from Long Island and, reaching Spike Island, we anchored at its northeastern corner. We came ashore in the canoes. The beach was small and rocky. Part of it was sheltered on one side by huge rocks behind which the Jarawa were known to waylay those approaching from the sea. So we landed very cautiously. Just at [501] the outskirts of the jungle we saw huge bundles of short bamboo lengths tied to [824] one another and piled up in a heap. It was a Jarawa raft. Near the bamboo pile were three crude paddles split from the spadix of the palm called *Nipa fruticans*. We were all the more careful in our approach.

[361] Soon we came upon a clearing in the jungle. There was no Jarawa, but all around we saw traces of a temporary halt of a large party. We counted nineteen [342] fireplaces. At a distance from the fireplaces we saw a small temporary hut [622] improvised out of the materials available on the spot. Two small shrubs were tied together on two sides to form the roof of the hut. The Andamanese identified it to have been made for the Jarawa chief and his wife. Household objects [415] [824] lay scattered about. Three bamboo cylinders, closed at one end by the natural node, were found next to [412] three of the fireplaces. They are used for carrying water. A dark coloured modern glass bottle, probably acquired during a raid, was [177] [415] also found. One fireplace had a small compartment enclosed by a few wooden posts a few yards off. [354] [417] [855] The Andamanese identified it as an enclosure for keeping a child at a safe distance from the fire. This was probably correct as there was also a baby sling made of bark, [854] exactly similar to that used by the Onge for carrying a baby on its mother's back (VON EICKSTEDT, [412] 1934, fig. 211). At one corner of a fireplace the shavings of an arrowshaft or a bow were seen and nearby was a flat round pebble, one end of which was [412] broken like that of a scraper (fig. 3). This scraper showed marks of red ochre on it. Beneath a tree a circular mat, sewn out of three pieces of long triangular palm-like leaves was spread out, while on its branches was found a beautiful specimen of an unstrung bow. It appeared to have been recently prepared and

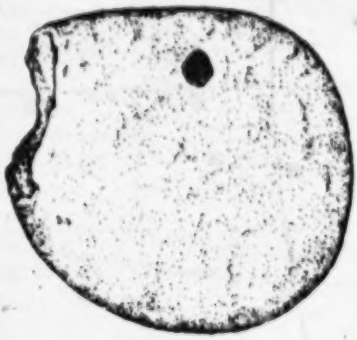

Fig. 3

[8] These two officers captured two Jarawa males, one adult and one boy, on October 19th 1948 on Spike Island. They were brought to Port Blair, wherefrom they managed to escape at night.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
ONGE

the felling of the tree, chiselling the lumber and processing it further to give the shape of a canoe. Buckets of wood are also constructed by them from the softwood tree. Two types of baskets are made, the smaller ones are more well-finished than the bigger ones. The former is known as *tolevaga* and the later *tole-laya*. Such activities have introduced the use of dahs, chisels, and iron files among the Onges, from the iron pieces derived from the sea shores. The other important pieces of their craftsmanship are the beautiful weavings of fibre, tussel of yellow fibre used by the women in their front. However, the art of making the earthen pots has been completely forgotten.

The leisure in their lives has helped the development of some amount of aesthetic senses among the Onges. All the Onges men and women shave their heads with flakes of glass, obtained from the sea-borne glass bottles. The body of the Onges are also painted with white clay which save their skin from insect-bite while red paint serves medicinal purposes if some individual is having fever. In times of mourning, red orchre paint is a taboo.[1]

Early marriage is the custom. The widows are looked down upon by the society. Some incidents of widow murder and drowning are heard. In the married life, the husband is devoted to his wife and both the husband and wife work for collecting their food.

Dances and songs are in vogue and there are practically songs for every occasion and activity. Most of their songs are more plaintive than joyous.

There are three broad divisions of the Onges of the Little Andaman :

(1) *Giremeka-Gobeule* group inhabiting the northeastern coast of the island ;

(2) *Engakwale group* live in the interior of the islands ; and

(3) *Gireraragobeule group* live in the southern and western coasts of the islands.

In spite of all the limitations, the Onges have been considered as one of the happiest people of the world with plenty of food and water to eat and drink and with very few social cankers to fight with. But as is common to all other aborigines of the Andamans, a decline in their number is discernible.

The Sentinelese

The Sentinelese are the least known of all the aborigines of the Anda-

1 The Onge of the Little Andaman—A short guide book ; Anthropological Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

222 784 776 824 twining up into the trees, and the shorter-stemmed yams, are never disturbed. The Onges merely dig down, at a respectful distance from the plant, certain of finding what they want. On no account must there be any signs of the theft for the spirit to see, so they quietly take off roots or tubers some way from the main stem and leave the rest, patting the earth down afterwards and covering the place with leaves. The guardian spirit, not, apparently, all-seeing, notices nothing, as the plant continues to flourish, improved by the root pruning. Everyone, guardian spirit and Onges alike, is happy.

[185] [114] This unconscious preservation may well be the result of a decree, in some remote past, by an Onge seer who realized the danger of killing off the entire plants and invented the guardian spirits as a deterrent. The Negritos still make similar use of roots and tubers; [171] Skeet and Blagden fifty years ago referred to the Semang eating poisonous wild yams, having removed the toxic substances.[1]

241 174 It is interesting that both in the past and even today a number of peoples at a very early stage of cultural development have progressed from the gathering of the wild yams of South-East Asia to the first signs of cultivation and agriculture. It is possible that they were the first plants ever to be cultivated by primitive Man, the Negritos with their digging sticks delving then as they do now; the genus is certainly a very ancient one, and some species, such as *Dioscorea alata*, may have spread from Asia to Africa and Oceania, and even to America, with the beginning of cultivation. But this is a stage of development which the peoples of the Andaman never reached.

412 [177] [222] The digging stick, the only implement the Onges have with which to get at the roots and tubers, has in recent times been affected, though to a very limited extent by the spread of iron. Only a few individuals possess a primitive iron tool, half a metre long, cylindrical in shape and usually not more than one and a half centimetres in diameter and flattened into a form of blade at one end. The vast majority still have only the age-old stick made of hard wood, hardly recognizable as a tool and crudely fashioned into a point at one end. This tool, so primitive that it can easily be mistaken for an odd

[1] It is interesting that the American Aborigines, especially in Brazil, do the same with manioc, but I saw nothing of this nature in the Andamans.

This tool, so primitive that it can easily be mistaken for an old piece of wood, has definite uses, and none of the nomadic forest peoples anywhere in the world are without it. Everywhere it is found it is effective in filling huge baskets with food – baskets equally simply and equally quickly made. I have already described (see p. 93) the baskets made by the Onges for purely temporary use on their hunting expeditions. In the communal huts, however, the making of real baskets involves hours of careful plaiting, working the supple fibres from the strong bark of selected rushes, and expert finishing. These baskets are an invariable and prized part of every family's inheritance and are preserved for as long as possible. Nowhere in the collection of basketry from Great Andaman are there baskets with more craftsmanship than the permanent ones of the Onges.[1] All the baskets are the shape of half an egg. There is little variation in size, all being about forty centimetres in diameter at the top, and about forty-five centimetres deep, unlike the temporary carriers, which vary considerably in size, according to whether they are to be carried by men, women, or even children, and what is to be carried.

At the opposite extreme from the underground harvest of roots, men and women alike use long thin hooked poles to hook down fruit from the trees, climbing up into the trees when necessary to strip the highest branches and then hiding the poles in the forest until they are next required (no attempt is ever made to carry them about). When the tree is not too large, it is ruthlessly chopped down and stripped as it lies on the ground. I was horrified in the first fortnight of April to see this happen to trees which the Onges call *dangheccio*, which bear blackish-red fruit about the size of a pigeon's egg. The attraction is the flavour of the pulp, but there is little of it, surrounding a large nut. To get at the pulp a thick, hard case has to be cracked, but to the formidable Onge teeth this is no problem and the case cracks comparatively easily. The nut itself is not edible; the honey-coloured pulp is sweetish, but there is so little that it takes ten fruits to provide ten grams of it. The fruits hang in bunches at the end of branches covered with leaves rather like a chestnut. As the wood is very soft, the Onges usually hack the trees down; large ones may merely have their branches lopped

[1] Editor's note: The author indicated in manuscript at this point his intention of giving a full description of the way in which these are made, but unfortunately died before he was able to do so.

26 Cleaning themselves, to the Onges, means painting themselves
302 to ward off evil and to remove, so they said, the smell of pig fat
[224] after the colossal orgies which follow a particularly good hunt,
when even they find the stench too much. These orgies, which give
[164] them appalling indigestion for days, are followed by an apparently instinctive variation of their diet to raw or cooked vegetable foods. On three occasions from 1952–54 I was present at one of these solemn pork and honey orgies. The Onges ate almost till they burst, and then, hardly able to move, cleaned up by a grand painting session. The women do the painting, families vying with each other to produce weird new designs, which are then copied until the next feast.[1]

276 Fed and painted, the Onges sit down to smoke, using pipes made
26 from crabs' claws. Still regardless of hygiene the pipes go from one
302 mouth to another, the women smoking just as heavily as the men.
237 One curious anomaly is that the Onges do sometimes sweep the
356 earth floor of the communal hut. The floor is not deliberately beaten down, but becomes hardened by continuous walking on it; in dry weather it turns to dust, which rises and settles everywhere, especially under the roof, where the lumps of cooked meat,
[412] fish and so on are hung. For the cleaning a broom or besom is prepared, well made with very hard, supple, palm fibres, bound tightly and carefully with cords made from reeds. The whole thing is about eighty centimetres long and as thick as a man's wrist.

356 The dirt is simply swept out all round from under the roof of the
342 hut through the gap between the roof and the ground. In the course
172 of time a ring of refuse builds up round the hut, forming a glorious
364 breeding ground for insects of all kinds. When the hut has to be rebuilt, owing to the ravages of wood-worm and termites, the ring is levelled off to form the new floor. Since the same small, well-chosen site may be used for thousands of years, the hut ends up perching on top of a small mound of refuse dating back to very

[531] [1] From one year to the next I saw no real evolution of art forms but cyclic changes of designs, with a preference for certain geometric patterns, at certain times of the year. Having watched various individuals of both sexes closely over a period of some years I can say that in the Onges at least, contrary to what is generally understood, the use of given patterns, and given kinds of ochre, does not correspond with given types of food. Any feast is always followed by painting, always with the weirdest designs possible, but always geometrical, never far from the current 'fashion', and never even remotely inspired by the basis of the feast.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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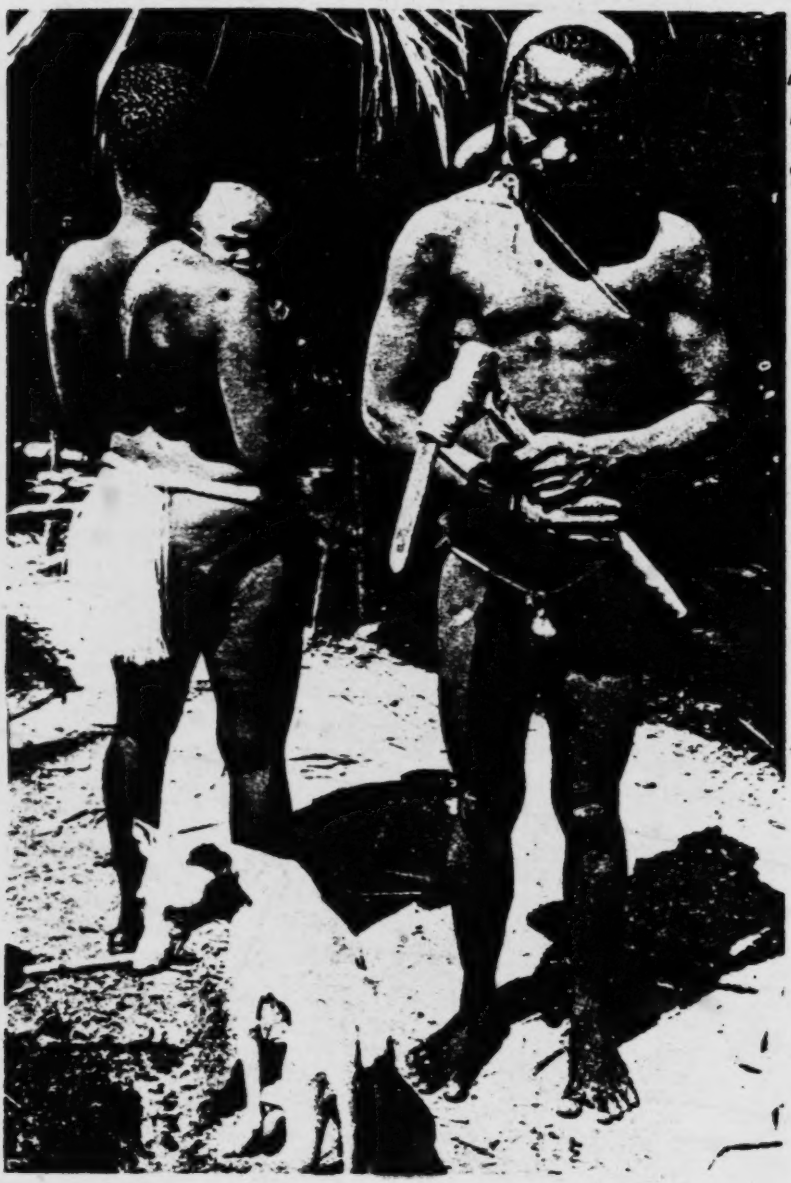

[facing P. 66, E]

/6 . . . The axe is one of the few primitive tools in use in the Andamans/

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

type of canoe is the only craft seen. I saw some hauled up on the beach, identical with the ones I had seen the Onges building, even to the *Nautilus* shell as a baler. In face of this and other evidence there can be little doubt that the people of North Sentinel are descended from the Onges, possibly driven off course by some storm, and then isolated on the island.

The Arioto, copying Indian and Burmese craft, have in recent times come to modify the original canoe somewhat, deepening the gunwales and doing away with the float. The result is a craft which though it remains small is unlikely to fill with water in heavy seas. But even the Arioto prefer the single outrigger canoe for sea voyages.

The only real seafarers, however, are the Onges, who make regular hunting trips as far as Rutland. In the past they sometimes made devastating raids as far as Car, but these have died out over the past hundred years as their numbers have dwindled. There is certainly no doubt that at one time the Onges undertook considerable sea voyages in canoes the same as they build today.

The work involved in the building of these canoes is, as I have said, enormous. The preparatory work on the tree, and then the felling, are hard enough without proper equipment. I gave my Onge friends some long-handled wood-cutter's axes, to help in this part of the work. In their enthusiasm they chopped so hard they soon broke the handles and chipped some of the tempered blades, so that I had to take them to Port Blair for repair! But the real work begins with the working of the felled trunk. Then a small and very crude form of hatchet[1] has to be used, flaking off small strips like a plane; fire is never used to assist in the process. Fortunately the *Sterculia* wood usually chosen is soft.

The original shape is not touched after the required length, calculated so as to allow for the harpoon-thrower's platform at each end, has been cut. The irregularities of the trunk are left intact, so that the canoes look distorted and even ugly despite their seaworthiness. During the preliminary stage of stripping the bark great care is taken not to chip the outer ring of wood immediately below the bark; this is smooth and fine-grained, and more waterproof than the inner layers. One danger is that as the wood dries

[1] The blades used to be made from *Tridacna* shell, but in more recent times they have come to be made of iron from wrecked ships cast up on the beaches.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

I examined a number of canoes drawn up on the beach. They 501
varied in size from some eight to ten metres long, built to carry twenty people, to small single-manned craft three to four metres long, and there were some very small ones clearly intended to encourage the children to set out on their own. The very large canoes are, however, rare. The beam also varied considerably from some barely wide enough to admit a man's knees to others of one and a half metres or more.[1]

In the shallows, contrary to some assertions, paddles are never used; the booms would make alternate paddling extremely difficult. Reversed harpoon shafts are instead used as punt poles and oars, [824]
usually made of *Myristica longifolia*, are used only in deep water. They are sometimes but not always lashed into the holes in the gunwale through which the booms pass. They are short, not more than 1·3 metres long and are always rowed forwards (obviously there would be a danger of stubbing a reef if the European style of rowing was used). Like the canoes, the oars vary somewhat in size. Very roughly made they consist of a handle ninety centimetres long and a forty-centimetre blade. The grip tapers almost to a point and increases gradually in diameter towards the blade, which is long, narrow, blunt-ended and flat-convex in section. Usually it is [237]
merely roughly shaped with the Onges' crude hatchet, but occa- [412]
sionally it is smoothed off with a sharp *Cyrena* shell. The helmsman and pilot stand on the two platforms, guiding the canoe with oars. As far as possible the rowers avoid the side bearing the outrigger mechanism; any deviation of course caused by the unilateral rowing is corrected by the two steersmen.

When they first launch a canoe the Onges decorate it with ochre 501
designs like those on their bodies and the hollowed logs used to 531
hold honey, although they are washed off as soon as the craft enters the water. As usual the men do all the work up to that point [462]
and the women do the painting. The initial painting is the only [422]
form of ornament on the canoes; there is not even a mark of owner- [126]
ship, although each canoe is curiously enough recognized as the property of one man, despite the fact that everyone has helped to

[1] I am unable to agree with Brown that the Onge canoes are extremely small, that they have bow and stem, and that their floats are inefficient. My own experiences of travelling in the canoes has led me to the opinion that on these and other points Brown was wrong, possibly partly because he never actually visited Little Andaman. [114]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Queensland and (as the Cape Bedford type) elsewhere. Oars, method of fixing the booms and float – all are similar throughout the area, including the Andamans.

Even game, once caught, is treated and distributed similarly by these peoples, from the Andamans to Oceania. Cooking is done without salt, in earth ovens (whether or not fire or red-hot stones are used) very different from those of Africa and America. The Semang and Aetà of today know how to make fire by friction, as do the peoples of New Guinea, Australia and Polynesia; the Tasmans also have the knowledge to do so, but prefer to carry burning logs with them on their journeys, like the Andamanese. In certain parts of New Guinea and perhaps in some of the Pacific islands (as in the Andamans) the art of fire-making was unknown or possibly forgotten until recent times; it is said that the Papuans of the Bay of Astralobius knew nothing of the art until the middle of the nineteenth century. But the only sure information comes from the Andamans, where, whether through ignorance or loss of knowledge, the art of fire-making is unknown and fire is always carried everywhere.

Among the objects typical of the Andamans and found also among the Semang, the Aetà, and other Oceanic peoples are the digging stick and the crude hatchet. The former, used for gathering edible roots and tubers, is merely a pointed stick, but every family possesses one. The hatchet is slightly more elaborate, having both handle and blade, and like the digging stick, occurs always in virtually the same form.[1] Objects woven from vegetable fibres are also very similar in appearance – often very durable and sometimes pleasing by any standards. In some places woven breast-plates are used in warfare, but here the Jarawas differ, using single sheets of bark.

These are but a few of the many examples which one can find of this striking similarity between these widely separated peoples. And alongside cultural similarities there exist others, anthropological and physical, which cannot be overlooked. Physically the

[1] This is simply a cutting tool fixed into a natural elbow in a suitable branch. The blade is fixed into the wood near the elbow, and the branch is cut off, so as to leave a short handle. The whole thing is reminiscent of a swan's head on a long neck, and is easily turned into a crude plane or adze by revolving the blade in the haft through a right angle.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Appendix

Below is given a brief summary of the evidence which in the author's opinion supports his view that the culture of the Andaman Islanders dates back at least to the Palaeolithic era. 172

1 ABSENCE OF STONE IMPLEMENTS

There are in the Andamans abundant sources of stones suitable for shaping into tools. Despite this I found no traces whatever of any stone implements even in the lowest strata of the kitchen-middens, nor is there any evidence of their being used either in the more recent past or at the present time. Until the very recent introduction of iron the Onges always (as the kitchen-middens confirm) made tools solely of wood, with the addition of parts made from *Tridacna* shells, shaped by long and patient rubbing against stone. The only objects remotely approaching the definition of stone implements are the splinters of quartz or obsidian which are carried in the hair, and used as razors or, in the Arioto only, for primitive tattooing. These splinters, which are in no way shaped after being broken off, are thrown away as soon as they become blunt, and a new piece of quartz is crudely struck from a lump, by men or women indiscriminately. The existence of this one stone implement does not, in my view, justify the classification of the Onges (or the Andamanese in general) as a true Palaeolithic people; it would be more reasonable to class them as prelithic. 172 324 [177] 322 321 [412] [181]

2 ABSENCE OF METAL WORKING

Even today the Onges' knowledge of metal working is confined to rubbing pieces of iron against stone to reduce them to the required shape. They have no knowledge of how to forge it, nor have they the tools to do so. Iron is clearly a very recent introduction, the importance of which the 325

802 805 or form of numerical evaluation is further support for the extremely low stage of cultural development at which they became isolated.

22 ART

302 531 532 When painting their bodies with ochre the Onges have no idea of symbolic representation, and use only geometrical designs. These invariably seem spontaneous, and in my view do not represent a degenerate form of some more highly evolved art, half forgotten over the centuries; in short, the 'artists' of the Andamans, with no conception of symbolism, are even today less advanced than their Palaeolithic counterparts.

23 DIGGING STICKS

172 ● 412 In late Palaeolithic deposits, stones with holes in them have been found which correspond to those still in use among peoples such as the Bushmen, to add weight to their digging sticks. The absence even today of any form of weighted stick in the Andamans, where stone is plentiful, would appear to antedate the culture at least to early Palaeolithic.

24 HUNTING

224 172 [411] 227 177 The Onges still use the Palaeolithic throwing stick, although it is not their main hunting weapon. They have no idea of fixed traps, which must from the evidence have been known in Palaeolithic times, and it is hard to believe that a people so dependent upon hunting would have lost the art once it had been acquired. They have crude nets which the women use for fishing, but these are probably a comparatively recent introduction, which has arrived via the Nicobars.

25 DOMESTIC ANIMALS

231 174 The Andamanese have none, and this would seem to add weight to the evidence for their great antiquity.

26 ECONOMY

433 185 437 There is no economic system of any kind, and from the evidence available it is highly unlikely that even the most primitive form ever existed. There is no conception whatever of providing for tomorrow, or of any form of exchange or barter.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

291 in this respect, that they will not remove or replace their
834 *ō·bunga-*[1] in the presence of any person, even though of their own sex.[2]

Tattooing.—1. With regard to the practice of tattooing,[3]—so
304 general among the eight tribes[4] of Great Andaman, and which, as Peschel remarks, "is only another substitute for raiment"—it has been erroneously asserted that its object is to "harden the skin against the stings of mosquitoes, sandflies, &c., and also for jungle travelling;" but so far from any such benefit being derived therefrom the aborigines aver that the skin becomes more sensitive after undergoing the ordeal, which is considered, primarily, as ornamental, and secondly, as proving the courage of the individual, and his (or her) power of enduring pain.

2. There are no special ceremonies connected with the operation, which, except in the northern tribes, is almost invariably performed by women, who, however, receive no remuneration, but rest satisfied with the honour of being considered competent to fulfil the task; all the sex are not equally skilled, and therefore, those who have gained distinction by former successes are, it may be said, the recognised practitioners, though no special status, or profit, in a material sense, is gained thereby.

304 3. Very few children[5] of either sex are allowed to remain
852 untattooed after about the eighth year, and the final operation is often not attempted until the sixteenth or eighteenth year, the process being carried on gradually during the intervening period.[6]

[143] 4. The instrument used on these occasions is a flake of quartz,
304 or, now-a-days, glass,[7] which is not "inserted in a stick," but held between the forefinger and thumb; the markings are found chiefly on the back, shoulders, nape of the neck, chest,

[1] The *ō·bunga-* is first worn by girls when they are about five or six years of age.

[2] *Vide ante* "Psychology and Morals," paragraph 8, and footnote.

[3] The legend explaining its supposed origin has been given in Part II (*vide* "Mythology," paragraph 26).

[4] So far as our present knowledge enables us to say, the *jär·awa-* do not tattoo or shave themselves (*vide* "Tribal Distribution," paragraph 2).

[5] Even in the homes the practice is still observed, and one strong-minded youth, *ī·ra-jō·do-*, who has hitherto declined to undergo the operation, which he has ventured to stigmatise as unnecessary, has earned for himself the (to them) unenviable designation of "*ab-lū·ta-*," *i.e.*, the "untattooed."

[6] The arms are generally the first part tattooed, and this is accomplished *prior* to the probationary period; the back is ornamented *during* the continuance of the fast and the chest, belly, legs, &c., *subsequently*. Sometimes an *ā·kà·ká daka-*, *i.e.*, a youth about 11–12, requests that he may be tattooed on his back and on the nape of his neck before attaining the usual age; such a request from a lad is considered manly, and, indeed, almost heroic, for ordinarily the painful operation is postponed until some years later.

[7] *Vide post* "Stone Implements," paragraphs 6 and 7.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

515 people. Furthermore, the Onge skin is very soft and more elastic than is usual
[147] in human beings. For us, clothed and with a less resilient skin, a trip through the thorny Andaman forest means many small, bleeding scratches. Not so for the naked Onge. – To cover them with clothes would endanger their health. Nakedness inures them to the sudden changes of temperature so frequent in
[513] Little Andaman and preserves them from catching cold when sleeping, uncovered, on their rough, unprotected bed of boughs. As with primitives all over the world, clothes make them miserable and, I may add, very ungainly and dirty.

515 Part of their general negligence with regard to hygiene is their carelessness about their teeth. They never clean them. They do keep bamboo sticks,
[413] 1 mm thick and 8 cms long, tucked into their hair to be ostensibly used as toothpicks ; but the sticks, to tell the truth, are more of an ornament than a tool.
142 The Onge's teeth are so compact and sound that there is no space between them for food particles to collect. No caries or decay of any sort are to be
[164] noticed. In a number of skeletons that I dug up from under the beds in communal huts, the teeth gave evidence of one peculiarity : old people had worn them down to the root. The Onge habit of using teeth as working instruments,
[289] to prepare fibre for ropes and in many other circumstances – apart from their permanent chewing on hard foodstuffs – explains this fact.

515 As a consequence of never washing, the natives' hands are sometimes extremely dirty. The Onge themselves are conscious of this. I shall give an
226 instance. It so happened that I arrived in Nachugé, on the west coast, toward the end of March, when the sea was teeming with migrating sardines. In Little Andaman sardines can weigh up to a pound ; but a normal catch, obtained with small hand-nets cast from canoes among shoals of fish imprisoned by the low tide within the coral reef that surrounds the island, contains specimens of
[264] every dimension. All are eaten as soon as possible. The quantity of fish brought back to the camps on such occasions puts all inmates to work and induces everybody to abandon all other occupations for the time being. In the low tidal waters the men push their canoes from rock to rock, using them as receptacles for the abundant food so easily collected. In some "pockets" nets prove unnecessary : the fish is gathered in handfuls and rapidly thrown into the canoes. The hecatomb ends when the canoes are filled to the gunwales. In no other part of the world have I seen food made available to primitive people in such large quantities and with so little effort.

252 Back at the camp, the sardines are "graded" according to size and cooked immediately. They are not washed or cleaned, the inner organs are eaten to-
[263] gether with the flesh. Men, women and children feverishly take part in the cooking ; the fish is boiled without salt. All the natives then plunge their hands
264 avidly into the heap of sardines. From time to time the women clean their
515 hands by rubbing them on the *naquinēghē*. Very soon this garment becomes
[231] extremely smelly. Men and children clean their hands in a different way : by rubbing them on the dogs. On such occasions, everything and everybody smells of fish for days and days. The first to become clean again are the dogs, because they hate to be smeared with fish and wash themselves in the sea as soon as they have a chance.

their fires beside them. On the night of 4–5 April 1953, while I was sleeping with them in the communal hut at Berié-Abdalù a sudden storm drenched us all, forcing us to huddle together round fires under the more waterproof parts of the roof. Numb with cold, but cheerful, they began joking, singing[1] and dancing, men and women separately; this went on all night, and no one suffered any ill effects from the soaking.

The Onge lack of hygiene extends also to their cooking utensils, which are never washed. In recent years the ocean has provided the Onges with a generous and unexpected gift; currents running from the south of Asia have thrown up on to the shores of Little Andaman a shoal of empty petrol drums, stout metal cylinders 1·3 metres high and eighty centimetres in diameter. The astute Onges have patiently divided each one in two, each section big enough to take a large pig. Set on big fires these serve as wonderful cooking pots, and the Onges are delighted with them. Unfortunately, however, although they were thrown up all round the island, the supply is beginning to dry up, and they are rapidly being eaten away by rust.

To boil food, the Onges set the drums on two large logs, laid parallel, with a fire between them. Stones are rarely used to support the drums, although there are plenty about in the interior of the island. On the coast, and for a fair way inland, there is nothing but coral, hard but liable when it gets hot to disintegrate under the heavy weight of the cylinders filled to the brim.

In these gifts from the sea the Onges could prepare tasty broths, but they invariably allow nearly all the water to boil away, and the cooking process is not considered complete until all the liquid has gone. While it is boiling, however, they take care not to lose the fat floating on the top, which they adore. They have even invented a curious sort of dipping-stick for the purpose of skimming the fat off. They take a shoot about twenty centimetres long from a plant which disintegrates into fibre when chewed. One end is chewed into a loose 'brush' and no one present misses his turn to dip it into the pot again and again to skim off a mouthful of fat, even getting up in the night in their eagerness for it. One stick naturally does for everyone, men, women and children, the

[1] The Onge voice is not markedly different from the European. It has a musical quality, fairly high-pitched but never shrill; the Onges never raise their voices, even in anger – disagreements invariably end in a dignified silence.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

mothers offering it to the waiting children one after another in strict order. This alone would be enough to explain the spread of the devastating measles epidemics which can attack every member of a hut.

While they love the liquid fat, they despise the broth left behind, and once the meat has been eaten, a thick yellowish soup, not unpleasant, is left in the drum. The dogs love this, and rush for it, putting their paws right into the drum, fighting and snarling in their eagerness to get at it. When they have finished licking, the drum is shining clean and ready for use, with no washing up to do! Clouds of flies descend on the drums, packing into a black swarm all over the bottom and sides, eager to finish off the dogs' work. Sea or river water is often only a yard or two from camp, but no one would dream of washing anything.

Once the meat or fish is cooked, it is often hung in the roof of the hut, out of reach of the dogs. The fact that the roof is dusty and covered in spiders to foul the meat, does not matter; earth and sand get in the way of the teeth, dust and spiders do not. The Onges happily eat contaminated flesh and drink water from pools in which animal carcasses are rotting or dogs are bathing and drinking; the dogs share literally everything with their masters.

On my visits to the island I always had to fence off the wells I had dug out, to avoid a constant battle with the dogs. I always found water only a few metres down, and the dogs revelled in it. In the east, near Nachuge, I saw Onges and dogs together avidly drinking in brackish pools which stank of sulphur, although I must confess that after repeated filtration and boiling the water lost its smell and I was myself able to use it without any ill effects. My men thought it was good for the health to drink it as it was.

During all Onge orgies, and particularly the honey feasts, there is, if possible, even less regard for hygiene. Although the honey is full of wax, larvae, and a few odd bees, their brush-stick only picks up the honey itself. They have another even better way of getting out the honey. A strip of bark about one metre long and as wide as the palm of the hand is taken from a *Ficus*. This is well chewed to make it pliable, and when this is dipped into the honey mixture it emerges dripping with pure honey. Everyone bites at it avidly, young and old, men, women and children, one after another, to the last drop.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The most interesting of the Andamanese domestic utensils is undoubtedly the cooking-pot. Pots are made in all parts of the Andamans where suitable clay is to be found. The clay is obtained and is freed as far as possible from stones and gritty matter with the hands. It is then moistened with water and kneaded on a board consisting of a portion of a broken canoe. It is worked very stiff and after kneading is rolled beneath the palm of the hand into long thin rolls. These are built up into a pot by coiling, the requisite degree of thickness being obtained by pressure of the thumb and first finger. When the pot has been built up to the required size and shape, the surface, inside and out, is moistened and is scraped over in all directions with an *Arca* shell. The pot is dried in the sun for a few hours and is then baked by placing inside and around it pieces of burning wood. The pot often cracks in the baking, and another has to be made. 415 323

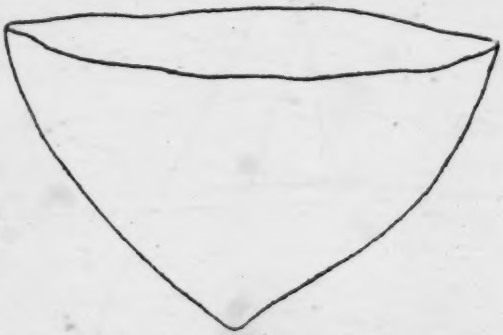

Fig. 38. Shape of North Andaman pot; actual diameter 17 cm.

In the North Andaman the pots are made with pointed bottoms, and are generally small, the largest having a capacity of only six or seven pints. They are made by women only. In the South Andaman the pots have rounded bottoms and, on the average, are larger and thicker than those of the North Andaman. They are made by both men and women, the best being made by men. In the Little Andaman the pots are larger, and, particularly, deeper than those of the South Andaman, and have somewhat pointed bottoms. The pots of the Jarawa are similar to those of the Little Andaman.

In the North Andaman pots are not ornamented, but in the South Andaman they are decorated with usually simple patterns of dots and lines made with a small pointed stick. The Little Andaman pots that I have seen were not decorated. [531]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

415 The pots are used for cooking, i.e. for boiling meat and vegetables. In the North Andaman small pots are specially made for melting the composition used for covering the binding on the heads of arrows.

415 171 Neither the Semang nor the Philippine Negritos make any kind of pottery. The origin of Andamanese pottery therefore is a problem of some interest. It is almost certain that the early Andamanese were acquainted with pottery before they were divided into the Great Andaman and Little Andaman Divisions. One of the very few words which is the same in all Andamanese languages is the word for pot, *buču* in the Little Andaman, *buj* in Aka-Bea and *peč* in Aka-Jeru. The most reasonable hypothesis would therefore seem to be that the Andamanese learnt the method of making pottery by coiling before they reached the Andaman Islands but after they had become separated

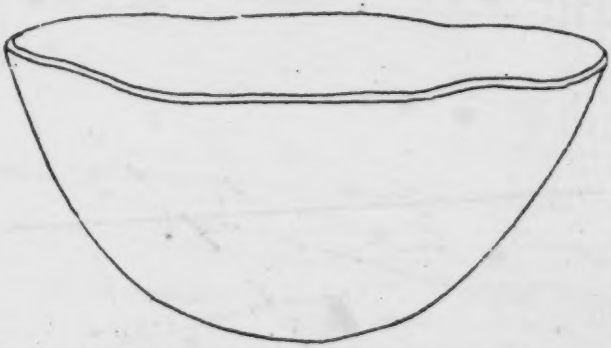

Fig. 39. Shape of South Andaman pot; actual diameter 24 cm.

from that part of the Negrito race from which the Semang and the Philippine Negritos are descended. Of course it is possible that the art of pottery may have been an original possession of the Negritos and that the Semang and Philippine Negritos may have lost it. A people could easily lose the art if they were compelled in the course of their migrations to spend three or four generations in a region that lacked clay suitable for the purpose.

415 [322] The Andamanese make buckets of wood, which they use for carrying and holding a supply of water. A solid piece is cut from the trunk of a soft-wooded tree and is hollowed out with a chisel made by attaching the blade of an adze to a stick. The natural form of the wood is retained, only the bark being removed from the outside while the inside is chiselled out to leave sides of about a centimetre thick and a bottom of somewhat greater thickness. In order to render the bottom

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

of the bucket water-tight the natives of the Little Andaman pour over it on the inside melted bees'-wax. The natives of the Great Andaman use for this purpose the same composition with which they cover the bindings of their arrows, which certainly is superior to bees'-wax. 415

A bucket of the shape used in the Great Andaman is shown in Plate VII, on the left. A strip of cane is attached round the middle of the bucket, and to this in turn is attached another strip of cane which, being passed across the front of the chest, enables the bucket to be carried on the back.

The buckets of the Little Andaman are cut with thinner sides than those of the Great Andaman. A strip of cane is fastened round the bucket near the top. From this two other strips of cane are attached by both ends, passing under the bottom, and a third strip is attached which passes over the head and supports the bucket when it is carried on the back. In the Little Andaman the outside of the bucket is charred with fire.

Occasionally pieces of the giant bamboo, which does not grow in the Andamans, are found on the shore, having drifted from the Burma coast. When a sound piece is found it is made into buckets each formed of a single joint.

Water vessels are made from bamboos that do grow in the islands. A length of bamboo of good diameter is cut, containing three joints. The partition of the lowest node is preserved to serve as a bottom, and the other partitions are broken through with an arrow. This is the usual vessel used for carrying water on a journey by land or in a canoe, and for keeping a supply of drinking water in the hut.

A single joint of the same kind of bamboo is used as a cooking vessel. It is cleaned, washed, and dried, and is then filled with meat tightly packed. The top is closed with leaves and the bamboo is placed on the fire until the meat is cooked. Meat is not cooked in this way for immediate consumption. It will keep for twenty-four hours or even longer if not opened. To obtain the contents the bamboo is split open with an adze.

Trays used for food are cut from soft wood of a species of *Sterculia* with an adze. They are shallow and somewhat long and narrow, with pointed ends. [322]

A large *Pinna* shell is occasionally used as a tray or dish for holding food, or for mixing clay with water for painting. A *Nautilus* shell forms a fairly convenient cup or drinking vessel and is frequently used for that purpose, as well as for baling out water from a canoe.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

261 cannot apparently abstain from food without inconvenience for more than eight hours at a time.

271 3. When exerting themselves in any way they perspire freely, which may account for their inordinate thirst. So great, indeed, [145] is their inability to endure any privation in respect to drink, that they seldom leave home on the shortest expedition, whether by land or sea, without providing themselves with one or more bamboo vessels, called *gōb-*, containing a supply of fresh water.

513 4. Loss of sleep they can bear well only when under the influence of strong excitement, as in turtle hunting, or at festive gatherings, where singing and dancing are kept up for many successive hours;[1] they have even been known to spend forty-eight hours at such times without taking any rest.

151 5. What little cool weather there is in the latitude of their islands, during December and January, they dislike extremely; in striking evidence of this they are found, as I will elsewhere mention,[2] unconsciously concurring with the great Italian poet in depicting the region of punishment, for the souls of the wicked, as one of intense cold. After this, it will appear somewhat strange to say that, in spite of their aversion to what they consider cold weather—which never registers less than 69° F.

302 on the highest elevation in South Andaman—they are careful, during the hot season, to avoid any lengthened exposure to the direct rays of the sun, and endeavour to lessen the discomfort caused by the heat by smearing their persons with a white-wash of common white clay and water.[3] It has long been erroneously believed that they have recourse to this expedient in order to allay the inconvenience which they would otherwise suffer from the bites of mosquitoes and other jungle pests; but the true reason for the practice is, I am well assured, that which I have above given, for the various insects which might annoy them are, for the most part, kept away by the smoke of the hut fire, beside which a great portion of their time is spent when at rest, or when engaged in any sedentary occupation.

147 6. The voices of the men are usually clear without being deep, while those of the women, especially when raised, are very shrill.

142 7. The mucous membrane of the mouth is stained with pigment to a greater degree than was found to be the case with such of the natives of India as were compared with them.

8. The general excellence of the teeth strikes one as remark-

[1] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraph 32.

[2] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 25.

[3] I would here draw attention to the fact, that while the object in smearing themselves with *ōg-* wash is to keep themselves as cool as possible, they often daub their bodies with *kōi'ob-* after sundown for the opposite reason, *i.e.*, for the sake of warmth.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

323 shell also impart a more finished appearance to the vessel ere it is further engraved (*ō'inga-*) on both surfaces[1] in wavy, checked, or striped designs,[2] not, as has been assumed,[3] by the finger-nail, but by means of the pointed stick before mentioned. The potter then places the utensil in the sun to dry, or, if the weather be wet or cloudy, before a fire, taking care to alter its position from time to time so that all parts may be equally subjected to heat. When sufficiently hardened, he bakes it thoroughly by placing burning pieces of wood both inside and around the vessel; occasionally during this process the pot cracks, which of course renders it useless, but if this does not happen it is allowed to cool, and is then considered ready for use.

323 415 7. With good management a pot is ordinarily fit for use by the close of the day on which it is made. They may be said to be all of one quality and to differ only in size so as to be suitable for the use of a single family or a large party. The largest description is usually only to be seen in permanent encampments, the smaller kinds being taken when occasion arises for a migration, as for instance on account of a death,[4] or because arrangements have been made for an entertainment at some other place.[5] The medium size is almost invariably [285] provided with a rough basket-work casing, which not only renders it more portable but also serves to protect it, in some measure, from the many accidents to which it is liable.

8. The pots ordinarily made will hold about nine pints, but the larger kinds possess double this capacity, while others again are no larger than half an ordinary cocoanut-shell; these last are employed in making *kâ'ngatâ-būj-*, and also when using it;[6] with this exception none of the vessels are reserved or manufactured for any special purpose, but serve alike for all times, whether for festivals, migrations, or ordinary occasions. No substitutes for

[1] Perhaps the original object of this practice may be explained by the conjecture contained in the following extract from Peschel's work:—"In examining the site of an old pottery manufactory of the Red Indians on the Cahokia, ... Carl Rau discovered half-finished vessels, that is to say, baskets of rushes or willow, lined inside with clay. When the vessel was baked the fire naturally consumed the external covering. . . . That the Europeans of prehistoric times also originally lined basket-work with clay, may be inferred from the decorations of vessels of the stone age. These decorations consist merely of rows of marks made with the finger-nail, as if to represent the traces left by the basket-work. When some bold individual began to shape the clay by hand, his earthen vessels were perhaps regarded as not genuine, or of inferior quality, as they had not originated in the time-honoured fashion; in order to meet these doubts he may have counterfeited the impressions of the rushes with his nail."

[2] *Vide* Plate V, for illustration of these.

[3] *Vide* de Roepstorff.

[4] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraphs 4 and 15.

Vide post "Games and Amusements," paragraph 22.

[6] *Vide* Appendix B, item 62.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

323 415 pottery are in use, as has been supposed,[1] unless the fact of certain molluscs[2] being cooked in their shells can be so described. Broken pottery is not buried in graves or beneath landmarks, but is cast aside as rubbish.

9. No kind of painting or varnishing is ever attempted, and models of men or animals are never made. They are also ignorant of glazing and of making porous pottery for cooling vessels.

412 **Natural Forms and Miscellaneous Manufactures.**—1. The natural forms of stones are employed by the Andamanese, as by other savage tribes, as anvils and hammers. Like the natives of New Guinea,[3] they always carry with them, or keep ready for use, one or more *Cyrena* shells (*ū̄ta-*), as these serve them in a great variety of ways: for example, in *dressing* and *preparing* the wooden portion of their arrows; in *sharpening* their bamboo and cane[4] knives, and the inner edge of the boar's tusk, in order to adapt it for use as a plane; as a *spoon*,[5] in eating gravy, &c.; as a *knife*, in cutting thatching leaves, &c., and in severing the joints of meat; and as a *scraper* in separating the pulp from the fibre of the *Anodendron paniculatum* and other plants, from which they manufacture their various descriptions of string and cord; these shells are likewise employed in making the ornamental incisions in their weapons, implements, leaf-ornaments, &c.,[6] in preparing the peculiar *ūj-*[7] appendage (worn when dancing); and they are also frequently used for planing purposes.[8] Indeed, I think I may fairly say that among their savage arts there is probably nothing so calculated to surprise and interest a stranger as the many and clever uses to which necessity has taught them to put this simple but highly effective tool.

[1] This refers to the following passage in the late Dr. Stoliczka's "Note on the Kjökken-Möddings of the Andaman Islands":—"I have been informed that in some parts of the island their only cooking utensils are large specimens of *Turbo marmoratus*, valves of *Tridacna gigas*, and others."

[2] Viz.:—*Cyrena*, *Arca*, *Mytilus smaragdinus*, *Ceritheum*, *Patella variabilis* (limpet), and a few other small varieties.

[3] "They always carry with them a bamboo knife; . . . when required they sharpen the edge with a shell (a fresh water species of *Cyrena*), which is always carried for the purpose. . . ." (See a paper on the natives of the Fly River, New Guinea, by Signor L. M. d'Albertis, in the Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. vi, p. 215, 1876).

[4] Like the Tahitians and Fijians of former times they have also been in the habit of using bamboo knives; these are made of the outside of a piece of bamboo, are shaped into form while green, and are then dried and charred so as to render them as hard and sharp as possible.

[5] "The mussel-shell suggested the first idea of the spoon, and still performs its functions on the Atlantic shores of Morocco" (Peschel).

[6] *Vide* "Ornamentation," paragraph 2.

[7] *Vide* Appendix B, item 76.

[8] It has already been mentioned under "Food" (paragraph 8) that the *Cyrena* is also used in opening other bivalves.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Plate C.

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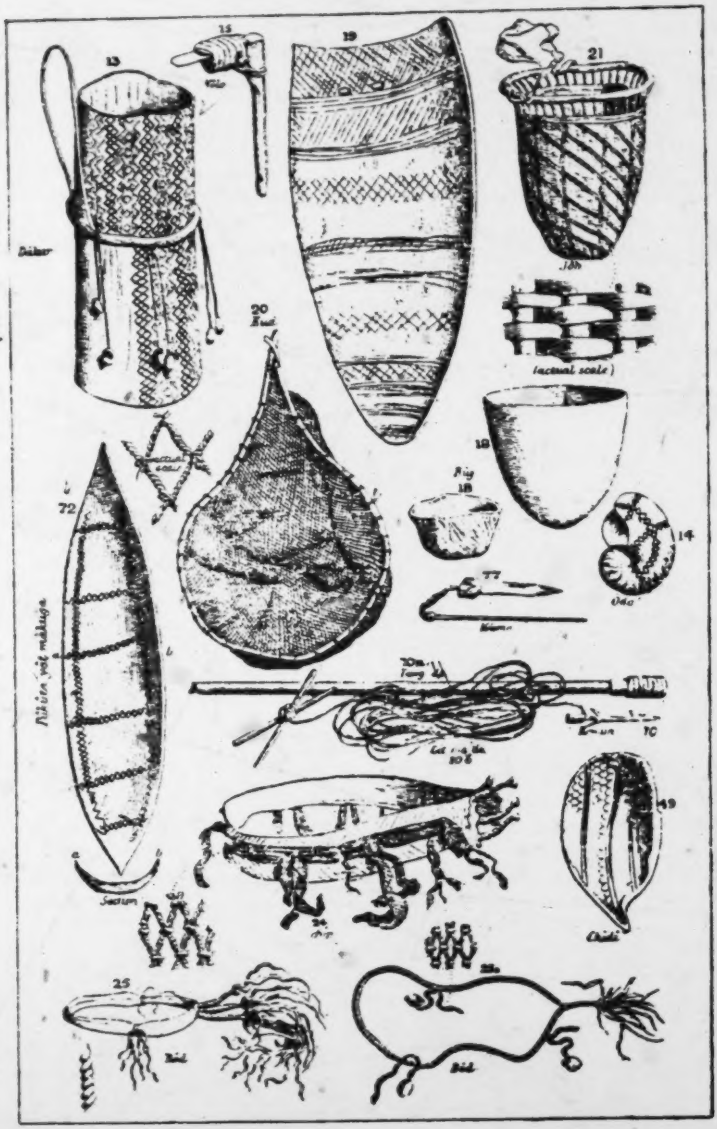

ANDAMANESE OBJECTS.

[facing p. 178]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 bamboo (male species preferred), often 18 feet or more in length; for the reception of the harpoon a socket is prepared at the small end, which is strengthened by pieces of mangrove wood, over which strips of cane are neatly tied. The harpoon consists of a strong barbed iron head fastened to a short piece of wood to which a long line (*bē·tma-*) is attached. When a turtle or large fish is struck the harpoon detaches itself from the shaft, which floats and is picked up after the capture has been effected.

[NOTE.—A harpooner almost invariably follows up a successful cast by plunging into the water, lest in the act of dragging the line the harpoon should slip out of the wound and his victim should thus escape.]

501 11. *rō·ko-*.[1] Generic name of the various kinds of canoes made in recent years[2] by the aborigines of South Andaman and adjacent parts, where, owing to the facility of obtaining iron tools, large dug-outs, called *gī·lyanga-*, capable of accommodating twenty to forty persons, are constructed in place of the small outrigger canoes (*chā·rigma-*) with which the other tribes have still to content themselves. They are usually made of the *Sterculia villosa* (Andam., *bâja-*), and are often ornamentally painted.

[NOTE.—The outrigger is called *tel-*, and is always made of the wood of *maū·-* (one of the *Sterculiaceæ*), which is soft and light.]

11*a*. *wāl·igma-*.[3] Paddle: these are not made by women, nor are they of any prescribed size, this being regulated merely by the fancy of the maker, and the material at his disposal; they are frequently adorned by women with chevrons[4] (*jō·bo-tārtā·nga-*) of *kòi·ob-* (item 60) or *tā·la-ōg-* (item 58).

286 12. *yôto-tē·pinga-*. Turtle-net, made by men,[5] of a stout cord [284] (*bē·tma-*), which is prepared from the bark fibre of the *Melochia velutina* (Andam., *al·aba-*); the meshes vary in size according to the fancy or skill of the maker.[6]

●415 13. *dā·kar-*.[7] Bucket made by the Great Andaman tribes of 322 the wood used in constructing canoes, *i.e.*, *Sterculia villosa*, with a loop of cane to form the handle; the implement used in hollowing out these vessels is the blade of the adze (*wō·lo-*, item 15), which is detached from its handle and fastened to a straight piece of wood so as to form a sort of chisel

[NOTE.—The Little Andaman and other *jār·awa-* buckets are made in the same manner, but are much larger and superior in every way; they are, moreover, neatly ornamented round the sides with strips of cane, evenly laid on and fastened at the rim by plaiting.]

[1] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 69.
[2] *Vide* Part III, "Navigation," paragraph 4, and footnote.
[3] *Vide* Plate VI, fig. 70
[4] *Vide* Part III, "Ornamentation," paragraph 6.
[5] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 60.
[6] *Vide* Part III, "String," paragraph 6.
[7] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 14.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

415 14. *ō·do-*.[1] Nautilus shells painted with *kâ·ngatâ-būj-* (item 62), and used as drinking vessels.

412 15. *wō·lo-*.[2] Adze: this tool is used not only in making canoes, buckets, bows, &c., but in digging graves. The handle consists of an L-shaped piece of mangrove wood, *Rhizophora conjugata* (Andam., *bad·a-*), and the blade is generally made of such pieces of iron as the keel-plate of a boat; formerly *Pinna* and such like shells are said to have been used, but strange to say it does not appear that stone celts were ever so employed.

[222] 16. *lâ·kà-*.[3] A long pointed stick of the *Memecylon varians*, (Andam., *pē·taing-*) or *Rhizophora conjugata* (Andam., *bad·a-*), which is used as a hoe in digging up yams and other edible roots.

[NOTE.—A similar implement is found in use among the Australians.[4]]

17. *tōg-ngâ·tanga-*.[5] Pole, 12 to 15 feet long, of *Bambusa nana* (Andam., *rī·di-*), to which a short piece of bamboo is securely fastened, with a strip of cane (Andam., *pī·dga-*), or stout cord, to [222] form a hook; it is used in gathering fruit—especially jack-fruit (*Artocarpus chaplasha*)—and is the only object of the nature of a hook *made* by the Andamanese.

415 18. *būj-*.[6] Cooking pot: these are made of various sizes by members of both sexes, and are shaped by the hand and eye only,[7] after being sun-dried they are surrounded with, and filled by pieces of lighted wood in order to complete the process of baking. When needed for travelling they are fitted with light wicker frames (*būj-rā·mata-*) to facilitate their removal, and to protect them from injury. The capacity of an average-sized pot is 9 or 10 pints.

[NOTE.—The *yē·rewa-* and *jār·awa-* pots have a conical base, and in this respect differ from those made by the tribes of South Andaman.]

534 19. *pū·kuta-yem·nga-*.[8] Sounding-boards—used for marking time during a song or dance[9]—which are scooped out of the fallen trunks of the *Pterocarpus dalbergioides* (Andam., *châ·langa-*), the wood of which is very hard; they are always of the same shield-like shape, and are frequently as much as 5 feet long and 2 feet wide; the concave side is generally ornamented with designs in white clay (*tâ·la-ōg-*, item 58). When in use the

[1] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 20.
[2] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 13.
[3] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 2.
[4] *Vide* "Anthropology," p. 216, by Dr. E. B. Tylor, F.R.S.
[5] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 1.
[6] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 19.
[7] *Vide* Part III, "Pottery," paragraphs 4 and 6.
[8] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 15.
[9] *Vide* Part III, "Games and Amusements," paragraph 27.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

373 dancing by night: the resin is obtained from a large tree called by them *maiī-*, which also is often employed in the construction of their largest canoes. A larger description of torch is made by men, and used when fishing by night.

71. *lâ·pi-*. Gurjon wood torch, obtained from the heart of rotten logs of the *Dipterocarpus lævis* (Andam., *â·rain-*): as these do not burn so readily as the *tō·ug-* (item 70) they are rarely used outside their huts.

415 72. *pū·kuta-yât-māk·nga-*.[1] Food tray, made by men of some [462] soft wood, generally of the large flat buttress roots of the trees (*Sterculiaceæ*) of which their canoes are made.

764 73. *â·ra-*. Long fringe-like cane-leaf wreaths, which are made by women, and suspended from trees, &c., round an encamp- [462] ment or hut where a death has occurred, and round the spot where the corpse is deposited in order to warn off persons inadvertently approaching the place, which is believed to be haunted by the spirit of the deceased.[2]

285 74. *kâ·pa-jâ·tnga-*. Fan-like screen, made by women, of a description of palm-leaf (Andam., *kâ·pa-*), two of which are [462] fastened together with leaf stems: it is used for many purposes, amongst others as a protection from rain and from the direct rays of the sun in hot weather; in the absence of a *pār·epa-* (item 23) it is often used as a sleeping mat, and it serves also as a wrapper for bundles of various kinds.

75. *kâ·pa-*. Leaf wrappers, as described above, are employed for storing and packing the red oxide of iron.

293 76. *ūj-*.[3] Long brush-like shavings of the *Tetranthera lancæfolia*, prepared by men with the sharp edge of a *Cyrena* shell. When dancing these are often held (by both sexes) in their hands, or are stuck in their waistbelts or other personal ornaments.

412 77. *kô·no-*.[4] Iron knife used in cutting up food; to some a wooden or iron skewer is attached, they are then called *châm-chô-*.

78.[5]

291 79. *ō·bunga-*. Species of apron, consisting of one to six leaves of the *Mimusops Indica* (Andam., *dō·gota-*), which are fastened to the lowest *bōd-* by women from motives of modesty;[6] the leaves are not spread out so as to cover a wide surface, but are laid one above the other, and removed separately as each becomes stiff and shrivelled: the reason given for the selection of this

[1] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 16.
[2] *Vide* Part II. "Death and Burial," paragraph 3.
[3] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 37.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 21.
[5] This No. is attached to "Specimens of Andamanese Hair" (*vide* footnote 1, p. 175).
[6] *Vide* Part I, "Psychology and Morals," paragraph 8, and footnote.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

291 particular leaf is that it keeps green and fresh for a longer time than any other.

[NOTE.—The women of the North Andaman tribes, until recent years, appear to have worn no *ō·busga*, or only in a very modified form; the change which is now observable among them in this respect is doubtless to be traced to their intercourse with the people of South Andaman.]

412 80. *kai-*.[1] Bamboo tongs, made by women, and used for any [462] purpose which would involve a risk of burning or scalding the fingers, such as lifting a pot or piece of cooked food off the fire.

81. *ko·pòt-*. Bucket made from a single joint of the *Bambusa* ●415 *gigantea*, pieces of which are sometimes found on the coast, having floated ashore from the neighbouring continent or from wrecks; they are much valued on account of their lightness and the labour saved in making a wooden bucket (*dâ·kar-*, item 13), which being, as before described, scooped out of a single piece of wood, is a laborious undertaking.

[NOTE.—The origin of the *dâ·kar-* is doubtless to be traced to the *ko·pòt-*.]

82. *gōb-*. Bamboo vessel, of which there are two varieties, viz., (*a*) for use as a water-holder: this is often 4 or 5 feet long, the partitions at the joints being broken through with a spear head or other suitable instrument, the lowest one only being left to form the bottom of the vessel; and (*b*) for use as a cooking pot and food-holder: its length consists of a single joint of bamboo, into which—after it has been cleaned, washed, and dried over a fire—food is packed and cooked; as will be seen by reference to Part III,[2] these vessels are only capable of serving on a single occasion; the handle is formed with a piece of *bē·tma-*.

83. *lâ-*. Cooking stones: the mode in which they are used is described in Part III.[3]

412 84. *kâ·ta-ngâ·tanga-* (*lit.*, crab-hook). An implement employed for picking up live crabs between rocks, in order to save the fingers from being nipped; it consists merely of a branch broken off the *Rhizophora conjugata*, which (unlike other trees) at once furnishes a strong hook suitable for the above purpose.

85. *â·ra-tig-jē·rabnga-*. Tufted leaf brushes, which are used for the same purpose as the *â·ra-* (item 73), and also by persons recently tattooed to drive away flies.

[A few other objects, omitted from this list, will be found described in Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. vii, pp. 457–465.]

[1] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 11.
[2] *Vide* "Food," paragraph 31.
[3] *Vide* paragraph 27, and "Stone Implements," paragraph 2.

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Karen AP7

for such a fairly long period, it was decided to give up the idea of continuing our survey of the Little Andaman that year. A 122

At the suggestion of Mr Majid it was finally decided instead to pay a visit to the surviving members of the Friendly Andamanese tribes at Neil and Havelock Islands where they had now been transferred and settled. Unfortunately, as it was March and the closing month of the financial year, I had to return to my headquarters at Banaras and leave Mr Sarkar in charge of the party to carry on further surveys in the North and Middle Andamans as far as this was found possible. A 121 [131]

Accordingly Mr Sarkar with his party left Port Blair on 6-3-48 on the Forest Motor Launch "Lindsay" and arrived at Long Island at about 8 A.M. on the following day. Mr Sarkar was met by Mr Joseph, T. S. D. O. who brought "Loka" and his party of four Andamanese. They were studied by him. The party left Long Island on the Forest Launch "Kokhari" at about 7-30 A.M. on the following day. Mr Joseph accompanied the party, who halted at the Guitar Island where some of Loka's associates were hunting turtles with harpoons. After leaving Guitar Island, the launch passed through Homfray Strait. Mr Joseph showed the spot where the Jarawas in 1925 attacked his camp. This is near the place from where the Jarawas usually crossed from the Baratang Island to the Middle Andamans. Proceeding further westwards, Mr Sarkar and his party reached the north-east end of the Spike Island. This is another route of migration of the Jarawas from the South to North Andamans. Usually they come from the South Andaman and cross over to Bluff Island and then reach the Spike Island opposite to it. Loka gave the information that it was about this place that several Jarawas were shot sometime back and their bodies were buried in the Bluff Island. The party went along the coast of Neil Island and anchored off Foul Bay. Human footprints identified by Mr Joseph and Loka as belonging to the Jarawas were found in the sand. Following the footprints the party found the remnants of burnt ashes and cinder in a spot in the jungle. There were also vessels made of leaves for carrying water which were still wet. These were collected as specimens of Jarawa objects for the Department's collections. No traces of Jarawas themselves could however be found who must have moved into the jungles just prior to our party's visit. Our men then crossed over to Bluff Island and searched for the Jarawa skeletons, but none were found. On the 9th of March the "Kokhari" returned to Long Island, where it anchored. Loka brought his party of 21 individuals who were now settled in Neil Island. These people were carefully studied by Mr Sarkar and notes taken regarding their geneology, family structure and physical state, etc. On the 9th the Deputy Chief Commissioner, Mr S. C. Gupta with his wife arrived at Long Island. Mr Sarkar and his party accompanied him to Stewart Sound in his boat "Elsa". Unfortunately the few Andamanese who were living there happened to have gone out in their canoes for fishing and could not be contacted (*see* Plate I, Fig. 5). A 115 A 114 A 225 [411] A 115 [126] A [115]

They then went with Mr Gupta to the Karen village called *Webi* situated at a short distance from Stewart Sound. There were no Andamanese there, K 361

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

3. Food

In the absence of men, women also are good at fishing inside the coral reefs. They do this with two small nets used together. Their catch generally consists of brilliantly coloured fish with yellow, red, green, blue, black and white stripes forming varied and attractive designs. The Onge eat all fish without discrimination. My Indian collaborators, on the other hand, considered the coloured fish dangerous to their health and refused to cook them ; the Sacred Vedas, in fact, advise the avoidance of brigthly hued fish and of fish without scales. I wanted to try both kinds, and found them perfectly palatable, tasty and harmless.

No tool, used for any purpose by the Onge, ever gets a cleaning. Cleanliness, I repeat, is unknown in Little Andaman. See how food is prepared and disposed of ! Care is taken only not to throw big pieces of meat intended for cooking directly on the bare ground ; but once it is cooked, food is treated with the utmost disregard for dirt, dust, cobwebs and other such things. It is usually left lying around on large leaves spread out for the purpose. The remains of the Onge's orgiastic meals are kept out of reach of the dogs on the ceiling of the huts, to be covered with flies when no fire is lit directly below. Sand and grit may get wedged annoyingly in the teeth, but not such impalpable things as dust or cobwebs. The use of unclean food is not repugnant to the Onge. The same can be said for water polluted by dogs drinking and bathing in it, or by the presence of putrefying carcases. In the west of Little Andaman I saw some Onge avidly drinking from pools of a blackish water with a revolting sulphurous smell. After thoroughly filtering and boiling it, I too used such water, for it was the only water available in the neighborhood. This caused no ill effects. My Indian men considered it perfectly healthy and invigorating, and drank it safely in its natural condition.

The Onge eat with their unwashed fingers, without the help of tools. On rare occasions they use platters made of the flattened-out stems – or bracts – of *areca* palms. They sometimes carry these platters when travelling, but of course never wash them although they become coated in rancid, greasy filth. They soon assume a dark colour and a truly revolting appearance – aside from the awful smell. A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN's statement – that the Andamanese paint their bodies to neutralize the unpleasant smell of food that clings to them after their orgiastic feedings – shows only indirect knowledge of the life and manners of those people. Even the horrible flatulence that follows their pork orgies is not considered an inconvenience ; yet it is much more revolting than all the other body odours.

Although the Onge observe few hygienic precautions they do follow a number of medical practices, not all devoid of beneficial effects. Here are a few more remarks on their eating and drinking habits. For about six months of the year, between November and April, water is scarce in Little Andaman. Every kind of fresh water is then considered good by the Onge, regardless of whether it is a murky infusion of rotting leaves or afloat with the putrefied

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

312 caracases of small animals. During the droughts, marine hermit crabs, of
271 which a profusion is found in Little Andaman even far from the sea-shore,
[136] often choose to die in fresh-water pools. They are not removed from the pools.
[415] A nautilus shell is sometimes used as a drinking vessel ; failing this, the Onge
[516] lap up the water like animals, on all fours, directly from the pool. Since they are
231 very fond of dogs, man and dog drink together from the same tiny pool, often holding no more than a few pints of water. Dogs reached Great Andaman as early as 1857 ; they came to Little Andaman much later. Before that time there were no dogs in the Andamanese Archipelago. They soon became the natives' cherished and much appreciated assistants in the hunting of wild pigs. Many unhygienic habits followed the appearance of dogs in the Andamans.

271 The Onge have no idea of boiling water for the purpose of disinfection ;
[47] nevertheless their health does not appear to suffer at all as a result of the pol-
123 luted water they drink. When, in 1952, I dug a well near the left bank of Dugong Creek on the north-east coast of Little Andaman, I was compelled to fence it in so as to prevent dogs from drinking it and bathing in it.

264 Dogs lick everything that smells of food, including the cooking pots,
[231] and the pots are not washed before use after the dogs have licked them.
[136] Swarms of flies of different species and small coleoptera of a brilliant blue colour, one of them 6 mms long, follow the dogs after they have "cleaned" the pots by licking them. They line the inside of the pots with a crawling, living coat, moving restlessly around in search of food. One species of fly, which is of a brilliant, metallic green colour, has a peculiarly disagreeable smell. All the flies lay eggs while feeding, but the eggs are soon devoured by the hovering bluish coleoptera. Thus in a few hours all traces of organic matter disappear from the pots. Subsequent exposure to fire undoubtedly destroys the germs that would otherwise be certainly dangerous to human beings.

415 The Onge no longer use indigenous pottery for cooking. Its disappearance
177 is recent, as the sherds that litter Little Andaman prove to the investigator.
[323] Excavation in modern kitchen-middens leads to the same conclusion. During the last war, quantities of empty petrol drums were washed up on the Andaman shores. They were found in such numbers that the Onge have not yet used them all up : after 1952 I found several of these containers abandoned, untouched, in the jungle. The primitive inhabitants sawed each container in two cylindrical halves, thus transforming them into cooking pots. The result was that within a *few years the fragile ancestral pottery of the Onge disappeared* altogether. Furthermore, aluminium pots were distributed among the natives after 1952. Probably the indigenous pottery will never again reappear.
[252] Each half of a petrol drum is large enough to contain a pig, or a turtle weighing 150 lbs, cut into pieces. Only the flesh of these animals is consumed by the
262 Onge ; the nourishing broth is poured out onto the ground or left in the pot
[231] to be lapped up by the dogs. The Onge believe that broth is unhealthy and avoid drinking it.

251 No matter how prodigious the catch of sardines or other fish, unobtain-
[185] able at other times of the year, no attempt is made at storing part of it in view of future shortage. The Onge are unacquainted with methods for preserv-

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

LIDIO CIPRIANI, Hygiene and Medical Practices among the Onge (Little Andaman)

Plate I

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342
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a) Onge communal hut.
b) Painted Onge woman drinking from a nautilus shell.
c) Woman with *bataghē* leaves.
d) Filter going from mouth to mouth.

[p. 488 (A)]

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

Another item of material culture found during the above expedition was a few unbaked pots which show that the Jarawa manufacture earthenware articles – an art not reported so far from among the Onge. Coiled pottery was known among the Andamanese (MAN, 1932). It can be found in the Andamanese kitchen middens as well. 323

The present writer had the opportunity of being twice after the trail of the South Andaman Jarawa in the year 1948. During these two tours a large number of ethnographic objects of the Jarawa was collected. They are now deposited at the office of the Anthropological Survey of India [1], Indian Museum, Calcutta. 126

It was known that the Jarawa were using Bluff and Spike Islands as temporary halting stations in their to-and-fro migrations from South Andaman to Middle Andaman. In September 1938, a pregnant Jarawa woman and four young children (SARKAR, 1952) were captured while they were crossing on a raft on the coast off Bluff Island. A few of their haunts were known to the then officers of the local forest department. 166

In 1948 while the present writer was camping at Long Island, studying the Andamanese, two such opportunities of visiting the Jarawa areas arose. The presence of the Jarawa north of Port Anson was reported to us. We left for Port Anson in a motor launch on March 7th 1948, in the company of an Andamanese – whose canoe was tied behind our launch – under the leadership, of Mr. Joseph, the then Sub-divisional Officer of the forest department. We had one gun only and a *dao* (billhook) each. 123

We passed through Homfray Strait and, reaching Port Anson, we went along the western coast of Middle Andaman. We then anchored our vessel off Foul Bay and came ashore in the Andamanese canoe. This flat open coast is known to be a good place for deer hunting and the animals could be seen from the sea. When the deer were not seen from the canoe we presumed that some human beings had been there shortly before; we suspected them to be Jarawa. Soon we discovered on the beach small footprints, which both Mr. JOSEPH and the Andamanese recognized as Jarawa ones. We traced them inside the jungle and came across a small fire which was still smouldering. A few yards away we found two bags for carrying water made of leaves (fig. 2) which were still wet. The few drops therein tasted sweet. We walked about for some time since the footprints could no longer be traced. There seemed to have been only two people. We then came to Bluff Island along the east coast of Spike Island but found nothing of the Jarawa. [415] [415]

Fig. 2

[1] Thanks are due to its Director, Professor NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE for his kindness in helping the writer with the illustrations of this paper.

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

123 The second trip was made on March 12th 1948. Our party included Mr. JOSEPH and Mr. POOVIAH [2], both Sub-divisional Officers of the forest department, one Burman bush police and four Andamanese with their two canoes tied behind our motor boat. We followed the same route from Long Island and, reaching Spike Island, we anchored at its northeastern corner. We came ashore in the canoes. The beach was small and rocky. Part of it was sheltered on one side by huge rocks behind which the Jarawa were known to waylay those approaching from the sea. So we landed very cautiously. Just at [501] the outskirts of the jungle we saw huge bundles of short bamboo lengths tied to [824] one another and piled up in a heap. It was a Jarawa raft. Near the bamboo pile were three crude paddles split from the spadix of the palm called *Nipa fruticans*. We were all the more careful in our approach.

[361] Soon we came upon a clearing in the jungle. There was no Jarawa, but all around we saw traces of a temporary halt of a large party. We counted nineteen [342] fireplaces. At a distance from the fireplaces we saw a small temporary hut [622] improvised out of the materials available on the spot. Two small shrubs were tied together on two sides to form the roof of the hut. The Andamanese identified it to have been made for the Jarawa chief and his wife. Household objects [415] [824] lay scattered about. Three bamboo cylinders, closed at one end by the natural node, were found next to three of the fireplaces. They are [412] used for carrying water. A dark coloured modern glass bottle, probably acquired during a raid, was [177] [415] also found. One fireplace had a small compartment enclosed by a few wooden posts a few yards off. [354] [417] [855] The Andamanese identified it as an enclosure for keeping a child at a safe distance from the fire. This was probably correct as there was also a baby sling made of bark, exactly similar to that used by the [854] Onge for carrying a baby on its mother's back (VON EICKSTEDT, [412] 1934, fig. 211). At one corner of a fireplace the shavings of an arrowshaft or a bow were seen and nearby was a flat round pebble, one end of which was broken like that of a scraper (fig. 3). This scraper showed marks of red ochre [412] on it. Beneath a tree a circular mat, sewn out of three pieces of long triangular palm-like leaves was spread out, while on its branches was found a beautiful specimen of an unstrung bow. It appeared to have been recently prepared and

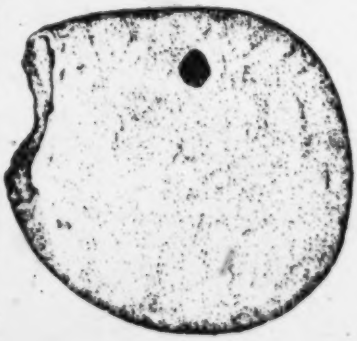

Fig. 3

[2] These two officers captured two Jarawa males, one adult and one boy, on October 19th 1948 on Spike Island. They were brought to Port Blair, wherefrom they managed to escape at night.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

the felling of the tree, chiselling the lumber and processing it further to give the shape of a canoe. Buckets of wood are also constructed by them from the softwood tree. Two types of baskets are made, the smaller ones are more well-finished than the bigger ones. The former is known as *tolcoaga* and the later *tole-laya*. Such activities have introduced the use of dahs, chisels, and iron files among the Onges, from the iron pieces derived from the sea shores. The other important pieces of their craftsmanship are the beautiful weavings of fibre, tussel of yellow fibre used by the women in their front. However, the art of making the earthen pots has been completely forgotten.

The leisure in their lives has helped the development of some amount of aesthetic senses among the Onges. All the Onges men and women shave their heads with flakes of glass, obtained from the sea-borne glass bottles. The body of the Onges are also painted with white clay which save their skin from insect-bite while red paint serves medicinal purposes if some individual is having fever. In times of mourning, red orchre paint is a taboo.[1]

Early marriage is the custom. The widows are looked down upon by the society. Some incidents of widow murder and drowning are heard. In the married life, the husband is devoted to his wife and both the husband and wife work for collecting their food.

Dances and songs are in vogue and there are practically songs for every occasion and activity. Most of their songs are more plaintive than joyous.

There are three broad divisions of the Onges of the Little Andaman :

(1) *Giremeka-Gobeule* group inhabiting the northeastern coast of the island ;

(2) *Engakwale group* live in the interior of the islands ; and

(3) *Gireraragobeule group* live in the southern and western coasts of the islands.

In spite of all the limitations, the Onges have been considered as one of the happiest people of the world with plenty of food and water to eat and drink and with very few social cankers to fight with. But as is common to all other aborigines of the Andamans, a decline in their number is discernible.

The Sentinelese

The Sentinelese are the least known of all the aborigines of the Anda-

1 The Onge of the Little Andaman—A short guide book ; Anthropological Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

their fires beside them. On the night of 4–5 April 1953, while I was sleeping with them in the communal hut at Berié-Abdalù a sudden storm drenched us all, forcing us to huddle together round fires under the more waterproof parts of the roof. Numb with cold, but cheerful, they began joking, singing[1] and dancing, men and women separately; this went on all night, and no one suffered any ill effects from the soaking.

The Onge lack of hygiene extends also to their cooking utensils, which are never washed. In recent years the ocean has provided the Onges with a generous and unexpected gift; currents running from the south of Asia have thrown up on to the shores of Little Andaman a shoal of empty petrol drums, stout metal cylinders 1·3 metres high and eighty centimetres in diameter. The astute Onges have patiently divided each one in two, each section big enough to take a large pig. Set on big fires these serve as wonderful cooking pots, and the Onges are delighted with them. Unfortunately, however, although they were thrown up all round the island, the supply is beginning to dry up, and they are rapidly being eaten away by rust.

To boil food, the Onges set the drums on two large logs, laid parallel, with a fire between them. Stones are rarely used to support the drums, although there are plenty about in the interior of the island. On the coast, and for a fair way inland, there is nothing but coral, hard but liable when it gets hot to disintegrate under the heavy weight of the cylinders filled to the brim.

In these gifts from the sea the Onges could prepare tasty broths, but they invariably allow nearly all the water to boil away, and the cooking process is not considered complete until all the liquid has gone. While it is boiling, however, they take care not to lose the fat floating on the top, which they adore. They have even invented a curious sort of dipping-stick for the purpose of skimming the fat off. They take a shoot about twenty centimetres long from a plant which disintegrates into fibre when chewed. One end is chewed into a loose 'brush' and no one present misses his turn to dip it into the pot again and again to skim off a mouthful of fat, even getting up in the night in their eagerness for it. One stick naturally does for everyone, men, women and children, the

[1] The Onge voice is not markedly different from the European. It has a musical quality, fairly high-pitched but never shrill; the Onges never raise their voices, even in anger – disagreements invariably end in a dignified silence.

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18 A family group with, on the right, the cylindrical cooking-pot, and the inevitable dogs

19 Typical shell collection from a kitchen-midden

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[facing P. 67]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

These crabs are enormous, weighing one and a half kilograms, 136
and are very tasty. Like many land crabs they have one large claw and a smaller one, the difference being quite marked in the males, though hardly noticeable in females. Some appear left-handed, some [126]
right-handed; I confirmed this by looking at thousands of them with the help of my Indians, and sent some to the Institute of Zoology at the University of Genoa for further examination.

On the inside of the large claw, to hold the prey while the crab bites, are protuberances that look like teeth. They have a very similar function and are a good example of superficial similarity in different types of organs designed for a similar purpose.

The females, like those of other crabs, carry the mass of round, almost transparent, orange-coloured eggs under the abdomen, attached to her swimmerets and well protected. In the great crabs from which the Onges make their pipes the bluish-green shell is reflected on to the eggs, giving them a beautiful sheen. Immediately the young are hatched, they cling underneath the mother's abdomen like the eggs, so that if a female is caught one can be sure of having the whole brood. Even at this stage the sex and the disparity of the claws is discernible as the young are exact replicas of the adults. Two curious things about them are that the number of the two sexes in any brood are exactly equal, and that in the males there are equal numbers right- and left-handed. The point is an interesting one, and I hope geneticists will be able to investigate it further.

Another important feature in Onge life is the *Nautilus*, the cephalopod whose shells provide the only drinking vessels they know. [237] [415]
Nautilus shells, unlike those of gastropods, are spiral in one plane, with interlocular septa. The mollusc occupies the last, or largest, of the whorls, which communicates with the rest of the spiral by a cylindrical syphuncle running through the mid-line of the shell. This is connected to the creature's viscera by a vascular tube, which for hydrostatic purposes regulates the amount of air and water in the chambers. Each chamber is concave on the side nearest the aperture, and the distance between the septa increases with the size of the whorls, to a fixed maximum, limited by their number, which is constant in adults. *Nautilus*, a living fossil from the time of the ammonites, is the last survivor of a genus dating from the Silurian period; long ago there were many species, although only four have

325 islanders, in the absence of any means of working it, have not fully realized.

3 IGNORANCE OF FIRE

372 174 The islanders' present ignorance of fire-making may possibly be the result of cultural decline, but this is not certain. In the presence of the considerable additional evidence in favour of the antiquity of the Andamanese culture it is, however, more likely that it is genuine ignorance, persisting in a pre-lithic people.

4 ABSENCE OF SALT

174 263 Although there can be no proof, it can be reasonably postulated that very primitive Man had no salt, and that in the Andamans this ignorance has persisted over thousands of years, owing to strict isolation. It is unlikely that the use of salt would have been completely lost, had it ever been introduced.

5 PRIMITIVE METHODS OF COOKING

252 172 Apart from the accidental and very recent introduction of petrol-drum cooking, the Andamanese use only the most primitive form of earth oven. This method of cooking was certainly known in the Palaeolithic era; at the entrance to the well-known Barma Grande cave near Mentone I have myself seen in the basal layers a number of stones bearing the marks of fire, too numerous merely to have formed some sort of hearth, and clearly not used to support cooking-pots, as Palaeolithic Man had none which would have withstood heat. The form of earth oven still used throughout the Andamans is undoubtedly of extreme antiquity.

6 FOOD VESSELS

415 285 172 The people of the Andamans still use for honey hollowed-out logs similar to those seen in Palaeolithic wall paintings, which also depict baskets very like those still in use throughout the archipelago. The art of basket-making can be traced back at least to the later Palaeolithic era.

7 USE OF POTTERY

323 172 As with the other Negrito peoples, pottery was unknown in the earliest culture of the Andamans. Its appearance seems from the evidence of the

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Once struck by the harpoon the turtle is trapped by the cord tied 225
to the head of the harpoon while the shaft, detached by the blow, floats on the water till it is picked up. The target is large, the distance is short, and so the harpoon never fails.

The spirits of the night do not walk on the sea, so the turtle-hunting expeditions are all sea-borne, the canoes setting out to meet the turtles as they come in towards the shore to mate. When the moon is high the tropical seas are as clear as by day; on dark nights the resin torches carried in the canoes light the sea for a fair distance. Beyond their range, the turtles as they swim disturb tiny marine creatures, which promptly emit their phosphorescence, revealing clearly to the Onges the path of their unsuspecting victim.

These torches are about one metre long and fifteen centimetres in 225
diameter, made of twisted palm leaves tightly bound with reed 416
fibres. Inside is a carefully balanced mixture of resin and embers, 177
which burns with a very bright flame. In recent years a variant has [283]
been introduced – huge lumps of gum were driven on to the shores of Little Andaman from some unknown distant shipwreck, and the Onges, having discovered how well the unknown substance burned, began mixing it with the embers in their torches. I can still see the Onges' child-like pleasure as they admired the effect of their new product, a gift, like their petrol-drum cooking-pots, from the sea.

Their torches for use on land are much smaller – about thirty 416
centimetres long and ten centimetres in diameter, but made in 171
exactly the same way. It is interesting that similar torches are found 225
eastwards throughout Polynesia and are used everywhere in the same way for hunting turtles and their eggs from the same type of canoe.

The victim, struck as it comes to the top to breathe, disappears 225
at once into the sea, dragging the cord with it. In less than ten minutes, however, it reappears on the surface and is hoisted aboard, often almost helping itself into the canoe with its thrashing flippers. Quite often turtles are caught while they are asleep on the surface, or mating, in which case the pair are easily captured. And in stormy weather, when the high seas make it difficult for them to negotiate the reefs back to the open water, the Onges can catch them and 'ride' them to the shore. I have seen the surviving Arioto do this,

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

123 The second trip was made on March 12th 1948. Our party included Mr. JOSEPH and Mr. POOVIAH [2], both Sub-divisional Officers of the forest department, one Burman bush police and four Andamanese with their two canoes tied behind our motor boat. We followed the same route from Long Island and, reaching Spike Island, we anchored at its northeastern corner. We came ashore in the canoes. The beach was small and rocky. Part of it was sheltered on one side by huge rocks behind which the Jarawa were known to waylay those approaching from the sea. So we landed very cautiously. Just at [501] the outskirts of the jungle we saw huge bundles of short bamboo lengths tied to [824] one another and piled up in a heap. It was a Jarawa raft. Near the bamboo pile were three crude paddles split from the spadix of the palm called *Nipa fruticans*. We were all the more careful in our approach.

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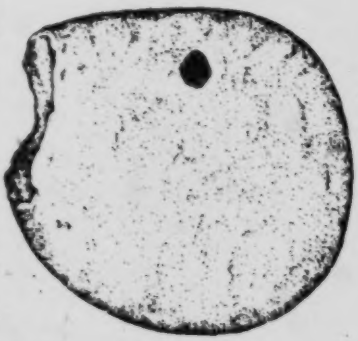

Fig. 3

[2] These two officers captured two Jarawa males, one adult and one boy, on October 19th 1948 on Spike Island. They were brought to Port Blair, wherefrom they managed to escape at night.

were approaching an Onge camp. Everywhere they go they are accompanied by flies of all sizes, and in Little Andaman the swarms are so bad that the first stranger to land called a river after them, Bumila Creek, or fly river. Their flies betray the Onges long before the barking of their dogs – no human voice ever betrays their silent presence.

On Little Andaman today the Onges' tacit divisions of territory are of little importance, so heavy has been the fall in population, but they still keep out of areas belonging to other 'huts', even if the huts themselves have been abandoned. I never saw any disputes over territory, or the ownership of the area in which a pig was caught (and hence ownership of the pig). The Onges who accompanied me, possibly encouraged by the prestige value of a European with them, hunted wherever we went without anyone raising any protests. Nevertheless, I always took the precaution of giving anything I or my Indians took to the Onges of the nearest hut, invariably much to their delight.

Contrary to established opinion, communal huts on Little Andaman are not found only along the coasts; the majority, and certainly the best constructed, are in the interior. Togalanghe is one, and there are a number of permanently abandoned temporary camps near it.

Both the permanent and temporary huts or shelters of the Andamans resemble those of the Semang. The latter are extremely simple, especially in the dry season; there are no walls and only a very sloping roof of leaves, high at the front and very low at the back, the beds being put so that the feet face the low part of the roof. With the Semang and Aeta the beds may be made of bamboo; this is never the case in the Andamans, as there are no large bamboos in the archipelago (Brown was wrong in this respect. The few slender bamboos on Little Andaman are only usable for making drying racks, which are found only round the hut at Beniabol in the south. As the people were away when I went there, and the site was consequently completely deserted, I was unable to establish visually what they dried, but traces of fish, particularly pilchards, were indication enough.)

These temporary shelters are put up extremely quickly. Two poles less than two metres long for the front, and two more, thirty to forty centimetres long, for the back, are fixed firmly into the

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

attached. From it to the ring run a series of long batons, the 'ribs' of the umbrella. All along the length of the transverse bundle of canes are attached the ends of similar 'ribs', with supplementary canes at weak points. In this hut and in a number of others, extra rings of canes not supported by uprights are put in afterwards for extra strength, all securely lashed at every point. 342

At this stage of construction the hut would thus have consisted of a centre pole, first circle of uprights supporting the first ring of canes, second (unsupported) ring of canes fixed to the 'ribs' running over it, second concentric circle of uprights supporting the third ring of canes, the fourth (unsupported) ring of canes, and the third circle of uprights supporting the fifth and last ring of canes. Right across from the entrance to the opposite side of the hut ran the elliptical transverse bundle of canes. Tight rush fibre lashings at every crossing and meeting point held the whole frame solidly together.

The roof itself was then put on. This consists of palm leaves like huge fans. The Onges split these in halves down the centre vein and then lay one half on top of the other, head to tail, main ribs together. Four, six or possibly more reeds, three metres long and two to three centimetres in diameter, are then split in half lengthwise and laid out parallel on the ground. The pairs of palm leaves are then laid across the parallels and lashed securely with rush fibres, working from the bottom up, so that the edges of each pair cover the ribs of the pair below, making a water-shed. Seen from the inside of the finished hut the ribs, blackened by smoke, look almost like parallel vaulting.

In this particular hut there are beds for seven families (and their dogs) set as radii, and four transversely. Round the centre pole, on three sides only (leaving the fourth open for access to the central fire) are three fairly high platforms, rather smaller than the beds. Occasionally I saw young people sleeping on two of these, very cramped, climbing up a fixed ladder to reach them. The third platform was always used to keep meat out of the way of the dogs, and is clearly a recent innovation following their arrival in the island. The rough platforms forming the beds proper were about fifty centimetres off the ground, but this distance varies from place to place – in the south, at Beniabol I saw them about one metre off the ground, with the family fire under instead of beside them. 342 352 [417] [176]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

616 184 Besides the division into tribes, and independent of it, the Andamanese recognize another division into coast-dwellers and forest-dwellers. In the *Aka-Bea* language the coast-dwellers are called *Ar-yoto*, while the forest-dwellers are called *Erem-taga*. The difference between them is due solely to the difference of their food supply. The *Ar-yoto* obtain much of their food from the sea. They are expert in fishing and turtle hunting. They make canoes and use them not only for hunting but also for travelling from one camp to another. Some portion of their food they also obtain from the forest, edible roots and fruits and the flesh of the wild pig being the chief. On the other hand the *Erem-taga* rely solely on the forest and the inland creeks for their food supply. Their only use for canoes is in the creeks. They are entirely ignorant of such matters as turtle or dugong hunting, but they are more at home than the coast-dwellers in the forest, and are generally more skilful at pig-hunting. The advantage certainly rests with the coast-dwellers, for they have both the sea and the forest to draw upon for their sustenance.

619 616 184 Some tribes consist only of coast-dwellers, such as the *Aka-Čari*, the *Akar-Bale* and perhaps the *Aka-Kọl*. On the other hand the *Aka-Bo*, although their territory includes a part of the west coast, are, by their occupations and mode of life, forest-dwellers, and the same seems to have been the case of the *Ọkọ-Juwọi*. The *A-Pučikwar*, the *Aka-Kede*, the *Aka-Jeru* and perhaps also the *Aka-Kọra* tribes contained both coast-dwellers and forest-dwellers.

621 [42] Each tribe formerly consisted of a number of independent local groups. The local group, and not the tribe, was the land-owning group, each one owning or exercising hunting rights over a certain recognized area. At the present time, owing to the breakdown of the local organisation, through the settlement of the islands and the resulting decrease of population, it is difficult to ascertain what area of country was occupied by each of these local groups. In many cases it would seem that the boundaries between two neighbouring groups are not very clearly defined, there being portions of forest over which the members of both hunted when the

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

adjoining mainland were called *Tarotọlo koloko*. When a man was asked to what part of the country he belonged he would generally answer by mentioning one of the chief camping places of his local group. Thus a man of the *Tarotọlo koloko* might say that he belonged to *Laropuli*, this being one of the chief camps of that country. A man of the *Teraut buliu koloko* might similarly say that he belonged to the village of *Čaičue*. 621

A man or woman is generally regarded as belonging to the local group in the country of which he or she was born. There is nothing, however, to prevent a person from taking up his residence with any other local group if he so wishes, and if the members of that group are willing to welcome him. It would seem that there were a fair number of such cases in which a man or a woman left his or her own local group to join another. In particular, when two young people belonging to different groups got married they might fix their residence either with his or with her parents. [591]

The local group, as stated above, was characterised as the land-owning group. A man might hunt over the country of his own group at all times, but he might not hunt over the country of another group without the permission of the members of that group. Even at the present day, when the local organisation has largely broken down, some of these hunting rights are still observed. I noticed a case in which some of the men asked and obtained permission to hunt pig in a certain part from a man who was explained to be the owner of that part of the country, being one of the few survivors of the local group to which it belonged. It would, in former times, have been an offence that might easily have led to a serious quarrel for the men of one group to hunt or fish in the country or the waters of another group without having been granted permission to do so. 621 421 224 [628]

Within the territory of each local group there are a number of recognized camping places. During the greater part of every year the members of the local group would be found living together at one or other of these. Some of these camping-grounds have been in use for many centuries, as is shown by 361

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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own bow, arrows, adze, etc., while the wife makes her baskets, 462
nets and so on.

The economic life of the local group, though in effect it 421
approaches to a sort of communism, is yet based on the notion of private property. Land is the only thing that is owned in common. The hunting grounds of a local group belong to the whole group, and all the members have an equal right to hunt over any part of it. There exists, however, a certain private ownership of trees. A man of one of the local groups of the coast may notice in the jungle a tree suitable for a canoe. He will tell the others that he has noticed such a tree, describing it and its whereabouts. Thenceforward that tree is regarded as his property, and even if some years should elapse, and he has made no use of it, yet another man would not cut it down without first asking the owner to give him the tree. In a similar way certain men claim to possess certain *Artocarpus* trees, though how the ownership in these cases had arisen I was unable to determine. No one would pick the fruit off such a tree without the permission of the owner, and having received permission and gathered the fruit he would give some part of it to the owner of the tree.

A pig belongs to the man whose arrow first strikes it, though if the arrow merely glanced off and did not remain in the wound it would not give any claim to ownership. A turtle or a dugong or big fish belongs to the man who throws the harpoon with which it is taken. A honeycomb belongs to the man who climbs the tree and cuts it down. The fish that a man shoots belong to him, and to a woman belong the roots she digs up, the seeds that she collects, the fish or prawns that she takes in her net or the molluscs that she brings from the reefs. Any weapon that a man makes belongs to him alone to do what he pleases with, and anything that a woman makes is her own [562]
property. A man is not free to dispose of the personal property of his wife without her permission.

In the village each family erects and keeps in repair its own 421
hut, and the wife provides the hut with the firewood and water 594
needed. In the case of a communal hut it would seem that this 342
is really an example of a possession common to the whole group.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

421 This is so, however, only in appearance. The hut is built by all
594 the different families, but each family is regarded as owning
342 a certain portion of the hut when it is finished, and it is the family that keeps this part of the hut in repair.

421 A canoe is cut by a number of men together. From the
501 outset, however, it is the property of one man, who selects the tree and superintends the operation of cutting it into shape.
476 He is always one of the older men, and he enlists the services of the younger men to help him. When finished the canoe is his property, and he can do with it what he pleases, giving it away, if he wishes, and no one has any share of ownership in a canoe on the ground that he helped to make it.

421 While all portable property is thus owned by individuals, the
431 Andamanese have customs which result in an approach to communism. One of these is the custom of constantly exchanging
574 presents with one another. When two friends meet who have not seen each other for some time, one of the first things they do is to exchange presents with one another. Even in the ordinary everyday life of the village there is a constant giving and receiving of presents. A younger man or woman may give some article to an older one without expecting or receiving any return, but between equals a person who gives a present always expects that he will receive something of equal value in exchange. At the meetings that take place between neighbouring local groups the exchange of presents is of great importance. Each of the visitors brings with him a number of articles that he distributes amongst the members of the group that he visits. When the visitors depart they are loaded with presents received from their hosts. It requires a good deal of tact on the part of everyone concerned to avoid the unpleasantness that may arise if a man thinks that he has not received things as valuable as he has given, or if he fancies that he has not received quite the same amount of attention as has been accorded to others.

431 It is considered a breach of good manners ever to refuse
576 the request of another. Thus if a man be asked by another to give him anything that he may possess, he will immediately do so. If the two men are equals a return of about the same value will have to be made. As between an older married man

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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and a bachelor or a young married man, however, the younger 431
would not make any request of such a nature, and if the older 576
man asked the younger for anything the latter would give it
without always expecting a return.

Almost every object that the Andamanese possess is thus 431
constantly changing hands. Even canoes may be given away, [426]
but it is more usual for these to be lent by the owner to his
friends.

It has been stated above that all food is private property and 421
belongs to the man or woman who has obtained it. Every one 431
who has food is expected, however, to give to those who have
none. An older married man will reserve for himself sufficient
for his family, and will then give the rest to his friends. A
younger man is expected to give away the best of what he gets
to the older men. This is particularly the case with the bachelors.
Should a young unmarried man kill a pig he must be content to
see it distributed by one of the older men, all the best parts
going to the seniors, while he and his companions must be
satisfied with the inferior parts. The result of these customs
is that practically all the food obtained is evenly distributed
through the whole camp, the only inequality being that the
younger men do not fare so well as their elders. Generosity is
esteemed by the Andaman Islanders one of the highest of virtues [577]
and is unremittingly practised by the majority of them.

Within the local group there is no such thing as a division of 462
labour save as between the two sexes. In the coastal groups
every man is expected to be able to hunt pig, to harpoon turtle
and to catch fish, and also to cut a canoe, to make bows and
arrows and all the other objects that are made by men. It
happens that some men are more skilful in certain pursuits than
in others. A skilful turtle-hunter, for example, may be an
indifferent pig-hunter, and such a man will naturally prefer to
devote himself to the pursuit in which he appears to most
advantage.

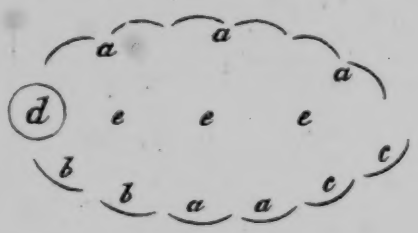
The division of labour between the sexes is fairly clearly
marked. A man hunts and fishes, using the bow and arrow and
the harpoon; he makes his own bows and arrows, his adze and
knife, cuts canoes and makes rope for harpoon lines. A woman

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

361 tides, the men enjoy exceptional facilities for shooting fish and harpooning turtles, &c.

10. Although the sites selected for occupation are usually well-sheltered, it is not always found possible in tempestuous weather, even in the dense jungle which covers every portion of their country, to obtain shelter sufficient to allow of their huts being so placed as to face inwards towards the *bū·lum-*, or dancing ground. The primary consideration being naturally to secure as much comfort as possible, the sloping roof is at such times presented towards the prevailing wind.

11. The following diagram will give a general idea of the plan commonly adopted in laying out an encampment consisting of several huts, though the form depends much on the nature of the ground, and on the relative position of the surrounding trees, for they do not consider it worth their while to fell these, or to clear away anything but the lightest brushwood for the mere purpose of providing space for their huts, and dancing ground. Another point to be taken into account is the possibility of accidents being caused by falling branches, and, therefore, when erecting their frail dwellings, they are careful to guard against this danger as far as possible, and so much judgment do they display in the matter that accidents of this nature are comparatively unknown.



a. Married persons.[1]
b. Bachelors.[1]
c. Spinsters.[1]
d. Public cooking place.
e. Dancing ground (bu·lum-).

619 **Government.**—1. The entire country is apportioned among the various tribes, and the territory occupied by each is considered the common property of all its members, and not as belonging exclusively to the chiefs.

2. Their domestic polity may be described as a communism modified by the authority, more or less nominal, of the chief. The head chief of a tribe is called *mai·a-iglā·-*, and the elders, or sub-chiefs, *i.e.*, those in authority over each community, consisting of from 20 to 50 individuals, *mai·ola*.

3. The head chief, who usually resides at a permanent

[1] Even at the homes they are careful to maintain this order, viz.: of placing the bachelors and spinsters at either end of the building, and the married couples in the space between.

372 they show much skill in so carrying smouldering logs with them by land or sea that they are not extinguished. Their ignorance of this fundamental requirement of civilization is shown in their fire-legend that fire was originally stolen from their deity Puluga and has never been allowed to become extinct since. Excepting guns, nothing has more impressed the Andamanese with European power and resources than the use of matches, *i.e.*, of making fire whenever required with ease.

342 In the Little Andaman and among the Jarawas of the South Andaman, large permanent huts for use in the wet season are built up of solid materials to 30 feet in height and 60 in breadth to hold the fires of 7 to 8 hunting parties, say 60 to 70 people, *i.e.*, they contain 7 to 8 fires with about 8 persons to each "fire." The Jarawa hunting camp is much the same as that of any other Andamanese and his great communal hut is built on the same principle as the larger huts of the other Andamanese.

The use of the flimsy hunting shelters and camp huts of the Andamanese is rendered possible in the wet and stormy weather so common in the Islands by the denseness of the jungle, which prevents the winds from reaching them even when close to the sea-beach and causes the rain to fall vertically upon them.

619 **Government.**—There is no idea of Government, but to each tribe and to each sept of it there is a recognised head, who has attained that position by
622 tacit agreement on account of some admitted superiority, mental or physical, and commands a limited respect and such obedience as the self interest of the other individual men of the tribe or sept dictates. There is a tendency to
[554] hereditary right in the natural selection of chiefs, but there is no social status that is not personally acquired. The social position of a chief's family follows that of the chief himself and admits of many privileges in the shape of tribal influence and immunity from drudgery. His wife is among women what he is
[888] among men and at his death, if a mother and not young, she retains his privileges. Age commands respect and the young are deferential to the elders. Offences, *i.e.*, murder, theft, adultery, mischief, assault, are punished by the
627 aggrieved party on his own account by injury to the body and property or by murder, without more active interference on the part of others than is consistent with their own safety, and without any fear of consequences except vengeance from the friends of the other side, and even this is usually avoided by disappearance till the short memory of the people has obliterated wrath.

421 Property is communal, as is all the land, and ideas as to individual possessions are but rudimentary, accompanied with an incipient tabu of the property belonging to a chief. An Andamanese will often readily part with ornaments to any one who asks for them. Theft, or the taking of property without leave, is only recognised as to things of absolute necessity, as arrows, pig's flesh, fire.
437 A very rude barter exists between tribes of the same group in regard to articles not locally obtainable or manufactured. This applies especially to cooking pots, which are made of a special clay found only in certain parts of the islands. The barter is really a gift of one article in expectation of another of assumed corresponding value in return, and a row if it is not forthcoming. The territory of other tribes is carefully respected without however there being any fixed boundaries.

562 The duties of men and women are clearly defined by custom, but not so as to make that of the women comparatively hard. The women have a tacitly acknowledged inferior position, but it is not such as to be marked or to leave them without influence.

771 **Religion.**—The religion is simple animism and consists of fear of the evil spirits of the wood, the sea, disease and ancestors, and of avoidance of acts traditionally displeasing to them, and this in spite of an abundance of mythological tales told in a confused, disjointed manner that is most instructive to the student of such things. There is neither ceremonial worship nor propitiation. There is an anthropomorphic deity, Puluga, the cause of all things, whom it is not, however, necessary to propitiate, though sins, *i.e.*, acts displeasing to him, are avoided for fear of damage to the products of the jungle. Puluga dwells now in the sky, but used to live on the top of Saddle Peak, their highest mountain. The Andamanese have an idea that the "soul" will go under the earth by an aerial bridge after death, but there is no heaven nor hell nor any idea of a cor-

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

437 431 5. They set no fixed value on their various properties, and rarely make or procure anything with the express object of disposing of it in barter. Apparently they prefer to regard their transactions as presentations, for their mode of negociating is to *give* such objects as are desired by another in the hope of receiving in return something for which they have expressed a wish, it being tacitly understood that, unless otherwise mentioned beforehand, no "present" is to be accepted without an equivalent being rendered.

[578] 6. The natural consequence of this system is that most of the quarrels which so frequently occur among them originate in failure on the part of the recipient in making such a return as had been confidently expected.[1]

7. All iron-pointed weapons, tools, or shell ornaments are eagerly accepted by the *ē'rem-tā'ga-* in exchange for such things as are more easily procured by them than by the *àryó'to-*:[2] for instance, an adze would generally be considered worth two ordinary bows, or a bundle of wooden-pointed arrows; or a man might undertake to make a canoe or bucket for one who would give him an adze.

428 422 8. But little care is taken of the utensils, weapons, canoes, &c., in daily use, and consequently new ones are often required, the old, when no longer serviceable, being thrown aside; as all their possessions consist of goods which need to be more or less frequently replaced, it is hardly necessary to explain that there is no accumulation of the labours of former generations; hence also it arises that they are not tied by any laws of inheritance; more as a matter of sentiment than for any other reason, the nearest of kin takes possession of all the effects left by a deceased person, and as often as not they are distributed ere long among such friends as may be in need of any of the articles in question.

422 9. The weapons, tools, and other property pertaining to one member of a family are regarded as available for the use of his or her relatives, but such articles as a cooking-pot, canoe, or sounding-board, when not required by the owner, are looked upon somewhat in the light of public property by members of the same community; in short, the rights of private property are only so far recognised that no one would without permission appropriate or remove to a distance anything belonging to a friend or neighbour.

000 **Agriculture.**—1. Before the arrival of strangers in their midst,

[1] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraph 37.

[2] Further mention of this will be made at "Games and Amusements," paragraph 24. As will there be explained, the occasions on which they usually barter are when they meet for a *jey-* at some permanent encampment.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1958) 1966 - AZ2 Andamans AZ2

I examined a number of canoes drawn up on the beach. They 501
varied in size from some eight to ten metres long, built to carry twenty people, to small single-manned craft three to four metres long, and there were some very small ones clearly intended to encourage the children to set out on their own. The very large canoes are, however, rare. The beam also varied considerably from some barely wide enough to admit a man's knees to others of one and a half metres or more.[1]

In the shallows, contrary to some assertions, paddles are never used; the booms would make alternate paddling extremely difficult. Reversed harpoon shafts are instead used as punt poles and oars, [824]
usually made of *Myristica longifolia*, are used only in deep water. They are sometimes but not always lashed into the holes in the gunwale through which the booms pass. They are short, not more than 1·3 metres long and are always rowed forwards (obviously there would be a danger of stubbing a reef if the European style of rowing was used). Like the canoes, the oars vary somewhat in size. Very roughly made they consist of a handle ninety centimetres long and a forty-centimetre blade. The grip tapers almost to a point and increases gradually in diameter towards the blade, which is long, narrow, blunt-ended and flat-convex in section. Usually it is [232]
merely roughly shaped with the Onges' crude hatchet, but occa- [412]
sionally it is smoothed off with a sharp *Cypraea* shell. The helmsman and pilot stand on the two platforms, guiding the canoe with oars. As far as possible the rowers avoid the side bearing the outrigger mechanism; any deviation of course caused by the unilateral rowing is corrected by the two steersmen.

When they first launch a canoe the Onges decorate it with ochre 501
designs like those on their bodies and the hollowed logs used to 531
hold honey, although they are washed off as soon as the craft enters the water. As usual the men do all the work up to that point [462]
and the women do the painting. The initial painting is the only [422]
form of ornament on the canoes; there is not even a mark of owner- [126]
ship, although each canoe is curiously enough recognized as the property of one man, despite the fact that everyone has helped to

[1] I am unable to agree with Brown that the Onge canoes are extremely small, that they have bow and stern, and that their floats are inefficient. My own experiences of travelling in the canoes has led me to the opinion that on these and other points Brown was wrong, possibly partly because he never actually visited Little Andaman. [114]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

50 53 422 126 build it (when I wanted to acquire two for the new anthropological museum at Port Blair and the Indian Museum in Calcutta I had to bargain with the men recognized as the owners, although the price had to be distributed among all the members of the group).

225 252 The chief delight of the men on their fishing trips is the capture of a Giant Turtle. I have already described (p. 88) the spear harpoons which the Onges use to catch them. Once caught, the wretched animals are subjected to a form of vivisection utterly incomprehensible to the Western mind; they are literally cut up alive and the pieces thrown into the boiling cooking-pot. Nor have I ever witnessed anything so terrible as the way in which the Onges, in the absence of any suitable cooking vessel, or the materials for an earth oven, roast these turtles whole and alive over a slow fire. [157] They seem totally unable to realize that animals can feel pain and laugh like children at the other atrocious tortures they unwittingly inflict not only on the turtles, but on every living thing that falls into their hands.

825 262 These marine turtles (as far as I was able to see there were no land turtles in the Andamans) yield a far greater amount of food than the dugong, and provide the islanders with both meat and eggs. Two [136] species are common in the seas round the islands, *Chelonia virgata*, or the green turtle, and *Caretta imbricata*, which supplies the shells normally sold commercially. The Onges prefer the former, which are both meaty and more plentiful.

222 225 467 [176] Turtle-hunting and egg-collecting is done by the menfolk. The method is very like that used for dugong and large fish, using the harpoon. Owing to their fear of the spirits abroad in the night, the Onges never go near the beaches between dusk and dawn, when it would be easy to take the turtles on land and immobilize them by turning them on their backs. They do know this trick, however, and use it when captured turtles (often weighing up to a hundredweight) are too heavy to carry in the canoe; the animals are turned on their backs and dumped on the beach ready to pick up later.

225 The Onges harpoon the turtles from canoes, preferably at night when the turtles are nearing the shore, which they never approach in the day time. When there is a moon the creatures are easily seen, and on dark nights the phosphorescence of the sea helps.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

Sri Gupta, in conclusion, has been tempted to emphasise with firm conviction that the Andamanese are, therefore, very probably a remnant of the dwellers on the marshes of Bengal and the uplands of Santhal Paragana or the dense forests of Burma and Malaya. 174

As regards the native appellations and phonetic similarity, such apparent similarity is possibly evidenced in many groups separated from each other by long distances. Similarly, the diet of raw meat and fish is and was common to all hunting and collecting tribes of the world. Independent evolution of many tribes has been akin to each other and therefore, the further geological studies and studies in anthropology can only confirm the idea.

Since the arrival of the Andamanese in the islands, a gradual separation has taken place among the different branches of population who had moved to different parts of the islands. The micro-environment has exerted considerable influence in moulding these people ultimately giving birth to a number of sub-groups. However, the broad generalisations are their hunting and collecting economy, complete ignorance about the domestication of the plants and the animals, except the Onges who have learnt only for the last 30 years the domestication of dogs. Family is the smallest social unit and a few families constitute the communal hut. Each tribal sub-group has its hunting territory, within which it maintains a more or less nomadic life till they return to the main settlement where they have a communal hut. 105 174 [592] [423]

The doctrine of the environmental determinism exemplifies itself in the adaptation of the aborigines to the local environment. In their life, they never look beyond their local geography and the materials for houses, the food, the ornaments and every thing that they are in need of, are collected from the small territory in which a community lives. So the obvious conclusion may be drawn that the coastal tribes are dependent on fishing, turtle hunting and gathering of shells and oysters and the interior tribes on hunting. This type of primitive economy, based on hunting and collecting, cannot support more than two to four persons per square mile as against more than 300 per square mile in agricultural lands and again the density varies to a great extent according to the type of agriculture practised e.g., rice-growing regions support the maximum density of population. In spite of their all-round self-sufficiency they have some connections with the later settlers. For the want of iron, tobacoo, distilled liquor, opium etc., these aborigines (jarawas) either make periodic raids on the settlements (Onges and Andamanese) or have established friendly relations with the settlers. The necessity 105 105 177 439

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

The contact of the Onges with the outsiders can only be traced since the efforts of M. V. Portman[1] to establish a friendly relation with these tribes from 1886 onwards. However the earlier contacts with the Chinese and Japanese were possible because these people used to frequent the shores of Little Andaman for collecting the valuable shells and the Onges used to be engaged by them as divers and in reciprocation they were given presents of alcohol and opium. In the initial stage of the attempt for establishing a friendly relation by Portman, the Onges proved themselves hostile which was evidenced from the poor fate of the crews of a ship 'Assam Valley' when it touched the shores of Little Andaman and it was through the great efforts of the punitive expedition led by W. L. Much that the dead bodies of the crews were recovered. Later on, a few Onges, all on a sudden, arrived at Cinque Island and were captured by M. V. Portman. Only 9 of them were detained and the rest 15 were released. These few captured Onges were closely observed and studied in Port Blair by Portman and were ultimately returned back to their native land, Little Andaman. The friendly treatment and the presents that these Onges had received from Portman, paved the path of establishing friendly relations with the Onges much easier and also made the subsequent visits of the foreigners much more welcome. After Portman, a few more contacts were made with the Onges by Prof. Lapicque in March, 1893, during the operations of 1911 and 1921, undertaken by Eicsktedt, a German anthropologist, in 1827, by Dr. B. S. Guha, Ex-Director Anthropological Survey of India in 1948 and by Lidio Cipriani, an Italian anthropologist in the year 1954 and in a few succeeding years. Still the knowledge about the Onges seems to be meagre.

Living exclusively in the Little Andaman and a few of them in the Rutland Island, the Onges live in groups on a septal basis with clear-cut boundaries of hunting group for each group. There is no permanent habitation or village of the Onges in any part of the Little Andaman and their huts are of two types—(a) the permanent type of communal hut called *bera*, and (b) the temporary type of shelter called *korale*.

The abundance of food and water has made the life of the Onges comparatively easy-going. All the groups are headed by a leader and each group is assigned a fixed territory. The community life seems to be extremely democratic in character which entertains and also maintains a perfect individual freedom and only in times of necessity, advice,

1 Portman, M. V—History of one relations with the Andamanese.

were approaching an Onge camp. Everywhere they go they are accompanied by flies of all sizes, and in Little Andaman the swarms are so bad that the first stranger to land called a river after them, Bumila Creek, or fly river. Their flies betray the Onges long before the barking of their dogs – no human voice ever betrays their silent presence.

On Little Andaman today the Onges' tacit divisions of territory are of little importance, so heavy has been the fall in population, but they still keep out of areas belonging to other 'huts', even if the huts themselves have been abandoned. I never saw any disputes over territory, or the ownership of the area in which a pig was caught (and hence ownership of the pig). The Onges who accompanied me, possibly encouraged by the prestige value of a European with them, hunted wherever we went without anyone raising any protests. Nevertheless, I always took the precaution of giving anything I or my Indians took to the Onges of the nearest hut, invariably much to their delight.

Contrary to established opinion, communal huts on Little Andaman are not found only along the coasts; the majority, and certainly the best constructed, are in the interior. Togalanghe is one, and there are a number of permanently abandoned temporary camps near it.

Both the permanent and temporary huts or shelters of the Andamans resemble those of the Semang. The latter are extremely simple, especially in the dry season; there are no walls and only a very sloping roof of leaves, high at the front and very low at the back, the beds being put so that the feet face the low part of the roof. With the Semang and Aeta the beds may be made of bamboo; this is never the case in the Andamans, as there are no large bamboos in the archipelago (Brown was wrong in this respect. The few slender bamboos on Little Andaman are only usable for making drying racks, which are found only round the hut at Beniabol in the south. As the people were away when I went there, and the site was consequently completely deserted, I was unable to establish visually what they dried, but traces of fish, particularly pilchards, were indication enough.)

These temporary shelters are put up extremely quickly. Two poles less than two metres long for the front, and two more, thirty to forty centimetres long, for the back, are fixed firmly into the

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

less plentiful and containing a great deal of wax, and is greatly prized by the Onges. The darker bees, common in China, Celebes, Borneo and beyond, build their nests in cavities in the rocks, or in tree-trunks. Their honey, darker and with less wax, is more plentiful, but not so fine; when there is enough of the golden honey the Onges ignore the darker variety.

Few of the fruits on Little Andaman contain much sugar, but the Onges eat more than enough honey to compensate any deficiency that would otherwise occur. Whatever the fruit in season, men, women and children climb happily about like acrobats, hanging in the trees to get at it and the honey that goes with it. To chop the tree down is, of course, easiest and the obvious first choice for any Onge. Failing this, and their hooked poles, they climb up the nearby lianas into the branches, or walk up the trunk – an easy feat for them with their very long arms and almost prehensile toes.

Although there are arak nuts and betel leaves in the forest, the Onges ignore them. They are the same variety as elsewhere; *Areca catechu* and *Piper betel*. The Nicobarese are so addicted to them that many have lips and teeth hideously deformed as a result, but this is quite unknown among the Onges, contrary to earlier reports. The appearance of addiction in the Nicobars may have occurred after the separation of the peoples.

With all these fruits the Onges consume vast quantities of honey from the two species of bee, *dorsata* and *nigrocinta*. During the rainy season they can only get at the darker, poorer honey of *nigrocinta*, which builds nests under boulders or in crevices of trees or rocks. The Onges' real honey orgies occur, therefore, in the dry season, when the honey birds (Indicationidae), common in Africa and all over Asia, lead them to the trees where the golden honey of *dorsata* is hidden.

When one of the Onges finds a nest of bees he puts a mark on the rock or tree as a sign of ownership. None of the others would then dare to take possession of it, for fear of punishment by the group,[1] but when the time comes to take the honey everyone helps in the hard work of getting at the nest and opening it up. On one trip from Labanar to Togalanghe, on 19 March 1954, the Onges pointed out over twenty *Nigrocinta* nests to me, all reserved ready for use

[1] However deep in the forest a crime is committed, it will inevitably be discovered in the end, and punished by banishment from the community.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

222 [423] when the supply of *dorsata* diminished at the onset of the stormy season, when the gales lashing the branches dislodge the nests and hurl them to the ground.

Unlike the beekeepers of the civilized world, the Onges make no attempt to protect their bare bodies while they are extracting honey. Yet they are never stung, and watching them one felt in the presence of some age-old mystery, lost by the civilized world. I watched an Onge from the ground with my field glasses as he climbed up a tree to a *dorsata* nest and saw him, as it were, blowing on the bees round about the trunk as he went up. As he approached the nest they huddled round it in a protective cloud, hiding it completely from view. Suddenly, as the Onge's face came within twenty centimetres of the boiling, humming mass, the bees seemed to shrink back as he blew on them. Not one moved to attack as he gouged out the combs with his bare hands, throwing handfuls of bees out into the air. And then the whole cloud of bees gathered into a swarm and left the tree and the nest to the interloper.

The Onge stripped lengths of green bark from the lianas growing up the tree, and then broke the nest up. Tying the combs to his back [283] with the strips of bark he lowered himself down to the ground, 222 swinging like an ape from liana to liana. There, while his friends 515 fell on the honey, he calmly cleaned himself down – with not one sting on him. This he did in a way unusual for the Onges, filling his mouth with water from a nearby pond and squirting it into his cupped hands, until he had enough in his hands for a perfunctory rub down. This method of washing is common in primitive peoples but advanced for the Onges. When they have been painting themselves with the usual fat and ochre paste, for example, the women will clean their hands to their satisfaction by wiping them on their *naquineghe*, while the men use the dogs' coats as a convenient towel.

222 In March 1952, in the middle of the honey season, I was on the west coast of Little Andaman, near Nachuge. Twelve Onges were with me, and when they noticed a bees' nest high up in a *Pterocarpus* the youngest of them at once climbed up after it. As soon as he saw that the combs were full of honey, with no larvae, he called for a [283] container. With amazing speed he tore enough bark off the nearest liana with his teeth to make a cord over twenty metres long and the hollowed-out log was soon hauled up, to come down again crammed with combs brimming with pale golden honey, very

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

and a bachelor or a young married man, however, the younger 431
would not make any request of such a nature, and if the older 576
man asked the younger for anything the latter would give it
without always expecting a return.

Almost every object that the Andamanese possess is thus 431
constantly changing hands. Even canoes may be given away, [426]
but it is more usual for these to be lent by the owner to his
friends.

It has been stated above that all food is private property and 421
belongs to the man or woman who has obtained it. Every one 431
who has food is expected, however, to give to those who have
none. An older married man will reserve for himself sufficient
for his family, and will then give the rest to his friends. A
younger man is expected to give away the best of what he gets
to the older men. This is particularly the case with the bachelors.
Should a young unmarried man kill a pig he must be content to
see it distributed by one of the older men, all the best parts
going to the seniors, while he and his companions must be
satisfied with the inferior parts. The result of these customs
is that practically all the food obtained is evenly distributed
through the whole camp, the only inequality being that the
younger men do not fare so well as their elders. Generosity is
esteemed by the Andaman Islanders one of the highest of virtues [577]
and is unremittingly practised by the majority of them.

Within the local group there is no such thing as a division of 462
labour save as between the two sexes. In the coastal groups
every man is expected to be able to hunt pig, to harpoon turtle
and to catch fish, and also to cut a canoe, to make bows and
arrows and all the other objects that are made by men. It
happens that some men are more skilful in certain pursuits than
in others. A skilful turtle-hunter, for example, may be an
indifferent pig-hunter, and such a man will naturally prefer to
devote himself to the pursuit in which he appears to most
advantage.

The division of labour between the sexes is fairly clearly
marked. A man hunts and fishes, using the bow and arrow and
the harpoon; he makes his own bows and arrows, his adze and
knife, cuts canoes and makes rope for harpoon lines. A woman

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

437 431 5. They set no fixed value on their various properties, and rarely make or procure anything with the express object of disposing of it in barter. Apparently they prefer to regard their transactions as presentations, for their mode of negociating is to *give* such objects as are desired by another in the hope of receiving in return something for which they have expressed a wish, it being tacitly understood that, unless otherwise mentioned beforehand, no "present" is to be accepted without an equivalent being rendered.

[578] 6. The natural consequence of this system is that most of the quarrels which so frequently occur among them originate in failure on the part of the recipient in making such a return as had been confidently expected.[1]

7. All iron-pointed weapons, tools, or shell ornaments are eagerly accepted by the *ē·rem-tâ·ga-* in exchange for such things as are more easily procured by them than by the *àryó·to-*:[2] for instance, an adze would generally be considered worth two ordinary bows, or a bundle of wooden-pointed arrows; or a man might undertake to make a canoe or bucket for one who would give him an adze.

428 422 8. But little care is taken of the utensils, weapons, canoes, &c., in daily use, and consequently new ones are often required, the old, when no longer serviceable, being thrown aside; as all their possessions consist of goods which need to be more or less frequently replaced, it is hardly necessary to explain that there is no accumulation of the labours of former generations; hence also it arises that they are not tied by any laws of inheritance; more as a matter of sentiment than for any other reason, the nearest of kin takes possession of all the effects left by a deceased person, and as often as not they are distributed ere long among such friends as may be in need of any of the articles in question.

422 9. The weapons, tools, and other property pertaining to one member of a family are regarded as available for the use of his or her relatives, but such articles as a cooking-pot, canoe, or sounding-board, when not required by the owner, are looked upon somewhat in the light of public property by members of the same community; in short, the rights of private property are only so far recognised that no one would without permission appropriate or remove to a distance anything belonging to a friend or neighbour.

000 **Agriculture.**—1. Before the arrival of strangers in their midst,

[1] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraph 37.

[2] Further mention of this will be made at "Games and Amusements," paragraph 24. As will there be explained, the occasions on which they usually barter are when they meet for a *jeg-* at some permanent encampment.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

THIS TOO, SO primitive that it can easily be mistaken for an old piece of wood, has definite uses, and none of the nomadic forest peoples anywhere in the world are without it. Everywhere it is found it is effective in filling huge baskets with food – baskets equally simply and equally quickly made. I have already described (see p. 93) the baskets made by the Onges for purely temporary use on their hunting expeditions. In the communal huts, however, the making of real baskets involves hours of careful plaiting, working the supple fibres from the strong bark of selected rushes, and expert finishing. These baskets are an invariable and prized part of every family's inheritance and are preserved for as long as possible. Nowhere in the collection of basketry from Great Andaman are there baskets with more craftsmanship than the permanent ones of the Onges.[1] All the baskets are the shape of half an egg. There is little variation in size, all being about forty centimetres in diameter at the top, and about forty-five centimetres deep, unlike the temporary carriers, which vary considerably in size, according to whether they are to be carried by men, women, or even children, and what is to be carried.

412 171 285 285 [428]

At the opposite extreme from the underground harvest of roots, men and women alike use long thin hooked poles to hook down fruit from the trees, climbing up into the trees when necessary to strip the highest branches and then hiding the poles in the forest until they are next required (no attempt is ever made to carry them about). When the tree is not too large, it is ruthlessly chopped down and stripped as it lies on the ground. I was horrified in the first fortnight of April to see this happen to trees which the Onges call *dangheccià*, which bear blackish-red fruit about the size of a pigeon's egg. The attraction is the flavour of the pulp, but there is little of it, surrounding a large nut. To get at the pulp a thick, hard case has to be cracked, but to the formidable Onge teeth this is no problem and the case cracks comparatively easily. The nut itself is not edible; the honey-coloured pulp is sweetish, but there is so little that it takes ten fruits to provide ten grams of it. The fruits hang in bunches at the end of branches covered with leaves rather like a chestnut. As the wood is very soft, the Onges usually hack the trees down; large ones may merely have their branches lopped

222 [412] [185]

[1] Editor's note: The author indicated in manuscript at this point his intention of giving a full description of the way in which these are made, but unfortunately died before he was able to do so. [114]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

421 This is so, however, only in appearance. The hut is built by all
594 the different families, but each family is regarded as owning
342 a certain portion of the hut when it is finished, and it is the family that keeps this part of the hut in repair.

421 A canoe is cut by a number of men together. From the outset, however, it is the property of one man, who selects
501 the tree and superintends the operation of cutting it into shape.
476 He is always one of the older men, and he enlists the services of the younger men to help him. When finished the canoe is his property, and he can do with it what he pleases, giving it away, if he wishes, and no one has any share of ownership in a canoe on the ground that he helped to make it.

421 While all portable property is thus owned by individuals, the Andamanese have customs which result in an approach to com-
●431 munism. One of these is the custom of constantly exchanging
574 presents with one another. When two friends meet who have not seen each other for some time, one of the first things they do is to exchange presents with one another. Even in the ordinary everyday life of the village there is a constant giving and receiving of presents. A younger man or woman may give some article to an older one without expecting or receiving any return, but between equals a person who gives a present always expects that he will receive something of equal value in exchange. At the meetings that take place between neighbouring local groups the exchange of presents is of great importance. Each of the visitors brings with him a number of articles that he distributes amongst the members of the group that he visits. When the visitors depart they are loaded with presents received from their hosts. It requires a good deal of tact on the part of everyone concerned to avoid the unpleasantness that may arise if a man thinks that he has not received things as valuable as he has given, or if he fancies that he has not received quite the same amount of attention as has been accorded to others.

431 It is considered a breach of good manners ever to refuse the request of another. Thus if a man be asked by another
576 to give him anything that he may possess, he will immediately do so. If the two men are equals a return of about the same value will have to be made. As between an older married man

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

585 ceremony may be seen by the on-lookers. The bridegroom is seated with his friends at the other end of the dancing ground. One of the older and more respected men addresses the bride, telling her that she must make a good wife, must provide for her husband such things as it is the duty of a wife to obtain or make, must see that he does not run after other women, and must herself remain faithful to him. He then addresses the bridegroom to the same effect, and taking him by the hand or arm, leads him to where the bride is seated and makes him sit down beside her. The relatives and friends weep loudly, and the young couple look very self-conscious and uncomfortable. The shyness of the young man is such that he often attempts to run away, but he is caught by his friends, who are prepared for such an attempt. After some minutes the officiating elder takes the arms of the bride and bridegroom and places them around each other's necks. After a further interval he again approaches and makes the bridegroom sit on the bride's lap[1]. They sit so for some minutes and the ceremony is over. The other members of the community generally have a dance on such an occasion, but in this the newly wedded pair do not join. [431] A hut has already been prepared for them, and all their friends make them presents of useful objects with which to start housekeeping. They retire shyly to their new hut, while their friends continue dancing. The day after the ceremony the bride and bridegroom are decorated by their friends with white clay. For a few days the newly married couple are very shy of each other, hardly venturing to speak to or look at one another: but they soon settle down to their new position in the life of the community. During the early days of their marriage they are abundantly supplied with food by their friends. They are not addressed or [551] spoken of by name, but if their names be A and B, the husband is called "the husband of B" while the wife is called "the wife of A."

In the South Andaman the ceremony is much the same as in the North, the only difference being that the bridegroom is led to where the bride is sitting and is made to sit on her lap straightway, remaining there for a few minutes.

[1] When a husband and wife greet one another the man sits on the lap of the wife.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

mother of the man's wife on the other. In the *Akar-Bale* language such persons are said to be *aka-yat* to one another. A man or a woman will not have any immediate dealings with a person who is his *aka-yat*. He will not speak to him, and if they should meet or be sitting near to one another they would avoid looking at each other. On the other hand a man is constantly sending presents to his *aka-yat*. The natives say that two persons in this relation feel "shy" or "ashamed." (There is only one word in Andamanese for these two English words, *ot-jete* in *Aka-Jeru*.) The shyness begins at the moment when a marriage between their respective children is first discussed as a possibility, and lasts apparently till death.

As throwing a little light on this peculiar relation it may be mentioned that a similar relation exists between two men who have been through either the turtle-eating ceremony or the pig-eating ceremony (to be described in the next chapter) on the same occasion. Two such men will avoid any contact with one another, not speaking to nor looking at each other when they chance to meet, but on the other hand they will be constantly giving each other presents of all kinds, sending them through some third person.

The main features of the relationship system of the Andaman Islanders may be briefly summed up. The duties that one person owes to another are determined much less by their relation to one another by consanguinity and marriage, than by their respective ages and social status. Even within the family, which nevertheless is of importance, the duty of a child to a parent is very little different from his duty to any other person of the same age. There is very little of any special customs relating to conduct towards different kinds of relatives. Corresponding to this we find very few terms to denote relationships and a considerable development of the terms which denote age and social status. Thus a man's duties to his elder brother are much the same as those towards the other men of the same age, and we find that there is no word for "elder brother" but only a term by which a man distinguishes all the men of his own generation older than himself from those who are younger. Similarly there are no duties that a man owes to his father's

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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would, if living with the man's parents, pay a visit every year to the parents or other relatives of the wife. The parents of a child that had been adopted by a member of another local group would make a point of visiting the child when they could. Visitors to a camp would always take with them presents to be given to their hosts. A visitor was hospitably entertained, being given the best of the food, and joined his hosts in their hunting and fishing expeditions. The duty of hospitality is one upon which the Andamanese lay stress. 621 574

The meetings of two or more local groups were organised from time to time by the more prominent men. The time and place of the meeting would be fixed and invitations sent out to the neighbours. The visitors, men, women and children, would arrive at the appointed time, and would be accommodated as well as possible by the hosts. During the first few hours, as the natives themselves told me, everyone would feel a little shy and perhaps frightened, and it would take some time for this feeling to wear off. The visitors would bring with them various objects, such as bows, arrows, adzes, baskets, nets, red paint, white clay, and so on. These were given by the visitors to their hosts, and other presents were received in return. Although the natives themselves regarded the objects thus given as being presents, yet when a man gave a present to another he expected that he would receive something of equal value in return, and would be very angry if the return present did not come up to his expectations. A man would sometimes mention, when giving his present, that he would like some particular object in exchange, but this was the exception and not the rule, and the process cannot be spoken of as barter. In certain cases it undoubtedly served a useful economic purpose. Thus if a local group had no red ochre or white clay in their own country they could obtain these commodities by exchange with others who had. In the case of a meeting between forest and coast dwellers, the former could obtain such things as shells, red paint made with turtle fat, and other objects with which they could not provide themselves in any other way. It was in this way also that the iron obtained from a wreck on one part of the coast would be spread over a large area. For the most part, however, as 621 574 431 437

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

621 each local group, and indeed each family, was able to provide
574 itself with everything that it needed in the way of weapons and
431 utensils, the exchange of presents did not serve the same
437 purpose as trade and barter in more developed communities.

The purpose that it did serve was a moral one. The object
621 of the exchange was to produce a friendly feeling between the two
574 persons concerned, and unless it did this it failed of its purpose.
It gave great scope for the exercise of tact and courtesy. No
431 one was free to refuse a present that was offered to him. Each man and woman tried to out-do the others in generosity. There was a sort of amiable rivalry as to who could give away the greatest number of valuable presents.

574 The visitors remained with their hosts for a few days. The
time was spent in hunting, feasting and dancing, and in the
621 exchange of presents above described. The hosts made every
effort to provide the camp with plenty of good things. The
527 guests took their share in the hunting and fishing expeditions. Every evening was spent in singing and dancing. Some of the men were sure to have composed new songs for such an occasion.

574 Such meetings as these were sometimes the means of bring-
ing to an end past quarrels between the local groups, but
621 occasionally they were the cause of new quarrels. The hosts, or
some of them, might think that they had been shabbily treated
628 in the matter of presents, or the guests might complain that they were not well enough entertained. It often needed a man of strong influence to maintain harmony in the camp. Angry words might lead to the rapid breaking up of a meeting, and even result in a feud between the two groups.

621 Quarrels between individuals, as we have seen, were often
taken up by friends on each side. This was particularly the
628 case when the two opponents belonged to different local groups.
Before the days of the settlement of the islands there often arose in this way petty quarrels between neighbouring local groups. In some instances there appear to have been feuds of long standing; in others there was a quarrel, a fight or two, and the enemies made peace with one another, until a fresh cause of disagreement should arise.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

621 up and down to the time of the dance, thus giving the man
he holds a good shaking. The leader then passes on to the next
535 man in the row while another of the dancers goes through
728 the same performance with the first man. This is continued
until each of the dancers has "shaken" each of the standing
men. The dancers then pass under the *koro* and shake their
enemies in the same manner from the back. After a little
more dancing the dancers retire, and the women of the visiting
group come forward and dance in much the same way that
the men have done, each woman giving each of the men of
the other group a good shaking.

When the women have been through their dance the two parties of men and women sit down and weep together.

The two groups remain camped together for a few days,
spending the time in hunting and dancing together. Presents
431 are exchanged, as at the ordinary meetings of different groups.
The men of the two groups exchange bows with one another.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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and its occasional performance serves to keep alive this sentiment with regard to marriage in general. The existence of the sentiment is shown in the reprobation felt and often expressed at an irregular marriage, in which the couple unite without a ceremony; such a union showing a contemptuous or careless thrusting aside of an important social principle.

182x 585

For the witnesses, then, the ceremony serves to awaken to activity and to express this sentiment; but it also serves as a recognition on their part of the change of status of the marrying pair. It makes them realise that henceforward the young couple must be treated no longer as children but as responsible adults, and it is thus the occasion of a change of sentiment towards those whose social position is being changed. For in the society of the Andamans there is a very marked division between married and unmarried persons in the way in which they are regarded by others, and in respect of their place in the community.

The married couple are made to realise, in a different way and with a much greater intensity of feeling, these same two things; first, that their union in marriage is a matter that concerns the whole community, and second, that they are entering a new condition, with new privileges but also with new duties and obligations. For them, indeed, the ceremony is a sort of ordeal from which they would only too gladly escape, and which, by the powerful emotions it evokes in them very vividly impresses upon them what their marriage means.

The wedding gifts that are bestowed upon the young couple are an expression of the general good-will towards them. The giving of presents is a common method of expressing friendship in the Andamans. Thus when two friends meet after separation, the first thing they do after having embraced and wept together, is to give one another presents. In most instances the giving is reciprocal, and is therefore really an exchange. If a present be given as a sign of good-will the giver expects to receive a present of about equal value in return. The reason for this is obvious; the one has expressed his good-will towards the other, and if the feeling is reciprocated a return present must be given in order to express it. So also it would be an insult to refuse a

182x 431

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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●431

present offered, for to do so would be equivalent to rejecting the good-will it represents. At marriage the giving is one-sided, no return being expected, for it is an expression not of personal friendship on the part of the givers, but of the general social good-will and approval. It is for this reason that it is the duty of everybody who is present to make some gift to the newly-married pair.

X182
728

In another simple ceremony, the peace-making ceremony of the North Andaman[1], the meaning is again easily discovered; the symbolism of the dance being indeed at once obvious to a witness, though perhaps not quite so obvious from the description given. The dancers are divided into two parties. The actions of the one party throughout are expressions of their aggressive feelings towards the other. This is clear enough in the shouting, the threatening gestures, and the way in which each member of the "attacking" party gives a good shaking to each member of the other party. On the other side what is expressed may be described as complete passivity; the performers stand quite still throughout the whole dance, taking care to show neither fear nor resentment at the treatment to which they have to submit. Thus those of the one side give collective expression to their collective anger, which is thereby appeased. The others, by passively submitting to this, humbling themselves before the just wrath of their enemies, expiate their wrongs. Anger appeased dies down; wrongs expiated are forgiven and forgotten; the enmity is at an end.

The screen of fibre against which the passive participants in the ceremony stand has a peculiar symbolic meaning that will be explained later in the chapter. The only other elements of the ceremony are the weeping together, which will be dealt with very soon, and the exchange of weapons, which is simply a special form of the rite of exchanging presents as an expression of good-will. The special form is particularly appropriate as it would seem to ensure at least some months of friendship, for you cannot go out to fight a man with his weapons while he has yours.

The purpose of the ceremony is clearly to produce a change

[1] Page 134.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

861 ment; they are early taught to be generous and self-denying, and the special object of the fasting period, regarding which I shall hope to speak to you on another occasion, seems to be to test the fortitude and powers of endurance of the lads and lasses before entering upon the cares and responsibilities of married
867 life. The duties of showing respect and hospitality to friends and visitors being impressed upon them from their early years, all guests are well treated; every attention is paid to their wants, the best food at their host's disposal is set before them, and, ere they take their leave, some tokens of regard or goodwill are bestowed, or, to speak more correctly, interchanged. Strangers visiting an encampment for the first time are welcomed if introduced by some mutual friend.[1]

834 8. It has been observed by ethnologists who have described certain other primitive races, that modesty and morality are not dependent on, or to be gauged by, the amount of covering which is deemed requisite by either sex. The Andamanese present another instance in point; and in the esteem in which they hold these virtues, and the self-respect which characterises their intercourse with each other, may even be said to compare favourably with that existing in certain ranks among civilised races.[2]

461 9. In the manufacture of their weapons, utensils, and other articles, they habitually display a remarkable amount of perseverance and industry, spending hour after hour in laboriously striking pieces of iron with a stone hammer for the purpose of forming spear or arrow-heads, or in improving the shape of a bow, &c., even though there be no necessity, immediate or prospective, to stimulate them to such efforts. The incentive is evidently a spirit of emulation, each one priding himself on being able to produce work which will excel, or at least compare not unfavourably with, that of his neighbours.

431 10. Selfishness is not among their characteristics, for they frequently make presents of the best that they possess, and do not reserve, much less make, weapons, &c., of superior workmanship for their own private use; at the same time it must be

[1] On seeing a stranger at a gathering, it would be asked: *ōl mij'a?* (who is he?) or, if the visitor be senior to the inquirer, *ōl mij'ola?* (who is that elder or chief?)

[2] Women are so modest that they will not renew their leaf aprons in the presence of one another, but retire to a secluded spot for this purpose; even when parting with one of their *bōd-* appendages to a female friend the delicacy they manifest for the feelings of the bystanders in their mode of removing it almost amounts to prudishness. Coarse conversation appears to be of rare occurrence and to meet with little or no encouragement. Remarks on the personal appearance or peculiarities of friends or blood relatives are considered harmless, but if made in reference to a wife or husband would be regarded as indelicate and objectionable, and resented accordingly.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

confessed that it is tacitly understood that an equivalent should be rendered for every gift.

11. Like the Papuans they are merry, talkative, petulant, inquisitive, and restless. Their speech is rapid, with a constant repetition of the same idea, and a joke, if not played in too practical a form, is highly appreciated.

12. When out of temper with any one they never defame his relatives or use improper expressions, as is so common a practice among natives of India, but merely indulge in mild terms of abuse, such as the following:—

ngab-ted·inga tâ·paya! (You liar!)
ngūn-tâ·maya! (You duffer!)
ngūn-jā·bagya! or *ng'ab-mūgutigpī·chaya!* (You fool!)
ngī-chô·na! (You long head!)
ngig-chô·ronga-lâ·nta! (You long nose!)
ngig-pâ·namaya! (You sunken-eyed one!)
ngid-kī·nabya! or *ngī-gō·robya!* (You skin and bone!)

A quarrel, as may be supposed, generally results from this style of address.[1]

13. With the exception of those who have lived with us away from their friends from birth or early childhood, not a case can be cited in which a preference is not manifested for a jungle life, even after a sojourn of many years at the Orphanage or Homes at Port Blair.

14. Opportunities for comparing the mental capacity of the children with those of other races have been few, but these have tended to show that, up to the age of 12 or 14, they possess quite as much intelligence as ordinary middle-class children of civilised races when competing in subjects in which they have been instructed in common; but the precociousness of intellect which has so often been remarked in the very young does not appear to be long maintained. Dr. Brander, who was for some time in charge of the Andaman Hospital, gave it as his opinion, that as a race "they are not deficient in brain power; it rather lies dormant and unused in their savage state;" and he mentions the case of an aboriginal patient of 12 years of age, who had been educated in the Ross Orphanage School, and who, in spite of his tender years, could yet read English and Urdu fluently, as well as speak and write in both these languages, retaining also a knowledge of his mother tongue. He had, besides, acquired a fair knowledge of arithmetic. I may add that this is not an exceptional case, for I could instance others, and one lad in particular, who was his superior.

15. More lengthened observations than have hitherto been

[1] *Vide post* "Laws," paragraph 1.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

000 possible are required before we can speak with certainty regarding the extent, limits, and conditions of heredity among this race; but it has been noticed that, as a general rule, they have excellent memories, especially on those subjects in which the intellects of their ancestors have been consciously or unconsciously exercised or cultivated in the savage state. The following passage will afford an illustration of the intelligence displayed by these people on such subjects. It is taken from the late Mr. Kurz's Report on the Vegetation of the Andaman Islands:—
824 "While I was in the Andamans I was in the habit of consulting people (convicts) from the most different parts of India for the native names of the plants. As a general result, I may state that the Burmans were best acquainted with the flora of the Andamans, but they are by no means equal to the Andamanese in accuracy and certainty of determination. While the Burmans were obliged continually to cut into the bark to recognise the trees, the Andamanese readily gave their names, and I could rely upon their statements, which was not the case at all with those of the Burmese."

787 16. Instances have been observed among them of individuals
158 possessing strong wills and vivid powers of imagination: as a race they do not appear to be subject to trances, illusions, or somnambulism, but, like many other savages, they place implicit faith in dreams, shaping their conduct in superstitious conformity to the warning or advice supposed to have been conveyed therein.

791 **Magic and Witchcraft.**—1. There are, however, certain individuals in these tribes, known as *ôko-pai'ad-* (*lit.*, a dreamer),
754 who are credited with the possession of supernatural powers—such as second sight, expressed by the term *àramū'ga-tâ'rabanga-*,
● 431 —and of a mysterious influence over the fortunes and lives of their neighbours. It is thought that they can bring trouble, sickness, and death upon those who fail to evince their belief in them in some substantial form;[1] they thus generally manage to obtain the best of everything, for it is considered foolhardy to deny them, and they do not scruple to ask for any article to which they may take a fancy.

791 2. These quasi-seers are invariably of the male sex, and it
431 sometimes even happens that a young boy is looked upon as a "coming" *ôko-pai'ad-*, their position being generally in the first instance attained by relating an extraordinary dream, the details

[1] This reminds one somewhat of the disease makers of Tanna (New Hebrides), who are supposed to cause disease and death by burning *nakak* (rubbish, principally refuse of food), and who are propitiated by continual presents. The practice of burning beeswax, in order to cause annoyance to an enemy, will be mentioned under "Superstitions," paragraph 13.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

of which are declared to have been borne out subsequently by 791
some unforeseen event, as, for instance, a sudden death by 431
accident.

3. In order to maintain his status it is necessary for an *ôko-pai·ad-* to give fresh evidences of his powers from time to time, for, so long as his companions have faith in him, he is the constant recipient of presents of all kinds, which are unblushingly given[1] and accepted as bribes to curry favour.

4. Sometimes, owing to the multiplicity of these gifts, it is inconvenient to the *ôko-pai·ad-* to take charge of them; he then enters into an arrangement with the donors that such articles as he does not at present need shall be available for his use or appropriation whenever he may require them; hence many individuals possess property which is said to be *râ·dare* (*i.e.*, bespoken) by a certain seer, and which is, therefore, not available for presentation to anyone else.

5. If a disaster occur which they think might have been 791
averted had the *ôko-pai·ad-* chosen to exercise his powers, they are said sometimes to conspire to kill him, but so greatly is he feared that not a single instance is known of anyone having ventured to carry such a plan into execution.

6. The position and influence possessed by a seer are not affected by his falling ill, but if some serious misfortune occur to him, such as the death of a child, it is looked upon as a sign that his power is waning, or that he has at least lost a portion of it; they, however, continue to stand in awe of him unless, as time passes, he fails to afford further proof of his supposed superiority. His wife enjoys no distinction, nor is she treated with more respect and consideration than any other woman of the like age in the tribe.

7. The *ôko-pai·ad-* is credited with the power of communicat- 791
ing in dreams with the invisible powers of good and evil, and
also of seeing the spirits of the departed, or of those who are ill. 755
On the occurrence of an epidemic in an encampment, he brandishes a burning log, and bids the evil spirit keep at a distance; sometimes, as a further precaution, he plants stakes a few feet high in front of each hut, painted in stripes with black beeswax (*tō·bul-pīd-*), the smell of which being peculiarly offensive to this demon, called *ē·rem-chàu·gala*, insures his speedy departure from their midst.

8. Though we may be disposed to question the belief of the 791
*ôko-pai·ad-*s themselves in the supernatural powers they profess to possess, it is quite possible that they, like sorcerers in other

[1] Especially is this done by those advanced in years for fear of their end being hastened by the *ôko-pai·ad-* whom they fail to propitiate.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

585 the newly married couple do not leave the encampment in order to get food, or anything else that they may require, as their friends consider it a duty or privilege to supply all their needs until the shyness, consequent on the marriage, has worn off.

[431] 12. Wedding presents being as much *de rigueur* among these savages as in Mayfair, the happy pair invariably find themselves enriched by their relatives and acquaintances with the various articles of ordinary use, such as nets, buckets, bows, arrows, &c. in honour of the event.

13. On the morning following the marriage the bridegroom's mother, or other near female relative, decorates his person by painting him with *tâ·la-ōg-*, while the bride is similarly ornamented by her friends. It often happens that a young couple will pass several days after their nuptials without exchanging a single word, and to such an extent do they carry their bashfulness that they even avoid looking at each other: in fact their conduct would lead a stranger to suppose that some serious quarrel had caused an estrangement.

[535] 14. When a few days have elapsed, and they are in some measure accustomed to the novelty of their position, they enter upon the duties of life, and conduct themselves like their neighbours: the marriage is then celebrated by a dance, in which all, save the bride and bridegroom, take part.

593 851 15. A certain amount of jealousy usually exists between young people during the first year of their married life;[1] indeed, complete confidence and genuine affection are never entirely established until they become parents or, at least, till the wife is found to be *enceinte*, and even their relationship to each other is not regarded as being so close *prior* to the birth of a child as it is *after* that event. Confirmatory evidence on this point will be given when describing the funeral rites,[2] where it will be noticed that the survivor of a childless couple is not looked upon as chief mourner.

587 589 16. There is no prohibition against second marriages, but greater respect is entertained for those who show their love and esteem for the deceased by remaining single and leading chaste lives (*ō·yun-tē·mar-bar·minga-*). It is by no means unusual for a man, even though he be young at the time of his wife's death, to remain a widower[3] for her sake for many years, or even till death;

[1] It often happens that a man will not at first allow his wife to leave their hut at night for any purpose unless he accompanies her, professedly to protect her from dangers, spiritual and temporal, but in reality to satisfy himself that she has not made an assignation.

[2] *Vide* "Death and Burial," paragraph 20.

[3] It must, however, be admitted that as their customs allow of a widow or widower consorting with the unmarried of the opposite sex, a single life is not of necessity a virtuous one, or evidence of constancy and devotion to the memory of the dear departed.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

437 5. They set no fixed value on their various properties, and
431 rarely make or procure anything with the express object of disposing of it in barter. Apparently they prefer to regard their transactions as presentations, for their mode of negociating is to *give* such objects as are desired by another in the hope of receiving in return something for which they have expressed a wish, it being tacitly understood that, unless otherwise mentioned beforehand, no "present" is to be accepted without an equivalent being rendered.

[578] 6. The natural consequence of this system is that most of the quarrels which so frequently occur among them originate in failure on the part of the recipient in making such a return as had been confidently expected.[1]

7. All iron-pointed weapons, tools, or shell ornaments are eagerly accepted by the *ē·rem-tâ·ga-* in exchange for such things as are more easily procured by them than by the *àryó·to-*:[2] for instance, an adze would generally be considered worth two ordinary bows, or a bundle of wooden-pointed arrows; or a man might undertake to make a canoe or bucket for one who would give him an adze.

428 8. But little care is taken of the utensils, weapons, canoes,
422 &c., in daily use, and consequently new ones are often required, the old, when no longer serviceable, being thrown aside; as all their possessions consist of goods which need to be more or less frequently replaced, it is hardly necessary to explain that there is no accumulation of the labours of former generations; hence also it arises that they are not tied by any laws of inheritance; more as a matter of sentiment than for any other reason, the nearest of kin takes possession of all the effects left by a deceased person, and as often as not they are distributed ere long among such friends as may be in need of any of the articles in question.

422 9. The weapons, tools, and other property pertaining to one member of a family are regarded as available for the use of his or her relatives, but such articles as a cooking-pot, canoe, or sounding-board, when not required by the owner, are looked upon somewhat in the light of public property by members of the same community; in short, the rights of private property are only so far recognised that no one would without permission appropriate or remove to a distance anything belonging to a friend or neighbour.

000 **Agriculture.**—1. Before the arrival of strangers in their midst,

[1] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraph 37.

[2] Further mention of this will be made at "Games and Amusements," paragraph 24. As will there be explained, the occasions on which they usually barter are when they meet for a *jeg-* at some permanent encampment.

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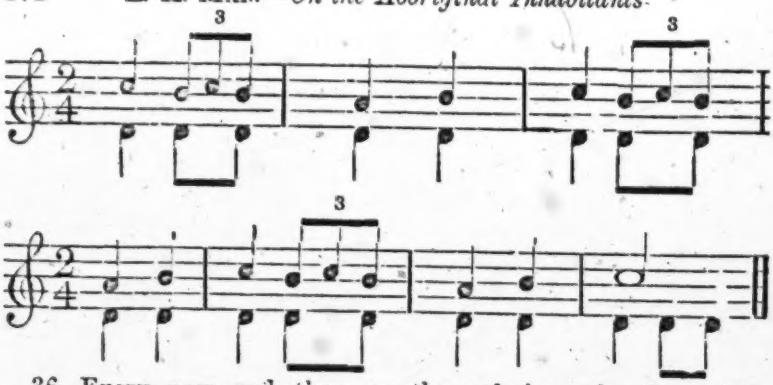

36. Every now and then, as the refrain ends, the soloist cries—

ō·ba eboyū· bē·date,[1] (*a*)

to which the singers respond by shouting—

tēâ·re-â·re-â·reâ,[1] (*b*)

which seems equivalent to *Tra-la-la*, for it has no meaning *per se*.

431 527 574

37. When the guests have sufficiently rested from their night's exertions, they visit their special friends or relatives, and, if within the prescribed limits of affinity,[2] indulge[3] in weeping together;[4] these visits are usually followed by an interchange of gifts, the hosts taking the initiative, and a *fracas* not unfrequently ensues, for donor and recipient are not always of a mind as to the respective values of their "presents." Should all, however, pass off smoothly, the assemblage breaks up into various small parties for hunting or fishing, according to the situation of the encampment.

[1] These are styled respectively the (*a*) *àrbē·datnga-*, and the (*b*) *á-rē·anga-* or *àryá·nanga*.

Further, in reference to their musical abilities, I would here quote from a friend, who at my request had kindly consented to test the powers of the aborigines in this particular, as I unfortunately am not qualified to do so myself:—

"I examined five women, seven men, and three young boys as to their musical abilities, and as far as I could judge, they have not the remotest idea of pitch or tune, even the chorus of their own song, *chēklū yá· lak·u mē jrà?* started by *.bó·ra-qud*, was taken up in several keys, and it was difficult to distinguish the original. I tried all the voices separately; it seemed quite accidental if they pitched on the keynote, but as for leaving it when once got hold of to go up and down the scale they *would* not! so that it was impossible for me to ascertain either the quality or the register of the voices. The boys were, if anything, a shade the best; . . . a lot of drilling may beat a few notes into their heads."

[2] *Vide ante* "Customs, Meeting and Parting," paragraph 2.

[3] "The Sandwich Islanders recognise tears as a sign of happiness" (Lubbock, p. 552).

[4] No greetings take place on these occasions between the performers and their hosts until after the entertainment (which often lasts many hours) is over.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

no specialized physicians, the Onge do not understand that payment can be 757
exacted for medical care. This stems from the fact that wages are not con- 465
sidered by those happy people as payment for any kind of work whatsoever, 123
but only as a gift. I realized this when I tried to pay my guides after our extenu- 431
ating marches through the jungle : in order to avoid offending the natives that
we had casually met in the course of our trip, I had to give equal reward to
everybody.

The Onge consider some men or women better endowed than others with 753
anti-malefic influence ; but these too neither demand nor receive wages for [756]
their services. Evil spirits or evil persons are believed to be principally responsi-
ble for illness. A series of superstitions and remarkable habits derive from this
belief. The above-mentioned precautions concerning the *naquinĕghĕ* are among
them. For identical reasons they carefully hide hair cuttings, but not nail [515]
parings, for the simple reason that nails are never cut but worn down by
digging for edible roots, fishing, and other rough work. Superstition, as we
know, is also the reason for painting the body to prevent fever and other ills.

In the depths of their jungle the Onge appear to practice some kind
of witchcraft. On several occasions I noticed the mysterious behaviour of some 789
natives travelling with me. Occasionally a man left our marching column to
examine the inside of a huge hollow tree and signal to his friends. They did
not prevent me from looking into the hollow, where I saw only a simple struc-
ture of short sticks resembling a trap without being one. The Onge do not use [224]
traps ; moreover, those structures were far too flimsy to catch anything. Often,
two or three men assembled in consultation, rearranged the sticks that had
probably been dislodged by the passage of lizards, crabs or other small animals,
and walked away silently. I could get no explanation on the matter. Certainly
the Onge are sagacious observers of animal and vegetable life and have deep
knowledge of their hidden properties. Some trees are probably used for magical
purposes, but, I insist, it is impossible as yet to affirm it. The structures in
question consisted of four vertical sticks, about 30 cms long, joined at the top
by four more sticks of approximately the same length, placed horizontally.
The result was a box-like frame, loose and unsecured. The slightest disturbance,
such as a light breeze, could destroy the flimsy construction. As far as I could
guess they invested those structures with curative properties, but in what
manner remains a mystery. I noticed analogous practices among Central [171]
African Pygmies and other primitives.

It is very clear that the Onge dread illness and magic spells, for they 754
consider themselves at a loss in fighting such evils. Unhygienic habits are of no 751
importance to them.

Resting is considered favorable to good health. The Onge indulge vo- 517
luptuously in rest, interrupting it, however, with too frequent sexual excursions. 751
They mainly rest from doing nothing, because 90 % of their time is spent in 461
what, for them, is the most agreeable manner of enjoying life.

In mid-March, when the honey harvest reaches its peak, the Onge guzzle 262

[For additional information on the growth of plantation agriculture see category 311, 6: Spate AW1 India.]

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

241 gave way to the development of agriculture over an extremely limited
563 area in South Andaman — paddy cultivation and coconut plantations have succeeded quite well. The plantations of rubber, tea and coffee also developed in the South Andaman over very small areas but ultimately did not prove very successful, partially due to the lack of adequate care. Simultaneously with the settlement of the refugees, new areas are being brought under plough which had never been interfered with human hands. The growth of agriculture based on rice cultivation together with vegetable gardening, development of orchards, coconut cultivation will bring about self-sufficiency of the islands and make the people self-supporting.

000 Industrial development of any big scale cannot be foreseen except the lumbering industry because of the lack of resources, power and also of any appreciable home market. Besides lumbering, the fishing industry, if properly co-ordinated with the mainland, can be developed to a great extent. A number of cottage industries based on coconuts, sea
[438] and forest products have developed, of which the coirmaking has developed most.

13 The characteristics, common to the tropical islands, are to a large degree manifested in these islands. The physical environment suffers from a number of limitations. [illegible] and humid climate is ameliorated by the influence of the sea in all parts as none of them are more than 10 miles away from the sea. The problems of soil are quite tremendous and such signs are only discernible to a small extent in the islands which might share greater proportions in the future if adequate measures of careful cultivation are not undertaken. The natural vegetation should be carefully preserved and regenerated after the felling of the trees not only for the conservation of the vegetation but also for saving the soil from the serious consequences of erosion. The
178 cultural environment is a mosaic of variety because of the different
● 433 types of people who have been living in these islands, however negligible
563 their number might be. The imbalance of regional growth, being exclusively confined to the South Andaman, is being removed with the growth of settlement in the other parts of the islands and the indications of the shift in gravity of the economic interests is synchronising with the progress of settlement in the North and Middle Andamans. Mayabunder is handling a greater share in the movement of commodities and passengers. Such changes are undoubtedly very much welcome as the lowering of the disparities in the regional economy and growth speak of an all-round regional development.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans
Nicobars AZ7

The Nicobar group of islands being separated off from the Andaman Islands by the Ten Degree Channel, though constitute a part of the continuation of the island in the north, the geographical entity of these islands are conspicuously different from that of the others. The Nicobar Islands have an area of 635 sq. miles and have 19 islands, out of which 12 islands are inhabited. The human habitats are exceedingly interesting and these people are distinctly different from the aborigines of the Andamans not only in their physical characteristics but also in their cultural attributes. Material life is much more improved and they have been all the time experiencing a healthy growth in comparison to the rapid decay of the Andaman aborigines. Culturally the affinity seems to be closer with the Indonesian islands. Shom Pens, the highlanders of the Great Nicobar, live in perfect isolation and have an extremely primitive economy. The staple crop is coconut and a number of fruit trees and yam are also grown. Some of the islands have become extremely overcrowded and need immediate dispersal to some of the less crowded islands. A detailed geographical treatment would require much more words to say about these thriving people and their contact with the foreigners than those of the Andamans. However it remains incomplete if the study of the Nicobar Islands is not incorporated in that of the Andaman islands. Therefore, in spite of the distinct geographical contrast with the Andamans, a short geographical summary has been given at the end of the book.[1]

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[1] [not processed. - Analyst]

[p. xvi is blank]

10:Sen K-3,4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

313 492 power in the forests. The net revenue of the forests from 1869 amounted to Rs. 45,65,764 inclusive of a capital asset of Rs. 21,39,983.

313 The present day forest exploitation has to some extent been revitalised with the introduction of regenerating processes and use of disel engines for the trams carrying logs from the spot of exploitation to the jetty wherefrom it is carried down to Port Blair for sawing and finally exported to the mainland and London. The working of the forest in the Andamans and its preparation for marketing undergo a number of stages. After a proper survey, a spot of exploitation is selected where a forest camp is opened near the jetty with a sufficient strength of imported labourers from India. The forest camps are erected with local timber and the exploitation proceeds from the spot in the immediate neighbourhood of the jetty (exclusive of the mangrove forests) to the interior regions. Along with the expansion of the exploitation area, tram lines are laid down from the jetty onwards. The felling is done by chiselling the trunk of the trees and then it is pulled by a few elephants for breaking it down. This completes the felling of the tree and after properly cutting all the branches, the logs are carried by an elephant with the help of his trunk and are unloaded from the tram. Afterwards, it is taken to the jetty where 313 505 the logs are again unloaded and rafted in a tank-landing craft to make them ready for transportation to Chatham Island where it is shown into standard size (not always) and is exported to the markets. The transportation of the logs from the spot of exploitation to Port Blair is always done on water ways. The success in the transportation of the logs have been facilitated by the innumerable harbours and creeks making easy the passage of the boat into the interior parts of the islands and it is found that the average drag seldom exceeds a mile and at the same time exploitation requires some experience of local conditions and foresight, as the coastal areas are exposed to the open seas and advantage has to be taken of the different seasons of the year to work in different tracts.

313 The yield of merchantable timber is only 15 tons per acre. An assessment of the future potentialities of merchantable timber with the ● 433 introduction of the present method of regeneration has been given by Sri Chengapa[1]. The sustained or perpetual yield of the forests is about 135,000 tons per year and according to him, with the introduction of the present method of regeneration, the yield per acre is expected to be as much as 75 tons per acre, a five fold increase of the present yield. The

[113] 1 Chengapa, B. S.—The Andaman forests and their development; Census of India, 1951, Volume XVII, Andaman & Nicobar Islands by A. K. Ghosh.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

approximate estimate of the output of the different types of timber is given below. 313 433

Annual yield — 675,000 tons,

Padauk — 7000 tons, Garjan — 28,0000 tons, White Dhup — 21,000 tons, Papita — 28,000 tons, Koko — 500 tons, White Chuglam — 7,000 tons, Black Chuglam — 2,500 tons, Pyinma — 1,500 tons, Badam — 11,000 tons, Didu — 7,000 tons and others — 14,000 tons.

Source: Chengapa, B. S.—The Andaman forests and their development; Census of India, 1951, Volume XVII, Andaman & Nicobar Islands by A. K. Ghosh.

The limitations in the exploitation of the forest resources of the Andamans are not few. The problems faced upto 1934-35 were primarily because of the inefficient methods in the extraction of timber and absence of due attention in the regeneration of the forests. Previously the exploitation was confined only to the coastal areas because of the easy accessibility, but the vast tracts of rich resources in the interior remained virtually untapped in the absence of any economic device. The construction of an experimental tramline in the Rangat valley, however, proved successful. The regeneration of the forests was also little cared for. The new plantations hardly exceeded 100 acres though the exploitation was widespread over large areas. Improvements in the line of regeneration were discernible since the year 1932 and marked improvements were brought about by the year 1936-37. According to this new device, the old crop is removed in two or more successive fellings allowing nature to do the sowing. 313 185

However, some of the limiting factors in the exploitation, transportation and marketing of the forest products are given below. 313 433

(1) The selection of the forests for exploitation is made from a very vague idea and proper surveys are hardly undertaken to realise the actual conditions in the fields which really happen to be quite different from theoretical speculations. It is found that many forests specially in the North Andaman are yet to be explored. Hence the insufficiency of knowledge regarding the forests has made the proper selections of the actual spots of exploitation an impossibility.

(2) The forest working in many regions have to be abandoned because of the seasonal water-supply.

(3) The trees in the forests do not occur in pure stands and hence random felling operations are done irrespective of the type of trees. It is estimated that the total wastage of timber in the Andaman forests is approximately 1 crore of rupees in value.

802
805 or form of numerical evaluation is further support for the extremely low stage of cultural development at which they became isolated.

22 ART

302 When painting their bodies with ochre the Onges have no idea of sym-
531 bolic representation, and use only geometrical designs. These invariably
532 seem spontaneous, and in my view do not represent a degenerate form of some more highly evolved art, half forgotten over the centuries; in short, the 'artists' of the Andamans, with no conception of symbolism, are even today less advanced than their Palaeolithic counterparts.

23 DIGGING STICKS

172 In late Palaeolithic deposits, stones with holes in them have been found
412 which correspond to those still in use among peoples such as the Bushmen, to add weight to their digging sticks. The absence even today of any form of weighted stick in the Andamans, where stone is plentiful, would appear to antedate the culture at least to early Palaeolithic.

24 HUNTING

224 The Onges still use the Palaeolithic throwing stick, although it is not
172 their main hunting weapon. They have no idea of fixed traps, which must
[411] from the evidence have been known in Palaeolithic times, and it is hard to believe that a people so dependent upon hunting would have lost the
227 art once it had been acquired. They have crude nets which the women
177 use for fishing, but these are probably a comparatively recent introduction, which has arrived via the Nicobars.

25 DOMESTIC ANIMALS

231 The Andamanese have none, and this would seem to add weight to the
174 evidence for their great antiquity.

26 ECONOMY

● 433 There is no economic system of any kind, and from the evidence available it is highly unlikely that even the most primitive form ever existed.
185 There is no conception whatever of providing for tomorrow, or of any
437 form of exchange or barter.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

mer;[1] but it seems more than probable that they obtained their supplies without any assistance from the aborigines; their visits, were, moreover, in later years attended with considerable risk, owing to the malpractices of some of the traders in kidnapping such of the race as they could entice on board their vessels, for the purpose of carrying them away into captivity. 439

2. Even at the present day, with the exception of procuring turtles, shells, honey, bows, arrows, and a few other articles which are sold, for their own benefit, by the inmates of the homes in and near the harbour, to visitors and residents at Port Blair, the natives attempt nothing in the way of trade, and this much is only done by dint of constant inducements being offered in the shape of presents of tobacco, files, &c.[2]

3. Of our imports they prize chiefly:—dogs, iron, bottles, tobacco, pipes, and matches, all of which have for many years past been freely distributed among the coast people throughout Great Andaman, by whose means they have, doubtless, either by barter or in the form of presents, reached many of the communities inhabiting the interior.[3]

4. In respect to barter, in their transactions with each other, some weapon, utensil, or other common article, such as *kòi·ob-*, or *tâ·la-ōg-*[4] (used for painting[5] their persons and for general decorative purposes), serves as the medium of exchange. 436

[1] Captain J. H. Miller, in a communication to the Nautical Magazine, 1842, says: "The islands in the west side of the Andamans are frequented during the fine season, from December to April, by a mixed and mongrel race of Malays, Chinese, and Burmese fishermen for *bêche de mer* and edible birds'-nests, who are of very doubtful honesty; and it is necessary to take a few muskets and cutlasses, just to show them that you are prepared for mischief in case of need. These fellows are also 'fishers of men,' and to their evil deeds much of the hostility of the islanders may be attributed; they carry off children, for whom they find a ready market as slaves in the neighbouring countries. I have been told that formerly they were friendly, and assisted these fishermen, until a large party was invited on board a junk or prow (the Chinese got the blame of it), and after being intoxicated, were carried off and sold at Acheen; and the practice is still carried on by these fellows, who land and carry them off whenever they can catch them. The Andamanians have retaliated fearfully whenever any foreigner has fallen into their power, and who can blame them?" (Sailing Directions for the principal ports in the Bay of Bengal, by W. H. Rosser and J. F. Imray).

"Formerly, both Malays and Burmese procured at the Andamans a considerable quantity of these nests: collecting them themselves, or receiving them from the islanders in exchange for their tobacco, &c." ("Notice of the Nicobar Islands," by the Rev. P. Barbe).

[2] Spiritous liquors would serve as the most powerful medium in this respect, but, in view of the certain and great mischief which would result from gratifying their innate liking for alcohol, it has been rarely given and then only in small quantities medicinally, or by a few persons who are indifferent or ignorant as to its ill effects.

[3] *Vide* Part I.

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, items 60 and 58.

[5] *Vide ante* "Painting," paragraphs 7, 8, 9, and 10.

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themselves declare that they never haft the stone chips or glass flakes, and that the former are never "sharpened," but produced in the manner already described. 324

7. Quartz is commonly met with throughout the country occupied by the tribes with which we are in friendly intercourse; no difficulty, therefore, is ever experienced in obtaining *it*, or, indeed, *any* of the other varieties of stone which they use. It is employed for no other purposes than those here indicated, as has been assumed,[1] and the art of producing fire by its means is unknown to them.[2] [135]

8. The whetstone and hammer only are offered as mediums of exchange, but no great value is attached to either of these objects, nor is any superstition associated with their usage: they are therefore—when no longer serviceable—cast aside. [436]

9. Stones are not used by them for cutting wood or bone, the latter being usually crushed by a hammer for the sake of the marrow. Before the introduction of iron, small holes were bored with bone or pieces of shell, but rarely, if ever, with stone, and no implement has been found which might be supposed to have served as a stone saw or scraper, for which purposes shells apparently have been generally employed.[3]

10. In his "Note on the Kjokken-Möddings of the Andaman Islands" the late Dr. Stoliczka also refers to a celt found in one of these refuse heaps as "a small but typical arrow-head," and describes it as of tertiary sandstone. The Andamanese, however, maintain that they never, even when iron was scarce, made arrow-heads, axes, adzes, or chisels of stone; they also affirm that the fragments which have been found in the kitchen-middens, and which have given rise to the impression of having formerly served one or other of the above purposes are merely quartz flakes or broken pieces of cooking stones or hones which, in former times as now, were thrown among the rubbish when no longer of use.[4] 324 172

11. Stones are not regarded as thunderbolts or worn as amulets: they are not placed in water previous to their being worked, and holes are never bored in them, nor is the surface ever ground or polished. 324

[1] "From the flint they manufactured knives . . . and arrow-heads" (de Röepstorff), and elsewhere he speaks of "flint hatchets," which not improbably were as much unknown in former times as at the present day. *Perna ephippium* (*ē·la-*) shells were formerly sharpened and converted into arrow-heads: hence *ē·la-* has ever since been adopted as the name of the bladed (or pig) arrow, even although iron has now been entirely or very generally substituted for shell. Adze blades were, it seems, sometimes made of *Pinna* shells.

[2] *Vide ante* "Fire," paragraphs 1 and 4.

[3] *Vide ante* "Natural Forms," paragraph 1.

[4] *Vide* my remarks on this subject in Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi, p. 271.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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would, if living with the man's parents, pay a visit every year to the parents or other relatives of the wife. The parents of a child that had been adopted by a member of another local group would make a point of visiting the child when they could. Visitors to a camp would always take with them presents to be given to their hosts. A visitor was hospitably entertained, being given the best of the food, and joined his hosts in their hunting and fishing expeditions. The duty of hospitality is one upon which the Andamanese lay stress. 621 574

The meetings of two or more local groups were organised from time to time by the more prominent men. The time and place of the meeting would be fixed and invitations sent out to the neighbours. The visitors, men, women and children, would arrive at the appointed time, and would be accommodated as well as possible by the hosts. During the first few hours, as the natives themselves told me, everyone would feel a little shy and perhaps frightened, and it would take some time for this feeling to wear off. The visitors would bring with them various objects, such as bows, arrows, adzes, baskets, nets, red paint, white clay, and so on. These were given by the visitors to their hosts, and other presents were received in return. Although the natives themselves regarded the objects thus given as being presents, yet when a man gave a present to another he expected that he would receive something of equal value in return, and would be very angry if the return present did not come up to his expectations. A man would sometimes mention, when giving his present, that he would like some particular object in exchange, but this was the exception and not the rule, and the process cannot be spoken of as barter. In certain cases it undoubtedly served a useful economic purpose. Thus if a local group had no red ochre or white clay in their own country they could obtain these commodities by exchange with others who had. In the case of a meeting between forest and coast dwellers, the former could obtain such things as shells, red paint made with turtle fat, and other objects with which they could not provide themselves in any other way. It was in this way also that the iron obtained from a wreck on one part of the coast would be spread over a large area. For the most part, however, as 621 574 431 437

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621 each local group, and indeed each family, was able to provide
574 itself with everything that it needed in the way of weapons and
431 utensils, the exchange of presents did not serve the same
437 purpose as trade and barter in more developed communities.

The purpose that it did serve was a moral one. The object
621 of the exchange was to produce a friendly feeling between the two
574 persons concerned, and unless it did this it failed of its purpose.
It gave great scope for the exercise of tact and courtesy. No
431 one was free to refuse a present that was offered to him. Each man and woman tried to out-do the others in generosity. There was a sort of amiable rivalry as to who could give away the greatest number of valuable presents.

The visitors remained with their hosts for a few days. The
574 time was spent in hunting, feasting and dancing, and in the
621 exchange of presents above described. The hosts made every
527 effort to provide the camp with plenty of good things. The guests took their share in the hunting and fishing expeditions. Every evening was spent in singing and dancing. Some of the men were sure to have composed new songs for such an occasion.

Such meetings as these were sometimes the means of bring-
574 ing to an end past quarrels between the local groups, but
621 occasionally they were the cause of new quarrels. The hosts, or
628 some of them, might think that they had been shabbily treated in the matter of presents, or the guests might complain that they were not well enough entertained. It often needed a man of strong influence to maintain harmony in the camp. Angry words might lead to the rapid breaking up of a meeting, and even result in a feud between the two groups.

621 Quarrels between individuals, as we have seen, were often
taken up by friends on each side. This was particularly the
628 case when the two opponents belonged to different local groups. Before the days of the settlement of the islands there often arose in this way petty quarrels between neighbouring local groups. In some instances there appear to have been feuds of long standing; in others there was a quarrel, a fight or two, and the enemies made peace with one another, until a fresh cause of disagreement should arise.

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619 neighbouring tribe, an express invitation or permission is required,
unless, indeed, the party entering happens to be accompanied by
486 one or more members of the district visited, or when, from long and friendly intercommunication, a right of way has been tacitly sanctioned. In cases where there has been a breach of this observance sharp retribution has generally followed, causing sometimes serious loss of life, and resulting in a long-standing tribal feud.

619 3. Those communities of *ē·rem-tâ·ga-* and *dryô·to-*, living
within a few miles of each other and speaking the same dialect,
578 arrange from time to time large gatherings—generally numbering
about a hundred persons[1]—for purposes of barter, or for the
437 celebration of some particular event. Though not unfrequently on these occasions old enmities are healed and friendships formed, fresh tribal feuds and personal quarrels sometimes originate in consequence of a misunderstanding or dispute over some comparative trifle.[2]

487 4. There are numerous paths intersecting each territory, the result of continuous traffic over the same ground. When, for some reason, a new course is taken through the jungle, the route is indicated to those following by bending the twigs of the brushwood in a *reverse* direction at intervals along the track. This is especially the case during the dry season, when, owing to the parched condition of the soil, there is some difficulty in distinguishing footprints.[3]

212 5. No marks on rocks, trees or other objects, made for purposes of record, are believed by them to exist, and, with the exception of the supposititious hieroglyphics,[4] hereafter to be mentioned, nothing of the nature of writing is to be found among these tribes, nor have they any method of recording the name and exploits of a deceased chief or other individual who may have gained distinction during his life, save the narration —more or less garbled—of the same by their admiring descendants. The messenger who conveys intelligence to a distant encampment bears no outward token with him to testify to the authenticity or character of the communication he has to make.

211 6. Although no method of signs exists, such as tying knots in
a string, making notches in a tally, or figures on wood, bark, or
411 stone, they have means of distinguishing arrows and spears belonging to one another, by certain differences peculiar to each

[1] It is believed that no larger number than 300 has ever been assembled at one time in any place in our vicinity, at least since our advent.

[2] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraphs 24 and 37.

[3] No prejudice exists in respect to crossing water, going by certain paths, or handling particular objects, excepting the *Anadendrum paniculatum*. *Vide post*, Part III, "String," paragraph 3.

[4] *Vide* "Mythology," paragraph 29.

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5. They set no fixed value on their various properties, and
437 rarely make or procure anything with the express object of
431 disposing of it in barter. Apparently they prefer to regard their transactions as presentations, for their mode of negociating is to *give* such objects as are desired by another in the hope of receiving in return something for which they have expressed a wish, it being tacitly understood that, unless otherwise mentioned beforehand, no "present" is to be accepted without an equivalent being rendered.

[578] 6. The natural consequence of this system is that most of the quarrels which so frequently occur among them originate in failure on the part of the recipient in making such a return as had been confidently expected.[1]

7. All iron-pointed weapons, tools, or shell ornaments are eagerly accepted by the *ē·rem-tâ·ga-* in exchange for such things as are more easily procured by them than by the *àryó·to-*:[2] for instance, an adze would generally be considered worth two ordinary bows, or a bundle of wooden-pointed arrows; or a man might undertake to make a canoe or bucket for one who would give him an adze.

428 8. But little care is taken of the utensils, weapons, canoes,
422 &c., in daily use, and consequently new ones are often required, the old, when no longer serviceable, being thrown aside; as all their possessions consist of goods which need to be more or less frequently replaced, it is hardly necessary to explain that there is no accumulation of the labours of former generations; hence also it arises that they are not tied by any laws of inheritance; more as a matter of sentiment than for any other reason, the nearest of kin takes possession of all the effects left by a deceased person, and as often as not they are distributed ere long among such friends as may be in need of any of the articles in question.

422 9. The weapons, tools, and other property pertaining to one member of a family are regarded as available for the use of his or her relatives, but such articles as a cooking-pot, canoe, or sounding-board, when not required by the owner, are looked upon somewhat in the light of public property by members of the same community; in short, the rights of private property are only so far recognised that no one would without permission appropriate or remove to a distance anything belonging to a friend or neighbour.

000 **Agriculture.**—1. Before the arrival of strangers in their midst,

[1] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraph 37.

[2] Further mention of this will be made at "Games and Amusements," paragraph 24. As will there be explained, the occasions on which they usually barter are when they meet for a *jeg-* at some permanent encampment.

372 they show much skill in so carrying smouldering logs with them by land or sea that they are not extinguished. Their ignorance of this fundamental requirement of civilization is shown in their fire-legend that fire was originally stolen from their deity Puluga and has never been allowed to become extinct since. Excepting guns, nothing has more impressed the Andamanese with European power and resources than the use of matches, *i.e.*, of making fire whenever required with ease.

342 In the Little Andaman and among the Jarawas of the South Andaman, large permanent huts for use in the wet season are built up of solid materials to 30 feet in height and 60 in breadth to hold the fires of 7 to 8 hunting parties, say 60 to 70 people, *i.e.*, they contain 7 to 8 fires with about 8 persons to each "fire." The Jarawa hunting camp is much the same as that of any other Andamanese and his great communal hut is built on the same principle as the larger huts of the other Andamanese.

The use of the flimsy hunting shelters and camp huts of the Andamanese is rendered possible in the wet and stormy weather so common in the Islands by the denseness of the jungle, which prevents the winds from reaching them even when close to the sea-beach and causes the rain to fall vertically upon them.

619 **Government.**—There is no idea of Government, but to each tribe and to each sept of it there is a recognised head, who has attained that position by 622 tacit agreement on account of some admitted superiority, mental or physical, and commands a limited respect and such obedience as the self interest of the other individual men of the tribe or sept dictates. There is a tendency to [554] hereditary right in the natural selection of chiefs; but there is no social status that is not personally acquired. The social position of a chief's family follows that of the chief himself and admits of many privileges in the shape of tribal influence and immunity from drudgery. His wife is among women what he is [888] among men and at his death, if a mother and not young, she retains his privileges. Age commands respect and the young are deferential to the elders. Offences, *i.e.*, murder, theft, adultery, mischief, assault, are punished by the 627 aggrieved party on his own account by injury to the body and property or by murder, without more active interference on the part of others than is consistent with their own safety, and without any fear of consequences except vengeance from the friends of the other side, and even this is usually avoided by disappearance till the short memory of the people has obliterated wrath.

421 Property is communal, as is all the land, and ideas as to individual possessions are but rudimentary, accompanied with an incipient tabu of the property belonging to a chief. An Andamanese will often readily part with ornaments to any one who asks for them. Theft, or the taking of property without leave, is only recognised as to things of absolute necessity, as arrows, pig's flesh, fire. 437 A very rude barter exists between tribes of the same group in regard to articles not locally obtainable or manufactured. This applies especially to cooking pots, which are made of a special clay found only in certain parts of the islands. The barter is really a gift of one article in expectation of another of assumed corresponding value in return, and a row if it is not forthcoming. The territory of other tribes is carefully respected without however there being any fixed boundaries.

562 The duties of men and women are clearly defined by custom, but not so as to make that of the women comparatively hard. The women have a tacitly acknowledged inferior position, but it is not such as to be marked or to leave them without influence.

771 **Religion.**—The religion is simple animism and consists of fear of the evil spirits of the wood, the sea, disease and ancestors, and of avoidance of acts traditionally displeasing to them, and this in spite of an abundance of mythological tales told in a confused, disjointed manner that is most instructive to the student of such things. There is neither ceremonial worship nor propitiation. There is an anthropomorphic deity, Puluga, the cause of all things, whom it is not, however, necessary to propitiate, though sins, *i.e.*, acts displeasing to him, are avoided for fear of damage to the products of the jungle. Puluga dwells now in the sky, but used to live on the top of Saddle Peak, their highest mountain. The Andamanese have an idea that the "soul" will go under the earth by an aerial bridge after death, but there is no heaven nor hell nor any idea of a cor-

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10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

241 gave way to the development of agriculture over an extremely limited
563 area in South Andaman — paddy cultivation and coconut plantations have succeeded quite well. The plantations of rubber, tea and coffee also developed in the South Andaman over very small areas but ultimately did not prove very successful, partially due to the lack of adequate care. Simultaneously with the settlement of the refugees, new areas are being brought under plough which had never been interfered with human hands. The growth of agriculture based on rice cultivation together with vegetable gardening, development of orchards, coconut cultivation will bring about self-sufficiency of the islands and make the people self-supporting.

Industrial development of any big scale cannot be foreseen except the lumbering industry because of the lack of resources, power and also of any appreciable home market. Besides lumbering, the fishing industry, if properly co-ordinated with the mainland, can be developed to a great extent. A number of cottage industries based on coconuts, sea
[438] and forest products have developed, of which the coirmaking has developed most.

13 The characteristics, common to the tropical islands, are to a large degree manifested in these islands. The physical environment suffers from a number of limitations. Hot and humid climate is ameliorated by the influence of the sea in all parts as none of them are more than 10 miles away from the sea. The problems of soil are quite tremendous and such signs are only discernible to a small extent in the islands which might share greater proportions in the future if adequate measures of careful cultivation are not undertaken. The natural vegetation should be carefully preserved and regenerated after the felling of the trees not only for the conservation of the vegetation but also for saving the soil from the serious consequences of erosion. The
178 cultural environment is a mosaic of variety because of the different
433 types of people who have been living in these islands, however negligible
563 their number might be. The imbalance of regional growth, being exclusively confined to the South Andaman, is being removed with the growth of settlement in the other parts of the islands and the indications of the shift in gravity of the economic interests is synchronising with the progress of settlement in the North and Middle Andamans. Mayabunder is handling a greater share in the movement of commodities and passengers. Such changes are undoubtedly very much welcome as the lowering of the disparities in the regional economy and growth speak of an all-round regional development.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

821 *el a-ē·rnga-*, or *kâ·la-ē·rnga-*, ebb tide.
nô·ro-, neap tide.
tô·ya-,[1] low tide at daybreak.

823 5. The four cardinal points of the compass are distinguished; the names indicating these are not derived from prevalent winds, but, as far as the east and west are concerned, have reference to the sun, the word for the former signifying "the appearing face place" (*elârmū·gu-*), and for the latter "the disappearing face place" (*târ-mū·gu-*); the term for south is the "separate place" (*el-iglā·-*), while the meaning and derivation of that denoting north (*elâr-jan·a-*) is unknown to the present inhabitants.

821 6. For the winds, too, they have distinctive names, viz.:

châl-jō·tama-, north-west wind.
Pū·luga-tâ-, north-east wind (lit., "The Creator His wind").
dē·ria-, south-west wind.
chī·la-tâ-, south-east wind.

Of these the second (*Pū·luga-tâ-*) only, now-a-days, possesses any special significance; it is called "The Creator's (or God's) wind," because it proceeds from that part of heaven where the connecting bridge[2] between this world and the next is supposed to be situated.

7. They identify three forms of clouds, and indicate them thus:

tô·wia-, cumulus.
ara-mū·ga-bar·nga-, stratus.
yūm-li-dī·ya-, nimbus.

8. Of all the stars and constellations Orion's belt alone is found to bear a name (*bē·la-*), but this is not to be wondered at, as they never venture upon any distant voyages, and do not therefore experience any necessity for studying the bearing of the various planets and constellations at different seasons, or for distinguishing them by name. Their astronomical observations have, however, extended to the discovery of the milky way, which they call *ig-yō·lowa-*[3], and poetically describe as the road used by the angels (*mô·rowin-*).[4]

439 **Trade, Exchangeable Values and Property.**—1. It is evident, from the accounts of various writers, that for many years prior to our present occupation, these islands were visited by trading vessels manned by Malays, Burmese, and Chinese, who were *said* to traffic with the Andamanese for edible birds'-nests and *bêche de*

[1] *Vide post* "Hunting," paragraph 39 (footnote).
[2] *Vide ante* "Religious Beliefs," &c., paragraph 25.
[3] The Chippeways call the milky way "the path of the ghosts" (*vide* "Travels in the Interior of North America," by Maximilian, Prince of Wied).
[4] *Vide ante* "Religious Beliefs," &c., paragraph 9.

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mer;[1] but it seems more than probable that they obtained their supplies without any assistance from the aborigines; their visits, were, moreover, in later years attended with considerable risk, owing to the malpractices of some of the traders in kidnapping such of the race as they could entice on board their vessels, for the purpose of carrying them away into captivity. 439

2. Even at the present day, with the exception of procuring turtles, shells, honey, bows, arrows, and a few other articles which are sold, for their own benefit, by the inmates of the homes in and near the harbour, to visitors and residents at Port Blair, the natives attempt nothing in the way of trade, and this much is only done by dint of constant inducements being offered in the shape of presents of tobacco, files, &c.[2]

3. Of our imports they prize chiefly:—dogs, iron, bottles, tobacco, pipes, and matches, all of which have for many years past been freely distributed among the coast people throughout Great Andaman, by whose means they have, doubtless, either by barter or in the form of presents, reached many of the communities inhabiting the interior.[3]

4. In respect to barter, in their transactions with each other, some weapon, utensil, or other common article, such as *kòi·ob-*, or *tâ·la-ōg-*[4] (used for painting[5] their persons and for general decorative purposes), serves as the medium of exchange. 436

[1] Captain J. H. Miller, in a communication to the Nautical Magazine, 1842, says: "The islands in the west side of the Andamans are frequented during the fine season, from December to April, by a mixed and mongrel race of Malays, Chinese, and Burmese fishermen for *bêche de mer* and edible birds'-nests, who are of very doubtful honesty; and it is necessary to take a few muskets and cutlasses, just to show them that you are prepared for mischief in case of need. These fellows are also 'fishers of men,' and to their evil deeds much of the hostility of the islanders may be attributed; they carry off children, for whom they find a ready market as slaves in the neighbouring countries. I have been told that formerly they were friendly, and assisted these fishermen, until a large party was invited on board a junk or prow (the Chinese got the blame of it), and after being intoxicated, were carried off and sold at Acheen; and the practice is still carried on by these fellows, who land and carry them off whenever they can catch them. The Andamanians have retaliated fearfully whenever any foreigner has fallen into their power, and who can blame them?" (Sailing Directions for the principal ports in the Bay of Bengal, by W. H. Rosser and J. F. Imray).

"Formerly, both Malays and Burmese procured at the Andamans a considerable quantity of these nests: collecting them themselves, or receiving them from the islanders in exchange for their tobacco, &c." ("Notice of the Nicobar Islands," by the Rev. P. Barbe).

[2] Spiritous liquors would serve as the most powerful medium in this respect, but, in view of the certain and great mischief which would result from gratifying their innate liking for alcohol, it has been rarely given and then only in small quantities medicinally, or by a few persons who are indifferent or ignorant as to its ill effects.

[3] *Vide* Part I.

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, items 60 and 58.

[5] *Vide ante* "Painting," paragraphs 7, 8, 9, and 10.

become a persistent book-name for the Andamanese. It has been a great puzzle to scientific men ever since, though it is now to be identified, as will be seen later, with "Möngebe, I am (an) Ónge," a phrase, which was perhaps pronounced and at any rate sounded in Colebrooke's ears as "Minggobie." His informant, in using it, apparently meant to explain that he was an Ónge, or as the Jarawas seem to pronounce the name,—an Inggo. 175 101

Relations with the English.—Since the establishment of the Penal Settlement in 1858 an Andamanese Home has been created in Port Blair for the use of the aborigines, and several attempts have been made to civilise some of them and to bring up the children to a Christian education. These attempts have met with no reasonable success, the "civilised" returning to their original savagery at the first opportunity, the children deserting the schools and, except in an instance here and there, retaining nothing of their early education in after life. The existing use of the Home is that of a free asylum to which every Andamanese that likes is admitted. He may stay as long as he pleases and go when it suits him. While there he is housed, fed and taken care of, and for the sick there is a good and properly maintained hospital. From the Home, too, are taken such little necessaries and luxuries as the people desire to friends at a distance and during each of the many tours taken round the coasts by the officials. In return the Andamanese of the Home are employed to help in catching runaway convicts, in collecting edible birds'-nests and trepang and other natural produce, and in making "Andamanese curios," from which a small income is derived and expended on them. They have never succeeded in acquiring any true idea of money for themselves and all their earnings have to be administered for them. It is indeed against local rules to give them money, as it is at once spent in intoxicants. The present policy, in short, is to leave them alone and to do what is possible in the conditions to ameliorate their lives. The administrative objects gained by establishing friendly relations with the tribes are the cessation of the former and much too frequent murder of shipwrecked crews, the external peace of the Settlement and the creation of a jungle police to prevent escapes of convicts, and the recapture of runaways. 175 [439]

In the days of Blair and Kyd, 1789—96, the tribes showed themselves to be practically uniformly hostile, despite the conspicuous consideration these early officials exhibited, and remained continuously so after the commencement of the re-establishment of the Settlement in 1858, attacking the working parties of convicts, just as the Jarawas do still, for iron and articles suitable to them and robbing the gardens started for food supplies. These practices had to be repressed by force, and efforts towards friendly relations had to be postponed until respect for the settlers was established. The procedure officially then adopted and carried out with such success in the end by Messrs. Corbyn, Homfray, Man, Godwin-Austen, and Portman in succession was the simple one of providing the Home and visiting the people in their own haunts, as opportunity arose, with suitable presents.

In Appendix B will be found an abstract of the Jarawa raids on the Settlement, which have been continuous since 1872, when they were first differentiated. In the interval they have attacked convicts, usually at their work, on 20 occasions and friendly Andamanese Camps on 12 occasions. That is, they have made 32 attacks in 30 years. In these attacks 27 convicts and 4 Andamanese have been killed; 7 convicts, 2 police constables, and 5 Andamanese have been wounded. In counter expeditions and searches for the raiders 3 Jarawas have been killed, 9 wounded, and 20 captured. Of the captured 18 have been released in a short time and 2 have died. It will be seen thus that the hostility of the tribe is towards all strangers, including their own people, and that the policy of capture, kindness in captivity, and release with presents has not up to date borne any good fruit whatever. This is a very different story to that of their almost equally wild congeners the Ónges.

II. Physical Characteristics.

Portman's and Molesworth's Enquiries.—The physical characteristics of the Andamanese have been considerably studied by Mr. M. V. Portman and Major W. S. Molesworth, and as their work has never been published, the 141

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

Sri Gupta, in conclusion, has been tempted to emphasise with firm conviction that the Andamanese are, therefore, very probably a remnant of the dwellers on the marshes of Bengal and the uplands of Santhal Paragana or the dense forests of Burma and Malaya. 174

As regards the native appellations and phonetic similarity, such apparent similarity is possibly evidenced in many groups separated from each other by long distances. Similarly, the diet of raw meat and fish is and was common to all hunting and collecting tribes of the world. Independent evolution of many tribes has been akin to each other and therefore, the further geological studies and studies in anthropology can only confirm the idea.

Since the arrival of the Andamanese in the islands, a gradual separation has taken place among the different branches of population who had moved to different parts of the islands. The micro-environment has exerted considerable influence in moulding these people ultimately giving birth to a number of sub-groups. However, the broad generalisations are their hunting and collecting economy, complete ignorance about the domestication of the plants and the animals, except the Onges who have learnt only for the last 30 years the domestication of dogs. Family is the smallest social unit and a few families constitute the communal hut. Each tribal sub-group has its hunting territory, within which it maintains a more or less nomadic life till they return to the main settlement where they have a communal hut. 105 174 [592] [423]

The doctrine of the environmental determinism exemplifies itself in the adaptation of the aborigines to the local environment. In their life, they never look beyond their local geography and the materials for houses, the food, the ornaments and every thing that they are in need of, are collected from the small territory in which a community lives. So the obvious conclusion may be drawn that the coastal tribes are dependent on fishing, turtle hunting and gathering of shells and oysters and the interior tribes on hunting. This type of primitive economy, based on hunting and collecting, cannot support more than two to four persons per square mile as against more than 300 per square mile in agricultural lands and again the density varies to a great extent according to the type of agriculture practised e.g., rice-growing regions support the maximum density of population. In spite of their all-round self-sufficiency they have some connections with the later settlers. For the want of iron, tobacoo, distilled liquor, opium etc., these aborigines (jarawas) either make periodic raids on the settlements (Onges and Andamanese) or have established friendly relations with the settlers. The necessity 105 105 177 439

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

105 177 439 of all these things, locally not available, was felt by the aborigines only due to their slight contact with the later settlers.

However, a broad two-fold division of the aboriginal population can be made.

101 174

1. Aborigines of the Great Andaman Group — All the aborigines of the Great Andamans with the exception of the Jarawas, the most hostile aborigines living in the southwestern part of the Andamans.

2. Aborigines of the Little Andaman Group — the Onges of the Little Andaman, the Jarawas of the South Andaman & the Sentinelese of the North Sentinel island.

As to how these two groups came into being and their areas of distribution, various theories have been put forward. Long after the attainment of the individual traits of these two groups, a continuous northward movement of the aborigines from the Little Andaman was in vogue and one such party had arrived in the Great Andamans who have been lately known as the Jarawas, who were all along subjected to pressure of the local natives belonging to the Great Andaman Group, the *Aka bea* of South Andaman. The very development of the hostility of the Jarawas and their complete seclusion from the other aboriginal groups owe to their being continuously subjected to the adversities. B. V. Eickstedt[1] has been of the opinion that the aborigines of the Andamans entered into the Great Andamans in two groups—the earlier group comprises the Onge, Jarawas and the Sentinelese while to the later group belong the ancestors of the Great Andaman Group. The passage of the Great Andaman Group has led to a constant southward push of the earlier group which has ultimately led to their habitation in the islands of the south i.e., the Little Andaman, Rutland Island and a part of the South Andaman. Cipriani has been emphatic enough in justifying the views of Brown that the Jarawas reached the Great Andamans from the south. Though they are supposed to have come from the Great Andamans by canoes, the art of constructing canoes and of using them have been completely forgotten and Cipriani believes that such instances of the loss of knowledge of the construction of canoes and their uses are many. A list of the names of the camps, given by Cipriani in the 1951 census, dating back to antiquity and having a good supply of drinking water and of

101 174 182 501

[113]

1 Eickstedt, B. V — Die Negrite der Andaman (Autho Ans).

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

861 ment; they are early taught to be generous and self-denying, and the special object of the fasting period, regarding which I shall hope to speak to you on another occasion, seems to be to test the fortitude and powers of endurance of the lads and lasses before entering upon the cares and responsibilities of married 867 life. The duties of showing respect and hospitality to friends and visitors being impressed upon them from their early years, all guests are well treated; every attention is paid to their wants, the best food at their host's disposal is set before them, and, ere they take their leave, some tokens of regard or goodwill are bestowed, or, to speak more correctly, interchanged. Strangers visiting an encampment for the first time are welcomed if introduced by some mutual friend.[1]

834 8. It has been observed by ethnologists who have described certain other primitive races, that modesty and morality are not dependent on, or to be gauged by, the amount of covering which is deemed requisite by either sex. The Andamanese present another instance in point; and in the esteem in which they hold these virtues, and the self-respect which characterises their intercourse with each other, may even be said to compare favourably with that existing in certain ranks among civilised races.[2]

461 9. In the manufacture of their weapons, utensils, and other articles, they habitually display a remarkable amount of perseverance and industry, spending hour after hour in laboriously striking pieces of iron with a stone hammer for the purpose of forming spear or arrow-heads, or in improving the shape of a bow, &c., even though there be no necessity, immediate or prospective, to stimulate them to such efforts. The incentive is evidently a spirit of emulation, each one priding himself on being able to produce work which will excel, or at least compare not unfavourably with, that of his neighbours.

431 10. Selfishness is not among their characteristics, for they frequently make presents of the best that they possess, and do not reserve, much less make, weapons, &c., of superior workmanship for their own private use; at the same time it must be

[1] On seeing a stranger at a gathering, it would be asked: *ōl mij'a?* (who is he?) or, if the visitor be senior to the inquirer, *ōl mij'ola?* (who is that elder or chief?)

[2] Women are so modest that they will not renew their leaf aprons in the presence of one another, but retire to a secluded spot for this purpose; even when parting with one of their *čōd-* appendages to a female friend the delicacy they manifest for the feelings of the bystanders in their mode of removing it almost amounts to prudishness. Coarse conversation appears to be of rare occurrence and to meet with little or no encouragement. Remarks on the personal appearance or peculiarities of friends or blood relatives are considered harmless, but if made in reference to a wife or husband would be regarded as indelicate and objectionable, and resented accordingly.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

462 required in making their various weapons, utensils, &c.; but though he has no hesitation in sharing and lightening his wife's labours up to this point, it is only in cases of stern necessity that he will condescend to procure either wood or water for the family requirements; the supply of these essentials of daily life being considered as peculiarly feminine duties and derogatory to the lords of creation.

3. Every woman is supposed to be a proficient in shaving,[1] tattooing,[2] and scarifying; she has also to prepare the *kòi·ob-*, *tâ·la-ōg-*, and *kâ·ngatâ-būj-*,[3] which are needed on so many occasions. The erection of the *chàng-dar·anga-*,[4] and the manufacture of personal ornaments,[5] and various other objects in constant use,[6] is also confined to the fair (!) sex, and when to these are added their daily duties of procuring certain kinds of food, cooking, and providing the water and fuel required for the family, it will be seen that the Andamanese materfamilias—who has not several children old enough to give her material assistance—has her time fully employed, or at least sufficiently so to prevent her getting into much mischief.

461 4. It is the duty of those men and women who remain at home to attend to the sick, infants, and others who are in a dependent position, to look after the fires in the various huts, and, of course, if needs be, to protect the property of absentees: for all those who are not physically incapable are supposed to employ themselves in some way, either for their own benefit or that of the community to which they belong.

574 251 5. It is customary for every family to maintain a supply of provisions in excess of its own requirements for the use of friends who may chance to visit the encampment; but in the storage of their food—owing probably to the ease with which it is generally procured—much is often wasted which might without difficulty be preserved. The seeds of the *Artocarpus chaplasha*, and of a species of *Semecarpus*, are alone kept for any length of time. The manner in which this is effected will be described in the section treating of "Food."[7]

462 562 484 6. Migrations and other events affecting the movements of a whole community are arranged by the chief and elders; women in such matters are not consulted, though while on the march it is they who are expected to carry the heaviest loads: this

[1] *Vide ante* "Hair," paragraph 4, and *post* "Shaving," paragraph 2.
[2] *Vide post* "Tattooing," paragraph 2.
[3] *Vide* Appendix B, items 60, 58, 62.
[4] *Vide ante* "Habitations," paragraph 4.
[5] *Vide post* "Attire," paragraph 1.
[6] In Appendix B will be found detailed the various objects manufactured by both men and women.
[7] *Vide post* "Food," paragraph 32.

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of practice or to display their skill. No reproach is offered by the bystanders to one who wounds an animal without killing it. 883 224

27. Pigeons, waterfowl, ducks, and flying-foxes are sometimes shot, but never while on the wing, or when perched in such a position as to risk the recovery of the arrow.

28. In addition to the bows and arrows, their hunting gear consists generally of a hone (*tá·lag-*[1]), a *Cyrena* shell (*ū·ta-*[2]), an adze (*wō·lo-*[3]), and often now-a-days a spear (*ēr-dū·tnga-*[4]); sometimes a knife (*chó-* or *kó·no-*[5]) is also taken, but as the blade of the pig-arrow or spear can be made to serve this purpose, it is not regarded as an essential part of their equipment. 224 411

29. They employ no stratagems for deceiving or decoying game, nor do they prepare snares or pitfalls for it. 224

30. When unaccompanied by dogs the hunters usually follow the pig's tracks, evincing while doing so their accurate knowledge of its habits. Immediately the object of their search is sighted they endeavour to surround it as noiselessly as possible—taking no precautions, however, against approaching it from windward—and, finally rushing forward and yelling vociferously, discharge their arrows. This practice of driving is generally adopted near the coast and in the vicinity of a belt of *Rhizophora conjugata* where the animals, becoming entangled among the roots or sinking into the soft soil, are easily captured or despatched. The ownership of the carcass is decided in favour of the person who inflicted the first serious wound, and he is exempt, if he please, from carrying home his prize or from any further trouble in connection with it; the cleaning, cooking, and quartering of the animal is undertaken by any one who chooses to volunteer his services, during which interval the day's adventures are narrated: those who have remained at home share equally with the hunters[6] in the spoil, for they are supposed to have been engaged in contributing to the general wants of the community.

31. There are, of course, some in every encampment who, from laziness or want of skill, are of very little use in this respect, but, since any ill-natured remarks at their expense would inevitably result in a more or less serious quarrel, they are rarely twitted with the circumstance, but are permitted to partake of the feast. [461]

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 52; also *post* "Stone Implements," paragraph 2.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 51; also *post* "Natural Forms, &c.," paragraph 1.
[3] *Vide* Appendix B, item 15; also *post* "Natural Forms, &c.," paragraph 2.
[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 9; also *ante* paragraph 5.
[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 77; also *post* "Natural Forms, &c.," paragraph 4.
[6] On the return of the hunting party the chief is apprised of the nature and amount of the "bags;" whatever is brought in by the married men is taken to their private huts and distributed as they please, but the spoils of the bachelors are at the disposal of the chief, and are distributed according to his orders.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

no specialized physicians, the Onge do not understand that payment can be 757
exacted for medical care. This stems from the fact that wages are not con- 465
sidered by those happy people as payment for any kind of work whatsoever, 123
but only as a gift. I realized this when I tried to pay my guides after our extenu- 431
ating marches through the jungle : in order to avoid offending the natives that
we had casually met in the course of our trip, I had to give equal reward to
everybody.

The Onge consider some men or women better endowed than others with 753
anti-malefic influence ; but these too neither demand nor receive wages for [756]
their services. Evil spirits or evil persons are believed to be principally responsi-
ble for illness. A series of superstitions and remarkable habits derive from this
belief. The above-mentioned precautions concerning the *naquinéghé* are among
them. For identical reasons they carefully hide hair cuttings, but not nail [515]
parings, for the simple reason that nails are never cut but worn down by
digging for edible roots, fishing, and other rough work. Superstition, as we
know, is also the reason for painting the body to prevent fever and other ills.

In the depths of their jungle the Onge appear to practice some kind
of witchcraft. On several occasions I noticed the mysterious behaviour of some 789
natives travelling with me. Occasionally a man left our marching column to
examine the inside of a huge hollow tree and signal to his friends. They did
not prevent me from looking into the hollow, where I saw only a simple struc-
ture of short sticks resembling a trap without being one. The Onge do not use [224]
traps ; moreover, those structures were far too flimsy to catch anything. Often,
two or three men assembled in consultation, rearranged the sticks that had
probably been dislodged by the passage of lizards, crabs or other small animals,
and walked away silently. I could get no explanation on the matter. Certainly
the Onge are sagacious observers of animal and vegetable life and have deep
knowledge of their hidden properties. Some trees are probably used for magical
purposes; but, I insist, it is impossible as yet to affirm it. The structures in
question consisted of four vertical sticks, about 30 cms long, joined at the top
by four more sticks of approximately the same length, placed horizontally.
The result was a box-like frame, loose and unsecured. The slightest disturbance,
such as a light breeze, could destroy the flimsy construction. As far as I could
guess they invested those structures with curative properties, but in what
manner remains a mystery. I noticed analogous practices among Central [171]
African Pygmies and other primitives.

It is very clear that the Onge dread illness and magic spells, for they 754
consider themselves at a loss in fighting such evils. Unhygienic habits are of no 751
importance to them.

Resting is considered favorable to good health. The Onge indulge vo- 517
luptuously in rest, interrupting it, however, with too frequent sexual excursions. 751
They mainly rest from doing nothing, because 90 % of their time is spent in 461
what, for them, is the most agreeable manner of enjoying life.

In mid-March, when the honey harvest reaches its peak, the Onge guzzle 262

type of canoe is the only craft seen. I saw some hauled up on the beach, identical with the ones I had seen the Onges building, even to the *Nautilus* shell as a baler. In face of this and other evidence there can be little doubt that the people of North Sentinel are descended from the Onges, possibly driven off course by some storm, and then isolated on the island.

The Arioto, copying Indian and Burmese craft, have in recent times come to modify the original canoe somewhat, deepening the gunwales and doing away with the float. The result is a craft which though it remains small is unlikely to fill with water in heavy seas. But even the Arioto prefer the single outrigger canoe for sea voyages.

The only real seafarers, however, are the Onges, who make regular hunting trips as far as Rutland. In the past they sometimes made devastating raids as far as Car, but these have died out over the past hundred years as their numbers have dwindled. There is certainly no doubt that at one time the Onges undertook considerable sea voyages in canoes the same as they build today.

The work involved in the building of these canoes is, as I have said, enormous. The preparatory work on the tree, and then the felling, are hard enough without proper equipment. I gave my Onge friends some long-handled wood-cutter's axes, to help in this part of the work. In their enthusiasm they chopped so hard they soon broke the handles and chipped some of the tempered blades, so that I had to take them to Port Blair for repair! But the real work begins with the working of the felled trunk. Then a small and very crude form of hatchet[1] has to be used, flaking off small strips like a plane; fire is never used to assist in the process. Fortunately the *Sterculia* wood usually chosen is soft.

The original shape is not touched after the required length, calculated so as to allow for the harpoon-thrower's platform at each end, has been cut. The irregularities of the trunk are left intact, so that the canoes look distorted and even ugly despite their seaworthiness. During the preliminary stage of stripping the bark great care is taken not to chip the outer ring of wood immediately below the bark; this is smooth and fine-grained, and more waterproof than the inner layers. One danger is that as the wood dries

[1] The blades used to be made from *Tridacna* shell, but in more recent times they have come to be made of iron from wrecked ships cast up on the beaches.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

512 combs of black honey are to be found[1], and these are generally
222 consumed by the hunters on the spot.

The provision of the vegetable food of the community is the work of the women, who must also supply the camp with firewood and water. While the men are away hunting the
462 women, attended by the children, cut and carry the firewood,
512 and either remain in the camp making baskets or nets or other
222 objects, or else go into the forest to look for fruits and seeds. Thus by midday the camp may be quite deserted, save perhaps for one or two old men and women, and a few of the children.

In the afternoon the women return with what food they have
512 obtained and then the men come in with their provision. The
252 camp, unless the hunters have been unsuccessful, is then busy with the preparation of the evening meal, which is the chief meal of the day. If a pig has been brought home whole it is cooked at the public cooking place and is then cut up. The meat is distributed amongst the members of the community and the woman of each family then proceeds to cook the family meal. The pork, after it has been roasted and cut up, is further cooked by being boiled. The family meal is prepared at the fire that each family has in its hut. The meal is a family one, partaken
[264] by a man and his wife and children. The bachelors cook and eat their own meal, and the unmarried women also eat by themselves.

512 After the meal is over, darkness having by this time fallen, the
[535] men may spend an hour or two in dancing to the accompaniment of a song sung by one of them with the help of a chorus of women.
537 In that case they would probably eat another meal after the dance was over. Another favourite amusement for the evening is what may be called "yarning." A man sits down with a few listeners and tells them, with few words, and with many dramatic gestures, how he killed a pig. The same man may go on with
512 tale after tale, till, by the time he finishes he has killed twenty or thirty pigs. Finally the whole camp retires to rest and nothing

[1] There are two kinds of wild bee in the Andamans. A small species makes black honeycombs in hollow trees, and these may be found at any time of the year. A larger species of bee builds white combs suspended from the underside of branches in tall trees. Such combs are found in abundance only in the hot season, and not at all in the middle of the rainy season.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

is to be seen but the dim light of the little fires burning in each 512
hut or in each of the family quarters.

On a day when there is plenty of food left from the day before, or on a day of stormy weather even when food is not too plentiful, the men may remain in camp instead of going hunting. They busy themselves with making weapons and implements, such as bows, arrows, adzes, etc.

On occasions when game is not very plentiful a party of hunters may stay away from the camp for a few days, not returning till they have been successful in obtaining a fair supply of food. The women and children and old men, with perhaps a few of the able bodied men also, remain at home and provide for themselves as well as they can, the women devoting their time to collecting what vegetable foods are in season.

At the end of the rainy season there comes a brief period 221
of unsettled weather, called by the natives of the North Andaman 262
Kimil, and by those of the South, *Gumul*. During this season some of the vegetable foods begin to be available, though not in any quantities. At this time of the year the natives are able to obtain and feast upon what they regard as great delicacies, the larvae of the cicada and of the great capricornis beetle. The cool season, when fruits and roots are plentiful, begins at the end of November. The forest dwellers leave their main encampment during this season. Some of them go off to pay visits [574]
to their friends of other local groups. Such visits may last two
or three months. Those who remain occupy temporary camps 221
in convenient places. The men join the women in looking for 222
roots and fruits, and do not spend so much of their time in 262
hunting. Some of the men visit the main camp at intervals of a few days to see that it is all right. As the cool season gives way to the hot season (March to May) honey begins to be plentiful. At that time hunting for pig is almost abandoned. The pigs are in poor condition, and even when one is killed it is often left in the jungle by the natives as not being good enough to eat. On the other hand everyone is busy collecting honey. [462]
This is work in which both men and women join, though it is the men who climb up the trees and cut down the honeycomb. The natives have no means of keeping the honey for more than

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

221 222 262 a very short time, as it rapidly ferments. While it is plentiful they almost live on it, supplementing it with roots and fruits and with fish, if they are near a creek. Towards the end of the hot season the fruit of the *Artocarpus chaplasha*, which is a favourite food of the natives, becomes ripe. The men and women, at this time, spend much of their time collecting the fruit. When it is collected the fruit is broken open and each of the seeds is sucked to obtain the juicy pulp or aril with which it is surrounded, and which has a very pleasant taste. The seeds are then partly boiled and are buried in the ground to remain there for a few weeks, when they will be dug up again and cooked and eaten. Any natives who may have been away from home on a visit, return before the *Artocarpus* comes into fruit in order to take their share in collecting it and providing a supply of the seeds for consumption in the rainy season. The natives then return to the headquarters camp and make any necessary repairs to the hut in preparation for the rainy season, which begins about the middle of May.

221 262 The coast-dwellers are not quite so much influenced by the seasons as the forest-dwellers. They can fish and collect molluscs all the year round. In the rainy season they divide their time between hunting pig in the forest and fishing or turtle hunting. They do not need, however, to remain at the same camp during the whole of the rainy season, but after a month or two at one place can move to what they hope to find better hunting grounds. During the cool and hot seasons they pay visits to one another. In the fine weather the men often go off on turtle-hunting expeditions for several days, leaving the women and children and older men in the village, where they provide for themselves with vegetable food and with fish and molluscs from the reefs.

It is during the fine weather that there take place the meetings of two or more local groups that are an important feature of the social life of the Andaman Islanders. These meetings will be described later in the present chapter.

462 Besides their food, which they must find from day to day, the natives have need of nothing save their weapons and implements. Of these each person makes his own, each man making his

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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own bow, arrows, adze, etc., while the wife makes her baskets, 462
nets and so on.

The economic life of the local group, though in effect it 421
approaches to a sort of communism, is yet based on the notion of private property. Land is the only thing that is owned in common. The hunting grounds of a local group belong to the whole group, and all the members have an equal right to hunt over any part of it. There exists, however, a certain private ownership of trees. A man of one of the local groups of the coast may notice in the jungle a tree suitable for a canoe. He will tell the others that he has noticed such a tree, describing it and its whereabouts. Thenceforward that tree is regarded as his property, and even if some years should elapse, and he has made no use of it, yet another man would not cut it down without first asking the owner to give him the tree. In a similar way certain men claim to possess certain *Artocarpus* trees, though how the ownership in these cases had arisen I was unable to determine. No one would pick the fruit off such a tree without the permission of the owner, and having received permission and gathered the fruit he would give some part of it to the owner of the tree.

A pig belongs to the man whose arrow first strikes it, though if the arrow merely glanced off and did not remain in the wound it would not give any claim to ownership. A turtle or a dugong or big fish belongs to the man who throws the harpoon with which it is taken. A honeycomb belongs to the man who climbs the tree and cuts it down. The fish that a man shoots belong to him, and to a woman belong the roots she digs up, the seeds that she collects, the fish or prawns that she takes in her net or the molluscs that she brings from the reefs. Any weapon that a man makes belongs to him alone to do what he pleases with, and anything that a woman makes is her own [562]
property. A man is not free to dispose of the personal property of his wife without her permission.

In the village each family erects and keeps in repair its own 421
hut, and the wife provides the hut with the firewood and water 594
needed. In the case of a communal hut it would seem that this 342
is really an example of a possession common to the whole group.

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and a bachelor or a young married man, however, the younger would not make any request of such a nature, and if the older man asked the younger for anything the latter would give it without always expecting a return. 431 576

Almost every object that the Andamanese possess is thus constantly changing hands. Even canoes may be given away, but it is more usual for these to be lent by the owner to his friends. 431 [426]

It has been stated above that all food is private property and belongs to the man or woman who has obtained it. Every one who has food is expected, however, to give to those who have none. An older married man will reserve for himself sufficient for his family, and will then give the rest to his friends. A younger man is expected to give away the best of what he gets to the older men. This is particularly the case with the bachelors. Should a young unmarried man kill a pig he must be content to see it distributed by one of the older men, all the best parts going to the seniors, while he and his companions must be satisfied with the inferior parts. The result of these customs is that practically all the food obtained is evenly distributed through the whole camp, the only inequality being that the younger men do not fare so well as their elders. Generosity is esteemed by the Andaman Islanders one of the highest of virtues and is unremittingly practised by the majority of them. 421 431 [577]

Within the local group there is no such thing as a division of labour save as between the two sexes. In the coastal groups every man is expected to be able to hunt pig, to harpoon turtle and to catch fish, and also to cut a canoe, to make bows and arrows and all the other objects that are made by men. It happens that some men are more skilful in certain pursuits than in others. A skilful turtle-hunter, for example, may be an indifferent pig-hunter, and such a man will naturally prefer to devote himself to the pursuit in which he appears to most advantage. 462

The division of labour between the sexes is fairly clearly marked. A man hunts and fishes, using the bow and arrow and the harpoon; he makes his own bows and arrows, his adze and knife, cuts canoes and makes rope for harpoon lines. A woman

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462 collects fruits and digs up roots with her digging stick; she catches prawns and crabs and small fish with her small fishing net; she provides the firewood and the water of the family and does the cooking (i.e. the family cooking, but not the common cooking, which is entirely done by men); she makes all such objects as baskets, nets of thread, and personal ornaments either for herself or her husband.

888 623 There is no organised government in an Andamanese village. The affairs of the community are regulated entirely by the older men and women. The younger members of the community are brought up to pay respect to their elders and to submit to them in many ways. It has already been shown how, in the distribution of food, the elders get the best share. When it is a question of shifting camp to some better hunting ground the opinion of the older men would weigh against that of the younger if they disagreed. It must not be thought, however, that the older men are tyrannical or selfish. I only once heard a young man complain of the older men getting so much the best of everything. The respect for seniority is kept alive partly by tradition and partly by the fact that the older men have had a greater experience than the younger. It could probably not be maintained if it regularly gave rise to any tyrannical treatment of the younger by the elder.

888 576 The respect for seniors is shown in the existence of special terms of address which men and women use when speaking to their elders. In the languages of the North Andaman there are two such terms, *Mai* or *Maia*, applied to men, with a meaning equivalent to "Sir," and *Mimi*, applied to women. These words may be used either alone or prefixed to the personal name of the person addressed. A younger man speaking to an older one whose name was *Bora* would address him either as *Mai* (Sir), or as *Maia Bora* (Sir Bora).

In the tribes of the South Andaman there are exactly similar terms. In the *Aka-Bea* tribe *Maia* or *Maiola* is used in addressing men and *Čana* or *Čanola* in speaking to women. In *Akar-Bale* the equivalent terms are *Da* and *In*. Besides these terms there is in these tribes another, *Mam*, *Mama* or *Mamola*, which may be used in speaking to either men or women, and which

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along the gunwale. These designs soon wear off when the canoe is in use and are not renewed.

The paddles used by the Andamanese vary considerably in size and to some extent in shape, but the following description with its accompanying figure gives a fair idea of a typical specimen. The whole paddle has a length of 123·5 centimetres, the shaft being 85 centimetres and the blade 38·5 centimetres. The diameter of the shaft from the blade to the middle is 2·6 centimetres, and from the middle towards the handle end it tapers to a point. The shaft is circular in section throughout its length. The blade is leaf-shaped, pointed bluntly at the apex. In section it is plano-convex, with a maximum thickness of 1·3 centimetres and a width of 8·7 centimetres. Paddles are cut with an adze from the wood of the *Myristica longifolia* and planed with a boar's tusk. They are often ornamented, when new, with painted designs in red and white.

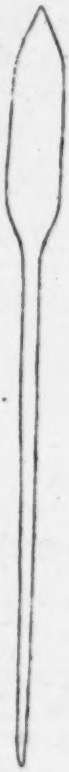

Fig. 46. Paddle

In deep water the canoe is paddled. Each of the occupants sits facing forward. The steersman sits on the stern platform. The others sit on the seats provided by the outrigger booms. Each man paddles on which side he chooses. It rests with the steersman to maintain the canoe in its proper course. In shallow water the canoe is propelled with a pole. A man stands on the forward platform and poles the canoe, steering as he does so. In a fairly large canoe a man at the stern may also take a pole and, standing up, help to propel the canoe.

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All the work connected with the making of canoes and paddles is done by men alone, except the painting, which is usually done by women. It is the men also who make most use of canoes.

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The large canoe, that is now made by all the tribes of the Great Andaman Division, is simply a canoe of the same general shape as the Great Andaman outrigger canoe, cut from a larger tree and without the outrigger. The shape of the hull, with its platforms fore and aft, is exactly the same. It seems that when the natives obtained a plentiful supply of iron tools (after 1858) they began to cut down and hollow out larger trees than formerly. Having made these larger canoes they found that they would, when well cut and ballasted with stone, float quite well without an outrigger. (It may be mentioned that the hull of a small canoe is always tested on the water before the outrigger is attached.) Indeed a well cut canoe of large size floats and balances

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342 the roof, which is thatched with palm leaves of the variety called *chà·ngta-*. These are neatly plaited together, and fastened with cane, *pī·dga-*, and then placed in rows and tied, so that, when complete, the whole forms a capital roof impervious to the heaviest shower of rain.

[462] 3. The second variety, *chàng-tô·rnga-*,[1] are erected when temporary homes are required, which will last for a few months, as during the period of mourning;[2] they are made by men, and differ only from the *chàng-tē·pinga-* in being generally somewhat smaller, and less neatly thatched; another variety of palm leaf, called *âm-*, is sometimes substituted for the *chà·ngta-*.

4. The *chàng-dar·anga-*, or the third variety, being only intended to serve as shelter during a halt or short visit, is constructed in [462] a yet more simple manner. The duty of erecting dwellings of this class devolves on the women, and from the following description it will be seen that the labour required is not excessive: two slender posts, about five feet long, are driven into the ground about five or six feet apart, and connected by means of a light pole or stick, which is secured to their upper ends. The roof is then formed by placing, stem downwards and firmly fixed in the ground, large palm leaves, which are made to overlap each other in such a way as to provide a fairly rain-proof shelter for one or two persons.[3] The leaves used for the purpose are either the *chà·ngta-*, *kâ·pa-*, or *â·para-*.

[353] 5. Above the small fire, without which no hut is complete, a small wooden platform or shelf, called *châ·pa lī tâ·ga-*, or *yât leb* [251] *tâ·ga-*, is placed on one or more sticks. On this they deposit their spare food, so that it may be preserved by the smoke from the attacks of insects, &c.[4] By way of adornment, trophies of [353] the chase, such as the skulls of pigs,[5] turtles, dugongs, &c., are suspended from the front of the roof.[6]

6. It seems desirable to draw attention to the following passage in Dr. Dobson's paper, lest, if left unnoticed, some misapprehension should arise on the subject. He states that "the Andamanese, at least the inhabitants of the southern island, erect no kind of house whatever . . . . When walking along the beach in the vicinity of Port Mouat,

[1] This variety is shown in Plate III, fig. 2.

[2] *Vide post* "Death and Burial," paragraph 4.

[3] Similar leaf shelters are erected by the Puris. *Vide* E. B. Tylor's "Anthropology."

[4] *Vide post* "Food," paragraph 31.

[5] This style of decoration is now-a-days falling into disuse, especially in South Andaman, for, with the assistance of dogs, hunting is much less arduous now than formerly, and a large collection of pig skulls is, therefore, easily obtained by the least skilful among them.

[6] Figuier speaks also of "large dried fish tied in bunches" being similarly treated, but no ground for such a statement can be discovered.

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PART III.

Social Relations, Education, Infanticide—Attire—Tattooing—Painting—Shaving—Deformations—Weights and Measures—Astronomy—Trade, Exchangeable Values, and Property—Agriculture—Training and Domestication of Animals—Food—Tabu—Warfare—Hunting and Fishing—Navigation—Ornamentation—Pottery—Natural Forms and Miscellaneous Manufactures—Leather-work—Metallurgy—Stone Implements—Basket-work—String—Games and Amusements.

Social Relations, Education, and Infanticide.—1. Although it is true that the performance of most of the domestic duties falls to the lot of the women and children, it would be a great mistake to suppose that any compulsion is used by the head of the family; he usually leads quite as active a life as any of the females, and often shares certain of their labours, when necessity arises in consequence of sickness or other cause. As I have already stated,[1] it is quite incorrect to say of these savages that with them "marriage is nothing more than taking a female slave," for one of the most striking features of their social relations is the marked equality and affection which subsists between husband and wife;[2] careful observations extending over many years prove that not only is the husband's authority more or less nominal, but that it is not at all an uncommon occurrence for Andamanese Benedicts to be considerably at the beck and call of their better halves: in short, the consideration and respect with which women are treated might with advantage be emulated by certain classes in our own land. 462 562 593

2. The duties of the husband,—varying in the case of his being an *ē·rem-tâ·ga-* or an *àryō·to-*—consist chiefly in hunting, fishing, turtling, collecting honey, &c., constructing canoes, building the better kinds of huts,[3] and manufacturing the bows, arrows, and other implements needed in his various pursuits; he must also assist his wife in looking after the children, in keeping up the fire, and in providing the materials 462

[1] *Vide* "Marriage," paragraph 1.

[2] It has been correctly stated that "their mutual intercourse is courteous and genial, and the affection between parents and children is peculiarly tender" (Peschel, p. 148).

[3] *Vide ante* "Habitations," paragraph 2. [p. 107]

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462 required in making their various weapons, utensils, &c.; but though he has no hesitation in sharing and lightening his wife's labours up to this point, it is only in cases of stern necessity that he will condescend to procure either wood or water for the family requirements; the supply of these essentials of daily life being considered as peculiarly feminine duties and derogatory to the lords of creation.

3. Every woman is supposed to be a proficient in shaving,[1] tattooing,[2] and scarifying; she has also to prepare the *kòi·ob-*, *tâ·la-og-*, and *kâ·ngatâ-bŭj-*,[3] which are needed on so many occasions. The erection of the *chàng-dar·anga-*,[4] and the manufacture of personal ornaments,[5] and various other objects in constant use,[6] is also confined to the fair (!) sex, and when to these are added their daily duties of procuring certain kinds of food, cooking, and providing the water and fuel required for the family, it will be seen that the Andamanese materfamilias—who has not several children old enough to give her material assistance—has her time fully employed, or at least sufficiently so to prevent her getting into much mischief.

461 4. It is the duty of those men and women who remain at home to attend to the sick, infants, and others who are in a dependent position, to look after the fires in the various huts, and, of course, if needs be, to protect the property of absentees: for all those who are not physically incapable are supposed to employ themselves in some way, either for their own benefit or that of the community to which they belong.

574 251 5. It is customary for every family to maintain a supply of provisions in excess of its own requirements for the use of friends who may chance to visit the encampment; but in the storage of their food—owing probably to the ease with which it is generally procured—much is often wasted which might without difficulty be preserved. The seeds of the *Artocarpus chaplasha*, and of a species of *Semecarpus*, are alone kept for any length of time. The manner in which this is effected will be described in the section treating of "Food."[7]

462 562 484 6. Migrations and other events affecting the movements of a whole community are arranged by the chief and elders; women in such matters are not consulted, though while on the march it is they who are expected to carry the heaviest loads: this

[1] *Vide ante* "Hair," paragraph 4, and *post* "Shaving," paragraph 2.
[2] *Vide post* "Tattooing," paragraph 2.
[3] *Vide* Appendix B, items 60, 58, 62.
[4] *Vide ante* "Habitations," paragraph 4.
[5] *Vide post* "Attire," paragraph 1.
[6] In Appendix B will be found detailed the various objects manufactured by both men and women.
[7] *Vide post* "Food," paragraph 32.

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arises from no want of consideration for the weaker vessel, but 462
simply because, if unnecessarily encumbered, the men would 562
be unable to shoot or pursue any animal which might cross 484
their path.

7. Such training as the children receive is undertaken by their 868
parents or guardians; in the case of boys it consists merely in providing them with miniature weapons suitable to their age, and instructing them in their use: as they advance in years they accompany the men in their hunting and fishing expeditions, and, being by nature intelligent and emulous, they speedily acquire sufficient skill to enable them to afford material assistance to their elders.

8. The girls, similarly, are taught by their mothers, or other female guardians, how to fulfil the various duties which are regarded as essentially pertaining to their sex, and which I have described in the foregoing.

9. It seems hardly necessary to add that the unnatural custom of infanticide is unknown to the Andamanese,[1] and though 847
the mortality among infants is excessive,[2] it is traceable to no want of affection, but to the injudicious treatment and lavish attentions bestowed upon the little ones by their ignorant though well-intentioned elders.[3]

10. For the better security of their babies, when travelling, 854
women are in the habit of hanging round their necks a string the ends of which have been previously fastened to the infant's wrists; the child being then placed in a *chīp-*,[4] cannot by any accident meet with a serious fall.

Attire.—1. Madame de Staël speaks of certain children being 291
"*vêtu du climât:*" the same expressive remark may be applied to the Andamanese, for no clothing, as we understand the word, is worn by either sex; there are, however, certain so-called ornamental circlets, garters, bracelets, cinctures, and necklaces of bones,[5] wood, or shell, which are its substitute[6] and serve to

[1] The birth of a girl is usually as gratifying to the parents as that of a boy.

[2] *Vide ante* "Reproduction," paragraph 4.

[3] Dr. Day has correctly stated that "men and women seem equally fond of carrying the babies about; all pet them; when they cry for anything, they give it; and over-kindness early consigns the little one to the grave."

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 24.

[5] As far as we at present know, the *jārawa-* do not wear necklaces of bone, or the skulls of their deceased relatives. The males of this tribe wear round their heads, waists, knees, and arms, fringes of string attached to a cord or cane, which are called by the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*, *bĕ·ria-* (*vide* Plate IX, figs. 13, 13*a*, 13*b*).

[6] The relatives of a deceased person will commonly wear such of the ornaments as are in good condition, "in memoriam;" this is not, however, a distinguishing peculiarity, or one confined to savages.

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291 remove in some measure the impression that they are naked;[1] these appendages are not worn as symbols of rank or (if we except the *rō·gun-*) of status, and their manufacture devolves always upon the females of the community.

2. When fully attired[2] the men are seen with peculiar shredded bunches of *Pandanus* leaves attached to their knees and wrists (termed *tâ-chô·nga-* and *tô·go-chô·nga-*), and a folded Pandanus leaf round their heads (called *ij·i-gō·nga-*[3]), which, as well as the belt (*bōd-*[4]), is common to both sexes; if, however, they (*i.e.* the men) were denuded of one and all, they would be in no way distressed, and in point of fact, often, as while hunting, when perfect freedom of action is needed, they strip themselves of all except the *bōd-*, or other still lighter cincture, in which are inserted any portable objects, such as arrows and knives, that might be required at a moment's notice during the chase.

3. It is otherwise with women, who never[5] appear without an *ō·bunga-*,[6] or small apron of leaves, which is kept in position by the lowest *bōd-*; while men are usually content with one *bōd-* women almost invariably wear four or five, and have been seen with as many as eight round their waists: in addition to the *ō·bunga-* and *bōd-*s married women[7] wear the *rō·gun-*.

291 834 4. It seems probable that Colonel Colebrooke's remarks on the want of decency shown by the Andamanese women referred to the *yē·rewa-*,[8] or to the tribe we now know as *jār·awa-*[9] for they alone answer to his description in going about perfectly nude: all my experience tends to prove that the females of the tribes of South Andaman are strikingly modest; indeed so particular are they

[1] As has been remarked by Peschel of other black-skinned races, their "dark colour almost removes the impression of nudity."

[462] [2] All ornaments are made by women, whether for themselves or their relatives. Sometimes at a "*jeg-*" (*vide* Games and Amusements) females exchange their girdles (*bōd-*s) and necklaces as keepsakes.

[3] They wear no head covering, but carry a large leaf screen (*kâ·pa-jâ·tnga-*) as a protection against sun and rain.

[4] For a complete list of personal ornaments, *vide* Appendix B, items 25 to 43.

[5] "Nudity prevails among both sexes of the Australians, the Andaman Islanders, sundry tribes on the White Nile, the Red Negroes of the Soudan, and the Bushmen, all of which tribes have as yet no sense of shame" (Peschel, p. 173).

[6] A description of these cinctures, aprons, &c., will be found at Appendix B, items 25 to 43.

[843] [7] During pregnancy loose *bōd-*s (*bōd-lâr-gō·rob-*) are worn by women in lieu of the ordinary kind, which are tight fitting; the *rō·gun-* is also discarded when it becomes inconvenient: after the birth of the child both these cinctures are resumed, the former being fastened as tightly as possible for several days.

[8] *Vide* Appendix B, item 79 and footnote.

[9] The *jār·awa-* women have hitherto been seen with only armlets and cinctures of string, to which a few short fibres were attached, obviously only for ornamental purposes.

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lâ-, cooking stones; common pebbles, about a couple of inches in diameter, which are heated, and then placed on all sides of the food which it is intended to cook.

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2. When a new *whetstone* is required—as no method of cutting stone is known to them—a block of soft sandstone is chosen, which, if too large, is placed on a fire till it breaks; the piece best adapted for the purpose is then taken and shaped according to fancy, by the aid of one of the hard smooth stone hammers; after being used a short time the edges wear down, and it answers as a hone for several months.[1]

3. Chips and flakes are never used more than once; in fact, several are generally employed in each operation: those having a sharp blade-like edge are reserved for shaving, while others with a fine point are kept for tattooing or scarifying; when done with they are thrown on a refuse heap, or otherwise disposed of, lest injury should befall anyone by inadvertently treading on them. [462] Flaking is regarded as one of the duties of women, and is usually performed by them.[2]

4. For making *chips* two pieces of white quartz are needed; the stones are not pressed against the thigh, nor are they bound round tightly so as to increase the line of least resistance to the blow of the flaker; but one of the pieces is first heated and afterwards allowed to cool, it is then held firmly and struck at right angles with the other stone: by this means is obtained in a few moments a number of fragments suitable for the purposes above mentioned. A certain knack is apparently necessary in order to produce the kind of chips which are at the time required: the smallest flakes are obtained in the same manner and never by pressure.

5. Glass chips are now generally used by all who are in communication with ourselves, in preference to those of flint, as they are sharper and more effective; the method in which they are obtained is the same, the thick lump of glass forming the bottom of beer and wine bottles being selected for the purpose, and never the thinner portions.

6. It has been stated[3] that formerly, for tattooing, a "sharpened flint bound to a stick" was used, and that the present instrument is a bit of broken bottle "inserted into the split extremity of a stick;" no instance has, however, been found confirmatory of the words quoted, and the Andamanese

fatty lustre, thin chips of which are translucent at the edges. (For this description I am indebted to Mr. F. W. Rudler.)

[1] For the mode of use *vide* Appendix B, item 52.

[2] All women can scarify and act as barbers, but only about 50 per cent. of them undertake the more difficult task of tattooing.

[3] *Vide* Dr. Day.

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534 convex side is uppermost; the pointed end is stuck in the ground, and kept in position with one foot; a stone is then placed under the board to enable the performer to make more noise when keeping time, which he does by thumping or kicking the board with the heel of the other foot.

227 462 20. *kūd-*.[1] Hand fishing-net constructed from the prepared fibre of the *Gnetum edule* (Andam., *pī·lita-*) by women and girls, who also by its means catch large quantities of fish and prawns, both in streams and among rocks along the coast at low tide. It is about the size of an ordinary butterfly-net; the frame is made of a length of a creeper known to them as *ô·rta-tāt-*, the ends being bound together to form a handle.

285 462 21. *jōb-*.[2] Baskets used by all the Great Andaman tribes for carrying food and various other articles: they are generally made by women.[3]

[NOTE.—The baskets made by the *yē·rewa-* or North Andaman tribes, differ from those found among the *bō·jig* tribes in having a wider base and a smaller mouth.[4]]

21*a*. The *jār·awa-*[5] baskets differ from those in use among the Great Andaman tribes in having no firm base.

286 462 22. *châ·panga-*.[6] Netted reticules made and used by women for carrying small objects: the string used for this purpose is generally prepared from the fibre of the *Anadendrum paniculatum* (Andam., *yō·lba-*, item 64), but as this is not always obtainable the less-valued fibre of the *Gnetum edule* (Andam., *pī·lita-*) is sometimes employed as a substitute.

23. *pār·epa-*.[7] Sleeping mat made by women of strips of a species of *Calamus* fastened securely in the ordinary manner with string made from the fibre of the *Gnetum edule* (Andam., *pī·lita-*, item 65). When in use the rolled-up portion of these mats—which are generally 15 to 20 feet long—serves as a pillow.

23*a*. The *jār·awa-*[8] sleeping mats hitherto found have always been of short lengths, but as wooden pillows similar to those in use among the Nicobarese have been found in their huts, it is probable that the specimens obtained represent full sized mats.

854 462 24. *chīp-*.[9] Sling or band made by women from the bark of

[1] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 18.
[2] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 17.
[3] *Vide* Part III, "Basket-work," paragraphs 2 and 3.
[4] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 14.
[5] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 14*a*.
[6] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 33.
[7] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 15.
[8] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 15*a*.
[9] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 25.

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the *Melochia velutina* (Andam., *al·aba-*), which is worn like a sash over one shoulder by women, and sometimes by men, when carrying infants.[1] [462] 854

The plain specimens are called *chīp-lū·pa-*.

Those ornamented with netting *chīp-râ·b-*.

Those ornamented with shells *chīp-yâ·mnga-*.

25. *bōd-*.[2] Waistbelt made from the leaves of the young screw-pine (*Pandanus Andamanensium*); the bunch of leaves or tail is worn at the back. 291

[NOTE.—These specimens are of the kind worn by women and girls of the eight Great Andaman tribes; the females of the *jār·awa-* tribes appear to go entirely nude.]

25*a*. *bōd-*.[3] Waistbelts of similar description, but having a less bushy tail, are worn more or less generally by men and youths of the eight Great Andaman tribes.

26. *rō·gun-*.[4] Belt made from the leaves of the young screw-pine, which is worn by adult married women only.

27. *tâ-chô·nga-*.[5] Garters, which are frequently worn by men and youths: they are made in the same way as the *bōd-* (item 25.)

28. *tô·go-chô·nga-*.[6] Bracelets, also worn by men and youths, much resembling the last-named object.

29. *gar·en-pē·ta-*.[7] Ornamental waistbelt of *Dentalium octogonum*, which is worn occasionally by both sexes.

30. *bē·ria-*[8] *jār·awa-* waistbelts, necklets, and armlets, which are believed to be worn by men and youths only.

31. *ij·i-gō·nga-*.[9] Head-dress of Pandanus-leaf, worn occasionally by young men and women.

The following ten articles are worn by both sexes as ornaments either round the neck or head:— 301

32. *ī·na-ô·la-tâ-*[10]	..	made of fresh water-shells.
33. *pē·r-tâ-* ..	..	" cane or wood.
34. *yâ·dī-tâ-*[11]	..	" turtle bones.
35. *bai·an-tâ-*	..	" paradoxurus bones.
36. *dū·ku-tâ-*[12]	..	" iguana bones.

[1] *Vide* Part III, "Social Relations, &c.," paragraph 10.
[2] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 27.
[3] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 27*a*.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 29.
[5] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 9.
[6] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 8.
[7] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 35.
[8] *Vide* Plate IX, figs. 13, 13*a*, and 13*b*.
[9] *Vide* Plate IX, figs. 6 and 6*a*.
[10] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 42.
[11] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 38.
[12] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 40.

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37. *bē·wa-tâ-* .. made of red coral.
38. *râ·ta-ō·la-tâ-* .. „ small sea shells.
39. *rē·keto-tâ-*[1] .. „ *Hemicardium unedo* shells.
40. *ngâ·tya-tâ-*[2] and *jū·mu-ta-* „ mangrove seed tops.
41. *gar·en len pī·d-* .. „ *Dentalium octogonum* and children's hair.[3]

42. *râb-*.[4] Fine netting, plain or ornamented with shells, worn occasionally by both sexes as necklaces, armlets, &c. Baby-slings (item 24), bows, pig-spears, &c., are sometimes ornamented with pieces of this netting.

[462] 43. *râ-*. Ornamental cord, made by men from the yellow skin of an orchid root, and worn round the waist intertwined sometimes with fibres of the *Melochia velutina* (Andam., *al·aba-*). It is also occasionally interwoven with fibres of the *Anodendron paniculatum* (Andam., *yō·lba-*), in order to make ornamental fastenings for arrows, turtle harpoons, and personal adornments.

[751] 44. *chàu·ga-tâ-*.[5] Human bone necklaces sometimes ornamented with *Dentalium octogonum*. These are worn as charms during illness by friends or relatives of the deceased, and may be often seen tied tightly round the part in pain; they are also worn when in health to ward off disease.[6]

45. *chàu·ga l'ōt chē·ta-*.[7] Human skull, carried *in memoriam* by relatives of the deceased.[8]

46. *chàu·ga l'â·kà ē·kib-*.[9] Human jaw, which is carried in a similar manner.[10]

412 47. *pē·licha-*.[11] Boar's tusk, used for planing bows, paddles, &c., as it answers this purpose, in *their* hands, admirably, it is much valued; when required for use the inner edge is sharpened with a *Cyrena* shell.

48. *tai·li-ban·a-*.[12] Stone hammer, which the men now use principally in beating out iron for arrow-heads, &c., and the women when making bone necklaces.

49. *chī·di-*.[13] *Pinna* shell, used as plates for food, or as receptacles for pigments.

[1] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 45.
[2] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 73.
[3] An interesting description of these various necklaces will be found in a paper by Dr. Allen Thomson, F.R.S., Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi, p. 295.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 34.
[5] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 46.
[6] *Vide* Part I, "Medicine," paragraphs 2, 7, 8.
[7] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 7.
[8] *Vide* Part II, "Death and Burial," paragraphs 5 and 19.
[9] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 7a.
[10] *Vide* Part I, "Medicine," paragraph 9.
[11] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 65.
[12] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 72.
[13] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 26.

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302 58. *tâ·la-ōg-*.[1] White clay, used mixed with water, for orna-
386 mental painting of the person and of various articles, *e.g.*, bows, baskets, buckets, trays, &c.: the work is done by women: when
[462] painting their relatives they spare no pains in executing neat designs with their finger-nails.

[843] [NOTE.—Women during pregnancy are in the habit of nibbling small quantities of this substance from time to time, in the belief that it is beneficial to their condition.]

59. *ōg-*. Common whitish-grey clay, lumps of which are found somewhat plentifully in various parts of the islands. It is used, mixed with water, for smearing over the body when the heat is oppressive.[2] A lump of it is placed on the top of the forehead as a symbol of bereavement, and kept there generally until the expiration of the mourning period.[3] It is also sometimes used by way of ornament on the person, by smearing the trunk and limbs with the wash and then, before it has had time to dry, passing the outspread finger-tips over the surface so as to form some pattern.[4]

60. *kòi·ob-*.[5] Red-ochre paint, which is made by mixing red oxide of iron, *ū·pla-* (*vide* next item), with some greasy substance, the fat of the pig or turtle, sometimes of the iguana, dugong, &c., and occasionally the oil of an almond, called *ē·mej-*, is used. This pigment is applied to the person either ornamentally or otherwise. It is accredited with hygienic properties,[6] and from its mode of application it can be readily determined whether the wearer is suffering or rejoicing. The nostrils and centre of the upper lip are occasionally painted with it, as the smell of the fat is agreeable to them.[7] Before a corpse is
[764] removed for burial it is smeared over the face and neck with this paint as a mark of respect, and in order to please the departed spirit.

61. *ū·pla-*. Red oxide of iron after it has been dried and baked. It is principally used in making the pigment described in the preceding paragraph. It is also employed in the manufacture of the red wax, called *kâ·ngatâ-būj-* (*vide* next item).

[462] 62. *kâ·ngatâ-būj-*. Red wax, generally prepared by men, composed of *â·ja-pīd-*, *rīm-*, and *ū·pla-* (items 56, 55, and 61); in the absence of the last-named ingredient *kòi·ob-* (item 60) is

[1] *Vide* Part III, "Painting," paragraph 7.
[2] *Vide* Part I, "Anatomy and Physiology," paragraph 5.
[3] *Vide* Part II, "Death and Burial," paragraphs 2, 6, 8, and footnote [1].
[4] *Vide* Part III, "Painting," paragraphs 5 and 6.
[758] [5] *ū·pla-* is collected chiefly during the dry months; in its natural condition, as found, it is called *kòi·ob-chū·lnga-*; in that condition it is applied to sores, and to the persons of fever patients; it is administered internally for coughs, fevers, &c. (*vide* Part I, "Medicine," paragraphs 4 and 5).
[6] *Vide* Part I, "Medicine," paragraph 2.
[7] *Vide* Part I, "Odour."

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substituted. These three substances are melted and stirred over a fire until of a proper consistency; the pigment is then poured into small pots or large shallow shells, where on cooling it soon hardens. When required for use the pot or shell is placed on the fire and the melting wax applied according to fancy. The string fastenings of fish and pig arrows (items 4, 5, and 6) the turtle harpoon (item 10), and pig spear (item 9), are protected with a coating of this wax, and it is applied ornamentally to the food trays (item 72), nautilus shells (item 14), and the outside of buckets (item 13); it is also used for closing cracks in buckets, and in canoes if not too large. 302 386

63. *chū·lnga-*. olive-coloured clay found in small springs in the jungles: in its liquid form it is applied medicinally after the manner of *kòi·ob-chū·lnga-* (*vide* footnote [5], p. 184). 386 758

64. *yō·lba-*. (*Anodendron paniculatum*), the fibre of which is much valued on account of its excellence; string made from it is used for bowstrings and arrow fastenings, for netting the *châ·panga-* (item 22), and *râb-* (item 42), for making their various necklaces and other personal ornaments, and also for the fastenings of knives and turtle harpoons. 283

65. *pī·lita-* (*Gnetum edule*), from the fibre of which string is prepared and used almost exclusively by women, chiefly for the manufacture of the *kūd-* (item 20), and *pār·epa-* (item 23); it is not sufficiently strong to serve as arrow fastenings, though on an emergency it is sometimes used for this purpose. [462]

66. *al·aba-* (*Melochia velutina*). From fibre obtained from this tree rope is made for turtle-lines (*bē·tmo-*), nets, and cables, the preparation and manufacture of which devolve on men; the bark of this tree also furnishes the material of which the *chīp* (item 24) or baby-slings are made. [462]

67. *pō·tòkla-*.[1] Netting-needles, made in two sizes of bamboo and used in making nets. 412

[NOTE.—The turtle-net (item 12) is not made with netting-needles, but with two sticks called *kū·tegbo-*.[2]] [286]

68. *pô-chô-*. Bamboo knives, which are shaped into form while green and then dried and charred over a fire to render them sharp and fit for use; formerly they were employed for cutting meat and other food.[3]

69. *wai-chô-* and *pâr-chô-*. Two varieties of cane knives, but similar to item 68.

70. *tō·ug-*.[4] Torch, made by women, of resin wrapped in a large leaf (*Crinum lorifolium*); it is used when fishing, travelling, or 373 [462]

[1] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 12.
[2] These are made of a light hard wood known as *bē·rewil-*.
[3] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 10.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 66.

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373 dancing by night: the resin is obtained from a large tree called by them *maiī-*, which also is often employed in the construction of their largest canoes. A larger description of torch is made by men, and used when fishing by night.

71. *lâ·pi-*. Gurjon wood torch, obtained from the heart of rotten logs of the *Dipterocarpus lævis* (Andam., *â·rain-*): as these do not burn so readily as the *tō·ug-* (item 70) they are rarely used outside their huts.

415 72. *pū·kuta-yât-māk·nga-*.[1] Food tray, made by men of some [462] soft wood, generally of the large flat buttress roots of the trees (*Sterculiaceæ*) of which their canoes are made.

764 73. *â·ra-*. Long fringe-like cane-leaf wreaths, which are made by women, and suspended from trees, &c., round an encamp- [462] ment or hut where a death has occurred, and round the spot where the corpse is deposited in order to warn off persons inadvertently approaching the place, which is believed to be haunted by the spirit of the deceased.[2]

285 74. *kâ·pa-jâ·tnga-*. Fan-like screen, made by women, of a description of palm-leaf (Andam., *kâ·pa-*), two of which are [462] fastened together with leaf stems: it is used for many purposes, amongst others as a protection from rain and from the direct rays of the sun in hot weather; in the absence of a *pār·epa-* (item 23) it is often used as a sleeping mat, and it serves also as a wrapper for bundles of various kinds.

75. *kâ·pa-*. Leaf wrappers, as described above, are employed for storing and packing the red oxide of iron.

293 76. *ūj-*.[3] Long brush-like shavings of the *Tetranthera lancæfolia*, prepared by men with the sharp edge of a *Cyrena* shell. When dancing these are often held (by both sexes) in their hands, or are stuck in their waistbelts or other personal ornaments.

412 77. *kô·no-*.[4] Iron knife used in cutting up food; to some a wooden or iron skewer is attached, they are then called *châm-chô-*.

78.[5]

291 79. *ō·bunga-*. Species of apron, consisting of one to six leaves of the *Mimusops Indica* (Andam., *dō·gota-*), which are fastened to the lowest *bōd-* by women from motives of modesty;[6] the leaves are not spread out so as to cover a wide surface, but are laid one above the other, and removed separately as each becomes stiff and shrivelled: the reason given for the selection of this

[1] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 16.
[2] *Vide* Part II. "Death and Burial," paragraph 3.
[3] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 37.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 21.
[5] This No. is attached to "Specimens of Andamanese Hair" (*vide* footnote 1, p. 175).
[6] *Vide* Part I, "Psychology and Morals," paragraph 8, and footnote.

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291 particular leaf is that it keeps green and fresh for a longer time than any other.

[NOTE.—The women of the North Andaman tribes, until recent years, appear to have worn no *ô·buaga*, or only in a very modified form; the change which is now observable among them in this respect is doubtless to be traced to their intercourse with the people of South Andaman.]

412 80. *kai-*.[1] Bamboo tongs, made by women, and used for any [462] purpose which would involve a risk of burning or scalding the fingers, such as lifting a pot or piece of cooked food off the fire.

81. *ko·pòt-*. Bucket made from a single joint of the *Bambusa* 415 *gigantea*, pieces of which are sometimes found on the coast, having floated ashore from the neighbouring continent or from wrecks; they are much valued on account of their lightness and the labour saved in making a wooden bucket (*dâ·kar-*, item 13), which being, as before described, scooped out of a single piece of wood, is a laborious undertaking.

[NOTE.—The origin of the *dâ·kar-* is doubtless to be traced to the *ko·pòt-*.]

82. *gōb-*. Bamboo vessel, of which there are two varieties, viz., (*a*) for use as a water-holder: this is often 4 or 5 feet long, the partitions at the joints being broken through with a spear head or other suitable instrument, the lowest one only being left to form the bottom of the vessel; and (*b*) for use as a cooking pot and food-holder: its length consists of a single joint of bamboo, into which—after it has been cleaned, washed, and dried over a fire—food is packed and cooked; as will be seen by reference to Part III,[2] these vessels are only capable of serving on a single occasion; the handle is formed with a piece of *bē·tma-*.

83. *lâ-*. Cooking stones: the mode in which they are used is described in Part III.[3]

412 84. *kâ·ta-ngâ·tanga-* (*lit.*, crab-hook). An implement employed for picking up live crabs between rocks, in order to save the fingers from being nipped; it consists merely of a branch broken off the *Rhizophora conjugata*, which (unlike other trees) at once furnishes a strong hook suitable for the above purpose.

85. *â·ra-tig-jē·rabnga-*. Tufted leaf brushes, which are used for the same purpose as the *â·ra-* (item 73), and also by persons recently tattooed to drive away flies.

[A few other objects, omitted from this list, will be found described in Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. vii, pp. 457–465.]

[1] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 11.
[2] *Vide* "Food," paragraph 31.
[3] *Vide* paragraph 27, and "Stone Implements," paragraph 2.

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Onge

3. Food

In the absence of men, women also are good at fishing inside the coral reefs. They do this with two small nets used together. Their catch generally consists of brilliantly coloured fish with yellow, red, green, blue, black and white stripes forming varied and attractive designs. The Onge eat all fish without discrimination. My Indian collaborators, on the other hand, considered the coloured fish dangerous to their health and refused to cook them ; the Sacred Vedas, in fact, advise the avoidance of brigthly hued fish and of fish without scales. I wanted to try both kinds, and found them perfectly palatable, tasty and harmless.

No tool, used for any purpose by the Onge, ever gets a cleaning. Cleanliness, I repeat, is unknown in Little Andaman. See how food is prepared and disposed of ! Care is taken only not to throw big pieces of meat intended for cooking directly on the bare ground ; but once it is cooked, food is treated with the utmost disregard for dirt, dust, cobwebs and other such things. It is usually left lying around on large leaves spread out for the purpose. The remains of the Onge's orgiastic meals are kept out of reach of the dogs on the ceiling of the huts, to be covered with flies when no fire is lit directly below. Sand and grit may get wedged annoyingly in the teeth, but not such impalpable things as dust or cobwebs. The use of unclean food is not repugnant to the Onge. The same can be said for water polluted by dogs drinking and bathing in it, or by the presence of putrefying carcases. In the west of Little Andaman I saw some Onge avidly drinking from pools of a blackish water with a revolting sulphurous smell. After thoroughly filtering and boiling it, I too used such water, for it was the only water available in the neighborhood. This caused no ill effects. My Indian men considered it perfectly healthy and invigorating, and drank it safely in its natural condition.

The Onge eat with their unwashed fingers, without the help of tools. On rare occasions they use platters made of the flattened-out stems – or bracts – of *areca* palms. They sometimes carry these platters when travelling, but of course never wash them although they become coated in rancid, greasy filth. They soon assume a dark colour and a truly revolting appearance – aside from the awful smell. A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN's statement – that the Andamanese paint their bodies to neutralize the unpleasant smell of food that clings to them after their orgiastic feedings – shows only indirect knowledge of the life and manners of those people. Even the horrible flatulence that follows their pork orgies is not considered an inconvenience ; yet it is much more revolting than all the other body odours.

Although the Onge observe few hygienic precautions they do follow a number of medical practices, not all devoid of beneficial effects. Here are a few more remarks on their eating and drinking habits. For about six months of the year, between November and April, water is scarce in Little Andaman. Every kind of fresh water is then considered good by the Onge, regardless of whether it is a murky infusion of rotting leaves or afloat with the putrefied

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

attempts to help, after binding his throat, had consisted in smearing the man's entire body with a mixture of ochre, turtle fat and honey with an extra layer on the bitten limb. Although it was very late to start treatment I injected antiserum, and the next day the man seemed a little better. I next saw him eleven days after the injection, when the arm appeared much less swollen, and the pain had almost disappeared, although clear traces of the accident remained; the skin was cracked and peeling, and the two puncture marks at the site of the bite were still gaping open, each revealing red, purulent flesh over a circular area more than two centimetres in diameter. The arm looked almost gangrenous, but its owner did not seem worried, and joined in cheerfully with the others round me. Just over a month after the accident the wound was completely healed, leaving one very grateful patient.

The incident shows the complete solidarity of this simple and reputedly so warlike community; by tacit agreement the patient was relieved of all work, and provided with food by the other families in the communal hut. While he was seriously ill his wife went hunting and fished, normally the man's work. Similar help is given in the case of the aged, or if a wife and mother falls ill; food is provided for them, and for the children, and certain 'soothsayers' appear to be at least partially provided with food by the rest of the community on a permanent basis.

For any kind of fever the Onges turn immediately to their stock remedy, smearing the entire body with the usual mixture of ochre, turtle fat and honey. The legs, arms, chest and abdomen are then tightly bound with strips of *Ficus* bark, which are removed and renewed from time to time. Whether the patient has pains in the abdomen or in the chest, or elsewhere, or has a cough, he is invariably stretched out on the ground, and the appropriate part is given a form of vigorous massage by the feet of one of the bystanders. Usually the entire body is pummelled for quite a time, the patient being turned over and over. The patient ends up looking rather like a mummy plastered in ochre and the whole process is to us somewhat amusing, but the Onges all practise it, and submit to it, very seriously, believing implicitly in its efficiency. The mechanism by which the treatment works has yet to be determined!

Balls of ochre the size of a hazelnut and varying in colour from bright red to whitish-yellow are given by mouth, particularly to

136 *fortispine*, uses a similar action on the larger bivalves. Its shell is equipped with a very effective form of tin-opener, which it keeps polished by vigorous rubbing.)

I watched a *Pterocera* attentively scrutinizing the hand holding it. After exploring it very carefully, the creature tried to free itself by beating violently with its foot, causing considerable pain. I held one by one of its protuberances, which was like a large right-angled hook. Suddenly, while my attention was held by a shoal of fish, I felt a sharp pain on the back of my hand. Taken by surprise, I watched the creature to try and discover what it had done. From a furrow at the base of one large front hook, a little to its left, I saw a tentacle emerge, able to turn in any direction, with a retractable eye at its tip. The eye, after a few exploratory movements, fixed its gaze on the place on my hand the creature intended to hit, and then the foot began to beat wildly on my hand, time and time again, causing a quite surprising degree of pain.

462 226 224 It is during the honey feasts, when the tides are exceptionally low and the seas calm, that the womenfolk come into prominence. While the men normally do all the hunting for game and large fish, using arrows and harpoons, the women, with their nets, catch the smaller fish in the rivers and marshes, and among the coral reefs at low tide. Their contribution to the everyday diet is by no means negligible, and during the season of very low tides their daily haul is tremendous.

262 825 The importance of fish to the Onges is shown by the fact that their word for it, *ciogbe*, is also used to mean food in general, and clearly dates back to the time before the arrival of the pigs on the island, when fish and sea food in general was the basis of their diet. [251] So plentiful is it that even at the height of the season the most they do in the way of preserving anything for future use is to expose the fish to smoke in order to deter flies from laying eggs on it for a day or two.

462 226 Only on very rare occasions do the men help in the net-fishing, and then only when they can completely fill the canoes with fish very quickly. I saw it happen for the first time on 24 March 1953, in the great coral reef near Nachuge, just as it happens all over the island at this time of year, when the pilchard shoals are so far inshore that there are not enough canoes to hold the catch. As the

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tide goes down, the shoals are caught in the reefs stretching out to sea all round the island and the Onges leave everything to man-handle the canoes from pool to pool and fill them to overflowing. The water is almost saturated with fish, and the Onges go on and on until they have nothing more they can use to hold the catch. Nowhere else in the world have I seen anything like this wholesale slaughter. 462 221

The pilchards of the Andamans are rather larger than usual, some weighing as much as half a kilogram or more. The Onges catch them regardless of size and then sort them into lengths before cooking (cooking, needless to say, without stopping to gut them). Men, women and children work feverishly, plunging their hands into the heaving mass of fish so that they reek of it for days, together with the dogs, whose coats become the inevitable hand-towels. 226 252 [136]

Every available vessel is used for the cooking, and the rest of the haul is cooked directly over hot ashes. The biggest are cooked alone; the smaller ones, in batches of half to one kilogram, are wrapped in big fleshy leaves, tied up with vegetable fibres and cooked for ten minutes or so, turned regularly all the while. To boil the fish, an entire netful of fish roughly equal in size is plunged into boiling water, and boiled as usual far too long for our taste.

Everyone cooks and eats at the same time until (temporarily) unable to eat any more, when the rest of the haul is laid on improvised racks with fires of green wood making smoke underneath. When, a few days later, all is gone, fishing begins again. And so life goes on for weeks, until the shoals have passed the islands. 252 264 251

The real fishing, however, is done by the men. The women use small nets about fifty centimetres in diameter, and about the same depth. The opening consists of a pliable cane, barely three centimetres in diameter, bent into a circle and tied with the ends crossing each other and projecting about twenty centimetres to form the handles. Each woman handles two nets, one held between the legs and the other in one hand, while the other hand pokes with a stick into the crevices in the reefs under the water to drive out the fish which have taken refuge as the tide goes out. Once found the fish are killed – very simply, by biting them between the 226 462 226

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I examined a number of canoes drawn up on the beach. They 501
varied in size from some eight to ten metres long, built to carry twenty people, to small single-manned craft three to four metres long, and there were some very small ones clearly intended to encourage the children to set out on their own. The very large canoes are, however, rare. The beam also varied considerably from some barely wide enough to admit a man's knees to others of one and a half metres or more.[1]

In the shallows, contrary to some assertions, paddles are never used; the booms would make alternate paddling extremely difficult. Reversed harpoon shafts are instead used as punt poles and oars, [824]
usually made of *Myristica longifolia*, are used only in deep water. They are sometimes but not always lashed into the holes in the gunwale through which the booms pass. They are short, not more than 1·3 metres long and are always rowed forwards (obviously there would be a danger of stubbing a reef if the European style of rowing was used). Like the canoes, the oars vary somewhat in size. Very roughly made they consist of a handle ninety centimetres long and a forty-centimetre blade. The grip tapers almost to a point and increases gradually in diameter towards the blade, which is long, narrow, blunt-ended and flat-convex in section. Usually it is [237]
merely roughly shaped with the Onges' crude hatchet, but occa- [412]
sionally it is smoothed off with a sharp *Cyrena* shell. The helmsman and pilot stand on the two platforms, guiding the canoe with oars. As far as possible the rowers avoid the side bearing the outrigger mechanism; any deviation of course caused by the unilateral rowing is corrected by the two steersmen.

When they first launch a canoe the Onges decorate it with ochre 501
designs like those on their bodies and the hollowed logs used to 531
hold honey, although they are washed off as soon as the craft enters the water. As usual the men do all the work up to that point [462]
and the women do the painting. The initial painting is the only [422]
form of ornament on the canoes; there is not even a mark of owner- [126]
ship, although each canoe is curiously enough recognized as the property of one man, despite the fact that everyone has helped to

[1] I am unable to agree with Brown that the Onge canoes are extremely small, that [114]
they have bow and stem, and that their floats are inefficient. My own experiences of travelling in the canoes has led me to the opinion that on these and other points Brown was wrong, possibly partly because he never actually visited Little Andaman.

build it (when I wanted to acquire two for the new anthropological museum at Port Blair and the Indian Museum in Calcutta I had to bargain with the men recognized as the owners, although the price had to be distributed among all the members of the group).

The chief delight of the men on their fishing trips is the capture of a Giant Turtle. I have already described (p. 88) the spear harpoons which the Onges use to catch them. Once caught, the wretched animals are subjected to a form of vivisection utterly incomprehensible to the Western mind; they are literally cut up alive and the pieces thrown into the boiling cooking-pot. Nor have I ever witnessed anything so terrible as the way in which the Onges, in the absence of any suitable cooking vessel, or the materials for an earth oven, roast these turtles whole and alive over a slow fire. They seem totally unable to realize that animals can feel pain and laugh like children at the other atrocious tortures they unwittingly inflict not only on the turtles, but on every living thing that falls into their hands.

These marine turtles (as far as I was able to see there were no land turtles in the Andamans) yield a far greater amount of food than the dugong, and provide the islanders with both meat and eggs. Two species are common in the seas round the islands, *Chelonia virgata*, or the green turtle, and *Caretta imbricata*, which supplies the shells normally sold commercially. The Onges prefer the former, which are both meaty and more plentiful.

Turtle-hunting and egg-collecting is done by the menfolk. The method is very like that used for dugong and large fish, using the harpoon. Owing to their fear of the spirits abroad in the night, the Onges never go near the beaches between dusk and dawn, when it would be easy to take the turtles on land and immobilize them by turning them on their backs. They do know this trick, however, and use it when captured turtles (often weighing up to a hundredweight) are too heavy to carry in the canoe; the animals are turned on their backs and dumped on the beach ready to pick up later.

The Onges harpoon the turtles from canoes, preferably at night when the turtles are nearing the shore, which they never approach in the day time. When there is a moon the creatures are easily seen, and on dark nights the phosphorescence of the sea helps.

11: Ciprianí E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

their love of existing with as little effort as possible is paramount. Since any wood is as good as the next for making a fire, the spirits conveniently have nothing to say in the matter. In other circumstances material considerations lead to quite the opposite effect: when the Onges dig up roots or tubers they not only replace the earth, but cover the place with leaves, the ritual having the good practical objective of appeasing the spirits and ensuring further supplies.

The preservation of skulls for magical purposes or out of pure superstition survives mainly in Asia and Oceania. In Asia it coincides with other beliefs which demand the killing of domestic animals by strangulation. I have seen this practised along the high reaches of the valley of the Brahmaputra, particularly among the Abor, and the Nagas, and in many other tribes to the south of Tibet and China, all of whom preserve skulls. Head-hunting, found throughout southern Asia, in the islands, and as far as Oceania, is also practised in the areas where animal skulls are preserved.

The preservation of animal skulls, particularly bear skulls, is still practised in mongoloid peoples as far as the north of Asia; apart from the Andamans and the Nicobars, human and animal bones are preserved in many parts of Indonesia and as far as New Guinea. In the corona of small islands along the west coast of Sumatra the custom coincides with many others, as well as with certain types of huts and canoes, all present in the Andamans and Nicobars. A good example are the huts raised up off the ground on stilts, common in the Nicobars, Nias, Engano, Mentawai and various parts of Indonesia. The single-boom canoes of these areas, quite apart from their general similarity of structure, all have certain identical features, even to the method of fixing the lateral float of green wood, with pointed hardwood pegs stuck in it like spills. This, again, cannot be due to chance; it must be the effect of a very ancient cultural diffusion, now surviving only in a few specific areas.

The skulls preserved by the Onges have one point of interest; it is the duty of the wife to clean the trophies brought back by her proud husband and then paint them lovingly with lines of ochre. After every successful hunting expedition the wives can be seen busily painting, while the husbands look on with satisfaction.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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APPENDIX N.

STATEMENT SHOWING THE EARNINGS OF THE ABORIGINES IN THE ANDAMAN HOMES FROM 1ST APRIL, 1875, TO 31ST MARCH, 1882.

The official year ending	For re-capturing runaway convicts at Rs. 5 each.	By sale of (a) sea-shells and tortoise-shell.	(b) turtles, oysters, crabs, prawns, and turtles' eggs.	(c) honey and jungle products.	(d) bows, arrows, &c.	(e) cane stools, thatching leaves, &c.*	Monthly bills for sales of a, b, c, d, and e.	Total.†	Remarks.
	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	
31st March, 1876 ...	135	348	240	437	29	...	...	1189	* These sales, however, represent but a fraction of the work done by the female inmates of the Homes, as upwards of Rs. 1000 worth of blankets and thatching leaves manufactured in the two years ending 31st March, 1877, were not charged for, besides large sums in the following years.
" 1877 ...	145	349	429	547	75	...	...	1545	
" 1878 ...	85	376	416	341	146	26	...	1390	
" 1879 ...	50	299	418	456	131	33	...	1387	
" 1880 ...	60	370	643	363	199	34	...	1669	† These amounts are exclusive of various sums—aggregating Rs. 3177 in the seven years—realised chiefly by the sale of surplus produce raised in the "Home" gardens, and by money prizes and rewards gained by the aborigines for recovering sunken property, winning races at sports, &c.
" 1881 ...	35	704	549	799	240	118	...	2445	
" 1882 ...	120	502	315	835	52	206	415	2445	

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

no specialized physicians, the Onge do not understand that payment can be 757
exacted for medical care. This stems from the fact that wages are not con- 465
sidered by those happy people as payment for any kind of work whatsoever, 123
but only as a gift. I realized this when I tried to pay my guides after our extenu- 431
ating marches through the jungle : in order to avoid offending the natives that we had casually met in the course of our trip, I had to give equal reward to everybody.

The Onge consider some men or women better endowed than others with 753
anti-malefic influence ; but these too neither demand nor receive wages for [756]
their services. Evil spirits or evil persons are believed to be principally responsible for illness. A series of superstitions and remarkable habits derive from this belief. The above-mentioned precautions concerning the *naquinêghê* are among them. For identical reasons they carefully hide hair cuttings, but not nail [515]
parings, for the simple reason that nails are never cut but worn down by digging for edible roots, fishing, and other rough work. Superstition, as we know, is also the reason for painting the body to prevent fever and other ills.

In the depths of their jungle the Onge appear to practice some kind of witchcraft. On several occasions I noticed the mysterious behaviour of some 789
natives travelling with me. Occasionally a man left our marching column to examine the inside of a huge hollow tree and signal to his friends. They did not prevent me from looking into the hollow, where I saw only a simple structure of short sticks resembling a trap without being one. The Onge do not use [224]
traps ; moreover, those structures were far too flimsy to catch anything. Often, two or three men assembled in consultation, rearranged the sticks that had probably been dislodged by the passage of lizards, crabs or other small animals, and walked away silently. I could get no explanation on the matter. Certainly the Onge are sagacious observers of animal and vegetable life and have deep knowledge of their hidden properties. Some trees are probably used for magical purposes, but, I insist, it is impossible as yet to affirm it. The structures in question consisted of four vertical sticks, about 30 cms long, joined at the top by four more sticks of approximately the same length, placed horizontally. The result was a box-like frame, loose and unsecured. The slightest disturbance, such as a light breeze, could destroy the flimsy construction. As far as I could guess they invested those structures with curative properties, but in what manner remains a mystery. I noticed analogous practices among Central [171]
African Pygmies and other primitives.

It is very clear that the Onge dread illness and magic spells, for they 754
consider themselves at a loss in fighting such evils. Unhygienic habits are of no 751
importance to them.

Resting is considered favorable to good health. The Onge indulge vo- 517
luptuously in rest, interrupting it, however, with too frequent sexual excursions. 751
They mainly rest from doing nothing, because 90 % of their time is spent in 461
what, for them, is the most agreeable manner of enjoying life.

In mid-March, when the honey harvest reaches its peak, the Onge guzzle 262

[For additional information on the growth of business and industrial organization see category 433, 6: Spate AW1 India.]

[For additional material dealing with government regulation or the development of industry see category 656 in 6: Spate AW1 India.]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

421 This is so, however, only in appearance. The hut is built by all
594 the different families, but each family is regarded as owning
342 a certain portion of the hut when it is finished, and it is the family that keeps this part of the hut in repair.

421 A canoe is cut by a number of men together. From the outset, however, it is the property of one man, who selects
501 the tree and superintends the operation of cutting it into shape.
•476 He is always one of the older men, and he enlists the services of the younger men to help him. When finished the canoe is his property, and he can do with it what he pleases, giving it away, if he wishes, and no one has any share of ownership in a canoe on the ground that he helped to make it.

421 While all portable property is thus owned by individuals, the Andamanese have customs which result in an approach to com-
431 munism. One of these is the custom of constantly exchanging
574 presents with one another. When two friends meet who have not seen each other for some time, one of the first things they do is to exchange presents with one another. Even in the ordinary everyday life of the village there is a constant giving and receiving of presents. A younger man or woman may give some article to an older one without expecting or receiving any return, but between equals a person who gives a present always expects that he will receive something of equal value in exchange. At the meetings that take place between neighbouring local groups the exchange of presents is of great importance. Each of the visitors brings with him a number of articles that he distributes amongst the members of the group that he visits. When the visitors depart they are loaded with presents received from their hosts. It requires a good deal of tact on the part of everyone concerned to avoid the unpleasantness that may arise if a man thinks that he has not received things as valuable as he has given, or if he fancies that he has not received quite the same amount of attention as has been accorded to others.

431 It is considered a breach of good manners ever to refuse the request of another. Thus if a man be asked by another
576 to give him anything that he may possess, he will immediately do so. If the two men are equals a return of about the same value will have to be made. As between an older married man

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

164 do they suffer from the eye infections that are so common in the tropics. Their
151 highly trained eye can distinguish at a great distance small vessels on the troubled waters of the sea that people with normal eyesight could not perceive without a telescope. Normal vision, I suppose, is the same for the entire human
123 race ; but we exercise our eyesight less. In the dark fastness of the jungle, the
151 Onge were able to point out birds sitting motionless high up in the trees, quite invisible to me notwithstanding my experience in collecting even the tiniest specimens. With their sharp eyes they sought out for me a collection of minute mimetic amphibians living far from the ground on tree trunks, previously unknown to science. The same thing often happened when I was unable to see as far as they did. The help of my savage friends was invaluable in avoiding the poisonous snakes that we met with daily in our camps or while travelling. For our protection, the Onge always marched in front of my men. They could discern reptiles hanging from branches among thick foliage, waiting to bite us on the neck, or lying perfectly still in the tall grass, ready to attack our legs. The only trouble we had with snakes was when the men I had brought from India, in moments of enthusiasm ran ahead into the interior of the jungle, eluding their Onge vanguard.

752 The Onge themselves, however, are sometimes bitten by snakes, with
123 dire consequences. Happily the Andamanese snakes are less deadly than the
[136] same species on the continent, and few deaths occur from snake bite ; but it can curtail a man's activity for several months. In March 1953 an Onge friend
[222] of about 25 who had climbed a tall tree to collect honey, inadvertently seized with his left hand a snake concealed in a tuft of creepers, and was bitten above the elbow. Frightful swelling ensued, together with shooting pains and a raging fever. The man was brought to me unconscious, his left arm had already assumed the appearance of a huge, rigid, elongated sausage. The Onge had smeared all his body, and particularly the wounded arm, with ochre mixed with honey, turtle fat and rough clay. They have no specific remedy for snake bite. It was too late, but in an attempt to save the patient an antiophidic injection was practiced on him. Within a few hours he appeared to rally. I saw him again after eleven days ; his arm had been treated in the Onge way and put in a sling made of ficus bark cut into narrow strips. Fever had disappeared, and in part also the swelling, so he could move his elbow a little. The skin peeled off the whole length of the arm. Where the fangs had entered the flesh two round, red, suppurating wounds, 1 cm in diameter, were discernible under a layer of clay and honey. The man recovered in about two months. During his
476 illness the people who shared his communal hut exempted him, his wife and his children from all work, and supplied them with all requirements. This occurs in every case of illness, showing the complete solidarity that prevails among those simple people – once considered ferocious. Always, if the wife is ill, the husband is automatically relieved of his hunting, fishing and food-collecting duties. Friends provide food for the family, no matter how many the members thereof.

164 In Little Andaman, we Europeans are constantly threatened with mala-
143 ria. Should we fail to take all necessary precautions we would catch it upon setting foot on the island. The Onge are all infected, but it does not upset

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

less plentiful and containing a great deal of wax, and is greatly 136
prized by the Onges. The darker bees, common in China, Celebes, 262
Borneo and beyond, build their nests in cavities in the rocks, or in tree-trunks. Their honey, darker and with less wax, is more plentiful, but not so fine; when there is enough of the golden honey the Onges ignore the darker variety.

Few of the fruits on Little Andaman contain much sugar, but 222
the Onges eat more than enough honey to compensate any defi- [146]
ciency that would otherwise occur. Whatever the fruit in season, men, women and children climb happily about like acrobats, hanging in the trees to get at it and the honey that goes with it. To chop the tree down is, of course, easiest and the obvious first choice for any Onge. Failing this, and their hooked poles, they climb up the nearby lianas into the branches, or walk up the trunk – an easy feat for them with their very long arms and almost prehensile toes.

Although there are arak nuts and betel leaves in the forest, the 137
Onges ignore them. They are the same variety as elsewhere; *Areca* 276
catechu and *Piper betel*. The Nicobarese are so addicted to them that [171]
many have lips and teeth hideously deformed as a result, but this is quite unknown among the Onges, contrary to earlier reports. The appearance of addiction in the Nicobars may have occurred after the separation of the peoples.

With all these fruits the Onges consume vast quantities of 222
honey from the two species of bee, *dorsata* and *nigrocinta*. 262
During the rainy season they can only get at the darker, poorer 136
honey of *nigrocinta*, which builds nests under boulders or in crevices of trees or rocks. The Onges' real honey orgies occur, therefore, in the dry season, when the honey birds (Indicationidae), common in Africa and all over Asia, lead them to the trees where the golden honey of *dorsata* is hidden.

When one of the Onges finds a nest of bees he puts a mark on the 222
rock or tree as a sign of ownership. None of the others would then 423
dare to take possession of it, for fear of punishment by the group,[1] [496]
but when the time comes to take the honey everyone helps in the hard work of getting at the nest and opening it up. On one trip from Labanar to Togalanghe, on 19 March 1954, the Onges pointed out over twenty *Nigrocinta* nests to me, all reserved ready for use

[1] However deep in the forest a crime is committed, it will inevitably be discovered in the end, and punished by banishment from the community. [627]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

7. Defiance is expressed by raising and slightly averting the head, and slowly uttering the word *ârtâ·lō·g-ba*, which is equivalent to "try it on." 201

8. Women and children, when too frightened to run away, throw themselves on their faces on the ground and raise shrill cries, while men, under similar circumstances, show their alarm by falling backwards, with their hands uplifted, and their eyes rolling. Laughter is sometimes carried to such an extreme as to bring tears.

9. When very angry a man does not stamp his foot, but he places his left hand, palm uppermost, between his teeth, and glares fiercely at some object on the ground *near* the offender; he, at the same time, raises some weapon with his right hand, and utters, as well as the position of the other hand permits, words of terrible import.

10. A man, if threatening another, does not clench his fist, but will seize some weapon or missile, and express his intention of inflicting an injury with it.

11. A dogged or obstinate expression is indicated by averting the head, closing the lips, lowering the eyes, as if ignoring the presence of others, and frowning slightly.

12. When sneering, the teeth are clenched, the upper lip slightly curled, and the eyes are fixed on some object *near* the person addressed.

13. Children, when sulky, behave much as those in other lands, for they pout, frown, and utter noises which betoken discontent.

14. When a man wishes to show that he cannot prevent something being done, or cannot himself do something, he averts his head and pouts his lips, but does not shrug his shoulders.

15. In beckoning, the head is nodded vertically and a hand outstretched, the fingers with the knuckles uppermost being waved towards himself.

16. In affirmation the head is nodded vertically, in negation it is shaken laterally.

Motions.—1. The attitudes of these savages are usually easy; the body when in motion is fairly balanced, the leg, if standing, is straightened; the foot is usually evenly planted, with the toes turned slightly outward; when stalking game they go on tiptoe, but, as a rule, the gait is energetic only under momentary excitement. The average length of a man's pace on level ground is 29–30 inches, and of a woman's about 24 inches. The arms (which they swing when walking) are habitually held with the palms turned inward. If pointing to any object, they usually do so with one finger, and not with the open hand. 481 [201]

2. In climbing up a rope or large creeper they proceed hand over hand with great rapidity, assisted by the big and second

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

481 toes of each foot; if a tree is branched they will scramble up it almost as quickly as if scaling a ladder, and though when "swarming" a mast or cocoa-nut tree they clasp the trunk in the usual manner with the arms and legs, their movements are more rapid, and they are less easily fatigued, than are the generality of natives of India; in descending also they display the same activity.

516 3. I have observed a peculiar trick among young men and women, after a lengthened rest or after engaging in some sedentary occupation, of twisting their bodies from side to side in order to stretch the muscles of the back. In doing this they produce a succession of sounds like that caused by cracking the joints of one's fingers.

4. Their favourite position in taking temporary rest after any violent or prolonged exertion is the ordinary Oriental posture between sitting and standing, *i.e.*, squatting on their heels; if very much exhausted they either sit or lie down.

513 5. The usual attitude in sleep (*vide* Plate III, fig. 2) is to lie on one side, preferably the right, with the knees bent so as to allow of the hand of the upper arm being placed between the thighs and the other hand under the head, which is raised on some impromptu pillow, such as a bundle or a roll of sleeping mat.

142 6. Many are able to shut one eye without closing the other, but they do not appear to possess the power of moving the ears or scalp. They can extend one finger without opening the hand. No tricks of sleight of hand are known to or attempted by them.

7. Much use is made of the feet in holding and picking up light objects, and the great toe is in a considerable degree [483] opposable. When a heavy load has to be moved they prefer pushing to dragging it.[1]

482 **Physical Powers and Senses.**—1. Though for a short distance heavier loads are often borne, the maximum of a man's burden is about 40 lbs.; this he will on occasion carry for as much as 15 miles through the jungles between sunrise and sunset, a distance rarely exceeded in one day under any circumstances, or for more than two or three days in succession. This has been particularly remarked when they have been in pursuit of runaway convicts, for, if they fail in coming up with them within the third day, they are wont to take a long rest, unless strong inducements are offered by way of inciting them to further efforts.

[1] They do not understand, or at least, do not carry into practice, the principle of pushing or dragging a weight *simultaneously*, whether in silence or to the sound of the voice.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

2. Unlike the natives of India, the men allow scarce any weight to rest on the head; the entire strain is thrown on the shoulders and back by passing the cord to which the load is attached across the chest. As this mode would with women be attended with inconvenience on account of the *chīp-*,[1] besides causing injury to the breasts, the cord is in their case brought over the head,[2] and the back is bent in order to reduce the pressure. 482

3. In his account of a visit to the Nágá Hills, about ten years ago,[3] Mr. S. E. Peal makes allusion to the "peculiar noise, like a whistle or note on a flute, clear and plain, and seeming to come from the chest, made by Nágánis when carrying loads and distressed." The same peculiarity is noticeable under similar circumstances among the Andamanese of *both* sexes. [142]

4. Running is seldom practised by them except for a short distance, when hunting, &c., and four or five hundred yards appears to be the greatest extent of ground they can cover without halting or slackening speed. Though in running or walking on a good road they are generally passed without difficulty by natives of India, their superiority in the jungles is at once manifest when the beaten track is left; and in the ease and rapidity with which they are able to bound over rocks, fallen trees, mangrove roots, and other obstacles, few, if any, would care, or be able, to compete with them. 481

5. Both coastmen and "junglees" are, as a rule, gifted with extremely keen sight. It was, however, found impossible to gauge their powers by the test papers[4] in consequence of their inability to count; but many satisfactory proofs of their acuteness of vision have been afforded, as, for instance, by the manner in which, while coasting along the shore or when threading their way through the jungle, they detect birds or other objects, so hidden by the dense foliage of their forests as to be hardly distinguishable, even when pointed out, to more than ordinarily sharp-eyed Europeans and others. 151

6. The inland tribes have especially keen scent, and are able from an almost incredible distance to specify, and direct their steps towards, any particular tree that may happen to be in blossom; their sense of taste is also strongly developed, enabling them to discriminate between the various flowers from which the bees have produced their honey.

7. On the other hand, while the coastmen are not deficient in

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, No. 24.

[2] A peculiarity in the conformation of the female skull due to this practice will be hereafter noted, under the heading of "Deformations," paragraph 3.

[3] *Vide* "Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal," vol. xli, part 1, 1872.

[4] Viz., those used in the Army for recruiting purposes.

Z: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

individual in the method of tying and knotting the string employed in the manufacture of these missiles;[1] these, however, are often so slight that, even when pointed out, they are scarcely to be detected by a stranger, unless he be one who has bestowed careful attention to the subject. 211 411

7. In their savage state they never attempt to represent any object, and, though they do not appear to possess any natural taste for drawing, they differ from the Australians[2] in the intelligence they display in recognising any familiar form depicted in a sketch; and while no such method for indicating the situation of any place is known or employed among themselves, some of them are quick in understanding a chart of their own country, and are able to point out the sites of their various encampments. 532 151

8. It is hardly necessary to state that they have nothing answering to mile-stones or roadside marks. Swamps are never crossed, but in all cases avoided by circuitous routes; experience seems to have taught them the natural line of fords from salient to salient banks, and, when a creek has to be crossed, they always avail themselves of the advantages thus afforded, even making a detour in order to do so.[3] This applies, however, to those occasions when they are not heavily laden, or are carrying articles liable to be damaged by immersion, or which would hinder them from swimming. 487

Swimming.—1. With the exception of some of the *ē·rem-tâ·ga-*,[4] a knowledge of the art of swimming is common to members of both sexes; the *children* even, learning almost as soon as they can run, speedily acquire great proficiency. In this accomplishment the Andamanese greatly surpass the majority of Europeans, but it is probable that, in competition with an experienced English swimmer, their best men would be distanced in the first few hundred yards, it being not so much for speed, as for the length of time they can remain in the water, that they are remarkable. 481

[1] With reference to this circumstance, it may be mentioned that, a few years ago (1876), five aborigines, concerned in the murder near Kyd Island of some Chinese traders with whom they had had a dispute, were discovered by means of the arrows found on the spot, as these were identified by some of their acquaintances then living at Port Blair.

[2] Brown. [From remarks, however, contained in a recent article, entitled "The Indo-Chinese and Oceanic Races," by Mr. A. H. Keane, which appeared in "Nature" (Jan. 6th, 1881), it would appear that the low estimate of the Australian intellect formed by certain ethnologists is not shared by all, and "many instances are given of their skill even in drawing, a capacity for which was wholly denied them."]

[3] Wells are not dug, but when encamping, whether for days or months, care is always taken that the spot selected be near some fresh-water stream.

[4] The reason of this is obvious, as it is known that the majority of the creeks are fordable in many places within three miles of the coast, even in the rainy season, and, therefore, the necessity of acquiring the art of natation has never been experienced by those permanently resident in the interior.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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2. The "frog-stroke" is the one in general use; in diving,[1] they invariably leap *feet* foremost into the water, and their skill in recovering any small object which has been thrown into the sea, or which is lying at a considerable depth, equals that displayed by Somali boys.

3. The younger people delight in disporting themselves in the sea, and in displaying their skill in capturing a harpooned turtle or fish by diving after it; but, while they surpass most races in this respect, they are by no means equal to the astounding feat of catching fish—not to mention any larger than themselves—by merely plunging into the sea after them, as was alleged by the ex-sepoy convict, *Dúdhnáth*, in one of his many Munchausen-like statements. His allegation, according to Dr. Mouat, was that he had "seen three or four of them dive into deep water, and bring up in their arms a fish six or seven feet in length, which they had seized." A well-known work having been lent me in which the Andamanese are referred to, I took advantage of an opportunity to show them some of the illustrations, amongst others one in which two of their race are represented as rising to the surface with an enormous fish in their arms, while a third person, standing on the shore, is endeavouring to despatch it by repeated blows with a log. Great was the amusement of my Andaman friends, and also of those natives of India, who, from long residence among them in the homes are well aware of the degree of skill they are capable of manifesting in their various pursuits, to learn the wonderful prowess attributed to them, and a hearty laugh was indulged in at the artist's expense, who, however, it will be seen from the foregoing, did not draw entirely upon his fertile imagination for the incident.

Since my return to the Andamans in September, 1882, by way of testing their powers of remaining under water, I timed three *áryó·to-* youths, who were instructed to do their best to distinguish themselves. One reappeared above the water after an interval of forty seconds, and made excuses for himself, while the other two remained down for fully seventy seconds, and could doubtless have held out longer had any sufficient inducement been offered them by way of reward.

in other savages. At Government House, Calcutta, in 1895, when a party was told to sit down and weep to show the custom at meetings, in a few moments the weeping became genuine, and when after a short time they were told to stop and get up, tears were streaming down their faces. 576

General Capacities.—The Andamanese are good climbers, and rapid walkers and runners, moving with a free and independent gait, and can travel considerable distances at a time. The Jarawas turn their toes in, due to the necessity of stooping to pass along their paths through the tangled jungle. The Eremtaga are good but not remarkable trackers. The Aryoto are good swimmers and are much at home in the water. The Andamanese generally show a dexterity in getting about their thick and tangled jungles which baffles all immigrants, though in this respect the Eremtaga quite out-distance the Aryoto, and the Jarawas apparently all the others. In the jungles all shooting with arrows is necessarily at very short distance, and generally the Andamanese are good shots at short distances only, judging direction very well but distance hardly at all. They can however at the very short distance required for shooting fish allow accurately for refraction in moving water and will shoot their fish successfully even in the surf in a manner that is inimitable: this is really due to accurate judgment of direction. 481

The Andamanese are unadventurous seamen, poling and paddling their canoes with small spade paddles at considerable speed, faster than that of an ordinary ship's boat for a little distance though they could not paddle away from one in even a short chase, but they never go out of sight of land, have never been even to the Cocos (30 miles), nor to Narcondam and Barren Island, nor had they ever any knowledge of the existence of the Nicobars till our arrival. Man has a legend from Car Nicobar doubtfully going to show that the Onges from the Little Andaman once made raids on that island: but if this were true they would do so still. 502

IV. Habits and Customs.

Dwellings.—Except in the Little Andaman and among the Jarawas there are no fixed habitations, the search for easily obtained food and insanitary habits obliging the people to be nomads, for they have no practice of cultivation and domesticate no animal whatever except dogs obtained from the English. They thus dwell in various customary encampments, situate within their respective territories. At these encampments, usually fixed in sheltered spots, they erect about 14 temporary huts capable of holding up to 50 to 80 persons, arranged facing inwards on an oval plan always more or less irregular, thus— 621 [242] [231]

The central space is the dancing ground. A hut is merely a thatch about 4 feet long by 3 feet wide, sloping from 8 inches behind to 4½ feet in front, placed on four uprights and some cross-pieces without walls. In unsheltered spots and at the Head-Quarters of Septs large circular huts are built with a good deal of ingenuity, having eaves nearly touching the ground. These will be as much as 15 feet high and 30 feet in diameter. For hunting purposes mere thatched shelters are erected for protection from the wind. Close to every hut is a very small platform for surplus food about 18 inches from the ground, and in it at least one fire is carefully preserved. This is the one thing that the Andamanese are really careful about for they do not know how to make fire, though 342 [251] 372

there till 1-30 P.M. At 2 P.M., going still due east we reached the top of the next ridge. Halted 15 minutes, reached the top of the next ridge at 2-50 P.M., having crossed another valley. Halted till 3-10 P.M. An Andamanese climbing a tree said he could see the survey station (a hill cleared of jungle with a post on it) and also Kyd Island which he recognised by a large gurjan tree, we went still due east and came to a stream with water in it at 3-25 P.M., and crossed it. An Andamanese went up it and said he had found an old Jarawa camp a little way up it. Went to see it and found the remains of two huts. It had not been used for a long while. As we had had a tiring day, decided to spend the night in the camp and to return to Jatang the next morning. C00

1st February 1902.—Left camp at 7-20 A.M., going due east reached a stream flowing north at 7-40 A.M., and still going west another large stream flowing east at 7-45 A.M.; this soon bent to the north, so we left it and continued going east. This stream had lots of water in it and an Andamanese speared a fresh water fish about 10 inches long in it: followed along the stream for 100 yards and left it at 8-10 A.M., reached the top of another ridge, from which an Andamanese from the top of a tree could see Kyd Island, but not the sea.

At 8-25 A.M., going a little to the east of south we reached the top of a ridge from which the top of Jatang Hill (Survey Station) could be seen.

At 9-5 A.M., going a little to the east of south reached the next ridge and halted there for 5 minutes, and at 9-30 A.M. we reached a stream which the Police had visited the second day that they went out by themselves. Picked up the Elephant tracks at 10-30 A.M., and reached Jatang camp at 11-25 A.M.

Diary, dated 5th February 1902, of Mr. M. Bonig, Assistant Harbour Master, Port Blair, from 25th January to 4th February 1902.

25th January.—Left Port Blair in the steam launch *Belle* at 6-30 P.M., with Mr. Vaux, also 1 Naik, 6 Police, 15 Andamanese, and 3 convict servants.

Arrived at Macpherson Strait at 9 P.M. and anchored there for the night.

26th January.—Left Macpherson Strait at 9 A.M., arrived at Port Mouat at 11 A.M., left Port Mouat at 1-35 P.M., and proceeded to Constance Bay and anchored off a place, called by the Andamanese Koyab-lar-tenga, at 2-30 P.M. Took an Andamanese canoe in tow from here.

27th January.—Left Constance Bay at 7-30 A.M., for Port Campbell and arrived at the latter place at 11 A.M. Went ashore with Mr. Vaux, first at Montgomery Island and then on the mainland to search for new traces of Jarawas.

Found an old Jarawa bow, a basket and a bamboo drinking cup in the jungle, but no new tracks of Jarawas were found; they do not appear to have frequented this place since the Census expedition in February, 1901.

The Andamanese shot 12 turtles in the evening in the shallow water between Montgomery Island and the mainland, which place seems to be a feeding ground for turtles.

28th January.—Left the ship at 7-30 A.M., with 9 Andamanese, 4 Police and 1 convict, crossed Chauga Juru between Clyde Island and the mainland and landed on the mainland opposite. Sent the Havildar of Police with 3 Constables and 3 Andamanese along a small creek into the jungle, to search for fresh tracks of Jarawas, with instructions to try and meet us about 4 miles further north. I went with the remainder of the Andamanese along the shore up to Gering-chápá-jig and followed up the left bank, while I sent three Andamanese up the right bank with instructions to follow us as soon as they had found fresh tracks. We soon discovered that the Jarawas frequented the vicinity, there being foot-prints of Jarawas in the swamp. The foot-prints of Jarawas are easily distinguished from any other, as the Jarawas appear to walk in a crouching attitude with their toes turned inwards, most probably the result of having to live in the dense jungle of the Andamans, where upright walking would be impossible. We also observed that a large tree had been stripped by them of its bark for the purpose, as the Andamanese informed me, of making waist ornaments. After having searched in the jungle for another 4 miles to try and find our other party, we returned to the beach. The three other Andamanese had not yet arrived, so we forded the creek and followed them up and observed by the foot-prints, that they had followed a single Jarawa along the shore. We caught them up again after a little while and as it was getting late then, I decided to return on board. Going along the shore I saw the remains of a wreck: there were only left of it three anchors, some chains, part of the windlass and about 20 tons of cast iron kentledge; judging from the size of the anchors it must have been a 200 to 300 ton vessel. When I returned to the boat, I found that my other party had returned before noon without having seen anything, so I decided not to send them alone in future. Arrived on board at 6-30 P.M. [481]

29th January.—Left Port Campbell for Bilep at day-break, arriving at the latter place at 7-30 A.M. Mr. Vaux and myself divided again into two parties, Mr. Vaux following up Gering-chápá-jig, while I went up Bilep-jig. We rowed about a mile up the creek and went ashore leaving the boat by itself. We soon found the Jarawa tracks and followed them up through the jungle. We saw by the foot-prints that there were two men, one woman and a child in the vicinity. We followed these up and came on a temporary encampment, where they had been resting the night previous. It consisted of only a few leaves put on the ground to sleep on and a piece of wood as a head-rest, they having selected

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

namely, that they are a very dark pigmy tribe, with short round head and infantile features. The hair of the head is wholly of the distinctly "peppercorn" pattern, *i.e.*, it grows in small tufts with intervening vacant spaces between (*see* Plate VII). The women were noticed to possess steotopygia in a markedly developed form (*see* Plate II, Fig. 2). 142

Freiherr von Eickstedt who visited the Islands in December 1926, claimed that he was the first scientist to observe these two traits among the Andamanese. His contentions, however, cannot stand scrutiny, for in a paper read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh on February 2, 1880, entitled "Remarks on the Aborigines of the Andaman Islands" and published in the Proceedings of that Society, Surgeon E. S. Brander, who was stationed at Port Blair as Second Medical Officer, speaking about the general features of the Andamanese women, remarked that they "undergo exceptional enlargement of the gluteal region, the appearance of which is enhanced by their custom of attaching branches of twigs to their waist bands, so as to hang over this region. This large development of abdomen, hip and buttocks, added to a very waddling style of gait, gives these women in progression a most grotesque appearance". Eight years after, in a paper published in the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography, Maurice Portman, who was the Officer-in-Charge of the Andamanese, in describing his visit to the Little Andaman, wrote about "the Hottentot Venus order of beauty" of the Onge women. The Hottentot Venus, as is well-known, is noted for her steotopygic development. These two papers appeared over 40 years before von Eickstedt's publication. 114 142 [293] [481]

A detailed comparative review of the somatic traits of the Onges based on the measurements taken by members of this Department will be published in the next issue of the Bulletin. Mr S. S. Sarkar's analysis of the blood group data is, however, published in this issue. 114

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10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

105 For the fact that the Andamanese inhabits the coastal areas of the
177 Andamans, the fishing is an well-known art to them. The pristine cul-
182 ture is virtually lost and the few who are still now surviving have been brought under the folds of government help. Still now the headmen
[225] of the Andamanese in the Middle Andaman, *Loka* is found doing turtle
[481] hunting in their canoes and climbing up the coconut trees without the help of any rope. Still now they are found dancing in groups but they are few and far between. All of them wear clothes and live in the huts made by the Forest Department.

THE ABORIGINES OF THE LITTLE ANDAMAN GROUP.

101 The Onges, the Jarawas and the Sentinelese belong to this group.

The Jarawas

177 Of all these three groups, the Jarawas only live in the Great Anda-
648 mans and their occurrence in the Great Andamans has been explained
[101] by many authorities, as has been explained earlier. The Jarawas are
[181] implacably hostile and the best of efforts to bring them under terms of amity have proved furtile. Lt. Colebrook and Archibald Blair first came in contact with the Jarawas and in course of time, the Aka-beas, belonging to the Great Andaman Group, living in the South Andaman became friendly with the foreigners while the hostility of the Jarawas remained unabated. The Jarawa hostility has been always increasing and it was more so since 1921. In 1923, 37 Jarawas were shot and in 1938, a Jarawa woman and her 4 children were captured. So the chances of meeting the Jarawas have been few and far between and the great decline in their number has in all practical senses stopped the apprehension of their raids in the new settlement areas. Still now, of course a person penetrating deep into the forests of the eastern parts of South Andaman should always be on the guard against an attack from the Jarawas.

The Onges.

The Onges, having experienced the impact of the foreigners at the latest period, are at present the most widesprend of all the aborigines of the Andamans. They do not have the truculence of the Jarawas and the attempts for bringing them under closer ties and terms of amity with the foreigners have proved successful, though the essential traits of their social, cultural and material life remain unaltered.

Many Onges, in fact, have fine features,
142 and some of the women have a certain beauty and grace of move-
[481] ment, with a dignified walk and restrained gestures, despite their utter lack of any sense of shame. The sclera are very white, and the highly characteristic contrast between the intense black of the skin and the startling white of the eyes gives the Andamanese a ferocious appearance, which on smiling turns into a curiously childish ex-
151 pression (see further, p. 19). It is a curious fact that although the
145 Onges have remarkable sight (p. 47), few of them can close each eye separately, although they are all completely ambidextrous.

In examining the child I had particularly in mind the very short
144 stature of the pygmies both of Asia and Africa, which is regarded
142 by some as pathological. The Andamanese have been described as
164 Negroes who have degenerated through genetical isolation. This theory holds that they are descended from slaves who fled from the Portuguese after a shipwreck. I do not regard this as tenable. Pygmies in general, and the Andamanese in particular, are well-proportioned and physically outwardly normal. One cannot speak of dwarfism as determining their characteristics: this implies abnormal development as the result of hypophyseal disorder or
[143] thyroid imbalance. Cases of achondroplastic dwarfism are known among the pygmies of Africa, particularly where there has been mixing with Negroes, and these patients are sometimes taller than their normal kinfolk, but I found no cases among the pygmies of Asia.

142 One characteristic of the Bushmen which does occur among the Andamanese is steatopigia in both males and females. This is nor-
[114] mally much more prevalent in females, and indeed before my visit to the Andamans von Eickstedt held that it was non-existent in males. I had always disagreed with this view, and was able to verify its occurrence in both males and females.

Dobson in the nineteenth century recorded in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* of London, the unusual appearance of the buttocks in the Andamanese, although he did not specifically refer to the phenomenon as steatopygia, and went only so far as to suppose it the result of an unusual accumulation of fat in the gluteal area. To him, however, must go the credit for the first observation.

114 His observation led scientists – in my view wrongly – to compare
142 the Andamanese with the Bushmen. The presence of steatopygia,
144

137 the Onges as hiding-places or temporary shelters. In these cavities,
[136] which remain full of water right through the dry season, flourish a horde of amphibia, many hitherto unknown.

The great trees are sometimes so close together that it is literally impossible to pass between them, yet it is rare to find two of the same species next to each other, so great is the variety. Huge clumps of ferns are everywhere, hiding the roots of dying trees, hundreds of years old, and fallen trunks rotting on the ground. Some of the thicker and taller trees protect themselves from the monsoon gales by developing buttresses, usually four or six to a tree, which stand out from the trunk like right-angled triangles, with the apex about ten metres from the ground. If a blanket is stretched between the sloping sides of two of the buttresses one can improvise a shelter which is extremely comfortable by local standards, and both man and animals take advantage of this natural cover; I myself took shelter like this on many occasions. (They need to be treated with caution, however, as the local snakes have a predilection for siestas
824 in the darkest corners.) If a hard piece of wood is struck against one
202 of the buttresses it echoes hollowly, and the Andamanese often make use of them to transmit warning messages over considerable distances, using a form of code. A few beats can make every inhabitant within a wide radius vanish from sight, hastily making for the nearest hiding-place. It is hopeless to try and ferret them out once they have been warned, and there is always a risk of being killed by one of their arrows in the process.

123 Sometimes the Onges used to disappear suddenly for fun. The
[522] blackness of their skin is a great help in this, since even on the brightest afternoon it is intensified by the obscurity of the forest. One has a disturbing sensation of being entirely alone, yet knowing that dozens of pairs of eyes are watching as the Onges glide silently from trunk to trunk between the buttresses.

137 The whole island is a mass of knotted vegetation, and it is useless
484 to attempt to cut any form of lasting path, as the plants immediately
487 grow back. 'Walking' in the Andamans therefore means opening up a way with a hatchet, unless one adopts the rapid but exhausting
[481] Onge method of swinging over obstacles by the lianas. This is the kingdom of the epiphytes. The lianas cover their hosts as if determined to hide them, and clumps of orchids hang from nearly every trunk, although their flowers are unfortunately very small.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

587 It may be noted that this custom may conflict with the other custom, previously mentioned, that a woman objects to marrying a man younger than herself. In the case mentioned by Mr Man a young man was compelled to marry a woman who was considerably his senior[1].

I believe that, in connection with, or underlying this custom there was an objection against a widow marrying a man who was older than her former husband (and who would therefore be his *ot-otoatue*). I regret that I cannot speak with certainty on these matters.

854 We may turn now to the duties to one another of parents and children. During their infancy the children are in the care of the mother. Children are, however, such favourites with the Andamanese that a child is played with and petted and nursed not only by his own father and mother but by everyone in the village. A woman with an unweaned child will often give suck [853] to the children of other women. Babies are not weaned till they are three or four years old.

[482] Before the children can walk, they are carried about by the mother, and sometimes by the father or other persons, in a bark sling (called *čiba* in *Aka-Jeru*), which is shown in Plate XIV. 857 After they can walk the children generally accompany their mothers in their expeditions near the camp for firewood or vegetables. When they are not with their mothers they amuse themselves with games in the village or on the beach. All the children of the coast villages learn to swim when they are very young, in fact almost as soon as they learn to walk, and many of their games are conducted in the water.

868 When a boy reaches the age of five or six his father makes him a toy bow and arrows, and sometimes a toy canoe. From this time the boy begins to learn the occupations of men and begins to pick up knowledge about the animals and trees and fishes of his country. The girl, accompanying her mother on her expeditions to gather roots and seeds, or to catch fish or pick up molluscs on the reefs, learns what it is necessary for women to know.

855 Until the age of about eight to ten a child lives with his

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 139.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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PLATE XIV

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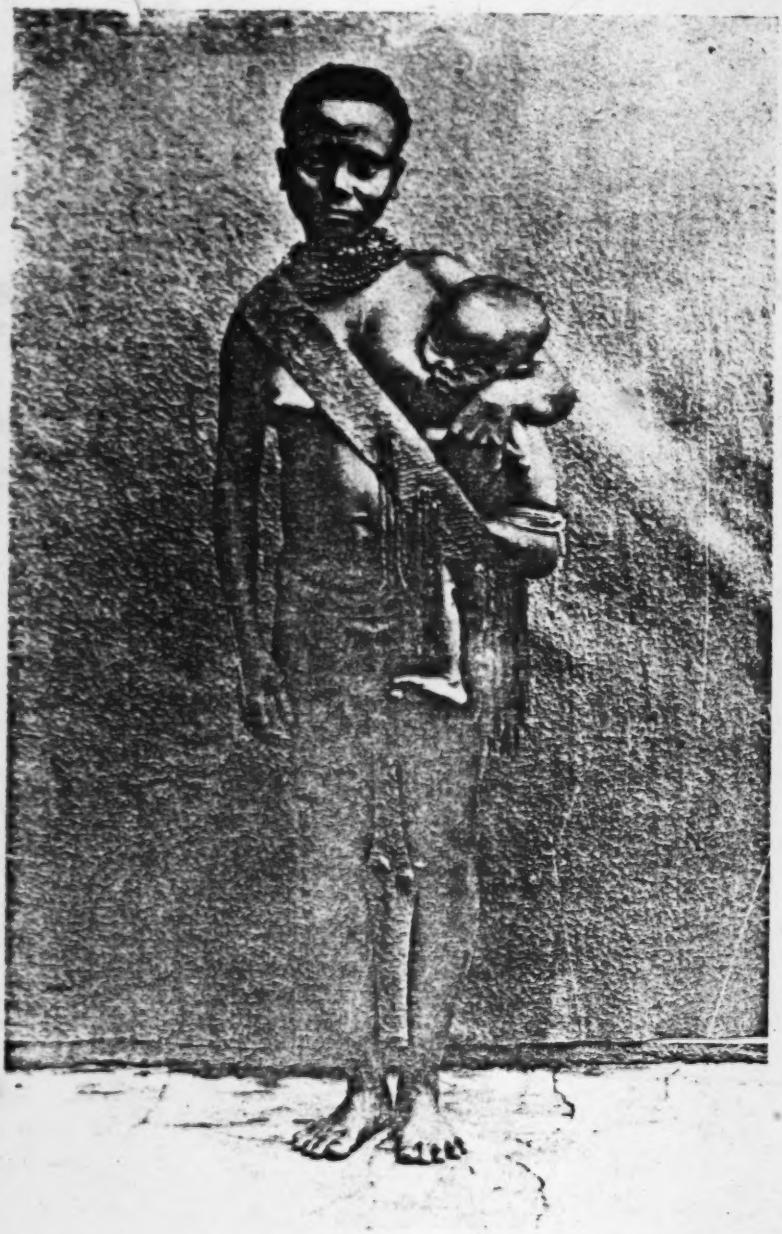

A woman with her child

[p. 126A]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

 751 755

as human bones, and ornaments made of them are commonly worn. 301

There are a number of other ornaments that are commonly worn, not only on ceremonial occasions, which, unlike the strings of human bones, do not obviously have a magical purpose. Such are necklaces made of various kinds of shells, and of mangrove seeds. At the present time the natives obtain beads from Port Blair and make ornaments of these. 301

The ordinary costume of the women is different from that of the men. Every woman and girl wears at least one belt of *Pandanus* leaf. There is one kind of belt that is always worn by married women and which may not be worn by unmarried girls. There is another kind of belt that may only be worn by unmarried girls. The women of the Southern tribes wear a bundle of leaves of the *Mimusops littoralis* laid one over another suspended from the front of the belt so as to cover the pudenda. In the Northern tribes it was formerly the custom for the women to wear a similar apron of the leaves of a plant called *čainyo*, and over this they also wore a tassel of shredded palm-leaf stem (*koro*). Within recent years the Northern tribes have given up their own custom in this matter and have adopted the custom of the Southern tribes. 291

Women often wear round the neck a piece of string similar to that worn by the men, but as they do not carry knives it does not serve the same purpose. It is more usual for a woman to wear a necklace of some sort. Nowadays they are rather fond of necklaces of beads which they obtain from the Settlement at Port Blair. In former times different kinds of shells were used, such as the *Dentalium octogonum*. 301

With the exception that men wear the belt of rope, and women wear the belt of *Pandanus* leaf and the apron of leaves, there is no difference between the ornaments worn by men and by women. On the occasion of a dance or other ceremony a woman may wear any of the objects described as being worn by men on such occasions. They also wear in the same way strings of human or animal bones.

One object which would seem to have a purely utilitarian purpose is the sling used for carrying children (called in *Aka-* 301 482

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

301 *Jeru čiba*). This object, however, seems to have its ceremonial
482 uses also. In one of the initiation ceremonies that I saw, the man who was officiating wore such a sling round his shoulders during the ceremony.

535 In the earlier parts of this chapter reference has been made several times to the dance of the Andaman Islanders. For the natives the dance is both a means of enjoyment and also a ceremony. The period of mourning for the dead is brought to a close by a dance, in which all the mourners join. As will be shown later, a dance was generally held before a fight, in former times when fights occurred. The ceremony by which two hostile local groups made peace with one another was a dance.

In the initiation ceremonies there are special dances, which have already been described, in connection with the pig-eating and turtle-eating ceremonies. With the exception of these special dances, and the peace-making dance to be described later, there is only one kind of dance in any given tribe. Thus the dance at the end of mourning, or before setting out on an attack on enemies, is in all essentials exactly the same as the dance in which the natives indulge when the day's hunting has been successful and the evening is fine.

The time for dancing, except in connection with certain ceremonies, is at night, after the evening meal. The dance takes place on the open ground in the centre of the village. This is swept clean by the women and the younger men. One or two fires are lighted, and little heaps of resin are placed in convenient situations to provide lights. These have to be replenished from time to time as the dance proceeds. Near one end of the
[534] dancing ground is placed a sounding-board, upon which it is the duty of one man to beat time with his foot. A sounding-board is a piece of wood somewhat of the shape of a large shield, cut from the hard *Pterocarpus* tree. One is shown in Plate VI. Behind the sounding-board, or a little to one side of it, the women, who form the chorus, sit in a row, with their legs stretched out in front of them, facing the dancing-ground. The men who intend to dance sit or stand round the edge of the space reserved for the dance.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

481 toes of each foot; if a tree is branched they will scramble up it almost as quickly as if scaling a ladder, and though when "swarming" a mast or cocoa-nut tree they clasp the trunk in the usual manner with the arms and legs, their movements are more rapid, and they are less easily fatigued, than are the generality of natives of India; in descending also they display the same activity.

516 3. I have observed a peculiar trick among young men and women, after a lengthened rest or after engaging in some sedentary occupation, of twisting their bodies from side to side in order to stretch the muscles of the back. In doing this they produce a succession of sounds like that caused by cracking the joints of one's fingers.

4. Their favourite position in taking temporary rest after any violent or prolonged exertion is the ordinary Oriental posture between sitting and standing, *i.e.*, squatting on their heels; if very much exhausted they either sit or lie down.

513 5. The usual attitude in sleep (*vide* Plate III, fig. 2) is to lie on one side, preferably the right, with the knees bent so as to allow of the hand of the upper arm being placed between the thighs and the other hand under the head, which is raised on some impromptu pillow, such as a bundle or a roll of sleeping mat.

142 6. Many are able to shut one eye without closing the other, but they do not appear to possess the power of moving the ears or scalp. They can extend one finger without opening the hand. No tricks of sleight of hand are known to or attempted by them.

7. Much use is made of the feet in holding and picking up light objects, and the great toe is in a considerable degree [483] opposable. When a heavy load has to be moved they prefer pushing to dragging it.[1]

Physical Powers and Senses.—1. Though for a short distance 482 heavier loads are often borne, the maximum of a man's burden is about 40 lbs.; this he will on occasion carry for as much as 15 miles through the jungles between sunrise and sunset, a distance rarely exceeded in one day under any circumstances, or for more than two or three days in succession. This has been particularly remarked when they have been in pursuit of runaway convicts, for, if they fail in coming up with them within the third day, they are wont to take a long rest, unless strong inducements are offered by way of inciting them to further efforts.

[1] They do not understand, or, at least, do not carry into practice, the principle of pushing or dragging a weight *simultaneously*, whether in silence or to the sound of the voice.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

2. Unlike the natives of India, the men allow scarce any weight to rest on the head; the entire strain is thrown on the shoulders and back by passing the cord to which the load is attached across the chest. As this mode would with women be attended with inconvenience on account of the *chīp-*,[1] besides causing injury to the breasts, the cord is in their case brought over the head,[2] and the back is bent in order to reduce the pressure. 482

3. In his account of a visit to the Nágá Hills, about ten years ago,[3] Mr. S. E. Peal makes allusion to the "peculiar noise, like a whistle or note on a flute, clear and plain, and seeming to come from the chest, made by Nágánis when carrying loads and distressed." The same peculiarity is noticeable under similar circumstances among the Andamanese of *both* sexes. [142]

4. Running is seldom practised by them except for a short distance, when hunting, &c., and four or five hundred yards appears to be the greatest extent of ground they can cover without halting or slackening speed. Though in running or walking on a good road they are generally passed without difficulty by natives of India, their superiority in the jungles is at once manifest when the beaten track is left; and in the ease and rapidity with which they are able to bound over rocks, fallen trees, mangrove roots, and other obstacles, few, if any, would care, or be able, to compete with them. 481

5. Both coastmen and "junglees" are, as a rule, gifted with extremely keen sight. It was, however, found impossible to gauge their powers by the test papers[4] in consequence of their inability to count; but many satisfactory proofs of their acuteness of vision have been afforded, as, for instance, by the manner in which, while coasting along the shore or when threading their way through the jungle, they detect birds or other objects, so hidden by the dense foliage of their forests as to be hardly distinguishable, even when pointed out, to more than ordinarily sharp-eyed Europeans and others. 151

6. The inland tribes have especially keen scent, and are able from an almost incredible distance to specify, and direct their steps towards, any particular tree that may happen to be in blossom; their sense of taste is also strongly developed, enabling them to discriminate between the various flowers from which the bees have produced their honey.

7. On the other hand, while the coastmen are not deficient in

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, No. 24.

[2] A peculiarity in the conformation of the female skull due to this practice will be hereafter noted, under the heading of "Deformations," paragraph 3.

[3] *Vide* "Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal," vol. xli, part 1, 1872.

[4] Viz., those used in the Army for recruiting purposes.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE VI.

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GREAT ANDAMAN TYPES AT PORT BLAIR HOME.

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CHANG-TONGA (SECOND-CLASS LEAN-TO) IN SOUTH ANDAMAN: FRIENDS WEEPING TOGETHER AFTER LONG SEPARATION; ATTITUDE IN SLEEP, ETC.

[Facing p. 78]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE VIII.

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ANDAMANESE EQUIPPED FOR JOURNEY.

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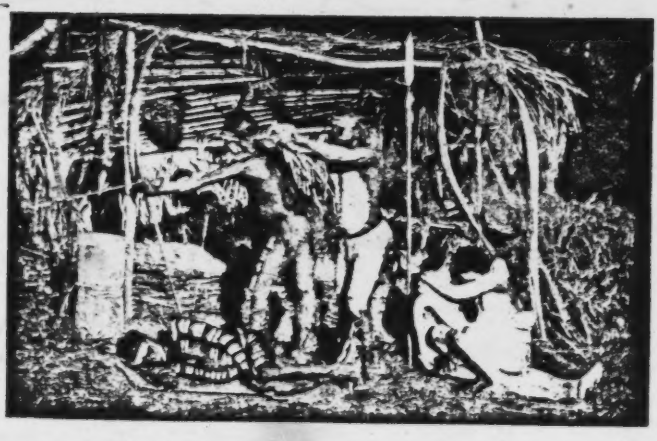

ANDAMANESE SHOOTING, DANCING, SLEEPING, AND GREETING.

[facing p. 110]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

be supposed, is soon obliterated, and requires therefore to be 302
constantly renewed.

2. Only in very exceptional cases, when the services of a woman are not obtainable, will men consent to operate upon one another, for among these savages shaving is regarded as essentially a feminine occupation:[1] the instrument used for this purpose is effective, if rude, and consists merely of a flake of quartz, or now more generally of glass; the manner in which these primitive razors are made is described under "Stone Implements."[2]

3. Previous to shaving an *infant*, the mother usually moistens the head with milk which she presses from her breast, but when operating upon bigger children and adults, water only is used.

Deformations.—1. Unless tattooing can be so regarded, these 304
savages do not intentionally produce any deformities, or practice artificial deformations in any way.[3] No attempt is made to alter the shape of the nose by flattening or pinching it, nor is the cartilaginous septum ever perforated for the purpose of inserting ornamental bars or rings.

2. In this, as in many other respects, the Andamanese differ greatly from their neighbours, the Nicobarese, who not only flatten the occiputs of their children in infancy, but, from the period of puberty, blacken their teeth,[4] and perforate the lobes of their ears to such an extent as to enable them, by the time they are full grown, to insert a wooden cylindrical instrument three-quarters of an inch thick.

3. There is, however, a deformity of the skull observable in 304
most Andamanese women, but it is caused unintentionally, and arises from the practice, to which allusion has already been made,[5] 482
of placing the cane or cord by which a load is borne across the anterior portion of the cranium: this habit, especially when commenced at an early age, cannot fail to produce a more or less deep indentation.[6]

[1] *Vide ante* "Social Relations," paragraph 3.

[2] *Vide post* "Stone Implements," paragraph 4.

[3] Mutilation, such as the amputation of a part, or whole, of the fingers, which is practised among certain African tribes, is quite unknown to this race, as are also the customs of circumcision and castration.

[4] "Men and women use so large a quantity of betel-nut lime and betel-leaves that their teeth are as black as ink, and the space between them being filled with that matter they appear as a solid piece, much like the horn inserted in the jaws of the tortoise" (*vide* "Notice of the Nicobar Islands," by the Rev. P. Barbe).

[5] *Vide ante* "Physical Powers and Senses," paragraph 2.

[6] So strongly marked is the deformation in most cases, that the late Dr. J. Barnard Davis, being unaware of its true cause, in a letter to me on the subject, wrote as follows:—"The skull shows unmistakably that she has been subjected to the same barbarous treatment which the women among Australians have to submit to: every Australian woman's skull that I have

145 to about 60 to 65, if he reaches "old age." Except as to marriage at an ear-
582 lier age, about 18, these figures apply fairly to the women also, who, however, live somewhat longer than the men, retaining in old age both health and mental faculties.

163 **Reproduction.**—The marriages are infructuous, though barrenness is
[853] uncommon, a couple rarely producing families of even moderate size and many none at all. The child-bearing age is from 16 to 35; weaning is much delayed.

291 **Endurance.**—Left to themselves the Andamanese go stark naked and
147 with head uncovered, except that the women wear, as clothing and not ornament, one or more leaves in front and a bunch of leaves tied round the waist behind, or a tassel of leaves all round. Jarawas, however, of both sexes have been seen entirely naked. They dislike and fear cold, but not heat, though they avoid exposure to the sun; and being accustomed to gratify every sensation as it arises, they endure thirst, hunger, want of sleep, fatigue and bodily discomfort badly. Want of sleep, such as occurs at their dances for occasionally as much as
● [482] four days and nights, exhausts them greatly. A man's load is 40 lbs. and his distance 15 miles for a day or two only. After that he will rest, whatever the urgency.

252 **Food.**—The food consists of fish, pork, turtle, iguana, "wild cat" (*pare-*
262 *doxurus sp.*), shell-fish, turtle eggs, certain larvæ, and a great variety of fruit, seeds, roots, and honey, and is plentiful both by sea and land. They never starve, though they are habitually heavy eaters. The food is always cooked and commonly eaten very hot. As much as possible of an animal is eaten and the Andamanese, like most hunters, have found out the dietary value of tripe. The Andamanese are expert cooks and adept at preparing delicacies from parts of animals and fish.

142 **Skin.**—The skin, which is smooth, greasy and satiny, varies in colour from an intense sheeny black to a reddish brown on the unexposed parts and also on the collar bones, cheeks and other prominences of the body. Its general appearance has been likened to a "black-leaded stove." The scalp, the lips and nostrils are black, and there are black patches on the palate. The soles of the feet are brownish yellow. The Bojigngiji Group (South Andaman) are the darkest, and among the Onges parts of the face are a light reddish-brown. The Jarawas are distinctly fairer than the rest, the general colour being a deep reddish brown. Leucoderma occurs on the fingers and lips.

Hair.—The hair varies from a sooty black to dark and light brown, yellowish brown and red. The general appearance of it is sooty black or yellowish brown. Except on the head the hair is scanty, but not absent: on the head it grows in small rings, which give it the appearance of growing in tufts, though it is really closely and evenly distributed over the whole scalp. Limited baldness is un-
[302] known, but temporary general baldness after disease occurs with a weak growth of the hair afterwards. The hair is not shaved, except on the head and eye-
[145] brows, and each tribe has, with many fantastic individual variants, its own method of wearing it. It turns grey at about 40, but white hair is not common.

Shaving is "woman's work" and was performed by small flakes of quartz, but nowadays flakes from the kicks of glass bottles are substituted. It is effective and close, but a painful operation on an European's face, as I proved by personal experience many years ago.

Bodily Parts.—The mouth is large, the palate hard and highly arched, the lips well formed. The hands and feet are small and well made. The ears are small and well shaped, the eyes are generally dark to a very dark brown, bright, liquid and clear, but prominent with slightly elevated outer angles and become dulled with age. The teeth, in the young, except amongst the Onges, are white, good and on the whole free from disease. Those of the Onges are irregular and discoloured. As age advances the teeth generally lose their whiteness and become worn, but without much caries. The teeth are roughly used without any care whatever. Dentition is early.

164 **Diseases.**—The muscular strength of the Andamanese is great, but their vitality is nevertheless low, and the apparently robust quickly die after sickening

there were no Andamanese There,

K 361 [162] A 114 but 400 people consisting of 133 males and 130 females who migrated from Bassein in 1924. They were Karen Christians who had settled there. After returning to Long Island on the 12th, Mr Sarkar and party left in the motor boat "Return" for a short cruise along the Jarawa country. Besides Mr Joseph, there were Mr Pooviah and a few of his Burman Bush Police armed with rifles and guns. The party passed through the Homfray's Strait and anchored at the north eastern corner of the Spike Island. Loka and his party of three Andamanese accompanied them in their two canoes. They came to the shore in one of the Andamanese canoes and after entering the forest they found A [501] bundles of bamboos piled up at one corner. This was identified as a Jarawa raft. There were also three paddles made out of a palm tree. These specimens were procured for the Department. After proceeding some distance in the jungle, 19 small fire places were counted in scattered manner. A temporary hut was also noticed at a short distance. A number of objects usually A [340] [187] [411] [531] used by the Andamanese tribes for household purposes was found including a sling for carrying babies. A beautiful specimen of a Jarawa Bow painted in red in geometrical designs was also found. Photographs were taken of the settlements of the Jarawa camp and objects collected for the Museum. In another place at *Yeratiajig* remnants of a Jarawa camp including pottery and bones of animals, etc., were found. The party returned to Long Island on 14-3-48 and examined 8 of the remaining members of Loka's party. It left the same day for Port Blair where it arrived at 10 P.M. On the 25th Mr Sarkar and his party with the Deputy Chief Commissioner Mr Gupta, left for Kar Nicobar where it arrived on the following day. It returned to Port Blair after staying for a few days. During this time in Kar Nicobar, besides studying the Nicobarese of the Island Mr Sarkar met two Jarawa children who were captured and brought over there and placed in a local Mission School for education.

In the following year in January 1949, another small party was sent under Dr A. K. Mitra with Messrs H. K. Bose and A. Bhattacharyya, to continue A [361] the survey of the Little Andaman further along the eastern coast. They visited *Hut Bay* on the 28th and went to the Onge settlement there. A large [349] circular hut similar to that seen by us at Tambobui was observed. It contained [352] [354] nine cots with a fire place in the centre. There were also two outrigger canoes, one in front of the hut and another on the beach. Altogether 11 Onges were [162] found consisting of 2 adult males, 6 females and 3 young children between [125] the ages of 6 to 15. The 8 adults and the adolescent boys were carefully measured and observations noted about their special somatic characters. After leaving Hut Bay they went as far as the South Point which is the southernmost point on the eastern coast of the Little Andaman, but did not see any other Onge settlement. They had to return on the 31st as the launch could not be spared any further.

A 142 The Onges were found to be strong and healthy and free from venereal 164 disease, a scourge, which along with tuberculosis were chiefly responsible A 142 for the rapid depopulation of the Andamanese tribes. Our observations agree with the accounts of the Negritos of the Andaman Islands published before

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

291 754 *naquinēghē* exposes the former owner to harm. Ill-disposed persons could use it for black magic practices. I collected specimens of this garment, all of them, however, brand-new – for the above-mentioned reason. To avoid trouble to the owner, nobody is allowed to touch the *naquinēghē*, which is worn in front of the vulva. To touch it is a deadly offence. Aside from the *naquinēghē*, Andaman 842 263 colonists attribute the natives' sterility to their abhorrence of salt. Another opinion would have it that the lack of salt transforms human saliva into poison: the Jarawas, by spitting on their arrows render them poisonous. The absurdity of this belief is so evident that it requires no confutation. The Onge refuse to eat salt because they consider it unhealthy, or, to say the least, disgusting.

III. Illnesses and Onge Curative Methods

164 Few illnesses affect the Onge, but they succumb to those few with surprising speed. Often they become seriously ill for mysterious reasons and in spite of their robust appearance. Smallpox, tuberculosis and poliomyelitis are unknown in Little Andaman, although they sometimes strike in the nearby Nicobars. Measles broke out on the island on more than one occasion, killing off all the inhabitants of several communal huts, which I later found deserted and in ruins. With regard to syphilis, the Indian Census of 1931 quotes an old remark of PORTMAN's concerning a few individuals considered by him as infected. This was later denied.

Onge women are more resistant to illness than men. Wounds heal prompt- [752] ly in both sexes, without the aid of remedies. A few of the older men, ho- [123] ever, had suppurating sores on their legs, slow to disappear even when disinfected and treated by me with European medicines. No similar sores were found on women. On the other hand, women suffer more than men from ringworm, mainly in the umbilical region. Nothing is done to rid them of it because the discomfort is slight. I suggested an Indian cure made with the leaves of the neem tree, or Melia azedarach, very common in Southern Asia where it is considered sacred. I imported the plant to Little Andaman, but [123] the Onge displayed no interest in it. I found a single instance of leucoderma, in a woman with whitish spots on her hands and lips. I could get no reliable information about the incidence of cancer, but it appears to be rare on the island. No baldness is to be seen in Little Andaman, and I found few traces of [142] greying hair, as the Onge die young. A transversal bregmatic furrow is noticeable [482] in all individuals, male and female, as a consequence of carrying loads hung from their heads by a strip of bark. The Onge start doing this in childhood. An artificial, unintentional deformation of the skull is the result of that uncomfortable habit.

751 For hygienic reasons the Little Andaman aborigines paint their bodies with 302 refined clay and ochre of various shades, mainly reddish. This gives the women [386] occasion to embellish the bodies of their husbands with an endless variety of geometrical designs. Every year I found changes in their patterns, and I

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

and the 'peppercorn' hair (disposed in tufts with bare areas) do indeed recall the Bushmen, but superficial resemblances are not enough to classify the two peoples as at all closely related. There is an important difference between the two in the structure and cross-section of the hair. Hairs from the Onges which were examined in Calcutta were remarkably uniform, indicating the racial purity of the people, unlike those of the Arioto, which showed considerable variation in cross-section, from the almost circular straight hair of the Mongoloid type, to the flattened, almost remiform hair of the original Negritos.

Different, too, is the shape of the head; I have never seen in the Negritos the typical Bushmen head, with the prominent occiput, and I saw no Andamanese with the pseudo-mongoloid appearance of the eyes which occurs in Bushmen.

The hands and feet are also different. Among the Kung women of the northern Kalahari in particular I saw delicate hands with very long metacarpals and a very small thumb, the elongated metacarpals displacing the thumb towards the wrist. None of the Negritos appear to have anything resembling this; their hands are always rather broad. Moreover, the feet of the male Onges are nearly always flat while those of the women tend to turn in, recalling the small peoples of Indonesia and New Guinea, but not the Bushmen.

An interesting though not congenital abnormality in the Andamanese results from the carrying of weights slung from the head from too early an age. Loads are always carried on their backs by a rope made of bark, the weight being taken on the forehead. The rope presses on the head in the region of the bregma and creates the so-called bregmatic furrow. This is more marked in females, as the women normally do most of the carrying. Even the children travel on their parents' backs, hanging like parcels, until the age of five or six when they are old enough to follow the group on their own.

The Abor, a mongoloid people of small stature in the mountains of North-West Assam, carry loads in the same way, but with no resulting head furrow. The Andamanese have softer cranial bones, and the result of load-bearing is therefore clearly visible. As it occurs in both sexes, it is often hard if not impossible to determine sex from skulls if the pelvis is absent. The long bones are not of

much assistance in this respect, as the muscular insertions are exaggerated in both sexes, both being subjected to continued physical effort resulting in muscular bulk.

One quite outstanding physical feature in the Onges is their teeth. The palate is unusually arched, unlike that of the African pygmies or the Bushmen. The teeth, which are never filed or cut, as many primitive peoples do for decorative purposes, are very white; caries is rare, and although never cleaned the teeth are retained till late in life. A common abnormality is that the lateral incisors are as pointed as the canines. This, with the whiteness of the teeth and eyes against the blackness of the skin, gives the Onges a sinister appearance, which may account for the old description of the Andamanese as men with ferocious dogs' heads. The only (summary) cleaning the Onge teeth receive is the use of toothpicks, thinner and rather longer than the European variety and made from the tough, flexible bark of a certain reed. After use, they are carefully thrust into the hair for future occasions. Every Onge has one or more threaded through the hair on top of the head.

The strength of the Onge teeth enables their owners to champ their way through what are for us inconceivable quantities of food, both animal and vegetable, which is chewed slowly and determinedly, dust, earth, sand and all, and then swallowed without apparent ill effects, other than the flatulence arising from overconsumption of animal matter. But the Onges use their teeth for other purposes besides eating. In time the teeth become worn down by the inevitable grinding of dirt and grit, but this does not prevent the Onges from continuing to chew the bark of trees and cords, which is a lifelong occupation. This duty falls mainly on the women, and I have seen aged women, their teeth worn almost to the gums, doggedly chewing bark as their contribution to the communal life of the group. The strength of the teeth is unbelievable – I have seen children of ten to fifteen years crush nails up to two millimetres thick, and dent lumps of iron.

I myself once had good cause to be grateful for their power. My party and I found ourselves stranded in the forest on South Brother without guns or even knives, and without cooking utensils. There were large clutches of turtle eggs buried in the sand nearby and my two Onge companions pointed out a coconut tree loaded with nuts (which turned out to be the only one on the islands, seeded

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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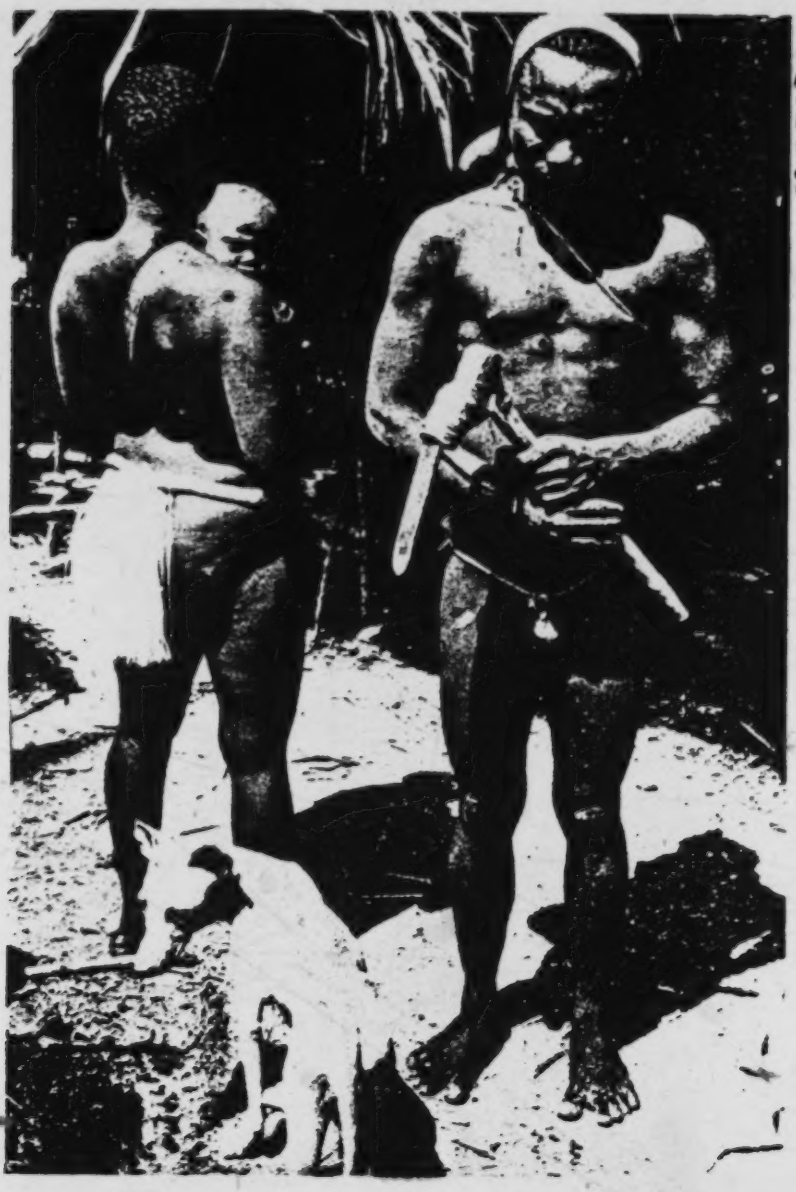
1 The author with two adult islanders

[facing P. 66, A]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2



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[facing P. 66, E]

/6 ... The axe is one of the few primitive tools in use in the Andamans/

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[147]

14 In spite of their size, the Andaman islanders are capable of carrying enormous weights

15 A temporary shelter in the forest

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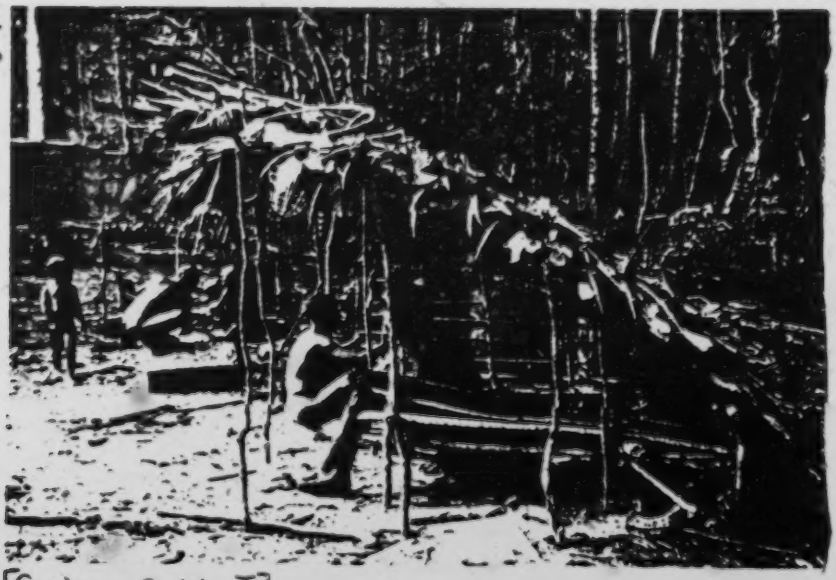

[facing P. 66, J]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

in the division of all meat. Certain cuts are the property of the hunter, of his helpers, and of his relations and after them, in order, of the remaining members of the group; everyone knows his position in advance. Each portion is tied round with a reed fibre, which is allowed to dangle out over the top of the communal cooking-pot ready to haul the meat out when required.

In the case of pork the prized cut is one which comprises the kidneys and the surrounding fat; this fat is called *cian*,[1] and is very highly esteemed. Some authors (Brown, for example) have stated that turtles and pigs are always cut up with the head ritually pointing towards the sea as otherwise the meat would be considered inedible. This is certainly not the case on Little Andaman, and I have never seen any such directional ritual among any of the Negritos, all of whom practise division of meat according to a prescribed order of precedence. Turtles at any rate are slaughtered facing up the sloping beach simply because it is then easier to hold the beast from behind and avoid its bite. Ritual there is, but usually with a good practical basis.

More ritual attaches to the way in which the game is carried back to the camp, and the wood to be used for the cooking fire. Pigs, killed and gutted, are tied in ropes made of *Ficus laccifera* and carried somehow on the back of the victorious hunter. If it is not far to the camp he will not bother to tie up the snout and feet, but otherwise the front and back legs are tied, and one long cord joins both pairs to the snout – again a practical ritual, giving the hunter a more compact weight to carry.

Man, Portman, Brown and others all say that each type of game has to be cooked over a fire of a particular wood. My own observations showed that whereas the ritual of dissection is inviolable, the Onges always use the first wood that comes to hand, regardless of its source, taking as usual the line of least resistance. This is again in keeping with the tendency of primitive peoples to expend only the very minimum of energy to achieve their object. Their religious beliefs and superstitions are not carried to the limit, simply because

[1] It is interesting that in their very restricted world the Onges have few standards of comparison or words to express condemnation or approval, and this word *cian* is used as one of high praise, applied to inanimate objects, animals, and people alike. The precise qualities which are conveyed by the word are difficult to evaluate in the absence of fuller knowledge of the Onge language.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

481 toes of each foot; if a tree is branched they will scramble up it almost as quickly as if scaling a ladder, and though when "swarming" a mast or cocoa-nut tree they clasp the trunk in the usual manner with the arms and legs, their movements are more rapid, and they are less easily fatigued, than are the generality of natives of India; in descending also they display the same activity.

516 3. I have observed a peculiar trick among young men and women, after a lengthened rest or after engaging in some sedentary occupation, of twisting their bodies from side to side in order to stretch the muscles of the back. In doing this they produce a succession of sounds like that caused by cracking the joints of one's fingers.

4. Their favourite position in taking temporary rest after any violent or prolonged exertion is the ordinary Oriental posture between sitting and standing, *i.e.*, squatting on their heels; if very much exhausted they either sit or lie down.

513 5. The usual attitude in sleep (*vide* Plate III, fig. 2) is to lie on one side, preferably the right, with the knees bent so as to allow of the hand of the upper arm being placed between the thighs and the other hand under the head, which is raised on some impromptu pillow, such as a bundle or a roll of sleeping mat.

142 6. Many are able to shut one eye without closing the other, but they do not appear to possess the power of moving the ears or scalp. They can extend one finger without opening the hand. No tricks of sleight of hand are known to or attempted by them.

7. Much use is made of the feet in holding and picking up light objects, and the great toe is in a considerable degree [483] opposable. When a heavy load has to be moved they prefer pushing to dragging it.[1]

482 **Physical Powers and Senses.**—1. Though for a short distance heavier loads are often borne, the maximum of a man's burden is about 40 lbs.; this he will on occasion carry for as much as 15 miles through the jungles between sunrise and sunset, a distance rarely exceeded in one day under any circumstances, or for more than two or three days in succession. This has been particularly remarked when they have been in pursuit of runaway convicts, for, if they fail in coming up with them within the third day, they are wont to take a long rest, unless strong inducements are offered by way of inciting them to further efforts.

[1] They do not understand, or, at least, do not carry into practice, the principle of pushing or dragging a weight *simultaneously*, whether in silence or to the sound of the voice.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

They have neither incantations, amulets nor propitiating signs to help them. Even the *marque de chasse* found on their arrow heads had no major significance; in all probability they merely served to indicate the best arrow and at most they served as a warning to the womenfolk not to touch them (it is interesting that I never saw any woman or child with a bow or an arrow). But this is as far as they go towards superstition, and its only effect is to enhance the division of duties between the sexes. 227 789 [782]

The Onges, unlike the Jarawas and Arioto, have never lost the art of canoe making, and the building of a new canoe is an important matter. The selected tree, always one of the three species of *Sterculia*, is felled and then hollowed out slowly and laboriously with a rudimentary form of hatchet, the work often being done by one man alone. The weight of the felled trunk makes it necessary for the work to be done where it falls, but after much patient whittling away the resulting canoe is extremely light, with thin walls, though still not light enough to be carried to the water, never far away. A series of short logs are used as rollers in the age-old way and the builder's friends all gather to help clear a way through the undergrowth and prepare the rollers. Only a few are needed; all is soon ready and the Onges watch delightedly as the canoe glides away down to the shore. These canoe-ways often provided me with an easy path to the sea if I came upon them in the forest. Sometimes they led not to shore but to one of the many creeks, where salt water and marine fauna penetrate miles inland and make it easy for the Onges to launch their canoes from a point far from the sea. 396 [184] [824] [483]

The Onge canoe, hollowed out in one piece, is a survival of the ancient canoes of the Neolithic age, found in Switzerland and elsewhere in Europe. It survives in the Andamans, and through Oceania to the Americas, in northern Asia (notably among the Ainu) in south-west Asia, and even in south-east Africa. 501 171

The canoe has no distinction between bow and stern, and is commonly navigated from either. At each end of the canoe a crude platform juts out, on which the harpoon throwers stand. Very careful attention is paid to the float, which is fragile, and is therefore kept on the lee side. The object of it is to prevent the canoe from capsizing, which it is otherwise very liable to do owing to its round keel, always left in the natural shape of the tree-trunk. I had some experiences of rough seas in one of these canoes 501

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

462 required in making their various weapons, utensils, &c.; but though he has no hesitation in sharing and lightening his wife's labours up to this point, it is only in cases of stern necessity that he will condescend to procure either wood or water for the family requirements; the supply of these essentials of daily life being considered as peculiarly feminine duties and derogatory to the lords of creation.

3. Every woman is supposed to be a proficient in shaving,[1] tattooing,[2] and scarifying; she has also to prepare the *kòi·ob-*, *tâ·la-ōg-*, and *kâ·ngatâ-būj-*,[3] which are needed on so many occasions. The erection of the *chàng-dar·anga-*,[4] and the manufacture of personal ornaments,[5] and various other objects in constant use,[6] is also confined to the fair (!) sex, and when to these are added their daily duties of procuring certain kinds of food, cooking, and providing the water and fuel required for the family, it will be seen that the Andamanese materfamilias—who has not several children old enough to give her material assistance—has her time fully employed, or at least sufficiently so to prevent her getting into much mischief.

461 4. It is the duty of those men and women who remain at home to attend to the sick, infants, and others who are in a dependent position, to look after the fires in the various huts, and, of course, if needs be, to protect the property of absentees: for all those who are not physically incapable are supposed to employ themselves in some way, either for their own benefit or that of the community to which they belong.

574 251 5. It is customary for every family to maintain a supply of provisions in excess of its own requirements for the use of friends who may chance to visit the encampment; but in the storage of their food—owing probably to the ease with which it is generally procured—much is often wasted which might without difficulty be preserved. The seeds of the *Artocarpus chaplasha*, and of a species of *Semecarpus*, are alone kept for any length of time. The manner in which this is effected will be described in the section treating of "Food."[7]

462 562 484 6. Migrations and other events affecting the movements of a whole community are arranged by the chief and elders; women in such matters are not consulted, though while on the march it is they who are expected to carry the heaviest loads: this

[1] *Vide ante* "Hair," paragraph 4, and *post* "Shaving," paragraph 2.
[2] *Vide post* "Tattooing," paragraph 2.
[3] *Vide* Appendix B, items 60, 58, 62.
[4] *Vide ante* "Habitations," paragraph 4.
[5] *Vide post* "Attire," paragraph 1.
[6] In Appendix B will be found detailed the various objects manufactured by both men and women.
[7] *Vide post* "Food," paragraph 32.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

arises from no want of consideration for the weaker vessel, but simply because, if unnecessarily encumbered, the men would be unable to shoot or pursue any animal which might cross their path.

7. Such training as the children receive is undertaken by their parents or guardians; in the case of boys it consists merely in providing them with miniature weapons suitable to their age, and instructing them in their use: as they advance in years they accompany the men in their hunting and fishing expeditions, and, being by nature intelligent and emulous, they speedily acquire sufficient skill to enable them to afford material assistance to their elders.

8. The girls, similarly, are taught by their mothers, or other female guardians, how to fulfil the various duties which are regarded as essentially pertaining to their sex, and which I have described in the foregoing.

9. It seems hardly necessary to add that the unnatural custom of infanticide is unknown to the Andamanese,[1] and though the mortality among infants is excessive,[2] it is traceable to no want of affection, but to the injudicious treatment and lavish attentions bestowed upon the little ones by their ignorant though well-intentioned elders.[3]

10. For the better security of their babies, when travelling, women are in the habit of hanging round their necks a string the ends of which have been previously fastened to the infant's wrists; the child being then placed in a *chīp-*,[4] cannot by any accident meet with a serious fall.

Attire.—1. Madame de Staël speaks of certain children being "*vêtu du climât:*" the same expressive remark may be applied to the Andamanese, for no clothing, as we understand the word, is worn by either sex; there are, however, certain so-called ornamental circlets, garters, bracelets, cinctures, and necklaces of bones,[5] wood, or shell, which are its substitute[6] and serve to

[1] The birth of a girl is usually as gratifying to the parents as that of a boy.

[2] *Vide ante* "Reproduction," paragraph 4.

[3] Dr. Day has correctly stated that "men and women seem equally fond of carrying the babies about; all pet them; when they cry for anything, they give it; and over-kindness early consigns the little one to the grave."

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 24.

[5] As far as we at present know, the *jārawa-* do not wear necklaces of bone, or the skulls of their deceased relatives. The males of this tribe wear round their heads, waists, knees, and arms, fringes of string attached to a cord or cane, which are called by the *.bō·jig-ngīji-*, *bĕria-* (*vide* Plate IX, figs. 13, 13*a*, 13*b*).

[6] The relatives of a deceased person will commonly wear such of the ornaments as are in good condition, "in memoriam;" this is not, however, a distinguishing peculiarity, or one confined to savages.

PART I.

THE ANDAMANESE.

CHAPTER I.

THE CENSUS.

Conditions of Census-taking—Impossibility of Synchronous Census—Intelligent Assistance from Aborigines impossible—Hostile Tribes estimated only—Control of Operations—Census Tours—Method of Enumeration—Officers' Diaries—Method of estimating Ôngés and Jarawas—Attitude of the Andamanese—Points as to Defects in Enumeration—Jarawa Hostility—The Returns of the Andamanese—The former Population—Diagram of Past and Present Assumed Density—Methods of arriving at Former Density—The Kitchen-Middens—Future Prospects of the Race.

619 484 **Conditions of Census-taking.**—The conditions under which a Census of the Andamanese was attempted were the following. In the first place there are Andamanese "Homes" in the Penal Settlement maintained by the Government, to which any Andamanese of any Tribe may come and stay as long as he chooses. In the next place, for reasons hereafter to be explained, practically all the tribes but one are "friendly" and are at the present time very much mixed up with each other. In this mixed condition they are nomads, much given to rapid wandering all over the islands of the group known as the Great Andaman, in which the Penal Settlement is situated. In their most imperfect condition of civilisation it was quite hopeless to expect to induce them to remain in any one place for even one night or for any given period. And thus the first great difficulty to combat in attempting to enumerate them was to prevent the same persons from being counted twice or more times over.

131 **Impossibility of Synchronous Census.**—This difficulty was increased by the impossibility, owing to the nature of the country they inhabit, from enumerating the people all at once or at anything approaching a uniform time. As will be seen later on, the Andamans consist of the Great Andaman group and the Little Andaman, attached to each of which are a great number of smaller islands and islets. There is also the inhabited North Sentinel at some distance to the west of the general group. The Great Andaman consists of five main islands running from north to south thus:—North Andaman, Middle Andaman, Baratang, South Andaman, Rutland Island. All these are dove-tailed into each other by very narrow straits, not so wide as the ordinary rivers of a continent. The Little Andaman is situated at a considerable distance to the south. All round the Great Andaman are islands of every size; to the east is Ritchie's Archipelago and to the west are the Labyrinth Islands Every single island of the whole group is covered with a hilly jungle, the denseness of which must be seen to be appreciated, and passable only to its indigenous inhabitants. It is therefore impossible without much preparation and expense to traverse the interior of the islands, but happily it is quite easy to move about the deeply indented coasts, containing more harbours and snug anchorages than the whole Indian Peninsula. The length of the Great Andaman group is 156 miles: its average width is 9 to 10 miles and with the outlying islands some 25 miles. Two distant islands, Narcondam and Barren Island, to the east are also included in the Andaman group, but they are both uninhabited. It was, therefore, necessary to go over this area by coasting voyages, to stop at likely spots for encampments and to hunt about for the nomadic inhabitants of the neighbourhood: a work requiring much local knowledge, personal judgment and patience.

000 **Intelligent Assistance from Aborigines impossible.**—From the nature of the case it will be understood that very little reliance could be placed on the people themselves for assistance in the enumeration. Their inveterate, indeed necessary, habits of wandering, their childlike incapacity for responsibility of

10: Sen. K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

101 mans. They live in the North Sentinel island and Portman had only made a few observations in the abandoned settlement of these aborigines. In 1886, Portman contacted a few Sentinelese with the help of a few [197] Onges. The affinity of the Sentinelese with the Onges have been detected but the language of the Sentinelese is different from the Onges. However, only later researches can reveal more facts about their lives.

PRESENT DAY DISTRIBUTION OF THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION

101 The islands, though remained essentially a land of the aborigines, have
161 a present day distribution which is very much discrete in nature. The
361 nature of the distribution was very likely much more widespread in different parts of the islands but the great decline in their number coupled with gradual expansion of the area of the later settlers led to a continued recession of the aborigines in the more desolate areas. Thus there has been a great shrinkage in the territory of the aborigines of the South Andaman where no settlements of any importance had developed.

There are only a few Andamanese (23) who are still now surviving in [177] the Middle and North Andamans and they live in the huts built up by the Forest Department.

The exact areas of inhabitation of the Jarawas are anybody's guess. Though the Jarawas have suffered a considerable decline in their number, no evidences of their distribution beyond the South Andaman are in view. Living under the cold patronage and hostility of the neighbours, the *Aka-beas*, a sub-group of the Andamanese, the Jarawas were always subjected to all their efforts of territorial expansion. Though their exact areas of distribution have not been traced so far, it is probable that they live in the dense forests of the South Andaman, especially in the least disturbed and unhaunted forest areas of the west. However, their biggest concentration is believed to be between Port Constance, Port Meadows and Shaol Bay.

The Sentinelese inhabit the North Sentinel Island and only further exploration in the island can furnish an idea about their exact spots of distribution.

The most predominant in number are the Onges who inhabit the [484] island of Little Andaman. However they make occasional voyages to the Rutland and Cinque Island where some of them live. The areas of distribution of the Onges in Little Andaman are mainly in the coastal areas of the northeast, south and west and also in the interior.

137 the Onges as hiding-places or temporary shelters. In these cavities, [136] which remain full of water right through the dry season, flourish a horde of amphibia, many hitherto unknown.

The great trees are sometimes so close together that it is literally impossible to pass between them, yet it is rare to find two of the same species next to each other, so great is the variety. Huge clumps of ferns are everywhere, hiding the roots of dying trees, hundreds of years old, and fallen trunks rotting on the ground. Some of the thicker and taller trees protect themselves from the monsoon gales by developing buttresses, usually four or six to a tree, which stand out from the trunk like right-angled triangles, with the apex about ten metres from the ground. If a blanket is stretched between the sloping sides of two of the buttresses one can improvise a shelter which is extremely comfortable by local standards, and both man and animals take advantage of this natural cover; I myself took shelter like this on many occasions. (They need to be treated with caution, however, as the local snakes have a predilection for siestas in the darkest corners.) If a hard piece of wood is struck against one 824 of the buttresses it echoes hollowly, and the Andamanese often 202 make use of them to transmit warning messages over considerable distances, using a form of code. A few beats can make every inhabitant within a wide radius vanish from sight, hastily making for the nearest hiding-place. It is hopeless to try and ferret them out once they have been warned, and there is always a risk of being killed by one of their arrows in the process.

123 Sometimes the Onges used to disappear suddenly for fun. The [522] blackness of their skin is a great help in this, since even on the brightest afternoon it is intensified by the obscurity of the forest. One has a disturbing sensation of being entirely alone, yet knowing that dozens of pairs of eyes are watching as the Onges glide silently from trunk to trunk between the buttresses.

137 The whole island is a mass of knotted vegetation, and it is useless 484 to attempt to cut any form of lasting path, as the plants immediately 487 grow back. 'Walking' in the Andamans therefore means opening [481] up a way with a hatchet, unless one adopts the rapid but exhausting Onge method of swinging over obstacles by the lianas. This is the kingdom of the epiphytes. The lianas cover their hosts as if determined to hide them, and clumps of orchids hang from nearly every trunk, although their flowers are unfortunately very small.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Owing to the difficulty of pushing through the undergrowth the Onges always travel in single file, following closely behind one another, the men first, then the women and children, with the dogs following all round. They never travel alone; I hardly ever met any by themselves, but always in groups of families or groups of hunters. The man who happens to be at the front of the file is the guide and when they come to an awkward part of the journey – perhaps across a deep river – everybody helps. Trees are felled to fall across between the banks and a rope of lianas is run across to make the crossing easier for the aged, the women and the children, though their sense of balance is so good that most of them manage without it, even when carrying heavy loads across a single trunk.

The Onges are now nearly all related to each other in some way. They all know each other, and the contacts are usually friendly. The few squabbles which I saw, always over game, or food that had been gathered, all blew over very quickly; normally, especially in the dry season when every group becomes nomadic in search of food, everyone went freely all over the island. On the occasions of the great hunts, or the honey feasts, a number of groups would band together for the occasion and even then they tried to divide the spoils equally and peaceably. If a dispute does arise the camp will break up into factions, but these will still keep close to each other and after a short while their differences will be made up with the usual long and tearful embraces. These scenes of reconciliation may go on for days, all starting from nothing more serious than a difference of opinion over the division of game captured by communal effort!

Much more important than the danger of offending other human beings is that of causing offence to the spirits of the dead or the guardian spirits who provide food. There is, as I have said, not overmuch rigidity in their observations – no propitiatory offerings of any kind are made to the spirits. The supreme being, Eiuga, who takes the shape of a lizard bigger than a crocodile, they know well. On Great Andaman he becomes Puluga, equally powerful, lord of men and things but rather more anthropomorphic than his counterpart in Little Andaman. As Eiuga lives in the sky, the thunder is his voice, and the wind his breath; if he is angry he breathes out storms and throws burning tree-trunks down to the earth, setting light to the forest. Behind Eiuga are a series of minor spirits who

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

171 184 411 two have added feathers, and poisoned tips, in imitation of neighbouring peoples.

For the capture of large fish and animals such as turtles, dolphins 184 and dugong, the Onges and Arioto use not the arrow harpoon but 411 the spear harpoon. Brown saw none of these among the Onges he 114 studied in Rutland, and consequently assumed its absence on Little 22 Andaman. The Onges carry as little as possible on their sea voyages [484] for the sake of speed, and would not therefore take spear harpoons (used only for marine hunting) with them on trips to Rutland, which they visit only for the purpose of hunting pigs and not to fish, or to hunt marine animals. They certainly have, and use, spear harpoons even today; I myself have been with the Onges and seen their harpoons used from the canoes. I had ample opportunity to admire both the effectiveness of the weapons and the accuracy of the throwers.

411 The greater structural and operational simplicity of the spear harpoon, in comparison with the arrow harpoon, leads one to [283] suppose it the older of the two. Its cord is made of tough *Hibiscus* fibres, and with the aid of these and a straight shaft about six metres long and little over four centimetres in diameter, even the humblest of nails, seven centimetres long and three millimetres in diameter, [824] can become the point of a spear harpoon. It is fixed into the shaft (usually of mangrove wood) which is hollowed out at the thinner end to take it, and with a cord up to a hundred metres long or more attached to the nail two centimetres from the head, the spear harpoon is ready for use – shaft, point and cord.

411 225 When the harpoon is to be used for turtles, no barbs are needed, as the point is driven so firmly into the shell that blocks of wood have to be carried in the canoes to knock it out for re-use.

The harpoon throwers stand ready on the platform jutting out fore and aft of the canoes (see p. 122), the free end of the cord is tied to one of the booms to prevent it being jerked out of the canoe as the victim tries to escape, and the slack is coiled in the bottom of the canoe. The thrower holds the cord against the harpoon as he waits for the right moment and then throws. As the harpoon strikes, the point detaches from the shaft, which floats on the water till picked up – often to be used as a punt-pole in the shallow waters of the coral reefs as the canoe follows the victim, now held firmly on the end of the cord.

All the evidence points to this being far more than mere supposition and even today the Onges persist in their tendency to expand towards the north. In 1953 I could find no trace of a number of Onges whom I had known in 1952; the others told me they were all 'dead', but it seems probable that they had migrated to the islands further north. And in 1954 nearly all the canoes belonging to the communal huts in the south-west of Little Andaman, which I had seen in 1953, had vanished and were said to have gone with the 'dead'. It is probable that they too had migrated to Great Andaman, becoming 'Jarawas'.

This is physically quite possible. Between Little Andaman and Great Andaman the Onges have a line of transit camps, still in use, where food and water are easily available. All have a name, and I followed the line myself. With the help of their fragile but very fast canoes, and without carrying food or water (which they know will be available at the next transit camp), they can travel very quickly. They take fire with them in the canoes in the form of a burning torch and while they are at sea, unlike the lazy pace of their normal attitude to life, they seem possessed by the desire to reach the next stopping point on terra firma.

Moreover, one may deduce from the fact that the names of these transit camps are all in the Onge language that the migrations have always been from south to north. Little Andaman, formed as it is mainly of coral banks and only projecting a short way above the sea, disappears from view in the tropical mists a few kilometres from the shore; from Rutland it is invisible, and as the Andamanese only travel by sea with land in sight or when its existence and direction is well known, no one from the north would have dared to travel south into the unknown.

We have already seen that the ignorance of the present-day Jarawas as regards the sea is no bar to a hypothesis of their original arrival in Great Andaman by sea. Colebrook, a hundred and fifty years ago, actually saw them with canoes, and Gilbert Rogers[1] recorded seeing canoes on the coasts of North Sentinel very similar to those of the Onges today. The accumulation, therefore, of this evidence and the general similarity of culture throughout the archipelago all adds up to inescapable conclusions.

Even the unique dances enjoyed by the Onges are to be seen

[1] *Andaman and Nicobar Gazetteer*, 2 January 1904.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

type of canoe is the only craft seen. I saw some hauled up on the beach, identical with the ones I had seen the Onges building, even to the *Nautilus* shell as a baler. In face of this and other evidence there can be little doubt that the people of North Sentinel are descended from the Onges, possibly driven off course by some storm, and then isolated on the island.

The Arioto, copying Indian and Burmese craft, have in recent times come to modify the original canoe somewhat, deepening the gunwales and doing away with the float. The result is a craft which though it remains small is unlikely to fill with water in heavy seas. But even the Arioto prefer the single outrigger canoe for sea voyages.

The only real seafarers, however, are the Onges, who make regular hunting trips as far as Rutland. In the past they sometimes made devastating raids as far as Car, but these have died out over the past hundred years as their numbers have dwindled. There is certainly no doubt that at one time the Onges undertook considerable sea voyages in canoes the same as they build today.

The work involved in the building of these canoes is, as I have said, enormous. The preparatory work on the tree, and then the felling, are hard enough without proper equipment. I gave my Onge friends some long-handled wood-cutter's axes, to help in this part of the work. In their enthusiasm they chopped so hard they soon broke the handles and chipped some of the tempered blades, so that I had to take them to Port Blair for repair! But the real work begins with the working of the felled trunk. Then a small and very crude form of hatchet[1] has to be used, flaking off small strips like a plane; fire is never used to assist in the process. Fortunately the *Sterculia* wood usually chosen is soft.

The original shape is not touched after the required length, calculated so as to allow for the harpoon-thrower's platform at each end, has been cut. The irregularities of the trunk are left intact, so that the canoes look distorted and even ugly despite their seaworthiness. During the preliminary stage of stripping the bark great care is taken not to chip the outer ring of wood immediately below the bark; this is smooth and fine-grained, and more waterproof than the inner layers. One danger is that as the wood dries

[1] The blades used to be made from *Tridacna* shell, but in more recent times they have come to be made of iron from wrecked ships cast up on the beaches.

485

485 TRAVEL SERVICES--accommodations (e.g., hotels, inns, guest houses); information and travelers' aid services; guides; ticket and travel agencies; organizations of and for travelers (e.g., automobile clubs); etc. See also:

Restaurants 265
Foreign exchange 457
Highway services 496

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2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

2. I have used the word "evil" advisedly, for there can be no doubt, from observations extending over many years, that the result of their excessive indulgence in smoking has been seriously to impair their constitutions. The attempts that have been made to check the mischief have hitherto failed, as it has been found difficult, if not impossible, to induce them to do a stroke of work without the accompaniment of the "fragrant weed." 276

Cannibalism.—1. The early stories regarding the prevalence of cannibalism among these savages do not at the present day require refutation.[1] No lengthened investigation was needed to disprove the long credited fiction, for not a trace could be discovered of the existence of such a practice in their midst, even in far-off times. 266

2. It is curious, however, to note, that while they express the greatest horror of the custom, and indignantly deny that it ever held a place among their institutions, a very general belief has been entertained by the tribes living in South and Middle Andaman as to its prevalence in other races, and even among their own countrymen inhabiting North and Little Andaman; and to this cause is chiefly ascribed the dread which they and their fathers have, from a distant period, evinced of their neighbours, and the animosity displayed towards strangers who have approached or landed on their shores; but these sentiments are now confined to those individuals who have had but scant opportunity of becoming acquainted with ourselves and other aliens, or with the results of the visits paid by us to the dreaded *.yē·rewa-* and *jār·awa-* territories.

Communications, Chirography, and Drawing.—1. The density of the Andaman jungles, and the unsuitability of their canoes for long expeditions by sea, would of themselves be serious hindrances to free intercourse between the various tribes, even were there not the further difficulty—due in great measure to the above circumstances—of difference of language to contend with. 619

2. There are no marked boundaries between the various tribal districts, but a general understanding exists between neighbouring tribes regarding the limits of their respective domains, which are usually defined by such natural barriers as a range of hills, a creek, or even a belt of dense jungle. So careful are they to respect these boundaries, that, before even travelling through, and particularly before hunting or fishing in, the territory of a 619 486

[1] Papuans being regarded as such inveterate anthropophagi, ethnologists will probably agree in considering that the non-existence—nay, even horror—of this custom among the Andamanese furnishes an important item in the array of facts which militate against the theory held by some that the latter form a branch of the great Papuan family.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

619 neighbouring tribe, an express invitation or permission is required,
unless, indeed, the party entering happens to be accompanied by
486 one or more members of the district visited, or when, from long and friendly intercommunication, a right of way has been tacitly sanctioned. In cases where there has been a breach of this observance sharp retribution has generally followed, causing sometimes serious loss of life, and resulting in a long-standing tribal feud.

619 3. Those communities of *ē·rem-tâ·ga-* and *àryô·to-*, living
within a few miles of each other and speaking the same dialect,
578 arrange from time to time large gatherings—generally numbering
437 about a hundred persons[1]—for purposes of barter, or for the celebration of some particular event. Though not unfrequently on these occasions old enmities are healed and friendships formed, fresh tribal feuds and personal quarrels sometimes originate in consequence of a misunderstanding or dispute over some comparative trifle.[2]

487 4. There are numerous paths intersecting each territory, the result of continuous traffic over the same ground. When, for some reason, a new course is taken through the jungle, the route is indicated to those following by bending the twigs of the brushwood in a *reverse* direction at intervals along the track. This is especially the case during the dry season, when, owing to the parched condition of the soil, there is some difficulty in distinguishing footprints.[3]

212 5. No marks on rocks, trees or other objects, made for purposes of record, are believed by them to exist, and, with the exception of the supposititious hieroglyphics,[4] hereafter to be mentioned, nothing of the nature of writing is to be found among these tribes, nor have they any method of recording the name and exploits of a deceased chief or other individual who may have gained distinction during his life, save the narration —more or less garbled—of the same by their admiring descendants. The messenger who conveys intelligence to a distant encampment bears no outward token with him to testify to the authenticity or character of the communication he has to make.

211 6. Although no method of signs exists, such as tying knots in
a string, making notches in a tally, or figures on wood, bark, or
411 stone, they have means of distinguishing arrows and spears belonging to one another, by certain differences peculiar to each

[1] It is believed that no larger number than 300 has ever been assembled at one time in any place in our vicinity, at least since our advent.

[2] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraphs 24 and 37.

[3] No prejudice exists in respect to crossing water, going by certain paths, or handling particular objects, excepting the *Anadendrum paniculatum*. *Vide post*, Part III, "String," paragraph 3.

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individual in the method of tying and knotting the string employed in the manufacture of these missiles;[1] these, however, are often so slight that, even when pointed out, they are scarcely to be detected by a stranger, unless he be one who has bestowed careful attention to the subject. 211 411

7. In their savage state they never attempt to represent any object, and, though they do not appear to possess any natural taste for drawing, they differ from the Australians[2] in the intelligence they display in recognising any familiar form depicted in a sketch; and while no such method for indicating the situation of any place is known or employed among themselves, some of them are quick in understanding a chart of their own country, and are able to point out the sites of their various encampments. 532 151

8. It is hardly necessary to state that they have nothing answering to mile-stones or roadside marks. Swamps are never crossed, but in all cases avoided by circuitous routes; experience seems to have taught them the natural line of fords from salient to salient banks, and, when a creek has to be crossed, they always avail themselves of the advantages thus afforded, even making a detour in order to do so.[3] This applies, however, to those occasions when they are not heavily laden, or are carrying articles liable to be damaged by immersion, or which would hinder them from swimming. 487

Swimming.—1. With the exception of some of the *ē·rem-tâ·ga-*,[4] a knowledge of the art of swimming is common to members of both sexes; the *children* even, learning almost as soon as they can run, speedily acquire great proficiency. In this accomplishment the Andamanese greatly surpass the majority of Europeans, but it is probable that, in competition with an experienced English swimmer, their best men would be distanced in the first few hundred yards, it being not so much for speed, as for the length of time they can remain in the water, that they are remarkable. 481

[1] With reference to this circumstance, it may be mentioned that, a few years ago (1876), five aborigines, concerned in the murder near Kyd Island of some Chinese traders with whom they had had a dispute, were discovered by means of the arrows found on the spot, as these were identified by some of their acquaintances then living at Port Blair.

[2] Brown. [From remarks, however, contained in a recent article, entitled "The Indo-Chinese and Oceanic Races," by Mr. A. H. Keane, which appeared in "Nature" (Jan. 6th, 1881), it would appear that the low estimate of the Australian intellect formed by certain ethnologists is not shared by all, and "many instances are given of their skill even in drawing, a capacity for which was wholly denied them."]

[3] Wells are not dug, but when encamping, whether for days or months, care is always taken that the spot selected be near some fresh-water stream.

[4] The reason of this is obvious, as it is known that the majority of the creeks are fordable in many places within three miles of the coast, even in the rainy season, and, therefore, the necessity of acquiring the art of natation has never been experienced by those permanently resident in the interior.

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484 to attempt to cut any form of lasting path, as the plants immediately
487 grow back. 'Walking' in the Andamans therefore means opening
[481] up a way with a hatchet, unless one adopts the rapid but exhausting Onge method of swinging over obstacles by the lianas. This is the kingdom of the epiphytes. The lianas cover their hosts as if determined to hide them, and clumps of orchids hang from nearly every trunk, although their flowers are unfortunately very small.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

CHAPTER THREE

The Spirits of the Forest

●487 It is only too easy to get lost in the forests, but this never happens with the Onges. They do not rely upon the 'mysterious sense of direction' which is often attributed (without adequate evidence) to primitive peoples; they have other simpler but equally effective ways of finding their way. Everywhere the Onges go they leave behind some mark. When they come to a halt in the depths of the forest, they cast around them, and soon find signs leading to some temporary shelter or communal hut.

As the Onges are out in the forest every day, there are traces of their passage everywhere. Inconspicuously broken plants, or scratches on the branches of trees are precious marks, one leading to the next and so on to the camp. Everyone takes care not to get lost, and moves carefully through the sea of vegetation, without appearing to mark their way. I have often been surprised to find myself back at the camp after innumerable twists and turns, but the [151] Onges' exceptional eyesight saved us when the situation seemed to me quite hopeless.

805 They were always able, too, to calculate exactly how far to go in one stage, and could invariably tell me precisely when we should arrive at a given point. They have no form of clock and work solely by the sun's position. But whatever their method, every time I asked when we should reach a certain camp, they always replied at great length: they would point with one outstretched arm to *Tenculu* the Sun and then with the other to where it would be when we arrived. The passing of days was indicated by moving an arm from east to west, saying *Tenculu – Tenculu*, to show sunrise and sunset. It was a simple matter to work out what they meant, and their answer was invariably right.

342 [524]

bunches of leaves like fans used in their dances, and of these there were hundreds. Several children's bows were found, also wooden balls for them to play with, and a rough circular piece of wood which the Andamanese said was rolled along, and into which they shot their arrows. There was a large *degchi* made out of a tree trunk fitted into one of the honey pots, and neatly-worked mats used as shelves for the food, and also I think to sit on. Among other things I discovered a glass bottle, and it is worthy of note that they had a stock of firewood chopped and tied up with cane ready for use in one corner of the building. The house was on the summit of a hill, and there were seven paths leading up to it. All were well cleared at their opening on to the hill and each could be commanded by a man with a bow and arrow. Over two of the entrances were raised platforms of logs sloping from the ground to about 3 feet in height. These were the look-outs and each commanded a path and my own impression is that when the camp is in habitation, over each path a similar platform is erected, and each path thus well commanded. The main approach leading due north was as well cleared as a Forest Department road, and must have been 15 yards broad at the exit from the camp. Large trees had been felled and saplings cut a foot from the ground, and around the hut the grass had been cleared as carefully as at a jungle pongyi-kyaung in Burma. They had even taken the trouble to cut down several large trees, one quite 5 feet in diameter, evidently to have a view of the next ridge. In fact so much care had been taken both in the building of the house, and the clearing of the precincts, and so well were both done, that it is difficult to believe that savages have been able to do this unaided. The Andamanese say there is another, possibly two similar huts to this. They say that the whole Jarawa tribe collects in one of these in the rains. I am rather doubtful myself whether the whole tribe could occupy the house; I rather think they under-rate their numbers, as the traces of them on every side in the jungle make me think there are from 80 to 100 men, whereas the Andamanese put down their numbers at 100 all told. They say that they burned a similar hut to this some years ago at Maiilitilek. In the dry weather the Jarawas scatter hunting and live in their hunting huts.

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After exploiting the house we considered what was best to be done. At first we determined to camp in the house for the night, and for that purpose sent back a party to bring up food. Then leaving a guard of Police and Andamanese we went down the main path towards the north. It was very easy going, and though it narrowed from its 15-yard entrance to a path only wide enough for a man, there was no difficulty in getting along. We, however, found no fresh traces, indeed the only track we saw was that of a man who the Andamanese said was going to look after the house. They explained that every two or three days in the dry weather a man or two goes to see that nothing is wrong with the house. After proceeding about a mile we again considered what it was best to do, and eventually I came to the conclusion to leave the house and to return. I took one specimen of everything to take back to Port Blair, and left everything else in its place so as not to frighten the Jarawas. We then returned as fast as we could, reaching the launch at 6 P.M. To-day's expedition was not a hard one. We had had a tramp of 5 miles or so to the camp and a mile further on and back, so the whole day's march was not more than 12 or 13 miles.

February 1st.—Started from Port Anson at 6 A.M. and arrived 10-30 A.M. at Port Blair. Received orders to start the next day, and return with Mr. Rogers.

February 2nd.—Left Port Blair at 7-45 A.M. and arrived at Duratang at 10-45 A.M. Proceeded on to Jatang at 11-30 A.M. Met Mr. Rogers and handed him the Superintendent's letter. Returned with him at once getting back to the launch at 4 P.M.

February 3rd.—Started at day-break and anchored in Port Anson harbour at Dum-lachorag at 9 A.M. Started off for the Jarawa house in boats at 9-30. On this occasion we pulled considerably further up the creek so as to avoid as much as possible of the mangrove swamp. On landing we almost at once came on the fresh tracks of five Jarawas, so leaving a guard of one policeman and several Andamanese at the boat, Mr. Bonig and myself followed them for about half a mile, but as we found they were only following our tracks of Friday we returned, and all made for the Jarawa camp at Pochang. We arrived about noon. We found the Jarawas had visited it since our discovery of it on January 31st and had carried off all the more valuable articles, such as the *degchi* and the honey pots. I had feared this when we came on their fresh footsteps. They had also slightly dismantled the house so as to make rude barricades on the unprotected approaches. I sent our Andamanese into the jungle to see that there were none lurking near, and then Mr. Rogers photographed the house, exterior and interior, while Mr. Needham, who was also with us, sketched it, after which we removed all the remaining baskets and other belongings, and cut down the pig skulls in the centre. After this we collected the Andamanese and they executed a war dance with the Jarawa leaf-fans. Then gathering up the trophies, consisting mostly of pig skulls, we returned to the launch, arriving at 4 P.M. Weighed anchor and proceeded to the Andaman Home at Port Anson, where we remained for the night.

February 4th.—Left Port Anson at 11-30 A.M., arriving at Port Blair at 4-30 P.M.

The four policemen who accompanied Mr. Bonig and myself on our several marches worked very well, and were always close to us. The work of the smarter boys among the Andamanese was splendid, and their tracking was a revelation to me. Their unerring knowledge of the jungle too was marvellous. For instance they had only visited Geringchapa-jig once previously and that years before. Yet without a compass and with hardly a glimpse of the sun to guide them, they never faltered, knew exactly where they were and took the nearest way home. Two or three of them afterwards pointed out our position

has a moustache, whereas pure Negritos have no body or facial hair.

THE JARAWAS

648 For obvious reasons I was unable to carry out any studies on the [114] Jarawas. Apart from a restricted area around Port Blair, on the east [137] coast of Great Andaman, the whole island is a tangle of tropical vegetation, in many places impenetrable, or at most passable only [491] by hacking a way through. A few roads radiate from Port Blair, but none penetrate more than twenty kilometres or so from the township. To the north of the town is a well-maintained police cordon that stretches right across the island from east to west to prevent infiltration by the Jarawas; those in the south were all rounded up some time ago. Only beyond the cordon do the Jarawas maintain [142] their rule over the virgin forest almost unchallenged. Like all the Andamanese they are Negritos, small in stature and extremely dark skinned. Obsessed by a fierce hatred for anyone outside their own group, enemies even of the other Andamanese, they roam through the forest with their deadly arrows. Shot from their powerful bows, [411] their dagger-sharp arrows penetrate deep into the body of the victim – they can transfix a man's chest. The bloody skirmishing which has gone on for the last hundred years shows no signs of lessening even today.

175 The Jarawa ferocity increased as the result of grave mishandling 648 of the situation by the foreigners. In this connection the following sentences from Portman's *History* may be quoted: 'On our arrival the Jarawas were quiet and inoffensive towards us, nor did they ever disturb us, until we took to continuously molesting them by inciting the coastal Andamanese against them. After a few years of this disturbance, the life of the Jarawas became very hard and in retaliation they began to attack us.' As the author in part recognizes, 'It was our fault if the Jarawas became hostile'. This was a fundamental error. Petty pilfering committed in perfect innocence by the Jarawas, ignorant of Western ideas of individual property, led to vicious punitive expeditions. To this end fire-arms were given to the hereditary enemies of the Jarawas, the Arioto. Elated by their unexpected power, they at once began slaughtering any Jarawa within sight, and enjoyed themselves hugely.

Owing to the difficulty of pushing through the undergrowth the Onges always travel in single file, following closely behind one another, the men first, then the women and children, with the dogs following all round. They never travel alone; I hardly ever met any by themselves, but always in groups of families or groups of hunters. The man who happens to be at the front of the file is the guide and when they come to an awkward part of the journey – perhaps across a deep river – everybody helps. Trees are felled to fall across between the banks and a rope of lianas is run across to make the crossing easier for the aged, the women and the children, though their sense of balance is so good that most of them manage without it, even when carrying heavy loads across a single trunk.

The Onges are now nearly all related to each other in some way. They all know each other, and the contacts are usually friendly. The few squabbles which I saw, always over game, or food that had been gathered, all blew over very quickly; normally, especially in the dry season when every group becomes nomadic in search of food, everyone went freely all over the island. On the occasions of the great hunts, or the honey feasts, a number of groups would band together for the occasion and even then they tried to divide the spoils equally and peaceably. If a dispute does arise the camp will break up into factions, but these will still keep close to each other and after a short while their differences will be made up with the usual long and tearful embraces. These scenes of reconciliation may go on for days, all starting from nothing more serious than a difference of opinion over the division of game captured by communal effort!

Much more important than the danger of offending other human beings is that of causing offence to the spirits of the dead or the guardian spirits who provide food. There is, as I have said, not overmuch rigidity in their observations – no propitiatory offerings of any kind are made to the spirits. The supreme being, Eiuga, who takes the shape of a lizard bigger than a crocodile, they know well. On Great Andaman he becomes Puluga, equally powerful, lord of men and things but rather more anthropomorphic than his counterpart in Little Andaman. As Eiuga lives in the sky, the thunder is his voice, and the wind his breath; if he is angry he breathes out storms and throws burning tree-trunks down to the earth, setting light to the forest. Behind Eiuga are a series of minor spirits who

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The bombwn is the second most important type in the Class II type of woods. It has an averge weight of 40 lbs. per cubic ft. and is generally yellowish grey in colour with darker streaks. The durability of the wood is quite long but it cannot stand exposures. It is generally used for making of furniture and joineries. 137 313

The rest of the woods have also got an widespread application in a variety of purposes e.g. house building, shipmaking, carriage and furniture making. But the amount exploited from the forests is not of significance.

The didu and garjan are the most important in the class III type of woods. The former is of reddishy greay or yellowish in colour and is very soft and light. As such it is widely used in the making of packing cases for tea specially. The garjan is of the greatest demand of the Andaman forest woods. It has an average weight of 45-56 lbs. per cubic foot and is moderately hard. It is reddish grey to reddish brown in colour and is of moderate duration and as such the wood cannot be used for railway sleepers unless treated. It is used for planking and wood-paving now-a-days.

Ywegyi, being not a durable and hard type of wood, is generally used for the making of inferior cabinets. The trees yield a yellow dye which is also of wide use. [314]

Besides these, there are a host of other forest woods such as the several species of bamboo, cane, thatching palms etc. (For the industries based on forest products, see the Chapter on Industry.)

Forest Working.

The exploitation of timber from the forest has been attempted since the formation of the penal colony in the islands. For the systematic working of the forest, a Forest Department was opened in the year 1883 and a saw mill at Chatham was established in 1915 with a monthly outturn of 100 tons. But this was closed and another saw mill was set up by the Burma Trading Company having a monthly output of 750 tons and a second mill, an American circular mill in Chatham in 1927 and another mill in the North Andaman in 1925. But fortunately the wanton destruction of the forests was not possible because of the limited convict labour, and the fear of working in the aborigine-infested areas. The elephants were proved to be uneconomical in the exploitation of forest and an attempt for replacing the elephants by skidder was made in 1930. But the latter one was found to be uneconomical compared to the elephant power and this resulted again in the engagement of elephant 313 [492]

10:Sen K-3,4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

313 power in the forests. The net revenue of the forests from 1869 amounted
492 to Rs. 45,65,764 inclusive of a capital asset of Rs. 21,39,983.

313 The present day forest exploitation has to some extent been revitalised with the introduction of regenerating processes and use of disel engines for the trams carrying logs from the spot of exploitation to the jetty wherefrom it is carried down to Port Blair for sawing and finally exported to the mainland and London. The working of the forest in the Andamans and its preparation for marketing undergo a number of stages. After a proper survey, a spot of exploitation is selected where a forest camp is opened near the jetty with a sufficient strength of imported labourers from India. The forest camps are erected with local timber and the exploitation proceeds from the spot in the immediate neighbourhood of the jetty (exclusive of the mangrove forests) to the interior regions. Along with the expansion of the exploitation area, tram lines are laid down from the jetty onwards. The felling is done by chiselling the trunk of the trees and then it is pulled by a few elephants for breaking it down. This completes the felling of the tree and after properly cutting all the branches, the logs are carried by an elephant with the help of his trunk
313 and are unloaded from the tram. Afterwards, it is taken to the jetty where
505 the logs are again unloaded and rafted in a tank-landing craft to make them ready for transportation to Chatham Island where it is shown into standard size (not always) and is exported to the markets. The transportation of the logs from the spot of exploitation to Port Blair is always done on water ways. The success in the transportation of the logs have been facilitated by the innumerable harbours and creeks making easy the passage of the boat into the interior parts of the islands and it is found that the average drag seldom exceeds a mile and at the same time exploitation requires some experience of local conditions and foresight, as the coastal areas are exposed to the open seas and advantage has to be taken of the different seasons of the year to work in different tracts.

313 The yield of merchantable timber is only 15 tons per acre. An
433 assessment of the future potentialities of merchantable timber with the introduction of the present method of regeneration has been given by Sri Chengapa[1]. The sustained or perpetual yield of the forests is about 135,000 tons per year and according to him, with the introduction of the present method of regeneration, the yield per acre is expected to be as much as 75 tons per acre, a five fold increase of the present yield. The

[113] 1 Chengapa, B. S.—The Andaman forests and their development; Census of India, 1951, Volume XVII, Andaman & Nicobar Islands by A. K. Ghosh.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

421 This is so, however, only in appearance. The hut is built by all
594 the different families, but each family is regarded as owning
342 a certain portion of the hut when it is finished, and it is the family that keeps this part of the hut in repair.

421 A canoe is cut by a number of men together. From the outset, however, it is the property of one man, who selects
•501 the tree and superintends the operation of cutting it into shape.
476 He is always one of the older men, and he enlists the services of the younger men to help him. When finished the canoe is his property, and he can do with it what he pleases, giving it away, if he wishes, and no one has any share of ownership in a canoe on the ground that he helped to make it.

421 While all portable property is thus owned by individuals, the Andamanese have customs which result in an approach to com-
431 munism. One of these is the custom of constantly exchanging
574 presents with one another. When two friends meet who have not seen each other for some time, one of the first things they do is to exchange presents with one another. Even in the ordinary everyday life of the village there is a constant giving and receiving of presents. A younger man or woman may give some article to an older one without expecting or receiving any return, but between equals a person who gives a present always expects that he will receive something of equal value in exchange. At the meetings that take place between neighbouring local groups the exchange of presents is of great importance. Each of the visitors brings with him a number of articles that he distributes amongst the members of the group that he visits. When the visitors depart they are loaded with presents received from their hosts. It requires a good deal of tact on the part of everyone concerned to avoid the unpleasantness that may arise if a man thinks that he has not received things as valuable as he has given, or if he fancies that he has not received quite the same amount of attention as has been accorded to others.

431 It is considered a breach of good manners ever to refuse the request of another. Thus if a man be asked by another
576 to give him anything that he may possess, he will immediately do so. If the two men are equals a return of about the same value will have to be made. As between an older married man

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

netted bags and fishing nets. In the Little Andaman it is used for binding their arrows, as well as for netting. 824 283

The most valuable fibre of the Great Andaman tribes is that of the *Anadendron paniculatum*, which is used for string and thread and for bow-strings. Until recent times the method of preparing the fibre was not known to the natives of the Little Andaman, but they have now learnt it from the natives of the Great Andaman with whom they have been brought in contact, and the use of the fibre for string and thread is coming in amongst them.

The fibre is not easy to prepare. Long thin branches of the creeper are cut, which must be neither too young nor too old. To obtain these it is often necessary to climb up into high trees, for the *Anadendron* is a climbing plant. The creeper is cut into lengths of from 20 to 40 cm. The bark (inner and outer layers) is peeled off these in strips of from 7 to 10 mm. in width. A strip of the bark is taken and placed on the thigh, inner surface downwards, and is scraped with a *Cyrena* shell until the outer bark is entirely removed and the fibres remain clean and separate. These are dried in the sun or over a fire and, if not needed for immediate use, are stored for future occasion. The fibre is fine and of a light greyish brown colour. In its qualities it somewhat resembles ramie fibre. It is extremely strong.

There are a number of other trees and plants that are known by the natives to afford fibre, but they are not used, or if they are, it is extremely rarely.

The Andaman jungles have a number of different species of *Calamus*, and the canes or rattans of these are put to all sorts of uses, such as the making of baskets, the lashings and furnishings of canoes, and in building huts. In the Little Andaman one species of cane is used to provide the fibre for women's belts. The outer skin is removed and the remainder of the cane is divided into fine strips or threads. A bundle of these tied together constitutes the belt worn by the women of the Little Andaman. The outer sheath of the leaf-stem of the *Calamus tigrinus* is used by the natives of the Great Andaman Division for making mats. Lengths of the leaf-stem are cut and the outer skin is removed in strips of about 3 to 5 mm. in width. The still adhering pith is removed with a *Cyrena* shell, and the strips are dried in the sun and then made into mats. 824 285 [501] [291]

The leaf-stem of a species of palm is cut while green and is then shredded into long strips. The fibre thus obtained really consists of the leaflets of the young unopened leaves of the palm. It is used in the 824 291

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

A number of other common designs consist of parallel lines of dots or of short strokes, an example of which is shown in Fig. 42 *f*. 302

By far the greater number of the Andamanese designs are based on the following elements, (1) parallel lines crossing a surface from side to side at right angles to the edge or else in a sloping direction (about 45°), (2) parallel lines of dots or of short lines, i.e. parallel broken lines, as in Fig. 42 *f*, (3) zig-zag lines, which may be single, or parallel or opposed so as to make lines of lozenges. As an example of the way in which these elements may be combined two designs copied from bamboo necklaces are shown in Fig. 43. 531

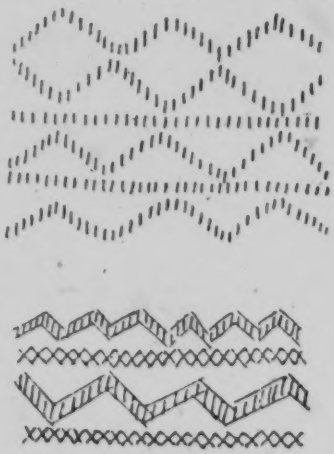

Fig. 43. Designs on bamboo necklace from the North Andaman

It would perhaps be possible to show that there is a real connection between the ornamentation of the Andamanese and that of the Semang, as there is certainly a considerable degree of superficial resemblance, but at present we understand so little the psychological processes underlying the use of ornament amongst primitive peoples that the subject is one of considerable difficulty. [177]

CANOES.

Canoes are in regular use on the coast in all parts of the islands. There are three types of canoe. (1) The Little Andaman canoe, with one outrigger, propelled with paddles or with a pole. (2) The Great Andaman small canoe, with one outrigger, propelled with paddles or with a pole. (3) The Great Andaman large canoe, without outrigger, propelled with oars. 501

The third kind of canoe mentioned above is a recent innovation. The natives themselves say that such canoes have only been made in recent times, since they have been able to obtain a plentiful supply of iron tools, and so have been able to cut down and hollow out large trunks[1]. They seem to have been invented by the natives of the South Andaman, and copied by those of the Middle and North Andaman.

[1] Man, *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* XII, p. 367, note 4.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

501 Canoes of this type are propelled by rowing with short oars, except in shallow water where they are poled. This method of propulsion (rowing as opposed to paddling) was adopted in imitation of the boats with which they have become familiar since the European occupation.

For the small canoe of the Great Andaman five or six species of soft-wooded trees are used, of which three are species of *Sterculia*. A suitable tree is selected near the shore or a creek, and is felled. Care is taken to make it fall in a particular direction. Thus, if the trunk is curved, the convex side of the curve will have to be the bottom of the canoe, and the tree should fall so that this side lies on the ground. Trees are very rarely regular and before beginning the work of cutting the natives have to decide how it should be cut so as to give the best result, i.e., the greatest stability.

396 501 After the tree is felled the trunk is cut to the requisite length. The inside of the canoe is first roughly hollowed out with the adze, no use being made of fire. The bark is then removed from the outside of the trunk and the two ends are shaped. Finally, the inside is carefully finished with the adze so as to reduce the sides and bottom to the requisite thickness.

Except at the stem and stern, the canoe retains the shape of the tree, only the bark being removed, and the sides and bottom being formed of the alburnum or sap-wood. At the stern a small platform is cut projecting over the water, which serves as a seat for the steersman. At the prow a larger platform is cut, on which the harpooner stands when he is harpooning turtle or fish. Below these two platforms the ends are not cut away squarely but are rounded from side to side. The prow of the canoe is in every case the lower and therefore broader end of the trunk. It is only in this way that a sufficiently large platform can be provided for the harpooner.

The trees used for canoes have a pithy core and there is therefore a small patch in both the prow and the stern which would admit the [237] water. In former times these two places were caulked with bees'-wax. At the present time the natives often nail a piece of tin (part of an old kerosene tin, for example), with some rags beneath it, on the outside of the canoe at these two places.

When the hull of the canoe is finished it is moved to the shore or to the bank of a creek and the outrigger is attached. The float is a straight spar of light wood. In the North Andaman the wood of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus* is often used, but Mr Man says that in the South Andaman the float is always made from a species of *Sterculia* (*mai* in

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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Aka-Bea)[1]. The ends of the float are only roughly shaped. The broader end of the float is forward.

The float is attached to a number of booms, of which there are never less than three in the smallest canoes, while there may be as many as eight or nine in a large canoe. A medium-sized canoe has five or six booms. The boom is a thin straight piece of tough wood, of which one end is sharpened and thrust right through two holes cut in the gunwales of the canoe opposite to one another, the sharpened end projecting for a few inches on the port side of the canoe. The boom thus projects about three feet on the starboard side on the level of the gunwale.

Where the boom passes through the gunwales of the canoe it is bound with cane, and the cane is bound round the whole of that part of the boom that is within the canoe between the two gunwales. (See

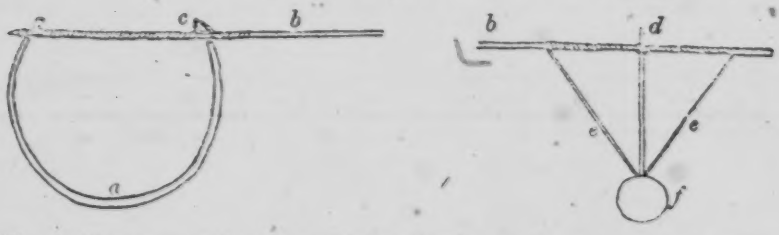

Fig. 44. Transverse section of canoe and outrigger. *a*, hull; *b*, boom; *c*, cane binding over boom; *d*, stick attaching boom to float; *e*, stays of cane; *f*, float

Fig. 44.) This portion of the boom forms a seat for the man paddling the canoe, so that he sits on a level with the gunwale with his feet on the floor of the canoe.

The boom is attached to the float by means of sticks of tough wood. These sticks, having pointed ends, are driven into the float, one perpendicular, and the other two at an angle on each side. The tops of the three sticks are fastened to the boom a few inches from its end by means of a strip of cane. The arrangement of the three sticks is shown in Fig. 45.

The strip of cane with which the sticks are bound to the boom is wound spirally round the boom itself for a few inches and is then carried down round the float and back to the boom again on the other side. The three sticks provide an efficient resistance against a longitudinal thrust (i.e., a thrust in the same direction as the line of the

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 397.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

501 canoe). The strip of cane passing from the boom round the float and back to the boom again provides a resistance against any lateral thrust on the float. The three sticks, being driven in when the wood of the float is dry, do not readily work loose, as the water in which it is constantly immersed keeps the wood swollen. The cane binding, including the stays on each side, may work loose, but can readily be tightened or renewed. Each of the booms is attached to the float in exactly the same way, and the whole arrangement is very efficient in keeping the float rigidly attached to the hull in such a position that it rests on the surface of the water when the hull itself rides freely balanced.

501 Canoes of this type vary in dimensions within wide limits. A small canoe with only three booms, which would carry three persons, measured 4·85 metres in length over all with a beam of about 35 centimetres. A large canoe may measure as much as 9 metres with a proportionate beam.

Fig. 45. Showing manner in which the boom (*a*) is connected with the float (*b*).

A well-made canoe will often balance well enough as it stands, but it is sometimes necessary to balance it with ballast of stones or pieces of coral. In any case the canoe is easily overturned in a rough sea unless the occupants can maintain the balance with their bodies. As the canoe is made of light wood it cannot sink even when full of water, and the natives easily right an overturned canoe, bale it out, and get in again, even in a rough sea.

The furniture of a canoe consists of the ballast (of stone), a piece of stone (or sometimes a piece of tin) on which to keep a small fire smouldering, an anchor consisting of a lump of coral or stone attached to a length of rope, a *Nautilus* shell or two for baling out the canoe, a bamboo pole of about 18 feet in length for poling the canoe in shallow water, and paddles.

In the platform overhanging the prow a few holes are cut. These holes are sometimes used to attach the rope by which the canoe is fastened to an anchor. One or more turtle skulls are often attached so as to hang down beneath the platform. In turtle-hunting expeditions on dark nights a torch is slung beneath the forward platform so as to shed its light on the water while the harpooner remains in shadow.

501 531 When a canoe is finished it is decorated with designs painted on it with red paint and white clay, particularly on the forward platform and

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

501 [531]

along the gunwale. These designs soon wear off when the canoe is in use and are not renewed.

The paddles used by the Andamanese vary considerably in size and to some extent in shape, but the following description with its accompanying figure gives a fair idea of a typical specimen. The whole paddle has a length of 123·5 centimetres, the shaft being 85 centimetres and the blade 38·5 centimetres. The diameter of the shaft from the blade to the middle is 2·6 centimetres, and from the middle towards the handle end it tapers to a point. The shaft is circular in section throughout its length. The blade is leaf-shaped, pointed bluntly at the apex. In section it is plano-convex, with a maximum thickness of 1·3 centimetres and a width of 8·7 centimetres. Paddles are cut with an adze from the wood of the *Myristica longifolia* and planed with a boar's tusk. They are often ornamented, when new, with painted designs in red and white.

Fig. 46. Paddle

In deep water the canoe is paddled. Each of the occupants sits facing forward. The steersman sits on the stern platform. The others sit on the seats provided by the outrigger booms. Each man paddles on which side he chooses. It rests with the steersman to maintain the canoe in its proper course. In shallow water the canoe is propelled with a pole. A man stands on the forward platform and poles the canoe, steering as he does so. In a fairly large canoe a man at the stern may also take a pole and, standing up, help to propel the canoe.

502

All the work connected with the making of canoes and paddles is done by men alone, except the painting, which is usually done by women. It is the men also who make most use of canoes.

396 462

The large canoe, that is now made by all the tribes of the Great Andaman Division, is simply a canoe of the same general shape as the Great Andaman outrigger canoe, cut from a larger tree and without the outrigger. The shape of the hull, with its platforms fore and aft, is exactly the same. It seems that when the natives obtained a plentiful supply of iron tools (after 1858) they began to cut down and hollow out larger trees than formerly. Having made these larger canoes they found that they would, when well cut and ballasted with stone, float quite well without an outrigger. (It may be mentioned that the hull of a small canoe is always tested on the water before the outrigger is attached.) Indeed a well cut canoe of large size floats and balances

501

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

501 better in a rough sea than a smaller one with an outrigger. It is possible that at first these large canoes were propelled with paddles just as the outrigger canoes are, the paddlers facing forward. Having learnt to understand the principle of the oar, through their contact with the Penal Settlement, the natives applied this principle to their own canoes. It could not, of course, be applied to the small canoes, as the shape of the canoe and the position of the paddler make the use of an oar impossible. It could be applied very easily, however, to the new large canoes. In these the oarsman does not sit on a level with the gunwale, but sits down in the hull itself on a piece of wood resting on the two sides of the hull a few inches above the floor. The gunwale of the canoe is thus about on a level with the bottom of his sternum. A number of holes are made in the gunwale on each side, and by means of these, loops of cane are attached to the gunwale. The oar, which is shaped in imitation of European oars, but with a short shaft, is thrust through the loop of cane, which serves as a fulcrum or rowlock. The rowers face aft. A man at the stern steers with a paddle. In shallow water the large canoes are propelled with poles in exactly the same way as the smaller canoes.

In the bow, at about the position that would be occupied by the foremost boom in an outrigger canoe, holes are made in the gunwale on each side and a piece of wood is thrust through them as a sort of thwart. This is to provide a means of making fast the end of the harpoon line or the anchor line, and thus serves a purpose that is served by the foremost boom in the outrigger canoe.

225 The large canoes are not quite so useful in turtle-hunting as the smaller outrigger variety, as they cannot be so quickly turned when the pursued turtle doubles. Very often a large canoe and a small canoe are taken together on an expedition, the harpooning being mostly done from the smaller one while the captured turtles are placed in the larger one. A small canoe with three or four men cannot hold more than one or at most two big turtles, whereas as many as ten or a dozen can be stowed in one of the large canoes.

501 505 The chief use of the large canoes is to make journeys from place to place. One of the largest will hold as many as thirty men and women with their baggage, whereas an outrigger canoe would never carry more than nine or ten. Further, there is less chance of an even heavily laden big canoe capsizing in a rough sea than of an outrigger canoe doing so. One result of the introduction of the large canoe has therefore been to enable the natives to move much

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

more freely about the islands than formerly. The passage from the South Andaman to Ritchie's Archipelago, for instance, would only be attempted in an outrigger canoe on a very calm day, whereas in a large canoe it can be successfully accomplished even when there is something of a sea running. 501 505

The small canoe of the Little Andaman is fairly similar to that of the Great Andaman. There are three differences. (1) The stem and stern are squarely cut in the Little Andaman, instead of being rounded off. (2) The outrigger booms are attached to the top of the gunwale by cane binding which passes through holes made in the gunwales, instead of being themselves passed through holes in the gunwale. (3) The float is attached to the booms in a different and less efficient manner. Three pointed hard-wood sticks are driven into the float, but they are all three approximately perpendicular. They are bound at the top to the boom, but there are no stays of cane to maintain the float rigid against a lateral thrust. In other respects the Little Andaman canoe is the same as the Great Andaman canoe. 501

The Jarawa of the South Andaman do not at the present time make use of canoes. This is apparently because, through their hostility with the Aka-Bea, they have been confined to the interior of the island. They make rafts of bamboos lashed together for crossing creeks and inlets. The forest-dwellers of the Great Andaman Division seem also to have made occasional use of similar rafts for the same purpose.

A canoe of the North Sentinel was seen by Mr Gilbert Rogers during a visit to that island in 1903[1]. It had been hollowed out of a tree and was about 15 feet long. The ends of the canoe were cut off perpendicularly to its length leaving a piece of the tree about one inch thick projecting for about three inches beyond either end to form a small but rickety seat. The log from which the canoe was cut was curved so that the ends were slightly higher than the middle. It had a float supported by six booms passing through holes cut in the sides of the canoe. These booms were fastened to smaller pieces of stick fixed into the sides of the canoe beneath them. The outrigger was attached to each boom by two small pointed sticks driven into the float and tied to the boom above with cane. There was one small paddle, a *Nautilus* shell for a baler, and five poles resting on the outrigger booms. These point to the canoe being poled along in the lagoon, which is quite shallow, rather than to its being used for long journeys or outside the reefs which surround the island. The

[1] Supplement to the *Andaman and Nicobar Gazette*, January 2, 1904.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

•501 canoe was 18 inches in diameter at the smaller end and perhaps 30 inches wide at the larger end.

This description shows that the canoe of the North Sentinel is on the whole more like that of the Little Andaman than like that of the Great Andaman.

501 171 It seems probable that the Andaman Islands were peopled by sea from the coast of Burma. If this were so, then the original ancestors of the Andamanese must have been in possession of canoes. A consideration of the present Andaman canoes suggests that their ancestors had canoes with a single outrigger on the starboard side, with a number of booms. Of the different methods of attaching the booms to the float, it is possible that the method now in use in the Little Andaman (and apparently also in the North Sentinel) is primitive, and that the Great Andaman attachment is an improvement that has been invented since the separation of the two divisions. On the other hand it is not impossible that the Great Andaman attachment is primitive, and that in the Little Andaman we have a degeneration that might be due to the fact that the Little Andaman (and equally the North Sentinel) provides much less scope for maritime pursuits than the Great Andaman.

The recent invention of the large canoe in the Great Andaman and the adoption of the principle of the oar shows that the Andamanese readily adopt new inventions when these are clearly of service to them.

Turning now to the Semang, as these people live inland they have no use for canoes. They make rafts of bamboos lashed together with which they float down the rivers, returning overland.

Some of the Philippine Negritos seem to live on the coast and possibly have canoes, but nothing is known about these.

Conclusion.

171 174 The examination of the technical culture of the Andamanese given above has been sufficient to enable us to make a few statements as to what was probably the culture of the Negritos before they were split up into isolated groups. It is highly probable that they obtained their subsistence solely by hunting and collecting vegetable products. They had bows and arrows, the form of bow being probably fairly similar to that used at the present day in the Little Andaman, while for hunting the larger animals they had arrows with detachable heads. They possibly had no knowledge of any way of making implements of stone,

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

133 2,400 feet, situated in North Andaman, and visible at a distance of 60 miles.

2nd. *Narcondam*,[1] a small hilly island, containing an extinct volcano, with an elevation of 2,330 feet, lying about 70 miles east of North Andaman.

3rd. *Barren Island*, 75 miles S.S.W. of *Narcondam*, and about 42 miles east of the nearest island of the Great Andaman group, from no portion of the coast of which is it visible. It contains an active volcano, the height of which is about 1,015 feet.

[501] 2. Until recent years[2] the first only of these was known to the aborgines, probably owing to the circumstance that they, at least the natives of Great Andaman, have never been seen to venture far out to sea in their frail and clumsy canoes. The name borne by this hill is *Pū·luga lâ·kà bang-* (*lit.* Creator his mouth), referring apparently to its size and inaccessibility, and to a large ravine running down its side. There is also a belief that Saddle Peak was the place of *Pū·luga-*'s[3] residence prior to the deluge.

823 825 3. The formation of rocks, valleys, hills, &c., they attribute to the will of *Pū·luga-*, but they assign the sources of the streams containing oxide of iron, *kòi·ob-chā·lnga-*, and the olive-coloured mineral, *chū·lnga-*, to the action of a poisonous snake, called *lâ·raba-*, well known to them.[4]

103 4. The names they give to the natural forms of land and water are as follows :—

Cape (point)—*tô·ko-chô·ronga-* [*chô·ronga-* = nose].
Isthmus—*tô·to-kī·nab-* [*kī·nab-* = waist].
Mountain—*bô·roin-*.
Valley—*pâ·rag-*.
Strait—*teg-pâ·rag-*.
Coast (shore)—*īgô·ra-* [*gō·ra-* = strong].
Fore-shore—*kē·wad-* and *bô·roga-*.
Island—*tàrchô·na-*.
Islet—*tōt-kai·cha-*.
Harbour—*elàrū·la-*.
Bay—*kō·bunga-*.
Creek—*jīg-*.[5]

[1] The probable derivation of this name will be given in Part II.

[2] Since amicable relations have been established with the South and Middle Andamanese, several members of these tribes have visited Barren Island by accompanying us in the station steamer The name by which it is now known to them is *mōla-tàrchô·na-* (*lit.*, Smoke Island), in allusion to the smoke which is almost always to be seen rising from the volcano, and which they account for by saying that it must be due to a fire which *Pū·luga-* kindled.

[3] *Pū·luga* represents to them The Creator. *Vide* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 7.

[4] *Vide post* "Superstitions," paragraph 21.

[5] The legendary belief regarding the formation of creeks will be found under "Mythology."

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

502 themselves in their effort to maintain the credit of their ship, their cutter, and their flag."

502 396 2. Nowhere on Great Andaman, at all events at the present day, have any aborigines been found capable of propelling a canoe at more than half the speed of one of the ordinary gigs in common use at Port Blair; moreover, in respect to the extreme buoyancy of their skiffs, but little κύδος seems due to the Andamanese boat-builder, for having had, until quite lately, no other implement than a rude, though tolerably effective, adze with which to form them, he was compelled to select for his purpose the lightest and softest woods that were procurable. At the same time there is no doubt that if they possessed the requisite knowledge, and the means were available for constructing stronger and more seaworthy craft, they would lose no time in employing them; for they fully recognise the inferiority of their boats, both in regard to workmanship and speed, to those used by Europeans, or by their neighbours the Nicobarese. In one respect only do they consider that their own canoes surpass all others, and that is in the projecting prow, which enables them to spear fish and turtle with more ease than is possible in boats of a different construction.[1]

501 3. The current tradition[2] of the escape of four persons in a boat when the world was submerged, may be fairly considered as affording some evidence that this mode of transit is not regarded as of recent introduction.

4. Many conflicting opinions have been expressed by different writers under this head, and the form of canoe originally manufactured by the Andamanese has been much discussed. They themselves declare that the outrigger (*chá·rigma-*) was adopted immediately after the Deluge, in consequence of the deterioration of a species of *Pandanus* tree, called *mâng-*,[3] of which, prior to that catastrophe, they had been able to make large plain "dug-outs." Until recently[4] the outrigger continued

[1] In the South Kensington Museum there are models of canoes made by the natives of the Andamans and Nicobars, which will give to any interested in the subject a fair idea of their relative merits, as well as of the skill of their respective makers; and it may be added that in the entrance court of the India Museum (South Kensington) a specimen of a fair-sized Andamanese canoe is now to be seen minus its outrigger.

[2] *Vide* "Mythology," paragraph 16.

[3] *Vide* "List of Trees," Appendix L.

[4] The following information was obtained from an Andamanese chief:—"We have used outrigger canoes from time immemorial. It is in recent times that we have commenced making the large plain canoes, and this we were induced to do from the facility with which we have been able to obtain iron. Owing to their large size they do not require outriggers. When the sea is rough we prefer these large dug-outs and the small outrigger canoes when it is calm; the latter are more easily made, but do not last many months when in constant use, whereas the former will serve for a year or more."

Z:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZZ Andamans AZZ

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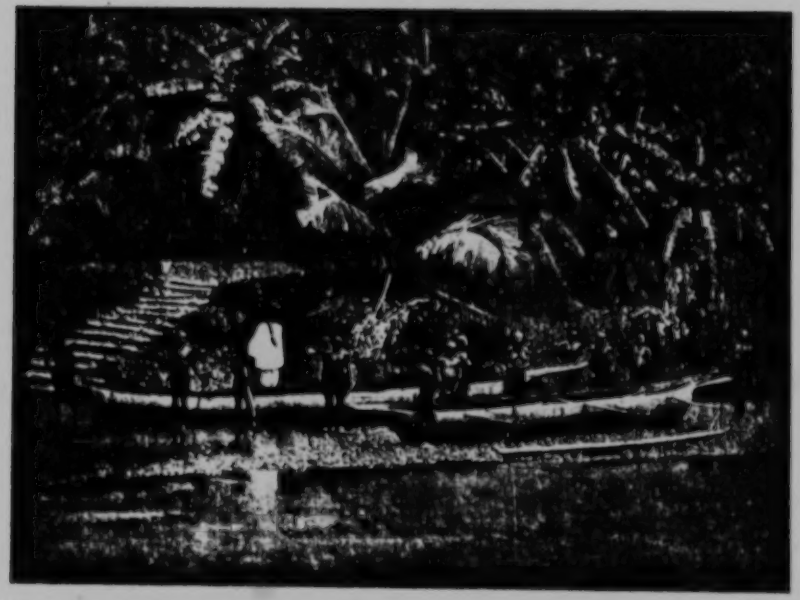
PLATE X.



GREAT ANDAMAN CANOES, LARGE PLAIN AND OUTRIGGER VARIETIES.

[Facing p. 148]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

501 in use, and is still to be seen in North and Middle Andaman, but the possibility of obtaining unlimited supplies of iron has enabled those living near Port Blair to return once more to the traditional "dug-out" of antediluvian times; it also seems that this description of canoe is gaining in favour among the tribes of Middle Andaman and the Archipelago, though it had not, in 1879, when I visited that part, penetrated as far as North Andaman.

502 5. As is correctly stated by Dr. Mouat (p. 316) the Andamanese never venture far from the coast: this was conclusively proved by their ignorance of *Barren Island*[1] and *Narcondam*, until taken past them in the settlement steamer.[2]

6. The safety of either the outrigger or "dug-out," and their adaptability for use as lifeboats,[3] is more than doubtful, while the confidence which is reposed in them by their owners may be judged from the fact that they never venture far from land, and when crossing from one island to another do their utmost to lessen the passage through deep water as much as possible by keeping close in shore and coasting along until the narrowest part of the channel is reached.

501 7. A glance suffices to show the most casual observer that it would be impossible[4] to preserve the equilibrium of these frail barques without their outriggers, which, being attached to three or four pieces of wood passing through the interior of the canoe are, moreover, not easily removable.

8. The advantages possessed by the large plain "dug-outs" over the outriggers are twofold: for in the first place they can breast a fairly rough sea, while the others are fit only for use in perfectly calm weather; and in the second place, while the former can accommodate a party of from fifteen to forty persons

[1] Visible within a short distance of the east coast of the Archipelago.

[2] Since the date of the raids committed by the *jârawas* (of Little Andaman) upon the Car Nicobarese, of which mention is made (as a tradition) by Mr. G. Hamilton (*vide* "Asiatic Researches," vol. ii, p. 337, published 1801), no distant voyages appear to have been attempted by these savages in canoes.

[3] "They would make most excellent lifeboats, such, we believe, as have never yet been constructed by any of our most experienced boat-builders" (*vide* Mouat, p. 317). The returns of life-boat institutions would, however, be somewhat prejudicially affected by the adoption of this suggestion; for, as the same writer goes on to say (p. 318), "the greatest adepts in rowing, steering, and guiding our ordinary boats, find themselves completely at a loss when they get into a Mincopie canoe. When any of our men recklessly got into them, and attempted to paddle out a little way to sea, they invariably succeeded in capsizing them, receiving a thorough drenching in the water as a suitable punishment for their rash and imperfect seamanship."

[4] It is therefore difficult to understand the following allusion made by Dr. Mouat (p. 317):—"When the Mincopie go to sea in them they attach to some part of the boat an outrigger, in some respects resembling that which the Cingalese fishermen attach to their boats."

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

501 the latter are seldom large enough to carry more than four or five, and usually not more than two adults.

9. The chief excellence of both these descriptions of canoes is that they cannot sink, owing to the nature of the wood of which they are constructed, and when, as not unfrequently happens, they capsize or are filled by a heavy wave, their occupants skilfully contrive, with but little delay, to right them and bale out the water, while clinging to the sides.

10. Most of the canoe-making is carried on during the months of August, September, and October, and the average time and labour expended is that of about eight men for a fortnight in hollowing out a canoe or "dug-out," and forming the much esteemed prow; for this purpose a trunk is selected varying in length from 10 to 30 feet, and when the bark has been removed the exterior of the proposed canoe, with its important prow, is shaped with an adze (*wō'lo-*[1]), afterwards the interior is scooped out with the same implement; fire is not now-a-days employed to expedite this latter process, whatever may have been the custom in past generations,[2] though I may add that there do not appear to be any traditions in support of such a theory.

11. At the bottom and water-level, canoes, though sometimes more, are never less than 1½ to 3 inches thick, and indeed, if this were not the case, it would be impossible for them to stand, even for a few days, the rough treatment to which they are subjected, or to bear the spoils of a successful turtling expedition.

12. Though the result of the builders' labour might, by making every allowance for the rudeness of their tool, be termed "creditable," it seems passing strange that any writer should especially commend the "finish," "perfection," and "elegance" of the work, and maintain that it surpasses that which could be wrought by Chinese carpenters, whose skill in all handicrafts is so well established.

501 13. The Andamanese anchor consists merely of a heavy stone, or large lump of coral, fastened securely to a stout line of a few fathoms' length. Rafts are quite unknown to them at the present day, and no evidence of their use in bygone years has been discovered.[3]

502 14. The canoes are propelled along the shore[4] by means of the haft of the harpoon spear (*koweiʼa lō'ko dū'tuga-*[5]), or, in

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 13.

[2] *Vide* Colebrooke and Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi, p. 290, Appendix I.

[3] "They use also rafts made of bamboos to transport themselves across their harbours, or from one island to another" (Colebrooke).

[4] Except when the men are engaged in turtling, the women frequently assist in propelling the canoe.

[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 10.

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PLATE XI.

A TURTLE-HUNT.

[facing p. 164]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 bamboo (male species preferred), often 18 feet or more in length; for the reception of the harpoon a socket is prepared at the small end, which is strengthened by pieces of mangrove wood, over which strips of cane are neatly tied. The harpoon consists of a strong barbed iron head fastened to a short piece of wood to which a long line (*bē·tma-*) is attached. When a turtle or large fish is struck the harpoon detaches itself from the shaft, which floats and is picked up after the capture has been effected.

[NOTE.—A harpooner almost invariably follows up a successful cast by plunging into the water, lest in the act of dragging the line the harpoon should slip out of the wound and his victim should thus escape.]

501 11. *rō·ko-*.[1] Generic name of the various kinds of canoes made in recent years[2] by the aborigines of South Andaman and adjacent parts, where, owing to the facility of obtaining iron tools, large dug-outs, called *gī·lyanga-*, capable of accommodating twenty to forty persons, are constructed in place of the small outrigger canoes (*chā·rigma-*) with which the other tribes have still to content themselves. They are usually made of the *Sterculia villosa* (Andam., *bâja-*), and are often ornamentally painted.

[NOTE.—The outrigger is called *tel-*, and is always made of the wood of *maii·-* (one of the *Sterculiaceæ*), which is soft and light.]

11*a*. *wāl·igma-*.[3] Paddle: these are not made by women, nor are they of any prescribed size, this being regulated merely by the fancy of the maker, and the material at his disposal; they are frequently adorned by women with chevrons[4] (*jō·bo-tàrtā·nga-*) of *kòi·ob-* (item 60) or *tâ·la-ōg-* (item 58).

286 [284] 12. *yôto-tē·pinga-*. Turtle-net, made by men,[5] of a stout cord (*bē·tma-*), which is prepared from the bark fibre of the *Melochia velutina* (Andam., *al·aba-*); the meshes vary in size according to the fancy or skill of the maker.[6]

415 322 13. *dâ·kar-*.[7] Bucket made by the Great Andaman tribes of the wood used in constructing canoes, *i.e.*, *Sterculia villosa*, with a loop of cane to form the handle; the implement used in hollowing out these vessels is the blade of the adze (*wō·lo-*, item 15), which is detached from its handle and fastened to a straight piece of wood so as to form a sort of chisel

[NOTE.—The Little Andaman and other *jār·awa-* buckets are made in the same manner, but are much larger and superior in every way; they are, moreover, neatly ornamented round the sides with strips of cane, evenly laid on and fastened at the rim by plaiting.]

[1] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 69.
[2] *Vide* Part III, "Navigation," paragraph 4, and footnote.
[3] *Vide* Plate VI, fig. 70.
[4] *Vide* Part III, "Ornamentation," paragraph 6.
[5] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 60.
[6] *Vide* Part III, "String," paragraph 6.
[7] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 14.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Plate D.

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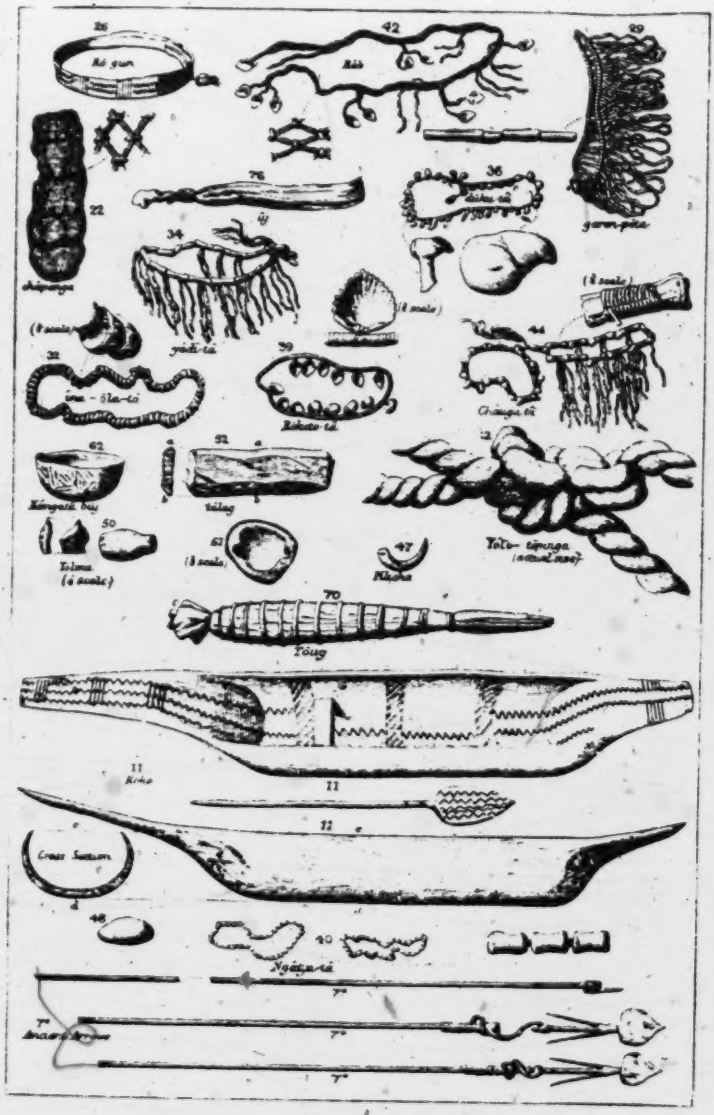

ANDAMANESE OBJECTS.

[facing p. 182]

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(11) *Canoes.*—Bojigngiji and Yerewa, same pattern canoe; Onge-Jarawa
[501] pattern different from above. Both out-rigged, Bojigngiji has in addition a large dug-out without outrigger.

[342] (12) *Huts.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas have temporary huts. Onge-Jarawas have large permanent communal dwellings.

[535] (13) *Dancing.*—Bojigngijis and Yerawas, sounding board and song and clapping in unison. Onge-Jarawa, standing in a ring and alternately bending and straightening the knees: also on occasion kicking the buttocks with the flat of the foot.

[352] (14) *Beds.*—Jarawas sleep on the wood ashes of the fires. Onges on raised bamboo platforms. Other tribes on leaves and in sand-holes.

[262 251] (15) *Food.*—The staple food of the Onges is the mangrove fruit, boiled, and they preserve small fish dried after cooking. None of the other tribes do this.

The Long-shore and Jungle Andamanese.—The Andamanese are by themselves again further divided into the Aryoto or long-shore men, and the Eremtaga or jungle-dwellers; the habits and capacities of these two differ, owing to surroundings, irrespective of tribe. Some tribes as the Tabo, Juwai, Kol, and the South Andaman Jarawas, are entirely Eremtaga, while the Balawa, the Chariar, and the Jarawas of the North Sentinel are entirely Aryoto. The Aryoto holds himself to be better than the Eremtaga, but beyond this there seem to be no exclusive distinctions between them and an Aryoto will marry or adopt an Eremtaga.

With the minuteness in matters concerning their surroundings that is characteristic of all entirely uneducated people, the Andamanese recognise a third division of themselves by habits into Adajig or creek-dwellers, *i.e.*, those who live on the shores of the many inlets of the sea on the coasts of the Islands. The habits of the Adajig, however, are practically those of the Aryoto.

Distinctions by habits are quickly lost by the Andamanese. The Jarawas have now no canoes in the South Andaman and are quite incapable of constructing or using them, though all Onges have them and so have the Jarawas on the North Sentinel. So also had the Jarawas that Colebrooke met a century ago. And this year (1902) it was ascertained that the young men brought up at the Duratang (Kyd Island) Home and occupied chiefly in market gardening could neither steer nor paddle a canoe, nor take up tracks in the jungles. In one generation, though there was no restriction in communication with their people, they had lost both sea and forest craft.

Former Isolation of the Tribes.—Before the arrival of the English the tribes, excepting actual neighbours, may be said to have had no general intercourse with each other, and excepting some individuals were entirely unable to converse together, though it can be conclusively shown that all the existing languages are directly descended from one parent tongue. Even Septs had but little mutual intercourse and considerable differences in details of dialect and, as has occurred in other island abodes of savages, there must have been a change of dialect or language along about every 20 miles of the coast. The tribes were in fact brought together and made definitely acquainted with each other's separate existence and peculiarities by the influence and exertions of Mr. Man between 1875 and 1880.

609 **Sympathies and Antipathies.**—The tribal feeling is expressed as follows: friendly within the tribe, courteous to other Andamanese if known, hostile to every stranger, Andamanese or other. The sympathy and antipathy exhibited are strictly natural, *i.e.*, savage, and are governed by descent. The feeling of friendliness lies in an ever-decreasing zone from the family outwards towards sept, tribe, group: hostility to all others. Even septs will fight each other and Aryoto and Eremtaga do not mix much. But there is no "caste" feeling, and tribes will, in circumstances favouring the actions (*e.g.*, living on the tribal borders), intermarry and adopt each other's children. Within the tribe there is so
597 general a custom of adoption that children above six or seven rarely live with their own parents. It is an act of friendliness to give up or adopt a child and the custom has had the effect of making the various septs of a tribe hang together much better than would otherwise have been possible.

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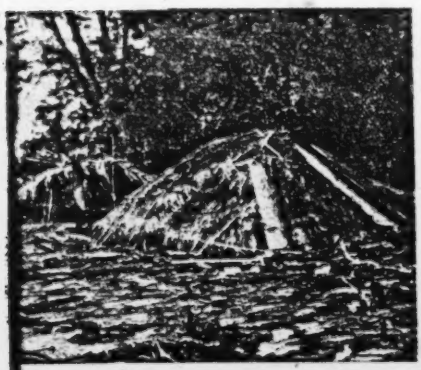

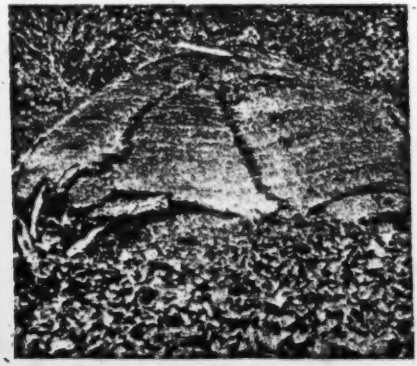

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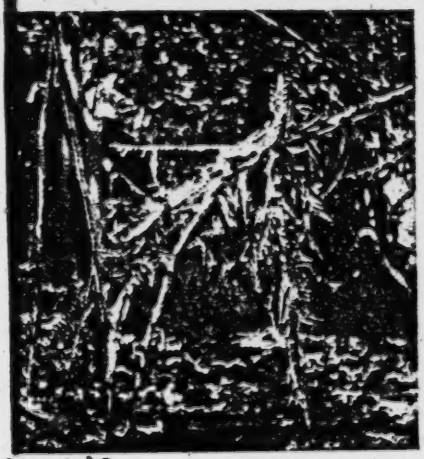

[P.2(A)] Captions will be found on P.2(B)-[Analyst]

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P.2(B)]

PLATE I 342

Fig. 1—Onge hut, north of Dugong Creek, in Little Andaman Island.

Fig. 2—Onge hut, north of Dugong Creek, in Little Andaman Island.

Fig. 3—Entrance to Onge hut north of Dugong Creek in Little Andaman.

Fig. 4—Onges in front of their hut in Little Andaman (South of Dugong Creek). [142]

Fig. 5—Jarawa Shelter at Spike Island in Middle Andaman.

Fig. 6—Onge canoes with single outrigger in Little Andaman waters. [501]

Mr Subramanian of the Forest Department and Mr Majid's young son also 114
accompanied us. We reached Bumila Creek on the north eastern coast of the 123
Little Andaman at about 3 P.M. and having sighted an Andamanese hut we decided to anchor the launch there. The beach was about 2 miles from the place of anchorage. We took out a small boat and rowed to the beach and reached the hut at about 4 P.M. It was found to be abandoned but there were signs of human occupation and within a few yards a water-hole was [312]
discovered. A broken canoe, with a single out-rigger was found close to the [501]
hut (*see* Plate I, Fig. 1). Burnt coal and smouldering ashes in the centre of the hut showed that it was probably deserted by the Aborigines as soon as they had sighted us. After making a careful inspection of the place we returned to our launch and decided to anchor there for the night. Unfortunately the choppy sea and the strong current coming from the Bumila Creek tossed our small boat throughout the whole night, as a result of which all of us had an uncomfortable time.

We left southwards towards Hut Bay early in the morning and as we moved along the coast we sighted another Onge hut. This did not seem to be deserted as we saw a few people moving about. We decided to stop there and investigate. We took out a boat and moved towards the coast with such presents as we had brought from Port Blair on the advice of the Chief Commissioner. When we got near the coast, we left the boat and walked for about a furlong through coral beds finally reaching the shore. The hut was found [342]
to be circular in shape and not too large, and was occupied by 2 adult females, [592]
1 adult male and a young boy. The adult male, *Ukla*, was the father of the young boy and husband of the younger woman. The older woman was his 609
mother-in-law. These people appeared very friendly. We gave them presents 123
we had brought and took photographs and made drawings of their hut. 126
In addition, full anthropometric measurements were taken by me and blood was taken from fingers for typing by Mr Sarkar. Ukla was able to speak a few Hindi words and we gathered that he had been to Port Blair and knew Mr Bonington, formerly of the Forest Department, Andaman Islands. We found in front of the hut, hanging from a large tree 825
the skull and mandible of a Dugong (*see* Plate I, Figs. 3 & 4). We enquired 124
about its significance from Ukla, but unfortunately his knowledge of Hindi was not sufficient to explain it to us. We learned from him, however, that the name of the village was *Laito*. After making friendly gestures, we returned
to 'Molly' and proceeded immediately towards Hut Bay. At about noon 501
time while we were having our lunch, we suddenly saw three outrigger canoes 609
(of single outrigger type) coming towards us, each carrying about 4 Onges. 122
We signalled to them and they came to our launch and tied their canoes with it and came on board. The men appeared to be friendly and not afraid of us. Our greatest difficulty, however, was language, as we could not make ourselves understood as none of the crew or any other member including Mr Subramaniam of the Forest Department knew that language. There was one man 55A
who seemed to occupy a position of authority among these men, and was [302]
painted with red and yellow ochre on the forehead, arms and breast. The

there were no Andamanese There,
but 400 people consisting of 133 males and 130 females who migrated from Bassein in 1924. They were Karen Christians who had settled there. After returning to Long Island on the 12th, Mr Sarkar and party left in the motor boat "Return" for a short cruise along the Jarawa country. Besides Mr Joseph, there were Mr Pooviah and a few of his Burman Bush Police armed with rifles and guns. The party passed through the Homfray's Strait and anchored at the north eastern corner of the Spike Island. Loka and his party of three Andamanese accompanied them in their two canoes. They came to the shore in one of the Andamanese canoes and after entering the forest they found bundles of bamboos piled up at one corner. This was identified as a Jarawa raft. There were also three paddles made out of a palm tree. These specimens were procured for the Department. After proceeding some distance in the jungle, 19 small fire places were counted in scattered manner. A temporary hut was also noticed at a short distance. A number of objects usually used by the Andamanese tribes for household purposes was found including a sling for carrying babies. A beautiful specimen of a Jarawa Bow painted in red in geometrical designs was also found. Photographs were taken of the settlements of the Jarawa camp and objects collected for the Museum. In another place at *Yeratiajig* remnants of a Jarawa camp including pottery and bones of animals, etc., were found. The party returned to Long Island on 14-3-48 and examined 8 of the remaining members of Loka's party. It left the same day for Port Blair where it arrived at 10 P.M. On the 25th Mr Sarkar and his party with the Deputy Chief Commissioner Mr Gupta, left for Kar Nicobar where it arrived on the following day. It returned to Port Blair after staying for a few days. During this time in Kar Nicobar, besides studying the Nicobarese of the Island Mr Sarkar met two Jarawa children who were captured and brought over there and placed in a local Mission School for education.

In the following year in January 1949, another small party was sent under Dr A. K. Mitra with Messrs H. K. Bose and A. Bhattacharyya, to continue the survey of the Little Andaman further along the eastern coast. They visited *Hut Bay* on the 28th and went to the Onge settlement there. A large circular hut similar to that seen by us at Tambebui was observed. It contained nine cots with a fire place in the centre. There were also two outrigger canoes, one in front of the hut and another on the beach. Altogether 11 Onges were found consisting of 2 adult males, 6 females and 3 young children between the ages of 6 to 15. The 8 adults and the adolescent boys were carefully measured and observations noted about their special somatic characters. After leaving Hut Bay they went as far as the South Point which is the southernmost point on the eastern coast of the Little Andaman, but did not see any other Onge settlement. They had to return on the 31st as the launch could not be spared any further.

The Onges were found to be strong and healthy and free from venereal disease, a scourge, which along with tuberculosis were chiefly responsible for the rapid depopulation of the Andamanese tribes. Our observations agree with the accounts of the Negritos of the Andaman Islands published before

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

CHAPTER V
NATURAL VEGETATION

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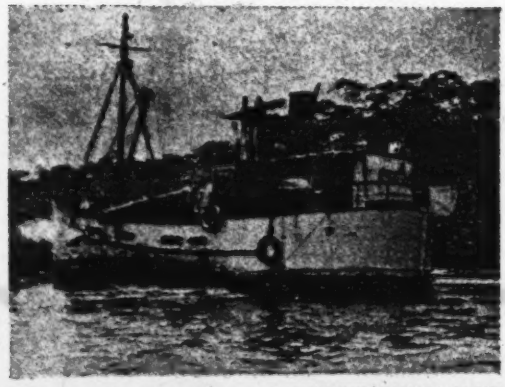

A timber carrying launch of the Andamans.

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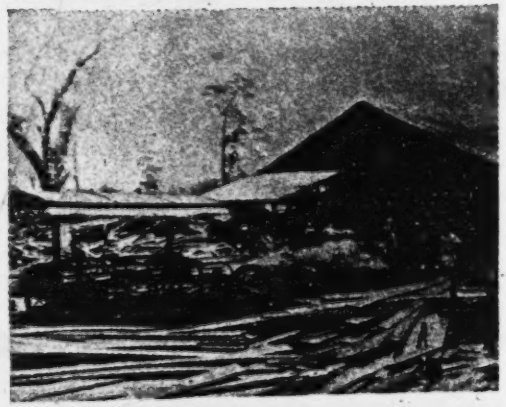

A view of the Saw Mill at Chatham Island.

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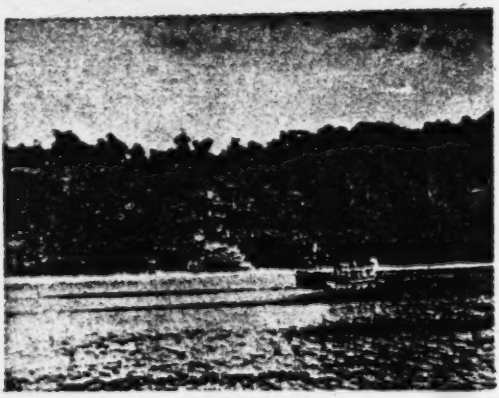

A view of the natural vegetation along the Sea coast.

[facing p. 36]

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

[P. 670]

The Jarawa of the Andaman Islands

By S. S. Sarkar (Calcutta)

Introduction

101 131 The Jarawa of the Andaman Islands are confined along the western coast of South Andaman, where their movements are restricted – roughly speaking – between Port Anson on the north and Constance Bay on the south (fig. 1). They are also reported from the southwestern part of the island of Baratang – an island completely separated from South and Middle Andaman. The latter group must, therefore, use some kind of watercraft to cross over from one island to the other. The extreme northern tip of the South Andaman [501] Island was until recently used by the Jarawa for crossing over to Middle Andaman through the two intervening Islands of Spike and Bluff with the help of bamboo rafts (Sarkar, 1954). This route has now been checked owing to the establishment of a police picket on Bluff Island.

101 131 501 The Jarawa also appear to have used some sort of watercraft to migrate into North Sentinel Island in the distant past. Their craft may have been similar to the outrigger canoes described by Bonig (1912) on the occasion of his visit to this island. The distance from Port Mouat to North Sentinel is about 24 miles and although Bonig says that "the boats are not very seaworthy" this distance must at one time have been crossed by the ancestors of the present-day inhabitants of North Sentinel Island. Bonnington (1932) used the term Sentinelese for them, while Lowis (1912, 1923) preferred to call them Jarawa. It appears from what little is known about them that they are more akin to the Jarawa of South Andaman than to the other Negrito groups. No canoes are reported from among the Jarawa of South Andaman ; it appears that the bamboo raft is enough for their transport on water. The Jarawa [184] outrigger canoes of North Sentinel Island, which Bonig mentions as somewhat different from those of the Onge or the Andamanese, indicate a somewhat higher cultural status of the former as compared with the groups living on South Andaman.

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

123 The second trip was made on March 12th 1948. Our party included Mr. JOSEPH and Mr. POOVIAH[2], both Sub-divisional Officers of the forest department, one Burman bush police and four Andamanese with their two canoes tied behind our motor boat. We followed the same route from Long Island and, reaching Spike Island, we anchored at its northeastern corner. We came ashore in the canoes. The beach was small and rocky. Part of it was sheltered on one side by huge rocks behind which the Jarawa were known to waylay those approaching from the sea. So we landed very cautiously. Just at [501] the outskirts of the jungle we saw huge bundles of short bamboo lengths tied to [824] one another and piled up in a heap. It was a Jarawa raft. Near the bamboo pile were three crude paddles split from the spadix of the palm called *Nipa fruticans*. We were all the more careful in our approach.

[361] Soon we came upon a clearing in the jungle. There was no Jarawa, but all around we saw traces of a temporary halt of a large party. We counted nineteen [342] fireplaces. At a distance from the fireplaces we saw a small temporary hut [622] improvised out of the materials available on the spot. Two small shrubs were tied together on two sides to form the roof of the hut. The Andamanese identified it to have been made for the Jarawa chief and his wife. Household objects lay scattered about. Three bamboo cylinders, closed at one end by the natural node, were found next to three of the fireplaces. They are used for carrying water. A dark coloured modern glass bottle, probably acquired during a raid, was also found. One fireplace had a small compartment enclosed by a few wooden posts a few yards off. The Andamanese identified it as an enclosure for keeping a child at a safe distance from the fire. This was probably correct as there was also a baby sling made of bark, exactly similar to that used by the Onge for carrying a baby on its mother's back (VON EICKSTEDT, 1934, fig. 211). At one corner of a fireplace the shavings of an arrowshaft or a bow were seen and nearby was a flat round pebble, one end of which was broken like that of a scraper (fig. 3). This scraper showed marks of red ochre on it. Beneath a tree a circular mat, sewn out of three pieces of long triangular palm-like leaves was spread out, while on its branches was found a beautiful specimen of an unstrung bow. It appeared to have been recently prepared and

[415] [824] [412] [177] [415] [354] [417] [855] [854] [412] [412]

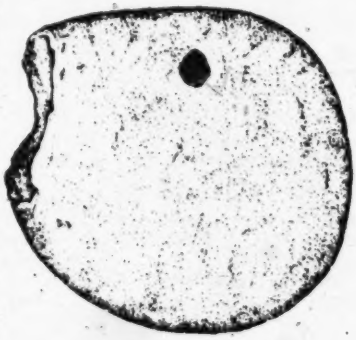

Fig. 3

[2] These two officers captured two Jarawa males, one adult and one boy, on October 19th 1948 on Spike Island. They were brought to Port Blair, wherefrom they managed to escape at night.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

[P. 54]

CHAPTER IX

ABORIGINAL POPULATION

144 As said earlier, the aboriginal population of the Andamans belong to the negrito group which is spread over the different parts of Southeast Asia e.g. the Semangs and Sakais of Malaya, the Veddas of Ceylon, the Tapiro of New Guinea etc. The pygmies of the Equatorial Africa also show very close resemblance to the negritoes in physical as well as cultural characteristics but the latter are taller, much more dark skinned and also hairy than the former. In spite of the racial affinity with the other negrito groups of Southeast Asia, the Andamanese show a remarkable degree of purity, an outcome of the virtual seclusion and little contact with the other people. But the infiltration of the later settlers have proved a long way to bring about some changes in them. The comparison of the Andamanese with the other negritoes will prove that a good deal of evolution of the Andamanese has been attained by them independently.

Affinity with the other Negritoes of Southeast Asia

171 Though the fundamantals of the economy of the Andamanese do not differ appreciably from the Semangs and the other groups, some characteristic features distinguish these people from the others. The Andamanese follows a long series of food privations which is absent among the Semangs and the equipments are also more elaborate than [501] the other negritoes. The outrigger canoes of the Andamanese are more improved, the bows are of complicated S-form and the huts are considerable improvements of the rudimentary temporary camps original to the negritoes. These indicate a definite improvement of the material culture of the Andamanese over the others.

The affinity of the Andamanese with the other negrito groups i.e. the Semangs of the Malaya Peninsula and the Aetas of the Philippines can very well be traced from the study of the equipments of material culture and also from the general habits and the methods of life.

171 As regards the equipments, the bow, the arrow, the mode of erecting
411 shelter and its shape show further improvements in their constuction though the prevalence of the original simple types can be detected in some parts. The original one curvature bow has considerably evolved and has developed into the S-shaped bow in the Andamans though the

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

CHAPTER IX ABORIGINAL POPULATION

An outrigger Canoe. (Courtesy A. S. I.)

501
[133]

An outrigger Canoe with a Burmese Boat (Courtesy A. S. I.)

[facing P. 60]

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

105 177 439 of all these things, locally not available, was felt by the aborigines only due to their slight contact with the later settlers.

However, a broad two-fold division of the aboriginal population can be made.

101 174

1. Aborigines of the Great Andaman Group — All the aborigines of the Great Andamans with the exception of the Jarawas, the most hostile aborigines living in the southwestern part of the Andamans.

2. Aborigines of the Little Andaman Group — the Onges of the Little Andaman, the Jarawas of the South Andaman & the Sentinelese of the North Sentinel island.

As to how these two groups came into being and their areas of distribution, various theories have been put forward. Long after the attainment of the individual traits of these two groups, a continuous northward movement of the aborigines from the Little Andaman was in vogue and one such party had arrived in the Great Andamans who have been lately known as the Jarawas, who were all along subjected to pressure of the local natives belonging to the Great Andaman Group, the *Aka bea* of South Andaman. The very development of the hostility of the Jarawas and their complete seclusion from the other aboriginal groups owe to their being continuously subjected to the adversities. B. V. Eickstedt[1] has been of the opinion that the aborigines of the Andamans entered into the Great Andamans in two groups—the earlier group comprises the Onge, Jarawas and the Sentinelese while to the later group belong the ancestors of the Great Andaman Group. The passage of the Great Andaman Group has led to a constant southward push of the earlier group which has ultimately led to their habitation in the islands of the south i.e., the Little Andaman, Rutland Island and a part of the South Andaman. Cipriani has been emphatic enough in justifying the 101 174 views of Brown that the Jarawas reached the Great Andamans from the 182 south. Though they are supposed to have come from the Great Andamans 501 by canoes, the art of constructing canoes and of using them have been completely forgotten and Cipriani believes that such instances of the loss of knowledge of the construction of canoes and their uses are many. A list of the names of the camps, given by Cipriani in the 1951 census, dating back to antiquity and having a good supply of drinking water and of

[113]

1 Eickstedt, B. V — Die Negrite der Andaman (Autho Ans).

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

food lie in a chain running from north to south along the islands between Little and Great Andamans. This has been one of the most convincing proofs of the movement of the aborigines from the south to the north. Cipriani writes, 'All these organisations, with geographical names, camps, places for water and food, indicate an ancient navigating experience moving from the south to the north. About a century and half ago the Jarawas are said to have still been in possession of canoes and the same is said of the savage inhabitants of the North Sentinel Island less than 50 years ago. In a surprisingly short period the technique of making canoes seems to have been completely forgotten as a result of the difficulties of using them."

THE ABORIGINES OF THE GREAT ANDAMAN GROUP

Andamanese, as they are called, were the most widespread and the largest in number. They had split up ultimately into a few sub-groups from the north to the south. The different groups are *Aka-kora, Aka-boa, Aka-jeru and Aka-bea.* There has been a deplorable decline in the number of these aborigines who in the bygone ages exceeded all other groups in number. At present the number is only 23, a considerable reduction from the number 625 only in the beginning of the 20th century. Though the present importance of the Andamanese because of the extremely poor number is far from significant, they are of no small interest for the study of the anthropologist, especially the impact of these people with the later settlers.

The consequences of the impact of the outsiders on the Andamanese have been far from satisfactory. With the formation of the penal colony, the aborigines continued to develop feud and on the 14th of May, 1959 a clash between the aborigines and the Govt. occurred which is known as the Battle of Aberdeen. Aberdeen is at the heart of the town of Port Blair. Efforts of pacifying these aborigines were made and for bringing them into closer terms of amity, the 'Andamanese Home' was started in 1863 by Rev. H. Corbyn Chaplain. They were employed for working with the convicts taught to speak English and wear clothes. The consequence of such an impact has been alarmingly devastating because of the infiltration of a number of vices and diseases which only paved the way for their impoverishment and decay (For further particulars see demographic characteristics).

2 Ciprianai, L — On the origin af the Andamanese, Andaman & Nicobar Islands, Census of India, 1951.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

137 with, its European counterpart. The spores, attached to a plume barely visible to the naked eye but wonderfully constructed, are carried into the sky by the air currents rising from the pools in the hottest part of the day and travel considerable distances.

One could fill whole books with the botany of the islands but here I can record only a few examples. One I cannot leave out is a species of *ipomea*, or Morning Glory, which flourishes on the sandy beaches in the lee of the coral reefs. The local varieties are not climbers, but spread over the ground in a compact lattice of stems, fairly well able to withstand the onslaught of wind and water. They prevent coastal erosion, both by the protection which their covering of strong stems and leathery leaves provides and by holding fast loose pieces of coral. These *ipomeas* are found only in the Andamans, some with purplish flowers and others white. They surround the communal huts along the coast, carpeting every free inch of ground cleared by the Onges of other and more destructive vegetation. They make no attempt to cut down the *ipomea*, as the compact growth helps their canoes to slide up and down the beach.

[501] [824]

133 137 Along the coast of Little Andaman one sees rows of beautiful casuarinas (the Whistling Pine) especially a little to the north of Bugong Creek. From out at sea they stand against the skyline like rows of Italian cypress. They never reach the height of which they are capable, owing to the wind and the nature of the terrain; apart from a small stony, hilly area in the interior, of ancient continental origin, the island is really nothing more than a huge coral bank lying against these hills, which in the course of thousands of years has become covered with vegetal mould of no great depth. Trees are therefore forced to send their roots out horizontally, and the strong monsoon winds can easily uproot the tallest of them. After every storm one sees huge trunks lying on the ground, their wide net of roots sticking high into the air. Only a few of the giants in the interior manage to resist, protected by their neighbours. On Great Andaman, where there is more land of continental origin, deep rooting is possible and the forest presents a very different picture.

137 Much has already been written by others about the epiphytes, among them beautiful ferns and even more lovely orchids, which cling desperately to the trees in their struggle to reach the light. All are closely related to the flora of Burma, Malaysia, and Sumatra,

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The Onges are the most numerous of the three peoples surviving in the Andamans. Vigorous and apparently full of promise for the future they may well offer a suitable field for the application of eugenic measures designed to increase their numbers; this would be impossible with the Jarawas owing to their hostility towards outsiders, and the few remaining Arioto are nearly all of impure stock. If their confidence could be gained, it might be possible to encourage inter-marriage between the various groups, in the hope that fertility would increase and the ultimate total extinction of Onges, Jarawas and Arioto, would be prevented.

In the Andamanese, this physiological decline has been accompanied by cultural decadence, as my digs in the kitchen-middens all over the archipelago showed. The ancient pottery which came to light is proof enough; when one compares it with recent work the latter is indicative of secondary and not original primitiveness. The successive strata in the deposits show a gradual decline from earthenware clearly made from a very refined mix to crude ware with vegetable impurities and bits of stone left in the clay. The pots dating from ancient times were clearly well fired and the quality of the clay allowed them to have thin but nevertheless very strong walls. In the present-day ware, on the other hand, the wall has to be thick because of the coarseness of the clay, making the pots both heavy and easily broken. Moreover, firing is limited to drying the pots in the sun, and the clay is in fact only hardened when the pot is used for cooking.

Ignorance of fire-making in the Andamans may also stem from this cultural regression, as one of the effects of physiological and psychological decadence. Given the absence of magico-religious beliefs among the Andamanese, ignorance of fire-making cannot be attributed to any ritual taboo or veto. On the other hand, it is in sharp contrast to the possession of elements of cultural advance such as the bow, with highly developed arrows, the harpoon with its detachable point, and the outrigger canoe.

Few races are known, even in far distant times, which never had fire. *Sinanthropus* and nearly every fossil Man after him had fire, even if he was unable to create it and could only preserve it once received from some natural combustion. The Onges, while retaining a number of ethnic characteristics of the Palaeolithic era, have

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9 The bow and arrow is the main weapon used for hunting; in this photograph the archer has the long arrow harpoon used for spearing large fish

10 Fishing in the coral shallows

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[facing P. 66, G]

501

11 *Above* Launching an outrigger canoe
12 *Below* Hunter with a monitor lizard
13 Mother and child

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224
411
516

[facing P. 66, H]

174 342 [628] The continual fighting between the Eremtaga and the Arioto led, as we have seen, to the gradual disappearance of the communal huts of the latter as being too vulnerable. Subsequently, the con- [648] flict still going on between foreigners and Jarawas completed the destruction, so that there are now no communal huts on Great Andaman. The ever-increasing violence of the punitive expeditions against the Jarawas put an end to their numerical recovery during the last fifteen years or so, and there may indeed now be none left. [172] Today only their kitchen-middens, and the surviving Onges, remain to show us how the Jarawas must have lived.

172 184 The Jarawa middens are distinguishable from those of the Arioto by their inland position and by their content of freshwater shellfish and land gasteropods, not eaten by the peoples of the coast.

172 764 178 [186] Like the kitchen-middens of the Onges, those of the Jarawas contain human bones clearly interred in graves, and not scattered among the refuse. This refutes the Arioto accusation against the Eremtaga of cannibalism, and that of the people of South Andaman (now vanished) against the people of North Andaman and the Onges; the remains of cannibal feasts would undoubtedly have been found among kitchen refuse and not carefully buried in the ritual manner, with the graves filled in with earth. And the Jarawas and the majority of the Arioto buried their dead in the communal huts, continuing a custom which originated while they were still [184] on Little Andaman. In time variations arose, but this does not alter the evidence in favour of migration in ancient times from the south, via the Nicobars and Little Andaman.

184 172 501 The differences in culture between the islands can be explained by the ease with which primitive peoples forget. The Jarawas, for example, although they reached Great Andaman by sea from Little Andaman, forgot in a few generations the art of hollowing canoes when they were forced to live in the depths of the forests, far from the sea. Today, they have been free from the Arioto for some time, at least on the west coast, and have access to the sea, but they have [765] not started building canoes again. In other things, however, such as burial rites, the Jarawas kept faithful to the old Onge customs; their middens show the same exhumation of the bones, the same cleaning, and tinting with ochre, and careful reburial.

172 252 The general similarity of the middens in Great and Little Andaman cannot be due to chance. Animal food, for example, has clearly

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The widespread use of the arrow and spear harpoons since very ancient times is evidenced by their survival in areas far removed from each other, and among primitive peoples geographically completely isolated. The arrival of the harpoon in the Andamans must in all probability have occurred thousands of years ago when it was widespread at least in the south and south-east of the Asian continent. Even the Andamanese canoes with their platforms fore and aft built specially for the harpoon throwers indicate not only the antiquity of the islanders, but also their historical and cultural connection with the peoples represented today by the few remaining Negritos.

From the evidence of the middens it is clear that the links between the Onges and the Jarawas are very close. While the date of the first migration from Little Andaman to Great Andaman remains uncertain there can be no doubt that migrations took place, followed by isolation within the islands, until today the Arioto cannot understand the Eremtaga, and the Onges neither the Jarawas nor the Sentinellese. There is very little in the literature on the Jarawas and their origin, but from my own observations I would deduce that they arrived in Great Andaman comparatively recently, as even their subsequent rigid isolation has not brought about any really essential cultural differences from the Onges.

The route of the migration will undoubtedly have led them via Rutland, whose heights can be seen as an open invitation from the north of Little Andaman. Chains of small, uninhabited islands lie between; the Onges have a name for all of them and have camp sites there for use on hunting or fishing expeditions; the Arioto, on the other hand, do not appear ever to have been to the islands. From Rutland migrations would have moved on to Great Andaman, until, filtering through to the extreme north, they became the Jarawas, or 'strangers', as the Arioto still call them. The Arioto themselves probably arrived previously by the same route but stopped in the coastal areas, then uninhabited and inviting occupation. The Arioto would have considered themselves owners of the still uninhabited areas and tried to exclude later immigrants; so began the hostility I have already described between the occupiers of the coasts and the later arrivals whom they forced into the depths of the forests.

166 All the evidence points to this being far more than mere supposi-
[174] tion and even today the Onges persist in their tendency to expand towards the north. In 1953 I could find no trace of a number of Onges whom I had known in 1952; the others told me they were all 'dead', but it seems probable that they had migrated to the islands further north. And in 1954 nearly all the canoes belonging to the communal huts in the south-west of Little Andaman, which I had seen in 1953, had vanished and were said to have gone with the 'dead'. It is probable that they too had migrated to Great Andaman, becoming 'Jarawas'.

166 This is physically quite possible. Between Little Andaman and
484 Great Andaman the Onges have a line of transit camps, still in use,
[485] where food and water are easily available. All have a name, and I
[501] followed the line myself. With the help of their fragile but very fast canoes, and without carrying food or water (which they know will be available at the next transit camp), they can travel very quickly.
[372] They take fire with them in the canoes in the form of a burning torch and while they are at sea, unlike the lazy pace of their normal attitude to life, they seem possessed by the desire to reach the next stopping point on terra firma.

174 Moreover, one may deduce from the fact that the names of these
166 transit camps are all in the Onge language that the migrations have always been from south to north. Little Andaman, formed as it is mainly of coral banks and only projecting a short way above the sea, disappears from view in the tropical mists a few kilometres from the shore; from Rutland it is invisible, and as the Andamanese only travel by sea with land in sight or when its existence and direction is well known, no one from the north would have dared to travel south into the unknown.

We have already seen that the ignorance of the present-day Jarawas as regards the sea is no bar to a hypothesis of their original
[175] arrival in Great Andaman by sea. Colebrook, a hundred and fifty
[501] years ago, actually saw them with canoes, and Gilbert Rogers[1]
[178] recorded seeing canoes on the coasts of North Sentinel very similar to those of the Onges today. The accumulation, therefore, of this
[184] evidence and the general similarity of culture throughout the archipelago all adds up to inescapable conclusions.

000 Even the unique dances enjoyed by the Onges are to be seen

[113] [1] *Andaman and Nicobar Gazetteer*, 2 January 1904.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

They have neither incantations, amulets nor propitiating signs to help them. Even the *marque de chasse* found on their arrow heads had no major significance; in all probability they merely served to indicate the best arrow and at most they served as a warning to the womenfolk not to touch them (it is interesting that I never saw any woman or child with a bow or an arrow). But this is as far as they go towards superstition, and its only effect is to enhance the division of duties between the sexes. 227 789 [782]

The Onges, unlike the Jarawas and Arioto, have never lost the art of canoe making, and the building of a new canoe is an important matter. The selected tree, always one of the three species of *Sterculia*, is felled and then hollowed out slowly and laboriously with a rudimentary form of hatchet, the work often being done by one man alone. The weight of the felled trunk makes it necessary for the work to be done where it falls, but after much patient whittling away the resulting canoe is extremely light, with thin walls, though still not light enough to be carried to the water, never far away. A series of short logs are used as rollers in the age-old way and the builder's friends all gather to help clear a way through the undergrowth and prepare the rollers. Only a few are needed; all is soon ready and the Onges watch delightedly as the canoe glides away down to the shore. These canoe-ways often provided me with an easy path to the sea if I came upon them in the forest. Sometimes they led not to shore but to one of the many creeks, where salt water and marine fauna penetrate miles inland and make it easy for the Onges to launch their canoes from a point far from the sea. 396 [184] [824] [483]

The Onge canoe, hollowed out in one piece, is a survival of the ancient canoes of the Neolithic age, found in Switzerland and elsewhere in Europe. It survives in the Andamans, and through Oceania to the Americas, in northern Asia (notably among the Ainu) in south-west Asia, and even in south-east Africa. 501 ● 171

The canoe has no distinction between bow and stern, and is commonly navigated from either. At each end of the canoe a crude platform juts out, on which the harpoon throwers stand. Very careful attention is paid to the float, which is fragile, and is therefore kept on the lee side. The object of it is to prevent the canoe from capsizing, which it is otherwise very liable to do owing to its round keel, always left in the natural shape of the tree-trunk. I had some experiences of rough seas in one of these canoes 501

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

● 501 – I saw the float roll over my head and the entire contents of the canoe, men and cargo alike, rolled out into the water. The Onges regard this as a great joke; the canoe cannot sink, it is easily righted, and they have neither clothes nor baggage, so why worry? But even so, their canoes are far more stable in the water than any European-type craft of the same size.

When the sea is rough the Onges all move to the side of the canoe which carries the float and one lies out on the float itself to prevent it from rising out of the water as the trunk rolls. Very light waves will swamp the canoe, but it never sinks, as the float always remains on the surface, with the occupants of the canoe clinging to it. I had to do this myself on several occasions, while the Onges dived after all my baggage in great glee.

All over the world local craft are always the best adapted to local conditions. Several times I was able to land on Little Andaman in stormy weather only by leaving a modern sloop for the Onges' frail craft, identical with those in which they reached and spread over the archipelago in ancient times.

So important are their canoes to the Onges that they will expend what is for them an enormous amount of time and energy in choosing the right tree and removing the branches and the lianas twining round it. Then they wait with (for them) quite extraordinary patience for the scars to heal and become watertight before they fell the tree and begin the real work of making the canoe.

[184] On Little Andaman the single outrigger canoe is the only craft used. On Great Andaman the Jarawas, who lost the art of canoe-building during their centuries of enforced hiding in the forests, only put together very primitive rafts, hastily constructed when they have to cross a creek or a river, and then abandoned on the far side to the termites.

These rafts are merely a number of tree-trunks laid side by side and bound together with lianas and *Ficus* bark. I have seen them lying abandoned on Middle Andaman and in 1938 one was taken by the police on the occasion of the capture of three Jarawa children. Extremely roughly made, these rafts are never taken out to sea, but in recent years they have been enough to encourage the spread of the Jarawas towards North Andaman.

Among the few surviving Negritos on North Sentinel the Onge

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

type of canoe is the only craft seen. I saw some hauled up on the beach, identical with the ones I had seen the Onges building, even to the *Nautilus* shell as a baler. In face of this and other evidence there can be little doubt that the people of North Sentinel are descended from the Onges, possibly driven off course by some storm, and then isolated on the island.

The Arioto, copying Indian and Burmese craft, have in recent times come to modify the original canoe somewhat, deepening the gunwales and doing away with the float. The result is a craft which though it remains small is unlikely to fill with water in heavy seas. But even the Arioto prefer the single outrigger canoe for sea voyages.

The only real seafarers, however, are the Onges, who make regular hunting trips as far as Rutland. In the past they sometimes made devastating raids as far as Car, but these have died out over the past hundred years as their numbers have dwindled. There is certainly no doubt that at one time the Onges undertook considerable sea voyages in canoes the same as they build today.

The work involved in the building of these canoes is, as I have said, enormous. The preparatory work on the tree, and then the felling, are hard enough without proper equipment. I gave my Onge friends some long-handled wood-cutter's axes, to help in this part of the work. In their enthusiasm they chopped so hard they soon broke the handles and chipped some of the tempered blades, so that I had to take them to Port Blair for repair! But the real work begins with the working of the felled trunk. Then a small and very crude form of hatchet[1] has to be used, flaking off small strips like a plane; fire is never used to assist in the process. Fortunately the *Sterculia* wood usually chosen is soft.

The original shape is not touched after the required length, calculated so as to allow for the harpoon-thrower's platform at each end, has been cut. The irregularities of the trunk are left intact, so that the canoes look distorted and even ugly despite their seaworthiness. During the preliminary stage of stripping the bark great care is taken not to chip the outer ring of wood immediately below the bark; this is smooth and fine-grained, and more waterproof than the inner layers. One danger is that as the wood dries

[1] The blades used to be made from *Tridacna* shell, but in more recent times they have come to be made of iron from wrecked ships cast up on the beaches.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

I examined a number of canoes drawn up on the beach. They 501 ●
varied in size from some eight to ten metres long, built to carry twenty people, to small single-manned craft three to four metres long, and there were some very small ones clearly intended to encourage the children to set out on their own. The very large canoes are, however, rare. The beam also varied considerably from some barely wide enough to admit a man's knees to others of one and a half metres or more.[1]

In the shallows, contrary to some assertions, paddles are never used; the booms would make alternate paddling extremely difficult. Reversed harpoon shafts are instead used as punt poles and oars, [824]
usually made of *Myristica longifolia*, are used only in deep water. They are sometimes but not always lashed into the holes in the gunwale through which the booms pass. They are short, not more than 1·5 metres long and are always rowed forwards (obviously there would be a danger of stubbing a reef if the European style of rowing was used). Like the canoes, the oars vary somewhat in size. Very roughly made they consist of a handle ninety centimetres long and a forty-centimetre blade. The grip tapers almost to a point and increases gradually in diameter towards the blade, which is long, narrow, blunt-ended and flat-convex in section. Usually it is [232]
merely roughly shaped with the Onges' crude hatchet, but occa- [412]
sionally it is smoothed off with a sharp *Cyrena* shell. The helmsman and pilot stand on the two platforms, guiding the canoe with oars. As far as possible the rowers avoid the side bearing the outrigger mechanism; any deviation of course caused by the unilateral rowing is corrected by the two steersmen.

When they first launch a canoe the Onges decorate it with ochre 501
designs like those on their bodies and the hollowed logs used to 531
hold honey, although they are washed off as soon as the craft enters the water. As usual the men do all the work up to that point [462]
and the women do the painting. The initial painting is the only [422]
form of ornament on the canoes; there is not even a mark of owner- [126]
ship, although each canoe is curiously enough recognized as the property of one man, despite the fact that everyone has helped to

[1] I am unable to agree with Brown that the Onge canoes are extremely small, that they have bow and stern, and that their floats are inefficient. My own experiences of travelling in the canoes has led me to the opinion that on these and other points Brown was wrong, possibly partly because he never actually visited Little Andaman. [114]

build it (when I wanted to acquire two for the new anthropological museum at Port Blair and the Indian Museum in Calcutta I had to bargain with the men recognized as the owners, although the price had to be distributed among all the members of the group).

The chief delight of the men on their fishing trips is the capture of a Giant Turtle. I have already described (p. 88) the spear harpoons which the Onges use to catch them. Once caught, the wretched animals are subjected to a form of vivisection utterly incomprehensible to the Western mind; they are literally cut up alive and the pieces thrown into the boiling cooking-pot. Nor have I ever witnessed anything so terrible as the way in which the Onges, in the absence of any suitable cooking vessel, or the materials for an earth oven, roast these turtles whole and alive over a slow fire. They seem totally unable to realize that animals can feel pain and laugh like children at the other atrocious tortures they unwittingly inflict not only on the turtles, but on every living thing that falls into their hands.

These marine turtles (as far as I was able to see there were no land turtles in the Andamans) yield a far greater amount of food than the dugong, and provide the islanders with both meat and eggs. Two species are common in the seas round the islands, *Chelonia virgata*, or the green turtle, and *Caretta imbricata*, which supplies the shells normally sold commercially. The Onges prefer the former, which are both meaty and more plentiful.

Turtle-hunting and egg-collecting is done by the menfolk. The method is very like that used for dugong and large fish, using the harpoon. Owing to their fear of the spirits abroad in the night, the Onges never go near the beaches between dusk and dawn, when it would be easy to take the turtles on land and immobilize them by turning them on their backs. They do know this trick, however, and use it when captured turtles (often weighing up to a hundredweight) are too heavy to carry in the canoe; the animals are turned on their backs and dumped on the beach ready to pick up later.

The Onges harpoon the turtles from canoes, preferably at night when the turtles are nearing the shore, which they never approach in the day time. When there is a moon the creatures are easily seen, and on dark nights the phosphorescence of the sea helps.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

136 Andaman, in Yeratil Jig (near Port Anson, about fifteen miles from Long Island) in Diglipur (or Dilyapur) Creek, near Port Cornwallis, and in Wilima Jig,[1] but they are now extinct. In March 1952 the Onges had described the presence of crocodiles so clearly to me as to leave no doubt what they meant, and I soon received confirmation when I found their tracks on the sand about one kilometre from the mouth of Jackson Creek, on the right bank, and then saw some lying on the shore across the creek. Through my field glasses I saw small birds pecking between the teeth of the great wide-open jaws. As we approached they slid lazily into the sea, some reappearing a little later, their cavernous mouths rising vertically out of the water. Every day after that I saw them swimming quietly near the banks, and one afternoon my men and I between us saw over a dozen, near Nachuge, dozing in the mud or in the water.

[825] [198] The Onges assured me that crocodiles will come out of the water to a certain whistle. I got them to try it; the Onges whistled, and whistled again, but no crocodiles came!

237 321 276 172 Very different from the great turtles and the crocodiles, but equally important in the daily life of the Onges, are the crabs from which the islanders make their ancient and very characteristic pipes. They eat the crabs and use the claws to make the pipes, cutting them across the joint and boring a hole in the end, as they have done since time immemorial, to smoke aromatic leaves from the forest. Fragments of similar pipes, charred with use, appear in even the lowest strata of the kitchen-middens, dating back thousands of years and proving the antiquity of the smoking habit. Contrary to popular belief, smoking did not begin everywhere with the introduction of tobacco – in Asia at least men smoked thousands of years ago.

237 276 171 The claw pipes of the Onges have a groove cut round the end which goes into the mouth, so that the teeth can grip it better. I have seen identical pipes, with the same groove, in the Melville Islands, where there are many other signs of ethnographic connections with the Andamans. The canoes, for example, are identical [501] [142] with those of the Andamans; the peoples themselves, however, are today very different physically.

[165] [1] According to Portman a man was dragged into the water here on 11 May 1894 by a crocodile and killed; several similar incidents have occurred since.

171 way in which the spirits are invoked against enemies, involving
776 the use of some personal possession – an example is the invariable destruction of the used *naquinegbe*, or of hair after shaving. The same fear of the night induced by the idea of spirits walking abroad led to the making of torches from rolled palm leaves containing a mixture of embers and resin.

From the Andamans to Oceania the chief spirit is generally
[262] imagined in the form of a giant lizard, living at the top of the sky
[825] and ruling the storms; none of the peoples who believe in him ever eat any lizard or lizard-like creature. All of them have the same
171 sexually suggestive dances, both male and female, sometimes in-
535 spired by the monitor or dragon-lizard, symbol of desire, and often
776 associated with miming and dramatic representations of real and
825 imaginary scenes. These dances, with their *joie de vivre*, are accompanied by the smoking of aromatic leaves in pipes which are fre-
171 quently made from natural objects such as the claws of crustacea.
276 The Onges in fact have since very ancient times used only this type
[535] as shown in the lower levels of the kitchen-middens dating back
[172] at least five thousand years. Everywhere, pipes of this kind are used indiscriminately by both sexes, passing from mouth to mouth. Pipes identical in every way with those of the Onges are found to the east of the archipelago, well into Oceania, and I have myself also seen them on Melville Island, north of Australia, always with the same notches for the teeth to grip. This undeniable evidence of the spread of identical pipes over so wide an area long before the possibility of European contacts cannot in my opinion be attributed other than to migration over vast distances in very ancient times.

Similar coincidences apply in the case of the arrow harpoon and
171 indeed harpoons in general. I cannot agree with Brown in his
114 assertion that the harpoon dates from the arrival of European in-
411 fluences, which brought the use of iron; the harpoon points made by long and patient working of *Tridacna* shells which I found in the kitchen-middens of the Andamans are in my view enough to refute the theory.

171 The canoes from which these harpoons are used, with the ab-
501 sence of distinction between bow and stern and the single float on the lee side, are extremely typical. They are identical in peoples which have been widely separated for a very long time and appear not only on the Andamans, and as far as Oceania, but also in North

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Queensland and (as the Cape Bedford type) elsewhere. Oars, method of fixing the booms and float – all are similar throughout the area, including the Andamans.

Even game, once caught, is treated and distributed similarly by these peoples, from the Andamans to Oceania. Cooking is done without salt, in earth ovens (whether or not fire or red-hot stones are used) very different from those of Africa and America. The Semang and Aetà of today know how to make fire by friction, as do the peoples of New Guinea, Australia and Polynesia; the Tasmans also have the knowledge to do so, but prefer to carry burning logs with them on their journeys, like the Andamanese. In certain parts of New Guinea and perhaps in some of the Pacific islands (as in the Andamans) the art of fire-making was unknown or possibly forgotten until recent times; it is said that the Papuans of the Bay of Astralobius knew nothing of the art until the middle of the nineteenth century. But the only sure information comes from the Andamans, where, whether through ignorance or loss of knowledge, the art of fire-making is unknown and fire is always carried everywhere.

Among the objects typical of the Andamans and found also among the Semang, the Aetà, and other Oceanic peoples are the digging stick and the crude hatchet. The former, used for gathering edible roots and tubers, is merely a pointed stick, but every family possesses one. The hatchet is slightly more elaborate, having both handle and blade, and like the digging stick, occurs always in virtually the same form.[1] Objects woven from vegetable fibres are also very similar in appearance – often very durable and sometimes pleasing by any standards. In some places woven breast-plates are used in warfare, but here the Jarawas differ, using single sheets of bark.

These are but a few of the many examples which one can find of this striking similarity between these widely separated peoples. And alongside cultural similarities there exist others, anthropological and physical, which cannot be overlooked. Physically the

[1] This is simply a cutting tool fixed into a natural elbow in a suitable branch. The blade is fixed into the wood near the elbow, and the branch is cut off, so as to leave a short handle. The whole thing is reminiscent of a swan's head on a long neck, and is easily turned into a crude plane or adze by revolving the blade in the haft through a right angle.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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501 [531]

along the gunwale. These designs soon wear off when the canoe is in use and are not renewed.

The paddles used by the Andamanese vary considerably in size and to some extent in shape, but the following description with its accompanying figure gives a fair idea of a typical specimen. The whole paddle has a length of 123·5 centimetres, the shaft being 85 centimetres and the blade 38·5 centimetres. The diameter of the shaft from the blade to the middle is 2·6 centimetres, and from the middle towards the handle end it tapers to a point. The shaft is circular in section throughout its length. The blade is leaf-shaped, pointed bluntly at the apex. In section it is plano-convex, with a maximum thickness of 1·3 centimetres and a width of 8·7 centimetres. Paddles are cut with an adze from the wood of the *Myristica longifolia* and planed with a boar's tusk. They are often ornamented, when new, with painted designs in red and white.

Fig. 46. Paddle

In deep water the canoe is paddled. Each of the occupants sits facing forward. The steersman sits on the stern platform. The others sit on the seats provided by the outrigger booms. Each man paddles on which side he chooses. It rests with the steersman to maintain the canoe in its proper course. In shallow water the canoe is propelled with a pole. A man stands on the forward platform and poles the canoe, steering as he does so. In a fairly large canoe a man at the stern may also take a pole and, standing up, help to propel the canoe.

502

All the work connected with the making of canoes and paddles is done by men alone, except the painting, which is usually done by women. It is the men also who make most use of canoes.

396 462

The large canoe, that is now made by all the tribes of the Great Andaman Division, is simply a canoe of the same general shape as the Great Andaman outrigger canoe, cut from a larger tree and without the outrigger. The shape of the hull, with its platforms fore and aft, is exactly the same. It seems that when the natives obtained a plentiful supply of iron tools (after 1858) they began to cut down and hollow out larger trees than formerly. Having made these larger canoes they found that they would, when well cut and ballasted with stone, float quite well without an outrigger. (It may be mentioned that the hull of a small canoe is always tested on the water before the outrigger is attached.) Indeed a well cut canoe of large size floats and balances

501

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

226 receding waves in the rocky hollows on the foreshore, and at the turn of the tide the men are usually to be seen standing up to their waists in water, or poling along the shore in their canoes, and shooting with their bows and arrows at the fish as they dart past.[1]

[824] 40. The seeds of a plant called *tô·rog-*[2] are sometimes crushed and thrown into creeks where fish and prawns are likely to be, as it has the effect of driving the fish from their hiding place, and leads to their easy capture in hand-nets held in position for the purpose.

41. In former times, and even now in the more distant communities, large nets of about 80 feet in length and 15 feet in depth, with meshes of several inches in diameter, were spread at the mouths of creeks for catching turtles and big fish; but since iron has been so easily obtained and canoes and harpoons have become more numerous, the *àryô·to-* usually capture their turtles, &c., by these means in preference to the older method, which entailed much labour in the manufacture. The following is the mode employed when nets are used:—one side is sunk by means of stones, and the other is kept up by floating sticks called *t'â·lag-*, of the *al·aba-*[3] tree (*Melochia velutina*), to each of which a cane-leaf is attached; the ends are then drawn across such parts or creeks into which fish may easily be driven by beating the water with the bamboo shafts of their turtle spears. When any turtle or fish is driven into the net, the exact spot is at once indicated by the disturbance of one of the logs, with its tuft of leaves, whereupon they generally find little difficulty in despatching their captive.

● 502 **Navigation.**—1. It is a subject of surprise to all who, during the past fifteen or twenty years, have come in contact with the Andamanese, and have observed the style and capabilities of their canoes, to read the high encomiums that have been bestowed on the skill with which they are constructed, and to find that they are credited with such extraordinary speed as to distance easily a cutter, as well as a gig, manned respectively by picked crews of blue-jackets and Chinamen,[4] the former of whom "said, in their own usual exaggerated style of remark, they nearly killed

[1] The results obtained by the men are said to be inferior to those obtained by the women and children, but this is probably due to the large quantity of molluscs and crustaceans usually collected in the hand-nets.

[2] A species of *Lagerstrœmia*. This is similar to the custom among the Gaboon tribes described by Dr. Brown, who mentions that "at the Gaboon it is the leaves of a pretty leguminous plant, with yellow flowers . . . which is used. So rapid is the poison that if a handful of the bruised leaves are thrown into a pool the fish will almost immediately die and come to the surface."

[3] *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 7, and *post* "String," paragraph 1.

[4] *Vide* Moust, pp. 315–321.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

502 themselves in their effort to maintain the credit of their ship, their cutter, and their flag."

502 396 2. Nowhere on Great Andaman, at all events at the present day, have any aborigines been found capable of propelling a canoe at more than half the speed of one of the ordinary gigs in common use at Port Blair; moreover, in respect to the extreme buoyancy of their skiffs, but little κύδος seems due to the Andamanese boat-builder, for having had, until quite lately, no other implement than a rude, though tolerably effective, adze with which to form them, he was compelled to select for his purpose the lightest and softest woods that were procurable. At the same time there is no doubt that if they possessed the requisite knowledge, and the means were available for constructing stronger and more seaworthy craft, they would lose no time in employing them; for they fully recognise the inferiority of their boats, both in regard to workmanship and speed, to those used by Europeans, or by their neighbours the Nicobarese. In one respect only do they consider that their own canoes surpass all others, and that is in the projecting prow, which enables them to spear fish and turtle with more ease than is possible in boats of a different construction.[1]

501 3. The current tradition[2] of the escape of four persons in a boat when the world was submerged, may be fairly considered as affording some evidence that this mode of transit is not regarded as of recent introduction.

4. Many conflicting opinions have been expressed by different writers under this head, and the form of canoe originally manufactured by the Andamanese has been much discussed. They themselves declare that the outrigger (*châ·rigma-*) was adopted immediately after the Deluge, in consequence of the deterioration of a species of *Pandanus* tree, called *mâng-*,[3] of which, prior to that catastrophe, they had been able to make large plain "dug-outs." Until recently[4] the outrigger continued

[1] In the South Kensington Museum there are models of canoes made by the natives of the Andamans and Nicobars, which will give to any interested in the subject a fair idea of their relative merits, as well as of the skill of their respective makers; and it may be added that in the entrance court of the India Museum (South Kensington) a specimen of a fair-sized Andamanese canoe is now to be seen minus its outrigger.

[2] *Vide* "Mythology," paragraph 16.

[3] *Vide* "List of Trees," Appendix L.

[4] The following information was obtained from an Andamanese chief:—"We have used outrigger canoes from time immemorial. It is in recent times that we have commenced making the large plain canoes, and this we were induced to do from the facility with which we have been able to obtain iron. Owing to their large size they do not require outriggers. When the sea is rough we prefer these large dug-outs, and the small outrigger canoes when it is calm; the latter are more easily made, but do not last many months when in constant use, whereas the former will serve for a year or more."

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

501 in use, and is still to be seen in North and Middle Andaman, but the possibility of obtaining unlimited supplies of iron has enabled those living near Port Blair to return once more to the traditional "dug-out" of antediluvian times; it also seems that this description of canoe is gaining in favour among the tribes of Middle Andaman and the Archipelago, though it had not, in 1879, when I visited that part, penetrated as far as North Andaman.

502 5. As is correctly stated by Dr. Mouat (p. 316) the Andamanese never venture far from the coast: this was conclusively proved by their ignorance of *Barren Island*[1] and *Narcondam*, until taken past them in the settlement steamer.[2]

6. The safety of either the outrigger or "dug-out," and their adaptability for use as lifeboats,[3] is more than doubtful, while the confidence which is reposed in them by their owners may be judged from the fact that they never venture far from land, and when crossing from one island to another do their utmost to lessen the passage through deep water as much as possible by keeping close in shore and coasting along until the narrowest part of the channel is reached.

501 7. A glance suffices to show the most casual observer that it would be impossible[4] to preserve the equilibrium of these frail barques without their outriggers, which, being attached to three or four pieces of wood passing through the interior of the canoe are, moreover, not easily removable.

8. The advantages possessed by the large plain "dug-outs" over the outriggers are twofold: for in the first place they can breast a fairly rough sea, while the others are fit only for use in perfectly calm weather; and in the second place, while the former can accommodate a party of from fifteen to forty persons

[1] Visible within a short distance of the east coast of the Archipelago.

[2] Since the date of the raids committed by the *järawa-* (of Little Andaman) upon the Car Nicobarese, of which mention is made (as a tradition) by Mr. G. Hamilton (*vide* "Asiatic Researches," vol. ii, p. 337, published 1801), no distant voyages appear to have been attempted by these savages in canoes.

[3] "They would make most excellent lifeboats, such, we believe, as have never yet been constructed by any of our most experienced boat-builders" (*vide* Mouat, p. 317). The returns of life-boat institutions would, however, be somewhat prejudicially affected by the adoption of this suggestion; for, as the same writer goes on to say (p. 318), "the greatest adepts in rowing, steering, and guiding our ordinary boats, find themselves completely at a loss when they get into a Mincopie canoe. When any of our men recklessly got into them, and attempted to paddle out a little way to sea, they invariably succeeded in capsizing them, receiving a thorough drenching in the water as a suitable punishment for their rash and imperfect seamanship."

[4] It is therefore difficult to understand the following allusion made by Dr. Mouat (p. 317):—"When the Mincopie go to sea in them they attach to some part of the boat an outrigger, in some respects resembling that which the Cingalese fishermen attach to their boats."

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

501 the latter are seldom large enough to carry more than four or five, and usually not more than two adults.

9. The chief excellence of both these descriptions of canoes is that they cannot sink, owing to the nature of the wood of which they are constructed, and when, as not unfrequently happens, they capsize or are filled by a heavy wave, their occupants skilfully contrive, with but little delay, to right them and bale out the water, while clinging to the sides.

10. Most of the canoe-making is carried on during the months of August, September, and October, and the average time and labour expended is that of about eight men for a fortnight in hollowing out a canoe or "dug-out," and forming the much esteemed prow; for this purpose a trunk is selected varying in length from 10 to 30 feet, and when the bark has been removed the exterior of the proposed canoe, with its important prow, is shaped with an adze (*wō·lo-*[1]), afterwards the interior is scooped out with the same implement; fire is not now-a-days employed to expedite this latter process, whatever may have been the custom in past generations,[2] though I may add that there do not appear to be any traditions in support of such a theory.

11. At the bottom and water-level, canoes, though sometimes more, are never less than 1½ to 3 inches thick, and indeed, if this were not the case, it would be impossible for them to stand, even for a few days, the rough treatment to which they are subjected, or to bear the spoils of a successful turtling expedition.

12. Though the result of the builders' labour might, by making every allowance for the rudeness of their tool, be termed "creditable," it seems passing strange that any writer should especially commend the "finish," "perfection," and "elegance" of the work, and maintain that it surpasses that which could be wrought by Chinese carpenters, whose skill in all handicrafts is so well established.

501 13. The Andamanese anchor consists merely of a heavy stone, or large lump of coral, fastened securely to a stout line of a few fathoms' length. Rafts are quite unknown to them at the present day, and no evidence of their use in bygone years has been discovered.[3]

502 14. The canoes are propelled along the shore[4] by means of the haft of the harpoon spear (*kowaïa lō·ko dū·tnga-*[5]), or, in

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 15.

[2] *Vide* Colebrooke and Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi, p. 290, Appendix I.

[3] "They use also rafts made of bamboos to transport themselves across their harbours, or from one island to another" (Colebrooke).

[4] Except when the men are engaged in turtling, the women frequently assist in propelling the canoe.

[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 10.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

502 deep water, by paddles (*wāl·igma-*[1]), the size of which is not determined by custom, but varies according to the whim of the maker and the size of the piece of wood (generally of the *Myristica longifolia*) at his disposal;[2] all, whether small or large, are used indiscriminately, either with the outriggers or simple "dug-outs;" paddles are never made by women, to whom, however, their ornamentation with *kòi·ob-* and *ká·ngatâ-būj-* is afterwards entrusted.[3]

531 **Ornamentation.**—1. While the Andamanese habitually ornament their various utensils, weapons, &c., they never attempt to show their talent or originality by representing natural objects, or by devising a new pattern, but slavishly adhere to those which custom has prescribed for each article.[4]

2. These designs are executed by means of a *Cyrena* shell, or are painted in *kòi·ob-*, *tâ·la-ōg-*, or *kâ·ngatâ-būj-*; occasionally they content themselves with smearing the entire surface of the object with either of the two first-named pigments, but more often a background is thus formed for the better display of further embellishments.

3. These three substances supply their only colours, *i.e.*: brick-red (*kòi·ob-*), white (*tâ·la-ōg-*), and brown (*kâ·ngatâ-būj-*).

[301] 4. Small land and sea shells[5] (especially the *Dentalium octogonum*), certain seeds and bones are much prized, not only for making personal ornaments, but also for the adornment of weapons and implements, as well as the human skulls and jawbones which they often wear and carry about with them.

5. It may be added that the details of ornamentation are in most cases subordinate to the general form and outline of the object in question.

6. The following is believed to be a complete list of the designs,[6] both carved and painted, which are in use:—

I. CHEVRONS (*jō·bo-tàrtā·nga-*).

Painted with *kòi·ob-* or *tá·la-ōg-* on bows, buckets, canoes, and paddles.

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 11*a*.

[2] Dr. Mouat states (p. 319) that they are made of three sizes, and (p. 320) that "the work of making them is entrusted solely to the women and children," but I have failed in discovering any foundation for these assertions.

[3] The canoes, too, are often similarly ornamented, especially when new.

[4] Of enamelling they possess no knowledge.

[5] Beads, when offered by us, are gladly accepted for use in lieu of small shells.

[6] When it is stated that all these designs are executed by means of pointed sticks, shells, or even the finger-tips, it is scarcely necessary to add that they fall far short of the neatness and mathematical precision characterising most of these illustrations, which therefore can only be taken as representing the particular pattern *attempted*.

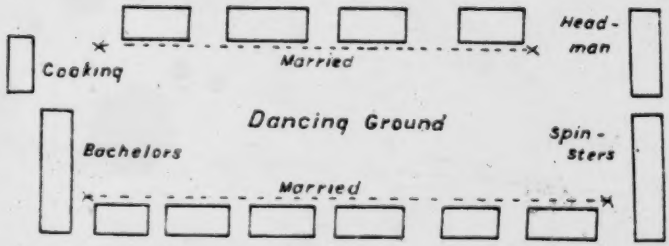
in other savages. At Government House, Calcutta, in 1895, when a party was told to sit down and weep to show the custom at meetings, in a few moments the weeping became genuine, and when after a short time they were told to stop and get up, tears were streaming down their faces. 576

General Capacities.—The Andamanese are good climbers, and rapid walkers and runners, moving with a free and independent gait, and can travel considerable distances at a time. The Jarawas turn their toes in, due to the necessity of stooping to pass along their paths through the tangled jungle. The Eremtaga are good but not remarkable trackers. The Aryoto are good swimmers and are much at home in the water. The Andamanese generally show a dexterity in getting about their thick and tangled jungles which baffles all immigrants, though in this respect the Eremtaga quite out-distance the Aryoto, and the Jarawas apparently all the others. In the jungles all shooting with arrows is necessarily at very short distance, and generally the Andamanese are good shots at short distances only, judging direction very well but distance hardly at all. They can however at the very short distance required for shooting fish allow accurately for refraction in moving water and will shoot their fish successfully even in the surf in a manner that is inimitable: this is really due to accurate judgment of direction. 481

The Andamanese are unadventurous seamen, poling and paddling their canoes with small spade paddles at considerable speed, faster than that of an ordinary ship's boat for a little distance though they could not paddle away from one in even a short chase, but they never go out of sight of land, have never been even to the Cocos (30 miles), nor to Narcondam and Barren Island, nor had they ever any knowledge of the existence of the Nicobars till our arrival. Man has a legend from Car Nicobar doubtfully going to show that the Onges from the Little Andaman once made raids on that island: but if this were true they would do so still. 502

IV. Habits and Customs.

Dwellings.—Except in the Little Andaman and among the Jarawas there are no fixed habitations, the search for easily obtained food and insanitary habits obliging the people to be nomads, for they have no practice of cultivation and domesticate no animal whatever except dogs obtained from the English. They thus dwell in various customary encampments, situate within their respective territories. At these encampments, usually fixed in sheltered spots, they erect about 14 temporary huts capable of holding up to 50 to 80 persons, arranged facing inwards on an oval plan always more or less irregular, thus— 621 [242] [231]



The central space is the dancing ground. A hut is merely a thatch about 4 feet long by 3 feet wide, sloping from 8 inches behind to 4½ feet in front, placed on four uprights and some cross-pieces without walls. In unsheltered spots and at the Head-Quarters of Septs large circular huts are built with a good deal of ingenuity, having eaves nearly touching the ground. These will be as much as 15 feet high and 30 feet in diameter. For hunting purposes mere thatched shelters are erected for protection from the wind. Close to every hut is a very small platform for surplus food about 18 inches from the ground, and in it at least one fire is carefully preserved. This is the one thing that the Andamanese are really careful about for they do not know how to make fire, though 342 [351] 372

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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501 better in a rough sea than a smaller one with an outrigger. It is possible that at first these large canoes were propelled with paddles just as the outrigger canoes are, the paddlers facing forward. Having learnt to understand the principle of the oar, through their contact with the Penal Settlement, the natives applied this principle to their own canoes. It could not, of course, be applied to the small canoes, as the shape of the canoe and the position of the paddler make the use of an oar impossible. It could be applied very easily, however, to the new large canoes. In these the oarsman does not sit on a level with the gunwale, but sits down in the hull itself on a piece of wood resting on the two sides of the hull a few inches above the floor. The gunwale of the canoe is thus about on a level with the bottom of his sternum. A number of holes are made in the gunwale on each side, and by means of these, loops of cane are attached to the gunwale. The oar, which is shaped in imitation of European oars, but with a short shaft, is thrust through the loop of cane, which serves as a fulcrum or rowlock. The rowers face aft. A man at the stern steers with a paddle. In shallow water the large canoes are propelled with poles in exactly the same way as the smaller canoes.

In the bow, at about the position that would be occupied by the foremost boom in an outrigger canoe, holes are made in the gunwale on each side and a piece of wood is thrust through them as a sort of thwart. This is to provide a means of making fast the end of the harpoon line or the anchor line, and thus serves a purpose that is served by the foremost boom in the outrigger canoe.

225 The large canoes are not quite so useful in turtle-hunting as the smaller outrigger variety, as they cannot be so quickly turned when the pursued turtle doubles. Very often a large canoe and a small canoe are taken together on an expedition, the harpooning being mostly done from the smaller one while the captured turtles are placed in the larger one. A small canoe with three or four men cannot hold more than one or at most two big turtles, whereas as many as ten or a dozen can be stowed in one of the large canoes.

501 The chief use of the large canoes is to make journeys from place
505 to place. One of the largest will hold as many as thirty men and women with their baggage, whereas an outrigger canoe would never carry more than nine or ten. Further, there is less chance of an even heavily laden big canoe capsizing in a rough sea than of an outrigger canoe doing so. One result of the introduction of the large canoe has therefore been to enable the natives to move much

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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more freely about the islands than formerly. The passage from the South Andaman to Ritchie's Archipelago, for instance, would only be attempted in an outrigger canoe on a very calm day, whereas in a large canoe it can be successfully accomplished even when there is something of a sea running. 501 505

The small canoe of the Little Andaman is fairly similar to that of the Great Andaman. There are three differences. (1) The stem and stern are squarely cut in the Little Andaman, instead of being rounded off. (2) The outrigger booms are attached to the top of the gunwale by cane binding which passes through holes made in the gunwales, instead of being themselves passed through holes in the gunwale. (3) The float is attached to the booms in a different and less efficient manner. Three pointed hard-wood sticks are driven into the float, but they are all three approximately perpendicular. They are bound at the top to the boom, but there are no stays of cane to maintain the float rigid against a lateral thrust. In other respects the Little Andaman canoe is the same as the Great Andaman canoe. 501

The Jarawa of the South Andaman do not at the present time make use of canoes. This is apparently because, through their hostility with the Aka-Bea, they have been confined to the interior of the island. They make rafts of bamboos lashed together for crossing creeks and inlets. The forest-dwellers of the Great Andaman Division seem also to have made occasional use of similar rafts for the same purpose.

A canoe of the North Sentinel was seen by Mr Gilbert Rogers during a visit to that island in 1903[1]. It had been hollowed out of a tree and was about 15 feet long. The ends of the canoe were cut off perpendicularly to its length leaving a piece of the tree about one inch thick projecting for about three inches beyond either end to form a small but rickety seat. The log from which the canoe was cut was curved so that the ends were slightly higher than the middle. It had a float supported by six booms passing through holes cut in the sides of the canoe. These booms were fastened to smaller pieces of stick fixed into the sides of the canoe beneath them. The outrigger was attached to each boom by two small pointed sticks driven into the float and tied to the boom above with cane. There was one small paddle, a *Nautilus* shell for a baler, and five poles resting on the outrigger booms. These point to the canoe being poled along in the lagoon, which is quite shallow, rather than to its being used for long journeys or outside the reefs which surround the island. The

[1] Supplement to the *Andaman and Nicobar Gazette*, January 2, 1904.

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313 492

power in the forests. The net revenue of the forests from 1869 amounted to Rs. 45,65,764 inclusive of a capital asset of Rs. 21,39,983.

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The present day forest exploitation has to some extent been revitalised with the introduction of regenerating processes and use of disel engines for the trams carrying logs from the spot of exploitation to the jetty wherefrom it is carried down to Port Blair for sawing and finally exported to the mainland and London. The working of the forest in the Andamans and its preparation for marketing undergo a number of stages. After a proper survey, a spot of exploitation is selected where a forest camp is opened near the jetty with a sufficient strength of imported labourers from India. The forest camps are erected with local timber and the exploitation proceeds from the spot in the immediate neighbourhood of the jetty (exclusive of the mangrove forests) to the interior regions. Along with the expansion of the exploitation area, tram lines are laid down from the jetty onwards. The felling is done by chiselling the trunk of the trees and then it is pulled by a few elephants for breaking it down. This completes the felling of the tree and after properly cutting all the branches, the logs are carried by an elephant with the help of his trunk and are unloaded from the tram. Afterwards, it is taken to the jetty where the logs are again unloaded and rafted in a tank-landing craft to make them ready for transportation to Chatham Island where it is shown into standard size (not always) and is exported to the markets. The transportation of the logs from the spot of exploitation to Port Blair is always done on water ways. The success in the transportation of the logs have been facilitated by the innumerable harbours and creeks making easy the passage of the boat into the interior parts of the islands and it is found that the average drag seldom exceeds a mile and at the same time exploitation requires some experience of local conditions and foresight, as the coastal areas are exposed to the open seas and advantage has to be taken of the different seasons of the year to work in different tracts.

313 505

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The yield of merchantable timber is only 15 tons per acre. An assessment of the future potentialities of merchantable timber with the introduction of the present method of regeneration has been given by Sri Chengapa[1]. The sustained or perpetual yield of the forests is about 135,000 tons per year and according to him, with the introduction of the present method of regeneration, the yield per acre is expected to be as much as 75 tons per acre, a five fold increase of the present yield. The

[113]

1 Chengapa, B. S.—The Andaman forests and their development; Census of India, 1951, Volume XVII, Andaman & Nicobar Islands by A. K. Ghosh.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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361 very plainly the constitution of a local group, consisting as it
621 does of a few families. Each group seems to have contained, on an average, about ten families, with a few unmarried males and females.

262 The Andaman Islanders depend for their subsistence entirely on the natural products of the sea and the forest. From the sea they obtain dugong, turtle (both green and hawksbill), an enormous variety of different sorts of fish, crustaceans (crabs, crayfish and prawns) and molluscs. Fish and crabs are also to be found in the salt-water creeks which in many places penetrate inland for some miles. From the forest they obtain the flesh of the wild pig, wild honey, and a large number of vegetable foods—roots, fruits, and seeds.

512 The life of the forest folk is more simple and uniform than that of the coast people and we may therefore consider it first. During the rainy season, which lasts from the middle of May to the end of September, the local group lives at its headquarters camp, which, as we have seen, formerly often took the form of a
[262] communal hut. During this season animal food is plentiful, as the jungle animals are in good condition ; on the other hand there is not much vegetable food to be obtained. The following brief account will give an idea of how the day is spent in such a camp at that time of year. Some time after sunrise the camp begins to be astir. The various members of the community make a
512 meal of any food that may have been saved from the day before.
227 The men start off for the day's hunting. At the present time
[231] dogs are used for pig-hunting. These dogs were obtained in the first instance from the Settlement of Port Blair, and their use in pig-hunting was learnt from the Burmese convicts. Nowadays every married man has at least one dog[1]. Before the dogs were obtained, hunting was a pursuit requiring a great deal more skill than it does at present. A hunting party consists of from two to five men. Each man carries his bow and two or three pig arrows, and one of the party carries a smouldering fire-brand. They make their way through the jungle until they find the fresh tracks of a pig, or follow up some of the usual pig runs

[1] In the North Andaman the times before the Settlement are spoken of as the time when there were no dogs, *Bibi poiye*="Dog not."

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512 224 until they come upon the animal feeding. In former days much skill was required to creep noiselessly through the jungle until they were sufficiently near either to discharge an arrow, or, if the jungle were more open, to rush in upon the animal shouting and shoot it before it could escape. At the present day it is the dogs that scent out the pig and bring it to bay, when the natives shoot it with their arrows.

512 252 When a pig has been killed it may be tied up and carried to the camp on the shoulders of one of the hunters, or a fire may be lighted then and there and the pig eviscerated and roasted. A cut is made in the abdomen and the viscera removed. The cavity is filled with leaves, the joints of the legs are half severed and the carcase is placed on the fire and turned over and shifted until every part is evenly roasted. It is then removed from the fire, the burnt skin is scraped clean and the meat is cut up. Meanwhile the intestines or some of the internal organs are cooked and eaten by the hunters. The meat is tied up in leaves and is carried to the camp. If the pig be carried home whole the process of roasting it and cutting it up is performed in exactly the same way at the public cooking place of the camp, the meat being distributed only after it has been thus partially cooked.

512 223 If the hunting party should come across a civet cat (*Paradoxurus*) or a monitor lizard they would endeavour to kill it[1], but the main object of every hunting party is to obtain pork. Snakes and even rats are killed and eaten. Birds, though plentiful in the islands are not often obtained, for the density of the jungle and the height of the trees in which the birds conceal themselves, make it very difficult for the natives to shoot them with their bows and arrows. A man does not care to risk the loss of his arrow in a chance shot at a bird. The Andamanese do not trap either birds or animals, though some of the birds, particularly the rail, might be very easily caught in traps.

512 222 As the hunting party traverses the forest they may come across roots or fruits or seeds, or wild honey, and these are collected and carried home. In the rainy season only small

[1] They are only eaten in the rainy season.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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512 combs of black honey are to be found[1], and these are generally
222 consumed by the hunters on the spot.

The provision of the vegetable food of the community is the work of the women, who must also supply the camp with firewood and water. While the men are away hunting the
462 women, attended by the children, cut and carry the firewood,
512 and either remain in the camp making baskets or nets or other
222 objects, or else go into the forest to look for fruits and seeds. Thus by midday the camp may be quite deserted, save perhaps for one or two old men and women, and a few of the children.

In the afternoon the women return with what food they have
512 obtained and then the men come in with their provision. The
252 camp, unless the hunters have been unsuccessful, is then busy with the preparation of the evening meal, which is the chief meal of the day. If a pig has been brought home whole it is cooked at the public cooking place and is then cut up. The meat is distributed amongst the members of the community and the woman of each family then proceeds to cook the family meal. The pork, after it has been roasted and cut up, is further cooked by being boiled. The family meal is prepared at the fire that each family has in its hut. The meal is a family one, partaken
[264] by a man and his wife and children. The bachelors cook and eat their own meal, and the unmarried women also eat by themselves.

512 After the meal is over, darkness having by this time fallen, the
[535] men may spend an hour or two in dancing to the accompaniment of a song sung by one of them with the help of a chorus of women.
537 In that case they would probably eat another meal after the dance was over. Another favourite amusement for the evening is what may be called "yarning." A man sits down with a few listeners and tells them, with few words, and with many dramatic gestures, how he killed a pig. The same man may go on with
512 tale after tale, till, by the time he finishes he has killed twenty or thirty pigs. Finally the whole camp retires to rest and nothing

[1] There are two kinds of wild bee in the Andamans. A small species makes black honeycombs in hollow trees, and these may be found at any time of the year. A larger species of bee builds white combs suspended from the underside of branches in tall trees. Such combs are found in abundance only in the hot season, and not at all in the middle of the rainy season.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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is to be seen but the dim light of the little fires burning in each 512
hut or in each of the family quarters.

On a day when there is plenty of food left from the day before, or on a day of stormy weather even when food is not too plentiful, the men may remain in camp instead of going hunting. They busy themselves with making weapons and implements, such as bows, arrows, adzes, etc.

On occasions when game is not very plentiful a party of hunters may stay away from the camp for a few days, not returning till they have been successful in obtaining a fair supply of food. The women and children and old men, with perhaps a few of the able bodied men also, remain at home and provide for themselves as well as they can, the women devoting their time to collecting what vegetable foods are in season.

At the end of the rainy season there comes a brief period 221
of unsettled weather, called by the natives of the North Andaman 262
Kimil, and by those of the South, *Gumul*. During this season some of the vegetable foods begin to be available, though not in any quantities. At this time of the year the natives are able to obtain and feast upon what they regard as great delicacies, the larvae of the cicada and of the great capricornis beetle. The cool season, when fruits and roots are plentiful, begins at the end of November. The forest dwellers leave their main encampment during this season. Some of them go off to pay visits [574]
to their friends of other local groups. Such visits may last two or three months. Those who remain occupy temporary camps 221
in convenient places. The men join the women in looking for 222
roots and fruits, and do not spend so much of their time in 262
hunting. Some of the men visit the main camp at intervals of a few days to see that it is all right. As the cool season gives way to the hot season (March to May) honey begins to be plentiful. At that time hunting for pig is almost abandoned. The pigs are in poor condition, and even when one is killed it is often left in the jungle by the natives as not being good enough to eat. On the other hand everyone is busy collecting honey. [462]
This is work in which both men and women join, though it is the men who climb up the trees and cut down the honeycomb. The natives have no means of keeping the honey for more than

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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The fact that the words for dream and reflection, double or shadow are from the same root in the Northern languages is of interest. Dreams are sometimes explained by saying that the sleeper's double (*ot-jumulo*) has left his body and is wandering elsewhere. Dreams are regarded as being veridical, or at any rate, as having importance. One man told me how, in a dream the night before, his *ot-jumulo* had travelled from where we were to his own country and had there seen the death of the baby of a woman of his own tribe. He was fully convinced that the baby must really have died. 828 774

An Andamanese will never, or only with the very greatest reluctance, awaken another from sleep. One explanation of this that was given to me was that the *ot-jumulo* or double of the sleeper may be wandering far from his body, and to waken him suddenly might cause him to be ill. [513]

The principle on which dreams are interpreted is a very simple one. All unpleasant dreams are bad, all pleasant ones are good. The natives believe that sickness is often caused by dreams. A man in the early stages of an attack of fever, for instance, may have a bad dream. When the fever develops he explains it as due to the dream. If a man has a painful dream he will often not venture out of the camp the following day, but will stay at home until the effect has worn off. The natives believe that they can communicate in dreams with the spirits, but the power to do this regularly is the privilege of certain special individuals, known as *oko-jumu* (dreamers). However, an ordinary individual may occasionally have dreams of this kind. 787 828

I found that any attempt to study the dreams of such a people as the Andamanese is made very difficult by the fact that it is never possible to tell how far the original dream has been arranged and altered by the waking imagination. So far as my observations went the majority of dreams are either visual or motor, or both. Further reference to dreams will be made later in connection with magic.

When a man or woman dies the double (or as some of the natives explain it, the breath) leaves the body and becomes a spirit (*lau* or *čauga*). By death a man ceases to exist as a man, and begins a new existence as a spirit. 775

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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X 182 791 756 intercourse with the spirits in his dreams. This is a point to which it will be necessary to return later. For the present it is sufficient to note that in every instance the power of the medicine-man is believed to be derived from his contact with the spirits in one of the three possible ways.

We are justified in concluding that the special power of the medicine-man, by which he is distinguished from his fellows, is simply the same power that is possessed by the spirits, from contact with whom he has obtained it. The medicine-man is believed to be able both to cause and to cure sickness, to arouse and to dispel storms. In other words he has power for both good and evil, and we must conclude that the spirits have the same. Moreover, it is commonly said that the medicine-man is able to produce the effects he does, whether they be harmful or beneficial to his fellows, by communicating with the spirits in dreams and enlisting their aid. This would seem to prove the point that I am here concerned with, that the power possessed by the spirits, though contact with it is always dangerous, may yet in certain circumstances be of benefit to the society, and is therefore not essentially evil in nature.

X 182 513 The Andamanese believe that a medicine-man communicates with the spirits in sleep, and this is not the only evidence that they believe sleep to be a condition in which contact with the world of spirits is easier than in waking life. It is believed that sickness is more likely to begin during sleep than when awake. During the initiation ceremonies the initiate is required to abstain from sleep after eating pork or turtle, and this would seem to be because sleep is regarded as generally dangerous and therefore to be avoided on such occasions as this when every precaution needs to be taken.

The explanation of this belief seems to lie in the fact that sleep is a condition of diminished social activity, in which the individual is withdrawn from active social life, and is therefore also withdrawn from the protection of the society. After eating turtle the initiate is in urgent need of the protection of the society, which would be lost to him if he were permitted to sleep. After a death, when the corpse remains in the camp all night the people remain awake, and since there is no other common activity in

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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which they can join, they sing, and thus protect themselves from the spirits that are present as the cause of the death.

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This explanation implies that all conditions of diminished social activity on the part of an individual are dangerous. One example of such a condition is sickness, in which the sick person is unable to pursue his ordinary occupations. Other examples are afforded by a mother, and to a certain extent a father during the period preceding and following the birth of a child, and by a woman during the menstrual period. All these, as various customs show, are believed by the Andamanese to be conditions of danger in which it is necessary to take ritual or magical precautions. A better example for our purpose is that of an adolescent during the period covered by the initiation ceremonies, when, as we have seen, he is as it were cut off from the society, and there is abundant evidence that the Andamanese believe this to be a state of danger. Another example is the condition of a homicide during the period of his isolation. Lastly, we have seen that a mourner is cut off from the ordinary social life, and it may now be noted that the native explanation of the restrictions observed in that state is that if things were not done thus the mourner would be ill; in other words the condition of mourning is one of danger, and the ritual referring to it is the means by which the danger (from the spirit world) is avoided. This explanation does not conflict with the one previously given but on the contrary we can now see that the notion that the mourner is in a position partly withdrawn from active participation in social life necessarily involves the belief that he is in a condition of danger.

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We may conclude that every condition in which the individual is withdrawn from full participation in active social life is regarded as dangerous for him, and that this is at least one of the reasons why sleep is so regarded. We have already noted that all conditions of danger tend to be thought of as due to contact with the spirits, and sleep is therefore supposed to be a state in which such contact is easier than in waking life. Now sleep is visited by dreams and it comes about that the dream-life, by reason of its contrast with waking-life, is seized upon by the Andamanese as a means by which the nature of the spirit world may be represented to the imagination.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

261 cannot apparently abstain from food without inconvenience for more than eight hours at a time.

271 [415] 3. When exerting themselves in any way they perspire freely, which may account for their inordinate thirst. So great, indeed, is their inability to endure any privation in respect to drink, that they seldom leave home on the shortest expedition, whether by land or sea, without providing themselves with one or more bamboo vessels, called *gōb-*, containing a supply of fresh water.

● 513 4. Loss of sleep they can bear well only when under the influence of strong excitement, as in turtle hunting, or at festive gatherings, where singing and dancing are kept up for many successive hours;[1] they have even been known to spend forty-eight hours at such times without taking any rest.

151 5. What little cool weather there is in the latitude of their islands, during December and January, they dislike extremely; in striking evidence of this they are found, as I will elsewhere mention,[2] unconsciously concurring with the great Italian poet in depicting the region of punishment, for the souls of the wicked, as one of intense cold. After this, it will appear somewhat strange to say that, in spite of their aversion to what they consider cold weather—which never registers less than 69° F. 302 on the highest elevation in South Andaman—they are careful, during the hot season, to avoid any lengthened exposure to the direct rays of the sun, and endeavour to lessen the discomfort caused by the heat by smearing their persons with a white-wash of common white clay and water.[3] It has long been erroneously believed that they have recourse to this expedient in order to allay the inconvenience which they would otherwise suffer from the bites of mosquitoes and other jungle pests; but the true reason for the practice is, I am well assured, that which I have above given, for the various insects which might annoy them are, for the most part, kept away by the smoke of the hut fire, beside which a great portion of their time is spent when at rest, or when engaged in any sedentary occupation.

147 6. The voices of the men are usually clear without being deep, while those of the women, especially when raised, are very shrill.

142 7. The mucous membrane of the mouth is stained with pigment to a greater degree than was found to be the case with such of the natives of India as were compared with them.

8. The general excellence of the teeth strikes one as remark-

[1] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraph 32.

[2] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 25.

[3] I would here draw attention to the fact, that while the object in smearing themselves with *ōg-* wash is to keep themselves as cool as possible, they often daub their bodies with *kòi·ob-* after sundown for the opposite reason, *i.e.*, for the sake of warmth.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

481 toes of each foot; if a tree is branched they will scramble up it almost as quickly as if scaling a ladder, and though when "swarming" a mast or cocoa-nut tree they clasp the trunk in the usual manner with the arms and legs, their movements are more rapid, and they are less easily fatigued, than are the generality of natives of India; in descending also they display the same activity.

516 3. I have observed a peculiar trick among young men and women, after a lengthened rest or after engaging in some sedentary occupation, of twisting their bodies from side to side in order to stretch the muscles of the back. In doing this they produce a succession of sounds like that caused by cracking the joints of one's fingers.

4. Their favourite position in taking temporary rest after any violent or prolonged exertion is the ordinary Oriental posture between sitting and standing, *i.e.*, squatting on their heels; if very much exhausted they either sit or lie down.

●513 5. The usual attitude in sleep (*vide* Plate III, fig. 2) is to lie on one side, preferably the right, with the knees bent so as to allow of the hand of the upper arm being placed between the thighs and the other hand under the head, which is raised on some impromptu pillow, such as a bundle or a roll of sleeping mat.

142 6. Many are able to shut one eye without closing the other, but they do not appear to possess the power of moving the ears or scalp. They can extend one finger without opening the hand. No tricks of sleight of hand are known to or attempted by them.

7. Much use is made of the feet in holding and picking up light objects, and the great toe is in a considerable degree [483] opposable. When a heavy load has to be moved they prefer pushing to dragging it.[1]

482 **Physical Powers and Senses.**—1. Though for a short distance heavier loads are often borne, the maximum of a man's burden is about 40 lbs.; this he will on occasion carry for as much as 15 miles through the jungles between sunrise and sunset, a distance rarely exceeded in one day under any circumstances, or for more than two or three days in succession. This has been particularly remarked when they have been in pursuit of runaway convicts, for, if they fail in coming up with them within the third day, they are wont to take a long rest, unless strong inducements are offered by way of inciting them to further efforts.

[1] They do not understand, or, at least, do not carry into practice, the principle of pushing or dragging a weight *simultaneously*, whether in silence or to the sound of the voice.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

I have often come across one of their temporary habitations, which consists of a hole scooped out in the sand, beneath an over-hanging rock, large enough to contain a single person." As these savages are *never* in the habit of sleeping on the sand, or in holes scooped in the ground, but on a mat, or leaves spread under one or other of the three varieties of huts described above, it is difficult to account for what Dr. Dobson saw, unless they were the resting places of ticket-of leave fishermen or convict runaways. No other explanation than this could be given when some aborigines, and an experienced attendant at the homes, were questioned by me on the subject. One other solution only is possible, and that is, that the "holes scooped out in the sand" were the result of a game of mock burial, which, as I shall mention under "Games and Amusements," is rather a favourite recreation of the *àryô·to-* children.

7. The majority of the Great Andaman huts[1] partake of the character of a lean-to, the only respects in which the three varieties differ being[2] size and durability. They are found either standing alone, or, as is more especially the case in permanent encampments, so joined together as to form (at least, in their owners' eyes) a commodious as well as a weather-proof dwelling; and, constructed, as they usually are, in well-sheltered localities, away from the prevailing wind, they fulfil all the requirements of a savage home.

8. Permanent encampments vary in size, and consist of several huts, which in all are rarely inhabited by more than from 50 to 80 persons, though they are capable of affording accommodation, of a kind, to a much larger number if necessity arise as happens not unfrequently when festive tribal gatherings are arranged in honor of a wedding or other occasion of rejoicing.

9. The permanent encampments of the *àryô·to-* are established in those sites which offer special advantages for fishing and turtling at all seasons. Wherever there is a fine stretch of sandy beach, with an extensive foreshore, they will be invariably found, for, at such places, throughout the year the women are able at low tide to catch fish in pools with their hand-nets, and to collect large quantities of shell-fish; while, during the flood

[1] One of the huts in the *jär·awa-* territory, between Port Blair and Port Campbell, when visited a few years ago, was found to measure 46 feet × 42 feet; and Mr. Homfray, in 1867, described the huts at Little Andaman as capable (*more Andamanico*) of accommodating 100 persons, being 50 feet in diameter and 30 feet in height. The leaf employed by this tribe for thatching purposes appears to be invariably the variety called *ôm-*, and not the *châ·ngta-*.

[2] The largest hut of the ordinary type is rarely found capable of accommodating more than six persons. Sometimes these huts are placed together so as to resemble small sheds, but as this has hitherto been seen only in or near South Andaman, it is possible that the form of our barracks gave rise to the idea.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE VI.

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GREAT ANDAMAN TYPES AT PORT BLAIR HOME.

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CHANG-TONGA (SECOND-CLASS LEAN-TO) IN SOUTH ANDAMAN: FRIENDS WEEPING TOGETHER AFTER LONG SEPARATION; ATTITUDE IN SLEEP, ETC.

[Facing p. 78]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE VIII.

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ANDAMANESE EQUIPPED FOR JOURNEY.

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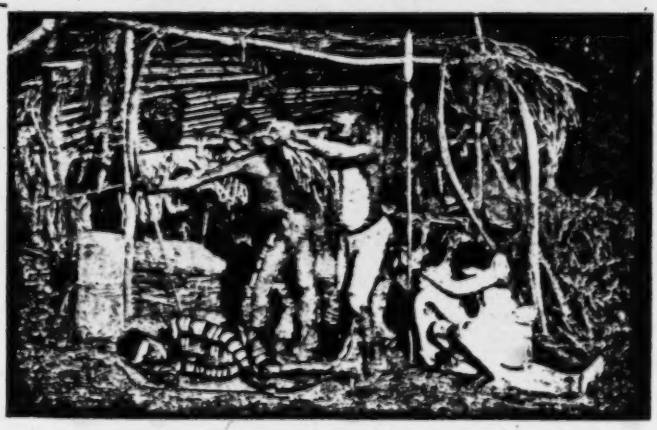

ANDAMANESE SHOOTING, DANCING, SLEEPING, AND GREETING.

[facing p. 110]

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

515 people. Furthermore, the Onge skin is very soft and more elastic than is usual
[147] in human beings. For us, clothed and with a less resilient skin, a trip through the thorny Andaman forest means many small, bleeding scratches. Not so for the naked Onge. – To cover them with clothes would endanger their health. Nakedness inures them to the sudden changes of temperature so frequent in
[513] Little Andaman and preserves them from catching cold when sleeping, uncovered, on their rough, unprotected bed of boughs. As with primitives all over the world, clothes make them miserable and, I may add, very ungainly and dirty.

515 Part of their general negligence with regard to hygiene is their carelessness about their teeth. They never clean them. They do keep bamboo sticks,
[413] 1 mm thick and 8 cms long, tucked into their hair to be ostensibly used as toothpicks ; but the sticks, to tell the truth, are more of an ornament than a tool.
142 The Onge's teeth are so compact and sound that there is no space between them for food particles to collect. No caries or decay of any sort are to be
[164] noticed. In a number of skeletons that I dug up from under the beds in communal huts, the teeth gave evidence of one peculiarity : old people had worn them down to the root. The Onge habit of using teeth as working instruments,
[283] to prepare fibre for ropes and in many other circumstances – apart from their permanent chewing on hard foodstuffs – explains this fact.

515 As a consequence of never washing, the natives' hands are sometimes extremely dirty. The Onge themselves are conscious of this. I shall give an
226 instance. It so happened that I arrived in Nachugé, on the west coast, toward the end of March, when the sea was teeming with migrating sardines. In Little Andaman sardines can weigh up to a pound ; but a normal catch, obtained with small hand-nets cast from canoes among shoals of fish imprisoned by the low tide within the coral reef that surrounds the island, contains specimens of
[264] every dimension. All are eaten as soon as possible. The quantity of fish brought back to the camps on such occasions puts all inmates to work and induces everybody to abandon all other occupations for the time being. In the low tidal waters the men push their canoes from rock to rock, using them as receptacles for the abundant food so easily collected. In some "pockets" nets prove unnecessary : the fish is gathered in handfuls and rapidly thrown into the canoes. The hecatomb ends when the canoes are filled to the gunwales. In no other part of the world have I seen food made available to primitive people in such large quantities and with so little effort.

252 Back at the camp, the sardines are "graded" according to size and cooked immediately. They are not washed or cleaned, the inner organs are eaten to-
[263] gether with the flesh. Men, women and children feverishly take part in the cooking ; the fish is boiled without salt. All the natives then plunge their hands
264 avidly into the heap of sardines. From time to time the women clean their
515 hands by rubbing them on the *naquinèghè*. Very soon this garment becomes
[231] extremely smelly. Men and children clean their hands in a different way : by rubbing them on the dogs. On such occasions, everything and everybody smells of fish for days and days. The first to become clean again are the dogs, because they hate to be smeared with fish and wash themselves in the sea as soon as they have a chance.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

262 and therefore dangerous to offend by cooking them. Luckily they accepted
123 fish of almost every description, and vegetables. To convince them of our
[975] good intentions concerning their food, at Port Blair an Onge observer was
[825] stationed permanently near the kitchen to watch the preparation of meals. Nevertheless, within a few days all 30 Onge fell ill as a consequence of the different food and climate. In their island they sleep, completely naked and
513 uncovered, lying directly on beds made of rough branches. Their only precau-
123 tion, as I mentioned before, is to keep a fire permanently burning close to the bed. This was not feasible in the rooms with wooden floors that were provided for them in Port Blair, and blankets did not avail. So the 30 Onge developed a fever and we were obliged to take them urgently back to Little Andaman, where they promptly recovered. The incident gave me a further opportunity to observe the curative methods of the Onge.

262 With regard to their care to avoid illness from food, I must point out the
114 fact that misleading information has been published on the subject even in reputed papers on the Andamans. I will discuss them in my Onge book, but I wish here to briefly stress a few points: the Onge, and the present residual coastal or forest Andamanese, refuse to eat – besides birds and fish such as shark, ray, eel or muraenae – some other animals such as paradoxurus, bats, rats, varanus and snakes. The contrary is affirmed in those papers. To quote the well-known book by A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN ("The Andaman Islanders", pp. 37, 91 and 389), all Andaman Islanders, including the Onge, consider the above-mentioned species edible. Varanus is supposed to be acceptable for its
[832] lustful habits that make of it an aphrodisiac. My direct and protracted experience both in Little and in Great Andaman compels me to state that such information is false. It is true, however, that the Andaman Islanders believe
261 they acquire some of the properties of their devoured victims. This occurs
252 only if the animals are cut up alive. Therefore turtles, pigs and dugongs are
[231] cruelly sectioned while still alive, and the Onge also believe that their health
266 and energy profit by it. Cannibalism may be founded on such beliefs, but it is
262 completely unknown to Andaman Islanders of all times and places. Young sucking-pigs are avoided, as food, by men, and even withheld from the dogs; but the Onge are partial to other things which, in our opinion, are far worse: crickets, and the fat larvae of coleoptera that collect in tree trunks.

Without giving here a full list of the foods that are considered harmful or curative, I shall add just a few remarks on the subject. The healthiest, as well as the tastiest part of the pig is supposed to be the kidney and its surround-
[888] ing fat. It is offered to old or distinguished people, as a sign of favour. As I
123 helped the Onge, as much as possible, with gifts of tools and medicines, they
553 found it complimentary to name me after their favorite titbit, intending thereby to honour me as a friend and healer. By such a name I came to be known in Little Andaman, and this made my work easier. In the Onge language the word for kidney fat is *cue-changhēghē*; I was delighted with it, for it proclaimed the high esteem I was held in by my Onge friends.

262 Foods considered healthy by the Onge include honey, yams, several
751 succulent roots and the fat of turtle and dugong. Pteropus, a giant bat very
[825]

-6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

Endogamous life, or the habit of never washing even the female genital organs, cannot be the only cause of Andamanese sterility. Alcohol and venereal diseases such as syphilis may only be a complementary cause. The Onge's limited fertility probably derives from other factors besides their protracted and inceasingly strict endogamy. 842 [515] [582]

We can only remark that Onge women rarely become pregnant before 28 ; their fertility ceases around the age of 48. The high rate of sterility among Onge women after marriage (which generally takes place at the age of 14) is puzzling indeed. Of several childless couples that I studied in Little Andaman, the woman was under 28. There is hope of fertility after that age. It could so happen, for instance, in the case of two young Onge chiefs, Okkeggi and Chendubai, married to two sisters among the most beautiful and flourishing girls on the island : Ooaghēghē and Tocooaghēghē, both around 20. They never became pregnant, although menstruation was normal and they had plenty of sexual intercourse, even extra-marital. 842 147 [582] [837]

The delayed appearance of fertility in Andamanese women is probably connected with a general biological condition fostered by unhygienic habits. For instance : young Onge females have a high vagina acidity content that is certainly harmful to spermatozoa. It decreases with age, facilitating, we may suppose, fecundation. Vaginal washing would help, but the Onge women never recur to it. But this is only one side of the question. It is evidently urgent to do whatever is necessary to save the Onge from extinction. We must remember that civilized nations, through international agreements, are anxious to protect plant and animal species from disappearance. The same should be done for man, and equivalent international laws are needed. The Onge as a human group are on the verge of extinction ; but they still retain enough vitality to be rescued before they finally vanish into eternity. 147 515 161

Without enlarging here on the disorders of Onge sexual life and their dire effects also on the number of births, I wish to point out one more fact : Onge homosexuality as a normal occurrence. It is a plague in Little Andaman, helped by the regular physiological functions of both extremities of the digestive tube. The sexual tendencies that prevail in Little Andaman are a strong criticism of FREUD's theories on sexual life, but I will not discuss this here. I would rather say a few words about some opinions regarding the cause of Onge sterility that I heard expressed in the Andamans. Foreigners there ascribe it to the *naquinēghē* – the grass-like apron worn by women. Colonists believe that this garment leads to copulation from the rear, reducing the chances of fecundation. This idea is incorrect : the Onge never do this because the *naquinēghē* can be easily lifted as required, and pulled up over the abdomen. It is true that Onge women remove the *naquinēghē* only to replace it with a fresh one ; they wear it even when sleeping. Not for a single instant must women remain "undressed", for superstitious reasons. When a new *naquinēghē* is needed, the old one is furtively disposed of. Husband and wife repair secretely to a remote part of the forest, the woman slipping the new garment over her head before removing the old one, and burying the latter, which is quickly destroyed by white ants. The Onge believe that possession by a stranger of a worn 838 842 833 291 [513] [754]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Near my camp at Labanar, in March 1952, I witnessed a distressing and fatal case. A young woman, with a baby a month old, had suckled another child, as the Onge women do. The older infant, which had cut its teeth, caused damage to the nipples and the ensuing infection spread throughout the body. The wretched woman was writhing with fever and the pain from her infected breasts and suppressed lactation. Her body had been smeared with a vermilion ochre, held to be the most powerful balm, and tightly bound, as usual. Her condition was so poor that I suggested sending her at once to Port Blair for treatment. Unfortunately, however, at that time I was only just beginning to establish contact with the Onges, and the woman's husband, after all the arrangements had been made, refused to let her go. I had not yet gained the Onges' confidence enough to be allowed near the woman, and although I was able to photograph her I could do nothing to prevent her death. 757 123

The decision to administer 'medicine' and subject patients to various treatments is not the province of any specialists, but is taken by anyone in the group; all, including the patient, accept the decision, since all are utterly convinced that it will benefit them. Medicine men and sorcerers, so numerous in Africa and elsewhere, do not exist among the Andamanese. 75

The Onges have not the slightest idea of any standards of hygiene. They never wash intentionally; the forest, dripping from every leaf, and frequent immersion in water while out hunting, take care of the problem. One must admit that in the circumstances their nakedness is hygienic. A small fire is kept burning beside each bed at night for warmth, a useful precaution which I found very welcome on the many cold nights which followed a very hot day. Deprived of these fires the Onges fall ill at once, a fact of which I had ample proof on several occasions when I took Onges with me out of Little Andaman; they were provided with beds and coverings in well-constructed wooden houses, but although none of them complained about the absence of the fires by their beds they all developed feverish chills. 515 [291] 304 513 164

And yet in their own territory I have seen them lie soaking wet all night in one of their temporary forest camps or a communal hut with a leaking roof without any ill effects, simply because they had

their fires beside them. On the night of 4–5 April 1953, while I was sleeping with them in the communal hut at Berié-Abdalù a sudden storm drenched us all, forcing us to huddle together round fires under the more waterproof parts of the roof. Numb with cold, but cheerful, they began joking, singing[1] and dancing, men and women separately; this went on all night, and no one suffered any ill effects from the soaking.

The Onge lack of hygiene extends also to their cooking utensils, which are never washed. In recent years the ocean has provided the Onges with a generous and unexpected gift; currents running from the south of Asia have thrown up on to the shores of Little Andaman a shoal of empty petrol drums, stout metal cylinders 1·3 metres high and eighty centimetres in diameter. The astute Onges have patiently divided each one in two, each section big enough to take a large pig. Set on big fires these serve as wonderful cooking pots, and the Onges are delighted with them. Unfortunately, however, although they were thrown up all round the island, the supply is beginning to dry up, and they are rapidly being eaten away by rust.

To boil food, the Onges set the drums on two large logs, laid parallel, with a fire between them. Stones are rarely used to support the drums, although there are plenty about in the interior of the island. On the coast, and for a fair way inland, there is nothing but coral, hard but liable when it gets hot to disintegrate under the heavy weight of the cylinders filled to the brim.

In these gifts from the sea the Onges could prepare tasty broths, but they invariably allow nearly all the water to boil away, and the cooking process is not considered complete until all the liquid has gone. While it is boiling, however, they take care not to lose the fat floating on the top, which they adore. They have even invented a curious sort of dipping-stick for the purpose of skimming the fat off. They take a shoot about twenty centimetres long from a plant which disintegrates into fibre when chewed. One end is chewed into a loose 'brush' and no one present misses his turn to dip it into the pot again and again to skim off a mouthful of fat, even getting up in the night in their eagerness for it. One stick naturally does for everyone, men, women and children, the

[1] The Onge voice is not markedly different from the European. It has a musical quality, fairly high-pitched but never shrill; the Onges never raise their voices, even in anger – disagreements invariably end in a dignified silence.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

ground. Two parallel transverse poles of equal length, one front and one back, complete the frame, which is lashed together with the usual rush fibres. The roof consists of fresh *Pandanus* leaves, palms, or grass. It never actually touches the ground, and food refuse is thrown out from underneath it in the usual way, covering the ground round the shelter.

The bed takes a little longer than the roof to put up, as a number of sticks have to be gathered to make the compact platform, raised about half a metre from the ground on four stout props driven into the ground, one at each corner, and a suitable trunk has to be found for the head-rest. Normally one bed takes an entire family – mother, father, children and dogs, all well packed on the platform with the inevitable fire beside. On rare occasions, when the shelter is intended purely for the menfolk on a hunting expedition, only one bed is prepared, but generally every hunter has his family with him. I have myself slept like this with the Onges on trips where the forest was too dense for any baggage to be carried.

As the kitchen-middens show (see p. 68), their permanent huts are, with very few exceptions, circular and are still extremely simple. The essential feature is the waterproof roof-mats, well overlapped, which form the enormous umbrella roof. From the outside the whole thing looks in danger of collapsing, but from the interior it is obviously safely held by a frame of poles, lashed with innumerable ties to stout uprights fixed firmly into the ground. No central pillar is needed, and when there is one it is only by chance; I saw very few on Little Andaman. There are no divisions into rooms or compartments – everything is open to the eyes of all the occupants of the beds. Most of these are arranged as the radii of a circle, fairly near the outer edge of the hut, the roof coming down so close to the ground that everyone sleeps with their heads towards the centre, but there may be some beds across the centre space.

At the circumference the roof is only thirty to forty centimetres from the ground, the roofing mats being well lashed on to uprights in case of high winds, and one can wriggle in and out of the hut on one's stomach, crawling over the refuse thrown out through the convenient gap. There is always, however, a 'proper' entrance, where one edge of the roof-wall can be lifted up. At the top of the roof, on the lee side, one section can be propped open on poles,

352 The beds are supported on four convenient branches forked at the top, on which the four poles forming the bed frame rest. The size of the frame varies between 1·55 × 0·65 metres and 1·15 × 0·43 metres, and on this small platform the entire family sleeps huddled
● 513 together. The human members of the family lie longwise, all with their heads on the same log set as a head-rest (unless they are lucky enough to find a suitable giant bamboo washed up on the beach). Very occasionally a rush mat about half a metre square is laid on the platform, but usually the family just lies on bare canes packed tightly together on the frame parallel with the long side.

342 The hut at Tambe-e-buiè, its 1951 edition delayed till 1952 by
352 the earthquake the previous year when part of the coast dropped,
184 was rather larger than Toqué-è-bùie. In 1953 it was rebuilt twenty
[731] metres or so further back from the sea, but exactly as before. It has twelve beds, including two on the high platforms for the adolescents, one of which has two tiers, on the principle of our bunks. I saw this type of thing on a number of occasions and on one occasion I saw one being built out in the open, with the top platform three metres from the ground. All the beds at Tambe-e-buiè are rather higher than at Toqué-è-bùie (but not as high as Beniabol) and were all arranged radially; the platform on which meat was kept was two metres off the ground.

342 An unusual feature of Tambe-e-buiè, which had a diameter of
184 13·55 metres and a maximum height of 4·5 metres, was a series of six vertical poles set in a straight line to support the main transverse beam, one of which could be regarded as a centre pole. The pole on each side of the centre formed part of the innermost circle of supporting poles; there were two more circles, all supporting rings of canes. Unusually, only one of the rings of canes supporting the roof did not rest on vertical poles. The outer ring was only 0·4 metres high and the edge of the roof almost touched the ground, although one could still brush the fronds apart and crawl out. The roof mats were rectangular, very well made, and larger than at Toqué-è-bùie; some were three and a half metres by three metres or more, laid over seven or ten split reeds, instead of the usual four or five.

312 No permanent hut, or even a temporary shelter, is ever built far
[361] from water supplies adequate for the number of people in the group. If there is none visible, the Onges know how to dig for it,

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

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The Onge bury their dead in trenches, no deeper than three feet. Earth is tightly packed over the graves in order to prevent exhalations. Full details on the subject of Onge burial customs appear in the book that I am writing about the Onge. I slept with the Onge in communal huts that contained fresh graves, without suffering any inconvenience from the smell of the corpses. This recalls the palaeolithic sepulchral caves, where man probably lived as the Onge live in their sepulchral huts today. 764

There are no latrines near Onge camps – whether permanent or temporary. Excrements are spread carelessly all around, lightly covered with leaves and earth. Flies lay eggs on them. The Onge's only precaution is not to defecate where drinking water might be found after rainfall. With so many opportunities for reproduction, in some places flies form such clouds as to impress the natives themselves. In the north of Little Andaman a creek was named after the flies : Bumila Creek, which means "fly creek". Smells also occasionally inspire geographical names : Tambe-é-bùie, on the north-east coast of Little Andaman, means "the smelly place" in the Onge language. Flies, fleas and ticks are tolerated by the Onge who do not fight them. Fortunately, the hymenoptera collect flies for their nests, not, however, in quantities large enough to compete with the fertility of the species. 514 [312] 736 825 [103]

2. Clothing and personal care

The only garment worn by Little Andaman women is the *naquinēghē*, a scanty grasslike apron covering the genitals. In addition, during menstrual periods, Onge women wear the *bataghē*, for hygienic purposes. This is a simple cluster of long, soft green leaves cut by the husband for his wife from special trees : Myristica longifolia and others. The only leaves used are those from the end of a stalk, a section of which is left attached to the leaves. The stalk is slipped under the *naquinēghē*, while the long leaves are passed between the thighs to be fastened at the back above the buttocks. It is curious to see Onge women in such myristical attire ! The *bataghē* is ethnographical news, new not only as regards the Andamans : it is an interesting indication of the hygienic measures employed by primitive people, and can probably be traced to prehistoric practices in analogous circumstances. The continental and insular regions nearest to the Andamans have retained no similar custom ; their only practice is the strict isolation of menstruating women. Among the Onge, on the other hand, they are allowed free circulation. Washing is unknown to the Onge : they never wash their bodies intentionally. Brushing through the thick forest and diving into the sea or the river to collect food substitute adequately for washing. The Little Andaman forest is nearly always dripping ; moving among the trees, specially in the early morning, is equivalent to bathing. The contact of wet leaves when walking cleans the Onge's skin, for they go naked ; and as they constantly dive into the sea and rivers, they do not smell. Actually they give an impression of cleanliness – as opposed to many other dark-skinned 291 841 [824] [171] 515 [147]

142 147 482 much assistance in this respect, as the muscular insertions are exaggerated in both sexes, both being subjected to continued physical effort resulting in muscular bulk.

142 147 164 [304] [515] One quite outstanding physical feature in the Onges is their teeth. The palate is unusually arched, unlike that of the African pygmies or the Bushmen. The teeth, which are never filed or cut, as many primitive peoples do for decorative purposes, are very white; caries is rare, and although never cleaned the teeth are retained till late in life. A common abnormality is that the lateral incisors are as pointed as the canines. This, with the whiteness of the teeth and eyes against the blackness of the skin, gives the Onges a sinister appearance, which may account for the old description of the Andamanese as men with ferocious dogs' heads. The only 142 515 (summary) cleaning the Onge teeth receive is the use of toothpicks, thinner and rather longer than the European variety and made from the tough, flexible bark of a certain reed. After use, they are carefully thrust into the hair for future occasions. Every Onge has one or more threaded through the hair on top of the head.

142 147 [264] [514] The strength of the Onge teeth enables their owners to champ their way through what are for us inconceivable quantities of food, both animal and vegetable, which is chewed slowly and determinedly, dust, earth, sand and all, and then swallowed without apparent ill effects, other than the flatulence arising from overconsumption of animal matter. But the Onges use their teeth for other purposes besides eating. In time the teeth become worn down by the inevitable grinding of dirt and grit, but this does not prevent the Onges from continuing to chew the bark of trees and cords, which is a lifelong occupation. This duty falls mainly on the women, and I have seen aged women, their teeth worn almost to the gums, doggedly chewing bark as their contribution to the communal life of the group. The strength of the teeth is unbelievable – I have seen children of ten to fifteen years crush nails up to two millimetres thick, and dent lumps of iron.

114 123 142 147 [37] I myself once had good cause to be grateful for their power. My party and I found ourselves stranded in the forest on South Brother without guns or even knives, and without cooking utensils. There were large clutches of turtle eggs buried in the sand nearby and my two Onge companions pointed out a coconut tree loaded with nuts (which turned out to be the only one on the islands, seeded

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

ancient times. Great Andaman abounds in these man-made humps, to which the name 'kitchen-middens' has been given, but none are in use today. In Little Andaman, on the other hand, many are still being built up.

The sweeping operations disturb clouds of flies and tiny beetles, light brown in colour, shot with metallic blue, with a highly domed back, and about five millimetres long, which always collect under bones and other human food refuse. Hordes of fleas, invisible in the dirt on the floor but multiplying busily, are also stirred up. Fortunately there are no lice on Little Andaman, owing to the absence of clothing and bed-linen, and the Onges carry no lice in their hair.

In fact the dogs' coats carry the fleas from place to place more than do their naked, smooth-skinned owners. Every time I went into a hut which had been empty for a time, as happens in the dry season when the occupants are away on a hunting trip, I was assailed by swarms of fleas such as I had never imagined! They rushed up one's body from feet to neck in absolute serried ranks, platoons of them, solid masses of tiny black moving objects. The only thing to do was to go out into the open and douse oneself in Flit, which caused them to retreat hastily. My camp-bed was always given a precautionary dose. Unfortunately Flit was not enough to disperse the clouds of ticks, tiny but dangerous, and a scourge in the forests of the Andamans. The Onges call them *anaghe* and thoroughly enjoyed helping to catch them on me in hundreds after every expedition into the forest.

None of these pests worry the Onges, who make no attempt to get rid of them. They leave mounds of filth round their huts or in their forest camps for them to breed in, and the light covering of earth or leaves which at best cover the Onges' faeces, deposited near the camp, was never any deterrent to breeding. The Onges never dig sanitary trenches or prepare any other form of latrines, even for their permanent sites; the forest is all concealing. However, they will never defaecate near, or in, a water course, even when the bed is dry, and when my men used the bed of a dried-up stream for the purpose the Onges protested to me, because the water would be contaminated. I was not disposed to contradict them.

In the forest, meeting a swarm of flies was a sure sign that we

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

576 shouting invitations and promises for a future date until beyond earshot.

7. When nearing home, after an unusually successful hunting or fishing expedition, the men raise a shout[1] of triumph in order to apprise their friends of their good fortune, and the women take up the cry and express their delight by yelling[2] and slapping their thighs; but when the encampment is entered, these sounds of rejoicing almost invariably cease for a while, and, after depositing their spoils, the hunters remain speechless for some time ere recounting their adventures and exploits: for this strange practice they appear unable to account.

8. No matutinal greetings pass between friends or between husband and wife, and inquiries relating to health are unusual unless addressed to an invalid.

• 515 9. When a man is thirsty and wishes also to wash his hands, he first, if alone, stoops down and drinks from the stream, or raises the water to his lips in a leaf or vessel; then, filling his mouth with water, he squirts it over his hands, using his unkempt locks as a towel. Should any one else be present, he would pour the water over his friend's hands as well, not from his mouth, but from a leaf.

10. They do not bathe daily, but at irregular intervals, when oppressed with the heat, or when, from some cause, as, for instance, in gathering honey,[3] their persons become sticky and unpleasant, and ablutions, consistently with comfort at least, cannot be dispensed with. It will be understood that these remarks apply to the *ē·remtâ·ga-*, rather than the *àryô·to-*, who, from the nature of their pursuits, are on the whole fairly clean.[4]

[302] 11. During the hot weather they smear their bodies with common white clay, called *ōg-*,[5] dissolved in water, and avoid, as far as they are able, any lengthened exposure to the direct rays of the sun. If compelled to leave the shelter of the jungle, they are in the habit of holding a large leaf screen, *kâ·pa-jâ·tnga-*,[6] over their heads as a protection (this is also done during a shower); should they be travelling by boat they lessen the discomfort caused by excessive heat by pouring water over themselves, or by plunging overboard and swimming alongside the canoe for some part of the way.

[1] There is a specific term for this description of shouting, viz.: *tē·reblake*, while that of the women in answer thereto is called—

[2] *rē·moke*.

[3] *Vide* Appendix H (*lad·a chàu-*, lit., dirty body).

[4] They never allow vermin to breed on their persons—in fact, such a thing could not possibly occur, owing to the constant shaving of the head, painting of the person, and, in the case of the *àryô·to-*, immersion in the sea while fishing and turtling.

[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 59.

[6] *Vide* Appendix B, item 74.

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515 people. Furthermore, the Onge skin is very soft and more elastic than is usual
[147] in human beings. For us, clothed and with a less resilient skin, a trip through the thorny Andaman forest means many small, bleeding scratches. Not so for the naked Onge. – To cover them with clothes would endanger their health. Nakedness inures them to the sudden changes of temperature so frequent in
[513] Little Andaman and preserves them from catching cold when sleeping, uncovered, on their rough, unprotected bed of boughs. As with primitives all over the world, clothes make them miserable and, I may add, very ungainly and dirty.

515 Part of their general negligence with regard to hygiene is their carelessness about their teeth. They never clean them. They do keep bamboo sticks,
[413] 1 mm thick and 8 cms long, tucked into their hair to be ostensibly used as toothpicks ; but the sticks, to tell the truth, are more of an ornament than a tool.
142 The Onge's teeth are so compact and sound that there is no space between them for food particles to collect. No caries or decay of any sort are to be
[164] noticed. In a number of skeletons that I dug up from under the beds in communal huts, the teeth gave evidence of one peculiarity : old people had worn them down to the root. The Onge habit of using teeth as working instruments,
[288] to prepare fibre for ropes and in many other circumstances – apart from their permanent chewing on hard foodstuffs – explains this fact.

515 As a consequence of never washing, the natives' hands are sometimes extremely dirty. The Onge themselves are conscious of this. I shall give an
226 instance. It so happened that I arrived in Nachugé, on the west coast, toward the end of March, when the sea was teeming with migrating sardines. In Little Andaman sardines can weigh up to a pound ; but a normal catch, obtained with small hand-nets cast from canoes among shoals of fish imprisoned by the low tide within the coral reef that surrounds the island, contains specimens of
[264] every dimension. All are eaten as soon as possible. The quantity of fish brought back to the camps on such occasions puts all inmates to work and induces everybody to abandon all other occupations for the time being. In the low tidal waters the men push their canoes from rock to rock, using them as receptacles for the abundant food so easily collected. In some "pockets" nets prove unnecessary : the fish is gathered in handfuls and rapidly thrown into the canoes. The hecatomb ends when the canoes are filled to the gunwales. In no other part of the world have I seen food made available to primitive people in such large quantities and with so little effort.

252 Back at the camp, the sardines are "graded" according to size and cooked immediately. They are not washed or cleaned, the inner organs are eaten together with the flesh. Men, women and children feverishly take part in the
[263] cooking ; the fish is boiled without salt. All the natives then plunge their hands
264 avidly into the heap of sardines. From time to time the women clean their
515 hands by rubbing them on the *naquinēghē*. Very soon this garment becomes
[231] extremely smelly. Men and children clean their hands in a different way : by rubbing them on the dogs. On such occasions, everything and everybody smells of fish for days and days. The first to become clean again are the dogs, because they hate to be smeared with fish and wash themselves in the sea as soon as they have a chance.

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Endogamous life, or the habit of never washing even the female genital organs, cannot be the only cause of Andamanese sterility. Alcohol and venereal diseases such as syphilis may only be a complementary cause. The Onge's limited fertility probably derives from other factors besides their protracted and inceasingly strict endogamy. 842 [515] [582]

We can only remark that Onge women rarely become pregnant before 28 ; their fertility ceases around the age of 48. The high rate of sterility among Onge women after marriage (which generally takes place at the age of 14) is puzzling indeed. Of several childless couples that I studied in Little Andaman, the woman was under 28. There is hope of fertility after that age. It could so happen, for instance, in the case of two young Onge chiefs, Okkeggi and Chendubai, married to two sisters among the most beautiful and flourishing girls on the island : Ooaghēghē and Tocooaghēghē, both around 20. They never became pregnant, although menstruation was normal and they had plenty of sexual intercourse, even extra-marital. 842 147 [582] [837]

The delayed appearance of fertility in Andamanese women is probably connected with a general biological condition fostered by unhygienic habits. For instance : young Onge females have a high vagina acidity content that is certainly harmful to spermatozoa. It decreases with age, facilitating, we may suppose, fecundation. Vaginal washing would help, but the Onge women never recur to it. But this is only one side of the question. It is evidently urgent to do whatever is necessary to save the Onge from extinction. We must remember that civilized nations, through international agreements, are anxious to protect plant and animal species from disappearance. The same should be done for man, and equivalent international laws are needed. The Onge as a human group are on the verge of extinction ; but they still retain enough vitality to be rescued before they finally vanish into eternity. 147 515 161

Without enlarging here on the disorders of Onge sexual life and their dire effects also on the number of births, I wish to point out one more fact : Onge homosexuality as a normal occurrence. It is a plague in Little Andaman, helped by the regular physiological functions of both extremities of the digestive tube. The sexual tendencies that prevail in Little Andaman are a strong criticism of FREUD's theories on sexual life, but I will not discuss this here. I would rather say a few words about some opinions regarding the cause of Onge sterility that I heard expressed in the Andamans. Foreigners there ascribe it to the *naquinēghē* – the grass-like apron worn by women. Colonists believe that this garment leads to copulation from the rear, reducing the chances of fecundation. This idea is incorrect : the Onge never do this because the *naquinēghē* can be easily lifted as required, and pulled up over the abdomen. It is true that Onge women remove the *naquinēghē* only to replace it with a fresh one ; they wear it even when sleeping. Not for a single instant must women remain "undressed", for superstitious reasons. When a new *naquinēghē* is needed, the old one is furtively disposed of. Husband and wife repair secretely to a remote part of the forest, the woman slipping the new garment over her head before removing the old one, and burying the latter, which is quickly destroyed by white ants. The Onge believe that possession by a stranger of a worn 838 842 833 291 [513] [754]

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no specialized physicians, the Onge do not understand that payment can be 757
exacted for medical care. This stems from the fact that wages are not con- 465
sidered by those happy people as payment for any kind of work whatsoever, 123
but only as a gift. I realized this when I tried to pay my guides after our extenu- 431
ating marches through the jungle : in order to avoid offending the natives that we had casually met in the course of our trip, I had to give equal reward to everybody.

The Onge consider some men or women better endowed than others with 753
anti-malefic influence ; but these too neither demand nor receive wages for [756]
their services. Evil spirits or evil persons are believed to be principally responsible for illness. A series of superstitions and remarkable habits derive from this belief. The above-mentioned precautions concerning the *naquinēghē* are among them. For identical reasons they carefully hide hair cuttings, but not nail [515]
parings, for the simple reason that nails are never cut but worn down by digging for edible roots, fishing, and other rough work. Superstition, as we know, is also the reason for painting the body to prevent fever and other ills.

In the depths of their jungle the Onge appear to practice some kind of witchcraft. On several occasions I noticed the mysterious behaviour of some 789
natives travelling with me. Occasionally a man left our marching column to examine the inside of a huge hollow tree and signal to his friends. They did not prevent me from looking into the hollow, where I saw only a simple structure of short sticks resembling a trap without being one. The Onge do not use [224]
traps ; moreover, those structures were far too flimsy to catch anything. Often, two or three men assembled in consultation, rearranged the sticks that had probably been dislodged by the passage of lizards, crabs or other small animals, and walked away silently. I could get no explanation on the matter. Certainly the Onge are sagacious observers of animal and vegetable life and have deep knowledge of their hidden properties. Some trees are probably used for magical purposes, but, I insist, it is impossible as yet to affirm it. The structures in question consisted of four vertical sticks, about 30 cms long, joined at the top by four more sticks of approximately the same length, placed horizontally. The result was a box-like frame, loose and unsecured. The slightest disturbance, such as a light breeze, could destroy the flimsy construction. As far as I could guess they invested those structures with curative properties, but in what manner remains a mystery. I noticed analogous practices among Central [171]
African Pygmies and other primitives.

It is very clear that the Onge dread illness and magic spells, for they 754
consider themselves at a loss in fighting such evils. Unhygienic habits are of no 751
importance to them.

Resting is considered favorable to good health. The Onge indulge vo- 517
luptuously in rest, interrupting it, however, with too frequent sexual excursions. 751
They mainly rest from doing nothing, because 90 % of their time is spent in 461
what, for them, is the most agreeable manner of enjoying life.

In mid-March, when the honey harvest reaches its peak, the Onge guzzle 262

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262 immense quantities of it together with pork. I was with them three times when
this recurred, so I could observe their behaviour exhaustively. With their
517 bellies full, the natives rest. Their only activity is body painting, performed by
302 the women on the skin of their peacefully sleeping husbands. Designs change
178 from time to time as I said before, according to the women's inventiveness.
Each family challenges the others in renewing their patterns. The best are later
reproduced until the next change. From year to year I noticed no real evolution
in this rudimentary art, but a cyclical fashion, with temporary preference, in
males and females alike, for some geometrical designs, unconnected with what-
ever kind of food they had been eating. This contradicts the published af-
114 firmations of several authors, who allege that the Andamanese paint special
302 patterns in special colours for different kinds of food. There is nothing more
false, at least with reference to the Onge. Merry feasting, whether on pork
[262] turtle, dugong, fish or honey, leads to a period of rest and body decoration –
[751] always in similar patterns and colours – with the unique purpose of preventing
illness. We might say that painting the body is equal to cleaning it, but this
[515] is quite unintentional. A curious exception to the Onge's filthy habits is the
practice of sweeping the floor after solemn banquets in communal huts. The
264 surface of the floor consists of unpacked earth hardened by casual tramping.
356 When it is dry, sweeping raises a heavy dust that fills the hut to the ceiling.
342 It deposits there on the wooden beams where the Onge like to store cooked
251 victuals. So they eat their food, as I said before, coated with dust, no matter
262 how thick. A brush without a handle is used to sweep the floor ; it is 80 cms
412 long and no thicker than a man's wrist. It is one of the nicest tools made by
the Onge, and consists of strong, hard, elastic palm fibres bound together with
strips of rattan. The dirt is simply thrown out all around the hut, by pushing
356 it under the roof mats that never reach the ground.

These notes offer a first glimpse into a peculiar aspect of Onge life. It is
114 to be deplored that these vanishing people have not yet been exhaustively
studied, notwithstanding their anthropological interest and high biological
significance.

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11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Near my camp at Labanar, in March 1952, I witnessed a distressing and fatal case. A young woman, with a baby a month old, had suckled another child, as the Onge women do. The older infant, which had cut its teeth, caused damage to the nipples and the ensuing infection spread throughout the body. The wretched woman was writhing with fever and the pain from her infected breasts and suppressed lactation. Her body had been smeared with a vermilion ochre, held to be the most powerful balm, and tightly bound, as usual. Her condition was so poor that I suggested sending her at once to Port Blair for treatment. Unfortunately, however, at that time I was only just beginning to establish contact with the Onges, and the woman's husband, after all the arrangements had been made, refused to let her go. I had not yet gained the Onges' confidence enough to be allowed near the woman, and although I was able to photograph her I could do nothing to prevent her death. 757 123

The decision to administer 'medicine' and subject patients to various treatments is not the province of any specialists, but is taken by anyone in the group; all, including the patient, accept the decision, since all are utterly convinced that it will benefit them. Medicine men and sorcerers, so numerous in Africa and elsewhere, do not exist among the Andamanese. 75

The Onges have not the slightest idea of any standards of hygiene. They never wash intentionally; the forest, dripping from every leaf, and frequent immersion in water while out hunting, take care of the problem. One must admit that in the circumstances their nakedness is hygienic. A small fire is kept burning beside each bed at night for warmth, a useful precaution which I found very welcome on the many cold nights which followed a very hot day. Deprived of these fires the Onges fall ill at once, a fact of which I had ample proof on several occasions when I took Onges with me out of Little Andaman; they were provided with beds and coverings in well-constructed wooden houses, but although none of them complained about the absence of the fires by their beds they all developed feverish chills. 515 [291] 304 513 164

And yet in their own territory I have seen them lie soaking wet all night in one of their temporary forest camps or a communal hut with a leaking roof without any ill effects, simply because they had

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

222 [423] when the supply of *dorsata* diminished at the onset of the stormy season, when the gales lashing the branches dislodge the nests and hurl them to the ground.

Unlike the beekeepers of the civilized world, the Onges make no attempt to protect their bare bodies while they are extracting honey. Yet they are never stung, and watching them one felt in the presence of some age-old mystery, lost by the civilized world. I watched an Onge from the ground with my field glasses as he climbed up a tree to a *dorsata* nest and saw him, as it were, blowing on the bees round about the trunk as he went up. As he approached the nest they huddled round it in a protective cloud, hiding it completely from view. Suddenly, as the Onge's face came within twenty centimetres of the boiling, humming mass, the bees seemed to shrink back as he blew on them. Not one moved to attack as he gouged out the combs with his bare hands, throwing handfuls of bees out into the air. And then the whole cloud of bees gathered into a swarm and left the tree and the nest to the interloper.

The Onge stripped lengths of green bark from the lianas growing [283] up the tree, and then broke the nest up. Tying the combs to his back with the strips of bark he lowered himself down to the ground, 222 swinging like an ape from liana to liana. There, while his friends 515 fell on the honey, he calmly cleaned himself down – with not one sting on him. This he did in a way unusual for the Onges, filling his mouth with water from a nearby pond and squirting it into his cupped hands, until he had enough in his hands for a perfunctory rub down. This method of washing is common in primitive peoples but advanced for the Onges. When they have been painting themselves with the usual fat and ochre paste, for example, the women will clean their hands to their satisfaction by wiping them on their *naquineghe*, while the men use the dogs' coats as a convenient towel.

222 In March 1952, in the middle of the honey season, I was on the west coast of Little Andaman, near Nachuge. Twelve Onges were with me, and when they noticed a bees' nest high up in a *Pterocarpus* the youngest of them at once climbed up after it. As soon as he saw that the combs were full of honey, with no larvae, he called for a [283] container. With amazing speed he tore enough bark off the nearest liana with his teeth to make a cord over twenty metres long and the hollowed-out log was soon hauled up, to come down again crammed with combs brimming with pale golden honey, very

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

481 toes of each foot; if a tree is branched they will scramble up it almost as quickly as if scaling a ladder, and though when "swarming" a mast or cocoa-nut tree they clasp the trunk in the usual manner with the arms and legs, their movements are more rapid, and they are less easily fatigued, than are the generality of natives of India; in descending also they display the same activity.

•516 3. I have observed a peculiar trick among young men and women, after a lengthened rest or after engaging in some sedentary occupation, of twisting their bodies from side to side in order to stretch the muscles of the back. In doing this they produce a succession of sounds like that caused by cracking the joints of one's fingers.

4. Their favourite position in taking temporary rest after any violent or prolonged exertion is the ordinary Oriental posture between sitting and standing, *i.e.*, squatting on their heels; if very much exhausted they either sit or lie down.

513 5. The usual attitude in sleep (*vide* Plate III, fig. 2) is to lie on one side, preferably the right, with the knees bent so as to allow of the hand of the upper arm being placed between the thighs and the other hand under the head, which is raised on some impromptu pillow, such as a bundle or a roll of sleeping mat.

142 6. Many are able to shut one eye without closing the other, but they do not appear to possess the power of moving the ears or scalp. They can extend one finger without opening the hand. No tricks of sleight of hand are known to or attempted by them.

7. Much use is made of the feet in holding and picking up light objects, and the great toe is in a considerable degree [483] opposable. When a heavy load has to be moved they prefer pushing to dragging it.[1]

482 **Physical Powers and Senses.**—1. Though for a short distance heavier loads are often borne, the maximum of a man's burden is about 40 lbs.; this he will on occasion carry for as much as 15 miles through the jungles between sunrise and sunset, a distance rarely exceeded in one day under any circumstances, or for more than two or three days in succession. This has been particularly remarked when they have been in pursuit of runaway convicts, for, if they fail in coming up with them within the third day, they are wont to take a long rest, unless strong inducements are offered by way of inciting them to further efforts.

[1] They do not understand, or, at least, do not carry into practice, the principle of pushing or dragging a weight *simultaneously*, whether in silence or to the sound of the voice.

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P 4(B)]

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PLATE III.

Onge females living in hut No. 2, Plate 1.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

312 caracases of small animals. During the droughts, marine hermit crabs, of
271 which a profusion is found in Little Andaman even far from the sea-shore,
[136] often choose to die in fresh-water pools. They are not removed from the pools.
[415] A nautilus shell is sometimes used as a drinking vessel ; failing this, the Onge
[516] lap up the water like animals, on all fours, directly from the pool. Since they are
231 very fond of dogs, man and dog drink together from the same tiny pool, often holding no more than a few pints of water. Dogs reached Great Andaman as early as 1857 ; they came to Little Andaman much later. Before that time there were no dogs in the Andamanese Archipelago. They soon became the natives' cherished and much appreciated assistants in the hunting of wild pigs. Many unhygienic habits followed the appearance of dogs in the Andamans.

271 The Onge have no idea of boiling water for the purpose of disinfection ;
[147] nevertheless their health does not appear to suffer at all as a result of the pol-
123 luted water they drink. When, in 1952, I dug a well near the left bank of Dugong Creek on the north-east coast of Little Andaman, I was compelled to fence it in so as to prevent dogs from drinking it and bathing in it.

264 Dogs lick everything that smells of food, including the cooking pots,
[231] and the pots are not washed before use after the dogs have licked them.
[136] Swarms of flies of different species and small coleoptera of a brilliant blue colour, one of them 6 mms long, follow the dogs after they have "cleaned" the pots by licking them. They line the inside of the pots with a crawling, living coat, moving restlessly around in search of food. One species of fly, which is of a brilliant; metallic green colour, has a peculiarly disagreeable smell. All the flies lay eggs while feeding, but the eggs are soon devoured by the hovering bluish coleoptera. Thus in a few hours all traces of organic matter disappear from the pots. Subsequent exposure to fire undoubtedly destroys the germs that would otherwise be certainly dangerous to human beings.

415 The Onge no longer use indigenous pottery for cooking. Its disappearance
177 is recent, as the sherds that litter Little Andaman prove to the investigator.
[323] Excavation in modern kitchen-middens leads to the same conclusion. During the last war, quantities of empty petrol drums were washed up on the Andaman shores. They were found in such numbers that the Onge have not yet used them all up : after 1952 I found several of these containers abandoned, untouched, in the jungle. The primitive inhabitants sawed each container in two cylindrical halves, thus transforming them into cooking pots. The result was that within a few years the fragile ancestral pottery of the Onge disappeared altogether. Furthermore, aluminium pots were distributed among the natives after 1952. Probably the indigenous pottery will never again reappear.
[252] Each half of a petrol drum is large enough to contain a pig, or a turtle weighing
262 150 lbs, cut into pieces. Only the flesh of these animals is consumed by the
[231] Onge ; the nourishing broth is poured out onto the ground or left in the pot to be lapped up by the dogs. The Onge believe that broth is unhealthy and avoid drinking it.

251 No matter how prodigious the catch of sardines or other fish, unobtain-
[185] able at other times of the year, no attempt is made at storing part of it in view of future shortage. The Onge are unacquainted with methods for preserv-

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

LIDIO CIPRIANI, Hygiene and Medical Practices among the Onge (Little Andaman)

Plate 1

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a) Onge communal hut.
b) Painted Onge woman drinking from a nautilus shell.
c) Woman with *bataghĕ* leaves.
d) Filter going from mouth to mouth.

[p. 489 (A)]

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

language could have been learnt by now since they are friendly. There has not been any attempt to communicate with the Jarawa [4] through the medium of the Onge language, which could be tried with the help of loudspeakers installed at suitable places in reply to the buttress beatings of the Jarawa. Prior to this an aerial survey of the Jarawa villages or camps would be necessary. Some food, clothing or other such articles might be air-dropped during this aerial survey. Along with the articles to be air-dropped some pictures showing symbols of friendship, such as the Andamanese and the Onge way of sitting upon one another's laps, might be included. Some pictures showing the Indian manner of greeting one another, for instance that of saluting each other with folded hands, might also be considered.

The local government appears to be very much in favour of capturing the Jarawa alive and then letting them off with presents after kind treatment. Since the capture of the Jarawa from South Andaman is not an easy problem – as may be seen from the Census Reports of the last sixty years – we might try this method of approach with the Jarawa of North Sentinel Island, where such captures appear to be comparatively easier.

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10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge
Andamanese

CHAPTER IX
ABORIGINAL POPULATION

A group of Onges

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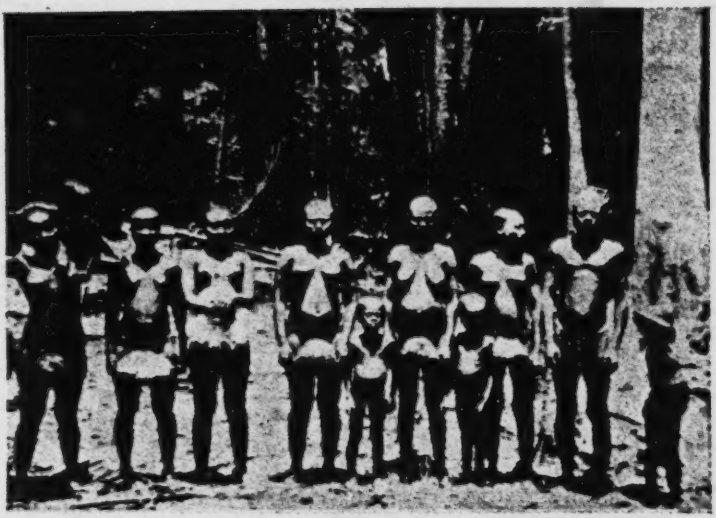

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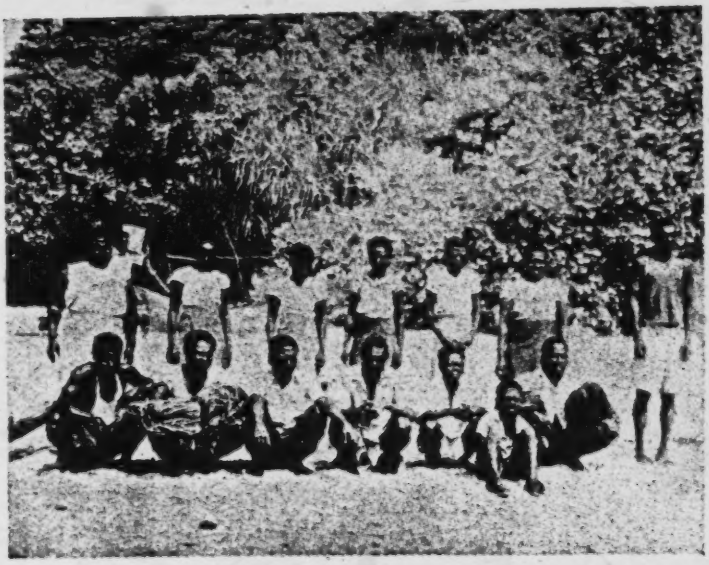

A group of Andamanese (Courtesy A. S. I.)

[facing p. 54]

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

CHAPTER IX
ABORIGINAL POPULATION

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Communal dinner of the Onges (Courtesy A. S. I.)

[facing P. 62]

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

CHAPTER IX
ABORIGINAL POPULATION

Painted faces of the Onges (Courtesy A.S.I)

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Preparation of a tussel by an Onge Woman (Courtesy A.S.I.)

Construction of the hut by an Onges (Courtesy A.S.I.)

[facing P. 64]

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3 *Above top* A group of Onges resting against the bastion roots of a tree. The man in the centre is smoking a crab-claw pipe
4 *Above* A typical example of tight binding of the body as a cure for disease
2 *Left* Two examples of the geometric patterns which are painted on the face and torso

[facing P. 66, C]

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7 An important feature of the islands is the way in which the forest comes right down to the water's edge

8 In the monsoon season, trees are frequently uprooted in this manner

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[facing P. 66, F]

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9 The bow and arrow is the main weapon used for hunting; in this photograph the archer has the long arrow harpoon used for spearing large fish

10 Fishing in the coral shallows

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[facing p. 66, G]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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11 *Above* Launching an outrigger canoe
12 *Below* Hunter with a monitor lizard
13 Mother and child

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[facing P. 66, H]

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[147]

14 In spite of their size, the Andaman islanders are capable of carrying enormous weights

15 A temporary shelter in the forest

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[facing P. 66, J]

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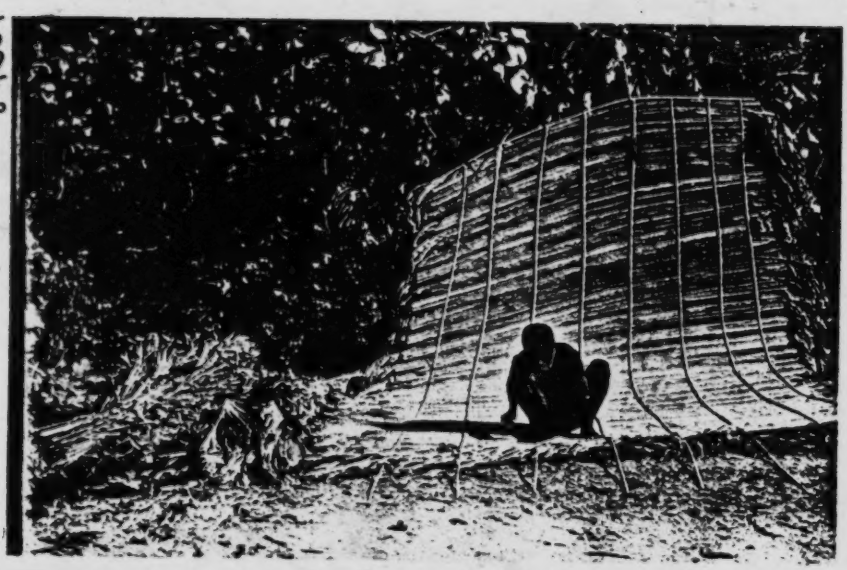

16 Making a roof section from palm fronds for a permanent dwelling

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[764]

17 Completed permanent dwelling, which is also used for burial of the inhabitants

[facing P. 66, K]

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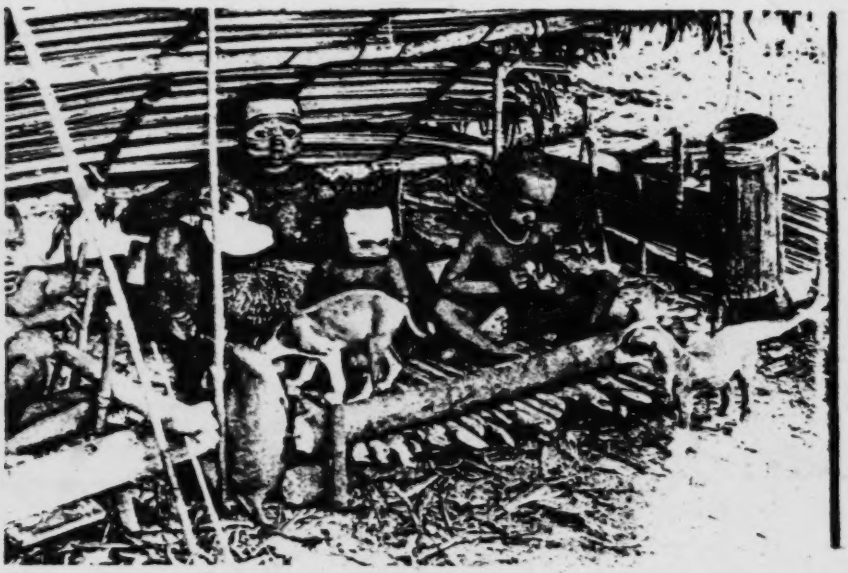

18 A family group with, on the right, the cylindrical cooking-pot, and the inevitable dogs

19 Typical shell collection from a kitchen-midden

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[Facing P. 67]

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

no specialized physicians, the Onge do not understand that payment can be exacted for medical care. This stems from the fact that wages are not considered by those happy people as payment for any kind of work whatsoever, but only as a gift. I realized this when I tried to pay my guides after our exhausting marches through the jungle : in order to avoid offending the natives that we had casually met in the course of our trip, I had to give equal reward to everybody. 757 465 123 431

The Onge consider some men or women better endowed than others with anti-malefic influence ; but these too neither demand nor receive wages for their services. Evil spirits or evil persons are believed to be principally responsible for illness. A series of superstitions and remarkable habits derive from this belief. The above-mentioned precautions concerning the *naquinēghē* are among them. For identical reasons they carefully hide hair cuttings, but not nail parings, for the simple reason that nails are never cut but worn down by digging for edible roots, fishing, and other rough work. Superstition, as we know, is also the reason for painting the body to prevent fever and other ills. 753 [756] [515]

In the depths of their jungle the Onge appear to practice some kind of witchcraft. On several occasions I noticed the mysterious behaviour of some natives travelling with me. Occasionally a man left our marching column to examine the inside of a huge hollow tree and signal to his friends. They did not prevent me from looking into the hollow, where I saw only a simple structure of short sticks resembling a trap without being one. The Onge do not use traps ; moreover, those structures were far too flimsy to catch anything. Often, two or three men assembled in consultation, rearranged the sticks that had probably been dislodged by the passage of lizards, crabs or other small animals, and walked away silently. I could get no explanation on the matter. Certainly the Onge are sagacious observers of animal and vegetable life and have deep knowledge of their hidden properties. Some trees are probably used for magical purposes, but, I insist, it is impossible as yet to affirm it. The structures in question consisted of four vertical sticks, about 30 cms long, joined at the top by four more sticks of approximately the same length, placed horizontally. The result was a box-like frame, loose and unsecured. The slightest disturbance, such as a light breeze, could destroy the flimsy construction. As far as I could guess they invested those structures with curative properties, but in what manner remains a mystery. I noticed analogous practices among Central African Pygmies and other primitives. 789 [224] [171]

It is very clear that the Onge dread illness and magic spells, for they consider themselves at a loss in fighting such evils. Unhygienic habits are of no importance to them. 754 751

Resting is considered favorable to good health. The Onge indulge voluptuously in rest, interrupting it, however, with too frequent sexual excursions. They mainly rest from doing nothing, because 90 % of their time is spent in what, for them, is the most agreeable manner of enjoying life. 517 751 461

In mid-March, when the honey harvest reaches its peak, the Onge guzzle 262

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

262 immense quantities of it together with pork. I was with them three times when this recurred, so I could observe their behaviour exhaustively. With their
517 bellies full, the natives rest. Their only activity is body painting, performed by
302 the women on the skin of their peacefully sleeping husbands. Designs change
178 from time to time as I said before, according to the women's inventiveness. Each family challenges the others in renewing their patterns. The best are later reproduced until the next change. From year to year I noticed no real evolution in this rudimentary art, but a cyclical fashion, with temporary preference, in males and females alike, for some geometrical designs, unconnected with whatever kind of food they had been eating. This contradicts the published af-
114 firmations of several authors, who allege that the Andamanese paint special
302 patterns in special colours for different kinds of food. There is nothing more false, at least with reference to the Onge. Merry feasting, whether on pork
[262] turtle, dugong, fish or honey, leads to a period of rest and body decoration –
[751] always in similar patterns and colours – with the unique purpose of preventing illness. We might say that painting the body is equal to cleaning it, but this
[515] is quite unintentional. A curious exception to the Onge's filthy habits is the
264 practice of sweeping the floor after solemn banquets in communal huts. The surface of the floor consists of unpacked earth hardened by casual tramping.
356 When it is dry, sweeping raises a heavy dust that fills the hut to the ceiling.
342 It deposits there on the wooden beams where the Onge like to store cooked
251 victuals. So they eat their food, as I said before, coated with dust, no matter
262 how thick. A brush without a handle is used to sweep the floor ; it is 80 cms
412 long and no thicker than a man's wrist. It is one of the nicest tools made by the Onge, and consists of strong, hard, elastic palm fibres bound together with strips of rattan. The dirt is simply thrown out all around the hut, by pushing
356 it under the roof mats that never reach the ground.

These notes offer a first glimpse into a peculiar aspect of Onge life. It is
114 to be deplored that these vanishing people have not yet been exhaustively studied, notwithstanding their anthropological interest and high biological significance.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
ONge

the felling of the tree, chiselling the lumber and processing it further to give the shape of a canoe. Buckets of wood are also constructed by them from the softwood tree. Two types of baskets are made, the smaller ones are more well-finished than the bigger ones. The former is known as *toleoaga* and the later *tole-laya*. Such activities have introduced the use of dahs, chisels, and iron files among the Onges, from the iron pieces derived from the sea shores. The other important pieces of their craftsmanship are the beautiful weavings of fibre, tussel of yellow fibre used by the women in their front. However, the art of making the earthen pots has been completely forgotten.

The leisure in their lives has helped the development of some amount of aesthetic senses among the Onges. All the Onges men and women shave their heads with flakes of glass, obtained from the sea-borne glass bottles. The body of the Onges are also painted with white clay which save their skin from insect-bite while red paint serves medicinal purposes if some individual is having fever. In times of mourning, red erchre paint is a taboo.[1]

Early marriage is the custom. The widows are looked down upon by the society. Some incidents of widow murder and drowning are heard. In the married life, the husband is devoted to his wife and both the husband and wife work for collecting their food.

Dances and songs are in vogue and there are practically songs for every occasion and activity. Most of their songs are more plaintive than joyous.

There are three broad divisions of the Onges of the Little Andaman :

(1) *Giremeka-Gobeule* group inhabiting the northeastern coast of the island ;

(2) *Engakwale group* live in the interior of the islands ; and

(3) *Gireraragobeule group* live in the southern and western coasts of the islands.

In spite of all the limitations, the Onges have been considered as one of the happiest people of the world with plenty of food and water to eat and drink and with very few social cankers to fight with. But as is common to all other aborigines of the Andamans, a decline in their number is discernible.

The Sentinelese

The Sentinelese are the least known of all the aborigines of the Anda-

1 The Onge of the Little Andaman—A short guide book ; Anthropological Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

their fires beside them. On the night of 4–5 April 1953, while I was sleeping with them in the communal hut at Berié-Abdalù a sudden storm drenched us all, forcing us to huddle together round fires under the more waterproof parts of the roof. Numb with cold, but cheerful, they began joking, singing[1] and dancing, men and women separately; this went on all night, and no one suffered any ill effects from the soaking.

The Onge lack of hygiene extends also to their cooking utensils, which are never washed. In recent years the ocean has provided the Onges with a generous and unexpected gift; currents running from the south of Asia have thrown up on to the shores of Little Andaman a shoal of empty petrol drums, stout metal cylinders 1·3 metres high and eighty centimetres in diameter. The astute Onges have patiently divided each one in two, each section big enough to take a large pig. Set on big fires these serve as wonderful cooking pots, and the Onges are delighted with them. Unfortunately, however, although they were thrown up all round the island, the supply is beginning to dry up, and they are rapidly being eaten away by rust.

To boil food, the Onges set the drums on two large logs, laid parallel, with a fire between them. Stones are rarely used to support the drums, although there are plenty about in the interior of the island. On the coast, and for a fair way inland, there is nothing but coral, hard but liable when it gets hot to disintegrate under the heavy weight of the cylinders filled to the brim.

In these gifts from the sea the Onges could prepare tasty broths, but they invariably allow nearly all the water to boil away, and the cooking process is not considered complete until all the liquid has gone. While it is boiling, however, they take care not to lose the fat floating on the top, which they adore. They have even invented a curious sort of dipping-stick for the purpose of skimming the fat off. They take a shoot about twenty centimetres long from a plant which disintegrates into fibre when chewed. One end is chewed into a loose 'brush' and no one present misses his turn to dip it into the pot again and again to skim off a mouthful of fat, even getting up in the night in their eagerness for it. One stick naturally does for everyone, men, women and children, the

[1] The Onge voice is not markedly different from the European. It has a musical quality, fairly high-pitched but never shrill; the Onges never raise their voices, even in anger – disagreements invariably end in a dignified silence.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

confessed that it is tacitly understood that an equivalent should be rendered for every gift.

11. Like the Papuans they are merry, talkative, petulant, inquisitive, and restless. Their speech is rapid, with a constant repetition of the same idea, and a joke, if not played in too practical a form, is highly appreciated.

12. When out of temper with any one they never defame his relatives or use improper expressions, as is so common a practice among natives of India, but merely indulge in mild terms of abuse, such as the following:—

ngab-ted·inga tâ·paya! (You liar!)
ngūn-bâ·maya! (You duffer!)
ngūn-jā·bagya! or *ng'ab-mūgutigpī·chaya!* (You fool!)
ngī-chô·na! (You long head!)
ngig-chô·ronga-lâ·nta! (You long nose!)
ngig-pâ·namaya! (You sunken-eyed one!)
ngid-kī·nabya! or *ngī-gō·robya!* (You skin and bone!)

A quarrel, as may be supposed, generally results from this style of address.[1]

13. With the exception of those who have lived with us away from their friends from birth or early childhood, not a case can be cited in which a preference is not manifested for a jungle life, even after a sojourn of many years at the Orphanage or Homes at Port Blair.

14. Opportunities for comparing the mental capacity of the children with those of other races have been few, but these have tended to show that, up to the age of 12 or 14, they possess quite as much intelligence as ordinary middle-class children of civilised races when competing in subjects in which they have been instructed in common; but the precociousness of intellect which has so often been remarked in the very young does not appear to be long maintained. Dr. Brander, who was for some time in charge of the Andaman Hospital, gave it as his opinion, that as a race "they are not deficient in brain power; it rather lies dormant and unused in their savage state;" and he mentions the case of an aboriginal patient of 12 years of age, who had been educated in the Ross Orphanage School, and who, in spite of his tender years, could yet read English and Urdu fluently, as well as speak and write in both these languages, retaining also a knowledge of his mother tongue. He had, besides, acquired a fair knowledge of arithmetic. I may add that this is not an exceptional case, for I could instance others, and one lad in particular, who was his superior.

15. More lengthened observations than have hitherto been

[1] *Vide post* "Laws," paragraph 1.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

The Onges do not seem to require any preventive measures, and seem naturally immune to malaria. They do, however, transmit the disease to strangers, through the mosquitoes which are everywhere in Little Andaman. Like many other inhabitants of tropical areas, they probably all carry the disease without being affected by it – neither children nor adults show any sign of splenic enlargement. 164 [136]

In contrast to their periodic gorging, the Onges will equally cheerfully endure hunger, thirst and exhaustion. During our hazardous canoe trip to South Brother, however, they appeared much more affected than I was by long exposure to the sun. We were completely without any means of shelter for an entire afternoon in the open sea, and though the Onges tried to cover their heads as best they could, they still developed severe (and genuine) headaches, and were clearly much happier in the dark forest, which must be considered their natural environment. 147 [261]

Nothing has hitherto been known of the intelligence level and general psychology of the Onges. The childishness of their behaviour, however, is curiously in keeping with their strikingly child-like appearance. Like children, they seek only the satisfaction of elementary stimuli, and like children they pass in a flash from one mood to another, so that they are a people of sudden contrasts. 15

One example is their passionate love for their dogs, in marked contrast to the intense cruelty with which they hunt their prey. Having once realized the usefulness of dogs, first imported into the islands some thirty years ago, the Onges now pet them like little girls with their dolls, and the Onge women will suckle the family puppies quite naturally with their own children. Yet once a dog dies the other side of the Onge nature comes to the fore and the carcase is thrown into the forest – there is no looking back. 231 162 [177]

Their minds are in a sense inventive, in that they have evolved devices to help them acquire their food, but they have never, for example, thought of the fish-hook, despite the abundance of iron pieces thrown up by shipwrecks all round the islands. Anything new is taken up with a child's momentary enthusiasm, but they have no notion of sustained mental effort such as any form of counting. 157 [802]

Like children, too, the Onges laugh at the slightest thing, although their mirth is always restrained. In this they differ from the African peoples, particularly the Bushmen, who are often by 157 522

157 Western standards taciturn or sly, and the Negro peoples, who
522 frequently manifest complete abandonment in their amusement.
157 Obscenities appear to be an unfailing source of amusement to the
522 Onges, who indulge in them at every opportunity, even with
83 strangers, and the obscene dances of the womenfolk are a continual source of pleasure. The exchange of obscenities is, indeed, a sign of friendship, and I found that vulgarity was invariably immensely successful in provoking hilarity; any subsequent negotiations were always peaceable and satisfactory.

302 An extension of this vulgarity is an infantile vanity, not without
[157] sexual significance. The care with which their bodies are painted nearly every day is one aspect of this vanity; the more a wife loves her husband the more magnificent the designs she executes on him.
[153] The paintings on their bodies reach a peak every two or three days,
[161] as the Onges fear illness and death if they are not newly daubed, and
[161] the face at least must be continually painted, with at least smears on the chest, arms and legs. A man returning from an exceptionally successful hunting trip is met by his wife with a specially unusual and elaborate design, which she carries out with great devotion.
[123] During each of my visits to the island the Onges would rush up to show me their embellishments as soon as they were finished, and took a delight in standing in front of my camera, even though they had no idea what it was for.

304 It is curious that unlike most primitive peoples, the Onges do
[171] not practise tattooing, which is one of the simplest ways, if not *the* simplest, in which such peoples satisfy their craving for physical
[184] admiration. The other Andamanese do, puncturing the skin with
[302] tiny slivers of obsidian or quartz, but the Onges paint with ochre instead. They love, too, to weave garlands of fruit, flowers and
301 leaves from the forest, returning to the camp laden with them, men
824 and women alike, delighted with their own beauty. This divergence
[184] of customs in peoples essentially of the same stock, but separated for long periods of time into endogamous isolates, is very remarkable.

838 An intense preoccupation with sexual attraction and activity has led to the prevalence of aberration. All the Onges have homosexual tendencies. I became aware of this during my first visit to Little Andaman on one of my longer expeditions, when I had taken only men with me, and on subsequent occasions I therefore allowed the men to bring their wives. The effect of long periods of absence on

the Onges as hiding-places or temporary shelters. In these cavities, which remain full of water right through the dry season, flourish a horde of amphibia, many hitherto unknown.

The great trees are sometimes so close together that it is literally impossible to pass between them, yet it is rare to find two of the same species next to each other, so great is the variety. Huge clumps of ferns are everywhere, hiding the roots of dying trees, hundreds of years old, and fallen trunks rotting on the ground. Some of the thicker and taller trees protect themselves from the monsoon gales by developing buttresses, usually four or six to a tree, which stand out from the trunk like right-angled triangles, with the apex about ten metres from the ground. If a blanket is stretched between the sloping sides of two of the buttresses one can improvise a shelter which is extremely comfortable by local standards, and both man and animals take advantage of this natural cover; I myself took shelter like this on many occasions. (They need to be treated with caution, however, as the local snakes have a predilection for siestas in the darkest corners.) If a hard piece of wood is struck against one of the buttresses it echoes hollowly, and the Andamanese often make use of them to transmit warning messages over considerable distances, using a form of code. A few beats can make every inhabitant within a wide radius vanish from sight, hastily making for the nearest hiding-place. It is hopeless to try and ferret them out once they have been warned, and there is always a risk of being killed by one of their arrows in the process.

Sometimes the Onges used to disappear suddenly for fun. The blackness of their skin is a great help in this, since even on the brightest afternoon it is intensified by the obscurity of the forest. One has a disturbing sensation of being entirely alone, yet knowing that dozens of pairs of eyes are watching as the Onges glide silently from trunk to trunk between the buttresses.

The whole island is a mass of knotted vegetation, and it is useless to attempt to cut any form of lasting path, as the plants immediately grow back. 'Walking' in the Andamans therefore means opening up a way with a hatchet, unless one adopts the rapid but exhausting Onge method of swinging over obstacles by the lianas. This is the kingdom of the epiphytes. The lianas cover their hosts as if determined to hide them, and clumps of orchids hang from nearly every trunk, although their flowers are unfortunately very small.

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283 nets the stronger *al·aba-* is employed, while for the hand fishing-nets (*kūd-*[1]) string, made from the *pī·lita-*, is almost exclusively reserved. In this handicraft the Andamanese are especially skilful, and regulate to a nicety the size of the mesh by using the little or forefinger; it should be mentioned that their rude netting needles of bamboo (*pô·tòkla-*[2]) are not very dissimilar to those used in Europe. Sewing is to them an almost unknown art, but they describe needlework by the word *jâ·tke*, which expresses their manner of uniting the large *kâ·pa-* leaves, to form a screen, with the pliable stem of this leaf, and also their mode of repairing a canoe, holes being bored and strips of cane (*pī·dga-*) threaded above and below the crack, which has been previously filled in on both sides with *tō·bul-pīd-*.[3]

524 **Games and Amusements.**—1. And now, having passed in brief review their various arts and manufactures, I will bring my account of Andamanese life to a close with a brief description of their games and amusements.

2. Unlike many Eastern races they evince from their earliest years a partiality for active pursuits in which monotony or great bodily exertion are not entailed, and great was the delight of the children in the Orphanage when they were instructed in some of our English games, especially kite-flying, and see-saw;[4] it is at the same time curious to note that, though not borrowed from aliens, their pastimes, in many instances, bear close resemblance to those in vogue among children in this and other lands; notably is this the case with regard to those known to us as blind-man's-buff,[5] leap-frog,[6] and hide-and-seek.[7]

3. With respect to the first-named of these, large leaves, in lieu of a handkerchief, are fastened over the eyes, and the difficulties of the "blind man" are greatly increased by its being obligatory for him to catch the person who blinded him, while being pulled about and jostled by the rest of the players.

4. In "leap-frog," instead of stooping, one man squats on his heels while his companion bounds over him without touching him and takes the same position, to be in his turn jumped over.

5. Mock pig-hunting[8] after dark is another very favourite amusement; one of the party undertakes the *rôle* of the pig and, betaking himself to a distance, runs hither and thither

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 20.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 67.
[3] *Vide* Appendix B, item 57.
[4] To this game they have given the name *ad-yē·nenga-*.
[5] Called by them *ij·i-tá·pa-lī·rnga-*.
[6] Called by them *koktá·r-tidō·atinga-*.
[7] Called by them *ab-á·tanga-*.
[8] Called by them *ad-reg·ignga-*.

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524 imitating the grunting of that animal, while his comrades shoot off harmless arrows[1] in the direction from whence the sounds proceed until one hits its intended mark.

6. Another variety of this game is as follows:—one man leaves the encampment after dark armed with *ū·tara-* arrows, which, on his return after a brief absence, he fires off into different huts, while the occupants hide themselves or run away screaming as if attacked by an enemy.[2]

7. Similarly in the sea they play at turtling: one end of a long line is held firmly by some one in the canoe, the other being fastened to the arm of the man who is to represent the turtle Diving suddenly into the water, he is at once followed by the rest, who try to capture him, while he does his utmost to elude them by swimming, doubling, and diving, till fairly exhausted.

8. Sometimes, when they are assembled together in the evening, one of the men will get up and exclaim, "I will go after the Evil Spirit of the Woods" (*wai dō .ē·rem-chàu·gala jū·dke*).[3] Taking nothing with him but a lighted log, he goes off into the jungle and is soon lost to sight; his friends then call to him and inquire if he has caught the demon, whereupon he begins to rush about shouting and hitting about him as if in pursuit of, or struggling with some one; he is next asked "Who are you?" (*mij·a ngōl?*)—apparently to suggest the idea that during his combat with the evil one he has been transformed, or rather, has lost his identity,—the reply is given in a feigned voice, "I am ——" (naming some person long since deceased) "and have come for such and such a purpose." Something being then thrown at him he threatens them with annihilation unless they desist; still remaining in his hiding-place he amuses himself, and presumably also his friends, by singing, until at last two or three of the company search him out and bring him back to the camp, where, with a view of keeping up his assumed character, he remains silent and feigns sleep, often for the rest of the evening.

9. An impromptu swing is sometimes devised out of one of the long stout creepers, commonly found overhanging a bough perpendicularly from a height of 40 to 50 feet: clinging firmly to this they swing each other[4] as far as possible, just as we swing children.

[1] Made of a soft wood called *ū·tara-*, of the *Alpinia* species; the points are flattened with the teeth before using.

[2] This game is called *it·i-tai·jnga-*.

[3] This game is known as *.ē·rem-chàu·gala àtē·pnga*.

[4] This goes by the name of *ng-lī·langa-*. During a visit paid to Rutland Island, in 1881, a *jar·awa-* swing was seen suspended from a stout branch. It

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10. Young men often compete with one another in swimming, diving feet foremost into the water from an overhanging rock or branch with shouts of delight. Sometimes they will race together in their canoes,[1] but this only happens on chance occasions, when the idea has been suddenly suggested by one of the party, and not by pre-arrangement.

11. In parts, where trees of the *Alpinia* species abound, they now and then vie in seeing who amongst them can force his way with greatest rapidity through the dense barrier of leaves and smooth stems which it presents,[2] and thus probably they acquire, in great measure, the skill which in an early section[3] I mentioned they invariably display when threading their way through the jungles.

12. At times they compete in throwing *upwards* into a lofty tree a short piece of string, weighted at each end with a stone,[4] the object of course being to see who can fling highest. Similarly *Cyrena* shells are occasionally sent skimming through the air to test their powers in throwing long distances.[5]

13. While wandering along the coast they may sometimes be seen playing at ducks-and-drakes[6] with any small flat stones they may chance to pick up.

14. They are all especially fond of showing their skill in shooting a moving object, and for this purpose select the round root of a creeper called *gō·dam-*, or the pod of the *Carapa obovata*, which they roll along the ground or down a slope, aiming at it while in motion.[7]

15. No special amusements are indulged in by women[8] whose chief delight seems to consist in the laudable endeavour to surpass one another in adorning the persons of their relatives with the best design in *tâ·la-ōg-*.

16. Young boys sometimes amuse themselves with wrestling (*ad-lē·nga-*) on the sand, where also they may not unfrequently be observed playing at mock burials.[9] On these occasions one

resembled those used by European children, but was made of cane and was provided also with a narrow wooden seat.]

[1] This racing is termed *ār-tī·rlanga-*.

[2] This is called *tār-lō·tokuga-*.

[3] *Vide ante* "Physical Powers and Senses," paragraph 4.

[4] This game is called *tā·temo-*

[5] This variation of the game is called *ā·kà-kē·chianga-*; when the shell is about to be thrown the convex side is held uppermost.

[6] The word to express this is *chē·chekanga-*.

[7] This has also been found to be a practice among the *jār·awa-*.

[8] It has, however, been observed that, not unlike their fairer sisters elsewhere, they are especially fond of gathering together and chatting of the social topics of the hour; the eagerness and volubility they display in their discussions on these occasions are quite amusing to watch.

[9] These are termed *ab-nāt·nga-*.

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524 of their number has to submit to be covered with sand until the head only is visible; fire is then placed near the spot after the custom of their race; for the like reason these sports usually take place near some landmark, such as a conspicuous tree, boulder, or overhanging rock: when the semi-interred child has had enough of it he jumps out and another companion is chosen to take his place.

17. Children may also sometimes be seen diverting themselves by tying a fine string to the leg of a toad or tree-lizard;[1] this cruel sport, unless their elders interfere, is only ended by the death of the unfortunate captive.

18. They are fond of searching for small crabs and fish, and having them cooked for a sham banquet:[2] the earnestness they display in "pretending" on these occasions is irresistibly entertaining, and would be heartily appreciated by European children who have experienced the delight of preparing a "doll's feast."

19. Boys also play at seizing each other under the surface of the water, or amuse themselves with making tiny canoes and floating them towards one another; they are, as I have before mentioned, early provided with miniature bows and arrows, and encouraged to become good marksmen.

535 20. While the foregoing amusements are of frequent occurrence among the juvenile members of a community,[3] the chief
527 diversion of the adults consists in entertainments resembling
574 the Australian "corroboree," when dancing and singing are kept up for many successive hours by moonlight, or by the blaze of the camp fires.

527 21. Any passing event, such as a successful hunt, an unexpected visit from distant relatives or friends, the commence-
574 ment of a new season, the recovery of some member of the community from illness, a marriage, and even the termination of the mourning period,[4] is made the excuse for one of these entertainments.

[622] 22. Besides these smaller festivities, large gatherings of a tribe are also organised from time to time by the head chief, who generally receives an offer, in the first instance, from the members of some far-off community to give a *jeg-* at his encampment. As these offers are only made when it is known to be convenient they are always accepted, and invitations for a certain day are at once sent to all living within an easy distance.

[1] This is called *rō·pan lik-lī·ngga-*.

[2] These are called *gab-mäk·nga-*.

[534] [3] "Cats' cradle" (called by them *jī·bra-*) is also one of their recognised amusements.

[4] *Vide* "Death and Burial," paragraph 7.

881 and pointing to a limited tabu. On reaching puberty or thereabouts, between 12 and 16 years of age, abstention from about 6 kinds of food, each in turn, is voluntarily commenced and continued for some years. At the end of each abstention there are a few ceremonies and some dancing and the youth of both sexes become "grown up." There is nothing else to mark this period beyond the application of an honorific name while it lasts, no secret to be communicated, no religious ceremony. In after-life, however, men who have gone through the initiatory period together will not fight, quarrel, nor call each other by name. They will assume great friendship, while avoiding each other with a mutual shyness. The women also practise a limited tabu as to food during menstruation and pregnancy. The idea of tabu does undoubtedly exist as to food and every man has his own tabued articles through life, which is, however, usually something observed to disagree with him in childhood or to be unpalatable.

264 576 There are also limitations as to sexual family relations. Only husband and wife can eat together. Widows and widowers, bachelors and maidens eat with their own sex only. A man may not address directly a married woman younger than himself or touch his wife's sister or the wife of a younger relative, and *vice versâ*.

302 304 The tattooing is partly ceremonial, as a test of courage and endurance of pain, and so is painting the body with clays, oils, etc. By the material and design is shown sickness, sorrow or festivity and the unmarried condition.

535 **Amusements.**—The great amusement of the Andamanese, indeed their chief object in life after the chase, is the formal evening or night dance, a curious monotonous performance accompanied by drumming the feet rythmically on a special sounding board, like a Crusader's shield and mistaken for a shield by several observers, singing a song more or less impromptu and of a compass limited to four semitones and the intermediate quarter tones, and clapping the hands on the thighs in unison. The dance takes place every evening whenever there are enough for it, and lasts for hours and all night at meetings of the tribes or septs for the purpose. It then becomes ceremonial and is continued for several nights in succession. Both sexes take allotted parts in it. This and turtle hunting are the only things which will keep the Andamanese awake all night long. There are five varieties of the dance among the tribes: that of the Onge-Jarawas being an entirely separate performance.

533 **Music.**—The Andamanese appreciate rhythm and time, but not pitch or tune. They sing in unison, but not in parts, and can neither sing in chorus nor repeat or even catch an air. The key in which a solo or chorus is started is quite accidental. They can be readily taught any dance step and can teach it themselves from observation.

Song.—Every man who respects himself is a composer of songs, always consisting of a solo and refrain, and sings without action or gesticulation and always to the same rhythm. The songs relate only to travel, sport and personal adventures, never to love, children and the usual objects of poetry, and very rarely to beliefs and superstition. The wording is enigmatic and excessively elliptic, the words themselves being in grammatical order, but shorn of all affixes as a rule. As in all poetry unusual words are employed. But clipped as the wording is and prosaic as the subjects are, the Andamanese are far from being unable to give a poetic turn to their phraseology and ideas. The women have lullabies for their babies.

●524 **Games.**—The Andamanese are childishly fond of games and have an indigenous blind-man's-buff, leap-frog and hide-and-seek. Mock pig and turtle hunts, mock burials, and "ghost" hunts are favourite sports. Matches in swinging, swimming, throwing, skimming (ducks and drakes), shooting (archery), and wrestling are practised.

551 **Naming of Children and Adults.**—Every child is named for life after one of about twenty conventional names by the mother, of course without reference to sex, immediately upon pregnancy becoming evident, to which afterwards a nickname, varying occasionally as life proceeds, is added from personal peculiarities, deformities, disfigurements, or eccentricities and sometimes from flattery or reverence. Girls are also given "flower names" after one of sixteen selected trees which happen to be in flower at the time they reach puberty.

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bunches of leaves like fans used in their dances, and of these there were hundreds. Several children's bows were found, also wooden balls for them to play with, and a rough circular piece of wood which the Andamanese said was rolled along, and into which they shot their arrows. There was a large *degchi* made out of a tree trunk fitted into one of the honey pots, and neatly-worked mats used as shelves for the food, and also I think to sit on. Among other things I discovered a glass bottle, and it is worthy of note that they had a stock of firewood chopped and tied up with cane ready for use in one corner of the building. The house was on the summit of a hill, and there were seven paths leading up to it. All were well cleared at their opening on to the hill and each could be commanded by a man with a bow and arrow. Over two of the entrances were raised platforms of logs sloping from the ground to about 3 feet in height. These were the look-outs and each commanded a path and my own impression is that when the camp is in habitation, over each path a similar platform is erected, and each path thus well commanded. The main approach leading due north was as well cleared as a Forest Department road, and must have been 15 yards broad at the exit from the camp. Large trees had been felled and saplings cut a foot from the ground, and around the hut the grass had been cleared as carefully as at a jungle pongyi-kyaung in Burma. They had even taken the trouble to cut down several large trees, one quite 5 feet in diameter, evidently to have a view of the next ridge. In fact so much care had been taken both in the building of the house, and the clearing of the precincts, and so well were both done, that it is difficult to believe that savages have been able to do this unaided. The Andamanese say there is another, possibly two similar huts to this. They say that the whole Jarawa tribe collects in one of these in the rains. I am rather doubtful myself whether the whole tribe could occupy the house; I rather think they under-rate their numbers, as the traces of them on every side in the jungle make me think there are from 80 to 100 men, whereas the Andamanese put down their numbers at 100 all told. They say that they burned a similar hut to this some years ago at Maiilitilek. In the dry weather the Jarawas scatter hunting and live in their hunting huts.

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After exploiting the house we considered what was best to be done. At first we determined to camp in the house for the night, and for that purpose sent back a party to bring up food. Then leaving a guard of Police and Andamanese we went down the main path towards the north. It was very easy going, and though it narrowed from its 15-yard entrance to a path only wide enough for a man, there was no difficulty in getting along. We, however, found no fresh traces, indeed the only track we saw was that of a man who the Andamanese said was going to look after the house. They explained that every two or three days in the dry weather a man or two goes to see that nothing is wrong with the house. After proceeding about a mile we again considered what it was best to do, and eventually I came to the conclusion to leave the house and to return. I took one specimen of everything to take back to Port Blair, and left everything else in its place so as not to frighten the Jarawas. We then returned as fast as we could, reaching the launch at 6 P.M. To-day's expedition was not a hard one. We had had a tramp of 5 miles or so to the camp and a mile further on and back, so the whole day's march was not more than 12 or 13 miles.

February 1st.—Started from Port Anson at 6 A.M. and arrived 10-30 A.M. at Port Blair. Received orders to start the next day, and return with Mr. Rogers.

February 2nd.—Left Port Blair at 7-45 A.M. and arrived at Duratang at 10-45 A.M. Proceeded on to Jatang at 11-30 A.M. Met Mr. Rogers and handed him the Superintendent's letter. Returned with him at once getting back to the launch at 4 P.M.

February 3rd.—Started at day-break and anchored in Port Anson harbour at Dum-lachorag at 9 A.M. Started off for the Jarawa house in boats at 9-30. On this occasion we pulled considerably further up the creek so as to avoid as much as possible of the mangrove swamp. On landing we almost at once came on the fresh tracks of five Jarawas, so leaving a guard of one policeman and several Andamanese at the boat, Mr. Bonig and myself followed them for about half a mile, but as we found they were only following our tracks of Friday we returned, and all made for the Jarawa camp at Pochang. We arrived about noon. We found the Jarawas had visited it since our discovery of it on January 31st and had carried off all the more valuable articles, such as the *degchi* and the honey pots. I had feared this when we came on their fresh footsteps. They had also slightly dismantled the house so as to make rude barricades on the unprotected approaches. I sent our Andamanese into the jungle to see that there were none lurking near, and then Mr. Rogers photographed the house, exterior and interior, while Mr. Needham, who was also with us, sketched it, after which we removed all the remaining baskets and other belongings, and cut down the pig skulls in the centre. After this we collected the Andamanese and they executed a war dance with the Jarawa leaf-fans. Then gathering up the trophies, consisting mostly of pig skulls, we returned to the launch, arriving at 4 P.M. Weighed anchor and proceeded to the Andaman Home at Port Anson, where we remained for the night.

February 4th.—Left Port Anson at 11-30 A.M., arriving at Port Blair at 4-30 P.M.

The four policemen who accompanied Mr. Bonig and myself on our several marches worked very well, and were always close to us. The work of the smarter boys among the Andamanese was splendid, and their tracking was a revelation to me. Their unerring knowledge of the jungle too was marvellous. For instance they had only visited Geringchapa-jig once previously and that years before. Yet without a compass and with hardly a glimpse of the sun to guide them, they never faltered, knew exactly where they were and took the nearest way home. Two or three of them afterwards pointed out our position

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621 each local group, and indeed each family, was able to provide
574 itself with everything that it needed in the way of weapons and
431 utensils, the exchange of presents did not serve the same
437 purpose as trade and barter in more developed communities.

The purpose that it did serve was a moral one. The object
621 of the exchange was to produce a friendly feeling between the two
574 persons concerned, and unless it did this it failed of its purpose.
It gave great scope for the exercise of tact and courtesy. No
431 one was free to refuse a present that was offered to him. Each man and woman tried to out-do the others in generosity. There was a sort of amiable rivalry as to who could give away the greatest number of valuable presents.

574 The visitors remained with their hosts for a few days. The
time was spent in hunting, feasting and dancing, and in the
621 exchange of presents above described. The hosts made every
effort to provide the camp with plenty of good things. The
527 guests took their share in the hunting and fishing expeditions. Every evening was spent in singing and dancing. Some of the men were sure to have composed new songs for such an occasion.

Such meetings as these were sometimes the means of bring-
574 ing to an end past quarrels between the local groups, but
621 occasionally they were the cause of new quarrels. The hosts, or
628 some of them, might think that they had been shabbily treated in the matter of presents, or the guests might complain that they were not well enough entertained. It often needed a man of strong influence to maintain harmony in the camp. Angry words might lead to the rapid breaking up of a meeting, and even result in a feud between the two groups.

621 Quarrels between individuals, as we have seen, were often
taken up by friends on each side. This was particularly the
628 case when the two opponents belonged to different local groups.
Before the days of the settlement of the islands there often arose in this way petty quarrels between neighbouring local groups. In some instances there appear to have been feuds of long standing; in others there was a quarrel, a fight or two, and the enemies made peace with one another, until a fresh cause of disagreement should arise.

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524 of their number has to submit to be covered with sand until the head only is visible; fire is then placed near the spot after the custom of their race; for the like reason these sports usually take place near some landmark, such as a conspicuous tree, boulder, or overhanging rock: when the semi-interred child has had enough of it he jumps out and another companion is chosen to take his place.

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[4] *Vide* "Death and Burial," paragraph 7.

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23. The intervening days are spent by the proposers of the entertainment in perfecting a song and chorus, which it is intended to perform, and which generally has been composed expressly for the occasion, by some volunteer[1] upon whom also devolves the responsibility of singing the solo and training the so-called chorus. As a considerable amount of distinction among his fellows may be gained by the manner in which he acquits himself in his onerous undertaking, it will be readily understood that the *improvisatore* spares no pains over the preparation and rehearsal of a new song, which, as he fondly hopes, will render his name, if not immortal, at all events famous for many a year. The subject is chosen in reference to some recent personal or tribal exploit or adventure, and is embodied in a distich, followed by a chorus, or rather refrain, which as often as not consists merely in a repetition of the couplet forming the solo; in this refrain women alone are instructed; the main point aimed at is apparently accuracy of time, for, as I have said in my last paper, everything, even sense, is sacrificed in their songs to rhythm.[2]

24. In order to combine pleasure with profit, sundry implements or articles, which are more common in their community than in that of their hosts, are taken by the visitors on these occasions for purposes of presentation, or, to speak more correctly, of barter.

25. It is the duty of the hosts to make all necessary preparations, to provide torches, as well as food and water, for the expected guests, and to sweep the *bū·lum-*,[3] clearing it of all rubbish, lest inconvenience or injury should be occasioned by the stones, shells, bones, &c., which gradually accumulate, in spite of the "kitchen-middens" so invariably found in the vicinity of all permanent encampments of long standing.

26. When nearing the scene of their festivity the visitors pause, for the double purpose of a rehearsal and that the women may have time to adorn the party in their holiday suits of paint, as these would have lost their beauty and freshness if donned previous to leaving home.

27. That a weird and dramatic effect should be produced on a civilised mind by one of these entertainments, especially when occurring at night, will be readily understood if one pictures the scene :—in a small clearing in the midst, or on the border of a dense jungle are gathered a hundred or even more painted

[1] A song that has proved a success at any of these festive tribal meetings is sometimes repeated by "special request" at one of the smaller gatherings; "all rights" in these productions "are reserved," and no one but the composer is at liberty to sing a song, however popular!

[2] *Vide ante* "Language," paragraph 6.

[3] *Vide ante* "Habitations," paragraph 11.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

527 574 533 535 savages of both sexes; the moon sheds a soft light on all, while from each hut the lurid glare of a wood fire throws its fitful shadows across the scattered groups; on one side, seated in a row, are the women who are to join in the refrain; on the other, in dark relief within their several huts, are seen the audience, many of whom assist in marking time by clapping their hands or by slapping the hollow between their outstretched legs with their open palms. In a conspicuous position stands the composer and conductor: with one foot on the pointed end of a sounding board,[1] and supporting himself on a spear, bow, or pole, he gives the time to the singers and dancers by kicking the board with the sole or heel of the other foot; in this wearying duty he is from time to time relieved by one of his male friends and, occasionally, even by a woman. During the solo, which partakes of the character of a "recitative," all other voices are hushed, and the listeners remain motionless, but as soon as the signal is given for the refrain, a number of men emerge suddenly from the gloom surrounding the encampment, and rushing excitedly into the arena, perform their part with frantic energy, generally adding their voices to those of the women to swell the volume of sound. Save at the *t'ī-tō·latnga-*,[2] women only occasionally take a share in the dances, but their performances are considered by some foreigners as rather suggestive of impropriety—with what justice I am not prepared to say, for modesty, at least, is satisfied by the wearing of a larger leaf apron than usual.

535 527 28. There is now-a-days[3] but one description of dance in vogue with either sex, but it differs somewhat in the two sexes, and therefore must be dwelt upon briefly.

574 29. A man, when dancing,[4] curves his back, and throws all his weight on one leg, the knee of which is bent; his hands are raised to a level with his chest, and outstretched before him, the thumb of one hand being held between the forefinger and thumb of the other, while the remaining digits are separated and extended upwards;[5] he then advances by sudden jerks and hops

[1] These sounding boards (*pū·kuta-yem·nga-*) somewhat resemble in shape the carapace of a turtle, and might naturally be mistaken by a visitor (*vide* Colebrooke and Mouat) for shields, but I cannot account for Dr. Hodder's description of a "rough *skin* drum" (*vide* "Pall Mall Budget" of 20th April, 1877). See also Appendix B, item 19.

[2] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 7.

[3] From Lieutenant Colebrooke's description of the Andamanese dance of a hundred years ago, it would seem that since that date their style has undergone a great change, for he says they "dance in a ring, each alternately kicking and slapping his own breech *ad lib.*"

[4] *Vide* Plate III, fig. 2.

[5] Sometimes to heighten the effect a bow and arrow are carried in this position.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

535 taken with the leg on which he is resting, and taps the ground after every second movement with the sole of the other foot; 527 in this manner he crosses and recrosses the entire *bū·lum-*, 574 joining in the chorus as he proceeds, each step being taken in time with the thuds on the sounding-board, and the singing of the refrain. When fatigued, the performer makes a little variation by marking time in a rather odd manner, for the knees are bent, and the *heels* are raised alternately off the ground, the chief point of importance being to maintain the same time throughout.

30. Women, in dancing, swing their arms backwards and forwards; at the same time the knees are bent, and they make a succession of short bobs up and down, in perfect time; every now and then a few steps in advance are taken, and then the action is repeated.

31. To convey an accurate impression of the exact step, or of the effect of the respective performances of the two sexes, is not easy, but I trust that the above descriptions will convey a fair idea of their general character and peculiarities.

533 32. The alternating of solo and chorus continues for many hours, and generally only ceases with the first faint streaks of 527 dawn, when those of the hosts who have managed to keep awake 574 during the long night revel, lead the visitors to the huts they are to occupy, and then themselves sing and dance as a return compliment.

533 33. To a stranger not gifted with a keen ear for music, there is at first a certain amount of attraction in the oft-repeated cadence, but it must be confessed that, after a residence in the neighbourhood of one of the homes, one learns to wish that their musical performances were characterised by a little more variety, and were rather less protracted, though some compensation may be found at night, as the steady continuance of the monotonous sounds has a most soothing and somniferous effect.

34. It seems hardly necessary to say that all their songs are sung in unison, for they have no idea of choral or part-singing, nor are they able to catch up and repeat an air. They appear, however, able to distinguish between various kinds of music, and especially to appreciate the performances of our regimental bands, but this may perhaps in part be due to the tone of the big drum, which somewhat resembles that produced on their sounding-boards.

35. Dr. Brander gives a specimen of their monotonous chant —the compass of which will be found to include only three notes—in the following stave of our musical notation:—

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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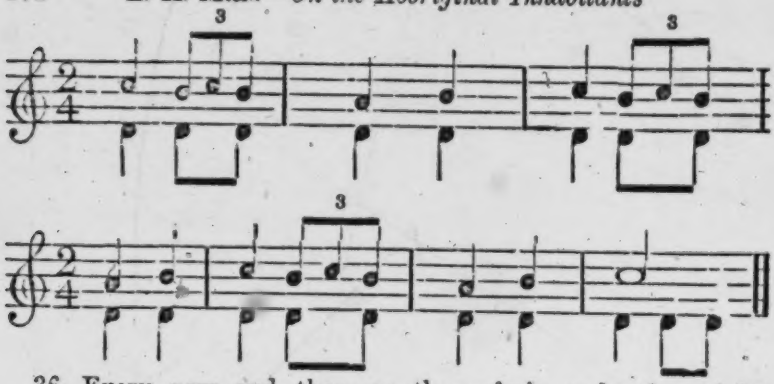

36. Every now and then, as the refrain ends, the soloist cries—

ō·ba eboyū· bē·date,[1] (*a*)

to which the singers respond by shouting—

tēâ·re-â·re-â·reâ,[1] (*b*)

which seems equivalent to *Tra-la-la*, for it has no meaning *per se*.

431 527 574

37. When the guests have sufficiently rested from their night's exertions, they visit their special friends or relatives, and, if within the prescribed limits of affinity,[2] indulge[3] in weeping together;[4] these visits are usually followed by an interchange of gifts, the hosts taking the initiative, and a *fracas* not unfrequently ensues, for donor and recipient are not always of a mind as to the respective values of their "presents." Should all, however, pass off smoothly, the assemblage breaks up into various small parties for hunting or fishing, according to the situation of the encampment.

[1] These are styled respectively the (*a*) *àrbē·datnga-*, and the (*b*) *á-rē·ángá-* or *àryá·nanga*.

Further, in reference to their musical abilities, I would here quote from a friend, who at my request had kindly consented to test the powers of the aborigines in this particular, as I unfortunately am not qualified to do so myself:—

"I examined five women, seven men, and three young boys as to their musical abilities, and as far as I could judge, they have not the remotest idea of pitch or tune, even the chorus of their own song, *chēklū yá· lak·u mē jrà?* started by *.bá·ra-qud*, was taken up in several keys, and it was difficult to distinguish the original. I tried all the voices separately; it seemed quite accidental if they pitched on the keynote, but as for leaving it when once got hold of to go up and down the scale they *would* not! so that it was impossible for me to ascertain either the quality or the register of the voices. The boys were, if anything, a shade the best; . . . a lot of drilling may beat a few notes into their heads."

[2] *Vide ante* "Customs, Meeting and Parting," paragraph 2.

[3] "The Sandwich Islanders recognise tears as a sign of happiness" (Lubbock, p. 552).

[4] No greetings take place on these occasions between the performers and their hosts until after the entertainment (which often lasts many hours) is over.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

thought they were weeds and pulled them up. I never managed to see the plant in flower in the wild state, as this occurs at the height of the rainy season, and as no final definition is possible in the absence of the flower it remains unidentified.

The Onges take full advantage of the plant's properties as a bee-deterrent and in mid-March they eat honey, paint themselves, and dance, twenty-four hours a day. During these orgies I have seen a group of about sixty Onges demolish in a few days ten pigs and a dozen large, wooden vessels full of honey, with basket after basket of fish, caught every night by the women, who were apparently not in the least tired by the long daily treks into the forest after the honey. I can never look back on the Onges without a feeling of profound respect for their powers of digestion!

Yet another source of food for the islanders is the cicada. On Little Andaman there are a few species a little larger than the European variety and others rather smaller. The Onges collect the pupae as they emerge from the ground, usually in the mornings, and roast them as a great treat. They are actually very clean insects, which develop slowly under the earth over a period of years sucking lymph from the roots of the trees. When they emerge from the ground the pupae become leathery, but this presents no problem to the indomitable teeth of the Onges. Inside the cicada chrysalids are a mass of delicate tissues, so white and clean that one can understand the Onges' predilection for them.

On Little Andaman the cicadas chirp intermittently, with long silences; most of the day one hears nothing of them and when they suddenly start up the Onges fall absolutely quiet, terrified of frightening them away and losing their chrysalids.[1] In a few moments the whole forest suddenly echoes with a chorus of cicadas, as they all start up as one and then, a minute later, fall silent. Their intermittent chirping is not confined to the Andamans; it is a feature of several species throughout southern Asia. At Golpahar when I was in the middle of the forest excavating kitchen-middens I heard cicadas start up every day at 6.30 p.m., and then stop until the following day. In the mountains of South India, on the slopes

[1] The Onges do not seem to share the superstitions reported by Man and Brown among the Arioto, who appear to believe in fantastic connections between cicadas, the sun, and storms.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

their hunting and fishing, or contacts with strangers, which are loudly chanted, accompanied by miming and dancing, during their nocturnal celebrations. One was sung and danced in my honour; Cendubai,[1] head of the Lulera hut, much struck by the sight of me in my hammock slung between two trees on nylon cords, delivered himself of a warning over the danger I was running using such thin cords. At the end of each 'verse' the refrain '*cuł-cian-ghéghełbée-chéle*' (he will hurt himself) repeated his fear of the cords breaking.

Hunting and fishing episodes are to the Onges less interesting than themes like my safety, because to them they lack the repetitive refrain. In their dances, on the other hand, they prefer something else, to us monotonous, but for them always new, and even exciting; more than anything they love to dance the stages of courtship to its culmination, with the help of words and extraordinarily (to Western eyes regrettably) vivid gestures.

Birds, to the Onges, harbour the spirits of the dead, and it is for this reason that they are never eaten, contrary to the assertions of Brown.[2] Similar fears extend to lizards, the jungle cats, bats, rats and snakes. I have confirmed this among both the Onges and the Arioto. The latter even refused to eat some fat pigeons which I offered them not knowing of the taboo; they accepted the gifts, but the pigeons were eventually eaten by my own men. And the Onges whom I took with me to Port Blair for a few days refused point blank to eat pigeon or chicken.

The spirits select the Onges' food for them, in the sense that they regard everything as edible or poisonous, according to whether the guardian spirit is benign or malevolent. Given the curious adaptability of the spirits and the intensely practical way in which they operate it is hardly surprising that their benevolence or malignity coincides remarkably well with those foods which tend to promote normal health!

[1] I was sorry to learn that Cendubai died suddenly in 1955 aged barely forty.

[2] Curiously enough, while the Onges' fears lead them to reject out of hand any food of animal origin which is unknown to them, the same does not apply to vegetable foods. They ate half-rotten fruit, which I offered them, even though they had never seen it before, and they clamoured for rice and tea, so much so that in order to prevent them becoming addicted to the rice, as so often happens when primitive peoples meet a new food, I insisted on receiving equal quantities of yams in exchange for the rice and very sweet tea, to slow down their demands.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Even the unique dances enjoyed by the Onges are to be seen among the Jarawas, with the characteristic marking of the rhythm by slapping the calves against the buttocks. This does not seem to have been a feature of the Arioto dances, in which the rhythm was by the *pukuta yemnga*, a kind of convex shield made of the very hard and aromatic red wood (*Pterocarpus dalbergoides*) which the termites never seem to attack. I was able to obtain one of these shields, the last that the twenty-three surviving Arioto possessed and the only musical instrument in the islands. It is played by one man with his feet, while the dancers, male and female, form lines on each side of him a short distance away. Before use the convex face is decorated with lines of white ochre and chains of tusk shells are hung from a hole at the end opposite to the one on which the player's feet beat; from the same hole runs a cord, which he holds in his hand to prevent the instrument moving away from him as he beats. The players change from time to time as the dancers shuffle on and on for hours in the light of the resin torches. But apart from the instrument itself, the rhythmic hand-clapping and the dancers singing in unison are the same throughout the Andamans.

The women clap their hands in rhythm, and then slap one thigh with the open palm of one hand, the other hand clasping the wrist, singing all the time. The men dance in Indian file, beating the ground first with the right heel, then with the left, the toes barely raised from the ground, moving a short way forward each time. As they dance they lean forward, then with hands clasped and their fingers interlaced. There are variations, but the basic step is always the same.

One difference between the Onges and the Jarawas is that in the latter both sexes are naked, while the Onge women have in recent times adopted the *naquineghe* or apron. Complete nudity was a characteristic of all the Negritos, including the Semang and Aetà, and the Jarawa migrations probably took place before the introduction of the *naquineghe*.

The present inability of the three peoples to understand each other is more a question of pronunciation than of difference in actual words. To examine the question fully it would be necessary to collect a large number of words and analyse their affinity; meanwhile we know that despite their inability to understand each other there is a close resemblance between the language of the Jarawas and Sentinellese and that of the Onges. Strict isolation can lead to

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

182x
301

appropriate occasions some of the important social sentiments, thereby maintaining them at the necessary degree of energy required to maintain the social cohesion.

182x
531

To complete the discussion of ornament in general it is necessary to refer very briefly to the ornamentation of objects such as bows, canoes and baskets. Such ornamentation consists of (1) incised patterns (on bows, etc.), which may be compared with the scarification of the body, (2) painting with red paint and white clay (bows, canoes, skulls, etc.), or with prepared wax (Nautilus shell cups, etc.), (3) patterns made with the yellow skin of the *Dendrobium* (baskets, etc.), and (4) shells attached by thread (baskets, baby-sling, etc.). The important point to note is that the decoration applied to utensils is of the same character throughout as that which, when applied to the body, has been shown to be an expression of the social value of the person. Thus the pattern painted on a canoe with white clay and red paint is the same as that on the body of a dancer. It would seem, therefore, that the ornamentation of utensils is a means of expressing or marking the social value of the decorated object, and it might even be held that the application of ornament to utensils is really a matter of ceremonial. Just as a newly married man is painted with the snake pattern which wears off and is not renewed, so a new canoe or a new South Andaman bow is painted with the same pattern as soon as it is finished, and after this pattern wears off it is not renewed. It is the act of bringing a new canoe or bow into use that is the occasion of the ceremonial expression of its value, if we may so regard the painting. A new relation is established between the society and an object, which thereby acquires a special social value, just as a youth acquires a special new social value at the conclusion of one of the initiation ceremonies. This example is sufficient to show that at least there is nothing in the ornamentation of utensils that conflicts with the explanation of bodily ornament given in this chapter[1].

[1] In order to carry the analysis further it would be necessary to consider in detail the whole question of the relation of art and ceremonial, and that of the social function of art which is involved in it, and also to deal with the notion of "value" as it appears in primitive societies. The material from the Andaman Islands is not suitable for the discussion of these problems.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 The advantage of having a knot at one end of the string seems to be that should the string be stretched by use it can be tightened by altering the position of the knot.

At the point where the nock of the arrow is placed when the bow is drawn, it is usual to serve the string over with thread of *Anadendron* fibre.

The peculiar features of the South Andaman bow depend on the fact that the bow takes advantage of the greater toughness and elasticity of wood that has been compressed in the course of its growth. When the bow is drawn the strain does not fall evenly, but, by reason of the shape of the bow, is concentrated on one portion, namely the lower portion of the bow where it is curved outwards. This is easily seen when a bow is strongly drawn, for from the S-shape that it has before, it becomes very nearly true arc-shaped when fully drawn. The lower portion of the bow works as though hinged, and thus the strain is largely borne by the curved portion of the bow. Now this portion is cut from the concave side of a tree that has been bent while growing, and consequently the fibres of the wood are here stronger, tougher and

[531]

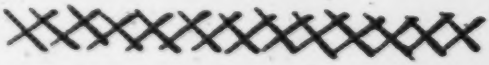

Fig. 10. Ornament on South Andaman bow

more elastic. The result is that for a given amount of energy spent in drawing the bow a greater force of propulsion is given to the arrow than with a bow of the Little Andaman type.

The breadth of the bow is necessitated by its shape, for if it were narrow the string would slip round on to the outside of the bow. The narrowing at the handle is necessary for holding the bow. The adoption of tapered ends instead of shoulders is a definite improvement as it makes the bow less liable to split at the ends.

411 The bows of the South Andaman group of tribes are always decorated with incised patterns. The conventional pattern is shown in
531 Fig. 10. One line of such pattern runs down each edge of both the inside and the outside of the bow, and on the inside a similar line of pattern runs down the middle. When bows are newly made they are often also decorated with designs in red paint and white clay, particularly if they are intended as gifts. These painted designs soon wear off and are not renewed.

411 In these tribes bows are sometimes made of a size so large as to be almost useless for hunting. One such bow, now in the Cambridge

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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824 Little Andaman to make the tassel that women wear over the pudenda.
291 The women of the North Andaman formerly wore a tassel of this fibre, but have now discontinued the custom, since their contact with the South Andaman. In the Great Andaman tribes this material has
824 important ceremonial uses. It is called *koro* in Aka-Jeru and *ara* in Aka-Bea, and has been frequently mentioned in this volume. A tassel of the fibre is suspended near the grave of a dead person and at the entrance of the village at which the death took place. In the North Andaman a suspended cane hung with a fringe of the fibre is erected for the peace-making ceremony. (See Plate XIX.)

Two plants that were not identified are used in the North Andaman for making baskets. The methods of preparing these will be described later.

824 The natives of the Great Andaman Division make use of the leaves
291 of the *Pandanus Andamanensium* for making belts for women and ornaments that are worn on ceremonial occasions. These leaves do not seem to be used in the Little Andaman.

824 The pods of one or more species of *Dendrobium* are collected by the natives of both Great Andaman and Little Andaman. They are
● 531 roasted in the fire, until the outer skin turns a bright yellow, and this is torn off in strips and used for ornamenting nets, baskets, rope, etc.

824 The above description includes all the more important vegetable substances used by the Andamanese for their rope, string, netting, and basket-work. There are many other substances that they might use if they wished, of the properties of which they are fully aware. Their knowledge of the trees and plants of the forests and of the peculiar properties of each is very extensive. They themselves say that they use only those that best serve their purposes.

283 The Andamanese make rope and string or thread, but in all cases it is only two-ply. Rope is made by men only, and is used for the lines of turtle harpoons, and was formerly used for turtle nets. The ropes made from *Hibiscus* fibre are very strong and durable, being quite as good as the best hempen ropes of the same diameter. In rope-making the *Hibiscus* or other fibre (*Sterculia* or *Grewia*) is taken and twisted into a long strand, either with the fingers, or on the thigh by rolling beneath the palm of the hand, short lengths of fibre being added until a single twisted strand of sufficient length and uniform thickness is produced. The middle of this strand is passed over a piece of wood held by the toes, one half of it being wound on to a reel (*kutobi* in Aka-Jeru) made by tying together crossways two pieces of cane or wood

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The space between the top of the weaving and the rim is to admit of strings being tied across the mouth of the basket to keep its contents safe. 285

A handle of *Hibiscus* fibre is attached to the rim and rests across the front of the chest when the basket is carried on the back.

South Andaman baskets are sometimes ornamented, in the process of making, with strips of *Dendrobium* skin, applied horizontally by overlaid interlacing. The strip of *Dendrobium* skin is laid over the weft and woven in with it for one turn round the basket. I have never seen ornamentation with *Dendrobium* skin applied to the South Andaman baskets by any method save this one.

Patterns of red paint and white clay are occasionally painted on baskets when they are newly made. Shells are sometimes attached to different parts of the basket by thread, for the purpose of ornament. [531]

In the North Andaman, baskets are made that differ in several important features from those of the South Andaman. They are not made of cane but of two different materials. One of these is the stem of a creeper called *čup-ṭoi*. Lengths of the creeper are cut and dried and then split lengthways into two or three pieces according to their size. The outer bark or skin is then scraped off with a *Cyrena* shell. These strips are to form the stakes or warp of the basket. The other material is another creeper called *bobi*. The long tough tendrils of this plant are taken and the soft outer sheath removed by drawing the tendril through a piece of split cane or bamboo bent double so that the tendril is scraped between the two inner surfaces. The fibre that remains is split longitudinally into two pieces and dried.

A bundle of strips of the *čup-ṭoi* is taken, sufficient in length and number for the required size of basket. The bundle is divided into two equal bundles and these are tied together in the middle crossways with thread. This cross forms the beginning of the basket. The weaving is begun with thread, which is slewed in and out between the warp, from 4 to 7 spiral turns being made. During this process the centre of the basket, i.e., the cross, is pressed beneath the heel into a slight hollow made in the ground, to give it a curve which, in the finished basket, will form the "kick." The thread is tied, the bottom is turned upside down, the stakes are bent back and the weaving is continued, not with thread but with strips of *bobi*, till a short distance from the top of the basket, and then three or four rows of wrapped-twined work are made, the strip of *bobi* being coiled round the basket and attached to the uprights with thread. A rim is made of a strip of cane bent into a circle. This is placed inside the uprights and

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The most interesting of the Andamanese domestic utensils is undoubtedly the cooking-pot. Pots are made in all parts of the Andamans where suitable clay is to be found. The clay is obtained and is freed as far as possible from stones and gritty matter with the hands. It is then moistened with water and kneaded on a board consisting of a portion of a broken canoe. It is worked very stiff and after kneading is rolled beneath the palm of the hand into long thin rolls. These are built up into a pot by coiling, the requisite degree of thickness being obtained by pressure of the thumb and first finger. When the pot has been built up to the required size and shape, the surface, inside and out, is moistened and is scraped over in all directions with an *Arca* shell. The pot is dried in the sun for a few hours and is then baked by placing inside and around it pieces of burning wood. The pot often cracks in the baking, and another has to be made. 415 323

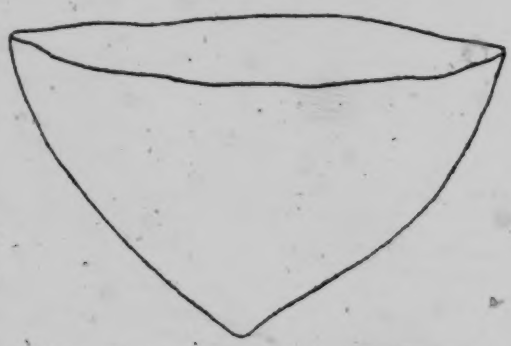

Fig. 38. Shape of North Andaman pot; actual diameter 17 cm.

In the North Andaman the pots are made with pointed bottoms, and are generally small, the largest having a capacity of only six or seven pints. They are made by women only. In the South Andaman the pots have rounded bottoms and, on the average, are larger and thicker than those of the North Andaman. They are made by both men and women, the best being made by men. In the Little Andaman the pots are larger, and, particularly, deeper than those of the South Andaman, and have somewhat pointed bottoms. The pots of the Jarawa are similar to those of the Little Andaman.

In the North Andaman pots are not ornamented, but in the South Andaman they are decorated with usually simple patterns of dots and lines made with a small pointed stick. The Little Andaman pots that I have seen were not decorated. [531]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

302 white clay, and with red paint made by mixing burnt oxide of iron with fat or oil. The natives of the Little Andaman use the same kind of clay as that called *odu* or *og* in the Great Andaman, but instead of applying it in patterns they smear it roughly on the back and front of the trunk. They also use red paint, with which they smear their hair, a practice never met with in the Great Andaman.

ORNAMENTATION.

302 531 The Andamanese have simple designs which they paint or incise

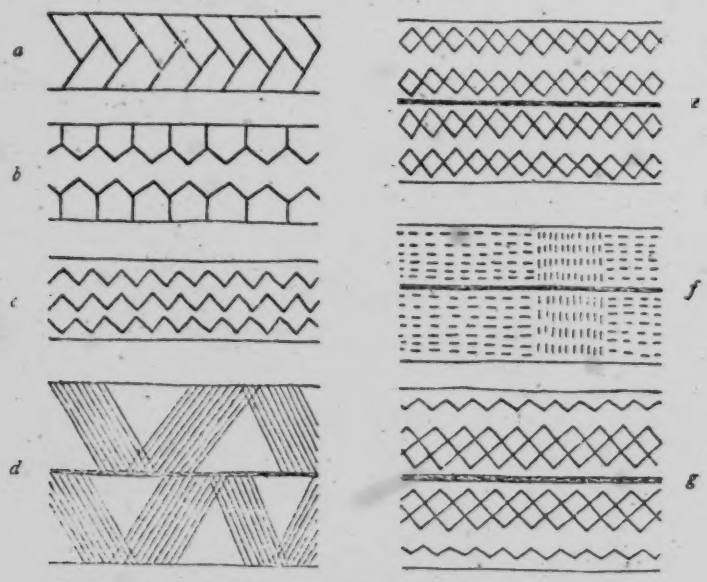

Fig. 42. Designs incised or painted on belts of *Pandanus* leaf, Great Andaman

on their bodies and on a great number of the objects that they make and use. A few typical designs such as are incised or painted on belts of *Pandanus* leaf are shown in Fig. 42. A very large number of designs are based on the zig-zag line. Examples are shown in Fig. 42 *c*, *e*, and *g*. In all parts of the Great Andaman and also in the Little Andaman the zig-zag line is associated with snakes. Thus in the Little Andaman the simple zig-zag line is called *dobo kwolage* (*dobo* = snake). In the North Andaman the design of zig-zag lines painted on the body with white clay is called *or-čubi t'era-bat*, *or-čubi* being the name of a species of large snake.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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A number of other common designs consist of parallel lines of dots or of short strokes, an example of which is shown in Fig. 42 *f*. 302

By far the greater number of the Andamanese designs are based on the following elements, (1) parallel lines crossing a surface from side to side at right angles to the edge or else in a sloping direction (about 45°), (2) parallel lines of dots or of short lines, i.e. parallel broken lines, as in Fig. 42 *f*, (3) zig-zag lines, which may be single, or parallel or opposed so as to make lines of lozenges. As an example of the way in which these elements may be combined two designs copied from bamboo necklaces are shown in Fig. 43. 531

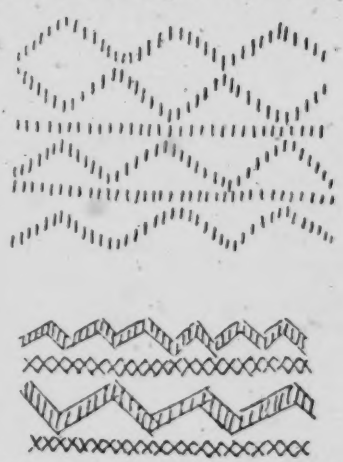

Fig. 43. Designs on bamboo necklace from the North Andaman

It would perhaps be possible to show that there is a real connection between the ornamentation of the Andamanese and that of the Semang, as there is certainly a considerable degree of superficial resemblance, but at present we understand so little the psychological processes underlying the use of ornament amongst primitive peoples that the subject is one of considerable difficulty. [177]

CANOES.

Canoes are in regular use on the coast in all parts of the islands. There are three types of canoe. (1) The Little Andaman canoe, with one outrigger, propelled with paddles or with a pole. (2) The Great Andaman small canoe, with one outrigger, propelled with paddles or with a pole. (3) The Great Andaman large canoe, without outrigger, propelled with oars. 501

The third kind of canoe mentioned above is a recent innovation. The natives themselves say that such canoes have only been made in recent times, since they have been able to obtain a plentiful supply of iron tools, and so have been able to cut down and hollow out large trunks[1]. They seem to have been invented by the natives of the South Andaman, and copied by those of the Middle and North Andaman.

[1] Man, *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* XII, p. 367, note 4.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

501 canoe). The strip of cane passing from the boom round the float and
396 back to the boom again provides a resistance against any lateral thrust on the float. The three sticks, being driven in when the wood of the float is dry, do not readily work loose, as the water in which it is constantly immersed keeps the wood swollen. The cane binding, including the stays on each side, may work loose, but can readily be tightened or renewed. Each of the booms is attached to the float in exactly the same way, and the whole arrangement is very efficient in keeping the float rigidly attached to the hull in such a position that it rests on the surface of the water when the hull itself rides freely balanced.

501 Canoes of this type vary in dimensions within wide limits. A small canoe with only three booms, which would carry three persons, measured 4·85 metres in length over all with a beam of about 35 centimetres. A large canoe may measure as much as 9 metres with a proportionate beam.

Fig. 45. Showing manner in which the boom (*a*) is connected with the float (*b*).

A well-made canoe will often balance well enough as it stands, but it is sometimes necessary to balance it with ballast of stones or pieces of coral. In any case the canoe is easily overturned in a rough sea unless the occupants can maintain the balance with their bodies. As the canoe is made of light wood it cannot sink even when full of water, and the natives easily right an overturned canoe, bale it out, and get in again, even in a rough sea.

The furniture of a canoe consists of the ballast (of stone), a piece of stone (or sometimes a piece of tin) on which to keep a small fire smouldering, an anchor consisting of a lump of coral or stone attached to a length of rope, a *Nautilus* shell or two for baling out the canoe, a bamboo pole of about 18 feet in length for poling the canoe in shallow water, and paddles.

In the platform overhanging the prow a few holes are cut. These holes are sometimes used to attach the rope by which the canoe is fastened to an anchor. One or more turtle skulls are often attached so as to hang down beneath the platform. In turtle-hunting expeditions on dark nights a torch is slung beneath the forward platform so as to shed its light on the water while the harpooner remains in shadow.

501 When a canoe is finished it is decorated with designs painted on it
531 with red paint and white clay, particularly on the forward platform and

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

501 [531]

along the gunwale. These designs soon wear off when the canoe is in use and are not renewed.

The paddles used by the Andamanese vary considerably in size and to some extent in shape, but the following description with its accompanying figure gives a fair idea of a typical specimen. The whole paddle has a length of 123·5 centimetres, the shaft being 85 centimetres and the blade 38·5 centimetres. The diameter of the shaft from the blade to the middle is 2·6 centimetres, and from the middle towards the handle end it tapers to a point. The shaft is circular in section throughout its length. The blade is leaf-shaped, pointed bluntly at the apex. In section it is plano-convex, with a maximum thickness of 1·3 centimetres and a width of 8·7 centimetres. Paddles are cut with an adze from the wood of the *Myristica longifolia* and planed with a boar's tusk. They are often ornamented, when new, with painted designs in red and white.

Fig. 46. Paddle

In deep water the canoe is paddled. Each of the occupants sits facing forward. The steersman sits on the stern platform. The others sit on the seats provided by the outrigger booms. Each man paddles on which side he chooses. It rests with the steersman to maintain the canoe in its proper course. In shallow water the canoe is propelled with a pole. A man stands on the forward platform and poles the canoe, steering as he does so. In a fairly large canoe a man at the stern may also take a pole and, standing up, help to propel the canoe.

502

All the work connected with the making of canoes and paddles is done by men alone, except the painting, which is usually done by women. It is the men also who make most use of canoes.

396 462

The large canoe, that is now made by all the tribes of the Great Andaman Division, is simply a canoe of the same general shape as the Great Andaman outrigger canoe, cut from a larger tree and without the outrigger. The shape of the hull, with its platforms fore and aft, is exactly the same. It seems that when the natives obtained a plentiful supply of iron tools (after 1858) they began to cut down and hollow out larger trees than formerly. Having made these larger canoes they found that they would, when well cut and ballasted with stone, float quite well without an outrigger. (It may be mentioned that the hull of a small canoe is always tested on the water before the outrigger is attached.) Indeed a well cut canoe of large size floats and balances

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2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

deep water, by paddles (*wāḷ·igma-*[1]), the size of which is not determined by custom, but varies according to the whim of the maker and the size of the piece of wood (generally of the *Myristica longifolia*) at his disposal;[2] all, whether small or large, are used indiscriminately, either with the outriggers or simple "dug-outs;" paddles are never made by women, to whom, however, their ornamentation with *kòi·ob-* and *ká·ngatá-būj-* is afterwards entrusted.[3]

Ornamentation.—1. While the Andamanese habitually ornament their various utensils, weapons, &c., they never attempt to show their talent or originality by representing natural objects, or by devising a new pattern, but slavishly adhere to those which custom has prescribed for each article.[4]

2. These designs are executed by means of a *Cyrena* shell, or are painted in *kòi·ob-*, *tá·la-ōg-*, or *ká·ngatá-būj-*; occasionally they content themselves with smearing the entire surface of the object with either of the two first-named pigments, but more often a background is thus formed for the better display of further embellishments.

3. These three substances supply their only colours, *i.e.*: brick-red (*kòi·ob-*), white (*tá·la-ōg-*), and brown (*ká·ngatá-būj-*).

4. Small land and sea shells[5] (especially the *Dentalium octogonum*), certain seeds and bones are much prized, not only for making personal ornaments, but also for the adornment of weapons and implements, as well as the human skulls and jawbones which they often wear and carry about with them.

5. It may be added that the details of ornamentation are in most cases subordinate to the general form and outline of the object in question.

6. The following is believed to be a complete list of the designs,[6] both carved and painted, which are in use:—

I. CHEVRONS (*jō·bo-tàrtā·nga-*).

Painted with *kòi·ob-* or *tá·la-ōg-* on bows, buckets, canoes, and paddles.

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 11*a*.

[2] Dr. Mouat states (p. 319) that they are made of three sizes, and (p. 320) that "the work of making them is entrusted solely to the women and children," but I have failed in discovering any foundation for these assertions.

[3] The canoes, too, are often similarly ornamented, especially when new.

[4] Of enamelling they possess no knowledge.

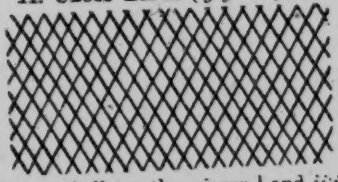
[5] Beads, when offered by us, are gladly accepted for use in lieu of small shells.

[6] When it is stated that all these designs are executed by means of pointed sticks, shells, or even the finger-tips, it is scarcely necessary to add that they fall far short of the neatness and mathematical precision characterising most of these illustrations, which therefore can only be taken as representing the particular pattern *attempted*.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

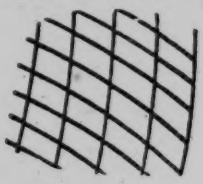
531

II. Cross Lines (*ig-yi·tinga-*).



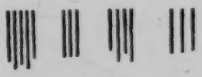
Cut by means of a *Cyrena* shell on the *rō·gun-*[1] and *ij·i-gō·nga-*,[2] and painted with *tá·la-ōg-*, between parallel lines, on the sounding board (*pū·kuta-yem·nga-*[3])

III. Cross Lines (*ig-bar·nga-*).



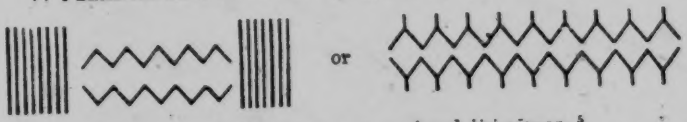
Painted on the outer surface of baskets, the vertical lines with *kòi·ob-*, and the oblique ones with *tá·la-ōg-*.

IV. Parallel Lines (*ig-ō·inga-*)



Painted with *kòi·ob-* or *tá·la-ōg-* across handle of paddle.

V. Parallel Lines and Zigzag (*jō·bo-tàrtä·nga-* or *tō·nanga-*).



Painted with *tá·la-ōg-* on *rō·gun-*[4] and *ij·i-gō·nga-*.[5]

VI. Lozenge Pattern.

(*a*) *jō·bo-tàrtä·nga-*

(*b*) *igē·unga-*.

Painted with *tá·la-ōg-* or *ká·ngatá-bū̄j-*, on *rō·gun-*,[4] *ij·i-gō·nga-*,[5] *ó·do-*,[6] and *pū·kuta-*.[7]

[1] Waistbelt, worn by married women only.
[2] Chaplet, worn by both sexes.
[3] Sounding board, used in keeping time for dancers.
[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 26.
[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 31.
[6] *Nautilus* shell, used as a drinking vessel.
[7] *pū·kuta-yát-māk·nga-*, wooden tray used at meals.

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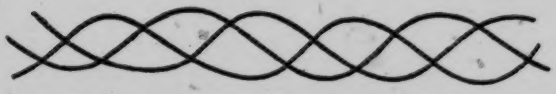
VII. PLAIT ORNAMENT OR GUILLOCHE (*poliòr·nga*).

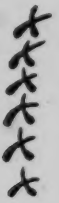


Painted with *tá·la-ōg-* on bows and eating trays.

VIII. FISH-BONE (*bar·nga-*).

Painted on *chīp-*.[1]

IX. CROSS INCISIONS (*igē·unga-*) (? *ig-yi·tinga-*).



Cut by means of a *Cyrena* shell on bows (*ká·rama-*), and handles of adzes (*wō·lo-*).

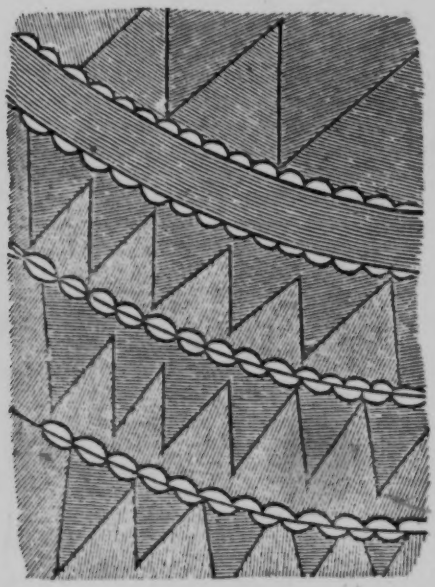
X. LOOP PATTERN (*ōt-ē·nga-*).

Painted with *tá·la-ōg-* on the *chī·di-*

[1] Sling or belt, worn like a sash by men and women for carrying children.
[2] *Pinna* shell, used as a plate or tray.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

XI. VANDYKES WITH SCOLLOPED BANDS AND CROSS LINES (? *ig-pòi·nyakuga-*). 531



Painted with *kâ·ngatá-büj-* on *ó·do-*[1]

Pottery.—1. These savages evince a superiority over the Australians, Tasmanians, Fuegeans, and many of the Pacific Islanders, in possessing some knowledge of the art of making pots. 323 172

2. It was formerly believed that they had "no vessel capable of resisting the action of fire,"[2] but careful examination of their kitchen-middens has proved, beyond all doubt, that their present manufacture was equalled—if indeed it were not surpassed—many generations ago by their ancestors; the traditions current among them on the subject may also be mentioned, in passing, as pointing to a like conclusion.

3. The late Dr. Stoliczka, in his interesting paper on the Andamanese kitchen-middens,[3] writes as follows:—"In submitting the rude fragments of pottery . . . to an archæologist in Europe, no one would long hesitate in referring them to the

[1] *Nautilus* shell, used as a drinking vessel.

[2] *Vide* Symes, who is also incorrect in adding in a footnote: "The fragments of earthenware vessels mentioned by Mr. Colebrooke were probably brought from the Nicobars or from the Continent, by the boats that often visit the Andamans for the purpose of taking the nests before mentioned" (*i.e.*, of the *Collocalia nidifica*).

[3] *Vide* Proceedings As. Soc. Bengal, January, 1870.

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283 286 thigh, and the cuticle is removed by means of the *Cyrena* shell; the underlying white fibres are left for a week or ten days in the sun until thoroughly dry, when they separate readily, and are easily worked up into fine or coarse twine, as may be required by the manipulator.

283 824 3. The fibre of the *Anodendron paniculatum* (*yō·lba-*) is chiefly used for making bowstrings, reticules (*châ·panga-*), necklaces, and twine for arrow fastenings; its manufacture is accordingly not restricted to either sex. When the bark has been stripped off, in lengths of 8 to 15 inches, the operator presses the inner portion upon his (or her) thigh, and then rapidly but carefully passes a *Cyrena* shell along the outer surface until the fibres alone remain; these are then, as in the previous cases, dried in the sun, or before a fire; when a sufficient supply of material has been thus obtained, it is made into fine twine or, if not required for immediate use, wrapped in leaves in order that it may be kept fresh. Although apparently free [262] from any obnoxious properties, this plant, as well as the fibres obtained therefrom, until it is converted into twine or bowstrings, is believed by the Andamanese to render the flesh of a turtle uneatable if placed near it; consequently this meat, when inadvertently so contaminated, is thrown away; further, no one who has been collecting *yō·lba-*, or who has been engaged in preparing the fibre, can (for a period extending to three days) be allowed to cook a turtle, or even to accompany a party engaged [825] on a turtling expedition! Sharks and other dangerous fish are also credited with having so wholesome a horror or detestation of this plant (and also of *Cyrena* shells!) that the aborigines are in the habit of attaching some *yō·lba-*, or *Cyrena* shells (or both), to their cinctures as a safeguard when about to swim in parts believed to be infested by these creatures.

[531] 4. The yellow skin of the root of a certain orchid, called *râ-*, which is commonly found on trees near the shore, is often seen intertwined with their *yō·lba-* string, in personal ornaments, and occasionally in the decoration of weapons, but where strength is a requisite it is of course not used.

5. Bowstrings of *pī·lita-* and *yō·lba-* are made in the manner described in the manufacture of *al·ga-* rope, but ordinary string is made in the following manner:—a few of the prepared filaments are twisted into a yarn on the thigh with the palm of the hand; when two lengths have been obtained, they are together rolled into string of the desired strength, and beeswax is smeared over it to make assurance doubly sure.

6. Twine, made from the *yō·lba-*, is used in netting the fine chains (*râb-*[1]) and the reticules (*châ·panga-*[2]); for turtle-

[1] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 5, and Appendix B, item 42.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 22.

619 now passing away and I well recollect 25 years ago, though the Bojigyab were then known to us, the "coming in" of the first Balawa from the Archipelago and of the first Chariar from the extreme north and the difficulty experienced in communicating with them.

In reading the following remarks on the tribes it must always be borne in mind that the statements therein made refer largely to a state of things practically already passed away and never likely to be revived. The reader can without difficulty use his discretion in separating what is from what has been in the course of his perusal.

619 184 **Their Division into three Groups.**—The Andamanese tribes are by themselves divided into three distinct groups, having certain salient characteristics: the forms of the huts, bows and arrows, of the canoes, of ornamentation, female clothing, hair dressing, and utensils, of tattooing, and of language common generally to the group, but differing in details and sometimes entirely from those of other groups. Judged by this standard the tribal affinities may be thus stated: Northern or Yerewa Group, Chariar, Kora, Tabo, Yere, Kede; Southern or Bojigngiji Group, Bea, Balawa, Bojigyab, Juwai, Kol; Outer Group, Ónge-Jarawa, who do not tattoo. Some of the tribes are divided into septs, fairly well defined under headmen and with a local area of their own, but not under any separate designation.

The Distinctions between the Groups.—It is worth while bringing together this remarkable series of differences dividing the Andamanese into three divisions; differences that more or less run through all matters concerning them.

[304] (1) *Tattooing.*—Bojigngiji; women are the tattooers cutting the skin slightly with small flakes of quartz or glass in patterns of zigzags or in straight vertical lines; face, ears, genitals, arm and knee pits are excepted. Men and women are tattooed alike. Yerewa; men are the tattooers, cutting the skin deeply with iron pig-arrow heads: short horizontal parallel cuts in three or five lines down the back and front of the trunk, round the anus and legs. Women are tattooed thus as life advances. Ónge-Jarawa; no tattooing.

[302] (2) *Hair.*—Bojigngiji; partial to complete shaving of head. Yerewa; long matted ringlets touching the shoulders. Ónge-Jarawas; closely cropped head to a mop. Ónge-Jarawa women are not shaved.

[291] (3) *Ornaments and female clothing.*—Bojigngiji women wear a bunch of five or six leaves in front: Yerewa women a loose tassel of narrow strips of bark: Ónge-Jarawa a bunching tassel of fibre. Bojigngiji women are most particular as to clothing: Yerewa women careless. Jarawa women are apt to be quite unclothed. Bojigngijis and Yerewas smear their faces with grey clay mixed with water, white clay in delicate patterns imitating the tattoo marks, red ochre mixed with turtle fat and almond oil in coarse undefined patterns. Ónge-Jarawas, with yellow clay mixed with water in coarse patches, red ochre mixed with the above mentioned oils on the head. Ónge-Jarawas wear no bone ornaments.

[302]

[531] (4) *Ornamentation of utensils.*—Bojigngiji and Yerewas, slight: Ónge-Jarawas delicate and elaborate.

[323] (5) *Pots.*—Bojigngijis, pots with rounded bottom: Ónge-Jarawas and Yerewas with pointed bottom.

[412] (6) *Implements.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas, coarse and rough in manufacture: Ónge-Jarawas, often delicate and neat.

[285] (7) *Baskets.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas have a 'kick' and stand well: Ónge-Jarawas have uneven bottom and stand badly.

[411] (8) *Bows and arrows.*—Bojigngiji, *karama* bow and large arrows. Yerewa, *chokio* bow and small arrows. Ónge-Jarawa, curved long bow and long arrows.

(9) *Arrows.*—Generally common in type to all tribes: long with plain straight point, long with straight point and barbs, short with broad detachable barbed head for pigs.* Ónge-Jarawas and Yerewas, multiple headed arrows for fish.

(10) *Harpoons.*—For turtle, dugongs, and large fish among Bojigngijis and Yerewas: none among the Ónge-Jarawas.

* As the pig runs off, the trailing shaft is at once caught by something in the jungle and the animal is thus brought up short.

765 neck, usually, but not always, by the widow, widower or nearest relative. Mourning closes with a ceremonial dance and the removal of the clay. The ceremonies connected with the disposal of the dead are conventional, reverential and by no means without elaboration in detail.

V. Arts.

324 **Stone Implements.**—The only stone cutting implement known to the Andamanese is the quartz flake chipped off, never worked, and held between the fingers for shaving and tattooing, and shells and fish bones are used for the small blades of the peculiar adze of this people, and for arrow points, scraping and cutting. A *cyrena* valve is the ordinary knife and scraper. Hammers, anvils, hones, and oven-stones consist of natural stones. They have never made celts.

177 The ends of glass bottles for some years, and iron from wrecks for a long time past, have been substituted for the indigenous implements, when and where procurable. The object of the long series of murderous raids made by the inland Jarawas on the outlying parts of the Penal Settlement has now been proved to have been made in search for iron. The implements on the whole are coarsely and roughly made.

411 **Weapons.**—The weapons of the Andamanese are bow and arrow, harpoon, fish spear, pig spear, and they have never had any notion of poisoning the blades, which however sometimes inflict dangerous septic wounds from dirt, though as a rule they are kept bright as a matter of pride. Barbed arrows and harpoons with loose heads are used for catching and pulling up game in the jungles and marking where turtle or large fish are sinking.

Domestic Arts.—Excellent information with illustrations on the domestic and other arts of the Andamanese is to be found in a minutely accurate work, Man's *Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands.*

283 **String and Netting.**—String for nets and all purposes is twisted, often neatly, from the inner bark of creepers. Large nets of this string are made for driving turtle and hand-nets for prawns and small fish and for wallets. Stout cord is made from the inner bark of the *melochia velutina.* Whole, split and scraped canes are used as binders.

285 **Weaving.**—The weaving is good, neat and stout, and baskets and mats are thus well made from strips of canes.

323 **Pottery.**—The unglazed circular clay cooking pots with rounded or pointed bottoms, to the Andamanese very valuable, are built up by hand, sun-dried and then baked, but not thoroughly, in the fire. They are often encased in basket work for safety. Their manufacture, form and ornament are typical of the Stone Age generally.

322 **Wood and Cane work.**—Buckets are hollowed out of wood or cut from the joints of the bamboo. Canoes are hollowed out of whole trunks of light, soft timber by the adze without the use of fire, do not last long and are only fair sea boats. They are however capable of holding many people and a good deal of light cargo.

301 **Ornamentation, Personal and Domestic.**—The personal ornaments made are—bunches and strips of fibres and leaves scraped, cut and hammered, fringes of dentalium shells and straw-coloured wreaths of hammered and roasted dendrobium bark. The bones, skulls and jawbones of deceased relatives are also used whole, or broken and scraped to fancy or requirement, as ornaments, besides necklaces of the bones of animals. Tattooing and painting the body are only ornamental to the extent that, in the latter case especially, deviations from the conventional designs are due to personal taste.

353 The only ornaments to dwellings and huts are the heads of turtle, pigs, iguana, paradoxurus killed in hunting. These are hung up partly as ornaments and partly as trophies, but not with any idea of record.

●531 Every manufactured article has its own customary conventional line ornament in one or more of three colours and in one or more of eleven patterns approximately achieved only. The colours are red, white and brown from natural earths. The patterns are (1) chevrons, (2) close cross hatch, (3) wide cross hatch, (4) parallel lines, (5) parallels and chevrons combined, (6) lozenges, (7) plait or guilloche, (8) herring-bone, (9) cross cuts, (10) loops, (11) vandyke with scolloped bands and cross lines.

there were no Andamanese There,
but 400 people consisting of 133 males and 130 females who migrated from Bassein in 1924. They were Karen Christians who had settled there. After returning to Long Island on the 12th, Mr Sarkar and party left in the motor boat "Return" for a short cruise along the Jarawa country. Besides Mr Joseph, there were Mr Pooviah and a few of his Burman Bush Police armed with rifles and guns. The party passed through the Homfray's Strait and anchored at the north eastern corner of the Spike Island. Loka and his party of three Andamanese accompanied them in their two canoes. They came to the shore in one of the Andamanese canoes and after entering the forest they found bundles of bamboos piled up at one corner. This was identified as a Jarawa raft. There were also three paddles made out of a palm tree. These specimens were procured for the Department. After proceeding some distance in the jungle, 19 small fire places were counted in scattered manner. A temporary hut was also noticed at a short distance. A number of objects usually used by the Andamanese tribes for household purposes was found including a sling for carrying babies. A beautiful specimen of a Jarawa Bow painted in red in geometrical designs was also found. Photographs were taken of the settlements of the Jarawa camp and objects collected for the Museum. In another place at *Yeratiajig* remnants of a Jarawa camp including pottery and bones of animals, etc., were found. The party returned to Long Island on 14-3-48 and examined 8 of the remaining members of Loka's party. It left the same day for Port Blair where it arrived at 10 P.M. On the 25th Mr Sarkar and his party with the Deputy Chief Commissioner Mr Gupta, left for Kar Nicobar where it arrived on the following day. It returned to Port Blair after staying for a few days. During this time in Kar Nicobar, besides studying the Nicobarese of the Island Mr Sarkar met two Jarawa children who were captured and brought over there and placed in a local Mission School for education.

In the following year in January 1949, another small party was sent under Dr A. K. Mitra with Messrs H. K. Bose and A. Bhattacharyya, to continue the survey of the Little Andaman further along the eastern coast. They visited *Hut Bay* on the 28th and went to the Onge settlement there. A large circular hut similar to that seen by us at Tambobui was observed. It contained nine cots with a fire place in the centre. There were also two outrigger canoes, one in front of the hut and another on the beach. Altogether 11 Onges were found consisting of 2 adult males, 6 females and 3 young children between the ages of 6 to 15. The 8 adults and the adolescent boys were carefully measured and observations noted about their special somatic characters. After leaving Hut Bay they went as far as the South Point which is the southernmost point on the eastern coast of the Little Andaman, but did not see any other Onge settlement. They had to return on the 31st as the launch could not be spared any further.

The Onges were found to be strong and healthy and free from venereal disease, a scourge, which along with tuberculosis were chiefly responsible for the rapid depopulation of the Andamanese tribes. Our observations agree with the accounts of the Negritos of the Andaman Islands published before

26 Cleaning themselves, to the Onges, means painting themselves
302 to ward off evil and to remove, so they said, the smell of pig fat
[224] after the colossal orgies which follow a particularly good hunt,
when even they find the stench too much. These orgies, which give
[164] them appalling indigestion for days, are followed by an apparently instinctive variation of their diet to raw or cooked vegetable foods. On three occasions from 1952–54 I was present at one of these solemn pork and honey orgies. The Onges ate almost till they burst, and then, hardly able to move, cleaned up by a grand painting session. The women do the painting, families vying with each other to produce weird new designs, which are then copied until the next feast.[1]

276 Fed and painted, the Onges sit down to smoke, using pipes made
26 from crabs' claws. Still regardless of hygiene the pipes go from one
302 mouth to another, the women smoking just as heavily as the men.
237 One curious anomaly is that the Onges do sometimes sweep the
356 earth floor of the communal hut. The floor is not deliberately beaten down, but becomes hardened by continuous walking on it; in dry weather it turns to dust, which rises and settles everywhere, especially under the roof, where the lumps of cooked meat,
[412] fish and so on are hung. For the cleaning a broom or besom is prepared, well made with very hard, supple, palm fibres, bound tightly and carefully with cords made from reeds. The whole thing is about eighty centimetres long and as thick as a man's wrist.

356 The dirt is simply swept out all round from under the roof of the
342 hut through the gap between the roof and the ground. In the course
172 of time a ring of refuse builds up round the hut, forming a glorious
364 breeding ground for insects of all kinds. When the hut has to be rebuilt, owing to the ravages of wood-worm and termites, the ring is levelled off to form the new floor. Since the same small, well-chosen site may be used for thousands of years, the hut ends up perching on top of a small mound of refuse dating back to very

[531] [1] From one year to the next I saw no real evolution of art forms but cyclic changes of designs, with a preference for certain geometric patterns, at certain times of the year. Having watched various individuals of both sexes closely over a period of some years I can say that in the Onges at least, contrary to what is generally understood, the use of given patterns, and given kinds of ochre, does not correspond with given types of food. Any feast is always followed by painting, always with the weirdest designs possible, but always geometrical, never far from the current 'fashion', and never even remotely inspired by the basis of the feast.

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[facing P 66, B]

/2 . . . Two examples of the geometric patterns which are painted on the face and torso/

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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1 *Above top* A group of Onges resting against the bastion roots of a tree. The man in the centre is smoking a crab-claw pipe
4 *Above* A typical example of tight binding of the body as a cure for disease
2 *Left* Two examples of the geometric patterns which are painted on the face and torso

[facing P. 66, C]

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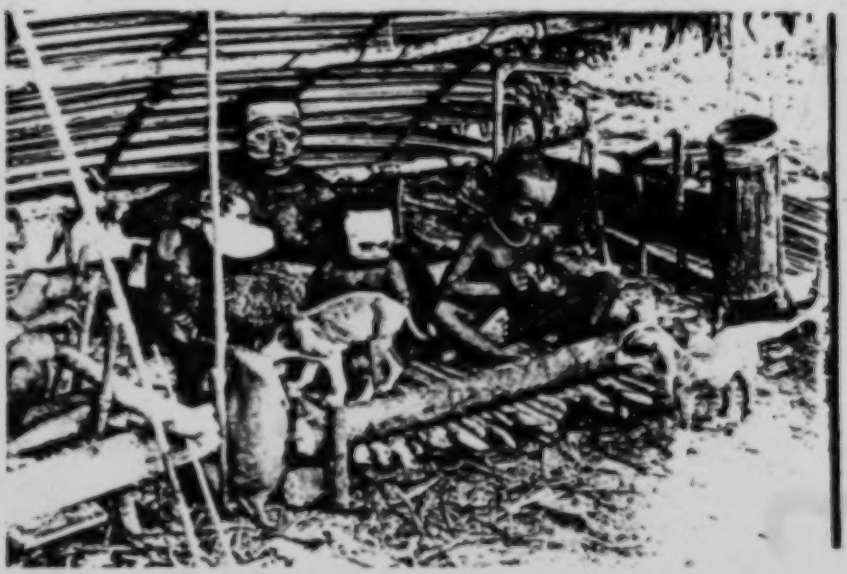

18 A family group with, on the right, the cylindrical cooking-pot, and the inevitable dogs

19 Typical shell collection from a kitchen-midden

172

[Facing P. 67]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

I examined a number of canoes drawn up on the beach. They 501
varied in size from some eight to ten metres long, built to carry twenty people, to small single-manned craft three to four metres long, and there were some very small ones clearly intended to encourage the children to set out on their own. The very large canoes are, however, rare. The beam also varied considerably from some barely wide enough to admit a man's knees to others of one and a half metres or more.[1]

In the shallows, contrary to some assertions, paddles are never used; the booms would make alternate paddling extremely difficult. Reversed harpoon shafts are instead used as punt poles and oars, [824] usually made of *Myristica longifolia*, are used only in deep water. They are sometimes but not always lashed into the holes in the gunwale through which the booms pass. They are short, not more than 1·3 metres long and are always rowed forwards (obviously there would be a danger of stubbing a reef if the European style of rowing was used). Like the canoes, the oars vary somewhat in size. Very roughly made they consist of a handle ninety centimetres long and a forty-centimetre blade. The grip tapers almost to a point and increases gradually in diameter towards the blade, which is long, narrow, blunt-ended and flat-convex in section. Usually it is [237] merely roughly shaped with the Onges' crude hatchet, but occa- [412] sionally it is smoothed off with a sharp *Cyrena* shell. The helmsman and pilot stand on the two platforms, guiding the canoe with oars. As far as possible the rowers avoid the side bearing the outrigger mechanism; any deviation of course caused by the unilateral rowing is corrected by the two steersmen.

When they first launch a canoe the Onges decorate it with ochre 501
designs like those on their bodies and the hollowed logs used to 531
hold honey, although they are washed off as soon as the craft enters the water. As usual the men do all the work up to that point [462] and the women do the painting. The initial painting is the only [422] form of ornament on the canoes; there is not even a mark of owner- [126] ship, although each canoe is curiously enough recognized as the property of one man, despite the fact that everyone has helped to

[1] I am unable to agree with Brown that the Onge canoes are extremely small, that they have bow and stern, and that their floats are inefficient. My own experiences of travelling in the canoes has led me to the opinion that on these and other points Brown was wrong, possibly partly because he never actually visited Little Andaman. [114]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

build it (when I wanted to acquire two for the new anthropological museum at Port Blair and the Indian Museum in Calcutta I had to bargain with the men recognized as the owners, although the price had to be distributed among all the members of the group).

The chief delight of the men on their fishing trips is the capture of a Giant Turtle. I have already described (p. 88) the spear harpoons which the Onges use to catch them. Once caught, the wretched animals are subjected to a form of vivisection utterly incomprehensible to the Western mind; they are literally cut up alive and the pieces thrown into the boiling cooking-pot. Nor have I ever witnessed anything so terrible as the way in which the Onges, in the absence of any suitable cooking vessel, or the materials for an earth oven, roast these turtles whole and alive over a slow fire. They seem totally unable to realize that animals can feel pain and laugh like children at the other atrocious tortures they unwittingly inflict not only on the turtles, but on every living thing that falls into their hands.

These marine turtles (as far as I was able to see there were no land turtles in the Andamans) yield a far greater amount of food than the dugong, and provide the islanders with both meat and eggs. Two species are common in the seas round the islands, *Chelonia virgata*, or the green turtle, and *Caretta imbricata*, which supplies the shells normally sold commercially. The Onges prefer the former, which are both meaty and more plentiful.

Turtle-hunting and egg-collecting is done by the menfolk. The method is very like that used for dugong and large fish, using the harpoon. Owing to their fear of the spirits abroad in the night, the Onges never go near the beaches between dusk and dawn, when it would be easy to take the turtles on land and immobilize them by turning them on their backs. They do know this trick, however, and use it when captured turtles (often weighing up to a hundredweight) are too heavy to carry in the canoe; the animals are turned on their backs and dumped on the beach ready to pick up later.

The Onges harpoon the turtles from canoes, preferably at night when the turtles are nearing the shore, which they never approach in the day time. When there is a moon the creatures are easily seen, and on dark nights the phosphorescence of the sea helps.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

their love of existing with as little effort as possible is paramount. Since any wood is as good as the next for making a fire, the spirits conveniently have nothing to say in the matter. In other circumstances material considerations lead to quite the opposite effect: when the Onges dig up roots or tubers they not only replace the earth, but cover the place with leaves, the ritual having the good practical objective of appeasing the spirits and ensuring further supplies.

The preservation of skulls for magical purposes or out of pure superstition survives mainly in Asia and Oceania. In Asia it coincides with other beliefs which demand the killing of domestic animals by strangulation. I have seen this practised along the high reaches of the valley of the Brahmaputra, particularly among the Abor, and the Nagas, and in many other tribes to the south of Tibet and China, all of whom preserve skulls. Head-hunting, found throughout southern Asia, in the islands, and as far as Oceania, is also practised in the areas where animal skulls are preserved.

The preservation of animal skulls, particularly bear skulls, is still practised in mongoloid peoples as far as the north of Asia; apart from the Andamans and the Nicobars, human and animal bones are preserved in many parts of Indonesia and as far as New Guinea. In the corona of small islands along the west coast of Sumatra the custom coincides with many others, as well as with certain types of huts and canoes, all present in the Andamans and Nicobars. A good example are the huts raised up off the ground on stilts, common in the Nicobars, Nias, Engano, Mentawai and various parts of Indonesia. The single-boom canoes of these areas, quite apart from their general similarity of structure, all have certain identical features, even to the method of fixing the lateral float of green wood, with pointed hardwood pegs stuck in it like spills. This, again, cannot be due to chance; it must be the effect of a very ancient cultural diffusion, now surviving only in a few specific areas.

The skulls preserved by the Onges have one point of interest; it is the duty of the wife to clean the trophies brought back by her proud husband and then paint them lovingly with lines of ochre. After every successful hunting expedition the wives can be seen busily painting, while the husbands look on with satisfaction.

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805 or form of numerical evaluation is further support for the extremely low stage of cultural development at which they became isolated.

22 ART

302 When painting their bodies with ochre the Onges have no idea of sym-
●531 bolic representation, and use only geometrical designs. These invariably
532 seem spontaneous, and in my view do not represent a degenerate form of some more highly evolved art, half forgotten over the centuries; in short, the 'artists' of the Andamans, with no conception of symbolism, are even today less advanced than their Palaeolithic counterparts.

23 DIGGING STICKS

172 In late Palaeolithic deposits, stones with holes in them have been found
412 which correspond to those still in use among peoples such as the Bushmen, to add weight to their digging sticks. The absence even today of any form of weighted stick in the Andamans, where stone is plentiful, would appear to antedate the culture at least to early Palaeolithic.

24 HUNTING

224 The Onges still use the Palaeolithic throwing stick, although it is not
172 their main hunting weapon. They have no idea of fixed traps, which must
[411] from the evidence have been known in Palaeolithic times, and it is hard to believe that a people so dependent upon hunting would have lost the
227 art once it had been acquired. They have crude nets which the women
177 use for fishing, but these are probably a comparatively recent introduction, which has arrived via the Nicobars.

25 DOMESTIC ANIMALS

231 The Andamanese have none, and this would seem to add weight to the
174 evidence for their great antiquity.

26 ECONOMY

433 There is no economic system of any kind, and from the evidence available it is highly unlikely that even the most primitive form ever existed.
185 There is no conception whatever of providing for tomorrow, or of any
437 form of exchange or barter.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

individual in the method of tying and knotting the string employed in the manufacture of these missiles;[1] these, however, are often so slight that, even when pointed out, they are scarcely to be detected by a stranger, unless he be one who has bestowed careful attention to the subject. 211 411

7. In their savage state they never attempt to represent any object, and, though they do not appear to possess any natural taste for drawing, they differ from the Australians[2] in the intelligence they display in recognising any familiar form depicted in a sketch; and while no such method for indicating the situation of any place is known or employed among themselves, some of them are quick in understanding a chart of their own country, and are able to point out the sites of their various encampments. 532 151

8. It is hardly necessary to state that they have nothing answering to mile-stones or roadside marks. Swamps are never crossed, but in all cases avoided by circuitous routes; experience seems to have taught them the natural line of fords from salient to salient banks, and, when a creek has to be crossed, they always avail themselves of the advantages thus afforded, even making a detour in order to do so.[3] This applies, however, to those occasions when they are not heavily laden, or are carrying articles liable to be damaged by immersion, or which would hinder them from swimming. 487

Swimming.—1. With the exception of some of the *ē·rem-tâ·ga-*,[4] a knowledge of the art of swimming is common to members of both sexes; the *children* even, learning almost as soon as they can run, speedily acquire great proficiency. In this accomplishment the Andamanese greatly surpass the majority of Europeans, but it is probable that, in competition with an experienced English swimmer, their best men would be distanced in the first few hundred yards, it being not so much for speed, as for the length of time they can remain in the water, that they are remarkable. 481

[1] With reference to this circumstance, it may be mentioned that, a few years ago (1876), five aborigines, concerned in the murder near Kyd Island of some Chinese traders with whom they had had a dispute, were discovered by means of the arrows found on the spot, as these were identified by some of their acquaintances then living at Port Blair.

[2] Brown. [From remarks, however, contained in a recent article, entitled "The Indo-Chinese and Oceanic Races," by Mr. A. H. Keane, which appeared in "Nature" (Jan. 6th, 1881), it would appear that the low estimate of the Australian intellect formed by certain ethnologists is not shared by all, and "many instances are given of their skill even in drawing, a capacity for which was wholly denied them."]

[3] Wells are not dug, but when encamping, whether for days or months, care is always taken that the spot selected be near some fresh-water stream.

[4] The reason of this is obvious, as it is known that the majority of the creeks are fordable in many places within three miles of the coast, even in the rainy season, and, therefore, the necessity of acquiring the art of natation has never been experienced by those permanently resident in the interior.

802 805 or form of numerical evaluation is further support for the extremely low stage of cultural development at which they became isolated.

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229 177

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1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

When all is ready a man who has volunteered to sing the first song takes his stand at the sounding-board, and sings his song through. When he reaches the chorus the women take it up and repeat it after him, and as they do so each woman marks time by clapping her hands on the hollow formed by her thighs, the legs being crossed one over the other at the ankle. The singer continues to sing, thus leading the chorus, and at the same time marks the time of the song by beating on the sounding-board with his foot. As soon as the chorus begins the dancers begin to dance. The step of each dancer is the same, but there is very little attempt to form a figure. When the singer and the chorus get tired, the singing ceases, but the man at the sounding-board continues to mark time for the dancers. The singer repeats his song several times, and he may sing several songs, each repeated several times. When he gets tired he is relieved by another man. In a dance that lasts for any time, one singer succeeds another, and the singing and dancing are kept up continuously, sometimes for five or six hours.

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The above description applies to all the tribes of the Great Andaman, but there are some differences between the four tribes of the North Andaman, and the tribes of the Middle and South Andaman.

In the North Andaman the song is sung through once from beginning to end by the singer, and is then repeated three or four times by the chorus. In the South Andaman each song consists of one verse and a refrain, if we may speak of them thus. The singer sings the verse and the refrain, and then the refrain only is repeated an indefinite number of times by the chorus.

In the dance of the Southern tribes, each dancer dances alternately on the right foot or on the left. When dancing on the right foot the first movement is a slight hop with the right foot, then the left foot is raised and brought down with a backward scrape along the ground, then another hop on the right foot. These three movements, which occupy the time of two beats of the song, are repeated until the right leg is tired, and the dancer then changes the movement to a hop with the left foot, followed by a scrape with the right and another hop with the left. The time of the movement is as follows, the upper line being the

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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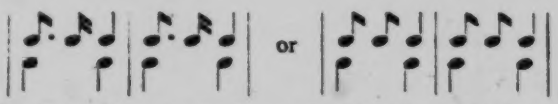
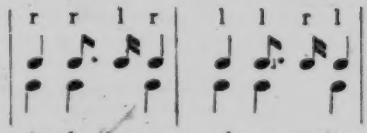
rhythm of the dance, while the lower line shows the beats of the song, which is marked on the sounding-board and by the clapping of the women.



The body of the dancer is bent slightly forward from the hips, the legs being flexed at the knees and the back being curved well inwards. There are several ways of holding the hands and arms, one of the commonest being to hold the arms outstretched in front on a level with the shoulders, while the thumb and forefinger of one hand are interlocked with those of the other. When a man does not wish to cease altogether from dancing but desires to have a short rest, he marks the time by raising each heel alternately from the ground. As a man dances he remains in one spot for a short time, and then, still continuing the same step, moves for a yard or two around the circle of the dancing ground. Every now and then a dancer is to be seen trotting from one position to another across the dancing ground, abandoning the step of the dance, but still keeping time to the song.

The Northern tribes have now adopted the same kind of dance as the tribes of the South, but formerly their dance was slightly different. There was a little more attempt at forming a figure, the dancers moving for the most part in a circle, some in one direction and others in the other. The step was as follows: a step forward with the right foot, a hop on the right foot, a scrape with the left, then another hop with the right, a step forward with the left foot, a hop with the left, a scrape with the right and a hop with the left. The rhythm is as follows:—



The lower line shows the beats on the sounding-board.

Some of the dancers occasionally break into the regular Southern step. A dancer sometimes changes from the usual

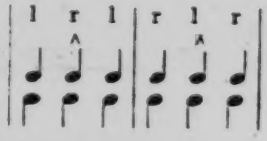
1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

step to another called *k̲oi*, in which each foot is alternately struck on the ground and scraped backwards. Other slight variations of the movement may be introduced. 535 533●

In both the Southern and the Northern dance each dancer pleases himself as to the direction in which he moves, and the step that he adopts at any given moment. All the dancers, however independently of one another they dance, keep strict time to the music.

Women do not, as a rule, join in the ordinary dances held in the evening. Their share in the entertainment consists of forming the chorus. When they do dance, as they do on certain occasions, such as the dance at the end of mourning, their step is different from that of the men. In the Southern tribes the female dancer stands at one spot with knees flexed and lifts her heels alternately from the ground in time to the music, thus producing a slight swaying or swinging motion of the hips. After dancing thus at one spot for a few moments, she moves forward a few steps to a new position, keeping time to the music in all her movements, and then repeats the same performance. The arms are swung in time to the dance, or else are held before the breast with one wrist crossed over the other.

In the Northern tribes the common dance of the women is a sort of modification of that of the men. A woman advances across the ground in regular time, but at every third step she gives a peculiar little hop which has something of the effect of a bobbing curtsey. The time is as follows :—



l and r standing for left and right foot, and the accent indicating the hop or curtsey. Every now and then a dancer stops and remains at one spot, alternately scraping each foot backwards, holding her knees flexed, and swinging both arms together.

The ordinary dance of the Andamanese, as described above, must always be accompanied by a song, and the purpose of every song is to serve as the accompaniment to a dance. Every man 533

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

533 composes his own songs. No one would ever sing (at a dance) a song composed by any other person. There are no traditional songs. Women occasionally compose songs, but I never heard a woman sing at a dance except in the chorus.

Every man composes songs, and the boys begin to practise themselves in the art of composition when they are still young. A man composes his song as he cuts a canoe or a bow or as he paddles a canoe, singing it over softly to himself, until he is satisfied with it. He then awaits an opportunity to sing it in public, and for this he has to wait for a dance. Before the dance he takes care to teach the chorus to one or two of his female relatives so that they can lead the chorus of women. He sings his song, and if it is successful he repeats it several times, and thereafter it becomes part of his repertory, for every man of any age has a repertory of songs that he is prepared to repeat at any time. If the song is not successful, if the chorus and dancers do not like it, the composer abandons it and does not repeat it. Some men are recognized as being more skilful song-makers than others.

The songs all deal with everyday subjects such as hunting or cutting a canoe. The important thing about a song is not its sense, but its sound, i.e., its rhythm and melody. A translation of an *Akar-Bale* song, which is quite typical, is "*Poio*, the son of *Mam Golat*, wants to know when I am going to finish my canoe. He comes every day. That is why I make haste to get it launched as soon as possible." Another on the same subject runs: "Knots are very hard to cut with an adze. They blunt the edge of the adze. How hard I am working cutting these knots." The singer here refers to the cutting of a canoe. A number of songs in the native languages with translations, are given by Mr Portman[1]. To these the reader may refer for further information.

535 628 301 According to the statements of the natives it was formerly the custom to have a dance before setting out to a fight. There was no special war-dance, the warriors joining in an ordinary dance such as has just been described. Those who intended

[1] Portman, *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes*, pp. 166—188.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

scope to be handled in such an essay as this. For our present purpose we are concerned with the dance only as a form of social ceremonial. 182X 535

If an Andaman Islander is asked why he dances he gives an answer that amounts to saying that he does so because he enjoys it. Dancing is therefore in general a means of enjoyment. It is frequently a rejoicing. The Andaman Islanders dance after a successful day of hunting; they do not dance if their day has been one of disappointment.

Pleasurable mental excitement finds its natural expression in bodily activity, as we see most plainly in young children and in some animals. And in its turn mere muscular activity is itself a source of pleasure. The individual shouts and jumps for joy; the society turns the jump into a dance, the shout into a song.

The essential character of all dancing is that it is rhythmical, and it is fairly evident that the primary function of this rhythmical nature of the dance is to enable a number of persons to join in the same actions and perform them as one body. In the Andamans at any rate it is clear that the spectacular dance (such as the performance described on page 164) is a late development out of the common dance. And it is probable that the history of the dance is everywhere the same, that it began as a common dance in which all present take some active part, and from this first form (still surviving in our ball-room dances) arose the spectacular dance in which one or more dancers perform before spectators who take no part themselves.

In the Andamans the song is an accompaniment of the dance. The dancing and singing and the marking of the rhythm by clapping and by stamping on the sounding-board are all parts of the one common action in which all join and which for convenience is here spoken of as the dance. It is probable that here again the Andamanese practice shows us the earliest stage in the development of the song, that song and music at first had no independent existence but together with dancing formed one activity. It is reasonable to suppose that the song first came into general use in human society because it provides a means by which a number of persons can utter the same series of sounds 182X 533

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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X 182
• 533

together and as with one voice, this being made possible by the fixed rhythm and the fixed pitch of the whole song and of each part of it (i.e. by melody). Once the art of song was in existence its further development was doubtless largely dependent upon the esthetic pleasure that it is able to give. But in the Andamans the esthetic pleasure that the natives get from their simple and monotonous songs seems to me of quite secondary importance as compared with the value of the song as a joint social activity.

X 182
535

The movements of the ordinary Great Andaman dance do not seem to me to be in themselves expressive, or at any rate they are not obviously mimetic like the movements of the dances of many primitive folk. Their function seems to be to bring into activity as many of the muscles of the body as possible. The bending of the body at the hips and of the legs at the knees, with the slightly backward poise of the head and the common position of the arms held in line with the shoulders with the elbows crooked and the thumb and first finger of each hand clasping those of the other, produce a condition of tension of a great number of the muscles of the trunk and limbs. The attitude is one in which all the main joints of the body are between complete flexion and complete extension so that there is approximately an equal tension in the opposing groups of flexor and extensor muscles. Thus the whole body of the dancer is full of active forces balanced one against another, resulting in a condition of flexibility and alertness without strain.

While the dance thus brings into play the whole muscular system of the dancer it also requires the activity of the two chief senses, that of sight to guide the dancer in his movements amongst the others and that of hearing to enable him to keep time with the music. Thus the dancer is in a condition in which all the bodily and mental activities are harmoniously directed to one end.

Finally, in order to understand the function of the Andamanese dance it must be noted that every adult member of the community takes some part in it. All the able-bodied men join in the dance itself; all the women join in the chorus. If anyone through ill-health or old age is unable to take any active part,

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192 owing to a variety of circumstances, not the least of which was
the absence of any system of representing the sounds in the
114 language—each author having chosen to employ a phonetic code best understood by himself and capable of varying interpretation by others—the result has been, to say the least, unsatisfactory, and the words for the most part are, in their printed form, either wholly unrecognisable by the people themselves, or possess a meaning differing very much from that given.

2. I do not make these remarks with a view of depreciating the efforts of others, for I fully recognise the difficulties with which they had to contend, and am aware that these exceeded any I have had to overcome, consequent on the improved relations which have subsisted between ourselves and the aborigines in recent years.

3. It must also be borne in mind that time necessarily works vast changes in all savage languages, which depend so entirely upon the oral correctness of the whole population for their accurate transmission.

128 4. As my knowledge of the other dialects is not as yet sufficient for me to be able to describe them comparatively at any length—leisure having failed me to obtain more than a few hundred words of five of the seven remaining tribes of Great Andaman—I wish it to be understood that, except where otherwise stated, my remarks refer to the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*, or South Andaman dialect.

192 5. The Andamanese are, as a rule, very conservative, and prefer to coin from their own resources rather than to borrow from aliens, words expressing ideas or objects which are new to them. To give only one of many examples:—having themselves no forms of worship, they had no word for "prayer," but since seeing the Mahomedans at their daily devotions, and learning that they are addressing an Invisible Being, they express the act by a compound word, *â·rlalik-yâ·b-*, signifying "daily repetition" (viz.: *â·rla-* daily, and *ik-yâ·b-* repetition).

533 6. They have also a distinct poetical dialect, and in their
195 songs subordinate everything to rhythm, the greatest liberties being thereby taken not only with the forms of their words, but even with the grammatical construction of the sentences. For instance the chorus of one of their songs runs thus:—

.Kēklū yâ lak·u mēj·rà?

which means "who missed the hard (backed) turtle?" the prose construction of the sentence being *mij·a yâ·dī chē·balen lâ·kàchī·re?* It will be at once noticed how great is the difference between the two versions, for in this, as in most of their songs,

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the words in their poetic form are so mutilated to suit the metre as to be scarcely recognisable; indeed, it not unfrequently happens that the composer of a new song has to explain its meaning in the ordinary vernacular to his chorus[1] as well as to the audience in general.

7. It may perhaps interest some of my readers to see a comparative table which I have prepared of the various forms of the possessive pronominal adjectives in most frequent use among five of the eight tribes of Great Andaman:

	.bō·jig-ngī·ji-	*.bō·jig-yâ·b-*	*.d·kà-kó·l-*	*.ko-jū·wai-*	*.bal·awa-*
my ..	*dī·a-* ..	*ī·ya-* ..	*ī·ya* ..	*ī·ya* ..	*deg·e.*
thy ..	*ngī·a-* .	*ngī·ya-* ..	*ngī·ya* ..	*ngī·ya* ..	*ngeg·e.*
his ..	*ī·a-* ..	*ī·ya-* ..	*ī·ya* ..	*dī·ya* ..	*eg·e.*
our ..	*mē·ta-* ..	*mī·ya-* ..	*mī·ya* ..	*mī·ya* ..	*mâ·tat.*
your ..	*ē·ta-* ..	*ngàrdī·ra-* *ī·ya-* ..	*ngàrdī·ra-* *tē·ya* ..	*ngachâ·par-* *ī·ya* ..	*ngâ·tat.*
their ..	*ó·nta-* ..	*nó·ngtâ·le-* *ī·ya-* ..	*ó·ntâ·le-* *eka-tē·ya* ..	*narâ·ngòich-* *ī·ya* ..	*â·tat.*

8. There are in each dialect several other forms of possessive pronominal adjectives, each of which must be used with its own class of nouns, but I do not now purpose entering into particulars regarding these. The form which, roughly speaking, is of general application among the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* is, as I have just shown, that of *dī·a-*, *ngī·a-*, &c. Ex.:—*dī·a kâ·rama-*, my bow; *mē·ta yâ·dī-*, our turtle; the exceptions to its use being, (*a*) those nouns denoting human objects, (*b*) those indicating the various parts of the body,[2] and (*c*) certain other nouns denoting degrees of relationship. To be as brief as possible, I will give but one or two examples of each.

(*a*)

dī·a-, my	*mē·tat*, our	Ex. *dī·a àbē·la-*, my man.
ngī·a-, thy	*ē·tat*, your	*mē·tat at-pail-*, our women.
ī·a-, his	*ó·ntat*, their	
l'i.a-, ——'s	*l'ó·ntat*, ——s'	

[1] I cannot here enter into particulars regarding their songs and choruses, an account of which will be hereafter given under "Games and Amusements."

[2] For a complete list of these *vide* Appendix G.

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23. The intervening days are spent by the proposers of the entertainment in perfecting a song and chorus, which it is intended to perform, and which generally has been composed expressly for the occasion, by some volunteer[1] upon whom also devolves the responsibility of singing the solo and training the so-called chorus. As a considerable amount of distinction among his fellows may be gained by the manner in which he acquits himself in his onerous undertaking, it will be readily understood that the *improvisatore* spares no pains over the preparation and rehearsal of a new song, which, as he fondly hopes, will render his name, if not immortal, at all events famous for many a year. The subject is chosen in reference to some recent personal or tribal exploit or adventure, and is embodied in a distich, followed by a chorus, or rather refrain, which as often as not consists merely in a repetition of the couplet forming the solo; in this refrain women alone are instructed; the main point aimed at is apparently accuracy of time, for, as I have said in my last paper, everything, even sense, is sacrificed in their songs to rhythm.[2]

24. In order to combine pleasure with profit, sundry implements or articles, which are more common in their community than in that of their hosts, are taken by the visitors on these occasions for purposes of presentation, or, to speak more correctly, of barter.

25. It is the duty of the hosts to make all necessary preparations, to provide torches, as well as food and water, for the expected guests, and to sweep the *bū·lum-*,[3] clearing it of all rubbish, lest inconvenience or injury should be occasioned by the stones, shells, bones, &c., which gradually accumulate, in spite of the "kitchen-middens" so invariably found in the vicinity of all permanent encampments of long standing.

26. When nearing the scene of their festivity the visitors pause, for the double purpose of a rehearsal and that the women may have time to adorn the party in their holiday suits of paint, as these would have lost their beauty and freshness if donned previous to leaving home.

27. That a weird and dramatic effect should be produced on a civilised mind by one of these entertainments, especially when occurring at night, will be readily understood if one pictures the scene :—in a small clearing in the midst, or on the border of a dense jungle are gathered a hundred or even more painted

[1] A song that has proved a success at any of these festive tribal meetings is sometimes repeated by "special request" at one of the smaller gatherings; "all rights" in these productions "are reserved," and no one but the composer is at liberty to sing a song, however popular!

[2] *Vide ante* "Language," paragraph 6.

[3] *Vide ante* "Habitations," paragraph 11.

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527 savages of both sexes; the moon sheds a soft light on all, while
574 from each hut the lurid glare of a wood fire throws its fitful
533 shadows across the scattered groups; on one side, seated in a row,
535 are the women who are to join in the refrain; on the other, in dark relief within their several huts, are seen the audience, many of whom assist in marking time by clapping their hands or by slapping the hollow between their outstretched legs with their open palms. In a conspicuous position stands the composer and conductor: with one foot on the pointed end of a sounding board,[1] and supporting himself on a spear, bow, or pole, he gives the time to the singers and dancers by kicking the board with the sole or heel of the other foot; in this wearying duty he is from time to time relieved by one of his male friends and, occasionally, even by a woman. During the solo, which partakes of the character of a "recitative," all other voices are hushed, and the listeners remain motionless, but as soon as the signal is given for the refrain, a number of men emerge suddenly from the gloom surrounding the encampment, and rushing excitedly into the arena, perform their part with frantic energy, generally adding their voices to those of the women to swell the volume of sound. Save at the *ti-tō-latnga-*,[2] women only occasionally take a share in the dances, but their performances are considered by some foreigners as rather suggestive of impropriety—with what justice I am not prepared to say, for modesty, at least, is satisfied by the wearing of a larger leaf apron than usual.

535 28. There is now-a-days[3] but one description of dance in vogue
527 with either sex, but it differs somewhat in the two sexes, and therefore must be dwelt upon briefly.

574 29. A man, when dancing,[4] curves his back, and throws all his weight on one leg, the knee of which is bent; his hands are raised to a level with his chest, and outstretched before him, the thumb of one hand being held between the forefinger and thumb of the other, while the remaining digits are separated and extended upwards;[5] he then advances by sudden jerks and hops

[1] These sounding boards (*pā·kuta-yem·aga-*) somewhat resemble in shape the carapace of a turtle, and might naturally be mistaken by a visitor (*vide* Colebrooke and Mouat) for shields, but I cannot account for Dr. Hodder's description of a "rough skin drum" (*vide* "Pall Mall Budget" of 20th April, 1877). See also Appendix B, item 19.

[2] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 7.

[3] From Lieutenant Colebrooke's description of the Andamanese dance of a hundred years ago, it would seem that since that date their style has undergone a great change, for he says they "dance in a ring, each alternately kicking and slapping his own breech *ad libitum*."

[4] *Vide* Plate III, fig. 2.

[5] Sometimes to heighten the effect a bow and arrow are carried in this position.

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535 taken with the leg on which he is resting, and taps the ground
527 after every second movement with the sole of the other foot;
574 in this manner he crosses and recrosses the entire *bū·lum-*, joining in the chorus as he proceeds, each step being taken in time with the thuds on the sounding-board, and the singing of the refrain. When fatigued, the performer makes a little variation by marking time in a rather odd manner, for the knees are bent, and the *heels* are raised alternately off the ground, the chief point of importance being to maintain the same time throughout.

30. Women, in dancing, swing their arms backwards and forwards; at the same time the knees are bent, and they make a succession of short bobs up and down, in perfect time; every now and then a few steps in advance are taken, and then the action is repeated.

31. To convey an accurate impression of the exact step, or of the effect of the respective performances of the two sexes, is not easy, but I trust that the above descriptions will convey a fair idea of their general character and peculiarities.

533 32. The alternating of solo and chorus continues for many
527 hours, and generally only ceases with the first faint streaks of
574 dawn, when those of the hosts who have managed to keep awake during the long night revel, lead the visitors to the huts they are to occupy, and then themselves sing and dance as a return compliment.

533 33. To a stranger not gifted with a keen ear for music, there is at first a certain amount of attraction in the oft-repeated cadence, but it must be confessed that, after a residence in the neighbourhood of one of the homes, one learns to wish that their musical performances were characterised by a little more variety, and were rather less protracted, though some compensation may be found at night, as the steady continuance of the monotonous sounds has a most soothing and somniferous effect.

34. It seems hardly necessary to say that all their songs are sung in unison, for they have no idea of choral or part-singing, nor are they able to catch up and repeat an air. They appear, however, able to distinguish between various kinds of music, and especially to appreciate the performances of our regimental bands, but this may perhaps in part be due to the tone of the big drum, which somewhat resembles that produced on their sounding-boards.

35. Dr. Brander gives a specimen of their monotonous chant —the compass of which will be found to include only three notes—in the following stave of our musical notation:—

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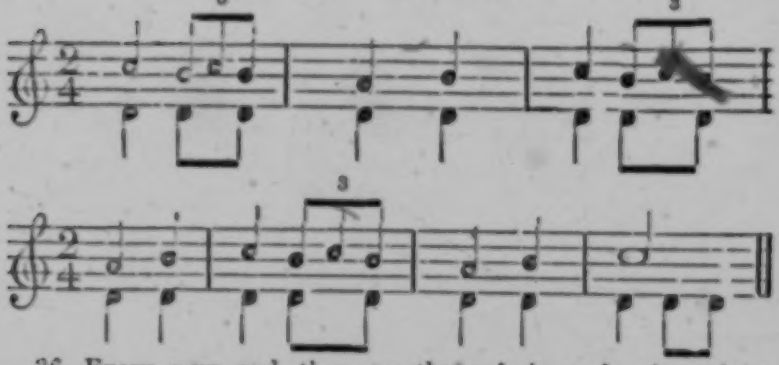

36. Every now and then, as the refrain ends, the soloist cries—

ō·ba cboyū· bē·date,[1] (*a*)

to which the singers respond by shouting—

tēd·re-d·re-d·red,[1] (*b*)

which seems equivalent to *Tra-la-la*, for it has no meaning *per se*.

431 527 574

37. When the guests have sufficiently rested from their night's exertions, they visit their special friends or relatives, and, if within the prescribed limits of affinity,[2] indulge[3] in weeping together;[4] these visits are usually followed by an interchange of gifts, the hosts taking the initiative, and a *fracas* not unfrequently ensues, for donor and recipient are not always of a mind as to the respective values of their "presents." Should all, however, pass off smoothly, the assemblage breaks up into various small parties for hunting or fishing, according to the situation of the encampment.

[1] These are styled respectively the (*a*) *àrbê·datuga-*, and the (*b*) *d-rê·anga-* or *drē·d·nanga*.

Further, in reference to their musical abilities, I would here quote from a friend, who at my request had kindly consented to test the powers of the aborigines in this particular, as I unfortunately am not qualified to do so myself:—

"I examined five women, seven men, and three young boys as to their musical abilities, and as far as I could judge, they have not the remotest idea of pitch or tune, even the chorus of their own song, *chēklū yà· lak·u mē jrà?* started by *bō·ra-gud*, was taken up in several keys, and it was difficult to distinguish the original. I tried all the voices separately; it seemed quite accidental if they pitched on the keynote, but as for leaving it when once got hold of to go up and down the scale they *would* not! so that it was impossible for me to ascertain either the quality or the register of the voices. The boys were, if anything, a shade the best; . . . a lot of drilling may beat a few notes into their heads."

[2] *Vide ante* "Customs, Meeting and Parting," paragraph 2.

[3] "The Sandwich Islanders recognise tears as a sign of happiness" (Lubbock, p. 552).

[4] No greetings take place on these occasions between the performers and their hosts until after the entertainment (which often lasts many hours) is over.

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(which has now about 6000 entries of the English-Andamanese part only), and the corrected grammar will be published in course of time. They are obviously of great importance to the Indian Government, on account of its penal settlement at Port Blair, and are well worthy of its patronage.

533 538 195

The Andamanese have poetry, and that of a most remarkable kind. Their only musical instrument is a stamping board to keep time, and to this rhythm everything seems to be sacrificed. The words, their order, the prefixes, the suffixes, the postpositions, are all more or less changed, the order of the words suffers, in short the poetical language requires a special study, which is the more difficult to give, as songs are always impromptu, and not, as a rule, sung again after the one occasion for which they were composed, and then only by the composer. Of the music Mr. Man regrets to state that he is unable to give any information, as he is, unfortunately, totally unacquainted with the subject. The following specimen of a song composed by the *jam·bu*, to whom the above letters were addressed, after his liberation from a six months' imprisonment, about 1865, for having shot down a sailor whom he found taking liberties with his wife, was given to Mr. Man by the author.

I. As it was sung.

Solo. *ngō do kūk l'àrtâ·lagī·ka,*
mô·ro el·ma kâ igbâ·dàla
mô·ro el·mo lē aden·yarà
pô-tôt läh.

Chorus. *aden·yarà pô-tôt läh.*

II. Literal Translation of the Poetry.

thou heart sad
sky surface there look-at
sky surface of ripple
bamboo spear.

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III. Prose Andamanese Version by Mr. Man.

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ngōl kūk l'àrtâ·lagike
mô·ro el·ma len kâ·to igbâ·dignga bēdig,
mô·ro el·ma lī·a en·yar len igbâ·dignga bēdig
pô-tôg len tūg·imike.

IV. Literal Translation of Prose Version.

thou heart-sad-art
sky-surface to there looking while,
sky-surface of ripple to looking while,
bamboo spear on lean-dost.

V. Free Translation of Prose Version.

thou art sad at heart,
gazing there at the sky's surface,
gazing at the ripple on the sky's surface,
leaning on the bamboo spear.

The rhythm, as read by Mr. Man, was:

-- -- | -- | --
--	--	*	---
-	-	-

The syllables marked * were of medial length. There were two short syllables at the end of the second and third lines. The three long syllables in the fourth line were very long and slow, each filling up a whole measure. Strange as some of the changes and omissions were, this is one of the least altered of the songs in Mr. Temple's grammar. We must suppose the man to be standing before his companions after liberation from prison, gazing sadly at the sky again and resting on his bamboo spear, and then the action would make the words intelligible.

An important question arises as to the durability of the 000

881 and pointing to a limited tabu. On reaching puberty or thereabouts, between 12 and 16 years of age, abstention from about 6 kinds of food, each in turn, is voluntarily commenced and continued for some years. At the end of each abstention there are a few ceremonies and some dancing and the youth of both sexes become "grown up." There is nothing else to mark this period beyond the application of an honorific name while it lasts, no secret to be communicated, no religious ceremony. In after-life, however, men who have gone through the initiatory period together will not fight, quarrel, nor call each other by name. They will assume great friendship, while avoiding each other with a mutual shyness. The women also practise a limited tabu as to food during menstruation and pregnancy. The idea of tabu does undoubtedly exist as to food and every man has his own tabued articles through life, which is, however, usually something observed to disagree with him in childhood or to be unpalatable.

264 576 There are also limitations as to sexual family relations. Only husband and wife can eat together. Widows and widowers, bachelors and maidens eat with their own sex only. A man may not address directly a married woman younger than himself or touch his wife's sister or the wife of a younger relative, and *vice versâ*.

302 304 The tattooing is partly ceremonial, as a test of courage and endurance of pain, and so is painting the body with clays, oils, etc. By the material and design is shown sickness, sorrow or festivity and the unmarried condition.

535 **Amusements.**—The great amusement of the Andamanese, indeed their chief object in life after the chase, is the formal evening or night dance, a curious monotonous performance accompanied by drumming the feet rythmically on a special sounding board, like a Crusader's shield and mistaken for a shield by several observers, singing a song more or less impromptu and of a compass limited to four semitones and the intermediate quarter tones, and clapping the hands on the thighs in unison. The dance takes place every evening whenever there are enough for it, and lasts for hours and all night at meetings of the tribes or septs for the purpose. It then becomes ceremonial and is continued for several nights in succession. Both sexes take allotted parts in it. This and turtle hunting are the only things which will keep the Andamanese awake all night long. There are five varieties of the dance among the tribes: that of the Onge-Jarawas being an entirely separate performance.

533 **Music.**—The Andamanese appreciate rhythm and time, but not pitch or tune. They sing in unison, but not in parts, and can neither sing in chorus nor repeat or even catch an air. The key in which a solo or chorus is started is quite accidental. They can be readily taught any dance step and can teach it themselves from observation.

Song.—Every man who respects himself is a composer of songs, always consisting of a solo and refrain, and sings without action or gesticulation and always to the same rhythm. The songs relate only to travel, sport and personal adventures, never to love, children and the usual objects of poetry, and very rarely to beliefs and superstition. The wording is enigmatic and excessively elliptic, the words themselves being in grammatical order, but shorn of all affixes as a rule. As in all poetry unusual words are employed. But clipped as the wording is and prosaic as the subjects are, the Andamanese are far from being unable to give a poetic turn to their phraseology and ideas. The women have lullabies for their babies.

524 **Games.**—The Andamanese are childishly fond of games and have an indigenous blind-man's-buff, leap-frog and hide-and-seek. Mock pig and turtle hunts, mock burials, and "ghost" hunts are favourite sports. Matches in swinging, swimming, throwing, skimming (ducks and drakes), shooting (archery), and wrestling are practised.

551 **Naming of Children and Adults.**—Every child is named for life after one of about twenty conventional names by the mother, of course without reference to sex, immediately upon pregnancy becoming evident, to which afterwards a nickname, varying occasionally as life proceeds, is added from personal peculiarities, deformities, disfigurements, or eccentricities and sometimes from flattery or reverence. Girls are also given "flower names" after one of sixteen selected trees which happen to be in flower at the time they reach

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

the felling of the tree, chiselling the lumber and processing it further to give the shape of a canoe. Buckets of wood are also constructed by them from the softwood tree. Two types of baskets are made, the smaller ones are more well-finished than the bigger ones. The former is known as *toleoaga* and the later *tole-laya*. Such activities have introduced the use of dahs, chisels, and iron files among the Onges, from the iron pieces derived from the sea shores. The other important pieces of their craftsmanship are the beautiful weavings of fibre, tussel of yellow fibre used by the women in their front. However, the art of making the earthen pots has been completely forgotten.

The leisure in their lives has helped the development of some amount of aesthetic senses among the Onges. All the Onges men and women shave their heads with flakes of glass, obtained from the sea-borne glass bottles. The body of the Onges are also painted with white clay which save their skin from insect-bite while red paint serves medicinal purposes if some individual is having fever. In times of mourning, red orchre paint is a taboo.[1]

Early marriage is the custom. The widows are looked down upon by the society. Some incidents of widow murder and drowning are heard. In the married life, the husband is devoted to his wife and both the husband and wife work for collecting their food.

Dances and songs are in vogue and there are practically songs for every occasion and activity. Most of their songs are more plaintive than joyous.

There are three broad divisions of the Onges of the Little Andaman :

(1) *Giremeka-Gobeule* group inhabiting the northeastern coast of the island ;

(2) *Engakwale group* live in the interior of the islands ; and

(3) *Gireraragobeule group* live in the southern and western coasts of the islands.

In spite of all the limitations, the Onges have been considered as one of the happiest people of the world with plenty of food and water to eat and drink and with very few social cankers to fight with. But as is common to all other aborigines of the Andamans, a decline in their number is discernible.

The Sentinelese

The Sentinelese are the least known of all the aborigines of the Anda-

1 The Onge of the Little Andaman—A short guide book ; Anthropological Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

rule the multiplication and growth of the various animals and plants useful to Man.

The Onges do not love Eiuga, or any of the other spirits. They merely fear them, and seek to evade their anger by various expedients. It is curious that they never hesitate to try and deceive the spirits and think themselves very clever when they manage to steal roots or tubers from the ground. Nor do they revere the spirits of their ancestors; these are to be feared and propitiated by preservation of their bones. By definition none of the spirits, since they can be deceived by simple tricks, can be all-powerful, but this conclusion, simple though it is, is still beyond the Onges' powers of reasoning.

The Onges' fear of the dead is instanced by their carrying round their necks the *ibidanghe*, or necklet of human jaws, as a propitiation. The wearing of the bones prevents the spirit from going away (by analogy the bones of dead enemies are burned to force the spirit, clearly a hostile one, to leave the place). The custom of burial within the communal hut follows the same logic – the spirits of the dead are kept near their bones and hence near their relatives, to help them in the daily round of hunting, fishing and gathering food.[1]

Unlike most of the other peoples whose burial customs are even today based on their underlying principles, the Onges have not progressed beyond the stage of relating the dead directly to the demands of daily life; they have no 'practices' of any kind, no concept at all of holy places, prayers or images. Even the very names of the dead are soon forgotten. Their fears, however, are none the less very real. They do not like to speak of Eiuga or even of the lesser spirits, for fear of attracting their attention.

The Onges have no stories or explanatory legends, like those reported by Brown for Great Andaman. They have only short epics, if such they may be called, recalling extraordinary events in

[1] This belief is of very remote origin, and can be traced back at least to the megaliths of southern Asia, like the splendid ones which I was able to photograph, among others, in the mountains of Travancore. Here again the object was to prevent the dead from leaving their relatives. Similar ideas are found today in India among several tribes, notably the Munda, or Nias, and among various peoples of Indonesia, and even Oceania. The rituals are probably followed today without any understanding of their meaning or symbolism; the details vary from place to place, but the underlying principle, the original fear, remains the same everywhere.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

their hunting and fishing, or contacts with strangers, which are loudly chanted, accompanied by miming and dancing, during their nocturnal celebrations. One was sung and danced in my honour; Cendubai,[1] head of the Lulera hut, much struck by the sight of me in my hammock slung between two trees on nylon cords, delivered himself of a warning over the danger I was running using such thin cords. At the end of each 'verse' the refrain '*cué-cian-ghéghebíbée-chéle*' (he will hurt himself) repeated his fear of the cords breaking.

Hunting and fishing episodes are to the Onges less interesting than themes like my safety, because to them they lack the repetitive refrain. In their dances, on the other hand, they prefer something else, to us monotonous, but for them always new, and even exciting; more than anything they love to dance the stages of courtship to its culmination, with the help of words and extraordinarily (to Western eyes regrettably) vivid gestures.

Birds, to the Onges, harbour the spirits of the dead, and it is for this reason that they are never eaten, contrary to the assertions of Brown.[2] Similar fears extend to lizards, the jungle cats, bats, rats and snakes. I have confirmed this among both the Onges and the Arioto. The latter even refused to eat some fat pigeons which I offered them not knowing of the taboo; they accepted the gifts, but the pigeons were eventually eaten by my own men. And the Onges whom I took with me to Port Blair for a few days refused point blank to eat pigeon or chicken.

The spirits select the Onges' food for them, in the sense that they regard everything as edible or poisonous, according to whether the guardian spirit is benign or malevolent. Given the curious adaptability of the spirits and the intensely practical way in which they operate it is hardly surprising that their benevolence or malignity coincides remarkably well with those foods which tend to promote normal health!

[1] I was sorry to learn that Cendubai died suddenly in 1955 aged barely forty.

[2] Curiously enough, while the Onges' fears lead them to reject out of hand any food of animal origin which is unknown to them, the same does not apply to vegetable foods. They [illegible] half-rotten fruit, which I offered them, even though they had never seen it before, and they clamoured for rice and tea, so much so that in order to prevent them becoming addicted to the rice, as so often happens when primitive peoples meet a new food, I insisted on receiving equal quantities of yams in exchange for the rice and very sweet tea, to slow down their demands.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Even the unique dances enjoyed by the Onges are to be seen among the Jarawas, with the characteristic marking of the rhythm by slapping the calves against the buttocks. This does not seem to have been a feature of the Arioto dances, in which the rhythm was by the *pukuta yemnga*, a kind of convex shield made of the very hard and aromatic red wood (*Pterocarpus dalbergoides*) which the termites never seem to attack. I was able to obtain one of these shields, the last that the twenty-three surviving Arioto possessed and the only musical instrument in the islands. It is played by one man with his feet, while the dancers, male and female, form lines on each side of him a short distance away. Before use the convex face is decorated with lines of white ochre and chains of tusk shells are hung from a hole at the end opposite to the one on which the player's feet beat; from the same hole runs a cord, which he holds in his hand to prevent the instrument moving away from him as he beats. The players change from time to time as the dancers shuffle on and on for hours in the light of the resin torches. But apart from the instrument itself, the rhythmic hand-clapping and the dancers singing in unison are the same throughout the Andamans.

The women clap their hands in rhythm, and then slap one thigh with the open palm of one hand, the other hand clasping the wrist, singing all the time. The men dance in Indian file, beating the ground first with the right heel, then with the left, the toes barely raised from the ground, moving a short way forward each time. As they dance they lean forward, then with hands clasped and their fingers interlaced. There are variations, but the basic step is always the same.

One difference between the Onges and the Jarawas is that in the latter both sexes are naked, while the Onge women have in recent times adopted the *naquineghe* or apron. Complete nudity was a characteristic of all the Negritos, including the Semang and Aetà, and the Jarawa migrations probably took place before the introduction of the *naquineghe*.

The present inability of the three peoples to understand each other is more a question of pronunciation than of difference in actual words. To examine the question fully it would be necessary to collect a large number of words and analyse their affinity; meanwhile we know that despite their inability to understand each other there is a close resemblance between the language of the Jarawas and Sentinellese and that of the Onges. Strict isolation can lead to

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

301 482 *Jeru čiba*). This object, however, seems to have its ceremonial uses also. In one of the initiation ceremonies that I saw, the man who was officiating wore such a sling round his shoulders during the ceremony.

535 In the earlier parts of this chapter reference has been made several times to the dance of the Andaman Islanders. For the natives the dance is both a means of enjoyment and also a ceremony. The period of mourning for the dead is brought to a close by a dance, in which all the mourners join. As will be shown later, a dance was generally held before a fight, in former times when fights occurred. The ceremony by which two hostile local groups made peace with one another was a dance.

In the initiation ceremonies there are special dances, which have already been described, in connection with the pig-eating and turtle-eating ceremonies. With the exception of these special dances, and the peace-making dance to be described later, there is only one kind of dance in any given tribe. Thus the dance at the end of mourning, or before setting out on an attack on enemies, is in all essentials exactly the same as the dance in which the natives indulge when the day's hunting has been successful and the evening is fine.

The time for dancing, except in connection with certain ceremonies, is at night, after the evening meal. The dance takes place on the open ground in the centre of the village. This is swept clean by the women and the younger men. One or two fires are lighted, and little heaps of resin are placed in convenient situations to provide lights. These have to be replenished from time to time as the dance proceeds. Near one end of the [534] dancing ground is placed a sounding-board, upon which it is the duty of one man to beat time with his foot. A sounding-board is a piece of wood somewhat of the shape of a large shield, cut from the hard *Pterocarpus* tree. One is shown in Plate VI. Behind the sounding-board, or a little to one side of it, the women, who form the chorus, sit in a row, with their legs stretched out in front of them, facing the dancing-ground. The men who intend to dance sit or stand round the edge of the space reserved for the dance.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

over a fire, and sharpened by means of a *Cyrena* shell; *netting-needles* (*pō·tòkla-*[1]) and *tongs* (*kai-*[2]), which last consist merely of a strip of bamboo, bent double, with pointed ends;[3] the slender *Bambusa nana*, called *rī·di-*, is generally selected for forming the hooked pole (*ngâ·tanga-*[4]), and it is likewise invariably employed for the shafts of their wooden and iron-pointed arrows.

5. Although there are materials ready to hand wherewith they might easily construct a few such simple musical instruments as are made and used by the Nicobarese, no attempt seems to have been made by them in this direction, for the rude sounding board (*pū·kuta-yem·ngo-*[5]) can hardly be included under this head. This circumstance seems to find its explanation in the fact that though they are good timists their talent for music is (as will be presently shown,[6] on the testimony of more than one competent authority) of the lowest type.

6. A brush, suitable for painting the stripes on their baskets (*jōb-*[7]), baby-slings (*chīp-*[8]), &c., is obtained from a drupe of the small fruit of the *Pandanus Andamanensium* (*mâng-*), the pulp having been first extracted by means of a *Cyrena* shell.

7. Skins of animals, thorns, or spines of trees are not made use of by these people in any way, nor do they have recourse to caves, rock-shelters, or tree-tops for their dwellings, though they occasionally, as I have before mentioned, avail themselves of the buttress-like formations of the roots of such trees as the *Ficus laccifera*, *Bombax malabaricum*, *Sterculia villosa*, &c., when travelling in bad weather, or when suddenly overtaken by a storm. Palm-leaves, as I explained when describing their habitations,[9] are employed for thatching purposes.

Leather-work.—From the last paragraph it will be correctly inferred that there is no evidence of their having ever possessed a knowledge of the art of dressing and preparing skins for use in any form: this may be due as much to the limited number and variety of those animals[10] whose hides might be turned to account in this way as to the equable temperature of the climate, which renders such, or indeed any covering unnecessary.

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 67.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 80.
[3] A narrow and pointed piece of bamboo, bitten at the end so as to loosen the fibres, is made to serve as a brush in painting designs on their buckets, sounding boards, &c.
[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 17.
[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 19.
[6] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraph 35, and footnote.
[7] *Vide post* "Basket-work," paragraph 3, and Appendix B, item 21.
[8] *Vide* Appendix B, item 24.
[9] *Vide ante* "Habitations," paragraph 2.
[10] Viz., dugong, porpoise, paradoxurus, iguana, and pig.

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PLATE XII.

ANDAMANESE DANCING: THE CONDUCTOR MARKING TIME WITH SOUNDING-BOARD.

[facing p. 170]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Plate C.

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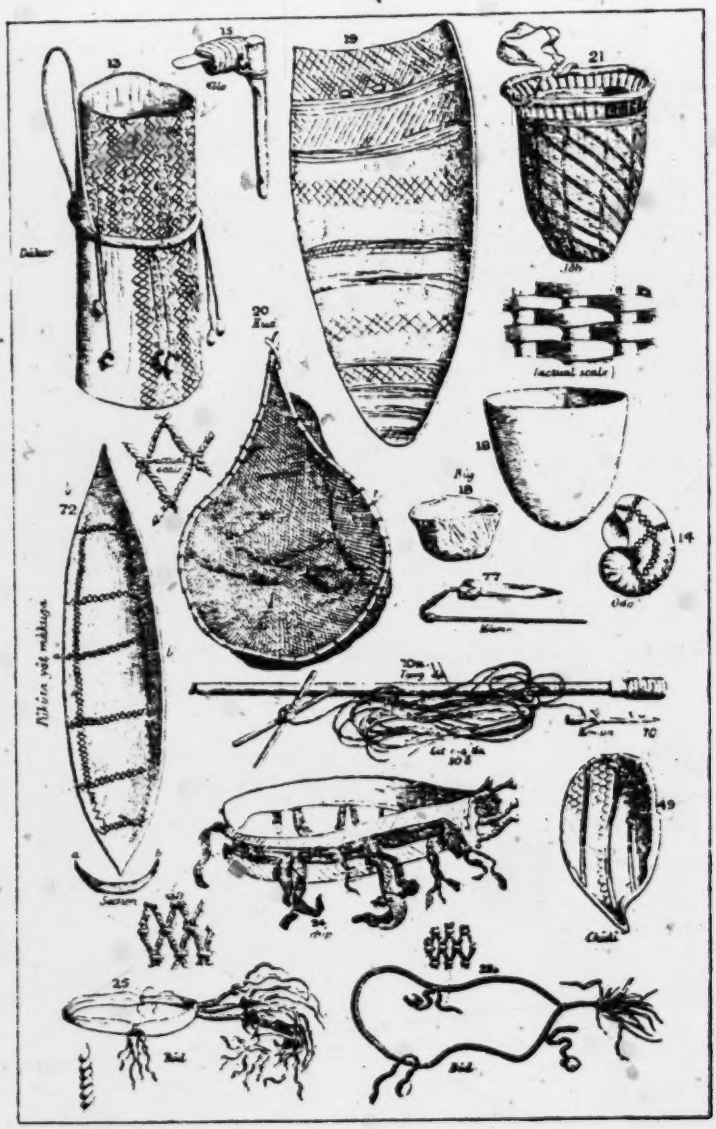

ANDAMANESE OBJECTS.

[facing p. 178]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

415 14. *ō·do-*.[1] Nautilus shells painted with *kā·ngatā-būj-* (item 62), and used as drinking vessels.

412 15. *wō·lo-*.[2] Adze: this tool is used not only in making canoes, buckets, bows, &c., but in digging graves. The handle consists of an L-shaped piece of mangrove wood, *Rhizophora conjugata* (Andam., *bad·a-*), and the blade is generally made of such pieces of iron as the keel-plate of a boat; formerly *Pinna* and such like shells are said to have been used, but strange to say it does not appear that stone celts were ever so employed.

[222] 16. *lā·kā-*.[3] A long pointed stick of the *Memecylon varians*, (Andam., *pē·taing-*) or *Rhizophora conjugata* (Andam., *bad·a-*), which is used as a hoe in digging up yams and other edible roots.

[NOTE.—A similar implement is found in use among the Australians.[4]]

17. *tōg-ngā·tanga-*.[5] Pole, 12 to 15 feet long, of *Bambusa nana* (Andam., *rī·di-*), to which a short piece of bamboo is securely fastened, with a strip of cane (Andam., *pī·dga-*), or stout cord, to [222] form a hook; it is used in gathering fruit—especially jack-fruit (*Artocarpus chaplasha*)—and is the only object of the nature of a hook *made* by the Andamanese.

415 18. *būj-*.[6] Cooking pot: these are made of various sizes by members of both sexes, and are shaped by the hand and eye only,[7] after being sun-dried they are surrounded with, and filled by pieces of lighted wood in order to complete the process of baking. When needed for travelling they are fitted with light wicker frames (*būj-rā·m[illegible]-*) to facilitate their removal, and to protect them from injury. The capacity of an average-sized pot is 9 or 10 pints.

[NOTE.—The *yē·rewa-* and *jār·awa-* pots have a conical base, and in this respect differ from those made by the tribes of South Andaman.]

534 19. *pū·kuta-yem·nga-*.[8] Sounding-boards—used for marking time during a song or dance[9]—which are scooped out of the fallen trunks of the *Pterocarpus dalbergioides* (Andam., *chā·langa-*), the wood of which is very hard; they are always of the same shield-like shape, and are frequently as much as 5 feet long and 2 feet wide; the concave side is generally ornamented with designs in white clay (*tā·la-ōg-*, item 58). When in use the

[1] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 20.
[2] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 13.
[3] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 2.
[4] *Vide* "Anthropology," p. 216, by Dr. E. B. Tylor, F.R.S.
[5] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 1.
[6] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 19.
[7] *Vide* Part III, "Pottery," paragraphs 4 and 6.
[8] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 15.
[9] *Vide* Part III, "Games and Amusements," paragraph 27.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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convex side is uppermost; the pointed end is stuck in the ground, and kept in position with one foot; a stone is then placed under the board to enable the performer to make more noise when keeping time, which he does by thumping or kicking the board with the heel of the other foot.

227 462

20. *kūd-*.[1] Hand fishing-net constructed from the prepared fibre of the *Gnetum edule* (Andam., *pīlita-*) by women and girls, who also by its means catch large quantities of fish and prawns, both in streams and among rocks along the coast at low tide. It is about the size of an ordinary butterfly-net; the frame is made of a length of a creeper known to them as *ôrta-tāt-*, the ends being bound together to form a handle.

285 462

21. *jōb-*.[2] Baskets used by all the Great Andaman tribes for carrying food and various other articles: they are generally made by women.[3]

[NOTE.—The baskets made by the *yērewa-* or North Andaman tribes, differ from those found among the *bōjig* tribes in having a wider base and a smaller mouth.[4]]

21*a*. The *jārawa-*[5] baskets differ from those in use among the Great Andaman tribes in having no firm base.

286 462

22. *châpanga-*.[6] Netted reticules made and used by women for carrying small objects: the string used for this purpose is generally prepared from the fibre of the *Anadendrum paniculatum* (Andam., *yōlba-*, item 64), but as this is not always obtainable the less-valued fibre of the *Gnetum edule* (Andam., *pīlita-*) is sometimes employed as a substitute.

23. *pārepa-*.[7] Sleeping mat made by women of strips of a species of *Calamus* fastened securely in the ordinary manner with string made from the fibre of the *Gnetum edule* (Andam., *pīlita-*, item 65). When in use the rolled-up portion of these mats—which are generally 15 to 20 feet long—serves as a pillow.

23*a*. The *jārawa-*[8] sleeping mats hitherto found have always been of short lengths, but as wooden pillows similar to those in use among the Nicobarese have been found in their huts, it is probable that the specimens obtained represent full sized mats.

854 462

24. *chīp-*.[9] Sling or band made by women from the bark of

[1] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 18.
[2] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 17.
[3] *Vide* Part III, "Basket-work," paragraphs 2 and 3.
[4] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 14.
[5] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 14*a*.
[6] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 33.
[7] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 15.
[8] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 15*a*.
[9] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 25.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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512 combs of black honey are to be found[1], and these are generally
222 consumed by the hunters on the spot.

The provision of the vegetable food of the community is the work of the women, who must also supply the camp with firewood and water. While the men are away hunting the
462 women, attended by the children, cut and carry the firewood,
512 and either remain in the camp making baskets or nets or other
222 objects, or else go into the forest to look for fruits and seeds. Thus by midday the camp may be quite deserted, save perhaps for one or two old men and women, and a few of the children.

In the afternoon the women return with what food they have
512 obtained and then the men come in with their provision. The
252 camp, unless the hunters have been unsuccessful, is then busy with the preparation of the evening meal, which is the chief meal of the day. If a pig has been brought home whole it is cooked at the public cooking place and is then cut up. The meat is distributed amongst the members of the community and the woman of each family then proceeds to cook the family meal. The pork, after it has been roasted and cut up, is further cooked by being boiled. The family meal is prepared at the fire that each family has in its hut. The meal is a family one, partaken
[264] by a man and his wife and children. The bachelors cook and eat their own meal, and the unmarried women also eat by themselves.

512 After the meal is over, darkness having by this time fallen, the
[535] men may spend an hour or two in dancing to the accompaniment of a song sung by one of them with the help of a chorus of women.
537 In that case they would probably eat another meal after the dance was over. Another favourite amusement for the evening is what may be called "yarning." A man sits down with a few listeners and tells them, with few words, and with many dramatic gestures, how he killed a pig. The same man may go on with
512 tale after tale, till, by the time he finishes he has killed twenty or thirty pigs. Finally the whole camp retires to rest and nothing

[1] There are two kinds of wild bee in the Andamans. A small species makes black honeycombs in hollow trees, and these may be found at any time of the year. A larger species of bee builds white combs suspended from the underside of branches in tall trees. Such combs are found in abundance only in the hot season, and not at all in the middle of the rainy season.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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881 is put on in a zig-zag pattern to be described later, the lines
301 of white clay alternating with those of red paint. This decoration is done by female relatives.

881 Early on the morning of the fourth day, soon after daybreak,
535 the whole village is astir. One of the older men takes his stand by the sounding-board used for marking time at dances, and the women sit down near him. The youth comes out from his hut and stands in the middle of the dancing ground, and five or six men stand round him in a circle, each of them facing towards the youth. Each of the men, including the youth, holds in each hand a bundle of twigs of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus* or, if such be not obtainable, of the *Myristica longifolia*. The man at the sounding-board sings a song, beating time with his foot, in the usual way, on the sounding-board, and at the chorus the women join in and mark the time by clapping their hands on their thighs. The song may be on any subject and is selected by the singer from his own repertory. A song referring to turtle-hunting is preferred. During the first song the dancers stand at their positions on the dancing ground, lifting up their leaf bundles at short intervals and bringing them down against their knees. The singer then commences a new song or repeats the former one, and when the song comes to an end the youth and those with him begin their dance. Each dancer flexes his hips so that his back is nearly horizontal. He raises his hands to the back of his neck so that the two bundles of leaves in his hands rest on his back. With knees flexed he leaps from the ground with both feet, keeping time to the beating of the sounding-board, which is about 144 beats to the minute. At the end of every eight jumps or so, the dancer brings his hands forwards, downwards and backwards, giving a vigorous sweep with the bundles of leaves, which scrape the ground at each side of his feet, and then brings back the bundles to their former position. They dance thus for 15 or 30 seconds and then pause to rest. The dance is repeated several times, until the youth is tired out. As the dance is extremely fatiguing this does not take long[1].

[1] I believe that the dance is intended to imitate the movement of a turtle as it swims through the water.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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round the neck either in front or behind. The photograph in Plate XVIII shows a woman wearing the skull of her deceased sister. Like all their other possessions these relics are lent or exchanged, passing from one person to another, until sometimes a skull may be found in the possession of a man who does not know to whom it belonged. The other bones are also preserved. The limb bones are generally painted with red paint and white clay and are kept in the roof of the hut. They are not treasured as much as the skull and jaw, and are often mislaid. Thus, while every camp is sure to contain a number of skulls and jaw-bones it is comparatively rarely that the limb bones are to be found. The other bones are made into strings, such bones as those of the hand and foot being used as they are, while ribs and vertebrae are broken up into pieces of convenient size. The bones or pieces of bone are attached to a length of rope by means of thread and the string thus produced is often ornamented with the dried yellow skin of the *Dendrobium* and with shells. The whole is covered with red paint. These strings of bone are worn as cures for and preventives of illness. If a man has a head-ache, for instance, he will attach one of the strings round his head. They are in almost constant use in every camp and every man and woman is sure to possess one or two. The bones are made into strings by the female relatives of the deceased and are then given away as presents. 765

In the North Andaman the skull of a baby is preserved by enclosing it in a small basket just big enough to contain it, the top of the basket, which is narrower than the lower part, being only finished after the skull is placed inside, so that it cannot fall out and can only be removed by unfastening the rim of the basket. Mr Man states that children's skulls are not carried in baskets, except temporarily as when travelling, fishing, etc., but are preserved from injury by being entirely covered with string[1]. This applies only to the tribes of the South and Middle Andaman.

At about the time that the bones are recovered there takes place a special ceremony referred to as "taking off the clay" or 764 535

[1] Man, *loc. cit.* p. 143.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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"the shedding of tears." The object of this ceremony is to release the mourners from the restrictions that they have had to observe. The ceremony takes place in the evening, and an occasion is chosen when there are plenty of people in the camp. The mourners, male and female, remove the *odu* clay from their foreheads and decorate themselves with red paint and white clay in the way described in connection with dancing. They also put on what ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf or netting and *Dentalium* shell they may possess or be able to borrow. When all the members of the camp are assembled around the dancing ground one of the male mourners takes his stand at the sounding-board and sings a song. This song does not refer in any way to the dead man or woman; it is just an ordinary song of hunting or canoe-cutting or any other subject, though it may have been specially composed for the occasion. Those women who are not in mourning sit near the singer and take up the chorus. When the song is fairly started the mourners, male and female, begin to dance. There is nothing special about the dance, which is exactly like any other dance. After dancing for a short time the mourners seat themselves at one end of the dancing ground and their friends begin to weep and wail. Everybody present joins in the lamentation until they are tired. The mourners then rise and again dance. After a time the women retire and seat themselves with the chorus, but the men continue the dance (in which they are joined by the other men present), till they are tired, which often means till near dawn. After this ceremony the mourners are free to eat any of the foods up till then forbidden, and are free once more to use red paint and white clay and to take their part in all dances and other festivities.

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It has been seen from the preceding descriptions that the Andamanese have a number of ritual customs relating to food. There are certain occasions in the life of every individual when he or she must abstain from eating certain foods. A person mourning for the death of a relative is subjected to restrictions of this kind, and so are the parents of a new-born child for a short period before and after the birth. A woman must not eat certain things when she is menstruating. Restrictions

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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The time for dancing, except in connection with certain ceremonies, is at night, after the evening meal. The dance takes place on the open ground in the centre of the village. This is swept clean by the women and the younger men. One or two fires are lighted, and little heaps of resin are placed in convenient situations to provide lights. These have to be replenished from time to time as the dance proceeds. Near one end of the [534] dancing ground is placed a sounding-board, upon which it is the duty of one man to beat time with his foot. A sounding-board is a piece of wood somewhat of the shape of a large shield, cut from the hard *Pterocarpus* tree. One is shown in Plate VI. Behind the sounding-board, or a little to one side of it, the women, who form the chorus, sit in a row, with their legs stretched out in front of them, facing the dancing-ground. The men who intend to dance sit or stand round the edge of the space reserved for the dance.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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When all is ready a man who has volunteered to sing the first song takes his stand at the sounding-board, and sings his song through. When he reaches the chorus the women take it up and repeat it after him, and as they do so each woman marks time by clapping her hands on the hollow formed by her thighs, the legs being crossed one over the other at the ankle. The singer continues to sing, thus leading the chorus, and at the same time marks the time of the song by beating on the sounding-board with his foot. As soon as the chorus begins the dancers begin to dance. The step of each dancer is the same, but there is very little attempt to form a figure. When the singer and the chorus get tired, the singing ceases, but the man at the sounding-board continues to mark time for the dancers. The singer repeats his song several times, and he may sing several songs, each repeated several times. When he gets tired he is relieved by another man. In a dance that lasts for any time, one singer succeeds another, and the singing and dancing are kept up continuously, sometimes for five or six hours.

The above description applies to all the tribes of the Great Andaman, but there are some differences between the four tribes of the North Andaman, and the tribes of the Middle and South Andaman.

In the North Andaman the song is sung through once from beginning to end by the singer, and is then repeated three or four times by the chorus. In the South Andaman each song consists of one verse and a refrain, if we may speak of them thus. The singer sings the verse and the refrain, and then the refrain only is repeated an indefinite number of times by the chorus.

In the dance of the Southern tribes, each dancer dances alternately on the right foot or on the left. When dancing on the right foot the first movement is a slight hop with the right foot, then the left foot is raised and brought down with a backward scrape along the ground, then another hop on the right foot. These three movements, which occupy the time of two beats of the song, are repeated until the right leg is tired, and the dancer then changes the movement to a hop with the left foot, followed by a scrape with the right and another hop with the left. The time of the movement is as follows, the upper line being the

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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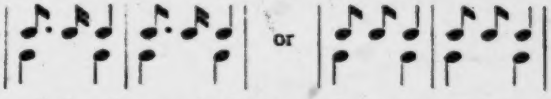
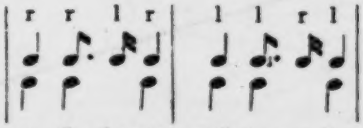
rhythm of the dance, while the lower line shows the beats of the song, which is marked on the sounding-board and by the clapping of the women.



The body of the dancer is bent slightly forward from the hips, the legs being flexed at the knees and the back being curved well inwards. There are several ways of holding the hands and arms, one of the commonest being to hold the arms outstretched in front on a level with the shoulders, while the thumb and forefinger of one hand are interlocked with those of the other. When a man does not wish to cease altogether from dancing but desires to have a short rest, he marks the time by raising each heel alternately from the ground. As a man dances he remains in one spot for a short time, and then, still continuing the same step, moves for a yard or two around the circle of the dancing ground. Every now and then a dancer is to be seen trotting from one position to another across the dancing ground, abandoning the step of the dance, but still keeping time to the song.

The Northern tribes have now adopted the same kind of dance as the tribes of the South, but formerly their dance was slightly different. There was a little more attempt at forming a figure, the dancers moving for the most part in a circle, some in one direction and others in the other. The step was as follows : a step forward with the right foot, a hop on the right foot, a scrape with the left, then another hop with the right, a step forward with the left foot, a hop with the left, a scrape with the right and a hop with the left. The rhythm is as follows :—



The lower line shows the beats on the sounding-board.

Some of the dancers occasionally break into the regular Southern step. A dancer sometimes changes from the usual

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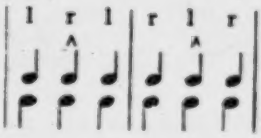
step to another called *koi*, in which each foot is alternately struck on the ground and scraped backwards. Other slight variations of the movement may be introduced. 535 533

In both the Southern and the Northern dance each dancer pleases himself as to the direction in which he moves, and the step that he adopts at any given moment. All the dancers, however independently of one another they dance, keep strict time to the music.

Women do not, as a rule, join in the ordinary dances held in the evening. Their share in the entertainment consists of forming the chorus. When they do dance, as they do on certain occasions, such as the dance at the end of mourning, their step is different from that of the men. In the Southern tribes the female dancer stands at one spot with knees flexed and lifts her heels alternately from the ground in time to the music, thus producing a slight swaying or swinging motion of the hips. After dancing thus at one spot for a few moments, she moves forward a few steps to a new position, keeping time to the music in all her movements, and then repeats the same performance. The arms are swung in time to the dance, or else are held before the breast with one wrist crossed over the other.

In the Northern tribes the common dance of the women is a sort of modification of that of the men. A woman advances across the ground in regular time, but at every third step she gives a peculiar little hop which has something of the effect of a bobbing curtsey. The time is as follows :—



l and r standing for left and right foot, and the accent indicating the hop or curtsey. Every now and then a dancer stops and remains at one spot, alternately scraping each foot backwards, holding her knees flexed, and swinging both arms together.

The ordinary dance of the Andamanese, as described above, must always be accompanied by a song, and the purpose of every song is to serve as the accompaniment to a dance. Every man 533

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533 composes his own songs. No one would ever sing (at a dance) a song composed by any other person. There are no traditional songs. Women occasionally compose songs, but I never heard a woman sing at a dance except in the chorus.

Every man composes songs, and the boys begin to practise themselves in the art of composition when they are still young. A man composes his song as he cuts a canoe or a bow or as he paddles a canoe, singing it over softly to himself, until he is satisfied with it. He then awaits an opportunity to sing it in public, and for this he has to wait for a dance. Before the dance he takes care to teach the chorus to one or two of his female relatives so that they can lead the chorus of women. He sings his song, and if it is successful he repeats it several times, and thereafter it becomes part of his repertory, for every man of any age has a repertory of songs that he is prepared to repeat at any time. If the song is not successful, if the chorus and dancers do not like it, the composer abandons it and does not repeat it. Some men are recognized as being more skilful song-makers than others.

The songs all deal with everyday subjects such as hunting or cutting a canoe. The important thing about a song is not its sense, but its sound, i.e., its rhythm and melody. A translation of an *Akar-Bale* song, which is quite typical, is "*Poio*, the son of *Mam Golat*, wants to know when I am going to finish my canoe. He comes every day. That is why I make haste to get it launched as soon as possible." Another on the same subject runs: "Knots are very hard to cut with an adze. They blunt the edge of the adze. How hard I am working cutting these knots." The singer here refers to the cutting of a canoe. A number of songs in the native languages with translations, are given by Mr Portman[1]. To these the reader may refer for further information.

535 628 301 According to the statements of the natives it was formerly the custom to have a dance before setting out to a fight. There was no special war-dance, the warriors joining in an ordinary dance such as has just been described. Those who intended

[1] Portman, *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes*, pp. 166—188.

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535 628 301 to take part in the attack on their enemies, i.e., all the able-bodied adult males, decorated themselves with red paint and white clay, and put on ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf or netting and shells. Each man held in his hands or placed in his belt or head-dress plumes of shredded *Tetranthera* wood (called *čelmo* in *Aka-J̌eru*, *uǰ* in *Aka-Bea*). These plumes of shredded wood are now often worn or carried in an ordinary dance, but I believe that in former times they were the distinctive sign of a war-dance. To make them, a short length of the wood is taken (generally a piece of an old broken pig-arrow) and the wood is carefully shredded with a *Cyrena* shell, care being taken not to break any of the longitudinal fibres. One end is then tied with a piece of string or fibre. Similar plumes are made from *Pandanus* wood, and are carried or worn in a similar manner.

When the attacking party set out from their village each man wears a plume of shredded *Tetranthera* wood thrust into the back of his belt. They rub their bows with the shredded wood, [789] and say that this has the effect of making their own bows shoot well and those of their enemies shoot badly.

682 784 If a man kills another in a fight between two villages, or in a private quarrel, he leaves his village and goes to live by himself in the jungle, where he must stay for some weeks, or even months. His wife, and one or two of his friends may live with him or visit him and attend to his wants. For some weeks the homicide must observe a rigorous tabu. He must not handle a bow or arrow. He must not feed himself or touch any food with his hands, but must be fed by his wife or a friend. He must keep his neck and upper lip covered with red paint, and must wear plumes of shredded *Tetranthera* wood (*čelmo*) in his belt before and behind, and in his necklace at the back of his neck. If he breaks any of these rules it is supposed that the spirit of the man he has killed will cause him to be ill. At the end of a few weeks the homicide undergoes a sort of purification [783] ceremony. His hands are first rubbed with white clay (*tol-odu*) and then with red paint. After this he may wash his hands and may then feed himself with his hands and may handle bows and arrows. He retains the plumes of shredded wood for a year or so.

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PLATE XIX

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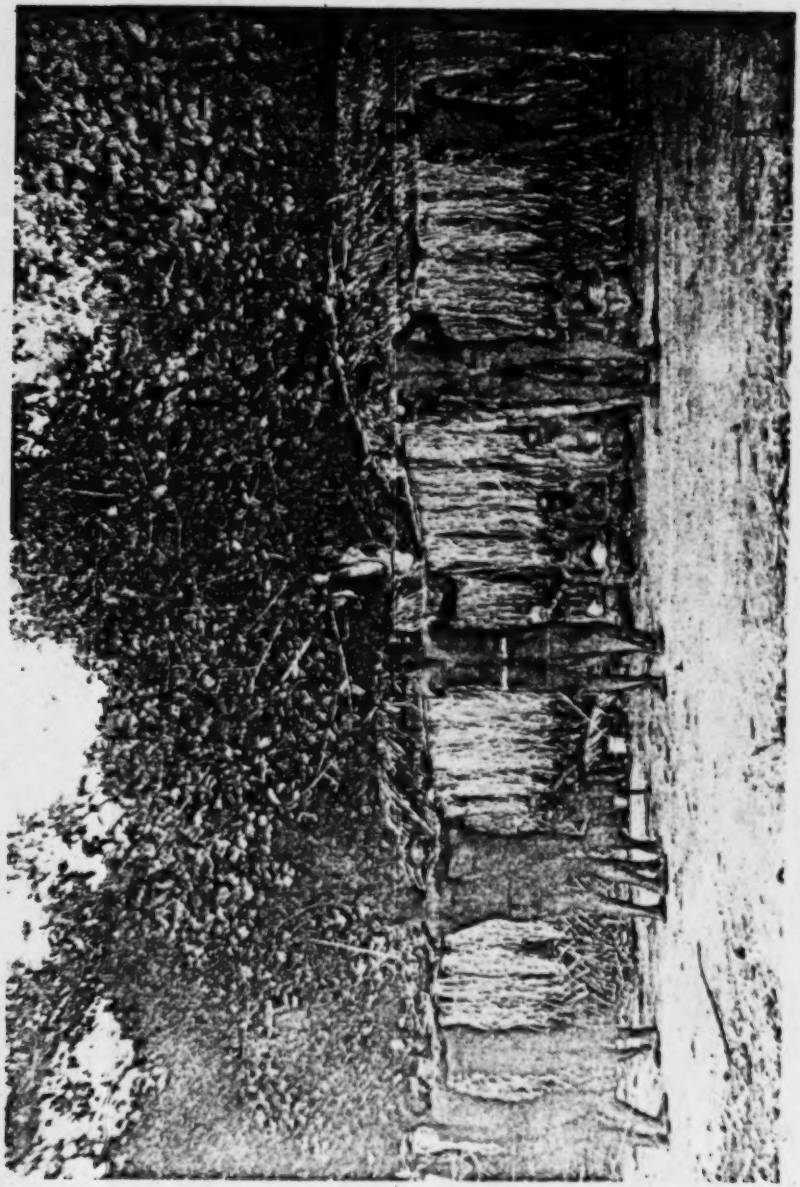

The peace-making dance of the North Andaman

[facing p. 134]

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In the North Andaman, and possibly in the South also, there was a ceremony by which two hostile local groups made peace with one another. When the two groups have agreed to make friends and bring their quarrel to an end, arrangements are made for this ceremony. The arrangements are made through the women of the two parties. A day is fixed for the ceremony, which takes place in the country of the group that made the last attack. In the village of this group the dancing ground is prepared, and across it is erected what is called a *koro-čop*. Posts are put up in a line, to the tops of these is attached a length of strong cane, and from the cane are suspended bundles of shredded palm-leaf (*koro*). The appearance of this construction may be seen from the photograph reproduced in Plate XIX. The women of the camp keep a look-out for the approach of the visitors. When they are known to be near the camp, the women sit down on one side of the dancing ground, and the men take up positions in front of the decorated cane. Each man stands with his back against the *koro-čop*, with his arms stretched out sideways along the top of it. None of them has any weapons.

The visitors, who are, if we may so put it, the forgiving party, while the home party are those who have committed the last act of hostility, advance into the camp dancing, the step being that of the ordinary dance. The women of the home party mark the time of the dance by clapping their hands on their thighs. I was told that the visitors carry their weapons with them, but when the dance was performed at my request the dancers were without weapons. The visitors dance forward in front of the men standing at the *koro-čop*, and then, still dancing all the time, pass backwards and forwards between the standing men, bending their heads as they pass beneath the suspended cane. The dancers make threatening gestures at the men standing at the *koro-čop*, and every now and then break into a shrill shout. The men at the *koro* stand silent and motionless, and are expected to show no sign of fear.

After they have been dancing thus for a little time, the leader of the dancers approaches the man at one end of the *koro* and, taking him by the shoulders from the front, leaps vigorously

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621 up and down to the time of the dance, thus giving the man he holds a good shaking. The leader then passes on to the next 535 man in the row while another of the dancers goes through 728 the same performance with the first man. This is continued until each of the dancers has "shaken" each of the standing men. The dancers then pass under the *koro* and shake their enemies in the same manner from the back. After a little more dancing the dancers retire, and the women of the visiting group come forward and dance in much the same way that the men have done, each woman giving each of the men of the other group a good shaking.

When the women have been through their dance the two parties of men and women sit down and weep together.

The two groups remain camped together for a few days, spending the time in hunting and dancing together. Presents [431] are exchanged, as at the ordinary meetings of different groups. The men of the two groups exchange bows with one another.

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natural beings. In the first place there are the spirits, the *Lau* or *Čauga*, and the *Jurua*, inhabiting the forest and the sea respectively. These are all associated by the natives with ghosts, i.e. with the spirits of dead men and women. In the second place there are other beings connected with the sun and moon, lightning and thunder and the monsoons (*Biliku* and *Tarai*). These are all associated with the phenomena of nature. There are many points of contact between these two classes of beings. Thus there are two alternative explanations of bad weather, one that it is due to the spirits (particularly the spirits of the sea), the other that it is due to the anger of *Biliku*. This is a point that will be referred to again in a later chapter.

It is possible that there are beliefs in other supernatural beings who are neither spirits of the dead nor connected with natural phenomena. The only being of such a nature that I was able to discover anything about is one called *Nila* or *Ńila*. This is the name of an evil being who is supposed to live in hollow *Pterocarpus* trees. When he smells human beings near his tree he comes out and kills them with his knife. I found this belief in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe, but was not able to find any trace of a similar belief in the North Andaman, though of course I cannot say that it does not exist there. Mr Man mentions this same being. "This spirit *Nila* is supposed to live in ant-hills, and to have neither wife nor child; he is not regarded as such a malevolent personage as *Erem-čauga-la*, and, though he is always armed with a knife, he rarely injures human beings with it, or when he does so, it is not in order to feed upon their bodies, for he is said to eat earth only[1]." Mr Man adds, in a footnote that "cases have been cited of persons who have been found stabbed, whose deaths have been attributed to *Nila*: the possibility of the individuals in question having been murdered is scouted."

The version given by Mr Man is not quite in agreement with the information given to me, but I was unfortunately not able to learn anything more about the nature of *Nila*.

As throwing some additional light on the way in which the Andamanese think of the supernatural beings that have been

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 159.

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mentioned above, I add here a brief description of a sort of dramatic or pantomimic dance that I witnessed in the North Andaman. Many savage tribes in different parts of the world are in the habit of performing dances or pantomimes in which the performer represents a supernatural being. In the Andamans there are no regular performances of this kind. The solitary one that I witnessed was entirely exceptional.

The performer was a man named *Kobo*. This man, according to the statements of the natives, had, at one time of his life, died and come back to life again. Owing to this fact he was endowed with special magical powers, and had some reputation as a magician or medicine-man (*oko-jumu*). During the time that he was dead (probably a few hours of unconsciousness), he is supposed to have visited the world of spirits, and while there he saw many things and learnt much about the spirits. Among other things he witnessed a dance in which the spirits and other supernatural beings took part. All these things he was able to remember when he returned to life.

The performance was given one afternoon on the ordinary dancing ground of the village. The performer sat on his haunches in a hut at one end of the dancing ground. Thrust into the back of his belt he wore a bunch of leaves sticking out somewhat after the manner of a cock's tail, but he had no other ornament. The spectators, consisting of men, women and children, were seated round the edge of the dancing ground, which had been swept clean. On one side sat a few women who acted as chorus. There was no sounding-board.

The performer began to sing a song, composed on the model of the songs of the South Andaman (with a short refrain) which has now for some years been adopted by the Northern tribes in preference to their own. As he finished the song the women of the chorus took up the refrain, repeating it over and over again, and marking time by clapping their hands on their thighs. The performer came out of his hut and performed a dance. At a signal from him the chorus ceased and he returned to his hut. In this way he sang several songs, repeating each one several times, and performed a number of short dances. In nearly every case the step of the dance was some simple modification

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of the step in common use at an ordinary dance. Thus in one dance he danced very violently and pretended to hurt his leg through the violence of his dancing, making angry signs to the chorus to stop their clapping, of which, of course, they took no notice. In another dance he stopped at short intervals and violently scratched his sides and then doubled himself up with laughter. In yet another, he danced with the step of the women's dance, covering his face with his hands and pretending to be very bashful. In still another he stood on tiptoe on the right foot and stamped with his left foot in time to the chorus of women. In some of the dances he walked round the open space within the circle of spectators, sometimes in a crouching attitude, and at other times in other attitudes. All these dances aroused great amusement amongst the spectators. It was unfortunately impossible for me to understand them all or to obtain an adequate explanation of them either at the time or later.

Of the songs that were sung one was "The tide has gone down over the reef. I walk round the world. There is great wind and rain."

Some of these dances I was able to understand even without explanation. One of them represented *Biliku*. The performer held in his right hand a shell, and as he danced grotesquely round the open space he looked fiercely at the spectators and threatened to throw the shell at them. Many of the women and children could not prevent themselves from starting backwards when he thus threatened them, but their fears were immediately dispelled in laughter. The shell was not a pearl-shell (*be*) but a *Cyrena* shell (*bun*), but I believe that this was because there was no pearl-shell available. The representation of *Biliku* was thus reduced to a single gesture, that of threatening the natives with her pearl-shell (lightning).

Another dance represented the jungle spirits (*Bido-teč Lau*). In this he first hid himself behind a screen of *bido* leaves (*Calamus tigrinus*) that had been prepared, singing a song. The leaves represented a clump of the *Calamus* palm such as is supposed to be the favourite haunt of the jungle spirits. After having sung for some time behind his screen of leaves, he came

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776 out with a bow and arrow in his hand, and as he danced in front of the spectators he pretended to shoot at them.

535 In another dance he represented *Ele*, the lightning. He sat on a stone that had been placed in the middle of the open space, swinging his arms to the time of the chorus, and every now and then shaking his leg.

This observation is an important one in several ways. Although I asked the man to repeat it, in order that I might make fuller notes and obtain explanations of many obscure points, and although he grudgingly said that he would, yet he did not do so. He was, moreover, very reserved over the matter, and not very willing to talk about his own performance.

I believe that the performance was an entirely exceptional affair. I never at any other time either saw or heard of one man or even several men, giving a dance for the amusement of others. I think that the whole thing was entirely the invention of the performer. He had given the same performance, or one very similar, at least once before the occasion on which I saw it.

We may now turn to the Andamanese beliefs relating to the soul and the life after death.

761 The vital principle is at different times identified by the Andamanese with the pulse, the breath, with the blood and with
775 the fat, particularly the kidney-fat. Thus the body of a slain
766 enemy is burnt so that the blood and fat may be consumed in smoke and ascend to the sky where they will no longer be a danger to those who have slain him.

822 The nearest approach to our notion of a soul that the natives possess is their belief concerning the double or reflection seen in
828 a mirror. In the Northern tribes the word *ot-jumulo* means
774 "reflection," and also "shadow," and is also nowadays applied to a photograph. The word *ot-jumu*, in the same languages, means "a dream" or "to dream." We may perhaps translate the word *ot-jumulo* as meaning "soul." In the *Aka-Bea* language *ot-yolo* is "reflection," while there is a different word, *ot-diya* or *ot-lere*, for "shadow," and neither of the words has any connection with the word "dream" which is *taraba*. Mr Man translates the word *ot-yolo* as "soul."

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X 182 customary actions to which the sentiment of obligation attaches, which it is the duty of persons to perform on certain definite occasions. It is the duty of everyone in a community to give presents at a wedding; it is the duty of relatives to weep together when they meet. (3) In every instance the ceremony is to be explained by reference to fundamental laws regulating the affective life of human beings. It is not our business here to analyse these phenomena but only to satisfy ourselves that they are real. That weeping is an outlet for emotional excitement, that the free expression of aggressive feelings causes them to die out instead of smouldering on, that an embrace is an expression of feelings of attachment between persons: these are the psychological generalisations upon which are based the explanations given above of various ceremonies of the Andamanese. (4) Finally, we have seen that each of the ceremonies serves to renew or to modify in the minds of those taking part in it some one or more of the social sentiments. The peace-making ceremony is a method by which feelings of enmity are exchanged for feelings of friendship. The marriage rite serves to arouse in the minds of the marrying pair a sense of their obligations as married folk, and to bring about in the minds of the witnesses a change of feeling towards the young people such as should properly accompany their change of social status. The weeping and exchange of presents when friends come together is a means of renewing their feelings of attachment to one another. The weeping at marriage, at initiation, and on the occasion of a death is a reaction of defence or compensation when feelings of solidarity are attacked by a partial breaking of the social ties that bind persons to one another.

X 182 In the ceremonial life of the Andamans some part is played by dancing, and it will be convenient to consider next the meaning
● 535 and function of the dance. It is necessary, however, to deal very briefly with this subject and omit much that would have to be included in an exhaustive study. Thus the ordinary Andaman dance may be looked upon as a form of play; it also shows us the beginnings of the arts of dancing, music and poetry; and therefore in any study pretending to completeness it would be necessary to discuss the difficult problem of the relation between art, play and ceremonial in social life, a subject of too wide a

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scope to be handled in such an essay as this. For our present purpose we are concerned with the dance only as a form of social ceremonial. 182X 535

If an Andaman Islander is asked why he dances he gives an answer that amounts to saying that he does so because he enjoys it. Dancing is therefore in general a means of enjoyment. It is frequently a rejoicing. The Andaman Islanders dance after a successful day of hunting; they do not dance if their day has been one of disappointment.

Pleasurable mental excitement finds its natural expression in bodily activity, as we see most plainly in young children and in some animals. And in its turn mere muscular activity is itself a source of pleasure. The individual shouts and jumps for joy; the society turns the jump into a dance, the shout into a song.

The essential character of all dancing is that it is rhythmical, and it is fairly evident that the primary function of this rhythmical nature of the dance is to enable a number of persons to join in the same actions and perform them as one body. In the Andamans at any rate it is clear that the spectacular dance (such as the performance described on page 164) is a late development out of the common dance. And it is probable that the history of the dance is everywhere the same, that it began as a common dance in which all present take some active part, and from this first form (still surviving in our ball-room dances) arose the spectacular dance in which one or more dancers perform before spectators who take no part themselves.

In the Andamans the song is an accompaniment of the dance. The dancing and singing and the marking of the rhythm by clapping and by stamping on the sounding-board are all parts of the one common action in which all join and which for convenience is here spoken of as the dance. It is probable that here again the Andamanese practice shows us the earliest stage in the development of the song, that song and music at first had no independent existence but together with dancing formed one activity. It is reasonable to suppose that the song first came into general use in human society because it provides a means by which a number of persons can utter the same series of sounds 182X 533

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X 182 533 together and as with one voice, this being made possible by the fixed rhythm and the fixed pitch of the whole song and of each part of it (i.e. by melody). Once the art of song was in existence its further development was doubtless largely dependent upon the esthetic pleasure that it is able to give. But in the Andamans the esthetic pleasure that the natives get from their simple and monotonous songs seems to me of quite secondary importance as compared with the value of the song as a joint social activity.

X 182 ● 535 The movements of the ordinary Great Andaman dance do not seem to me to be in themselves expressive, or at any rate they are not obviously mimetic like the movements of the dances of many primitive folk. Their function seems to be to bring into activity as many of the muscles of the body as possible. The bending of the body at the hips and of the legs at the knees, with the slightly backward poise of the head and the common position of the arms held in line with the shoulders with the elbows crooked and the thumb and first finger of each hand clasping those of the other, produce a condition of tension of a great number of the muscles of the trunk and limbs. The attitude is one in which all the main joints of the body are between complete flexion and complete extension so that there is approximately an equal tension in the opposing groups of flexor and extensor muscles. Thus the whole body of the dancer is full of active forces balanced one against another, resulting in a condition of flexibility and alertness without strain.

While the dance thus brings into play the whole muscular system of the dancer it also requires the activity of the two chief senses, that of sight to guide the dancer in his movements amongst the others and that of hearing to enable him to keep time with the music. Thus the dancer is in a condition in which all the bodily and mental activities are harmoniously directed to one end.

Finally, in order to understand the function of the Andamanese dance it must be noted that every adult member of the community takes some part in it. All the able-bodied men join in the dance itself; all the women join in the chorus. If anyone through ill-health or old age is unable to take any active part,

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he or she is at least necessarily a spectator, for the dance takes place in the centre of the village in the open space towards which the huts usually face[1].

The Andamanese dance (with its accompanying song) may therefore be described as an activity in which, by virtue of the effects of rhythm and melody, all the members of a community are able harmoniously to cooperate and act in unity; which requires on the part of the dancer a continual condition of tension free from strain; and which produces in those taking part in it a high degree of pleasure. We must now proceed to examine very briefly the chief effects on the mental condition of those taking part[2].

First let us consider some of the effects of rhythm. Any marked rhythm exercises over those submitted to its influence a constraint, impelling them to yield to it and to permit it to direct and regulate the movements of the body and even those of the mind. If one does not yield to this constraining influence it produces a state of restlessness that may become markedly unpleasant. One who yields himself utterly to it, as does the dancer when he joins in the dance, still continues to feel the constraint, but so far from being unpleasant it now produces a pleasure of a quite distinct quality. The first point for us to note therefore is that through the effect of rhythm the dance affords an experience of a constraint or force of a peculiar kind acting upon the individual and inducing in him when he yields himself to it a pleasure of self-surrender. The peculiarity of the force in question is that it seems to act upon the individual both from without (since it is the sight of his friends dancing and the sound of the singing and marking time that occasions it), and also from within (since the impulse to yield himself to the constraining rhythm comes from his own organism).

A second effect of the rhythm of the dance is due to the well-known fact that a series of actions performed rhythmically

[1] It will be shown later in the chapter that when individuals are excluded from participation in the dance it is because they are in a condition of partial exclusion from the common life.

[2] The psychology of dancing offers a wide field for study that has as yet, so far as I know, been barely touched. The following brief notes are therefore necessarily incomplete and somewhat unsatisfactory.

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produces very much less fatigue than actions not rhythmical requiring the same expenditure of muscular energy. So the dancer feels that in and through the dance he obtains such an increase of his personal energy that he is able to accomplish strenuous exertions with a minimum of fatigue. This effect of rhythm is reinforced by the excitement produced by the rapid movements of the dancers, the loud sounds of the song and clapping and sounding-board, and intensified, as all collective states of emotion are intensified, by reason of being collective; with the result that the Andaman Islanders are able to continue their strenuous dancing through many hours of the night[1].

There is yet a third most important effect of rhythm. Recent psychology shows that what are called the esthetic emotions are largely dependent upon motor images. We call a form beautiful when, through the movements of the eye in following it, we feel it as movement, and as movement of a particular kind which we can only describe at present by using such a word as 'harmonious.' Similarly our esthetic appreciation of music seems to be largely dependent on our feeling the music as movement, the sounds appealing not to the ear only but to stored-up unconscious motor memories. With regard to dancing, our pleasure in watching the graceful, rhythmical and harmonious movements of the dancer is an esthetic pleasure of similar nature to that obtained from the contemplation of beautiful shapes or listening to music. But when the individual is himself dancing it does not seem quite fitting to call his pleasure esthetic. Yet the dance, even the simple dance of the Andamans, does make, in the dancer himself, partly by the effect of rhythm, partly by the effect of the harmonious and balanced tension of the muscles, a direct appeal to that motor sense to which the contemplation of beautiful forms and movements makes only an indirect appeal. In other words the dancer actually feels within himself that harmonious action of balanced and directed forces which, in the contemplation of a beautiful form we feel as though it were in the object at which we look. Hence such dancing as that of the Andaman

[1] I have known a dance to be continued for seven or eight hours, each dancer taking only short periods of rest; and it must be remembered that the Andamanese dance is more strenuous than our ball-room dances.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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Islanders may be looked upon as an early step in the training of the esthetic sense, and to recognize all that the dance means we must make allowance for this fact that the mental state of the dancer is closely related to the mental state that we call esthetic enjoyment.

Let us now consider the effects of the dance as a social or collective activity. First, the dance affords an opportunity for the individual to exhibit before others his skill and agility and so to gratify his personal vanity. It is very easy to observe the action of this harmless vanity in the dancers, and particularly in the man who takes the place at the sounding-board and acts as soloist or leader of the chorus. The dancer seeks to feel, and does feel, that he is the object of the approbation and admiration of his friends. His self-regarding sentiments are pleasantly stimulated, so that he becomes conscious, in a state of self-satisfaction and elation, of his own personal value. This stimulation of the self-regarding sentiment is an important factor in the total effect produced by the dance.

Secondly, the dance, at the same time that it stimulates pleasantly the self-regarding sentiment, also affects the sentiments of the dancer towards his fellows. The pleasure that the dancer feels irradiates itself over everything around him and he is filled with geniality and good-will towards his companions. The sharing with others of an intense pleasure, or rather the sharing in a collective expression of pleasure, must ever incline us to such expansive feelings. It is certainly a readily observable fact that in the Andamans the dance does produce a condition of warm good-fellowship in those taking part in it. There is no need to enquire more closely into the mental mechanisms by which this is brought about.

The Andaman dance, then, is a complete activity of the whole community, in which every able-bodied adult takes some part, and is also an activity in which, so far as the dancer himself is concerned, the whole personality is involved, by the innervation of all the muscles of the body, by the concentration of attention required, and by its action on the personal sentiments. In the dance the individual submits to the action upon him of the community; he is constrained, by the immediate effect of

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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X 182 ●535 rhythm as well as by custom, to join in, and he is required to conform in his own actions and movements to the needs of the common activity. The surrender of the individual to this constraint or obligation is not felt as painful, but on the contrary as highly pleasurable. As the dancer loses himself in the dance, as he becomes absorbed in the unified community, he reaches a state of elation in which he feels himself filled with energy or force immensely beyond his ordinary state, and so finds himself able to perform prodigies of exertion. This state of intoxication, as it might almost be called, is accompanied by a pleasant stimulation of the self-regarding sentiment, so that the dancer comes to feel a great increase in his personal force and value. And at the same time, finding himself in complete and ecstatic harmony with all the fellow-members of his community, experiences a great increase in his feelings of amity and attachment towards them.

In this way the dance produces a condition in which the unity, harmony and concord of the community are at a maximum, and in which they are intensely felt by every member. It is to produce this condition, I would maintain, that is the primary social function of the dance. The well-being, or indeed the existence, of the society depends on the unity and harmony that obtain in it, and the dance, by making that unity intensely felt, is a means of maintaining it. For the dance affords an opportunity for the direct action of the community upon the individual, and we have seen that it exercises in the individual those sentiments by which the social harmony is maintained.

X 182 535 628 It was formerly the custom, I was told, always to have a dance before setting out to a fight. The reason for this should now be clear. When a group engages in a fight with another it is to revenge some injury that has been done to the whole group. The group is to act as a group and not merely as a collection of individuals, and it is therefore necessary that the group should be conscious of its unity and solidarity. Now we have seen that the chief function of the dance is to arouse in the mind of every individual a sense of the unity of the social group of which he is a member, and its function before setting out to a fight is therefore apparent. A secondary effect of the dance before a fight is

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to intensify the collective anger against the hostile group, and thereby and in other ways to produce a state of excitement and elation which has an important influence on the fighting quality of the Andaman warrior. 182X 535 628

An important feature of the social life of the Andamans in former times was the dance-meetings that were regularly held and at which two or more local groups met together for a few days. Each local group lived for the greater part of the year comparatively isolated from others. What little solidarity there was between neighbouring groups therefore tended to become weakened. Social relations between two groups were for the most part only kept up by visits of individuals from one group to another, but such visits did not constitute a relation between group and group. The function of the dance-meetings was therefore to bring the two groups into contact and renew the social relations between them and in that way to maintain the solidarity between them. Those meetings, apart from the provision of the necessary food, were entirely devoted to the exchange of presents and to dancing, the two or more parties of men and women joining together every night in a dance. We have already seen that the exchange of presents is a means of expressing solidarity or mutual good-will. It is now clear that the dance serves to unite the two or more groups into one body, and to make that unity felt by every individual, so creating for a few days a condition of close solidarity. The effects of the meeting would gradually wear out as months went by, and therefore it was necessary to repeat the meeting at suitable intervals. 182X 535 621 574

Thus it appears that not only the ordinary dance, but also the war-dance, and the dance-meetings owe their place in the life of the Andaman Islanders to the fact that dancing is a means of uniting individuals into a harmonious whole and at the same time making them actually and intensely experience their relation to that unity of which they are the members. The special dances at initiation ceremonies and on other occasions will be dealt with later in the chapter, on the basis of the general explanation given above. 182X 535

On the occasion of a dance, particularly if it be a dance of

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X 182 535 some importance, such as a war-dance, or a dance of two groups together, the dancers decorate themselves by putting on various ornaments and by painting their bodies with red paint and white clay. The explanation of the dance cannot therefore be regarded as complete till we have considered the meaning of this personal adornment connected with it.

X 182 535 301 302 If the Andaman Islander be asked why he adorns himself for the dance, his reply is invariably that he wishes to look well, to improve his personal appearance. In other words his conscious motive is personal vanity.

One of the features of the dance, and a not unimportant one, is that it offers an opportunity for the gratification of personal vanity. The dancer, painted, and hung over with ornaments, becomes pleasantly conscious of himself, of his own skill and agility, and of his striking or at least satisfactory appearance, and so he becomes also conscious of his relation to others, of their admiration, actual or possible, and of the approval and good-will that go with admiration. In brief, the ornamented dancer is pleasantly conscious of his own personal value. We may therefore say that the most important function of any such adorning of the body is to express or mark the personal value of the decorated individual.

X 182 301 302 This explanation only applies to certain bodily ornaments and to certain ways of painting the body. It applies to the painting of white clay, with or without red paint, that is adopted at dances and on other ceremonial occasions. It applies to such personal ornaments as those made of netting and *Dentalium* shell which constitute what may be called the ceremonial costume of the Andamanese. It is of these that the natives say that they use them in order to look well.

The occasions on which such personal decoration is used are strictly defined by custom. In other words the society dictates to the individual when and how he shall be permitted to express his own personal value. It is obvious that personal vanity is of great importance in directing the conduct of the individual in his dealings with his fellows, and much more amongst a primitive people such as the Andamanese than amongst ourselves, and it is therefore necessary that the society should have some means of

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X 182 302 764 realise that he has deserved their regard. So, to express their regard for the dead man they paint the inanimate body. Hence it is that the greater the esteem in which the dead man or woman is held, the greater is the care bestowed on the last painting.

We may conclude therefore that the painting of the body with white clay and the wearing of ornaments of *Dentalium* shell is a rite or ceremony by which the value of the individual to the society is expressed on appropriate occasions. We shall find confirmation of this later in the chapter.

X 182 301 535 832 Before passing on to consider the meaning of other methods of decorating the body there is one matter that is worthy of mention. It is often assumed or stated that both personal ornament and dancing, amongst uncivilised peoples, are connected with sexual emotion. It is, of course, extremely difficult to disprove a statement of this sort. So far as the Andamanese are concerned I was unable to find any trace whatever of a definitely sexual element in either their dances or their personal adornment. It may be recalled that both men and women wear exactly the same ornaments on ceremonial occasions, and this is to some extent evidence that such have no sexual value. It is possible that some observers might see in the dance of the women (which is only performed on rare occasions) a suggestion of something of a sexual nature. I was unable to find that the natives themselves consider that there is anything suggestive of sex in either the dance of the men or that of the women. If it were true that the most important feature of the dance was that it appealed in some way to sexual feelings it is difficult to see how we are to explain the different occasions on which dancing takes place, as before a fight, at the end of mourning, etc., whereas these are adequately accounted for by the hypothesis that the dance is a method of expressing the unity and harmony of the society. Similarly the explanation of personal ornament as being connected with sexual feeling would fail to account for the occasions on which it is regarded as obligatory. There is therefore, I believe, no special connection between the dancing and personal ornament of the Andamanese and sexual feeling. It would still be possible to hold that there is a general

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connection of great importance between the affective dispositions underlying these and other customs and the complex affective disposition that we call the sex instinct. The nature of that connection, important as it is, lies outside the scope of this work.

I remarked above that the explanation which I have given of the meaning of personal ornament does not apply to all the objects that the Andaman Islanders wear on their body, but only to certain of them. If an Andaman Islander be asked why he paints himself with white clay, or why he wears a belt or necklace of *Dentalium* shell he replies that he does so in order to look well; but if he be asked why he wears a string of human bones round his head or neck or waist, he gives quite a different answer, to the effect that he does so in order to protect himself from dangers of a special kind. According to circumstances he will say either that he is wearing the bones to cure himself of illness, or else that he wears them as a protection against spirits. Thus while some things are worn on the body in order to improve the personal appearance, and consequently, as explained above, to give the individual a sense of his own value, others are worn because they are believed to have a protective power, and thereby arouse in the person a sense of security. Exactly the some sort of protective power is attributed to things that cannot be worn on the body, such as fire, and it will therefore be convenient to consider together all the things that afford this kind of protection, whether they can be worn on the body or not.

The interpretation here offered is that the customs connected with this belief in the protective power of objects of various kinds are means by which is expressed and thereby maintained at the necessary degree of energy a very important social sentiment, which, for lack of a better term, I shall call the sentiment of dependence. In such a primitive society as that of the Andamans one of the most powerful means of maintaining the cohesion of the society and of enforcing that conformity to custom and tradition without which social life is impossible, is the recognition by the individual that for his security and well-being he depends entirely upon the society. Now for the Andaman Islander the society is not sufficiently concrete and particular

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pours over the head of the lad, who remains seated and perfectly still in the midst of his friends while the oil streams over his body. The men present remove any ornaments that he may be wearing, and rub the grease into his person; the women and children meantime occupy themselves with crying, the idea being that, after abstaining from turtle for a long time, madness, illness, or even death, may result from partaking of it again.[1] After this the novice, who may not wash off the oil with which he has been anointed at least until late on the following day, is fed with the flesh of the turtle,[2] of which a certain quantity is reserved for his consumption on the ensuing two or three days, and the remainder is distributed among those assembled. He is then led to his hut and directed to sit cross-legged on a spot covered with leaves of the *Myristica longifolia*, with a support behind him against which he may lean. The turtle flesh, previously cooked and set apart for him, is deposited at his side, and one or more of his friends take it by turns to sit with him, it being their duty to enjoin silence, to supply his wants, and to prevent him from falling asleep by singing from time to time as the night wears away. The following morning his mother, sister, and other female relatives, come and weep[3] over him, and paint, first, his ears and the adjoining parts with *yâ·dĩ-kòi·ob-*, and afterwards his entire person with alternate stripes of this compound and *tâ·la·ōg-*. Some large leaves[4] made into two broom-like bundles are placed in his hands, and other leaves are placed in his waistbelt. Thus provided he rises and dances frantically,[5] swinging his arms at the same time, for an hour or more, while the women, who are seated with legs outstretched, keep time for him by slapping the hollow between their thighs with the palm of the right hand, which is held at the wrist by the other hand; the males look on, or, if they have gone through the ceremony themselves, accompany him in his performance.

5. After an hour or so, when, fatigued with his exertions, the youth stops dancing, the *yâ·dĩ-gũ·mul-* is considered at an end, and the new *gũ·ma* mingles with his friends, who, nevertheless,

[1] The same reason is given for the silence which the neophyte has to observe during this ceremony, as well as at the *ā·ja-gũ·mul-* and *rey-jĩ·ri-gũ·mul-*

[2] He is then said to *gũ·mul mâg·ke* (or *gũ·mul lā·ke*), *i.e.*, to eat, or devour, the *gũ·mul-*.

[3] The reason given for this demonstration of grief is that the youth has now entered upon an important epoch in his life, and is about to experience the trials and vicissitudes incidental thereto.

[4] The leaves of the *Myristica longifolia* (*bō·roma-*) are usually selected on these occasions, apparently because this tree is associated with turtle-hunting, paddles being made of the wood.

[5] The step is a peculiar one, and is only seen on these occasions: the performer keeps his heels together and stamps on the ground, at the same time he swings his arms violently, holding in his hands the two leaf brooms.

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585 the newly married couple do not leave the encampment in order to get food, or anything else that they may require, as their friends consider it a duty or privilege to supply all their needs until the shyness, consequent on the marriage, has worn off.

[431] 12. Wedding presents being as much *de rigueur* among these savages as in Mayfair, the happy pair invariably find themselves enriched by their relatives and acquaintances with the various articles of ordinary use, such as nets, buckets, bows, arrows, &c. in honour of the event.

13. On the morning following the marriage the bridegroom's mother, or other near female relative, decorates his person by painting him with *tâ·la-ōg-*, while the bride is similarly ornamented by her friends. It often happens that a young couple will pass several days after their nuptials without exchanging a single word, and to such an extent do they carry their bashfulness that they even avoid looking at each other: in fact their conduct would lead a stranger to suppose that some serious quarrel had caused an estrangement.

[535] 14. When a few days have elapsed, and they are in some measure accustomed to the novelty of their position, they enter upon the duties of life, and conduct themselves like their neighbours: the marriage is then celebrated by a dance, in which all, save the bride and bridegroom, take part.

593 851 15. A certain amount of jealousy usually exists between young people during the first year of their married life;[1] indeed, complete confidence and genuine affection are never entirely established until they become parents or, at least, till the wife is found to be *enceinte*, and even their relationship to each other is not regarded as being so close *prior* to the birth of a child as it is *after* that event. Confirmatory evidence on this point will be given when describing the funeral rites,[2] where it will be noticed that the survivor of a childless couple is not looked upon as chief mourner.

587 589 16. There is no prohibition against second marriages, but greater respect is entertained for those who show their love and esteem for the deceased by remaining single and leading chaste lives (*ō·yun-tē·mar-bar·minga-*). It is by no means unusual for a man, even though he be young at the time of his wife's death, to remain a widower[3] for her sake for many years, or even till death;

[1] It often happens that a man will not at first allow his wife to leave their hut at night for any purpose unless he accompanies her, professedly to protect her from dangers, spiritual and temporal, but in reality to satisfy himself that she has not made an assignation.

[2] *Vide* "Death and Burial," paragraph 20.

[3] It must, however, be admitted that as their customs allow of a widow or widower consorting with the unmarried of the opposite sex, a single life is not of necessity a virtuous one, or evidence of constancy and devotion to the memory of the dear departed.

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the skull and bones back to his hut and breaks up the latter into small pieces suitable for necklaces.[1] The mother, after painting the skull with *kòi·ob-*, and decorating it with small shells attached to pieces of string, hangs it round her neck with a netted chain, called *râb-*.[2] After the first few days her husband often relieves her by wearing it himself. Infants' skulls, being fragile, are generally preserved carefully from risk of injury by being entirely covered with string, but (except temporarily as when travelling, fishing, &c.) these souvenirs are not carried about in a basket. The next few days are spent by the mother in converting the bones into necklaces, called *chàu·ga-tâ-*, and when several have been made, she and her husband pay visits to their friends, among whom they distribute these mementoes, together with any of the pieces that may remain over, in order that they may make additional necklets for themselves. 765

6. Before this distribution takes place, it should be mentioned that the mourners remove from their heads the lump of clay placed there on the day of the child's death; the wife also paints her husband's neck, waist, wrists, and knees with *kòi·ob-* and further adorns him with a stripe of the same compound from his throat to his navel, and afterwards decorates herself in a similar manner. [302]

7. All due preparations having thus been made, the friends assemble round the hut to pay their final visit of condolence; whereupon the bereaved father sings some old song of his, which he last sang, perchance, with his little one alive and well in his arms, on which all except himself express their grief and sympathy by breaking out into loud lamentations. The chorus of the song is chanted by the women while the parents perform a dance which goes by the name of *t'ī-tô·latnga-* (*lit.*, the shedding of tears); when wearied with their exertions they retire to their hut, and cease from any further display of sorrow, whereupon their friends generally take up and continue the melancholy dance and song for many hours, the women being then joined by the men, who, till this stage of the proceedings, have merely acted the part of spectators. It should be explained that the character of this dance does not differ from that which is customary at a wedding or other occasion of rejoicing, except in the doleful appearance of the performers. 765 535

8. On the death of an adult and others, the relatives (as in the case of an infant) smear themselves with *ōg-* and place a lump of the clay on their heads, where it must remain until the *t'ī-tô·latnga-*; any necklaces, waistbelts, &c., which the deceased was wearing are removed; women then paint the 764

[1] *Vide* Appendix B. item 44.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B item 42.

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PLATE VIII.

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ANDAMANESE EQUIPPED FOR JOURNEY.

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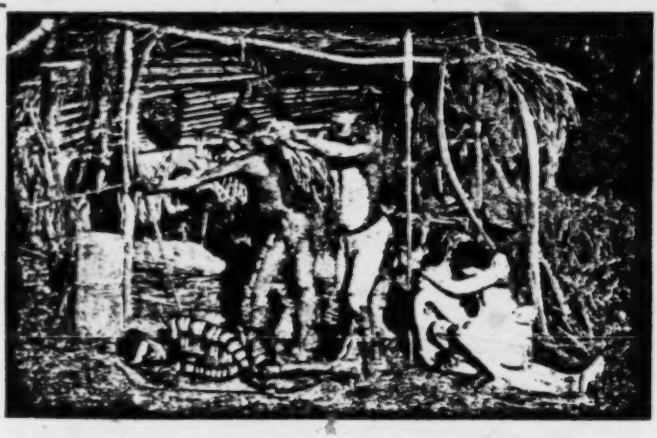

ANDAMANESE SHOOTING, DANCING, SLEEPING, AND GREETING.

[facing p. 110]

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224 535 32. At the conclusion of the repast, the sportsman who has most distinguished himself during a more than ordinarily successful chase is expected to entertain the company, while they dance, with an impromptu song, in the chorus of which the women join.

225 33. Much of the foregoing applies to the *àryô·to-*, as well as to the *ē·remtâ·ga-*, except of course that, with the former, hunting expeditions are less frequent than turtling and fishing operations.

34. Turtle-hunts take place during the flood-tide, both by day and night; the favourite hour of all is that between sunset and the rising of the waning moon,[1] for then, with the aid of the phosphorescent light, called *pēwō·i-*, caused by the movements of the canoe, they are often able to discover and harpoon the turtle before it is at all aware of their approach; on these occasions they select, if possible, a rocky portion of the coast, where there is little or no foreshore, giving it as their reason that turtles frequent such places on dark nights in order to lay their eggs, and are then easily captured. At other times, the localities preferred for these expeditions are those styled *yàu·la-*, where there is a fine stretch of sand with an extensive foreshore, the reason, of course, being that every dark object is so easily seen in shallow water against a clear sandy bottom.

35. The green or edible turtle (*Chelonia virgata*), called *yâ·dī-*, is hunted both by day and night, but the hawkbill (*Caretta imbricata*), called *tàu-*, only by day, as they declare the latter is never seen on dark nights.[2] The flesh of the former is of course preferred, and no use being made of the tortoiseshell obtainable from the latter, it is treated after the feast with as little consideration as the valueless shell of the *yâ·dī-*.[3]

36. The practice of capturing turtles by "turning" them when on shore is unknown among these savages; whether this be due to their regarding it as mean and unsportsmanlike, as the disdainful looks and remarks of those I questioned on the subject would lead one to suppose, or whether it be because they so thoroughly enjoy their own methods of procedure, which so fully answer their requirements, I am not prepared to determine, but it is, nevertheless, certain that although well aware, from their knowledge of the animal's habits, that it could be easily surprised

[1] This period has accordingly received a specific name, viz., *â·kà-tig-pâ·la-*.

[2] An average size *yâ·dī-* weighs about 80 to 100 lbs., and a *tàu-* considerably less. The heaviest specimen of the former which ever came under my notice weighed about 400 lbs. The ordinary price of a full-grown turtle at Port Blair is five rupees.

[3] These remarks do not of course apply to those living at the homes, as they have long since learnt to benefit considerably by disposing of their tortoiseshell to visitors and residents at Port Blair.

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524 of their number has to submit to be covered with sand until the head only is visible; fire is then placed near the spot after the custom of their race; for the like reason these sports usually take place near some landmark, such as a conspicuous tree, boulder, or overhanging rock: when the semi-interred child has had enough of it he jumps out and another companion is chosen to take his place.

17. Children may also sometimes be seen diverting themselves by tying a fine string to the leg of a toad or tree-lizard;[1] this cruel sport, unless their elders interfere, is only ended by the death of the unfortunate captive.

18. They are fond of searching for small crabs and fish, and having them cooked for a sham banquet:[2] the earnestness they display in "pretending" on these occasions is irresistibly entertaining, and would be heartily appreciated by European children who have experienced the delight of preparing a "doll's feast."

19. Boys also play at seizing each other under the surface of the water, or amuse themselves with making tiny canoes and floating them towards one another; they are, as I have before mentioned, early provided with miniature bows and arrows, and encouraged to become good marksmen.

535 20. While the foregoing amusements are of frequent occurrence among the juvenile members of a community,[3] the chief
527 diversion of the adults consists in entertainments resembling
574 the Australian "corroboree," when dancing and singing are kept up for many successive hours by moonlight, or by the blaze of the camp fires.

527 21. Any passing event, such as a successful hunt, an unexpected visit from distant relatives or friends, the commence-
574 ment of a new season, the recovery of some member of the community from illness, a marriage, and even the termination of the mourning period,[4] is made the excuse for one of these entertainments.

[622] 22. Besides these smaller festivities, large gatherings of a tribe are also organised from time to time by the head chief, who generally receives an offer, in the first instance, from the members of some far-off community to give a *jeg-* at his encampment. As these offers are only made when it is known to be convenient they are always accepted, and invitations for a certain day are at once sent to all living within an easy distance.

[1] This is called *rō·pan lik-lī·rnga-*.

[2] These are called *gab-mäk·nga-*.

[524] [3] "Cats' cradle" (called by them *jī·bra-*) is also one of their recognised amusements.

[4] *Vide* "Death and Burial," paragraph 7.

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23. The intervening days are spent by the proposers of the entertainment in perfecting a song and chorus, which it is intended to perform, and which generally has been composed expressly for the occasion, by some volunteer[1] upon whom also devolves the responsibility of singing the solo and training the so-called chorus. As a considerable amount of distinction among his fellows may be gained by the manner in which he acquits himself in his onerous undertaking, it will be readily understood that the *improvisatore* spares no pains over the preparation and rehearsal of a new song, which, as he fondly hopes, will render his name, if not immortal, at all events famous for many a year. The subject is chosen in reference to some recent personal or tribal exploit or adventure, and is embodied in a distich, followed by a chorus, or rather refrain, which as often as not consists merely in a repetition of the couplet forming the solo; in this refrain women alone are instructed; the main point aimed at is apparently accuracy of time, for, as I have said in my last paper, everything, even sense, is sacrificed in their songs to rhythm.[2] 527 574 533

24. In order to combine pleasure with profit, sundry implements or articles, which are more common in their community than in that of their hosts, are taken by the visitors on these occasions for purposes of presentation, or, to speak more correctly, of barter. 527 574

25. It is the duty of the hosts to make all necessary preparations, to provide torches, as well as food and water, for the expected guests, and to sweep the *bū·lum-*,[3] clearing it of all rubbish, lest inconvenience or injury should be occasioned by the stones, shells, bones, &c., which gradually accumulate, in spite of the "kitchen-middens" so invariably found in the vicinity of all permanent encampments of long standing.

26. When nearing the scene of their festivity the visitors pause, for the double purpose of a rehearsal and that the women may have time to adorn the party in their holiday suits of paint, as these would have lost their beauty and freshness if donned previous to leaving home.

27. That a weird and dramatic effect should be produced on a civilised mind by one of these entertainments, especially when occurring at night, will be readily understood if one pictures the scene :—in a small clearing in the midst, or on the border of a dense jungle are gathered a hundred or even more painted 527 574 533 535

[1] A song that has proved a success at any of these festive tribal meetings is sometimes repeated by "special request" at one of the smaller gatherings; "all rights" in these productions "are reserved," and no one but the composer is at liberty to sing a song, however popular!

[2] *Vide ante* "Language," paragraph 6.

[3] *Vide ante* "Habitations," paragraph 11.

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PLATE XII.

ANDAMANESE DANCING: THE CONDUCTOR MARKING TIME WITH SOUNDING-BOARD.

[facing p. 170]

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527 savages of both sexes; the moon sheds a soft light on all, while
574 from each hut the lurid glare of a wood fire throws its fitful
533 shadows across the scattered groups; on one side, seated in a row,
535 are the women who are to join in the refrain; on the other, in dark relief within their several huts, are seen the audience, many of whom assist in marking time by clapping their hands or by slapping the hollow between their outstretched legs with their open palms. In a conspicuous position stands the composer and conductor: with one foot on the pointed end of a sounding board,[1] and supporting himself on a spear, bow, or pole, he gives the time to the singers and dancers by kicking the board with the sole or heel of the other foot; in this wearying duty he is from time to time relieved by one of his male friends and, occasionally, even by a woman. During the solo, which partakes of the character of a "recitative," all other voices are hushed, and the listeners remain motionless, but as soon as the signal is given for the refrain, a number of men emerge suddenly from the gloom surrounding the encampment, and rushing excitedly into the arena, perform their part with frantic energy, generally adding their voices to those of the women to swell the volume of sound. Save at the *t'ī-tō·latnga-*,[2] women only occasionally take a share in the dances, but their performances are considered by some foreigners as rather suggestive of impropriety—with what justice I am not prepared to say, for modesty, at least, is satisfied by the wearing of a larger leaf apron than usual.

535 28. There is now-a-days[3] but one description of dance in vogue
527 with either sex, but it differs somewhat in the two sexes, and therefore must be dwelt upon briefly.

574 29. A man, when dancing,[4] curves his back, and throws all his weight on one leg, the knee of which is bent; his hands are raised to a level with his chest, and outstretched before him, the thumb of one hand being held between the forefinger and thumb of the other, while the remaining digits are separated and extended upwards;[5] he then advances by sudden jerks and hops

[1] These sounding boards (*pū·kuta-yem·nga-*) somewhat resemble in shape the carapace of a turtle, and might naturally be mistaken by a visitor (*vide* Colebrooke and Mount) for shields, but I cannot account for Dr. Hodder's description of a "rough-skin drum" (*vide* "Pall Mall Budget" of 20th April, 1877). See also Appendix B, item 19.

[2] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 7.

[3] From Lieutenant Colebrooke's description of the Andamanese dance of a hundred years ago, it would seem that since that date their style has undergone a great change, for he says they "dance in a ring, each alternately kicking and slapping his own breech *ad lib.*"

[4] *Vide* Plate III, fig. 2.

[5] Sometimes to heighten the effect a bow and arrow are carried in this position.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

535 taken with the leg on which he is resting, and taps the ground
527 after every second movement with the sole of the other foot;
574 in this manner he crosses and recrosses the entire *bū·lum-*, joining in the chorus as he proceeds, each step being taken in time with the thuds on the sounding-board, and the singing of the refrain. When fatigued, the performer makes a little variation by marking time in a rather odd manner, for the knees are bent, and the *heels* are raised alternately off the ground, the chief point of importance being to maintain the same time throughout.

30. Women, in dancing, swing their arms backwards and forwards; at the same time the knees are bent, and they make a succession of short bobs up and down, in perfect time; every now and then a few steps in advance are taken, and then the action is repeated.

31. To convey an accurate impression of the exact step, or of the effect of the respective performances of the two sexes, is not easy, but I trust that the above descriptions will convey a fair idea of their general character and peculiarities.

533 32. The alternating of solo and chorus continues for many
527 hours, and generally only ceases with the first faint streaks of
574 dawn, when those of the hosts who have managed to keep awake during the long night revel, lead the visitors to the huts they are to occupy, and then themselves sing and dance as a return compliment.

533 33. To a stranger not gifted with a keen ear for music, there is at first a certain amount of attraction in the oft-repeated cadence, but it must be confessed that, after a residence in the neighbourhood of one of the homes, one learns to wish that their musical performances were characterised by a little more variety, and were rather less protracted, though some compensation may be found at night, as the steady continuance of the monotonous sounds has a most soothing and somniferous effect.

34. It seems hardly necessary to say that all their songs are sung in unison, for they have no idea of choral or part-singing, nor are they able to catch up and repeat an air. They appear, however, able to distinguish between various kinds of music, and especially to appreciate the performances of our regimental bands, but this may perhaps in part be due to the tone of the big drum, which somewhat resembles that produced on their sounding-boards.

35. Dr. Brander gives a specimen of their monotonous chant —the compass of which will be found to include only three notes—in the following stave of our musical notation:—

619
184

(11) *Canoes.*—Bojigngiji and Yerewa, same pattern canoe; Ônge-Jarawa pattern different from above. Both out-rigged, Bojigngiji has in addition a large dug-out without outrigger. [501]

(12) *Huts.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas have temporary huts. Ônge-Jarawas have large permanent communal dwellings. [342]

(13) *Dancing.*—Bojigngijis and Yerawas, sounding board and song and clapping in unison. Ônge-Jarawa, standing in a ring and alternately bending and straightening the knees: also on occasion kicking the buttocks with the flat of the foot. [35]

(14) *Beds.*—Jarawas sleep on the wood ashes of the fires. Ônges on raised bamboo platforms. Other tribes on leaves and in sand-holes. [352]

(15) *Food.*—The staple food of the Ônges is the mangrove fruit, boiled, and they preserve small fish dried after cooking. None of the other tribes do this. [262 251]

The Long-shore and Jungle Andamanese.—The Andamanese are by themselves again further divided into the Aryoto or long-shore men, and the Eremtaga or jungle-dwellers; the habits and capacities of these two differ, owing to surroundings, irrespective of tribe. Some tribes as the Tabo, Juwai, Kol, and the South Andaman Jarawas, are entirely Eremtaga, while the Balawa, the Chariar, and the Jarawas of the North Sentinel are entirely Aryoto. The Aryoto holds himself to be better than the Eremtaga, but beyond this there seem to be no exclusive distinctions between them and an Aryoto will marry or adopt an Eremtaga.

With the minuteness in matters concerning their surroundings that is characteristic of all entirely uneducated people, the Andamanese recognise a third division of themselves by habits into Adajig or creek-dwellers, *i.e.*, those who live on the shores of the many inlets of the sea on the coasts of the Islands. The habits of the Adajig, however, are practically those of the Aryoto.

Distinctions by habits are quickly lost by the Andamanese. The Jarawas have now no canoes in the South Andaman and are quite incapable of constructing or using them, though all Ônges have them and so have the Jarawas on the North Sentinel. So also had the Jarawas that Colebrooke met a century ago. And this year (1902) it was ascertained that the young men brought up at the Duratang (Kyd Island) Home and occupied chiefly in market gardening could neither steer nor paddle a canoe, nor take up tracks in the jungles. In one generation, though there was no restriction in communication with their people, they had lost both sea and forest craft.

Former Isolation of the Tribes.—Before the arrival of the English the tribes, excepting actual neighbours, may be said to have had no general intercourse with each other, and excepting some individuals were entirely unable to converse together, though it can be conclusively shown that all the existing languages are directly descended from one parent tongue. Even Septs had but little mutual intercourse and considerable differences in details of dialect and, as has occurred in other island abodes of savages, there must have been a change of dialect or language along about every 20 miles of the coast. The tribes were in fact brought together and made definitely acquainted with each other's separate existence and peculiarities by the influence and exertions of Mr. Man between 1875 and 1880.

609 **Sympathies and Antipathies.**—The tribal feeling is expressed as follows: friendly within the tribe, courteous to other Andamanese if known, hostile to every stranger, Andamanese or other. The sympathy and antipathy exhibited are strictly natural, *i.e.*, savage, and are governed by descent. The feeling of friendliness lies in an ever-decreasing zone from the family outwards towards sept, tribe, group: hostility to all others. Even septs will fight each other and Aryoto and Eremtaga do not mix much. But there is no "caste" feeling, and tribes will, in circumstances favouring the actions (*e.g.*, living on the tribal borders), intermarry and adopt each other's children. Within the tribe there is so general a custom of adoption that children above six or seven rarely live with their own parents. It is an act of friendliness to give up or adopt a child and the custom has had the effect of making the various septs of a tribe hang together much better than would otherwise have been possible. 597

881 and pointing to a limited tabu. On reaching puberty or thereabouts, between 12 and 16 years of age, abstention from about 6 kinds of food, each in turn, is voluntarily commenced and continued for some years. At the end of each abstention there are a few ceremonies and some dancing and the youth of both sexes become "grown up." There is nothing else to mark this period beyond the application of an honorific name while it lasts, no secret to be communicated, no religious ceremony. In after-life, however, men who have gone through the initiatory period together will not fight, quarrel, nor call each other by name. They will assume great friendship, while avoiding each other with a mutual shyness. The women also practise a limited tabu as to food during menstruation and pregnancy. The idea of tabu does undoubtedly exist as to food and every man has his own tabued articles through life, which is, however, usually something observed to disagree with him in childhood or to be unpalatable.

264 576 There are also limitations as to sexual family relations. Only husband and wife can eat together. Widows and widowers, bachelors and maidens eat with their own sex only. A man may not address directly a married woman younger than himself or touch his wife's sister or the wife of a younger relative, and *vice versâ*.

302 304 The tattooing is partly ceremonial, as a test of courage and endurance of pain, and so is painting the body with clays, oils, etc. By the material and design is shown sickness, sorrow or festivity and the unmarried condition.

535 **Amusements.**—The great amusement of the Andamanese, indeed their chief object in life after the chase, is the formal evening or night dance, a curious monotonous performance accompanied by drumming the feet rythmically on a special sounding board, like a Crusader's shield and mistaken for a shield by several observers, singing a song more or less impromptu and of a compass limited to four semitones and the intermediate quarter tones, and clapping the hands on the thighs in unison. The dance takes place every evening whenever there are enough for it, and lasts for hours and all night at meetings of the tribes or septs for the purpose. It then becomes ceremonial and is continued for several nights in succession. Both sexes take allotted parts in it. This and turtle hunting are the only things which will keep the Andamanese awake all night long. There are five varieties of the dance among the tribes: that of the Ónge-Jarawas being an entirely separate performance.

533 **Music.**—The Andamanese appreciate rhythm and time, but not pitch or tune. They sing in unison, but not in parts, and can neither sing in chorus nor repeat or even catch an air. The key in which a solo or chorus is started is quite accidental. They can be readily taught any dance step and can teach it themselves from observation.

Song.—Every man who respects himself is a composer of songs, always consisting of a solo and refrain, and sings without action or gesticulation and always to the same rhythm. The songs relate only to travel, sport and personal adventures, never to love, children and the usual objects of poetry, and very rarely to beliefs and superstition. The wording is enigmatic and excessively elliptic, the words themselves being in grammatical order, but shorn of all affixes as a rule. As in all poetry unusual words are employed. But clipped as the wording is and prosaic as the subjects are, the Andamanese are far from being unable to give a poetic turn to their phraseology and ideas. The women have lullabies for their babies.

524 **Games.**—The Andamanese are childishly fond of games and have an indigenous blind-man's-buff, leap-frog and hide-and-seek. Mock pig and turtle hunts, mock burials, and "ghost" hunts are favourite sports. Matches in swinging, swimming, throwing, skimming (ducks and drakes), shooting (archery), and wrestling are practised.

551 **Naming of Children and Adults.**—Every child is named for life after one of about twenty conventional names by the mother, of course without reference to sex, immediately upon pregnancy becoming evident, to which afterwards a nickname, varying occasionally as life proceeds, is added from personal peculiarities, deformities, disfigurements, or eccentricities and sometimes from flattery or reverence. Girls are also given "flower names" after one of sixteen selected trees which happen to be in flower at the time they reach puberty.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

the felling of the tree, chiselling the lumber and processing it further to give the shape of a canoe. Buckets of wood are also constructed by them from the softwood tree. Two types of baskets are made, the smaller ones are more well-finished than the bigger ones. The former is known as *toleoaga* and the later *tole-laya*. Such activities have introduced the use of dahs, chisels, and iron files among the Onges, from the iron pieces derived from the sea shores. The other important pieces of their craftsmanship are the beautiful weavings of fibre, tussel of yellow fibre used by the women in their front. However, the art of making the earthen pots has been completely forgotten.

The leisure in their lives has helped the development of some amount of aesthetic senses among the Onges. All the Onges men and women shave their heads with flakes of glass, obtained from the sea-borne glass bottles. The body of the Onges are also painted with white clay which save their skin from insect-bite while red paint serves medicinal purposes if some individual is having fever. In times of mourning, red orchre paint is a taboo.[1]

Early marriage is the custom. The widows are looked down upon by the society. Some incidents of widow murder and drowning are heard. In the married life, the husband is devoted to his wife and both the husband and wife work for collecting their food.

Dances and songs are in vogue and there are practically songs for every occasion and activity. Most of their songs are more plaintive than joyous.

There are three broad divisions of the Onges of the Little Andaman :

(1) *Giremeka-Gobeule* group inhabiting the northeastern coast of the island ;

(2) *Engakwale group* live in the interior of the islands ; and

(3) *Gireraragobeule group* live in the southern and western coasts of the islands.

In spite of all the limitations, the Onges have been considered as one of the happiest people of the world with plenty of food and water to eat and drink and with very few social cankers to fight with. But as is common to all other aborigines of the Andamans, a decline in their number is discernible.

The Sentinelese

The Sentinelese are the least known of all the aborigines of the Anda-

1 The Onge of the Little Andaman—A short guide book ; Anthropological Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

their fires beside them. On the night of 4–5 April 1953, while I was sleeping with them in the communal hut at Berié-Abdalù a sudden storm drenched us all, forcing us to huddle together round fires under the more waterproof parts of the roof. Numb with cold, but cheerful, they began joking, singing[1] and dancing, men and women separately; this went on all night, and no one suffered any ill effects from the soaking.

The Onge lack of hygiene extends also to their cooking utensils, which are never washed. In recent years the ocean has provided the Onges with a generous and unexpected gift; currents running from the south of Asia have thrown up on to the shores of Little Andaman a shoal of empty petrol drums, stout metal cylinders 1·3 metres high and eighty centimetres in diameter. The astute Onges have patiently divided each one in two, each section big enough to take a large pig. Set on big fires these serve as wonderful cooking pots, and the Onges are delighted with them. Unfortunately, however, although they were thrown up all round the island, the supply is beginning to dry up, and they are rapidly being eaten away by rust.

To boil food, the Onges set the drums on two large logs, laid parallel, with a fire between them. Stones are rarely used to support the drums, although there are plenty about in the interior of the island. On the coast, and for a fair way inland, there is nothing but coral, hard but liable when it gets hot to disintegrate under the heavy weight of the cylinders filled to the brim.

In these gifts from the sea the Onges could prepare tasty broths, but they invariably allow nearly all the water to boil away, and the cooking process is not considered complete until all the liquid has gone. While it is boiling, however, they take care not to lose the fat floating on the top, which they adore. They have even invented a curious sort of dipping-stick for the purpose of skimming the fat off. They take a shoot about twenty centimetres long from a plant which disintegrates into fibre when chewed. One end is chewed into a loose 'brush' and no one present misses his turn to dip it into the pot again and again to skim off a mouthful of fat, even getting up in the night in their eagerness for it. One stick naturally does for everyone, men, women and children, the

[1] The Onge voice is not markedly different from the European. It has a musical quality, fairly high-pitched but never shrill; the Onges never raise their voices, even in anger – disagreements invariably end in a dignified silence.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Even the unique dances enjoyed by the Onges are to be seen among the Jarawas, with the characteristic marking of the rhythm by slapping the calves against the buttocks. This does not seem to have been a feature of the Arioto dances, in which the rhythm was by the *pukuta yemnga*, a kind of convex shield made of the very hard and aromatic red wood (*Pterocarpus dalbergoides*) which the termites never seem to attack. I was able to obtain one of these shields, the last that the twenty-three surviving Arioto possessed and the only musical instrument in the islands. It is played by one man with his feet, while the dancers, male and female, form lines on each side of him a short distance away. Before use the convex face is decorated with lines of white ochre and chains of tusk shells are hung from a hole at the end opposite to the one on which the player's feet beat; from the same hole runs a cord, which he holds in his hand to prevent the instrument moving away from him as he beats. The players change from time to time as the dancers shuffle on and on for hours in the light of the resin torches. But apart from the instrument itself, the rhythmic hand-clapping and the dancers singing in unison are the same throughout the Andamans.

The women clap their hands in rhythm, and then slap one thigh with the open palm of one hand, the other hand clasping the wrist, singing all the time. The men dance in Indian file, beating the ground first with the right heel, then with the left, the toes barely raised from the ground, moving a short way forward each time. As they dance they lean forward, then with hands clasped and their fingers interlaced. There are variations, but the basic step is always the same.

One difference between the Onges and the Jarawas is that in the latter both sexes are naked, while the Onge women have in recent times adopted the *naquineghe* or apron. Complete nudity was a characteristic of all the Negritos, including the Semang and Aetà, and the Jarawa migrations probably took place before the introduction of the *naquineghe*.

The present inability of the three peoples to understand each other is more a question of pronunciation than of difference in actual words. To examine the question fully it would be necessary to collect a large number of words and analyse their affinity; meanwhile we know that despite their inability to understand each other there is a close resemblance between the language of the Jarawas and Sentinellese and that of the Onges. Strict isolation can lead to

171 way in which the spirits are invoked against enemies, involving
776 the use of some personal possession – an example is the invariable destruction of the used *naquineghe*, or of hair after shaving. The same fear of the night induced by the idea of spirits walking abroad led to the making of torches from rolled palm leaves containing a mixture of embers and resin.

From the Andamans to Oceania the chief spirit is generally
[262] imagined in the form of a giant lizard, living at the top of the sky
[825] and ruling the storms; none of the peoples who believe in him ever eat any lizard or lizard-like creature. All of them have the same
171 sexually suggestive dances, both male and female, sometimes in-
535 spired by the monitor or dragon-lizard, symbol of desire, and often
776 associated with miming and dramatic representations of real and
825 imaginary scenes. These dances, with their *joie de vivre*, are accom-
171 panied by the smoking of aromatic leaves in pipes which are fre-
276 quently made from natural objects such as the claws of crustacea.
[535] The Onges in fact have since very ancient times used only this type
[192] as shown in the lower levels of the kitchen-middens dating back at least five thousand years. Everywhere, pipes of this kind are used indiscriminately by both sexes, passing from mouth to mouth. Pipes identical in every way with those of the Onges are found to the east of the archipelago, well into Oceania, and I have myself also seen them on Melville Island, north of Australia, always with the same notches for the teeth to grip. This undeniable evidence of the spread of identical pipes over so wide an area long before the possibility of European contacts cannot in my opinion be attributed other than to migration over vast distances in very ancient times.

Similar coincidences apply in the case of the arrow harpoon and
171 indeed harpoons in general. I cannot agree with Brown in his
114 assertion that the harpoon dates from the arrival of European in-
411 fluences, which brought the use of iron; the harpoon points made by long and patient working of *Tridacna* shells which I found in the kitchen-middens of the Andamans are in my view enough to refute the theory.

171 The canoes from which these harpoons are used, with the ab-
501 sence of distinction between bow and stern and the single float on the lee side, are extremely typical. They are identical in peoples which have been widely separated for a very long time and appear not only on the Andamans, and as far as Oceania, but also in North

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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512 combs of black honey are to be found[1], and these are generally
222 consumed by the hunters on the spot.

The provision of the vegetable food of the community is the work of the women, who must also supply the camp with firewood and water. While the men are away hunting the
462 women, attended by the children, cut and carry the firewood,
512 and either remain in the camp making baskets or nets or other
222 objects, or else go into the forest to look for fruits and seeds. Thus by midday the camp may be quite deserted, save perhaps for one or two old men and women, and a few of the children.

In the afternoon the women return with what food they have
512 obtained and then the men come in with their provision. The
252 camp, unless the hunters have been unsuccessful, is then busy with the preparation of the evening meal, which is the chief meal of the day. If a pig has been brought home whole it is cooked at the public cooking place and is then cut up. The meat is distributed amongst the members of the community and the woman of each family then proceeds to cook the family meal. The pork, after it has been roasted and cut up, is further cooked by being boiled. The family meal is prepared at the fire that each family has in its hut. The meal is a family one, partaken
[264] by a man and his wife and children. The bachelors cook and eat their own meal, and the unmarried women also eat by themselves.

512 After the meal is over, darkness having by this time fallen, the
[535] men may spend an hour or two in dancing to the accompaniment of a song sung by one of them with the help of a chorus of women.
• 537 In that case they would probably eat another meal after the dance was over. Another favourite amusement for the evening is what may be called "yarning." A man sits down with a few listeners and tells them, with few words, and with many dramatic gestures, how he killed a pig. The same man may go on with
512 tale after tale, till, by the time he finishes he has killed twenty or thirty pigs. Finally the whole camp retires to rest and nothing

[1] There are two kinds of wild bee in the Andamans. A small species makes black honeycombs in hollow trees, and these may be found at any time of the year. A larger species of bee builds white combs suspended from the underside of branches in tall trees. Such combs are found in abundance only in the hot season, and not at all in the middle of the rainy season.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

(which has now about 6000 entries of the English-Andamanese part only), and the corrected grammar will be published in course of time. They are obviously of great importance to the Indian Government, on account of its penal settlement at Port Blair, and are well worthy of its patronage.

533 538 195

The Andamanese have poetry, and that of a most remarkable kind. Their only musical instrument is a stamping board to keep time, and to this rhythm everything seems to be sacrificed. The words, their order, the prefixes, the suffixes, the postpositions, are all more or less changed, the order of the words suffers, in short the poetical language requires a special study, which is the more difficult to give, as songs are always impromptu, and not, as a rule, sung again after the one occasion for which they were composed, and then only by the composer. Of the music Mr. Man regrets to state that he is unable to give any information, as he is, unfortunately, totally unacquainted with the subject. The following specimen of a song composed by the *jam·bu*, to whom the above letters were addressed, after his liberation from a six months' imprisonment, about 1865, for having shot down a sailor whom he found taking liberties with his wife, was given to Mr. Man by the author.

I. As it was sung.

Solo. *ngō do kūk l'ārtâ·lagi·ka,*
mô·ro el·ma kâ igbâ·dâla
mô·ro el·mo lē aden·yarâ
pô-tôt läh.

Chorus. *aden·yarâ pô-tôt läh.*

II. Literal Translation of the Poetry.

thou heart sad
sky surface there look-at
sky surface of ripple
bamboo spear.

[p. 252]

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III. Prose Andamanese Version by Mr. Man.

ŋgôl kûk l'àrtâ·lagike
mô·ro el·ma len kâ·to igbâ·dignga bêdig,
mô·ro el·ma ĩ·a en·yar len igbâ·dignga bêdig
pô-tôg len tûg·imike.

IV. Literal Translation of Prose Version.

thou heart-sad-art
sky-surface to there looking while,
sky-surface of ripple to looking while,
bamboo spear on lean-dost.

V. Free Translation of Prose Version.

thou art sad at heart,
gazing there at the sky's surface,
gazing at the ripple on the sky's surface,
leaning on the bamboo spear.

The rhythm, as read by Mr. Man, was:

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-	-	-

The syllables marked - were of medial length. There were two short syllables at the end of the second and third lines. The three long syllables in the fourth line were very long and slow, each filling up a whole measure. Strange as some of the changes and omissions were, this is one of the least altered of the songs in Mr. Temple's grammar. We must suppose the man to be standing before his companions after liberation from prison, gazing sadly at the sky again and resting on his bamboo spear, and then the action would make the words intelligible.

An important question arises as to the durability of the 000

[p. 253]

776 rule the multiplication and growth of the various animals and plants useful to Man.

The Onges do not love Eiuga, or any of the other spirits. They merely fear them, and seek to evade their anger by various expedients. It is curious that they never hesitate to try and deceive the spirits and think themselves very clever when they manage to steal roots or tubers from the ground. Nor do they revere the spirits of their ancestors; these are to be feared and propitiated by preservation of their bones. By definition none of the spirits, since they can be deceived by simple tricks, can be all-powerful, but this conclusion, simple though it is, is still beyond the Onges' powers of reasoning.

The Onges' fear of the dead is instanced by their carrying round their necks the *ibidanghe*, or necklet of human jaws, as a propitiation. The wearing of the bones prevents the spirit from going away (by analogy the bones of dead enemies are burned to force the spirit, clearly a hostile one, to leave the place). The custom of burial within the communal hut follows the same logic – the spirits of the dead are kept near their bones and hence near their relatives, to help them in the daily round of hunting, fishing and gathering food.[1]

Unlike most of the other peoples whose burial customs are even today based on their underlying principles, the Onges have not progressed beyond the stage of relating the dead directly to the demands of daily life; they have no 'practices' of any kind, no concept at all of holy places, prayers or images. Even the very names of the dead are soon forgotten. Their fears, however, are none the less very real. They do not like to speak of Eiuga or even of the lesser spirits, for fear of attracting their attention.

The Onges have no stories or explanatory legends, like those reported by Brown for Great Andaman. They have only short epics, if such they may be called, recalling extraordinary events in

[1] This belief is of very remote origin, and can be traced back at least to the megaliths of southern Asia, like the splendid ones which I was able to photograph, among others, in the mountains of Travancore. Here again the object was to prevent the dead from leaving their relatives. Similar ideas are found today in India among several tribes, notably the Munda, or Nias, and among various peoples of Indonesia, and even Oceania. The rituals are probably followed today without any understanding of their meaning or symbolism; the details vary from place to place, but the underlying principle, the original fear, remains the same everywhere.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

their hunting and fishing, or contacts with strangers, which are loudly chanted, accompanied by miming and dancing, during their nocturnal celebrations. One was sung and danced in my honour; Cendubai,[1] head of the Lulera hut, much struck by the sight of me in my hammock slung between two trees on nylon cords, delivered himself of a warning over the danger I was running using such thin cords. At the end of each 'verse' the refrain '*cué-cian-ghégbeíbée-chéle*' (he will hurt himself) repeated his fear of the cords breaking.

Hunting and fishing episodes are to the Onges less interesting than themes like my safety, because to them they lack the repetitive refrain. In their dances, on the other hand, they prefer something else, to us monotonous, but for them always new, and even exciting; more than anything they love to dance the stages of courtship to its culmination, with the help of words and extraordinarily (to Western eyes regrettably) vivid gestures.

Birds, to the Onges, harbour the spirits of the dead, and it is for this reason that they are never eaten, contrary to the assertions of Brown.[2] Similar fears extend to lizards, the jungle cats, bats, rats and snakes. I have confirmed this among both the Onges and the Arioto. The latter even refused to eat some fat pigeons which I offered them not knowing of the taboo; they accepted the gifts, but the pigeons were eventually eaten by my own men. And the Onges whom I took with me to Port Blair for a few days refused point blank to eat pigeon or chicken.

The spirits select the Onges' food for them, in the sense that they regard everything as edible or poisonous, according to whether the guardian spirit is benign or malevolent. Given the curious adaptability of the spirits and the intensely practical way in which they operate it is hardly surprising that their benevolence or malignity coincides remarkably well with those foods which tend to promote normal health!

[1] I was sorry to learn that Cendubai died suddenly in 1955 aged barely forty.

[2] Curiously enough, while the Onges' fears lead them to reject out of hand any food of animal origin which is unknown to them, the same does not apply to vegetable foods. They ate half-rotten fruit, which I offered them, even though they had never seen it before, and they clamoured for rice and tea, so much so that in order to prevent them becoming addicted to the rice, as so often happens when primitive peoples meet a new food, I insisted on receiving equal quantities of yams in exchange for the rice and very sweet tea, to slow down their demands.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

metres in diameter. They are now used for the holy water in the new church of San Piero in Palco, in Florence, like those in the church of St Sulpice in Paris. Two valves of *T. gigas*, rather smaller, are being used for the same purpose in the church of Marco Polo in Viareggio.

Among the creatures the Onges hunt on the shores are crayfish, which can be taken in plenty in the streams of Little Andaman, although I found none on Great Andaman or in the Nicobars. As they were so common I assumed they were a known species and did not bother to collect any. In Madras, however, an expert on freshwater crustacea, Sri Sada Siva, told me that this appeared to be a new species and it would be well worth while returning to Little Andaman to collect further specimens, as the few I had brought are now lost. There are tens of thousands of them everywhere.

These freshwater crayfish are so tasty that they have entered into Onge folklore, and their tastiness is praised in song. They are baked on burning embers, without salt, as always, and just the charred shell is removed before they are eaten. The clean fresh water in which they live prevents any taint in the flavour. I must confess to having eaten them every day without realizing their importance as a possible new species. They are fairly large, about fifteen centimetres long, and almost black, in natural imitation of the dark rocks among which they try to vanish out of sight, although the Onges never fail to spot them. The males have slender pereiopods, with claws almost twice as long as the whole body; these the creatures thrust out before them, and so slender are they that it is difficult to catch a male with both pereiopods intact. After hatching, the young, which are identical with the adults as soon as they hatch and can therefore be sexed by the presence and absence of pereiopods, cling bunched together for several weeks, attached by their claws to their mother's swimmerets before making their way into the troubled waters of the rivers, where the great carp are waiting to prey on them.

Yet another freshwater creature eagerly sought by the Onges is one that is almost black in colour, a strange survival of some remote geological era. Like other members of the family it has no scales, and the mouth, armed with teeth, is not protractile. On Little Andaman I saw several specimens weighing over a kilogram, and

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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which might be quite clear to a native, but which was obscure to one not accustomed to thinking in the same way as the natives. In some cases I could obtain no satisfactory explanation, and such legends are given in this chapter in as nearly as possible an exact literal translation of the original. In other cases the explanations given by the natives have been incorporated in the translation itself. 773

In order to give the reader a fair idea of the nature of the legends as they are told, one is here given in the native language (*Aka-Čari*) with a word-for-word translation. 539 773

A Maia Dik ijokoduko; *o kǫnmo teč injuktertǫia;*
Sir Prawn makes fire; yam leaf catches fire;

kǫnmo teč bi ikterbie; *kete uijoko;* *uijokobiko;*
yam leaf is dry; that one it burns; he makes a fire;

Maia Dik ubenoba; *Maia Totemo emato;* *ujokil uektebalo;*
Sir Prawn slept; Sir Kingfisher takes; he fire with he runs away

Maia Totemo jokobiko; *Maia Totemo tajeo ubiko;*
Sir Kingfisher makes a fire; Sir Kingfisher fish (food) cooks;

upetil ubeno; *Maia Mite juktebalo uemato.*
his belly in he sleeps; Sir Dove runs away taking.

The above translation is hardly comprehensible without a little explanation. The word *ijoko* means "something burns," the word *ubiko* means "he cooks (by roasting)." The compound *ijokobiko* may mean either "he makes a fire and cooks something at it" or it may simply mean "he makes up a fire (by adding firewood)." The word *ijokoduko* has a quite different meaning, "to produce fire." The derivation of *injuktertǫia* is uncertain, as I am not sure of the proper use of *er-tǫia*; it is translated on the basis of the explanation given me by the man who told the story. The word *ikterbie* is descriptive of the dryness of dead leaves.

A free translation would be as follows: "It was Sir Prawn who first produced or obtained fire. Some yam leaves, being shrivelled and dry by reason of the hot weather, caught fire and burnt. The prawn made a fire with some firewood and

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539 773 went to sleep. The kingfisher stole fire and ran away with it. He made a fire and cooked some fish. When he had filled his belly he went to sleep. The dove stole fire from the kingfisher and ran away." It is implied that it was the dove who gave the fire to the ancestors of the Andamanese.

773 Versions of legends of the origin of fire are given by Mr Portman, in each of the languages of the Southern group of tribes[1].

All the legends relate to events that are supposed to have happened in the past, and deal with the doings of the ancestors of the Andamanese. In the North Andaman the ancestors are sometimes called *Lau t'er-kuro*, i.e. the big spirits, "big" being used in the sense of our word "chief." Another term for them is *N'a-mai-koloko*, from *n'* or *nio* = they, *aka-mai* = father, and *koloko* = people, so that the phrase literally means "the father people," or the ancestors. In the South Andaman the ancestors are sometimes called *Čauga tabaŋa*, which is the equivalent of *Lau t'er-kuro*. Mr Man seems to have misunderstood the exact meaning of this term. He writes: "*Lači Lora-lola*, the chief of the survivors from the Deluge[2], gave, at his death, the name of *Čauga tabaŋa* to their descendants.....The *Čauga tabaŋa* are described as fine tall men with large beards, and they are said to have been long lived, but, in other respects and in their mode of living they did not differ from the present inhabitants. The name seems to have been borne till comparatively recent times, as a few still living are said to remember having seen the last of the so-called *Čauga tabaŋa*[3]."

Mr Man has evidently not realised that the term *čauga* cannot be applied to any living Andamanese, but may be applied to every dead one. The *Čauga* are the spirits of dead natives, and new *Čauga* are continually coming into existence by death. Any person who is of such importance when alive as to form the subject of legends or stories after his death may be distinguished (after his death only) as a *Čauga tabaŋa*. The name may thus be applied to the purely mythical ancestors of the legends, and also to the spirits of men recently dead

[1] Portman, *Notes on the Languages*, etc. p. 97.
[2] The legend will be given later.
[3] Man, *op. cit.* p. 169.

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"The first man was *Jutpu*[1]. He was born inside the joint of a big bamboo, just like a bird in an egg[2]. The bamboo split and he came out. He was a little child. When it rained he made a small hut for himself and lived in it. He made little bows and arrows. As he grew bigger he made bigger huts, and bigger bows and arrows. One day he found a lump of quartz and with it he scarified himself. *Jutpu* was lonely, living all by himself. He took some clay (*kọt*) from a nest of the white ants and moulded it into the shape of a woman. She became alive and became his wife. She was called *Kọt*. They lived together at *Teraut-buliu*. Afterwards *Jutpu* made other people out of clay. These were the ancestors. *Jutpu* taught them how to make canoes and bows and arrows, and how to hunt and fish. His wife taught the women how to make baskets and nets and mats and belts, and how to use clay for making patterns on the body."

The same story was told me by *Aka-Jeru* men, the only difference being that they gave the name of the place where *Jutpu* lived differently, mentioning a spot in the *Aka-Jeru* country.

From the *Aka-Jeru* I also obtained what is really another version of the same legend, though the name of the first ancestor is given differently. "The first man came out of the buttress of a *pọičo* (*Sterculia*) tree, and was called *Pọičotobut* (*Sterculia* buttress). He had no wife, so he cohabited with an ant's nest (*kọt*) and thus obtained a large number of children. These were the first Andamanese, and *Pọičotobut* taught them all their arts and customs. *Pọičotobut* lived at *Bọrọŋ Buliu* (in *Aka-Jeru* country)."

The association between the origin of the Andamanese and an ant's nest (*kọt*) is retained in another legend, told by an *Aka-Jeru* man. "*Tarai* (the south-west monsoon) was the first man. His wife was *Kọt*. They lived at *Tarai-era-*

[1] The name seems to mean "alone."

[2] The giant bamboo does not grow in the Andamans, but pieces of it are often drifted ashore, having come from the coast of Burma. The natives pick up these drift-wood bamboos and make buckets of them. It is possible that the bamboo from which the first man was born was just such a piece drifted up from the sea. Unfortunately I neglected to enquire on this point when taking down the legend.

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poy[1]. Their children were *Tau* (the sky), *Boto* (wind), *Piribi* (storm), and *Air* (the foam on a rough sea)." 773 539

An entirely different legend, of which, however, I could not obtain a detailed version, is also found in the *Aka-Jeru* tribe. This is to the effect that the first living being was *Maia Čara*[2]. He made the earth, and caused it to be peopled with inhabitants. He also made the sun and moon. In the last chapter *Čara* was mentioned as a mythical being associated with the sun, with daylight and with fine weather. One of my informants of the *Aka-Jeru* tribe said that *Čara* had a wife named *Nimi* (a common personal name), and that his children were *Čeo* (knife), *Ino* (water), *Loto*, and *Luk*. It is *Maia Čara*, according to one commonly received account, who makes the daylight every day.

I could not obtain any *Aka-Kede* legend as to the origin of mankind. One informant of that tribe said that it was *Bilika* (the north-east monsoon) who made the world and the first men and women, but he could give me no detailed legend.

In the *Aka-Kol* and *A-Pučikwar* tribes there are several versions of a legend that makes the monitor lizard (*Varanus salvator*) the progenitor of the Andaman race. In all the versions there is no mention of how the lizard himself originated. The following was told me by an *Aka-Kol* man. "When *Ta Peti* (Sir Monitor Lizard) was *aka-goi* (i.e. unmarried, but having completed the initiation ceremonies), he went into the jungle to hunt pig. He climbed up a *Dipterocarpus* tree, and got stuck there[3]. *Beyan* (civet-cat, *Paradoxurus*) found him there, stuck in the tree. She released him and helped him to get down. The two got married. Their children were the *Tomo-la* (i.e. the ancestors)."

Another legend telling how the monitor lizard obtained a wife was related to me on more than one occasion by *A-Pučikwar* men. "The first of the ancestors (*Tomo-la*) was *Ta Petie* (Sir Monitor Lizard). He lived at *Tomo-la-tog*. At first he had

[1] The meaning of the name is "the cave of *Tarai*"; I believe that this is the name of a spot in the *Aka-Jeru* country.

[2] The meaning of the name was not discovered.

[3] The lizard was caught in some way by his genital organs, but I was unable to understand the story completely.

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no wife. One day, when he was out fishing, he found a piece of black wood of the kind called *kọlotat* (*Diospyros* sp.). He found it in the creek, and brought it to his hut, where he put it on the little platform over the fire[1]. He sat down by the fire and set to work over an arrow that he was making. As he bent over his work he did not see what was happening. By and by he heard some one laugh, and looked up. Then he saw that the piece of wood had turned into a woman. He got up and took her down from the platform. She sat down with him and became his wife. They had a son named *Pọi* (a species of small bird, possibly a woodpecker), and afterwards many other children. They lived together for a long time at *Tomo-la-tog*. One day *Ta Pẹtie* went fishing and was drowned in the creek. He turned into a *kara-duku*."

There is some doubt about the translation of the word *kara-duku*. It is an *Aka-Bea* word, although it was used as given above, by an *A-Pučikwar* man. Mr Man translates it "cachalot." Mr Portman says that *kara-duku* is "crocodile," but that the cachalot, the proper name of which is *biriga-ta*, is also sometimes called *kara-duku*[2]. The only authority for the existence of crocodiles in the Andamans is the statement of Mr Portman, who says that the natives killed one in the Middle Andaman and brought the bones to him. Although I was in many of the creeks of the Andamans at different times I never saw a crocodile, and none of the other officers of the Settlement, who have repeatedly explored a large part of the islands, ever seems to have seen one, so that the one recorded by Mr Portman may possibly have been a single one that had come oversea from the mainland of Asia.

Another *A-Pučikwar* account of the origin of the first woman *Kọlotat*, is as follows: "At first there were no women, only men. A man called *Kọlotat* came to live in the *A-Pučikwar* country. *Ta Pẹtie* (Sir Monitor Lizard) caught him and cut off his genitals and made him into a woman. She became his wife. Their children were the first of the ancestors (*Tomo-la*)."

[1] This is the small platform of sticks placed near or above the fire, on which the natives keep their food, and on which they often place objects that they desire to dry.

[2] *Notes on the Languages*, etc. p. 227.

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Another account given by members of the *A-Pučikwar* tribe is that the first man was *Tomo*, or *Tomo-la*. One version that I heard is that *Tomo* made the world and peopled it with the ancestors. He made the moon (*Puki*) who is his wife. *Tomo* and his wife invented all the arts of the Andamanese and taught them to the ancestors. After his death *Tomo* went to live in the sky, where he now is. It is *Tomo* who sends the fine weather, while *Bilik* sends the bad weather. In the world where *Tomo* now lives it is always daylight and is always fine. When men die their spirits go up to the sky and live with *Tomo*. The man who gave me this version said that he did not know how *Tomo* originated, but was quite sure that he was not made by *Bilik*. *Tomo* came first and *Bilik* came afterwards. The Andamanese are all the children of *Tomo*[1].

In disagreement with this story, another man of the same tribe said that *Tomo* was made by *Bilik*. He (i.e., *Tomo*) had a wife *Mita* (Dove), and they were the ancestors of the Andamanese. Yet another informant said: "*Ta Tomo* was the first man. He made bows and arrows and canoes. His canoes were made of the wood of the Pandanus tree. *Mita* (Dove) was his wife. It was she who first made nets and baskets and discovered the uses of red paint and white clay." When I asked how *Tomo* and his wife originated my informant replied that he did not know.

A species of bird (perhaps a woodpecker), called *Pǫi* in *A-Pučikwar* and *Kǫio* in *Aka-Kǫl*, is often said to have been the son of *Tomo*. I was once told that *Kǫio* was the first of the Andamanese, from whom they are all descended, and that his wife was *Mita*. Another informant said that *Pętie* (Monitor Lizard) was the first man and *Mita* was his wife, while still another stated that *Ta Mita* (Sir Dove) was the progenitor of the race, making the dove male instead of female. These different versions will give some idea of the

[1] When an old man of the *A-Pučikwar* tribe was giving me the information repeated above, an Andamanese man was with us who had been brought up as a Christian and had some knowledge of the doctrines of that faith. He explained to me that *Tomo* is the equivalent of the Christian God. This man belonged to the *Akar-Bale* tribe.

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contradictory nature of the statements of the Andamanese. All of them come from only two tribes, the *A-Pučikwar* and the *Aka-Kǫl*.

From the *Akar-Bale* tribe I obtained the following legend. "*Puluga* made the first of the ancestors. He made one man and one woman called *Nyali* and *Irap*[1]. He gave them fire, and taught them how to hunt and fish, and how to make bows and arrows and baskets and nets. The place where they lived is called *Irap* because they lived there[2]."

Another *Akar-Bale* version is that the first man was *Da Duku* (Sir Monitor Lizard), and that his wife was *In Bain* (Lady Civet-cat).

Mr E. H. Man, in his account of the South Andaman, says that there are a few discrepancies in their accounts of the creation and origin of the human species, but in the main features all the natives with whom he spoke are agreed. The world was created by *Puluga*, who then made a man named *Tomo*, the first of the human race. *Tomo* was black, like the present Andamanese, but was much taller and bearded. *Puluga* showed him the various fruit-trees in the jungle, which then existed only at *Wota-emi*, a spot in the country of the *A-Pučikwar* tribe. The wife of *Tomo* was *Čana Elewadi* (Lady Crab), and as to her origin there are different legends. According to some, *Puluga* created her after he had taught *Tomo* how to sustain life; others say that *Tomo* saw her swimming near his home and called to her, whereupon she landed and lived with him; while a third story represents her as coming pregnant to Kyd Island, where she gave birth to several male and female children, who subsequently became the progenitors of the present race. *Tomo* had two sons and two daughters by *Čana Elewadi*; the names of the former were *Biro-la* and *Bǫro-la*, and of the latter *Rie-la* and *Čǫrmi-la*.

A story that tells how *Tomo* came to his end states that

[1] These names are common personal names among the aborigines of the present day. Mr Portman derives *Nyali* from *nam-da*, the name of a tree, and *Irap* from *pira-da* meaning "scattered," but these derivations are far from being authenticated. (Portman, *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes*, p. 70.)

[2] The place called *Irap* is at the north end of Havelock Island.

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one day, while hunting, he fell into the creek called *Yara-tig-jig* and was drowned. He was at once transformed into a *kara-duku* (which Mr Man translates as "cachalot"). *Čana Elewadi*, ignorant of the accident that had befallen her husband, went in a canoe with some of her grandchildren to ascertain the cause of his continued absence; on seeing them, *Kara-duku* upset their skiff and drowned his wife and most of her companions. She became a small crab, of a description still named after her, *elewadi*, and the others were transformed into lizards (*duku*). Another version of this story is that, wearied with an unsuccessful day's hunting, *Tomo* went to the shore, where he found a *čidi* (Pinna) shell-fish; while playing with it, it fastened on him, and he was unable to free himself until a *baian* (Paradoxurus) seized the *čidi* and liberated him at the expense of one of his members. Shortly after this he saw his wife and some of their children coming after him in a canoe; unwilling that they should become aware of the misfortune that had befallen him he upset the canoe, drowning its occupants and himself. He then became *kara-duku*, and the others *duku*, which are now plentiful in the jungles[1].

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In some of the preceding legends reference is made to *Biliku* or *Puluga*. There is a very general belief, in all parts of the islands, that in the time of the ancestors, *Biliku* or *Puluga* lived on earth. Each tribe has at least one spot in its territory that is pointed out as the place where *Biliku* (or *Puluga*) lived. In some tribes there are three or four such places, each of which is claimed as the original home of *Biliku* by the people living in the neighbourhood. In many cases the name of the spot contains a reference to the legend, as *Puluga l'od-baraij* (the village of *Puluga*) in *Akar-Bale* or *Biliku era-poŋ* (the cave of *Biliku*) in the North Andaman.

I was able to obtain a few legends relating to the time when *Biliku* lived on earth, though there were probably many more that I was not fortunate enough to hear.

The following is an *Aka-Jeru* legend:

"In the time of the ancestors *Biliku* lived at *Ar-kol*. One day the people caught a turtle and brought it to the camp.

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 164.

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Biliku was sitting there. They asked her if she would eat some of it. She said 'No.' They put the meat in the roof of the hut and went away. When they had gone *Biliku* ate the whole turtle. Then she went to sleep. The people came back and found the turtle gone. They said '*Biliku* has eaten it.' They left the camp and all went to *Tebi-čiro*. They left *Biliku* asleep. Some of the people went to hunt for turtle. Their canoe passed near *Ar-kọl*. *Biliku* saw the people in the canoe. She called to them and asked to be taken with them. The people refused saying 'You ate up all the turtle.' *Biliku* had a round stone and several *be* shells (pearl shells). She threw the shells at the people in the canoe. The first shell did not hit them but came back and fell at her feet; and so also with the second. Then *Biliku* got very angry and threw a third time. The shell struck the canoe and killed all the people in it. The canoe and its occupants became a reef of rocks that is still there. The other people at *Tebi-čiro* called across to *Biliku* saying 'Come over here.' She answered 'Very well! I am coming.' She took the stone that she had and put it in the sea, and it floated. She got on to it to cross over. When she had got half way across *Biliku* and her stone sank in the sea. They became two big rocks that are there still." This legend refers to the west coast of the North Andaman. The pearl shells that *Biliku* throws seem to be lightning, and the round stone the one that she rolls about to make thunder.

A few other statements about *Biliku* and *Tarai* from the four tribes of the North Andaman are given below just as they were taken down in my note-books.

(1) "*Biliku* lived at *Pura-'ra-poŋ* in the time of the ancestors. Her husband was *Pẹrjido* and her children *Totaimo*, *Mite* (cicada) and *Tarai*. She made the sun and the moon. It was she who first invented all the things that are now made and used by women, such as baskets, nets, etc., and it was she who discovered fire, and who first discovered the use of edible roots such as *kọnmo* and *mino* (two species of *Dioscorea*)."

(2) "*Biliku* used to live at *Čaura*. She had a husband

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Tarai and a son *Pęrjido*, and a daughter *Mite*. She used to live only on certain vegetable foods, *lǫito*, *pata*, *bui*, *čo*, *kǫnmo* and *mino* and others. It was *Biliku* who made the earth (the forest, *ti-miku*). She began at *Čaura*." 773 539

(3) "*Biliku* lived at *Ar-Kol* in the time of the ancestors. Her husband was *Tarai* and their children were the birds, *Tǫrǫi*, *Taka*, *Čotǫt*, *Poruatoko*, *Kelil*, *Mite*, *Čǫpčura*, *Benye*, *Biratkoro*, *Čereo*, *Milidu*, *Bobelo*, *Kǫlo*, and *Teo*." (*Aka-J̌eru*.)

(4) "*Biliku* lived at *Poroket*. She was unmarried. She had a son *Pęrjido*, and her other children were *Tǫrǫi*, *Čelene*, *Čotǫt* and *Čerei*. (These four are the names of birds.) It was *Pęrjido* who invented all the arts of the Andamanese such as their bows and arrows, etc." (*Aka-Bo*?.)

(5) "*Biliku* used to live at *Peč-meo* with her husband *Tǫrǫi* (a bird). She used to eat *lǫito*, and when anyone else ate that root she was angry. *Tarai* lived at *Čaroya* with his wife *Kelil* (a bird). He ate only *mikulu*." (*Aka-Kǫra*.)

(6) "*Tarai* has very long legs and a short body. He used to live on a small island beyond Interview Island, which is now submerged. When *Tarai* goes to sleep he breathes very heavily and this makes the wind."

The next is an *Aka-Kede* legend. "In the days of the ancestors *Bilika* lived at *Purum-at-čape* in the *Aka-Kede* country, with her husband *Pǫrǫkul*. One day *Pǫrǫkul* was out hunting. He returned with a pig that he had killed and came to the creek on the other side of which was his home (*Cǫti-tęr-buli Buliu*). Laden as he was with the pig he could not swim across the creek. *Bilika* was sleeping, but her children were playing near and saw their father on the other side of the creek. They ran and told their mother that their father was coming but could not cross the creek. *Bilika* went and lay down on one bank of the creek and stretched out her leg so that it reached the other bank. *Pǫrǫkul* walked across her leg and so reached home."

While it is clear from this legend that *Bilika* was of superhuman size, the same was also true of her husband, if we may judge from another legend. "*Pǫrǫkul* made for himself a bow (of the large southern pattern), with which to shoot pig. At

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this time the sky was low down near the earth, only just above the tops of the trees. When *Pǫrǫkul* had finished his bow he lifted it upright. The top of it struck the sky and lifted it up to its present position where it has remained ever since."

In another legend from another part of the *Aka-Kede* tribe *Bilika* is spoken of as being male. "*Bilika* lived at *Pǫrǫŋ-et-ło* with his wife *Mite*. They had a child. The ancestors ate *Bilika's* food, *lǫito* and *kata* and other plants. *Bilika* was very angry. He used to smell their mouths to see if they had eaten his food. When he found a man or woman who had done so he would cut his throat. The ancestors were very angry with *Bilika*, because he killed the men and women when they ate his foods. They all came together and killed *Bilika* and his wife *Mite*. *Maia Burto* (a species of fish) took the child (of *Bilika*) away to the north-east."

Owing to my lack of knowledge of the *Aka-Kede* language there are some points of the above legend that remain obscure. I think that the child of *Bilika* is also named *Bilika*, and that it is he (or she) who now lives in the north-east and sends the storms. The plants (*lǫito*, *kata*, etc.), called here the "food" of *Bilika*, are those mentioned in the last chapter as specially belonging to *Bilika*, who is angry when the natives eat them. As regards the name, *Mite*, of *Bilika's* wife, I do not know whether this is the name of the bronze-winged dove, or of the cicada. In some of the Andamanese languages the names of these two are very similar, the only difference being a very slight one in the way of pronouncing the two vowels.

The *A-Pučikwar* people who live on the east coast of Baratang Island say that in the beginning the ancestors lived at a place called *Wota-emi*, and *Bilik* lived opposite to them across the strait at a place called *Tǫi-l'oko-tima*. In a rock at *Wota-emi* there is a large peculiarly shaped hollow. This is said to be where *Bilik* used to sit when he was on earth.

An *Akar-Bale* legend is as follows. "In the days of the ancestors *Puluga* lived at *J̌ila* off the east coast of Henry Lawrence Island and the ancestors lived at *Puluga l'od-baraij* (the village of *Puluga*) on the main island just opposite to *J̌ila*. *Puluga* was always getting angry with the ancestors,

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because they dug up yams and ate *čakan* (*Entada scandens*) and *barata* (*Caryota sobolifera*). When he was angry he used to destroy their huts and property. So the people sent him out of the world, saying 'We do not want you here. You are always angry with us.' *Puluga* went away to the north-east."

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It is worth while to note that *J̌ila* is north-east from *Puluga Ṭod-baraij*, just as *Ṭol-Ṭoko-tima* is north-east from *Wota-emi*. In both cases there is a narrow strait between the place where the ancestors lived and the home of *Puluga* or *Bilik*.

There are a number of different legends that relate how the ancestors first obtained fire[1]. In many of these legends there is a reference to *Biliku* or *Puluga*. A common statement in the North Andaman is that "Fire was stolen from *Biliku* by *Maia Tiritmo* (Sir Kingfisher)." Some of the legends give further details. An *Aka-Čari* legend is as follows:

"*Biliku* had a red stone and a pearl shell (*be*). She struck them together and obtained fire. She collected firewood and made a fire. She went to sleep. *Mite* (the bronze-winged dove) came and stole fire. He made a fire for himself. He gave fire to all the people in the village. Afterwards fire was given to all the places. Each village had its own."

The next is an *Aka-J̌eru* version.

"In the days of the ancestors they had no fire. *Biliku* had fire. While *Biliku* slept *Maia Lirčitmo* (Sir Kingfisher) came and stole fire. As he was taking the fire *Biliku* awoke and saw him. *Lirčitmo* swallowed the fire. *Biliku* took a pearl shell (*be*) and threw it at *Lirčitmo* and cut off his head. The fire came out (of his neck). The ancestors got the fire. *Lirčitmo* became a bird."

The next is also, I believe, an *Aka-J̌eru* story. "*Maia Tiritmo* (Sir Kingfisher) lived at *Tolepar Buruin*. He had no fire. When he caught fish he had no fire with which to cook it. He went to the place where *Čokčura* (heron) lived. There was no fire there. *Tiritmo* took some rotten wood of the *piń*

[1] Until the settlement of Europeans on the islands the Andamanese had no knowledge of any means of producing fire. It is necessary to remember this to understand some of their legends which relate how in the time of the ancestors the fire was very nearly lost in a heavy storm.

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tree and hit it on a rock, and thus made fire. He gave fire to *Čǫkčura*. *Čǫkčura* gave fire to *Totemo* (a species of kingfisher). *Totemo* gave it to all the others.

A slightly different and less detailed version of the same story is as follows:

"*Tiritmo* made fire. *Totemo* stole fire (from *Tiritmo*) and gave it to *Mǫičo* (Rail). *Mǫičo* gave fire to all the people."

The next version, which was taken down in *Aka-J̌eru*, I did not fully understand.

"Some one shot an arrow. The arrow hit the hill of fire. *Tiriṅ* (a species of kingfisher) found the arrow. It was on fire. He took the fire to his camp. He would not give fire to any one. The others asked him. They went to their homes. At night they came to *Tiriṅ's* hut and stole fire. They went away, each to his own place."

There is a certain amount of obscurity about two other versions, which are given in a translation as nearly literal as possible. "*Maia Dik* (Sir Prawn) made fire. Some *kǫnmo* (yam) leaves caught fire, being dry. *Maia Dik* made a fire. *Maia Dik* slept. *Maia Totemo* (Sir Kingfisher) stole fire and ran away. *Maia Totemo* made a fire. He cooked fish. When he had eaten, he slept. *Maia Mite* (Sir Dove) stole fire (from *Totemo*) and ran away.

The other is as follows. "*Piribi* got fire from a stone. He threw fire at *Bilika*. It set some *kǫnmo* (yam) leaves on fire. *Čǫrolo* (Parrot) got fire (from the burning leaves). He gave it to the ancestors."

These two legends were taken down in *Aka-Čari*, but they are perhaps really *Aka-Kǫra* or *Aka-J̌eru* stories. I have the word *piribi* in my notes as meaning a storm, but the translation is doubtful.

The next is an *Aka-Kede* version of what is the most widespread of the legends.

"The ancestors had no fire. *Bilika* had fire. The ancestors tried to steal fire from *Bilika*. *Lirtit* (Kingfisher) went one night while *Bilika* was sleeping and stole fire. *Bilika* awoke and saw him going away with the fire. She threw a pearl shell (*ba*) at him, which cut off his wings and his tail. *Lirtit* dived

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into the water and swam with the fire to *Bet-'ra-kudu* and gave it to *Tępe*. *Tępe* gave fire to *Mite* (the bronze-winged dove). *Mite* gave it to the others[1]." 773 539

An *Aka-Kede* legend of the origin of the sun may conveniently be given in this place, as it is connected with the possession of fire by *Bilika*. "*Bilika* made fire of *purum* wood. One day, when she was very angry, she started throwing fire about. One large fire-brand she threw into the sky, and there t became the sun." This legend explains the name of the place *Purum-at-čape*, at which *Bilika* is said to have lived when on earth. *Purum* is the name of a tree, not identified; *at* means either "fire" or "fire-wood," and *čape* means a village or a hut. The whole word therefore means "*Purum* fire village."

I did not obtain any legend of the origin of fire from the *Okǫ-Juwǫi* and *Aka-Kǫl* tribes, but a version from each of these tribes has been given by Mr Portman. A translation of Mr Portman's *Okǫ-Juwǫi* story is as follows[2]. "*Mǫm Mirit*[3] stole a fire-brand from *Kuro-t'on-mika* while *Bilik* was sleeping. He gave the brand to the late *Leč*, who then made fire at *Karat-tatak-emi*."

Mr Portman's *Aka-Kǫl* story is somewhat obscure. "*Bilik* was sleeping at *Tǫl-t'oko-tima*. *Luratut* (Kingfisher) took away fire to *Oko-emi*. *Kǫlotat* went to *Min-tǫŋ-ta* (taking with him fire from *Oko-emi*). At *Min-tǫŋ-ta* the fire went out. *Kǫlotat* broke up the charred firewood and made fire again (by blowing up the embers). They (the people there) became alive. Owing to the fire they became alive. The ancestors (*Jaŋil*) thus got fire at *Min-tǫŋ-ta* village."

From the *A-Pučikwar* tribe I only obtained one version of the fire legend. "When the ancestors lived at *Wota-emi*, *Bilik* lived at *Tǫl-t'oko-tima* across the strait. In those days the ancestors had no fire. *Bilik* took some wood of the tree called *pęrat* and broke it and made fire for himself. *Luratut* (Kingfisher) came to *Tǫl-t'oko-tima* while *Bilik* was sleeping and stole some fire. *Bilik* awoke and saw *Luratut*. He (*Bilik*) took

[1] I understood that *Lirtit*, by the loss of his wings and tail, became a man.
[2] Portman, *loc. cit.*
[3] *Mom* is a title indicating respect, and *Mirit* is the imperial pigeon.

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up a lighted brand and threw it at *Luratut*. It hit him in the back of the neck and burnt him. *Luratut* gave the fire to the people at *Wota-emi*. *Bilik* was very angry about this and went away to live in the sky."

The kingfisher of the story (*Alcedo beavani*?) has a patch of bright red feathers on its neck. This is where it was burnt by the brand thrown by *Bilik*.

Mr Portman gives a slightly different version from the same tribe[1]. "*Bilik* was sleeping at *Tọl-l'oko-tima*. *Luratut* went to bring fire. He caught hold of the fire, and in doing so burnt *Bilik*. *Bilik* awoke and seized some fire. He hit *Luratut* with the fire. Then he hit *Tarčal* (a fish) with the fire. *Čalter* (another species of kingfisher) caught hold of the fire. He gave it to the ancestors at *Wota-emi*. The ancestors made fires."

From the *Akar-Bale* tribe I obtained the following legend: "The people had no fire. *Dim-dọri* (a fish) went and fetched fire from *J̌ereg-l'ar-mugu* (the place of departed spirits). He came back and threw the fire at the people and burnt them, and marked them all. The people ran into the sea and became fishes. *Dim-dọri* went to shoot them with his bow and arrows, and he also became a fish." This story is supposed to account for the bright colouring of certain species of fish.

Mr Portman gives a somewhat similar version from the same tribe[2]. *Dim-dọra* (a fish), a very long time ago, at *Keri-l'oŋ-tower*, was bringing fire from *Puluga's* platform (fire-place). He, taking the fire, burnt everybody with it. *Bolub* and *Tarkọr* and *Biličau* fell into the sea and became fishes. They took the fire to *Rokwa-l'ar-toŋa* village and made fires there."

Another *Akar-Bale* legend is that fire was given to the first ancestors (*Da Duku* and *In Bain*) by *Puluga*. Still another is that fire was obtained by the ancestors from *Aga*, the skink (*Mabuia tytleri*). The mist that is often seen hanging over the jungle in small patches, after rain or at dawn, is said to be the smoke of *Aga's* fire. An island in the Archipelago is called *Aga l'od-baraij*, *Aga's* village.

[1] Portman, *loc. cit.* [2] *Ibid.*

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Mr Portman gives an *Aka-Bea* legend, which, however, relates that the events took place at *Wota-emi* in the *A-Pučikwar* country[1].

"*Puluga* was asleep at *Tǫl-ł'oko-tima*. *Luratut* came, stealing fire. The fire burnt *Puluga*. *Puluga* awoke. *Puluga* seized some fire. Taking the fire he burnt *Luratut* with it. *Luratut* took the fire. He burnt *Tar-čeker* (another kind of kingfisher) with it in *Wota-emi* village. The ancestors lit fires. They (the ancestors) were the *Tomo-la*."

Mr Man gives three different versions of legends as to the origin of fire. According to the first of these, *Puluga*, after he had made the first man, *Tomo*, gave him fire and taught him its use. *Puluga* obtained fire by stacking in alternate layers two kinds of wood known as *cǫr* and *ber*, and then bidding the sun to come and sit on or near the pile until she ignited it, after which she returned to her place in the sky[2]. The second version is that *Puluga* came to *Tomo* with a spirit named *Lači Puŋa Ablola* to instruct *Tomo*, who at his direction, prepared a pyre and then struck it, on which the fire was kindled and *Puŋa Ablola* proceeded to teach him how to cook food[3]. This legend contains an obvious contradiction. *Lači Puŋa Ablola*, as is shown by the name itself (*Lači* = the late), is the name of some one who is supposed to have lived and died and so become a spirit. Yet at the same time *Tomo* is supposed to have been the first of the Andamanese. There is the possibility, however, that this inconsistency is due not to the natives themselves, but to Mr Man's transcription. It is possible that the legend is that fire was discovered and was given to the ancestors (the *Tomo*) by a person who, being dead, is now *Lači Puŋa Ablola*, but who was then alive and one of the ancestors (*Tomo*) themselves.

A third legend about fire given by Mr Man is associated by him with another legend about a flood that once overwhelmed the ancestors. According to Mr Man's version the fires were all extinguished by the flood, so that the few survivors were left without fire. "At this juncture one of their recently deceased

[1] Portman, *loc. cit.* [2] Man, *op. cit.* p. 164. [3] *Ibid.*

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friends appeared in their midst in the form of a bird named *Luratut*. Seeing their distress he flew up to *Mero*, the sky, where he discovered *Puluga* seated beside his fire; he thereupon seized and attempted to carry away in his beak a burning log, but the heat, or weight, or both, rendered the task impossible, and the blazing brand fell on *Puluga*, who, incensed with pain, hurled it at the intruder; happily for those concerned, the missile missed its mark and fell near the very spot where the survivors were deploring their condition. As *Luratut* alighted in their midst at the same moment, he gained the full credit for having removed the chief cause of their distress[1]."

We may now consider a group of legends that relate how a great catastrophe overwhelmed the ancestors. In many of the versions the legend relates how the ancestors were transformed into animals. Some of the legends are connected with *Biliku* or *Puluga* and others are connected with the first discovery of fire. Beginning with the North Andaman, the following is, I believe, an *Aka-Jeru* version. "*Mimi Čara* once broke some firewood in the evening (while the cicada was singing). A great storm came and killed many people, who were turned into fishes and birds. The water rose up till it covered the trees. *Mimi Čara* and *Mimi Kota* took the fire and went up the hill to the cave at *Ŋaram*. They carried the fire under a cooking-pot. They kept the fire alight in the cave, until the storm was over."

Another *Aka-Jeru* legend was taken down hurriedly and the full details were not obtained. "The people made a noise in the evening when *Mite* (the cicada) was singing. *Mite* went to see her mother *Biliku*. Her mother saw her eyes and face. She looked bad. Her eyes were red (with weeping). *Biliku* was very angry. There was a big storm and heavy rain. *Biliku* threw her pearl shells (lightning). She went mad. She destroyed the whole world. *Biliku* went up to live in the sky. The earth was bare (literally, empty). One day *Biliku* dropped a *Dipterocarpus* seed from the sky. Out of this all the different kinds of tree grew, and the earth was again covered with

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 167.

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forest." There was more of the legend, which I was unable at the time to understand, and which I did not hear again. My informant added "It was on this occasion that *Maia Taolu* saved the fire."

An *Aka-Čari* legend relates how the birds and beasts and fishes arose. "*Maia Dik* (Sir Prawn) once got angry and threw fire at the people (the ancestors). They all turned into birds and fishes. The birds flew into the jungle. The fishes jumped into the sea. *Maia Dik*[1] himself became a large prawn which is still called by the same name." In connection with this legend it must be remembered that it was *Maia Dik*, according to one legend, who first discovered the use of fire. One version of the story said that he made fire by striking a piece of *paraŋo* wood. Then he threw the burning wood about amongst the ancestors and they turned into birds and fishes.

An *Aka-J̌eru* version is very similar. "The people were all asleep. *Maia Kọlo* (Sir Sea-eagle) came and threw fire amongst them. They awoke in a fright and all ran in different directions. Some ran into the sea and became fishes and turtle; others ran into the jungle and became birds."

The *Aka-Kede* version of the catastrophe that overtook the ancestors is as follows. "It was at the place called *Čilpet*. The people collected a lot of honey. They refused to give any to *Kụpo-tera-wat* (a bird, not identified). The latter got very angry, and in the evening, when the cicadæ were singing he made a great noise and disturbed their song. Then there arose a great storm, and it rained very heavily, and the sea rose over the land. It rose very rapidly till only the top of a big *Dipterocarpus* tree showed above the water. The people took refuge in the branches of this tree. *Mima Mite* (Lady Dove) managed to rescue some fire and keep it alight under a cooking pot. The waters at length subsided. Then the people did not know how to get down from the tree. *Mima Čarami-lebek* made a long piece of string and with this she lowered the people

[1] *Dik* was one of the ancestors. He was a giant and was so big that he could go into the deepest water and never needed a canoe. He used to shoot dugong and porpoise with his bow and arrow. (The natives shoot small fish with a bow and arrows, but large fish and dugong and porpoise they take with harpoons.)

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773 safely to the ground." The *čarami-lebek*, which was not identified, is a species of bird that lives, so the natives say, only at the top
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An *Aka-Kọl* version of the same legend is as follows: "At first there were no birds in the jungle and no fish in the sea. The ancestors were playing one evening and making a noise while the *peti* (cicada) was singing. Then *Bilik* got angry and sent a great cyclone. All the people were turned into birds and fishes and turtles and jungle beasts."

There is an *A-Pučikwar* legend that, in the days of the ancestors, there was a big cyclone. There was a flood at *Wota-emi* and the water rose up over the trees. Some of the ancestors climbed up into a big *Dipterocarpus* tree and remained there till the waters had subsided. I was not able to hear any more detailed version of the legend.

The following legend explaining how the ancestors were turned into animals was told me by an *A-Pučikwar* man, but it is probably really of *Akar-Bale* origin.

"It was in the days of the ancestors. *Ta Kọlwọt* (Sir Tree-lizard) went over to a big meeting at *Teb-juru* (in the Archipelago). There was a lot of dancing. *Kọlwọt* decided to give a big dancing party of his own. He invited everybody and they all came to his place. *Kọlwọt* danced a great deal. He began to get wild. All the people were afraid, because he was very strong. They caught hold of him by the arms. *Kọlwọt* got very angry. He threw the people from him. He threw them so violently that some fell in the sea and became fishes and turtle. Others fell on different islands and became birds and animals. No one could hold *Kọlwọt*. At last *Berep* (a species of crab) caught hold of his arm and would not let go. And thus *Berep* stopped him. Before this there had been no birds in the jungles nor any fish in the sea."

A more complete version of this story was obtained from the *Akar-Bale* tribe. "*Da Tigbul* (Sir Dugong) took all the people to dance at *Kwaičo*. *In Bain* (Lady Civet-cat) told *Da Kwọkọl* (Sir Tree-lizard) that people were coming from *Tar-mugu* to dance and that *Da Karami*[1] would quarrel with

[1] *Karami* is the name of a bird that was not identified.

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him. *Da Kwǫkǫl* replied 'Oh! I don't care. I can fight all those people easily enough.' All the people came together for the dance and *Karami* quarrelled with *Kwǫkǫl*. The latter got very angry. The people were afraid. *Tigbul* (Dugong) caught hold of *Kwǫkǫl* by the arm. *Kwǫkǫl* threw him from him with such force that *Tigbul* fell into the sea and became a dugong. Then *Kočurag-boa* caught hold of *Kwǫkǫl* and *Kwǫkǫl* threw him into the jungle[1]. *Kwǫkǫl* threw all the people into the sea or into the jungle and they became birds and beasts and fishes. No one could hold him. *Da Kwǫkǫl* went away to *Teb-juru*. The people told *Da Berag* (Sir Crab) what had happened at *Kwaičo* and how no one could hold *Da Kwǫkǫl*. *Da Berag* went after him to *Teb-juru*. *Da Kwǫkǫl* had covered himself with *kǫiob* (red paint)[2]. *Da Berag* pretended that he wanted some paint to put on his upper lip, saying that he was sick. There was no more red paint in the place, so *Da Kwǫkǫl* said 'You had better come and take some off me.' *Da Berag* put his nose to *Kwǫkǫl's* arm as though to get some paint, and bit deeply into *Kwǫkǫl's* shoulder. *Kwǫkǫl* could not get loose, and so he died. The people at *Teb-juru* attacked *Da Berag* and beat him. They could not kill him, because his skin was too hard, so they threw him into the sea. When *Kwǫkǫl's* mother, *Kegŋa*, came and found her son dead she was very angry. She wept for a long time. Then she went into the jungle and cut the plant *tǫkul* which belongs to *Puluga*. *Puluga* was angry because the *tǫkul* was cut and sent a big storm which killed *Kegŋa* and all the other people in that place."

Mr Man records another version of this legend.

"To explain the origin of certain fish, they say that one day before the Deluge, *Maia Kǫlwǫt* went to visit an encampment of the *Tomola* situated in the Archipelago. While engaged in his song the women, through inattention to his instructions, marred the effect of the chorus, so, to punish them, he seized

[1] *Kočurag-boa* is the *Akar-Bale* name for a huge legendary animal.

[2] When a man has killed another, either in a personal or a tribal quarrel, he has to observe several customs of which one is to keep himself painted with red paint for several weeks.

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his bow, whereupon the whole party in terror fled in all directions; some escaping into the sea were changed into dugongs, porpoises, sharks, and various other fish which till then had not been seen[1]."

Mr Man gives still another version of the same story. "One day, at the commencement of the rainy season, a *tomola* named *Berebi* came to visit *Kolwot's* mother, *Čana Erep*, with the express intention of seeing her son, of whom he was extremely jealous. When he appeared *Berebi* treacherously bit him in the arm, but his teeth became fixed in the flesh and he was therefore unable to detach himself from his victim, whose friends promptly avenged his murder, and disposed of the corpses by throwing them into the sea. (*Kolwot*, after death, was transformed into a species of tree-lizard, which is still named after him, and *Berebi* became a fish called *Koŋo*, which is armed with a row of poisonous barbs in its back.) The bereaved mother, in her rage, grief and despair, committed various acts, against which *Tomo* had been warned by *Puluga*, and while so doing incited others to follow her example by the following words:—

e, e, e, dia ra-gumul Pab-dala,
e, e, e, ŋul kaja pij pugatken,
e, e, e, ŋul čoaken toaiken,
e, e, e, ŋul boarato aga-kolaken,
e, e, e, ŋul gono boaŋken,
e, e, e, ŋul toŋ čoara boaŋken,
e, e, e, ŋig arlot pulaijoken.

The translation of which is:—

e, e, e (sobbing)—My grown-up handsome son,
" " Burn the wax,
" " Grind the seed of the *čakan* (*Entada*),
" " Destroy the *barata* (*Caryota*),
" " Dig up the *gono* (yam),
" " Dig up the *čati* (yam),
" " Destroy everything."

Thereupon *Puluga* was exceeding wroth, and sent the flood, that which destroyed all living things with the exception of two men and two women.

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 171.

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"This tradition is preserved in the following lines:—

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Keledoat ibaji lar čora,
Ra-gumul ab-gorga en ig-boadi
Ra-gumul le liga koarna
Ra-gumul ab-gorka
Toala arbo eb dagan čoarpo.

The meaning of which is:—

Bring the boat to the beach
I will see your fine grown-up son,
The grown-up son who threw the youths (into the sea)
The fine grown-up son,
My adze is rusty, I will stain my lips with his blood.

In this, as in all their songs and chants, a good deal is left to the imagination, but from their explanations which have been given by the aborigines, the following appear to afford some light on the subject:—*Berebi*, being jealous of the renown *Kolwot* had won for himself by his numerous accomplishments and great strength, took advantage of meeting him and his mother one day on the water to ask them to let him enter their boat. On their complying with his request, he provided himself with a rusty adze and hone, remarking on the rusty condition of the former; then taking *Kolwot* by the arm he sniffed it from the wrist to the shoulder as if admiring the development of the muscles; while doing so he muttered the threat of staining his lips with blood, which he shortly after fulfilled in the manner already described[1]."

As the songs given in this legend are in the *Akar-Bale* language (Southern dialect), it is probable that the legend is an *Akar-Bale* one. It is really another version of the legend already given.

Another *Akar-Bale* story tells how the first ancestors *Duku*, the monitor lizard, and *Bain* the civet-cat, managed to keep the fire alight when a flood overwhelmed them. "One day in the time of the ancestors there came a great storm, and the water rose over the land. The rain put out the fires. *Da Duku* (Sir Monitor Lizard) took a smouldering log and tried to climb up a tree with it. He could not climb with the fire in his hand. His wife *In Bain* (Lady Civet-cat) took the fire from him and took it

[1] Man, *op. cit.* pp. 167—169.

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up to the top of a hill and there kept it alight till the rain stopped and the water went away. The hill is called *Bain l'it-čapa* (Bain's fire) to the present day." The hill is a rather steep-sided hill of no great height in Havelock Island.

Mr Portman[1] connects the story of the flood with the story of the dispersion of the ancestors over the islands. Referring to the names of the tribes he says, "The Andamanese state that these names were given to the different tribes by *Maia Tomo-la* when they were dispersed after a cataclysm. They have a tradition that this group of tribes was once all one tribe, and that the Andaman Islands were much larger than at present. Some great cataclysm occurred during which part of the islands subsided and many aborigines were drowned, the remainder being separated into different territories as at present by the orders of *Maia Tomo-la*, apparently the chief at that time of the collected tribe. (The above is of course a matter-of-fact version of the fanciful and impossible legends of the Andamanese.)"

The dispersion legend in the South Andaman is connected with the name of the *A-Pučikwar* tribe. The name (of which the *Aka-Bea* equivalent is *Aka-Bojig-yab*) means "those who talk the original language," it being believed that the *A-Pučikwar* language was the one originally spoken by the ancestors.

The only version of the dispersion legend that I heard was from the *Aka-Kede* tribe. It was to the effect that *Bilika* once seized all the ancestors and put them in a netted bag (such as the natives use for carrying small objects of various kinds). She (or he) took them out a few at a time and put them in different parts of the country, where their descendants have been ever since.

Mr Man speaks of a legend of how the tribes came to be dispersed over the islands. From his account it would seem that there were two different dispersions, one before the Deluge, and a second after it. Mr Man's account is as follows. "*Tomo* lived to a great age, but even before his death his offspring became so numerous that their home could no longer accommodate them. At *Puluga's* bidding they were furnished with all necessary weapons, implements, and fire, and then scattered in

[1] *Notes on the Languages*, etc. p. 27.

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pairs all over the country. When this exodus occurred *Puluga* provided each party with a distinct dialect. It would almost seem that, without straining the legend to suit facts, we might discern in this a faint echo of the Biblical account of the confusion of tongues and dispersion at Babel[1]."

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"Consequent on the disappearance of *Tomo* and his wife, the duties of headship over the community at *Wota-emi* devolved on one of their grandchildren, named *Kọlwọt*, who was distinguished by being the first to spear and catch turtles. The *tomola* remained on the islands long after *Tomo's* transformation, but after *Kọlwọt's* death, according to one legend, they grew disobedient, and as *Puluga* ceased to visit them, became more and more remiss in their observance of the commands given at the creation. At last *Puluga's* anger burst forth, and, without any warning, he sent a great flood that covered the whole land, and destroyed all living. Four persons (two men, *Lọra-lola* and *Pọi-lola*, and two women, *Ka-lola* and *Rima-lola*), who happened to be in a canoe when the catastrophe occurred, were able to effect an escape. When the waters subsided, they found themselves near *Wota-emi*, where they landed and discovered that every living thing on earth had perished; but *Puluga* re-created the animals, birds, etc.[2]."

"When, for the second time in their history, their numbers had increased to so great an extent that it became impossible for them to remain together in one spot, an exodus, similar to the first, took place; each party being furnished with fire and every other essential, started in a different direction, and on settling down adopted a new and distinct dialect. They each received a tribal name, and from them have sprung the various tribes still existing on the islands[3]."

In the Southern tribes there is a legend to account for the origin of night. The following version was obtained from the *A-Pučikwar* tribe. "In the early days of the world, in the time of the ancestors, there was no night; it was always day. *Ta Pẹtie* (Sir Monitor Lizard) went into the jungle to dig up yams. He found some yams. He also found some resin (*teki*), and a cicada (*rọto*). He brought them to the camp of the ancestors at

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 166.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Man, *op. cit.* p. 169.

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Wota-emi. He sat down and the people came round him. *Ta Pętic* took the cicada and rubbed it between his hands and crushed it. As he did this the cicada uttered its cry. Then the day went away and it was dark. It remained dark for several days. The ancestors came together and tried to get back the day. They made torches of resin, and danced and sang songs. First *Kotare* (a bird) sang a song, but he could not get back the daylight. Then *Bumu* (a beetle?) sang, but the day would not come. Then *Pecerǫl* (the bulbul, *Otocompsia emeria*) sang, and after him *Kǫio* (a bird), but both in vain. Then *Kǫŋoro* (a species of ant) sang a song and morning came. After that, day and night followed one another alternately."

A similar legend was obtained from the *Akar-Bale* tribe. "*Da Teŋat*[1] lived at *Golugma Bud*. He went fishing one day and got only one small fish of the kind called *čelau* (*Glyphidodon sordidus*?). He turned to go home, and as he went he shot his arrows before him into the jungle[2]. Then he went after his arrows to find them again. As he went he spoke to the fruits of the jungle, asking them their names. In those days the ancestors did not know the names of the fruits and trees. First he asked the *puiam*, and then the *guluba*, and then the *čakli*, but none of them replied to him. Then he found his first arrow. It was stuck fast in a big yam (*gono*). He took the arrow and said to the yam 'What is your name?' At first the yam did not answer. *Teŋat* turned to go away. He had gone a few steps when the yam called him back, saying 'My name is *gono*.' *Teŋat* replied 'Oh! I did not know. Why did not you say so before?' He dug up the yam, which was a very big one. He went off to look for his second arrow. As he went he spoke to the stones of the jungle, asking their names, but none of them replied. Then he found his second arrow fixed in a large lump of resin (*tug*)[3]. He took the arrow, and as he was going away

[1] This is the name of some creature that I did not identify, perhaps a kind of spider.

[2] An Andaman Islander will often, when walking along the shore, shoot his arrows before him, either aiming at some object, or trying to send each one as far as possible. I have never seen them do this in the jungle, for they might easily lose the arrows.

[3] The Andamanese classify resin as a "stone" although they know its vegetable origin.

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the resin called him back, saying 'Here! my name is *tug*; you can take me along with you.' So *Teŋat* took the resin. Then *Teŋat* found a cicada (*rita*), and he took that also. When *Teŋat* got to the hut (*bud*), everyone came to look at the things he had brought. He showed them the yam. He told them its name and showed them how to cook it. This was the first time that the ancestors ate *gono*. Then *Teŋat* took in his hand the cicada and squashed it between his palms. As he killed it the cicada uttered its cry and the whole world became dark. When the people saw that it was dark they tried to bring back the daylight. *Teŋat* took some of the resin and made torches. He taught the people how to dance and sing. When *Da Kọŋoro* (Sir Ant) sang a song the day came back. After that the day and night came alternately."

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Mr Man records a different version of this story.

"The manner in which the world was illuminated at the beginning is not clearly to be ascertained from their legends, for one story states that the sun and moon were subsequently created at *Tomo's* request, as he found that, under the then existing circumstances, it was impossible to catch fish by night or to hunt by day; while, in direct disagreement with this, another story tells us that night was a punishment brought upon mankind by certain individuals who angered *Puluga* by killing a caterpillar. The tale informs us that the sun, one day, burned so fiercely as to cause great distress. Two women named *Ćana Limi* and *Ćana Jaraŋud*, became exceedingly irritable, and while in this unhappy frame of mind they discovered a caterpillar (*gurug*) and a certain plant called *utura*. By way of venting their spleen, one crushed the helpless grub, and the other destroyed the plant. These wanton acts so displeased *Puluga* that he determined to punish them, and to teach them to appreciate the privilege of daylight, which they had hitherto uninterruptedly enjoyed. He accordingly visited the earth with a long-continued darkness, which caused every one much inconvenience and distress. At last their chief, *Maia Kọlwọt*, to whom reference has already been made, hit upon a happy expedient of inducing *Puluga* to restore the former state of things by trying to assure him that they were quite unconcerned, and could enjoy

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themselves in spite of light being withheld from them. To accomplish this, he invented the custom of dancing and singing, the result of which was that *Puluga*, finding that they had frustrated his intention, granted, as a first concession alternate periods of day and night, and subsequently, moved by the difficulties often occasioned by the latter, created the moon to mitigate their troubles. It is in this way that they account for the same word being used to denote a caterpillar and night[1]."

From the *Akar-Bale* tribe I obtained a legend about the origin of death. No other version of the same legend was obtained.

"At *Joyo-l'ar-boy* lived *In Kalwadi* with her sons *Yaramurud* and *Toau*[2]. *Yaramurud* went to hunt pig for his mother, but was unsuccessful. When he came home his mother brought him some pork that was in the hut. As he took his knife from the back of his neck to cut the meat with it, he cut himself[3]. Then his mother knew that he was dead. She said to him 'You are dead now. You had better go away. We do not want you here any more.' She took him up and carried him into the jungle and buried him, returning home. Very soon *Yaramurud* returned. His mother exclaimed 'Oh! I thought you had gone.' He replied 'Mother, I did not die. Why did you bury me?' But she knew he was dead, so she took him and buried him again. He came back again. This happened three times. Then *Kalwadi* took him into the jungle to a big *dumla* tree (*Pisonia excelsa*), in which there was a big hole. She kicked the tree with her foot and said 'You go in there.' *Yaramurud* went inside. 'Well! Have you gone?' his mother asked. He answered 'Yes!' 'Tell me how the spirits (*čauga*) talk' she asked him, and he replied '*To kit*[4].' Then his mother knew that he was with the spirits, and said 'Oh! my child, you are

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 172.

[2] *Kalwadi* is a small crab, *yaramurud* is the crow pheasant (*Centropus andamanensis*), and *toau* is the hawksbill turtle.

[3] Knives are generally carried slipped into a string that is tied round the neck, the knife, with a skewer of sharpened wood that is attached to it, hanging at the back of the neck, where it is easily accessible and not likely to get lost.

[4] I could obtain no explanation of the phrase, or word, *to kit*. My informant only said "That is the way the spirits talk."

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finished now. You will never come back again.' After a few days *Yaramurud* came back (as a spirit) to see his brother *Toau*. *Toau* was busy building a hut. When *Yaramurud* saw him he killed him. Before this there had been no death. But *In Kalwadi* told the people, saying 'You see what has happened; well, we shall all of us die like this, like these two have done'."

There is a widespread legend to account for the origin of creeks and islands. The following is an *A-Pučikwar* version.

"At first there was only one big island with the sea all round it. There were no small islands and no creeks. *Kọŋoro* (a species of ant) made a turtle net and went fishing. He caught a very big fish of the kind called *kọro-ŋiti-čau* in his net, and dived down and attached a rope to its tail. The fish got very angry and made furious plunges to get away, striking the land in its struggles, and each time knocking off a bit of the land or making a long split. This is the origin of the smaller islands and the creeks."

Mr Man records the same legend, but says it was *Tomo* who caught the fish[1]. In an *Akar-Bale* version it was *Da Pečerọl* who caught the fish (*kọroŋadi*). *Pečerọl* is the bulbul (*Otocompsia emeria*). I have the name *kọroŋadi* in my notes as being *Sphyraena acutipinnis*, but the identification is a doubtful one. In the *Aka-Kede* tribe there is a version in which it is stated that one of the ancestors captured a fish called *talepo*. This does not seem to be the same species of fish as that called *koro-ŋiti-čau* or *kọroŋadi* in the South. In the North Andaman the legend is that *Pẹrjido*, the son of *Biliku*, shot a large eel (*bol*) with an arrow, and in its endeavours to get free from the arrow the eel wriggled about till it made all the creeks.

In the Southern tribes there is a legend that relates how the pig first got its senses. A version from the *A-Pučikwar* tribe is as follows.

"*Ta Mita* (Sir Dove) went into the jungle and found a lot of pigs. They did not run away when he came because they had no eyes to see him, no ears to hear, and no nostrils with which to smell. They had no mouths. *Mita* made mouths for them and gave them tusks which he made of *tobur* wood. He made

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 165.

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eyes and ears and nostrils in their heads and taught them how to grunt and how to sneeze[1]."

Another version from the same tribe is as follows.

"At first the pigs had neither nose nor ears nor eyes. They used to stand about at *Wota-emi* when the ancestors lived there. The people ate a great many of them. They were such a nuisance that *Mita* (Dove), the wife of *Tomo*, thought of a plan to get them out of the way. She bored holes in their heads, two for eyes, two for ears, and two for nostrils. The pigs ran off into the forest where they have been ever since."

I did not obtain any version of this legend from the Northern tribes. The *Aka-Kede* have a different legend about the pigs.

"At first there were no pigs. One of the ancestors, *Mimi Čau* (Lady Civet-cat), invented a new game, and made the ancestors run on all fours and grunt. Those playing were turned into pigs, and went to live in the jungle. *Mimi Čau* became a civet-cat (*čau*)."

In the North Andaman there is a legend connected with the pig which explains the origin of the dugong.

"*Pe̱rǰido* was the first man to catch a pig. He went into the forest and found a pig. *Pe̱rǰido* was hungry. He caught the pig and took it home. The pig had no eyes nor ears nor mouth. *Pe̱rǰido* did not disembowel the pig, nor did he sever the joints of its legs[2]. He made a fire and put the pig on it. The pig swelled up in the heat of the fire and burst. This made holes in the pig's head, two for ears, two for eyes, two for nostrils. The pig perceived that it was being burnt. It jumped up from the fire and ran away. *Pe̱rǰido* threw a *ko̱bo* (*Licuala*) leaf at it. The pig ran into the sea and became a dugong. The leaf became its flipper."

In the *Aka-Čari* tribe there is a legend describing the origin of turtles.

"At first there was only one big turtle. He came to the camp of the *Aka-Čari* people and called them, saying 'Bring your canoes and catch me.' They got into their canoes and

[1] The sneezing (the word is translated literally) is a sort of whistling noise that the wild pigs make when they suspect danger.

[2] The Andamanese always disembowel a pig and sever the joints of its legs before they place it on a fire.

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followed the turtle. They could not catch him. The turtle swam away and the canoes followed. When the canoes were far from land the big turtle came and upset the canoes. The men were all turned into turtles of the same kind and size as those that are seen now. The canoes (and the big turtle?) were turned into a reef." 773 539

In the South Andaman it is supposed that the custom of scarifying the skin was invented by the first ancestor of the Andamanese, the monitor lizard. An *Akar-Bale* version of the story is as follows. 773 539 304

"*Duku* (Monitor Lizard) lived with his wife *Bain* (Civet-cat). *Duku* said 'I am going to scarify myself.' His wife tried to dissuade him. He would not listen to her. He went into the jungle and found a piece of *tolma* (quartz) and scarified himself all over. His wife was very angry and asked him why he had done it. *Duku* replied 'I look very well like this, and you will see, all the other people will do the same'."

Mr Man gives a version of the same legend.

"*Maia Duku*, who appears to be identical with *Tomo*, is said to have been the first to tattoo himself. One day, while out on a fishing expedition, he shot an arrow; missing its object it struck a hard substance which proved to be a piece of iron, the first ever found. With it *Duku* made an arrow-head and tattooed himself, after which he sang the ditty:—

Toŋ ma lir pireŋa? toŋ yitiken! toŋ yitiken!
toŋ ma lir pireŋa? toŋ yitiken!

the interpretation of which is

'What can now strike me?
I am tattooed, I am tattooed!' etc. (Da capo)[1]."

It would seem that Mr Man, or else his informant, was not very clear about the details of the legend. In the South Andaman scarification is never performed with an arrow-head, nor with any instrument of iron, but with a flake of quartz or glass. It is only in the North and Middle Andaman that an arrow-head is used for such a purpose, and even then it is only so used to make the big scars on the back and chest, the ordinary scarifica-

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 170.

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tion being performed with a flake of stone or glass. The legend is certainly a Southern one, and the song given is in the *Aka-Bea* language. The accuracy of the transcription of the legend therefore seems very doubtful.

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Yams and honey, being two of the most important foods of the Andaman Islanders, are the subject of several legends. A common belief about yams is that they were made, or their qualities were first discovered, by *Biliku* or *Puluga*. We have already seen that there is a special connection between *Biliku* (or *Puluga*) and the yams and other edible roots. There are also other legends, however, on the same subject. An account of the first discovery of the yam called *gono* is contained in the *Akar-Bale* legend of the origin of night, already given[1].

In the North Andaman the following tale is told about the discovery of one kind of yam.

"*Maia Dik* (Sir Prawn) discovered *kǫnmo* (*Dioscorea* sp.). He was very hungry and went to look for something to eat. He found a very large *kǫnmo*. There was only one *kǫnmo*. He cooked it in the fire and ate as much as he could. He dashed the remainder on a rock, and the fragments scattered everywhere and grew into fresh plants. After this there were plenty of *kǫnmo* everywhere."

A legend is also told in the North Andaman about the first discovery of another kind of yam.

"*Maia Pulimu* (Sir Fly) and *Maia Mǫičo* (Sir Rail) went to hunt pig. They killed one pig. There was nothing to tie up the pig (to carry it home). *Maia Pulimu* went to look for a creeper (with which to tie up the pig). He caught hold of a creeper and pulled it and found it was a *mino* (*Dioscorea* sp.). *Maia Pulimu* was a long time away. *Maia Mǫičo* went and found some creeper for himself and tied up the pig and carried it home. When *Maia Pulimu* came back he found that *Maia Mǫičo* had gone and taken the pig. He followed him and went home. He showed the ancestors how to cook and eat *mino*."

I believe that there is a fuller version of this legend, which I was unable, however, to obtain. Another of my informants told me the story as follows.

[1] Page 214.

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"*Mimi Moičo* (Lady Rail) had a son *Pulimu* (Fly). *Pulimu* found a *mina* in the forest and brought it to his mother. They roasted it in the fire." 773 539

Mr Man gives a story from the South Andaman.

"Another of their antediluvian ancestors was famous for propagating yams. This was *Maia Bumroag*, who in shooting an arrow, struck the creeper belonging to the favourite variety called *gono*; his curiosity being excited he dug up the root, and tasted it: the result being satisfactory, he informed his friends of his discovery, and they all feasted upon it; when they had had sufficient, he scattered the remains in different directions; this apparent waste so angered his mother that, on pretence of shaving him, she split his head open with a flint. After his death it was found that the act for which he had suffered had tended to the spread of the plant which is now plentiful[1]."

In the North Andaman it is supposed that honey was discovered by *Pęrjido* the son of *Biliku*.

"*Pęrjido* was the first to eat honey. One day he went to shoot fish. He saw a *nyuri* (*Plotosus* sp.). The *nyuri* disappeared amongst the roots of the mangrove trees. *Pęrjido* was looking for the fish. There was a honeycomb in a mangrove tree. *Pęrjido* saw its reflection in the water. He took some fire and tried to get the honey out of the water[2]. The water put out the fire. He could not get the honey. He went home and told his mother what he had been doing. She went with him and saw the honey. 'What a fool you are' she said, 'don't you see that it is in the trees.' *Pęrjido* took some fire and smoked out the bees and took the honey. After that *Pęrjido* used to go and collect honey. He ate it all himself. He did not tell the others (the ancestors) about it. *Maia Pęrubi* (Sir Frog) found out that *Pęrjido* was getting honey and eating it. He went in to the forest to look for some. He found five or six combs. He ate them all and brought none home to his children. *Bęręt* (a smaller species of frog) was the child of *Pęrubi*. One day *Bęręt* said to his father 'Bring us some honey.' The children went with their father and showed him the combs in the trees.

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 170.

[2] In taking a honeycomb the natives often drive away the bees with fire or smoke.

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773 *Pǫrubi* went up the tree, and each time he ate the honey in the tree and did not bring any of it down for his children. Then
539 *Bęręt* saw another honeycomb in a very tall tree. He pointed it out to his father. *Pǫrubi* went up to get it. *Bęręt* cut the creeper up which his father had climbed[1]. *Pǫrubi* wrapped up the honeycomb to bring it down. *Bęręt* said 'Father, this creeper is bad. How will you come down?' *Pǫrubi* replied 'How can it be bad, when I have just climbed up it?' *Bęręt* made some sharp stakes of *čǫm* (*Areca*) wood, and put them round the tree. *Pǫrubi* jumped (or fell) from the tree on to the stakes and was killed. *Bęręt* took the honey and ran away home."

In the *Aka-Čari* tribe there is another legend connected with the frog (*pǫrubi*) which may conveniently be given here.

"The ancestors were at enmity with *Maia Pǫrubi*. They went to kill him. They shot him with their arrows, but they could not kill him. *Maia Pǫrubi* caught hold of them all in his arms, and jumped into the sea. He jumped from the hill called *Čauanara*. He found a big round stone (boulder) and put the people under it and left them there. All the people turned into stone, and may be seen there now. The next night some more of the people went to hunt turtle near *Maia Pǫrubi's* place. They caught a turtle and shouted[2]. *Maia Pǫrubi* heard them shouting. 'They are coming again to kill me,' he said. While they were catching turtle he threw a round stone at them. The stone sank the canoe. The canoe and the people in it were turned to stone."

A story in which there is a connection between honey and a toad is given by Mr Man.

"Another curious fable is told to account for a drought from which their early ancestors suffered: it relates that once upon a time, in the dry season, a woodpecker discovered a black honeycomb in the hollow of a tree; while regaling himself on this dainty he observed a toad eyeing him wistfully from below, so he invited him to join in the feast; the toad gladly accepted, whereupon the woodpecker lowered a creeper, giving instructions to

[1] In climbing a tall tree the Andamanese choose a stout cane or other creeper depending from one of the branches of the tree, and climb up it.

[2] The natives express their joy at a success in hunting by shouting.

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his guest to fasten his bucket (*dakar*) thereto, and then to seat himself in it, so that he might be drawn up. The toad complied with the directions and the woodpecker proceeded to haul him up; but just when he had brought him near the comb he mischievously let go the creeper, and his confiding and expectant guest experienced an unpleasant fall. The trick so exasperated him that he at once repaired to the streams far and near in the island and drained them, the result of which was that great distress was occasioned to all the birds, as well as to the rest of the animate creation. The success of his revenge so delighted the toad that, to show his satisfaction, and to add to the annoyance of his enemies, he thoughtlessly began to dance, whereupon all the water flowed from him, and the drought soon terminated[1]."

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One of the incidents of the North Andaman story of the frog (*Pọrubi*) and his son (*Bẹrẹt*) appears in a different story from the South and Middle Andaman. The following is an *Aka-Kọl* version of this legend.

"*Ta Mita* (Sir Dove) and *Ta Kọio* (a species of small bird) went hunting together and got a great number of pigs. *Ta Kọio* told *Ta Mita* to get some canes to tie up all the pigs. As soon as *Ta Mita* had gone to look for the cane, *Ta Kọio* went up a big *Dipterocarpus* tree, taking half the pigs with him. He came down and took the rest of the pigs. He stayed up in the tree with the pigs. When *Ta Mita* came back he found that the pigs had disappeared. He was very angry and went home. As there was nothing to eat, *Mita* and his two children, *Čada* and *Čoda* (two species of fish) went fishing. *Kọio* was still up the tree. He was cooking the pigs up there. *Mita* and his children passed under the tree and some burning resin[2] fell on them. In this way they discovered that *Kọio* was in the tree. *Mita* planned to punish *Kọio*. He cut a great number of sharp stakes of *Areca* wood and fixed them all round the tree, pointing upwards. *Kọio* was asleep. *Mita* made the tree sink into the ground. As soon as it was low enough he took some water and threw it into the

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 173.

[2] The narrator said "resin." The *Dipterocarpus* tree does not produce resin, but a sort of oil. The marks on the two fishes owe their origin to this incident.

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ear of the sleeping *Kọio*, who awoke in a fright and jumped from the tree. He was impaled on the stakes of wood and so died."

Another version of the same tale was obtained from the *Akar-Bale* tribe.

"*Da Bumu* (a species of bird) went hunting pig with *Da Berakwe* (another species of bird), and they got a large number of pigs. Then *Berakwe* said to *Bumu* 'We want some cane to tie up all these pigs. You go and get it.' When *Bumu* had gone *Berakwe* climbed up into a big *Dipterocarpus* tree, taking all the pigs with him, except one very small one which he left behind. When *Bumu* came back with the cane he found only one small pig, and he was very angry. He went home with the pig. *Bumu's* wife *Yakoŋ* (a species of fish) said 'I am very hungry. We will go and get some fish by night.' At night *Yakoŋ* went out to get some fish and she passed under the tree where *Berakwe* was cooking his pigs. Some burning resin fell on her and burnt her. She looked up and saw *Berakwe* and said 'Oh! there you are; you stole all my husband's pigs.' She went home and told *Bumu*. In the morning *Bumu* got up very early and cut a number of pointed stakes of *Areca* (*čam*) wood, and fixed them all round the tree where *Berakwe* was, with the sharp points upwards. Then *Bumu* made the tree sink gradually into the ground. *Berakwe* fell from the tree on to the stakes and so was killed. *Bumu* and his wife got the pigs."

Mr Man records a version of the same story.

"The legend regarding the origin of the evil spirits known as *Čọl* is as follows:—Their ancestor, *Maia Čọl*, one day stole a pig which had been captured by *Maia Kọlwọt*, and climbed up into a gurjon-tree with his prize. Now *Maia Kọlwọt* was remarkable for his great strength, and being enraged, determined to revenge himself; he thereupon planted a number of spikes all round the tree in which the thief had taken refuge, and then proceeded to force it into the ground. On finding that if he remained where he was, he must inevitably be buried alive, *Maia Čọl* sprang off the tree, and thereby met a more terrible fate, for he was impaled on the spikes, and perished miserably. His disembodied spirit did not pass to *Čaitan* (Hades), but took up its abode on the invisible bridge, where, by *Puluga's* orders, numbers of his

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descendants were sent to join him, in the form of black birds with long tails[1]."

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In reference to this version it may be noted that the *Čọl* are not "spirits" if that word is used to translate the native term *čauga* or *lau*. *Čọl* is the name of a species of bird, which I believe is the racket-tailed drongo. These birds, though according to Mr Man they live on the rainbow, are to be seen every day in the jungle, and may be heard calling *čọl! čọl! čọl!*

Throughout the Great Andaman there is a belief in a huge animal that haunts the jungles, or that haunted them in the days of the ancestors. In the North Andaman this beast is called *J̌irmu*. In the days of the ancestors it is supposed to have lived at *Uliḃi-tay*, where it attacked and killed any men and women who came in its way. No detailed legend about the *J̌irmu* was obtained.

In the *Akar-Bale* language *Kočurag-boa* is the name of the same or a similar monster. In the *A-Pučikwar* language it is called *Uču*. This is the name applied to two rocks of limestone which are situated about two or three miles south of *Wota-emi*, one being in a mangrove swamp, and the other some little way out in the sea. The following legend is told about these rocks.

"In the early days of the Andamanese, *Ta Pẹtie* (Sir Monitor Lizard), the first ancestor, went into the jungle and found a *čọti* tree, up which he climbed to eat the fruit. The other people (who lived with him at *Wota-emi*) came and found him, and *Ta Pẹtie* threw down some of the fruit to them, which they ate. The people began to bully *Pẹtie* to make him throw down more of the fruit. *Pẹtie* got angry and said 'If you bully me like that I will call the *Uču*, and they will kill you all.' The people only laughed at him. *Pẹtie* called the *Uču*, calling '*Dire! dire!*' The *Uču* came, one male and one female. They caught all the people and ate them. Only *Pẹtie* they did not eat because he was up in the high tree. The *Uču* went off to cross the strait to *Tọl-l'oko-tima*. They had eaten so much that they were very heavy and stuck in the sand and mud at the edge of the mangrove swamp. When *Pẹtie* came down from the tree he found all the people gone. He said 'Hallo! the *Uču* must have eaten

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 173.

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them all.' He went to look. He found the *Uču* stuck fast at the edge of the mangrove swamp, so that they could not move. He cut open their bellies and all the people came out, for the *Uču* had swallowed them whole. The *Uču* are there to this day."

When elephants were first introduced into the Andamans for the use of the Forest Department, they were named *Uču* by the natives, and have ever since retained that name. Similarly the natives of the Northern tribes call them *ǰirmu*.

In the *Akar-Bale* tribe there is a legend to account for the origin of a rock standing in the sea at a place called *Kwaičo-bur*.

"*Ra-gumul Kwọkọl* went fishing with his bow and arrows in the sea. His bow and arrows and he himself were turned into stone, and may be seen there to the present day."

Kwọkọl is the common tree-lizard. *Ra-gumul* is the term applied to a youth or girl who has just passed through the pig-eating ceremony described in Chap. II. A youth is not permitted to handle a bow for some days after the ceremony in question. A version of the same legend is recorded by Mr Man.

"The story regarding certain *Tomola* who failed to observe the rules for neophytes, states that, on the day after they broke their fast of *reg-jiri* (kidney-fat of pig), they left the encampment without giving notice of their intention to their friends, and the result was that, when they were missed and searched for, it was found that they had gone to the shore to fish, and had there met a sad fate; the body of one was discovered adhering to a large boulder, and turned into stone, while the other, likewise in a state of petrifaction, was standing erect beside it[1]."

A reef on the east side of Ritchie's Archipelago is said to have originated as follows.

"The people of *Kwaičo* went to *ǰila* to hunt turtle, taking two canoes. While they were away their wives made up a big fire in the evening at *Kwaičo*. The hunters and their canoes were turned to stone, and formed the reefs that are now there."

I believe that the explanation of this story is the belief that the moon is angry when a bright fire is visible at the time when he rises in the evening shortly after sunset[2].

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 169. [2] *Vide supra*, p. 142.

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There seems to be a legend relating to a large snake called *ǫr-čubi* in the North Andaman, but I was not able to obtain a detailed version. The following was told me in *Aka-Jeru*. 773 539

"At *Dalamio*, in the time of the ancestors, there used to be a big snake of the kind called *ǫr-čubi*. He used to catch men and women when they were gathering honey, and kill them and eat them."

An *Akar-Bale* version is a little fuller.

"There was a man named *Biča* who went to look for honey in the jungle. He saw a big snake (*wara-jobo*) and from its neck was hanging a honeycomb. The snake was as big as a tree. 'Why don't you make your honey in the trees?' *Biča* said to the bees. He went home and called several of the men. They took their bows and arrows. They found the snake, and shot it with a great many arrows. They could not kill the snake, which ran away and was never seen again."

An *Akar-Bale* story relates how the first murder came to pass.

"*Da Ko* (Sir Crow) was the first of the Andamanese. He lived at *Kared-čar-buaro* with his wife *In Mud* (Lady Dove). He had a friend, *Badgi-beria* (Hawk). *Badgi-beria* had no wife and was jealous of *Da Ko* and wanted to get his wife. When *Da Ko* knew this he was very angry. He went into the jungle and hid himself. By and by he saw *Badgi-beria* and *Mud* coming along the path together. He took his bow and arrows and killed them."

Another *Akar-Bale* story about the dove is as follows.

"*Mud* and *Kulal* were cooking pig and got very hot. They went to bathe and were turned into birds."

Mud is the bronze-winged dove, *Chalcophaps indica*, and *kulal* is the teal, *Nettium albigulare*.

In the North Andaman there are tales about the sea-eagle (*kǫlo*). One is to the effect that at first he used *kǫbo* (*Licuala*) leaves to fly with. This was before he had wings of his own. Another story is as follows.

"*Maia Kǫlo* (Sir Sea-eagle) lived at *Čona* in *Tau-'ra-miku*. He had a hut in the top of a *tǫrǫktato* tree. He was unmarried.

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773 When the men went fishing he used to steal their wives. He would only take good-looking girls. He would call out to
539 a girl to come and catch hold of his foot, saying 'I have a fish for you.' If an old or ugly woman came, he would say 'No! not you; go away.' When a young woman came and caught hold of his foot he flew away with her to his hut in the tree."

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APPENDIX F.

Specimen of the South Andaman Language

1. *wai dōl .ōko-jū·wai ē·remtá·ga. dī·a ēr lōt ting* 539
indeed I (name of tribe) jungle-dweller. my village of name
.tō·lo-bòi·cho. jū·ru tek elarpâ·lada. mō·da elawâ·ngaya būd tek totgō·ra
(name of village). sea from far. If daybreak at home from coast
len nàu·nga bē·dig til·ik dā·la len kâ·galke. med-àrdū·ru ō·gar jī·baba
to walking by perhaps evening in reach-will. we all moons several
ē·kan ēr len pòl·ike ūgâ tàrō·lolen jeg l'edâ·re àryō·to lī·a
own villages in live-do then afterwards dance for sake of coastmen of
pai·chalen yàu·gake. ō·na ū·cha nai·kan jeg-ī·kke â·rlalen īgal· l'edâ·re
midst-in go-do. when this like dance-go-do always barter for
mīn tō·yuke kich·ikan reg-dam·a, ēâ·te reg- kòi·ob, ēâ·te
things take-do namely pork (lit., pig-flesh), also pig's fat paint, also
râ·tà, ēâ·te jōb, ēâ·te châ·panga, ēâ·te kūd,
wooden-pointed arrows, also baskets, also reticules, also hand-nets for fishing,
ēâ·te râb, ēâ·te tâ·la-ōg, ēâ·te tâ·lag, ēâ·te pār·epa,
also necklaces of fine net-work, also white-clay, also hones, also sleeping-mats,
ēâ·te kâ·pa-jâ·tnga, ūwē·h.
also leaf-screens, etcetera.

2. *med·a kâ·galnga bē·dig kīanwai· ō·tolâ· râ·mid-tō·yuke ōl-bē·dig*
we arriving on according-to-custom first sing-do and
kō·ike tàrō·lolen àrdū·ru mīn īgal·ke, ūgâ med-ī·kpō·r
dance-do afterwards all things barter-do, then we two (*i.e.*, some of us)
dū·tnga len igbâ·dignga l'edâ·re àryō·to lī·a pai·chalen
spearing to seeing for coastmen of (*i.e.*, with) possession
ō·dam len â·kangai·ke. mar·at-dil·u
bottom (of boat) in go in boat-do our rest (*i.e.*, the rest of us)
àryō·to-ngī·ji mit·iknga ē·rem-del·eke.
coastmen-friends accompanying in jungle-hunt-pigs-do.

3. *â·rla īkpō·r tàrō·lolen med·a mīn àrdū·ru, kich·ikan ē·la,*
days two (a few) afterwards we things all, such as pig-arrows,
ē·latâ, chō, wō·lo, bī·jma, yâ·dī-kòi·ob,
iron, knives, adzes, bottles, turtle-unguent (red paint made with turtle-fat),
yâ·dī-dam·a, ō·do, chī·dī, gar·en, rē·keto-tâ,
turtle-flesh, nautilus-shells, *Pinna* shells, *Dentalium octogonum*, *Hemicardium unedo*
âwē·h, īgal·nga len ō·rok yâ·te en·inga-bē·dig chē·lepâ·ke ūgâ
etcetera, bartering in received which having-taken take-leave-do then
wī·jke.
return-home-do.

4. *ignū·rum àryō·to len (â·rlaya) ō·ko-del·enga tek, ōl-bē·dig lō·binga tek,*
Just as coastmen to (always) hunting by, and poling by
ōl-bē·dig yât-dil·u tek eb·a-kâ·chya â·kà-wē·lab yā·bada, châ
and means-rest (*i.e.*, other means) by ever food-difficulty not so
met ē·rem-tâ·ga len bē·dig wâb dil·u-rē·atek yât àrdū·ruda.
we jungle-dwellers to also season every food all (sorts).

5. *med-ē·rem-tâ·ga àrdū·ru gū·mul ya ē·kan būd len â·rtiteg·ike ō·gun*
We-jungle-men all rainy season during own homes in remain-do only

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539 *râp-wâb len yŭm pi·tainga l'edâ·re ĕr-täl·ke, mat ngi·ji àrdŭ·ru*
fruit-season in rain absence because-of pay-visits-do our friends all
igbâ·dignga l'edâ·re. ŏ·gar ŭ·batŭ·l an ĭkpŏ·r len med·a wi·jke ŏtpăg·i
seeing because-of moon one or two in we return-home-do again
bai·la[1]-wâb len kai·ta-ban[2] jŭ·ranga leb bŭd tek
(name of tree)-season in jack-fruit-seed burying for homes from
mat-tŏ-jĭ·alke. ŏ·gar ŭ·batŭ·l len ĕ·kan ĕr lat wi·jke.
we shift-our-quarters-do. moon one in own villages to return-home-do.

6. *mit·ig-bŭ·dwa len àryŏ·to tek ĕ·rem-tâ·ga at-ŭ·baba*
Our-tribesmen among coastmen from (than) jungle-men numerous
.bâ·rlâ·kàbĭl tek .tŏ·lo-bòi·cho bŏ·diada dŏ·na ĕ·rem koktâ·r len
(name of village) than (name of village) large but jungle interior in
.tŏ·lo-bòi·cho tek ĕr dŏ·ga bŏ·diada mĕ·tat bŭd àryŏ·to-lĭ·a bŭd tek
(name of village) than villages many large our huts coastmen's huts than
chà·nagda tâ·lik jĭ·baba med·a gŏ·i tĕ·pike yŭ·ba.
large years many we fresh thatch-do not.

7. *tâ·lik ŭ·ma len med-àrdŭ·ru ĕ·kan ĕ·kan ĕr lag·iba yât dŏ·gaya ŏ·roke.*
Year whole in we all own own villages near food plenty find-do.
ŭgâ·tek-ŭgâ·tek yât tĕ·pnga bĕ·dig mĕ·tat dŭ·ruma(da). med·a ŏko-jär·anga
now-and-then food getting in for us sufficient. we constantly
kŏ·ike ŏl-bĕ·dig râ·mid-tŏ·ynke.
dance-do and sing-do.

8. *ŏ·na mĕ·tat barai·jlen ŭ·chin ŏkolĭ·ke ŭgâ med-àrdŭ·ru bŭd-*
When our village in any one die-does then we-all camping-ground
l'àrlŭ·a len jŭ·lake. kâ·to chàng-tŏ·rnga[3] an dar·anga[3] len ekâ·ra nai·kan ŏ·gar
vacant to migrate-do. there hut or in custom like moons
ĭkpŏ·r pòl·ike, tàrŏ·lolen tâ ŏ·roknga bĕ·dig t'ĭ-tŏ·latnga[4] len
few (lit., two) live-do, afterwards bones obtaining on tears-shedding (dance) for
.tŏ·lo-bòi·cho lat wi·jke.
(name of village) to return-home-do.

9. *mŏ·da ŏkolĭ·nga yŭ·balen med-ĕ·rem-tâ·ga lĭ·a barai·j len at-jang·gi*
If dead without we jungle-dwellers of villages in old persons
lig·ala bĕ·dig â·rlalen pòl·ike. ŏ·gun râp-wâb len mĕ·tat pai·chalen atpail
children also always live-do. only fruit-season in as with women
i-gâ·tnga-bĕ·dig bar·mike kĭ·nig ŏ·llàrdŭ·ru at-jang·gi
paying-visits-for pass-night-away-from-home-do otherwise they-all old people
lig·ala nai·kan ĕ·kan barai·j len bŭ·duke.
children like own villages in live-do.

10. *gŭ·mul len reg-del·enga l'edâ·re mat bŭ·la ij·i-lŏ·inga â·rla ĭkpŏ·r*
Rainy-season in pig-hunting because of we men often days few
bar·mike.
pass-night-away-from-home-do.

11. *med-ĕ·rem-tâ·ga àryŏ·to nai·kan â·rla-rĕ·atek jŭ·langa lĭ·a kianwai·*
We-jungle-people coastmen like constantly migrating of custom
yŭ·ba l'edâ·re mòl·oichik â·rlalen mĕ·tat bĕ·ra ŏl-bĕ·dig â·kà-kĭ·chal lag·iba
not because of we always our rubbish and food-refuse near
kŏ·rke yŭ·ba, kianchâ· mĕ·tat barai·j len ŏt-àu jŭ·bag yŭ·bada.
scatter-do not, therefore our villages in smell bad not.

[1] *Terminalia procera*, which flowers about the middle of May.
[2] *Artocarpus chaplasha.*
[3] *Vide* Part I, "Habitations," paragraphs 3 and 4, for description of these varieties of huts.
[4] *Vide* Part II, "Death and Burial," paragraph 7.

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12. *mĕ·tat àryó·to len bĕ·dig baraï·j ïkpó·r kâ·to òl·òichik ij·ï-lŏ·inga* 539
Our coast people among even villages few there they often
ŏ·gar ïkpó·r pòl·ike, ar·at-dil·u ŏ·ko-jär·anga jä·lake.
moons few dwell-do, their rest (*i.e.*, the rest of them) constantly migrate-do.

13. *med-ĕ·rem-tâ·ga ŏl-bĕ·dig àryó·to lï·a ĕr lag·iba*
Us jungle dwellers and coast-dwellers of villages near
bŭd-l'â·rtâm dŏ·gada. jŭ·ru l'igrá·klik len á·rlaya ĕ·rem tó·boda dŏ·na ĕ·rem
kitchen-middens many sea vicinity in always jungle dense, but jungle
koktá·r len tó·bo yä·ba.
middle in dense not.

14. *.á·kà-.ked·e lï·a ĕ·rem koktá·r len lï·rnga-bĕ·dig wai dŏl*
(name of tribe) of jungle middle in going-on indeed I
ĕ·rem-tâ·ga at-ŭ·baba igbâ·digre. med·a lŭ·ake aŭ·a kâ·to mardŭ·ru tek
jungle-dwellers numerous see-did. we consider that there us-all than
at-ŭ·baba. ĕ·rem len dil·u-rĕ·atek chàu·ga-tâ·banga l'ïdal· tek
numerous. jungle in everywhere ancestors (this side of the Deluge) time since
tinga-bä bĕ·ringa. wai dŏl á·chitik .bŏ·jig-ngï·ji àrdŭ·ru
paths (lit., roads small) good. indeed I now (name of tribe) all
igbâ·digre, it·ig bŭ·dwa dï·rap-tek yabä·da.
seen have, their tribesmen now-a-days few.

15. *med-àrdŭ·ru .á·kà.bŏ·jig-yá·b ŏl·bĕ·dig .á·kà-.kó·l lï·a kianwaï· ïdaï·ke;*
We all (name of tribe) and (name of tribe) of customs know-do
ŏat' eká·ra mak·at pâ·ra; et bĕ·dig .mó·ko-.jŭ·wai nai·kan
their customs ours similar; among-them also us (name of tribe) like
àryó·to ŏl-bĕ·dig ĕ·rem-tâ·ga. kâ·to bĕ·dig ĕ·rem-tâ·ga ŏ·gar jï·baba
coast people and jungle people. there also jungle-dwellers moons several
dïn len ŏ·ko-jär·anga bŭ·duke ĕ·kan ĕ·kan bŭd len bĕ·dig
heart-of-jungle in habitually dwell-do own own encampment in also
á·rtiteg·ike. .á·kà-.bŏ·jig-yá·b lï·a dïn kĕ·tia l'edá·re kâ·to
remain-do. (name of tribe) of heart-of-jungle small because of there
ĕ·rem-tâ·ga yabä·da.
jungle-dwellers few.

[A free translation of this Appendix will be found in the Journal of the Anthropological Institute, vol. xi, pp. 280–82.]

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193 of your lips [*ngak·at* your, plural in Class 3, *pai* lip must therefore be pluralised, *ĕd-* skin], might be contracted to *ngak·at ĕd-*, but this would be slightly ambiguous, as *ȧ·dal-* chin belongs to this class.

OMISSION 3. *dig güp tâ-* the bone of my arm [*dig* singular of Class 4, *güd* arm, *tâ* bone], might be contracted, but not with much certainty, except the arm were stretched out, to *dig tâ-*.

OMISSION 4. *ngar châg ti-* the blood of thy leg [*ngar* thy, in Class No. 2, *châg* leg, *ti* blood], might be contracted into *ngar ti-* with considerable risk of ambiguity, unless the leg had been previously referred to, or was otherwise indicated.

539 As it is neither possible nor desirable to expand this report into a treatise on the South Andaman language, I looked about for some genuine native utterances, not translations, which might illustrate the natural speech of the country. Fortunately, Mr. Man was able to furnish me with precisely what I wanted. When he was sent officially to the Nicobar Islands, he took with him several young native Andamanese,[1] and in order to keep up their connection with their friends, and especially with their head-man, *jam·bu* (as he was always called, though that was not his real name), Mr. Man wrote letters for them at their dictation. He had to treat them quite like children for whom one writes letters, suggesting subjects, asking what they would say if they saw *jam·bu*, and so on. It was laborious work, which, however, Mr. Man did not regret, as it often furnished him with new words or phrases. These letters were then sent to the British officer in charge of the Homes at Port Blair, who did not know the language, but, from an explanation furnished, read the phonetic writing to *jam·bu*, sufficiently well to be understood, but to assist this officer Mr. Man furnished a free and an interlinear translation. I give two of these letters, which certainly, if any exist, are genuine specimens of South

[1] Their names and nicknames (in parenthesis) were *.i·ra* (*.kô·ro-* hand), *.bi·du* (*ȧ·dal-* eye, as he had large saucer eyes), *.lô·ra* (Henry, his name when at the Ross orphanage), *.wō·i* (Tom, the name Mr. Man gave him when he first came to Viper Island), *.ō·ra* (*.jō·do-* entrails, so called from his protuberant belly when a child). These names may be preserved as those of the unwitting originators of Andaman literature. One other name of a native should be added, although he was not taken with Mr. Man to the Nicobars, on account of illness, and indeed he died shortly after Mr. Man left. This was *.bi·a* (*.pá·g-* foot, so called from his large feet). He was the elder brother of the above-named *.lô·ra* (Henry). All the time that Mr. Man was in charge of the Andaman Homes, about four years, *.bi·a* worked with him. He was the most intelligent and helpful native Mr. Man met, and was his principal informant throughout. Mr. Man often told him that he would bring his name to notice, and thus redeems his promise.

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Andaman literature, but to make them as instructive as possible in showing the nature of the language, I divide them into numbered sentences, putting the text first, the free translation next, and afterwards, in square brackets, an analytically literal translation in the order of the original, in which, with the help of Mr. Man's translation, vocabulary and personal assistance, I endeavour to shew or explain the meaning and composition of each word and its parts, and its grammatical connection, occasionally adding other notes. 539

First Letter to *.jam·bu.*

Cited by the simple numbers of the sentences.

1. *.màm .jam·bu.* Worshipful *.jam·bu.* [*màm* is a term of respect by which chiefs or head men are addressed, perhaps 'honourable' or 'your honor' would be a nearer translation. *.jam·bu* was only a nickname, but as he was always so called, Mr. Man cannot recollect any other. See his song below, p. 70.]

2. *Med' àrdŭ·ru adbē·ringa.* We are all in good health. [*med'* we, a contraction for *med·a*, the final *·a* being lost before the following *à* of *àrdŭ·ru* all. The full form for 'we' is *mòl·òichi·*. For *ad-bē·ri-nga* well, see No. 5.]

3. *bi·rma-chē·lewa tàrō·lo tek mij·i' at yed yā·ba.* Since last steamer no one has been ill. [*bi·rma* funnel, *chē·lewa* ship, not one of their own boats; the Andamanese prefer if possible making a new word to adopting a foreign one, the present compound is more original than the modern Greek ἀτμόπλοιον, which is a mere translation of 'steam vessel.' *tàrō·lo* last, see Cl. 5 under *kō·ro-mŭ·gu-chāl.* *tek* from, since, postp. *mij·i'at* a contracted form of *mij·ia at*, properly a plural possessive interrogative, 'whose?' but used idiomatically in negative sentences, for an indefinite personal pronoun, corresponding to English 'any.' *yed* sick or ill. *yā·ba-* not, always placed at end of a sentence.]

4. *.mar .lō·ra à·chitik igbà·dignga len dà·kar-bō·dia nai·kan.* Master *.lō·ra* is now like a tub in appearance (so fat is he). [*.mar* applied to a young unmarried man, or a man who remains childless for the first 4 or 5 years after marriage, after which time, he is called *mai·a*, the ordinary name for a married man who has children, of which the honorific form *mai·ola* is applied to chiefs only. *.lō·ra* (Henry) the name of the youth. *à·chitik* now, *àchi·baiya* then. *ig-bà·dig-nga-len* appearance-in, see Nos. 9 and 10. (This is one of the verbs which change the final letter of the base according to the suffix, but the law of change is not yet fully ascertained. In this case *g* is apparently inserted before *-re* and *-nga*, but on the other hand it may be simply omitted before *-ke*.) *dà·kar* a tub or bucket. *bō·dia* big. *dà·kar-bō·dia*, big as a tub. (There are five words for big, 1. *bō·dia-* which when 'human' becomes *àbō·dia-*, but here has no prefix on account of being in composition, 2. *dō·ga-*, 3. *chà·nag-*, and 4. *tà·banga-*, which are 'humanised' by *ab*, 5. *rō·chobo-* 'humanised' by *à*. Without the prefixes *bō·dia-*, *dō·ga-*, and *chà·nag-* are applied to any non-human objects, and *rō·chobo-* *tà·banga-*, to animals only.) *nai·kan* like.]

5. *ñgà·kà ō·lien ed·a did·dirya yābu.* He as yet has had no fever. [*ñgà·ka* as yet, *ñgà* simply meaning 'then.' *ōl-lèn* him-to, the 3rd pers. pron. with postpos., *len* to. *ed·a* ever. *did·dirya* fever, that is, ague, trembling. *yā·ba* not, see 3.]

6. *.mar .wō·i ŭn-wòt-tai·jnga tà·pu-ya.* Master *.wō·i* is a great flying-fox shot. [*.mar* see 4. *.wō·i* the name of

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a youth (about 16 years old), of the tribe that the South Andamanese call *.ôko-jū·wai-da*, who came in a canoe from Middle Andaman to Port Blair, where he made an important statement concerning the manners and customs of his tribe, which was reduced to writing by Mr. Man, and is published, chiefly in English, in the Journal of the Anthropological Institute, vol. xi. pp. 280–2. When he arrived at Port Blair, his language was unintelligible to the natives there, but he quickly learned their language, and as he was a very nice fellow, he was induced to remain by marrying him to a pretty girl (named in 20), who was still very young. As they had at that time no family, he was still called *mar*. *ūn* refers to skill, see Nos. 7, 8, 16. *wôd-* or *wôt* in construction, flying-fox. *taij* shoot with an arrow. *nga* sign of verbal subst. The whole word is, therefore, skilled shooter of flying foxes. *tâ·paya* excellent (human only), marks superlative degree.]

7. *ar·at dil·u dī·laya â·kàrâ·rnga bē·dig, ôl ij·ilā būd lōng-pâ·len wôt leb ēr·kē·dangke.* While the others are finishing their evening meal with dainty morsels, he goes alone and searches among the trees for flying foxes near the hut. [*ar·at* their, see Cl. 2. *dil·u* rest or remainder. *dī·laya* evening-at. *â·kà* referring to palate, see No. 11. *rà·r-nga* tasty things, which conclude a meal, from *rāc*, v. taste, determine flavour of. *bē·dig* while or during, as a postposition to the whole preceding clause, so that it means: the rest of them in-the evening tasty-bits-finishing while. *ôl* 3rd pers., hence 'he' in this case. *ijilā* alone, unaccompanied. *būd-* an occupied hut, *ēr-* an unoccupied hut. (*tâ·rdōd-* hut belonging to a married couple; *kàtō·go-* bachelor's hut; *chāng-* hut, or roof, for the huts are almost all roof, *chāng-tē·pinga-* best kind of hut, with well plaited roof, to last 2 or 3 years; *chāng-tó·rnga-* next best hut, formed of leaves bound together with cane, lasting a few weeks or months; *chāng-dar·anga-* a temporary shed, roof of loose leaves, to last a few days. The species of palm leaf ordinarily used for these roofs is called *chāng·ta-*). *lōng-pâ-len* near an inanimate object. (Other terms are *â·kà-pâ-len* or *ôt-par·cha-len* near to an animate object; *eb-ē·r-teg-ilen* near a tree or post; *yapâ·len* near as one place to another, *ya* giving indefiniteness of object, compare *bâ* and *yabâ-* little.) *wôt* flying fox. *leb* for, postp. *ēr-kē·dang-ke* search in-trees-does, (*ē·rem* jungle), *â·ta* v. search on the ground for an inanimate object, *ab-â·ta-* v. for an animate object.]

8. *en lū·nga bē·dig ôl lâ·kàchī·ke yā·bada.* On seeing one he does not miss it. [*en* it. *lū·-nga* see (verbal subst.) = seeing. *bē·dig* while, consequent on, see 7. *ôl* he, *lâ·kàchī·ke* (euphonic *l*, Cl. 3), miss-does. *yā·ba-da* not, see 5, where final *da* is not added to *yā·ba*.]

9. *kâ·rin chō·wai rō·choboda.* There are enormous clams here. [*kâ·rin* here. *chō·wai* clam, the plural is not indicated. *rō·choboda* big, applied to animals, see *bō·dia* in 4. This shell-fish in the Nicobars is the *Tridacna gigantea*, and measures 3 or 4 feet in length; in the Andamans, they have only the small species *Tridacna crocea* and *T. squamosa*.]

10. *ū·badō·galen yât atū·babaleb dū·rumada.* There is sufficient food in one for a great number of persons. [*ū·ba-dō·ga-* one, *ū·ba-tū·l* is also used, but *ū·ba-dō·ga-* is the emphatic form like our 'a single one,' see Cl. 5, under *mū·gu-châl-*. *len* in, postp. *yât* in construction, *yâd-* final, food. *atū·babu* countless numbers, see Cl. 5. *leb* for, postp. *dū·rumada* sufficient.]

11. *mō·da ngōl met atted·inga lū·ake, .pâ·dri châb .rūch-ya pòl·i yâ·te bū·dlen lī·rnga bē·dig, â·kà-tâ igbâ·di-ke.* If you don't believe us, go to the Padre sāhib's house at Ross, and see the shell (we are sending). [*mō·da* if, *ngōl* you, *met* us, obj. pl. *at·ted·inga* (human)-lie-telling-(verbal subst.). *at* is plural *ab*. *lū·a-ke* consider-do (present time), *lū* v. look or see. *·pâ·dri* Italian padre, father, but applied as "Rev." to all clergymen, here the chaplain was meant. *châb* Andamanese attempt at pronouncing the Hindi *sāhib*. *.rūch* Andamanese attempt to say *Rās*, the Hindi corruption of Ross, an island at the entrance of the inlet of Port Blair. *-ya* at, postp. *pòl·i* dwell. *yâ·te* that, the relative. *būd* hut, see 7, but here meant for house. *len* postp. to. *lī·r-nga* go, verbal subst. *bē·dig* while, or consequent upon, see 7. The phrase means: upon going to the house of the chaplain

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who dwells at Ross. *ȧ·kà* see No. 11, in relation to taste or mouth, *tà* bone, that is, taken together, *ȧ·kàtà* bone covering food *i.e.* shell. *ig-bà·di-ke* see-will, see 4, pres. for fut.]

12. *ngōl ō·llen igbà·di yà·te wai·kan ngab-ped·inga kich·ikan-nai·kan târchī·ke; bad·i ū·cha ȧ·kàtà·da!* On seeing it we are sure you will slap your side and exclaim: what a whopping big shell! [*ngōl* you. *ō·l-len* it, obj. *igbà·di* see, see 4. *yà·te* who, see 11; that is, you who-see it. *wai·kan* certainly. *ngab* your, see Cl. 1 and Om. 4 for the omission of *chàu-* body, or some such word. *ped·i-nga* slap (verbal subs.) = slapping. *kich·ikan* and *nai·kan* both mean 'like' and together, 'just like.' *târchī-k-* say-will. *bad·i* exclamation of surprise. *ū·cha* this. *ȧ·kà-tà* shell, see 11.]

13. *med' àrdū·ru .pū·lo-pilàu· el-ȧ·rjana būd lō·yaba yà·te len ȧ·kangai·re.* We all went to *.pū·lo-pilàu·*, which is a village a long way off to the north. [*med' àrdū·ru* we all, see 2. *.pū·lo-pilàu·* name of a place in the Nicobar Islands. *el-ȧ·rjana* north, *el-iglū·*-south (district), *el-ȧ·rmu·gu-* (appearing-face) east (in these words *el* stands for *ē·r-* country), *târ.mū·gu-* (disappearing face) west. *būd* hut, village. *lō·yaba* distant. *yà·te* which. *len* to, postp., affecting the whole phrase, which means: to P. P. which is a distant village to the north. *ȧ·kan-gai·* go a short journey by water, *ō·to-jū·mui* is used for a long journey. *-re* past time.]

14. *kà·to ȧ·rla jī·baba pōl·ire.* We stayed several days there. [*kà·to* there. *ȧ·rla* days, plural indicated by the following word. *jī·baba* several, very many, see Cl. 5. *pōl·i-re* dwell-did, see 11.]

15. *charkà·r leb rō·go jad·ijō·g àrdū·ru igal·re dō·na mō·to-kūklī·re yà·bada.* We bargained for a lot of young female pigs for Government, but did not forget ourselves. [*charkà·r* Andamanese attempt to pronounce the Hindī *Sarkà·r* government. *leb* for, postp. *rō·go* pigs, plural indicated by the following *à·dū·ru*, *rō·go-* is a female pig, *rog-* either male or female. *jad·i-jō·g* spinster, implying a full-grown sow-pig which has not littered, see the mode of expressing sex mentioned on p. 53. *àrdū·ru* several (see Cl. 5) or all, as in 2. *igal-·e* barter did. *dō·na* but. *mō·to* ourselves. *kūklī·re* forget-did. *ō·to-kūklī·-ke* oneself forget-does (*mō·to* is only the form of the first person plural, see p. 58), was one of the new words discovered by Mr. Man from the dictation of these letters to *jam·bu.* The common verb for forgetting is *ōt-kūklī·ke*, which is reflective, *dō d' ōt-kūklī·re*, I forgot, where *dō d'* or *dōl d'* answers to French *je me* (in *je m'en souviens*) and similarly *ngō' ng'* or *ngōl ng' ōt-kūklī·re* you forgot. The relation of *ō·to-k.* and *ōt-k.* is similar to that in *ōtrà·jke* defend-does, *ō·torà·jke* oneself defend does. 'Selves' is also expressed by *ē·kan.* See examples in 40. *yà·bada* not, see 7.]

16. *kīanchà· reg-wà·ra gō·i jī·baba mō·yut-tē·mar leb ō·more.* We accordingly fetched several prime young male pigs for our own use. [*kīanchà·* therefore. *reg* pigs, either male or female, see 15. *wà·ra* bachelor, young but full grown, see p. 53. *gō·i* fresh, and hence in good condition. *jī-baba* several, properly 'very many,' see Cl. 5, but as there were really only five or six, Mr. Man translated the word 'several' at the time; he supposed that the young men wished to surprise their friends at Viper by leading them to suppose by this term that they had got many more pigs than was actually the case. *mō·yut-tē·mar* ourselves, the meaning of the separate words is not known, but we have *dō·ynn-t.* myself, *ngō·yun-t.* thyself and *ō·yun-t.* himself, *ō·yut-t.* themselves, *ngō·yut-t.* yourselves. *leb* for, postp. *ō·mo-re* fetch-did.]

17. *med·a ñgà·kà mäk·nga-ba yà·te len chī·lynke.* Those we have not eaten yet we are fattening. [*med·a* we. *ñgà·kà* as yet, see 5. *mäk·-nga* eat- (passive participle, p. 55, n. 2) = eaten. *ba* not. *yà·te* which. *len* postp. pointing out object, meaning: we are fattening those which have not been eaten as yet. The construction, though common, is somewhat involved, and would be, in English order, as boys "construe" Latin: *med·a* we, *chī·lynke* are fattening, *len* (mark of accusative relation), *yà·te* (those) which, *ñgà·kà* as yet, *mäk·nga-ba* (are or have been) eaten-not.]

18. *ȧ·kàlō·dongalen med·a ȧ·kà-jai·ñgke tarō·lolen ōtàà·ba rō·go lō·inga bē·dig .bai·par lat mit·ik-i·kke.* These we will slaughter one by one, and

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afterwards get some more pigs to take with us to Viper. [*ā·kā·lō·do·nga* one by one, idiomatic expression, origin unknown. *len* postp. marks the object. *med·a* we. *ā·kā·jai·ñg-ke* slaughter-do, this expression is used for pigs only. *tārō·lo.len* last-to, afterwards, see Cl. 5. *ōt-ñā·ba* other in addition to the former, see Cl. 6 for *ōt*, this prefix also occurs in *ōt-pāg·i* once more. *rō·go* pig, see 15. *lō·i-nga* get-(verbal subs.) = getting. *bē·dig* while, or consequent upon; meaning: afterwards on getting additional pigs. *.bai·par* Andamanese mispronunciation of Viper, an island within the inlet of Port Blair. *lat* to, postp. *mit·ik* in company with us, *m-* us, *it·ik* in company with, *ī·k-ke* take away-will, see 20.]

19. *.mar .ī·ra-.jō·do .mar .wō·i lōt pīj len jā·bag tā·la-tim·re.* Master *.ī·ra-.jō.do* has tonsured Master *.wō·i* very badly. [*.mar*, see 4. *.ī·ra-.jō·do* is the subject of the verb. *.wō·i lōt pīj* is the object, as *.wō·i*'s hair. *lōt* his (head understood), see Cl. 6, and Om. 1. *pīj* hair, the usual form of *pid* in construction, thus *ōt-pī·j-yā·ba*- his (head)-hair-not = bald. *len* postp. obj. *jā·bag* badly. *tā·la-tim·re* tonsure-did. This shaving of the crown of the head is the business of the women and especially of the wife, but in this case the women were left behind. The razors used are extremely fine chippings of glass.]

20. *mō·da .ō·ra-.bī·ela abī·k-yā·te ā·chitik ighā·aike ñgā wai·kan ōtjē·rnga-len ngped·ike ōl-bē·dig abtō·goke.* If *.wō·i*'s wife *.ō·ra-.bī·ela* were now to see him, she would certainly box the barber's ears and abuse him. [*mō·da* if. *ab-ī·k* (female)-take away, *yā·te* who, that is, who is wife. For *ik* see end of 18, where, but for the *mit·ik*, there would have been the prefix *ab* as *abī·kke* take-away-does (present), an animate object. But *en·i* is to take, as *abīī·ga lā·ka-bang tek pa·p en·ike* child its-mouth from pipe take-do = take the pipe from the child's mouth, *-ke* being also used for the imperative. Now in marrying, the chief who unites the couple *tō·t-yā·p-ke* their (persons, Cl. 6) -speak-does, the man *ad-en·i-ke* (animate, see No. 6) -take-does, the woman *ab-ī·k-ke* (human, No. 4) -take-away-does. The husband is spoken of as *ad-ī·k-yā·te-*, and the wife as *ab-ī·k-yā·te-*, as here. For the first few weeks the young couple are called *ōng-tāg-gō·i-* their-bed-of-leaves-fresh, and after that for the first year *ūn-jā·ti-gō·i-*, where *ūn* refers to the hands, No. 7, and *gō·i* is fresh, but *jā·ti* is not known. *ā·chitik* now, see 4. *ig-bā·di-ke* see-does, see 4, pres. time, though in English it becomes past subjunctive, after *mō·da* if. *ñgā* then, see 5. *wai·kan* certainly. *ōt-jē·r-nga* his (head -understood, see Om. 1) -shave-(verbal. subst.), that is, his head's shaver. *len* postp. marking object. *ig-ped·i-ke* face (see Nos. 9, 10 and 17, and Cl. 4), (in anger) slap (see 12) will, *ar-ped·i-ke* would be, 'leg (see Cl. 2) -slap-will,' as women do when delighted. *ōl-bē·dig* it-while or it-after, used for 'and.' or 'as well as.' *ab-tō·go-ke* (human prefix No. 4)-abuse-will.]

21. *.mar .wō·i ōttek·īkinga bē·dig pīj-gō·i len enōtjē·rke yā·ba.* Master *.wō·i* is so ashamed of his appearance, that he is letting the new hair grow. [*ōt-tek·īk-nga* for-his-head (Cl. 6). -ashamed-(verbal subst.), *tek·īk* be -ashamed, but *t'ē·kīk* weep. *bē·dig* consequent on, see 11. *pīj-gō·i* hair-fresh. *len* postp. marking object. *en-ōt-jē·r-ke* cause-head-shave-does, *en* prefixed gives a causal signification to the verb = causes his head to be shaven. *yā·ba* not.]

22. *med·a yāt bā ngōl ititā·n yā·te len ō·rokre.* We duly obtained the few presents you sent. [*med·a* we. *yāt* properly fish, food, see 10, here presents. *bā* few, little, a father or mother having one or more little ones is called *ūnbā·da*. *ngōl* you. *ititā·n* send away any animate or inanimate thing, *entitā·n* send away a human object, *en·itān* shew (v. refl.), *itā·n* permit. *yā·te* which. *len* postp. marking the whole phrase as an object. *ō·rok-re* obtain-did.]

23. *ngōt pai·chalen mīn ārdū·ru ōteg·nga l'edā·re ñgā ititā·nnga yā·balen med·a mō·tot-kūkjā·bagire.* As you have so much in the "go-down" (store), we were much disappointed at your not sending more. [*ngōt* your, Cl. 6. *pai·cha-len* lap-to, that is, in your possession. *mīn* thing, plural only indicated by following word. *ārdū·ru* several, see 15. *ōt-j·g·-na*, Cl. 6, collection of shell-fish, meat, jack-fruit seeds, iron, flint, or anything in a heap, but *ōt-pā·j-nga* is used for honey, fruit,

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yams, fibre, and *ar-ngai·j-nga* for bows, arrows, and other implements or ornaments, and also animate objects. *l'edâ·re* because of, *i.e.* because of your having many things collected in your possession. *ñgá* more (see 51), as well as 'then' (see 5). *itità·nnga* sending, see 22. *yā·ba-len* not-to, without. *med·a* we. *mō·tot-kūk-jā·bag-i-re* our (poss. from Class 6) -heart-bad-was, we were disappointed, *i* seems to be a euphonic insertion to separate *g* and *r*.]

24. *til·ik bī·rma-chē·lewa kâ·gal yâ·te ñgâ mīn met â·kâwē·rke.* Perhaps the incoming steamer is bringing more things for us. [*til·ik* perhaps. *bī·rma-chē·lewa* steamer, see 3. *kâ·gal* arriving, this and *yō·boli* are said of the arrival of a boat or ship only, or of going to an elevated spot. *yâ·te* which. *ñgâ* more, see 23. *mīn* thing, see 23. *met* to us, one of the forms answering to the dative of pers. pron. *â·kâ*, see Cl. 3. *â·kâ-wē·r* and *ūn-târ-teg·i* are said of conveying any animal or inanimate objects by boat only; *ik* is used for conveying either by land or water, and for human objects becomes *abī·k*, see 20. *-ke* future time, not distinguished from present.]

25. *med.a târtī·t idai·re añ·a â·chitik ngōl barai·jbō·lo lī·a ōtyū·burda.* We have learnt that you are now the head-"boss" at the Brigade Creek home. [*med·a* we. *târtī·t* news. *idai·-re* know-did. *añ·a* that, conjunction. *â·chitik* now. *ngōl* you. *barai·j* old-established encampment, whether occupied or not, otherwise *ēr-*; *ē·r-ârlū·a-* are unoccupied, and *būd-*, *būd-·ârdū·ru-* occupied encampments. *â·bō·lo-* is a human orphan, omitting the prefix *barai·j-bō·lo-* is an orphan encampment, or one of which the old chief is dead and the new chief not yet appointed. This was the case with the Brigade Creek Andaman Home, which is the one here meant. *lī·a* of, postp. *ōt-yū·bur-da* head (Cl. 6) -chief, from *yū·bur* govern.]

26. *kâ·to ngōng jō·bo ōl-bē·dig kâ·r-apta châ·pikok!* May no snakes or centipedes bite you there. [*kâ·to* there. *ngōng* your, Cl. 5, one of the words in that class being understood. *jō·bo* snake, plural unindicated. *ōl-bē·dig* and, see 20. *kâ·rapta* centipedes, from *kâ·rap* bite as a stinging insect. *châ·pi* bite in any way. *kok* would-that-they-may-not, *dâ·ke* and *ngō·ke* are used as the imperative don't! *kâ·to ō·yu lī·r-kok* there permission go-I hope may not = I hope they won't let you go there; *ngō pâ·kok* I hope you won't fall. As to the wish expressed see the farewell in 29.]

27. *dī·raptek ñgâ yâ·bnga yā·ba.* There's nothing more to say at present. [*dīrap* lately, *tek* from, postp., the whole meaning, 'at present.' *ñgá* more, see 23. *yâ·b-nga* say, verbal subst. = saying. *yā·ba* not.]

28. *med·a ârdū·ru len ij·imū·gu-en·inga itità.nke.* We send salaam to all. [*med·a* we. *ârdū·ru* all. *len* to, postp. *ij·i* a common prefix, implying apparently 'separation,' but its signification in compounds is lost, it is frequently omitted in this word. *mū·gu* face. *en·i-nga* take-(verbal subst.). The natives mean by the word to bend the head and touch the forehead, that is, to salaam, as they were taught to do by the Rev. Mr. Corbyn, the first person who had charge of them; it is a case, then, of a new word, which may be advantageously compared with the Greek προσκυνεῖν to play the dog to; sometimes *chillâ·m*, a mispronunciation of salaam, is used. *itità·n-ke* send-do, see 22.]

29. *kam wai mòl·óichik!* Good-bye! [*kam* here. *wai* indeed. *mòl·óichik* we, full form. The ceremony of taking leave by word of mouth is rather long. The host accompanies his visitor to the landing-place, or at least to a considerable distance. On parting, the visitor takes his host's hand and blows upon it; after the compliment is returned, the following dialogue ensues. DEPARTING VISITOR: *kam wai dol*, here indeed I. HOST: *ó* aye (a contraction for *ô·no* yes), *ū·chik wai òn*, hence indeed come, *tain tâ·lik kach òn yâte?* when again hither come who? = very well, go, when will you come again? DEP. VIS.: *ñgâ·tek do ngat mīn ī·kke*, then-from (presently) I for-you thing take-away-will = I will bring away something for you one of these days. HOST: *jo·bo la ngōng châ·pikok!* snake (euphonic *la*) you bite-may not = I hope no snake will bite you, compare 26. DEP. VIS.: *wai do ērgē·lepke*, indeed I on-the-land (*ēr*) -watchful-be-will. They then repeat the ceremony of blowing on each other's hands, and part shouting invitations and promises for a

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future date until beyond earshot. There are no Andaman words of greeting. Relatives on meeting throw their arms round each other and weep for joy. When any other persons meet, they simply stand looking at each other in silence for a long time, sometimes as much as half an hour, before one of them ventures to speak.]

Second Letter to *jam·bu.*

The sentences are numbered in continuation of the former.

30. *.mâm .jam·bu.* Worshipful Jumbo [see 1].

31. *med' ârdŭ·ru adbē·ringa.* We are all in good health [see 2].

32. *ñgâ·kà mar' dŭ·ru tek ō·gun.mar .lô·ra abyed·re yā·ba.* Up to the present Master *.lô·ra* is the only one of us who has not been ill. [*ñgâ·kà* as yet, see 5. *ma·r' dŭ·ru* contraction for *mar·at-ârdŭ·ru* our (Class 2) -all, the whole of us. *tek* from, postp. *ō·gun* only. *.mar .lô·ra* see 4. *ab-yed·-re* human (No. 4) -sick-was. *yā·ba* not.]

33. *ôl kichikachâ· ôtolâ·laire meda idai·nga-ba, til·ik yât mâk·nga dō·ga l'edâ·re.* We don't know how he has escaped (being ill), perhaps it is because he eats so much. [*ôl* he. *kichikachâ·* how, in what manner. *ôto-lâ·-lai-re* Cl. 7) escape-did. *med·a* we. *idai-nga-ba* know-(verbal subst.)-not = we are knowers not; *ba* at the end is a contraction for *yā·ba*, and never becomes *bā* (meaning 'small'), but is kept short and unaccented. *til·ik* perhaps, see 24. *yât* food, see 10. *mâk·-nga* eat -(verbal subst.) = eating, see 17. *dō·ga* much. *l'edâ·re* by reason of, 23.]

34. *mar·at dil·u abyed·yâ-te â·chitik ō·tolâ nai·kan âpâ·toda.* The rest of us who have been ill, are now in as good condition as before. [*mar·at* our, Cl. 2. *dil·u* remainder, see 7. *abyed·* (human, No. 4)-sick. *yâ·te* who. *â·chitik* now. *ō·tolâ* first, see Cl. 6. *nai·kan* like. *âpâ·ta-da* (animate. No. 3) -fat-(thing generally). The natives grow rapidly thin when ill, hence to grow fat is to regain health.]

35. *ō·gar l'uitâr·ire med·a .kât·chu l-n yō·bolire.* Last month we visited Katchall Island. [*ō·gar* moon, *ō·gar-dē·reka-yabā·*-moon-baby-small, or new moon, *ab-dē·reka-*human baby, *ō·gar-dē·reka-*the moon two or three days old, *ō·gar-châ·nag-* moon-big, first quarter, *ō·gar-châu-* moon-body, full moon, (so *bō do-châu-* sun-body, is noon, and *gŭ·rug-châu-* night-body, is midnight), *ō·gar-kī·nab-* moon-thin last quarter, *la-wai·aga-nga-* waxing, *lâr-ō·dowâ·-nga* waning. *l'â-* human, No. 3, with euphonic *l*, because apparently they regard the moon as a male, *.mai·a.ō·gar-*, Mr. Moon, and seem to look upon it as more like a man than any other inanimate object. The *sun* is regarded as female, and is hence called *.chân·a-.bō·do-*, Mrs. Sun. So also in German and Anglo-Saxon, the moon is masculine and the sun feminine. *itâr·i·re* extinguished-was, like any other light. *med·a* we. *.kât·chu* Katchall Island, one of the Nicobar group. *len* to or at *yō·boli-re* disembark-did, see 24.]

36. *kâ·to â·rla ikpô·r len pôl·inga bē·dig reg l'ârdŭ·ru leb igal·re mŭ·rgi bē·dig.* During the few days we stayed there, we bartered for a lot of pigs and fowls. [*kâ·to* there, see 26. *â·rla* day, pl. indicated only by the following word. *ikpô·r* really two, but often used for a few, especially with *â·rla*, see Cl. 5. *len* to or for, postp. *pôl·i-nga* dwelling, see 11. *bē·dig* consequent on, see 11. *reg* pigs, male or female, see 15 and 16. *l'ârdŭ·ru* several. *leb* for, postp. *igal·-re* barter-did, see 15, the subject is *med·a* we, in preceding sentence. *mŭ·rgi* fowls, an adopted Hindustani word. *bē·dig* also, when placed last, see *ôl-bē·dig* in 20.]

37. *kâ·to igbŭ·dwa-lōngkâ·lak bē·ringa-l'iglâ· ârdŭ·ru ûnrâ·nda.* The people of that part are the best of all, they are all liberal. [*kâ·to* there. *ig-* Nos. 9, 10, 17. *bŭ·dwa* dweller in a hut or village, fellow-countryman, see 7. *lōng-kâ·lak* sign of plural, used because there is nothing else in the sentence to indicate plurality. *bē·ringa* good. *l'iglâ·* (*l'* euphonic) used alone means 'distinct,' but when joined to a word of quality it shews the highest degree, superlative, most good, best, *mai·a iglâ·-* head chief. *ârdŭ·ru* all. *ûn-râ·n-da* (Nos. 7, 8, 12, 13, 16) liberal.]

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38. *.mar .wō·i, .ī·ra-.jō·do bē·dig kâ·to reg pâ·ta igbâ·dignga bē·dig mū·gum len pōi·chatnga l'edâ·re reg-gū·mul lē·re.* While there, Masters *.wō·i* and *.ī·ra- .jō·do*, seeing the fat pigs for which their stomachs craved, broke their pig-fast. [*bē·dig* also, see 36. *reg pâ·ta* pig fat, that is, fat pig, not pig's fat, see 34. *ig-bâ·dig-nga* seeing- (verbal subst.), see 11. *bē·dig* consequent on. *mū·gum* inside or belly, *târmū·gum* beneath. *len* to, postp. *pōi·chat-nga* fond of (any kind of food) (verbal subst.). *l'edâ·re* because of (see 23), *i.e.* feeling fond of food to their inside. *reg-gū·mul* pig-ceremony. We have no corresponding word to *gū·mul*, it belongs to the peculiar institutions of the Andamanese. Mr. Man says: "Although *.wō·i* had been recently induced to marry, he was only a youth of about 16, and had not yet gone through the ceremony of 'young man making' known as *gū·mul lē·ke* (*gū·mul* devour-does), when the young neophyte who has for some time past evinced his powers of self-denial, and thereby, in a measure, his fitness to enter upon the cares and trials of married life, is enabled after a course of three ceremonies (known as *yâ·dī-gū·mul-* turtle ceremony, *â·ja-gū·mul-* honey ceremony, and *reg-jī·ri-* or simply, as here, *reg-gū·mul-* pig's kidney-fat or simply pig ceremony), which take place at intervals with a degree of external ceremony, to resume the use of these favourite articles of food. *lē·re* devour-did. These ceremonies apply to the young of both sexes before reaching puberty. After this period the individual is said to be *tō·tiga-*, which implies that he or she may indulge in any kind of food at pleasure. During the period (lasting sometimes 2 or 3 years) of their abstention they are called *â·kà-yâ·b-*, or *â·kà-yâ·ba-* and the fasting period is termed *â·kà-yâ·ba-*".]

39. *târō·lolen atyed·re yā·bada.* They have suffered no ill consequences thereby. [*târō·lo-len* last-to, that is, afterwards, see 18. *at-yed·-re*, *at* is the plural form of the human prefix *ab* (see 11). *yed* be sick. *re* past time, that is, men were sick. *yā·ba-da* not. They fancy that to break the *gū·mul* (see 38) will entail serious consequences, the fact being that they then generally gorge themselves with these rich articles of diet, and hence make themselves ill.]

40. *med·a â·chitik ē·kan leb rō·go ikpō·r mō·to-pai·chalen chī·lyuke.* We are rearing a few pigs for ourselves. [*med·a* we. *à·chitik* now. *ē·kan* selves. *leb* for. *rō·go* pig. *ikpō·r* two, that is, a few; as two is the largest number for which they have a name, they use it indefinitely, see 36. *mō·to* our own, *pai·cha* lap, *len* to, that is, 'in our midst.' *dō·to* s. *mō·to* pl. *ngō·to* and *ō·to* s. and pl. are the reflective forms of *dōt* s. *mō·tot* pl., *ngōt* and *ōt*, etc., as *ōl dōt jē·rke* he my-head shave-does, but *dōl dō·to jē·rke* I my-own-head shave-do. *chī·lyu-ke* fattening-are, see 17.]

41. *tâ·rdī·lēa mar'dū·ru ōtpāg·i kāt·chu len yau·gare.* The day before yesterday we all went again to Katchall. [*târ* probably 'beyond,' *dī·lēa* yesterday. *mar'dū·ru* we all, see 32. *ōt-pāg·i* again, *ig-pāg·i* is also used, see *ōt*, *ig*, in Nos. 14, 15, and 9, 10, *pāg·i* repeat. *.kāt·chu* Katchall. *len* to, postp. *yau·ga-re* go-did, used for going to a particular place, otherwise *lir* is used.]

42. *kâ·to ō·gun â·rla ū·batū·l bar·mire*, (but) spent only one day there. [*kâ·to* there. *ō·gun* only. *â·rla* day. *ū·ba-tū·l* one, see Cl. 5, and also 10 and 43. *bar·mi-re* spend-did, passing the night there, as on a visit.]

43. *mē·kan lebrō·go ū·badō·ga mū·rgi jī·baba bē·dig ō·more.* We fetched a pig and very many fowls for our own consumption. [*mē·kan* ourselves, see *ē·kan* in 40. *leb* for, postp. *rō·go* pig. *ū-ba-dō·ga* one, or rather only one, an emphatic form of *ū·ba-tū·l*, see 10. *mū·rgi* fowl, see 36. *jī·baba* very many. *bē·dig* also. *ō·mo-re* fetch-did, see 16, *tō·yu-re* bring-did.]

44. *jū·rulen yâ·dī chō·ag ârdū·ru bē·dig igbâ·digre dō·na dū·tre yā·bada.* On the way we saw several turtles and porpoises, but speared none. [*jū·ru* sea. *len* to or in, postp. *yâ·dī* turtle. *chō·ag* porpoise, both rendered plural by the following word. *ârdū·ru* several. *bē·dig* also. *ig-bâ·dig-re* see-did. *dō·na* but. *dū·tre* spear-did. *yā·bada* not. The usual way to catch turtles is to harpoon them with a spear called *kowai·a lō·ko dū·t-nga-*, consisting of the *tōg-*, or a long bamboo haft, at one end of which a socket is provided for the *kowai·a-*, which is a short pointed and notched iron harpoon; these are connected by a long line,

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[Errata: for *â·kà-yâ·ba-* read *â·kà-yâ·p-*. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 286, cat. 116, 'Analyst']

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bĕ·tma-. The thick end of the *tôg-* is called *ár-bô·rod-*, and the socket end *á·ká-chàng·-*.]

45. *med·a dī·lĕa ĕ·remlen mai·i l'á·kàtàng id·lia-gō·iya ighá·digre: kianchá· á·chitik ká·rin tō·ng pá·tke.* Yesterday for the first time we saw a *mai·i* tree in the jungle: we can therefore make torches here. [*med·a* we. *dī·lĕa* yesterday. *ĕ·rem* jungle. *len* in, postp. *mai·i* name of a kind of *Stereulia* tree. *l'á·ká-tàng*, *l'* euphonie, *á·ká* No. 11, *tàng* topmost part, this is any kind of tree, a fruit tree is *á·ká-tá·la-*, which may be from the same root. *id·lia-gō·iya*, possibly a contraction of *ed·a-lī·a-gō·iya* ever-of-fresh, quite the first. *ighá·dig-re* seed-did. *kianchá·* therefore. *á·chitik* now. *ká·rin* here. *tō·ng* torch, consisting of the resin of the *mai·i* tree wrapped in leaves and principally used when fishing and turtling at night, full name *tō·ng- pá· t-nga-*. *pá·* make, only said of this torch *ke* future time. The word for 'making' varies with different things made, thus, *uál·igma-chág* make an oar, *butāu·i* make a house or hut, *kôp* make a canoe, bow, etc., *tĕ·pi* make anything with cane, bamboo, etc., as in thatching, weaving, said also of a bee constructing its comb, *tāu·i* make a pail, *lāt* make a cooking-pot, *mār* make waistbelts, wristlets, or garters with pandanus leaves and string, *tá·i* make arrow heads by hammering out pieces of iron, see 46, *uai·a* make string by twisting the strands with the fingers.]

46. *.mamjō·la á·vtám á·rlalen chit·i ká·tke, tō·batek med·a ĕ·la dō·gaya tá·ike.* The former *.mamjō·la* is always writing, meanwhile we are making lots of pig-arrows. [*.mam-jō·la* homes-chief, a word coined since the Andaman 'Homes' were established, and used in addressing the officer placed in charge of them. The first syllable appears to be a form of *mám* (see 1), and the whole word is an abbreviation for *mámmai·oia* worshipful chief, of which some persons suppose it was first an English corruption, afterwards adopted by the natives. In this letter Mr. Man himself is referred to, as he ceased to be in charge of the 'Homes' when he was transferred to the Nicobars. *á·vtám* old, applied to animate or inanimate objects, but here it only means 'former,' for Mr. Man was not aged. *á·la-len* day-to, always. *chit·i* letter, a Hindustani word. *yi·ti-ke* tattoo-does. They have applied the word 'tattoo' to writing, as it were, scratching, scribbling. *tō·ba-tek* meanwhile, compare *entō·ba* already, before, *tō·laba* wait a little, *dentō·bara* elder brother. *med·a* we. *ĕ·la* pig-arrows, pl. indicated by next word. *dō gaya* many. *tá·i.ke* make-do.]

47. *mō·tot pai·chalen á·chitik del·ta ō·to-chô·nga jī·baba.* We have now got very many bundles of arrows in our possession. [*mō·tot* our. *pai·cha-len* lap-to, in our possession, see 2?. *á·chitik* now. *del·ta* arrows, generic name for all arrows except the *chám-*, which is more of an ornament or toy. The several kinds are: *rá·tá-* with blunt wooden point for play, or before conversion into a *tī·rlĕd-*sharp wooden-pointed, for shooting fish; *tō·lhĕd-* with iron point, with or without barb, for shooting fish and small animals, etc.; *ĕ·la-* with movable iron blade-head, for shooting pigs and other animals, etc.; *ĕ·la lá·ka lā·pa-* with fixed iron blade-head, for the same purposes. *ô·to-chô·nga* bundle of arrows or bows (see *ô·to* in Cl. 7, it is often used as a prefix to verbs), *chô* bind, as a parcel with string. *jī·baba* very many.]

48. *.malai· lī·a chá·rigma ōt-lō·binga len jā·bagda; ōt-mū·gu kī·nab l'edá·re ōl tôg len tāk·lake.* The Nicobar outrigger canoe is ill-suited for turtling; the narrowness of the bows prevents one from making full use of the spear. [*.malai·* Malay, meaning Nicobarese, who are probably remotely Malays, and are quite different from the Andamanese. *lī·a* of. *chá·rigma* outrigger canoe, the generic name for all canoes is *rō·ko-*, those in the neighbourhood of Port Blair are generally without outrigger, and much larger than the *chá·rigma-*. *ōt-lō·bi-nga* (No. 14) hunt for turtles along the shore by poling-(verbal subst.). *len* for, postp. *jā·bagda* bad. *ōt-mū·gu* (No. 14) bow of boat, *ig-mū·gu-* face. *kī·nab* thin, that is, narrow. *l'edá·re* because of, that is, because of the bow being narrow. *ōl* it. *tôg* turtle-spear, see 44. *len* for. *tāk·la-ke* inconvenience-does.]

49. *kianchá· lō·binga bĕ·dig met en-tō·lat-ke.* The consequence is that in poling the canoe we (frequently) fall. [*kianchá·* therefore. *lō·bi-nga* hunting the turtle by polling-(verbal subst.). *bĕ·dig* while. *met* us. *en-tō·-*

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lat-ke cause-fall-does; *tō·lat* is to drop, and is here made causative by prefixing *en*, = makes us fall, see *en-ōi-je·rke* in 21.]

50. *mō·da ngōl bi·rma-chē·lewa len min ārdū·ru ngā·na yā·te itītā·nke yā·ba, mōl·ōichik kākjā·bagike.* If you don't send us by the (incoming) steamer all the things we asked for, we shall be very disappointed. [*mō·da* if. *ngōl* you. *bi·rma-chē·lewa* steamer, see 3. *len* in, postp. *min* things, see 23. *ārdū·ru* all. *ngā·na* v. beg, ask for, *yā·te* which we asked for, but there is no indication of person or time. *itītā·nke* send, see 24. *yā·ba* not. *mōl·ōichik* we. *kāk-jā·bagi-ke* heart-bad-are see 23, euphonically inserted *i* before *-ke*.]

51. *kā·rin·ñgā tārtī·t yā·ba.* There is no more news to tell you. [*kā·rin* here. *ñgā* more. *tārtī·t* news. *yā·ba* not.] 539

52. *mā·a ngōll' ārdū·ru tek tārtī·t bē·ringa igā·rike.* We are longing to have good accounts of you all. [*mā·a* we. *ngōl-la* you. *ārdū·ru* all. *tek* from, postp. *tārtī·t* news. *i-gā·ri-ke* long-for-do, *i* prefix, an abbreviation of *ig*, Nos. 9 and 10.]

53. *ñgā·kā yūm kā lapā·re.* But little rain has fallen up to the present time. [*ñgā·kā* as yet, see 5. *yūm* rain. *kā* little. *la-pā·re* (euphonic *la*, frequently prefixed to verbs), fall-did.]

54. *kam wai mōl·ōichik.* Good bye. [See 29.]

The above examples shew the mode of thought of the natives, and what most occupies their attention. They are some of the very few expressions of genuine untutored barbarians which we possess. The analytical translation which I have been enabled to give, by the help of Mr. Man (who has very carefully revised the whole), shews not only the meaning of the parts of the words and the method of construction, but the great depth to which Mr. Man has been able to penetrate, entirely from oral instruction, into the genius and vocabulary of the language.

The agglutinative nature of the language tends directly to the detection of basic forms, and Mr. Temple has very acutely pursued this into the theory of roots. He conceives that the roots are all properly monosyllabic, and generally end with a consonant, but that these monosyllables are frequently extended by the addition of a vowel or diphthong, or the same preceded by a consonant, in which the real meaning lies in the first syllable, though it has now been lost, while the expansions serve as modifications. Occasionally the roots are of three syllables. This chapter in Mr. Temple's grammar is one of the longest and most carefully studied, but his materials were too scanty, and, as the vocabulary increased, Mr. Man found it necessary to suggest such multifarious points for reconsideration, that it would be obviously premature to give the lists which Mr. Temple has furnished. It is to be hoped that the fuller vocabulary 193 000

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APPENDIX C.

THE FIRE LEGEND IN THE BOJIGNGIJI GROUP.

(The Bea Version is already given in the Text.)

BALAWA VERSION.

Dim-Dêra—la rita (a Man) *lang-ago* — *hate* — was | *ang ik* he taking *ahat-pêra* all—sun *pugura* born —*i P.* — *a* — *ra* — *t* di — *d* | *Bolub* (a Man) *ka* and *Turkêr* (a Man) *ka* and *Bilichan* (a Man) *ongat ate* they *jorugura* in-the-sea-was — *t* — *in* — *did* | *ongat* they *at* fish *pêkat* became — *nga* — *ing* | *ongat aara* they *hickal-ana* carry-taking *ta* by *Rokwa-l'ar-tanga-barej* (a Place) *a* -village— in *ale* fire-make- — *nga P'* — *a* — *ra* — *ing* di — *d* *dal*

Portman's Rendering.—Dim-Dêra, a very long time ago, at Kari-l'ang-tawar, was bringing fire from God's platform. He taking the fire, burnt everybody with it. Bolub and Turkêr and Bilichan fell into the sea and became fish. They took the fire to Rokwa-l'ar-tanga village and made fire there.

BOJIGYAB VERSION.

Tôl-l'oko-tin (a Place) — *ra Bilik* — in God *l'ang* — *gat* sleep — *did* — *ga* | *Lurutut* (a Bird) | *l'ang at* he fire *ab* bring — *nga* — *ing* | *Lurutut* (a Bird) *l'ang* — *di* sein — *ed* — *ga* | *hata ang Bilik l'ab* — *bikî* them he God burn — *t* — *ga* | *hata Bilik l'ang* — *kengi* them God awaken — *ga* — *ed* | *Bilik* God | *l'ang at li* he fire sein — *ed* — *ga* | *ang a* he then *Lurutut* (a Bird) *l'ato* (with) — *tai-ola* fire-hitt — *nga* — *ing* | *hata kol* them again *ang* he *a* then *Turukal* (a man) *l'ato* (with) — *tai-ola* fire-hitt — *ga* | *Chalter* (a Bird) *l'ang* — *di* sein — *ed* — *ga* | *ang Low-Chaw* he ancestors — *lera da* — to giv — *nga* — *ing* | *Wôta-Emi* Wôta-Emi — *ra ata* in then ancestors *Low-Chaw* | *a'ang a* they fire-mak-ing. — *hadak* — *nga*.

Portman's Rendering.—God was sleeping in Tôl-l'oko-tina. Lurutut went to bring fire. Lurutut caught hold of the fire, then he burnt God. Then God woke up. God seized the fire. He hit Lurutut with the fire. Then again he hit Turukal with the fire. Chalter caught hold of it. He gave it to the ancestors. Then the ancestors made fire at Wôta-Emi.

JUWAI VERSION.

Kuro-l'or-aik (a Place) — *a Wim Mirit* — in Mr. Pigeon — *la* | *Bilik l'ikî* God — *ôme* sleep — *t* — *t* | *pauker* wood *at* fire — *la* with *tap* stealing — *chike* — was *at* fire the-late *laicke* (a Man) *Lock* — to *lin* — he *a* | *hotak a* them he *ôke* fire-make — did *hodok* — *chine at* — *la* fire — with *Karat-tatak-emi* (a Place) — in — at

Portman's Rendering.—Mr. Pigeon stole a firebrand at Kuro-l'or-aika, while God was sleeping. He gave the brand to the late Lock, who then made fire at Karat-tatak-emi.

KOL VERSION.

Tôl-l'oko-tin (a Place) — *ra Bilik* in God — *la pat* sleep — *ke* — was | *Lurutut* (a Bird) — *la Oko-Emi* (a Place) — *t* — in *at hek* fire too — *ra* — *k* | *Kîlotat* (a Man) — was *lin* by *l'* (he) — *a* — was — *chol* — *t* *ra Min-tong-ta* (a Place) — *hete* — to | *Min-tong-ta* (a Place) — *hete -tak* — to -by *l'* (it) — *ir* — out-was — *t* — *kîl* — *ra* | *Kîlotat* (a Man) *l'ir* charcoal — *pin* *Pir* break — *dîk* — did — *ra* | *l'irin* fire-make-did — *kîdak* — *ra* — did | *a'a* they *a'atam* alive — *tapar* — became — *ra* | *at* fire — *ke* by *a'ate* (they) — *tapar* alive — *ra* — became | *Min-tong-tik-pêroick* (a Place) village — *in Jongil* in ancestors | *a'a* they *l'oko* fire-make — *kîdak* — *ed* — did |

Portman's Rendering.—God was sleeping at Tôl-l'oko-tina. Lurutut took away fire to Oko-Emi. Kîlotat went to Min-tong-ta (taking fire with him from Oko-Emi). At Min-tong-ta the fire went out. Kîlotat broke up the charred firewood and made fire again (by blowing up the embers). They (the people there) became alive. Owing to the fire they became alive. The ancestors thus got fire in Min-tong-tik village.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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anger. Yet I found that the slightest show of authority would immediately bring such a scene to an end. A man of influence in his village was probably generally equal to the task of keeping order and preventing any serious damage from taking place. It was probably rare for a man so far to give way to his anger as to kill his opponent.

Such murders did, however, occasionally take place[1]. The murderer would, as a rule, leave the camp and hide himself in the jungle, where he might be joined by such of his friends as were ready to take his part. It was left to the relatives and friends of the dead man to exact vengeance if they wished and if they could. If the murderer was a man who was much feared it is probable that he would escape. In any case the anger of the Andamanese is short-lived, and if for a few months he could keep out of the way of those who might seek revenge, it is probable that at the end of that time he would find their anger cooled.

A man who is liable to outbursts of violent anger is feared by his fellows, and unless he has other counterbalancing qualities, he is never likely to become popular. He is treated with outward respect, for every one is afraid of offending him, but he never acquires the esteem of others. There is a special nickname, *Tarenjek*, in the North Andaman, to denote such a man[2].

Quarrels were more likely to occur at the meetings of different local groups that took place in the fine weather, and such quarrels might occasionally end in the murder of some one. In such a case the quarrel would be taken up by the group

[1] The natives of the North Andaman were able to tell me of a few cases of murder which had occurred within the memory of those still living.

Mr Portman in his *History of Our Relations with the Andamanese* records a certain number of murders which occurred while he was in charge of the Andamanese. One man, who had been imprisoned at Port Blair for murder, committed another soon after his release and was hanged. Since that date there has been no case of murder among the Great Andaman tribes. This is perhaps in part due to the punishment with which they are now threatened by the Government, but another cause is probably the breakdown of the old social organisation which has in this respect rather improved their morals than the opposite.

[2] The nickname is applied, however, not only to those who deserve it by their character, but also to others; for instance, one man was called *Tarenjek* because his maternal uncle was a man of violent temper.

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585 ceremony may be seen by the on-lookers. The bridegroom is seated with his friends at the other end of the dancing ground. One of the older and more respected men addresses the bride, telling her that she must make a good wife, must provide for her husband such things as it is the duty of a wife to obtain or make, must see that he does not run after other women, and must herself remain faithful to him. He then addresses the bridegroom to the same effect, and taking him by the hand or arm, leads him to where the bride is seated and makes him sit down beside her. The relatives and friends weep loudly, and the young couple look very self-conscious and uncomfortable. The shyness of the young man is such that he often attempts to run away, but he is caught by his friends, who are prepared for such an attempt. After some minutes the officiating elder takes the arms of the bride and bridegroom and places them around each other's necks. After a further interval he again approaches and makes the bridegroom sit on the bride's lap[1]. They sit so for some minutes and the ceremony is over. The other members of the community generally have a dance on such an occasion, but in this the newly wedded pair do not join. A hut has already been prepared for them, and all their friends [431] make them presents of useful objects with which to start housekeeping. They retire shyly to their new hut, while their friends continue dancing. The day after the ceremony the bride and bridegroom are decorated by their friends with white clay. For a few days the newly married couple are very shy of each other, hardly venturing to speak to or look at one another: but they soon settle down to their new position in the life of the community. During the early days of their marriage they are abundantly supplied with food by their friends. They are not addressed or spoken of by name, but if their names be A and B, the husband is [551] called "the husband of B" while the wife is called "the wife of A."

In the South Andaman the ceremony is much the same as in the North, the only difference being that the bridegroom is led to where the bride is sitting and is made to sit on her lap straightway, remaining there for a few minutes.

[1] When a husband and wife greet one another the man sits on the lap of the wife.

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It is not pretended that this division of social customs into three different kinds is of any great or permanent value, and it is only introduced as an aid to the exposition of the customs of the Andamanese. It will be argued in a later chapter that many of the customs described in the present chapter have a common psychological basis. 000

Of any customs in connection with the birth of children I was able to learn very little, as no births at which I could be present occurred during my stay at the islands. Earlier writers have given very little information on this subject. 844 843 262

During the latter part of the period of pregnancy, and for about a month after the birth of the child, the mother and father must observe certain restrictions. In particular there are certain foods that they may not eat. The statements of different informants on this matter did not quite agree with each other, and it seems that there were slightly different rules in different tribes. According to an *Akar-Bale* informant the man and woman may not eat dugong, honey and yams; they may eat the flesh of small but not of full-grown pigs and turtle. An informant of one of the Northern tribes said that the woman may not eat full-grown pig, *Paradoxurus*, turtle, dugong, the fish *komar*, monitor lizard, honey and yams; her husband may eat these things but must carefully avoid eating certain fishes.

The natives give two different reasons for these rules. One is that if these foods be eaten by the parents the child will be ill. The other is that the parents themselves will be ill. The latter is the explanation most commonly offered.

The baby is named some time before it is born, and from that time the parents are not addressed or spoken of by name. For example, if the name chosen be *Rea*, the father will be spoken of as *Rea aka-mai* (Rea's father) instead of by his own name. The mother may be referred to as *Rea it-pet*, from the word *it-pet* meaning "belly." This practice is continued till some weeks after the birth, when the use of the names of the parents is once more resumed. 551 553

In child-birth the woman is assisted by the matrons of the camp. She is seated in her hut in the village on fresh leaves, and a piece of wood is placed at her back for her to lean against. 844

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fastened beneath her belt before and behind. Other leaves of the same kind are placed for her to sit upon. The strips of *Pandanus* leaf and the bundle of leaves are visible in the photograph reproduced in Plate XVI. 881 292

Thus covered with leaves the girl must sit in the hut allotted to her, with her legs doubled up beneath her and her arms folded. A piece of wood or bamboo is placed at her back for her to lean against, as she may not lie down. If she is cramped she may stretch one of her legs or one of her arms, but not both arms or both legs at the same time. To feed herself she may release one of her hands, but she must not take up the food with her fingers; a skewer of *čainyo* wood[1] is given her with which to feed herself. She may not speak nor sleep for 24 hours. Her wants are attended to by her parents and their friends, who sit near her to keep her from falling asleep. 881 784

The girl sits thus for three days. Early every morning she leaves the hut to bathe for an hour in the sea. At the end of the three days she resumes her life in the village. For a month following she must bathe in the sea every morning at dawn. [783]

During the ceremony and for a short time afterwards the girl is not addressed or spoken of by name, but is referred to as *Alebe* or *Toto*. The meaning of the first word is not known. *Toto* is the name of the species of *Pandanus* from which women's belts are made and the leaves of which are used in the ceremony. On the occasion of this ceremony the girl is given a new name, her "flower-name," and from this time till after the birth of her first child she is never addressed or spoken of by the name which she had as a child, but only by the name given to her at this ceremony. The name given is that of a plant or tree which is in flower at the time. If the ceremony takes place when the *jili* is in flower she is called *ǰili*; if when the *jeru* is in flower she is named *ǰeru*, and so on. These names will be mentioned again later in the present chapter. 881 784 551

[1] This is the plant (not identified) of which the leaves were till recent times, worn by the women of the North Andaman to cover the puderda. In the South Andaman the leaves of the *Mimusops littoralis* are in use for this purpose, and the Northern tribes have recently given up their own custom and adopted that of the South.

[On first menstruation – Analyst]

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whole night till he is tired. As soon as morning breaks he is made to bathe in the sea for two hours or so. He is then seated in some convenient place, not in a hut. The boy kneels down and bends forward till his elbows rest on the ground in front. One of the older men takes a pig-arrow and with the sharpened blade makes a series of cuts on the boy's back. Each cut is horizontal, and they are arranged in three vertical rows, each row consisting of from 20 to 30 cuts. When the cutting is finished the boy sits up, with a fire at his back, until the bleeding stops. During the operation and for a few hours following it the boy must remain silent. There is no treatment of the wounds to produce raised scars. The scars are much more noticeable on some men than on others. 881 304

The boy does not receive a new name on this occasion, but for a few weeks his own name is dropped and he is addressed and spoken of as *Ejido*. From this time the boy is described as being *oko-taliŋ-kolot*, this being the masculine term corresponding to *aka-ndu-kolot* for girls. From the time the cuts are made on his back the boy becomes *aka-op* and is under certain restrictions as to what foods he may eat. [551]

When the wounds on his back are thoroughly healed similar cuts are made on his chest. I found a certain number of men who had no visible scars on their chests, but in the North Andaman every man has the three rows of scars on his back. Some of the women of the North Andaman have similar scars on their chests and a very few have them also on the back. These scars on women are not regularly made as part of the initiation ceremonies, and may be made after the woman has been married for some years.

During the period that a boy or girl is *aka-op* he or she is required by the customs of the tribe to abstain from eating certain foods. The exact rules in this matter differ from tribe to tribe. More particularly there are important differences between the coast-dwellers on the one hand and the jungle-dwellers on the other. The general principle, however, is in all cases the same. The boy (or girl) must abstain from all the chief foods of the people, and since he could not abstain from them all at one time without starving, he takes them in 881 262

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The youth then returns to his hut and resumes his former position. He may now, if he wishes, talk to his friends and he may sleep. He must retain the bundles of *Hibiscus* leaves and the necklace and belt of *Pothos* leaves. The dance is sometimes repeated in the afternoon. It is in any case repeated on each of the two days following, and after that the youth resumes his ordinary life. For a week or two he may not touch a bow and arrow. The *Pothos* leaves are worn till they are faded and are then discarded. The paint on the body wears off and is not renewed, but his ears are kept painted with red paint. For some weeks the youth is supposed to be in an abnormal condition and is carefully watched by his friends. 881

At the turtle-eating ceremony a new name is given to the youth. This name, however, never seems to be used afterwards either in speaking of or to the person to whom it belongs. A youth of the *Aka-J̌eru* tribe whose birth name was *Čop* (from a species of tree) and whose nick-name or second name was *Komar* (from a species of fish) had two new names given to him on the occasion of the turtle-eating ceremony, *Čokbi-čiro* (meaning turtle-liver) and *Pilečar* (high-tide). Neither of these names was ever used in addressing him. 881 553

The turtle-eating ceremony is called in the Northern tribes either *Čokbi-ǰo*, *Čokbi-kimil*, or *Kimil-ǰo*. The word *čokbi* means "turtle," and *ǰo* means "eating." The word *kimil* is more difficult to translate. With the prefix *ot-* or *er-* it means "hot" as in *Tot-kimil-bom*, "I am hot." From the time of the commencement of the ceremony the youth or girl is said to be in a condition denoted by the word *aka-kimil*. During this time, i.e. during the ceremony and for some months afterwards, he or she is not addressed or spoken of by name but is referred to as "*Kimil*," the word being thus used as a term of address or a substitute for the personal name. A person who is in this condition is described as *aka-kimil-kolọt*. (Before the ceremony the youth is *oko-taliŋ-kolọt* and the girl is *aka-ndu-kolọt*.) In the *Aka-Bea* tribe the turtle-eating ceremony is called *Yadi-gumul* or *Gumul-leke*, *yadi* being the word for "turtle" in that language, and *leke* being the equivalent of the *ǰo* of *Aka-J̌eru*, that is "eating." A youth or girl who is passing or has recently 881 [551]

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The essentials of mourning are (1) the use of clay (*odu*), and (2) abstention from certain foods, from dancing, and from the use of white clay (*tol*) and red paint. As stated above, every adult in the camp covers himself or herself with clay on the death of an adult member of the community, but when this wears off, or is washed off in the course of two or three days, it is not renewed. The near relatives retain this covering of clay for many weeks, constantly renewing it. The clay is smeared evenly over the body, and is not put on in patterns, as on other occasions. The relatives, but not the others, plaster some of the same clay on their heads. A widow mourning for her husband covers her whole head with a thick layer of clay, renewing it from time to time. For a lesser degree of mourning, the custom is to plaster clay on the forehead only. After some weeks or months of mourning, the near relatives discontinue the use of clay on their bodies, but retain a band of clay over the forehead as shown in Plates IX, X, and XVII. 765 302

The name of the clay thus used is *odu* in the Northern languages, and a mourner is called *aka-odu*. In the *Aka-Bea* language the name of the clay is *og* and the term for a mourner is *aka-og*.

During the period of mourning the name of the dead person is carefully avoided and no one uses it. If it is necessary to refer to the dead this is done by using some such phrase as "he who is buried by the big rock" or "he who is laid in the fig tree" or by mentioning the name of the place of burial. There is no prohibition against mentioning the name itself in other connections. Thus if a man were called *Buio*, from the name of a species of *Mucuna*, it is not necessary to avoid the word *buio* when speaking of the plant. Further if there is another person alive of the same name as the dead man it is not necessary to avoid the name in referring to the living individual. The custom is that a dead person must not be spoken of unless it is absolutely necessary, and then must not be spoken of by name. After the period of mourning is over the dead person may again be spoken of by name. 765 551

During the period of mourning a near relative of the deceased is never addressed or spoken of by name. There are certain 765

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as an essential part of the ceremony. The female relatives of a youth or girl who is being initiated come and weep over him or her at the turtle-eating ceremony. Their friends weep over, or with, the mourners at the dance at the end of mourning. The friends of a bride and bridegroom weep over them when they are married. The friends and relatives weep over a corpse before it is buried and over the bones when they are recovered. In all cases it is real weeping. The man or woman sits down and wails or howls, and the tears stream down his or her face. On one occasion I asked the natives to show how it was done and two or three of them sat down and were immediately weeping real tears at my request. The weeping in this way is really a ceremony or rite. When two friends or relatives meet who have been separated from one another for a few weeks or longer, they greet each other by sitting down, one on the lap of the other, with their arms around each other's necks, and weeping and wailing for two or three minutes till they are tired. Two brothers greet each other in this way, and so do father and son, mother and son, mother and daughter, and husband and wife. When husband and wife meet, it is the man who sits on the lap of the woman. When two friends part from one another, one of them lifts up the hand of the other towards his mouth and gently blows on it.

Reference has already been made in this chapter to a number of customs relating to personal names. It will be useful to bring together the scattered references, and give a general account of the whole matter.

Every Andaman Islander has a personal name that is given to him or her before birth, and which we may speak of as the birth-name. As soon as a woman realises that she is pregnant, she and her husband begin to think of a name for the child. The name is selected by the parents, but the suggestions of their friends and relatives are always considered. It is regarded as a compliment to name the child after some man or woman. Sometimes a man may request the parents that the child shall be named after him, and such a request is rarely, if ever, refused. The names given before birth are of course applicable to both sexes, there being no difference between

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551 the names of men and those of women. There are a considerable
553 number of names in common use, but some of them are more popular at a given time and place than others. It therefore happens that there are several persons, both men and women, bearing the same name.

551 Each of the names in common use has a meaning, but it is not always easy to obtain an adequate and accurate explanation of the meaning from the natives themselves[1]. In a certain number the derivation is obvious. Many names are the names of objects such as trees, fish or other animals, or even such objects as rope or mats. A few examples from the North Andaman are :—

Buio	*Mucuna sp.*, a plant with edible beans.
Bol	*Hibiscus tiliaceus.*
Čop	a tree with edible nuts.
Konmo	*Dioscorea sp.*
Čokbi	turtle.
Maro	honey.
Meo	a stone.
Čeo	a knife.
Pani	the oriole.

In the case of a number of names it is not possible to discover with certainty the derivation, and the statements of the natives regarding them do not always agree. Such names in the North Andaman, with their meanings as stated by the natives, are :—

Kea	one who turns in his sleep.
Boičo	one who wrestles.
Elpe	one who comes and goes.
Kijeri	one who walks backwards and forwards.
Nimi	one who catches hold.

Some time after a child is born it is given a nick-name. Nick-names may be given at any time of life, and some persons may have several nick-names given to them at different times. New nick-names are from time to time invented, but there are

[1] Mr M. V. Portman gives a list of personal names in use in the South Andaman in his *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes*, p. 70. The derivations of many of the names as there given, are, however, of doubtful accuracy.

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a certain number of recognized names from which a choice is usually made. A few examples from the North Andaman are :— 551

Ra-t'ot-betč	pig's hair.
Renya-čope	much baggage, or many possessions.
Poičo-tomo	the wood (literally flesh) of the *Sterculia* (*poičo*) tree.
Lau-tei	spirit blood.
Luremo	rope.
Remu-toi	a piece of iron.
Čokbi-čiro	turtle liver.
Tarenjek	angry.

During childhood boys and girls are addressed by either the birth-name or the nick-name.

When a girl reaches the age of puberty she receives a new name. This is one of a limited number of names, each of which is the name of a tree or plant. The name given to the girl is that of the tree or plant that is in flower at the time of her first menstruation. 551 553 824

There is a succession of trees and plants flowering one after another throughout the year. The natives describe the different parts of the year by reference to the plants in flower at the time. The plants selected as typical of the different seasons all have flowers from which the native bees make honey. Each of them has a distinctive scent and gives to the honey made from it a distinctive flavour. The flower-names are given below in *Aka-Bea* and *Aka-Jeru*.

Aka-Bea	Aka-Jeru	
Čilipa	*Čelibi*	From the middle of November to the middle of February.
Moda	*Mukui*	From the middle of February to the middle of May, in order.
Ora	*Okor*	
Jidga		
Yere	*Jeru*	
Pataka	*Botek*	
Balya	*Puliu*	
Reče	*Re*	From the middle of May to the end of August.
Čagara	*Čokoro*	
Čarapa	*Čarap*	September, October and the first half of November.
Čenra	*Torok?*	
Yulu	*Jili*	

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551 553 From the time that a girl receives her flower-name her birth-name and nick-name fall entirely out of use. No one would address an unmarried girl by any name except the flower-name. This continues until some time after the girl is married. Properly speaking a woman should be known by her flower-name from the advent of puberty until after the birth of her first child. In these days of childless women the flower-name drops out of use after a few years of married life. After the birth of her first child the woman is known by her birth-name or by a nick-name. Thus a woman who was named before her birth *Kaba* (from *kabal*, a species of mangrove) was called by that name until puberty; thereafter she was called *J̌ili* (her flower-name) until the birth of her first child; after this event she is again called *Kaba*, and no one would think of addressing her as *J̌ili*. A woman named *Ele* (lightning) at birth was known by this name until puberty, and thereafter was called *Bǫtek*. When I knew her she had been married for three years or so, but had not had a child. A few of the younger men and women addressed her as *Ele*, but the older people still called her *Bǫtek*. If she should bear a child, the name *Bǫtek* would fall entirely out of use and she would be known as *Ele* by both her juniors and her seniors.

In the case of a boy there is nothing corresponding to the flower-names of girls. He continues to be known by his birth-name and his nick-name from the time he is born until he dies. During adolescence a youth has to pass through certain ceremonies of initiation as described in the present chapter. At the turtle-eating ceremony the youth is given a new name, of the nature of a nick-name. The name given in this way is never used either in addressing the youth or in speaking of him. It is possible that he also receives a new name on the occasion of the pig-eating ceremony, but of this I am not sure. Though girls pass through the same ceremonies as boys, I did not discover whether or not they also are given new names on these occasions.

551 Names are used freely in speaking of and to one another. An older person always speaks of or to the younger one by the name alone. When a younger person is speaking to an older one it is customary and polite to use one of the terms of address,

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either by itself, or prefixed to the name of the person spoken to, as *Maia Buio*, *Mimi Kaba*, etc. A native generally hesitates to tell his own name, and if asked the question "What is your name?" often asks a bystander to give the required information. There is, however, no hesitation about mentioning the name of any other person, except under certain special conditions. 551

There are certain occasions when the name of a man or woman is temporarily avoided. After the death of a relative and during the period of mourning, a mourner's name is not mentioned, either in speaking to him or of him. There are a few terms that may be used instead. One who has lost a parent is addressed as *Bolok*, one who has lost a brother or sister as *Ropuč*. For a short time before and after the birth of a child the names of the father and mother are not mentioned. A bride and bridegroom are not addressed or spoken of by name for a short period after their marriage, though if their names be A and B there seems to be no harm in referring to A as "the husband of B," or to B as "the wife of A." During the initiation ceremonies through which every boy and girl must pass, the name of the initiate is avoided. Thus on the occasion of the turtle-eating ceremony or the pig-eating ceremony, during the few days the ceremony lasts and for a few weeks afterwards, the youth or girl is never addressed or spoken of by name, but is referred to as *Kimil*. During the ceremony that takes place on the occasion of the advent of puberty, and for some weeks after, a girl is not spoken of or to either by her birth-name or her flower-name, but is called *Toto*. When a boy, in the Northern tribes, has the scars made on his back, which show him to be no longer a child, his name is avoided for a few weeks and he is called *Ejido*. 551 784

The name of a dead man or woman is not mentioned during the period of mourning, which lasts for some months after the death.

In the preceding portions of the chapter reference has been made several times to the ornamentation of the body with clay and pigment. In the Great Andaman three different substances are used for painting the body. These are (1) a common clay of which different specimens are gray, yellow or pink, called *odu*

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X 182 765 which the mourners are welcomed back to the society, just as returning friends are welcomed after an absence. It has nothing whatever to do, I believe, with the dead person for whom they have been mourning, but is merely an expression of solidarity between those still alive. Dancing and the decorations used in the dance, I have argued, are means by which the society expresses its own unity, and makes the individual realise what it means to be one of a group, so that in this dance we see the society once more coming together to continue its common life, and compelling those who have been cut off from it to feel, even against their inclinations, that they have become once more units of the social body. After this ceremony the mourners are relieved from the restrictions to which they were subjected.

X 182 765 773 551 In order to complete this discussion of the burial customs it is necessary to explain why a person's name should be dropped from use after his death, and although this will require a digression of some length, this seems the most convenient point at which to deal with it. There is a very special relation between the name of anything and its fundamental characteristics, which in logic we describe by saying that the latter are included in the connotation of the name. The way in which the Andamanese represent this relation to themselves is shown in one of the legends. At a time when the ancestors did not know either the names or the uses of the different objects to be found in their country, one of them, *Da Teyat* by name, walked through the forest enquiring of the objects he met what were their names. From most of them he received no reply, but the yam and the resin replied to him and gave him their names. The legend shows that as soon as the hero of the tale knew the name of the yam he immediately knew that it was of use as a food and that it required to be cooked in a particular way, although he was till then ignorant of those important properties. Similarly, having discovered the name of the resin he knew that it could be made into a torch and so used to give light.

X 182 551 There is, to the mind of the Andaman Islander, a somewhat similar and very important connection between a person's name and what is here called his social personality, and this is exhibited in the customs whereby the name is avoided on certain

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occasions. A consideration of the different instances will show, I think, that the name is always avoided whenever the owner is for any reason prevented from taking his or her usual place in the life of the society. At such times the social personality is as it were suppressed, and the name which represents it is therefore also suppressed. 182X 551

From the moment of her first menstruation to the date of her marriage, or more strictly to the date of her first parturition, the birth-name of a woman is dropped from use and she is called by her flower-name. A woman only attains her complete social personality as a mother. As a child she has not the power to become a mother. She acquires that power at her first menstruation and therefore from that time until this new virtue is actively exercised she is in a position in which one of her virtues, one of the qualities making up her social personality, is in abeyance. Therefore her name (her birth-name) is not used and she is given a temporary name in its place, a flower-name. She is, as it were, in blossom, and only when her body ripens to its fruit is she a complete woman. 182X 551 881

At certain stages of the initiation ceremonies the name of a youth or of a girl (the flower-name in this instance) is avoided for a certain period. Such occasions are during, and for some time after, any of the more important ceremonies, such as the cutting of the boy's back, the puberty ceremony of the girl, the turtle-eating and pig-eating ceremonies. After a boy's back is cut he is addressed and spoken of for some time as *Ejido*, his own name not being spoken. Similarly during and after the turtle-eating or the pig-eating ceremony he is addressed and spoken of by the name *Kimil*. The explanation of these customs is that at these times the initiate is in an abnormal position by reason of the ceremony that has taken place, and is not permitted to take an ordinary part in social life. After the initiation ceremony, for example, the youth is not permitted to handle a bow for some weeks (the bow being the typical masculine implement).

The names of a newly-married couple are avoided for a few days after their marriage. Marriage produces an important change in the social personality, and this change is expressed in the marriage ceremony, but all such changes take time, and it is some days at 182X 551 585

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X182 551 585 least before the married couple can be expected to have settled down in their new positions. For these days, therefore, their names are not used. The same sort of explanation will hold for the custom of dropping the names of a father and mother before and after the birth of a child, particularly the first born.

X182 551 881 At the turtle-eating ceremony of the North Andaman coast-dwellers the youth is given a new name. It is possible that a girl is also given a new name at this time, and that another name is also given to the youth at the pig-eating ceremony, but on these points I neglected to make sufficient enquiry. The name given at the turtle-eating ceremony is never used and is not likely to be known except to those who were present at the ceremony, and therefore serves no such purpose as the flower-name of the girl. The giving of the name is simply the mark of the change of social personality brought about by the ceremony. The youth receives an addition to his personality and therefore receives an additional name. It is significant that all the names given at this ceremony have reference to the sea and to things of the sea, particularly to turtle, such as *Čokbi-čiro*, turtle-liver, *Čokbi-tci*, turtle-blood, etc.

X182 551 765 During the period of mourning, when, as we have seen, the mourner is withdrawn from the ordinary life of the society, his name is not used, showing that during this period his social personality is in a state of partial suppression. After the mourning period is over the mourner, when he resumes his social personality, resumes at the same time his name.

Now death is the most fundamental modification of the social personality that is possible and therefore the name of a person recently dead is strictly avoided. Death, however, does not destroy the social personality utterly and for ever, but produces in it a profound change, which begins at the death itself and is only completed at the end of and by means of the customs of mourning. After the mourning is over the virtues of the dead man affect the survivors through memory, and his bones form a precious possession of the community, thus constituting for him a new social value, a new personality. During the period of change, while the personality does not exist in the same form as before the death, but does not yet exist in the form in which

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it will when he lives only in the memory of his friends, the name is not used. After the mourning period is over the name may again be used. 182+ 551● 765

In general then, it may be said that at any period in which a person is undergoing a critical change in his condition in so far as it affects the society his name falls out of use, to be resumed when the period of change is over. The reason for this is that during such periods of change the social personality is suppressed or latent and therefore the name which is closely associated with the social personality must be suppressed also.

The customs of burial and mourning are therefore seen to be not simply the result of natural feelings of fear and sorrow but ritual actions performed under a sense of obligation and strictly regulated by tradition. They are means by which the society acts upon its members, compelling them to feel emotions appropriate to the occasion. Since the dead person has, by his death, become a cause of social disruption, all contact with him must be avoided. But the dead man had a certain value to the society, and as a thing of any kind cannot be valued unless its loss is felt as a source of pain, so if the community did not mourn when it lost one of its members that feeling of the social value of individuals on which the existence of the society depends would soon diminish in strength, thereby weakening the social cohesion.

It is now possible for us to understand the Andamanese beliefs about the spirits. The basis of these beliefs, I wish to maintain, is the fact that at the death of an individual his social personality (as defined above) is not annihilated, but is suddenly changed. This continuance after death is a fact of immediate experience to the Andaman Islanders and not in any way a deduction. The person has not ceased to exist. For one thing his body is still there. But above all he is still the object of the social sentiments of the survivors, and thereby he continues to act upon the society. The removal of a member of the group is felt not as something negative but as the positive cause of great social disturbance. 182* 775

The spirits are feared or regarded as dangerous. The basis of this fear is the fact that the spirit (i.e. the social personality of a person recently dead) is obviously a source of weakness and disruption to the community, affecting the survivors through their

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5. In consequence of the shortness of their lives, their ignorance of any method of maintaining accurate records, and last, not least, the unavoidable complications arising from their system of adoption, it naturally follows that they fail in tracing, and therefore in recognising, relationships beyond the third generation. 601

6. In addressing a senior male relative, the term *mai·a* or *mai·ola* is employed; if of equal standing, and a father, the same; but if not a parent, the term *mar* is prefixed to his name; if junior, he would be addressed by his name only. The same system applies to the females, with whom *chān·a*[1] or *chā·nola* takes the place of *mai·a* and *mai·ola*, and the "flower" name, to which I can now make but a brief allusion,[2] the place of *mar;* these terms, *mai·a*, *chān·a*, &c., are equivalent to Mr., Sir, Mrs., Madam, &c.[3] Sir John Lubbock, in his well known work "On the Origin of Civilization,"[4] points out the existence of a similar custom among the *Telugus* and *Tamils*.

7. In a table I have prepared,[5] and which I believe to be fairly complete, there are about sixty terms, exclusive of equivalents, employed to denote the various degrees of relationship recognised by this race. It will there be seen that, as among the Australians near Sydney, mentioned by the Rev. W. Ridley,[6] brothers and sisters speak of one another by titles that indicate relative age; that is, their words for brother and sister involve the distinction of elder or younger, while a like system is adopted in respect to half-brothers, half-sisters, cousins, brothers-in-law, and sisters-in-law.

8. In addressing the relatives of a wife or husband, or a brother's wife, or sister's husband—provided such be senior to the speaker—the term *mâm*[7] is used.

9. A man or woman may not marry into the family of their brothers- or sisters-in-law, but there is no rule against a man marrying a girl bearing the same name as himself, either in another tribe or in his own community, the *only* bar being that of consanguinity or adoption. 582

10. The nearest of kin to a widow or widower are, (1) the grown-up children, (2) the parents, and (3) the brothers and sisters. 602

Proper Names.—1. One of the alleged[8] peculiarities of the 551

[1] Not "*Chomal*," as given by Dr. Day.

[2] *Vide* next section, paragraph 3.

[3] "According to Williams ('Fiji and the Fijians') their (*i.e.*, the Fijian) languages contain expressions which exactly correspond to the French *Monsieur* and *Madame*." (Peschel, p. 346.)

[4] *Vide* 4th edition, p. 164.

[5] *Vide* Appendix I.

[6] *Vide* "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. ii, p. 266.

[7] This term is likewise employed in addressing a chief.

[8] *Vide* Tickell.

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557 Andamanese is that they have no proper names, whereas their system of naming is, on the contrary, somewhat elaborate, and commences even prior to the child's birth.

2. When there is reason to expect an increase to the family,[1] the parents decide what name the child shall bear; as a compliment they not unfrequently select one which is borne by a relative, friend, or chief; and, since all their proper names[2] are common to both sexes,[3] no difficulty arises on this score.

551 881 3. In illustration of this let us suppose the name chosen in advance to be *.dô·ra*; should the infant prove to be a boy he is called *.dô·ra-ô·ta-*, or, if a girl, *.dô·ra-kà·ta-*. These terms (*ô·ta-* and *kà·ta-*[4]) are used only during the first two or three years, after which, until the period of puberty, the lad would be addressed as *.dô·ra-dà·la-*, and the girl as *.dô·ra-pō·ilola* until she arrived at womanhood, when she is said to be *ūn-là·wi-* or *à·kà-là·wi-*, and receives a "flower" name[5] as a prefix to her proper or birth name. By this method they are apparently able to determine when their young women become marriageable. There are eighteen prescribed trees[6] which blossom in succession, and the "flower" name bestowed in each case is taken from the one which is in season when the girl attains maturity; if, for example, this should be about the end of August, when the *chà·la-ga-* (*Pterocarpus dalbergioides*) is in flower, *.dô·ra-pō·ilola* would become *.chà·ga·ra·[7] dô·ra*, and this double name would cling

[1] When near her delivery a woman will sometimes be heard saying (assuming the name chosen for the yet unborn child to be *.wō·loga*): *.wō·loga dab-ō·jolike, Wō·loga* is fidgetting me, or *.wō·loga dab-ngō·towake, Wō·loga* is clawing me, or, *.wō·loga ō·to-gārke, Wō·loga* is ready. [During the period of pregnancy, both the woman and her husband are spoken of as *pij-jà·bag-*, which signifies "bad hair;" the only explanation offered for the adoption of such a term is that it is in allusion to the foetus.

[843]

[2] These number forty. (*Vide* Appendix H.)

[3] A man calls a male namesake { if his senior, *mai·a ting·la*. if his equal or junior } *mar ting·la*.
" " female " *chàn ting·la*.
A man (or woman) calls a child of either sex bearing the same name } *dà ōt-ting-à·te-gà·te-* (my-name-which-who).
A woman calls a male namesake { if her senior, *mai·a* (his name) *ting·la*. if her equal or junior } *mar* (his name) *ting·la*.
" " female " if her senior, *chàn ting·la*.
" " " " if her equal or junior } (her name) *ting·la*.
Signifying respectively the genitals of the male and female.

[4] Dr. Day writes: "Girls arriving at a marriageable age wear certain flowers to distinguish themselves by"; but, as a fact, the flower is neither worn nor gathered.

[5] Names of these will be found in Appendix H.

[7] Euphonic corruption of *ai·ra-*.

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to the girl until she married and was a mother,[1] then the "flower" name would give way to the more dignified term *chān·a* (madam or mother) *.dô·ra;* if childless, a woman has generally to pass a few years of married life before she is called *chān·a*,[2] after which no further change is made in her name. 551 881

4. In consequence of this system, as it rarely happens that in one community two women are found bearing the same "flower" *and* birth names, there is little chance of confusion arising. 551

5. Since no equivalent custom exists with regard to men,[3] nicknames are given which generally indicate some personal peculiarity, as, for instance, *.bī·a-pâg-* (*Bī·a-*, foot, he having large feet), *.bal·a-jō·bo-* (*Bal·a-*, snake, he having lost a hand from a snake-bite), *.pū·nga-dâ·la* (*Pū·nga-*, good-looking), and so on. All these names cling to the bearer for life, especially if they refer to some physical deformity.

6. Seniors often address young married persons in a (to us) strange fashion, *i.e.*, calling the husband by the wife's name and prospective designation; for example, in speaking to a man whose name is *.t·ra*, and who had married a woman called *.tū·ra*, they would say *chān·a .tū·ra;* if the wife were *enceinte* the child's name would be used beforehand to denote its parents; thus, assuming *.wō·loga* to be the name of the yet unborn child, the father would be called by that name, and the expectant mother *.wō·loga-būd-*[4] until after the birth of the infant, when, for several months, the former would still bear the same appellation among his seniors, but would receive from his juniors the more dignified title of *mai·a .wō·loga;* while the latter would be addressed by her seniors as *.wō·loga-ô·ta-* (or *kâ·ta-* in the case of her child being a girl), and by her juniors as *chān·a .wō·loga-ô·ta-* (or *kâ·ta-*).[5]

Initiatory Ceremonies.—1. On or soon after reaching puberty, the fast[6] which has been kept during the few previous years (or in some cases, months) is broken; and instead of the affix *dâ·la*, the prefix *gū·ma*[7] (denoting in this connection a neophyte or 551 881

[1] From the account given under "Marriage," paragraph 4, it will be inferred that in many cases she has not long to wait.

[2] *Vide* section on "Relationships," paragraph 6.

[3] In a few cases nicknames are bestowed on women.

[4] *bād-* signifies house, habitation.

[5] For further information on the subject of proper names and terms applied to men and women, *vide* sections on "Relationships" and "Initiatory Ceremonies," and Appendices I and K.

[6] *Vide* section on "Tabu."

[7] In Dr. Day's paper the following passage occurs:—"The youthful swain eats a peculiar kind of ray-fish termed *goom-dah*, which gives him the title to the appellation of *goo-mo*, signifying, 'a bachelor desirous of marrying.' Girls arriving at a marriageable age . . . . (*vide* footnote 5 on previous page). Before marrying, young men take a species of oath, after which they sit very still for several days, scarcely taking any food." Plausible as this explanation

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novice) is attached to the boy's birth-name; he is also addressed as *mar*[1] *gū·ma* (master novice) if senior to, and alone with the speaker: this term *gū·ma* is retained until the lad is married and is a father, after which *mai·a*[2] (Mr.)—or, if a chief, *mai·ola*—is adopted in its place, and by this title he would be known for the rest of his life. A young chief, however, attains the honorary designation of *mai·a* as soon as the novitiate terminates.[3]

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2. The *â·kà-yâ·p-*, or fasting period (during which turtle, honey, pork, fish, and a few other favourite articles of food[4] are *choses défendues*), commences between the 11th and 13th year, and varies in length from one to five years; it is observed by both sexes, but lasts longer in the case of girls, with whom, indeed, it is not terminable till some time after matrimony. As an *â·kà-yâ·b-* makes up for these restrictions by eating a larger quantity of other food, he (or she) does not ordinarily suffer in physique during the probationary period. It does not rest with the youth or maiden to determine when he, or she, will resume eating the various articles above mentioned, but with the chief, who decides when each individual's powers of endurance and self-denial have been sufficiently tested. Exceptional cases are cited in which the probationer has expressed a desire to prolong the time of abstinence, it being a cause for boasting when the average period has been exceeded.

3. As at present understood, the *â·kà-yâ·p-* is regarded as a test of the endurance, or, more properly speaking, of the self-denial of young persons, and as affording evidence of their fitness and ability to support a family. It is divided into three periods: 1st, the *gâ·dî-* (turtle) *gū·mul-*; 2nd, the *â·ja-* (honey) *gū·mul-*; and 3rd, the *reg-jî·ri-* (kidney-fat of pig) *gū·mul-*.[5]

4. When the youth is permitted, and agrees, to break his turtle fast, a feast is arranged by his friends, consisting entirely of that delicacy. The chief, or headman present, first boils in a pot (*būj-*[6]) a large piece of turtle-fat, which, when sufficiently cool, he

may appear, there is no connection between *gūm-*, a ray-fish, and *gū·ma* (a youth who has undergone his probationary fast); moreover, as mentioned in a foregoing section (*vide* "Proper Names"), marriageable young women do not derive their "flower" names in the manner here described; in point of fact, no such custom as "wearing flowers" is practised by any class.

[1] *Vide* section on "Relationships," paragraph 6.

[2] As with the term *chāma* among women, the title is not bestowed for several years if there be no child.

[3] Both before and after the *â·kà-yâ·p-* the individual *is* said to be *bô·tiga-*.

[4] These comprise the flesh of the iguana and paradoxurus, the larvæ of the Great Capricornis beetle (*ôi gum-*), and a smaller insect called *bū·tu-*.

[5] It will thus be seen that the *gū·mul-* answers very much to the Australian "bora," or ceremony of initiation into the privileges of manhood, spoken of by the Rev. W. Ridley in his Report on Australian Languages and Traditions (*vide* "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. ii, p. 269, 1873).

[6] *Vide* Appendix B, item 18.

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prior existence, but only as an infant. If a woman who has lost a baby is again about to become a mother, the name borne by the deceased is bestowed on the fœtus, in the expectation that it will prove to be the same child born again. Should it be found at birth that the babe is of the same sex as the one who died, the identity is considered to be sufficiently established, but if otherwise the deceased one is said to be under the *ràu-* (*Ficus laccifera*) in *.châ·itâ·n-* (Hades).[1] 775 [557]

18. They have no peculiar ideas in reference to yawning, hiccoughing, spitting, or eructating, and hissing[2] is unknown. 827

19. To sneeze is auspicious, and therefore regarded with favour. When any one sneezes the bystanders ask, "Who is thinking of you?" to which the person replies by naming some absent friend, or, should he be alone when he sneezes, he says, "Here I am at —— " (naming the place).

20. If they have a dream which they regard as bad, as, for instance, that a canoe was dashed on a reef, or that an accident occurred while pig-hunting, or even if, when awake, they hear two canoes bumping against each other while at anchor, they consider it essential to accept such as a warning, and act accordingly, viz., by taking steps to incur no risk of a misadventure: this is generally accomplished by remaining at home for two or three days. 787

21. A small striped snake, called *lâ·raba-*, is supposed to produce the streams of the red oxide of iron, *kòi·ob-chū·luga-*, and olive-coloured clay, *chū·luga-*, so much employed by them; the ground for the belief is the alleged fact that this snake, when disturbed, ejects from its tail a whitish fluid, which is of a deadly nature. They declare that the poison is such that it cannot be removed by washing or other means, and that it causes intense pain to the victim, who invariably dies within a few hours. 825

22. There is a small bird, not yet identified, called by them *pī·chrō·l-*, the meeting with which is looked upon as ominous of an approaching death in their midst. When a woodpecker is heard tapping on a tree he is said to be giving warning of the approach of *ū·chu-*,[3] so they proceed in fear and trembling until the danger is supposed to be past. The notes of the *pai-* and *ràteg·i-* (two birds not yet identified) are regarded as a sign that there are enemies in the vicinity. When, therefore, either of these are heard, they at once retrace their steps, if they happen to be on the move, or, should they be in an encampment, they 787 825

[1] *Vide ante* "Proper Names," paragraph 1, and *post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraphs 22 and 23.

[2] This is accounted for by the absence of sibilants in their language (*vide* Appendix A).

[3] A legendary elephant, to be spoken of under "Mythology," paragraph 30.

APPENDIX H.

LIST OF *Proper Names*, TOGETHER WITH A LIST OF THE "*Flower*" *Names* BORNE BY YOUNG WOMEN DURING MAIDENHOOD, AND UNTIL THEY BECOME MOTHERS, AND A LIST OF THE VARIOUS *Seasons*.

Proper names (*common to both sexes*).		"Flower" name.	Name of tree (or insect) in season.	Names of the various minor seasons.	Names of the principal seasons.	Remarks.
.bal·ła	.kät·iola	.chł·lipa ...	lē·kera-	lē·kera-wdb-[1] ...	pd·par-, also pd·par-wdb-	The "*pd·par-*" commences about the middle of November, and ends about the middle of February. It comprises the *cool season*.
.bô·ra	.lô·ra		chł·lip-	chł·lip-wdb- ...		[1] "*wdb*" signifies "season."
.bē·rebi	.lī·pa	.mō·da ...	pd-...	pd-wdb-		
bī·a	.lō·kola		jōr-	jōr-wdb-		The "*yē·re-bō·do-*" comprises the *summer and autumn* of the year. Honey is abundant at the commencement of this season, during the whole course of which the principal fruit trees are in bearing. This season lasts about three months, *viz.*, till about the middle of May.
.bī·ele	.mē·ba	.ō·ra	ō·ro-	ō·ro-wdb-		
.bī·ra	.mē·bola	jī·dga ...	jī·dga-	jī·dga-wdb- ...		
.bī·rola	.ñgō·ngala		tā·tib-	tā·tib-wdb- ...	yē·re-bō·do-, also rdp-wdb-[2]	[2] Lit., *season of abundance*.
.bū·lbula	.nid·ll	.yē·re... ...	yē·re-	yē·re-wdb- ... [3]		[3] This period is called "*lad·a-chāu-*" (dirty body) owing to their practice of smearing their persons with the sap of a plant (*jī·ni-*) when engaged in removing a honeycomb from a hive swarming with bees.
.bū·rla	.pār·ila		bā·ja-	bā·ja-wdb- ...		
.bū·rūga	.pō·tga	.pō·taka	pā·tak-	pā·tak-wdb- ...		
.chā·rmila	.pō·wiola	.bal·ya	bai·la-	bai·la-wdb- ...		
.chē·tla	.pū·nga	.rī·che ...	rī·che-	rī·che-wdb- ...		This season embraces the (4) *tā·la-tōng dē·reka-* (lit., *fresh foliage*) or *spring*, and (5) *gū·mul-wdb-*. The former lasts about 3½ months, viz., till about the close of August. It comprises not only the Spring but the *first half* of the *rainy monsoon*. The latter (*gū·mul-wdb-*) lasts about 2½ months, viz., till about the middle of November, and comprises the *latter half* of the *rainy monsoon*. Among the articles of food eaten at this season are (6) the *bū·tu-* (a slug found in rotten logs of Gurjon wood) and (7) the *ōi·yum-* (larva of the Great Capricornis beetle). The tails of the former are broken off and thrown away, hence *tō·puga-* (breaking off).
.dē·ra	.rī·a		chā·dak-	chā·dak-wdb- ... [4]		
.gō·lat	.rī·cla	.chā·gara	chā·langa- ...	chā·langa-wdb- ...		
.ī·ro	.tō·bil	.chār·apa ...	bū·tu-[6]	tō·pnga-wdb- ...		
.ī·rola	.tū·ra		chā·rap-	chā·rap-wdb- ...	gū·mūl-	
.jō·ro	.wō·i	.chen·ra ...	ōi·yum-[7]	ōi·yum-tō·pnga-wdb- [5]		
.jō·plol	.wōi·chola		chen·ara-	chen·ara-wdb- ...		
.kā·la	.wō·loga		rdr-	rdr-wdb-		
kāt·ya	.yē·ua	.yū·lu ...	yū·lu-	yū·lu-wdb- ...		

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881 and pointing to a limited tabu. On reaching puberty or thereabouts, between 12 and 16 years of age, abstention from about 6 kinds of food, each in turn, is voluntarily commenced and continued for some years. At the end of each abstention there are a few ceremonies and some dancing and the youth of both sexes become "grown up." There is nothing else to mark this period beyond the application of an honorific name while it lasts, no secret to be communicated, no religious ceremony. In after-life, however, men who have gone through the initiatory period together will not fight, quarrel, nor call each other by name. They will assume great friendship, while avoiding each other with a mutual shyness. The women also practise a limited tabu as to food during menstruation and pregnancy. The idea of tabu does undoubtedly exist as to food and every man has his own tabued articles through life, which is, however, usually something observed to disagree with him in childhood or to be unpalatable.

264 576 There are also limitations as to sexual family relations. Only husband and wife can eat together. Widows and widowers, bachelors and maidens eat with their own sex only. A man may not address directly a married woman younger than himself or touch his wife's sister or the wife of a younger relative, and *vice versâ*.

302 304 The tattooing is partly ceremonial, as a test of courage and endurance of pain, and so is painting the body with clays, oils, etc. By the material and design is shown sickness, sorrow or festivity and the unmarried condition.

535 **Amusements.**—The great amusement of the Andamanese, indeed their chief object in life after the chase, is the formal evening or night dance, a curious monotonous performance accompanied by drumming the feet rythmically on a special sounding board, like a Crusader's shield and mistaken for a shield by several observers, singing a song more or less impromptu and of a compass limited to four semitones and the intermediate quarter tones, and clapping the hands on the thighs in unison. The dance takes place every evening whenever there are enough for it, and lasts for hours and all night at meetings of the tribes or septs for the purpose. It then becomes ceremonial and is continued for several nights in succession. Both sexes take allotted parts in it. This and turtle hunting are the only things which will keep the Andamanese awake all night long. There are five varieties of the dance among the tribes: that of the Ōnge-Jarawas being an entirely separate performance.

533 **Music.**—The Andamanese appreciate rhythm and time, but not pitch or tune. They sing in unison, but not in parts, and can neither sing in chorus nor repeat or even catch an air. The key in which a solo or chorus is started is quite accidental. They can be readily taught any dance step and can teach it themselves from observation.

Song.—Every man who respects himself is a composer of songs, always consisting of a solo and refrain, and sings without action or gesticulation and always to the same rhythm. The songs relate only to travel, sport and personal adventures, never to love, children and the usual objects of poetry, and very rarely to beliefs and superstition. The wording is enigmatic and excessively elliptic, the words themselves being in grammatical order, but shorn of all affixes as a rule. As in all poetry unusual words are employed. But clipped as the wording is and prosaic as the subjects are, the Andamanese are far from being unable to give a poetic turn to their phraseology and ideas. The women have lullabies for their babies.

524 **Games.**—The Andamanese are childishly fond of games and have an indigenous blind-man's-buff, leap-frog and hide-and-seek. Mock pig and turtle hunts, mock burials, and "ghost" hunts are favourite sports. Matches in swinging, swimming, throwing, skimming (ducks and drakes), shooting (archery), and wrestling are practised.

● 551 **Naming of Children and Adults.**—Every child is named for life after one of about twenty conventional names by the mother, of course without reference to sex, immediately upon pregnancy becoming evident, to which afterwards a nickname, varying occasionally as life proceeds, is added from personal peculiarities, deformities, disfigurements, or eccentricities and sometimes from flattery or reverence. Girls are also given "flower names" after one of sixteen selected trees which happen to be in flower at the time they reach puberty.

The "womb-name" is called the *teng-l'ar-ula* and on the child being born, the words distinguishing sex by the genitals, *ota*, male, and *kato*, female, are prefixed to it in babyhood. The women's "flower name" precedes the *teng-l'ar-ula* till motherhood or advancing years, but is often used alone. As the "flower names" are of much interest, the following list of them is given in the Bea language. There are eleven of them and flowers, regarded as identical by the Andamanese, belong to trees sometimes of quite different species: a mistake that is made by peoples of much higher mental development. 551

Flower name.	Tree.	Flowering month.
Moda	(1) Semecarpus (Sp.) (2) Odina wodier	March.
Ora	Chickrassia tabularis	March.
Jidga	(1) Unidentified (2) Croton argyratus	April.
Yeri	Sterculia (Sp.)	April.
Pataka	(1) Melioma simplicifolia (2) Terminalia procera	May.
Reche	(1) Eugenia (Sp.) (2) Rubiaceæ	June. July.
Chagara	Pterocarpus dalbergioides	August.
Charapa	Unidentified	September.
Chenra	Loea sambucina	October.
Yulu	(1) Unidentified (2) Eugenia (Sp.)	November.
Chilip	Diospyros densiflora	November, December, January and February.

The people are now ignorant of the origin of the flower names or of the cause of the selection of the trees above mentioned.

The honorifics *maia* and *mam* are prefixed out of respect to the name of elderly males and *chana* to all names of married women. Girls are addressed by the flower name and the elders by the honorific. Names are not much used in addressing, but chiefly for naming the absent or in calling.

Marriage Relations.—The Andamanese are monogamous, and by preference, but not necessarily, exogamous as regards sept and endogamous as regards tribe or more strictly group. Divorce is rare and unknown after the birth of a child, unfaithfulness after marriage which entails the murder of both the guilty parties if practicable is not common, and polyandry, polygamy, bigamy and incest are unknown. Marriages are not religious, but are attended with distinct ceremonies. Marriage after death of one party or divorce is usual. Before marriage free intercourse between the sexes within the exogamous limits is the rule, though some conventional precautions are taken to prevent it. 582

Portman tersely describes the marriage ceremony thus—

"When the elders of a sept are aware that a young couple are anxious to marry, the bride is taken to a newly made hut and made to sit down in it. The bridegroom runs away into the jungle, but after some struggling and pretence at hesitation, is brought in by force and made to sit in the bride's lap. This is the whole ceremony. The newly married couple have little to say to and are very shy of each other for at least a month after marriage, when they gradually settle down together." 585

Marriages are the business of parents or guardians and they have a right of betrothal of children, the betrothal being regarded as a marriage. Marital relations are somewhat complicated and quite as strictly observed as among civilised communities. Old books on this point generally ascribe bestiality and promiscuity to the race, but quite wrongly. 584

Death Ceremonies.—Deaths occasion loud lamentation from all connected with the deceased. Babies are buried under the floor of their parents' hut. Adults are either buried in a shallow grave, or, as an honour, tied up in a bundle and placed on a platform in a tree. Wreaths of cane leaves are then fastened conspicuously round the encampment, and it is deserted for about three months. Burial spots are also sufficiently well marked. Mourning is observed by smearing the head with grey clay and refraining from dancing for the above period. After some months the bones of the deceased are washed, broken up and made into ornaments, to which great importance is attached, as mementos of the deceased and as they are believed to stop pain and cure diseases by simple application to the diseased part. The skull is worn down the back tied round the 764 765

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

122 torches for hunting by night. There were pigs everywhere. In half an hour we often got
114 six or more of them. At Chemalé, far from the coast, we had eleven in a few minutes for distribution to everybody, including roaming Onge. Pigeons and ducks also were often
[136] plentiful. The simple pleasures of hunting incited everyone to a spontaneous daily struggle through the dense forest; and so, every month, I managed to carry out many times the work I could have done had I not kept all the men glad to follow me. On seven different occasions I spent 162 days in Little Andaman, out of a total of 634 days altogether in the Andamanese Archipelago – all of them given up to Onge research. These trips are recorded
128 in Port Blair Government offices. A few details on the subject are published in the "Bul-
114 letin of the Department of Anthropology", Government of India, starting in Vol. II, No. 1, 1953 (issued in 1956) and extended to other issues. Such papers were hurriedly prepared by me while I was halting in Calcutta on my way from the Andamans to Europe. Press proofs could never be submitted to me; there are, consequently, many misprints, particularly in the figures relating to my Onge Census. The misprints are so obvious that they could only influence a most biased critic: to be discussed in future papers and while my Onge book is in preparation. In Port Blair (South Andaman) I started an Onge Museum with material collected by me. I had the honour of inaugurating it on 6 July, 1953 in the presence of the Chief Commissioner for Andamans and Nicobars, Mr. A. K. GHOSH, one of the kindest and most intelligent Indian gentlemen that it was my pleasure to meet in Asia. On 9 March, 1954 Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD, President of the Republic of India, also visited the Museum. On that occasion I introduced to him 30 of my Onge friends (wives, husbands and children) in their most natural attire. The President questioned me at length on Onge anthropology and ethnology with the pertinence of a specialist.

123 While in Little Andaman I tried to study all possible aspects of Onge life. I also
[121] tried to count the natives; a very difficult task for they are a nomadic people, ready to vanish into the jungle at any moment. Often I was surrounded by them without seeing a single one. In the darkness of their jungle, the small, black, naked Onge easily disappear. They see us but we do not see them. They can only be counted in their sleeping quarters in communal huts; even so, results are misleading. I found a number of communal huts
[361] in the interior regions of Little Andaman, whereas previously they were said to exist only on the coast. The larger, more solidly built huts are in the forest. With the help
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[178] Unfortunately the number of Onge communal huts is rapidly diminishing – a very significant fact. Many are in ruins, many more completely destroyed. Only kitchen-middens
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[553] way of life, causes great confusion and makes a proper Census almost impossible. Frequent changing of names also hinders the establishment of genealogies. Furthermore, the Onge
[547] custom of adopting children shifts many of them from one family to another, and adoptive parents invariably claim them as their own offspring. The parents themselves, who are ignorant of numbers, not infrequently forget how many children they have, who these children are and where they are located. It was almost useless to follow previous information concerning communal huts; and so I decided to consider mainly the situation
[114] existing at the time of my visits. The result of my Census may be imperfect, but before criticizing it it would be advisable to know the conditions that prevail in anthropological work among the Onge. Something more than merely counting people, anyhow, was achieved by me in Little Andaman.

In this short paper I am pleased to present a peculiar aspect of Onge life, an aspect that these innocent and once hostile people did not attempt to hide from me, though they also told me nothing about it. Only direct observation could help, and it involved pro-

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Arioto

in the local language, as opposed to the people of the interior, the *Eremtaga* – appear to have numbered between six and eight thousand. Over the years their place has been taken by more than thirteen thousand foreigners, most of whom were deportees, enjoying relative liberty as servants of government officials, farmers and foresters. The settlers, voluntarily or involuntarily, introduced the islanders to alcohol and tobacco, forcing them to turn to the foreigners in order to satisfy their craving. In the famous and extremely frank work of the English explorer M. V. Portman (*A History of our Relations with the Andamanese*, Calcutta, 1899) official letters are reproduced which give precise instructions in the matter to government officials. The result of these instructions was to transform the Arioto into alcohol and tobacco addicts. Syphilis was passed to the native women by the deportees, and from them to their men. When, a few years after the mass importation of prisoners, the government authorities became aware of the infection among the Arioto, not one of them had escaped. The miserable twenty-three survivors of the eight to nine thousand of a century ago show the ultimate result only too well, and their final extinction is imminent.

Before the advent of the new civilization, the Arioto had divided up into at least ten distinct communities, but without any true tribal organization. They respected a form of chief, chosen by tacit consent for his personal qualities rather than by name or by birth-right; but the chiefs acted merely as paternal advisers, to be respected in times of trouble, with no illusions of authority. No one commanded, and none obeyed: all were content to follow the whim of the moment, with no conception of social obligation.

When the foreigners arrived, there were five main groups of Arioto on North Andaman, the Cari, Chede, Cora, Jeru and Tabo. Another five groups were in South Andaman, the Balawa, Bea, Bogig-iab, Joi and Col. With the numerical decline of the Arioto, who had always been endogamous within their group, a tendency arose for the survivors to merge and inter-marry, so that the twenty-three alive today are in fact the result of the mixing of the northern and southern Arioto, and of these with Indians and Burmese. The chief of these twenty-three individuals is Loca, a name in itself an indication of this ethnic mixture. Loca means 'whiskers', and he himself has a moustache, whereas pure Negritos have no body or facial hair.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Agriculture.— 1. Before the arrival of strangers in their midst, 241
the Andamanese were entirely ignorant of agriculture, and to this circumstance is primarily to be attributed their degraded condition, while it also affords evidence of the same.

2. Notwithstanding the ample opportunities that they have now had of observing the benefits derived from cultivation, and though they undoubtedly prefer such products to the spontaneous vegetation of their jungles, they still consider that the exertion necessary to obtain the former far outweighs every advantage; in short, it is their opinion, that "*le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle.*"

3. We must not, however, lose sight of the fact that as they have hitherto seen only prisoners engaged in tillage, they cannot but be strengthened in the objections entertained by most savages to all such labour, regarding it as a degrading occupation, and fit only for such as have forfeited their freedom.

4. Further, to quote from Peschel, "it must be remembered that hunting affords supreme enjoyment, and that agriculture has nothing to offer in compensation for the excitement and delights of the chase."

Training and Domestication of Animals.—1. Prior also to our 231
occupation of these islands, the Andamanese, as will have been 177
already inferred,[1] possessed no dogs, and it was some time (1865) before they became aware of their usefulness in the chase; but now that the intelligence of certain breeds has been proved. they prize them highly, and eagerly accept any we have to give them; at the same time, though treated with every intentional kindness, and allowed to sleep, and even to eat and drink out of the same vessel as their masters, the training to which the dogs are subjected is very severe, and their attenuated condition bears witness to the state of semi-starvation in which they are commonly kept in order to render them the more keen in hunting. The custom of summoning dogs by whistling has of course been borrowed from ourselves, as is also the practice of [552] naming them; "Jack" or "Billy"[2] are the names generally bestowed by these people upon their canine companions, whom also they address as *ligala* (children), and who in their turn seem greatly attached to their new owners, and testify their affection by attacking all strangers, not being aborigines, who approach the encampment to which they belong.

2. It is regarded as a good omen to meet certain birds, while 787
of others the contrary belief is held;[3] the absence of migratory

[1] *Vide ante* "Trade, Exchangeable Values, &c.," paragraph 3.

[2] They sometimes nickname them as follows:—*bī·bi-bá ratnga-* (lit., dog-mottled), *bī·bi-ngá·nanga-* (lit., dog-beggar), *bī·bi-tá-tū·panga-* (lit., dog-bone-crusher), *bī·bi-tá-tē·ràwa-* (lit., dog-yellow), *i.e.*, according to any peculiarity that may distinguish them.

[3] *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 22.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

It is not pretended that this division of social customs into three different kinds is of any great or permanent value, and it is only introduced as an aid to the exposition of the customs of the Andamanese. It will be argued in a later chapter that many of the customs described in the present chapter have a common psychological basis. 000

Of any customs in connection with the birth of children I was able to learn very little, as no births at which I could be present occurred during my stay at the islands. Earlier writers have given very little information on this subject. 844 843 262

During the latter part of the period of pregnancy, and for about a month after the birth of the child, the mother and father must observe certain restrictions. In particular there are certain foods that they may not eat. The statements of different informants on this matter did not quite agree with each other, and it seems that there were slightly different rules in different tribes. According to an *Akar-Bale* informant the man and woman may not eat dugong, honey and yams; they may eat the flesh of small but not of full-grown pigs and turtle. An informant of one of the Northern tribes said that the woman may not eat full-grown pig, *Paradoxurus*, turtle, dugong, the fish *komar*, monitor lizard, honey and yams; her husband may eat these things but must carefully avoid eating certain fishes.

The natives give two different reasons for these rules. One is that if these foods be eaten by the parents the child will be ill. The other is that the parents themselves will be ill. The latter is the explanation most commonly offered.

The baby is named some time before it is born, and from that time the parents are not addressed or spoken of by name. For example, if the name chosen be *Rea*, the father will be spoken of as *Rea aka-mai* (Rea's father) instead of by his own name. The mother may be referred to as *Rea it-pet*, from the word *it-pet* meaning "belly." This practice is continued till some weeks after the birth, when the use of the names of the parents is once more resumed. 551 553

In child-birth the woman is assisted by the matrons of the camp. She is seated in her hut in the village on fresh leaves, and a piece of wood is placed at her back for her to lean against. 844

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The youth then returns to his hut and resumes his former position. He may now, if he wishes, talk to his friends and he may sleep. He must retain the bundles of *Hibiscus* leaves and the necklace and belt of *Pothos* leaves. The dance is sometimes repeated in the afternoon. It is in any case repeated on each of the two days following, and after that the youth resumes his ordinary life. For a week or two he may not touch a bow and arrow. The *Pothos* leaves are worn till they are faded and are then discarded. The paint on the body wears off and is not renewed, but his ears are kept painted with red paint. For some weeks the youth is supposed to be in an abnormal condition and is carefully watched by his friends. 881

At the turtle-eating ceremony a new name is given to the youth. This name, however, never seems to be used afterwards either in speaking of or to the person to whom it belongs. A youth of the *Aka-J̌eru* tribe whose birth name was *Čop* (from a species of tree) and whose nick-name or second name was *Komar* (from a species of fish) had two new names given to him on the occasion of the turtle-eating ceremony, *Čokbi-čiro* (meaning turtle-liver) and *Pilečar* (high-tide). Neither of these names was ever used in addressing him. 881 553

The turtle-eating ceremony is called in the Northern tribes either *Čokbi-jo*, *Čokbi-kimil*, or *Kimil-jo*. The word *čokbi* means "turtle," and *jo* means "eating." The word *kimil* is more difficult to translate. With the prefix *ot-* or *er-* it means "hot" as in *T'ot-kimil-bom*, "I am hot." From the time of the commencement of the ceremony the youth or girl is said to be in a condition denoted by the word *aka-kimil*. During this time, i.e. during the ceremony and for some months afterwards, he or she is not addressed or spoken of by name but is referred to as "*Kimil*," the word being thus used as a term of address or a substitute for the personal name. A person who is in this condition is described as *aka-kimil-kolot*. (Before the ceremony the youth is *oko-taliŋ-kolot* and the girl is *aka-ndu-kolot*.) In the *Aka-Bea* tribe the turtle-eating ceremony is called *Yadi-gumul* or *Gumul-leke*, *yadi* being the word for "turtle" in that language, and *leke* being the equivalent of the *jo* of *Aka-J̌eru*, that is "eating." A youth or girl who is passing or has recently 881 [551]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

as an essential part of the ceremony. The female relatives of a youth or girl who is being initiated come and weep over him or her at the turtle-eating ceremony. Their friends weep over, or with, the mourners at the dance at the end of mourning. The friends of a bride and bridegroom weep over them when they are married. The friends and relatives weep over a corpse before it is buried and over the bones when they are recovered. In all cases it is real weeping. The man or woman sits down and wails or howls, and the tears stream down his or her face. On one occasion I asked the natives to show how it was done and two or three of them sat down and were immediately weeping real tears at my request. The weeping in this way is really a ceremony or rite. When two friends or relatives meet who have been separated from one another for a few weeks or longer, they greet each other by sitting down, one on the lap of the other, with their arms around each other's necks, and weeping and wailing for two or three minutes till they are tired. Two brothers greet each other in this way, and so do father and son, mother and son, mother and daughter, and husband and wife. When husband and wife meet, it is the man who sits on the lap of the woman. When two friends part from one another, one of them lifts up the hand of the other towards his mouth and gently blows on it.

Reference has already been made in this chapter to a number of customs relating to personal names. It will be useful to bring together the scattered references, and give a general account of the whole matter.

Every Andaman Islander has a personal name that is given to him or her before birth, and which we may speak of as the birth-name. As soon as a woman realises that she is pregnant, she and her husband begin to think of a name for the child. The name is selected by the parents, but the suggestions of their friends and relatives are always considered. It is regarded as a compliment to name the child after some man or woman. Sometimes a man may request the parents that the child shall be named after him, and such a request is rarely, if ever, refused. The names given before birth are of course applicable to both sexes, there being no difference between

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

551 the names of men and those of women. There are a considerable
553 number of names in common use, but some of them are more popular at a given time and place than others. It therefore happens that there are several persons, both men and women, bearing the same name.

551 Each of the names in common use has a meaning, but it is not always easy to obtain an adequate and accurate explanation of the meaning from the natives themselves[1]. In a certain number the derivation is obvious. Many names are the names of objects such as trees, fish or other animals, or even such objects as rope or mats. A few examples from the North Andaman are:—

Buio	*Mucuna sp.*, a plant with edible beans.
Bol	*Hibiscus tiliaceus.*
Čop	a tree with edible nuts.
Konmo	*Dioscorea sp.*
Čokbi	turtle.
Maro	honey.
Meo	a stone.
Čeo	a knife.
Pani	the oriole.

In the case of a number of names it is not possible to discover with certainty the derivation, and the statements of the natives regarding them do not always agree. Such names in the North Andaman, with their meanings as stated by the natives, are:—

Kea	one who turns in his sleep.
Boičo	one who wrestles.
Elpe	one who comes and goes.
Kijeri	one who walks backwards and forwards.
Nimi	one who catches hold.

Some time after a child is born it is given a nick-name. Nick-names may be given at any time of life, and some persons may have several nick-names given to them at different times. New nick-names are from time to time invented, but there are

[1] Mr M. V. Portman gives a list of personal names in use in the South Andaman in his *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes*, p. 70. The derivations of many of the names as there given, are, however, of doubtful accuracy.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

a certain number of recognized names from which a choice is usually made. A few examples from the North Andaman are :— 551

Ra-t'ot-betč	pig's hair.
Renya-čope	much baggage, or many possessions.
Poičo-tomo	the wood (literally flesh) of the *Sterculia* (*poičo*) tree.
Lau-tei	spirit blood.
Luremo	rope.
Remu-toi	a piece of iron.
Čokbi-čiro	turtle liver.
Tarenjek	angry.

During childhood boys and girls are addressed by either the birth-name or the nick-name.

When a girl reaches the age of puberty she receives a new name. This is one of a limited number of names, each of which is the name of a tree or plant. The name given to the girl is that of the tree or plant that is in flower at the time of her first menstruation. 551 553 824

There is a succession of trees and plants flowering one after another throughout the year. The natives describe the different parts of the year by reference to the plants in flower at the time. The plants selected as typical of the different seasons all have flowers from which the native bees make honey. Each of them has a distinctive scent and gives to the honey made from it a distinctive flavour. The flower-names are given below in *Aka-Bea* and *Aka-Jeru*.

Aka-Bea	Aka-Jeru	
Čilipa	*Čelibi*	From the middle of November to the middle of February.
Moda	*Mukui*	From the middle of February to the middle of May, in order.
Ora	*Okor*	
Jidga		
Yere	*Jeru*	
Pataka	*Botek*	
Balya	*Puliu*	
Reče	*Re*	From the middle of May to the end of August.
Čagara	*Čokoro*	
Čarapa	*Čarap*	September, October and the first half of November.
Čenra	*Torok?*	
Yulu	*Jili*	

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

551 From the time that a girl receives her flower-name her birth-
name and nick-name fall entirely out of use. No one would
553 address an unmarried girl by any name except the flower-name.
This continues until some time after the girl is married. Properly speaking a woman should be known by her flower-name from the advent of puberty until after the birth of her first child. In these days of childless women the flower-name drops out of use after a few years of married life. After the birth of her first child the woman is known by her birth-name or by a nick-name. Thus a woman who was named before her birth *Kaba* (from *kaḃal*, a species of mangrove) was called by that name until puberty; thereafter she was called *J́ili* (her flower-name) until the birth of her first child; after this event she is again called *Kaba*, and no one would think of addressing her as *J́ili*. A woman named *Ele* (lightning) at birth was known by this name until puberty, and thereafter was called *Bọtek*. When I knew her she had been married for three years or so, but had not had a child. A few of the younger men and women addressed her as *Ele*, but the older people still called her *Bọtek*. If she should bear a child, the name *Bọtek* would fall entirely out of use and she would be known as *Ele* by both her juniors and her seniors.

In the case of a boy there is nothing corresponding to the flower-names of girls. He continues to be known by his birth-name and his nick-name from the time he is born until he dies. During adolescence a youth has to pass through certain ceremonies of initiation as described in the present chapter. At the turtle-eating ceremony the youth is given a new name, of the nature of a nick-name. The name given in this way is never used either in addressing the youth or in speaking of him. It is possible that he also receives a new name on the occasion of the pig-eating ceremony, but of this I am not sure. Though girls pass through the same ceremonies as boys, I did not discover whether or not they also are given new names on these occasions.

551 Names are used freely in speaking of and to one another.
An older person always speaks of or to the younger one by the name alone. When a younger person is speaking to an older one it is customary and polite to use one of the terms of address,

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

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6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

262 and therefore dangerous to offend by cooking them. Luckily they accepted
123 fish of almost every description, and vegetables. To convince them of our
[975] good intentions concerning their food, at Port Blair an Onge observer was
[825] stationed permanently near the kitchen to watch the preparation of meals.
Nevertheless, within a few days all 30 Onge fell ill as a consequence of the
different food and climate. In their island they sleep, completely naked and
513 uncovered, lying directly on beds made of rough branches. Their only precau-
123 tion, as I mentioned before, is to keep a fire permanently burning close to the
bed. This was not feasible in the rooms with wooden floors that were provided
for them in Port Blair, and blankets did not avail. So the 30 Onge developed
a fever and we were obliged to take them urgently back to Little Andaman,
where they promptly recovered. The incident gave me a further opportunity
to observe the curative methods of the Onge.

262 With regard to their care to avoid illness from food, I must point out the
114 fact that misleading information has been published on the subject even in
reputed papers on the Andamans. I will discuss them in my Onge book, but
I wish here to briefly stress a few points: the Onge, and the present residual
coastal or forest Andamanese, refuse to eat – besides birds and fish such as
shark, ray, eel or muraenae – some other animals such as paradoxurus, bats,
rats, varanus and snakes. The contrary is affirmed in those papers. To quote
the well-known book by A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN ("The Andaman Islanders",
pp. 37, 91 and 389), all Andaman Islanders, including the Onge, consider the
above-mentioned species edible. Varanus is supposed to be acceptable for its
[832] lustful habits that make of it an aphrodisiac. My direct and protracted ex-
perience both in Little and in Great Andaman compels me to state that such
information is false. It is true, however, that the Andaman Islanders believe
261 they acquire some of the properties of their devoured victims. This occurs
252 only if the animals are cut up alive. Therefore turtles, pigs and dugongs are
[231] cruelly sectioned while still alive, and the Onge also believe that their health
266 and energy profit by it. Cannibalism may be founded on such beliefs, but it is
completely unknown to Andaman Islanders of all times and places. Young
262 sucking-pigs are avoided, as food, by men, and even withheld from the dogs;
but the Onge are partial to other things which, in our opinion, are far worse:
crickets, and the fat larvae of coleoptera that collect in tree trunks.

Without giving here a full list of the foods that are considered harmful or curative, I shall add just a few remarks on the subject. The healthiest, as well as the tastiest part of the pig is supposed to be the kidney and its surround-
[888] ing fat. It is offered to old or distinguished people, as a sign of favour. As I
123 helped the Onge, as much as possible, with gifts of tools and medicines, they
553 found it complimentary to name me after their favorite titbit, intending thereby to honour me as a friend and healer. By such a name I came to be known in Little Andaman, and this made my work easier. In the Onge language the word for kidney fat is *cue-changhēghē*; I was delighted with it, for it proclaimed the high esteem I was held in by my Onge friends.

262 Foods considered healthy by the Onge include honey, yams, several
751 succulent roots and the fat of turtle and dugong. Pteropus, a giant bat very
[825]

7:Sarkar D-4, 5 (1948) 1960 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

and seven with those of the 1911 Census. The total number of twenty existing huts, however, agree in both CIPRIANI's map and the 1911 Census map; only names differ. It would have added greatly to our knowledge had CIPRIANI based his investigations on the 1911 Census map and commented on each of the place names given therein. He also mentions two huts in ruins besides eleven "no more in existence". There is no mention of any newly built hut. All this proves the decadent condition of the Onges. The coastal huts are probably more numerous than those within the jungles and their total number appears to be constant both in 1911 and in 1953. 114 361

The Onges have, in recent years, been visited so many times by anthropologists that a well-directed effort could have brought the whole population into a few genealogies — an elementary task in anthropology. 114

Postscript. — CIPRIANI has now (1959) published[4] the Census figures of the different communal huts. Instead of clarifying the earlier anomalies stated above, his recent population figures have raised further complications, as will be discussed below. 161 162

CIPRIANI now (1959) mentions in a footnote on p. 89 of his paper that 125 individuals, comprising 48 adult males, 44 adult females, 22 boys and 11 girls, have *beds in different communal huts*. He gives a total population figure of 394 (130 adult males, 129 adult females, 65 boys and 70 girls) obtained by actual Census from 21 communal huts. To this total figure of 394 he adds another total of 175 individuals (adult males and females 74 each, and 27 children, the latter shown as "males" on p. 90 but as "siblings" on p. 76) estimated for another 7 communal huts. Thus according to a Census of 21 huts and an estimate of 7 others, CIPRIANI now finds a total Onge population of 596, in comparison to his earlier variable figures stated above. There is no attempt to explain the discrepancies in the population figures. It is also unknown why the population of the 7 huts could not be censused, although all of them were visited between March 22 and April 4, 1953. 114

It is now apparent that his method of Census of the Onges is untenable since about 31.7 % (125 out of 394) of the population have beds in different communal huts. This is in harmony with the roving nature of the Onges, but it shows that only about one third of the population is migratory and about two thirds sedentary. This is probably not true for the Onges. At least, the fixed nature of beds in the communal huts loses its significance and is probably an uncertain criterion for an Onge Census. [361]

As to a recalculation of the Census figures for each of the 21 huts, it is seen that the total population appears to be 382 (129 adult males, 126 adult females, 64 boys and 63 girls) instead of 394 given by CIPRIANI. This definitely shows high masculinity not only among adults but also among the children. With an adult population of 129 males and 126 females the sex ratio works up to 50.6 % males and 49.4 % females, the excess of 1.2 % being statistically significant.

In the present publication CIPRIANI has published personal names of 132 adult males and 140 female adults, but the Onge habit of frequently changing names, mentioned by him on p. 70, has not been substantiated. Since the same issue of the journal contains an anthropometric study of the Onges, in which names of the individuals measured were noted, it would have been worth while testing how far the Onges practise the above custom. As will be obvious from the foregoing as well as from this P. S., CIPRIANI has not started with the known to unravel the unknown. [553]

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[4] L. CIPRIANI, A Survey of Little Andaman during 1954. Bull. Dept. of Anthr. 3. 1959, pp. 88-94. [113]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

implies a higher degree of respect than *Maia* or *Čana*. In these tribes also there is a special way of showing respect by adding the suffix *-la* to the name of the person addressed, as *Bia*, *Biala*, *Woičo*, *Woičo-la*, etc. 888 576

In the legends of the Andamanese these titles are nearly always prefixed to the names of the legendary ancestors, as *Maia Jutpu* and *Mimi Biliku* in *Aka-Jeru*, or *Da Duku* and *In Bain* in *Akar-Bale*. The moon is similarly spoken of as Sir Moon (*Maia Ogar* in *Aka-Bea*) and the sun as Lady Sun (*Čana Bodo*).

Besides the respect for seniority there is another important factor in the regulation of the social life, namely the respect for certain personal qualities. These qualities are skill in hunting and in warfare, generosity and kindness, and freedom from bad temper. A man possessing them inevitably acquires a position of influence in the community. His opinion on any subject carries more weight than that of another even older man. The younger men attach themselves to him, are anxious to please him by giving him any presents that they can, or by helping him in such work as cutting a canoe, and to join him in hunting parties or turtle expeditions. In each local group there was usually to be found one man who thus by his influence could control and direct others. Amongst the chief men of several friendly local groups it would generally happen that one of them, by reason of his personal qualities, would attain to a position of higher rank than the others. Younger men would be desirous of joining the local group to which he belonged. He would find himself popular and respected at the annual meetings of the different groups, and his influence would thus spread beyond the narrow limits of his own small community. 554 623 622

There was no special word to denote such men and distinguish them from others. In the languages of the North Andaman they were spoken of as *er-kuro* = "big."

Such men might perhaps be spoken of as "chiefs," but the term is somewhat misleading, as it makes us think of the organised chieftainship of other savage races.

The above statement is not quite in agreement with what has been written by Mr Man on the same subject, and what he 623 622

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

encampment, has authority over all the sub-chiefs, but his power, like theirs, is very limited. It is exercised mainly in organising meetings between the various communities belonging to his tribe, and in exerting influence in all questions affecting the welfare of his followers. It is the chief alone, as may be supposed, who directs the movements of a party while on hunting or fishing expeditions, or when migrating. It is usually through his intervention that disputes are settled, but he possesses no power to punish or enforce obedience to his wishes, it being left to all alike to take the law into their own hands when aggrieved. 622 619

4. The *àryô·to-* and *ē·remtâ·ga-* in each tribe have their own head chief, who are independent the one of the other.

5. As might be assumed from the results of observations made of other savage races, whose sole or chief occupation consists in hunting or fishing, the power of the chiefs is very limited, and not necessarily hereditary, though, in the event of a grown-up son being left who was qualified for the post, he would, in most instances, be selected to succeed his father in preference to any other individual of equal efficiency. 622

6. At the death of a chief there is no difficulty in appointing a successor, even if he leave no son, for there is always at least one who is considered his deputy or right-hand man. As they are usually, on these occasions, unanimous in their choice, no formal election takes place; however should any be found to dissent, the question is decided by the wishes of the majority, it being always open to malcontents to transfer their allegiance to another chief, since there is no such thing as forced submission to the authority of one who is not a general favourite.

7. Social status being dependent not merely on the accident of relationship, but on skill in hunting, fishing, &c., and on a reputation for generosity and hospitality, the chiefs and elders are almost invariably superior in every respect to the rest. They and their wives are at liberty to enjoy immunity from the drudgery incidental to their mode of life, all such acts being voluntarily performed for them by the young unmarried persons living under their headship. [554]

8. Though females, like minors (that is to say youths under 18), cannot be chiefs, the former have a similar position relatively among the women, to that held by their husbands among the men of the tribe. A chief's wife enjoys many privileges, especially if she be a mother, and in virtue of her husband's rank rules over all the young unmarried women and such also of the married ones as are not senior to herself. Should she become a widow she continues to exercise the same rights, unless she re-marries, when her social status depends on that of 622 562

372 they show much skill in so carrying smouldering logs with them by land or sea that they are not extinguished. Their ignorance of this fundamental requirement of civilization is shown in their fire-legend that fire was originally stolen from their deity Puluga and has never been allowed to become extinct since. Excepting guns, nothing has more impressed the Andamanese with European power and resources than the use of matches, *i.e.*, of making fire whenever required with ease.

342 In the Little Andaman and among the Jarawas of the South Andaman, large permanent huts for use in the wet season are built up of solid materials to 30 feet in height and 60 in breadth to hold the fires of 7 to 8 hunting parties, say 60 to 70 people, *i.e.*, they contain 7 to 8 fires with about 8 persons to each "fire." The Jarawa hunting camp is much the same as that of any other Andamanese and his great communal hut is built on the same principle as the larger huts of the other Andamanese.

The use of the flimsy hunting shelters and camp huts of the Andamanese is rendered possible in the wet and stormy weather so common in the Islands by the denseness of the jungle, which prevents the winds from reaching them even when close to the sea-beach and causes the rain to fall vertically upon them.

619 **Government.**—There is no idea of Government, but to each tribe and to each sept of it there is a recognised head, who has attained that position by 622 tacit agreement on account of some admitted superiority, mental or physical, and commands a limited respect and such obedience as the self interest of the other individual men of the tribe or sept dictates. There is a tendency to [554] hereditary right in the natural selection of chiefs, but there is no social status that is not personally acquired. The social position of a chief's family follows that of the chief himself and admits of many privileges in the shape of tribal influence and immunity from drudgery. His wife is among women what he is [888] among men and at his death, if a mother and not young, she retains his privileges. Age commands respect and the young are deferential to the elders. Offences, *i.e.*, murder, theft, adultery, mischief, assault, are punished by the 627 aggrieved party on his own account by injury to the body and property or by murder, without more active interference on the part of others than is consistent with their own safety, and without any fear of consequences except vengeance from the friends of the other side, and even this is usually avoided by disappearance till the short memory of the people has obliterated wrath.

421 Property is communal, as is all the land, and ideas as to individual possessions are but rudimentary, accompanied with an incipient tabu of the property belonging to a chief. An Andamanese will often readily part with ornaments to any one who asks for them. Theft, or the taking of property without leave, is only recognised as to things of absolute necessity, as arrows, pig's flesh, fire. 437 A very rude barter exists between tribes of the same group in regard to articles not locally obtainable or manufactured. This applies especially to cooking pots, which are made of a special clay found only in certain parts of the islands. The barter is really a gift of one article in expectation of another of assumed corresponding value in return, and a row if it is not forthcoming. The territory of other tribes is carefully respected without however there being any fixed boundaries.

562 The duties of men and women are clearly defined by custom, but not so as to make that of the women comparatively hard. The women have a tacitly acknowledged inferior position, but it is not such as to be marked or to leave them without influence.

771 **Religion.**—The religion is simple animism and consists of fear of the evil spirits of the wood, the sea, disease and ancestors, and of avoidance of acts traditionally displeasing to them, and this in spite of an abundance of mythological tales told in a confused, disjointed manner that is most instructive to the student of such things. There is neither ceremonial worship nor propitiation. There is an anthropomorphic deity, Puluga, the cause of all things, whom it is not, however, necessary to propitiate, though sins, *i.e.*, acts displeasing to him, are avoided for fear of damage to the products of the jungle. Puluga dwells now in the sky, but used to live on the top of Saddle Peak, their highest mountain. The Andamanese have an idea that the "soul" will go under the earth by an aerial bridge after death, but there is no heaven nor hell nor any idea of a cor-

Mr Subramanian of the Forest Department and Mr Majid's young son also 114
accompanied us. We reached Bumila Creek on the north eastern coast of the 123
Little Andaman at about 3 P.M. and having sighted an Andamanese hut we
decided to anchor the launch there. The beach was about 2 miles from the
place of anchorage. We took out a small boat and rowed to the beach and
reached the hut at about 4 P.M. It was found to be abandoned but there
were signs of human occupation and within a few yards a water-hole was [312]
discovered. A broken canoe, with a single out-rigger was found close to the [501]
hut (*see* Plate I, Fig. 1). Burnt coal and smouldering ashes in the
centre of the hut showed that it was probably deserted by the Aborigines
as soon as they had sighted us. After making a careful inspection of the place
we returned to our launch and decided to anchor there for the night. Unfortunately the choppy sea and the strong current coming from the Bumila
Creek tossed our small boat throughout the whole night, as a result of which
all of us had an uncomfortable time.

We left southwards towards Hut Bay early in the morning and as we
moved along the coast we sighted another Onge hut. This did not seem to be
deserted as we saw a few people moving about. We decided to stop there
and investigate. We took out a boat and moved towards the coast with such
presents as we had brought from Port Blair on the advice of the Chief Commissioner. When we got near the coast, we left the boat and walked for about
a furlong through coral beds finally reaching the shore. The hut was found [342]
to be circular in shape and not too large, and was occupied by 2 adult females, [592]
1 adult male and a young boy. The adult male, *Ukla*, was the father of the
young boy and husband of the younger woman. The older woman was his 609
mother-in-law. These people appeared very friendly. We gave them presents 123
we had brought and took photographs and made drawings of their hut. 126
In addition, full anthropometric measurements were taken by me and
blood was taken from fingers for typing by Mr Sarkar. Ukla was able
to speak a few Hindi words and we gathered that he had been to Port
Blair and knew Mr Bonington, formerly of the Forest Department,
Andaman Islands. We found in front of the hut, hanging from a large tree 825
the skull and mandible of a Dugong (*see* Plate I, Figs. 3 & 4). We enquired 124
about its significance from Ukla, but unfortunately his knowledge of Hindi
was not sufficient to explain it to us. We learned from him, however, that
the name of the village was *Laito*. After making friendly gestures, we returned
to 'Molly' and proceeded immediately towards Hut Bay. At about noon 501
time while we were having our lunch, we suddenly saw three outrigger canoes 609
(of single outrigger type) coming towards us, each carrying about 4 Onges. 122
We signalled to them and they came to our launch and tied their canoes with it
and came on board. The men appeared to be friendly and not afraid of us.
Our greatest difficulty, however, was language, as we could not make ourselves
understood as none of the crew or any other member including Mr Subramaniam of the Forest Department knew that language. There was one man 55A
who seemed to occupy a position of authority among these men, and was [309]
painted with red and yellow ochre on the forehead, arms and breast. The

crew of the ship called him 'Raja' and we adopted this name (*see* Plate IV, Figs. 1 & 2). He was the only one among the Onges who was fully armed with knives, bows and arrows. Among the contents of the canoes, we found complete fishing out-fits, bows and arrows, ropes and nautilous shells, for bailing out water. There was also a kind of bamboo float about 1½ ft. long, probably used for turtle fishing. We gave them food, cigarettes and other presents. After they became quite familiar with us and friendly, they were subjected to full anthropometric measurements by me. Their blood was also tapped by Mr Sarkar for typing. The presents given were iron nails, strips of red cloth, tea and tobacco leaves. Among all these objects what they liked most were the tobacco leaves. Cooked rice, dal (cooked lentils) and fish curry served to them from the launch Mess were however not much appreciated. With the few Hindi words that they were able to understand, we told them that we would like to visit their camp next morning and meet other members of the party. After the canoes had left, we anchored at this point for the night and after taking an early breakfast we left for the shore in two batches. We were informed by the crew that the creek near the Onge camp was called the *Dugong Creek*. We had to wade through brakish water and coast fringing with coral beds for about two miles, before we reached the Onge settlement. There was one large circular communal hut characteristic of the Onges and several lean-to's (*see* Plate I, Fig. 2). We noticed three canoes on the beach apparently those with which they came to meet us on the previous day. We saw also several small dogs and the entrails of a pig strewn round. We met all the 12 Onges we saw the day before, along with Ukla and his family. In addition there were a number of women and children. We took out our presents of dried tobacco leaves, iron nails and two large fishes that we had caught on our way from Port Blair. These were distributed to the Onges. There were altogether 17 men, 15 women, 4 boys and 3 girls. The children were between 1½ to 4 years. The entire party of Onges behaved towards us in a friendly manner and subjected to our measurements and tapping of blood from their fingers without any protest. We went inside their hut and inspected the settlement very thoroughly. A large number of photographs were taken. We found that the name of this village was *Tambebui*. As it became rather late, we decided to return to 'Molly' in the Andamanese canoes, rather than walk through the coral beds for 2 miles. The Onges understood our signs and gladly escorted us back to the launch. We found there were several other Onges waiting for us in the launch who came from the neighbouring village *Gabilong*. All of these Onges appear to be under the influence of the man nick-named as 'Raja' (*see* Plate IV, Figs. 1-2).

We could not proceed towards Hut Bay as the launch had to return for duty at Port Blair, where we reached at about mid-night.

After reaching Port Blair, I discussed the matter of transport with the Chief Commissioner, Mr Majid. A thorough coastal survey of Little Andaman would take at least 15 to 20 days. As it was found impossible to get either from the Forest Department or from the Harbour Master any of their launches

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

In the North Andaman there is some sort of association between the unborn souls of babies, the green pigeon and the *Ficus laccifera* tree. The same name, *Reyko*, is used to denote both the green pigeon and also the *Ficus laccifera*, of the fruit of which the pigeon is very fond. The belief of the natives is sometimes stated by saying that the souls of unborn children live in the *Ficus* trees, and that if a baby dies before it has been weaned its soul goes back to the tree. Another statement of the natives is that it is when the green pigeon is calling that the soul of a baby goes into its mother. The *Ficus* is to a certain extent tabu. I was told that the tree must not be cut or damaged. Nevertheless the natives do cut the tree in order to obtain the bark of the aerial roots from which they prepare a fibre that they use for making personal ornaments. There is no tabu in connection with the green pigeon, which may be killed and eaten. 842 775 784

In most primitive societies, if not in all, there are ritual or ceremonial observances in connection with the change by which a boy or girl becomes a man or woman. The ceremonies that are performed to mark this change are commonly spoken of in ethnological literature as "initiation ceremonies." The term is not perhaps the best that could be chosen, but usage has rendered it familiar. 000

The life of an Andaman Islander is divided into three well-marked periods, corresponding roughly with the physiological periods of childhood, adolescence, and maturity. The first period lasts from birth till about the advent of puberty; the second lasts from puberty till after marriage; the third extends from marriage to death. 561

During the period of childhood the boy or girl lives with his or her parents, or, in the later years of the period, with adopted parents, having a place in the family hut and a share in the family meal. A girl continues to live with her parents or with her adopted parents until she marries. When boys have finished growing, and have reached the condition of young men, they cease to live with their parents or adopted parents and, until they are married, they occupy a bachelors' hut of their own, and have their own meal. 858 882

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

APPENDIX K.

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LIST OF TERMS APPLIED TO MALES AND FEMALES FROM BIRTH TO OLD AGE IN ORDER TO INDICATE THEIR AGE, CONDITION, &C.

Males.

During the first year ..	*abdē·reka-*	*ō·ta-*[1]	The term *ablâ·panga-* (long) is applied to a boy who is tall for his age.
During the second year ..	*abkē·tia-*	*ō·ta-*[1]	
During the third and fourth years	*abdō·ga-*	*ablī·ga-*[2]	Until the commencement of the probationary "fast" (as well as after its completion) he is called *bō·tiga-*.
From four till ten years of age	*àwal·aganga-* or *àwal·agare*	*ablī·ga-*[2]	
During the eleventh and twelfth years	*â·kà-kâ·daka-*	*ablī·ga-*[2]	
From twelve to fifteen years of age (the ordinary "fasting" period)	*â·kà - kâ·daka - dō·ya-*	*dâ·la-*	During such portion of this period as he "fasts" he is called *â·kà-yâb-*, or *â·kà-yū·ba-*.
After breaking the probationary "fast" (for first month)	*â·kà-gō·i-*	*abwá·ra-*[3]	He now breaks the "fast," and is called *gū·ma* until he becomes a father.
From then till he becomes a father	*â·kà-gū·mul-*	*abwá·ra-*[3]	He is addressed as *gū·mà* from the time of his breaking the "fast" till his wife's first pregnancy, when he becomes *mai·a*. Should he never have a child he is called *mai·a* a little later in life.
Single — bachelor only ..	*abwá·ra-*		
Single — whether bachelor or widower	*kâ·ga-tō·go-*		
Bridegroom	*abdē·rebil-*		
Full grown (whether married or single)	*abwá·ra-gō·i-*		
Newly married (during first few days only)	*arwē·red-*; *ōng-tāg-gō·i-*		
Newly married (during first few months only)	*ūn-jâ·ti-gō·i-*		Only applied to young persons.
Married (while still without a child)	*ōng-tāg-*[4]		While his wife is *enceinte* he is called *pij-jū·bag-*.
Married (having had a child)	*châ·bil-*; *châ·bil-chàu-*; *mai·a*		During the first two or three months after the death of his child he is called *mai·a ō·kolī·nga-*.
Married (more than once—not applied during widowhood)	*tarwâ·ki-*		
Widower	*mai-arlē·ba-*		The *survivor* of an old couple who have been united since their youth is called *abrá·ji-gō·i-*.
Old	*abjang·gī-*; *abchô·roga-*		
White-haired	*abtôl-*		

[1] Signifies testicle. [2] A child. [3] A bachelor.
[4] Their jungle-bed of leaves is called *tāg*.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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Females.

During the first year ..	*abdē·reka-*[1]	*abli·ga-*[3]	*kà·ta-*[2]	The term *à·kà-tà·ng-* (tree) is applied to a girl who is tall for her age. As in the case of males, both before and after the probationary "fast"[5] she is called *bō·tiga-*.
During the second year ..	*abkē·tia-*[1]			
During the third and fourth years	*abdō·ga-*[1]			
From four till ten years of age	*àwal·aganga-*[1] or *àwal·agare*			
During the eleventh and twelfth years	*àryō·ngi-*			
From twelve till about sixteen years of age (her ordinary "fasting"[5] period)	*àryō·ngi-pō·i-*	*abjad·i-jōg-*[4]	*pō·ilola*	She commences her "fast" during this period, and while so doing is called *à·kà-yāb-*, or *à·kà-yā·ba-*.
After breaking the probationary "fast" (for first month)	*à·kà-gō·i-*[1]			As soon as she attains maturity she is called *ūnlá·wi-*, or *à·kà-lá·wi-*, and then receives her "flower" name (*vide* Appendix H).
Spinster	*abjad·i-jōg-*			
Bride	*abdē·rebil-pail-*			
Full grown — if unmarried	*abjad·i-jōg-gō·i-*			
Full grown — if married (but not yet a mother)	*ōng-tāg-*;[6] *ablñ·ga-*			
Full grown — if married (but with no child alive)	*ablñ·ga-*			
Newly married (during first few days only)	*arwē·red*;[1] *ōng-tāg-gō·i-*[1]			
Newly married (during first few months only)	*ūn-jà·ti-gō·i-*;[1] *ōng-tāg-*[1]			Only applied to young persons.
Married (while still without a child)	*ōng-tāg-*[1]			While *enceinte* she is called *pīj-jā·bag-*.
Married (having had a child)	*chá·nre*; *chán-chàu-*; *chān·a*; *chá·nola-*			During the first two or three months after the death of her child she is called *chān·a ōkolī·nga*
Married (more than once—not applied during widowhood)	*tarwá·ki-*[1]			
Widow	*chān-arlē·ba-*			
Old	*abjang·gi-*;[1] *abchó·roga-*[1]			
White-haired	*abtól-*[1]			

[1] In those cases in which the term is common to both sexes, or ambiguity would otherwise exist, the word *pail-* (female) is added when a woman is referred to. Ex.: *ōng-tāg-pail-*; *abtól-pail-*.

[2] Signifies the genitals of a female.

[3] A child.

[4] A spinster.

[5] As elsewhere explained (*vide* Part II, "Initiatory Ceremonies"), this term is used merely to imply abstention, during a period varying from one to four or more years, from certain favourite articles of diet.

[6] Their jungle-bed of leaves is called *tāg-*.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

own bow, arrows, adze, etc., while the wife makes her baskets, nets and so on. 462

The economic life of the local group, though in effect it approaches to a sort of communism, is yet based on the notion of private property. Land is the only thing that is owned in common. The hunting grounds of a local group belong to the whole group, and all the members have an equal right to hunt over any part of it. There exists, however, a certain private ownership of trees. A man of one of the local groups of the coast may notice in the jungle a tree suitable for a canoe. He will tell the others that he has noticed such a tree, describing it and its whereabouts. Thenceforward that tree is regarded as his property, and even if some years should elapse, and he has made no use of it, yet another man would not cut it down without first asking the owner to give him the tree. In a similar way certain men claim to possess certain *Artocarpus* trees, though how the ownership in these cases had arisen I was unable to determine. No one would pick the fruit off such a tree without the permission of the owner, and having received permission and gathered the fruit he would give some part of it to the owner of the tree. 421

A pig belongs to the man whose arrow first strikes it, though if the arrow merely glanced off and did not remain in the wound it would not give any claim to ownership. A turtle or a dugong or big fish belongs to the man who throws the harpoon with which it is taken. A honeycomb belongs to the man who climbs the tree and cuts it down. The fish that a man shoots belong to him, and to a woman belong the roots she digs up, the seeds that she collects, the fish or prawns that she takes in her net or the molluscs that she brings from the reefs. Any weapon that a man makes belongs to him alone to do what he pleases with, and anything that a woman makes is her own property. A man is not free to dispose of the personal property of his wife without her permission. [562]

In the village each family erects and keeps in repair its own hut, and the wife provides the hut with the firewood and water needed. In the case of a communal hut it would seem that this is really an example of a possession common to the whole group. 421 594 342

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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drudgery incidental to their mode of life, all such acts being voluntarily performed for them by the young unmarried persons living under their headship[1]." 623 622

Where Mr Man speaks of the "authority" of the chiefs it would be better to speak of "influence." Of authority the leading men have little or none, but of influence they have a good deal. Should any one venture to oppose a popular chief he would find the majority of the natives, including many of his friends, siding against him. The words "chief" and "authority" seem to imply some sort of organised rule and procedure, and of this there is nothing in the Andamans. Mr Man also implies that in each tribe there is always one recognized headman, but in reality each tribe may possess two or three leading men in different parts of the country, each with his own following. In any case a man's influence is largely confined to his own local group, for it is only at the annual meetings that the men of other groups come in contact with him.

The early officers of the Andamanese Homes (before the time of Mr Man) established a system of chieftainship in the islands by selecting a few of the more trustworthy and intelligent men, whom they dignified with the title of *raja*, and who acted as the intermediaries between the Officer in Charge of the Andamanese and the natives. This system has been continued to the present day, and the natives have adopted the title *raja* for these men, having themselves no word for a chief. Where a man is selected who is already respected and esteemed by the natives his influence is considerably increased through the position thus assigned to him. The natives themselves do not recognize that he has any authority over them, but if he be a man of generosity and tact, the majority will always support him, and his advice in any matters of moment will be readily followed.

Women may occupy a position of influence similar to that of the men. The wife of a leading man generally exercises the same sort of influence over the women as her husband does over the men. A woman, however, would not exercise any influence over the men in matters connected with hunting. They do have 623 562

[1] Man, in *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. XII, p. 108.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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623 a good deal of influence in connection with quarrels either of
562 individuals or of local groups.

There are certain men, and possibly sometimes women, who
756 have an influence over their fellows owing to their being credited with the possession of supernatural powers. These men, called in *Aka-Jeru oko-jumu* (literally "one who speaks from dreams"), will be described in a later chapter. As they are believed to have command over the powers that produce and cure sickness everyone tries to be on good terms with them, avoiding giving them offence in any way, and seeking their favour by presents of food or other things. It sometimes happens that a chief (the leading man of a local group) is at the same time a medicine-man or *oko-jumu*, but the two positions are entirely distinct and separate, and a man may be a medicine-man who possesses none of the qualities that are necessary for a head man.

673 There does not appear to have been in the Andamans any such thing as the punishment of crime. We may distinguish two kinds of anti-social actions which are regarded by the natives as being wrong. The first kind are those actions which injure in some way a private individual. The second are those, which, while they do not injure any particular person, are yet regarded with disapproval by the society in general.

Amongst the anti-social actions of the first kind are murder, or wounding, theft and adultery, and wilful damage of the property of another.

578 No case of one Andamanese killing another has occurred in
recent years. Quarrels sometimes occur between two men of
627 the same camp. A good deal of hard swearing goes on, and
sometimes one of the men will work himself up to a high pitch
682 of anger, in which he may seize his bow and discharge an arrow
152 near to the one who has offended him, or may vent his ill-temper by destroying any property that he can lay his hands on, including not only that of his enemy but also that of other persons and even his own. At such a display of anger the women and children flee into the jungle in terror, and if the angry man be at all a formidable person the men occasionally do the same. It apparently requires more courage than the natives usually possess to endeavour to allay such a storm of

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encampment, has authority over all the sub-chiefs, but his power, like theirs, is very limited. It is exercised mainly in organising meetings between the various communities belonging to his tribe, and in exerting influence in all questions affecting the welfare of his followers. It is the chief alone, as may be supposed, who directs the movements of a party while on hunting or fishing expeditions, or when migrating. It is usually through his intervention that disputes are settled, but he possesses no power to punish or enforce obedience to his wishes, it being left to all alike to take the law into their own hands when aggrieved. 622 619

4. The *àryô·to-* and *ē·remtâ·ga-* in each tribe have their own head chief, who are independent the one of the other.

5. As might be assumed from the results of observations made of other savage races, whose sole or chief occupation consists in hunting or fishing, the power of the chiefs is very limited, and not necessarily hereditary, though, in the event of a grown-up son being left who was qualified for the post, he would, in most instances, be selected to succeed his father in preference to any other individual of equal efficiency. 622

6. At the death of a chief there is no difficulty in appointing a successor, even if he leave no son, for there is always at least one who is considered his deputy or right-hand man. As they are usually, on these occasions, unanimous in their choice, no formal election takes place; however should any be found to dissent, the question is decided by the wishes of the majority, it being always open to malcontents to transfer their allegiance to another chief, since there is no such thing as forced submission to the authority of one who is not a general favourite.

7. Social status being dependent not merely on the accident of relationship, but on skill in hunting, fishing, &c., and on a reputation for generosity and hospitality, the chiefs and elders are almost invariably superior in every respect to the rest. They and their wives are at liberty to enjoy immunity from the drudgery incidental to their mode of life, all such acts being voluntarily performed for them by the young unmarried persons living under their headship. [554]

8. Though females, like minors (that is to say youths under 18), cannot be chiefs, the former have a similar position relatively among the women, to that held by their husbands among the men of the tribe. A chief's wife enjoys many privileges, especially if she be a mother, and in virtue of her husband's rank rules over all the young unmarried women and such also of the married ones as are not senior to herself. Should she become a widow she continues to exercise the same rights, unless she re-marries, when her social status depends on that of 622 562

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her husband. In the event, however, of the widow of a chief being young and childless, she returns to the home of her maiden days, and is in a measure lost sight of, as she sinks to her former position.

9. It is believed by the people themselves that the system above described has prevailed among them from a remote period.

Covenants, Oaths, Ordeals.—1. No forms of covenant are to be traced in their dealings with one another, nor is there to be found among them anything of the nature of an oath or of an appeal to a higher power—as Heaven or the Sun—to punish breach of faith, or to bear witness to the truth.

2. They are in too primitive a state to possess any form of trial, or even to have any belief in the efficacy of an ordeal for discovering a guilty person; nor does it appear that any such practice existed in times past.

Laws.[1]—1. Justice, as I have already said, is administered by the simple method of allowing the aggrieved party to take the law into his own hands, which he usually does, either by flinging a burning faggot, or discharging an arrow, at, or more frequently *near*, the offender, while all who may be present lose no time in beating a retreat, and—taking with them as much of their property as their haste will allow—remain in concealment until sufficient time has elapsed for the settlement of the quarrel. When such an affair seems imminent, and likely to be serious, friends often interpose, seize the disputants, and remove their weapons, which are not restored so long as there appears any risk of their misusing them.

2. Should a man kill his opponent nothing is necessarily said or done to him, though it is permissible for a friend or relative of the deceased to avenge his death; in most cases, however, the murderer succeeds in striking such terror in the minds of the community that no one ventures to assail him or even to express any disapprobation of his conduct while he is within hearing: as conscience, however, makes cowards of us all, the homicide, from prudential motives, not unfrequently absents himself till he is assured that the grief and indignation of his victim's friends have considerably abated.

3. These remarks do not now-a-days apply, to the same extent, to those living near us, for the terror inspired by the punishments inflicted in all cases of murder brought to our notice has resulted in materially diminishing crimes of this nature among them. In May, 1880, an Andamanese youth was hanged

[1] As regards laws (!) relating to inheritance, information will be found in a subsequent paper, under the heading of "Property," paragraph 3.

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PART III.

Social Relations, Education, Infanticide—Attire—Tattooing—Painting—Shaving—Deformations—Weights and Measures—Astronomy—Trade, Exchangeable Values, and Property—Agriculture—Training and Domestication of Animals—Food—Tabu—Warfare—Hunting and Fishing—Navigation—Ornamentation—Pottery—Natural Forms and Miscellaneous Manufactures—Leather-work—Metallurgy—Stone Implements—Basket-work—String—Games and Amusements.

Social Relations, Education, and Infanticide.—1. Although it is true that the performance of most of the domestic duties falls to the lot of the women and children, it would be a great mistake to suppose that any compulsion is used by the head of the family; he usually leads quite as active a life as any of the females, and often shares certain of their labours, when necessity arises in consequence of sickness or other cause. As I have already stated,[1] it is quite incorrect to say of these savages that with them "marriage is nothing more than taking a female slave," for one of the most striking features of their social relations is the marked equality and affection which subsists between husband and wife;[2] careful observations extending over many years prove that not only is the husband's authority more or less nominal, but that it is not at all an uncommon occurrence for Andamanese Benedicts to be considerably at the beck and call of their better halves: in short, the consideration and respect with which women are treated might with advantage be emulated by certain classes in our own land.

2. The duties of the husband,—varying in the case of his being an *ē·rem-tâ·ga-* or an *àryō·to-*—consist chiefly in hunting, fishing, turtling, collecting honey, &c., constructing canoes, building the better kinds of huts,[3] and manufacturing the bows, arrows, and other implements needed in his various pursuits; he must also assist his wife in looking after the children, in keeping up the fire, and in providing the materials

[1] *Vide* "Marriage," paragraph 1.

[2] It has been correctly stated that "their mutual intercourse is courteous and genial, and the affection between parents and children is peculiarly tender" (Peschel, p. 148).

[3] *Vide ante* "Habitations," paragraph 2.

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462 required in making their various weapons, utensils, &c.; but though he has no hesitation in sharing and lightening his wife's labours up to this point, it is only in cases of stern necessity that he will condescend to procure either wood or water for the family requirements; the supply of these essentials of daily life being considered as peculiarly feminine duties and derogatory to the lords of creation.

3. Every woman is supposed to be a proficient in shaving,[1] tattooing,[2] and scarifying; she has also to prepare the *kòi·ob-*, *tâ·la-ōg-*, and *kâ·ngatâ-būj-*,[3] which are needed on so many occasions. The erection of the *chàng-dar·anga-*,[4] and the manufacture of personal ornaments,[5] and various other objects in constant use,[6] is also confined to the fair (!) sex, and when to these are added their daily duties of procuring certain kinds of food, cooking, and providing the water and fuel required for the family, it will be seen that the Andamanese materfamilias—who has not several children old enough to give her material assistance—has her time fully employed, or at least sufficiently so to prevent her getting into much mischief.

461 4. It is the duty of those men and women who remain at home to attend to the sick, infants, and others who are in a dependent position, to look after the fires in the various huts, and, of course, if needs be, to protect the property of absentees: for all those who are not physically incapable are supposed to employ themselves in some way, either for their own benefit or that of the community to which they belong.

574 251 5. It is customary for every family to maintain a supply of provisions in excess of its own requirements for the use of friends who may chance to visit the encampment; but in the storage of their food—owing probably to the ease with which it is generally procured—much is often wasted which might without difficulty be preserved. The seeds of the *Artocarpus chaplasha*, and of a species of *Semecarpus*, are alone kept for any length of time. The manner in which this is effected will be described in the section treating of "Food."[7]

462 562 484 6. Migrations and other events affecting the movements of a whole community are arranged by the chief and elders; women in such matters are not consulted, though while on the march it is they who are expected to carry the heaviest loads: this

[1] *Vide ante* "Hair," paragraph 4, and *post* "Shaving," paragraph 2.
[2] *Vide post* "Tattooing," paragraph 2.
[3] *Vide* Appendix B, items 60, 58, 62.
[4] *Vide ante* "Habitations," paragraph 4.
[5] *Vide post* "Attire," paragraph 1.
[6] In Appendix B will be found detailed the various objects manufactured by both men and women.
[7] *Vide post* "Food," paragraph 32.

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arises from no want of consideration for the weaker vessel, but simply because, if unnecessarily encumbered, the men would be unable to shoot or pursue any animal which might cross their path. 462 562 484

7. Such training as the children receive is undertaken by their parents or guardians; in the case of boys it consists merely in providing them with miniature weapons suitable to their age, and instructing them in their use: as they advance in years they accompany the men in their hunting and fishing expeditions, and, being by nature intelligent and emulous, they speedily acquire sufficient skill to enable them to afford material assistance to their elders. 868

8. The girls, similarly, are taught by their mothers, or other female guardians, how to fulfil the various duties which are regarded as essentially pertaining to their sex, and which I have described in the foregoing.

9. It seems hardly necessary to add that the unnatural custom of infanticide is unknown to the Andamanese,[1] and though the mortality among infants is excessive,[2] it is traceable to no want of affection, but to the injudicious treatment and lavish attentions bestowed upon the little ones by their ignorant though well-intentioned elders.[3] 847

10. For the better security of their babies, when travelling, women are in the habit of hanging round their necks a string the ends of which have been previously fastened to the infant's wrists; the child being then placed in a *chīp-*,[4] cannot by any accident meet with a serious fall. 854

Attire.—1. Madame de Staël speaks of certain children being "*vêtu du climât:*" the same expressive remark may be applied to the Andamanese, for no clothing, as we understand the word, is worn by either sex; there are, however, certain so-called ornamental circlets, garters, bracelets, cinctures, and necklaces of bones,[5] wood, or shell, which are its substitute[6] and serve to 291

[1] The birth of a girl is usually as gratifying to the parents as that of a boy.

[2] *Vide ante* "Reproduction," paragraph 4.

[3] Dr. Day has correctly stated that "men and women seem equally fond of carrying the babies about; all pet them; when they cry for anything, they give it; and over-kindness early consigns the little one to the grave."

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 24.

[5] As far as we at present know, the *jārawa-* do not wear necklaces of bone, or the skulls of their deceased relatives. The males of this tribe wear round their heads, waists, knees, and arms, fringes of string attached to a cord or cane, which are called by the *bō-jig-ngī-ji-*, *bĕ-ria-* (*vide* Plate IX, figs. 13, 13*a*, 13*b*).

[6] The relatives of a deceased person will commonly wear such of the ornaments as are in good condition, "in memoriam;" this is not, however, a distinguishing peculiarity, or one confined to savages.

and an irritable temper indicating a nervous temperament, are by no means rare. The natural good looks of many of the people are injured by the habit of shaving and smearing themselves with greasy red and white pigments. 142

The pleasing appearance of the men is not a characteristic of the women, whose habits of completely shaving the head and profusely smearing themselves, with an early tendency to stoutness and ungainliness of figure and sometimes to pronounced prognathism, frequently make them unattractive objects to Europeans. They are, however, bright and merry even into old age and are under no special social restrictions, have a good deal of influence, and in old age are often much respected. They nevertheless readily and naturally acquiesce in a position of subordination, slavery and drudgery to the men, and are apt to herd together in parties of their own sex. Variation from type is much commoner among the men than the women. 142 562

III. Mental Characteristics.

Sense Development.—The nerve development of the Andamanese is low, pain is not severely felt and wounds quickly heal. The sense development is normal and instances of unusual acuteness observed are the result of personal training in certain directions and not of heredity, *e.g.*, they will recognise one of themselves at a great distance, but not an unaccustomed object such as a European: they can smell a fire or hear the sound of dancing also at a great distance, but this is because they are always on the look-out for these things and their discernment is a matter of habit and of much consequence to themselves. They can, in short, do well such things as they pay particular or habitual attention to. 147 151

The Andamanese are naturally far sighted, and any near sight observed will be found to be due to leucoma or other disease. In respect to sight, however, they are not more highly gifted than civilized mankind. The colour sense is hardly developed at all and they are what would be called in Europe colour-blind to most colours. Black, white and red are distinguished, but green and blue are not. This is due apparently to want of observation only, as they distinguish between white paint and the white European skin. A good deal of blindness was caused by imported epidemic ophthalmia in 1877. Hearing is not abnormally acute, but is highly trained in matters pertaining to jungle craft. Touch seems to be undeveloped. The sense of smell is highly developed in matters necessary to their existence, but they have no appreciation of artificial scent or of that of flowers which do not denote food, nor can they distinguish by smell that which they cannot see unless it be an object of food. Taste is strongly developed as to honey, distinguishing that deposited from different flowers. They care nothing for scenery and do not decorate themselves with flowers. 151 [164]

Character.—In childhood the Andamanese are possessed of a bright intelligence, which, however, soon reaches its climax and the adult may be compared in this respect with the civilised child of ten or twelve. He has never had any sort of agriculture, nor until the English taught him the use of dogs did he ever domesticate any kind of animal or bird, nor did he teach himself to turn turtle or to use hook and line in fishing. He cannot count and all his ideas are hazy, inaccurate and ill-defined. He has never developed unaided any idea of drawing or making a tally or record for any purpose, but he readily understands a sketch or plan when shown him. He soon becomes mentally tired and is apt to break down physically under mental training. 181

He retains throughout life the main characteristics of the child: of very short but strong memory, suspicious of but hospitable to strangers, ungrateful, imitative and watchful of his companions and neighbours, vain and under the spur of vanity industrious and persevering, teachable up to a quickly reached limit, fond of undefined games and practical jokes, too happy and careless to be affected in temperament by his superstitions, too careless indeed to store water even for a voyage, plucky but not couragoous, reckless only from ignorance or inappreciation of danger, selfish but not without generosity, chivalry or a sense of honour, petulant, hasty of temper, entirely irresponsible and childish in action in his wrath and equally quick to forget, affectionate, lively in his movements and exceedingly taking in his moments of good temper. At these times the Andamanese are gentle and pleasant to each other, considerate to the aged, the

372 they show much skill in so carrying smouldering logs with them by land or sea that they are not extinguished. Their ignorance of this fundamental requirement of civilization is shown in their fire-legend that fire was originally stolen from their deity Puluga and has never been allowed to become extinct since. Excepting guns, nothing has more impressed the Andamanese with European power and resources than the use of matches, *i.e.*, of making fire whenever required with ease.

342 In the Little Andaman and among the Jarawas of the South Andaman, large permanent huts for use in the wet season are built up of solid materials to 30 feet in height and 60 in breadth to hold the fires of 7 to 8 hunting parties, say 60 to 70 people, *i.e.*, they contain 7 to 8 fires with about 8 persons to each "fire." The Jarawa hunting camp is much the same as that of any other Andamanese and his great communal hut is built on the same principle as the larger huts of the other Andamanese.

The use of the flimsy hunting shelters and camp huts of the Andamanese is rendered possible in the wet and stormy weather so common in the Islands by the denseness of the jungle, which prevents the winds from reaching them even when close to the sea-beach and causes the rain to fall vertically upon them.

619 **Government.**—There is no idea of Government, but to each tribe and to each sept of it there is a recognised head, who has attained that position by 622 tacit agreement on account of some admitted superiority, mental or physical, and commands a limited respect and such obedience as the self interest of the other individual men of the tribe or sept dictates. There is a tendency to [554] hereditary right in the natural selection of chiefs, but there is no social status that is not personally acquired. The social position of a chief's family follows that of the chief himself and admits of many privileges in the shape of tribal influence and immunity from drudgery. His wife is among women what he is [888] among men and at his death, if a mother and not young, she retains his privileges. Age commands respect and the young are deferential to the elders. Offences, *i.e.*, murder, theft, adultery, mischief, assault, are punished by the 627 aggrieved party on his own account by injury to the body and property or by murder, without more active interference on the part of others than is consistent with their own safety, and without any fear of consequences except vengeance from the friends of the other side, and even this is usually avoided by disappearance till the short memory of the people has obliterated wrath.

421 Property is communal, as is all the land, and ideas as to individual possessions are but rudimentary, accompanied with an incipient tabu of the property belonging to a chief. An Andamanese will often readily part with ornaments to any one who asks for them. Theft, or the taking of property without leave, is only recognised as to things of absolute necessity, as arrows, pig's flesh, fire. 437 A very rude barter exists between tribes of the same group in regard to articles not locally obtainable or manufactured. This applies especially to cooking pots, which are made of a special clay found only in certain parts of the islands. The barter is really a gift of one article in expectation of another of assumed corresponding value in return, and a row if it is not forthcoming. The territory of other tribes is carefully respected without however there being any fixed boundaries.

562 The duties of men and women are clearly defined by custom, but not so as to make that of the women comparatively hard. The women have a tacitly acknowledged inferior position, but it is not such as to be marked or to leave them without influence.

771 **Religion.**—The religion is simple animism and consists of fear of the evil spirits of the wood, the sea, disease and ancestors, and of avoidance of acts traditionally displeasing to them, and this in spite of an abundance of mythological tales told in a confused, disjointed manner that is most instructive to the student of such things. There is neither ceremonial worship nor propitiation. There is an anthropomorphic deity, Puluga, the cause of all things, whom it is not, however, necessary to propitiate, though sins, *i.e.*, acts displeasing to him, are avoided for fear of damage to the products of the jungle. Puluga dwells now in the sky, but used to live on the top of Saddle Peak, their highest mountain. The Andamanese have an idea that the "soul" will go under the earth by an aerial bridge after death, but there is no heaven nor hell nor any idea of a cor-

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

have been pushed into the western jungle infested areas of South Andaman by the foreign settlers and even now attempts of establishing contacts and maintaining good will have proved completely futile. The Onges at present, inhabit the island of Little Andaman, 40 miles from South Andaman and they have come under very negotiable and friendly terms. A detailed account of these aboriginal population has been given in a chapter on the aboriginal population.

Leaving aside the aboriginal population, the islands are being inhabited by the local-borns or the Andaman Indians who have settled in and around the urban centre of Port Blair. The convicts of the penal settlement have settled in these areas by bringing their family members from the mainland or by getting married with the convict women and to-day they are the Andaman Indians. The Andaman Indians drawn from different parts of India and having different languages have become an integrated homogeneous community with Hindi as their spoken language and Urdu as their written script. Such a formation of homogeneous community is verily an example of fusion of different groups under a geographical setting with a common economic and social background. These people shared the major merit of development of the islands. Though agricultural development was attempted, it remained confined to a few areas only. The Andaman Indians being mostly non-agriculturists have shown a reluctance to agricultural practices which is evident from the gradual inflow of these people from agricultural to non-agricultural pursuits, especially in the Government services. The absence of any genuine attempt, to a great extent because of the lack of Government help, has told immensely on the relatively poor development of agriculture. These people are getting fairly educated at Schools in Port Blair and have the collegiate education in the mainland. The educational attainments have, however, been quite upto the satisfaction of meeting the demands of the institutions at Port Blair and in the islands.

Apart from the aboriginal population, a few groups of Bhantus and Mapillas, two criminal tribes of India, and a few Burmans and Karens have settled in the islands. Excepting the Karens who have settled through free enterprise in the north of Middle Andaman, all the groups were brought to the islands to serve the terms of their conviction. However, all these groups have settled quite peacefully in the islands with agriculture as their basis of economy. A limited number of people come to the islands for serving in the administration but they have no interest to settle in the islands and even to-day, the service in the Govt. offices

10:Sen K-3,4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

563 is made lucrative by way of giving an additional allowance of 33.3% to the basic salary in the islands. The lack of social and cultural developments coupled with the remoteness of these islands still now provoke this apathy. Since the independence, the colonisation of the uprooted East Bengal refugees together with some people from South India is being implemented. An appraisal of the resources of the islands shows the possibility of the development of agriculture with rice as the staple crop, as is common to tropics and on account of the hilly terrain and the vegetative cover, the area of the agricultural development is not at all considerable but quite sufficient for 5000 families. Of all the three main islands, the North, Middle and South Andamans, Middle Andaman offers the maximum potentiality by virtue of the bigger area, presence of a number of river valleys and absence of any other settlement of the later settlers or aborigines. Next to it is the North Andaman and lastly the South Andaman though it seems to be the most lucrative of all the islands. The response of the refugees in the beginning of the implementation of such a programme has been poor which largely owes to the lack of knowledge about the islands, the long distance from the mainland and also due to their being a land of aborigines and penal settlement. However the improved knowledge and the personal acquaintance with the islands have proved a long way in dispelling those aweful ideas. A new chapter in the history of the islands has opened for such enterprises which aims at an all-round regional development simultaneously with the agricultural settlement.

563 648 For such a small group of islands the cultural diversity is quite conspicuous arising out of the settlement of a heterogeneous group of people coming from different parts of India and also of some from Burma. Though circumstances have played a great role in bringing about a homogeneity, a precise observation shows their distinct characteristics. The aboriginal population has, however, become an object of academic study only and the few of them, the Jarawas, the Onges and the Sentinelese, who are surviving need a deeper intimacy with the civilised people but so far except the Onges such efforts have not proved successful. The penal settlement which ultimately gave way to the development of settlement in South Andaman did not prove very envigorating for the lack of Government help, co-operation and imbalanced sex-ratio. The demographic characteristics have been dealt in details in the chapter on the later settlers and show how much imbalanced it is for the successful growth of population. However the agricultural settlement of the refugees obviously paves the way for a healthy development of the population and

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

simultaneously with it a successful all-round regional development of the islands. 563 648

The resources of the islands having a small areal extent are very limited though the forest and sea products are fairly rich to deserve special mention. The presence of a variety of valuable species of timber in these islands has led to their exploitation since the development of the Penal settlement. The important species of timber found in the Andaman forests are padauk, garjan etc. In the previous decades, the forest exploitation was never associated with a commensurate amount of forest regeneration. Such policies are being followed at present for saving the forest resources from ruthless exploitation without any adequate means of ensuring a perennial supply of timber by systematic regeneration. The recent colonisation scheme has invoked the enquiry for the clearance of the forests. Andaman forests being rich in timber and also being the only major revenue earning source of the islands should by no means be ruthlessly cleared for settlement. Not only it depletes the forest resources but also degenerates the soil—the soil erosion being the immediate victim after such clearance of forests. Considering the primary importance of the forest resources of the islands, it seems to be a plausible agreement that at least 50% of the land should be reserved under forest cover and a further curtailment from this percentage will undoubtedly lead to serious consequences of the soil simultaneously with a great decrease in the resources of the islands. 313

The sea products range from a wide variety of products from sea shells to sea fisheries. The collection of sea shells is in vogue from a fairly long time and the sea fisheries, mostly being confined to the coastal areas, is conducted by the fishermen and the tribal people for their own consumption. There is a good deal of possibility for furthering the development of marine fisheries on a commercial scale but the lack of enterprise and capital investment has not given rise to any appreciable development. The only two enterprises of the fisheries are those of Trochus and Turbo shells by the Japanese during 1930-36 and another enterprise by a business concern in 1947. Even the present catch from the coastal areas amount to only 300 lbs., a considerable lag from the demand within the islands. 226 228

The means of earning livelihood in the islands were hunting and collecting by the aboriginal population who have not even to-day learnt the techniques of domesticating plants and also animals except the Onges who have domesticated the dogs very recently. The penal settlement and the subsequent expansion of the administrative seat at Port Blair 222 224 231 563 241

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gave way to the development of agriculture over an extremely limited area in South Andaman — paddy cultivation and coconut plantations have succeeded quite well. The plantations of rubber, tea and coffee also developed in the South Andaman over very small areas but ultimately did not prove very successful, partially due to the lack of adequate care. Simultaneously with the settlement of the refugees, new areas are being brought under plough which had never been interfered with human hands. The growth of agriculture based on rice cultivation together with vegetable gardening, development of orchards, coconut cultivation will bring about self-sufficiency of the islands and make the people self-supporting.

Industrial development of any big scale cannot be foreseen except the lumbering industry because of the lack of resources, power and also of any appreciable home market. Besides lumbering, the fishing industry, if properly co-ordinated with the mainland, can be developed to a great extent. A number of cottage industries based on coconuts, sea and forest products have developed, of which the coirmaking has developed most.

The characteristics, common to the tropical islands, are to a large degree manifested in these islands. The physical environment suffers from a number of limitations. Hot and humid climate is ameliorated by the influence of the sea in all parts as none of them are more than 10 miles away from the sea. The problems of soil are quite tremendous and such signs are only discernible to a small extent in the islands which might share greater proportions in the future if adequate measures of careful cultivation are not undertaken. The natural vegetation should be carefully preserved and regenerated after the felling of the trees not only for the conservation of the vegetation but also for saving the soil from the serious consequences of erosion. The cultural environment is a mosaic of variety because of the different types of people who have been living in these islands, however negligible their number might be. The imbalance of regional growth, being exclusively confined to the South Andaman, is being removed with the growth of settlement in the other parts of the islands and the indications of the shift in gravity of the economic interests is synchronising with the progress of settlement in the North and Middle Andamans. Mayabunder is handling a greater share in the movement of commodities and passengers. Such changes are undoubtedly very much welcome as the lowering of the disparities in the regional economy and growth speak of an all-round regional development.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P 517

CHAPTER VIII

THE PEOPLE

The study of the people of the Andamans is rendered extremely interesting by virtue of the great diversities in the types of population. Obviously for the islands like the Andamans the diversities of population are far out of proportion. The islands remained as an abode of the aborigines, the negritoes, in complete seclusion and the only outside interference that had tampered the islands were the occasional raids by the sea pirates from Malaya. The beliefs about the occasional exchanges of commodities and ideas of the pirates with the Andamanese and the trade of the Andamanese for being sold as slaves in the courts of Siam and Cambodia are still now questions of doubt. However, it was only at the end of the 18th century, with the attempt of the formation of settlements and later on, of the penal settlement, that there began an influx of foreign peoples, mainly from the different parts of the mainland of India. With the formation of the penal colony, convicts were brought over to the islands in numbers and also a few attempts of free colonisation by some people from Burma and India were made. The convicts who were from the different parts of India and the free colonizors who were diverse enough in their social and cultural traits gave a character of heterogeneity to the islands. It was only after the attainment of the independence that the settlement of the East Bengal refugees and of some people from South India is taking place in the Andamans. This is going to add further to the cultural diversity of the islands. This scheme of colonisation of the East Bengal refugees and of some people from South India is the first attempt of some importance for the permanent colonization in the islands.

Such a variety in the types of people, can be broadly divided into three groups.

(a) The aboriginal population.
(b) The Later Settlers, and
(c) The New Settlers.

The aboriginal population belongs to the negrito stock and therefore, has an affinity with the Semangs and Sakais of Malaya, the Veddas of Ceylon and the other negrito groups of Southeast Asia. Some attribute the origin of these aborigines to the settlement of some Portuguese negro slaves who had survived by coming to these islands after a ship-

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The formation of the penal colony in the islands brought in a number of convicts from time to time to serve death sentence or life sentence because of the political or criminal offence and majority of the convicts had ultimately settled in the islands and at present they have got mixed up irrespective of the caste, creed and religion with a fair degree of homogeneity. They are known as Andaman Indians. Besides these Andaman Indians, the groups of Karens and Burmans constitute a very small percentage of the Burmese population in the islands who foster their indigenous traditions. The need for land for the rehabilitation of the refugees in India due to the partition has made from for the settlement of some refugees in the islands. As the settlement programme of these refugees and also of some people from South India demanded the search for suitable land for colonization of the people, a number of delegations had explored the possibilities. The islands with the extreme smallness in size can hardly make room for the lakhs of refugees but the limited settlement that has been established has definitely provided some of the unfortunates with a small plot of land to live on. This idea of colonization is unique in the settlement history of the islands as we do not find in the earlier periods such an attempt for permanent colonization except by some people from Burma. So long, the permanent settlements grew out of the settlement of the free convicts and in most cases under compulsion. The settlement of the later settlers was so long confined within the South Andaman only and especially around Port Blair. But this colonization scheme which has started operating since March, 1949 is throwing open the different parts of the islands for permanent settlement. 563

As the aboriginal population and the later settlers are the determinants of the dynamism of the islands, three separate chapters are added. The first chapter is devoted to the study of the aboriginal population and the other ones, to that of the later settlers and new settlers. 128

[The two chapters on the later settlers and the new settlers haven't been processed. -Analyst]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Ariotto

175 a furious aversion to foreigners. This hatred has been rekindled
177 during the last hundred years by a number of unfortunate incidents,
648 but at one time the islanders were favourably disposed towards seafarers passing by, if we are to believe Niccolo dei Conti and Cesare Federici, fleeting visitors to the islands in 1440 and 1569. They both wrote of the peaceful native canoes that approached their ships, and this is confirmed by other travellers, like the Italians Fra Odorico da Pordenone in 1332 and Giovan Francesco Gemelli Caresi in 1709.

Violent clashes with the coastal tribes only became frequent when the English began to take an interest in the Andamans as a possible penal colony. The first prisoners to be sent there were some Indians, in 1788. In 1796 the colony was abolished owing to the swift death of nearly all the prisoners from tropical diseases. The attempt was repeated in 1858 after a mission entrusted to F. Mouat, and this time the seeds of decline for the islanders were sown. Efforts were begun to approach the coastal peoples, and even, strangely enough, those of the forests, the now ferocious Jarawas. Some of these tentative overtures were well received, but once the islanders came to think they had been betrayed it was enough to rekindle the hatred of strangers which they have retained ever since.

166 The evidence obtainable from archaeological excavations shows
[172] that for thousands of years the people encountered by the English in the coastal areas were the sole inhabitants of Great Andaman, living by fishing rather than by hunting or cultivation in the forests. The Jarawas arrived later. Migration from Little Andaman, imposed in relatively recent times by lack of food, brought them to Great Andaman. Since the entire coastal region was already occupied, the new arrivals took refuge in the forests of the hinterland. There they were happy, for they found an abundance of wild honey
[628] and fruit which amply fulfilled their needs. A spontaneous equilibrium was established between the coast-people and the forest-people, and both prospered.

175 The arrival of an appreciable number of foreigners in 1858 im-
177 mediately changed the situation. The peoples of the coast, who
648 were the most anxious to make friends with the strangers, paid for
16 this fatal error with virtual extermination. When the foreigners had
101 definitely established themselves, the coastal Andamanese – *Ariosto*
563

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Arioto

in the local language, as opposed to the people of the interior, the *Eremtaga* – appear to have numbered between six and eight thousand. Over the years their place has been taken by more than thirteen thousand foreigners, most of whom were deportees, enjoying relative liberty as servants of government officials, farmers and foresters. The settlers, voluntarily or involuntarily, introduced the islanders to alcohol and tobacco, forcing them to turn to the foreigners in order to satisfy their craving. In the famous and extremely frank work of the English explorer M. V. Portman (*A History of our Relations with the Andamanese*, Calcutta, 1899) official letters are reproduced which give precise instructions in the matter to government officials. The result of these instructions was to transform the Arioto into alcohol and tobacco addicts. Syphilis was passed to the native women by the deportees, and from them to their men. When, a few years after the mass importation of prisoners, the government authorities became aware of the infection among the Arioto, not one of them had escaped. The miserable twenty-three survivors of the eight to nine thousand of a century ago show the ultimate result only too well, and their final extinction is imminent.

Before the advent of the new civilization, the Arioto had divided up into at least ten distinct communities, but without any true tribal organization. They respected a form of chief, chosen by tacit consent for his personal qualities rather than by name or by birth-right; but the chiefs acted merely as paternal advisers, to be respected in times of trouble, with no illusions of authority. No one commanded, and none obeyed: all were content to follow the whim of the moment, with no conception of social obligation.

When the foreigners arrived, there were five main groups of Arioto on North Andaman, the Cari, Chede, Cora, Jeru and Tabo. Another five groups were in South Andaman, the Balawa, Bea, Bogig-iab, Joi and Col. With the numerical decline of the Arioto, who had always been endogamous within their group, a tendency arose for the survivors to merge and inter-marry, so that the twenty-three alive today are in fact the result of the mixing of the northern and southern Arioto, and of these with Indians and Burmese. The chief of these twenty-three individuals is Loca, a name in itself an indication of this ethnic mixture. Loca means 'whiskers', and he himself has a moustache, whereas pure Negritos have no body or facial hair.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
[Tinnevelly] Tamil AW17
Andamans AZ2

T 369

the river and indeed so practically contiguous that the towns are virtually one.

T 312 377 241

The real interest of the Tamprabarni, its irrigation apart, lies in the future. The Tamprabarni is probably unique among Indian rivers in that it was harnessed to provide direct hydraulic power for cotton spinning: the first of two turbine-driven mills was set up in 1885. At Papanasam there is a 300-ft fall which is being developed to produce 21,000 kW (ultimate capacity 28,000). The actual engineering work is completed, and full development is limited only by doubts as to the need of conserving water for irrigation; but the possibilities of cheap electricity in this area are manifold: foremost perhaps an increase of well-irrigation in the half-dead edaphically arid tracts, and industrially the revivification of the palmyra sugar industry, the extension of cotton in all its branches. Oilseeds could certainly be more widely cultivated in the red soil area, possibly leading to soap and allied industries, and the hills contain vast reserves of bamboo for paper-making.

The Andaman and Nicobar Islands

A 133

These two groups, directly under Delhi, continue the trend of the Arakan Yomas, linking them to the Sumatran ranges. They differ between themselves to a marked extent; both physically and culturally.

1. *The Andamans*

These number over 200, extending NNE/SSW for some 220 miles between 10° and 14° N; the total area is 2500 sq mls, of which the great bulk is in the three major islands of North, Middle, and South Andaman. These three, indeed, are separated only by narrow mangrove-fringed inlets, so that they are often referred to as virtually one island, Great Andaman. The islands are formed of sandstones, limestones, clays, and some serpentines, probably mainly Tertiary, and are highly dissected, rising to 2400 ft. With a temperature never far from 85° F, rainfall over 100 ins., and a monsoonal distribution with no really rainless season, they are naturally jungle-covered: mangrove along coasts and inlets, tropical evergreen along valleys and on steeper wetter slopes, elsewhere moist deciduous. Forestry is perhaps the most important economic activity and is fairly well organised; a match factory was set up about 1930.

A [132] A 313 381 A 161 563

The total population in 1941 was 21,316, but this included a strange medley: aboriginals, convicts and ex-convicts with their 'local-born' children, officials. A century ago the aboriginals probably numbered about 5000; in 1931 they were estimated at about 460, in 1941 at 62; many tribes have died right out. At once shy and savage, they had a reputation for ferocity, and early settlement was avowedly to protect shipwrecked

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AWI India
Andamans A22

mariners from massacre. Despite efforts at conciliation there was violence on both sides; attempts were made indeed to settle some of the more friendly groups in an 'Andamans Home' as fishers of trepang (sea-slug) and collectors of edible bird-nests, both for the Chinese market. But the only result was to civilise them out of existence, largely by venereal disease.[52] The Andamanese are—perhaps one should say were—Negritos, and as they represented perhaps the nearest approach to a 'pure primitive' society, both ethnically and culturally, these hunters and gatherers have attracted anthropological attention out of proportion to their numbers.[53]

Transportation of convicts to the Andamans began after the Mutiny. Latterly there was a change of emphasis, hopeless criminals being re-transported to India and the settlement becoming in effect an open prison for young men condemned to life sentences for more or less excusable homicide. After a few months in jail convicts were allowed to become wage-earning employees of Government, to wear ordinary dress, and to marry or bring out their wives. These changes were reflected in the sex composition of the population: 15,158 males to 2980 females in 1901, 14,872 to 6444 in 1941. The cultural landscape also changed: "Everywhere the ephemeral huts of former times are giving way to well-constructed two-storeyed houses of sawn timber and iron roofs," and a good deal of reclamation of malarial swamp took place around Port Blair. The communal composition of the population was an odd reflection of social conditions: in 1941 Muslims were about a third, largely Moplahs from Madras deported after their 1921 rebellion; Sikhs were 3·5% against an All-India total of 1·5%, Buddhists—i.e. Burmese—over 13%. This corresponds to the prevalence of dacoity in Burma and to the Sikh *penchant* for "liquor, love, and fights".

Practically all the economic development is in the Settlement of Port Blair, an area of about 500 sq mls in the S of South Andaman; here is 90% of the population, the remainder being in forest camps. About 75,000 ac. are more or less cleared, of which about 10–15,000 are cultivated and as much grazing land. Paddy and coconuts each account for about a third of the cultivation, and there are (or were) struggling plantations of rubber and coffee, negligible in area.

The war and the Japanese occupation saw a fall in population to about 16,000, and on re-occupation the penal settlement was formally abolished. From time to time schemes of Anglo-Indian agricultural settlement have been mooted, and in March 1948 a batch of 132 families displaced from E Bengal arrived. It may be noted that some Burmese politicians periodi-

[52] 1931 Census Vol. II (Andamans and Nicobars), 11–23.

[53] The classic treatments are those of Sir Richard Temple in the 1901 Census and of A. R. Brown in *The Andaman Islanders* (1922). There is unfortunately little geography in the latter book; what there is is largely summed up in L. Garrard's 'sociograph' in *Studies in Regional Consciousness and Environment* (ed. I. C. Peate, 1930), 82.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

602 his own mother, or any other woman of the same age. There is only a slight difference in connection with parents-in-law. A man would not be so familiar with his parents-in-law as he would with his parents or their brothers or sisters, and treats them with more deference and respect. This is borne out by the *Akar-Bale* custom of applying to a father-in-law or mother-in-law the same term of address (*Mama*) that is used in speaking to grandparents and others to whom it is required to show particular deference.

602 In the same way there is very little difference between the way a man conducts himself towards his elder brother and his ●572 conduct towards any other man of the same age. Brothers are often close comrades, putting their huts next to one another in the same village, joining together whenever possible in hunting or fishing expeditions, and so on; but a man may have a comrade who is not his brother, whom he will treat in exactly the same way.

602 The general attitude of a married man to other married men somewhat younger than himself is very much that towards a younger brother. As between men and women one special duty appears in this connection. A married man may not and will not have any close dealings with the wife of a man younger than himself. It is not considered fitting that he should speak to her. If he wished to have any communication with her, he would do so through some third person. It would be regarded as a wrong thing to do if he were ever to touch her. The only explanation that the natives give of this custom is by saying that a man feels "shy" or "ashamed" towards his younger brother's or friend's wife. The custom is exactly the same with respect to the wife of any younger man, whether a brother, a cousin, or a stranger.

This custom depends on the distinction between older and younger. A man may be on terms of familiarity with the wife of a man older than himself, whom he would treat much as he would an elder sister.

601 There is one special relationship which has peculiar duties attaching to it, and this is the relationship between the father 602 and mother of a man on the one hand and the father and

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans A22

that the young are early instructed in the duties of hospitality, 000
while the aged, the suffering, and the helpless are objects of special attention; that their moral code is not confined within these limits will be seen as I proceed.

4. The curious, but by no means uncommon,[1] savage custom 597
of adoption prevails among them, from which, however, it must
not be inferred that love of offspring is a characteristic in which 572
they are at all deficient, for this is far from being the case.

5. It is said to be of rare occurrence to find any child above six or seven years of age residing with its parents, and this because it is considered a compliment and also a mark of friendship[2] for a married man, after paying a visit, to ask his hosts to allow him to adopt one of their children. The request is usually complied with, and thenceforth the child's home is with his (or her) foster-father (*mai-ōt-châ·tnga-*): though the parents in their turn adopt the children of other friends, they nevertheless pay continual visits to their own child, and occasionally ask permission (!) to take him (or her) away with them for a few days.

6. A man is entirely at liberty to please himself in the number of children he adopts, but he must treat them with kindness and consideration, and in every respect as his own sons and daughters, and they, on their part, render him filial affection and obedience.

7. It not unfrequently happens that in course of time permission to adopt a foster-child is sought by a friend of the *soi-disant* father, and is at once granted (unless any exceptional circumstance should render it personally inconvenient), without even the formality of a reference to the actual parents, who are merely informed of the change in order that they may be enabled to pay their periodical visits.

8. Foster-parents constantly manifest much opposition to any 597
desire they may observe on the part of the lads they have 882
brought up, to make a home for themselves, for the selfish
reason that they are useful in a variety of ways, above all, when 572
they have acquired skill in hunting, turtling, &c.; over the
maidens little or no restraint is imposed, as their marriage entails but a trifling loss in a material sense on those who have reared them.

9. Human nature, however, is the same all the world over, 597
and boys will be boys even in the Andaman jungles, so it is not 836
surprising that, in spite of all the precautions taken by their 584
572

[1] *Vide* Lubbock, "On the Origin of Civilization," &c., p. 96.

[2] Whether this be the true explanation of its object and origin or not, there can be little doubt that it has the effect of greatly extending the intercourse between the members of the various encampments.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

572 597 836 584 seniors, a good deal of flirtation, and often something more, is carried on by the young people without arousing any suspicions as to their sentiments for one another, until the affair has become too serious to be broken off, and has to end, sooner or later, in their marriage and start in life on their own account. In some cases, when the guardians have reason to believe that a lad has, notwithstanding his assurances to the contrary, a *sub silentio* attachment, they adopt the following method for testing the truth of his asseveration; on a given day it is arranged by the friends of the suspected couple that they shall (without the knowledge of either) be painted respectively [302] with the red oxide of iron unguent, *kòi·ob-*, and the white clay *tâ·la-ōg-*, for, as they would not meet till night-fall, the risk of their discovering the trap laid for them is reduced to a minimum, while a glance on the following morning would suffice to betray them if guilty, and the guardians' object would be attained, for, from shame at his secret being known, and his falsehood exposed, the youth feels in honour bound to break off his connection with the girl, at least for some time.

582 597 **Relationships.**—1. In all the relations of life the question of propinquity is, in their eyes, of paramount importance, and marriage is only permissible between those who are known to be not even distantly connected, except by wedlock, with each other; so inexorable, indeed, is this rule, that it extends, and applies equally, to such as are related merely by the custom of adoption to which I have just referred.

[605] 601 2. A first cousin, actual or by adoption, is regarded as a half-brother or half-sister, as the case may be, and nephews and nieces almost as sons and daughters, while the terms used to denote a grandfather, grandmother, grandson, and grand-daughter are equally applied to indicate respectively a grand-uncle, grand-aunt, grand-nephew, and grand-niece.

3. Parents, when addressing, or referring to their children and not using their names, employ distinct terms, the father calling his son *dar ō·dire, i.e.*, he that has been begotten by me, and his daughter *dar ō·dire-pail-*; while the mother makes use of the word *dab ē·tire, i.e.*, he whom I have borne, for the former, and *dab ē·tire-pail-* for the latter; similarly, friends in speaking of children to their parents say respectively, *ngar ō·dire*, or *ngab ē·tire* (your son), *ngar ō·dire-pail-*, or *ngab ē·tire-pail-* (your daughter).[1]

4. Uncles and aunts on the father's are not distinguished from those on the mother's side; relationships are traced in both lines, and the system with reference to either sex is identical.

[1] Foster-parents employ the terms *dōt châ·tnga-* and *dōt châ·tnga-pail-* in referring to their adopted son and daughter respectively.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

is to be seen but the dim light of the little fires burning in each 512
hut or in each of the family quarters.

On a day when there is plenty of food left from the day before, or on a day of stormy weather even when food is not too plentiful, the men may remain in camp instead of going hunting. They busy themselves with making weapons and implements, such as bows, arrows, adzes, etc.

On occasions when game is not very plentiful a party of hunters may stay away from the camp for a few days, not returning till they have been successful in obtaining a fair supply of food. The women and children and old men, with perhaps a few of the able bodied men also, remain at home and provide for themselves as well as they can, the women devoting their time to collecting what vegetable foods are in season.

At the end of the rainy season there comes a brief period 221
of unsettled weather, called by the natives of the North Andaman 262
Kimil, and by those of the South, *Gumul*. During this season some of the vegetable foods begin to be available, though not in any quantities. At this time of the year the natives are able to obtain and feast upon what they regard as great delicacies, the larvae of the cicada and of the great capricornis beetle. The cool season, when fruits and roots are plentiful, begins at the end of November. The forest dwellers leave their main encampment during this season. Some of them go off to pay visits [574]
to their friends of other local groups. Such visits may last two
or three months. Those who remain occupy temporary camps 221
in convenient places. The men join the women in looking for 222
roots and fruits, and do not spend so much of their time in 262
hunting. Some of the men visit the main camp at intervals of a few days to see that it is all right. As the cool season gives way to the hot season (March to May) honey begins to be plentiful. At that time hunting for pig is almost abandoned. The pigs are in poor condition, and even when one is killed it is often left in the jungle by the natives as not being good enough to eat. On the other hand everyone is busy collecting honey. [462]
This is work in which both men and women join, though it is the men who climb up the trees and cut down the honeycomb. The natives have no means of keeping the honey for more than

I: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

421 This is so, however, only in appearance. The hut is built by all
594 the different families, but each family is regarded as owning
342 a certain portion of the hut when it is finished, and it is the family that keeps this part of the hut in repair.

421 A canoe is cut by a number of men together. From the outset, however, it is the property of one man, who selects
501 the tree and superintends the operation of cutting it into shape.
476 He is always one of the older men, and he enlists the services of the younger men to help him. When finished the canoe is his property, and he can do with it what he pleases, giving it away, if he wishes, and no one has any share of ownership in a canoe on the ground that he helped to make it.

421 While all portable property is thus owned by individuals, the Andamanese have customs which result in an approach to com-
431 munism. One of these is the custom of constantly exchanging
● 574 presents with one another. When two friends meet who have not seen each other for some time, one of the first things they do is to exchange presents with one another. Even in the ordinary everyday life of the village there is a constant giving and receiving of presents. A younger man or woman may give some article to an older one without expecting or receiving any return, but between equals a person who gives a present always expects that he will receive something of equal value in exchange. At the meetings that take place between neighbouring local groups the exchange of presents is of great importance. Each of the visitors brings with him a number of articles that he distributes amongst the members of the group that he visits. When the visitors depart they are loaded with presents received from their hosts. It requires a good deal of tact on the part of everyone concerned to avoid the unpleasantness that may arise if a man thinks that he has not received things as valuable as he has given, or if he fancies that he has not received quite the same amount of attention as has been accorded to others.

431 It is considered a breach of good manners ever to refuse the request of another. Thus if a man be asked by another
576 to give him anything that he may possess, he will immediately do so. If the two men are equals a return of about the same value will have to be made. As between an older married man

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

602 brother or to his mother's brother which he does not also owe, in perhaps a less degree, to other men of the same age, and there is no term by which he can distinguish his father's brother from those others.

If this account of the system of relationship be accurate it will be seen that the Andamanese society contrasts very strongly, in this matter, with other primitive societies[1].

621 It remains for us only to examine the social relations between the different local groups. Two neighbouring groups, whether of the same tribe or of different tribes, might be either friendly towards one another or unfriendly. Friendly relations [582 were kept alive by several of the customs of the Andamanese, 591 by the intermarriage of members of different groups, by the 597] adoption of children from one group to another, and by the fact that a man of one group might take up his residence more or less permanently with another (particularly when he married a woman of that group, or was adopted when a boy by one of the men belonging to it). All these customs served to bind some persons in the one group to persons in the other, and thus prevent the two groups from becoming entirely unfriendly to one another.

When two neighbouring local groups were friendly to one 621 another communication between them was kept up by visitors • 574 from one group to another, and by occasional meetings of the whole of the two groups.

Either a single person or a family might at any time pay a visit to another camp, staying a few days or weeks or even longer. A man would, however, only go visiting when he was sure of a welcome. Such visits were most frequent in the fine months of the year (December to May). As a husband and wife in many instances belonged to different local groups they

[1] It would not be safe, however, to base any arguments of importance to sociology on the above description of the Andamanese system of relationship alone. Although I tried to learn all that I could on the subject, it is quite certain that I did not learn all that was to be learnt, and it is possible that further enquiry might have shown that I was mistaken in some of my observations. The difficulty of being really sure on these matters is due (1) to the fact that the breaking-up of the old local organisation has produced many changes in their customs, and (2) to the difficulty of questioning the natives on matters connected with relationships when they have no words in their language to denote any but the simplest relationships.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908) 1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

would, if living with the man's parents, pay a visit every year to the parents or other relatives of the wife. The parents of a child that had been adopted by a member of another local group would make a point of visiting the child when they could. Visitors to a camp would always take with them presents to be given to their hosts. A visitor was hospitably entertained, being given the best of the food, and joined his hosts in their hunting and fishing expeditions. The duty of hospitality is one upon which the Andamanese lay stress. 621 574

The meetings of two or more local groups were organised from time to time by the more prominent men. The time and place of the meeting would be fixed and invitations sent out to the neighbours. The visitors, men, women and children, would arrive at the appointed time, and would be accommodated as well as possible by the hosts. During the first few hours, as the natives themselves told me, everyone would feel a little shy and perhaps frightened, and it would take some time for this feeling to wear off. The visitors would bring with them various objects, such as bows, arrows, adzes, baskets, nets, red paint, white clay, and so on. These were given by the visitors to their hosts, and other presents were received in return. Although the natives themselves regarded the objects thus given as being presents, yet when a man gave a present to another he expected that he would receive something of equal value in return, and would be very angry if the return present did not come up to his expectations. A man would sometimes mention, when giving his present, that he would like some particular object in exchange, but this was the exception and not the rule, and the process cannot be spoken of as barter. In certain cases it undoubtedly served a useful economic purpose. Thus if a local group had no red ochre or white clay in their own country they could obtain these commodities by exchange with others who had. In the case of a meeting between forest and coast dwellers, the former could obtain such things as shells, red paint made with turtle fat, and other objects with which they could not provide themselves in any other way. It was in this way also that the iron obtained from a wreck on one part of the coast would be spread over a large area. For the most part, however, as 621 574 431 437

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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621 each local group, and indeed each family, was able to provide
574 itself with everything that it needed in the way of weapons and
431 utensils, the exchange of presents did not serve the same
437 purpose as trade and barter in more developed communities.

The purpose that it did serve was a moral one. The object
621 of the exchange was to produce a friendly feeling between the two
574 persons concerned, and unless it did this it failed of its purpose.
It gave great scope for the exercise of tact and courtesy. No
431 one was free to refuse a present that was offered to him. Each man and woman tried to out-do the others in generosity. There was a sort of amiable rivalry as to who could give away the greatest number of valuable presents.

The visitors remained with their hosts for a few days. The
574 time was spent in hunting, feasting and dancing, and in the
621 exchange of presents above described. The hosts made every
527 effort to provide the camp with plenty of good things. The guests took their share in the hunting and fishing expeditions. Every evening was spent in singing and dancing. Some of the men were sure to have composed new songs for such an occasion.

Such meetings as these were sometimes the means of bring-
574 ing to an end past quarrels between the local groups. but
621 occasionally they were the cause of new quarrels. The hosts, or
628 some of them, might think that they had been shabbily treated in the matter of presents, or the guests might complain that they were not well enough entertained. It often needed a man of strong influence to maintain harmony in the camp. Angry words might lead to the rapid breaking up of a meeting, and even result in a feud between the two groups.

621 Quarrels between individuals, as we have seen, were often
taken up by friends on each side. This was particularly the
628 case when the two opponents belonged to different local groups. Before the days of the settlement of the islands there often arose in this way petty quarrels between neighbouring local groups. In some instances there appear to have been feuds of long standing; in others there was a quarrel, a fight or two, and the enemies made peace with one another, until a fresh cause of disagreement should arise.

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to intensify the collective anger against the hostile group, and thereby and in other ways to produce a state of excitement and elation which has an important influence on the fighting quality of the Andaman warrior. 182X 535 628

An important feature of the social life of the Andamans in former times was the dance-meetings that were regularly held and at which two or more local groups met together for a few days. Each local group lived for the greater part of the year comparatively isolated from others. What little solidarity there was between neighbouring groups therefore tended to become weakened. Social relations between two groups were for the most part only kept up by visits of individuals from one group to another, but such visits did not constitute a relation between group and group. The function of the dance-meetings was therefore to bring the two groups into contact and renew the social relations between them and in that way to maintain the solidarity between them. Those meetings, apart from the provision of the necessary food, were entirely devoted to the exchange of presents and to dancing, the two or more parties of men and women joining together every night in a dance. We have already seen that the exchange of presents is a means of expressing solidarity or mutual good-will. It is now clear that the dance serves to unite the two or more groups into one body, and to make that unity felt by every individual, so creating for a few days a condition of close solidarity. The effects of the meeting would gradually wear out as months went by, and therefore it was necessary to repeat the meeting at suitable intervals. 182X 535 621 574

Thus it appears that not only the ordinary dance, but also the war-dance, and the dance-meetings owe their place in the life of the Andaman Islanders to the fact that dancing is a means of uniting individuals into a harmonious whole and at the same time making them actually and intensely experience their relation to that unity of which they are the members. The special dances at initiation ceremonies and on other occasions will be dealt with later in the chapter, on the basis of the general explanation given above. 182X 535

On the occasion of a dance, particularly if it be a dance of

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576 number. The crying chorus is started by women, but the men
152 speedily chime in, and groups of three or four may thus be seen weeping in concert until, from sheer exhaustion, they are compelled to desist; then, if neither of the parties are in mourning, a dance is got up, in which the females not unfrequently take part, but the style of their performance differs from that of the males.[1]

3. A husband who is *childless*, and has been absent from his home for some time, on his return to the encampment visits first a blood relation (if any), and when *they* have wept together he goes to his own hut, not in order to shed more tears, but to see and talk to his spouse. The same remark applies to a wife similarly circumstanced. But in the case of married couples who are *parents*, the meeting takes place first between them; the wife hangs round her husband's neck sobbing as if her heart would break with joy at their re-union; when she is exhausted with weeping, he leaves her, and, going to one of his relations, gives vent to his pent-up feelings of happiness by bursting into tears.

576 4. It is usual for friends at meeting to give each other something which may happen to be in their hands at the time, and these gifts are regarded as tokens of affection.

[574] 5. Strangers introduced by mutual friends are always warmly welcomed by the whole community: they, in common with all guests, are the first attended on, the best food in the encampment is set before them, and in every way they are well treated; presents also are often given them, especially when about to take their leave.

6. "Speed the parting guest" is an axiom upon which these people invariably act: the departing visitor is accompanied by his host to the landing-place, or, at all events, some distance on his way; when bidding each other farewell the guest takes the hand of his host and blows upon it; when the compliment has been returned, the following dialogue ensues:—

Departing visitor: *kam wai dōl.* I am off (*lit.*, Here indeed I).

Host: *ô, ū·chik wai òn; tain tâ·lik kach òn yâ·te?* Very well, go; when will you come again?

Departing visitor: *ñgâ·tek dō·ngat mīn ī·kke.* I will bring away something for you one of these days.

Host: *jō·bo la ngōng châ·pikok!* May no snake bite you!

Departing visitor: *wai dō ēr-gē·lepke.* I will take good care of that (*lit.*, I will be watchful).

Afterwards they again blow upon each other's hands, and part,

[1] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraphs 27 and 30.

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462 required in making their various weapons, utensils, &c.; but though he has no hesitation in sharing and lightening his wife's labours up to this point, it is only in cases of stern necessity that he will condescend to procure either wood or water for the family requirements; the supply of these essentials of daily life being considered as peculiarly feminine duties and derogatory to the lords of creation.

3. Every woman is supposed to be a proficient in shaving,[1] tattooing,[2] and scarifying; she has also to prepare the *kòi·ob-*, *tâ·la-ōg-*, and *kâ·ngatâ-būj-*,[3] which are needed on so many occasions. The erection of the *chàng-dar·anga-*,[4] and the manufacture of personal ornaments,[5] and various other objects in constant use,[6] is also confined to the fair (!) sex, and when to these are added their daily duties of procuring certain kinds of food, cooking, and providing the water and fuel required for the family, it will be seen that the Andamanese materfamilias—who has not several children old enough to give her material assistance—has her time fully employed, or at least sufficiently so to prevent her getting into much mischief.

461 4. It is the duty of those men and women who remain at home to attend to the sick, infants, and others who are in a dependent position, to look after the fires in the various huts, and, of course, if needs be, to protect the property of absentees: for all those who are not physically incapable are supposed to employ themselves in some way, either for their own benefit or that of the community to which they belong.

574 5. It is customary for every family to maintain a supply of
251 provisions in excess of its own requirements for the use of friends who may chance to visit the encampment; but in the storage of their food—owing probably to the ease with which it is generally procured—much is often wasted which might without difficulty be preserved. The seeds of the *Artocarpus chaplasha*, and of a species of *Semecarpus*, are alone kept for any length of time. The manner in which this is effected will be described in the section treating of "Food."[7]

462 6. Migrations and other events affecting the movements of a
562 whole community are arranged by the chief and elders; women in such matters are not consulted, though while on the march
484 it is they who are expected to carry the heaviest loads: this

[1] *Vide ante* "Hair," paragraph 4, and *post* "Shaving," paragraph 2.
[2] *Vide post* "Tattooing," paragraph 2.
[3] *Vide* Appendix B, items 60, 58, 62.
[4] *Vide ante* "Habitations," paragraph 4.
[5] *Vide post* "Attire," paragraph 1.
[6] In Appendix B will be found detailed the various objects manufactured by both men and women.
[7] *Vide post* "Food," paragraph 32.

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524 of their number has to submit to be covered with sand until the head only is visible; fire is then placed near the spot after the custom of their race; for the like reason these sports usually take place near some landmark, such as a conspicuous tree, boulder, or overhanging rock: when the semi-interred child has had enough of it he jumps out and another companion is chosen to take his place.

17. Children may also sometimes be seen diverting themselves by tying a fine string to the leg of a toad or tree-lizard;[1] this cruel sport, unless their elders interfere, is only ended by the death of the unfortunate captive.

18. They are fond of searching for small crabs and fish, and having them cooked for a sham banquet:[2] the earnestness they display in "pretending" on these occasions is irresistibly entertaining, and would be heartily appreciated by European children who have experienced the delight of preparing a "doll's feast."

19. Boys also play at seizing each other under the surface of the water, or amuse themselves with making tiny canoes and floating them towards one another; they are, as I have before mentioned, early provided with miniature bows and arrows, and encouraged to become good marksmen.

535 20. While the foregoing amusements are of frequent occur-
527 rence among the juvenile members of a community,[3] the chief
574 diversion of the adults consists in entertainments resembling the Australian "corroboree," when dancing and singing are kept up for many successive hours by moonlight, or by the blaze of the camp fires.

527 21. Any passing event, such as a successful hunt, an un-
574 expected visit from distant relatives or friends, the commence-ment of a new season, the recovery of some member of the community from illness, a marriage, and even the termination of the mourning period,[4] is made the excuse for one of these entertainments.

[622] 22. Besides these smaller festivities, large gatherings of a tribe are also organised from time to time by the head chief, who generally receives an offer, in the first instance, from the members of some far-off community to give a *jeg-* at his encampment. As these offers are only made when it is known to be convenient they are always accepted, and invitations for a certain day are at once sent to all living within an easy distance.

[1] This is called *rō·pan lik-lī·rnga-*.

[2] These are called *gab-māk·nga-*.

[5-4] [3] "Cats' cradle" (called by them *jī·bra-*) is also one of their recognised amusements.

[4] *Vide* "Death and Burial," paragraph 7.

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23. The intervening days are spent by the proposers of the entertainment in perfecting a song and chorus, which it is intended to perform, and which generally has been composed expressly for the occasion, by some volunteer[1] upon whom also devolves the responsibility of singing the solo and training the so-called chorus. As a considerable amount of distinction among his fellows may be gained by the manner in which he acquits himself in his onerous undertaking, it will be readily understood that the *improvisatore* spares no pains over the preparation and rehearsal of a new song, which, as he fondly hopes, will render his name, if not immortal, at all events famous for many a year. The subject is chosen in reference to some recent personal or tribal exploit or adventure, and is embodied in a distich, followed by a chorus, or rather refrain, which as often as not consists merely in a repetition of the couplet forming the solo; in this refrain women alone are instructed; the main point aimed at is apparently accuracy of time, for, as I have said in my last paper, everything, even sense, is sacrificed in their songs to rhythm.[2]

24. In order to combine pleasure with profit, sundry implements or articles, which are more common in their community than in that of their hosts, are taken by the visitors on these occasions for purposes of presentation, or, to speak more correctly, of barter.

25. It is the duty of the hosts to make all necessary preparations, to provide torches, as well as food and water, for the expected guests, and to sweep the *bū·lum-*,[3] clearing it of all rubbish, lest inconvenience or injury should be occasioned by the stones, shells, bones, &c., which gradually accumulate, in spite of the "kitchen-middens" so invariably found in the vicinity of all permanent encampments of long standing.

26. When nearing the scene of their festivity the visitors pause, for the double purpose of a rehearsal and that the women may have time to adorn the party in their holiday suits of paint, as these would have lost their beauty and freshness if donned previous to leaving home.

27. That a weird and dramatic effect should be produced on a civilised mind by one of these entertainments, especially when occurring at night, will be readily understood if one pictures the scene:—in a small clearing in the midst, or on the border of a dense jungle are gathered a hundred or even more painted

[1] A song that has proved a success at any of these festive tribal meetings is sometimes repeated by "special request" at one of the smaller gatherings; "all rights" in these productions "are reserved," and no one but the composer is at liberty to sing a song, however popular!

[2] *Vide ante* "Language," paragraph 6.

[3] *Vide ante* "Habitations," paragraph 11.

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527 savages of both sexes; the moon sheds a soft light on all, while
574 from each hut the lurid glare of a wood fire throws its fitful
533 shadows across the scattered groups; on one side, seated in a row,
535 are the women who are to join in the refrain; on the other, in dark relief within their several huts, are seen the audience, many of whom assist in marking time by clapping their hands or by slapping the hollow between their outstretched legs with their open palms. In a conspicuous position stands the composer and conductor: with one foot on the pointed end of a sounding board,[1] and supporting himself on a spear, bow, or pole, he gives the time to the singers and dancers by kicking the board with the sole or heel of the other foot; in this wearying duty he is from time to time relieved by one of his male friends and, occasionally, even by a woman. During the solo, which partakes of the character of a "recitative," all other voices are hushed, and the listeners remain motionless, but as soon as the signal is given for the refrain, a number of men emerge suddenly from the gloom surrounding the encampment, and rushing excitedly into the arena, perform their part with frantic energy, generally adding their voices to those of the women to swell the volume of sound. Save at the *t'ī-tō·latnga-*,[2] women only occasionally take a share in the dances, but their performances are considered by some foreigners as rather suggestive of impropriety—with what justice I am not prepared to say, for modesty, at least, is satisfied by the wearing of a larger leaf apron than usual.

535 28. There is now-a-days[3] but one description of dance in vogue
527 with either sex, but it differs somewhat in the two sexes, and therefore must be dwelt upon briefly.

574 29. A man, when dancing,[4] curves his back, and throws all his weight on one leg, the knee of which is bent; his hands are raised to a level with his chest, and outstretched before him, the thumb of one hand being held between the forefinger and thumb of the other, while the remaining digits are separated and extended upwards;[5] he then advances by sudden jerks and hops

[1] These sounding boards (*pū·kuta-yem·nga-*) somewhat resemble in shape the carapace of a turtle, and might naturally be mistaken by a visitor (*vide* Colebrooke and Mount) for shields, but I cannot account for Dr. Hodder's description of a "rough-*skin* drum" (*vide* "Pall Mall Budget" of 20th April, 1877). See also Appendix B, item 19.

[2] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 7.

[3] From Lieutenant Colebrooke's description of the Andamanese dance of a hundred years ago, it would seem that since that date their style has undergone a great change, for he says they "dance in a ring, each alternately kicking and slapping his own breech *ad lib.*"

[4] *Vide* Plate III, fig. 2.

[5] Sometimes to heighten the effect a bow and arrow are carried in this position.

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535 taken with the leg on which he is resting, and taps the ground
527 after every second movement with the sole of the other foot;
in this manner he crosses and recrosses the entire *bū-lum-*,
574 joining in the chorus as he proceeds, each step being taken in time with the thuds on the sounding-board, and the singing of the refrain. When fatigued, the performer makes a little variation by marking time in a rather odd manner, for the knees are bent, and the *heels* are raised alternately off the ground, the chief point of importance being to maintain the same time throughout.

30. Women, in dancing, swing their arms backwards and forwards; at the same time the knees are bent, and they make a succession of short bobs up and down, in perfect time; every now and then a few steps in advance are taken, and then the action is repeated.

31. To convey an accurate impression of the exact step, or of the effect of the respective performances of the two sexes, is not easy, but I trust that the above descriptions will convey a fair idea of their general character and peculiarities.

533 32. The alternating of solo and chorus continues for many
hours, and generally only ceases with the first faint streaks of
527 dawn, when those of the hosts who have managed to keep awake
574 during the long night revel, lead the visitors to the huts they are to occupy, and then themselves sing and dance as a return compliment.

533 33. To a stranger not gifted with a keen ear for music, there is at first a certain amount of attraction in the oft-repeated cadence, but it must be confessed that, after a residence in the neighbourhood of one of the homes, one learns to wish that their musical performances were characterised by a little more variety, and were rather less protracted, though some compensation may be found at night, as the steady continuance of the monotonous sounds has a most soothing and somniferous effect.

34. It seems hardly necessary to say that all their songs are sung in unison, for they have no idea of choral or part-singing, nor are they able to catch up and repeat an air. They appear, however, able to distinguish between various kinds of music, and especially to appreciate the performances of our regimental bands, but this may perhaps in part be due to the tone of the big drum, which somewhat resembles that produced on their sounding-boards.

35. Dr. Brander gives a specimen of their monotonous chant —the compass of which will be found to include only three notes—in the following stave of our musical notation:—

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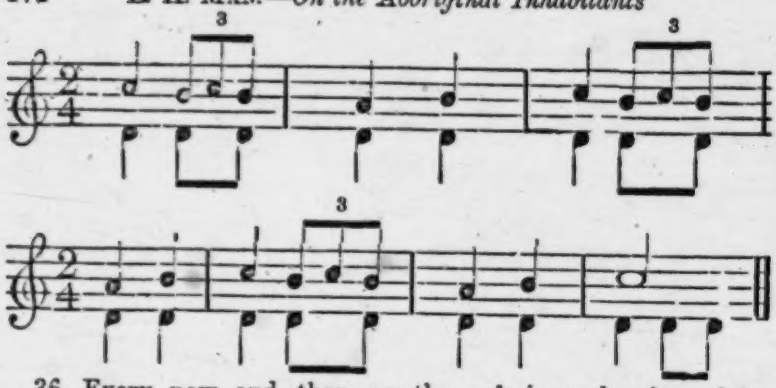

36. Every now and then, as the refrain ends, the soloist cries—

ō·ba eboyū-bē·date,[1] (*a*)

to which the singers respond by shouting—

tēâ·re-â·re-â·reâ,[1] (*b*)

which seems equivalent to *Tra-la-la*, for it has no meaning *per se*.

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527
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37. When the guests have sufficiently rested from their night's exertions, they visit their special friends or relatives, and, if within the prescribed limits of affinity,[2] indulge[3] in weeping together;[4] these visits are usually followed by an interchange of gifts, the hosts taking the initiative, and a *fracas* not unfrequently ensues, for donor and recipient are not always of a mind as to the respective values of their "presents." Should all, however, pass off smoothly, the assemblage breaks up into various small parties for hunting or fishing, according to the situation of the encampment.

[1] These are styled respectively the (*a*) *àrbē·datnga-*, and the (*b*) *á-rē·anga-* or *àryá·nanga*.

Further, in reference to their musical abilities, I would here quote from a friend, who at my request had kindly consented to test the powers of the aborigines in this particular, as I unfortunately am not qualified to do so myself:—

"I examined five women, seven men, and three young boys as to their musical abilities, and as far as I could judge, they have not the remotest idea of pitch or tune, even the chorus of their own song, *chēklū yá· lak·u mē jrà?* started by *.bó·ra-qud*, was taken up in several keys, and it was difficult to distinguish the original. I tried all the voices separately; it seemed quite accidental if they pitched on the keynote, but as for leaving it when once got hold of to go up and down the scale they *would* not! so that it was impossible for me to ascertain either the quality or the register of the voices. The boys were, if anything, a shade the best; . . . a lot of drilling may beat a few notes into their heads."

[2] *Vide ante* "Customs, Meeting and Parting," paragraph 2.

[3] "The Sandwich Islanders recognise tears as a sign of happiness" (Lubbock, p. 552).

[4] No greetings take place on these occasions between the performers and their hosts until after the entertainment (which often lasts many hours) is over.

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421 This is so, however, only in appearance. The hut is built by all
594 the different families, but each family is regarded as owning
342 a certain portion of the hut when it is finished, and it is the family that keeps this part of the hut in repair.

421 A canoe is cut by a number of men together. From the
501 outset, however, it is the property of one man, who selects the tree and superintends the operation of cutting it into shape.
476 He is always one of the older men, and he enlists the services of the younger men to help him. When finished the canoe is his property, and he can do with it what he pleases, giving it away, if he wishes, and no one has any share of ownership in a canoe on the ground that he helped to make it.

421 While all portable property is thus owned by individuals, the
431 Andamanese have customs which result in an approach to communism. One of these is the custom of constantly exchanging
574 presents with one another. When two friends meet who have not seen each other for some time, one of the first things they do is to exchange presents with one another. Even in the ordinary everyday life of the village there is a constant giving and receiving of presents. A younger man or woman may give some article to an older one without expecting or receiving any return, but between equals a person who gives a present always expects that he will receive something of equal value in exchange. At the meetings that take place between neighbouring local groups the exchange of presents is of great importance. Each of the visitors brings with him a number of articles that he distributes amongst the members of the group that he visits. When the visitors depart they are loaded with presents received from their hosts. It requires a good deal of tact on the part of everyone concerned to avoid the unpleasantness that may arise if a man thinks that he has not received things as valuable as he has given, or if he fancies that he has not received quite the same amount of attention as has been accorded to others.

431 It is considered a breach of good manners ever to refuse
•576 the request of another. Thus if a man be asked by another to give him anything that he may possess, he will immediately do so. If the two men are equals a return of about the same value will have to be made. As between an older married man

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and a bachelor or a young married man, however, the younger 431
would not make any request of such a nature, and if the older 576
man asked the younger for anything the latter would give it
without always expecting a return.

Almost every object that the Andamanese possess is thus 431
constantly changing hands. Even canoes may be given away, [426]
but it is more usual for these to be lent by the owner to his
friends.

It has been stated above that all food is private property and 421
belongs to the man or woman who has obtained it. Every one 431
who has food is expected, however, to give to those who have
none. An older married man will reserve for himself sufficient
for his family, and will then give the rest to his friends. A
younger man is expected to give away the best of what he gets
to the older men. This is particularly the case with the bachelors.
Should a young unmarried man kill a pig he must be content to
see it distributed by one of the older men, all the best parts
going to the seniors, while he and his companions must be
satisfied with the inferior parts. The result of these customs
is that practically all the food obtained is evenly distributed
through the whole camp, the only inequality being that the
younger men do not fare so well as their elders. Generosity is
esteemed by the Andaman Islanders one of the highest of virtues [577]
and is unremittingly practised by the majority of them.

Within the local group there is no such thing as a division of 462
labour save as between the two sexes. In the coastal groups
every man is expected to be able to hunt pig, to harpoon turtle
and to catch fish, and also to cut a canoe, to make bows and
arrows and all the other objects that are made by men. It
happens that some men are more skilful in certain pursuits than
in others. A skilful turtle-hunter, for example, may be an
indifferent pig-hunter, and such a man will naturally prefer to
devote himself to the pursuit in which he appears to most
advantage.

The division of labour between the sexes is fairly clearly
marked. A man hunts and fishes, using the bow and arrow and
the harpoon; he makes his own bows and arrows, his adze and
knife, cuts canoes and makes rope for harpoon lines. A woman

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462 collects fruits and digs up roots with her digging stick; she catches prawns and crabs and small fish with her small fishing net; she provides the firewood and the water of the family and does the cooking (i.e. the family cooking, but not the common cooking, which is entirely done by men); she makes all such objects as baskets, nets of thread, and personal ornaments either for herself or her husband.

888 There is no organised government in an Andamanese village. The affairs of the community are regulated entirely by the older
623 men and women. The younger members of the community are brought up to pay respect to their elders and to submit to them in many ways. It has already been shown how, in the distribution of food, the elders get the best share. When it is a question of shifting camp to some better hunting ground the opinion of the older men would weigh against that of the younger if they disagreed. It must not be thought, however, that the older men are tyrannical or selfish. I only once heard a young man complain of the older men getting so much the best of everything. The respect for seniority is kept alive partly by tradition and partly by the fact that the older men have had a greater experience than the younger. It could probably not be maintained if it regularly gave rise to any tyrannical treatment of the younger by the elder.

888 The respect for seniors is shown in the existence of special terms of address which men and women use when speaking
●576 to their elders. In the languages of the North Andaman there are two such terms, *Mai* or *Maia*, applied to men, with a meaning equivalent to "Sir," and *Mimi*, applied to women. These words may be used either alone or prefixed to the personal name of the person addressed. A younger man speaking to an older one whose name was *Bora* would address him either as *Mai* (Sir), or as *Maia Bora* (Sir Bora).

In the tribes of the South Andaman there are exactly similar terms. In the *Aka-Bea* tribe *Maia* or *Maiola* is used in addressing men and *Čana* or *Čanola* in speaking to women. In *Akar-Bale* the equivalent terms are *Da* and *In*. Besides these terms there is in these tribes another, *Mam*, *Mama* or *Mamola*, which may be used in speaking to either men or women, and which

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implies a higher degree of respect than *Maia* or *Čana*. In these tribes also there is a special way of showing respect by adding the suffix *-la* to the name of the person addressed, as *Bia*, *Biala*, *Woičo*, *Woičo-la*, etc. 888 576

In the legends of the Andamanese these titles are nearly always prefixed to the names of the legendary ancestors, as *Maia Putpu* and *Mimi Biliku* in *Aka-Jeru*, or *Da Duku* and *In Bain* in *Akar-Bale*. The moon is similarly spoken of as Sir Moon (*Maia Ogar* in *Aka-Bea*) and the sun as Lady Sun (*Čana Bodo*).

Besides the respect for seniority there is another important factor in the regulation of the social life, namely the respect for certain personal qualities. These qualities are skill in hunting and in warfare, generosity and kindness, and freedom from bad temper. A man possessing them inevitably acquires a position of influence in the community. His opinion on any subject carries more weight than that of another even older man. The younger men attach themselves to him, are anxious to please him by giving him any presents that they can, or by helping him in such work as cutting a canoe, and to join him in hunting parties or turtle expeditions. In each local group there was usually to be found one man who thus by his influence could control and direct others. Amongst the chief men of several friendly local groups it would generally happen that one of them, by reason of his personal qualities, would attain to a position of higher rank than the others. Younger men would be desirous of joining the local group to which he belonged. He would find himself popular and respected at the annual meetings of the different groups, and his influence would thus spread beyond the narrow limits of his own small community. 584 623 622

There was no special word to denote such men and distinguish them from others. In the languages of the North Andaman they were spoken of as *er-kuro* = "big."

Such men might perhaps be spoken of as "chiefs," but the term is somewhat misleading, as it makes us think of the organised chieftainship of other savage races.

The above statement is not quite in agreement with what has been written by Mr Man on the same subject, and what he 623 622

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

601

da	father
ab-atr	father
in	mother
ar-bua	child
ar-kodire	child (father speaking)
ab-atet	child (mother speaking)
mama	grandparent
ǰat	grandchild
en-toaka-ŋa	older brother or sister
ar-dotot	younger brother or sister
otoni	son-in-law
oten	daughter-in-law
ab-i-ŋa	consort (husband or wife)
aka-yat	parent of child's consort
aka-bua	consort's younger brother or sister
ep-taruo-ŋa	step relative
ot-čat-ŋa	relative by adoption
aka-kuam	younger relative
ab-čuga	older relative (male)
ab-čupal	older relative (female).

Da and *in*. *Da* is the common term of address used when speaking to an older man to whom the speaker wishes to show respect. A man will speak of his own father as *dege da*, *dege* being the personal pronoun "my" as used before a word that has no prefix. The term *In* is the common term of address used in speaking to women. A man or woman will refer to his or her own mother as *deg' in*. The use of these two terms as applied to parents is very similar to the use of *aka-mai* and *aka-mimi* in the North Andaman, with the difference that in *Akar-Bale* the stem *da* or *in* does not take a prefix to modify its meaning. While the use of the terms *Da* and *In* as terms of address does not in the least imply that there is any relationship between the person speaking and the person addressed, yet the phrase *dege da* would in general be understood as referring to the speaker's own father. 601 576

Ab-atr. This is a word descriptive of the relationship of a father to his child. I never heard a man refer to his own father by this term, but it is heard in such phrases as *deg' in l'ab-atr* = my mother's father. It conveys a definite notion of the physiological relation between a father and his children, and might be translated "he who caused me to be conceived." There is 601

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

601 The first of these is used in addressing males and the second in addressing females, while the third may be used either for males or for females and implies a higher degree of respect than the others.

In all the languages of the Great Andaman a man refers to his own father and mother by adding a personal pronoun to the words meaning "Sir" and "Lady." In *Aka-J̌eru* a man speaks of his father as *t'a-mai*, and of his mother as *t'a-mimi*, the *a-* being a contracted form of the prefix *aka-*. This prefix is always used in this way in the Northern languages. It is not possible to say *tičo maia*, which would be the literal equivalent of *dege da* in *Akar-Bale*. In the *Akar-Bale* language the translation of "my father" and "my mother" is *dege da* and *deg' in*, the *dege* being the personal pronoun "my" as used before a word that has no prefix. The same formation is present also in the *A-Pučikwar* and *Aka-Kǫl* languages. For example in *Aka-Kǫl* "my father" is *tiye tao*, and "my mother" *tiye in*. In the *Aka-Bea* language, according to the information given by Mr Man, the word *maia* (or *maiola*) may be used combined with a prefix, as in *d'ab-maiola* = "my father," or it may be used simply with the personal pronoun as *dia maia* or *dia maiola*. According to Mr Man these last two terms are applied not to a man's own father, but to the other persons whom he addresses as *maia*. This is contradicted by Mr Portman who gives *dia maiola* as the *Aka-Bea* for "my father."

601 In the *Aka-Bea* and *Akar-Bale* languages (as also in
●576 *A-Pučikwar* and *Aka-Kǫl*) a man always addresses his grandparent or his father-in-law or mother-in-law by the term *Mama* or *Mamola*. He is therefore able to refer to these persons by adding the personal pronoun to the term of address, as *dege mama* in *Akar-Bale*. This cannot, however, be regarded as properly a term denoting relationship, for a man may apply the term *Mama* to a man or woman to whom he is not related at all[1].

The next kind of words that we may consider are those that describe the respective social position of two persons. Such are the words *ot-otoatue* and *ot-arai-čulute* in *Aka-J̌eru*, meaning

[1] The natives commonly applied the term to me, in the form *Mam-jula*.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

"he who was born before me" and "he who was born after me" respectively. These terms do not, strictly speaking, convey any idea of consanguinity, although they are commonly used to refer to a brother or a sister. Exactly equivalent terms are found in all the languages, for example the *en-toaka-ŋa* and *ar-dot-ot* of *Akar-Bale*. I was not able to discover in *Aka-Jeru* nor yet in *Akar-Bale* any term to denote a brother or a sister. In *Aka-Bea*, however, Mr Man records the term *ar-weji-ŋa* or *ar-wejeri-ŋa*. The stem *-weji-* or *-wejeri-*, as we shall shortly see, is a verbal stem referring to the act of birth, *-ŋa* is a verbal suffix, and the prefix *ar-* conveys a reference to position in space or time. The whole word seems to mean "he or she who was born in the same womb as myself," and is therefore strictly a word meaning "brother or sister." It is possible that similar words exist in *Akar-Jeru* and *Akar-Bale*, but I never came across them. 601 576

Other terms descriptive of social status are the *Akar-Bale* terms *ab-čuga* and *ab-čupal* which refer to married men and women particularly those older than the speaker. These also are not properly terms of relationship, though a man may refer to some of his relatives as *d'ab-čuga*, adding the personal pronoun to what is properly a word descriptive of the social position of the person in question. In *Aka-Bea* the equivalent terms are *ab-čabil* and *ab-čana*. It would seem that the term *aka-kuam* (*aka-kam* in *Aka-Bea*) is of the same kind, being applicable by an older married man to a younger. At any rate I was unable to discover that it conveyed to the natives any notion of relationship.

There are a certain number of terms that are descriptive of definite relationships. In the North *ot-e-bui*, and in *Akar-Bale ab-i-ŋa* are both of them derived from verbal stems meaning "to marry" and are used to denote a husband or a wife. In the North I did not discover any term descriptive of a father or a mother save those derived from the terms of address. In *Akar-Bale* and *Aka-Bea* there are such terms; *ab-atr* in *Akar-Bale* means "father" while the word for "mother" was not noted; in *Aka-Bea* a father is *ar-odi-ŋa*, and a mother is *ab-eti-ŋa*. These words are descriptive of the physiological relation between a 601 597

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

uninfluenced by the vices or virtues of alien races[1]." At the present time conjugal infidelity is very common and is lightly regarded. It is almost certain that the establishment of the Penal Settlement amongst them has affected their morals in this particular, but there does not seem to be any very satisfactory evidence that their former morality was quite so strict as Mr Man would have us believe. One piece of evidence in this matter is that the spread of syphilis, when it was first introduced amongst them seems to have been very rapid, and yet this was before many of the tribes had been very seriously affected by the Settlement. 837

Besides the special sexual relation between a husband and wife there is a special economic relation, if we may speak of it as such. The two share one hut between them, or one portion of a communal hut. It is the duty of the wife to provide the fire-wood and the water for cooking and drinking, and to cook the meals at the family fire. It is the duty of the husband to provide flesh food for himself and for his wife, while it is her duty to provide and prepare vegetable food. 594 581

A marriage is not regarded as fully consummated until the birth of a child. Mr Man states that the survivor of a childless couple is not looked upon as the chief mourner. A father who has been away from home greets his wife first on his return and then greets his other relatives; but if no child has been born to him a husband first greets his blood-relatives (father, mother, brothers, etc.) and only after that does he visit his wife. 581 576 851

The only regulation of marriage is on the basis of relationship. Marriage is forbidden between near *consanguinei*. The exact rules, in this matter, if indeed there be any exact rules, are difficult to discover. It is quite clear that a man would not be permitted to marry his sister or half-sister, nor his father's or mother's sister, nor his brother's or sister's daughter. The question is more difficult when it comes to the matter of cousins. In 1908 I only found one pair of first cousins who were married to one another, this being in the *Aka-Bo* tribe. The husband 582 605

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 135. He speaks of the wives as "models of constancy."

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

262 Thus one man of the North Andaman told me that he would not eat dugong when he was with me in the South Andaman. Another said that though he would eat the fish *komar* when he was at home, he would not eat it when he was in a strange place, as at the Settlement of Port Blair, for fear that it would make him ill.

In the North Andaman I was told that when a dugong is caught and the people feast on it they do not leave the camp till some hours after the meat is all finished, either to go fishing or hunting. The reason they give for this is that the spirits of the jungle and the sea may smell them, attracted by the odour of the food they have eaten and may cause them to be ill. They therefore remain in the camp and eat up all the dugong and do not venture out till they begin to feel hungry and must go in search of food. I believe that the same custom is observed in the South Andaman also.

A few other customs connected with food may be mentioned here. There is only one way in which a turtle may be killed[1]. It must be laid on its back with its head pointing towards the open sea, and a skewer of wood is then thrust through the eye-socket into the brain. The natives say that if a turtle were killed in any other way than this, the meat would be "bad," i.e., uneatable.

252 Turtle meat may only be cooked on a fire of the wood of the
262 *Hibiscus tiliaceus.*

A pig is killed as it runs, without ceremony, but there is one special way in which it must be cut up. The pig is first disembowelled, and the joints of the legs are severed. The abdominal cavity is then filled with leaves, of which only certain special kinds are used. It is placed on a fire and roasted whole, and is then cut up. Should the carcase be cut up by any other than the traditional method, the natives believe that the meat would be "bad," and they would not eat it.

A number of beliefs relating to vegetable foods will be mentioned in the next chapter.

576 In several of the ceremonies described in this chapter it
201 will be noticed that the weeping of relatives and friends occurs

[1] Turtle are captured alive by means of harpoons, and may be kept alive several days before they are killed and eaten.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

as an essential part of the ceremony. The female relatives of a youth or girl who is being initiated come and weep over him or her at the turtle-eating ceremony. Their friends weep over, or with, the mourners at the dance at the end of mourning. The friends of a bride and bridegroom weep over them when they are married. The friends and relatives weep over a corpse before it is buried and over the bones when they are recovered. In all cases it is real weeping. The man or woman sits down and wails or howls, and the tears stream down his or her face. On one occasion I asked the natives to show how it was done and two or three of them sat down and were immediately weeping real tears at my request. The weeping in this way is really a ceremony or rite. When two friends or relatives meet who have been separated from one another for a few weeks or longer, they greet each other by sitting down, one on the lap of the other, with their arms around each other's necks, and weeping and wailing for two or three minutes till they are tired. Two brothers greet each other in this way, and so do father and son, mother and son, mother and daughter, and husband and wife. When husband and wife meet, it is the man who sits on the lap of the woman. When two friends part from one another, one of them lifts up the hand of the other towards his mouth and gently blows on it.

Reference has already been made in this chapter to a number of customs relating to personal names. It will be useful to bring together the scattered references, and give a general account of the whole matter.

Every Andaman Islander has a personal name that is given to him or her before birth, and which we may speak of as the birth-name. As soon as a woman realises that she is pregnant, she and her husband begin to think of a name for the child. The name is selected by the parents, but the suggestions of their friends and relatives are always considered. It is regarded as a compliment to name the child after some man or woman. Sometimes a man may request the parents that the child shall be named after him, and such a request is rarely, if ever, refused. The names given before birth are of course applicable to both sexes, there being no difference between

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE VI.

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GREAT ANDAMAN TYPES AT PORT BLAIR HOME.

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513

CHANG-TONGA (SECOND-CLASS LEAN-TO) IN SOUTH ANDAMAN: FRIENDS WEEPING TOGETHER AFTER LONG SEPARATION; ATTITUDE IN SLEEP, ETC.

[Facing p. 78]

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

761 is lying, and shoots several arrows in rapid succession into the
766 surrounding jungle, only taking care to avoid injury to the bystanders, and then, seizing a pig-spear, *ēr-dū·tnga-*,[1] if *.ē·rem-chàu·gala* be the demon suspected, or a turtle-spear, *kowai·a l'ôko dū·tnga-*,[2] if it be *.jū·ru-win-* who is accounted guilty, he pierces the ground all round the corpse, hoping thereby to inflict a mortal injury upon the unseen enemy; while so engaged he vents his grief and indignation in no measured terms of imprecation.

25. When a death which is attributed to *.ē·rem-chàu·gala* s malignity occurs so late in the day that the burial has to be deferred till the following morning, those who are not mourners sing in turns throughout the night, in the belief that this demon will thus be deterred from doing any further harm in the encampment.

26. At death they say that *.ē·rem-chàu·gala* and his sons feast upon the blood and soft tissues of all who die on land, and that their leavings, excepting of course the bones, are disposed of by worms, *wēn-*, but *jū·ru-win-* is supposed to consume every portion of those who fall into his clutches.

Meeting and Parting, &c.—1. Contrary to the customs of most
576 races, no salutations[3] pass between friends, even after a more or less lengthened separation, such as rubbing noses, kissing[4] shaking hands, &c.; but on meeting they remain silently gazing at each other for, in our eyes, an absurdly long time—unless of course one or both be hurried; the younger then makes some commonplace remark which apparently has the effect of loosening their tongues, for they at once commence hearing and telling the news.[5]

576 2. Relatives, after an absence of a few weeks or months,
152 testify their joy at meeting by sitting with their arms round each other's necks,[6] and weeping and howling[7] in a manner which would lead a stranger to suppose that some great sorrow had befallen them; and, in point of fact, there is no difference observable between their demonstrations of joy on these occasions and those of grief at the death of one of their

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 9.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 10.
[3] *Vide* Colebrooke and Anderson.
[4] Kisses are considered indicative of affection, but are only bestowed on infants.
[5] One might imagine that the writer of the article entitled "Chippers of Flint" which appeared in "Cornhill" (vol. xii, p. 200), had heard of or witnessed a rencontre of this description, but had not watched its progress, or he would not have spoken of this race as "all but speechless."
[6] *Vide* Plate III, fig. 2.
[7] This custom resembles that which exists among New Zealanders under the name of the *Tangi*.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE VII.

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TO SPEED THE PARTING GUEST.

[Facing p. 80]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

576 152 number. The crying chorus is started by women, but the men speedily chime in, and groups of three or four may thus be seen weeping in concert until, from sheer exhaustion, they are compelled to desist; then, if neither of the parties are in mourning, a dance is got up, in which the females not unfrequently take part, but the style of their performance differs from that of the males.[1]

3. A husband who is *childless*, and has been absent from his home for some time, on his return to the encampment visits first a blood relation (if any), and when *they* have wept together he goes to his own hut, not in order to shed more tears, but to see and talk to his spouse. The same remark applies to a wife similarly circumstanced. But in the case of married couples who are *parents*, the meeting takes place first between them; the wife hangs round her husband's neck sobbing as if her heart would break with joy at their re-union; when she is exhausted with weeping, he leaves her, and, going to one of his relations, gives vent to his pent-up feelings of happiness by bursting into tears.

576 4. It is usual for friends at meeting to give each other something which may happen to be in their hands at the time, and these gifts are regarded as tokens of affection.

[574] 5. Strangers introduced by mutual friends are always warmly welcomed by the whole community: they, in common with all guests, are the first attended on, the best food in the encampment is set before them, and in every way they are well treated; presents also are often given them, especially when about to take their leave.

6. "Speed the parting guest" is an axiom upon which these people invariably act: the departing visitor is accompanied by his host to the landing-place, or, at all events, some distance on his way; when bidding each other farewell the guest takes the hand of his host and blows upon it; when the compliment has been returned, the following dialogue ensues:—

Departing visitor: *kam wai dōl.* I am off (*lit.*, Here indeed I).

Host: *ô, ū·chik wai ȯn; tain tâ·lik kach ȯn yâ·te?* Very well, go; when will you come again?

Departing visitor: *ñgâ·tek dō·ngat mīn ī·kke.* I will bring away something for you one of these days.

Host: *jō·bo la ngōng châ·pikok!* May no snake bite you!

Departing visitor: *wai dō ēr-gē·lepke.* I will take good care of that (*lit.*, I will be watchful).

Afterwards they again blow upon each other's hands, and part,

[1] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraphs 27 and 30.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

576 shouting invitations and promises for a future date until beyond earshot.

7. When nearing home, after an unusually successful hunting or fishing expedition, the men raise a shout[1] of triumph in order to apprise their friends of their good fortune, and the women take up the cry and express their delight by yelling[2] and slapping their thighs; but when the encampment is entered, these sounds of rejoicing almost invariably cease for a while, and, after depositing their spoils, the hunters remain speechless for some time ere recounting their adventures and exploits: for this strange practice they appear unable to account.

8. No matutinal greetings pass between friends or between husband and wife, and inquiries relating to health are unusual unless addressed to an invalid.

515 9. When a man is thirsty and wishes also to wash his hands, he first, if alone, stoops down and drinks from the stream, or raises the water to his lips in a leaf or vessel; then, filling his mouth with water, he squirts it over his hands, using his unkempt locks as a towel. Should any one else be present, he would pour the water over his friend's hands as well, not from his mouth, but from a leaf.

10. They do not bathe daily, but at irregular intervals, when oppressed with the heat, or when, from some cause, as, for instance, in gathering honey,[3] their persons become sticky and unpleasant, and ablutions, consistently with comfort at least, cannot be dispensed with. It will be understood that these remarks apply to the *ē·remtâ·ga-*, rather than the *àryô·to-*, who, from the nature of their pursuits, are on the whole fairly clean.[4]

[302] 11. During the hot weather they smear their bodies with common white clay, called *ōg-*,[5] dissolved in water, and avoid, as far as they are able, any lengthened exposure to the direct rays of the sun. If compelled to leave the shelter of the jungle, they are in the habit of holding a large leaf screen, *kâ·pa-jâ·tnga-*,[6] over their heads as a protection (this is also done during a shower); should they be travelling by boat they lessen the discomfort caused by excessive heat by pouring water over themselves, or by plunging overboard and swimming alongside the canoe for some part of the way.

[1] There is a specific term for this description of shouting, viz.: *tē·reblake*, while that of the women in answer thereto is called—

[2] *rō·moke.*

[3] *Vide* Appendix H (*lad·a chàu-*, lit., dirty body).

[4] They never allow vermin to breed on their persons—in fact, such a thing could not possibly occur, owing to the constant shaving of the head, painting of the person, and, in the case of the *àryô·to-*, immersion in the sea while fishing and turtling.

[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 59.

[6] *Vide* Appendix B, item 74.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE VIII.

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ANDAMANESE EQUIPPED FOR JOURNEY.

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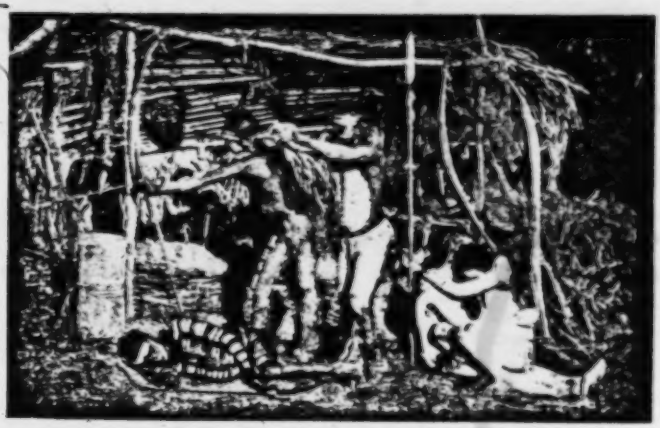


ANDAMANESE SHOOTING, DANCING, SLEEPING, AND GREETING.

[facing p. 110]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

5. When a man wishes to address a married woman who is younger than himself he may not venture to do so directly, but must find some third person to be the medium of his communication; it is also not *selon les règles* for a man to *touch* his younger brother's (or cousin's) wife, or his wife's sister; and women are restricted in the same way as regards their husband's elder brother (or male cousin) or his brother-in-law. 576

6. All titles such as *mai·a*, *mai·ola*, and *chān·a* cease to be applied after death; and inquiries ignorantly made after one who has recently died are replied to in a subdued tone, thus: *wai ēdā·re* (he or she "was") or *wai ōkolī·re* (he or she "is dead"). As little allusion as possible is ever made to deceased persons, especially for the first year or so after their death, during which period they are indicated only by reference to the tree or place where their remains are, or were, deposited; after a while the word *lach·i*, answering to "the late," is prefixed to their defunct countrymen's (and women's) names.[1]

Warfare.—1. Reference has already been made to their want of true courage or daring, and it has been stated that the Andamanese seldom, if ever, venture to make an attack unless satisfied of their superiority over their foes;[2] it will, therefore, be hardly necessary to enlarge upon their mode of carrying on hostilities, or to say that they are ignorant of the most elementary rules of warfare. 726

2. Should a dispute arise between members of different communities in the course of a visit or *jeg-*[3] the affair often grows in importance and becomes a tribal question, which may not be settled without more or less serious consequences; those wounded on such occasions generally fare badly unless speedily removed, as they stand great risk of being shot dead or receiving the *coup de grâce* in some other form; they are not, however, in the habit of mutilating the bodies of their victims, save in exceptional cases, where there has been very grave aggravation.

3. The assailants generally approach stealthily upon their enemies, and, though availing themselves of every advantage afforded by the density of the jungle, do not take further precautions or devise stratagems whereby to conceal their trail as they proceed on their way. They wear no breastplate,[4] nor do

[1] Ex.: "múnshí" *bi·ela* (*vide* Plate II, fig. 2), whose corpse was *placed* on a machán beside a tree called *yel-*, was spoken of as *yel lá·ka-tóng len teg·i yá·te-* (he who is by the *yel-* tree); had he been *buried* he would have been referred to as *yel lá·ka-tóng len bū·guk yá·te-*.

[2] *Vide ante* "Psychology and Morals," paragraph 2.

[3] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraphs 22–37.

[4] The *jar·awa-* have been found to wear a wide belt of bark as a protection in hostile encounters.

181 weakly or the helpless and to captives, kind to their wives and proud of their children, whom they often over-pet; but when angered cruel, jealous, treacherous and vindictive, and always unstable. They are bright and merry companions, talkative, inquisitive and restless, busy in their own pursuits, keen sportsmen and naturally independent, absorbed in the chase from sheer love of it and other physical occupations and not lustful, indecent or indecently abusive.

As the years advance they are apt to become intractable, masterful and quarrelsome. A people to like but not to trust. Exceedingly conservative and bound up in ancestral custom, not amenable to civilization, all the teaching of years bestowed on some of them having introduced no abstract ideas among the tribesmen, and changed no habit in practical matters affecting comfort, health, and mode of life. Irresponsibility is a characteristic, though instances of a keen sense of responsibility are not wanting. Several Andamanese can take charge of the steering of a large steam launch through dangerous channels, exercising then caution, daring and skill though not to an European extent, and the present dynamo-man of the electric lighting on Ross Island is an Andamaneso, while the wire-man is a Nicobarese, both of whom exhibit the liveliest sense of their responsibilities, though a deep-rooted unconquerable fear of the dynamo and wires when at work. The Nicobarese shows, as is to be expected, the higher order of intellect. Another Andamanese was used by Portman for years as an accountant and kept his accounts in English accurately and well.

The intelligence of the women is good, though not as a rule equal to that of the men. In old age, however, they frequently exhibit a considerable mental capacity which is respected. Several women trained in a former local Mission Orphanage from early childhood have shown much mental aptitude and capacity, the "savagery" in them however only dying down as they grew older. They can read and write well, understand and speak English correctly, have acquired European habits completely, and possess much shrewdness and common sense: one has herself taught her Andamanese husband, the dynamo-man above mentioned, to read and write English and induced him to join the Government House Press as a compositor. She writes a well expressed and correctly spelt letter in English, and has a shrewd notion of the value of money. Such women, when the instability of youth is past, make good "ayas," as their men-kind make good waiters at table.

The highest general type of intelligence yet noticed is in the Jarawa tribe.

805 **Mental Capacities.**—The Andamanese divide the day by the position of
823 the sun and can roughly divide the night, though they have no idea of steering
821 by the sun or stars. The year is known by the three main seasons of the climate and the months rudely by the flowering and fruiting of trees of economic value to them. Tides are understood and carefully noted, a necessary accomplishment to a people largely living on shell-fish and navigating shallow tidal creeks and shores. They are aware of the connection of the phases of the moon with the tides and have names for the four phases of each lunation. They know the four quarters of the compass in reference to the daily position of the sun and have names for the four chief winds that blow (N. W., N. E., S. E., S. W.). They differentiate three kinds of clouds:—Cumulus, stratus, nimbus. The only constellation they have distinguished is Orion and they have discovered the Milky Way for which they have a name, and also call it "the way of the angels" (*morowin*, the daughter-messengers of Puluga).

576 **Social Emotions.**—The social emotions are not generally expressed. The Andamanese have no words for ordinary salutations, greeting or for expressing thanks. On meeting they stare at each other for a lengthened period in silence, which the younger breaks with a commonplace remark and then follows an eager telling of news, which an Andamanese always delights in hearing. Relatives however sit in each other's laps, huddled closely together at *meeting*, weeping loudly and demonstratively, and after a long separation this may last for hours. The Onges are less demonstrative and on such occasions shed a few silent tears only and caress each other with their hands. At *parting* they take each other by the hand and blow on it, exchanging sentences of conventional farewell.

Undemonstrative though they are, the Andamanese are readily roused to emotion, finding that difficulty in separating the real from the assumed observed

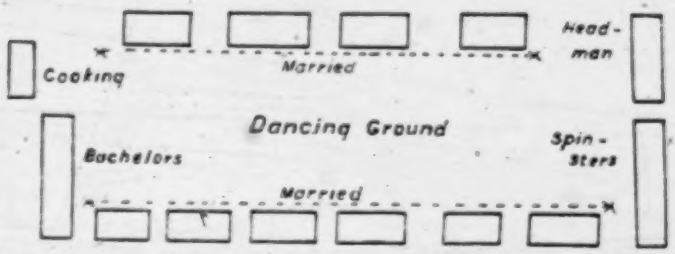
in other savages. At Government House, Calcutta, in 1895, when a party was told to sit down and weep to show the custom at meetings, in a few moments the weeping became genuine, and when after a short time they were told to stop and get up, tears were streaming down their faces. 576

General Capacities.—The Andamanese are good climbers, and rapid walkers and runners, moving with a free and independent gait, and can travel considerable distances at a time. The Jarawas turn their toes in, due to the necessity of stooping to pass along their paths through the tangled jungle. The Eremtaga are good but not remarkable trackers. The Aryoto are good swimmers and are much at home in the water. The Andamanese generally show a dexterity in getting about their thick and tangled jungles which baffles all immigrants, though in this respect the Eremtaga quite out-distance the Aryoto, and the Jarawas apparently all the others. In the jungles all shooting with arrows is necessarily at very short distance, and generally the Andamanese are good shots at short distances only, judging direction very well but distance hardly at all. They can however at the very short distance required for shooting fish allow accurately for refraction in moving water and will shoot their fish successfully even in the surf in a manner that is inimitable: this is really due to accurate judgment of direction. 481

The Andamanese are unadventurous seamen, poling and paddling their canoes with small spade paddles at considerable speed, faster than that of an ordinary ship's boat for a little distance though they could not paddle away from one in even a short chase, but they never go out of sight of land, have never been even to the Cocos (30 miles), nor to Narcondam and Barren Island, nor had they ever any knowledge of the existence of the Nicobars till our arrival. Man has a legend from Car Nicobar doubtfully going to show that the Onges from the Little Andaman once made raids on that island: but if this were true they would do so still. 502

IV. Habits and Customs.

Dwellings.—Except in the Little Andaman and among the Jarawas there are no fixed habitations, the search for easily obtained food and insanitary habits obliging the people to be nomads, for they have no practice of cultivation and domesticate no animal whatever except dogs obtained from the English. They thus dwell in various customary encampments, situate within their respective territories. At these encampments, usually fixed in sheltered spots, they erect about 14 temporary huts capable of holding up to 50 to 80 persons, arranged facing inwards on an oval plan always more or less irregular, thus— 621 [242] [231]



The central space is the dancing ground. A hut is merely a thatch about 4 feet long by 3 feet wide, sloping from 8 inches behind to 4½ feet in front, placed on four uprights and some cross-pieces without walls. In unsheltered spots and at the Head-Quarters of Septs large circular huts are built with a good deal of ingenuity, having eaves nearly touching the ground. These will be as much as 15 feet high and 30 feet in diameter. For hunting purposes mere thatched shelters are erected for protection from the wind. Close to every hut is a very small platform for surplus food about 18 inches from the ground, and in it at least one fire is carefully preserved. This is the one thing that the Andamanese are really careful about for they do not know how to make fire, though 342 [251] 372

881 and pointing to a limited tabu. On reaching puberty or thereabouts, between 12 and 16 years of age, abstention from about 6 kinds of food, each in turn, is voluntarily commenced and continued for some years. At the end of each abstention there are a few ceremonies and some dancing and the youth of both sexes become "grown up." There is nothing else to mark this period beyond the application of an honorific name while it lasts, no secret to be communicated, no religious ceremony. In after-life, however, men who have gone through the initiatory period together will not fight, quarrel, nor call each other by name. They will assume great friendship, while avoiding each other with a mutual shyness. The women also practise a limited tabu as to food during menstruation and pregnancy. The idea of tabu does undoubtedly exist as to food and every man has his own tabued articles through life, which is, however, usually something observed to disagree with him in childhood or to be unpalatable.

264 There are also limitations as to sexual family relations. Only husband and wife can eat together. Widows and widowers, bachelors and maidens eat with
576 their own sex only. A man may not address directly a married woman younger than himself or touch his wife's sister or the wife of a younger relative, and *vice versâ*.

302 The tattooing is partly ceremonial, as a test of courage and endurance of
304 pain, and so is painting the body with clays, oils, etc. By the material and design is shown sickness, sorrow or festivity and the unmarried condition.

535 **Amusements.**—The great amusement of the Andamanese, indeed their chief object in life after the chase, is the formal evening or night dance, a curious monotonous performance accompanied by drumming the feet rythmically on a special sounding board, like a Crusader's shield and mistaken for a shield by several observers, singing a song more or less impromptu and of a compass limited to four semitones and the intermediate quarter tones, and clapping the hands on the thighs in unison. The dance takes place every evening whenever there are enough for it, and lasts for hours and all night at meetings of the tribes or septs for the purpose. It then becomes ceremonial and is continued for several nights in succession. Both sexes take allotted parts in it. This and turtle hunting are the only things which will keep the Andamanese awake all night long. There are five varieties of the dance among the tribes: that of the Onge-Jarawas being an entirely separate performance.

533 **Music.**—The Andamanese appreciate rhythm and time, but not pitch or tune. They sing in unison, but not in parts, and can neither sing in chorus nor repeat or even catch an air. The key in which a solo or chorus is started is quite accidental. They can be readily taught any dance step and can teach it themselves from observation.

Song.—Every man who respects himself is a composer of songs, always consisting of a solo and refrain, and sings without action or gesticulation and always to the same rhythm. The songs relate only to travel, sport and personal adventures, never to love, children and the usual objects of poetry, and very rarely to beliefs and superstition. The wording is enigmatic and excessively elliptic, the words themselves being in grammatical order, but shorn of all affixes as a rule. As in all poetry unusual words are employed. But clipped as the wording is and prosaic as the subjects are, the Andamanese are far from being unable to give a poetic turn to their phraseology and ideas. The women have lullabies for their babies.

524 **Games.**—The Andamanese are childishly fond of games and have an indigenous blind-man's-buff, leap-frog and hide-and-seek. Mock pig and turtle hunts, mock burials, and "ghost" hunts are favourite sports. Matches in swinging, swimming, throwing, skimming (ducks and drakes), shooting (archery), and wrestling are practised.

551 **Naming of Children and Adults.**—Every child is named for life after one of about twenty conventional names by the mother, of course without reference to sex, immediately upon pregnancy becoming evident, to which afterwards a nickname, varying occasionally as life proceeds, is added from personal peculiarities, deformities, disfigurements, or eccentricities and sometimes from flattery or reverence. Girls are also given "flower names" after one of sixteen selected trees which happen to be in flower at the time they reach puberty.

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and a bachelor or a young married man, however, the younger 431
would not make any request of such a nature, and if the older 576
man asked the younger for anything the latter would give it
without always expecting a return.

Almost every object that the Andamanese possess is thus 431
constantly changing hands. Even canoes may be given away, [426]
but it is more usual for these to be lent by the owner to his
friends.

It has been stated above that all food is private property and 421
belongs to the man or woman who has obtained it. Every one 431
who has food is expected, however, to give to those who have
none. An older married man will reserve for himself sufficient
for his family, and will then give the rest to his friends. A
younger man is expected to give away the best of what he gets
to the older men. This is particularly the case with the bachelors.
Should a young unmarried man kill a pig he must be content to
see it distributed by one of the older men, all the best parts
going to the seniors, while he and his companions must be
satisfied with the inferior parts. The result of these customs
is that practically all the food obtained is evenly distributed
through the whole camp, the only inequality being that the
younger men do not fare so well as their elders. Generosity is
esteemed by the Andaman Islanders one of the highest of virtues [577]
and is unremittingly practised by the majority of them.

Within the local group there is no such thing as a division of 462
labour save as between the two sexes. In the coastal groups
every man is expected to be able to hunt pig, to harpoon turtle
and to catch fish, and also to cut a canoe, to make bows and
arrows and all the other objects that are made by men. It
happens that some men are more skilful in certain pursuits than
in others. A skilful turtle-hunter, for example, may be an
indifferent pig-hunter, and such a man will naturally prefer to
devote himself to the pursuit in which he appears to most
advantage.

The division of labour between the sexes is fairly clearly
marked. A man hunts and fishes, using the bow and arrow and
the harpoon; he makes his own bows and arrows, his adze and
knife, cuts canoes and makes rope for harpoon lines. A woman

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151 these points, they are found to surpass the natives of the interior in their sense of hearing, which is so acute that they commonly spear turtles on the darkest nights, though able to direct their aim only by the slight sound made by the animal when rising to the surface to take breath. "*ng'ab-mū·lwa-*" (you deaf person!) is a term of reproach often applied by the coast people to those dwelling inland, in allusion to the admitted inferiority of the latter in this respect.

577 **Psychology and Morals.**—1. It has been remarked with regret by all interested in the race, that intercourse with the alien population has, generally speaking, prejudicially affected their morals; and that the candour, veracity, and self-reliance they manifest in their savage and untutored state are, when they become associated with foreigners, to a great extent lost, and habits of untruthfulness, dependence, and sloth engendered.

2. Though there are some grounds for the opinion hitherto held regarding their fearlessness, our more recent relations with them prove that the surprising courage and apparent utter recklessness of life which they manifested in their early encounters with us were due rather to their ignorance of, and disbelief in, any foe more powerful than themselves, or with means of destruction more deadly than their own. Probably nothing short of despair or uncontrollable rage would ever induce any of them to make an attack in which they have not a decided advantage, real or imaginary. All is regarded as fair in war, and cunning and treachery are considered worthy of commendation; in short, the high type of courage common among most civilised, and a few savage, nations appears to be totally lacking among the Andamanese; nevertheless, those who evince courage are much admired, and poltroons are objects of general ridicule.[1] When apprised of the existence of danger, they usually evince extreme caution, and only venture upon an attack when well assured, that, by their superior numbers, they can put the enemy to flight, or will be able, by stealth, to surprise and overpower him.

3. At the same time certain traits which have been noticeable in their dealings with us would give colour to the belief that they are not altogether lacking in the sense of honour, and have some faint idea of the meaning of justice. An amusing incident is related by Dr. Day on this point. It appears that on a certain

[1] Their conduct on occasions of personal risk is, however, generally governed by the consideration that "discretion is the better part of valour," and that

"He who fights and runs away,
May live to fight another day."

They thus resemble the South Sea islanders spoken of by Sir J. Lubbock who, "though not cowards, regard it as much less disgraceful to run away from an enemy with whole bones than to fight and be wounded."

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occasion "they brought in some escaped convicts, whom, however, they first plundered, besides removing every bit of iron from the boat in which they had escaped. On being taxed with this they at first pleaded surprise, then said they would make restitution, and brought a canoe as an exchange for the mischief they had done to the government boat. At first this was not quite understood and the canoe was sent back, but they returned it next day, explaining that they desired it to be kept as a reimbursement for the injury they had done to the government boat, so no longer considered the canoe theirs." 577

4. As another example of the same kind :—when the present penal colony at Port Blair was first established, the aborigines were observed to refrain from shooting at any of the chain-gang prisoners, evidently judging that they at least could not be voluntary invaders of their territory, and to confine their hostility to the petty officers and others not in chains, till these at last, finding themselves in constant danger, sought and obtained permission to carry on their duties in fetters.[1]

5. Much mutual affection is displayed in their social relations, and, in their dealings with strangers, the same characteristic is observable when once a good understanding has been established.

6. It is a noteworthy trait, and one that deserves high commendation, that every care and consideration are paid by all classes to the very young, the weak, the aged, and the helpless, and these, being made special objects of interest and attention, invariably fare better in regard to the comforts and necessaries of daily life than any of the otherwise more fortunate members of the community. [888]

7. Andamanese children are reproved for being impudent and forward, but discipline is not enforced by corporal punish- 861

[1] It may not be unworthy of notice to record here yet another instance of generosity of disposition displayed by one of these savages. In January, 1877, a party of 24 *Bhil* convicts effected their escape: all but some 11 or 12 were soon re-captured. Those still at large proved desperate, showing by their murderous assault on some aborigines, who had unconsciously approached their hiding place in the jungle, that they were prepared to resist capture at all hazards. The chief "*mūnshī*" *.bī'ela* (*vide* Plate II, fig. 2) thereupon headed a party of his tribe and some policemen, and, in spite of the parched condition of the soil—it being then late in February—succeeded in tracking the runaways, who had penetrated several miles into an unfrequented part of the jungle. Refusing to surrender themselves they were attacked, with the result that all were either captured or shot down. On being asked by the Chief Commissioner what reward would be most acceptable for the service the aborigines had performed on this occasion, *.bī'ela* replied that he would prefer to anything else that the Chief Commissioner should remit the remaining portion of the six months' sentence passed on four members of a Middle Andaman tribe, who, a few months before, had been convicted of shooting, at Kyd Island, some Chinamen engaged in collecting edible birds' nests. The prisoners were almost unknown to *.bī'ela*, and their release, therefore, could no more have concerned him personally than did their punishment. His request was granted.

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623 a good deal of influence in connection with quarrels either of
562 individuals or of local groups.

There are certain men, and possibly sometimes women, who
756 have an influence over their fellows owing to their being credited with the possession of supernatural powers. These men, called in *Aka-Jeru oko-jumu* (literally "one who speaks from dreams"), will be described in a later chapter. As they are believed to have command over the powers that produce and cure sickness everyone tries to be on good terms with them, avoiding giving them offence in any way, and seeking their favour by presents of food or other things. It sometimes happens that a chief (the leading man of a local group) is at the same time a medicine-man or *oko-jumu*, but the two positions are entirely distinct and separate, and a man may be a medicine-man who possesses none of the qualities that are necessary for a head man.

673 There does not appear to have been in the Andamans any such thing as the punishment of crime. We may distinguish two kinds of anti-social actions which are regarded by the natives as being wrong. The first kind are those actions which injure in some way a private individual. The second are those, which, while they do not injure any particular person, are yet regarded with disapproval by the society in general.

Amongst the anti-social actions of the first kind are murder, or wounding, theft and adultery, and wilful damage of the property of another.

578 No case of one Andamanese killing another has occurred in recent years. Quarrels sometimes occur between two men of
627 the same camp. A good deal of hard swearing goes on, and sometimes one of the men will work himself up to a high pitch
682 of anger, in which he may seize his bow and discharge an arrow
152 near to the one who has offended him, or may vent his ill-temper by destroying any property that he can lay his hands on, including not only that of his enemy but also that of other persons and even his own. At such a display of anger the women and children flee into the jungle in terror, and if the angry man be at all a formidable person the men occasionally do the same. It apparently requires more courage than the natives usually possess to endeavour to allay such a storm of

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anger. Yet I found that the slightest show of authority would immediately bring such a scene to an end. A man of influence in his village was probably generally equal to the task of keeping order and preventing any serious damage from taking place. It was probably rare for a man so far to give way to his anger as to kill his opponent.

Such murders did, however, occasionally take place[1]. The murderer would, as a rule, leave the camp and hide himself in the jungle, where he might be joined by such of his friends as were ready to take his part. It was left to the relatives and friends of the dead man to exact vengeance if they wished and if they could. If the murderer was a man who was much feared it is probable that he would escape. In any case the anger of the Andamanese is short-lived, and if for a few months he could keep out of the way of those who might seek revenge, it is probable that at the end of that time he would find their anger cooled.

A man who is liable to outbursts of violent anger is feared by his fellows, and unless he has other counterbalancing qualities, he is never likely to become popular. He is treated with outward respect, for every one is afraid of offending him, but he never acquires the esteem of others. There is a special nickname, *Tarenjek*, in the North Andaman, to denote such a man[2].

Quarrels were more likely to occur at the meetings of different local groups that took place in the fine weather, and such quarrels might occasionally end in the murder of some one. In such a case the quarrel would be taken up by the group

[1] The natives of the North Andaman were able to tell me of a few cases of murder which had occurred within the memory of those still living.

Mr Portman in his *History of Our Relations with the Andamanese* records a certain number of murders which occurred while he was in charge of the Andamanese. One man, who had been imprisoned at Port Blair for murder, committed another soon after his release and was hanged. Since that date there has been no case of murder among the Great Andaman tribes. This is perhaps in part due to the punishment with which they are now threatened by the Government, but another cause is probably the breakdown of the old social organisation which has in this respect rather improved their morals than the opposite.

[2] The nickname is applied, however, not only to those who deserve it by their character, but also to others; for instance, one man was called *Tarenjek* because his maternal uncle was a man of violent temper.

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628 of the murdered man, and a feud would be set up between them
682 and the local group to which the murderer belonged. Such was one of the common causes of origin of the petty warfare that formerly existed in the Andamans, which will be referred to later in the present chapter.

627 Cases of theft seem to have been rare. It was left to the
685 aggrieved person to take vengeance upon the thief, but if he killed him or seriously wounded him he would have to expect the possible vengeance of the relatives and friends. Adultery
627 was regarded as a form of theft. I gathered that a man had the
684 right to punish his wife for unfaithfulness, but if the punishment were too severe it would be an occasion for a quarrel with her relatives. It was difficult for the aggrieved husband to punish the man who had offended against him. If he killed him he would lay himself open to the revenge of the relatives. The most he could do was to vent his anger in violent words.

578 Women also occasionally quarrel with one another and swear
626 forcibly at one another, or even get so far as to destroy one another's belongings, or to fight with their fists or sticks. The men hesitate to interfere, and the quarrel can only be stopped by some woman of influence.

The frequent occurrence of serious quarrels is prevented both by the influence of the older men and by the fear that everyone has of the possible vengeance of others should he in any way offend them.

183 There are a number of actions which, while they do not
626 offend any particular person, are regarded as being anti-social. One of these is laziness. Every man is expected to take his proper share in providing both himself and others with food. Should a man shirk this obligation, nothing would be said to him, unless he were a young unmarried man, and he would still be given food by others, but he would find himself occupying a position of inferiority in the camp, and would entirely lose the esteem of his fellows. Other qualities or actions that result in a similar loss of esteem are marital unfaithfulness, lack of respect to others and particularly to elders, meanness or niggardliness, and bad temper. One man was mentioned to me as being a bad man because he refused to take a wife after he had

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confessed that it is tacitly understood that an equivalent should be rendered for every gift.

11. Like the Papuans they are merry, talkative, petulant, inquisitive, and restless. Their speech is rapid, with a constant repetition of the same idea, and a joke, if not played in too practical a form, is highly appreciated.

12. When out of temper with any one they never defame his relatives or use improper expressions, as is so common a practice among natives of India, but merely indulge in mild terms of abuse, such as the following:—

ngab-ted·inga tâ·paya ! (You liar !)
ngūn-bâ·maya ! (You duffer !)
ngūn-jā·bagya ! or *ng'ab-mūgutigpī·chaya !* (You fool !)
ngī-chô·na ! (You long head !)
ngig-chô·ronga-lâ·nta ! (You long nose !)
ngig-pâ·namaya ! (You sunken-eyed one !)
ngid-kī·nabya ! or *ngī-gō·robya !* (You skin and bone !)

A quarrel, as may be supposed, generally results from this style of address.[1]

13. With the exception of those who have lived with us away from their friends from birth or early childhood, not a case can be cited in which a preference is not manifested for a jungle life, even after a sojourn of many years at the Orphanage or Homes at Port Blair.

14. Opportunities for comparing the mental capacity of the children with those of other races have been few, but these have tended to show that, up to the age of 12 or 14, they possess quite as much intelligence as ordinary middle-class children of civilised races when competing in subjects in which they have been instructed in common; but the precociousness of intellect which has so often been remarked in the very young does not appear to be long maintained. Dr. Brander, who was for some time in charge of the Andaman Hospital, gave it as his opinion, that as a race "they are not deficient in brain power; it rather lies dormant and unused in their savage state;" and he mentions the case of an aboriginal patient of 12 years of age, who had been educated in the Ross Orphanage School, and who, in spite of his tender years, could yet read English and Urdu fluently, as well as speak and write in both these languages, retaining also a knowledge of his mother tongue. He had, besides, acquired a fair knowledge of arithmetic. I may add that this is not an exceptional case, for I could instance others, and one lad in particular, who was his superior.

15. More lengthened observations than have hitherto been

[1] *Vide post* "Laws," paragraph 1.

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at Port Blair for the murder of one of his countrymen. He had previously, in 1878, been sentenced to imprisonment for the murder of two children of his tribe, and he committed his last crime soon after his discharge. This has hitherto been the only occasion on which any of these savages has suffered the extreme penalty of British law. It may be added, that this last step was not taken until the unhappy wretch, as well as all his fellow-countrymen in South Andaman, had been repeatedly warned that no other than a capital sentence would in future be passed on those convicted of murder. 627 177

4. It is by no means an uncommon occurrence for a man, or even a boy, to vent his ill-temper, or show his resentment at any act, by destroying his own property as well as that of his neighbours, sparing only the things belonging exclusively to the chief, or other head man. The amount of damage done at such times, to canoes and other articles of more or less value, will often give occasion for several weeks' employment in repairing and replacing to himself and his companions; but as these outbreaks are looked upon as the result of a temporary "possession," and the victim considered, for the time being, dangerous, and unaccountable for his actions, no one ventures to offer any opposition, or impose any restraint upon him. 578 152

5. Women, when in a rage, occasionally act in a similar manner towards one of their own sex, or even to all the females of the encampment, injuring or destroying their nets, baskets, and other articles; at other times they will seize a burning log, and, banging it furiously on the ground, vent their feelings by some such exclamation as *ngig mū·gu jā·bagike!* (May your face become hideous!); or they will struggle and fight till they are forcibly separated by the wife or daughter of their head man. They do not, however, attempt to settle their differences with the stronger sex, but leave it to their husbands or male relatives to obtain redress for their real or fancied grievances.

6. When a chief or elder so far forgets himself as to lose his temper, those of his own standing betake themselves to their huts, while the other members of the community, male and female, beat a hasty retreat to some secluded spot, for no one would venture to find fault with one in authority, and with some reason, for little or no harm usually results to the community, while his own reputation is sure to suffer. Should he, however, wantonly cause loss or injury to any of his people, they would be pretty certain to take an early, though secret, opportunity of repaying him in kind. 622 578 152

Crime.—1. That outcome of civilisation, suicide, is unknown among them; but, since they have seen cases of self-murder among the alien population, they have coined a lengthy com 762

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619 neighbouring tribe, an express invitation or permission is required,
unless, indeed, the party entering happens to be accompanied by
486 one or more members of the district visited, or when, from long and friendly intercommunication, a right of way has been tacitly sanctioned. In cases where there has been a breach of this observance sharp retribution has generally followed, causing sometimes serious loss of life, and resulting in a long-standing tribal feud.

619 3. Those communities of *ē·rem-tâ·ga-* and *àryô·to-*, living
within a few miles of each other and speaking the same dialect,
●578 arrange from time to time large gatherings—generally numbering
437 about a hundred persons[1]—for purposes of barter, or for the celebration of some particular event. Though not unfrequently on these occasions old enmities are healed and friendships formed, fresh tribal feuds and personal quarrels sometimes originate in consequence of a misunderstanding or dispute over some comparative trifle.[2]

487 4. There are numerous paths intersecting each territory, the result of continuous traffic over the same ground. When, for some reason, a new course is taken through the jungle, the route is indicated to those following by bending the twigs of the brushwood in a *reverse* direction at intervals along the track. This is especially the case during the dry season, when, owing to the parched condition of the soil, there is some difficulty in distinguishing footprints.[3]

212 5. No marks on rocks, trees or other objects, made for purposes of record, are believed by them to exist, and, with the exception of the supposititious hieroglyphics,[4] hereafter to be mentioned, nothing of the nature of writing is to be found among these tribes, nor have they any method of recording the name and exploits of a deceased chief or other individual who may have gained distinction during his life, save the narration —more or less garbled—of the same by their admiring descendants. The messenger who conveys intelligence to a distant encampment bears no outward token with him to testify to the authenticity or character of the communication he has to make.

211 6. Although no method of signs exists, such as tying knots in
a string, making notches in a tally, or figures on wood, bark, or
411 stone, they have means of distinguishing arrows and spears belonging to one another, by certain differences peculiar to each

[1] It is believed that no larger number than 300 has ever been assembled at one time in any place in our vicinity, at least since our advent.

[2] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraphs 24 and 37.

[3] No prejudice exists in respect to crossing water, going by certain paths, or handling particular objects, excepting the *Anadendrum paniculatum*. *Vide post*, Part III, "String," paragraph 3.

[4] *Vide* "Mythology," paragraph 29.

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437 5. They set no fixed value on their various properties, and
431 rarely make or procure anything with the express object of disposing of it in barter. Apparently they prefer to regard their transactions as presentations, for their mode of negociating is to *give* such objects as are desired by another in the hope of receiving in return something for which they have expressed a wish, it being tacitly understood that, unless otherwise mentioned beforehand, no "present" is to be accepted without an equivalent being rendered.

[578] 6. The natural consequence of this system is that most of the quarrels which so frequently occur among them originate in failure on the part of the recipient in making such a return as had been confidently expected.[1]

7. All iron-pointed weapons, tools, or shell ornaments are eagerly accepted by the *ē·rem-tá·ga-* in exchange for such things as are more easily procured by them than by the *ár·yó·to-*:[2] for instance, an adze would generally be considered worth two ordinary bows, or a bundle of wooden-pointed arrows; or a man might undertake to make a canoe or bucket for one who would give him an adze.

428 8. But little care is taken of the utensils, weapons, canoes,
422 &c., in daily use, and consequently new ones are often required, the old, when no longer serviceable, being thrown aside; as all their possessions consist of goods which need to be more or less frequently replaced, it is hardly necessary to explain that there is no accumulation of the labours of former generations; hence also it arises that they are not tied by any laws of inheritance; more as a matter of sentiment than for any other reason, the nearest of kin takes possession of all the effects left by a deceased person, and as often as not they are distributed ere long among such friends as may be in need of any of the articles in question.

422 9. The weapons, tools, and other property pertaining to one member of a family are regarded as available for the use of his or her relatives, but such articles as a cooking-pot, canoe, or sounding-board, when not required by the owner, are looked upon somewhat in the light of public property by members of the same community; in short, the rights of private property are only so far recognised that no one would without permission appropriate or remove to a distance anything belonging to a friend or neighbour.

000 **Agriculture.**—1. Before the arrival of strangers in their midst,

[1] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraph 37.

[2] Further mention of this will be made at "Games and Amusements," paragraph 24. As will there be explained, the occasions on which they usually barter are when they meet for a *jay-* at some permanent encampment.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Owing to the difficulty of pushing through the undergrowth the Onges always travel in single file, following closely behind one another, the men first, then the women and children, with the dogs following all round. They never travel alone; I hardly ever met any by themselves, but always in groups of families or groups of hunters. The man who happens to be at the front of the file is the guide and when they come to an awkward part of the journey – perhaps across a deep river – everybody helps. Trees are felled to fall across between the banks and a rope of lianas is run across to make the crossing easier for the aged, the women and the children, though their sense of balance is so good that most of them manage without it, even when carrying heavy loads across a single trunk.

The Onges are now nearly all related to each other in some way. They all know each other, and the contacts are usually friendly. The few squabbles which I saw, always over game, or food that had been gathered, all blew over very quickly; normally, especially in the dry season when every group becomes nomadic in search of food, everyone went freely all over the island. On the occasions of the great hunts, or the honey feasts, a number of groups would band together for the occasion and even then they tried to divide the spoils equally and peaceably. If a dispute does arise the camp will break up into factions, but these will still keep close to each other and after a short while their differences will be made up with the usual long and tearful embraces. These scenes of reconciliation may go on for days, all starting from nothing more serious than a difference of opinion over the division of game captured by communal effort!

Much more important than the danger of offending other human beings is that of causing offence to the spirits of the dead or the guardian spirits who provide food. There is, as I have said, not overmuch rigidity in their observations – no propitiatory offerings of any kind are made to the spirits. The supreme being, Eiuga, who takes the shape of a lizard bigger than a crocodile, they know well. On Great Andaman he becomes Puluga, equally powerful, lord of men and things but rather more anthropomorphic than his counterpart in Little Andaman. As Eiuga lives in the sky, the thunder is his voice, and the wind his breath; if he is angry he breathes out storms and throws burning tree-trunks down to the earth, setting light to the forest. Behind Eiuga are a series of minor spirits who

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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602 developed system of terms denoting social status, so in the
601 social organisation of the Andamans there are very few special duties between relatives, and the conduct of persons to one another is chiefly determined by their respective social positions. This will become evident as we proceed, and it will thus be shown that there is a close connection between the way the natives denote relationships and the way in which their social life is affected by questions of relationship.

581 We have already seen that in the Andamanese social
594 organisation the family is of great importance. A family is constituted by a permanent union between one man and one woman. In one of its aspects this union is a sexual one. By marriage a man acquires the sole right to sexual congress with the woman who becomes his wife. At the same time it is the duty of a married man to avoid sexual relations with other women whether married or unmarried. Promiscuous intercourse
836 between the sexes is the rule before marriage, and no harm is
584 thought of it. The love affairs of the boys and girls are carried on in secret, but the older members of the camp are generally fully aware of all that goes on. What generally happens is that after a time a youth forms an attachment with some girl and a marriage between them results from their love affair.

It is impossible, at the present time, to discover exactly how
837 the Andamanese formerly regarded infidelity on the part of a wife or husband. In the Great Andaman there is great laxity in this matter at the present day. Quarrels sometimes arise when a husband discovers an intrigue between his wife and another man, but very often the husband seems to condone the adultery of his wife. Mr E. H. Man, writing on this subject, says that "conjugal fidelity till death is not the exception, but the rule," and adds, "It is undoubtedly true that breaches of morality have occasionally taken place among a few of the married persons who have resided for any length of time at Port Blair, but this is only what might be expected from constant association with the Indian convict attendants at the various homes; justice, however, demands that in judging of their moral characteristics we should consider only those who have been

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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uninfluenced by the vices or virtues of alien races[1]." At the present time conjugal infidelity is very common and is lightly regarded. It is almost certain that the establishment of the Penal Settlement amongst them has affected their morals in this particular, but there does not seem to be any very satisfactory evidence that their former morality was quite so strict as Mr Man would have us believe. One piece of evidence in this matter is that the spread of syphilis, when it was first introduced amongst them seems to have been very rapid, and yet this was before many of the tribes had been very seriously affected by the Settlement. 837

Besides the special sexual relation between a husband and wife there is a special economic relation, if we may speak of it as such. The two share one hut between them, or one portion of a communal hut. It is the duty of the wife to provide the fire-wood and the water for cooking and drinking, and to cook the meals at the family fire. It is the duty of the husband to provide flesh food for himself and for his wife, while it is her duty to provide and prepare vegetable food. 594 581

A marriage is not regarded as fully consummated until the birth of a child. Mr Man states that the survivor of a childless couple is not looked upon as the chief mourner. A father who has been away from home greets his wife first on his return and then greets his other relatives; but if no child has been born to him a husband first greets his blood-relatives (father, mother, brothers, etc.) and only after that does he visit his wife. 581 576 851

The only regulation of marriage is on the basis of relationship. Marriage is forbidden between near *consanguinei*. The exact rules, in this matter, if indeed there be any exact rules, are difficult to discover. It is quite clear that a man would not be permitted to marry his sister or half-sister, nor his father's or mother's sister, nor his brother's or sister's daughter. The question is more difficult when it comes to the matter of cousins. In 1908 I only found one pair of first cousins who were married to one another, this being in the *Aka-Bo* tribe. The husband 582 605

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 135. He speaks of the wives as "models of constancy."

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he is permitted to marry:[1] although many remain single until they have undergone these various rites, it is considered almost as binding on those who marry before doing so, to comply with these time-honoured usages at some early opportunity. 881

Marriage.—1. It has been asserted that the "communal marriage,"[2] system prevails among them, and that "marriage is nothing more than taking a female slave,"[3] but so far from the contract being regarded as a merely temporary arrangement, to be set aside at the will of either party, no incompatibility of temper or other cause is allowed to dissolve the union, and, while bigamy, polygamy, polyandry, and divorce are unknown, conjugal fidelity till death is not the exception, but the rule, and matrimonial differences, which, however, occur but rarely, are easily settled with or without the intervention of friends. 581 586 837

2. It is undoubtedly true that breaches of morality have occasionally taken place among a few of the married persons who have resided for any length of time at Port Blair, but this is only what might be expected from constant association with the Indian convict attendants at the various homes; justice, however, demands that in judging of their moral characteristics we should consider those only who have been uninfluenced by the vices or virtues of alien races.

3. As in various other savage tribes, unchastity[4] is apparently universal among the unmarried of both sexes, and is indeed so entirely disregarded that no reproof is administered, even by the nearest relatives, to those who offend in this manner; notwithstanding this laxity, the girls are strikingly modest and child-like in their demeanour, and when married are good wives and models of constancy, while their husbands do not fall far short of them in this respect. It should, however, be mentioned, that the freedom which exists between the sexes prior to wedlock, is confined to those who are not within the prescribed limits of affinity, as their customs do not permit of the union of any who are known to be even distantly related;[5] the fact of our allowing first cousins to marry seems to them highly objection- 836 835

[1] They think highly of a man who defers marriage until he is of full age, and the reverse of a youngster who rushes into matrimony before attaining the mature (!) age of eighteen.

[2] "So absolutely closely allied are the Andaman Islanders in their moral as well as physical life to the lower animals, that it is said by an eminent scientific voyager (Sir Edward Belcher) that the man and woman remain together until the mother ceases to suckle the child, after which they separate as a matter of course, and each seeks a new partner" (Brown).

[3] *Vide* Wood.

[4] "A great many races of mankind are quite indifferent to juvenile unchastity, and only impose strict conduct on their women after marriage" (Peschel).

[5] "It is precisely nations in the most primitive stage which have the greatest abhorrence of incestuous marriages". (Peschel).

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582 605 and wife were the son and daughter of two brothers. Mr E. H. Man writes that "marriage is only permissible between those who are known to be not even distantly connected, except by wedlock, with each other; so inexorable, indeed is this rule, that it extends and applies equally to such as are related merely by the custom of adoption." He adds that marriage between first cousins is forbidden. I was not able to satisfy myself on this point, but it seemed to me that while such a marriage as that of first cousins was not actually regarded as wrong, and therefore forbidden, it was regarded as preferable that a man should marry a woman not so nearly related to him. No distinction is made between different kinds of cousin[1].

582 597 My observations did not confirm Mr Man's statement that persons related by adoption are forbidden to marry. It is necessary, however, to distinguish two different kinds of adoption. When the parents of a child of less than six or seven years of age die, the child is adopted into some other family. We may call this "orphan adoption." As will be explained later, there is another custom by which children of over seven or eight are adopted by a married couple belonging to a local group other than that of the parents, and live with them till they come of age. The parents of the child are still alive and they visit him or her at frequent intervals. No bar to marriage is set up by this kind of adoption. An adopted son may marry the daughter of his foster-parents. Indeed when children are betrothed it is the rule for the girl to be adopted by the boy's parents, at any rate for a time. On the other hand it is quite possible that a child adopted when of tender years (as an orphan) would not be permitted to marry a child of his or her foster-parents. I was unable to satisfy myself on this point.

582 There seems to be a prejudice against a woman marrying a man younger than herself. Some of the women with whom I talked expressed strong contempt at the idea of marrying a man younger than themselves. Unfortunately, I neglected

[1] I collected a number of genealogies from the natives, but unfortunately my own inexperience in the use of the genealogical method, and my consequent inability to surmount the difficulties with which I met, made this branch of my investigations a failure.

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to obtain statistics as to the frequency with which such marriages occur, if they occur at all. 582

Beyond the prohibition of the marriage of near kin, I could not find any restriction on marriage. A man may marry a woman from his own local group or from another, from his own or from another tribe. That marriages between persons belonging to the same local group did occur in former times I was able to ascertain with certainty but I was not able to determine the proportion of such marriages to the whole number. It is probable that the majority of marriages, or at any rate a large proportion, were between persons belonging to different local groups.

Marriages are arranged by the older men and women. 584 Children are sometimes betrothed by their parents while they are still infants. I found one such case in the North Andaman, and the betrothed couple, though they were yet small children, were spoken of as being "married." Such betrothals are not very common at the present time.

When the parents of a youth who is of suitable age to be married perceive that he has formed an attachment with a girl, they take it upon them to arrange a marriage. The matter is first of all talked over between the young man and his parents. The man's parents do not themselves speak to the girl's parents of the matter, but request some one or more of their friends to do so. From the moment that the possibility of a marriage exists the man's parents avoid speaking to the girl's parents. Any communication between them is carried on through a third person. They send presents to each other, of food and other objects. The recipient of such a present hastens to make a return of equal value. If the marriage is arranged the parents on each side become related to one another by the relationship denoted in *Akar-Bale* by the word *aka-yat*. The duties implied by this relationship will be described later.

When a marriage has finally been arranged an evening 585 is appointed for the ceremony. In the North Andaman this is as follows. The bride is seated on a mat at one end of the dancing ground, her relatives and friends sitting near her. Torches or heaps of resin are lighted near by, so that the

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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602 brother or to his mother's brother which he does not also owe, in perhaps a less degree, to other men of the same age, and there is no term by which he can distinguish his father's brother from those others.

If this account of the system of relationship be accurate it will be seen that the Andamanese society contrasts very strongly, in this matter, with other primitive societies[1].

621 It remains for us only to examine the social relations between the different local groups. Two neighbouring groups, whether of the same tribe or of different tribes, might be either friendly towards one another or unfriendly. Friendly relations [582 were kept alive by several of the customs of the Andamanese, 591 by the intermarriage of members of different groups, by the 597] adoption of children from one group to another, and by the fact that a man of one group might take up his residence more or less permanently with another (particularly when he married a woman of that group, or was adopted when a boy by one of the men belonging to it). All these customs served to bind some persons in the one group to persons in the other, and thus prevent the two groups from becoming entirely unfriendly to one another.

621 When two neighbouring local groups were friendly to one another communication between them was kept up by visitors 574 from one group to another, and by occasional meetings of the whole of the two groups.

Either a single person or a family might at any time pay a visit to another camp, staying a few days or weeks or even longer. A man would, however, only go visiting when he was sure of a welcome. Such visits were most frequent in the fine months of the year (December to May). As a husband and wife in many instances belonged to different local groups they

[1] It would not be safe, however, to base any arguments of importance to sociology on the above description of the Andamanese system of relationship alone. Although I tried to learn all that I could on the subject, it is quite certain that I did not learn all that was to be learnt, and it is possible that further enquiry might have shown that I was mistaken in some of my observations. The difficulty of being really sure on these matters is due (1) to the fact that the breaking-up of the old local organisation has produced many changes in their customs, and (2) to the difficulty of questioning the natives on matters connected with relationships when they have no words in their language to denote any but the simplest relationships.

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not at the hands of their mothers, but of the male members of the tribe.

Reproduction.—1. Marriages never take place till both parties have attained maturity, and generally not till a few years later; the usual age of the bridegroom varies from 18 to 22, and of the bride from 16 to 20. The result of inquiries tends to show that there is a slight predominance of female over male births; three or four is the average number of children born of the same parents. The largest family known consisted of six, three only of whom attained maturity.[1]

2. Twins are rare, and as no instance can be recalled of both surviving infancy, notwithstanding all possible care being bestowed on them, they are not favourably regarded. No case of triplets has been known to occur. Births out of wedlock are considered discreditable, and in the one known instance of the kind, the parents were married immediately after the event; no difference was made in the treatment which the child received.[2]

3. The limited fecundity of the women may in some measure be due to the circumstance that they never wean their babies, so long as they are able to suckle them, and it not unfrequently happens that the two youngest children are seen together at their mother's breast.[3]

4. The ill success in rearing their offspring is doubtless owing in most part to the injudicious management and petting which each of the mother's friends considers right to bestow on the infant. It is looked upon as a compliment for every woman who may be nursing, to relieve the mother of this duty at frequent intervals; it is, therefore, no matter of surprise that the little one ails and dies.

5. The proportion of deaths from violence and accident, is believed to amount to four or five per cent.

6. Barrenness is rare, as are also cases of stillborn children. No drugs or other contrivances are employed in order to increase or limit reproduction.

Abnormalities.—1. Excessive development of fat about the gluteal region is frequently observable among the adult women.

[1] It is said that more children are born during the rains than at any other season of the year.

[2] *Vide post* "Marriage," paragraph 4.

[3] On this subject Dr. Brander remarks as follows:—

"They mostly possess considerable mammary development, and the glands in many cases seem to be in a chronic state of functional activity. This may be due to the late period to which they suckle their young (even to three or four years), or to another purpose to which the milk is applied. . . ." (*vide post*, "Shaving.") [As will be seen from Plate II, fig. 1, the mammæ are pyriform rather than spherical: with the advance of years they become flaccid and elongated.]

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572 597 836 584 seniors, a good deal of flirtation, and often something more, is carried on by the young people without arousing any suspicions as to their sentiments for one another, until the affair has become too serious to be broken off, and has to end, sooner or later, in their marriage and start in life on their own account. In some cases, when the guardians have reason to believe that a lad has, notwithstanding his assurances to the contrary, a *sub silentio* attachment, they adopt the following method for testing the truth of his asseveration; on a given day it is arranged by the friends of the suspected couple that they shall (without the knowledge of either) be painted respectively [302] with the red oxide of iron unguent, *kòi·ob-*, and the white clay *tâ·la-ōg-*, for, as they would not meet till night-fall, the risk of their discovering the trap laid for them is reduced to a minimum, while a glance on the following morning would suffice to betray them if guilty, and the guardians' object would be attained, for, from shame at his secret being known, and his falsehood exposed, the youth feels in honour bound to break off his connection with the girl, at least for some time.

582 597 **Relationships.**—1. In all the relations of life the question of propinquity is, in their eyes, of paramount importance, and marriage is only permissible between those who are known to be not even distantly connected, except by wedlock, with each other; so inexorable, indeed, is this rule, that it extends, and applies equally, to such as are related merely by the custom of adoption to which I have just referred.

[605] 601 2. A first cousin, actual or by adoption, is regarded as a half-brother or half-sister, as the case may be, and nephews and nieces almost as sons and daughters, while the terms used to denote a grandfather, grandmother, grandson, and grand-daughter are equally applied to indicate respectively a grand-uncle, grand-aunt, grand-nephew, and grand-niece.

3. Parents, when addressing, or referring to their children and not using their names, employ distinct terms, the father calling his son *dar ō·dire, i.e.*, he that has been begotten by me, and his daughter *dar ō·dire-pail-*; while the mother makes use of the word *dab ē·tire, i.e.*, he whom I have borne, for the former, and *dab ē·tire-pail-* for the latter; similarly, friends in speaking of children to their parents say respectively, *ngar ō·dire*, or *ngab ē·tire* (your son), *ngar ō·dire-pail-*, or *ngab ē·tire-pail-* (your daughter).[1]

4. Uncles and aunts on the father's are not distinguished from those on the mother's side; relationships are traced in both lines, and the system with reference to either sex is identical.

[1] Foster-parents employ the terms *dōt chá·tnga-* and *dōt chá·tnga-pail-* in referring to their adopted son and daughter respectively.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

5. In consequence of the shortness of their lives, their ignorance of any method of maintaining accurate records, and last, not least, the unavoidable complications arising from their system of adoption, it naturally follows that they fail in tracing, and therefore in recognising, relationships beyond the third generation. 601

6. In addressing a senior male relative, the term *mai·a* or *mai·ola* is employed; if of equal standing, and a father, the same; but if not a parent, the term *mar* is prefixed to his name; if junior, he would be addressed by his name only. The same system applies to the females, with whom *chān·a*[1] or *châ·nola* takes the place of *mai·a* and *mai·ola*, and the "flower" name, to which I can now make but a brief allusion,[2] the place of *mar;* these terms, *mai·a, chān·a*, &c., are equivalent to Mr., Sir, Mrs., Madam, &c.[3] Sir John Lubbock, in his well known work "On the Origin of Civilization,"[4] points out the existence of a similar custom among the *Telugus* and *Tamils.*

7. In a table I have prepared,[5] and which I believe to be fairly complete, there are about sixty terms, exclusive of equivalents, employed to denote the various degrees of relationship recognised by this race. It will there be seen that, as among the Australians near Sydney, mentioned by the Rev. W. Ridley,[6] brothers and sisters speak of one another by titles that indicate relative age; that is, their words for brother and sister involve the distinction of elder or younger, while a like system is adopted in respect to half-brothers, half-sisters, cousins, brothers-in-law, and sisters-in-law.

8. In addressing the relatives of a wife or husband, or a brother's wife, or sister's husband—provided such be senior to the speaker—the term *mâm*[7] is used.

9. A man or woman may not marry into the family of their brothers- or sisters-in-law, but there is no rule against a man marrying a girl bearing the same name as himself, either in another tribe or in his own community, the *only* bar being that of consanguinity or adoption. 582

10. The nearest of kin to a widow or widower are, (1) the grown-up children, (2) the parents, and (3) the brothers and sisters. 602

Proper Names.—1. One of the alleged[8] peculiarities of the 551

[1] Not "*Chamak*," as given by Dr. Day.
[2] *Vide* next section, paragraph 3.
[3] "According to Williams ('Fiji and the Fijians') their (*i.e.*, the Fijian) languages contain expressions which exactly correspond to the French *Monsieur* and *Madame*." (Peschel, p. 346.)
[4] *Vide* 4th edition, p. 164.
[5] *Vide* Appendix I.
[6] *Vide* "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. ii, p. 266.
[7] This term is likewise employed in addressing a chief.
[8] *Vide* Tickell.

141 **Man's Enquiries.**—In addition to Portman's and Molesworth's measurements there are those taken by Man some 25 years ago of 48 men and 41 women, which give the following average results of much interest :—

Average weight of 40 and body and limb measurements of 48 Andamanese males.

1.	Weight	98·12 lbs.
2.	Height	58·73 inches.
3.	Size round head	21·00 "
4.	" " neck	12·30 "
5.	" " chest	27·94 "
6.	" " waist	27·08 "
7.	" " buttocks	31·98 "
8.	" " thigh	18·36 "
9.	" " calf	12·09 "
10.	" " ankle	7·19 "
11.	" " biceps	10·60 "
12.	" " arm	9·59 "
13.	" " forearm	9·05 "
14.	" " wrist	5·53 "
15.	Length of spine	17·44 "
16.	" of arm and hand	24·64 "
17.	" from shoulder to elbow	12·47 "
18.	" from shoulder to wrist	21·98 "
19.	" from ankle to knee	15·65 "
20.	" from ankle to hip	30·66 "
21.	" of foot	9·29 "

Average weight of 37 and average body and limb measurements of 41 Andamanese females.

1.	Weight	94·08 lbs.
2.	Height	55·40 inches.
3.	Size round head	19·96 "
4.	" " neck	10·86 "
5.	" " chest	28·84 "
6.	" " waist	27·23 "
7.	" " buttocks	33·52 "
8.	" " thigh	19·33 "
9.	" " calf	11·88 "
10.	" " ankle	7·14 "
11.	" " biceps	9·98 "
12.	" " arm	9·50 "
13.	" " forearm	8·41 "
14.	" " wrist	5·35 "
15.	Length of spine	16·58 "
16.	" of arm and hand	25·53 "
17.	" from shoulder to elbow	11·80 "
18.	" from shoulder to wrist	20·30 "
19.	" from ankle to knee	15·06 "
20.	" from ankle to hip	30·32 "
21.	" of foot	8.29 "

147 **High Temperature.**—The high bodily temperature may be an indication of the low vitality characteristic of the race. The cause is obscure, unless it is to be traced to their largely carbonaceous diet or to saturation with malaria producing a condition of masked fever. It has been observed that they do not feel themselves to be otherwise than quite well when the temperature is over 100° Fahr., and that that condition does not affect their appearance or actions.

Breathing.—In view of the experiments made in European countries and the United States as to the relative breathing of the sexes, it is of interest that the breathing of both sexes among the Andamanese is abdominal or upper abdominal, the women showing scarcely any indication of their breathing, though the men show it well.

In the healthy younger Andamanese the breath is sweet and there is no distinctive smell from the body when clean, though they perspire freely. The older people with decayed teeth and tissues, have foul smelling breath and bodies, partly due to a mild form of scurvy, caused by absence of vegetable food at certain times of the year.

145 **Age.**—The Andamanese male matures at about 15, attains full growth at about 18, and marries at about 26, he begins to "age" at about 40 and lives on

●582

145 to about 60 to 65, if he reaches "old age." Except as to marriage at an earlier age, about 18, these figures apply fairly to the women also, who, however, live somewhat longer than the men, retaining in old age both health and mental faculties.
582

163 **Reproduction.**—The marriages are infructuous, though barrenness is uncommon, a couple rarely producing families of even moderate size and many
[853] none at all. The child-bearing age is from 16 to 35; weaning is much delayed.

291 **Endurance.**—Left to themselves the Andamanese go stark naked and with head uncovered, except that the women wear, as clothing and not orna-
147 ment, one or more leaves in front and a bunch of leaves tied round the waist behind, or a tassel of leaves all round. Jarawas, however, of both sexes have been seen entirely naked. They dislike and fear cold, but not heat, though they avoid exposure to the sun; and being accustomed to gratify every sensation as it arises, they endure thirst, hunger, want of sleep, fatigue and bodily discomfort badly. Want of sleep, such as occurs at their dances for occasionally as much as
[482] four days and nights, exhausts them greatly. A man's load is 40 lbs. and his distance 15 miles for a day or two only. After that he will rest, whatever the urgency.

252 **Food.**—The food consists of fish, pork, turtle, iguana, "wild cat" (*paradoxurus sp.*), shell-fish, turtle eggs, certain larvæ, and a great variety of fruit,
262 seeds, roots, and honey, and is plentiful both by sea and land. They never starve, though they are habitually heavy eaters. The food is always cooked and commonly eaten very hot. As much as possible of an animal is eaten and the Andamanese, like most hunters, have found out the dietary value of tripe. The Andamanese are expert cooks and adept at preparing delicacies from parts of animals and fish.

142 **Skin.**—The skin, which is smooth, greasy and satiny, varies in colour from an intense sheeny black to a reddish brown on the unexposed parts and also on the collar bones, cheeks and other prominences of the body. Its general appearance has been likened to a "black-leaded stove." The scalp, the lips and nostrils are black, and there are black patches on the palate. The soles of the feet are brownish yellow. The Bojigngiji Group (South Andaman) are the darkest, and among the Onges parts of the face are a light reddish-brown. The Jarawas are distinctly fairer than the rest, the general colour being a deep reddish brown. Leucoderma occurs on the fingers and lips.

Hair.—The hair varies from a sooty black to dark and light brown, yellowish brown and red. The general appearance of it is sooty black or yellowish brown. Except on the head the hair is scanty, but not absent: on the head it grows in small rings, which give it the appearance of growing in tufts, though it is really closely and evenly distributed over the whole scalp. Limited baldness is unknown, but temporary general baldness after disease occurs with a weak growth
[302] of the hair afterwards. The hair is not shaved, except on the head and eyebrows, and each tribe has, with many fantastic individual variants, its own
[145] method of wearing it. It turns grey at about 40, but white hair is not common.

Shaving is "woman's work" and was performed by small flakes of quartz, but nowadays flakes from the kicks of glass bottles are substituted. It is effective and close, but a painful operation on an European's face, as I proved by personal experience many years ago.

Bodily Parts.—The mouth is large, the palate hard and highly arched, the lips well formed. The hands and feet are small and well made. The ears are small and well shaped, the eyes are generally dark to a very dark brown, bright, liquid and clear, but prominent with slightly elevated outer angles and become dulled with age. The teeth, in the young, except amongst the Onges, are white, good and on the whole free from disease. Those of the Onges are irregular and discoloured. As age advances the teeth generally lose their whiteness and become worn, but without much caries. The teeth are roughly used without any care whatever. Dentition is early.

164 **Diseases.**—The muscular strength of the Andamanese is great, but their vitality is nevertheless low, and the apparently robust quickly die after sickening

The "womb-name" is called the *teng-l'ar-ula* and on the child being born, the words distinguishing sex by the genitals, *ota*, male, and *kota*, female, are prefixed to it in babyhood. The women's "flower name" precedes the *teng-l'ar-ula* till motherhood or advancing years, but is often used alone. As the "flower names" are of much interest, the following list of them is given in the Bea language. There are eleven of them and flowers, regarded as identical by the Andamanese, belong to trees sometimes of quite different species: a mistake that is made by peoples of much higher mental development. 551

Flower name.	Tree.	Flowering month.
Moda	(1) Semecarpus (Sp.) (2) Odina wodier	March.
Ors	Chickrassia tabularis	March.
Jidga	(1) Unidentified (2) Croton argyratus	April.
Yeri	Sterculia (Sp.)	April.
Pataka	(1) Meliorma simplicifolia (2) Terminalia procera	May.
Reche	(1) Eugenia (Sp.) (2) Rubiaceæ	June. July.
Chagara	Pterocarpus dalbergioides	August.
Charapa	Unidentified	September.
Chenra	Lees sambucina	October.
Yulu	(1) Unidentified (2) Eugenia (Sp.)	November.
Chilip	Diospyros densiflora	November, December, January and February.

The people are now ignorant of the origin of the flower names or of the cause of the selection of the trees above mentioned.

The honorifics *maia* and *mam* are prefixed out of respect to the name of elderly males and *chana* to all names of married women. Girls are addressed by the flower name and the elders by the honorific. Names are not much used in addressing, but chiefly for naming the absent or in calling.

Marriage Relations.—The Andamanese are monogamous, and by preference, but not necessarily, exogamous as regards sept and endogamous as regards tribe or more strictly group. Divorce is rare and unknown after the birth of a child, unfaithfulness after marriage which entails the murder of both the guilty parties if practicable is not common, and polyandry, polygamy, bigamy and incest are unknown. Marriages are not religious, but are attended with distinct ceremonies. Marriage after death of one party or divorce is usual. Before marriage free intercourse between the sexes within the exogamous limits is the rule, though some conventional precautions are taken to prevent it. 582

Portman tersely describes the marriage ceremony thus—

"When the elders of a sept are aware that a young couple are anxious to marry, the bride is taken to a newly made hut and made to sit down in it. The bridegroom runs away into the jungle, but after some struggling and pretence at hesitation, is brought in by force and made to sit in the bride's lap. This is the whole ceremony. The newly married couple have little to say to and are very shy of each other for at least a month after marriage, when they gradually settle down together." 585

Marriages are the business of parents or guardians and they have a right of betrothal of children, the betrothal being regarded as a marriage. Marital relations are somewhat complicated and quite as strictly observed as among civilised communities. Old books on this point generally ascribe bestiality and promiscuity to the race, but quite wrongly. 584

Death Ceremonies.—Deaths occasion loud lamentation from all connected with the deceased. Babies are buried under the floor of their parents' hut. Adults are either buried in a shallow grave, or, as an honour, tied up in a bundle and placed on a platform in a tree. Wreaths of cane leaves are then fastened conspicuously round the encampment, and it is deserted for about three months. Burial spots are also sufficiently well marked. Mourning is observed by smearing the head with grey clay and refraining from dancing for the above period. After some months the bones of the deceased are washed, broken up and made into ornaments, to which great importance is attached, as mementos of the deceased and as they are believed to stop pain and cure diseases by simple application to the diseased part. The skull is worn down the back tied round the 764 765

5: Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Nicobars AZ7

A 114 143 580

Owing to linguistic difficulties it was not possible to find out the relationships in the majority of cases. It is, however, evident that inbreeding must be very high in such a small, isolated and closed population.

Jarawas

A 114 143

Gates (1940, 1948) reported blood groups of the five Jarawas captured at Bluff Island in September, 1938. Of these five, the adult woman and her eldest son died at Port Blair during Japanese occupation. It appears that Chaudhuri did not group the blood of the 4th son born at Port Blair to the above captured woman, since that would have made the total number 6 (mother +4 sons + 1 unrelated girl) instead of 5. This boy (Pl. IX, Fig. 3) is now 13 years old and was found like his mother and brothers to be belonging to Group O. The blood samples of the other three children were found to be O. The children (Pl. IX) are now living in a Car Nicobar mission.

Andamanese

A 161 A 125 143

The Andamanese population has undergone very serious depletion. The total strength was estimated to be about 37 as compared with 90 of the census figure of 1931. Only 21 of these people could be tested from the islands of Havelock and Neil. Their blood groups are :—

O	2	9·52%
A	12	57·14%
B	5	23·81%
AB	2	9·52%
	21	

Nicobarese

N 361 N 125 164 143

The majority of the Nicobarese were grouped at the Car Nicobar island. A group of 15 people from Chaura and a patient suffering from infantile paralysis from Nankauri were included in the sample. All the 16 of the latter group belonged to Group O.

The Nicobarese blood group distribution is as follows :—

	O	A	B	AB	p	q	r	D/σ
	117	5	14	0				
%	86·03	3·68	10·29	..	·019	·054	·928	0·5

N 164 N 134 125

Car Nicobar was visited towards the decline of the infantile paralysis epidemic. There were only 24 patients in the hospital. A good number, however, of those who escaped death but were otherwise invalidated were examined.

5: Sarkar D-5 (1948)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2 Nicobars AZ7

The blood group distribution of 39 such invalids is as follows :—

N 143 734 125

	O	A	B	AB	Total
	34	1	4	0	39
%	87·18	2·56	10·26	0	

When this is compared with the normal unaffected sample the following figure is obtained :—

	O	A	B	AB	Total
	83	4	10	0	97
%	85·57	4·12	10·31	0	

There is thus no significant difference between the affected and normal samples.

Negrito Affinities

A 144 143 A [582]

While nothing definite can be said of the Jarawas, the other two Negrito groups, the Onges and the Andamanese, show very high incidence of the blood group A. This is accompanied by a very low O in both the cases. In breeding in such isolated populations of small size is normally very high and this has possibly resulted in the dominant A mendelising over the recessive O. It appears that the Negritos, here and elsewhere, possess a high frequency of A with little B, which is probably due to intermixture. This will be apparent from the following table :—

	O	A	B	AB	Investigator
	%	%	%	%	
Negrito (Philippines) (297)	48·4	33·3	14·1	4·0	Grove
Bushmen (615) . .	56·1	29·6	7·5	6·8	Pijper
Onges (34) . . .	14·71	67·65	5·88	11·76	Author
Andamanese (22) . .	9·9	59·09	22·71	9·09	Author

Among the Andamanese proper, the half breeds form probably one half of the population and the high B of 22·72 per cent must be due to mixture with outside peoples. The Onges are more isolated than the Andamanese and it is difficult to account for the 5·88 per cent of B among them. The percentage of AB is also high enough to warrant the presence of more B.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

Endogamous life, or the habit of never washing even the female genital 842
organs, cannot be the only cause of Andamanese sterility. Alcohol and venereal [515]
diseases such as syphilis may only be a complementary cause. The Onge's [582]
limited fertility probably derives from other factors besides their protracted
and inceasingly strict endogamy.

We can only remark that Onge women rarely become pregnant before 842
28 ; their fertility ceases around the age of 48. The high rate of sterility among 147
Onge women after marriage (which generally takes place at the age of 14) is [582]
puzzling indeed. Of several childless couples that I studied in Little Andaman,
the woman was under 28. There is hope of fertility after that age. It could so
happen, for instance, in the case of two young Onge chiefs, Okkeggi and Chen-
dubai, married to two sisters among the most beautiful and flourishing girls
on the island : Ooaghĕghĕ and Tocooaghĕghĕ, both around 20. They never
became pregnant, although menstruation was normal and they had plenty of [837]
sexual intercourse, even extra-marital.

The delayed appearance of fertility in Andamanese women is probably 147
connected with a general biological condition fostered by unhygienic habits. 515
For instance : young Onge females have a high vagina acidity content that
is certainly harmful to spermatozoa. It decreases with age, facilitating, we may
suppose, fecundation. Vaginal washing would help, but the Onge women never
recur to it. But this is only one side of the question. It is evidently urgent to do 161
whatever is necessary to save the Onge from extinction. We must remember
that civilized nations, through international agreements, are anxious to pro-
tect plant and animal species from disappearance. The same should be done
for man, and equivalent international laws are needed. The Onge as a human
group are on the verge of extinction ; but they still retain enough vitality to
be rescued before they finally vanish into eternity.

Without enlarging here on the disorders of Onge sexual life and their 838
dire effects also on the number of births, I wish to point out one more fact :
Onge homosexuality as a normal occurrence. It is a plague in Little Andaman,
helped by the regular physiological functions of both extremities of the diges-
tive tube. The sexual tendencies that prevail in Little Andaman are a strong
criticism of FREUD's theories on sexual life, but I will not discuss this here.
I would rather say a few words about some opinions regarding the cause of
Onge sterility that I heard expressed in the Andamans. Foreigners there ascribe 842
it to the *naquinĕghĕ* – the grass-like apron worn by women. Colonists believe 833
that this garment leads to copulation from the rear, reducing the chances
of fecundation. This idea is incorrect : the Onge never do this because the
naquinĕghĕ can be easily lifted as required, and pulled up over the abdomen.
It is true that Onge women remove the *naquinĕghĕ* only to replace it with a 291
fresh one ; they wear it even when sleeping. Not for a single instant must women [513]
remain "undressed", for superstitious reasons. When a new *naquinĕghĕ* is needed,
the old one is furtively disposed of. Husband and wife repair secretely to a
remote part of the forest, the woman slipping the new garment over her head
before removing the old one, and burying the latter, which is quickly destroyed
by white ants. The Onge believe that possession by a stranger of a worn [754]

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

the felling of the tree, chiselling the lumber and processing it further to give the shape of a canoe. Buckets of wood are also constructed by them from the softwood tree. Two types of baskets are made, the smaller ones are more well-finished than the bigger ones. The former is known as *toleoaga* and the later *tole-laya*. Such activities have introduced the use of dahs, chisels, and iron files among the Onges, from the iron pieces derived from the sea shores. The other important pieces of their craftsmanship are the beautiful weavings of fibre, tussel of yellow fibre used by the women in their front. However, the art of making the earthen pots has been completely forgotten.

The leisure in their lives has helped the development of some amount of aesthetic senses among the Onges. All the Onges men and women shave their heads with flakes of glass, obtained from the sea-borne glass bottles. The body of the Onges are also painted with white clay which save their skin from insect-bite while red paint serves medicinal purposes if some individual is having fever. In times of mourning, red orchre paint is a taboo.[1]

Early marriage is the custom. The widows are looked down upon by the society. Some incidents of widow murder and drowning are heard. In the married life, the husband is devoted to his wife and both the husband and wife work for collecting their food.

Dances and songs are in vogue and there are practically songs for every occasion and activity. Most of their songs are more plaintive than joyous.

There are three broad divisions of the Onges of the Little Andaman :

(1) *Giremeka-Gobeule* group inhabiting the northeastern coast of the island ;

(2) *Engakwale group* live in the interior of the islands ; and

(3) *Gireraragobeule group* live in the southern and western coasts of the islands.

In spite of all the limitations, the Onges have been considered as one of the happiest people of the world with plenty of food and water to eat and drink and with very few social cankers to fight with. But as is common to all other aborigines of the Andamans, a decline in their number is discernible.

The Sentinelese

The Sentinelese are the least known of all the aborigines of the Anda-

1 The Onge of the Little Andaman—A short guide book ; Anthropological Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

602 developed system of terms denoting social status, so in the
601 social organisation of the Andamans there are very few special duties between relatives, and the conduct of persons to one another is chiefly determined by their respective social positions. This will become evident as we proceed, and it will thus be shown that there is a close connection between the way the natives denote relationships and the way in which their social life is affected by questions of relationship.

581 We have already seen that in the Andamanese social
594 organisation the family is of great importance. A family is constituted by a permanent union between one man and one woman. In one of its aspects this union is a sexual one. By marriage a man acquires the sole right to sexual congress with the woman who becomes his wife. At the same time it is the duty of a married man to avoid sexual relations with other women whether married or unmarried. Promiscuous intercourse
836 between the sexes is the rule before marriage, and no harm is
584 thought of it. The love affairs of the boys and girls are carried on in secret, but the older members of the camp are generally fully aware of all that goes on. What generally happens is that after a time a youth forms an attachment with some girl and a marriage between them results from their love affair.

It is impossible, at the present time, to discover exactly how
837 the Andamanese formerly regarded infidelity on the part of a wife or husband. In the Great Andaman there is great laxity in this matter at the present day. Quarrels sometimes arise when a husband discovers an intrigue between his wife and another man, but very often the husband seems to condone the adultery of his wife. Mr E. H. Man, writing on this subject, says that "conjugal fidelity till death is not the exception, but the rule," and adds, "It is undoubtedly true that breaches of morality have occasionally taken place among a few of the married persons who have resided for any length of time at Port Blair, but this is only what might be expected from constant association with the Indian convict attendants at the various homes; justice, however, demands that in judging of their moral characteristics we should consider only those who have been

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

to obtain statistics as to the frequency with which such marriages occur, if they occur at all. 582

Beyond the prohibition of the marriage of near kin, I could not find any restriction on marriage. A man may marry a woman from his own local group or from another, from his own or from another tribe. That marriages between persons belonging to the same local group did occur in former times I was able to ascertain with certainty but I was not able to determine the proportion of such marriages to the whole number. It is probable that the majority of marriages, or at any rate a large proportion, were between persons belonging to different local groups.

Marriages are arranged by the older men and women. 584 Children are sometimes betrothed by their parents while they are still infants. I found one such case in the North Andaman, and the betrothed couple, though they were yet small children, were spoken of as being "married." Such betrothals are not very common at the present time.

When the parents of a youth who is of suitable age to be married perceive that he has formed an attachment with a girl, they take it upon them to arrange a marriage. The matter is first of all talked over between the young man and his parents. The man's parents do not themselves speak to the girl's parents of the matter, but request some one or more of their friends to do so. From the moment that the possibility of a marriage exists the man's parents avoid speaking to the girl's parents. Any communication between them is carried on through a third person. They send presents to each other, of food and other objects. The recipient of such a present hastens to make a return of equal value. If the marriage is arranged the parents on each side become related to one another by the relationship denoted in *Akar-Bale* by the word *aka-yat*. The duties implied by this relationship will be described later.

When a marriage has finally been arranged an evening 585 is appointed for the ceremony. In the North Andaman this is as follows. The bride is seated on a mat at one end of the dancing ground, her relatives and friends sitting near her. Torches or heaps of resin are lighted near by, so that the

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans A22

that the young are early instructed in the duties of hospitality, 000
while the aged, the suffering, and the helpless are objects of special attention; that their moral code is not confined within these limits will be seen as I proceed.

4. The curious, but by no means uncommon,[1] savage custom 597
of adoption prevails among them, from which, however, it must 572
not be inferred that love of offspring is a characteristic in which they are at all deficient, for this is far from being the case.

5. It is said to be of rare occurrence to find any child above six or seven years of age residing with its parents, and this because it is considered a compliment and also a mark of friendship[2] for a married man, after paying a visit, to ask his hosts to allow him to adopt one of their children. The request is usually complied with, and thenceforth the child's home is with his (or her) foster-father (*mai-ōt-châ·tnga-*): though the parents in their turn adopt the children of other friends, they nevertheless pay continual visits to their own child, and occasionally ask permission (!) to take him (or her) away with them for a few days.

6. A man is entirely at liberty to please himself in the number of children he adopts, but he must treat them with kindness and consideration, and in every respect as his own sons and daughters, and they, on their part, render him filial affection and obedience.

7. It not unfrequently happens that in course of time permission to adopt a foster-child is sought by a friend of the *soi-disant* father, and is at once granted (unless any exceptional circumstance should render it personally inconvenient), without even the formality of a reference to the actual parents, who are merely informed of the change in order that they may be enabled to pay their periodical visits.

8. Foster-parents constantly manifest much opposition to any 597
desire they may observe on the part of the lads they have 882
brought up, to make a home for themselves, for the selfish 572
reason that they are useful in a variety of ways, above all, when they have acquired skill in hunting, turtling, &c.; over the maidens little or no restraint is imposed, as their marriage entails but a trifling loss in a material sense on those who have reared them.

9. Human nature, however, is the same all the world over, 597
and boys will be boys even in the Andaman jungles, so it is not 836
surprising that, in spite of all the precautions taken by their 584
572

[1] *Vide* Lubbock, "On the Origin of Civilization," &c., p. 96.

[2] Whether this be the true explanation of its object and origin or not, there can be little doubt that it has the effect of greatly extending the intercourse between the members of the various encampments.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

572 597 836 584 seniors, a good deal of flirtation, and often something more, is carried on by the young people without arousing any suspicions as to their sentiments for one another, until the affair has become too serious to be broken off, and has to end, sooner or later, in their marriage and start in life on their own account. In some cases, when the guardians have reason to believe that a lad has, notwithstanding his assurances to the contrary, a *sub silentio* attachment, they adopt the following method for testing the truth of his asseveration; on a given day it is arranged by the friends of the suspected couple that they shall (without the knowledge of either) be painted respectively [302] with the red oxide of iron unguent, *kòi·ob-*, and the white clay *tâ·la-ōg-*, for, as they would not meet till night-fall, the risk of their discovering the trap laid for them is reduced to a minimum, while a glance on the following morning would suffice to betray them if guilty, and the guardians' object would be attained, for, from shame at his secret being known, and his falsehood exposed, the youth feels in honour bound to break off his connection with the girl, at least for some time.

582 597 **Relationships.**—1. In all the relations of life the question of propinquity is, in their eyes, of paramount importance, and marriage is only permissible between those who are known to be not even distantly connected, except by wedlock, with each other; so inexorable, indeed, is this rule, that it extends, and applies equally, to such as are related merely by the custom of adoption to which I have just referred.

[605] 601 2. A first cousin, actual or by adoption, is regarded as a half-brother or half-sister, as the case may be, and nephews and nieces almost as sons and daughters, while the terms used to denote a grandfather, grandmother, grandson, and grand-daughter are equally applied to indicate respectively a grand-uncle, grand-aunt, grand-nephew, and grand-niece.

3. Parents, when addressing, or referring to their children and not using their names, employ distinct terms, the father calling his son *dar ō·dire*, *i.e.*, he that has been begotten by me, and his daughter *dar ō·dire-pail-*; while the mother makes use of the word *dab ē·tire*, *i.e.*, he whom I have borne, for the former, and *dab ē·tire-pail-* for the latter; similarly, friends in speaking of children to their parents say respectively, *ngar ō·dire*, or *ngab ē·tire* (your son), *ngar ō·dire-pail-*, or *ngab ē·tire-pail-* (your daughter).[1]

4. Uncles and aunts on the father's are not distinguished from those on the mother's side; relationships are traced in both lines, and the system with reference to either sex is identical.

[1] Foster-parents employ the terms *dōt chá·tnga-* and *dōt chá·tnga-pail-* in referring to their adopted son and daughter respectively.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

835 836 able and immoral, which is turning the tables on us with a vengeance.[1]

836 584 4. In consequence of the lax code of morality prevailing among the unmarried, it not unfrequently happens that a marriage is brought about by the circumstance of the young woman being found *enceinte*. When this is the case, the guardians ascertain from her companions or herself who is the cause of her being in such a condition, and, whether it is an easy matter or not to decide this question with certainty, there never appears to be any difficulty in persuading the youth whom she names [848] as her lover to become her husband. It thus happens that children are very rarely born out of wedlock.

584 5. Parents and foster-parents have the power of betrothing their children in infancy, and though subsequently, during childhood, they may be parted, the contract must be fulfilled soon after they attain a marriageable age; it is even alleged that, like the Yorubas,[2] the Andamanese look upon a girl betrothed by her parents as so far a wife that with her prematrimonial unfaithfulness is accounted a crime.

6. As soon as the betrothal has been agreed upon, the girl is taken to the hut of her future father-in-law, or foster father-in-law, and the children remain together for several months, in order that the fact of their engagement may become generally known; after this the girl returns to her old home, or is adopted by one of her father's friends. Should either of the betrothed pair die young, the survivor is not called upon to take any part at the obsequies, and is at liberty to form another alliance.

607 7. Until a man attains middle age he evinces great shyness in the presence of the wife of a *younger* brother or cousin, and the feeling is invariably reciprocated; it is, however, otherwise in the case of the elder brother's (or cousin's) wife, who, moreover, should she be many years his senior, receives from him much of the respect accorded to a mother. In the first of the above cases all communications are made through a third person, though under no circumstances would marriage be permissible between them; while in the latter it is almost obligatory, unless the disparity between the ages be very great.

584 8. It is not customary for lovers to intimate their desire of being married, but it is the duty of the guardian, or, in the case of widows and widowers, of the chief of the community, to

[1] On reference to Appendix I, it will be found that the terms which are used to denote *half-brother* and *half-sister*, are also employed to denote *male* and *female cousins*, showing how close they regard the relationship.

[2] Farrer's "Primitive Manners and Customs," p. 201.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

arrange matters for those between whom he observes there is 584
something more than a passing attachment.

9. Although nearly all marriages are brought about by one 588
or other of the above-mentioned modes, it remains to be added that an individual is now and then met with who is regarded as married though he (or she) has not conformed with the prescribed ceremony; this occurs when a bachelor or widower is found asleep in one of the huts occupied by unmarried females; he and the woman beside whom he was seen are then said to be *tigwâ·nga-*, which means that their union has been contracted irregularly. In such cases no ceremony or entertainment takes place, for a certain amount of discredit attaches to a couple thus united; but if their after conduct towards each other be considered satisfactory no unpleasant allusions are made to the past.

10. As they have no idea of invoking the aid or blessing of a 585
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The people are now ignorant of the origin of the flower names or of the cause of the selection of the trees above mentioned.

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Portman tersely describes the marriage ceremony thus—

"When the elders of a sept are aware that a young couple are anxious to marry, the bride is taken to a newly made hut and made to sit down in it. The bridegroom runs away into the jungle, but after some struggling and pretence at hesitation, is brought in by force and made to sit in the bride's lap. This is the whole ceremony. The newly married couple have little to say to and are very shy of each other for at least a month after marriage, when they gradually settle down together." 585

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Death Ceremonies.—Deaths occasion loud lamentation from all connected with the deceased. Babies are buried under the floor of their parents' hut. Adults are either buried in a shallow grave, or, as an honour, tied up in a bundle and placed on a platform in a tree. Wreaths of cane leaves are then fastened conspicuously round the encampment, and it is deserted for about three months. Burial spots are also sufficiently well marked. Mourning is observed by smearing the head with grey clay and refraining from dancing for the above period. After some months the bones of the deceased are washed, broken up and made into ornaments, to which great importance is attached, as mementos of the deceased and as they are believed to stop pain and cure diseases by simple application to the diseased part. The skull is worn down the back tied round the 764 765

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to obtain statistics as to the frequency with which such marriages occur, if they occur at all. 582

Beyond the prohibition of the marriage of near kin, I could not find any restriction on marriage. A man may marry a woman from his own local group or from another, from his own or from another tribe. That marriages between persons belonging to the same local group did occur in former times I was able to ascertain with certainty but I was not able to determine the proportion of such marriages to the whole number. It is probable that the majority of marriages, or at any rate a large proportion, were between persons belonging to different local groups.

Marriages are arranged by the older men and women. 584 Children are sometimes betrothed by their parents while they are still infants. I found one such case in the North Andaman, and the betrothed couple, though they were yet small children, were spoken of as being "married." Such betrothals are not very common at the present time.

When the parents of a youth who is of suitable age to be married perceive that he has formed an attachment with a girl, they take it upon them to arrange a marriage. The matter is first of all talked over between the young man and his parents. The man's parents do not themselves speak to the girl's parents of the matter, but request some one or more of their friends to do so. From the moment that the possibility of a marriage exists the man's parents avoid speaking to the girl's parents. Any communication between them is carried on through a third person. They send presents to each other, of food and other objects. The recipient of such a present hastens to make a return of equal value. If the marriage is arranged the parents on each side become related to one another by the relationship denoted in *Akar-Bale* by the word *aka-yat*. The duties implied by this relationship will be described later.

When a marriage has finally been arranged an evening 585 is appointed for the ceremony. In the North Andaman this is as follows. The bride is seated on a mat at one end of the dancing ground, her relatives and friends sitting near her. Torches or heaps of resin are lighted near by, so that the

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585 ceremony may be seen by the on-lookers. The bridegroom is seated with his friends at the other end of the dancing ground. One of the older and more respected men addresses the bride, telling her that she must make a good wife, must provide for her husband such things as it is the duty of a wife to obtain or make, must see that he does not run after other women, and must herself remain faithful to him. He then addresses the bridegroom to the same effect, and taking him by the hand or arm, leads him to where the bride is seated and makes him sit down beside her. The relatives and friends weep loudly, and the young couple look very self-conscious and uncomfortable. The shyness of the young man is such that he often attempts to run away, but he is caught by his friends, who are prepared for such an attempt. After some minutes the officiating elder takes the arms of the bride and bridegroom and places them around each other's necks. After a further interval he again approaches and makes the bridegroom sit on the bride's lap[1]. They sit so for some minutes and the ceremony is over. The other members of the community generally have a dance on such an occasion, but in this the newly wedded pair do not join. A hut has already been prepared for them, and all their friends [431] make them presents of useful objects with which to start housekeeping. They retire shyly to their new hut, while their friends continue dancing. The day after the ceremony the bride and bridegroom are decorated by their friends with white clay. For a few days the newly married couple are very shy of each other, hardly venturing to speak to or look at one another: but they soon settle down to their new position in the life of the community. During the early days of their marriage they are abundantly supplied with food by their friends. They are not addressed or spoken of by name, but if their names be A and B, the husband is [551] called "the husband of B" while the wife is called "the wife of A."

In the South Andaman the ceremony is much the same as in the North, the only difference being that the bridegroom is led to where the bride is sitting and is made to sit on her lap straightway, remaining there for a few minutes.

[1] When a husband and wife greet one another the man sits on the lap of the wife.

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into account the explanation given by the natives themselves. Although these explanations are not of the same kind as the scientific explanations that are the objects of our search yet they are of great importance as data. Like the civilised man of Western Europe the savage of the Andamans seeks to rationalise his behaviour; being impelled to certain actions by mental dispositions of whose origin and real nature he is unaware, he seeks to formulate reasons for his conduct, or even if he does not so when left to himself he is compelled to when the enquiring ethnologist attacks him with questions. Such a reason as is produced by this process of rationalisation is rarely if ever identical with the psychological cause of the action that it justifies, yet it will nearly always help us in our search for the cause. At any rate the reason given as explaining an action is so intimately connected with the action itself that we cannot regard any hypothesis as to the meaning of a custom as being satisfactory unless it explains not only the custom but also the reasons that the natives give for following it. (2) The assumption is made that when the same or a similar custom is practised on different occasions it has the same or a similar meaning in all of them. For example, there are different occasions on which a personal name is avoided; it is assumed that there is something in common to all these occasions and that the meaning of the custom is to be discovered by ascertaining what that common element is. (3) It is assumed that when different customs are practised together on one and the same occasion there is a common element in the customs. This rule is the inverse of the last. As an example may be mentioned the different customs observed by mourners, which may be assumed to be all related to one another. The discovery of what is common to them all will explain the meaning of each. (4) I have avoided, as being misleading as well as unnecessary, any comparison of Andamanese customs with similar customs of other races. Only in one or two instances have I broken this rule, and in those I believe I am justified by special considerations.

We can conveniently begin by considering the Andamanese marriage ceremony, which is one of the simplest and most easily understood. The main feature of it is that the bride and bride-

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groom are required publicly to embrace each other. In the North Andaman the embrace is made gradually, by stages as it were, each stage being more intimate than the preceding. At first the two sit side by side, then their arms are placed around each other, and finally the bridegroom is made to sit on the bride's lap[1].

Everywhere in human life the embrace is employed as an expression of such feelings as love, affection, friendship, i.e. of feelings of attachment between persons. There is no need to enquire into the psycho-physical basis of this expression. It is probably intimately related to the nursing of the infant by the mother, and is certainly very closely connected with the development of the sex instinct. It is sufficient for our purpose to satisfy ourselves that the embrace in all its forms does always express feelings of one generic kind. Nor is it necessary for us to consider the peculiar form of the Andamanese embrace, in which one person sits down and extends his or her legs, while the other person sits on the lap so formed and the two wrap their arms round one another's necks and shoulders.

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The meaning of the marriage ceremony is readily seen. By marriage the man and woman are brought into a special and intimate relation to one another; they are, as we say, united. The social union is symbolised or expressed by the physical union of the embrace. The ceremony brings vividly to the minds of the young couple and also to those of the spectators the consciousness that the two are entering upon a new social relation of which the essential feature is the affection in which they must hold one another.

The rite has two aspects according as we regard it from the standpoint of the witnesses or from that of the couple themselves. The witnesses, by their presence, give their sanction to the union that is thus enacted before them. The man who conducts the ceremony is merely the active representative of the community; in what he does and says he acts as a deputy and not as a private individual. Thus the ceremony serves to make it clear that the marriage is a matter which concerns not only those who are entering into it, but the whole community,

[1] See p. 73 above.

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and its occasional performance serves to keep alive this sentiment with regard to marriage in general. The existence of the sentiment is shown in the reprobation felt and often expressed at an irregular marriage, in which the couple unite without a ceremony; such a union showing a contemptuous or careless thrusting aside of an important social principle. 182X 385

For the witnesses, then, the ceremony serves to awaken to activity and to express this sentiment; but it also serves as a recognition on their part of the change of status of the marrying pair. It makes them realise that henceforward the young couple must be treated no longer as children but as responsible adults, and it is thus the occasion of a change of sentiment towards those whose social position is being changed. For in the society of the Andamans there is a very marked division between married and unmarried persons in the way in which they are regarded by others, and in respect of their place in the community.

The married couple are made to realise, in a different way and with a much greater intensity of feeling, these same two things; first, that their union in marriage is a matter that concerns the whole community, and second, that they are entering a new condition, with new privileges but also with new duties and obligations. For them, indeed, the ceremony is a sort of ordeal from which they would only too gladly escape, and which, by the powerful emotions it evokes in them very vividly impresses upon them what their marriage means.

The wedding gifts that are bestowed upon the young couple are an expression of the general good-will towards them. The giving of presents is a common method of expressing friendship in the Andamans. Thus when two friends meet after separation, the first thing they do after having embraced and wept together, is to give one another presents. In most instances the giving is reciprocal, and is therefore really an exchange. If a present be given as a sign of good-will the giver expects to receive a present of about equal value in return. The reason for this is obvious; the one has expressed his good-will towards the other, and if the feeling is reciprocated a return present must be given in order to express it. So also it would be an insult to refuse a 182X 431

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may be seen that in the first three instances of the rite of weeping (those in which the action is reciprocal) we have conditions in which social relations that have been interrupted are about to be renewed, and the rite serves as a ceremony of aggregation. 182* 765 201

Let us now consider the second variety of the rite, and first of all its meaning as part of the ceremony of marriage. By marriage the social bonds that have to that time united the bride and bridegroom to their respective relatives, particularly their female relatives such as mother, mother's sister, father's sister and adopted mother, are modified. The unmarried youth or girl is in a position of dependence upon his or her older relatives, and by the marriage this dependence is partly abolished. Whereas the principal duties of the bride were formerly those towards her mother and older female relatives, henceforth her chief duties in life will be towards her husband. The position of the bridegroom is similar, and it must be noted that his social relations with his male relatives are less affected by his marriage than those with his female relatives. Yet, though the ties that have bound the bride and bridegroom to their relatives are about to be modified or partially destroyed by the new ties of marriage with its new duties and rights they will still continue to exist in a weakened and changed condition. The rite of weeping is the expression of this. It serves to make real (by feeling), in those taking part in it, the presence of the social ties that are being modified. 182* 201 585

When the mother of the bride or bridegroom weeps at a marriage she feels that her son or daughter is being taken from her care. She has the sorrow of a partial separation and she consoles herself by expressing in the rite her continued feeling of tenderness and affection towards him in the new condition that he is entering upon. For her the chief result of the rite is to make her feel that her child is still an object of her affection, still bound to her by close ties, in spite of the fact that he or she is being taken from her care.

Exactly the same explanation holds with regard to the weeping at the initiation ceremonies. By these ceremonies the youth (or girl) is gradually withdrawn from a condition of dependence on his mother and older female relatives and is made an independent 182* 201 881

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occasions. A consideration of the different instances will show, I think, that the name is always avoided whenever the owner is for any reason prevented from taking his or her usual place in the life of the society. At such times the social personality is as it were suppressed, and the name which represents it is therefore also suppressed. 182X 551

From the moment of her first menstruation to the date of her marriage, or more strictly to the date of her first parturition, the birth-name of a woman is dropped from use and she is called by her flower-name. A woman only attains her complete social personality as a mother. As a child she has not the power to become a mother. She acquires that power at her first menstruation and therefore from that time until this new virtue is actively exercised she is in a position in which one of her virtues, one of the qualities making up her social personality, is in abeyance. Therefore her name (her birth-name) is not used and she is given a temporary name in its place, a flower-name. She is, as it were, in blossom, and only when her body ripens to its fruit is she a complete woman. 182X 551 881

At certain stages of the initiation ceremonies the name of a youth or of a girl (the flower-name in this instance) is avoided for a certain period. Such occasions are during, and for some time after, any of the more important ceremonies, such as the cutting of the boy's back, the puberty ceremony of the girl, the turtle-eating and pig-eating ceremonies. After a boy's back is cut he is addressed and spoken of for some time as *Ejido*, his own name not being spoken. Similarly during and after the turtle-eating or the pig-eating ceremony he is addressed and spoken of by the name *Kimil*. The explanation of these customs is that at these times the initiate is in an abnormal position by reason of the ceremony that has taken place, and is not permitted to take an ordinary part in social life. After the initiation ceremony, for example, the youth is not permitted to handle a bow for some weeks (the bow being the typical masculine implement).

The names of a newly-married couple are avoided for a few days after their marriage. Marriage produces an important change in the social personality, and this change is expressed in the marriage ceremony, but all such changes take time, and it is some days at 182X 551 585

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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X 182 551 585 least before the married couple can be expected to have settled down in their new positions. For these days, therefore, their names are not used. The same sort of explanation will hold for the custom of dropping the names of a father and mother before and after the birth of a child, particularly the first born.

X 182 551 881 At the turtle-eating ceremony of the North Andaman coast-dwellers the youth is given a new name. It is possible that a girl is also given a new name at this time, and that another name is also given to the youth at the pig-eating ceremony, but on these points I neglected to make sufficient enquiry. The name given at the turtle-eating ceremony is never used and is not likely to be known except to those who were present at the ceremony, and therefore serves no such purpose as the flower-name of the girl. The giving of the name is simply the mark of the change of social personality brought about by the ceremony. The youth receives an addition to his personality and therefore receives an additional name. It is significant that all the names given at this ceremony have reference to the sea and to things of the sea, particularly to turtle, such as *Čokbi-čive*, turtle-liver, *Čokbi-tci*, turtle-blood, etc.

X 182 551 765 During the period of mourning, when, as we have seen, the mourner is withdrawn from the ordinary life of the society, his name is not used, showing that during this period his social personality is in a state of partial suppression. After the mourning period is over the mourner, when he resumes his social personality, resumes at the same time his name.

Now death is the most fundamental modification of the social personality that is possible and therefore the name of a person recently dead is strictly avoided. Death, however, does not destroy the social personality utterly and for ever, but produces in it a profound change, which begins at the death itself and is only completed at the end of and by means of the customs of mourning. After the mourning is over the virtues of the dead man affect the survivors through memory, and his bones form a precious possession of the community, thus constituting for him a new social value, a new personality. During the period of change, while the personality does not exist in the same form as before the death, but does not yet exist in the form in which

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

arrange matters for those between whom he observes there is 584
something more than a passing attachment.

9. Although nearly all marriages are brought about by one 588
or other of the above-mentioned modes, it remains to be added that an individual is now and then met with who is regarded as married though he (or she) has not conformed with the prescribed ceremony; this occurs when a bachelor or widower is found asleep in one of the huts occupied by unmarried females; he and the woman beside whom he was seen are then said to be *tigwâ·nga-*, which means that their union has been contracted irregularly. In such cases no ceremony or entertainment takes place, for a certain amount of discredit attaches to a couple thus united; but if their after conduct towards each other be considered satisfactory no unpleasant allusions are made to the past.

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2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

•585 the newly married couple do not leave the encampment in order to get food, or anything else that they may require, as their friends consider it a duty or privilege to supply all their needs until the shyness, consequent on the marriage, has worn off.

[431] 12. Wedding presents being as much *de rigueur* among these savages as in Mayfair, the happy pair invariably find themselves enriched by their relatives and acquaintances with the various articles of ordinary use, such as nets, buckets, bows, arrows, &c.. in honour of the event.

13. On the morning following the marriage the bridegroom's mother, or other near female relative, decorates his person by painting him with *tâ·la-ōg-*, while the bride is similarly ornamented by her friends. It often happens that a young couple will pass several days after their nuptials without exchanging a single word, and to such an extent do they carry their bashfulness that they even avoid looking at each other: in fact their conduct would lead a stranger to suppose that some serious quarrel had caused an estrangement.

[535] 14. When a few days have elapsed, and they are in some measure accustomed to the novelty of their position, they enter upon the duties of life, and conduct themselves like their neighbours: the marriage is then celebrated by a dance, in which all, save the bride and bridegroom, take part.

593 851 15. A certain amount of jealousy usually exists between young people during the first year of their married life;[1] indeed, complete confidence and genuine affection are never entirely established until they become parents or, at least, till the wife is found to be *enceinte*, and even their relationship to each other is not regarded as being so close *prior* to the birth of a child as it is *after* that event. Confirmatory evidence on this point will be given when describing the funeral rites,[2] where it will be noticed that the survivor of a childless couple is not looked upon as chief mourner.

587 589 16. There is no prohibition against second marriages, but greater respect is entertained for those who show their love and esteem for the deceased by remaining single and leading chaste lives (*ō·yun-tē·mar-bar·minga-*). It is by no means unusual for a man, even though he be young at the time of his wife's death, to remain a widower[3] for her sake for many years, or even till death;

[1] It often happens that a man will not at first allow his wife to leave their hut at night for any purpose unless he accompanies her, professedly to protect her from dangers, spiritual and temporal, but in reality to satisfy himself that she has not made an assignation.

[2] *Vide* "Death and Burial," paragraph 20

[3] It must, however, be admitted that as their customs allow of a widow or widower consorting with the unmarried of the opposite sex, a single life is not of necessity a virtuous one, or evidence of constancy and devotion to the memory of the dear departed.

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"When the elders of a sept are aware that a young couple are anxious to marry, the bride is taken to a newly made hut and made to sit down in it. The bridegroom runs away into the jungle, but after some struggling and pretence at hesitation, is brought in by force and made to sit in the bride's lap. This is the whole ceremony. The newly married couple have little to say to and are very shy of each other for at least a month after marriage, when they gradually settle down together." 585

Marriages are the business of parents or guardians and they have a right of betrothal of children, the betrothal being regarded as a marriage. Marital relations are somewhat complicated and quite as strictly observed as among civilised communities. Old books on this point generally ascribe bestiality and promiscuity to the race, but quite wrongly. 584

Death Ceremonies.—Deaths occasion loud lamentation from all connected with the deceased. Babies are buried under the floor of their parents' hut. Adults are either buried in a shallow grave, or, as an honour, tied up in a bundle and placed on a platform in a tree. Wreaths of cane leaves are then fastened conspicuously round the encampment, and it is deserted for about three months. Burial spots are also sufficiently well marked. Mourning is observed by smearing the head with grey clay and refraining from dancing for the above period. After some months the bones of the deceased are washed, broken up and made into ornaments, to which great importance is attached, as mementos of the deceased and as they are believed to stop pain and cure diseases by simple application to the diseased part. The skull is worn down the back tied round the 764 765

THE ANDAMAN ISLANDERS

000 622 groups of families. There is some spontaneous recognition of individuals as 'headmen' as a result of some generally accepted superiority of physique or discernment, but the concept goes no further than the giving of some weight to their views within the group.

13 MARRIAGE

595 837 585 The Onges are monogamous, like all peoples who have never progressed beyond the stage of hunting and gathering, and adultery is virtually unknown. Marriage consists merely of the man taking possession of the woman in the presence of the rest of the group, taking her by the hand to a new bed built for the occasion and allotted a place within the circle. The 'marriage' takes place in the late evening and is followed by frenzied dancing all night long by the light of the resin torches. The total absence [174] of any form of ritual leads one to suppose isolation from a very early date indeed, but this cannot be more than conjecture.

14 BURIAL

172 174 764 The custom of burying the dead in caves still occupied by the living apparently existed in the Palaeolithic era. The practice has continued to the present time in the Andamans, where the dead are still buried under the family bed in the communal hut. It is known from Palaeolithic burials that even in that era objects were sometimes buried with the dead, and it is thus possible that the culture of the Andamans dates back to very early times.

15 EXHUMATION AND SECOND BURIAL

172 765 The custom of exhuming the bones of the dead and re-interring them after coloration (in this case with ochre) dates from the Palaeolithic era.

16 BONE NECKLACES

301 The custom of wearing necklaces of carpals, tarsals, phalanges and fragments of rib, is of extreme antiquity, and apart from the Andamans, has virtually disappeared.

17 RELIGION

172 775 764 There is evidence that even in Palaeolithic times there existed a belief in the survival of the spirit after death, and a fear of its return (hence the

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

he is permitted to marry:[1] although many remain single until they have undergone these various rites, it is considered almost as binding on those who marry before doing so, to comply with these time-honoured usages at some early opportunity. 881

Marriage.—1. It has been asserted that the "communal marriage,"[2] system prevails among them, and that "marriage is nothing more than taking a female slave,"[3] but so far from the contract being regarded as a merely temporary arrangement, to be set aside at the will of either party, no incompatibility of temper or other cause is allowed to dissolve the union, and, while bigamy, polygamy, polyandry, and divorce are unknown, conjugal fidelity till death is not the exception, but the rule, and matrimonial differences, which, however, occur but rarely, are easily settled with or without the intervention of friends. 581 586 837

2. It is undoubtedly true that breaches of morality have occasionally taken place among a few of the married persons who have resided for any length of time at Port Blair, but this is only what might be expected from constant association with the Indian convict attendants at the various homes; justice, however, demands that in judging of their moral characteristics we should consider those only who have been uninfluenced by the vices or virtues of alien races.

3. As in various other savage tribes, unchastity[4] is apparently universal among the unmarried of both sexes, and is indeed so entirely disregarded that no reproof is administered, even by the nearest relatives, to those who offend in this manner; notwithstanding this laxity, the girls are strikingly modest and child-like in their demeanour, and when married are good wives and models of constancy, while their husbands do not fall far short of them in this respect. It should, however, be mentioned, that the freedom which exists between the sexes prior to wedlock, is confined to those who are not within the prescribed limits of affinity, as their customs do not permit of the union of any who are known to be even distantly related;[5] the fact of our allowing first cousins to marry seems to them highly objection- 836 835

allowing first cousins to marry seems to them highly objection-

[1] They think highly of a man who defers marriage until he is of full age, and the reverse of a youngster who rushes into matrimony before attaining the mature (!) age of eighteen.

[2] "So absolutely closely allied are the Andaman Islanders in their moral as well as physical life to the lower animals, that it is said by an eminent scientific voyager (Sir Edward Belcher) that the man and woman remain together until the mother ceases to suckle the child, after which they separate as a matter of course, and each seeks a new partner" (Brown).

[3] *Vide* Wood.

[4] "A great many races of mankind are quite indifferent to juvenile unchastity, and only impose strict conduct on their women after marriage" (Peschel).

[5] "It is precisely nations in the most primitive stage which have the greatest abhorrence of incestuous marriages" (Peschel).

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

When a husband dies his widow may marry again if she wishes. As a rule I believe that it is not considered fitting that she should take another husband before the end of her mourning for her former one. Mr Man says "it is not considered decorous that any fresh alliance should be contracted until about a year had elapsed from the date of bereavement[1]." I knew of one case, however, of a woman with a young child who married again only a fortnight or so after her husband's death. 587 765

Mr Man speaks of a custom "which all but compels a bachelor or widower to propose to the childless widow of his elder brother or cousin (if she be not past her prime), while she has no choice beyond remaining single or accepting him; should she have no younger brother-in-law (or cousin by marriage), however, she is free to wed whom she will. It should be added that marriage with a deceased wife's younger sister is equally a matter of necessity on the part of a *childless* widower[2]." 587

I was not able to come across a case in which a man had actually married his elder brother's widow in recent years. The natives whom I questioned confirmed Mr Man's statement, which, moreover, was based on at least one instance known to him as having occurred. It may be noted that in his description of this instance Mr Man says that the woman married her husband's "brother or cousin," leaving us in doubt as to which of these two relatives it really was. There is an ambiguity in the use of the term "younger brother," for the Andamanese have no word meaning simply "younger brother," but only such terms as *ot-arai-čulute* and the equivalents in other languages, which apply to any younger person, whether actually a brother or cousin or not.

The recent changes in the social life of the Andamanese render it difficult to determine what was the former practice in matters of this sort, but I believe that the custom was this, that when a man of a local group died the older men selected one of the unmarried men and required him to marry the widow. They selected a man who was younger than the deceased, that is who was his *ot-arai-čulute*, and gave the preference to an unmarried younger brother if there were one, or to a relative of the deceased, such as a father's brother's son.

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 139. [2] *Ibid.*

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

587 It may be noted that this custom may conflict with the other custom, previously mentioned, that a woman objects to marrying a man younger than herself. In the case mentioned by Mr Man a young man was compelled to marry a woman who was considerably his senior[1].

I believe that, in connection with, or underlying this custom there was an objection against a widow marrying a man who was older than her former husband (and who would therefore be his *ot-otoatue*). I regret that I cannot speak with certainty on these matters.

854 We may turn now to the duties to one another of parents and children. During their infancy the children are in the care of the mother. Children are, however, such favourites with the Andamanese that a child is played with and petted and nursed not only by his own father and mother but by everyone in the village. A woman with an unweaned child will often give suck [853] to the children of other women. Babies are not weaned till they are three or four years old.

[482] Before the children can walk, they are carried about by the mother, and sometimes by the father or other persons, in a bark sling (called *čiba* in *Aka-J̌eru*), which is shown in Plate XIV. 857 After they can walk the children generally accompany their mothers in their expeditions near the camp for firewood or vegetables. When they are not with their mothers they amuse themselves with games in the village or on the beach. All the children of the coast villages learn to swim when they are very young, in fact almost as soon as they learn to walk, and many of their games are conducted in the water.

868 When a boy reaches the age of five or six his father makes him a toy bow and arrows, and sometimes a toy canoe. From this time the boy begins to learn the occupations of men and begins to pick up knowledge about the animals and trees and fishes of his country. The girl, accompanying her mother on her expeditions to gather roots and seeds, or to catch fish or pick up molluscs on the reefs, learns what it is necessary for women to know.

855 Until the age of about eight to ten a child lives with his

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 139.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

585 the newly married couple do not leave the encampment in order to get food, or anything else that they may require, as their friends consider it a duty or privilege to supply all their needs until the shyness, consequent on the marriage, has worn off.

[431] 12. Wedding presents being as much *de rigueur* among these savages as in Mayfair, the happy pair invariably find themselves enriched by their relatives and acquaintances with the various articles of ordinary use, such as nets, buckets, bows, arrows, &c. in honour of the event.

13. On the morning following the marriage the bridegroom's mother, or other near female relative, decorates his person by painting him with *tâ·la-ōg-*, while the bride is similarly ornamented by her friends. It often happens that a young couple will pass several days after their nuptials without exchanging a single word, and to such an extent do they carry their bashfulness that they even avoid looking at each other: in fact their conduct would lead a stranger to suppose that some serious quarrel had caused an estrangement.

[535] 14. When a few days have elapsed, and they are in some measure accustomed to the novelty of their position, they enter upon the duties of life, and conduct themselves like their neighbours: the marriage is then celebrated by a dance, in which all, save the bride and bridegroom, take part.

593 851 15. A certain amount of jealousy usually exists between young people during the first year of their married life;[1] indeed, complete confidence and genuine affection are never entirely established until they become parents or, at least, till the wife is found to be *enceinte*, and even their relationship to each other is not regarded as being so close *prior* to the birth of a child as it is *after* that event. Confirmatory evidence on this point will be given when describing the funeral rites,[2] where it will be noticed that the survivor of a childless couple is not looked upon as chief mourner.

587 589 16. There is no prohibition against second marriages, but greater respect is entertained for those who show their love and esteem for the deceased by remaining single and leading chaste lives (*ō·yun-tē·mar-bar·minga-*). It is by no means unusual for a man, even though he be young at the time of his wife's death, to remain a widower[3] for her sake for many years, or even till death;

[1] It often happens that a man will not at first allow his wife to leave their hut at night for any purpose unless he accompanies her, professedly to protect her from dangers, spiritual and temporal, but in reality to satisfy himself that she has not made an assignation.

[2] *Vide* "Death and Burial," paragraph 20.

[3] It must, however, be admitted that as their customs allow of a widow or widower consorting with the unmarried of the opposite sex, a single life is not of necessity a virtuous one, or evidence of constancy and devotion to the memory of the dear departed.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

but widows generally marry again when the prescribed term has passed: this is not altogether due to inconstancy on the part of the fair (!) sex, but to the custom, to which allusion has before been made, which all but compels a bachelor or widower to propose to the childless widow of his elder brother or cousin (if she be not past her prime),[1] while she has no choice beyond remaining single or accepting him; should she have no younger brother-in-law (or cousin by marriage), however, she is free to wed whom she will.[2] 587 589

17. A young widow who is childless usually returns to the home of her girlhood; but, if elderly, she lives in one of the huts set apart for spinsters, and those who, situated like herself, are eligible for matrimony; during the period of her widowhood it devolves on one of her senior male relatives to act as her guardian; it is not considered decorous that any fresh alliance should be contracted until about a year has elapsed from the date of bereavement.

18. In the case of a widow who has children, it is customary for her to remain in the same community and keep house for her family; during widowhood—if her husband had been a chief or elder—she continues to enjoy the privileges accorded her in his lifetime. Should she re-marry and her husband happen to be a bachelor, or widower "without encumbrances," it is usual for him to join her community, and live in her hut, but if they both have families it becomes a matter of arrangement between them which establishment shall be given up. [591]

19. Some idea of the erroneous views formerly held respecting their marital relations will be gathered from the following extracts:—(*a*) "There is promiscuous intercourse save with the parent, which only ceases in regard to the woman when she is allotted as wife to a man, but is retained as the prerogative of the male sex."[3] (*b*) "Marriage, as we understand the word, is unknown to them, and there seem to be few restrictions of consanguinity, a mother and her daughter being sometimes the wives of the same husband."[4] A similar statement appears in Dr. Brown's work, and the source of both is probably to be found in the following passage in Dr. Mouat's book, in which he publishes several extraordinary stories told by an escaped 114

[1] It should be added that marriage with a deceased wife's younger sister is equally a matter of necessity on the part of a *childless* widower.

[2] A case of this kind came under my notice where a young man living at one of the homes was reluctantly married to the widow of an elder brother, or cousin, who was considerably his senior, and innocent of any attractions. This *mariage de convenance* proved by no means a happy one, though, so far as could be judged, neither had any just cause of complaint against the other.

[3] *Vide* Mouat.

[4] *Vide* Wood.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

arrange matters for those between whom he observes there is 584
something more than a passing attachment.

9. Although nearly all marriages are brought about by one 588
or other of the above-mentioned modes, it remains to be added that an individual is now and then met with who is regarded as married though he (or she) has not conformed with the prescribed ceremony; this occurs when a bachelor or widower is found asleep in one of the huts occupied by unmarried females; he and the woman beside whom he was seen are then said to be *tigwâ·nga-*, which means that their union has been contracted irregularly. In such cases no ceremony or entertainment takes place, for a certain amount of discredit attaches to a couple thus united; but if their after conduct towards each other be considered satisfactory no unpleasant allusions are made to the past.

10. As they have no idea of invoking the aid or blessing of a 585
Supreme Being, nothing of a religious character attaches itself to the marriage ceremony, which may be briefly described as follows:—On the evening of the eventful day[1] the bridal party assemble at the chief's hut or in one of those occupied by unmarried women. The bride (whether spinster or widow) sits apart, attended by one or two matrons, and the bridegroom takes his place among the bachelors until the chief, or elder, approaches him, whereupon he at once assumes a modest demeanour and simulates reluctance to move; however, after a few encouraging and re-assuring remarks he allows himself to be led slowly, sometimes almost dragged, towards his *fiancée*, who, if she be young, generally indulges in a great display of modesty, weeping and hiding her face, while her female attendants prepare her by straightening her legs; the bridegroom is then made to sit on her thighs, and torches are lighted and brought close to the pair that all present may bear witness to the ceremony having been carried out in the orthodox manner, after which the chief pronounces them duly married, and they are then at liberty to retire to the hut which has been previously prepared for their occupation.

11. Unless they have made arrangements to settle[2] elsewhere,

[1] I can find nothing to account for the statement, which appeared in Dr. Day's paper, to the effect that they "pass their marriage day staring at one another."

[2] From the fact that, sometimes from choice, and sometimes in compliance with the wishes of the bride—should she belong to another tribe—they settle down in another community, it has been inferred in Dr. Day's account that it is customary to spend the honeymoon away from their friends, but such is not the case. The same writer further states that "on the bridegroom's return to the tribe with his bride, *Jeedgo*, crying and dancing are kept up with great spirit." The word here intended is evidently *abjad·i-jō·g-*, but it means *spinster*, the word for *bride* being *abdē·rebil-pail-*. [591]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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[3] *Vide* Mouat.

[4] *Vide* Wood.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

tracted hardship and considerable risk, not so much from the natives themselves as from the implacable Andaman sea. We had a terrible time during several of our landings from the open Indian Ocean. Constant danger additionally stimulated the development of research in Little Andaman. All the Indians and the Burmese behaved bravely. Among them I wish to mention here my Indian stenographer, a married man nearing thirty, from Bengal: RANHADIR KUMAR DEV, who, on 12 and 13 February, 1953, on the south coast of the island shared two frightfully narrow escapes with me. I am sure that neither of us will ever forget it. I later found a comfortable landing place, now indicated by floating buoys, on the north coast. Two other Bengalese assistants who were a great help to me in Little Andaman and had been selected from a number of young aspirants, are PRONAB GANGULI and BIMAL CHANDRA ROY. My work in the Andamans could not have been accomplished without them and without the initiative and encouragement of officers such as Dr. B. S. GUHA, Director of the Department of Anthropology of the Indian Government, Mr. AJSY K. GHOSH, the kind, open-minded Chief Commissioner of Andamans and Nicobars during my 1951-1953 stay there, and Mr. S. N. MAITRA, who succeeded Mr. GHOSH as Chief Commissioner. In a book that I am writing I try to point out the significance of my work in the Andamans, carried out with the help of such distinguished, and sometimes heroic, Indian collaborators.

I. Hygienic Conditions

1. Habitation

The nomadic Onge have two kinds of shelter: one temporary, the other permanent, used only for short periods at a time. The Little Andaman forest is full of abandoned temporary shelters; the permanent camps are fewer, mainly situated along the coast. They consist of communal huts, strongly built by a number of families roaming under the direction of a leader. The huts have a ritual significance, as we shall presently see. Inside each communal hut are a number of beds generally equal to the number of families. Small fires are kept burning day and night near the beds, a precaution that I was thankful for on many cold nights succeeded by hot days. The Onge require nothing more against the cold. In their camps they can withstand the heaviest storms and drenching rains. In order to avoid chills it is enough for them to protect their fires from extinction. This applied to me too, while living among the Onge. The warmth and the dry air ensured good health for us all.

A few additional beds are for the use of bachelors nearing marriage. Most of the beds are marginally and radially placed; a few are placed transversally. Normal beds accommodate father, mother (the Onge are monogamous), children and dogs, all in a heap. In temporary as in permanent shelters it is customary for families to eat separately, each close to its bed. The low, round roof of the communal hut does not reach the ground; a gap of 30 cms is left free for creeping in and out at will without using the main door (a simple mat to be lifted). Rubbish is thrown carelessly everywhere, e. g. directly outside the circular hut, which is consequently surrounded by a malodorous ring of bones, imperfectly cleaned shells, bits of rotting shellfish and other animals – a rich breeding ground for flies and various other insects that rapidly destroy everything edible, leaving the grass to grow until the next lot of garbage accumulates. Building and rebuilding a communal hut always on the same

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

the felling of the tree, chiselling the lumber and processing it further to give the shape of a canoe. Buckets of wood are also constructed by them from the softwood tree. Two types of baskets are made, the smaller ones are more well-finished than the bigger ones. The former is known as *toleoaga* and the later *tole-laya*. Such activities have introduced the use of dahs, chisels, and iron files among the Onges, from the iron pieces derived from the sea shores. The other important pieces of their craftsmanship are the beautiful weavings of fibre, tussel of yellow fibre used by the women in their front. However, the art of making the earthen pots has been completely forgotten.

The leisure in their lives has helped the development of some amount of aesthetic senses among the Onges. All the Onges men and women shave their heads with flakes of glass, obtained from the sea-borne glass bottles. The body of the Onges are also painted with white clay which save their skin from insect-bite while red paint serves medicinal purposes if some individual is having fever. In times of mourning, red orchre paint is a taboo.[1]

Early marriage is the custom. The widows are looked down upon by the society. Some incidents of widow murder and drowning are heard. In the married life, the husband is devoted to his wife and both the husband and wife work for collecting their food.

Dances and songs are in vogue and there are practically songs for every occasion and activity. Most of their songs are more plaintive than joyous.

There are three broad divisions of the Onges of the Little Andaman :

(1) *Giremeka-Gobeule* group inhabiting the northeastern coast of the island ;

(2) *Engakwale group* live in the interior of the islands ; and

(3) *Gireraragobeule group* live in the southern and western coasts of the islands.

In spite of all the limitations, the Onges have been considered as one of the happiest people of the world with plenty of food and water to eat and drink and with very few social cankers to fight with. But as is common to all other aborigines of the Andamans, a decline in their number is discernible.

The Sentinelese

The Sentinelese are the least known of all the aborigines of the Anda-

1 The Onge of the Little Andaman—A short guide book ; Anthropological Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

162 boys and girls and children of the widows. The break-up of the total population is given below.

Table No 3

	Male	Female
Adult	46	61
Child	30	24
	76	85

On the consideration of the total population, there is a 5.6% excess of the female population over the male population.

However, the further break-up of the total number of Onges counted by Sri Nigam reveals some of the most important demographic characteristics of the Onge population. Considering only the 45 family units, it is found that there is a preponderance of males over the females as is evident from the table below.

Table No 4

	Individuals			Children		
No. of families	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
45	75	67	138	26	22	48

162 589 The Onge of the 'unattached' type, therefore, are comprised of 5 males and 18 females. Of this 10 are widows. So the predominance of the females among the Onges may be due to a higher percentage of widows whereas the widowers are much less in number. This throws another 165 important light on the logevity of the Onge males and females. The females, as it stands, have a longer life than males and this is not only a very important aspect of the Onge population but also of the other tribes of the world. In Africa also such a higher longevity of the females is discernible which is due, as is commonly believed to higher resistive power of the females to fight the odds of life compared to the males.

163 The fertility of the adult females are also extremely poor. He writes[1] in 'the total of 61 adult females there were 10 widows who were too old for child-bearing, 4 married women with their child-bearing period finished, while there were 8 married women with no possibility of any issue. Thus

1 Nigam, R. C.—Little known tribes of the Andaman Islands—Their problems & prospects; Vanyajati, Vol. VIII, July, 1960. No. 3.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

adjoining mainland were called *Tarotọlo koloko*. When a man was asked to what part of the country he belonged he would generally answer by mentioning one of the chief camping places of his local group. Thus a man of the *Tarotọlo koloko* might say that he belonged to *Laropuli*, this being one of the chief camps of that country. A man of the *Teraut buliu koloko* might similarly say that he belonged to the village of *Čaičue*. 621

A man or woman is generally regarded as belonging to the local group in the country of which he or she was born. There is nothing, however, to prevent a person from taking up his residence with any other local group if he so wishes, and if the members of that group are willing to welcome him. It would seem that there were a fair number of such cases in which a man or a woman left his or her own local group to join another. In particular, when two young people belonging to different groups got married they might fix their residence either with his or with her parents. [591]

The local group, as stated above, was characterised as the land-owning group. A man might hunt over the country of his own group at all times, but he might not hunt over the country of another group without the permission of the members of that group. Even at the present day, when the local organisation has largely broken down, some of these hunting rights are still observed. I noticed a case in which some of the men asked and obtained permission to hunt pig in a certain part from a man who was explained to be the owner of that part of the country, being one of the few survivors of the local group to which it belonged. It would, in former times, have been an offence that might easily have led to a serious quarrel for the men of one group to hunt or fish in the country or the waters of another group without having been granted permission to do so. 621 421 224 [628]

Within the territory of each local group there are a number of recognized camping places. During the greater part of every year the members of the local group would be found living together at one or other of these. Some of these camping-grounds have been in use for many centuries, as is shown by 361

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZZ

602 brother or to his mother's brother which he does not also owe, in perhaps a less degree, to other men of the same age, and there is no term by which he can distinguish his father's brother from those others.

If this account of the system of relationship be accurate it will be seen that the Andamanese society contrasts very strongly, in this matter, with other primitive societies[1].

621 It remains for us only to examine the social relations between the different local groups. Two neighbouring groups, whether of the same tribe or of different tribes, might be either friendly towards one another or unfriendly. Friendly relations [582 were kept alive by several of the customs of the Andamanese, • 591 by the intermarriage of members of different groups, by the 597] adoption of children from one group to another, and by the fact that a man of one group might take up his residence more or less permanently with another (particularly when he married a woman of that group, or was adopted when a boy by one of the men belonging to it). All these customs served to bind some persons in the one group to persons in the other, and thus prevent the two groups from becoming entirely unfriendly to one another.

621 When two neighbouring local groups were friendly to one another communication between them was kept up by visitors 574 from one group to another, and by occasional meetings of the whole of the two groups.

Either a single person or a family might at any time pay a visit to another camp, staying a few days or weeks or even longer. A man would, however, only go visiting when he was sure of a welcome. Such visits were most frequent in the fine months of the year (December to May). As a husband and wife in many instances belonged to different local groups they

[1] It would not be safe, however, to base any arguments of importance to sociology on the above description of the Andamanese system of relationship alone. Although I tried to learn all that I could on the subject, it is quite certain that I did not learn all that was to be learnt, and it is possible that further enquiry might have shown that I was mistaken in some of my observations. The difficulty of being really sure on these matters is due (1) to the fact that the breaking-up of the old local organisation has produced many changes in their customs, and (2) to the difficulty of questioning the natives on matters connected with relationships when they have no words in their language to denote any but the simplest relationships.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

arrange matters for those between whom he observes there is 584
something more than a passing attachment.

9. Although nearly all marriages are brought about by one 588
or other of the above-mentioned modes, it remains to be added that an individual is now and then met with who is regarded as married though he (or she) has not conformed with the prescribed ceremony; this occurs when a bachelor or widower is found asleep in one of the huts occupied by unmarried females; he and the woman beside whom he was seen are then said to be *tigud·nga-*, which means that their union has been contracted irregularly. In such cases no ceremony or entertainment takes place, for a certain amount of discredit attaches to a couple thus united; but if their after conduct towards each other be considered satisfactory no unpleasant allusions are made to the past.

10. As they have no idea of invoking the aid or blessing of a 585
Supreme Being, nothing of a religious character attaches itself to the marriage ceremony, which may be briefly described as follows:—On the evening of the eventful day[1] the bridal party assemble at the chief's hut or in one of those occupied by unmarried women. The bride (whether spinster or widow) sits apart, attended by one or two matrons, and the bridegroom takes his place among the bachelors until the chief, or elder, approaches him, whereupon he at once assumes a modest demeanour and simulates reluctance to move; however, after a few encouraging and re-assuring remarks he allows himself to be led slowly, sometimes almost dragged, towards his *fiancée*, who, if she be young, generally indulges in a great display of modesty, weeping and hiding her face, while her female attendants prepare her by straightening her legs; the bridegroom is then made to sit on her thighs, and torches are lighted and brought close to the pair that all present may bear witness to the ceremony having been carried out in the orthodox manner, after which the chief pronounces them duly married, and they are then at liberty to retire to the hut which has been previously prepared for their occupation.

11. Unless they have made arrangements to settle[2] elsewhere,

[1] I can find nothing to account for the statement, which appeared in Dr. Day's paper, to the effect that they "pass their marriage day staring at one another."

[2] From the fact that, sometimes from choice, and sometimes in compliance with the wishes of the bride—should she belong to another tribe—they settle down in another community, it has been inferred in Dr. Day's account that it is customary to spend the honeymoon away from their friends, but such is not the case. The same writer further states that "on the bridegroom's return to the tribe with his bride, *Jeedgo*, crying and dancing are kept up with great spirit." The word here intended is evidently *ebjad·i-jō·g-*, but it means *spinster*, the word for *bride* being *abdē·rebil-pail-*. [591]

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

but widows generally marry again when the prescribed term has passed: this is not altogether due to inconstancy on the part of the fair (!) sex, but to the custom, to which allusion has before been made, which all but compels a bachelor or widower to propose to the childless widow of his elder brother or cousin (if she be not past her prime),[1] while she has no choice beyond remaining single or accepting him; should she have no younger brother-in-law (or cousin by marriage), however, she is free to wed whom she will.[2] 587 589

17. A young widow who is childless usually returns to the home of her girlhood; but, if elderly, she lives in one of the huts set apart for spinsters, and those who, situated like herself, are eligible for matrimony; during the period of her widowhood it devolves on one of her senior male relatives to act as her guardian; it is not considered decorous that any fresh alliance should be contracted until about a year has elapsed from the date of bereavement.

18. In the case of a widow who has children, it is customary for her to remain in the same community and keep house for her family; during widowhood—if her husband had been a chief or elder—she continues to enjoy the privileges accorded her in his lifetime. Should she re-marry and her husband happen to be a bachelor, or widower "without encumbrances," it is usual for him to join her community, and live in her hut, but if they both have families it becomes a matter of arrangement between them which establishment shall be given up. [591]

19. Some idea of the erroneous views formerly held respecting their marital relations will be gathered from the following extracts:—(*a*) "There is promiscuous intercourse save with the parent, which only ceases in regard to the woman when she is allotted as wife to a man, but is retained as the prerogative of the male sex."[3] (*b*) "Marriage, as we understand the word, is unknown to them, and there seem to be few restrictions of consanguinity, a mother and her daughter being sometimes the wives of the same husband."[4] A similar statement appears in Dr. Brown's work, and the source of both is probably to be found in the following passage in Dr. Mouat's book, in which he publishes several extraordinary stories told by an escaped 114

[1] It should be added that marriage with a deceased wife's younger sister is equally a matter of necessity on the part of a *childless* widower.

[2] A case of this kind came under my notice where a young man living at one of the homes was reluctantly married to the widow of an elder brother, or cousin, who was considerably his senior, and innocent of any attractions. This *mariage de convenance* proved by no means a happy one, though, so far as could be judged, neither had any just cause of complaint against the other.

[3] *Vide* Mouat.

[4] *Vide* Wood.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

361 unmarried women who are of marriageable age) and widows
621 occupy a hut of their own similarly to the bachelors[1]. In the camps that I visited I did not find any such spinsters' hut. What unmarried females there were, I found attached to one or other of the families of the village, each one living in the hut of some married relative, generally the parent or foster-parent.

All the huts face inwards towards an open space which is the dancing ground of the village, and, except in exposed situations, are generally entirely open in front. At some convenient spot on one side of the dancing ground is to be found the communal cooking place of the village. This is generally close to the bachelors' hut, as it is the bachelors who attend to such cooking as is carried on there. Besides the public cooking place each family has its own fireplace in its own hut, on which a fire is kept continually alight. In the village two or
[592] more families may build their huts adjoining one another in such a way that they become for all practical purposes one hut, of which each family retains its own special portion. Two brothers will thus often make a sort of common household.

361 The communal hut, in the way in which it is arranged,
621 and even in the way in which it is built, is really a village with all the huts drawn together so that each one is joined to the one
342 next to it and the roofs meet in the middle. In the centre of the hut there is an open space corresponding to the dancing ground of the village. It is even used as a dancing ground, though for this purpose it is somewhat small. It is the public part of the hut. Around this are arranged the different families, each occupying its own special portion of the hut, which is marked off by means of short lengths of wood laid on the floor. The public cooking place is sometimes inside the hut, and there is the space marked off for the unmarried men. The advantage of the communal hut is that it affords a better protection from the weather; its disadvantage is that it leaves almost no room for dancing.

361 Thus it may be seen that the arrangement of the camp shows
621

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 108.

Mr Subramanian of the Forest Department and Mr Majid's young son also 114
accompanied us. We reached Bumila Creek on the north eastern coast of the 123
Little Andaman at about 3 P.M. and having sighted an Andamanese hut we decided to anchor the launch there. The beach was about 2 miles from the place of anchorage. We took out a small boat and rowed to the beach and reached the hut at about 4 P.M. It was found to be abandoned but there were signs of human occupation and within a few yards a water-hole was [312] discovered. A broken canoe, with a single out-rigger was found close to the [501] hut (*see* Plate I, Fig. 1). Burnt coal and smouldering ashes in the centre of the hut showed that it was probably deserted by the Aborigines as soon as they had sighted us. After making a careful inspection of the place we returned to our launch and decided to anchor there for the night. Unfortunately the choppy sea and the strong current coming from the Bumila Creek tossed our small boat throughout the whole night, as a result of which all of us had an uncomfortable time.

We left southwards towards Hut Bay early in the morning and as we moved along the coast we sighted another Onge hut. This did not seem to be deserted as we saw a few people moving about. We decided to stop there and investigate. We took out a boat and moved towards the coast with such presents as we had brought from Port Blair on the advice of the Chief Commissioner. When we got near the coast, we left the boat and walked for about a furlong through coral beds finally reaching the shore. The hut was found [342] to be circular in shape and not too large, and was occupied by 2 adult females, [592] 1 adult male and a young boy. The adult male, *Ukla*, was the father of the young boy and husband of the younger woman. The older woman was his 609 mother-in-law. These people appeared very friendly. We gave them presents 123 we had brought and took photographs and made drawings of their hut. 126 In addition, full anthropometric measurements were taken by me and blood was taken from fingers for typing by Mr Sarkar. Ukla was able to speak a few Hindi words and we gathered that he had been to Port Blair and knew Mr Bonington, formerly of the Forest Department, Andaman Islands. We found in front of the hut, hanging from a large tree 825 the skull and mandible of a Dugong (*see* Plate I, Figs. 3 & 4). We enquired 124 about its significance from Ukla, but unfortunately his knowledge of Hindi was not sufficient to explain it to us. We learned from him, however, that the name of the village was *Laito*. After making friendly gestures, we returned to 'Molly' and proceeded immediately towards Hut Bay. At about noon 501 time while we were having our lunch, we suddenly saw three outrigger canoes 609 (of single outrigger type) coming towards us, each carrying about 4 Onges. 122 We signalled to them and they came to our launch and tied their canoes with it and came on board. The men appeared to be friendly and not afraid of us. Our greatest difficulty, however, was language, as we could not make ourselves understood as none of the crew or any other member including Mr Subramaniam of the Forest Department knew that language. There was one man 55A who seemed to occupy a position of authority among these men, and was [302] painted with red and yellow ochre on the forehead, arms and breast. The

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

Sri Gupta, in conclusion, has been tempted to emphasise with firm conviction that the Andamanese are, therefore, very probably a remnant of the dwellers on the marshes of Bengal and the uplands of Santhal Paragana or the dense forests of Burma and Malaya. 174

As regards the native appellations and phonetic similarity, such apparent similarity is possibly evidenced in many groups separated from each other by long distances. Similarly, the diet of raw meat and fish is and was common to all hunting and collecting tribes of the world. Independent evolution of many tribes has been akin to each other and therefore, the further geological studies and studies in anthropology can only confirm the idea.

Since the arrival of the Andamanese in the islands, a gradual separation has taken place among the different branches of population who had moved to different parts of the islands. The micro-environment has exerted considerable influence in moulding these people ultimately giving birth to a number of sub-groups. However, the broad generalisations are their hunting and collecting economy, complete ignorance about the domestication of the plants and the animals, except the Onges who have learnt only for the last 30 years the domestication of dogs. Family is the smallest social unit and a few families constitute the communal hut. Each tribal sub-group has its hunting territory, within which it maintains a more or less nomadic life till they return to the main settlement where they have a communal hut. 105 174 [592] [423]

The doctrine of the environmental determinism exemplifies itself in the adaptation of the aborigines to the local environment. In their life, they never look beyond their local geography and the materials for houses, the food, the ornaments and every thing that they are in need of, are collected from the small territory in which a community lives. So the obvious conclusion may be drawn that the coastal tribes are dependent on fishing, turtle hunting and gathering of shells and oysters and the interior tribes on hunting. This type of primitive economy, based on hunting and collecting, cannot support more than two to four persons per square mile as against more than 300 per square mile in agricultural lands and again the density varies to a great extent according to the type of agriculture practised e.g., rice-growing regions support the maximum density of population. In spite of their all-round self-sufficiency they have some connections with the later settlers. For the want of iron, tobacoo, distilled liquor, opium etc., these aborigines (jarawas) either make periodic raids on the settlements (Onges and Andamanese) or have established friendly relations with the settlers. The necessity 105 105 177 439

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

621 rather than order is given by the leader. Cipriani observes.[1] "For
622 instance, it is very amusing for them to think that a man gives orders to others. This means that they have no real chiefs. A so-called Onge [592] chief, or raja, is only the head of a group of families living in the same communal hut, and giving not orders but only advice. It is the most experienced man who is considered chief in the hut, but his authority if at all never goes beyond that hut. In other words no real chief exists in the Little Andaman. Notwithstanding this, there is a perfect order in the island, because nobody interferes with the work or encroches upon what can be considered the rights of others."

124 As is common to most of the aborigines, the Onges are generally
162 not very receptive when the questions about their numbers and other groups are enquired. The headman says that there are many many fifty Onges. However the number of the Onges are approximately 600.

22 As regards the mode of living of the Onges, the hunting and collec-
231 ting are the basis of their economy. The domestication of the plants
241 i.e. art of agriculture is not known to them and it is only 30 years back, the dogs arrived in the island and have been domesticated by the Onges for chasing the pigs, their main prey. In the absence of agriculture, the natural products of the sea and the forest provide them with all [262] their items of diet. Animal and vegetable products and honey are the main items of their diet and there has been, so far, no introduction of salt in their diet. The most important victims of their hunting are pigs and turtles, the former is chased by dogs and are killed with great
252 cruelty. The cooking of the fish, meat, roots, tubers, jackfruits etc are
251 done by putting them under fire. Preservation of foodstuffs is not widely practised except the jackfruit seeds which are tied up in a small net inside water on the bank of some stream and taken out during rainy season, when the other vegetable foodstuffs are not available. On
146 the whole, the Onges have a very balanced diet with a fair richness of all the nutrients. In this connection the observations of Dr. Cipriani during his survey in the Little Andaman throws considerable light in [157] their conditions of life. He has estimated the Onges as one of the happiest people of the world, who in spite of their primitive economy, are not the miserable victims of poor health, ill nutrition and oddities of life.

396 Some amount of artistry and craftsmanship have developed among these people. A canoe can be constructed by a man, all by himself from

[113] 1 Cipriani, L—Survey of Little Andaman during 1954; Bul. Dept. Anth.,

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The position of an unmarried girl is very similar to that of an unmarried youth. She is required to help her elders, in particular either her parents or her foster-parents, i.e. the married couple under whose care she is for the time being. 881 882

After marriage a son continues to help his parents, providing them with food and seeing that they are comfortable. If either a man or a woman lives in a local group other than that of his or her parents, he or she pays frequent visits to them. 593

From the time that a youth or girl ceases to belong to the family household, his or her duties to the parents are really only the same in kind as the duties that every young man and woman owes to all the older men and women. Though there is no difference in kind, yet a man or woman is expected to show more affection and respect for his or her own parents than to other persons of the same social standing.

The only other relationship, besides that of husband and wife and that of parents and children, which exists inside the family, is that between children of the same parents. The conduct of brothers to one another depends on their respective ages. The younger is expected to give way to the elder, while the latter protects and looks after the former. The relation of sisters to one another is similar.

The duties of a man and woman to his or her relatives, other than those to parents, brothers and sisters. and even to some extent the duties to these near relatives, are not distinguishable in kind from the duties he or she owes to other persons who are not relatives. Thus a young married man owes certain duties to all the older married men of about the age of his father. These duties are the same in kind as those towards his own father and his foster-father, the only difference being that he must defer more to his own father than to other men, and must be more constant in his attentions to him. I could not discover any way in which a man distinguished, in his dealings with them, his father's brother from his mother's brother. They are both of them older men whom he must respect and to whom he must make presents of food. Similarly a father's sister is not distinguished, so far as I could discover, from a mother's sister. A man treats both of them in much the same way that he treats 602

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

585 the newly married couple do not leave the encampment in order to get food, or anything else that they may require, as their friends consider it a duty or privilege to supply all their needs until the shyness, consequent on the marriage, has worn off.

[431] 12. Wedding presents being as much *de rigueur* among these savages as in Mayfair, the happy pair invariably find themselves enriched by their relatives and acquaintances with the various articles of ordinary use, such as nets, buckets, bows, arrows, &c. in honour of the event.

13. On the morning following the marriage the bridegroom's mother, or other near female relative, decorates his person by painting him with *tâ·la-ōg-*, while the bride is similarly ornamented by her friends. It often happens that a young couple will pass several days after their nuptials without exchanging a single word, and to such an extent do they carry their bashfulness that they even avoid looking at each other: in fact their conduct would lead a stranger to suppose that some serious quarrel had caused an estrangement.

[535] 14. When a few days have elapsed, and they are in some measure accustomed to the novelty of their position, they enter upon the duties of life, and conduct themselves like their neighbours: the marriage is then celebrated by a dance, in which all, save the bride and bridegroom, take part.

593 851 15. A certain amount of jealousy usually exists between young people during the first year of their married life;[1] indeed, complete confidence and genuine affection are never entirely established until they become parents or, at least, till the wife is found to be *enceinte*, and even their relationship to each other is not regarded as being so close *prior* to the birth of a child as it is *after* that event. Confirmatory evidence on this point will be given when describing the funeral rites,[2] where it will be noticed that the survivor of a childless couple is not looked upon as chief mourner.

587 589 16. There is no prohibition against second marriages, but greater respect is entertained for those who show their love and esteem for the deceased by remaining single and leading chaste lives (*ō·yun-tē·mar-bar·minga-*). It is by no means unusual for a man, even though he be young at the time of his wife's death, to remain a widower[3] for her sake for many years, or even till death;

[1] It often happens that a man will not at first allow his wife to leave their hut at night for any purpose unless he accompanies her, professedly to protect her from dangers, spiritual and temporal, but in reality to satisfy himself that she has not made an assignation.

[2] *Vide* "Death and Burial," paragraph 20.

[3] It must, however, be admitted that as their customs allow of a widow or widower consorting with the unmarried of the opposite sex, a single life is not of necessity a virtuous one, or evidence of constancy and devotion to the memory of the dear departed.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PART III.

Social Relations, Education, Infanticide—Attire—Tattooing—Painting—Shaving—Deformations—Weights and Measures—Astronomy—Trade, Exchangeable Values, and Property—Agriculture—Training and Domestication of Animals—Food—Tabu—Warfare—Hunting and Fishing—Navigation—Ornamentation—Pottery—Natural Forms and Miscellaneous Manufactures—Leather-work—Metallurgy—Stone Implements—Basket-work—String—Games and Amusements.

Social Relations, Education, and Infanticide.—1. Although it is true that the performance of most of the domestic duties falls to the lot of the women and children, it would be a great mistake to suppose that any compulsion is used by the head of the family; he usually leads quite as active a life as any of the females, and often shares certain of their labours, when necessity arises in consequence of sickness or other cause. As I have already stated,[1] it is quite incorrect to say of these savages that with them "marriage is nothing more than taking a female slave," for one of the most striking features of their social relations is the marked equality and affection which subsists between husband and wife;[2] careful observations extending over many years prove that not only is the husband's authority more or less nominal, but that it is not at all an uncommon occurrence for Andamanese Benedicts to be considerably at the beck and call of their better halves: in short, the consideration and respect with which women are treated might with advantage be emulated by certain classes in our own land.

2. The duties of the husband,—varying in the case of his being an *ē·rem-tâ·ga-* or an *àryô·to-*—consist chiefly in hunting, fishing, turtling, collecting honey, &c., constructing canoes, building the better kinds of huts,[3] and manufacturing the bows, arrows, and other implements needed in his various pursuits; he must also assist his wife in looking after the children, in keeping up the fire, and in providing the materials

[1] *Vide* "Marriage," paragraph 1.

[2] It has been correctly stated that "their mutual intercourse is courteous and genial, and the affection between parents and children is peculiarly tender" (Peschel, p. 148).

[3] *Vide ante* "Habitations," paragraph 2.

[p. 107]

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

the felling of the tree, chiselling the lumber and processing it further to give the shape of a canoe. Buckets of wood are also constructed by them from the softwood tree. Two types of baskets are made, the smaller ones are more well-finished than the bigger ones. The former is known as *tolcoaga* and the later *tole-laya*. Such activities have introduced the use of dahs, chisels, and iron files among the Onges, from the iron pieces derived from the sea shores. The other important pieces of their craftsmanship are the beautiful weavings of fibre, tussel of yellow fibre used by the women in their front. However, the art of making the earthen pots has been completely forgotten.

The leisure in their lives has helped the development of some amount of aesthetic senses among the Onges. All the Onges men and women shave their heads with flakes of glass, obtained from the sea-borne glass bottles. The body of the Onges are also painted with white clay which save their skin from insect-bite while red paint serves medicinal purposes if some individual is having fever. In times of mourning, red orchre paint is a taboo.[1]

Early marriage is the custom. The widows are looked down upon by the society. Some incidents of widow murder and drowning are heard. In the married life, the husband is devoted to his wife and both the husband and wife work for collecting their food.

Dances and songs are in vogue and there are practically songs for every occasion and activity. Most of their songs are more plaintive than joyous.

There are three broad divisions of the Onges of the Little Andaman :

(1) *Giremeka-Gobeule* group inhabiting the northeastern coast of the island ;

(2) *Engakwale group* live in the interior of the islands ; and

(3) *Gireraragobeule group* live in the southern and western coasts of the islands.

In spite of all the limitations, the Onges have been considered as one of the happiest people of the world with plenty of food and water to eat and drink and with very few social cankers to fight with. But as is common to all other aborigines of the Andamans, a decline in their number is discernible.

The Sentinelese

The Sentinelese are the least known of all the aborigines of the Anda-

1 The Onge of the Little Andaman—A short guide book ; Anthropological Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

On the other hand [628] 621

there were often quarrels between neighbouring groups, which might result in a state of feud between them for many months. Between communities separated from one another by a distance of only 50 miles or even less there were no direct relations whatever. The members of one community kept to their own part of the country, only leaving it to visit their friends within a narrow radius.

These local groups were united into what are here called tribes. A tribe consisted of a number of local groups all speaking what the natives themselves regard as one language, each tribe having its own language and its name. The tribe was of very little importance in regulating the social life, and was merely a loose aggregate of independent local groups. 619 197

The local groups are further distinguished by the natives themselves as being of two kinds according as they lived on the coast or inland. This division was independent of that into tribes. Some tribes consisted of coast-dwellers only, while others included both coast-dwellers and forest-dwellers. 619 616

Within the local group the only division was that into families. A family consists of a man and his wife and their unmarried children own or adopted. 594

These were the only social divisions existing among the Andamanese, who were without any of those divisions known as "clans" which are characteristic of many primitive societies.

The natives of the Great Andaman (leaving aside the *jarawa*, who by language and culture belong to the Little Andaman division of the race) are divided into ten tribes, each occupying a certain area of country. Each tribe consists of a number of persons who speak what is regarded by the natives themselves as one language. That the tribe is fundamentally a linguistic group is shown by the tribal names. These are all formed from a stem with the prefix *aka-*, which prefix is used in the languages of the Great Andaman to convey a reference to the mouth and thereby to the function of speech. Thus in the *Aka-Jeru* language the stem *poŋ* means "a hole of any kind," and *aka-poŋ* means "the mouth," there being no other word for that part of the body. In the same language the stem *-ar-* meaning "to talk" can only be used 619 197 196

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

own bow, arrows, adze, etc., while the wife makes her baskets, 462
nets and so on.

The economic life of the local group, though in effect it 421
approaches to a sort of communism, is yet based on the notion of private property. Land is the only thing that is owned in common. The hunting grounds of a local group belong to the whole group, and all the members have an equal right to hunt over any part of it. There exists, however, a certain private ownership of trees. A man of one of the local groups of the coast may notice in the jungle a tree suitable for a canoe. He will tell the others that he has noticed such a tree, describing it and its whereabouts. Thenceforward that tree is regarded as his property, and even if some years should elapse, and he has made no use of it, yet another man would not cut it down without first asking the owner to give him the tree. In a similar way certain men claim to possess certain *Artocarpus* trees, though how the ownership in these cases had arisen I was unable to determine. No one would pick the fruit off such a tree without the permission of the owner, and having received permission and gathered the fruit he would give some part of it to the owner of the tree.

A pig belongs to the man whose arrow first strikes it, though if the arrow merely glanced off and did not remain in the wound it would not give any claim to ownership. A turtle or a dugong or big fish belongs to the man who throws the harpoon with which it is taken. A honeycomb belongs to the man who climbs the tree and cuts it down. The fish that a man shoots belong to him, and to a woman belong the roots she digs up, the seeds that she collects, the fish or prawns that she takes in her net or the molluscs that she brings from the reefs. Any weapon that a man makes belongs to him alone to do what he pleases with, and anything that a woman makes is her own [562]
property. A man is not free to dispose of the personal property of his wife without her permission.

In the village each family erects and keeps in repair its own 421
hut, and the wife provides the hut with the firewood and water 594
needed. In the case of a communal hut it would seem that this 342
is really an example of a possession common to the whole group.

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421 This is so, however, only in appearance. The hut is built by all
•594 the different families, but each family is regarded as owning
342 a certain portion of the hut when it is finished, and it is the family that keeps this part of the hut in repair.

421 A canoe is cut by a number of men together. From the
501 outset, however, it is the property of one man, who selects the tree and superintends the operation of cutting it into shape.
476 He is always one of the older men, and he enlists the services of the younger men to help him. When finished the canoe is his property, and he can do with it what he pleases, giving it away, if he wishes, and no one has any share of ownership in a canoe on the ground that he helped to make it.

421 While all portable property is thus owned by individuals, the
431 Andamanese have customs which result in an approach to communism. One of these is the custom of constantly exchanging
574 presents with one another. When two friends meet who have not seen each other for some time, one of the first things they do is to exchange presents with one another. Even in the ordinary everyday life of the village there is a constant giving and receiving of presents. A younger man or woman may give some article to an older one without expecting or receiving any return, but between equals a person who gives a present always expects that he will receive something of equal value in exchange. At the meetings that take place between neighbouring local groups the exchange of presents is of great importance. Each of the visitors brings with him a number of articles that he distributes amongst the members of the group that he visits. When the visitors depart they are loaded with presents received from their hosts. It requires a good deal of tact on the part of everyone concerned to avoid the unpleasantness that may arise if a man thinks that he has not received things as valuable as he has given, or if he fancies that he has not received quite the same amount of attention as has been accorded to others.

431 It is considered a breach of good manners ever to refuse
576 the request of another. Thus if a man be asked by another to give him anything that he may possess, he will immediately do so. If the two men are equals a return of about the same value will have to be made. As between an older married man

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602 developed system of terms denoting social status, so in the
601 social organisation of the Andamans there are very few special duties between relatives, and the conduct of persons to one another is chiefly determined by their respective social positions. This will become evident as we proceed, and it will thus be shown that there is a close connection between the way the natives denote relationships and the way in which their social life is affected by questions of relationship.

581 We have already seen that in the Andamanese social organisation the family is of great importance. A family is
594 constituted by a permanent union between one man and one woman. In one of its aspects this union is a sexual one. By marriage a man acquires the sole right to sexual congress with the woman who becomes his wife. At the same time it is the duty of a married man to avoid sexual relations with other women whether married or unmarried. Promiscuous intercourse
836 between the sexes is the rule before marriage, and no harm is
584 thought of it. The love affairs of the boys and girls are carried on in secret, but the older members of the camp are generally fully aware of all that goes on. What generally happens is that after a time a youth forms an attachment with some girl and a marriage between them results from their love affair.

It is impossible, at the present time, to discover exactly how
537 the Andamanese formerly regarded infidelity on the part of a wife or husband. In the Great Andaman there is great laxity in this matter at the present day. Quarrels sometimes arise when a husband discovers an intrigue between his wife and another man, but very often the husband seems to condone the adultery of his wife. Mr E. H. Man, writing on this subject, says that "conjugal fidelity till death is not the exception, but the rule," and adds, "It is undoubtedly true that breaches of morality have occasionally taken place among a few of the married persons who have resided for any length of time at Port Blair, but this is only what might be expected from constant association with the Indian convict attendants at the various homes; justice, however, demands that in judging of their moral characteristics we should consider only those who have been

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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uninfluenced by the vices or virtues of alien races[1]." At the present time conjugal infidelity is very common and is lightly regarded. It is almost certain that the establishment of the Penal Settlement amongst them has affected their morals in this particular, but there does not seem to be any very satisfactory evidence that their former morality was quite so strict as Mr Man would have us believe. One piece of evidence in this matter is that the spread of syphilis, when it was first introduced amongst them seems to have been very rapid, and yet this was before many of the tribes had been very seriously affected by the Settlement. 837

Besides the special sexual relation between a husband and wife there is a special economic relation, if we may speak of it as such. The two share one hut between them, or one portion of a communal hut. It is the duty of the wife to provide the fire-wood and the water for cooking and drinking, and to cook the meals at the family fire. It is the duty of the husband to provide flesh food for himself and for his wife, while it is her duty to provide and prepare vegetable food. 594 581

A marriage is not regarded as fully consummated until the birth of a child. Mr Man states that the survivor of a childless couple is not looked upon as the chief mourner. A father who has been away from home greets his wife first on his return and then greets his other relatives; but if no child has been born to him a husband first greets his blood-relatives (father, mother, brothers, etc.) and only after that does he visit his wife. 581 576 851

The only regulation of marriage is on the basis of relationship. Marriage is forbidden between near *consanguinei*. The exact rules, in this matter, if indeed there be any exact rules, are difficult to discover. It is quite clear that a man would not be permitted to marry his sister or half-sister, nor his father's or mother's sister, nor his brother's or sister's daughter. The question is more difficult when it comes to the matter of cousins. In 1908 I only found one pair of first cousins who were married to one another, this being in the *Aka-Bo* tribe. The husband 582 605

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 135. He speaks of the wives as "models of constancy."

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

tracted hardship and considerable risk, not so much from the natives themselves as from the implacable Andaman sea. We had a terrible time during several of our landings from the open Indian Ocean. Constant danger additionally stimulated the development of research in Little Andaman. All the Indians and the Burmese behaved bravely. Among them I wish to mention here my Indian stenographer, a married man nearing thirty, from Bengal: RANBHADIR KUMAR DEY, who, on 12 and 13 February, 1953, on the south coast of the island shared two frightfully narrow escapes with me. I am sure that neither of us will ever forget it. I later found a comfortable landing place, now indicated by floating buoys, on the north coast. Two other Bengalese assistants who were a great help to me in Little Andaman and had been selected from a number of young aspirants, are PRONAB GANGULI and BIMAL CHANDRA ROY. My work in the Andamans could not have been accomplished without them and without the initiative and encouragement of officers such as Dr. B. S. GUHA, Director of the Department of Anthropology of the Indian Government, Mr. AJAY K. GHOSH, the kind, open-minded Chief Commissioner of Andamans and Nicobars during my 1951-1953 stay there, and Mr. S. N. MAITRA, who succeeded Mr. GHOSH as Chief Commissioner. In a book that I am writing I try to point out the significance of my work in the Andamans, carried out with the help of such distinguished, and sometimes heroic, Indian collaborators.

I. Hygienic Conditions

1. Habitation

The nomadic Onge have two kinds of shelter: one temporary, the other permanent, used only for short periods at a time. The Little Andaman forest is full of abandoned temporary shelters; the permanent camps are fewer, mainly situated along the coast. They consist of communal huts, strongly built by a number of families roaming under the direction of a leader. The huts have a ritual significance, as we shall presently see. Inside each communal hut are a number of beds generally equal to the number of families. Small fires are kept burning day and night near the beds, a precaution that I was thankful for on many cold nights succeeded by hot days. The Onge require nothing more against the cold. In their camps they can withstand the heaviest storms and drenching rains. In order to avoid chills it is enough for them to protect their fires from extinction. This applied to me too, while living among the Onge. The warmth and the dry air ensured good health for us all.

A few additional beds are for the use of bachelors nearing marriage. Most of the beds are marginally and radially placed; a few are placed transversally. Normal beds accommodate father, mother (the Onge are monogamous), children and dogs, all in a heap. In temporary as in permanent shelters it is customary for families to eat separately, each close to its bed. The low, round roof of the communal hut does not reach the ground; a gap of 30 cms is left free for creeping in and out at will without using the main door (a simple mat to be lifted). Rubbish is thrown carelessly everywhere, e. g. directly outside the circular hut, which is consequently surrounded by a malodorous ring of bones, imperfectly cleaned shells, bits of rotting shellfish and other animals – a rich breeding ground for flies and various other insects that rapidly destroy everything edible, leaving the grass to grow until the next lot of garbage accumulates. Building and rebuilding a communal hut always on the same

groups of families. There is some spontaneous recognition of individuals as 'headmen' as a result of some generally accepted superiority of physique or discernment, but the concept goes no further than the giving of some weight to their views within the group.

13 MARRIAGE

The Onges are monogamous, like all peoples who have never progressed beyond the stage of hunting and gathering, and adultery is virtually unknown. Marriage consists merely of the man taking possession of the woman in the presence of the rest of the group, taking her by the hand to a new bed built for the occasion and allotted a place within the circle. The 'marriage' takes place in the late evening and is followed by frenzied dancing all night long by the light of the resin torches. The total absence of any form of ritual leads one to suppose isolation from a very early date indeed, but this cannot be more than conjecture.

14 BURIAL

The custom of burying the dead in caves still occupied by the living apparently existed in the Palaeolithic era. The practice has continued to the present time in the Andamans, where the dead are still buried under the family bed in the communal hut. It is known from Palaeolithic burials that even in that era objects were sometimes buried with the dead, and it is thus possible that the culture of the Andamans dates back to very early times.

15 EXHUMATION AND SECOND BURIAL

The custom of exhuming the bones of the dead and re-interring them after coloration (in this case with ochre) dates from the Palaeolithic era.

16 BONE NECKLACES

The custom of wearing necklaces of carpals, tarsals, phalanges and fragments of rib, is of extreme antiquity, and apart from the Andamans, has virtually disappeared.

17 RELIGION

There is evidence that even in Palaeolithic times there existed a belief in the survival of the spirit after death, and a fear of its return (hence the

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"he who was born before me" and "he who was born after me" respectively. These terms do not, strictly speaking, convey any idea of consanguinity, although they are commonly used to refer to a brother or a sister. Exactly equivalent terms are found in all the languages, for example the *en-toaka-ya* and *ar-dot-ot* of *Akar-Bale*. I was not able to discover in *Aka-Jeru* nor yet in *Akar-Bale* any term to denote a brother or a sister. In *Aka-Bea*, however, Mr Man records the term *ar-weji-ya* or *ar-wejeri-ya*. The stem *-weji-* or *-wejeri-*, as we shall shortly see, is a verbal stem referring to the act of birth, *-ya* is a verbal suffix, and the prefix *ar-* conveys a reference to position in space or time. The whole word seems to mean "he or she who was born in the same womb as myself," and is therefore strictly a word meaning "brother or sister." It is possible that similar words exist in *Akar-Jeru* and *Akar-Bale*, but I never came across them.

Other terms descriptive of social status are the *Akar-Bale* terms *ab-čuga* and *ab-čupal* which refer to married men and women particularly those older than the speaker. These also are not properly terms of relationship, though a man may refer to some of his relatives as *d'ab-čuga*, adding the personal pronoun to what is properly a word descriptive of the social position of the person in question. In *Aka-Bea* the equivalent terms are *ab-čabil* and *ab-čana*. It would seem that the term *aka-kuam* (*aka-kam* in *Aka-Bea*) is of the same kind, being applicable by an older married man to a younger. At any rate I was unable to discover that it conveyed to the natives any notion of relationship.

There are a certain number of terms that are descriptive of definite relationships. In the North *ot-a-bui*, and in *Akar-Bale ab-i-ya* are both of them derived from verbal stems meaning "to marry" and are used to denote a husband or a wife. In the North I did not discover any term descriptive of a father or a mother save those derived from the terms of address. In *Akar-Bale* and *Aka-Bea* there are such terms; *ab-atr* in *Akar-Bale* means "father" while the word for "mother" was not noted; in *Aka-Bea* a father is *ar-odi-ya*, and a mother is *ab-eti-ya*. These words are descriptive of the physiological relation between a

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601 parent and a child. A man's adopted mother could not be his
•597 *ab-eti-ŋa*, for this term applies only to the woman from whose womb he issued. Similarly an adopted father or a step-father could not be *ab-atr* or *ar-odi-ŋa*. There are similar words for child, which also refer to the physiological relation of a child to its parent. In the North the stem *-tire* means "offspring." The offspring of a plant, that is the young shoots, are denoted by the term *era-tire*, the prefix *era-* serving to convey a reference to trees and plants. The offspring of an animal or of a human being is *e-tire*. The word *e-tire* means "the child of somebody" without reference to any particular person as the parent. In the form *ot-tire* the word means "his or her child" with reference to some person understood. A man or woman cannot in strict accuracy apply the term *ot-tire* to his adopted child, though I believe that it might be used in this loose sense at times. An adopted child is "he whom I have adopted" *t'oi-čolo-kom*. In *Akar-Bale* and *Aka-Bea* there are different terms for "child" according as the reference is to the child of a man or to that of a woman. Thus in *Akar-Bale* the child (in the physiological sense) of a father is *ar-kodire*, and the child of a mother is *ab-atet*. In *Aka-Bea* the physiological relation of a father and child is denoted by the verbal stem *-odi-*. This stem takes the prefix *ar-*. The word for father is formed by adding the verbal suffix *-ŋa* (*ar-odi-ŋa*). The word for child (father speaking) is formed by means of the verbal suffix *-re* or *-yate* (*ar-odi-re* or *ar-odi-yate*). We may translate *d'ar-odi-ŋa* as meaning "he who caused me to be conceived" while *d'ar-odi-re* or *d'ar-odi-yate* means "him whom I caused to be conceived." In the same language the physiological relation of a mother and a child is denoted by the stem *-eti-*. This stem takes the prefix *ab-*. A mother is *ab-eti-ŋa*, and the child of a mother is *ab-eti-re* or *ab-eti-yate*, the verbal suffixes being used in a way similar to that in the case of the terms for father and child. In *Aka-Bea* there is also a stem *-weji-* or *-wejeri-* which has exactly the same meaning as *-eti-* and can be substituted for it in the terms meaning mother and child, as *ab-weji-ŋa* = mother, *ab-weji-re* = child.

601 Other descriptive words used to denote specific relationships

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582 605 and wife were the son and daughter of two brothers. Mr E. H. Man writes that "marriage is only permissible between those who are known to be not even distantly connected, except by wedlock, with each other; so inexorable, indeed is this rule, that it extends and applies equally to such as are related merely by the custom of adoption." He adds that marriage between first cousins is forbidden. I was not able to satisfy myself on this point, but it seemed to me that while such a marriage as that of first cousins was not actually regarded as wrong, and therefore forbidden, it was regarded as preferable that a man should marry a woman not so nearly related to him. No distinction is made between different kinds of cousin[1].

582 597 My observations did not confirm Mr Man's statement that persons related by adoption are forbidden to marry. It is necessary, however, to distinguish two different kinds of adoption. When the parents of a child of less than six or seven years of age die, the child is adopted into some other family. We may call this "orphan adoption." As will be explained later, there is another custom by which children of over seven or eight are adopted by a married couple belonging to a local group other than that of the parents, and live with them till they come of age. The parents of the child are still alive and they visit him or her at frequent intervals. No bar to marriage is set up by this kind of adoption. An adopted son may marry the daughter of his foster-parents. Indeed when children are betrothed it is the rule for the girl to be adopted by the boy's parents, at any rate for a time. On the other hand it is quite possible that a child adopted when of tender years (as an orphan) would not be permitted to marry a child of his or her foster-parents. I was unable to satisfy myself on this point.

582 There seems to be a prejudice against a woman marrying a man younger than herself. Some of the women with whom I talked expressed strong contempt at the idea of marrying a man younger than themselves. Unfortunately, I neglected

[1] I collected a number of genealogies from the natives, but unfortunately my own inexperience in the use of the genealogical method, and my consequent inability to surmount the difficulties with which I met, made this branch of my investigations a failure.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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parents, having a place in the family hut, and a share of the family meal. The children are treated with extreme kindness, and are never punished, and hardly ever scolded. Should the parents die the children are adopted by friends or relatives, and such adopted children are treated by the foster-parents in exactly the same way as their own children. 855

At the age of ten, or a little before, a change is often brought about in the life of a child, owing to the custom of adoption. Mr Man writes of this custom as follows: 597

"It is said to be of rare occurrence to find any child above six or seven years of age residing with its parents, and this because it is considered a compliment and also a mark of friendship for a married man, after paying a visit, to ask his hosts to allow him to adopt one of their children. The request is usually complied with, and thenceforth the child's home is with his (or her) foster-father: though the parents in their turn adopt the children of other friends, they nevertheless pay continual visits to their own child, and occasionally ask permission (!) to take him (or her) away with them for a few days. A man is entirely at liberty to please himself in the number of children he adopts, but he must treat them with kindness and consideration, and in every respect as his own sons and daughters, and they, on their part, render him filial affection and obedience. It not unfrequently happens that in course of time permission to adopt a foster-child is sought by a friend of the *soi-disant* father, and is at once granted (unless any exceptional circumstance should render it personally inconvenient), without even the formality of a reference to the actual parents, who are merely informed of the change, in order that they may be enabled to pay their periodical visits[1]."

The above passage is quoted because Mr Man had better opportunities of observation in this matter than myself. At the present day there are not many children in the Andamans, and this is an obstacle in the way of this custom of adoption. From my own observation, however, I should put the age at which it is customary for children to be adopted at higher than six or seven. I found children of about seven or eight still

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 125.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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•597 living with their own parents. The usual age of adoption seemed to me to be from nine or ten years upwards.

A man and his wife adopt in this way children belonging to a local group other than their own. The adopted child lives with his or her foster-parents, having a place in their hut and a share of their meals. From about the age of ten children of both sexes begin to be of service to their parents or foster-parents in many ways. The foster-parents treat their adopted children in exactly the same way that they would treat their own children, and the children on the other hand show the same regard and affection to their foster-parents that they do to their own parents, and assist them in every way that they can. Their own parents come to visit them at regular intervals.

881 882 The period of childhood is brought to an end at about the age of puberty by certain ceremonies to be described in the next chapter. After the beginning of these ceremonies a boy ceases to live in the hut of his parents or his foster-parents, and must live with the young unmarried men and widowers in what has been called the bachelors' hut. From this time until he marries, his services are constantly required by his parents or by his foster-parents, and he is expected to obey them and help them in any way he can, It is only after his marriage that he becomes relatively independent and free to please himself in his own actions, and even then he is required to provide his parents or his foster-parents with food, and to serve them in any way they may need.

A girl, during the period between the beginning of the initiation ceremonies and her marriage, continues, at any rate, in some cases, and in these days, to live with her parents or with foster-parents. Mr Man states that the unmarried women and girls occupy a spinsters' hut similar to the bachelors' hut. It is possible that this was the former custom. I found instances of an unmarried girl occupying a place in the hut of a married couple who made use of her services and controlled her conduct, regarding her in the light of a foster-daughter. On one occasion I found two unmarried girls occupying a separate hut adjoining that of a married couple, who looked after the girls who occupied it.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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602 brother or to his mother's brother which he does not also owe, in perhaps a less degree, to other men of the same age, and there is no term by which he can distinguish his father's brother from those others.

If this account of the system of relationship be accurate it will be seen that the Andamanese society contrasts very strongly, in this matter, with other primitive societies[1].

621 It remains for us only to examine the social relations between the different local groups. Two neighbouring groups, whether of the same tribe or of different tribes, might be either friendly towards one another or unfriendly. Friendly relations [582 were kept alive by several of the customs of the Andamanese, 591 by the intermarriage of members of different groups, by the • 597] adoption of children from one group to another, and by the fact that a man of one group might take up his residence more or less permanently with another (particularly when he married a woman of that group, or was adopted when a boy by one of the men belonging to it). All these customs served to bind some persons in the one group to persons in the other, and thus prevent the two groups from becoming entirely unfriendly to one another.

When two neighbouring local groups were friendly to one 621 another communication between them was kept up by visitors 574 from one group to another, and by occasional meetings of the whole of the two groups.

Either a single person or a family might at any time pay a visit to another camp, staying a few days or weeks or even longer. A man would, however, only go visiting when he was sure of a welcome. Such visits were most frequent in the fine months of the year (December to May). As a husband and wife in many instances belonged to different local groups they

[1] It would not be safe, however, to base any arguments of importance to sociology on the above description of the Andamanese system of relationship alone. Although I tried to learn all that I could on the subject, it is quite certain that I did not learn all that was to be learnt, and it is possible that further enquiry might have shown that I was mistaken in some of my observations. The difficulty of being really sure on these matters is due (1) to the fact that the breaking-up of the old local organisation has produced many changes in their customs, and (2) to the difficulty of questioning the natives on matters connected with relationships when they have no words in their language to denote any but the simplest relationships.

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that the young are early instructed in the duties of hospitality, while the aged, the suffering, and the helpless are objects of special attention; that their moral code is not confined within these limits will be seen as I proceed.

4. The curious, but by no means uncommon,[1] savage custom of adoption prevails among them, from which, however, it must not be inferred that love of offspring is a characteristic in which they are at all deficient, for this is far from being the case.

5. It is said to be of rare occurrence to find any child above six or seven years of age residing with its parents, and this because it is considered a compliment and also a mark of friendship[2] for a married man, after paying a visit, to ask his hosts to allow him to adopt one of their children. The request is usually complied with, and thenceforth the child's home is with his (or her) foster-father (*mai-ōt-châ·tnga-*): though the parents in their turn adopt the children of other friends, they nevertheless pay continual visits to their own child, and occasionally ask permission (!) to take him (or her) away with them for a few days.

6. A man is entirely at liberty to please himself in the number of children he adopts, but he must treat them with kindness and consideration, and in every respect as his own sons and daughters, and they, on their part, render him filial affection and obedience.

7. It not unfrequently happens that in course of time permission to adopt a foster-child is sought by a friend of the *soi-disant* father, and is at once granted (unless any exceptional circumstance should render it personally inconvenient), without even the formality of a reference to the actual parents, who are merely informed of the change in order that they may be enabled to pay their periodical visits.

8. Foster-parents constantly manifest much opposition to any desire they may observe on the part of the lads they have brought up, to make a home for themselves, for the selfish reason that they are useful in a variety of ways, above all, when they have acquired skill in hunting, turtling, &c.; over the maidens little or no restraint is imposed, as their marriage entails but a trifling loss in a material sense on those who have reared them.

9. Human nature, however, is the same all the world over, and boys will be boys even in the Andaman jungles, so it is not surprising that, in spite of all the precautions taken by their

[1] *Vide* Lubbock, "On the Origin of Civilization," &c., p. 96.

[2] Whether this be the true explanation of its object and origin or not, there can be little doubt that it has the effect of greatly extending the intercourse between the members of the various encampments.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

572 597 836 584 seniors, a good deal of flirtation, and often something more, is carried on by the young people without arousing any suspicions as to their sentiments for one another, until the affair has become too serious to be broken off, and has to end, sooner or later, in their marriage and start in life on their own account. In some cases, when the guardians have reason to believe that a lad has, notwithstanding his assurances to the contrary, a *sub silentio* attachment, they adopt the following method for testing the truth of his asseveration; on a given day it is arranged by the friends of the suspected couple that they shall (without the knowledge of either) be painted respectively [302] with the red oxide of iron unguent, *kòi·ob-*, and the white clay *tá·la-ōg-*, for, as they would not meet till night-fall, the risk of their discovering the trap laid for them is reduced to a minimum, while a glance on the following morning would suffice to betray them if guilty, and the guardians' object would be attained, for, from shame at his secret being known, and his falsehood exposed, the youth feels in honour bound to break off his connection with the girl, at least for some time.

582 597 **Relationships.**—1. In all the relations of life the question of propinquity is, in their eyes, of paramount importance, and marriage is only permissible between those who are known to be not even distantly connected, except by wedlock, with each other; so inexorable, indeed, is this rule, that it extends, and applies equally, to such as are related merely by the custom of adoption to which I have just referred.

[605] 601 2. A first cousin, actual or by adoption, is regarded as a half-brother or half-sister, as the case may be, and nephews and nieces almost as sons and daughters, while the terms used to denote a grandfather, grandmother, grandson, and grand-daughter are equally applied to indicate respectively a grand-uncle, grand-aunt, grand-nephew, and grand-niece.

3. Parents, when addressing, or referring to their children and not using their names, employ distinct terms, the father calling his son *dar ō·dire*, *i.e.*, he that has been begotten by me, and his daughter *dar ō·dire-pail-*; while the mother makes use of the word *dab ē·tire*, *i.e.*, he whom I have borne, for the former, and *dab ē·tire-pail-* for the latter; similarly, friends in speaking of children to their parents say respectively, *ngar ō·dire*, or *ngab ē·tire* (your son), *ngar ō·dire-pail-*, or *ngab ē·tire-pail-* (your daughter).[1]

4. Uncles and aunts on the father's are not distinguished from those on the mother's side; relationships are traced in both lines, and the system with reference to either sex is identical.

[1] Foster-parents employ the terms *dōt chá·tnga-* and *dōt chá·tnga-pail-* in referring to their adopted son and daughter respectively.

619
184

(11) *Canoes.*—Bojigngiji and Yerewa, same pattern canoe; Ônge-Jarawa [501] pattern different from above. Both out-rigged, Bojigngiji has in addition a large dug-out without outrigger.

[342] (12) *Huts.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas have temporary huts. Ônge-Jarawas have large permanent communal dwellings.

[535] (13) *Dancing.*—Bojigngijis and Yerawas, sounding board and song and clapping in unison. Ônge-Jarawa, standing in a ring and alternately bending and straightening the knees: also on occasion kicking the buttocks with the flat of the foot.

[352] (14) *Beds.*—Jarawas sleep on the wood ashes of the fires. Ônges on raised bamboo platforms. Other tribes on leaves and in sand-holes.

[562 251] (15) *Food.*—The staple food of the Ônges is the mangrove fruit, boiled, and they preserve small fish dried after cooking. None of the other tribes do this.

The Long-shore and Jungle Andamanese.—The Andamanese are by themselves again further divided into the Aryoto or long-shore men, and the Eremtaga or jungle-dwellers; the habits and capacities of these two differ, owing to surroundings, irrespective of tribe. Some tribes as the Tabo, Juwai, Kol, and the South Andaman Jarawas, are entirely Eremtaga, while the Balawa, the Chariar, and the Jarawas of the North Sentinel are entirely Aryoto. The Aryoto holds himself to be better than the Eremtaga, but beyond this there seem to be no exclusive distinctions between them and an Aryoto will marry or adopt an Eremtaga.

With the minuteness in matters concerning their surroundings that is characteristic of all entirely uneducated people, the Andamanese recognise a third division of themselves by habits into Adajig or creek-dwellers, *i.e.*, those who live on the shores of the many inlets of the sea on the coasts of the Islands. The habits of the Adajig, however, are practically those of the Aryoto.

Distinctions by habits are quickly lost by the Andamanese. The Jarawas have now no canoes in the South Andaman and are quite incapable of constructing or using them, though all Ônges have them and so have the Jarawas on the North Sentinel. So also had the Jarawas that Colebrooke met a century ago. And this year (1902) it was ascertained that the young men brought up at the Duratang (Kyd Island) Home and occupied chiefly in market gardening could neither steer nor paddle a canoe, nor take up tracks in the jungles. In one generation, though there was no restriction in communication with their people, they had lost both sea and forest craft.

Former Isolation of the Tribes.—Before the arrival of the English the tribes, excepting actual neighbours, may be said to have had no general intercourse with each other, and excepting some individuals were entirely unable to converse together, though it can be conclusively shown that all the existing languages are directly descended from one parent tongue. Even Septs had but little mutual intercourse and considerable differences in details of dialect and, as has occurred in other island abodes of savages, there must have been a change of dialect or language along about every 20 miles of the coast. The tribes were in fact brought together and made definitely acquainted with each other's separate existence and peculiarities by the influence and exertions of Mr. Man between 1875 and 1880.

609 **Sympathies and Antipathies.**—The tribal feeling is expressed as follows: friendly within the tribe, courteous to other Andamanese if known, hostile to every stranger, Andamanese or other. The sympathy and antipathy exhibited are strictly natural, *i.e.*, savage, and are governed by descent. The feeling of friendliness lies in an ever-decreasing zone from the family outwards towards sept, tribe, group: hostility to all others. Even septs will fight each other and Aryoto and Eremtaga do not mix much. But there is no "caste" feeling, and tribes will, in circumstances favouring the actions (*e.g.*, living on the tribal borders), intermarry and adopt each other's children. Within the tribe there is so general a custom of adoption that children above six or seven rarely live with their own parents. It is an act of friendliness to give up or adopt a child and the custom has had the effect of making the various septs of a tribe hang together much better than would otherwise have been possible. 597

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

129 torches for hunting by night. There were pigs everywhere. In half an hour we often got
114 six or more of them. At Chemalé, far from the coast, we had eleven in a few minutes for distribution to everybody, including roaming Onge. Pigeons and ducks also were often
[136] plentiful. The simple pleasures of hunting incited everyone to a spontaneous daily struggle through the dense forest; and so, every month, I managed to carry out many times the work I could have done had I not kept all the men glad to follow me. On seven different occasions I spent 162 days in Little Andaman, out of a total of 634 days altogether in the Andamanese Archipelago – all of them given up to Onge research. These trips are recorded
128 in Port Blair Government offices. A few details on the subject are published in the "Bul-
114 letin of the Department of Anthropology", Government of India, starting in Vol. II, No. 1, 1953 (issued in 1956) and extended to other issues. Such papers were hurriedly prepared by me while I was halting in Calcutta on my way from the Andamans to Europe. Press proofs could never be submitted to me; there are, consequently, many misprints, particularly in the figures relating to my Onge Census. The misprints are so obvious that they could only influence a most biased critic; to be discussed in future papers and while my Onge book is in preparation. In Port Blair (South Andaman) I started an Onge Museum with material collected by me. I had the honour of inaugurating it on 6 July, 1953 in the presence of the Chief Commissioner for Andamans and Nicobars, Mr. A. K. GHOSH, one of the kindest and most intelligent Indian gentlemen that it was my pleasure to meet in Asia. On 9 March, 1954 Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD, President of the Republic of India, also visited the Museum. On that occasion I introduced to him 30 of my Onge friends (wives, husbands and children) in their most natural attire. The President questioned me at length on Onge anthropology and ethnology with the pertinence of a specialist.

123 While in Little Andaman I tried to study all possible aspects of Onge life. I also
[121] tried to count the natives; a very difficult task for they are a nomadic people, ready to vanish into the jungle at any moment. Often I was surrounded by them without seeing a single one. In the darkness of their jungle, the small, black, naked Onge easily disappear. They see us but we do not see them. They can only be counted in their sleeping quarters
[361] in communal huts; even so, results are misleading. I found a number of communal huts in the interior regions of Little Andaman, whereas previously they were said to exist
[126] only on the coast. The larger, more solidly built huts are in the forest. With the help of my Indian assistants I obtained plans and photographs of all the huts that I saw.
[178] Unfortunately the number of Onge communal huts is rapidly diminishing – a very
[361] significant fact. Many are in ruins, many more completely destroyed. Only kitchen-middens and occasional clusters of planted bamboo indicate their former location. Through an
[124] interpreter, and with two Onge speaking a little Hindi, I was able to gather information on these and other matters. Direct observation, however, proved the best way of gaining knowledge. In some places there was nothing to help me, and I was compelled to guess about communal huts whose inmates chose to hide in the jungle. Of the many personal
[551] names that I collected I must say that they are reliable only for a short period: the Onge like to change their names from time to time. All this, in addition to the Onge's nomadic
[553] way of life, causes great confusion and makes a proper Census almost impossible. Frequent changing of names also hinders the establishment of genealogies. Furthermore, the Onge
[597] custom of adopting children shifts many of them from one family to another, and adoptive parents invariably claim them as their own offspring. The parents themselves, who are ignorant of numbers, not infrequently forget how many children they have, who these children are and where they are located. It was almost useless to follow previous information concerning communal huts; and so I decided to consider mainly the situation
[114] existing at the time of my visits. The result of my Census may be imperfect, but before criticizing it it would be advisable to know the conditions that prevail in anthropological work among the Onge. Something more than merely counting people, anyhow, was achieved by me in Little Andaman.

In this short paper I am pleased to present a peculiar aspect of Onge life, an aspect that these innocent and once hostile people did not attempt to hide from me, though they also told me nothing about it. Only direct observation could help, and it involved pro-

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

757 started slapping his hands on Toncootēi's and exposing them intermittently to
372 the fire. All this lasted over a quarter of an hour. The patient was then made
123 to lie prone, with his legs spread out, to receive a foot massage as described above, for another quarter of an hour. Torso, feet and hands were worked over, with short pauses for artificial respiration by means of compression. Subsequently his back, and particularly the sacral region, was vigorously rubbed by willing hands and feet. Three men performed this operation. Toncootēi was finally allowed to rest, between two fires kept burning all night. Sunrise found him alive, and the fever had abated, due, I think, to a good European laxative that I had persuaded him to take.

164 In March 1952, I witnessed a sad episode, followed by the death of
123 the patient, near my Labanare camp. A young mother was suffering from
[862] breast rhagades. Her baby was less than a month old, and she was also suckling
[597] another child, almost two years old, who had sharp teeth. It is a frequent kindly habit of the Onge to adopt babies ; and it is customary to breast-feed them up to the age of four. Some interesting consequences arise out of this habit, but I shall not analyze them here. A minor detail : since they are allowed to suckle when they wish and are weaned so late, Onge children do not indulge in thumb sucking. Considerable reactions are spontaneously established between the two terminal parts of the digestive tube – oral and anal, as though in physiological conflict. Once more I affirm that the evidence of Onge sexual
[864] behaviour positively denies Freudian theories with regard to the sexual life of children. Furthermore, young anthropoids and primitive people behave identically in this respect.

164 The adopted baby gave the young mother nipple wounds that became
123 infected and suppurated. For lack of proper care and in unhygienic surrounding
752 ings, the infection spread to the rest of her body. I found her suffering terribly from pain in the breast, muscular spasm and high fever. The Onge had applied their usual external remedies to her body, from head to foot. Very tight bandages of ficus bark, renewed three times a day, were wrapped arounds legs, arms, trunk and abdomen. Bright red ochre – rare in Little Andaman and considered more effective because of its brilliant colour – was painted onto the afflicted breast. The poor young woman looked at me hopefully. I suggested her immediate removal to Port Blair Hospital, and sent radio messages from my camp to the Chief Commissioner, Mr. A. K. GHOSH. He responded generously by ordering a ship to call for the patient, but the journey was useless because her relations were opposed to displacing her. In March 1952 my friendship with the Onge was only starting ; this will explain their refusal to follow my advice. Without proper care, in a place like Little Andaman, the patient died four days after my arrival at the camp.

756 Prescription of medicines and treatments such as those described above
[759] is not determined by specialists. Everybody submits to treatment, with general approval, convinced of its effectiveness. Witch doctors do not exist and perhaps never existed in the Andamans. Nothing, then, is known by the
755 Onge of the dances and exhibitions, commonly executed elsewhere for curative
757 purposes, that influence the patient on a psychobiological basis. As they have

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

the finger-tips and almost pink, with pale chocolate moons and 142
yellowish-brown palms and soles. In the adults the nails and soles of the feet remain pale, the palms being a little darker. The head, and the visible buccal and nasal epithelia, were almost black, and the gums were pink, as was the inside of the lips, with dark petecchiae, in adults very noticeable, at the base of the teeth and over the tongue and palate. The cheeks, however, were a reddish-brown, although the whole skin was already showing signs of darkening after twelve hours. Nasal cartilage was minimal, but that of the ears well-developed. The darkest area of skin were the forehead, eye sockets, lids, nipples and genitalia.

In general, therefore, the infant's skin was very slightly lighter [844]
than that of the adults, though before I could be sure of this I had [302]
to wash off the thick layer of ochre which is smeared over the un- [854]
washed infants immediately after birth. As the infants are extremely
carefully protected from the sun by 'umbrella' hats made of lobed [751]
palm leaves, the darkening, which is complete by the end of the first year, is clearly biological and is not effected by tanning. As, however, the Onges interchange or 'adopt' children freely, [597]
it was impossible to carry out any proper colorimetric observations.

I saw no albinos in the Onges, usually fairly common in dark- 143
skinned peoples. I saw several in Africa, with apparently normal 826
parents. Some African peoples destroy albinos at birth as they do [847]
those with deformities, and the Andamanese may do the same, as I
saw little congenital deformity (see, however, p. 46). Fear of being [626]
held responsible for disasters which befall the group carries great
weight, and it is possible that the two cases of abnormality which
I did see did not manifest symptoms at birth. Twins, however, are [845]
clearly (and gladly) accepted, so eager are the Onges to have [842]
children.

It was already clear in the infant that it would have the somatic 142
characteristics common to all Negritos as regards the proportions of the body, the form and dimensions of the head, absence of prognathism, comparatively fine lips, nose and ears, black skin, and woolly hair, and would be well below 1·5 metres in height when fully grown. Above all, the Andamanese have a large forehead, very wide-angled jaw and large mouths, with the upper lips not invariably full, as in Negroes. Many Onges, in fact, have fine features,

842 163 enjoy the active marital relationships necessary, according to their husbands, to encourage the entry of the benevolent spirits which bring motherhood. The late onset of fertility in all Andamanese 842 163 women and perhaps in men as well[1] probably depends on mechanisms which have been operating for a very long time, affecting 165 the sex ratio at birth, and preferential infant mortality in one sex. [123] [124] By a combination of observation and deduction I was able to be reasonably certain that among the Onges at least more males are born than females. The disparity is reduced, though not eliminated, by a higher mortality rate in young males. Males thus remain in excess, making it difficult for some, possibly fertile, to find wives.

842 143 161 There are certain peoples – notably the Pitcairn Islanders – who have arisen by repeated inbreeding for hundreds of years from a very few individuals. It is clear from this example that genetic isolation and inbreeding cannot of themselves cause numerical, physical or mental decline of a population. The problem merits further investigation. Civilization has perhaps accused herself unjustly of causing the decline of primitive races, whereas she has in fact only hastened the disappearance of groups already heading for demographic decadence as the result of physiological factors which lie within the group itself, and which are consequently difficult to counteract. The intrinsic damage done by civilization as such has, in my opinion, been considerably exaggerated in some quarters.

Possibly because of the low birth rate the maternal instinct is 855 597 very highly developed in the women of the Andamans, even to the point of 'adopting' children temporarily. These children are always given lavish affection, and are kept sometimes for years, or even permanently if the parents do not ask for them back. Given the language barrier, this custom makes census-taking difficult as childless couples happily declare adopted children as their own. Nabimbòi, with no children of her own, always had children with her, and it was only the fact that they differed from year to year that led me to suspect what was happening! One wonders whether the custom was not already common before outsiders first came to the Andamans, owing to the existence of a high incidence of sterility long before the arrival of civilization.

[1] There is some evidence of infertility in the men, but it is clear that this is of relatively minor importance.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

as the "classificatory system of relationship[1]." This system is intimately connected with the existence of the social divisions known as "clans." In the Andamans there are no clans, and the system of relationship is fundamentally different from all the classificatory systems.

To understand the Andamanese system it is necessary to examine the terms by which they denote the different kinds of relationship which are recognized[2]. In many societies having the classificatory system of relationship the terms which are used to denote relationship are also used as terms of address, just as we use the terms "Father" and "Mother." In the Andamans this is not so. There are special words that are used as terms of address, but these do not imply any relationship between the speaker and the person spoken to. In the North Andaman those terms are *Maia* (= Sir) and *Mimi* (= Lady). These are used by younger men and women in speaking to older persons. For the rest, persons are addressed freely by their personal names. There are no terms of address that imply any relationship of consanguinity between the person speaking and the person whom he addresses. This is an important feature of the Andamanese system, distinguishing it from the systems of many other primitive societies.

The following is a list of terms used to denote relationship in the North Andaman. There seems to be very little difference in this matter between the four tribes of the North (*Aka-Čari*, *Aka-Kora*, *Aka-Bo* and *Aka-Jeru*).

[1] The classificatory system of relationship was first studied and named by Lewis H. Morgan, in *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1871. The subject is also discussed in the same author's *Ancient Society*. Although there has been a good deal of attention paid to the systems of relationship of savage tribes since the time of Morgan, there is no general work on the subject that supersedes these two books.

[2] The terms used in any society to denote relationships are of interest to the ethnologist as an important means to the discovery of the relationship system (i.e. the system of juridical and moral institutions) existing in the same society. Without a thorough knowledge of the terms in use and their exact meanings it is impossible to discover the rights and duties of relatives one to another. It is, however, sometimes forgotten that the study of terms of relationship is not an end in itself but a means to a more important study.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

aka-mai	his father
aka-mimi	his mother
ot-tire	his child
ot-otoatue	his older brother
ot-otoatue-čip	his older sister
ot-arai-čulute	his younger brother
ot-arai-čulute-čip	his younger sister
ot-e-bui or *e-bui*	his wife (her husband)
e-pota-čiu	his father-in-law
e-pota-čip	his mother-in-law
ot-otone	his son-in-law.

Aka-mai and *aka-mimi.* The words for "father" and "mother" are derived from the terms of address *Maia* and *Mimi* by the addition in each case of the prefix *aka-*. By itself the term *Maia* is used by any man or woman in speaking to a man older than himself or herself without implying any relation between them beyond that of respective age. The addition of the prefix *aka-* changes the word, giving it the meaning "the father of somebody." Thus *Maia Bora* means "Mr Bora" or "Sir Bora," if we may so translate it, but *Bora aka-mai* means "Bora's father," and *aka-mai Bora* means "his or her father Bora." The *Aka-Jeru* equivalent for "my father" is *t'a-mai*, the *t'* being the personal pronoun "my," after which the prefix *aka-* is contracted to *a-*. Similarly "thy father" is *y'a-mai* and "their father" or "their fathers" is *n'a-mai.* The word *aka-mimi* is in every respect exactly parallel to *aka-mai.* These two terms are only used when it is necessary to refer to the actual father or mother of anybody. For example, if a man be asked *Ačiu y'a-mai bi?* (Who your father is?), he will reply by giving the name of his own father.

The stem *maia* clearly relates to the social position of the father of a family. A man who is a father, or while not having any children, is married and occupies an equivalent social position to a father, is addressed by the term which shows his social position, *Maia.* When I call a man *Maia,* I do not imply that he is *my* father nor that he is related to me at all, but only that he is *a* father. On the other hand, the prefix *aka-* added to the stem makes a possessive form, so that *aka-mai* means "his father" and *t'a-mai* means "my father." The word *mimi*

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

is exactly parallel. By itself, the stem simply shows that the person addressed is *a* mother, while *aka-mimi* means "*his* mother." 601

Ot-tire. The word "child," when there is no reference to the child of some particular person, is translated *e-tire*, *-tire* being the stem and *e-* the prefix[1]. With a change of prefix from *-e* to *ot-*, a possessive form is made, so that *ot-tire* always means "his or her child," with reference to some particular person understood. Thus *Bora ot-tire* would mean "the child of Bora," while *Bora e-tire* or *e-tire Bora* would mean "the child Bora." The phrase *t'ot-tire* (my child) is used by either a man or a woman to denote his or her child.

Ot-otoatue and *ot-arai-čulute.* I was unable to find in the languages of the North Andaman any words which could properly be translated "brother" or "sister." The two words here given are used by the Andamanese to denote persons older or younger than the speaker, whether they be brothers and sisters or not. The derivation of *ot-otoatue* could not be ascertained, but the word means "he who was born before me," and it is used in this sense to denote any person of the speaker's generation who is older than himself. If it is necessary to emphasise the female sex of the person spoken of, the suffix *-čip* is added. An alternative word of exactly the same meaning is *ot-areupu* (fem. *ot-arep-čip*). The word *ot-arai-čulute* is formed from the stem *čulu* or *čulutu* meaning "following" or "after," which always takes the prefix *arai-*. (This prefix conveys a reference to position in time or space.) The stem is found in such phrases as *tio ŋ'arai-čulutu-bom*, "I will follow you" (literally *tio* = I, *ŋ'* = thou, *čulutu* = after, and *-bom*, verbal suffix), and *tarai-čulik* "afterwards" (*t-arai-čulu-ik*). The prefix *ot-*

[1] In the Andamanese languages a large number of words are formed from a stem and a prefix. *E-*, *ot-*, *aka-*, *ara-*, *ab-* etc. are prefixes of this kind. The function of the prefixes is (1) to show that the object denoted by the word is in a dependent relation to some other object understood, as for instance that it is part of that other object, and (2) to modify the reference of the stem, as for instance while *e-tire* means the offspring of an animal or an human being, *era-tire* means the offspring of a tree or plant (the young shoots). For a description of these prefixes the reader may be referred to the work of Mr Portman, *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes.*

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

601 added in front of the usual prefix *arai-* determines the particular use of the word as referring to human beings. Thus the word *ot-arai-čulute* means, literally, "he or she who was born after me." It is used in this sense by a man or woman to denote any person of the same generation who is younger than himself. The suffix *-čip* may be added to denote a female. Alternative words of the same meaning are *ot-ara-liču* and *ot-ara-bela.*

These words are not, properly speaking, terms of relationship, but serve only to denote the respective ages of two persons. I did not discover any terms whatever by which a man can distinguish his own brother or sister from any other man or woman of the same age.

Ot-e-bui. The stem *-bui* means "to marry," as in *n' e-bui-ou* = they are married. "My husband" or "my wife" is simply *t'e-bui* or *t'ot-e-bui.*

E-pota-čiu and *e-pota-čip.* The derivation of these words was not discovered. They are the terms by which a man distinguishes his wife's father and mother, and a woman her husband's father and mother.

Ot-otone. The word and its meaning are somewhat doubtful. It was sometimes used by a man to denote his daughter's husband, and perhaps also his son's wife. I once heard it applied to a younger sister's husband. It may be compared with the same word as used in the South Andaman to be mentioned presently.

So far as could be discovered, there are no words in the languages of the North Andaman for grandfather, grandmother, uncle, aunt, cousin, etc. The terms given above can be combined to describe relatives of this kind, as

T'a-mimi aka-mai	my mother's father
Ot-e-bui ot-arai-čulute	his wife's younger brother
Ŋot-a-mai ot-arai-čulute	thy father's younger brother
T'ot-otoatue ot-tire	my older brother's child.

These compound terms are not often used, however.

The terms of relationship of the *Akar-Bale* tribe may be taken as representative of the tribes of the South Andaman. The following list contains all the more important of them.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908) 1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

601

da	father
ab-atr	father
in	mother
ar-bua	child
ar-kodire	child (father speaking)
ab-atet	child (mother speaking)
mama	grandparent
jat	grandchild
en-toaka-ya	older brother or sister
ar-dotot	younger brother or sister
otoni	son-in-law
oten	daughter-in-law
ab-i-ya	consort (husband or wife)
aka-yat	parent of child's consort
aka-bua	consort's younger brother or sister
ep-taruo-ya	step relative
ot-čat-ya	relative by adoption
aka-kuam	younger relative
ab-čuga	older relative (male)
ab-čupal	older relative (female).

Da and *in*. *Da* is the common term of address used when speaking to an older man to whom the speaker wishes to show respect. A man will speak of his own father as *dege da*, *dege* being the personal pronoun "my" as used before a word that has no prefix. The term *In* is the common term of address used in speaking to women. A man or woman will refer to his or her own mother as *deg' in*. The use of these two terms as applied to parents is very similar to the use of *aka-mai* and *aka-mimi* in the North Andaman, with the difference that in *Akar-Bale* the stem *da* or *in* does not take a prefix to modify its meaning. While the use of the terms *Da* and *In* as terms of address does not in the least imply that there is any relationship between the person speaking and the person addressed, yet the phrase *dege da* would in general be understood as referring to the speaker's own father. 601 576

Ab-atr. This is a word descriptive of the relationship of a father to his child. I never heard a man refer to his own father by this term, but it is heard in such phrases as *deg' in l'ab-atr* = my mother's father. It conveys a definite notion of the physiological relation between a father and his children, and might be translated "he who caused me to be conceived." There is 601

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906 1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

•601 probably a feminine equivalent meaning "mother," but it was not noted.

Ar-bua, ar-kodire and *ab-atet.* The *Akar-Bale* word for "infant" is *ab-liga* or *ab-dareka.* The latter word is the phonetic equivalent of the *e-tire* of the Northern languages. A parent often speaks of his or her infant son as *d'ab-bula*, and of his infant daughter as *d'ab-pal, ab-bula* and *ab-pal* being the terms for "male" and "female[1]." The exact use of the term *ar-bua* is difficult to determine. The stem *-bua* may be used by itself without a prefix. *Dege bua* (my child) would refer, I believe, only to the child of the speaker. On the other hand, a man would use the term *d'ar-bua* as referring not only to his own child but also to the child of a brother or a sister, or even to a person who was not related to him at all. So far as it could be determined, it seems that a man or woman might apply this term (*ar-bua*) to any person of the same generation as his or her children, whether a relative or not. It thus means "a person of the same generation as my own children," and describes, not relationship, but respective age. The word *ar-kodire* refers to the own child of a man, and *ab-atet* similarly refers to the own child of a woman. The two words together are thus equivalent to the *ot-tire* of the North Andaman, the *Akar-Bale* distinguishing between the offspring of a man (*ar-kodire*) and the offspring of a woman (*ab-atet*).

Mama. The word is translated above as meaning "grandparent," but it has a wider meaning than this. It is used as a term of address to convey more respect than is conveyed by the terms *Da* and *In*, and is thus used in addressing any man or woman who is considerably older than the speaker. With the personal pronoun, *dege mama*, it may be applied by a man or woman to any of his grandparents, and also to his father-in-law and mother-in-law, and to other senior relatives.

Jat. The word was explained to me by the natives as meaning "grandchild." It seems to be a sort of reciprocal of *mama*, and is apparently applicable by any old man or woman to any child of the same generation as his or her own grandchildren.

[1] *Dege bula* and *dege pal* mean "my husband" and "my wife" respectively.

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En-toaka-ŋa and *ar-dotot*. These two words are used in exactly the same way as the words *ot-otoatue* and *ot-arai-čulute* of the North Andaman. They are not properly terms of relationship, but may be equally used in referring to non-relatives. *En-toaka-ŋa* means "he who was born before me," and *ar-dotot* means "he who was born after me." I was not able to discover any word by which a person could distinguish his own brother or sister from others of the same age. It is not certain, however, that such a word does not exist.

Otoni and *oten*. These are masculine and feminine forms of the same word, and are used to denote a daughter's husband and a son's wife. *Otoni* is also applied to a younger sister's husband, and *oten* to a younger brother's wife. The derivation of the words was not discovered.

Aka-yat. This is the native name for the relationship subsisting between a person's parents and his parents-in-law. My own mother or father is *aka-yat* to my wife's father or mother.

Aka-bua. The word is derived from the stem *bua*, meaning "child." It is applied by a man to the younger brothers and sisters of his wife, and by a woman to the younger brothers and sisters of her husband.

Ab-i-ŋa. The word is translated "consort," and means either husband or wife. It is derived from the verbal stem *-i-* meaning "to marry" (*on-i-re*), *ab-* being the prefix, and *-ŋa* the verbal suffix.

Ep-taruo-ŋa. The word is used to denote a step-child, or a younger step-brother or sister.

Ot-čat-ŋa. The word means "adopted." "My adopted child" is simply expressed as *d'ot-čat-ŋa*, while "my foster father" is *dege da ot-čat-ŋa*. The stem is *-čat-*, *-ŋa* being the verbal suffix and *ot-* the prefix.

Aka-kuam. In spite of several enquiries, I was unable to ascertain the significance of this word. I heard it applied on different occasions to a younger brother or sister, to a younger first cousin, and to the brothers and sisters of a wife. The only suitable translation would seem to be "my younger relative," but it is not certain that it even implies any relationship at all.

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60 It is perhaps really a term denoting respective social status and is used by a married man to denote other married men who are somewhat younger than himself, and with whom he is on friendly terms.

Ab-čuga and *ab-čupal.* These are the masculine and feminine forms of one word. Mr Portman[1] gives them as meaning "married man" and "married woman." I heard them used, however, with the personal pronoun. Thus a man applied the term *ab-čuga* to his older brother, his older sister's husband, and to his father's brother. In this usage these two terms seem to be in a sense reciprocal to *aka-kuam.* A younger married man will refer to older married men and women as his *ab-čuga* and *ab-čupal,* while they will call him *aka-kuam.*

In his work on the Andamanese, Mr E. H. Man gives a long list of terms of relationship for the *Aka-Bea* tribe[2]. It will be of some interest to compare the terms there given with those of the *Akar-Bale* tribe described above.

D'ab-maiola (*D'ab-mai-ola*). This is translated by Mr Man as "father." In *Aka-Bea* the term *Maia* is the term of address corresponding to the *Da* of *Akar-Bale* and to the *Mai* of the North Andaman. The suffix *-ola,* added to this and other terms of address serves to convey additional respect, as *Maia, Mai-ola, Čana, Čan-ola, Mama, Mam-ola.* Thus *ab-mai-ola* corresponds to the *aka-mai* of the Northern languages.

Dia Maia. This is given by Mr Man as applicable to the following relatives:—my father's brother, my mother's brother, my father's sister's husband, my mother's sister's husband, my father's father's brother's (or sister's) son, my husband's grandfather, my wife's grandfather, my wife's sister's husband (if elder), my husband's sister's husband (if elder).

Dia maiola. My grandfather, my grandfather's brother, my grandmother's brother, my elder sister's husband.

It must be remembered that these terms are not properly terms of relationship at all. Any man who is older than the speaker is *Maia* or *Mai-ola* to him, the latter implying a slightly

[1] *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes.*

[2] Man, *op. cit.* p. 421. The *dia,* or the *d'* before a prefix, in the words of this list is the pronoun "my."

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higher degree of respect than the former. It is probable that the three different terms given above are not used by the natives with the very precise distinctions that are drawn by Mr Man. It may be noted that Mr Portman writes in this connection:—"*Maia* is an Honorific, equivalent to the English 'Sir,' and is used when addressing a male elder. A son calls his father 'Sir,' and uses no other word in speaking to, or of, him. A pronoun emphasises the relationship, as: *Dia maiola*[1] "My Father."

D' ab-čanola. Given by Mr Man as meaning "my mother." It is the feminine equivalent of *d'ab-mai-ola, Čana* being the feminine of *Maia*, and corresponding to the *In* of *Akar-Bale* and the *Mimi* of *Aka-Jeru.*

Dia čanola. This is given as the *Aka-Bea* translation of the following:—my father's sister, my mother's sister, my father's brother's wife, my mother's brother's wife, my grandmother, my great aunt, my father's father's sister's daughter, my mother's mother's sister's daughter, my husband's grandmother, my wife's grandmother, my husband's sister (if senior and a mother), my elder brother's wife (if a mother). In its formation the term is the feminine equivalent of *dia mai-ola*, while in its use it is the equivalent both of this term and of *dia maia.* This serves to show that there is no real precise distinction between *dia maia* and *dia mai-ola*, such as Mr Man's list would seem to imply. *Dia čan-ola* is not, properly speaking, a term of relationship. Any married woman senior to the speaker is entitled to be addressed as *Čana* or *Čan-ola.*

D'ab-čabil. Mr Man gives this as translating "my father, my step-father." The feminine equivalent would seem to be *d'ab-čanola*, which is given for "my mother" and "my step-mother." Mr Portman gives *ab-čabil* and *ab-čana* as the *Aka-Bea* terms for "married man" and "married woman[2]." The two words are the equivalents of the *Akar-Bale ab-čuga* and *ab-čupal.*

D'ar-odi-ya. This word is given by Mr Man as one of the equivalents for "my father." It is parallel to the *Akar-Bale*

[1] Portman, *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes*, p. 255.
[2] *Op. cit.* p. 100.

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term *ab-atr*, and is strictly a term of physiological relationship, meaning "he who caused me to be conceived."

D'ab-eti-ya. This is translated by Mr Man as "my mother." It is the corresponding term to *d'ar-odi-ya*, and refers to the physiological relationship.

D'ab-weji-ya or *d'ab-wejeri-ya.* This also means "my mother," and is only an alternative word for the above. The stems *eti* and *weji* or *wejeri* seem to be two stems meaning the same thing.

D'ar-odi-re or *d'ar-odi-yate.* Given by Mr Man as meaning "my son" (if over three years of age, father speaking). It is the equivalent of the *Akar-Bale ar-kodire.*

D'ab-eti-re, d'ab-eti-yate, d'ab-weji-re, d'ab-weji-yate, d'ab-wejeri-re, d'ab-wejeri-yate. These are all given by Mr Man as translating "my son" (if over three years of age, mother speaking). They are equivalent to the *Akar-Bale ab-atet.*

The above words seem to be derived from three stems, *-odi-*, *-eti-*, and *-weji-* (or *-wejeri-*), the stems *-eti-* and *-weji-* having exactly the same meaning, and belonging, perhaps, to different dialects. The words are formed by the addition of the prefixes *ar-* and *ab-*, and the verbal suffixes *-ya*, *-re*, *-yate.* Thus we have *ar-odi-ya*, "father," and *ar-odi-re* or *ar-odi-yate*, "son." Similarly we have *ab-eti-ya*, "mother," and *ab-eti-re* or *ab-eti-yate*, "son" (mother speaking), while similar equivalents are made from the stem *-weji-*. The words given as meaning "son" may also be used to mean "daughter," but when it is necessary to emphasise the female sex, the suffix *-pail* (meaning "female") is added, as *d'ar-odi-re-pail, d'ab-eti-re-pail.*

Dia ota and *dia kata.* These are given by Mr Man as meaning respectively "my son" and "my daughter" (if under three years of age, either parent speaking). *Ota* and *kata* are the terms for the male and female genitals.

Dia ba. This is given by Mr Man as meaning "my daughter" (if over three years of age, either parent speaking). It is the phonetic equivalent of *dege bua* in *Akar-Bale.*

Dia ba-lola. Given as the equivalent of:—my grandson (either grandparent speaking), my brother's grandson (male or female speaking), my sister's grandson (male or female speaking).

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The same phrase with the addition of *-pail*, meaning "female," is given as equivalent to:—my granddaughter, my brother's granddaughter, and my sister's granddaughter (male or female speaking). 601

D'ar-ba. According to Mr Man this term is applicable by a male or female to the son of a brother, a sister, a half-brother, a half-sister, or of a male or female first cousin. With the addition of *-pail*, meaning "female," it is applicable to the daughter of any of the above.

Ad en-toba-re, ad en-toba-ŋa, ad en-toka-re, ad en-toḳa-ŋa. These terms are given by Mr Man as alternative equivalents for "my elder brother (male or female speaking)." The stem is *-toba-* or *-toka-*, with the prefix *en-* and the verbal suffix *-re* or *-ŋa*. The *ad* is a special form of the first personal pronoun, generally *d'*. With the addition of *-pail*, meaning "female," the term is applicable to an elder sister. The word corresponds, both phonetically and in meaning, to the *Akar-Bale en-toaka-ŋa.*

D'ar-doati-ŋa. Given as meaning "my younger brother (male or female speaking)." With the addition of *-pail*, it is applied to a younger sister. Mr Man gives the word as being also applicable to a first cousin, if younger than the speaker.

D'ar-weji-ŋa or *d'ar-wejeri-ŋa.* These are given by Mr Man as alternative terms for "younger brother," and, with the addition of *-pail*, for "younger sister." It is to be noted that the stem *-weji-* or *-wejeri-* is the same that occurs in one of the terms for "mother," but that the prefix is different, being in this case *ar-* instead of *ab-*.

Dia mama. This is given as meaning "my wife's brother, or my husband's brother (if of equal standing)."

Dia mam-ola. Given as the equivalent of the following:—my husband's father, my husband's mother, my wife's father, my wife's mother, my husband's elder brother, my wife's brother (if older), my husband's sister's husband (if older), my wife's sister (if older and a mother), my husband's brother's wife (if older), my wife's brother's wife (if older).

Mama and *Mam-ola* are terms of address in *Aka-Bea. Mam-ola* implies a somewhat greater degree of respect than

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•601 *Mama*, and this in its turn is more respectful than *Mai-ola* or *Maia*.

D'aka-kam. Mr Man gives this as a term applicable to the following relatives:—my younger brother, my younger half-brother. With the addition of *-pail*, it is applicable to a younger sister or half-sister.

Dia otoniya and *dia otin*. The first of these terms is given as meaning:—my son-in-law (male or female speaking), and my younger sister's husband (male or female speaking). The second term is feminine, and is given as applicable to the following:—daughter-in-law, husband's sister (if younger), husband's brother's wife (if younger), wife's brother's wife (if younger). The terms are thus equivalent, phonetically and in meaning, to the *Akar-Bale* terms *otoni* and *oten*.

Aka-yakat. This is given as the relationship subsisting between a married couple's fathers-in-law, and between their mothers-in-law. It is the equivalent of the *Akar-Bale* word *aka-yat*.

D'aka-ba-bula and *d'aka-ba-pail*. The meaning of the first of these is given as "my husband's brother (if younger)," and of the second as "my younger brother's wife." The suffixes *-bula* and *-pail* mean "male" and "female" respectively. The term *aka-ba* is the phonetic equivalent of the *Akar-Bale* word *aka-bua*. The latter seems to be applied to the younger brothers and sisters of a man's wife or of a woman's husband, and to these alone. The use of these terms and of the terms *otoni* and *oten*, as recorded from the *Akar-Bale* tribe, may be compared with the usage stated by Mr Man, as there is some disagreement. In the following table the *Aka-Bea* terms are given as they are found in Mr Man's list, while those of the *Akar-Bale* tribe are given from my own information.

	Aka-Bea	Akar-Bale
Husband's younger brother	*aka-ba-bula*	*aka-bua*
Husband's younger sister	*otin*	*aka-bua*
Wife's younger brother	.....	*aka-bua*
Wife's younger sister	.....	*aka-bua*
Younger brother's wife	*aka-ba-pail*	*oten*
Younger sister's husband	*otoniya*	*otoni*.

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It will be observed that the *Akar-Bale* list is consistent and logical throughout. It seems probable that there is an error in Mr Man's list, and that "husband's younger sister" should be *aka-ba-pail* instead of *otin*, while "younger brother's wife" should be *otin* instead of *aka-ba-pail*. This would make the *Aka-Bea* list consistent with itself and with the *Akar-Bale* list. 601

Mr Man gives, in addition to the terms discussed above, a number of compound terms, which we may examine briefly.

D'ar-čabil-entoba-re. This is given as applicable to any first cousin or half-brother who is older than the speaker. The feminine form is given as *d'ar-čanol-a-entoba-yate.*

D'ar-čabil-entoba-re lai-ik-yate. This is applicable to the wife of any first cousin or half-brother, if older than the speaker. As *lai-ik-yate* means "his wife," this is a descriptive term. There is a similar term *dia čanol a-entoba-yate lai-ik-yate* for the husband of an older female cousin or half-sister.

D'ar-ba lai-ik-yate. This means "the wife of my *ar-ba*," and is therefore applicable to the wife of the son of a brother or sister or cousin, and to the husband of a daughter of a brother or sister or cousin.

There are a few other similar compounds that need not be given.

In Mr Man's list a step-son is given as *eb-aden-ire.* The word for adoption is *ot-čat-ya, d'ot-cat-ya* meaning "my adopted child" and *d'ab-mai-ot-čat-ya* "my adopted father."

The system of terms of relationship of the Andamanese is of great interest as being fundamentally different from the systems of other uncivilized peoples. It is by no means easy to discover the exact usage of the different terms that are mentioned above. It is, however, possible to gain a general idea, probably accurate in essentials, of the way in which the Andamanese languages express the notions of kinship.

We may consider first the terms of address and the terms of relationship formed from them. The terms of address are :—

Aka-Jeru	Aka-Bea	Akar-Bale	
Maia or *Mai*	*Da*	*Maia*	Sir
Mimi	*In*	*Cana*	Lady
.....	*Mama*	*Mama* or *mamola.*	

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601 The first of these is used in addressing males and the second in addressing females, while the third may be used either for males or for females and implies a higher degree of respect than the others.

In all the languages of the Great Andaman a man refers to his own father and mother by adding a personal pronoun to the words meaning "Sir" and "Lady." In *Aka-Jeru* a man speaks of his father as *t'a-mai*, and of his mother as *t'a-mimi*, the *a-* being a contracted form of the prefix *aka-*. This prefix is always used in this way in the Northern languages. It is not possible to say *tičo maia*, which would be the literal equivalent of *dege da* in *Akar-Bale*. In the *Akar-Bale* language the translation of "my father" and "my mother" is *dege da* and *deg' in*, the *dege* being the personal pronoun "my" as used before a word that has no prefix. The same formation is present also in the *A-Pučikwar* and *Aka-Kol* languages. For example in *Aka-Kol* "my father" is *tiye tao*, and "my mother" *tiye in*. In the *Aka-Bea* language, according to the information given by Mr Man, the word *maia* (or *maiola*) may be used combined with a prefix, as in *d'ab-maiola* = "my father," or it may be used simply with the personal pronoun as *dia maia* or *dia maiola*. According to Mr Man these last two terms are applied not to a man's own father, but to the other persons whom he addresses as *maia*. This is contradicted by Mr Portman who gives *dia maiola* as the *Aka-Bea* for "my father."

601 576 In the *Aka-Bea* and *Akar-Bale* languages (as also in *A-Pučikwar* and *Aka-Kol*) a man always addresses his grandparent or his father-in-law or mother-in-law by the term *Mama* or *Mamola*. He is therefore able to refer to these persons by adding the personal pronoun to the term of address, as *dege mama* in *Akar-Bale*. This cannot, however, be regarded as properly a term denoting relationship, for a man may apply the term *Mama* to a man or woman to whom he is not related at all[1].

The next kind of words that we may consider are those that describe the respective social position of two persons. Such are the words *ot-otoatue* and *ot-arai-čulute* in *Aka-Jeru*, meaning

[1] The natives commonly applied the term to me, in the form *Mam-jula*.

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"he who was born before me" and "he who was born after me" respectively. These terms do not, strictly speaking, convey any idea of consanguinity, although they are commonly used to refer to a brother or a sister. Exactly equivalent terms are found in all the languages, for example the *en-toaka-ŋa* and *ar-dot-ot* of *Akar-Bale*. I was not able to discover in *Aka-Jeru* nor yet in *Akar-Bale* any term to denote a brother or a sister. In *Aka-Bea*, however, Mr Man records the term *ar-weji-ŋa* or *ar-wejeri-ŋa*. The stem *-weji-* or *-wejeri-*, as we shall shortly see, is a verbal stem referring to the act of birth, *-ŋa* is a verbal suffix, and the prefix *ar-* conveys a reference to position in space or time. The whole word seems to mean "he or she who was born in the same womb as myself," and is therefore strictly a word meaning "brother or sister." It is possible that similar words exist in *Akar-Jeru* and *Akar-Bale*, but I never came across them. 601 576

Other terms descriptive of social status are the *Akar-Bale* terms *ab-čuga* and *ab-čupal* which refer to married men and women particularly those older than the speaker. These also are not properly terms of relationship, though a man may refer to some of his relatives as *d'ab-čuga*, adding the personal pronoun to what is properly a word descriptive of the social position of the person in question. In *Aka-Bea* the equivalent terms are *ab-čabil* and *ab-čana*. It would seem that the term *aka-kuam* (*aka-kam* in *Aka-Bea*) is of the same kind, being applicable by an older married man to a younger. At any rate I was unable to discover that it conveyed to the natives any notion of relationship.

There are a certain number of terms that are descriptive of definite relationships. In the North *ot-e-bui*, and in *Akar-Bale ab-i-ŋa* are both of them derived from verbal stems meaning "to marry" and are used to denote a husband or a wife. In the North I did not discover any term descriptive of a father or a mother save those derived from the terms of address. In *Akar-Bale* and *Aka-Bea* there are such terms; *ab-atr* in *Akar-Bale* means "father" while the word for "mother" was not noted; in *Aka-Bea* a father is *ar-odi-ŋa*, and a mother is *ab-eti-ŋa*. These words are descriptive of the physiological relation between a 601 597

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parent and a child. A man's adopted mother could not be his *ab-eti-ya*, for this term applies only to the woman from whose womb he issued. Similarly an adopted father or a step-father could not be *ab-atr* or *ar-odi-ya*. There are similar words for child, which also refer to the physiological relation of a child to its parent. In the North the stem *-tire* means "offspring." The offspring of a plant, that is the young shoots, are denoted by the term *era-tire*, the prefix *era-* serving to convey a reference to trees and plants. The offspring of an animal or of a human being is *e-tire*. The word *e-tire* means "the child of somebody" without reference to any particular person as the parent. In the form *ot-tire* the word means "his or her child" with reference to some person understood. A man or woman cannot in strict accuracy apply the term *ot-tire* to his adopted child, though I believe that it might be used in this loose sense at times. An adopted child is "he whom I have adopted" *t'oi-čolo-kom*. In *Akar-Bale* and *Aka-Bea* there are different terms for "child" according as the reference is to the child of a man or to that of a woman. Thus in *Akar-Bale* the child (in the physiological sense) of a father is *ar-kodire*, and the child of a mother is *ab-atet*. In *Aka-Bea* the physiological relation of a father and child is denoted by the verbal stem *-odi-*. This stem takes the prefix *ar-*. The word for father is formed by adding the verbal suffix *-ya* (*ar-odi-ya*). The word for child (father speaking) is formed by means of the verbal suffix *-re* or *-yate* (*ar-odi-re* or *ar-odi-yate*). We may translate *d'ar-odi-ya* as meaning "he who caused me to be conceived" while *d'ar-odi-re* or *d'ar-odi-yate* means "him whom I caused to be conceived." In the same language the physiological relation of a mother and a child is denoted by the stem *-eti-*. This stem takes the prefix *ab-*. A mother is *ab-eti-ya*, and the child of a mother is *ab-eti-re* or *ab-eti-yate*, the verbal suffixes being used in a way similar to that in the case of the terms for father and child. In *Aka-Bea* there is also a stem *-weji-* or *-wejeri-* which has exactly the same meaning as *-eti-* and can be substituted for it in the terms meaning mother and child, as *ab-weji-ya* = mother, *ab-weji-re* = child.

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Other descriptive words used to denote specific relationships

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are *e-pota-čiu* and *e-pota-čip* and *ot-otone* in the Northern languages. The derivations of these words has not been ascertained. Similar terms in *Akar-Bale* are *otoni* and *oten* and *aka-yat*. In this language I did not discover any word descriptive of the relationship of father-in-law or mother-in-law. Finally there are such terms as *ot-čat-ya* (adopted) and *ep-taruo-ya* (step-relative). 601

The most noteworthy feature of these terms is that it is impossible by means of them to deal with relationships that are at all distant. Thus there is no term by which a man can describe his grandfather. In *Akar-Bale* the phrase *dege mama* might mean a grandfather, but it might equally refer to a father-in-law. It is true that the simple terms may be combined as *Aka-Jeru* "*aka-mimi aka-mai*" = "his mother's father," or *Akar-Bale* "*deg' in l'ab-atr*" = "my mother's father," but these compounded terms are apparently not often used by the natives. A second noteworthy feature is the existence of terms to denote physiological relationships (as opposed to merely juridical relationships) such as the *Aka-Bea ar-odi-ya*, etc. Finally there is the apparent entire absence, so far as could be determined, of any classification of relatives such as is characteristic of the classificatory systems of relationship. Where there does seem to be some sort of approach to such classification, as in the use of the *Akar-Bale* term *dege mama*, we find that it is really based not on relationships of consanguinity and marriage, but on respective social status[1].

As, in the languages of the Andamans, there are few 602
words serving to denote relationship, and on the contrary a 601

[1] The systems of relationship of savage peoples are often very difficult to study, even with a thorough mastery of the native language. My account of the Andamanese system is not perhaps complete and is therefore open to error. Since the above account was written I have had the opportunity of studying in Australia several examples of "classificatory" systems of relationship, and can now say very definitely that such a system presents an extreme contrast to the system of the Andamans. My failure fully to comprehend the Andamanese system was partly due to the difficulties of the language, in which I did not have time to become expert, and partly to the nature of the Andamanese terms, of which it is by no means easy to discover the meaning, even with careful observation.

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602 developed system of terms denoting social status, so in the
601 social organisation of the Andamans there are very few special duties between relatives, and the conduct of persons to one another is chiefly determined by their respective social positions. This will become evident as we proceed, and it will thus be shown that there is a close connection between the way the natives denote relationships and the way in which their social life is affected by questions of relationship.

581 We have already seen that in the Andamanese social
594 organisation the family is of great importance. A family is constituted by a permanent union between one man and one woman. In one of its aspects this union is a sexual one. By marriage a man acquires the sole right to sexual congress with the woman who becomes his wife. At the same time it is the duty of a married man to avoid sexual relations with other women whether married or unmarried. Promiscuous intercourse
836 between the sexes is the rule before marriage, and no harm is
584 thought of it. The love affairs of the boys and girls are carried on in secret, but the older members of the camp are generally fully aware of all that goes on. What generally happens is that after a time a youth forms an attachment with some girl and a marriage between them results from their love affair.

837 It is impossible, at the present time, to discover exactly how the Andamanese formerly regarded infidelity on the part of a wife or husband. In the Great Andaman there is great laxity in this matter at the present day. Quarrels sometimes arise when a husband discovers an intrigue between his wife and another man, but very often the husband seems to condone the adultery of his wife. Mr E. H. Man, writing on this subject, says that "conjugal fidelity till death is not the exception, but the rule," and adds, "It is undoubtedly true that breaches of morality have occasionally taken place among a few of the married persons who have resided for any length of time at Port Blair, but this is only what might be expected from constant association with the Indian convict attendants at the various homes; justice, however, demands that in judging of their moral characteristics we should consider only those who have been

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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602 his own mother, or any other woman of the same age. There is only a slight difference in connection with parents-in-law. A man would not be so familiar with his parents-in-law as he would with his parents or their brothers or sisters, and treats them with more deference and respect. This is borne out by the *Akar-Bale* custom of applying to a father-in-law or mother-in-law the same term of address (*Mama*) that is used in speaking to grandparents and others to whom it is required to show particular deference.

602 572 In the same way there is very little difference between the way a man conducts himself towards his elder brother and his conduct towards any other man of the same age. Brothers are often close comrades, putting their huts next to one another in the same village, joining together whenever possible in hunting or fishing expeditions, and so on; but a man may have a comrade who is not his brother, whom he will treat in exactly the same way.

602 The general attitude of a married man to other married men somewhat younger than himself is very much that towards a younger brother. As between men and women one special duty appears in this connection. A married man may not and will not have any close dealings with the wife of a man younger than himself. It is not considered fitting that he should speak to her. If he wished to have any communication with her, he would do so through some third person. It would be regarded as a wrong thing to do if he were ever to touch her. The only explanation that the natives give of this custom is by saying that a man feels "shy" or "ashamed" towards his younger brother's or friend's wife. The custom is exactly the same with respect to the wife of any younger man, whether a brother, a cousin, or a stranger.

This custom depends on the distinction between older and younger. A man may be on terms of familiarity with the wife of a man older than himself, whom he would treat much as he would an elder sister.

• 601 602 There is one special relationship which has peculiar duties attaching to it, and this is the relationship between the father and mother of a man on the one hand and the father and

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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mother of the man's wife on the other. In the *Akar-Bale* language such persons are said to be *aka-yat* to one another. A man or a woman will not have any immediate dealings with a person who is his *aka-yat*. He will not speak to him, and if they should meet or be sitting near to one another they would avoid looking at each other. On the other hand a man is constantly sending presents to his *aka-yat*. The natives say that two persons in this relation feel "shy" or "ashamed." (There is only one word in Andamanese for these two English words, *ot-jete* in *Aka-Jeru*.) The shyness begins at the moment when a marriage between their respective children is first discussed as a possibility, and lasts apparently till death.

As throwing a little light on this peculiar relation it may be mentioned that a similar relation exists between two men who have been through either the turtle-eating ceremony or the pig-eating ceremony (to be described in the next chapter) on the same occasion. Two such men will avoid any contact with one another, not speaking to nor looking at each other when they chance to meet, but on the other hand they will be constantly giving each other presents of all kinds, sending them through some third person.

The main features of the relationship system of the Andaman Islanders may be briefly summed up. The duties that one person owes to another are determined much less by their relation to one another by consanguinity and marriage, than by their respective ages and social status. Even within the family, which nevertheless is of importance, the duty of a child to a parent is very little different from his duty to any other person of the same age. There is very little of any special customs relating to conduct towards different kinds of relatives. Corresponding to this we find very few terms to denote relationships and a considerable development of the terms which denote age and social status. Thus a man's duties to his elder brother are much the same as those towards the other men of the same age, and we find that there is no word for "elder brother" but only a term by which a man distinguishes all the men of his own generation older than himself from those who are younger. Similarly there are no duties that a man owes to his father's

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572 597 836 584 seniors, a good deal of flirtation, and often something more, is carried on by the young people without arousing any suspicions as to their sentiments for one another, until the affair has become too serious to be broken off, and has to end, sooner or later, in their marriage and start in life on their own account. In some cases, when the guardians have reason to believe that a lad has, notwithstanding his assurances to the contrary, a *sub silentio* attachment, they adopt the following method for testing the truth of his asseveration; on a given day it is arranged by the friends of the suspected couple that they shall (without the knowledge of either) be painted respectively [302] with the red oxide of iron unguent, *kòi·ob-*, and the white clay *tâ·la-ōg-*, for, as they would not meet till night-fall, the risk of their discovering the trap laid for them is reduced to a minimum, while a glance on the following morning would suffice to betray them if guilty, and the guardians' object would be attained, for, from shame at his secret being known, and his falsehood exposed, the youth feels in honour bound to break off his connection with the girl, at least for some time.

582 597 **Relationships.**—1. In all the relations of life the question of propinquity is, in their eyes, of paramount importance, and marriage is only permissible between those who are known to be not even distantly connected, except by wedlock, with each other; so inexorable, indeed, is this rule, that it extends, and applies equally, to such as are related merely by the custom of adoption to which I have just referred.

[605] 2. A first cousin, actual or by adoption, is regarded as a half-brother or half-sister, as the case may be, and nephews and ●601 nieces almost as sons and daughters, while the terms used to denote a grandfather, grandmother, grandson, and grand-daughter are equally applied to indicate respectively a grand-uncle, grand-aunt, grand-nephew, and grand-niece.

3. Parents, when addressing, or referring to their children and not using their names, employ distinct terms, the father calling his son *dar ō·dire, i.e.*, he that has been begotten by me, and his daughter *dar ō·dire-pail-*; while the mother makes use of the word *dab ē·tire, i.e.*, he whom I have borne, for the former, and *dab ē·tire-pail-* for the latter; similarly, friends in speaking of children to their parents say respectively, *ngar ō·dire*, or *ngab ē·tire* (your son), *ngar ō·dire-pail-*, or *ngab ē·tire-pail-* (your daughter).[1]

4. Uncles and aunts on the father's are not distinguished from those on the mother's side; relationships are traced in both lines, and the system with reference to either sex is identical.

[1] Foster-parents employ the terms *dōt chá·tnga-* and *dōt chá·tnga-pail-* in referring to their adopted son and daughter respectively.

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5. In consequence of the shortness of their lives, their ignorance of any method of maintaining accurate records, and last, not least, the unavoidable complications arising from their system of adoption, it naturally follows that they fail in tracing, and therefore in recognising, relationships beyond the third generation. 601

6. In addressing a senior male relative, the term *mai·a* or *mai·ola* is employed; if of equal standing, and a father, the same; but if not a parent, the term *mar* is prefixed to his name; if junior, he would be addressed by his name only. The same system applies to the females, with whom *chân·a*[1] or *châ·nola* takes the place of *mai·a* and *mai·ola*, and the "flower" name, to which I can now make but a brief allusion,[2] the place of *mar;* these terms, *mai·a*, *chân·a*, &c., are equivalent to Mr., Sir, Mrs., Madam, &c.[3] Sir John Lubbock, in his well known work "On the Origin of Civilization,"[4] points out the existence of a similar custom among the *Telugus* and *Tamils.*

7. In a table I have prepared,[5] and which I believe to be fairly complete, there are about sixty terms, exclusive of equivalents, employed to denote the various degrees of relationship recognised by this race. It will there be seen that, as among the Australians near Sydney, mentioned by the Rev. W. Ridley,[6] brothers and sisters speak of one another by titles that indicate relative age; that is, their words for brother and sister involve the distinction of elder or younger, while a like system is adopted in respect to half-brothers, half-sisters, cousins, brothers-in-law, and sisters-in-law.

8. In addressing the relatives of a wife or husband, or a brother's wife, or sister's husband—provided such be senior to the speaker—the term *mâm*[7] is used.

9. A man or woman may not marry into the family of their brothers- or sisters-in-law, but there is no rule against a man marrying a girl bearing the same name as himself, either in another tribe or in his own community, the *only* bar being that of consanguinity or adoption. 582

10. The nearest of kin to a widow or widower are, (1) the grown-up children, (2) the parents, and (3) the brothers and sisters. 602

Proper Names.—1. One of the alleged[8] peculiarities of the 551

[1] Not "*Chamak*," as given by Dr. Day.
[2] *Vide* next section, paragraph 3.
[3] "According to Williams ('Fiji and the Fijians') their (*i.e.*, the Fijian) languages contain expressions which exactly correspond to the French *Monsieur* and *Madame*." (Peschel, p. 346.)
[4] *Vide* 4th edition, p. 164.
[5] *Vide* Appendix I.
[6] *Vide* "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. ii, p. 266.
[7] This term is likewise employed in addressing a chief.
[8] *Vide* Tickell.

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APPENDIX I.

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LIST OF TERMS INDICATING VARIOUS DEGREES OF RELATIONSHIP.

my father (male or female speaking) ..	*dab mai·ola; dab chá·bil-; dar ō·dinga-.*
my step-father „ „ ..	*dab chá·bil-.*
my mother „ „ ..	*dab chá·nola; dab ē·tinga-; dab wē·jinga-; dab wē·jeringa-.*
my step-mother „ „ ..	*dab chá·nola.*
my son (if under 3 years of age, either parent speaking)	*dī·a ó·ta-.*[1]
my son (if over 3 years of age, father speaking)	*dar ō·dire; dar ō·di-yá·te-.*
my son (if over 3 years of age, mother speaking)	*dab ē·tire; dab ē·ti-yá·te-; dab wē·jire; dab wē·ji-yá·te-; dab wē·jerire; dab wē·jeri-yá·te-.*
my daughter (if under 3 years of age, either parent speaking)	*dī·a ká·ta-.*[1]
my daughter (if over 3 years of age, either parent speaking)	*dī·a bā-.*
my daughter (if over 3 years of age, father speaking)	*dar ō·dire-pail-; dar ō·di-yá·te-pail-.*
my daughter (if over 3 years of age, mother speaking)	*dab ē·tire-pail-; dab ē·ti-yá·te-pail-; dab wē·jire-pail-; dab wē·ji-yá·te-pail-; dab wē·jerire-pail-; dab wē·jeri-yá·te-pail-.*
my grandson (either grand parent speaking)	*dī·a bā·lola.*
my brother's grandson (male or female speaking)	
my sister's grandson (male or female speaking)	
my grand-daughter (either grand-parent speaking)	*dī·a bā·lola-pail-.*
my brother's grand-daughter (male or female speaking)	
my sister's grand-daughter (male or female speaking)	
my elder brother (male or female speaking)	*ad-en tó·bare; ad-en tó·banga-; ad-en tó·kare; ad-en tó·kanga-.*
my elder sister (male or female speaking)	*ad-en tó·bare-pail-; ad-en tó·banga-pail-; ad-en tó·kare-pail-; ad-en tó·kanga-pail-.*
my younger brother (male or female speaking)	*dar dō·atinga-; dá·kà kám-; dar wē·jinga-; dar wē·jeringa-.*
my younger sister (male or female speaking)	*dar dō·atinga-pail-; dá·kà kám-pail-; dar wē·jinga-pail-; dar wē·jeringa-pail-.*
my elder brothers (male or female speaking)	*am-et tó·bare; am-et tó·banga-; am-et tó·kare; am-et tó·kanga-.*

[1] *Vide* Appendix K.

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my younger brothers (male or female speaking)	*mar·at dō·atinga-; mak·at kám-; mar·at wē·jinga-; mar·at wē·jeringa-.*
my elder sisters (male or female speaking)	*ám-et tó·bare-pail-; am-et tó·banga-pail-; am-et tó·kare-pail-; am-et tó·kanga-pail.*
my younger sisters (male or female speaking)	*mar·at dō·atinga-pail-; mak·at kám-pail-; mar·at wē·jinga-pail-; mar·at wē·jeringa-pail-.*
my father's brother (elder or younger) my mother's brother " " my father's sister's husband .. .. my mother's sister's husband .. .. my father's father's brother's (or sister's) son .. .. my mother's mother's brother's (or sister's) son .. .. my husband's grandfather .. .. my wife's " .. .. my wife's sister's husband (if elder) .. my husband's sister's husband (if elder)	*dī·a mai·a.*
my father's sister (elder or younger) .. my mother's sister " " .. my father's brother's wife .. .. my mother's brother's wife .. .. my grandmother, my grand-aunt .. my father's father's sister's daughter my mother's mother's sister's daughter my husband's grandmother .. .. my wife's " .. .. my husband's sister (if senior and a mother)	*dī·a chá·sola.*
my elder brother's wife (if a mother) .. my brother's son (male or female speaking) .. .. my sister's son (male or female speaking) .. .. my half-brother's (or half-sister's) son, or my first-cousin's (male or female) son (male or female speaking) ..	*dar bā-.*
my brother's son's wife (male or female speaking) .. .. my sister's son's wife (male or female speaking) .. .. my half-brother's (or half-sister's) son's wife, or my first cousin's (male or female) son's wife (male or female speaking)	*dar bā lai ik-yá·te-.*
my brother's daughter (male or female speaking) .. .. my sister's daughter (male or female speaking) .. . . my half-brother's (or half-sister's) daughter, or my first-cousin's (male or female) daughter (male or female speaking)	*dar bā-pail-.*
my brother's daughter's husband (male or female speaking) .. .. .. my sister's daughter's husband (male or female speaking)	*dar bā lá ik-yá·te-.*

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my half-brother's (or half-sister's) daughter's husband, or my first-cousin's (male or female) daughter's husband (male or female speaking)	*dar bā lá ik-yá·te-.*
my father's brother's son, if older (male or female speaking)	*dar chá·bil entó·bare; dar chá·bil entó·kare.*
my father's sister's son, if older (male or female speaking)	
my mother's brother's son, if older (male or female speaking)	
my mother's sister's son, if older (male or female speaking)	
my elder half-brother, whether uterine or consanguine (male or female speaking)	
my father's brother's son, if younger (male or female speaking)	*dar dō·atinga-.*
my father's sister's son, if younger (male or female speaking)	
my mother's brother's son, if younger (male or female speaking)	
my mother's sister's son, if younger (male or female speaking)	
my younger half-brother, if uterine (male or female speaking)	*dá·kà kám-.*
my younger half-brother, if consanguine (male or female speaking) ..	*dar dō·atinga-; dar wē·jinga-; dar wē·jeringa-.*
my father's brother's son's wife, if older (male or female speaking) ..	*dar chá·bil entó·bare lai ik-yá·te-.*
my father's sister's son's wife, if older (male or female speaking)	
my mother's brother's son's wife, if older (male or female speaking) ..	
my mother's sister's son's wife, if older (male or female speaking)	
my elder half-brother's wife, whether uterine or consanguine (male or female speaking)	
my father's brother's son's wife, if younger (male or female speaking)..	*dar dō·atinga lai ik-yá·te-.*
my father's sister's son's wife, if younger (male or female speaking)..	
my mother's brother's son's wife, if younger (male or female speaking)..	
my mother's sister's son's wife, if younger (male or female speaking)..	
the wife of my uterine half-brother, if younger (male or female speaking)..	*dá-kà kám lai ik-yá·te-.*
the wife of my consanguine half-brother, if younger (male or female speaking)	*dar dō·atinga- / dar wē·jinga- / or dar wē·jeringa-* } *lai ik-yá·te-.*
my father's brother's elder daughter (male or female speaking)	*dī·a chá·nol à-entó·ba-yá·te-.*
my father's sister's elder daughter (male or female speaking)	
my mother's brother's elder daughter (male or female speaking)	
my mother's sister's elder daughter (male or female speaking)	

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my elder half-sister, whether uterine or consanguine (male or female speaking)	*dī·a châ·nol à-entô·ba-yâ·te-.*
my father's brother's younger daughter (male or female speaking)	*dar dō·atinga-pail-.*
my father's sister's younger daughter (male or female speaking)	
my mother's brother's younger daughter (male or female speaking)	
my mother's sister's younger daughter (male or female speaking)	
my younger half-sister, if uterine (male or female speaking)	*dâ·kà kâm-pail-.*
my younger half-sister, if consanguine (male or female speaking)	*dar dō·atinga-pail-; dar wē·jinga-pail-; or dar wē·jeringa-pail-*
my father's brother's elder daughter's husband (male or female speaking)..	*dī·a châ·nol à-entô·ba-yâ·te lâ ik-yâ·te-.*
my father's sister's elder daughter's husband (male or female speaking)..	
my mother's brother's elder daughter's husband (male or female speaking)..	
my mother's sister's elder daughter's husband (male or female speaking)..	
my elder half-sister's husband, whether uterine or consanguine (male or female speaking)	
my father's brother's younger daughter's husband (male or female speaking) ..	*dar dō·atinga-pail lâ ik-yâ·te-.*
my father's sister's younger daughter's husband (male or female speaking)..	
my mother's brother's younger daughter's husband (male or female speaking)	
my mother's sister's younger daughter's husband (male or female speaking)..	
the husband of my uterine half-sister, if younger (male or female speaking)	*dâ·kà kâm pail lâ ik-yâ·te-.*
the husband of my consanguine half-sister, if younger (male or female speaking)	*dar dō·atinga-pail- / dar wē·jinga-pail- / or dar wē·jeringa-pail- — lâ ik-yâ·te-.*
my grandfather (male or female speaking)	*dī·a mai·ola.*
my grandfather's brother (male or female speaking)	
my grandmother's brother (male or female speaking)	
my elder sister's husband (male or female speaking)	
my husband	*ad ik-yâ·te-.*
my wife	*dai ik-yâ·te-.*
my husband's father	*dī·a mâ·mola.*
my husband's mother	
my wife's father..	
my wife's mother	
my husband's elder brother	
my wife's brother (if older)	
my husband's sister's husband (if older)	
my wife's sister (if older[1] and a mother)	

[1] Otherwise her name would be employed.

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my husband's brother's wife (if older) my wife's brother's wife (if older) ..	*dī·a má·mola.*
my husband's brother (if of equal standing) .. .. my wife's brother (if of equal standing)	*dī·a má·ma.*
my son-in-law (male or female speaking) my younger sister's husband (male or female speaking) .. .. .. my daughter-in law (male or female speaking) .. .. my husband's sister, if younger (male or female speaking) .. .. .. my husband's brother's wife, if younger (male or female speaking) .. .. my wife's brother's wife, if younger (male or female speaking)	*dī·a ôtô·siya.* *dī·a ôlī·s-.*
my step-son (either speaking)	*deb aden·ire.*
my step-daughter (either speaking) ..	*deb aden·ire-pail-.*
my adopted son " " ..	*dōt châ·tnga-.*
my adopted daughter " " ..	*dōt châ·tnga-pail-.*
my parents " " ..	*dab mai·ol-châ·no!.*
my foster-father " " ..	*dab mai ōt-châ·tnga-.*
my foster-mother " " ..	*dab chân ōt-châ·tnga-.*
the relationship subsisting between a married couple's fathers-in-law .. the relationship subsisting between a married couple's mothers-in-law ..	*á·kà ya kât-.*
my husband's brother (if younger) ..	*dá·kà bā-bā·la-.*
my younger brother's wife	*dá·kà bā-pail-.*
my wife's sister's husband (if younger) my husband's sister's husband (if younger)	*mar*, or (if a father) *mar·a.*
twins (whether of the same sex or not)	*abdī·dinga-.*
widow	*chān arlē·ba-.*
widower	*mai arlē·ba-.*

Blood Groups from the Andaman and Nicobar Islands

By

S. S. Sarkar

The following blood group data were collected during the months of February-April, 1948 in the course of a visit to Little Andaman, Long Island and Car Nicobar by a party under Dr B. S. Guha from the Department of Anthropology, of which the present writer was a member. The data grouped according to the different tribes are as follows :— 143 121 114 [128]

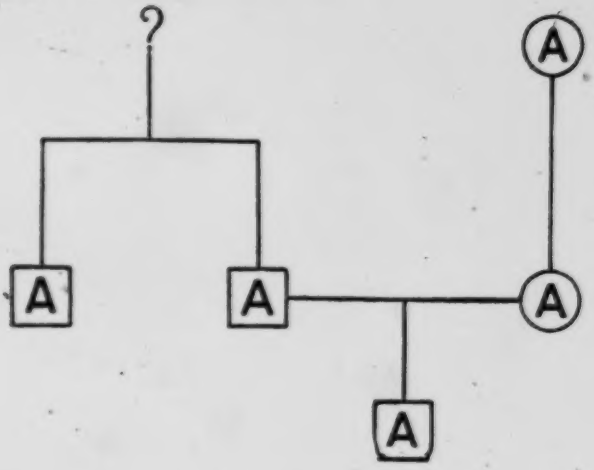
Onges

34 Onges, 19 males and 15 females, were grouped from the island of Little Andaman. They were collected from the settlements round about Bumila Creek, Dugong Creek and the village Tambebui on the N. E. part of the island. The blood group distribution is as follows :— 125 361 143

O	5	14·71%
A	23	67·65%
B	2	5·88%
AB	4	11·76%
	34	

The predominance of group A was already noticeable from Chaudhuri's (Gates, 1940) earlier study of 5 Onges, 3 of whom belonged to A and 1 each to Group O and B.

This will be also apparent from the following pedigree, where three generations show only A. [601]



[p. 25]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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are *e-pota-čiu* and *e-pota-čip* and *ot-otone* in the Northern languages. The derivations of these words has not been ascertained. Similar terms in *Akar-Bale* are *otoni* and *oten* and *aka-yat*. In this language I did not discover any word descriptive of the relationship of father-in-law or mother-in-law. Finally there are such terms as *ot-čat-ŋa* (adopted) and *ep-taruo-ŋa* (step-relative). 601

The most noteworthy feature of these terms is that it is impossible by means of them to deal with relationships that are at all distant. Thus there is no term by which a man can describe his grandfather. In *Akar-Bale* the phrase *dege mama* might mean a grandfather, but it might equally refer to a father-in-law. It is true that the simple terms may be combined as *Aka-Jeru "aka-mimi aka-mai"* = "his mother's father," or *Akar-Bale "deg' in l'ab-atr"* = "my mother's father," but these compounded terms are apparently not often used by the natives. A second noteworthy feature is the existence of terms to denote physiological relationships (as opposed to merely juridical relationships) such as the *Aka-Bea ar-odi-ŋa*, etc. Finally there is the apparent entire absence, so far as could be determined, of any classification of relatives such as is characteristic of the classificatory systems of relationship. Where there does seem to be some sort of approach to such classification, as in the use of the *Akar-Bale* term *dege mama*, we find that it is really based not on relationships of consanguinity and marriage, but on respective social status[1].

As, in the languages of the Andamans, there are few words serving to denote relationship, and on the contrary a 602 601

[1] The systems of relationship of savage peoples are often very difficult to study, even with a thorough mastery of the native language. My account of the Andamanese system is not perhaps complete and is therefore open to error. Since the above account was written I have had the opportunity of studying in Australia several examples of "classificatory" systems of relationship, and can now say very definitely that such a system presents an extreme contrast to the system of the Andamans. My failure fully to comprehend the Andamanese system was partly due to the difficulties of the language, in which I did not have time to become expert, and partly to the nature of the Andamanese terms, of which it is by no means easy to discover the meaning, even with careful observation.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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602 developed system of terms denoting social status, so in the
601 social organisation of the Andamans there are very few special duties between relatives, and the conduct of persons to one another is chiefly determined by their respective social positions. This will become evident as we proceed, and it will thus be shown that there is a close connection between the way the natives denote relationships and the way in which their social life is affected by questions of relationship.

581 We have already seen that in the Andamanese social
594 organisation the family is of great importance. A family is constituted by a permanent union between one man and one woman. In one of its aspects this union is a sexual one. By marriage a man acquires the sole right to sexual congress with the woman who becomes his wife. At the same time it is the duty of a married man to avoid sexual relations with other women whether married or unmarried. Promiscuous intercourse
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584 thought of it. The love affairs of the boys and girls are carried on in secret, but the older members of the camp are generally fully aware of all that goes on. What generally happens is that after a time a youth forms an attachment with some girl and a marriage between them results from their love affair.

It is impossible, at the present time, to discover exactly how
837 the Andamanese formerly regarded infidelity on the part of a wife or husband. In the Great Andaman there is great laxity in this matter at the present day. Quarrels sometimes arise when a husband discovers an intrigue between his wife and another man, but very often the husband seems to condone the adultery of his wife. Mr E. H. Man, writing on this subject, says that "conjugal fidelity till death is not the exception, but the rule," and adds, "It is undoubtedly true that breaches of morality have occasionally taken place among a few of the married persons who have resided for any length of time at Port Blair, but this is only what might be expected from constant association with the Indian convict attendants at the various homes; justice, however, demands that in judging of their moral characteristics we should consider only those who have been

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The position of an unmarried girl is very similar to that of an unmarried youth. She is required to help her elders, in particular either her parents or her foster-parents, i.e. the married couple under whose care she is for the time being. 881 882

After marriage a son continues to help his parents, providing them with food and seeing that they are comfortable. If either a man or a woman lives in a local group other than that of his or her parents, he or she pays frequent visits to them. 593

From the time that a youth or girl ceases to belong to the family household, his or her duties to the parents are really only the same in kind as the duties that every young man and woman owes to all the older men and women. Though there is no difference in kind, yet a man or woman is expected to show more affection and respect for his or her own parents than to other persons of the same social standing.

The only other relationship, besides that of husband and wife and that of parents and children, which exists inside the family, is that between children of the same parents. The conduct of brothers to one another depends on their respective ages. The younger is expected to give way to the elder, while the latter protects and looks after the former. The relation of sisters to one another is similar.

The duties of a man and woman to his or her relatives, other than those to parents, brothers and sisters. and even to some extent the duties to these near relatives, are not distinguishable in kind from the duties he or she owes to other persons who are not relatives. Thus a young married man owes certain duties to all the older married men of about the age of his father. These duties are the same in kind as those towards his own father and his foster-father, the only difference being that he must defer more to his own father than to other men, and must be more constant in his attentions to him. I could not discover any way in which a man distinguished, in his dealings with them, his father's brother from his mother's brother. They are both of them older men whom he must respect and to whom he must make presents of food. Similarly a father's sister is not distinguished, so far as I could discover, from a mother's sister. A man treats both of them in much the same way that he treats 602

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602 his own mother, or any other woman of the same age. There is only a slight difference in connection with parents-in-law. A man would not be so familiar with his parents-in-law as he would with his parents or their brothers or sisters, and treats them with more deference and respect. This is borne out by the *Akar-Bale* custom of applying to a father-in-law or mother-in-law the same term of address (*Mama*) that is used in speaking to grandparents and others to whom it is required to show particular deference.

602 572 In the same way there is very little difference between the way a man conducts himself towards his elder brother and his conduct towards any other man of the same age. Brothers are often close comrades, putting their huts next to one another in the same village, joining together whenever possible in hunting or fishing expeditions, and so on; but a man may have a comrade who is not his brother, whom he will treat in exactly the same way.

602 The general attitude of a married man to other married men somewhat younger than himself is very much that towards a younger brother. As between men and women one special duty appears in this connection. A married man may not and will not have any close dealings with the wife of a man younger than himself. It is not considered fitting that he should speak to her. If he wished to have any communication with her, he would do so through some third person. It would be regarded as a wrong thing to do if he were ever to touch her. The only explanation that the natives give of this custom is by saying that a man feels "shy" or "ashamed" towards his younger brother's or friend's wife. The custom is exactly the same with respect to the wife of any younger man, whether a brother, a cousin, or a stranger.

This custom depends on the distinction between older and younger. A man may be on terms of familiarity with the wife of a man older than himself, whom he would treat much as he would an elder sister.

601 602 There is one special relationship which has peculiar duties attaching to it, and this is the relationship between the father and mother of a man on the one hand and the father and

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mother of the man's wife on the other. In the *Akar-Bale* language such persons are said to be *aka-yat* to one another. A man or a woman will not have any immediate dealings with a person who is his *aka-yat*. He will not speak to him, and if they should meet or be sitting near to one another they would avoid looking at each other. On the other hand a man is constantly sending presents to his *aka-yat*. The natives say that two persons in this relation feel "shy" or "ashamed." (There is only one word in Andamanese for these two English words, *ot-jete* in *Aka-Jeru*.) The shyness begins at the moment when a marriage between their respective children is first discussed as a possibility, and lasts apparently till death. 601 602 [431]

As throwing a little light on this peculiar relation it may be mentioned that a similar relation exists between two men who have been through either the turtle-eating ceremony or the pig-eating ceremony (to be described in the next chapter) on the same occasion. Two such men will avoid any contact with one another, not speaking to nor looking at each other when they chance to meet, but on the other hand they will be constantly giving each other presents of all kinds, sending them through some third person. 608 881 [431]

The main features of the relationship system of the Andaman Islanders may be briefly summed up. The duties that one person owes to another are determined much less by their relation to one another by consanguinity and marriage, than by their respective ages and social status. Even within the family, which nevertheless is of importance, the duty of a child to a parent is very little different from his duty to any other person of the same age. There is very little of any special customs relating to conduct towards different kinds of relatives. Corresponding to this we find very few terms to denote relationships and a considerable development of the terms which denote age and social status. Thus a man's duties to his elder brother are much the same as those towards the other men of the same age, and we find that there is no word for "elder brother" but only a term by which a man distinguishes all the men of his own generation older than himself from those who are younger. Similarly there are no duties that a man owes to his father's 602

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•602 brother or to his mother's brother which he does not also owe, in perhaps a less degree, to other men of the same age, and there is no term by which he can distinguish his father's brother from those others.

If this account of the system of relationship be accurate it will be seen that the Andamanese society contrasts very strongly, in this matter, with other primitive societies[1].

621 It remains for us only to examine the social relations between the different local groups. Two neighbouring groups, whether of the same tribe or of different tribes, might be either friendly towards one another or unfriendly. Friendly relations [582 were kept alive by several of the customs of the Andamanese, 591 by the intermarriage of members of different groups, by the 597] adoption of children from one group to another, and by the fact that a man of one group might take up his residence more or less permanently with another (particularly when he married a woman of that group, or was adopted when a boy by one of the men belonging to it). All these customs served to bind some persons in the one group to persons in the other, and thus prevent the two groups from becoming entirely unfriendly to one another.

621 When two neighbouring local groups were friendly to one another communication between them was kept up by visitors 574 from one group to another, and by occasional meetings of the whole of the two groups.

Either a single person or a family might at any time pay a visit to another camp, staying a few days or weeks or even longer. A man would, however, only go visiting when he was sure of a welcome. Such visits were most frequent in the fine months of the year (December to May). As a husband and wife in many instances belonged to different local groups they

[1] It would not be safe, however, to base any arguments of importance to sociology on the above description of the Andamanese system of relationship alone. Although I tried to learn all that I could on the subject, it is quite certain that I did not learn all that was to be learnt, and it is possible that further enquiry might have shown that I was mistaken in some of my observations. The difficulty of being really sure on these matters is due (1) to the fact that the breaking-up of the old local organisation has produced many changes in their customs, and (2) to the difficulty of questioning the natives on matters connected with relationships when they have no words in their language to denote any but the simplest relationships.

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5. In consequence of the shortness of their lives, their ignorance of any method of maintaining accurate records, and last, not least, the unavoidable complications arising from their system of adoption, it naturally follows that they fail in tracing, and therefore in recognising, relationships beyond the third generation. 601

6. In addressing a senior male relative, the term *mai·a* or *mai·ola* is employed; if of equal standing, and a father, the same; but if not a parent, the term *mar* is prefixed to his name; if junior, he would be addressed by his name only. The same system applies to the females, with whom *chān·a*[1] or *châ·nola* takes the place of *mai·a* and *mai·ola*, and the "flower" name, to which I can now make but a brief allusion,[2] the place of *mar;* these terms, *mai·a, chān·a*, &c., are equivalent to Mr., Sir, Mrs., Madam, &c.[3] Sir John Lubbock, in his well known work "On the Origin of Civilization,"[4] points out the existence of a similar custom among the *Telugus* and *Tamils.*

7. In a table I have prepared,[5] and which I believe to be fairly complete, there are about sixty terms, exclusive of equivalents, employed to denote the various degrees of relationship recognised by this race. It will there be seen that, as among the Australians near Sydney, mentioned by the Rev. W. Ridley,[6] brothers and sisters speak of one another by titles that indicate relative age; that is, their words for brother and sister involve the distinction of elder or younger, while a like system is adopted in respect to half-brothers, half-sisters, cousins, brothers-in-law, and sisters-in-law.

8. In addressing the relatives of a wife or husband, or a brother's wife, or sister's husband—provided such be senior to the speaker—the term *mâm*[7] is used.

9. A man or woman may not marry into the family of their brothers- or sisters-in-law, but there is no rule against a man marrying a girl bearing the same name as himself, either in another tribe or in his own community, the *only* bar being that of consanguinity or adoption. 582

10. The nearest of kin to a widow or widower are, (1) the grown-up children, (2) the parents, and (3) the brothers and sisters. 602

Proper Names.—1. One of the alleged[8] peculiarities of the 551

[1] Not "*Chamak*," as given by Dr. Day.
[2] *Vide* next section, paragraph 3.
[3] "According to Williams ('Fiji and the Fijians') their (*i.e.*, the Fijian) languages contain expressions which exactly correspond to the French *Monsieur* and *Madame*." (Peschel, p. 346.)
[4] *Vide* 4th edition, p. 164.
[5] *Vide* Appendix I.
[6] *Vide* "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. ii, p. 266.
[7] This term is likewise employed in addressing a chief.
[8] *Vide* Tickell.

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uninfluenced by the vices or virtues of alien races[1]." At the present time conjugal infidelity is very common and is lightly regarded. It is almost certain that the establishment of the Penal Settlement amongst them has affected their morals in this particular, but there does not seem to be any very satisfactory evidence that their former morality was quite so strict as Mr Man would have us believe. One piece of evidence in this matter is that the spread of syphilis, when it was first introduced amongst them seems to have been very rapid, and yet this was before many of the tribes had been very seriously affected by the Settlement. 837

Besides the special sexual relation between a husband and wife there is a special economic relation, if we may speak of it as such. The two share one hut between them, or one portion of a communal hut. It is the duty of the wife to provide the fire-wood and the water for cooking and drinking, and to cook the meals at the family fire. It is the duty of the husband to provide flesh food for himself and for his wife, while it is her duty to provide and prepare vegetable food. 594 581

A marriage is not regarded as fully consummated until the birth of a child. Mr Man states that the survivor of a childless couple is not looked upon as the chief mourner. A father who has been away from home greets his wife first on his return and then greets his other relatives; but if no child has been born to him a husband first greets his blood-relatives (father, mother, brothers, etc.) and only after that does he visit his wife. 581 576 851

The only regulation of marriage is on the basis of relationship. Marriage is forbidden between near *consanguinei*. The exact rules, in this matter, if indeed there be any exact rules, are difficult to discover. It is quite clear that a man would not be permitted to marry his sister or half-sister, nor his father's or mother's sister, nor his brother's or sister's daughter. The question is more difficult when it comes to the matter of cousins. In 1908 I only found one pair of first cousins who were married to one another, this being in the *Aka-Bo* tribe. The husband 582 605

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 135. He speaks of the wives as "models of constancy."

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582 and wife were the son and daughter of two brothers. Mr E. H.
605 Man writes that "marriage is only permissible between those who are known to be not even distantly connected, except by wedlock, with each other; so inexorable, indeed is this rule, that it extends and applies equally to such as are related merely by the custom of adoption." He adds that marriage between first cousins is forbidden. I was not able to satisfy myself on this point, but it seemed to me that while such a marriage as that of first cousins was not actually regarded as wrong, and therefore forbidden, it was regarded as preferable that a man should marry a woman not so nearly related to him. No distinction is made between different kinds of cousin[1].

582 My observations did not confirm Mr Man's statement that
597 persons related by adoption are forbidden to marry. It is necessary, however, to distinguish two different kinds of adoption. When the parents of a child of less than six or seven years of age die, the child is adopted into some other family. We may call this "orphan adoption." As will be explained later, there is another custom by which children of over seven or eight are adopted by a married couple belonging to a local group other than that of the parents, and live with them till they come of age. The parents of the child are still alive and they visit him or her at frequent intervals. No bar to marriage is set up by this kind of adoption. An adopted son may marry the daughter of his foster-parents. Indeed when children are betrothed it is the rule for the girl to be adopted by the boy's parents, at any rate for a time. On the other hand it is quite possible that a child adopted when of tender years (as an orphan) would not be permitted to marry a child of his or her foster-parents. I was unable to satisfy myself on this point.

582 There seems to be a prejudice against a woman marrying a man younger than herself. Some of the women with whom I talked expressed strong contempt at the idea of marrying a man younger than themselves. Unfortunately, I neglected

[1] I collected a number of genealogies from the natives, but unfortunately my own inexperience in the use of the genealogical method, and my consequent inability to surmount the difficulties with which I met, made this branch of my investigations a failure.

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572 597 836 584 seniors, a good deal of flirtation, and often something more, is carried on by the young people without arousing any suspicions as to their sentiments for one another, until the affair has become too serious to be broken off, and has to end, sooner or later, in their marriage and start in life on their own account. In some cases, when the guardians have reason to believe that a lad has, notwithstanding his assurances to the contrary, a *sub silentio* attachment, they adopt the following method for testing the truth of his asseveration; on a given day it is arranged by the friends of the suspected couple that they shall (without the knowledge of either) be painted respectively [302] with the red oxide of iron unguent, *kòi·ob-*, and the white clay *tâ·la-ōg-*, for, as they would not meet till night-fall, the risk of their discovering the trap laid for them is reduced to a minimum, while a glance on the following morning would suffice to betray them if guilty, and the guardians' object would be attained, for, from shame at his secret being known, and his falsehood exposed, the youth feels in honour bound to break off his connection with the girl, at least for some time.

582 597 **Relationships.**—1. In all the relations of life the question of propinquity is, in their eyes, of paramount importance, and marriage is only permissible between those who are known to be not even distantly connected, except by wedlock, with each other; so inexorable, indeed, is this rule, that it extends, and applies equally, to such as are related merely by the custom of adoption to which I have just referred.

[605] 601 2. A first cousin, actual or by adoption, is regarded as a half-brother or half-sister, as the case may be, and nephews and nieces almost as sons and daughters, while the terms used to denote a grandfather, grandmother, grandson, and grand-daughter are equally applied to indicate respectively a grand-uncle, grand-aunt, grand-nephew, and grand-niece.

3. Parents, when addressing, or referring to their children and not using their names, employ distinct terms, the father calling his son *dar ō·dire, i.e.*, he that has been begotten by me, and his daughter *dar ō·dire-pail-*; while the mother makes use of the word *dab ē·tire, i.e.*, he whom I have borne, for the former, and *dab ē·tire-pail-* for the latter; similarly, friends in speaking of children to their parents say respectively, *ngar ō·dire*, or *ngab ē·tire* (your son), *ngar ō·dire-pail-*, or *ngab ē·tire-pail-* (your daughter).[1]

4. Uncles and aunts on the father's are not distinguished from those on the mother's side; relationships are traced in both lines, and the system with reference to either sex is identical.

[1] Foster-parents employ the terms *dōt chá·tnga-* and *dōt chá·tnga-pail-* in referring to their adopted son and daughter respectively.

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835 836 able and immoral, which is turning the tables on us with a vengeance.[1]

836 584 4. In consequence of the lax code of morality prevailing among the unmarried, it not unfrequently happens that a marriage is brought about by the circumstance of the young woman being found *enceinte*. When this is the case, the guardians ascertain from her companions or herself who is the cause of her being in such a condition, and, whether it is an easy matter or not to decide this question with certainty, there never appears to be any difficulty in persuading the youth whom she names [848] as her lover to become her husband. It thus happens that children are very rarely born out of wedlock.

584 5. Parents and foster-parents have the power of betrothing their children in infancy, and though subsequently, during childhood, they may be parted, the contract must be fulfilled soon after they attain a marriageable age; it is even alleged that, like the Yorubas,[2] the Andamanese look upon a girl betrothed by her parents as so far a wife that with her prematrimonial unfaithfulness is accounted a crime.

6. As soon as the betrothal has been agreed upon, the girl is taken to the hut of her future father-in-law, or foster father-in-law, and the children remain together for several months, in order that the fact of their engagement may become generally known; after this the girl returns to her old home, or is adopted by one of her father's friends. Should either of the betrothed pair die young, the survivor is not called upon to take any part at the obsequies, and is at liberty to form another alliance.

•607 7. Until a man attains middle age he evinces great shyness in the presence of the wife of a *younger* brother or cousin, and the feeling is invariably reciprocated; it is, however, otherwise in the case of the elder brother's (or cousin's) wife, who, moreover, should she be many years his senior, receives from him much of the respect accorded to a mother. In the first of the above cases all communications are made through a third person, though under no circumstances would marriage be permissible between them; while in the latter it is almost obligatory, unless the disparity between the ages be very great.

584 8. It is not customary for lovers to intimate their desire of being married, but it is the duty of the guardian, or, in the case of widows and widowers, of the chief of the community, to

[1] On reference to Appendix I, it will be found that the terms which are used to denote *half-brother* and *half-sister*, are also employed to denote *male* and *female cousins*, showing how close they regard the relationship.

[2] Farrer's "Primitive Manners and Customs," p. 201.

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mother of the man's wife on the other. In the *Akar-Bale* language such persons are said to be *aka-yat* to one another. A man or a woman will not have any immediate dealings with a person who is his *aka-yat*. He will not speak to him, and if they should meet or be sitting near to one another they would avoid looking at each other. On the other hand a man is constantly sending presents to his *aka-yat*. The natives say that two persons in this relation feel "shy" or "ashamed." (There is only one word in Andamanese for these two English words, *ot-jete* in *Aka-Jeru*.) The shyness begins at the moment when a marriage between their respective children is first discussed as a possibility, and lasts apparently till death. 601 602 [431]

As throwing a little light on this peculiar relation it may be mentioned that a similar relation exists between two men who have been through either the turtle-eating ceremony or the pig-eating ceremony (to be described in the next chapter) on the same occasion. Two such men will avoid any contact with one another, not speaking to nor looking at each other when they chance to meet, but on the other hand they will be constantly giving each other presents of all kinds, sending them through some third person. 608 881 [431]

The main features of the relationship system of the Andaman Islanders may be briefly summed up. The duties that one person owes to another are determined much less by their relation to one another by consanguinity and marriage, than by their respective ages and social status. Even within the family, which nevertheless is of importance, the duty of a child to a parent is very little different from his duty to any other person of the same age. There is very little of any special customs relating to conduct towards different kinds of relatives. Corresponding to this we find very few terms to denote relationships and a considerable development of the terms which denote age and social status. Thus a man's duties to his elder brother are much the same as those towards the other men of the same age, and we find that there is no word for "elder brother" but only a term by which a man distinguishes all the men of his own generation older than himself from those who are younger. Similarly there are no duties that a man owes to his father's 602

000 any kind and their equally childlike way of doing whatever is pleasant for the moment in place of performing a duty, would effectually prevent this. So the best had to be made of skilled European but, of course, essentially alien agency.

619 **Hostile Tribes estimated only.**—Although the whole of the Tribes on
609 the Great Andaman (with the exception of the Jarawas of the interior of the South Andaman and part of its west coast and of the interior of Baratang) are on the most friendly terms with us and with each other, it was quite impossible to go into the Jarawa country at all. So was it impossible also to visit, for Census purposes, the North Sentinel and the greater part of Rutland Island, likewise inhabited by the Jarawas, as these people are as inimical to other Andamanese as they are to Europeans or Asiatics generally—their hostility being exhibited equally to every stranger. Again, the Onge Tribe, closely related to the Jarawas, inhabiting the Little Andaman and the Cinque Islands, have only of late become friendly in part and to an unknown extent only, and it was not thought advisable to do anything that might disturb a desirable feeling of friendliness and confidence in us that is yearly increasing in strength, and thus it was decided to leave them alone also. These two Tribes, now the largest of the Andamanese, had to be left to estimates, such as a very long acquaintance with the people generally on the part of the local officers warranted.

000 **Control of the Operations.**—In the circumstances to be faced I took the control of the Andamanese Census into my own hands and selected three officers to carry out the work. Mr. E. H. Man, C.I.E., Deputy Superintendent of the Penal Settlement, now retired, Captain (now Major) A. R. S. Anderson, I.M.S., Senior Medical Officer of the Penal Settlement, and Mr. H. H. D'Oyly, one of the District Officers of the Settlement. Mr. Man's numerous and unique writings on the Andamans, resulting from his very long acquaintance with the Andamanese, and his many years' personal charge of them, pointed to him as the official most likely to succeed in arriving at a definite idea of the numbers of the aboriginal population. I also generally superintended myself as much of the actual work of enumeration as my many duties connected with the islands permitted.

Census Tours.—It was decided that two separate tours should be undertaken round the Great Andaman. The first, in the R. I. M. S. *Elphinstone* accompanied by the large sea-going steam launch *Bess*, commenced at Port Blair on 25th January 1901 and lasted till 2nd February. The party proceeded up the east coast northwards, through the Archipelago, and down the west coast as far as Kwangtung Harbour (since renamed Port Anson by the Marine Survey). I was present during this tour myself and then had to proceed on duty to Calcutta in the *Elphinstone*. The business of the *Bess* was to accompany the *Elphinstone* everywhere and to go into passages and anchorages which were barred to the larger steamer. Kwangtung Harbour or Port Anson separates the middle and south Andaman Islands, and the *Bess* returned to Port Blair by the east coast through Homfray's Strait, the northernmost of the two dividing straits, picking up what additional information was possible on the way.

The second tour in the *Bess*, accompanied by the sea-going steam launch *Belle* of equal size, commenced at Port Blair on the 15th February 1901 and lasted till 18th February. The party proceeded northwards as before up the east coast to the middle strait, the southernmost of the two dividing straits, and thence to Kwangtung Harbour. It then proceeded down the west coast, through the Labyrinth Islands, round Rutland Island, to the Cinque Islands and thence to Bumila Creek in the Little Andaman, the occasion being taken to show as much civility as possible to a party of Onges. Thence the party proceeded home to Port Blair up the east coast. In this way was secured as comprehensive a circuit of the Andaman Islands as was possible in a short time and at a reasonable expense. In Appendix A will be found the detailed orders as to their tours, as they may be of use at the next Census; the operations at which, I apprehend, must be practically extensions of those undertaken this time. Attached to the orders are some notes on the navigation of the often very dangerous coasts of the Andamans and a sketch of the work performed daily.

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(11) *Canoes.*—Bojigngiji and Yerewa, same pattern canoe; Onge-Jarawa
[501] pattern different from above. Both out-rigged, Bojigngiji has in addition a large dug-out without outrigger.

[342] (12) *Huts.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas have temporary huts. Onge-Jarawas have large permanent communal dwellings.

[535] (13) *Dancing.*—Bojigngijis and Yerawas, sounding board and song and clapping in unison. Onge-Jarawa, standing in a ring and alternately bending and straightening the knees: also on occasion kicking the buttocks with the flat of the foot.

[352] (14) *Beds.*—Jarawas sleep on the wood ashes of the fires. Onges on raised bamboo platforms. Other tribes on leaves and in sand-holes.

[562 551] (15) *Food.*—The staple food of the Onges is the mangrove fruit, boiled, and they preserve small fish dried after cooking. None of the other tribes do this.

The Long-shore and Jungle Andamanese.—The Andamanese are by themselves again further divided into the Aryoto or long-shore men, and the Eremtaga or jungle-dwellers; the habits and capacities of these two differ, owing to surroundings, irrespective of tribe. Some tribes as the Tabo, Juwai, Kol, and the South Andaman Jarawas, are entirely Eremtaga, while the Balawa, the Chariar, and the Jarawas of the North Sentinel are entirely Aryoto. The Aryoto holds himself to be better than the Eremtaga, but beyond this there seem to be no exclusive distinctions between them and an Aryoto will marry or adopt an Eremtaga.

With the minuteness in matters concerning their surroundings that is characteristic of all entirely uneducated people, the Andamanese recognise a third division of themselves by habits into Adajig or creek-dwellers, *i.e.*, those who live on the shores of the many inlets of the sea on the coasts of the Islands. The habits of the Adajig, however, are practically those of the Aryoto.

Distinctions by habits are quickly lost by the Andamanese. The Jarawas have now no canoes in the South Andaman and are quite incapable of constructing or using them, though all Onges have them and so have the Jarawas on the North Sentinel. So also had the Jarawas that Colebrooke met a century ago. And this year (1902) it was ascertained that the young men brought up at the Duratang (Kyd Island) Home and occupied chiefly in market gardening could neither steer nor paddle a canoe, nor take up tracks in the jungles. In one generation, though there was no restriction in communication with their people, they had lost both sea and forest craft.

Former Isolation of the Tribes.—Before the arrival of the English the tribes, excepting actual neighbours, may be said to have had no general intercourse with each other, and excepting some individuals were entirely unable to converse together, though it can be conclusively shown that all the existing languages are directly descended from one parent tongue. Even Septs had but little mutual intercourse and considerable differences in details of dialect and, as has occurred in other island abodes of savages, there must have been a change of dialect or language along about every 20 miles of the coast. The tribes were in fact brought together and made definitely acquainted with each other's separate existence and peculiarities by the influence and exertions of Mr. Man between 1875 and 1880.

• 609 **Sympathies and Antipathies.**—The tribal feeling is expressed as follows: friendly within the tribe, courteous to other Andamanese if known, hostile to every stranger, Andamanese or other. The sympathy and antipathy exhibited are strictly natural, *i.e.*, savage, and are governed by descent. The feeling of friendliness lies in an ever-decreasing zone from the family outwards towards sept, tribe, group: hostility to all others. Even septs will fight each other and Aryoto and Eremtaga do not mix much. But there is no "caste" feeling, and tribes will, in circumstances favouring the actions (*e.g.*, living on the tribal borders), intermarry and adopt each other's children. Within the tribe there is so general a custom of adoption that children above six or seven rarely live with their own parents. It is an act of friendliness to give up or adopt a child and the custom has had the effect of making the various septs of a tribe hang together much better than would otherwise have been possible.

597

Mr Subramanian of the Forest Department and Mr Majid's young son also 114
accompanied us. We reached Bumila Creek on the north eastern coast of the 123
Little Andaman at about 3 P.M. and having sighted an Andamanese hut we decided to anchor the launch there. The beach was about 2 miles from the place of anchorage. We took out a small boat and rowed to the beach and reached the hut at about 4 P.M. It was found to be abandoned but there were signs of human occupation and within a few yards a water-hole was [312] discovered. A broken canoe, with a single out-rigger was found close to the [501] hut (*see* Plate I, Fig. 1). Burnt coal and smouldering ashes in the centre of the hut showed that it was probably deserted by the Aborigines as soon as they had sighted us. After making a careful inspection of the place we returned to our launch and decided to anchor there for the night. Unfortunately the choppy sea and the strong current coming from the Bumila Creek tossed our small boat throughout the whole night, as a result of which all of us had an uncomfortable time.

We left southwards towards Hut Bay early in the morning and as we moved along the coast we sighted another Onge hut. This did not seem to be deserted as we saw a few people moving about. We decided to stop there and investigate. We took out a boat and moved towards the coast with such presents as we had brought from Port Blair on the advice of the Chief Commissioner. When we got near the coast, we left the boat and walked for about a furlong through coral beds finally reaching the shore. The hut was found [342] to be circular in shape and not too large, and was occupied by 2 adult females, [592] 1 adult male and a young boy. The adult male, *Ukla*, was the father of the young boy and husband of the younger woman. The older woman was his 609 mother-in-law. These people appeared very friendly. We gave them presents 123 we had brought and took photographs and made drawings of their hut. 126 In addition, full anthropometric measurements were taken by me and blood was taken from fingers for typing by Mr Sarkar. Ukla was able to speak a few Hindi words and we gathered that he had been to Port Blair and knew Mr Bonington, formerly of the Forest Department, Andaman Islands. We found in front of the hut, hanging from a large tree 825 the skull and mandible of a Dugong (*see* Plate I, Figs. 3 & 4). We enquired 124 about its significance from Ukla, but unfortunately his knowledge of Hindi was not sufficient to explain it to us. We learned from him, however, that the name of the village was *Laito*. After making friendly gestures, we returned to 'Molly' and proceeded immediately towards Hut Bay. At about noon 501 time while we were having our lunch, we suddenly saw three outrigger canoes 609 (of single outrigger type) coming towards us, each carrying about 4 Onges. 122 We signalled to them and they came to our launch and tied their canoes with it and came on board. The men appeared to be friendly and not afraid of us. Our greatest difficulty, however, was language, as we could not make ourselves understood as none of the crew or any other member including Mr Subramaniam of the Forest Department knew that language. There was one man 55A who seemed to occupy a position of authority among these men, and was [309] painted with red and yellow ochre on the forehead, arms and breast. The

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

14 to the arid climate) are among the most wrinkled people in the world.

142 123 At birth, the Onges are tiny, attractive little creatures, very plump, but rarely over two and a half kilograms in males and two kilograms in females. I was very fortunate indeed in that I succeeded in persuading one young couple to let me examine their [609] new-born child. Local superstition forbids a stranger looking on a child for any length of time, and even an Onge who does so is regarded with suspicion, so I had to be extremely cautious.

844 846 123 The infant was born on 30 March 1954, in the forest to the north of Labanar. Like most deliveries, birth took place in the forest on a bed improvised for the purpose, with only the father (on some occasions also the wife's mother) present, and the placenta was buried under the bed. The women recover very quickly;[1] after a few days they are fit for heavy work, returning to the group without any purification ceremonies, and this was no exception. After a 123 142 wealth of gifts I managed to examine the child on the morning of 31 March and again on 10, 13 and 14 April. After this mother and child vanished completely, and the father would give me only evasive replies, although only a few days before he had been willing to help me open some graves round Tambe-e-buiè, allowing me to remove the bones of nine Onges who had been dead for many years; superstition (or the women) overcame him on this occasion, however.

My examinations were all carried out in the presence of the mother and at least two of the older women, who were determined to prevent me touching the child.

142 The child, like all Onge babies, had no body hair; this persists throughout life, though some males have sparse moustaches. Its head was covered with a very fine, sparse down, not black like the adults, but already showing signs of the characteristic woolly texture. Dark reddish-brown, the hair becomes black and tightly curled during the first year of life. The eyelashes curl markedly in adults, but the hair of the eyebrows is virtually straight; in the infant the former were barely visible, and the latter completely absent.

The nails were strong and well formed, projecting a little beyond

[843] [1] Childbirth is normally very easy, but miscarriages are common, probably due to lack of vitality in the foetus.

554 crew of the ship called him 'Raja' and we adopted this name (*see* Plate IV, Figs. 1 & 2). He was the only one among the Onges who was fully armed with 411 knives, bows and arrows. Among the contents of the canoes, we found com- 220 plete fishing out-fits, bows and arrows, ropes and nautilous shells, for bailing 225 out water. There was also a kind of bamboo float about 1½ ft. long, probably used for turtle fishing. We gave them food, cigarettes and other presents. After they became quite familiar with us and friendly, they were subjected 123 to full anthropometric measurements by me. Their blood was also tapped by 125 Mr Sarkar for typing. The presents given were iron nails, strips of red cloth, tea and tobacco leaves. Among all these objects what they liked most were the tobacco leaves. Cooked rice, dal (cooked lentils) and fish curry served to them from the launch Mess were however not much appreciated. With the few Hindi words that they were able to understand, we told them that we would like to visit their camp next morning and meet other members of the party. After the canoes had left, we anchored at this point for the night and after taking an early breakfast we left for the shore in two batches. We were informed by the crew that the creek near the Onge camp was called the *Dugong Creek*. We had to wade through brakish water and coast fringing with coral beds for about two miles, before we reached the Onge settlement. There 361 was one large circular communal hut characteristic of the Onges and several lean-to's (*see* Plate I, Fig. 2). We noticed three canoes on the beach appa- 231 rently those with which they came to meet us on the previous day. We saw also several small dogs and the entrails of a pig strewn round. We met all the 12 Onges we saw the day before, along with Ukla and his family. In 123 addition there were a number of women and children. We took out our presents of dried tobacco leaves, iron nails and two large fishes that we had caught on our way from Port Blair. These were distributed to the Onges. 162 There were altogether 17 men, 15 women, 4 boys and 3 girls. The children were between 1½ to 4 years. The entire party of Onges behaved towards us 609 in a friendly manner and subjected to our measurements and tapping of blood from their fingers without any protest. We went inside their hut and inspected 126 the settlement very thoroughly. A large number of photographs were taken. We found that the name of this village was *Tambebui*. As it became rather late, we decided to return to 'Molly' in the Andamanese canoes, rather than walk through the coral beds for 2 miles. The Onges understood our signs and glad'y escorted us back to the launch. We found there were several other Onges waiting for us in the launch who came from the neighbouring village *Gabilong*. All of these Onges appear to be under the influence of the man 520 nick-named as 'Raja' (*see* Plate IV, Figs. 1-2).

122 We could not proceed towards Hut Bay as the launch had to return for duty at Port Blair, where we reached at about mid-night.

After reaching Port Blair, I discussed the matter of transport with the Chief Commissioner, Mr Majid. A thorough coastal survey of Little Andaman would take at least 15 to 20 days. As it was found impossible to get either from the Forest Department or from the Harbour Master any of their launches

most striking of these is ambidexterity. This is the general rule in the Onges and also appears as a normal trait in the primitive peoples of Oceania, America and Asia. Another physical characteristic of the Onges, reported also in Tasmans and various peoples of Oceania, is the early onset of ageing in both sexes; in the Tasmans the women are rarely fertile after the age of thirty, and this is also probably the case with the Onges. Unlike the Tasmans, however, the Onges, though sharing their very black skin colour, have among other physical differences markedly scant body hair. A study of their blood groups by Dr H. Lehmann (see also Mourant) has moreover lent very considerable support to the external physical evidence in favour of a relationship between the Andamanese and the people of Oceania, both past and present.

From the anthropological point of view perhaps the most outstanding feature of all these peoples is that despite their extreme aggressiveness towards outsiders their corporate sense is such that they have no need of leaders to give orders. Rarely are there hereditary leaders; such as they are, their leaders are chosen on the basis of outstanding powers, such as supposed clairvoyance, as in the Andamanese.

The Andamanese themselves know nothing of their origins, lost in the mists of time, and it is for us to trace them, working back along the paths cleared by the anthropologist, the ethnographer and the archaeologist. They represent today the survival, almost unchanged, of a culture once to be found all over Oceania, spread thousands of years ago by canoes hardly different from those the Onges use today. They carried the unknown seamen from island to island, bearing with them a way of life which in the Andamans at least was never to change – a point of arrival, rather than of departure. Driven in on themselves by circumstances of geography just as other circumstances now unknown had driven them there originally, they have remained isolated, dwindling in numbers over the centuries, until they were discovered by the modern world. Their reception of outsiders, however they come and whoever they may be, is aggressive; consciously or unconsciously the Andamanese seek to preserve the only way of life they know. And who can be sure they are wrong?

No one could deny the demographic decadence of the islanders,

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

kitchen-middens to have been contemporaneous with the introduction of the pig, i.e. to have been introduced by outsiders. It would be possible, using radio carbon methods, to calculate this date more accurately, but on purely archaeological evidence the introduction of pottery would appear to have occurred some five thousand years ago. 323 172

8 ABSENCE OF CANNIBALISM

If we may accept the evidence of the kitchen-middens, there has never at any time been cannibalism in the Andamans, although the practice certainly existed in the later Palaeolithic era; the Andamanese must thus have been isolated in the archipelago long before the practice became widespread. 172 266

9 DRINK

The Andamanese ignorance of any drink other than water may be regarded as additional evidence of the great antiquity of their culture. 273 174

10 ABSENCE OF CLOTHING

The Jarawas of both sexes have always remained completely naked. The Onges have only in comparatively recent times adopted a form of genital covering for their womenfolk; this custom has spread as far as the north of Great Andaman, and it seems probable that the separation of the Jarawas from the Onges dates from this time. 291 178 174 184

11 ABSENCE OF TATTOOING

All primitive peoples who are habitually completely naked adorn the body in some way. The Onges have never progressed beyond the early stage of painting themselves with ochre, and do not tattoo. Their sole ornaments are small necklaces of tusk shells, strips of bark, and sometimes flowers. In all this they resemble the Tasmans (see, however, p. 143 for certain important differences), who seem to have remained in an equally early stage of cultural development. 30 171

12 TOTEMISM AND THE CLAN

Here again the complete absence of any traces appears to indicate isolation before the spread of these very ancient concepts. Neither the Onges nor the Jarawas have ever progressed beyond the stage of independent groups of families. 174 61 621

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

only a crude form of body decoration based on geometrical designs. 105

They are, therefore, to be included among the most backward peoples of mankind, who have remained in a very simple form of social structure. They have never progressed to any elementary [614] organization of themselves into 'clans', or even 'tribes'. They have, [619] in short, the psychological outlook and concepts of other primitive peoples, modified by local conditions. The evidence in favour of the Onges of today being the product of cultural development over [174] a very long period appears to me overwhelming, though their development has already been hindered by involution and, we must presume, a series of setbacks.

The Onges have thus remained culturally isolated and this has 105 deprived them of the opportunities offered to the rest of the world. 174 The time came when they ceased to receive or to elaborate new concepts, and from that point regression was inevitable. There is abundant evidence that their culture dates back to Palaeolithic times, so that they now represent the last and decadent expression of a very lengthy stage of biological and cultural development, a point of arrival, and not one of departure. Everywhere in the Andamans there are signs of an ancient culture which must once have spread over much of the world. It is neither logical nor practical to explain the similarity of many concepts as a series of convergences, all of independent origin; ideas must have spread outwards with the passage of time and the gradual population of habitable areas.

No study of present-day life on the Andamans can be complete 172 without an attempt to build up a valid picture of the islands as they were centuries ago, and this we can do with some accuracy by a study of the kitchen-middens. These abound on Great Andaman, but few have been excavated, and then only briefly reported. Those of Little Andaman have not, for obvious reasons, previously been investigated, but they are of considerable importance for the light they cast on their own development and history, and on that of similar mounds outside the Andamans. It is only on Little Andaman that they are still being built up, continually increasing in size, forming a unique, direct and continuous link with life on the island thousands of years ago.

Provided they have not been damaged – for example by rain or

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

On the other hand [628]

there were often quarrels between neighbouring groups, which might result in a state of feud between them for many months. 621 Between communities separated from one another by a distance of only 50 miles or even less there were no direct relations whatever. The members of one community kept to their own part of the country, only leaving it to visit their friends within a narrow radius.

These local groups were united into what are here called 619 tribes. A tribe consisted of a number of local groups all 197 speaking what the natives themselves regard as one language, each tribe having its own language and its name. The tribe was of very little importance in regulating the social life, and was merely a loose aggregate of independent local groups.

The local groups are further distinguished by the natives 619 themselves as being of two kinds according as they lived on 616 the coast or inland. This division was independent of that into tribes. Some tribes consisted of coast-dwellers only, while others included both coast-dwellers and forest-dwellers.

Within the local group the only division was that into 594 families. A family consists of a man and his wife and their unmarried children own or adopted.

These were the only social divisions existing among the Andamanese, who were without any of those divisions known as "clans" which are characteristic of many primitive societies.

The natives of the Great Andaman (leaving aside the 619 *Jarawa*, who by language and culture belong to the Little 197 Andaman division of the race) are divided into ten tribes, each occupying a certain area of country. 196 Each tribe consists of a number of persons who speak what is regarded by the natives themselves as one language. That the tribe is fundamentally a linguistic group is shown by the tribal names. These are all formed from a stem with the prefix *aka-*, which prefix is used in the languages of the Great Andaman to convey a reference to the mouth and thereby to the function of speech. Thus in the *Aka-Jeru* language the stem *poŋ* means "a hole of any kind," and *aka-poŋ* means "the mouth," there being no other word for that part of the body. In the same language the stem *-ar-* meaning "to talk" can only be used

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

616 184 Besides the division into tribes, and independent of it, the Andamanese recognize another division into coast-dwellers and forest-dwellers. In the *Aka-Bea* language the coast-dwellers are called *Ar-yoto*, while the forest-dwellers are called *Erem-taga*. The difference between them is due solely to the difference of their food supply. The *Ar-yoto* obtain much of their food from the sea. They are expert in fishing and turtle hunting. They make canoes and use them not only for hunting but also for travelling from one camp to another. Some portion of their food they also obtain from the forest, edible roots and fruits and the flesh of the wild pig being the chief. On the other hand the *Erem-taga* rely solely on the forest and the inland creeks for their food supply. Their only use for canoes is in the creeks. They are entirely ignorant of such matters as turtle or dugong hunting, but they are more at home than the coast-dwellers in the forest, and are generally more skilful at pig-hunting. The advantage certainly rests with the coast-dwellers, for they have both the sea and the forest to draw upon for their sustenance.

619 616 184 Some tribes consist only of coast-dwellers, such as the *Aka-Čari*, the *Akar-Bale* and perhaps the *Aka-Kọl*. On the other hand the *Aka-Bo*, although their territory includes a part of the west coast, are, by their occupations and mode of life, forest-dwellers, and the same seems to have been the case of the *Ọkọ-Juwọi*. The *A-Pučikwar*, the *Aka-Kede*, the *Aka-Jeru* and perhaps also the *Aka-Kọra* tribes contained both coast-dwellers and forest-dwellers.

621 [421] Each tribe formerly consisted of a number of independent local groups. The local group, and not the tribe, was the land-owning group, each one owning or exercising hunting rights over a certain recognized area. At the present time, owing to the breakdown of the local organisation, through the settlement of the islands and the resulting decrease of population, it is difficult to ascertain what area of country was occupied by each of these local groups. In many cases it would seem that the boundaries between two neighbouring groups are not very clearly defined, there being portions of forest over which the members of both hunted when the

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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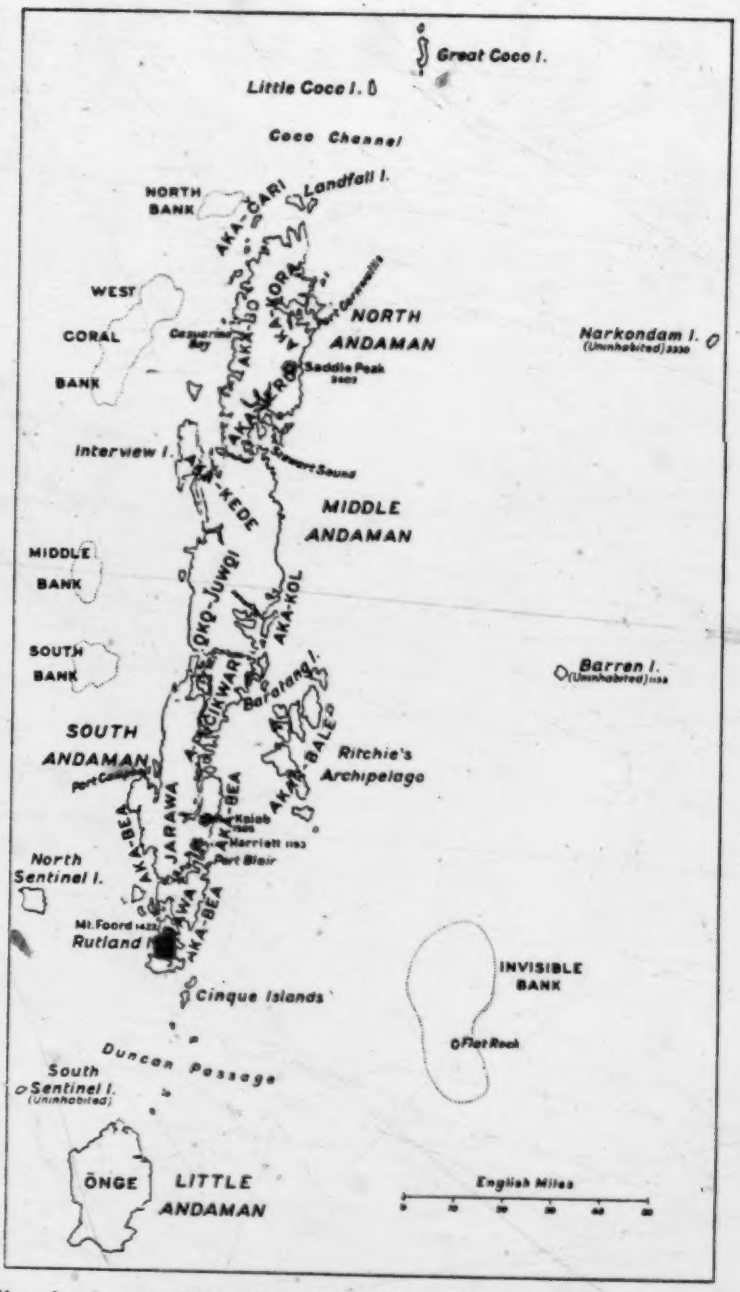
MAP II

619



The Andaman Islands, showing the distribution of tribes

[facing p. 10]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

175 workers and on the friendly Andamanese. Punitive expeditions
648 have been sent against them on several occasions, and attempts to set up friendly relations with them have been made by leaving presents in their huts, and by capturing some of them and keeping them for a time at Port Blair. At the present time the *ǰaṟawa* are as hostile as ever.

619 Although of one race throughout, the Andaman Islanders are divided into several groups, with differences of language and culture. There are two main divisions, which will be spoken of as the Great Andaman Group and the Little Andaman Group respectively. The Great Andaman Group includes all the natives of the Great Andaman with the exception of those of the interior of the South Andaman who are known as *ǰaṟawa*. The Little Andaman Group includes all the inhabitants of the Little Andaman, those of the North Sentinel Island and the *ǰaṟawa* of the South Andaman.

619 These two different divisions exhibit many differences of language and culture. All the languages of the Great Andaman
197 Group are closely related to one another. They have the same grammatical structure, and a large number of roots are the same in all or in several of them. In the same way the language of the *ǰaṟawa*, so far as it is known, is very similar to that of the natives of the Little Andaman. On the other hand when the language of the Little Andaman is compared with the Great Andaman languages there is a very striking difference. Of a vocabulary of several hundred words collected in the Little Andaman there were less than a dozen in which the root or stem was clearly the same as that of words in the Great Andaman. While the grammatical structure of the languages of the two groups is fundamentally the same, this can only be shown in a somewhat detailed analysis, and there are many important differences.

619 With regard to technical culture the same grouping appears. There is a general similarity between all the tribes of the Great Andaman Group, while the *ǰaṟawa* and the inhabitants of the Little Andaman have a technical culture of their own that is markedly different from that of the other division.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

•619 The natives of the Great Andaman Group are divided into tribes, of which there are ten, each with its own distinctive language or dialect, and with a name. The following is a list of these tribes, passing from north to south:—*Aka-Čari*, *Aka-Kọra*, *Aka-Bo*, *Aka-J̌eru*, *Aka-Kede*, *Aka-Kọl*, *Ọkọ-J̌uwọi*, *A-Pučikwar*, *Akar-Bale*, and *Aka-Bea*. In each case the name is given in the form in which it is used by the tribe itself. Thus the *Aka-Bea* speak of the *A-Pučikwar* as *Aka-Bojig-yab*, and refer to the *Akar-Bale* as *Aka-Bala-wa*, and there are similar variants of other tribal names.

101 The natives of the Little Andaman refer to themselves as *Önge* (men). It is probable that the so-called *J̌ạrawa* of the South Andaman have the same word. In a vocabulary obtained by Colebrooke in 1790 from a *J̌ạrawa* near Port Blair, the word *Mincopie* is given as meaning a native of the Andaman Islands. This would seem to be simply the same phrase as the Little Andaman *M'önge-bi* = I am *Önge*, or I am a "man." The word *J̌ạrawa* is apparently derived from the *Aka-Bea* language, but is now used by all the friendly natives (i.e. the natives of the Great Andaman Group) to denote those of the Little Andaman Group. In the official publications dealing with the Andamans, however, the term *J̌ạrawa* has come to be applied solely to the hostile natives of the Great Andaman. It is in this sense that the word is used in the present work, the name *Önge* being reserved for the natives of the Little Andaman. It must be remembered, however, that the so-called *J̌ạrawa* probably call themselves *Önge*, while the *Önge* of the Little Andaman are called *J̌ạrawa* by the natives of the friendly tribes of the Great Andaman. The name *Mincopie* was at one time common in ethnological literature as a term for the Andaman Islanders.

619 It is convenient to divide the tribes of the Great Andaman Group into two subdivisions, to be spoken of as the Northern Group (including the first four tribes mentioned above) and the Southern Group (including the other six tribes). Between these two divisions there are a number of differences of culture. They have, for example, different forms of bow, and different kinds of baskets. The differences between them are much slighter than those between the Great Andaman tribes and

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

the natives of the Little Andaman, but they are of sufficient importance to make it necessary to distinguish them from one another. 619

The different divisions of the Andamanese may for convenience be set out in the form of a table.

I. GREAT ANDAMAN GROUP.

A. Northern Group, including the tribes:—

Aka-Čari,
Aka-Kora,
Aka-Bo,
Aka-J̌eru.

B. Southern Group, including the tribes:—

Aka-Kede,
Aka-Kol,
Okõ-J̌uwoi
A-Pučikwar,
Akar-Bale,
Aka-Bea.

II. LITTLE ANDAMAN GROUP.

A. The inhabitants of the Little Andaman (*Ōnge*).
B. The *Jarawa* of the South Andaman.
C. The inhabitants of the North Sentinel Island.

The distribution of these different groups as it was in 1858 is shown on the map.

There is one important feature of this distribution that requires a few words of explanation, and that is the presence in the South Andaman of the *J̌arawa* who are allied by language and technical culture to the natives of the Little Andaman. There can be no doubt that the *Jarawa* are the descendants of emigrants who at some time in the past made their way across from the Little Andaman and thrust themselves in upon the inhabitants of Rutland Island and the South Andaman, maintaining their footing in the new country by force of arms. 619 174

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

619
174

The identity of the flora and fauna of the Little Andaman with those of the Great Andaman and the shallowness of the strait between the islands, suggests that at no very remote period they have been united by a continuous land connection. Whether or not this connection existed at the time when the islands were first peopled, it is at any rate reasonable to suppose that the original ancestors of the present Andamanese had one language and one culture. Once the Little Andaman was peopled, the strait between it and the Great Andaman seems to have acted as an effective barrier, to keep the two divisions of the race apart for many centuries. During the period of this separation each division followed its own line of development, with the result that there arose the considerable differences of language and culture that now exist.

At a much later date than this separation of the Andamanese into two isolated groups, and after the typical differences of language and culture had been developed, a party of natives must have made their way by canoe from the north of the Little Andaman to Rutland Island. They would have found that country occupied by natives of the Great Andaman Group. In spite of this they succeeded in establishing themselves in the South Andaman, and became the progenitors of the present *Jarawa*. Owing to the difference of language all communication between the Little Andaman invaders and those already occupying the invaded country would be impossible. (At the present day a native of the Little Andaman cannot make himself understood to a native of one of the Great Andaman tribes.) The result has been that the *Jarawa* have lived in a state of constant warfare with their neighbours, and this hostility has lasted down to the present day.

It is only on the above hypothesis that it is possible to explain how it comes about that we find in the South Andaman people with language and technical culture very similar to that of the Little Andaman, and differing from that of the remaining inhabitants of the Great Andaman. It is impossible to say how long it is since this invasion from the Little Andaman took place. At the end of the eighteenth century the *Jarawa* were to be found in the neighbourhood of Port Blair. Lieutenant

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Colebrooke in 1790 came across an individual of this tribe and obtained from him a vocabulary. A comparison of this vocabulary with the language of the Little Andaman shows it to be essentially the same language[1]. 619 174

A few words must be said on the position of the natives of the North Sentinel Island. Almost nothing is known of these people. What little information is available concerning their weapons and implements seems to point to their belonging to the Little Andaman Division. There is no communication between them and either the Great Andaman or the Little Andaman. It is possible that they have been separated from the other Andamanese as long as those of the Little Andaman have been separated from those of the Great Andaman, and would therefore constitute a third separate division. The South Sentinel Island is uninhabited.

The total area of the Andamans is estimated to be about 2500 square miles. This area is divided as follows:— 131 619

	Sq. miles.
North Andaman, being the territory of the four tribes Aka-Cari, Aka-Kora, Aka-Bo, and Aka-Jeru	540
Middle Andaman and Baratang, occupied by four tribes, Aka-Kede, Aka-Kol, Oko-Juwoi and A-Pucikwar	790
The Archipelago, occupied by the Akar-Bale tribe	140
The South Andaman, occupied by the Aka-Bea and the Jarawa	630
North Sentinel Island	30
Little Andaman	370
	2500

It is not possible to give accurately the area occupied by each tribe, as the boundaries are difficult to discover. The *Aka-Bea* is in an exceptional position, as there was no definite boundary between them and the *Jarawa*. The two parties of natives lived in the same territory at enmity with each other. It would seem that the *Aka-Bea* kept on the whole more to the coast, while the *Jarawa* lived in the interior.

[1] In 1906 some Little Andaman visitors to Rutland Island captured a *Jarawa* of that part. They told me that though he spoke differently from them, they could understand him fairly well.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

619
131

Leaving aside the *Aka-Bea*, the largest of the Great Andaman tribes, as regards area of territory, was the *Aka-Kede*, which possessed over 300 square miles. After this tribe in order of size come the *A-Pučikwar*, *Aka-J̌eru* and *Aka-Kọra* tribes, while the smaller ones are the *Ọkọ-J̌uwọi*, *Aka-Kọl*, *Aka-Bo*, *Akar-Bale* and *Aka-Čari*, the last being perhaps the smallest of all.

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In 1901 an enumeration of the natives of the Great Andaman was attempted in connection with the census of India. Such an enumeration was of course very difficult, and liable to considerable error. The results are given in the following table:—

Name of Tribe	Adults		Children		Total
	Males	Females	Males	Females	
Aka-Cari	16	15	6	2	39
Aka-Kora	31	32	14	19	96
Aka-Bo	15	16	7	10	48
Aka-Jeru	98	80	26	14	218
Aka-Kede	24	30	3	2	59
Aka-Kol	6	2	3		11
Oko-Juwoi	21	19	7	1	48
A-Pucikwar	31	14	2	3	50
Akar-Bale	5	10	3	1	19
Aka-Bea	14	16	3	4	37
Total	261	234	74	56	625

These figures are likely to be more accurate for the southern tribes (the last five on the list) than for the northern tribes. It is probable that, in the North Andaman, some of the persons enumerated were entered under the wrong tribe. For many years the officers of the Andamans did not know of the existence of the *Aka-Kọra* and *Aka-Bo* tribes, and members of these tribes have fallen into the habit of describing themselves to Europeans as either *Aka-J̌eru* or *Aka-Čari*. My own opinion is that the numbers given for the *Aka-J̌eru* tribe are too large, while those of the *Aka-Kọra* and *Aka-Bo*, and perhaps also the *Aka-Kede*, are too small.

For the census of 1901 an attempt was made to estimate the numbers of the *J̌ạrawa* and the natives of the Little Andaman, any attempt at enumeration being impossible. The estimate given was as follows:—

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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164 estimated that the mortality from measles and its sequelae was
165 one-half if not two-thirds of the whole population of the Great Andaman. Other diseases which were formerly unknown to the islands seem also to have been introduced, including influenza.

163 While the death-rate amongst the friendly Andamanese has been enormously increased, the birth-rate has at the same time fallen to almost nothing. This is evident from the proportion of adults to children in the population table given above. In 1907, out of a total of about 500 natives whom I saw at different times, there were not more than a dozen children of less than five years old. A birth is a rare occurrence, and of the children born very few survive infancy.

165 This decrease of population has not as yet affected the Little Andaman. The natives of this island have had very
●619 little contact with the Penal Settlement or with the tribes of the Great Andaman, and have thus escaped the diseases which are mainly responsible for the depopulation of the larger island.

Several attempts have been made to estimate the former population of the Andamans. In the "Census Report" for 1901 the estimate given is 4800 for the whole group. Mr M. V. Portman has given an estimate of 8000. It seemed to me that one of these is too small and the other too large. Judging from what it is possible to learn about the habits of the natives, and the food supply available, I should estimate that the former population of the islands (in 1858) was about 5500[1]. An estimate for the proportion of the different groups is as follows:—

	Estimated former population.	Density per square mile.
North Andaman (four tribes)	1500	2·75
Middle Andaman with Baratang and Ritchie's Archipelago	2250	2·5
South Andaman (Aka-Bea and Jarawa) . .	1200	2·0
Little Andaman and North Sentinel . .	700	1·75
Total . .	5650	2·25

[1] This estimate is based on what the Andamanese were able to tell me of the conditions under which they formerly lived. Of course such an estimate can only be of small value. I think it is more probable that I have underestimated the former population than that I have overestimated it.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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With regard to the comparative density per square mile of the different groups it may be pointed out that the reason for the smaller density of the South Andaman is the fact that the *Aka-Bea* and *Jarawa* were living there at war with one another, and the territory was therefore probably not so fully occupied as in other parts of the islands where boundaries between neighbouring tribes were well defined. The food supply of the Little Andaman does not seem to be so abundant as that of the Great Andaman in proportion to its area. It must be remembered that length of coast-line is of more importance to the Andamanese than the actual area of their country. The natives of the Little Andaman are not able to harpoon turtle and large fish, which constitute an important element of the food supply of the tribes of the Great Andaman. 619 165

If the figures of the above estimate be correct, it will be seen that the population of the North Andaman has been reduced in less than fifty years (1858–1901) to about 27 per cent. of its former volume, while in the same period the population of the Middle Andaman and South Andaman has been reduced to about 18 per cent. As the tribes in the south were the first to come into contact with the Settlement, their numbers have diminished more rapidly than those of the northern tribes. It is probable that in another fifty years the natives of the Great Andaman tribes will be extinct.

The diminution of population has combined with other causes to alter considerably the mode of life of the islanders. What were formerly distinct and often hostile communities are now merged together. The different languages have become corrupt, and some tribes have adopted customs of other tribes and have abandoned their own. Most of the younger men and women of the friendly tribes of the Great Andaman now speak a little Hindustani (Urdu) in a somewhat corrupt form. The friendly natives are under the charge of an officer of the Settlement, known as the Officer in Charge of the Andamanese. A Home and Hospital are provided for them in Port Blair, and natives from all parts, even from the extreme north, go there either to be treated in the Hospital or to stay at the Home. During certain parts of the year some of the natives 177

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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On the other hand [628]

there were often quarrels between neighbouring groups, which 621
might result in a state of feud between them for many months. Between communities separated from one another by a distance of only 50 miles or even less there were no direct relations whatever. The members of one community kept to their own part of the country, only leaving it to visit their friends within a narrow radius.

These local groups were united into what are here called 619
tribes. A tribe consisted of a number of local groups all 197
speaking what the natives themselves regard as one language, each tribe having its own language and its name. The tribe was of very little importance in regulating the social life, and was merely a loose aggregate of independent local groups.

The local groups are further distinguished by the natives 619
themselves as being of two kinds according as they lived on 616
the coast or inland. This division was independent of that into tribes. Some tribes consisted of coast-dwellers only, while others included both coast-dwellers and forest-dwellers.

Within the local group the only division was that into 594
families. A family consists of a man and his wife and their unmarried children own or adopted.

These were the only social divisions existing among the Andamanese, who were without any of those divisions known as "clans" which are characteristic of many primitive societies.

The natives of the Great Andaman (leaving aside the 619
ʃarawa, who by language and culture belong to the Little 197
Andaman division of the race) are divided into ten tribes, 196
each occupying a certain area of country. Each tribe consists of a number of persons who speak what is regarded by the natives themselves as one language. That the tribe is fundamentally a linguistic group is shown by the tribal names. These are all formed from a stem with the prefix *aka-*, which prefix is used in the languages of the Great Andaman to convey a reference to the mouth and thereby to the function of speech. Thus in the *Aka-ʃeru* language the stem *poŋ* means "a hole of any kind," and *aka-poŋ* means "the mouth," there being no other word for that part of the body. In the same language the stem *-ar-* meaning "to talk" can only be used

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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619 with the prefix *aka-*, as *ak'-ar-ka*, "he says." The prefix
197 which is characteristic of the tribal names, indicates, therefore,
that these are really the names of languages.

196 The meanings or derivations of some of the tribal names have not been ascertained with certainty. The name *Aka-Čari* is derived from the word *čari* meaning "salt water," and therefore means "the salt-water language." Similarly the name *Aka-Jeru* is derived from *jeru*, a species of Sterculia from which canoes are made. In the Northern languages the word *ot-bo* means "the back" of anything, and *oŋ-kọra* means "the hand." It is possible that the names *Aka-Bo* and *Aka-Kọra* are derived from these stems (the *ot-* and the *oŋ-* being prefixes), but there is no evidence that they are associated with them in the minds of the natives of the present day. Among the Southern tribes the name *Akar-Bale* is derived from a word meaning "the other side" of a creek or strait, thus referring to their position in the Archipelago. The name *A-Pučik-war* (of which the *Aka-Bea* equivalent is *Aka-Bojig-yab*) means "those who speak our own language," from a stem *pučik* (*Aka-Bea*, *bojig*) which means "belonging to ourselves" as opposed to strangers of the same race. Mr Portman[1] gives the following meanings of the other tribal names of the South and Middle Andaman, but the derivations are somewhat doubtful.

Aka-Bea	Fresh water.
Ọkọ-Juwọi	They cut patterns on their bows.
Aka-Kọl	Bitter or salt taste.

I may take this opportunity of pointing out two errors in the names of the tribes given in the "Census Report" of 1901. The name *Aka-Čari* is given as *Aka-Chariar*; the stem *-ar-* means "to talk" and is not an essential part of the tribal name; *Aka-Čari-ar-bom* means "he talks the *Čari* language." The name *Aka-Bo* is given as *Aka-Tabo*; *t'a-Bo* means "I (am) *Aka-Bo*," just as *t'a-Jeru* means "I (am) *Aka-Jeru*," the prefix *aka-* being contracted to *a-* after the personal pronoun *t'* = I or my.

619 Although the natives themselves thus recognize and give
197 names to ten distinct languages, all of them are closely related.
There is, on the whole, not a great deal of difference between

[1] *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes*, p. 27.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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two neighbouring languages. A man of the *Aka-J̌eru* tribe could understand without any great difficulty a man speaking *Aka-Bo*. On the other hand many of the languages included two or even more distinct dialects. In the *Akar-Bale* tribe there were two dialects, one in the southern half of the Archipelago, which was allied to *Aka-Bea*, and the other in the northern half, showing affinities with *A-Pučikwar*. Even in such a small tribe as the *Aka-Ćari* it would seem that there were differences of dialect. Thus, even from the point of view of language, the tribe was not entirely homogeneous. 619 197

Leaving aside the *Aka-Bea*, the average extent of territory occupied by a tribe was about 165 square miles. Of the nine tribes the largest, as regards area, was the *Aka-Kede*, with over 300 square miles, while the smallest was probably the *Aka-Čari*, with less than 100 square miles. Save in the case of the *Akar-Bale* tribe, which occupied the islands of Ritchie's Archipelago, it is difficult to find any marked geographical features that might be supposed to have determined the extent and the boundaries of the different tribes. 619 161

The *Aka-Bea* tribe was in an abnormal position as there was no recognized boundary between them and the *J̌arawa*. Together, these two divisions of the Andamanese occupied an area of about 600 square miles. The *Aka-Bea* seem to have kept more to the coast while the *J̌arawa* occupied the interior of the South Andaman and Rutland Island.

If the estimate previously given[1] of the former population of the islands be correct, the nine tribes (leaving aside the *Aka-Bea*) would have formerly contained about 3750 persons of all ages. At the present time the four tribes of the North Andaman number altogether about 400, of whom about 100 or less are children. The other six tribes taken together (including the almost extinct *Aka-Bea*) number about 200, of whom not more than 30 are children. Mr Man estimated the numbers of the *Aka-Bea* tribe (called by him *Bojig-ŋiji-da*) in 1882 at about 400, and supposes them to have numbered about 1000 in 1858. In 1901 that tribe consisted of only 37 persons.

[1] Page 18 above.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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616 184 Besides the division into tribes, and independent of it, the Andamanese recognize another division into coast-dwellers and forest-dwellers. In the *Aka-Bea* language the coast-dwellers are called *Ar-yoto*, while the forest-dwellers are called *Erem-taga*. The difference between them is due solely to the difference of their food supply. The *Ar-yoto* obtain much of their food from the sea. They are expert in fishing and turtle hunting. They make canoes and use them not only for hunting but also for travelling from one camp to another. Some portion of their food they also obtain from the forest, edible roots and fruits and the flesh of the wild pig being the chief. On the other hand the *Erem-taga* rely solely on the forest and the inland creeks for their food supply. Their only use for canoes is in the creeks. They are entirely ignorant of such matters as turtle or dugong hunting, but they are more at home than the coast-dwellers in the forest, and are generally more skilful at pig-hunting. The advantage certainly rests with the coast-dwellers, for they have both the sea and the forest to draw upon for their sustenance.

619 616 184 Some tribes consist only of coast-dwellers, such as the *Aka-Čari*, the *Akar-Bale* and perhaps the *Aka-Kọl*. On the other hand the *Aka-Bo*, although their territory includes a part of the west coast, are, by their occupations and mode of life, forest-dwellers, and the same seems to have been the case of the *Ọkọ-Juwọi*. The *A-Pučikwar*, the *Aka-Kede*, the *Aka-Jeru* and perhaps also the *Aka-Kọra* tribes contained both coast-dwellers and forest-dwellers.

621 [42] Each tribe formerly consisted of a number of independent local groups. The local group, and not the tribe, was the land-owning group, each one owning or exercising hunting rights over a certain recognized area. At the present time, owing to the breakdown of the local organisation, through the settlement of the islands and the resulting decrease of population, it is difficult to ascertain what area of country was occupied by each of these local groups. In many cases it would seem that the boundaries between two neighbouring groups are not very clearly defined, there being portions of forest over which the members of both hunted when the

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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621 consist of several huts, which in all are rarely inhabited by more than from fifty to eighty persons[1]."

From the information that I was able to obtain from the 619 natives themselves I came to the conclusion that an average 621 local group consisted of from 40 to 50 persons of all ages, the average number of local groups to a tribe being about 10. This would give the average extent of country occupied by each local group as about 16 square miles, but some groups certainly had a larger territory than this and some had smaller.

Mr M. V. Portman speaks of the tribes of the southern part of the Great Andaman as being divided into what he calls "septs," but he does not explain what he means by that term. He states that the *Aka-Bea* were divided into seven septs, the *A-Pučikwar* into four, the *Akar-Bale* into two, while the *Aka-Kọl* and *Ọkọ-J̌uwọi* had no real subdivisions[2]. Whatever Mr Portman may have meant by the term sept, it is clear that he did not use it to denote what is here called a local group, but some larger subdivision of the tribe. What these septs seem to have been are groups consisting each of four or five local groups having friendly relations with one another and meeting together occasionally at the festival gatherings to be described later in the present chapter.

621 There were, strictly speaking, no distinctive names for the local groups. A local group might be denoted by a reference to the district that it occupied or to one of its chief camping places. Thus, in the *Akar-Bale* tribe, those occupying the island of *Teb-ǰuru* were spoken of as *Teb-ǰuru-wa*, the word *wa* meaning "people," and the inhabitants of the east coast of Havelock Island were similarly denoted as *Puluga-l'armugu-wa* from the name of the district that they occupied. In the tribes of the North Andaman the word equivalent to *wa* of the South is *koloko*. Some of the local groups of the *Aka-Bo* tribe were distinguished as *Teraut buliu koloko*, *Kelera buliu koloko*, *Teradikili buliu koloko* etc., from the names of the creeks (*buliu*) that they occupied. In the *Aka-Čari* tribe the local group occupying the island of *Tọnmuket* and the

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. XII, pp. 107 and 108.

[2] Portman, *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes*, p. 23.

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175 the most commanding localities in the fine harbour of Port-Blair, and reclaiming as far as possible the contiguous swamps, naturally led to much sickness, which was aggravated by various other circumstances, of which the following were doubtless the chief:—

1. Transportation of a large number of prisoners unfit either to withstand the climate or to perform the work required of them under the exceptional circumstances in which they were then placed.
2. Want of sufficient nitrogenous food.
3. Absence of a sanatarium for the recovery of invalids.
4. Employment of convict labour on works of every kind throughout the year without respect to the suitability of the season for those involving exposure to malarious influences, as evidenced by the mortality in the rains having about trebled that of the dry months.
5. Difficulties experienced by working parties in consequence of the harassing attacks of the aborigines.

The above facts being at length recognised as calling for stringent measures of reform, active remedial steps were at once taken by the then recently appointed Superintendent,[1] with the remarkable result that the death rate suddenly fell from 10·16 in 1867 to 3·9 in 1868, while an average of 1·6 in the five following years, during which vast clearings of jungle and other important works were accomplished, testified to the vigour and success with which the wise and considerate system which had been inaugurated was carried on.

●619 186 Prior to the formation of our Settlement in 1858, and for some years after, it is clearly shown, from the early records of our relations with the aborigines, that extreme jealousy and distrust prevailed among adjacent tribesmen, and even among scattered communities of the same tribe; these feelings naturally resulted in restricting intercommunication, and it is therefore not surprising to find that in many cases no knowledge was possessed regarding tribes distant only fifteen or twenty miles.[2] Of the *.ô·ko-jū·wai-*, *.â·kà-.ked·e-*, *.â·kà-.jār·o-*, and *.âkà-.châriàr-* tribes, those living in South Andaman remained in ignorance till 1877, and it was not till 1879–80 that members of all the eight tribes of Great Andaman (*i.e.*, including the *.â-kà-.bal·awa-* of the Archipelago) were able to meet on friendly terms at the various Homes which had then been established for some years.

[1] Colonel (now General) H. Man.

[2] In 1875 it was found that the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* (or South Andaman tribe) had only then recently discovered that Middle Andaman was not, as they had supposed, occupied entirely by the *.â·kà bō·jig-yâb-*, but that it was shared by another tribe called *.â·kà-kôl-*; of the territory further north all they were able to say was that it was occupied by the *.yē·rewa-*, a people they seem to dread equally with the natives of Little Andaman.

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immediate neighbours the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*, and we have every reason to believe that crews of vessels shipwrecked on any portion of the Great Andaman coast would not only escape molestation and attack, but would receive such assistance as it might be in the power of these savages to render. That their animosity in past years was not unfounded is attested by the reports of Captain Miller and Père Barbe, both of which will be found quoted at some length in the "Journal of the Anthropological Institute" for 1882–3, p. 339.[1]

On referring to the accompanying map of the Andamans it will be seen that according to our present knowledge[2] the aboriginal inhabitants are divided into no less than nine tribes, viz.:

.bō·jig-ngī·ji-	..	South Andaman.
.bal·awa- ..	..	Archipelago.
.bō·jig-yâb- *.ô-ko-.jū·wai-* *.â·kà-.ked·e-* *.â·kà-.kôl-*	..	Middle Andaman.
.â·kà-jāro- *.â·kà-.châ·riar-*	..	North Andaman.
jār·awa- ..	..	Inhabitating Little Andaman and southern portions of Great Andaman.[4]

Although the *.bō·jig-ngī.ji-* are here shown, and in the following pages are described, as the natives of South Andaman—including Rutland and Labyrinth Island—there is no evidence to prove that they have ever been in undisputed possession of the whole of this territory; indeed, the scattered encampments of *jār·awa-*, which are marked on the map as occupying certain portions within their territory give substance to the belief that before our advent they suffered from the inroads of their marauding neighbours, whose occupancy is proved to be of no recent date by the *jār·awa* kitchen-middens,[5] evidently of

[1] *Vide* Part III, "Trade, &c.," p. 119.

[2] How erroneous were the views formerly held may be gathered from the following extracts:—"The Andamans . . . do not even exist in a state of tribedom" (Figuier). "They have no tribal distinctions" (Wood). "In Great Andaman there is only one tribe" (Mouat).

[3] These are the names by which they are designated by the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*, who, being our immediate neighbours, are the best known of all the tribes.

[4] As these communities possess many, if not all, the characteristics of the inhabitants of Little Andaman, and are presumed to have had constant communication with them in past years, they are designated by the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* by the name of *jār·awa*.

[5] These are distinguished from those of the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* with readiness by members of the latter tribe, on account of the presence of the valves of certain mollusca, which they assert were never (according to tradition) considered as articles of diet by their own immediate ancestors.

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101 619 remote origin, which are found in and near the harbour of Port Blair.

197 No one who has had the opportunity of seeing the natives of the various islands forming Great Andaman can fail to be struck with the similarity which marks their general appearance,[1] and to be convinced that, however much they may differ in many respects, they must at least claim a common origin. Any reasonable doubt on the subject has been removed by the discovery that although each of the several tribes possesses a distinct dialect, these are traceable to the same source, and are all in the same—*i.e.*, the agglutinative—stage of development; further, it has been ascertained that among all, or at least among the natives of Middle and South Andaman and the Archipelago, a coincidence of legends and customs is to be found, and that though the points of dissimilarity between the inhabitants of Great and Little Andaman are more marked, especially in regard to their weapons and implements, they are by no means such as would justify the belief that the latter are descendants of another branch of the Negrito family.

From what has been already said it will be understood that we are not yet in a position to decide whether one and the same dialect is spoken by all the communities designated as *jār·awa-*, or whether, like the people of North and Middle Andaman, they must be regarded on linguistic grounds as representing two or more tribes.

The dialects of Great Andaman may be grouped into three classes, viz.:—

I. The *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* and *.bal·awa-*.
II. The *.bō·jig-yâb-* and *.ā·kà-.kôl-* and *.ô·ko-.jū·wai-*.
III. The *.ā·kà-.ked·e-* and the two tribes of North Andaman.

But it must not be supposed that the similarity between the dialect of any of these groups is so great that a knowledge of one would enable a person to converse intelligibly with members of the other tribes in the same classification, for such is not the case; now, however, that intercommunication is less restricted it is not unusual to find that members of the various communities are sufficiently acquainted with the dialect spoken by their immediate neighbours as to hold intercourse with them.

172 Little which throws light on their past history can be gathered from the Andamanese or from their traditions, but from a study

[1] I have been told by the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* that they can distinguish a *.bal·awa-* from members of the other tribes by his high cheek-bones, and the shape of his skull, which they describe as more dolichocephalic than those of other tribesmen; but as this tribe is now well-nigh extinct, it is impossible to determine the amount of credence which may be placed on this strange statement.

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791 savage tribes,[1] imagine themselves gifted with superior wisdom, and can hardly be blamed if they endeavour to turn their talents to account by imposing a little on the credulity of their neighbours.

Tribal Distribution.—1. The inhabitants of these islands are 101 divided into at least nine tribes,[2] linguistically distinguished, 171 even if we reckon as one those communities to which I have already alluded under the title of *järawa-*, among whom it is 197 not improbable further divisions and dialects may eventually be discovered. The conjecture that they are one is merely based 619 on the assertions of the people of South Andaman, and on the circumstance that all the weapons, utensils, huts, &c., of the *järawa-*, which we have been able to examine, appear to be constructed invariably on the same model, while all such members of the various scattered communities as we have had the opportunity of observing, resemble each other in abstaining from the practice, so general among all the eight Great Andaman tribes, of shaving their heads and tattooing their persons. Still, these outward similarities are manifestly insufficient, affording as they do mere negative evidence, whereas our present knowledge, so tardily acquired, of there being inland communities, called *ē·rem-tâ·ga-*, dwelling in the heart of South and Middle Andaman, who are allied in all respects, save in their mode of life, with the *ârryô·to-*, or coast communities of their respective tribes, would seem to justify the belief that hereafter the aborigines of Little Andaman will be found to present not only distinctions of this nature but differences also of dialect, as is the case with the inhabitants of both North and Middle Andaman, which are known to be divided into no less than six tribes.

2. As to the numerical strength of these several tribes it is 161 impossible to speak with any degree of certainty, for, as you are 619 aware, there is no part of the country which is not covered with jungle, more or less impenetrable to any but the aborigines themselves, while their capacity for estimating and expressing numbers is wholly inadequate to assist us in forming any conclusions on the subject. The surmise that the entire group contains about 4,000 souls is based on the calculation that the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* tribe with whom we are most intimate do not at the present day exceed 400, though at the time of our advent in 1858, they are believed to have numbered about 1,000.

133 **Topography.**—1. The chief geographical landmarks of these islands are :—

1st. *Saddle Peak*, a massive hill rising to the height of

[1] *Vide* Lubbock, "On the Origin of Civilisation," &c., 4th Ed., pp. 250–1.

[2] For the names of the various tribes, and the localities they occupy, the reader is referred to the accompanying map.

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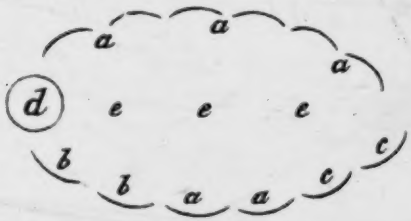
361 tides, the men enjoy exceptional facilities for shooting fish and harpooning turtles, &c.

10. Although the sites selected for occupation are usually well-sheltered, it is not always found possible in tempestuous weather, even in the dense jungle which covers every portion of their country, to obtain shelter sufficient to allow of their huts being so placed as to face inwards towards the *bū·lum-*, or dancing ground. The primary consideration being naturally to secure as much comfort as possible, the sloping roof is at such times presented towards the prevailing wind.

11. The following diagram will give a general idea of the plan commonly adopted in laying out an encampment consisting of several huts, though the form depends much on the nature of the ground, and on the relative position of the surrounding trees, for they do not consider it worth their while to fell these, or to clear away anything but the lightest brushwood for the mere purpose of providing space for their huts, and dancing ground. Another point to be taken into account is the possibility of accidents being caused by falling branches, and, therefore, when erecting their frail dwellings, they are careful to guard against this danger as far as possible, and so much judgment do they display in the matter that accidents of this nature are comparatively unknown.



a. Married persons.[1]
b. Bachelors.[1]
c. Spinsters.[1]
d. Public cooking place.
e. Dancing ground (*bu·lum-*).

619 622 [421] **Government.**—1. The entire country is apportioned among the various tribes, and the territory occupied by each is considered the common property of all its members, and not as belonging exclusively to the chiefs.

2. Their domestic polity may be described as a communism modified by the authority, more or less nominal, of the chief. The head chief of a tribe is called *mai·a-iglā·-*, and the elders, or sub-chiefs, *i.e.*, those in authority over each community, consisting of from 20 to 50 individuals, *mai·ola*.

3. The head chief, who usually resides at a permanent

[1] Even at the homes they are careful to maintain this order, viz.: of placing the bachelors and spinsters at either end of the building, and the married couples in the space between.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

encampment, has authority over all the sub-chiefs, but his power, like theirs, is very limited. It is exercised mainly in organising meetings between the various communities belonging to his tribe, and in exerting influence in all questions affecting the welfare of his followers. It is the chief alone, as may be supposed, who directs the movements of a party while on hunting or fishing expeditions, or when migrating. It is usually through his intervention that disputes are settled, but he possesses no power to punish or enforce obedience to his wishes, it being left to all alike to take the law into their own hands when aggrieved. 622 619

4. The *àryô·to-* and *ē·remtâ·ga-* in each tribe have their own head chief, who are independent the one of the other.

5. As might be assumed from the results of observations made of other savage races, whose sole or chief occupation consists in hunting or fishing, the power of the chiefs is very limited, and not necessarily hereditary, though, in the event of a grown-up son being left who was qualified for the post, he would, in most instances, be selected to succeed his father in preference to any other individual of equal efficiency. 622

6. At the death of a chief there is no difficulty in appointing a successor, even if he leave no son, for there is always at least one who is considered his deputy or right-hand man. As they are usually, on these occasions, unanimous in their choice, no formal election takes place; however should any be found to dissent, the question is decided by the wishes of the majority, it being always open to malcontents to transfer their allegiance to another chief, since there is no such thing as forced submission to the authority of one who is not a general favourite.

7. Social status being dependent not merely on the accident of relationship, but on skill in hunting, fishing, &c., and on a reputation for generosity and hospitality, the chiefs and elders are almost invariably superior in every respect to the rest. They and their wives are at liberty to enjoy immunity from the drudgery incidental to their mode of life, all such acts being voluntarily performed for them by the young unmarried persons living under their headship. [554]

8. Though females, like minors (that is to say youths under 18), cannot be chiefs, the former have a similar position relatively among the women, to that held by their husbands among the men of the tribe. A chief's wife enjoys many privileges, especially if she be a mother, and in virtue of her husband's rank rules over all the young unmarried women and such also of the married ones as are not senior to herself. Should she become a widow she continues to exercise the same rights, unless she re-marries, when her social status depends on that of 622 562

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

2. I have used the word "evil" advisedly, for there can be no doubt, from observations extending over many years, that the result of their excessive indulgence in smoking has been seriously to impair their constitutions. The attempts that have been made to check the mischief have hitherto failed, as it has been found difficult, if not impossible, to induce them to do a stroke of work without the accompaniment of the "fragrant weed." 276

Cannibalism.—1. The early stories regarding the prevalence of cannibalism among these savages do not at the present day require refutation.[1] No lengthened investigation was needed to disprove the long credited fiction, for not a trace could be discovered of the existence of such a practice in their midst, even in far-off times. 266

2. It is curious, however, to note, that while they express the greatest horror of the custom, and indignantly deny that it ever held a place among their institutions, a very general belief has been entertained by the tribes living in South and Middle Andaman as to its prevalence in other races, and even among their own countrymen inhabiting North and Little Andaman; and to this cause is chiefly ascribed the dread which they and their fathers have, from a distant period, evinced of their neighbours, and the animosity displayed towards strangers who have approached or landed on their shores; but these sentiments are now confined to those individuals who have had but scant opportunity of becoming acquainted with ourselves and other aliens, or with the results of the visits paid by us to the dreaded *.yē·rewa-* and *jārawa-* territories.

Communications, Chirography, and Drawing.—1. The density of the Andaman jungles, and the unsuitability of their canoes for long expeditions by sea, would of themselves be serious hindrances to free intercourse between the various tribes, even were there not the further difficulty—due in great measure to the above circumstances—of difference of language to contend with. 619

2. There are no marked boundaries between the various tribal districts, but a general understanding exists between neighbouring tribes regarding the limits of their respective domains, which are usually defined by such natural barriers as a range of hills, a creek, or even a belt of dense jungle. So careful are they to respect these boundaries, that, before even travelling through, and particularly before hunting or fishing in, the territory of a 619 486

[1] Papuans being regarded as such inveterate anthropophagi, ethnologists will probably agree in considering that the non-existence—nay, even horror—of this custom among the Andamanese furnishes an important item in the array of facts which militate against the theory held by some that the latter form a branch of the great Papuan family.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

619 neighbouring tribe, an express invitation or permission is required, unless, indeed, the party entering happens to be accompanied by
486 one or more members of the district visited, or when, from long and friendly intercommunication, a right of way has been tacitly sanctioned. In cases where there has been a breach of this observance sharp retribution has generally followed, causing sometimes serious loss of life, and resulting in a long-standing tribal feud.

619 3. Those communities of *ē·rem-tâ·ga-* and *dryô·to-*, living within a few miles of each other and speaking the same dialect,
578 arrange from time to time large gatherings—generally numbering about a hundred persons[1]—for purposes of barter, or for the
437 celebration of some particular event. Though not unfrequently on these occasions old enmities are healed and friendships formed, fresh tribal feuds and personal quarrels sometimes originate in consequence of a misunderstanding or dispute over some comparative trifle.[2]

487 4. There are numerous paths intersecting each territory, the result of continuous traffic over the same ground. When, for some reason, a new course is taken through the jungle, the route is indicated to those following by bending the twigs of the brushwood in a *reverse* direction at intervals along the track. This is especially the case during the dry season, when, owing to the parched condition of the soil, there is some difficulty in distinguishing footprints.[3]

212 5. No marks on rocks, trees or other objects, made for purposes of record, are believed by them to exist, and, with the exception of the supposititious hieroglyphics,[4] hereafter to be mentioned, nothing of the nature of writing is to be found among these tribes, nor have they any method of recording the name and exploits of a deceased chief or other individual who may have gained distinction during his life, save the narration —more or less garbled—of the same by their admiring descendants. The messenger who conveys intelligence to a distant encampment bears no outward token with him to testify to the authenticity or character of the communication he has to make.

211 6. Although no method of signs exists, such as tying knots in a string, making notches in a tally, or figures on wood, bark, or
411 stone, they have means of distinguishing arrows and spears belonging to one another, by certain differences peculiar to each

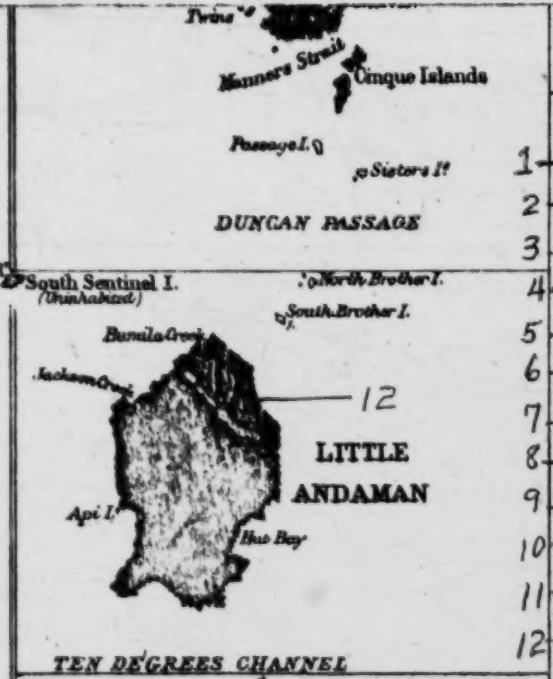
[1] It is believed that no larger number than 300 has ever been assembled at one time in any place in our vicinity, at least since our advent.

[2] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraphs 24 and 37.

[3] No prejudice exists in respect to crossing water, going by certain paths, or handling particular objects, excepting the *Anadendrum paniculatum*. *Vide post*, Part III, "String," paragraph 3.

[4] *Vide* "Mythology," paragraph 29.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2



The uncolored portion of S. Andaman is the Site of the Indian Penal Settlement.

Geographical Miles.

0 10 20 30 40 50

EXPLANATION.

	Designation of Territory in S. Andaman dialect.	Situation.	Name of Tribe	Collectively.
1 (NORTH)	Elâkà-Chârîâr (da)	Islands off NNW of N. Andaman	Âkà-Chârîâr (da)	Âkà Yarewa (da)
2 (NORTH)	Elâkà-Kôrâ (da)	Coast of the northern half of N. Andaman	Âkà-Kôrâ (da)	
3 (NORTH)	Elâkà-Tibô (da)	Interior of N. Andaman	Âkà-Tibô (da)	
4 (NORTH)	Elâkà-Yêre (da)	Coast of southern half of N. Andaman & N.E. corner of Middle Andaman	Âkà-Yêre (da)	
5 (CENTRAL)	Elâkà-Kede (da)	N. half of Mid. Andaman & S.W. corner of N. Andaman with Interview I.	Âkà-Kede (da)	
6 (CENTRAL)	Kâpa-tòng (da)	Coast & interior of central portion of Middle Andaman	Ôko-Jîrai (da)	
7 (CENTRAL)	Elâkà-Kôl (da)	Central portion of East Coast of Middle Andaman	Âkà-Kôl (da)	
8 (CENTRAL)	Elâkà-Bôjigyâb (da)	S.E. corner of Mid. Andaman including part of Bâra-tâng I. & adjacent Islets	Âkà-Bôjigyâb (da)	Bôjignjji (da)
9 (SOUTH)	Elâr-Jîru (da)	The Archipelago with Button I.	Âkà-Balawa (da)	
10 (SOUTH)	Elâkà-Bêa (da)	Coast of South Andaman & Rutland I. the Labyrinth Islands & S.W. corner of Middle Andaman	Âkà-Bêa (da)	
11 (SOUTH)	Elâkà-Jârawa (da)	Part of interior of S. Andaman Rutland & Bâra-tâng I* also North Sentinel	Jârawa (da) (off-shoot of the Onge tribe)	
12 (SOUTH)	Pîtâng (da) or Wîlima-târa (da)	Little Andaman	Ônge	

* Bâra tâng is reckoned a portion of Middle Andaman.

93° Longitude East from Greenwich. 94°

E. H. MAN, del. F.S. Waller F.R.G.S.

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[Numbers added to replace colors — Analyst]

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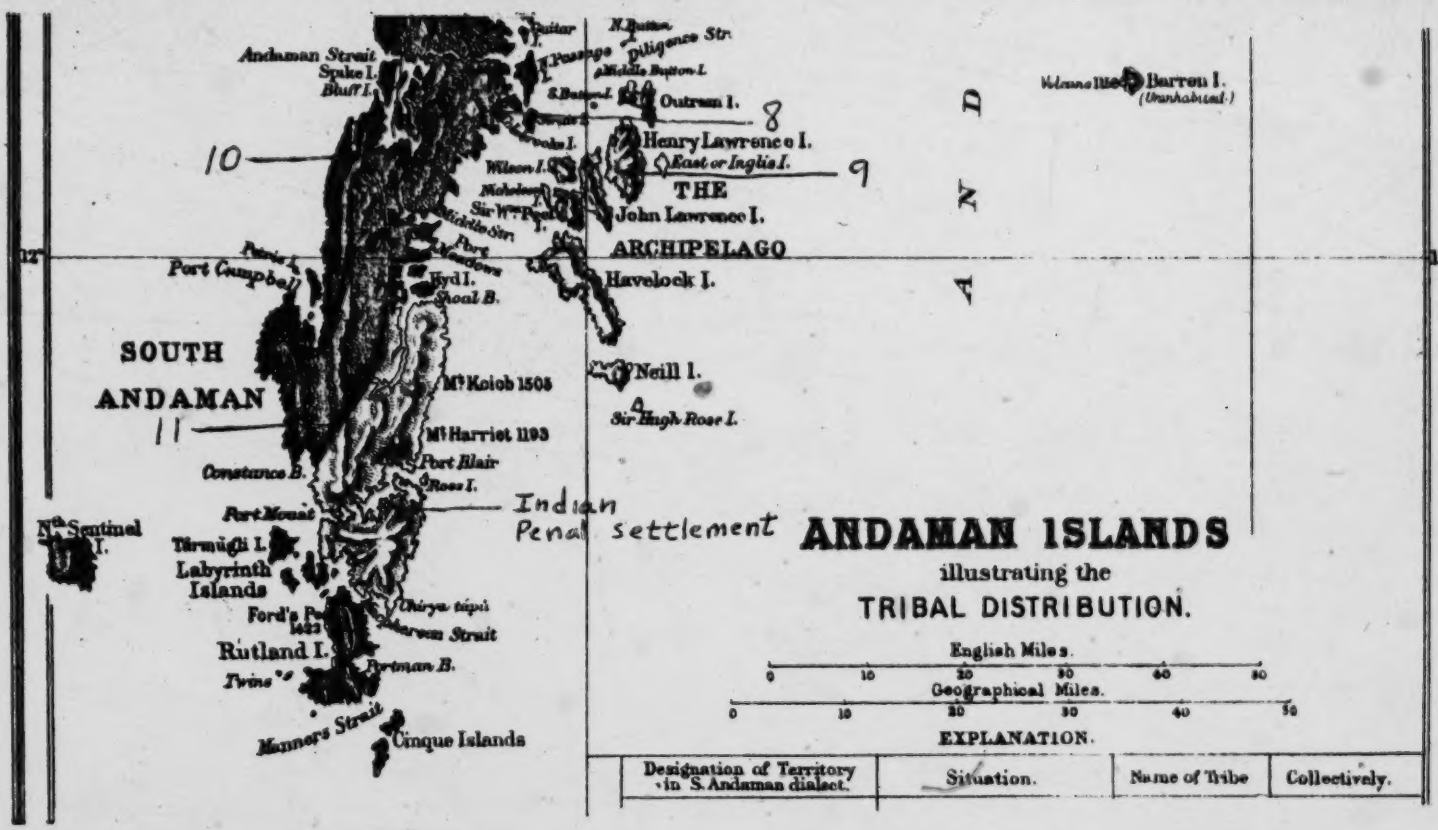

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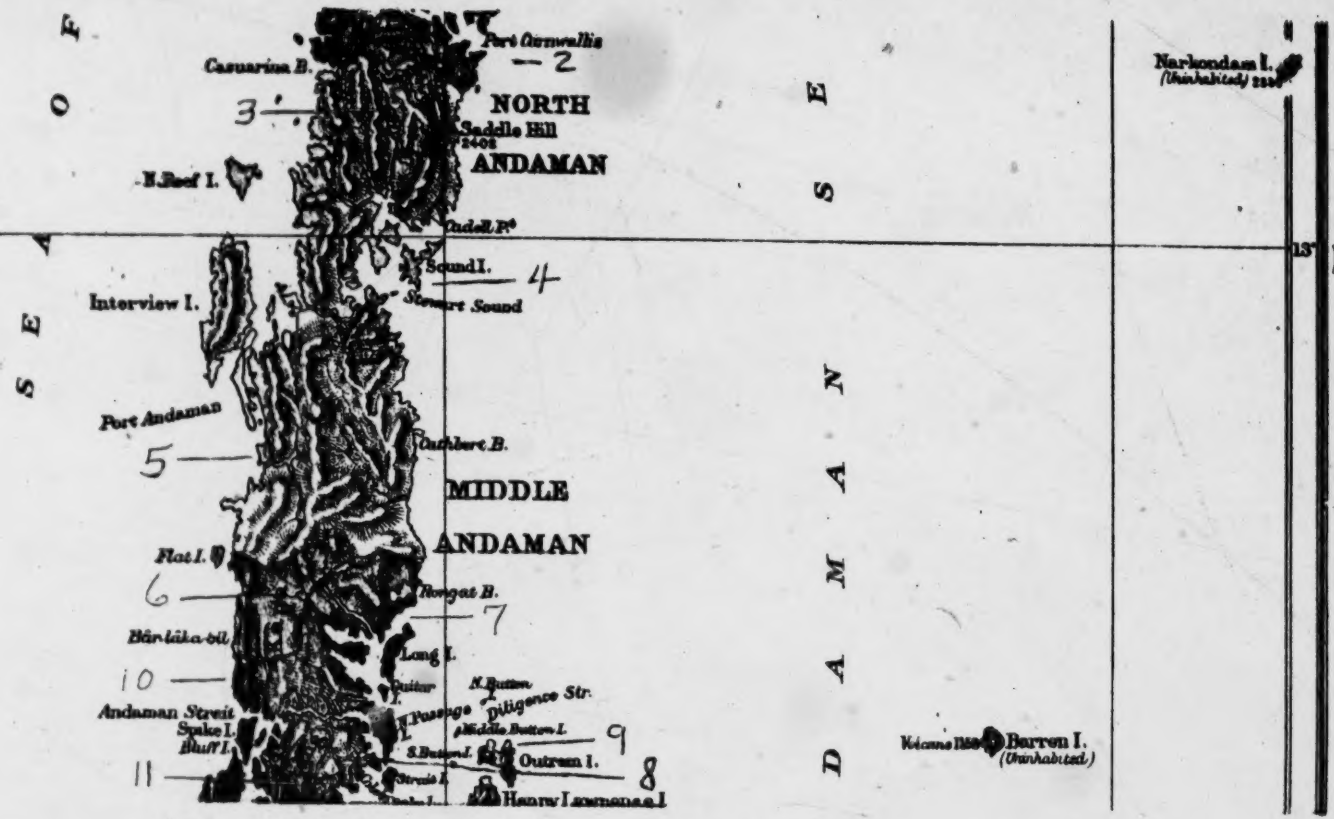

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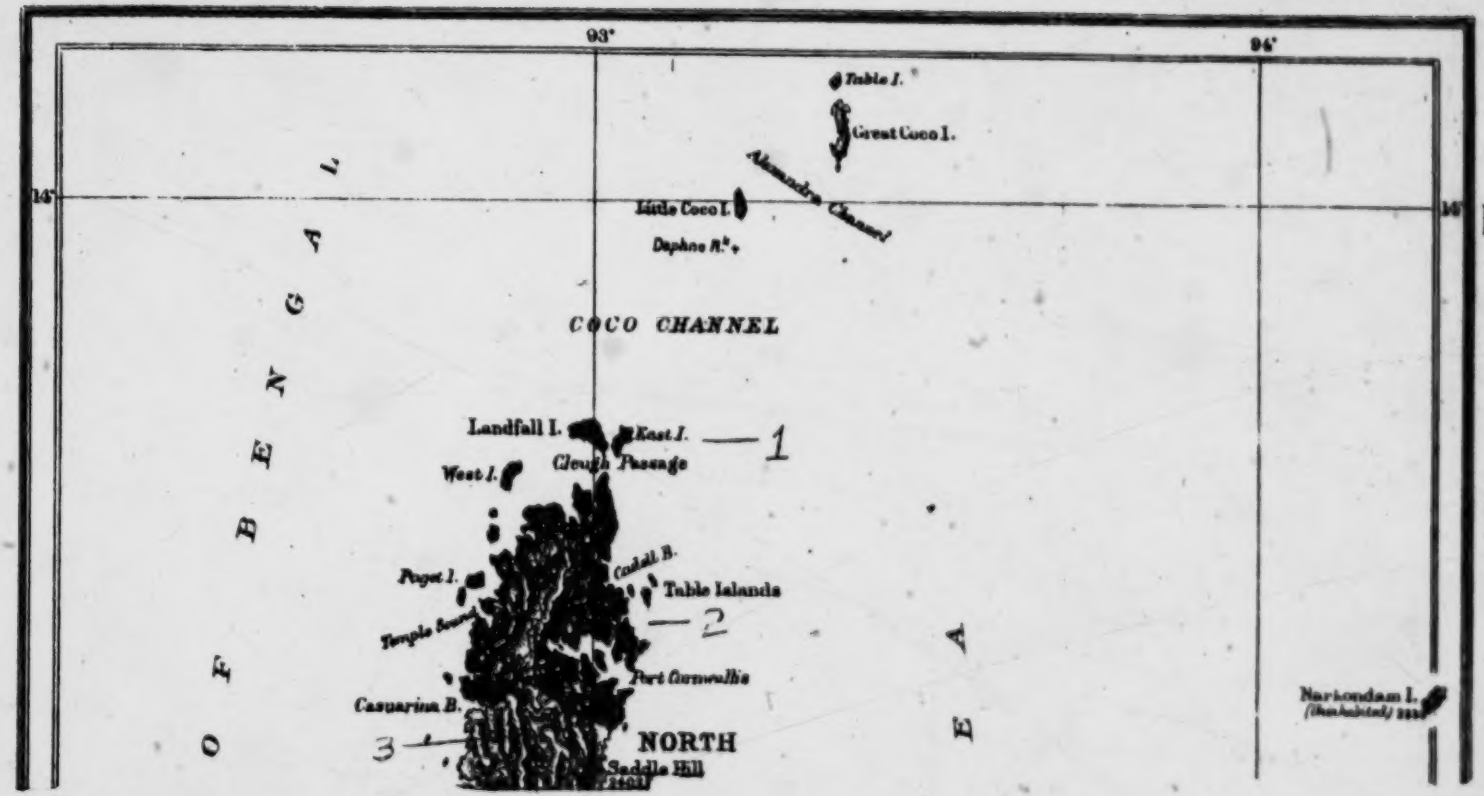

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PART I.

THE ANDAMANESE.

CHAPTER I.

THE CENSUS.

Conditions of Census-taking—Impossibility of Synchronous Census—Intelligent Assistance from Aborigines impossible—Hostile Tribes estimated only—Control of Operations—Census Tours—Method of Enumeration—Officers' Diaries—Method of estimating Ongés and Jarawas—Attitude of the Andamanese—Points as to Defects in Enumeration—Jarawa Hostility—The Returns of the Andamanese—The former Population—Diagram of Past and Present Assumed Density—Methods of arriving at Former Density—The Kitchen-Middens—Future Prospects of the Race.

619 484 **Conditions of Census-taking.**—The conditions under which a Census of the Andamanese was attempted were the following. In the first place there are Andamanese "Homes" in the Penal Settlement maintained by the Government, to which any Andamanese of any Tribe may come and stay as long as he chooses. In the next place, for reasons hereafter to be explained, practically all the tribes but one are "friendly" and are at the present time very much mixed up with each other. In this mixed condition they are nomads, much given to rapid wandering all over the islands of the group known as the Great Andaman, in which the Penal Settlement is situated. In their most imperfect condition of civilisation it was quite hopeless to expect to induce them to remain in any one place for even one night or for any given period. And thus the first great difficulty to combat in attempting to enumerate them was to prevent the same persons from being counted twice or more times over.

131 **Impossibility of Synchronous Census.**—This difficulty was increased by the impossibility, owing to the nature of the country they inhabit, from enumerating the people all at once or at anything approaching a uniform time. As will be seen later on, the Andamans consist of the Great Andaman group and the Little Andaman, attached to each of which are a great number of smaller islands and islets. There is also the inhabited North Sentinel at some distance to the west of the general group. The Great Andaman consists of five main islands running from north to south thus:—North Andaman, Middle Andaman, Baratang, South Andaman, Rutland Island. All these are dove-tailed into each other by very narrow straits, not so wide as the ordinary rivers of a continent. The Little Andaman is situated at a considerable distance to the south. All round the Great Andaman are islands of every size; to the east is Ritchie's Archipelago and to the west are the Labyrinth Islands Every single island of the whole group is covered with a hilly jungle, the denseness of which must be seen to be appreciated, and passable only to its indigenous inhabitants. It is therefore impossible without much preparation and expense to traverse the interior of the islands, but happily it is quite easy to move about the deeply indented coasts, containing more harbours and snug anchorages than the whole Indian Peninsula. The length of the Great Andaman group is 156 miles: its average width is 9 to 10 miles and with the outlying islands some 25 miles. Two distant islands, Narcondam and Barren Island, to the east are also included in the Andaman group, but they are both uninhabited. It was, therefore, necessary to go over this area by coasting voyages, to stop at likely spots for encampments and to hunt about for the nomadic inhabitants of the neighbourhood: a work requiring much local knowledge, personal judgment and patience.

000 **Intelligent Assistance from Aborigines impossible.**—From the nature of the case it will be understood that very little reliance could be placed on the people themselves for assistance in the enumeration. Their inveterate, indeed necessary, habits of wandering, their childlike incapacity for responsibility of

any kind and their equally childlike way of doing whatever is pleasant for the moment in place of performing a duty, would effectually prevent this. So the best had to be made of skilled European but, of course, essentially alien agency.

Hostile Tribes estimated only.—Although the whole of the Tribes on the Great Andaman (with the exception of the Jarawas of the interior of the South Andaman and part of its west coast and of the interior of Baratang) are on the most friendly terms with us and with each other, it was quite impossible to go into the Jarawa country at all. So was it impossible also to visit, for Census purposes, the North Sentinel and the greater part of Rutland Island, likewise inhabited by the Jarawas, as these people are as inimical to other Andamanese as they are to Europeans or Asiatics generally—their hostility being exhibited equally to every stranger. Again, the Onge Tribe, closely related to the Jarawas, inhabiting the Little Andaman and the Cinque Islands, have only of late become friendly in part and to an unknown extent only, and it was not thought advisable to do anything that might disturb a desirable feeling of friendliness and confidence in us that is yearly increasing in strength, and thus it was decided to leave them alone also. These two Tribes, now the largest of the Andamanese, had to be left to estimates, such as a very long acquaintance with the people generally on the part of the local officers warranted.

Control of the Operations.—In the circumstances to be faced I took the control of the Andamanese Census into my own hands and selected three officers to carry out the work. Mr. E. H. Man, C.I.E., Deputy Superintendent of the Penal Settlement, now retired, Captain (now Major) A. R. S. Anderson, I.M.S., Senior Medical Officer of the Penal Settlement, and Mr. H. H. D'Oyly, one of the District Officers of the Settlement. Mr. Man's numerous and unique writings on the Andamans, resulting from his very long acquaintance with the Andamanese, and his many years' personal charge of them, pointed to him as the official most likely to succeed in arriving at a definite idea of the numbers of the aboriginal population. I also generally superintended myself as much of the actual work of enumeration as my many duties connected with the islands permitted.

Census Tours.—It was decided that two separate tours should be undertaken round the Great Andaman. The first, in the R. I. M. S. *Elphinstone* accompanied by the large sea-going steam launch *Bess*, commenced at Port Blair on 25th January 1901 and lasted till 2nd February. The party proceeded up the east coast northwards, through the Archipelago, and down the west coast as far as Kwangtung Harbour (since renamed Port Anson by the Marine Survey). I was present during this tour myself and then had to proceed on duty to Calcutta in the *Elphinstone*. The business of the *Bess* was to accompany the *Elphinstone* everywhere and to go into passages and anchorages which were barred to the larger steamer. Kwangtung Harbour or Port Anson separates the middle and south Andaman Islands, and the *Bess* returned to Port Blair by the east coast through Homfray's Strait, the northernmost of the two dividing straits, picking up what additional information was possible on the way.

The second tour in the *Bess*, accompanied by the sea-going steam launch *Belle* of equal size, commenced at Port Blair on the 15th February 1901 and lasted till 18th February. The party proceeded northwards as before up the east coast to the middle strait, the southernmost of the two dividing straits, and thence to Kwangtung Harbour. It then proceeded down the west coast, through the Labyrinth Islands, round Rutland Island, to the Cinque Islands and thence to Bumila Creek in the Little Andaman, the occasion being taken to show as much civility as possible to a party of Onges. Thence the party proceeded home to Port Blair up the east coast. In this way was secured as comprehensive a circuit of the Andaman Islands as was possible in a short time and at a reasonable expense. In Appendix A will be found the detailed orders as to their tours, as they may be of use at the next Census; the operations at which, I apprehend, must be practically extensions of those undertaken this time. Attached to the orders are some notes on the navigation of the often very dangerous coasts of the Andamans and a sketch of the work performed daily.

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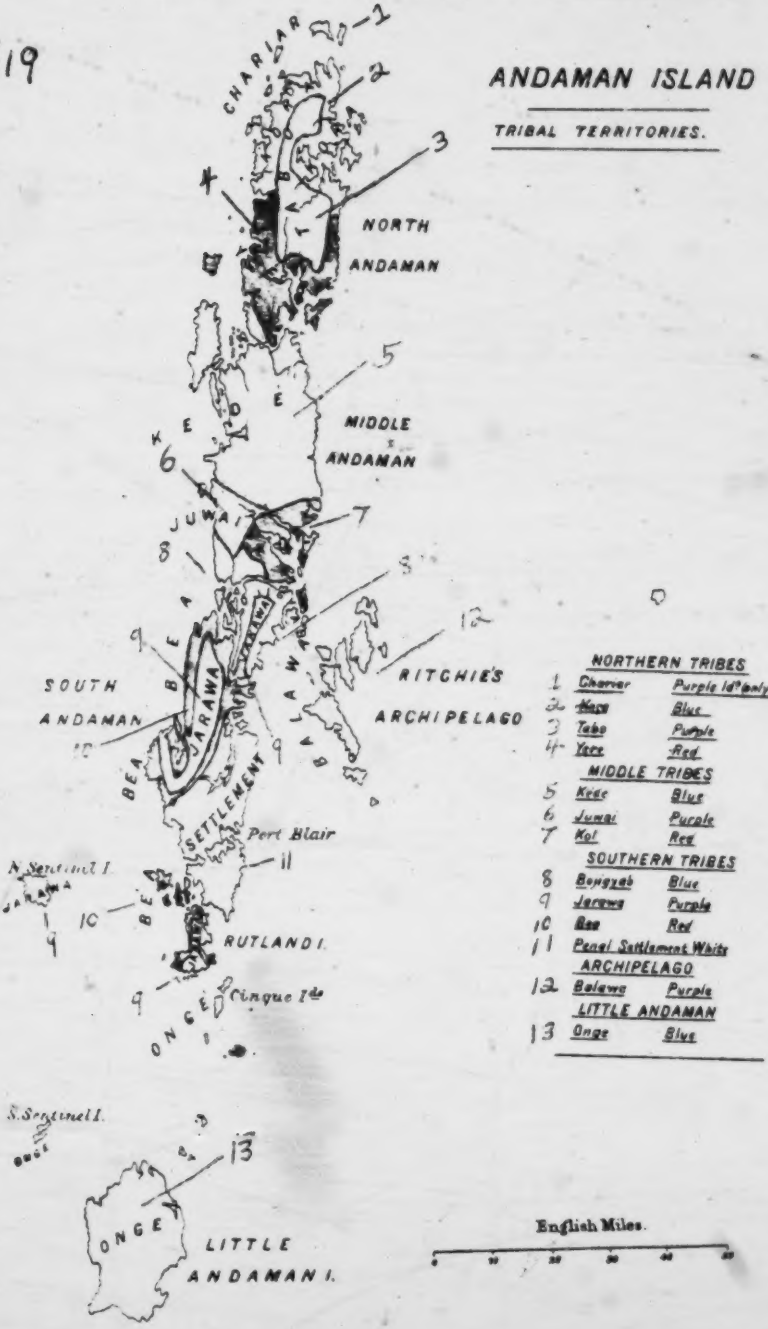

[facing p. 3]

[numbers added to replace colors. -- Analyst]

000 **Method of Enumeration.**—The actual method of enumeration was to select carefully from the Homes and attach to the Census officers the most intelligent of the Andamanese, who had lived there for years and were therefore conversant with Europeans and their ways and had acquired, by direct education or long contact with civilization, habits of restraint and obedience to orders. These men were employed all along the route in tracing the whereabouts of their people and in collecting information about themselves and their families. The information thus collected was carefully sifted, an operation requiring patience and much local knowledge, and entered in tabulated forms specially supplied. These forms showed the places at which information was procured, and the number of men, women, boys and girls, tribe by tribe, found by enquiry to be there. In my opinion this was all that could be reasonably attempted in the circumstances, and I limited the enquiry to this extent on the ground that it was better to attempt to do a little reasonably well than to attempt a Census on a scale that the conditions did not fairly permit.

Officers' Diaries.—Each officer was required to keep a diary and to record therein everything of interest that came under his observation, with the view of taking advantage of the tours to collect all the miscellaneous information that could be acquired in the time available. Maps were also supplied on which officers were required to enter every camp and inhabited place they heard of and especially every Andamanese place-name they ascertained. This last was of value, because to the Andamanese any but their own names for places are unintelligible. The chief results of the enquiries are recorded in the officers' reports attached in Appendix B.

161 **Method of estimating Ônges and Jarawas.**—As to the two Tribes, Ônges and Jarawas, of whom no attempt was made at a direct enumeration, it
●619 is necessary to explain the method of arriving at the assumed figures for them. The people best known to us are those of the southern islands of the Great Andaman group, the population of which is now very small from causes that will be hereafter examined. The figures for these tribes (Kede, Juwai, Kol, Bojigyab, Balawa, Bea) were taken as a basis upon which to build up figures for the Ônges and Jarawas respectively as being something definite to go upon.

The Ônges have not been brought under the influence of the causes that have led to the depopulation of the areas occupied by the Southern Andaman Tribes and are known to be much more numerous. Taking this fact into consideration and also the area of their occupation, it has been assumed that their numbers reach to three times the present totals for the above named Tribes. In dividing up the figures thus arrived at into sexes, there is no particular difficulty as regards adults, though that gives males 11 per cent. in excess of females, but there is much difficulty as regards children. In the present abnormal condition of the Southern Andaman Tribes the children are very few indeed, shown in the Census figures as only 24 per cent. of the adults, and among them, too, the males are shown as being nearly twice as numerous as the females. These are conditions impossible under the normal circumstances of a population maintained without extraneous immigration, and though for the purposes of calculation on a given basis, I allowed the figures to be returned officially for the Ônges as under—

Adults.		Children.		Total.
Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
303	273	63	33	672

I do not believe the details to correctly represent facts, which among the Ônges, presumably still existing under conditions normal to themselves, are more approximately arrived at, I think, on the following lines. Savage populations very quickly reach the limit of increase, that limit depending on their method of gaining a livelihood in the area they occupy. In other words, as long as savages adhere to their habits of life, the population remains stationary after a short period of occupation of a new territory. As regards the Andamans, until lately, as with the Nicobars, the population has, I think, for the above reasons been stationary through all historical times and long before that at very small figures. For reasons given below I should now place the totals for the Onges somewhat higher than has been above arrived at, and I would divide them up nearly

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equally into adults and children and again nearly equally into sexes with a slight preponderance in favour both of children and females. Say, as under—

ÔNGES.

Adults.		Children.		Total.
Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
153	173	178	168	672

The Jarawas, more than probably old Onge emigrants from the Little to the Great Andaman and become separated from the main Tribe, occupy portions of Rutland Island, the interior of part of the South Andaman and of Baratang and all the North Sentinel. The figures for them have been assumed on three distinct bases. Those in the South Andaman and Baratang and those in North Sentinel have each been taken to be as numerous as the enumerated population of the other South Andaman tribes, *i.e.*, as equal in numbers to the Bea, Balawa, Bojigyab and Kol Tribes, and those in Rutland Island, on the same grounds as the Onges, to be three times as numerous as the South Andaman Tribes above named. These assumptions give the following figures :—

JARAWAS.

In South Andaman and Baratang.	In North Sentinel.	In Rutland Island.	Total.
117	117	351	585

As regards the figures thus arrived at, circumstances which have occurred since the Census strongly support their general correctness for the South Andaman and Baratang. Arguing on the same lines as in the case of the Onges, I believe the conditions in the North Sentinel would support about 117 people and not more, and that the figures for Rutland Island are somewhat too highly placed. For reasons given below, it is probable that the Jarawas have been placed about 100 too high and the Onges about 100 too low : the general total for all the Tribes being most likely about right. In reference however to the details of the Jarawas as returned at the Census, *viz.* :—

JARAWAS.

Adults.		Children.		Total.
Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
280	210	55	40	585

I feel sure from what has since transpired that the children do somewhat outnumber the adults and the females the males, and I would on the Census returns divide up the Tribe as follows :—

JARAWAS.

Adults.		Children.		Total.
Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
126	146	162	151	585

Again, when dividing the above figures up into their three elements, recent expeditions support the figures then reached as regards the South Andaman at any rate, thus :—

JARAWAS.

	Adults.		Children.		Total.
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
South Andaman and Baratang . .	25	29	32	31	117
North Sentinel .	25	29	32	31	117
Rutland Island . .	76	88	98	89	351
Total .	126	146	162	151	585

This table fully bears out the fact, now locally recognised as probably true on otherground, that the number of Jarawa fighting men, who have done so much damage in the jungles on the outskirts of the Penal Settlement for so many years past, are very few, probably not more than 30, and that the entire strength of the Tribe in the South Andaman is not more than about 120.

3: Temple G-5 (1901) 1903 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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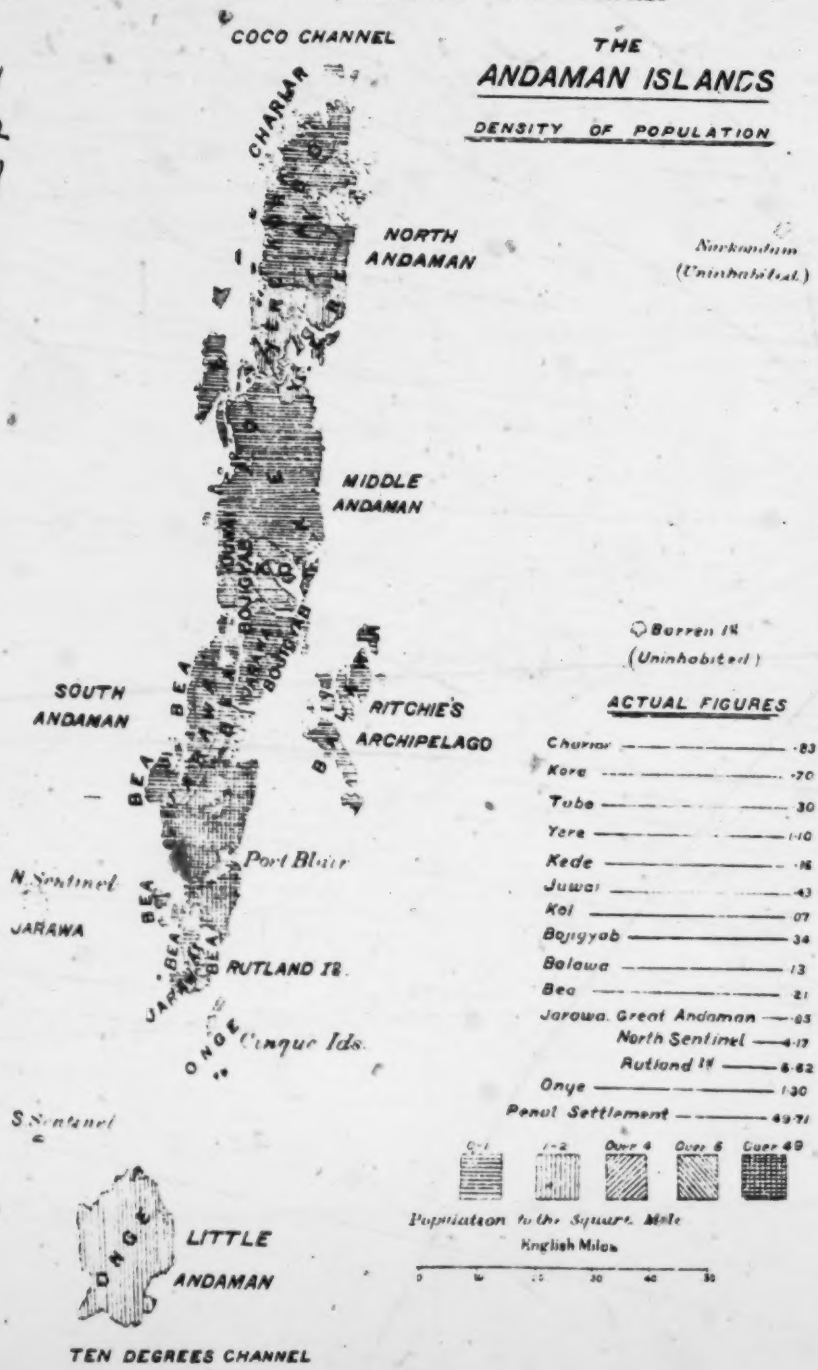

[facing p. 6]

ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

FIGURES FOR THE ABORIGINES CENSUS, 1901.

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Name of Tribe.	Adults.		Children.		Total.	Occupied area in square miles.	Density per square mile.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.			
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	
Châriâr . . .	16	15	6	2	39	47	·83
Kôrâ . . .	31	32	14	19	96	137	·70
Tâbô . . .	15	16	7	10	48	158	·30
Yêre . . .	98	80	26	14	218	198	1·10
Kede . . .	24	30	3	2	59	371	·16
Jûwai . . .	21	19	7	1	48	110	·43
Kôl . . .	6	2	3	...	11	161	·07
Bojigyâb . . .	31	14	2	3	50	148	·34
Balawa . . .	5	10	3	1	19	141	·13
Bêa . . .	14	16	3	4	37	117	·21*
Jarawa . . .	280	210	55	40	585	220	2·66
Ônge . . .	303	273	63	33	672	373	1·30
TOTAL .	844	717	192	129	1,882	2,181*	·86

* Excluding occupied area of the Settlement 327 square miles.

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In the above table the Jarawas should be divided between the Great Andaman, North Sentinel and Rutland Island. Thus divided, the special table for them is as under :—

JARAWAS.

	Occupied area in square miles.	Population.	Density per square mile.
In Great Andaman	139	117	0·85
In North Sentinel	28	117	4·17
In Rutland Island	53	351	6·62

The density figure thus arrived at is, I think, about right for the Great Andaman and I am not prepared to say that it is far wrong for the North Sentinel, but it is probably a good deal too high for Rutland Island, *i.e.*, it would appear from this argument that the whole population of the Jarawas have been placed at too high a figure.

It will be noted that the above figures give a density of population among the aborigines of less than one per square mile, *not* an unlikely fact. Commenting generally on these returns I should say that the figures for the Kede, Juwai, Kol, Bojigyab, Balawa and Bea tribes are right; so much is known about them that statements of the people as to themselves are not difficult to check. But I think it likely that the Chariar children are understated. I am not prepared to be positive as to this, however, as this Tribe, too, is well known and understood. The Yere children are probably much understated, though from what is known of this Tribe it is likely that the adults are greatly in excess of the children.

I was present when in 1900 the Kora were discovered, or to speak more accurately differentiated. They had been previously well known, themselves and their encampments, but had been considered to belong to the Chariar. The discovery as to the true facts—that they were a separate Tribe with a territory and language of their own—so late as 1900 is an example of the difficulty in procuring accurate information from such primitive savages as the Andamanese. It mattered nothing to them that Kora men and women had been to the Home at Port Blair and had been classed as Chariar. All they thought of the matter was that the sahibs held them to be Chariar, but that they and all the Andamanese knew better! In this case I think it likely that a similar error has been made as regards the children as in the case of the Yere Tribe.

In regard to the Tabo of the interior of the North Andaman, whose existence was unsuspected by us until the Census, the figures given must be taken with some caution, despite the native explanation of the cause of the destruction of

162 619 the Tribe, that they killed each other off in consequence of the introduction of contagious disease amongst them by the Chariar or Kora Tribes. It is somewhat difficult to believe that even a savage Tribe would actually kill off the sick to such an extent as to reduce themselves to half a dozen families or hunting camps. Even then the children would not be affected by the process and should in such case be much more numerous than the adults, but they are recorded as being in a minority of nearly 55 %. It is probable that both the figures for the adults and the children are in this case understated.

Criticisms on the figures for Ônges and Jarawas have already been made.

Taken all round, however, the totals for the whole of the Andamans are not likely on the above grounds to be very far wrong and to my mind an estimate of 2,000 is about correct for the existing population of this primeval and most interesting race. At the next Census it will possibly be practicable to arrive at more accurate figures in the light of the present experience by carefully considering how the defects noticed on this occasion can be remedied.

161 162 619 **Former Population.**—It has been well known for years past that the Andamanese population was even a generation ago far more numerous than it is now and proceeding on the general principles followed in the remarks above made, it seems to me that a fairly accurate estimate of the old normal population can be arrived at. The principles governing the estimate would be—

(1) the population has always been stationary,
(2) the population has been limited by habits as to food production and by the area of productive occupation,
(3) the relative size of the Tribes as gauged by their present strength combined with exposure to devastating contagious or infectious diseases,
(4) the capacity of each Tribe to hold its own with neighbouring Tribes.

On these grounds I estimate the combined Ônge-Jarawa Tribe as having been always of its present estimated strength and the other Tribes as under, keeping to the further principle that the adults and children have always been about equal and that the sexes also have been about equal: preponderance in favour of women over men and of male over female children.

ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

ESTIMATES OF THE OLD NORMAL POPULATION.

Name of Tribe.	Adults.		Children.		Total.	Occupied area in square miles.	Density per square mile.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.			
Châriâr .	20	25	30	25	100	47	2·13
Kôrâ . .	105	120	140	135	500	137	3·65
Tâbô . . .	40	50	60	50	200	158	1·27
Yêre . . .	150	165	200	185	700	198	3·50
Kede . .	105	120	140	135	500	371	1·35
Jûwai .	60	75	90	75	300	110	2·73
Kôl . .	20	25	30	25	100	161	0·62
Bojigyâb . .	60	75	90	75	300	148	2·03
Balawa . .	60	75	90	75	300	141	2·12
Bêa . . .	105	120	140	135	500	444 *	1·13
Jarawa . .	130	140	170	160	600	220 †	2·73
Ônge . . .	150	165	200	185	700	373	1·88
	1,005	1,155	1,380	1,260	4,800	2,508	1·91

Males—2,385 Females—2,415 = Total 4,800.
Adults—2,160 Children—2,640 = Total 4,800.

* Including 327 square miles now occupied by the Penal Settlement.

† The Jarawa density being divided up as per foot-note to paragraph three:—

(*86) Great Andaman.
(†17) North Sentinel.
(*67) Rutland.

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[facing p. 8]

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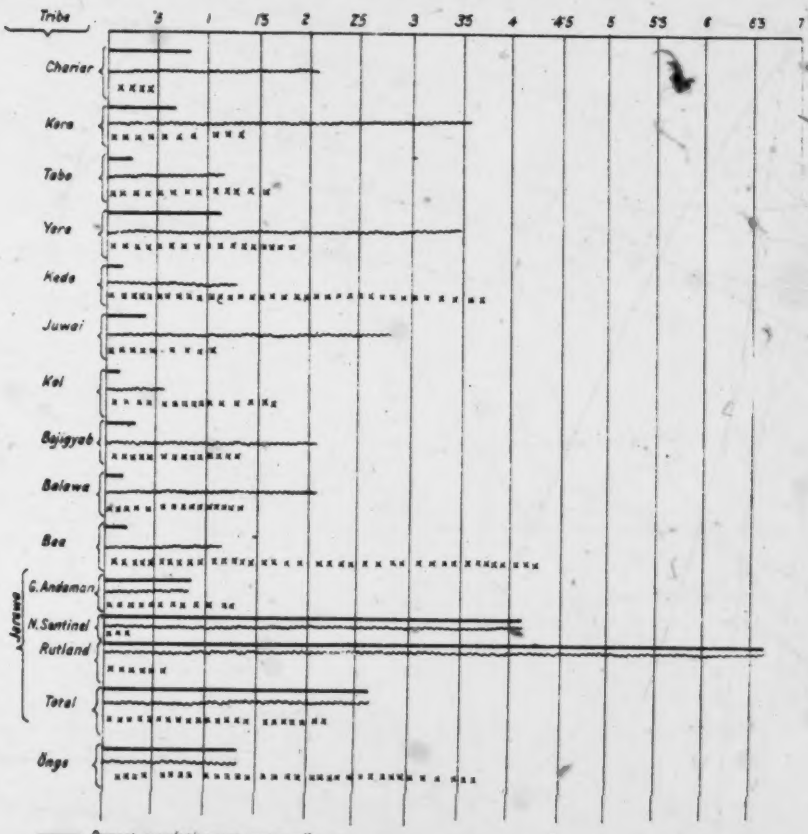
I feel pretty sure that the indigenous population of the Andaman Islands was at no time higher than 5,000 and that it was for many centuries stationary. The density figures also work out to about two to the square mile and that, too, I think a reasonable figure to adopt for the old indigenous population before contact with Europeans.

Diagram of Past and Present Density.—Proceeding to put the conjectures arrived at above to the further test of a diagram illustrating the present and past assumed density of the Andamanese Tribes compared with the area actually occupied by each Tribe, the following facts are arrived at.

DIAGRAM ILLUSTRATING PRESENT AND PAST ASSUMED DENSITY OF THE POPULATION OF THE ANDAMANESE TRIBES WITH AREA OCCUPIED BY EACH.



161 From this diagram it becomes pretty evident that the Jarawa population
162 for Rutland Island has been assumed at too high a figure, both for the past and present time. At the same time I think that it is equally probable that the population of the Onges has been underestimated. Taking all the calculations and known facts into consideration, my own opinion is that the assumptions for
619 the Andaman population as a whole, both for the past and the present are probably near the truth, but that we should decrease the Jarawa estimate for Rutland Island (and to that extent the whole Jarawa population) by 100, and increase the Onge estimate by 100.

Method of arriving at Former Density.—Portman, *History of our relations with the Andamanese*, Volume I, page 16, gives the following reasons for holding the Andamanese population to have been formerly stationary :—

> "When we consider that some Andamanese have no children, very few have more than three, the majority of the children die in infancy, and the grown-up Andamanese revenges the slightest injury to his person or property or even a fancied insult by a murder and also that the Tribes were continually at feud with each other, I think we may say the above estimated population (his estimate is 8,000) to be the average for many centuries past."

This is an overstatement, as in the first place it is necessary in a stationary population for each couple to produce on an average two children, who grow up and produce again in their turn, and in the next place, though an Andamanese will murder on, to us, extremely slight provocation, he is not a murderous variety of mankind and in tribal "wars" the bloodshed at each collision is very small indeed. In the next place, as Portman himself observes, the average number of children to a married woman was three, while instances of seven and eight children of one mother have been recorded. The statement is however an interesting one, as an observation on these primitive savages and their ways and as indicating the causes for the population being kept stationary.

161 **The Kitchen-Middens.**—Portman also points out (*op. cit.*, p. 17) that an
172 estimate of the old population can be arrived at from locating and enumerating the existing kitchen-middens of the Andamanese, on the assumptions that each midden represents the head-quarters of a Sept of 30 people and that apparently each Sept, owing to the habits of the people, would require four to five such head-quarters. A population of 5,000 would therefore require, say, 600 middens, *i.e.*, there should be a midden to every four square miles of territory.

The value of the kitchen-midden argument comes out thus :—(1) The size, 50 feet diameter usually, does not permit more than 30 people to live on it ; (2) change of head-quarters is frequently necessary owing to (*a*) monsoons, (*b*) exhaustion of food in the neighbourhood, (*c*) nomadic instincts, (*d*) stench from discarded food thrown around. As a matter of practice the Andamanese do not return for three months after they have left a midden, nor for about a year after a death in one, and occasionally they abandon a midden for many years and cannot occupy one for more than a few weeks at a time from the stench about it. These considerations fix four as the smallest number of middens per 30 people.

The middens also beyond all doubt prove that the Andamanese are now as they were an exceedingly long time ago. There are but few "newer" middens, and the older ones show great age: newness and age being gauged by height. The antiquity of the old middens is proved by the fossil shells at the base. Now, except that certain shell-fish have been fashionable at one period and certain others at another, the kitchen-middens show that the Andamanese finds his food to-day as he did in the days when the now fossilised shells contained food for him. At the base of the middens are found the same refuse and the same pottery as we find shown on the surface to-day.

Here then we have a people unaltered in habits from primeval time and whose numbers, if these premises be correct, we should be able to estimate from existing data, as they must have been stationary through all time.

The questions on this argument really are therefore :—(1) how many middens are there ? (2) where are they ? To these questions it is worth while obtaining answers at the next Census or even as opportunity occurs, as the answers will either upset the theory or afford an approximate estimate of the old Andamanese population and of the strength of each tribe.

APPENDIX G.

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Tribal Distribution and Place Names, Andaman Islands.

1	2	3	4	5	6
No. on map.	Name of island, locality or encampment.	Andamanese name.	Tribal Territory.	Where situated.	Remarks.
	East Island	Tàu-kàt	Chàriàr	The following islands off the north and north-west coast of North Andaman, viz.:—East Island, Landfall Island, West Island, Whitecliff Island, Thornhill Island, Reef Island, Paget Island, Point Island and Sugar-loaf Island.	The Coco Islands are known to this tribe by the name Dik-i-raichend.
	Landfall Island	Tébi-chiroh	"		
	Clough Passage	Làu-chiroh	"		
	West Island	Tàu-rà-mfku	"		
	Thornhill Island	Tar-bòle	"		
	Whitecliff Island	Karung-mòo	"		
	Reef Island	Bà-pong	"		
	Paget Island	Tanmo-tàt	"		
1	Paget Island (encampment on)	Kàra-bòonga	"		
	Point Island	Màra-bàlo	"		
	Sugar-loaf Island	Chà-ólo	"		
	Temple Sound	Tarà to le-chiroh	...		
	Cape Price	Pàro-jòe	Kòrà	From bay opposite Craggy Island (East Coast of North Andaman) to Cape Price and thence along the North and West Coast to the North side of Casuarina Bay, together with all the Islands off the Coast except Craggy Island and those constituting the territory of the Chàriàr tribe.	
	Peacock Island	Kòi-cho	"		
	Cadell Bay	Kòto-nar	"		
	Excelsior Island	Tàu-rà-mfku	"		
	Port Cornwallis	Tòlobe-tòng	"		
1	Do. (Ross Island at mouth of)	Po-chumbo (also Bo-pung)	"		
	Chatham Island (Port Cornwallis)	Tébi-chiro	"		
1	Trilby Island	Cho-à-pòng	"		
1	Encampment on N. E. of N. Andaman near Reef Island	Ti-kò-dung	"		
1	Island encampment between Port Cornwallis and Temple Sound	Bòl-pòli	"	The interior is occupied by the Tàbò tribe.	
	Craggy Island	Ròth	...		
	Casuarina Bay	Kàrate-tàt-chiro	Yàre	*E. Coast.* From above opposite Craggy Island in North Andaman Stream situated between Cooke Point and Kinsesley Point in Middle Andaman, together with the islands of the Coast including Craggy Island.	
	Snark (? Shark) Island	Chiro-mòo	"		
1	Casuarina Bay (encampment on N. side of)	Tòrop-tot-chòto	"		
	South extremity of Lamia Bay	Rongo-to-tia	"		
	Point between Yulli and Lamia Bay	Ko-no	"		
	Do. North of Tara-lait	Yulli	"		
	Eileen Bay	Pàrò	"	*W. Coast.* From North side of Casuarina Bay in North Andaman to Maramika-holin in the same island, together with the islands of the Coast.	
1	Cadell Point, North of	Tà-barungo	"		
1	Do. (Territory within a radius of few miles of)	Mòo-pong	"		
	Do. Point (Bay W. of)	Chaka-mit-kòòto	"		
1	Camp Bay	Lau-tòbe	"		
1	Wreck Point	Chòlop-rà	"	[This tribe has the Kòrà tribal territory on its north side and the Kede on the south with the Tàbò in the interior.]	
	Dot Island	Anàto	"		
	Kwangtung Island	Karine-tòo	"		
	Pembroke Bay	Tàu-kàt-chiro	"		
1	Encampment at S. W. of Pembroke Bay	Ina-ta-rà-jòlo	"		
1	Latouche Island	Ar-kàl	"		
	N. Reef Island	Tébi-chiro	"		
1	Saddle Peak	Pàroto-mfku	"		
1	Do. (adjacent hill on N. side of)	Jiro-mfku	"		
	Stewart Island	Miriti-rà pong	"		
	Sound Island	Tànl'ar-mfku	"		
	Austin Strait	Pòrbòng-chiro	"		
1	Do. (encampment at E. end of)	Tàu-chàu	"		
	Brown Point	Ilteonata	"		
	Bacon Bay	Tàra-chiro	"		
1	Aves Island (also Berkeley group)	Tàkia	"		
1	Casuarina Bay (encampment on S. side of)	Chàabalo-rà-chòto	"		

3: Temple G-5 (1901) 1903 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Tribal Distribution and Place Names, Andaman Islands—contd.

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1	2	3	4	5	6
No. on map.	Name of island, locality or encampment.	Andamanese name.	Tribal Territory.	Where situated.	Remarks.
1	Interview Island	Tha-tara-mûta, also Ti-tara-mûta, or in Bêa dialect, Tha-l'a-mûgu	Kede	*E. Coast.* From southern border of the Yâre territory (Middle Andaman) to Emej l'ar-tot. (Middle Andaman.)	
	Sea Serpent Island	Thra-bele	"		
	Do. (Island adjacent to)	Thla-bache	"		
	Boisseville Island	Jara-bâreda	"		
	Bennett Island	Chârai-tang	"	*W. Coast.* From Marmika-bella (North Andaman) to stream opposite N. E. point of Flat Island (Middle Andaman) with all islands from Interview to Flat Island inclusive (as shown on map).	
	Andawan Island	Tîre-tark-chôte	"		
	South Reef Island	Ti-pe-tâ	"		
	Encampment on South Extremity of Interview Island opposite Reef Island	Beage-l'ar-tâ	"		
	Tuft Island	Barata	"		
	Hump Island	Larwa	"		
	Flat Island	Tîbe-ahîra	"		
	Island between Middle Andaman and Long Island	Pîr-lab	Kîl	*E. Coast.* From Emej-l'ir-tot to Homfray Strait with intervening islands (as shown in chart).	
	Long Island	Mal-l-tâng	"		
1	Do. (Encampment on)	Iga-tâng-tâ	"		
1	Encampment in Yet jig	Parim-chang	"		
	Do. Burnt-jig	Pili-ordage	"		
	Guine Island	Tâli-tâle	"		
	Kwagtung Harbour (Encampment on E. side of)	Mîs-kîrra	Bojig-yâb	*N.* side of Homfray Strait with Bârating and the islands bordering the East and West Coasts of that island. [Jâwawa have in recent years occupied the interior of Bârating at intervals.]	
1	Encampment on N. side of Homfray Strait	Tâli-chîrat	"		
	Site of ancient kitchen-middens near N. E. point of Bârating opposite North Passage Island	Wîto-emi	"		
	Large island between Homfray Strait and Middle Strait	Bârating	"		
	North Passage Island	Tobo-drama	"		
	Colebrooke Island	Pîrbi-l'âka-chîkas	"		
1	Do. (Encampment near N. W. point of)	Thra-chîlage	"		
1	Do. (Encampment in S. Bay of)	Pîr-l'ar-tâ	"		
	Do. Passage (Encampment near S. end of)	Oropa-chîlage	"		
	Strait Island	Gerang kaiche	"		
	Diligent Strait	Boroin-jîra	"		
	Homfray Strait	Chîra-jîra	"		
	Andaman (or Middle) Strait	Godam-jîra	"		
1	Barren Island	Talli-chîpa	"		
	Narcondam	Chîto-l'ig-tang	"		
	Duncan (or Rotry) Island	Kaichawa	Bea	The whole of South Andaman and Rutland Island except where occupied by Jâwawa (*vide* map) also the Labyrinth Island, Spike Island and S.-W. corner of Middle Andaman, as shown in map.	
1	Inlet at mouth of Lara-jig Inlet	Chîr-tot-kaiche	"		
	Kwagtung Harbour	Karang-tâng-tâ-chîm	"		
1	Do. (Encampment near W. mouth of)	Lakark-l'ar-tâ	"		
	Kyd Island	Lara-tang	"		
	Port Campbell	Kara-ping	"		
	Do. Mount	Gerengl'ara-châ-tâ-jîra	"		
	Rutland Island	Tôto-pâit (Bêa) Gatin-o-Kwa-(Onge)	"		
	North Button Island	Chânga-l'ar-jing	Balawa	The Archipelago and the three Button Islands.	
	Middle Button "	Kaicha-wa	"		
	South Button "	Aga-l'ot-hawij	"		
	Outram Island	Thi-ordage	"		
	Henry Lawrence Island	Chârka-drama	"		
	John Lawrence Island	Parkîti-drama	"		
	East (or Ingis) Island	Jîla-drama	"		
	Wilcox Island	Bôroin-drama	"		
	Nicholson Island	Kaichawa-drama	"		

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Tribal Distribution and Place Names, Andaman Islands—concld.

1	2	3	4	5	6
No. on map.	Name of island, locality or encampment.	Andamanese name.	Tribal Territory.	Where situated.	REMARKS.
	Havelock Island . .	Pilingo-l'ko-ut-go-ferma . .	Balawa .		
	Sir W. Peel Island . .	Ta-ferma . .	" .		
	Neill Island . .	Tab-jiru . .	" .		
	Sir Hugh Rose Island .	Kiokowa-bar . .	" .		
	North Sentinel . .	Pitang . .	Jarawa .	North Sentinel and the interior of the northern half of South Andaman and Rutland Island, as shown in map.	
	Little Andaman . .	Willme-tara (Bea) Gwabo-l'lingo (Onge) . .	Onge .	Little Andaman and the islands between that island and Rutland, also South Sentinel.	
	Bumila Creek (north of Little Andaman) . .	Kawéio-ayabo (Onge) . .	—		
	South Brother . .	Gwainto-ufa'we (Onge) . .	—		
	North Brother . .	Té-u-lé (Onge) . .	—		
	Water Island (small) .	Badgi-l'a-ebu (Bea) Ta-jimu-da (Onge)	—		
	Do. (large) .	Pitla-ebing (Bea) Ga-u-kwéio (Onge) . .	—		
	Passage Island . .	Aiala-ebing (Bea) Chigada (Onge) .	—		
	Cinque Island (North) .	Jéa-ia (Bea) Gwa-la (Onge) . .	—		
	Do. (South) .	Jérda (Bea) Ga-ta-kwe (Onge) .	—		
	South Sentinel . .	Yédi-l'ig bang (Bea) Inding-g-o-gwe (Onge) .	—		

3: Temple G-5 (1901) 1903 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

"Aka-Bea-da;" and in using his tribal name in the course of a sentence he would say "Aka-Bea." In this way the full and abbreviated forms of the Andamanese Tribes as named by the Aka-Bea Tribe are as under:— 101

The Andamanese Tribal Names according to the Aka-Bea Language.

Full.	Abbreviated.
Aka-Chariar-(da)	Chariar.
Aka-Kora-(da)	Kora.
Aka-Tabo (da)	Tabo.
Aka-Yere-(da) (also Aka-Jaro-da)	Yera.
Oko-Juwai-(da)	Juwai.
Aka-Kol-(da)	Kol.
Aka-Bojigyab-(da)	Bojigyab.
Aka-Balawa-(da)	Balawa.
Aka-Bea-(da)	Bea.
Onge	Onge.
Jarawa-(da)	Jarawa.

Below is given a table of the names given to themselves and each other by the five South Andaman Tribes or Bojigngiji Group, traditionally sprung from one tribe. It brings out the following facts:—in each language of the Group the prefixes and suffixes differ much and the roots remain practically the same throughout for the same sense. These facts strongly indicate one fundamental tongue for this group of languages.

Table of the names for themselves and each other used by the five South Andaman tribes or Bojigngiji group.

Sense.	Tribe.	Bea.	Balawa.	Bojigyab.	Juwai.	Kol.
Fresh-water	*Bea*	Aka-Bea-da	Akat-Bea.	O-Bea-da.	Oko-Beye-lekile.	O-Bea-cha.
Opposite-side	*Balawa*	Aka-Bala-wa-da.	Akat-Bala	O-Pole-da	Oko-Pole-lekile.	O-Pole-cha.
Speak the language	*Bojigyal*	Aka-Boji-gyab-da.	Akat-Bo-jigyuab-nga.	O-Puchik-war-da.	Oko-Puchi kyar-lekile.	O-Puchik-war-cha.
Patterns cut on bows	*Juwai*	Aka-Juwai-da.	Akat-Juwai	O-Juwai-da	Oko-Juwai lekile.	O-Juwai-che.
Bitter or salt taste	*Kol*	Aka-Kol-da	Akat-Kol.	O-Kol-da.	Oko-Kol-lekile.	O-Kol-cha.

So too Yēre, Jeru or Jàro for the Aka-Yere Tribe means a (sort of) "canoe" in all the languages and Onge means "a man" in its own language.

The Twelve Tribes.—An Andamanese individual, as the people themselves recognise, belongs to a family, which belongs to a Sept, which belongs to a Tribe, which belongs to a group of tribes or division of the race. The first two of these without being specifically named are recognised, the last two have specific names. 619

The Census proved the existence of twelve tribes of the Andamanese, each with its clearly defined locality or rather "run," with its own language, and to a certain extent its own separate habits. The tribes are from north to south: Chariar, Kora, Tabo, Yere, Kede, Juwai, Kol, Bojigyab, Balawa, Bea, on the Great Andaman. The Onge-Jarawa occupies, with its Jarawa division, the interior of the South Andaman, the North Sentinel, and parts of Rutland Island; with its Onge division parts of Rutland Island and the Little Andaman. In the Archipelago is the Balawa tribe. Portman in his *History* divides the Andamanese into twelve tribes, necessarily omitting the Kora and Tabo, but dividing the Jarawas into three tribes according as they inhabit South Andaman, Rutland Island, and the North Sentinel. It is to that painstaking and accurate observer, Mr. E. H. Man, that we are indebted for the true differentiation of the tribes.

In their present depopulated condition the friendly tribes have amalgamated, as so many savages have done before them elsewhere in other parts of the world in similar circumstances. Thus, though the Kora, Tabo and Yere still keep more aloof than the rest in the jungles of the North Andaman, the whole of the remainder are thoroughly mixed up at the Home and practically throughout the Great Andaman and the Archipelago. This is a matter of the generation

3: Temple G-5 (1901) 1903 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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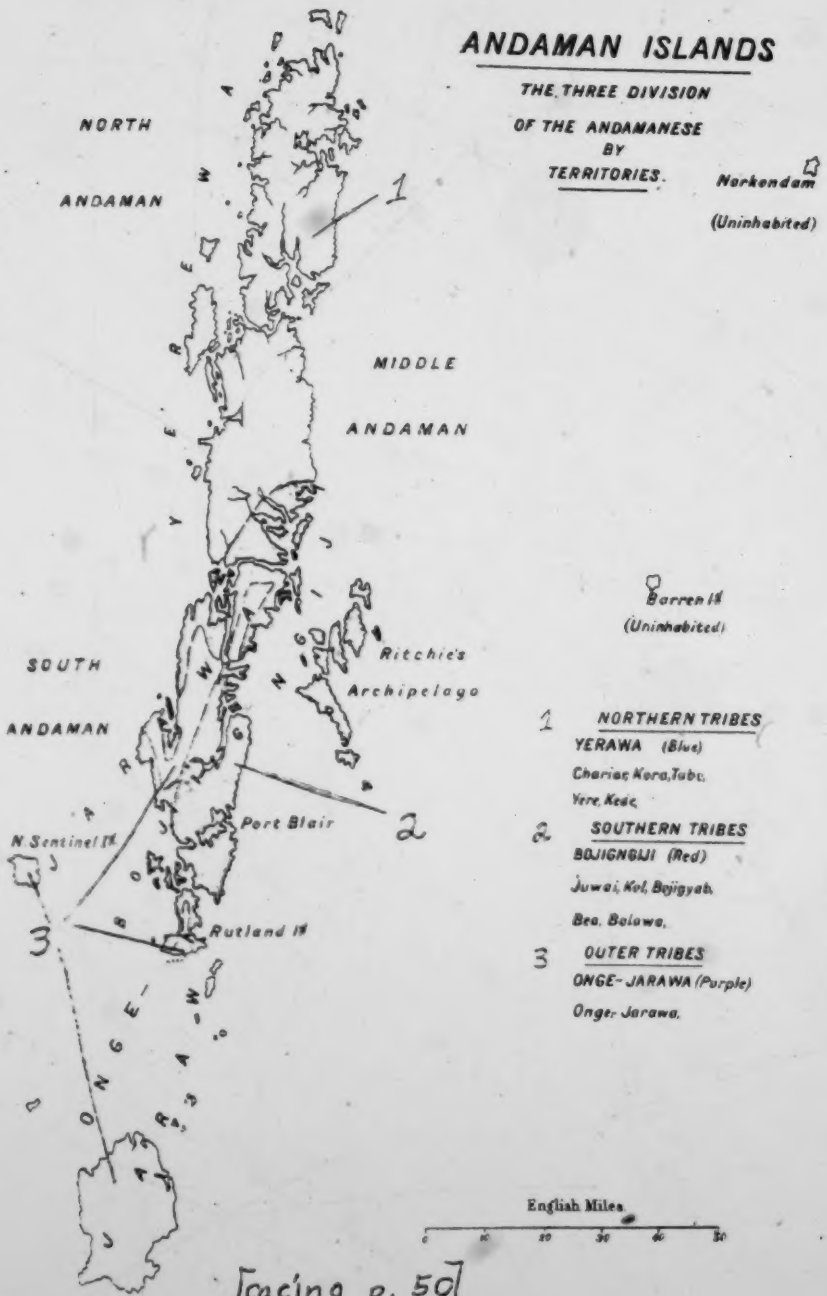

[facing p. 50]

[Numbers replace colors -- Analyst]

619 now passing away and I well recollect 25 years ago, though the Bojigyab were then known to us, the "coming in" of the first Balawa from the Archipelago and of the first Chariar from the extreme north and the difficulty experienced in communicating with them.

In reading the following remarks on the tribes it must always be borne in mind that the statements therein made refer largely to a state of things practically already passed away and never likely to be revived. The reader can without difficulty use his discretion in separating what is from what has been in the course of his perusal.

619 184 **Their Division into three Groups.**—The Andamanese tribes are by themselves divided into three distinct groups, having certain salient characteristics: the forms of the huts, bows and arrows, of the canoes, of ornamentation, female clothing, hair dressing, and utensils, of tattooing, and of language common generally to the group, but differing in details and sometimes entirely from those of other groups. Judged by this standard the tribal affinities may be thus stated: Northern or Yerewa Group, Chariar, Kora, Tabo, Yere, Kede; Southern or Bojigngiji Group, Bea, Balawa, Bojigyab, Juwai, Kol; Outer Group, Ônge-Jarawa, who do not tattoo. Some of the tribes are divided into septs, fairly well defined under headmen and with a local area of their own, but not under any separate designation.

The Distinctions between the Groups.—It is worth while bringing together this remarkable series of differences dividing the Andamanese into three divisions; differences that more or less run through all matters concerning them.

[304] (1) *Tattooing.*—Bojigngiji; women are the tattooers cutting the skin slightly with small flakes of quartz or glass in patterns of zigzags or in straight vertical lines; face, ears, genitals, arm and knee pits are excepted. Men and women are tattooed alike. Yerewa; men are the tattooers, cutting the skin deeply with iron pig-arrow heads: short horizontal parallel cuts in three or five lines down the back and front of the trunk, round the anus and legs. Women are tattooed thus as life advances. Ônge-Jarawa; no tattooing.

[302] (2) *Hair.*—Bojigngiji; partial to complete shaving of head. Yerewa; long matted ringlets touching the shoulders. Ônge-Jarawas; closely cropped head to a mop. Ônge-Jarawa women are not shaved.

[291] (3) *Ornaments and female clothing.*—Bojigngiji women wear a bunch of five or six leaves in front: Yerewa women a loose tassel of narrow strips of bark: Ônge-Jarawa a bunching tassel of fibre. Bojigngiji women are most particular as to clothing: Yerewa women careless. Jarawa women are apt to be quite unclothed. Bojigngijis and Yerewas smear their faces with grey clay mixed with water, white clay in delicate patterns imitating the tattoo marks, red ochre mixed with turtle fat and almond oil in coarse undefined patterns. Ônge-Jarawas, with yellow clay mixed with water in coarse patches, red ochre mixed with the above mentioned oils on the head. Ônge-Jarawas wear no bone ornaments.

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[531] (4) *Ornamentation of utensils.*—Bojigngiji and Yerewas, slight: Ônge-Jarawas delicate and elaborate.

[323] (5) *Pots.*—Bojigngijis, pots with rounded bottom: Ônge-Jarawas and Yerewas with pointed bottom.

[412] (6) *Implements.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas, coarse and rough in manufacture: Ônge-Jarawas, often delicate and neat.

[285] (7) *Baskets.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas have a 'kick' and stand well: Ônge-Jarawas have uneven bottom and stand badly.

[411] (8) *Bows and arrows.*—Bojigngiji, *karama* bow and large arrows. Yerewa, *chokio* bow and small arrows. Ônge-Jarawa, curved long bow and long arrows.

(9) *Arrows.*—Generally common in type to all tribes: long with plain straight point, long with straight point and barbs, short with broad detachable barbed head for pigs.* Ônge-Jarawas and Yerewas, multiple headed arrows for fish.

(10) *Harpoons.*—For turtle, dugongs, and large fish among Bojigngijis and Yerewas: none among the Ônge-Jarawas.

* As the pig runs off, the trailing shaft is at once caught by something in the jungle and the animal is thus brought up short.

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[501] (11) *Canoes.*—Bojigngiji and Yerewa, same pattern canoe; Ônge-Jarawa pattern different from above. Both out-rigged, Bojigngiji has in addition a large dug-out without outrigger.

[342] (12) *Huts.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas have temporary huts. Ônge-Jarawas have large permanent communal dwellings.

[535] (13) *Dancing.*—Bojigngijis and Yerawas, sounding board and song and clapping in unison. Ônge-Jarawa, standing in a ring and alternately bending and straightening the knees: also on occasion kicking the buttocks with the flat of the foot.

[352] (14) *Beds.*—Jarawas sleep on the wood ashes of the fires. Ônges on raised bamboo platforms. Other tribes on leaves and in sand-holes.

[262 251] (15) *Food.*—The staple food of the Ônges is the mangrove fruit, boiled, and they preserve small fish dried after cooking. None of the other tribes do this.

The Long-shore and Jungle Andamanese.—The Andamanese are by themselves again further divided into the Aryoto or long-shore men, and the Eremtaga or jungle-dwellers; the habits and capacities of these two differ, owing to surroundings, irrespective of tribe. Some tribes as the Tabo, Juwai, Kol, and the South Andaman Jarawas, are entirely Eremtaga, while the Balawa, the Chariar, and the Jarawas of the North Sentinel are entirely Aryoto. The Aryoto holds himself to be better than the Eremtaga, but beyond this there seem to be no exclusive distinctions between them and an Aryoto will marry or adopt an Eremtaga.

With the minuteness in matters concerning their surroundings that is characteristic of all entirely uneducated people, the Andamanese recognise a third division of themselves by habits into Adajig or creek-dwellers, *i.e.*, those who live on the shores of the many inlets of the sea on the coasts of the Islands. The habits of the Adajig, however, are practically those of the Aryoto.

Distinctions by habits are quickly lost by the Andamanese. The Jarawas have now no canoes in the South Andaman and are quite incapable of constructing or using them, though all Ônges have them and so have the Jarawas on the North Sentinel. So also had the Jarawas that Colebrooke met a century ago. And this year (1902) it was ascertained that the young men brought up at the Duratang (Kyd Island) Home and occupied chiefly in market gardening could neither steer nor paddle a canoe, nor take up tracks in the jungles. In one generation, though there was no restriction in communication with their people, they had lost both sea and forest craft.

Former Isolation of the Tribes.—Before the arrival of the English the tribes, excepting actual neighbours, may be said to have had no general intercourse with each other, and excepting some individuals were entirely unable to converse together, though it can be conclusively shown that all the existing languages are directly descended from one parent tongue. Even Septs had but little mutual intercourse and considerable differences in details of dialect and, as has occurred in other island abodes of savages, there must have been a change of dialect or language along about every 20 miles of the coast. The tribes were in fact brought together and made definitely acquainted with each other's separate existence and peculiarities by the influence and exertions of Mr. Man between 1875 and 1880.

609 **Sympathies and Antipathies.**—The tribal feeling is expressed as follows: friendly within the tribe, courteous to other Andamanese if known, hostile to every stranger, Andamanese or other. The sympathy and antipathy exhibited are strictly natural, *i.e.*, savage, and are governed by descent. The feeling of friendliness lies in an ever-decreasing zone from the family outwards towards sept, tribe, group: hostility to all others. Even septs will fight each other and Aryoto and Eremtaga do not mix much. But there is no "caste" feeling, and tribes will, in circumstances favouring the actions (*e.g.*, living on the tribal borders), intermarry and adopt each other's children. Within the tribe there is so
597 general a custom of adoption that children above six or seven rarely live with their own parents. It is an act of friendliness to give up or adopt a child and the custom has had the effect of making the various septs of a tribe hang together much better than would otherwise have been possible.

726 **Fighting Capacity.**—The Andamanese are bad fighters and never attack unless certain of success. During hostilities they never take any precautions as to their own safety by sentries, works, armour, or ruses of any kind, nor in the attack beyond taking advantage of cover. The only ideas of protection yet met with are among the Jarawas, who use trunk-armour consisting of a wide belt of bark and well devised sentry stations on the paths round their permanent communal huts.

619 **The Hostile Tribe of Jarawas.**—The Jarawas and some Onges kill every stranger at sight, but the Jarawas only are in these days entirely hostile, and on the whole the Onges are friendly, the friendliness dating from the capture and subsequent judicious treatment of 24 men, women and children on the Cinque Islands in January 1885. The only positively dangerous people are thus the Jarawas, and this is to be accounted for in this way. The ancient (as proved by old separate kitchen-middens) incursion from the Little Andaman through Rutland Island of that section of the Onge tribe, which is now known as the Jarawas, into the South Andaman set up an implacable tribal hostility between them and the Beas, its other occupants, which has been extended to the foreign settlers in Port Blair, and has nowadays become an undying distrust of all strangers and an hereditary hostility towards them.

But Colebrooke, reporting in 1790, gives a vocabulary of a people, now identified with the Onge-Jarawa tribe by its speech, and as theories have been built up on this fact, it is as well to see carefully when and where Colebrooke met the natives and who they were.

175 **Colebrooke's Knowledge of them (1789).**—Colebrooke left Diamond Island (Cape Negrais) on December 20th, 1789, and reached Port Cornwallis (now Port Blair) on December 23rd. On the 24th he went up the harbour and saw some natives (Jarawa Tribe) on Dundas Point. On the 26th he went up the harbour with Commodore Cornwallis (brother of the Governor-General), accompanied by a native who had been wounded in a skirmish with his tribe, found to be very hostile by the people of the snow *Viper*, and was kept on board the *Ranger*, Cornwallis's ship. He is described as "very cheerful and quite reconciled to his captivity." They went up the Bumlitan Creek as far as Bumlitan and met another native (Jarawa) who ran away. They dined (lunched) on "Mount Pleasant," a hill on the harbour near Viper Island, and met another Jarawa who exchanged his bow and arrows for a knife. On the 27th the wounded native, who had been on the *Ranger* three weeks, was put ashore by the Commodore, who uniformly treated the savages with extreme consideration. On the 28th they met the Jarawa on Dundas Point whom they had seen before, with a woman and a girl and found him again friendly. On the 29th there was trouble with the Bea Tribe at Phœnix Bay and with the Jarawas at Ariel Creek.

Colebrooke then went to the Nicobars and returned to Port Blair on February 20th, 1790, starting up north on 21st February. On the 23rd March at Port Meadows he saw some of the Bea Tribe leaving Entrance Island and saw some more hostile Beas, whom the party frightened off, coming from the North. On the 26th he went to the Archipelago, and met some hostile Balawas. On the 27th he went into Colebrooke Passage and saw some Bojigyab huts and some more of the tribe, who ran away in Elphinstone Harbour on the 29th. On the 30th they met some hostile Kols in the east entrance to Homfray's Strait and some more on the 31st off the north end of Long Island. On the 3rd and 4th April they found the Yere Tribe in Stewart Sound extremely hostile. On the 6th Blair himself met some Koras at the foot of Saddle Peak, who ran away. On the 7th Blair discovered the present Port Cornwallis and Colebrooke left for India.

It is clear from this that the only native from whom Colebrooke could have procured his *Vocabulary* was the wounded man on the *Ranger* and that man, as the *Vocabulary* shows, was a Jarawa. The tribes of all sorts—Jarawa, Bea, Bojigyab, Balawa, Kol, Yere, Kora, whom Colebrooke met, except in the case of one Jarawa and his family, exhibited either extreme fear or hostility.

175 101 **Explanation of the name Mincopie for the Andamanese.**—The first word in Colebrooke's *Vocabulary*, the first ever made of any Andaman tongue, is Mincopie for "Andaman Island or native country," whence Mincopie has

372 they show much skill in so carrying smouldering logs with them by land or sea that they are not extinguished. Their ignorance of this fundamental requirement of civilization is shown in their fire-legend that fire was originally stolen from their deity Puluga and has never been allowed to become extinct since. Excepting guns, nothing has more impressed the Andamanese with European power and resources than the use of matches, *i.e.*, of making fire whenever required with ease.

342 In the Little Andaman and among the Jarawas of the South Andaman, large permanent huts for use in the wet season are built up of solid materials to 30 feet in height and 60 in breadth to hold the fires of 7 to 8 hunting parties, say 60 to 70 people, *i.e.*, they contain 7 to 8 fires with about 8 persons to each "fire." The Jarawa hunting camp is much the same as that of any other Andamanese and his great communal hut is built on the same principle as the larger huts of the other Andamanese.

The use of the flimsy hunting shelters and camp huts of the Andamanese is rendered possible in the wet and stormy weather so common in the Islands by the denseness of the jungle, which prevents the winds from reaching them even when close to the sea-beach and causes the rain to fall vertically upon them.

619 **Government.**—There is no idea of Government, but to each tribe and to each sept of it there is a recognised head, who has attained that position by
622 tacit agreement on account of some admitted superiority, mental or physical, and commands a limited respect and such obedience as the self interest of the other individual men of the tribe or sept dictates. There is a tendency to
[554] hereditary right in the natural selection of chiefs, but there is no social status that is not personally acquired. The social position of a chief's family follows that of the chief himself and admits of many privileges in the shape of tribal influence and immunity from drudgery. His wife is among women what he is
[888] among men and at his death, if a mother and not young, she retains his privileges. Age commands respect and the young are deferential to the elders. Of-
627 fences, *i.e.*, murder, theft, adultery, mischief, assault, are punished by the aggrieved party on his own account by injury to the body and property or by murder, without more active interference on the part of others than is consistent with their own safety, and without any fear of consequences except vengeance from the friends of the other side, and even this is usually avoided by disappearance till the short memory of the people has obliterated wrath.

421 Property is communal, as is all the land, and ideas as to individual possessions are but rudimentary, accompanied with an incipient tabu of the property belonging to a chief. An Andamanese will often readily part with ornaments to any one who asks for them. Theft, or the taking of property without leave, is only recognised as to things of absolute necessity, as arrows, pig's flesh, fire.
437 A very rude barter exists between tribes of the same group in regard to articles not locally obtainable or manufactured. This applies especially to cooking pots, which are made of a special clay found only in certain parts of the islands. The barter is really a gift of one article in expectation of another of assumed corresponding value in return, and a row if it is not forthcoming. The territory of other tribes is carefully respected without however there being any fixed boundaries.

562 The duties of men and women are clearly defined by custom, but not so as to make that of the women comparatively hard. The women have a tacitly acknowledged inferior position, but it is not such as to be marked or to leave them without influence.

771 **Religion.**—The religion is simple animism and consists of fear of the evil spirits of the wood, the sea, disease and ancestors, and of avoidance of acts traditionally displeasing to them, and this in spite of an abundance of mythological tales told in a confused, disjointed manner that is most instructive to the student of such things. There is neither ceremonial worship nor propitiation. There is an anthropomorphic deity, Puluga, the cause of all things, whom it is not, however, necessary to propitiate, though sins, *i.e.*, acts displeasing to him, are avoided for fear of damage to the products of the jungle. Puluga dwells now in the sky, but used to live on the top of Saddle Peak, their highest mountain. The Andamanese have an idea that the "soul" will go under the earth by an aerial bridge after death, but there is no heaven nor hell nor any idea of a cor-

000 showing what a fine sea boat she is. Two little Andamanese from the Ekudi village accompanied me, one of whom, Kogio Kai, had been in Port Blair before as a captive in 1886. On the 4th December I returned to the Little Andaman (arriving there on the 5th) with some fresh convicts and Andamanese. The weather on the way back was even worse than what we had coming up.

My absence, leaving a small party of convicts and Andamanese on the Island, had been a good test of the work done, and I found on my return that the Little Andamanese had been living with them in my camp in the most friendly manner.

I was kept in the creek by bad weather until the 12th December, during which time the crew of the *Ross* were employed in cutting firewood in order to save our coal, and the convicts and Andamanese went about with me inland and on the coast to the various villages.

I also commenced a coast line survey of the Island with prismatic compass and chain. The Little Andamanese or Ôngee, as they call themselves, were constantly in camp and begin to pick up a little Hindustani.

On the 12th and 13th I worked along the coast, surveying down to Tochangada, where my work was stopped by the heavy surf, so I began on the 15th to work E. and S. from the North Point of the Island. A curious incident occurred on the 17th which will illustrate the influence I have acquired over the neighbouring people. Kogio Kai told me that a man of his own tribe had stolen some knives belonging to us. I sent for the man, admonished him and forbade him to come to the camp. Tahlai, one of his own tribe, then escorted him to Tambe Ebai, and he has not since been allowed to visit us. The Ekudi people on another occasion behaved in a similar manner to the Palalankwa who had stolen some turtle spears, refusing to allow them to land near the clearing or visit us for several days.

By the 19th of December I had surveyed as far as Titaija, meeting many people of all sizes and sexes who were very pleasant and friendly, and I then returned to Bumila Creek, beached the *Ross*, cleaned and painted her. Her Majesty's I. M. S. *Nosseerey* called on the 21st, and on the 22nd I proceeded to Port Blair with the sick from my camp, and with nine Ôngee picked from the following tribes:—Ekudi, Palalankwa, Tokaia, Tambe, Ebai and Titaija.

I remained in Port Blair until the 27th when I crossed with the party to the North Sentinel Island. The Ôngee gave me their name for it as Chirtahwahwa, and appeared well acquainted with it. They walked fearlessly about in the jungle, but, on catching some of the inhabitants on the evening of the 27th, it was found that they talked an entirely different language. On the 28th I visited Port Mouat, returning to Port Blair on the 29th, and on the 2nd January I returned to the Little Andaman.

During their stay in Port Blair, the greatest care was taken that the Ôngee should not suffer in health, and they were shown every thing I thought would interest them, including the athletic sports and the military parade on the 1st January, and were also given quantities of presents, being allowed to have almost every thing they fancied, and they appeared so delighted with their visit that, on the way back, they said they would come up to Port Blair in their canoes in the fine weather.

On the 3rd January I started down the East Coast surveying. In addition to my party I was accompanied by Tomiti, Tahlai and Kogio Kai, who were of the greatest assistance. People came out to meet us at each village, and every one was quiet, friendly and pleasant. On the 4th I anchored in Dungale Bay, having been accompanied by nearly fifty people all along the coast. On the 5th I met at Toi-balowa, Natidetetali Kâgé, one of the women who was captured on the Cinque Islands in 1883. On the 6th I met at Ingnia, on the South Coast, the three men who had visited me at Bumila Creek on the 3rd November last. I completed the survey on the 7th closing on Api Island, and then returned to Bumila Creek.

The weather now got stormy again, and I began to suffer very much in health. The survey being finished, I having visited all the villages round the Island and being on the most friendly terms with all the people, and our stores being nearly exhausted, I returned to Port Blair on the 19th January with the entire party. The work I was sent down to do has, I think, been accomplished, and we are now on as friendly terms with the Little Andamanese as we are with the inhabitants of the North Andaman.

From what I can learn, I am of opinion that, while the whole of the Little Andaman Island is peopled by one race calling themselves Ôngee, these people are sub-divided into tribes who adhere more or less to their own country, and who appear to quarrel and fight among themselves. What little I have learnt of their language I have embodied in my work on the languages of the Andamanese, written at your request, but the amount is small. It differs almost totally from any language with which we are acquainted, except that of the Jarawa tribes.

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The people appear healthy, their principal diseases being chest complaints, coughs and colds, fever and itch. There is no syphilis amongst them, and in physique they compare favourably with the inhabitants of the Great Andaman.

Their manners and customs differ somewhat from those of our people, the principal differences I have noticed being the following:—

The large circular huts built by them; the raised charpoys on which they sleep; their habit of cooking, drying and storing in baskets a small fish similar to a sprat; the difference in the shape of their canoes at the bow and stern; the difference in their ornaments,

and the absence of bone necklaces and broad tasselled belts amongst them; the women wear a tassel of a yellow fibre in the place of the leaf worn in the Great Andaman; the difference in the shape of the bow, which is of the European pattern. The arrows used for fish frequently have four heads of different lengths fitted into one shaft. 619 184

The people are by no means expert in the use of a canoe in the rough water, and are unable to harpoon turtle. They paint their hair only with red earth, and not their entire bodies, and they do not allow their hair to grow long; the women do not keep their heads clean shaved.

Their staple food appears to be the seed of the mangrove, boiled, so that article of diet is always to be seen in their huts, supplemented of course by whatever else they can get.

I may here mention that, after close and continued observation of their habits, I entirely disbelieve the legend that they were formerly in the habit of visiting the Car Nicobar Island.

It was very pleasant to see the numbers of healthy children of both sexes in the various villages; the people seem to marry later in life than do the Great Andamanese, but the same system of monogamy prevails.

The music of their songs is different and more pleasing, and it is not accompanied by clapping of hands, or striking of a sounding board. Their dance is peculiar and unlike that of the other Andamanese.

They have no religion of any kind, and I have learnt nothing of their traditions or superstitions from which they seem even freer than our people.

In conclusion I may say that the people are by no means fierce, being if anything of a milder disposition than our people, and I became very much attached to them, which attachment is, I think, returned. They are easily silenced or frightened, and are in great dread of a gun.

The Island at the north end appears to consist of mangrove swamp, and low belts of sandy soil on which the aborigines live. On the west and south-west coast the land rises into low hills of a coarse sandstone, running more or less north and south. The timber appears to be much the same as that of the South Andaman, and the rocks are chiefly lime and sandstone with a good deal of actual coral rock on the east and south coast. In one place on the point south of Dangale Bay I noticed an outcrop of igneous rock. There appeared to be no minerals.

The products of the sea appear to be the same as at the Great Andaman, but that the Tubiporine family of coral, particularly *Tubipora musica*, occurs in profusion. Dugong and turtle abound in the sea, and I captured two of the former, one being a remarkably fine specimen, and many of the latter.

The Ôngee are very fond of turtle which they are unable to get with the facility with which our Andamanese catch them, as they are ignorant of the use of the harpoon, and turtle always formed a great part of my presents to them.

In rough weather landing is almost impossible on most of the coast, and in calm weather there are heavy ground swells and tide rips. The following are the best anchorages of small vessels:—Bumila Creek; Ekoti Bay, just inside the north end of Nachage Point; Gijege, opposite Iagoio, about half a mile from shore; Hot Bay; Dangale Bay and Obala. Landing is difficult in most places and I always used an Andamanese canoe.

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With regard to their (the Ôngee) behaviour to shipwrecked crews, I am of opinion that the crew of any native vessel wrecked there would still be liable to be massacred, and though a European, if wrecked on the north coast might be well treated, I should not like to guarantee his safety. Shipwrecked sailors are rarely diplomats and would be extremely likely to resent the looting of their ships or persons in a manner which would certainly lead to their being shot. This looting cannot be prevented, the temptation being too great for any savage, however tame, and the general education of the Ôngee will take some years. It is quite safe for any Settlement official to visit the Island and land. I would advise him first to land at Bumila Creek and take on board either Kogio Kai, Tomitu or Tahlai, or else one of the following:—Wana Loogo of the Ekudi tribe or Kogio Kokele of Palalaakwe village, who would act as interpreters at any other part of the island, where he wished to land. 000

The presents which the Ôngee most appreciate are hoop iron, red iron, files, sleeping mats, coconuts, plantains, beads, and specimens of the articles used by our Andamanese; also turtle, which can easily be got at the South Sentinel Island. The Ôngee are, I believe, quite willing to come to Port Blair in their canoes in the fine weather, but great care should be taken that they do not contract any disease, particularly syphilis, if they do come up. They will take to smoking kindly, but I have not encouraged this, as my aim is to keep them in their healthy primitive state, and I believe this can be done, and they can still be brought to obey our orders and remain on friendly terms with outsiders. We require very little of them, and a close intercourse with these savages means death to them.

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On the 4th March the Chief Commissioner, accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts, 7th Regiment, Madras Native Infantry, Mr. Portman, on special duty at the Little Andaman Island, Mr. Metcalfe, Officer in charge of the Andamanese, and a number of Andamanese, left Port Blair in the steamer *Rose* at 6 A.M., and arriving in Bumila Creek, north end of the Little Andaman at 2 P.M. Some of the Ôngee, as the natives of the Island

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Arioto

in the local language, as opposed to the people of the interior, the *Eremtaga* – appear to have numbered between six and eight thousand. Over the years their place has been taken by more than thirteen thousand foreigners, most of whom were deportees, enjoying relative liberty as servants of government officials, farmers and foresters. The settlers, voluntarily or involuntarily, introduced the islanders to alcohol and tobacco, forcing them to turn to the foreigners in order to satisfy their craving. In the famous and extremely frank work of the English explorer M. V. Portman (*A History of our Relations with the Andamanese*, Calcutta, 1899) official letters are reproduced which give precise instructions in the matter to government officials. The result of these instructions was to transform the Arioto into alcohol and tobacco addicts. Syphilis was passed to the native women by the deportees, and from them to their men. When, a few years after the mass importation of prisoners, the government authorities became aware of the infection among the Arioto, not one of them had escaped. The miserable twenty-three survivors of the eight to nine thousand of a century ago show the ultimate result only too well, and their final extinction is imminent.

Before the advent of the new civilization, the Arioto had divided up into at least ten distinct communities, but without any true tribal organization. They respected a form of chief, chosen by tacit consent for his personal qualities rather than by name or by birth-right; but the chiefs acted merely as paternal advisers, to be respected in times of trouble, with no illusions of authority. No one commanded, and none obeyed: all were content to follow the whim of the moment, with no conception of social obligation.

When the foreigners arrived, there were five main groups of Arioto on North Andaman, the Cari, Chede, Cora, Jeru and Tabo. Another five groups were in South Andaman, the Balawa, Bea, Bogig-iab, Joi and Col. With the numerical decline of the Arioto, who had always been endogamous within their group, a tendency arose for the survivors to merge and inter-marry, so that the twenty-three alive today are in fact the result of the mixing of the northern and southern Arioto, and of these with Indians and Burmese. The chief of these twenty-three individuals is Loca, a name in itself an indication of this ethnic mixture. Loca means 'whiskers', and he himself has a moustache, whereas pure Negritos have no body or facial hair.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

only a crude form of body decoration based on geometrical designs. 105

They are, therefore, to be included among the most backward peoples of mankind, who have remained in a very simple form of social structure. They have never progressed to any elementary [614] organization of themselves into 'clans', or even 'tribes'. They have, [619] in short, the psychological outlook and concepts of other primitive peoples, modified by local conditions. The evidence in favour of the Onges of today being the product of cultural development over [174] a very long period appears to me overwhelming, though their development has already been hindered by involution and, we must presume, a series of setbacks.

The Onges have thus remained culturally isolated and this has 105 deprived them of the opportunities offered to the rest of the world. 174 The time came when they ceased to receive or to elaborate new concepts, and from that point regression was inevitable. There is abundant evidence that their culture dates back to Palaeolithic times, so that they now represent the last and decadent expression of a very lengthy stage of biological and cultural development, a point of arrival, and not one of departure. Everywhere in the Andamans there are signs of an ancient culture which must once have spread over much of the world. It is neither logical nor practical to explain the similarity of many concepts as a series of convergences, all of independent origin; ideas must have spread outwards with the passage of time and the gradual population of habitable areas.

No study of present-day life on the Andamans can be complete 172 without an attempt to build up a valid picture of the islands as they were centuries ago, and this we can do with some accuracy by a study of the kitchen-middens. These abound on Great Andaman, but few have been excavated, and then only briefly reported. Those of Little Andaman have not, for obvious reasons, previously been investigated, but they are of considerable importance for the light they cast on their own development and history, and on that of similar mounds outside the Andamans. It is only on Little Andaman that they are still being built up, continually increasing in size, forming a unique, direct and continuous link with life on the island thousands of years ago.

Provided they have not been damaged – for example by rain or

comparatively rapid variation and it is now difficult to establish their linguistic connections outside the Andamans, but Africa can certainly be discounted, in view of the general weight of evidence against any Negro ancestry.

Like the Onges the Jarawas are divided into endogamous groups, each with its own name, corresponding to their communal huts, and each with their own territory for the purposes of hunting, fishing and gathering food. There is little reliable information about their daily life or even their numbers; it is, however, certain and I cannot overstress this, that the Jarawas are Negrito in type,[1] with the same admixture as in the Onges.

Whoever or whatever they may be, the replacement of primitive expeditions by genuine attempts at pacification would, quite apart from the obvious humanitarian considerations involved, afford a unique opportunity for detailed study of a dying population in regeneration, and the refusal of an otherwise irrevocable progress towards final extinction.

But the problem of the Jarawas is merely one aspect of the problem of the Andamanese in general, and their connection with the Negritos both past and present. The Semang and the Aetà, as we have seen, resemble each other, and together resemble the Andamanese, in a number of essential points. Recent contacts with other influences in Malacca and the Philippines respectively have produced variations – such as the Semang use of traps and snares with which they take small animals, and also birds, which the Andamanese never touch. They have also taken to making refuges in the trees as a defence against wild animals, non-existent in the Andamans. Traps, poison, agriculture, fish-hooks, animal nets, are all late acquisitions, not found among the original Negritos. It was thought by Brown that spears, used by the Semang, were also unknown among the peoples of the Andamans, but I have myself seen them used by the Onges, though admittedly I saw only a few, and very rough specimens; I did, however, manage to bring some back with me.

In the case of the canoes, the Semang and the Aetà seem to have

[1] On 11 January 1951 a Jarawa was killed at Lekeralarta on Middle Andaman and the head is now in the Indian Museum in Calcutta. This head shows signs of beard, unlike those of two Jarawas held in the Nicobars since the September 1938 incident. Short, muscularly well-developed, strong and very black, Jarawas are normally beardless, as is usual in Negritos.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

most striking of these is ambidexterity. This is the general rule in the Onges and also appears as a normal trait in the primitive peoples of Oceania, America and Asia. Another physical characteristic of the Onges, reported also in Tasmans and various peoples of Oceania, is the early onset of ageing in both sexes; in the Tasmans the women are rarely fertile after the age of thirty, and this is also probably the case with the Onges. Unlike the Tasmans, however, the Onges, though sharing their very black skin colour, have among other physical differences markedly scant body hair. A study of their blood groups by Dr H. Lehmann (see also Mourant) has moreover lent very considerable support to the external physical evidence in favour of a relationship between the Andamanese and the people of Oceania, both past and present.

From the anthropological point of view perhaps the most outstanding feature of all these peoples is that despite their extreme aggressiveness towards outsiders their corporate sense is such that they have no need of leaders to give orders. Rarely are there hereditary leaders; such as they are, their leaders are chosen on the basis of outstanding powers, such as supposed clairvoyance, as in the Andamanese.

The Andamanese themselves know nothing of their origins, lost in the mists of time, and it is for us to trace them, working back along the paths cleared by the anthropologist, the ethnographer and the archaeologist. They represent today the survival, almost unchanged, of a culture once to be found all over Oceania, spread thousands of years ago by canoes hardly different from those the Onges use today. They carried the unknown seamen from island to island, bearing with them a way of life which in the Andamans at least was never to change – a point of arrival, rather than of departure. Driven in on themselves by circumstances of geography just as other circumstances now unknown had driven them there originally, they have remained isolated, dwindling in numbers over the centuries, until they were discovered by the modern world. Their reception of outsiders, however they come and whoever they may be, is aggressive; consciously or unconsciously the Andamanese seek to preserve the only way of life they know. And who can be sure they are wrong?

No one could deny the demographic decadence of the islanders,

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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CHAPTER I

THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION

000 In the present chapter we are to deal with the customs and institutions by which the natives of the Great Andaman regulate the conduct of persons one to another. At the outset it is necessary to get as clear an idea as possible of the structure of the Andamanese society. That structure, as will be shown, is extremely simple.

What is really of interest to the ethnologist is the social organisation of these tribes as it existed before the European occupation of the islands. The changes that have taken place in recent years have been extensive, the most important being the great diminution in numbers and the merging together of what were formerly distinct and often hostile communities. It is fairly easy, however, to discover from the natives themselves what was the constitution of the society in former times, though there remain a few points about which no satisfactory information can be obtained.

•621 [361] When the islands were first occupied by the British, before depopulation had affected their institutions, the natives of the Great Andaman were to be found living in small communities scattered over the islands, mostly on the coast, but some of them in the forest of the interior of the island. Each such community, which will be spoken of as a "local group," was independent and autonomous, leading its own life and regulating its own affairs. Each group had occasional relations with other neighbouring groups; visitors might pass from one to another; or the two groups might meet together for a few days and join in feasting and dancing. On the other hand

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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On the other hand [628]

there were often quarrels between neighbouring groups, which might result in a state of feud between them for many months. Between communities separated from one another by a distance of only 50 miles or even less there were no direct relations whatever. The members of one community kept to their own part of the country, only leaving it to visit their friends within a narrow radius. 621

These local groups were united into what are here called tribes. A tribe consisted of a number of local groups all speaking what the natives themselves regard as one language, each tribe having its own language and its name. The tribe was of very little importance in regulating the social life, and was merely a loose aggregate of independent local groups. 619 197

The local groups are further distinguished by the natives themselves as being of two kinds according as they lived on the coast or inland. This division was independent of that into tribes. Some tribes consisted of coast-dwellers only, while others included both coast-dwellers and forest-dwellers. 619 616

Within the local group the only division was that into families. A family consists of a man and his wife and their unmarried children own or adopted. 594

These were the only social divisions existing among the Andamanese, who were without any of those divisions known as "clans" which are characteristic of many primitive societies.

The natives of the Great Andaman (leaving aside the *ʃarawa*, who by language and culture belong to the Little Andaman division of the race) are divided into ten tribes, each occupying a certain area of country. Each tribe consists of a number of persons who speak what is regarded by the natives themselves as one language. That the tribe is fundamentally a linguistic group is shown by the tribal names. These are all formed from a stem with the prefix *aka-*, which prefix is used in the languages of the Great Andaman to convey a reference to the mouth and thereby to the function of speech. Thus in the *Aka-ʃeru* language the stem *poy* means "a hole of any kind," and *aka-poy* means "the mouth," there being no other word for that part of the body. In the same language the stem *-ar-* meaning "to talk" can only be used 619 197 196

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

616 184 Besides the division into tribes, and independent of it, the Andamanese recognize another division into coast-dwellers and forest-dwellers. In the *Aka-Bea* language the coast-dwellers are called *Ar-yoto*, while the forest-dwellers are called *Erem-taga*. The difference between them is due solely to the difference of their food supply. The *Ar-yoto* obtain much of their food from the sea. They are expert in fishing and turtle hunting. They make canoes and use them not only for hunting but also for travelling from one camp to another. Some portion of their food they also obtain from the forest, edible roots and fruits and the flesh of the wild pig being the chief. On the other hand the *Erem-taga* rely solely on the forest and the inland creeks for their food supply. Their only use for canoes is in the creeks. They are entirely ignorant of such matters as turtle or dugong hunting, but they are more at home than the coast-dwellers in the forest, and are generally more skilful at pig-hunting. The advantage certainly rests with the coast-dwellers, for they have both the sea and the forest to draw upon for their sustenance.

619 616 184 Some tribes consist only of coast-dwellers, such as the *Aka-Čari*, the *Akar-Bale* and perhaps the *Aka-Kọl*. On the other hand the *Aka-Bo*, although their territory includes a part of the west coast, are, by their occupations and mode of life, forest-dwellers, and the same seems to have been the case of the *Ọkọ-Juwọi*. The *A-Pučikwar*, the *Aka-Kede*, the *Aka-Jeru* and perhaps also the *Aka-Kọra* tribes contained both coast-dwellers and forest-dwellers.

621 [42] Each tribe formerly consisted of a number of independent local groups. The local group, and not the tribe, was the land-owning group, each one owning or exercising hunting rights over a certain recognized area. At the present time, owing to the breakdown of the local organisation, through the settlement of the islands and the resulting decrease of population, it is difficult to ascertain what area of country was occupied by each of these local groups. In many cases it would seem that the boundaries between two neighbouring groups are not very clearly defined, there being portions of forest over which the members of both hunted when the

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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621 [361]

groups were at peace[1]. There is no doubt that in the more favourable localities, particularly on the coast, the country occupied by a single group was smaller than in places of less abundant food supply. It is probable that the forest-dwelling local groups occupied considerably larger areas in each case than the coast groups. Some of the coast-dwelling groups seem to have occupied areas of less than ten square miles.

It is not easy to discover at this time exactly what number of persons would have been included in one local group. Mouat, who visited the islands in 1857–8, says of the natives, "They are rarely or never seen living alone, several of their little huts being raised in the same locality, where they dwell together in numbers varying between thirty and three hundred[2]." In another passage he states, "They are generally divided into small groups, the numbers of which vary considerably, some not containing more than ten individuals, while in others as many as two or three hundred may be found. The great majority of these groups of the natives consist on an average of from thirty to fifty men, women, and children, although sometimes as many as three hundred are found together[3]." It is probable that, if so small a party as ten were seen, they were a hunting party spending a day or a few days away from the main camp. On the other hand so large a number as three hundred could only be found together on the occasion of one of the periodical meetings of several local groups for purposes of festivity. Mouat's statement that the groups consisted on the average of from thirty to fifty persons, agrees very well with the statements of the natives themselves, and may be taken as being fairly accurate. Mr Man, writing in 1882, speaks of the Andamanese as divided into communities "each consisting of from twenty to fifty individuals," and elsewhere says that "permanent encampments vary in size and

[1] A few small areas were not occupied at all, for example the greater part of Saddle Peak in the North Andaman, which is covered with dense jungle and is supposed by the natives to be the haunt of large and deadly snakes and of evil spirits.

[2] Mouat, F. J., *Adventures and Researches among the Andaman Islanders*, London, 1863, p. 313.

[3] *Loc. cit.* p. 300.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

621 consist of several huts, which in all are rarely inhabited by more than from fifty to eighty persons[1]."

619 From the information that I was able to obtain from the natives themselves I came to the conclusion that an average 621 local group consisted of from 40 to 50 persons of all ages, the average number of local groups to a tribe being about 10. This would give the average extent of country occupied by each local group as about 16 square miles, but some groups certainly had a larger territory than this and some had smaller.

Mr M. V. Portman speaks of the tribes of the southern part of the Great Andaman as being divided into what he calls "septs," but he does not explain what he means by that term. He states that the *Aka-Bea* were divided into seven septs, the *A-Pučikwar* into four, the *Akar-Bale* into two, while the *Aka-Kol* and *Okọ-Juwọi* had no real subdivisions[2]. Whatever Mr Portman may have meant by the term sept, it is clear that he did not use it to denote what is here called a local group, but some larger subdivision of the tribe. What these septs seem to have been are groups consisting each of four or five local groups having friendly relations with one another and meeting together occasionally at the festival gatherings to be described later in the present chapter.

621 There were, strictly speaking, no distinctive names for the local groups. A local group might be denoted by a reference to the district that it occupied or to one of its chief camping places. Thus, in the *Akar-Bale* tribe, those occupying the island of *Teb-juru* were spoken of as *Teb-juru-wa*, the word *wa* meaning "people," and the inhabitants of the east coast of Havelock Island were similarly denoted as *Puluga-l'armugu-wa* from the name of the district that they occupied. In the tribes of the North Andaman the word equivalent to *wa* of the South is *koloko*. Some of the local groups of the *Aka-Bo* tribe were distinguished as *Teraut buliu koloko*, *Kelera buliu koloko*, *Teradikili buliu koloko* etc., from the names of the creeks (*buliu*) that they occupied. In the *Aka-Čari* tribe the local group occupying the island of *Tọnmuket* and the

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. XII, pp. 107 and 108.

[2] Portman, *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes*, p. 23.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

adjoining mainland were called *Tarotọlo koloko*. When a man was asked to what part of the country he belonged he would generally answer by mentioning one of the chief camping places of his local group. Thus a man of the *Tarotọlo koloko* might say that he belonged to *Laropuli*, this being one of the chief camps of that country. A man of the *Teraut buliu koloko* might similarly say that he belonged to the village of *Čaičue*. 621

A man or woman is generally regarded as belonging to the local group in the country of which he or she was born. There is nothing, however, to prevent a person from taking up his residence with any other local group if he so wishes, and if the members of that group are willing to welcome him. It would seem that there were a fair number of such cases in which a man or a woman left his or her own local group to join another. In particular, when two young people belonging to different groups got married they might fix their residence either with his or with her parents. [591]

The local group, as stated above, was characterised as the land-owning group. A man might hunt over the country of his own group at all times, but he might not hunt over the country of another group without the permission of the members of that group. Even at the present day, when the local organisation has largely broken down, some of these hunting rights are still observed. I noticed a case in which some of the men asked and obtained permission to hunt pig in a certain part from a man who was explained to be the owner of that part of the country, being one of the few survivors of the local group to which it belonged. It would, in former times, have been an offence that might easily have led to a serious quarrel for the men of one group to hunt or fish in the country or the waters of another group without having been granted permission to do so. 621 421 224 [628]

Within the territory of each local group there are a number of recognized camping places. During the greater part of every year the members of the local group would be found living together at one or other of these. Some of these camping-grounds have been in use for many centuries, as is shown by 361

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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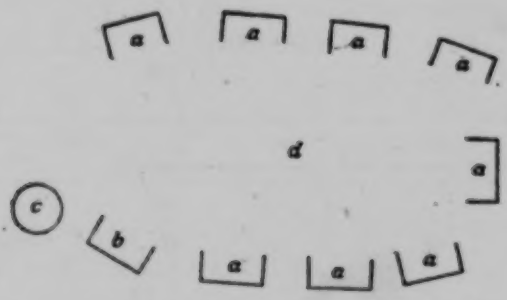
361 almost unknown in the Andamans. In the Archipelago there are
342 one or two small rock shelters that are occasionally used by a hunting party away from home for a night. I was told by the natives that on one of the islands off the west coast of the North Andaman there is a rock shelter of a fair size that was formerly used as one of their chief camps.

The following figure will give an idea of the Andamanese village and its arrangement. In hunting camps which are intended only to be occupied for a few days or a few weeks, this arrangement is not observed, but the huts or shelters are placed



Plan of Andamanese Village

a. Huts of married people.
b. Bachelors' hut.
c. Public cooking place.
d. Dancing ground.

so as to give shelter from the prevailing wind with no particular regard to the respective position of the different units.

361 The constitution of the local group is illustrated by the arrangement of the village. The whole village consists of a
• 621 number of separate huts, each hut occupied by a family. A family consists of a man and his wife and such of their children own or adopted as are not of an age to be independent. Besides the families each group necessarily contains a small number of unmarried men and widowers and some unmarried girls and widows. The unmarried men and widowers without children occupy a separate hut (or huts) which we may speak of as the bachelors' hut. Mr Man states that the spinsters (i.e., the

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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361 unmarried women who are of marriageable age) and widows
621 occupy a hut of their own similarly to the bachelors[1]. In the camps that I visited I did not find any such spinsters' hut. What unmarried females there were, I found attached to one or other of the families of the village, each one living in the hut of some married relative, generally the parent or foster-parent.

All the huts face inwards towards an open space which is the dancing ground of the village, and, except in exposed situations, are generally entirely open in front. At some convenient spot on one side of the dancing ground is to be found the communal cooking place of the village. This is generally close to the bachelors' hut, as it is the bachelors who attend to such cooking as is carried on there. Besides the public cooking place each family has its own fireplace in its own hut, on which a fire is kept continually alight. In the village two or
[592] more families may build their huts adjoining one another in such a way that they become for all practical purposes one hut, of which each family retains its own special portion. Two brothers will thus often make a sort of common household.

361 The communal hut, in the way in which it is arranged,
621 and even in the way in which it is built, is really a village with all the huts drawn together so that each one is joined to the one
342 next to it and the roofs meet in the middle. In the centre of the hut there is an open space corresponding to the dancing ground of the village. It is even used as a dancing ground, though for this purpose it is somewhat small. It is the public part of the hut. Around this are arranged the different families, each occupying its own special portion of the hut, which is marked off by means of short lengths of wood laid on the floor. The public cooking place is sometimes inside the hut, and there is the space marked off for the unmarried men. The advantage of the communal hut is that it affords a better protection from the weather; its disadvantage is that it leaves almost no room for dancing.

361 Thus it may be seen that the arrangement of the camp shows
621

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 108.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

361 very plainly the constitution of a local group, consisting as it does of a few families. Each group seems to have contained, on
●621 an average, about ten families, with a few unmarried males and females.

262 The Andaman Islanders depend for their subsistence entirely on the natural products of the sea and the forest. From the sea they obtain dugong, turtle (both green and hawksbill), an enormous variety of different sorts of fish, crustaceans (crabs, crayfish and prawns) and molluscs. Fish and crabs are also to be found in the salt-water creeks which in many places penetrate inland for some miles. From the forest they obtain the flesh of the wild pig, wild honey, and a large number of vegetable foods—roots, fruits, and seeds.

512 The life of the forest folk is more simple and uniform than that of the coast people and we may therefore consider it first. During the rainy season, which lasts from the middle of May to the end of September, the local group lives at its headquarters camp, which, as we have seen, formerly often took the form of a
[262] communal hut. During this season animal food is plentiful, as the jungle animals are in good condition; on the other hand there is not much vegetable food to be obtained. The following brief account will give an idea of how the day is spent in such a camp at that time of year. Some time after sunrise the camp begins to be astir. The various members of the community make a
512 meal of any food that may have been saved from the day before.
224 The men start off for the day's hunting. At the present time
[231] dogs are used for pig-hunting. These dogs were obtained in the first instance from the Settlement of Port Blair, and their use in pig-hunting was learnt from the Burmese convicts. Nowadays every married man has at least one dog[1]. Before the dogs were obtained, hunting was a pursuit requiring a great deal more skill than it does at present. A hunting party consists of from two to five men. Each man carries his bow and two or three pig arrows, and one of the party carries a smouldering fire-brand. They make their way through the jungle until they find the fresh tracks of a pig, or follow up some of the usual pig runs

[1] In the North Andaman the times before the Settlement are spoken of as the time when there were no dogs, *Bibi ṭaiye* = "Dog not."

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

602 brother or to his mother's brother which he does not also owe, in perhaps a less degree, to other men of the same age, and there is no term by which he can distinguish his father's brother from those others.

If this account of the system of relationship be accurate it will be seen that the Andamanese society contrasts very strongly, in this matter, with other primitive societies[1].

•621 It remains for us only to examine the social relations between the different local groups. Two neighbouring groups, whether of the same tribe or of different tribes, might be either friendly towards one another or unfriendly. Friendly relations [582 were kept alive by several of the customs of the Andamanese, 591 by the intermarriage of members of different groups, by the 597] adoption of children from one group to another, and by the fact that a man of one group might take up his residence more or less permanently with another (particularly when he married a woman of that group, or was adopted when a boy by one of the men belonging to it). All these customs served to bind some persons in the one group to persons in the other, and thus prevent the two groups from becoming entirely unfriendly to one another.

When two neighbouring local groups were friendly to one 621 another communication between them was kept up by visitors 574 from one group to another, and by occasional meetings of the whole of the two groups.

Either a single person or a family might at any time pay a visit to another camp, staying a few days or weeks or even longer. A man would, however, only go visiting when he was sure of a welcome. Such visits were most frequent in the fine months of the year (December to May). As a husband and wife in many instances belonged to different local groups they

[1] It would not be safe, however, to base any arguments of importance to sociology on the above description of the Andamanese system of relationship alone. Although I tried to learn all that I could on the subject, it is quite certain that I did not learn all that was to be learnt, and it is possible that further enquiry might have shown that I was mistaken in some of my observations. The difficulty of being really sure on these matters is due (1) to the fact that the breaking-up of the old local organisation has produced many changes in their customs, and (2) to the difficulty of questioning the natives on matters connected with relationships when they have no words in their language to denote any but the simplest relationships.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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would, if living with the man's parents, pay a visit every year to the parents or other relatives of the wife. The parents of a child that had been adopted by a member of another local group would make a point of visiting the child when they could. Visitors to a camp would always take with them presents to be given to their hosts. A visitor was hospitably entertained, being given the best of the food, and joined his hosts in their hunting and fishing expeditions. The duty of hospitality is one upon which the Andamanese lay stress. 621 574

The meetings of two or more local groups were organised from time to time by the more prominent men. The time and place of the meeting would be fixed and invitations sent out to the neighbours. The visitors, men, women and children, would arrive at the appointed time, and would be accommodated as well as possible by the hosts. During the first few hours, as the natives themselves told me, everyone would feel a little shy and perhaps frightened, and it would take some time for this feeling to wear off. The visitors would bring with them various objects, such as bows, arrows, adzes, baskets, nets, red paint, white clay, and so on. These were given by the visitors to their hosts, and other presents were received in return. Although the natives themselves regarded the objects thus given as being presents, yet when a man gave a present to another he expected that he would receive something of equal value in return, and would be very angry if the return present did not come up to his expectations. A man would sometimes mention, when giving his present, that he would like some particular object in exchange, but this was the exception and not the rule, and the process cannot be spoken of as barter. In certain cases it undoubtedly served a useful economic purpose. Thus if a local group had no red ochre or white clay in their own country they could obtain these commodities by exchange with others who had. In the case of a meeting between forest and coast dwellers, the former could obtain such things as shells, red paint made with turtle fat, and other objects with which they could not provide themselves in any other way. It was in this way also that the iron obtained from a wreck on one part of the coast would be spread over a large area. For the most part, however, as 621 574 431 437

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

621 each local group, and indeed each family, was able to provide
574 itself with everything that it needed in the way of weapons and
431 utensils, the exchange of presents did not serve the same
437 purpose as trade and barter in more developed communities.

The purpose that it did serve was a moral one. The object
621 of the exchange was to produce a friendly feeling between the two
574 persons concerned, and unless it did this it failed of its purpose.
It gave great scope for the exercise of tact and courtesy. No
431 one was free to refuse a present that was offered to him. Each man and woman tried to out-do the others in generosity. There was a sort of amiable rivalry as to who could give away the greatest number of valuable presents.

The visitors remained with their hosts for a few days. The
574 time was spent in hunting, feasting and dancing, and in the
621 exchange of presents above described. The hosts made every
527 effort to provide the camp with plenty of good things. The guests took their share in the hunting and fishing expeditions. Every evening was spent in singing and dancing. Some of the men were sure to have composed new songs for such an occasion.

Such meetings as these were sometimes the means of bring-
574 ing to an end past quarrels between the local groups, but
621 occasionally they were the cause of new quarrels. The hosts, or
628 some of them, might think that they had been shabbily treated in the matter of presents, or the guests might complain that they were not well enough entertained. It often needed a man of strong influence to maintain harmony in the camp. Angry words might lead to the rapid breaking up of a meeting, and even result in a feud between the two groups.

621 Quarrels between individuals, as we have seen, were often
taken up by friends on each side. This was particularly the
628 case when the two opponents belonged to different local groups. Before the days of the settlement of the islands there often arose in this way petty quarrels between neighbouring local groups. In some instances there appear to have been feuds of long standing; in others there was a quarrel, a fight or two, and the enemies made peace with one another, until a fresh cause of disagreement should arise.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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It does not seem that there was ever such a thing as a stand-up fight between two parties. The whole art of fighting was to come upon your enemies by surprise, kill one or two of them and then retreat. A local group that had some grievance against another would decide to make an attack. They might seek and obtain the aid of friends from other local groups. The men who were to take part in the expedition would paint themselves and put on various ornaments and join in a dance[1]. They would then set out, either by land or by sea, in the direction of the encampment they meant to attack. Their weapons consisted of bows and arrows, and they carried no shields or other defensive weapons. They would not venture to attack the enemy's camp unless they were certain of taking it by surprise. For this reason such attacks were generally made either in the evening when the camp would be busy with the preparation of the evening meal, or at early dawn, when every one would be asleep. The attacking party would rush the camp and shoot as many men as they could. If they met with any serious resistance or lost one of their own number they would immediately retire. Those attacked, if they were really taken by surprise, were generally compelled to save themselves by flight. Though the aim of the attacking party was to kill the men, it often happened that women or children were killed. The whole fight would last only a few minutes, ending either with the retirement of the attackers before resistance, or the flight of those attacked into the jungle. A wounded enemy would be killed if found.

Such attacks and counter-attacks might be continued for some years, thus establishing a feud between two neighbouring local groups. More usually, however, after one or two such fights peace would be made. In the tribes of the North Andaman there was a special peace-making ceremony, that will be described in the next chapter. All peace negotiations were conducted through the women. One or two of the women of the one group would be sent to interview the women of the other group to see if they were willing to forget the past and make friends. It seems that it was largely the rancour of the

[1] The dance is described in the next chapter.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

621 628

women over their slain relatives that kept the feud alive, the men of the two parties being willing to make friends much more readily than the women.

An example of a long-continued feud, which, to all appearance, has been in existence for several centuries, is that between the *Aka-Bea* and the *ʃaraua* of the South Andaman. The *ʃaraua* have the advantage over the *Aka-Bea* that their camps are situated in the dense forest and are difficult to find, while the camps of the *Aka-Bea* are mostly along the sea-coast. At the present day the *ʃaraua* take some precautions against being surprised in their camp by a hostile party. The camp is often placed on the top of a hill and the trees in the neighbourhood are cut down so that they have a good view. The paths leading to the camp are also cleared and made wider than is usual in a native path. At times it would seem that they keep sentries on the look-out.

The *Aka-Bea* and the *ʃaraua* were inveterate enemies. Whenever two parties of them met by any chance, or came in the neighbourhood of one another, the larger party would attack the other. When the Settlement of Port Blair was established, friendly relations were set up with the *Aka-Bea*, and since that time the hostility of the *ʃaraua* has been directed not only against the friendly Andamanese (*Aka-Bea*, etc.) but also against the inhabitants of the Settlement[1].

621 721

Such a thing as fighting on a large scale seems to have been unknown amongst the Andamanese. In the early days of the Penal Settlement of Port Blair, the natives of the South Andaman

[1] In the years 1872 to 1901 inclusive the *ʃaraua* made eight attacks on camps of the friendly Andamanese in different places, in which two of the friendly Andamanese men and one girl were killed and three men and one boy were wounded. There were also one or two casual meetings between *ʃaraua* and friendly Andamanese. One of the friendlies was surprised and killed while turtle hunting in 1894. During the same years the *ʃaraua* made on different occasions about twenty attacks on parties of convicts or on separate individuals, killing altogether 17 convicts and two police constables, and wounding six other convicts. In these skirmishes and in the expeditions to which they gave rise three *ʃaraua* were killed and seven wounded on various occasions, and several times *ʃaraua* men, women or children were captured and afterwards released. A number of convicts have at different times run away from the Settlement and as some of those were never after heard of they may be supposed to have been killed by the *ʃaraua*. For an official record of dealings with the *ʃaraua* see the "Census Report" 1901, pp. 68—90.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908) 1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

combined in large numbers to make an attack on the Settlement, but this seems to have been an unusual course of action in order to meet what was to them an altogether unusual contingency, their territory having been invaded by a large force of foreigners. Their only fights amongst themselves seem to have been the brief and far from bloody skirmishes described above, where only a handful of warriors were engaged on each side and rarely more than one or two were killed. Of such a thing as a war in which the whole of one tribe joined to fight with another tribe I could not find any evidence in what the natives were able to tell me of their former customs. 621 721

As showing within what narrow limits the different local groups held communication with one another, it may be mentioned that till the year 1875 the *Aka-Bea* natives of Port Blair did not know of the existence of the *Aka-Kol* tribe, less than fifty miles distant, nor of any of the tribes further north. As a general rule it may be said that no man knew anything of any of the natives living more than twenty miles from his own part of the country. 621

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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In the North Andaman, and possibly in the South also, there was a ceremony by which two hostile local groups made peace with one another. When the two groups have agreed to make friends and bring their quarrel to an end, arrangements are made for this ceremony. The arrangements are made through the women of the two parties. A day is fixed for the ceremony, which takes place in the country of the group that made the last attack. In the village of this group the dancing ground is prepared, and across it is erected what is called a *koro-čop*. Posts are put up in a line, to the tops of these is attached a length of strong cane, and from the cane are suspended bundles of shredded palm-leaf (*koro*). The appearance of this construction may be seen from the photograph reproduced in Plate XIX. The women of the camp keep a look-out for the approach of the visitors. When they are known to be near the camp, the women sit down on one side of the dancing ground, and the men take up positions in front of the decorated cane. Each man stands with his back against the *koro-čop*, with his arms stretched out sideways along the top of it. None of them has any weapons.

The visitors, who are, if we may so put it, the forgiving party, while the home party are those who have committed the last act of hostility, advance into the camp dancing, the step being that of the ordinary dance. The women of the home party mark the time of the dance by clapping their hands on their thighs. I was told that the visitors carry their weapons with them, but when the dance was performed at my request the dancers were without weapons. The visitors dance forward in front of the men standing at the *koro-čop*, and then, still dancing all the time, pass backwards and forwards between the standing men, bending their heads as they pass beneath the suspended cane. The dancers make threatening gestures at the men standing at the *koro-čop*, and every now and then break into a shrill shout. The men at the *koro* stand silent and motionless, and are expected to show no sign of fear.

After they have been dancing thus for a little time, the leader of the dancers approaches the man at one end of the *koro* and, taking him by the shoulders from the front, leaps vigorously

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

621 up and down to the time of the dance, thus giving the man he holds a good shaking. The leader then passes on to the next 535 man in the row while another of the dancers goes through 728 the same performance with the first man. This is continued until each of the dancers has "shaken" each of the standing men. The dancers then pass under the *koro* and shake their enemies in the same manner from the back. After a little more dancing the dancers retire, and the women of the visiting group come forward and dance in much the same way that the men have done, each woman giving each of the men of the other group a good shaking.

When the women have been through their dance the two parties of men and women sit down and weep together.

The two groups remain camped together for a few days, spending the time in hunting and dancing together. Presents [431] are exchanged, as at the ordinary meetings of different groups. The men of the two groups exchange bows with one another.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

to intensify the collective anger against the hostile group, and thereby and in other ways to produce a state of excitement and elation which has an important influence on the fighting quality of the Andaman warrior. 182X 535 628

An important feature of the social life of the Andamans in former times was the dance-meetings that were regularly held and at which two or more local groups met together for a few days. Each local group lived for the greater part of the year comparatively isolated from others. What little solidarity there was between neighbouring groups therefore tended to become weakened. Social relations between two groups were for the most part only kept up by visits of individuals from one group to another, but such visits did not constitute a relation between group and group. The function of the dance-meetings was therefore to bring the two groups into contact and renew the social relations between them and in that way to maintain the solidarity between them. Those meetings, apart from the provision of the necessary food, were entirely devoted to the exchange of presents and to dancing, the two or more parties of men and women joining together every night in a dance. We have already seen that the exchange of presents is a means of expressing solidarity or mutual good-will. It is now clear that the dance serves to unite the two or more groups into one body, and to make that unity felt by every individual, so creating for a few days a condition of close solidarity. The effects of the meeting would gradually wear out as months went by, and therefore it was necessary to repeat the meeting at suitable intervals. 182X 535 621 574

Thus it appears that not only the ordinary dance, but also the war-dance, and the dance-meetings owe their place in the life of the Andaman Islanders to the fact that dancing is a means of uniting individuals into a harmonious whole and at the same time making them actually and intensely experience their relation to that unity of which they are the members. The special dances at initiation ceremonies and on other occasions will be dealt with later in the chapter, on the basis of the general explanation given above. 182X 535

On the occasion of a dance, particularly if it be a dance of

in other savages. At Government House, Calcutta, in 1895, when a party was told to sit down and weep to show the custom at meetings, in a few moments the weeping became genuine, and when after a short time they were told to stop and get up, tears were streaming down their faces. 576

General Capacities.—The Andamanese are good climbers, and rapid walkers and runners, moving with a free and independent gait, and can travel considerable distances at a time. The Jarawas turn their toes in, due to the necessity of stooping to pass along their paths through the tangled jungle. The Eremtaga are good but not remarkable trackers. The Aryoto are good swimmers and are much at home in the water. The Andamanese generally show a dexterity in getting about their thick and tangled jungles which baffles all immigrants, though in this respect the Eremtaga quite out-distance the Aryoto, and the Jarawas apparently all the others. In the jungles all shooting with arrows is necessarily at very short distance, and generally the Andamanese are good shots at short distances only, judging direction very well but distance hardly at all. They can however at the very short distance required for shooting fish allow accurately for refraction in moving water and will shoot their fish successfully even in the surf in a manner that is inimitable: this is really due to accurate judgment of direction. 481

The Andamanese are unadventurous seamen, poling and paddling their canoes with small spade paddles at considerable speed, faster than that of an ordinary ship's boat for a little distance though they could not paddle away from one in even a short chase, but they never go out of sight of land, have never been even to the Cocos (30 miles), nor to Narcondam and Barren Island, nor had they ever any knowledge of the existence of the Nicobars till our arrival. Man has a legend from Car Nicobar doubtfully going to show that the Onges from the Little Andaman once made raids on that island: but if this were true they would do so still. 502

IV. Habits and Customs.

Dwellings.—Except in the Little Andaman and among the Jarawas there are no fixed habitations, the search for easily obtained food and insanitary habits obliging the people to be nomads, for they have no practice of cultivation and domesticate no animal whatever except dogs obtained from the English. They thus dwell in various customary encampments, situate within their respective territories. At these encampments, usually fixed in sheltered spots, they erect about 14 temporary huts capable of holding up to 50 to 80 persons, arranged facing inwards on an oval plan always more or less irregular, thus— 621 [242] [231]

The central space is the dancing ground. A hut is merely a thatch about 4 feet long by 3 feet wide, sloping from 8 inches behind to 4½ feet in front, placed on four uprights and some cross-pieces without walls. In unsheltered spots and at the Head-Quarters of Septs large circular huts are built with a good deal of ingenuity, having eaves nearly touching the ground. These will be as much as 15 feet high and 30 feet in diameter. For hunting purposes mere thatched shelters are erected for protection from the wind. Close to every hut is a very small platform for surplus food about 18 inches from the ground, and in it at least one fire is carefully preserved. This is the one thing that the Andamanese are really careful about for they do not know how to make fire, though 342 [251] 372

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

tracted hardship and considerable risk, not so much from the natives themselves as from the implacable Andaman sea. We had a terrible time during several of our landings from the open Indian Ocean. Constant danger additionally stimulated the development of research in Little Andaman. All the Indians and the Burmese behaved bravely. Among them I wish to mention here my Indian stenographer, a married man nearing thirty, from Bengal: RANBAHIR KUMAR DEY, who, on 12 and 13 February, 1953, on the south coast of the island shared two frightfully narrow escapes with me. I am sure that neither of us will ever forget it. I later found a comfortable landing place, now indicated by floating buoys, on the north coast. Two other Bengalese assistants who were a great help to me in Little Andaman and had been selected from a number of young aspirants, are PRONAB GANGULI and BIMAL CHANDRA ROY. My work in the Andamans could not have been accomplished without them and without the initiative and encouragement of officers such as Dr. B. S. GUHA, Director of the Department of Anthropology of the Indian Government, Mr. AJOY K. GHOSH, the kind, open-minded Chief Commissioner of Andamans and Nicobars during my 1951-1953 stay there, and Mr. S. N. MAITRA, who succeeded Mr. GHOSH as Chief Commissioner. In a book that I am writing I try to point out the significance of my work in the Andamans, carried out with the help of such distinguished, and sometimes heroic, Indian collaborators.

I. Hygienic Conditions

1. Habitation

The nomadic Onge have two kinds of shelter: one temporary, the other permanent, used only for short periods at a time. The Little Andaman forest is full of abandoned temporary shelters; the permanent camps are fewer, mainly situated along the coast. They consist of communal huts, strongly built by a number of families roaming under the direction of a leader. The huts have a ritual significance, as we shall presently see. Inside each communal hut are a number of beds generally equal to the number of families. Small fires are kept burning day and night near the beds, a precaution that I was thankful for on many cold nights succeeded by hot days. The Onge require nothing more against the cold. In their camps they can withstand the heaviest storms and drenching rains. In order to avoid chills it is enough for them to protect their fires from extinction. This applied to me too, while living among the Onge. The warmth and the dry air ensured good health for us all.

A few additional beds are for the use of bachelors nearing marriage. Most of the beds are marginally and radially placed; a few are placed transversally. Normal beds accommodate father, mother (the Onge are monogamous), children and dogs, all in a heap. In temporary as in permanent shelters it is customary for families to eat separately, each close to its bed. The low, round roof of the communal hut does not reach the ground; a gap of 30 cms is left free for creeping in and out at will without using the main door (a simple mat to be lifted). Rubbish is thrown carelessly everywhere, e. g. directly outside the circular hut, which is consequently surrounded by a malodorous ring of bones, imperfectly cleaned shells, bits of rotting shellfish and other animals – a rich breeding ground for flies and various other insects that rapidly destroy everything edible, leaving the grass to grow until the next lot of garbage accumulates. Building and rebuilding a communal hut always on the same

10: Sen. K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

The contact of the Onges with the outsiders can only be traced since the efforts of M. V. Portman[1] to establish a friendly relation with these tribes from 1886 onwards. However the earlier contacts with the Chinese and Japanese were possible because these people used to frequent the shores of Little Andaman for collecting the valuable shells and the Onges used to be engaged by them as divers and in reciprocation they were given presents of alcohol and opium. In the initial stage of the attempt for establishing a friendly relation by Portman, the Onges proved themselves hostile which was evidenced from the poor fate of the crews of a ship 'Assam Valley' when it touched the shores of Little Andaman and it was through the great efforts of the punitive expedition led by W. L. Much that the dead bodies of the crews were recovered. Later on, a few Onges, all on a sudden, arrived at Cinque Island and were captured by M. V. Portman. Only 9 of them were detained and the rest 15 were released. These few captured Onges were closely observed and studied in Port Blair by Portman and were ultimately returned back to their native land, Little Andaman. The friendly treatment and the presents that these Onges had received from Portman, paved the path of establishing friendly relations with the Onges much easier and also made the subsequent visits of the foreigners much more welcome. After Portman, a few more contacts were made with the Onges by Prof. Lapicque in March, 1893, during the operations of 1911 and 1921, undertaken by Eicsktedt, a German anthropologist, in 1827, by Dr. B. S. Guha, Ex-Director Anthropological Survey of India in 1948 and by Lidio Cipriani, an Italian anthropologist in the year 1954 and in a few succeeding years. Still the knowledge about the Onges seems to be meagre.

Living exclusively in the Little Andaman and a few of them in the Rutland Island, the Onges live in groups on a septal basis with clear-cut boundaries of hunting group for each group. There is no permanent habitation or village of the Onges in any part of the Little Andaman and their huts are of two types—(a) the permanent type of communal hut called *bera*, and (b) the temporary type of shelter called *korale*.

The abundance of food and water has made the life of the Onges comparatively easy-going. All the groups are headed by a leader and each group is assigned a fixed territory. The community life seems to be extremely democratic in character which entertains and also maintains a perfect individual freedom and only in times of necessity, advice,

1 Portman, M. V—History of one relations with the Andamanese.

10:Sen K-3,4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

621 rather than order is given by the leader. Cipriani observes.[1] "For
622 instance, it is very amusing for them to think that a man gives orders to others. This means that they have no real chiefs. A so-called Onge [592] chief, or raja, is only the head of a group of families living in the same communal hut, and giving not orders but only advice. It is the most experienced man who is considered chief in the hut, but his authority if at all never goes beyond that hut. In other words no real chief exists in the Little Andaman. Notwithstanding this, there is a perfect order in the island, because nobody interferes with the work or encroches upon what can be considered the rights of others."

124 As is common to most of the aborigines, the Onges are generally
162 not very receptive when the questions about their numbers and other groups are enquired. The headman says that there are many many fifty Onges. However the number of the Onges are approximately 600.

22 As regards the mode of living of the Onges, the hunting and collec-
231 ting are the basis of their economy. The domestication of the plants
241 i.e. art of agriculture is not known to them and it is only 30 years back, the dogs arrived in the island and have been domesticated by the Onges for chasing the pigs, their main prey. In the absence of agriculture, the natural products of the sea and the forest provide them with all [illegible] their items of diet. Animal and vegetable products and honey are the main items of their diet and there has been, so far, no introduction of salt in their diet. The most important victims of their hunting are pigs and turtles, the former is chased by dogs and are killed with great
252 cruelty. The cooking of the fish, meat, roots, tubers, jackfruits etc are
251 done by putting them under fire. Preservation of foodstuffs is not widely practised except the jackfruit seeds which are tied up in a small net inside water on the bank of some stream and taken out during rainy season, when the other vegetable foodstuffs are not available. On
146 the whole, the Onges have a very balanced diet with a fair richness of all the nutrients. In this connection the observations of Dr. Cipriani during his survey in the Little Andaman throws considerable light in [157] their conditions of life. He has estimated the Onges as one of the happiest people of the world, who in spite of their primitive economy, are not the miserable victims of poor health, ill nutrition and oddities of life.

396 Some amount of artistry and craftsmanship have developed among these people. A canoe can be constructed by a man, all by himself from

[113] 1 Cipriani, L—Survey of Little Andaman during 1954; Bul. Dept. Anth.,

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Arioto

in the local language, as opposed to the people of the interior, the *Eremtaga* – appear to have numbered between six and eight thousand. Over the years their place has been taken by more than thirteen thousand foreigners, most of whom were deportees, enjoying relative liberty as servants of government officials, farmers and foresters. The settlers, voluntarily or involuntarily, introduced the islanders to alcohol and tobacco, forcing them to turn to the foreigners in order to satisfy their craving. In the famous and extremely frank work of the English explorer M. V. Portman (*A History of our Relations with the Andamanese*, Calcutta, 1899) official letters are reproduced which give precise instructions in the matter to government officials. The result of these instructions was to transform the Arioto into alcohol and tobacco addicts. Syphilis was passed to the native women by the deportees, and from them to their men. When, a few years after the mass importation of prisoners, the government authorities became aware of the infection among the Arioto, not one of them had escaped. The miserable twenty-three survivors of the eight to nine thousand of a century ago show the ultimate result only too well, and their final extinction is imminent.

Before the advent of the new civilization, the Arioto had divided up into at least ten distinct communities, but without any true tribal organization. They respected a form of chief, chosen by tacit consent for his personal qualities rather than by name or by birth-right; but the chiefs acted merely as paternal advisers, to be respected in times of trouble, with no illusions of authority. No one commanded, and none obeyed: all were content to follow the whim of the moment, with no conception of social obligation.

When the foreigners arrived, there were five main groups of Arioto on North Andaman, the Cari, Chede, Cora, Jeru and Tabo. Another five groups were in South Andaman, the Balawa, Bea, Bogig-iab, Joi and Col. With the numerical decline of the Arioto, who had always been endogamous within their group, a tendency arose for the survivors to merge and inter-marry, so that the twenty-three alive today are in fact the result of the mixing of the northern and southern Arioto, and of these with Indians and Burmese. The chief of these twenty-three individuals is Loca, a name in itself an indication of this ethnic mixture. Loca means 'whiskers', and he himself has a moustache, whereas pure Negritos have no body or facial hair.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Owing to the difficulty of pushing through the undergrowth the 484
Onges always travel in single file, following closely behind one another, the men first, then the women and children, with the dogs following all round. They never travel alone; I hardly ever met any by themselves, but always in groups of families or groups of hunters. The man who happens to be at the front of the file is the guide and when they come to an awkward part of the journey – perhaps across a deep river – everybody helps. Trees are felled to [491] fall across between the banks and a rope of lianas is run across to make the crossing easier for the aged, the women and the children, though their sense of balance is so good that most of them manage without it, even when carrying heavy loads across a single trunk.

The Onges are now nearly all related to each other in some way. 621 ●
They all know each other, and the contacts are usually friendly. 578
The few squabbles which I saw, always over game, or food that had been gathered, all blew over very quickly; normally, especially in the dry season when every group becomes nomadic in search of food, everyone went freely all over the island. On the occasions of the great hunts, or the honey feasts, a number of groups would band together for the occasion and even then they tried to divide the spoils equally and peaceably. If a dispute does arise the camp will break up into factions, but these will still keep close to each other and after a short while their differences will be made up with the usual long and tearful embraces. These scenes of reconciliation may go on for days, all starting from nothing more serious than a difference of opinion over the division of game captured by communal effort! 22

Much more important than the danger of offending other human 776
beings is that of causing offence to the spirits of the dead or the [775]
guardian spirits who provide food. There is, as I have said, not over- [782]
much rigidity in their observations – no propitiatory offerings of any kind are made to the spirits. The supreme being, Eiuga, who takes the shape of a lizard bigger than a crocodile, they know well. On Great Andaman he becomes Puluga, equally powerful, lord of [184] men and things but rather more anthropomorphic than his counterpart in Little Andaman. As Eiuga lives in the sky, the thunder is his voice, and the wind his breath; if he is angry he breathes out storms and throws burning tree-trunks down to the earth, setting light to the forest. Behind Eiuga are a series of minor spirits who

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

kitchen-middens to have been contemporaneous with the introduction of the pig, i.e. to have been introduced by outsiders. It would be possible, using radio carbon methods, to calculate this date more accurately, but on purely archaeological evidence the introduction of pottery would appear to have occurred some five thousand years ago. 323 172

8 ABSENCE OF CANNIBALISM

If we may accept the evidence of the kitchen-middens, there has never at any time been cannibalism in the Andamans, although the practice certainly existed in the later Palaeolithic era; the Andamanese must thus have been isolated in the archipelago long before the practice became widespread. 172 266

9 DRINK

The Andamanese ignorance of any drink other than water may be regarded as additional evidence of the great antiquity of their culture. 273 194

10 ABSENCE OF CLOTHING

The Jarawas of both sexes have always remained completely naked. The Onges have only in comparatively recent times adopted a form of genital covering for their womenfolk; this custom has spread as far as the north of Great Andaman, and it seems probable that the separation of the Jarawas from the Onges dates from this time. 291 178 174 184

11 ABSENCE OF TATTOOING

All primitive peoples who are habitually completely naked adorn the body in some way. The Onges have never progressed beyond the early stage of painting themselves with ochre, and do not tattoo. Their sole ornaments are small necklaces of tusk shells, strips of bark, and sometimes flowers. In all this they resemble the Tasmans (see, however, p. 143 for certain important differences), who seem to have remained in an equally early stage of cultural development. 30 171

12 TOTEMISM AND THE CLAN

Here again the complete absence of any traces appears to indicate isolation before the spread of these very ancient concepts. Neither the Onges nor the Jarawas have ever progressed beyond the stage of independent groups of families. 174 61 621

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

implies a higher degree of respect than *Maia* or *Čana*. In these tribes also there is a special way of showing respect by adding the suffix *-la* to the name of the person addressed, as *Bia*, *Biala*, *Woičo*, *Woičo-la*, etc. 888 576

In the legends of the Andamanese these titles are nearly always prefixed to the names of the legendary ancestors, as *Maia Jutpu* and *Mimi Biliku* in *Aka-Jeru*, or *Da Duku* and *In Bain* in *Akar-Bale*. The moon is similarly spoken of as Sir Moon (*Maia Ogar* in *Aka-Bea*) and the sun as Lady Sun (*Čana Bodo*).

Besides the respect for seniority there is another important factor in the regulation of the social life, namely the respect for certain personal qualities. These qualities are skill in hunting and in warfare, generosity and kindness, and freedom from bad temper. A man possessing them inevitably acquires a position of influence in the community. His opinion on any subject carries more weight than that of another even older man. The younger men attach themselves to him, are anxious to please him by giving him any presents that they can, or by helping him in such work as cutting a canoe, and to join him in hunting parties or turtle expeditions. In each local group there was usually to be found one man who thus by his influence could control and direct others. Amongst the chief men of several friendly local groups it would generally happen that one of them, by reason of his personal qualities, would attain to a position of higher rank than the others. Younger men would be desirous of joining the local group to which he belonged. He would find himself popular and respected at the annual meetings of the different groups, and his influence would thus spread beyond the narrow limits of his own small community. 554 623 622

There was no special word to denote such men and distinguish them from others. In the languages of the North Andaman they were spoken of as *er-kuro* = "big."

Such men might perhaps be spoken of as "chiefs," but the term is somewhat misleading, as it makes us think of the organised chieftainship of other savage races.

The above statement is not quite in agreement with what has been written by Mr Man on the same subject, and what he 623 622

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

623 622 says is therefore reproduced here. "Their domestic policy may be described as a communism modified by the authority, more or less nominal, of the chief. The head chief of a tribe is called *maia igla*, and the elders, or sub-chiefs, i.e. those in authority over each community, consisting of from 20 to 50 individuals, *maiola*. The head chief, who usually resides at a permanent encampment, has authority over all the sub-chiefs, but his power, like theirs, is very limited. It is exercised mainly in organising meetings between the various communities belonging to his tribe, and in exerting influence in all questions affecting the welfare of his followers. It is the chief alone, as may be supposed, who directs the movements of a party while on hunting and fishing expeditions, or when migrating. It is usually through his intervention that disputes are settled, but he possesses no power to punish or enforce obedience to his wishes, it being left to all alike to take the law into their own hands when aggrieved. The *aryoto* and *eremtaga* in each tribe have their own head chief, who are independent the one of the other. As might be assumed from the results of observations made of other savage races, whose sole or chief occupation consists in hunting or fishing, the power of the chiefs is very limited, and not necessarily hereditary, though, in the event of a grown-up son being left who was qualified for the post, he would, in most instances, be selected to succeed his father in preference to any other individual of equal efficiency. At the death of a chief there is no difficulty in appointing a successor, there being always at least one who is considered his deputy or right-hand man. As they are usually, on these occasions, unanimous in their choice, no formal election takes place; however, should any be found to dissent, the question is decided by the wishes of the majority, it being always open to malcontents to transfer their allegiance to another chief, since there is no such thing as forced submission to the authority of one who is not a general favourite. Social status being dependent not merely on the accident of relationship, but on skill in hunting, fishing, etc., and on a reputation for generosity and hospitality, the chiefs and elders are almost invariably superior in every respect to the rest. They and their wives are at liberty to enjoy immunity from the

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

drudgery incidental to their mode of life, all such acts being voluntarily performed for them by the young unmarried persons living under their headship[1]." 623 622

Where Mr Man speaks of the "authority" of the chiefs it would be better to speak of "influence." Of authority the leading men have little or none, but of influence they have a good deal. Should any one venture to oppose a popular chief he would find the majority of the natives, including many of his friends, siding against him. The words "chief" and "authority" seem to imply some sort of organised rule and procedure, and of this there is nothing in the Andamans. Mr Man also implies that in each tribe there is always one recognized headman, but in reality each tribe may possess two or three leading men in different parts of the country, each with his own following. In any case a man's influence is largely confined to his own local group, for it is only at the annual meetings that the men of other groups come in contact with him.

The early officers of the Andamanese Homes (before the time of Mr Man) established a system of chieftainship in the islands by selecting a few of the more trustworthy and intelligent men, whom they dignified with the title of *raja*, and who acted as the intermediaries between the Officer in Charge of the Andamanese and the natives. This system has been continued to the present day, and the natives have adopted the title *raja* for these men, having themselves no word for a chief. Where a man is selected who is already respected and esteemed by the natives his influence is considerably increased through the position thus assigned to him. The natives themselves do not recognize that he has any authority over them, but if he be a man of generosity and tact, the majority will always support him, and his advice in any matters of moment will be readily followed.

Women may occupy a position of influence similar to that of the men. The wife of a leading man generally exercises the same sort of influence over the women as her husband does over the men. A woman, however, would not exercise any influence over the men in matters connected with hunting. They do have 623 562

[1] Man, in *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. XII, p. 108.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

361 tides, the men enjoy exceptional facilities for shooting fish and harpooning turtles, &c.

10. Although the sites selected for occupation are usually well-sheltered, it is not always found possible in tempestuous weather, even in the dense jungle which covers every portion of their country, to obtain shelter sufficient to allow of their huts being so placed as to face inwards towards the *bū·lum-*, or dancing ground. The primary consideration being naturally to secure as much comfort as possible, the sloping roof is at such times presented towards the prevailing wind.

11. The following diagram will give a general idea of the plan commonly adopted in laying out an encampment consisting of several huts, though the form depends much on the nature of the ground, and on the relative position of the surrounding trees, for they do not consider it worth their while to fell these, or to clear away anything but the lightest brushwood for the mere purpose of providing space for their huts, and dancing ground. Another point to be taken into account is the possibility of accidents being caused by falling branches, and, therefore, when erecting their frail dwellings, they are careful to guard against this danger as far as possible, and so much judgment do they display in the matter that accidents of this nature are comparatively unknown.

a. Married persons.[1]
b. Bachelors.[1]
c. Spinsters.[1]
d. Public cooking place.
e. Dancing ground (*bu·lum-*).

619 620 [421] **Government.**—1. The entire country is apportioned among the various tribes, and the territory occupied by each is considered the common property of all its members, and not as belonging exclusively to the chiefs.

2. Their domestic polity may be described as a communism modified by the authority, more or less nominal, of the chief. The head chief of a tribe is called *mai·a-iglā·-*, and the elders, or sub-chiefs, *i.e.*, those in authority over each community, consisting of from 20 to 50 individuals, *mai·ola*.

3. The head chief, who usually resides at a permanent

[1] Even at the homes they are careful to maintain this order, viz.: of placing the bachelors and spinsters at either end of the building, and the married couples in the space between.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

encampment, has authority over all the sub-chiefs, but his power, like theirs, is very limited. It is exercised mainly in organising meetings between the various communities belonging to his tribe, and in exerting influence in all questions affecting the welfare of his followers. It is the chief alone, as may be supposed, who directs the movements of a party while on hunting or fishing expeditions, or when migrating. It is usually through his intervention that disputes are settled, but he possesses no power to punish or enforce obedience to his wishes, it being left to all alike to take the law into their own hands when aggrieved. 622 619

4. The *àryô·to-* and *ē·remtâ·ga-* in each tribe have their own head chief, who are independent the one of the other.

5. As might be assumed from the results of observations made of other savage races, whose sole or chief occupation consists in hunting or fishing, the power of the chiefs is very limited, and not necessarily hereditary, though, in the event of a grown-up son being left who was qualified for the post, he would, in most instances, be selected to succeed his father in preference to any other individual of equal efficiency. 622

6. At the death of a chief there is no difficulty in appointing a successor, even if he leave no son, for there is always at least one who is considered his deputy or right-hand man. As they are usually, on these occasions, unanimous in their choice, no formal election takes place; however should any be found to dissent, the question is decided by the wishes of the majority, it being always open to malcontents to transfer their allegiance to another chief, since there is no such thing as forced submission to the authority of one who is not a general favourite.

7. Social status being dependent not merely on the accident of relationship, but on skill in hunting, fishing, &c., and on a reputation for generosity and hospitality, the chiefs and elders are almost invariably superior in every respect to the rest. They and their wives are at liberty to enjoy immunity from the drudgery incidental to their mode of life, all such acts being voluntarily performed for them by the young unmarried persons living under their headship. [554]

8. Though females, like minors (that is to say youths under 18), cannot be chiefs, the former have a similar position relatively among the women, to that held by their husbands among the men of the tribe. A chief's wife enjoys many privileges, especially if she be a mother, and in virtue of her husband's rank rules over all the young unmarried women and such also of the married ones as are not senior to herself. Shou. she become a widow she continues to exercise the same rights, unless she re-marries, when her social status depends on that of 622 562

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

her husband. In the event, however, of the widow of a chief being young and childless, she returns to the home of her maiden days, and is in a measure lost sight of, as she sinks to her former position.

9. It is believed by the people themselves that the system above described has prevailed among them from a remote period.

Covenants, Oaths, Ordeals.—1. No forms of covenant are to be traced in their dealings with one another, nor is there to be found among them anything of the nature of an oath or of an appeal to a higher power—as Heaven or the Sun—to punish breach of faith, or to bear witness to the truth.

2. They are in too primitive a state to possess any form of trial, or even to have any belief in the efficacy of an ordeal for discovering a guilty person; nor does it appear that any such practice existed in times past.

Laws.[1]—1. Justice, as I have already said, is administered by the simple method of allowing the aggrieved party to take the law into his own hands, which he usually does, either by flinging a burning faggot, or discharging an arrow, at, or more frequently *near*, the offender, while all who may be present lose no time in beating a retreat, and—taking with them as much of their property as their haste will allow—remain in concealment until sufficient time has elapsed for the settlement of the quarrel. When such an affair seems imminent, and likely to be serious, friends often interpose, seize the disputants, and remove their weapons, which are not restored so long as there appears any risk of their misusing them.

2. Should a man kill his opponent nothing is necessarily said or done to him, though it is permissible for a friend or relative of the deceased to avenge his death; in most cases, however, the murderer succeeds in striking such terror in the minds of the community that no one ventures to assail him or even to express any disapprobation of his conduct while he is within hearing: as conscience, however, makes cowards of us all, the homicide, from prudential motives, not unfrequently absents himself till he is assured that the grief and indignation of his victim's friends have considerably abated.

3. These remarks do not now-a-days apply, to the same extent, to those living near us, for the terror inspired by the punishments inflicted in all cases of murder brought to our notice has resulted in materially diminishing crimes of this nature among them. In May, 1880, an Andamanese youth was hanged

[1] As regards laws (?) relating to inheritance, information will be found in a subsequent paper, under the heading of "Property," paragraph 3.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

at Port Blair for the murder of one of his countrymen. He had previously, in 1878, been sentenced to imprisonment for the murder of two children of his tribe, and he committed his last crime soon after his discharge. This has hitherto been the only occasion on which any of these savages has suffered the extreme penalty of British law. It may be added, that this last step was not taken until the unhappy wretch, as well as all his fellow-countrymen in South Andaman, had been repeatedly warned that no other than a capital sentence would in future be passed on those convicted of murder. 627 177

4. It is by no means an uncommon occurrence for a man, or even a boy, to vent his ill-temper, or show his resentment at any act, by destroying his own property as well as that of his neighbours, sparing only the things belonging exclusively to the chief, or other head man. The amount of damage done at such times, to canoes and other articles of more or less value, will often give occasion for several weeks' employment in repairing and replacing to himself and his companions; but as these outbreaks are looked upon as the result of a temporary "possession," and the victim considered, for the time being, dangerous, and unaccountable for his actions, no one ventures to offer any opposition, or impose any restraint upon him. 578 152

5. Women, when in a rage, occasionally act in a similar manner towards one of their own sex, or even to all the females of the encampment, injuring or destroying their nets, baskets, and other articles; at other times they will seize a burning log, and, banging it furiously on the ground, vent their feelings by some such exclamation as *ngig mū·gu jā·bagike!* (May your face become hideous!); or they will struggle and fight till they are forcibly separated by the wife or daughter of their head man. They do not, however, attempt to settle their differences with the stronger sex, but leave it to their husbands or male relatives to obtain redress for their real or fancied grievances.

6. When a chief or elder so far forgets himself as to lose his temper, those of his own standing betake themselves to their huts, while the other members of the community, male and female, beat a hasty retreat to some secluded spot, for no one would venture to find fault with one in authority, and with some reason, for little or no harm usually results to the community, while his own reputation is sure to suffer. Should he, however, wantonly cause loss or injury to any of his people, they would be pretty certain to take an early, though secret, opportunity of repaying him in kind. 622 578 152

Crime.—1. That outcome of civilisation, suicide, is unknown among them; but, since they have seen cases of self-murder among the alien population, they have coined a lengthy com 762

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

524 of their number has to submit to be covered with sand until the head only is visible; fire is then placed near the spot after the custom of their race; for the like reason these sports usually take place near some landmark, such as a conspicuous tree, boulder, or overhanging rock: when the semi-interred child has had enough of it he jumps out and another companion is chosen to take his place.

17. Children may also sometimes be seen diverting themselves by tying a fine string to the leg of a toad or tree-lizard;[1] this cruel sport, unless their elders interfere, is only ended by the death of the unfortunate captive.

18. They are fond of searching for small crabs and fish, and having them cooked for a sham banquet:[2] the earnestness they display in "pretending" on these occasions is irresistibly entertaining, and would be heartily appreciated by European children who have experienced the delight of preparing a "doll's feast."

19. Boys also play at seizing each other under the surface of the water, or amuse themselves with making tiny canoes and floating them towards one another; they are, as I have before mentioned, early provided with miniature bows and arrows, and encouraged to become good marksmen.

535 20. While the foregoing amusements are of frequent occurrence among the juvenile members of a community,[3] the chief
527 diversion of the adults consists in entertainments resembling
574 the Australian "corroboree," when dancing and singing are kept up for many successive hours by moonlight, or by the blaze of the camp fires.

527 21. Any passing event, such as a successful hunt, an unexpected visit from distant relatives or friends, the commence-
574 ment of a new season, the recovery of some member of the community from illness, a marriage, and even the termination of the mourning period,[4] is made the excuse for one of these entertainments.

[627] 22. Besides these smaller festivities, large gatherings of a tribe are also organised from time to time by the head chief, who generally receives an offer, in the first instance, from the members of some far-off community to give a *jeg-* at his encampment. As these offers are only made when it is known to be convenient they are always accepted, and invitations for a certain day are at once sent to all living within an easy distance.

[1] This is called *rō·pan lik-lī·ruga-*.

[2] These are called *gab-mak nga-*.

[524] [3] "Cats' cradle" (called by them *jī·bra-*) is also one of their recognised amusements.

[4] *Vide* "Death and Burial," paragraph 7.

372 they show much skill in so carrying smouldering logs with them by land or sea that they are not extinguished. Their ignorance of this fundamental requirement of civilization is shown in their fire-legend that fire was originally stolen from their deity Puluga and has never been allowed to become extinct since. Excepting guns, nothing has more impressed the Andamanese with European power and resources than the use of matches, *i.e.*, of making fire whenever required with ease.

342 In the Little Andaman and among the Jarawas of the South Andaman, large permanent huts for use in the wet season are built up of solid materials to 30 feet in height and 60 in breadth to hold the fires of 7 to 8 hunting parties, say 60 to 70 people, *i.e.*, they contain 7 to 8 fires with about 8 persons to each "fire." The Jarawa hunting camp is much the same as that of any other Andamanese and his great communal hut is built on the same principle as the larger huts of the other Andamanese.

The use of the flimsy hunting shelters and camp huts of the Andamanese is rendered possible in the wet and stormy weather so common in the Islands by the denseness of the jungle, which prevents the winds from reaching them even when close to the sea-beach and causes the rain to fall vertically upon them.

619 **Government.**—There is no idea of Government, but to each tribe and to each sept of it there is a recognised head, who has attained that position by
● 622 tacit agreement on account of some admitted superiority, mental or physical, and commands a limited respect and such obedience as the self interest of the other individual men of the tribe or sept dictates. There is a tendency to
[554] hereditary right in the natural selection of chiefs, but there is no social status that is not personally acquired. The social position of a chief's family follows that of the chief himself and admits of many privileges in the shape of tribal influence and immunity from drudgery. His wife is among women what he is
[888] among men and at his death, if a mother and not young, she retains his privileges. Age commands respect and the young are deferential to the elders. Of-
627 fences, *i.e.*, murder, theft, adultery, mischief, assault, are punished by the aggrieved party on his own account by injury to the body and property or by murder, without more active interference on the part of others than is consistent with their own safety, and without any fear of consequences except vengeance from the friends of the other side, and even this is usually avoided by disappearance till the short memory of the people has obliterated wrath.

421 Property is communal, as is all the land, and ideas as to individual possessions are but rudimentary, accompanied with an incipient tabu of the property belonging to a chief. An Andamanese will often readily part with ornaments to any one who asks for them. Theft, or the taking of property without leave, is only recognised as to things of absolute necessity, as arrows, pig's flesh, fire.
437 A very rude barter exists between tribes of the same group in regard to articles not locally obtainable or manufactured. This applies especially to cooking pots, which are made of a special clay found only in certain parts of the islands. The barter is really a gift of one article in expectation of another of assumed corresponding value in return, and a row if it is not forthcoming. The territory of other tribes is carefully respected without however there being any fixed boundaries.

562 The duties of men and women are clearly defined by custom, but not so as to make that of the women comparatively hard. The women have a tacitly acknowledged inferior position, but it is not such as to be marked or to leave them without influence.

771 **Religion.**—The religion is simple animism and consists of fear of the evil spirits of the wood, the sea, disease and ancestors, and of avoidance of acts traditionally displeasing to them, and this in spite of an abundance of mythological tales told in a confused, disjointed manner that is most instructive to the student of such things. There is neither ceremonial worship nor propitiation. There is an anthropomorphic deity, Puluga, the cause of all things, whom it is not, however, necessary to propitiate, though sins, *i.e.*, acts displeasing to him, are avoided for fear of damage to the products of the jungle. Puluga dwells now in the sky, but used to live on the top of Saddle Peak, their highest mountain. The Andamanese have an idea that the "soul" will go under the earth by an aerial bridge after death, but there is no heaven nor hell nor any idea of a cor-

crew of the ship called him 'Raja' and we adopted this name (*see* Plate IV, Figs. 1 & 2). He was the only one among the Onges who was fully armed with knives, bows and arrows. Among the contents of the canoes, we found complete fishing out-fits, bows and arrows, ropes and nautilous shells, for bailing out water. There was also a kind of bamboo float about 1½ ft. long, probably used for turtle fishing. We gave them food, cigarettes and other presents. After they became quite familiar with us and friendly, they were subjected to full anthropometric measurements by me. Their blood was also tapped by Mr Sarkar for typing. The presents given were iron nails, strips of red cloth, tea and tobacco leaves. Among all these objects what they liked most were the tobacco leaves. Cooked rice, dal (cooked lentils) and fish curry served to them from the launch Mess were however not much appreciated. With the few Hindi words that they were able to understand, we told them that we would like to visit their camp next morning and meet other members of the party. After the canoes had left, we anchored at this point for the night and after taking an early breakfast we left for the shore in two batches. We were informed by the crew that the creek near the Onge camp was called the *Dugong Creek*. We had to wade through brakish water and coast fringing with coral beds for about two miles, before we reached the Onge settlement. There was one large circular communal hut characteristic of the Onges and several lean-to's (*see* Plate I, Fig. 2). We noticed three canoes on the beach apparently those with which they came to meet us on the previous day. We saw also several small dogs and the entrails of a pig strewn round. We met all the 12 Onges we saw the day before, along with Ukla and his family. In addition there were a number of women and children. We took out our presents of dried tobacco leaves, iron nails and two large fishes that we had caught on our way from Port Blair. These were distributed to the Onges. There were altogether 17 men, 15 women, 4 boys and 3 girls. The children were between 1½ to 4 years. The entire party of Onges behaved towards us in a friendly manner and subjected to our measurements and tapping of blood from their fingers without any protest. We went inside their hut and inspected the settlement very thoroughly. A large number of photographs were taken. We found that the name of this village was *Tambebui*. As it became rather late, we decided to return to 'Molly' in the Andamanese canoes, rather than walk through the coral beds for 2 miles. The Onges understood our signs and gladly escorted us back to the launch. We found there were several other Onges waiting for us in the launch who came from the neighbouring village *Gabilong*. All of these Onges appear to be under the influence of the man nick-named as 'Raja' (*see* Plate IV, Figs. 1-2).

We could not proceed towards Hut Bay as the launch had to return for duty at Port Blair, where we reached at about mid-night.

After reaching Port Blair, I discussed the matter of transport with the Chief Commissioner, Mr Majid. A thorough coastal survey of Little Andaman would take at least 15 to 20 days. As it was found impossible to get either from the Forest Department or from the Harbour Master any of their launches

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

documented the fact in a number of photographs. The purpose, however, is 751
purely hygienic: an unpainted body is, in their opinion, exposed to certain 302
illness. They explained this belief to me by saying that without paint the body becomes "hot". The men who travelled with me far from women were anxious every day to spread clay on face, chest and limbs, just to avoid "heat" or, in other words, fever. I thought of malaria, but they do not suffer from it. [162]
Of this I will speak later on.

Rough clay is applied daily, on infant bodies as well as on adults, for 751
health purposes. It is used to cure all kinds of sickness, together with ochre, 757
turtle fat and honey. Honey spread on wounds appears to hasten healing. [302]
Identical curative methods are employed in Oceania. They probably existed 854
among the Tasmanians, and are still used in Australia by the aborigines. I found nothing of the kind in Africa, where honey is plentiful. The Onge consider [752]
clay, ochre, honey and turtle fat good for external and internal treatment alike – both preventive and curative. Powdered bees' wax of a dark colour is often [171]
added. I saw mothers give their children, as a laxative, a number of pills made 825
of similar ingredients. No bigger than common hazelnuts, the pills are red and greasy. In Onge forests I saw some small excavations, a few feet deep, [317]
made to extract the medicinal clay from special ground pockets. In its natural form the clay is light coloured, powdery and free of stones. When it is burnt [386]
the colour changes, assuming red, yellow, whitish or black shades according to the different qualities used, all believed to possess healing properties and to ensure hygienic colouring of the body. Mixed as described above, clay is used by the Onge in every circumstance from fever to snake or scorpion bite, constipation, breast infection in women, or post-delivery bleeding.

Belief in the medicinal properties of clay is as old as humanity itself. 757
Even among contemporary European peoples, notwithstanding severe criticism, 171
clay is still honoured as health-giving, not, I must say, on wholly foolish 823
grounds. The Onge, who smear their bodies constantly with clay, have the softest, most velvety skin that I ever saw anywhere in the world. Wounds [752]
spread with clay mixed with honey and fat leave negligible scars. The laxative and germ-killing action of clay is admitted by physicians in many countries, including Europe. It never causes infection. Geophagism has ancient origins, and we find it practiced by many modern populations. Children of every race and all young wild animals lick clay instinctively to absorb the mineral salts required by a developing organism. The Onge habit of using clay for healing purposes can be set, therefore, in a very wide frame.

Mental and nervous disorders are rare in Little Andaman. Few natives 164
are subject to epilepsy – an important matter for the Onge: they consider 828
such people as possessed by spirits who speak through their mouths, and [158]
respectfully question them as oracles. Several Onge chiefs, such as Chief 622
Tchōtā of Tambē-ē-buiē, are apt to go into trances that have all the appearance [787]
of epileptic fits. They were elected chiefs on the strength of their epilepsy!

Constant exercise keeps eyesight and hearing extremely sharp in the 164
Onge. I saw no single case of myopia or presbyopia among the natives, nor 151

123 The second trip was made on March 12th 1948. Our party included Mr. JOSEPH and Mr. POOVIAH [2], both Sub-divisional Officers of the forest department, one Burman bush police and four Andamanese with their two canoes tied behind our motor boat. We followed the same route from Long Island and, reaching Spike Island, we anchored at its northeastern corner. We came ashore in the canoes. The beach was small and rocky. Part of it was sheltered on one side by huge rocks behind which the Jarawa were known to waylay those approaching from the sea. So we landed very cautiously. Just at [501] the outskirts of the jungle we saw huge bundles of short bamboo lengths tied to [824] one another and piled up in a heap. It was a Jarawa raft. Near the bamboo pile were three crude paddles split from the spadix of the palm called *Nipa fruticans*. We were all the more careful in our approach.

[361] Soon we came upon a clearing in the jungle. There was no Jarawa, but all around we saw traces of a temporary halt of a large party. We counted nineteen [342] fireplaces. At a distance from the fireplaces we saw a small temporary hut improvised out of the materials available on the spot. Two small shrubs were [622] tied together on two sides to form the roof of the hut. The Andamanese identified it to have been made for the Jarawa chief and his wife. Household objects [415] [824] lay scattered about. Three bamboo cylinders, closed at one end by the natural node, were found next to three of the fireplaces. They are used for carrying water. A dark coloured modern glass bottle, probably acquired during a raid, was also found. One fireplace had a small compartment enclosed by a few wooden posts a few yards off. The Andamanese identified it as an enclosure for keeping a child at a safe distance from the fire. This was probably correct as there was also a baby sling made of bark, exactly similar to that used by the Onge for carrying a baby on its mother's back (VON EICKSTEDT, 1934, fig. 211). At one corner of a fireplace the shavings of an arrowshaft or a bow were seen and nearby was a flat round pebble, one end of which was broken like that of a scraper (fig. 3). This scraper showed marks of red ochre on it. Beneath a tree a circular mat, sewn out of three pieces of long triangular palm-like leaves was spread out, while on its branches was found a beautiful specimen of an unstrung bow. It appeared to have been recently prepared and

[412] ← [177] [415] → [354] [417] [855] → [854] → [412] [412]

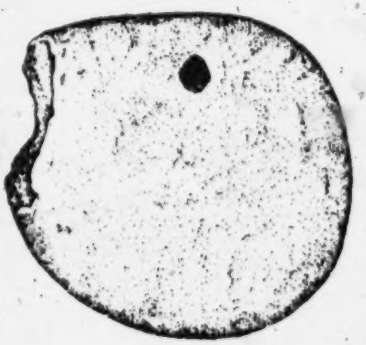

Fig. 3

[2] These two officers captured two Jarawa males, one adult and one boy, on October 19th 1948 on Spike Island. They were brought to Port Blair, wherefrom they managed to escape at night.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

The contact of the Onges with the outsiders can only be traced since the efforts of M. V. Portman[1] to establish a friendly relation with these tribes from 1886 onwards. However the earlier contacts with the Chinese and Japanese were possible because these people used to frequent the shores of Little Andaman for collecting the valuable shells and the Onges used to be engaged by them as divers and in reciprocation they were given presents of alcohol and opium. In the initial stage of the attempt for establishing a friendly relation by Portman, the Onges proved themselves hostile which was evidenced from the poor fate of the crews of a ship 'Assam Valley' when it touched the shores of Little Andaman and it was through the great efforts of the punitive expedition led by W. L. Much that the dead bodies of the crews were recovered. Later on, a few Onges, all on a sudden, arrived at Cinque Island and were captured by M. V. Portman. Only 9 of them were detained and the rest 15 were released. These few captured Onges were closely observed and studied in Port Blair by Portman and were ultimately returned back to their native land, Little Andaman. The friendly treatment and the presents that these Onges had received from Portman, paved the path of establishing friendly relations with the Onges much easier and also made the subsequent visits of the foreigners much more welcome. After Portman, a few more contacts were made with the Onges by Prof. Lapicque in March, 1893, during the operations of 1911 and 1921, undertaken by Eicsktedt, a German anthropologist, in 1827, by Dr. B. S. Guha, Ex-Director Anthropological Survey of India in 1948 and by Lidio Cipriani, an Italian anthropologist in the year 1954 and in a few succeeding years. Still the knowledge about the Onges seems to be meagre.

Living exclusively in the Little Andaman and a few of them in the Rutland Island, the Onges live in groups on a septal basis with clear-cut boundaries of hunting group for each group. There is no permanent habitation or village of the Onges in any part of the Little Andaman and their huts are of two types—(a) the permanent type of communal hut called *bera*, and (b) the temporary type of shelter called *korale*.

The abundance of food and water has made the life of the Onges comparatively easy-going. All the groups are headed by a leader and each group is assigned a fixed territory. The community life seems to be extremely democratic in character which entertains and also maintains a perfect individual freedom and only in times of necessity, advice,

1 Portman, M. V—History of one relations with the Andamanese.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

621 rather than order is given by the leader. Cipriani observes.[1] "For
622 instance, it is very amusing for them to think that a man gives orders to others. This means that they have no real chiefs. A so-called Onge
[592] chief, or raja, is only the head of a group of families living in the same communal hut, and giving not orders but only advice. It is the most experienced man who is considered chief in the hut, but his authority if at all never goes beyond that hut. In other words no real chief exists in the Little Andaman. Notwithstanding this, there is a perfect order in the island, because nobody interferes with the work or encroches upon what can be considered the rights of others."

124 As is common to most of the aborigines, the Onges are generally
162 not very receptive when the questions about their numbers and other groups are enquired. The headman says that there are many many fifty Onges. However the number of the Onges are approximately 600.

22 As regards the mode of living of the Onges, the hunting and collec-
231 ting are the basis of their economy. The domestication of the plants
241 i.e. art of agriculture is not known to them and it is only 30 years back, the dogs arrived in the island and have been domesticated by the Onges for chasing the pigs, their main prey. In the absence of agriculture, the natural products of the sea and the forest provide them with all
[262] their items of diet. Animal and vegetable products and honey are the main items of their diet and there has been, so far, no introduction of salt in their diet. The most important victims of their hunting are pigs and turtles, the former is chased by dogs and are killed with great
252 cruelty. The cooking of the fish, meat, roots, tubers, jackfruits etc are
251 done by putting them under fire. Preservation of foodstuffs is not widely practised except the jackfruit seeds which are tied up in a small net inside water on the bank of some stream and taken out during rainy season, when the other vegetable foodstuffs are not available. On
146 the whole, the Onges have a very balanced diet with a fair richness of all the nutrients. In this connection the observations of Dr. Cipriani during his survey in the Little Andaman throws considerable light in
[157] their conditions of life. He has estimated the Onges as one of the happiest people of the world, who in spite of their primitive economy, are not the miserable victims of poor health, ill nutrition and oddities of life.

396 Some amount of artistry and craftsmanship have developed among these people. A canoe can be constructed by a man, all by himself from

[113] 1 Cipriani, L—Survey of Little Andaman during 1954; Bul. Dept. Anth.,

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Arioto

in the local language, as opposed to the people of the interior, the *Eremtaga* – appear to have numbered between six and eight thousand. Over the years their place has been taken by more than thirteen thousand foreigners, most of whom were deportees, enjoying relative liberty as servants of government officials, farmers and foresters. The settlers, voluntarily or involuntarily, introduced the islanders to alcohol and tobacco, forcing them to turn to the foreigners in order to satisfy their craving. In the famous and extremely frank work of the English explorer M. V. Portman (*A History of our Relations with the Andamanese*, Calcutta, 1899) official letters are reproduced which give precise instructions in the matter to government officials. The result of these instructions was to transform the Arioto into alcohol and tobacco addicts. Syphilis was passed to the native women by the deportees, and from them to their men. When, a few years after the mass importation of prisoners, the government authorities became aware of the infection among the Arioto, not one of them had escaped. The miserable twenty-three survivors of the eight to nine thousand of a century ago show the ultimate result only too well, and their final extinction is imminent.

Before the advent of the new civilization, the Arioto had divided up into at least ten distinct communities, but without any true tribal organization. They respected a form of chief, chosen by tacit consent for his personal qualities rather than by name or by birth-right; but the chiefs acted merely as paternal advisers, to be respected in times of trouble, with no illusions of authority. No one commanded, and none obeyed: all were content to follow the whim of the moment, with no conception of social obligation.

When the foreigners arrived, there were five main groups of Arioto on North Andaman, the Cari, Chede, Cora, Jeru and Tabo. Another five groups were in South Andaman, the Balawa, Bea, Bogig-iab, Joi and Coi. With the numerical decline of the Arioto, who had always been endogamous within their group, a tendency arose for the survivors to merge and inter-marry, so that the twenty-three alive today are in fact the result of the mixing of the northern and southern Arioto, and of these with Indians and Burmese. The chief of these twenty-three individuals is Loca, a name in itself an indication of this ethnic mixture. Loca means 'whiskers', and he himself has a moustache, whereas pure Negritos have no body or facial hair.

THE ANDAMAN ISLANDERS

000 622 groups of families. There is some spontaneous recognition of individuals as 'headmen' as a result of some generally accepted superiority of physique or discernment, but the concept goes no further than the giving of some weight to their views within the group.

13 MARRIAGE

595 837 585 The Onges are monogamous, like all peoples who have never progressed beyond the stage of hunting and gathering, and adultery is virtually unknown. Marriage consists merely of the man taking possession of the woman in the presence of the rest of the group, taking her by the hand to a new bed built for the occasion and allotted a place within the circle. The 'marriage' takes place in the late evening and is followed by frenzied dancing all night long by the light of the resin torches. The total absence [174] of any form of ritual leads one to suppose isolation from a very early date indeed, but this cannot be more than conjecture.

14 BURIAL

172 174 764 The custom of burying the dead in caves still occupied by the living apparently existed in the Palaeolithic era. The practice has continued to the present time in the Andamans, where the dead are still buried under the family bed in the communal hut. It is known from Palaeolithic burials that even in that era objects were sometimes buried with the dead, and it is thus possible that the culture of the Andamans dates back to very early times.

15 EXHUMATION AND SECOND BURIAL

172 765 The custom of exhuming the bones of the dead and re-interring them after coloration (in this case with ochre) dates from the Palaeolithic era.

16 BONE NECKLACES

301 The custom of wearing necklaces of carpals, tarsals, phalanges and fragments of rib, is of extreme antiquity, and apart from the Andamans, has virtually disappeared.

17 RELIGION

172 775 764 There is evidence that even in Palaeolithic times there existed a belief in the survival of the spirit after death, and a fear of its return (hence the

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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462 collects fruits and digs up roots with her digging stick; she catches prawns and crabs and small fish with her small fishing net; she provides the firewood and the water of the family and does the cooking (i.e. the family cooking, but not the common cooking, which is entirely done by men); she makes all such objects as baskets, nets of thread, and personal ornaments either for herself or her husband.

888 There is no organised government in an Andamanese village. The affairs of the community are regulated entirely by the older •623 men and women. The younger members of the community are brought up to pay respect to their elders and to submit to them in many ways. It has already been shown how, in the distribution of food, the elders get the best share. When it is a question of shifting camp to some better hunting ground the opinion of the older men would weigh against that of the younger if they disagreed. It must not be thought, however, that the older men are tyrannical or selfish. I only once heard a young man complain of the older men getting so much the best of everything. The respect for seniority is kept alive partly by tradition and partly by the fact that the older men have had a greater experience than the younger. It could probably not be maintained if it regularly gave rise to any tyrannical treatment of the younger by the elder.

888 The respect for seniors is shown in the existence of special 576 terms of address which men and women use when speaking to their elders. In the languages of the North Andaman there are two such terms, *Mai* or *Maia*, applied to men, with a meaning equivalent to "Sir," and *Mimi*, applied to women. These words may be used either alone or prefixed to the personal name of the person addressed. A younger man speaking to an older one whose name was *Bora* would address him either as *Mai* (Sir), or as *Maia Bora* (Sir Bora).

In the tribes of the South Andaman there are exactly similar terms. In the *Aka-Bea* tribe *Maia* or *Maiola* is used in addressing men and *Čana* or *Čanola* in speaking to women. In *Akar-Bale* the equivalent terms are *Da* and *In*. Besides these terms there is in these tribes another, *Mam*, *Mama* or *Mamola*, which may be used in speaking to either men or women, and which

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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implies a higher degree of respect than *Maia* or *Čana*. In these tribes also there is a special way of showing respect by adding the suffix *-la* to the name of the person addressed, as *Bia*, *Biala*, *Woičo*, *Woičo-la*, etc. 888 576

In the legends of the Andamanese these titles are nearly always prefixed to the names of the legendary ancestors, as *Maia Putpu* and *Mimi Biliku* in *Aka-Jeru*, or *Da Duku* and *In Bain* in *Akar-Bale*. The moon is similarly spoken of as Sir Moon (*Maia Ogar* in *Aka-Bea*) and the sun as Lady Sun (*Čana Bodo*).

Besides the respect for seniority there is another important factor in the regulation of the social life, namely the respect for certain personal qualities. These qualities are skill in hunting and in warfare, generosity and kindness, and freedom from bad temper. A man possessing them inevitably acquires a position of influence in the community. His opinion on any subject carries more weight than that of another even older man. The younger men attach themselves to him, are anxious to please him by giving him any presents that they can, or by helping him in such work as cutting a canoe, and to join him in hunting parties or turtle expeditions. In each local group there was usually to be found one man who thus by his influence could control and direct others. Amongst the chief men of several friendly local groups it would generally happen that one of them, by reason of his personal qualities, would attain to a position of higher rank than the others. Younger men would be desirous of joining the local group to which he belonged. He would find himself popular and respected at the annual meetings of the different groups, and his influence would thus spread beyond the narrow limits of his own small community. 554 623 622

There was no special word to denote such men and distinguish them from others. In the languages of the North Andaman they were spoken of as *er-kuro* = "big."

Such men might perhaps be spoken of as "chiefs," but the term is somewhat misleading, as it makes us think of the organised chieftainship of other savage races.

The above statement is not quite in agreement with what has been written by Mr Man on the same subject, and what he 623 622

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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623
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says is therefore reproduced here. "Their domestic policy may be described as a communism modified by the authority, more or less nominal, of the chief. The head chief of a tribe is called *maia igla*, and the elders, or sub-chiefs, i.e. those in authority over each community, consisting of from 20 to 50 individuals, *maiola*. The head chief, who usually resides at a permanent encampment, has authority over all the sub-chiefs, but his power, like theirs, is very limited. It is exercised mainly in organising meetings between the various communities belonging to his tribe, and in exerting influence in all questions affecting the welfare of his followers. It is the chief alone, as may be supposed, who directs the movements of a party while on hunting and fishing expeditions, or when migrating. It is usually through his intervention that disputes are settled, but he possesses no power to punish or enforce obedience to his wishes, it being left to all alike to take the law into their own hands when aggrieved. The *aryoto* and *eremtaga* in each tribe have their own head chief, who are independent the one of the other. As might be assumed from the results of observations made of other savage races, whose sole or chief occupation consists in hunting or fishing, the power of the chiefs is very limited, and not necessarily hereditary, though, in the event of a grown-up son being left who was qualified for the post, he would, in most instances, be selected to succeed his father in preference to any other individual of equal efficiency. At the death of a chief there is no difficulty in appointing a successor, there being always at least one who is considered his deputy or right-hand man. As they are usually, on these occasions, unanimous in their choice, no formal election takes place; however, should any be found to dissent, the question is decided by the wishes of the majority, it being always open to malcontents to transfer their allegiance to another chief, since there is no such thing as forced submission to the authority of one who is not a general favourite. Social status being dependent not merely on the accident of relationship, but on skill in hunting, fishing, etc., and on a reputation for generosity and hospitality, the chiefs and elders are almost invariably superior in every respect to the rest. They and their wives are at liberty to enjoy immunity from the

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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drudgery incidental to their mode of life, all such acts being voluntarily performed for them by the young unmarried persons living under their headship[1]." 623 622

Where Mr Man speaks of the "authority" of the chiefs it would be better to speak of "influence." Of authority the leading men have little or none, but of influence they have a good deal. Should any one venture to oppose a popular chief he would find the majority of the natives, including many of his friends, siding against him. The words "chief" and "authority" seem to imply some sort of organised rule and procedure, and of this there is nothing in the Andamans. Mr Man also implies that in each tribe there is always one recognized headman, but in reality each tribe may possess two or three leading men in different parts of the country, each with his own following. In any case a man's influence is largely confined to his own local group, for it is only at the annual meetings that the men of other groups come in contact with him.

The early officers of the Andamanese Homes (before the time of Mr Man) established a system of chieftainship in the islands by selecting a few of the more trustworthy and intelligent men, whom they dignified with the title of *raja*, and who acted as the intermediaries between the Officer in Charge of the Andamanese and the natives. This system has been continued to the present day, and the natives have adopted the title *raja* for these men, having themselves no word for a chief. Where a man is selected who is already respected and esteemed by the natives his influence is considerably increased through the position thus assigned to him. The natives themselves do not recognize that he has any authority over them, but if he be a man of generosity and tact, the majority will always support him, and his advice in any matters of moment will be readily followed.

Women may occupy a position of influence similar to that of the men. The wife of a leading man generally exercises the same sort of influence over the women as her husband does over the men. A woman, however, would not exercise any influence over the men in matters connected with hunting. They do have 623 562

[1] Man, in *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. XII, p. 108.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

623 a good deal of influence in connection with quarrels either of
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There are certain men, and possibly sometimes women, who
756 have an influence over their fellows owing to their being credited with the possession of supernatural powers. These men, called in *Aka-Jeru oko-jumu* (literally "one who speaks from dreams"), will be described in a later chapter. As they are believed to have command over the powers that produce and cure sickness everyone tries to be on good terms with them, avoiding giving them offence in any way, and seeking their favour by presents of food or other things. It sometimes happens that a chief (the leading man of a local group) is at the same time a medicine-man or *oko-jumu*, but the two positions are entirely distinct and separate, and a man may be a medicine-man who possesses none of the qualities that are necessary for a head man.

673 There does not appear to have been in the Andamans any such thing as the punishment of crime. We may distinguish two kinds of anti-social actions which are regarded by the natives as being wrong. The first kind are those actions which injure in some way a private individual. The second are those, which, while they do not injure any particular person, are yet regarded with disapproval by the society in general.

Amongst the anti-social actions of the first kind are murder, or wounding, theft and adultery, and wilful damage of the property of another.

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627 the same camp. A good deal of hard swearing goes on, and sometimes one of the men will work himself up to a high pitch
682 of anger, in which he may seize his bow and discharge an arrow
152 near to the one who has offended him, or may vent his ill-temper by destroying any property that he can lay his hands on, including not only that of his enemy but also that of other persons and even his own. At such a display of anger the women and children flee into the jungle in terror, and if the angry man be at all a formidable person the men occasionally do the same. It apparently requires more courage than the natives usually possess to endeavour to allay such a storm of

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AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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578 Women also occasionally quarrel with one another and swear forcibly at one another, or even get so far as to destroy one
626 another's belongings, or to fight with their fists or sticks. The men hesitate to interfere, and the quarrel can only be stopped by some woman of influence.

The frequent occurrence of serious quarrels is prevented both by the influence of the older men and by the fear that everyone has of the possible vengeance of others should he in any way offend them.

There are a number of actions which, while they do not
183 offend any particular person, are regarded as being anti-social.
626 One of these is laziness. Every man is expected to take his proper share in providing both himself and others with food. Should a man shirk this obligation, nothing would be said to him, unless he were a young unmarried man, and he would still be given food by others, but he would find himself occupying a position of inferiority in the camp, and would entirely lose the esteem of his fellows. Other qualities or actions that result in a similar loss of esteem are marital unfaithfulness, lack of respect to others and particularly to elders, meanness or niggardliness, and bad temper. One man was mentioned to me as being a bad man because he refused to take a wife after he had

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

reached the age when it is considered proper for a man to marry. In recent times at least one young man has refused to undergo the privations connected with the initiation ceremonies. This was of course a case of gross rebellion against the customs of the tribe, but there was no way of punishing him or of compelling him to conform, save by showing him that he was an object of contempt and ridicule to others. Probably such a refusal to conform to tribal customs could not have taken place before the British occupation of the islands.

Another class of wrong actions consists in the breaking of ritual prohibitions. There are, for example, as will be shown in a later chapter, a number of actions which it is believed may cause bad weather, such as burning bees'-wax or killing a cicada. There is, however, no punishment that can be meted out to any one who does any of these things. The punishment, if we may call it so, is a purely supernatural one, and it strikes not only the offender but every one else as well. In the legends of the Andamanese there are one or two stories related of how one of the ancestors, being angry, deliberately performed one of the forbidden actions and thus brought a storm that destroyed many human beings[1]. There are other ritual prohibitions the non-observance of which is supposed to bring its own punishment on the offender, who, it is believed, will be ill.

The medicine-men (*oko-jumu*) are credited with the power to work evil magic, and by its means to make other people ill, and even to kill them. A man suspected of evil magic might be liable to the vengeance of those who thought that they had been injured by him, but though the practice was regarded as reprehensible it does not seem that the society ever acted as a whole to punish a man suspected of it.

Children are reproved for improper behaviour, but they are never punished. During their years of infancy they are much spoilt, not only by their parents but by every one. During the period of adolescence every boy and girl has to undergo a somewhat severe discipline, to be described in a later chapter.

[1] See below, Chap. IV.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

882 This probation, if it may be so called, is enforced by a unanimous public opinion. The discipline lasts until the man or woman is married and a parent, or if childless as so many now are, until he or she has settled down to a position of responsibility.

627 Thus, though the Andaman Islanders had a well developed social conscience, that is, a system of moral notions as to what is right and wrong, there was no such thing as the punishment of a crime by the society. If one person injured another it was left to the injured one to seek vengeance if he wished and if he dared. There were probably always some who would side with the criminal, their attachment to him overcoming their disapproval of his actions. The only painful result of anti-social
● 626 actions was the loss of the esteem of others. This in itself was a punishment that the Andamanese, with their great personal vanity, would feel keenly, and it was in most instances sufficient to prevent such actions. For the rest, good order depended largely on the influence of the more prominent men and women.

000 We have so far considered only the general regulation of conduct in the local group, without giving any attention to the more special regulations dependent on relationships by blood and by marriage. In all human societies there is a system of rights and duties regulating the conduct towards one another of persons who are related either by consanguinity or through marriage. In primitive societies these particular rights and duties occupy a position of preponderating importance, owing, no doubt, to the small number of persons with whom any single person comes into effective social contact. When a large proportion of the men and women with whom any person comes in contact are related to him, it is clear that relationship must count for a good deal in regulating the everyday life of the people.

Different societies have different systems of relationship. This means, not only that they attach different duties to particular relations, but also that they have different ways of reckoning the relationships themselves. The vast majority of primitive peoples have some one or other form of what is known to ethnologists

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

the finger-tips and almost pink, with pale chocolate moons and 142
yellowish-brown palms and soles. In the adults the nails and soles of the feet remain pale, the palms being a little darker. The head, and the visible buccal and nasal epithelia, were almost black, and the gums were pink, as was the inside of the lips, with dark petecchiae, in adults very noticeable, at the base of the teeth and over the tongue and palate. The cheeks, however, were a reddish-brown, although the whole skin was already showing signs of darkening after twelve hours. Nasal cartilage was minimal, but that of the ears well-developed. The darkest area of skin were the forehead, eye sockets, lids, nipples and genitalia.

In general, therefore, the infant's skin was very slightly lighter [844]
than that of the adults, though before I could be sure of this I had [302]
to wash off the thick layer of ochre which is smeared over the un- [854]
washed infants immediately after birth. As the infants are extremely [751]
carefully protected from the sun by 'umbrella' hats made of lobed palm leaves, the darkening, which is complete by the end of the first year, is clearly biological and is not effected by tanning. As, however, the Onges interchange or 'adopt' children freely, [597]
it was impossible to carry out any proper colorimetric observations.

I saw no albinos in the Onges, usually fairly common in dark- 143
skinned peoples. I saw several in Africa, with apparently normal 826
parents. Some African peoples destroy albinos at birth as they do [847]
those with deformities, and the Andamanese may do the same, as I saw little congenital deformity (see, however, p. 46). Fear of being [626]
held responsible for disasters which befall the group carries great weight, and it is possible that the two cases of abnormality which I did see did not manifest symptoms at birth. Twins, however, are [845]
clearly (and gladly) accepted, so eager are the Onges to have [842]
children.

It was already clear in the infant that it would have the somatic 142
characteristics common to all Negritos as regards the proportions of the body, the form and dimensions of the head, absence of prognathism, comparatively fine lips, nose and ears, black skin, and woolly hair, and would be well below 1·5 metres in height when fully grown. Above all, the Andamanese have a large forehead, very wide-angled jaw and large mouths, with the upper lips not invariably full, as in Negroes. Many Onges, in fact, have fine features,

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AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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AZ2 Andamans AZ2

anger. Yet I found that the slightest show of authority would immediately bring such a scene to an end. A man of influence in his village was probably generally equal to the task of keeping order and preventing any serious damage from taking place. It was probably rare for a man so far to give way to his anger as to kill his opponent.

Such murders did, however, occasionally take place[1]. The murderer would, as a rule, leave the camp and hide himself in the jungle, where he might be joined by such of his friends as were ready to take his part. It was left to the relatives and friends of the dead man to exact vengeance if they wished and if they could. If the murderer was a man who was much feared it is probable that he would escape. In any case the anger of the Andamanese is short-lived, and if for a few months he could keep out of the way of those who might seek revenge, it is probable that at the end of that time he would find their anger cooled.

A man who is liable to outbursts of violent anger is feared by his fellows, and unless he has other counterbalancing qualities, he is never likely to become popular. He is treated with outward respect, for every one is afraid of offending him, but he never acquires the esteem of others. There is a special nickname, *Tarenjek*, in the North Andaman, to denote such a man[2].

Quarrels were more likely to occur at the meetings of different local groups that took place in the fine weather, and such quarrels might occasionally end in the murder of some one. In such a case the quarrel would be taken up by the group

[1] The natives of the North Andaman were able to tell me of a few cases of murder which had occurred within the memory of those still living.

Mr Portman in his *History of Our Relations with the Andamanese* records a certain number of murders which occurred while he was in charge of the Andamanese. One man, who had been imprisoned at Port Blair for murder, committed another soon after his release and was hanged. Since that date there has been no case of murder among the Great Andaman tribes. This is perhaps in part due to the punishment with which they are now threatened by the Government, but another cause is probably the breakdown of the old social organisation which has in this respect rather improved their morals than the opposite.

[2] The nickname is applied, however, not only to those who deserve it by their character, but also to others; for instance, one man was called *Tarenjek* because his maternal uncle was a man of violent temper.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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882 This probation, if it may be so called, is enforced by a unanimous public opinion. The discipline lasts until the man or woman is married and a parent, or if childless as so many now are, until he or she has settled down to a position of responsibility.

627 Thus, though the Andaman Islanders had a well developed social conscience, that is, a system of moral notions as to what is right and wrong, there was no such thing as the punishment of a crime by the society. If one person injured another it was left to the injured one to seek vengeance if he wished and if he dared. There were probably always some who would side with the criminal, their attachment to him overcoming their disapproval of his actions. The only painful result of anti-social 626 actions was the loss of the esteem of others. This in itself was a punishment that the Andamanese, with their great personal vanity, would feel keenly, and it was in most instances sufficient to prevent such actions. For the rest, good order depended largely on the influence of the more prominent men and women.

000 We have so far considered only the general regulation of conduct in the local group, without giving any attention to the more special regulations dependent on relationships by blood and by marriage. In all human societies there is a system of rights and duties regulating the conduct towards one another of persons who are related either by consanguinity or through marriage. In primitive societies these particular rights and duties occupy a position of preponderating importance, owing, no doubt, to the small number of persons with whom any single person comes into effective social contact. When a large proportion of the men and women with whom any person comes in contact are related to him, it is clear that relationship must count for a good deal in regulating the everyday life of the people.

Different societies have different systems of relationship. This means, not only that they attach different duties to particular relations, but also that they have different ways of reckoning the relationships themselves. The vast majority of primitive peoples have some one or other form of what is known to ethnologists

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622 her husband. In the event, however, of the widow of a chief
562 being young and childless, she returns to the home of her maiden days, and is in a measure lost sight of, as she sinks to her former position.

9. It is believed by the people themselves that the system above described has prevailed among them from a remote period.

695 **Covenants, Oaths, Ordeals.**—1. No forms of covenant are to be traced in their dealings with one another, nor is there to be found among them anything of the nature of an oath or of an appeal to a higher power—as Heaven or the Sun—to punish breach of faith, or to bear witness to the truth.

2. They are in too primitive a state to possess any form of trial, or even to have any belief in the efficacy of an ordeal for discovering a guilty person; nor does it appear that any such practice existed in times past.

•627 **Laws.**[1]—1. Justice, as I have already said, is administered by the simple method of allowing the aggrieved party to take the law into his own hands, which he usually does, either by flinging a burning faggot, or discharging an arrow, at, or more frequently *near*, the offender, while all who may be present lose no time in beating a retreat, and—taking with them as much of their property as their haste will allow—remain in concealment until sufficient time has elapsed for the settlement of the quarrel. When such an affair seems imminent, and likely to be serious, friends often interpose, seize the disputants, and remove their weapons, which are not restored so long as there appears any risk of their misusing them.

2. Should a man kill his opponent nothing is necessarily said or done to him, though it is permissible for a friend or relative of the deceased to avenge his death; in most cases, however, the murderer succeeds in striking such terror in the minds of the community that no one ventures to assail him or even to express any disapprobation of his conduct while he is within hearing: as conscience, however, makes cowards of us all, the homicide, from prudential motives, not unfrequently absents himself till he is assured that the grief and indignation of his victim's friends have considerably abated.

627 3. These remarks do not now-a-days apply, to the same
177 extent, to those living near us, for the terror inspired by the punishments inflicted in all cases of murder brought to our notice has resulted in materially diminishing crimes of this nature among them. In May, 1880, an Andamanese youth was hanged

[1] As regards laws (!) relating to inheritance, information will be found in a subsequent paper, under the heading of "Property," paragraph 3.

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at Port Blair for the murder of one of his countrymen. He had previously, in 1878, been sentenced to imprisonment for the murder of two children of his tribe, and he committed his last crime soon after his discharge. This has hitherto been the only occasion on which any of these savages has suffered the extreme penalty of British law. It may be added, that this last step was not taken until the unhappy wretch, as well as all his fellow-countrymen in South Andaman, had been repeatedly warned that no other than a capital sentence would in future be passed on those convicted of murder. 627 177

4. It is by no means an uncommon occurrence for a man, or even a boy, to vent his ill-temper, or show his resentment at any act, by destroying his own property as well as that of his neighbours, sparing only the things belonging exclusively to the chief, or other head man. The amount of damage done at such times, to canoes and other articles of more or less value, will often give occasion for several weeks' employment in repairing and replacing to himself and his companions; but as these outbreaks are looked upon as the result of a temporary "possession," and the victim considered, for the time being, dangerous, and unaccountable for his actions, no one ventures to offer any opposition, or impose any restraint upon him. 578 152

5. Women, when in a rage, occasionally act in a similar manner towards one of their own sex, or even to all the females of the encampment, injuring or destroying their nets, baskets, and other articles; at other times they will seize a burning log, and, banging it furiously on the ground, vent their feelings by some such exclamation as *ngig mū·gu jā·bagike!* (May your face become hideous!); or they will struggle and fight till they are forcibly separated by the wife or daughter of their head man. They do not, however, attempt to settle their differences with the stronger sex, but leave it to their husbands or male relatives to obtain redress for their real or fancied grievances.

6. When a chief or elder so far forgets himself as to lose his temper, those of his own standing betake themselves to their huts, while the other members of the community, male and female, beat a hasty retreat to some secluded spot, for no one would venture to find fault with one in authority, and with some reason, for little or no harm usually results to the community, while his own reputation is sure to suffer. Should he, however, wantonly cause loss or injury to any of his people, they would be pretty certain to take an early, though secret, opportunity of repaying him in kind. 622 578 152

Crime.—1. That outcome of civilisation, suicide, is unknown among them; but, since they have seen cases of self-murder among the alien population, they have coined a lengthy com 762

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762 pound word (*ō·yun-tē·mar-tō·liganga-*) in order to express the nature of the act.

673 2. That they are not entirely devoid of moral consciousness may, I think, in some measure, be demonstrated by the fact of their possessing a word, *yū·bda-*, signifying sin or wrong doing, which is used in connection with falsehood, theft, grave assault, murder, adultery, and — burning wax (!),[1] which deeds are believed to anger *Pū·luga-*, the Creator, of whom more will be said hereafter.[2]

627 3. Cases of adultery in their own villages are said to be of rare occurrence. If detected, the injured husband would pro-
837 bably inflict condign punishment on the guilty parties, but at the risk of retaliation on the part of the male offender and his friends; there appears, however, to be an understanding, that the greater the provocation offered the less is the risk incurred of the injured person or his friends avenging the wrong, but no appeal to the chief for redress is ever made.

628 4. If an offence, such as an assault or theft, be committed by
674 one or more members of another tribe during a visit or by stealth, it is regarded as premeditated, and generally resented as a tribal affair, resulting in a feud and more or less bloodshed.

5. Intercourse with Europeans and other foreigners has, it
273 must be confessed, unhappily opened their eyes to the existence
177 of some vices of which they had formerly no knowledge;[3] notably is this the case with regard to drunkenness, for, being, till the time they made our acquaintance, "blessed in the ignorance of spirituous liquors," they had no conception of its effects, and, to express an inebriate, have invented a word (*lē·lēkanga-*) signifying "staggerer." It must, however, be added, that in consequence of the extreme partiality for rum and other intoxicating drinks which they manifest, much care has to be taken to prevent them from gratifying the easily acquired taste.

Narcotics.—1. Prior to our advent they were also entirely
276 ignorant of narcotics in any form; but one of the evil results of
177 their intercourse with us has been the introduction of the practice of smoking, and so rapidly have they (both men and women) acquired the habit, that, when at a distance from the homes and unable to obtain tobacco, they have been seen to fill their short clay pipes, which, it is scarcely necessary to say, have been obtained from us, with *pán* leaves rather than endure entire deprivation.

[1] *Vide* "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xi, p. 288, and *post*, "Superstitions," paragraph 13.

[2] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs," paragraph 8.

[674] [3] The crimes of abduction, rape, seduction, unnatural offences, &c., appear never to have been committed among them.

372 they show much skill in so carrying smouldering logs with them by land or sea that they are not extinguished. Their ignorance of this fundamental requirement of civilization is shown in their fire-legend that fire was originally stolen from their deity Puluga and has never been allowed to become extinct since. Excepting guns, nothing has more impressed the Andamanese with European power and resources than the use of matches, *i.e.*, of making fire whenever required with ease.

342 In the Little Andaman and among the Jarawas of the South Andaman, large permanent huts for use in the wet season are built up of solid materials to 30 feet in height and 60 in breadth to hold the fires of 7 to 8 hunting parties, say 60 to 70 people, *i.e.*, they contain 7 to 8 fires with about 8 persons to each "fire." The Jarawa hunting camp is much the same as that of any other Andamanese and his great communal hut is built on the same principle as the larger huts of the other Andamanese.

The use of the flimsy hunting shelters and camp huts of the Andamanese is rendered possible in the wet and stormy weather so common in the Islands by the denseness of the jungle, which prevents the winds from reaching them even when close to the sea-beach and causes the rain to fall vertically upon them.

619 **Government.**—There is no idea of Government, but to each tribe and to each sept of it there is a recognised head, who has attained that position by 622 tacit agreement on account of some admitted superiority, mental or physical, and commands a limited respect and such obedience as the self interest of the other individual men of the tribe or sept dictates. There is a tendency to [554] hereditary right in the natural selection of chiefs, but there is no social status that is not personally acquired. The social position of a chief's family follows that of the chief himself and admits of many privileges in the shape of tribal influence and immunity from drudgery. His wife is among women what he is [888] among men and at his death, if a mother and not young, she retains his privileges. Age commands respect and the young are deferential to the elders. Offences, *i.e.*, murder, theft, adultery, mischief, assault, are punished by the 627 aggrieved party on his own account by injury to the body and property or by murder, without more active interference on the part of others than is consistent with their own safety, and without any fear of consequences except vengeance from the friends of the other side, and even this is usually avoided by disappearance till the short memory of the people has obliterated wrath.

421 Property is communal, as is all the land, and ideas as to individual possessions are but rudimentary, accompanied with an incipient tabu of the property belonging to a chief. An Andamanese will often readily part with ornaments to any one who asks for them. Theft, or the taking of property without leave, is only recognised as to things of absolute necessity, as arrows, pig's flesh, fire. 437 A very rude barter exists between tribes of the same group in regard to articles not locally obtainable or manufactured. This applies especially to cooking pots, which are made of a special clay found only in certain parts of the islands. The barter is really a gift of one article in expectation of another of assumed corresponding value in return, and a row if it is not forthcoming. The territory of other tribes is carefully respected without however there being any fixed boundaries.

562 The duties of men and women are clearly defined by custom, but not so as to make that of the women comparatively hard. The women have a tacitly acknowledged inferior position, but it is not such as to be marked or to leave them without influence.

771 **Religion.**—The religion is simple animism and consists of fear of the evil spirits of the wood, the sea, disease and ancestors, and of avoidance of acts traditionally displeasing to them, and this in spite of an abundance of mythological tales told in a confused, disjointed manner that is most instructive to the student of such things. There is neither ceremonial worship nor propitiation. There is an anthropomorphic deity, Puluga, the cause of all things, whom it is not, however, necessary to propitiate, though sins, *i.e.*, acts displeasing to him, are avoided for fear of damage to the products of the jungle. Puluga dwells now in the sky, but used to live on the top of Saddle Peak, their highest mountain. The Andamanese have an idea that the "soul" will go under the earth by an aerial bridge after death, but there is no heaven nor hell nor any idea of a cor-

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

less plentiful and containing a great deal of wax, and is greatly prized by the Onges. The darker bees, common in China, Celebes, Borneo and beyond, build their nests in cavities in the rocks, or in tree-trunks. Their honey, darker and with less wax, is more plentiful, but not so fine; when there is enough of the golden honey the Onges ignore the darker variety.

Few of the fruits on Little Andaman contain much sugar, but the Onges eat more than enough honey to compensate any deficiency that would otherwise occur. Whatever the fruit in season, men, women and children climb happily about like acrobats, hanging in the trees to get at it and the honey that goes with it. To chop the tree down is, of course, easiest and the obvious first choice for any Onge. Failing this, and their hooked poles, they climb up the nearby lianas into the branches, or walk up the trunk – an easy feat for them with their very long arms and almost prehensile toes.

Although there are arak nuts and betel leaves in the forest, the Onges ignore them. They are the same variety as elsewhere; *Areca catechu* and *Piper betel*. The Nicobarese are so addicted to them that many have lips and teeth hideously deformed as a result, but this is quite unknown among the Onges, contrary to earlier reports. The appearance of addiction in the Nicobars may have occurred after the separation of the peoples.

With all these fruits the Onges consume vast quantities of honey from the two species of bee, *dorsata* and *nigrocinta*. During the rainy season they can only get at the darker, poorer honey of *nigrocinta*, which builds nests under boulders or in crevices of trees or rocks. The Onges' real honey orgies occur, therefore, in the dry season, when the honey birds (Indicationidae), common in Africa and all over Asia, lead them to the trees where the golden honey of *dorsata* is hidden.

When one of the Onges finds a nest of bees he puts a mark on the rock or tree as a sign of ownership. None of the others would then dare to take possession of it, for fear of punishment by the group,[1] but when the time comes to take the honey everyone helps in the hard work of getting at the nest and opening it up. On one trip from Labanar to Togalanghe, on 19 March 1954, the Onges pointed out over twenty *Nigrocinta* nests to me, all reserved ready for use

[1] However deep in the forest a crime is committed, it will inevitably be discovered in the end, and punished by banishment from the community.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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On the other hand [628] 621

there were often quarrels between neighbouring groups, which might result in a state of feud between them for many months. Between communities separated from one another by a distance of only 50 miles or even less there were no direct relations whatever. The members of one community kept to their own part of the country, only leaving it to visit their friends within a narrow radius.

These local groups were united into what are here called tribes. A tribe consisted of a number of local groups all speaking what the natives themselves regard as one language, each tribe having its own language and its name. The tribe was of very little importance in regulating the social life, and was merely a loose aggregate of independent local groups. 619 197

The local groups are further distinguished by the natives themselves as being of two kinds according as they lived on the coast or inland. This division was independent of that into tribes. Some tribes consisted of coast-dwellers only, while others included both coast-dwellers and forest-dwellers. 619 616

Within the local group the only division was that into families. A family consists of a man and his wife and their unmarried children own or adopted. 594

These were the only social divisions existing among the Andamanese, who were without any of those divisions known as "clans" which are characteristic of many primitive societies.

The natives of the Great Andaman (leaving aside the *ʃarawa*, who by language and culture belong to the Little Andaman division of the race) are divided into ten tribes, each occupying a certain area of country. Each tribe consists of a number of persons who speak what is regarded by the natives themselves as one language. That the tribe is fundamentally a linguistic group is shown by the tribal names. These are all formed from a stem with the prefix *aka-*, which prefix is used in the languages of the Great Andaman to convey a reference to the mouth and thereby to the function of speech. Thus in the *Aka-Ʃeru* language the stem *poŋ* means "a hole of any kind," and *aka-poŋ* means "the mouth," there being no other word for that part of the body. In the same language the stem *-ar-* meaning "to talk" can only be used 619 197 196

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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adjoining mainland were called *Tarotọlo koloko*. When a man was asked to what part of the country he belonged he would generally answer by mentioning one of the chief camping places of his local group. Thus a man of the *Tarotọlo koloko* might say that he belonged to *Laropuli*, this being one of the chief camps of that country. A man of the *Teraut buliu koloko* might similarly say that he belonged to the village of *Čaičue*. 621

A man or woman is generally regarded as belonging to the local group in the country of which he or she was born. There is nothing, however, to prevent a person from taking up his residence with any other local group if he so wishes, and if the members of that group are willing to welcome him. It would seem that there were a fair number of such cases in which a man or a woman left his or her own local group to join another. In particular, when two young people belonging to different groups got married they might fix their residence either with his or with her parents. [591]

The local group, as stated above, was characterised as the land-owning group. A man might hunt over the country of his own group at all times, but he might not hunt over the country of another group without the permission of the members of that group. Even at the present day, when the local organisation has largely broken down, some of these hunting rights are still observed. I noticed a case in which some of the men asked and obtained permission to hunt pig in a certain part from a man who was explained to be the owner of that part of the country, being one of the few survivors of the local group to which it belonged. It would, in former times, have been an offence that might easily have led to a serious quarrel for the men of one group to hunt or fish in the country or the waters of another group without having been granted permission to do so. 621 421 224 [628]

Within the territory of each local group there are a number of recognized camping places. During the greater part of every year the members of the local group would be found living together at one or other of these. Some of these camping-grounds have been in use for many centuries, as is shown by 361

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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anger. Yet I found that the slightest show of authority would immediately bring such a scene to an end. A man of influence in his village was probably generally equal to the task of keeping order and preventing any serious damage from taking place. It was probably rare for a man so far to give way to his anger as to kill his opponent. 578 627 682 152

Such murders did, however, occasionally take place[1]. The murderer would, as a rule, leave the camp and hide himself in the jungle, where he might be joined by such of his friends as were ready to take his part. It was left to the relatives and friends of the dead man to exact vengeance if they wished and if they could. If the murderer was a man who was much feared it is probable that he would escape. In any case the anger of the Andamanese is short-lived, and if for a few months he could keep out of the way of those who might seek revenge, it is probable that at the end of that time he would find their anger cooled. 627 682 152

A man who is liable to outbursts of violent anger is feared by his fellows, and unless he has other counterbalancing qualities, he is never likely to become popular. He is treated with outward respect, for every one is afraid of offending him, but he never acquires the esteem of others. There is a special nickname, *Tarenjek*, in the North Andaman, to denote such a man[2]. 152 [551]

Quarrels were more likely to occur at the meetings of different local groups that took place in the fine weather, and such quarrels might occasionally end in the murder of some one. In such a case the quarrel would be taken up by the group 628 682

[1] The natives of the North Andaman were able to tell me of a few cases of murder which had occurred within the memory of those still living.

Mr Portman in his *History of Our Relations with the Andamanese* records a certain number of murders which occurred while he was in charge of the Andamanese. One man, who had been imprisoned at Port Blair for murder, committed another soon after his release and was hanged. Since that date there has been no case of murder among the Great Andaman tribes. This is perhaps in part due to the punishment with which they are now threatened by the Government, but another cause is probably the breakdown of the old social organisation which has in this respect rather improved their morals than the opposite.

[2] The nickname is applied, however, not only to those who deserve it by their character, but also to others; for instance, one man was called *Tarenjek* because his maternal uncle was a man of violent temper.

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628 of the murdered man, and a feud would be set up between them
682 and the local group to which the murderer belonged. Such was one of the common causes of origin of the petty warfare that formerly existed in the Andamans, which will be referred to later in the present chapter.

627 Cases of theft seem to have been rare. It was left to the
685 aggrieved person to take vengeance upon the thief, but if he killed him or seriously wounded him he would have to expect the possible vengeance of the relatives and friends. Adultery
627 was regarded as a form of theft. I gathered that a man had the
684 right to punish his wife for unfaithfulness, but if the punishment were too severe it would be an occasion for a quarrel with her relatives. It was difficult for the aggrieved husband to punish the man who had offended against him. If he killed him he would lay himself open to the revenge of the relatives. The most he could do was to vent his anger in violent words.

578 Women also occasionally quarrel with one another and swear forcibly at one another, or even get so far as to destroy one
626 another's belongings, or to fight with their fists or sticks. The men hesitate to interfere, and the quarrel can only be stopped by some woman of influence.

The frequent occurrence of serious quarrels is prevented both by the influence of the older men and by the fear that everyone has of the possible vengeance of others should he in any way offend them.

There are a number of actions which, while they do not
183 offend any particular person, are regarded as being anti-social.
626 One of these is laziness. Every man is expected to take his proper share in providing both himself and others with food. Should a man shirk this obligation, nothing would be said to him, unless he were a young unmarried man, and he would still be given food by others, but he would find himself occupying a position of inferiority in the camp, and would entirely lose the esteem of his fellows. Other qualities or actions that result in a similar loss of esteem are marital unfaithfulness, lack of respect to others and particularly to elders, meanness or niggardliness, and bad temper. One man was mentioned to me as being a bad man because he refused to take a wife after he had

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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621 each local group, and indeed each family, was able to provide
574 itself with everything that it needed in the way of weapons and
431 utensils, the exchange of presents did not serve the same
437 purpose as trade and barter in more developed communities.

The purpose that it did serve was a moral one. The object
621 of the exchange was to produce a friendly feeling between the two
574 persons concerned, and unless it did this it failed of its purpose.
It gave great scope for the exercise of tact and courtesy. No
431 one was free to refuse a present that was offered to him. Each man and woman tried to out-do the others in generosity. There was a sort of amiable rivalry as to who could give away the greatest number of valuable presents.

574 The visitors remained with their hosts for a few days. The
time was spent in hunting, feasting and dancing, and in the
621 exchange of presents above described. The hosts made every
effort to provide the camp with plenty of good things. The
527 guests took their share in the hunting and fishing expeditions. Every evening was spent in singing and dancing. Some of the men were sure to have composed new songs for such an occasion.

Such meetings as these were sometimes the means of bring-
574 ing to an end past quarrels between the local groups, but
621 occasionally they were the cause of new quarrels. The hosts, or
some of them, might think that they had been shabbily treated
●628 in the matter of presents, or the guests might complain that they were not well enough entertained. It often needed a man of strong influence to maintain harmony in the camp. Angry words might lead to the rapid breaking up of a meeting, and even result in a feud between the two groups.

621 Quarrels between individuals, as we have seen, were often
taken up by friends on each side. This was particularly the
628 case when the two opponents belonged to different local groups. Before the days of the settlement of the islands there often arose in this way petty quarrels between neighbouring local groups. In some instances there appear to have been feuds of long standing; in others there was a quarrel, a fight or two, and the enemies made peace with one another, until a fresh cause of disagreement should arise.

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It does not seem that there was ever such a thing as a stand-up fight between two parties. The whole art of fighting was to come upon your enemies by surprise, kill one or two of them and then retreat. A local group that had some grievance against another would decide to make an attack. They might seek and obtain the aid of friends from other local groups. The men who were to take part in the expedition would paint themselves and put on various ornaments and join in a dance[1]. They would then set out, either by land or by sea, in the direction of the encampment they meant to attack. Their weapons consisted of bows and arrows, and they carried no shields or other defensive weapons. They would not venture to attack the enemy's camp unless they were certain of taking it by surprise. For this reason such attacks were generally made either in the evening when the camp would be busy with the preparation of the evening meal, or at early dawn, when every one would be asleep. The attacking party would rush the camp and shoot as many men as they could. If they met with any serious resistance or lost one of their own number they would immediately retire. Those attacked, if they were really taken by surprise, were generally compelled to save themselves by flight. Though the aim of the attacking party was to kill the men, it often happened that women or children were killed. The whole fight would last only a few minutes, ending either with the retirement of the attackers before resistance, or the flight of those attacked into the jungle. A wounded enemy would be killed if found.

Such attacks and counter-attacks might be continued for some years, thus establishing a feud between two neighbouring local groups. More usually, however, after one or two such fights peace would be made. In the tribes of the North Andaman there was a special peace-making ceremony, that will be described in the next chapter. All peace negotiations were conducted through the women. One or two of the women of the one group would be sent to interview the women of the other group to see if they were willing to forget the past and make friends. It seems that it was largely the rancour of the

[1] The dance is described in the next chapter.

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621 women over their slain relatives that kept the feud alive, the
•628 men of the two parties being willing to make friends much more readily than the women.

An example of a long-continued feud, which, to all appearance, has been in existence for several centuries, is that between the *Aka-Bea* and the *J̆a̤rawa* of the South Andaman. The *J̆a̤rawa* have the advantage over the *Aka-Bea* that their camps are situated in the dense forest and are difficult to find, while the camps of the *Aka-Bea* are mostly along the sea-coast. At the present day the *J̆a̤rawa* take some precautions against being surprised in their camp by a hostile party. The camp is often placed on the top of a hill and the trees in the neighbourhood are cut down so that they have a good view. The paths leading to the camp are also cleared and made wider than is usual in a native path. At times it would seem that they keep sentries on the look-out.

The *Aka-Bea* and the *J̆a̤rawa* were inveterate enemies. Whenever two parties of them met by any chance, or came in the neighbourhood of one another, the larger party would attack the other. When the Settlement of Port Blair was established, friendly relations were set up with the *Aka-Bea*, and since that time the hostility of the *J̆a̤rawa* has been directed not only against the friendly Andamanese (*Aka-Bea*, etc.) but also against the inhabitants of the Settlement[1].

621 Such a thing as fighting on a large scale seems to have been
721 unknown amongst the Andamanese. In the early days of the Penal Settlement of Port Blair, the natives of the South Andaman

[1] In the years 1872 to 1902 inclusive the *Jarawa* made eight attacks on camps of the friendly Andamanese in different places, in which two of the friendly Andamanese men and one girl were killed and three men and one boy were wounded. There were also one or two casual meetings between *Jarawa* and friendly Andamanese. One of the friendlies was surprised and killed while turtle hunting in 1894. During the same years the *Jarawa* made on different occasions about twenty attacks on parties of convicts or on separate individuals, killing altogether 27 convicts and two police constables, and wounding six other convicts. In these skirmishes and in the expeditions to which they gave rise three *Jarawa* were killed and seven wounded on various occasions, and several times *Jarawa* men, women or children were captured and afterwards released. A number of convicts have at different times run away from the Settlement and as some of those were never after heard of they may be supposed to have been killed by the *Jarawa*. For an official record of dealings with the *Jarawa* see the "Census Report" 1901, pp. 68—90.

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533 composes his own songs. No one would ever sing (at a dance) a song composed by any other person. There are no traditional songs. Women occasionally compose songs, but I never heard a woman sing at a dance except in the chorus.

Every man composes songs, and the boys begin to practise themselves in the art of composition when they are still young. A man composes his song as he cuts a canoe or a bow or as he paddles a canoe, singing it over softly to himself, until he is satisfied with it. He then awaits an opportunity to sing it in public, and for this he has to wait for a dance. Before the dance he takes care to teach the chorus to one or two of his female relatives so that they can lead the chorus of women. He sings his song, and if it is successful he repeats it several times, and thereafter it becomes part of his repertory, for every man of any age has a repertory of songs that he is prepared to repeat at any time. If the song is not successful, if the chorus and dancers do not like it, the composer abandons it and does not repeat it. Some men are recognized as being more skilful song-makers than others.

The songs all deal with everyday subjects such as hunting or cutting a canoe. The important thing about a song is not its sense, but its sound, i.e., its rhythm and melody. A translation of an *Akar-Bale* song, which is quite typical, is "*Poio*, the son of *Mam Golat*, wants to know when I am going to finish my canoe. He comes every day. That is why I make haste to get it launched as soon as possible." Another on the same subject runs: "Knots are very hard to cut with an adze. They blunt the edge of the adze. How hard I am working cutting these knots." The singer here refers to the cutting of a canoe. A number of songs in the native languages with translations, are given by Mr Portman[1]. To these the reader may refer for further information.

535 According to the statements of the natives it was formerly
• 628 the custom to have a dance before setting out to a fight. There
301 was no special war-dance, the warriors joining in an ordinary dance such as has just been described. Those who intended

[1] Portman, *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes*, pp. 166—188.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

535 to take part in the attack on their enemies, i.e., all the able-
628 bodied adult males, decorated themselves with red paint and
301 white clay, and put on ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf or netting and shells. Each man held in his hands or placed in his belt or head-dress plumes of shredded *Tetranthera* wood (called *čelmo* in *Aka-Jeru*, *uj* in *Aka-Bea*). These plumes of shredded wood are now often worn or carried in an ordinary dance, but I believe that in former times they were the distinctive sign of a war-dance. To make them, a short length of the wood is taken (generally a piece of an old broken pig-arrow) and the wood is carefully shredded with a *Cyrena* shell, care being taken not to break any of the longitudinal fibres. One end is then tied with a piece of string or fibre. Similar plumes are made from *Pandanus* wood, and are carried or worn in a similar manner.

When the attacking party set out from their village each man wears a plume of shredded *Tetranthera* wood thrust into the back of his belt. They rub their bows with the shredded wood, [789] and say that this has the effect of making their own bows shoot well and those of their enemies shoot badly.

682 If a man kills another in a fight between two villages, or in a private quarrel, he leaves his village and goes to live by
784 himself in the jungle, where he must stay for some weeks, or even months. His wife, and one or two of his friends may live with him or visit him and attend to his wants. For some weeks the homicide must observe a rigorous tabu. He must not handle a bow or arrow. He must not feed himself or touch any food with his hands, but must be fed by his wife or a friend. He must keep his neck and upper lip covered with red paint, and must wear plumes of shredded *Tetranthera* wood (*čelmo*) in his belt before and behind, and in his necklace at the back of his neck. If he breaks any of these rules it is supposed that the spirit of the man he has killed will cause him to be ill. At the end of a few weeks the homicide undergoes a sort of purifica-
[783] tion ceremony. His hands are first rubbed with white clay (*tol-odu*) and then with red paint. After this he may wash his hands and may then feed himself with his hands and may handle bows and arrows. He retains the plumes of shredded wood for a year or so.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

X 182 535 rhythm as well as by custom, to join in, and he is required to conform in his own actions and movements to the needs of the common activity. The surrender of the individual to this constraint or obligation is not felt as painful, but on the contrary as highly pleasurable. As the dancer loses himself in the dance, as he becomes absorbed in the unified community, he reaches a state of elation in which he feels himself filled with energy or force immensely beyond his ordinary state, and so finds himself able to perform prodigies of exertion. This state of intoxication, as it might almost be called, is accompanied by a pleasant stimulation of the self-regarding sentiment, so that the dancer comes to feel a great increase in his personal force and value. And at the same time, finding himself in complete and ecstatic harmony with all the fellow-members of his community, experiences a great increase in his feelings of amity and attachment towards them.

In this way the dance produces a condition in which the unity, harmony and concord of the community are at a maximum, and in which they are intensely felt by every member. It is to produce this condition, I would maintain, that is the primary social function of the dance. The well-being, or indeed the existence, of the society depends on the unity and harmony that obtain in it, and the dance, by making that unity intensely felt, is a means of maintaining it. For the dance affords an opportunity for the direct action of the community upon the individual, and we have seen that it exercises in the individual those sentiments by which the social harmony is maintained.

X 182 535 ●628 It was formerly the custom, I was told, always to have a dance before setting out to a fight. The reason for this should now be clear. When a group engages in a fight with another it is to revenge some injury that has been done to the whole group. The group is to act as a group and not merely as a collection of individuals, and it is therefore necessary that the group should be conscious of its unity and solidarity. Now we have seen that the chief function of the dance is to arouse in the mind of every individual a sense of the unity of the social group of which he is a member, and its function before setting out to a fight is therefore apparent. A secondary effect of the dance before a fight is

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908) 1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

to intensify the collective anger against the hostile group, and thereby and in other ways to produce a state of excitement and elation which has an important influence on the fighting quality of the Andaman warrior. 182X 535 628

An important feature of the social life of the Andamans in former times was the dance-meetings that were regularly held and at which two or more local groups met together for a few days. Each local group lived for the greater part of the year comparatively isolated from others. What little solidarity there was between neighbouring groups therefore tended to become weakened. Social relations between two groups were for the most part only kept up by visits of individuals from one group to another, but such visits did not constitute a relation between group and group. The function of the dance-meetings was therefore to bring the two groups into contact and renew the social relations between them and in that way to maintain the solidarity between them. Those meetings, apart from the provision of the necessary food, were entirely devoted to the exchange of presents and to dancing, the two or more parties of men and women joining together every night in a dance. We have already seen that the exchange of presents is a means of expressing solidarity or mutual good-will. It is now clear that the dance serves to unite the two or more groups into one body, and to make that unity felt by every individual, so creating for a few days a condition of close solidarity. The effects of the meeting would gradually wear out as months went by, and therefore it was necessary to repeat the meeting at suitable intervals. 182X 535 621 574

Thus it appears that not only the ordinary dance, but also the war-dance, and the dance-meetings owe their place in the life of the Andaman Islanders to the fact that dancing is a means of uniting individuals into a harmonious whole and at the same time making them actually and intensely experience their relation to that unity of which they are the members. The special dances at initiation ceremonies and on other occasions will be dealt with later in the chapter, on the basis of the general explanation given above. 182X 535

On the occasion of a dance, particularly if it be a dance of

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

762 pound word (*ō·yun-tē·mar-tô·liganga-*) in order to express the nature of the act.

673 2. That they are not entirely devoid of moral consciousness may, I think, in some measure, be demonstrated by the fact of their possessing a word, *yū·bda-*, signifying sin or wrong doing, which is used in connection with falsehood, theft, grave assault, murder, adultery, and — burning wax (!),[1] which deeds are believed to anger *Pū·luga-*, the Creator, of whom more will be said hereafter.[2]

627 3. Cases of adultery in their own villages are said to be of rare occurrence. If detected, the injured husband would pro-
837 bably inflict condign punishment on the guilty parties, but at the risk of retaliation on the part of the male offender and his friends; there appears, however, to be an understanding, that the greater the provocation offered the less is the risk incurred of the injured person or his friends avenging the wrong, but no appeal to the chief for redress is ever made.

628 4. If an offence, such as an assault or theft, be committed by one or more members of another tribe during a visit or by
674 stealth, it is regarded as premeditated, and generally resented as a tribal affair, resulting in a feud and more or less bloodshed.

5. Intercourse with Europeans and other foreigners has, it
273 must be confessed, unhappily opened their eyes to the existence
177 of some vices of which they had formerly no knowledge;[3] notably is this the case with regard to drunkenness, for, being, till the time they made our acquaintance, "blessed in the ignorance of spirituous liquors," they had no conception of its effects, and, to express an inebriate, have invented a word (*lē·lēkanga-*) signifying "staggerer." It must, however, be added, that in consequence of the extreme partiality for rum and other intoxicating drinks which they manifest, much care has to be taken to prevent them from gratifying the easily acquired taste.

Narcotics.—1. Prior to our advent they were also entirely
276 ignorant of narcotics in any form; but one of the evil results of
177 their intercourse with us has been the introduction of the practice of smoking, and so rapidly have they (both men and women) acquired the habit, that, when at a distance from the homes and unable to obtain tobacco, they have been seen to fill their short clay pipes, which, it is scarcely necessary to say, have been obtained from us, with *pán* leaves rather than endure entire deprivation.

[1] *Vide* "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xi, p. 288, and *post*, "Superstitions," paragraph 13.

[2] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs," paragraph 8.

[674] [3] The crimes of abduction, rape, seduction, unnatural offences, &c., appear never to have been committed among them.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Arioto

175 a furious aversion to foreigners. This hatred has been rekindled
177 during the last hundred years by a number of unfortunate incidents,
648 but at one time the islanders were favourably disposed towards seafarers passing by, if we are to believe Niccolo dei Conti and Cesare Federici, fleeting visitors to the islands in 1440 and 1569. They both wrote of the peaceful native canoes that approached their ships, and this is confirmed by other travellers, like the Italians Fra Odorico da Pordenone in 1332 and Giovan Francesco Gemelli Caresi in 1709.

Violent clashes with the coastal tribes only became frequent when the English began to take an interest in the Andamans as a possible penal colony. The first prisoners to be sent there were some Indians, in 1788. In 1796 the colony was abolished owing to the swift death of nearly all the prisoners from tropical diseases. The attempt was repeated in 1858 after a mission entrusted to F. Mouat, and this time the seeds of decline for the islanders were sown. Efforts were begun to approach the coastal peoples, and even, strangely enough, those of the forests, the now ferocious Jarawas. Some of these tentative overtures were well received, but once the islanders came to think they had been betrayed it was enough to rekindle the hatred of strangers which they have retained ever since.

166 The evidence obtainable from archaeological excavations shows
[172] that for thousands of years the people encountered by the English in the coastal areas were the sole inhabitants of Great Andaman, living by fishing rather than by hunting or cultivation in the forests. The Jarawas arrived later. Migration from Little Andaman, imposed in relatively recent times by lack of food, brought them to Great Andaman. Since the entire coastal region was already occupied, the new arrivals took refuge in the forests of the hinterland. There they were happy, for they found an abundance of wild honey
[628] and fruit which amply fulfilled their needs. A spontaneous equilibrium was established between the coast-people and the forest-people, and both prospered.

175 The arrival of an appreciable number of foreigners in 1858 im-
177 mediately changed the situation. The peoples of the coast, who
648 were the most anxious to make friends with the strangers, paid for
76 this fatal error with virtual extermination. When the foreigners had
101 definitely established themselves, the coastal Andamanese – *Arioto*
563

136 were approaching an Onge camp. Everywhere they go they are accompanied by flies of all sizes, and in Little Andaman the swarms are so bad that the first stranger to land called a river after them, Bumila Creek, or fly river. Their flies betray the Onges long before the barking of their dogs – no human voice ever betrays their silent presence.

628 423 123 On Little Andaman today the Onges' tacit divisions of territory are of little importance, so heavy has been the fall in population, but they still keep out of areas belonging to other 'huts', even if the huts themselves have been abandoned. I never saw any disputes over territory, or the ownership of the area in which a pig was caught (and hence ownership of the pig). The Onges who accompanied me, possibly encouraged by the prestige value of a European with them, hunted wherever we went without anyone raising any protests. Nevertheless, I always took the precaution of giving anything I or my Indians took to the Onges of the nearest hut, invariably much to their delight.

342 361 Contrary to established opinion, communal huts on Little Andaman are not found only along the coasts; the majority, and certainly the best constructed, are in the interior. Togalanghe is one, and there are a number of permanently abandoned temporary camps near it.

342 171 Both the permanent and temporary huts or shelters of the Andamans resemble those of the Semang. The latter are extremely simple, especially in the dry season; there are no walls and only a very sloping roof of leaves, high at the front and very low at the back, the beds being put so that the feet face the low part of the roof. With the Semang and Aeta the beds may be made of bamboo; this is never the case in the Andamans, as there are no large bamboos in the archipelago (Brown was wrong in this respect. The few slender bamboos on Little Andaman are only usable for making drying racks, which are found only round the hut at Beniabol in the south. As the people were away when I went there, and the site was consequently completely deserted, I was unable to establish visually what they dried, but traces of fish, particularly pilchards, were indication enough.)

352 171 137 114 417 114 251

342 These temporary shelters are put up extremely quickly. Two poles less than two metres long for the front, and two more, thirty to forty centimetres long, for the back, are fixed firmly into the

174 342 [628] The continual fighting between the Eremtaga and the Arioto led, as we have seen, to the gradual disappearance of the communal huts of the latter as being too vulnerable. Subsequently, the conflict still going on between foreigners and Jarawas completed the [648] destruction, so that there are now no communal huts on Great Andaman. The ever-increasing violence of the punitive expeditions against the Jarawas put an end to their numerical recovery during the last fifteen years or so, and there may indeed now be none left. [172] Today only their kitchen-middens, and the surviving Onges, remain to show us how the Jarawas must have lived.

172 184 The Jarawa middens are distinguishable from those of the Arioto by their inland position and by their content of freshwater shellfish and land gasteropods, not eaten by the peoples of the coast.

172 764 178 [186] Like the kitchen-middens of the Onges, those of the Jarawas contain human bones clearly interred in graves, and not scattered among the refuse. This refutes the Arioto accusation against the Eremtaga of cannibalism, and that of the people of South Andaman (now vanished) against the people of North Andaman and the Onges; the remains of cannibal feasts would undoubtedly have been found among kitchen refuse and not carefully buried in the ritual manner, with the graves filled in with earth. And the Jarawas and the majority of the Arioto buried their dead in the communal huts, continuing a custom which originated while they were still [184] on Little Andaman. In time variations arose, but this does not alter the evidence in favour of migration in ancient times from the south, via the Nicobars and Little Andaman.

184 172 501 The differences in culture between the islands can be explained by the ease with which primitive peoples forget. The Jarawas, for example, although they reached Great Andaman by sea from Little Andaman, forgot in a few generations the art of hollowing canoes when they were forced to live in the depths of the forests, far from the sea. Today, they have been free from the Arioto for some time, at least on the west coast, and have access to the sea, but they have [765] not started building canoes again. In other things, however, such as burial rites, the Jarawas kept faithful to the old Onge customs; their middens show the same exhumation of the bones, the same cleaning, and tinting with ochre, and careful reburial.

172 252 The general similarity of the middens in Great and Little Andaman cannot be due to chance. Animal food, for example, has clearly

[Additional data on individual cities has been marked for either 361 or 369 or both. For reference to these cities see Index, category 116, 6: Spate AW1 India.]

632, 633

Andamans AZ2

[Additional data on individual cities has been marked for either 361 or 369 or both. For reference to these cities see Index, category 116, 6: Spate AW1 India.]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

175 During the next sixty years the islands remained unoccupied save by the aborigines. There were a number of wrecks in different parts of the islands, and in some cases the crews were slain. In 1839 a geologist, Dr Helfer, visited the islands in the hope of finding minerals, and was killed by the natives. In 1844 two transports, the *Briton* and the *Runnymede*, were wrecked in a cyclone on Ritchie's Archipelago, one of the ships being thrown high up over a reef into a mangrove swamp. The crew and soldiers were safely landed, and were eventually rescued with hardly any loss of life. As they were a large party they were safe from the possible attacks of the natives, and they lived on stores rescued from the wrecks.

In view of the number of wrecks that occurred on the islands and the desirability of establishing there some harbour where vessels might safely call for water or shelter from storms, the East India Company again considered the question of colonizing the Andamans. When the Company, at the end of the Indian Mutiny, found themselves with a large number of prisoners on their hands, it was decided to create a new Penal Settlement, and the site of the settlement of 1788 was chosen for this purpose, and renamed Port Blair.

175 648 The Penal Settlement was established in March 1858, and has been in existence ever since. The aborigines were hostile from the outset, and gave much trouble by their raids. They made a determined effort to oust the invaders from their country. To establish friendly relations with them an institution known as the Andamanese Homes was founded, to provide free rations and lodging, and medical attendance, to such of them as could be induced to visit the Settlement. Through the efforts of successive officers in charge of these Homes friendly relations were established, first of all with the *Aka-Bea* tribe in the neighbourhood of Port Blair, then with other tribes of the South Andaman, and at a later date with the inhabitants of the North Andaman and the Little Andaman. At the present day there is only one body of Andamanese still persistently hostile, and these are the so-called *Jarawa* of the interior of the South Andaman. These *Jarawa*, since about 1870, have made repeated attacks on isolated parties of convicts and forest

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

175 workers and on the friendly Andamanese. Punitive expeditions
648 have been sent against them on several occasions, and attempts to set up friendly relations with them have been made by leaving presents in their huts, and by capturing some of them and keeping them for a time at Port Blair. At the present time the *J̆ạrawa* are as hostile as ever.

619 Although of one race throughout, the Andaman Islanders are divided into several groups, with differences of language and culture. There are two main divisions, which will be spoken of as the Great Andaman Group and the Little Andaman Group respectively. The Great Andaman Group includes all the natives of the Great Andaman with the exception of those of the interior of the South Andaman who are known as *J̆ạrawa*. The Little Andaman Group includes all the inhabitants of the Little Andaman, those of the North Sentinel Island and the *J̆ạrawa* of the South Andaman.

619 These two different divisions exhibit many differences of language and culture. All the languages of the Great Andaman
197 Group are closely related to one another. They have the same grammatical structure, and a large number of roots are the same in all or in several of them. In the same way the language of the *J̆ạrawa*, so far as it is known, is very similar to that of the natives of the Little Andaman. On the other hand when the language of the Little Andaman is compared with the Great Andaman languages there is a very striking difference. Of a vocabulary of several hundred words collected in the Little Andaman there were less than a dozen in which the root or stem was clearly the same as that of words in the Great Andaman. While the grammatical structure of the languages of the two groups is fundamentally the same, this can only be shown in a somewhat detailed analysis, and there are many important differences.

619 With regard to technical culture the same grouping appears. There is a general similarity between all the tribes of the Great Andaman Group, while the *J̆ạrawa* and the inhabitants of the Little Andaman have a technical culture of their own that is markedly different from that of the other division.

4: Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Report of a Survey of the Inhabitants of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands during 1948-49

[P1]

By

B. S. Guha

Director, Department of Anthropology

About the end of the year 1946, Mr H. J. Stooks, Deputy Secretary to the Ministry of Home Affairs, consulted me with regard to proposals made by Sri A. V. Thakkar of the Bharatiya Adim Jati Sevak Sangh for undertaking work for the amelioration of the conditions of the inhabitants of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands on the same lines as the Sangh has been doing among the Bhils and other tribes of Central India. The problem of the Aborigines of the Andaman Islands, however, is not the same as that of the other primitive tribes of India. These people are some of the most ancient remnants of the human race still surviving in any part of the world, who had been very little affected from contact with other people and subsist principally on fishing and hunting. The need among them is not so much the spread of education and social uplift as the arrest of the decline in population which has been most alarming. Since the establishment of the Penal Settlement at Port Blair in 1858, the condition of the "Friendly Tribes" among these inhabitants have been most distressing. Due in the beginning to armed encounters with the forces of the Government, and also as a result of ravages from diseases like tuberculosis and syphilis contracted from Indian convicts, there has been a continuous decline in the Andamanese population. From an estimated figure of about 10,000 people in 1779 the tribe has been reduced to only 70 in 1931, and at the time of our visit there were probably not more than 37 individuals still living. Whether it will be possible to save the Andamanese from the fate of the Tasmanians whose last surviving representative passed away about 1770 is extremely doubtful.

The hostile branch of the Andamanese tribes known as the Jarawa-Onge-Sentinelese group, fortunately has been spared the fate of their more "friendly" kinsmen, and as a result of implacable hostility and comparative isolation have survived to a much larger extent. In the western forest belts of Middle and South Andamans, the Little Andaman, and the North Sentinel Islands they have resisted all intrusions from outsiders and were known to have lived in these places comparatively unmolested. No accurate census of these tribes however, was ever taken, but from estimates made by people who had some knowledge of the tribes, it does not seem possible that the total strength of these people could be more than a few hundred souls altogether before the last war. What has happened since and how far these people, specially the Jarawas, have suffered from Japanese occupation cannot accurately be determined. It is known that there had been some bombing by the Japanese in the Jarawa tract, but whether any Jarawa was killed is not known. I, therefore, suggested to Mr Stooks that an anthropological survey of the Islands was essential and a probable estimate of the surviving settlements of the population made before the question of any social welfare work can be considered.

114 while its culture was already in the process of disintegration.
[161] Moreover, MAN dealt almost exclusively with the South Andaman
[182] tribes, mainly with the Aka-Bea, while RADCLIFFE-BROWN's researches were centered mainly on some of the northernmost tribes. As a result, not all the tribes were given equal attention. This is regrettable since their religious concepts and myths were by no means uniform. Therefore one cannot say that our information about the ten Great Andaman tribes is as full and up to modern standards as would be desirable. There is, of course, no more hope of ever filling the existing gaps in our knowledge. It is the more necessary that the still relatively intact groups of Andamanese be thoroughly studied before it is too late.

Ongi (Onge)

161 The Ongi of Little Andaman owe their survival to their isolation
[101] and to the fact that they remained hostile until the end of the 1880's
[648] and even thirty years ago were not yet considered as quite reliable. Nevertheless, their numbers are constantly decreasing as the following estimates in the various Census Reports seem to indicate

1901 . . . 672
1911 . . . 631
1921 . . . 346
1931 . . . 250

161 Of course, these figures, being mere estimates, are not reliable,
114 and the last two are too low. As Professor LIDIO CIPRIANI of Florence, who spent many months with the Ongi in 1952, 1953, and 1954, kindly informed us, he came to different results. In his letter, dated May 2nd, 1958, he writes:

" I visited all communal huts with aim of taking a census of the Ongi. Every family has a bed in a communal hut, i. e. a kind of 'ritual' bed on which they marry and under which they are buried when they die. I prepared a list of persons using each bed. This added up to about 500 Ongi, but I saw less than 200 of them. The majority is still very shy and, when approached, ready to disappear into the jungle. The names of the absent persons were given to me by other Ongi. I left this list of personal names with the Department of Anthropology, Indian Museum, Calcutta, but kept a copy".

161 This would seem to indicate that the situation is not quite as bad as appears from the Census Reports. But even so, it is very serious and is constantly deteriorating. The Census Report of 1931
[164] says that "the numbers decrease year by year mainly from infection
[182] such as influenza introduced at times of contact with civilization. Some septs have almost completely disappeared during the last years".

8: Heine-Geldern & Hohenwart-Gerlachstein E-4 (no date) 1958
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

In a recent paper Dr. N. DATTA-MAJUMDER, Director, Department of Anthropology, Government of India, writes: 163

"From a study of 34 Onge families contacted by us, it is found that the average size of the family is only 3.15. Thirteen families out of 34 are childless. That is, 38.2% of the married couples are sterile".

When, in 1946, proposals were made for undertaking work for the amelioration of the conditions of the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands along the same line as had been done among the Bhil and other tribes of Central India, Dr. B. S. GUHA, at that time Director of the Department of Anthropology, very reasonably observed that "the problem of the aborigines of the Andaman Islands is not the same as that of the other primitive tribes of India", and that "the need among them is not so much the spread of education and social uplift as the arrest in the decline in population which has been most alarming". 648 161 177

The Ongi have been in sporadic contact with the outside world for many years. They have been visiting Port Blair, particularly since some of them moved to Rutland Island on the southern tip of Great Andaman. This contact with civilization was bound to affect their material culture, as well as their whole mentality. We may again quote Dr. DATTA-MAJUMDER who says: 177 166

"As a result of this long contact the Onge have already come to appreciate a number of foreign articles, for example, tobacco leaves, tea leaves, sugar, matches, aluminium utensils and implements made of iron (especially bill-hooks and files). In order to secure these articles, they often barter away their valuable honey and shells. The afore-mentioned changes in material culture have at present touched only the fringe of Onge culture. But the demand for these articles (especially tobacco leaves and safety matches) is becoming so great that Onge culture is likely to be vitally affected in the near future". 276

Dr. DATTA-MAJUMDER came to the conclusion that "the hunting and food-gathering Onge culture, which had been an autonomous cultural system in the past, is now breaking down". 22 182

The Ongi were repeatedly visited by government officers, but the resulting information is paltry. PORTMAN spent several months among the coastal groups of Little Andaman in 1886 and 1887 and collected a few hundred words of their language. In 1901, C. BODEN KLOSS visited a group of Ongi on Rutland Island and one on Little Andaman, both only for a few hours. At some time between 1906 and 1908, A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN went to Little Andaman for several weeks and made a preliminary study of the Ongi language. In 1928, EGON VON EICKSTEDT spent a few weeks among the Ongi on Rutland Island and visited briefly several groups on the coast of Little Andaman for the sake of physical anthropological research. 114

8uHeine-Geldern & Hohenwart-Gerlachstein E-4 (no date) 1958
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

113

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Jarawa

101 Although the Jarawa inhabit the jungles of South and Middle [197] Andaman, they do not belong to the Great Andaman group of tribes, but are culturally and linguistically related to the Ongi. It is assumed [174] that they originally came from Little Andaman. The Jarawa owe their survival to their having remained isolated as a result of their [648] implacable hostility toward the British (now Indian) colonial settlement. Information on their raids and the punitive expeditions against them will be found in the respective volumes of the Census of India. [161] In 1931 their number was estimated at either 70 (Bonington) or 120 (Hutton). Their culture conforms to the general Andamanese pattern, but differs in various respects from that of their former neighbours, the extinct Great Andaman tribes. Except for their communal huts and such of their material possessions as were found during punitive expeditions, practically nothing is known about it. Our knowledge of their language is restricted to lists of words col-

Our knowledge of their language is restricted to lists of words collected from captive Jarawas by COLEBROOK in 1789—90 and by PORTMAN in the 19th century. 114 648

Research on the Jarawa would by highly desirable, but will be impossible as long as they remain hostile.

Census of India, 1901, Vol. III, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by Sir RICHARD C. TEMPLE, pp. 4, 52—53, 68—90, 117—121. 113

Census of India, 1911, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by R. F. LOWIS, pp. 7, 31—39, 82—83.

Census of India, 1921, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by R. F. LOWIS, pp. 5, 39—43.

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A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN, *Notes on the Languages of the Andaman Islands*, Anthropos, vol. IX, 1914, pp. 38—39.

The Andaman Islanders, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1933, pp. 86, 410, 413—415, 423, 432—433, 439—440.

North Sentinel Island

North Sentinel is an island of about 30 square miles west of the southern tip of Great Andaman. It has been briefly visited by Government officers on various occasions, but it seems that no contacts were ever made with the natives, except on December 27th, 1886, when the Ongi, who accompanied PORTMAN on his trip, "caught" some of them (Census of India, 1901, p. 92). From PORTMAN's report it does not become clear whether or not he saw these temporary captives himself. Our knowledge of the culture is restricted to a few observations on their material possessions. The communal huts differ from those of the rest of the Andamanese. The canoes differ from those of both Great and Little Andaman, but are more like those of the latter. The bows resemble those of the Jarawa and Ongi. On the basis of this it is assumed that the natives are related to the Jarawa and Ongi, but PORTMAN's Ongi companions are said to have found that the persons whom they had caught talked "an entirely different language". 101 131 648 197

In 1901 the number of the natives was estimated as 117. This estimate was based on the area of the island and the assumption that the density of the population was approximately the same as that of great Andaman in precolonial times. The figure was not changed in either 1911 or 1921. In 1931 the number was estimated as 50 "on conclusions arrived at from several visits during the last decade and after counting the number of huts found and the sleeping places", but it is said that this does not necessarily mean a decrease in population. "It is believed that the population is stationary, for 161

161 the Sentinel islanders have been kept free from direct contact with civilization".

114 181 [C48] In the Census Report of 1931 it is said that the natives "like the Jarawas are entirely hostile", but no reason is given for this statement. Previous visitors found them exceedingly shy, but not hostile. When seeing foreigners, they simply fled into the jungle. M. C. C. BONIG who visited North Sentinel Island on the 10th of March, 1911, in the course of that year's Census operations, wrote:

"The people appear very timid and it seems not unlikely that if they are approached frequently with presents, they will become friendly of their own accord".

114 No information on North Sentinel Island more recent than the 1931 Census Report has come to our knowledge. If the situation has not changed since then, the culture of its natives should be completely intact and untouched by outer influences — a unique case among the primitive tribes of southern Asia. Here, therefore, is a truly ideal opportunity for anthropological research.

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Census of India, 1901, Vol. III, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by Sir RICHARD C. TEMPLE, pp. 4, 92 (PORTMAN'S visit).

Census of India, 1911, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by R. F. LOWIS, pp. 28—29 (BONIG'S Report).

Census of India, 1931, Vol. II, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by M. C. C. BONINGTON, pp. 22—23.

A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN, *The Andaman Islanders*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1933, pp. 412—413, 422—423, 491—492.

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

The North Sentinel Jarawa

648 175 The taming of the South Andaman Jarawa has been a moot problem of the local government in view of their occasional raids on the forest camps and offices. On this score the North Sentinel Jarawa appear to have an important function. Nothing is known of the length of their isolation on this little island of about 15 square miles but it is probably unaffected by the punitive expeditions, that are undertaken from time to time by the local government against the South Andaman Jarawa. When BONIG and his party landed on the west coast of North Sentinel Island on March 9th 1911, they were not received with volleys of arrows, but instead the "eight men on the beach and another five in two canoes" disappeared in the jungle. The same was true of those seen previously on the east coast. BONIG and his party visited some huts, which [342] were of the lean-to type, and also went some miles inland without being troubled. BONIG therefore rightly concludes the following:

"The people appear very timid and it seems not unlikely that if they are approached frequently with presents, they will become friendly of their own accord. If this fails the small area of the island and the open nature of the forest would also make it easy to capture some, and after kind treatment let them go again".

000 As far as the present writer's knowledge goes this method has not yet been tried, but its utility lies perhaps in taming their South Andaman congeners. They could be made to settle round Port Campbell and other suitable areas on the west coast. A few communal huts built according to the plan and style of the South Andaman Jarawa should first of all be provided. They should be given all chances of expanding their population. Such an opportunity they are likely to seize if they suffer in any way from population pressure or from shortage of food and shelter. If their canoes are not seaworthy they should be provided with suitable water transport so that there may be frequent intercourse between the two islands.

The South Andaman Jarawa

114 Although no systematic ethnographic studies on the Jarawa have been undertaken, RADCLIFFE BROWN (1922) gave sufficient hints regarding the unity of the material culture of the Negritos as a whole. Physically they belong to the Negrito race, as can be seen from the few natives captured from time to time by the local government (SARKAR, 1952). The punitive expeditions 648 have also brought to light some important facts of their material culture.

342 Thus, during the punitive expedition of March 1911 (LOWIS, 1912) near Pap-lunta-jig a big communal hut was found which had been erected on the ridge of a hill and which measured 45′ × 30′ × 15′. It was raised high above the ground and was supported by a number of stout piles. The structure [184] was different from the Onge communal huts in that the floor was raised, while in the latter the floor is just the surface of the earth. The eves of the Onge communal hut touch the ground.

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

123 411 painted with red ochre. It was perhaps left there for drying. The Jarawa would surely have returned just for this bow!

It was a straight piece of wood tapering at both ends. The outer surface was convex and was painted red, while the inner one was straight and smooth, and showed criss-cross designs and indentations. We then went to look for a 123 spring and found it at some distance behind a steep rock but there was no [312] water then. It appeared that the Jarawa had left this camp some time ago.

We then left Spike Island and sailed for Yeratia Jig. Here an old kitchen [172] midden was known to be another Jarawa haunt. No Jarawa was found even there, however. The kitchen midden was a mound strewn all over with animal bones. Fragments of typical Andamanese pottery and a blue stone bead were discovered there.

●648 [721] In recent years the Jarawa raids have been rather more frequent. GUPTA (1955) has given a list of them in his report on these people. It is believed that the primary cause of the restlessness of the Jarawa is the shortage of game and other food material [3]. On the other hand the tribe appears to have been sufficiently provoked by the punitive expeditions. All the Jarawa villages that the punitive party came upon were burnt down. In the encounter of March 1911 a woman was captured alive and nobody knows what happened to her afterwards. The pregnant woman captured along with four children in 1938 off Bluff Island later on gave birth to a boy (SARKAR, 1952, Pl. IX, fig. 3) at Port Blair but it was difficult to tame her. After her delivery she attempted to swim away and was rescued from the sea. She would spend hours climbing a cocoanut tree. Her whereabouts were unknown during the Japanese occupation of the Andaman Islands during the last war. The young children were sent to the Mission at Car Nicobar, where the present writer studied them in 1948. One of them had died before.

726 [714] [302] On the other hand the Jarawa raids, according to the then executive Government officers, are also very brutal. Before they go out for a raid the Jarawa cover their chests with bark armour and paint their faces with patterns of white clay. The bark armour is stitched securely on the body by other persons and can only be removed by cutting off the stitches. These people [727] are in the habit of mutilating their victims. They take out their brains, their eyes, and their bodies are hacked all over. – The type of arrow they use is [411] almost a spear, as may be seen from fig. 4. This arrow was obtained by the present writer from the forest department officers of Long Island in 1951. It was used injuring a bush police officer of the night picket unit at Lakera Lunta in January of that year. The police, in return, shot one Jarawa dead. 726 141 The male nurse of the Long Island Hospital took the following body measurements of this dead man:

Height ... 5 feet 1 inch
Chest ... 36 inches

Fig. 4

[3] They have of late been reported from about the region of Bomlungta, Rangat Bay, etc. on the east coast of Middle Andaman. (The spelling "Ronga Bay" on the map is incorrect.)

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

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Right arm ... 2 feet 4 inches
Right index finger ... 4 inches
Right toe ... 2 inches
Length of right leg ... 2 feet 11 inches
Length of right foot ... 9 ½ inches

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The iron blade of the arrowhead is 17 cm long and 4.9 cm broad at the base. It is mounted on a wooden shaft 86.7 cm long. The barb at the base consists of an ordinary iron nail which is bent at its sharp end and fixed with bark threads impregnated with resin. It must have been obtained from a forest camp during some raid.

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According to GUPTA (1955) the above mentioned incident was not a premeditated raid. He thinks – after a careful inquiry into the above incident – that the Jarawa "came out in the open, early in the morning and walked right into the camp and did not attempt to shoot, [which] would warrant a presumption that they meant a friendly visit".

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Since the last few years the Andaman Government has not encouraged any punitive expedition among the Jarawa. This is also evident from one of the Senior Officer's opinion quoted above. The forest workers, on the other hand, still have to face the Jarawa. They think that since no punitive action is taken against them they are gradually getting bolder. It is reported that the Jarawa beat the trunks of trees within their hearing. Consequently all these buttress beatings are immediately reported to the higher authorities and armed guards protecting the forest workers are alerted. If that is the case then the Jarawa do not attack without a warning! But who knows what they really mean? Do they want to communicate with us? Or is it a means of communication among themselves?

The Jarawa Problem

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It has already been hinted at the problem of taming the Jarawa. It was one of the special aims of the Government of India to arrange a substation of its Department of Anthropology. As a result of this the present writer visited the Andaman Islands twice and was of the opinion that the substation of the Department of Anthropology should be stationed at Long Island and not at Port Blair. There were no express plans but to carry out anthropological studies of the aborigines of the various islands. It has not yet been possible to census the friendly Onge properly (SARKAR, 1960).

The primary desideratum appears to be a knowledge of the native language. As far as the present writer knows, there is no one in the various Government departments who is acquainted with the Andamanese language, not to mention the other languages spoken on the varius islands. The Onge

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[4] A Jarawa vocabulary was collected from the captive pregnant Jarawa woman by Mrs. CHENGAPPA and Mrs. CHAUDHURI, and it has been published by the Andaman Government.

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

language could have been learnt by now since they are friendly. There has not been any attempt to communicate with the Jarawa [4] through the medium of the Onge language, which could be tried with the help of loudspeakers installed at suitable places in reply to the buttress beatings of the Jarawa. Prior to this an aerial survey of the Jarawa villages or camps would be necessary. Some food, clothing or other such articles might be air-dropped during this aerial survey. Along with the articles to be air-dropped some pictures showing symbols of friendship, such as the Andamanese and the Onge way of sitting upon one another's laps, might be included. Some pictures showing the Indian manner of greeting one another, for instance that of saluting each other with folded hands, might also be considered.

The local government appears to be very much in favour of capturing the Jarawa alive and then letting them off with presents after kind treatment. Since the capture of the Jarawa from South Andaman is not an easy problem – as may be seen from the Census Reports of the last sixty years – we might try this method of approach with the Jarawa of North Sentinel Island, where such captures appear to be comparatively easier.

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10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P. ix]

INTRODUCTION

A group of north-south running islands as they are, the Andaman Islands have as many as 204 small islands where the impact of civilisation and growth has been little and the human history has been one of stagnation rather than of chequered career. Being a land of aborigines, the foreign intrusion has been quite feeble though mention about these islands is found in the early records of the travellers. Though the knowledge about the islands is derived from the notes which date back to 2nd Century A.D., the contacts with the foreigners have been all the time transient and extremely feeble. Before the formation of the penal settlement, the islands have been known as an island of horror because of the presence of such tribal people who would eat up the man they encounter and as regards the wealth there has been imaginary illusion, sometimes being called as the Island of Gold. The historical record of the islands which can be built with a fair degree of precision is since the formation of the penal settlement. There has been the search for resources as well as their exploitation. However, all the attempts for finding minerals and the geological explorations have shown the possibility of the existence of some poor quality coal, copper etc. Virtually there has been a conspicuous lack of efforts for the development of the islands. The penal settlement which grew up in Port Blair did not have any considerable influence on the overall development of the islands. Nevertheless with the more intimate knowledge about the islands, the forest exploitation had increased and the land around Port Blair was cleared for agriculture. The little amount of agriculture that was started and fostered by the local-borns in and around Port Blair never expanded considerably and it remained confined to a few areas of South Andaman only. The aborigines were very much widespread and in the beginning they had exercised hostility and arrogance which had in course of time given place to a very friendly and amicable terms with some of the tribal groups i.e. the Onges and the Andamanese. The Jarawas, however, still now maintain their hostility and the attempts for bringing them under amicable terms have so long proved futile.

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Nothing more deserves a special note in the islands than the aboriginal population. Because of the insular nature of the islands, the aboriginal population is considered to be one of the purest type though the foreign intrusion has brought about an extremely rapid impoverishment and decay only during the last few decades of contact with these aborigines.

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10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

563 is made lucrative by way of giving an additional allowance of 33.3% to the basic salary in the islands. The lack of social and cultural developments coupled with the remoteness of these islands still now provoke this apathy. Since the independence, the colonisation of the uprooted East Bengal refugees together with some people from South India is being implemented. An appraisal of the resources of the islands shows the possibility of the development of agriculture with rice as the staple crop, as is common to tropics and on account of the hilly terrain and the vegetative cover, the area of the agricultural development is not at all considerable but quite sufficient for 5000 families. Of all the three main islands, the North, Middle and South Andamans, Middle Andaman offers the maximum potentiality by virtue of the bigger area, presence of a number of river valleys and absence of any other settlement of the later settlers or aborigines. Next to it is the North Andaman and lastly the South Andaman though it seems to be the most lucrative of all the islands. The response of the refugees in the beginning of the implementation of such a programme has been poor which largely owes to the lack of knowledge about the islands, the long distance from the mainland and also due to their being a land of aborigines and penal settlement. However the improved knowledge and the personal acquaintance with the islands have proved a long way in dispelling those aweful ideas. A new chapter in the history of the islands has opened for such enterprises which aims at an all-round regional development simultaneously with the agricultural settlement.

563 648 For such a small group of islands the cultural diversity is quite conspicuous arising out of the settlement of a heterogeneous group of people coming from different parts of India and also of some from Burma. Though circumstances have played a great role in bringing about a homogeneity, a precise observation shows their distinct characteristics. The aboriginal population has, however, become an object of academic study only and the few of them, the Jarawas, the Onges and the Sentinelese, who are surviving need a deeper intimacy with the civilised people but so far except the Onges such efforts have not proved successful. The penal settlement which ultimately gave way to the development of settlement in South Andaman did not prove very envigorating for the lack of Government help, co-operation and imbalanced sex-ratio. The demographic characteristics have been dealt in details in the chapter on the later settlers and show how much imbalanced it is for the successful growth of population. However the agricultural settlement of the refugees obviously paves the way for a healthy development of the population and

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

simultaneously with it a successful all-round regional development of the islands. 563 648

The resources of the islands having a small areal extent are very limited though the forest and sea products are fairly rich to deserve special mention. The presence of a variety of valuable species of timber in these islands has led to their exploitation since the development of the Penal settlement. The important species of timber found in the Andaman forests are padauk, garjan etc. In the previous decades, the forest exploitation was never associated with a commensurate amount of forest regeneration. Such policies are being followed at present for saving the forest resources from ruthless exploitation without any adequate means of ensuring a perennial supply of timber by systematic regeneration. The recent colonisation scheme has invoked the enquiry for the clearance of the forests. Andaman forests being rich in timber and also being the only major revenue earning source of the islands should by no means be ruthlessly cleared for settlement. Not only it depletes the forest resources but also degenerates the soil—the soil erosion being the immediate victim after such clearance of forests. Considering the primary importance of the forest resources of the islands, it seems to be a plausible agreement that at least 50% of the land should be reserved under forest cover and a further curtailment from this percentage will undoubtedly lead to serious consequences of the soil simultaneously with a great decrease in the resources of the islands. 313

The sea products range from a wide variety of products from sea shells to sea fisheries. The collection of sea shells is in vogue from a fairly long time and the sea fisheries, mostly being confined to the coastal areas, is conducted by the fishermen and the tribal people for their own consumption. There is a good deal of possibility for furthering the development of marine fisheries on a commercial scale but the lack of enterprise and capital investment has not given rise to any appreciable development. The only two enterprises of the fisheries are those of Trochus and Turbo shells by the Japanese during 1930-36 and another enterprise by a business concern in 1947. Even the present catch from the coastal areas amount to only 300 lbs., a considerable lag from the demand within the islands. 226 228

The means of earning livelihood in the islands were hunting and collecting by the aboriginal population who have not even to-day learnt the techniques of domesticating plants and also animals except the Onges who have domesticated the dogs very recently. The penal settlement and the subsequent expansion of the administrative seat at Port Blair 222 224 231 563 241

10:Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

(1) *The Period of Seclusion and Piratical Disturbances*

175 In this period of seclusion, people had some knowledge of these islands from the travellers, traders and sea-pirates owing to the central position of the islands on the trade routes of India, Burma and the Far East. The islands were inhabited exclusively by the aborigines. Mention of these islands dates back to the 2nd Century A. D. in the writings of Claude Ptolemy. The map referred to, in his writings, indicates the Islands of Buzacata to be in the place of the Andaman Islands and it is said that this island produces quantities of shells and the inhabitants go naked and are called Agmatae. It is believed that the Island of Buzacata means to refer to the Andaman Islands and such a peculiar name (Buzacata) has been achieved through the originality of the cartographer.

Later mentions of these islands are found in the collection of early Arab notes of the 9th Century on India and China which were translated by Eus. Renaudat and the people of the Andamans have been called Angamanians. Further mention of the islands is made by two Mohammedan travellers (Pemberton's General Collection of voyages and travels), Chinese Buddhist Monk I'Tsing (672 A.D.), Marco Polo (1286 A.D.), Friar Odcric (1322 A.D.), Nicolo Conti (1430) etc. From most of their writings it was evident that the islands were inhabited by very ugly brutes who would eat up any man whom they could lay hands on. Nevertheless, this was a land of riches and was named the "Island of Gold." An idea of the knowledge of these islands in the early days can be had from the notes of Marco Polo, a portion of which is quoted below.

"Angamanian is a very long island. The people are without a king and are idolaters and no better than wild beasts. All the men of this island of Angamanian have heads like dogs, and teeth and eye likewise; in fact, in the face they are just like big mastiff dogs. They have a quantity of species; but they are a most cruel generation, and eat everybody that they can catch, if not of their own race. They live on flesh and rice and milk and have fruits different from any of ours."

[648] These types of early notes by different travellers are largely written from second hand knowledge and tales current in the neighbouring countries of the Andamans viz. Malaya, Siam, etc. Mr. Portman[1] opines

[113] 1 Portman, M. V.—A history of our relations with the Andamanese.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

that, "it should be remembered that it was to the interest of the pirates who made the Andamans a headquarters of their raids and also enslaved the aborigines, to exaggerate the real dangers they encountered and spread such tales regarding the Andamans as would keep them away." The islands have been ravaged by the Malay sea pirates from very early times. They used to come to collect shells and to carry on the slave-trade. These sea-pirates, through their exaggerated propeganda, made the islands a monopoly ground of their own and, in consequence, people used to know it as a land of horror. The slaves brought by the pirates used to find their way in the courts of Siam, Cambodia and Indo-China for many centuries, thus bringing about the deepest distrust and hostility on the part of the aborigines to all the visitors to the islands. 175 648

The name '*Andamans*' of the islands is a corrupt form of the name '*Hanuman*' or 'Monkey peoples', the aboriginal antagonists of the Aryan immigrants in India. In the earliest Hindu mythology, the *Ramayana*, these islands were believed to be a land of the *Hanumans*. Malayans used to refer to them as '*Handuman*' which is even a corrupt form of *Hanuman* and from Malay the knowledge about the Andamans first spread into the different parts of the world. Hence the '*Handuman*' has further evolved into '*Andaman*'. 101 175 648

(2) *The British Regime and the Period of Foreign Intrusion and Settlements Since 1788.*

Factual records of the history of the Andamans can only be had since 1877 with the steps taken by the British Government of India to found a penal colony in the islands. The disturbing activities of the Malay pirates and the frequent massacres of the ship-wrecked crews around the Andaman Sea necessitated the Government of India to form a penal colony in the islands. For the materialisation of such a proposal, Lord Cornwallis sent Lt. Blair and Lt. Colebrook to investigate into the possibilities of such a colonisation in the islands in the year 1788. In accordance with their investigations, the first settlement was established on Chatham Island* at Port Cornwallis (now Port Blair) consisting of a free colony. It was found that the North East harbour (now Port Cornwallis) was a better place for settlement because of its fine harbour and nearness to Calcutta. So, in 1792, the settlement was transferred 175 648

* Chatham Islands is the port of the Port Blair town and is a very small island.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
(1788-1942)

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to the spot but it had to be shifted again to Port Blair because of the unhealthy climate and in consequence high mortality rates in that region.

But this settlement prospered little and for the next 60 years (uptil the second settlement) we have got very scanty records of the islands. The few important events are that in 1824 the British fleet were appointed at Port Cornwallis before the First Burmese War in 1825. J. E. Alexander landed, in a very interesting way in the Little Andaman, south of the South Andaman.

In 1837 Dr. Helfer, a Russian Geologist, was murdered by the aborigines while he was making expeditions into the islands in search of gold. In 1744 happened the queerly coincidental wrecks of the ships 'Runneymede' and 'Briton' bound for Calcutta with troops from Sydney and Gravesend respectively and there were various attacks on the troops by the Andamanese.

This period of great mishaps, shipwrecks and other disturbances made the government anxious. Fortunately for the British Government, this period synchronised with the Sepoy Mutiny in North India in 1857. Again a comprehensive report was submitted for making the islands a penal colony and in March 1858, the Andamans entered into second phase of its history as a penal settlement with the first lot of prisoners, 200 in number, and the mutineers of the Indian army who for the first time attempted to overthrow the British rule in India. They were accompanied by Dr. J. P. Walker. But the number increased to 773 within 3 months but 292 of them or 37 p.c. had escaped, died or were hanged.

Very strict measures were taken by Dr. Walker to deter these convicts from escape. But the administration of Dr. Walker was further weakened by frequent attacks of the Andamanese and this culminated in the Battle of Aberdeen on the 14th May, 1859. Dudh Nath Tewari, an escaped convict, who lived long with these aborigines, warned the settlement of the attack to be made in the Aberdeen, the heart of Port Blair, and as such proper steps were taken by the settlement to fight against the Andamanese. The escaped convict was released for his timely service.

Colonel J. C. Haughton (Oct., 1859) took the charge after Dr. Walker and he was a very loving personality amongst the convicts. He adopted a very humane method of treatment of convicts and established friendly relations with the Andamanese. In 1861 the administration of the Andamans was transferred from the control of the Government of India to the Chief Commissioner of Burma.

Colonel Taylor (1862) also adopted humane methods. 149 acres of land had been cleared for cultivation and there were some 3000 convicts

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
(1788-1942)

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in the settlement by 1864. In this period Lord Napier of Magdala visited the islands and suggested certain reforms. The Government of India sanctioned a grant for the formation of the "Andamanese Home" which aimed at improving the relations of the civilised people with the aborigines.

In 1863 General Man took the charge when the number of convicts increased to 8873 and 3000 acres of land were cleared, 876 acres of land were brought under plough and as a result health conditions improved and death-rates fell appreciably from 10.16% to 1.2%.

General Steward (1871) followed General Man and devoted himself to the agricultural developments of these islands and while on a visit to the Andamans he was murdered by a convict at Hope Town on the 8th February, 1872. In this year the administration was first raised to the rank of Chief Commissionership and the Andaman Regulations of 1874 were drafted, placing the settlement judicially under the Government of India, instead of under the High Court of Calcutta, and making provisions for the release of the life time convicts after 20-25 years of penal servitude if they showed good conduct.

General Steward was followed by Colonel T. Cadell, who was here for 13 years and attempted the great economic development of the settlement. The Forest Department was opened and the foundation of the Cellular Jail was laid down, though it was completed in the year 1905 and the recruitment of the labourers was made from the convicts only. The Cellular Jail claims to be the biggest masonry building in the Andamans, situated on the sea-coast.

Sir Richard Temple (1894-1903) also did many constructive works such as the considerable enlargement of the Phoenix Bay dockyard and workshops, and the initial arrangements for the reclamation of South Point—Aberdeen Swamps were completed in 1918.

Later came Colonel Douglas (1913-20) and the first suggestion for abolishing the penal colony was forwarded by him. A forest colony was started in North Andaman Division which had to be closed down due to the general trade depression and the most remarkable achievement was the plantation of cocoanuts over several thousands of acres which afterwards formed a source of large revenue.

Colonel Beadon's tenure (1920-23) marked a change in the administrative policy. Only 1400 Mapilla rebels and some Punjabis were received as convicts and the general convict strength fell from 11,532 to 8823. Unmarried women convicts and also some categories of male

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
(1788-1942)

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convicts were sent back to India. The convicts were provided with many facilities and they were also treated leniently. The cocoanut plantations developed by Colonel Douglas were made over to some private enterprises. Beadon contemplated various reforms and changes in the administrative policy of the Government, but failed to translate them into action due to the shortage of funds. The local-born association was started under the Presidentship of a Government Gazetted Officer for their welfare.

Colonel Ferrar (1923-31) possibly brought about the greatest changes in the island and with the closing of the penal settlement, schemes for colonisation and developments were necessary. The settlement in the Andamans had grown up in and around Port Blair in the South Andamans and everywhere the ephemeral huts of former times were giving way to well constructed two storied houses of sawn timber and iron roof, with stair cases, glared windows and other amenities. The old period of 10 years on probation as a labouring convict was abolished and after a few months' stay in the Cellular jail all the convicts found themselves placed on a wage basis and freed from the necessity of wearing convict dresses. During this time the willing convicts were allowed to go back to the mainland to bring their wives and families to the Andamans for permanent settlement. Many of the convicts, of course, returned back to the islands with frustrated mind as they were not recognised by their societies and families in the mainland to which they originally belonged.[1] All these changes in the administrative policy had their impact on the rural and urban population. In spite of the above cases, there was a rapid increase in the number of women and children in the Andamans and the social structure gained greater stability as regards the sex ratio, and this was probably a stepping stone to the successful approach towards colonisation.

A new deep-water jetty was built up at Chatham and was connected with the main island by a wooden bridge. Malarial swamps around the harbour were filled up by dredgers. A match factory was also built up at a cost of 3½ lakhs of rupees. Hence the period of Colonel Ferrar is a period of achievement when probably new life was infused into the people of the Andamans and had its effect on the all-round development of the South Andamans.

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1 Bonington, M.C.C.—Census Report, 1931.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Nicobars AZ7

(3) *The Japanese Regime.*

Under such circumstances of smooth development in the Andamans, the World War II darkened the horizon and no other part of India was so badly affected by the war as were the Andamans. The Japanese Army landed here on the 21st March, 1942 and had these islands under their occupation till 1945. This period was really a reign of terror and tales relating to the extent of their terrorism can be heard from the people with first-hand knowledge. In the beginning the relations of the Japanese with the local people were quite amiable. But a few instances of treachery committed by the people to contact the British Government in their attempt to overthrow the Japanese rule changed their relation to a bitter one. Hundreds of local borns were killed on the least suspicious by the Japanese Government. Naval blockade prevented supplies from outside and the Japanese were the pioneers in making the Andamans self-sufficient. From high Japanese officials to menials, all people were compelled to cultivate lands in order to achieve self-sufficiency at home. They cultivated all the available lands including hill slopes where they grew sweet potatoes and tapioca. The Japanese are also believed to have bombed over the Jarawa areas and surely they killed some. On the 8th October, 1945, the S. E. A. C. took the surrender of the Japanese garrison at Port Blair and immediate steps were taken for the rehabilitation of the surviving population who were famished and ill-clad. The civil administration was re-established on the 7th February, 1946.

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Although the Japanese regime was a reign of terror, they at least showed the proper channel to develop the islands. They attained self-sufficiency in the Andamans, constructed 22 miles of road and tried for proper defence of the islands and developed industries based on local raw-materials. Whatever criticism may follow regarding such steps taken by the Japanese, it is to be believed that such isolated islands must follow this channel for their economic development.

(4) *Post-Independence Period.*

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Since the 15th August, 1947 the Andaman and Nicobar Islands have shared independence with India. They now constitute the only 'D' class 'State' of the Republic of India, ruled by a Chief Commissioner directly nominated by the Indian President. Because of the meagreness of population adult franchise is not in vogue here and as such there is no representative from the Andamans in the Indian Parliament, but there is only one representative to the Parliament from the whole of the Andamans and the Nicobars nominated by the President of India. In the Andamans a local advisory

10:Sen K-3,4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P. 46]

CHAPTER VII

MINERAL RESOURCES

135 The mineral resources in the Andamans were believed to be bountiful. There had been mentions in the earlier notes of many travellers and historians (e.g. Nicolo Conti) about the richness of the islands in gold and they have gone so far as to call these islands as the "Island of Gold". But unfortunately no gold has yet been found in the Andamans nor is there any reason to suppose that it will be found. In this [648] connection it may be recalled that Dr. Helfer, a Russian Geologist was killed by the aborigines while he was making geological prospecting in search of gold. M. V. Portman discovered specimens of various minerals in the neighbourhood of Port Blair and they are chromium, copper, iron and sulphur. As such the land seemed to be sufficiently promising and Mr. Mallet[1] proceeded to Port Blair for further investigations. But unfortunately no important deposit of any mineral has been found to occur except some nests of lignite and bands of pure limestone in scattered places and in the serpentine rocks specially in the northeast part of Rutland occur small crystals of bronzite.

A few miles south of Port Blair near about Rangachang, highly altered and eruptive rocks are found being traversed by veins, the main constituent of which is hematite, but which consist of a considerable portion of pyrite (iron pyrites) and chalcopyrite (copper pyrite) in much smaller quantity.

Of the above-mentioned minerals, none are found to be economically exploitable. It has been argued that the Andamans cannot be rich in minerals because the Arakan Yoma of Burma also shows a barrenness in minerals and the only ores which need be noticed for practical purposes are those of tin, iron, lead, copper, antimony, none of which save iron, are known west of Sittang. But the apparent barrenness of the Arakan hills, however, can not be taken as conclusively proving that the Andamans are equally unproductive. It is believed that the Japanese carried out a full mineral survey of the islands and are reported to have found deposits including coal, iron and precious stones.

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[113] 1. Mallet, F. L. On some of the mineral reasources of the Andaman Islands in the neighbourhood of Port Blair, Rec. G.S.I. Vol. XVII, 1884.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

food lie in a chain running from north to south along the islands between Little and Great Andamans. This has been one of the most convincing proofs of the movement of the aborigines from the south to the north. Cipriani writes, 'All these organisations, with geographical names, camps, places for water and food, indicate an ancient navigating experience moving from the south to the north. About a century and half ago the Jarawas are said to have still been in possession of canoes and the same is said of the savage inhabitants of the North Sentinel Island less than 50 years ago. In a surprisingly short period the technique of making canoes seems to have been completely forgotten as a result of the difficulties of using them.'[2]

THE ABORIGINES OF THE GREAT ANDAMAN GROUP

Andamanese, as they are called, were the most widespread and the largest in number. They had split up ultimately into a few sub-groups from the north to the south. The different groups are *Aka-kora, Aka-boa, Aka-jeru and Aka-bea.* There has been a deplorable decline in the number of these aborigines who in the bygone ages exceeded all other groups in number. At present the number is only 23, a considerable reduction from the number 625 only in the beginning of the 20th century. Though the present importance of the Andamanese because of the extremely poor number is far from significant, they are of no small interest for the study of the anthropologist, especially the impact of these people with the later settlers.

The consequences of the impact of the outsiders on the Andamanese have been far from satisfactory. With the formation of the penal colony, the aborigines continued to develop feud and on the 14th of May, 1959 a clash between the aborigines and the Govt. occurred which is known as the Battle of Aberdeen. Aberdeen is at the heart of the town of Port Blair. Efforts of pacifying these aborigines were made and for bringing them into closer terms of amity, the 'Andamanese Home' was started in 1863 by Rev. H. Corbyn Chaplain. They were employed for working with the convicts taught to speak English and wear clothes. The consequence of such an impact has been alarmingly devastating because of the infiltration of a number of vices and diseases which only paved the way for their impoverishment and decay (For further particulars see demographic characteristics).

2 Ciprianai, L — On the origin af the Andamanese, Andaman & Nicobar Islands, Census of India, 1951.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

105 For the fact that the Andamanese inhabits the coastal areas of the
177 Andamans, the fishing is an well-known art to them. The pristine cul-
182 ture is virtually lost and the few who are still now surviving have been brought under the folds of government help. Still now the headmen
[225] of the Andamanese in the Middle Andaman, *Loka* is found doing turtle
[48] hunting in their canoes and climbing up the coconut trees without the help of any rope. Still now they are found dancing in groups but they are few and far between. All of them wear clothes and live in the huts made by the Forest Department.

THE ABORIGINES OF THE LITTLE ANDAMAN GROUP.

101 The Onges, the Jarawas and the Sentinelese belong to this group.

The Jarawas

177 Of all these three groups, the Jarawas only live in the Great Anda-
●648 mans and their occurrence in the Great Andamans has been explained
[101] by many authorities, as has been explained earlier. The Jarawas are
[181] implacably hostile and the best of efforts to bring them under terms of amity have proved furtile. Lt. Colebrook and Archibald Blair first came in contact with the Jarawas and in course of time, the Aka-beas, belonging to the Great Andaman Group, living in the South Andaman became friendly with the foreigners while the hostility of the Jarawas remained unabated. The Jarawa hostility has been always increasing and it was more so since 1921. In 1923, 37 Jarawas were shot and in 1938, a Jarawa woman and her 4 children were captured. So the chances of meeting the Jarawas have been few and far between and the great decline in their number has in all practical senses stopped the apprehension of their raids in the new settlement areas. Still now, of course a person penetrating deep into the forests of the eastern parts of South Andaman should always be on the guard against an attack from the Jarawas.

The Onges.

The Onges, having experienced the impact of the foreigners at the latest period, are at present the most widesprend of all the aborigines of the Andamans. They do not have the truculence of the Jarawas and the attempts for bringing them under closer ties and terms of amity with the foreigners have proved successful, though the essential traits of their social, cultural and material life remain unaltered.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

The contact of the Onges with the outsiders can only be traced since the efforts of M. V. Portman[1] to establish a friendly relation with these tribes from 1886 onwards. However the earlier contacts with the Chinese and Japanese were possible because these people used to frequent the shores of Little Andaman for collecting the valuable shells and the Onges used to be engaged by them as divers and in reciprocation they were given presents of alcohol and opium. In the initial stage of the attempt for establishing a friendly relation by Portman, the Onges proved themselves hostile which was evidenced from the poor fate of the crews of a ship 'Assam Valley' when it touched the shores of Little Andaman and it was through the great efforts of the punitive expedition led by W. L. Much that the dead bodies of the crews were recovered. Later on, a few Onges, all on a sudden, arrived at Cinque Island and were captured by M. V. Portman. Only 9 of them were detained and the rest 15 were released. These few captured Onges were closely observed and studied in Port Blair by Portman and were ultimately returned back to their native land, Little Andaman. The friendly treatment and the presents that these Onges had received from Portman, paved the path of establishing friendly relations with the Onges much easier and also made the subsequent visits of the foreigners much more welcome. After Portman, a few more contacts were made with the Onges by Prof. Lapicque in March, 1893, during the operations of 1911 and 1921, undertaken by Eicsktedt, a German anthropologist, in 1827, by Dr. B. S. Guha, Ex-Director Anthropological Survey of India in 1948 and by Lidio Cipriani, an Italian anthropologist in the year 1954 and in a few succeeding years. Still the knowledge about the Onges seems to be meagre.

Living exclusively in the Little Andaman and a few of them in the Rutland Island, the Onges live in groups on a septal basis with clear-cut boundaries of hunting group for each group. There is no permanent habitation or village of the Onges in any part of the Little Andaman and their huts are of two types—(a) the permanent type of communal hut called *bera*, and (b) the temporary type of shelter called *korale*.

The abundance of food and water has made the life of the Onges comparatively easy-going. All the groups are headed by a leader and each group is assigned a fixed territory. The community life seems to be extremely democratic in character which entertains and also maintains a perfect individual freedom and only in times of necessity, advice.

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1 Portman, M. V—History of one relations with the Andamanese.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

162 The population of the Andamans, on the other hand, is now almost entirely of recent immigration: there are no Europeans permanently resident, but a large number of colonists of Indian, Burmese or Malayan origin have made their home in the islands. In the Indian census of 1951, the entire stable population of the Andamans and Nicobars was assessed at thirty thousand, 18,962 in the Andamans and 12,009 in the Nicobars, not counting the Shom-Pen. The few aboriginals remaining in the Andamans are anthropologically of extreme importance. Classified among the Negritos, or Asiatic pygmies, they are one of the few surviving groups of pygmies who in the past were widely scattered all over the world. They can be divided into three groups, clearly distinguished one from the other by their mode of life, their present genetic isolation (although they certainly all originated from a common stock) and their attitude towards outsiders:

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1 The Arioto, the friendly Andamanese, once very numerous along the coast of Great Andaman and now reduced to only twenty-three individuals of pure stock; now almost completely sterile, they are near to extinction. They manage to survive only because of the help given to them by the Indian Government, which has established small camps along the coasts of Middle Andaman.

2 The Jarawas, still implacably hostile to foreigners, living a nomadic existence in South and Middle Andaman. One solitary group occupies a tiny island thirty miles west of South Andaman, surrounded by seas so stormy that they are frequently impassable. This is known as North Sentinel, to distinguish it from South Sentinel, twenty miles to the south and uninhabited. Landing on North Sentinel, as indeed penetrating anywhere on Great Andaman, has hitherto always entailed vicious fighting with the Jarawas, who are determined to repulse any stranger from their last refuge. They are well sheltered by an unbelievably dense forest, which has so far made it impossible to subdue them, though there are today probably no more than two hundred surviving.

3 The Onges, sole inhabitants of Little Andaman, into which they have withdrawn. There are not more than five hundred surviving today, and these are in a state of serious demographic decline. It is probable that before 1952 no one had ever approached their camps in the interior of the island. Until the present day, they

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

have always been protected by the sea, which is almost invariably rough, and by a thick tropical forest which extends without a break over more than a thousand square kilometres, unpenetrated by outsiders and almost impenetrable.

THE ARIOTO

The decline of the Andamanese began with the first landing of foreigners on the island and is similar to that of so many other primitive peoples who have come into contact with civilization; a detailed account of their decline would be long and pitiful. In the case of the Andamanese, however, demographic influences arising thousands of years ago must also be taken into account. Cut off by circumstances into small groups and separated at random by large expanses of sea or by the impenetrable forest, they gradually developed somatic and cultural differences of the greatest scientific interest. Among other things, languages became modified to such an extent that members of different groups are unable to understand one another. The Onges, for example, who in my opinion are the nearest relations of the Jarawas, are quite unable to understand their language.

The peoples of Great Andaman were the first to encounter civilization, when from 1858 onwards the Indian Government, then in English hands, decided to institute at Port Blair a penitentiary for the many political prisoners after the famous 1857 mutiny. Subsequently the government sent over convicts serving long or life sentences. The life of the deportees was atrocious during the first few years, owing to malaria and the absence of medical supplies. To the majority, therefore, deportation to the Andamans meant a death sentence. Even today the only large brick building in the Andamans and Nicobars is the penitentiary at Port Blair.

Before the building of the penitentiary the English had made several desultory expeditions to the Andamans, and even before then other foreigners had landed on the archipelago. It is known that Marco Polo, probably passing within sight of the archipelago in 1292, gave it the name of Angaman, and declared the inhabitants to be ferocious cannibals with dogs' heads. As a result, even the Asian pirates were for centuries afraid to land on the islands. The barbarous forays of Arab slave traders later awoke in the islanders

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Arioto

175 a furious aversion to foreigners. This hatred has been rekindled
177 during the last hundred years by a number of unfortunate incidents,
648 but at one time the islanders were favourably disposed towards seafarers passing by, if we are to believe Niccolo dei Conti and Cesare Federici, fleeting visitors to the islands in 1440 and 1569. They both wrote of the peaceful native canoes that approached their ships, and this is confirmed by other travellers, like the Italians Fra Odorico da Pordenone in 1332 and Giovan Francesco Gemelli Caresi in 1709.

Violent clashes with the coastal tribes only became frequent when the English began to take an interest in the Andamans as a possible penal colony. The first prisoners to be sent there were some Indians, in 1788. In 1796 the colony was abolished owing to the swift death of nearly all the prisoners from tropical diseases. The attempt was repeated in 1858 after a mission entrusted to F. Mouat, and this time the seeds of decline for the islanders were sown. Efforts were begun to approach the coastal peoples, and even, strangely enough, those of the forests, the now ferocious Jarawas. Some of these tentative overtures were well received, but once the islanders came to think they had been betrayed it was enough to rekindle the hatred of strangers which they have retained ever since.

166 The evidence obtainable from archaeological excavations shows
[172] that for thousands of years the people encountered by the English in the coastal areas were the sole inhabitants of Great Andaman, living by fishing rather than by hunting or cultivation in the forests. The Jarawas arrived later. Migration from Little Andaman, imposed in relatively recent times by lack of food, brought them to Great Andaman. Since the entire coastal region was already occupied, the new arrivals took refuge in the forests of the hinterland. There they were happy, for they found an abundance of wild honey
[628] and fruit which amply fulfilled their needs. A spontaneous equilibrium was established between the coast-people and the forest-people, and both prospered.

175 The arrival of an appreciable number of foreigners in 1858 im-
177 mediately changed the situation. The peoples of the coast, who
648 were the most anxious to make friends with the strangers, paid for
76 this fatal error with virtual extermination. When the foreigners had
101 definitely established themselves, the coastal Andamanese – *Arioto*
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11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Arioto

in the local language, as opposed to the people of the interior, the *Eremtaga* – appear to have numbered between six and eight thousand. Over the years their place has been taken by more than thirteen thousand foreigners, most of whom were deportees, enjoying relative liberty as servants of government officials, farmers and foresters. The settlers, voluntarily or involuntarily, introduced the islanders to alcohol and tobacco, forcing them to turn to the foreigners in order to satisfy their craving. In the famous and extremely frank work of the English explorer M. V. Portman (*A History of our Relations with the Andamanese*, Calcutta, 1899) official letters are reproduced which give precise instructions in the matter to government officials. The result of these instructions was to transform the Arioto into alcohol and tobacco addicts. Syphilis was passed to the native women by the deportees, and from them to their men. When, a few years after the mass importation of prisoners, the government authorities became aware of the infection among the Arioto, not one of them had escaped. The miserable twenty-three survivors of the eight to nine thousand of a century ago show the ultimate result only too well, and their final extinction is imminent.

Before the advent of the new civilization, the Arioto had divided up into at least ten distinct communities, but without any true tribal organization. They respected a form of chief, chosen by tacit consent for his personal qualities rather than by name or by birth-right; but the chiefs acted merely as paternal advisers, to be respected in times of trouble, with no illusions of authority. No one commanded, and none obeyed: all were content to follow the whim of the moment, with no conception of social obligation.

When the foreigners arrived, there were five main groups of Arioto on North Andaman, the Cari, Chede, Cora, Jeru and Tabo. Another five groups were in South Andaman, the Balawa, Bea, Bogig-iab, Joi and Col. With the numerical decline of the Arioto, who had always been endogamous within their group, a tendency arose for the survivors to merge and inter-marry, so that the twenty-three alive today are in fact the result of the mixing of the northern and southern Arioto, and of these with Indians and Burmese. The chief of these twenty-three individuals is Loca, a name in itself an indication of this ethnic mixture. Loca means 'whiskers', and he himself has a moustache, whereas pure Negritos have no body or facial hair.

Arioto
Jarawas

has a moustache, whereas pure Negritos have no body or facial hair.

THE JARAWAS

648 For obvious reasons I was unable to carry out any studies on the
[114] Jarawas. Apart from a restricted area around Port Blair, on the east
[137] coast of Great Andaman, the whole island is a tangle of tropical vegetation, in many places impenetrable, or at most passable only
[491] by hacking a way through. A few roads radiate from Port Blair, but none penetrate more than twenty kilometres or so from the township. To the north of the town is a well-maintained police cordon that stretches right across the island from east to west to prevent infiltration by the Jarawas; those in the south were all rounded up some time ago. Only beyond the cordon do the Jarawas maintain
[142] their rule over the virgin forest almost unchallenged. Like all the Andamanese they are Negritos, small in stature and extremely dark skinned. Obsessed by a fierce hatred for anyone outside their own group, enemies even of the other Andamanese, they roam through the forest with their deadly arrows. Shot from their powerful bows,
[411] their dagger-sharp arrows penetrate deep into the body of the victim – they can transfix a man's chest. The bloody skirmishing which has gone on for the last hundred years shows no signs of lessening even today.

175 The Jarawa ferocity increased as the result of grave mishandling
648 of the situation by the foreigners. In this connection the following sentences from Portman's *History* may be quoted: 'On our arrival the Jarawas were quiet and inoffensive towards us, nor did they ever disturb us, until we took to continuously molesting them by inciting the coastal Andamanese against them. After a few years of this disturbance, the life of the Jarawas became very hard and in retaliation they began to attack us.' As the author in part recognizes, 'It was our fault if the Jarawas became hostile'. This was a fundamental error. Petty pilfering committed in perfect innocence by the Jarawas, ignorant of Western ideas of individual property, led to vicious punitive expeditions. To this end fire-arms were given to the hereditary enemies of the Jarawas, the Arioto. Elated by their unexpected power, they at once began slaughtering any Jarawa within sight, and enjoyed themselves hugely.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawas

Portman, who was for a long time the English administrator in the Andamans, is one of the greatest authorities on the islands; in his excellent history he refers, with frank sincerity and detail, to the methods adopted in the anti-Jarawa wars. He tells of the payment of the Arioto with food, tobacco and alcohol, arms and ammunition for their ruthless fight against their forest kin. Since at one time the struggle seemed to the outsiders to be lacking in ardour and intensity, Portman received an order in 1884 to deprive the Arioto of all provisions, starting with food. This he was forced to obey, perhaps unwillingly. He certainly loved the Andamanese, and he understood and honestly appreciated their needs.

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As he later did on Little Andaman, Portman then tried to approach the Jarawas; not on Great Andaman where they had become too dangerous, but on North Sentinel. He proposed to improve upon the work already initiated (with disastrous results) by Homfray who went to the island in March 1867, escorted by police and by a small group of Arioto. The hostility between Andamanese from different localities immediately made even the Sentinellese keenly resentful of the foreigners who were trying to make friends with them under the protection of their age-old enemies. The foreigners would in fact probably have been quite well received if they had not taken Arioto with them.

Homfray referred to naked men on the beach who fled with loud cries into the forest when pursued by Arioto. Portman repeated the same mistake. In his photographs, still to be seen in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, he actually uses the expression 'Hunting Jarawas' among the captions to the pictures he took on North Sentinel.

After several abortive expeditions by Portman, visits to North Sentinel were very few and far between until recent years. In 1926 a German, whose name became anglicized to Bonington, an intelligent timber merchant at Port Blair, became a government official in the Andamans once he had assumed British nationality. He reports having seen some Jarawas, who rapidly disappeared into the forest uttering such wild cries that they hardly seemed human. In 1953 other Indian government officials approached the island, and a lone Jarawa on the beach threatened them with an arrow. I myself planned to make a landing on 20 April 1954, but was prevented by a rough sea. I went right round the island, but no Jarawas appeared.

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THE ANDAMAN ISLANDERS

114 This was a pity, as I knew that my Indian and Burmese companions were ready to run any risk with the prudence they had already shown in Little Andaman towards the Onges. Since North Sentinel is flat and its forest not impassable, a peace mission led by men accustomed to dealing with people like the Andamanese, though it would certainly need more than a brief stay, would probably be ultimately successful.

124 114 [648] My sole source of local information on the Jarawas was the wife of a government official, who had tended a pregnant woman and four children who were captured during one of the punitive expeditions on Bluff Island. She gave me a great deal of useful information, and indeed the greater part of our scanty ethnographical and linguistic data on the Jarawas has been obtained through her.

THE ONGES

177 648 114 133 Until 1952 the attitude of the various groups of Onges was very similar. Along the coast, however, they had already had some contact many years ago with a limited number of outsiders. Compared with the Jarawas they have been uniquely fortunate among surviving primitive peoples in that their extremely fertile territory has remained immune from invasion. In this they have been helped by their geographical isolation as much as by their own ferocity. Indeed Little Andaman, surrounded by an ocean that frequently turns into the proverbial boiling cauldron, presents grave risks to anyone trying to land. I had considerable experience of this myself; on many occasions I nearly gave up when the boat was overturned by giant breakers. On one occasion on the south coast of the island we were flung into the sea, and the empty boat capsized and dragged me down. No one was in a position to come to my rescue, but the momentary relief of an enormous return wave enabled me to extricate myself. The previous day the breakers had crashed down one after another and smashed us against the coral reef which runs right round Little Andaman. Our baggage and provisions had disappeared, and until help arrived we were forced to remain for two gruelling days without water or food, with no protection from the sun and in constant danger of being attacked by the Onges.

000 During the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

During the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries there have been many attempts by outsiders to land on Little Andaman, but until recently none have gone beyond the coast, and the interior of the island remained unknown until 1952. Several people were drowned in the tremendous breakers, and a few were killed by the aboriginals. The last (undocumented) incident, involving Chinese sailors in search of water on the west coast of the island, appears to have taken place in 1949. There are no records of any attempt to land before 1825, when an English naval officer, T. E. Alexander, managed to do so, and was the first to report, in England, the existence of a fierce tribe of naked Onges. The encounter was bloody, as were many afterwards. Rumours (erroneous) were spread of cannibalism, as some English sailors who had managed to save themselves saw their companions being torn to pieces by the Onges: their hands, feet, legs and arms were cut off and the living remains were thrown into a great fire. This was, in fact, not cannibalism, but the satisfying of a superstition, already recorded by various well-known authorities on the Andamans, such as Portman, Radcliffe-Brown and others, that the spirit is immortal and stays by its bones. The spirit of an enemy could thus become a disturbing influence, which is to be avoided by totally destroying the living body with fire, so that the spirit flies with the smoke towards the sky, where it remains.

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Some time after Alexander, various English officials tempted providence in Little Andaman[1] and finally, on 24 July 1885, Portman landed, and began intensive efforts to pacify the Onges. Well protected by a police force, he was the first man who had the courage to pitch camp on the coast of Little Andaman. For most of March 1886, he stayed in the north of the island, and then between 28 October 1886 and 21 January 1887, he went slowly right round the island, starting from his camp at Bumila Creek. In the same year, two officials of the Indian Cartographic Service sailed round the entire coastline of Little Andaman; the resulting survey was, however, very imperfect. Portman returned for a brief visit to Bumila Creek in March 1887. This time there was a serious incident with the Onges, culminating in the severe wounding of an English

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[1] Homfray, 1867; Stewart, 1873; Homfray and Stewart, 1874; Cadel, 1880; Cadel and Portman, 1880; Portman, 1880 and 1882; Man, 1883; various abortive landings, 1884 and 1885.

175 colonel who had accompanied him. After a series of similar inci-
●648 dents involving other people Portman went to Bumila Creek on 10 November 1891, for revenge. A number of Onges, including the one responsible for wounding the colonel, were captured and taken to Port Blair.

Other visits by various people followed, always very brief and always limited to the coast, but there were no landings of note. Various expeditions visited the coast of the island for a few days and even made contact with some of the Onges, but the interior
114 of the island remained as unknown as before. In February 1951 I
122 accompanied one of these expeditions, which again did not go beyond the coast. Those five days on Little Andaman were most revealing, and enabled me to plan the landing I subsequently made in 1952. I saw that the island was teeming with game, that wild
[136] fruit and edible roots were plentiful, and that the sea round the island was full of fish, lobsters, huge crabs and turtles. Moreover, the turtles laid eggs in the sand where it was very easy to find them by following the beasts' tracks. I realized that it would be unnecessary to bring in provisions, and that it would be possible to enter the forest unencumbered with anything more than guns, cartridges and a few cooking utensils. Every day during this short stay I went with a police escort as far as possible into the forest in order to reconnoitre. In some places I noticed recent traces of small bare feet, but no Onges appeared.

122 Realizing that mobility was essential for any expedition into the interior of the island, I prepared at Port Blair a number of small watertight metal boxes to hang from the shoulder, to take a minimum of necessities. The largest items in my own personal baggage were a mosquito-net, a very light hammock and note-books. Cartridges were to be divided among the boxes. Tents, camp-beds and other large equipment would have to be left in a base camp, which would be established on the coast and left under police guard with radio transmission apparatus for communication with Port Blair. If necessary, a portable radio could follow us.

121 Several factors made me want to return. There was the mystery of the unknown interior of the island. There was the prevailing lack of information of any kind about the Onges, even of their numbers. I wanted too to carry out an investigation of their somatic characteristics, using the greatest possible number of individuals.

The continual fighting between the Eremtaga and the Arioto led, as we have seen, to the gradual disappearance of the communal huts of the latter as being too vulnerable. Subsequently, the conflict still going on between foreigners and Jarawas completed the destruction, so that there are now no communal huts on Great Andaman. The ever-increasing violence of the punitive expeditions against the Jarawas put an end to their numerical recovery during the last fifteen years or so, and there may indeed now be none left. Today only their kitchen-middens, and the surviving Onges, remain to show us how the Jarawas must have lived.

The Jarawa middens are distinguishable from those of the Arioto by their inland position and by their content of freshwater shellfish and land gasteropods, not eaten by the peoples of the coast.

Like the kitchen-middens of the Onges, those of the Jarawas contain human bones clearly interred in graves, and not scattered among the refuse. This refutes the Arioto accusation against the Eremtaga of cannibalism, and that of the people of South Andaman (now vanished) against the people of North Andaman and the Onges; the remains of cannibal feasts would undoubtedly have been found among kitchen refuse and not carefully buried in the ritual manner, with the graves filled in with earth. And the Jarawas and the majority of the Arioto buried their dead in the communal huts, continuing a custom which originated while they were still on Little Andaman. In time variations arose, but this does not alter the evidence in favour of migration in ancient times from the south, via the Nicobars and Little Andaman.

The differences in culture between the islands can be explained by the ease with which primitive peoples forget. The Jarawas, for example, although they reached Great Andaman by sea from Little Andaman, forgot in a few generations the art of hollowing canoes when they were forced to live in the depths of the forests, far from the sea. Today, they have been free from the Arioto for some time, at least on the west coast, and have access to the sea, but they have not started building canoes again. In other things, however, such as burial rites, the Jarawas kept faithful to the old Onge customs; their middens show the same exhumation of the bones, the same cleaning, and tinting with ochre, and careful reburial.

The general similarity of the middens in Great and Little Andaman cannot be due to chance. Animal food, for example, has clearly

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Andaman AZ2
Nicobars AZ7

A It may be noted that some Burmese politicians periodi-
●648 cally put forward a vague claim to the Andamans, whether on geomorphological or penological grounds is unknown.

N 131 161 563

2. *The Nicobars*

This group extends from about 6 to 10° N, Car Nicobar lying 75 miles from Little Andaman, Great Nicobar 91 miles from Sumatra. Of the 19 islands 12 are inhabited; Great Nicobar, with 133 sq mls, had in 1931 only 300 people; several islands run to 40–60 sq mls and Car Nicobar (49 sq mls) had the largest population, 7492. The greatest density, 205, was on Chaura, which supported 615 people on 2·8 sq mls: as we shall see, Chaura is of very peculiar significance. All these figures are for 1931, when the total population was 10,240; by 1941 it had risen to 12,452. Of these perhaps 200 belong to the Shompen, a jungly inland tribe ('pre-Dravidian'?) on Great Nicobar, and traders and officials number perhaps 500. The rest are Nicobarese proper, whose affinities seem to be with the Mon-Khmer peoples of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula.

N 133 311

The basis of the islands is formed of (? Tertiary) soft micaceous sandstones and clays, but there are extensive slightly raised coral flats. None of the islands is very high, but Great and Little Nicobar are very much dissected and forested; the others are mainly covered with tall *lalang* grass or coconuts, and abandoned coconut groves around Great Nicobar tell of a former larger population; conflict with the Shompen is apparently responsible for this abandonment.

N 132 311 262

With extreme temperatures of 65–98° F and a rainfall of 90–170 ins. (more on Great Nicobar) conditions are ideal for the coconut, and with fish and imported rice it forms the staple diet. "In a rich man's household often as many as 300 coconuts are consumed in one day. Some 200 of these are used in feeding the family's many pigs in the jungle."[54] The Shompen practise a primitive agriculture with fire-sharpened digging sticks, though they also obtain iron *dahs* (Burmese choppers or knives) by raid or trade from the coastal villages.[55]

N [438]

N 175

Dutch pirates and French Jesuits had contacts with the islands before the Danish East India Company took on the task of 'civilisation' in 1756. The British occupied the islands during the Napoleonic wars, but spasmodic and rather inept Danish efforts at colonisation and evangelisation continued until they admitted defeat in 1848: the chief relic of their interest is the herd of half-wild buffaloes on Kamorta. In 1867 and 1876 Prussians and Austrians made gestures towards developing the islands, which in the intervals were used by Malay pirates (led by a deserter from the Royal Navy) who concealed their activities by only attacking ships actually calling at the islands and by leaving no survivors: they seem to have been responsible for the ill-deserved Nicobarese reputation for ferocity. Finally in

[54] 1931 Census, Vol. III, 74. [55] *Ibid.*, 87–88.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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756 have an influence over their fellows owing to their being credited with the possession of supernatural powers. These men, called in *Aka-Jeru oko-jumu* (literally "one who speaks from dreams"), will be described in a later chapter. As they are believed to have command over the powers that produce and cure sickness everyone tries to be on good terms with them, avoiding giving them offence in any way, and seeking their favour by presents of food or other things. It sometimes happens that a chief (the leading man of a local group) is at the same time a medicine-man or *oko-jumu*, but the two positions are entirely distinct and separate, and a man may be a medicine-man who possesses none of the qualities that are necessary for a head man.

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682 of anger, in which he may seize his bow and discharge an arrow
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2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

762 pound word (*ō·yun-tē·mar-tô·liganga-*) in order to express the nature of the act.

673 2. That they are not entirely devoid of moral consciousness may, I think, in some measure, be demonstrated by the fact of their possessing a word, *yū·bda-*, signifying sin or wrong doing, which is used in connection with falsehood, theft, grave assault, murder, adultery, and — burning wax (!),[1] which deeds are believed to anger *Pū·luga-*, the Creator, of whom more will be said hereafter.[2]

627 3. Cases of adultery in their own villages are said to be of rare occurrence. If detected, the injured husband would pro-
837 bably inflict condign punishment on the guilty parties, but at the risk of retaliation on the part of the male offender and his friends; there appears, however, to be an understanding, that the greater the provocation offered the less is the risk incurred of the injured person or his friends avenging the wrong, but no appeal to the chief for redress is ever made.

628 4. If an offence, such as an assault or theft, be committed by
674 one or more members of another tribe during a visit or by stealth, it is regarded as premeditated, and generally resented as a tribal affair, resulting in a feud and more or less bloodshed.

5. Intercourse with Europeans and other foreigners has, it
273 must be confessed, unhappily opened their eyes to the existence
177 of some vices of which they had formerly no knowledge;[3] notably is this the case with regard to drunkenness, for, being, till the time they made our acquaintance, "blessed in the ignorance of spirituous liquors," they had no conception of its effects, and, to express an inebriate, have invented a word (*lē·lēkanga-*) signifying "staggerer." It must, however, be added, that in consequence of the extreme partiality for rum and other intoxicating drinks which they manifest, much care has to be taken to prevent them from gratifying the easily acquired taste.

Narcotics.—1. Prior to our advent they were also entirely
276 ignorant of narcotics in any form; but one of the evil results of
177 their intercourse with us has been the introduction of the practice of smoking, and so rapidly have they (both men and women) acquired the habit, that, when at a distance from the homes and unable to obtain tobacco, they have been seen to fill their short clay pipes, which, it is scarcely necessary to say, have been obtained from us, with *pán* leaves rather than endure entire deprivation.

[1] *Vide* "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xi, p. 288, and *post*, "Superstitions," paragraph 13.

[2] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs," paragraph 8.

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10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

the felling of the tree, chiselling the lumber and processing it further to give the shape of a canoe. Buckets of wood are also constructed by them from the softwood tree. Two types of baskets are made, the smaller ones are more well-finished than the bigger ones. The former is known as *tolcoaga* and the later *tole-laya*. Such activities have introduced the use of dahs, chisels, and iron files among the Onges, from the iron pieces derived from the sea shores. The other important pieces of their craftsmanship are the beautiful weavings of fibre, tussel of yellow fibre used by the women in their front. However, the art of making the earthen pots has been completely forgotten.

The leisure in their lives has helped the development of some amount of aesthetic senses among the Onges. All the Onges men and women shave their heads with flakes of glass, obtained from the sea-borne glass bottles. The body of the Onges are also painted with white clay which save their skin from insect-bite while red paint serves medicinal purposes if some individual is having fever. In times of mourning, red orchre paint is a taboo.[1]

Early marriage is the custom. The widows are looked down upon by the society. Some incidents of widow murder and drowning are heard. In the married life, the husband is devoted to his wife and both the husband and wife work for collecting their food.

Dances and songs are in vogue and there are practically songs for every occasion and activity. Most of their songs are more plaintive than joyous.

There are three broad divisions of the Onges of the Little Andaman :

(1) *Giremeka-Gobeule* group inhabiting the northeastern coast of the island ;

(2) *Engakwale group* live in the interior of the islands ; and

(3) *Gireraragobeule group* live in the southern and western coasts of the islands.

In spite of all the limitations, the Onges have been considered as one of the happiest people of the world with plenty of food and water to eat and drink and with very few social cankers to fight with. But as is common to all other aborigines of the Andamans, a decline in their number is discernible.

The Sentinelese

The Sentinelese are the least known of all the aborigines of the Anda-

1 The Onge of the Little Andaman—A short guide book ; Anthropological Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AWI India
Andamans A22

mariners from massacre. Despite efforts at conciliation there was violence on both sides; attempts were made indeed to settle some of the more friendly groups in an 'Andamans Home' as fishers of trepang (sea-slug) and collectors of edible bird-nests, both for the Chinese market. But the only result was to civilise them out of existence, largely by venereal disease.[52] The Andamanese are—perhaps one should say were—Negritos, and as they represented perhaps the nearest approach to a 'pure primitive' society, both ethnically and culturally, these hunters and gatherers have attracted anthropological attention out of proportion to their numbers.[53]

Transportation of convicts to the Andamans began after the Mutiny. Latterly there was a change of emphasis, hopeless criminals being re-transported to India and the settlement becoming in effect an open prison for young men condemned to life sentences for more or less excusable homicide. After a few months in jail convicts were allowed to become wage-earning employees of Government, to wear ordinary dress, and to marry or bring out their wives. These changes were reflected in the sex composition of the population: 15,158 males to 2980 females in 1901, 14,872 to 6444 in 1941. The cultural landscape also changed: "Everywhere the ephemeral huts of former times are giving way to well-constructed two-storeyed houses of sawn timber and iron roofs," and a good deal of reclamation of malarial swamp took place around Port Blair. The communal composition of the population was an odd reflection of social conditions: in 1941 Muslims were about a third, largely Moplahs from Madras deported after their 1921 rebellion; Sikhs were 3·5% against an All-India total of 1·5%, Buddhists—i.e. Burmese—over 13%. This corresponds to the prevalence of dacoity in Burma and to the Sikh *penchant* for "liquor, love, and fights".

Practically all the economic development is in the Settlement of Port Blair, an area of about 500 sq mls in the S of South Andaman; here is 90% of the population, the remainder being in forest camps. About 75,000 ac. are more or less cleared, of which about 10–15,000 are cultivated and as much grazing land. Paddy and coconuts each account for about a third of the cultivation, and there are (or were) struggling plantations of rubber and coffee, negligible in area.

The war and the Japanese occupation saw a fall in population to about 16,000, and on re-occupation the penal settlement was formally abolished. From time to time schemes of Anglo-Indian agricultural settlement have been mooted, and in March 1948 a batch of 132 families displaced from E Bengal arrived. It may be noted that some Burmese politicians periodi-

[52] 1931 Census Vol. II (Andamans and Nicobars), 11–23.

[53] The classic treatments are those of Sir Richard Temple in the 1901 Census and of A. R. Brown in *The Andaman Islanders* (1922). There is unfortunately little geography in the latter book; what there is is largely summed up in L. Garrard's 'sociograph' in *Studies in Regional Consciousness and Environment* (ed. I. C. Peate, 1930), 82.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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AZ2 Andamans AZ2

anger. Yet I found that the slightest show of authority would immediately bring such a scene to an end. A man of influence in his village was probably generally equal to the task of keeping order and preventing any serious damage from taking place. It was probably rare for a man so far to give way to his anger as to kill his opponent.

Such murders did, however, occasionally take place[1]. The murderer would, as a rule, leave the camp and hide himself in the jungle, where he might be joined by such of his friends as were ready to take his part. It was left to the relatives and friends of the dead man to exact vengeance if they wished and if they could. If the murderer was a man who was much feared it is probable that he would escape. In any case the anger of the Andamanese is short-lived, and if for a few months he could keep out of the way of those who might seek revenge, it is probable that at the end of that time he would find their anger cooled.

A man who is liable to outbursts of violent anger is feared by his fellows, and unless he has other counterbalancing qualities, he is never likely to become popular. He is treated with outward respect, for every one is afraid of offending him, but he never acquires the esteem of others. There is a special nickname, *Tarenjek*, in the North Andaman, to denote such a man[2].

Quarrels were more likely to occur at the meetings of different local groups that took place in the fine weather, and such quarrels might occasionally end in the murder of some one. In such a case the quarrel would be taken up by the group

[1] The natives of the North Andaman were able to tell me of a few cases of murder which had occurred within the memory of those still living.

Mr Portman in his *History of Our Relations with the Andamanese* records a certain number of murders which occurred while he was in charge of the Andamanese. One man, who had been imprisoned at Port Blair for murder, committed another soon after his release and was hanged. Since that date there has been no case of murder among the Great Andaman tribes. This is perhaps in part due to the punishment with which they are now threatened by the Government, but another cause is probably the breakdown of the old social organisation which has in this respect rather improved their morals than the opposite.

[2] The nickname is applied, however, not only to those who deserve it by their character, but also to others; for instance, one man was called *Tarenjek* because his maternal uncle was a man of violent temper.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

628 of the murdered man, and a feud would be set up between them and the local group to which the murderer belonged. Such was
682 one of the common causes of origin of the petty warfare that formerly existed in the Andamans, which will be referred to later in the present chapter.

627 Cases of theft seem to have been rare. It was left to the aggrieved person to take vengeance upon the thief, but if he
685 killed him or seriously wounded him he would have to expect the possible vengeance of the relatives and friends. Adultery
627 was regarded as a form of theft. I gathered that a man had the right to punish his wife for unfaithfulness, but if the punishment
684 were too severe it would be an occasion for a quarrel with her relatives. It was difficult for the aggrieved husband to punish the man who had offended against him. If he killed him he would lay himself open to the revenge of the relatives. The most he could do was to vent his anger in violent words.

578 Women also occasionally quarrel with one another and swear forcibly at one another, or even get so far as to destroy one
626 another's belongings, or to fight with their fists or sticks. The men hesitate to interfere, and the quarrel can only be stopped by some woman of influence.

The frequent occurrence of serious quarrels is prevented both by the influence of the older men and by the fear that everyone has of the possible vengeance of others should he in any way offend them.

183 There are a number of actions which, while they do not offend any particular person, are regarded as being anti-social.
626 One of these is laziness. Every man is expected to take his proper share in providing both himself and others with food. Should a man shirk this obligation, nothing would be said to him, unless he were a young unmarried man, and he would still be given food by others, but he would find himself occupying a position of inferiority in the camp, and would entirely lose the esteem of his fellows. Other qualities or actions that result in a similar loss of esteem are marital unfaithfulness, lack of respect to others and particularly to elders, meanness or niggardliness, and bad temper. One man was mentioned to me as being a bad man because he refused to take a wife after he had

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

535 628 301 to take part in the attack on their enemies, i.e., all the able-bodied adult males, decorated themselves with red paint and white clay, and put on ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf or netting and shells. Each man held in his hands or placed in his belt or head-dress plumes of shredded *Tetranthera* wood (called *čelmo* in *Aka-Jeru*, *uj* in *Aka-Bea*). These plumes of shredded wood are now often worn or carried in an ordinary dance, but I believe that in former times they were the distinctive sign of a war-dance. To make them, a short length of the wood is taken (generally a piece of an old broken pig-arrow) and the wood is carefully shredded with a *Cyrena* shell, care being taken not to break any of the longitudinal fibres. One end is then tied with a piece of string or fibre. Similar plumes are made from *Pandanus* wood, and are carried or worn in a similar manner.

When the attacking party set out from their village each man wears a plume of shredded *Tetranthera* wood thrust into the back of his belt. They rub their bows with the shredded wood, [789] and say that this has the effect of making their own bows shoot well and those of their enemies shoot badly.

• 682 784 If a man kills another in a fight between two villages, or in a private quarrel, he leaves his village and goes to live by himself in the jungle, where he must stay for some weeks, or even months. His wife, and one or two of his friends may live with him or visit him and attend to his wants. For some weeks the homicide must observe a rigorous tabu. He must not handle a bow or arrow. He must not feed himself or touch any food with his hands, but must be fed by his wife or a friend. He must keep his neck and upper lip covered with red paint, and must wear plumes of shredded *Tetranthera* wood (*čelmo*) in his belt before and behind, and in his necklace at the back of his neck. If he breaks any of these rules it is supposed that the spirit of the man he has killed will cause him to be ill. At the end of a few weeks the homicide undergoes a sort of purification ceremony. [783] His hands are first rubbed with white clay (*tol-odu*) and then with red paint. After this he may wash his hands and may then feed himself with his hands and may handle bows and arrows. He retains the plumes of shredded wood for a year or so.

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AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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626 another's belongings, or to fight with their fists or sticks. The men hesitate to interfere, and the quarrel can only be stopped by some woman of influence.

The frequent occurrence of serious quarrels is prevented both by the influence of the older men and by the fear that everyone has of the possible vengeance of others should he in any way offend them.

183 There are a number of actions which, while they do not offend any particular person, are regarded as being anti-social.
626 One of these is laziness. Every man is expected to take his proper share in providing both himself and others with food. Should a man shirk this obligation, nothing would be said to him, unless he were a young unmarried man, and he would still be given food by others, but he would find himself occupying a position of inferiority in the camp, and would entirely lose the esteem of his fellows. Other qualities or actions that result in a similar loss of esteem are marital unfaithfulness, lack of respect to others and particularly to elders, meanness or niggardliness, and bad temper. One man was mentioned to me as being a bad man because he refused to take a wife after he had

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

her husband. In the event, however, of the widow of a chief being young and childless, she returns to the home of her maiden days, and is in a measure lost sight of, as she sinks to her former position.

9. It is believed by the people themselves that the system above described has prevailed among them from a remote period.

Covenants, Oaths, Ordeals.—1. No forms of covenant are to be traced in their dealings with one another, nor is there to be found among them anything of the nature of an oath or of an appeal to a higher power—as Heaven or the Sun—to punish breach of faith, or to bear witness to the truth.

2. They are in too primitive a state to possess any form of trial, or even to have any belief in the efficacy of an ordeal for discovering a guilty person; nor does it appear that any such practice existed in times past.

Laws.[1]—1. Justice, as I have already said, is administered by the simple method of allowing the aggrieved party to take the law into his own hands, which he usually does, either by flinging a burning faggot, or discharging an arrow, at, or more frequently *near*, the offender, while all who may be present lose no time in beating a retreat, and—taking with them as much of their property as their haste will allow—remain in concealment until sufficient time has elapsed for the settlement of the quarrel. When such an affair seems imminent, and likely to be serious, friends often interpose, seize the disputants, and remove their weapons, which are not restored so long as there appears any risk of their misusing them.

2. Should a man kill his opponent nothing is necessarily said or done to him, though it is permissible for a friend or relative of the deceased to avenge his death; in most cases, however, the murderer succeeds in striking such terror in the minds of the community that no one ventures to assail him or even to express any disapprobation of his conduct while he is within hearing: as conscience, however, makes cowards of us all, the homicide, from prudential motives, not unfrequently absents himself till he is assured that the grief and indignation of his victim's friends have considerably abated.

3. These remarks do not now-a-days apply, to the same extent, to those living near us, for the terror inspired by the punishments inflicted in all cases of murder brought to our notice has resulted in materially diminishing crimes of this nature among them. In May, 1880, an Andamanese youth was hanged

[1] As regards laws (!) relating to inheritance, information will be found in a subsequent paper, under the heading of "Property," paragraph 3.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AWI India
Andamans A22

mariners from massacre. Despite efforts at conciliation there was violence on both sides; attempts were made indeed to settle some of the more friendly groups in an 'Andamans Home' as fishers of trepang (sea-slug) and collectors of edible bird-nests, both for the Chinese market. But the only result was to civilise them out of existence, largely by venereal disease.[52] The Andamanese are—perhaps one should say were—Negritos, and as they represented perhaps the nearest approach to a 'pure primitive' society, both ethnically and culturally, these hunters and gatherers have attracted anthropological attention out of proportion to their numbers.[53]

Transportation of convicts to the Andamans began after the Mutiny. Latterly there was a change of emphasis, hopeless criminals being re-transported to India and the settlement becoming in effect an open prison for young men condemned to life sentences for more or less excusable homicide. After a few months in jail convicts were allowed to become wage-earning employees of Government, to wear ordinary dress, and to marry or bring out their wives. These changes were reflected in the sex composition of the population: 15,158 males to 2980 females in 1901, 14,872 to 6444 in 1941. The cultural landscape also changed: "Everywhere the ephemeral huts of former times are giving way to well-constructed two-storeyed houses of sawn timber and iron roofs," and a good deal of reclamation of malarial swamp took place around Port Blair. The communal composition of the population was an odd reflection of social conditions: in 1941 Muslims were about a third, largely Moplahs from Madras deported after their 1921 rebellion; Sikhs were 3·5% against an All-India total of 1·5%, Buddhists—i.e. Burmese—over 13%. This corresponds to the prevalence of dacoity in Burma and to the Sikh *penchant* for "liquor, love, and fights".

Practically all the economic development is in the Settlement of Port Blair, an area of about 500 sq mls in the S of South Andaman; here is 90% of the population, the remainder being in forest camps. About 75,000 ac. are more or less cleared, of which about 10–15,000 are cultivated and as much grazing land. Paddy and coconuts each account for about a third of the cultivation, and there are (or were) struggling plantations of rubber and coffee, negligible in area.

The war and the Japanese occupation saw a fall in population to about 16,000, and on re-occupation the penal settlement was formally abolished. From time to time schemes of Anglo-Indian agricultural settlement have been mooted, and in March 1948 a batch of 132 families displaced from E Bengal arrived. It may be noted that some Burmese politicians periodi-

[52] 1931 Census Vol. II (Andamans and Nicobars), 11–23.

[53] The classic treatments are those of Sir Richard Temple in the 1901 Census and of A. R. Brown in *The Andaman Islanders* (1922). There is unfortunately little geography in the latter book; what there is is largely summed up in L. Garrard's 'sociograph' in *Studies in Regional Consciousness and Environment* (ed. I. C. Peate, 1930), 82.

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

123 411 painted with red ochre. It was perhaps left there for drying. The Jarawa would surely have returned just for this bow!

It was a straight piece of wood tapering at both ends. The outer surface was convex and was painted red, while the inner one was straight and smooth, and showed criss-cross designs and indentations. We then went to look for a 123 spring and found it at some distance behind a steep rock but there was no [312] water then. It appeared that the Jarawa had left this camp some time ago.

We then left Spike Island and sailed for Yeratia Jig. Here an old kitchen [172] midden was known to be another Jarawa haunt. No Jarawa was found even there, however. The kitchen midden was a mound strewn all over with animal bones. Fragments of typical Andamanese pottery and a blue stone bead were discovered there.

648 In recent years the Jarawa raids have been rather more frequent. [721] GUPTA (1955) has given a list of them in his report on these people. It is believed that the primary cause of the restlessness of the Jarawa is the shortage of game and other food material [3]. On the other hand the tribe appears to have been sufficiently provoked by the punitive expeditions. All the Jarawa villages that the punitive party came upon were burnt down. In the encounter of March 1911 a woman was captured alive and nobody knows what happened to her afterwards. The pregnant woman captured along with four children in 1938 off Bluff Island later on gave birth to a boy (SARKAR, 1952, Pl. IX, fig. 3) at Port Blair but it was difficult to tame her. After her delivery she attempted to swim away and was rescued from the sea. She would spend hours climbing a cocoanut tree. Her whereabouts were unknown during the Japanese occupation of the Andaman Islands during the last war. The young children were sent to the Mission at Car Nicobar, where the present writer studied them in 1948. One of them had died before.

726 On the other hand the Jarawa raids, according to the then executive [714] Government officers, are also very brutal. Before they go out for a raid the [302] Jarawa cover their chests with bark armour and paint their faces with patterns of white clay. The bark armour is stitched securely on the body by other persons and can only be removed by cutting off the stitches. These people [727] are in the habit of mutilating their victims. They take out their brains, their eyes, and their bodies are hacked all over. – The type of arrow they use is [411] almost a spear, as may be seen from fig. 4. This arrow was obtained by the present writer from the forest department officers of Long Island in 1951. It was used injuring a bush police officer of the night picket unit at Lakera Lunta in January of that year. The police, in return, shot one Jarawa dead. 726 The male nurse of the Long Island Hospital took the following body measure- 141 ments of this dead man:

Height ... 5 feet 1 inch
Chest ... 36 inches

Fig. 4

[3] They have of late been reported from about the region of Bomlungta, Rangat Bay, etc. on the east coast of Middle Andaman. (The spelling "Ronga Bay" on the map is incorrect.)

11: Ciprian E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Queensland and (as the Cape Bedford type) elsewhere. Oars, method of fixing the booms and float – all are similar throughout the area, including the Andamans.

Even game, once caught, is treated and distributed similarly by these peoples, from the Andamans to Oceania. Cooking is done without salt, in earth ovens (whether or not fire or red-hot stones are used) very different from those of Africa and America. The Semang and Aetà of today know how to make fire by friction, as do the peoples of New Guinea, Australia and Polynesia; the Tasmans also have the knowledge to do so, but prefer to carry burning logs with them on their journeys, like the Andamanese. In certain parts of New Guinea and perhaps in some of the Pacific islands (as in the Andamans) the art of fire-making was unknown or possibly forgotten until recent times; it is said that the Papuans of the Bay of Astralobius knew nothing of the art until the middle of the nineteenth century. But the only sure information comes from the Andamans, where, whether through ignorance or loss of knowledge, the art of fire-making is unknown and fire is always carried everywhere.

Among the objects typical of the Andamans and found also among the Semang, the Aetà, and other Oceanic peoples are the digging stick and the crude hatchet. The former, used for gathering edible roots and tubers, is merely a pointed stick, but every family possesses one. The hatchet is slightly more elaborate, having both handle and blade, and like the digging stick, occurs always in virtually the same form.[1] Objects woven from vegetable fibres are also very similar in appearance – often very durable and sometimes pleasing by any standards. In some places woven breast-plates are used in warfare, but here the Jarawas differ, using single sheets of bark.

These are but a few of the many examples which one can find of this striking similarity between these widely separated peoples. And alongside cultural similarities there exist others, anthropological and physical, which cannot be overlooked. Physically the

[1] This is simply a cutting tool fixed into a natural elbow in a suitable branch. The blade is fixed into the wood near the elbow, and the branch is cut off, so as to leave a short handle. The whole thing is reminiscent of a swan's head on a long neck, and is easily turned into a crude plane or adze by revolving the blade in the haft through a right angle.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

621 628 women over their slain relatives that kept the feud alive, the men of the two parties being willing to make friends much more readily than the women.

An example of a long-continued feud, which, to all appearance, has been in existence for several centuries, is that between the *Aka-Bea* and the *Jarawa* of the South Andaman. The *Jarawa* have the advantage over the *Aka-Bea* that their camps are situated in the dense forest and are difficult to find, while the camps of the *Aka-Bea* are mostly along the sea-coast. At the present day the *Jarawa* take some precautions against being surprised in their camp by a hostile party. The camp is often placed on the top of a hill and the trees in the neighbourhood are cut down so that they have a good view. The paths leading to the camp are also cleared and made wider than is usual in a native path. At times it would seem that they keep sentries on the look-out.

The *Aka-Bea* and the *Jarawa* were inveterate enemies. Whenever two parties of them met by any chance, or came in the neighbourhood of one another, the larger party would attack the other. When the Settlement of Port Blair was established, friendly relations were set up with the *Aka-Bea*, and since that time the hostility of the *Jarawa* has been directed not only against the friendly Andamanese (*Aka-Bea*, etc.) but also against the inhabitants of the Settlement[1].

621 721 Such a thing as fighting on a large scale seems to have been unknown amongst the Andamanese. In the early days of the Penal Settlement of Port Blair, the natives of the South Andaman

[1] In the years 1872 to 1902 inclusive the *Jarawa* made eight attacks on camps of the friendly Andamanese in different places, in which two of the friendly Andamanese men and one girl were killed and three men and one boy were wounded. There were also one or two casual meetings between *Jarawa* and friendly Andamanese. One of the friendlies was surprised and killed while turtle hunting in 1894. During the same years the *Jarawa* made on different occasions about twenty attacks on parties of convicts or on separate individuals, killing altogether 27 convicts and two police constables, and wounding six other convicts. In these skirmishes and in the expeditions to which they gave rise three *Jarawa* were killed and seven wounded on various occasions, and several times *Jarawa* men, women or children were captured and afterwards released. A number of convicts have at different times run away from the Settlement and as some of those were never after heard of they may be supposed to have been killed by the *Jarawa*. For an official record of dealings with the *Jarawa* see the "Census Report" 1901, pp. 68—90.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

combined in large numbers to make an attack on the Settlement, but this seems to have been an unusual course of action in order to meet what was to them an altogether unusual contingency, their territory having been invaded by a large force of foreigners. Their only fights amongst themselves seem to have been the brief and far from bloody skirmishes described above, where only a handful of warriors were engaged on each side and rarely more than one or two were killed. Of such a thing as a war in which the whole of one tribe joined to fight with another tribe I could not find any evidence in what the natives were able to tell me of their former customs. 621 721

As showing within what narrow limits the different local groups held communication with one another, it may be mentioned that till the year 1875 the *Aka-Bea* natives of Port Blair did not know of the existence of the *Aka-Kol* tribe, less than fifty miles distant, nor of any of the tribes further north. As a general rule it may be said that no man knew anything of any of the natives living more than twenty miles from his own part of the country. 621

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

177 steamer to the more distant encampments by the officer in charge of the Homes[1] accompanied by males and females of the Southern tribes.[2] On these occasions dogs, iron, beads, and various other articles highly prized by the aborigines have been deposited in the huts from which the occupants had fled, or presented to such individuals as had courage to approach; stringent measures were at the same time taken to check the almost irresistible propensity of the *bō·jig-ngī·ji-* to appropriate all portable property in the temporarily vacated camping grounds.

177 In these trips Little Andaman has been also visited, but all
721 our efforts to conciliate the *jär·awa-* (or inhabitants of that island) with their offshoot in South Andaman have hitherto proved fruitless. This may in part be due to the summary punishment[3] we have been compelled on two occasions to inflict for cruel murders perpetrated on inoffensive mariners; but it may also be attributable to the exclusiveness and hostility which appear as tribal peculiarities, and which are directed alike against their fellow savages and ourselves, as has been demonstrated by the terror with which they have in recent years inspired the South Andamanese, and in bygone years the Car-Nicobarese,[4] on whom they were formerly in the habit of making raids for purposes of plunder. For a long time now, however, they have desisted from these predatory expeditions, and have confined themselves[5] to the islands and localities which are regarded as their territory; but still, cases have occurred from time to time which keep alive the unpleasant conviction that any unfortunates who might be wrecked, or should venture to land on their coasts without sufficient means of self-defence, would be as mercilessly massacred now as at any date in their history.

177 The various measures already detailed as having been taken in order to benefit the aborigines have convinced all who have come within their influence of our friendly intentions; even the distant communities of Great Andaman are now becoming as well known and as favourably disposed towards us as are our

[1] An account of one of these visits will be found in the form of a private letter which was published in "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. vii.

[2] Experience has taught us that one of the most effective means of inspiring confidence when endeavouring to make acquaintance with these savages, is to show that we are accompanied by women, as they at once infer that whatever may be our intentions, they are at least not hostile.

[3] A further possible cause of the continued disinclination of the *jär·awa-* to accept our advances is believed to be due to one or more runaway convicts, who may have succeeded in settling in their midst, and who in order to lessen their own chances of recapture and punishment, have given unfavourable accounts of us.

[4] How the *jär·awa-* came to discover the distant low-lying island of Car-Nicobar is not known, but it is probably traceable to some trifling circumstance, such as the accidental drifting of a boat far out to sea.

[5] *Vide* Part I, "Tribal Distribution," p. 30, and "Communications," p. 45.

APPENDIX B.

JARAWA RAIDS ON THE SETTLEMENT.

177
721

1872. Convicts robbed of tools and clothes between Aberdeen and McPherson's Strait.
1875. Four convicts killed on Kyd Island. [One convict killed and 2 captured (all runaways) at Lekerajoinga by the Beas for stealing their canoe.]
1878. Attack on Brigade Creek Andamanese Home: 1 man killed.
1880. Camp of friendly Andamanese attacked at Port Campbell.
1882. Andamanese skirmish with Jarawas at Goplakabang, but friendly signs at Kalatang.
1883. Five convicts killed at Ranguchang: 1 Jarawa woman captured.
1884. A Police Constable wounded at Maiilitilek: 1 Jarawa killed, 2 captured (1 wounded). Birds'-nest boat attacked at Ranguchang: 4 Jarawa women, 1 man (Habiyo) captured and released. Jarawa huts found in the Jarawa Khari Valley.
1885. Two convicts murdered at Ograbaraij: 2 Jarawa women captured and released.
1887. Andamanese camp at Chaual (N.-W. corner of South Andaman) attacked, 1 boy wounded.
1888. One convict killed and 1 escaped at Tusonabad and 1 killed at Mattra: 1 runaway killed: convict boat attacked at Tytler's Ghat in Port Mouat.
1889. Andamanese camp at Port Mouat attacked, 1 man wounded.
1890. Andamanese camp at Port Campbell attacked, 1 man wounded. One Jarawa child captured. Andamanese attacked at Motkunu in the Middle Strait. Three convicts attacked at Cadellganj, 1 killed, 1 wounded. Two Jarawas killed at Talalunta.
1891. One convict at Bindraban wounded.
1892. Andamanese camp at Bajajag attacked: 1 girl killed.
1893. Andamanese camp near Homfray's Strait attacked: 1 man killed, 1 wounded.
1894. An Andamanese, turtle hunting, was killed at Port Mouat.
1895. Two convicts killed at Cadellganj. Two Rutland Island Jarawas captured and released.
1896. One Jarawa wounded by an Andamanese at Bluff Island (Port Anson). Attack on Andamanese Camp at Goplakabang. Jarawa communal hut discovered at Constance Bay.
1897. One convict killed at the Tarachang Home. Jarawa village found on Torabi Hill, Port Campbell: 3 Jarawas and 1 woman wounded. Three convicts at Cadellganj killed.
1898. Ration boat in Shoal Bay attacked at Jirkatang: 1 convict and 1 police constable wounded.
1899. Jirkatang temporary convict barrack attacked: 2 convicts wounded: 1 Jarawa wounded: 1 friendly Andamanese wounded.
1901. Three convicts killed: 2 wounded at Cadellganj and Jatang.
1902. Two convicts killed at Jatang: 1 Jarawa child captured at Talalunta and 2 women, 2 children and 2 boys captured at Wibtang, Mr. Vaux killed at Wibtang.

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

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11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

type of canoe is the only craft seen. I saw some hauled up on the beach, identical with the ones I had seen the Onges building, even to the *Nautilus* shell as a baler. In face of this and other evidence there can be little doubt that the people of North Sentinel are descended from the Onges, possibly driven off course by some storm, and then isolated on the island.

The Arioto, copying Indian and Burmese craft, have in recent times come to modify the original canoe somewhat, deepening the gunwales and doing away with the float. The result is a craft which though it remains small is unlikely to fill with water in heavy seas. But even the Arioto prefer the single outrigger canoe for sea voyages.

The only real seafarers, however, are the Onges, who make regular hunting trips as far as Rutland. In the past they sometimes made devastating raids as far as Car, but these have died out over the past hundred years as their numbers have dwindled. There is certainly no doubt that at one time the Onges undertook considerable sea voyages in canoes the same as they build today.

The work involved in the building of these canoes is, as I have said, enormous. The preparatory work on the tree, and then the felling, are hard enough without proper equipment. I gave my Onge friends some long-handled wood-cutter's axes, to help in this part of the work. In their enthusiasm they chopped so hard they soon broke the handles and chipped some of the tempered blades, so that I had to take them to Port Blair for repair! But the real work begins with the working of the felled trunk. Then a small and very crude form of hatchet[1] has to be used, flaking off small strips like a plane; fire is never used to assist in the process. Fortunately the *Sterculia* wood usually chosen is soft.

The original shape is not touched after the required length, calculated so as to allow for the harpoon-thrower's platform at each end, has been cut. The irregularities of the trunk are left intact, so that the canoes look distorted and even ugly despite their seaworthiness. During the preliminary stage of stripping the bark great care is taken not to chip the outer ring of wood immediately below the bark; this is smooth and fine-grained, and more waterproof than the inner layers. One danger is that as the wood dries

[1] The blades used to be made from *Tridacna* shell, but in more recent times they have come to be made of iron from wrecked ships cast up on the beaches.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

5. When a man wishes to address a married woman who is younger than himself he may not venture to do so directly, but must find some third person to be the medium of his communication; it is also not *selon les règles* for a man to *touch* his younger brother's (or cousin's) wife, or his wife's sister; and women are restricted in the same way as regards their husband's elder brother (or male cousin) or his brother-in-law. 576

6. All titles such as *mai·a*, *mai·ola*, and *chān·a* cease to be applied after death; and inquiries ignorantly made after one who has recently died are replied to in a subdued tone, thus: *wai edā·re* (he or she "was") or *wai ōkolī·re* (he or she "is dead"). As little allusion as possible is ever made to deceased persons, especially for the first year or so after their death, during which period they are indicated only by reference to the tree or place where their remains are, or were, deposited; after a while the word *lach·i*, answering to "the late," is prefixed to their defunct countrymen's (and women's) names.[1]

Warfare.—1. Reference has already been made to their want of true courage or daring, and it has been stated that the Andamanese seldom, if ever, venture to make an attack unless satisfied of their superiority over their foes;[2] it will, therefore, be hardly necessary to enlarge upon their mode of carrying on hostilities, or to say that they are ignorant of the most elementary rules of warfare. 726

2. Should a dispute arise between members of different communities in the course of a visit or *jeg-*[3] the affair often grows in importance and becomes a tribal question, which may not be settled without more or less serious consequences; those wounded on such occasions generally fare badly unless speedily removed, as they stand great risk of being shot dead or receiving the *coup de grâce* in some other form; they are not, however, in the habit of mutilating the bodies of their victims, save in exceptional cases, where there has been very grave aggravation.

3. The assailants generally approach stealthily upon their enemies, and, though availing themselves of every advantage afforded by the density of the jungle, do not take further precautions or devise stratagems whereby to conceal their trail as they proceed on their way. They wear no breastplate,[4] nor do

[1] Ex.: "múnshí" *.bi·ela* (*vide* Plate II, fig. 2), whose corpse was *placed* on a machán beside a tree called *yel-*, was spoken of as *yel lá·kà-táng len teg·i yá·te-* (he who is by the *yel-* tree); had he been *buried* he would have been referred to as *yel lá·kà-táng len bū·guk yá·te-*.

[2] *Vide ante* "Psychology and Morals," paragraph 2.

[3] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraphs 22-37.

[4] The *jār·awa-* have been found to wear a wide belt of bark as a protection in hostile encounters.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

726 they use shields,[1] and the idea of throwing up earth-banks, or constructing any species of defence for the better protection of their numerous encampments, does not seem to have occurred to them.[2]

4. Night attacks have been made now and again, but the favourite time is the break of day, when the unsuspecting enemy are sound asleep; or at a late hour when they are likely to be engaged in the preparation or consumption of their evening meal.

727 5. Women and children incur a like risk with men on these occasions, but it would not be considered a matter for boasting should any of them fall victims in the strife, while a child which might be captured uninjured would meet with kindly treatment, in the hope of his (or her) being induced ultimately to become a member of the captor's tribe.

6. The property of the vanquished is of course treated with little ceremony: everything portable is appropriated, and all else is injured or destroyed.

224 7. No confirmatory evidence is required to prove the truth of a statement declaring a man to have slain one or more foes, but if, in hunting, he should kill at a distance from home an animal too heavy for him to carry back unassisted, he would cut off the tail or some other portion which would afford ocular demonstration of its size, and serve as an inducement to his friends to assist him in bringing in the carcass.

Hunting and Fishing.—1. As I stated in an earlier section, the Andamanese are, for the most part, keen huntsmen, and their eagerness in the chase is one of the chief hindrances in the way of their becoming agriculturists, for a great portion of their time being thus spent, the sites of their temporary (as of their permanent) encampments are to a great extent determined by the advantages which they offer for the pursuit of their favourite pastime.

2. There do not appear to be any omens or superstitions in this connection, nor are there special ceremonies observed previous to the start or on the return of the party, save the somewhat peculiar custom, to which I have elsewhere alluded, of maintaining a glum silence for some time at the close of the day's sport.[3]

[1] Their sounding or stamping boards (*pū·kuta-vem·ŋga-*), used in their dances, have, in consequence of their resemblance to shields, been mistaken by more than one visitor as such.

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726 **Fighting Capacity.**—The Andamanese are bad fighters and never attack unless certain of success. During hostilities they never take any precautions as to their own safety by sentries, works, armour, or ruses of any kind, nor in the attack beyond taking advantage of cover. The only ideas of protection yet met with are among the Jarawas, who use trunk-armour consisting of a wide belt of bark and well devised sentry stations on the paths round their permanent communal huts.

619 **The Hostile Tribe of Jarawas.**—The Jarawas and some Onges kill every stranger at sight, but the Jarawas only are in these days entirely hostile, and on the whole the Onges are friendly, the friendliness dating from the capture and subsequent judicious treatment of 24 men, women and children on the Cinque Islands in January 1883. The only positively dangerous people are thus the Jarawas, and this is to be accounted for in this way. The ancient (as proved by old separate kitchen-middens) incursion from the Little Andaman through Rutland Island of that section of the Onge tribe, which is now known as the Jarawas, into the South Andaman set up an implacable tribal hostility between them and the Bea, its other occupants, which has been extended to the foreign settlers in Port Blair, and has nowadays become an undying distrust of all strangers and an hereditary hostility towards them.

But Colebrooke, reporting in 1790, gives a vocabulary of a people, now identified with the Onge-Jarawa tribe by its speech, and as theories have been built up on this fact, it is as well to see carefully when and where Colebrooke met the natives and who they were.

175 **Colebrooke's Knowledge of them (1789).**—Colebrooke left Diamond Island (Cape Negrais) on December 20th, 1789, and reached Port Cornwallis (now Port Blair) on December 23rd. On the 24th he went up the harbour and saw some natives (Jarawa Tribe) on Dundas Point. On the 26th he went up the harbour with Commodore Cornwallis (brother of the Governor-General), accompanied by a native who had been wounded in a skirmish with his tribe, found to be very hostile by the people of the snow *Viper*, and was kept on board the *Ranger*, Cornwallis's ship. He is described as "very cheerful and quite reconciled to his captivity." They went up the Bumlitan Creek as far as Bumlitan and met another native (Jarawa) who ran away. They dined (lunched) on "Mount Pleasant," a hill on the harbour near Viper Island, and met another Jarawa who exchanged his bow and arrows for a knife. On the 27th the wounded native, who had been on the *Ranger* three weeks, was put ashore by the Commodore, who uniformly treated the savages with extreme consideration. On the 28th they met the Jarawa on Dundas Point whom they had seen before, with a woman and a girl and found him again friendly. On the 29th there was trouble with the Bea Tribe at Phœnix Bay and with the Jarawas at Ariel Creek.

Colebrooke then went to the Nicobars and returned to Port Blair on February 20th, 1790, starting up north on 21st February. On the 23rd March at Port Meadows he saw some of the Bea Tribe leaving Entrance Island and saw some more hostile Beas, whom the party frightened off, coming from the North. On the 26th he went to the Archipelago, and met some hostile Balawas. On the 27th he went into Colebrooke Passage and saw some Bojigyab huts and some more of the tribe, who ran away in Elphinstone Harbour on the 29th. On the 30th they met some hostile Kols in the east entrance to Homfray's Strait and some more on the 31st off the north end of Long Island. On the 3rd and 4th April they found the Yere Tribe in Stewart Sound extremely hostile. On the 6th Blair himself met some Koras at the foot of Saddle Peak, who ran away. On the 7th Blair discovered the present Port Cornwallis and Colebrooke left for India.

It is clear from this that the only native from whom Colebrooke could have procured his *Vocabulary* was the wounded man on the *Ranger* and that man, as the *Vocabulary* shows, was a Jarawa. The tribes of all sorts—Jarawa, Bea, Bojigyab, Balawa, Kol, Yere, Kora, whom Colebrooke met, except in the case of one Jarawa and his family, exhibited either extreme fear or hostility.

175 101 **Explanation of the name Mincopie for the Andamanese.**—The first word in Colebrooke's *Vocabulary*, the first ever made of any Andaman tongue, is Mincopie for "Andaman Island or native country," whence Mincopie has

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

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[312] water then. It appeared that the Jarawa had left this camp some time ago.

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648 In recent years the Jarawa raids have been rather more frequent.
[721] GUPTA (1955) has given a list of them in his report on these people. It is believed that the primary cause of the restlessness of the Jarawa is the shortage of game and other food material [3]. On the other hand the tribe appears to have been sufficiently provoked by the punitive expeditions. All the Jarawa villages that the punitive party came upon were burnt down. In the encounter of March 1911 a woman was captured alive and nobody knows what happened to her afterwards. The pregnant woman captured along with four children in 1938 off Bluff Island later on gave birth to a boy (SARKAR, 1952, PL IX, fig. 3) at Port Blair but it was difficult to tame her. After her delivery she attempted to swim away and was rescued from the sea. She would spend hours climbing a cocoanut tree. Her whereabouts were unknown during the Japanese occupation of the Andaman Islands during the last war. The young children were sent to the Mission at Car Nicobar, where the present writer studied them in 1948. One of them had died before.

726 On the other hand the Jarawa raids, according to the then executive
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[302] Jarawa cover their chests with bark armour and paint their faces with patterns of white clay. The bark armour is stitched securely on the body by other persons and can only be removed by cutting off the stitches. These people
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726 The male nurse of the Long Island Hospital took the following body measure-
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Fig. 4

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9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

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Right arm ... 2 feet 4 inches
Right index finger ... 4 inches
Right toe ... 2 inches
Length of right leg ... 2 feet 11 inches
Length of right foot ... 9 ½ inches

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The iron blade of the arrowhead is 17 cm long and 4.9 cm broad at the base. It is mounted on a wooden shaft 86.7 cm long. The barb at the base consists of an ordinary iron nail which is bent at its sharp end and fixed with bark threads impregnated with resin. It must have been obtained from a forest camp during some raid.

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According to GUPTA (1955) the above mentioned incident was not a premeditated raid. He thinks – after a careful inquiry into the above incident – that the Jarawa "came out in the open, early in the morning and walked right into the camp and did not attempt to shoot, [which] would warrant a presumption that they meant a friendly visit".

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Since the last few years the Andaman Government has not encouraged any punitive expedition among the Jarawa. This is also evident from one of the Senior Officer's opinion quoted above. The forest workers, on the other hand, still have to face the Jarawa. They think that since no punitive action is taken against them they are gradually getting bolder. It is reported that the Jarawa beat the trunks of trees within their hearing. Consequently all these buttress beatings are immediately reported to the higher authorities and armed guards protecting the forest workers are alerted. If that is the case then the Jarawa do not attack without a warning! But who knows what they really mean? Do they want to communicate with us? Or is it a means of communication among themselves?

The Jarawa Problem

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It has already been hinted at the problem of taming the Jarawa. It was one of the special aims of the Government of India to arrange a substation of its Department of Anthropology. As a result of this the present writer visited the Andaman Islands twice and was of the opinion that the substation of the Department of Anthropology should be stationed at Long Island and not at Port Blair. There were no express plans but to carry out anthropological studies of the aborigines of the various islands. It has not yet been possible to census the friendly Onge properly (SARKAR, 1960).

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The primary desideratum appears to be a knowledge of the native language. As far as the present writer knows, there is no one in the various Government departments who is acquainted with the Andamanese language, not to mention the other languages spoken on the varius islands. The Onge

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[4] A Jarawa vocabulary was collected from the captive pregnant Jarawa woman by Mrs. CHENGAPPA and Mrs. CHAUDHURI, and it has been published by the Andaman Government.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

726 they use shields,[1] and the idea of throwing up earth-banks, or constructing any species of defence for the better protection of their numerous encampments, does not seem to have occurred to them.[2]

4. Night attacks have been made now and again, but the favourite time is the break of day, when the unsuspecting enemy are sound asleep; or at a late hour when they are likely to be engaged in the preparation or consumption of their evening meal.

727 5. Women and children incur a like risk with men on these occasions, but it would not be considered a matter for boasting should any of them fall victims in the strife, while a child which might be captured uninjured would meet with kindly treatment, in the hope of his (or her) being induced ultimately to become a member of the captor's tribe.

6. The property of the vanquished is of course treated with little ceremony: everything portable is appropriated, and all else is injured or destroyed.

224 7. No confirmatory evidence is required to prove the truth of a statement declaring a man to have slain one or more foes, but if, in hunting, he should kill at a distance from home an animal too heavy for him to carry back unassisted, he would cut off the tail or some other portion which would afford ocular demonstration of its size, and serve as an inducement to his friends to assist him in bringing in the carcass.

Hunting and Fishing.—1. As I stated in an earlier section, the Andamanese are, for the most part, keen huntsmen, and their eagerness in the chase is one of the chief hindrances in the way of their becoming agriculturists, for a great portion of their time being thus spent, the sites of their temporary (as of their permanent) encampments are to a great extent determined by the advantages which they offer for the pursuit of their favourite pastime.

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6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

364 spot for centuries leads to the formation of kitchen-middens [1]. In the tempo-
[367] rary camps something similar happens: the only difference consists in the fact that rubbish dumps only accumulate at the back of the temporary shelters, as a consequence of their peculiar shape that I shall not describe here. These
[136] dumps are heaven-sent love nests for insects of many species, mostly flies of a metallic green colour. They follow the Onge from camp to camp and thrive on scraps from human meals. When travelling in Little Andaman I was unmistakably warned of the nearby presence of Onge camps by the appearance of those familiar living beings.

136 The filth that coats the floors of communal Onge huts offers an ideal
[356] breeding ground also for myriads of fleas. Dogs spread them all over Little Andaman. Owing to the fact that the communal huts are deserted for months at a time during the dry season, the fleas become hungry and assault human
123 beings vehemently whenever possible. When visiting empty communal huts I myself, and the persons with me, were plagued by such assaults. Fleas advanced suddenly from feet to head in thick, shimmering brown layers, covering first our legs. We were obliged to strip and douse ourselves with insect-repellents.
136 As for other parasites, including ticks and mosquitos, equally plentiful in Little
[825] Andaman, the Onge do not appear to be inconvenienced by them.

764 The communal huts are used for another purpose as well, unhygienic but of high ethnological interest: the interment of human corpses. When they die, the inmates are buried beneath their beds. In other words, communal huts are also cemeteries. Many human skeletons are found by digging under the beds. Until 1952 this fact was unknown about the Andaman Islanders although it is encountered in all Onge communal huts without exception. An analysis of
775 this custom led to further discoveries: the Onge wish to compel the spirit of a deceased person to remain close to the living as a protection, so they offer it the communal hut for an abode, the idea being that a spirit cannot wander far from the bones of its former body. A series of Onge practices point to this
[727] belief: felled enemies must be burned and reduced to ashes in order to render them harmless. Their hostile souls, according to the Onge, rise toward the sky in smoke as the bones are consumed. For the same reason, bones of relatives
[301] are fashioned into necklaces. The most conspicuous of these is the *ibidanghe*,
[765] worn generally by women and young girls, which is made from a decorated human jawbone. The aim is to obtain the assistance of the departed relation
[751] in fighting illness and bad luck. Direction in hunting, fishing and even quar-
[777] relling is supposed to come from the dead kept close to the living. We can trace this belief on the connection between bones and souls to a remote origin:
[171] Southern Asia megaliths had, in my opinion, no other cause for offering shelter to spirits and promoting useful relations between the living and the dead. I reached this conclusion after studying the contemporary habits of Travancore mountain and other Indian tribes, particularly the Munda. In Nias we find traces of the same customs as among different peoples of Indonesia and Oceania, who

[1] I discussed this at the two international anthropological congresses of 1952 (Vienna) and 1956 (Philadelphia), and have more to say on the subject in my book about the Onge.

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

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1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE XIX

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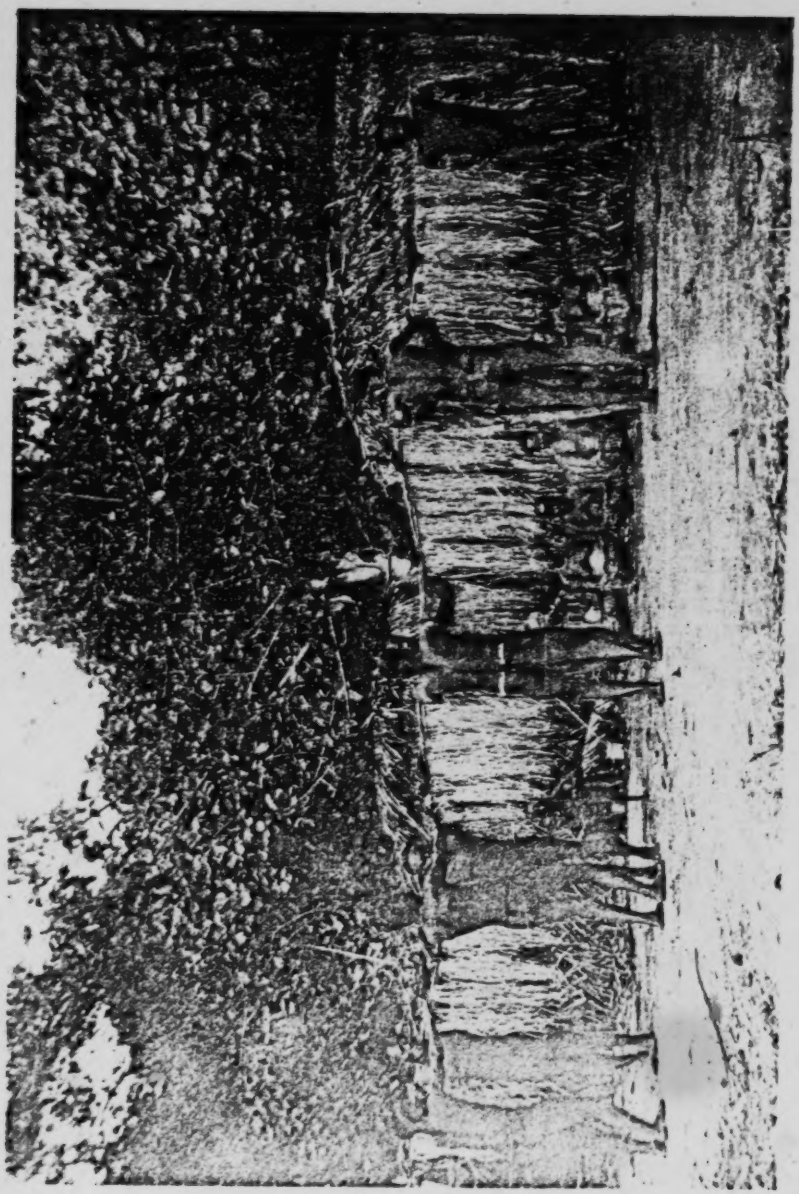

The peace-making dance of the North Andaman

[facing p. 134]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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In the North Andaman, and possibly in the South also, there was a ceremony by which two hostile local groups made peace with one another. When the two groups have agreed to make friends and bring their quarrel to an end, arrangements are made for this ceremony. The arrangements are made through the women of the two parties. A day is fixed for the ceremony, which takes place in the country of the group that made the last attack. In the village of this group the dancing ground is prepared, and across it is erected what is called a *koro-čop*. Posts are put up in a line, to the tops of these is attached a length of strong cane, and from the cane are suspended bundles of shredded palm-leaf (*koro*). The appearance of this construction may be seen from the photograph reproduced in Plate XIX. The women of the camp keep a look-out for the approach of the visitors. When they are known to be near the camp, the women sit down on one side of the dancing ground, and the men take up positions in front of the decorated cane. Each man stands with his back against the *koro-čop*, with his arms stretched out sideways along the top of it. None of them has any weapons.

The visitors, who are, if we may so put it, the forgiving party, while the home party are those who have committed the last act of hostility, advance into the camp dancing, the step being that of the ordinary dance. The women of the home party mark the time of the dance by clapping their hands on their thighs. I was told that the visitors carry their weapons with them, but when the dance was performed at my request the dancers were without weapons. The visitors dance forward in front of the men standing at the *koro-čop*, and then, still dancing all the time, pass backwards and forwards between the standing men, bending their heads as they pass beneath the suspended cane. The dancers make threatening gestures at the men standing at the *koro-čop*, and every now and then break into a shrill shout. The men at the *koro* stand silent and motionless, and are expected to show no sign of fear.

After they have been dancing thus for a little time, the leader of the dancers approaches the man at one end of the *koro* and, taking him by the shoulders from the front, leaps vigorously

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

621 up and down to the time of the dance, thus giving the man
he holds a good shaking. The leader then passes on to the next
535 man in the row while another of the dancers goes through
●728 the same performance with the first man. This is continued
until each of the dancers has "shaken" each of the standing
men. The dancers then pass under the *koro* and shake their
enemies in the same manner from the back. After a little
more dancing the dancers retire, and the women of the visiting
group come forward and dance in much the same way that
the men have done, each woman giving each of the men of
the other group a good shaking.

When the women have been through their dance the two parties of men and women sit down and weep together.

The two groups remain camped together for a few days,
spending the time in hunting and dancing together. Presents
[431] are exchanged, as at the ordinary meetings of different groups.
The men of the two groups exchange bows with one another.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

X 182
431

present offered, for to do so would be equivalent to rejecting the good-will it represents. At marriage the giving is one-sided, no return being expected, for it is an expression not of personal friendship on the part of the givers, but of the general social good-will and approval. It is for this reason that it is the duty of everybody who is present to make some gift to the newly-married pair.

X 182
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In another simple ceremony, the peace-making ceremony of the North Andaman[1], the meaning is again easily discovered; the symbolism of the dance being indeed at once obvious to a witness, though perhaps not quite so obvious from the description given. The dancers are divided into two parties. The actions of the one party throughout are expressions of their aggressive feelings towards the other. This is clear enough in the shouting, the threatening gestures, and the way in which each member of the "attacking" party gives a good shaking to each member of the other party. On the other side what is expressed may be described as complete passivity; the performers stand quite still throughout the whole dance, taking care to show neither fear nor resentment at the treatment to which they have to submit. Thus those of the one side give collective expression to their collective anger, which is thereby appeased. The others, by passively submitting to this, humbling themselves before the just wrath of their enemies, expiate their wrongs. Anger appeased dies down; wrongs expiated are forgiven and forgotten; the enmity is at an end.

The screen of fibre against which the passive participants in the ceremony stand has a peculiar symbolic meaning that will be explained later in the chapter. The only other elements of the ceremony are the weeping together, which will be dealt with very soon, and the exchange of weapons, which is simply a special form of the rite of exchanging presents as an expression of good-will. The special form is particularly appropriate as it would seem to ensure at least some months of friendship, for you cannot go out to fight a man with his weapons while he has yours.

The purpose of the ceremony is clearly to produce a change

[1] Page 134.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

in the feelings of the two parties towards one another, feelings of enmity being replaced through it by feelings of friendship and solidarity. It depends for its effect on the fact that anger and similar aggressive feelings may be appeased by being freely expressed. Its social function is to restore the condition of solidarity between two local groups that has been destroyed by some act of offence. 182x 728

The marriage ceremony and the peace-making dance both afford examples of the custom which the Andamanese have of weeping together under certain circumstances. The principal occasions of this ceremonial weeping are as follows: (1) when two friends or relatives meet after having been for some time parted, they embrace each other and weep together; (2) at the peace-making ceremony the two parties of former enemies weep together, embracing each other; (3) at the end of the period of mourning the friends of the mourners (who have not themselves been mourning) weep with the latter; (4) after a death the relatives and friends embrace the corpse and weep over it; (5) when the bones of a dead man or woman are recovered from the grave they are wept over; (6) on the occasion of a marriage the relatives of each weep over the bride and bridegroom; (7) at various stages of the initiation ceremonies the female relatives of a youth or girl weep over him or her. 182x 728 201

First of all it is necessary to note that not in any of the above-mentioned instances is the weeping simply a spontaneous expression of feeling. It is always a rite the proper performance of which is demanded by custom. (As mentioned in an earlier chapter, the Andamanese are able to sit down and shed tears at will.) Nor can we explain the weeping as being an expression of sorrow. It is true that some of the occasions are such as to produce sorrowful feelings (4 and 5, for example), but there are others on which there would seem to be no reason for sorrow but rather for joy. The Andamanese do weep from sorrow and spontaneously. A child cries when he is scolded or hurt; a widow weeps thinking of her recently dead husband. Men rarely weep spontaneously for any reason, though they shed tears abundantly when taking part in the rite. The weeping on the occasions enumerated is therefore not a spontaneous expression 182x 201

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

X 182 201 taneously expressing one and the same emotion[1]. The little ceremony thus serves to dispel the initial feeling of shyness and to reinstate the condition of intimacy and affection that existed before the separation.

X 182 201 728 In the peace-making ceremony the purpose of the whole rite is to abolish a condition of enmity and replace it by one of friendship. The once friendly relations between the two groups have been interrupted by a longer or shorter period of antagonism. We have seen that the effect of the dance is to dispel the wrath of the one group by giving it free expression. The weeping that follows is the renewal of the friendship. The rite is here exactly parallel to that on the meeting of two friends, except that not two individuals but two groups are concerned, and that owing to the number of persons involved the emotional condition is one of much greater intensity[2]. Here therefore also we see that the rite is an affirmation of solidarity or social union, in this instance between the groups, and that the rule is in its nature such as to make the participants feel that they are bound to each other by ties of friendship.

X 182 765 201 We now come to a more difficult example of the rite, that at the end of mourning. It will be shown later in the chapter that during the period of mourning the mourners are cut off from the ordinary life of the community. By reason of the ties that still bind them to the dead person they are placed, as it were, outside the society and the bonds that unite them to their group are temporarily loosened. At the end of the mourning period they re-enter the society and take up once more their place in the social life. Their return to the community is the occasion on which they and their friends weep together. In this instance also, therefore, the rite may be explained as having for its purpose the renewal of the social relations that have been interrupted. This explanation will seem more convincing when we have considered in detail the customs of mourning. If it be accepted, then it

[1] Active sympathy, the habitual sharing of joyful and painful emotions, is of the utmost importance in the formation of sentiments of personal attachment.

[2] It is a commonplace of psychology that a collective emotion, i.e. one felt and expressed at the same moment by a number of persons, is felt much more intensely than an unshared emotion of the same kind.

To truly primitive peoples like the Onges, European medical practices are fascinating. Men and women will refuse literally nothing once they are convinced of our intention to do them good and cure their ills. Although they have a rudimentary form of medicine, they recognize the superiority of European methods, and medical aid has therefore become our most powerful means of making contact with uncivilized peoples.

While I was busy trying to alleviate their ailments I became aware of the power which 'medicine' has over them, and I was also able to observe their own methods of dealing with their ills. Understandably, disease, death and birth are all attributed to particular supernatural beings, or to the spirits of the dead. They try not to offend these beings, but strive nevertheless, in their own way, at least to cure disease. Once primitive peoples see our methods they respect them, and are eager to be treated; strange though it all seems, they develop a blind faith in the omnipotence of the new ways.

There is little actual disease among the Onges and they have equally few vices. They are still unaware of the existence of alcohol, and have not learned how to ferment sugar substances, such as the honey in which the Little Andaman abounds. Tobacco is a recent introduction, and the Onges at once became wildly addicted to it; the tobacco leaves I had taken with me were in fact my best means of making my way peacefully into the island. A few Onges have acquired a supply of opium from Burmese and Chinese smugglers along the north coast, but instead of smoking it they seem to limit themselves to chewing it mixed with tobacco, and have fortunately no means of replenishing their stock.

Polio, tuberculosis, smallpox and cancer seem unknown, but for some unknown reason the islands have on a number of occasions been struck by disastrous epidemics of measles. These epidemics struck nearly every member of some of the communal huts, judging from survivors' reports, and the sites were afterwards abandoned, leaving the huts to be destroyed by termites.

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352 The beds are supported on four convenient branches forked at the top, on which the four poles forming the bed frame rest. The size of the frame varies between 1·55 × 0·65 metres and 1·15 × 0·43 metres, and on this small platform the entire family sleeps huddled 513 together. The human members of the family lie longwise, all with their heads on the same log set as a head-rest (unless they are lucky enough to find a suitable giant bamboo washed up on the beach). Very occasionally a rush mat about half a metre square is laid on the platform, but usually the family just lies on bare canes packed tightly together on the frame parallel with the long side.

342 The hut at Tambe-e-buiè, its 1951 edition delayed till 1952 by 352 the earthquake the previous year when part of the coast dropped, 184 was rather larger than Toqué-è-bùie. In 1953 it was rebuilt twenty [173] metres or so further back from the sea, but exactly as before. It has twelve beds, including two on the high platforms for the adolescents, one of which has two tiers, on the principle of our bunks. I saw this type of thing on a number of occasions and on one occasion I saw one being built out in the open, with the top platform three metres from the ground. All the beds at Tambe-e-buiè are rather higher than at Toqué-è-bùie (but not as high as Beniaboì) and were all arranged radially; the platform on which meat was kept was two metres off the ground.

342 An unusual feature of Tambe-e-buiè, which had a diameter of 184 13·55 metres and a maximum height of 4·5 metres, was a series of six vertical poles set in a straight line to support the main transverse beam, one of which could be regarded as a centre pole. The pole on each side of the centre formed part of the innermost circle of supporting poles; there were two more circles, all supporting rings of canes. Unusually, only one of the rings of canes supporting the roof did not rest on vertical poles. The outer ring was only 0·4 metres high and the edge of the roof almost touched the ground, although one could still brush the fronds apart and crawl out. The roof mats were rectangular, very well made, and larger than at Toqué-è-bùie; some were three and a half metres by three metres or more, laid over seven or ten split reeds, instead of the usual four or five.

312 No permanent hut, or even a temporary shelter, is ever built far [361] from water supplies adequate for the number of people in the group. If there is none visible, the Onges know how to dig for it,

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

142 Dr. Dobson, in noticing a marked case of this kind, drew attention to the fact of its differing from steatopyga, thereby distinguishing them in this respect from Hottentots.

2. Albinism and polydactylism are unknown, and only one case of erythrism, and that of a faint type, has been observed, or is known to the natives of our acquaintance.[1]

3. No instance appears of obliquity of vision, of cleft palate, absence of teeth, or of supernumerary teeth, and only one of prognathism[2] and hare-lip respectively. Cases of "Darwin's point" in the ear are constantly met with.

158 **Pathology.**—1. No idiots, maniacs, or lunatics have ever yet been observed among them, and this is not because those so [157] afflicted are killed or confined by their fellows, for the greatest care and attention are invariably paid to the sick, aged, and •732 helpless. Two or three cases of hunchback and lateral curvature of the spine have come under notice, but instances of the kind are evidently very rare.

164 2. It has often been observed, that though the Andamanese waste away very rapidly in sickness, they regain flesh with equal facility when convalescent; but, nevertheless, they possess so little vital power, that they readily succumb to diseases against which others usually struggle successfully:[3] indeed, they appear to suffer as much, if not more, than individuals of alien races from the febrile disorders—mainly attributable to malaria, so prevalent throughout these islands—which frequently lay the foundation of chest complaints, from which they rarely recover.

3. Pulmonary consumption and other forms of pectoral disease are among the chief causes of mortality among these tribes.[4] These disorders do not appear to be confined to, or to be more prevalent in, certain districts, but there is little doubt that they have been most frequent amongst those living in the homes provided for their benefit in and near our settlements in South Andaman.[5]

[1] In no other particular does this case appear to differ from the rest.

[2] As Professor Owen, F.R.S., truly remarks, "their prognathism is not more than is found in most of the Southern Asiatic peoples, and, indeed, in the lower orders of men in all countries, and may be due or relate to the prolonged sucking of the plastic infant." (*Vide* "Brit. Asso. Reports," 1861.)

[3] This not only refers to maladies introduced by the alien population, such as measles, venereal diseases, &c., but to those complaints from which they suffered prior to the establishment of the settlement.

[4] In reference to complaints of this nature, it may interest some to know that Dr. De Jongh's cod liver oil was largely used in the homes, and with considerable benefit to the patients, several recoveries having resulted therefrom. From inquiry it would seem that cases of constipation are comparatively rare, and that diarrhœa is almost the habitual state of their excretory functions.

[5] As this circumstance was traced to the system of giving them clothes to be worn at our various stations, and when visited by Europeans, it was deemed advisable to modify the regulation and to supply them only with drawers, leaving the upper part of the body exposed. A marked improvement in the general health resulted from this change.

or severe injury. However, like many of the lower mammals, they recover quickly from illness when they overcome it. 164

Idiocy, insanity and natural deformities are rare among them. Epilepsy is however recognised and homicidal mania occurs sometimes with concomitants of insanity, such as eating raw flesh or earth and drinking the blood of the victim. 158 732

An unintentional artificial depression of the forehead and sides and top of the skull is produced in some women, chiefly among the Onges, caused by using a strap to carry loads on the back when young. [304]

No parts of the body are intentionally pierced, injured, or deformed for the wearing of ornaments and other purposes, though the skin is extensively tatooed.

The statements at my disposal as to the relative prevalence of diseases among the Andamanese and their relative fatality are unsatisfactory, but so far as I can make out the following is a fair statement of the case in order of importance :— 164

I.—Fevers	43	per cent. of all cases.
II.—Respiratory organs	35	" " "
III.—Digestive organs	18	" " "
IV.—Other diseases	2	" " "

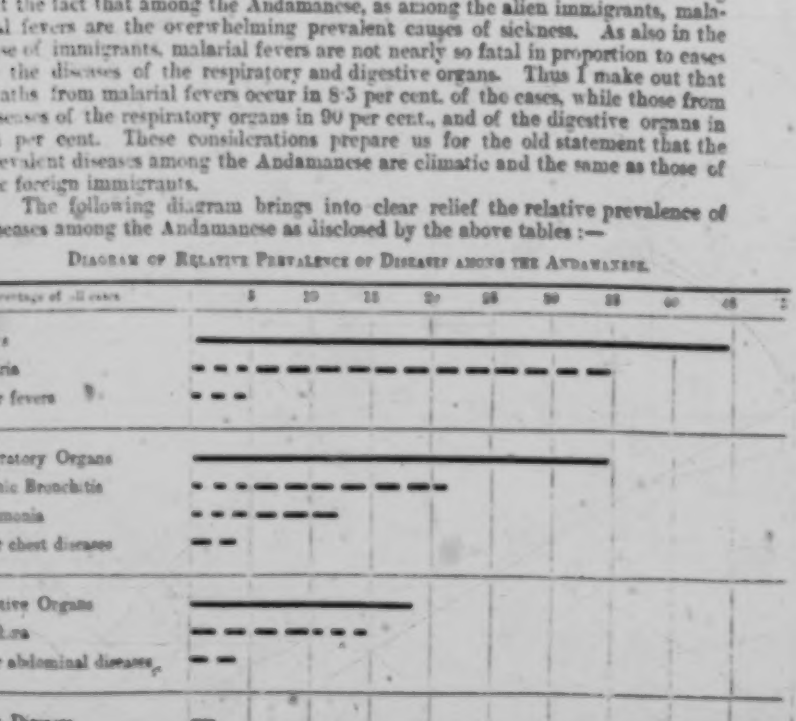
These classes may be further divided up more specifically thus :—

I.—Malaria	40	per cent. of all cases.
Other fevers	3	" " "
II.—Chronic bronchitis	21	" " "
Pneumonia	14	" " "
Other chest diseases	3	" " "
III.—Diarrhœa	15	" " "
Other abdominal diseases	3	" " "
IV.—Other diseases	1	" " "

Without placing too much reliance on the above table, it serves to bring out the fact that among the Andamanese, as among the alien immigrants, malarial fevers are the overwhelming prevalent causes of sickness. As also in the case of immigrants, malarial fevers are not nearly so fatal in proportion to cases as the diseases of the respiratory and digestive organs. Thus I make out that deaths from malarial fevers occur in 8·5 per cent. of the cases, while those from diseases of the respiratory organs in 9·0 per cent., and of the digestive organs in 7·4 per cent. These considerations prepare us for the old statement that the prevalent diseases among the Andamanese are climatic and the same as those of the foreign immigrants.

The following diagram brings into clear relief the relative prevalence of diseases among the Andamanese as disclosed by the above tables :—

DIAGRAM OF RELATIVE PREVALENCE OF DISEASES AMONG THE ANDAMANESE.



6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

common in the Andamans, said by RADCLIFFE-BROWN (p. 273) to be eaten 262 751
by the Andaman Islanders as a protection against rheumatism, is never killed. [825]
For some superstitious reason the Onge are simply horrified at the thought of touching such an enormous flying bat. Among the fruits, those of a plant whose wood has such a revolting smell that it is known, in English, as "stool-tree", are believed to have exceptional protective properties for the human [137] body. The fruits themselves smell even worse than the wood, but this, to the Onge, makes them appetizing rather than disgusting. Concerning honey, and the many sugary fruits of the jungle that are available all the year round, 273 the Onge luckily ignore the simple method of distilling alcohol. No intoxicating drink reaches Little Andaman from the outer world, whereas in Great Andaman alcohol, together with imported syphilis, was one of the main causes of depopu- 164 lation. No syphilis appears as yet to have reached Little Andaman. This is also confirmed by the research carried out by Dr. HERMANN LEHMANN of London's [114] St. Bartholomew's Hospital, during February 1953 in my Onge camp in Labanare (north-east coast of Little Andaman).

II. Effects on the People's Lives

The islanders die young, specially the men. The majority of them succumb 165 before reaching the age of 20; most of the survivors die between 20 and 40; the rest – with a very few exceptions – before 50. Women, after marriage, follow a similar pattern: the death rate among women, however, is slightly different owing to a less corrosive sexual life. Some women may live to the age of sixty, but both sexes age soon, appearing older than their years when still in their twenties. The short Onge span of life recalls conditions which apparently prevailed among prehistoric and protohistoric men. Palaeolithic man died at an earlier age than modern man. The Onge today, in many respects, behaves as palaeolithic man behaved countless centuries ago. – Infant mortality is high; the first five days of life are the most critical for the Onge, [843] owing, in part, to the hard life led by mothers even during pregnancy, which [844] often causes functional damage to the placenta. Delivery is generally easy [845] and traumatic injury rarely occurs; but premature births are common, and [847] so are malformations and other anomalies. Imperfect infants are quickly eliminated by their parents. As a result, only a small number of children are allowed to grow up, but these appear normal. There are no blind and no [732] deaf-and-dumb people in Little Andaman. I saw only two instances of incipient lameness: in an unmarried boy of about twenty and in a young married woman. Only robust infants can survive.

The Onge, so careful about their food, are completely indifferent to 841 something else that is considered very harmful in continental and insular 171 regions close to the Andamans. There, menstruating women are often segregated and considered harmful to the entire community. Not so in Little Andaman, where the remedies applied in the circumstance are extremely primitive (cf. supra) and could probably be traced to palaeolithic man. I saw nothing

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Arioto

in the local language, as opposed to the people of the interior, the *Eremtaga* – appear to have numbered between six and eight thousand. Over the years their place has been taken by more than thirteen thousand foreigners, most of whom were deportees, enjoying relative liberty as servants of government officials, farmers and foresters. The settlers, voluntarily or involuntarily, introduced the islanders to alcohol and tobacco, forcing them to turn to the foreigners in order to satisfy their craving. In the famous and extremely frank work of the English explorer M. V. Portman (*A History of our Relations with the Andamanese*, Calcutta, 1899) official letters are reproduced which give precise instructions in the matter to government officials. The result of these instructions was to transform the Arioto into alcohol and tobacco addicts. Syphilis was passed to the native women by the deportees, and from them to their men. When, a few years after the mass importation of prisoners, the government authorities became aware of the infection among the Arioto, not one of them had escaped. The miserable twenty-three survivors of the eight to nine thousand of a century ago show the ultimate result only too well, and their final extinction is imminent.

Before the advent of the new civilization, the Arioto had divided up into at least ten distinct communities, but without any true tribal organization. They respected a form of chief, chosen by tacit consent for his personal qualities rather than by name or by birth-right; but the chiefs acted merely as paternal advisers, to be respected in times of trouble, with no illusions of authority. No one commanded, and none obeyed: all were content to follow the whim of the moment, with no conception of social obligation.

When the foreigners arrived, there were five main groups of Arioto on North Andaman, the Cari, Chede, Cora, Jeru and Tabo. Another five groups were in South Andaman, the Balawa, Bea, Bogig-iab, Joi and Col. With the numerical decline of the Arioto, who had always been endogamous within their group, a tendency arose for the survivors to merge and inter-marry, so that the twenty-three alive today are in fact the result of the mixing of the northern and southern Arioto, and of these with Indians and Burmese. The chief of these twenty-three individuals is Loca, a name in itself an indication of this ethnic mixture. Loca means 'whiskers', and he himself has a moustache, whereas pure Negritos have no body or facial hair.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

attempts to help, after binding his throat, had consisted in smearing the man's entire body with a mixture of ochre, turtle fat and honey with an extra layer on the bitten limb. Although it was very late to start treatment I injected antiserum, and the next day the man seemed a little better. I next saw him eleven days after the injection, when the arm appeared much less swollen, and the pain had almost disappeared, although clear traces of the accident remained; the skin was cracked and peeling, and the two puncture marks at the site of the bite were still gaping open, each revealing red, purulent flesh over a circular area more than two centimetres in diameter. The arm looked almost gangrenous, but its owner did not seem worried, and joined in cheerfully with the others round me. Just over a month after the accident the wound was completely healed, leaving one very grateful patient.

The incident shows the complete solidarity of this simple and reputedly so warlike community; by tacit agreement the patient was relieved of all work, and provided with food by the other families in the communal hut. While he was seriously ill his wife went hunting and fished, normally the man's work. Similar help is given in the case of the aged, or if a wife and mother falls ill; food is provided for them, and for the children, and certain 'soothsayers' appear to be at least partially provided with food by the rest of the community on a permanent basis.

For any kind of fever the Onges turn immediately to their stock remedy, smearing the entire body with the usual mixture of ochre, turtle fat and honey. The legs, arms, chest and abdomen are then tightly bound with strips of *Ficus* bark, which are removed and renewed from time to time. Whether the patient has pains in the abdomen or in the chest, or elsewhere, or has a cough, he is invariably stretched out on the ground, and the appropriate part is given a form of vigorous massage by the feet of one of the bystanders. Usually the entire body is pummelled for quite a time, the patient being turned over and over. The patient ends up looking rather like a mummy plastered in ochre and the whole process is to us somewhat amusing, but the Onges all practise it, and submit to it, very seriously, believing implicitly in its efficiency. The mechanism by which the treatment works has yet to be determined!

Balls of ochre the size of a hazelnut and varying in colour from bright red to whitish-yellow are given by mouth, particularly to

To truly primitive peoples like the Onges, European medical practices are fascinating. Men and women will refuse literally nothing once they are convinced of our intention to do them good and cure their ills. Although they have a rudimentary form of medicine, they recognize the superiority of European methods, and medical aid has therefore become our most powerful means of making contact with uncivilized peoples.

While I was busy trying to alleviate their ailments I became aware of the power which 'medicine' has over them, and I was also able to observe their own methods of dealing with their ills. Understandably, disease, death and birth are all attributed to particular supernatural beings, or to the spirits of the dead. They try not to offend these beings, but strive nevertheless, in their own way, at least to cure disease. Once primitive peoples see our methods they respect them, and are eager to be treated; strange though it all seems, they develop a blind faith in the omnipotence of the new ways.

There is little actual disease among the Onges and they have equally few vices. They are still unaware of the existence of alcohol, and have not learned how to ferment sugar substances, such as the honey in which the Little Andaman abounds. Tobacco is a recent introduction, and the Onges at once became wildly addicted to it; the tobacco leaves I had taken with me were in fact my best means of making my way peacefully into the island. A few Onges have acquired a supply of opium from Burmese and Chinese smugglers along the north coast, but instead of smoking it they seem to limit themselves to chewing it mixed with tobacco, and have fortunately no means of replenishing their stock.

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The census of 1931 includes a personal observation by Portman of congenital syphilis in several Onges. This has since been proved wrong and in 1952 I found only one young man with nasal malformation possibly attributable to the disease, half-moon incisors, and abnormality of the skull and palate. I was not able to find him

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Near my camp at Labanar, in March 1952, I witnessed a distressing and fatal case. A young woman, with a baby a month old, had suckled another child, as the Onge women do. The older infant, which had cut its teeth, caused damage to the nipples and the ensuing infection spread throughout the body. The wretched woman was writhing with fever and the pain from her infected breasts and suppressed lactation. Her body had been smeared with a vermilion ochre, held to be the most powerful balm, and tightly bound, as usual. Her condition was so poor that I suggested sending her at once to Port Blair for treatment. Unfortunately, however, at that time I was only just beginning to establish contact with the Onges, and the woman's husband, after all the arrangements had been made, refused to let her go. I had not yet gained the Onges' confidence enough to be allowed near the woman, and although I was able to photograph her I could do nothing to prevent her death.

The decision to administer 'medicine' and subject patients to various treatments is not the province of any specialists, but is taken by anyone in the group; all, including the patient, accept the decision, since all are utterly convinced that it will benefit them. Medicine men and sorcerers, so numerous in Africa and elsewhere, do not exist among the Andamanese.

The Onges have not the slightest idea of any standards of hygiene. They never wash intentionally; the forest, dripping from every leaf, and frequent immersion in water while out hunting, take care of the problem. One must admit that in the circumstances their nakedness is hygienic. A small fire is kept burning beside each bed at night for warmth, a useful precaution which I found very welcome on the many cold nights which followed a very hot day. Deprived of these fires the Onges fall ill at once, a fact of which I had ample proof on several occasions when I took Onges with me out of Little Andaman; they were provided with beds and coverings in well-constructed wooden houses, but although none of them complained about the absence of the fires by their beds they all developed feverish chills.

And yet in their own territory I have seen them lie soaking wet all night in one of their temporary forest camps or a communal hut with a leaking roof without any ill effects, simply because they had

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

301 a position where it is not likely to get lost when running through the jungle, and where it is immediately accessible when wanted. The necklet also serves as a means of carrying bees'-wax, which is in constant use amongst the natives, a small ball of the wax being attached to one of the ends of the string of which the necklet is made.

291 As a rule, in everyday life, the men wear only a belt, or a belt and necklace. Those natives who visit the Settlement of
177 Port Blair have been required by the European officers to wear
834 a strip of cloth over the genitals. It has now become the rule to wear such a loin cloth whenever they are in the neighbourhood of a European. This, however, is a modern custom, and in former times the men went freely with no covering whatever, as do the inhabitants of the Little Andaman at the present time. As showing the extent to which the natives have been influenced in this matter by outside opinion, it may be mentioned that at the present day many of the younger men, particularly those who have been brought up at Port Blair, regard it as very immodest to be seen without some covering over the genitals.

301 On ceremonial occasions, such as the dance at the end of mourning, or a big dance-meeting, the men put on a number of ornaments. A common costume on such occasions consists of a belt, necklace, bracelets, and garters of netting and *Dentalium* shell. A belt and necklace of this kind are to be seen in Plate V, and garters are worn by the woman in Plate IX. An alternative costume for men consists of a set of ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf (belt, chaplet, bracelets and garters), decorated with *Dentalium* and other shells. Garters of this kind are shown in Plate XII.

301 Other objects are worn by the natives for magical purposes.
755 Chief amongst these are the strings made of human bones which
751 are worn to prevent and cure sickness. The bones are attached to a length of rope, and this is generally decorated with shells or with *Dendrobium* skin. These strings of bones are worn most commonly as chaplets, necklaces or belts, but they may also be made into garters and bracelets. The bones of animals, such as pig, turtle, dugong, etc., are treated in exactly the same way

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

 751 755

as human bones, and ornaments made of them are commonly worn. 301

There are a number of other ornaments that are commonly worn, not only on ceremonial occasions, which, unlike the strings of human bones, do not obviously have a magical purpose. Such are necklaces made of various kinds of shells, and of mangrove seeds. At the present time the natives obtain beads from Port Blair and make ornaments of these. 301

The ordinary costume of the women is different from that of the men. Every woman and girl wears at least one belt of *Pandanus* leaf. There is one kind of belt that is always worn by married women and which may not be worn by unmarried girls. There is another kind of belt that may only be worn by unmarried girls. The women of the Southern tribes wear a bundle of leaves of the *Mimusops littoralis* laid one over another suspended from the front of the belt so as to cover the pudenda. In the Northern tribes it was formerly the custom for the women to wear a similar apron of the leaves of a plant called *čainyo*, and over this they also wore a tassel of shredded palm-leaf stem (*koro*). Within recent years the Northern tribes have given up their own custom in this matter and have adopted the custom of the Southern tribes. 291

Women often wear round the neck a piece of string similar to that worn by the men, but as they do not carry knives it does not serve the same purpose. It is more usual for a woman to wear a necklace of some sort. Nowadays they are rather fond of necklaces of beads which they obtain from the Settlement at Port Blair. In former times different kinds of shells were used, such as the *Dentalium octogonum*. 301

With the exception that men wear the belt of rope, and women wear the belt of *Pandanus* leaf and the apron of leaves, there is no difference between the ornaments worn by men and by women. On the occasion of a dance or other ceremony a woman may wear any of the objects described as being worn by men on such occasions. They also wear in the same way strings of human or animal bones.

One object which would seem to have a purely utilitarian purpose is the sling used for carrying children (called in *Aka-* 301 482

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

show any fear, my informants said, the spirits would kill him, but if he were brave they would take him to their village, detaining him for a time, and then releasing him to return to his friends. A man to whom such an adventure has happened will be endowed for the rest of his life with power to perform magic. He will pay occasional visits to his friends the spirits. The natives told me of one such man who died not many years ago. At irregular intervals he used to wander off into the jungle by himself and remain absent for a few hours, sometimes for a day or two. He returned to the village after such an absence looking strange and wearing ornaments of shredded palm-leaf (*koro*) which he claimed had been placed upon him by the spirits. 791 775

Save for persons who have made friends with them, and have thereby become endowed with magical powers, all contact with the spirits of the jungle and the sea, or with the spirit of a dead man, is dangerous. The spirits are believed to be the cause of all sickness and of all deaths resulting from sickness. As a man wanders in the jungle or by the sea, the spirits come invisibly and strike him, whereupon he falls ill, and may die. A man or woman is more likely to be attacked by the spirits if he or she is alone, and it is therefore always better to be in company when away from the village. The spirits rarely venture into the village itself, though they may prowl round it, particularly at night. They are more dangerous at night than during the day. 753 775

There are many objects that are believed to have the power of keeping spirits at a distance, and thus of preserving human beings from the danger of sickness. Amongst the most important of these are fire, arrows, human bones, bees'-wax, and red paint. A man or a woman leaving a hut to go only a few yards at night will always carry a fire-brand as a protection against spirits that may be prowling in the neighbourhood. If the night be dark a torch is carried in addition to the fire-stick. 751 775

The Andamanese will never whistle at night, as they believe that the noise of whistling would attract spirits. On the other hand they believe that singing will keep the spirits away. [784]

The spirits that haunt the woods and waters of a man's own home are regarded as being less dangerous to him than those of 775

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

so far we have considered the properties of the plant only in 751
so far as they make it dangerous to handle. It has other and 824
beneficial properties. It is said that a man swimming in waters infested with sharks would be safe from them if he had a piece of the *Anadendron* creeper with him, in his belt or necklace. The creeper is also supposed to preserve anyone who carries it from the attacks of the sea spirits (*Jurua*).

The *Hibiscus tiliaceus* is a small tree from which the natives obtain the fibre which they make into rope, used now for harpoon lines and in former times for turtle-nets. The leaves of this tree are believed to have the power of keeping away the spirits of the sea. They have no efficacy, however, against the spirits of the forest. Leaves of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus* are used in the turtle-eating ceremony described in the last chapter. For cooking 824
turtle the only wood that may be used is the *Hibiscus*. If any 784
other wood were used the meat would not be good. In this connection it is necessary to point out an error in the statements of Mr Man. He says that the wood of the *alaba* must never be used for cooking turtle, though it may be used for cooking pig, and that *Puluga* is angry if this commandment is not observed and sends either the sun or moon to punish the offender[1]. There is evidently an error here. The *alaba* is the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*. Mr Man identifies it with the *Melochia velutina*, but this is an error. Now the custom in connection with the *Hibiscus* (*alaba*) is not that it may not be used for cooking turtle, but that no other kind of wood must be used. It is difficult to see how Mr Man fell into the error, unless he mistook a statement regarding the *yolba* (*Anadendron paniculatum*) for a statement relating to *alaba* (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*). We have just seen that if the *Anadendron* comes in contact with turtle meat the meat will be bad, and that if it is burnt there will be a storm.

Another plant that provides fibre for thread is the *Gnetum edule*. There is a belief that the green creeper of this plant will drive away turtle, if a piece of it be taken in a canoe.

Magical properties are attributed to the *Ficus laccifera* tree. These trees are believed to be the home of the yet unborn souls of children. I was told in the North Andaman that if a tree of

[1] Man, *op. cit.* pp. 153 and 172.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

824 784 the species were cut there would be a storm. The bark of the aerial roots of the tree affords a fibre used in the Little Andaman for bow-strings, but only used in the Great Andaman for making personal ornaments. It is possible that some magical properties are attributed to the ornaments made from this fibre.

The *Pterocarpus dalbergioides* is one of the most striking trees of the Andamans. It has a very hard red wood, from which the natives make their sounding-boards. There is an obscure belief in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe (and possibly also in other tribes) that it is dangerous to look at the tree when it is in flower. I was twice told a story of how some people were affected by looking at the flowers, and either went mad or died. On one occasion my interpreter translated the words of my informant by saying "They saw the flowers, and went giddy, and they all went to hell (*Jereg-l'ar-mugu*)." Men must be careful when the tree is in flower, not to look at it too long. In the North Andaman I was told that string games (*jipre*) must not be played when the *Pterocarpus* tree is in flower. They may be indulged in with safety at any other time of the year. (String games, according to one statement, were invented by the *Lau*, while another account attributes the invention to the crab.)

824 751 The *Tetranthera lancœfolia* is a small tree from which the natives obtain the wood for the shafts of their pig arrows. The leaves of this tree are believed to have the power to keep away the spirits of the forest. They are used in the pig-eating ceremony described in the last chapter. The wood is shredded and made into plumes, and these plumes are believed to have magical properties. They are worn by a man who has killed another, and are believed to protect him from the vengeance of the spirit of the dead man.

824 278 757 A common remedy for sickness of different kinds is a small tree called *gugma* in *Aka-Bea*, which Mr Man identifies as being *Trigonostemon longifolius*. The leaves of this tree are made into a bed for the patient to lie upon. They are also crushed and rubbed over the patient's body, or he is made to inhale the odour of the crushed leaves. The natives say that it is the "smell" of the plant that possesses medical properties. The

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827 A hiccough is supposed to be the result of inadvertently swallowing a tree lizard, whose call rather resembles the sound of a person hiccoughing.

The condition popularly called "pins and needles" or described as an arm or leg "going to sleep" is believed by the Andamanese to be due to the bite of a rat. If a man wakes up in the night with one of his limbs benumbed in this way, he believes that a rat has bitten him while he slept.

The Andamanese say that the bite of a civet-cat (*Paradoxurus*) will produce cramp. I was once told that if a man eats the flesh of the civet-cat and then goes into the water he will become "lame." This means, I think, that he will have cramp, and so will be unable to swim.

278 The flesh and particularly the fat of the flying fox (*Pteropus*) is believed to be a remedy for rheumatism. An old man who was suffering from this ailment once asked me to shoot for him some of these bats, which he cooked and ate.

784 If turtle-fat be permitted to burn in the fire there will be a storm.

•751 Mention has already been made of the magical value attri-
755 buted to human bones. They are esteemed as a means of driving away spirits, and therefore of curing or preventing sickness. A human jaw-bone was hanging in my hut in such a position that it could swing in the wind. The natives attributed to this the illness from which I and several of them were suffering at the time, and asked me to put the bone away in a basket, where it could not move.

Bones of animals are made into ornaments in the same way as human bones, and magical properties of a similar kind seem to be attributed to them.

755 Of other objects possessing magical properties the most
372 important is fire. Fire is believed to have the power of keeping away spirits of the sea and of the forest. A fire is always kept alight beside a sick man or woman. For dysentery stones are heated in a fire and the patient is required to defecate on to these.

000 In conclusion, mention must be made of one favourite remedy

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connection of great importance between the affective dispositions underlying these and other customs and the complex affective disposition that we call the sex instinct. The nature of that connection, important as it is, lies outside the scope of this work.

I remarked above that the explanation which I have given of the meaning of personal ornament does not apply to all the objects that the Andaman Islanders wear on their body, but only to certain of them. If an Andaman Islander be asked why he paints himself with white clay, or why he wears a belt or necklace of *Dentalium* shell he replies that he does so in order to look well; but if he be asked why he wears a string of human bones round his head or neck or waist, he gives quite a different answer, to the effect that he does so in order to protect himself from dangers of a special kind. According to circumstances he will say either that he is wearing the bones to cure himself of illness, or else that he wears them as a protection against spirits. Thus while some things are worn on the body in order to improve the personal appearance, and consequently, as explained above, to give the individual a sense of his own value, others are worn because they are believed to have a protective power, and thereby arouse in the person a sense of security. Exactly the some sort of protective power is attributed to things that cannot be worn on the body, such as fire, and it will therefore be convenient to consider together all the things that afford this kind of protection, whether they can be worn on the body or not.

The interpretation here offered is that the customs connected with this belief in the protective power of objects of various kinds are means by which is expressed and thereby maintained at the necessary degree of energy a very important social sentiment, which, for lack of a better term, I shall call the sentiment of dependence. In such a primitive society as that of the Andamans one of the most powerful means of maintaining the cohesion of the society and of enforcing that conformity to custom and tradition without which social life is impossible, is the recognition by the individual that for his security and well-being he depends entirely upon the society. Now for the Andaman Islander the society is not sufficiently concrete and particular

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to act as the object of such a sentiment, and he therefore feels his dependence upon the society not directly but in a number of indirect ways. The particular way with which we are now concerned is that the individual experiences this feeling of dependence towards every important possession of the society, towards every object which for the society has constant and important uses.

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The most prominent example of such an object is fire. It may be said to be the one object on which the society most of all depends for its well-being. It provides warmth on cold nights; it is the means whereby they prepare their food, for they eat nothing raw save a few fruits; it is a possession that has to be constantly guarded, for they have no means of producing it, and must therefore take care to keep it always alight; it is the first thing they think of carrying with them when they go on a journey by land or sea; it is the centre around which the social life moves, the family hearth being the centre of the family life, while the communal cooking place is the centre round which the men often gather after the day's hunting is over. To the mind of the Andaman Islander, therefore, the social life of which his own life is a fragment, the social well-being which is the source of his own happiness, depend upon the possession of fire, without which the society could not exist. In this way it comes about that his dependence on the society appears in his consciousness as a sense of dependence upon fire and a belief that it possesses power to protect him from dangers of all kinds.

The belief in the protective power of fire is very strong. A man would never move even a few yards out of camp at night without a fire-stick. More than any other object fire is believed to keep away the spirits that cause disease and death. This belief, it is here maintained, is one of the ways in which the individual is made to feel his dependence upon the society.

Now this hypothesis is capable of being very strictly tested by the facts, for if it is true we must expect to find that the same protective power is attributed to every object on which the social life depends. An examination of the Andamanese beliefs shows that this is so, and thereby confirms the hypothesis.

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In their daily life the Andamanese depend on the instrinsic qualities of the materials they use for their bows and arrows and

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harpoons and other hunting implements, and it can be shown that they do attribute to these implements and to the materials from which they are made powers of protection against evil. Moreover it is even possible to apply a quantitative test and show that the more important the place a thing occupies in the social life the greater is the degree of protective power attributed to it. Finally I shall be able to show that as different materials are used for special purposes so they are supposed to have certain special powers of protection against certain sorts of danger. Thus the hypothesis I have stated is capable of being as nearly demonstrated as is possible in such psychological enquiries as the one we are engaged in.

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A man carrying his bow and arrows is supposed to be less likely to fall a victim to the spirits than one who has no weapons with him. One way of stopping a violent storm is to go into the sea (storms being supposed to be due to the spirits of the sea) and swish the water about with arrows. The natives sometimes wear a necklace formed of short lengths of the bamboo shaft of a fish-arrow. All the examples of such necklaces that I met with had been made from an old arrow. I asked a native to make one for me, and although he could readily have made one from bamboo that had never served as an arrow he did not do so, but used the shaft of one of his arrows. Such a necklace may therefore be described as an arrow in such a form that it can be worn round the neck and thus carried continually without trouble. The protective power of the bow is at first sight not quite so evident, but the material used for the string is regarded as possessing protective power, and to this I shall return shortly.

The best demonstration of the truth of the explanation offered is to be found by considering the different vegetable fibres of which use is made. The most important of these are the *Anadendron paniculatum* (used for bow-strings and for fine string), the *Hibiscus tiliaceus* (used for rope) and the *Gnetum edule* (used for string, and inferior to the *Anadendron*). All these fibres are believed to possess power to keep away dangers, but there is a sort of specialisation in their use.

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The fibre of the *Hibiscus* is used mainly in the hunting of turtle and big fish. Consequently the tree itself from which the

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fibre is obtained is believed to possess the power of warding off all dangers connected with turtle and the sea. There is a custom that turtle flesh may only be cooked with wood of the *Hibiscus*, otherwise it will be uneatable. In the turtle-eating ceremony the initiate who, as we shall see later, is in a condition of danger by reason of having eaten turtle for the first time after a period of abstention, is seated on *Hibiscus* leaves and holds a bundle of the same leaves before him. At the same ceremony the leaves of this tree are used in the dance, and the initiate is given a skewer made from its wood with which to feed himself. If for any reason the leaves of the *Hibiscus* are not obtainable when the ceremony is performed those of the *Myristica longifolia* are used instead. Now this is the tree from which the natives always make their canoe paddles, which, like ropes of *Hibiscus* fibre, are used in hunting turtle. This specialisation is therefore easy to understand; the natives habitually make use of the *Hibiscus* and the *Myristica* in turtle-hunting; they use the intrinsic qualities of these trees in their actual struggles with turtle and large fish, and by means of these qualities they are able to succeed in overcoming their prey; they therefore come to believe that these trees possess special powers which not only enable them to conquer the turtle itself but also are able to protect them from the evil influences that they believe (for reasons to be explained later) result from the eating of its flesh.

This explanation is readily verified by considering an exactly parallel instance. In the pig-eating ceremony at initiation the leaves of the *Hibiscus* or the *Myristica* are not used, and are regarded as valueless. Paddles and ropes are of no use in hunting pigs. The leaves that are used in this ceremony are those of the *Tetranthera lanceæfolia*. It is from this tree that are obtained the shafts of pig-arrows. Hence the relation of the tree to the pig is exactly parallel to that of the *Hibiscus* to turtle. It is by making use of the qualities of the wood that they are able to destroy the pig and so they believe that its leaves will enable them to destroy the dangers that result from the eating of the animal.

The leaves of the *Tetranthera* are also used, however, in the ceremony at a girl's first menstruation, and I cannot pass over this without an explanation. It is to be found in the fact that

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pig-arrows are used in fighting, so that the tree comes to have a special relation to the shedding of blood. Plumes of shredded *Tetranthera* wood (made from an old arrow-shaft) must be worn by a homicide during the period of "purification" as a protection against the dangers that are believed to threaten him because he has shed blood. The same plumes were formerly always carried in a dance preceding a fight, and at such times the natives used to rub their bows with the shredded wood in order to ensure success in battle. Thus it is clear that there is a special connection between this tree and the shedding of blood, due to the fact that pig-arrows, of which the shafts are made from it, are used in fighting as well as for killing pigs and other animals. It is probable that this is the explanation of the use of the leaves during the ceremony at a girl's first menstruation.

These examples afford a crucial test of the hypothesis here maintained. Not only is the protective power of these substances explicable by the fact that they are things on which the society depends in its daily life, but the special uses of each of them as amulets are only explicable when we consider the different uses to which they are put as materials.

The fibre of the *Anadendron paniculatum* is used for making thread, bow-strings, the cords of pig-arrows, and for binding the heads and barbs of harpoons and arrows. It has therefore no special relation to either pig or turtle. There is a belief, however, that the plant does possess special protective powers that make it efficacious against certain dangers coming from the sea. A piece of the plant tied round the neck or worn in the belt of a swimmer is believed to protect him from sharks and other dangerous fish. A piece of it crushed and placed in the sea is said to have stopped a violent storm on one occasion. Thus the *Anadendron* seems to possess a special power which makes it a source of protection against dangers from the sea. The same is true of the *Gnetum edule*, though, as this fibre is less valued than that of the *Anadendron*, it is not supposed to be so powerful in its effects. In regard to the specialisation in the use of these two plants as amulets it seems likely that it is due to a notion of opposition between the things of the forest and the things of the sea. The Andamanese live in a double environment; the jungle-

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X 182 751 824 dwellers live entirely in the forest and have dealings with forest things; they develop knowledge and powers that make them better woodsmen than the coast-dwellers. The latter live by the sea and are chiefly occupied with things of the sea, being skilled in the occupations of fishing and canoeing. There is thus a contrast or opposition between the life of the forest and the life of the shore that runs through all the social life, and I believe, that it is this opposition which explains the belief that the *Anadendron* and the *Gnetum*, which are essentially forest things, are possessed of a quality that makes them contrary or opposed to all things of the sea.

X 182 751 824 301 Personal ornaments are made from the fibres that have been mentioned (*Hibiscus*, *Anadendron*, *Gnetum*), and we are justified, I think, in regarding such ornaments as being to some extent amulets. I purchased from a man in the Little Andaman a charm that was hanging round his neck, which he seemed to value highly. I imagined that it might contain a human bone, but when I had unwound the ornamental thread with which it was bound and opened out the covering of bark I found inside the parcel only a carefully folded length of rope made from *Hibiscus* fibre.

There is one fibre from which the natives of the Great Andaman make themselves ornaments, which they do not regularly use in any other way, namely that of the *Ficus laccifera*. We may perhaps regard this as a genuine and demonstrable example of a survival in custom. The natives of the Little Andaman, who, until their recent contact with those of the Great Andaman, did not know the use of the *Anadendron*, use the fibre of the *Ficus* for their bow-strings. We are justified in assuming, I believe, that the natives of the Great Andaman made a similar use of the same fibre before they had learnt to use the *Anadendron*. In those days much of the power that is now attributed to the *Anadendron*, because of its service as the material for bow-strings, must then have been attributed to the *Ficus*. When the substitution of the superior *Anadendron* fibre came about, the belief in the efficacy of the *Ficus* did not disappear, although the ground of the belief (if we may call it so) had ceased to exist. If this be so, then the present use of the *Ficus* fibre as an amulet

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is an example of survival. It may be noted that the qualities of the *Ficus* are supposed to be similar to those of the *Anadendron*. Thus while one medicine-man stopped a storm with *Anadendron*, another did the same thing on another occasion with *Ficus*. 182x 751 824 301

The above examples are sufficient to justify the generalisation that the Andamanese attribute protective power to all those substances on the strength and other qualities of which they rely in order to obtain their food or overcome their enemies. 182x 751 There are one or two other positive instances that have not been mentioned. Bees'-wax, which is used for waxing thread and bow-strings, is believed to have power to keep spirits away and to cure sickness. Cane, which is used by the natives for many different purposes, seems also to have its use as an amulet, for belts and other personal ornaments are made of pieces of cane attached to a length of rope.

Negative instances are more difficult to discover. When I was in the Andamans I had not formulated the explanation that is offered here, and I therefore did not make any search for negative instances that might have afforded a means of testing the value of the hypothesis. I have no satisfactory evidence that protective power is attributed to iron, or to the shells that were formerly used, as iron now is, for the heads and barbs of arrows, but it is quite possible that I may have overlooked evidence that was really there. I do not think that any particular protective properties are attributed to such things as the materials from which baskets are made and the clay that is used for pottery. These things, however, may be regarded as luxuries rather than necessities; they are not of the same immediate service to the society in its fundamental activity (that of providing food) as are weapons and the materials used in them.

There are still two important kinds of amulets that remain to be considered. First, protective power is attributed to the bones of animals, which are made into personal ornaments; these cannot be dealt with until we have considered some of the beliefs relating to food. Secondly, a very high degree of protective power is attributed to human bones, but the discussion of this belief must wait till we have discovered the meaning of the funeral customs of the Andamanese.

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To conclude the present argument, it would seem that the function of the belief in the protective power of such things as fire and the materials from which weapons are made is to maintain in the mind of the individual the feeling of his dependence upon the society; but viewed from another aspect the beliefs in question may be regarded as expressing the social value of the things to which they relate. This term—social value—will be used repeatedly in the later part of this chapter, and it is therefore necessary to give an exact definition. By the social value of anything I mean the way in which that thing affects or is capable of affecting the social life. Value may be either positive or negative, positive value being possessed by any thing that contributes to the well-being of the society, negative value by anything that can adversely affect that well-being.

The social value of a thing (such as fire) is a matter of immediate experience to every member of the society, but the individual does not of necessity consciously and directly realise that value. He is made to realise it indirectly through the belief, impressed upon him by tradition, that the thing in question affords protection against danger. A belief or sentiment which finds regular outlet in action is a very different thing from a belief which rarely or never influences conduct. Thus, though the Andaman Islander might have a vague realisation of the value of *Hibiscus*, for example, that would be something very different from the result on the mind of the individual of the regular use of the leaves of that tree in initiation ceremonies as a protection against unseen dangers. So that the protective uses of such things are really rites or ceremonies by means of which the individual is made to realise (1) his own dependence on the society and its possessions, and (2) the social value of the things in question.

I have had to postpone to the later parts of the chapter the consideration of some of the objects possessing protective power, but I venture to state here three propositions some part of the evidence for which has already been examined, and which will be sufficiently demonstrated, I hope, before the end of the chapter. They are as follows: (1) any object that contributes to the well-being of the society is believed to afford protection

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against evil; (2) the degree of protective power it is believed to possess depends on the importance of the services it actually renders to the society; (3) the kind of special protection it is supposed to afford is often related to the kind of special service that it does actually render.

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We were led to the consideration of the protective power of objects through an attempt to understand the meaning of the methods of ornamenting the body in the Andamans. We have seen that some ornaments are worn in order to express the personal value of the individual, while others are worn for the sake of the protection they are believed to afford. We have also seen that one method of painting the body (with white clay) is a means of expressing the personal value of the painted individual. We will next consider the use of the clay called *odu*. This clay is painted on the body of a mourner and is the outward sign of mourning; it is used at certain stages of the initiation ceremonies; it is also regularly used for painting the body with the designs known as *ɛra-puli*. According to the rule of method laid down at the beginning of the chapter we must seek some common explanation of these different uses of the same substance.

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We may consider, first of all, the patterns (*ɛra-puli*) that are made with this clay on the body and face after eating certain foods such as pork and turtle.

Mr Man gives two explanations of the use of these paintings of clay. During the hot season, he says, the natives "endeavour to lessen the discomfort caused by the heat by smearing their bodies with a white-wash of common white clay and water." He adds: "it has long been erroneously believed that they have recourse to this expedient in order to allay the inconvenience which they would otherwise suffer from the bites of mosquitoes and other jungle pests; but the true reason for the practice is, I am well assured, that which I have given above[1]." In another place he says: "After eating pork or turtle they are in the habit of smearing *og* over their bodies with their fingers, in the belief that it affects their breath, and that evil spirits will be unable to detect, and therefore will not be attracted to, them by the

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 76.

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savoury smell of the food of which they have partaken. Again, when heated by travelling or by hunting or dancing, they have recourse to the same wash, but in these cases it is applied thinly[1]."

There are here two explanations of fundamentally different character. First the Andamanese practice of painting their bodies with clay is explained as having a purely utilitarian purpose, being intended to cool them when they are heated. In the second statement the explanation given is that the custom is intended to protect them from danger.

My own observations do not altogether agree with the statements of Mr Man. I found that the natives painted themselves just as much in the cold season as in the hot season. The principal, if not the sole, occasion on which the clay is used is after or immediately before a meal, and therefore generally in the late afternoon or evening when the heat of the day is past. I do not feel so satisfied as Mr Man appears to be, that the clay really has the effect of keeping a person cool, particularly when it is remembered that the painting may consist of a few lines each as broad as a finger. Moreover, Mr Man's explanation does not afford any reason for the fact that the clay is always applied in some sort of pattern. If it were merely to keep himself cool, we should expect to see a man cover himself all over with a plain coating evenly spread over the body. Such an even coating is never used, in the Great Andaman tribes, except by persons mourning for the dead, and is the essential mark of a mourner.

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It is easy to explain how Mr Man has fallen into an error in this matter. On many occasions, when I questioned the natives as to their reason for painting themselves with clay I received the answer, "When we have eaten pork or turtle or dugong, we become *ot-kimil* and so we take clay and paint ourselves." Now the word *ot-kimil* in the *Aka-Jeru* language is the word that the natives use to express what we mean by the word "hot." But while "hot" may always be translated by *ot-kimil* or *er-kimil*, the latter word cannot always be adequately rendered in English by the word "hot." Mr Man seems to have supposed that when an Andaman Islander says "hot" he means by the word only what we mean, whereas he really means a great deal more.

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 333.

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It is probable, then, that when a native says that after eating food he is *ot-limil* and therefore paints himself with clay he does not mean simply that he is hot. This will be still more evident when we consider the second explanation of the custom that is given by the natives. Many of those whom I questioned stated that after eating dugong, pork, turtle, etc., the body emits an odour, that this odour may attract the spirits of the jungle or the sea, and that to obviate this they paint themselves with clay. This agrees exactly with what Mr Man says in the second passage quoted above. It is confirmed by other customs. I was told that a man who has eaten dugong will not leave the camp until some time after the dugong meat is all finished, for fear that the spirits may smell him and do him harm. It is to be noted in passing that painting the body with clay does not by any means remove the odour that does actually characterise a native after he has been eating fat meat of any kind. We must be careful, in this instance also, not to assume that an Andaman Islander means by "smell" exactly what we mean by it and nothing more. It will be shown later in the chapter that the Andamanese identify the smell of an object with its active magical principle. One example may be given here to show this. The origin of rheumatism in the legs is explained by the natives as being the result of the common practice of preparing the fibre of the *Anadendron paniculatum* by scraping it on the thigh. During this process, they say, the "smell" of the plant enters the thigh and is the cause of rheumatic or sciatic pains.

The natives give yet a third statement of their reasons for using clay. On many occasions I asked them what would happen if they ate pork or turtle and did not paint themselves. In every case I received the reply that any man who did such a thing would almost certainly be ill.

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When a number of persons give three different reasons for one and the same action, and are equally sincere throughout, it is to be presumed that the three different statements are so many different ways of saying one and the same thing. We may therefore conclude that the Andaman Islanders believe that there is a peculiar power in foods (or in some foods) which makes it dangerous to eat them. This danger may be expressed by saying that

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to protect them from danger and to bring them luck, is therefore very similar to their belief in the protective power of the materials used for weapons and implements. The consideration of the apparent contradiction mentioned above has led us to a more exact statement of the real beliefs in these matters. They believe, we may say, that all the things from the jungle and the sea of which they make use as food or as materials, are dangerous unless approached with proper ritual precautions, but when so approached they become sources of strength and well-being and also of protection from unseen dangers. 182X 784 262

To return to the main argument, which was concerned with the meaning of the patterns of clay painted on the body after eating the more dangerous foods, it would seem that this action is really a rite or ceremony, of the same general character as other ceremonial customs of the Andamans. It is an action required by custom, the performance of which on appropriate occasions serves to keep alive in the mind of the individual a certain system of sentiments necessary for the regulation of conduct in conformity to the needs of the society. By it the individual is made to feel (or to act as though he felt) that his life is one of continually repeated dangers from which he can only be preserved by conforming to the customs of the society as they have been handed down by tradition. He is made to feel that the eating of food is not merely the satisfaction of an animal appetite, but an act of communion, that the food itself is something "sacred" (if we may use that word in the sense of the original Latin "sacer"). It serves also, like any other rite in which all join, to make the individual feel the solidarity and unity of the community; all share in the common repast and the common danger, and each man sees on his neighbour the clay with which he himself is daubed. 182X 302 264 751

Of course it is probable that the Andamanese custom of painting the body after eating, like our own grace before and after meat, with which it is parallel, tends to become a formality accompanied by little real feeling, but it can be shown, I believe, that such customs do possess a real value—a real psychological function—in keeping alive ideas and sentiments that will on occasion play an important part in influencing conduct.

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affections. Those natives who have been long with us, have great faith in our medicines, especially in the efficacy of quinine for curing fever, from which, as exposure is very trying to their constitutions, they suffer greatly when living in the clearings we have made at Port Blair. 757

4. For a cold in the head they merely remain at home and nurse themselves, crouching over the fire; for a cough, sea-water is often drunk, or they will chew the thick portion of the long leaves of a plant called *jī·ni-* (of the *Alpinia* species), and when the bitter juice has been extracted and swallowed, tie the chewed fibre round the neck; if benefit be not derived from this, they then take a piece of the upper portion of the stem of the *Calamosagus laciniosus*, called *pôr-*, and, removing the bark, chew the rest, and swallow the sap. Many cures having been attributed to the wonderful properties of the two descriptions of *chū·lnga-*, one or two quarts daily are prescribed to the unhappy patient, until the cough leaves him. 757 278

5. In cases of rheumatism and paralysis, a *chàu·ga-tâ-* is tied round the parts affected, and *chū·lnga-*, moist as found, is rubbed into them: if no relief is experienced within a day or so, warm water is poured over the suffering members, which are then shampooed; should no improvement result, even after these measures, recourse is had to scarification; this is done with a quartz or glass flake, by a woman, generally the wife or one near of kin to the sufferer. It has been noticed that but few of those who have been attacked by rheumatism in the jungle ever regain the full use of their limbs. 757 304

6. In phthisis, or when any internal organ is diseased, steps are taken by the friends of the patient to defeat the machinations of the evil one, to whom the victim's sufferings are attributed; to this end, one or more *chàu·ga-tâ-* are first fastened tightly over the seat of pain, a lump of black beeswax, *tō·bul-pīd-*,[1] is then held over a fire till it begins to melt, when it is instantly applied, being passed rapidly over the flesh; the wax which adheres is not removed, but wears off in a few days. The patient is also subjected to pressure with the hands by a relative or friend of the same sex, while an attendant frequently sucks the skin. Scarification is the *dernier ressort* when the bad symptoms increase.[2] [755] [278]

7. Every attention is paid to the wants and wishes of the sick, and the friends do all in their power to effect recovery, but no charms, excepting the *chàu·ga-tâ-*, are employed in the hope of 757 751

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, No. 57.

[2] As many bad cases of lung disease among those in the homes have been successfully treated with cod liver oil, they have now great faith in that medicine.

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751 averting or curing illness; after recovery, no ceremonies of purification take place.

751 8. With respect to these necklaces of human bones, it should be stated that it is not considered necessary that the bones used for this purpose should have belonged to an adult, those of a child or of one long since dead, are considered equally efficacious; the belief is that they cure diseases, and shield the wearer in some measure from the machinations of evil spirits, through the intervention of the disembodied spirit, who is supposed to be gratified by, and aware of, the respect thus paid to his memory. Loose teeth obtained from human skulls and jaw bones, are sometimes strung together as necklaces, or, if too few for such a purpose, they are included among the pieces of bone which are broken up to form the *chàu·ga-tâ-*; turtle bones are also sometimes added under similar circumstances.

9. The skull and jawbone are carried, either separately or together, merely as mementoes, and are not accredited with any peculiar virtues.

843 10. During pregnancy, the women eat in moderation, but delight in as great a variety of food as possible, telling their husbands day by day what to procure for them;[1] they are also in the habit of taking as much active exercise as possible, as they believe it conduces to an easy *accouchement*, and the same reason is given for the custom, common among them, of consuming small quantities of *tâ·la-ōg-*[2] from time to time; but this practice may be traced with more probability to the fact that the appetite of persons in an anæmic condition is generally fanciful and depraved, such substances as "lime, chalk, or slate pencil being sometimes greedily devoured by them."

844 11. When about to be confined, the custom is for the husband, and some of the woman's female friends, to attend on her; she is placed in a sitting posture, the left leg is stretched out, and the right knee brought up, so as to enable her to clasp it with her arms. Her husband supports her back and presses her as desired, while her female friends hold a leaf screen *kâ·pa-jâ·tnga-* over the lower part of her person, and assist her, to the best of their ability, in the delivery and in the removal of the after-birth; the umbilical cord is severed by means of a *Cyrena* shell (now a steel blade is often used), and when the infant has been washed in cold water, its skin is gently scraped with the shell. Publicity is not courted on these occasions, as has been asserted,[3] but all, save those whose services are required, continue
000 their occupations as usual. Soon after the delivery, some warm

[1] Further allusion to this subject will be made under "Tabu."
[2] *Vide* Appendix E, No. 58.
[3] *Vide* Mouat, p. 294.

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no coloured pigments or other preparations are rubbed into the wounds, which are left to heal of themselves: before leaving this subject I would mention that the face is never tattooed. 304 852

Painting.—1. Besides the permanent tattooing decorations, these savages employ three kinds of pigments for the further adornment of their dusky persons; and from the mode of their application it can be at once ascertained whether the individual be sick, or sorry, or whether he has taken, or is about to take, part in a merry-making. 302

2. No distinction with regard to rank or sex is made in the designs executed, yet, though these are not very numerous, no two persons are ordinarily painted exactly in the same way, as the pattern traced may be in one case on the chest, in another on the arm, in a third on the face, and so on; a temporary restriction is, however, laid upon the unmarried, who are not permitted to use the paint to their necks, either by way of ornament, or to relieve their pains.[1]

3. We have seen that according to their traditions[2] this was one of the arts in which *Pū·luga-* instructed their first parents, and though temporarily lost after the Deluge it was revived by the accidental re-discovery of the necessary pigments: it may, therefore, be reasonably inferred that the practice is a very ancient one among these tribes.

4. The materials used are *ōg-*, *tâ·la-ōg-*, and *kòi·ob-*, which are applied, respectively, as a wash and in designs, more or less minute, with the nail or the tips of the fingers.

5. The first (*ōg-*), is a pale "whitish-grey" clay,[3] which is mixed with water and smeared thickly over the entire person with the palms of the hand, to denote mourning;[4] a lump of the same compound (*del·a-*) is also placed on the head at these times: hence the term *ā·kà-ōg-*, a mourner.

6. After eating pork or turtle they are also in the habit of smearing *ōg-* over their bodies with their fingers, in the belief that it affects their breath, and that evil spirits will be unable to detect, and therefore will not be attracted to, them by the savoury smell of the food of which they have partaken. Again, when heated by travelling, or by hunting or dancing, they have recourse to the same wash, but in these cases it is applied thinly.[5] [751]

[1] *Vide ante* "Medicine," paragraph 2.

[2] *Vide ante* "Mythology," paragraphs 9 and 27.

[3] "I may remark that the natives far West . . . . when mourning for the dead, paint the whole of the body of a white or yellow colour; while in the East of New Guinea the natives for a similar event paint themselves with black" (*vide* paper by Signor S. M. D'Albertis: "Travels in New Guinea," Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. vi, p. 215.)

[4] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 2.

[5] *Vide* "Anatomy and Physiology," paragraph 5.

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37. *bē·wa-tâ-* . . . made of red coral.
38. *râ·ta-ô·la-tâ-* . . „ small sea shells.
39. *rē·keto-tâ-*[1] . . „ *Hemicardium unedo* shells.
40. *ngâ·tya-tâ-*[2] and *jū·mu-ta-* „ mangrove seed tops.
41. *gar·en len pī·d-* . . „ *Dentalium octogonum* and children's hair.[3]

42. *râb-*.[4] Fine netting, plain or ornamented with shells, worn occasionally by both sexes as necklaces, armlets, &c. Baby-slings (item 24), bows, pig-spears, &c., are sometimes ornamented with pieces of this netting.

[462] 43. *râ-*. Ornamental cord, made by men from the yellow skin of an orchid root, and worn round the waist intertwined sometimes with fibres of the *Melochia velutina* (Andam., *al·aba-*). It is also occasionally interwoven with fibres of the *Anodendron paniculatum* (Andam., *yō·lba-*), in order to make ornamental fastenings for arrows, turtle harpoons, and personal adornments.

[751] 44. *chàu·ga-tâ-*.[5] Human bone necklaces sometimes ornamented with *Dentalium octogonum*. These are worn as charms during illness by friends or relatives of the deceased, and may be often seen tied tightly round the part in pain; they are also worn when in health to ward off disease.[6]

45. *chàu·ga l'ōt chē·ta-*.[7] Human skull, carried *in memoriam* by relatives of the deceased.[8]

46. *chàu·ga l'â·kà ē·kib-*.[9] Human jaw, which is carried in a similar manner.[10]

412 47. *pī·licha-*.[11] Boar's tusk, used for planing bows, paddles, &c., as it answers this purpose, in *their* hands, admirably, it is much valued; when required for use the inner edge is sharpened with a *Cyrena* shell.

48. *tai·li-ban·a-*.[12] Stone hammer, which the men now use principally in beating out iron for arrow-heads, &c., and the women when making bone necklaces.

49. *chī·di-*.[13] *Pinna* shell, used as plates for food, or as receptacles for pigments.

[1] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 45.
[2] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 73.
[3] An interesting description of these various necklaces will be found in a paper by Dr. Allen Thomson, F.R.S., Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi, p. 295.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 34.
[5] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 46.
[6] *Vide* Part I, "Medicine," paragraphs 2, 7, 8.
[7] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 7.
[8] *Vide* Part II, "Death and Burial," paragraphs 5 and 19.
[9] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 7a.
[10] *Vide* Part I, "Medicine," paragraph 9.
[11] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 65.
[12] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 72.
[13] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 26.

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364 spot for centuries leads to the formation of kitchen-middens [1]. In the tempo-
[361] rary camps something similar happens: the only difference consists in the fact that rubbish dumps only accumulate at the back of the temporary shelters, as a consequence of their peculiar shape that I shall not describe here. These
[136] dumps are heaven-sent love nests for insects of many species, mostly flies of a metallic green colour. They follow the Onge from camp to camp and thrive on scraps from human meals. When travelling in Little Andaman I was unmistakably warned of the nearby presence of Onge camps by the appearance of those familiar living beings.

136 The filth that coats the floors of communal Onge huts offers an ideal
[356] breeding ground also for myriads of fleas. Dogs spread them all over Little Andaman. Owing to the fact that the communal huts are deserted for months at a time during the dry season, the fleas become hungry and assault human
123 beings vehemently whenever possible. When visiting empty communal huts I myself, and the persons with me, were plagued by such assaults. Fleas advanced suddenly from feet to head in thick, shimmering brown layers, covering first our legs. We were obliged to strip and douse ourselves with insect-repellents. As for other parasites, including ticks and mosquitos, equally plentiful in Little
136 [825] Andaman, the Onge do not appear to be inconvenienced by them.

764 The communal huts are used for another purpose as well, unhygienic but of high ethnological interest: the interment of human corpses. When they die, the inmates are buried beneath their beds. In other words, communal huts are also cemeteries. Many human skeletons are found by digging under the beds. Until 1952 this fact was unknown about the Andaman Islanders although it is encountered in all Onge communal huts without exception. An analysis of
775 this custom led to further discoveries: the Onge wish to compel the spirit of a deceased person to remain close to the living as a protection, so they offer it the communal hut for an abode, the idea being that a spirit cannot wander far from the bones of its former body. A series of Onge practices point to this
[727] belief: felled enemies must be burned and reduced to ashes in order to render them harmless. Their hostile souls, according to the Onge, rise toward the sky in smoke as the bones are consumed. For the same reason, bones of relatives
[301] are fashioned into necklaces. The most conspicuous of these is the *ibidanghe*,
[765] worn generally by women and young girls, which is made from a decorated human jawbone. The aim is to obtain the assistance of the departed relation
[751] in fighting illness and bad luck. Direction in hunting, fishing and even quar-
[777] relling is supposed to come from the dead kept close to the living. We can trace this belief on the connection between bones and souls to a remote origin:
[191] Southern Asia megaliths had, in my opinion, no other cause for offering shelter to spirits and promoting useful relations between the living and the dead. I reached this conclusion after studying the contemporary habits of Travancore mountain and other Indian tribes, particularly the Munda. In Nias we find traces of the same customs as among different peoples of Indonesia and Oceania, who

[1] I discussed this at the two international anthropological congresses of 1952 (Vienna) and 1956 (Philadelphia), and have more to say on the subject in my book about the Onge.

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3. Food

In the absence of men, women also are good at fishing inside the coral reefs. They do this with two small nets used together. Their catch generally consists of brilliantly coloured fish with yellow, red, green, blue, black and white stripes forming varied and attractive designs. The Onge eat all fish without discrimination. My Indian collaborators, on the other hand, considered the coloured fish dangerous to their health and refused to cook them ; the Sacred Vedas, in fact, advise the avoidance of brigthly hued fish and of fish without scales. I wanted to try both kinds, and found them perfectly palatable, tasty and harmless.

No tool, used for any purpose by the Onge, ever gets a cleaning. Cleanliness, I repeat, is unknown in Little Andaman. See how food is prepared and disposed of ! Care is taken only not to throw big pieces of meat intended for cooking directly on the bare ground ; but once it is cooked, food is treated with the utmost disregard for dirt, dust, cobwebs and other such things. It is usually left lying around on large leaves spread out for the purpose. The remains of the Onge's orgiastic meals are kept out of reach of the dogs on the ceiling of the huts, to be covered with flies when no fire is lit directly below. Sand and grit may get wedged annoyingly in the teeth, but not such impalpable things as dust or cobwebs. The use of unclean food is not repugnant to the Onge. The same can be said for water polluted by dogs drinking and bathing in it, or by the presence of putrefying carcases. In the west of Little Andaman I saw some Onge avidly drinking from pools of a blackish water with a revolting sulphurous smell. After thoroughly filtering and boiling it, I too used such water, for it was the only water available in the neighborhood. This caused no ill effects. My Indian men considered it perfectly healthy and invigorating, and drank it safely in its natural condition.

The Onge eat with their unwashed fingers, without the help of tools. On rare occasions they use platters made of the flattened-out stems – or bracts – of *areca* palms. They sometimes carry these platters when travelling, but of course never wash them although they become coated in rancid, greasy filth. They soon assume a dark colour and a truly revolting appearance – aside from the awful smell. A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN's statement – that the Andamanese paint their bodies to neutralize the unpleasant smell of food that clings to them after their orgiastic feedings – shows only indirect knowledge of the life and manners of those people. Even the horrible flatulence that follows their pork orgies is not considered an inconvenience ; yet it is much more revolting than all the other body odours.

Although the Onge observe few hygienic precautions they do follow a number of medical practices, not all devoid of beneficial effects. Here are a few more remarks on their eating and drinking habits. For about six months of the year, between November and April, water is scarce in Little Andaman. Every kind of fresh water is then considered good by the Onge, regardless of whether it is a murky infusion of rotting leaves or afloat with the putrefied

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262 and therefore dangerous to offend by cooking them. Luckily they accepted
123 fish of almost every description, and vegetables. To convince them of our
[775] good intentions concerning their food, at Port Blair an Onge observer was
[825] stationed permanently near the kitchen to watch the preparation of meals. Nevertheless, within a few days all 30 Onge fell ill as a consequence of the
513 different food and climate. In their island they sleep, completely naked and
123 uncovered, lying directly on beds made of rough branches. Their only precaution, as I mentioned before, is to keep a fire permanently burning close to the bed. This was not feasible in the rooms with wooden floors that were provided for them in Port Blair, and blankets did not avail. So the 30 Onge developed a fever and we were obliged to take them urgently back to Little Andaman, where they promptly recovered. The incident gave me a further opportunity to observe the curative methods of the Onge.

262 With regard to their care to avoid illness from food, I must point out the
114 fact that misleading information has been published on the subject even in reputed papers on the Andamans. I will discuss them in my Onge book, but I wish here to briefly stress a few points : the Onge, and the present residual coastal or forest Andamanese, refuse to eat – besides birds and fish such as shark, ray, eel or muraenae – some other animals such as paradoxurus, bats, rats, varanus and snakes. The contrary is affirmed in those papers. To quote the well-known book by A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN ("The Andaman Islanders", pp. 37, 91 and 389), all Andaman Islanders, including the Onge, consider the above-mentioned species edible. Varanus is supposed to be acceptable for its
[832] lustful habits that make of it an aphrodisiac. My direct and protracted experience both in Little and in Great Andaman compels me to state that such information is false. It is true, however, that the Andaman Islanders believe
261 they acquire some of the properties of their devoured victims. This occurs
252 only if the animals are cut up alive. Therefore turtles, pigs and dugongs are
[231] cruelly sectioned while still alive, and the Onge also believe that their health
266 and energy profit by it. Cannibalism may be founded on such beliefs, but it is completely unknown to Andaman Islanders of all times and places. Young
262 sucking-pigs are avoided, as food, by men, and even withheld from the dogs ; but the Onge are partial to other things which, in our opinion, are far worse : crickets, and the fat larvae of coleoptera that collect in tree trunks.

Without giving here a full list of the foods that are considered harmful or curative, I shall add just a few remarks on the subject. The healthiest, as well as the tastiest part of the pig is supposed to be the kidney and its surrounding fat. It is offered to old or distinguished people, as a sign of favour. As I
[888] helped the Onge, as much as possible, with gifts of tools and medicines, they
123 found it complimentary to name me after their favorite titbit, intending thereby
553 to honour me as a friend and healer. By such a name I came to be known in Little Andaman, and this made my work easier. In the Onge language the word for kidney fat is *cue-changhĕghĕ* ; I was delighted with it, for it proclaimed the high esteem I was held in by my Onge friends.

262 Foods considered healthy by the Onge include honey, yams, several
751 succulent roots and the fat of turtle and dugong. Pteropus, a giant bat very
[825]

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common in the Andamans, said by RADCLIFFE-BROWN (p. 273) to be eaten by the Andaman Islanders as a protection against rheumatism, is never killed. For some superstitious reason the Onge are simply horrified at the thought of touching such an enormous flying bat. Among the fruits, those of a plant whose wood has such a revolting smell that it is known, in English, as "stool-tree", are believed to have exceptional protective properties for the human body. The fruits themselves smell even worse than the wood, but this, to the Onge, makes them appetizing rather than disgusting. Concerning honey, and the many sugary fruits of the jungle that are available all the year round, the Onge luckily ignore the simple method of distilling alcohol. No intoxicating drink reaches Little Andaman from the outer world, whereas in Great Andaman alcohol, together with imported syphilis, was one of the main causes of depopulation. No syphilis appears as yet to have reached Little Andaman. This is also confirmed by the research carried out by Dr. HERMANN LEHMANN of London's St. Bartholomew's Hospital, during February 1953 in my Onge camp in Labanare (north-east coast of Little Andaman).

II. Effects on the People's Lives

The islanders die young, specially the men. The majority of them succumb before reaching the age of 20 ; most of the survivors die between 20 and 40 ; the rest – with a very few exceptions – before 50. Women, after marriage, follow a similar pattern : the death rate among women, however, is slightly different owing to a less corrosive sexual life. Some women may live to the age of sixty, but both sexes age soon, appearing older than their years when still in their twenties. The short Onge span of life recalls conditions which apparently prevailed among prehistoric and protohistoric men. Palaeolithic man died at an earlier age than modern man. The Onge today, in many respects, behaves as palaeolithic man behaved countless centuries ago. – Infant mortality is high ; the first five days of life are the most critical for the Onge, owing, in part, to the hard life led by mothers even during pregnancy, which often causes functional damage to the placenta. Delivery is generally easy and traumatic injury rarely occurs ; but premature births are common, and so are malformations and other anomalies. Imperfect infants are quickly eliminated by their parents. As a result, only a small number of children are allowed to grow up, but these appear normal. There are no blind and no deaf-and-dumb people in Little Andaman. I saw only two instances of incipient lameness : in an unmarried boy of about twenty and in a young married woman. Only robust infants can survive.

The Onge, so careful about their food, are completely indifferent to something else that is considered very harmful in continental and insular regions close to the Andamans. There, menstruating women are often segregated and considered harmful to the entire community. Not so in Little Andaman, where the remedies applied in the circumstance are extremely primitive (cf. supra) and could probably be traced to palaeolithic man. I saw nothing

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841 resembling these practices in any other part of the world. Never hitherto
171 described, they should be carefully considered. This would require a lengthy description, for which there is no space here. We may recall that menstruating Onge women are allowed to circulate freely at all times. An interesting detail
[751] is that the *naquinēghē* of first menstruations are worn by relations around their neck as having health-giving properties. The women, as we know, use special
841 soft, long leaves, collected for them by their husbands, as absorbents. They
[824] are the leaves of Myristica longifolia or of Tretanthera lanceofolia both species serving the purpose. They are applied under the *naquinēghē* and drawn back
[834] between the legs to be secured above the buttocks. – Sexual intercourse is forbidden during the menstrual period even by the Onge : illness – a swelling
[753] of the arms or legs – would follow. A curious theory about the reason for menstruation in very young girls is that it is a result of previous sexual contacts stimulated by nose rubbing – the Onge substitute for kissing. They ignore the
842 unhygienic practice of kissing with the lips, and never even kiss their children. Only nose rubbing is practiced. The anatomical structure of the Onge nose, which almost totally lacks nasal bones and is very fleshy, may explain this transference of sensation from nearby regions, i. e. the lips.

844 Births take place in the forest and are surrounded by no hygienic precautions or disinfection as conceived by us. Clay is applied to stem puerperal bleeding, without provoking infection. The only assistant is the pregnant woman's husband, and sometimes one or two old women. Their ability equals that of a herdsman delivering his goat of a kid. No inconvenience arises, in either instance, from lack of precautions. – The tiny, tender and graceful bodies
[751] of Onge infants are smeared with ochre and light-coloured clay for hygienic purposes. This is done immediately after birth, and affords some protection against the teeming legions of mosquitos and ticks that plague Little Andaman. The infant is never washed in water, not even at the very moment of birth. The placenta is buried 30 or 40 cms deep, under the bed of naked branches upon which the mother delivered her baby.

842 An argument that deserves much attention concerns the possible link
143 between lack of hygiene and sterility among the Onge. A vast number of married couples have no offspring, thereby threatening their group with extinction. Consanguinity could be given as a cause : let us examine it. No doubt the Onge are related to each other as a consequence of long interbreeding in their island with no foreigners admitted. These conditions afford an ideal field for studying the effects of endogamy on man. Nowhere in the world, as far as I know, are a people so isolated as in Little Andaman. Inbreeding has existed at 100 % ever since remote times. In other words, the Onge would seem to be the most highly inbred human population known up to the present. Could this fact alone, aside from unhealthy habits, explain their present widespread sterility ? Special
174 studies on the subject should be undertaken, keeping in mind that the Onge have certainly inhabited Little Andaman for thousands of years, on the evidence of my excavations in their kitchen-middens.

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291 754 *naquinĕghĕ* exposes the former owner to harm. Ill-disposed persons could use it for black magic practices. I collected specimens of this garment, all of them, however, brand-new – for the above-mentioned reason. To avoid trouble to the owner, nobody is allowed to touch the *naquinĕghĕ*, which is worn in front of the vulva. To touch it is a deadly offence. Aside from the *naquinĕghĕ*, Andaman 842 colonists attribute the natives' sterility to their abhorrence of salt. Another 263 opinion would have it that the lack of salt transforms human saliva into poison: the Jarawas, by spitting on their arrows render them poisonous. The absurdity of this belief is so evident that it requires no confutation. The Onge refuse to eat salt because they consider it unhealthy, or, to say the least, disgusting.

III. Illnesses and Onge Curative Methods

164 Few illnesses affect the Onge, but they succumb to those few with surprising speed. Often they become seriously ill for mysterious reasons and in spite of their robust appearance. Smallpox, tuberculosis and poliomyelitis are unknown in Little Andaman, although they sometimes strike in the nearby Nicobars. Measles broke out on the island on more than one occasion, killing off all the inhabitants of several communal huts, which I later found deserted and in ruins. With regard to syphilis, the Indian Census of 1931 quotes an old remark of PORTMAN's concerning a few individuals considered by him as infected. This was later denied.

Onge women are more resistant to illness than men. Wounds heal prompt- [752] ly in both sexes, without the aid of remedies. A few of the older men, however, had suppurating sores on their legs, slow to disappear even when disin- [123] fected and treated by me with European medicines. No similar sores were found on women. On the other hand, women suffer more than men from ringworm, mainly in the umbilical region. Nothing is done to rid them of it because the discomfort is slight. I suggested an Indian cure made with the leaves of the neem tree, Melia azedarach, very common in Southern Asia where it is considered sacred. I imported the plant to Little Andaman, but [123] the Onge displayed no interest in it. I found a single instance of leucoderma, in a woman with whitish spots on her hands and lips. I could get no reliable information about the incidence of cancer, but it appears to be rare on the island. No baldness is to be seen in Little Andaman, and I found few traces of [142] greying hair, as the Onge die young. A transversal bregmatic furrow is noticeable in all individuals, male and female, as a consequence of carrying loads hung [482] from their heads by a strip of bark. The Onge start doing this in childhood. An artificial, unintentional deformation of the skull is the result of that uncomfortable habit.

751 For hygienic reasons the Little Andaman aborigines paint their bodies with 302 refined clay and ochre of various shades, mainly reddish. This gives the women occasion to embellish the bodies of their husbands with an endless variety of [386] geometrical designs. Every year I found changes in their patterns, and I

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documented the fact in a number of photographs. The purpose, however, is 751
purely hygienic: an unpainted body is, in their opinion, exposed to certain 302
illness. They explained this belief to me by saying that without paint the body becomes "hot". The men who travelled with me far from women were anxious every day to spread clay on face, chest and limbs, just to avoid "heat" or, in other words, fever. I thought of malaria, but they do not suffer from it. [162]
Of this I will speak later on.

Rough clay is applied daily, on infant bodies as well as on adults, for 751
health purposes. It is used to cure all kinds of sickness, together with ochre, 757
turtle fat and honey. Honey spread on wounds appears to hasten healing. [302]
Identical curative methods are employed in Oceania. They probably existed [854]
among the Tasmanians, and are still used in Australia by the aborigines. I [752]
found nothing of the kind in Africa, where honey is plentiful. The Onge consider clay, ochre, honey and turtle fat good for external and internal treatment alike – 171
both preventive and curative. Powdered bees' wax of a dark colour is often [825]
added. I saw mothers give their children, as a laxative, a number of pills made [317]
of similar ingredients. No bigger than common hazelnuts, the pills are red [386]
and greasy. In Onge forests I saw some small excavations, a few feet deep, made to extract the medicinal clay from special ground pockets. In its natural form the clay is light coloured, powdery and free of stones. When it is burnt the colour changes, assuming red, yellow, whitish or black shades according to the different qualities used, all believed to possess healing properties and to ensure hygienic colouring of the body. Mixed as described above, clay is used by the Onge in every circumstance from fever to snake or scorpion bite, constipation, breast infection in women, or post-delivery bleeding.

Belief in the medicinal properties of clay is as old as humanity itself. 757
Even among contemporary European peoples, notwithstanding severe criticism, 171
clay is still honoured as health-giving, not, I must say, on wholly foolish 823
grounds. The Onge, who smear their bodies constantly with clay, have the softest, most velvety skin that I ever saw anywhere in the world. Wounds [752]
spread with clay mixed with honey and fat leave negligible scars. The laxative and germ-killing action of clay is admitted by physicians in many countries, including Europe. It never causes infection. Geophagism has ancient origins, and we find it practiced by many modern populations. Children of every race and all young wild animals lick clay instinctively to absorb the mineral salts required by a developing organism. The Onge habit of using clay for healing purposes can be set, therefore, in a very wide frame.

Mental and nervous disorders are rare in Little Andaman. Few natives 164
are subject to epilepsy – an important matter for the Onge: they consider 828
such people as possessed by spirits who speak through their mouths, and [158]
respectfully question them as oracles. Several Onge chiefs, such as Chief [622]
Tchôtâ of Tambê-ê-buiê, are apt to go into trances that have all the appearance [787]
of epileptic fits. They were elected chiefs on the strength of their epilepsy!

Constant exercise keeps eyesight and hearing extremely sharp in the 164
Onge. I saw no single case of myopia or presbyopia among the natives, nor 151

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

no specialized physicians, the Onge do not understand that payment can be exacted for medical care. This stems from the fact that wages are not considered by those happy people as payment for any kind of work whatsoever, but only as a gift. I realized this when I tried to pay my guides after our extenuating marches through the jungle : in order to avoid offending the natives that we had casually met in the course of our trip, I had to give equal reward to everybody. 757 465 123 431

The Onge consider some men or women better endowed than others with anti-malefic influence ; but these too neither demand nor receive wages for their services. Evil spirits or evil persons are believed to be principally responsible for illness. A series of superstitions and remarkable habits derive from this belief. The above-mentioned precautions concerning the *naquinēghē* are among them. For identical reasons they carefully hide hair cuttings, but not nail parings, for the simple reason that nails are never cut but worn down by digging for edible roots, fishing, and other rough work. Superstition, as we know, is also the reason for painting the body to prevent fever and other ills. 753 [756] [515]

In the depths of their jungle the Onge appear to practice some kind of witchcraft. On several occasions I noticed the mysterious behaviour of some natives travelling with me. Occasionally a man left our marching column to examine the inside of a huge hollow tree and signal to his friends. They did not prevent me from looking into the hollow, where I saw only a simple structure of short sticks resembling a trap without being one. The Onge do not use traps ; moreover, those structures were far too flimsy to catch anything. Often, two or three men assembled in consultation, rearranged the sticks that had probably been dislodged by the passage of lizards, crabs or other small animals, and walked away silently. I could get no explanation on the matter. Certainly the Onge are sagacious observers of animal and vegetable life and have deep knowledge of their hidden properties. Some trees are probably used for magical purposes, but, I insist, it is impossible as yet to affirm it. The structures in question consisted of four vertical sticks, about 30 cms long, joined at the top by four more sticks of approximately the same length, placed horizontally. The result was a box-like frame, loose and unsecured. The slightest disturbance, such as a light breeze, could destroy the flimsy construction. As far as I could guess they invested those structures with curative properties, but in what manner remains a mystery. I noticed analogous practices among Central African Pygmies and other primitives. 789 [224] [171]

It is very clear that the Onge dread illness and magic spells, for they consider themselves at a loss in fighting such evils. Unhygienic habits are of no importance to them. 754 751

Resting is considered favorable to good health. The Onge indulge voluptuously in rest, interrupting it, however, with too frequent sexual excursions. They mainly rest from doing nothing, because 90 % of their time is spent in what, for them, is the most agreeable manner of enjoying life. 517 751 461

In mid-March, when the honey harvest reaches its peak, the Onge guzzle 262

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

262 immense quantities of it together with pork. I was with them three times when
this recurred, so I could observe their behaviour exhaustively. With their
517 bellies full, the natives rest. Their only activity is body painting, performed by
302 the women on the skin of their peacefully sleeping husbands. Designs change
178 from time to time as I said before, according to the women's inventiveness.
Each family challenges the others in renewing their patterns. The best are later
reproduced until the next change. From year to year I noticed no real evolution
in this rudimentary art, but a cyclical fashion, with temporary preference, in
males and females alike, for some geometrical designs, unconnected with what-
ever kind of food they had been eating. This contradicts the published af-
114 firmations of several authors, who allege that the Andamanese paint special
302 patterns in special colours for different kinds of food. There is nothing more
false, at least with reference to the Onge. Merry feasting, whether on pork
[262] turtle, dugong, fish or honey, leads to a period of rest and body decoration –
[751] always in similar patterns and colours – with the unique purpose of preventing
illness. We might say that painting the body is equal to cleaning it, but this
[515] is quite unintentional. A curious exception to the Onge's filthy habits is the
264 practice of sweeping the floor after solemn banquets in communal huts. The
356 surface of the floor consists of unpacked earth hardened by casual tramping.
When it is dry, sweeping raises a heavy dust that fills the hut to the ceiling.
342 It deposits there on the wooden beams where the Onge like to store cooked
251 victuals. So they eat their food, as I said before, coated with dust, no matter
262 how thick. A brush without a handle is used to sweep the floor ; it is 80 cms
412 long and no thicker than a man's wrist. It is one of the nicest tools made by
the Onge, and consists of strong, hard, elastic palm fibres bound together with
strips of rattan. The dirt is simply thrown out all around the hut, by pushing
356 it under the roof mats that never reach the ground.

These notes offer a first glimpse into a peculiar aspect of Onge life. It is
114 to be deplored that these vanishing people have not yet been exhaustively
studied, notwithstanding their anthropological interest and high biological
significance.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

the finger-tips and almost pink, with pale chocolate moons and 142
yellowish-brown palms and soles. In the adults the nails and soles of the feet remain pale, the palms being a little darker. The head, and the visible buccal and nasal epithelia, were almost black, and the gums were pink, as was the inside of the lips, with dark petecchiae, in adults very noticeable, at the base of the teeth and over the tongue and palate. The cheeks, however, were a reddish-brown, although the whole skin was already showing signs of darkening after twelve hours. Nasal cartilage was minimal, but that of the ears well-developed. The darkest area of skin were the forehead, eye sockets, lids, nipples and genitalia.

In general, therefore, the infant's skin was very slightly lighter [844]
than that of the adults, though before I could be sure of this I had [302]
to wash off the thick layer of ochre which is smeared over the un- [854]
washed infants immediately after birth. As the infants are extremely [751]
carefully protected from the sun by 'umbrella' hats made of lobed palm leaves, the darkening, which is complete by the end of the first year, is clearly biological and is not effected by tanning. As, however, the Onges interchange or 'adopt' children freely, [597]
it was impossible to carry out any proper colorimetric observations.

I saw no albinos in the Onges, usually fairly common in dark- 143
skinned peoples. I saw several in Africa, with apparently normal 826
parents. Some African peoples destroy albinos at birth as they do [847]
those with deformities, and the Andamanese may do the same, as I saw little congenital deformity (see, however, p. 46). Fear of being [626]
held responsible for disasters which befall the group carries great weight, and it is possible that the two cases of abnormality which I did see did not manifest symptoms at birth. Twins, however, are [845]
clearly (and gladly) accepted, so eager are the Onges to have [842]
children.

It was already clear in the infant that it would have the somatic 142
characteristics common to all Negritos as regards the proportions of the body, the form and dimensions of the head, absence of prognathism, comparatively fine lips, nose and ears, black skin, and woolly hair, and would be well below 1·5 metres in height when fully grown. Above all, the Andamanese have a large forehead, very wide-angled jaw and large mouths, with the upper lips not invariably full, as in Negroes. Many Onges, in fact, have fine features,

157 522 Western standards taciturn or sly, and the Negro peoples, who frequently manifest complete abandonment in their amusement. 157 522 831 Obscenities appear to be an unfailing source of amusement to the Onges, who indulge in them at every opportunity, even with strangers, and the obscene dances of the womenfolk are a continual source of pleasure. The exchange of obscenities is, indeed, a sign of friendship, and I found that vulgarity was invariably immensely successful in provoking hilarity; any subsequent negotiations were always peaceable and satisfactory.

302 [157] An extension of this vulgarity is an infantile vanity, not without sexual significance. The care with which their bodies are painted nearly every day is one aspect of this vanity; the more a wife loves her husband the more magnificent the designs she executes on him. [153] [151] [161] The paintings on their bodies reach a peak every two or three days, as the Onges fear illness and death if they are not newly daubed, and the face at least must be continually painted, with at least smears on the chest, arms and legs. A man returning from an exceptionally successful hunting trip is met by his wife with a specially unusual and elaborate design, which she carries out with great devotion. [123] During each of my visits to the island the Onges would rush up to show me their embellishments as soon as they were finished, and took a delight in standing in front of my camera, even though they had no idea what it was for.

304 [171] It is curious that unlike most primitive peoples, the Onges do not practise tattooing, which is one of the simplest ways, if not *the* simplest, in which such peoples satisfy their craving for physical [184] [302] admiration. The other Andamanese do, puncturing the skin with tiny slivers of obsidian or quartz, but the Onges paint with ochre instead. They love, too, to weave garlands of fruit, flowers and 381 824 leaves from the forest, returning to the camp laden with them, men and women alike, delighted with their own beauty. This divergence [184] of customs in peoples essentially of the same stock, but separated for long periods of time into endogamous isolates, is very remarkable.

838 An intense preoccupation with sexual attraction and activity has led to the prevalence of aberration. All the Onges have homosexual tendencies. I became aware of this during my first visit to Little Andaman on one of my longer expeditions, when I had taken only men with me, and on subsequent occasions I therefore allowed the men to bring their wives. The effect of long periods of absence on

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Soon after delivery, some warm water is given to the woman to drink; she is also fed with meat-gravy, and the water in which shell or other fish have been boiled; after a time, should she desire it, fish, shell-fish, yams, or fruit are given her, but no meat.[1] During the first two or three days, she remains in a sitting posture, propped up by articles arranged so as to form a couch. As might be supposed, from the active habits and unsophisticated manners of these people, their women rarely suffer much during labour and child-birth; in fact, no instances of difficult delivery are known.[2] 846

12. For ear-ache, head-ache, and tooth-ache, recourse is had, in the first instance, to the *chàw·ga-tâ-*, then to scarification, should the pain continue and cause swelling. 755

13. In cases of skin disease, they afford relief, at least from irritation, by applying to the parts affected a large smooth stone previously warmed over a fire. 757

14. When a wound is inflicted by a thorn, stone, shell, &c., hot water is poured over it from a *Cyrena* shell, which is then heated and applied to the part as hot as it can be borne; or, if the injury be slight, sea-bathing is prescribed, as it is said to expedite the healing process. In treating a boil, they scarify all round the swelling in order to reduce the inflammation, and afterwards bathe it with *chū·lnga-* "lotion." This substance is also taken internally when suffering from dysentery, while for diarrhœa they swallow small quantities of a whitish clay, called *kôtrē·o-*. 752 278

15. The *larvæ* of bees found attached to honeycombs is eaten to correct constipation, or, if in season, the fruits of two trees, *ô·ropa-* and *chôb-*, which are much relished, and not without reason. 757 278

16. Their method of treating a case of epilepsy is to sprinkle the patient with cold water, and then to scarify his brow. 757

17. When bitten by a snake (especially a venomous one), if they succeed in killing it, they cut it open, and apply the kidney fat to the wound, rubbing it in for some time; should they fail in capturing the reptile, a ligament is tied above the bite, and the surrounding flesh is scarified. Deaths from snake bites, though not unknown, are rare. The late chief of the Middle Strait community died in a few hours from the bite of a certain tree snake called *tâ·ga-jō·bo-*,[3] in September, 1878, and another 752

[1] During menstruation they abstain from pork, *Paradoxurus*, turtle, honey, and yams, and live upon certain varieties of fish, sour fruits, iguanas, and prawns.

[2] The custom known by the name of *couvade*, or the paternal lying-in, is quite unknown among the Andamanese.

[3] This snake is said to be the most deadly, after which the *lâ·raba-* and *wâ·ra-jō·bo-* are the most dreaded. The last appears to be the *Ophiophagus elaps*. Further allusion to the *lâ·raba-* and the *wâ·ra-jō·bo-* will be made under "Superstitions."

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

752 case of a similar kind occurred a few years since in McPherson's Strait. When bitten by a centipede on the leg or hand, urine is applied; less inconvenience seems to be caused by these injuries to the Andamanese than to the natives of other countries, although the insects are here larger than in many districts, measuring sometimes as much as eight inches. The scorpions, on the other hand, are small and comparatively innocuous; no attention is therefore paid to the bites they inflict.

164 18. Elephantiasis appears never to have occurred among them; but since seeing cases of this complaint among the Nicobarese, they have given it a name, *lâ·pi-*, from *lâ·pike*, to swell (as a bruise).

752 19. Bandages of leaves are applied to gunshot wounds, ulcers, fractures, sprains, or bruises.

201 **Physiognomy.**—1. When an Andamanese is in good spirits, his eyes sparkle and the surrounding skin is slightly wrinkled, while the corners of the mouth, which is partially opened, are drawn back; if he be in low spirits the eyes are directed to the ground, the forehead is transversely wrinkled in the centre, and the lips are closed, but the corners of the mouth are not depressed; under the influence of great grief the nostrils are observed to dilate.

2. In thinking deeply, or while endeavouring to understand the construction of some object, the eyes are fixed intently on it, and a slight elevation of the lower lid is noticeable.

3. Astonishment is expressed by the eyebrows being raised, the mouth opened a little and covered with the left hand, while the right hand is brought smartly to the left side just above the heart; a man will also, on being reminded of an unintentional omission to fulfil some promise, act either in this manner, or he will slap his thigh and then place the hand over his opened mouth. Women show their surprise (and also joy) by striking the thigh, which is raised for the purpose, with the open hand. To this practice may be attributed the mistaken notion entertained by an early writer,[1] that "their salutation is performed by lifting up a leg and smacking with their hand the lower part of the thigh."

4. Indications of slyness, guilt, and jealousy can be detected in the eye only.

5. Disgust is shown by throwing the head back, dilating the nostrils, drawing down the corners of the mouth, and slightly protruding the lower lip: no expiration is, however, made.

6. Shame is evinced by the head being averted, the eyes lowered, and the hands raised so as to conceal the portion of the face exposed to view.

[1] *Vide* Colebrooke.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

291 754 *naquinēghē* exposes the former owner to harm. Ill-disposed persons could use it for black magic practices. I collected specimens of this garment, all of them, however, brand-new – for the above-mentioned reason. To avoid trouble to the owner, nobody is allowed to touch the *naquinēghē*, which is worn in front of the vulva. To touch it is a deadly offence. Aside from the *naquinēghē*, Andaman 842 colonists attribute the natives' sterility to their abhorrence of salt. Another 263 opinion would have it that the lack of salt transforms human saliva into poison: the Jarawas, by spitting on their arrows render them poisonous. The absurdity of this belief is so evident that it requires no confutation. The Onge refuse to eat salt because they consider it unhealthy, or, to say the least, disgusting.

III. Illnesses and Onge Curative Methods

164 Few illnesses affect the Onge, but they succumb to those few with surprising speed. Often they become seriously ill for mysterious reasons and in spite of their robust appearance. Smallpox, tuberculosis and poliomyelitis are unknown in Little Andaman, although they sometimes strike in the nearby Nicobars. Measles broke out on the island on more than one occasion, killing off all the inhabitants of several communal huts, which I later found deserted and in ruins. With regard to syphilis, the Indian Census of 1931 quotes an old remark of PORTMAN's concerning a few individuals considered by him as infected. This was later denied.

Onge women are more resistant to illness than men. Wounds heal prompt- [752] ly in both sexes, without the aid of remedies. A few of the oldet men, however, had suppurating sores on their legs, slow to disappear even when disin- [123] fected and treated by me with European medicines. No similar sores were found on women. On the other hand, women suffer more than men from ringworm, mainly in the umbilical region. Nothing is done to rid them of it because the discomfort is slight. I suggested an Indian cure made with the leaves of the neem tree, or Melia azedarach, very common in Southern Asia where it is considered sacred. I imported the plant to Little Andaman, but [123] the Onge displayed no interest in it. I found a single instance of leucoderma, in a woman with whitish spots on her hands and lips. I could get no reliable information about the incidence of cancer, but it appears to be rare on the island. No baldness is to be seen in Little Andaman, and I found few traces of [142] greying hair, as the Onge die young. A transversal bregmatic furrow is noticeable in all individuals, male and female, as a consequence of carrying loads hung [482] from their heads by a strip of bark. The Onge start doing this in childhood. An artificial, unintentional deformation of the skull is the result of that uncomfortable habit.

751 For hygienic reasons the Little Andaman aborigines paint their bodies with 302 refined clay and ochre of various shades, mainly reddish. This gives the women [386] occasion to embellish the bodies of their husbands with an endless variety of geometrical designs. Every year I found changes in their patterns, and I

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

documented the fact in a number of photographs. The purpose, however, is 751
purely hygienic . an unpainted body is, in their opinion, exposed to certain 302
illness. They explained this belief to me by saying that without paint the body becomes "hot". The men who travelled with me far from women were anxious every day to spread clay on face, chest and limbs, just to avoid "heat" or, in other words, fever. I thought of malaria, but they do not suffer from it. [162]
Of this I will speak later on.

Rough clay is applied daily, on infant bodies as well as on adults, for 751
health purposes. It is used to cure all kinds of sickness, together with ochre, 757
turtle fat and honey. Honey spread on wounds appears to hasten healing. [302]
Identical curative methods are employed in Oceania. They probably existed [854]
among the Tasmanians, and are still used in Australia by the aborigines. I found nothing of the kind in Africa, where honey is plentiful. The Onge consider [752]
clay, ochre, honey and turtle fat good for external and internal treatment alike - [171]
both preventive and curative. Powdered bees' wax of a dark colour is often added. I saw mothers give their children, as a laxative, a number of pills made [825]
of similar ingredients. No bigger than common hazelnuts, the pills are red [317]
and greasy. In Onge forests I saw some small excavations, a few feet deep, made to extract the medicinal clay from special ground pockets. In its natural [386]
form the clay is light coloured, powdery and free of stones. When it is burnt the colour changes, assuming red, yellow, whitish or black shades according to the different qualities used, all believed to possess healing properties and to ensure hygienic colouring of the body. Mixed as described above, clay is used by the Onge in every circumstance from fever to snake or scorpion bite, constipation, breast infection in women, or post-delivery bleeding.

Belief in the medicinal properties of clay is as old as humanity itself. 757
Even among contemporary European peoples, notwithstanding severe criticism, 171
clay is still honoured as health-giving, not, I must say, on wholly foolish 823
grounds. The Onge, who smear their bodies constantly with clay, have the softest, most velvety skin that I ever saw anywhere in the world. Wounds [752]
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Onge

164 do they suffer from the eye infections that are so common in the tropics. Their
151 highly trained eye can distinguish at a great distance small vessels on the troubled waters of the sea that people with normal eyesight could not perceive without a telescope. Normal vision, I suppose, is the same for the entire human
123 race ; but we exercise our eyesight less. In the dark fastness of the jungle, the
151 Onge were able to point out birds sitting motionless high up in the trees, quite invisible to me notwithstanding my experience in collecting even the tiniest specimens. With their sharp eyes they sought out for me a collection of minute mimetic amphibians living far from the ground on tree trunks, previously unknown to science. The same thing often happened when I was unable to see as far as they did. The help of my savage friends was invaluable in avoiding the poisonous snakes that we met with daily in our camps or while travelling. For our protection, the Onge always marched in front of my men. They could discern reptiles hanging from branches among thick foliage, waiting to bite us on the neck, or lying perfectly still in the tall grass, ready to attack our legs. The only trouble we had with snakes was when the men I had brought from India, in moments of enthusiasm ran ahead into the interior of the jungle, eluding their Onge vanguard.

● 752 The Onge themselves, however, are sometimes bitten by snakes, with
123 dire consequences. Happily the Andamanese snakes are less deadly than the
[136] same species on the continent, and few deaths occur from snake bite ; but it
[222] can curtail a man's activity for several months. In March 1953 an Onge friend of about 25 who had climbed a tall tree to collect honey, inadvertently seized with his left hand a snake concealed in a tuft of creepers, and was bitten above the elbow. Frightful swelling ensued, together with shooting pains and a raging fever. The man was brought to me unconscious, his left arm had already assumed the appearance of a huge, rigid, elongated sausage. The Onge had smeared all his body, and particularly the wounded arm, with ochre mixed with honey, turtle fat and rough clay. They have no specific remedy for snake bite. It was too late, but in an attempt to save the patient an antiophidic injection was practiced on him. Within a few hours he appeared to rally. I saw him again after eleven days ; his arm had been treated in the Onge way and put in a sling made of ficus bark cut into narrow strips. Fever had disappeared, and in part also the swelling, so he could move his elbow a little. The skin peeled off the whole length of the arm. Where the fangs had entered the flesh two round, red, suppurating wounds, 1 cm in diameter, were discernible under a layer of clay and honey. The man recovered in about two months. During his
476 illness the people who shared his communal hut exempted him, his wife and his children from all work, and supplied them with all requirements. This occurs in every case of illness, showing the complete solidarity that prevails among those simple people – once considered ferocious. Always, if the wife is ill, the husband is automatically relieved of his hunting, fishing and food-collecting duties. Friends provide food for the family, no matter how many the members thereof.

164 In Little Andaman, we Europeans are constantly threatened with mala-
143 ria. Should we fail to take all necessary precautions we would catch it upon setting foot on the island. The Onge are all infected, but it does not upset

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

them ; neither children nor adults have dilated spleens. Inhabitants of other regions where malaria incidence is high often show the same immunity, supposedly attained through local adaptation. Papuasians, Melanesians and Africans sometimes appear insensitive to malaria, although they all carry the germs of the disease. In opposition to their resistance to malaria, the Onge are vulnerable to minor lung infections and measles, which we would not consider serious. 164 143

When fever occurs, whatever the cause, the Onge recur to their universal remedy : plastering the entire body with clay, ochre, turtle fat and honey. Legs, arms and trunk are swaddled in tight bandages made of strips of ficus bark. These bandages hinder superficial blood circulation. The strips are removed from time to time and replaced after vigorous massaging of the body with hands and feet. Stomach and chest pains, as well as insistent coughing, are treated by stretching the patient horizontally on the ground and rubbing him energetically with hands and feet. The feet compress the body, with special attention to the affected part. The entire trunk is worked over in this manner, inch by inch, and the patient is carefully rotated until he has been completely turned around to receive treatment on all sides. This process lasts half an hour or more. It is a curious sight to see a man transformed into a kind of sausage, all tied up in strings and subjected to violent treatment on the bare ground, with a crowd of spectators surrounding him, obviously taking the whole performance quite seriously. The result is kill or cure ; the former helped, I should say, by rough treatment performed with the best intentions. 757

Exposure to hot smoke is another Onge cure for wounds and pains. I saw it applied, for instance, on Nabimbôi, the fat young wife of Maritôi, chief of Chemalē. She had scorched her right foot by stepping inadvertently on smouldering ashes. The pain made it impossible for her to sleep, so she was treated by covering the burn with the usual mixture of clay, turtle fat and honey, and exposing it to hot smoke. The smoke was provided by burning the fresh seeds of a creeper, each as big as a horse-chestnut and of the same colour, but of a lenticular shape. Incisions are made in the seeds to prevent explosion, and they are laid on the fire where they give out a thick smoke. The injured foot was held as close to the fire as possible. Recovery promptly ensued, but I would not swear that it was due to the treatment. 752

Fire is used by the Onge also against fever, whatever its cause. I shall quote an instance. On the night of 28 March, 1954, one of my guides, Toncootēi, a very intelligent Onge, suffered a strong attack of fever while resting in the Antiguēh communal hut in the interior of the island. I diagnosed the trouble as indigestion from immoderate guzzling of pork meat. Friends stretched Toncootēi on the ground, resting on his right side. Two lines of burning charcoal, set at right angles, outlined his back and head. Then one of the Onge started spitting on Toncootēi's hair. This was followed by vigorous rubbing of his scalp, with occasional pauses to seize his head and press it strongly with both hands. Following this, diluted ochre and clay – very hot – was spread on his thorax, throat and neck and rubbed in vigorously, whereupon the patient was brought closer to the fire. In the meantime a young fellow 757 372 123

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953) 1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

757 started slapping his hands on Toncootēi's and exposing them intermittently to
372 the fire. All this lasted over a quarter of an hour. The patient was then made
123 to lie prone, with his legs spread out, to receive a foot massage as described above, for another quarter of an hour. Torso, feet and hands were worked over, with short pauses for artificial respiration by means of compression. Subsequently his back, and particularly the sacral region, was vigorously rubbed by willing hands and feet. Three men performed this operation. Toncootēi was finally allowed to rest, between two fires kept burning all night. Sunrise found him alive, and the fever had abated, due, I think, to a good European laxative that I had persuaded him to take.

164 In March 1952, I witnessed a sad episode, followed by the death of
123 the patient, near my Labanare camp. A young mother was suffering from breast rhagades. Her baby was less than a month old, and she was also suckling
[862] another child, almost two years old, who had sharp teeth. It is a frequent
[597] kindly habit of the Onge to adopt babies ; and it is customary to breast-feed them up to the age of four. Some interesting consequences arise out of this habit, but I shall not analyze them here. A minor detail : since they are allowed to suckle when they wish and are weaned so late, Onge children do not indulge in thumb sucking. Considerable reactions are spontaneously established between the two terminal parts of the digestive tube – oral and anal, as though in physiological conflict. Once more I affirm that the evidence of Onge sexual
[864] behaviour positively denies Freudian theories with regard to the sexual life of children. Furthermore, young anthropoids and primitive people behave identically in this respect.

164 The adopted baby gave the young mother nipple wounds that became
123 infected and suppurated. For lack of proper care and in unhygienic surroundings, the infection spread to the rest of her body. I found her suffering terribly
752 from pain in the breast, muscular spasm and high fever. The Onge had applied their usual external remedies to her body, from head to foot. Very tight bandages of ficus bark, renewed three times a day, were wrapped arounds legs, arms, trunk and abdomen. Bright red ochre – rare in Little Andaman and considered more effective because of its brilliant colour – was painted onto the afflicted breast. The poor young woman looked at me hopefully. I suggested her immediate removal to Port Blair Hospital, and sent radio messages from my camp to the Chief Commissioner, Mr. A. K. GHOSH. He responded generously by ordering a ship to call for the patient, but the journey was useless because her relations were opposed to displacing her. In March 1952 my friendship with the Onge was only starting ; this will explain their refusal to follow my advice. Without proper care, in a place like Little Andaman, the patient died four days after my arrival at the camp.

756 Prescription of medicines and treatments such as those described above
[759] is not determined by specialists. Everybody submits to treatment, with general approval, convinced of its effectiveness. Witch doctors do not exist and perhaps never existed in the Andamans. Nothing, then, is known by the
755 Onge of the dances and exhibitions, commonly executed elsewhere for curative
757 purposes, that influence the patient on a psychobiological basis. As they have

151 regular exercise of the two faculties required by their existence in direct contact with the natural world; anyone, it is said, who lived such a life would preserve the same keenness of eye and ear. [164] Certainly I saw no myopia among the Onges, nor any of the eye infections common among other inhabitants of the tropics. With the naked eye they can pick out tiny craft far out to sea, or the small, narrow Onge canoes which I could hardly see with field-glasses, which makes me doubt whether constant exercise of the eyes can really be the full explanation of their power of vision. They can pick out quickly and accurately birds immobile among the dense leaves in the darkest part of the forest, invisible to me, even though I was used to looking for them and could see them when they moved. And from the ground they saw high in the trees tiny amphibia which I wanted to catch, after I had caught one by chance which had proved to be a new species. These amphibia, [126] perfect mimics, become almost invisible when they attach themselves to the bark of the trees, but the Onges pointed them out to me from a distance with absolute accuracy, and I was in fact able in 1954 to catch over two hundred in a week.[1]

825 151 114 The Onges can also pick out reptiles on the ground, or among the foliage, distinguishing with long practice the poisonous varieties which abound in the islands, and I found it very useful to send Onges ahead of me in the forest to look out for these snakes. When any of my Indians were bitten it was always because they thought they could do as well as the local scouts! The Onges themselves are, however, occasionally bitten, with serious consequences. One of them, aged twenty-five, climbed into a very high tree after honey, and unwittingly put his left hand on a snake hidden in the leaves, where it had climbed to search for birds' eggs. It bit just above the elbow, causing an alarming swelling of the arm with severe pain and fever. He was brought to me semi-conscious, with the whole limb swollen to the size of a rugby ball. The unfortunate [752] man's neck had been bound with the usual strands of *Ficus* bark, and not surprisingly he was groaning desperately, and clearly on the point of death.

752 123 The Onges have no specific remedies for snake bites, and their

[136] [1] These amphibia were examined in 1954 at the Institute of Zoology of the University of Genoa and given the name of *Kaloula baluata ghoshi*, in honour of Mr A K. Ghosh, then Governor of the Andamans.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

attempts to help, after binding his throat, had consisted in smearing the man's entire body with a mixture of ochre, turtle fat and honey with an extra layer on the bitten limb. Although it was very late to start treatment I injected antiserum, and the next day the man seemed a little better. I next saw him eleven days after the injection, when the arm appeared much less swollen, and the pain had almost disappeared, although clear traces of the accident remained; the skin was cracked and peeling, and the two puncture marks at the site of the bite were still gaping open, each revealing red, purulent flesh over a circular area more than two centimetres in diameter. The arm looked almost gangrenous, but its owner did not seem worried, and joined in cheerfully with the others round me. Just over a month after the accident the wound was completely healed, leaving one very grateful patient.

The incident shows the complete solidarity of this simple and reputedly so warlike community; by tacit agreement the patient was relieved of all work, and provided with food by the other families in the communal hut. While he was seriously ill his wife went hunting and fished, normally the man's work. Similar help is given in the case of the aged, or if a wife and mother falls ill; food is provided for them, and for the children, and certain 'soothsayers' appear to be at least partially provided with food by the rest of the community on a permanent basis.

For any kind of fever the Onges turn immediately to their stock remedy, smearing the entire body with the usual mixture of ochre, turtle fat and honey. The legs, arms, chest and abdomen are then tightly bound with strips of *Ficus* bark, which are removed and renewed from time to time. Whether the patient has pains in the abdomen or in the chest, or elsewhere, or has a cough, he is invariably stretched out on the ground, and the appropriate part is given a form of vigorous massage by the feet of one of the bystanders. Usually the entire body is pummelled for quite a time, the patient being turned over and over. The patient ends up looking rather like a mummy plastered in ochre and the whole process is to us somewhat amusing, but the Onges all practise it, and submit to it, very seriously, believing implicitly in its efficiency. The mechanism by which the treatment works has yet to be determined!

Balls of ochre the size of a hazelnut and varying in colour from bright red to whitish-yellow are given by mouth, particularly to

757 [237] children. I have seen anything up to half a dozen given, one after another. Their laxative effect is sometimes violent, as the ochre is mixed with the usual turtle fat, plus lumps of pure wax from the hives of the black bees.

752 Another 'cure' is the smoking of the affected part. One young woman well known to me, Nabinibbi (wife of Maritòi, leader of the Cemalè group), plump and in her own way graceful, had burnt two toes of her right foot, and was unable to sleep with the pain. She smeared the foot well beyond the burn with the usual mixture and held it out to the smoke of great fresh liana seeds laid among embers. The seeds, the size of a large chestnut, but lenticular and covered with a dark brown, leathery skin, burnt with a dense smoke.

757 Another treatment, rather different, was applied to one of my Onge guides, Toncutèi, who developed a high fever on the night of 28 March 1954, while he was in the communal hut known as Entiguèh, in the north-central area of the island. In fact, it was merely violent indigestion caused by too much pork – Toncutèi, like his father Enagaghe, an indefatigable trencherman, had availed himself too freely of the boars shot that day by my men. His friends laid him on his side on the ground on a rectangular mat barely large enough to take his body, with his legs bent up to his chest. They then lit low fires along two adjoining sides of the mat, turning him from time to time so that he 'cooked' evenly. One Onge began spitting on the patient's hair, and rubbing the spittle into the skin, stopping every now and again to press the victim's head between his hands. Another dissolved ochre in water, and after heating it, rubbed it well into the patient's chest, throat and neck. Meanwhile, a third beat his hands vigorously on Toncutèi's. This went on for just over a quarter of an hour, after which the patient was stretched out on his stomach with his feet sticking out over the end of the mat, ready for the foot massage. As the masseur's foot reached the chest he stopped, pressing hard to enforce complete emptying of the lungs. Half an hour of this led to further rubbing with hands and feet for another fifteen minutes, particularly over the sacrum. [123] Finally Toncutèi was left in peace beside the fire. By dawn the fever was gone (aided possibly by the strong purgative I had administered), although it was a couple of days before he had fully recovered.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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881 after the birth of the first child; they are also required to abstain
262 from honey during each subsequent pregnancy; and in their case, too, a chief or elder (preferably a relative) officiates, and not a woman[1]."

●753 We may now proceed to the ritual customs connected with
761 death and burial. In all the Great Andaman tribes disease and death are supposed to be due to the spirits of the jungle and the sea. The subject will be dealt with in the next chapter.

764 On the occurrence of a death the news quickly spreads through the camp, and all the women collect round the body and, sitting down, weep loudly until they are exhausted. The women then retire and the men come and weep over the corpse. All the adult members of the community then proceed to cover themselves with a wash of common clay smeared evenly over their bodies and limbs. This clay is of the kind called *odu* in *Aka-Jeru* and *og* in *Aka-Bea*. The nearer relatives and more intimate friends of the deceased also plaster some of the same clay on their heads.

Some of the women, generally, but not necessarily, relatives, remove any ornaments the dead person may have been wearing, shave the head and decorate the body. This decoration consists of lines of fine pattern in white clay alternating with bands of red paint. A band of red paint is placed across the upper lip passing from ear to ear and the ears themselves are smeared with the pigment. The greater the estimation in which the deceased person is held the greater is the care lavished upon this the last decoration.

Thus decorated the body is prepared for burial. The legs and arms are flexed so that the knees come up under the chin and the fists rest against the cheeks. A *Cyrena* shell (or sometimes in these days a steel knife) is placed in the closed hand. A sleeping mat is wrapped round the body, and over this a number of the large palm leaves known as *kobo* (*Aka-Jeru*) are arranged and the whole is made into a bundle and tied up with rope. Before the ropes are all tied the relatives of the dead person take their last farewell by gently blowing on the face of the corpse.

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 133.

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show any fear, my informants said, the spirits would kill him, but 791
if he were brave they would take him to their village, detaining 775
him for a time, and then releasing him to return to his friends. A man to whom such an adventure has happened will be endowed for the rest of his life with power to perform magic. He will pay occasional visits to his friends the spirits. The natives told me of one such man who died not many years ago. At irregular intervals he used to wander off into the jungle by himself and remain absent for a few hours, sometimes for a day or two. He returned to the village after such an absence looking strange and wearing ornaments of shredded palm-leaf (*koro*) which he claimed had been placed upon him by the spirits.

Save for persons who have made friends with them, and have 753
thereby become endowed with magical powers, all contact with 775
the spirits of the jungle and the sea, or with the spirit of a dead man, is dangerous. The spirits are believed to be the cause of all sickness and of all deaths resulting from sickness. As a man wanders in the jungle or by the sea, the spirits come invisibly and strike him, whereupon he falls ill, and may die. A man or woman is more likely to be attacked by the spirits if he or she is alone, and it is therefore always better to be in company when away from the village. The spirits rarely venture into the village itself, though they may prowl round it, particularly at night. They are more dangerous at night than during the day.

There are many objects that are believed to have the power 751
of keeping spirits at a distance, and thus of preserving human 775
beings from the danger of sickness. Amongst the most important of these are fire, arrows, human bones, bees'-wax, and red paint. A man or a woman leaving a hut to go only a few yards at night will always carry a fire-brand as a protection against spirits that may be prowling in the neighbourhood. If the night be dark a torch is carried in addition to the fire-stick.

The Andamanese will never whistle at night, as they believe [784]
that the noise of whistling would attract spirits. On the other hand they believe that singing will keep the spirits away.

The spirits that haunt the woods and waters of a man's own 775
home are regarded as being less dangerous to him than those of

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755 White clay (*tol-odu* in *Aka-Jeru*) is sometimes used medicinally, both externally and internally. The commoner clay
278 (*odu* in *Aka-Jeru*) is plastered on sores, and has the effect of
823 keeping off flies, if it does nothing else.

An olive-coloured earth (called *čulŋa* in *Aka-Bea*), found in certain springs, is prized as a remedy. It is mixed with water and taken internally as a general remedy for all sorts of complaints.

824 Turning now to the magical properties of vegetable sub-
784 stances, there are a large number of these, and some of them have not been botanically identified.

The *Anadendron paniculatum* is a plant from which the Andamanese obtain a valuable fibre, which they use for their bow-strings, and for thread with which to make their arrows and harpoons. A number of magical properties are attributed to this plant. Rheumatism is supposed to be due to the "smell" of the [753] plant getting into the system when the fibre is being prepared[1]. The "smell" of the green plant, or of the fibre until it has been thoroughly dried for some days, is believed to frighten away turtle. A man who has been preparing the fibre would not dream of joining a turtle-hunting expedition, for his presence in the canoe would be sufficient to drive away all the turtle. A turtle-hunting expedition would be a failure if a piece of the green creeper were in the canoe. A man who has been handling the plant may not cook turtle, for the meat would be "bad," i.e., uneatable. The same thing would happen if turtle meat accidentally came in contact with a piece of the plant. All this applies only to the green creeper, and not to the fibre after it has been properly prepared and dried. The fibre itself is used for binding the heads of turtle-harpoons, so it is evidently regarded as harmless.

If a piece of the *Anadendron* creeper were burnt in the fire the natives believe that it would drive all the turtle away from the neighbourhood, or, according to another statement, that there would be a great storm.

000 So far we have considered the properties of the plant only in

[1] In preparing the fibre, the skin or bark of the young shoots of the plant is torn off in strips and these are placed on the thigh and scraped with a *Cyrena* shell.

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It is probable, then, that when a native says that after eating food he is *ot-limil* and therefore paints himself with clay he does not mean simply that he is hot. This will be still more evident when we consider the second explanation of the custom that is given by the natives. Many of those whom I questioned stated that after eating dugong, pork, turtle, etc., the body emits an odour, that this odour may attract the spirits of the jungle or the sea, and that to obviate this they paint themselves with clay. This agrees exactly with what Mr Man says in the second passage quoted above. It is confirmed by other customs. I was told that a man who has eaten dugong will not leave the camp until some time after the dugong meat is all finished, for fear that the spirits may smell him and do him harm. It is to be noted in passing that painting the body with clay does not by any means remove the odour that does actually characterise a native after he has been eating fat meat of any kind. We must be careful, in this instance also, not to assume that an Andaman Islander means by "smell" exactly what we mean by it and nothing more. It will be shown later in the chapter that the Andamanese identify the smell of an object with its active magical principle. One example may be given here to show this. The origin of rheumatism in the legs is explained by the natives as being the result of the common practice of preparing the fibre of the *Anadendron paniculatum* by scraping it on the thigh. During this process, they say, the "smell" of the plant enters the thigh and is the cause of rheumatic or sciatic pains.

The natives give yet a third statement of their reasons for using clay. On many occasions I asked them what would happen if they ate pork or turtle and did not paint themselves. In every case I received the reply that any man who did such a thing would almost certainly be ill.

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When a number of persons give three different reasons for one and the same action, and are equally sincere throughout, it is to be presumed that the three different statements are so many different ways of saying one and the same thing. We may therefore conclude that the Andaman Islanders believe that there is a peculiar power in foods (or in some foods) which makes it dangerous to eat them. This danger may be expressed by saying that

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the person who has eaten food will, unless he takes certain precautions, be liable to be ill. Now sickness is believed to be caused by the spirits of the jungle and the sea, and therefore an alternative or equivalent statement of the same belief is that after a person has eaten food he is in danger from the spirits. We may therefore conclude that the word *ot-kimil*, when it is used to describe the condition of a person who has eaten food, denotes simply this condition of danger, and nothing more. For this we shall find ample confirmation later on. Subject to such later confirmation I will here state what has been maintained, which is (1) that the *ɔra-puli* patterns are to be explained as being protective, (2) that the eating of food is regarded as dangerous, and (3) that this danger is associated in the minds of the natives with sickness and with the spirits. It will be convenient to leave the first of these three propositions for later discussion and take up the second, seeking to find the meaning of this belief in the dangerous properties of food.

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Not all foods are equally dangerous. I was able to establish roughly a sort of scale. The most dangerous foods are dugong; the fish called *komar*; some of the snakes; the internal fat such as the kidney-fat or the intestinal fat of pig, turtle, monitor lizard and *Paradoxurus*; the liver of sharks, sting-rays and *Plotosus*; and honey. Next in order come the flesh of pigs, turtle, monitor lizard and *Paradoxurus* and of the fishes mentioned above; also the eggs of turtle. To these should perhaps be added the edible grubs and some vegetable foods such as the yams and the *Artocarpus* fruit and seed. Lowest in the scale, that is, least dangerous, are molluscs and the commoner sorts of fish and vegetable foods.

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The principles underlying this grading of foods are two. Those foods that are difficult or dangerous to procure are considered more dangerous than others. Thus all the fishes that are thought most dangerous to eat are actually dangerous, such as the sharks, the sting-rays, the armed *Plotosus*, and the fish *komar* that has a powerful spike on its head with which it can inflict a dangerous wound. Secondly the foods that are most prized are regarded as being more dangerous than those that are less prized. The internal fat of animals is regarded as a great delicacy and therefore occupies a high place in the scale. It is this also that explains

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the position of honey and of the edible grubs. The dugong, which is of all foods the most difficult and dangerous to procure, and is at the same time more highly prized than any other, is regarded as more dangerous to eat than any other.

It is this difference in the danger attributed to different foods that gives the clue to the explanation of the beliefs relating to them. The hypothesis I wish to put forward is that the custom of painting the body after eating food is an expression of the social value of food.

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In a simple community such as that of the Andaman Islands, in which the necessary food has to be provided from day to day, food occupies a predominant position, and is the chief source of those variations or oscillations between conditions of euphoria and dysphoria that constitute the emotional life of the society. Food is obtainable only by the expenditure of effort, and the effort is a communal one. The obtaining of food is the principal social activity and it is an activity in which every able-bodied member of the community is required by custom to join. A man's first duty to the society may be defined as the duty of providing food for himself and others, and no one is looked on with more contempt than one who is lazy or careless in this respect. On the contrary the man who stands highest in the esteem of others is the skilful hunter who is generous in distributing to others the food he obtains. The food provides the community with its chief joys and sorrows. When food is scarce the whole community suffers. The men spend all their time in hunting but are disappointed. They have to fall back upon foods that are little relished, such as the commoner kinds of molluscs. On the contrary when there is plenty of food the whole society rejoices together. Every one has as much as he or she can eat. Hunting and fishing become pleasant sports instead of arduous labour.

Viewing the matter from its relation to the feelings of the individual we may say that it is particularly in connection with food that he is made to feel that he is a member of the community, sharing with others their joys and sorrows, taking part in a common activity, often dependent upon others for the satisfaction of his hunger, and obliged by custom to share with those others what he himself obtains. Thus food is, for the Andaman Islander,

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X182 775 attachment to him, and producing a condition of dysphoria, of diminished social activity. The natural impulse of the Andaman Islander or of any other human being, would be, I believe, not to shun the dead body of a loved one, but to remain near it as long as possible. It is the society, acting under a quite different set of impulses, that compels the relatives to separate themselves from the remains of the one they loved. The death of a small child has very little influence on the general activity of the community, and the motive for severing connection with the dead that is present in the case of an adult, either does not exist or is so weak as to be overruled by the private feelings of affection, and so the child is buried in the hut of the parents, that they may continue to keep it near them. This affords a good test of the hypothesis, and gives strong support to the view that the fear of the dead man (his body and his spirit) is a collective feeling induced in the society by the fact that by death he has become the object of a dysphoric condition of the collective consciousness.

X182 775 761 753 If the Andamanese are asked what they fear from the spirit of a dead man they reply that they fear sickness or death, and that if the burial and mourning customs are not properly observed the relatives of the dead person will fall sick and perhaps die.

The basis of this notion of the spirits is that the near relatives of the deceased, being bound to him by close social ties, are influenced by everything that happens to him, and share in his good or evil fortune. So that when by sickness and resulting death he is removed from the community, they are as it were drawn after him. For this reason they are, during the period of mourning, between life and death, being still attached to the dead man. Contact with the world of the dead is therefore regarded as dangerous for the living because it is believed that they may be drawn completely into that world. Death is a process by which a person leaves the living world and enters the world of the spirits, and since no one dies willingly he is conceived as being under a compulsive force acting from the world of spirits. Now sickness is a condition that often ends in death, a first stage of the way leading to the world of spirits. Hence sickness is conceived by the Andamanese as a condition of partial contact

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with that world. This is what is meant by the statement that sickness and death come from the spirits.

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The way the Andamanese think about the spirits is shown in the *Akar-Bale* legend of the origin of death[1]. *Yaramurud*, having died through an accident, self-caused, becomes a spirit, but he does so only under the compulsion exercised upon him by his mother, who, now that he is dead, insists that he must go away from the world of the living and become a spirit. The spirit then comes back to see his brother and by this contact causes the brother's death. The story implies that it was not because *Yaramurud* was evilly disposed towards his brother that he killed him, but on the contrary it was his attachment to his relative that caused him to return to visit him, and death followed as a result of this contact of the living man with the spirit. Since that time deaths have continued to occur in the same way. Thus it appears that the Andamanese conceive that the spirits do not cause death and sickness through evil intention, but through their mere proximity, and, as the legend very clearly shows, the burial customs are intended to cut off the unwilling spirit from contact with the living. This explains also why during the period of mourning the relatives of a dead person are thought to be in danger of sickness, and have more to fear from the spirit than others, for since it is they who were most attached to him during life it is they who are most likely to suffer from contact with him after he is dead. It was *Yaramurud's* brother who was the first to die through the influence of the spirits.

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The feelings of the living towards the spirits of the dead are therefore ambivalent, compounded of affection and fear, and this must be clearly recognized if we are to understand all the Andamanese beliefs and customs. We may compare the relation between the society of the living and the society of the dead to that between two hostile communities having occasional friendly relations. That the Andamanese themselves look upon it in some such way is shown by the belief that the ceremony by which a dead man is initiated into the world of spirits resembles the peace-making ceremony. The dead man, up to the time of his death, has been living in a state of enmity with the spirits, and before he can enter their community and share their life he

[1] Page 216.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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which they can join, they sing, and thus protect themselves from the spirits that are present as the cause of the death.

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This explanation implies that all conditions of diminished social activity on the part of an individual are dangerous. One example of such a condition is sickness, in which the sick person is unable to pursue his ordinary occupations. Other examples are afforded by a mother, and to a certain extent a father during the period preceding and following the birth of a child, and by a woman during the menstrual period. All these, as various customs show, are believed by the Andamanese to be conditions of danger in which it is necessary to take ritual or magical precautions. A better example for our purpose is that of an adolescent during the period covered by the initiation ceremonies, when, as we have seen, he is as it were cut off from the society, and there is abundant evidence that the Andamanese believe this to be a state of danger. Another example is the condition of a homicide during the period of his isolation. Lastly, we have seen that a mourner is cut off from the ordinary social life, and it may now be noted that the native explanation of the restrictions observed in that state is that if things were not done thus the mourner would be ill; in other words the condition of mourning is one of danger, and the ritual referring to it is the means by which the danger (from the spirit world) is avoided. This explanation does not conflict with the one previously given but on the contrary we can now see that the notion that the mourner is in a position partly withdrawn from active participation in social life necessarily involves the belief that he is in a condition of danger.

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We may conclude that every condition in which the individual is withdrawn from full participation in active social life is regarded as dangerous for him, and that this is at least one of the reasons why sleep is so regarded. We have already noted that all conditions of danger tend to be thought of as due to contact with the spirits, and sleep is therefore supposed to be a state in which such contact is easier than in waking life. Now sleep is visited by dreams and it comes about that the dream-life, by reason of its contrast with waking-life, is seized upon by the Andamanese as a means by which the nature of the spirit world may be represented to the imagination.

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164 **Medicine.**—1. The diseases most common among these tribes are:—

1st, malarial fever (*did·dirya-*).
2nd, catarrh (*ngī·rib-*).
3rd, coughs (*ō·dag-*).
4th, rheumatism (*mól-*).
5th, phthisis.
6th, pneumonia.
7th, heart disease.[1]

757 278 2. In febrile complaints the treatment adopted by those living in the interior, and less frequently by the coast dwellers,[2] is the following:—A bed is made for the patient of the leaves of the *Trigonostemon longifolius* (*gū·gma-*), and his body is rubbed with these leaves, which are sometimes first boiled, while he sniffs at some crushed pieces of the same; after a time *chū·luga-*[3] is given him to drink, and then with some of their patent ointment, *kòi·ob-*,[4] which is not used internally, as has been supposed,[5] the upper lip is painted and also the neck, if the invalid be married. When the fever is accompanied by pains in the chest or head, a *chàw·ga-tâ-*[6] is tied tightly round the part affected, as this is [755] believed to act as a charm, internal pains being always ascribed to the malign influence of evil spirits. During the course of the fever, the patient is constantly rubbed with *gū·gma-* leaves by one or more friends, who insist also upon his swallowing large quantities of *chū·luga-*; scarifying is never practised at such times. As only a small proportion of cases of this kind have a fatal result, great faith is placed in the treatment above described, and, at all events, it is certain that no injurious effects are caused by it.

757 3. The first half of the rainy season is usually the most sickly time with them, as with ourselves, in regard to fever and bowel

among the women of suckling each other's infants; in fact many parents have thus become tainted with the disease, the characteristics of which have in almost every case been most strongly marked, presenting an interesting study to the medical officers who have had charge of the patients. Great benefit was derived from the treatment and remedies (mercury and iodide of potassium) usually employed in Europe, but time alone will show how far our efforts will avail to prevent the disease from infecting the entire population, if, indeed, it do not, as in certain parts of Australia, lead to the early extermination of the race.

[753] Because of the insidious nature, and (to them) mysterious origin, of the last three named diseases, they say that either *ē·rem-chàu·gala* has shot the sufferer, or *jū·ru-win-* has speared him: regarding these evil spirits further reference will be found at "Death and Burial," paragraph 25, and "Religious Beliefs and Demonology," paragraphs 12 and 14.

[2] The reason for this will be found under "Tribal Communities," paragraph 5.

[3] *Vide* Appendix B, No. 63.

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, No. 60.

[5] *Vide* Mouat, p. 306.

[6] *Vide* Appendix B, No. 44.

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776 those in pain or distress he is pitiful, and sometimes deigns to afford relief.

VI. He is the Judge from whom each soul receives its sentence after death, and, to *some* extent, the hope of escape from the torments of *.jer·eg-làr-mū·gu-* (regarding which anon) is said to affect their course of action in the present life.[1]

9. *Pū·luga-* is believed to live in a large stone house in the sky, with a wife whom he created for himself; she is green in appearance, and has two names, *chān·a .àu·lola* (Mother Fresh-water Shrimp), and *chān·a .pâ·lak-* (Mother Eel); by her he has a large family, all, except the eldest, being girls; these last, known as *mô·ro-win-* (sky spirits or angels), are said to be black in appearance, and, with their mother, amuse themselves from time to time by throwing fish and prawns into the streams and sea for the use of the inhabitants of the world. *Pū·luga-*'s son is called *.pīj-chô·r-*: he is regarded as a sort of archangel, and is alone permitted to live with his father, whose orders it is his duty to make known to the *mô·ro-win-*.

[821] 10. *Pū·luga-* is said to eat and drink, and, during the dry months of the year, to pass much of his time in sleep, as is proved by his voice (thunder) being rarely heard at that season; he is the source whence they receive all their supplies of animals, birds, and turtles; when they anger him he comes out of his house and blows, and growls, and hurls burning faggots at them—in other words, visits their offences with violent thunderstorms and heavy squalls; except for this purpose he seldom leaves home, unless it be during the rains, when he descends to earth to provide himself with certain kinds of food; how often this happens they do not know since, now-a-days, he is invisible.

776 761 11. *Pū·luga-* never himself puts any one to death, but he objects so strongly to seeing a pig badly quartered and carved that he invariably points out those who offend him in this respect to a class of malevolent spirits called *.chôl-*, one of whom forthwith despatches the unfortunate individual.

776 761 753 12. *Pū·luga-* has no *authority* over the evil spirits, the most dreaded of which are *.ē·rem-chàu·gala*, *.jū·ru-win-*, and *.nī·la-*; they are self-created, and have existed from time immemorial. The first of these, the evil spirit of the woods, has a numerous progeny by his wife *chān·a .bad·gilola*, who remains at home with her daughters and younger children, while her husband and grown-up sons roam about the jungles with a lighted torch

[1] It is from regard to the fact that their beliefs on these points approximate so closely to the true faith concerning the Deity that I have adopted the English method of spelling all equivalents of "God" with an initial capital.

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attached to their left legs, in order that the former may injure any unhappy wights who may meet them unprotected,[1] and in the dark; he generally makes his victims ill, or kills them by wounding them internally with invisible arrows,[2] and, if he is successful in causing death, it is supposed that they feast upon the raw flesh;[3] *.ē·rem-chàu·gala*, indeed, appears to be to the Andamanese much what "*Arlak*"[4] is to the aboriginal Australian: in both cases these evil spirits are represented as afraid of light; *.ē·rem-chàu·gala* is said to be also afraid of, or to avoid, the demon *.nī·la-*.

13. This spirit, *.nī·la-*,[5] is supposed to live in ant-hills, and to have neither wife nor child; he is not regarded as such a malevolent personage as *.ē·rem-chàu·gala*, and, though he is always armed with a knife, he rarely injures human beings with it, or, when he does do so, it is not in order to feed upon their bodies, for he is said to eat earth only.

14. As regards *.jū·ru-win-*, the evil spirit of the sea, they say that he too is invisible, and lives in the sea with his wife and children, who help him to devour the bodies of those who are drowned or buried at sea; fish constitute the staple of his food, but he also occasionally, by way of variety, attacks the aborigines he finds fishing on the shores or by the creeks. The weapon he uses is a spear, and persons who are seized with cramp or any sudden illness, on returning from, or while on the water, are said to have been "speared" by *.jū·ru-win-*. He has various submarine residences, and boats for travelling under the surface of the sea, while he carries with him a net, in which he places all the victims, human or piscine, he may succeed in capturing.

15. Besides these three chief demons, there is a company of evil spirits who are called *.chôl-*, and who are much dreaded. They are believed to be descendants of *mai·a .chôl-*,[6] who lived in antediluvian times. They generally punish those who offend them by baking or roasting pig's flesh, the smell of which is particularly obnoxious to them, as it is also to *Pū·luga-*, who, therefore, often assists them in discovering the delinquent; the same risk does not attend *boiling* pork,[7] which the olfactory nerves of the fastidious *.chôl-* are not keen enough to detect.

[1] *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 1.

[2] *Vide ante* "Medicine," paragraph 1 (foot-note), and "Death and Burial," paragraph 24.

[3] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 26.

[4] *Vide* Wood, "Natural History of Man," p. 92.

[5] Cases have been cited of persons who have been found stabbed, whose deaths are attributed to *Nī·la*: the possibility of the individuals in question having been murdered is scouted.

[6] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraph 33.

[7] *Vide post* "Food," paragraph 27.

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776 16. While the Andamanese say that they are liable to be struck by *.ē·rem-chàu·gala* or *jū·ru-win-* at any time or in any
●753 place, the *.chôl-* strike those only who offend them, and that
761 during the day while they are stationary, this being necessitated by the distance from the earth of their abode, whence they hurl their darts: an invisible spear is the weapon they always use, and this is thrown with unerring aim at the head of their victim, and is invariably fatal. As these demons are considered especially dangerous on the hottest days, they are apparently held accountable for the deaths from sunstroke which happen from time to time.

776 17. The sun, *chān·a .bo·do-*, is the wife of the moon, *mai·a*
.ō·gar-, and the stars, *.chá·to-*, which are of both sexes, are their
821 children: the latter go to sleep during the day; the whole family have their meals near *Pū·luga-*'s house, but never enter it; *chān·a .bō·do-* is like fire and covered with thorns, but *mai·a .ō·gar-* is white skinned, and has two long tusks[1] and a big beard; their home is situated somewhere below the eastern horizon, and while the former, after setting, rests till dawn, the latter, probably in consequence of the cares of his numerous family, is obliged to keep very irregular hours. During their passage under the earth to their home, they are believed to afford the blessing of light to the unfortunate spirits in Hades, and also, while sleeping, to shed a "dim religious light" over that region: it is by *Pū·luga-*'s command that the celestial bodies, while crossing the sky, bestow their light.

18. The phenomena of the waning and waxing of the moon is explained by saying that they are occasioned by "his" applying a coating of cloud to his person by degrees, after the manner of their own use of *kòi·ob-* and *tá·la-ōg-*,[2] and then gradually wiping it off.[3]

19. Reference has already been made to their superstition regarding the cause of a lunar eclipse, but in case *mai·a .ō·gar-* should be so ill-advised as permanently to withhold his light or render himself in other ways still more disagreeable, whenever the moon is eclipsed some persons at once seize their bows and twang them as rapidly as possible, thereby producing a rattling sound as if discharging a large number of arrows, while others commence at once sharpening their *rá·tà-*.[4] Of course this hostile demonstration is never lost upon the moon, who does not venture to hurt those who show themselves ready

[1] The horns of the crescent moon.

[2] *Vide* Appendix B, items 58 and 60.

[3] "The Eskimo say that the sun, which they regard as feminine, smears the face of her brother, the moon, with soot, when he presses his love upon her" (*vide* Peschel, p. 256).

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 2.

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841 resembling these practices in any other part of the world. Never hitherto
171 described, they should be carefully considered. This would require a lengthy description, for which there is no space here. We may recall that menstruating Onge women are allowed to circulate freely at all times. An interesting detail
[751] is that the *naquinĕghĕ* of first menstruations are worn by relations around their neck as having health-giving properties. The women, as we know, use special
841 soft, long leaves, collected for them by their husbands, as absorbents. They
[824] are the leaves of Myristica longifolia or of Tretanthera lanceofolia both species serving the purpose. They are applied under the *naquinĕghĕ* and drawn back between the legs to be secured above the buttocks. – Sexual intercourse is
[834] forbidden during the menstrual period even by the Onge : illness – a swelling
[753] of the arms or legs – would follow. A curious theory about the reason for menstruation in very young girls is that it is a result of previous sexual contacts stimulated by nose rubbing – the Onge substitute for kissing. They ignore the
892 unhygienic practice of kissing with the lips, and never even kiss their children. Only nose rubbing is practiced. The anatomical structure of the Onge nose, which almost totally lacks nasal bones and is very fleshy, may explain this transference of sensation from nearby regions, i. e. the lips.

844 Births take place in the forest and are surrounded by no hygienic precautions or disinfection as conceived by us. Clay is applied to stem puerperal bleeding, without provoking infection. The only assistant is the pregnant woman's husband, and sometimes one or two old women. Their ability equals that of a herdsman delivering his goat of a kid. No inconvenience arises, in either instance, from lack of precautions. – The tiny, tender and graceful bodies
[751] of Onge infants are smeared with ochre and light-coloured clay for hygienic purposes. This is done immediately after birth, and affords some protection against the teeming legions of mosquitos and ticks that plague Little Andaman. The infant is never washed in water, not even at the very moment of birth. The placenta is buried 30 or 40 cms deep, under the bed of naked branches upon which the mother delivered her baby.

842 An argument that deserves much attention concerns the possible link
143 between lack of hygiene and sterility among the Onge. A vast number of married couples have no offspring, thereby threatening their group with extinction. Consanguinity could be given as a cause : let us examine it. No doubt the Onge are related to each other as a consequence of long interbreeding in their island with no foreigners admitted. These conditions afford an ideal field for studying the effects of endogamy on man. Nowhere in the world, as far as I know, are a people so isolated as in Little Andaman. Inbreeding has existed at 100 % ever since remote times. In other words, the Onge would seem to be the most highly inbred human population known up to the present. Could this fact alone, aside from unhealthy habits, explain their present widespread sterility ? Special
174 studies on the subject should be undertaken, keeping in mind that the Onge have certainly inhabited Little Andaman for thousands of years, on the evidence of my excavations in their kitchen-middens.

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no specialized physicians, the Onge do not understand that payment can be 757
exacted for medical care. This stems from the fact that wages are not con- 465
sidered by those happy people as payment for any kind of work whatsoever, 123
but only as a gift. I realized this when I tried to pay my guides after our extenu- 431
ating marches through the jungle : in order to avoid offending the natives that we had casually met in the course of our trip, I had to give equal reward to everybody.

The Onge consider some men or women better endowed than others with 753
anti-malefic influence ; but these too neither demand nor receive wages for [756]
their services. Evil spirits or evil persons are believed to be principally responsible for illness. A series of superstitions and remarkable habits derive from this belief. The above-mentioned precautions concerning the *naquinĕghĕ* are among them. For identical reasons they carefully hide hair cuttings, but not nail [515]
parings, for the simple reason that nails are never cut but worn down by digging for edible roots, fishing, and other rough work. Superstition, as we know, is also the reason for painting the body to prevent fever and other ills.

In the depths of their jungle the Onge appear to practice some kind of witchcraft. On several occasions I noticed the mysterious behaviour of some 789
natives travelling with me. Occasionally a man left our marching column to examine the inside of a huge hollow tree and signal to his friends. They did not prevent me from looking into the hollow, where I saw only a simple structure of short sticks resembling a trap without being one. The Onge do not use [224]
traps ; moreover, those structures were far too flimsy to catch anything. Often, two or three men assembled in consultation, rearranged the sticks that had probably been dislodged by the passage of lizards, crabs or other small animals, and walked away silently. I could get no explanation on the matter. Certainly the Onge are sagacious observers of animal and vegetable life and have deep knowledge of their hidden properties. Some trees are probably used for magical purposes, but, I insist, it is impossible as yet to affirm it. The structures in question consisted of four vertical sticks, about 30 cms long, joined at the top by four more sticks of approximately the same length, placed horizontally. The result was a box-like frame, loose and unsecured. The slightest disturbance, such as a light breeze, could destroy the flimsy construction. As far as I could guess they invested those structures with curative properties, but in what manner remains a mystery. I noticed analogous practices among Central [171]
African Pygmies and other primitives.

It is very clear that the Onge dread illness and magic spells, for they 754
consider themselves at a loss in fighting such evils. Unhygienic habits are of no 751
importance to them.

Resting is considered favorable to good health. The Onge indulge vo- 517
luptuously in rest, interrupting it, however, with too frequent sexual excursions. 751
They mainly rest from doing nothing, because 90 % of their time is spent in 461
what, for them, is the most agreeable manner of enjoying life.

In mid-March, when the honey harvest reaches its peak, the Onge guzzle 262

157 Western standards taciturn or sly, and the Negro peoples, who
522 frequently manifest complete abandonment in their amusement.
157 Obscenities appear to be an unfailing source of amusement to the
522 Onges, who indulge in them at every opportunity, even with
831 strangers, and the obscene dances of the womenfolk are a continual source of pleasure. The exchange of obscenities is, indeed, a sign of friendship, and I found that vulgarity was invariably immensely successful in provoking hilarity; any subsequent negotiations were always peaceable and satisfactory.

302 An extension of this vulgarity is an infantile vanity, not without
[157] sexual significance. The care with which their bodies are painted nearly every day is one aspect of this vanity; the more a wife loves her husband the more magnificent the designs she executes on him.
[153] The paintings on their bodies reach a peak every two or three days,
[151] as the Onges fear illness and death if they are not newly daubed, and
[161] the face at least must be continually painted, with at least smears on the chest, arms and legs. A man returning from an exceptionally successful hunting trip is met by his wife with a specially unusual and elaborate design, which she carries out with great devotion.
[123] During each of my visits to the island the Onges would rush up to show me their embellishments as soon as they were finished, and took a delight in standing in front of my camera, even though they had no idea what it was for.

304 It is curious that unlike most primitive peoples, the Onges do
[171] not practise tattooing, which is one of the simplest ways, if not *the* simplest, in which such peoples satisfy their craving for physical
[184] admiration. The other Andamanese do, puncturing the skin with
[302] tiny slivers of obsidian or quartz, but the Onges paint with ochre instead. They love, too, to weave garlands of fruit, flowers and
301 leaves from the forest, returning to the camp laden with them, men
824 and women alike, delighted with their own beauty. This divergence
[184] of customs in peoples essentially of the same stock, but separated for long periods of time into endogamous isolates, is very remarkable.

838 An intense preoccupation with sexual attraction and activity has led to the prevalence of aberration. All the Onges have homosexual tendencies. I became aware of this during my first visit to Little Andaman on one of my longer expeditions, when I had taken only men with me, and on subsequent occasions I therefore allowed the men to bring their wives. The effect of long periods of absence on

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000 possible are required before we can speak with certainty regarding the extent, limits, and conditions of heredity among this race; but it has been noticed that, as a general rule, they have excellent memories, especially on those subjects in which the intellects of their ancestors have been consciously or unconsciously exercised or cultivated in the savage state. The following passage will afford an illustration of the intelligence displayed by these people on such subjects. It is taken from the late Mr. Kurz's Report on the Vegetation of the Andaman Islands:—
824 "While I was in the Andamans I was in the habit of consulting people (convicts) from the most different parts of India for the native names of the plants. As a general result, I may state that the Burmans were best acquainted with the flora of the Andamans, but they are by no means equal to the Andamanese in accuracy and certainty of determination. While the Burmans were obliged continually to cut into the bark to recognise the trees, the Andamanese readily gave their names, and I could rely upon their statements, which was not the case at all with those of the Burmese."

787 16. Instances have been observed among them of individuals
158 possessing strong wills and vivid powers of imagination: as a race they do not appear to be subject to trances, illusions, or somnambulism, but, like many other savages, they place implicit faith in dreams, shaping their conduct in superstitious conformity to the warning or advice supposed to have been conveyed therein.

791 **Magic and Witchcraft.**—1. There are, however, certain individuals in these tribes, known as *ôko-pai·ad-* (*lit.*, a dreamer),
●754 who are credited with the possession of supernatural powers—
431 such as second sight, expressed by the term *àramū·ga-tâ·rabanga-*, —and of a mysterious influence over the fortunes and lives of their neighbours. It is thought that they can bring trouble, sickness, and death upon those who fail to evince their belief in them in some substantial form;[1] they thus generally manage to obtain the best of everything, for it is considered foolhardy to deny them, and they do not scruple to ask for any article to which they may take a fancy.

791 2. These quasi-seers are invariably of the male sex, and it
431 sometimes even happens that a young boy is looked upon as a "coming" *ôko-pai·ad-*, their position being generally in the first instance attained by relating an extraordinary dream, the details

[1] This reminds one somewhat of the disease makers of Tanna (New Hebrides), who are supposed to cause disease and death by burning *nahak* (rubbish, principally refuse of food), and who are propitiated by continual presents. The practice of burning beeswax, in order to cause annoyance to an enemy, will be mentioned under "Superstitions," paragraph 13.

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Endogamous life, or the habit of never washing even the female genital organs, cannot be the only cause of Andamanese sterility. Alcohol and venereal diseases such as syphilis may only be a complementary cause. The Onge's limited fertility probably derives from other factors besides their protracted and inceasingly strict endogamy. 842 [515] [582]

We can only remark that Onge women rarely become pregnant before 28 ; their fertility ceases around the age of 48. The high rate of sterility among Onge women after marriage (which generally takes place at the age of 14) is puzzling indeed. Of several childless couples that I studied in Little Andaman, the woman was under 28. There is hope of fertility after that age. It could so happen, for instance, in the case of two young Onge chiefs, Okkeggi and Chendubai, married to two sisters among the most beautiful and flourishing girls on the island : Ooaghēghē and Tocooaghēghē, both around 20. They never became pregnant, although menstruation was normal and they had plenty of sexual intercourse, even extra-marital. 842 147 [582] [837]

The delayed appearance of fertility in Andamanese women is probably connected with a general biological condition fostered by unhygienic habits. For instance : young Onge females have a high vagina acidity content that is certainly harmful to spermatozoa. It decreases with age, facilitating, we may suppose, fecundation. Vaginal washing would help, but the Onge women never recur to it. But this is only one side of the question. It is evidently urgent to do whatever is necessary to save the Onge from extinction. We must remember that civilized nations, through international agreements, are anxious to protect plant and animal species from disappearance. The same should be done for man, and equivalent international laws are needed. The Onge as a human group are on the verge of extinction ; but they still retain enough vitality to be rescued before they finally vanish into eternity. 147 515 161

Without enlarging here on the disorders of Onge sexual life and their dire effects also on the number of births, I wish to point out one more fact : Onge homosexuality as a normal occurrence. It is a plague in Little Andaman, helped by the regular physiological functions of both extremities of the digestive tube. The sexual tendencies that prevail in Little Andaman are a strong criticism of FREUD's theories on sexual life, but I will not discuss this here. I would rather say a few words about some opinions regarding the cause of Onge sterility that I heard expressed in the Andamans. Foreigners there ascribe it to the *naquinēghē* – the grass-like apron worn by women. Colonists believe that this garment leads to copulation from the rear, reducing the chances of fecundation. This idea is incorrect : the Onge never do this because the *naquinēghē* can be easily lifted as required, and pulled up over the abdomen. It is true that Onge women remove the *naquinēghē* only to replace it with a fresh one ; they wear it even when sleeping. Not for a single instant must women remain "undressed", for superstitious reasons. When a new *naquinēghē* is needed, the old one is furtively disposed of. Husband and wife repair secretely to a remote part of the forest, the woman slipping the new garment over her head before removing the old one, and burying the latter, which is quickly destroyed by white ants. The Onge believe that possession by a stranger of a worn 838 842 833 291 [513] [754]

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291 754 *naquinĕghĕ* exposes the former owner to harm. Ill-disposed persons could use it for black magic practices. I collected specimens of this garment, all of them, however, brand-new – for the above-mentioned reason. To avoid trouble to the owner, nobody is allowed to touch the *naquinĕghĕ*, which is worn in front of the vulva. To touch it is a deadly offence. Aside from the *naquinĕghĕ*, Andaman 842 colonists attribute the natives' sterility to their abhorrence of salt. Another 263 opinion would have it that the lack of salt transforms human saliva into poison: the Jarawas, by spitting on their arrows render them poisonous. The absurdity of this belief is so evident that it requires no confutation. The Onge refuse to eat salt because they consider it unhealthy, or, to say the least, disgusting.

III. Illnesses and Onge Curative Methods

164 Few illnesses affect the Onge, but they succumb to those few with surprising speed. Often they become seriously ill for mysterious reasons and in spite of their robust appearance. Smallpox, tuberculosis and poliomyelitis are unknown in Little Andaman, although they sometimes strike in the nearby Nicobars. Measles broke out on the island on more than one occasion, killing off all the inhabitants of several communal huts, which I later found deserted and in ruins. With regard to syphilis, the Indian Census of 1931 quotes an old remark of PORTMAN's concerning a few individuals considered by him as infected. This was later denied.

Onge women are more resistant to illness than men. Wounds heal prompt- [752] ly in both sexes, without the aid of remedies. A few of the older men, however, had suppurating sores on their legs, slow to disappear even when disin- [123] fected and treated by me with European medicines. No similar sores were found on women. On the other hand, women suffer more than men from ringworm, mainly in the umbilical region. Nothing is done to rid them of it because the discomfort is slight. I suggested an Indian cure made with the leaves of the neem tree, or Melia azedarach, very common in Southern Asia where it is considered sacred. I imported the plant to Little Andaman, but [123] the Onge displayed no interest in it. I found a single instance of leucoderma, in a woman with whitish spots on her hands and lips. I could get no reliable information about the incidence of cancer, but it appears to be rare on the island. No baldness is to be seen in Little Andaman, and I found few traces of [142] greying hair, as the Onge die young. A transversal bregmatic furrow is noticeable in all individuals, male and female, as a consequence of carrying loads hung [482] from their heads by a strip of bark. The Onge start doing this in childhood. An artificial, unintentional deformation of the skull is the result of that uncomfortable habit.

751 For hygienic reasons the Little Andaman aborigines paint their bodies with 302 refined clay and ochre of various shades, mainly reddish. This gives the women [386] occasion to embellish the bodies of their husbands with an endless variety of geometrical designs. Every year I found changes in their patterns, and I

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no specialized physicians, the Onge do not understand that payment can be exacted for medical care. This stems from the fact that wages are not considered by those happy people as payment for any kind of work whatsoever, but only as a gift. I realized this when I tried to pay my guides after our extenuating marches through the jungle : in order to avoid offending the natives that we had casually met in the course of our trip, I had to give equal reward to everybody. 757 465 123 431

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In the depths of their jungle the Onge appear to practice some kind of witchcraft. On several occasions I noticed the mysterious behaviour of some natives travelling with me. Occasionally a man left our marching column to examine the inside of a huge hollow tree and signal to his friends. They did not prevent me from looking into the hollow, where I saw only a simple structure of short sticks resembling a trap without being one. The Onge do not use traps ; moreover, those structures were far too flimsy to catch anything. Often, two or three men assembled in consultation, rearranged the sticks that had probably been dislodged by the passage of lizards, crabs or other small animals, and walked away silently. I could get no explanation on the matter. Certainly the Onge are sagacious observers of animal and vegetable life and have deep knowledge of their hidden properties. Some trees are probably used for magical purposes, but, I insist, it is impossible as yet to affirm it. The structures in question consisted of four vertical sticks, about 30 cms long, joined at the top by four more sticks of approximately the same length, placed horizontally. The result was a box-like frame, loose and unsecured. The slightest disturbance, such as a light breeze, could destroy the flimsy construction. As far as I could guess they invested those structures with curative properties, but in what manner remains a mystery. I noticed analogous practices among Central African Pygmies and other primitives. 789 [224] [171]

It is very clear that the Onge dread illness and magic spells, for they consider themselves at a loss in fighting such evils. Unhygienic habits are of no importance to them. 754 751

Resting is considered favorable to good health. The Onge indulge voluptuously in rest, interrupting it, however, with too frequent sexual excursions. They mainly rest from doing nothing, because 90 % of their time is spent in what, for them, is the most agreeable manner of enjoying life. 517 751 461

In mid-March, when the honey harvest reaches its peak, the Onge guzzle 262

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The same pattern is used to decorate a bride and bridegroom after their marriage. In the initiation ceremonies the youth or girl is decorated in this way before the dances at the turtle-eating and pig-eating ceremonies. The same pattern is also made on a corpse before burial. 302

In all these cases the whole body is decorated. On less ceremonial occasions, such as an ordinary dance when there are no visitors of importance in the camp, a man frequently has his face alone decorated with white clay, as in the photograph of Plate XIII.

The third kind of material used for painting the body is red paint. This is applied in two different ways. When a man or woman is ill he or she is generally to be seen with some part of his body smeared with red paint. For colds and coughs the chest and neck are painted. In fevers red paint is smeared on the upper lip. Besides the medical use of red paint, if we may call it so, there is a ceremonial use, the pigment being used in combination with white clay, lines of red paint being applied to the body between the lines of clay of the snake pattern. It is used in this way to decorate the body of a dead person for burial, and on ceremonial occasions such as the dance at the end of mourning and the dances in connection with the initiation ceremonies. 302 755

Most of the ornaments worn at various times by the Andaman Islanders have a ceremonial or a magical purpose. The only things worn by men that can be considered to have a utilitarian value are the belt of rope and the necklet of string. The belt may be a plain piece of rope, or it may be ornamented with the yellow skin of a species of *Dendrobium*. It serves as a receptacle in which the natives carry such things as adzes, fish, roots, or even arrows. It is the one object that is constantly worn by men. The string necklet is simply a length of thin string tied round the neck. It serves as a means of carrying a knife and skewer. The knife, in former days made of a slip of cane, but in these times from a piece of scrap iron, is attached to a skewer of *Areca* wood by a short length of rope or stout string. By sliding either the knife or the skewer under the necklet at the back of the neck the double implement hangs securely in 301

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301 a position where it is not likely to get lost when running through the jungle, and where it is immediately accessible when wanted. The necklet also serves as a means of carrying bees'-wax, which is in constant use amongst the natives, a small ball of the wax being attached to one of the ends of the string of which the necklet is made.

291 As a rule, in everyday life, the men wear only a belt, or a belt and necklace. Those natives who visit the Settlement of 177 Port Blair have been required by the European officers to wear 834 a strip of cloth over the genitals. It has now become the rule to wear such a loin cloth whenever they are in the neighbourhood of a European. This, however, is a modern custom, and in former times the men went freely with no covering whatever, as do the inhabitants of the Little Andaman at the present time. As showing the extent to which the natives have been influenced in this matter by outside opinion, it may be mentioned that at the present day many of the younger men, particularly those who have been brought up at Port Blair, regard it as very immodest to be seen without some covering over the genitals.

301 On ceremonial occasions, such as the dance at the end of mourning, or a big dance-meeting, the men put on a number of ornaments. A common costume on such occasions consists of a belt, necklace, bracelets, and garters of netting and *Dentalium* shell. A belt and necklace of this kind are to be seen in Plate V, and garters are worn by the woman in Plate IX. An alternative costume for men consists of a set of ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf (belt, chaplet, bracelets and garters), decorated with *Dentalium* and other shells. Garters of this kind are shown in Plate XII.

301 Other objects are worn by the natives for magical purposes. •755 Chief amongst these are the strings made of human bones which 751 are worn to prevent and cure sickness. The bones are attached to a length of rope, and this is generally decorated with shells or with *Dendrobium* skin. These strings of bones are worn most commonly as chaplets, necklaces or belts, but they may also be made into garters and bracelets. The bones of animals, such as pig, turtle, dugong, etc., are treated in exactly the same way

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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 751 755

as human bones, and ornaments made of them are commonly worn. 301

There are a number of other ornaments that are commonly worn, not only on ceremonial occasions, which, unlike the strings of human bones, do not obviously have a magical purpose. Such are necklaces made of various kinds of shells, and of mangrove seeds. At the present time the natives obtain beads from Port Blair and make ornaments of these. 301

The ordinary costume of the women is different from that of the men. Every woman and girl wears at least one belt of *Pandanus* leaf. There is one kind of belt that is always worn by married women and which may not be worn by unmarried girls. There is another kind of belt that may only be worn by unmarried girls. The women of the Southern tribes wear a bundle of leaves of the *Mimusops littoralis* laid one over another suspended from the front of the belt so as to cover the pudenda. In the Northern tribes it was formerly the custom for the women to wear a similar apron of the leaves of a plant called *čainyo*, and over this they also wore a tassel of shredded palm-leaf stem (*koro*). Within recent years the Northern tribes have given up their own custom in this matter and have adopted the custom of the Southern tribes. 291

Women often wear round the neck a piece of string similar to that worn by the men, but as they do not carry knives it does not serve the same purpose. It is more usual for a woman to wear a necklace of some sort. Nowadays they are rather fond of necklaces of beads which they obtain from the Settlement at Port Blair. In former times different kinds of shells were used, such as the *Dentalium octogonum*. 301

With the exception that men wear the belt of rope, and women wear the belt of *Pandanus* leaf and the apron of leaves, there is no difference between the ornaments worn by men and by women. On the occasion of a dance or other ceremony a woman may wear any of the objects described as being worn by men on such occasions. They also wear in the same way strings of human or animal bones.

One object which would seem to have a purely utilitarian purpose is the sling used for carrying children (called in *Aka-* 301 482

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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756 791 have extraordinary powers. Hence a man who is an acknowledged *oko-jumu* is sure to receive a good share of the game caught by others, and presents of all kinds from those who seek his good-will.

756 791 828 787 As the name implies, and in whatever way his power may have been obtained, an *oko-jumu* is privileged to dream in a way that less favoured persons do not. In his dreams he can communicate with the spirits of the dead. In dreams, also, so the natives say, he is able to cause the illness of an enemy or to cure that of a friend.

●755 By his communication with the spirits, in dreams, or in waking life, the *oko-jumu* acquires magical knowledge that he is able to turn to account in curing illness and in preventing bad weather. When a person is ill the *oko-jumu* is often consulted as to the best means of treating the patient. His treatment is often limited to the recommendation, or the application, of some one or other of the recognized remedies. He may undertake to dispel the spirits that are supposed to be the cause of the disease, which he does by addressing them and conjuring them to go away, or by the use of one or other of the substances and objects that are believed to have the power of keeping spirits at a distance. Sometimes the *oko-jumu* will promise to cure the patient by means of dreams. It is believed that in his dreams he can communicate with the spirits and can persuade them to help him to cure the sick person.

791 821 756 Besides their power of causing or curing sickness, the *oko-jumu* are credited with being able to control the weather. As has been shown, the Andamanese believe that the weather is under the control of two beings named *Biliku* and *Tarai*. There is, however, an alternative and contradictory belief, which is also held, that the weather is controlled by the spirits, and particularly by those of the sea. The means taken by magicians or others to prevent bad weather can be divided into two kinds according as they are directed against *Biliku* or *Tarai*, or against the spirits of the sea. As an example of the very simple rites which are performed for this purpose, two cases may be quoted. One of the *oko-jumu* of the Northern tribes, now dead, once stopped a very violent storm by crushing between two stones

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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a piece of the *Anadendron paniculatum* and diving with it into the sea where he placed it under a rock on the reef. A more recent example is very similar. A man still living, named *Jire Pilečar*, who was, in a way, the successor of the man formerly mentioned, is said to have stopped a violent storm by using the leaves and bark of the *Ficus laccifera* in the same way, that is by crushing them and placing them under a rock in the sea. In both these cases it would seem that the rite was directed not against *Biliku* and *Tarai*, but against the *Jurua*. 791 821 756

Apart from his power to communicate directly with the spirits, the *oko-jumu* owes his position to a superior knowledge of the magical properties of common substances and objects. This knowledge he is supposed to obtain from the spirits. However, a lesser degree of knowledge on such matters is possessed by everybody. Thus in the treatment of sickness there are a number of magical remedies of which anyone can make use without consulting an *oko-jumu*. 756 791 [755]

A complete enumeration of all the things that are believed to possess magical properties is, of course, not possible, but the following notes refer to all the most important.

We may consider first of all the magical properties of mineral substances. One of the most important of these is red ochre. Yellow ochre, which is found in pockets in many parts of the islands, is collected and burnt, when it turns red, and the powder so obtained is either used by itself or is made into a paint with pig or turtle fat. The powder is mixed with water and taken internally. Red paint is applied to the throat and chest for coughs and colds and sore throats, and round the ear for ear-ache. When a man feels unwell he often smears red paint on his upper lip just below his nostrils. In this way, the natives say, the "smell" of the paint cures his sickness. The paint is sometimes used as a dressing for wounds or centipede bites. Its use for ornamenting the body on ceremonial occasions has already been noted in the last chapter. 755 278 823

In the North Andaman a soft red stone is found, called *talar*. This is used as a substitute for red paint. It is rubbed on the body, or it is powdered and the powder is mixed with water and taken internally.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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755 White clay (*ṭol-odu* in *Aka-Jeru*) is sometimes used medicinally, both externally and internally. The commoner clay (*odu* in *Aka-Jeru*) is plastered on sores, and has the effect of keeping off flies, if it does nothing else.
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An olive-coloured earth (called *čulya* in *Aka-Bea*), found in certain springs, is prized as a remedy. It is mixed with water and taken internally as a general remedy for all sorts of complaints.

824 Turning now to the magical properties of vegetable substances, there are a large number of these, and some of them have not been botanically identified.
784

The *Anadendron paniculatum* is a plant from which the Andamanese obtain a valuable fibre, which they use for their bow-strings, and for thread with which to make their arrows and harpoons. A number of magical properties are attributed to this plant. Rheumatism is supposed to be due to the "smell" of the plant getting into the system when the fibre is being prepared[1]. The "smell" of the green plant, or of the fibre until it has been thoroughly dried for some days, is believed to frighten away turtle. A man who has been preparing the fibre would not dream of joining a turtle-hunting expedition, for his presence in the canoe would be sufficient to drive away all the turtle. A turtle-hunting expedition would be a failure if a piece of the green creeper were in the canoe. A man who has been handling the plant may not cook turtle, for the meat would be "bad," i.e., uneatable. The same thing would happen if turtle meat accidentally came in contact with a piece of the plant. All this applies only to the green creeper, and not to the fibre after it has been properly prepared and dried. The fibre itself is used for binding the heads of turtle-harpoons, so it is evidently regarded as harmless.
[753]

If a piece of the *Anadendron* creeper were burnt in the fire the natives believe that it would drive all the turtle away from the neighbourhood, or, according to another statement, that there would be a great storm.

000 So far we have considered the properties of the plant only in

[1] In preparing the fibre, the skin or bark of the young shoots of the plant is torn off in strips and these are placed on the thigh and scraped with a *Cyrena* shell.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

"smell" will drive away turtle, and leaves should therefore not be taken in a canoe. A man who has been handling the leaves would not go turtle-hunting. 824 278 757

Another remedy is a species of *Alpinia*. The leaves and stems of this plant are chewed and the juice swallowed for certain ailments. The plant is also used when taking honey. A man takes some of the leaves in his mouth and chews them well. Before taking the honeycomb he sprays the saliva from his mouth over and around it. He may also rub the chewed leaves over his body. The natives say that in this way they are able to prevent the bees from stinging them.

Magical properties are attributed to a number of plants that have not been botanically identified. Thus the leaves of a small tree called *tare* in *Aka-Jeru* are crushed and moistened with water and rubbed over the body as a remedy for illness. A strip of bark from the same tree is tied round the chest of a man with a pain in his chest. The bark of two trees called (in *Aka-Jeru*) *tip* and *laro* is crushed and moistened and rubbed over a sick man's body. The leaves of a plant called *pare* are crushed with water and the infusion is drunk by persons suffering from diarrhœa and abdominal pains. A creeper called *korotli* is crushed and tied round a limb in cases of snake-bite. The seeds of the *Entada scandens* are heated in the fire and applied (while hot) to such wounds as that from the tusk of a boar.

There are a certain number of trees and plants about which the natives say that any person cutting them will become blind. The names of four of these in *Aka-Jeru* are *jin*, *burut*, *dey*, and *mit*.

We may turn now to animals and animal substances. Magical properties are attributed to bees'-wax, particularly to black bees'-wax. In a case of pleurisy black bees'-wax was heated until it was soft, and then smeared over the man's chest. Bees'-wax is believed to keep away the spirits of the forest. 825 278 755

If a man be bitten by a snake and the snake be killed it is skinned and the inner surface of the skin is applied to the wound.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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827 A hiccough is supposed to be the result of inadvertently swallowing a tree lizard, whose call rather resembles the sound of a person hiccoughing.

The condition popularly called "pins and needles" or described as an arm or leg "going to sleep" is believed by the Andamanese to be due to the bite of a rat. If a man wakes up in the night with one of his limbs benumbed in this way, he believes that a rat has bitten him while he slept.

The Andamanese say that the bite of a civet-cat (*Paradoxurus*) will produce cramp. I was once told that if a man eats the flesh of the civet-cat and then goes into the water he will become "lame." This means, I think, that he will have cramp, and so will be unable to swim.

278 The flesh and particularly the fat of the flying fox (*Pteropus*) is believed to be a remedy for rheumatism. An old man who was suffering from this ailment once asked me to shoot for him some of these bats, which he cooked and ate.

784 If turtle-fat be permitted to burn in the fire there will be a storm.

751 Mention has already been made of the magical value attributed to human bones. They are esteemed as a means of
755 driving away spirits, and therefore of curing or preventing sickness. A human jaw-bone was hanging in my hut in such a position that it could swing in the wind. The natives attributed to this the illness from which I and several of them were suffering at the time, and asked me to put the bone away in a basket, where it could not move.

Bones of animals are made into ornaments in the same way as human bones, and magical properties of a similar kind seem to be attributed to them.

755 Of other objects possessing magical properties the most
372 important is fire. Fire is believed to have the power of keeping away spirits of the sea and of the forest. A fire is always kept alight beside a sick man or woman. For dysentery stones are heated in a fire and the patient is required to defecate on to these.

000 In conclusion, mention must be made of one favourite remedy

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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In conclusion, mention must be made of one favourite remedy of the Andamanese, namely scarification. The part of the body that is the seat of pain is scarified, as the forehead for headaches, the cheek for toothache. A number of very small incisions are made in the skin close together, with a sharp flake of quartz or glass. The incisions are just deep enough to cut through the skin and cause a little blood to ooze out, but not so deep as to produce a flow of blood. The operation is the work of women. It is probably more frequently used than any other remedy except red paint and human bones.

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164 **Medicine.**—1. The diseases most common among these tribes are:—

1st, malarial fever (*did·dirya-*).
2nd, catarrh (*ngī·rib-*).
3rd, coughs (*ō·dag-*).
4th, rheumatism (*mōl-*).
5th, phthisis.
6th, pneumonia.
7th, heart disease.[1]

757 2. In febrile complaints the treatment adopted by those living
278 in the interior, and less frequently by the coast dwellers,[2] is the following:—A bed is made for the patient of the leaves of the *Trigonostemon longifolius* (*gū·gma-*), and his body is rubbed with these leaves, which are sometimes first boiled, while he sniffs at some crushed pieces of the same; after a time *chū·luga-*[3] is given him to drink, and then with some of their patent ointment, *kòi·ob-*,[4] which is not used internally, as has been supposed,[5] the upper lip is painted and also the neck, if the invalid be married. When the fever is accompanied by pains in the chest or head, a *chàw·ga-tâ-*[6] is tied tightly round the part affected, as this is [755] believed to act as a charm, internal pains being always ascribed to the malign influence of evil spirits. During the course of the fever, the patient is constantly rubbed with *gū·gma-* leaves by one or more friends, who insist also upon his swallowing large quantities of *chū·luga-*; scarifying is never practised at such times. As only a small proportion of cases of this kind have a fatal result, great faith is placed in the treatment above described, and, at all events, it is certain that no injurious effects are caused by it.

757 3. The first half of the rainy season is usually the most sickly time with them, as with ourselves, in regard to fever and bowel

among the women of suckling each other's infants; in fact many parents have thus become tainted with the disease, the characteristics of which have in almost every case been most strongly marked, presenting an interesting study to the medical officers who have had charge of the patients. Great benefit was derived from the treatment and remedies (mercury and iodide of potassium) usually employed in Europe, but time alone will show how far our efforts will avail to prevent the disease from infecting the entire population, if, indeed, it do not, as in certain parts of Australia, lead to the early extermination of the race.

[753] Because of the insidious nature, and (to them) mysterious origin, of the last three named diseases, they say that either *ē·rem-chàu·gala* has shot the sufferer, or *jū·ru-win-* has speared him: regarding these evil spirits further reference will be found at "Death and Burial," paragraph 25, and "Religious Beliefs and Demonology," paragraphs 12 and 14.

[2] The reason for this will be found under "Tribal Communities," paragraph 5.

[3] *Vide* Appendix B, No. 63.

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, No. 60.

[5] *Vide* Mouat, p. 306.

[6] *Vide* Appendix B, No. 44.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

affections. Those natives who have been long with us, have great faith in our medicines, especially in the efficacy of quinine for curing fever, from which, as exposure is very trying to their constitutions, they suffer greatly when living in the clearings we have made at Port Blair. 757

4. For a cold in the head they merely remain at home and nurse themselves, crouching over the fire; for a cough, sea-water is often drunk, or they will chew the thick portion of the long leaves of a plant called *jī·ni-* (of the *Alpinia* species), and when the bitter juice has been extracted and swallowed, tie the chewed fibre round the neck; if benefit be not derived from this, they then take a piece of the upper portion of the stem of the *Calamosagus laciniosus*, called *pôr-*, and, removing the bark, chew the rest, and swallow the sap. Many cures having been attributed to the wonderful properties of the two descriptions of *chū·lnga-*, one or two quarts daily are prescribed to the unhappy patient, until the cough leaves him. 757 278

5. In cases of rheumatism and paralysis, a *chàu·ga-tâ-* is tied round the parts affected, and *chū·lnga-*, moist as found, is rubbed into them: if no relief is experienced within a day or so, warm water is poured over the suffering members, which are then shampooed; should no improvement result, even after these measures, recourse is had to scarification; this is done with a quartz or glass flake, by a woman, generally the wife or one near of kin to the sufferer. It has been noticed that but few of those who have been attacked by rheumatism in the jungle ever regain the full use of their limbs. 757 304

6. In phthisis, or when any internal organ is diseased, steps are taken by the friends of the patient to defeat the machinations of the evil one, to whom the victim's sufferings are attributed; to this end, one or more *chàu·ga-tâ-* are first fastened tightly over the seat of pain, a lump of black beeswax, *tō·bul-pīd-*,[1] is then held over a fire till it begins to melt, when it is instantly applied, being passed rapidly over the flesh; the wax which adheres is not removed, but wears off in a few days. The patient is also subjected to pressure with the hands by a relative or friend of the same sex, while an attendant frequently sucks the skin. Scarification is the *dernier ressort* when the bad symptoms increase.[2] [755] [278]

7. Every attention is paid to the wants and wishes of the sick, and the friends do all in their power to effect recovery, but no charms, excepting the *chàu·ga-tâ-*, are employed in the hope of 757 751

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, No. 57.

[2] As many bad cases of lung disease among those in the homes have been successfully treated with cod liver oil, they have now great faith in that medicine.

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Soon after delivery, some warm water is given to the woman to drink; she is also fed with meat-gravy, and the water in which shell or other fish have been boiled; after a time, should she desire it, fish, shell-fish, yams, or fruit are given her, but no meat.[1] During the first two or three days, she remains in a sitting posture, propped up by articles arranged so as to form a couch. As might be supposed, from the active habits and unsophisticated manners of these people, their women rarely suffer much during labour and child-birth; in fact, no instances of difficult delivery are known.[2] 846

12. For ear-ache, head-ache, and tooth-ache, recourse is had, in the first instance, to the *chàu·ga-tâ-*, then to scarification, should the pain continue and cause swelling. 755

13. In cases of skin disease, they afford relief, at least from irritation, by applying to the parts affected a large smooth stone previously warmed over a fire. 757

14. When a wound is inflicted by a thorn, stone, shell, &c., hot water is poured over it from a *Cyrena* shell, which is then heated and applied to the part as hot as it can be borne; or, if the injury be slight, sea-bathing is prescribed, as it is said to expedite the healing process. In treating a boil, they scarify all round the swelling in order to reduce the inflammation, and afterwards bathe it with *chû·lnga-* "lotion." This substance is also taken internally when suffering from dysentery, while for diarrhœa they swallow small quantities of a whitish clay, called *kôtrē·o-*. 752 278

15. The *larvæ* of bees found attached to honeycombs is eaten to correct constipation, or, if in season, the fruits of two trees, *ô·ropa-* and *chôb-*, which are much relished, and not without reason. 757 278

16. Their method of treating a case of epilepsy is to sprinkle the patient with cold water, and then to scarify his brow. 757

17. When bitten by a snake (especially a venomous one), if they succeed in killing it, they cut it open, and apply the kidney fat to the wound, rubbing it in for some time; should they fail in capturing the reptile, a ligament is tied above the bite, and the surrounding flesh is scarified. Deaths from snake bites, though not unknown, are rare. The late chief of the Middle Strait community died in a few hours from the bite of a certain tree snake called *tâ·ga-jō·bo-*,[3] in September, 1878, and another 752

[1] During menstruation they abstain from pork, *Paradoxurus*, turtle, honey, and yams, and live upon certain varieties of fish, sour fruits, iguanas, and prawns.

[2] The custom known by the name of *couvade*, or the paternal lying-in, is quite unknown among the Andamanese.

[3] This snake is said to be the most deadly, after which the *lâ·raba-* and *wâ·ra-jō·bo-* are the most dreaded. The last appears to be the *Ophiophagus elaps*. Further allusion to the *lâ·raba-* and the *wâ·ra-jō·bo-* will be made under "Superstitions."

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of which are declared to have been borne out subsequently by some unforeseen event, as, for instance, a sudden death by accident. 791 431

3. In order to maintain his status it is necessary for an *ôko-pai·ad-* to give fresh evidences of his powers from time to time, for, so long as his companions have faith in him, he is the constant recipient of presents of all kinds, which are unblushingly given[1] and accepted as bribes to curry favour.

4. Sometimes, owing to the multiplicity of these gifts, it is inconvenient to the *ôko-pai·ad-* to take charge of them; he then enters into an arrangement with the donors that such articles as he does not at present need shall be available for his use or appropriation whenever he may require them; hence many individuals possess property which is said to be *râ·dare* (*i.e.*, bespoken) by a certain seer, and which is, therefore, not available for presentation to anyone else.

5. If a disaster occur which they think might have been averted had the *ôko-pai·ad-* chosen to exercise his powers, they are said sometimes to conspire to kill him, but so greatly is he feared that not a single instance is known of anyone having ventured to carry such a plan into execution. 791

6. The position and influence possessed by a seer are not affected by his falling ill, but if some serious misfortune occur to him, such as the death of a child, it is looked upon as a sign that his power is waning, or that he has at least lost a portion of it; they, however, continue to stand in awe of him unless, as time passes, he fails to afford further proof of his supposed superiority. His wife enjoys no distinction, nor is she treated with more respect and consideration than any other woman of the like age in the tribe.

7. The *ôko-pai·ad-* is credited with the power of communicating in dreams with the invisible powers of good and evil, and also of seeing the spirits of the departed, or of those who are ill. On the occurrence of an epidemic in an encampment, he brandishes a burning log, and bids the evil spirit keep at a distance; sometimes, as a further precaution, he plants stakes a few feet high in front of each hut, painted in stripes with black beeswax (*tō·bul-pīd-*), the smell of which being peculiarly offensive to this demon, called *ē·rem-chàu·gala*, insures his speedy departure from their midst. 791 755

8. Though we may be disposed to question the belief of the *ôko-pai·ad-*s themselves in the supernatural powers they profess to possess, it is quite possible that they, like sorcerers in other 791

[1] Especially is this done by those advanced in years for fear of their end being hastened by the *ôko-pai·ad-* whom they fail to propitiate.

164 Going a little further into detail, it has been noticed that malarial fevers are commonest in June, at the commencement of the monsoon and during heavy bursts of rain thereafter. Malarial fevers commence as usual in their intermittent form and prove fatal as remittent fever. Other zymotic fevers are uncommon, though the Andamanese will drink the filthiest water.

A short rainfall in the Andamans is usually accompanied by high dry winds and then is the high time of the chest diseases. But though the Andamanese are susceptible to bronchial catarrh, and though chronic bronchitis is common, it is not fatal; pneumonia is however extremely fatal. Pleurisy, hæmoptysis and phthisis are comparatively rare.

Abdominal diseases, though comparatively uncommon, are very fatal, diarrhœa, including probably dysentery, claiming most victims. Dyspepsia and colic are both common. In health the stools are regular, but inclined to looseness. They have been likened to those of the lower mammals when in good health.

Of other diseases sunstroke is dreaded and always fatal. The brain and spinal cord are not often affected, though curvature of the spine is occasionally seen. Scurvy occurs at the seasons when vegetable diet, *i.e.*, such as fruits and roots afford, is too scanty. Elephantiasis occurs among the Onges, but is limited to the Little Andaman. Chronic muscular rheumatism occurs among the older people, leading to loss and withering of limbs. Ulcers, generally the result of wounds in the jungles, are common and, as with the immigrants, slow to heal. Abscesses are also common. Considering that personal uncleanliness is often extreme, skin diseases are curiously infrequent, except ringworm and exfoliated dermatitis, sometimes leading to destruction of finger and toe nails, due either to scurvy or exposure.

[146]

164 Excluding malaria, endemic disease has not been recognised among the Andamanese, and the only epidemics that have been known to attack them are imported pneumonia (1868), syphilis (1876), measles (1877), and influenza (1892), in that order: unhappily with disastrous effect. Exposure to the sun and wind in the cleared spaces, the excessive use of tobacco and over-clothing, as results of contact with civilisation, are also said to have undermined their health as a body of human beings. Intoxicants are forbidden to them by local rules and are not easily or commonly procured by them.

177

● 755 **Medicine.**—The diseases which the Andamanese distinguish by name are malarial fever, catarrh, coughs and rheumatism. Phthisis and heart disease are recognised, but are spirit caused and so are all internal maladies, which of course are not understood.

758

Medicine and surgery are almost absent from the Andamanese purview. They will bleed on the forehead for fever and headache and round abscesses to alleviate pain. They scarify for rheumatism and internal pain as a last resort. Red ochre and various herbal concoctions are both swallowed and applied as all-healers, in which they have great faith. Certain leaves are sometimes applied to local affections and beds made of them for the sake of their supposed medicinal odour. Cinctures, sometimes of human bones, are used to alleviate pain, but no other charms are employed. Occasionally the diet is slightly changed to relieve illness and they are quick to avail themselves of the hospital provided for them. They are extremely afraid of European surgery and will tremble violently at the sight of the operating knife. They smear themselves with white clay and water against the heat of the sun and with red ochre and oil after dark as a protection against cold.

The sick are sympathetically and very kindly, but superstitiously, treated. There are no pregnancy customs and those at childbirth are sensible and without superstition, difficult delivery being practically unknown.

[844]

Snakebite is uncommon and seldom fatal. Ligatures above the bite and scarifying are applied, both operations showing observation and common sense. Bites of centipedes, scorpions, leeches and ticks cause little inconvenience to the Andamanese, though very much to immigrants.

142 **Appearance.**—The figures of the men are muscular and well formed and generally pleasing; often a young man is distinctly good looking, for, though there is a tendency to prognathism, it is not commonly pronounced, while a straight and well formed nose and jaw, accompanied by superior intelligence

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
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757 started slapping his hands on Toncootēi's and exposing them intermittently to
372 the fire. All this lasted over a quarter of an hour. The patient was then made
123 to lie prone, with his legs spread out, to receive a foot massage as described above, for another quarter of an hour. Torso, feet and hands were worked over, with short pauses for artificial respiration by means of compression. Subsequently his back, and particularly the sacral region, was vigorously rubbed by willing hands and feet. Three men performed this operation. Toncootēi was finally allowed to rest, between two fires kept burning all night. Sunrise found him alive, and the fever had abated, due, I think, to a good European laxative that I had persuaded him to take.

164 In March 1952, I witnessed a sad episode, followed by the death of
123 the patient, near my Labanare camp. A young mother was suffering from breast rhagades. Her baby was less than a month old, and she was also suckling
[862] another child, almost two years old, who had sharp teeth. It is a frequent
[597] kindly habit of the Onge to adopt babies ; and it is customary to breast-feed them up to the age of four. Some interesting consequences arise out of this habit, but I shall not analyze them here. A minor detail : since they are allowed to suckle when they wish and are weaned so late, Onge children do not indulge in thumb sucking. Considerable reactions are spontaneously established between the two terminal parts of the digestive tube – oral and anal, as though in physiological conflict. Once more I affirm that the evidence of Onge sexual
[864] behaviour positively denies Freudian theories with regard to the sexual life of children. Furthermore, young anthropoids and primitive people behave identically in this respect.

164 The adopted baby gave the young mother nipple wounds that became
123 infected and suppurated. For lack of proper care and in unhygienic surroundings, the infection spread to the rest of her body. I found her suffering terribly
752 from pain in the breast, muscular spasm and high fever. The Onge had applied their usual external remedies to her body, from head to foot. Very tight bandages of ficus bark, renewed three times a day, were wrapped arounds legs, arms, trunk and abdomen. Bright red ochre – rare in Little Andaman and considered more effective because of its brilliant colour – was painted onto the afflicted breast. The poor young woman looked at me hopefully. I suggested her immediate removal to Port Blair Hospital, and sent radio messages from my camp to the Chief Commissioner, Mr. A. K. GHOSH. He responded generously by ordering a ship to call for the patient, but the journey was useless because her relations were opposed to displacing her. In March 1952 my friendship with the Onge was only starting ; this will explain their refusal to follow my advice. Without proper care, in a place like Little Andaman, the patient died four days after my arrival at the camp.

756 Prescription of medicines and treatments such as those described above
[759] is not determined by specialists. Everybody submits to treatment, with general approval, convinced of its effectiveness. Witch doctors do not exist and perhaps never existed in the Andamans. Nothing, then, is known by the
● 755 Onge of the dances and exhibitions, commonly executed elsewhere for curative
757 purposes, that influence the patient on a psychobiological basis. As they have

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

head ornaments and religious ceremonies. In Oceania there is, too, the habit of changing personal names from time to time so prevalent among the Onges, and the existence of actual linguistic connections between Nicobarese, Andamanese, Semang, Aetà and peoples of Oceania have been demonstrated by experts. 174

Any differences which exist today are the result of centuries of contact with other peoples which the Semang and Aetà have experienced, unlike the Andamanese, who thus represent today the true Negritos. While life generally has changed somewhat over the centuries for the Semang and Aetà, certain typical facets of their culture have remained unaltered. Ritual cutting and distributing of game, the use of the arrow harpoon (always unfeathered) and the simple Onge-Negrito bow are still the same, despite the fact that the three groups have been separated for a very long time. Even the very absence of defensive weapons is a common feature; admittedly outside the Andamans arrows are poisoned and some may be feathered, but this is a recent and imitative innovation which is not found among the Andamanese, by virtue of their constant isolation. The persistence among the Onges of the simple bow tends to support the idea of Little Andaman as the first stage in the northward spread of the Negritos after they reached the island from Sumatra via the Nicobars. In Malacca the Semang have retained the same bow, as have the Aetà in the Philippines.

Among what may be termed similarities of physical habits is nose-rubbing as a sign of affection, found in the Andamans, in Oceania, and parts of Papuasia and Melanesia. In all these areas there is the same belief that pregnancy is due to entry of a spirit into the body, and the same habit of suckling children for as long as four years. Similar too throughout the area are the methods of 'curing' disease, such as smearing with ochre and heavy massage carried out beside a fire, swallowing of balls of ochre, and the 'smoking' of wounds, smeared with a mixture of ochre and honey. As protection from the sun or the rains (especially for the young children) crude umbrellas are made from giant palm leaves. 171 [832] [842] [843] [862] [755] [293]

There are no prayers or propitiatory sacrifices to ensure health and well being, but there is throughout the area the same concept of mysterious forces to be feared, evaded, or let loose against enemies – never loved. Generally they are thought of in terms of spirits, usually active at night. There is some divergence in the 171 [776] [771] [782]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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623 a good deal of influence in connection with quarrels either of
562 individuals or of local groups.

There are certain men, and possibly sometimes women, who
● 756 have an influence over their fellows owing to their being credited with the possession of supernatural powers. These men, called in *Aka-Jeru oko-jumu* (literally "one who speaks from dreams"), will be described in a later chapter. As they are believed to have command over the powers that produce and cure sickness everyone tries to be on good terms with them, avoiding giving them offence in any way, and seeking their favour by presents of food or other things. It sometimes happens that a chief (the leading man of a local group) is at the same time a medicine-man or *oko-jumu*, but the two positions are entirely distinct and separate, and a man may be a medicine-man who possesses none of the qualities that are necessary for a head man.

673 There does not appear to have been in the Andamans any such thing as the punishment of crime. We may distinguish two kinds of anti-social actions which are regarded by the natives as being wrong. The first kind are those actions which injure in some way a private individual. The second are those, which, while they do not injure any particular person, are yet regarded with disapproval by the society in general.

Amongst the anti-social actions of the first kind are murder, or wounding, theft and adultery, and wilful damage of the property of another.

No case of one Andamanese killing another has occurred in
578 recent years. Quarrels sometimes occur between two men of
627 the same camp. A good deal of hard swearing goes on, and
682 sometimes one of the men will work himself up to a high pitch of anger, in which he may seize his bow and discharge an arrow
152 near to the one who has offended him, or may vent his ill-temper by destroying any property that he can lay his hands on, including not only that of his enemy but also that of other persons and even his own. At such a display of anger the women and children flee into the jungle in terror, and if the angry man be at all a formidable person the men occasionally do the same. It apparently requires more courage than the natives usually possess to endeavour to allay such a storm of

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reached the age when it is considered proper for a man to marry. In recent times at least one young man has refused to undergo the privations connected with the initiation ceremonies. This was of course a case of gross rebellion against the customs of the tribe, but there was no way of punishing him or of compelling him to conform, save by showing him that he was an object of contempt and ridicule to others. Probably such a refusal to conform to tribal customs could not have taken place before the British occupation of the islands. 183 626

Another class of wrong actions consists in the breaking of ritual prohibitions. There are, for example, as will be shown in a later chapter, a number of actions which it is believed may cause bad weather, such as burning bees'-wax or killing a cicada. There is, however, no punishment that can be meted out to any one who does any of these things. The punishment, if we may call it so, is a purely supernatural one, and it strikes not only the offender but every one else as well. In the legends of the Andamanese there are one or two stories related of how one of the ancestors, being angry, deliberately performed one of the forbidden actions and thus brought a storm that destroyed many human beings[1]. There are other ritual prohibitions the non-observance of which is supposed to bring its own punishment on the offender, who, it is believed, will be ill. 784 626

The medicine-men (*oko-jumu*) are credited with the power to work evil magic, and by its means to make other people ill, and even to kill them. A man suspected of evil magic might be liable to the vengeance of those who thought that they had been injured by him, but though the practice was regarded as reprehensible it does not seem that the society ever acted as a whole to punish a man suspected of it. 756

Children are reproved for improper behaviour, but they are never punished. During their years of infancy they are much spoilt, not only by their parents but by every one. During the period of adolescence every boy and girl has to undergo a somewhat severe discipline, to be described in a later chapter. 861 882

[1] See below, Chap. IV.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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associated with *Puluga* or *Biliku*. All the versions that I heard, 775
however, referred to the past and not to the future[1].

The Andamanese speak of unconsciousness as "death," and 761
regard a person who has been unconscious for some time as 828
having been dead and returned to life again. I was once told that an old man in the village was "dead" and found him in a state of coma from which he recovered and lived for several days. There are stories of persons having returned to life even after they have been buried. One such tale was told me in the North Andaman. A man died and was buried. As his friends and relatives, after packing up their belongings, were leaving the camp in their canoes, the man's voice was heard calling. His wife and mother turned back and met him and took him in their canoe. He lived for some time after this and then he died and was buried again. Again the same thing happened, the dead man re-appearing just as they were setting off in their canoes from the camp that they were deserting on account of his death. Finally the man died a third time. When he was buried this time the men dug a very deep hole some distance from the camp, and then hurried back to the camp and hastily gathered up their belongings and left it. Nothing more was seen of the dead man, but when, after the lapse of some months, they went to dig up the bones, they found the mat and leaves and rope in which the corpse had been bound, but there were no bones.

Amongst the coast-dwellers of the North Andaman I found 761
a belief that the soul of a dying man goes out with the ebbing 775
tide.

There are, amongst the Andamanese, certain individuals who 756
are distinguished from their fellows by the supposed possession 791
of supernatural powers. These specially favoured persons

[1] It may be noted that in the Andamanese languages there is no future tense of the verb, and it is often very difficult to know whether a speaker is referring to the present or to the future. Further, although there is a past tense, a native often uses the present tense in a narrative relating to the past, so that a statement relating to the past and one relating to the future may have exactly the same grammatical form. Mr Ellis, writing in the *Journal of the Philological Society* (1882) from information supplied by Mr Man, gives a verbal suffix *-ngabo* denoting the future in the *Aka-Bea* language. Mr Portman points out that this is an error. (*Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman*, p. 88.)

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●756 791 correspond, to some degree, with the medicine-men, magicians or shamans of other primitive societies. The name for these medicine-men in the North Andaman is *oko-jumu*, meaning literally "dreamer" or "one who speaks from dreams" from a stem *-jumu* the primary meaning of which refers to the phenomena of dreams. In *Aka-Bea* the corresponding term is *oko-paiad*, and according to Mr Man, this term also means "dreamer." Mr Portman, however, gives *taraba* as the *Aka-Bea* word for "dream" or "to dream."

According to a statement by Mr Man, only men can possess the powers that entitle them to be regarded as *oko-paiad*[1]. The natives whom I questioned told me that a woman may possess the same powers, though it is more usual for men to become famous in this way than women. There is no very clear dividing line between those who are *oko-jumu* or *oko-paiad* and those who are not; one person may possess the powers in only a slight degree, so as scarcely to differentiate him from others, while another may be much more highly gifted.

At the present time it is no longer possible to obtain full and satisfactory information on this subject. Most of the old *oko-jumu* and *oko-paiad* are now dead. Amongst the younger men there are a few who pretend to the position, but the recent intercourse with foreigners has produced a degree of scepticism in such matters that makes it difficult or nearly impossible to obtain any reliable information as to the former beliefs from any but the very old men. To this difficulty must be added that in talking to some of the very few old men who could have given more valuable information I had to make use of an interpreter, and though they might have been willing to confide to me some of the secrets of their profession they would not do so before a younger man of their own race.

791 761 756 775 The powers of a dreamer, supernatural as they are, can only be acquired by supernatural means, through contact in one way or another with the spirits (i.e. the *Lau* or *Čauga*). One way of coming into contact with the spirits is by death. If a man should, as the natives put it, die and then come back to life again,

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 96.

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he is, by that adventure, endowed with the power that makes a medicine-man. One man of the *Aka-Kora* tribe was pointed out to me as having obtained his powers in this way. It would seem that during a serious illness he was unconscious for some twelve hours or so, and his friends thought that he was dead. A medicine-man whom I met with in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe was said to have died and come to life again three times. Another man, whom I did not meet, was described to me as a great *oko-jumu*, and from the description given it seemed to me that he was subject to epileptic fits. As against this, however, Mr Man states that "epilepsy is a recognised form of malady, but the fits are not regarded in a superstitious light[1]."

Another way in which a man can acquire magical powers is by direct communication with the spirits. A man who died a few years ago was believed by the natives to have once met with some spirits in the jungle, and to have acquired in this way the powers of an *oko-jumu*. He used to go off into the jungle by himself at intervals and hold communication with the spirits with whom he had made friends. From such a visit he had returned with his head decorated with shredded palm-leaf fibre (*koro*) which had, so he said, been placed on him by the spirits. This man had a reputation as a powerful *oko-jumu*.

In a less degree the powers of an *oko-jumu* may be obtained through dreams. It is believed that certain men have the power of communicating with the spirits in dreams, and such men are *oko-jumu*. If a man or boy experiences dreams that are in any way extraordinary, particularly if, in his dreams he sees spirits, either the spirits of dead persons known to him when alive, or spirits of the forest or the sea, he may acquire in time the reputation of a medicine-man.

A man may claim some degree of magical power, and yet his claims may not be recognized by others. Each *oko-jumu* has to make his own reputation, and to sustain it when made. This he can only do by demonstrating his power to others. Once this reputation is his, he not only receives the respect of others but also makes a considerable personal profit. Every one is anxious to be on good terms with one who is believed to

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 83.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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756 791 have extraordinary powers. Hence a man who is an acknowledged *oko-jumu* is sure to receive a good share of the game caught by others, and presents of all kinds from those who seek his good-will.

756 791 828 787 As the name implies, and in whatever way his power may have been obtained, an *oko-jumu* is privileged to dream in a way that less favoured persons do not. In his dreams he can communicate with the spirits of the dead. In dreams, also, so the natives say, he is able to cause the illness of an enemy or to cure that of a friend.

755 By his communication with the spirits, in dreams, or in waking life, the *oko-jumu* acquires magical knowledge that he is able to turn to account in curing illness and in preventing bad weather. When a person is ill the *oko-jumu* is often consulted as to the best means of treating the patient. His treatment is often limited to the recommendation, or the application, of some one or other of the recognized remedies. He may undertake to dispel the spirits that are supposed to be the cause of the disease, which he does by addressing them and conjuring them to go away, or by the use of one or other of the substances and objects that are believed to have the power of keeping spirits at a distance. Sometimes the *oko-jumu* will promise to cure the patient by means of dreams. It is believed that in his dreams he can communicate with the spirits and can persuade them to help him to cure the sick person.

791 821 756 Besides their power of causing or curing sickness, the *oko-jumu* are credited with being able to control the weather. As has been shown, the Andamanese believe that the weather is under the control of two beings named *Biliku* and *Tarai*. There is, however, an alternative and contradictory belief, which is also held, that the weather is controlled by the spirits, and particularly by those of the sea. The means taken by magicians or others to prevent bad weather can be divided into two kinds according as they are directed against *Biliku* or *Tarai*, or against the spirits of the sea. As an example of the very simple rites which are performed for this purpose, two cases may be quoted. One of the *oko-jumu* of the Northern tribes, now dead, once stopped a very violent storm by crushing between two stones

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a piece of the *Anadendron paniculatum* and diving with it into the sea where he placed it under a rock on the reef. A more recent example is very similar. A man still living, named *Jire Pilečar*, who was, in a way, the successor of the man formerly mentioned, is said to have stopped a violent storm by using the leaves and bark of the *Ficus laccifera* in the same way, that is by crushing them and placing them under a rock in the sea. In both these cases it would seem that the rite was directed not against *Biliku* and *Tarai*, but against the *Jurua*. 791 821 756

Apart from his power to communicate directly with the spirits, the *oko-jumu* owes his position to a superior knowledge of the magical properties of common substances and objects. This knowledge he is supposed to obtain from the spirits. However, a lesser degree of knowledge on such matters is possessed by everybody. Thus in the treatment of sickness there are a number of magical remedies of which anyone can make use without consulting an *oko-jumu*. 756 791 [755]

A complete enumeration of all the things that are believed to possess magical properties is, of course, not possible, but the following notes refer to all the most important.

We may consider first of all the magical properties of mineral substances. One of the most important of these is red ochre. Yellow ochre, which is found in pockets in many parts of the islands, is collected and burnt, when it turns red, and the powder so obtained is either used by itself or is made into a paint with pig or turtle fat. The powder is mixed with water and taken internally. Red paint is applied to the throat and chest for coughs and colds and sore throats, and round the ear for ear-ache. When a man feels unwell he often smears red paint on his upper lip just below his nostrils. In this way, the natives say, the "smell" of the paint cures his sickness. The paint is sometimes used as a dressing for wounds or centipede bites. Its use for ornamenting the body on ceremonial occasions has already been noted in the last chapter. 755 278 823

In the North Andaman a soft red stone is found, called *talar*. This is used as a substitute for red paint. It is rubbed on the body, or it is powdered and the powder is mixed with water and taken internally.

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CHAPTER IV

MYTHS AND LEGENDS

713 THE Andamanese have a number of stories which are told to the younger people by their elders and relate to the doings of their ancestors in a time long ago. Some of these stories are recorded in the present chapter. A difficulty in the way of giving any clear and readable account of them is the fact that there are many slightly different versions of one and the same legend. To some extent the variations are local, each tribe, and even each portion of a tribe having its own set of legendary stories. Besides these local variations there are also individual variations. Two men of the same tribe may relate what is substantially the same story, yet each chooses his own words and gestures, and to some extent they may even arrange the incidents differently.

713 In the last chapter it was mentioned that there are certain individuals, known as *oko-jumu* in the North Andaman and
791 *oko-paiad* in the South, who are believed to have special know-
756 ledge as to the spirits and as to the magical efficacy of remedies for sickness. It is these *oko-jumu* also who are the authorities on the legendary lore of the Andamanese. In the case of magical remedies there is a certain common stock of beliefs as to the efficacy to be attributed to different substances, such as leaves of different plants, and on the basis of these beliefs the *oko-jumu* elaborates the remedies that he uses in particular cases. Each *oko-jumu*, however, prides himself on being, to some extent, original. An example of this has been already mentioned. When a great storm arose an *oko-jumu* of one of the Northern tribes succeeded in stopping it (in the belief of

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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the natives) by placing a piece of the crushed stem of the *Anadendron* creeper under a particular stone in the sea. On a later occasion another storm arose, and the successor of the first-mentioned *oko-jumu* was appealed to that he might exert his powers. He did not simply imitate his predecessor, but he placed a piece of crushed bark and twigs of the *Ficus laccifera* in the sea under a different stone. In very much the same way there is a common stock of beliefs as to the events that took place in the time of the ancestors, but each *oko-jumu* builds up on this basis his own particular set of legends, so that it is rarely that two of them tell the same story in the same way. An *oko-jumu* may obtain for himself a reputation by relating legends of the ancestors in a vivid and amusing way. Such a man would be able to invent new stories by combining together in his own way some of the traditional incidents. The desire on the part of each *oko-jumu* to be original and so to enhance his own reputation is a fertile source of variation in the legends.

This lack of traditional form, which is a very important characteristic of the Andamanese mythology, may be compared with their lack of traditional songs. Just as every man composes his own songs, so, within certain limits, every *oko-jumu* relates in his own way the legends of his tribe. But whereas every man is a composer of songs, only a certain number are regarded as having authority to speak on the legends.

Underlying the legends of any tribe there are a certain number of beliefs or representations with which every native is familiar. It is on the basis of these that the *oko-jumu* elaborates his own doctrine, if we may call it so, which he hands on to his followers, who in turn may become *oko-jumu* and produce further slight modifications of their own. Thus the legends are continually being changed, though in any one generation the changes introduced are slight, and it would take a long time for important changes in belief to be brought about. There is evidence, however, that a succession of leading men in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe have succeeded in introducing a new doctrine as to the weather, making *Bilik* the name of a class of beings instead of the name of a single being, and that this

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I gathered a few hints that they even believe that at times the spirits can and will help them. Thus a man will call on the sea-spirits of his own country to send plenty of turtle (over which the spirits seem to be assumed to have power) when he is going hunting. A very important fact in this connection is the different way in which a native regards the spirits of his own country and of other parts, the latter being thought to be much more dangerous than the former because presumably they are the spirits not of relatives and friends but of strangers at the best or enemies at the worst. 182X

There is other evidence that the Andamanese do not regard the power that is possessed by the spirits as being essentially evil. This power, whereby the spirits are able to cause sickness, seems to be shared by the bones of dead men. Indeed the Andamanese call such bones "spirit-bones" (*lau-tọi*, *čauga-ta*). Now this power in the bones (though it may at times be supposed to cause sickness) is more commonly made use of in order to prevent or cure it.

The most conclusive evidence that the power of the spirits is not intrinsically evil, but may be used to produce both good and evil is afforded by the beliefs about medicine-men or dreamers (*oko-jumu*). There are three ways in which a man can become a medicine-man. The first is (as the natives put it) by dying and coming back to life. Now when a man dies he becomes a spirit and therefore acquires the peculiar powers and qualities of a spirit, which he retains if he returns to life. Secondly, if a man straying in the jungle by himself be affronted by the spirits, and if he show no fear (for if he is afraid they will kill him) they may keep him with them for a time and then let him go. Such a man, on his return, is regarded as being a medicine-man, and possessing all the powers of medicine-men. I was told of one man who became a medicine-man in this way within living memory, and it was stated that when he returned from the forest where he had been kept by the spirits for two or three days he was decorated with *kọro* fibre. We have seen that this fibre is used by the spirits in the ceremony by which they initiate dead men, and its presence on the returned warrior was perhaps accepted by his friends as evidence that he had been initiated by the spirits. The third and last way in which a man may become a medicine-man is by having 182X 791 756

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intercourse with the spirits in his dreams. This is a point to which it will be necessary to return later. For the present it is sufficient to note that in every instance the power of the medicine-man is believed to be derived from his contact with the spirits in one of the three possible ways.

We are justified in concluding that the special power of the medicine-man, by which he is distinguished from his fellows, is simply the same power that is possessed by the spirits, from contact with whom he has obtained it. The medicine-man is believed to be able both to cause and to cure sickness, to arouse and to dispel storms. In other words he has power for both good and evil, and we must conclude that the spirits have the same. Moreover, it is commonly said that the medicine-man is able to produce the effects he does, whether they be harmful or beneficial to his fellows, by communicating with the spirits in dreams and enlisting their aid. This would seem to prove the point that I am here concerned with, that the power possessed by the spirits, though contact with it is always dangerous, may yet in certain circumstances be of benefit to the society, and is therefore not essentially evil in nature.

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The Andamanese believe that a medicine-man communicates with the spirits in sleep, and this is not the only evidence that they believe sleep to be a condition in which contact with the world of spirits is easier than in waking life. It is believed that sickness is more likely to begin during sleep than when awake. During the initiation ceremonies the initiate is required to abstain from sleep after eating pork or turtle, and this would seem to be because sleep is regarded as generally dangerous and therefore to be avoided on such occasions as this when every precaution needs to be taken.

The explanation of this belief seems to lie in the fact that sleep is a condition of diminished social activity, in which the individual is withdrawn from active social life, and is therefore also withdrawn from the protection of the society. After eating turtle the initiate is in urgent need of the protection of the society, which would be lost to him if he were permitted to sleep. After a death, when the corpse remains in the camp all night the people remain awake, and since there is no other common activity in

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

757 started slapping his hands on Toncootēi's and exposing them intermittently to
372 the fire. All this lasted over a quarter of an hour. The patient was then made
123 to lie prone, with his legs spread out, to receive a foot massage as described above, for another quarter of an hour. Torso, feet and hands were worked over, with short pauses for artificial respiration by means of compression. Subsequently his back, and particularly the sacral region, was vigorously rubbed by willing hands and feet. Three men performed this operation. Toncootēi was finally allowed to rest, between two fires kept burning all night. Sunrise found him alive, and the fever had abated, due, I think, to a good European laxative that I had persuaded him to take.

164 In March 1952, I witnessed a sad episode, followed by the death of
123 the patient, near my Labanare camp. A young mother was suffering from breast rhagades. Her baby was less than a month old, and she was also suckling
[862] another child, almost two years old, who had sharp teeth. It is a frequent
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6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

no specialized physicians, the Onge do not understand that payment can be exacted for medical care. This stems from the fact that wages are not considered by those happy people as payment for any kind of work whatsoever, but only as a gift. I realized this when I tried to pay my guides after our extenuating marches through the jungle : in order to avoid offending the natives that we had casually met in the course of our trip, I had to give equal reward to everybody. 757 465 123 431

The Onge consider some men or women better endowed than others with anti-malefic influence ; but these too neither demand nor receive wages for their services. Evil spirits or evil persons are believed to be principally responsible for illness. A series of superstitions and remarkable habits derive from this belief. The above-mentioned precautions concerning the *naquinēghē* are among them. For identical reasons they carefully hide hair cuttings, but not nail parings, for the simple reason that nails are never cut but worn down by digging for edible roots, fishing, and other rough work. Superstition, as we know, is also the reason for painting the body to prevent fever and other ills. 753 [756] [515]

In the depths of their jungle the Onge appear to practice some kind of witchcraft. On several occasions I noticed the mysterious behaviour of some natives travelling with me. Occasionally a man left our marching column to examine the inside of a huge hollow tree and signal to his friends. They did not prevent me from looking into the hollow, where I saw only a simple structure of short sticks resembling a trap without being one. The Onge do not use traps ; moreover, those structures were far too flimsy to catch anything. Often, two or three men assembled in consultation, rearranged the sticks that had probably been dislodged by the passage of lizards, crabs or other small animals, and walked away silently. I could get no explanation on the matter. Certainly the Onge are sagacious observers of animal and vegetable life and have deep knowledge of their hidden properties. Some trees are probably used for magical purposes, but, I insist, it is impossible as yet to affirm it. The structures in question consisted of four vertical sticks, about 30 cms long, joined at the top by four more sticks of approximately the same length, placed horizontally. The result was a box-like frame, loose and unsecured. The slightest disturbance, such as a light breeze, could destroy the flimsy construction. As far as I could guess they invested those structures with curative properties, but in what manner remains a mystery. I noticed analogous practices among Central African Pygmies and other primitives. 789 [224] [171]

It is very clear that the Onge dread illness and magic spells, for they consider themselves at a loss in fighting such evils. Unhygienic habits are of no importance to them. 754 751

Resting is considered favorable to good health. The Onge indulge voluptuously in rest, interrupting it, however, with too frequent sexual excursions. They mainly rest from doing nothing, because 90 % of their time is spent in what, for them, is the most agreeable manner of enjoying life. 517 751 461

In mid-March, when the honey harvest reaches its peak, the Onge guzzle 262

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

824 784 the species were cut there would be a storm. The bark of the aerial roots of the tree affords a fibre used in the Little Andaman for bow-strings, but only used in the Great Andaman for making personal ornaments. It is possible that some magical properties are attributed to the ornaments made from this fibre.

The *Pterocarpus dalbergioides* is one of the most striking trees of the Andamans. It has a very hard red wood, from which the natives make their sounding-boards. There is an obscure belief in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe (and possibly also in other tribes) that it is dangerous to look at the tree when it is in flower. I was twice told a story of how some people were affected by looking at the flowers, and either went mad or died. On one occasion my interpreter translated the words of my informant by saying "They saw the flowers, and went giddy, and they all went to hell (*Jereg-l'ar-mugu*)." Men must be careful when the tree is in flower, not to look at it too long. In the North Andaman I was told that string games (*jipre*) must not be played when the *Pterocarpus* tree is in flower. They may be indulged in with safety at any other time of the year. (String games, according to one statement, were invented by the *Lau*, while another account attributes the invention to the crab.)

824 751 The *Tetranthera lancœfolia* is a small tree from which the natives obtain the wood for the shafts of their pig arrows. The leaves of this tree are believed to have the power to keep away the spirits of the forest. They are used in the pig-eating ceremony described in the last chapter. The wood is shredded and made into plumes, and these plumes are believed to have magical properties. They are worn by a man who has killed another, and are believed to protect him from the vengeance of the spirit of the dead man.

824 278 757 A common remedy for sickness of different kinds is a small tree called *gugma* in *Aka-Bea*, which Mr Man identifies as being *Trigonostemon longifolius*. The leaves of this tree are made into a bed for the patient to lie upon. They are also crushed and rubbed over the patient's body, or he is made to inhale the odour of the crushed leaves. The natives say that it is the "smell" of the plant that possesses medical properties. The

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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"smell" will drive away turtle, and leaves should therefore not be taken in a canoe. A man who has been handling the leaves would not go turtle-hunting. 824 278 757

Another remedy is a species of *Alpinia*. The leaves and stems of this plant are chewed and the juice swallowed for certain ailments. The plant is also used when taking honey. A man takes some of the leaves in his mouth and chews them well. Before taking the honeycomb he sprays the saliva from his mouth over and around it. He may also rub the chewed leaves over his body. The natives say that in this way they are able to prevent the bees from stinging them.

Magical properties are attributed to a number of plants that have not been botanically identified. Thus the leaves of a small tree called *tare* in *Aka-Jeru* are crushed and moistened with water and rubbed over the body as a remedy for illness. A strip of bark from the same tree is tied round the chest of a man with a pain in his chest. The bark of two trees called (in *Aka-Jeru*) *tip* and *laro* is crushed and moistened and rubbed over a sick man's body. The leaves of a plant called *pare* are crushed with water and the infusion is drunk by persons suffering from diarrhœa and abdominal pains. A creeper called *korotli* is crushed and tied round a limb in cases of snake-bite. The seeds of the *Entada scandens* are heated in the fire and applied (while hot) to such wounds as that from the tusk of a boar.

There are a certain number of trees and plants about which the natives say that any person cutting them will become blind. The names of four of these in *Aka-Jeru* are *jin*, *burut*, *dey*, and *mit*.

We may turn now to animals and animal substances. Magical properties are attributed to bees'-wax, particularly to black bees'-wax. In a case of pleurisy black bees'-wax was heated until it was soft, and then smeared over the man's chest. Bees'-wax is believed to keep away the spirits of the forest. 825 278 755

If a man be bitten by a snake and the snake be killed it is skinned and the inner surface of the skin is applied to the wound.

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142 Dr. Dobson, in noticing a marked case of this kind, drew attention to the fact of its differing from steatopyga, thereby distinguishing them in this respect from Hottentots.

2. Albinism and polydactylism are unknown, and only one case of erythrism, and that of a faint type, has been observed, or is known to the natives of our acquaintance.[1]

3. No instance appears of obliquity of vision, of cleft palate, absence of teeth, or of supernumerary teeth, and only one of prognathism[2] and hare-lip respectively. Cases of "Darwin's point" in the ear are constantly met with.

158 **Pathology.**—1. No idiots, maniacs, or lunatics have ever yet been observed among them, and this is not because those so [157] afflicted are killed or confined by their fellows, for the greatest care and attention are invariably paid to the sick, aged, and 732 helpless. Two or three cases of hunchback and lateral curvature of the spine have come under notice, but instances of the kind are evidently very rare.

164 2. It has often been observed, that though the Andamanese waste away very rapidly in sickness, they regain flesh with equal facility when convalescent; but, nevertheless, they possess so little vital power, that they readily succumb to diseases against which others usually struggle successfully;[3] indeed, they appear to suffer as much, if not more, than individuals of alien races from the febrile disorders—mainly attributable to malaria, so prevalent throughout these islands—which frequently lay the foundation of chest complaints, from which they rarely recover.

3. Pulmonary consumption and other forms of pectoral disease are among the chief causes of mortality among these tribes.[4] These disorders do not appear to be confined to, or to be more prevalent in, certain districts, but there is little doubt that they have been most frequent amongst those living in the homes provided for their benefit in and near our settlements in South Andaman.[5]

[1] In no other particular does this case appear to differ from the rest.

[2] As Professor Owen, F.R.S., truly remarks, "their prognathism is not more than is found in most of the Southern Asiatic peoples, and, indeed, in the lower orders of men in all countries, and may be due or relate to the prolonged sucking of the plastic infant." (*Vide* "Brit. Asso. Reports," 1861.)

[3] This not only refers to maladies introduced by the alien population, such as measles, venereal diseases, &c., but to those complaints from which they suffered prior to the establishment of the settlement.

[4] In reference to complaints of this nature, it may interest some to know that Dr. De Jongh's cod liver oil was largely used in the homes, and with considerable benefit to the patients, several recoveries having resulted therefrom. From inquiry it would seem that cases of constipation are comparatively rare, and that diarrhœa is almost the habitual state of their excretory functions.

[5] As this circumstance was traced to the system of giving them clothes to be worn at our various stations, and when visited by Europeans, it was deemed advisable to modify the regulation and to supply them only with drawers, leaving the upper part of the body exposed. A marked improvement in the general health resulted from this change.

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164 **Medicine.**—1. The diseases most common among these tribes are:—

1st, malarial fever (*did·dirya-*).
2nd, catarrh (*ngī·rib-*).
3rd, coughs (*ō·dag-*).
4th, rheumatism (*mŏl-*).
5th, phthisis.
6th, pneumonia.
7th, heart disease.[1]

757 278 2. In febrile complaints the treatment adopted by those living in the interior, and less frequently by the coast dwellers,[2] is the following:—A bed is made for the patient of the leaves of the *Trigonostemon longifolius* (*gū·gma-*), and his body is rubbed with these leaves, which are sometimes first boiled, while he sniffs at some crushed pieces of the same; after a time *chū·luga-*[3] is given him to drink, and then with some of their patent ointment, *kòi·ob-*,[4] which is not used internally, as has been supposed,[5] the upper lip is painted and also the neck, if the invalid be married. When the fever is accompanied by pains in the chest or head, a *chàu·ga-tâ-*[6] is tied tightly round the part affected, as this is [755] believed to act as a charm, internal pains being always ascribed to the malign influence of evil spirits. During the course of the fever, the patient is constantly rubbed with *gū·gma-* leaves by one or more friends, who insist also upon his swallowing large quantities of *chū·luga-*; scarifying is never practised at such times. As only a small proportion of cases of this kind have a fatal result, great faith is placed in the treatment above described, and, at all events, it is certain that no injurious effects are caused by it.

757 3. The first half of the rainy season is usually the most sickly time with them, as with ourselves, in regard to fever and bowel

among the women of suckling each other's infants; in fact many parents have thus become tainted with the disease, the characteristics of which have in almost every case been most strongly marked, presenting an interesting study to the medical officers who have had charge of the patients. Great benefit was derived from the treatment and remedies (mercury and iodide of potassium) usually employed in Europe, but time alone will show how far our efforts will avail to prevent the disease from infecting the entire population, if, indeed, it do not, as in certain parts of Australia, lead to the early extermination of the race.

[753] Because of the insidious nature, and (to them) mysterious origin, of the last three named diseases, they say that either *ē·rem-chàu·gala* has shot the sufferer, or *jū·ru-wiu-* has speared him. Regarding these evil spirits further reference will be found at "Death and Burial," paragraph 25, and "Religious Beliefs and Demonology," paragraphs 12 and 14.

[2] The reason for this will be found under "Tribal Communities," paragraph 5.

[3] *Vide* Appendix B, No. 63.

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, No. 60.

[5] *Vide* Mouat, p. 306.

[6] *Vide* Appendix B, No. 44.

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affections. Those natives who have been long with us, have great faith in our medicines, especially in the efficacy of quinine for curing fever, from which, as exposure is very trying to their constitutions, they suffer greatly when living in the clearings we have made at Port Blair. 757

4. For a cold in the head they merely remain at home and nurse themselves, crouching over the fire; for a cough, sea-water is often drunk, or they will chew the thick portion of the long leaves of a plant called *jī·ni-* (of the *Alpinia* species), and when the bitter juice has been extracted and swallowed, tie the chewed fibre round the neck; if benefit be not derived from this, they then take a piece of the upper portion of the stem of the *Calamosagus laciniosus*, called *pôr-*, and, removing the bark, chew the rest, and swallow the sap. Many cures having been attributed to the wonderful properties of the two descriptions of *chū·lnga-*, one or two quarts daily are prescribed to the unhappy patient, until the cough leaves him. 757 278

5. In cases of rheumatism and paralysis, a *chàu·ga-tâ-* is tied round the parts affected, and *chū·lnga-*, moist as found, is rubbed into them: if no relief is experienced within a day or so, warm water is poured over the suffering members, which are then shampooed; should no improvement result, even after these measures, recourse is had to scarification; this is done with a quartz or glass flake, by a woman, generally the wife or one near of kin to the sufferer. It has been noticed that but few of those who have been attacked by rheumatism in the jungle ever regain the full use of their limbs. 757 304

6. In phthisis, or when any internal organ is diseased, steps are taken by the friends of the patient to defeat the machinations of the evil one, to whom the victim's sufferings are attributed; to this end, one or more *chàu·ga-tâ-* are first fastened tightly over the seat of pain, a lump of black beeswax, *tō·bul-pīd-*,[1] is then held over a fire till it begins to melt, when it is instantly applied, being passed rapidly over the flesh; the wax which adheres is not removed, but wears off in a few days. The patient is also subjected to pressure with the hands by a relative or friend of the same sex, while an attendant frequently sucks the skin. Scarification is the *dernier ressort* when the bad symptoms increase.[2] [755] [278]

7. Every attention is paid to the wants and wishes of the sick, and the friends do all in their power to effect recovery, but no charms, excepting the *chàu·ga-tâ-*, are employed in the hope of 757 751

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, No. 57.

[2] As many bad cases of lung disease among those in the homes have been successfully treated with cod liver oil, they have now great faith in that medicine.

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751 averting or curing illness; after recovery, no ceremonies of purification take place.

751 8. With respect to these necklaces of human bones, it should be stated that it is not considered necessary that the bones used for this purpose should have belonged to an adult, those of a child or of one long since dead, are considered equally efficacious; the belief is that they cure diseases, and shield the wearer in some measure from the machinations of evil spirits, through the intervention of the disembodied spirit, who is supposed to be gratified by, and aware of, the respect thus paid to his memory. Loose teeth obtained from human skulls and jaw bones, are sometimes strung together as necklaces, or, if too few for such a purpose, they are included among the pieces of bone which are broken up to form the *chàu·ga-tâ-*; turtle bones are also sometimes added under similar circumstances.

9. The skull and jawbone are carried, either separately or together, merely as mementoes, and are not accredited with any peculiar virtues.

843 10. During pregnancy, the women eat in moderation, but delight in as great a variety of food as possible, telling their husbands day by day what to procure for them;[1] they are also in the habit of taking as much active exercise as possible, as they believe it conduces to an easy *accouchement*, and the same reason is given for the custom, common among them, of consuming small quantities of *tâ·la-ōg-*[2] from time to time; but this practice may be traced with more probability to the fact that the appetite of persons in an anæmic condition is generally fanciful and depraved, such substances as "lime, chalk, or slate pencil being sometimes greedily devoured by them."

844 11. When about to be confined, the custom is for the husband, and some of the woman's female friends, to attend on her; she is placed in a sitting posture, the left leg is stretched out, and the right knee brought up, so as to enable her to clasp it with her arms. Her husband supports her back and presses her as desired, while her female friends hold a leaf screen *kâ·pa-jâ·tnga-* over the lower part of her person, and assist her, to the best of their ability, in the delivery and in the removal of the after-birth; the umbilical cord is severed by means of a *Cyrena* shell (now a steel blade is often used), and when the infant has been washed in cold water, its skin is gently scraped with the shell. Publicity is not courted on these occasions, as has been asserted,[3] but all, save those whose services are required, continue
000 their occupations as usual. Soon after the delivery, some warm

[1] Further allusion to this subject will be made under "Tabu."
[2] *Vide* Appendix E, No. 58.
[3] *Vide* Mouat, p. 294.

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Soon after delivery, some warm water is given to the woman to drink; she is also fed with meat-gravy, and the water in which shell or other fish have been boiled; after a time, should she desire it, fish, shell-fish, yams, or fruit are given her, but no meat.[1] During the first two or three days, she remains in a sitting posture, propped up by articles arranged so as to form a couch. As might be supposed, from the active habits and unsophisticated manners of these people, their women rarely suffer much during labour and child-birth; in fact, no instances of difficult delivery are known.[2] 846

12. For ear-ache, head-ache, and tooth-ache, recourse is had, in the first instance, to the *chàw̄ga-tâ-*, then to scarification, should the pain continue and cause swelling. 755

13. In cases of skin disease, they afford relief, at least from irritation, by applying to the parts affected a large smooth stone previously warmed over a fire. 757

14. When a wound is inflicted by a thorn, stone, shell, &c., hot water is poured over it from a *Cyrena* shell, which is then heated and applied to the part as hot as it can be borne; or, if the injury be slight, sea-bathing is prescribed, as it is said to expedite the healing process. In treating a boil, they scarify all round the swelling in order to reduce the inflammation, and afterwards bathe it with *chū·lnga-* "lotion." This substance is also taken internally when suffering from dysentery, while for diarrhœa they swallow small quantities of a whitish clay, called *kôtrē·o-*. 752 278

15. The *larvæ* of bees found attached to honeycombs is eaten to correct constipation, or, if in season, the fruits of two trees, *ô·ropa-* and *chôb-*, which are much relished, and not without reason. 757 278

16. Their method of treating a case of epilepsy is to sprinkle the patient with cold water, and then to scarify his brow. 757

17. When bitten by a snake (especially a venomous one), if they succeed in killing it, they cut it open, and apply the kidney fat to the wound, rubbing it in for some time; should they fail in capturing the reptile, a ligament is tied above the bite, and the surrounding flesh is scarified. Deaths from snake bites, though not unknown, are rare. The late chief of the Middle Strait community died in a few hours from the bite of a certain tree snake called *tâ·ya-jō·bo-*,[3] in September, 1878, and another 752

[1] During menstruation they abstain from pork, *Paradoxurus*, turtle, honey, and yams, and live upon certain varieties of fish, sour fruits, iguanas, and prawns.

[2] The custom known by the name of *couvade*, or the paternal lying-in, is quite unknown among the Andamanese.

[3] This snake is said to be the most deadly, after which the *lâ·raba-* and *wâ·ra-jō·bo-* are the most dreaded. The last appears to be the *Ophiophagus elaps*. Further allusion to the *lâ·raba-* and the *wâ·ra-jō·bo-* will be made under "Superstitions."

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LIDIO CIPRIANI, Hygiene and Medical Practices among the Onge (Little Andaman)

Plate 2

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a) and *c*) Women and girls wearing *ibidanghĕ*.
b) Bandages of ficus bark against fever.
d) Wife and husband in their usual attire.

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documented the fact in a number of photographs. The purpose, however, is 751
purely hygienic . an unpainted body is, in their opinion, exposed to certain 302
illness. They explained this belief to me by saying that without paint the body becomes "hot". The men who travelled with me far from women were anxious every day to spread clay on face, chest and limbs, just to avoid "heat" or, in other words, fever. I thought of malaria, but they do not suffer from it. [162] Of this I will speak later on.

Rough clay is applied daily, on infant bodies as well as on adults, for 751
health purposes. It is used to cure all kinds of sickness, together with ochre, 757
turtle fat and honey. Honey spread on wounds appears to hasten healing. [302]
Identical curative methods are employed in Oceania. They probably existed [854]
among the Tasmanians, and are still used in Australia by the aborigines. I found nothing of the kind in Africa, where honey is plentiful. The Onge consider [752]
clay, ochre, honey and turtle fat good for external and internal treatment alike – [171]
both preventive and curative. Powdered bees' wax of a dark colour is often added. I saw mothers give their children, as a laxative, a number of pills made [825]
of similar ingredients. No bigger than common hazelnuts, the pills are red [317]
and greasy. In Onge forests I saw some small excavations, a few feet deep, made to extract the medicinal clay from special ground pockets. In its natural [386]
form the clay is light coloured, powdery and free of stones. When it is burnt the colour changes, assuming red, yellow, whitish or black shades according to the different qualities used, all believed to possess healing properties and to ensure hygienic colouring of the body. Mixed as described above, clay is used by the Onge in every circumstance from fever to snake or scorpion bite, constipation, breast infection in women, or post-delivery bleeding.

Belief in the medicinal properties of clay is as old as humanity itself. 757
Even among contemporary European peoples, notwithstanding severe criticism, 171
clay is still honoured as health-giving, not, I must say, on wholly foolish 823
grounds. The Onge, who smear their bodies constantly with clay, have the softest, most velvety skin that I ever saw anywhere in the world. Wounds [752]
spread with clay mixed with honey and fat leave negligible scars. The laxative and germ-killing action of clay is admitted by physicians in many countries, including Europe. It never causes infection. Geophagism has ancient origins, and we find it practiced by many modern populations. Children of every race and all young wild animals lick clay instinctively to absorb the mineral salts required by a developing organism. The Onge habit of using clay for healing purposes can be set, therefore, in a very wide frame.

Mental and nervous disorders are rare in Little Andaman. Few natives 164
are subject to epilepsy – an important matter for the Onge : they consider 828
such people as possessed by spirits who speak through their mouths, and [158]
respectfully question them as oracles. Several Onge chiefs, such as Chief [622]
Tchôtã of Tambẽ-ẽ-buiẽ, are apt to go into trances that have all the appearance of epileptic fits. They were elected chiefs on the strength of their epilepsy! [787]

Constant exercise keeps eyesight and hearing extremely sharp in the 164
Onge. I saw no single case of myopia or presbyopia among the natives, nor 151

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them ; neither children nor adults have dilated spleens. Inhabitants of other regions where malaria incidence is high often show the same immunity, supposedly attained through local adaptation. Papuasians, Melanesians and Africans sometimes appear insensitive to malaria, although they all carry the germs of the disease. In opposition to their resistance to malaria, the Onge are vulnerable to minor lung infections and measles, which we would not consider serious. 164 143

When fever occurs, whatever the cause, the Onge recur to their universal remedy : plastering the entire body with clay, ochre, turtle fat and honey. Legs, arms and trunk are swaddled in tight bandages made of strips of ficus bark. These bandages hinder superficial blood circulation. The strips are removed from time to time and replaced after vigorous massaging of the body with hands and feet. Stomach and chest pains, as well as insistent coughing, are treated by stretching the patient horizontally on the ground and rubbing him energetically with hands and feet. The feet compress the body, with special attention to the affected part. The entire trunk is worked over in this manner, inch by inch, and the patient is carefully rotated until he has been completely turned around to receive treatment on all sides. This process lasts half an hour or more. It is a curious sight to see a man transformed into a kind of sausage, all tied up in strings and subjected to violent treatment on the bare ground, with a crowd of spectators surrounding him, obviously taking the whole performance quite seriously. The result is kill or cure ; the former helped, I should say, by rough treatment performed with the best intentions. 757

Exposure to hot smoke is another Onge cure for wounds and pains. I saw it applied, for instance, on Nabimbōi, the fat young wife of Maritōi, chief of Chemalē. She had scorched her right foot by stepping inadvertently on smouldering ashes. The pain made it impossible for her to sleep, so she was treated by covering the burn with the usual mixture of clay, turtle fat and honey, and exposing it to hot smoke. The smoke was provided by burning the fresh seeds of a creeper, each as big as a horse-chestnut and of the same colour, but of a lenticular shape. Incisions are made in the seeds to prevent explosion, and they are laid on the fire where they give out a thick smoke. The injured foot was held as close to the fire as possible. Recovery promptly ensued, but I would not swear that it was due to the treatment. 752

Fire is used by the Onge also against fever, whatever its cause. I shall quote an instance. On the night of 28 March, 1954, one of my guides, Toncootēi, a very intelligent Onge, suffered a strong attack of fever while resting in the Antiguēh communal hut in the interior of the island. I diagnosed the trouble as indigestion from immoderate guzzling of pork meat. Friends stretched Toncootēi on the ground, resting on his right side. Two lines of burning charcoal, set at right angles, outlined his back and head. Then one of the Onge started spitting on Toncootēi's hair. This was followed by vigorous rubbing of his scalp, with occasional pauses to seize his head and press it strongly with both hands. Following this, diluted ochre and clay – very hot – was spread on his thorax, throat and neck and rubbed in vigorously, whereupon the patient was brought closer to the fire. In the meantime a young fellow 757 372 123

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757 started slapping his hands on Toncootĕi's and exposing them intermittently to
372 the fire. All this lasted over a quarter of an hour. The patient was then made
123 to lie prone, with his legs spread out, to receive a foot massage as described above, for another quarter of an hour. Torso, feet and hands were worked over, with short pauses for artificial respiration by means of compression. Subsequently his back, and particularly the sacral region, was vigorously rubbed by willing hands and feet. Three men performed this operation. Toncootĕi was finally allowed to rest, between two fires kept burning all night. Sunrise found him alive, and the fever had abated, due, I think, to a good European laxative that I had persuaded him to take.

164 In March 1952, I witnessed a sad episode, followed by the death of
123 the patient, near my Labanare camp. A young mother was suffering from breast rhagades. Her baby was less than a month old, and she was also suckling
[862] another child, almost two years old, who had sharp teeth. It is a frequent
[597] kindly habit of the Onge to adopt babies ; and it is customary to breast-feed them up to the age of four. Some interesting consequences arise out of this habit, but I shall not analyze them here. A minor detail : since they are allowed to suckle when they wish and are weaned so late, Onge children do not indulge in thumb sucking. Considerable reactions are spontaneously established between the two terminal parts of the digestive tube - oral and anal, as though in physiological conflict. Once more I affirm that the evidence of Onge sexual
[864] behaviour positively denies Freudian theories with regard to the sexual life of children. Furthermore, young anthropoids and primitive people behave identically in this respect.

164 The adopted baby gave the young mother nipple wounds that became
123 infected and suppurated. For lack of proper care and in unhygienic surroundings, the infection spread to the rest of her body. I found her suffering terribly
752 from pain in the breast, muscular spasm and high fever. The Onge had applied their usual external remedies to her body, from head to foot. Very tight bandages of ficus bark, renewed three times a day, were wrapped arounds legs, arms, trunk and abdomen. Bright red ochre - rare in Little Andaman and considered more effective because of its brilliant colour - was painted onto the afflicted breast. The poor young woman looked at me hopefully. I suggested her immediate removal to Port Blair Hospital, and sent radio messages from my camp to the Chief Commissioner, Mr. A. K. GHOSH. He responded generously by ordering a ship to call for the patient, but the journey was useless because her relations were opposed to displacing her. In March 1952 my friendship with the Onge was only starting ; this will explain their refusal to follow my advice. Without proper care, in a place like Little Andaman, the patient died four days after my arrival at the camp.

756 Prescription of medicines and treatments such as those described above
[759] is not determined by specialists. Everybody submits to treatment, with general approval, convinced of its effectiveness. Witch doctors do not exist and perhaps never existed in the Andamans. Nothing, then, is known by the
755 Onge of the dances and exhibitions, commonly executed elsewhere for curative
757 purposes, that influence the patient on a psychobiological basis. As they have

no specialized physicians, the Onge do not understand that payment can be 757
exacted for medical care. This stems from the fact that wages are not con- 465
sidered by those happy people as payment for any kind of work whatsoever, 123
but only as a gift. I realized this when I tried to pay my guides after our extenu- 431
ating marches through the jungle : in order to avoid offending the natives that we had casually met in the course of our trip, I had to give equal reward to everybody.

The Onge consider some men or women better endowed than others with 753
anti-malefic influence ; but these too neither demand nor receive wages for [756]
their services. Evil spirits or evil persons are believed to be principally responsible for illness. A series of superstitions and remarkable habits derive from this belief. The above-mentioned precautions concerning the *naquinēghā* are among them. For identical reasons they carefully hide hair cuttings, but not nail [515]
parings, for the simple reason that nails are never cut but worn down by digging for edible roots, fishing, and other rough work. Superstition, as we know, is also the reason for painting the body to prevent fever and other ills.

In the depths of their jungle the Onge appear to practice some kind of witchcraft. On several occasions I noticed the mysterious behaviour of some 789
natives travelling with me. Occasionally a man left our marching column to examine the inside of a huge hollow tree and signal to his friends. They did not prevent me from looking into the hollow, where I saw only a simple structure of short sticks resembling a trap without being one. The Onge do not use [224]
traps ; moreover, those structures were far too flimsy to catch anything. Often, two or three men assembled in consultation, rearranged the sticks that had probably been dislodged by the passage of lizards, crabs or other small animals, and walked away silently. I could get no explanation on the matter. Certainly the Onge are sagacious observers of animal and vegetable life and have deep knowledge of their hidden properties. Some trees are probably used for magical purposes, but, I insist, it is impossible as yet to affirm it. The structures in question consisted of four vertical sticks, about 30 cms long, joined at the top by four more sticks of approximately the same length, placed horizontally. The result was a box-like frame, loose and unsecured. The slightest disturbance, such as a light breeze, could destroy the flimsy construction. As far as I could guess they invested those structures with curative properties, but in what manner remains a mystery. I noticed analogous practices among Central [171]
African Pygmies and other primitives.

It is very clear that the Onge dread illness and magic spells, for they 754
consider themselves at a loss in fighting such evils. Unhygienic habits are of no 751
importance to them.

Resting is considered favorable to good health. The Onge indulge vo- 517
luptuously in rest, interrupting it, however, with too frequent sexual excursions. 751
They mainly rest from doing nothing, because 90 % of their time is spent in 461
what, for them, is the most agreeable manner of enjoying life.

In mid-March, when the honey harvest reaches its peak, the Onge guzzle 262

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

the felling of the tree, chiselling the lumber and processing it further to give the shape of a canoe. Buckets of wood are also constructed by them from the softwood tree. Two types of baskets are made, the smaller ones are more well-finished than the bigger ones. The former is known as *toleoaga* and the later *tole-laya*. Such activities have introduced the use of dahs, chisels, and iron files among the Onges, from the iron pieces derived from the sea shores. The other important pieces of their craftsmanship are the beautiful weavings of fibre, tussel of yellow fibre used by the women in their front. However, the art of making the earthen pots has been completely forgotten.

The leisure in their lives has helped the development of some amount of aesthetic senses among the Onges. All the Onges men and women shave their heads with flakes of glass, obtained from the sea-borne glass bottles. The body of the Onges are also painted with white clay which save their skin from insect-bite while red paint serves medicinal purposes if some individual is having fever. In times of mourning, red orchre paint is a taboo.[1]

Early marriage is the custom. The widows are looked down upon by the society. Some incidents of widow murder and drowning are heard. In the married life, the husband is devoted to his wife and both the husband and wife work for collecting their food.

Dances and songs are in vogue and there are practically songs for every occasion and activity. Most of their songs are more plaintive than joyous.

There are three broad divisions of the Onges of the Little Andaman :

(1) *Giremeka-Gobeule* group inhabiting the northeastern coast of the island ;

(2) *Engakwale group* live in the interior of the islands ; and

(3) *Gireraragobeule group* live in the southern and western coasts of the islands.

In spite of all the limitations, the Onges have been considered as one of the happiest people of the world with plenty of food and water to eat and drink and with very few social cankers to fight with. But as is common to all other aborigines of the Andamans, a decline in their number is discernible.

The Sentinelese

The Sentinelese are the least known of all the aborigines of the Anda-

1 The Onge of the Little Andaman—A short guide book ; Anthropological Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

177 To truly primitive peoples like the Onges, European medical prac-
●757 tices are fascinating. Men and women will refuse literally nothing once they are convinced of our intention to do them good and cure their ills. Although they have a rudimentary form of medicine, they recognize the superiority of European methods, and medical aid has therefore become our most powerful means of making contact with uncivilized peoples.

75 While I was busy trying to alleviate their ailments I became
177 aware of the power which 'medicine' has over them, and I was also able to observe their own methods of dealing with their ills.
[761] Understandably, disease, death and birth are all attributed to par-
[844] ticular supernatural beings, or to the spirits of the dead. They try not to offend these beings, but strive nevertheless, in their own way, at least to cure disease. Once primitive peoples see our methods they respect them, and are eager to be treated; strange though it all seems, they develop a blind faith in the omnipotence of the new ways.

226 There is little actual disease among the Onges and they have
[523] equally few vices. They are still unaware of the existence of alcohol,
[164] and have not learned how to ferment sugar substances, such as the honey in which the Little Andaman abounds. Tobacco is a recent
[177] introduction, and the Onges at once became wildly addicted to it;
[123] the tobacco leaves I had taken with me were in fact my best means of making my way peacefully into the island. A few Onges have acquired a supply of opium from Burmese and Chinese smugglers along the north coast, but instead of smoking it they seem to limit themselves to chewing it mixed with tobacco, and have fortunately no means of replenishing their stock.

164 Polio, tuberculosis, smallpox and cancer seem unknown, but
731 for some unknown reason the islands have on a number of occasions been struck by disastrous epidemics of measles. These epidemics struck nearly every member of some of the communal huts, judging from survivors' reports, and the sites were afterwards abandoned, leaving the huts to be destroyed by termites.

114 The census of 1931 includes a personal observation by Portman
164 of congenital syphilis in several Onges. This has since been proved wrong and in 1952 I found only one young man with nasal malformation possibly attributable to the disease, half-moon incisors, and abnormality of the skull and palate. I was not able to find him

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

attempts to help, after binding his throat, had consisted in smearing the man's entire body with a mixture of ochre, turtle fat and honey with an extra layer on the bitten limb. Although it was very late to start treatment I injected antiserum, and the next day the man seemed a little better. I next saw him eleven days after the injection, when the arm appeared much less swollen, and the pain had almost disappeared, although clear traces of the accident remained; the skin was cracked and peeling, and the two puncture marks at the site of the bite were still gaping open, each revealing red, purulent flesh over a circular area more than two centimetres in diameter. The arm looked almost gangrenous, but its owner did not seem worried, and joined in cheerfully with the others round me. Just over a month after the accident the wound was completely healed, leaving one very grateful patient.

The incident shows the complete solidarity of this simple and reputedly so warlike community; by tacit agreement the patient was relieved of all work, and provided with food by the other families in the communal hut. While he was seriously ill his wife went hunting and fished, normally the man's work. Similar help is given in the case of the aged, or if a wife and mother falls ill; food is provided for them, and for the children, and certain 'soothsayers' appear to be at least partially provided with food by the rest of the community on a permanent basis.

For any kind of fever the Onges turn immediately to their stock remedy, smearing the entire body with the usual mixture of ochre, turtle fat and honey. The legs, arms, chest and abdomen are then tightly bound with strips of *Ficus* bark, which are removed and renewed from time to time. Whether the patient has pains in the abdomen or in the chest, or elsewhere, or has a cough, he is invariably stretched out on the ground, and the appropriate part is given a form of vigorous massage by the feet of one of the bystanders. Usually the entire body is pummelled for quite a time, the patient being turned over and over. The patient ends up looking rather like a mummy plastered in ochre and the whole process is to us somewhat amusing, but the Onges all practise it, and submit to it, very seriously, believing implicitly in its efficiency. The mechanism by which the treatment works has yet to be determined!

Balls of ochre the size of a hazelnut and varying in colour from bright red to whitish-yellow are given by mouth, particularly to

757 [237] children. I have seen anything up to half a dozen given, one after another. Their laxative effect is sometimes violent, as the ochre is mixed with the usual turtle fat, plus lumps of pure wax from the hives of the black bees.

752 Another 'cure' is the smoking of the affected part. One young woman well known to me, Nabinibbi (wife of Maritòi, leader of the Cemalè group), plump and in her own way graceful, had burnt two toes of her right foot, and was unable to sleep with the pain. She smeared the foot well beyond the burn with the usual mixture and held it out to the smoke of great fresh liana seeds laid among embers. The seeds, the size of a large chestnut, but lenticular and covered with a dark brown, leathery skin, burnt with a dense smoke.

757 Another treatment, rather different, was applied to one of my Onge guides, Toncutèi, who developed a high fever on the night of 28 March 1954, while he was in the communal hut known as Entiguèh, in the north-central area of the island. In fact, it was merely violent indigestion caused by too much pork – Toncutèi, like his father Enagaghe, an indefatigable trencherman, had availed himself too freely of the boars shot that day by my men. His friends laid him on his side on the ground on a rectangular mat barely large enough to take his body, with his legs bent up to his chest. They then lit low fires along two adjoining sides of the mat, turning him from time to time so that he 'cooked' evenly. One Onge began spitting on the patient's hair, and rubbing the spittle into the skin, stopping every now and again to press the victim's head between his hands. Another dissolved ochre in water, and after heating it, rubbed it well into the patient's chest, throat and neck. Meanwhile, a third beat his hands vigorously on Toncutèi's. This went on for just over a quarter of an hour, after which the patient was stretched out on his stomach with his feet sticking out over the end of the mat, ready for the foot massage. As the masseur's foot reached the chest he stopped, pressing hard to enforce complete emptying of the lungs. Half an hour of this led to further rubbing with hands and feet for another fifteen minutes, particularly over the sacrum. [123] Finally Toncutèi was left in peace beside the fire. By dawn the fever was gone (aided possibly by the strong purgative I had administered), although it was a couple of days before he had fully recovered.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Near my camp at Labanar, in March 1952, I witnessed a distressing and fatal case. A young woman, with a baby a month old, had suckled another child, as the Onge women do. The older infant, which had cut its teeth, caused damage to the nipples and the ensuing infection spread throughout the body. The wretched woman was writhing with fever and the pain from her infected breasts and suppressed lactation. Her body had been smeared with a vermilion ochre, held to be the most powerful balm, and tightly bound, as usual. Her condition was so poor that I suggested sending her at once to Port Blair for treatment. Unfortunately, however, at that time I was only just beginning to establish contact with the Onges, and the woman's husband, after all the arrangements had been made, refused to let her go. I had not yet gained the Onges' confidence enough to be allowed near the woman, and although I was able to photograph her I could do nothing to prevent her death. 757 123

The decision to administer 'medicine' and subject patients to various treatments is not the province of any specialists, but is taken by anyone in the group; all, including the patient, accept the decision, since all are utterly convinced that it will benefit them. Medicine men and sorcerers, so numerous in Africa and elsewhere, do not exist among the Andamanese. 75

The Onges have not the slightest idea of any standards of hygiene. They never wash intentionally; the forest, dripping from every leaf, and frequent immersion in water while out hunting, take care of the problem. One must admit that in the circumstances their nakedness is hygienic. A small fire is kept burning beside each bed at night for warmth, a useful precaution which I found very welcome on the many cold nights which followed a very hot day. Deprived of these fires the Onges fall ill at once, a fact of which I had ample proof on several occasions when I took Onges with me out of Little Andaman; they were provided with beds and coverings in well-constructed wooden houses, but although none of them complained about the absence of the fires by their beds they all developed feverish chills. 515 [291] 304 513 164

And yet in their own territory I have seen them lie soaking wet all night in one of their temporary forest camps or a communal hut with a leaking roof without any ill effects, simply because they had

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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3 *Above top* A group of Onges resting against the bastion roots of a tree. The man in the centre is smoking a crab-claw pipe
4 *Above* A typical example of tight binding of the body as a cure for disease
2 *Left* Two examples of the geometric patterns which are painted on the face and torso

[facing p. 66, C]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

302 58. *tâ·la-ōg-*.[1] White clay, used mixed with water, for ornamental painting of the person and of various articles, *e.g.*, bows, 386 baskets, buckets, trays, &c.: the work is done by women: when [462] painting their relatives they spare no pains in executing neat designs with their finger-nails.

[843] [NOTE.—Women during pregnancy are in the habit of nibbling small quantities of this substance from time to time, in the belief that it is beneficial to their condition.]

59. *ōg-*. Common whitish-grey clay, lumps of which are found somewhat plentifully in various parts of the islands. It is used, mixed with water, for smearing over the body when the heat is oppressive.[2] A lump of it is placed on the top of the forehead as a symbol of bereavement, and kept there generally until the expiration of the mourning period.[3] It is also sometimes used by way of ornament on the person, by smearing the trunk and limbs with the wash and then, before it has had time to dry, passing the outspread finger-tips over the surface so as to form some pattern.[4]

60. *kòi·ob-*.[5] Red-ochre paint, which is made by mixing red oxide of iron, *ū·pla-* (*vide* next item), with some greasy substance, the fat of the pig or turtle, sometimes of the iguana, dugong, &c., and occasionally the oil of an almond, called *ē·mej-*, is used. This pigment is applied to the person either ornamentally or otherwise. It is accredited with hygienic properties,[6] and from its mode of application it can be readily determined whether the wearer is suffering or rejoicing. The nostrils and centre of the upper lip are occasionally painted with it, as the smell of the fat is agreeable to them.[7] Before a corpse is removed for burial it is smeared over the face and neck with [764] this paint as a mark of respect, and in order to please the departed spirit.

61. *ū·pla-*. Red oxide of iron after it has been dried and baked. It is principally used in making the pigment described in the preceding paragraph. It is also employed in the manufacture of the red wax, called *kâ·ngatâ-būj-* (*vide* next item).

[462] 62. *kâ·ngatâ-būj-*. Red wax, generally prepared by men, composed of *â·ja-pīd-*, *rīm-*, and *ū·pla-* (items 56, 55, and 61); in the absence of the last-named ingredient *kòi·ob-* (item 60) is

[1] *Vide* Part III, "Painting," paragraph 7.
[2] *Vide* Part I, "Anatomy and Physiology," paragraph 5.
[3] *Vide* Part II, "Death and Burial," paragraphs 2, 6, 8, and footnote [1].
[4] *Vide* Part III, "Painting," paragraphs 5 and 6.
[758] [5] *ū·pla-* is collected chiefly during the dry months; in its natural condition, as found, it is called *kòi·ob-ckū·lnga-*; in that condition it is applied to sores, and to the persons of fever patients; it is administered internally for coughs, fevers, &c. (*vide* Part I, "Medicine," paragraphs 4 and 5).
[6] *Vide* Part I, "Medicine," paragraph 2.
[7] *Vide* Part I, "Odour."

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

substituted. These three substances are melted and stirred over a fire until of a proper consistency; the pigment is then poured into small pots or large shallow shells, where on cooling it soon hardens. When required for use the pot or shell is placed on the fire and the melting wax applied according to fancy. The string fastenings of fish and pig arrows (items 4, 5, and 6) the turtle harpoon (item 10), and pig spear (item 9), are protected with a coating of this wax, and it is applied ornamentally to the food trays (item 72), nautilus shells (item 14), and the outside of buckets (item 13); it is also used for closing cracks in buckets, and in canoes if not too large. 302 386

63. *chū·lnga-*. olive-coloured clay found in small springs in the jungles; in its liquid form it is applied medicinally after the manner of *kòi·ob-chū·lnga-* (*vide* footnote [5], p. 184). 386 758

64. *yō·lba-*. (*Anodendron paniculatum*), the fibre of which is much valued on account of its excellence; string made from it is used for bowstrings and arrow fastenings, for netting the *châ·panga-* (item 22), and *rāb-* (item 42), for making their various necklaces and other personal ornaments, and also for the fastenings of knives and turtle harpoons. 283

65. *pī·lita-* (*Gnetum edule*), from the fibre of which string is prepared and used almost exclusively by women, chiefly for the manufacture of the *kūd-* (item 20), and *pār·epa-* (item 23); it is not sufficiently strong to serve as arrow fastenings, though on an emergency it is sometimes used for this purpose. [462]

66. *al·aba-* (*Melochia velutina*). From fibre obtained from this tree rope is made for turtle-lines (*bē·tmo-*), nets, and cables, the preparation and manufacture of which devolve on men; the bark of this tree also furnishes the material of which the *chīp* (item 24) or baby-slings are made. [462]

67. *pō·tòkla-*.[1] Netting-needles, made in two sizes of bamboo and used in making nets. 412

[NOTE.—The turtle-net (item 12) is not made with netting-needles, but with two sticks called *kū·tegbo-*.[2]] [286]

68. *pō-chô-*. Bamboo knives, which are shaped into form while green and then dried and charred over a fire to render them sharp and fit for use; formerly they were employed for cutting meat and other food.[3]

69. *wai-chô-* and *pór-chô-*. Two varieties of cane knives, but similar to item 68.

70. *tō·ug-*.[4] Torch, made by women, of resin wrapped in a large leaf (*Crinum lorifolium*); it is used when fishing, travelling, or 373 [462]

[1] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 12.
[2] These are made of a light hard wood known as *bē·rewil-*.
[3] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 10.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 66.

164 Going a little further into detail, it has been noticed that malarial fevers are commonest in June, at the commencement of the monsoon and during heavy bursts of rain thereafter. Malarial fevers commence as usual in their intermittent form and prove fatal as remittent fever. Other zymotic fevers are uncommon, though the Andamanese will drink the filthiest water.

A short rainfall in the Andamans is usually accompanied by high dry winds and then is the high time of the chest diseases. But though the Andamanese are susceptible to bronchial catarrh, and though chronic bronchitis is common, it is not fatal; pneumonia is however extremely fatal. Pleurisy, hæmoptysis and phthisis are comparatively rare.

Abdominal diseases, though comparatively uncommon, are very fatal, diarrhœa, including probably dysentery, claiming most victims. Dyspepsia and colic are both common. In health the stools are regular, but inclined to looseness. They have been likened to those of the lower mammals when in good health.

Of other diseases sunstroke is dreaded and always fatal. The brain and spinal cord are not often affected, though curvature of the spine is occasionally seen. Scurvy occurs at the seasons when vegetable diet, *i.e.*, such as fruits and roots afford, is too scanty. Elephantiasis occurs among the Onges, but is limited to the Little Andaman. Chronic muscular rheumatism occurs among the older people, leading to loss and withering of limbs. Ulcers, generally the result of wounds in the jungles, are common and, as with the immigrants, slow to heal. Abscesses are also common. Considering that personal uncleanliness is often extreme, skin diseases are curiously infrequent, except ringworm and exfoliated dermatitis, sometimes leading to destruction of finger and toe nails, due either to scurvy or exposure. [146]

164 Excluding malaria, endemic disease has not been recognised among the Andamanese, and the only epidemics that have been known to attack them are imported pneumonia (1868), syphilis (1876), measles (1877), and influenza (1892), in that order: unhappily with disastrous effect. Exposure to the sun and wind in the cleared spaces, the excessive use of tobacco and over-clothing, as results of contact with civilisation, are also said to have undermined their health as a body of human beings. Intoxicants are forbidden to them by local rules and are not easily or commonly procured by them. 177

755 **Medicine.**—The diseases which the Andamanese distinguish by name are malarial fever, catarrh, coughs and rheumatism. Phthisis and heart disease are recognised, but are spirit caused and so are all internal maladies, which of course are not understood. 758

Medicine and surgery are almost absent from the Andamanese purview. They will bleed on the forehead for fever and headache and round abscesses to alleviate pain. They scarify for rheumatism and internal pain as a last resort. Red ochre and various herbal concoctions are both swallowed and applied as all-healers, in which they have great faith. Certain leaves are sometimes applied to local affections and beds made of them for the sake of their supposed medicinal odour. Cinctures, sometimes of human bones, are used to alleviate pain, but no other charms are employed. Occasionally the diet is slightly changed to relieve illness and they are quick to avail themselves of the hospital provided for them. They are extremely afraid of European surgery and will tremble violently at the sight of the operating knife. They smear themselves with white clay and water against the heat of the sun and with red ochre and oil after dark as a protection against cold.

The sick are sympathetically and very kindly, but superstitiously, treated. There are no pregnancy customs and those at childbirth are sensible and without superstition, difficult delivery being practically unknown. [844]

Snakebite is uncommon and seldom fatal. Ligatures above the bite and scarifying are applied, both operations showing observation and common sense. Bites of centipedes, scorpions, leeches and ticks cause little inconvenience to the Andamanese, though very much to immigrants.

142 **Appearance.**—The figures of the men are muscular and well formed and generally pleasing; often a young man is distinctly good looking, for, though there is a tendency to prognathism, it is not commonly pronounced, while a straight and well formed nose and jaw, accompanied by superior intelligence

757 started slapping his hands on Toncootēi's and exposing them intermittently to
372 the fire. All this lasted over a quarter of an hour. The patient was then made
123 to lie prone, with his legs spread out, to receive a foot massage as described above, for another quarter of an hour. Torso, feet and hands were worked over, with short pauses for artificial respiration by means of compression. Subsequently his back, and particularly the sacral region, was vigorously rubbed by willing hands and feet. Three men performed this operation. Toncootēi was finally allowed to rest, between two fires kept burning all night. Sunrise found him alive, and the fever had abated, due, I think, to a good European laxative that I had persuaded him to take.

164 In March 1952, I witnessed a sad episode, followed by the death of
123 the patient, near my Labanare camp. A young mother was suffering from breast rhagades. Her baby was less than a month old, and she was also suckling
[862] another child, almost two years old, who had sharp teeth. It is a frequent
[597] kindly habit of the Onge to adopt babies ; and it is customary to breast-feed them up to the age of four. Some interesting consequences arise out of this habit, but I shall not analyze them here. A minor detail : since they are allowed to suckle when they wish and are weaned so late, Onge children do not indulge in thumb sucking. Considerable reactions are spontaneously established between the two terminal parts of the digestive tube – oral and anal, as though in physiological conflict. Once more I affirm that the evidence of Onge sexual
[864] behaviour positively denies Freudian theories with regard to the sexual life of children. Furthermore, young anthropoids and primitive people behave identically in this respect.

164 The adopted baby gave the young mother nipple wounds that became
123 infected and suppurated. For lack of proper care and in unhygienic surroundings, the infection spread to the rest of her body. I found her suffering terribly
752 from pain in the breast, muscular spasm and high fever. The Onge had applied their usual external remedies to her body, from head to foot. Very tight bandages of ficus bark, renewed three times a day, were wrapped arounds legs, arms, trunk and abdomen. Bright red ochre – rare in Little Andaman and considered more effective because of its brilliant colour – was painted onto the afflicted breast. The poor young woman looked at me hopefully. I suggested her immediate removal to Port Blair Hospital, and sent radio messages from my camp to the Chief Commissioner, Mr. A. K. GHOSH. He responded generously by ordering a ship to call for the patient, but the journey was useless because her relations were opposed to displacing her. In March 1952 my friendship with the Onge was only starting ; this will explain their refusal to follow my advice. Without proper care, in a place like Little Andaman, the patient died four days after my arrival at the camp.

756 Prescription of medicines and treatments such as those described above
[759] is not determined by specialists. Everybody submits to treatment, with general approval, convinced of its effectiveness. Witch doctors do not exist and perhaps never existed in the Andamans. Nothing, then, is known by the
755 Onge of the dances and exhibitions, commonly executed elsewhere for curative
757 purposes, that influence the patient on a psychobiological basis. As they have

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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881 262 after the birth of the first child; they are also required to abstain from honey during each subsequent pregnancy; and in their case, too, a chief or elder (preferably a relative) officiates, and not a woman[1]."

753 761 We may now proceed to the ritual customs connected with death and burial. In all the Great Andaman tribes disease and death are supposed to be due to the spirits of the jungle and the sea. The subject will be dealt with in the next chapter.

764 On the occurrence of a death the news quickly spreads through the camp, and all the women collect round the body and, sitting down, weep loudly until they are exhausted. The women then retire and the men come and weep over the corpse. All the adult members of the community then proceed to cover themselves with a wash of common clay smeared evenly over their bodies and limbs. This clay is of the kind called *odu* in *Aka-Jeru* and *og* in *Aka-Bea*. The nearer relatives and more intimate friends of the deceased also plaster some of the same clay on their heads.

Some of the women, generally, but not necessarily, relatives, remove any ornaments the dead person may have been wearing, shave the head and decorate the body. This decoration consists of lines of fine pattern in white clay alternating with bands of red paint. A band of red paint is placed across the upper lip passing from ear to ear and the ears themselves are smeared with the pigment. The greater the estimation in which the deceased person is held the greater is the care lavished upon this the last decoration.

Thus decorated the body is prepared for burial. The legs and arms are flexed so that the knees come up under the chin and the fists rest against the cheeks. A *Cyrena* shell (or sometimes in these days a steel knife) is placed in the closed hand. A sleeping mat is wrapped round the body, and over this a number of the large palm leaves known as *kobo* (*Aka-Jeru*) are arranged and the whole is made into a bundle and tied up with rope. Before the ropes are all tied the relatives of the dead person take their last farewell by gently blowing on the face of the corpse.

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 133.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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776 out with a bow and arrow in his hand, and as he danced in front
535 of the spectators he pretended to shoot at them.

In another dance he represented *Ele*, the lightning. He sat on a stone that had been placed in the middle of the open space, swinging his arms to the time of the chorus, and every now and then shaking his leg.

This observation is an important one in several ways. Although I asked the man to repeat it, in order that I might make fuller notes and obtain explanations of many obscure points, and although he grudgingly said that he would, yet he did not do so. He was, moreover, very reserved over the matter, and not very willing to talk about his own performance.

I believe that the performance was an entirely exceptional affair. I never at any other time either saw or heard of one man or even several men, giving a dance for the amusement of others. I think that the whole thing was entirely the invention of the performer. He had given the same performance, or one very similar, at least once before the occasion on which I saw it.

We may now turn to the Andamanese beliefs relating to the soul and the life after death.

• 761 The vital principle is at different times identified by the
775 Andamanese with the pulse, the breath, with the blood and with
766 the fat, particularly the kidney-fat. Thus the body of a slain enemy is burnt so that the blood and fat may be consumed in smoke and ascend to the sky where they will no longer be a danger to those who have slain him.

822 The nearest approach to our notion of a soul that the natives
828 possess is their belief concerning the double or reflection seen in
774 a mirror. In the Northern tribes the word *ot-jumulo* means "reflection," and also "shadow," and is also nowadays applied to a photograph. The word *ot-jumu*, in the same languages, means "a dream" or "to dream." We may perhaps translate the word *ot-jumulo* as meaning "soul." In the *Aka-Bea* language *ot-yolo* is "reflection," while there is a different word, *ot-diya* or *ot-lere*, for "shadow," and neither of the words has any connection with the word "dream" which is *taraba*. Mr Man translates the word *ot-yolo* as "soul."

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associated with *Puluga* or *Biliku*. All the versions that I heard, 775
however, referred to the past and not to the future[1].

The Andamanese speak of unconsciousness as "death," and 761
regard a person who has been unconscious for some time as 828
having been dead and returned to life again. I was once told that an old man in the village was "dead" and found him in a state of coma from which he recovered and lived for several days. There are stories of persons having returned to life even after they have been buried. One such tale was told me in the North Andaman. A man died and was buried. As his friends and relatives, after packing up their belongings, were leaving the camp in their canoes, the man's voice was heard calling. His wife and mother turned back and met him and took him in their canoe. He lived for some time after this and then he died and was buried again. Again the same thing happened, the dead man re-appearing just as they were setting off in their canoes from the camp that they were deserting on account of his death. Finally the man died a third time. When he was buried this time the men dug a very deep hole some distance from the camp, and then hurried back to the camp and hastily gathered up their belongings and left it. Nothing more was seen of the dead man, but when, after the lapse of some months, they went to dig up the bones, they found the mat and leaves and rope in which the corpse had been bound, but there were no bones.

Amongst the coast-dwellers of the North Andaman I found 761
a belief that the soul of a dying man goes out with the ebbing 775
tide.

There are, amongst the Andamanese, certain individuals who 756
are distinguished from their fellows by the supposed possession 791
of supernatural powers. These specially favoured persons

[1] It may be noted that in the Andamanese languages there is no future tense of the verb, and it is often very difficult to know whether a speaker is referring to the present or to the future. Further, although there is a past tense, a native often uses the present tense in a narrative relating to the past, so that a statement relating to the past and one relating to the future may have exactly the same grammatical form. Mr Ellis, writing in the *Journal of the Philological Society* (1882) from information supplied by Mr Man, gives a verbal suffix *-ngabo* denoting the future in the *Aka-Bea* language. Mr Portman points out that this is an error. (*Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman*, p. 88.)

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756 correspond, to some degree, with the medicine-men, magicians
791 or shamans of other primitive societies. The name for these medicine-men in the North Andaman is *oko-jumu*, meaning literally "dreamer" or "one who speaks from dreams" from a stem *-jumu* the primary meaning of which refers to the phenomena of dreams. In *Aka-Bea* the corresponding term is *oko-paiad*, and according to Mr Man, this term also means "dreamer." Mr Portman, however, gives *taraba* as the *Aka-Bea* word for "dream" or "to dream."

According to a statement by Mr Man, only men can possess the powers that entitle them to be regarded as *oko-paiad*[1]. The natives whom I questioned told me that a woman may possess the same powers, though it is more usual for men to become famous in this way than women. There is no very clear dividing line between those who are *oko-jumu* or *oko-paiad* and those who are not; one person may possess the powers in only a slight degree, so as scarcely to differentiate him from others, while another may be much more highly gifted.

At the present time it is no longer possible to obtain full and satisfactory information on this subject. Most of the old *oko-jumu* and *oko-paiad* are now dead. Amongst the younger men there are a few who pretend to the position, but the recent intercourse with foreigners has produced a degree of scepticism in such matters that makes it difficult or nearly impossible to obtain any reliable information as to the former beliefs from any but the very old men. To this difficulty must be added that in talking to some of the very few old men who could have given more valuable information I had to make use of an interpreter, and though they might have been willing to confide to me some of the secrets of their profession they would not do so before a younger man of their own race.

791 The powers of a dreamer, supernatural as they are, can
761 only be acquired by supernatural means, through contact in one way or another with the spirits (i.e. the *Lau* or *Čauga*). One way
756 of coming into contact with the spirits is by death. If a man
775 should, as the natives put it, die and then come back to life again,

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 96.

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he is, by that adventure, endowed with the power that makes a 791
medicine-man. One man of the *Aka-Kọra* tribe was pointed out 761
to me as having obtained his powers in this way. It would seem 756
that during a serious illness he was unconscious for some twelve 775
hours or so, and his friends thought that he was dead. A medicine-man whom I met with in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe was said to have died and come to life again three times. Another man, whom I did not meet, was described to me as a great *oko-jumu*, and from the description given it seemed to me that he was subject to epileptic fits. As against this, however, Mr Man states that "epilepsy is a recognised form of malady, but the fits are not regarded in a superstitious light[1]."

Another way in which a man can acquire magical powers is 791
by direct communication with the spirits. A man who died a 756
few years ago was believed by the natives to have once met with 775
some spirits in the jungle, and to have acquired in this way the powers of an *oko-jumu*. He used to go off into the jungle by himself at intervals and hold communication with the spirits with whom he had made friends. From such a visit he had returned with his head decorated with shredded palm-leaf fibre (*kọro*) which had, so he said, been placed on him by the spirits. This man had a reputation as a powerful *oko-jumu*.

In a less degree the powers of an *oko-jumu* may be ob- 756
tained through dreams. It is believed that certain men have 791
the power of communicating with the spirits in dreams, and such 828
men are *oko-jumu*. If a man or boy experiences dreams that are 787
in any way extraordinary, particularly if, in his dreams he sees spirits, either the spirits of dead persons known to him when alive, or spirits of the forest or the sea, he may acquire in time the reputation of a medicine-man.

A man may claim some degree of magical power, and yet 756
his claims may not be recognized by others. Each *oko-jumu* 791
has to make his own reputation, and to sustain it when made. This he can only do by demonstrating his power to others. Once this reputation is his, he not only receives the respect of others but also makes a considerable personal profit. Every one is anxious to be on good terms with one who is believed to

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 83.

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dangers that are supposed to accrue from the eating of food if due precautions be not taken. One statement of the natives is that the danger they fear is sickness. Now sickness of all kinds is believed by the Andamanese to be caused by certain supernatural beings called *Lau* or *Čauga*,—the spirits of the dead; and further, we have seen that the danger connected with food is sometimes said to be the danger of an attack by the spirits. So that it is evident that to understand the meaning of the fear of foods it is first of all necessary to understand the notions they have about the spirits, and to do this we shall have to consider the various customs relating to death and burial. 182x 881

For the society a death is the loss of one of its members, one of its constituent parts. A person occupies a definite position in society, has a certain share in the social life, is one of the supports of the network of social relations. His death constitutes a partial destruction of the social cohesion, the normal social life is disorganised, the social equilibrium is disturbed. After the death the society has to organise itself anew and reach a new condition of equilibrium. In reference to the small community of the Andamans we may translate the above statement into terms of personal feeling by saying that the death removes a person who was the object of feelings of affection and attachment on the part of others and is thus a direct offence against those sentiments in the survivors. 182x 761

Though the dead man has ceased to exist as a member of the society, it is clear that he has by no means ceased to influence the society. On the contrary he has become the source of intense painful emotions. Where the affection that was felt towards him was previously a source of pleasure it now becomes a source of pain. Defining the "social personality" of an individual as being the sum of characteristics by which he has an effect upon the social life and therefore on the social sentiments of others, we may say that by death the social personality is not annihilated but undergoes a profound change, so that from being an object of pleasurable states of the social sentiments it becomes an object of painful states. This is expressed by the Andamanese by saying that by death a man or woman becomes a *Lau*.

The burial customs of the Andaman Islanders, however, are 000

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X182 775

attachment to him, and producing a condition of dysphoria, of diminished social activity. The natural impulse of the Andaman Islander or of any other human being, would be, I believe, not to shun the dead body of a loved one, but to remain near it as long as possible. It is the society, acting under a quite different set of impulses, that compels the relatives to separate themselves from the remains of the one they loved. The death of a small child has very little influence on the general activity of the community, and the motive for severing connection with the dead that is present in the case of an adult, either does not exist or is so weak as to be overruled by the private feelings of affection, and so the child is buried in the hut of the parents, that they may continue to keep it near them. This affords a good test of the hypothesis, and gives strong support to the view that the fear of the dead man (his body and his spirit) is a collective feeling induced in the society by the fact that by death he has become the object of a dysphoric condition of the collective consciousness.

X182 775 761 753

If the Andamanese are asked what they fear from the spirit of a dead man they reply that they fear sickness or death, and that if the burial and mourning customs are not properly observed the relatives of the dead person will fall sick and perhaps die.

The basis of this notion of the spirits is that the near relatives of the deceased, being bound to him by close social ties, are influenced by everything that happens to him, and share in his good or evil fortune. So that when by sickness and resulting death he is removed from the community, they are as it were drawn after him. For this reason they are, during the period of mourning, between life and death, being still attached to the dead man. Contact with the world of the dead is therefore regarded as dangerous for the living because it is believed that they may be drawn completely into that world. Death is a process by which a person leaves the living world and enters the world of the spirits, and since no one dies willingly he is conceived as being under a compulsive force acting from the world of spirits. Now sickness is a condition that often ends in death, a first stage of the way leading to the world of spirits. Hence sickness is conceived by the Andamanese as a condition of partial contact

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with that world. This is what is meant by the statement that sickness and death come from the spirits.

182X 775 769 753

The way the Andamanese think about the spirits is shown in the *Akar-Bale* legend of the origin of death[1]. *Yaramurud*, having died through an accident, self-caused, becomes a spirit, but he does so only under the compulsion exercised upon him by his mother, who, now that he is dead, insists that he must go away from the world of the living and become a spirit. The spirit then comes back to see his brother and by this contact causes the brother's death. The story implies that it was not because *Yaramurud* was evilly disposed towards his brother that he killed him, but on the contrary it was his attachment to his relative that caused him to return to visit him, and death followed as a result of this contact of the living man with the spirit. Since that time deaths have continued to occur in the same way. Thus it appears that the Andamanese conceive that the spirits do not cause death and sickness through evil intention, but through their mere proximity, and, as the legend very clearly shows, the burial customs are intended to cut off the unwilling spirit from contact with the living. This explains also why during the period of mourning the relatives of a dead person are thought to be in danger of sickness, and have more to fear from the spirit than others, for since it is they who were most attached to him during life it is they who are most likely to suffer from contact with him after he is dead. It was *Yaramurud's* brother who was the first to die through the influence of the spirits.

182X 775

The feelings of the living towards the spirits of the dead are therefore ambivalent, compounded of affection and fear, and this must be clearly recognized if we are to understand all the Andamanese beliefs and customs. We may compare the relation between the society of the living and the society of the dead to that between two hostile communities having occasional friendly relations. That the Andamanese themselves look upon it in some such way is shown by the belief that the ceremony by which a dead man is initiated into the world of spirits resembles the peace-making ceremony. The dead man, up to the time of his death, has been living in a state of enmity with the spirits, and before he can enter their community and share their life he

[1] Page 216.

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765 the relatives of the deceased, one of whom subsequently takes possession of the skull, and wears it until he (or she) chooses to part with it, or is asked to do so by another member of the family. It should here be stated that it is by no means obligatory upon the survivor of an elderly couple, or any relative, to carry the bones or skull of the deceased for a lengthened period:[1] except in the event of marrying a brother, sister, or cousin of the deceased, these relics can be given at any time to a friend who may ask for them; thus it not unfrequently happens that the remains of one who was a chief or a favourite in his day, are scattered far and wide among his admirers, but when in course of time they get mislaid or broken, the owner is often easily reconciled to his loss, or makes it good by procuring similar mementoes of another and more recently departed friend.

20. It may be said that as a rule no adult is without at least one *chàw·ga-tâ-* (*i.e.*, a human bone necklace), and the skulls, which are generally to be found in every encampment, are worn by each in turn, if only for a few hours.

[764] 21. The only difference made on the occasion of the death of a chief, his wife, or one of his near relatives, is that *all* the men and lads of the encampment smear themselves with *ōg-*, and attend the funeral; the relations alone, however, are the mourners during the succeeding weeks or months which intervene before the *t·ī-tô·latnga-*, though, as a token of respect for the deceased, and of sympathy with the mourners, other members of the tribe often abstain from some favourite article of food, and take no part in festivities during the same period.

22. If a member of another tribe happen to die while on a visit, the body would be disposed of in one of the modes I have endeavoured to describe, after which intimation would be sent to the friends of the deceased, so that they might know where to seek for the skeleton when the time for disinterment should arrive.

766 23. The body of an enemy, stranger, or captive child would be thrown into the sea, or buried *sans cérémonie*, as the bones would
●761 never be in request.

24. A sudden death is at once attributed to the malign influence of *.ē·rem-chàw·gala*, if the deceased had been recently in the jungles, or to *jū·ru-win-*, if he had been on the sea; in either case one of the male relatives of the victim, representing the feelings of the community, approaches the spot where the body

[1] I mention this more especially as the erroneous statement made by some early writer, that "a widow wears her husband's skull suspended round her neck for the rest of her life" has been repeated in more recent accounts, and hitherto remains uncontested.

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761 is lying, and shoots several arrows in rapid succession into the
766 surrounding jungle, only taking care to avoid injury to the bystanders, and then, seizing a pig-spear, *ēr-dū·tnga-*,[1] if *.ē·rem-chàu·gala* be the demon suspected, or a turtle-spear, *kowai·a l'ôko dū·tnga-*,[2] if it be *.jū·ru-win-* who is accounted guilty, he pierces the ground all round the corpse, hoping thereby to inflict a mortal injury upon the unseen enemy; while so engaged he vents his grief and indignation in no measured terms of imprecation.

25. When a death which is attributed to *.ē·rem-chàu·gala* s malignity occurs so late in the day that the burial has to be deferred till the following morning, those who are not mourners sing in turns throughout the night, in the belief that this demon will thus be deterred from doing any further harm in the encampment.

26. At death they say that *.ē·rem-chàu·gala* and his sons feast upon the blood and soft tissues of all who die on land, and that their leavings, excepting of course the bones, are disposed of by worms, *wēn-*, but *jū·ru-win-* is supposed to consume every portion of those who fall into his clutches.

Meeting and Parting, &c.—1. Contrary to the customs of most
576 races, no salutations[3] pass between friends, even after a more or less lengthened separation, such as rubbing noses, kissing[4] shaking hands, &c.; but on meeting they remain silently gazing at each other for, in our eyes, an absurdly long time—unless of course one or both be hurried; the younger then makes some commonplace remark which apparently has the effect of loosening their tongues, for they at once commence hearing and telling the news.[5]

576 2. Relatives, after an absence of a few weeks or months,
152 testify their joy at meeting by sitting with their arms round each other's necks,[6] and weeping and howling[7] in a manner which would lead a stranger to suppose that some great sorrow had befallen them; and, in point of fact, there is no difference observable between their demonstrations of joy on these occasions and those of grief at the death of one of their

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 9.

[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 10.

[3] *Vide* Colebrooke and Anderson.

[4] Kisses are considered indicative of affection, but are only bestowed on infants.

[5] One might imagine that the writer of the article entitled "Chippers of Flint" which appeared in "Cornhill" (vol. xii, p. 200), had heard of or witnessed a rencontre of this description, but had not watched its progress, or he would not have spoken of this race as "all but speechless."

[6] *Vide* Plate III, fig. 2.

[7] This custom resembles that which exists among New Zealanders under the name of the *Tangi*.

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776 those in pain or distress he is pitiful, and sometimes deigns to afford relief.

VI. He is the Judge from whom each soul receives its sentence after death, and, to *some* extent, the hope of escape from the torments of *jer·eg-lâr-mū·gu-* (regarding which anon) is said to affect their course of action in the present life.[1]

9. *Pū·luga-* is believed to live in a large stone house in the sky, with a wife whom he created for himself; she is green in appearance, and has two names, *chān·a .àu·lola* (Mother Fresh-water Shrimp), and *chān·a .pâ·lak-* (Mother Eel); by her he has a large family, all, except the eldest, being girls; these last, known as *mô·ro-win-* (sky spirits or angels), are said to be black in appearance, and, with their mother, amuse themselves from time to time by throwing fish and prawns into the streams and sea for the use of the inhabitants of the world. *Pū·luga-*'s son is called *.pīj-chô·r-*: he is regarded as a sort of archangel, and is alone permitted to live with his father, whose orders it is his duty to make known to the *mô·ro-win-*.

[821] 10. *Pū·luga-* is said to eat and drink, and, during the dry months of the year, to pass much of his time in sleep, as is proved by his voice (thunder) being rarely heard at that season; he is the source whence they receive all their supplies of animals, birds, and turtles; when they anger him he comes out of his house and blows, and growls, and hurls burning faggots at them—in other words, visits their offences with violent thunderstorms and heavy squalls; except for this purpose he seldom leaves home, unless it be during the rains, when he descends to earth to provide himself with certain kinds of food; how often this happens they do not know since, now-a-days, he is invisible.

776 761 11. *Pū·luga-* never himself puts any one to death, but he objects so strongly to seeing a pig badly quartered and carved that he invariably points out those who offend him in this respect to a class of malevolent spirits called *.chôl-*, one of whom forthwith despatches the unfortunate individual.

776 761 753 12. *Pū·luga-* has no *authority* over the evil spirits, the most dreaded of which are *.ē·rem-chàu·gala*, *jū·ru-win-*, and *.nī·la-*; they are self-created, and have existed from time immemorial. The first of these, the evil spirit of the woods, has a numerous progeny by his wife *chān·a .bad·gilola*, who remains at home with her daughters and younger children, while her husband and grown-up sons roam about the jungles with a lighted torch

[1] It is from regard to the fact that their beliefs on these points approximate so closely to the true faith concerning the Deity that I have adopted the English method of spelling all equivalents of "God" with an initial capital.

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attached to their left legs, in order that the former may injure any unhappy wights who may meet them unprotected,[1] and in the dark; he generally makes his victims ill, or kills them by wounding them internally with invisible arrows,[2] and, if he is successful in causing death, it is supposed that they feast upon the raw flesh;[3] *.ē·rem-chàu·gala*, indeed, appears to be to the Andamanese much what "*Arlak*"[4] is to the aboriginal Australian: in both cases these evil spirits are represented as afraid of light; *.ē·rem-chàu·gala* is said to be also afraid of, or to avoid, the demon *.nī·la-*. 776 761 753

13. This spirit, *.nī·la-*,[5] is supposed to live in ant-hills, and to have neither wife nor child; he is not regarded as such a malevolent personage as *.ē·rem-chàu·gala*, and, though he is always armed with a knife, he rarely injures human beings with it, or, when he does do so, it is not in order to feed upon their bodies, for he is said to eat earth only.

14. As regards *.jū·ru-win-*, the evil spirit of the sea, they say that he too is invisible, and lives in the sea with his wife and children, who help him to devour the bodies of those who are drowned or buried at sea; fish constitute the staple of his food, but he also occasionally, by way of variety, attacks the aborigines he finds fishing on the shores or by the creeks. The weapon he uses is a spear, and persons who are seized with cramp or any sudden illness, on returning from, or while on the water, are said to have been "speared" by *.jū·ru-win-*. He has various submarine residences, and boats for travelling under the surface of the sea, while he carries with him a net, in which he places all the victims, human or piscine, he may succeed in capturing. 776 753

15. Besides these three chief demons, there is a company of evil spirits who are called *.chôl-*, and who are much dreaded. They are believed to be descendants of *mai·a .chôl-*,[6] who lived in antediluvian times. They generally punish those who offend them by baking or roasting pig's flesh, the smell of which is particularly obnoxious to them, *as it is also to Pū·luga-*, who, therefore, often assists them in discovering the delinquent; the same risk does not attend *boiling* pork,[7] which the olfactory nerves of the fastidious *.chôl-* are not keen enough to detect. 776

[1] *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 1.

[2] *Vide ante* "Medicine," paragraph 1 (foot-note), and "Death and Burial," paragraph 24.

[3] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 26.

[4] *Vide* Wood, "Natural History of Man," p. 92.

[5] Cases have been cited of persons who have been found stabbed, whose deaths are attributed to *Nī·la*: the possibility of the individuals in question having been murdered is scouted.

[6] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraph 33.

[7] *Vide post* "Food," paragraph 27.

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16. While the Andamanese say that they are liable to be struck by *.ē·rem-chàu·gala* or *jü·ru-win-* at any time or in any place, the *.chôl-* strike those only who offend them, and that during the day while they are stationary, this being necessitated by the distance from the earth of their abode, whence they hurl their darts: an invisible spear is the weapon they always use, and this is thrown with unerring aim at the head of their victim, and is invariably fatal. As these demons are considered especially dangerous on the hottest days, they are apparently held accountable for the deaths from sunstroke which happen from time to time.

776 821

17. The sun, *chāna .bo·do-*, is the wife of the moon, *mai·a .ō·gar-*, and the stars, *.chà·to-*, which are of both sexes, are their children: the latter go to sleep during the day; the whole family have their meals near *Pū·luga-*'s house, but never enter it; *chāna .bō·do-* is like fire and covered with thorns, but *mai·a .ō·gar-* is white skinned, and has two long tusks[1] and a big beard; their home is situated somewhere below the eastern horizon, and while the former, after setting, rests till dawn, the latter, probably in consequence of the cares of his numerous family, is obliged to keep very irregular hours. During their passage under the earth to their home, they are believed to afford the blessing of light to the unfortunate spirits in Hades, and also, while sleeping, to shed a "dim religious light" over that region: it is by *Pū·luga-*'s command that the celestial bodies, while crossing the sky, bestow their light.

18. The phenomena of the waning and waxing of the moon is explained by saying that they are occasioned by "his" applying a coating of cloud to his person by degrees, after the manner of their own use of *kòi·ob-* and *tà·la-ōg-*,[2] and then gradually wiping it off.[3]

19. Reference has already been made to their superstition regarding the cause of a lunar eclipse, but in case *mai·a .ō·gar-* should be so ill-advised as permanently to withhold his light or render himself in other ways still more disagreeable, whenever the moon is eclipsed some persons at once seize their bows and twang them as rapidly as possible, thereby producing a rattling sound as if discharging a large number of arrows, while others commence at once sharpening their *rà·tà-*.[4] Of course this hostile demonstration is never lost upon the moon, who does not venture to hurt those who show themselves ready

[1] The horns of the crescent moon.

[2] *Vide* Appendix B, items 58 and 60.

[3] "The Eskimo say that the sun, which they regard as feminine, smears the face of her brother, the moon, with soot, when he presses his love upon her" (*vide* Peschel, p. 256).

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 2.

157 Western standards taciturn or sly, and the Negro peoples, who
522 frequently manifest complete abandonment in their amusement.
157 Obscenities appear to be an unfailing source of amusement to the
522 Onges, who indulge in them at every opportunity, even with
83 strangers, and the obscene dances of the womenfolk are a continual source of pleasure. The exchange of obscenities is, indeed, a sign of friendship, and I found that vulgarity was invariably immensely successful in provoking hilarity; any subsequent negotiations were always peaceable and satisfactory.

302 An extension of this vulgarity is an infantile vanity, not without
[157] sexual significance. The care with which their bodies are painted nearly every day is one aspect of this vanity; the more a wife loves her husband the more magnificent the designs she executes on him.
[153] The paintings on their bodies reach a peak every two or three days,
[151] as the Onges fear illness and death if they are not newly daubed, and
[161] the face at least must be continually painted, with at least smears on the chest, arms and legs. A man returning from an exceptionally successful hunting trip is met by his wife with a specially unusual and elaborate design, which she carries out with great devotion.
[123] During each of my visits to the island the Onges would rush up to show me their embellishments as soon as they were finished, and took a delight in standing in front of my camera, even though they had no idea what it was for.

304 It is curious that unlike most primitive peoples, the Onges do
[171] not practise tattooing, which is one of the simplest ways, if not *the* simplest, in which such peoples satisfy their craving for physical
[184] admiration. The other Andamanese do, puncturing the skin with
[302] tiny slivers of obsidian or quartz, but the Onges paint with ochre instead. They love, too, to weave garlands of fruit, flowers and
381 leaves from the forest, returning to the camp laden with them, men
824 and women alike, delighted with their own beauty. This divergence
[184] of customs in peoples essentially of the same stock, but separated for long periods of time into endogamous isolates, is very remarkable.

838 An intense preoccupation with sexual attraction and activity has led to the prevalence of aberration. All the Onges have homosexual tendencies. I became aware of this during my first visit to Little Andaman on one of my longer expeditions, when I had taken only men with me, and on subsequent occasions I therefore allowed the men to bring their wives. The effect of long periods of absence on

179 757 To truly primitive peoples like the Onges, European medical practices are fascinating. Men and women will refuse literally nothing once they are convinced of our intention to do them good and cure their ills. Although they have a rudimentary form of medicine, they recognize the superiority of European methods, and medical aid has therefore become our most powerful means of making contact with uncivilized peoples.

75 177 While I was busy trying to alleviate their ailments I became aware of the power which 'medicine' has over them, and I was also able to observe their own methods of dealing with their ills. [761] [844] Understandably, disease, death and birth are all attributed to particular supernatural beings, or to the spirits of the dead. They try not to offend these beings, but strive nevertheless, in their own way, at least to cure disease. Once primitive peoples see our methods they respect them, and are eager to be treated; strange though it all seems, they develop a blind faith in the omnipotence of the new ways.

276 There is little actual disease among the Onges and they have [593] equally few vices. They are still unaware of the existence of alcohol, [764] and have not learned how to ferment sugar substances, such as the honey in which the Little Andaman abounds. [177] Tobacco is a recent introduction, and the Onges at once became wildly addicted to it; [723] the tobacco leaves I had taken with me were in fact my best means of making my way peacefully into the island. A few Onges have acquired a supply of opium from Burmese and Chinese smugglers along the north coast, but instead of smoking it they seem to limit themselves to chewing it mixed with tobacco, and have fortunately no means of replenishing their stock.

164 731 Polio, tuberculosis, smallpox and cancer seem unknown, but for some unknown reason the islands have on a number of occasions been struck by disastrous epidemics of measles. These epidemics struck nearly every member of some of the communal huts, judging from survivors' reports, and the sites were afterwards abandoned, leaving the huts to be destroyed by termites.

114 164 The census of 1931 includes a personal observation by Portman of congenital syphilis in several Onges. This has since been proved wrong and in 1952 I found only one young man with nasal malformation possibly attributable to the disease, half-moon incisors, and abnormality of the skull and palate. I was not able to find him

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at Port Blair for the murder of one of his countrymen. He had previously, in 1878, been sentenced to imprisonment for the murder of two children of his tribe, and he committed his last crime soon after his discharge. This has hitherto been the only occasion on which any of these savages has suffered the extreme penalty of British law. It may be added, that this last step was not taken until the unhappy wretch, as well as all his fellow-countrymen in South Andaman, had been repeatedly warned that no other than a capital sentence would in future be passed on those convicted of murder. 627 177

4. It is by no means an uncommon occurrence for a man, or even a boy, to vent his ill-temper, or show his resentment at any act, by destroying his own property as well as that of his neighbours, sparing only the things belonging exclusively to the chief, or other head man. The amount of damage done at such times, to canoes and other articles of more or less value, will often give occasion for several weeks' employment in repairing and replacing to himself and his companions; but as these outbreaks are looked upon as the result of a temporary "possession," and the victim considered, for the time being, dangerous, and unaccountable for his actions, no one ventures to offer any opposition, or impose any restraint upon him. 578 152

5. Women, when in a rage, occasionally act in a similar manner towards one of their own sex, or even to all the females of the encampment, injuring or destroying their nets, baskets, and other articles; at other times they will seize a burning log, and, banging it furiously on the ground, vent their feelings by some such exclamation as *ngig mūgu jābagike!* (May your face become hideous!); or they will struggle and fight till they are forcibly separated by the wife or daughter of their head man. They do not, however, attempt to settle their differences with the stronger sex, but leave it to their husbands or male relatives to obtain redress for their real or fancied grievances.

6. When a chief or elder so far forgets himself as to lose his temper, those of his own standing betake themselves to their huts, while the other members of the community, male and female, beat a hasty retreat to some secluded spot, for no one would venture to find fault with one in authority, and with some reason, for little or no harm usually results to the community, while his own reputation is sure to suffer. Should he, however, wantonly cause loss or injury to any of his people, they would be pretty certain to take an early, though secret, opportunity of repaying him in kind. 622 578 152

Crime.—1. That outcome of civilisation, suicide, is unknown among them; but, since they have seen cases of self-murder among the alien population, they have coined a lengthy com 762

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762 pound word (*ō·yum-tē·mar-tō·liganga-*) in order to express the nature of the act.

673 2. That they are not entirely devoid of moral consciousness may, I think, in some measure, be demonstrated by the fact of their possessing a word, *yū·bda-*, signifying sin or wrong doing, which is used in connection with falsehood, theft, grave assault, murder, adultery, and — burning wax (!),[1] which deeds are believed to anger *Pū·luga-*, the Creator, of whom more will be said hereafter.[2]

627 3. Cases of adultery in their own villages are said to be of rare occurrence. If detected, the injured husband would pro-
837 bably inflict condign punishment on the guilty parties, but at the risk of retaliation on the part of the male offender and his friends; there appears, however, to be an understanding, that the greater the provocation offered the less is the risk incurred of the injured person or his friends avenging the wrong, but no appeal to the chief for redress is ever made.

628 4. If an offence, such as an assault or theft, be committed by one or more members of another tribe during a visit or by
674 stealth, it is regarded as premeditated, and generally resented as a tribal affair, resulting in a feud and more or less bloodshed.

5. Intercourse with Europeans and other foreigners has, it
273 must be confessed, unhappily opened their eyes to the existence
177 of some vices of which they had formerly no knowledge;[3] notably is this the case with regard to drunkenness, for, being, till the time they made our acquaintance, "blessed in the ignorance of spirituous liquors," they had no conception of its effects, and, to express an inebriate, have invented a word (*lē·lēkanga-*) signifying "staggerer." It must, however, be added, that in consequence of the extreme partiality for rum and other intoxicating drinks which they manifest, much care has to be taken to prevent them from gratifying the easily acquired taste.

Narcotics.—1. Prior to our advent they were also entirely
276 ignorant of narcotics in any form; but one of the evil results of
177 their intercourse with us has been the introduction of the practice of smoking, and so rapidly have they (both men and women) acquired the habit, that, when at a distance from the homes and unable to obtain tobacco, they have been seen to fill their short clay pipes, which, it is scarcely necessary to say, have been obtained from us, with *pán* leaves rather than endure entire deprivation.

[1] *Vide* "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xi, p. 288, and *post*, "Superstitions," paragraph 13.

[2] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs," paragraph 8.

[674] [3] The crimes of abduction, rape, seduction, unnatural offences, &c., appear never to have been committed among them.

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highly coloured, and failed, therefore, in imposing on the almost 114
excusable credulity which existed at a time when next to nothing of a trustworthy nature was known concerning these savages.

22. With regard to a deceased husband's property, the widow 768
disposes of everything, which she does not require for her personal use, among his male relatives.

23. It seems superfluous to add that no such custom as 764
suttee prevails or has ever been known to exist among them.

Death and Burial.—1. Amongst other erroneous opinions held 763
regarding these tribes is that which declares that "no lamentation is publicly made at death," whereas, in point of fact, the demonstrations of grief on such occasions are generally excessive, and are shared, in a greater or less degree, by every member of the community in which the melancholy event occurs.

2. In the case of an infant, the parents and relatives remain 765
weeping for hours beside the corpse; afterwards they smear 766
their persons with a wash composed of *ōg-* (the common olive-coloured clay) and water, and, after shaving their heads, place a lump of the same, called *del·a-*, just above their foreheads,[1] where it hardens, and is left, much to the individual's discomfort, until the expiration of the days of mourning;[2] should it fall off in the meantime it is renewed.

3. The burial usually takes place within 18 hours of the 766
decease, which time is spent by the mother in painting the head, neck, wrists, and knees of her dead child with *kòi·ob-* and *tâ·la-ōg-*; she also shaves off the hair, and folds the little limbs so as to occupy the least possible space,[3] the knees being brought up to the chin and the fists close to the shoulders; the body is then enveloped in large leaves, called *kâ·pa-*,[4] which are secured with cords or strips of cane. The father meantime employs himself in digging a grave with an adze (*wō·lo-*[5]), in the place where his hut fire usually burns; when all is prepared the little head is uncovered, and the parents gently blow upon the face

fishing, which, as they seem to indicate a Munchausen-like facility of exaggeration in the narrator we decline to repeat" (Mount).

[1] This applies to men, for women usually place the *del·a-* on the top of the head. It is worn by neither sex until after they have attained maturity, and only for a father, mother, husband, wife, brother, sister, son, or daughter, the *ōg-* wash alone being deemed sufficient "mourning" in the case of other relatives or friends.

[2] The term *á·kà-ōg-* is therefore applied to mourners, since they are prohibited from the use of *kòi·ob-*.

[3] "If we knew no further details as to the opinions of the intellectually gifted Hottentots, formerly so greatly underrated, it would be enough that, previous to burial, they place the body of the deceased in the same position which it once occupied as an embryo in the mother's womb" (Peschel).

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 74.

[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 15.

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881 262 after the birth of the first child; they are also required to abstain from honey during each subsequent pregnancy; and in their case, too, a chief or elder (preferably a relative) officiates, and not a woman[1]."

753 761 We may now proceed to the ritual customs connected with death and burial. In all the Great Andaman tribes disease and death are supposed to be due to the spirits of the jungle and the sea. The subject will be dealt with in the next chapter.

764 On the occurrence of a death the news quickly spreads through the camp, and all the women collect round the body and, sitting down, weep loudly until they are exhausted. The women then retire and the men come and weep over the corpse. All the adult members of the community then proceed to cover themselves with a wash of common clay smeared evenly over their bodies and limbs. This clay is of the kind called *odu* in *Aka-Jeru* and *og* in *Aka-Bea*. The nearer relatives and more intimate friends of the deceased also plaster some of the same clay on their heads.

Some of the women, generally, but not necessarily, relatives, remove any ornaments the dead person may have been wearing, shave the head and decorate the body. This decoration consists of lines of fine pattern in white clay alternating with bands of red paint. A band of red paint is placed across the upper lip passing from ear to ear and the ears themselves are smeared with the pigment. The greater the estimation in which the deceased person is held the greater is the care lavished upon this the last decoration.

Thus decorated the body is prepared for burial. The legs and arms are flexed so that the knees come up under the chin and the fists rest against the cheeks. A *Cyrena* shell (or sometimes in these days a steel knife) is placed in the closed hand. A sleeping mat is wrapped round the body, and over this a number of the large palm leaves known as *kobo* (*Aka-Jeru*) are arranged and the whole is made into a bundle and tied up with rope. Before the ropes are all tied the relatives of the dead person take their last farewell by gently blowing on the face of the corpse.

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 133.

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The male relatives and friends then proceed to the spot selected for the burial, one of them carrying the corpse slung on his back. If the burial place can be reached by canoe, no hesitation is shown in making use of a canoe for the purpose. There are not, so far as could be discovered, any rules as to which of the men shall undertake the burial. Such relatives as brother, father, son or husband generally take the leading part. The women take no part in the actual burial. There are two modes of disposing of the body, in a grave dug in the ground, or upon a platform placed in a tree. The latter is considered the more honourable form of burial, and is only adopted in the case of a man or woman dying in the prime of life. The same grave is not used twice, in the case of interment, though a new grave may be made close to an old one. The natives said that the same tree might be used several times for platform-burial, but there was no opportunity of proving this statement. There are not, generally speaking, any regular burying grounds. Any convenient spot may be chosen so long as it is at some little distance from the camp. It does happen, however, that certain spots are fairly regularly used. In the case of one burial that I witnessed the spot chosen was about a mile distant from the camp, the journey being made in a canoe, and there were already five or six graves at the same place. 764

In the case of interment a hole is dug three or four feet in depth, the digging being done with an adze and a digging stick, and sometimes a wooden dish is used to scoop out the soil. The body is placed in the hole and the ropes tied round it are severed. The body is placed slightly on its side facing the east. I asked some of the natives the reason for this orientation, and was told that if the custom were not observed the sun would not rise and the world would be left in darkness. A pillow of wood is placed under the head, and a log of wood at each side of the corpse. Sometimes some object that has been worn by the deceased, such as a belt or necklace, is placed in the grave. The soil is then replaced, all present helping. Beside the grave a fire is lighted and some water contained in a bamboo vessel or in a nautilus shell is left for the corpse. In some cases the bow belonging to the deceased, if it be a man, and a few [821]

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764 arrows are placed on the grave. In the *Aka-Čari* tribe a harpoon and line are substituted for the bow and arrows, and a bamboo harpoon shaft is erected vertically in the grave near the right hand of the body. In the same tribe it is usual to suspend near the grave a bundle of the prepared fibre of *Anadendron paniculatum* such as is used for making thread. There are probably slight variations of custom in this respect in different tribes or even in different cases in the same tribe.

In the case of platform-burial a platform of sticks is erected in a tree, twelve feet or so above the ground, and the body is placed thereon, lying sideways facing the east. Water and fire are placed beneath the tree. Mr Man states that in cases of tree-burial they are careful not to select a fruit tree or one of a species used for the manufacture of their canoes, bows and other implements. Such natives as I questioned on this point said that this was not so and that they would use any suitable tree whether one that was useful or not. I was unable definitely to prove the point, as I did not see a single instance of tree-burial during my stay in the islands. A tree that is sometimes used for this purpose is the *Ficus laccifera*, which as we have seen has a special connection with the spirits of new-born children. On the coast, mangrove trees, such as the *Rhizophora* or *Bruguiera*, are said to be used.

765 When the burial is completed, whether in a grave or a tree, plumes made of shredded palm-leaf stem *koro* (*Aka-J̌eru*) or *ara* (*Aka-Bea*) are attached near the graves to the branches of trees or shrubs or to sticks put up for the purpose. This is done, it is said, to show any native, who might inadvertently approach, that there has been a burial at the spot. The undergrowth is cleared for a short distance round the grave.

The men then return to the camp, where the women have been busy packing up all belongings. Plumes of shredded palm-leaf stem (*koro*) are put up at the entrance to the camp, to show chance visitors that there has been a death. The camp is then deserted, the natives moving to some other camping ground until the period of mourning is over, when they may, if they wish, return to the deserted village. No one goes near the grave again until the period of mourning is over.

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766 of by cutting it into pieces and burning it on a fire. The natives say that if this be done the 'blood' and the 'fat' of the dead man go up to the sky and this removes all danger to the living from the dead man. The blood of persons so burnt is seen in the sky at sunset. If a man were killed in a fight between two communities and his body remained with the enemy, they would dispose of it in this way. If the friends secured the body they would bury it in the usual way. It may be worthy of remark 766 that this custom of burning the bodies of slain enemies is 266 perhaps the real origin of the belief that the Andamanese are or were cannibals. We can well imagine that when, as must have often happened, sailors venturing to land on the islands have been killed and the survivors have seen the bodies of their companions cut up and placed on fires, they would readily conclude that they were witnessing a cannibal feast. There can be no doubt whatever that since the islands were occupied in 1858 the inhabitants have not practised cannibalism, and there is no good reason to suppose that they once followed the custom and then abandoned it.

764 The burial is conducted, if possible, on the day of the death. If it has to be deferred till the morrow all the inhabitants of the camp keep awake. The relatives sit round the corpse weeping at intervals, while some of the men take it in turn to sing songs during the hours of darkness. This, so they say, is to keep away the spirits that have caused the death, and so prevent them from further mischief. When a man or woman dies in the prime of [152] life after a short illness the friends and relatives often break out in anger which they express in different ways. A man will shout threats and curses at the spirits that he conceives to be responsible for the death of his friend. He may pick up his bow and discharge his arrows in all directions, or in some other way give expression to his angry feelings. On the occasion of a death in one of the *Akar-Bale* villages the relatives expressed their grief by cutting down a coconut tree that grew there.

765 The period of mourning for near relatives—parent, adult child, consort, brother or sister—lasts for several months. In the case of a young child only the parents mourn. The essentials

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round the neck either in front or behind. The photograph in Plate XVIII shows a woman wearing the skull of her deceased sister. Like all their other possessions these relics are lent or exchanged, passing from one person to another, until sometimes a skull may be found in the possession of a man who does not know to whom it belonged. The other bones are also preserved. The limb bones are generally painted with red paint and white clay and are kept in the roof of the hut. They are not treasured as much as the skull and jaw, and are often mislaid. Thus, while every camp is sure to contain a number of skulls and jaw-bones it is comparatively rarely that the limb bones are to be found. The other bones are made into strings, such bones as those of the hand and foot being used as they are, while ribs and vertebrae are broken up into pieces of convenient size. The bones or pieces of bone are attached to a length of rope by means of thread and the string thus produced is often ornamented with the dried yellow skin of the *Dendrobium* and with shells. The whole is covered with red paint. These strings of bone are worn as cures for and preventives of illness. If a man has a head-ache, for instance, he will attach one of the strings round his head. They are in almost constant use in every camp and every man and woman is sure to possess one or two. The bones are made into strings by the female relatives of the deceased and are then given away as presents. 765

In the North Andaman the skull of a baby is preserved by enclosing it in a small basket just big enough to contain it, the top of the basket, which is narrower than the lower part, being only finished after the skull is placed inside, so that it cannot fall out and can only be removed by unfastening the rim of the basket. Mr Man states that children's skulls are not carried in baskets, except temporarily as when travelling, fishing, etc., but are preserved from injury by being entirely covered with string[1]. This applies only to the tribes of the South and Middle Andaman.

At about the time that the bones are recovered there takes place a special ceremony referred to as "taking off the clay" or 764 535

[1] Man, *loc. cit.* p. 143.

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controlling the sentiment and directing it towards social ends. We have seen that the dance is the expression of the unity and harmony of the society, and by permitting at the dance the free expression of personal vanity the society ensures that the individual shall learn to feel, even if only subconsciously, that his personal value depends upon the harmony between himself and his fellows. 182X 301 302

The bride and bridegroom are painted with white clay, and wear ornaments of *Dentalium* shell on the day following their marriage. We have seen that marriage involves a change of social status, and we may say that it gives an increased social value to the married pair, the social position of a married man or woman being of greater importance and dignity than that of a bachelor or spinster. They are, after marriage, the objects of higher regard on the part of their fellows than they were before. It is therefore appropriate that the personal value of the bride and bridegroom should be expressed so that both they themselves and their fellows should have their attention drawn to it, and this is clearly the function of the painting and ornaments.

After the completion of any of the more important of the initiation ceremonies, such as the eating of turtle, the initiate is painted with white clay and red paint and wears ornaments of *Dentalium* shell. This is exactly parallel to the painting of the bride and bridegroom. The initiate, by reason of the ceremony he has been through, has acquired new dignity and importance, and by having fulfilled the requirements of custom has deserved the approval of his fellows. The decoration of his body after the ceremony is thus the expression of his increased social value.

A corpse, before burial, is decorated in the same manner as the body of a dancer. This, we may take it, is the means by which the surviving relatives and friends express their regard for the dead, i.e. their sense of his value. We need not suppose that they believe the dead man to be conscious of what they are doing. It is to satisfy themselves that they decorate the corpse, not to satisfy the spirit. When a man is painted he feels that he has the regard and good-will of his fellows, and those who see him, at any rate in the instance of a bridegroom or initiate, 182X 302 764

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realise that he has deserved their regard. So, to express their regard for the dead man they paint the inanimate body. Hence it is that the greater the esteem in which the dead man or woman is held, the greater is the care bestowed on the last painting.

We may conclude therefore that the painting of the body with white clay and the wearing of ornaments of *Dentalium* shell is a rite or ceremony by which the value of the individual to the society is expressed on appropriate occasions. We shall find confirmation of this later in the chapter.

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Before passing on to consider the meaning of other methods of decorating the body there is one matter that is worthy of mention. It is often assumed or stated that both personal ornament and dancing, amongst uncivilised peoples, are connected with sexual emotion. It is, of course, extremely difficult to disprove a statement of this sort. So far as the Andamanese are concerned I was unable to find any trace whatever of a definitely sexual element in either their dances or their personal adornment. It may be recalled that both men and women wear exactly the same ornaments on ceremonial occasions, and this is to some extent evidence that such have no sexual value. It is possible that some observers might see in the dance of the women (which is only performed on rare occasions) a suggestion of something of a sexual nature. I was unable to find that the natives themselves consider that there is anything suggestive of sex in either the dance of the men or that of the women. If it were true that the most important feature of the dance was that it appealed in some way to sexual feelings it is difficult to see how we are to explain the different occasions on which dancing takes place, as before a fight, at the end of mourning, etc., whereas these are adequately accounted for by the hypothesis that the dance is a method of expressing the unity and harmony of the society. Similarly the explanation of personal ornament as being connected with sexual feeling would fail to account for the occasions on which it is regarded as obligatory. There is therefore, I believe, no special connection between the dancing and personal ornament of the Andamanese and sexual feeling. It would still be possible to hold that there is a general

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The burial customs of the Andaman Islanders, however, are not to be regarded as simply the expression of natural personal feeling. They are a collective and ritual expression of a collective feeling. This is evident from the fact that they are regulated in every detail by custom. It is the duty of the relatives and friends to mourn, whether they feel sorrow or not, and it is equally their duty to mourn only for a certain period.

The cohesion of a social group, by which is maintained its existence as a group, depends directly on the existence of a collective system of sentiments or affective dispositions that bind every member to every other. The death, or removal by any other means, of a member of the group is a direct attack against these sentiments. Now whenever a sentiment of any kind is subjected to an attack of such a kind as this there are only two possible alternatives; either the sentiment must suffer a diminution of its intrinsic energy, and thus be less capable of controlling behaviour in the future; or it must find an outlet in an expressive action of some sort which serves as a reaction of defence or compensation and restores the sentiment to its former condition of strength. The typical example of such an emotional reaction is anger; anything that wounds our self-regarding feelings arouses our anger; if it did not do so those feelings would gradually weaken. This law holds true of collective sentiments as well as of individual sentiments. If the society permitted its solidarity to be attacked, whether by death or by any other means, without reacting in such a way as to give relief to wounded social feelings and so to reinstate them in their former condition, these sentiments would lose their strength and the society its cohesion. The burial customs of the Andamanese are to be explained, I believe, as a collective reaction against the attack on the collective feeling of solidarity constituted by the death of a member of the social group.

The man being dead, the first thing that the society does is to sever its connection with him, and the first step in this process is to get rid of the body by burying it or placing it in a tree, to abandon the camp at which he died, and temporarily to drop the use of his name. It is often supposed that customs such as these, which are found in many primitive societies, are due to the fear of the dead man's spirit. That there is an element of

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fear present is undoubtedly true, but this fear does not seem to be by any means instinctive, and therefore comparable to the fear that some animals exhibit towards the dead body of one of their species. On the contrary the fear itself needs to be explained, and this will have to be attempted later.

There is one group of facts which show very clearly that the burial customs are not solely due to an instinctive fear of dead bodies, namely that the customs vary according to the social position of the deceased. A child plays very little part in the general life of the community; hence on the death of a child the camp is not deserted and only the parents are subjected to the mourning ritual. Similarly the death of a person who has for long been so ill as not to be able to take any important part in social life has very little effect on the community as a whole; the body of such a one is disposed of with scant ceremony and mourning is perfunctory. On the other hand the death of a noted hunter in the prime of life, of a man who is esteemed as a leader, is a much greater loss; the whole community mourns for him; his body is placed on a tree instead of in the ground, showing that his death is regarded as something different from the death of a person who is interred. The body of a stranger who dies or is killed is not buried, but is thrown into the sea or cut up and burnt. The explanation that the natives give of this custom of burning the body is that it serves to dispel danger that might accrue from the presence of the dead body of a stranger. The blood and the fat of the dead man, from which they appear to fear evil influences, are, they say, driven up to the sky in the smoke of the fire and are thus rendered harmless.

There is, then, a close correspondence between the manner of burial and the social value of the person buried, and it is evident that the differences in the mode of disposing of the body are quite inexplicable on the assumption that the funeral customs are solely due to the fear of the dead.

Before burial the corpse is decorated with white clay and red paint. We have already seen that this is an expression on the part of the survivors of their regard for the deceased. A living man or woman is decorated in this way when, for some special reason, it is desired to express the fact that he or she has the

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good-will and regard of others, and it is applied to the dead body with exactly the same meaning. Fire and water are placed beside the grave. It is not necessary to suppose that the Andamanese believe that the spirit of the dead man makes any use of these, any more than it is necessary for us to believe that the spirit enjoys the flowers that it is our custom to place upon the grave. The action in each case is symbolical.

X 182 765

The dead man was bound by ties of solidarity to those still living. Now that he is dead those ties have not ceased to exist, but continue until the society has recovered from the effects of the death, for they are based on deep-seated and elaborately organised sentiments. I believe that the mourning customs of the Andamanese are to be explained on this basis, as being the means by which the social sentiments of the survivors are slowly reorganised and adapted to the new condition produced by the death. The severance of the dead man from the society is not a sudden but a gradual process, during which his relatives and friends, being still attached to him by social ties, are in an abnormal condition which may be defined as a partial separation from the world of living men and women and a partial aggregation to the world of the dead (i.e. the spirit world). This abnormal condition of the mourner is shown chiefly in his or her withdrawal from participation in the ordinary life of the society. We have seen that the eating of food is, for the Andamanese, one of the most important of social actions, a kind of communion of the society, and that during the period of adolescence a youth is separated or withdrawn from the common life of the group by being forbidden to eat certain foods. So, in strict conformity with the same set of notions, the mourner is separated from the normal life of the society by being forbidden to eat pork or turtle, these being the most important foods that the Andamanese have[1]. Like the *aka-op*, also, the mourner is

[1] In a number of tribes of Western Australia I found an exactly similar custom. It was formerly the rule that after the death of a near relative the mourner must abstain from eating kangaroo, that being the largest game animal. Since the establishment of sheep stations in their country, with the consequent great decrease in numbers of the kangaroo, it has come about that the animal which now provides their most important supply of meat is the sheep, and the modern rule is that a mourner must not eat mutton.

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highly coloured, and failed, therefore, in imposing on the almost 114
excusable credulity which existed at a time when next to nothing of a trustworthy nature was known concerning these savages.

22. With regard to a deceased husband's property, the widow 768
disposes of everything, which she does not require for her personal use, among his male relatives.

23. It seems superfluous to add that no such custom as 764
suttee prevails or has ever been known to exist among them.

Death and Burial.—1. Amongst other erroneous opinions held 763
regarding these tribes is that which declares that "no lamentation is publicly made at death," whereas, in point of fact, the demonstrations of grief on such occasions are generally excessive, and are shared, in a greater or less degree, by every member of the community in which the melancholy event occurs.

2. In the case of an infant, the parents and relatives remain 765
weeping for hours beside the corpse; afterwards they smear
their persons with a wash composed of *ōg-* (the common olive- 766
coloured clay) and water, and, after shaving their heads, place a lump of the same, called *del·a-*, just above their foreheads,[1] where it hardens, and is left, much to the individual's discomfort, until the expiration of the days of mourning;[2] should it fall off in the meantime it is renewed.

3. The burial usually takes place within 18 hours of the 766
decease, which time is spent by the mother in painting the head, neck, wrists, and knees of her dead child with *kòi·ob-* and *tá·la-ōg-*; she also shaves off the hair, and folds the little limbs so as to occupy the least possible space,[3] the knees being brought up to the chin and the fists close to the shoulders; the body is then enveloped in large leaves, called *kd·pa-*,[4] which are secured with cords or strips of cane. The father meantime employs himself in digging a grave with an adze (*wō·lo-*[5]), in the place where his hut fire usually burns; when all is prepared the little head is uncovered, and the parents gently blow upon the face

fishing, which, as they seem to indicate a Munchausen-like facility of exaggeration in the narrator we decline to repeat" (Mouat).

[1] This applies to men, for women usually place the *del·a-* on the top of the head. It is worn by neither sex until after they have attained maturity, and only for a father, mother, husband, wife, brother, sister, son, or daughter, the *ōg-* wash alone being deemed sufficient "mourning" in the case of other relatives or friends.

[2] The term *á·kd·ōg-* is therefore applied to mourners, since they are prohibited from the use of *kòi·ob-*.

[3] "If we knew no further details as to the opinions of the intellectually gifted Hottentots, formerly so greatly underrated, it would be enough that, previous to burial, they place the body of the deceased in the same position which it once occupied as an embryo in the mother's womb" (Peschel).

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 74.

[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 15.

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the skull and bones back to his hut and breaks up the latter into small pieces suitable for necklaces.[1] The mother, after painting the skull with *kòi·ob-*, and decorating it with small shells attached to pieces of string, hangs it round her neck with a netted chain, called *rdb-*.[2] After the first few days her husband often relieves her by wearing it himself. Infants' skulls, being fragile, are generally preserved carefully from risk of injury by being entirely covered with string, but (except temporarily as when travelling, fishing, &c.) these souvenirs are not carried about in a basket. The next few days are spent by the mother in converting the bones into necklaces, called *chàu·ga-tâ-*, and when several have been made, she and her husband pay visits to their friends, among whom they distribute these mementoes, together with any of the pieces that may remain over, in order that they may make additional necklets for themselves. 765

6. Before this distribution takes place, it should be mentioned that the mourners remove from their heads the lump of clay placed there on the day of the child's death; the wife also paints her husband's neck, waist, wrists, and knees with *kòi·ob-* and further adorns him with a stripe of the same compound from his throat to his navel, and afterwards decorates herself in a similar manner. [302]

7. All due preparations having thus been made, the friends assemble round the hut to pay their final visit of condolence; whereupon the bereaved father sings some old song of his, which he last sang, perchance, with his little one alive and well in his arms, on which all except himself express their grief and sympathy by breaking out into loud lamentations. The chorus of the song is chanted by the women while the parents perform a dance which goes by the name of *t'ī-tô latnga-* (*lit.*, the shedding of tears); when wearied with their exertions they retire to their hut, and cease from any further display of sorrow, whereupon their friends generally take up and continue the melancholy dance and song for many hours, the women being then joined by the men, who, till this stage of the proceedings, have merely acted the part of spectators. It should be explained that the character of this dance does not differ from that which is customary at a wedding or other occasion of rejoicing, except in the doleful appearance of the performers. 765 535

8. On the death of an adult and others, the relatives (as in the case of an infant) smear themselves with *ōg-* and place a lump of the clay on their heads, where it must remain until the *t'ī-tô latnga-*; any necklaces, waistbelts, &c., which the deceased was wearing are removed; women then paint the 764

[1] *Vide* Appendix B. item 44.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B item 42.

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•764 corpse, whose limbs are folded and enwrapped in the manner above described.

9. What the true significance of this practice may be is not quite clear, as such of the aborigines as have been questioned assert that it is merely for convenience in removal; but since the custom is also observed in infant burials which, as I have mentioned, take place in the very hut wherein the death occurred, it seems probable that a deeper meaning underlies the act; and the real reason may be that which Peschel supplies in his reference to the Hottentots, who observe the same custom, *i.e.* "that the dead will mature in the darkness of the earth in preparation for a new birth."[1]

10. As it is not customary for females to attend the funeral, when *their* part is done, they gently blow upon the face, and take their last farewell look.

[766] 11. None save infants are buried within the encampment, all others being carried to some distant and secluded spot in the jungle, and there interred or placed upon a "machán," or platform; it is generally arranged beforehand which of these two methods shall be employed, but the latter is considered the more complimentary, apparently because it involves a little more labour.[2]

12. Arrived at their destination, the corpse, which has been carried by one of the men on his back, is put down, while the final preparations are being made. A spot is selected where there is a boulder or large tree,[3] to mark it, and there, if a grave has been decided on, they dig a hole about 4 or 5 feet deep, with an adze (*wō·lo-*), into which the body is lowered in a sitting posture, facing the east; all present then raise the leaf covering the head, and take leave of their friend by blowing upon his face. Before the grave is filled in the cords or canes are cut, the object being to hasten the process of decomposition by loosening the leaves; a fire is lighted over the spot and a *gōb-*,[4] or nautilus shell, filled with water, as well as some article which belonged to the deceased, is placed beside it: then the surrounding brushwood for some little distance is cleared away, and *â·ra-* are suspended between the trees in the manner and for the purpose before stated.

13. Should it, however, have been determined to dispose of the corpse by the alternative method, a small stage is constructed

[1] This singular practice also prevailed amongst the ancient Peruvians (*vide* "Anthropology of Prehistoric Peru," by T. J. Hutchinson, "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. iv, p. 447, 1875).

[2] Old persons are generally buried.

[3] They never wittingly use the same tree or spot a second time, and are careful to remember those which served on a former occasion.

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 82, and "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xi, p. 269.

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of sticks and boughs, about 8 to 12 feet above the ground, generally between the forked branches of some large tree,[1] and to it the body is lashed. The head is raised slightly, looking eastward, and, though the position of the arms is not altered, the cords are loosened to allow of the legs being straightened, after which the leaves are re-adjusted, so as to cover the entire form, in order to protect it from the attacks of hawks, crows, and vermin. 764

14. Two reasons are given for the practice of placing the corpse with the face towards the rising sun: one being that dissolution may thereby be hastened, the other that *jereg-* or Hades, whither the souls of the departed flee, is situated in the east. [775]

15. The mourners take a last farewell in the manner before described, and fulfil the remaining duties, as related in the former case. The spirit of the deceased being supposed to haunt not only the spot where he has been buried, but also the encampment where the death occurred, the community migrate temporarily to another camping ground immediately after the return of the funeral party, leaving the *â·ra-* to witness to casual visitors of the cause of their absence. 765

16. When the period of mourning has expired, the men who assisted in the funeral rites return to the place of burial, destroy the *â·ra-*, and remove the remains of the deceased to the sea-shore, or to a creek, where the bones are cleaned and afterwards conveyed to the old encampment, whither they all return and restore their camp to its normal condition.

17. As all that has been related regarding the distribution of the bones of a child and the subsequent dance applies equally to all cases, further account of these ceremonies here is unnecessary; for fuller information anent the manufacture of the necklaces, &c., the reader is referred to an interesting paper by Dr. Allen Thomson, F.R.S., which will be found in the Journal of the Anthropological Institute for 1881.[2]

18. Although in the majority of cases the display of grief is thoroughly sincere, there is no doubt that they hope, by testifying to their sorrow in the various ways mentioned, to conciliate the spirits of the departed, and to be by them preserved from many misfortunes which might otherwise befall them.[3]

19. In the case of a young married couple who are childless, if either die, the survivor is not the chief mourner, and does not even assist at the obsequies, which are performed solely by

[1] They are careful not to select a fruit-tree, or one used for the manufacture of their canoes, bows, and other implements.

[2] *Vide* "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xi, p. 295.

[3] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 24.

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765 the relatives of the deceased, one of whom subsequently takes possession of the skull, and wears it until he (or she) chooses to part with it, or is asked to do so by another member of the family. It should here be stated that it is by no means obligatory upon the survivor of an elderly couple, or any relative, to carry the bones or skull of the deceased for a lengthened period:[1] except in the event of marrying a brother, sister, or cousin of the deceased, these relics can be given at any time to a friend who may ask for them; thus it not unfrequently happens that the remains of one who was a chief or a favourite in his day, are scattered far and wide among his admirers, but when in course of time they get mislaid or broken, the owner is often easily reconciled to his loss, or makes it good by procuring similar mementoes of another and more recently departed friend.

20. It may be said that as a rule no adult is without at least one *chàw·ga-tâ-* (*i.e.*, a human bone necklace), and the skulls, which are generally to be found in every encampment, are worn by each in turn, if only for a few hours.

[764] 21. The only difference made on the occasion of the death of a chief, his wife, or one of his near relatives, is that *all* the men and lads of the encampment smear themselves with *ōg-*, and attend the funeral; the relations alone, however, are the mourners during the succeeding weeks or months which intervene before the *t·ī-tô·latnga-*, though, as a token of respect for the deceased, and of sympathy with the mourners, other members of the tribe often abstain from some favourite article of food, and take no part in festivities during the same period.

22. If a member of another tribe happen to die while on a visit, the body would be disposed of in one of the modes I have endeavoured to describe, after which intimation would be sent to the friends of the deceased, so that they might know where to seek for the skeleton when the time for disinterment should arrive.

766 23. The body of an enemy, stranger, or captive child would be thrown into the sea, or buried *sans cérémonie*, as the bones would
761 never be in request.

24. A sudden death is at once attributed to the malign influence of *.ē·rem-chàw·gala*, if the deceased had been recently in the jungles, or to *jū·ru-win-*, if he had been on the sea; in either case one of the male relatives of the victim, representing the feelings of the community, approaches the spot where the body

[1] I mention this more especially as the erroneous statement made by some early writer, that "a widow wears her husband's skull suspended round her neck for the rest of her life" has been repeated in more recent accounts, and hitherto remains uncontradicted.

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302 58. *tâ·la-ōg-*.[1] White clay, used mixed with water, for ornamental painting of the person and of various articles, *e.g.*, bows, baskets, buckets, trays, &c.: the work is done by women: when painting their relatives they spare no pains in executing neat designs with their finger-nails.

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[462]

[843] [NOTE.—Women during pregnancy are in the habit of nibbling small quantities of this substance from time to time, in the belief that it is beneficial to their condition.]

59. *ōg-*. Common whitish-grey clay, lumps of which are found somewhat plentifully in various parts of the islands. It is used, mixed with water, for smearing over the body when the heat is oppressive.[2] A lump of it is placed on the top of the forehead as a symbol of bereavement, and kept there generally until the expiration of the mourning period.[3] It is also sometimes used by way of ornament on the person, by smearing the trunk and limbs with the wash and then, before it has had time to dry, passing the outspread finger-tips over the surface so as to form some pattern.[4]

60. *kòr·ob-*.[5] Red-ochre paint, which is made by mixing red oxide of iron, *ū·pla-* (*vide* next item), with some greasy substance, the fat of the pig or turtle, sometimes of the iguana, dugong, &c., and occasionally the oil of an almond, called *ē·mej-*, is used. This pigment is applied to the person either ornamentally or otherwise. It is accredited with hygienic properties,[6] and from its mode of application it can be readily determined whether the wearer is suffering or rejoicing. The nostrils and centre of the upper lip are occasionally painted with it, as the smell of the fat is agreeable to them.[7] Before a corpse is removed for burial it is smeared over the face and neck with this paint as a mark of respect, and in order to please the departed spirit.

[764]

61. *ū·pla-*. Red oxide of iron after it has been dried and baked. It is principally used in making the pigment described in the preceding paragraph. It is also employed in the manufacture of the red wax, called *kâ·ngatâ-būj-* (*vide* next item).

[462] 62. *kâ·ngatâ-būj-*. Red wax, generally prepared by men, composed of *ā·ja-pīd-*, *rīm-*, and *ū·pla-* (items 56, 55, and 61); in the absence of the last-named ingredient *kòr·ob-* (item 60) is

[1] *Vide* Part III, "Painting," paragraph 7.
[2] *Vide* Part I, "Anatomy and Physiology," paragraph 5.
[3] *Vide* Part II, "Death and Burial," paragraphs 2, 6, 8, and footnote [1].
[4] *Vide* Part III, "Painting," paragraphs 5 and 6.
[5] *ū·pla-* is collected chiefly during the dry months; in its natural condition, as found, it is called *kòr·ob-chū·lnga-*; in that condition it is applied to sores, and to the persons of fever patients; it is administered internally for coughs, fevers, &c. (*vide* Part I, "Medicine," paragraphs 4 and 5).
[6] *Vide* Part I, "Medicine," paragraph 2.
[7] *Vide* Part I, "Odour."

[758]

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373 dancing by night: the resin is obtained from a large tree called by them *maiī-*, which also is often employed in the construction of their largest canoes. A larger description of torch is made by men, and used when fishing by night.

71. *lâ·pi-*. Gurjon wood torch, obtained from the heart of rotten logs of the *Dipterocarpus lævis* (Andam., *â·rain-*): as these do not burn so readily as the *tō·ug-* (item 70) they are rarely used outside their huts.

415 72. *pū·kuta-yât-mâk·nga-*.[1] Food tray, made by men of some [462] soft wood, generally of the large flat buttress roots of the trees (*Sterculiaceæ*) of which their canoes are made.

764 73. *â·ra-*. Long fringe-like cane-leaf wreaths, which are [462] made by women, and suspended from trees, &c., round an encampment or hut where a death has occurred, and round the spot where the corpse is deposited in order to warn off persons inadvertently approaching the place, which is believed to be haunted by the spirit of the deceased.[2]

285 74. *kâ·pa-jâ·tnga-*. Fan-like screen, made by women, of a description of palm-leaf (Andam., *kâ·pa-*), two of which are [462] fastened together with leaf stems: it is used for many purposes, amongst others as a protection from rain and from the direct rays of the sun in hot weather; in the absence of a *pār·epa-* (item 23) it is often used as a sleeping mat, and it serves also as a wrapper for bundles of various kinds.

75. *kâ·pa-*. Leaf wrappers, as described above, are employed for storing and packing the red oxide of iron.

293 76. *ūj-*.[3] Long brush-like shavings of the *Tetranthera lancæfolia*, prepared by men with the sharp edge of a *Cyrena* shell. When dancing these are often held (by both sexes) in their hands, or are stuck in their waistbelts or other personal ornaments.

412 77. *kô·no-*.[4] Iron knife used in cutting up food; to some a wooden or iron skewer is attached, they are then called *châm-chô-*.

78.[5]

291 79. *ō·bunga-*. Species of apron, consisting of one to six leaves of the *Mimusops Indica* (Andam., *dō·gota-*), which are fastened to the lowest *bōd-* by women from motives of modesty;[6] the leaves are not spread out so as to cover a wide surface, but are laid one above the other, and removed separately as each becomes stiff and shrivelled: the reason given for the selection of this

[1] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 16.
[2] *Vide* Part II. "Death and Burial," paragraph 3.
[3] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 37.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 21.
[5] This No. is attached to "Specimens of Andamanese Hair" (*vide* footnote 1, p. 175).
[6] *Vide* Part I, "Psychology and Morals," paragraph 8, and footnote.

The "womb-name" is called the *teng-l'ar-ula* and on the child being born, the words distinguishing sex by the genitals, *ota*, male, and *kato*, female, are prefixed to it in babyhood. The women's "flower name" precedes the *teng-l'ar-ula* till motherhood or advancing years, but is often used alone. As the "flower names" are of much interest, the following list of them is given in the Bea language. There are eleven of them and flowers, regarded as identical by the Andamanese, belong to trees sometimes of quite different species: a mistake that is made by peoples of much higher mental development. 551

Flower name.	Tree.	Flowering month.
Moda	(1) Semecarpus (Sp.) (2) Odina wodier	March.
Ora	Chickrassia tabularis	March.
Jidga	(1) Unidentified (2) Croton argyratus	April.
Yeri	Sterculia (Sp.)	April.
Pataka	(1) Melborma simplicifolia (2) Terminalia procera	May.
Reche	(1) Eugenia (Sp.) (2) Rubiaceæ	June. July.
Chagara	Pterocarpus dalbergioides	August.
Charapa	Unidentified	September.
Chenra	Leea sambucina	October.
Yulu	(1) Unidentified (2) Eugenia (Sp.)	November.
Chilip	Diospyros densiflora	November, December, January and February.

The people are now ignorant of the origin of the flower names or of the cause of the selection of the trees above mentioned.

The honorifics *maia* and *mam* are prefixed out of respect to the name of elderly males and *chana* to all names of married women. Girls are addressed by the flower name and the elders by the honorific. Names are not much used in addressing, but chiefly for naming the absent or in calling.

Marriage Relations.—The Andamanese are monogamous, and by preference, but not necessarily, exogamous as regards sept and endogamous as regards tribe or more strictly group. Divorce is rare and unknown after the birth of a child, unfaithfulness after marriage which entails the murder of both the guilty parties if practicable is not common, and polyandry, polygamy, bigamy and incest are unknown. Marriages are not religious, but are attended with distinct ceremonies. Marriage after death of one party or divorce is usual. Before marriage free intercourse between the sexes within the exogamous limits is the rule, though some conventional precautions are taken to prevent it. 582

Portman tersely describes the marriage ceremony thus—

"When the elders of a sept are aware that a young couple are anxious to marry, the bride is taken to a newly made hut and made to sit down in it. The bridegroom runs away into the jungle, but after some struggling and pretence at hesitation, is brought in by force and made to sit in the bride's lap. This is the whole ceremony. The newly married couple have little to say to and are very shy of each other for at least a month after marriage, when they gradually settle down together." 585

Marriages are the business of parents or guardians and they have a right of betrothal of children, the betrothal being regarded as a marriage. Marital relations are somewhat complicated and quite as strictly observed as among civilised communities. Old books on this point generally ascribe bestiality and promiscuity to the race, but quite wrongly. 584

Death Ceremonies.—Deaths occasion loud lamentation from all connected with the deceased. Babies are buried under the floor of their parents' hut. Adults are either buried in a shallow grave, or, as an honour, tied up in a bundle and placed on a platform in a tree. Wreaths of cane leaves are then fastened conspicuously round the encampment, and it is deserted for about three months. Burial spots are also sufficiently well marked. Mourning is observed by smearing the head with grey clay and refraining from dancing for the above period. After some months the bones of the deceased are washed, broken up and made into ornaments, to which great importance is attached, as mementos of the deceased and as they are believed to stop pain and cure diseases by simple application to the diseased part. The skull is worn down the back tied round the 764 765

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Onge

364 spot for centuries leads to the formation of kitchen-middens [1]. In the tempo-
[367] rary camps something similar happens: the only difference consists in the fact that rubbish dumps only accumulate at the back of the temporary shelters, as a consequence of their peculiar shape that I shall not describe here. These
[136] dumps are heaven-sent love nests for insects of many species, mostly flies of a metallic green colour. They follow the Onge from camp to camp and thrive on scraps from human meals. When travelling in Little Andaman I was unmistakably warned of the nearby presence of Onge camps by the appearance of those familiar living beings.

136 The filth that coats the floors of communal Onge huts offers an ideal
[356] breeding ground also for myriads of fleas. Dogs spread them all over Little Andaman. Owing to the fact that the communal huts are deserted for months at a time during the dry season, the fleas become hungry and assault human
123 beings vehemently whenever possible. When visiting empty communal huts I myself, and the persons with me, were plagued by such assaults. Fleas advanced suddenly from feet to head in thick, shimmering brown layers, covering first our legs. We were obliged to strip and douse ourselves with insect-repellents.
136 As for other parasites, including ticks and mosquitos, equally plentiful in Little
[825] Andaman, the Onge do not appear to be inconvenienced by them.

764 The communal huts are used for another purpose as well, unhygienic but of high ethnological interest: the interment of human corpses. When they die, the inmates are buried beneath their beds. In other words, communal huts are also cemeteries. Many human skeletons are found by digging under the beds. Until 1952 this fact was unknown about the Andaman Islanders although it is encountered in all Onge communal huts without exception. An analysis of
775 this custom led to further discoveries: the Onge wish to compel the spirit of a deceased person to remain close to the living as a protection, so they offer it the communal hut for an abode, the idea being that a spirit cannot wander far from the bones of its former body. A series of Onge practices point to this
[727] belief: felled enemies must be burned and reduced to ashes in order to render them harmless. Their hostile souls, according to the Onge, rise toward the sky in smoke as the bones are consumed. For the same reason, bones of relatives
[301] are fashioned into necklaces. The most conspicuous of these is the *ibidanghe*,
[765] worn generally by women and young girls, which is made from a decorated
[751] human jawbone. The aim is to obtain the assistance of the departed relation in fighting illness and bad luck. Direction in hunting, fishing and even quar-
[777] relling is supposed to come from the dead kept close to the living. We can trace this belief on the connection between bones and souls to a remote origin:
[171] Southern Asia megaliths had, in my opinion, no other cause for offering shelter to spirits and promoting useful relations between the living and the dead. I reached this conclusion after studying the contemporary habits of Travancore mountain and other Indian tribes, particularly the Munda. In Nias we find traces of the same customs as among different peoples of Indonesia and Oceania, who

[1] I discussed this at the two international anthropological congresses of 1952 (Vienna) and 1956 (Philadelphia), and have more to say on the subject in my book about the Onge.

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now follow them, often ignoring their original significance and symbolism. Among the Onge, spirits are feared but not loved ; the same applies to God Himself. 775

The Onge bury their dead in trenches, no deeper than three feet. Earth is tightly packed over the graves in order to prevent exhalations. Full details on the subject of Onge burial customs appear in the book that I am writing about the Onge. I slept with the Onge in communal huts that contained fresh graves, without suffering any inconvenience from the smell of the corpses. This recalls the palaeolithic sepulchral caves, where man probably lived as the Onge live in their sepulchral huts today. 764

There are no latrines near Onge camps – whether permanent or temporary. Excrements are spread carelessly all around, lightly covered with leaves and earth. Flies lay eggs on them. The Onge's only precaution is not to defecate where drinking water might be found after rainfall. With so many opportunities for reproduction, in some places flies form such clouds as to impress the natives themselves. In the north of Little Andaman a creek was named after the flies : Bumila Creek, which means "fly creek". Smells also occasionally inspire geographical names : Tambe-é-bûie, on the north-east coast of Little Andaman, means "the smelly place" in the Onge language. Flies, fleas and ticks are tolerated by the Onge who do not fight them. Fortunately, the hymenoptera collect flies for their nests, not, however, in quantities large enough to compete with the fertility of the species. 514 [312] 736 825 [103]

2. Clothing and personal care

The only garment worn by Little Andaman women is the *naquinēghē*, a scanty grasslike apron covering the genitals. In addition, during menstrual periods, Onge women wear the *bataghē*, for hygienic purposes. This is a simple cluster of long, soft green leaves cut by the husband for his wife from special trees : Myristica longifolia and others. The only leaves used are those from the end of a stalk, a section of which is left attached to the leaves. The stalk is slipped under the *naquinēghē*, while the long leaves are passed between the thighs to be fastened at the back above the buttocks. It is curious to see Onge women in such myristical attire ! The *bataghē* is ethnographical news, new not only as regards the Andamans : it is an interesting indication of the hygienic measures employed by primitive people, and can probably be traced to prehistoric practices in analogous circumstances. The continental and insular regions nearest to the Andamans have retained no similar custom ; their only practice is the strict isolation of menstruating women. Among the Onge, on the other hand, they are allowed free circulation. Washing is unknown to the Onge : they never wash their bodies intentionally. Brushing through the thick forest and diving into the sea or the river to collect food substitute adequately for washing. The Little Andaman forest is nearly always dripping ; moving among the trees, specially in the early morning, is equivalent to bathing. The contact of wet leaves when walking cleans the Onge's skin, for they go naked ; and as they constantly dive into the sea and rivers, they do not smell. Actually they give an impression of cleanliness – as opposed to many other dark-skinned 291 841 [824] [171] 515 [147]

776 rule the multiplication and growth of the various animals and plants useful to Man.

The Onges do not love Eiuga, or any of the other spirits. They merely fear them, and seek to evade their anger by various ex-
[784] pedients. It is curious that they never hesitate to try and deceive the spirits and think themselves very clever when they manage to
[769] steal roots or tubers from the ground. Nor do they revere the
[765] spirits of their ancestors; these are to be feared and propitiated by preservation of their bones. By definition none of the spirits, since they can be deceived by simple tricks, can be all-powerful, but this conclusion, simple though it is, is still beyond the Onges' powers of reasoning.

769 The Onges' fear of the dead is instanced by their carrying round their necks the *ibidanghe*, or necklet of human jaws, as a propitiation.
[765] The wearing of the bones prevents the spirit from going away (by analogy the bones of dead enemies are burned to force the spirit, clearly a hostile one, to leave the place). The custom of burial
[764] within the communal hut follows the same logic – the spirits of the dead are kept near their bones and hence near their relatives, to help them in the daily round of hunting, fishing and gathering food.[1]

769 Unlike most of the other peoples whose burial customs are even
778 today based on their underlying principles, the Onges have not
776 progressed beyond the stage of relating the dead directly to the
782 demands of daily life; they have no 'practices' of any kind, no con-
784 cept at all of holy places, prayers or images. Even the very names of the dead are soon forgotten. Their fears, however, are none the less very real. They do not like to speak of Eiuga or even of the lesser spirits, for fear of attracting their attention.

773 The Onges have no stories or explanatory legends, like those
538 reported by Brown for Great Andaman. They have only short
533 epics, if such they may be called, recalling extraordinary events in

[171] [1] This belief is of very remote origin, and can be traced back at least to the megaliths of southern Asia, like the splendid ones which I was able to photograph, among others, in the mountains of Travancore. Here again the object was to prevent the dead from leaving their relatives. Similar ideas are found today in India among several tribes, notably the Munda, or Nias, and among various peoples of Indonesia, and even Oceania. The rituals are probably followed today without any understanding of their meaning or symbolism; the details vary from place to place, but the underlying principle, the original fear, remains the same everywhere.

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16 Making a roof section from palm fronds for a permanent dwelling

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[764]

17 Completed permanent dwelling, which is also used for burial of the inhabitants

[facing P. 66, K]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

among the Onges) of wearing not only necklaces of the carpals and tarsals of deceased kin or pieces of rib, but also, in some groups, the skulls, painted with ochre and hanging from a cord round the neck. The long bones, painted red and white, were reburied in the communal hut. The Onges of today carry only the coloured jawbones of their kin.

No ornaments were found in the middens, nor did we expect to find any, as at death the Onges (and presumably their ancestors) bury all the personal objects of the deceased secretly in the forest, where the termites destroy all traces.

Not all the Arioto can have carried skulls and jawbones. Some clearly carried neither, as all the bones are sometimes found in the middens. A few middens are completely without human bones, particularly in the Port Blair area. Nevertheless at Ciauldari (or Chowldary), ten kilometres to the west, I found in January 1954 long bones without the skull or jawbones, and at Maya Bandar in 1953 I saw almost complete skeletons, not in anatomical position, owing to exhumation and reburial, but including skull, jawbones and in a number of cases the small bones as well.

The evidence of the middens thus clearly shows that burial and subsequent customs differed considerably among the various groups of islanders in the past, as they do today. The majority, judging from the Onges, seem to have remained faithful to a given custom, the dead in all cases continuing to remain a part of the group, whether or not any particular bone was carried about by the members of the group.

It is somewhat surprising to find customs varying so markedly in so primitive and numerically small a population, even though isolated in groups. The explanation lies in the fact that long-established customs may be altered overnight as the result of a 'revelation' by some seer, only to have the new customs overthrown themselves in the course of time by the next 'revelation'. I had an experience of this in the Onges when Enagaghe, a well-known seer, announced one day that he had received an order from the spirits about the way in which hunting trophies were to be displayed. No longer were pig jawbones to be impaled one behind the other on poles hung horizontally along the sloping roof of the hut a little above the hunter's bed. The whole skull, including the jawbones, was to be preserved, the bones held together in their natural

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

position by reed cords, which were to be tied in front of the snout, ending in a cord by which the skull was to be hung above the hunter's bed. No sooner said than done, and at the beginning of 1954 all the old trophies were thrown out into the forest, to be gradually replaced by the new ones. Fortunately I had collected some of the old trophies before the 'revelation'!

From the evidence of the middens it would appear that these variations in burial customs have no practical basis, and probably all derive from similar 'revelations'. Further investigations in a large series of the deposits, enabling dated comparisons to be made, would be extremely revealing.

Even allowing for these sudden alterations in established customs, it is clear that their elaboration indicates slow and hardly perceptible development over long periods of time and the middens must be dated in millennia. The hypothesis put forward by some scholars that the Andamanese are descended from negro slaves who escaped while on their way to the Portuguese colonies in India in the sixteenth or, at the earliest, fifteenth centuries, seems therefore quite untenable, in face of the abundant evidence in favour of the great antiquity of the middens and of the people who built them up.

It seems clear that during the last few thousand years, successive waves of migration have taken place over a whole area bounded on the west by the Andamans and Nicobars. All indications point to a close connection between the Andamanese and the peoples to the westward, the Negrito element remaining alone and almost untouched in the Andamans, but becoming submerged in the Nicobars into the mongoloid element of more recent origin. Even today a number of Nicobarese show signs of Negrito ancestry; short in stature, they have crinkly hair which although long is very different from the straight black hair of the mongoloid element, and their heads, noses and lips bear clear signs of Negrito ancestry.

In addition to these more general conclusions the middens also cast some light on the origin, still somewhat problematical, of the wretched Jarawas of Great Andaman. Comparisons between their middens and those of the Onges show that there were in the past communal huts on Great Andaman exactly the same as those still extant today on Little Andaman.

174 342 [628] The continual fighting between the Eremtaga and the Arioto led, as we have seen, to the gradual disappearance of the communal huts of the latter as being too vulnerable. Subsequently, the con- [648] flict still going on between foreigners and Jarawas completed the destruction, so that there are now no communal huts on Great Andaman. The ever-increasing violence of the punitive expeditions against the Jarawas put an end to their numerical recovery during the last fifteen years or so, and there may indeed now be none left. [172] Today only their kitchen-middens, and the surviving Onges, remain to show us how the Jarawas must have lived.

172 184 The Jarawa middens are distinguishable from those of the Arioto by their inland position and by their content of freshwater shellfish and land gasteropods, not eaten by the peoples of the coast.

172 964 178 [86] Like the kitchen-middens of the Onges, those of the Jarawas contain human bones clearly interred in graves, and not scattered among the refuse. This refutes the Arioto accusation against the Eremtaga of cannibalism, and that of the people of South Andaman (now vanished) against the people of North Andaman and the Onges; the remains of cannibal feasts would undoubtedly have been found among kitchen refuse and not carefully buried in the ritual manner, with the graves filled in with earth. And the Jarawas and the majority of the Arioto buried their dead in the communal huts, continuing a custom which originated while they were still [184] on Little Andaman. In time variations arose, but this does not alter the evidence in favour of migration in ancient times from the south, via the Nicobars and Little Andaman.

184 87 172 501 The differences in culture between the islands can be explained by the ease with which primitive peoples forget. The Jarawas, for example, although they reached Great Andaman by sea from Little Andaman, forgot in a few generations the art of hollowing canoes when they were forced to live in the depths of the forests, far from the sea. Today, they have been free from the Arioto for some time, at least on the west coast, and have access to the sea, but they have [165] not started building canoes again. In other things, however, such as burial rites, the Jarawas kept faithful to the old Onge customs; their middens show the same exhumation of the bones, the same cleaning, and tinting with ochre, and careful reburial.

172 252 The general similarity of the middens in Great and Little Andaman cannot be due to chance. Animal food, for example, has clearly

11. Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

been cooked in the same way; the bones are never charred, but always have the appearance of being cooked in an earth oven. The direct roasting of large game over the fire, postulated by some authorities, including Brown, was never practised; the islanders preferred to go on as they had done since time immemorial, because it was more efficient – witness the traces of the earth oven which are to be found all over the world, including Europe. In Polynesia and Micronesia, and among the pygmies of Asia and Africa, it was widely used; variations when they arose did so as the result of local circumstances, like that of throwing water on the fire instead of using fleshy leaves, when there were none in the area. But the basic principle remained the same everywhere, and the use of the earth oven coincides with the geographical distribution of hunting, gathering and burial customs similar to those found in the Andamans.

In April 1954 I excavated the midden at Tambe-e-buiè on Little Andaman, abandoned after the earth tremors of 1951, to investigate the position of the beds. The custom of burying the dead underneath their beds made it possible to trace the latter by the human remains below them, arranged in a circle round the periphery. The Onges themselves helped in the work, sometimes even trying to recognize the remains as they came to light.[1] There were clear signs of reburial. The body is buried immediately after death at least one metre deep; whereas after exhumation, cleaning and colouring, it is never re-interred more than thirty centimetres below the floor of the hut. When another death makes it necessary for a new grave to be dug under the bed, the piles of bones from the second are disturbed, so that in time a form of ossuary develops. In this it is not possible to identify the various remains of individuals unless some change in the position of the hut, even by a few metres, preserves the bones from disturbance by fresh graves. Traces of the graves always remain, however, as they are invariably filled with fresh earth.

We have already seen that on Little Andaman the introduction of the dog reduced the consumption of shellfish (and hence the rate

[1] The material recovered is now in the Anthropological Museum of the Andamans and Nicobars, which I helped to establish at Port Blair. The museum was inaugurated on 6 June 1955 in the presence of the Governor, Mr A. K. Ghosh and the chief Indian officials of the town.

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622 groups of families. There is some spontaneous recognition of individuals as 'headmen' as a result of some generally accepted superiority of physique or discernment, but the concept goes no further than the giving of some weight to their views within the group.

13 MARRIAGE

595 The Onges are monogamous, like all peoples who have never progressed
837 beyond the stage of hunting and gathering, and adultery is virtually unknown. Marriage consists merely of the man taking possession of the
585 woman in the presence of the rest of the group, taking her by the hand to a new bed built for the occasion and allotted a place within the circle. The 'marriage' takes place in the late evening and is followed by frenzied dancing all night long by the light of the resin torches. The total absence
[174] of any form of ritual leads one to suppose isolation from a very early date indeed, but this cannot be more than conjecture.

14 BURIAL

172 The custom of burying the dead in caves still occupied by the living
174 apparently existed in the Palaeolithic era. The practice has continued to
764 the present time in the Andamans, where the dead are still buried under the family bed in the communal hut. It is known from Palaeolithic burials that even in that era objects were sometimes buried with the dead, and it is thus possible that the culture of the Andamans dates back to very early times.

15 EXHUMATION AND SECOND BURIAL

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765 The custom of exhuming the bones of the dead and re-interring them after coloration (in this case with ochre) dates from the Palaeolithic era.

16 BONE NECKLACES

301 The custom of wearing necklaces of carpals, tarsals, phalanges and fragments of rib, is of extreme antiquity, and apart from the Andamans, has virtually disappeared.

17 RELIGION

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775 There is evidence that even in Palaeolithic times there existed a belief in
764 the survival of the spirit after death, and a fear of its return (hence the

dead were buried securely bound in a knee-to-chest position, still the custom among the Andamanese). The Onges go no further than this and the idea of a Lord of the Spirits who rules all things, although on Great Andaman there has been some progress towards more anthropomorphic concepts. The complete absence of any form of cult, prayer, representation, or votive offering cannot, I feel, be the result of cultural decline from a more advanced age; this would have resulted in gross distortion and illogical superstition, but not in complete absence of any 'religious' practices of any kind.

18 SACRIFICE

No sacrifices of any kind are practised in the Andamans, nor is there any concept of propitiation, although there is evidence that even in the late Palaeolithic era some form of ritual sacrifice was practised, at least in Europe and probably over a much wider area. One would assume from this, and from paragraph 17 above, that the Andamanese is an even older culture.

19 TABOOS

Although my own experiences among the Onges have led me to think that taboos do not exist, some authors have asserted (in my view wrongly) their existence on Great Andaman. It is not, however, possible to draw any reliable conclusions on this point.

20 CEREMONIAL

The complete absence of any form of ritual surrounding birth, the purification of women, initiation, etc., or evidence of any such ritual in the past, is striking, in view of the prevalence in all the surrounding areas of strictly observed ceremonial for many occasions. As in the case of religion, such complete absence can only mean that the Andamanese became isolated before the idea of ritual spread to the area.

21 MEASUREMENT

The Andamanese have no means of counting, and no words to express gradations of time or size; to them everything is either 'small' or 'big'. They take no interest in the passing of years, and have no idea of their own age. To them life is but the passing of the seasons and the harvests of game and fish and fruits that they bring. This utter lack of any sense

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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When a husband dies his widow may marry again if she wishes. As a rule I believe that it is not considered fitting that she should take another husband before the end of her mourning for her former one. Mr Man says "it is not considered decorous that any fresh alliance should be contracted until about a year had elapsed from the date of bereavement[1]." I knew of one case, however, of a woman with a young child who married again only a fortnight or so after her husband's death. 587 765

Mr Man speaks of a custom "which all but compels a bachelor or widower to propose to the childless widow of his elder brother or cousin (if she be not past her prime), while she has no choice beyond remaining single or accepting him; should she have no younger brother-in-law (or cousin by marriage), however, she is free to wed whom she will. It should be added that marriage with a deceased wife's younger sister is equally a matter of necessity on the part of a *childless* widower[2]." 587

I was not able to come across a case in which a man had actually married his elder brother's widow in recent years. The natives whom I questioned confirmed Mr Man's statement, which, moreover, was based on at least one instance known to him as having occurred. It may be noted that in his description of this instance Mr Man says that the woman married her husband's "brother or cousin," leaving us in doubt as to which of these two relatives it really was. There is an ambiguity in the use of the term "younger brother," for the Andamanese have no word meaning simply "younger brother," but only such terms as *ot-arai-čulute* and the equivalents in other languages, which apply to any younger person, whether actually a brother or cousin or not.

The recent changes in the social life of the Andamanese render it difficult to determine what was the former practice in matters of this sort, but I believe that the custom was this, that when a man of a local group died the older men selected one of the unmarried men and required him to marry the widow. They selected a man who was younger than the deceased, that is who was his *ot-arai-čulute*, and gave the preference to an unmarried younger brother if there were one, or to a relative of the deceased, such as a father's brother's son.

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 139. [2] *Ibid.*

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

764 arrows are placed on the grave. In the *Aka-Čari* tribe a harpoon and line are substituted for the bow and arrows, and a bamboo harpoon shaft is erected vertically in the grave near the right hand of the body. In the same tribe it is usual to suspend near the grave a bundle of the prepared fibre of *Anadendron paniculatum* such as is used for making thread. There are probably slight variations of custom in this respect in different tribes or even in different cases in the same tribe.

In the case of platform-burial a platform of sticks is erected in a tree, twelve feet or so above the ground, and the body is placed thereon, lying sideways facing the east. Water and fire are placed beneath the tree. Mr Man states that in cases of tree-burial they are careful not to select a fruit tree or one of a species used for the manufacture of their canoes, bows and other implements. Such natives as I questioned on this point said that this was not so and that they would use any suitable tree whether one that was useful or not. I was unable definitely to prove the point, as I did not see a single instance of tree-burial during my stay in the islands. A tree that is sometimes used for this purpose is the *Ficus laccifera*, which as we have seen has a special connection with the spirits of new-born children. On the coast, mangrove trees, such as the *Rhizophora* or *Bruguiera*, are said to be used.

765 When the burial is completed, whether in a grave or a tree, plumes made of shredded palm-leaf stem *koro* (*Aka-Jeru*) or *ara* (*Aka-Bea*) are attached near the graves to the branches of trees or shrubs or to sticks put up for the purpose. This is done, it is said, to show any native, who might inadvertently approach, that there has been a burial at the spot. The undergrowth is cleared for a short distance round the grave.

The men then return to the camp, where the women have been busy packing up all belongings. Plumes of shredded palm-leaf stem (*koro*) are put up at the entrance to the camp, to show chance visitors that there has been a death. The camp is then deserted, the natives moving to some other camping ground until the period of mourning is over, when they may, if they wish, return to the deserted village. No one goes near the grave again until the period of mourning is over.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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In the case of very young children the burial ceremony is different. There is no general mourning of the whole camp. Only the father and mother and a few other relatives weep over the dead body. The head of the corpse is shaved and the body is decorated in the same way as that of an adult. The body is wrapped up in palm leaves (*Licuala*), the limbs being flexed. The fire is then removed from its customary place and a grave is dug there in the floor of the hut. In this the child's body is placed, the grave is filled in and the fire replaced above it. Not only is the camp not deserted, but there seems to be an obligation on the parents not to leave the place until the bones have been dug up, or at any rate for some weeks after the death. If the mother went away, the natives say, the baby would cry for its mother's milk. This is the custom of the Northern tribes. Referring to the Southern tribes, Mr Man says that the baby is buried beneath the fireplace and the camp is then deserted, the mother placing beside the grave a shell containing some milk squeezed from her breasts. Some of my informants of the Southern tribes (*Akar-Bale*, etc.) told me however that the camp would not be deserted in the case of the death of an infant, thus contradicting Mr Man's statement. As there was no opportunity of testing the point by reference to an actual case, it must be left as doubtful. In the Northern tribes when an older child dies the body is buried away from the camp, but the latter is not, at any rate in all instances, deserted, though the hut in which the death occurred may be destroyed and a new one built a short distance away. It is only in the case of the death of an adult that the camp is abandoned.

In connection with the burial of a baby beneath the hearth there is a belief that the soul of the dead baby may re-enter the mother and be born again. This would seem to be one of the reasons why the mother does not leave the camp when her baby dies.

Should a person die while on a visit, he or she is buried in the usual way and news of the death and place of burial is sent to the relatives. A stranger who dies or is killed is buried unceremoniously or is cast into the sea. Among the Northern tribes the body of such a one used in former days to be disposed

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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766 of by cutting it into pieces and burning it on a fire. The natives say that if this be done the 'blood' and the 'fat' of the dead man go up to the sky and this removes all danger to the living from the dead man. The blood of persons so burnt is seen in the sky at sunset. If a man were killed in a fight between two communities and his body remained with the enemy, they would dispose of it in this way. If the friends secured the body they would bury it in the usual way. It may be worthy of remark 766 that this custom of burning the bodies of slain enemies is 266 perhaps the real origin of the belief that the Andamanese are or were cannibals. We can well imagine that when, as must have often happened, sailors venturing to land on the islands have been killed and the survivors have seen the bodies of their companions cut up and placed on fires, they would readily conclude that they were witnessing a cannibal feast. There can be no doubt whatever that since the islands were occupied in 1858 the inhabitants have not practised cannibalism, and there is no good reason to suppose that they once followed the custom and then abandoned it.

764 The burial is conducted, if possible, on the day of the death. If it has to be deferred till the morrow all the inhabitants of the camp keep awake. The relatives sit round the corpse weeping at intervals, while some of the men take it in turn to sing songs during the hours of darkness. This, so they say, is to keep away the spirits that have caused the death, and so prevent them from further mischief. When a man or woman dies in the prime of [152] life after a short illness the friends and relatives often break out in anger which they express in different ways. A man will shout threats and curses at the spirits that he conceives to be responsible for the death of his friend. He may pick up his bow and discharge his arrows in all directions, or in some other way give expression to his angry feelings. On the occasion of a death in one of the *Akar-Balé* villages the relatives expressed their grief by cutting down a coconut tree that grew there.

765 The period of mourning for near relatives—parent, adult child, consort, brother or sister—lasts for several months. In the case of a young child only the parents mourn. The essentials

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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The essentials of mourning are (1) the use of clay (*odu*), and (2) abstention from certain foods, from dancing, and from the use of white clay (*tol*) and red paint. As stated above, every adult in the camp covers himself or herself with clay on the death of an adult member of the community, but when this wears off, or is washed off in the course of two or three days, it is not renewed. The near relatives retain this covering of clay for many weeks, constantly renewing it. The clay is smeared evenly over the body, and is not put on in patterns, as on other occasions. The relatives, but not the others, plaster some of the same clay on their heads. A widow mourning for her husband covers her whole head with a thick layer of clay, renewing it from time to time. For a lesser degree of mourning, the custom is to plaster clay on the forehead only. After some weeks or months of mourning, the near relatives discontinue the use of clay on their bodies, but retain a band of clay over the forehead as shown in Plates IX, X, and XVII. 765 302

The name of the clay thus used is *odu* in the Northern languages; and a mourner is called *aka-odu*. In the *Aka-Bea* language the name of the clay is *og* and the term for a mourner is *aka-og*.

During the period of mourning the name of the dead person is carefully avoided and no one uses it. If it is necessary to refer to the dead this is done by using some such phrase as "he who is buried by the big rock" or "he who is laid in the fig tree" or by mentioning the name of the place of burial. There is no prohibition against mentioning the name itself in other connections. Thus if a man were called *Buio*, from the name of a species of *Mucuna*, it is not necessary to avoid the word *buio* when speaking of the plant. Further if there is another person alive of the same name as the dead man it is not necessary to avoid the name in referring to the living individual. The custom is that a dead person must not be spoken of unless it is absolutely necessary, and then must not be spoken of by name. After the period of mourning is over the dead person may again be spoken of by name. 765 551

During the period of mourning a near relative of the deceased is never addressed or spoken of by name. There are certain 765

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

765 terms which are used for this purpose, being terms of address that can be substituted for the names that are avoided. Thus in the *Aka-J̌eru* language one such term is *Bọlok*, meaning "orphan," used in addressing or speaking of a person who has lately lost a parent. Another term of the same language is *Ropuč*, applicable to one who has lost a brother or sister. After the period of mourning is over the use of the personal name of the mourner is resumed.

765 784 During the period of mourning the near relatives of the deceased are required by custom to abstain from dancing and from using red paint or white clay. The white clay here referred to is that called *tọl* or *tọl-odu* in *Aka-J̌eru* and *tala-og* in *Aka-Bea*, and is used for decorating the body on ceremonial occasions, such as that of a big dance. Further, the mourners must abstain from eating certain foods. The customs with regard to the foods to be avoided are different in different parts. There is however the universal rule that coast-dwellers must not eat turtle, and jungle-dwellers must avoid pork. Other foods that are included amongst those to be avoided are dugong, certain fishes such as that called *komar* in *Aka-J̌eru*, and in some parts yams and honey.

765 The exact duration of the period of mourning is difficult to discover. It seems to vary considerably in different cases. In all cases it must last long enough for the flesh to decay from the bones. The proceedings at the end of mourning consist of (1) digging up the bones of the dead man or woman and (2) a dance in which all the mourners join. The bones are generally dug up by the men who performed the burial. They cover themselves with clay (*odu*) and proceed to the grave or tree and dig up or take down the bones and weep over them. These are then washed in the sea or a creek and are taken back to camp. Here they are received by the women who weep over them in their turn. The skull and jawbone are decorated with red paint and white clay, and each separately has a band of ornamental netting attached to it so that it may be worn around the neck. Additional ornament is frequently added in the form of strings of *Dentalium* or other shells. The skulls and jawbones of deceased relatives are preserved for a long time, and are worn

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

round the neck either in front or behind. The photograph in Plate XVIII shows a woman wearing the skull of her deceased sister. Like all their other possessions these relics are lent or exchanged, passing from one person to another, until sometimes a skull may be found in the possession of a man who does not know to whom it belonged. The other bones are also preserved. The limb bones are generally painted with red paint and white clay and are kept in the roof of the hut. They are not treasured as much as the skull and jaw, and are often mislaid. Thus, while every camp is sure to contain a number of skulls and jaw-bones it is comparatively rarely that the limb bones are to be found. The other bones are made into strings, such bones as those of the hand and foot being used as they are, while ribs and vertebrae are broken up into pieces of convenient size. The bones or pieces of bone are attached to a length of rope by means of thread and the string thus produced is often ornamented with the dried yellow skin of the *Dendrobium* and with shells. The whole is covered with red paint. These strings of bone are worn as cures for and preventives of illness. If a man has a head-ache, for instance, he will attach one of the strings round his head. They are in almost constant use in every camp and every man and woman is sure to possess one or two. The bones are made into strings by the female relatives of the deceased and are then given away as presents. 765

In the North Andaman the skull of a baby is preserved by enclosing it in a small basket just big enough to contain it, the top of the basket, which is narrower than the lower part, being only finished after the skull is placed inside, so that it cannot fall out and can only be removed by unfastening the rim of the basket. Mr Man states that children's skulls are not carried in baskets, except temporarily as when travelling, fishing, etc., but are preserved from injury by being entirely covered with string[1]. This applies only to the tribes of the South and Middle Andaman.

At about the time that the bones are recovered there takes place a special ceremony referred to as "taking off the clay" or 764 535

[1] Man, *loc. cit.* p. 143.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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765 535 "the shedding of tears." The object of this ceremony is to release the mourners from the restrictions that they have had to observe. The ceremony takes place in the evening, and an occasion is chosen when there are plenty of people in the camp. The mourners, male and female, remove the *odu* clay from their foreheads and decorate themselves with red paint and white clay in the way described in connection with dancing. They also put on what ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf or netting and *Dentalium* shell they may possess or be able to borrow. When all the members of the camp are assembled around the dancing ground one of the male mourners takes his stand at the sounding-board and sings a song. This song does not refer in any way to the dead man or woman; it is just an ordinary song of hunting or canoe-cutting or any other subject, though it may have been specially composed for the occasion. Those women who are not in mourning sit near the singer and take up the chorus. When the song is fairly started the mourners, male and female, begin to dance. There is nothing special about the dance, which is exactly like any other dance. After dancing for a short time the mourners seat themselves at one end of the dancing ground and their friends begin to weep and wail. Everybody present joins in the lamentation until they are tired. The mourners then rise and again dance. After a time the women retire and seat themselves with the chorus, but the men continue the dance (in which they are joined by the other men present), till they are tired, which often means till near dawn. After this ceremony the mourners are free to eat any of the foods up till then forbidden, and are free once more to use red paint and white clay and to take their part in all dances and other festivities.

262 It has been seen from the preceding descriptions that the Andamanese have a number of ritual customs relating to food. There are certain occasions in the life of every individual when he or she must abstain from eating certain foods. A person mourning for the death of a relative is subjected to restrictions of this kind, and so are the parents of a new-born child for a short period before and after the birth. A woman must not eat certain things when she is menstruating. Restrictions

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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PLATE IX

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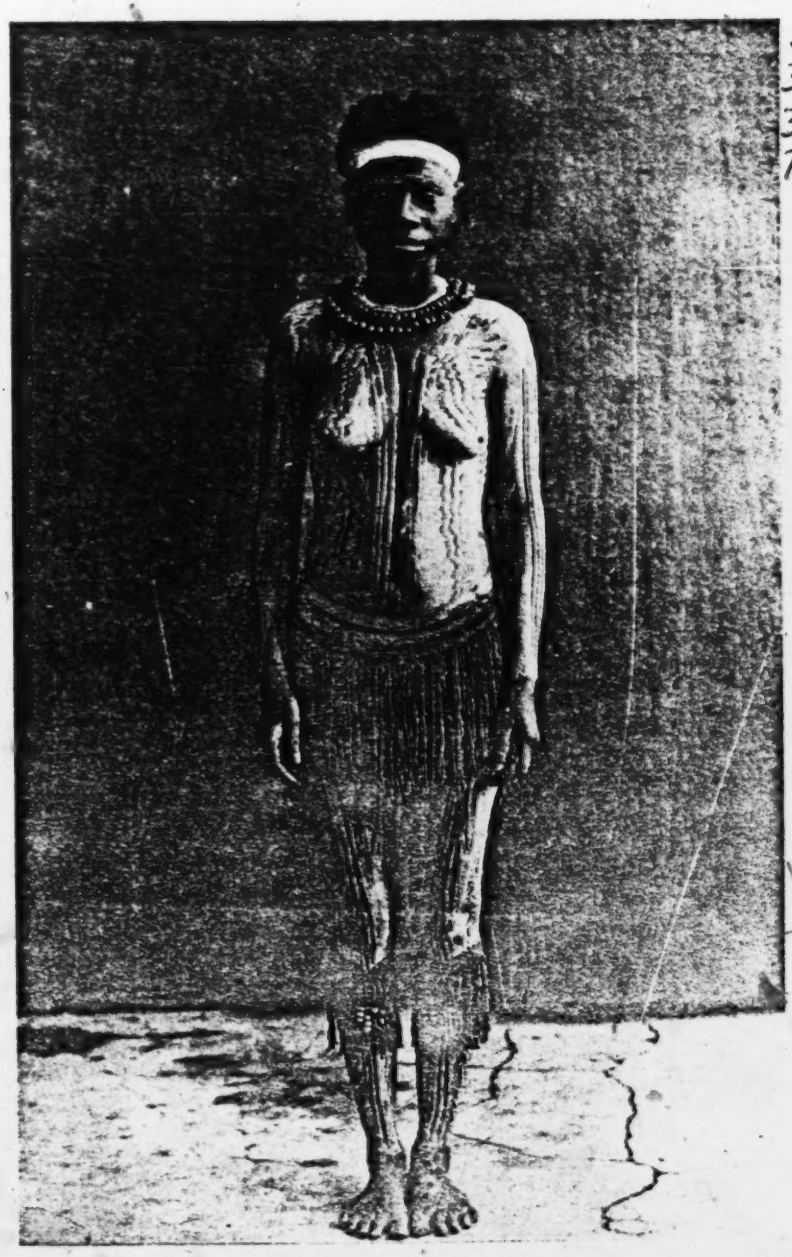

Woman decorated with *odu* clay

[p. 120A]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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PLATE X

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Woman decorated with *odu* clay

[p. 120B]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE XVIII

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A girl wearing her sister's skull

[Facing p. 132]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

taneously expressing one and the same emotion[1]. The little ceremony thus serves to dispel the initial feeling of shyness and to reinstate the condition of intimacy and affection that existed before the separation.

In the peace-making ceremony the purpose of the whole rite is to abolish a condition of enmity and replace it by one of friendship. The once friendly relations between the two groups have been interrupted by a longer or shorter period of antagonism. We have seen that the effect of the dance is to dispel the wrath of the one group by giving it free expression. The weeping that follows is the renewal of the friendship. The rite is here exactly parallel to that on the meeting of two friends, except that not two individuals but two groups are concerned, and that owing to the number of persons involved the emotional condition is one of much greater intensity[2]. Here therefore also we see that the rite is an affirmation of solidarity or social union, in this instance between the groups, and that the rule is in its nature such as to make the participants feel that they are bound to each other by ties of friendship.

We now come to a more difficult example of the rite, that at the end of mourning. It will be shown later in the chapter that during the period of mourning the mourners are cut off from the ordinary life of the community. By reason of the ties that still bind them to the dead person they are placed, as it were, outside the society and the bonds that unite them to their group are temporarily loosened. At the end of the mourning period they re-enter the society and take up once more their place in the social life. Their return to the community is the occasion on which they and their friends weep together. In this instance also, therefore, the rite may be explained as having for its purpose the renewal of the social relations that have been interrupted. This explanation will seem more convincing when we have considered in detail the customs of mourning. If it be accepted, then it

[1] Active sympathy, the habitual sharing of joyful and painful emotions, is of the utmost importance in the formation of sentiments of personal attachment.

[2] It is a commonplace of psychology that a collective emotion, i.e. one felt and expressed at the same moment by a number of persons, is felt much more intensely than an unshared emotion of the same kind.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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may be seen that in the first three instances of the rite of weeping (those in which the action is reciprocal) we have conditions in which social relations that have been interrupted are about to be renewed, and the rite serves as a ceremony of aggregation. 182x 765 201

Let us now consider the second variety of the rite, and first of all its meaning as part of the ceremony of marriage. By marriage the social bonds that have to that time united the bride and bridegroom to their respective relatives, particularly their female relatives such as mother, mother's sister, father's sister and adopted mother, are modified. The unmarried youth or girl is in a position of dependence upon his or her older relatives, and by the marriage this dependence is partly abolished. Whereas the principal duties of the bride were formerly those towards her mother and older female relatives, henceforth her chief duties in life will be towards her husband. The position of the bridegroom is similar, and it must be noted that his social relations with his male relatives are less affected by his marriage than those with his female relatives. Yet, though the ties that have bound the bride and bridegroom to their relatives are about to be modified or partially destroyed by the new ties of marriage with its new duties and rights they will still continue to exist in a weakened and changed condition. The rite of weeping is the expression of this. It serves to make real (by feeling), in those taking part in it, the presence of the social ties that are being modified. 182x 201 585

When the mother of the bride or bridegroom weeps at a marriage she feels that her son or daughter is being taken from her care. She has the sorrow of a partial separation and she consoles herself by expressing in the rite her continued feeling of tenderness and affection towards him in the new condition that he is entering upon. For her the chief result of the rite is to make her feel that her child is still an object of her affection, still bound to her by close ties, in spite of the fact that he or she is being taken from her care.

Exactly the same explanation holds with regard to the weeping at the initiation ceremonies. By these ceremonies the youth (or girl) is gradually withdrawn from a condition of dependence on his mother and older female relatives and is made an independent 182x 201 881

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

X 182 201 881

member of the community. The initiation is a long process that is only completed by marriage. At every stage of the lengthy ceremonies therefore, the social ties that unite the initiate to these relatives are modified or weakened, and the rite of weeping is the means by which the significance of the change is impressed upon those taking part in it. For the mother the weeping expresses her resignation at her necessary loss, and acts as a consolation by making her feel that her son is still hers, though now being withdrawn from her care. For the boy the rite has a different meaning. He realises that he is no longer merely a child, dependent upon his mother, but is now entering upon manhood. His former feelings towards his mother must be modified. That he is being separated from her is, for him, the most important aspect of the matter, and therefore while she weeps he must give no sign of tenderness in return but must sit passive and silent. So also in the marriage ceremony, the rite serves to impress upon the young man and woman that they are, by reason of the new ties that they are forming with one another, severing their ties with their families.

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When a person dies the social bonds that unite him to the survivors are profoundly modified. They are not in an instant utterly destroyed, as we shall see better when we deal with the funeral and mourning customs, for the friends and relatives still feel towards the dead person that affection in which they held him when alive, and this has now become a source of deep grief. It is this affection still binding them to him that they express in the rite of weeping over the corpse. Here rite and natural expression of emotion coincide, but it must be noted that the weeping is obligatory, a matter of duty. In this instance, then, the rite is similar to that at marriage and initiation. The man is by death cut off from the society to which he belonged, and from association with his friends, but the latter still feel towards him that attachment that bound them together while he lived, and it is this attachment that they express when they embrace the lifeless corpse and weep over it.

There remains only one more instance of the rite to be considered. When the period of mourning for a dead person is over and the bones are recovered the modification in the relations

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

between the dead and the living, which begins at death, and is, as we shall see, carried out by the mourning customs and ceremonies, is finally accomplished. The dead person is now entirely cut off from the world of the living, save that his bones are to be treasured as relics and amulets. The weeping over the bones must be taken, I think, as a rite of aggregation whereby the bones as representative of the dead person (all that is left of him) are received back into the society henceforth to fill a special place in the social life. It really constitutes a renewal of social relations with the dead person, after a period during which all active social relations have been interrupted owing to the danger in all contact between the living and the dead. By the rite the affection that was once felt towards the dead person is revived and is now directed to the skeletal relics of the man or woman that once was their object. If this explanation seem unsatisfactory, I would ask the reader to suspend his judgment until the funeral customs of the Andamans have been discussed, and then to return to this point. 182* 201 765

The proffered explanation of the rite of weeping should now be plain. I regard it as being the affirmation of a bond of social solidarity between those taking part in it, and as producing in them a realisation of that bond by arousing the sentiment of attachment. In some instances the rite therefore serves to renew social relations when they have been interrupted, and in such instances the rite is reciprocal. In others it serves to show the continued existence of the social bond when it is being weakened or modified, as by marriage, initiation or death. In all instances we may say that the purpose of the rite is to bring about a new state of the affective dispositions that regulate the conduct of persons to one another, either by reviving sentiments that have lain dormant, or producing a recognition of a change in the condition of personal relations. 182* 201

The study of these simple ceremonies has shown us several things of importance. (1) In every instance the ceremony is the expression of an affective state of mind shared by two or more persons. Thus the weeping rite expresses feelings of solidarity, the exchange of presents expresses good-will. (2) But the ceremonies are not spontaneous expressions of feeling; they are all 182*

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

X 182 764

good-will and regard of others, and it is applied to the dead body with exactly the same meaning. Fire and water are placed beside the grave. It is not necessary to suppose that the Andamanese believe that the spirit of the dead man makes any use of these, any more than it is necessary for us to believe that the spirit enjoys the flowers that it is our custom to place upon the grave. The action in each case is symbolical.

X 182 765

The dead man was bound by ties of solidarity to those still living. Now that he is dead those ties have not ceased to exist, but continue until the society has recovered from the effects of the death, for they are based on deep-seated and elaborately organised sentiments. I believe that the mourning customs of the Andamanese are to be explained on this basis, as being the means by which the social sentiments of the survivors are slowly reorganised and adapted to the new condition produced by the death. The severance of the dead man from the society is not a sudden but a gradual process, during which his relatives and friends, being still attached to him by social ties, are in an abnormal condition which may be defined as a partial separation from the world of living men and women and a partial aggregation to the world of the dead (i.e. the spirit world). This abnormal condition of the mourner is shown chiefly in his or her withdrawal from participation in the ordinary life of the society. We have seen that the eating of food is, for the Andamanese, one of the most important of social actions, a kind of communion of the society, and that during the period of adolescence a youth is separated or withdrawn from the common life of the group by being forbidden to eat certain foods. So, in strict conformity with the same set of notions, the mourner is separated from the normal life of the society by being forbidden to eat pork or turtle, these being the most important foods that the Andamanese have[1]. Like the *aka-op*, also, the mourner is

[1] In a number of tribes of Western Australia I found an exactly similar custom. It was formerly the rule that after the death of a near relative the mourner must abstain from eating kangaroo, that being the largest game animal. Since the establishment of sheep stations in their country, with the consequent great decrease in numbers of the kangaroo, it has come about that the animal which now provides their most important supply of meat is the sheep, and the modern rule is that a mourner must not eat mutton.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

forbidden to take part in a dance, or to decorate himself with red paint and white clay, for by these actions the Andaman Islander becomes conscious of his position as a member of a closely unified group, and it is necessary for the mourner, as for the *aka-op*, to feel that for the time being he is cut off from the ordinary life of the group. The disuse, during the period of mourning, of the name of a mourner is to be explained, as we shall see more plainly later, on the same principle, the personal name being what marks the person's position in the social life, so that the temporary dropping of the name shows that for the time being the person is not occupying his normal social position.

182x 765

The distinctive sign of a mourner is the use of clay, which is smeared over the body and head, and from the name of this clay is derived the term that denotes a mourner (*aka-odu*). It is possible to explain this also as a symbolic expression of the separation of the mourner from the world of living men and his aggregation to the world of the dead. In his everyday life the Andaman Islander is black from head to foot. During mourning he turns himself as nearly as possible white from head to foot, by covering his body all over with clay. It must be remembered that the spirits of the dead are said to be white or light in colour. This is undoubtedly one of the reasons why the (light-coloured) natives of India are called spirits (*Lau*), while men of such a dark-coloured race as the African negroes are not referred to by this term. The use of clay would therefore seem to serve not only to make the mourner unlike his ordinary self, but to make him like the spirits of the dead.

Of course, the natives explain all these customs of mourning as being expressions of sorrow for their loss, and this is, from the simple standpoint of everyday life, an adequate and true explanation. From the standpoint of psychology, however, what we need to know is why the sorrow is expressed in just these ways and no others. Moreover, the natives give as a further reason for the mourning customs that if they did not observe them they would be liable to sickness or even death.

I have said that the Andamanese believe that by death a man or woman becomes a *Lau*, but there is a little uncertainty

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1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

X/182 in the statements of the natives as to whether he becomes a
●165 spirit at once, immediately after the death, or whether he does
775 so only after the flesh of the body has decayed. Both statements are sometimes made, but it seems common to think of the dead person during the period of mourning not as a spirit (*Lau*) but as a dead man (*empilo*). We may best express the ideas of the natives by saying that the process by which a man becomes a spirit is one that takes some months to complete, and is only ended when the bones are dug up. An interesting insight into their notions in this matter is afforded by a belief, about which unfortunately I have very scanty information, to the effect that when a man dies he is initiated into the world of the dead by a ceremony resembling the ceremonies by which a youth is initiated into manhood. In the statement of an *Aka-Kede* informant the ceremony was spoken of by the term *kimil*, which is generally used for the initiation ceremonies, and was described as a *poṛoto-kimil*, i.e., a ceremony in which the dead man ate *poṛoto* (*Caryota sobolifera*) in just the same way that a youth eats turtle (*čokbi*) at the *čokbi-kimil*. There is independent evidence that there is a special connection between the spirits of the dead and the *Caryota* palm[1].

X/182 The description of this ceremony (of initiation into the world
824 of the dead) that was given to me stated that in it the shredded
784 fibre named *koṛo* was used in just the same way as the leaves of the *Hibiscus* are used in the turtle-eating ceremony. Further, as in the peace-making ceremony men stand against a suspended cane from which depend bunches of this same *koṛo*, so in the initiation into the spirit world the initiate has to stand against the rainbow while the dancing spirits shake it and him. It is this shaking of the rainbow (according to my informant) that causes earthquakes. It may be recalled that the rainbow is regarded as a sort of bridge between this world and the spirit world, and that its name is "the spirit's cane," so that it would seem that it is regarded as like a cane with *koṛo* fibre suspended from it, such as is used in the peace-making ceremony.

The explanation of the use of this *koṛo* fibre was postponed earlier in the chapter, and may well be undertaken here. It serves

[1] Page 171.

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so came to be used both as a covering for women and also as a sign of warning at the grave and the village that has been visited by death[1].

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To return from this digression to the question of the initiation of the dead man into the world of spirits, it is clear that since such ceremonies take time to accomplish there is a period during which the dead man is in an indeterminate position; he is no longer a member of the society of the living, and has not yet become a member of the society of the dead. As long as he is thus situated his relatives and friends are still attached to him, so that he still remains as it were in partial contact with the living. During this time the society is still suffering the ill effects of the death, and the process of readjustment by means of the customs of mourning is still taking place. At the end of it the dead man becomes completely absorbed in the spirit world, and as a spirit he has no more part in or influence over the social life than any other spirit, and the mourning is brought to a close by means of a ceremony.

X 182
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This ceremony has two parts. One is the recovery of the bones and their reaggregation to the society, a rite which we may regard as the final settling of the dead man in his proper place. All that is left of him, who was once a source of strength to the community, who had once—as it is here expressed—a social value, are the bones, his name, and the memory of him that his friends retain. We may suppose that the bones still have something of the value that originally attached to their owner, and indeed it is evident that they have, for after they are recovered they are affectionately treasured as relics by the relatives. By the end of the period of mourning the painful feelings aroused by the death have died down, so that the dead man is now the object only of memories that are pleasant, or, at the worst, bittersweet. The bones, then, are visible evidences of the fact that the society has recovered from the disruptive shock of the death, and this is why they are dug up as soon as the recovery is complete, or rather in order to complete it, and are thereafter treasured.

[1] The brakes formed by the cane (*bido*) from the leaves of which the *koro* fibre is obtained seem to be regarded as lurking places of the spirits. The natives often speak of the *Bido-tei-lau* (*Calamus* leaf spirits).

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It should now be clear why the Andamanese attribute to the bones of dead persons the power to protect them from unseen dangers. Like the bones of animals that have been eaten they are visible and wearable signs of past dangers overcome through the protective action of the society itself, and are therefore a guarantee of similar protection in the future. And as the death of a member is an enormously more important event for the community than the mere killing and eating of a dugong, so an enormously greater protective power is attributed to the human bones than to those of any animal.

The bones, then, are dug up, and brought into camp, where they are wept over just as a friend who has been absent is wept over. All that is left of the former person returns to the social life, henceforward to occupy a definite place in it, and the weeping is the rite of aggregation, the expression of the attachment of those who weep to the bones that now return to them from the grave. The skull and jawbone and the long bones are then decorated with red paint and white clay, this being the way in which the relatives express their sense of the value of them. The other bones are made up into strings and distributed to be used on occasion as amulets.

Soon after the digging up of the bones the other part of the ceremony of the end of mourning takes place. We have seen that while the dead man was in an indeterminate position his relatives were still attached to him by social bonds, but now that he has finally become a spirit, and is for ever definitely cut off from the human society, these bonds cease to exist. The mourners, therefore, who have been cut off from the normal social life are free to return to it and even if they should not so desire, yet it is their duty to do so. The return of the mourners to the society is marked by a dance. The clay that has marked their condition is taken off, and they are decorated with white clay and red paint and all the ornaments usual on ceremonial occasions. Thus decorated they dance, the women on this occasion being required to dance as well as the men. The dance is interrupted shortly after it is begun in order that those who have not been mourning may weep with the mourners. The weeping, according to the explanation at the beginning of the chapter is a rite of aggregation by

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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X 182 765 which the mourners are welcomed back to the society, just as returning friends are welcomed after an absence. It has nothing whatever to do, I believe, with the dead person for whom they have been mourning, but is merely an expression of solidarity between those still alive. Dancing and the decorations used in the dance, I have argued, are means by which the society expresses its own unity, and makes the individual realise what it means to be one of a group, so that in this dance we see the society once more coming together to continue its common life, and compelling those who have been cut off from it to feel, even against their inclinations, that they have become once more units of the social body. After this ceremony the mourners are relieved from the restrictions to which they were subjected.

X 182 765 773 551 In order to complete this discussion of the burial customs it is necessary to explain why a person's name should be dropped from use after his death, and although this will require a digression of some length, this seems the most convenient point at which to deal with it. There is a very special relation between the name of anything and its fundamental characteristics, which in logic we describe by saying that the latter are included in the connotation of the name. The way in which the Andamanese represent this relation to themselves is shown in one of the legends. At a time when the ancestors did not know either the names or the uses of the different objects to be found in their country, one of them, *Da Teyat* by name, walked through the forest enquiring of the objects he met what were their names. From most of them he received no reply, but the yam and the resin replied to him and gave him their names. The legend shows that as soon as the hero of the tale knew the name of the yam he immediately knew that it was of use as a food and that it required to be cooked in a particular way, although he was till then ignorant of those important properties. Similarly, having discovered the name of the resin he knew that it could be made into a torch and so used to give light.

X 182 551 There is, to the mind of the Andaman Islander, a somewhat similar and very important connection between a person's name and what is here called his social personality, and this is exhibited in the customs whereby the name is avoided on certain

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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X 182 551 585 least before the married couple can be expected to have settled down in their new positions. For these days, therefore, their names are not used. The same sort of explanation will hold for the custom of dropping the names of a father and mother before and after the birth of a child, particularly the first born.

X 182 551 881 At the turtle-eating ceremony of the North Andaman coast-dwellers the youth is given a new name. It is possible that a girl is also given a new name at this time, and that another name is also given to the youth at the pig-eating ceremony, but on these points I neglected to make sufficient enquiry. The name given at the turtle-eating ceremony is never used and is not likely to be known except to those who were present at the ceremony, and therefore serves no such purpose as the flower-name of the girl. The giving of the name is simply the mark of the change of social personality brought about by the ceremony. The youth receives an addition to his personality and therefore receives an additional name. It is significant that all the names given at this ceremony have reference to the sea and to things of the sea, particularly to turtle, such as *Čokbi-čiro*, turtle-liver, *Čokbi-ici*, turtle-blood, etc.

X 182 551 765 During the period of mourning, when, as we have seen, the mourner is withdrawn from the ordinary life of the society, his name is not used, showing that during this period his social personality is in a state of partial suppression. After the mourning period is over the mourner, when he resumes his social personality, resumes at the same time his name.

Now death is the most fundamental modification of the social personality that is possible and therefore the name of a person recently dead is strictly avoided. Death, however, does not destroy the social personality utterly and for ever, but produces in it a profound change, which begins at the death itself and is only completed at the end of and by means of the customs of mourning. After the mourning is over the virtues of the dead man affect the survivors through memory, and his bones form a precious possession of the community, thus constituting for him a new social value, a new personality. During the period of change, while the personality does not exist in the same form as before the death, but does not yet exist in the form in which

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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it will when he lives only in the memory of his friends, the name is not used. After the mourning period is over the name may again be used. 182 551 765

In general then, it may be said that at any period in which a person is undergoing a critical change in his condition in so far as it affects the society his name falls out of use, to be resumed when the period of change is over. The reason for this is that during such periods of change the social personality is suppressed or latent and therefore the name which is closely associated with the social personality must be suppressed also.

The customs of burial and mourning are therefore seen to be not simply the result of natural feelings of fear and sorrow but ritual actions performed under a sense of obligation and strictly regulated by tradition. They are means by which the society acts upon its members, compelling them to feel emotions appropriate to the occasion. Since the dead person has, by his death, become a cause of social disruption, all contact with him must be avoided. But the dead man had a certain value to the society, and as a thing of any kind cannot be valued unless its loss is felt as a source of pain, so if the community did not mourn when it lost one of its members that feeling of the social value of individuals on which the existence of the society depends would soon diminish in strength, thereby weakening the social cohesion.

It is now possible for us to understand the Andamanese beliefs about the spirits. The basis of these beliefs, I wish to maintain, is the fact that at the death of an individual his social personality (as defined above) is not annihilated, but is suddenly changed. This continuance after death is a fact of immediate experience to the Andaman Islanders and not in any way a deduction. The person has not ceased to exist. For one thing his body is still there. But above all he is still the object of the social sentiments of the survivors, and thereby he continues to act upon the society. The removal of a member of the group is felt not as something negative but as the positive cause of great social disturbance. 182x 775

The spirits are feared or regarded as dangerous. The basis of this fear is the fact that the spirit (i.e. the social personality of a person recently dead) is obviously a source of weakness and disruption to the community, affecting the survivors through their

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

highly coloured, and failed, therefore, in imposing on the almost 114
excusable credulity which existed at a time when next to nothing of a trustworthy nature was known concerning these savages.

22. With regard to a deceased husband's property, the widow 768
disposes of everything, which she does not require for her personal use, among his male relatives.

23. It seems superfluous to add that no such custom as 764
suttee prevails or has ever been known to exist among them.

Death and Burial.—1. Amongst other erroneous opinions held 763
regarding these tribes is that which declares that "no lamentation is publicly made at death," whereas, in point of fact, the demonstrations of grief on such occasions are generally excessive, and are shared, in a greater or less degree, by every member of the community in which the melancholy event occurs.

2. In the case of an infant, the parents and relatives remain 765
weeping for hours beside the corpse; afterwards they smear 766
their persons with a wash composed of *ōg-* (the common olive-coloured clay) and water, and, after shaving their heads, place a lump of the same, called *del·a-*, just above their foreheads,[1] where it hardens, and is left, much to the individual's discomfort, until the expiration of the days of mourning;[2] should it fall off in the meantime it is renewed.

3. The burial usually takes place within 18 hours of the 766
decease, which time is spent by the mother in painting the head, neck, wrists, and knees of her dead child with *kòi·ob-* and *tâ·la-ōg-*; she also shaves off the hair, and folds the little limbs so as to occupy the least possible space,[3] the knees being brought up to the chin and the fists close to the shoulders; the body is then enveloped in large leaves, called *kâ·pa-*,[4] which are secured with cords or strips of cane. The father meantime employs himself in digging a grave with an adze (*wō·lo-*[5]), in the place where his hut fire usually burns; when all is prepared the little head is uncovered, and the parents gently blow upon the face

fishing, which, as they seem to indicate a Munchausen-like facility of exaggeration in the narrator we decline to repeat" (Mouat).

[1] This applies to men, for women usually place the *del·a-* on the top of the head. It is worn by neither sex until after they have attained maturity, and only for a father, mother, husband, wife, brother, sister, son, or daughter, the *ōg-* wash alone being deemed sufficient "mourning" in the case of other relatives or friends.

[2] The term *â·kà-ōg-* is therefore applied to mourners, since they are prohibited from the use of *kòi·ob-*.

[3] "If we knew no further details as to the opinions of the intellectually gifted Hottentots, formerly so greatly underrated, it would be enough that, previous to burial, they place the body of the deceased in the same position which it once occupied as an embryo in the mother's womb" (Peschel).

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 74.

[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 15.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

766 two or three times in token of farewell;[1] then, replacing the leaves, they put the corpse into the grave in a sitting posture, and fill in and level the earth; next, having procured a quantity of the young leaves of the common jungle cane, they split them and make long fringe-like wreaths, called *â·ra-*,[2] which they fasten to the trees surrounding the hut, or encircling the entire camping ground, the object being to apprise any stranger or friend who might chance to visit the spot, that a death has recently occurred, and that they would therefore do well to keep away.

[775] 4. After suspending the *â·ra-* the fire is rekindled and the mother places a shell containing some of her own milk beside the grave, obviously in order that the child's spirit, which is believed to haunt its late home for a few days, may not lack nourishment. All in the encampment then pack up those things which are mostly needed and depart to some other camping ground,[3] generally not less than two or three miles distant, where they at once construct huts, usually of the description called *chàng-tô·rnga-*,[4] to serve as shelter during the mourning period, which as a rule lasts about three months; and during which the parents and relatives, naturally enough, refrain from 262 taking any part in the festivities occurring among their neighbours. While mourning it is customary for the *ē·rem-tâ·ga-* to ●765 abstain from pork, and for the *àryô·to-* to deny themselves turtle as well as other luxuries, in token of the sincerity of their grief, but they never mutilate themselves by cutting off joints of their fingers, &c., as do the Hottentots and the Papuans of the Fiji Islands, nor have they, as has been erroneously asserted in Dr. Day's paper, daily, during periods of deep sorrow, to throw honey-comb, if obtainable, into the fire.[5]

5. At the expiration of the time mutually agreed upon, they all return to the deserted encampment and remove and destroy the *â·ra-*. The parents then exhume the remains, which are taken by the father to the sea-shore, or the nearest creek, there to be cleansed[6] from all putrefying matter: this done, he brings

[1] *Vide* ceremony at parting (*post*, "Meeting and Parting," paragraph 6).

[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 73.

[3] Similarly do the Koi-Koin (Hottentots) "break up their kraals after every case of death, to avoid the proximity of the grave" (Peschel).

[4] *Vide* "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xi, p. 283, and *ante*, "Habitations," paragraph 3.

[5] The practice here referred to is evidently that of burning beeswax (not honey-comb), the object of which will shortly be explained under "Superstitions," paragraph 13, and is not that here stated.

[6] This repulsive duty is always performed by one of the near *male* relatives of a deceased person. Dr. Day was led to believe that "the extraction of the skull and bones, it is considered, requires great skill and courage," but experience and the statements of all those aborigines who have been questioned on the subject, do not bear out this view.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

the skull and bones back to his hut and breaks up the latter into small pieces suitable for necklaces.[1] The mother, after painting the skull with *kòi·ob-*, and decorating it with small shells attached to pieces of string, hangs it round her neck with a netted chain, called *râb-*.[2] After the first few days her husband often relieves her by wearing it himself. Infants' skulls, being fragile, are generally preserved carefully from risk of injury by being entirely covered with string, but (except temporarily as when travelling, fishing, &c.) these souvenirs are not carried about in a basket. The next few days are spent by the mother in converting the bones into necklaces, called *chàu·ga-tâ-*, and when several have been made, she and her husband pay visits to their friends, among whom they distribute these mementoes, together with any of the pieces that may remain over, in order that they may make additional necklets for themselves. 765

6. Before this distribution takes place, it should be mentioned that the mourners remove from their heads the lump of clay placed there on the day of the child's death; the wife also paints her husband's neck, waist, wrists, and knees with *kòi·ob-* and further adorns him with a stripe of the same compound from his throat to his navel, and afterwards decorates herself in a similar manner. [302]

7. All due preparations having thus been made, the friends assemble round the hut to pay their final visit of condolence; whereupon the bereaved father sings some old song of his, which he last sang, perchance, with his little one alive and well in his arms, on which all except himself express their grief and sympathy by breaking out into loud lamentations. The chorus of the song is chanted by the women while the parents perform a dance which goes by the name of *t'ī-tô·latnga-* (*lit.*, the shedding of tears); when wearied with their exertions they retire to their hut, and cease from any further display of sorrow, whereupon their friends generally take up and continue the melancholy dance and song for many hours, the women being then joined by the men, who, till this stage of the proceedings, have merely acted the part of spectators. It should be explained that the character of this dance does not differ from that which is customary at a wedding or other occasion of rejoicing, except in the doleful appearance of the performers. 765 535

8. On the death of an adult and others, the relatives (as in the case of an infant) smear themselves with *ōg-* and place a lump of the clay on their heads, where it must remain until the *t'ī-tô·latnga-*; any necklaces, waistbelts, &c., which the deceased was wearing are removed; women then paint the 764

[1] *Vide* Appendix B. item 44.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B item 42.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

of sticks and boughs, about 8 to 12 feet above the ground, generally between the forked branches of some large tree,[1] and to it the body is lashed. The head is raised slightly, looking eastward, and, though the position of the arms is not altered, the cords are loosened to allow of the legs being straightened, after which the leaves are re-adjusted, so as to cover the entire form, in order to protect it from the attacks of hawks, crows, and vermin. 764

14. Two reasons are given for the practice of placing the corpse with the face towards the rising sun: one being that dissolution may thereby be hastened, the other that *jereg-* or Hades, whither the souls of the departed flee, is situated in the east. [775]

15. The mourners take a last farewell in the manner before described, and fulfil the remaining duties, as related in the former case. The spirit of the deceased being supposed to haunt not only the spot where he has been buried, but also the encampment where the death occurred, the community migrate temporarily to another camping ground immediately after the return of the funeral party, leaving the *ā·ra-* to witness to casual visitors of the cause of their absence. 765

16. When the period of mourning has expired, the men who assisted in the funeral rites return to the place of burial, destroy the *ā·ra-*, and remove the remains of the deceased to the sea-shore, or to a creek, where the bones are cleaned and afterwards conveyed to the old encampment, whither they all return and restore their camp to its normal condition.

17. As all that has been related regarding the distribution of the bones of a child and the subsequent dance applies equally to all cases, further account of these ceremonies here is unnecessary; for fuller information anent the manufacture of the necklaces, &c., the reader is referred to an interesting paper by Dr. Allen Thomson, F.R.S., which will be found in the Journal of the Anthropological Institute for 1881.[2]

18. Although in the majority of cases the display of grief is thoroughly sincere, there is no doubt that they hope, by testifying to their sorrow in the various ways mentioned, to conciliate the spirits of the departed, and to be by them preserved from many misfortunes which might otherwise befall them.[3]

19. In the case of a young married couple who are childless, if either die, the survivor is not the chief mourner, and does not even assist at the obsequies, which are performed solely by

[1] They are careful not to select a fruit-tree, or one used for the manufacture of their canoes, bows, and other implements.

[2] *Vide* "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xi, p. 295.

[3] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 24.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

765 the relatives of the deceased, one of whom subsequently takes possession of the skull, and wears it until he (or she) chooses to part with it, or is asked to do so by another member of the family. It should here be stated that it is by no means obligatory upon the survivor of an elderly couple, or any relative, to carry the bones or skull of the deceased for a lengthened period:[1] except in the event of marrying a brother, sister, or cousin of the deceased, these relics can be given at any time to a friend who may ask for them; thus it not unfrequently happens that the remains of one who was a chief or a favourite in his day, are scattered far and wide among his admirers, but when in course of time they get mislaid or broken, the owner is often easily reconciled to his loss, or makes it good by procuring similar mementoes of another and more recently departed friend.

20. It may be said that as a rule no adult is without at least one *chàu·ga-tâ-* (*i.e.*, a human bone necklace), and the skulls, which are generally to be found in every encampment, are worn by each in turn, if only for a few hours.

[764] 21. The only difference made on the occasion of the death of a chief, his wife, or one of his near relatives, is that *all* the men and lads of the encampment smear themselves with *ōg-*, and attend the funeral; the relations alone, however, are the mourners during the succeeding weeks or months which intervene before the *t'ī-tô·latnga-*, though, as a token of respect for the deceased, and of sympathy with the mourners, other members of the tribe often abstain from some favourite article of food, and take no part in festivities during the same period.

22. If a member of another tribe happen to die while on a visit, the body would be disposed of in one of the modes I have endeavoured to describe, after which intimation would be sent to the friends of the deceased, so that they might know where to seek for the skeleton when the time for disinterment should arrive.

766 23. The body of an enemy, stranger, or captive child would be thrown into the sea, or buried *sans cérémonie*, as the bones would
761 never be in request.

24. A sudden death is at once attributed to the malign influence of *.ē·rem-chàu·gala*, if the deceased had been recently in the jungles, or to *jū·ru-win-*, if he had been on the sea; in either case one of the male relatives of the victim, representing the feelings of the community, approaches the spot where the body

[1] I mention this more especially as the erroneous statement made by some early writer, that "a widow wears her husband's skull suspended round her neck for the rest of her life," has been repeated in more recent accounts, and hitherto remains unquestioned.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Plate E.

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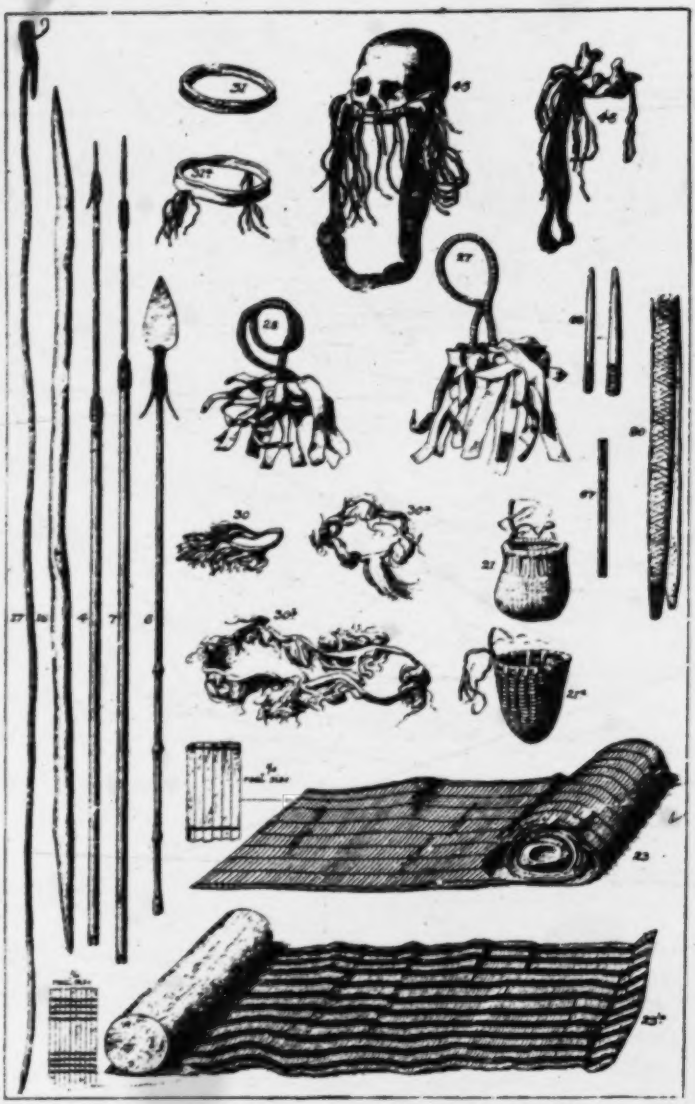

ANDAMANESE OBJECTS

[facing p. 186]

The "womb-name" is called the *teng-l'ar-ula* and on the child being born, the words distinguishing sex by the genitals, *ota*, male, and *kato*, female, are prefixed to it in babyhood. The women's "flower name" precedes the *teng-l'ar-ula* till motherhood or advancing years, but is often used alone. As the "flower names" are of much interest, the following list of them is given in the Bea language. There are eleven of them and flowers, regarded as identical by the Andamanese, belong to trees sometimes of quite different species: a mistake that is made by peoples of much higher mental development. 551

Flower name.	Tree.	Flowering month.
Moda	(1) Semecarpus (Sp.) (2) Odina wodier	March.
Ora	Chickrassia tabularis	March.
Jidga	(1) Unidentified (2) Croton argyratus	April.
Yeri	Sterculia (Sp.)	April.
Pataka	(1) Meliorma simplicifolia (2) Terminalia procera	May.
Eache	(1) Eugenia (Sp.) (2) Rubiaceæ	June. July.
Chagara	Pterocarpus dalbergioides	August.
Charapa	Unidentified	September.
Chenra	Leea sambucina	October.
Yulu	(1) Unidentified (2) Eugenia (Sp.)	November.
Chilip	Diospyros densiflora	November, December, January and February.

The people are now ignorant of the origin of the flower names or of the cause of the selection of the trees above mentioned.

The honorifics *maia* and *mam* are prefixed out of respect to the name of elderly males and *chana* to all names of married women. Girls are addressed by the flower name and the elders by the honorific. Names are not much used in addressing, but chiefly for naming the absent or in calling.

Marriage Relations.—The Andamanese are monogamous, and by preference, but not necessarily, exogamous as regards sept and endogamous as regards tribe or more strictly group. Divorce is rare and unknown after the birth of a child, unfaithfulness after marriage which entails the murder of both the guilty parties if practicable is not common, and polyandry, polygamy, bigamy and incest are unknown. Marriages are not religious, but are attended with distinct ceremonies. Marriage after death of one party or divorce is usual. Before marriage free intercourse between the sexes within the exogamous limits is the rule, though some conventional precautions are taken to prevent it. 582

Portman tersely describes the marriage ceremony thus—

"When the elders of a sept are aware that a young couple are anxious to marry, the bride is taken to a newly made hut and made to sit down in it. The bridegroom runs away into the jungle, but after some struggling and pretence at hesitation, is brought in by force and made to sit in the bride's lap. This is the whole ceremony. The newly married couple have little to say to and are very shy of each other for at least a month after marriage, when they gradually settle down together." 585

Marriages are the business of parents or guardians and they have a right of betrothal of children, the betrothal being regarded as a marriage. Marital relations are somewhat complicated and quite as strictly observed as among civilised communities. Old books on this point generally ascribe bestiality and promiscuity to the race, but quite wrongly. 584

Death Ceremonies.—Deaths occasion loud lamentation from all connected with the deceased. Babies are buried under the floor of their parents' hut. Adults are either buried in a shallow grave, or, as an honour, tied up in a bundle and placed on a platform in a tree. Wreaths of cane leaves are then fastened conspicuously round the encampment, and it is deserted for about three months. Burial spots are also sufficiently well marked. Mourning is observed by smearing the head with grey clay and refraining from dancing for the above period. After some months the bones of the deceased are washed, broken up and made into ornaments, to which great importance is attached, as mementos of the deceased and as they are believed to stop pain and cure diseases by simple application to the diseased part. The skull is worn down the back tied round the 764 765

765 neck, usually, but not always, by the widow, widower or nearest relative. Mourning closes with a ceremonial dance and the removal of the clay. The ceremonies connected with the disposal of the dead are conventional, reverential and by no means without elaboration in detail.

V. Arts.

324 **Stone Implements.**—The only stone cutting implement known to the Andamanese is the quartz flake chipped off, never worked, and held between the fingers for shaving and tattooing, and shells and fish bones are used for the small blades of the peculiar adze of this people, and for arrow points, scraping and cutting. A *cyrena* valve is the ordinary knife and scraper. Hammers, anvils, hones, and oven-stones consist of natural stones. They have never made celts.

177 The ends of glass bottles for some years, and iron from wrecks for a long time past, have been substituted for the indigenous implements, when and where procurable. The object of the long series of murderous raids made by the inland Jarawas on the outlying parts of the Penal Settlement has now been proved to have been made in search for iron. The implements on the whole are coarsely and roughly made.

411 **Weapons.**—The weapons of the Andamanese are bow and arrow, harpoon, fish spear, pig spear, and they have never had any notion of poisoning the blades, which however sometimes inflict dangerous septic wounds from dirt, though as a rule they are kept bright as a matter of pride. Barbed arrows and harpoons with loose heads are used for catching and pulling up game in the jungles and marking where turtle or large fish are sinking.

Domestic Arts.—Excellent information with illustrations on the domestic and other arts of the Andamanese is to be found in a minutely accurate work, Man's *Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands.*

283 **String and Netting.**—String for nets and all purposes is twisted, often neatly, from the inner bark of creepers. Large nets of this string are made for driving turtle and hand-nets for prawns and small fish and for wallets. Stout cord is made from the inner bark of the *melochia velutina.* Whole, split and scraped canes are used as binders.

285 **Weaving.**—The weaving is good, neat and stout, and baskets and mats are thus well made from strips of canes.

323 **Pottery.**—The unglazed circular clay cooking pots with rounded or pointed bottoms, to the Andamanese very valuable, are built up by hand, sun-dried and then baked, but not thoroughly, in the fire. They are often encased in basket work for safety. Their manufacture, form and ornament are typical of the Stone Age generally.

322 **Wood and Cane work.**—Buckets are hollowed out of wood or cut from the joints of the bamboo. Canoes are hollowed out of whole trunks of light, soft timber by the adze without the use of fire, do not last long and are only fair sea boats. They are however capable of holding many people and a good deal of light cargo.

301 **Ornamentation, Personal and Domestic.**—The personal ornaments made are—bunches and strips of fibres and leaves scraped, cut and hammered, fringes of dentalium shells and straw-coloured wreaths of hammered and roasted dendrobium bark. The bones, skulls and jawbones of deceased relatives are also used whole, or broken and scraped to fancy or requirement, as ornaments, besides necklaces of the bones of animals. Tattooing and painting the body are only ornamental to the extent that, in the latter case especially, deviations from the conventional designs are due to personal taste.

353 The only ornaments to dwellings and huts are the heads of turtle, pigs, iguana, paradoxurus killed in hunting. These are hung up partly as ornaments and partly as trophies, but not with any idea of record.

531 Every manufactured article has its own customary conventional line ornament in one or more of three colours and in one or more of eleven patterns approximately achieved only. The colours are red, white and brown from natural earths. The patterns are (1) chevrons, (2) close cross hatch, (3) wide cross hatch, (4) parallel lines, (5) parallels and chevrons combined, (6) lozenges, (7) plait or guilloche, (8) herring-bone, (9) cross cuts, (10) loops, (11) vandyke with scolloped bands and cross lines.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

spot for centuries leads to the formation of kitchen-middens [1]. In the temporary camps something similar happens: the only difference consists in the fact that rubbish dumps only accumulate at the back of the temporary shelters, as a consequence of their peculiar shape that I shall not describe here. These dumps are heaven-sent love nests for insects of many species, mostly flies of a metallic green colour. They follow the Onge from camp to camp and thrive on scraps from human meals. When travelling in Little Andaman I was unmistakably warned of the nearby presence of Onge camps by the appearance of those familiar living beings.

The filth that coats the floors of communal Onge huts offers an ideal breeding ground also for myriads of fleas. Dogs spread them all over Little Andaman. Owing to the fact that the communal huts are deserted for months at a time during the dry season, the fleas become hungry and assault human beings vehemently whenever possible. When visiting empty communal huts I myself, and the persons with me, were plagued by such assaults. Fleas advanced suddenly from feet to head in thick, shimmering brown layers, covering first our legs. We were obliged to strip and douse ourselves with insect-repellents. As for other parasites, including ticks and mosquitos, equally plentiful in Little Andaman, the Onge do not appear to be inconvenienced by them.

The communal huts are used for another purpose as well, unhygienic but of high ethnological interest: the interment of human corpses. When they die, the inmates are buried beneath their beds. In other words, communal huts are also cemeteries. Many human skeletons are found by digging under the beds. Until 1952 this fact was unknown about the Andaman Islanders although it is encountered in all Onge communal huts without exception. An analysis of this custom led to further discoveries: the Onge wish to compel the spirit of a deceased person to remain close to the living as a protection, so they offer it the communal hut for an abode, the idea being that a spirit cannot wander far from the bones of its former body. A series of Onge practices point to this belief: felled enemies must be burned and reduced to ashes in order to render them harmless. Their hostile souls, according to the Onge, rise toward the sky in smoke as the bones are consumed. For the same reason, bones of relatives are fashioned into necklaces. The most conspicuous of these is the *ibidanghe*, worn generally by women and young girls, which is made from a decorated human jawbone. The aim is to obtain the assistance of the departed relation in fighting illness and bad luck. Direction in hunting, fishing and even quarrelling is supposed to come from the dead kept close to the living. We can trace this belief on the connection between bones and souls to a remote origin: Southern Asia megaliths had, in my opinion, no other cause for offering shelter to spirits and promoting useful relations between the living and the dead. I reached this conclusion after studying the contemporary habits of Travancore mountain and other Indian tribes, particularly the Munda. In Nias we find traces of the same customs as among different peoples of Indonesia and Oceania, who

[1] I discussed this at the two international anthropological congresses of 1952 (Vienna) and 1956 (Philadelphia), and have more to say on the subject in my book about the Onge.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

LIDIO CIPRIANI, Hygiene and Medical Practices among the Onge (Little Andaman)

Plate 2

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142
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a) and *c*) Women and girls wearing *ibidanghi*.
b) Bandages of ficus bark against fever.
d) Wife and husband in their usual attire.

[p. 488 (B)]

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

the felling of the tree, chiselling the lumber and processing it further to give the shape of a canoe. Buckets of wood are also constructed by them from the softwood tree. Two types of baskets are made, the smaller ones are more well-finished than the bigger ones. The former is known as *toleoaga* and the later *tole-laya*. Such activities have introduced the use of dahs, chisels, and iron files among the Onges, from the iron pieces derived from the sea shores. The other important pieces of their craftsmanship are the beautiful weavings of fibre, tussel of yellow fibre used by the women in their front. However, the art of making the earthen pots has been completely forgotten.

The leisure in their lives has helped the development of some amount of aesthetic senses among the Onges. All the Onges men and women shave their heads with flakes of glass, obtained from the sea-borne glass bottles. The body of the Onges are also painted with white clay which save their skin from insect-bite while red paint serves medicinal purposes if some individual is having fever. In times of mourning, red orchre paint is a taboo.[1]

Early marriage is the custom. The widows are looked down upon by the society. Some incidents of widow murder and drowning are heard. In the married life, the husband is devoted to his wife and both the husband and wife work for collecting their food.

Dances and songs are in vogue and there are practically songs for every occasion and activity. Most of their songs are more plaintive than joyous.

There are three broad divisions of the Onges of the Little Andaman :

(1) *Giremeka-Gobeule* group inhabiting the northeastern coast of the island ;

(2) *Engakwale group* live in the interior of the islands ; and

(3) *Gireraragobeule group* live in the southern and western coasts of the islands.

In spite of all the limitations, the Onges have been considered as one of the happiest people of the world with plenty of food and water to eat and drink and with very few social cankers to fight with. But as is common to all other aborigines of the Andamans, a decline in their number is discernible.

The Sentinelese

The Sentinelese are the least known of all the aborigines of the Anda-

1 The Onge of the Little Andaman—A short guide book ; Anthropological Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

776 rule the multiplication and growth of the various animals and plants useful to Man.

The Onges do not love Eiuga, or any of the other spirits. They merely fear them, and seek to evade their anger by various ex-
[784] pedients. It is curious that they never hesitate to try and deceive the spirits and think themselves very clever when they manage to
[769] steal roots or tubers from the ground. Nor do they revere the spirits of their ancestors; these are to be feared and propitiated by
[765] preservation of their bones. By definition none of the spirits, since they can be deceived by simple tricks, can be all-powerful, but this conclusion, simple though it is, is still beyond the Onges' powers of reasoning.

769 The Onges' fear of the dead is instanced by their carrying round their necks the *ibidanghe*, or necklet of human jaws, as a propitiation.
[765] The wearing of the bones prevents the spirit from going away (by analogy the bones of dead enemies are burned to force the spirit,
[764] clearly a hostile one, to leave the place). The custom of burial within the communal hut follows the same logic – the spirits of the dead are kept near their bones and hence near their relatives, to help them in the daily round of hunting, fishing and gathering food.[1]

769 Unlike most of the other peoples whose burial customs are even
778 today based on their underlying principles, the Onges have not
776 progressed beyond the stage of relating the dead directly to the
782 demands of daily life; they have no 'practices' of any kind, no con-
784 cept at all of holy places, prayers or images. Even the very names of the dead are soon forgotten. Their fears, however, are none the less very real. They do not like to speak of Eiuga or even of the lesser spirits, for fear of attracting their attention.

773 The Onges have no stories or explanatory legends, like those
538 reported by Brown for Great Andaman. They have only short
533 epics, if such they may be called, recalling extraordinary events in

[171] [1] This belief is of very remote origin, and can be traced back at least to the megaliths of southern Asia, like the splendid ones which I was able to photograph, among others, in the mountains of Travancore. Here again the object was to prevent the dead from leaving their relatives. Similar ideas are found today in India among several tribes, notably the Munda, or Nias, and among various peoples of Indonesia, and even Oceania. The rituals are probably followed today without any understanding of their meaning or symbolism; the details vary from place to place, but the underlying principle, the original fear, remains the same everywhere.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

If we may deduce from the evidence of the middens, pottery arrived in the Andamans at the same time as the pig, bones of which appear only in the upper levels; but we know nothing of the people responsible for the introduction of either. It is, however, certain that both arrived in Great Andaman and Little Andaman together. 172

There are indications that Little Andaman was the first to feel the benefit of pottery, possibly introduced by a light-skinned people. There are, as I have said, significant variations of skin colour and stature among the Onges; some have markedly lighter skins than the other islanders, and one would assume that this feature entered Little Andaman from the Nicobars with the unknown people who brought with them pottery and the pig. The people as an entity have disappeared as a result of inter-marriage with the indigenous population, while pigs reverted to the wild state and flourished, even spreading from one island to another by swimming (I can vouch for this, having seen them do it).[1] 172 144

The indications are that there were migrations from Little Andaman to Great Andaman long before those from which the Jarawas derive. In certain respects they resemble the Onges, whereas the surviving Arioto appear to represent a purer stock. The Onges seem to have acquired foreign blood in relatively recent times, perhaps when pigs and pottery appeared, when the kitchen-middens of Great Andaman were already being built up by the Arioto, but before the migration northwards by which the Jarawas reached their present home. Much more intensive investigation of the middens will, however, be needed before these hypotheses can be confirmed. 172 174 144

At Golpahar there were within the midden five graves containing human bones, not in anatomical position, and clearly filled in with fresh earth. I was surprised to find only the long bones, skulls and jawbones; the remaining bones could not be found. This may be explained by the custom among the Arioto (still prevailing 172 965

[1] One thing is puzzling: the three remaining groups of primitive Negritos in Malacca and the Philippines have the arrow harpoon with a detachable head. This is particularly valuable in the forests against the pigs, which cannot escape into the undergrowth once they have been hit. But it is difficult to see how or why the arrow harpoon reached the Andamans, where there were at that time no large mammals. It seems necessary to postulate the former spread of the weapon with the Negritos over a very wide area and its use against a much wider range of animals. [171] [411]

172 765 among the Onges) of wearing not only necklaces of the carpals and tarsals of deceased kin or pieces of rib, but also, in some groups, the skulls, painted with ochre and hanging from a cord round the neck. The long bones, painted red and white, were reburied in the communal hut. The Onges of today carry only the coloured jawbones of their kin.

172 764 No ornaments were found in the middens, nor did we expect to find any, as at death the Onges (and presumably their ancestors) bury all the personal objects of the deceased secretly in the forest, where the termites destroy all traces.

184 172 765 Not all the Arioto can have carried skulls and jawbones. Some clearly carried neither, as all the bones are sometimes found in the middens. A few middens are completely without human bones, particularly in the Port Blair area. Nevertheless at Ciauldari (or Chowldary), ten kilometres to the west, I found in January 1954 long bones without the skull or jawbones, and at Maya Bandar in 1953 I saw almost complete skeletons, not in anatomical position, owing to exhumation and reburial, but including skull, jawbones and in a number of cases the small bones as well.

The evidence of the middens thus clearly shows that burial and subsequent customs differed considerably among the various groups of islanders in the past, as they do today. The majority, judging from the Onges, seem to have remained faithful to a given custom, the dead in all cases continuing to remain a part of the group, whether or not any particular bone was carried about by the members of the group.

178 224 787 It is somewhat surprising to find customs varying so markedly in so primitive and numerically small a population, even though isolated in groups. The explanation lies in the fact that long-established customs may be altered overnight as the result of a 'revelation' by some seer, only to have the new customs overthrown themselves in the course of time by the next 'revelation'. I had an experience of this in the Onges when Enagaghe, a well-known seer, announced one day that he had received an order from the spirits about the way in which hunting trophies were to be displayed. No longer were pig jawbones to be impaled one behind the other on poles hung horizontally along the sloping roof of the hut a little above the hunter's bed. The whole skull, including the jawbones, was to be preserved, the bones held together in their natural

174 342 [628] The continual fighting between the Eremtaga and the Arioto led, as we have seen, to the gradual disappearance of the communal huts of the latter as being too vulnerable. Subsequently, the con-
[648] flict still going on between foreigners and Jarawas completed the destruction, so that there are now no communal huts on Great Andaman. The ever-increasing violence of the punitive expeditions against the Jarawas put an end to their numerical recovery during the last fifteen years or so, and there may indeed now be none left.
[172] Today only their kitchen-middens, and the surviving Onges, remain to show us how the Jarawas must have lived.

172 184 The Jarawa middens are distinguishable from those of the Arioto by their inland position and by their content of freshwater shellfish and land gasteropods, not eaten by the peoples of the coast.

172 764 178 [186] Like the kitchen-middens of the Onges, those of the Jarawas contain human bones clearly interred in graves, and not scattered among the refuse. This refutes the Arioto accusation against the Eremtaga of cannibalism, and that of the people of South Andaman (now vanished) against the people of North Andaman and the Onges; the remains of cannibal feasts would undoubtedly have been found among kitchen refuse and not carefully buried in the ritual manner, with the graves filled in with earth. And the Jarawas and the majority of the Arioto buried their dead in the communal huts, continuing a custom which originated while they were still
[184] on Little Andaman. In time variations arose, but this does not alter the evidence in favour of migration in ancient times from the south, via the Nicobars and Little Andaman.

184 172 501 The differences in culture between the islands can be explained by the ease with which primitive peoples forget. The Jarawas, for example, although they reached Great Andaman by sea from Little Andaman, forgot in a few generations the art of hollowing canoes when they were forced to live in the depths of the forests, far from the sea. Today, they have been free from the Arioto for some time, at least on the west coast, and have access to the sea, but they have
[765] not started building canoes again. In other things, however, such as burial rites, the Jarawas kept faithful to the old Onge customs; their middens show the same exhumation of the bones, the same cleaning, and tinting with ochre, and careful reburial.

172 252 The general similarity of the middens in Great and Little Andaman cannot be due to chance. Animal food, for example, has clearly

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

been cooked in the same way; the bones are never charred, but always have the appearance of being cooked in an earth oven. The direct roasting of large game over the fire, postulated by some authorities, including Brown, was never practised; the islanders preferred to go on as they had done since time immemorial, because it was more efficient – witness the traces of the earth oven which are to be found all over the world, including Europe. In Polynesia and Micronesia, and among the pygmies of Asia and Africa, it was widely used; variations when they arose did so as the result of local circumstances, like that of throwing water on the fire instead of using fleshy leaves, when there were none in the area. But the basic principle remained the same everywhere, and the use of the earth oven coincides with the geographical distribution of hunting, gathering and burial customs similar to those found in the Andamans.

In April 1954 I excavated the midden at Tambe-e-buiè on Little Andaman, abandoned after the earth tremors of 1951, to investigate the position of the beds. The custom of burying the dead underneath their beds made it possible to trace the latter by the human remains below them, arranged in a circle round the periphery. The Onges themselves helped in the work, sometimes even trying to recognize the remains as they came to light.[1] There were clear signs of reburial. The body is buried immediately after death at least one metre deep; whereas after exhumation, cleaning and colouring, it is never re-interred more than thirty centimetres below the floor of the hut. When another death makes it necessary for a new grave to be dug under the bed, the piles of bones from the second are disturbed, so that in time a form of ossuary develops. In this it is not possible to identify the various remains of individuals unless some change in the position of the hut, even by a few metres, preserves the bones from disturbance by fresh graves. Traces of the graves always remain, however, as they are invariably filled with fresh earth.

We have already seen that on Little Andaman the introduction of the dog reduced the consumption of shellfish (and hence the rate

[1] The material recovered is now in the Anthropological Museum of the Andamans and Nicobars, which I helped to establish at Port Blair. The museum was inaugurated on 6 June 1955 in the presence of the Governor, Mr A. K. Ghosh and the chief Indian officials of the town.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Brown states that dugong skulls are found among the hunting trophies of the Andamanese. I can myself vouch for the fact that this is not the case among the Onges or the twenty-three surviving Arioto; both keep dugong jaws and long bones, but the skulls of only pigs and turtles. The Andamanese in general do not regard animal bones as having the same protective powers as human; the existence in the Andamans of any magical practices connected with either animal or human bones has not, in my view, been adequately proved. In the absence of such proof I feel unable to agree with the authors who assert that these practices do exist, and I am inclined to feel that the cultural level of the peoples of the Andamans is so low as to rule out the existence of magic or witchcraft in any form.

From the mass of data of all kinds I was able to collect on my trips to the Andamans, a general pattern emerges from which it is possible to draw substantial conclusions as to the cultural and somatic origins of the Onges and hence of the other peoples of the archipelago. To summarize these conclusions must inevitably involve some repetition of what has been said in previous chapters.

Taking first the people of the Nicobar Islands, the nearest geographically to the Andamanese, it is generally accepted that with the exception of the Shom-Pen of Great Nicobar the Nicobarese are culturally closely similar. Although there are no pure Negrito types in the Nicobars there are evident crosses, similar to those which appear in one area of Sumatra to the east, where a small Negrito component exists among a predominantly mongoloid type. This may well be the result of the Negritos having spread at one time over a very wide area and there is in fact cultural evidence in support of the suggestion.

The mongoloid somatic type of the Nicobars appears in the general shape and proportions of the body, skin colour, facial contours, and the hair, which is long and straight, unlike that of the Negritos. Both types, however, have scant body hair, and differ in this respect from the pygmies of Africa.

Although the size and skin colour of most Nicobarese is very different from the Onges, a few are strikingly like them in facial contours, size, and woolly hair. There are also legends of a people who lived in the Nicobars long ago, small, very black, with tight

000
622 groups of families. There is some spontaneous recognition of individuals as 'headmen' as a result of some generally accepted superiority of physique or discernment, but the concept goes no further than the giving of some weight to their views within the group.

13 MARRIAGE

595
837 The Onges are monogamous, like all peoples who have never progressed beyond the stage of hunting and gathering, and adultery is virtually unknown. Marriage consists merely of the man taking possession of the
585 woman in the presence of the rest of the group, taking her by the hand to a new bed built for the occasion and allotted a place within the circle. The 'marriage' takes place in the late evening and is followed by frenzied dancing all night long by the light of the resin torches. The total absence
[174] of any form of ritual leads one to suppose isolation from a very early date indeed, but this cannot be more than conjecture.

14 BURIAL

172
174 The custom of burying the dead in caves still occupied by the living apparently existed in the Palaeolithic era. The practice has continued to
764 the present time in the Andamans, where the dead are still buried under the family bed in the communal hut. It is known from Palaeolithic burials that even in that era objects were sometimes buried with the dead, and it is thus possible that the culture of the Andamans dates back to very early times.

15 EXHUMATION AND SECOND BURIAL

172
765 The custom of exhuming the bones of the dead and re-interring them after coloration (in this case with ochre) dates from the Palaeolithic era.

16 BONE NECKLACES

301 The custom of wearing necklaces of carpals, tarsals, phalanges and fragments of rib, is of extreme antiquity, and apart from the Andamans, has virtually disappeared.

17 RELIGION

172
775 There is evidence that even in Palaeolithic times there existed a belief in
764 the survival of the spirit after death, and a fear of its return (hence the

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

In the case of very young children the burial ceremony is different. There is no general mourning of the whole camp. Only the father and mother and a few other relatives weep over the dead body. The head of the corpse is shaved and the body is decorated in the same way as that of an adult. The body is wrapped up in palm leaves (*Licuala*), the limbs being flexed. The fire is then removed from its customary place and a grave is dug there in the floor of the hut. In this the child's body is placed, the grave is filled in and the fire replaced above it. Not only is the camp not deserted, but there seems to be an obligation on the parents not to leave the place until the bones have been dug up, or at any rate for some weeks after the death. If the mother went away, the natives say, the baby would cry for its mother's milk. This is the custom of the Northern tribes. Referring to the Southern tribes, Mr Man says that the baby is buried beneath the fireplace and the camp is then deserted, the mother placing beside the grave a shell containing some milk squeezed from her breasts. Some of my informants of the Southern tribes (*Akar-Bale*, etc.) told me however that the camp would not be deserted in the case of the death of an infant, thus contradicting Mr Man's statement. As there was no opportunity of testing the point by reference to an actual case, it must be left as doubtful. In the Northern tribes when an older child dies the body is buried away from the camp, but the latter is not, at any rate in all instances, deserted, though the hut in which the death occurred may be destroyed and a new one built a short distance away. It is only in the case of the death of an adult that the camp is abandoned.

766 [765]

In connection with the burial of a baby beneath the hearth there is a belief that the soul of the dead baby may re-enter the mother and be born again. This would seem to be one of the reasons why the mother does not leave the camp when her baby dies.

Should a person die while on a visit, he or she is buried in the usual way and news of the death and place of burial is sent to the relatives. A stranger who dies or is killed is buried unceremoniously or is cast into the sea. Among the Northern tribes the body of such a one used in former days to be disposed

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)192
AZZ Andamans AZ2

766 of by cutting it into pieces and burning it on a fire. The natives say that if this be done the 'blood' and the 'fat' of the dead man go up to the sky and this removes all danger to the living from the dead man. The blood of persons so burnt is seen in the sky at sunset. If a man were killed in a fight between two communities and his body remained with the enemy, they would dispose of it in this way. If the friends secured the body they would bury it in the usual way. It may be worthy of remark 766 that this custom of burning the bodies of slain enemies is 266 perhaps the real origin of the belief that the Andamanese are or were cannibals. We can well imagine that when, as must have often happened, sailors venturing to land on the islands have been killed and the survivors have seen the bodies of their companions cut up and placed on fires, they would readily conclude that they were witnessing a cannibal feast. There can be no doubt whatever that since the islands were occupied in 1858 the inhabitants have not practised cannibalism, and there is no good reason to suppose that they once followed the custom and then abandoned it.

764 The burial is conducted, if possible, on the day of the death. If it has to be deferred till the morrow all the inhabitants of the camp keep awake. The relatives sit round the corpse weeping at intervals, while some of the men take it in turn to sing songs during the hours of darkness. This, so they say, is to keep away the spirits that have caused the death, and so prevent them from further mischief. When a man or woman dies in the prime of [152] life after a short illness the friends and relatives often break out in anger which they express in different ways. A man will shout threats and curses at the spirits that he conceives to be responsible for the death of his friend. He may pick up his bow and discharge his arrows in all directions, or in some other way give expression to his angry feelings. On the occasion of a death in one of the *Akar-Bale* villages the relatives expressed their grief by cutting down a coconut tree that grew there.

765 The period of mourning for near relatives—parent, adult child, consort, brother or sister—lasts for several months. In the case of a young child only the parents mourn. The essentials

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

776 out with a bow and arrow in his hand, and as he danced in front
535 of the spectators he pretended to shoot at them.

In another dance he represented *Ele*, the lightning. He sat on a stone that had been placed in the middle of the open space, swinging his arms to the time of the chorus, and every now and then shaking his leg.

This observation is an important one in several ways. Although I asked the man to repeat it, in order that I might make fuller notes and obtain explanations of many obscure points, and although he grudgingly said that he would, yet he did not do so. He was, moreover, very reserved over the matter, and not very willing to talk about his own performance.

I believe that the performance was an entirely exceptional affair. I never at any other time either saw or heard of one man or even several men, giving a dance for the amusement of others. I think that the whole thing was entirely the invention of the performer. He had given the same performance, or one very similar, at least once before the occasion on which I saw it.

We may now turn to the Andamanese beliefs relating to the soul and the life after death.

761 The vital principle is at different times identified by the
775 Andamanese with the pulse, the breath, with the blood and with
766 the fat, particularly the kidney-fat. Thus the body of a slain enemy is burnt so that the blood and fat may be consumed in smoke and ascend to the sky where they will no longer be a danger to those who have slain him.

822 The nearest approach to our notion of a soul that the natives
828 possess is their belief concerning the double or reflection seen in
774 a mirror. In the Northern tribes the word *ot-jumulo* means "reflection," and also "shadow," and is also nowadays applied to a photograph. The word *ot-jumu*, in the same languages, means "a dream" or "to dream." We may perhaps translate the word *ot-jumulo* as meaning "soul." In the *Aka-Bea* language *ot-yolo* is "reflection," while there is a different word, *ot-diya* or *ot-lere*, for "shadow," and neither of the words has any connection with the word "dream" which is *taraba*. Mr Man translates the word *ot-yolo* as "soul."

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highly coloured, and failed, therefore, in imposing on the almost excusable credulity which existed at a time when next to nothing of a trustworthy nature was known concerning these savages. 114

22. With regard to a deceased husband's property, the widow disposes of everything, which she does not require for her personal use, among his male relatives. 768

23. It seems superfluous to add that no such custom as *suttee* prevails or has ever been known to exist among them. 764

Death and Burial.—1. Amongst other erroneous opinions held regarding these tribes is that which declares that "no lamentation is publicly made at death," whereas, in point of fact, the demonstrations of grief on such occasions are generally excessive, and are shared, in a greater or less degree, by every member of the community in which the melancholy event occurs. 763

2. In the case of an infant, the parents and relatives remain weeping for hours beside the corpse; afterwards they smear their persons with a wash composed of *ōg-* (the common olive-coloured clay) and water, and, after shaving their heads, place a lump of the same, called *del·a-*, just above their foreheads,[1] where it hardens, and is left, much to the individual's discomfort, until the expiration of the days of mourning;[2] should it fall off in the meantime it is renewed. 765 766

3. The burial usually takes place within 18 hours of the decease, which time is spent by the mother in painting the head, neck, wrists, and knees of her dead child with *kòi·ob-* and *tâ·la-ōg-*; she also shaves off the hair, and folds the little limbs so as to occupy the least possible space,[3] the knees being brought up to the chin and the fists close to the shoulders; the body is then enveloped in large leaves, called *kâ·pa-*,[4] which are secured with cords or strips of cane. The father meantime employs himself in digging a grave with an adze (*wō·lo-*[5]), in the place where his hut fire usually burns; when all is prepared the little head is uncovered, and the parents gently blow upon the face 766

fishing, which, as they seem to indicate a Munchausen-like facility of exaggeration in the narrator we decline to repeat" (Moust).

[1] This applies to men, for women usually place the *del·a-* on the top of the head. It is worn by neither sex until after they have attained maturity, and only for a father, mother, husband, wife, brother, sister, son, or daughter, the *ōg-* wash alone being deemed sufficient "mourning" in the case of other relatives or friends.

[2] The term *â·kà-ōg-* is therefore applied to mourners, since they are prohibited from the use of *kòi·ob-*.

[3] "If we knew no further details as to the opinions of the intellectually gifted Hottentots, formerly so greatly underrated, it would be enough that, previous to burial, they place the body of the deceased in the same position which it once occupied as an embryo in the mother's womb" (Peschel).

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 74.

[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 15.

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766 two or three times in token of farewell;[1] then, replacing the leaves, they put the corpse into the grave in a sitting posture, and fill in and level the earth; next, having procured a quantity of the young leaves of the common jungle cane, they split them and make long fringe-like wreaths, called *â·ra-*,[2] which they fasten to the trees surrounding the hut, or encircling the entire camping ground, the object being to apprise any stranger or friend who might chance to visit the spot, that a death has recently occurred, and that they would therefore do well to keep away.

[775] 4. After suspending the *â·ra-* the fire is rekindled and the mother places a shell containing some of her own milk beside the grave, obviously in order that the child's spirit, which is believed to haunt its late home for a few days, may not lack nourishment. All in the encampment then pack up those things which are mostly needed and depart to some other camping ground,[3] generally not less than two or three miles distant, where they at once construct huts, usually of the description called *chàng-tô·rnga-*,[4] to serve as shelter during the mourning period, which as a rule lasts about three months; and during which the parents and relatives, naturally enough, refrain from 262 taking any part in the festivities occurring among their neighbours. While mourning it is customary for the *ē·rem-tâ·ga-* to 165 abstain from pork, and for the *àryô·to-* to deny themselves turtle as well as other luxuries, in token of the sincerity of their grief, but they never mutilate themselves by cutting off joints of their fingers, &c., as do the Hottentots and the Papuans of the Fiji Islands, nor have they, as has been erroneously asserted in Dr. Day's paper, daily, during periods of deep sorrow, to throw honey-comb, if obtainable, into the fire.[5]

5. At the expiration of the time mutually agreed upon, they all return to the deserted encampment and remove and destroy the *â·ra-*. The parents then exhume the remains, which are taken by the father to the sea-shore, or the nearest creek, there to be cleansed[6] from all putrefying matter: this done, he brings

[1] *Vide* ceremony at parting (*post*, "Meeting and Parting," paragraph 6).

[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 73.

[3] Similarly do the Koi-Koin (Hottentots) "break up their kraals after every case of death, to avoid the proximity of the grave" (Peschel).

[4] *Vide* "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xi, p. 283, and *ante*, "Habitations," paragraph 3.

[5] The practice here referred to is evidently that of burning beeswax (not honey-comb), the object of which will shortly be explained under "Superstitions," paragraph 13, and is not that here stated.

[6] This repulsive duty is always performed by one of the near *male* relatives of a deceased person. Dr. Day was led to believe that "the extraction of the skull and bones, it is considered, requires great skill and courage," but experience and the statements of all those aborigines who have been questioned on the subject, do not bear out this view.

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764 corpse, whose limbs are folded and enwrapped in the manner above described.

9. What the true significance of this practice may be is not quite clear, as such of the aborigines as have been questioned assert that it is merely for convenience in removal; but since the custom is also observed in infant burials which, as I have mentioned, take place in the very hut wherein the death occurred, it seems probable that a deeper meaning underlies the act; and the real reason may be that which Peschel supplies in his reference to the Hottentots, who observe the same custom, *i.e.* "that the dead will mature in the darkness of the earth in preparation for a new birth."[1]

10. As it is not customary for females to attend the funeral, when *their* part is done, they gently blow upon the face, and take their last farewell look.

[766] 11. None save infants are buried within the encampment, all others being carried to some distant and secluded spot in the jungle, and there interred or placed upon a "machán," or platform; it is generally arranged beforehand which of these two methods shall be employed, but the latter is considered the more complimentary, apparently because it involves a little more labour.[2]

12. Arrived at their destination, the corpse, which has been carried by one of the men on his back, is put down, while the final preparations are being made. A spot is selected where there is a boulder or large tree,[3] to mark it, and there, if a grave has been decided on, they dig a hole about 4 or 5 feet deep, with an adze (*wō'lo-*), into which the body is lowered in a sitting posture, facing the east; all present then raise the leaf covering the head, and take leave of their friend by blowing upon his face. Before the grave is filled in the cords or canes are cut, the object being to hasten the process of decomposition by loosening the leaves; a fire is lighted over the spot and a *gōb-*,[4] or nautilus shell, filled with water, as well as some article which belonged to the deceased, is placed beside it: then the surrounding brushwood for some little distance is cleared away, and *á·ra-* are suspended between the trees in the manner and for the purpose before stated.

13. Should it, however, have been determined to dispose of the corpse by the alternative method, a small stage is constructed

[1] This singular practice also prevailed amongst the ancient Peruvians (*vide* "Anthropology of Prehistoric Peru," by T. J. Hutchinson, "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. iv, p. 447, 1875).

[2] Old persons are generally buried.

[3] They never wittingly use the same tree or spot a second time, and are careful to remember those which served on a former occasion.

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 82, and "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xi, p. 269.

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765 the relatives of the deceased, one of whom subsequently takes possession of the skull, and wears it until he (or she) chooses to part with it, or is asked to do so by another member of the family. It should here be stated that it is by no means obligatory upon the survivor of an elderly couple, or any relative, to carry the bones or skull of the deceased for a lengthened period:[1] except in the event of marrying a brother, sister, or cousin of the deceased, these relics can be given at any time to a friend who may ask for them; thus it not unfrequently happens that the remains of one who was a chief or a favourite in his day, are scattered far and wide among his admirers, but when in course of time they get mislaid or broken, the owner is often easily reconciled to his loss, or makes it good by procuring similar mementoes of another and more recently departed friend.

20. It may be said that as a rule no adult is without at least one *chàu·ga-ĭâ-* (*i.e.*, a human bone necklace), and the skulls, which are generally to be found in every encampment, are worn by each in turn, if only for a few hours.

[764] 21. The only difference made on the occasion of the death of a chief, his wife, or one of his near relatives, is that *all* the men and lads of the encampment smear themselves with *ōg-*, and attend the funeral; the relations alone, however, are the mourners during the succeeding weeks or months which intervene before the *t'ī-tō·latnga-*, though, as a token of respect for the deceased, and of sympathy with the mourners, other members of the tribe often abstain from some favourite article of food, and take no part in festivities during the same period.

22. If a member of another tribe happen to die while on a visit, the body would be disposed of in one of the modes I have endeavoured to describe, after which intimation would be sent to the friends of the deceased, so that they might know where to seek for the skeleton when the time for disinterment should arrive.

•766 23. The body of an enemy, stranger, or captive child would be thrown into the sea, or buried *sans cérémonie*, as the bones would
761 never be in request.

24. A sudden death is at once attributed to the malign influence of *.ē·rem-chàu·gala*, if the deceased had been recently in the jungles, or to *jū·ru-win-*, if he had been on the sea; in either case one of the male relatives of the victim, representing the feelings of the community, approaches the spot where the body

[1] I mention this more especially as the erroneous statement made by some early writer, that "a widow wears her husband's skull suspended round her neck for the rest of her life," has been repeated in more recent accounts, and hitherto remains unchallenged.

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761 is lying, and shoots several arrows in rapid succession into the
766 surrounding jungle, only taking care to avoid injury to the bystanders, and then, seizing a pig-spear, *ēr-dū·tnga-*,[1] if *.ē·rem-chàu·gala* be the demon suspected, or a turtle-spear, *kowai·a l'ôko dū·tnga-*,[2] if it be *.jū·ru-win-* who is accounted guilty, he pierces the ground all round the corpse, hoping thereby to inflict a mortal injury upon the unseen enemy; while so engaged he vents his grief and indignation in no measured terms of imprecation.

25. When a death which is attributed to *.ē·rem-chàu·gala* s malignity occurs so late in the day that the burial has to be deferred till the following morning, those who are not mourners sing in turns throughout the night, in the belief that this demon will thus be deterred from doing any further harm in the encampment.

26. At death they say that *.ē·rem-chàu·gala* and his sons feast upon the blood and soft tissues of all who die on land, and that their leavings, excepting of course the bones, are disposed of by worms, *wēn-*, but *jū·ru-win-* is supposed to consume every portion of those who fall into his clutches.

Meeting and Parting, &c.—1. Contrary to ·ne customs of most
576 races, no salutations[3] pass between friends, even after a more or less lengthened separation, such as rubbing noses, kissing[4] shaking hands, &c.; but on meeting they remain silently gazing at each other for, in our eyes, an absurdly long time—unless of course one or both be hurried; the younger then makes some commonplace remark which apparently has the effect of loosening their tongues, for they at once commence hearing and telling the news.[5]

576 2. Relatives, after an absence of a few weeks or months,
152 testify their joy at meeting by sitting with their arms round each other's necks,[6] and weeping and howling[7] in a manner which would lead a stranger to suppose that some great sorrow had befallen them; and, in point of fact, there is no difference observable between their demonstrations of joy on these occasions and those of grief at the death of one of their

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 9.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 10.
[3] *Vide* Colebrooke and Anderson.
[4] Kisses are considered indicative of affection, but are only bestowed on infants.
[5] One might imagine that the writer of the article entitled "Chippers of Flint" which appeared in "Cornhill" (vol. xii, p. 200), had heard of or witnessed a rencontre of this description, but had not watched its progress, or he would not have spoken of this race as "all but speechless."
[6] *Vide* Plate III, fig. 2.
[7] This custom resembles that which exists among New Zealanders under the name of the *Tangi*.

172 The largest and traditionally the oldest, the original, home of the race by a consensus of Andamanese opinion and worth scientific exploration (any other to be greatly deprecated), is the kitchen-midden of Wota-Emi on Baratang in Elphinstone Harbour on the east coast of the South Andaman.

In reference to the kitchen-middens it is worth noting that all Andamanese tradition commences with the cataclysm accompanied by a subsidence of a large portion of the surface of their old country already noticed, and the people point to certain ancient kitchen-middens, such as that at Port Mouat, on the sea level to prove it. They say that these were commenced by the survivors of the cataclysm and that the sites were previously high up on the mountain sides, where no one could build a kitchen-midden.

175 **Early Descriptions.**—I-Tsing, the Chinese Buddhist monk, in 672 A. D. (Takakasu's Ed. p. xxx) mixed up in his account of his travels the Andamanese with the Nicobarese, and describes them thus :—

"The men are entirely naked while the women veil their person with some leaves. If the merchants in joke offer them their clothes, they wave their hands (to tell that) they do not use them."

But the earliest distinct notice of the Andamanese is in that remarkable collection of early Arab notes on India and China (851 A. D.), which was translated by Eus. Renaudot and again in our own time by M. Reinaud. It accurately represents the view entertained of this people by mariners down to our own time.

175 266 "The inhabitants of these islands eat men alive. They are black with woolly hair and in their eyes and countenances there is something quite frightful * * * they go naked and have no boats. If they had they would devour all who passed near them. Sometimes ships that are windbound and have exhausted their provision of water touch here and apply to the natives for it; in such cases the crews sometimes fall into the hands of the latter and most of them are massacred."

This traditional charge of cannibalism still persists, though it is now, and almost certainly has always been, entirely untrue. Of the massacre of shipwrecked crews up till quite recent times there is no doubt; but the policy of conciliation, which has been unremittingly pursued for the last forty years, has made the coasts quite safe for the shipwrecked, except at points where the Jarawas touch the coast and the wilder Onges reside, the south and west of Little Andaman, the North Sentinel Island, south of Rutland Island and Hut Bay on its western coast, Port Campbell and some few miles to the north of it on the west coast of the South Andaman. Everywhere else shipwrecked mariners would find the people not only friendly and helpful, but likely to give notice to Port Blair at once of their predicament.

● [766] **Charge of Cannibalism.**—The charge of cannibalism seems to have arisen from three observations of the old mariners. The Andamanese attacked and murdered without provocation every stranger they could on his landing; they burnt his body (as they did in fact that of every enemy); and they had weird all-night dances round fires. Combine these three observations with the unprovoked murder of one of themselves and the fear aroused by such occurrences in a far land in ignorant mariners' minds, century after century, and a persistent charge of cannibalism is almost certain to be the result.

101 **Language of the Aka-Beada Tribe used in the Report.**—The tribe occupying the shores of the Harbour of Port Blair and its islands at the British occupation in 1858 was, in its own tongue, the Aka-Bea-da. Its language was the first to be studied and its customs the first to be ascertained. It may still be called the tribe that is the best known and understood.

Every tribe has its own name for itself and its neighbours, and it is therefore necessary for the purposes of this *Report* to adopt one set of names only throughout, and the set most convenient is naturally that of the Aka-Bea-da. In this language *aka* is a prefix with small variations to nearly all tribal names and *da* is a suffix used with almost every isolated noun. For the sake of brevity I have throughout this *Report* discarded both these affixes and used the roots only of tribal names. But it must be understood that in actual speech an Aka-Bea would, in answering such a question as "what is your tribe?", reply

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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361 the heaps of refuse many feet deep, chiefly consisting of the shells of molluscs and the bones of animals. Such kitchen-middens, as they have been called, are to be found in numbers all around the coasts of the islands.

In the case of the coast-dwelling communities the camping sites are always close to the sea-shore or to a creek, so that they can be reached by canoe. In the case of those dwelling [312] inland this is of course not so. In any case one of the chief factors determining the choice of the site is the existence of a supply of fresh water. This is of extreme importance in the case of a site to be occupied during the dry season when fresh water becomes scarce.

221 Within their own territory the local group is what we may 361 speak of as semi-nomadic. The coast-dwellers rarely reside continuously at the same spot for more than a few months, but [268] shift from one camp to another, moved by different causes. If a death occurs the camp is deserted for several months and a new one is occupied. A change of camp often takes place at a change of season, some spots presenting particular advantages, such as shelter from the prevailing wind, or better hunting or fishing, at certain times of the year. Another cause of the [364] abandonment of a camp by the coast-dwellers is that all refuse is thrown away close to the camp, and after a few months the decaying animal matter thus accumulated renders the spot uninhabitable. The natives seem to find it easier to move their camp than to clear away their refuse. The truth is, perhaps, that they are so accustomed to change their camp from one spot to another, in order to make the best use of the natural resources available, that there is no necessity for them to take those sanitary measures that would be essential if they wished to remain for many months continuously at the same place.

The forest-dwellers are less nomadic in their habits than the coast-dwellers. One of the reasons for this is that as they cannot convey their belongings from one place to another by canoe, but must carry them overland, the moving of a camp is a more tiresome business with them than it is with the coast-dwellers. During a great part of the year the forest-dwellers

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184 world: on their arrival at Viper Island, they saw, for the first
115 time, Europeans, and a mode of living of which they could have previously formed no idea. *Wō·ī's* companions returned to their tribe after spending a few months with us, but he, having lost his heart to one of the South Andaman houris, was without difficulty induced to remain behind, and settle down in our midst as a married man. As he speedily acquired a knowledge of the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* dialect, we were enabled to question him on various points, besides those referred to in the statement which forms one of the appendices to this volume,[1] and thus learned much that was before unknown concerning the habits of the inland branch of the *.ôko-jū·wai-* tribe: the information thus obtained, when compared with the result of our own observations of the customs and mode of living of the communities in the vicinity of our settlement, afforded convincing proof of the universality of the customs and practices of the respective classes of *àryô·to-* and *ē·remtâ·ga-* throughout Middle and South Andaman.

8. In Dr. Mouat's book mention is made of the capture of a youth, nicknamed "Jack," after a hostile encounter with some of the natives of Interview Island, from which circumstance it may be inferred that the lad belonged to the *.âkà-.ked·e-* tribe, only one member of which had, till 1879, stayed amongst us, and he is an *e·remtâ·ga-*, who had travelled out of curiosity as far as Middle Strait, and from thence had been persuaded by the chief of that district to accompany him to Port Blair. He proved himself very intelligent and active in all jungle accomplishments, but was entirely ignorant of fishing and turtling After remaining with us a few months he was taken (in March, 1879), at his own request, to a point on the north-west coast of Middle Andaman, and landed with a heap of presents: his home, he informed us, was situated midway between that place and the east coast.

361 **Nomadism.**—1. Nomadism appears to be almost, if not
[768] entirely, confined to the *àryô·to-*, and even among them there are hamlets which are only abandoned temporarily, as with
221 the *ē·remtâ·ga-*, in consequence of a death, or of a *jeg-* (*i.e.*,
166 "corroboree"), at some neighbouring encampment.

2. The nature of the temporary migrations which take place among the *ē·remtâ·ga-* during the dry season, as well as of those necessitated by a death, will be explained in subsequent sections. In the case of the *àryô·to-*, migrations are occasioned by a variety of circumstances, as, for instance, fishing operations being rendered impossible by a change in the wind, the

[1] *Vide* Appendix F, a free translation of which will be found in "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xi, pp. 280–2.

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highly coloured, and failed, therefore, in imposing on the almost excusable credulity which existed at a time when next to nothing of a trustworthy nature was known concerning these savages. 114

22. With regard to a deceased husband's property, the widow disposes of everything, which she does not require for her personal use, among his male relatives. 768

23. It seems superfluous to add that no such custom as *suttee* prevails or has ever been known to exist among them. 764

Death and Burial.—1. Amongst other erroneous opinions held regarding these tribes is that which declares that "no lamentation is publicly made at death," whereas, in point of fact, the demonstrations of grief on such occasions are generally excessive, and are shared, in a greater or less degree, by every member of the community in which the melancholy event occurs. 763

2. In the case of an infant, the parents and relatives remain weeping for hours beside the corpse; afterwards they smear their persons with a wash composed of *ōg-* (the common olive-coloured clay) and water, and, after shaving their heads, place a lump of the same, called *del·a-*, just above their foreheads,[1] where it hardens, and is left, much to the individual's discomfort, until the expiration of the days of mourning;[2] should it fall off in the meantime it is renewed. 765 766

3. The burial usually takes place within 18 hours of the decease, which time is spent by the mother in painting the head, neck, wrists, and knees of her dead child with *kòi·ob-* and *tâ·la-ōg-*; she also shaves off the hair, and folds the little limbs so as to occupy the least possible space,[3] the knees being brought up to the chin and the fists close to the shoulders; the body is then enveloped in large leaves, called *kâ·pa-*,[4] which are secured with cords or strips of cane. The father meantime employs himself in digging a grave with an adze (*wō·lo-*[5]), in the place where his hut fire usually burns; when all is prepared the little head is uncovered, and the parents gently blow upon the face 766

fishing, which, as they seem to indicate a Munchausen-like facility of exaggeration in the narrator we decline to repeat" (Mouat).

[1] This applies to men, for women usually place the *del·a-* on the top of the head. It is worn by neither sex until after they have attained maturity, and only for a father, mother, husband, wife, brother, sister, son, or daughter, the *ōg-* wash alone being deemed sufficient "mourning" in the case of other relatives or friends.

[2] The term *á·kà-ōg-* is therefore applied to mourners, since they are prohibited from the use of *kòi·ob-*.

[3] "If we knew no further details as to the opinions of the intellectually gifted Hottentots, formerly so greatly underrated, it would be enough that, previous to burial, they place the body of the deceased in the same position which it once occupied as an embryo in the mother's womb" (Peschel).

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 74.

[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 15.

776 rule the multiplication and growth of the various animals and plants useful to Man.

The Onges do not love Eiuga, or any of the other spirits. They merely fear them, and seek to evade their anger by various expedients. It is curious that they never hesitate to try and deceive the spirits and think themselves very clever when they manage to steal roots or tubers from the ground. Nor do they revere the spirits of their ancestors; these are to be feared and propitiated by preservation of their bones. By definition none of the spirits, since they can be deceived by simple tricks, can be all-powerful, but this conclusion, simple though it is, is still beyond the Onges' powers of reasoning.

The Onges' fear of the dead is instanced by their carrying round their necks the *ibidangbe*, or necklet of human jaws, as a propitiation. The wearing of the bones prevents the spirit from going away (by analogy the bones of dead enemies are burned to force the spirit, clearly a hostile one, to leave the place). The custom of burial within the communal hut follows the same logic – the spirits of the dead are kept near their bones and hence near their relatives, to help them in the daily round of hunting, fishing and gathering food.[1]

Unlike most of the other peoples whose burial customs are even today based on their underlying principles, the Onges have not progressed beyond the stage of relating the dead directly to the demands of daily life; they have no 'practices' of any kind, no concept at all of holy places, prayers or images. Even the very names of the dead are soon forgotten. Their fears, however, are none the less very real. They do not like to speak of Eiuga or even of the lesser spirits, for fear of attracting their attention.

The Onges have no stories or explanatory legends, like those reported by Brown for Great Andaman. They have only short epics, if such they may be called, recalling extraordinary events in

[1] This belief is of very remote origin, and can be traced back at least to the megaliths of southern Asia, like the splendid ones which I was able to photograph, among others, in the mountains of Travancore. Here again the object was to prevent the dead from leaving their relatives. Similar ideas are found today in India among several tribes, notably the Munda, or Nias, and among various peoples of Indonesia, and even Oceania. The rituals are probably followed today without any understanding of their meaning or symbolism; the details vary from place to place, but the underlying principle, the original fear, remains the same everywhere.

372 they show much skill in so carrying smouldering logs with them by land or sea that they are not extinguished. Their ignorance of this fundamental requirement of civilization is shown in their fire-legend that fire was originally stolen from their deity Puluga and has never been allowed to become extinct since. Excepting guns, nothing has more impressed the Andamanese with European power and resources than the use of matches, *i.e.*, of making fire whenever required with ease.

342 In the Little Andaman and among the Jarawas of the South Andaman, large permanent huts for use in the wet season are built up of solid materials to 30 feet in height and 60 in breadth to hold the fires of 7 to 8 hunting parties, say 60 to 70 people, *i.e.*, they contain 7 to 8 fires with about 8 persons to each "fire." The Jarawa hunting camp is much the same as that of any other Andamanese and his great communal hut is built on the same principle as the larger huts of the other Andamanese.

The use of the flimsy hunting shelters and camp huts of the Andamanese is rendered possible in the wet and stormy weather so common in the Islands by the denseness of the jungle, which prevents the winds from reaching them even when close to the sea-beach and causes the rain to fall vertically upon them.

619 **Government.**—There is no idea of Government, but to each tribe and to each sept of it there is a recognised head, who has attained that position by 622 tacit agreement on account of some admitted superiority, mental or physical, and commands a limited respect and such obedience as the self interest of the other individual men of the tribe or sept dictates. There is a tendency to [554] hereditary right in the natural selection of chiefs, but there is no social status that is not personally acquired. The social position of a chief's family follows that of the chief himself and admits of many privileges in the shape of tribal influence and immunity from drudgery. His wife is among women what he is [888] among men and at his death, if a mother and not young, she retains his privileges. Age commands respect and the young are deferential to the elders. Offences, *i.e.*, murder, theft, adultery, mischief, assault, are punished by the 627 aggrieved party on his own account by injury to the body and property or by murder, without more active interference on the part of others than is consistent with their own safety, and without any fear of consequences except vengeance from the friends of the other side, and even this is usually avoided by disappearance till the short memory of the people has obliterated wrath.

421 Property is communal, as is all the land, and ideas as to individual possessions are but rudimentary, accompanied with an incipient tabu of the property belonging to a chief. An Andamanese will often readily part with ornaments to any one who asks for them. Theft, or the taking of property without leave, is only recognised as to things of absolute necessity, as arrows, pig's flesh, fire. 437 A very rude barter exists between tribes of the same group in regard to articles not locally obtainable or manufactured. This applies especially to cooking pots, which are made of a special clay found only in certain parts of the islands. The barter is really a gift of one article in expectation of another of assumed corresponding value in return, and a row if it is not forthcoming. The territory of other tribes is carefully respected without however there being any fixed boundaries.

562 The duties of men and women are clearly defined by custom, but not so as to make that of the women comparatively hard. The women have a tacitly acknowledged inferior position, but it is not such as to be marked or to leave them without influence.

771 **Religion.**—The religion is simple animism and consists of fear of the evil spirits of the wood, the sea, disease and ancestors, and of avoidance of acts traditionally displeasing to them, and this in spite of an abundance of mythological tales told in a confused, disjointed manner that is most instructive to the student of such things. There is neither ceremonial worship nor propitiation. There is an anthropomorphic deity, Puluga, the cause of all things, whom it is not, however, necessary to propitiate, though sins, *i.e.*, acts displeasing to him, are avoided for fear of damage to the products of the jungle. Puluga dwells now in the sky, but used to live on the top of Saddle Peak, their highest mountain. The Andamanese have an idea that the "soul" will go under the earth by an aerial bridge after death, but there is no heaven nor hell nor any idea of a cor-

poreal resurrection in a religious sense. There is much active faith in dreams, which sometimes control subsequent conduct and in the utterances of "wise men," dreamers of prophetic dreams, gifted with second sight and power to communicate with spirits and to bring about good and bad fortune, who practise an embryonic magic and witchcraft to such personal profit by means of good things tabued to themselves as these people appreciate. There are no oaths, covenants and ordeals, nor any forms of appeal to supernatural powers. 771

Puluga, who is fundamentally with some definiteness identifiable with the storm (*Wuluga*) mixed up with ancestral chiefs, has so many attributes of the Deity that it is fair to translate the term by "God." He has a wife and a family of one son and many daughters. He transmits his orders through his son to his daughters, who are his messengers, the Morowin. He has no authority over the evil spirits and contents himself with pointing out offenders against himself to them. The two great evil, *i.e.*, harmful, spirits are Erem-chauga of the Forest and Juruwin of the Sea. Like Puluga both have wives and families. The minor evil spirits are Nila and a numerous class, the Chol, who are practically spirits of disease. The Sun is the wife of the Moon and the Stars are their children dwelling near Puluga, but there is no trace of sun-worship, though they twang their bows and "chaff" the moon during an eclipse, and a solar eclipse frightens them, keeping them silent.

The Andamanese idea of the soul arises out of his reflection in water and not out of his shadow which follows him about. His reflection is his spirit, which goes after death to another jungle world, Chaitan, under the earth, which is flat and supported on an immense palm tree. There the spirit repeats the life here, visits the earth occasionally and has a distinct tendency to transmigration into other beings and creatures. Every child conceived has had a prior existence and the theory of metempsychosis appears in many other superstitions, notably in naming a second child after a previous dead one, because the spirit of the former babe has been transferred to the present one, and in their recognising of all Natives of India and the Far East as *chauga*, or persons endowed with the spirits of their ancestors.

Superstitions.—The superstitions and mythology of the Andamanese are the direct outcome of their beliefs in relation to spirits. Thus, fire frightens Erem-chauga, so it is *always* carried. They avoid offending the Sun and the Moon by silence at their rise. Puluga shows himself in storm, and so they appease him by throwing explosive leaves on the fire, and deter him by burning beeswax, because he does not like the smell. Earthquakes are the sport of the ancestors. There are lucky and unlucky actions, but not many, and a few omens and charms. Animals and birds are credited with human capacities, *e.g.*, convicts murdered by Jarawas have been found with heavy stones placed on them and stones have been found placed along their pathways. Every Andamanese knows that this is a warning to the birds not to tell the English that the men had been murdered and that the murderers had passed along the path in front.

Mythology.—The great bulk of the Andamanese mythology turns on Puluga and his doings with Tomo, the first ancestor, to whom and his wife he brought fire and taught all the arts and for whom he created everything. This line of belief is still alive and everything natural that is new is attributed to Puluga. Thus when the Andamanese were introduced to the volcano, Barren Island, on seeing the smoke from the top they at once christened it Molatarchona, Smoke Island, and said the fire was Puluga's. 773

The next most important element in the mythology is in the story of the cataclysm, which engulfed the islands and was of course caused by Puluga. It separated the population and destroyed the fire, which was afterwards stolen by Luratut, the kingfisher, and restored to the people. The population previous to the cataclysm became the *chauga* or ghostly ancestors.

Other stories relate in a fanciful way the origin of customs, *e.g.*, tattooing and dancing, of the arts, articles of food, harmful spirits, and so on.

An important ethnological item in these stories is the constant presence of the ideas of metempsychosis and of metamorphosis into animals, fish, birds, stone and other objects in nature. Indeed the fauna chiefly known to the Andamanese are ancestors changed supernaturally into animals.

Initiatory Ceremonies.—There are rudimentary initiatory customs for both males and females, connected with arrival at puberty and marriageability 881

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

head ornaments and religious ceremonies. In Oceania there is, too, the habit of changing personal names from time to time so prevalent among the Onges, and the existence of actual linguistic connections between Nicobarese, Andamanese, Semang, Aetà and peoples of Oceania have been demonstrated by experts.

Any differences which exist today are the result of centuries of contact with other peoples which the Semang and Aetà have experienced, unlike the Andamanese, who thus represent today the true Negritos. While life generally has changed somewhat over the centuries for the Semang and Aetà, certain typical facets of their culture have remained unaltered. Ritual cutting and distributing of game, the use of the arrow harpoon (always unfeathered) and the simple Onge-Negrito bow are still the same, despite the fact that the three groups have been separated for a very long time. Even the very absence of defensive weapons is a common feature; admittedly outside the Andamans arrows are poisoned and some may be feathered, but this is a recent and imitative innovation which is not found among the Andamanese, by virtue of their constant isolation. The persistence among the Onges of the simple bow tends to support the idea of Little Andaman as the first stage in the northward spread of the Negritos after they reached the island from Sumatra via the Nicobars. In Malacca the Semang have retained the same bow, as have the Aetà in the Philippines.

Among what may be termed similarities of physical habits is nose-rubbing as a sign of affection, found in the Andamans, in Oceania, and parts of Papuasia and Melanesia. In all these areas there is the same belief that pregnancy is due to entry of a spirit into the body, and the same habit of suckling children for as long as four years. Similar too throughout the area are the methods of 'curing' disease, such as smearing with ochre and heavy massage carried out beside a fire, swallowing of balls of ochre, and the 'smoking' of wounds, smeared with a mixture of ochre and honey. As protection from the sun or the rains (especially for the young children) crude umbrellas are made from giant palm leaves.

There are no prayers or propitiatory sacrifices to ensure health and well being, but there is throughout the area the same concept of mysterious forces to be feared, evaded, or let loose against enemies – never loved. Generally they are thought of in terms of spirits, usually active at night. There is some divergence in the

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assumed that if any shipwrecked persons had ever been cast on their coast, they would, in the improbable event of their lives being spared, have left some traces of the fact, such as might be looked for among the customs, in the culture, or physical characteristics of these savages, but these are vainly to be sought in any section of the race. 773

4. Moreover, to regard with suspicion, as some have done, the genuineness of such legends as those in question argues ignorance of the fact that numerous other tribes,[1] in equally remote or isolated localities have, when first discovered, been found to possess similar traditions on the subjects under consideration.

5. Further, on this subject as well as on all others in which there appeared any risk of falling into error, I have taken special care not only to obtain my information on each point from those who are considered by their fellow-tribesmen as authorities, but who, from having had little or no intercourse with other races, were in entire ignorance regarding any save their own legends: I have, besides, in every case, by subsequent inquiry, endeavoured to test their statements, with the trustworthiness of which I am thoroughly satisfied. I may also add that they all agree in stating that their accounts of the Creation, &c., were handed down to them by their first parent *Tô·mo-* (Adam), and his immediate descendants, while they trace all their superstitions and practices to the "days before the Flood!"

6. I shall presently speak of the legends current anent the Creation, and also the Fall and Deluge: the latter will there be seen to have been, *selon eux*, consequent on the former.

7. In spite of their knowledge of, or belief in, a Supreme Being,[2] whom they call *Pū·luga-*, they live in constant fear of certain evil spirits, whom they apprehend to be ever present, and on the watch to do them some bodily injury. 776

8. Of *Pū·luga-* they say that—

I. Though His appearance is like fire, yet He is (now-a-days) invisible.

II. He was never born and is immortal.

III. By him the world and all objects, animate and inanimate, were created, excepting only the powers of evil. [772]

IV. He is regarded as omniscient while it is day, knowing even the thoughts of their hearts.

V. He is angered by the commission of certain sins,[3] while to

[1] A story of the Fall occurs in the myths of the Eskimo, the South Sea Islanders, the Zulus, the Australians and the New Zealanders (*vide* "Biblical Traditions and Savage Myths."—*St. James' Gazette*, July 14th, 1881.)

[2] *Vide* Mouat, pp. 303–4.

[3] *Vide ante* "Crimes," paragraph 2.

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to give him so uncomfortable a reception. Their immunity from harm on these occasions has given rise to some joking at the expense of the luminary in question, for, during the continuance of the eclipse, they shout in inviting tones to the hidden orb as follows:—*.ō·gar-, la den bal·ak ban lē·be ng'ĭdō·ati! dō·ati! dō·ati!*[1] (O moon, I will give you the seed of the *bal·ak!* show yourself! appear! appear!) 776 821

20. This seems to explain the custom which Colonel Symes describes as adoration to the sun and moon, for, as has been stated, no traces of worship or forms of religion, in the common acceptation of the term, exist among these tribes.

21. A solar eclipse alarms them too much to allow of their indulging in jests or threats, &c.: during the time it lasts they all remain silent and motionless, as if in momentary expectation of some calamity.

22. The world, exclusive of the sea, is declared to be flat and to rest on an immense palm-tree (*Caryota sobolifera*) called *bâ·rata-*, which stands in the midst of a jungle comprising the whole area under the earth. This jungle, *.châ·itâ·n-* (Hades), is a gloomy place, for, though visited in turn by the sun and moon, it can, in consequence of its situation, be only partially lighted: it is hither the *spirits* (*chàu·ga-*) of the departed are sent by *Pū·luga-* to await the Resurrection. [823] 775 772

23. No change takes place in *.châ·itâ·n-* in respect to growth or age; all remain as they were at the time of their departure from the earth, and the adults are represented as engaged in hunting, after a manner peculiar to disembodied spirits. In order to furnish them with sport the spirits of animals and birds are also sent to *.châ·itâ·n-*, but as there is no sea there, the *chàu·ga-* of fish and turtle remain in their native element and are preyed upon by *.jū·ru-win-*. The spirits (*chàu·ga-*) and souls (*ōt-yō·lo-*) of all children who die before they cease to be entirely dependent on their parents (*i.e.*, under six years of age) go to *.châ·itâ·n-*, and are placed under a *ràu-*[2] (*Ficus laccifera*) on the fruit of which they subsist. As none can quit *.châ·itâ·n-* who have once entered, they support their stories regarding it by a tradition that in ages long past an *ôko-pai·ad-*[3] was favoured in a dream with a vision of the regions and of the pursuits of the disembodied spirits.

24. Some of their legends, as will be seen elsewhere,[4] appear to bear out the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, as

[1] This is said derisively, for, although these seeds are largely consumed by the pigs, the aborigines themselves do not consider them fit for food.
[2] *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 17.
[3] *Vide ante* "Magic and Witchcraft," paragraph 1.
[4] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraphs 15, 16, 29.

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775 certain of their ancestors (*.tō·mola*) are stated to have vanished from earth in the form of various kinds of animals and fish.
772 The spirits of those not thus transformed, although in Hades, are believed occasionally to assist them in performing tasks of unusual difficulty; and it is thought that all the departed are to some extent conscious of what transpires in the world they once inhabited, and are able to promote the welfare of those who bear them in mind.[1]

25. Between the earth and the eastern sky there stretches an invisible cane bridge (*pī·dga-làr-chàu·ga-*) which steadies the former and connects it with *.jer·eg-* (paradise); over this bridge the *souls* (*ōt-yō·lo-*) of the departed[2] pass into paradise, or to *.jer·eg-làr-mū·gu-*, which is situated below it: this latter place might be described as purgatory, for it is a place of punishment for those who have been guilty of heinous sins, such as murder. Like Dante, they depict it as very cold, and therefore a most undesirable region for mortals to inhabit. From all this it will be gathered that these despised savages believe in a future state, in the resurrection, and in the threefold constitution of man.

26. In serious illness the sufferer's spirit (*chàu·ga-*) is said to be hovering between this world and Hades,[3] but does not remain permanently in the latter place until some time after death, during which interval it haunts the abode of the deceased and the spot where the remains have been deposited.[4] In dreams
774 it is the soul which, having taken its departure through the nostrils, sees or is engaged in the manner represented to the sleeper.

27 The Andamanese do not regard their shadows[5] but their *reflections* (in any mirror) as their souls. The colour of the soul is said to be red, and that of the spirit black, and, though invisible to human eyes,[6] they partake of the form of the person
775 to whom they belong. Evil emanates from the soul, and all good from the spirit; at the resurrection they will be re-united and live permanently on the new earth, for the souls of the wicked will then have been reformed by the punishments inflicted on them during their residence in *.jer·eg-làr-mū·gu-*.

28. The future life will be but a repetition of the present, but all will then remain in the prime of life, sickness and death will be unknown, and there will be no more marrying or giving in

[1] *Vide ante* "Medicine," paragraph 8, and "Death and Burial," paragraph 18.
[2] Their *spirits* (*chàu·ga-*) pass to *.chá·itán-* (*vide* paragraphs 22 and 23).
[3] *Vide* Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi, p. 289.
[4] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraphs 4 and 15.
[5] As is believed to be the case among certain races, *e.g.*, the Benin negroes.
[6] Save those of the *ōko-pai·ad-* (*vide ante* "Magic and Witchcraft," paragraph 7).

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[For a functional interpretation of Andamanese mythology see category 116, pp. 330-400.]

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CHAPTER IV

MYTHS AND LEGENDS

•713 THE Andamanese have a number of stories which are told to the younger people by their elders and relate to the doings of their ancestors in a time long ago. Some of these stories are recorded in the present chapter. A difficulty in the way of giving any clear and readable account of them is the fact that there are many slightly different versions of one and the same legend. To some extent the variations are local, each tribe, and even each portion of a tribe having its own set of legendary stories. Besides these local variations there are also individual variations. Two men of the same tribe may relate what is substantially the same story, yet each chooses his own words and gestures, and to some extent they may even arrange the incidents differently.

713 In the last chapter it was mentioned that there are certain individuals, known as *oko-jumu* in the North Andaman and
791 *oko-paiad* in the South, who are believed to have special know-
756 ledge as to the spirits and as to the magical efficacy of remedies for sickness. It is these *oko-jumu* also who are the authorities on the legendary lore of the Andamanese. In the case of magical remedies there is a certain common stock of beliefs as to the efficacy to be attributed to different substances, such as leaves of different plants, and on the basis of these beliefs the *oko-jumu* elaborates the remedies that he uses in particular cases. Each *oko-jumu*, however, prides himself on being, to some extent, original. An example of this has been already mentioned. When a great storm arose an *oko-jumu* of one of the Northern tribes succeeded in stopping it (in the belief of

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the natives) by placing a piece of the crushed stem of the *Anadendron* creeper under a particular stone in the sea. On a later occasion another storm arose, and the successor of the first-mentioned *oko-jumu* was appealed to that he might exert his powers. He did not simply imitate his predecessor, but he placed a piece of crushed bark and twigs of the *Ficus laccifera* in the sea under a different stone. In very much the same way there is a common stock of beliefs as to the events that took place in the time of the ancestors, but each *oko-jumu* builds up on this basis his own particular set of legends, so that it is rarely that two of them tell the same story in the same way. An *oko-jumu* may obtain for himself a reputation by relating legends of the ancestors in a vivid and amusing way. Such a man would be able to invent new stories by combining together in his own way some of the traditional incidents. The desire on the part of each *oko-jumu* to be original and so to enhance his own reputation is a fertile source of variation in the legends.

773 791 756

This lack of traditional form, which is a very important characteristic of the Andamanese mythology, may be compared with their lack of traditional songs. Just as every man composes his own songs, so, within certain limits, every *oko-jumu* relates in his own way the legends of his tribe. But whereas every man is a composer of songs, only a certain number are regarded as having authority to speak on the legends.

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Underlying the legends of any tribe there are a certain number of beliefs or representations with which every native is familiar. It is on the basis of these that the *oko-jumu* elaborates his own doctrine, if we may call it so, which he hands on to his followers, who in turn may become *oko-jumu* and produce further slight modifications of their own. Thus the legends are continually being changed, though in any one generation the changes introduced are slight, and it would take a long time for important changes in belief to be brought about. There is evidence, however, that a succession of leading men in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe have succeeded in introducing a new doctrine as to the weather, making *Bilik* the name of a class of beings instead of the name of a single being, and that this

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doctrine, while it has not entirely ousted the former beliefs, has yet succeeded in gaining currency not only in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe, but also in the *Aka-Kọl* and *Ọkọ-ǰuwọi* tribes.

At the present time it is only possible to recover a small part of the many different legends with their variants. The introduction of many new interests into the lives of the natives, through the European settlement and the many changes it has produced, has caused the ancient legends to be neglected. Most of the old *oko-jumu* have died without leaving any followers to take their place. Many of the legends recorded here are merely what some of the men not specially skilled in legendary lore can remember of the stories told them in former days by *oko-jumu* who are now dead.

One feature of the legends that must be pointed out is their unsystematic nature. The same informant may give, on different occasions, two entirely different versions of such a thing as the origin of fire, or the beginning of the human race. The Andamanese, to all appearance, regard each little story as independent, and do not consciously compare one with another. They thus seem to be entirely unconscious of what are obvious contradictions to the student of the legends. It is necessary to emphasise the fragmentary and unsystematic nature of the Andaman mythology because Mr Man, in his work on the Andamanese, has brought together a number of legends from the tribes of the South Andaman and has combined them into a continuous and fairly consistent narrative, and has thus, undoubtedly not intentionally, given a wrong impression to the reader of what the nature of the disconnected stories really is. While each of the stories included in Mr Man's account is derived directly from the natives, it would seem certain that the arrangement of them into a more or less consistent narrative is due to Mr Man.

In recording the legends in this chapter, only the English translation is given. In some cases the legends were translated on the spot and written down in English. In other cases they were written down in the native language and then translated. When I was recording the legends I very frequently had to ask what was meant by a particular statement, the meaning of

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which might be quite clear to a native, but which was obscure to one not accustomed to thinking in the same way as the natives. In some cases I could obtain no satisfactory explanation, and such legends are given in this chapter in as nearly as possible an exact literal translation of the original. In other cases the explanations given by the natives have been incorporated in the translation itself. 773

In order to give the reader a fair idea of the nature of the legends as they are told, one is here given in the native language (*Aka-Čari*) with a word-for-word translation. 539 773

A Maia Dik ijokoduko; *o konmo teč injuktertoia;*
Sir Prawn makes fire; yam leaf catches fire;

konmo teč bi ikterbie; *kete uijoko;* *uijokobiko;*
yam leaf is dry; that one it burns; he makes a fire;

Maia Dik ubenoba; *Maia Totemo emato;* *ujokil uektebalo;*
Sir Prawn slept; Sir Kingfisher takes; he fire with he runs away

Maia Totemo jokobiko; *Maia Totemo tajeo ubiko;*
Sir Kingfisher makes a fire; Sir Kingfisher fish (food) cooks;

upetil ubeno; *Maia Mite juktebalo uemato.*
his belly in he sleeps; Sir Dove runs away taking.

The above translation is hardly comprehensible without a little explanation. The word *ijoko* means "something burns," the word *ubiko* means "he cooks (by roasting)." The compound *ijokobiko* may mean either "he makes a fire and cooks something at it" or it may simply mean "he makes up a fire (by adding firewood)." The word *ijokoduko* has a quite different meaning, "to produce fire." The derivation of *injuktertoia* is uncertain, as I am not sure of the proper use of *er-toia*; it is translated on the basis of the explanation given me by the man who told the story. The word *ikterbie* is descriptive of the dryness of dead leaves.

A free translation would be as follows: "It was Sir Prawn who first produced or obtained fire. Some yam leaves, being shrivelled and dry by reason of the hot weather, caught fire and burnt. The prawn made a fire with some firewood and

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539 went to sleep. The kingfisher stole fire and ran away with it. He made a fire and cooked some fish. When he had filled his 713 belly he went to sleep. The dove stole fire from the kingfisher and ran away." It is implied that it was the dove who gave the fire to the ancestors of the Andamanese.

773 Versions of legends of the origin of fire are given by Mr Portman, in each of the languages of the Southern group of tribes[1].

All the legends relate to events that are supposed to have happened in the past, and deal with the doings of the ancestors of the Andamanese. In the North Andaman the ancestors are sometimes called *Lau t'er-kuro*, i.e. the big spirits, "big" being used in the sense of our word "chief." Another term for them is *N'a-mai-koloko*, from *n'* or *nio* = they, *aka-mai* = father, and *koloko* = people, so that the phrase literally means "the father people," or the ancestors. In the South Andaman the ancestors are sometimes called *Čauga tabaŋa*, which is the equivalent of *Lau t'er-kuro*. Mr Man seems to have misunderstood the exact meaning of this term. He writes: "*Lači Lora-lola*, the chief of the survivors from the Deluge[2], gave, at his death, the name of *Čauga tabaŋa* to their descendants.....The *Čauga tabaŋa* are described as fine tall men with large beards, and they are said to have been long lived, but, in other respects and in their mode of living they did not differ from the present inhabitants. The name seems to have been borne till comparatively recent times, as a few still living are said to remember having seen the last of the so-called *Čauga tabaŋa*[3]."

Mr Man has evidently not realised that the term *čauga* cannot be applied to any living Andamanese, but may be applied to every dead one. The *Čauga* are the spirits of dead natives, and new *Čauga* are continually coming into existence by death. Any person who is of such importance when alive as to form the subject of legends or stories after his death may be distinguished (after his death only) as a *Čauga tabaŋa*. The name may thus be applied to the purely mythical ancestors of the legends, and also to the spirits of men recently dead

[1] Portman, *Notes on the Languages*, etc. p. 97.
[2] The legend will be given later.
[3] Man, *op. cit.* p. 169.

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whose memory is preserved owing to fame acquired in some way when they were alive. It is thus possible that some of the natives with whom Mr Man formerly conversed are now *Čauga tabaya*, i.e. big spirits, having been "big men" when they were alive.

Another name sometimes used in the South Andaman to denote the ancestors is *Tomo-la*[1]. This word, however, is sometimes used in the singular to denote the mythical first man. Its use is thus similar to that of the name *Bilik* in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe, which is used both as the name of a single mythical being and also as the name of a class of beings. Only the early ancestors of the Andamanese, i.e. those about whom the legends are related, can be called *Tomo-la*.

Among the ancestors who appear in the legends there are a few who bear names that are used as personal names of men and women at the present time, and who appear in the legends simply as men and women. The larger number of the ancestors, however, bear names that are those of species of animals. In each case the ancestor is identified with the species which bears the same name. Yet others of the mythical ancestors have names that are neither personal names at the present day, nor names of animals. It may perhaps be supposed that in all such cases the name has some sort of meaning, but in many instances it was not found possible to discover the meaning with certainty.

When speaking of the ancestors, the natives generally add to the name the appropriate title. These titles are, in the North Andaman *Maia* (Sir) and *Mimi* (Lady), in Akar-Bale *Da* (Sir) and *In* (Lady), and in Aka-Bea *Maia* and *Čana*.

There are legends as to the origin of mankind, i.e., of their own race, for they did not recognize, until recently, the existence of any men of other races than their own, calling aliens *Lau* (spirits). There is, however, no unanimity in their beliefs as to how mankind originated, even in any one tribe. An *Aka-Bo* legend is as follows:

[1] The suffix *-la* is added to personal names and to terms of address in order to express respect.

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"The first man was *Jutpu*[1]. He was born inside the joint of a big bamboo, just like a bird in an egg[2]. The bamboo split and he came out. He was a little child. When it rained he made a small hut for himself and lived in it. He made little bows and arrows. As he grew bigger he made bigger huts, and bigger bows and arrows. One day he found a lump of quartz and with it he scarified himself. *Jutpu* was lonely, living all by himself. He took some clay (*kot*) from a nest of the white ants and moulded it into the shape of a woman. She became alive and became his wife. She was called *Kot*. They lived together at *Teraut-buliu*. Afterwards *Jutpu* made other people out of clay. These were the ancestors. *Jutpu* taught them how to make canoes and bows and arrows, and how to hunt and fish. His wife taught the women how to make baskets and nets and mats and belts, and how to use clay for making patterns on the body."

The same story was told me by *Aka-Jeru* men, the only difference being that they gave the name of the place where *Jutpu* lived differently, mentioning a spot in the *Aka-Jeru* country.

From the *Aka-Jeru* I also obtained what is really another version of the same legend, though the name of the first ancestor is given differently. "The first man came out of the buttress of a *poičo* (*Sterculia*) tree, and was called *Poičotobut* (*Sterculia* buttress). He had no wife, so he cohabited with an ant's nest (*kot*) and thus obtained a large number of children. These were the first Andamanese, and *Poičotobut* taught them all their arts and customs. *Poičotobut* lived at *Boroŋ Buliu* (in *Aka-Jeru* country)."

The association between the origin of the Andamanese and an ant's nest (*kot*) is retained in another legend, told by an *Aka-Jeru* man. "*Tarai* (the south-west monsoon) was the first man. His wife was *Kot*. They lived at *Tarai-era-*

[1] The name seems to mean "alone."

[2] The giant bamboo does not grow in the Andamans, but pieces of it are often drifted ashore, having come from the coast of Burma. The natives pick up these drift-wood bamboos and make buckets of them. It is possible that the bamboo from which the first man was born was just such a piece drifted up from the sea. Unfortunately I neglected to enquire on this point when taking down the legend.

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poŋ[1]. Their children were *Tau* (the sky), *Bọto* (wind), *Piribi* (storm), and *Air* (the foam on a rough sea)." 773 539

An entirely different legend, of which, however, I could not obtain a detailed version, is also found in the *Aka-J̌eru* tribe. This is to the effect that the first living being was *Maia Čara*[2]. He made the earth, and caused it to be peopled with inhabitants. He also made the sun and moon. In the last chapter *Čara* was mentioned as a mythical being associated with the sun, with daylight and with fine weather. One of my informants of the *Aka-J̌eru* tribe said that *Čara* had a wife named *Nimi* (a common personal name), and that his children were *Čeo* (knife), *Ino* (water), *Loto*, and *Luk*. It is *Maia Čara*, according to one commonly received account, who makes the daylight every day.

I could not obtain any *Aka-Kede* legend as to the origin of mankind. One informant of that tribe said that it was *Biḷika* (the north-east monsoon) who made the world and the first men and women, but he could give me no detailed legend.

In the *Aka-Kọl* and *A-Pučikwar* tribes there are several versions of a legend that makes the monitor lizard (*Varanus salvator*) the progenitor of the Andaman race. In all the versions there is no mention of how the lizard himself originated. The following was told me by an *Aka-Kọl* man. "When *Ta Pẹti* (Sir Monitor Lizard) was *aka-gọi* (i.e. unmarried, but having completed the initiation ceremonies), he went into the jungle to hunt pig. He climbed up a *Diṇterocarpus* tree, and got stuck there[3]. *Beyan* (civet-cat, *Paradoxurus*) found him there, stuck in the tree. She released him and helped him to get down. The two got married. Their children were the *Tomo-la* (i.e. the ancestors)."

Another legend telling how the monitor lizard obtained a wife was related to me on more than one occasion by *A-Pučikwar* men. "The first of the ancestors (*Tomo-la*) was *Ta Pẹtie* (Sir Monitor Lizard). He lived at *Tomo-la-tog*. At first he had

[1] The meaning of the name is "the cave of *Tarai*"; I believe that this is the name of a spot in the *Aka-Jeru* country.

[2] The meaning of the name was not discovered.

[3] The lizard was caught in some way by his genital organs, but I was unable to understand the story completely.

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no wife. One day, when he was out fishing, he found a piece of black wood of the kind called *kọlotat* (*Diospyros* sp.). He found it in the creek, and brought it to his hut, where he put it on the little platform over the fire[1]. He sat down by the fire and set to work over an arrow that he was making. As he bent over his work he did not see what was happening. By and by he heard some one laugh, and looked up. Then he saw that the piece of wood had turned into a woman. He got up and took her down from the platform. She sat down with him and became his wife. They had a son named *Pọi* (a species of small bird, possibly a woodpecker), and afterwards many other children. They lived together for a long time at *Tomo-la-tog*. One day *Ta Pẹtie* went fishing and was drowned in the creek. He turned into a *kara-duku*."

There is some doubt about the translation of the word *kara-duku*. It is an *Aka-Bea* word, although it was used as given above, by an *A-Pučikwar* man. Mr Man translates it "cachalot." Mr Portman says that *kara-duku* is "crocodile," but that the cachalot, the proper name of which is *biriga-ta*, is also sometimes called *kara-duku*[2]. The only authority for the existence of crocodiles in the Andamans is the statement of Mr Portman, who says that the natives killed one in the Middle Andaman and brought the bones to him. Although I was in many of the creeks of the Andamans at different times I never saw a crocodile, and none of the other officers of the Settlement, who have repeatedly explored a large part of the islands, ever seems to have seen one, so that the one recorded by Mr Portman may possibly have been a single one that had come oversea from the mainland of Asia.

Another *A-Pučikwar* account of the origin of the first woman *Kọlotat*, is as follows: "At first there were no women, only men. A man called *Kọlotat* came to live in the *A-Pučikwar* country. *Ta Pẹtie* (Sir Monitor Lizard) caught him and cut off his genitals and made him into a woman. She became his wife. Their children were the first of the ancestors (*Tomo-la*)."

[1] This is the small platform of sticks placed near or above the fire, on which the natives keep their food, and on which they often place objects that they desire to dry.

[2] *Notes on the Languages*, etc. p. 227.

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Another account given by members of the *A-Pučikwar* tribe is that the first man was *Tomo*, or *Tomo-la*. One version that I heard is that *Tomo* made the world and peopled it with the ancestors. He made the moon (*Puki*) who is his wife. *Tomo* and his wife invented all the arts of the Andamanese and taught them to the ancestors. After his death *Tomo* went to live in the sky, where he now is. It is *Tomo* who sends the fine weather, while *Bilik* sends the bad weather. In the world where *Tomo* now lives it is always daylight and is always fine. When men die their spirits go up to the sky and live with *Tomo*. The man who gave me this version said that he did not know how *Tomo* originated, but was quite sure that he was not made by *Bilik*. *Tomo* came first and *Bilik* came afterwards. The Andamanese are all the children of *Tomo*[1].

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In disagreement with this story, another man of the same tribe said that *Tomo* was made by *Bilik*. He (i.e., *Tomo*) had a wife *Mita* (Dove), and they were the ancestors of the Andamanese. Yet another informant said: "*Ta Tomo* was the first man. He made bows and arrows and canoes. His canoes were made of the wood of the Pandanus tree. *Mita* (Dove) was his wife. It was she who first made nets and baskets and discovered the uses of red paint and white clay." When I asked how *Tomo* and his wife originated my informant replied that he did not know.

A species of bird (perhaps a woodpecker), called *Pǫi* in *A-Pučikwar* and *Kǫio* in *Aka-Kǫl*, is often said to have been the son of *Tomo*. I was once told that *Kǫio* was the first of the Andamanese, from whom they are all descended, and that his wife was *Mita*. Another informant said that *Pętie* (Monitor Lizard) was the first man and *Mita* was his wife, while still another stated that *Ta Mita* (Sir Dove) was the progenitor of the race, making the dove male instead of female. These different versions will give some idea of the

[1] When an old man of the *A-Pucikwar* tribe was giving me the information repeated above, an Andamanese man was with us who had been brought up as a Christian and had some knowledge of the doctrines of that faith. He explained to me that *Tomo* is the equivalent of the Christian God. This man belonged to the *Akar-Bale* tribe.

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contradictory nature of the statements of the Andamanese. All of them come from only two tribes, the *A-Pučikwar* and the *Aka-Kol.*

From the *Akar-Bale* tribe I obtained the following legend. "*Puluga* made the first of the ancestors. He made one man and one woman called *Nyali* and *Irap*[1]. He gave them fire, and taught them how to hunt and fish, and how to make bows and arrows and baskets and nets. The place where they lived is called *Irap* because they lived there[2]."

Another *Akar-Bale* version is that the first man was *Da Duku* (Sir Monitor Lizard), and that his wife was *In Bain* (Lady Civet-cat).

Mr E. H. Man, in his account of the South Andaman, says that there are a few discrepancies in their accounts of the creation and origin of the human species, but in the main features all the natives with whom he spoke are agreed. The world was created by *Puluga*, who then made a man named *Tomo*, the first of the human race. *Tomo* was black, like the present Andamanese, but was much taller and bearded. *Puluga* showed him the various fruit-trees in the jungle, which then existed only at *Wota-emi*, a spot in the country of the *A-Pučikwar* tribe. The wife of *Tomo* was *Čana Elewadi* (Lady Crab), and as to her origin there are different legends. According to some, *Puluga* created her after he had taught *Tomo* how to sustain life; others say that *Tomo* saw her swimming near his home and called to her, whereupon she landed and lived with him; while a third story represents her as coming pregnant to Kyd Island, where she gave birth to several male and female children, who subsequently became the progenitors of the present race. *Tomo* had two sons and two daughters by *Čana Elewadi*; the names of the former were *Biro-la* and *Boro-la*, and of the latter *Rie-la* and *Čormi-la.*

A story that tells how *Tomo* came to his end states that

[1] These names are common personal names among the aborigines of the present day. Mr Portman derives *Nyali* from *nam-da*, the name of a tree, and *Irap* from *pira-da* meaning "scattered," but these derivations are far from being authenticated. (Portman, *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes*, p. 70.)

[2] The place called *Irap* is at the north end of Havelock Island.

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one day, while hunting, he fell into the creek called *Yara-tig-jig* and was drowned. He was at once transformed into a *kara-duku* (which Mr Man translates as "cachalot"). *Čana Elewadi*, ignorant of the accident that had befallen her husband, went in a canoe with some of her grandchildren to ascertain the cause of his continued absence; on seeing them, *Kara-duku* upset their skiff and drowned his wife and most of her companions. She became a small crab, of a description still named after her, *elewadi*, and the others were transformed into lizards (*duku*). Another version of this story is that, wearied with an unsuccessful day's hunting, *Tomo* went to the shore, where he found a *čidi* (Pinna) shell-fish; while playing with it, it fastened on him, and he was unable to free himself until a *baian* (Paradoxurus) seized the *čidi* and liberated him at the expense of one of his members. Shortly after this he saw his wife and some of their children coming after him in a canoe; unwilling that they should become aware of the misfortune that had befallen him he upset the canoe, drowning its occupants and himself. He then became *kara-duku*, and the others *duku*, which are now plentiful in the jungles[1].

In some of the preceding legends reference is made to *Biliku* or *Puluga*. There is a very general belief, in all parts of the islands, that in the time of the ancestors, *Biliku* or *Puluga* lived on earth. Each tribe has at least one spot in its territory that is pointed out as the place where *Biliku* (or *Puluga*) lived. In some tribes there are three or four such places, each of which is claimed as the original home of *Biliku* by the people living in the neighbourhood. In many cases the name of the spot contains a reference to the legend, as *Puluga ṛod-baraij* (the village of *Puluga*) in *Akar-Bale* or *Biliku era-poŋ* (the cave of *Biliku*) in the North Andaman.

I was able to obtain a few legends relating to the time when *Biliku* lived on earth, though there were probably many more that I was not fortunate enough to hear.

The following is an *Aka-Jeru* legend:

"In the time of the ancestors *Biliku* lived at *Ar-kọl*. One day the people caught a turtle and brought it to the camp.

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 164.

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Biliku was sitting there. They asked her if she would eat some of it. She said 'No.' They put the meat in the roof of the hut and went away. When they had gone *Biliku* ate the whole turtle. Then she went to sleep. The people came back and found the turtle gone. They said '*Biliku* has eaten it.' They left the camp and all went to *Tebi-čiro*. They left *Biliku* asleep. Some of the people went to hunt for turtle. Their canoe passed near *Ar-kọl*. *Biliku* saw the people in the canoe. She called to them and asked to be taken with them. The people refused saying 'You ate up all the turtle.' *Biliku* had a round stone and several *be* shells (pearl shells). She threw the shells at the people in the canoe. The first shell did not hit them but came back and fell at her feet; and so also with the second. Then *Biliku* got very angry and threw a third time. The shell struck the canoe and killed all the people in it. The canoe and its occupants became a reef of rocks that is still there. The other people at *Tebi-čiro* called across to *Biliku* saying 'Come over here.' She answered 'Very well! I am coming.' She took the stone that she had and put it in the sea, and it floated. She got on to it to cross over. When she had got half way across *Biliku* and her stone sank in the sea. They became two big rocks that are there still." This legend refers to the west coast of the North Andaman. The pearl shells that *Biliku* throws seem to be lightning, and the round stone the one that she rolls about to make thunder.

A few other statements about *Biliku* and *Tarai* from the four tribes of the North Andaman are given below just as they were taken down in my note-books.

(1) "*Biliku* lived at *Pura-'ra-poŋ* in the time of the ancestors. Her husband was *Pẹrjido* and her children *Totaimo*, *Mite* (cicada) and *Tarai*. She made the sun and the moon. It was she who first invented all the things that are now made and used by women, such as baskets, nets, etc., and it was she who discovered fire, and who first discovered the use of edible roots such as *kọnmo* and *mino* (two species of *Dioscorea*)."

(2) "*Biliku* used to live at *Čaura*. She had a husband

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Tarai and a son *Pẹrjido*, and a daughter *Mite*. She used to live only on certain vegetable foods, *lọito*, *pata*, *bui*, *čo*, *kọnmo* and *mino* and others. It was *Biliku* who made the earth (the forest, *ti-miku*). She began at *Čaura*." 773 539

(3) "*Biliku* lived at *Ar-Kol* in the time of the ancestors. Her husband was *Tarai* and their children were the birds, *Tọrọi*, *Taka*, *Čotọt*, *Poruatoko*, *Kelil*, *Mite*, *Čọpčura*, *Benye*, *Biratkoro*, *Čereo*, *Milidu*, *Bobelo*, *Kọlo*, and *Teo*." (*Aka-Jeru*.)

(4) "*Biliku* lived at *Poroket*. She was unmarried. She had a son *Pẹrjido*, and her other children were *Tọrọi*, *Čelene*, *Čotọt* and *Čerei*. (These four are the names of birds.) It was *Pẹrjido* who invented all the arts of the Andamanese such as their bows and arrows, etc." (*Aka-Bo?*.)

(5) "*Biliku* used to live at *Peč-meo* with her husband *Tọrọi* (a bird). She used to eat *lọito*, and when anyone else ate that root she was angry. *Tarai* lived at *Čaroṇa* with his wife *Kelil* (a bird). He ate only *mikulu*." (*Aka-Kọra*.)

(6) "*Tarai* has very long legs and a short body. He used to live on a small island beyond Interview Island, which is now submerged. When *Tarai* goes to sleep he breathes very heavily and this makes the wind."

The next is an *Aka-Kede* legend. "In the days of the ancestors *Bilika* lived at *Purum-at-čape* in the *Aka-Kede* country, with her husband *Pọrọkul*. One day *Pọrọkul* was out hunting. He returned with a pig that he had killed and came to the creek on the other side of which was his home (*Cọti-tẹr-buli Buliu*). Laden as he was with the pig he could not swim across the creek. *Bilika* was sleeping, but her children were playing near and saw their father on the other side of the creek. They ran and told their mother that their father was coming but could not cross the creek. *Bilika* went and lay down on one bank of the creek and stretched out her leg so that it reached the other bank. *Pọrọkul* walked across her leg and so reached home."

While it is clear from this legend that *Bilika* was of superhuman size, the same was also true of her husband, if we may judge from another legend. "*Pọrọkul* made for himself a bow (of the large southern pattern), with which to shoot pig. At

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this time the sky was low down near the earth, only just above the tops of the trees. When *Pǫrǫkul* had finished his bow he lifted it upright. The top of it struck the sky and lifted it up to its present position where it has remained ever since."

In another legend from another part of the *Aka-Kede* tribe *Bilika* is spoken of as being male. "*Bilika* lived at *Pǫrǫŋ-et-čo* with his wife *Mite*. They had a child. The ancestors ate *Bilika's* food, *lǫito* and *kata* and other plants. *Bilika* was very angry. He used to smell their mouths to see if they had eaten his food. When he found a man or woman who had done so he would cut his throat. The ancestors were very angry with *Bilika*, because he killed the men and women when they ate his foods. They all came together and killed *Bilika* and his wife *Mite*. *Maia Burto* (a species of fish) took the child (of *Bilika*) away to the north-east."

Owing to my lack of knowledge of the *Aka-Kede* language there are some points of the above legend that remain obscure. I think that the child of *Bilika* is also named *Bilika*, and that it is he (or she) who now lives in the north-east and sends the storms. The plants (*lǫito*, *kata*, etc.), called here the "food" of *Bilika*, are those mentioned in the last chapter as specially belonging to *Bilika*, who is angry when the natives eat them. As regards the name, *Mite*, of *Bilika's* wife, I do not know whether this is the name of the bronze-winged dove, or of the cicada. In some of the Andamanese languages the names of these two are very similar, the only difference being a very slight one in the way of pronouncing the two vowels.

The *A-Pučikwar* people who live on the east coast of Baratang Island say that in the beginning the ancestors lived at a place called *Wota-emi*, and *Bilik* lived opposite to them across the strait at a place called *Tǫi-l'oko-tima*. In a rock at *Wota-emi* there is a large peculiarly shaped hollow. This is said to be where *Bilik* used to sit when he was on earth.

An *Akar-Bale* legend is as follows. "In the days of the ancestors *Puluga* lived at *Jila* off the east coast of Henry Lawrence Island and the ancestors lived at *Puluga l'od-baraij* (the village of *Puluga*) on the main island just opposite to *Jila*. *Puluga* was always getting angry with the ancestors,

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because they dug up yams and ate *čakan* (*Entada scandens*) and *barata* (*Caryota sobolifera*). When he was angry he used to destroy their huts and property. So the people sent him out of the world, saying 'We do not want you here. You are always angry with us.' *Puluga* went away to the north-east."

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It is worth while to note that *J̌ila* is north-east from *Puluga l'od-baraij*, just as *Tọl-l'oko-tima* is north-east from *Wota-emi*. In both cases there is a narrow strait between the place where the ancestors lived and the home of *Puluga* or *Bilik*.

There are a number of different legends that relate how the ancestors first obtained fire[1]. In many of these legends there is a reference to *Biliku* or *Puluga*. A common statement in the North Andaman is that "Fire was stolen from *Biliku* by *Maia Tiritmo* (Sir Kingfisher)." Some of the legends give further details. An *Aka-Čari* legend is as follows:

"*Biliku* had a red stone and a pearl shell (*be*). She struck them together and obtained fire. She collected firewood and made a fire. She went to sleep. *Mite* (the bronze-winged dove) came and stole fire. He made a fire for himself. He gave fire to all the people in the village. Afterwards fire was given to all the places. Each village had its own."

The next is an *Aka-J̌eru* version.

"In the days of the ancestors they had no fire. *Biliku* had fire. While *Biliku* slept *Maia Lirčitmo* (Sir Kingfisher) came and stole fire. As he was taking the fire *Biliku* awoke and saw him. *Lirčitmo* swallowed the fire. *Biliku* took a pearl shell (*be*) and threw it at *Lirčitmo* and cut off his head. The fire came out (of his neck). The ancestors got the fire. *Lirčitmo* became a bird."

The next is also, I believe, an *Aka-J̌eru* story. "*Maia Tiritmo* (Sir Kingfisher) lived at *Tolepar Buruin*. He had no fire. When he caught fish he had no fire with which to cook it. He went to the place where *Čọkčura* (heron) lived. There was no fire there. *Tiritmo* took some rotten wood of the *piń*

[1] Until the settlement of Europeans on the islands the Andamanese had no knowledge of any means of producing fire. It is necessary to remember this to understand some of their legends which relate how in the time of the ancestors the fire was very nearly lost in a heavy storm.

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tree and hit it on a rock, and thus made fire. He gave fire to *Čǫkčura*. *Čǫkčura* gave fire to *Totemo* (a species of kingfisher). *Totemo* gave it to all the others.

A slightly different and less detailed version of the same story is as follows:

"*Tiritmo* made fire. *Totemo* stole fire (from *Tiritmo*) and gave it to *Mǫičo* (Rail). *Mǫičo* gave fire to all the people."

The next version, which was taken down in *Aka-J̌eru*, I did not fully understand.

"Some one shot an arrow. The arrow hit the hill of fire. *Tiriṅ* (a species of kingfisher) found the arrow. It was on fire. He took the fire to his camp. He would not give fire to any one. The others asked him. They went to their homes. At night they came to *Tiriṅ's* hut and stole fire. They went away, each to his own place."

There is a certain amount of obscurity about two other versions, which are given in a translation as nearly literal as possible. "*Maia Dik* (Sir Prawn) made fire. Some *kǫnmo* (yam) leaves caught fire, being dry. *Maia Dik* made a fire. *Maia Dik* slept. *Maia Totemo* (Sir Kingfisher) stole fire and ran away. *Maia Totemo* made a fire. He cooked fish. When he had eaten, he slept. *Maia Mite* (Sir Dove) stole fire (from *Totemo*) and ran away.

The other is as follows. "*Piribi* got fire from a stone. He threw fire at *Bilika*. It set some *kǫnmo* (yam) leaves on fire. *Čǫrolo* (Parrot) got fire (from the burning leaves). He gave it to the ancestors."

These two legends were taken down in *Aka-Čari*, but they are perhaps really *Aka-Kǫra* or *Aka-J̌eru* stories. I have the word *piribi* in my notes as meaning a storm, but the translation is doubtful.

The next is an *Aka-Kede* version of what is the most widespread of the legends.

"The ancestors had no fire. *Bilika* had fire. The ancestors tried to steal fire from *Bilika*. *Lirtit* (Kingfisher) went one night while *Bilika* was sleeping and stole fire. *Bilika* awoke and saw him going away with the fire. She threw a pearl shell (*ba*) at him, which cut off his wings and his tail. *Lirtit* dived

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into the water and swam with the fire to *Bet-'ra-kudu* and gave it to *Tępe*. *Tępe* gave fire to *Mite* (the bronze-winged dove). *Mite* gave it to the others[1]." 773 539

An *Aka-Kede* legend of the origin of the sun may conveniently be given in this place, as it is connected with the possession of fire by *Bilika*. "*Bilika* made fire of *purum* wood. One day, when she was very angry, she started throwing fire about. One large fire-brand she threw into the sky, and there t became the sun." This legend explains the name of the place *Purum-at-čape*, at which *Bilika* is said to have lived when on earth. *Purum* is the name of a tree, not identified; *at* means either "fire" or "fire-wood," and *čape* means a village or a hut. The whole word therefore means "*Purum* fire village."

I did not obtain any legend of the origin of fire from the *Okǫ-Juwǫi* and *Aka-Kǫl* tribes, but a version from each of these tribes has been given by Mr Portman. A translation of Mr Portman's *Okǫ-Juwǫi* story is as follows[2]. "*Mǫm Mirit*[3] stole a fire-brand from *Kuro-l'on-mika* while *Bilik* was sleeping. He gave the brand to the late *Leč*, who then made fire at *Karat-tatak-emi*."

Mr Portman's *Aka-Kǫl* story is somewhat obscure. "*Bilik* was sleeping at *Tǫl-l'oko-tima*. *Luratut* (Kingfisher) took away fire to *Oko-emi*. *Kǫlotat* went to *Min-tǫŋ-ta* (taking with him fire from *Oko-emi*). At *Min-tǫŋ-ta* the fire went out. *Kǫlotat* broke up the charred firewood and made fire again (by blowing up the embers). They (the people there) became alive. Owing to the fire they became alive. The ancestors (*Jaŋil*) thus got fire at *Min-tǫŋ-ta* village."

From the *A-Pučikwar* tribe I only obtained one version of the fire legend. "When the ancestors lived at *Wota-emi*, *Bilik* lived at *Tǫl-l'oko-tima* across the strait. In those days the ancestors had no fire. *Bilik* took some wood of the tree called *pęrat* and broke it and made fire for himself. *Luratut* (Kingfisher) came to *Tǫl-l'oko-tima* while *Bilik* was sleeping and stole some fire. *Bilik* awoke and saw *Luratut*. He (*Bilik*) took

[1] I understood that *Lirtit*, by the loss of his wings and tail, became a man.
[2] Portman, *loc. cit.*
[3] *Mom* is a title indicating respect, and *Mirit* is the imperial pigeon.

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up a lighted brand and threw it at *Luratut*. It hit him in the back of the neck and burnt him. *Luratut* gave the fire to the people at *Wota-emi*. *Bilik* was very angry about this and went away to live in the sky."

The kingfisher of the story (*Alcedo beavani?*) has a patch of bright red feathers on its neck. This is where it was burnt by the brand thrown by *Bilik*.

Mr Portman gives a slightly different version from the same tribe[1]. "*Bilik* was sleeping at *Tọl-l'oko-tima*. *Luratut* went to bring fire. He caught hold of the fire, and in doing so burnt *Bilik*. *Bilik* awoke and seized some fire. He hit *Luratut* with the fire. Then he hit *Tarčal* (a fish) with the fire. *Čalter* (another species of kingfisher) caught hold of the fire. He gave it to the ancestors at *Wota-emi*. The ancestors made fires."

From the *Akar-Bale* tribe I obtained the following legend: "The people had no fire. *Dim-dọri* (a fish) went and fetched fire from *J̌ereg-l'ar-mugu* (the place of departed spirits). He came back and threw the fire at the people and burnt them, and marked them all. The people ran into the sea and became fishes. *Dim-dọri* went to shoot them with his bow and arrows, and he also became a fish." This story is supposed to account for the bright colouring of certain species of fish.

Mr Portman gives a somewhat similar version from the same tribe[2]. *Dim-dọra* (a fish), a very long time ago, at *Keri-l'oŋ-tower*, was bringing fire from *Puluga's* platform (fire-place). He, taking the fire, burnt everybody with it. *Bolub* and *Tarkọr* and *Biličau* fell into the sea and became fishes. They took the fire to *Rokwa-l'ar-toŋa* village and made fires there."

Another *Akar-Bale* legend is that fire was given to the first ancestors (*Da Duku* and *In Bain*) by *Puluga*. Still another is that fire was obtained by the ancestors from *Aga*, the skink (*Mabuia tytleri*). The mist that is often seen hanging over the jungle in small patches, after rain or at dawn, is said to be the smoke of *Aga's* fire. An island in the Archipelago is called *Aga l'od-baraij*, *Aga's* village.

[1] Portman, *loc. cit.* [2] *Ibid.*

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Mr Portman gives an *Aka-Bea* legend, which, however, relates that the events took place at *Wota-emi* in the *A-Pučikwar* country[1].

"*Puluga* was asleep at *Tọl-l'oko-tima*. *Luratut* came, stealing fire. The fire burnt *Puluga*. *Puluga* awoke. *Puluga* seized some fire. Taking the fire he burnt *Luratut* with it. *Luratut* took the fire. He burnt *Tar-čeker* (another kind of kingfisher) with it in *Wota-emi* village. The ancestors lit fires. They (the ancestors) were the *Tomo-la*."

Mr Man gives three different versions of legends as to the origin of fire. According to the first of these, *Puluga*, after he had made the first man, *Tomo*, gave him fire and taught him its use. *Puluga* obtained fire by stacking in alternate layers two kinds of wood known as *cọr* and *ber*, and then bidding the sun to come and sit on or near the pile until she ignited it, after which she returned to her place in the sky[2]. The second version is that *Puluga* came to *Tomo* with a spirit named *Lači Puŋa Ablola* to instruct *Tomo*, who at his direction, prepared a pyre and then struck it, on which the fire was kindled and *Puŋa Ablola* proceeded to teach him how to cook food[3]. This legend contains an obvious contradiction. *Lači Puŋa Ablola*, as is shown by the name itself (*Lači* = the late), is the name of some one who is supposed to have lived and died and so become a spirit. Yet at the same time *Tomo* is supposed to have been the first of the Andamanese. There is the possibility, however, that this inconsistency is due not to the natives themselves, but to Mr Man's transcription. It is possible that the legend is that fire was discovered and was given to the ancestors (the *Tomo*) by a person who, being dead, is now *Lači Puŋa Ablola*, but who was then alive and one of the ancestors (*Tomo*) themselves.

A third legend about fire given by Mr Man is associated by him with another legend about a flood that once overwhelmed the ancestors. According to Mr Man's version the fires were all extinguished by the flood, so that the few survivors were left without fire. "At this juncture one of their recently deceased

[1] Portman, *loc. cit.* [2] Man, *op. cit.* p. 164. [3] *Ibid.*

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friends appeared in their midst in the form of a bird named *Luratut*. Seeing their distress he flew up to *Moro*, the sky, where he discovered *Puluga* seated beside his fire; he thereupon seized and attempted to carry away in his beak a burning log, but the heat, or weight, or both, rendered the task impossible, and the blazing brand fell on *Puluga*, who, incensed with pain, hurled it at the intruder; happily for those concerned, the missile missed its mark and fell near the very spot where the survivors were deploring their condition. As *Luratut* alighted in their midst at the same moment, he gained the full credit for having removed the chief cause of their distress[1]."

We may now consider a group of legends that relate how a great catastrophe overwhelmed the ancestors. In many of the versions the legend relates how the ancestors were transformed into animals. Some of the legends are connected with *Biliku* or *Puluga* and others are connected with the first discovery of fire. Beginning with the North Andaman, the following is, I believe, an *Aka-Jeru* version. "*Mimi Čara* once broke some firewood in the evening (while the cicada was singing). A great storm came and killed many people, who were turned into fishes and birds. The water rose up till it covered the trees. *Mimi Čara* and *Mimi Kota* took the fire and went up the hill to the cave at *Ŋaram*. They carried the fire under a cooking-pot. They kept the fire alight in the cave, until the storm was over."

Another *Aka-Jeru* legend was taken down hurriedly and the full details were not obtained. "The people made a noise in the evening when *Mite* (the cicada) was singing. *Mite* went to see her mother *Biliku*. Her mother saw her eyes and face. She looked bad. Her eyes were red (with weeping). *Biliku* was very angry. There was a big storm and heavy rain. *Biliku* threw her pearl shells (lightning). She went mad. She destroyed the whole world. *Biliku* went up to live in the sky. The earth was bare (literally, empty). One day *Biliku* dropped a *Dipterocarpus* seed from the sky. Out of this all the different kinds of tree grew, and the earth was again covered with

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 167.

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forest." There was more of the legend, which I was unable at the time to understand, and which I did not hear again. My informant added "It was on this occasion that *Maia Taolu* saved the fire."

An *Aka-Čari* legend relates how the birds and beasts and fishes arose. "*Maia Dik* (Sir Prawn) once got angry and threw fire at the people (the ancestors). They all turned into birds and fishes. The birds flew into the jungle. The fishes jumped into the sea. *Maia Dik*[1] himself became a large prawn which is still called by the same name." In connection with this legend it must be remembered that it was *Maia Dik*, according to one legend, who first discovered the use of fire. One version of the story said that he made fire by striking a piece of *parayo* wood. Then he threw the burning wood about amongst the ancestors and they turned into birds and fishes.

An *Aka-Jeru* version is very similar. "The people were all asleep. *Maia Kolo* (Sir Sea-eagle) came and threw fire amongst them. They awoke in a fright and all ran in different directions. Some ran into the sea and became fishes and turtle; others ran into the jungle and became birds."

The *Aka-Kede* version of the catastrophe that overtook the ancestors is as follows. "It was at the place called *Čilpet*. The people collected a lot of honey. They refused to give any to *Kupo-tera-wat* (a bird, not identified). The latter got very angry, and in the evening, when the cicadæ were singing he made a great noise and disturbed their song. Then there arose a great storm, and it rained very heavily, and the sea rose over the land. It rose very rapidly till only the top of a big *Dipterocarpus* tree showed above the water. The people took refuge in the branches of this tree. *Mima Mite* (Lady Dove) managed to rescue some fire and keep it alight under a cooking pot. The waters at length subsided. Then the people did not know how to get down from the tree. *Mima Čarami-lebek* made a long piece of string and with this she lowered the people

[1] *Dik* was one of the ancestors. He was a giant and was so big that he could go into the deepest water and never needed a canoe. He used to shoot dugong and porpoise with his bow and arrow. (The natives shoot small fish with a bow and arrows, but large fish and dugong and porpoise they take with harpoons.)

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safely to the ground." The *čarami-lebek*, which was not identified, is a species of bird that lives, so the natives say, only at the top of the very tallest trees of the forest.

An *Aka-Kǫl* version of the same legend is as follows: "At first there were no birds in the jungle and no fish in the sea. The ancestors were playing one evening and making a noise while the *peti* (cicada) was singing. Then *Bilik* got angry and sent a great cyclone. All the people were turned into birds and fishes and turtles and jungle beasts."

There is an *A-Pučikwar* legend that, in the days of the ancestors, there was a big cyclone. There was a flood at *Wota-emi* and the water rose up over the trees. Some of the ancestors climbed up into a big *Dipterocarpus* tree and remained there till the waters had subsided. I was not able to hear any more detailed version of the legend.

The following legend explaining how the ancestors were turned into animals was told me by an *A-Pučikwar* man, but it is probably really of *Akar-Bale* origin.

"It was in the days of the ancestors. *Ta Kǫlwǫt* (Sir Tree-lizard) went over to a big meeting at *Teb-juru* (in the Archipelago). There was a lot of dancing. *Kǫlwǫt* decided to give a big dancing party of his own. He invited everybody and they all came to his place. *Kǫlwǫt* danced a great deal. He began to get wild. All the people were afraid, because he was very strong. They caught hold of him by the arms. *Kǫlwǫt* got very angry. He threw the people from him. He threw them so violently that some fell in the sea and became fishes and turtle. Others fell on different islands and became birds and animals. No one could hold *Kǫlwǫt*. At last *Berep* (a species of crab) caught hold of his arm and would not let go. And thus *Berep* stopped him. Before this there had been no birds in the jungles nor any fish in the sea."

A more complete version of this story was obtained from the *Akar-Bale* tribe. "*Da Tigbul* (Sir Dugong) took all the people to dance at *Kwaičo*. *In Bain* (Lady Civet-cat) told *Da Kwǫkǫl* (Sir Tree-lizard) that people were coming from *Tar-mugu* to dance and that *Da Karami*[1] would quarrel with

[1] *Karami* is the name of a bird that was not identified.

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him. *Da Kwǫkǫl* replied 'Oh! I don't care. I can fight all those people easily enough.' All the people came together for the dance and *Karami* quarrelled with *Kwǫkǫl*. The latter got very angry. The people were afraid. *Tigbul* (Dugong) caught hold of *Kwǫkǫl* by the arm. *Kwǫkǫl* threw him from him with such force that *Tigbul* fell into the sea and became a dugong. Then *Kočurag-boa* caught hold of *Kwǫkǫl* and *Kwǫkǫl* threw him into the jungle[1]. *Kwǫkǫl* threw all the people into the sea or into the jungle and they became birds and beasts and fishes. No one could hold him. *Da Kwǫkǫl* went away to *Teb-juru*. The people told *Da Berag* (Sir Crab) what had happened at *Kwaičo* and how no one could hold *Da Kwǫkǫl*. *Da Berag* went after him to *Teb-juru*. *Da Kwǫkǫl* had covered himself with *kǫiob* (red paint)[2]. *Da Berag* pretended that he wanted some paint to put on his upper lip, saying that he was sick. There was no more red paint in the place, so *Da Kwǫkǫl* said 'You had better come and take some off me.' *Da Berag* put his nose to *Kwǫkǫl's* arm as though to get some paint, and bit deeply into *Kwǫkǫl's* shoulder. *Kwǫkǫl* could not get loose, and so he died. The people at *Teb-juru* attacked *Da Berag* and beat him. They could not kill him, because his skin was too hard, so they threw him into the sea. When *Kwǫkǫl's* mother, *Kegŋa*, came and found her son dead she was very angry. She wept for a long time. Then she went into the jungle and cut the plant *tǫkul* which belongs to *Puluga*. *Puluga* was angry because the *tǫkul* was cut and sent a big storm which killed *Kegŋa* and all the other people in that place."

Mr Man records another version of this legend.

"To explain the origin of certain fish, they say that one day before the Deluge, *Maia Kǫlwǫt* went to visit an encampment of the *Tomola* situated in the Archipelago. While engaged in his song the women, through inattention to his instructions, marred the effect of the chorus, so, to punish them, he seized

[1] *Kočurag-boa* is the *Akar-Bale* name for a huge legendary animal.

[2] When a man has killed another, either in a personal or a tribal quarrel, he has to observe several customs of which one is to keep himself painted with red paint for several weeks.

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his bow, whereupon the whole party in terror fled in all directions; some escaping into the sea were changed into dugongs, porpoises, sharks, and various other fish which till then had not been seen[1]."

Mr Man gives still another version of the same story. "One day, at the commencement of the rainy season, a *tomola* named *Berebi* came to visit *Kolwot's* mother, *Čana Erep*, with the express intention of seeing her son, of whom he was extremely jealous. When he appeared *Berebi* treacherously bit him in the arm, but his teeth became fixed in the flesh and he was therefore unable to detach himself from his victim, whose friends promptly avenged his murder, and disposed of the corpses by throwing them into the sea. (*Kolwot*, after death, was transformed into a species of tree-lizard, which is still named after him, and *Berebi* became a fish called *Koyo*, which is armed with a row of poisonous barbs in its back.) The bereaved mother, in her rage, grief and despair, committed various acts, against which *Tomo* had been warned by *Puluga*, and while so doing incited others to follow her example by the following words:—

e, e, e, dia ra-gumul l'ab-dala,
e, e, e, ŋul kaja pij pugatken,
e, e, e, ŋul čoaken toaiken,
e, e, e, ŋul boarato aga-kolaken,
e, e, e, ŋul gono boaŋken,
e, e, e, ŋul toŋ čoara boaŋken,
e, e, e, ŋig arlot pulaijoken.

The translation of which is:—

e, e, e (sobbing)—My grown-up handsome son,
" " Burn the wax,
" " Grind the seed of the *čakan* (*Entada*),
" " Destroy the *barata* (*Caryota*),
" " Dig up the *gono* (yam),
" " Dig up the *čati* (yam),
" " Destroy everything."

Thereupon *Puluga* was exceeding wroth, and sent the flood, that which destroyed all living things with the exception of two men and two women.

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 171.

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"This tradition is preserved in the following lines:—

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Keledoat ibaji lar čora,
Ra-gumul ab-gorga en ig-boadi
Ra-gumul le liga koarna
Ra-gumul ab-gorka
Toala arbo eb dagan čoarpo.

The meaning of which is:—

Bring the boat to the beach
I will see your fine grown-up son,
The grown-up son who threw the youths (into the sea)
The fine grown-up son,
My adze is rusty, I will stain my lips with his blood.

In this, as in all their songs and chants, a good deal is left to the imagination, but from their explanations which have been given by the aborigines, the following appear to afford some light on the subject:—*Berebi*, being jealous of the renown *Kolwot* had won for himself by his numerous accomplishments and great strength, took advantage of meeting him and his mother one day on the water to ask them to let him enter their boat. On their complying with his request, he provided himself with a rusty adze and hone, remarking on the rusty condition of the former; then taking *Kolwot* by the arm he sniffed it from the wrist to the shoulder as if admiring the development of the muscles; while doing so he muttered the threat of staining his lips with blood, which he shortly after fulfilled in the manner already described[1]."

As the songs given in this legend are in the *Akar-Bale* language (Southern dialect), it is probable that the legend is an *Akar-Bale* one. It is really another version of the legend already given.

Another *Akar-Bale* story tells how the first ancestors *Duku*, the monitor lizard, and *Bain* the civet-cat, managed to keep the fire alight when a flood overwhelmed them. "One day in the time of the ancestors there came a great storm, and the water rose over the land. The rain put out the fires. *Da Duku* (Sir Monitor Lizard) took a smouldering log and tried to climb up a tree with it. He could not climb with the fire in his hand. His wife *In Bain* (Lady Civet-cat) took the fire from him and took it

[1] Man, *op. cit.* pp. 167—169.

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up to the top of a hill and there kept it alight till the rain stopped and the water went away. The hill is called *Bain l'it-čapa* (Bain's fire) to the present day." The hill is a rather steep-sided hill of no great height in Havelock Island.

Mr Portman[1] connects the story of the flood with the story of the dispersion of the ancestors over the islands. Referring to the names of the tribes he says, "The Andamanese state that these names were given to the different tribes by *Maia Tomo-la* when they were dispersed after a cataclysm. They have a tradition that this group of tribes was once all one tribe, and that the Andaman Islands were much larger than at present. Some great cataclysm occurred during which part of the islands subsided and many aborigines were drowned, the remainder being separated into different territories as at present by the orders of *Maia Tomo-la*, apparently the chief at that time of the collected tribe. (The above is of course a matter-of-fact version of the fanciful and impossible legends of the Andamanese.)"

The dispersion legend in the South Andaman is connected with the name of the *A-Pučikwar* tribe. The name (of which the *Aka-Bea* equivalent is *Aka-Bojig-yab*) means "those who talk the original language," it being believed that the *A-Pučikwar* language was the one originally spoken by the ancestors.

The only version of the dispersion legend that I heard was from the *Aka-Kede* tribe. It was to the effect that *Bilika* once seized all the ancestors and put them in a netted bag (such as the natives use for carrying small objects of various kinds). She (or he) took them out a few at a time and put them in different parts of the country, where their descendants have been ever since.

Mr Man speaks of a legend of how the tribes came to be dispersed over the islands. From his account it would seem that there were two different dispersions, one before the Deluge, and a second after it. Mr Man's account is as follows. "*Tomo* lived to a great age, but even before his death his offspring became so numerous that their home could no longer accommodate them. At *Puluga's* bidding they were furnished with all necessary weapons, implements, and fire, and then scattered in

[1] *Notes on the Languages*, etc. p. 27.

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pairs all over the country. When this exodus occurred *Puluga* provided each party with a distinct dialect. It would almost seem that, without straining the legend to suit facts, we might discern in this a faint echo of the Biblical account of the confusion of tongues and dispersion at Babel[1]."

"Consequent on the disappearance of *Tomo* and his wife, the duties of headship over the community at *Wota-emi* devolved on one of their grandchildren, named *Kolwot*, who was distinguished by being the first to spear and catch turtles. The *tomola* remained on the islands long after *Tomo's* transformation, but after *Kolwot's* death, according to one legend, they grew disobedient, and as *Puluga* ceased to visit them, became more and more remiss in their observance of the commands given at the creation. At last *Puluga's* anger burst forth, and, without any warning, he sent a great flood that covered the whole land, and destroyed all living. Four persons (two men, *Lora-lola* and *Poi-lola*, and two women, *Ka-lola* and *Rima-lola*), who happened to be in a canoe when the catastrophe occurred, were able to effect an escape. When the waters subsided, they found themselves near *Wota-emi*, where they landed and discovered that every living thing on earth had perished; but *Puluga* re-created the animals, birds, etc.[2]."

"When, for the second time in their history, their numbers had increased to so great an extent that it became impossible for them to remain together in one spot, an exodus, similar to the first, took place; each party being furnished with fire and every other essential, started in a different direction, and on settling down adopted a new and distinct dialect. They each received a tribal name, and from them have sprung the various tribes still existing on the islands[3]."

In the Southern tribes there is a legend to account for the origin of night. The following version was obtained from the *A-Pučikwar* tribe. "In the early days of the world, in the time of the ancestors, there was no night; it was always day. *Ta Petie* (Sir Monitor Lizard) went into the jungle to dig up yams. He found some yams. He also found some resin (*teki*), and a cicada (*roto*). He brought them to the camp of the ancestors at

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 166. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] Man, *op. cit.* p. 169.

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Wota-emi. He sat down and the people came round him. *Ta Pętie* took the cicada and rubbed it between his hands and crushed it. As he did this the cicada uttered its cry. Then the day went away and it was dark. It remained dark for several days. The ancestors came together and tried to get back the day. They made torches of resin, and danced and sang songs. First *Kotare* (a bird) sang a song, but he could not get back the daylight. Then *Bumu* (a beetle?) sang, but the day would not come. Then *Pecerǫl* (the bulbul, *Otocompsia emeria*) sang, and after him *Kǫio* (a bird), but both in vain. Then *Kǫŋoro* (a species of ant) sang a song and morning came. After that, day and night followed one another alternately."

A similar legend was obtained from the *Akar-Bale* tribe. "*Da Teŋat*[1] lived at *Golugma Bud.* He went fishing one day and got only one small fish of the kind called *čelau* (*Glyphidodon sordidus*?). He turned to go home, and as he went he shot his arrows before him into the jungle[2]. Then he went after his arrows to find them again. As he went he spoke to the fruits of the jungle, asking them their names. In those days the ancestors did not know the names of the fruits and trees. First he asked the *puiam*, and then the *guluba*, and then the *čakli*, but none of them replied to him. Then he found his first arrow. It was stuck fast in a big yam (*gono*). He took the arrow and said to the yam 'What is your name?' At first the yam did not answer. *Teŋat* turned to go away. He had gone a few steps when the yam called him back, saying 'My name is *gono*.' *Teŋat* replied 'Oh! I did not know. Why did not you say so before?' He dug up the yam, which was a very big one. He went off to look for his second arrow. As he went he spoke to the stones of the jungle, asking their names, but none of them replied. Then he found his second arrow fixed in a large lump of resin (*tug*)[3]. He took the arrow, and as he was going away

[1] This is the name of some creature that I did not identify, perhaps a kind of spider.

[2] An Andaman Islander will often, when walking along the shore, shoot his arrows before him, either aiming at some object, or trying to send each one as far as possible. I have never seen them do this in the jungle, for they might easily lose the arrows.

[3] The Andamanese classify resin as a "stone" although they know its vegetable origin.

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the resin called him back, saying 'Here! my name is *tug*; you can take me along with you.' So *Teŋat* took the resin. Then *Teŋat* found a cicada (*rita*), and he took that also. When *Teŋat* got to the hut (*bud*), everyone came to look at the things he had brought. He showed them the yam. He told them its name and showed them how to cook it. This was the first time that the ancestors ate *gono*. Then *Teŋat* took in his hand the cicada and squashed it between his palms. As he killed it the cicada uttered its cry and the whole world became dark. When the people saw that it was dark they tried to bring back the daylight. *Teŋat* took some of the resin and made torches. He taught the people how to dance and sing. When *Da Koŋoro* (Sir Ant) sang a song the day came back. After that the day and night came alternately."

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Mr Man records a different version of this story.

"The manner in which the world was illuminated at the beginning is not clearly to be ascertained from their legends, for one story states that the sun and moon were subsequently created at *Tomo's* request, as he found that, under the then existing circumstances, it was impossible to catch fish by night or to hunt by day; while, in direct disagreement with this, another story tells us that night was a punishment brought upon mankind by certain individuals who angered *Puluga* by killing a caterpillar. The tale informs us that the sun, one day, burned so fiercely as to cause great distress. Two women named *Čana Limi* and *Čana Jarayud*, became exceedingly irritable, and while in this unhappy frame of mind they discovered a caterpillar (*gurug*) and a certain plant called *utura*. By way of venting their spleen, one crushed the helpless grub, and the other destroyed the plant. These wanton acts so displeased *Puluga* that he determined to punish them, and to teach them to appreciate the privilege of daylight, which they had hitherto uninterruptedly enjoyed. He accordingly visited the earth with a long-continued darkness, which caused every one much inconvenience and distress. At last their chief, *Maia Kolwot*, to whom reference has already been made, hit upon a happy expedient of inducing *Puluga* to restore the former state of things by trying to assure him that they were quite unconcerned, and could enjoy

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themselves in spite of light being withheld from them. To accomplish this, he invented the custom of dancing and singing, the result of which was that *Puluga*, finding that they had frustrated his intention, granted, as a first concession alternate periods of day and night, and subsequently, moved by the difficulties often occasioned by the latter, created the moon to mitigate their troubles. It is in this way that they account for the same word being used to denote a caterpillar and night[1]."

From the *Akar-Bale* tribe I obtained a legend about the origin of death. No other version of the same legend was obtained.

"At *Joyo-l'ar-boy* lived *In Kalwadi* with her sons *Yaramurud* and *Toau*[2]. *Yaramurud* went to hunt pig for his mother, but was unsuccessful. When he came home his mother brought him some pork that was in the hut. As he took his knife from the back of his neck to cut the meat with it, he cut himself[3]. Then his mother knew that he was dead. She said to him 'You are dead now. You had better go away. We do not want you here any more.' She took him up and carried him into the jungle and buried him, returning home. Very soon *Yaramurud* returned. His mother exclaimed 'Oh! I thought you had gone.' He replied 'Mother, I did not die. Why did you bury me?' But she knew he was dead, so she took him and buried him again. He came back again. This happened three times. Then *Kalwadi* took him into the jungle to a big *dumla* tree (*Pisonia excelsa*), in which there was a big hole. She kicked the tree with her foot and said 'You go in there.' *Yaramurud* went inside. 'Well! Have you gone?' his mother asked. He answered 'Yes!' 'Tell me how the spirits (*čauga*) talk' she asked him, and he replied '*To kit*[4].' Then his mother knew that he was with the spirits, and said 'Oh! my child, you are

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 172.

[2] *Kalwadi* is a small crab, *yaramurud* is the crow pheasant (*Centropus andamanensis*), and *toau* is the hawksbill turtle.

[3] Knives are generally carried slipped into a string that is tied round the neck, the knife, with a skewer of sharpened wood that is attached to it, hanging at the back of the neck, where it is easily accessible and not likely to get lost.

[4] I could obtain no explanation of the phrase, or word, *to kit*. My informant only said "That is the way the spirits talk."

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finished now. You will never come back again.' After a few days *Yaramurud* came back (as a spirit) to see his brother *Toau*. *Toau* was busy building a hut. When *Yaramurud* saw him he killed him. Before this there had been no death. But *In Kalwadi* told the people, saying 'You see what has happened; well, we shall all of us die like this, like these two have done'."

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There is a widespread legend to account for the origin of creeks and islands. The following is an *A-Pučikwar* version.

"At first there was only one big island with the sea all round it. There were no small islands and no creeks. *Kǫŋoro* (a species of ant) made a turtle net and went fishing. He caught a very big fish of the kind called *kǫro-ŋiti-čau* in his net, and dived down and attached a rope to its tail. The fish got very angry and made furious plunges to get away, striking the land in its struggles, and each time knocking off a bit of the land or making a long split. This is the origin of the smaller islands and the creeks."

Mr Man records the same legend, but says it was *Tomo* who caught the fish[1]. In an *Akar-Bale* version it was *Da Pečerǫl* who caught the fish (*kǫroŋadi*). *Pečerǫl* is the bulbul (*Otocompsia emeria*). I have the name *kǫroŋadi* in my notes as being *Sphyraena acutipinnis*, but the identification is a doubtful one. In the *Aka-Kede* tribe there is a version in which it is stated that one of the ancestors captured a fish called *talepo*. This does not seem to be the same species of fish as that called *koro-ŋiti-čau* or *kǫroŋadi* in the South. In the North Andaman the legend is that *Pęrjido*, the son of *Biliku*, shot a large eel (*bol*) with an arrow, and in its endeavours to get free from the arrow the eel wriggled about till it made all the creeks.

In the Southern tribes there is a legend that relates how the pig first got its senses. A version from the *A-Pučikwar* tribe is as follows.

"*Ta Mita* (Sir Dove) went into the jungle and found a lot of pigs. They did not run away when he came because they had no eyes to see him, no ears to hear, and no nostrils with which to smell. They had no mouths. *Mita* made mouths for them and gave them tusks which he made of *tobur* wood. He made

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 165.

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eyes and ears and nostrils in their heads and taught them how to grunt and how to sneeze[1]."

Another version from the same tribe is as follows.

"At first the pigs had neither nose nor ears nor eyes. They used to stand about at *Wota-emi* when the ancestors lived there. The people ate a great many of them. They were such a nuisance that *Mita* (Dove), the wife of *Tomo*, thought of a plan to get them out of the way. She bored holes in their heads, two for eyes, two for ears, and two for nostrils. The pigs ran off into the forest where they have been ever since."

I did not obtain any version of this legend from the Northern tribes. The *Aka-Kede* have a different legend about the pigs.

"At first there were no pigs. One of the ancestors, *Mimi Čau* (Lady Civet-cat), invented a new game, and made the ancestors run on all fours and grunt. Those playing were turned into pigs, and went to live in the jungle. *Mimi Čau* became a civet-cat (*čau*)."

In the North Andaman there is a legend connected with the pig which explains the origin of the dugong.

"*Pęrjido* was the first man to catch a pig. He went into the forest and found a pig. *Pęrjido* was hungry. He caught the pig and took it home. The pig had no eyes nor ears nor mouth. *Pęrjido* did not disembowel the pig, nor did he sever the joints of its legs[2]. He made a fire and put the pig on it. The pig swelled up in the heat of the fire and burst. This made holes in the pig's head, two for ears, two for eyes, two for nostrils. The pig perceived that it was being burnt. It jumped up from the fire and ran away. *Pęrjido* threw a *kọbo* (*Licuala*) leaf at it. The pig ran into the sea and became a dugong. The leaf became its flipper."

In the *Aka-Čari* tribe there is a legend describing the origin of turtles.

"At first there was only one big turtle. He came to the camp of the *Aka-Čari* people and called them, saying 'Bring your canoes and catch me.' They got into their canoes and

[1] The sneezing (the word is translated literally) is a sort of whistling noise that the wild pigs make when they suspect danger.

[2] The Andamanese always disembowel a pig and sever the joints of its legs before they place it on a fire.

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followed the turtle. They could not catch him. The turtle swam away and the canoes followed. When the canoes were far from land the big turtle came and upset the canoes. The men were all turned into turtles of the same kind and size as those that are seen now. The canoes (and the big turtle?) were turned into a reef." 773 539

In the South Andaman it is supposed that the custom of scarifying the skin was invented by the first ancestor of the Andamanese, the monitor lizard. An *Akar-Bale* version of the story is as follows. 773 539 304

"*Duku* (Monitor Lizard) lived with his wife *Bain* (Civet-cat). *Duku* said 'I am going to scarify myself.' His wife tried to dissuade him. He would not listen to her. He went into the jungle and found a piece of *tolma*[1] (quartz) and scarified himself all over. His wife was very angry and asked him why he had done it. *Duku* replied 'I look very well like this, and you will see, all the other people will do the same'."

Mr Man gives a version of the same legend.

"*Maia Duku*, who appears to be identical with *Tomo*, is said to have been the first to tattoo himself. One day, while out on a fishing expedition, he shot an arrow; missing its object it struck a hard substance which proved to be a piece of iron, the first ever found. With it *Duku* made an arrow-head and tattooed himself, after which he sang the ditty:—

Toŋ ma lir pireŋa? toŋ yitiken! toŋ yitiken!
toŋ ma lir pireŋa? toŋ yitiken!

the interpretation of which is

'What can now strike me?
I am tattooed, I am tattooed!' etc. (Da capo)[1]."

It would seem that Mr Man, or else his informant, was not very clear about the details of the legend. In the South Andaman scarification is never performed with an arrow-head, nor with any instrument of iron, but with a flake of quartz or glass. It is only in the North and Middle Andaman that an arrow-head is used for such a purpose, and even then it is only so used to make the big scars on the back and chest, the ordinary scarifica-

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 170.

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773 539 304 tion being performed with a flake of stone or glass. The legend is certainly a Southern one, and the song given is in the *Aka-Bea* language. The accuracy of the transcription of the legend therefore seems very doubtful.

773 539 Yams and honey, being two of the most important foods of the Andaman Islanders, are the subject of several legends. A common belief about yams is that they were made, or their qualities were first discovered, by *Biliku* or *Puluga*. We have already seen that there is a special connection between *Biliku* (or *Puluga*) and the yams and other edible roots. There are also other legends, however, on the same subject. An account of the first discovery of the yam called *gono* is contained in the *Akar-Bale* legend of the origin of night, already given[1].

In the North Andaman the following tale is told about the discovery of one kind of yam.

"*Maia Dik* (Sir Prawn) discovered *kǫnmo* (*Dioscorea* sp.). He was very hungry and went to look for something to eat. He found a very large *kǫnmo*. There was only one *kǫnmo*. He cooked it in the fire and ate as much as he could. He dashed the remainder on a rock, and the fragments scattered everywhere and grew into fresh plants. After this there were plenty of *kǫnmo* everywhere."

A legend is also told in the North Andaman about the first discovery of another kind of yam.

"*Maia Pulimu* (Sir Fly) and *Maia Mǫičo* (Sir Rail) went to hunt pig. They killed one pig. There was nothing to tie up the pig (to carry it home). *Maia Pulimu* went to look for a creeper (with which to tie up the pig). He caught hold of a creeper and pulled it and found it was a *mino* (*Dioscorea* sp.). *Maia Pulimu* was a long time away. *Maia Mǫičo* went and found some creeper for himself and tied up the pig and carried it home. When *Maia Pulimu* came back he found that *Maia Mǫičo* had gone and taken the pig. He followed him and went home. He showed the ancestors how to cook and eat *mino*."

I believe that there is a fuller version of this legend, which I was unable, however, to obtain. Another of my informants told me the story as follows.

[1] Page 214.

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"*Mimi Moičo* (Lady Rail) had a son *Pulimu* (Fly). *Pulimu* found a *mino* in the forest and brought it to his mother. They roasted it in the fire." 773 539

Mr Man gives a story from the South Andaman.

"Another of their antediluvian ancestors was famous for propagating yams. This was *Maia Bumroag*, who in shooting an arrow, struck the creeper belonging to the favourite variety called *gono*; his curiosity being excited he dug up the root, and tasted it: the result being satisfactory, he informed his friends of his discovery, and they all feasted upon it; when they had had sufficient, he scattered the remains in different directions; this apparent waste so angered his mother that, on pretence of shaving him, she split his head open with a flint. After his death it was found that the act for which he had suffered had tended to the spread of the plant which is now plentiful[1]."

In the North Andaman it is supposed that honey was discovered by *Pęrjido* the son of *Biliku*.

"*Pęrjido* was the first to eat honey. One day he went to shoot fish. He saw a *nyuri* (*Plotosus* sp.). The *nyuri* disappeared amongst the roots of the mangrove trees. *Pęrjido* was looking for the fish. There was a honeycomb in a mangrove tree. *Pęrjido* saw its reflection in the water. He took some fire and tried to get the honey out of the water[2]. The water put out the fire. He could not get the honey. He went home and told his mother what he had been doing. She went with him and saw the honey. 'What a fool you are' she said, 'don't you see that it is in the trees.' *Pęrjido* took some fire and smoked out the bees and took the honey. After that *Pęrjido* used to go and collect honey. He ate it all himself. He did not tell the others (the ancestors) about it. *Maia Pęrubi* (Sir Frog) found out that *Pęrjido* was getting honey and eating it. He went in to the forest to look for some. He found five or six combs. He ate them all and brought none home to his children. *Bęręt* (a smaller species of frog) was the child of *Pęrubi*. One day *Bęręt* said to his father 'Bring us some honey.' The children went with their father and showed him the combs in the trees.

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 170.

[2] In taking a honeycomb the natives often drive away the bees with fire or smoke.

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Pǫrubi went up the tree, and each time he ate the honey in the tree and did not bring any of it down for his children. Then *Bęręt* saw another honeycomb in a very tall tree. He pointed it out to his father. *Pǫrubi* went up to get it. *Bęręt* cut the creeper up which his father had climbed[1]. *Pǫrubi* wrapped up the honeycomb to bring it down. *Bęręt* said 'Father, this creeper is bad. How will you come down?' *Pǫrubi* replied 'How can it be bad, when I have just climbed up it?' *Bęręt* made some sharp stakes of *čǫm* (*Areca*) wood, and put them round the tree. *Pǫrubi* jumped (or fell) from the tree on to the stakes and was killed. *Bęręt* took the honey and ran away home."

In the *Aka-Čari* tribe there is another legend connected with the frog (*pǫrubi*) which may conveniently be given here.

"The ancestors were at enmity with *Maia Pǫrubi*. They went to kill him. They shot him with their arrows, but they could not kill him. *Maia Pǫrubi* caught hold of them all in his arms, and jumped into the sea. He jumped from the hill called *Čauanara*. He found a big round stone (boulder) and put the people under it and left them there. All the people turned into stone, and may be seen there now. The next night some more of the people went to hunt turtle near *Maia Pǫrubi's* place. They caught a turtle and shouted[2]. *Maia Pǫrubi* heard them shouting. 'They are coming again to kill me,' he said. While they were catching turtle he threw a round stone at them. The stone sank the canoe. The canoe and the people in it were turned to stone."

A story in which there is a connection between honey and a toad is given by Mr Man.

"Another curious fable is told to account for a drought from which their early ancestors suffered: it relates that once upon a time, in the dry season, a woodpecker discovered a black honeycomb in the hollow of a tree; while regaling himself on this dainty he observed a toad eyeing him wistfully from below, so he invited him to join in the feast; the toad gladly accepted, whereupon the woodpecker lowered a creeper, giving instructions to

[1] In climbing a tall tree the Andamanese choose a stout cane or other creeper depending from one of the branches of the tree, and climb up it.

[2] The natives express their joy at a success in hunting by shouting.

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his guest to fasten his bucket (*dakar*) thereto, and then to seat himself in it, so that he might be drawn up. The toad complied with the directions and the woodpecker proceeded to haul him up; but just when he had brought him near the comb he mischievously let go the creeper, and his confiding and expectant guest experienced an unpleasant fall. The trick so exasperated him that he at once repaired to the streams far and near in the island and drained them, the result of which was that great distress was occasioned to all the birds, as well as to the rest of the animate creation. The success of his revenge so delighted the toad that, to show his satisfaction, and to add to the annoyance of his enemies, he thoughtlessly began to dance, whereupon all the water flowed from him, and the drought soon terminated[1]."

One of the incidents of the North Andaman story of the frog (*Pǫrubi*) and his son (*Bǫrǫt*) appears in a different story from the South and Middle Andaman. The following is an *Aka-Kǫl* version of this legend.

"*Ta Mita* (Sir Dove) and *Ta Kǫio* (a species of small bird) went hunting together and got a great number of pigs. *Ta Kǫio* told *Ta Mita* to get some canes to tie up all the pigs. As soon as *Ta Mita* had gone to look for the cane, *Ta Kǫio* went up a big *Dipterocarpus* tree, taking half the pigs with him. He came down and took the rest of the pigs. He stayed up in the tree with the pigs. When *Ta Mita* came back he found that the pigs had disappeared. He was very angry and went home. As there was nothing to eat, *Mita* and his two children, *Čada* and *Čoda* (two species of fish) went fishing. *Kǫio* was still up the tree. He was cooking the pigs up there. *Mita* and his children passed under the tree and some burning resin[2] fell on them. In this way they discovered that *Kǫio* was in the tree. *Mita* planned to punish *Kǫio*. He cut a great number of sharp stakes of *Areca* wood and fixed them all round the tree, pointing upwards. *Kǫio* was asleep. *Mita* made the tree sink into the ground. As soon as it was low enough he took some water and threw it into the

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 173.

[2] The narrator said "resin." The *Dipterocarpus* tree does not produce resin, but a sort of oil. The marks on the two fishes owe their origin to this incident.

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ear of the sleeping *Kọio*, who awoke in a fright and jumped from the tree. He was impaled on the stakes of wood and so died."

Another version of the same tale was obtained from the *Akar-Bale* tribe.

"*Da Bumu* (a species of bird) went hunting pig with *Da Berakwe* (another species of bird), and they got a large number of pigs. Then *Berakwe* said to *Bumu* 'We want some cane to tie up all these pigs. You go and get it.' When *Bumu* had gone *Berakwe* climbed up into a big *Dipterocarpus* tree, taking all the pigs with him, except one very small one which he left behind. When *Bumu* came back with the cane he found only one small pig, and he was very angry. He went home with the pig. *Bumu's* wife *Yakoŋ* (a species of fish) said 'I am very hungry. We will go and get some fish by night.' At night *Yakoŋ* went out to get some fish and she passed under the tree where *Berakwe* was cooking his pigs. Some burning resin fell on her and burnt her. She looked up and saw *Berakwe* and said 'Oh! there you are; you stole all my husband's pigs.' She went home and told *Bumu*. In the morning *Bumu* got up very early and cut a number of pointed stakes of *Areca* (*čam*) wood, and fixed them all round the tree where *Berakwe* was, with the sharp points upwards. Then *Bumu* made the tree sink gradually into the ground. *Berakwe* fell from the tree on to the stakes and so was killed. *Bumu* and his wife got the pigs."

Mr Man records a version of the same story.

"The legend regarding the origin of the evil spirits known as *Čọl* is as follows:—Their ancestor, *Maia Čọl*, one day stole a pig which had been captured by *Maia Kọlwọt*, and climbed up into a gurjon-tree with his prize. Now *Maia Kọlwọt* was remarkable for his great strength, and being enraged, determined to revenge himself; he thereupon planted a number of spikes all round the tree in which the thief had taken refuge, and then proceeded to force it into the ground. On finding that if he remained where he was, he must inevitably be buried alive, *Maia Čọl* sprang off the tree, and thereby met a more terrible fate, for he was impaled on the spikes, and perished miserably. His disembodied spirit did not pass to *Čaitan* (Hades), but took up its abode on the invisible bridge, where, by *Puluga's* orders, numbers of his

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descendants were sent to join him, in the form of black birds with long tails[1]."

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In reference to this version it may be noted that the *Čọl* are not "spirits" if that word is used to translate the native term *čauga* or *lau*. *Čọl* is the name of a species of bird, which I believe is the racket-tailed drongo. These birds, though according to Mr Man they live on the rainbow, are to be seen every day in the jungle, and may be heard calling *čọl! čọl! čọl!*

Throughout the Great Andaman there is a belief in a huge animal that haunts the jungles, or that haunted them in the days of the ancestors. In the North Andaman this beast is called *ǰirmu*. In the days of the ancestors it is supposed to have lived at *Ulibi-tay*, where it attacked and killed any men and women who came in its way. No detailed legend about the *ǰirmu* was obtained.

In the *Akar-Bale* language *Kočurag-boa* is the name of the same or a similar monster. In the *A-Pučikwar* language it is called *Uču*. This is the name applied to two rocks of limestone which are situated about two or three miles south of *Wota-emi*, one being in a mangrove swamp, and the other some little way out in the sea. The following legend is told about these rocks.

"In the early days of the Andamanese, *Ta Pẹtie* (Sir Monitor Lizard), the first ancestor, went into the jungle and found a *čọti* tree, up which he climbed to eat the fruit. The other people (who lived with him at *Wota-emi*) came and found him, and *Ta Pẹtie* threw down some of the fruit to them, which they ate. The people began to bully *Pẹtie* to make him throw down more of the fruit. *Pẹtie* got angry and said 'If you bully me like that I will call the *Uču*, and they will kill you all.' The people only laughed at him. *Pẹtie* called the *Uču*, calling '*Dire! dire!*' The *Uču* came, one male and one female. They caught all the people and ate them. Only *Pẹtie* they did not eat because he was up in the high tree. The *Uču* went off to cross the strait to *Tọl-l'oko-tima*. They had eaten so much that they were very heavy and stuck in the sand and mud at the edge of the mangrove swamp. When *Pẹtie* came down from the tree he found all the people gone. He said 'Hallo! the *Uču* must have eaten

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 173.

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them all.' He went to look. He found the *Uču* stuck fast at the edge of the mangrove swamp, so that they could not move. He cut open their bellies and all the people came out, for the *Uču* had swallowed them whole. The *Uču* are there to this day."

When elephants were first introduced into the Andamans for the use of the Forest Department, they were named *Uču* by the natives, and have ever since retained that name. Similarly the natives of the Northern tribes call them *J̌irmu*.

In the *Akar-Bale* tribe there is a legend to account for the origin of a rock standing in the sea at a place called *Kwaičo-bur*.

"*Ra-gumul Kwọkọl* went fishing with his bow and arrows in the sea. His bow and arrows and he himself were turned into stone, and may be seen there to the present day."

Kwọkọl is the common tree-lizard. *Ra-gumul* is the term applied to a youth or girl who has just passed through the pig-eating ceremony described in Chap. II. A youth is not permitted to handle a bow for some days after the ceremony in question. A version of the same legend is recorded by Mr Man.

"The story regarding certain *Tomola* who failed to observe the rules for neophytes, states that, on the day after they broke their fast of *reg-ǰiri* (kidney-fat of pig), they left the encampment without giving notice of their intention to their friends, and the result was that, when they were missed and searched for, it was found that they had gone to the shore to fish, and had there met a sad fate; the body of one was discovered adhering to a large boulder, and turned into stone, while the other, likewise in a state of petrifaction, was standing erect beside it[1]."

A reef on the east side of Ritchie's Archipelago is said to have originated as follows.

"The people of *Kwaičo* went to *J̌ila* to hunt turtle, taking two canoes. While they were away their wives made up a big fire in the evening at *Kwaičo*. The hunters and their canoes were turned to stone, and formed the reefs that are now there."

I believe that the explanation of this story is the belief that the moon is angry when a bright fire is visible at the time when he rises in the evening shortly after sunset[2].

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 169. [2] *Vide supra*, p. 142.

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There seems to be a legend relating to a large snake called *ọr-čubi* in the North Andaman, but I was not able to obtain a detailed version. The following was told me in *Aka-Jeru*. 773 539

"At *Dalamio*, in the time of the ancestors, there used to be a big snake of the kind called *ọr-čubi*. He used to catch men and women when they were gathering honey, and kill them and eat them."

An *Akar-Bale* version is a little fuller.

"There was a man named *Biča* who went to look for honey in the jungle. He saw a big snake (*wara-jobo*) and from its neck was hanging a honeycomb. The snake was as big as a tree. 'Why don't you make your honey in the trees?' *Biča* said to the bees. He went home and called several of the men. They took their bows and arrows. They found the snake, and shot it with a great many arrows. They could not kill the snake, which ran away and was never seen again."

An *Akar-Bale* story relates how the first murder came to pass.

"*Da Ko* (Sir Crow) was the first of the Andamanese. He lived at *Kared-čar-buaro* with his wife *In Mud* (Lady Dove). He had a friend, *Badgi-beria* (Hawk). *Badgi-beria* had no wife and was jealous of *Da Ko* and wanted to get his wife. When *Da Ko* knew this he was very angry. He went into the jungle and hid himself. By and by he saw *Badgi-beria* and *Mud* coming along the path together. He took his bow and arrows and killed them."

Another *Akar-Bale* story about the dove is as follows.

"*Mud* and *Kulal* were cooking pig and got very hot. They went to bathe and were turned into birds."

Mud is the bronze-winged dove, *Chalcophaps indica*, and *kulal* is the teal, *Nettium albigulare*.

In the North Andaman there are tales about the sea-eagle (*kọlo*). One is to the effect that at first he used *kọbo* (*Licuala*) leaves to fly with. This was before he had wings of his own. Another story is as follows.

"*Maia Kọlo* (Sir Sea-eagle) lived at *Čona* in *Tau-'ra-miku*. He had a hut in the top of a *tọrọktato* tree. He was unmarried.

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When the men went fishing he used to steal their wives. He would only take good-looking girls. He would call out to a girl to come and catch hold of his foot, saying 'I have a fish for you.' If an old or ugly woman came, he would say 'No! not you; go away.' When a young woman came and caught hold of his foot he flew away with her to his hut in the tree."

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X 182 765 which the mourners are welcomed back to the society, just as returning friends are welcomed after an absence. It has nothing whatever to do, I believe, with the dead person for whom they have been mourning, but is merely an expression of solidarity between those still alive. Dancing and the decorations used in the dance, I have argued, are means by which the society expresses its own unity, and makes the individual realise what it means to be one of a group, so that in this dance we see the society once more coming together to continue its common life, and compelling those who have been cut off from it to feel, even against their inclinations, that they have become once more units of the social body. After this ceremony the mourners are relieved from the restrictions to which they were subjected.

X 182 765 773 551 In order to complete this discussion of the burial customs it is necessary to explain why a person's name should be dropped from use after his death, and although this will require a digression of some length, this seems the most convenient point at which to deal with it. There is a very special relation between the name of anything and its fundamental characteristics, which in logic we describe by saying that the latter are included in the connotation of the name. The way in which the Andamanese represent this relation to themselves is shown in one of the legends. At a time when the ancestors did not know either the names or the uses of the different objects to be found in their country, one of them, *Da Teyat* by name, walked through the forest enquiring of the objects he met what were their names. From most of them he received no reply, but the yam and the resin replied to him and gave him their names. The legend shows that as soon as the hero of the tale knew the name of the yam he immediately knew that it was of use as a food and that it required to be cooked in a particular way, although he was *till then ignorant of those* important properties. Similarly, having discovered the name of the resin he knew that it could be made into a torch and so used to give light.

X 182 551 There is, to the mind of the Andaman Islander, a somewhat similar and very important connection between a person's name and what is here called his social personality, and this is exhibited in the customs whereby the name is avoided on certain

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787 825 temporarily vacate their huts and remain on the alert with their weapons ready for immediate use. The cry of another bird, called *chē·ra-*, informs them of the approaching visit of a friend. Finally, if while travelling they hear the cawing of a crow, they say they must be near some occupied, or recently abandoned encampment. This belief is doubtless traceable to the fact that these birds are among the principal scavengers of their camping grounds.

776 23. It has been noticed that they will never whistle between sunset and sunrise, and the reason they give is that this sound, more than any other, attracts *.ē·rem-chàu·gala* during those hours. When animals behave in an unaccountable manner, especially at night, it is said to be because they see this demon.

773 **Religious Beliefs and Demonology.**—1. I have several times mentioned the Supernatural Beings, *Pū·luga-* and *.ē·rem-chàu·gala*, and must now enter more into detail regarding the beliefs held by the Andamanese concerning these and other spirits.

2. Though no forms of worship or religious rites are to be found among them, yet are there certain beliefs regarding powers of good and evil, the Creation, and of a world beyond the grave, which show that even these savages have traditions more or less approximating the truth, but whence derived will ever remain a mystery.

3. It is extremely improbable that their legends were the result of the teaching of missionaries or others who might be supposed to have landed on their shores in by-gone years; for not only have they no tradition of any foreigners having settled in their midst and intermarried with their ancestors, or even of having so far established amicable intercourse as to be able to acquire a knowledge of any one of their languages, but our own records, so far from differing from theirs on these points, tend clearly to show that, from the earliest times till so recently as 1858, these islanders have been more or less universally regarded as cannibals, in consequence of which they were much dreaded by all navigating the adjacent seas. The persistency with which they resisted with showers of arrows all attempts to land on their shores,[1] precludes the belief that any one, prior to our settlement,[2] would from choice have visited these islanders in the vain hope of reclaiming them from their savage state, and in order to teach them the Biblical, Mahomedan, or other versions of the Creation, Fall, Deluge, &c.; while it may surely be

[1] The probable cause of their hostility will be explained in a later section (*vide post* "Trade, &c.," paragraph 1).

[2] In 1870 an orphanage was established at Ross Island (Port Blair) for children of the aborigines, but it is very doubtful whether even the more intelligent of the inmates have obtained, much less retained, more than an elementary knowledge of the outline of the truths of Christianity.

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assumed that if any shipwrecked persons had ever been cast on their coast, they would, in the improbable event of their lives being spared, have left some traces of the fact, such as might be looked for among the customs, in the culture, or physical characteristics of these savages, but these are vainly to be sought in any section of the race. 773

4. Moreover, to regard with suspicion, as some have done, the genuineness of such legends as those in question argues ignorance of the fact that numerous other tribes,[1] in equally remote or isolated localities have, when first discovered, been found to possess similar traditions on the subjects under consideration.

5. Further, on this subject as well as on all others in which there appeared any risk of falling into error, I have taken special care not only to obtain my information on each point from those who are considered by their fellow-tribesmen as authorities, but who, from having had little or no intercourse with other races, were in entire ignorance regarding any save their own legends: I have, besides, in every case, by subsequent inquiry, endeavoured to test their statements, with the trustworthiness of which I am thoroughly satisfied. I may also add that they all agree in stating that their accounts of the Creation, &c., were handed down to them by their first parent *Tô·mo* (Adam), and his immediate descendants, while they trace all their superstitions and practices to the "days before the Flood!"

6. I shall presently speak of the legends current anent the Creation, and also the Fall and Deluge: the latter will there be seen to have been, *selon eux*, consequent on the former.

7. In spite of their knowledge of, or belief in, a Supreme Being,[2] whom they call *Pū·luga-*, they live in constant fear of certain evil spirits, whom they apprehend to be ever present, and on the watch to do them some bodily injury. 776

8. Of *Pū·luga-* they say that—

I. Though His appearance is like fire, yet He is (now-a-days) invisible.

II. He was never born and is immortal.

III. By him the world and all objects, animate and inanimate, were created, excepting only the powers of evil. [772]

IV. He is regarded as omniscient while it is day, knowing even the thoughts of their hearts.

V. He is angered by the commission of certain sins,[3] while to

[1] A story of the Fall occurs in the myths of the Eskimo, the South Sea Islanders, the Zulus, the Australians and the New Zealanders (*vide* "Biblical Traditions and Savage Myths."—*St. James' Gazette*, July 14th, 1881.)

[2] *Vide* Mouat, pp. 303-4.

[3] *Vide ante* "Crimes," paragraph 2.

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marriage. The animals, birds, and fish will also re-appear in the new world in their present form. 775

29. This blissful state will be inaugurated by a great earthquake,[1] which, occurring by *Pū·luga-*'s command, will break the *pī·dga-làr-chàu·ga-* and cause the earth to turn over: all alive at the time will perish, exchanging places with their deceased ancestors.[2]

30. There is no trace to be found of the worship of trees, stones, or other objects, and it is a mistake to suppose[3] that they adore or invoke the celestial bodies. There is no salutation, dance, or festival of any kind held in honour of the new moon: its appearance does not evoke anything more than an exclamation such as *yē·lo! .ō·gar l'àidō·atire.* (Hurrah! there's the moon.) 776

Mythology.—1. In other sections mention has been made of *Pū·luga-*, the Creator of all, and it has also been stated that no reason is given for the formation of the earth's surface, except that it was according to His will, and the same hypothesis is held to account for the varying seasons. 773

2. Until recent years it was supposed[4] that the Andamanese were without traditions, and had no idea of their own origin, but since we have been enabled to become better acquainted with them it has been ascertained that such is not the case. While I have been extremely careful as to the source whence I obtained my information, I would at the same time mention that much that is found under these last headings has been obtained from the older and more intelligent members of distant communities, and is probably little, if at all, known to many of the rising generation in our immediate vicinity.

3. Certain mythic legends are related to the young by *ôko-pai·ad-*s,[5] parents, and others, which refer to the supposed adventures or history of remote ancestors, and, though the recital not unfrequently evokes much mirth, they are none the less accepted as veracious. The personages figuring in these tales are believed to be real and historical, but, beyond the fact of a very general acceptance and agreement of the traditions respecting them, no satisfactory traces are to be found of their existence except in the lively imaginations of their descendants.

4. There are a few discrepancies in their accounts of the

[1] *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 16.

[2] Whether the fate of the former is irrevocably fixed is not explained, but with these, as with other savages, it is in vain to expect them to understand the logical conclusions to which their beliefs tend.

[3] *Vide* statements of Symes, Brown, Grant, and Anderson; *vide* also *ante* "Superstitions," paragraphs 9 and 10.

[4] *Vide* Mouat, p. 343.

[5] *Vide ante* "Magic and Witchcraft," paragraph 1.

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creation and origin of the human species, but in the main features all are agreed. The following tradition appears to be the most generally received, and, as far as possible, it is given in the words in which it was first taken down:—

5. In the beginning, after the world had been made, *Pū·luga-* created a man whose name was *.tô·mo-*;[1] he was black, like the present inhabitants, but much taller and bearded. *Pū·luga-* showed him the various fruit-trees in the jungle, which then existed only at *.wòtàem·i-*[2] (the "Garden of Eden"), and, in doing so, told him not to partake of certain of them during the rains: he then taught him how to obtain and use fire; this he did by first stacking in alternate layers two varieties of wood known as *chôr-* and *bēr-*, and then bidding *chān·a .bō·do-* (Mother Sun) to come and sit on or near the pile until she had ignited it, after which she returned to her place in the sky. *.tô·mo-* was then taught how to cook pigs, which were easily caught, as they had in those days neither ears nor noses.

6. Another version relates that *Pū·luga-* came with a spirit or angel called *lach·i*[3] *.pū·nga .â·blola* to instruct *.tô·mo-*, who, at his direction, prepared a pyre and then struck it, on which the fire was kindled, and *.pū·nga .â·blola* proceeded to teach him how to cook food.

7. About the origin of the first woman, whose name was *chān·a .ē·lewadi*, there is a diversity of belief: according to some, *Pū·luga-* created her after he had taught *.tô·mo-* how to sustain life; others say that *.tô·mo-* saw her swimming near his home and called to her, whereupon she landed and lived with him; while a third story represents her as coming pregnant to Kyd Island, where she gave birth to several male and female children, who subsequently became the progenitors of the present race.

8. These legends ascribe the name *.tô·mola* to all the descendants of their first parents until the period of the Deluge. *.tô·mo-* had two sons and two daughters by *chān·a .ē·lewadi*; the names of the former were *.bī·rola* and *.bô·rola*, and of the latter *.rī·ela* and *.chô·rmila*.

9. As time went on, the pigs multiplied to such an extent that they became a nuisance, so, with woman's ready wit, *chān·a .ē·lewadi* drilled holes in their heads and snouts, thereby giving them the powers of hearing and smelling, and enabling them to avoid danger and procure food for themselves. *Pū·luga-* then covered the whole land with jungle, into which the pigs

[1] The name of the first man among the Brazilians was *Tamoi* (*vide* Tylor's "Anthropology").

[2] Situated about long. 92° 52′, and lat. 12° 18′. Some assert that this event occurred at *.tô·lo-kòt·imi-*, which is in the same district.

[3] *lach·i* is applied to deceased persons, and answers to "the late."

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wandered in various directions.[1] But this change was found to have its disadvantages, as it became next to impossible to catch the now wily *sus*. *Pū·luga-*, however, again came to the rescue, and taught *.tô·mo-* how to construct bows and arrows, and to hunt, after which he taught him to manufacture canoes and harpoons, and to fish. On a subsequent visit[2] he instructed *chān·a .ē·lewadi* in the art of basket and net-making, and in the use of red-ochre (*kòi·ob-*) and white clay[3] (*tâ·la-ōg-*), and thus by degrees he imparted to their first parents a knowledge of the various arts which have ever since been practised among them.

10. *.tô·mo* and *.e·lewadi* were also told that, though they were to work in the wet months, they must not do so after sundown, because by doing so they would worry the *bū·tu-*,[4] which are under *Pū·luga-*'s special protection. Any noise, such as working (*kō·pke*) with an adze, would cause the *bū·tu-*s' heads to ache, and that would be a serious matter. During the cold and dry seasons work may be carried on day and night, as the *bū·tu-* is then seldom seen, and cannot be disturbed.

11. As soon as the first couple were united *Pū·luga-* gave them the *.bō·jig-yâ·b-* dialect, which is the language spoken to this day, according to their belief, by the tribe inhabiting the south and south-eastern portion of Middle Andaman, in which district *.wòtàem·i-* is situated. It is, therefore, regarded as the mother tongue from which the dialects of the various other tribes have sprung.

12. The canoes used in those days are said to have had no outriggers, and were made by scooping out the trunk of the *Pandanus*, which is believed to have been much larger than it is now-a-days, and well adapted for the purpose.

13. The formation of creeks is attributed to a fortunate accident: it happened that one day *.tô·mo-* harpooned a large fish, called *kô·ro-ngid·i-chàu-*, which had a projecting snout wherewith it lashed the shore in its frantic efforts to escape; so violent were the blows that the land was broken each time they fell, a result which proved of great benefit and service to the redoubtable harpooner and his descendants.

14. *.tô·mo-* lived to a great age, but even before his death his offspring became so numerous that their home could no longer accommodate them. At *Pū·luga-*'s bidding they were furnished with all necessary weapons, implements, and fire, and then

[1] Another version states that *.tô·mo-* caused the jungle to spring up beyond *.wòtàem·i-* by stringing flies on a number of arrows, and shooting them off, whereupon they turned into trees, and soon spread over the country.

[2] In those days *Pū·luga-* lived at Saddle Peak (*vide ante* "Topography," paragraph 2), and being so near, used often to pay them a visit.

[3] *Vide post* paragraph 27, and Appendix B, items 58 and 60.

[4] *Vide post* "Food," paragraph 18.

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scattered in pairs all over the country. When this exodus occurred *Pū·luga-* provided each party with a distinct dialect.[1]

15. After the dispersion of the surplus members of his family, *.tô·mo-*, one day while hunting, fell into a creek called *.yàr·a-tig-ñg-*, and was drowned. He was at once transformed into a cachalot (*.kâ·ra-dū·ku-*), and from him have sprung all the cetaceans of this class.[2] *chān·a .ē·lewadi-*, ignorant of the accident that had befallen her husband, went in a canoe with some of her grandchildren to ascertain the cause of his continued absence; on seeing them, *.kâ·ra-dū·ku-* upset their skiff, and drowned his wife and most of her companions. She became a small crab, of a description still named after her, *e·lewadi-*, and the others were transformed into iguanas.[3]

16. Consequent on the disappearance of *.tô·mo-* and his wife, the duties of headship over the community at *.wòtàem·i-* devolved upon one of their grandchildren, named *.kô·lwô·t-*, who was distinguished by being the first to spear and catch turtles. The *.tô·mola* remained on the islands long after *.tô·mo-*'s transformation, but after *.kô·lwô·t-*'s death, according to one legend, they grew disobedient, and as *Pū·luga-* ceased to visit them, became more and more remiss in their observance of the commands given at the Creation. At last *Pū·luga-*'s anger burst forth, and, without any warning, he sent a great flood which covered the whole land,[4] and destroyed all living. Four persons (two men, *.lô·ralola* and *.pō·ilola*, and two women, *.kâ·lola* and *.rī·malola*), who happened to be in a canoe when the catastrophe occurred, were able to effect an escape. When the waters subsided, they found themselves near *.wòtàem·i-*, where they landed and discovered that every living thing on earth had perished; but *Pū·luga-* re-created the animals, birds, &c. In spite of this, however, they suffered severely, in consequence of all their fires having been extinguished, and they could devise

[1] It would almost seem that, without straining the legend to suit facts, we might discern in this a faint echo of the Biblical account of the confusion of tongues and dispersion at Babel.

[2] They consider that the whale is evil disposed towards them, and attribute their occasional non-success in catching turtles to his influence. *.kâ·ra-dū·ku-* is also accused of inciting sharks and other large fish to attack them.

[3] Another version of this story is, that wearied with an unsuccessful day's hunting, *Tô·mo-* went to the shore where he found a *chī·di-* (*Pinna*) shell-fish; while playing with it, it fastened on him, and he was unable to free himself until a *bai·an-* (*Paradoxurus*) seized the *chī·di-* and liberated him at the expense of one of his members. Shortly after he saw his wife and some of their children coming after him in a canoe; unwilling that they should become aware of the misfortune which had befallen him, he upset the canoe, drowning its occupants and himself. He then became *.kâ·ra-dū·ku-*, and the others *.dū·ku-*, which are now very plentiful in the jungles.

[4] Some modify this statement by saying that Saddle Peak, where *Pū·luga-* then dwelt, was not submerged.

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no means of repairing their loss. At this juncture one of their recently deceased friends appeared in their midst in the form of a bird named *.lū·ratūt-*.[1] Seeing their distress he flew up to *mô·ro-*, the sky, where he discovered *Pū·luga-* seated beside his fire; he thereupon seized[2] and attempted to carry away in his beak a burning log, but the heat or weight, or both, rendered the task impossible, and the blazing brand fell on *Pū·luga-*, who, incensed with pain, hurled it at the intruder; happily for those concerned, the missile missed its mark and fell near the very spot where the four survivors were deploring their condition. As *.lū·ratūt-* alighted in their midst at the same moment, he gained the full credit of having removed the chief cause of their distress.[3]

17. Being relieved from anxiety as to their means of subsistence, *.lô·rola* and his companions began to entertain sentiments of anger and resentment against *Pū·luga-* for his wholesale destruction of their friends, and, accordingly, when they met him one day at *.tô·lo-kòt·imi-*, they determined to kill him, but were deterred from their purpose by *Pū·luga-* himself, for he assured them that, whereas he was as hard as wood and could not be injured by their arrows, any attempt they might venture to make on his life would cause him to destroy them all. Having reduced them to submission by these assurances, *Pū·luga-* explained that they had brought the Deluge upon themselves through their wilful disobedience of the strict injunctions he had laid down, and which had always been observed by their forefathers, and he intimated that a repetition of their transgressions would inevitably lead to their utter destruction.

18. This is said to be the last occasion on which *Pū·luga-* rendered himself visible, or held any communication with them, but the warning he then gave them has not been forgotten, and the islanders are to this day strict in their observance of his commands.

19. Another legend regarding the origin of the Deluge states that one day, at the commencement of the rainy season, a *.tô·mola* named *.bē·rebi-* came to visit *.kô·lwô·t-*'s mother, *chān·a .ē·rep-*, with the express intention of seeing her son, of whom he

[1] A small variety of kingfisher.

[2] The myth of Prometheus will recur to the reader.

[3] Since that day till the present time, they say they have never been without fire, thanks to the precautions they employ to guard against its extinction. I would add that when first making my investigations on this subject some six years ago, I was led to believe that this kingfisher is regarded by the present inhabitants with a certain amount of veneration (*vide* "The Lord's Prayer in the South Andaman dialect," p. 49), but I have since been assured that such is not the case.

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773 was extremely jealous. When he appeared, *.bē·rebi-* treacherously bit him in the arm, but his teeth became fixed in the flesh and he was therefore unable to detach himself from his victim, whose friends promptly avenged his murder, and disposed of the corpses by throwing them into the sea.[1] The bereaved mother, in her rage, grief, and despair, committed various acts, against which *.tô·mo-* had been warned by *Pū·luga-*, and while so doing incited others to follow her example by the following words :—

ē,ē,ē, dī·a râ-gū·mul lab dâ·la,
ē,ē,ē, ngū·l kâ·ja pīj pū·gatken,
ē,ē,ē, ngūl chō·akan tō·aiken,
ē,ē,ē, ngūl boâ·rato â·kà-kolâ·ken,
ē,ē,ē, ngūl gō·no bō·angken,
ē,ē,ē, ngūl tōng choâ·ra bō·angken,
ē,ē,ē, ngig â·rlōt pū·laijoken.

The translation of which is :—

"*ē, ē, ē,*[2] (sobbing)—My grown-up handsome son,
Burn the wax,[3]
Grind the seed of the *châ·kan-*,[4]
Destroy the *bâ·rata-*,[5]
Dig up the *gō·no-*,[6]
Dig up the *châ-ti-*,[6]
Destroy everything."

Thereupon *Pū·luga-* was exceeding wroth, and sent the flood which destroyed all living things with the exception of two men and two women.

20. This tradition is preserved in the following lines :—

Kē·ledōat ībâ·ji lâr chô·ra,
Râ-gū·mul abgô·rka en igboâ·di,
Râ-gū·mul lē liga kō·arnga,
Râ-gū·mul abgô·rka.
Toâ·lo â·rbo eb dâ·kan choarpo.

The meaning of which is :—

"Bring the boat to the beach
I will see your fine grown-up son,

[1] *.kô·lwô·t-*, after death, was transformed into a species of tree lizard, which is still named after him, and *.bē·rebi-* became a fish called *kō·ngo-*, which is armed with a row of poisonous barbs on its back.

[2] Exclamation indicative of grief.

[3] *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 13.

[4] The *Entada pursatha*.

[5] The *Caryota sobolifera*.

[6] Two varieties of edible roots much relished by them after the rains.

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The grown-up son who threw the youths (into the sea),[1] 773
The fine grown-up son,
My adze is rusty, I will stain my lips with his blood."

21. In this, as in all their songs and chants, a good deal is left to the imagination, but from the explanations which have been given by the aborigines, the following appears to afford some light on the subject:—*.bē·rebi*, being jealous of the renown *.kô·lwô·t-* had won for himself by his numerous accomplishments and great strength, took advantage of meeting him and his mother one day on the water to ask them to let him enter their boat. On their complying with his request, he provided himself with a rusty adze and a hone, and joined them; approaching near to *.kô·lwô·t-*, he put down the adze and hone, remarking on the rusty condition of the former; then taking *.kô·lwô·t-* by the arm he sniffed it from the wrist to the shoulder, as if admiring the development of the muscles; while doing so he muttered the threat of staining his lips with blood, which he shortly after fulfilled in the manner already described.

22. *lach·i*[2] *.lô·ralola*, the chief of the survivors from the Deluge, gave, at his death, the name of *.chàw·ga-tâ·banga-*[3] to their descendants. When, for the second time in their history, their numbers had increased to so great an extent that it became impossible for them to remain together in one spot, an exodus, similar to the first, took place; each party, being furnished with fire and every other essential, started in a different direction, and on settling down adopted a new and distinct dialect. They each received a tribal name, and from them have sprung the various tribes still existing on the islands.

23. The *.chàw·ga-tâ·banga-* are described as fine tall men with large beards, and they are said to have been long-lived,[4] but, in other respects and in their mode of living they did not differ from the present inhabitants. The name seems to have been borne till comparatively recent times, as a few still living are said to remember having seen the last of the so-called *.chàw·ga-tâ·banga-*.

24. After the Flood the *Pandanus* was found to have deteriorated so greatly as to be unfit for its former uses; their canoes were consequently thenceforth made by scooping the trunks of the *Sterculia villosa*, and other trees of a similar description.[5]

25. The story regarding certain *.tô·mola*, who failed to

[1] Literally, *caused them to flee into the sea* (*vide post* paragraph 29).
[2] Signifying "the late," or "deceased."
[3] *i.e.*, the big-bodied.
[4] The Andamanese attribute the present increasep rate of mortality to the jungle clearances we have made.
[5] The native names of which are *bá·ja-*; *maū·-*; *yē·re-*; and *kô·kan-*.

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773 observe the rules laid down for neophytes, states that, on the day after they broke their fast of *reg-jī·ri-*[1] (kidney fat of pig), they left the encampment without giving notice of their intention to their friends, and the result was that, when they were missed and searched for, it was found they had gone to the shore to fish, and had there met a sad fate; the body of one was discovered adhering to a large boulder, and turned into stone, while the other, likewise in a state of petrifaction, was standing erect beside it.

26. *maiʼa .dū·ku-*, who appears to be identical with *.tô·mo-*,[2] is said to have been the first to tattoo himself. One day, while out on a fishing expedition, he shot an arrow; missing its object it struck a hard substance which proved to be a piece of iron, the first ever found. With it *.dū·ku-* made an arrow-head and tattooed himself, after which he sang this ditty:—

> "*Tōng mâ līr pī·renga? tōng yī·tiken! tōng yī·tiken!*
> *tōng mâ ḷīr pī·renga? tōng yī·tiken!*"

the interpretation of which is, "What can now strike me? I am tattooed! I am tattooed!" &c. (*Da capo*).

27. It would seem that after the Deluge they had to feel their way again to the necessary arts and manufactures in which *Pū·luga-* had vouchsafed to instruct their first parents:[3] especially is this declared to be the case with the pigments used in painting their bodies, one of which, viz.: *tâ·la-ōg-*,[4] is said to have been accidentally re-discovered by a *.tô·mola* female, named *chān·a .chá·riâ-*, while she was engaged in searching for the much relished edible root known as *gō·no-*; another woman, *chān·a .tē·liu*, is credited with finding, about the same time, *kòi·ob-chū·lnga-*.[5] Like true daughters of Eve they were not long at a loss in turning their knowledge to some (?) profitable account.

28. Another of their antediluvian ancestors was famous for propagating yams. This was *maiʼa .bū·mroâg-*, who, in shooting an arrow, struck the creeper belonging to the favourite variety called *gō·no-*; his curiosity being excited he dug up the root, and tasted it: the result being satisfactory, he informed his friends of his discovery, and they all feasted upon it; when they had had sufficient, he scattered the remains in different directions; this

[1] *Vide ante* "Initiatory Ceremonies," paragraph 5.

[2] *.dū·ku* is also credited with having, like Pygmalion, created a woman! The Andamanese Galatea (*chān·a .tōt-kal·at-chá·pa-* or *chān·a .baiʼan-*) was made out of *chá·pa-* (firewood), and in due course became her creator's wife. The legend does not explain how she was endued with life, but relates that at death she became a Paradoxurus.

[3] *Vide ante* "Mythology," paragraph 9.

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 58.

[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 63.

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apparent waste so angered his mother that, on pretence of shaving him, she split his head open with a piece of quartz. After his death it was found that the act for which he suffered had tended to the spread of the plant which is now plentiful.

29. To explain the origin of certain fish, they say that one day before the Deluge, *mai·a .kô·lwô·t-* went to visit an encampment of the *.tô·mola* situated in the Archipelago. While engaged in his song,[1] the women, through inattention to his instructions, marred the effect of the chorus, so, to punish them, he seized his bow, whereupon the whole party in terror fled in all directions; some escaping into the sea were changed into dugongs, porpoises, sharks, and various other fish which till then had not been seen.[2]

30. Only two geological legends have hitherto been discovered: the one refers to a large block of sandstone lying at *.wòtàem·i-*, and the other relates to two boulders of elephantine proportions, situated within a mile of the same place, which convey the idea that they once formed part of a narrow neck of land which jutted out into the sea, but which has been gradually demolished by storms and by the action of the waves. The belief current regarding the first is that the deep incisions visible on its surface are hieroglyphics inscribed by *.tô·mo-*, the first man, giving a history of the Creation, which event, as already mentioned, is believed by all the tribes of our acquaintance to have occurred at this very spot *.wòtàem·i-*. The art of deciphering the supposed record has, it is said, been lost for many ages, and no attempt is made to assign a specific meaning to any of the marks which form the mythical inscription. Many of the legends regarding their ancestors picture the scene of their exploits at *.wòtàem·i-*; hence the special interest of the spot to all the tribes of Middle and South Andaman and the Archipelago. In regard to the two boulders, tradition declares that one day, in the years before the Deluge, *mai·a .dū·ku-* and some of his friends, seeing two animals swimming near the shore, shouted to them, whereupon they came out of the water and showed themselves to be two enormous creatures such as had never before been seen or dreamt of by

[1] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraph 22.

[2] The following is a list of *.tô·mola* who were transformed into animals, birds, or fish:—

.kâ·ra-dū·ku- (whale),
.dū·ku- (iguana),
.ē·lewadi- (small species of crab),
.tegbū·l- (dugong),
.kô·lwô·t-, *.ô·ga-* (tree lizards),
.bai·an- (paradoxurus),
.ī·d- (rat),
.lū·ratūt- (a variety of kingfisher),
.mū·rud- (pigeon),
.ē·ep- (parrot),
.tē·liu- (jungle fowl),
.bâ·tka- (crow),
.chô·kab- (heron),
.bad·gi- (fish eagle),
.chō·ag- (porpoise),
and various other fish.

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the *.tô·molà*, who were so terrified that they fled precipitately; *.dū·ku-* with difficulty escaped, but a few of his companions were less fortunate, being captured and devoured by these monsters, who are known by the name of *ū·chu-*. Consternation filled the minds of the scanty population then inhabiting the "world," when their deliverance was unexpectedly and speedily effected by the *ū·chu-*, who, in attempting to ford the shallow water near *.wòtàem·i-*, stuck fast in the deep mud, and, being unable to extricate themselves, met a lingering death.[1]

31. The manner in which the world was illuminated at the beginning is not clearly to be ascertained from their legends, for one story states that the sun and moon were subsequently created at *.tô·mo-*'s request, as he found that, under the then existing circumstances, it was impossible to catch fish by night or to hunt by day; while, in direct disagreement with this, another story tells us that night was a punishment brought upon mankind by certain individuals who angered *Pū·luga-* by killing a caterpillar. The tale informs us that the sun, one day, burned so fiercely as to cause great distress. Two women named *chān·a .lī·mi-* and *chān·a .jārа-ngūd-*, became exceedingly irritable, and while in this unhappy frame of mind they discovered a caterpillar (*gū·ug-*), and a certain plant called *ū·tura-*. By way of venting their spleen, one crushed the hapless grub, and the other destroyed the plant. These wanton acts so displeased *Pū·luga-* that he determined to punish them, and to teach them to appreciate the privilege of daylight, which they had hitherto uninterruptedly enjoyed. He accordingly visited the earth with a long-continued darkness, which caused every one much inconvenience and distress. At last their chief, *mai·a .kó·lwó·t-*, to whom reference has already been made, hit upon a happy expedient of inducing *Pū·luga-* to restore the former state of things by trying to assure him that they were quite unconcerned, and could enjoy themselves in spite of light being withheld from them. To accomplish this, he invented the custom of dancing and singing, the result of which was that *Pū·luga-*, finding that they had frustrated his intention, granted, as a first concession, alternate periods of day and night, and subsequently, moved by the difficulties often occasioned by the latter, created the moon to mitigate their troubles. It is in this way that they account for the fact of the same word being used to denote a *caterpillar* and *night*.

32. With regard to the *al·oba-*, which tree they value greatly, in consequence of the fibre produced from its bark being

[1] The name *ū·chu-* has accordingly been given to the two boulders. On first seeing the elephants which have been introduced by Government at Port Blair, the aborigines at once called them *ū·chu-*, in allusion to this legend, and it is the name ever since adopted by them in speaking of these animals.

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used in the manufacture of their turtle-harpoon lines, nets, &c., it is said that *Pū·luga-* commanded *.tô·mo-* never to make use of it as fuel when cooking a turtle, though he might burn it when pigs or other animals were being prepared for food; a warning was also given him that a severe punishment would follow disobedience in this particular, for the males found transgressing would have their throats cut, while the females would be deprived of their breasts; if the offence were committed by day, the carrying out of the sentence rested with *chān·a .bō·do-*, or, if by night, with *mai·a .ō·gar-*. On one occasion, at night, shortly before the Deluge (when the *.tô·mola* appear to have been a very depraved set), they were guilty, among other enormities, of disregarding this injunction, whereupon *mai·a .ō·gar-* descended and inflicted the threatened penalty.

33. The legend regarding the origin of the evil spirits known as *.chôl-* is as follows:—Their ancestor, *mai·a .chôl-*, one day stole a pig which had just been captured by *mai·a .kôl·wô·t-*, and climbed up into a gurjon-tree with his prize. Now *mai·a .kô·lwô·t-* was remarkable for his great strength, and being enraged, determined to revenge himself; he thereupon planted a number of spikes all round the tree in which the thief had taken refuge, and then proceeded to force it into the ground. On finding that, if he remained where he was, he must inevitably be buried alive, *mai·a .chô·l-* sprang off the tree, and thereby met a more terrible fate, for he was impaled on the spikes, and perished miserably. His disembodied spirit did not pass to *.châ·itâ·n-* (Hades), but took up its abode on the invisible bridge, where, by *Pū·luga-*'s orders, numbers of his descendants were afterwards sent to join him, in the form of black birds with long tails.

34. Another curious fable is told to account for a drought from which their early ancestors suffered: it relates that once upon a time, in the dry season, a woodpecker discovered a black honeycomb in the hollow of a tree; while regaling himself on this dainty he observed a toad eyeing him wistfully from below, so he invited him to join the feast; the toad gladly accepted, whereupon the woodpecker lowered a creeper, giving instructions to his guest to fasten his bucket (*dâ·kar-*[1]) thereto, and then to seat himself in it, so that he might be drawn up. The toad complied with the directions, and the woodpecker proceeded to haul him up; but just when he had brought him near the comb he mischievously let go the creeper, and his confiding and expectant guest experienced an unpleasant fall. The trick so exasperated him

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 13.

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773 that he at once repaired to the streams far and near in the island and drained them, the result of which was that great distress was occasioned to all the birds, as well as to the rest of the animate creation. The success of his revenge so delighted the toad that, to show his satisfaction, and to add to the annoyance of his enemies, he thoughtlessly began to dance, whereupon all the water flowed from him, and the drought soon terminated.

These are among the best known and most important of their legends, but the list is by no means exhausted, others having been narrated to me which space forbids me to include at the present time, as many subjects of more importance yet remain to be considered in connection with the occupations, &c., of their daily life.

poreal resurrection in a religious sense. There is much active faith in dreams, which sometimes control subsequent conduct and in the utterances of "wise men," dreamers of prophetic dreams, gifted with second sight and power to communicate with spirits and to bring about good and bad fortune, who practise an embryonic magic and witchcraft to such personal profit by means of good things tabued to themselves as these people appreciate. There are no oaths, covenants and ordeals, nor any forms of appeal to supernatural powers. 771

Puluga, who is fundamentally with some definiteness identifiable with the storm (*W'sluga*) mixed up with ancestral chiefs, has so many attributes of the Deity that it is fair to translate the term by "God." He has a wife and a family of one son and many daughters. He transmits his orders through his son to his daughters, who are his messengers, the Morowin. He has no authority over the evil spirits and contents himself with pointing out offenders against himself to them. The two great evil, *i.e.*, harmful, spirits are Erem-chauga of the Forest and Juruwin of the Sea. Like Puluga both have wives and families. The minor evil spirits are Nila and a numerous class, the Chol, who are practically spirits of disease. The Sun is the wife of the Moon and the Stars are their children dwelling near Puluga, but there is no trace of sun-worship, though they twang their bows and "chaff" the moon during an eclipse, and a solar eclipse frightens them, keeping them silent.

The Andamanese idea of the soul arises out of his reflection in water and not out of his shadow which follows him about. His reflection is his spirit, which goes after death to another jungle world, Chaitan, under the earth, which is flat and supported on an immense palm tree. There the spirit repeats the life here, visits the earth occasionally and has a distinct tendency to transmigration into other beings and creatures. Every child conceived has had a prior existence and the theory of metempsychosis appears in many other superstitions, notably in naming a second child after a previous dead one, because the spirit of the former babe has been transferred to the present one, and in their recognising of all Natives of India and the Far East as *chauga*, or persons endowed with the spirits of their ancestors.

Superstitions.—The superstitions and mythology of the Andamanese are the direct outcome of their beliefs in relation to spirits. Thus, fire frightens Erem-chauga, so it is *always* carried. They avoid offending the Sun and the Moon by silence at their rise. Puluga shows himself in storm, and so they appease him by throwing explosive leaves on the fire, and deter him by burning beeswax, because he does not like the smell. Earthquakes are the sport of the ancestors. There are lucky and unlucky actions, but not many, and a few omens and charms. Animals and birds are credited with human capacities, *e.g.*, convicts murdered by Jarawas have been found with heavy stones placed on them and stones have been found placed along their pathways. Every Andamanese knows that this is a warning to the birds not to tell the English that the men had been murdered and that the murderers had passed along the path in front.

Mythology.—The great bulk of the Andamanese mythology turns on Puluga and his doings with Tomo, the first ancestor, to whom and his wife he brought fire and taught all the arts and for whom he created everything. This line of belief is still alive and everything natural that is new is attributed to Puluga. Thus when the Andamanese were introduced to the volcano, Barren Island, on seeing the smoke from the top they at once christened it Molatarchona, Smoke Island, and said the fire was Puluga's. 773

The next most important element in the mythology is in the story of the cataclysm, which engulfed the islands and was of course caused by Puluga. It separated the population and destroyed the fire, which was afterwards stolen by Luratut, the kingfisher, and restored to the people. The population previous to the cataclysm became the *chauga* or ghostly ancestors.

Other stories relate in a fanciful way the origin of customs, *e.g.*, tattooing and dancing, of the arts, articles of food, harmful spirits, and so on.

An important ethnological item in these stories is the constant presence of the ideas of metempsychosis and of metamorphosis into animals, fish, birds, stone and other objects in nature. Indeed the fauna chiefly known to the Andamanese are ancestors changed supernaturally into animals.

Initiatory Ceremonies.—There are rudimentary initiatory customs for both males and females, connected with arrival at puberty and marriageability 881

776 rule the multiplication and growth of the various animals and plants useful to Man.

The Onges do not love Eiuga, or any of the other spirits. They merely fear them, and seek to evade their anger by various ex-
[784] pedients. It is curious that they never hesitate to try and deceive the spirits and think themselves very clever when they manage to
[769] steal roots or tubers from the ground. Nor do they revere the
[765] spirits of their ancestors; these are to be feared and propitiated by preservation of their bones. By definition none of the spirits, since they can be deceived by simple tricks, can be all-powerful, but this conclusion, simple though it is, is still beyond the Onges' powers of reasoning.

769 The Onges' fear of the dead is instanced by their carrying round their necks the *ibidanghe*, or necklet of human jaws, as a propitiation.
[765] The wearing of the bones prevents the spirit from going away (by analogy the bones of dead enemies are burned to force the spirit,
[764] clearly a hostile one, to leave the place). The custom of burial within the communal hut follows the same logic – the spirits of the dead are kept near their bones and hence near their relatives, to help them in the daily round of hunting, fishing and gathering food.[1]

769 Unlike most of the other peoples whose burial customs are even
778 today based on their underlying principles, the Onges have not
776 progressed beyond the stage of relating the dead directly to the
782 demands of daily life; they have no 'practices' of any kind, no con-
784 cept at all of holy places, prayers or images. Even the very names of the dead are soon forgotten. Their fears, however, are none the less very real. They do not like to speak of Eiuga or even of the lesser spirits, for fear of attracting their attention.

773 The Onges have no stories or explanatory legends, like those
538 reported by Brown for Great Andaman. They have only short
533 epics, if such they may be called, recalling extraordinary events in

[171] [1] This belief is of very remote origin, and can be traced back at least to the megaliths of southern Asia, like the splendid ones which I was able to photograph, among others, in the mountains of Travancore. Here again the object was to prevent the dead from leaving their relatives. Similar ideas are found today in India among several tribes, notably the Munda, or Nias, and among various peoples of Indonesia, and even Oceania. The rituals are probably followed today without any understanding of their meaning or symbolism; the details vary from place to place, but the underlying principle, the original fear, remains the same everywhere.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

their hunting and fishing, or contacts with strangers, which are loudly chanted, accompanied by miming and dancing, during their nocturnal celebrations. One was sung and danced in my honour; Cendubai,[1] head of the Lulera hut, much struck by the sight of me in my hammock slung between two trees on nylon cords, delivered himself of a warning over the danger I was running using such thin cords. At the end of each 'verse' the refrain '*cué-cian-ghéghechée-chéle*' (he will hurt himself) repeated his fear of the cords breaking.

Hunting and fishing episodes are to the Onges less interesting than themes like my safety, because to them they lack the repetitive refrain. In their dances, on the other hand, they prefer something else, to us monotonous, but for them always new, and even exciting; more than anything they love to dance the stages of courtship to its culmination, with the help of words and extraordinarily (to Western eyes regrettably) vivid gestures.

Birds, to the Onges, harbour the spirits of the dead, and it is for this reason that they are never eaten, contrary to the assertions of Brown.[2] Similar fears extend to lizards, the jungle cats, bats, rats and snakes. I have confirmed this among both the Onges and the Arioto. The latter even refused to eat some fat pigeons which I offered them not knowing of the taboo; they accepted the gifts, but the pigeons were eventually eaten by my own men. And the Onges whom I took with me to Port Blair for a few days refused point blank to eat pigeon or chicken.

The spirits select the Onges' food for them, in the sense that they regard everything as edible or poisonous, according to whether the guardian spirit is benign or malevolent. Given the curious adaptability of the spirits and the intensely practical way in which they operate it is hardly surprising that their benevolence or malignity coincides remarkably well with those foods which tend to promote normal health!

[1] I was sorry to learn that Cendubai died suddenly in 1955 aged barely forty.

[2] Curiously enough, while the Onges' fears lead them to reject out of hand any food of animal origin which is unknown to them, the same does not apply to vegetable foods. They ate half-rotten fruit, which I offered them, even though they had never seen it before, and they clamoured for rice and tea, so much so that in order to prevent them becoming addicted to the rice, as so often happens when primitive peoples meet a new food, I insisted on receiving equal quantities of yams in exchange for the rice and very sweet tea, to slow down their demands.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

776 out with a bow and arrow in his hand, and as he danced in front
535 of the spectators he pretended to shoot at them.

In another dance he represented *Ele*, the lightning. He sat on a stone that had been placed in the middle of the open space, swinging his arms to the time of the chorus, and every now and then shaking his leg.

This observation is an important one in several ways. Although I asked the man to repeat it, in order that I might make fuller notes and obtain explanations of many obscure points, and although he grudgingly said that he would, yet he did not do so. He was, moreover, very reserved over the matter, and not very willing to talk about his own performance.

I believe that the performance was an entirely exceptional affair. I never at any other time either saw or heard of one man or even several men, giving a dance for the amusement of others. I think that the whole thing was entirely the invention of the performer. He had given the same performance, or one very similar, at least once before the occasion on which I saw it.

We may now turn to the Andamanese beliefs relating to the soul and the life after death.

761 The vital principle is at different times identified by the
775 Andamanese with the pulse, the breath, with the blood and with
766 the fat, particularly the kidney-fat. Thus the body of a slain enemy is burnt so that the blood and fat may be consumed in smoke and ascend to the sky where they will no longer be a danger to those who have slain him.

822 The nearest approach to our notion of a soul that the natives
828 possess is their belief concerning the double or reflection seen in
774 a mirror. In the Northern tribes the word *ot-jumulo* means "reflection," and also "shadow," and is also nowadays applied to a photograph. The word *ot-jumu*, in the same languages, means "a dream" or "to dream." We may perhaps translate the word *ot-jumulo* as meaning "soul." In the *Aka-Bea* language *ot-yolo* is "reflection," while there is a different word, *ot-diya* or *ot-lere*, for "shadow," and neither of the words has any connection with the word "dream" which is *taraba*. Mr Man translates the word *ot-yolo* as "soul."

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The fact that the words for dream and reflection, double or shadow are from the same root in the Northern languages is of interest. Dreams are sometimes explained by saying that the sleeper's double (*ot-jumulo*) has left his body and is wandering elsewhere. Dreams are regarded as being veridical, or at any rate, as having importance. One man told me how, in a dream the night before, his *ot-jumulo* had travelled from where we were to his own country and had there seen the death of the baby of a woman of his own tribe. He was fully convinced that the baby must really have died. 828 774

An Andamanese will never, or only with the very greatest reluctance, awaken another from sleep. One explanation of this that was given to me was that the *ot-jumulo* or double of the sleeper may be wandering far from his body, and to waken him suddenly might cause him to be ill. [513]

The principle on which dreams are interpreted is a very simple one. All unpleasant dreams are bad, all pleasant ones are good. The natives believe that sickness is often caused by dreams. A man in the early stages of an attack of fever, for instance, may have a bad dream. When the fever develops he explains it as due to the dream. If a man has a painful dream he will often not venture out of the camp the following day, but will stay at home until the effect has worn off. The natives believe that they can communicate in dreams with the spirits, but the power to do this regularly is the privilege of certain special individuals, known as *oko-jumu* (dreamers). However, an ordinary individual may occasionally have dreams of this kind. 787 828

I found that any attempt to study the dreams of such a people as the Andamanese is made very difficult by the fact that it is never possible to tell how far the original dream has been arranged and altered by the waking imagination. So far as my observations went the majority of dreams are either visual or motor, or both. Further reference to dreams will be made later in connection with magic.

When a man or woman dies the double (or as some of the natives explain it, the breath) leaves the body and becomes a spirit (*lau* or *čauga*). By death a man ceases to exist as a man, and begins a new existence as a spirit. 775

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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The Andaman Islander seems to regard the dream-world as a world of shadows or reflections, for he uses the same word to denote a shadow, a reflection in a mirror, and a dream (the stem *-jumu* in *Aka-Jeru*). Now when a man enters this shadow-world in sleep he is, as we have seen, conceived as coming into partial contact with the world of spirits. Hence the Andaman Islander believes that in dreams he may communicate with the spirits, that dreams may be a cause of sickness, and that in dreams a medicine-man can cause or cure sickness in his fellows. In this shadow-world the man himself becomes as it were a shadow, a mere reflection of himself; it is not he that lives and acts in his dreams but his *ot-jumulo*, his double, his shadow-self, or, as we might say, his soul. It is but a step from this to the representation of the spirit-world as a similar world of shadows and dream-shapes, and to the conclusion that when a man dies it is his *ot-jumulo* that becomes the spirit.

X 182 775

To summarise the argument, the belief in the world of spirits rests on the actual fact that a dead person continues to affect the society. As the effect is one of disorganisation, whereby the social sentiments are wounded, the dead are avoided and the spirits are regarded with fear. But as a recently dead person is still regarded with feelings of attachment by his friends, the resulting final attitude towards the spirits is ambivalent. By a simple step the spirits come to be regarded as the cause of sickness and death, and therefore as hostile to living men. Yet, as the beliefs about medicine-men show, it is possible for exceptional individuals to be on terms of friendship with the spirits. Finally, the dream-life affords a means by which the spirit-world may be represented in a simple and concrete manner. This last feature (the association of the spirits with dreams) I believe to be a secondary elaboration of the primary or fundamental belief which shows itself in the ritual of death and mourning, serving only to rationalise it and make it more concrete. This need of concrete representation of the spirit-world shows itself in other beliefs, in which may be seen the tendency to become self-contradictory that is often the mark of ideas that arise as the result of attempts to rationalise conative and affective impulses. The spirits are, on the one hand, as it were shadows or images

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775 certain of their ancestors (*.tô·mola*) are stated to have vanished from earth in the form of various kinds of animals and fish.
772 The spirits of those not thus transformed, although in Hades, are believed occasionally to assist them in performing tasks of unusual difficulty; and it is thought that all the departed are to some extent conscious of what transpires in the world they once inhabited, and are able to promote the welfare of those who bear them in mind.[1]

25. Between the earth and the eastern sky there stretches an invisible cane bridge (*pī·dga-làr-chàu·ga-*) which steadies the former and connects it with *.jer·eg-* (paradise); over this bridge the *souls* (*ōt-yō·lo-*) of the departed[2] pass into paradise, or to *.jer·eg-làr-mū·gu-*, which is situated below it: this latter place might be described as purgatory, for it is a place of punishment for those who have been guilty of heinous sins, such as murder. Like Dante, they depict it as very cold, and therefore a most undesirable region for mortals to inhabit. From all this it will be gathered that these despised savages believe in a future state, in the resurrection, and in the threefold constitution of man

26. In serious illness the sufferer's spirit (*chàu·ga-*) is said to be hovering between this world and Hades,[3] but does not remain permanently in the latter place until some time after death, during which interval it haunts the abode of the deceased and the spot where the remains have been deposited.[4] In dreams
774 it is the soul which, having taken its departure through the nostrils, sees or is engaged in the manner represented to the sleeper.

27 The Andamanese do not regard their shadows[5] but their *reflections* (in any mirror) as their souls. The colour of the soul is said to be red, and that of the spirit black, and, though invisible to human eyes,[6] they partake of the form of the person
775 to whom they belong. Evil emanates from the soul, and all good from the spirit; at the resurrection they will be re-united and live permanently on the new earth, for the souls of the wicked will then have been reformed by the punishments inflicted on them during their residence in *jer·eg-làr-mū·gu-*.

28. The future life will be but a repetition of the present, but all will then remain in the prime of life, sickness and death will be unknown, and there will be no more marrying or giving in

[1] *Vide ante* "Medicine," paragraph 8, and "Death and Burial," paragraph 18.
[2] Their *spirits* (*chàu·ga-*) pass to *.chá·itán-* (*vide* paragraphs 22 and 23).
[3] *Vide* Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi, p. 289.
[4] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraphs 4 and 15.
[5] As is believed to be the case among certain races, *e.g.*, the Benin negroes.
[6] Save those of the *óko-pai·ad-* (*vide ante* "Magic and Witchcraft," paragraph 7).

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

844 Her legs are flexed so that her knees may be clasped by her arms. The only manipulation is pressure exerted on the upper part of the abdomen by one of the attendant women. The umbilical cord is severed with a knife, formerly of cane or bamboo, but in these days of iron. The after-birth is buried in the jungle. The infant is washed and then scraped with [846] a *Cyrena* shell. After a few days he (or she) is given a coating of clay (*ōdu*).

844 If a baby dies and within a year or two the mother again becomes pregnant, it is said that it is the same baby born again, •775 and the name of the deceased child is given to it. Thus one woman had three children of the same name, the first two having died soon after birth. According to the native ideas this was really the same child born three times. It is only those who die in infancy that are thus reincarnated.

843 In the Northern tribes it is believed that a woman can tell the sex of her unborn child. If she feels it on the left side it is a male, because men hold the bow (the typical masculine implement) in the left hand. If she feels it on the right side it is a female, because it is in her right hand that a woman holds her fishing net.

842 A married man who is childless and desires a child will wear a *čiba* (sling of bark used for carrying children) round his shoulders when he is sitting in camp. The *čiba* and the way it is used for carrying children may be seen in the photograph in Plate XIV. If a childless woman wishes to have a child she may catch, cook and eat a certain species of small frog.

842 At a place called *Tonmuket* in the North Andaman there is 775 a spot to which it is said that women may resort if they wish to become pregnant. On the reef at this spot there are a large number of stones which, according to the legend, were once little children. The woman who desires a child walks out on to the reef when the tide is low and stands upon these stones. It is believed that one of the baby souls will enter her body and become incarnate[1].

[1] I could not obtain any definite legend about these stones, but one informant said that when *Biliku* got angry and destroyed the world (see later, Chap. IV) the children all became stones at this place.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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In the North Andaman there is some sort of association between the unborn souls of babies, the green pigeon and the *Ficus laccifera* tree. The same name, *Reyko*, is used to denote both the green pigeon and also the *Ficus laccifera*, of the fruit of which the pigeon is very fond. The belief of the natives is sometimes stated by saying that the souls of unborn children live in the *Ficus* trees, and that if a baby dies before it has been weaned its soul goes back to the tree. Another statement of the natives is that it is when the green pigeon is calling that the soul of a baby goes into its mother. The *Ficus* is to a certain extent tabu. I was told that the tree must not be cut or damaged. Nevertheless the natives do cut the tree in order to obtain the bark of the aerial roots from which they prepare a fibre that they use for making personal ornaments. There is no tabu in connection with the green pigeon, which may be killed and eaten. 842 775 784

In most primitive societies, if not in all, there are ritual or ceremonial observances in connection with the change by which a boy or girl becomes a man or woman. The ceremonies that are performed to mark this change are commonly spoken of in ethnological literature as "initiation ceremonies." The term is not perhaps the best that could be chosen, but usage has rendered it familiar. 000

The life of an Andaman Islander is divided into three well-marked periods, corresponding roughly with the physiological periods of childhood, adolescence, and maturity. The first period lasts from birth till about the advent of puberty; the second lasts from puberty till after marriage; the third extends from marriage to death. 561

During the period of childhood the boy or girl lives with his or her parents, or, in the later years of the period, with adopted parents, having a place in the family hut and a share in the family meal. A girl continues to live with her parents or with her adopted parents until she marries. When boys have finished growing, and have reached the condition of young men, they cease to live with their parents or adopted parents and, until they are married, they occupy a bachelors' hut of their own, and have their own meal. 858 882

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

CHAPTER III

RELIGIOUS AND MAGICAL BELIEFS

●775 THE Andaman Islanders believe in the existence of a class of supernatural beings which I propose to denote by the term "spirits." The native name for these spirits is *lau*, *lao* or *yau* in the languages of the North and Middle Andaman, and *čauga* in the South Andaman. While all spirits are denoted together by the term *lau* or *čauga*, there are certain special classes of spirits. There are, for instance, spirits that haunt the jungles of the islands. These are called in the North Andaman *Ti-miku Lau*, from the word *ti-miku* meaning the forest, or more accurately "land." (The only land known to the Andamanese is covered with forest.) In *Aka-Bea* the name for these jungle spirits is *Erem Čauga*, the word *erem* being the equivalent in that language of the Northern *ti-miku*. In the North Andaman the *Ti-miku Lau* are often called *Bido Teč Lau*, i.e., spirits of the *Calamus* leaf, *bido* being the name of the *Calamus tigrinus*. This cane is armed with strong thorns, and in some parts of the jungle forms absolutely impenetrable thickets. The natives say that the spirits haunt these thickets, and hence their name.

There are other spirits that live in the sea. Although these may be included under the term *Lau* or *Čauga*, when it is used in a general sense, yet there is a special name for the sea spirits, *Jurua* in the North Andaman, and *Juruwin* in *Aka-Bea*. The *Jurua* are beings of the same nature as the *Ti-miku Lau*, with the difference that they live in the sea, while the latter live in the forest.

In the South Andaman the natives also speak of another class of spirits who live in the sky and are called *Morua* or *Morowin*.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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When an Andamanese man or woman dies he or she becomes a spirit, i.e., a *Lau* or *Čauga*. The bones of a dead person, which are dug up after the flesh has decayed, are called *Lau tọi* in the North Andaman, *tọi* being the word for "bone." The skull is *Lau t'ẹr-čo*, from the word *ẹr-čo* meaning "head." Exactly similar terms are in use in *Aka-Bea*, the bones of a dead man being called *Čauga ta* (spirit bones). 775

The Andamanese relate legends, to be described in the next chapter, which concern the doings of mythical ancestors. As all Andamanese, when they die, become *Lau*, these ancestors are of course included under that term. They are often distinguished from the spirits of persons recently dead by being denoted as *Lau t'ẹr-kuro*, from the word *ẹr-kuro* meaning "big," and applied to human beings to denote importance of social position. Just as a man who occupies a prominent position in his tribe is called a "big" man (*ẹr-kuro*), so the ancestors of the Andamanese legends are called "big" spirits. The *Aka-Bea* use a similar term, *Čauga tabaṇa*, to distinguish the ancestors from the spirits of ordinary persons.

The name *Lau* or *Čauga* is also applied by the Andamanese to the natives of India and Burma whom they see in the Penal Settlement of Port Blair. The *Aka-J̌eru* name for the Penal Settlement is *Lau-t'ara-nyu*, literally "the village of the spirits." At the present time the term *Lau* or *Čauga* is not applied to Europeans, who are generally spoken of in the North Andaman by the Hindustani word "sahib." Natives of the North Andaman told me that in former times (before 1875) they applied the term *Lau* to Europeans also not distinguishing them from other light-skinned aliens. The necessity for distinguishing between Asiatics, such as natives of India, and Europeans, has only arisen since they have come to have dealings with the Penal Settlement. 186 775

The term *Lau* is not applied by the Andamanese to aliens of their own race. Nor would it be applied, I believe, to men of other black races such as the African negro. I showed the natives photographs of Semang from the Malay Peninsula and also of natives of Africa and New Guinea, and in all cases they called them *J̌ạrawa*, that being the term applied by the Great

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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186 Andaman tribes to the natives of the Little Andaman. On the
775 other hand they called Polynesians *Lau*.

For many centuries the Andaman Islanders have been accustomed to see light-skinned men visit their shores in ships, Europeans, natives from the coasts of India, Burma and Malaya, and occasionally perhaps Chinese. To these aliens they gave the name of *Lau*, apparently regarding them as visitors from the only other world they knew of, the world of spirits[1]. The clothes that these "spirits" wore they called *Lau ot-julu*, the word *ot-julu* meaning "cold."

775 The spirits of the forest and the sea are believed to be generally invisible, but there are tales of men and women who have seen them, and their personal appearance is sometimes described. The descriptions vary considerably from one informant to another. One of the commonest statements is that they are light or white skinned. (The Andamanese vocabulary does not allow of any distinction between white and a light gray or a light shade of colour.) One man, however, said that the forest spirits are black (or dark), while the sea spirits are white (or light). I was told several times that the spirits have long hair and beards (the Andamanese having, as a rule, no beard, and their hair, being frizzy, never growing to any length). Their arms and legs are said to be abnormally long, while they have only small bodies. Though there is no uniformity in the way in which the natives describe the spirits of the jungle and the sea, there is a notable tendency to associate them with the grotesque, the ugly, and the fearful. There is a common belief that the spirits, both of the jungle and of the sea, carry about with them lights, which several men and women claim to have seen.

In reply to the question as to how the spirits of the forest and the sea originated, the natives all agree in saying that they are the spirits of dead men and women.

791 The jungle spirits live in a village (or villages) in the forest.
775 There is a belief that mortals wandering by themselves in the jungle have been captured by the spirits. Should the captive

[1] A similar custom is found in many savage tribes. Thus in many parts of Australia the aborigines call white men by the same name that they apply to the spirits of the dead.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

show any fear, my informants said, the spirits would kill him, but 791
if he were brave they would take him to their village, detaining 775
him for a time, and then releasing him to return to his friends. A man to whom such an adventure has happened will be endowed for the rest of his life with power to perform magic. He will pay occasional visits to his friends the spirits. The natives told me of one such man who died not many years ago. At irregular intervals he used to wander off into the jungle by himself and remain absent for a few hours, sometimes for a day or two. He returned to the village after such an absence looking strange and wearing ornaments of shredded palm-leaf (*koro*), which he claimed had been placed upon him by the spirits.

Save for persons who have made friends with them, and have 753
thereby become endowed with magical powers, all contact with 775
the spirits of the jungle and the sea, or with the spirit of a dead man, is dangerous. The spirits are believed to be the cause of all sickness and of all deaths resulting from sickness. As a man wanders in the jungle or by the sea, the spirits come invisibly and strike him, whereupon he falls ill, and may die. A man or woman is more likely to be attacked by the spirits if he or she is alone, and it is therefore always better to be in company when away from the village. The spirits rarely venture into the village itself, though they may prowl round it, particularly at night. They are more dangerous at night than during the day.

There are many objects that are believed to have the power 751
of keeping spirits at a distance, and thus of preserving human 775
beings from the danger of sickness. Amongst the most important of these are fire, arrows, human bones, bees'-wax, and red paint. A man or a woman leaving a hut to go only a few yards at night will always carry a fire-brand as a protection against spirits that may be prowling in the neighbourhood. If the night be dark a torch is carried in addition to the fire-stick.

The Andamanese will never whistle at night, as they believe [784]
that the noise of whistling would attract spirits. On the other hand they believe that singing will keep the spirits away.

The spirits that haunt the woods and waters of a man's own 775
home are regarded as being less dangerous to him than those of

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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775 a country in which he is a stranger. A man of the *Aka-Čari* tribe who was with me in Rutland Island had a cold on his chest. He asked me for permission to return to his own country, explaining that the spirits of Rutland Island were, so to speak, at enmity with him, and that if he stayed longer he would be seriously ill, and perhaps die, while on the other hand, the spirits of his own country were friendly towards him, and once he was amongst them he would quickly recover.

There is a belief that the spirits feed on the flesh of dead men and women. The jungle spirits eat those who are buried on land, and the *J̌urua* devour those who are drowned or otherwise lost in the sea.

Mr Man's account of the spirits of the jungle and sea contains an important error, which needs to be pointed out. He writes as though there were only one *Erem Čauga* (jungle spirit) and only one *J̌uruwin* (sea spirit), whereas each of these names is the name not of a single individual but of a class of supernatural beings of which there is an indefinite number. The following is Mr Man's account:—*Erem-čauga-la*, the "evil spirit of the woods, has a numerous progeny by his wife *Čana Badgi-lola*, who remains at home with her daughters and younger children, while her husband and grown up sons roam about the jungles with a lighted torch attached to their left legs, in order that the former may injure any unhappy wights who may meet them unprotected, and in the dark; he generally makes his victims ill, or kills them by wounding them internally with invisible arrows, and if he is successful in causing death, it is supposed that they feast upon the raw flesh." "As regards *J̌uruwin*, the evil spirit of the sea, they say that he too is invisible, and lives in the sea with his wife and children, who help him to devour the bodies of those who are drowned or buried at sea; fish constitute the staple of his food, but he also occasionally, by way of variety, attacks the aborigines he finds fishing on the shores or by the creeks. The weapon he uses is a spear, and persons who are seized with cramp or any sudden illness, on returning from, or while on the water are said to have been 'speared' by *J̌uruwin*. He has various submarine residences, and boats for travelling under the surface of the sea, while he carries with him a net, in

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which he places all the victims, human or piscine, he may succeed in capturing[1]." 775

Mr Portman correctly translates the word *J̌uruwin* as meaning "the spirits of the sea" using the plural and not the singular[2].

Further references to the Andamanese beliefs about the spirits will be found later in the chapter. It is necessary at this point to consider an entirely different class of beings.

The Andaman Islanders personify the phenomena of nature with which they are acquainted, such as the sun and the moon. Before relating in detail what could be learnt about their beliefs on these matters, it is necessary to call attention to one feature of these beliefs. Different statements, not only of different informants, but even of the same informant, are often quite contradictory. For example, it is sometimes said that lightning is a person, and at other times it is said that lightning is a fire-brand thrown across the sky by a mythical being named *Biliku*. These two statements, which to all logical thinking are incompatible, are both given, and apparently both equally believed, by the same person. Many examples of such contradictions will be found in what follows, and it is important to point out their existence beforehand. 776 821

About the sun and moon, the most usual statement in all the tribes is that the sun is the wife of the moon and the stars are their children. In the North Andaman the moon is *Maia Dula* (*Aka-Čari*) or *Maia Čirikli* (*Aka-J̌eru*), the sun is *Mimi Diu* and their children the stars are *Čatlo*, the larger ones, and *Katań* the smaller. *Čatlo* is the name of a species of finely marked beetle, and *katań* is the name of the common fire-fly. Individual stars or constellations are not recognized.

Another version from the same tribes is that the moon (*Dula*) is female, and has a husband named *Maia Tok*, while the sun (*Diu* or *Tǫrodiu*) is male.

In the *Aka-J̌eru* tribe there is a belief that the moon (*Maia Čirikli*) can, when he wishes, turn himself into a pig, and come down to earth and feed on the things that the pigs eat. There

[1] Man, *op. cit.* pp. 158, 159.
[2] Portman, *Notes on the Languages*, etc. p. 183.

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776 faith concerning the Deity." Mr Portman, following Mr Man, in this as in many other matters, translates the name *Puluga* by the English word "God." Mr Man's statements are as follows :—

"Of *Puluga* they say that—

"I. Though His appearance is like fire, yet He is (nowadays) invisible.

"II. He was never born and is immortal.

"III. By him the world and all objects, animate and inanimate were created, excepting only the powers of evil.

"IV. He is regarded as omniscient while it is day, knowing even the thoughts of their hearts.

"V. He is angered by the commission of certain sins, while to those in pain or distress he is pitiful, and sometimes deigns to afford relief.

[175] "VI. He is the Judge from whom each soul receives its sentence after death, and to some extent, the hope of escape from the torments of *J̌ereg-ʃar-mugu* is said to affect their course of action in the present life.

"*Puluga* is believed to live in a large stone house in the sky, with a wife whom he created for himself: she is green in appearance and has two names, *Čana Aulola* (Mother Fresh-water Shrimp), and *Čana Palak* (Mother Eel); by her he has a large family, all, except the eldest, being girls; these last, known as *morowin* (sky spirits or angels), are said to be black in appearance, and, with their mother, amuse themselves from time to time by throwing fish and prawns into the streams and sea for the use of the inhabitants of the world. *Puluga*'s son is called *Pijčor*: he is regarded as a sort of archangel, and is alone permitted to live with his father, whose orders it is his duty to make known to the *morowin*.

"*Puluga* is said to eat and drink, and, during the dry months of the year, to pass much of his time in sleep, as is proved by his voice (thunder) being rarely heard at that season; he is the source whence they receive all their supplies of animals, birds, and turtles; when they anger him he comes out of his house and blows, and growls, and hurls burning faggots at them—in other words, visits their offences with violent thunderstorms and heavy squalls; except for this purpose he seldom leaves home,

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776 784 whom I talked on the subject I received two different statements. One was to the effect that if a pig is badly cut up the meat will be bad and anyone who eats it will be ill. The other was that if a pig is badly cut up the spirits of the jungle will be angry and will punish the offender. In neither case was there any reference to *Puluga* or *Biliku*.

In general it may be said that the natives believe that the only punishment that *Puluga* or *Biliku* ever sends against those who offend him or her in any way is bad weather, and I did not myself meet with any exception to this rule.

One other observation by Mr Man may be mentioned. He says, "When they see a dark cloud approaching at a time when rain would prove very inconvenient, as when hunting, travelling, etc., they advise *Puluga* to divert its course by shouting '*Wara-Jobo kopke, kopke, kopke*' (*Wara-Jobo* will bite, bite, bite (you)). If in spite of this a shower falls they imagine that *Puluga* is undeterred by their warning[1]."

It is clear from the above discussion of the matter that there is not any complete agreement in the beliefs concerning *Puluga* (*Biliku*) even in any one tribe of the Andamans. There are many different statements about this being which cannot be made consistent with one another without doing violence to the evidence. At the same time, amid all the differences and inconsistencies there are a certain number of points about which there is a general agreement throughout the whole of the tribes of the Great Andaman. One of these is the connection of *Puluga* and *Daria* with the weather, with the two chief winds, and with the points of the compass from which these winds blow. The other is the belief that certain actions, such as melting bees'-wax, digging up yams, etc., are disliked by *Puluga*, and are punished by him (or her) with stormy weather. On these matters there is entire agreement amongst the natives of all the tribes, and they are to the natives themselves by far the most important part of the beliefs concerning *Puluga*.

776 775 We have seen that the Andamanese believe in two different kinds of what may be called, for want of a better term, super-

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 153.

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natural beings. In the first place there are the spirits, the *Lau* or *Čauga*, and the *Jurua*, inhabiting the forest and the sea respectively. These are all associated by the natives with ghosts, i.e. with the spirits of dead men and women. In the second place there are other beings connected with the sun and moon, lightning and thunder and the monsoons (*Biliku* and *Tarai*). These are all associated with the phenomena of nature. There are many points of contact between these two classes of beings. Thus there are two alternative explanations of bad weather, one that it is due to the spirits (particularly the spirits of the sea), the other that it is due to the anger of *Biliku*. This is a point that will be referred to again in a later chapter.

It is possible that there are beliefs in other supernatural beings who are neither spirits of the dead nor connected with natural phenomena. The only being of such a nature that I was able to discover anything about is one called *Nila* or *Ńila*. This is the name of an evil being who is supposed to live in hollow *Pterocarpus* trees. When he smells human beings near his tree he comes out and kills them with his knife. I found this belief in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe, but was not able to find any trace of a similar belief in the North Andaman, though of course I cannot say that it does not exist there. Mr Man mentions this same being. "This spirit *Nila* is supposed to live in ant-hills, and to have neither wife nor child; he is not regarded as such a malevolent personage as *Erem-čauga-la*, and, though he is always armed with a knife, he rarely injures human beings with it, or when he does so, it is not in order to feed upon their bodies, for he is said to eat earth only[1]." Mr Man adds, in a footnote that "cases have been cited of persons who have been found stabbed, whose deaths have been attributed to *Nila*: the possibility of the individuals in question having been murdered is scouted."

The version given by Mr Man is not quite in agreement with the information given to me, but I was unfortunately not able to learn anything more about the nature of *Nila*.

As throwing some additional light on the way in which the Andamanese think of the supernatural beings that have been

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 159.

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776 out with a bow and arrow in his hand, and as he danced in front of the spectators he pretended to shoot at them.
535 In another dance he represented *Ele*, the lightning. He sat on a stone that had been placed in the middle of the open space, swinging his arms to the time of the chorus, and every now and then shaking his leg.

This observation is an important one in several ways. Although I asked the man to repeat it, in order that I might make fuller notes and obtain explanations of many obscure points, and although he grudgingly said that he would, yet he did not do so. He was, moreover, very reserved over the matter, and not very willing to talk about his own performance.

I believe that the performance was an entirely exceptional affair. I never at any other time either saw or heard of one man or even several men, giving a dance for the amusement of others. I think that the whole thing was entirely the invention of the performer. He had given the same performance, or one very similar, at least once before the occasion on which I saw it.

We may now turn to the Andamanese beliefs relating to the soul and the life after death.

761 The vital principle is at different times identified by the Andamanese with the pulse, the breath, with the blood and with
• 775 the fat, particularly the kidney-fat. Thus the body of a slain
766 enemy is burnt so that the blood and fat may be consumed in smoke and ascend to the sky where they will no longer be a danger to those who have slain him.

822 The nearest approach to our notion of a soul that the natives
828 possess is their belief concerning the double or reflection seen in a mirror. In the Northern tribes the word *ot-jumulo* means
774 "reflection," and also "shadow," and is also nowadays applied to a photograph. The word *ot-jumu*, in the same languages, means "a dream" or "to dream." We may perhaps translate the word *ot-jumulo* as meaning "soul." In the *Aka-Bea* language *ot-yolo* is "reflection," while there is a different word, *ot-diya* or *ot-lere*, for "shadow," and neither of the words has any connection with the word "dream" which is *taraba*. Mr Man translates the word *ot-yolo* as "soul."

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The fact that the words for dream and reflection, double or shadow are from the same root in the Northern languages is of interest. Dreams are sometimes explained by saying that the sleeper's double (*ot-jumulo*) has left his body and is wandering elsewhere. Dreams are regarded as being veridical, or at any rate, as having importance. One man told me how, in a dream the night before, his *ot-jumulo* had travelled from where we were to his own country and had there seen the death of the baby of a woman of his own tribe. He was fully convinced that the baby must really have died. 828 774

An Andamanese will never, or only with the very greatest reluctance, awaken another from sleep. One explanation of this that was given to me was that the *ot-jumulo* or double of the sleeper may be wandering far from his body, and to waken him suddenly might cause him to be ill. [513]

The principle on which dreams are interpreted is a very simple one. All unpleasant dreams are bad, all pleasant ones are good. The natives believe that sickness is often caused by dreams. A man in the early stages of an attack of fever, for instance, may have a bad dream. When the fever develops he explains it as due to the dream. If a man has a painful dream he will often not venture out of the camp the following day, but will stay at home until the effect has worn off. The natives believe that they can communicate in dreams with the spirits, but the power to do this regularly is the privilege of certain special individuals, known as *oko-jumu* (dreamers). However, an ordinary individual may occasionally have dreams of this kind. 787 828

I found that any attempt to study the dreams of such a people as the Andamanese is made very difficult by the fact that it is never possible to tell how far the original dream has been arranged and altered by the waking imagination. So far as my observations went the majority of dreams are either visual or motor, or both. Further reference to dreams will be made later in connection with magic.

When a man or woman dies the double (or as some of the natives explain it, the breath) leaves the body and becomes a spirit (*lau* or *čauga*). By death a man ceases to exist as a man, and begins a new existence as a spirit. 775

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775 Whenever I asked the natives whence came the spirits of the jungle and the sea I received the answer that they are the spirits of dead men and women. On the other hand, when I put in another form what might seem to be the same question, and asked what became of a man's spirit after his death, I received many different and inconsistent answers. As it would take too much space to transcribe every answer that I received to this question, a number of typical ones are selected. Any attempt to reconcile the statements of different men or of the same men on different occasions can only produce a false impression of the real condition of the native beliefs, and therefore the statements are kept separate, and each one is given as it was taken down.

The first is from the Northern tribes. Exactly similar statements were made to me by men of several tribes. "When a man dies he becomes a *Lau* and wanders about the jungle. At first he keeps near the grave or the place where he died, but after a while he finds that is no good, and so he goes to live with the other spirits. If he is drowned he becomes a *J̌urua*." A second account, varying from the above in only one particular, is also from one of the Northern tribes (*Aka-Čari*). "When a man dies he becomes a *Lau* or a *J̌urua* and lives with the other spirits. If he be a jungle-dweller he becomes a *Lau* and lives in the jungle. If he be a coast-dweller he becomes a *J̌urua* and lives in the sea. All the *Aka-Čari* become *J̌urua* when they die. The spirit stays in his own country. The spirits of a man's own country (whether *Lau* or *J̌urua*) are friendly to him, but those of another country are dangerous and will make him ill."

An entirely different statement frequently made to me by men of the Northern tribes is that when a man dies the spirit (*Lau*) either immediately, or after the lapse of some time, goes to another world that lies under this one and is called *Maramiku*. This world of spirits is said to be just like the actual world, with forest and sea, and all the familiar animal and vegetable species. The inhabitants spend their time just as the Andamanese do on earth, hunting, fishing and dancing.

Still another statement that is commonly made in the North is that the spirits of the dead go to live in the sky. Two such

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statements are as follows: "When a man dies his *ot-ǰumulo* (double) goes up to the sky and becomes a *Lau* (spirit)." "A man's spirit wanders in the jungle till the flesh has rotted from the bones, and then goes away to the sky." Other statements were very similar to these two. 775

Turning now to the Southern tribes, one informant of the *A-Pučikwar* tribe gave me the following account: "When a man or woman dies the spirit goes away to the east or north-east and goes over the edge of the world, remaining in a place called *Lau-ʃuŋ-ciŋ* (Spirit's House) where there is a large hut in a jungle similar to that on earth. There they live just as men do on earth, hunting and fishing, and so on. Beyond the home of the spirits is *Puta-kọiča*, the home of the sun and moon. The rainbow is the path by which the spirits come to visit their friends on earth, which they do in dreams. The rainbow is made of canes (? a cane)."

Another version from the same tribe was to the effect that after death the spirits of the dead go to live in the sky with a mythical being named *Tomo*. This *Tomo*, according to some of the legends, was the first ancestor of the Andamanese. By one of my best informants he was identified to some extent with the sun, and consequently with light and with fine weather. This man stated that in the world of the spirits it is never night as *Tomo* is always there. The spirits always have plenty of pork and turtle, and spend their time dancing and enjoying themselves.

One old man of the *A-Pučikwar* tribe, who had some reputation as a medicine-man, said that the spirits of medicine-men lived apart from the spirits of ordinary men and women, and are called not *Lau* but *Bilik*. He told me how he had been visited in a dream by *Bọičo Bilik*, that is by the spirit of one *Bọičo* who had, when he lived, been a great medicine-man, and who, now that he was dead, had become a *Bilik*, as distinguished from an ordinary *Lau*. It is the *Bilik* who control the weather. They can also cause or cure sickness in living men. The *Bọičo* mentioned above was alive when my informant was a young man.

In the *Akar-Bale* tribe one man told me that the breath (*ig-peti*) of a dying person goes up to the sky and becomes

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•775 a spirit. Another belief of the same tribe is that the spirits of the dead go to *J̌ereg-l'ar-mugu*, which is under the earth. From the same tribe comes the following account: "When a man or woman dies, the spirit first of all goes southward to the country of the *Aka-Bea*, and then returns to *Gudna-l'ar-boŋ* in *Kuaičo-bur* (in the *Akar-Bale* country). It then goes to *J̌ila-buaro* in *J̌ila* (East Island) and from there to *Kere-tuaur*. The inhabitants of the last-named place are warned of the approach of the spirit by the cries of the birds *tao* (*Eudynamis honorata*, Indian koel or brain-fever bird) and *bil* (Australian goggle-eyed plover). At one time the people of *Luŋ-tauar* used to catch the spirits in big nets made for the purpose. They were taught to do this by a wise woman named *In Golat*. The spirits try to run away, but they get caught at the place called *Guamo-leber*. The people then throw them into the sea, and they (the spirits) then go to *Čauga-l'uŋ-jiŋa* (Spirit's Home) and remain there." The above is given exactly as it was translated to me by an *Akar-Bale* man who knew English and who acted as my interpreter on the occasion. There is much in it that I do not understand and that my questions failed to elucidate. It is given as an example of the nature of some of the more obscure of the Andamanese beliefs. To understand fully many of their statements on this and other matters would need a more complete knowledge of the language than I possessed, and a longer time than I was able to give.

The various examples given above are sufficient to show the general nature of the Andamanese beliefs. In every tribe there are alternative and inconsistent beliefs as to the place where spirits go, which by different accounts is in the sky, beneath the earth, out to the east where the sun and moon take their rise, or in the jungle and sea of their own country. One thing is clear, that the Andamanese ideas on the subject are floating and lacking in precision. There is no fixity or unanimity of belief amongst them.

To these various accounts from the natives themselves, must be added the description of the beliefs of the *Aka-Bea* tribe as recorded by Mr Man. This may best be given in the writer's own words. "The world, exclusive of the sea, is declared to be

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flat and to rest on an immense palm-tree (*Caryota sobolifera*) called *barata*, which stands in the midst of a jungle comprising the whole area under the earth. This jungle, *čaitan* (Hades) is a gloomy place, for, though visited in turn by the sun and moon, it can, in consequence of its situation, be only partially lighted: it is hither the spirits (*čauga*) of the departed are sent by *Puluga* to await the Resurrection.

"No change takes place in *čaitan* in respect to growth or age; all remain as they were at the time of their departure from the earth, and the adults are represented as engaged in hunting, after a manner peculiar to disembodied spirits. In order to furnish them with sport the spirits of animals and birds are also sent to *čaitan*, but as there is no sea there, the *čauga* of fish and turtle remain in their native element and are preyed upon by *juruwin*. The spirits (*čauga*) and souls (*ot-yolo*) of all children who die before they cease to be entirely dependent on their parents (i.e. under six years of age) go to *čaitan*, and are placed under a *rau* tree (*Ficus laccifera*) on the fruit of which they subsist. As none can quit *čaitan* who have once entered, they support their stories regarding it by a tradition that in ages long past an *oko-paiad* was favoured in a dream with a vision of the regions and of the pursuits of the disembodied spirits.

"Between the earth and the eastern sky there stretches an invisible cane bridge (*pidga-l'ar-čauga*) which steadies the former and connects it with *jereg* (paradise); over this bridge the souls (*ot-yolo*) of the departed pass into paradise, or to *jereg-l'ar-mugu*, which is situated below it: this latter place might be described as purgatory, for it is a place of punishment for those who have been guilty of heinous sins, such as murder. Like Dante, they depict it as very cold, and therefore a most undesirable region for mortals to inhabit. From all this it will be gathered that these despised savages believe in a future state, in the resurrection, and in the threefold constitution of man.

"In serious illness the sufferer's spirit (*čauga*) is said to be hovering between this world and Hades, but does not remain permanently in the latter place until some time after death, during which interval it haunts the abode of the deceased and the spot where the remains have been deposited. In dreams

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775 it is the soul which, having taken its departure through the nostrils, sees or is engaged in the manner represented to the sleeper.

"The Andamanese do not regard their shadows but their reflections (in any mirror) as their souls. The colour of the soul is said to be red, and that of the spirit black, and, though invisible to human eyes, they partake of the form of the person to whom they belong. Evil emanates from the soul, and all good from the spirit; at the resurrection they will be re-united and live permanently on the new earth, for the souls of the wicked will then have been reformed by the punishments inflicted on them during their residence in *jereg-l'ar-mugu*.

"The future life will be but a repetition of the present, but all will then remain in the prime of life, sickness and death will be unknown, and there will be no more marrying or giving in marriage. The animals, birds, and fish will also re-appear in the new world in their present form.

"This blissful state will be inaugurated by a great earthquake, which, occurring by *Puluga's* command, will break the *pidga-l'ar-čauga* and cause the earth to turn over: all alive at the time will perish, exchanging places with their deceased ancestors[1]."

This account given by Mr Man, must, I think, be received with great caution. To one who has talked to the Andamanese on these subjects it seems probable that Mr Man has here combined into a single consistent version, a number of independent statements, which, as the natives believe them, are not parts of an organised doctrine, but are separate from and often inconsistent with each other. Added to this there is the fact that Mr Man has so written down the native beliefs as to bring out the greatest possible degree of resemblance to the Christian mythology. This is clear from his use of the words Hades, paradise, etc. Allowance must therefore be made for the fact that Mr Man evidently found some pleasure in tracing analogies between the mythology of the Andamanese and the Christian doctrines.

Owing to the importance attaching to all Mr Man's statements it is necessary to examine critically the account tran-

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 161.

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scribed above. We may begin with what is said of the doctrine of the threefold nature of man. By this it would seem to be meant that man is regarded as composed of body, soul and spirit. It is quite certain that the Andamanese mean different things by the words *ot-yolo* (reflection) here translated "soul," and *čauga* translated "spirit." The difference is this, that a man, while he is still alive, *has* a "double" or "soul" if the latter word be preferred, while when he is dead he *becomes* a spirit. Thus the spirit is not a part of a man while he is alive. The word *čauga* (or *lau*) is simply the name of a particular class of beings which includes all dead men and women. The bones of a man become "spirit-bones" (*čauga-ta*) when he dies, just as he becomes a spirit. To compare the Andamanese belief with the Christian doctrine that each man possesses, while he is alive, both a soul and a spirit, these being different things, is therefore misleading. For this reason it is perhaps unfortunate to translate the Andamanese *čauga* as meaning spirit, but there does not seem to be any other convenient English word.

Mr Man's account would seem to imply that the native belief is that at death the soul (reflection) of a man goes to one place (*J̌ereg* or *J̌ereg-l'ar-mugu*) while his spirit goes elsewhere (to *Čaitan*). In the case of children however, Mr Man makes a difference, for both the souls and spirits of children go to *Čaitan*. Mr Man compares *Čaitan* to Hades, *J̌ereg* to paradise and *J̌ereg-l'ar-mugu* to purgatory.

I do not think that the Andamanese have any such complicated doctrine as this. It seems to me almost certain that Mr Man has received from the natives several different statements, similar to some of those given earlier, and that he has combined and reconciled them as well as he could. Some of his informants, apparently, described the world after death as being beneath the earth, and gave the name of it as *Čaitan*[1]. Other informants seem to have spoken of *J̌ereg* or *J̌ereg-l'ar-mugu*. I think it improbable that any one native should have stated, as Mr Man's account would seem to imply, that the *soul* of a dead

[1] I could not obtain any information about the word that Mr Man gives as *chaitan*. Some men of the South Andaman whom I questioned did not seem to recognize the word, except as their way of pronouncing the Urdu word *shaitan* = devil.

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775 man goes to one place, while the man himself (now a *spirit*) goes somewhere else. Mr Man's description of *Čaitan* corresponds almost exactly to the descriptions given to me by the *Akar-Bale* and *A-Pučikwar* of *Jereg-l'ar-mugu*, and to the descriptions of *Maramiku* given by the Northern tribes. If *Čaitan* be really an *Aka-Bea* word, it would seem to be only another name for *Jereg-l'ar-mugu*.

One of the most important points in Mr Man's statement is that while the souls of good men go to paradise as he puts it, the souls of bad men are condemned to torture in purgatory[1]. In my own enquiries I did not come across any definite belief of this nature, but I am not prepared to deny its existence. All that I can say is that I did not find any evidence whatever that good men and bad men (in any meanings in which those words could be used by the natives) receive different treatment after death. In talking to men of the *Akar-Bale* and *A-Pučikwar* tribes I did not hear of *Jereg* as a distinct place from *Jereg-l'ar-mugu*. The latter name is of course a compound, from *ar-mugu* = front, and might mean either "the place fronting or facing *Jereg*" or "the place *Jereg*, fronting us."

Mr Man states that the souls and spirits of young children go to *Čaitan* where they subsist on the fruit of a *rau* tree (*Ficus laccifera*). In the North Andaman I found a belief that the souls of children, before they are born, live in the *Ficus* trees, but these are the real trees on earth that are in question, and not a mythical tree in the next world. It is commonly believed that if a baby dies the soul enters the mother again and is born a second time. It is possible that what Mr Man relates as to the souls of children after death living in a *Ficus* tree in *Čaitan* may really refer to real fig trees on earth.

As regards the resurrection spoken of by Mr Man, I was also so unfortunate as to obtain no information. As will be shown in a later chapter, there are several myths of the world coming to an end and starting afresh, and these myths are generally

[1] In the "Census Report" 1901, p. 62, Sir Richard Temple writes, "The Andamanese have an idea that the 'soul' will go under the earth by an aerial bridge after death, but there is no heaven nor hell nor any idea of a corporeal resurrection in a religious sense."

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associated with *Puluga* or *Biliku*. All the versions that I heard, 775
however, referred to the past and not to the future[1].

The Andamanese speak of unconsciousness as "death," and 761
regard a person who has been unconscious for some time as 828
having been dead and returned to life again. I was once told that an old man in the village was "dead" and found him in a state of coma from which he recovered and lived for several days. There are stories of persons having returned to life even after they have been buried. One such tale was told me in the North Andaman. A man died and was buried. As his friends and relatives, after packing up their belongings, were leaving the camp in their canoes, the man's voice was heard calling. His wife and mother turned back and met him and took him in their canoe. He lived for some time after this and then he died and was buried again. Again the same thing happened, the dead man re-appearing just as they were setting off in their canoes from the camp that they were deserting on account of his death. Finally the man died a third time. When he was buried this time the men dug a very deep hole some distance from the camp, and then hurried back to the camp and hastily gathered up their belongings and left it. Nothing more was seen of the dead man, but when, after the lapse of some months, they went to dig up the bones, they found the mat and leaves and rope in which the corpse had been bound, but there were no bones.

Amongst the coast-dwellers of the North Andaman I found 761
a belief that the soul of a dying man goes out with the ebbing 775
tide.

There are, amongst the Andamanese, certain individuals who 756
are distinguished from their fellows by the supposed possession 791
of supernatural powers. These specially favoured persons

[1] It may be noted that in the Andamanese languages there is no future tense of the verb, and it is often very difficult to know whether a speaker is referring to the present or to the future. Further, although there is a past tense, a native often uses the present tense in a narrative relating to the past, so that a statement relating to the past and one relating to the future may have exactly the same grammatical form. Mr Ellis, writing in the *Journal of the Philological Society* (1882) from information supplied by Mr Man, gives a verbal suffix *-ngabo* denoting the future in the *Aka-Bea* language. Mr Portman points out that this is an error. (*Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman*, p. 88.)

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756 correspond, to some degree, with the medicine-men, magicians
791 or shamans of other primitive societies. The name for these medicine-men in the North Andaman is *oko-jumu*, meaning literally "dreamer" or "one who speaks from dreams" from a stem *-jumu* the primary meaning of which refers to the phenomena of dreams. In *Aka-Bea* the corresponding term is *oko-paiad*, and according to Mr Man, this term also means "dreamer." Mr Portman, however, gives *taraba* as the *Aka-Bea* word for "dream" or "to dream."

According to a statement by Mr Man, only men can possess the powers that entitle them to be regarded as *oko-paiad*[1]. The natives whom I questioned told me that a woman may possess the same powers, though it is more usual for men to become famous in this way than women. There is no very clear dividing line between those who are *oko-jumu* or *oko-paiad* and those who are not; one person may possess the powers in only a slight degree, so as scarcely to differentiate him from others, while another may be much more highly gifted.

At the present time it is no longer possible to obtain full and satisfactory information on this subject. Most of the old *oko-jumu* and *oko-paiad* are now dead. Amongst the younger men there are a few who pretend to the position, but the recent intercourse with foreigners has produced a degree of scepticism in such matters that makes it difficult or nearly impossible to obtain any reliable information as to the former beliefs from any but the very old men. To this difficulty must be added that in talking to some of the very few old men who could have given more valuable information I had to make use of an interpreter, and though they might have been willing to confide to me some of the secrets of their profession they would not do so before a younger man of their own race.

791 The powers of a dreamer, supernatural as they are, can
761 only be acquired by supernatural means, through contact in one
758 way or another with the spirits (i.e. the *Lau* or *Čauga*). One way
775 of coming into contact with the spirits is by death. If a man should, as the natives put it, die and then come back to life again,

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 96.

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he is, by that adventure, endowed with the power that makes a 791
medicine-man. One man of the *Aka-Kọra* tribe was pointed out 761
to me as having obtained his powers in this way. It would seem 756
that during a serious illness he was unconscious for some twelve 775
hours or so, and his friends thought that he was dead. A medicine-man whom I met with in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe was said to have died and come to life again three times. Another man, whom I did not meet, was described to me as a great *oko-jumu*, and from the description given it seemed to me that he was subject to epileptic fits. As against this, however, Mr Man states that "epilepsy is a recognised form of malady, but the fits are not regarded in a superstitious light[1]."

Another way in which a man can acquire magical powers is 791
by direct communication with the spirits. A man who died a 756
few years ago was believed by the natives to have once met with 775
some spirits in the jungle, and to have acquired in this way the powers of an *oko-jumu*. He used to go off into the jungle by himself at intervals and hold communication with the spirits with whom he had made friends. From such a visit he had returned with his head decorated with shredded palm-leaf fibre (*kọro*) which had, so he said, been placed on him by the spirits. This man had a reputation as a powerful *oko-jumu*.

In a less degree the powers of an *oko-jumu* may be ob- 756
tained through dreams. It is believed that certain men have 791
the power of communicating with the spirits in dreams, and such 828
men are *oko-jumu*. If a man or boy experiences dreams that are 787
in any way extraordinary, particularly if, in his dreams he sees spirits, either the spirits of dead persons known to him when alive, or spirits of the forest or the sea, he may acquire in time the reputation of a medicine-man.

A man may claim some degree of magical power, and yet 756
his claims may not be recognized by others. Each *oko-jumu* 791
has to make his own reputation, and to sustain it when made. This he can only do by demonstrating his power to others. Once this reputation is his, he not only receives the respect of others but also makes a considerable personal profit. Every one is anxious to be on good terms with one who is believed to

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 83.

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forbidden to take part in a dance, or to decorate himself with red paint and white clay, for by these actions the Andaman Islander becomes conscious of his position as a member of a closely unified group, and it is necessary for the mourner, as for the *aka-op*, to feel that for the time being he is cut off from the ordinary life of the group. The disuse, during the period of mourning, of the name of a mourner is to be explained, as we shall see more plainly later, on the same principle, the personal name being what marks the person's position in the social life, so that the temporary dropping of the name shows that for the time being the person is not occupying his normal social position.

182x 765

The distinctive sign of a mourner is the use of clay, which is smeared over the body and head, and from the name of this clay is derived the term that denotes a mourner (*aka-odu*). It is possible to explain this also as a symbolic expression of the separation of the mourner from the world of living men and his aggregation to the world of the dead. In his everyday life the Andaman Islander is black from head to foot. During mourning he turns himself as nearly as possible white from head to foot, by covering his body all over with clay. It must be remembered that the spirits of the dead are said to be white or light in colour. This is undoubtedly one of the reasons why the (light-coloured) natives of India are called spirits (*Lau*), while men of such a dark-coloured race as the African negroes are not referred to by this term. The use of clay would therefore seem to serve not only to make the mourner unlike his ordinary self, but to make him like the spirits of the dead.

Of course, the natives explain all these customs of mourning as being expressions of sorrow for their loss, and this is, from the simple standpoint of everyday life, an adequate and true explanation. From the standpoint of psychology, however, what we need to know is why the sorrow is expressed in just these ways and no others. Moreover, the natives give as a further reason for the mourning customs that if they did not observe them they would be liable to sickness or even death.

I have said that the Andamanese believe that by death a man or woman becomes a *Lau*, but there is a little uncertainty

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in the statements of the natives as to whether he becomes a spirit at once, immediately after the death, or whether he does so only after the flesh of the body has decayed. Both statements are sometimes made, but it seems common to think of the dead person during the period of mourning not as a spirit (*Lau*) but as a dead man (*empilo*). We may best express the ideas of the natives by saying that the process by which a man becomes a spirit is one that takes some months to complete, and is only ended when the bones are dug up. An interesting insight into their notions in this matter is afforded by a belief, about which unfortunately I have very scanty information, to the effect that when a man dies he is initiated into the world of the dead by a ceremony resembling the ceremonies by which a youth is initiated into manhood. In the statement of an *Aka-Kede* informant the ceremony was spoken of by the term *kimil*, which is generally used for the initiation ceremonies, and was described as a *pəryto-kimil*, i.e., a ceremony in which the dead man ate *pəryto* (*Caryota sobolifera*) in just the same way that a youth eats turtle (*čokbi*) at the *čokbi-kimil*. There is independent evidence that there is a special connection between the spirits of the dead and the *Caryota* palm[1].

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The description of this ceremony (of initiation into the world of the dead) that was given to me stated that in it the shredded fibre named *kəro* was used in just the same way as the leaves of the *Hibiscus* are used in the turtle-eating ceremony. Further, as in the peace-making ceremony men stand against a suspended cane from which depend bunches of this same *kəro*, so in the initiation into the spirit world the initiate has to stand against the rainbow while the dancing spirits shake it and him. It is this shaking of the rainbow (according to my informant) that causes earthquakes. It may be recalled that the rainbow is regarded as a sort of bridge between this world and the spirit world, and that its name is "the spirit's cane," so that it would seem that it is regarded as like a cane with *kəro* fibre suspended from it, such as is used in the peace-making ceremony.

The explanation of the use of this *kəro* fibre was postponed earlier in the chapter, and may well be undertaken here. It serves

[1] Page 171.

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so came to be used both as a covering for women and also as a sign of warning at the grave and the village that has been visited by death[1].

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To return from this digression to the question of the initiation of the dead man into the world of spirits, it is clear that since such ceremonies take time to accomplish there is a period during which the dead man is in an indeterminate position; he is no longer a member of the society of the living, and has not yet become a member of the society of the dead. As long as he is thus situated his relatives and friends are still attached to him, so that he still remains as it were in partial contact with the living. During this time the society is still suffering the ill effects of the death, and the process of readjustment by means of the customs of mourning is still taking place. At the end of it the dead man becomes completely absorbed in the spirit world, and as a spirit he has no more part in or influence over the social life than any other spirit, and the mourning is brought to a close by means of a ceremony.

X 182
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This ceremony has two parts. One is the recovery of the bones and their reaggregation to the society, a rite which we may regard as the final settling of the dead man in his proper place. All that is left of him, who was once a source of strength to the community, who had once—as it is here expressed—a social value, are the bones, his name, and the memory of him that his friends retain. We may suppose that the bones still have something of the value that originally attached to their owner, and indeed it is evident that they have, for after they are recovered they are affectionately treasured as relics by the relatives. By the end of the period of mourning the painful feelings aroused by the death have died down, so that the dead man is now the object only of memories that are pleasant, or, at the worst, bittersweet. The bones, then, are visible evidences of the fact that the society has recovered from the disruptive shock of the death, and this is why they are dug up as soon as the recovery is complete, or rather in order to complete it, and are thereafter treasured.

[1] The brakes formed by the cane (*bido*) from the leaves of which the *bero* fibre is obtained seem to be regarded as lurking places of the spirits. The natives often speak of the *Bido-tee-lau* (*Calamus* leaf spirits).

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it will when he lives only in the memory of his friends, the name is not used. After the mourning period is over the name may again be used. 182x 551, 765

In general then, it may be said that at any period in which a person is undergoing a critical change in his condition in so far as it affects the society his name falls out of use, to be resumed when the period of change is over. The reason for this is that during such periods of change the social personality is suppressed or latent and therefore the name which is closely associated with the social personality must be suppressed also.

The customs of burial and mourning are therefore seen to be not simply the result of natural feelings of fear and sorrow but ritual actions performed under a sense of obligation and strictly regulated by tradition. They are means by which the society acts upon its members, compelling them to feel emotions appropriate to the occasion. Since the dead person has, by his death, become a cause of social disruption, all contact with him must be avoided. But the dead man had a certain value to the society, and as a thing of any kind cannot be valued unless its loss is felt as a source of pain, so if the community did not mourn when it lost one of its members that feeling of the social value of individuals on which the existence of the society depends would soon diminish in strength, thereby weakening the social cohesion.

It is now possible for us to understand the Andamanese beliefs about the spirits. The basis of these beliefs, I wish to maintain, is the fact that at the death of an individual his social personality (as defined above) is not annihilated, but is suddenly changed. This continuance after death is a fact of immediate experience to the Andaman Islanders and not in any way a deduction. The person has not ceased to exist. For one thing his body is still there. But above all he is still the object of the social sentiments of the survivors, and thereby he continues to act upon the society. The removal of a member of the group is felt not as something negative but as the positive cause of great social disturbance. 182x 775

The spirits are feared or regarded as dangerous. The basis of this fear is the fact that the spirit (i.e. the social personality of a person recently dead) is obviously a source of weakness and disruption to the community, affecting the survivors through their

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X182 775

attachment to him, and producing a condition of dysphoria, of diminished social activity. The natural impulse of the Andaman Islander or of any other human being, would be, I believe, not to shun the dead body of a loved one, but to remain near it as long as possible. It is the society, acting under a quite different set of impulses, that compels the relatives to separate themselves from the remains of the one they loved. The death of a small child has very little influence on the general activity of the community, and the motive for severing connection with the dead that is present in the case of an adult, either does not exist or is so weak as to be overruled by the private feelings of affection, and so the child is buried in the hut of the parents, that they may continue to keep it near them. This affords a good test of the hypothesis, and gives strong support to the view that the fear of the dead man (his body and his spirit) is a collective feeling induced in the society by the fact that by death he has become the object of a dysphoric condition of the collective consciousness.

X182 775 761 753

If the Andamanese are asked what they fear from the spirit of a dead man they reply that they fear sickness or death, and that if the burial and mourning customs are not properly observed the relatives of the dead person will fall sick and perhaps die.

The basis of this notion of the spirits is that the near relatives of the deceased, being bound to him by close social ties, are influenced by everything that happens to him, and share in his good or evil fortune. So that when by sickness and resulting death he is removed from the community, they are as it were drawn after him. For this reason they are, during the period of mourning, between life and death, being still attached to the dead man. Contact with the world of the dead is therefore regarded as dangerous for the living because it is believed that they may be drawn completely into that world. Death is a process by which a person leaves the living world and enters the world of the spirits, and since no one dies willingly he is conceived as being under a compulsive force acting from the world of spirits. Now sickness is a condition that often ends in death, a first stage of the way leading to the world of spirits. Hence sickness is conceived by the Andamanese as a condition of partial contact

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with that world. This is what is meant by the statement that sickness and death come from the spirits.

The way the Andamanese think about the spirits is shown in the *Akar-Bale* legend of the origin of death[1]. *Yaramurud*, having died through an accident, self-caused, becomes a spirit, but he does so only under the compulsion exercised upon him by his mother, who, now that he is dead, insists that he must go away from the world of the living and become a spirit. The spirit then comes back to see his brother and by this contact causes the brother's death. The story implies that it was not because *Yaramurud* was evilly disposed towards his brother that he killed him, but on the contrary it was his attachment to his relative that caused him to return to visit him, and death followed as a result of this contact of the living man with the spirit. Since that time deaths have continued to occur in the same way. Thus it appears that the Andamanese conceive that the spirits do not cause death and sickness through evil intention, but through their mere proximity, and, as the legend very clearly shows, the burial customs are intended to cut off the unwilling spirit from contact with the living. This explains also why during the period of mourning the relatives of a dead person are thought to be in danger of sickness, and have more to fear from the spirit than others, for since it is they who were most attached to him during life it is they who are most likely to suffer from contact with him after he is dead. It was *Yaramurud's* brother who was the first to die through the influence of the spirits.

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The feelings of the living towards the spirits of the dead are therefore ambivalent, compounded of affection and fear, and this must be clearly recognized if we are to understand all the Andamanese beliefs and customs. We may compare the relation between the society of the living and the society of the dead to that between two hostile communities having occasional friendly relations. That the Andamanese themselves look upon it in some such way is shown by the belief that the ceremony by which a dead man is initiated into the world of spirits resembles the peace-making ceremony. The dead man, up to the time of his death, has been living in a state of enmity with the spirits, and before he can enter their community and share their life he

[1] Page 216.

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The Andaman Islander seems to regard the dream-world as a world of shadows or reflections, for he uses the same word to denote a shadow, a reflection in a mirror, and a dream (the stem *-jumu* in *Aka-Jeru*). Now when a man enters this shadow-world in sleep he is, as we have seen, conceived as coming into partial contact with the world of spirits. Hence the Andaman Islander believes that in dreams he may communicate with the spirits, that dreams may be a cause of sickness, and that in dreams a medicine-man can cause or cure sickness in his fellows. In this shadow-world the man himself becomes as it were a shadow, a mere reflection of himself; it is not he that lives and acts in his dreams but his *ot-jumulo*, his double, his shadow-self, or, as we might say, his soul. It is but a step from this to the representation of the spirit-world as a similar world of shadows and dream-shapes, and to the conclusion that when a man dies it is his *ot-jumulo* that becomes the spirit.

182 775

To summarise the argument, the belief in the world of spirits rests on the actual fact that a dead person continues to affect the society. As the effect is one of disorganisation, whereby the social sentiments are wounded, the dead are avoided and the spirits are regarded with fear. But as a recently dead person is still regarded with feelings of attachment by his friends, the resulting final attitude towards the spirits is ambivalent. By a simple step the spirits come to be regarded as the cause of sickness and death, and therefore as hostile to living men. Yet, as the beliefs about medicine-men show, it is possible for exceptional individuals to be on terms of friendship with the spirits. Finally, the dream-life affords a means by which the spirit-world may be represented in a simple and concrete manner. This last feature (the association of the spirits with dreams) I believe to be a secondary elaboration of the primary or fundamental belief which shows itself in the ritual of death and mourning, serving only to rationalise it and make it more concrete. This need of concrete representation of the spirit-world shows itself in other beliefs, in which may be seen the tendency to become self-contradictory that is often the mark of ideas that arise as the result of attempts to rationalise conative and affective impulses. The spirits are, on the one hand, as it were shadows or images

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of living men, and yet, since they are feared and disliked, they are often represented as being repulsive and inhuman, with long legs and short bodies, with long beards and ugly faces[1]. The spirits must be thought of as somewhere, but there is no consistency in the statements as to where that somewhere is; one man will say that they live in the sky, another that they are under the earth, a third will point to a particular island as their home; at the same time it is evident from other statements that they vaguely conceive them as being everywhere, in the forest and the sea.

182X 775

We are now in a position to understand what the Andaman Islander means when he says that the danger he fears from food is from the spirits. The greatest evil that can happen to the community is the sickness or death of its members, and these are believed to be the work of the spirits. The sense of the social value of food takes the form of a belief that food is dangerous, and inevitably the danger comes to be conceived as that of sickness or death, and is therefore associated in their minds with the spirits.

But there is a more fundamental reason than this. I have tried to show that it is because food has such important effects for good and evil on the social life that it is believed to be endued with a peculiar power which makes it necessary to approach it with ritual precautions. If this thesis be valid it should be capable of generalisation, and we should find the same power attributed to every object or being that is capable of affecting in important ways the well-being of the society. We should expect that the Andamanese would attribute this power not only to the more important things used for food but also to such things as the weather and dead men (i.e., the spirits). Now this, if the argument has been correct, is exactly what we do find, and we have here the reason why the Andaman Islander, when asked what he fears from eating dangerous foods, replies that he fears sickness or the spirits of the dead.

182X 778

We may formulate in precise language the beliefs that underlie the ceremonial, remembering always that the Andaman Islanders

[1] I once drew a few grotesque figures for the amusement of some Andamanese children, and they at once pronounced them to be "spirits."

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Tomo who made it so. In Mr Man's account *Tomo* is degraded to the position of being merely the first man made by *Puluga*, but in the accounts that were given to me by the natives of the *Akar-Bale* and *A-Pučikwar* tribes *Tomo* was a rival of *Puluga*; sometimes one and sometimes the other was spoken of as being the supreme maker of all things. An *Akar-Bale* man of very high intelligence, who had been educated as a Christian, in trying to explain to me statements about *Tomo* made by another *Akar-Bale* who was regarded as an authority on the legends of his tribe, said that *Tomo* was the same thing to the *Akar-Bale* that God is to the Christian. When I asked him if it was not rather *Puluga* who was the Andaman equivalent of God, he said that some people might think so, but that according to the old man to whom I was talking it was *Tomo* and not *Puluga* who occupied the position[1].

182 x 776

There is only one more point that needs to be discussed, and that is the connection of *Biliku* with the spirits. It is clear that *Biliku* and *Tarai* must be distinguished from the spirits (*Lau*), yet at the same time *Biliku* is brought into relation with the spirits by the existence of two alternative explanations of bad weather. One of the explanations is that storms are due to *Biliku*, while the other is that they are due to the spirits, particularly the spirits of the sea. Both these beliefs, contradictory as they seem, are held by the Andamanese. The connection of the spirits with the weather is due to the fact that

182 x 776 775 821

[1] To complete the discussion of this part of the subject it would be necessary to deal with many points in the legends of the real meaning of which I do not feel satisfied. I have, for instance, given no explanation of the position of *Pęrjido* in the *Biliku-Tarai* myth, although this is probably an important matter. Nor have I traced to its source the connection of *Biliku* (with her net, and her hole, or cave, in which she shuts herself up to sleep and from which she comes out to bring rain and storm) with the spider. Besides *Tomo*, *Biliku* has yet another competitor for the position of control over the fine weather of the hot season, namely the snake, *or-čubi* (*wara-jobo*), which is regarded as being in some way the guardian of honey and of fine weather. There are legends that show the connection of this snake with honey (page 227) and the same connection is shown in the honey-eating ceremony (page 105). According to Mr Man, when the natives of the South Andaman see a dark cloud approaching and they do not wish it to rain they threaten *Puluga* that they will call up the *wara-jobo* to bite him. The snake, like other snakes, is only to be seen during the hot weather of the honey season. It may be remembered that it is from this snake that the pattern used in decorating the body with white clay is named.

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the weather is a thing that can limit the activity of the society, and we saw in the last chapter that there is a tendency to associate with the spirits of the dead all things that in any way interfere with the smooth progress of social life. When it is said that a storm can be stopped by swishing arrows in the sea, or by placing in the sea a piece of *Anadendron* creeper, it is to the spirits of the sea, who are afraid of arrows and of the *Anadendron*, that the storm is attributed, and not to *Biliku*.

In the *A-Pučikwar* tribe I found an association of *Bilik* with the spirits. One man of this tribe (a medicine-man or dreamer) stated that the *Bilik* are a distinct class of spirits, distinct from the *Lau* and the *Jurua*, yet similar to them. It is the *Bilik* who control the weather. Certain men, when they die, become not *Lau* or *Jurua*, but *Bilik*. Thus in one of his dreams that he related to me he met and conversed with the spirit of a deceased friend whom he spoke of as *Boičo Bilik*, *Boičo* having been his name when he was alive. A medicine-man is able to control the weather through his communication with the *Bilik* in dreams. In this tribe therefore we find a doctrine according to which *Bilik* is not the name of a single being but of a class of beings similar in essentials to the other two classes of spirits. It seemed to me possible that these beliefs are a comparatively late introduction by some of the medicine-men of the tribe. The *Boičo* about whom my informant *Tora* dreamed seemed to have had some part in the development of the doctrine. This does not, however, in the least detract from its value as affording us an insight into the beliefs of the Andamanese.

These beliefs clearly spring from an attempt to distinguish from one another the different northerly and easterly winds, each of the recognizable winds being regarded as a separate person, and from the merging together of the two contrary beliefs in the weather as regulated by spirits and by *Bilik* and *Teria*. The general system of beliefs about spirits as being responsible for all things that may affect human well-being inevitably leads to the notion that the weather is controlled by the spirits, and this is implied also in the belief that a medicine-man (whose power is derived from contact with the spirits) is also able to influence the weather to some extent. This doctrine, however,

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conflicts with the view of the weather and the seasons as controlled by *Biliku* and *Tarai*, who are not spirits but personifications of natural phenomena. It is perhaps this conflict between doctrines, both of them important and indeed necessary, that has led to the elaboration of the peculiar beliefs met with in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe.

I have dealt with most of the more important details of the *Biliku-Tarai* myth, and have tried to show that the whole myth is an expression of the social value of the phenomena of the weather and the seasons. These phenomena affect the social life in certain definite ways and thereby become the objects of certain sentiments; these sentiments are expressed in the legends. *Biliku* and *Tarai* are personifications of the N.E. and S.W. monsoons; as such they are responsible for the weather; feelings awakened by the weather are therefore referred to *Biliku* and *Tarai*; thus the fear of a cyclone at certain periods of the year is expressed as a fear of the anger of *Biliku*. Since the time when men go in fear of storms is also the time when they are just beginning to dig up yams and eat them, the myth connects the anger of *Biliku* with the digging up of yams, and similarly in the cases of honey and the cicada. As *Biliku* is associated with vegetable foods, and these are things with which women chiefly have to do, *Biliku* (in the North Andaman) is regarded as female; *Tarai*, being associated with flesh foods, is male; the two are therefore conceived as wife and husband. As the maker of storms *Biliku* is responsible for the lightning and is therefore possessed of fire. She thus comes to be regarded as the first possessor of fire. This gives rise to stories of how the ancestors obtained their fire from *Biliku*, and as she is generally regarded as being hostile rather than friendly towards mankind, the stories relate how the fire was stolen from her. But besides being the maker of storms *Biliku* is also the dispenser of the good things of the season of the N.E. monsoon and when this aspect of the procession of the seasons is prominent before their minds the natives think of *Biliku* as a benefactress of mankind. As she is the possessor of fire, and as fire is the source of the life of the society, she comes to be regarded as herself the source of life, though there is an

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823 neighbouring coast of Burmah, much less of the world at large, and consequently imagined that their islands formed almost the entire terrene area, and that they themselves comprised the bulk of the inhabitants.

●715 7. The few voyagers who from time to time ventured near their shores were regarded as deceased ancestors, who, by some dispensation, had been permitted to re-visit the earth, and who were supposed to live on some small island in the vicinity of their *ē·rema-*, *i.e.*, world. In confirmation of this may be cited the name by which natives of India are to this day called, viz., *chàw·gala* (*lit.* departed spirits).

103 **Etymology.**—1. From the following list of some of the numerous encampments of the natives of South Andaman,[1] it will be observed that the names are usually derived from some circumstance peculiar to the spot, or from some tree overshadowing the site:—

.tâ-bô·roga-, coral (*tâ-*), shore (*bô·roga-*).
.tigbang·-, rock-hole, there being at that place a hole in a large rock through which a canoe can pass.
.tàrmū·gu-.[2] West (island).
.yū·kala-chàng·-, grassy (*yū·kala-*), camp (*chàng-*).
.dū·mla-paicha-ông·-, anchorage (*òng-*), in neighbourhood (*paicha-*), of the (*la*); *Dūm-* tree.
.lē·kera-bar·nga-, a row (*bar·nga-*) of *Lēkera-* trees.
.ū·dala lâr·chū·lnga-, the spring (*chū·lnga-*), at the (*lâr, lit.* of the) *.ū·dala-* tree (*Pandanus verus*).
.chē·la- dôk·nga-, the dragging (*dô·knga-*) of the ship (*chē·lewa-*). A ship was once wrecked there.
.būd lōt deg·ranga-. Defeat camp; the defeat (*deg·ranga-*) at the (*lōt, lit.* of the) camp (*būd-*). There was once a severe fight there.

2. There are a few place-names which are unintelligible to the present inhabitants, *e.g.*, *.lū·rwa-*, *.tū·rubūn-*, though it is believed that they conveyed a meaning to former generations. Many of the names show an old, but unmistakable form of the present language, while others, again, might be judged to be of recent adoption, but they are not so in point of fact.

361 **Tribal Communities.**—1. It is no matter of surprise that, during the *first* years of our present occupation, when our acquaintance with the aborigines was so limited, we should

[1] A fairly complete list of the names of these encampments, and the meanings of the greater number of them, will be found in a short paper, entitled "Note on two Maps of the Andaman Islands," by E. H. Man and R. C. Temple, which was published in the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," 1880.

[2] *Vide* "Astronomy," paragraph 5. (*West*, the disappearing face place.)

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766 two or three times in token of farewell;[1] then, replacing the leaves, they put the corpse into the grave in a sitting posture, and fill in and level the earth; next, having procured a quantity of the young leaves of the common jungle cane, they split them and make long fringe-like wreaths, called *â·ra-*,[2] which they fasten to the trees surrounding the hut, or encircling the entire camping ground, the object being to apprise any stranger or friend who might chance to visit the spot, that a death has recently occurred, and that they would therefore do well to keep away.

[775] 4. After suspending the *â·ra-* the fire is rekindled and the mother places a shell containing some of her own milk beside the grave, obviously in order that the child's spirit, which is believed to haunt its late home for a few days, may not lack nourishment. All in the encampment then pack up those things which are mostly needed and depart to some other camping ground,[3] generally not less than two or three miles distant, where they at once construct huts, usually of the description called *chàng-tô·rnga-*,[4] to serve as shelter during the mourning period, which as a rule lasts about three months; and during which the parents and relatives, naturally enough, refrain from 262 taking any part in the festivities occurring among their neigh- 765 bours. While mourning it is customary for the *ē·rem-tâ·ga-* to abstain from pork, and for the *àryô·to-* to deny themselves turtle as well as other luxuries, in token of the sincerity of their grief, but they never mutilate themselves by cutting off joints of their fingers, &c., as do the Hottentots and the Papuans of the Fiji Islands, nor have they, as has been erroneously asserted in Dr. Day's paper, daily, during periods of deep sorrow, to throw honey-comb, if obtainable, into the fire.[5]

5. At the expiration of the time mutually agreed upon, they all return to the deserted encampment and remove and destroy the *â·ra-*. The parents then exhume the remains, which are taken by the father to the sea-shore, or the nearest creek, there to be cleansed[6] from all putrefying matter: this done, he brings

[1] *Vide* ceremony at parting (*post*, "Meeting and Parting," paragraph 6).

[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 73.

[3] Similarly do the Koi-Koin (Hottentots) "break up their kraals after every case of death, to avoid the proximity of the grave" (Peschel).

[4] *Vide* "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. x, p. 283, and *ante*, "Habitations," paragraph 3.

[5] The practice here referred to is evidently that of burning beeswax (not honey-comb), the object of which will shortly be explained under "Superstitions," paragraph 13, and is not that here stated.

[6] This repulsive duty is always performed by one of the near *male* relatives of a deceased person. Dr. Day was led to believe that "the extraction of the skull and bones, it is considered, requires great skill and courage," but experience and the statements of all those aborigines who have been questioned on the subject, do not bear out this view.

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of sticks and boughs, about 8 to 12 feet above the ground, generally between the forked branches of some large tree,[1] and to it the body is lashed. The head is raised slightly, looking eastward, and, though the position of the arms is not altered, the cords are loosened to allow of the legs being straightened, after which the leaves are re-adjusted, so as to cover the entire form, in order to protect it from the attacks of hawks, crows, and vermin. 764

14. Two reasons are given for the practice of placing the corpse with the face towards the rising sun: one being that dissolution may thereby be hastened, the other that *jer·eg-* or Hades, whither the souls of the departed flee, is situated in the east. [775]

15. The mourners take a last farewell in the manner before described, and fulfil the remaining duties, as related in the former case. The spirit of the deceased being supposed to haunt not only the spot where he has been buried, but also the encampment where the death occurred, the community migrate temporarily to another camping ground immediately after the return of the funeral party, leaving the *â·ra-* to witness to casual visitors of the cause of their absence. 765

16. When the period of mourning has expired, the men who assisted in the funeral rites return to the place of burial, destroy the *â·ra-*, and remove the remains of the deceased to the sea-shore, or to a creek, where the bones are cleaned and afterwards conveyed to the old encampment, whither they all return and restore their camp to its normal condition.

17. As all that has been related regarding the distribution of the bones of a child and the subsequent dance applies equally to all cases, further account of these ceremonies here is unnecessary; for fuller information anent the manufacture of the necklaces, &c., the reader is referred to an interesting paper by Dr. Allen Thomson, F.R.S., which will be found in the Journal of the Anthropological Institute for 1881.[2]

18. Although in the majority of cases the display of grief is thoroughly sincere, there is no doubt that they hope, by testifying to their sorrow in the various ways mentioned, to conciliate the spirits of the departed, and to be by them preserved from many misfortunes which might otherwise befall them.[3]

19. In the case of a young married couple who are childless, if either die, the survivor is not the chief mourner, and does not even assist at the obsequies, which are performed solely by

[1] They are careful not to select a fruit-tree, or one used for the manufacture of their canoes, bows, and other implements.

[2] *Vide* "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xi, p. 295.

[3] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 24.

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821 776 262 roots, another deluge would be the consequence, for *Pū·luga-* is supposed to require these for his own consumption at that period of the year; the restriction, however, does not extend to the *fallen* seeds of the *Entada pursætha*, which may be collected and eaten at any time with impunity.

821 776 789 13. Another of the offences visited by *Pū·luga-* with storms is the burning of beeswax,[1] the smell of which is said to be peculiarly obnoxious to him. Owing to this belief it is a common practice secretly to burn wax when a person against whom they bear ill-will is engaged in fishing, hunting, or the like, the object being to spoil his sport and cause him as much discomfort as possible; hence arises the saying among them, when suddenly overtaken by a storm, that some one must be burning wax.

776 821 787 14. The rainbow is regarded as *.ē·rem-chàu·gala*'s dancing or sounding board, which is only visible at certain times; its appearance is said to betoken approaching sickness or death to one of their number, and is, therefore, inauspicious.[2]

823 776 15. There are no superstitions anent hills, valleys, rocks, &c., which, as stated in my last paper,[3] *Pū·luga-* is believed to have formed for some purpose of his own. The formation of creeks is attributed to a fortunate accident, the account of which being connected with their traditions must be reserved for that section.[4]

823 775 16. They imagine earthquakes to be caused by some mischievous male spirits of their deceased ancestors, who, in their impatience at the delay in the resurrection, combine to shake the palm-tree on which they believe the earth to rest, in the hope thereby of destroying the cane bridge[5] which stretches between this world and heaven, and alone maintains the former in its present position. These selfish spirits are, however, said to be careful never to indulge in such practices during the dry months, as they imagine that, in consequence of the surface of the earth being then much cracked with heat, there would be considerable risk of its tumbling about their ears and crushing them instead of toppling over in one solid mass. They are said, therefore, never to play at earthquakes except during, or shortly after, the rainy season. But for the intervention of female spirits, who do their utmost to dissuade or prevent their male companions from continued enjoyment of this dangerous pastime, they are persuaded that there would be much cause for alarm on every occurrence of an earthquake.

775 17. They believe that every child which is conceived has had a

[1] *d'ja pid-* (*vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 4, footnote).
[2] The Chippeway Indians call it the dancing spirit (*vide* "Travels in the Interior of North America," by Maximilian, Prince of Wied).
[3] *Vide ante* "Topography," paragraph 3.
[4] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraph 13.
[5] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 25.

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prior existence, but only as an infant. If a woman who has lost a baby is again about to become a mother, the name borne by the deceased is bestowed on the fœtus, in the expectation that it will prove to be the same child born again. Should it be found at birth that the babe is of the same sex as the one who died, the identity is considered to be sufficiently established, but if otherwise the deceased one is said to be under the *ràu-* (*Ficus laccifera*) in *châ·itâ·n-* (Hades).[1]

18. They have no peculiar ideas in reference to yawning, hiccoughing, spitting, or eructating, and hissing[2] is unknown.

19. To sneeze is auspicious, and therefore regarded with favour. When any one sneezes the bystanders ask, "Who is thinking of you?" to which the person replies by naming some absent friend, or, should he be alone when he sneezes, he says, "Here I am at —— " (naming the place).

20. If they have a dream which they regard as bad, as, for instance, that a canoe was dashed on a reef, or that an accident occurred while pig-hunting, or even if, when awake, they hear two canoes bumping against each other while at anchor, they consider it essential to accept such as a warning, and act accordingly, viz., by taking steps to incur no risk of a misadventure: this is generally accomplished by remaining at home for two or three days.

21. A small striped snake, called *lâ·raba-*, is supposed to produce the streams of the red oxide of iron, *kòi·ob-chū·lnga-*, and olive-coloured clay, *chū·lnga-*, so much employed by them; the ground for the belief is the alleged fact that this snake, when disturbed, ejects from its tail a whitish fluid, which is of a deadly nature. They declare that the poison is such that it cannot be removed by washing or other means, and that it causes intense pain to the victim, who invariably dies within a few hours.

22. There is a small bird, not yet identified, called by them *pī·chrōl-*, the meeting with which is looked upon as ominous of an approaching death in their midst. When a woodpecker is heard tapping on a tree he is said to be giving warning of the approach of *ū·chu-*,[3] so they proceed in fear and trembling until the danger is supposed to be past. The notes of the *pai-* and *ràtegi-* (two birds not yet identified) are regarded as a sign that there are enemies in the vicinity. When, therefore, either of these are heard, they at once retrace their steps, if they happen to be on the move, or, should they be in an encampment, they

[1] *Vide ante* "Proper Names," paragraph 1, and *post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraphs 22 and 23.

[2] This is accounted for by the absence of sibilants in their language (*vide* Appendix A).

[3] A legendary elephant, to be spoken of under "Mythology," paragraph 30.

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to give him so uncomfortable a reception. Their immunity from harm on these occasions has given rise to some joking at the expense of the luminary in question, for, during the continuance of the eclipse, they shout in inviting tones to the hidden orb as follows:—*.ō·gar-, la den bal·ak ban lē·be ng'īdō·ati! dō·ati! dō·ati!*[1] (O moon, I will give you the seed of the *bal·ak!* show yourself! appear! appear!) 776 821

20. This seems to explain the custom which Colonel Symes describes as adoration to the sun and moon, for, as has been stated, no traces of worship or forms of religion, in the common acceptation of the term, exist among these tribes.

21. A solar eclipse alarms them too much to allow of their indulging in jests or threats, &c.: during the time it lasts they all remain silent and motionless, as if in momentary expectation of some calamity.

22. The world, exclusive of the sea, is declared to be flat and to rest on an immense palm-tree (*Caryota sobolifera*) called *bâ·rata-*, which stands in the midst of a jungle comprising the whole area under the earth. This jungle, *.châ·itâ·n-* (Hades), is a gloomy place, for, though visited in turn by the sun and moon, it can, in consequence of its situation, be only partially lighted: it is hither the *spirits* (*chàu·ga-*) of the departed are sent by *Pū·luga-* to await the Resurrection. [823] 775 772

23. No change takes place in *.châ·itâ·n-* in respect to growth or age; all remain as they were at the time of their departure from the earth, and the adults are represented as engaged in hunting, after a manner peculiar to disembodied spirits. In order to furnish them with sport the spirits of animals and birds are also sent to *.châ·itâ·n-*, but as there is no sea there, the *chàu·ga-* of fish and turtle remain in their native element and are preyed upon by *jū·ru-yein-*. The spirits (*chàu·ga-*) and souls (*ōt-yō·lo-*) of all children who die before they cease to be entirely dependent on their parents (*i.e.*, under six years of age) go to *.châ·itâ·n-*, and are placed under a *ràu-*[2] (*Ficus laccifera*) on the fruit of which they subsist. As none can quit *.châ·itâ·n-* who have once entered, they support their stories regarding it by a tradition that in ages long past an *ôko-pai·ad-*[3] was favoured in a dream with a vision of the regions and of the pursuits of the disembodied spirits.

24. Some of their legends, as will be seen elsewhere,[4] appear to bear out the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, as

[1] This is said derisively, for, although these seeds are largely consumed by the pigs, the aborigines themselves do not consider them fit for food.

[2] *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 17.

[3] *Vide ante* "Magic and Witchcraft," paragraph 1.

[4] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraphs 15, 16, 29.

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775 certain of their ancestors (*.tô·mola*) are stated to have vanished from earth in the form of various kinds of animals and fish.
772 The spirits of those not thus transformed, although in Hades, are believed occasionally to assist them in performing tasks of unusual difficulty; and it is thought that all the departed are to some extent conscious of what transpires in the world they once inhabited, and are able to promote the welfare of those who bear them in mind.[1]

25. Between the earth and the eastern sky there stretches an invisible cane bridge (*pī·dga-làr-chàu·ga-*) which steadies the former and connects it with *.jer·eg-* (paradise); over this bridge the *souls* (*ōt-yō·lo-*) of the departed[2] pass into paradise, or to *.jer·eg-làr-mū·gu-*, which is situated below it: this latter place might be described as purgatory, for it is a place of punishment for those who have been guilty of heinous sins, such as murder. Like Dante, they depict it as very cold, and therefore a most undesirable region for mortals to inhabit. From all this it will be gathered that these despised savages believe in a future state, in the resurrection, and in the threefold constitution of man.

26. In serious illness the sufferer's spirit (*chàu·ga-*) is said to be hovering between this world and Hades,[3] but does not remain permanently in the latter place until some time after death, during which interval it haunts the abode of the deceased and the spot where the remains have been deposited.[4] In dreams
774 it is the soul which, having taken its departure through the nostrils, sees or is engaged in the manner represented to the sleeper.

27 The Andamanese do not regard their shadows[5] but their *reflections* (in any mirror) as their souls. The colour of the soul is said to be red, and that of the spirit black, and, though invisible to human eyes,[6] they partake of the form of the person
775 to whom they belong. Evil emanates from the soul, and all good from the spirit; at the resurrection they will be re-united and live permanently on the new earth, for the souls of the wicked will then have been reformed by the punishments inflicted on them during their residence in *.jer·eg-làr-mū·gu-*.

28. The future life will be but a repetition of the present, but all will then remain in the prime of life, sickness and death will be unknown, and there will be no more marrying or giving in

[1] *Vide ante* "Medicine," paragraph 8, and "Death and Burial," paragraph 18.
[2] Their *spirits* (*chàu·ga-*) pass to *.chá·itán-* (*vide* paragraphs 22 and 23).
[3] *Vide* Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi, p. 289.
[4] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraphs 4 and 15.
[5] As is believed to be the case among certain races, *e.g.*, the Benin negroes.
[6] Save those of the *ôko-pai·ed-* (*vide ante* "Magic and Witchcraft," paragraph 7).

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marriage. The animals, birds, and fish will also re-appear in the new world in their present form. 775

29. This blissful state will be inaugurated by a great earthquake,[1] which, occurring by *Pū·luga-*'s command, will break the *pī·dga-làr-chàu·ga-* and cause the earth to turn over: all alive at the time will perish, exchanging places with their deceased ancestors.[2]

30. There is no trace to be found of the worship of trees, stones, or other objects, and it is a mistake to suppose[3] that they adore or invoke the celestial bodies. There is no salutation, dance, or festival of any kind held in honour of the new moon: its appearance does not evoke anything more than an exclamation such as *yē·lo! .ō·gar l'àidō·atire.* (Hurrah! there's the moon.) 776

Mythology.—1. In other sections mention has been made of *Pū·luga-*, the Creator of all, and it has also been stated that no reason is given for the formation of the earth's surface, except that it was according to His will, and the same hypothesis is held to account for the varying seasons. 773

2. Until recent years it was supposed[4] that the Andamanese were without traditions, and had no idea of their own origin, but since we have been enabled to become better acquainted with them it has been ascertained that such is not the case. While I have been extremely careful as to the source whence I obtained my information, I would at the same time mention that much that is found under these last headings has been obtained from the older and more intelligent members of distant communities, and is probably little, if at all, known to many of the rising generation in our immediate vicinity.

3. Certain mythic legends are related to the young by *ôko-pai·ad-*s,[5] parents, and others, which refer to the supposed adventures or history of remote ancestors, and, though the recital not unfrequently evokes much mirth, they are none the less accepted as veracious. The personages figuring in these tales are believed to be real and historical, but, beyond the fact of a very general acceptance and agreement of the traditions respecting them, no satisfactory traces are to be found of their existence except in the lively imaginations of their descendants.

4. There are a few discrepancies in their accounts of the

[1] *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 16.

[2] Whether the fate of the former is irrevocably fixed is not explained, but with these, as with other savages, it is in vain to expect them to understand the logical conclusions to which their beliefs tend.

[3] *Vide* statements of Symes, Brown, Grant, and Anderson; *vide* also *ante* "Superstitions," paragraphs 9 and 10.

[4] *Vide* Mouat, p. 343.

[5] *Vide ante* "Magic and Witchcraft," paragraph 1.

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787 species at certain seasons is now accounted for by saying that they are visiting some of the adjacent isles.

775 3. Of mythological animals,[1] such as dragons and unicorns, they have no knowledge, nor do they venerate or regard as sacred any quadruped, bird,[2] or fish, even though the names of several are identical with those borne, according to tradition, by their antediluvian ancestors,[3] who are supposed to have been transformed into, or to have assumed the forms of, such creatures Beyond the instances already mentioned, no trace can be found of a belief in transmigration, and, now-a-days at all events, the souls of animals and men are not considered by these savages as interchangeable.

231 4. The names of four animals only appear to have originated in their cries, viz.: *dū·ku-* iguana, *mū·rud-* pigeon, *bī·bi-* dog, *rō·go-* pig; of these the dog only is trained, or in any way domesticated, and they do not, as has been supposed, keep poultry.[4]

262 **Food.**—1. Among the many erroneous statements regarding the life and habits of these islanders, none seem at the present day so devoid of foundation as that which declared that they are constantly reduced to want and even to starvation.[5]

2. It has been conjectured by some writers that these savages "glean a miserable subsistence," judging, it would seem, merely from the fact of their eating the larvæ of beetles,[6] and certain other articles, the predilection for which seems, to civilised palates, equally revolting;[7] but evidence is not wanting to disprove this assumption, for during the season, when such things are obtainable, they may frequently be seen enjoying a handful of cooked larvæ when a quantity of pork or turtle is lying beside them, and, if questioned, they declare that they regard the former as dainties (*á·kà-rá·rnga-*), and eat them as

[1] The legend regarding the *ū·chu-* can hardly be included in this category (*vide ante* "Mythology," paragraph 29).

[2] *Vide ante* "Mythology," paragraph 16 (footnote 3).

[3] *Vide ante* "Mythology," paragraph 29 (footnote 2).

[4] "They have no dogs nor any domestic animals, unless indeed their poultry may be regarded as such" (Lubbock, "Prehistoric Times," 4th edition, p. 450).

[5] "In tempestuous weather they are reduced to the utmost want, feeding on rats, lizards, and snakes, and perishing when these resources fail" (Grant).

"In the jungles, beyond a few berries and the wild hog, there was no food to be found" (de Roepstorff).

[6] The Looshais, however, appear to be even less fastidious, for they are said to "eat everything that flies, runs, crawls, or creeps, as well as the grub in its ante-natal tomb" ("On the Looshais or Kookees," *vide* Journ. Anthrop. Inst., March, 1873).

[7] "Nor are civilised Europeans justified in shuddering . . . . when they themselves do not shrink from the trail of snipe, nor from lobster and crayfish, although the latter, as water scavengers, act both as grave-digger and grave" (*vide* Peschel, p. 159).

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364 spot for centuries leads to the formation of kitchen-middens [1]. In the tempo-
[361] rary camps something similar happens: the only difference consists in the fact that rubbish dumps only accumulate at the back of the temporary shelters, as a consequence of their peculiar shape that I shall not describe here. These
[136] dumps are heaven-sent love nests for insects of many species, mostly flies of a metallic green colour. They follow the Onge from camp to camp and thrive on scraps from human meals. When travelling in Little Andaman I was unmistakably warned of the nearby presence of Onge camps by the appearance of those familiar living beings.

136 The filth that coats the floors of communal Onge huts offers an ideal
[356] breeding ground also for myriads of fleas. Dogs spread them all over Little Andaman. Owing to the fact that the communal huts are deserted for months at a time during the dry season, the fleas become hungry and assault human
123 beings vehemently whenever possible. When visiting empty communal huts I myself, and the persons with me, were plagued by such assaults. Fleas advanced suddenly from feet to head in thick, shimmering brown layers, covering first our legs. We were obliged to strip and douse ourselves with insect-repellents.
136 As for other parasites, including ticks and mosquitos, equally plentiful in Little
[825] Andaman, the Onge do not appear to be inconvenienced by them.

764 The communal huts are used for another purpose as well, unhygienic but of high ethnological interest: the interment of human corpses. When they die, the inmates are buried beneath their beds. In other words, communal huts are also cemeteries. Many human skeletons are found by digging under the beds. Until 1952 this fact was unknown about the Andaman Islanders although it is encountered in all Onge communal huts without exception. An analysis of
775 this custom led to further discoveries: the Onge wish to compel the spirit of a deceased person to remain close to the living as a protection, so they offer it the communal hut for an abode, the idea being that a spirit cannot wander far from the bones of its former body. A series of Onge practices point to this
[727] belief: felled enemies must be burned and reduced to ashes in order to render them harmless. Their hostile souls, according to the Onge, rise toward the sky in smoke as the bones are consumed. For the same reason, bones of relatives
[301] are fashioned into necklaces. The most conspicuous of these is the *ibidanghe*,
[765] worn generally by women and young girls, which is made from a decorated human jawbone. The aim is to obtain the assistance of the departed relation
[751] in fighting illness and bad luck. Direction in hunting, fishing and even quar-
[777] relling is supposed to come from the dead kept close to the living. We can trace this belief on the connection between bones and souls to a remote origin:
[171] Southern Asia megaliths had, in my opinion, no other cause for offering shelter to spirits and promoting useful relations between the living and the dead. I reached this conclusion after studying the contemporary habits of Travancore mountain and other Indian tribes, particularly the Munda. In Nias we find traces of the same customs as among different peoples of Indonesia and Oceania, who

[1] I discussed this at the two international anthropological congresses of 1952 (Vienna) and 1956 (Philadelphia), and have more to say on the subject in my book about the Onge.

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Onge

now follow them, often ignoring their original significance and symbolism. Among the Onge, spirits are feared but not loved ; the same applies to God Himself. 775

The Onge bury their dead in trenches, no deeper than three feet. Earth is tightly packed over the graves in order to prevent exhalations. Full details on the subject of Onge burial customs appear in the book that I am writing about the Onge. I slept with the Onge in communal huts that contained fresh graves, without suffering any inconvenience from the smell of the corpses. This recalls the palaeolithic sepulchral caves, where man probably lived as the Onge live in their sepulchral huts today. 764

There are no latrines near Onge camps – whether permanent or temporary. Excrements are spread carelessly all around, lightly covered with leaves and earth. Flies lay eggs on them. The Onge's only precaution is not to defecate where drinking water might be found after rainfall. With so many opportunities for reproduction, in some places flies form such clouds as to impress the natives themselves. In the north of Little Andaman a creek was named after the flies : Bumila Creek, which means "fly creek". Smells also occasionally inspire geographical names : Tambe-é-bùie, on the north-east coast of Little Andaman, means "the smelly place" in the Onge language. Flies, fleas and ticks are tolerated by the Onge who do not fight them. Fortunately, the hymenoptera collect flies for their nests, not, however, in quantities large enough to compete with the fertility of the species. 514 [312] 736 825 [103]

2. Clothing and personal care

The only garment worn by Little Andaman women is the *naquinēghē*, a scanty grasslike apron covering the genitals. In addition, during menstrual periods, Onge women wear the *bataghē*, for hygienic purposes. This is a simple cluster of long, soft green leaves cut by the husband for his wife from special trees : Myristica longifolia and others. The only leaves used are those from the end of a stalk, a section of which is left attached to the leaves. The stalk is slipped under the *naquinēghē*, while the long leaves are passed between the thighs to be fastened at the back above the buttocks. It is curious to see Onge women in such myristical attire ! The *bataghē* is ethnographical news, new not only as regards the Andamans : it is an interesting indication of the hygienic measures employed by primitive people, and can probably be traced to prehistoric practices in analogous circumstances. The continental and insular regions nearest to the Andamans have retained no similar custom ; their only practice is the strict isolation of menstruating women. Among the Onge, on the other hand, they are allowed free circulation. Washing is unknown to the Onge : they never wash their bodies intentionally. Brushing through the thick forest and diving into the sea or the river to collect food substitute adequately for washing. The Little Andaman forest is nearly always dripping ; moving among the trees, specially in the early morning, is equivalent to bathing. The contact of wet leaves when walking cleans the Onge's skin, for they go naked ; and as they constantly dive into the sea and rivers, they do not smell. Actually they give an impression of cleanliness – as opposed to many other dark-skinned 291 841 [824] [171] 515 [147]

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Onge

ing edible matter ; furthermore, they don't care to take the trouble as food 251
is generally plentiful. We must also realize that they find salt repulsive. Even [263]
honey – so easily kept for many months – is disposed of, if possible, on the 264
very same day it is collected. Incredible quantities of this or other food may be 262
consumed for days and nights on end until everything disappears. Very few of the islanders care to vary their meat diet with an occasional diet of vegetables in order to disintoxicate the system ; yet nourishing yams and other roots [137]
grow wild and plentiful. They are so rich in carbohydrates that I preferred [123]
them to potatoes and rice. I may add that the Onge, on my request, brought me yams and roots that they were glad to barter with rice, tea and sugar – soon declared by their wise men to possess medicinal properties.

The Onge's stomach, intestines and general physiological equilibrium 147
suffer from lack of salt and such bad nutritional habits as those described. They damage the human body, together with unrestrained sexual activity.

One highly unhygienic custom of the Onge is the use, all over Little 264
Andaman, of peculiar sucking-sticks. These pass from mouth to mouth during 412
the frequent meat or honey orgies indulged in by the natives.

When boiling pork or turtle, a quantity of liquid fat floats on the sur- [262]
face of the broth. Though the Onge despise the broth, they don't like to waste the fat. So they devised an efficient solution : they suck the fat up by means of a wad of absorbent matter obtained by chewing the end of a fibrous stick selected among many species of trees in the forest. The end of the stick is chewed along a section of 5 cms, the remaining part – about 25 cms long and 2 cms thick – is used as a handle to prevent the fingers from burning.

In every Onge camp sucking-sticks are permanently in evidence owing [262]
to the inmates' frequent ingestion of liquid fat or honey. A second version of the sucking-stick consists in a narrow, cotton-like strip, up to 80 cms long, with only a small part of the original wood remaining. This serves as a handle for dipping the stick into a wooden barrel full of honey. In both instances the same tool passes for hours from mouth to mouth : from older people to greedy children, anxious to suck the coveted delicacy off the stick that has been dipped into the pot. The rapid spreading of epidemics, which often occur [164]
in the Andamans, is certainly encouraged by the use of these sucking-sticks. I found no reference to this practice in books on the Andaman Islands.

Everything they eat, particularly meat, the Onge consider as either 262
remedial or harmful. They are therefore chary of accepting proffered food 123
if it is unknown to them. When I brought 30 Onge to Port Blair to introduce them to Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD, President of the Indian Republic, they were troublesome about food. In Port Blair it was not as easy as in Little Andaman to procure whole pigs ; sometimes only pieces were available. The Andamanese Forest Department was quickly informed of the difficulty and kindly supplied the desired animals. In moments of shortage I tried to give the Onge cooked [775]
lamb, goat, chicken and pigeons ; they resolutely refused them as unhealthy. [825]
Birds are never eaten by the Onge, who consider them shelters for human souls

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Onge

262 and therefore dangerous to offend by cooking them. Luckily they accepted
123 fish of almost every description, and vegetables. To convince them of our
[975] good intentions concerning their food, at Port Blair an Onge observer was
stationed permanently near the kitchen to watch the preparation of meals.
[825] Nevertheless, within a few days all 30 Onge fell ill as a consequence of the
different food and climate. In their island they sleep, completely naked and
513 uncovered, lying directly on beds made of rough branches. Their only precau-
123 tion, as I mentioned before, is to keep a fire permanently burning close to the
bed. This was not feasible in the rooms with wooden floors that were provided
for them in Port Blair, and blankets did not avail. So the 30 Onge developed
a fever and we were obliged to take them urgently back to Little Andaman,
where they promptly recovered. The incident gave me a further opportunity
to observe the curative methods of the Onge.

262 With regard to their care to avoid illness from food, I must point out the
114 fact that misleading information has been published on the subject even in
reputed papers on the Andamans. I will discuss them in my Onge book, but
I wish here to briefly stress a few points : the Onge, and the present residual
coastal or forest Andamanese, refuse to eat – besides birds and fish such as
shark, ray, eel or muraenae – some other animals such as paradoxurus, bats,
rats, varanus and snakes. The contrary is affirmed in those papers. To quote
the well-known book by A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN ("The Andaman Islanders",
pp. 37, 91 and 389), all Andaman Islanders, including the Onge, consider the
above-mentioned species edible. Varanus is supposed to be acceptable for its
[832] lustful habits that make of it an aphrodisiac. My direct and protracted ex-
perience both in Little and in Great Andaman compels me to state that such
information is false. It is true, however, that the Andaman Islanders believe
261 they acquire some of the properties of their devoured victims. This occurs
252 only if the animals are cut up alive. Therefore turtles, pigs and dugongs are
[231] cruelly sectioned while still alive, and the Onge also believe that their health
and energy profit by it. Cannibalism may be founded on such beliefs, but it is
266 completely unknown to Andaman Islanders of all times and places. Young
262 sucking-pigs are avoided, as food, by men, and even withheld from the dogs ;
but the Onge are partial to other things which, in our opinion, are far worse :
crickets, and the fat larvae of coleoptera that collect in tree trunks.

Without giving here a full list of the foods that are considered harmful or curative, I shall add just a few remarks on the subject. The healthiest, as well as the tastiest part of the pig is supposed to be the kidney and its surround-
[888] ing fat. It is offered to old or distinguished people, as a sign of favour. As I
123 helped the Onge, as much as possible, with gifts of tools and medicines, they
553 found it complimentary to name me after their favorite titbit, intending thereby to honour me as a friend and healer. By such a name I came to be known in Little Andaman, and this made my work easier. In the Onge language the word for kidney fat is *cue-changhēghē* ; I was delighted with it, for it proclaimed the high esteem I was held in by my Onge friends.

262 Foods considered healthy by the Onge include honey, yams, several
751 succulent roots and the fat of turtle and dugong. Pteropus, a giant bat very
[825]

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Onges

During the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries there have been many attempts by outsiders to land on Little Andaman, but until recently none have gone beyond the coast, and the interior of the island remained unknown until 1952. Several people were drowned in the tremendous breakers, and a few were killed by the aboriginals. The last (undocumented) incident, involving Chinese sailors in search of water on the west coast of the island, appears to have taken place in 1949. There are no records of any attempt to land before 1825, when an English naval officer, T. E. Alexander, managed to do so, and was the first to report, in England, the existence of a fierce tribe of naked Onges. The encounter was bloody, as were many afterwards. Rumours (erroneous) were spread of cannibalism, as some English sailors who had managed to save themselves saw their companions being torn to pieces by the Onges: their hands, feet, legs and arms were cut off and the living remains were thrown into a great fire. This was, in fact, not cannibalism, but the satisfying of a superstition, already recorded by various well-known authorities on the Andamans, such as Portman, Radcliffe-Brown and others, that the spirit is immortal and stays by its bones. The spirit of an enemy could thus become a disturbing influence, which is to be avoided by totally destroying the living body with fire, so that the spirit flies with the smoke towards the sky, where it remains.

175 648 175 648 975

Some time after Alexander, various English officials tempted providence in Little Andaman[1] and finally, on 24 July 1885, Portman landed, and began intensive efforts to pacify the Onges. Well protected by a police force, he was the first man who had the courage to pitch camp on the coast of Little Andaman. For most of March 1886, he stayed in the north of the island, and then between 28 October 1886 and 21 January 1887, he went slowly right round the island, starting from his camp at Bumila Creek. In the same year, two officials of the Indian Cartographic Service sailed round the entire coastline of Little Andaman; the resulting survey was, however, very imperfect. Portman returned for a brief visit to Bumila Creek in March 1887. This time there was a serious incident with the Onges, culminating in the severe wounding of an English

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[1] Homfray, 1867; Stewart, 1875; Homfray and Stewart, 1874; Cadel, 1880; Cadel and Portman, 1880; Portman, 1880 and 1882; Man, 1883; various abortive landings, 1884 and 1885.

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Owing to the difficulty of pushing through the undergrowth the 484
Onges always travel in single file, following closely behind one another, the men first, then the women and children, with the dogs following all round. They never travel alone; I hardly ever met any by themselves, but always in groups of families or groups of hunters. The man who happens to be at the front of the file is the guide and when they come to an awkward part of the journey – perhaps across a deep river – everybody helps. Trees are felled to [491] fall across between the banks and a rope of lianas is run across to make the crossing easier for the aged, the women and the children, though their sense of balance is so good that most of them manage without it, even when carrying heavy loads across a single trunk.

The Onges are now nearly all related to each other in some way. 621
They all know each other, and the contacts are usually friendly. 578
The few squabbles which I saw, always over game, or food that had 22
been gathered, all blew over very quickly; normally, especially in the dry season when every group becomes nomadic in search of food, everyone went freely all over the island. On the occasions of the great hunts, or the honey feasts, a number of groups would band together for the occasion and even then they tried to divide the spoils equally and peaceably. If a dispute does arise the camp will break up into factions, but these will still keep close to each other and after a short while their differences will be made up with the usual long and tearful embraces. These scenes of reconciliation may go on for days, all starting from nothing more serious than a difference of opinion over the division of game captured by communal effort!

Much more important than the danger of offending other human [776] beings is that of causing offence to the spirits of the dead or the [775] guardian spirits who provide food. There is, as I have said, not over- [782] much rigidity in their observations – no propitiatory offerings of any kind are made to the spirits. The supreme being, Eiuga, who takes the shape of a lizard bigger than a crocodile, they know well. On Great Andaman he becomes Puluga, equally powerful, lord of [184] men and things but rather more anthropomorphic than his counterpart in Little Andaman. As Eiuga lives in the sky, the thunder is his voice, and the wind his breath; if he is angry he breathes out storms and throws burning tree-trunks down to the earth, setting light to the forest. Behind Eiuga are a series of minor spirits who

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their hunting and fishing, or contacts with strangers, which are loudly chanted, accompanied by miming and dancing, during their nocturnal celebrations. One was sung and danced in my honour; Cendubai,[1] head of the Lulera hut, much struck by the sight of me in my hammock slung between two trees on nylon cords, delivered himself of a warning over the danger I was running using such thin cords. At the end of each 'verse' the refrain '*cuó-cian-ghéghechée-chéle*' (he will hurt himself) repeated his fear of the cords breaking.

Hunting and fishing episodes are to the Onges less interesting than themes like my safety, because to them they lack the repetitive refrain. In their dances, on the other hand, they prefer something else, to us monotonous, but for them always new, and even exciting; more than anything they love to dance the stages of courtship to its culmination, with the help of words and extraordinarily (to Western eyes regrettably) vivid gestures.

Birds, to the Onges, harbour the spirits of the dead, and it is for this reason that they are never eaten, contrary to the assertions of Brown.[2] Similar fears extend to lizards, the jungle cats, bats, rats and snakes. I have confirmed this among both the Onges and the Arioto. The latter even refused to eat some fat pigeons which I offered them not knowing of the taboo; they accepted the gifts, but the pigeons were eventually eaten by my own men. And the Onges whom I took with me to Port Blair for a few days refused point blank to eat pigeon or chicken.

The spirits select the Onges' food for them, in the sense that they regard everything as edible or poisonous, according to whether the guardian spirit is benign or malevolent. Given the curious adaptability of the spirits and the intensely practical way in which they operate it is hardly surprising that their benevolence or malignity coincides remarkably well with those foods which tend to promote normal health!

[1] I was sorry to learn that Cendubai died suddenly in 1955 aged barely forty.

[2] Curiously enough, while the Onges' fears lead them to reject out of hand any food of animal origin which is unknown to them, the same does not apply to vegetable foods. They ate half-rotten fruit, which I offered them, even though they had never seen it before, and they clamoured for rice and tea, so much so that in order to prevent them becoming addicted to the rice, as so often happens when primitive peoples meet a new food, I insisted on receiving equal quantities of yams in exchange for the rice and very sweet tea, to slow down their demands.

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622 groups of families. There is some spontaneous recognition of individuals as 'headmen' as a result of some generally accepted superiority of physique or discernment, but the concept goes no further than the giving of some weight to their views within the group.

13 MARRIAGE

595 The Onges are monogamous, like all peoples who have never progressed
837 beyond the stage of hunting and gathering, and adultery is virtually unknown. Marriage consists merely of the man taking possession of the
585 woman in the presence of the rest of the group, taking her by the hand to a new bed built for the occasion and allotted a place within the circle. The 'marriage' takes place in the late evening and is followed by frenzied dancing all night long by the light of the resin torches. The total absence
[194] of any form of ritual leads one to suppose isolation from a very early date indeed, but this cannot be more than conjecture.

14 BURIAL

172 The custom of burying the dead in caves still occupied by the living
174 apparently existed in the Palaeolithic era. The practice has continued to
764 the present time in the Andamans, where the dead are still buried under the family bed in the communal hut. It is known from Palaeolithic burials that even in that era objects were sometimes buried with the dead, and it is thus possible that the culture of the Andamans dates back to very early times.

15 EXHUMATION AND SECOND BURIAL

172
765 The custom of exhuming the bones of the dead and re-interring them after coloration (in this case with ochre) dates from the Palaeolithic era.

16 BONE NECKLACES

301 The custom of wearing necklaces of carpals, tarsals, phalanges and fragments of rib, is of extreme antiquity, and apart from the Andamans, has virtually disappeared.

17 RELIGION

172
775 There is evidence that even in Palaeolithic times there existed a belief in
764 the survival of the spirit after death, and a fear of its return (hence the

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

dead were buried securely bound in a knee-to-chest position, still the custom among the Andamanese). The Onges go no further than this and the idea of a Lord of the Spirits who rules all things, although on Great Andaman there has been some progress towards more anthropomorphic concepts. The complete absence of any form of cult, prayer, representation, or votive offering cannot, I feel, be the result of cultural decline from a more advanced age; this would have resulted in gross distortion and illogical superstition, but not in complete absence of any 'religious' practices of any kind.

18 SACRIFICE

No sacrifices of any kind are practised in the Andamans, nor is there any concept of propitiation, although there is evidence that even in the late Palaeolithic era some form of ritual sacrifice was practised, at least in Europe and probably over a much wider area. One would assume from this, and from paragraph 17 above, that the Andamanese is an even older culture.

19 TABOOS

Although my own experiences among the Onges have led me to think that taboos do not exist, some authors have asserted (in my view wrongly) their existence on Great Andaman. It is not, however, possible to draw any reliable conclusions on this point.

20 CEREMONIAL

The complete absence of any form of ritual surrounding birth, the purification of women, initiation, etc., or evidence of any such ritual in the past, is striking, in view of the prevalence in all the surrounding areas of strictly observed ceremonial for many occasions. As in the case of religion, such complete absence can only mean that the Andamanese became isolated before the idea of ritual spread to the area.

21 MEASUREMENT

The Andamanese have no means of counting, and no words to express gradations of time or size; to them everything is either 'small' or 'big'. They take no interest in the passing of years, and have no idea of their own age. To them life is but the passing of the seasons and the harvests of game and fish and fruits that they bring. This utter lack of any sense

[For myths relating to spirits and gods see category 116, pp. 95-106.]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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which he places all the victims, human or piscine, he may succeed in capturing[1]." 775

Mr Portman correctly translates the word *Juruwin* as meaning "the spirits of the sea" using the plural and not the singular[2].

Further references to the Andamanese beliefs about the spirits will be found later in the chapter. It is necessary at this point to consider an entirely different class of beings.

The Andaman Islanders personify the phenomena of nature with which they are acquainted, such as the sun and the moon. Before relating in detail what could be learnt about their beliefs on these matters, it is necessary to call attention to one feature of these beliefs. Different statements, not only of different informants, but even of the same informant, are often quite contradictory. For example, it is sometimes said that lightning is a person, and at other times it is said that lightning is a fire-brand thrown across the sky by a mythical being named *Biliku*. These two statements, which to all logical thinking are incompatible, are both given, and apparently both equally believed, by the same person. Many examples of such contradictions will be found in what follows, and it is important to point out their existence beforehand. 776 821

About the sun and moon, the most usual statement in all the tribes is that the sun is the wife of the moon and the stars are their children. In the North Andaman the moon is *Maia Dula* (*Aka-Čari*) or *Maia Čirikli* (*Aka-Jeru*), the sun is *Mimi Diu* and their children the stars are *Čatlo*, the larger ones, and *Katań* the smaller. *Čatlo* is the name of a species of finely marked beetle, and *katań* is the name of the common fire-fly. Individual stars or constellations are not recognized.

Another version from the same tribes is that the moon (*Dula*) is female, and has a husband named *Maia Tok*, while the sun (*Diu* or *Tǫrodiu*) is male.

In the *Aka-Jeru* tribe there is a belief that the moon (*Maia Čirikli*) can, when he wishes, turn himself into a pig, and come down to earth and feed on the things that the pigs eat. There

[1] Man, *op. cit.* pp. 158, 159.
[2] Portman, *Notes on the Languages*, etc. p. 183.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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776 821 is a legend that on one occasion the moon thus turned himself into a pig and came down to earth to eat the *čuei* fruit. A man named *Maia Čoinyop* met the moon (in the form of a pig) in the forest, and shot him with an arrow. *Čirikli* (the moon) took out his knife and killed the unfortunate *Čoinyop*, cutting off his head, which he left behind, and taking the body up to the sky where he ate it.

In the *A-Pučikwar* tribe the most common statement is that the moon (*Puki*) is male and that the sun (*Puto*) is his wife. A different statement from the same tribe is that the moon is female and is the wife of a being named *Tomo*. *Tomo* seems to be to some extent identified with the sun. Thus one informant said that it is *Tomo* who sends the fine weather, and that it is he who sends the daylight every day. Where *Tomo* lives, in the sky, it is always day and is always fine. When the natives die their spirits go up to the sky and live with *Tomo*. We shall see in the next chapter that, according to some of the legends, *Tomo* is the first ancestor of the Andamanese.

Yet another version is that the moon was made by *Tomo* out of opalescent stone, and it is *Tomo* who, in some way, regulates its passage across the sky.

784 776 821 A belief about the moon which is found in all the tribes, both of the North and the South, is that he will be very angry if there is any fire, or any bright light, visible when he rises in the evening shortly after sundown. At such times the natives are careful to cover up their fires so that they only smoulder without flame. Mr Man refers to this custom. "From fear of displeasing *Maia Ogar* (Mr Moon), during the first few evenings of the third quarter, when he rises after sundown, they preserve silence, cease from any work on which they may be engaged—even halting should they be travelling—and almost extinguishing any light or fire that may be burning. This is owing to the belief that he is jealous of attention being distracted to other objects than himself at such a time, or of any other light being employed than that which he had been graciously pleased to afford so abundantly. By the time the moon has ascended a few degrees, however, they restore their fires and resume their former occupations, as they consider that they have sufficiently

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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complied with *Maia Ogar's* wishes and requirements. The glowing aspect of the full moon on its first appearance above the horizon is supposed to indicate that *Maia Ogar* is enraged at finding some persons neglecting to observe these conciliatory measures; there is also an idea that, if he be greatly annoyed, he will punish them by withdrawing or diminishing the light of his countenance[1]."

As regards the waxing and waning of the moon, Mr Man says that these are explained by the *Aka-Bea* "by saying that they are occasioned by 'his' applying a coating of cloud to his person by degrees, after the manner of their own use of *kogiob* (red paint) and *tala-og* (white clay) and then gradually wiping it off[2]." In the *Aka-Kede* tribe the natives say that as *Maia Čirike* (Sir Moon) goes across the sky, his tongue hangs out of his mouth, sometimes more, sometimes less, and that it is the tongue that is visible, that gives the light. I did not hear any explanation of the waxing and waning of the moon in the tribes of the North Andaman. In these tribes the new moon is called *Dula e-tire*, i.e. the "baby moon," the word *e-tire* denoting the young offspring of an animal or a human being.

With regard to a lunar eclipse Mr Man writes that "in case *Maia Ogar* should be so ill-advised as permanently to withhold his light or render himself in other ways still more disagreeable, whenever the moon is eclipsed some persons at once seize their bows and twang them as rapidly as possible, thereby producing a rattling sound as if discharging a large number of arrows, while others commence at once sharpening their *rata* (arrows). Of course this hostile demonstration is never lost upon the moon, who does not venture to hurt those who show themselves ready to give him so uncomfortable a reception. Their immunity from harm on these occasions has given rise to some joking at the expense of the luminary in question, for, during the continuance of the eclipse, they shout in inviting tones to the hidden orb as follows:—*Ogar, laden balak ban lebe y'idoati! doati! doati!* (O Moon, I will give you the seed of the *balak!* show yourself! appear! appear!) This is said derisively, for, although these

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 152. [2] *Ibid.* p. 160.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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seeds are largely consumed by the pigs, the aborigines do not consider them fit for food[1]."

It may be noted that the invitation to the moon to eat *balak* seeds is not perhaps derisive, but may be connected with the belief that the moon can turn himself into a pig in order to feed on the things that pigs eat.

There was no eclipse of the moon during my stay in the islands. The natives of the North Andaman told me that on such an occasion they frighten the moon into showing himself again by lighting the end of a bamboo arrow-shaft, and shooting it from a bow in the direction of the moon. Another custom of which they told me is to take plumes of shredded *Tetranthera* wood (*čelmo* or *uj̄*) and blow on them towards the moon.

Mr Man states that "a solar eclipse alarms them too much to allow of their indulging in jests or threats, &c.: during the time it lasts they all remain silent and motionless, as if in momentary expectation of some calamity[2]."

There are several different accounts in the North Andaman of the phenomena of day and night. The night is often personified and is called *Mimi Bat* (Lady Night). One version is that it is she who makes the night while *Maia Tọrodiụ* makes the day. *Diu* is the name of the sun, and *tọro-diu* really means "the full sun" and refers to the middle part of the day when the sun is well up in the sky.

Another Northern version is that the daylight is made by a being named *Tautọbitatmo* who lives in the sky. He shuts up the day under a stone every evening and lets it out every morning. Of *Tautọbitatmọ* I was told that he is sometimes to be seen in the evening sky, but I was not able to discover to what natural phenomenon reference was made. I was also unable to discover the meaning of the name, which is a compound, *tau* being the sky.

Still another version from the same tribes is that it is a being named *Maia Čara* who makes the daylight. *Čara* seems to be the equivalent of the *Tomo* of the *A-Pučikwar* and other Southern tribes. He is sometimes said to have been the first ancestor, and sometimes the creator, of the Andamanese. He lives in the sky.

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 160. [2] *Ibid.* p. 161.

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Another belief about the night connects it with the spirits. The *Lau* (spirits) in the sky, wrap up the night in a cloth or mat. When they unroll the cloth it becomes dark. The natives of the North Andaman formerly called cloth *lau-ot-julu*, from a stem *-julu* meaning "cold." They were only acquainted with cloth through seeing it used by the aliens who visited their shores, and whom they called spirits (*Lau*).

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In the North Andaman thunder and lightning are commonly personified. The lightning is *Ele* or *Ali*, and the thunder is *Korude* or *Korule*. Some of the natives spoke of *Mimi Ele* (female) and others of *Maia Ele* (male). He lives in the sky, which is regarded as being made of stone (or rock) and is called *tau-meo* (the sky-stone). The lightning is due to his shaking his foot. One rather obscure statement was to the effect that *Ele* spends most of his time asleep or lying down and doing nothing. When the weather gets bad *Lato* (a being that I could not identify), comes and worries *Ele* and wakes him up. Then *Ele* gets angry and shakes his leg. This is the lightning.

Thunder (*Korude*) also lives in the sky. It is said that he makes the thunder by means of a large round stone. One account is that he rolls the stone about over the sky. Another is that he makes the stone hot, and this produces the thunder.

An entirely different explanation of thunder and lightning, which is found in all the tribes, is that they are made by two beings named *Tarai* and *Biliku*, to be described later on in this chapter.

I never heard the rain (*jičer*) spoken of as a person in the same way as thunder and lightning. One explanation of rain is that the sky-stone (*tau-meo*) gets cold, and this turns the mist (*milite*) into rain. Another is that in the sky there is a large hollow or pool, which gets filled with water and then overflows. Still another version is that the rain is made by a being (or beings) named *Čaitoy*, who seems to be female and lives in the sky. I could not obtain any satisfactory information about her.

In all parts of the islands the rainbow is believed to have some connection with the spirits of the jungle or of the sea. One very common statement is that it is a bridge of cane that stretches between this world and the world of departed spirits.

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It is along the rainbow that the spirits travel when they visit the earth. It is necessary to correct a statement by Mr Portman on this matter. In connection with the *Aka-Bea* word for the rainbow, *pidga-l'ar-čauga*, he says "The root *pidga* (a rainbow) must not be confounded with the root *pidga* 'a cane' or 'rattan.' The Andamanese have certain legends regarding the uses of the rainbow, and these have been hitherto understood as referring to 'canes.' *Pidga-l'ar-čauga* means 'the rainbow (bridge) by which the spirits (cross)'[1]." Mr Portman is in error. The word *pidga* means "cane" and the whole word means "the cane of the spirits." It is the whole word that is the name of the rainbow, and not the word *pidga*. An exactly similar compound name for the rainbow exists in each of the languages of the Great Andaman. The name of the particular species of large cane varies, being *pidga* in *Aka-Bea*, *peta* in *A-Pučikwar*, *pir* in *Aka-Jeru*, and so on. Apart from the fact that the natives themselves say that the rainbow is a "cane," Mr Portman would have us believe that in each of the different languages there are two exactly similar words, different in the different languages, one of which means "cane" and the other "rainbow," while there is no connection between the words. Thus *Aka-Bea* would have *pidga* meaning "a kind of cane" and *pidga* meaning "a rainbow." *Aka-Jeru* would have *pir* meaning "cane" and *pir* meaning "rainbow."

The rainbow is generally regarded as an evil omen, being believed to be a precursor of sickness. One *Aka-Jeru* statement is that it is made by a being called *Tolitoŋ* and that when it appears somebody will be ill.

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The only explanation of the tides that I heard was to the effect that they are caused by a fish, a species of *Tetrodon*, called *čolmo* in *Aka-Jeru* and *pit* in *Aka-Kede*, which drinks up the water and then lets it out again.

The Andaman Islands are occasionally visited by earthquakes. An *Aka-Kede* account of how earthquakes are caused is that when a man dies he goes to the spirit world which is beneath the earth. The spirits hold a ceremony. My informant spoke of the ceremony as *Kimil*, which is the name of the

[1] Portman, *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman*, p. 328.

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initiation ceremonies. At this ceremony they have a dance similar to the peace-making dance described in the last chapter, but instead of erecting a screen such as is used in that ceremony, they make use of the rainbow. As they shake the rainbow in dancing this causes earthquakes. The ceremony which newly-arrived spirits have to undergo in the world after death is a *poṛoto kimil*, i.e., the initiate eats *poṛoto* (*Caryota sobolifera*). 776 823

Among the most important of the Andamanese beliefs are those relating to the weather and the seasons. These are under the control of two beings named *Biliku*, *Bilik* or *Puluga*, and *Tarai*, *Teriya*, or *Daria*. There are a certain number of points in which the statements of one informant may differ from those of another in connection with these two mythical beings, but there are also a certain number of points on which there is absolute unanimity in all the tribes of the Great Andaman. 776 821

The first belief in which there is entire unanimity is that of the connection of *Biliku* and *Tarai* with the two chief winds that are known in the Andamans. *Biliku* lives in the north-east and is connected with the north-east monsoon. *Tarai* lives in the south-west and is connected with the south-west monsoon. The connection is shown in the names of these winds, which are as follows :—

Language	N. E. Wind	S. W. Wind
Aka-Cari, *Aka-Bo*, *Aka-Kora*, *Aka-Jeru*	*Biliku boto*	*Tarai boto*
Oko-Juwoi, *Aka-Kol* and *A-Pucikwar*	*Bilik to*	*Teriya*
Akar-Bale	*Puluga toa*	*Daria*
Aka-Bea	*Puluga ta*	*Deria*

In the Northern tribes the word *boto* means "wind." *Biliku boto* must be translated "the *Biliku* wind," and *Tarai boto* is similarly "the *Tarai* wind." It would be incorrect to translate the name *Biliku boto* as "the wind of *Biliku*," for this would be rendered in *Aka-Jeru* by *Biliku ičo boto*. In *A-Pučikwar* the south-west wind is called *Teriya* simply, the name of the mythical being connected with the wind being used as the name of the wind itself, just as is the case with the name *Ele* (lightning). On the other hand the north-east wind is called not *Bilik* but *Bilik to*. The same thing occurs also in the *Akar-Bale* and *Aka-Bea* languages.

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Mr Portman translates the *Aka-Bea* term *Puluga ta* as "God's wind," and he adds, in explanation, "*Puluga ta* means 'God's wind,' and the reason for the name is not known. Some vague ideas regarding the direction of God's dwelling in the sky are the probable origin of the term[1]." As regards the translation of the Andamanese name *Puluga* by the English "God" more will be said later. Leaving that aside, it is important to note that *Puluga ta* does not mean "*Puluga's* wind." The word for wind in *Aka-Bea* is given by Mr Portman himself as *wul-ŋa*, and the *Akar-Bale* and *A-Pučikwar* equivalents are *poat-ŋa* and *pǫte*, being forms of the same stem as the Northern *bǫto*. The translation of "*Puluga's* wind" in *A-Pučikwar* would be *Bilik l'iye pǫte*, but this is not a phrase that the natives ever use. It is not possible to translate "*Puluga's* wind" accurately in *Akar-Bale*. *Puluga poat-ŋa* would mean "*Puluga* blowing" the *-ŋa* being a verbal ending. In any case *Bilik tǫ*, and *Puluga toa* are not to be translated as meaning "*Puluga's* wind."

It may be observed, in reference to Mr Portman's statement, that the notions of the Andamanese as to the direction of the dwelling of *Puluga* in the sky are very far from vague. The natives all agree that *Puluga* or *Biliku* lives in the direction from which the north-east wind blows, really N.N.E. This is shown in geographical names. For example the side of Havelock Island that faces north-east is called *Puluga-l'ar-mugu*, meaning "the side that faces *Puluga*," from *ar-mugu* meaning "front" or "face."

There are two matters, then, on which there is absolute unanimity in all the tribes of the Great Andaman, one being the connection of *Biliku* (or *Puluga*) with the north-east and of *Tarai* (or *Deria*) with the south-west, and the other being the connection of these two beings with the winds that blow from these two opposite points of the compass.

The connection of these two beings with winds is shown in another way in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe, where the winds are divided into two divisions. One division contains only the south-west wind, which is of extreme regularity, and blows steadily for about five months in every year. This wind is

[1] Portman, *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman*, p. 314.

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called *Teriya*. The other division contains all the other winds, and they are collectively denoted by the term *Bilik*. They are distinguished by names, as *Jila Bilik* (the east *Bilik*, from *jila*, east) *Koico Bilik* (the west *Bilik*), *Metepur Bilik*, *Čoliatum Bilik*, *Rartear Bilik*, and *Koičor-ton Bilik*. Here we find the name *Bilik* used not as the name of a single person, but as a common name for a class of beings who are the winds personified. The same use of the term is found also in the *Aka-Kol* tribe. 776 821

Even in the *Akar-Bale* tribe something of the same kind is found. One *Akar-Bale* man said that *Puluga* has two brothers, *Jila Puluga* (East *Puluga*) and *Koaičo Puluga* (West *Puluga*); the one sends all the easterly winds and the other all the westerly ones.

In the Andamans the year is divided into two nearly equal portions. During the season of the south-west monsoon, which lasts from May to September, the wind blows steadily from the south-west. This is the rainy season. Violent storms never or only very rarely occur during the season of the south-west wind. From December to March the wind blows mostly from the N.N.E., occasionally changing to E.N.E. or N.E. In the periods at the change of the monsoon (from N.E. to S.W. in April and May, and from S.W. to N.E. in October and November) the wind is variable, and may blow at times from E.S.E. or W.N.W. 821 132 805

The south-west wind (properly speaking W.S.W.) is identified as we have seen with *Tarai* (*Deria*). Although *Biliku* (*Puluga*) is specially connected with the north-east wind, yet all the winds other than the south-west are commonly supposed to be sent by *Biliku*. Thus we have seen that in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe the different winds are named, each of them (with the exception of the south-west) being a *Bilik*. 776 821 132 805

It comes about, in this way, that the year is divided into two portions, one of which is specially connected with *Biliku* (*Puluga*), while the other is specially connected with *Tarai* (*Deria*). These two seasons are not quite of equal length. The *Tarai* season lasts only while the south-west monsoon is blowing, which, in an average year, is between four and five months. The other seven months are connected with *Biliku* and are divided into three portions, (1) the stormy season of October

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and November, (2) the cold season of December to February, and (3) the hot season of March and April.

There are many points relating to *Biliku* and *Tarai* about which there is no general agreement amongst the tribes, or, in some cases, even within the same tribe. In the North Andaman *Biliku* is regarded as female, and is called *Mimi Biliku*, while *Tarai* is male and is called *Maia Tarai*. This is so in all the four tribes, *Aka-Čari*, *Aka-Bo*, *Aka-Kọra* and *Aka-J̌eru*. A statement that is frequently made by the natives of these tribes is that *Tarai* and *Biliku* are husband and wife. While this is the most common statement, there are, however, other versions of the matter. In order to show the lack of uniformity in statements about *Biliku* and *Tarai* in the Northern tribes I reproduce a few extracts from my note-books written down exactly as they were given to me.

(1) *Biliku* is the wife of *Tarai* and they have a child named *Perǰido*. (This statement was made to me a great many times in the North Andaman, and may be regarded as the most usual form of the belief.)

(2) *Biliku* is the wife of *Tarai*. Their children are the sun and moon. (Heard only once.)

(3) The husband of *Biliku* is *Perǰido* and her children are *Totaimo*, *Mite* (cicada) and *Tarai*.

(4) *Biliku* is unmarried, but she has a son *Perǰido*, and her other children are *Tọrọi*, *Čelene*, *Čotọt*, and *Čerei*. These four are the names of birds.

(5) *Biliku* is the wife of *Tarai*. Their children are *Tọrọi*, *Taka*, *Čotọt*, *Poruatọko*, *Kelil*, *Cọpcura*, *Benye*, *Biratkoro*, *Čereo*, *Milidu*, *Bobelo*, *Kọlo*. These are all names of birds.

(6) *Biliku* has a husband *Tọrọi* (a bird). *Tarai* has a wife *Kelil* (a bird).

In the *Aka-Kede* tribe the most common statement, at any rate in the northern part of the tribe, is that *Bilika* is female, and that *Tarai* is male. One *Aka-Kede* man, from the southern part of the tribe said that *Bilika* was male.

In the *Aka-Kọl* and *A-Pučikwar* tribes *Bilik* is generally spoken of as being male, and *Teriya* is also male. Other versions from these tribes are as follows:—

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(1) *Bilik* is female and *Teriya* is her husband. Their children are the winds, *Čoliatum Bilik*, *Mętepur Bilik*, and *Wǫičo-l'arpat Bilik*.

(2) There is a male *Bilik* and a female *Bilik*, who are husband and wife. Their children are *Kǫičǫr-tǫŋ Bilik*, *Kǫičo Bilik*, *Jila Bilik*, *Mętepur Bilik*, *Rartear Bilik*, and *Teriya*. These are the winds.

(3) *Bilik* is male. His wife is *In Čaria*, and their children are *Kao* (prawn) and *Mǫrua* (the sky).

In the *Akar-Bale* tribe the most usual statement is that both *Puluga* and *Daria* are male, and this was apparently also the common belief of the *Aka-Bea*.

In the North Andaman the name *Biliku* is also the word for "spider," but no meaning (save as the name of the mythical being) was discovered for the name *Tarai*. In the South and Middle Andaman no meaning was discovered, either for the name *Bilik* or *Puluga*, or for the name *Teriya* or *Deria*. Although this book does not deal with the Little Andaman, it is worth while to mention that there also the natives believe in a mythical person who lives in the north-east and sends the storms. This being is female and is named *Öluga*. The monitor lizard is also called *öluga* in the language of the Little Andaman. It is obvious, however, that the names *Biliku*, *Puluga*, *Öluga* are all of them different forms of the same word.

As we have already seen, it is *Biliku* and *Tarai* who send the winds. *Tarai* sends the south-west wind, which brings the rain. *Biliku* sends the other winds which bring either fine weather, or, at times, violent storms. One *Akar-Bale* account of the matter (literally translated as told to me) is as follows. "Once upon a time *Puluga* and *Daria* were great friends, but they quarrelled. *Puluga* said that he was the bigger (more important). *Daria* said that he was. So now they are always quarrelling. *Puluga* sends the wind for one period. Then *Daria* sends his wind."

According to the statement of an *Akar-Bale* man, *Puluga* makes the wind by fanning with a very large *kwar-tǫŋ* leaf.

Rain and thunder and lightning that come with the south-west wind are believed to be due to *Tarai*. Storms that come

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776 821 during the season connected with *Biliku* are made by *Biliku* and are due to her anger. When a big storm comes the natives say "*Biliku* is angry." Lightning is explained as being a fire-brand thrown by *Biliku* across the sky when she is angry, and thunder is said to be her voice growling. Another explanation of lightning is that it is a pearl-shell, called *be* in the North Andaman, thrown by *Biliku*, the bright flash of the mother-of-pearl being seen as it crosses the sky. Still another statement from the North Andaman is that *Biliku* makes the lightning by striking a pearl-shell (*be*) against a stone.

Although *Biliku* is generally mentioned when a native is asked about lightning, yet *Tarai* also wields the lightning and the thunder. On one occasion when I was talking to a native I referred to the thunder and lightning that were at the moment coming up from the south-west, making a remark to the effect that *Biliku* was getting angry about something, and was corrected by him with "No, that is *Tarai*."

776 821 784 There are a certain number of actions that are believed by the natives to arouse the anger of *Biliku* (*Puluga*), and thereby cause storms. There are three of these that are of importance.

(1) Burning or melting bees'-wax.

(2) Killing a cicada, or making a noise, particularly a noise of cutting or banging wood, during the time that the cicada is "singing" in the morning and evening.

(3) The use of certain articles of food, of which the chief are the seeds of the *Entada scandens*, the pith of the *Caryota sobolifera*, two species of *Dioscorea* (yam), and certain edible roots, of which may be mentioned those called in *Aka-Jeru labo*, *mikulu*, *ji* and *loito*.

In this matter there is an entire unanimity of belief in all the tribes of the Great Andaman. All the natives agree in saying that any of these three actions causes the anger of *Biliku* or *Puluga* and so brings bad weather.

The natives do, as a matter of fact, melt all the bees'-wax they obtain, in order to purify it, and render it suitable for use in the various ways in which they employ it. Also they do make use of all the plants mentioned under (3) whenever they are in season. They give various explanations of this variance

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between their precepts and their actions. Some of my informants said that though these actions may bring rain and storms, yet they would rather submit to the bad weather than go without some of their most prized vegetable foods. Others again say that there is always a chance that *Biliku* may not notice that the plants have been disturbed, particularly if no fragments are left lying about the camp, and if, when taking the roots, the creepers are not disturbed. Another statement is that it is really only during the season of storms, called the *Kimil* season in *Aka-Jeru*, that it is dangerous to eat these foods, that is, during the months of October and November. After this season has passed there is no longer any danger of violent storms and the foods in question may be freely eaten. Nevertheless the natives do eat these foods in the months of October and November.

Mr Man records the native beliefs about bees'-wax and the plants in question. "There is an idea current that if during the first half of the rainy season they eat the *Caryota sobolifera*, or pluck or eat the seeds of the *Entada pursætha*, or gather yams or other edible roots, another deluge would be the consequence, for *Puluga* is supposed to require these for his own consumption at that period of the year; the restriction, however does not extend to the fallen seeds of the *Entada pursætha*, which may be collected and eaten at any time with impunity. Another of the offences visited by *Puluga* with storms is the burning of bee's wax, the smell of which is said to be peculiarly obnoxious to him. Owing to this belief it is a common practice secretly to burn wax when a person against whom they bear ill-will is engaged in fishing, hunting, or the like, the object being to spoil his sport and cause him as much discomfort as possible; hence arises the saying amongst them, when suddenly overtaken by a storm, that some one must be burning wax[1]."

It must be noted that it is not only the "burning," but also the melting of bees'-wax that angers *Puluga*. As regards the plants mentioned by Mr Man none of these is available for food during the early part of the rainy season. At that time the yams are not formed, the pith of the *Caryota* palm is not ripe

[1] Man, *op. cit.* pp. 153, 154.

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and is uneatable, and the only available seeds of the *Entada* would be those of the last season that had not fallen from the pods or that had lain on the ground without having germinated. Thus the prohibition as stated by Mr Man amounts to nothing. The subject will be discussed in a later chapter. It may be remarked, however, that it is a fact easily to be observed that the natives do regard the gathering of these vegetable foods during the later portion of the rainy season and during the first part of the cool season (i.e. from October to December), as being an action that may offend *Biliku*. I was myself able to observe this on several occasions, as when once, at the very end of the rainy season, I, not then knowing the belief, asked a native to cut for me one of the pods of the *Entada* as a botanical specimen, whereupon the native, after fulfilling my request, explained to me that there would probably be a storm next day as the result of our action.

In all the tribes of the Great Andaman I found a belief that *Biliku* or *Puluga* will be angry if anybody makes a noise, particularly a noise of chopping, breaking or banging wood, during the time the cicada is singing. The cicada "sings" as the natives call it, during the short interval between dawn and sunrise, and during that between sunset and darkness. It is at these times that no noise may be made. The Andamanese do observe this custom, and refrain from making any noise at such times. For instance, if a man were singing, he would cease until the cicada were silent again. In all the tribes I found that this prohibition was connected in the minds of the natives with *Puluga*, the reason of the custom being always explained to me by saying that any breach of it would infallibly bring bad weather. In the North Andaman the cicada (*mite*) is commonly spoken of as the "child" of *Biliku*, *Biliku ot-tire*.

Mr Man refers to this custom. In one place he says that the first parents of the Andamanese were told by *Puluga* "that, though they were to work in the wet months, they must not do so after sundown, because by doing so they would worry the *butu*, which are under *Puluga's* special protection. Any noise, such as working (*kopke*) with an adze, would cause the *butu's* head to ache, and that would be a serious matter. During the

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cold and dry seasons work may be carried on day and night, as the *butu* is then seldom seen, and cannot be disturbed [1]." 776

The *butu* here mentioned is the cicada. The prohibition is not, however, as Mr Man says, against working, but against making a noise. Nor does the prohibition against noise extend to the whole night, but only to the short interval between sunset and darkness, for it is during this interval that the cicada is singing. As soon as the cicada is silent you may make as much noise as you please. 784 821

Another reference by Mr Man to the same custom is as follows: "Between dawn and sunrise they will do no work, save what is noiseless, lest the sun should be offended and cause an eclipse, storm, or other misfortune to overtake them. If, therefore, they have occasion to start on a journey or hunting expedition at so early an hour, they proceed as quietly as possible, and refrain from the practice, observed at other times of the day, of testing the strength of their bow-strings, as the snapping noise caused thereby is one of those to which the sun objects [2]."

This is really the same prohibition as that already mentioned, against making a noise when the cicada is singing. The interesting point, which will be discussed in a later chapter, is that Mr Man's informant associated the prohibition not with *Puluga*, but with the sun. All the natives with whom I talked on the matter said that they would make no noise at such a time for fear of offending the cicada, and therefore *Puluga* or *Biliku*, and so bringing a storm.

As regards the prohibition against killing the cicada, this seems to refer only to the imago. So far as I was able to observe, the natives do carefully avoid killing the cicada in its full-grown form. On the other hand the grub of the cicada is regularly killed and eaten, being regarded as a delicacy. It is only eaten during the months of October and November.

In connection with the cicada, and with the weather, there is a rite which was described to me, but which I did not see performed. According to the account given of this rite, which is called "killing the cicada," its purpose is to produce fine weather. It takes place in December, at the end of the season 776 821 796

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 165. [2] *Ibid.* p. 153.

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776 821 796 during which they eat the grub. When the agreed upon for the performance of the ceremony arrives, the members of the community are careful to be in the camp before sunset. As soon as the sun sets and the cicadæ begin their shrill cry, all the men, women and children present begin to make as much noise as they possibly can, by banging on the sounding-board, striking the ground with bamboos, beating pieces of wood together, or hammering on the sides of canoes, while at the same time shouting. They continue the noise, which entirely drowns that of the cicada, until after darkness has fallen. The rite may be performed, I believe, two or more times, on successive evenings. My informant explained the rite by saying that the natives have been eating the cicada, and the rite is intended to "kill" those that are left. After the rite the cicada disappears and is not seen or heard for some weeks, and there follow four months of fine weather with little rain.

776 821 784 The beliefs relating to bees'-wax, to the various edible roots, and to the cicada, are the same in all the Great Andaman tribes, and are by far the most important of those connected with *Biliku*. In the North Andaman *Biliku* is supposed to be angry if any one kills a *biliku* (spider) a *reo* (a species of insect making a noise like a cicada, during the daytime, which I often heard, but never saw), or a *čatlo* (a species of beetle). There is also a bird, which I was not able to identify, called *tǫrǫi*, which belongs to *Biliku* and may not be killed.

In the *A-Pučikwar* tribe it is said that two species of fish, called *unakorǫ* and *liwat* belong to *Bilik* and may not be killed. A mollusc, called *towa*, also belongs to *Bilik*, and is for that reason never eaten. A bird called *Bilik-ʃar-dala* (probably the same bird that is called *tǫrǫi* in the North Andaman) may not be killed.

In the *Akar-Bale* tribe I was told that two kinds of wood, *bukura* and *worago*, must not be used for firewood, for fear of offending *Puluga*, to whom they belong. *Bukura* is a species of *Diospyros* (ebony).

776 821 789 The only punishment that *Biliku* ever inflicts on human beings when she is angry with them for any reason, is to send violent storms. The way to stop a storm seems to be to frighten

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Biliku. One means of doing this is to throw the leaves of the *Mimusops littoralis* in the fire. These leaves explode with the heating of the juices and make a crackling or popping noise, which it is said that *Biliku* dislikes. I believe, however, that if any one were thus to burn *Mimusops* leaves during fine weather, it would be regarded as likely to cause a storm. The most efficacious means of stopping a storm is to do some of the things that *Biliku* most dislikes. To burn bees'-wax, or to go into the jungle and damage or destroy the creepers that belong to her, these are the heroic remedies against *Biliku's* anger. 776 821 789

The question of the Andamanese beliefs about storms is complicated by the fact that although all storms are said to be made by *Puluga* or *Biliku*, yet there is an alternative and contradictory belief that storms are made by the spirits of the sea (*Jurua*). It is said that if a piece of the *Anadendron paniculatum* creeper were to be burnt there would be a great cyclone, but this appears to be associated, not with *Biliku*, but with the spirits of the sea. It will be shown later that there is a special connection between the *Jurua* and this plant. The belief that a storm will arise if turtle fat be allowed to burn in the fire seems also to be connected with the *Jurua* and not with *Biliku*. The same is probably the case with a belief that rain will come if a *Ficus laccifera* tree be damaged. 776 821 784

Some of the methods used to stop storms are also probably connected with the spirits and not with *Biliku*. One such method is to go into the sea and swish arrows about in the water. One *oko-jumu* (medicine-man) of the North Andaman is reputed to have stopped a big cyclone by taking a few pieces of *Anadendron paniculatum* and crushing them, and then diving into the sea and placing the crushed creeper under a stone. An *oko-jumu* who died while I was in the islands is supposed to have been able to stop a storm by similarly placing leaves and twigs of the *Ficus laccifera* (*reyko*) under a rock in the sea. 776 821 789

To complete the account of this part of the Andamanese beliefs it is necessary to quote what Mr Man writes about the tribes of the South Andaman. Mr Man describes *Puluga* as a "Supreme Being" and says that some of the beliefs of the Andamanese relating to him "approximate closely to the true 776

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776 faith concerning the Deity." Mr Portman, following Mr Man, in this as in many other matters, translates the name *Puluga* by the English word "God." Mr Man's statements are as follows :—

"Of *Puluga* they say that—

"I. Though His appearance is like fire, yet He is (nowadays) invisible.

"II. He was never born and is immortal.

"III. By him the world and all objects, animate and inanimate were created, excepting only the powers of evil.

"IV. He is regarded as omniscient while it is day, knowing even the thoughts of their hearts.

"V. He is angered by the commission of certain sins, while to those in pain or distress he is pitiful, and sometimes deigns to afford relief.

[775] "VI. He is the Judge from whom each soul receives its sentence after death, and to some extent, the hope of escape from the torments of *J̌ereg-l'ar-mugu* is said to affect their course of action in the present life.

"*Puluga* is believed to live in a large stone house in the sky, with a wife whom he created for himself: she is green in appearance and has two names, *Čana Aulola* (Mother Fresh-water Shrimp), and *Čana Palak* (Mother Eel); by her he has a large family, all, except the eldest, being girls; these last, known as *morowin* (sky spirits or angels), are said to be black in appearance, and, with their mother, amuse themselves from time to time by throwing fish and prawns into the streams and sea for the use of the inhabitants of the world. *Puluga*'s son is called *Pijčor*: he is regarded as a sort of archangel, and is alone permitted to live with his father, whose orders it is his duty to make known to the *morowin*.

"*Puluga* is said to eat and drink, and, during the dry months of the year, to pass much of his time in sleep, as is proved by his voice (thunder) being rarely heard at that season; he is the source whence they receive all their supplies of animals, birds, and turtles; when they anger him he comes out of his house and blows, and growls, and hurls burning faggots at them—in other words, visits their offences with violent thunderstorms and heavy squalls; except for this purpose he seldom leaves home,

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unless it be during the rains, when he descends to earth to provide himself with certain kinds of food; how often this happens they do not know since, nowadays, he is invisible[1]." 776

Mr Man's comparison between the Andamanese belief in *Puluga* and the Christian belief in a God, will be discussed in a later chapter when we come to deal with the interpretation of the Andamanese beliefs. It is to be noted that Mr Man does not make any reference to *Deria* (*Tarai*), nor does he mention the association of *Puluga* with the north-east.

As regards the personal appearance of *Puluga*, the statements of different informants are not in agreement. One *A-Pučikwar* man described *Bilik* as being very big, about the height of one of the posts of my hut (which was eighteen feet), white-skinned like a European, having a long beard, and carrying a bow of the *Jarawa* type.

The legends connecting *Puluga* with the creation of the world will be given in the next chapter.

I am not able to confirm Mr Man's statement that *Puluga* is omniscient, and in fact there are some customs of the natives that are in contradiction with any such belief. When they dig up yams (which belong to *Puluga*) they take the tuber and replace the "crown" with the attached stem in the ground, and explain this by saying that if they do so *Puluga* will not notice that the yam has been taken. Whenever they do any of the things that displease *Puluga*, they seem to believe that there is a possibility that *Puluga* may not discover what has been done. It may be noted that there is no means of distinguishing in Andamanese between "all" and "a great deal." Thus a statement the *Puluga* knows "everything" may be equally well translated "*Puluga* knows a great deal." Between these two statements there is no difference for the Andamanese, but there is a great difference for us, and for this reason the use of the word "omniscient" is misleading. [784]

Mr Man says that *Puluga* "is angered by the commission of certain sins." In this connection it is necessary to refer to another passage in Mr Man's work. "That they are not entirely devoid of moral consciousness may, I think, in some

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 157.

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•776 measure, be demonstrated by the fact of their possessing a word, *yub-da*, signifying sin or wrong-doing, which is used in connection with falsehood, theft, grave assault, murder, adultery, and—burning wax (!), which deeds are believed to anger *Puluga-la*, the Creator[1]." Although I made very careful and repeated enquiries, I was unable to meet with a single native who believed that such actions as the murder of one man by another, or adultery, aroused the anger of *Puluga*. The only actions at which *Puluga* is angry are those purely ritual offences, such as burning or melting wax, killing a cicada, digging up yams, etc., which have already been mentioned.

The Andamanese beliefs connected with the life after death will be described later in the present chapter.

As regards the "stone house" in which *Puluga* is said to live, this really means, I believe, a cave. In the North Andaman *Biliku* is frequently spoken of as living in a cave (*era-poŋ*). Also, it may be recalled, the sky is generally regarded as consisting of stone or rock, and it is in the sky the *Puluga* lives.

The son of *Puluga*, mentioned by Mr Man, *Pijčor*, is a being about whom I was able to learn very little. In the North Andaman the same being is named *Perjido*, and is said to be the son of *Biliku*. The *Morowin*, whom Mr Man describes as the daughters of *Puluga*, are sky spirits. The most usual belief in the South Andaman is that there are both male and female *Morowin*. They are beings of somewhat the same nature as the jungle spirits and the sea spirits. An *Akar-Bale* informant told me, "The *Morua* are sky spirits. They eat only pork and nothing else. They are angry if pork is roasted, and make the people ill. They used to live in the big *baja* (*Sterculia*) trees, but now they live in the sky."

776 784 In this connection it may be mentioned that there is a belief throughout the Andamans that it is dangerous to roast pork. In the North Andaman the natives commonly say that the spirits of the jungle are angry if pork be roasted, and may be attracted to the spot and cause the natives to be ill. An *Akar-Bale* belief, connecting the danger with the spirits of the sky has just been mentioned. Mr Man's version of the matter is as follows :—

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 112.

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"...there is a company of evil spirits who are called *čol*, and who are much dreaded. They are believed to be descendants of *Maia Čol* who lived in antediluvian times. They generally punish those who offend them by baking or roasting pig's flesh, the smell of which is particularly obnoxious to them, as it is also to *Puluga*, who therefore, often assists them in discovering the delinquent; the same risk does not attend *boiling* pork, which the olfactory nerves of the fastidious *čol* are not keen enough to detect. While the Andamanese say that they are liable to be struck by *Erem-čauga-la* or *Juruwin* at any time or in any place, the *čol* strike those only who offend them, and that during the day while they are stationary, this being necessitated by the distance from the earth of their abode, whence they hurl their darts; an invisible spear is the weapon they always use, and this is thrown with unerring aim at the head of their victims, and is invariably fatal. As these demons are considered especially dangerous on the hottest days, they are apparently held accountable for the deaths from sunstroke which happen from time to time[1]."

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It may be remarked that *Čol* is the name of a species of bird (probably the racket-tailed drongo), which is named from its call—*čol, čol, čol.* I did not hear the name used to denote what Mr Man calls demons, except in so far as the birds themselves are supposed to have supernatural powers. There is, perhaps, some sort of connection between the *čol* (the birds, that is) and the sky-spirits, *Morowin* or *Morua*, but I was not able to satisfy myself on the point. The connection of them both with *Puluga* is still more obscure.

Another belief in connection with pigs is that any person who cuts up a pig badly is liable to be punished. Mr Man states, on this subject, "*Puluga* never himself puts any one to death, but he objects so strongly to seeing a pig badly quartered and carved that he invariably points out those who offend him in this respect to a class of malevolent spirits called *Čol*, one of whom forthwith despatches the unfortunate individual[2]."

I was not able to find any evidence that *Puluga* is believed to be angry if a pig is badly quartered. From the natives with

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 159. [2] *Ibid.* p. 158.

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•776 784 whom I talked on the subject I received two different statements. One was to the effect that if a pig is badly cut up the meat will be bad and anyone who eats it will be ill. The other was that if a pig is badly cut up the spirits of the jungle will be angry and will punish the offender. In neither case was there any reference to *Puluga* or *Biliku*.

In general it may be said that the natives believe that the only punishment that *Puluga* or *Biliku* ever sends against those who offend him or her in any way is bad weather, and I did not myself meet with any exception to this rule.

One other observation by Mr Man may be mentioned. He says, "When they see a dark cloud approaching at a time when rain would prove very inconvenient, as when hunting, travelling, etc., they advise *Puluga* to divert its course by shouting '*Wara-Jobo kopke, kopke, kopke*' (*Wara-Jobo* will bite, bite, bite (you)). If in spite of this a shower falls they imagine that *Puluga* is undeterred by their warning[1]."

It is clear from the above discussion of the matter that there is not any complete agreement in the beliefs concerning *Puluga* (*Biliku*) even in any one tribe of the Andamans. There are many different statements about this being which cannot be made consistent with one another without doing violence to the evidence. At the same time, amid all the differences and inconsistencies there are a certain number of points about which there is a general agreement throughout the whole of the tribes of the Great Andaman. One of these is the connection of *Puluga* and *Daria* with the weather, with the two chief winds, and with the points of the compass from which these winds blow. The other is the belief that certain actions, such as melting bees'-wax, digging up yams, etc., are disliked by *Puluga*, and are punished by him (or her) with stormy weather. On these matters there is entire agreement amongst the natives of all the tribes, and they are to the natives themselves by far the most important part of the beliefs concerning *Puluga*.

776 775 We have seen that the Andamanese believe in two different kinds of what may be called, for want of a better term, super-

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 153.

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natural beings. In the first place there are the spirits, the *Lau* or *Čauga*, and the *Jurua*, inhabiting the forest and the sea respectively. These are all associated by the natives with ghosts, i.e. with the spirits of dead men and women. In the second place there are other beings connected with the sun and moon, lightning and thunder and the monsoons (*Biliku* and *Tarai*). These are all associated with the phenomena of nature. There are many points of contact between these two classes of beings. Thus there are two alternative explanations of bad weather, one that it is due to the spirits (particularly the spirits of the sea), the other that it is due to the anger of *Biliku*. This is a point that will be referred to again in a later chapter.

It is possible that there are beliefs in other supernatural beings who are neither spirits of the dead nor connected with natural phenomena. The only being of such a nature that I was able to discover anything about is one called *Nila* or *Ńila*. This is the name of an evil being who is supposed to live in hollow *Pterocarpus* trees. When he smells human beings near his tree he comes out and kills them with his knife. I found this belief in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe, but was not able to find any trace of a similar belief in the North Andaman, though of course I cannot say that it does not exist there. Mr Man mentions this same being. "This spirit *Nila* is supposed to live in ant-hills, and to have neither wife nor child; he is not regarded as such a malevolent personage as *Erem-čauga-la*, and, though he is always armed with a knife, he rarely injures human beings with it, or when he does so, it is not in order to feed upon their bodies, for he is said to eat earth only[1]." Mr Man adds, in a footnote that "cases have been cited of persons who have been found stabbed, whose deaths have been attributed to *Nila*: the possibility of the individuals in question having been murdered is scouted."

The version given by Mr Man is not quite in agreement with the information given to me, but I was unfortunately not able to learn anything more about the nature of *Nila*.

As throwing some additional light on the way in which the Andamanese think of the supernatural beings that have been

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 159.

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mentioned above, I add here a brief description of a sort of dramatic or pantomimic dance that I witnessed in the North Andaman. Many savage tribes in different parts of the world are in the habit of performing dances or pantomimes in which the performer represents a supernatural being. In the Andamans there are no regular performances of this kind. The solitary one that I witnessed was entirely exceptional.

The performer was a man named *Kobo*. This man, according to the statements of the natives, had, at one time of his life, died and come back to life again. Owing to this fact he was endowed with special magical powers, and had some reputation as a magician or medicine-man (*oko-jumu*). During the time that he was dead (probably a few hours of unconsciousness), he is supposed to have visited the world of spirits, and while there he saw many things and learnt much about the spirits. Among other things he witnessed a dance in which the spirits and other supernatural beings took part. All these things he was able to remember when he returned to life.

The performance was given one afternoon on the ordinary dancing ground of the village. The performer sat on his haunches in a hut at one end of the dancing ground. Thrust into the back of his belt he wore a bunch of leaves sticking out somewhat after the manner of a cock's tail, but he had no other ornament. The spectators, consisting of men, women and children, were seated round the edge of the dancing ground, which had been swept clean. On one side sat a few women who acted as chorus. There was no sounding-board.

The performer began to sing a song, composed on the model of the songs of the South Andaman (with a short refrain) which has now for some years been adopted by the Northern tribes in preference to their own. As he finished the song the women of the chorus took up the refrain, repeating it over and over again, and marking time by clapping their hands on their thighs. The performer came out of his hut and performed a dance. At a signal from him the chorus ceased and he returned to his hut. In this way he sang several songs, repeating each one several times, and performed a number of short dances. In nearly every case the step of the dance was some simple modification

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of the step in common use at an ordinary dance. Thus in one dance he danced very violently and pretended to hurt his leg through the violence of his dancing, making angry signs to the chorus to stop their clapping, of which, of course, they took no notice. In another dance he stopped at short intervals and violently scratched his sides and then doubled himself up with laughter. In yet another, he danced with the step of the women's dance, covering his face with his hands and pretending to be very bashful. In still another he stood on tiptoe on the right foot and stamped with his left foot in time to the chorus of women. In some of the dances he walked round the open space within the circle of spectators, sometimes in a crouching attitude, and at other times in other attitudes. All these dances aroused great amusement amongst the spectators. It was unfortunately impossible for me to understand them all or to obtain an adequate explanation of them either at the time or later.

Of the songs that were sung one was "The tide has gone down over the reef. I walk round the world. There is great wind and rain."

Some of these dances I was able to understand even without explanation. One of them represented *Biliku*. The performer held in his right hand a shell, and as he danced grotesquely round the open space he looked fiercely at the spectators and threatened to throw the shell at them. Many of the women and children could not prevent themselves from starting backwards when he thus threatened them, but their fears were immediately dispelled in laughter. The shell was not a pearl-shell (*be*) but a *Cyrena* shell (*bun*), but I believe that this was because there was no pearl-shell available. The representation of *Biliku* was thus reduced to a single gesture, that of threatening the natives with her pearl-shell (lightning).

Another dance represented the jungle spirits (*Bido-teč Lau*). In this he first hid himself behind a screen of *bido* leaves (*Calamus tigrinus*) that had been prepared, singing a song. The leaves represented a clump of the *Calamus* palm such as is supposed to be the favourite haunt of the jungle spirits. After having sung for some time behind his screen of leaves, he came

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776 out with a bow and arrow in his hand, and as he danced in front
535 of the spectators he pretended to shoot at them.

In another dance he represented *Ele*, the lightning. He sat on a stone that had been placed in the middle of the open space, swinging his arms to the time of the chorus, and every now and then shaking his leg.

This observation is an important one in several ways. Although I asked the man to repeat it, in order that I might make fuller notes and obtain explanations of many obscure points, and although he grudgingly said that he would, yet he did not do so. He was, moreover, very reserved over the matter, and not very willing to talk about his own performance.

I believe that the performance was an entirely exceptional affair. I never at any other time either saw or heard of one man or even several men, giving a dance for the amusement of others. I think that the whole thing was entirely the invention of the performer. He had given the same performance, or one very similar, at least once before the occasion on which I saw it.

We may now turn to the Andamanese beliefs relating to the soul and the life after death.

761 The vital principle is at different times identified by the
775 Andamanese with the pulse, the breath, with the blood and with
766 the fat, particularly the kidney-fat. Thus the body of a slain enemy is burnt so that the blood and fat may be consumed in smoke and ascend to the sky where they will no longer be a danger to those who have slain him.

822 The nearest approach to our notion of a soul that the natives
828 possess is their belief concerning the double or reflection seen in
774 a mirror. In the Northern tribes the word *ot-ǰumulo* means "reflection," and also "shadow," and is also nowadays applied to a photograph. The word *ot-ǰumu*, in the same languages, means "a dream" or "to dream." We may perhaps translate the word *ot-ǰumulo* as meaning "soul." In the *Aka-Bea* language *ot-yolo* is "reflection," while there is a different word, *ot-diya* or *ot-lere*, for "shadow," and neither of the words has any connection with the word "dream" which is *taraba*. Mr Man translates the word *ot-yolo* as "soul."

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Andaman Islander feels about the fire as being the one thing on which the society most completely depends for its welfare. 182X

The preceding analysis has shown that the legends relating to the origin of animals, whether through the action of fire, or by the flood, serve to express the social value of fire. If this interpretation be correct we have a close parallel to the explanation of the story of the origin of night. In both cases, it has been argued, what the legend really expresses is the way in which a particular phenomenon (fire, in one case, the alternation of day and night in the other) affects the life of the society and the sentiments on which that life depends. The legends of the catastrophe, however, obviously contain another element of importance, revealing as they do a certain way of thinking about the animals. This element has not yet been explained. The representation of the birds, etc., as ancestors is not confined to one particular legend or group of legends, but runs through them all. Its explanation is therefore better postponed until we come to deal with the general features of the mythology, and will then have to be undertaken.

Let us now turn to the legends that concern *Biliku* (*Puluga*) and *Tarai* (*Deria*), which are of capital importance in the Andaman mythology. The clue to the understanding of them lies in the Andamanese notions about the weather and the seasons. In the Andaman Islands the year may be divided into four seasons. There is the cool season lasting from the beginning of December to the middle of February; immediately following this is the hot season from February to the middle of May; then comes the rainy season, from May to the end of September; October and November constitute a short season to themselves. In the cool season the weather is uniformly cool; there is very little rain, and storms are almost unknown; the wind blows uniformly from the N.E. In the hot season there is little or no rain; the wind is generally N.E., but may be variable; summer lightning is frequent, but there are no violent storms except at the very end of the season. During the rainy season, after a short period of uncertain stormy weather with which it begins, the wind blows uniformly from the S.W.; it rains heavily, sometimes every day for weeks together, but 182X 132 776

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violent storms (cyclones) are very rare. Between the rainy season proper and the cool season there is a period of six or eight weeks in which the weather is unsettled; the wind is variable; fine weather alternates with storms that are sometimes of terrific violence; waterspouts are frequent; it is at this season that violent cyclonic storms are likely to occur. This season is called by the Andamanese *Kimil* (*Gumul* of *Aka-Bea*). We have seen in the last chapter that the word *kimil* denotes a condition of social danger, or of contact with the power possessed by all things that can affect the life and safety of the society. It is obviously in this sense, and not as meaning "hot," that it is applied to the season in question, for the months of October and November are fairly cool, certainly very much cooler than February and March. We shall find that this is an important point in connection with the *Biliku* myth.

The life of the Andaman Islander is profoundly affected by the alternation of the seasons. There are, first of all, the violent cyclonic storms that occasionally occur. Such a storm may uproot the jungle for miles, making it impassable for years to come, and thus destroying some of the native hunting grounds. The wind is sometimes so violent as to tear every leaf from the trees in its path. While the storm lasts there is danger to the lives of the natives. An old man recounted to me how on the occasion of a violent cyclone he and the others of his village took refuge in the sea and on the open shore from the danger of falling trees, and remained there till the violence of the storm had abated. The usual name for a cyclone in *Aka-Jeru* is *toko-por*, i.e. "falling wood" or "falling trees." Even if all the natives escape the danger of death or injury, there is still the extreme fear and discomfort of the experience. If a storm lasts for any length of time the natives, who are unable or afraid to go out hunting, have to do without food until it is over. Incidentally the storm may destroy their huts, canoes, and other property and thus cause loss that has to be made up by toil.

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The second important effect of the seasons on the life of the Andamanese is through the food supply. During the cool season, and the succeeding hot season, a number of vegetable foods, including the very important roots and some of the most

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prized fruits, are available. On the other hand, during these seasons the land animals are in poor condition. In the hot season, at any rate, lizards, snakes and the civet-cat are not eaten. Pigs are breeding and are in such poor condition that often a pig that has been killed is left in the jungle as being not good enough to eat. The hot season is pre-eminently the season of honey, which is so abundant that the natives are able to obtain much more than they can consume. In the rainy season there are few vegetable foods and very little honey, but on the other hand the jungle animals are in good condition and flesh food is abundant; fish are more plentiful in this season than during the dry weather. In the *Kimil* season (October and November) the natives add to their food supply two varieties of grub (the larvæ of the cicada and of a beetle) which are regarded as great delicacies. Roughly we can say that the rainy season is the season of flesh food, the *Kimil* season is the season of grubs, the cool season is the season of fruits and roots, and the hot season is the season of honey.

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By reference to the prevailing wind the year may be divided into two parts, the N.E. monsoon from November to May, and the S.W. monsoon from May to November.

I propose to show that the Andaman Islanders express the social value of the phenomena of the weather and the seasons, i.e., the way these phenomena affect the social life and the social sentiments, by means of legends and beliefs relating to the two mythical beings whom they call *Biliku* and *Tarai*. Using the word personification in a sense to be defined later in the chapter, we may say that the Andamanese personify the weather and the seasons in the persons of *Biliku* and *Tarai*. *Biliku* is associated with the N.E. monsoon; she lives in the N.E.; the wind from that quarter is called "the *Biliku* wind"; to *Biliku*, therefore, belong the cool and the hot seasons, these being the seasons of the N.E. monsoon. *Tarai* is associated with the S.W. monsoon; he lives in the S.W.; the wind from that quarter is called "the *Tarai* wind," or, in *Aka-Bea*, simply *Deria*; to *Tarai* therefore belongs the rainy season. It is possible to show that the Andaman Islanders associate with these two beings all the phenomena of the weather and the seasons, and are able to

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represent the changes of the latter as though they were the actions of human or anthropomorphic beings.

In the mass of beliefs and stories relating to *Biliku* and *Tarai* there are some elements on which there is absolute agreement in all the tribes of the Great Andaman Division. I propose to treat these as being the most important elements. There is absolute unanimity, for instance, as to the connection of *Biliku* and *Tarai* with the N.E. and the S.W. respectively, and with the winds that blow from these two points of the compass. Further, this belief does not conflict in any way with any other belief of the Andamanese. There is similar unanimity in the beliefs that *Biliku* is angry at the digging up of yams, and at the melting of bees'-wax. There are other matters on which the agreement is fairly general but not absolute. For instance, there is a common belief that it was *Biliku* who first discovered fire, but there are also legends as to the origin of fire in which *Biliku* does not figure. I propose to treat such elements as these as being of secondary importance. Finally there are other elements with regard to which the beliefs of different tribes are not in agreement. For instance, in the South Andaman *Puluga* is regarded as male, while in the North Andaman *Biliku* is female. I propose to regard such elements as being of only minor importance, i.e., as not being closely connected with the central notion or notions expressed in the myth.

Applying the strict method outlined above, we may begin by noting that there is complete unanimity in regard to the connection of *Biliku* and *Tarai* with the N.E. and the S.W. respectively, and therefore with the monsoons. No interpretation of the myth can be adequate unless it sets out from this fact. The connection is so firmly fixed that it appears in the names of the winds themselves[1]. Even in this matter of the winds, however, there is a slight difference in the detail of the beliefs in different tribes. In the North Andaman it would seem that only the two principal winds are recognized: the S.W. wind (more accurately W.S.W.) is called "the *Tarai*

[1] It appears also in geographical names. *Puluga-l'ar-mugu*, meaning 'the Puluga front' is the name of a part of the Archipelago facing the N.E. and means 'the side facing Puluga.'

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wind" (not, be it noted, "the wind of *Tarai*"); the N.E. (or more accurately N.N.E.) wind is called "the *Biliku* wind." These two winds are by far the most important, as the former blows steadily throughout the rainy season and the latter blows with almost equal steadiness throughout a good part of the cool and hot seasons. In the *Aka-Bea* and *Akar-Bale* tribes the general belief seems to be precisely the same as in the North Andaman. Only the two principal winds are considered to be of importance and one is associated with *Deria* and the other with *Puluga*. In these two tribes, as in the North Andaman, practically no notice is taken of the existence of winds from other quarters. In the *A-Pučikwar* tribe there is a notable difference, of great importance to the true interpretation of the legend. There is a dual division of the winds; the S.W. wind is called *Teria*; the other winds (of which a number are recognized) are all called *Bilik*. Thus *Bilik* is a generic name for a number of winds, namely for all the northerly or easterly winds, including not only the N.E., but also the N.W. and S.E. winds. The S.W. wind is called by a simple name, *Teria*, or as it would be better rendered in English "the *Teria*." The other winds are called by compound names such as *Metepur Bilik*, *Koičo Bilik*, etc., which we can only translate as "the N.E. *Bilik*," "the East *Bilik*," etc.

Two things of importance are shown by the consideration of these facts. The first is that there is a sense in which it may be said that the Andaman Islanders personify the winds in the persons of *Biliku* and *Tarai*; they apply to the natural phenomenon a name which is also the name of a mythological person, and they apply it directly and not in a possessive form, i.e., they say "the *Bilik*" or "the *Biliku* wind" and not "*Biliku's* wind." The second is that only the S.W. wind is associated with *Tarai* and all the other winds are associated with *Biliku*.

The last point is one of considerable importance in the interpretation of the myth. If we divide the year by reference to the prevailing winds, then the rainy season, with the exception of its beginning and its end, belongs to the S.W. wind; the hot season (save its end) and the cool season may be regarded as belonging to the N.E. wind, though the wind may be variable in the hot season; there remain two portions of the year, at the

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change of the monsoon, when the wind is variable, which cannot be classified as belonging strictly to the S.W., or to the N.E. wind. The fact that all these variable winds are denoted in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe by the name *Bilik* shows that in this tribe they are all classified with the N.E. wind. In this way the year is divided into two slightly unequal parts, one belonging to *Teria* or *Tarai* including the whole of the rainy season except the end and the very beginning, the other belonging to *Bilik* (*Biliku*) including the *Kimil* season, the cool season, the hot season, and even the first few days of the rainy season. This strict division only appears in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe, but it will be shown that an approximation to the same notion is found in the other tribes.

There is general agreement in all the tribes in the belief that storms are due to *Biliku* or *Tarai*. Both of them send rain and thunder and lightning, but whenever mention is made in the legends of a violent storm it is always *Biliku* who is mentioned as causing it, and never by any chance *Tarai*. Thus, in regard to this matter of storms, it is evident that *Biliku* is more important than *Tarai*, and this is only one example of the preponderance of *Biliku* over her consort. This preponderance will need to be explained as one of the essentials of the myth[1].

We have already seen how the Andaman Islander represents any natural phenomenon having negative social value as though it were the result of the action of a person in anger, this being the one anti-social passion with which he is most familiar in his own life. Thus the withdrawing of the light of the moon after the full is explained as being due to the anger of the moon. The negative social value of a violent storm is obvious. In accordance with the general principles of his mythology the Andaman Islander therefore explains the storm as being due to the anger of a personal mythical being. But storms are intimately connected with the winds, so that it must be *Biliku* and *Tarai* (in whom the winds are personified) who are responsible for the storms. Further, in the Andamans, violent storms are very rare except at two special periods of the year, at the

[1] Although it is generally believed that storms (or more exactly, violent storms or cyclones) are the results of the anger of *Biliku*, yet there is a conflicting belief that storms are made by the spirits, particularly the spirits of the sea.

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change of the monsoon. This gives a further ground of association with *Biliku* and *Tarai* between whom the seasons are divided. We have seen that in classifying the winds the natives (of one tribe at any rate) associate with *Tarai* only the steady S.W. wind which brings not cyclones and violent storms but steady rain, while all the other winds are associated with *Biliku*. If this be so it is clear that a cyclone, with its wind veering from one quarter to another, must be the work of *Biliku*. Further, if the *Biliku* season be regarded as including all the periods of variable northerly and easterly winds as well as the period of the steady N.E., then we can say that it is only in the *Biliku* period that violent storms are likely to occur. It is evident therefore that an examination of the natural phenomena themselves gives us an adequate reason for the preponderance of *Biliku* over *Tarai* in the legends. This will be made even more evident as we proceed.

Another law of the Andaman mythology is that a person, such as the moon, is never angry without cause. There are a number of actions that are believed by the Andamanese to cause the anger of *Biliku*; of these there are three of extreme importance, all the others being certainly of much less importance. It is necessary, therefore, to examine these three carefully and find their meaning.

There is absolute agreement in all the tribes with regard to the belief that *Biliku* is angry and sends bad weather when bees'-wax is melted or burnt. The season of honey is the hot season from February to May. During the rainy season scarcely any honey is to be found and that only of the inferior (black) variety. It is clear therefore that honey belongs particularly to the *Biliku* portion of the year. During the hot season honey is abundant and large quantities are collected. As the natives make use of the wax, and as this is useless till it has been melted, this is the special season of the melting of bees'-wax. At the beginning of the season the *Biliku* wind blows calmly from the N.N.E. As the season draws to a close the wind becomes variable, uncertain, and in some years violent storms occur ushering in the rains of the S.W. monsoon. Year after year the wax-melting season comes to a close in stormy weather.

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Now stormy weather and the anger of *Biliku* are, for the Andaman Islander, one and the same thing, so that to say that the anger of *Biliku* follows the melting of bees'-wax is in one sense simply a statement of actual observable fact.

Another belief about which there is absolute unanimity in all parts of the Islands is that *Biliku* is angry when certain plants are cut down or dug up. These plants include some of the most valuable vegetable foods of the Andamanese, such as the yams and the pith of the *Caryota* palm. Amongst the roots and fruits associated with *Biliku* there are one or two that were not botanically identified. All of them, however, about which I was able to obtain any information whatever, are available as food during the cool and hot seasons, and either not at all or in very small quantities during the rainy season. On the other hand, of the vegetable foods that are available during the rainy season, not one is ever mentioned as being in any way connected with *Biliku*. Further, amongst all the foods of the cool and hot seasons only those are intimately connected with *Biliku* which begin to be available during the *Kimil* season. A few examples may be mentioned. The yams and other edible roots are not found at all in the rainy season, but the tubers begin to form in the *Kimil* season (October and November) and small quantities of these roots are available for food at that time. By the time the cool season has set in the roots become abundant, and they continue to be found until well on into the hot season. All these roots are regarded as being specially connected with *Biliku* and are spoken of as her foods. The same thing applies to the *Caryota sobolifera* of which the pith is eaten either raw or cooked. The pith begins to form in the *Kimil* season, and this highly prized food is available right through the cool season. The fruit of the *Cycas*, which is another of those belonging to *Biliku*, also begins to ripen at the beginning of the cool weather. As regards the *Entada scandens*, Kurz, in his *Burmese Flora*, mentions it as seeding in the "cold season." I neglected to take note of the relation of this plant to the seasons, but the statement of Kurz may be relied on. Thus it is seen that the vegetable foods that are associated with *Biliku* are those that begin to be available for food during the *Kimil* season and are

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abundant during the cool season. Now the *Kimil* season, which is really the opening of the N.E. or *Biliku* monsoon, is the season at which cyclonic storms are likely to occur. Here again therefore, as in the case of bees'-wax, there is a definite ground of association in familiar natural phenomena. Year after year, as these foods begin to ripen and to be eaten, the islands are visited with stormy weather, sometimes of exceptional violence. When the Andaman Islander says that the stormy weather which is the sign of the anger of *Biliku* follows the digging up of yams and the cutting down of the *Caryota* palm or the gathering of the seeds of the *Cycas* or *Entada*, he is stating what is an actual fact.

The case of these vegetable foods is in one way different from that of bees'-wax. The melting of the wax goes on for some weeks before the anger of *Biliku* is finally aroused, when storms come to punish the offenders, and the change of season cuts short the supply of honey. In the case of the roots, etc., it would seem that it is only the first step that counts. The danger lies in the beginning of the season. Once the anger of *Biliku* has burst forth the bad weather ceases, the danger is past, and weeks of fine weather ensue, during which the natives may eat freely of the foods in question without fear of consequences. In this connection considerable importance may be attached to a statement made to me on more than one occasion, to the effect that the most efficient way of stopping a storm is to go into the forest and destroy the plants that belong to *Biliku*, i.e., do the very things that make her angry. We may apply this to the events of the *Kimil* season. The natives begin to dig up yams and collect other vegetable foods, and thereupon *Biliku* becomes angry and stormy weather follows. All that the natives have to do is to show sufficient persistence in continuing to eat yams, etc., and the anger of *Biliku* is bound to subside and the stormy weather to cease.

There is a third belief that is generally accepted in all parts of the Great Andaman, that *Biliku* is angry if a cicada be killed, or if a noise be made while the cicada is singing in the morning or the evening. The interpretation of this belief is made difficult by the fact that there is also an association between the cicada and the day and night. Thus Mr Man states that the prohibition

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against making a noise at dawn (while the cicada is singing) is associated not with *Puluga* but with the sun[1].

The grub of the cicada is eaten during the *Kimil* season, and at no other time of the year. Here the association is simple enough. The killing of the cicada (grub) takes place only during a brief season, and this is the season when cyclones occur. However, the grub of a beetle is eaten at the same season and yet I never heard of any connection between *Biliku* and this other grub. Certainly if there is a belief in such a connection it is very much less important than the belief relating to the cicada. Further, there is the belief that if the imago of the cicada be killed or if a noise be made while the cicada is singing, *Biliku* will be angry and will send bad weather, which is obviously not simply the result of the custom of eating the grub of the cicada during the *Kimil* season.

The relation of the cicada to *Biliku* is almost certainly due to the connection of the insect with the seasons. Unfortunately, not then recognizing the importance of the matter, I did not, while in the Andamans, take particular note of the relation of the life-cycle of the cicada to the revolution of the seasons, and I am reluctant to trust to vague memories of matters to which I did not pay special attention. Mr Man states, apparently on the authority of a native, that during the cold and dry seasons the cicada is seldom seen (and is therefore presumably also seldom heard). What I believe to be the life-cycle of the insect is as follows. During the rainy season only the adult insects are to be found. They lay their eggs at some period during the rainy season, possibly towards the end. In October and November the eggs have developed into pupæ, and it is these that the natives eat; but apparently the adult insects, or some of them, still survive at this time and are to be seen and heard. By about December the last of the adult insects die out and the grubs have not yet attained the adult form, so that there is a period during which no adult insects are either seen or heard. It is probable that the new generation makes its first appearance in adult form as soon as the first rains of the rainy season begin.

[1] Page 154.

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The essential point, on which we can base an interpretation of the myth, is that the cicada is not seen or heard during the fine weather (December to March). It probably, as stated above, makes its reappearance just at the period of the stormy weather that ushers in the rainy season. Similarly, it does not disappear until after the end of the stormy period of the *Kimil* season. (I have certainly heard and seen the insect in October, and to the best of my recollection in November also.) Thus the cicada is definitely associated with the part of the year including the rainy season and the two stormy periods at its beginning and end. I believe that this is the fundamental fact that explains the Andamanese beliefs about the connection of the insect with the weather.

I was told of a ceremony that was held at the end of the *Kimil* season in the *Akar-Bale* tribe (and possibly in other tribes also) the purpose of which was said to be to ensure fine weather for some months and which is called "Killing the cicada." The ceremony consists of doing the very thing that is believed to produce storms, viz., making a noise while the cicada is singing in the evening. As soon as the cicadæ begin to sing all the persons in camp make as much noise as they can by banging bamboos on the ground, striking the sounding-board, or hammering on the sides of canoes, thus making just the kinds of noise that are said to be most disliked by the cicada. According to the statement of my informant this ceremony results in "killing" all the cicadæ so that they are not heard again for many weeks, and while this silence lasts fine weather is assured. The meaning of this little ceremony is plain when we recall the fact that though the digging up of yams and the cutting down of the *Caryota* palm anger *Biliku* and result in storms yet sufficient persistence in these actions, and therefore in any others that are displeasing to *Biliku*, results in dispelling the bad weather. Thus it is seen that although the matter is a little more complicated, yet the belief in the connection of the cicada with *Biliku* and with bad weather can be explained on exactly the same lines as the beliefs about bees'-wax and vegetable foods. The fact that the same explanation can be given of the three most important prohibitions connected

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with *Biliku* gives a high degree of probability to the interpretation here offered. These three beliefs are the only ones of real importance. I am unable to explain the connection of *Biliku* with the species of fish, the bird and the two kinds of wood mentioned on page 156. In the North Andaman there is a definite association between *Biliku* and spiders, the generic name for "spider" being *biliku*. I believe that this could be explained on the same basis as the connection with the cicada, i.e., through the connection of spiders with the changes of the seasons, but as I unfortunately neglected to take note of the habits of the spiders of the Andamans I cannot speak with any certainty and therefore prefer not to enter into a discussion of the subject[1].

The explanation that I have to offer of these beliefs relating to *Biliku* and to the things that offend her is that they are simply the statement in a special form of observable facts of nature. The rainy season comes to an end, the wind becomes variable, yams and other vegetable products begin to ripen and are used for food, and stormy weather comes, some years bringing cyclones of exceptional violence. Then follows a period of steady N.E. winds with fine weather and abundance of vegetable foods, during which the noise of the cicada is not to be heard. Then comes the honey season, when everyone is busy collecting honey and melting bees'-wax. The wind becomes very variable, storms come, the fine weather comes to an end and the rainy season begins again. These facts affect the feelings of the Andaman Islander and he expresses his impressions by regarding all these happenings as if they were the actions of an anthropomorphic being. The vegetable products, the cicada, and the honey all belong to *Biliku*. When the yams are dug up she is angry, or in other words, storms occur; a storm

[1] The application of the name *biliku* to the spider is clearly a minor motive, and probably a late accretion. The name of the N.E. monsoon is the same in all the divisions of the Andamans about which we have information, with dialectic differences only. In the Little Andaman the form of the name is *Öluga*, and the same name is given to the monitor lizard. Presumably, therefore, there was originally one name throughout the Andamans for the N.E. monsoon (*Öluga*, *Puluga*, *Bilik*, *Biliku*, *Biliku*) and later this name was applied to the spider in the North Andaman and to the monitor lizard in the Little Andaman. It may be noted that the name of the monitor lizard varies from one language to another in the Great Andaman.

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is the anger of *Biliku*. The cessation of the song of the cicada removes one of the possible causes of the anger of *Biliku*, and therefore marks the period of fine weather. That anger appears once more when the natives busy themselves with melting bees'-wax.

It may be noted that these beliefs about *Biliku* give an expression of the social value of honey and bees'-wax and of vegetable foods such as yams. The Andaman Islands provide few fruits containing natural sugar. Yet the natives are inordinately fond of sweet things; they greatly enjoy the sugar that they now obtain from the Settlement of Port Blair. Honey, which was almost their only sweet food in former times, was therefore very greatly valued. Apart from the yams and other foods associated with *Biliku* there are very few productions of the Andamans containing starch in a palatable form. To the native who has been living during the rainy season almost entirely on meat and fish, the starchy foods of the stormy season (yams, *Caryota*, etc.) are of great value, and they are very highly prized. Thus the foods associated with *Biliku* all have a high value.

We all know how the value of an object is increased if, in order to obtain it, we have to make some considerable effort or sacrifice, or put ourselves in danger of some evil. Reversing this mental process, the Andaman Islander expresses his sense of the value of honey and yams by the statement that to obtain them he must be prepared to risk the anger of *Biliku* with its results. It was shown in the last chapter that the value of food in general is expressed in the belief that all food is more or less dangerous to eat, and that ritual precautions must be observed if the danger is to be avoided. Here in the *Biliku* myth, we have a further example of the same sort of mental process, in relation not to all foods in general but to a few foods of special value. Yet another example may be given. Roast pork is highly relished by the natives, and they believe that the roasting of pork offends certain spirits of the sky and is therefore dangerous[1].

[1] It is to be noted that these tabus connected with *Biliku* are not absolute prohibitions; they are beliefs that if certain things are done *Biliku* will be angry (i.e., there may be storms); if you do these things you must risk the danger. It is exactly the same with the roasting of pork.

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Returning now to the subject of *Biliku* as the sender of cyclones, it is necessary for the argument, even at the risk of repetition, to show (1) that this is by far the most important attribute of *Biliku*, and (2) that it follows immediately from her connection with the N.E. monsoon.

Taking the second point first, we may note, in the first place, that while *Tarai* is associated with the steady S.W. wind which blows with very little variation for months at a time, *Biliku* is associated with the variable winds of the hot season. Now a characteristic of a cyclonic storm is the way in which the wind

The line represents the position of the Andaman Islands. The larger arrows show the direction in which the cyclonic disturbance is moving. The smaller arrows show the direction of the wind.

veers from one quarter to another. Further, as most of the cyclones that cross the Andamans travel from the south-east in a north-westerly direction, and the movement of the cyclone is in a counter-clockwise direction, the first wind of a cyclonic storm when it strikes the islands comes from the north-east. This may be seen from the accompanying diagram. It is only at the very end of the storm, when the storm centre has passed, that the wind blows from the south-west. Thus it is clear that the association of cyclones with *Biliku* and not with *Tarai* is determined by the nature of the phenomena which the *Biliku-Tarai* myth sets out to explain.

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That the most important attribute of *Biliku* is her connection with the cyclones is evident when we consider the legends in which she is mentioned. In most of the legends in which her name occurs[1] she is spoken of as being angry with the ancestors, and we know that a cyclone and the anger of *Biliku* are, for the Andaman Islander, one and the same thing. In some of the stories mention is made of a great storm that *Biliku* sent which nearly destroyed the world. All through the legends we find her pictured as a being whose anger is to be feared, who has the power to destroy human life and human property. *Tarai* is never mentioned in this way, for the rains of the south-west monsoon themselves have no such power.

We are now in a position to compare the characters of *Biliku* and *Tarai* and explain their relative positions in the myth. The reason for the preponderance of *Biliku* lies in the fact that it is she who sends cyclones, while *Tarai* sends nothing more than heavy showers of rain. *Tarai* is never responsible for the destruction of life and property, whereas *Biliku* is. Thus the preponderance of *Biliku* follows from the essentials of the myth. Secondly, *Tarai* is constant, ever the same, whereas *Biliku* is changeable. The rainy season of one year is exactly like that of another, and during the time it lasts the weather is consistent throughout. On the contrary, one year the *Biliku* season brings a terrific storm, and another year it is much less violent, while, from day to day during certain parts of the *Biliku* season the weather is unsettled, so that you cannot tell what the morrow will bring with it. It is obvious that this uncertainty about the actions of *Biliku*, the fact that she cannot altogether be reckoned with, would tend to make her of greater importance in the eyes of the Andamanese than her consort *Tarai*.

Let us now consider the question of the sex of *Biliku*. On this matter there is a lack of agreement. In the North Andaman *Tarai* is declared to be male and *Biliku* female. It can readily be shown that this results from the position of *Biliku* and *Tarai*

[1] See, for instance, the Aka-Jeru legend on pages 197—198, the Aka-Kede on page 200 and that from the Akar-Bale tribe on pages 200—201, and also the legends on pages 207, 208.

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as regulating the seasons. *Tarai* rules over the rainy season, in which the chief food is the flesh of animals of the land and of the sea; it is the business of men to provide flesh-food. On the contrary *Biliku* rules over the seasons in which the chief foods are vegetable products of different kinds; it is the business of women to provide such foods. It is only men who go out hunting for pigs or turtle or who harpoon or shoot fish, and it is always the men who attend to the first part of the cooking of pig, turtle and dugong; it is the women who dig up the yams and collect the fruits and seeds, and it is the women also who cook them. There is a very real sense, then, in which flesh foods may be called the foods of men, and vegetable foods may be called the foods of women, and, since flesh foods are the foods of *Tarai* and vegetable foods are the foods of *Biliku*, there is a sound reason for calling *Tarai* male and *Biliku* female.

This way of thinking of *Biliku* as female is in harmony with her character as outlined above. Women (in the Andamans) are notoriously uncertain, changeable creatures. You can always reckon fairly well what a man will do, but not so with a woman. Moreover, when the Andaman Islander wishes to picture to himself a pair of closely associated beings, it is natural that he should compare them to the most closely associated couple with which he is familiar,—husband and wife. This tendency leads him to make the sun and moon man and wife in many of his legends, and it may well be expected to have its influence on the *Biliku* myth also.

In the South Andaman however, both *Puluga* and *Daria* are said to be male. It can be shown that this view is also appropriate in its way. The *Akar-Bale* say that *Puluga* and *Daria* were once friends, but have quarrelled and now live at opposite ends of the earth and are perpetually renewing their quarrel. *Daria* has things to himself for a few months (the S.W. monsoon) and sends his wind; then *Puluga* makes an attack on him; some weeks of unsettled weather ensue while they are fighting, until *Daria* is beaten and *Puluga* takes over the control of the weather and sends the N.E. wind. By and by, however, *Daria* shows himself again and there is another quarrel, with its unsettled and stormy weather, which ends in the

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defeat of *Puluga* and the reinstatement for a period of *Daria*. Even the bald language in which it is stated does not quite hide the poetical grandeur of this conception of the world as the arena of two battling giants in a never-ending quarrel. Those who have lived through a tropical cyclone with its wind changing from one quarter to another, its consummate violence, its sudden onslaught, its pause (that is felt to be merely a pause) as the centre of the disturbance reaches and passes you, and then its sudden renewal of the mad combat with the wind coming now from the opposite quarter, cannot but recognize in the *Akar-Bale* myth a successful attempt to describe such a storm in figurative language.

Such a combat could only be pictured by the Andamanese as taking place between two men, and the myth in this form therefore necessarily involves the belief that both *Puluga* and *Daria* are male. It is evident, therefore, that this view has some justification, that it does enable the Andaman Islander to express the feelings and impressions evoked in him by the phenomena of the weather. I venture to think, however, that the southern myth is not quite so satisfactory as the northern one, does not translate quite so well all the different features of the natural phenomena with which it deals[1].

A most important element of the myth is the connection of *Biliku* (*Puluga*) with fire. In all the tribes there are legends that represent *Biliku* as the first possessor of fire, which was, according to some versions, given by her to the ancestors, and according to others stolen from her by one of them. There can be no doubt that these legends owe their origin to the connection between *Biliku* the storm-sender and lightning.

There are several different beliefs about the lightning. According to one of these the lightning (*Ele*) and the thunder (*Korude*) are persons who produce the phenomena of the same name. Another belief is that thunder and lightning are produced by *Biliku* and *Tarai*. On the whole, it would seem that

[1] In a paper in *Folk-lore*, vol. XX, 1909, I put forward the hypothesis that probably at one time all the tribes of the Andamans regarded *Biliku* (*Puluga*) as female, and *Tarai* (*Daria*) as male. I am still inclined to think that there is some evidence for this, but a discussion of what the Andamanese beliefs may have been in the past is entirely outside the scope of this chapter and is therefore omitted.

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the latter belief is the one which is most frequently present to the minds of the natives. A man seeing lightning in the sky will say, according to the season, the prevailing wind, etc., *Biliku čatobom*, or *Tarai čatobom*; "*Biliku* (or *Tarai*) is at work." There are different accounts, however, of the way in which *Biliku* makes the lightning. One belief is that it is a fire-brand flung by her through the sky; a second is that it is a mother-of-pearl shell (*be*) similarly flung; yet a third statement is that she produces the lightning by striking a pearl shell (*be*) on a red stone.

There is no doubt that the Andamanese regard lightning as fire; the charring of trees struck by it is sufficient to convince them of this. Thus lightning and the sun are the only two natural fires that they know. (With the relation of *Biliku* to the sun I shall deal later.) As the wielder of lightning *Biliku* thus becomes the possessor of fire. The simplest of the different beliefs, the one following immediately from the natural phenomena, would be, therefore, that which makes the lightning a fire-brand. This is, on the whole, the one that is most usually expressed, at any rate in the South Andaman.

The explanation of lightning as a shell depends not only upon the pearly lustre of this kind of shell, but also on other features of it. The shell in question (*be*) is used by women alone, and its use is confined to slicing yams and other vegetables in preparing them for food. Its association with *Biliku* therefore follows from the view of *Biliku* as female and as being especially associated with yams and other vegetable foods. Granting this fundamental connection, then the brightness of the shell, its keen edge and the way in which it can be made to skim through the air, will explain the statement that lightning is just such a shell thrown by *Biliku*. In the South Andaman, where *Puluga* is regarded as male, this belief about the pearl shell would be out of harmony with the rest of the myth, and, as we should expect, it is not found. However, the *Aka-Bea* word for lightning (*be-iya*, the *-iya* or *-ya* being a suffix) suggests that they may have had a similar belief in the past[1].

In the North Andaman the two views of lightning as a fire-brand and as a shell are both held, because they both, in

[1] The stem *be* seems to be connected with the idea of cutting.

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different ways, fit in well with the rest of the myth. There is yet a third view in which these two contradictory beliefs are, as it were, reconciled. This is that *Biliku* produces lightning by striking a pearl shell against a red stone. 182X 821 776

In the North Andaman the action of throwing a shell or a fire-brand is regarded as typical of *Biliku*; this is the way in which she is pictured by the native, and in which she would doubtless be portrayed if the Andamanese had a pictorial art. In the dance described in an earlier chapter, in which the dancer gave representations of various mythical beings, *Biliku* was represented by the dancer holding a shell in his hand and dancing round threatening to throw the shell at the spectators. 182X 776

The representation of *Biliku* or *Puluga* as throwing her lightning in the form of a fire-brand or a shell appears in several of the legends of the origin of fire, and in particular in the legend of which different versions are found in all parts of the islands that tells how the kingfisher stole fire from *Biliku* and how the latter flung a fire-brand or a shell at the thief.

The most usual form of the fire legend, and the only one that I ever heard, is that in which the fire is stolen. Mr Man has recorded a version in which *Puluga* is represented as *giving* the fire to the ancestors. Considerable importance attaches to this motive of the story as it reveals to us the way in which the Andamanese usually think of *Biliku* and of their own relation to her. She is not, so far as these stories go, a benefactress who by the invention of fire has earned the gratitude of men, but rather a person with whom the human society, both in the time of the ancestors and at the present day, is in a condition of opposition. Though *Biliku* had fire, yet she kept it for herself and it was only obtained from her by stealth. She was angry when her fire was stolen and tried to punish the offender.

This opposition between *Biliku* and the ancestors is shown in other legends. In some of the stories she is represented not as living with the ancestors, but as living on one side of a narrow strait while the ancestors lived on the other, as in the *Akar-Bale* and *A-Pučikwar* legends. She is thus separated from the ancestors in the minds of the natives. In the *Aka-Kede* legend the ancestors eat the foods that *Bilika* regards as

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specially belonging to her, and she kills them. As a result the ancestors join together and kill *Bilika*. In the *Akar-Bale* version something of the same sort appears; *Puluga* is always getting angry with the ancestors because they eat vegetable foods, and in his anger he destroys their huts and other property (as a cyclone does, and as an Andaman Islander is sometimes known to do in a fit of temper); at last the ancestors send him away out of the world. In the *A-Pučikwar* legend *Bilik* goes away from the world in anger because the ancestors steal his fire. In the *Aka-Jeru* version *Biliku* eats up all the food of the ancestors, and so they go away and leave her; she then destroys them with her shells (lightning) and finally perishes in an attempt to cross the sea on a stone. All these legends seem to express much the same thing in different ways, namely the existence of a condition of hostility between *Biliku* and human beings, based on the fact that the latter venture to make use of the things (yams, etc.) that *Biliku* regards as peculiarly her property. There can be no doubt that this is the usual way in which the Andamanese conceive the relation between *Biliku* and the ancestors, and therefore, since the ancestors represent the society in its beginnings, between *Biliku* and themselves. This relation is quite in agreement with what we have seen to be the essential basis of the myth. The natives obtain from the N.F. monsoon things highly valued, such as yams and honey, but they are given as it were grudgingly after a period of storms, and finally taken away in another period of storms.

This view of *Biliku* as hostile to mankind is not, however, absolutely universal if we are to accept Mr Man's account of the myths of the South Andaman. Mr Man describes *Puluga* as the creator of the world and the beneficent ruler of mankind. Although I could not find a native who held exactly the same views about *Puluga* as those that Mr Man represents as being the views commonly held in the tribes he studied (*Aka-Bea* and *A-Pučikwar*), yet there is no doubt that at times, and more particularly in the southern tribes, the natives do regard *Puluga* as the benefactor and even the creator of the human race[1].

[1] In dealing with the account given by Mr Man of the Andaman mythology it is necessary to remember that he was undoubtedly influenced by a very strong desire to

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The representation of *Biliku* as hostile to mankind depends upon her position as the angry storm-sender, and this, as the legends show, does seem to be the more usual way of regarding her. But there is another and contrary aspect of *Biliku*. The revolution of the seasons brings to the Andamanese new supplies of relished foods,—the grubs of the *Kimil* season, the yams and honey of the cool and hot seasons. One of the Andamanese names for the season of the N.E. monsoon means "the season of abundance." Therefore *Biliku*, as the personification of this season, is herself the giver of good things. This aspect finds a partial expression in the legends. *Biliku* is regarded as having created or discovered the use of all the natural productions associated with her. (In one legend it is *Pęrjido*, the son of *Biliku*, who discovers honey with his mother's help.) She thus occupies a position similar to that of the other ancestors, towards whom the men of the present feel grateful for the benefits they have bestowed on mankind. This view of *Biliku* as benefactress is often extended in the North Andaman to the belief that it was she who invented all the arts now practised by women, and there are traces of a belief that it was her son *Pęrjido* who was similarly responsible for the arts practised by men.

This view of *Biliku* as a benefactress, although it conflicts to some extent with the view of her as on the whole hostile to mankind, yet, since it springs from the essential basis of the myth, cannot be overlooked. During the stormy season the Andaman Islander may well forget every aspect of *Biliku* save that she is responsible for the storms of which he goes in fear, but during the fine weather of the N.E. monsoon, when there is no longer any fear of a violent storm and when he is enjoying an abundance of the good things that he regards as especially belonging to *Biliku*, his feeling towards her must be of a very different nature; she is then the being who gives him the fine weather, the relished foods. Thus, contrary though they be,

show that the beliefs of the Andamanese about *Pulęga* were really fundamentally the same as the beliefs of the Christian about his God. It may be taken as certain that he did not consciously allow this wish to affect his record of the Andaman beliefs, but it is very improbable that it did not unconsciously have a great deal of influence both on Mr Man and on his informants.

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these two aspects of *Biliku* are both integral parts of the myth.

But *Biliku* is also the first possessor of fire, and we have seen that fire is regarded by the Andamanese as the source of the life of society, and therefore, in a way, of all life. *Biliku* as the source from which comes the fire is also the source of life. This view of *Biliku* is certainly to be found in all parts of the islands, though it has been developed more in the South than in the North. *Biliku* thus becomes responsible for the beginning of the society, and since the whole universe centres in the society, of the whole universe. She becomes the being who created or arranged the order in which men live.

For the honour of this position *Biliku* has, however, a competitor. Besides the lightning there is another natural source of fire, the sun. We find therefore two different (and contrary) developments of the myth of the beginning of the world. In one of these the sun is associated with *Biliku*, is regarded as belonging to her or made by her. For instance, in an *Aka-Kede* legend, she is stated to have made the sun by throwing a flaming brand into the sky. By this means *Biliku* becomes the sole source of fire and therefore of life. This is the position that *Puluga* occupies in the versions of the legends recorded by Mr Man. In those legends *Puluga* gives fire to the first human beings by making the sun come down to earth and ignite a pile of wood. The alternative development makes the sun independent of *Biliku* and it is then the sun, or a mythical person associated directly with the sun, who becomes the maker of the world, the source of life. Unfortunately, I did not obtain much detailed information about this development of the myth. In the North Andaman the being named *Čara* is associated with the sun and with fine weather, and is certainly sometimes regarded as the maker of the world. In the South Andaman it is *Tomo* who is associated with the sun. Men and women, when they die, go to live with *Tomo* in the sky. It is *Tomo* who is responsible for all things being as they are. He was the first being; it was he who arranged the order of nature; and similarly it was he who created the social order, so that a question as to why some custom is observed is often answered by saying that it was

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Tomo who made it so. In Mr Man's account *Tomo* is degraded to the position of being merely the first man made by *Puluga*, but in the accounts that were given to me by the natives of the *Akar-Bale* and *A-Pučikwar* tribes *Tomo* was a rival of *Puluga*; sometimes one and sometimes the other was spoken of as being the supreme maker of all things. An *Akar-Bale* man of very high intelligence, who had been educated as a Christian, in trying to explain to me statements about *Tomo* made by another *Akar-Bale* who was regarded as an authority on the legends of his tribe, said that *Tomo* was the same thing to the *Akar-Bale* that God is to the Christian. When I asked him if it was not rather *Puluga* who was the Andaman equivalent of God, he said that some people might think so, but that according to the old man to whom I was talking it was *Tomo* and not *Puluga* who occupied the position[1].

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There is only one more point that needs to be discussed, and that is the connection of *Biliku* with the spirits. It is clear that *Biliku* and *Tarai* must be distinguished from the spirits (*Lau*), yet at the same time *Biliku* is brought into relation with the spirits by the existence of two alternative explanations of bad weather. One of the explanations is that storms are due to *Biliku*, while the other is that they are due to the spirits, particularly the spirits of the sea. Both these beliefs, contradictory as they seem, are held by the Andamanese. The connection of the spirits with the weather is due to the fact that

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[1] To complete the discussion of this part of the subject it would be necessary to deal with many points in the legends of the real meaning of which I do not feel satisfied. I have, for instance, given no explanation of the position of *Perjido* in the *Biliku-Tarai* myth, although this is probably an important matter. Nor have I traced to its source the connection of *Biliku* (with her net, and her hole, or cave, in which she shuts herself up to sleep and from which she comes out to bring rain and storm) with the spider. Besides *Tomo*, *Biliku* has yet another competitor for the position of control over the fine weather of the hot season, namely the snake, *or-čubi* (*wara-ǰobo*), which is regarded as being in some way the guardian of honey and of fine weather. There are legends that show the connection of this snake with honey (page 227) and the same connection is shown in the honey-eating ceremony (page 105). According to Mr Man, when the natives of the South Andaman see a dark cloud approaching and they do not wish it to rain they threaten *Puluga* that they will call up the *wara-ǰobo* to bite him. The snake, like other snakes, is only to be seen during the hot weather of the honey season. It may be remembered that it is from this snake that the pattern used in decorating the body with white clay is named.

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the weather is a thing that can limit the activity of the society, and we saw in the last chapter that there is a tendency to associate with the spirits of the dead all things that in any way interfere with the smooth progress of social life. When it is said that a storm can be stopped by swishing arrows in the sea, or by placing in the sea a piece of *Anadendron* creeper, it is to the spirits of the sea, who are afraid of arrows and of the *Anadendron*, that the storm is attributed, and not to *Biliku*.

In the *A-Pučikwar* tribe I found an association of *Bilik* with the spirits. One man of this tribe (a medicine-man or dreamer) stated that the *Bīlik* are a distinct class of spirits, distinct from the *Lau* and the *Jurua*, yet similar to them. It is the *Bilik* who control the weather. Certain men, when they die, become not *Lau* or *Jurua*, but *Bilik*. Thus in one of his dreams that he related to me he met and conversed with the spirit of a deceased friend whom he spoke of as *Boičo Bilik*, *Boičo* having been his name when he was alive. A medicine-man is able to control the weather through his communication with the *Bilik* in dreams. In this tribe therefore we find a doctrine according to which *Bilik* is not the name of a single being but of a class of beings similar in essentials to the other two classes of spirits. It seemed to me possible that these beliefs are a comparatively late introduction by some of the medicine-men of the tribe. The *Boičo* about whom my informant *Tora* dreamed seemed to have had some part in the development of the doctrine. This does not, however, in the least detract from its value as affording us an insight into the beliefs of the Andamanese.

These beliefs clearly spring from an attempt to distinguish from one another the different northerly and easterly winds, each of the recognizable winds being regarded as a separate person, and from the merging together of the two contrary beliefs in the weather as regulated by spirits and by *Bilik* and *Teria*. The general system of beliefs about spirits as being responsible for all things that may affect human well-being inevitably leads to the notion that the weather is controlled by the spirits, and this is implied also in the belief that a medicine-man (whose power is derived from contact with the spirits) is also able to influence the weather to some extent. This doctrine, however,

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conflicts with the view of the weather and the seasons as controlled by *Biliku* and *Tarai*, who are not spirits but personifications of natural phenomena. It is perhaps this conflict between doctrines, both of them important and indeed necessary, that has led to the elaboration of the peculiar beliefs met with in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe. 182X 776 775 821

I have dealt with most of the more important details of the *Biliku-Tarai* myth, and have tried to show that the whole myth is an expression of the social value of the phenomena of the weather and the seasons. These phenomena affect the social life in certain definite ways and thereby become the objects of certain sentiments; these sentiments are expressed in the legends. *Biliku* and *Tarai* are personifications of the N.E. and S.W. monsoons; as such they are responsible for the weather; feelings awakened by the weather are therefore referred to *Biliku* and *Tarai*; thus the fear of a cyclone at certain periods of the year is expressed as a fear of the anger of *Biliku*. Since the time when men go in fear of storms is also the time when they are just beginning to dig up yams and eat them, the myth connects the anger of *Biliku* with the digging up of yams, and similarly in the cases of honey and the cicada. As *Biliku* is associated with vegetable foods, and these are things with which women chiefly have to do, *Biliku* (in the North Andaman) is regarded as female; *Tarai*, being associated with flesh foods, is male; the two are therefore conceived as wife and husband. As the maker of storms *Biliku* is responsible for the lightning and is therefore possessed of fire. She thus comes to be regarded as the first possessor of fire. This gives rise to stories of how the ancestors obtained their fire from *Biliku*, and as she is generally regarded as being hostile rather than friendly towards mankind, the stories relate how the fire was stolen from her. But besides being the maker of storms *Biliku* is also the dispenser of the good things of the season of the N.E. monsoon and when this aspect of the procession of the seasons is prominent before their minds the natives think of *Biliku* as a benefactress of mankind. As she is the possessor of fire, and as fire is the source of the life of the society, she comes to be regarded as herself the source of life, though there is an 182X 776

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alternative myth that gives this position to a being associated with the sun.

Such is a brief outline of the explanation that I have tried to demonstrate. It may be objected that there are a few important details and several minor details that I have not explained. To that extent my explanation is incomplete, but I hope that I have given sufficient evidence for it to justify us in using it as an integral part of the explanation of the meaning and function of the Andaman mythology in general.

It is not necessary, for the purpose of this chapter, to examine one by one all the legends recorded. Indeed, there are many details of the Andaman mythology that I cannot explain, owing simply, I believe, to my lack of insight into the ways of thought of the natives. The examples already considered are sufficient for the argument. If the interpretations given of these be correct we can base on them certain general conclusions.

I have explained some of the more important of the legends as being expressions or statements of the social value of natural phenomena. The alternation of day and night, for example, affects the life of the society in a certain definite manner and this gives rise to a certain way of thinking and feeling about the phenomenon in question. These thoughts and feelings, however, remain vague and without fixity until they are formulated and expressed either in the form of some definite rule of behaviour, such as the prohibition against noise while the cicada is singing, or in some concrete statement, such as that afforded by the legend of the origin of night. Similarly the legends relating to the origin of fire or the saving of the fire during the flood serve to give definite and permanent form to the vague feelings that result from the way in which the possession of fire affects the social life. Finally, I have tried to show that the myths relating to *Biliku* and *Tarai* are nothing but the expression in concrete form of the ideas and feelings that result from the effects of the weather and the seasons on the life of the Andaman Islanders. From these examples I now propose to draw a general conclusion. All the legends, I wish to maintain, are simply the expression in concrete form of the feelings and ideas aroused by things of all

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kinds as the result of the way in which these things affect the moral and social life of the Andaman Islanders. In other words the legends have for their function to express the social values of different objects,—to express in general the system of social values that is characteristic of the Andaman social organisation. To justify this general statement it will be necessary to show how it comes about that these representations are expressed in the form of myths and legends dealing with the ancestors and with such anthropomorphic beings as *Biliku* and *Tarai*.

Throughout the myths we meet with examples of what I have called the personification of natural phenomena. It is now necessary to give a more exact definition of this term. By it I mean the association of a natural phenomenon with the idea of a person in such a way that the characteristics of the phenomenon may be regarded as though they were actions or characteristics of the person. The simplest form is that in which the phenomenon itself is spoken of and thought of as if it were an actual person. Thus the sun and the moon are spoken of as Lady Sun and Sir Moon. Similarly, in the North Andaman, the night is personified and is called Lady Night (*Mimi Bat*). In many cases of personification however, while the person may or may not possess the same name as the phenomenon, the latter is said to be produced by the former. Thus, in the North Andaman, *Ele* is the name of the lightning, and *Ele* is spoken of as a person ; yet, if we enquire further, we are told that *Ele* (the person) produces the lightning by shaking his leg. A somewhat similar case is that of *Biliku* and *Tarai*. These two beings are said to produce the winds that blow from the different quarters of the compass. But when we enquire as to the names of the winds, we find that in the South Andaman (*A-Pučikwar* tribe) the S.W. wind is called *Teria*, and the other winds are all called *Bilik*. Thus the name of the person is also used as the name of the phenomenon of which he is (in the phraseology here used) the personification. In the North Andaman we find a difference, the winds being called "the *Biliku* wind" and "the *Tarai* wind." It is necessary to insist on this translation of the native *Biliku bǫto* and *Tarai bǫto*. We should expect, if *Biliku* were simply a person who produced the

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X182 winds, that the latter would be called "the wind of *Biliku*," a
776 possessive form (*Biliku ičo boto*) being used, but this is not so, and the phrase habitually used can only be properly translated "the *Biliku* wind" just as we might say "the north wind." Thus, even in the North Andaman *Biliku* and *Tarai* are used as the names of the two chief winds.

In all these cases, sun and moon, *Biliku* and *Tarai*, etc., I propose to use the term personification, as being the most convenient and not liable to be misunderstood after having been carefully defined. We have now to seek an explanation of this process of personification. A great deal has been written on the subject of personification in mythology, and it is therefore not without diffidence that I venture to put forward an explanation which can only be very briefly stated in this place and would require for its full exhibition a lengthy psychological explanation.

X182 An insight into the process of personification is afforded by considering our own use of figurative language. We talk of the angry storm, the raging sea. In such cases we allow ourselves for a moment to regard the natural phenomenon as if it were a person or the action of a person, and we do not even trouble distinctly to express the "as if." We use such phrases in order to attain a more forcible expression of our thoughts and feelings. How is it that such expressions succeed in the purpose for which they are used?

The reason would seem to be that our knowledge and understanding of persons is much more intimate than our knowledge of things. The fact that we are able, by the action of sympathy, to know what persons with whom we are in contact are feeling, gives us an understanding of them that we can never reach with inanimate objects.

In all human society the most important elements of the experience of the individual are due to his relations with other persons. In the development of the emotional life of the child, persons intervene at every turn, and there is thus built up a system of sentiments and representations which forms the very foundation of the individual's affective life. In other words the first organised experience that the individual attains is all connected with persons and their relations to himself. This

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372 by land or sea, is not confined to them, but is undertaken by those of either sex who have most leisure or are least burdened.

11. Probably nothing introduced by us so impressed them with the extent of our power and resources as *matches;* that we should be able to produce fire with such ease and by such means was not unnaturally regarded as evidence of our being superhumanly gifted.

372 **Superstitions.**—1. Fire is supposed to possess the power of driving away evil spirits: when, therefore, at night they hear in imagination the approach of the dreaded *.ē·rem-chàw·gala,*[1] they throw burning logs into the jungle surrounding the encampment. Again, should any of the community have occasion to leave their huts at night, no matter how short the distance, he (or she) invariably takes some fire as a protection against any demons that may be in the vicinity; a torch is also taken if it be very dark at the time.

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[821] 2. Of darkness they assert that it was instituted on account of the misconduct of two of their ancestors, as will shortly be mentioned.[2]

776 3. From fear of displeasing *maiʼa .ōʼgar-*[3] (Mr. Moon), during the first few evenings of the third quarter, when he rises after sundown, they preserve silence, cease from any work on which they may be engaged—even halting-should they be travelling—and almost extinguish any light or fire which they may be burning. This is owing to the belief that he is jealous of attention being distracted to other objects than himself at such a time, or of any other light being employed than that which he has been graciously pleased to afford so abundantly. By the time the moon has ascended a few degrees, however, they restore their fires and resume their former occupations, as they consider they have then sufficiently complied with *maiʼa .ōʼgar-*'s wishes and requirements. The glowing aspect of the full moon on its first appearance above the horizon is supposed to indicate that *maiʼa .ōʼgar-* is enraged at finding some persons neglecting to observe these conciliatory measures; there is also an idea that, if he be greatly annoyed, he will punish them by withdrawing or diminishing the light of his countenance.

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776 4. Regarding meteorolites they appear to possess no superstition. Shooting stars and meteors they view with apprehension, believing them to be lighted faggots hurled into the air by *.ē·rem-chàw·gala* in order to ascertain the whereabouts of any unhappy wight in his vicinity; if, therefore, they happen to be away from

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[1] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 12.
[2] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraph 31.
[3] Singing, dancing, and thumping on the sounding board at that hour are, however, not displeasing to him.

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their encampment when the phenomenon occurs, they invariably secrete themselves, at the bottom of a boat, for example, if fishing, and remain silent for a short time before venturing to resume their interrupted employment. 776 821

5. Between dawn and sunrise they will do no work, save what is noiseless, lest the sun should be offended, and cause an eclipse, storm, or other misfortune to overtake them. If, therefore, they have occasion to start on a journey or hunting expedition at so early an hour, they proceed as quietly as possible, and refrain from the practice, observed at other periods of the day, of testing the strength of their bow-strings, as the snapping noise caused thereby is one of those to which the sun objects. 784 821

6. They invariably partake of a meal soon after rising, as it is believed that no luck can attend any one who starts to his day's work on an empty stomach. 777 264

7. They dare not use the wood of the tree called *al·aba-* (the bark of which supplies the fibre used in making harpoon lines and turtle nets) for cooking turtle, for, as will be found elsewhere,[1] this is an act so abhorrent to *mai·a .ō·gar-* that he visits the offenders with summary and condign punishment. 776

8. In tempestuous weather the leaves of the *Mimusops Indica* are constantly thrown on the fires, as the popping sounds thus produced are thought to have the effect of assuaging *Pū·luga-*'s fury and causing the weather to moderate. 821 776 [789]

9. When they see a dark cloud approaching at a time when rain would prove very inconvenient, as when hunting, travelling, &c., they advise *Pū·luga-* to divert its course by shouting "*.wâ·ra-jō·bo kō·pke, kō·pke, kō·pke*" [*Wā·ra-jōbo*[2] will bite, bite, bite (you)]. If in spite of this a shower falls they imagine that *Pū·luga-* is undeterred by their warning.

10. This practice of menacing *Pū·luga-* is probably that to which Colonel Symes alluded when he wrote that "they confess the influence of a malignant Being, and, during the south-west monsoon, when tempests prevail with unusual violence, they deprecate his wrath by wild choruses."

11. Storms are regarded as indications of *Pū·luga-*'s anger; winds are his breath, and are caused to be blown by his will; when it thunders *Pū·luga-* is said to be growling at something which has annoyed him; and lightning, they say, is a burning log flung by him at the object of his wrath.

12. There is an idea current that if during the first half of the rainy season they eat the *Caryota sobolifera*, or pluck and eat the seeds of the *Entada pursætha*, or gather yams or other edible 821 776 262

[1] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraph 32.

[2] This snake, as already mentioned under "Medicine," appears to be the *Ophiophagus elaps*.

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821 776 262 roots, another deluge would be the consequence, for *Pū·luga-* is supposed to require these for his own consumption at that period of the year; the restriction, however, does not extend to the *fallen* seeds of the *Entada pursætha*, which may be collected and eaten at any time with impunity.

821 776 789 13. Another of the offences visited by *Pū·luga-* with storms is the burning of beeswax,[1] the smell of which is said to be peculiarly obnoxious to him. Owing to this belief it is a common practice secretly to burn wax when a person against whom they bear ill-will is engaged in fishing, hunting, or the like, the object being to spoil his sport and cause him as much discomfort as possible; hence arises the saying among them, when suddenly overtaken by a storm, that some one must be burning wax.

776 821 787 14. The rainbow is regarded as *ē·rem-chàu·gala*'s dancing or sounding board, which is only visible at certain times; its appearance is said to betoken approaching sickness or death to one of their number, and is, therefore, inauspicious.[2]

823 776 15. There are no superstitions anent hills, valleys, rocks, &c., which, as stated in my last paper,[3] *Pū·luga-* is believed to have formed for some purpose of his own. The formation of creeks is attributed to a fortunate accident, the account of which being connected with their traditions must be reserved for that section.[4]

823 775 16. They imagine earthquakes to be caused by some mischievous male spirits of their deceased ancestors, who, in their impatience at the delay in the resurrection, combine to shake the palm-tree on which they believe the earth to rest, in the hope thereby of destroying the cane bridge[5] which stretches between this world and heaven, and alone maintains the former in its present position. These selfish spirits are, however, said to be careful never to indulge in such practices during the dry months, as they imagine that, in consequence of the surface of the earth being then much cracked with heat, there would be considerable risk of its tumbling about their ears and crushing them instead of toppling over in one solid mass. They are said, therefore, never to play at earthquakes except during, or shortly after, the rainy season. But for the intervention of female spirits, who do their utmost to dissuade or prevent their male companions from continued enjoyment of this dangerous pastime, they are persuaded that there would be much cause for alarm on every occurrence of an earthquake.

775 17. They believe that every child which is conceived has had a

[1] *d'ja pid-* (*vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 4, footnote).
[2] The Chippeway Indians call it the dancing spirit (*vide* "Travels in the Interior of North America," by Maximilian, Prince of Wied).
[3] *Vide ante* "Topography," paragraph 3.
[4] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraph 13.
[5] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 23.

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787 825 temporarily vacate their huts and remain on the alert with their weapons ready for immediate use. The cry of another bird, called *chē̄ra-*, informs them of the approaching visit of a friend. Finally, if while travelling they hear the cawing of a crow, they say they must be near some occupied, or recently abandoned encampment. This belief is doubtless traceable to the fact that these birds are among the principal scavengers of their camping grounds.

776 23. It has been noticed that they will never whistle between sunset and sunrise, and the reason they give is that this sound, more than any other, attracts *ē̄rem-chàu̇gala* during those hours. When animals behave in an unaccountable manner, especially at night, it is said to be because they see this demon.

773 **Religious Beliefs and Demonology.**—1. I have several times mentioned the Supernatural Beings, *Pū̄luga-* and *ē̄rem-chàu̇gala*, and must now enter more into detail regarding the beliefs held by the Andamanese concerning these and other spirits.

2. Though no forms of worship or religious rites are to be found among them, yet are there certain beliefs regarding powers of good and evil, the Creation, and of a world beyond the grave, which show that even these savages have traditions more or less approximating the truth, but whence derived will ever remain a mystery.

3. It is extremely improbable that their legends were the result of the teaching of missionaries or others who might be supposed to have landed on their shores in by-gone years; for not only have they no tradition of any foreigners having settled in their midst and intermarried with their ancestors, or even of having so far established amicable intercourse as to be able to acquire a knowledge of any one of their languages, but our own records, so far from differing from theirs on these points, tend clearly to show that, from the earliest times till so recently as 1858, these islanders have been more or less universally regarded as cannibals, in consequence of which they were much dreaded by all navigating the adjacent seas. The persistency with which they resisted with showers of arrows all attempts to land on their shores,[1] precludes the belief that any one, prior to our settlement,[2] would from choice have visited these islanders in the vain hope of reclaiming them from their savage state, and in order to teach them the Biblical, Mahomedan, or other versions of the Creation, Fall, Deluge, &c.; while it may surely be

[1] The probable cause of their hostility will be explained in a later section (*vide post* "Trade, &c.," paragraph 1).

[2] In 1870 an orphanage was established at Ross Island (Port Blair) for children of the aborigines, but it is very doubtful whether even the more intelligent of the inmates have obtained, much less retained, more than an elementary knowledge of the outline of the truths of Christianity.

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assumed that if any shipwrecked persons had ever been cast on 773
their coast, they would, in the improbable event of their lives being spared, have left some traces of the fact, such as might be looked for among the customs, in the culture, or physical characteristics of these savages, but these are vainly to be sought in any section of the race.

4. Moreover, to regard with suspicion, as some have done, the genuineness of such legends as those in question argues ignorance of the fact that numerous other tribes,[1] in equally remote or isolated localities have, when first discovered, been found to possess similar traditions on the subjects under consideration.

5. Further, on this subject as well as on all others in which there appeared any risk of falling into error, I have taken special care not only to obtain my information on each point from those who are considered by their fellow-tribesmen as authorities, but who, from having had little or no intercourse with other races, were in entire ignorance regarding any save their own legends: I have, besides, in every case, by subsequent inquiry, endeavoured to test their statements, with the trustworthiness of which I am thoroughly satisfied. I may also add that they all agree in stating that their accounts of the Creation, &c., were handed down to them by their first parent *Tō·mo-* (Adam), and his immediate descendants, while they trace all their superstitions and practices to the "days before the Flood!"

6. I shall presently speak of the legends current anent the Creation, and also the Fall and Deluge: the latter will there be seen to have been, *selon eux*, consequent on the former.

7. In spite of their knowledge of, or belief in, a Supreme 776
Being,[2] whom they call *Pū·luga-*, they live in constant fear of certain evil spirits, whom they apprehend to be ever present, and on the watch to do them some bodily injury.

8. Of *Pū·luga-* they say that—

I. Though His appearance is like fire, yet He is (now-a-days) invisible.

II. He was never born and is immortal.

III. By him the world and all objects, animate and inanimate, [772]
were created, excepting only the powers of evil.

IV. He is regarded as omniscient while it is day, knowing even the thoughts of their hearts.

V. He is angered by the commission of certain sins,[3] while to

[1] A story of the Fall occurs in the myths of the Eskimo, the South Sea Islanders, the Zulus, the Australians and the New Zealanders (*vide* "Biblical Traditions and Savage Myths."—*St. James' Gazette*, July 14th, 1881.)

[2] *Vide* Mouat, pp. 303–4.

[3] *Vide ante* "Crimes," paragraph 2.

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•776 those in pain or distress he is pitiful, and sometimes deigns to afford relief.

VI. He is the Judge from whom each soul receives its sentence after death, and, to *some* extent, the hope of escape from the torments of *jer·eg-làr-mū·gu-* (regarding which anon) is said to affect their course of action in the present life.[1]

9. *Pū·luga-* is believed to live in a large stone house in the sky, with a wife whom he created for himself; she is green in appearance, and has two names, *chān·a .àu·lola* (Mother Fresh-water Shrimp), and *chān·a .pá·lak-* (Mother Eel); by her he has a large family, all, except the eldest, being girls; these last, known as *mô·ro-win-* (sky spirits or angels), are said to be black in appearance, and, with their mother, amuse themselves from time to time by throwing fish and prawns into the streams and sea for the use of the inhabitants of the world. *Pū·luga-*'s son is called *.pīj-chô·r-*: he is regarded as a sort of archangel, and is alone permitted to live with his father, whose orders it is his duty to make known to the *mô·ro-win-*.

[82] 10. *Pū·luga-* is said to eat and drink, and, during the dry months of the year, to pass much of his time in sleep, as is proved by his voice (thunder) being rarely heard at that season; he is the source whence they receive all their supplies of animals, birds, and turtles; when they anger him he comes out of his house and blows, and growls, and hurls burning faggots at them—in other words, visits their offences with violent thunderstorms and heavy squalls; except for this purpose he seldom leaves home, unless it be during the rains, when he descends to earth to provide himself with certain kinds of food; how often this happens they do not know since, now-a-days, he is invisible.

776 761 11. *Pū·luga-* never himself puts any one to death, but he objects so strongly to seeing a pig badly quartered and carved that he invariably points out those who offend him in this respect to a class of malevolent spirits called *.chôl-*, one of whom forthwith despatches the unfortunate individual.

776 761 753 12. *Pū·luga-* has no *authority* over the evil spirits, the most dreaded of which are *.ē·rem-chàu·gala*, *jū·ru-win-*, and *.nī·la-*; they are self-created, and have existed from time immemorial. The first of these, the evil spirit of the woods, has a numerous progeny by his wife *chān·a .bad·gilola*, who remains at home with her daughters and younger children, while her husband and grown-up sons roam about the jungles with a lighted torch

[1] It is from regard to the fact that their beliefs on these points approximate so closely to the true faith concerning the Deity that I have adopted the English method of spelling all equivalents of "God" with an initial capital.

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attached to their left legs, in order that the former may injure any unhappy wights who may meet them unprotected,[1] and in the dark; he generally makes his victims ill, or kills them by wounding them internally with invisible arrows,[2] and, if he is successful in causing death, it is supposed that they feast upon the raw flesh;[3] *.ē·rem-chàu·gala*, indeed, appears to be to the Andamanese much what "*Arlak*"[4] is to the aboriginal Australian: in both cases these evil spirits are represented as afraid of light; *.ē·rem-chàu·gala* is said to be also afraid of, or to avoid, the demon *.nī·la-*. 776 761 753

13. This spirit, *.nī·la-*,[5] is supposed to live in ant-hills, and to have neither wife nor child; he is not regarded as such a malevolent personage as *.ē·rem-chàu·gala*, and, though he is always armed with a knife, he rarely injures human beings with it, or, when he does do so, it is not in order to feed upon their bodies, for he is said to eat earth only.

14. As regards *.jū·ru-win-*, the evil spirit of the sea, they say that he too is invisible, and lives in the sea with his wife and children, who help him to devour the bodies of those who are drowned or buried at sea; fish constitute the staple of his food, but he also occasionally, by way of variety, attacks the aborigines he finds fishing on the shores or by the creeks. The weapon he uses is a spear, and persons who are seized with cramp or any sudden illness, on returning from, or while on the water, are said to have been "speared" by *.jū·ru-win-*. He has various submarine residences, and boats for travelling under the surface of the sea, while he carries with him a net, in which he places all the victims, human or piscine, he may succeed in capturing. 776 753

15. Besides these three chief demons, there is a company of evil spirits who are called *.chôl-*, and who are much dreaded. They are believed to be descendants of *mai·a .chôl-*,[6] who lived in antediluvian times. They generally punish those who offend them by baking or roasting pig's flesh, the smell of which is particularly obnoxious to them, as it is also to *Pū·luga-*, who, therefore, often assists them in discovering the delinquent; the same risk does not attend *boiling* pork,[7] which the olfactory nerves of the fastidious *.chôl-* are not keen enough to detect. 776

[1] *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 1.

[2] *Vide ante* "Medicine," paragraph 1 (foot-note), and "Death and Burial," paragraph 24.

[3] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 26.

[4] *Vide* Wood, "Natural History of Man," p. 92.

[5] Cases have been cited of persons who have been found stabbed, whose deaths are attributed to *Nī·la*: the possibility of the individuals in question having been murdered is scouted.

[6] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraph 33.

[7] *Vide post* "Food," paragraph 27.

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16. While the Andamanese say that they are liable to be struck by *.ē·rem-chàu·gala* or *jū·ru-win-* at any time or in any place, the *.chôl-* strike those only who offend them, and that during the day while they are stationary, this being necessitated by the distance from the earth of their abode, whence they hurl their darts: an invisible spear is the weapon they always use, and this is thrown with unerring aim at the head of their victim, and is invariably fatal. As these demons are considered especially dangerous on the hottest days, they are apparently held accountable for the deaths from sunstroke which happen from time to time.

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17. The sun, *chān·a .bo·do-*, is the wife of the moon, *mai·a .ō·gar-*, and the stars, *.châ·to-*, which are of both sexes, are their children: the latter go to sleep during the day; the whole family have their meals near *Pū·luga-*'s house, but never enter it; *chān·a .bō·do-* is like fire and covered with thorns, but *mai·a .ō·gar-* is white skinned, and has two long tusks[1] and a big beard; their home is situated somewhere below the eastern horizon, and while the former, after setting, rests till dawn, the latter, probably in consequence of the cares of his numerous family, is obliged to keep very irregular hours. During their passage under the earth to their home, they are believed to afford the blessing of light to the unfortunate spirits in Hades, and also, while sleeping, to shed a "dim religious light" over that region: it is by *Pū·luga-*'s command that the celestial bodies, while crossing the sky, bestow their light.

18. The phenomena of the waning and waxing of the moon is explained by saying that they are occasioned by "his" applying a coating of cloud to his person by degrees, after the manner of their own use of *kòi·ob-* and *tâ·la-ōg-*,[2] and then gradually wiping it off.[3]

19. Reference has already been made to their superstition regarding the cause of a lunar eclipse, but in case *mai·a .ō·gar-* should be so ill-advised as permanently to withhold his light or render himself in other ways still more disagreeable, whenever the moon is eclipsed some persons at once seize their bows and twang them as rapidly as possible, thereby producing a rattling sound as if discharging a large number of arrows, while others commence at once sharpening their *râ·tà-*.[4] Of course this hostile demonstration is never lost upon the moon, who does not venture to hurt those who show themselves ready

[1] The horns of the crescent moon.

[2] *Vide* Appendix B, items 58 and 60.

[3] "The Eskimo say that the sun, which they regard as feminine, smears the face of her brother, the moon, with soot, when he presses his love upon her" (*vide* Peschel, p. 256).

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 2.

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to give him so uncomfortable a reception. Their immunity from harm on these occasions has given rise to some joking at the expense of the luminary in question, for, during the continuance of the eclipse, they shout in inviting tones to the hidden orb as follows:—*.ō·gar-, la den bal·ak ban lē·be ng'ūdō·ati! dō·ati! dō·ati!*[1] (O moon, I will give you the seed of the *bal·ak!* show yourself! appear! appear!) 776 821

20. This seems to explain the custom which Colonel Symes describes as adoration to the sun and moon, for, as has been stated, no traces of worship or forms of religion, in the common acceptation of the term, exist among these tribes.

21. A solar eclipse alarms them too much to allow of their indulging in jests or threats, &c.: during the time it lasts they all remain silent and motionless, as if in momentary expectation of some calamity.

22. The world, exclusive of the sea, is declared to be flat and to rest on an immense palm-tree (*Caryota sobolifera*) called *bâ·rata-*, which stands in the midst of a jungle comprising the whole area under the earth. This jungle, *.châ·itâ·n-* (Hades), is a gloomy place, for, though visited in turn by the sun and moon, it can, in consequence of its situation, be only partially lighted: it is hither the *spirits* (*chàu·ga-*) of the departed are sent by *Pū·luga-* to await the Resurrection. [823] 775 772

23. No change takes place in *.châ·itâ·n-* in respect to growth or age; all remain as they were at the time of their departure from the earth, and the adults are represented as engaged in hunting, after a manner peculiar to disembodied spirits. In order to furnish them with sport the spirits of animals and birds are also sent to *.châ·itâ·n-*, but as there is no sea there, the *chàu·ga-* of fish and turtle remain in their native element and are preyed upon by *.jū·ru-win-*. The spirits (*chàu·ga-*) and souls (*ōt-yō·lo-*) of all children who die before they cease to be entirely dependent on their parents (*i.e.*, under six years of age) go to *.châ·itâ·n-*, and are placed under a *ràu-*[2] (*Ficus laccifera*) on the fruit of which they subsist. As none can quit *.châ·itâ·n-* who have once entered, they support their stories regarding it by a tradition that in ages long past an *ôko-pai·ad-*[3] was favoured in a dream with a vision of the regions and of the pursuits of the disembodied spirits.

24. Some of their legends, as will be seen elsewhere,[4] appear to bear out the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, as

[1] This is said derisively, for, although these seeds are largely consumed by the pigs, the aborigines themselves do not consider them fit for food.

[2] *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 17.

[3] *Vide ante* "Magic and Witchcraft," paragraph 1.

[4] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraphs 15, 16, 29.

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marriage. The animals, birds, and fish will also re-appear in the new world in their present form. 775

29. This blissful state will be inaugurated by a great earthquake,[1] which, occurring by *Pū·luga-*'s command, will break the *pī·dga-làr-chàu·ga-* and cause the earth to turn over: all alive at the time will perish, exchanging places with their deceased ancestors.[2]

30. There is no trace to be found of the worship of trees, stones, or other objects, and it is a mistake to suppose[3] that they adore or invoke the celestial bodies. There is no salutation, dance, or festival of any kind held in honour of the new moon: its appearance does not evoke anything more than an exclamation such as *yē·lo! .ō·gar l'àidō·atire.* (Hurrah! there's the moon.) 776

Mythology.—1. In other sections mention has been made of *Pū·luga-*, the Creator of all, and it has also been stated that no reason is given for the formation of the earth's surface, except that it was according to His will, and the same hypothesis is held to account for the varying seasons. 773

2. Until recent years it was supposed[4] that the Andamanese were without traditions, and had no idea of their own origin, but since we have been enabled to become better acquainted with them it has been ascertained that such is not the case. While I have been extremely careful as to the source whence I obtained my information, I would at the same time mention that much that is found under these last headings has been obtained from the older and more intelligent members of distant communities, and is probably little, if at all, known to many of the rising generation in our immediate vicinity.

3. Certain mythic legends are related to the young by *ōko-pai·ad-*s,[5] parents, and others, which refer to the supposed adventures or history of remote ancestors, and, though the recital not unfrequently evokes much mirth, they are none the less accepted as veracious. The personages figuring in these tales are believed to be real and historical, but, beyond the fact of a very general acceptance and agreement of the traditions respecting them, no satisfactory traces are to be found of their existence except in the lively imaginations of their descendants.

4. There are a few discrepancies in their accounts of the

[1] *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 16.

[2] Whether the fate of the former is irrevocably fixed is not explained, but with these, as with other savages, it is in vain to expect them to understand the logical conclusions to which their beliefs tend.

[3] *Vide* statements of Symes, Brown, Grant, and Anderson; *vide* also *ante* "Superstitions," paragraphs 9 and 10.

[4] *Vide* Mouat, p. 343.

[5] *Vide ante* "Magic and Witchcraft," paragraph 1.

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to them that I was able to find the various amphibia which subsequently proved to be new species. They know poisonous and non-poisonous snakes by sight and how to avoid being bitten. They could tell me which trees flowered and when, because they knew this affected the whereabouts and the quality of the honey, and they knew which flowers and roots had medicinal properties. The necessity, in accordance with their superstitions, of keeping their prey alive as long as possible has also given them a somewhat gruesome knowledge of anatomy and physiology. The call of food has also made them weather experts; they know which air currents and winds bring what animals, or cause them to vanish, and what game is likely to haunt what terrain. They could tell me where to find certain fish, or crustacea, or where certain roots or fruit in season were to be found.

The striking feature of their knowledge was that it did not merely relate to what was edible or inedible. Amphibia, reptiles and birds for example, they never eat under any circumstances; but they knew where to find them all for me, and they knew the bird migrations and how these related to the movements of the marine fauna.

Providentially, the exactitude of the Onges' botanical and zoological knowledge is matched by the magnitude of their superstitious fears. Were it not for this all the edible vegetation on the islands would have disappeared long ago as a result of their incredibly thoughtless destruction. The effect, therefore, is almost that of a purely involuntary, embryonic form of 'agriculture', contrasting strangely with their persisting, persistent and complete lack of interest in any formal care, however primitive. The Onges believe that the plants which produce edible roots and tubers belong to a spirit related to Eiuga, whose anger is aroused if he sees his plants being taken; his vengeance is quick and terrible.

There are on Little Andaman a number of creepers with edible fleshy roots, sometimes as thick as a man's wrist, sticking out horizontally at least fifty to sixty centimetres from the main stem, only just below the surface. They invariably grow in light soil, where there are no rocks, and are very easy for the Onges to reach with their digging sticks. These and the yams, sometimes as big as a football, which are to be found everywhere, the Onges have to steal from the spirit who owns them. The creepers themselves,

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222 784 776 824 twining up into the trees, and the shorter-stemmed yams, are never disturbed. The Onges merely dig down, at a respectful distance from the plant, certain of finding what they want. On no account must there be any signs of the theft for the spirit to see, so they quietly take off roots or tubers some way from the main stem and leave the rest, patting the earth down afterwards and covering the place with leaves. The guardian spirit, not, apparently, all-seeing, notices nothing, as the plant continues to flourish, improved by the root pruning. Everyone, guardian spirit and Onges alike, is happy.

[185] [114] This unconscious preservation may well be the result of a decree, in some remote past, by an Onge seer who realized the danger of killing off the entire plants and invented the guardian spirits as a deterrent. The Negritos still make similar use of roots and tubers; [171] Skeet and Blagden fifty years ago referred to the Semang eating poisonous wild yams, having removed the toxic substances.[1]

241 174 It is interesting that both in the past and even today a number of peoples at a very early stage of cultural development have progressed from the gathering of the wild yams of South-East Asia to the first signs of cultivation and agriculture. It is possible that they were the first plants ever to be cultivated by primitive Man, the Negritos with their digging sticks delving then as they do now; the genus is certainly a very ancient one, and some species, such as *Dioscorea alata*, may have spread from Asia to Africa and Oceania, and even to America, with the beginning of cultivation. But this is a stage of development which the peoples of the Andaman never reached.

412 [177] [222] The digging stick, the only implement the Onges have with which to get at the roots and tubers, has in recent times been affected, though to a very limited extent by the spread of iron. Only a few individuals possess a primitive iron tool, half a metre long, cylindrical in shape and usually not more than one and a half centimetres in diameter and flattened into a form of blade at one end. The vast majority still have only the age-old stick made of hard wood, hardly recognizable as a tool and crudely fashioned into a point at one end. This tool, so primitive that it can easily be mistaken for an odd

[1] It is interesting that the American Aborigines, especially in Brazil, do the same with manioc, but I saw nothing of this nature in the Andamans.

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Owing to the difficulty of pushing through the undergrowth the Onges always travel in single file, following closely behind one another, the men first, then the women and children, with the dogs following all round. They never travel alone; I hardly ever met any by themselves, but always in groups of families or groups of hunters. The man who happens to be at the front of the file is the guide and when they come to an awkward part of the journey – perhaps across a deep river – everybody helps. Trees are felled to fall across between the banks and a rope of lianas is run across to make the crossing easier for the aged, the women and the children, though their sense of balance is so good that most of them manage without it, even when carrying heavy loads across a single trunk.

The Onges are now nearly all related to each other in some way. They all know each other, and the contacts are usually friendly. The few squabbles which I saw, always over game, or food that had been gathered, all blew over very quickly; normally, especially in the dry season when every group becomes nomadic in search of food, everyone went freely all over the island. On the occasions of the great hunts, or the honey feasts, a number of groups would band together for the occasion and even then they tried to divide the spoils equally and peaceably. If a dispute does arise the camp will break up into factions, but these will still keep close to each other and after a short while their differences will be made up with the usual long and tearful embraces. These scenes of reconciliation may go on for days, all starting from nothing more serious than a difference of opinion over the division of game captured by communal effort!

Much more important than the danger of offending other human beings is that of causing offence to the spirits of the dead or the guardian spirits who provide food. There is, as I have said, not overmuch rigidity in their observations – no propitiatory offerings of any kind are made to the spirits. The supreme being, Eiuga, who takes the shape of a lizard bigger than a crocodile, they know well. On Great Andaman he becomes Puluga, equally powerful, lord of men and things but rather more anthropomorphic than his counterpart in Little Andaman. As Eiuga lives in the sky, the thunder is his voice, and the wind his breath; if he is angry he breathes out storms and throws burning tree-trunks down to the earth, setting light to the forest. Behind Eiuga are a series of minor spirits who

776 rule the multiplication and growth of the various animals and plants useful to Man.

The Onges do not love Eiuga, or any of the other spirits. They merely fear them, and seek to evade their anger by various ex-
[784] pedients. It is curious that they never hesitate to try and deceive the spirits and think themselves very clever when they manage to
[769] steal roots or tubers from the ground. Nor do they revere the
[765] spirits of their ancestors; these are to be feared and propitiated by preservation of their bones. By definition none of the spirits, since they can be deceived by simple tricks, can be all-powerful, but this conclusion, simple though it is, is still beyond the Onges' powers of reasoning.

769 The Onges' fear of the dead is instanced by their carrying round their necks the *ibidanghe*, or necklet of human jaws, as a propitiation.
[765] The wearing of the bones prevents the spirit from going away (by analogy the bones of dead enemies are burned to force the spirit,
[764] clearly a hostile one, to leave the place). The custom of burial within the communal hut follows the same logic – the spirits of the dead are kept near their bones and hence near their relatives, to help them in the daily round of hunting, fishing and gathering food.[1]

769 Unlike most of the other peoples whose burial customs are even
778 today based on their underlying principles, the Onges have not
776 progressed beyond the stage of relating the dead directly to the
782 demands of daily life; they have no 'practices' of any kind, no con-
784 cept at all of holy places, prayers or images. Even the very names of the dead are soon forgotten. Their fears, however, are none the less very real. They do not like to speak of Eiuga or even of the lesser spirits, for fear of attracting their attention.

773 The Onges have no stories or explanatory legends, like those
538 reported by Brown for Great Andaman. They have only short
533 epics, if such they may be called, recalling extraordinary events in

[171] [1] This belief is of very remote origin, and can be traced back at least to the megaliths of southern Asia, like the splendid ones which I was able to photograph, among others, in the mountains of Travancore. Here again the object was to prevent the dead from leaving their relatives. Similar ideas are found today in India among several tribes, notably the Munda, or Nias, and among various peoples of Indonesia, and even Oceania. The rituals are probably followed today without any understanding of their meaning or symbolism; the details vary from place to place, but the underlying principle, the original fear, remains the same everywhere.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

their hunting and fishing, or contacts with strangers, which are loudly chanted, accompanied by miming and dancing, during their nocturnal celebrations. One was sung and danced in my honour; Cendubai,[1] head of the Lulera hut, much struck by the sight of me in my hammock slung between two trees on nylon cords, delivered himself of a warning over the danger I was running using such thin cords. At the end of each 'verse' the refrain '*cué-cian-ghéghoéhée-chéle*' (he will hurt himself) repeated his fear of the cords breaking.

Hunting and fishing episodes are to the Onges less interesting than themes like my safety, because to them they lack the repetitive refrain. In their dances, on the other hand, they prefer something else, to us monotonous, but for them always new, and even exciting; more than anything they love to dance the stages of courtship to its culmination, with the help of words and extraordinarily (to Western eyes regrettably) vivid gestures.

Birds, to the Onges, harbour the spirits of the dead, and it is for this reason that they are never eaten, contrary to the assertions of Brown.[2] Similar fears extend to lizards, the jungle cats, bats, rats and snakes. I have confirmed this among both the Onges and the Arioto. The latter even refused to eat some fat pigeons which I offered them not knowing of the taboo; they accepted the gifts, but the pigeons were eventually eaten by my own men. And the Onges whom I took with me to Port Blair for a few days refused point blank to eat pigeon or chicken.

The spirits select the Onges' food for them, in the sense that they regard everything as edible or poisonous, according to whether the guardian spirit is benign or malevolent. Given the curious adaptability of the spirits and the intensely practical way in which they operate it is hardly surprising that their benevolence or malignity coincides remarkably well with those foods which tend to promote normal health!

[1] I was sorry to learn that Cendubai died suddenly in 1955 aged barely forty.

[2] Curiously enough, while the Onges' fears lead them to reject out of hand any food of animal origin which is unknown to them, the same does not apply to vegetable foods. They ate half-rotten fruit, which I offered them, even though they had never seen it before, and they clamoured for rice and tea, so much so that in order to prevent them becoming addicted to the rice, as so often happens when primitive peoples meet a new food, I insisted on receiving equal quantities of yams in exchange for the rice and very sweet tea, to slow down their demands.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

build it (when I wanted to acquire two for the new anthropological museum at Port Blair and the Indian Museum in Calcutta I had to bargain with the men recognized as the owners, although the price had to be distributed among all the members of the group).

The chief delight of the men on their fishing trips is the capture of a Giant Turtle. I have already described (p. 88) the spear harpoons which the Onges use to catch them. Once caught, the wretched animals are subjected to a form of vivisection utterly incomprehensible to the Western mind; they are literally cut up alive and the pieces thrown into the boiling cooking-pot. Nor have I ever witnessed anything so terrible as the way in which the Onges, in the absence of any suitable cooking vessel, or the materials for an earth oven, roast these turtles whole and alive over a slow fire. They seem totally unable to realize that animals can feel pain and laugh like children at the other atrocious tortures they unwittingly inflict not only on the turtles, but on every living thing that falls into their hands.

These marine turtles (as far as I was able to see there were no land turtles in the Andamans) yield a far greater amount of food than the dugong, and provide the islanders with both meat and eggs. Two species are common in the seas round the islands, *Chelonia virgata*, or the green turtle, and *Caretta imbricata*, which supplies the shells normally sold commercially. The Onges prefer the former, which are both meaty and more plentiful.

Turtle-hunting and egg-collecting is done by the menfolk. The method is very like that used for dugong and large fish, using the harpoon. Owing to their fear of the spirits abroad in the night, the Onges never go near the beaches between dusk and dawn, when it would be easy to take the turtles on land and immobilize them by turning them on their backs. They do know this trick, however, and use it when captured turtles (often weighing up to a hundredweight) are too heavy to carry in the canoe; the animals are turned on their backs and dumped on the beach ready to pick up later.

The Onges harpoon the turtles from canoes, preferably at night when the turtles are nearing the shore, which they never approach in the day time. When there is a moon the creatures are easily seen, and on dark nights the phosphorescence of the sea helps.

head ornaments and religious ceremonies. In Oceania there is, too, the habit of changing personal names from time to time so prevalent among the Onges, and the existence of actual linguistic connections between Nicobarese, Andamanese, Semang, Aetà and peoples of Oceania have been demonstrated by experts. 174

Any differences which exist today are the result of centuries of contact with other peoples which the Semang and Aetà have experienced, unlike the Andamanese, who thus represent today the true Negritos. While life generally has changed somewhat over the centuries for the Semang and Aetà, certain typical facets of their culture have remained unaltered. Ritual cutting and distributing of game, the use of the arrow harpoon (always unfeathered) and the simple Onge-Negrito bow are still the same, despite the fact that the three groups have been separated for a very long time. Even the very absence of defensive weapons is a common feature; admittedly outside the Andamans arrows are poisoned and some may be feathered, but this is a recent and imitative innovation which is not found among the Andamanese, by virtue of their constant isolation. The persistence among the Onges of the simple bow tends to support the idea of Little Andaman as the first stage in the northward spread of the Negritos after they reached the island from Sumatra via the Nicobars. In Malacca the Semang have retained the same bow, as have the Aetà in the Philippines.

Among what may be termed similarities of physical habits is nose-rubbing as a sign of affection, found in the Andamans, in Oceania, and parts of Papuasia and Melanesia. In all these areas there is the same belief that pregnancy is due to entry of a spirit into the body, and the same habit of suckling children for as long as four years. Similar too throughout the area are the methods of 'curing' disease, such as smearing with ochre and heavy massage carried out beside a fire, swallowing of balls of ochre, and the 'smoking' of wounds, smeared with a mixture of ochre and honey. As protection from the sun or the rains (especially for the young children) crude umbrellas are made from giant palm leaves. 171 [832] [847] [843] [862] [755] [293]

There are no prayers or propitiatory sacrifices to ensure health and well being, but there is throughout the area the same concept of mysterious forces to be feared, evaded, or let loose against enemies – never loved. Generally they are thought of in terms of spirits, usually active at night. There is some divergence in the 171 776 [771] [782]

171 way in which the spirits are invoked against enemies, involving
776 the use of some personal possession – an example is the invariable destruction of the used *naquinegbe*, or of hair after shaving. The same fear of the night induced by the idea of spirits walking abroad led to the making of torches from rolled palm leaves containing a mixture of embers and resin.

[262] From the Andamans to Oceania the chief spirit is generally
[825] imagined in the form of a giant lizard, living at the top of the sky and ruling the storms; none of the peoples who believe in him ever eat any lizard or lizard-like creature. All of them have the same
171 sexually suggestive dances, both male and female, sometimes in-
535 spired by the monitor or dragon-lizard, symbol of desire, and often
776 associated with miming and dramatic representations of real and
825 imaginary scenes. These dances, with their *joie de vivre*, are accom-
171 panied by the smoking of aromatic leaves in pipes which are fre-
276 quently made from natural objects such as the claws of crustacea.
[535] The Onges in fact have since very ancient times used only this type
[192] as shown in the lower levels of the kitchen-middens dating back at least five thousand years. Everywhere, pipes of this kind are used indiscriminately by both sexes, passing from mouth to mouth. Pipes identical in every way with those of the Onges are found to the east of the archipelago, well into Oceania, and I have myself also seen them on Melville Island, north of Australia, always with the same notches for the teeth to grip. This undeniable evidence of the spread of identical pipes over so wide an area long before the possibility of European contacts cannot in my opinion be attributed other than to migration over vast distances in very ancient times.

171 Similar coincidences apply in the case of the arrow harpoon and
114 indeed harpoons in general. I cannot agree with Brown in his
411 assertion that the harpoon dates from the arrival of European influences, which brought the use of iron; the harpoon points made by long and patient working of *Tridacna* shells which I found in the kitchen-middens of the Andamans are in my view enough to refute the theory.

171 The canoes from which these harpoons are used, with the ab-
501 sence of distinction between bow and stern and the single float on the lee side, are extremely typical. They are identical in peoples which have been widely separated for a very long time and appear not only on the Andamans, and as far as Oceania, but also in North

dead were buried securely bound in a knee-to-chest position, still the custom among the Andamanese). The Onges go no further than this and the idea of a Lord of the Spirits who rules all things, although on Great Andaman there has been some progress towards more anthropomorphic concepts. The complete absence of any form of cult, prayer, representation, or votive offering cannot, I feel, be the result of cultural decline from a more advanced age; this would have resulted in gross distortion and illogical superstition, but not in complete absence of any 'religious' practices of any kind.

18 SACRIFICE

No sacrifices of any kind are practised in the Andamans, nor is there any concept of propitiation, although there is evidence that even in the late Palaeolithic era some form of ritual sacrifice was practised, at least in Europe and probably over a much wider area. One would assume from this, and from paragraph 17 above, that the Andamanese is an even older culture.

19 TABOOS

Although my own experiences among the Onges have led me to think that taboos do not exist, some authors have asserted (in my view wrongly) their existence on Great Andaman. It is not, however, possible to draw any reliable conclusions on this point.

20 CEREMONIAL

The complete absence of any form of ritual surrounding birth, the purification of women, initiation, etc., or evidence of any such ritual in the past, is striking, in view of the prevalence in all the surrounding areas of strictly observed ceremonial for many occasions. As in the case of religion, such complete absence can only mean that the Andamanese became isolated before the idea of ritual spread to the area.

21 MEASUREMENT

The Andamanese have no means of counting, and no words to express gradations of time or size; to them everything is either 'small' or 'big'. They take no interest in the passing of years, and have no idea of their own age. To them life is but the passing of the seasons and the harvests of game and fish and fruits that they bring. This utter lack of any sense

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

their encampment when the phenomenon occurs, they invariably secrete themselves, at the bottom of a boat, for example, if fishing, and remain silent for a short time before venturing to resume their interrupted employment. 776 821

5. Between dawn and sunrise they will do no work, save what is noiseless, lest the sun should be offended, and cause an eclipse, storm, or other misfortune to overtake them. If, therefore, they have occasion to start on a journey or hunting expedition at so early an hour, they proceed as quietly as possible, and refrain from the practice, observed at other periods of the day, of testing the strength of their bow-strings, as the snapping noise caused thereby is one of those to which the sun objects. 784 821

6. They invariably partake of a meal soon after rising, as it is believed that no luck can attend any one who starts to his day's work on an empty stomach. 777 264

7. They dare not use the wood of the tree called *al·aba-* (the bark of which supplies the fibre used in making harpoon lines and turtle nets) for cooking turtle, for, as will be found elsewhere,[1] this is an act so abhorrent to *mava .ō·gar-* that he visits the offenders with summary and condign punishment. 776

8. In tempestuous weather the leaves of the *Mimusops Indica* are constantly thrown on the fires, as the popping sounds thus produced are thought to have the effect of assuaging *Pū·luga-*'s fury and causing the weather to moderate. 821 776 [789]

9. When they see a dark cloud approaching at a time when rain would prove very inconvenient, as when hunting, travelling, &c., they advise *Pū·luga-* to divert its course by shouting "*wâ·ra-jō·bo kō·pke, kō·pke, kō·pke*" [*Wā·ra-jōbo*[2] will bite, bite, bite (you)]. If in spite of this a shower falls they imagine that *Pū·luga-* is undeterred by their warning.

10. This practice of menacing *Pū·luga-* is probably that to which Colonel Symes alluded when he wrote that "they confess the influence of a malignant Being, and, during the south-west monsoon, when tempests prevail with unusual violence, they deprecate his wrath by wild choruses."

11. Storms are regarded as indications of *Pū·luga-*'s anger; winds are his breath, and are caused to be blown by his will; when it thunders *Pū·luga-* is said to be growling at something which has annoyed him; and lightning, they say, is a burning log flung by him at the object of his wrath.

12. There is an idea current that if during the first half of the rainy season they eat the *Caryota sobolifera*, or pluck and eat the seeds of the *Entada pursatha*, or gather yams or other edible 821 776 262

[1] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraph 32.

[2] This snake, as already mentioned under "Medicine," appears to be the *Ophiophagus elaps*.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

364 spot for centuries leads to the formation of kitchen-middens [1]. In the tempo-
[361] rary camps something similar happens: the only difference consists in the fact that rubbish dumps only accumulate at the back of the temporary shelters, as a consequence of their peculiar shape that I shall not describe here. These
[136] dumps are heaven-sent love nests for insects of many species, mostly flies of a metallic green colour. They follow the Onge from camp to camp and thrive on scraps from human meals. When travelling in Little Andaman I was unmistakably warned of the nearby presence of Onge camps by the appearance of those familiar living beings.

136 The filth that coats the floors of communal Onge huts offers an ideal
[356] breeding ground also for myriads of fleas. Dogs spread them all over Little Andaman. Owing to the fact that the communal huts are deserted for months at a time during the dry season, the fleas become hungry and assault human
123 beings vehemently whenever possible. When visiting empty communal huts I myself, and the persons with me, were plagued by such assaults. Fleas advanced suddenly from feet to head in thick, shimmering brown layers, covering first our legs. We were obliged to strip and douse ourselves with insect-repellents.
136 As for other parasites, including ticks and mosquitos, equally plentiful in Little
[825] Andaman, the Onge do not appear to be inconvenienced by them.

764 The communal huts are used for another purpose as well, unhygienic but of high ethnological interest: the interment of human corpses. When they die, the inmates are buried beneath their beds. In other words, communal huts are also cemeteries. Many human skeletons are found by digging under the beds. Until 1952 this fact was unknown about the Andaman Islanders although it is encountered in all Onge communal huts without exception. An analysis of
775 this custom led to further discoveries: the Onge wish to compel the spirit of a deceased person to remain close to the living as a protection, so they offer it the communal hut for an abode, the idea being that a spirit cannot wander far from the bones of its former body. A series of Onge practices point to this
[727] belief: felled enemies must be burned and reduced to ashes in order to render them harmless. Their hostile souls, according to the Onge, rise toward the sky in smoke as the bones are consumed. For the same reason, bones of relatives
[301] are fashioned into necklaces. The most conspicuous of these is the *ibidanghe*,
[765] worn generally by women and young girls, which is made from a decorated
[751] human jawbone. The aim is to obtain the assistance of the departed relation in fighting illness and bad luck. Direction in hunting, fishing and even quar-
[777] relling is supposed to come from the dead kept close to the living. We can trace this belief on the connection between bones and souls to a remote origin:
[171] Southern Asia megaliths had, in my opinion, no other cause for offering shelter to spirits and promoting useful relations between the living and the dead. I reached this conclusion after studying the contemporary habits of Travancore mountain and other Indian tribes, particularly the Munda. In Nias we find traces of the same customs as among different peoples of Indonesia and Oceania, who

[1] I discussed this at the two international anthropological congresses of 1952 (Vienna) and 1956 (Philadelphia), and have more to say on the subject in my book about the Onge.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

of living men, and yet, since they are feared and disliked, they are often represented as being repulsive and inhuman, with long legs and short bodies, with long beards and ugly faces[1]. The spirits must be thought of as somewhere, but there is no consistency in the statements as to where that somewhere is; one man will say that they live in the sky, another that they are under the earth, a third will point to a particular island as their home; at the same time it is evident from other statements that they vaguely conceive them as being everywhere, in the forest and the sea.

182X 775

We are now in a position to understand what the Andaman Islander means when he says that the danger he fears from food is from the spirits. The greatest evil that can happen to the community is the sickness or death of its members, and these are believed to be the work of the spirits. The sense of the social value of food takes the form of a belief that food is dangerous, and inevitably the danger comes to be conceived as that of sickness or death, and is therefore associated in their minds with the spirits.

But there is a more fundamental reason than this. I have tried to show that it is because food has such important effects for good and evil on the social life that it is believed to be endued with a peculiar power which makes it necessary to approach it with ritual precautions. If this thesis be valid it should be capable of generalisation, and we should find the same power attributed to every object or being that is capable of affecting in important ways the well-being of the society. We should expect that the Andamanese would attribute this power not only to the more important things used for food but also to such things as the weather and dead men (i.e., the spirits). Now this, if the argument has been correct, is exactly what we do find, and we have here the reason why the Andaman Islander, when asked what he fears from eating dangerous foods, replies that he fears sickness or the spirits of the dead.

182X 778

We may formulate in precise language the beliefs that underlie the ceremonial, remembering always that the Andaman Islanders

[1] I once drew a few grotesque figures for the amusement of some Andamanese children, and they at once pronounced them to be "spirits."

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themselves are quite incapable of expressing these beliefs in words and are probably only vaguely conscious of them. (1) There is a power or force in all objects or beings that in any way affect the social life. (2) It is by virtue of this power that such things are able to aid or harm the society. (3) The power, no matter what may be the object or being in which it is present, is never either essentially good or essentially evil, but is able to produce both good and evil results. (4) Any contact with the power is dangerous, but the danger is avoided by ritual precautions. (5) The degree of power possessed by anything is directly proportioned to the importance of the effects that it has on the social life. (6) The power in one thing may be used to counteract the danger due to contact with the power in some other thing.

We have studied this power in the animals and plants used for food and the things used as materials. It is this that makes turtle dangerous to eat and *Anadendron* fibre dangerous to prepare, and it is this also that makes animal bones or the leaves of *Hibiscus* available for protection. We have now seen that the same power is present in dead men, in their bodies, their bones, and in the spirit-world to which dead men go. All contact with the world of the dead is highly dangerous, and yet we have seen that human bones may be used for protection and that even the spirits may be induced to heal sickness or allay storms. We have also seen that the same power is present in the *oko-jumu*, and we have made the important discovery that it is through contact with the spirits that he acquires the power. This reveals another important principle. (7) If an individual comes into contact with the power in any thing and successfully avoids the danger of such contact, he becomes himself endowed with power of the same kind as that with which he is in contact. Now although the *oko-jumu* possesses a very special social value, yet every man and woman has some social value, some of that power which makes any being capable of affecting the society for good or ill, and we can now see that the initiation ceremonies are the means by which the individual is endowed with power (or, as the natives say, made strong) by being brought into contact with the special power present in each of the important kinds of food. The initiation of the ordinary man or woman is parallel to the initiation

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of the *oko-jumu* save that in one instance it is the power in foods and in the other that in the spirits with which the initiation is concerned.

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778

It has been held in this chapter that the society or the social life itself is the chief source of protection against danger for the individual. If this be so then the society itself possesses this same power with which we are dealing, and we must expect to find that contact with this power is also dangerous for the individual. Now the occasion on which the individual comes into contact with the power in the society is in the dance, and I found evidence that the natives believe that dancing is dangerous in exactly the same way as eating food. Confirmation of this will appear later.

It would seem that for the Andaman Islander the social life is a process of complex interaction of powers or forces present in the society itself, in each individual, in animals and plants and the phenomena of nature, and in the world of spirits, and on these powers the well-being of the society and its members depends. By the action of the principle of opposition the society —the world of the living—comes to be opposed to the spirits—the world of the dead. The society itself is the chief source of protection to the individual; the spirits are the chief source of danger. Hence all protection tends to be referred to the society and all danger to the spirits. In the initiation ceremonies it is the society that protects the initiate against the dangers of food and those dangers are referred, generally if not quite consistently, to the spirits, with which at first sight they would seem to have nothing to do.

It is now at last possible to understand the uses of the word *ot-kimil* which were first discussed on page 267 above. When the word is used in reference to a person who has just partaken of food it denotes a condition of danger produced by contact with the power in foods. This condition results at any time from the eating of any of the more important foods, but is clearly produced in an extreme form when a food such as turtle or pork is being eaten for the first time at a ceremony of initiation. Hence the initiate is most intensely *kimil* and is therefore addressed and spoken of by that term, or as we might say "the *kimil* person."

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Used in reference to sickness the word denotes a condition of danger due to contact with that power (in the spirits or in food) which is the cause of sickness. Used in reference to storms it again denotes a condition of danger for the society. Storms are sometimes said to be caused by the spirits[1]. This is also the explanation of the use of the word to denote a particular season of the year. The *Kimil* season is by no means hot, but cool; it is, however, the season at which violent cyclones are most likely to occur, being the period of the change from the south-west to the north-east monsoon. It is therefore a season of danger to the society from that power which produces storms.

Finally, a man who has joined in a dance is said to be *ot-kimil* and seems to be regarded as being in a condition of danger similar to that produced by food. It might be thought that in this instance the word is only used in its literal meaning of "hot," but I believe that this is not so. The dance is the occasion on which the individual comes most closely into contact with the power in the society itself, and I believe that this contact is regarded as dangerous and therefore as making the individual *ot-kimil*.

Thus we see that in its various uses the word *ot-kimil* denotes a condition of danger due to contact with that power on the interaction of the different manifestations of which the well-being of the society depends.

How is it then that to denote this condition the Andamanese use a word which, primarily, seems to mean "heat"? The answer is that they conceive the qualities that give to objects their social values as being the manifestations of a kind of energy, and as being similar to the kind of energy which they know best, that of heat. The psychological basis of this is not difficult to discover. The eating of food is productive of bodily heat (the Andamanese live in a hot climate and eat much fat, it must be remembered), so that the power present in foods is inevitably thought of as a sort of heat or heat-producing energy. In the dance the Andaman Islander experiences, as we have seen, an increase in his own personal force or energy, and this also is associated with

[1] The Andamanese beliefs about storms and the weather generally will be dealt with in the next chapter.

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the sensation of bodily heat produced by dancing. All other bodily activities result in the sensation of heat (in hunting and work of all kinds) and as it is in his activities that the social value of the individual is manifested this value is itself conceived as a sort of heat-producing energy. Further the Andamanese seem to associate with the idea of heat all conditions of mental activity and excitement. We ourselves do the same, as shown by such words as "ardour," "zeal," etc. and such phrases as "the heat of anger, or enthusiasm," and there is good ground for thinking that all such associations or symbolisms (sensory metaphors) have a physiological basis. Finally, fire which (as we shall see better in the next chapter) is regarded by the Andamanese as the most important possession of the society, and which (as we have already seen) has in a very high degree the power that makes objects capable of affecting the society, is for this reason in a suitable position to become the archetype of all forms of energy, activity or force. This system of notions of the Andamanese that the world is the arena of a continual struggle of forces present in the society itself, in each individual, in the substances that are used for foods and materials, in fire, in storms and sunshine, and in the spirits and bones of the dead, is, as I have tried to show, the result not of any process of reasoning but of the immediate social experience, and as it is in the heat of his own body, and in states of excitement of his own mind, that the individual does actually experience the effects of these forces upon himself he uses the same word to denote all conditions of heat and all conditions of the manifestation of this energy, organising around that word as well as he can his somewhat vague conceptions.

In case this symbolism should still seem strange, and the explanation of it unsatisfactory, it is as well to show by means of a couple of quotations that in other primitive societies differing widely from the Andamanese similar uses of the words hot and heat are to be found. In his work on the Achehnese (Vol. I, p. 305) C. Snouck Hurgronje writes thus of the natives of the Malay Archipelago: "In the native language of the E. Archipelago all happiness, rest and well-being are united under the concept of 'coolness,' while the words 'hot' and 'heat' typify

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all the powers of evil. Thus when a person has either just endured the attack of a 'hot' influence or has luckily contrived to escape it, the adat prescribes methods of 'cooling' in order to confirm him in the well-being which he has recovered or escaped losing. The same methods are also adopted for charming away evil things and baneful influences, the removal of which is regarded as an imperative necessity. For instance, the completion of a house, and various domestic festivities, are made the occasion for a process of 'cooling'; so also with a ship when newly built or after holding of a kanduri on board; and before the padi is planted out the ground must be purified from 'hot' or dangerous influences." In this instance we find the word "hot" used only in reference to evil forces. In the Andamans there is no line drawn between good and evil forces. In spite of the differences between them it is clear that the same mental process is responsible for the symbolic use of the word "hot" in the Andamans and in the Malay Archipelago.

In Codrington's *The Melanesians*, p. 191, we find an example of the same mode of thought. "That invisible power which is believed by the natives to cause all such effects as transcend their conception of the regular course of nature and to reside in spiritual beings, whether in the spiritual part of living men or in the ghosts of the dead, being imparted by them to their names and to various things that belong to them, such as stones, snakes, and indeed objects of all sorts, is that generally known as mana. By means of this men are able to control or direct the forces of nature, to make rain or sunshine, wind or calm, to cause sickness or remove it, to know what is far off in time and space, to bring good luck or prosperity or to blast and curse. In the New Hebrides, the Banks' Islands, the Solomon Islands about Florida as in New Zealand and many of the Pacific Islands the word in use is mana. In Santa Cruz a different word malete is used, which bears however the same meaning. At Saa in Malanta all persons and things in which this supernatural power resides are said to be saka, that is, hot. Ghosts that are powerful are saka; a man who has knowledge of the things which have spiritual power is himself saka; one who knows a charm which is saka mutters it over water, saru'e and makes the water 'hot,' ha'asaka.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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The people of Mala Masiki, the lesser part of the island, which is cut in two not far from its south-eastern end by a narrow channel, think that the men of the larger part, Mala Paina, are very saka. If one of these visiting the Saa people points with his finger, suisui, there is danger of death or calamity; if one of them spits on a man he dies at once." Here again there are important differences, as might be expected in such different cultures as those of Melanesia and the Andamans, and yet it is clear that there is a fundamental similarity of mental process.

The nature of this symbolic representation of the forces that affect the social life may be made clear by considering another example. The natives say that they use *odu* clay after eating because their bodies give off an odour which would attract the spirits if they did not paint themselves. The power of an object, by virtue of which it has what may be called magical efficacy, is sometimes identified with its odour. A number of the plants that are used as remedies for sickness, such as the *Trigonostemon*, are possessed of strong and characteristic odours, and the natives think that it is through the odour that they effect a cure. Similarly the powerful properties attributed to the *Anadendron*, whereby it will cause rheumatism, keep away sharks and spirits, and turn turtle-meat bad, or stop a storm, are all said to be the results of its "smell." The stimulating power of olfactory sensations probably has much to do with the development of these beliefs, but the discussion of their psycho-physiological basis would lead us too far away from the main subject, interesting as it would be.

In the jungles of the Andamans it is possible to recognize a distinct succession of odours during a considerable part of the year as one after another the commoner trees and lianas come into flower. When, for example, the species of *Sterculia* called in the North Andaman *jeru* comes into blossom, it is almost impossible to get away from the smell of it except on the sea-shore when the wind is from the sea. Moreover these various flowers give their scent to the honey that is made from them, so that there is also a succession of differently flavoured kinds of honey. The Andamanese have therefore adopted an original method of marking the different periods of the year by means of

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the different odoriferous flowers that are in bloom at different times. Their calendar is a calendar of scents[1].

Now they seem to regard each flower-period as possessing its own particular kind of force, of which the scent is the manifest sign, and to think that the succession of these different forces produces the succession of different fruits, the whole generative energy of nature being conceived as the result not of one force but of many, following one another in regular rotation. When a girl reaches puberty the natives think of her as having blossomed as it were, the later ripening being the birth of her children, and so she, like the plants of the jungle, is under the influence of the same natural forces that produce the successive blossoming and fruiting of the different species. Therefore, when a girl reaches her blossoming time she is given, for a name, to be used until she bears her fruit, the name of that particular odoriferous plant that is in flower at the time, it being this particular one of the successive forces of the forest life that has brought her childhood to an end.

Under the influence of muscular exertion the human body gives off a characteristic odour, of one generic kind, but differing somewhat in every individual. The odour of the body, being the immediate result of activity, may therefore well be regarded by the Andamanese as being closely connected with the virtue or energy of the person. Further, the eating of certain foods, such as dugong, turtle and pork, causes the body of the Andaman Islander to give out a noticeable and recognizable odour, different from that of mere perspiration. The natives themselves seem to distinguish different odours for these different foods, but I was not myself able to appreciate such differences. The Andamanese see in this odour given off after eating a manifestation of the energy that has been absorbed with the food, which energy it is that makes the food both necessary for life and also a source of danger. This seems to be the meaning of the belief that the spirits are attracted to a man by the odour of the food he has eaten unless he paint himself with clay.

We can now at last return to the rite of painting the body with *odu* clay after eating. I have suggested that the use of this

[1] See above, p. 119.

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clay in mourning is a means by which the mourner marks the fact that he is in a peculiar relation to the spirit-world, spirits being believed to be light in colour. The mourner is in contact with the spirit-world through his connection with the dead person, and to mark his condition he paints himself to resemble the spirits, thereby affirming his solidarity with them. The clay protects him from the danger that results from any contact with the spirit-world. According to the rule of method laid down at the beginning of the chapter we must find a similar explanation of the use of *odu* after eating.

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We have seen that it is the same kind of force in the spirits and in the animals used for food that makes them both dangerous. Yet at the same time there is a sense in which it is true that each kind of thing has its own peculiar kind of force. The ceremony of turtle-eating endows a youth with power to avoid the dangers of turtle but it does not give him the power to avoid the dangers of pork. *Hibiscus* leaves are efficacious against turtle, but against the pig *Tetranthera* leaves must be used. In describing the patterns painted on the body after eating it was stated that there is a tendency to connect particular types of pattern with particular kinds of food. Thus a design commonly used after eating turtle suggests the plates of the turtle's carapace, and a pattern used after eating pork similarly suggests the longitudinal markings on the pig's back. This would seem to indicate that when a man has eaten turtle he paints himself so as to identify himself with the animal he has eaten, and similarly with other foods, just as in mourning he paints himself so as to identify himself with the spirit-world. In other words, the painting of the body with *odu* serves to show that there is a relation between the individual and some source of power, which relation can best be described as one of solidarity with the species, whether of animals or supernatural beings, in which the power resides. The mourner is in contact with the dangerous powers of the world of death, and by expressing his solidarity with that world he avoids the dangers that might result from his condition. For the fear of any being and a feeling of solidarity towards that being are incompatible with one another. Similarly a man who has eaten turtle is in contact with the power that

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resides in the turtle species, a power that may be dangerous, but which when mastered and made use of by proper precautions is a source of well-being, of strength. By painting himself with a pattern that reminds him in some way of the turtle he expresses his solidarity with the turtle species and so obviates the dangers of his condition.

This interpretation is made more probable by the consideration of the dances of the initiation ceremonies. In the dance at the turtle-eating ceremony the movements of the dancers suggest the movements of a turtle swimming. If the resemblance be not imaginary we may regard this as another method of affirming the solidarity of the dancers with the turtle species. We should then have to conclude that the dance at the pig-eating ceremony is similarly imitative of the movements of a pig, and though this is quite possible it is not so obvious.

This same kind of clay is used in the initiation ceremonies. At the turtle-eating and pig-eating ceremonies it is spattered over the body of the initiate from head to foot. I have no explanation to offer for this peculiar method of application. After the ceremony is over the initiate is painted with clay in a pattern called *kimil-t̤era-puli* which consists of a background of the clay on which a pattern of separate spirals is made with the finger. The pattern is to be seen in Plate XI. I cannot put forward with any confidence the explanation I have to offer of this pattern, for I have no means of confirming it, and it is therefore little more than a guess. It is that the spiral or circle is a symbol of the camp and therefore of the society and the social life in general, the basis of the symbolism being the roughly circular or elliptical form of the village or communal hut, and the circular form of the dance (more noticeable in the Little Andaman than in the Great Andaman). If this be really the meaning of the symbol then the explanation of its use in the initiation ceremonies would be that in these ceremonies the youth is preserved from danger by the force inherent in the society, which affords protection to all its members, and the use of the symbol of the society would therefore be most appropriate.

The act of painting the body with *odu* clay is therefore a rite which advertises the fact that an individual is in intimate

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contact with some source of that power which belongs to the things that affect the social life, and it thereby serves to keep alive the sentiments associated with that notion of power. The painting after eating reminds the individual of his dependence upon and obligation towards the society, and, since all join in the rite, it serves also to maintain the unity of the community. 182X 778●

We may now return to the question of the meaning of personal ornament in general. It is a commonplace of psychology that the development of the sense of self is closely connected with the perception of one's own body. It is also generally recognized that the development of the moral and social sentiments in man is dependent upon the development of self-consciousness, of the sense of self. These two important principles will help us to appreciate the hypothesis to which the discussion has now led, that in the Andamans the customary regulation of personal ornament is a means by which the society acts upon, modifies, and regulates the sense of self in the individual. 182X 304 301 302

There are three methods of ornamenting the body in the Andamans, (1) by scarification, (2) by painting, and (3) by the putting on of ornaments.

The natives give two reasons for the custom of scarification, that it improves the personal appearance and that it makes the boy or girl grow up strong. Both these mean that scarification gives or marks an added value. The explanation of the rite would therefore seem to be that it marks the passage from childhood to manhood and is a means by which the society bestows upon the individual that power, or social value, which is possessed by the adult but not by the child. The individual is made to feel that his value—his strength and the qualities of which he may be proud—is not his by nature but is received by him from the society to which he is admitted. The scars on his body are the visible marks of his admission. The individual is proud or vain of the scars which are the mark of his manhood, and thus the society makes use of the very powerful sentiment of personal vanity to strengthen the social sentiments. 182X 304

Turning now to the painting of the body, we have seen that the pattern of white clay serves to make both the painted individual and those who see him feel his social value, and we 182X 302

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experience; it is obvious enough that such analysis is beyond him. Still the experience does lead him to form certain notions or representations, and it is possible to show how these notions are psychologically related to the experience of a moral force. 182 X

The experience of this moral force comes to the individual in definite concrete experiences only. We first learn to experience our own dependence in our dealings with our parents, and thus we derive the concrete form in which we clothe our later adult feeling of our dependence upon our God. Or, to take an example from the vast number provided by the customs of the Andamanese, the Andaman Islander, like other savages, the main concern of whose lives is the getting and eating of food, inevitably finds his experience of a moral force most intimately associated with the things he uses for food. Inevitably, therefore, he regards food as a substance in which, in some way, the moral force is inherent, since it is often through food that the force actually affects him and his actions. The psychology of the matter can be traced, I hope, in the arguments of the last chapter. From the analysis there given of different customs and beliefs it should be obvious that the way in which the Andaman Islander regards all the things that influence the social life is due to the way in which they are associated with his experience of the moral force of the society.

In this way there arises in the mind of primitive man, as the result of his social life and the play of feeling that it involves, the more or less crude and undefined notion of a power in society and in nature having certain attributes. It is this power that is responsible for all conditions of social euphoria or dysphoria because in all such conditions the power itself is actually experienced. It is the same power that compels the individual to conform to custom in his conduct, acting upon him both within as the force of conscience and without as the force of opinion. It is the same force on which the individual feels himself to be dependent, as a source of inner strength to him in times of need. It is this force also that carries him away during periods of social excitement such as dances, ceremonies 182 X 778

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or fights, and which gives him the feeling of a sudden great addition to his own personal force.

The Andamanese have not reached the point of recognizing by a special name this power of which they are thus aware. I have shown that in some of its manifestations they regard it, symbolically, as being a sort of heat, or a force similar to that which they know in fire and heat. In more developed societies, however, we find a nearer approach to a definite recognition of this power or force in its different manifestations by means of a single name. The power denoted by the word *mana* in Melanesia, and by the words *orenda*, *wakan*, *nauala*, etc., amongst different tribes of North America, is this same power of which I have tried to show that the notion arises from the actual experience of the moral force of the society.

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These sentiments and the representations connected with them, upon the existence of which, as we have seen, the very existence of the society depends, need to be kept alive, to be maintained at a given degree of intensity. Apart from the necessity that exists of keeping them alive in the mind of the individual, there is the necessity of impressing them upon each new individual added to the society, upon each child as he or she develops into an adult. Even individual sentiments do not remain in existence in the mind unless they are exercised by being expressed. Much more is this the case with collective sentiments, those shared by a number of persons. The only possible way by which such collective sentiments can be maintained is by giving them regular and adequate expression.

Here then, according to the argument of the last chapter, we find the function of the ceremonial customs of primitive peoples such as the Andamanese. All these customs are simply means by which certain ways of feeling about the different aspects of social life are regularly expressed, and, through expression, kept alive and passed on from one generation to another. Thus the customs connected with foods serve to maintain in existence certain ways of feeling about foods and the moral duties connected with them, and similarly with other customs.

Affective modes of experience (sentiments, feelings or

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

776 rule the multiplication and growth of the various animals and plants useful to Man.

The Onges do not love Eiuga, or any of the other spirits. They merely fear them, and seek to evade their anger by various ex-
[784] pedients. It is curious that they never hesitate to try and deceive the spirits and think themselves very clever when they manage to
[769] steal roots or tubers from the ground. Nor do they revere the
[765] spirits of their ancestors; these are to be feared and propitiated by preservation of their bones. By definition none of the spirits, since they can be deceived by simple tricks, can be all-powerful, but this conclusion, simple though it is, is still beyond the Onges' powers of reasoning.

769 The Onges' fear of the dead is instanced by their carrying round their necks the *ibidanghe*, or necklet of human jaws, as a propitiation.
[765] The wearing of the bones prevents the spirit from going away (by analogy the bones of dead enemies are burned to force the spirit,
[764] clearly a hostile one, to leave the place). The custom of burial within the communal hut follows the same logic – the spirits of the dead are kept near their bones and hence near their relatives, to help them in the daily round of hunting, fishing and gathering food.[1]

769 Unlike most of the other peoples whose burial customs are even
778 today based on their underlying principles, the Onges have not
776 progressed beyond the stage of relating the dead directly to the
782 demands of daily life; they have no 'practices' of any kind, no con-
784 cept at all of holy places, prayers or images. Even the very names of the dead are soon forgotten. Their fears, however, are none the less very real. They do not like to speak of Eiuga or even of the lesser spirits, for fear of attracting their attention.

773 The Onges have no stories or explanatory legends, like those
538 reported by Brown for Great Andaman. They have only short
533 epics, if such they may be called, recalling extraordinary events in

[171] [1] This belief is of very remote origin, and can be traced back at least to the megaliths of southern Asia, like the splendid ones which I was able to photograph, among others, in the mountains of Travancore. Here again the object was to prevent the dead from leaving their relatives. Similar ideas are found today in India among several tribes, notably the Munda, or Nias, and among various peoples of Indonesia, and even Oceania. The rituals are probably followed today without any understanding of their meaning or symbolism; the details vary from place to place, but the underlying principle, the original fear, remains the same everywhere.

dead were buried securely bound in a knee-to-chest position, still the custom among the Andamanese). The Onges go no further than this and the idea of a Lord of the Spirits who rules all things, although on Great Andaman there has been some progress towards more anthropomorphic concepts. The complete absence of any form of cult, prayer, representation, or votive offering cannot, I feel, be the result of cultural decline from a more advanced age; this would have resulted in gross distortion and illogical superstition, but not in complete absence of any 'religious' practices of any kind.

18 SACRIFICE

No sacrifices of any kind are practised in the Andamans, nor is there any concept of propitiation, although there is evidence that even in the late Palaeolithic era some form of ritual sacrifice was practised, at least in Europe and probably over a much wider area. One would assume from this, and from paragraph 17 above, that the Andamanese is an even older culture.

19 TABOOS

Although my own experiences among the Onges have led me to think that taboos do not exist, some authors have asserted (in my view wrongly) their existence on Great Andaman. It is not, however, possible to draw any reliable conclusions on this point.

20 CEREMONIAL

The complete absence of any form of ritual surrounding birth, the purification of women, initiation, etc., or evidence of any such ritual in the past, is striking, in view of the prevalence in all the surrounding areas of strictly observed ceremonial for many occasions. As in the case of religion, such complete absence can only mean that the Andamanese became isolated before the idea of ritual spread to the area.

21 MEASUREMENT

The Andamanese have no means of counting, and no words to express gradations of time or size; to them everything is either 'small' or 'big'. They take no interest in the passing of years, and have no idea of their own age. To them life is but the passing of the seasons and the harvests of game and fish and fruits that they bring. This utter lack of any sense

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Owing to the difficulty of pushing through the undergrowth the Onges always travel in single file, following closely behind one another, the men first, then the women and children, with the dogs following all round. They never travel alone; I hardly ever met any by themselves, but always in groups of families or groups of hunters. The man who happens to be at the front of the file is the guide and when they come to an awkward part of the journey – perhaps across a deep river – everybody helps. Trees are felled to fall across between the banks and a rope of lianas is run across to make the crossing easier for the aged, the women and the children, though their sense of balance is so good that most of them manage without it, even when carrying heavy loads across a single trunk.

The Onges are now nearly all related to each other in some way. They all know each other, and the contacts are usually friendly. The few squabbles which I saw, always over game, or food that had been gathered, all blew over very quickly; normally, especially in the dry season when every group becomes nomadic in search of food, everyone went freely all over the island. On the occasions of the great hunts, or the honey feasts, a number of groups would band together for the occasion and even then they tried to divide the spoils equally and peaceably. If a dispute does arise the camp will break up into factions, but these will still keep close to each other and after a short while their differences will be made up with the usual long and tearful embraces. These scenes of reconciliation may go on for days, all starting from nothing more serious than a difference of opinion over the division of game captured by communal effort!

Much more important than the danger of offending other human beings is that of causing offence to the spirits of the dead or the guardian spirits who provide food. There is, as I have said, not overmuch rigidity in their observations – no propitiatory offerings of any kind are made to the spirits. The supreme being, Eiuga, who takes the shape of a lizard bigger than a crocodile, they know well. On Great Andaman he becomes Puluga, equally powerful, lord of men and things but rather more anthropomorphic than his counterpart in Little Andaman. As Eiuga lives in the sky, the thunder is his voice, and the wind his breath; if he is angry he breathes out storms and throws burning tree-trunks down to the earth, setting light to the forest. Behind Eiuga are a series of minor spirits who

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They have neither incantations, amulets nor propitiating
signs to help them. Even the *marque de chasse* found on their arrow 227
heads had no major significance; in all probability they merely 789
served to indicate the best arrow and at most they served as a [982]
warning to the womenfolk not to touch them (it is interesting that
I never saw any woman or child with a bow or an arrow). But this
is as far as they go towards superstition, and its only effect is to
enhance the division of duties between the sexes.

The Onges, unlike the Jarawas and Arioto, have never lost the 396
art of canoe making, and the building of a new canoe is an impor- [184]
tant matter. The selected tree, always one of the three species of [824]
Sterculia, is felled and then hollowed out slowly and laboriously
with a rudimentary form of hatchet, the work often being done by
one man alone. The weight of the felled trunk makes it necessary
for the work to be done where it falls, but after much patient
whittling away the resulting canoe is extremely light, with thin
walls, though still not light enough to be carried to the water,
never far away. A series of short logs are used as rollers in the age- [483]
old way and the builder's friends all gather to help clear a way
through the undergrowth and prepare the rollers. Only a few are
needed; all is soon ready and the Onges watch delightedly as the
canoe glides away down to the shore. These canoe-ways often
provided me with an easy path to the sea if I came upon them in
the forest. Sometimes they led not to shore but to one of the many
creeks, where salt water and marine fauna penetrate miles inland
and make it easy for the Onges to launch their canoes from a point
far from the sea.

The Onge canoe, hollowed out in one piece, is a survival of the 501
ancient canoes of the Neolithic age, found in Switzerland and else- 171
where in Europe. It survives in the Andamans, and through
Oceania to the Americas, in northern Asia (notably among the
Ainu) in south-west Asia, and even in south-east Africa.

The canoe has no distinction between bow and stern, and is 501
commonly navigated from either. At each end of the canoe a
crude platform juts out, on which the harpoon-throwers stand.
Very careful attention is paid to the float, which is fragile, and
is therefore kept on the lee side. The object of it is to prevent
the canoe from capsizing, which it is otherwise very liable to do
owing to its round keel, always left in the natural shape of the tree-
trunk. I had some experiences of rough seas in one of these canoes

11: Ciprianl E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

their love of existing with as little effort as possible is paramount. Since any wood is as good as the next for making a fire, the spirits conveniently have nothing to say in the matter. In other circumstances material considerations lead to quite the opposite effect: when the Onges dig up roots or tubers they not only replace the earth, but cover the place with leaves, the ritual having the good practical objective of appeasing the spirits and ensuring further supplies.

The preservation of skulls for magical purposes or out of pure superstition survives mainly in Asia and Oceania. In Asia it coincides with other beliefs which demand the killing of domestic animals by strangulation. I have seen this practised along the high reaches of the valley of the Brahmaputra, particularly among the Abor, and the Nagas, and in many other tribes to the south of Tibet and China, all of whom preserve skulls. Head-hunting, found throughout southern Asia, in the islands, and as far as Oceania, is also practised in the areas where animal skulls are preserved.

The preservation of animal skulls, particularly bear skulls, is still practised in mongoloid peoples as far as the north of Asia; apart from the Andamans and the Nicobars, human and animal bones are preserved in many parts of Indonesia and as far as New Guinea. In the corona of small islands along the west coast of Sumatra the custom coincides with many others, as well as with certain types of huts and canoes, all present in the Andamans and Nicobars. A good example are the huts raised up off the ground on stilts, common in the Nicobars, Nias, Engano, Mentawai and various parts of Indonesia. The single-boom canoes of these areas, quite apart from their general similarity of structure, all have certain identical features, even to the method of fixing the lateral float of green wood, with pointed hardwood pegs stuck in it like spills. This, again, cannot be due to chance; it must be the effect of a very ancient cultural diffusion, now surviving only in a few specific areas.

The skulls preserved by the Onges have one point of interest; it is the duty of the wife to clean the trophies brought back by her proud husband and then paint them lovingly with lines of ochre. After every successful hunting expedition the wives can be seen busily painting, while the husbands look on with satisfaction.

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head ornaments and religious ceremonies. In Oceania there is, too, 174
the habit of changing personal names from time to time so prevalent among the Onges, and the existence of actual linguistic connections between Nicobarese, Andamanese, Semang, Aetà and peoples of Oceania have been demonstrated by experts.

Any differences which exist today are the result of centuries of contact with other peoples which the Semang and Aetà have experienced, unlike the Andamanese, who thus represent today the true Negritos. While life generally has changed somewhat over the centuries for the Semang and Aetà, certain typical facets of their culture have remained unaltered. Ritual cutting and distributing of game, the use of the arrow harpoon (always unfeathered) and the simple Onge-Negrito bow are still the same, despite the fact that the three groups have been separated for a very long time. Even the very absence of defensive weapons is a common feature; admittedly outside the Andamans arrows are poisoned and some may be feathered, but this is a recent and imitative innovation which is not found among the Andamanese, by virtue of their constant isolation. The persistence among the Onges of the simple bow tends to support the idea of Little Andaman as the first stage in the northward spread of the Negritos after they reached the island from Sumatra via the Nicobars. In Malacca the Semang have retained the same bow, as have the Aetà in the Philippines.

Among what may be termed similarities of physical habits is 171
nose-rubbing as a sign of affection, found in the Andamans, in [832]
Oceania, and parts of Papuasia and Melanesia. In all these areas [842]
there is the same belief that pregnancy is due to entry of a spirit into [843]
the body, and the same habit of suckling children for as long as [862]
four years. Similar too throughout the area are the methods of [955]
'curing' disease, such as smearing with ochre and heavy massage carried out beside a fire, swallowing of balls of ochre, and the 'smoking' of wounds, smeared with a mixture of ochre and honey. As protection from the sun or the rains (especially for the young [293]
children) crude umbrellas are made from giant palm leaves.

There are no prayers or propitiatory sacrifices to ensure health 171
and well being, but there is throughout the area the same concept [776]
of mysterious forces to be feared, evaded, or let loose against [971]
enemies – never loved. Generally they are thought of in terms of [982]
spirits, usually active at night. There is some divergence in the

dead were buried securely bound in a knee-to-chest position, still the custom among the Andamanese). The Onges go no further than this and the idea of a Lord of the Spirits who rules all things, although on Great Andaman there has been some progress towards more anthropomorphic concepts. The complete absence of any form of cult, prayer, representation, or votive offering cannot, I feel, be the result of cultural decline from a more advanced age; this would have resulted in gross distortion and illogical superstition, but not in complete absence of any 'religious' practices of any kind.

18 SACRIFICE

No sacrifices of any kind are practised in the Andamans, nor is there any concept of propitiation, although there is evidence that even in the late Palaeolithic era some form of ritual sacrifice was practised, at least in Europe and probably over a much wider area. One would assume from this, and from paragraph 17 above, that the Andamanese is an even older culture.

19 TABOOS

Although my own experiences among the Onges have led me to think that taboos do not exist, some authors have asserted (in my view wrongly) their existence on Great Andaman. It is not, however, possible to draw any reliable conclusions on this point.

20 CEREMONIAL

The complete absence of any form of ritual surrounding birth, the purification of women, initiation, etc., or evidence of any such ritual in the past, is striking, in view of the prevalence in all the surrounding areas of strictly observed ceremonial for many occasions. As in the case of religion, such complete absence can only mean that the Andamanese became isolated before the idea of ritual spread to the area.

21 MEASUREMENT

The Andamanese have no means of counting, and no words to express gradations of time or size; to them everything is either 'small' or 'big'. They take no interest in the passing of years, and have no idea of their own age. To them life is but the passing of the seasons and the harvests of game and fish and fruits that they bring. This utter lack of any sense

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

fastened beneath her belt before and behind. Other leaves of the same kind are placed for her to sit upon. The strips of *Pandanus* leaf and the bundle of leaves are visible in the photograph reproduced in Plate XVI. 881 292

Thus covered with leaves the girl must sit in the hut allotted to her, with her legs doubled up beneath her and her arms folded. A piece of wood or bamboo is placed at her back for her to lean against, as she may not lie down. If she is cramped she may stretch one of her legs or one of her arms, but not both arms or both legs at the same time. To feed herself she may release one of her hands, but she must not take up the food with her fingers; a skewer of *čainyo* wood[1] is given her with which to feed herself. She may not speak nor sleep for 24 hours. Her wants are attended to by her parents and their friends, who sit near her to keep her from falling asleep. 881 784

The girl sits thus for three days. Early every morning she leaves the hut to bathe for an hour in the sea. At the end of the three days she resumes her life in the village. For a month following she must bathe in the sea every morning at dawn. [783]

During the ceremony and for a short time afterwards the girl is not addressed or spoken of by name, but is referred to as *Alebe* or *Toto*. The meaning of the first word is not known. *Toto* is the name of the species of *Pandanus* from which women's belts are made and the leaves of which are used in the ceremony. On the occasion of this ceremony the girl is given a new name, her "flower-name," and from this time till after the birth of her first child she is never addressed or spoken of by the name which she had as a child, but only by the name given to her at this ceremony. The name given is that of a plant or tree which is in flower at the time. If the ceremony takes place when the *jili* is in flower she is called *Jili*; if when the *jeru* is in flower she is named *Jeru*, and so on. These names will be mentioned again later in the present chapter. 881 784 551

[1] This is the plant (not identified) of which the leaves were, till recent times, worn by the women of the North Andaman to cover the puderda. In the South Andaman the leaves of the *Mimusops littoralis* are in use for this purpose, and the Northern tribes have recently given up their own custom and adopted that of the South.

[On first menstruation – Analyst]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

535 628 301 to take part in the attack on their enemies, i.e., all the able-bodied adult males, decorated themselves with red paint and white clay, and put on ornaments of *Paudanus* leaf or netting and shells. Each man held in his hands or placed in his belt or head-dress plumes of shredded *Tetranthera* wood (called *čelmo* in *Aka-J̌eru*, *uǰ* in *Aka-Bea*). These plumes of shredded wood are now often worn or carried in an ordinary dance, but I believe that in former times they were the distinctive sign of a war-dance. To make them, a short length of the wood is taken (generally a piece of an old broken pig-arrow) and the wood is carefully shredded with a *Cyrena* shell, care being taken not to break any of the longitudinal fibres. One end is then tied with a piece of string or fibre. Similar plumes are made from *Pandanus* wood, and are carried or worn in a similar manner.

When the attacking party set out from their village each man wears a plume of shredded *Tetranthera* wood thrust into the back of his belt. They rub their bows with the shredded wood, [789] and say that this has the effect of making their own bows shoot well and those of their enemies shoot badly.

682 784 If a man kills another in a fight between two villages, or in a private quarrel, he leaves his village and goes to live by himself in the jungle, where he must stay for some weeks, or even months. His wife, and one or two of his friends may live with him or visit him and attend to his wants. For some weeks the homicide must observe a rigorous tabu. He must not handle a bow or arrow. He must not feed himself or touch any food with his hands, but must be fed by his wife or a friend. He must keep his neck and upper lip covered with red paint, and must wear plumes of shredded *Tetranthera* wood (*čelmo*) in his belt before and behind, and in his necklace at the back of his neck. If he breaks any of these rules it is supposed that the spirit of the man he has killed will cause him to be ill. At the end of a few weeks the homicide undergoes a sort of purification ceremony. [783] His hands are first rubbed with white clay (*to̱l-odu*) and then with red paint. After this he may wash his hands and may then feed himself with his hands and may handle bows and arrows. He retains the plumes of shredded wood for a year or so.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

reached the age when it is considered proper for a man to marry. In recent times at least one young man has refused to undergo the privations connected with the initiation ceremonies. This was of course a case of gross rebellion against the customs of the tribe, but there was no way of punishing him or of compelling him to conform, save by showing him that he was an object of contempt and ridicule to others. Probably such a refusal to conform to tribal customs could not have taken place before the British occupation of the islands.

Another class of wrong actions consists in the breaking of ritual prohibitions. There are, for example, as will be shown in a later chapter, a number of actions which it is believed may cause bad weather, such as burning bees'-wax or killing a cicada. There is, however, no punishment that can be meted out to any one who does any of these things. The punishment, if we may call it so, is a purely supernatural one, and it strikes not only the offender but every one else as well. In the legends of the Andamanese there are one or two stories related of how one of the ancestors, being angry, deliberately performed one of the forbidden actions and thus brought a storm that destroyed many human beings[1]. There are other ritual prohibitions the non-observance of which is supposed to bring its own punishment on the offender, who, it is believed, will be ill.

The medicine-men (*oko-jumu*) are credited with the power to work evil magic, and by its means to make other people ill, and even to kill them. A man suspected of evil magic might be liable to the vengeance of those who thought that they had been injured by him, but though the practice was regarded as reprehensible it does not seem that the society ever acted as a whole to punish a man suspected of it.

Children are reproved for improper behaviour, but they are never punished. During their years of infancy they are much spoilt, not only by their parents but by every one. During the period of adolescence every boy and girl has to undergo a somewhat severe discipline, to be described in a later chapter.

[1] See below, Chap. IV.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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In the North Andaman there is some sort of association between the unborn souls of babies, the green pigeon and the *Ficus laccifera* tree. The same name, *Reŋko*, is used to denote both the green pigeon and also the *Ficus laccifera*, of the fruit of which the pigeon is very fond. The belief of the natives is sometimes stated by saying that the souls of unborn children live in the *Ficus* trees, and that if a baby dies before it has been weaned its soul goes back to the tree. Another statement of the natives is that it is when the green pigeon is calling that the soul of a baby goes into its mother. The *Ficus* is to a certain extent tabu. I was told that the tree must not be cut or damaged. Nevertheless the natives do cut the tree in order to obtain the bark of the aerial roots from which they prepare a fibre that they use for making personal ornaments. There is no tabu in connection with the green pigeon, which may be killed and eaten. 842 775 784

In most primitive societies, if not in all, there are ritual or ceremonial observances in connection with the change by which a boy or girl becomes a man or woman. The ceremonies that are performed to mark this change are commonly spoken of in ethnological literature as "initiation ceremonies." The term is not perhaps the best that could be chosen, but usage has rendered it familiar. 000

The life of an Andaman Islander is divided into three well-marked periods, corresponding roughly with the physiological periods of childhood, adolescence, and maturity. The first period lasts from birth till about the advent of puberty; the second lasts from puberty till after marriage; the third extends from marriage to death. 561

During the period of childhood the boy or girl lives with his or her parents, or, in the later years of the period, with adopted parents, having a place in the family hut and a share in the family meal. A girl continues to live with her parents or with her adopted parents until she marries. When boys have finished growing, and have reached the condition of young men, they cease to live with their parents or adopted parents and, until they are married, they occupy a bachelors' hut of their own, and have their own meal. 858 882

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

fastened beneath her belt before and behind. Other leaves of the same kind are placed for her to sit upon. The strips of *Pandanus* leaf and the bundle of leaves are visible in the photograph reproduced in Plate XVI. 881 292

Thus covered with leaves the girl must sit in the hut allotted to her, with her legs doubled up beneath her and her arms folded. A piece of wood or bamboo is placed at her back for her to lean against, as she may not lie down. If she is cramped she may stretch one of her legs or one of her arms, but not both arms or both legs at the same time. To feed herself she may release one of her hands, but she must not take up the food with her fingers; a skewer of *čainyo* wood[1] is given her with which to feed herself. She may not speak nor sleep for 24 hours. Her wants are attended to by her parents and their friends, who sit near her to keep her from falling asleep. 881 784

The girl sits thus for three days. Early every morning she leaves the hut to bathe for an hour in the sea. At the end of the three days she resumes her life in the village. For a month following she must bathe in the sea every morning at dawn. [783]

During the ceremony and for a short time afterwards the girl is not addressed or spoken of by name, but is referred to as *Alebe* or *Toto*. The meaning of the first word is not known. *Toto* is the name of the species of *Pandanus* from which women's belts are made and the leaves of which are used in the ceremony. On the occasion of this ceremony the girl is given a new name, her "flower-name," and from this time till after the birth of her first child she is never addressed or spoken of by the name which she had as a child, but only by the name given to her at this ceremony. The name given is that of a plant or tree which is in flower at the time. If the ceremony takes place when the *jili* is in flower she is called *Jili*; if when the *jeru* is in flower she is named *Jeru*, and so on. These names will be mentioned again later in the present chapter. 881 784 551

[1] This is the plant (not identified) of which the leaves were, till recent times, worn by the women of the North Andaman to cover the pudenda. In the South Andaman the leaves of the *Mimusops littoralis* are in use for this purpose, and the Northern tribes have recently given up their own custom and adopted that of the South.

[On first menstruation – Analyst]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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881 784 After this ceremony the girl is said to be *aka-ndu-kolot*. For some time afterwards she must not have her head shaved, and she must not use red paint or white clay.

841 784 I was not able to learn much about the native ideas in connection with the menstrual function. According to the account given me by one informant I gathered that the girl's first menstrual discharge is supposed to be due to sexual intercourse. The man's breath goes into her nose and this produces the discharge. It is believed that if a man were to touch a girl during this period, either during the ceremony or for some time after it, his arm would swell up.

At every recurrence of the menstrual period a woman is required to abstain from eating certain foods. According to an *Akar-Bale* informant these are, in that tribe, pork, turtle, *Paradoxurus*, honey and yams. An *Aka-Čari* informant added to the above list dugong, monitor lizard, and the fish *komar*. If she ate any of these things at such a time she would be ill. This continues throughout her life till the climacteric. A menstruating woman is not required to leave the camp, as she is in many savage communities.

From the moment of the ceremony just described the girl enters a new condition which is denoted in the *Aka-Jeru* language by the word *aka-op* (*aka-yaba* in *Aka-Bea*). This word means that the person to whom it is applied is under certain ritual restrictions, chiefly concerned with foods that may not be eaten.

881 304 In the case of a boy there is no physiological event so clearly marked as there is in that of a girl. It rests with the relatives and friends to decide when the boy is to become *aka-op*. It would seem that in the Southern tribes there is no ceremony on this occasion. Among the Northern tribes the boy is made *aka-op* by means of a ceremony that consists of making the scars on his back that are customary in these tribes[1].

When the friends and relatives of a boy decide that he is old enough to have the incisions made in his back a dance is held in the evening, and the boy is required to dance through the

[1] Unfortunately I was not able to see this ceremony performed, and my information is therefore derived from the statements of the natives.

7 [See pp. 92-94, cat. 116 — Analyst]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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765 terms which are used for this purpose, being terms of address that can be substituted for the names that are avoided. Thus in the *Aka-J̌eru* language one such term is *Bolok*, meaning "orphan," used in addressing or speaking of a person who has lately lost a parent. Another term of the same language is *Ropuč*, applicable to one who has lost a brother or sister. After the period of mourning is over the use of the personal name of the mourner is resumed.

765 784 During the period of mourning the near relatives of the deceased are required by custom to abstain from dancing and from using red paint or white clay. The white clay here referred to is that called *tǫl* or *tǫl-odu* in *Aka-J̌eru* and *tala-og* in *Aka-Bea*, and is used for decorating the body on ceremonial occasions, such as that of a big dance. Further, the mourners must abstain from eating certain foods. The customs with regard to the foods to be avoided are different in different parts. There is however the universal rule that coast-dwellers must not eat turtle, and jungle-dwellers must avoid pork. Other foods that are included amongst those to be avoided are dugong, certain fishes such as that called *komar* in *Aka-J̌eru*, and in some parts yams and honey.

765 The exact duration of the period of mourning is difficult to discover. It seems to vary considerably in different cases. In all cases it must last long enough for the flesh to decay from the bones. The proceedings at the end of mourning consist of (1) digging up the bones of the dead man or woman and (2) a dance in which all the mourners join. The bones are generally dug up by the men who performed the burial. They cover themselves with clay (*odu*) and proceed to the grave or tree and dig up or take down the bones and weep over them. These are then washed in the sea or a creek and are taken back to camp. Here they are received by the women who weep over them in their turn. The skull and jawbone are decorated with red paint and white clay, and each separately has a band of ornamental netting attached to it so that it may be worn around the neck. Additional ornament is frequently added in the form of strings of *Dentalium* or other shells. The skulls and jawbones of deceased relatives are preserved for a long time, and are worn

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908) 1922
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either by itself, or prefixed to the name of the person spoken to, as *Maia Buio*, *Mimi Kaba*, etc. A native generally hesitates to tell his own name, and if asked the question "What is your name?" often asks a bystander to give the required information. There is, however, no hesitation about mentioning the name of any other person, except under certain special conditions. 551

There are certain occasions when the name of a man or woman is temporarily avoided. After the death of a relative and during the period of mourning, a mourner's name is not mentioned, either in speaking to him or of him. There are a few terms that may be used instead. One who has lost a parent is addressed as *Bolok*, one who has lost a brother or sister as *Ropuč*. For a short time before and after the birth of a child the names of the father and mother are not mentioned. A bride and bridegroom are not addressed or spoken of by name for a short period after their marriage, though if their names be A and B there seems to be no harm in referring to A as "the husband of B," or to B as "the wife of A." During the initiation ceremonies through which every boy and girl must pass, the name of the initiate is avoided. Thus on the occasion of the turtle-eating ceremony or the pig-eating ceremony, during the few days the ceremony lasts and for a few weeks afterwards, the youth or girl is never addressed or spoken of by name, but is referred to as *Kimil*. During the ceremony that takes place on the occasion of the advent of puberty, and for some weeks after, a girl is not spoken of or to either by her birth-name or her flower-name, but is called *Toto*. When a boy, in the Northern tribes, has the scars made on his back, which show him to be no longer a child, his name is avoided for a few weeks and he is called *Ejido*. 551 784

The name of a dead man or woman is not mentioned during the period of mourning, which lasts for some months after the death.

In the preceding portions of the chapter reference has been made several times to the ornamentation of the body with clay and pigment. In the Great Andaman three different substances are used for painting the body. These are (1) a common clay of which different specimens are gray, yellow or pink, called *odu* 302

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

535 628 301 to take part in the attack on their enemies, i.e., all the able-bodied adult males, decorated themselves with red paint and white clay, and put on ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf or netting and shells. Each man held in his hands or placed in his belt or head-dress plumes of shredded *Tetranthera* wood (called *čelmo* in *Aka-Jeru*, *uj* in *Aka-Bea*). These plumes of shredded wood are now often worn or carried in an ordinary dance, but I believe that in former times they were the distinctive sign of a war-dance. To make them, a short length of the wood is taken (generally a piece of an old broken pig-arrow) and the wood is carefully shredded with a *Cyrena* shell, care being taken not to break any of the longitudinal fibres. One end is then tied with a piece of string or fibre. Similar plumes are made from *Pandanus* wood, and are carried or worn in a similar manner.

When the attacking party set out from their village each man wears a plume of shredded *Tetranthera* wood thrust into the back of his belt. They rub their bows with the shredded wood, [789] and say that this has the effect of making their own bows shoot well and those of their enemies shoot badly.

682 If a man kills another in a fight between two villages, or in a private quarrel, he leaves his village and goes to live by ●784 himself in the jungle, where he must stay for some weeks, or even months. His wife, and one or two of his friends may live with him or visit him and attend to his wants. For some weeks the homicide must observe a rigorous tabu. He must not handle a bow or arrow. He must not feed himself or touch any food with his hands, but must be fed by his wife or a friend. He must keep his neck and upper lip covered with red paint, and must wear plumes of shredded *Tetranthera* wood (*čelmo*) in his belt before and behind, and in his necklace at the back of his neck. If he breaks any of these rules it is supposed that the spirit of the man he has killed will cause him to be ill. At the end of a few weeks the homicide undergoes a sort of purifica- [783] tion ceremony. His hands are first rubbed with white clay (*tol-odu*) and then with red paint. After this he may wash his hands and may then feed himself with his hands and may handle bows and arrows. He retains the plumes of shredded wood for a year or so.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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show any fear, my informants said, the spirits would kill him, but 791
if he were brave they would take him to their village, detaining 775
him for a time, and then releasing him to return to his friends. A man to whom such an adventure has happened will be endowed for the rest of his life with power to perform magic. He will pay occasional visits to his friends the spirits. The natives told me of one such man who died not many years ago. At irregular intervals he used to wander off into the jungle by himself and remain absent for a few hours, sometimes for a day or two. He returned to the village after such an absence looking strange and wearing ornaments of shredded palm-leaf (*koro*) which he claimed had been placed upon him by the spirits.

Save for persons who have made friends with them, and have 753
thereby become endowed with magical powers, all contact with 775
the spirits of the jungle and the sea, or with the spirit of a dead man, is dangerous. The spirits are believed to be the cause of all sickness and of all deaths resulting from sickness. As a man wanders in the jungle or by the sea, the spirits come invisibly and strike him, whereupon he falls ill, and may die. A man or woman is more likely to be attacked by the spirits if he or she is alone, and it is therefore always better to be in company when away from the village. The spirits rarely venture into the village itself, though they may prowl round it, particularly at night. They are more dangerous at night than during the day.

There are many objects that are believed to have the power 751
of keeping spirits at a distance, and thus of preserving human 775
beings from the danger of sickness. Amongst the most important of these are fire, arrows, human bones, bees'-wax, and red paint. A man or a woman leaving a hut to go only a few yards at night will always carry a fire-brand as a protection against spirits that may be prowling in the neighbourhood. If the night be dark a torch is carried in addition to the fire-stick.

The Andamanese will never whistle at night, as they believe [784]
that the noise of whistling would attract spirits. On the other hand they believe that singing will keep the spirits away.

The spirits that haunt the woods and waters of a man's own 775
home are regarded as being less dangerous to him than those of

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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776 821 is a legend that on one occasion the moon thus turned himself into a pig and came down to earth to eat the *čuei* fruit. A man named *Maia Čoinyop* met the moon (in the form of a pig) in the forest, and shot him with an arrow. *Čirikli* (the moon) took out his knife and killed the unfortunate *Čoinyop*, cutting off his head, which he left behind, and taking the body up to the sky where he ate it.

In the *A-Pučikwar* tribe the most common statement is that the moon (*Puki*) is male and that the sun (*Puto*) is his wife. A different statement from the same tribe is that the moon is female and is the wife of a being named *Tomo*. *Tomo* seems to be to some extent identified with the sun. Thus one informant said that it is *Tomo* who sends the fine weather, and that it is he who sends the daylight every day. Where *Tomo* lives, in the sky, it is always day and is always fine. When the natives die their spirits go up to the sky and live with *Tomo*. We shall see in the next chapter that, according to some of the legends, *Tomo* is the first ancestor of the Andamanese.

Yet another version is that the moon was made by *Tomo* out of opalescent stone, and it is *Tomo* who, in some way, regulates its passage across the sky.

784 776 821 A belief about the moon which is found in all the tribes, both of the North and the South, is that he will be very angry if there is any fire, or any bright light, visible when he rises in the evening shortly after sundown. At such times the natives are careful to cover up their fires so that they only smoulder without flame. Mr Man refers to this custom. "From fear of displeasing *Maia Ogar* (Mr Moon), during the first few evenings of the third quarter, when he rises after sundown, they preserve silence, cease from any work on which they may be engaged—even halting should they be travelling—and almost extinguishing any light or fire that may be burning. This is owing to the belief that he is jealous of attention being distracted to other objects than himself at such a time, or of any other light being employed than that which he had been graciously pleased to afford so abundantly. By the time the moon has ascended a few degrees, however, they restore their fires and resume their former occupations, as they consider that they have sufficiently

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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complied with *Maia Ogar's* wishes and requirements. The glowing aspect of the full moon on its first appearance above the horizon is supposed to indicate that *Maia Ogar* is enraged at finding some persons neglecting to observe these conciliatory measures; there is also an idea that, if he be greatly annoyed, he will punish them by withdrawing or diminishing the light of his countenance[1]."

As regards the waxing and waning of the moon, Mr Man says that these are explained by the *Aka-Bea* "by saying that they are occasioned by 'his' applying a coating of cloud to his person by degrees, after the manner of their own use of *koiob* (red paint) and *tala-og* (white clay) and then gradually wiping it off[2]." In the *Aka-Kede* tribe the natives say that as *Maia Čirike* (Sir Moon) goes across the sky, his tongue hangs out of his mouth, sometimes more, sometimes less, and that it is the tongue that is visible, that gives the light. I did not hear any explanation of the waxing and waning of the moon in the tribes of the North Andaman. In these tribes the new moon is called *Dula e-tire*, i.e. the "baby moon," the word *e-tire* denoting the young offspring of an animal or a human being.

With regard to a lunar eclipse Mr Man writes that "in case *Maia Ogar* should be so ill-advised as permanently to withhold his light or render himself in other ways still more disagreeable, whenever the moon is eclipsed some persons at once seize their bows and twang them as rapidly as possible, thereby producing a rattling sound as if discharging a large number of arrows, while others commence at once sharpening their *rata* (arrows). Of course this hostile demonstration is never lost upon the moon, who does not venture to hurt those who show themselves ready to give him so uncomfortable a reception. Their immunity from harm on these occasions has given rise to some joking at the expense of the luminary in question, for, during the continuance of the eclipse, they shout in inviting tones to the hidden orb as follows:—*Ogar, laden balak ban lebe y'idoati! doati! doati!* (O Moon, I will give you the seed of the *balak!* show yourself! appear! appear!) This is said derisively, for, although these

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 152. [2] *Ibid.* p. 160.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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776 821 during the season connected with *Biliku* are made by *Biliku* and are due to her anger. When a big storm comes the natives say "*Biliku* is angry." Lightning is explained as being a fire-brand thrown by *Biliku* across the sky when she is angry, and thunder is said to be her voice growling. Another explanation of lightning is that it is a pearl-shell, called *be* in the North Andaman, thrown by *Biliku*, the bright flash of the mother-of-pearl being seen as it crosses the sky. Still another statement from the North Andaman is that *Biliku* makes the lightning by striking a pearl-shell (*be*) against a stone.

Although *Biliku* is generally mentioned when a native is asked about lightning, yet *Tarai* also wields the lightning and the thunder. On one occasion when I was talking to a native I referred to the thunder and lightning that were at the moment coming up from the south-west, making a remark to the effect that *Biliku* was getting angry about something, and was corrected by him with "No, that is *Tarai*."

776 821 784 There are a certain number of actions that are believed by the natives to arouse the anger of *Biliku* (*Puluga*), and thereby cause storms. There are three of these that are of importance.

(1) Burning or melting bees'-wax.

(2) Killing a cicada, or making a noise, particularly a noise of cutting or banging wood, during the time that the cicada is "singing" in the morning and evening.

(3) The use of certain articles of food, of which the chief are the seeds of the *Entada scandens*, the pith of the *Caryota sobolifera*, two species of *Dioscorea* (yam), and certain edible roots, of which may be mentioned those called in *Aka-Jeru labo*, *mikulu*, *ji* and *loito*.

In this matter there is an entire unanimity of belief in all the tribes of the Great Andaman. All the natives agree in saying that any of these three actions causes the anger of *Biliku* or *Puluga* and so brings bad weather.

The natives do, as a matter of fact, melt all the bees'-wax they obtain, in order to purify it, and render it suitable for use in the various ways in which they employ it. Also they do make use of all the plants mentioned under (3) whenever they are in season. They give various explanations of this variance

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between their precepts and their actions. Some of my informants said that though these actions may bring rain and storms, yet they would rather submit to the bad weather than go without some of their most prized vegetable foods. Others again say that there is always a chance that *Biliku* may not notice that the plants have been disturbed, particularly if no fragments are left lying about the camp, and if, when taking the roots, the creepers are not disturbed. Another statement is that it is really only during the season of storms, called the *Kimil* season in *Aka-Jeru*, that it is dangerous to eat these foods, that is, during the months of October and November. After this season has passed there is no longer any danger of violent storms and the foods in question may be freely eaten. Nevertheless the natives do eat these foods in the months of October and November.

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Mr Man records the native beliefs about bees'-wax and the plants in question. "There is an idea current that if during the first half of the rainy season they eat the *Caryota sobolifera*, or pluck or eat the seeds of the *Entada pursætha*, or gather yams or other edible roots, another deluge would be the consequence, for *Puluga* is supposed to require these for his own consumption at that period of the year; the restriction, however does not extend to the fallen seeds of the *Entada pursætha*, which may be collected and eaten at any time with impunity. Another of the offences visited by *Puluga* with storms is the burning of bee's wax, the smell of which is said to be peculiarly obnoxious to him. Owing to this belief it is a common practice secretly to burn wax when a person against whom they bear ill-will is engaged in fishing, hunting, or the like, the object being to spoil his sport and cause him as much discomfort as possible; hence arises the saying amongst them, when suddenly overtaken by a storm, that some one must be burning wax[1]."

It must be noted that it is not only the "burning," but also the melting of bees'-wax that angers *Puluga*. As regards the plants mentioned by Mr Man none of these is available for food during the early part of the rainy season. At that time the yams are not formed, the pith of the *Caryota* palm is not ripe

[1] Man, *op. cit.* pp. 153, 154.

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and is uneatable, and the only available seeds of the *Entada* would be those of the last season that had not fallen from the pods or that had lain on the ground without having germinated. Thus the prohibition as stated by Mr Man amounts to nothing. The subject will be discussed in a later chapter. It may be remarked, however, that it is a fact easily to be observed that the natives do regard the gathering of these vegetable foods during the later portion of the rainy season and during the first part of the cool season (i.e. from October to December), as being an action that may offend *Biliku*. I was myself able to observe this on several occasions, as when once, at the very end of the rainy season, I, not then knowing the belief, asked a native to cut for me one of the pods of the *Entada* as a botanical specimen, whereupon the native, after fulfilling my request, explained to me that there would probably be a storm next day as the result of our action.

In all the tribes of the Great Andaman I found a belief that *Biliku* or *Puluga* will be angry if anybody makes a noise, particularly a noise of chopping, breaking or banging wood, during the time the cicada is singing. The cicada "sings" as the natives call it, during the short interval between dawn and sunrise, and during that between sunset and darkness. It is at these times that no noise may be made. The Andamanese do observe this custom, and refrain from making any noise at such times. For instance, if a man were singing, he would cease until the cicada were silent again. In all the tribes I found that this prohibition was connected in the minds of the natives with *Puluga*, the reason of the custom being always explained to me by saying that any breach of it would infallibly bring bad weather. In the North Andaman the cicada (*mite*) is commonly spoken of as the "child" of *Biliku*, *Biliku ot-tire*.

Mr Man refers to this custom. In one place he says that the first parents of the Andamanese were told by *Puluga* "that, though they were to work in the wet months, they must not do so after sundown, because by doing so they would worry the *butu*, which are under *Puluga's* special protection. Any noise, such as working (*kopke*) with an adze, would cause the *butu's* head to ache, and that would be a serious matter. During the

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cold and dry seasons work may be carried on day and night, as the *butu* is then seldom seen, and cannot be disturbed[1]." 776

The *butu* here mentioned is the cicada. The prohibition is not, however, as Mr Man says, against working, but against making a noise. Nor does the prohibition against noise extend to the whole night, but only to the short interval between sunset and darkness, for it is during this interval that the cicada is singing. As soon as the cicada is silent you may make as much noise as you please. 784 821

Another reference by Mr Man to the same custom is as follows: "Between dawn and sunrise they will do no work, save what is noiseless, lest the sun should be offended and cause an eclipse, storm, or other misfortune to overtake them. If, therefore, they have occasion to start on a journey or hunting expedition at so early an hour, they proceed as quietly as possible, and refrain from the practice, observed at other times of the day, of testing the strength of their bow-strings, as the snapping noise caused thereby is one of those to which the sun objects[2]."

This is really the same prohibition as that already mentioned, against making a noise when the cicada is singing. The interesting point, which will be discussed in a later chapter, is that Mr Man's informant associated the prohibition not with *Puluga*, but with the sun. All the natives with whom I talked on the matter said that they would make no noise at such a time for fear of offending the cicada, and therefore *Puluga* or *Biliku*, and so bringing a storm.

As regards the prohibition against killing the cicada, this seems to refer only to the imago. So far as I was able to observe, the natives do carefully avoid killing the cicada in its full-grown form. On the other hand the grub of the cicada is regularly killed and eaten, being regarded as a delicacy. It is only eaten during the months of October and November.

In connection with the cicada, and with the weather, there is a rite which was described to me, but which I did not see performed. According to the account given of this rite, which is called "killing the cicada," its purpose is to produce fine weather. It takes place in December, at the end of the season 776 821 796

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 165. [2] *Ibid.* p. 133.

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776 821 796 during which they eat the grub. When the time agreed upon for the performance of the ceremony arrives, all the members of the community are careful to be in the camp before sunset. As soon as the sun sets and the cicadæ begin their shrill cry, all the men, women and children present begin to make as much noise as they possibly can, by banging on the sounding-board, striking the ground with bamboos, beating pieces of wood together, or hammering on the sides of canoes, while at the same time shouting. They continue the noise, which entirely drowns that of the cicada, until after darkness has fallen. The rite may be performed, I believe, two or more times, on successive evenings. My informant explained the rite by saying that the natives have been eating the cicada, and the rite is intended to "kill" those that are left. After the rite the cicada disappears and is not seen or heard for some weeks, and there follow four months of fine weather with little rain.

776 821 •784 The beliefs relating to bees'-wax, to the various edible roots, and to the cicada, are the same in all the Great Andaman tribes, and are by far the most important of those connected with *Biliku*. In the North Andaman *Biliku* is supposed to be angry if any one kills a *biliku* (spider) a *reo* (a species of insect making a noise like a cicada, during the daytime, which I often heard, but never saw), or a *čatlo* (a species of beetle). There is also a bird, which I was not able to identify, called *tǫrǫi*, which belongs to *Biliku* and may not be killed.

In the *A-Pučikwar* tribe it is said that two species of fish, called *uuakoro* and *liwat* belong to *Bilik* and may not be killed. A mollusc, called *towa*, also belongs to *Bilik*, and is for that reason never eaten. A bird called *Bilik-l'ar-dala* (probably the same bird that is called *tǫrǫi* in the North Andaman) may not be killed.

In the *Akar-Bale* tribe I was told that two kinds of wood, *bukura* and *worago*, must not be used for firewood, for fear of offending *Puluga*, to whom they belong. *Bukura* is a species of *Diospyros* (ebony).

776 821 789 The only punishment that *Biliku* ever inflicts on human beings when she is angry with them for any reason, is to send violent storms. The way to stop a storm seems to be to frighten

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Biliku. One means of doing this is to throw the leaves of the *Mimusops littoralis* in the fire. These leaves explode with the heating of the juices and make a crackling or popping noise, which it is said that *Biliku* dislikes. I believe, however, that if any one were thus to burn *Mimusops* leaves during fine weather, it would be regarded as likely to cause a storm. The most efficacious means of stopping a storm is to do some of the things that *Biliku* most dislikes. To burn bees'-wax, or to go into the jungle and damage or destroy the creepers that belong to her, these are the heroic remedies against *Biliku's* anger. 776 821 789

The question of the Andamanese beliefs about storms is complicated by the fact that although all storms are said to be made by *Puluga* or *Biliku*, yet there is an alternative and contradictory belief that storms are made by the spirits of the sea (*Jurua*). It is said that if a piece of the *Anadendron paniculatum* creeper were to be burnt there would be a great cyclone, but this appears to be associated, not with *Biliku*, but with the spirits of the sea. It will be shown later that there is a special connection between the *Jurua* and this plant. The belief that a storm will arise if turtle fat be allowed to burn in the fire seems also to be connected with the *Jurua* and not with *Biliku*. The same is probably the case with a belief that rain will come if a *Ficus laccifera* tree be damaged. 776 821 784

Some of the methods used to stop storms are also probably connected with the spirits and not with *Biliku*. One such method is to go into the sea and swish arrows about in the water. One *oko-jumu* (medicine-man) of the North Andaman is reputed to have stopped a big cyclone by taking a few pieces of *Anadendron paniculatum* and crushing them, and then diving into the sea and placing the crushed creeper under a stone. An *oko-jumu* who died while I was in the islands is supposed to have been able to stop a storm by similarly placing leaves and twigs of the *Ficus laccifera* (*reyko*) under a rock in the sea. 776 821 789

To complete the account of this part of the Andamanese beliefs it is necessary to quote what Mr Man writes about the tribes of the South Andaman. Mr Man describes *Puluga* as a "Supreme Being" and says that some of the beliefs of the Andamanese relating to him "approximate closely to the true 776

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unless it be during the rains, when he descends to earth to provide himself with certain kinds of food; how often this happens they do not know since, nowadays, he is invisible[1]." 776

Mr Man's comparison between the Andamanese belief in *Puluga* and the Christian belief in a God, will be discussed in a later chapter when we come to deal with the interpretation of the Andamanese beliefs. It is to be noted that Mr Man does not make any reference to *Deria* (*Tarai*), nor does he mention the association of *Puluga* with the north-east.

As regards the personal appearance of *Puluga*, the statements of different informants are not in agreement. One *A-Pučikwar* man described *Bilik* as being very big, about the height of one of the posts of my hut (which was eighteen feet), white-skinned like a European, having a long beard, and carrying a bow of the *Jarawa* type.

The legends connecting *Puluga* with the creation of the world will be given in the next chapter.

I am not able to confirm Mr Man's statement that *Puluga* is omniscient, and in fact there are some customs of the natives that are in contradiction with any such belief. When they dig up yams (which belong to *Puluga*) they take the tuber and replace the "crown" with the attached stem in the ground, and explain this by saying that if they do so *Puluga* will not notice that the yam has been taken. Whenever they do any of the things that displease *Puluga*, they seem to believe that there is a possibility that *Puluga* may not discover what has been done. It may be noted that there is no means of distinguishing in Andamanese between "all" and "a great deal." Thus a statement the *Puluga* knows "everything" may be equally well translated "*Puluga* knows a great deal." Between these two statements there is no difference for the Andamanese, but there is a great difference for us, and for this reason the use of the word "omniscient" is misleading. [784]

Mr Man says that *Puluga* "is angered by the commission of certain sins." In this connection it is necessary to refer to another passage in Mr Man's work. "That they are not entirely devoid of moral consciousness may, I think, in some

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 157.

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776 measure, be demonstrated by the fact of their possessing a word, *yub-da*, signifying sin or wrong-doing, which is used in connection with falsehood, theft, grave assault, murder, adultery, and—burning wax (!), which deeds are believed to anger *Puluga-la*, the Creator[1]." Although I made very careful and repeated enquiries, I was unable to meet with a single native who believed that such actions as the murder of one man by another, or adultery, aroused the anger of *Puluga*. The only actions at which *Puluga* is angry are those purely ritual offences, such as burning or melting wax, killing a cicada, digging up yams, etc., which have already been mentioned.

The Andamanese beliefs connected with the life after death will be described later in the present chapter.

As regards the "stone house" in which *Puluga* is said to live, this really means, I believe, a cave. In the North Andaman *Biliku* is frequently spoken of as living in a cave (*era-poŋ*). Also, it may be recalled, the sky is generally regarded as consisting of stone or rock, and it is in the sky the *Puluga* lives.

The son of *Puluga*, mentioned by Mr Man, *Pijčor*, is a being about whom I was able to learn very little. In the North Andaman the same being is named *Perjido*, and is said to be the son of *Biliku*. The *Morowin*, whom Mr Man describes as the daughters of *Puluga*, are sky spirits. The most usual belief in the South Andaman is that there are both male and female *Morowin*. They are beings of somewhat the same nature as the jungle spirits and the sea spirits. An *Akar-Bale* informant told me, "The *Morua* are sky spirits. They eat only pork and nothing else. They are angry if pork is roasted, and make the people ill. They used to live in the big *baja* (*Sterculia*) trees, but now they live in the sky."

776 784 In this connection it may be mentioned that there is a belief throughout the Andamans that it is dangerous to roast pork. In the North Andaman the natives commonly say that the spirits of the jungle are angry if pork be roasted, and may be attracted to the spot and cause the natives to be ill. An *Akar-Bale* belief, connecting the danger with the spirits of the sky has just been mentioned. Mr Man's version of the matter is as follows :—

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 112.

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"...there is a company of evil spirits who are called *čol*, and who are much dreaded. They are believed to be descendants of *Maia Čol* who lived in antediluvian times. They generally punish those who offend them by baking or roasting pig's flesh, the smell of which is particularly obnoxious to them, as it is also to *Puluga*, who therefore, often assists them in discovering the delinquent; the same risk does not attend *boiling* pork, which the olfactory nerves of the fastidious *čol* are not keen enough to detect. While the Andamanese say that they are liable to be struck by *Erem-čauga-la* or *Juruwin* at any time or in any place, the *čol* strike those only who offend them, and that during the day while they are stationary, this being necessitated by the distance from the earth of their abode, whence they hurl their darts; an invisible spear is the weapon they always use, and this is thrown with unerring aim at the head of their victims, and is invariably fatal. As these demons are considered especially dangerous on the hottest days, they are apparently held accountable for the deaths from sunstroke which happen from time to time[1]."

It may be remarked that *Čol* is the name of a species of bird (probably the racket-tailed drongo), which is named from its call—*čol, čol, čol.* I did not hear the name used to denote what Mr Man calls demons, except in so far as the birds themselves are supposed to have supernatural powers. There is, perhaps, some sort of connection between the *čol* (the birds, that is) and the sky-spirits, *Morowin* or *Morua*, but I was not able to satisfy myself on the point. The connection of them both with *Puluga* is still more obscure.

Another belief in connection with pigs is that any person who cuts up a pig badly is liable to be punished. Mr Man states, on this subject, "*Puluga* never himself puts any one to death, but he objects so strongly to seeing a pig badly quartered and carved that he invariably points out those who offend him in this respect to a class of malevolent spirits called *Čol*, one of whom forthwith despatches the unfortunate individual[2]."

I was not able to find any evidence that *Puluga* is believed to be angry if a pig is badly quartered. From the natives with

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 159. [2] *Ibid.* p. 158.

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776 whom I talked on the subject I received two different statements.
784 One was to the effect that if a pig is badly cut up the meat will be bad and anyone who eats it will be ill. The other was that if a pig is badly cut up the spirits of the jungle will be angry and will punish the offender. In neither case was there any reference to *Puluga* or *Biliku*.

In general it may be said that the natives believe that the only punishment that *Puluga* or *Biliku* ever sends against those who offend him or her in any way is bad weather, and I did not myself meet with any exception to this rule.

One other observation by Mr Man may be mentioned. He says, "When they see a dark cloud approaching at a time when rain would prove very inconvenient, as when hunting, travelling, etc., they advise *Puluga* to divert its course by shouting '*Wara-Jobo kopke, kopke, kopke*' (*Wara-Jobo* will bite, bite, bite (you)). If in spite of this a shower falls they imagine that *Puluga* is undeterred by their warning[1]."

It is clear from the above discussion of the matter that there is not any complete agreement in the beliefs concerning *Puluga* (*Biliku*) even in any one tribe of the Andamans. There are many different statements about this being which cannot be made consistent with one another without doing violence to the evidence. At the same time, amid all the differences and inconsistencies there are a certain number of points about which there is a general agreement throughout the whole of the tribes of the Great Andaman. One of these is the connection of *Puluga* and *Daria* with the weather, with the two chief winds, and with the points of the compass from which these winds blow. The other is the belief that certain actions, such as melting bees'-wax, digging up yams, etc., are disliked by *Puluga*, and are punished by him (or her) with stormy weather. On these matters there is entire agreement amongst the natives of all the tribes, and they are to the natives themselves by far the most important part of the beliefs concerning *Puluga*.

776 We have seen that the Andamanese believe in two different
775 kinds of what may be called, for want of a better term, super-

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 153.

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755 278 823 White clay (*tol-odu* in *Aka-Jeru*) is sometimes used medicinally, both externally and internally. The commoner clay (*odu* in *Aka-Jeru*) is plastered on sores, and has the effect of keeping off flies, if it does nothing else.

An olive-coloured earth (called *čulŋa* in *Aka-Bea*), found in certain springs, is prized as a remedy. It is mixed with water and taken internally as a general remedy for all sorts of complaints.

824 ●784 Turning now to the magical properties of vegetable substances, there are a large number of these, and some of them have not been botanically identified.

The *Anadendron paniculatum* is a plant from which the Andamanese obtain a valuable fibre, which they use for their bow-strings, and for thread with which to make their arrows and harpoons. A number of magical properties are attributed to this [753] plant. Rheumatism is supposed to be due to the "smell" of the plant getting into the system when the fibre is being prepared[1]. The "smell" of the green plant, or of the fibre until it has been thoroughly dried for some days, is believed to frighten away turtle. A man who has been preparing the fibre would not dream of joining a turtle-hunting expedition, for his presence in the canoe would be sufficient to drive away all the turtle. A turtle-hunting expedition would be a failure if a piece of the green creeper were in the canoe. A man who has been handling the plant may not cook turtle, for the meat would be "bad," i.e., uneatable. The same thing would happen if turtle meat accidentally came in contact with a piece of the plant. All this applies only to the green creeper, and not to the fibre after it has been properly prepared and dried. The fibre itself is used for binding the heads of turtle-harpoons, so it is evidently regarded as harmless.

If a piece of the *Anadendron* creeper were burnt in the fire the natives believe that it would drive all the turtle away from the neighbourhood, or, according to another statement, that there would be a great storm.

000 So far we have considered the properties of the plant only in

[1] In preparing the fibre, the skin or bark of the young shoots of the plant is torn off in strips and these are placed on the thigh and scraped with a *Cyrena* shell.

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so far we have considered the properties of the plant only in 751
so far as they make it dangerous to handle. It has other and 824
beneficial properties. It is said that a man swimming in waters infested with sharks would be safe from them if he had a piece of the *Anadendron* creeper with him, in his belt or necklace. The creeper is also supposed to preserve anyone who carries it from the attacks of the sea spirits (*Jurua*).

The *Hibiscus tiliaceus* is a small tree from which the natives obtain the fibre which they make into rope, used now for harpoon lines and in former times for turtle-nets. The leaves of this tree are believed to have the power of keeping away the spirits of the sea. They have no efficacy, however, against the spirits of the forest. Leaves of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus* are used in the turtle-eating ceremony described in the last chapter. For cooking 824
turtle the only wood that may be used is the *Hibiscus*. If any 784
other wood were used the meat would not be good. In this connection it is necessary to point out an error in the statements of Mr Man. He says that the wood of the *alaba* must never be used for cooking turtle, though it may be used for cooking pig, and that *Puluga* is angry if this commandment is not observed and sends either the sun or moon to punish the offender[1]. There is evidently an error here. The *alaba* is the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*. Mr Man identifies it with the *Melochia velutina*, but this is an error. Now the custom in connection with the *Hibiscus* (*alaba*) is not that it may not be used for cooking turtle, but that no other kind of wood must be used. It is difficult to see how Mr Man fell into the error, unless he mistook a statement regarding the *yolba* (*Anadendron paniculatum*) for a statement relating to *alaba* (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*). We have just seen that if the *Anadendron* comes in contact with turtle meat the meat will be bad, and that if it is burnt there will be a storm.

Another plant that provides fibre for thread is the *Gnetum edule*. There is a belief that the green creeper of this plant will drive away turtle, if a piece of it be taken in a canoe.

Magical properties are attributed to the *Ficus laccifera* tree. These trees are believed to be the home of the yet unborn souls of children. I was told in the North Andaman that if a tree of

[1] Man, *op. cit.* pp. 153 and 172.

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824 the species were cut there would be a storm. The bark of the aerial roots of the tree affords a fibre used in the Little Andaman for bow-strings, but only used in the Great Andaman for making personal ornaments. It is possible that some magical properties are attributed to the ornaments made from this fibre.

The *Pterocarpus dalbergioides* is one of the most striking trees of the Andamans. It has a very hard red wood, from which the natives make their sounding-boards. There is an obscure belief in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe (and possibly also in other tribes) that it is dangerous to look at the tree when it is in flower. I was twice told a story of how some people were affected by looking at the flowers, and either went mad or died. On one occasion my interpreter translated the words of my informant by saying "They saw the flowers, and went giddy, and they all went to hell (*Jereg-l'ar-mugu*)." Men must be careful when the tree is in flower, not to look at it too long. In the North Andaman I was told that string games (*jipre*) must not be played when the *Pterocarpus* tree is in flower. They may be indulged in with safety at any other time of the year. (String games, according to one statement, were invented by the *Lau*, while another account attributes the invention to the crab.)

824 751 The *Tetranthera lancœfolia* is a small tree from which the natives obtain the wood for the shafts of their pig arrows. The leaves of this tree are believed to have the power to keep away the spirits of the forest. They are used in the pig-eating ceremony described in the last chapter. The wood is shredded and made into plumes, and these plumes are believed to have magical properties. They are worn by a man who has killed another, and are believed to protect him from the vengeance of the spirit of the dead man.

824 278 757 A common remedy for sickness of different kinds is a small tree called *gugma* in *Aka-Bea*, which Mr Man identifies as being *Trigonostemon longifolius*. The leaves of this tree are made into a bed for the patient to lie upon. They are also crushed and rubbed over the patient's body, or he is made to inhale the odour of the crushed leaves. The natives say that it is the "smell" of the plant that possesses medical properties. The

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827 A hiccough is supposed to be the result of inadvertently swallowing a tree lizard, whose call rather resembles the sound of a person hiccoughing.

The condition popularly called "pins and needles" or described as an arm or leg "going to sleep" is believed by the Andamanese to be due to the bite of a rat. If a man wakes up in the night with one of his limbs benumbed in this way, he believes that a rat has bitten him while he slept.

The Andamanese say that the bite of a civet-cat (*Paradoxurus*) will produce cramp. I was once told that if a man eats the flesh of the civet-cat and then goes into the water he will become "lame." This means, I think, that he will have cramp, and so will be unable to swim.

278 The flesh and particularly the fat of the flying fox (*Pteropus*) is believed to be a remedy for rheumatism. An old man who was suffering from this ailment once asked me to shoot for him some of these bats, which he cooked and ate.

●784 If turtle-fat be permitted to burn in the fire there will be a storm.

751 Mention has already been made of the magical value attri-
755 buted to human bones. They are esteemed as a means of driving away spirits, and therefore of curing or preventing sickness. A human jaw-bone was hanging in my hut in such a position that it could swing in the wind. The natives attributed to this the illness from which I and several of them were suffering at the time, and asked me to put the bone away in a basket, where it could not move.

Bones of animals are made into ornaments in the same way as human bones, and magical properties of a similar kind seem to be attributed to them.

755 Of other objects possessing magical properties the most
372 important is fire. Fire is believed to have the power of keeping away spirits of the sea and of the forest. A fire is always kept alight beside a sick man or woman. For dysentery stones are heated in a fire and the patient is required to defecate on to these.

000 In conclusion, mention must be made of one favourite remedy

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X 182 262 unless it is approached with circumspection, and this belief, translated into action, gives rise to the rite of painting the body after eating. This does not mean that when the Andaman Islander eats turtle he is actually in a state of fear; he feels that he would have reason to be afraid if it were not that the society has provided him with a means of avoiding the dangers of turtle eating. What he does feel, then, as I have tried to show, is not a fear of food but a sense of the value of food.

This interpretation will, I hope, be amply justified later, and the psychological processes assumed by it will be further illustrated. One point needs to be emphasised here, namely that the suggested interpretation affords, as no other would seem to do, an explanation of the fact that some foods are believed to be more dangerous than others, and that while it is obligatory to paint the body after eating the more dangerous foods, it is not necessary to do so after eating those that are less dangerous. If the rite is simply the expression of the social value of foods, it will follow that different food substances, having different social values, must be subject to differences in ritual treatment.

X 22 784 262 There are a few other customs connected with food, recorded in an earlier chapter, which show that in general food is regarded as something that may only be approached with ritual precautions. A turtle must be killed with its head towards the open sea, and must be cut up in one particular way, otherwise the meat would be "bad." A pig must also be cut up in a particular way, and must be stuffed with certain leaves before it is roasted. A man will not eat certain foods when he is away from his own country, as he is afraid that to do so might make him ill. (This corresponds to the belief that there is less chance of illness in one's own country than away from it, and that the spirits of a strange place are more dangerous than those that haunt the jungles and the waters of a man's own home.) All these customs, I believe, are so many different expressions of the social value of food.

I have maintained earlier in the chapter that the sense of the social value of such things as fire and the materials used for weapons translates itself into the belief that these things afford protection against danger. This would seem, at first sight, to be

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contradicted by the explanation that I have just given of the belief in the danger of food. The apparent contradiction must be faced and resolved before we can proceed further.

First, it can be shown that the various things that are regarded as affording protection when used according to custom, are also believed to be dangerous, just in the same way that food is dangerous. One example of this will suffice. The fibre of the *Anadendron paniculatum*, which is used for bow-strings and other purposes, has been shown to possess a power which gives it efficacy against dangers of the sea such as sharks. This same power, however, may have injurious effects if the plant is handled without proper precautions. Thus, if a piece of the green creeper, or a person who has recently been handling it, should be in a canoe, it would be impossible to capture turtle from that canoe, as they would be driven away by the "smell" of the plant. If a piece of the creeper were burnt in the fire there would be a great storm, according to one statement, or all the turtle would be driven away from the vicinity, according to another. The handling of the plant in the preparation of the fibre, by scraping it on the thigh, is believed to be the cause of rheumatism. Turtle meat that might by accident come in contact with the plant would be dangerous and would therefore not be eaten. These different beliefs show us that while this plant possesses powers that make it of service to the society, both directly as a material for weapons, and indirectly as a magical protection against evil, it is also dangerous, i.e. it will produce undesirable effects unless treated with the proper ritual precautions.

Now just as materials such as the *Anadendron* are dangerous but may yet be used protectively, so it can be shown that the things used for food are also capable of affording protection against evil. It may be recalled that an important element of the treatment of sickness is by the use of special foods. Yams, honey, the fat of turtle and dugong and other foods are believed to possess curative properties. The flesh of the flying-fox is used as a remedy for rheumatism. But the clearest evidence is provided by the custom of wearing ornaments made of the bones of animals that have been eaten. These ornaments are believed to possess protective powers of the same kind as those attributed to

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human bones, but they are considered to be more particularly of value to the hunter when he is in the forest or on the sea. They are made chiefly from the bones of those animals that are believed to be most dangerous to eat. These animals are difficult and often dangerous to capture or kill. When obtained they become very important sources of well-being to the society. The Andamanese express their sense of the social value of these animals in the belief that it is necessary to adopt certain measures of ritual precaution in dealing with them. When these due precautions are taken, however, then the society is able to make use of the flesh to serve its own ends. So, when an animal has been eaten, and has thus been made to serve as a source of advantage, of strength, the bones, which are the permanent remains of the feast, acquire a symbolic value as evidence of past social well-being, and omens of future security. They are a visible proof of the ability of the society to protect itself and its members from the dangers that are believed to threaten the human being in the most important activity of his life, the obtaining and eating of food.

Formerly the Andamanese preserved the skulls of all large animals such as pigs, turtle and dugong. At the present day they no longer preserve the skulls of pigs, giving as their reason that owing to the dogs obtained from Europeans they now have little difficulty in killing pigs; but they still preserve the skulls of dugongs, and a fair proportion of the skulls of turtle. The *Jarawa* still seem to preserve with great care the skulls of all the pigs they kill, going to the pains of enclosing each one in a case of basket-work. These skulls, we must conclude, are more than mere trophies of the chase. As visible proofs of the ability of the society in the past to overcome the hostile powers of nature, they form, as it were, the guarantee of a similar ability in the future, and I believe that their preservation is regarded as a means of ensuring success in hunting as well as protection for the hunters. The turtle skulls that are often suspended under the forward platform of a canoe, are, I believe, intended both to protect the occupants of the canoe from the dangers of the sea and to help them to obtain a good catch.

The Andamanese belief in the power of the bones of animals

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to protect them from danger and to bring them luck, is therefore very similar to their belief in the protective power of the materials used for weapons and implements. The consideration of the apparent contradiction mentioned above has led us to a more exact statement of the real beliefs in these matters. They believe, we may say, that all the things from the jungle and the sea of which they make use as food or as materials, are dangerous unless approached with proper ritual precautions, but when so approached they become sources of strength and well-being and also of protection from unseen dangers.

To return to the main argument, which was concerned with the meaning of the patterns of clay painted on the body after eating the more dangerous foods, it would seem that this action is really a rite or ceremony, of the same general character as other ceremonial customs of the Andamans. It is an action required by custom, the performance of which on appropriate occasions serves to keep alive in the mind of the individual a certain system of sentiments necessary for the regulation of conduct in conformity to the needs of the society. By it the individual is made to feel (or to act as though he felt) that his life is one of continually repeated dangers from which he can only be preserved by conforming to the customs of the society as they have been handed down by tradition. He is made to feel that the eating of food is not merely the satisfaction of an animal appetite, but an act of communion, that the food itself is something "sacred" (if we may use that word in the sense of the original Latin "sacer"). It serves also, like any other rite in which all join, to make the individual feel the solidarity and unity of the community; all share in the common repast and the common danger, and each man sees on his neighbour the clay with which he himself is daubed.

Of course it is probable that the Andamanese custom of painting the body after eating, like our own grace before and after meat, with which it is parallel, tends to become a formality accompanied by little real feeling, but it can be shown, I believe, that such customs do possess a real value—a real psychological function—in keeping alive ideas and sentiments that will on occasion play an important part in influencing conduct.

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X/182 765 775 in the statements of the natives as to whether he becomes a spirit at once, immediately after the death, or whether he does so only after the flesh of the body has decayed. Both statements are sometimes made, but it seems common to think of the dead person during the period of mourning not as a spirit (*Lau*) but as a dead man (*empilo*). We may best express the ideas of the natives by saying that the process by which a man becomes a spirit is one that takes some months to complete, and is only ended when the bones are dug up. An interesting insight into their notions in this matter is afforded by a belief, about which unfortunately I have very scanty information, to the effect that when a man dies he is initiated into the world of the dead by a ceremony resembling the ceremonies by which a youth is initiated into manhood. In the statement of an *Aka-Kede* informant the ceremony was spoken of by the term *kimil*, which is generally used for the initiation ceremonies, and was described as a *pǫrǫto-kimil*, i.e., a ceremony in which the dead man ate *pǫrǫto* (*Caryota sobolifera*) in just the same way that a youth eats turtle (*čokbi*) at the *čokbi-kimil*. There is independent evidence that there is a special connection between the spirits of the dead and the *Caryota* palm[1].

X/182 824 784 The description of this ceremony (of initiation into the world of the dead) that was given to me stated that in it the shredded fibre named *kǫro* was used in just the same way as the leaves of the *Hibiscus* are used in the turtle-eating ceremony. Further, as in the peace-making ceremony men stand against a suspended cane from which depend bunches of this same *kǫro*, so in the initiation into the spirit world the initiate has to stand against the rainbow while the dancing spirits shake it and him. It is this shaking of the rainbow (according to my informant) that causes earthquakes. It may be recalled that the rainbow is regarded as a sort of bridge between this world and the spirit world, and that its name is "the spirit's cane," so that it would seem that it is regarded as like a cane with *kǫro* fibre suspended from it, such as is used in the peace-making ceremony.

The explanation of the use of this *kǫro* fibre was postponed earlier in the chapter, and may well be undertaken here. It serves

[1] Page 171.

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as a sign that the spot where it is placed is tabu, or, in more precise terms, that the spot must be avoided because of the presence there of a force or power that makes things dangerous. This force is present at the grave of a dead man, and therefore the fibre is placed at the grave to mark the fact, while a bunch is similarly suspended at the entrance to a village that is deserted after a death. In the peace-making ceremony the members of the one party stand against a suspended cane to which are attached strips of the fibre. The meaning of this, I think, is that it thus forbids the members of the other party from attacking them. If a man were to leave the screen of *koro*, he would, I believe, be liable to be killed by the enemy party; it is only as long as he stands against it with his arms outstretched that he is safe, because while there he is tabu.

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How then does this belief in the fibre as a mark of tabu come about? The fibre is worn by the women of the Little Andaman to cover their pudenda, and it was formerly worn in this way by the women of the North Andaman. We may conclude that this was an old element in the Andaman culture dating back to the remote period when the inhabitants of the Little Andaman became separated from those of the Great Andaman. Now in a very special sense the sexual organs of women are tabu, and, without discussing the matter in detail, we may suppose that the Andaman Islander regards the genitals of women as a spot in which resides the same sort of force or power that makes the spirits, or the body of a dead man, dangerous. One point may be mentioned as throwing light on this subject, and helping forward the argument, namely that the natives of the North Andaman often use the expression *Lau-buku* (meaning literally "spirit-women" or "female spirits") to denote women collectively instead of the phrase that might be expected—*u'e-buku*. It would seem that by reason of their sex and the special ideas that are associated with it, women are regarded as having a very special relation with the world of spirits. We may conclude that the *koro* fibre, being a convenient material for the purpose, was first used as a covering for the women, and in this way came to be used as a sign of tabu in general, or else that for some unknown reason the fibre was selected as a suitable material to mark any kind of tabu, and

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so came to be used both as a covering for women and also as a sign of warning at the grave and the village that has been visited by death[1].

To return from this digression to the question of the initiation of the dead man into the world of spirits, it is clear that since such ceremonies take time to accomplish there is a period during which the dead man is in an indeterminate position; he is no longer a member of the society of the living, and has not yet become a member of the society of the dead. As long as he is thus situated his relatives and friends are still attached to him, so that he still remains as it were in partial contact with the living. During this time the society is still suffering the ill effects of the death, and the process of readjustment by means of the customs of mourning is still taking place. At the end of it the dead man becomes completely absorbed in the spirit world, and as a spirit he has no more part in or influence over the social life than any other spirit, and the mourning is brought to a close by means of a ceremony.

This ceremony has two parts. One is the recovery of the bones and their reaggregation to the society, a rite which we may regard as the final settling of the dead man in his proper place. All that is left of him, who was once a source of strength to the community, who had once—as it is here expressed—a social value, are the bones, his name, and the memory of him that his friends retain. We may suppose that the bones still have something of the value that originally attached to their owner, and indeed it is evident that they have, for after they are recovered they are affectionately treasured as relics by the relatives. By the end of the period of mourning the painful feelings aroused by the death have died down, so that the dead man is now the object only of memories that are pleasant, or, at the worst, bittersweet. The bones, then, are visible evidences of the fact that the society has recovered from the disruptive shock of the death, and this is why they are dug up as soon as the recovery is complete, or rather in order to complete it, and are thereafter treasured.

[1] The brakes formed by the cane (*bido*) from the leaves of which the *toro* fibre is obtained seem to be regarded as lurking places of the spirits. The natives often speak of the *Bido-tee-lau* (*Calamus* leaf spirits).

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372 by land or sea, is not confined to them, but is undertaken by those of either sex who have most leisure or are least burdened.

11. Probably nothing introduced by us so impressed them with the extent of our power and resources as *matches;* that we should be able to produce fire with such ease and by such means was not unnaturally regarded as evidence of our being superhumanly gifted.

Superstitions.—1. Fire is supposed to possess the power of
372 driving away evil spirits; when, therefore, at night they hear in
776 imagination the approach of the dreaded *.ē·rem-chà·w·gala,*[1] they throw burning logs into the jungle surrounding the encampment. Again, should any of the community have occasion to leave their huts at night, no matter how short the distance, he (or she) invariably takes some fire as a protection against any demons that may be in the vicinity; a torch is also taken if it be very dark at the time.

[821] 2. Of darkness they assert that it was instituted on account of the misconduct of two of their ancestors, as will shortly be mentioned.[2]

776 3. From fear of displeasing *mai·a .ō·gar-*[3] (Mr. Moon), during
784 the first few evenings of the third quarter, when he rises after sundown, they preserve silence, cease from any work on which
821 they may be engaged—even halting-should they be travelling—and almost extinguish any light or fire which they may be burning. This is owing to the belief that he is jealous of attention being distracted to other objects than himself at such a time, or of any other light being employed than that which he has been graciously pleased to afford so abundantly. By the time the moon has ascended a few degrees, however, they restore their fires and resume their former occupations, as they consider they have then sufficiently complied with *mai·a .ō·gar-*'s wishes and requirements. The glowing aspect of the full moon on its first appearance above the horizon is supposed to indicate that *mai·a .ō·gar-* is enraged at finding some persons neglecting to observe these conciliatory measures; there is also an idea that, if he be greatly annoyed, he will punish them by withdrawing or diminishing the light of his countenance.

776 4. Regarding meteorolites they appear to possess no super-
821 stition. Shooting stars and meteors they view with apprehension, believing them to be lighted faggots hurled into the air by *.ē·rem-chà·w·gala* in order to ascertain the whereabouts of any unhappy wight in his vicinity; if, therefore, they happen to be away from

[1] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 12.
[2] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraph 31.
[3] Singing, dancing, and thumping on the sounding board at that hour are, however, not displeasing to him.

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their encampment when the phenomenon occurs, they invariably secrete themselves, at the bottom of a boat, for example, if fishing, and remain silent for a short time before venturing to resume their interrupted employment. 776 821

5. Between dawn and sunrise they will do no work, save what is noiseless, lest the sun should be offended, and cause an eclipse, storm, or other misfortune to overtake them. If, therefore, they have occasion to start on a journey or hunting expedition at so early an hour, they proceed as quietly as possible, and refrain from the practice, observed at other periods of the day, of testing the strength of their bow-strings, as the snapping noise caused thereby is one of those to which the sun objects. 784 821

6. They invariably partake of a meal soon after rising, as it is believed that no luck can attend any one who starts to his day's work on an empty stomach. 777 264

7. They dare not use the wood of the tree called *al·aba-* (the bark of which supplies the fibre used in making harpoon lines and turtle nets) for cooking turtle, for, as will be found elsewhere,[1] this is an act so abhorrent to *mara ·ōgar-* that he visits the offenders with summary and condign punishment. 776

8. In tempestuous weather the leaves of the *Mimusops Indica* are constantly thrown on the fires, as the popping sounds thus produced are thought to have the effect of assuaging *Pū·luga-*'s fury and causing the weather to moderate. 821 776 [789]

9. When they see a dark cloud approaching at a time when rain would prove very inconvenient, as when hunting, travelling, &c., they advise *Pū·luga-* to divert its course by shouting "*·wā·ra-jō·bo kō·pke, kō·pke, kō·pke*" [*Wā·ra-jōbo*[2] will bite, bite, bite (you)]. If in spite of this a shower falls they imagine that *Pū·luga-* is undeterred by their warning.

10. This practice of menacing *Pū·luga-* is probably that to which Colonel Symes alluded when he wrote that "they confess the influence of a malignant Being, and, during the south-west monsoon, when tempests prevail with unusual violence, they deprecate his wrath by wild choruses."

11. Storms are regarded as indications of *Pū·luga-*'s anger; winds are his breath, and are caused to be blown by his will; when it thunders *Pū·luga-* is said to be growling at something which has annoyed him; and lightning, they say, is a burning log flung by him at the object of his wrath.

12. There is an idea current that if during the first half of the rainy season they eat the *Caryota sobolifera*, or pluck and eat the seeds of the *Entada pursatha*, or gather yams or other edible 821 776 262

[1] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraph 32.

[2] This snake, as already mentioned under "Medicine," appears to be the *Ophiophagus elaps*.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

to them that I was able to find the various amphibia which subsequently proved to be new species. They know poisonous and non-poisonous snakes by sight and how to avoid being bitten. They could tell me which trees flowered and when, because they knew this affected the whereabouts and the quality of the honey, and they knew which flowers and roots had medicinal properties. The necessity, in accordance with their superstitions, of keeping their prey alive as long as possible has also given them a somewhat gruesome knowledge of anatomy and physiology. The call of food has also made them weather experts; they know which air currents and winds bring what animals, or cause them to vanish, and what game is likely to haunt what terrain. They could tell me where to find certain fish, or crustacea, or where certain roots or fruit in season were to be found.

The striking feature of their knowledge was that it did not merely relate to what was edible or inedible. Amphibia, reptiles and birds for example, they never eat under any circumstances; but they knew where to find them all for me, and they knew the bird migrations and how these related to the movements of the marine fauna.

Providentially, the exactitude of the Onges' botanical and zoological knowledge is matched by the magnitude of their superstitious fears. Were it not for this all the edible vegetation on the islands would have disappeared long ago as a result of their incredibly thoughtless destruction. The effect, therefore, is almost that of a purely involuntary, embryonic form of 'agriculture', contrasting strangely with their persisting, persistent and complete lack of interest in any formal care, however primitive. The Onges believe that the plants which produce edible roots and tubers belong to a spirit related to Eiuga, whose anger is aroused if he sees his plants being taken; his vengeance is quick and terrible.

There are on Little Andaman a number of creepers with edible fleshy roots, sometimes as thick as a man's wrist, sticking out horizontally at least fifty to sixty centimetres from the main stem, only just below the surface. They invariably grow in light soil, where there are no rocks, and are very easy for the Onges to reach with their digging sticks. These and the yams, sometimes as big as a football, which are to be found everywhere, the Onges have to steal from the spirit who owns them. The creepers themselves,

222 twining up into the trees, and the shorter-stemmed yams, are never
784 disturbed. The Onges merely dig down, at a respectful distance
776 from the plant, certain of finding what they want. On no account
824 must there be any signs of the theft for the spirit to see, so they quietly take off roots or tubers some way from the main stem and leave the rest, patting the earth down afterwards and covering the place with leaves. The guardian spirit, not, apparently, all-seeing, notices nothing, as the plant continues to flourish, improved by the root pruning. Everyone, guardian spirit and Onges alike, is happy.

[185] This unconscious preservation may well be the result of a decree,
[114] in some remote past, by an Onge seer who realized the danger of killing off the entire plants and invented the guardian spirits as a deterrent. The Negritos still make similar use of roots and tubers;
[171] Skeet and Blagden fifty years ago referred to the Semang eating poisonous wild yams, having removed the toxic substances.[1]

241 It is interesting that both in the past and even today a number
174 of peoples at a very early stage of cultural development have progressed from the gathering of the wild yams of South-East Asia to the first signs of cultivation and agriculture. It is possible that they were the first plants ever to be cultivated by primitive Man, the Negritos with their digging sticks delving then as they do now; the genus is certainly a very ancient one, and some species, such as *Dioscorea alata*, may have spread from Asia to Africa and Oceania, and even to America, with the beginning of cultivation. But this is a stage of development which the peoples of the Andaman never reached.

412 The digging stick, the only implement the Onges have with which
[177] to get at the roots and tubers, has in recent times been affected,
[222] though to a very limited extent by the spread of iron. Only a few individuals possess a primitive iron tool, half a metre long, cylindrical in shape and usually not more than one and a half centimetres in diameter and flattened into a form of blade at one end. The vast majority still have only the age-old stick made of hard wood, hardly recognizable as a tool and crudely fashioned into a point at one end. This tool, so primitive that it can easily be mistaken for an odd

[1] It is interesting that the American Aborigines, especially in Brazil, do the same with manioc, but I saw nothing of this nature in the Andamans.

776 rule the multiplication and growth of the various animals and plants useful to Man.

The Onges do not love Eiuga, or any of the other spirits. They merely fear them, and seek to evade their anger by various expedients. It is curious that they never hesitate to try and deceive the spirits and think themselves very clever when they manage to steal roots or tubers from the ground. Nor do they revere the spirits of their ancestors; these are to be feared and propitiated by preservation of their bones. By definition none of the spirits, since they can be deceived by simple tricks, can be all-powerful, but this conclusion, simple though it is, is still beyond the Onges' powers of reasoning.

769 The Onges' fear of the dead is instanced by their carrying round their necks the *ibidanghe*, or necklet of human jaws, as a propitiation. The wearing of the bones prevents the spirit from going away (by analogy the bones of dead enemies are burned to force the spirit, clearly a hostile one, to leave the place). The custom of burial within the communal hut follows the same logic – the spirits of the dead are kept near their bones and hence near their relatives, to help them in the daily round of hunting, fishing and gathering food.[1]

769 Unlike most of the other peoples whose burial customs are even today based on their underlying principles, the Onges have not progressed beyond the stage of relating the dead directly to the demands of daily life; they have no 'practices' of any kind, no concept at all of holy places, prayers or images. Even the very names of the dead are soon forgotten. Their fears, however, are none the less very real. They do not like to speak of Eiuga or even of the lesser spirits, for fear of attracting their attention.

773 The Onges have no stories or explanatory legends, like those reported by Brown for Great Andaman. They have only short epics, if such they may be called, recalling extraordinary events in

[1] This belief is of very remote origin, and can be traced back at least to the megaliths of southern Asia, like the splendid ones which I was able to photograph, among others, in the mountains of Travancore. Here again the object was to prevent the dead from leaving their relatives. Similar ideas are found today in India among several tribes, notably the Munda, or Nias, and among various peoples of Indonesia, and even Oceania. The rituals are probably followed today without any understanding of their meaning or symbolism; the details vary from place to place, but the underlying principle, the original fear, remains the same everywhere.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1958) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

dead were buried securely bound in a knee-to-chest position, still the custom among the Andamanese). The Onges go no further than this and the idea of a Lord of the Spirits who rules all things, although on Great Andaman there has been some progress towards more anthropomorphic concepts. The complete absence of any form of cult, prayer, representation, or votive offering cannot, I feel, be the result of cultural decline from a more advanced age; this would have resulted in gross distortion and illogical superstition, but not in complete absence of any 'religious' practices of any kind.

18 SACRIFICE

No sacrifices of any kind are practised in the Andamans, nor is there any concept of propitiation, although there is evidence that even in the late Palaeolithic era some form of ritual sacrifice was practised, at least in Europe and probably over a much wider area. One would assume from this, and from paragraph 17 above, that the Andamanese is an even older culture.

19 TABOOS

Although my own experiences among the Onges have led me to think that taboos do not exist, some authors have asserted (in my view wrongly) their existence on Great Andaman. It is not, however, possible to draw any reliable conclusions on this point.

20 CEREMONIAL

The complete absence of any form of ritual surrounding birth, the purification of women, initiation, etc., or evidence of any such ritual in the past, is striking, in view of the prevalence in all the surrounding areas of strictly observed ceremonial for many occasions. As in the case of religion, such complete absence can only mean that the Andamanese became isolated before the idea of ritual spread to the area.

21 MEASUREMENT

The Andamanese have no means of counting, and no words to express gradations of time or size; to them everything is either 'small' or 'big'. They take no interest in the passing of years, and have no idea of their own age. To them life is but the passing of the seasons and the harvests of game and fish and fruits that they bring. This utter lack of any sense

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The fact that the words for dream and reflection, double or shadow are from the same root in the Northern languages is of interest. Dreams are sometimes explained by saying that the sleeper's double (*ot-ǰumulo*) has left his body and is wandering elsewhere. Dreams are regarded as being veridical, or at any rate, as having importance. One man told me how, in a dream the night before, his *ot-ǰumulo* had travelled from where we were to his own country and had there seen the death of the baby of a woman of his own tribe. He was fully convinced that the baby must really have died. 828 774

An Andamanese will never, or only with the very greatest reluctance, awaken another from sleep. One explanation of this that was given to me was that the *ot-ǰumulo* or double of the sleeper may be wandering far from his body, and to waken him suddenly might cause him to be ill. [513]

The principle on which dreams are interpreted is a very simple one. All unpleasant dreams are bad, all pleasant ones are good. The natives believe that sickness is often caused by dreams. A man in the early stages of an attack of fever, for instance, may have a bad dream. When the fever develops he explains it as due to the dream. If a man has a painful dream he will often not venture out of the camp the following day, but will stay at home until the effect has worn off. The natives believe that they can communicate in dreams with the spirits, but the power to do this regularly is the privilege of certain special individuals, known as *oko-ǰumu* (dreamers). However, an ordinary individual may occasionally have dreams of this kind. 787 828

I found that any attempt to study the dreams of such a people as the Andamanese is made very difficult by the fact that it is never possible to tell how far the original dream has been arranged and altered by the waking imagination. So far as my observations went the majority of dreams are either visual or motor, or both. Further reference to dreams will be made later in connection with magic.

When a man or woman dies the double (or as some of the natives explain it, the breath) leaves the body and becomes a spirit (*laiu* or *čauga*). By death a man ceases to exist as a man, and begins a new existence as a spirit. 775

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he is, by that adventure, endowed with the power that makes a medicine-man. One man of the *Aka-Kọra* tribe was pointed out to me as having obtained his powers in this way. It would seem that during a serious illness he was unconscious for some twelve hours or so, and his friends thought that he was dead. A medicine-man whom I met with in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe was said to have died and come to life again three times. Another man, whom I did not meet, was described to me as a great *oko-jumu*, and from the description given it seemed to me that he was subject to epileptic fits. As against this, however, Mr Man states that "epilepsy is a recognised form of malady, but the fits are not regarded in a superstitious light[1]."

Another way in which a man can acquire magical powers is by direct communication with the spirits. A man who died a few years ago was believed by the natives to have once met with some spirits in the jungle, and to have acquired in this way the powers of an *oko-jumu*. He used to go off into the jungle by himself at intervals and hold communication with the spirits with whom he had made friends. From such a visit he had returned with his head decorated with shredded palm-leaf fibre (*kọro*) which had, so he said, been placed on him by the spirits. This man had a reputation as a powerful *oko-jumu*.

In a less degree the powers of an *oko-jumu* may be obtained through dreams. It is believed that certain men have the power of communicating with the spirits in dreams, and such men are *oko-jumu*. If a man or boy experiences dreams that are in any way extraordinary, particularly if, in his dreams he sees spirits, either the spirits of dead persons known to him when alive, or spirits of the forest or the sea, he may acquire in time the reputation of a medicine-man.

A man may claim some degree of magical power, and yet his claims may not be recognized by others. Each *oko-jumu* has to make his own reputation, and to sustain it when made. This he can only do by demonstrating his power to others. Once this reputation is his, he not only receives the respect of others but also makes a considerable personal profit. Every one is anxious to be on good terms with one who is believed to

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 83.

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756 791 have extraordinary powers. Hence a man who is an acknowledged *oko-jumu* is sure to receive a good share of the game caught by others, and presents of all kinds from those who seek his good-will.

756 791 828 787 As the name implies, and in whatever way his power may have been obtained, an *oko-jumu* is privileged to dream in a way that less favoured persons do not. In his dreams he can communicate with the spirits of the dead. In dreams, also, so the natives say, he is able to cause the illness of an enemy or to cure that of a friend.

755 By his communication with the spirits, in dreams, or in waking life, the *oko-jumu* acquires magical knowledge that he is able to turn to account in curing illness and in preventing bad weather. When a person is ill the *oko-jumu* is often consulted as to the best means of treating the patient. His treatment is often limited to the recommendation, or the application, of some one or other of the recognized remedies. He may undertake to dispel the spirits that are supposed to be the cause of the disease, which he does by addressing them and conjuring them to go away, or by the use of one or other of the substances and objects that are believed to have the power of keeping spirits at a distance. Sometimes the *oko-jumu* will promise to cure the patient by means of dreams. It is believed that in his dreams he can communicate with the spirits and can persuade them to help him to cure the sick person.

791 821 756 Besides their power of causing or curing sickness, the *oko-jumu* are credited with being able to control the weather. As has been shown, the Andamanese believe that the weather is under the control of two beings named *Biliku* and *Tarai*. There is, however, an alternative and contradictory belief, which is also held, that the weather is controlled by the spirits, and particularly by those of the sea. The means taken by magicians or others to prevent bad weather can be divided into two kinds according as they are directed against *Biliku* or *Tarai*, or against the spirits of the sea. As an example of the very simple rites which are performed for this purpose, two cases may be quoted. One of the *oko-jumu* of the Northern tribes, now dead, once stopped a very violent storm by crushing between two stones

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possible are required before we can speak with certainty regarding the extent, limits, and conditions of heredity among this race; but it has been noticed that, as a general rule, they have excellent memories, especially on those subjects in which the intellects of their ancestors have been consciously or unconsciously exercised or cultivated in the savage state. The following passage will afford an illustration of the intelligence displayed by these people on such subjects. It is taken from the late Mr. Kurz's Report on the Vegetation of the Andaman Islands:—

"While I was in the Andamans I was in the habit of consulting people (convicts) from the most different parts of India for the native names of the plants. As a general result, I may state that the Burmans were best acquainted with the flora of the Andamans, but they are by no means equal to the Andamanese in accuracy and certainty of determination. While the Burmans were obliged continually to cut into the bark to recognise the trees, the Andamanese readily gave their names, and I could rely upon their statements, which was not the case at all with those of the Burmese."

16. Instances have been observed among them of individuals possessing strong wills and vivid powers of imagination: as a race they do not appear to be subject to trances, illusions, or somnambulism, but, like many other savages, they place implicit faith in dreams, shaping their conduct in superstitious conformity to the warning or advice supposed to have been conveyed therein.

Magic and Witchcraft.—1. There are, however, certain individuals in these tribes, known as *ôko-pai·ad-* (*lit.*, a dreamer), who are credited with the possession of supernatural powers—such as second sight, expressed by the term *àramū·ga-tâ·rabanga-*, —and of a mysterious influence over the fortunes and lives of their neighbours. It is thought that they can bring trouble, sickness, and death upon those who fail to evince their belief in them in some substantial form;[1] they thus generally manage to obtain the best of everything, for it is considered foolhardy to deny them, and they do not scruple to ask for any article to which they may take a fancy.

2. These quasi-seers are invariably of the male sex, and it sometimes even happens that a young boy is looked upon as a "coming" *ôko-pai·ad-*, their position being generally in the first instance attained by relating an extraordinary dream, the details

[1] This reminds one somewhat of the disease makers of Tanna (New Hebrides), who are supposed to cause disease and death by burning *nahak* (rubbish, principally refuse of food), and who are propitiated by continual presents. The practice of burning beeswax, in order to cause annoyance to an enemy, will be mentioned under "Superstitions," paragraph 13.

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821 776 262 roots, another deluge would be the consequence, for *Pū·luga-* is supposed to require these for his own consumption at that period of the year; the restriction, however, does not extend to the *fallen* seeds of the *Entada pursætha*, which may be collected and eaten at any time with impunity.

821 776 789 13. Another of the offences visited by *Pū·luga-* with storms is the burning of beeswax,[1] the smell of which is said to be peculiarly obnoxious to him. Owing to this belief it is a common practice secretly to burn wax when a person against whom they bear ill-will is engaged in fishing, hunting, or the like, the object being to spoil his sport and cause him as much discomfort as possible; hence arises the saying among them, when suddenly overtaken by a storm, that some one must be burning wax.

776 821 787 14. The rainbow is regarded as *.ē·rem-chàw·gala*'s dancing or sounding board, which is only visible at certain times; its appearance is said to betoken approaching sickness or death to one of their number, and is, therefore, inauspicious.[2]

823 776 15. There are no superstitions anent hills, valleys, rocks, &c., which, as stated in my last paper,[3] *Pū·luga-* is believed to have formed for some purpose of his own. The formation of creeks is attributed to a fortunate accident, the account of which being connected with their traditions must be reserved for that section.[4]

823 775 16. They imagine earthquakes to be caused by some mischievous male spirits of their deceased ancestors, who, in their impatience at the delay in the resurrection, combine to shake the palm-tree on which they believe the earth to rest, in the hope thereby of destroying the cane bridge[5] which stretches between this world and heaven, and alone maintains the former in its present position. These selfish spirits are, however, said to be careful never to indulge in such practices during the dry months, as they imagine that, in consequence of the surface of the earth being then much cracked with heat, there would be considerable risk of its tumbling about their ears and crushing them instead of toppling over in one solid mass. They are said, therefore, never to play at earthquakes except during, or shortly after, the rainy season. But for the intervention of female spirits, who do their utmost to dissuade or prevent their male companions from continued enjoyment of this dangerous pastime, they are persuaded that there would be much cause for alarm on every occurrence of an earthquake.

775 17. They believe that every child which is conceived has had a

[1] *d'ja·pid-* (*vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 4, footnote).

[2] The Chippeway Indians call it the dancing spirit (*vide* "Travels in the Interior of North America," by Maximilian, Prince of Wied).

[3] *Vide ante* "Topography," paragraph 3.

[4] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraph 13.

[5] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 25.

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prior existence, but only as an infant. If a woman who has lost a baby is again about to become a mother, the name borne by the deceased is bestowed on the fœtus, in the expectation that it will prove to be the same child born again. Should it be found at birth that the babe is of the same sex as the one who died, the identity is considered to be sufficiently established, but if otherwise the deceased one is said to be under the *ràu-* (*Ficus laccifera*) in *châ·itâ·n-* (Hades).[1] 775 [557]

18. They have no peculiar ideas in reference to yawning, hiccoughing, spitting, or eructating, and hissing[2] is unknown. 827

19. To sneeze is auspicious, and therefore regarded with favour. When any one sneezes the bystanders ask, "Who is thinking of you?" to which the person replies by naming some absent friend, or, should he be alone when he sneezes, he says, "Here I am at —— " (naming the place).

20. If they have a dream which they regard as bad, as, for instance, that a canoe was dashed on a reef, or that an accident occurred while pig-hunting, or even if, when awake, they hear two canoes bumping against each other while at anchor, they consider it essential to accept such as a warning, and act accordingly, viz., by taking steps to incur no risk of a misadventure: this is generally accomplished by remaining at home for two or three days. 787

21. A small striped snake, called *lâ·raba-*, is supposed to produce the streams of the red oxide of iron, *kòi·ob-chū·luga-*, and olive-coloured clay, *chū·lnga-*, so much employed by them; the ground for the belief is the alleged fact that this snake, when disturbed, ejects from its tail a whitish fluid, which is of a deadly nature. They declare that the poison is such that it cannot be removed by washing or other means, and that it causes intense pain to the victim, who invariably dies within a few hours. 825

22. There is a small bird, not yet identified, called by them *pī·chrō·l-*, the meeting with which is looked upon as ominous of an approaching death in their midst. When a woodpecker is heard tapping on a tree he is said to be giving warning of the approach of *ū·chu-*,[3] so they proceed in fear and trembling until the danger is supposed to be past. The notes of the *pai-* and *ràteg·i-* (two birds not yet identified) are regarded as a sign that there are enemies in the vicinity. When, therefore, either of these are heard, they at once retrace their steps, if they happen to be on the move, or, should they be in an encampment, they 787 825

[1] *Vide ante* "Proper Names," paragraph 1, and *post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraphs 22 and 23.

[2] This is accounted for by the absence of sibilants in their language (*vide* Appendix A).

[3] A legendary elephant, to be spoken of under "Mythology," paragraph 30.

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787 825 temporarily vacate their huts and remain on the alert with their weapons ready for immediate use. The cry of another bird, called *chē·ra-*, informs them of the approaching visit of a friend. Finally, if while travelling they hear the cawing of a crow, they say they must be near some occupied, or recently abandoned encampment. This belief is doubtless traceable to the fact that these birds are among the principal scavengers of their camping grounds.

776 23. It has been noticed that they will never whistle between sunset and sunrise, and the reason they give is that this sound, more than any other, attracts *ē·rem-chàw·gala* during those hours. When animals behave in an unaccountable manner, especially at night, it is said to be because they see this demon.

773 **Religious Beliefs and Demonology.**—1. I have several times mentioned the Supernatural Beings, *Pū·luga-* and *ē·rem-chàw·gala*, and must now enter more into detail regarding the beliefs held by the Andamanese concerning these and other spirits.

2. Though no forms of worship or religious rites are to be found among them, yet are there certain beliefs regarding powers of good and evil, the Creation, and of a world beyond the grave, which show that even these savages have traditions more or less approximating the truth, but whence derived will ever remain a mystery.

3. It is extremely improbable that their legends were the result of the teaching of missionaries or others who might be supposed to have landed on their shores in by-gone years; for not only have they no tradition of any foreigners having settled in their midst and intermarried with their ancestors, or even of having so far established amicable intercourse as to be able to acquire a knowledge of any one of their languages, but our own records, so far from differing from theirs on these points, tend clearly to show that, from the earliest times till so recently as 1858, these islanders have been more or less universally regarded as cannibals, in consequence of which they were much dreaded by all navigating the adjacent seas. The persistency with which they resisted with showers of arrows all attempts to land on their shores,[1] precludes the belief that any one, prior to our settlement,[2] would from choice have visited these islanders in the vain hope of reclaiming them from their savage state, and in order to teach them the Biblical, Mahomedan, or other versions of the Creation, Fall, Deluge, &c.; while it may surely be

[1] The probable cause of their hostility will be explained in a later section (*vide post* "Trade, &c.," paragraph 1).

[2] In 1870 an orphanage was established at Ross Island (Port Blair) for children of the aborigines, but it is very doubtful whether even the more intelligent of the inmates have obtained, much less retained, more than an elementary knowledge of the outline of the truths of Christianity.

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Agriculture.— 1. Before the arrival of strangers in their midst 241 the Andamanese were entirely ignorant of agriculture, and to this circumstance is primarily to be attributed their degraded condition, while it also affords evidence of the same.

2. Notwithstanding the ample opportunities that they have now had of observing the benefits derived from cultivation, and though they undoubtedly prefer such products to the spontaneous vegetation of their jungles, they still consider that the exertion necessary to obtain the former far outweighs every advantage; in short, it is their opinion, that "*le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle.*"

3. We must not, however, lose sight of the fact that as they have hitherto seen only prisoners engaged in tillage, they cannot but be strengthened in the objections entertained by most savages to all such labour, regarding it as a degrading occupation, and fit only for such as have forfeited their freedom.

4. Further, to quote from Peschel, "it must be remembered that hunting affords supreme enjoyment, and that agriculture has nothing to offer in compensation for the excitement and delights of the chase."

Training and Domestication of Animals.—1. Prior also to our 231 occupation of these islands, the Andamanese, as will have been already inferred,[1] possessed no dogs, and it was some time (1865) 177 before they became aware of their usefulness in the chase; but now that the intelligence of certain breeds has been proved, they prize them highly, and eagerly accept any we have to give them; at the same time, though treated with every intentional kindness, and allowed to sleep, and even to eat and drink out of the same vessel as their masters, the training to which the dogs are subjected is very severe, and their attenuated condition bears witness to the state of semi-starvation in which they are commonly kept in order to render them the more keen in hunting. The custom of summoning dogs by whistling has of course been borrowed from ourselves, as is also the practice of [552] naming them; "Jack" or "Billy"[2] are the names generally bestowed by these people upon their canine companions, whom also they address as *ligala* (children), and who in their turn seem greatly attached to their new owners, and testify their affection by attacking all strangers, not being aborigines, who approach the encampment to which they belong.

2. It is regarded as a good omen to meet certain birds, while 787 of others the contrary belief is held;[3] the absence of migratory

[1] *Vide ante* "Trade, Exchangeable Values, &c.," paragraph 3.

[2] They sometimes nickname them as follows:—*bī·bi-bá·ratnga-* (lit., dog-mottled), *bī·bi-ṇá·nanga-* (lit., dog-beggar), *bī·bi-tá-tñ·pauga-* (lit., dog-bone-crusher), *bī·bi-ṭá-tē·ràwa-* (lit., dog-yellow), *i.e.*, according to any peculiarity that may distinguish them.

[3] *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 22.

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787 species at certain seasons is now accounted for by saying that they are visiting some of the adjacent isles.

775 3. Of mythological animals,[1] such as dragons and unicorns, they have no knowledge, nor do they venerate or regard as sacred any quadruped, bird,[2] or fish, even though the names of several are identical with those borne, according to tradition, by their antediluvian ancestors,[3] who are supposed to have been transformed into, or to have assumed the forms of, such creatures Beyond the instances already mentioned, no trace can be found of a belief in transmigration, and, now-a-days at all events, the souls of animals and men are not considered by these savages as interchangeable.

231 4. The names of four animals only appear to have originated in their cries, viz.: *dū·ku-* iguana, *mū·rud-* pigeon, *bī·bi-* dog, *rō·go-* pig; of these the dog only is trained, or in any way domesticated, and they do not, as has been supposed, keep poultry.[4]

262 **Food.**—1. Among the many erroneous statements regarding the life and habits of these islanders, none seem at the present day so devoid of foundation as that which declared that they are constantly reduced to want and even to starvation.[5]

2. It has been conjectured by some writers that these savages "glean a miserable subsistence," judging, it would seem, merely from the fact of their eating the larvæ of beetles,[6] and certain other articles, the predilection for which seems, to civilised palates, equally revolting;[7] but evidence is not wanting to disprove this assumption, for during the season, when such things are obtainable, they may frequently be seen enjoying a handful of cooked larvæ when a quantity of pork or turtle is lying beside them, and, if questioned, they declare that they regard the former as dainties (*ā·kà-râ·rngà-*), and eat them as

[1] The legend regarding the *ū·chu-* can hardly be included in this category (*vide ante* "Mythology," paragraph 29).

[2] *Vide ante* "Mythology," paragraph 16 (footnote 3).

[3] *Vide ante* "Mythology," paragraph 29 (footnote 2).

[4] "They have no dogs nor any domestic animals, unless indeed their poultry may be regarded as such" (Lubbock, "Prehistoric Times," 4th edition, p. 450).

[5] "In tempestuous weather they are reduced to the utmost want, feeding on rats, lizards, and snakes, and perishing when these resources fail" (Grant).

"In the jungles, beyond a few berries and the wild hog, there was no food to be found" (de Roepstorff).

[6] The Looshais, however, appear to be even less fastidious, for they are said to "eat everything that flies, runs, crawls, or creeps, as well as the grub in its ante-natal tomb" ("On the Looshais or Kookees," *vide* Journ. Anthrop. Inst., March, 1873).

[7] "Nor are civilised Europeans justified in shuddering . . . . when they themselves do not shrink from the trail of snipe, nor from lobster and crayfish, although the latter, as water scavengers, act both as grave-digger and grave" (*vide* Peschel, p. 159).

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

documented the fact in a number of photographs. The purpose, however, is 751
purely hygienic : an unpainted body is, in their opinion, exposed to certain 302
illness. They explained this belief to me by saying that without paint the body becomes "hot". The men who travelled with me far from women were anxious every day to spread clay on face, chest and limbs, just to avoid "heat" or, in other words, fever. I thought of malaria, but they do not suffer from it. [162]
Of this I will speak later on.

Rough clay is applied daily, on infant bodies as well as on adults, for 751
health purposes. It is used to cure all kinds of sickness, together with ochre, 757
turtle fat and honey. Honey spread on wounds appears to hasten healing. [302]
Identical curative methods are employed in Oceania. They probably existed 854
among the Tasmanians, and are still used in Australia by the aborigines. I 752
found nothing of the kind in Africa, where honey is plentiful. The Onge consider clay, ochre, honey and turtle fat good for external and internal treatment alike – 171
both preventive and curative. Powdered bees' wax of a dark colour is often 825
added. I saw mothers give their children, as a laxative, a number of pills made 317
of similar ingredients. No bigger than common hazelnuts, the pills are red 386
and greasy. In Onge forests I saw some small excavations, a few feet deep, made to extract the medicinal clay from special ground pockets. In its natural form the clay is light coloured, powdery and free of stones. When it is burnt the colour changes, assuming red, yellow, whitish or black shades according to the different qualities used, all believed to possess healing properties and to ensure hygienic colouring of the body. Mixed as described above, clay is used by the Onge in every circumstance from fever to snake or scorpion bite, constipation, breast infection in women, or post-delivery bleeding.

Belief in the medicinal properties of clay is as old as humanity itself. 757
Even among contemporary European peoples, notwithstanding severe criticism, 171
clay is still honoured as health-giving, not, I must say, on wholly foolish 823
grounds. The Onge, who smear their bodies constantly with clay, have the 752
softest, most velvety skin that I ever saw anywhere in the world. Wounds spread with clay mixed with honey and fat leave negligible scars. The laxative and germ-killing action of clay is admitted by physicians in many countries, including Europe. It never causes infection. Geophagism has ancient origins, and we find it practiced by many modern populations. Children of every race and all young wild animals lick clay instinctively to absorb the mineral salts required by a developing organism. The Onge habit of using clay for healing purposes can be set, therefore, in a very wide frame.

Mental and nervous disorders are rare in Little Andaman. Few natives 164
are subject to epilepsy – an important matter for the Onge : they consider 828
such people as possessed by spirits who speak through their mouths, and [158]
respectfully question them as oracles. Several Onge chiefs, such as Chief 622
Tchōtā of Tambē-ē-buiē, are apt to go into trances that have all the appearance 787
of epileptic fits. They were elected chiefs on the strength of their epilepsy!

Constant exercise keeps eyesight and hearing extremely sharp in the 164
Onge. I saw no single case of myopia or presbyopia among the natives, nor 151

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

on later visits. Dr H. Lehmann found no evidence of syphilis in the fifty-two individuals of both sexes from whom he took blood samples in my presence.

Although the Onges are normally healthy and look outwardly robust, they have very little actual resistance to disease and succumb very quickly. Twenty-eight of them, whole families, young and old, whom I took with me to Port Blair in 1954 to present them to the President of the Republic of India, all developed a high fever owing to the change in their way of life during the few days it took from Little Andaman to Great Andaman, and we had to take them back hastily to their own island immediately after the official visit. Even minor feverish complaints of no importance seem to depress and terrify them so that they die very quickly, and I sometimes heard that young Onge friends whom I had left in excellent health had died suddenly from, so I was told, some febrile complaint. The Onge women have better resistance than their menfolk to disease as a whole, which may also help to explain their greater longevity.

On the other hand wounds heal surprisingly quickly in both sexes, although in some of the old men I saw purulent leg sores, slow to heal even when treated with antiseptics which I applied myself. I saw none of these in women, but they seem to be more severely attacked by ringworm, especially on the abdomen and round the umbilicus. Few of the Onges were free from ringworm but none of them bothered to treat it, and it did not seem to cause them any noticeable disturbance. In one woman I noticed whitish patches on the fingers and lips, due to leucoderma.

Diseases of the nervous system and mental illnesses seem very rare, although a few individuals are subject to attacks of epilepsy, watched reverently by all present! The Onges regard epileptics as possessed by a spirit capable of giving important information and question them like the oracle. A number of the Onge leaders, among them Giota of Tambe-e-buiè, go from time to time into a state of trance, which has every appearance of an epileptic attack. I saw one case of dementia in a middle-aged woman, but it was mild enough to allow her to go about her work reasonably well, and at regular intervals she produced normal children.

Sight and hearing in the Onges are particularly acute, as has often been reported in primitive peoples and attributed to the

172 765 among the Onges) of wearing not only necklaces of the carpals and tarsals of deceased kin or pieces of rib, but also, in some groups, the skulls, painted with ochre and hanging from a cord round the neck. The long bones, painted red and white, were reburied in the communal hut. The Onges of today carry only the coloured jawbones of their kin.

172 764 No ornaments were found in the middens, nor did we expect to find any, as at death the Onges (and presumably their ancestors) bury all the personal objects of the deceased secretly in the forest, where the termites destroy all traces.

184 172 765 Not all the Arioto can have carried skulls and jawbones. Some clearly carried neither, as all the bones are sometimes found in the middens. A few middens are completely without human bones, particularly in the Port Blair area. Nevertheless at Ciauldari (or Chowldary), ten kilometres to the west, I found in January 1954 long bones without the skull or jawbones, and at Maya Bandar in 1953 I saw almost complete skeletons, not in anatomical position, owing to exhumation and reburial, but including skull, jawbones and in a number of cases the small bones as well.

The evidence of the middens thus clearly shows that burial and subsequent customs differed considerably among the various groups of islanders in the past, as they do today. The majority, judging from the Onges, seem to have remained faithful to a given custom, the dead in all cases continuing to remain a part of the group, whether or not any particular bone was carried about by the members of the group.

178 224 787 It is somewhat surprising to find customs varying so markedly in so primitive and numerically small a population, even though isolated in groups. The explanation lies in the fact that long-established customs may be altered overnight as the result of a 'revelation' by some seer, only to have the new customs overthrown themselves in the course of time by the next 'revelation'. I had an experience of this in the Onges when Enagaghe, a well-known seer, announced one day that he had received an order from the spirits about the way in which hunting trophies were to be displayed. No longer were pig jawbones to be impaled one behind the other on poles hung horizontally along the sloping roof of the hut a little above the hunter's bed. The whole skull, including the jawbones, was to be preserved, the bones held together in their natural

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

position by reed cords, which were to be tied in front of the snout, ending in a cord by which the skull was to be hung above the hunter's bed. No sooner said than done, and at the beginning of 1914 all the old trophies were thrown out into the forest, to be gradually replaced by the new ones. Fortunately I had collected some of the old trophies before the 'revelation'!

From the evidence of the middens it would appear that these variations in burial customs have no practical basis, and probably all derive from similar 'revelations'. Further investigations in a large series of the deposits, enabling dated comparisons to be made, would be extremely revealing.

Even allowing for these sudden alterations in established customs, it is clear that their elaboration indicates slow and hardly perceptible development over long periods of time and the middens must be dated in millennia. The hypothesis put forward by some scholars that the Andamanese are descended from negro slaves who escaped while on their way to the Portuguese colonies in India in the sixteenth or, at the earliest, fifteenth centuries, seems therefore quite untenable, in face of the abundant evidence in favour of the great antiquity of the middens and of the people who built them up.

It seems clear that during the last few thousand years, successive waves of migration have taken place over a whole area bounded on the west by the Andamans and Nicobars. All indications point to a close connection between the Andamanese and the peoples to the westward, the Negrito element remaining alone and almost untouched in the Andamans, but becoming submerged in the Nicobars into the mongoloid element of more recent origin. Even today a number of Nicobarese show signs of Negrito ancestry; short in stature, they have crinkly hair which although long is very different from the straight black hair of the mongoloid element, and their heads, noses and lips bear clear signs of Negrito ancestry.

In addition to these more general conclusions the middens also cast some light on the origin, still somewhat problematical, of the wretched Jarawas of Great Andaman. Comparisons between their middens and those of the Onges show that there were in the past communal huts on Great Andaman exactly the same as those still extant today on Little Andaman.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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535 628 301 to take part in the attack on their enemies, i.e., all the able-bodied adult males, decorated themselves with red paint and white clay, and put on ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf or netting and shells. Each man held in his hands or placed in his belt or head-dress plumes of shredded *Tetranthera* wood (called *čelmo* in *Aka-Jeru*, *uj* in *Aka-Bea*). These plumes of shredded wood are now often worn or carried in an ordinary dance, but I believe that in former times they were the distinctive sign of a war-dance. To make them, a short length of the wood is taken (generally a piece of an old broken pig-arrow) and the wood is carefully shredded with a *Cyrena* shell, care being taken not to break any of the longitudinal fibres. One end is then tied with a piece of string or fibre. Similar plumes are made from *Pandanus* wood, and are carried or worn in a similar manner.

When the attacking party set out from their village each man wears a plume of shredded *Tetranthera* wood thrust into the back of his belt. They rub their bows with the shredded wood, [789] and say that this has the effect of making their own bows shoot well and those of their enemies shoot badly.

682 784 If a man kills another in a fight between two villages, or in a private quarrel, he leaves his village and goes to live by himself in the jungle, where he must stay for some weeks, or even months. His wife, and one or two of his friends may live with him or visit him and attend to his wants. For some weeks the homicide must observe a rigorous tabu. He must not handle a bow or arrow. He must not feed himself or touch any food with his hands, but must be fed by his wife or a friend. He must keep his neck and upper lip covered with red paint, and must wear plumes of shredded *Tetranthera* wood (*čelmo*) in his belt before and behind, and in his necklace at the back of his neck. If he breaks any of these rules it is supposed that the spirit of the man he has killed will cause him to be ill. At the end of a few weeks the homicide undergoes a sort of purification ceremony. [783] His hands are first rubbed with white clay (*tol-odu*) and then with red paint. After this he may wash his hands and may then feed himself with his hands and may handle bows and arrows. He retains the plumes of shredded wood for a year or so.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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776 821 796 during which they eat the grub. When the time agreed upon for the performance of the ceremony arrives, all the members of the community are careful to be in the camp before sunset. As soon as the sun sets and the cicadæ begin their shrill cry, all the men, women and children present begin to make as much noise as they possibly can, by banging on the sounding-board, striking the ground with bamboos, beating pieces of wood together, or hammering on the sides of canoes, while at the same time shouting. They continue the noise, which entirely drowns that of the cicada, until after darkness has fallen. The rite may be performed, I believe, two or more times, on successive evenings. My informant explained the rite by saying that the natives have been eating the cicada, and the rite is intended to "kill" those that are left. After the rite the cicada disappears and is not seen or heard for some weeks, and there follow four months of fine weather with little rain.

776 821 784 The beliefs relating to bees'-wax, to the various edible roots, and to the cicada, are the same in all the Great Andaman tribes, and are by far the most important of those connected with *Biliku*. In the North Andaman *Biliku* is supposed to be angry if any one kills a *biliku* (spider) a *reo* (a species of insect making a noise like a cicada, during the daytime, which I often heard, but never saw), or a *čatlo* (a species of beetle). There is also a bird, which I was not able to identify, called *tǫrǫi*, which belongs to *Biliku* and may not be killed.

In the *A-Pučikwar* tribe it is said that two species of fish, called *unakoro* and *liwat* belong to *Bilik* and may not be killed. A mollusc, called *towa*, also belongs to *Bilik*, and is for that reason never eaten. A bird called *Bilik-l'ar-dala* (probably the same bird that is called *tǫrǫi* in the North Andaman) may not be killed.

In the *Akar-Bale* tribe I was told that two kinds of wood, *bukura* and *worago*, must not be used for firewood, for fear of offending *Puluga*, to whom they belong. *Bukura* is a species of *Diospyros* (ebony).

776 821 789 The only punishment that *Biliku* ever inflicts on human beings when she is angry with them for any reason, is to send violent storms. The way to stop a storm seems to be to frighten

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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Biliku. One means of doing this is to throw the leaves of the *Mimusops littoralis* in the fire. These leaves explode with the heating of the juices and make a crackling or popping noise, which it is said that *Biliku* dislikes. I believe, however, that if any one were thus to burn *Mimusops* leaves during fine weather, it would be regarded as likely to cause a storm. The most efficacious means of stopping a storm is to do some of the things that *Biliku* most dislikes. To burn bees'-wax, or to go into the jungle and damage or destroy the creepers that belong to her, these are the heroic remedies against *Biliku's* anger. 776 821 789

The question of the Andamanese beliefs about storms is complicated by the fact that although all storms are said to be made by *Puluga* or *Biliku*, yet there is an alternative and contradictory belief that storms are made by the spirits of the sea (*Jurua*). It is said that if a piece of the *Anadendron paniculatum* creeper were to be burnt there would be a great cyclone, but this appears to be associated, not with *Biliku*, but with the spirits of the sea. It will be shown later that there is a special connection between the *Jurua* and this plant. The belief that a storm will arise if turtle fat be allowed to burn in the fire seems also to be connected with the *Jurua* and not with *Biliku*. The same is probably the case with a belief that rain will come if a *Ficus laccifera* tree be damaged. 776 821 784

Some of the methods used to stop storms are also probably connected with the spirits and not with *Biliku*. One such method is to go into the sea and swish arrows about in the water. One *oko-jumu* (medicine-man) of the North Andaman is reputed to have stopped a big cyclone by taking a few pieces of *Anadendron paniculatum* and crushing them, and then diving into the sea and placing the crushed creeper under a stone. An *oko-jumu* who died while I was in the islands is supposed to have been able to stop a storm by similarly placing leaves and twigs of the *Ficus laccifera* (*reyko*) under a rock in the sea. 776 821 789

To complete the account of this part of the Andamanese beliefs it is necessary to quote what Mr Man writes about the tribes of the South Andaman. Mr Man describes *Puluga* as a "Supreme Being" and says that some of the beliefs of the Andamanese relating to him "approximate closely to the true 776

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

their encampment when the phenomenon occurs, they invariably secrete themselves, at the bottom of a boat, for example, if fishing, and remain silent for a short time before venturing to resume their interrupted employment. 776 821

5. Between dawn and sunrise they will do no work, save what is noiseless, lest the sun should be offended, and cause an eclipse, storm, or other misfortune to overtake them. If, therefore, they have occasion to start on a journey or hunting expedition at so early an hour, they proceed as quietly as possible, and refrain from the practice, observed at other periods of the day, of testing the strength of their bow-strings, as the snapping noise caused thereby is one of those to which the sun objects. 784 821

6. They invariably partake of a meal soon after rising, as it is believed that no luck can attend any one who starts to his day's work on an empty stomach. 777 264

7. They dare not use the wood of the tree called *al·aba-* (the bark of which supplies the fibre used in making harpoon lines and turtle nets) for cooking turtle, for, as will be found elsewhere,[1] this is an act so abhorrent to *mai·a .ō·gar-* that he visits the offenders with summary and condign punishment. 776

8. In tempestuous weather the leaves of the *Mimusops Indica* are constantly thrown on the fires, as the popping sounds thus produced are thought to have the effect of assuaging *Pū·luga-*'s fury and causing the weather to moderate. 821 776 [789]

9. When they see a dark cloud approaching at a time when rain would prove very inconvenient, as when hunting, travelling, &c., they advise *Pū·luga-* to divert its course by shouting "*.wâ·ra-jō·bo kō·pke, kō·pke, kō·pke*" [*Wā·ra-jōbo*[2] will bite, bite, bite (you)]. If in spite of this a shower falls they imagine that *Pū·luga-* is undeterred by their warning.

10. This practice of menacing *Pū·luga-* is probably that to which Colonel Symes alluded when he wrote that "they confess the influence of a malignant Being, and, during the south-west monsoon, when tempests prevail with unusual violence, they deprecate his wrath by wild choruses."

11. Storms are regarded as indications of *Pū·luga-*'s anger; winds are his breath, and are caused to be blown by his will; when it thunders *Pū·luga-* is said to be growling at something which has annoyed him; and lightning, they say, is a burning log flung by him at the object of his wrath.

12. There is an idea current that if during the first half of the rainy season they eat the *Caryota sobolifera*, or pluck and eat the seeds of the *Entada pursætha*, or gather yams or other edible 821 776 262

[1] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraph 32.

[2] This snake, as already mentioned under "Medicine," appears to be the *Ophiophagus elaps*.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

821 776 262 roots, another deluge would be the consequence, for *Pū·luga-* is supposed to require these for his own consumption at that period of the year; the restriction, however, does not extend to the *fallen* seeds of the *Entada pursætha*, which may be collected and eaten at any time with impunity.

821 776 789 13. Another of the offences visited by *Pū·luga-* with storms is the burning of beeswax,[1] the smell of which is said to be peculiarly obnoxious to him. Owing to this belief it is a common practice secretly to burn wax when a person against whom they bear ill-will is engaged in fishing, hunting, or the like, the object being to spoil his sport and cause him as much discomfort as possible; hence arises the saying among them, when suddenly overtaken by a storm, that some one must be burning wax.

776 821 787 14. The rainbow is regarded as *ē·rem-chàu·gala's* dancing or sounding board, which is only visible at certain times; its appearance is said to betoken approaching sickness or death to one of their number, and is, therefore, inauspicious.[2]

823 776 15. There are no superstitions anent hills, valleys, rocks, &c., which, as stated in my last paper,[3] *Pū·luga-* is believed to have formed for some purpose of his own. The formation of creeks is attributed to a fortunate accident, the account of which being connected with their traditions must be reserved for that section.[4]

823 775 16. They imagine earthquakes to be caused by some mischievous male spirits of their deceased ancestors, who, in their impatience at the delay in the resurrection, combine to shake the palm-tree on which they believe the earth to rest, in the hope thereby of destroying the cane bridge[5] which stretches between this world and heaven, and alone maintains the former in its present position. These selfish spirits are, however, said to be careful never to indulge in such practices during the dry months, as they imagine that, in consequence of the surface of the earth being then much cracked with heat, there would be considerable risk of its tumbling about their ears and crushing them instead of toppling over in one solid mass. They are said, therefore, never to play at earthquakes except during, or shortly after, the rainy season. But for the intervention of female spirits, who do their utmost to dissuade or prevent their male companions from continued enjoyment of this dangerous pastime, they are persuaded that there would be much cause for alarm on every occurrence of an earthquake.

775 17. They believe that every child which is conceived has had a

[1] *d'ya pid-* (*vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 4, footnote).
[2] The Chippewey Indians call it the dancing spirit (*vide* "Travels in the Interior of North America," by Maximilian, Prince of Wied).
[3] *Vide ante* "Topography," paragraph 3.
[4] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraph 13.
[5] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 25.

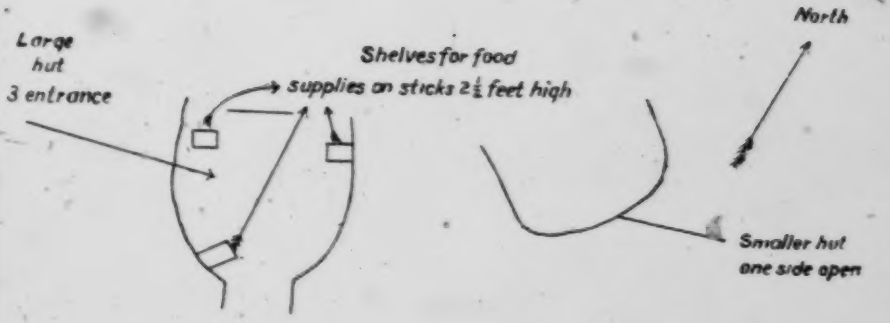
24th February.—Left camp about 7-30 A.M. Our party consisted of :— 000

Mr. Vaux.
Mr. Rogers.
Mr. Benig.
16 Andamanese.

(1) Henry.	(9) Jack.
(2) Golot.	(10) Thomas.
(3) Magri.	(11) Aré.
(4) Daniel.	(12) Dura.
(5) Bobby.	(13) Borat.
(6) Beala.	(14) David.
(7) Mathew.	(15) Bembot.
(8) Walogs.	(16) Iraged.

One policeman.
My *mallah* Sher Khan.
Mr. Benig's servant.
Mr. Vaux's servant.

We first went south with little east in it along a stream, which we then followed up to its source and along a ridge and up a slope to the top of a rounded hill with gentle slopes, the highest hill about. The top of the hill was a bamboo forest. Found a rains hunting camp perched on the summit of the hill of two huts, one of which was much larger than the cold weather hunting camps. The huts were arranged as shown below and were under the shade of bamboos. 361



We reached this camp about 9 A.M. The thatching leaves were quite dry, but the roofs were in good order and waterproof. There is no water anywhere near it in the cold weather.

David (Andamanese) and two others had come on as far as this camp yesterday while reconnoitring for the path, so took us at a smart walk to it.

We then went down the flanks of this hill (shown as an intersected point on the survey map) and followed down a stream some way, and leaving it crossed a ridge and followed down another stream and came upon another hunting camp, which had been recently vacated: the Andamanese said probably about four days ago.

On our way to this camp we found some branches bent down in hoops and tied across the path. The Andamanese said this was done to stop the birds from telling us where the Jarawas had gone. In the camp two large stones were tied up with a piece of bark and left in the camp; we were told that this had been done for a similar reason.* [789]

* This may account for the heavy stones which are found on the bodies of persons murdered by the Jarawas.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

no specialized physicians, the Onge do not understand that payment can be 757
exacted for medical care. This stems from the fact that wages are not con- 465
sidered by those happy people as payment for any kind of work whatsoever, 123
but only as a gift. I realized this when I tried to pay my guides after our extenu- 431
ating marches through the jungle : in order to avoid offending the natives that
we had casually met in the course of our trip, I had to give equal reward to
everybody.

The Onge consider some men or women better endowed than others with 753
anti-malefic influence ; but these too neither demand nor receive wages for [756]
their services. Evil spirits or evil persons are believed to be principally responsible for illness. A series of superstitions and remarkable habits derive from this belief. The above-mentioned precautions concerning the *naquinēghē* are among them. For identical reasons they carefully hide hair cuttings, but not nail [515]
parings, for the simple reason that nails are never cut but worn down by digging for edible roots, fishing, and other rough work. Superstition, as we know, is also the reason for painting the body to prevent fever and other ills.

In the depths of their jungle the Onge appear to practice some kind of witchcraft. On several occasions I noticed the mysterious behaviour of some 789
natives travelling with me. Occasionally a man left our marching column to examine the inside of a huge hollow tree and signal to his friends. They did not prevent me from looking into the hollow, where I saw only a simple structure of short sticks resembling a trap without being one. The Onge do not use [224]
traps ; moreover, those structures were far too flimsy to catch anything. Often, two or three men assembled in consultation, rearranged the sticks that had probably been dislodged by the passage of lizards, crabs or other small animals, and walked away silently. I could get no explanation on the matter. Certainly the Onge are sagacious observers of animal and vegetable life and have deep knowledge of their hidden properties. Some trees are probably used for magical purposes, but, I insist, it is impossible as yet to affirm it. The structures in question consisted of four vertical sticks, about 30 cms long, joined at the top by four more sticks of approximately the same length, placed horizontally. The result was a box-like frame, loose and unsecured. The slightest disturbance, such as a light breeze, could destroy the flimsy construction. As far as I could guess they invested those structures with curative properties, but in what manner remains a mystery. I noticed analogous practices among Central [171]
African Pygmies and other primitives.

It is very clear that the Onge dread illness and magic spells, for they 754
consider themselves at a loss in fighting such evils. Unhygienic habits are of no 751
importance to them.

Resting is considered favorable to good health. The Onge indulge vo- 517
luptuously in rest, interrupting it, however, with too frequent sexual excursions. 751
They mainly rest from doing nothing, because 90 % of their time is spent in 461
what, for them, is the most agreeable manner of enjoying life.

In mid-March, when the honey harvest reaches its peak, the Onge guzzle 262

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

They have neither incantations, amulets nor propitiating signs to help them. Even the *marque de chasse* found on their arrow heads had no major significance; in all probability they merely served to indicate the best arrow and at most they served as a warning to the womenfolk not to touch them (it is interesting that I never saw any woman or child with a bow or an arrow). But this is as far as they go towards superstition, and its only effect is to enhance the division of duties between the sexes. 227 789 [982]

The Onges, unlike the Jarawas and Arioto, have never lost the art of canoe making, and the building of a new canoe is an important matter. The selected tree, always one of the three species of *Sterculia*, is felled and then hollowed out slowly and laboriously with a rudimentary form of hatchet, the work often being done by one man alone. The weight of the felled trunk makes it necessary for the work to be done where it falls, but after much patient whittling away the resulting canoe is extremely light, with thin walls, though still not light enough to be carried to the water, never far away. A series of short logs are used as rollers in the age-old way and the builder's friends all gather to help clear a way through the undergrowth and prepare the rollers. Only a few are needed; all is soon ready and the Onges watch delightedly as the canoe glides away down to the shore. These canoe-ways often provided me with an easy path to the sea if I came upon them in the forest. Sometimes they led not to shore but to one of the many creeks, where salt water and marine fauna penetrate miles inland and make it easy for the Onges to launch their canoes from a point far from the sea. 396 [184] [824] [483]

The Onge canoe, hollowed out in one piece, is a survival of the ancient canoes of the Neolithic age, found in Switzerland and elsewhere in Europe. It survives in the Andamans, and through Oceania to the Americas, in northern Asia (notably among the Ainu) in south-west Asia, and even in south-east Africa. 501 171

The canoe has no distinction between bow and stern, and is commonly navigated from either. At each end of the canoe a crude platform juts out, on which the harpoon throwers stand. Very careful attention is paid to the float, which is fragile, and is therefore kept on the lee side. The object of it is to prevent the canoe from capsizing, which it is otherwise very liable to do owing to its round keel, always left in the natural shape of the tree-trunk. I had some experiences of rough seas in one of these canoes 501

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Brown states that dugong skulls are found among the hunting trophies of the Andamanese. I can myself vouch for the fact that this is not the case among the Onges or the twenty-three surviving Arioto; both keep dugong jaws and long bones, but the skulls of only pigs and turtles. The Andamanese in general do not regard animal bones as having the same protective powers as human; the existence in the Andamans of any magical practices connected with either animal or human bones has not, in my view, been adequately proved. In the absence of such proof I feel unable to agree with the authors who assert that these practices do exist, and I am inclined to feel that the cultural level of the peoples of the Andamans is so low as to rule out the existence of magic or witchcraft in any form.

From the mass of data of all kinds I was able to collect on my trips to the Andamans, a general pattern emerges from which it is possible to draw substantial conclusions as to the cultural and somatic origins of the Onges and hence of the other peoples of the archipelago. To summarize these conclusions must inevitably involve some repetition of what has been said in previous chapters.

Taking first the people of the Nicobar Islands, the nearest geographically to the Andamanese, it is generally accepted that with the exception of the Shom-Pen of Great Nicobar the Nicobarese are culturally closely similar. Although there are no pure Negrito types in the Nicobars there are evident crosses, similar to those which appear in one area of Sumatra to the east, where a small Negrito component exists among a predominantly mongoloid type. This may well be the result of the Negritos having spread at one time over a very wide area and there is in fact cultural evidence in support of the suggestion.

The mongoloid somatic type of the Nicobars appears in the general shape and proportions of the body, skin colour, facial contours, and the hair, which is long and straight, unlike that of the Negritos. Both types, however, have scant body hair, and differ in this respect from the pygmies of Africa.

Although the size and skin colour of most Nicobarese is very different from the Onges, a few are strikingly like them in facial contours, size, and woolly hair. There are also legends of a people who lived in the Nicobars long ago, small, very black, with tight

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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186 Andaman tribes to the natives of the Little Andaman. On the
775 other hand they called Polynesians *Lau*.

For many centuries the Andaman Islanders have been accustomed to see light-skinned men visit their shores in ships, Europeans, natives from the coasts of India, Burma and Malaya, and occasionally perhaps Chinese. To these aliens they gave the name of *Lau*, apparently regarding them as visitors from the only other world they knew of, the world of spirits[1]. The clothes that these "spirits" wore they called *Lau ot-julu*, the word *ot-julu* meaning "cold."

775 The spirits of the forest and the sea are believed to be generally invisible, but there are tales of men and women who have seen them, and their personal appearance is sometimes described. The descriptions vary considerably from one informant to another. One of the commonest statements is that they are light or white skinned. (The Andamanese vocabulary does not allow of any distinction between white and a light gray or a light shade of colour.) One man, however, said that the forest spirits are black (or dark), while the sea spirits are white (or light). I was told several times that the spirits have long hair and beards (the Andamanese having, as a rule, no beard, and their hair, being frizzy, never growing to any length). Their arms and legs are said to be abnormally long, while they have only small bodies. Though there is no uniformity in the way in which the natives describe the spirits of the jungle and the sea, there is a notable tendency to associate them with the grotesque, the ugly, and the fearful. There is a common belief that the spirits, both of the jungle and of the sea, carry about with them lights, which several men and women claim to have seen.

In reply to the question as to how the spirits of the forest and the sea originated, the natives all agree in saying that they are the spirits of dead men and women.

•791 The jungle spirits live in a village (or villages) in the forest.
775 There is a belief that mortals wandering by themselves in the jungle have been captured by the spirits. Should the captive

[1] A similar custom is found in many savage tribes. Thus in many parts of Australia the aborigines call white men by the same name that they apply to the spirits of the dead.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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show any fear, my informants said, the spirits would kill him, but 791
if he were brave they would take him to their village, detaining 775
him for a time, and then releasing him to return to his friends. A man to whom such an adventure has happened will be endowed for the rest of his life with power to perform magic. He will pay occasional visits to his friends the spirits. The natives told me of one such man who died not many years ago. At irregular intervals he used to wander off into the jungle by himself and remain absent for a few hours, sometimes for a day or two. He returned to the village after such an absence looking strange and wearing ornaments of shredded palm-leaf (*koro*) which he claimed had been placed upon him by the spirits.

Save for persons who have made friends with them, and have 753
thereby become endowed with magical powers, all contact with 775
the spirits of the jungle and the sea, or with the spirit of a dead man, is dangerous. The spirits are believed to be the cause of all sickness and of all deaths resulting from sickness. As a man wanders in the jungle or by the sea, the spirits come invisibly and strike him, whereupon he falls ill, and may die. A man or woman is more likely to be attacked by the spirits if he or she is alone, and it is therefore always better to be in company when away from the village. The spirits rarely venture into the village itself, though they may prowl round it, particularly at night. They are more dangerous at night than during the day.

There are many objects that are believed to have the power 751
of keeping spirits at a distance, and thus of preserving human 775
beings from the danger of sickness. Amongst the most important of these are fire, arrows, human bones, bees'-wax, and red paint. A man or a woman leaving a hut to go only a few yards at night will always carry a fire-brand as a protection against spirits that may be prowling in the neighbourhood. If the night be dark a torch is carried in addition to the fire-stick.

The Andamanese will never whistle at night, as they believe [784]
that the noise of whistling would attract spirits. On the other hand they believe that singing will keep the spirits away.

The spirits that haunt the woods and waters of a man's own 775
home are regarded as being less dangerous to him than those of

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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associated with *Puluga* or *Biliku*. All the versions that I heard, 775
however, referred to the past and not to the future[1].

The Andamanese speak of unconsciousness as "death," and 761
regard a person who has been unconscious for some time as 828
having been dead and returned to life again. I was once told that an old man in the village was "dead" and found him in a state of coma from which he recovered and lived for several days. There are stories of persons having returned to life even after they have been buried. One such tale was told me in the North Andaman. A man died and was buried. As his friends and relatives, after packing up their belongings, were leaving the camp in their canoes, the man's voice was heard calling. His wife and mother turned back and met him and took him in their canoe. He lived for some time after this and then he died and was buried again. Again the same thing happened, the dead man re-appearing just as they were setting off in their canoes from the camp that they were deserting on account of his death. Finally the man died a third time. When he was buried this time the men dug a very deep hole some distance from the camp, and then hurried back to the camp and hastily gathered up their belongings and left it. Nothing more was seen of the dead man, but when, after the lapse of some months, they went to dig up the bones, they found the mat and leaves and rope in which the corpse had been bound, but there were no bones.

Amongst the coast-dwellers of the North Andaman I found 761
a belief that the soul of a dying man goes out with the ebbing 775
tide.

There are, amongst the Andamanese, certain individuals who 756
are distinguished from their fellows by the supposed possession 791
of supernatural powers. These specially favoured persons

[1] It may be noted that in the Andamanese languages there is no future tense of the verb, and it is often very difficult to know whether a speaker is referring to the present or to the future. Further, although there is a past tense, a native often uses the present tense in a narrative relating to the past, so that a statement relating to the past and one relating to the future may have exactly the same grammatical form. Mr Ellis, writing in the *Journal of the Philological Society* (1882) from information supplied by Mr Man, gives a verbal suffix *-ngabo* denoting the future in the *Aka-Bea* language. Mr Portman points out that this is an error. (*Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman*, p. 88.)

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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756 correspond, to some degree, with the medicine-men, magicians
791 or shamans of other primitive societies. The name for these medicine-men in the North Andaman is *oko-jumu*, meaning literally "dreamer" or "one who speaks from dreams" from a stem *-jumu* the primary meaning of which refers to the phenomena of dreams. In *Aka-Bea* the corresponding term is *oko-paiad*, and according to Mr Man, this term also means "dreamer." Mr Portman, however, gives *taraba* as the *Aka-Bea* word for "dream" or "to dream."

According to a statement by Mr Man, only men can possess the powers that entitle them to be regarded as *oko-paiad*[1]. The natives whom I questioned told me that a woman may possess the same powers, though it is more usual for men to become famous in this way than women. There is no very clear dividing line between those who are *oko-jumu* or *oko-paiad* and those who are not; one person may possess the powers in only a slight degree, so as scarcely to differentiate him from others, while another may be much more highly gifted.

At the present time it is no longer possible to obtain full and satisfactory information on this subject. Most of the old *oko-jumu* and *oko-paiad* are now dead. Amongst the younger men there are a few who pretend to the position, but the recent intercourse with foreigners has produced a degree of scepticism in such matters that makes it difficult or nearly impossible to obtain any reliable information as to the former beliefs from any but the very old men. To this difficulty must be added that in talking to some of the very few old men who could have given more valuable information I had to make use of an interpreter, and though they might have been willing to confide to me some of the secrets of their profession they would not do so before a younger man of their own race.

791 The powers of a dreamer, supernatural as they are, can
761 only be acquired by supernatural means, through contact in one
756 way or another with the spirits (i.e. the *Lau* or *Čauga*). One way
775 of coming into contact with the spirits is by death. If a man should, as the natives put it, die and then come back to life again,

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 96.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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he is, by that adventure, endowed with the power that makes a medicine-man. One man of the *Aka-Kọra* tribe was pointed out to me as having obtained his powers in this way. It would seem that during a serious illness he was unconscious for some twelve hours or so, and his friends thought that he was dead. A medicine-man whom I met with in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe was said to have died and come to life again three times. Another man, whom I did not meet, was described to me as a great *oko-jumu*, and from the description given it seemed to me that he was subject to epileptic fits. As against this, however, Mr Man states that "epilepsy is a recognised form of malady, but the fits are not regarded in a superstitious light[1]."

Another way in which a man can acquire magical powers is by direct communication with the spirits. A man who died a few years ago was believed by the natives to have once met with some spirits in the jungle, and to have acquired in this way the powers of an *oko-jumu*. He used to go off into the jungle by himself at intervals and hold communication with the spirits with whom he had made friends. From such a visit he had returned with his head decorated with shredded palm-leaf fibre (*kọro*) which had, so he said, been placed on him by the spirits. This man had a reputation as a powerful *oko-jumu*.

In a less degree the powers of an *oko-jumu* may be obtained through dreams. It is believed that certain men have the power of communicating with the spirits in dreams, and such men are *oko-jumu*. If a man or boy experiences dreams that are in any way extraordinary, particularly if, in his dreams he sees spirits, either the spirits of dead persons known to him when alive, or spirits of the forest or the sea, he may acquire in time the reputation of a medicine-man.

A man may claim some degree of magical power, and yet his claims may not be recognized by others. Each *oko-jumu* has to make his own reputation, and to sustain it when made. This he can only do by demonstrating his power to others. Once this reputation is his, he not only receives the respect of others but also makes a considerable personal profit. Every one is anxious to be on good terms with one who is believed to

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 83.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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756 have extraordinary powers. Hence a man who is an acknowledged
791 *oko-jumu* is sure to receive a good share of the game caught by others, and presents of all kinds from those who seek his good-will.

756 As the name implies, and in whatever way his power may have
791 been obtained, an *oko-jumu* is privileged to dream in a way that
828 less favoured persons do not. In his dreams he can communicate with the spirits of the dead. In dreams, also, so the natives say,
787 he is able to cause the illness of an enemy or to cure that of a
755 friend.

By his communication with the spirits, in dreams, or in waking life, the *oko-jumu* acquires magical knowledge that he is able to turn to account in curing illness and in preventing bad weather. When a person is ill the *oko-jumu* is often consulted as to the best means of treating the patient. His treatment is often limited to the recommendation, or the application, of some one or other of the recognized remedies. He may undertake to dispel the spirits that are supposed to be the cause of the disease, which he does by addressing them and conjuring them to go away, or by the use of one or other of the substances and objects that are believed to have the power of keeping spirits at a distance. Sometimes the *oko-jumu* will promise to cure the patient by means of dreams. It is believed that in his dreams he can communicate with the spirits and can persuade them to help him to cure the sick person.

791 Besides their power of causing or curing sickness, the
oko-jumu are credited with being able to control the weather.
821 As has been shown, the Andamanese believe that the weather is under the control of two beings named *Biliku* and *Tarai*. There
756 is, however, an alternative and contradictory belief, which is also held, that the weather is controlled by the spirits, and particularly by those of the sea. The means taken by magicians or others to prevent bad weather can be divided into two kinds according as they are directed against *Biliku* or *Tarai*, or against the spirits of the sea. As an example of the very simple rites which are performed for this purpose, two cases may be quoted. One of the *oko-jumu* of the Northern tribes, now dead, once stopped a very violent storm by crushing between two stones

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a piece of the *Anadendron paniculatum* and diving with it into the sea where he placed it under a rock on the reef. A more recent example is very similar. A man still living, named *Jire Pilečar*, who was, in a way, the successor of the man formerly mentioned, is said to have stopped a violent storm by using the leaves and bark of the *Ficus laccifera* in the same way, that is by crushing them and placing them under a rock in the sea. In both these cases it would seem that the rite was directed not against *Biliku* and *Tarai*, but against the *Jurua*. 791 821 756

Apart from his power to communicate directly with the spirits, the *oko-jumu* owes his position to a superior knowledge of the magical properties of common substances and objects. This knowledge he is supposed to obtain from the spirits. However, a lesser degree of knowledge on such matters is possessed by everybody. Thus in the treatment of sickness there are a number of magical remedies of which anyone can make use without consulting an *oko-jumu*. 756 791 [755]

A complete enumeration of all the things that are believed to possess magical properties is, of course, not possible, but the following notes refer to all the most important.

We may consider first of all the magical properties of mineral substances. One of the most important of these is red ochre. Yellow ochre, which is found in pockets in many parts of the islands, is collected and burnt, when it turns red, and the powder so obtained is either used by itself or is made into a paint with pig or turtle fat. The powder is mixed with water and taken internally. Red paint is applied to the throat and chest for coughs and colds and sore throats, and round the ear for ear-ache. When a man feels unwell he often smears red paint on his upper lip just below his nostrils. In this way, the natives say, the "smell" of the paint cures his sickness. The paint is sometimes used as a dressing for wounds or centipede bites. Its use for ornamenting the body on ceremonial occasions has already been noted in the last chapter. 755 278 823

In the North Andaman a soft red stone is found, called *talar*. This is used as a substitute for red paint. It is rubbed on the body, or it is powdered and the powder is mixed with water and taken internally.

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CHAPTER IV

MYTHS AND LEGENDS

713 THE Andamanese have a number of stories which are told to the younger people by their elders and relate to the doings of their ancestors in a time long ago. Some of these stories are recorded in the present chapter. A difficulty in the way of giving any clear and readable account of them is the fact that there are many slightly different versions of one and the same legend. To some extent the variations are local, each tribe, and even each portion of a tribe having its own set of legendary stories. Besides these local variations there are also individual variations. Two men of the same tribe may relate what is substantially the same story, yet each chooses his own words and gestures, and to some extent they may even arrange the incidents differently.

713 In the last chapter it was mentioned that there are certain individuals, known as *oko-jumu* in the North Andaman and
•791 *oko-paiad* in the South, who are believed to have special know-
756 ledge as to the spirits and as to the magical efficacy of remedies for sickness. It is these *oko-jumu* also who are the authorities on the legendary lore of the Andamanese. In the case of magical remedies there is a certain common stock of beliefs as to the efficacy to be attributed to different substances, such as leaves of different plants, and on the basis of these beliefs the *oko-jumu* elaborates the remedies that he uses in particular cases. Each *oko-jumu*, however, prides himself on being, to some extent, original. An example of this has been already mentioned. When a great storm arose an *oko-jumu* of one of the Northern tribes succeeded in stopping it (in the belief of

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the natives) by placing a piece of the crushed stem of the *Anadendron* creeper under a particular stone in the sea. On a later occasion another storm arose, and the successor of the first-mentioned *oko-jumu* was appealed to that he might exert his powers. He did not simply imitate his predecessor, but he placed a piece of crushed bark and twigs of the *Ficus laccifera* in the sea under a different stone. In very much the same way there is a common stock of beliefs as to the events that took place in the time of the ancestors, but each *oko-jumu* builds up on this basis his own particular set of legends, so that it is rarely that two of them tell the same story in the same way. An *oko-jumu* may obtain for himself a reputation by relating legends of the ancestors in a vivid and amusing way. Such a man would be able to invent new stories by combining together in his own way some of the traditional incidents. The desire on the part of each *oko-jumu* to be original and so to enhance his own reputation is a fertile source of variation in the legends.

This lack of traditional form, which is a very important characteristic of the Andamanese mythology, may be compared with their lack of traditional songs. Just as every man composes his own songs, so, within certain limits, every *oko-jumu* relates in his own way the legends of his tribe. But whereas every man is a composer of songs, only a certain number are regarded as having authority to speak on the legends.

Underlying the legends of any tribe there are a certain number of beliefs or representations with which every native is familiar. It is on the basis of these that the *oko-jumu* elaborates his own doctrine, if we may call it so, which he hands on to his followers, who in turn may become *oko-jumu* and produce further slight modifications of their own. Thus the legends are continually being changed, though in any one generation the changes introduced are slight, and it would take a long time for important changes in belief to be brought about. There is evidence, however, that a succession of leading men in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe have succeeded in introducing a new doctrine as to the weather, making *Bilik* the name of a class of beings instead of the name of a single being, and that this

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I gathered a few hints that they even believe that at times the spirits can and will help them. Thus a man will call on the sea-spirits of his own country to send plenty of turtle (over which the spirits seem to be assumed to have power) when he is going hunting. A very important fact in this connection is the different way in which a native regards the spirits of his own country and of other parts, the latter being thought to be much more dangerous than the former because presumably they are the spirits not of relatives and friends but of strangers at the best or enemies at the worst. 182X

There is other evidence that the Andamanese do not regard the power that is possessed by the spirits as being essentially evil. This power, whereby the spirits are able to cause sickness, seems to be shared by the bones of dead men. Indeed the Andamanese call such bones "spirit-bones" (*lau-ṭoi, čauga-ta*). Now this power in the bones (though it may at times be supposed to cause sickness) is more commonly made use of in order to prevent or cure it.

The most conclusive evidence that the power of the spirits is not intrinsically evil, but may be used to produce both good and evil is afforded by the beliefs about medicine-men or dreamers (*oko-jumu*). There are three ways in which a man can become a medicine-man. The first is (as the natives put it) by dying and coming back to life. Now when a man dies he becomes a spirit and therefore acquires the peculiar powers and qualities of a spirit, which he retains if he returns to life. Secondly, if a man straying in the jungle by himself be affronted by the spirits, and if he show no fear (for if he is afraid they will kill him) they may keep him with them for a time and then let him go. Such a man, on his return, is regarded as being a medicine-man, and possessing all the powers of medicine-men. I was told of one man who became a medicine-man in this way within living memory, and it was stated that when he returned from the forest where he had been kept by the spirits for two or three days he was decorated with *ḳoro* fibre. We have seen that this fibre is used by the spirits in the ceremony by which they initiate dead men, and its presence on the returned warrior was perhaps accepted by his friends as evidence that he had been initiated by the spirits. The third and last way in which a man may become a medicine-man is by having 182X 791 756

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intercourse with the spirits in his dreams. This is a point to which it will be necessary to return later. For the present it is sufficient to note that in every instance the power of the medicine-man is believed to be derived from his contact with the spirits in one of the three possible ways.

We are justified in concluding that the special power of the medicine-man, by which he is distinguished from his fellows, is simply the same power that is possessed by the spirits, from contact with whom he has obtained it. The medicine-man is believed to be able both to cause and to cure sickness, to arouse and to dispel storms. In other words he has power for both good and evil, and we must conclude that the spirits have the same. Moreover, it is commonly said that the medicine-man is able to produce the effects he does, whether they be harmful or beneficial to his fellows, by communicating with the spirits in dreams and enlisting their aid. This would seem to prove the point that I am here concerned with, that the power possessed by the spirits, though contact with it is always dangerous, may yet in certain circumstances be of benefit to the society, and is therefore not essentially evil in nature.

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The Andamanese believe that a medicine-man communicates with the spirits in sleep, and this is not the only evidence that they believe sleep to be a condition in which contact with the world of spirits is easier than in waking life. It is believed that sickness is more likely to begin during sleep than when awake. During the initiation ceremonies the initiate is required to abstain from sleep after eating pork or turtle, and this would seem to be because sleep is regarded as generally dangerous and therefore to be avoided on such occasions as this when every precaution needs to be taken.

The explanation of this belief seems to lie in the fact that sleep is a condition of diminished social activity, in which the individual is withdrawn from active social life, and is therefore also withdrawn from the protection of the society. After eating turtle the initiate is in urgent need of the protection of the society, which would be lost to him if he were permitted to sleep. After a death, when the corpse remains in the camp all night the people remain awake, and since there is no other common activity in

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000 possible are required before we can speak with certainty regarding the extent, limits, and conditions of heredity among this race; but it has been noticed that, as a general rule, they have excellent memories, especially on those subjects in which the intellects of their ancestors have been consciously or unconsciously exercised or cultivated in the savage state. The following passage will afford an illustration of the intelligence displayed by these people on such subjects. It is taken from the late Mr. Kurz's Report on the Vegetation of the Andaman Islands:—
824 "While I was in the Andamans I was in the habit of consulting people (convicts) from the most different parts of India for the native names of the plants. As a general result, I may state that the Burmans were best acquainted with the flora of the Andamans, but they are by no means equal to the Andamanese in accuracy and certainty of determination. While the Burmans were obliged continually to cut into the bark to recognise the trees, the Andamanese readily gave their names, and I could rely upon their statements, which was not the case at all with those of the Burmese."

787 16. Instances have been observed among them of individuals
158 possessing strong wills and vivid powers of imagination: as a race they do not appear to be subject to trances, illusions, or somnambulism, but, like many other savages, they place implicit faith in dreams, shaping their conduct in superstitious conformity to the warning or advice supposed to have been conveyed therein.

791 **Magic and Witchcraft.**—1. There are, however, certain indi-
754 viduals in these tribes, known as *ôko-pai'ad-* (*lit.*, a dreamer),
431 who are credited with the possession of supernatural powers—such as second sight, expressed by the term *âramū'ga-tâ'rabanga-*, —and of a mysterious influence over the fortunes and lives of their neighbours. It is thought that they can bring trouble, sickness, and death upon those who fail to evince their belief in them in some substantial form;[1] they thus generally manage to obtain the best of everything, for it is considered foolhardy to deny them, and they do not scruple to ask for any article to which they may take a fancy.

791 2. These quasi-seers are invariably of the male sex, and it
431 sometimes even happens that a young boy is looked upon as a "coming" *ôko-pai'ad-*, their position being generally in the first instance attained by relating an extraordinary dream, the details

[1] This reminds one somewhat of the disease makers of Tanna (New Hebrides), who are supposed to cause disease and death by burning *nahak* (rubbish, principally refuse of food), and who are propitiated by continual presents. The practice of burning beeswax, in order to cause annoyance to an enemy, will be mentioned under "Superstitions," paragraph 13.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

of which are declared to have been borne out subsequently by 791
some unforeseen event, as, for instance, a sudden death by 431
accident.

3. In order to maintain his status it is necessary for an *ôko-pai·ad-* to give fresh evidences of his powers from time to time, for, so long as his companions have faith in him, he is the constant recipient of presents of all kinds, which are unblushingly given[1] and accepted as bribes to curry favour.

4. Sometimes, owing to the multiplicity of these gifts, it is inconvenient to the *ôko-pai·ad-* to take charge of them; he then enters into an arrangement with the donors that such articles as he does not at present need shall be available for his use or appropriation whenever he may require them; hence many individuals possess property which is said to be *râ·dare* (*i.e.*, bespoken) by a certain seer, and which is, therefore, not available for presentation to anyone else.

5. If a disaster occur which they think might have been 791
averted had the *ôko-pai·ad-* chosen to exercise his powers, they are said sometimes to conspire to kill him, but so greatly is he feared that not a single instance is known of anyone having ventured to carry such a plan into execution.

6. The position and influence possessed by a seer are not affected by his falling ill, but if some serious misfortune occur to him, such as the death of a child, it is looked upon as a sign that his power is waning, or that he has at least lost a portion of it; they, however, continue to stand in awe of him unless, as time passes, he fails to afford further proof of his supposed superiority. His wife enjoys no distinction, nor is she treated with more respect and consideration than any other woman of the like age in the tribe.

7. The *ôko-pai·ad-* is credited with the power of communicat- 791
ing in dreams with the invisible powers of good and evil, and
also of seeing the spirits of the departed, or of those who are ill. 755
On the occurrence of an epidemic in an encampment, he brandishes a burning log, and bids the evil spirit keep at a distance; sometimes, as a further precaution, he plants stakes a few feet high in front of each hut, painted in stripes with black beeswax (*tō·bul-pīd-*), the smell of which being peculiarly offensive to this demon, called *ē·rem-chàu·gala*, insures his speedy departure from their midst.

8. Though we may be disposed to question the belief of the 791
*ôko-pai·ad-*s themselves in the supernatural powers they profess to possess, it is quite possible that they, like sorcerers in other

[1] Especially is this done by those advanced in years for fear of their end being hastened by the *ôko-pai·ad-* whom they fail to propitiate.

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791 savage tribes,[1] imagine themselves gifted with superior wisdom, and can hardly be blamed if they endeavour to turn their talents to account by imposing a little on the credulity of their neighbours.

101 **Tribal Distribution.**—1. The inhabitants of these islands are divided into at least nine tribes,[2] linguistically distinguished, 171 even if we reckon as one those communities to which I have already alluded under the title of *järawa-*, among whom it is 191 not improbable further divisions and dialects may eventually be 619 discovered. The conjecture that they are one is merely based on the assertions of the people of South Andaman, and on the circumstance that all the weapons, utensils, huts, &c., of the *järawa-*, which we have been able to examine, appear to be constructed invariably on the same model, while all such members of the various scattered communities as we have had the opportunity of observing, resemble each other in abstaining from the practice, so general among all the eight Great Andaman tribes, of shaving their heads and tattooing their persons. Still, these outward similarities are manifestly insufficient, affording as they do mere negative evidence, whereas our present knowledge, so tardily acquired, of there being inland communities, called *ē·rem-tâ·ga-*, dwelling in the heart of South and Middle Andaman, who are allied in all respects, save in their mode of life, with the *ârybô·to-*, or coast communities of their respective tribes, would seem to justify the belief that hereafter the aborigines of Little Andaman will be found to present not only distinctions of this nature but differences also of dialect, as is the case with the inhabitants of both North and Middle Andaman, which are known to be divided into no less than six tribes.

161 2. As to the numerical strength of these several tribes it is impossible to speak with any degree of certainty, for, as you are 619 aware, there is no part of the country which is not covered with jungle, more or less impenetrable to any but the aborigines themselves, while their capacity for estimating and expressing numbers is wholly inadequate to assist us in forming any conclusions on the subject. The surmise that the entire group contains about 4,000 souls is based on the calculation that the *.bō·jig-ngī·yi-* tribe with whom we are most intimate do not at the present day exceed 400, though at the time of our advent in 1858, they are believed to have numbered about 1,000.

133 **Topography.**—1. The chief geographical landmarks of these islands are :—

1st. *Saddle Peak*, a massive hill rising to the height of

[1] *Vide* Lubbock, "On the Origin of Civilisation," &c., 4th Ed., pp. 250–1.

[2] For the names of the various tribes, and the localities they occupy, the reader is referred to the accompanying map.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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cold and dry seasons work may be carried on day and night, as the *butu* is then seldom seen, and cannot be disturbed [1]." 776

The *butu* here mentioned is the cicada. The prohibition is not, however, as Mr Man says, against working, but against making a noise. Nor does the prohibition against noise extend to the whole night, but only to the short interval between sunset and darkness, for it is during this interval that the cicada is singing. As soon as the cicada is silent you may make as much noise as you please. 784 821

Another reference by Mr Man to the same custom is as follows: "Between dawn and sunrise they will do no work, save what is noiseless, lest the sun should be offended and cause an eclipse, storm, or other misfortune to overtake them. If, therefore, they have occasion to start on a journey or hunting expedition at so early an hour, they proceed as quietly as possible, and refrain from the practice, observed at other times of the day, of testing the strength of their bow-strings, as the snapping noise caused thereby is one of those to which the sun objects [2]."

This is really the same prohibition as that already mentioned, against making a noise when the cicada is singing. The interesting point, which will be discussed in a later chapter, is that Mr Man's informant associated the prohibition not with *Puluga*, but with the sun. All the natives with whom I talked on the matter said that they would make no noise at such a time for fear of offending the cicada, and therefore *Puluga* or *Biliku*, and so bringing a storm.

As regards the prohibition against killing the cicada, this seems to refer only to the imago. So far as I was able to observe, the natives do carefully avoid killing the cicada in its full-grown form. On the other hand the grub of the cicada is regularly killed and eaten, being regarded as a delicacy. It is only eaten during the months of October and November.

In connection with the cicada, and with the weather, there is a rite which was described to me, but which I did not see performed. According to the account given of this rite, which is called "killing the cicada," its purpose is to produce fine weather. It takes place in December, at the end of the season 776 821 796

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 165. [2] *Ibid.* p. 153.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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776 821 796 during which they eat the grub. When the time agreed upon for the performance of the ceremony arrives, all the members of the community are careful to be in the camp before sunset. As soon as the sun sets and the cicadæ begin their shrill cry, all the men, women and children present begin to make as much noise as they possibly can, by banging on the sounding-board, striking the ground with bamboos, beating pieces of wood together, or hammering on the sides of canoes, while at the same time shouting. They continue the noise, which entirely drowns that of the cicada, until after darkness has fallen. The rite may be performed, I believe, two or more times, on successive evenings. My informant explained the rite by saying that the natives have been eating the cicada, and the rite is intended to "kill" those that are left. After the rite the cicada disappears and is not seen or heard for some weeks, and there follow four months of fine weather with little rain.

776 821 784 The beliefs relating to bees'-wax, to the various edible roots, and to the cicada, are the same in all the Great Andaman tribes, and are by far the most important of those connected with *Biliku*. In the North Andaman *Biliku* is supposed to be angry if any one kills a *biliku* (spider) a *reo* (a species of insect making a noise like a cicada, during the daytime, which I often heard, but never saw), or a *čatlo* (a species of beetle). There is also a bird, which I was not able to identify, called *tọrọi*, which belongs to *Biliku* and may not be killed.

In the *A-Pučikwar* tribe it is said that two species of fish, called *unakoro* and *liwat* belong to *Bilik* and may not be killed. A mollusc, called *towa*, also belongs to *Bilik*, and is for that reason never eaten. A bird called *Bilik-l'ar-dala* (probably the same bird that is called *tọrọi* in the North Andaman) may not be killed.

In the *Akar-Bale* tribe I was told that two kinds of wood, *bukura* and *worago*, must not be used for firewood, for fear of offending *Puluga*, to whom they belong. *Bukura* is a species of *Diospyros* (ebony).

776 821 789 The only punishment that *Biliku* ever inflicts on human beings when she is angry with them for any reason, is to send violent storms. The way to stop a storm seems to be to frighten

dead were buried securely bound in a knee-to-chest position, still the custom among the Andamanese). The Onges go no further than this and the idea of a Lord of the Spirits who rules all things, although on Great Andaman there has been some progress towards more anthropomorphic concepts. The complete absence of any form of cult, prayer, representation, or votive offering cannot, I feel, be the result of cultural decline from a more advanced age; this would have resulted in gross distortion and illogical superstition, but not in complete absence of any 'religious' practices of any kind.

18 SACRIFICE

No sacrifices of any kind are practised in the Andamans, nor is there any concept of propitiation, although there is evidence that even in the late Palaeolithic era some form of ritual sacrifice was practised, at least in Europe and probably over a much wider area. One would assume from this, and from paragraph 17 above, that the Andamanese is an even older culture.

19 TABOOS

Although my own experiences among the Onges have led me to think that taboos do not exist, some authors have asserted (in my view wrongly) their existence on Great Andaman. It is not, however, possible to draw any reliable conclusions on this point.

20 CEREMONIAL

The complete absence of any form of ritual surrounding birth, the purification of women, initiation, etc., or evidence of any such ritual in the past, is striking, in view of the prevalence in all the surrounding areas of strictly observed ceremonial for many occasions. As in the case of religion, such complete absence can only mean that the Andamanese became isolated before the idea of ritual spread to the area.

21 MEASUREMENT

The Andamanese have no means of counting, and no words to express gradations of time or size; to them everything is either 'small' or 'big'. They take no interest in the passing of years, and have no idea of their own age. To them life is but the passing of the seasons and the harvests of game and fish and fruits that they bring. This utter lack of any sense

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

802 **Arithmetic.**—1. The utter hopelessness of obtaining from the aborigines any correct idea of the population of the tribes individually and collectively will be readily understood when it is stated that the only numerals in the language are those for denoting "one" and "two," and that they have absolutely no word to express specifically any higher figures, but indulge in some such vague term as "several," "many," "numerous," "innumerable," which seem to convey to their minds an approximate idea of the number intended, but fail to satisfy the requirements of the statistician.[1]

2. When anxious to express a certain small number with exactness, as, for example, nine, the nose is tapped with the tips of the fingers in successive order, and, commencing with the little finger of either hand, "*ū·ba-tū·l-*," (one) is said; with the next finger "*īkpô·r-*" (two), after which with each successive finger "*ɩn-kā·*" (and this) is uttered. When the forefinger of the second hand is reached both are held up, and, the thumb of the second hand being clenched, the necessary number of digits is exposed to view, whereupon the word "*àrdū·ru-*" (all) is pronounced.

3. If ten be the number in question—and this is the highest numeral they attempt to indicate by this or any other method—on reaching the thumb of the second hand, both hands, before being held up, are brought together and then is said, as in the former case, "*àrdū·ru-*."

4. To express "one," they hold up the forefinger of either hand and utter the word *ū·ba-tū·l-* or *ū·ba-dō·ga-*; to denote "two" they hold up the first two fingers and say "*īkpô·r-*."

5. The toes are never used in counting, nor are pebbles, grains, or notches in a stick ever so employed. When it is stated that only the more intelligent are in the habit of computing by even the primitive method I have here described, it is somewhat remarkable to find that their system of denoting ordinals is more comprehensive, as will be seen by reference to Appendix E.

823 6. Before their comparatively recent acquaintance with us, they had not the faintest knowledge of the existence of even the

[1] With regard to human beings, to express a small number, say, from 10 to 20, *àrdū·ru-* would be used, while a somewhat greater number would be implied by the use of *jeg-chàu·-* (*lit.*, collected body), and a still greater assemblage, say of 50 persons, by *jī·baba*, beyond which number *at-ū·baba*, would be used. These words may be translated in a rising scale as follows:—

àrdū·ru-, several; *jeg-chàu·-*, many; *jī·baba*, very many; *at-ū·baba* (or *ū·baba*), innumerable.

As regards animals and inanimate objects the words *àrdū·ru-* implying many, and *ōt-ū·baba* (or *ū·baba*), innumerable, are generally used, and sometimes *jī·baba*, denoting very many.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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5. In speaking of a short distance, as, for example, 50 yards, they would compare it to "a bowshot," but in describing the distance of a certain spot it would be defined as equal to that separating two places, well known to the speaker and the person addressed; any distance over 15 miles would be said to "exceed a day's journey."

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bō·do-chàu-, noon.

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[1] Although they are aware of the variation in the sun's position at the same hour at different seasons they do not take the fact into consideration.

Z:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

APPENDIX E.

LIST OF ANDAMANESE WORDS USED AS ORDINALS.

	Of two.	Of three.	Of four.	Of five.	Of six.	Of any greater number than six.	Remarks.
1st (of two or more, as in a race)	*ô'tolá'(da)*[1] ...	*ô'tolá'(da)* ...	*ô'tolá'(da)* ...	*ô'tolá'(da)* ...	*ô'tolá'(da)* ...	*ô'tolá'(da)*	[1] When reference is made to animate objects *ârtondu'-* is often used.
2nd "	*târô'lo(da)*[4] ...	*mâ'gu-châl(da)*[3]	*ârô'lo(da)*[2] ...	*ârô'lo(da)* ...	*ârô'lo(da)* ...	*ârô'lo(da)*	[2] Also used to denote "the next."
3rd "	...	*târô'lo(da)* ...	*mâ'gu-châl(da)*	*mâ'gu-châl(da)*	*mâ'gu-châl(da)*	*târô'lo-ô'tagu(da)* or *ô'tagô'lo-ô'tagu(da)*	[3] Lit., between, or in the middle.
4th "	...	...	*târô'lo(da)* ...	*mâ'gu-châl-târô'lo(da)*	*ô'tatt'r(da)*		[4] Lit., the last.
5th "	...	...	...	*târô'lo(da)* ...	*ô'tatt'r târô'lo (da)*		Speaking of a row or line of animate or inanimate objects:— The first, *ô'lotâp-*
6th "	...	...	...	..	*târô'lo(da)*		" second, *tô'l'ogô'lo-*
Last but one	...	...	...	...	...	*ô'tatt'r-târô'lo (da)*	" next, *târjan'a-*
Last	...	...	...	...	...	*târô'lo(da)*	" middle one, *mâ'gu-châl-*
							" last one, *artokâ'paringa-*

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

The Onges do not seem to require any preventive measures, and seem naturally immune to malaria. They do, however, transmit the disease to strangers, through the mosquitoes which are everywhere in Little Andaman. Like many other inhabitants of tropical areas, they probably all carry the disease without being affected by it – neither children nor adults show any sign of splenic enlargement. 164 [136]

In contrast to their periodic gorging, the Onges will equally cheerfully endure hunger, thirst and exhaustion. During our hazardous canoe trip to South Brother, however, they appeared much more affected than I was by long exposure to the sun. We were completely without any means of shelter for an entire afternoon in the open sea, and though the Onges tried to cover their heads as best they could, they still developed severe (and genuine) headaches, and were clearly much happier in the dark forest, which must be considered their natural environment. 147 [261]

Nothing has hitherto been known of the intelligence level and general psychology of the Onges. The childishness of their behaviour, however, is curiously in keeping with their strikingly child-like appearance. Like children, they seek only the satisfaction of elementary stimuli, and like children they pass in a flash from one mood to another, so that they are a people of sudden contrasts. 15

One example is their passionate love for their dogs, in marked contrast to the intense cruelty with which they hunt their prey. Having once realized the usefulness of dogs, first imported into the islands some thirty years ago, the Onges now pet them like little girls with their dolls, and the Onge women will suckle the family puppies quite naturally with their own children. Yet once a dog dies the other side of the Onge nature comes to the fore and the carcase is thrown into the forest – there is no looking back. 231 152 [177]

Their minds are in a sense inventive, in that they have evolved devices to help them acquire their food, but they have never, for example, thought of the fish-hook, despite the abundance of iron pieces thrown up by shipwrecks all round the islands. Anything new is taken up with a child's momentary enthusiasm, but they have no notion of sustained mental effort such as any form of counting. 157 [802]

Like children, too, the Onges laugh at the slightest thing, although their mirth is always restrained. In this they differ from the African peoples, particularly the Bushmen, who are often by 157 522

dead were buried securely bound in a knee-to-chest position, still the custom among the Andamanese). The Onges go no further than this and the idea of a Lord of the Spirits who rules all things, although on Great Andaman there has been some progress towards more anthropomorphic concepts. The complete absence of any form of cult, prayer, representation, or votive offering cannot, I feel, be the result of cultural decline from a more advanced age; this would have resulted in gross distortion and illogical superstition, but not in complete absence of any 'religious' practices of any kind.

18 SACRIFICE

No sacrifices of any kind are practised in the Andamans, nor is there any concept of propitiation, although there is evidence that even in the late Palaeolithic era some form of ritual sacrifice was practised, at least in Europe and probably over a much wider area. One would assume from this, and from paragraph 17 above, that the Andamanese is an even older culture.

19 TABOOS

Although my own experiences among the Onges have led me to think that taboos do not exist, some authors have asserted (in my view wrongly) their existence on Great Andaman. It is not, however, possible to draw any reliable conclusions on this point.

20 CEREMONIAL

The complete absence of any form of ritual surrounding birth, the purification of women, initiation, etc., or evidence of any such ritual in the past, is striking, in view of the prevalence in all the surrounding areas of strictly observed ceremonial for many occasions. As in the case of religion, such complete absence can only mean that the Andamanese became isolated before the idea of ritual spread to the area.

21 MEASUREMENT

The Andamanese have no means of counting, and no words to express gradations of time or size; to them everything is either 'small' or 'big'. They take no interest in the passing of years, and have no idea of their own age. To them life is but the passing of the seasons and the harvests of game and fish and fruits that they bring. This utter lack of any sense

802 805 or form of numerical evaluation is further support for the extremely low stage of cultural development at which they became isolated.

22 ART

302 531 632 When painting their bodies with ochre the Onges have no idea of symbolic representation, and use only geometrical designs. These invariably seem spontaneous, and in my view do not represent a degenerate form of some more highly evolved art, half forgotten over the centuries; in short, the 'artists' of the Andamans, with no conception of symbolism, are even today less advanced than their Palaeolithic counterparts.

23 DIGGING STICKS

172 412 In late Palaeolithic deposits, stones with holes in them have been found which correspond to those still in use among peoples such as the Bushmen, to add weight to their digging sticks. The absence even today of any form of weighted stick in the Andamans, where stone is plentiful, would appear to antedate the culture at least to early Palaeolithic.

24 HUNTING

224 172 [411] 229 177 The Onges still use the Palaeolithic throwing stick, although it is not their main hunting weapon. They have no idea of fixed traps, which must from the evidence have been known in Palaeolithic times, and it is hard to believe that a people so dependent upon hunting would have lost the art once it had been acquired. They have crude nets which the women use for fishing, but these are probably a comparatively recent introduction, which has arrived via the Nicobars.

25 DOMESTIC ANIMALS

231 174 The Andamanese have none, and this would seem to add weight to the evidence for their great antiquity.

26 ECONOMY

433 There is no economic system of any kind, and from the evidence available it is highly unlikely that even the most primitive form ever existed. 185 437 There is no conception whatever of providing for tomorrow, or of any form of exchange or barter.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

called *Teriya*. The other division contains all the other winds, and they are collectively denoted by the term *Bilik*. They are distinguished by names, as *Jila Bilik* (the east *Bilik*, from *jila*, east) *Koico Bilik* (the west *Bilik*), *Metepur Bilik*, *Čoliatum Bilik*, *Rartear Bilik*, and *Koičor-toy Bilik*. Here we find the name *Bilik* used not as the name of a single person, but as a common name for a class of beings who are the winds personified. The same use of the term is found also in the *Aka-Kol* tribe. 776 821

Even in the *Akar-Bale* tribe something of the same kind is found. One *Akar-Bale* man said that *Puluga* has two brothers, *Jila Puluga* (East *Puluga*) and *Koaičo Puluga* (West *Puluga*); the one sends all the easterly winds and the other all the westerly ones.

In the Andamans the year is divided into two nearly equal portions. During the season of the south-west monsoon, which lasts from May to September, the wind blows steadily from the south-west. This is the rainy season. Violent storms never or only very rarely occur during the season of the south-west wind. From December to March the wind blows mostly from the N.N.E., occasionally changing to E.N.E. or N.E. In the periods at the change of the monsoon (from N.E. to S.W. in April and May, and from S.W. to N.E. in October and November) the wind is variable, and may blow at times from E.S.E. or W.N.W. 821 132 805

The south-west wind (properly speaking W.S.W.) is identified as we have seen with *Tarai* (*Deria*). Although *Biliku* (*Puluga*) is specially connected with the north-east wind, yet all the winds other than the south-west are commonly supposed to be sent by *Biliku*. Thus we have seen that in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe the different winds are named, each of them (with the exception of the south-west) being a *Bilik*. 776 821 132 805

It comes about, in this way, that the year is divided into two portions, one of which is specially connected with *Biliku* (*Puluga*), while the other is specially connected with *Tarai* (*Deria*). These two seasons are not quite of equal length. The *Tarai* season lasts only while the south-west monsoon is blowing, which, in an average year, is between four and five months. The other seven months are connected with *Biliku* and are divided into three portions, (1) the stormy season of October

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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and November, (2) the cold season of December to February, and (3) the hot season of March and April.

There are many points relating to *Biliku* and *Tarai* about which there is no general agreement amongst the tribes, or, in some cases, even within the same tribe. In the North Andaman *Biliku* is regarded as female, and is called *Mimi Biliku*, while *Tarai* is male and is called *Maia Tarai*. This is so in all the four tribes, *Aka-Čari*, *Aka-Bo*, *Aka-Kọra* and *Aka-J̌eru*. A statement that is frequently made by the natives of these tribes is that *Tarai* and *Biliku* are husband and wife. While this is the most common statement, there are, however, other versions of the matter. In order to show the lack of uniformity in statements about *Biliku* and *Tarai* in the Northern tribes I reproduce a few extracts from my note-books written down exactly as they were given to me.

(1) *Biliku* is the wife of *Tarai* and they have a child named *Perǰido*. (This statement was made to me a great many times in the North Andaman, and may be regarded as the most usual form of the belief.)

(2) *Biliku* is the wife of *Tarai*. Their children are the sun and moon. (Heard only once.)

(3) The husband of *Biliku* is *Perǰido* and her children are *Totaimo*, *Mite* (cicada) and *Tarai*.

(4) *Biliku* is unmarried, but she has a son *Perǰido*, and her other children are *Tọrọi*, *Čelene*, *Čotọt*, and *Čerei*. These four are the names of birds.

(5) *Biliku* is the wife of *Tarai*. Their children are *Tọrọi*, *Taka*, *Čotọt*, *Poruatọko*, *Kelil*, *Cọpcura*, *Benye*, *Biratkoro*, *Čereo*, *Milidu*, *Bobelo*, *Kọlo*. These are all names of birds.

(6) *Biliku* has a husband *Tọrọi* (a bird). *Tarai* has a wife *Kelil* (a bird).

In the *Aka-Kede* tribe the most common statement, at any rate in the northern part of the tribe, is that *Bilika* is female, and that *Tarai* is male. One *Aka-Kede* man, from the southern part of the tribe said that *Bilika* was male.

In the *Aka-Kọl* and *A-Pučikwar* tribes *Bilik* is generally spoken of as being male, and *Teriya* is also male. Other versions from these tribes are as follọws:—

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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bō·do-la-lô·ringa-, from noon till 3 p.m.
bō·do-lâr-dī·yanga-, or, *elâr-di·yanga-*, } from 3 p.m. till 5 p.m. } afternoon.
dī·la-, from 5 p.m. till sunset.
bō·do-la-lô·tinga-, sunset.
elâ·kà-dàu·ya-, twilight.
elâr-yī·tinga-, after dark till midnight.
gū·rug-chàu-, midnight.

2. Of the property of the sun-dial they possess no knowledge, nor can they indicate short intervals of time, such as fractions of an hour, save by some such vague term as—"wait a little" (*tô·laba!*), "it will soon be finished" (*kan·ya!*), "it is close at hand" (*wai lag·iba!*).

3. As they have no method of numeration, it of course follows that they are unable to denote the number of lunations occurring during a solar year, which with them consists of three main divisions, viz.: *pâ·par-*, the cool season; *yē·re-bō·do-*, the hot season; and *gū·mul-*, the rainy season. These again are subdivided into twenty minor[1] seasons, named, for the most part, after various trees which, flowering at successive periods, afford the necessary sources of supply to the honey bees that are so numerous in these islands.

4. They have distinct terms for indicating the four phases of each lunation, *i.e.*: 821

ō·gar-dē·reka-yabā·-, new moon (lit., moon-baby-small);
ō·gar-châ·nag-, first quarter (lit., moon-big);
ō·gar-chàu-, full moon (lit., moon-body);
ō·gar-kī·nab-, last quarter (lit., moon-thin);

and that they further recognise the influence of this luminary upon the tides may be gathered from their words denoting high and low tide at full and new moon, viz.:

ō·gar-kâ·la-,[2] high tide at the springs at full moon.
yē·char-kâ·la-,[3] high tide at the springs at new moon.
ō·gar-pâ·di-,[4] low tide at the springs at full moon.
yē·char-pâ·di-, low tide at the springs at new moon.
târbō·rong-kâ·la-, flood tide at full and new moon (in the evening) from 3 to 9 p.m.
gū·mul-kâ·la-, flood tide at full and new moon (in the morning) from 3 to 9 a.m.
el·a-bū·ngā-, or *kâ·la-bū·nga-*, flood tide.

[1] *Vide* Appendix H.
[2] Lit., moon-tide.
[3] Lit., dark-tide.
[4] *pâ·di* does not apparently occur alone, or in connection with any other word: its meaning may, therefore, be inferred from the context.

181 weakly or the helpless and to captives, kind to their wives and proud of their children, whom they often over-pet; but when angered cruel, jealous, treacherous and vindictive, and always unstable. They are bright and merry companions, talkative, inquisitive and restless, busy in their own pursuits, keen sportsmen and naturally independent, absorbed in the chase from sheer love of it and other physical occupations and not lustful, indecent or indecently abusive.

As the years advance they are apt to become intractable, masterful and quarrelsome. A people to like but not to trust. Exceedingly conservative and bound up in ancestral custom, not amenable to civilization, all the teaching of years bestowed on some of them having introduced no abstract ideas among the tribesmen, and changed no habit in practical matters affecting comfort, health, and mode of life. Irresponsibility is a characteristic, though instances of a keen sense of responsibility are not wanting. Several Andamanese can take charge of the steering of a large steam launch through dangerous channels, exercising then caution, daring and skill though not to an European extent, and the present dynamo-man of the electric lighting on Ross Island is an Andamanese, while the wire-man is a Nicobarese, both of whom exhibit the liveliest sense of their responsibilities, though a deep-rooted unconquerable fear of the dynamo and wires when at work. The Nicobarese shows, as is to be expected, the higher order of intellect. Another Andamanese was used by Portman for years as an accountant and kept his accounts in English accurately and well.

The intelligence of the women is good, though not as a rule equal to that of the men. In old age, however, they frequently exhibit a considerable mental capacity which is respected. Several women trained in a former local Mission Orphanage from early childhood have shown much mental aptitude and capacity, the "savagery" in them however only dying down as they grew older. They can read and write well, understand and speak English correctly, have acquired European habits completely, and possess much shrewdness and common sense: one has herself taught her Andamanese husband, the dynamo-man above mentioned, to read and write English and induced him to join the Government House Press as a compositor. She writes a well expressed and correctly spelt letter in English, and has a shrewd notion of the value of money. Such women, when the instability of youth is past, make good "ayas," as their men-kind make good waiters at table.

The highest general type of intelligence yet noticed is in the Jarawa tribe.

● 805 **Mental Capacities.**—The Andamanese divide the day by the position of the sun and can roughly divide the night, though they have no idea of steering
823 by the sun or stars. The year is known by the three main seasons of the climate and the months rudely by the flowering and fruiting of trees of economic
821 value to them. Tides are understood and carefully noted, a necessary accomplishment to a people largely living on shell-fish and navigating shallow tidal creeks and shores. They are aware of the connection of the phases of the moon with the tides and have names for the four phases of each lunation. They know the four quarters of the compass in reference to the daily position of the sun and have names for the four chief winds that blow (N. W., N. E., S. E., S. W.). They differentiate three kinds of clouds:—Cumulus, stratus, nimbus. The only constellation they have distinguished is Orion and they have discovered the Milky Way for which they have a name, and also call it "the way of the angels" (*marowin*, the daughter-messengers of Puluga).

576 **Social Emotions.**—The social emotions are not generally expressed. The Andamanese have no words for ordinary salutations, greeting or for expressing thanks. On meeting they stare at each other for a lengthened period in silence, which the younger breaks with a commonplace remark and then follows an eager telling of news, which an Andamanese always delights in hearing. Relatives however sit in each other's laps, huddled closely together at *meeting*, weeping loudly and demonstratively, and after a long separation this may last for hours. The Onges are less demonstrative and on such occasions shed a few silent tears only and caress each other with their hands. At *parting* they take each other by the hand and blow on it, exchanging sentences of conventional farewell.

Undemonstrative though they are, the Andamanese are readily roused to emotion, finding that difficulty in separating the real from the assumed observed

CHAPTER THREE

The Spirits of the Forest

487 It is only too easy to get lost in the forests, but this never happens with the Onges. They do not rely upon the 'mysterious sense of direction' which is often attributed (without adequate evidence) to primitive peoples; they have other simpler but equally effective ways of finding their way. Everywhere the Onges go they leave behind some mark. When they come to a halt in the depths of the forest, they cast around them, and soon find signs leading to some temporary shelter or communal hut.

As the Onges are out in the forest every day, there are traces of their passage everywhere. Inconspicuously broken plants, or scratches on the branches of trees are precious marks, one leading to the next and so on to the camp. Everyone takes care not to get lost, and moves carefully through the sea of vegetation, without appearing to mark their way. I have often been surprised to find myself back at the camp after innumerable twists and turns, but the [151] Onges' exceptional eyesight saved us when the situation seemed to me quite hopeless.

● 805 They were always able, too, to calculate exactly how far to go in one stage, and could invariably tell me precisely when we should arrive at a given point. They have no form of clock and work solely by the sun's position. But whatever their method, every time I asked when we should reach a certain camp, they always replied at great length: they would point with one outstretched arm to *Tenculu* the Sun and then with the other to where it would be when we arrived. The passing of days was indicated by moving an arm from east to west, saying *Tenculu – Tenculu*, to show sunrise and sunset. It was a simple matter to work out what they meant, and their answer was invariably right.

dead were buried securely bound in a knee-to-chest position, still the custom among the Andamanese). The Onges go no further than this and the idea of a Lord of the Spirits who rules all things, although on Great Andaman there has been some progress towards more anthropomorphic concepts. The complete absence of any form of cult, prayer, representation, or votive offering cannot, I feel, be the result of cultural decline from a more advanced age; this would have resulted in gross distortion and illogical superstition, but not in complete absence of any 'religious' practices of any kind.

18 SACRIFICE

No sacrifices of any kind are practised in the Andamans, nor is there any concept of propitiation, although there is evidence that even in the late Palaeolithic era some form of ritual sacrifice was practised, at least in Europe and probably over a much wider area. One would assume from this, and from paragraph 17 above, that the Andamanese is an even older culture.

19 TABOOS

Although my own experiences among the Onges have led me to think that taboos do not exist, some authors have asserted (in my view wrongly) their existence on Great Andaman. It is not, however, possible to draw any reliable conclusions on this point.

20 CEREMONIAL

The complete absence of any form of ritual surrounding birth, the purification of women, initiation, etc., or evidence of any such ritual in the past, is striking, in view of the prevalence in all the surrounding areas of strictly observed ceremonial for many occasions. As in the case of religion, such complete absence can only mean that the Andamanese became isolated before the idea of ritual spread to the area.

21 MEASUREMENT

The Andamanese have no means of counting, and no words to express gradations of time or size; to them everything is either 'small' or 'big'. They take no interest in the passing of years, and have no idea of their own age. To them life is but the passing of the seasons and the harvests of game and fish and fruits that they bring. This utter lack of any sense

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805 or form of numerical evaluation is further support for the extremely low stage of cultural development at which they became isolated.

22 ART

302 When painting their bodies with ochre the Onges have no idea of sym-
531 bolic representation, and use only geometrical designs. These invariably
532 seem spontaneous, and in my view do not represent a degenerate form of some more highly evolved art, half forgotten over the centuries; in short, the 'artists' of the Andamans, with no conception of symbolism, are even today less advanced than their Palaeolithic counterparts.

23 DIGGING STICKS

172 In late Palaeolithic deposits, stones with holes in them have been found
412 which correspond to those still in use among peoples such as the Bushmen, to add weight to their digging sticks. The absence even today of any form of weighted stick in the Andamans, where stone is plentiful, would appear to antedate the culture at least to early Palaeolithic.

24 HUNTING

224 The Onges still use the Palaeolithic throwing stick, although it is not
172 their main hunting weapon. They have no idea of fixed traps, which must
[411] from the evidence have been known in Palaeolithic times, and it is hard to believe that a people so dependent upon hunting would have lost the
229 art once it had been acquired. They have crude nets which the women
177 use for fishing, but these are probably a comparatively recent introduction, which has arrived via the Nicobars.

25 DOMESTIC ANIMALS

231 The Andamanese have none, and this would seem to add weight to the
174 evidence for their great antiquity.

26 ECONOMY

433 There is no economic system of any kind, and from the evidence available it is highly unlikely that even the most primitive form ever existed.
185 There is no conception whatever of providing for tomorrow, or of any
437 form of exchange or barter.

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have seen that this interpretation explains the occasions on which such painting is used. To complete the argument it is necessary to consider the occasions on which the use of white clay is forbidden.

Those to whom this prohibition applies are (1) a youth or girl who is *aka-op*, i.e., who is abstaining from certain foods during the initiation period, (2) a mourner, (3) a homicide during the period of isolation, and (4) a person who is ill. All these persons are excluded from full participation in the active social life, and therefore the social value of each of them is diminished. It would obviously be wrong for a person in such a condition to express by decorating himself a social value that he did not at the time possess.

The occasions on which this style of painting is used or forbidden are thus all satisfactorily explained by our hypothesis. It remains to consider the nature of the painting itself, and how far it is an appropriate means of expression. To do this we must discuss very briefly some of the processes of symbolic thought of the Andamanese. Conditions of well-being (both individual and social) are associated in the minds of the Andamanese with fine weather, both directly (through physiological action) and indirectly (through the effect of fine weather on the social life). Hence *Tomo*, who, as we shall see in the next chapter, is a personification of fine weather, is a being who is connected with goodness and happiness. With fine weather, and therefore with individual and social well-being, the Andamanese associate brightness and whiteness (for which they have only one word) and any bright or light colour. The association of light and dark with euphoric and dysphoric conditions respectively has a psycho-physical basis, for it seems to be universal in human nature. Now the clay that the Andamanese call *tol-odu* is the whitest substance they know, and is for this reason fitted to be symbolical of conditions of well-being. Fine weather is associated, in the minds of the Andamanese with honey, because in the season of fine weather honey is plentiful, and is also associated for a similar reason with snakes. Sweetness itself is universally associated with pleasant things, again through a psycho-physical link. The Andamanese believe in a special con-

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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nection between honey and a species of large snake called *wara-jobo* or *or-čubi*[1], so that this snake comes to be representative of fine weather and sweetness and therefore generally of states of well-being. Now, throughout the Great Andaman the pattern in which white clay is painted on the body is called after this snake, and the zig-zags of which the pattern is composed may be supposed to be representative of the snake itself. When, therefore, a man paints himself with white clay in a pattern which he regards as representing the snake *wara-jobo*, it is evident that the painting is meant to express a condition of well-being, with which the snake itself, and whiteness, are, by a number of links, closely associated. This is not all, however. The Andamanese, we may not doubt, derive from the painted pattern an esthetic pleasure due to its rhythmical character, its shape as an arrangement of lines and spaces. Further it provides the pleasure that we obtain from a thing elegantly and skilfully made, and this explains why so much care is taken in the making of the pattern. This pleasure at what we may call the beauty of the pattern heightens the effect produced by its symbolic references. The real value of the pattern, its pleasure-giving quality, is transferred to the man on whose body it is executed. He himself is pleased with it, proud of it, and so becomes pleased with and proud of himself, for the pattern by being imprinted on his body becomes part of him. The sense of self attaches to it, as with us the sense of self attaches to our clothes.

It would be interesting to carry the analysis of the mental processes involved in all this a stage or two further, but enough has been said, I hope, to show that the nature of the painting with clay is appropriate to its use as marking or expressing value.

Patterns are sometimes painted with this same white clay on the face alone, such patterns being built up either of the zig-zags of the snake pattern, or of rhythmically arranged series of short lines. The use of such paintings is regulated by a sort of etiquette. By so having his face decorated a man expresses that he is pleased with himself, and obviously there are occasions on which it is appropriate and others on which it is inappropriate

[1] See p. 227.

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The male relatives and friends then proceed to the spot selected for the burial, one of them carrying the corpse slung on his back. If the burial place can be reached by canoe, no hesitation is shown in making use of a canoe for the purpose. There are not, so far as could be discovered, any rules as to which of the men shall undertake the burial. Such relatives as brother, father, son or husband generally take the leading part. The women take no part in the actual burial. There are two modes of disposing of the body, in a grave dug in the ground, or upon a platform placed in a tree. The latter is considered the more honourable form of burial, and is only adopted in the case of a man or woman dying in the prime of life. The same grave is not used twice, in the case of interment, though a new grave may be made close to an old one. The natives said that the same tree might be used several times for platform-burial, but there was no opportunity of proving this statement. There are not, generally speaking, any regular burying grounds. Any convenient spot may be chosen so long as it is at some little distance from the camp. It does happen, however, that certain spots are fairly regularly used. In the case of one burial that I witnessed the spot chosen was about a mile distant from the camp, the journey being made in a canoe, and there were already five or six graves at the same place.

In the case of interment a hole is dug three or four feet in depth, the digging being done with an adze and a digging stick, and sometimes a wooden dish is used to scoop out the soil. The body is placed in the hole and the ropes tied round it are severed. The body is placed slightly on its side facing the east. [821] I asked some of the natives the reason for this orientation, and was told that if the custom were not observed the sun would not rise and the world would be left in darkness. A pillow of wood is placed under the head, and a log of wood at each side of the corpse. Sometimes some object that has been worn by the deceased, such as a belt or necklace, is placed in the grave. The soil is then replaced, all present helping. Beside the grave a fire is lighted and some water contained in a bamboo vessel or in a nautilus shell is left for the corpse. In some cases the bow belonging to the deceased, if it be a man, and a few

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which he places all the victims, human or piscine, he may succeed in capturing[1]." 775

Mr Portman correctly translates the word *Juruwin* as meaning "the spirits of the sea" using the plural and not the singular[2].

Further references to the Andamanese beliefs about the spirits will be found later in the chapter. It is necessary at this point to consider an entirely different class of beings.

The Andaman Islanders personify the phenomena of nature with which they are acquainted, such as the sun and the moon. Before relating in detail what could be learnt about their beliefs on these matters, it is necessary to call attention to one feature of these beliefs. Different statements, not only of different informants, but even of the same informant, are often quite contradictory. For example, it is sometimes said that lightning is a person, and at other times it is said that lightning is a fire-brand thrown across the sky by a mythical being named *Biliku*. These two statements, which to all logical thinking are incompatible, are both given, and apparently both equally believed, by the same person. Many examples of such contradictions will be found in what follows, and it is important to point out their existence beforehand. 776 821

About the sun and moon, the most usual statement in all the tribes is that the sun is the wife of the moon and the stars are their children. In the North Andaman the moon is *Maia Dula* (*Aka-Čari*) or *Maia Čirikli* (*Aka-Jeru*), the sun is *Mimi Diu* and their children the stars are *Čatlo*, the larger ones, and *Katań* the smaller. *Čatlo* is the name of a species of finely marked beetle, and *katań* is the name of the common fire-fly. Individual stars or constellations are not recognized.

Another version from the same tribes is that the moon (*Dula*) is female, and has a husband named *Maia Tok*, while the sun (*Diu* or *Tǫrodiu*) is male.

In the *Aka-Jeru* tribe there is a belief that the moon (*Maia Čirikli*) can, when he wishes, turn himself into a pig, and come down to earth and feed on the things that the pigs eat. There

[1] Man, *op. cit.* pp. 158, 159.

[2] Portman, *Notes on the Languages*, etc. p. 183.

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776 is a legend that on one occasion the moon thus turned himself
•821 into a pig and came down to earth to eat the *čuei* fruit. A man named *Maia Čoinyop* met the moon (in the form of a pig) in the forest, and shot him with an arrow. *Čirikli* (the moon) took out his knife and killed the unfortunate *Čoinyop*, cutting off his head, which he left behind, and taking the body up to the sky where he ate it.

In the *A-Pučikwar* tribe the most common statement is that the moon (*Puki*) is male and that the sun (*Puto*) is his wife. A different statement from the same tribe is that the moon is female and is the wife of a being named *Tomo*. *Tomo* seems to be to some extent identified with the sun. Thus one informant said that it is *Tomo* who sends the fine weather, and that it is he who sends the daylight every day. Where *Tomo* lives, in the sky, it is always day and is always fine. When the natives die their spirits go up to the sky and live with *Tomo*. We shall see in the next chapter that, according to some of the legends, *Tomo* is the first ancestor of the Andamanese.

Yet another version is that the moon was made by *Tomo* out of opalescent stone, and it is *Tomo* who, in some way, regulates its passage across the sky.

784 A belief about the moon which is found in all the tribes, both
776 of the North and the South, is that he will be very angry if there
821 is any fire, or any bright light, visible when he rises in the evening shortly after sundown. At such times the natives are careful to cover up their fires so that they only smoulder without flame. Mr Man refers to this custom. "From fear of displeasing *Maia Ogar* (Mr Moon), during the first few evenings of the third quarter, when he rises after sundown, they preserve silence, cease from any work on which they may be engaged—even halting should they be travelling—and almost extinguishing any light or fire that may be burning. This is owing to the belief that he is jealous of attention being distracted to other objects than himself at such a time, or of any other light being employed than that which he had been graciously pleased to afford so abundantly. By the time the moon has ascended a few degrees, however, they restore their fires and resume their former occupations, as they consider that they have sufficiently

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complied with *Maia Ogar's* wishes and requirements. The glowing aspect of the full moon on its first appearance above the horizon is supposed to indicate that *Maia Ogar* is enraged at finding some persons neglecting to observe these conciliatory measures; there is also an idea that, if he be greatly annoyed, he will punish them by withdrawing or diminishing the light of his countenance[1]." 784 776 821

As regards the waxing and waning of the moon, Mr Man says that these are explained by the *Aka-Bea* "by saying that they are occasioned by 'his' applying a coating of cloud to his person by degrees, after the manner of their own use of *koiob* (red paint) and *tala-og* (white clay) and then gradually wiping it off[2]." In the *Aka-Kede* tribe the natives say that as *Maia Čirike* (Sir Moon) goes across the sky, his tongue hangs out of his mouth, sometimes more, sometimes less, and that it is the tongue that is visible, that gives the light. I did not hear any explanation of the waxing and waning of the moon in the tribes of the North Andaman. In these tribes the new moon is called *Dula e-tire*, i.e. the "baby moon," the word *e-tire* denoting the young offspring of an animal or a human being. 776 821

With regard to a lunar eclipse Mr Man writes that "in case *Maia Ogar* should be so ill-advised as permanently to withhold his light or render himself in other ways still more disagreeable, whenever the moon is eclipsed some persons at once seize their bows and twang them as rapidly as possible, thereby producing a rattling sound as if discharging a large number of arrows, while others commence at once sharpening their *rata* (arrows). Of course this hostile demonstration is never lost upon the moon, who does not venture to hurt those who show themselves ready to give him so uncomfortable a reception. Their immunity from harm on these occasions has given rise to some joking at the expense of the luminary in question, for, during the continuance of the eclipse, they shout in inviting tones to the hidden orb as follows:—*Ogar, laden balak ban lebe y'idoati! doati! doati!* (O Moon, I will give you the seed of the *balak!* show yourself! appear! appear!) This is said derisively, for, although these

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 152. [2] *Ibid.* p. 160.

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seeds are largely consumed by the pigs, the aborigines do not consider them fit for food[1]."

It may be noted that the invitation to the moon to eat *balak* seeds is not perhaps derisive, but may be connected with the belief that the moon can turn himself into a pig in order to feed on the things that pigs eat.

There was no eclipse of the moon during my stay in the islands. The natives of the North Andaman told me that on such an occasion they frighten the moon into showing himself again by lighting the end of a bamboo arrow-shaft, and shooting it from a bow in the direction of the moon. Another custom of which they told me is to take plumes of shredded *Tetranthera* wood (*čelmo* or *uj*) and blow on them towards the moon.

Mr Man states that "a solar eclipse alarms them too much to allow of their indulging in jests or threats, &c.: during the time it lasts they all remain silent and motionless, as if in momentary expectation of some calamity[2]."

There are several different accounts in the North Andaman of the phenomena of day and night. The night is often personified and is called *Mimi Bat* (Lady Night). One version is that it is she who makes the night while *Maia Torodiu* makes the day. *Diu* is the name of the sun, and *toro-diu* really means "the full sun" and refers to the middle part of the day when the sun is well up in the sky.

Another Northern version is that the daylight is made by a being named *Tautobitatmo* who lives in the sky. He shuts up the day under a stone every evening and lets it out every morning. Of *Tautobitatmo* I was told that he is sometimes to be seen in the evening sky, but I was not able to discover to what natural phenomenon reference was made. I was also unable to discover the meaning of the name, which is a compound, *tau* being the sky.

Still another version from the same tribes is that it is a being named *Maia Čara* who makes the daylight. *Čara* seems to be the equivalent of the *Tomo* of the *A-Pučikwar* and other Southern tribes. He is sometimes said to have been the first ancestor, and sometimes the creator, of the Andamanese. He lives in the sky.

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 160. [2] *Ibid.* p. 161.

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Another belief about the night connects it with the spirits. The *Lau* (spirits) in the sky, wrap up the night in a cloth or mat. When they unroll the cloth it becomes dark. The natives of the North Andaman formerly called cloth *lau-ot-julu*, from a stem *-julu* meaning "cold." They were only acquainted with cloth through seeing it used by the aliens who visited their shores, and whom they called spirits (*Lau*).

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In the North Andaman thunder and lightning are commonly personified. The lightning is *Ele* or *Ali*, and the thunder is *Korude* or *Korule*. Some of the natives spoke of *Mimi Ele* (female) and others of *Maia Ele* (male). He lives in the sky, which is regarded as being made of stone (or rock) and is called *tau-meo* (the sky-stone). The lightning is due to his shaking his foot. One rather obscure statement was to the effect that *Ele* spends most of his time asleep or lying down and doing nothing. When the weather gets bad *Lato* (a being that I could not identify), comes and worries *Ele* and wakes him up. Then *Ele* gets angry and shakes his leg. This is the lightning.

Thunder (*Korude*) also lives in the sky. It is said that he makes the thunder by means of a large round stone. One account is that he rolls the stone about over the sky. Another is that he makes the stone hot, and this produces the thunder.

An entirely different explanation of thunder and lightning, which is found in all the tribes, is that they are made by two beings named *Tarai* and *Biliku*, to be described later on in this chapter.

I never heard the rain (*jičer*) spoken of as a person in the same way as thunder and lightning. One explanation of rain is that the sky-stone (*tau-meo*) gets cold, and this turns the mist (*milite*) into rain. Another is that in the sky there is a large hollow or pool, which gets filled with water and then overflows. Still another version is that the rain is made by a being (or beings) named *Čaitoŋ*, who seems to be female and lives in the sky. I could not obtain any satisfactory information about her.

In all parts of the islands the rainbow is believed to have some connection with the spirits of the jungle or of the sea. One very common statement is that it is a bridge of cane that stretches between this world and the world of departed spirits.

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776 •821 It is along the rainbow that the spirits travel when they visit the earth. It is necessary to correct a statement by Mr Portman on this matter. In connection with the *Aka-Bea* word for the rainbow, *pidga-l'ar-čauga*, he says "The root *pidga* (a rainbow) must not be confounded with the root *pidga* 'a cane' or 'rattan.' The Andamanese have certain legends regarding the uses of the rainbow, and these have been hitherto understood as referring to 'canes.' *Pidga-l'ar-čauga* means 'the rainbow (bridge) by which the spirits (cross)'[1]." Mr Portman is in error. The word *pidga* means "cane" and the whole word means "the cane of the spirits." It is the whole word that is the name of the rainbow, and not the word *pidga*. An exactly similar compound name for the rainbow exists in each of the languages of the Great Andaman. The name of the particular species of large cane varies, being *pidga* in *Aka-Bea*, *peta* in *A-Pučikwar*, *pir* in *Aka-J̌eru*, and so on. Apart from the fact that the natives themselves say that the rainbow is a "cane," Mr Portman would have us believe that in each of the different languages there are two exactly similar words, different in the different languages, one of which means "cane" and the other "rainbow," while there is no connection between the words. Thus *Aka-Bea* would have *pidga* meaning "a kind of cane" and *pidga* meaning "a rainbow." *Aka-J̌eru* would have *pir* meaning "cane" and *pir* meaning "rainbow."

The rainbow is generally regarded as an evil omen, being believed to be a precursor of sickness. One *Aka-J̌eru* statement is that it is made by a being called *Tọlitọŋ* and that when it appears somebody will be ill.

776 823 The only explanation of the tides that I heard was to the effect that they are caused by a fish, a species of *Tetrodon*, called *čolmo* in *Aka-J̌eru* and *pit* in *Aka-Kede*, which drinks up the water and then lets it out again.

The Andaman Islands are occasionally visited by earthquakes. An *Aka-Kede* account of how earthquakes are caused is that when a man dies he goes to the spirit world which is beneath the earth. The spirits hold a ceremony. My informant spoke of the ceremony as *Kimil*, which is the name of the

[1] Portman, *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman*, p. 328.

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initiation ceremonies. At this ceremony they have a dance similar to the peace-making dance described in the last chapter, but instead of erecting a screen such as is used in that ceremony, they make use of the rainbow. As they shake the rainbow in dancing this causes earthquakes. The ceremony which newly-arrived spirits have to undergo in the world after death is a *pǫrǫto kimil*, i.e., the initiate eats *pǫrǫto* (*Caryota sobolifera*). 776 823

Among the most important of the Andamanese beliefs are those relating to the weather and the seasons. These are under the control of two beings named *Biliku*, *Bilik* or *Puluga*, and *Tarai*, *Teriya*, or *Daria*. There are a certain number of points in which the statements of one informant may differ from those of another in connection with these two mythical beings, but there are also a certain number of points on which there is absolute unanimity in all the tribes of the Great Andaman. 776 821

The first belief in which there is entire unanimity is that of the connection of *Biliku* and *Tarai* with the two chief winds that are known in the Andamans. *Biliku* lives in the north-east and is connected with the north-east monsoon. *Tarai* lives in the south-west and is connected with the south-west monsoon. The connection is shown in the names of these winds, which are as follows :—

Language	N. E. Wind	S. W. Wind
Aka-Cari, *Aka-Bo*, *Aka-Kora*, *Aka-Jeru*	*Biliku boto*	*Tarai boto*
Oko-Juwoi, *Aka-Kol* and *A-Pucikwar*	*Bilik to*	*Teriya*
Akar-Bale	*Puluga toa*	*Daria*
Aka-Bea	*Puluga ta*	*Deria*

In the Northern tribes the word *bǫto* means "wind." *Biliku bǫto* must be translated "the *Biliku* wind," and *Tarai bǫto* is similarly "the *Tarai* wind." It would be incorrect to translate the name *Biliku bǫto* as "the wind of *Biliku*," for this would be rendered in *Aka-J̌eru* by *Biliku ičo bǫto*. In *A-Pučikwar* the south-west wind is called *Teriya* simply, the name of the mythical being connected with the wind being used as the name of the wind itself, just as is the case with the name *Ele* (lightning). On the other hand the north-east wind is called not *Bilik* but *Bilik tǫ*. The same thing occurs also in the *Akar-Bale* and *Aka-Bea* languages.

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Mr Portman translates the *Aka-Bea* term *Puluga ta* as "God's wind," and he adds, in explanation, "*Puluga ta* means 'God's wind,' and the reason for the name is not known. Some vague ideas regarding the direction of God's dwelling in the sky are the probable origin of the term[1]." As regards the translation of the Andamanese name *Puluga* by the English "God" more will be said later. Leaving that aside, it is important to note that *Puluga ta* does not mean "*Puluga's* wind." The word for wind in *Aka-Bea* is given by Mr Portman himself as *wul-ŋa*, and the *Akar-Bale* and *A-Pučikwar* equivalents are *poat-ŋa* and *pǫte*, being forms of the same stem as the Northern *bǫto*. The translation of "*Puluga's* wind" in *A-Pučikwar* would be *Bilik l'iye pǫte*, but this is not a phrase that the natives ever use. It is not possible to translate "*Puluga's* wind" accurately in *Akar-Bale*. *Puluga poat-ŋa* would mean "*Puluga* blowing" the *-ŋa* being a verbal ending. In any case *Bilik tǫ*, and *Puluga toa* are not to be translated as meaning "*Puluga's* wind."

It may be observed, in reference to Mr Portman's statement, that the notions of the Andamanese as to the direction of the dwelling of *Puluga* in the sky are very far from vague. The natives all agree that *Puluga* or *Biliku* lives in the direction from which the north-east wind blows, really N.N.E. This is shown in geographical names. For example the side of Havelock Island that faces north-east is called *Puluga-l'ar-mugu*, meaning "the side that faces *Puluga*," from *ar-mugu* meaning "front" or "face."

There are two matters, then, on which there is absolute unanimity in all the tribes of the Great Andaman, one being the connection of *Biliku* (or *Puluga*) with the north-east and of *Tarai* (or *Deria*) with the south-west, and the other being the connection of these two beings with the winds that blow from these two opposite points of the compass.

The connection of these two beings with winds is shown in another way in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe, where the winds are divided into two divisions. One division contains only the south-west wind, which is of extreme regularity, and blows steadily for about five months in every year. This wind is

[1] Portman, *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman*, p. 314.

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called *Teriya*. The other division contains all the other winds, and they are collectively denoted by the term *Bilik*. They are distinguished by names, as *Jila Bilik* (the east *Bilik*, from *jila*, east) *Koico Bilik* (the west *Bilik*), *Metepur Bilik*, *Čoliatum Bilik*, *Rartear Bilik*, and *Koičor-toy Bilik*. Here we find the name *Bilik* used not as the name of a single person, but as a common name for a class of beings who are the winds personified. The same use of the term is found also in the *Aka-Kol* tribe. 776 821

Even in the *Akar-Bale* tribe something of the same kind is found. One *Akar-Bale* man said that *Puluga* has two brothers, *Jila Puluga* (East *Puluga*) and *Koaičo Puluga* (West *Puluga*); the one sends all the easterly winds and the other all the westerly ones.

In the Andamans the year is divided into two nearly equal portions. During the season of the south-west monsoon, which lasts from May to September, the wind blows steadily from the south-west. This is the rainy season. Violent storms never or only very rarely occur during the season of the south-west wind. From December to March the wind blows mostly from the N.N.E., occasionally changing to E.N.E. or N.E. In the periods at the change of the monsoon (from N.E. to S.W. in April and May, and from S.W. to N.E. in October and November) the wind is variable, and may blow at times from E.S.E. or W.N.W. 821 132 805

The south-west wind (properly speaking W.S.W.) is identified as we have seen with *Tarai* (*Deria*). Although *Biliku* (*Puluga*) is specially connected with the north-east wind, yet all the winds other than the south-west are commonly supposed to be sent by *Biliku*. Thus we have seen that in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe the different winds are named, each of them (with the exception of the south-west) being a *Bilik*. 776 821 132 805

It comes about, in this way, that the year is divided into two portions, one of which is specially connected with *Biliku* (*Puluga*), while the other is specially connected with *Tarai* (*Deria*). These two seasons are not quite of equal length. The *Tarai* season lasts only while the south-west monsoon is blowing, which, in an average year, is between four and five months. The other seven months are connected with *Biliku* and are divided into three portions, (1) the stormy season of October

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and November, (2) the cold season of December to February, and (3) the hot season of March and April.

There are many points relating to *Biliku* and *Tarai* about which there is no general agreement amongst the tribes, or, in some cases, even within the same tribe. In the North Andaman *Biliku* is regarded as female, and is called *Mimi Biliku*, while *Tarai* is male and is called *Maia Tarai*. This is so in all the four tribes, *Aka-Čari*, *Aka-Bo*, *Aka-Kǫra* and *Aka-J̌eru*. A statement that is frequently made by the natives of these tribes is that *Tarai* and *Biliku* are husband and wife. While this is the most common statement, there are, however, other versions of the matter. In order to show the lack of uniformity in statements about *Biliku* and *Tarai* in the Northern tribes I reproduce a few extracts from my note-books written down exactly as they were given to me.

(1) *Biliku* is the wife of *Tarai* and they have a child named *Perǰido*. (This statement was made to me a great many times in the North Andaman, and may be regarded as the most usual form of the belief.)

(2) *Biliku* is the wife of *Tarai*. Their children are the sun and moon. (Heard only once.)

(3) The husband of *Biliku* is *Perǰido* and her children are *Totaimo*, *Mite* (cicada) and *Tarai*.

(4) *Biliku* is unmarried, but she has a son *Perǰido*, and her other children are *Tǫrǫi*, *Čelene*, *Čotǫt*, and *Čerei*. These four are the names of birds.

(5) *Biliku* is the wife of *Tarai*. Their children are *Tǫrǫi*, *Taka*, *Čotǫt*, *Poruatǫko*, *Kelil*, *Cǫpcura*, *Benye*, *Biratkoro*, *Čereo*, *Milidu*, *Bobelo*, *Kǫlo*. These are all names of birds.

(6) *Biliku* has a husband *Tǫrǫi* (a bird). *Tarai* has a wife *Kelil* (a bird).

In the *Aka-Kede* tribe the most common statement, at any rate in the northern part of the tribe, is that *Bilika* is female, and that *Tarai* is male. One *Aka-Kede* man, from the southern part of the tribe said that *Bilika* was male.

In the *Aka-Kǫl* and *A-Pučikwar* tribes *Bilik* is generally spoken of as being male, and *Teriya* is also male. Other versions from these tribes are as follows:—

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(1) *Bilik* is female and *Teriya* is her husband. Their children are the winds, *Čoliatum Bilik*, *Mętepur Bilik*, and *Wǫičo-l'arpat Bilik*. 776 821

(2) There is a male *Bilik* and a female *Bilik*, who are husband and wife. Their children are *Kǫičǫr-tǫŋ Bilik*, *Kǫičo Bilik*, *Jila Bilik*, *Mętepur Bilik*, *Rartear Bilik*, and *Teriya*. These are the winds.

(3) *Bilik* is male. His wife is *In Čaria*, and their children are *Kao* (prawn) and *Mǫrua* (the sky).

In the *Akar-Bale* tribe the most usual statement is that both *Puluga* and *Daria* are male, and this was apparently also the common belief of the *Aka-Bea*.

In the North Andaman the name *Biliku* is also the word for "spider," but no meaning (save as the name of the mythical being) was discovered for the name *Tarai*. In the South and Middle Andaman no meaning was discovered, either for the name *Bilik* or *Puluga*, or for the name *Teriya* or *Deria*. Although this book does not deal with the Little Andaman, it is worth while to mention that there also the natives believe in a mythical person who lives in the north-east and sends the storms. This being is female and is named *Öluga*. The monitor lizard is also called *öluga* in the language of the Little Andaman. It is obvious, however, that the names *Biliku*, *Puluga*, *Öluga* are all of them different forms of the same word.

As we have already seen, it is *Biliku* and *Tarai* who send the winds. *Tarai* sends the south-west wind, which brings the rain. *Biliku* sends the other winds which bring either fine weather, or, at times, violent storms. One *Akar-Bale* account of the matter (literally translated as told to me) is as follows. "Once upon a time *Puluga* and *Daria* were great friends, but they quarrelled. *Puluga* said that he was the bigger (more important). *Daria* said that he was. So now they are always quarrelling. *Puluga* sends the wind for one period. Then *Daria* sends his wind."

According to the statement of an *Akar-Bale* man, *Puluga* makes the wind by fanning with a very large *kwar-toŋ* leaf.

Rain and thunder and lightning that come with the south-west wind are believed to be due to *Tarai*. Storms that come

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776 821 during the season connected with *Biliku* are made by *Biliku* and are due to her anger. When a big storm comes the natives say "*Biliku* is angry." Lightning is explained as being a fire-brand thrown by *Biliku* across the sky when she is angry, and thunder is said to be her voice growling. Another explanation of lightning is that it is a pearl-shell, called *be* in the North Andaman, thrown by *Biliku*, the bright flash of the mother-of-pearl being seen as it crosses the sky. Still another statement from the North Andaman is that *Biliku* makes the lightning by striking a pearl-shell (*be*) against a stone.

Although *Biliku* is generally mentioned when a native is asked about lightning, yet *Tarai* also wields the lightning and the thunder. On one occasion when I was talking to a native I referred to the thunder and lightning that were at the moment coming up from the south-west, making a remark to the effect that *Biliku* was getting angry about something, and was corrected by him with "No, that is *Tarai*."

776 821 784 There are a certain number of actions that are believed by the natives to arouse the anger of *Biliku* (*Puluga*), and thereby cause storms. There are three of these that are of importance.

(1) Burning or melting bees'-wax.

(2) Killing a cicada, or making a noise, particularly a noise of cutting or banging wood, during the time that the cicada is "singing" in the morning and evening.

(3) The use of certain articles of food, of which the chief are the seeds of the *Entada scandens*, the pith of the *Caryota sobolifera*, two species of *Dioscorea* (yam), and certain edible roots, of which may be mentioned those called in *Aka-J̌eru labo*, *mikulu*, *ji* and *loito*.

In this matter there is an entire unanimity of belief in all the tribes of the Great Andaman. All the natives agree in saying that any of these three actions causes the anger of *Biliku* or *Puluga* and so brings bad weather.

The natives do, as a matter of fact, melt all the bees'-wax they obtain, in order to purify it, and render it suitable for use in the various ways in which they employ it. Also they do make use of all the plants mentioned under (3) whenever they are in season. They give various explanations of this variance

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between their precepts and their actions. Some of my informants said that though these actions may bring rain and storms, yet they would rather submit to the bad weather than go without some of their most prized vegetable foods. Others again say that there is always a chance that *Biliku* may not notice that the plants have been disturbed, particularly if no fragments are left lying about the camp, and if, when taking the roots, the creepers are not disturbed. Another statement is that it is really only during the season of storms, called the *Kimil* season in *Aka-Jeru*, that it is dangerous to eat these foods, that is, during the months of October and November. After this season has passed there is no longer any danger of violent storms and the foods in question may be freely eaten. Nevertheless the natives do eat these foods in the months of October and November.

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Mr Man records the native beliefs about bees'-wax and the plants in question. "There is an idea current that if during the first half of the rainy season they eat the *Caryota sobolifera*, or pluck or eat the seeds of the *Entada pursætha*, or gather yams or other edible roots, another deluge would be the consequence, for *Puluga* is supposed to require these for his own consumption at that period of the year; the restriction, however does not extend to the fallen seeds of the *Entada pursætha*, which may be collected and eaten at any time with impunity. Another of the offences visited by *Puluga* with storms is the burning of bee's wax, the smell of which is said to be peculiarly obnoxious to him. Owing to this belief it is a common practice secretly to burn wax when a person against whom they bear ill-will is engaged in fishing, hunting, or the like, the object being to spoil his sport and cause him as much discomfort as possible; hence arises the saying amongst them, when suddenly overtaken by a storm, that some one must be burning wax[1]."

It must be noted that it is not only the "burning," but also the melting of bees'-wax that angers *Puluga*. As regards the plants mentioned by Mr Man none of these is available for food during the early part of the rainy season. At that time the yams are not formed, the pith of the *Caryota* palm is not ripe

[1] Man, *op. cit.* pp. 153, 154.

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and is uneatable, and the only available seeds of the *Entada* would be those of the last season that had not fallen from the pods or that had lain on the ground without having germinated. Thus the prohibition as stated by Mr Man amounts to nothing. The subject will be discussed in a later chapter. It may be remarked, however, that it is a fact easily to be observed that the natives do regard the gathering of these vegetable foods during the later portion of the rainy season and during the first part of the cool season (i.e. from October to December), as being an action that may offend *Biliku*. I was myself able to observe this on several occasions, as when once, at the very end of the rainy season, I, not then knowing the belief, asked a native to cut for me one of the pods of the *Entada* as a botanical specimen, whereupon the native, after fulfilling my request, explained to me that there would probably be a storm next day as the result of our action.

In all the tribes of the Great Andaman I found a belief that *Biliku* or *Puluga* will be angry if anybody makes a noise, particularly a noise of chopping, breaking or banging wood, during the time the cicada is singing. The cicada "sings" as the natives call it, during the short interval between dawn and sunrise, and during that between sunset and darkness. It is at these times that no noise may be made. The Andamanese do observe this custom, and refrain from making any noise at such times. For instance, if a man were singing, he would cease until the cicada were silent again. In all the tribes I found that this prohibition was connected in the minds of the natives with *Puluga*, the reason of the custom being always explained to me by saying that any breach of it would infallibly bring bad weather. In the North Andaman the cicada (*mite*) is commonly spoken of as the "child" of *Biliku*, *Biliku ot-tire*.

Mr Man refers to this custom. In one place he says that the first parents of the Andamanese were told by *Puluga* "that, though they were to work in the wet months, they must not do so after sundown, because by doing so they would worry the *butu*, which are under *Puluga's* special protection. Any noise, such as working (*kopke*) with an adze, would cause the *butu's* head to ache, and that would be a serious matter. During the

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cold and dry seasons work may be carried on day and night, as the *butu* is then seldom seen, and cannot be disturbed[1]." 776

The *butu* here mentioned is the cicada. The prohibition is not, however, as Mr Man says, against working, but against making a noise. Nor does the prohibition against noise extend to the whole night, but only to the short interval between sunset and darkness, for it is during this interval that the cicada is singing. As soon as the cicada is silent you may make as much noise as you please. 784 821

Another reference by Mr Man to the same custom is as follows: "Between dawn and sunrise they will do no work, save what is noiseless, lest the sun should be offended and cause an eclipse, storm, or other misfortune to overtake them. If, therefore, they have occasion to start on a journey or hunting expedition at so early an hour, they proceed as quietly as possible, and refrain from the practice, observed at other times of the day, of testing the strength of their bow-strings, as the snapping noise caused thereby is one of those to which the sun objects[2]."

This is really the same prohibition as that already mentioned, against making a noise when the cicada is singing. The interesting point, which will be discussed in a later chapter, is that Mr Man's informant associated the prohibition not with *Puluga*, but with the sun. All the natives with whom I talked on the matter said that they would make no noise at such a time for fear of offending the cicada, and therefore *Puluga* or *Biliku*, and so bringing a storm.

As regards the prohibition against killing the cicada, this seems to refer only to the imago. So far as I was able to observe, the natives do carefully avoid killing the cicada in its full-grown form. On the other hand the grub of the cicada is regularly killed and eaten, being regarded as a delicacy. It is only eaten during the months of October and November.

In connection with the cicada, and with the weather, there is a rite which was described to me, but which I did not see performed. According to the account given of this rite, which is called "killing the cicada," its purpose is to produce fine weather. It takes place in December, at the end of the season 776 821 796

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 165. [2] *Ibid.* p. 153.

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776 during which they eat the grub. When the time agreed upon
821 for the performance of the ceremony arrives, all the members of
796 the community are careful to be in the camp before sunset. As soon as the sun sets and the cicadæ begin their shrill cry, all the men, women and children present begin to make as much noise as they possibly can, by banging on the sounding-board, striking the ground with bamboos, beating pieces of wood together, or hammering on the sides of canoes, while at the same time shouting. They continue the noise, which entirely drowns that of the cicada, until after darkness has fallen. The rite may be performed, I believe, two or more times, on successive evenings. My informant explained the rite by saying that the natives have been eating the cicada, and the rite is intended to "kill" those that are left. After the rite the cicada disappears and is not seen or heard for some weeks, and there follow four months of fine weather with little rain.

776 The beliefs relating to bees'-wax, to the various edible roots,
821 and to the cicada, are the same in all the Great Andaman tribes,
784 and are by far the most important of those connected with *Biliku*. In the North Andaman *Biliku* is supposed to be angry if any one kills a *biliku* (spider) a *reo* (a species of insect making a noise like a cicada, during the daytime, which I often heard, but never saw), or a *čatlo* (a species of beetle). There is also a bird, which I was not able to identify, called *tǫrǫi*, which belongs to *Biliku* and may not be killed.

In the *A-Pučikwar* tribe it is said that two species of fish, called *unakoro* and *liwat* belong to *Bilik* and may not be killed. A mollusc, called *towa*, also belongs to *Bilik*, and is for that reason never eaten. A bird called *Bilik-ʃar-dala* (probably the same bird that is called *tǫrǫi* in the North Andaman) may not be killed.

In the *Akar-Bale* tribe I was told that two kinds of wood, *bukura* and *worago*, must not be used for firewood, for fear of offending *Puluga*, to whom they belong. *Bukura* is a species of *Diospyros* (ebony).

776 The only punishment that *Biliku* ever inflicts on human
821 beings when she is angry with them for any reason, is to send
789 violent storms. The way to stop a storm seems to be to frighten

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Biliku. One means of doing this is to throw the leaves of the *Mimusops littoralis* in the fire. These leaves explode with the heating of the juices and make a crackling or popping noise, which it is said that *Biliku* dislikes. I believe, however, that if any one were thus to burn *Mimusops* leaves during fine weather, it would be regarded as likely to cause a storm. The most efficacious means of stopping a storm is to do some of the things that *Biliku* most dislikes. To burn bees'-wax, or to go into the jungle and damage or destroy the creepers that belong to her, these are the heroic remedies against *Biliku's* anger. 776 821 789

The question of the Andamanese beliefs about storms is complicated by the fact that although all storms are said to be made by *Puluga* or *Biliku*, yet there is an alternative and contradictory belief that storms are made by the spirits of the sea (*Jurua*). It is said that if a piece of the *Anadendron paniculatum* creeper were to be burnt there would be a great cyclone, but this appears to be associated, not with *Biliku*, but with the spirits of the sea. It will be shown later that there is a special connection between the *Jurua* and this plant. The belief that a storm will arise if turtle fat be allowed to burn in the fire seems also to be connected with the *Jurua* and not with *Biliku*. The same is probably the case with a belief that rain will come if a *Ficus laccifera* tree be damaged. 776 821 784

Some of the methods used to stop storms are also probably connected with the spirits and not with *Biliku*. One such method is to go into the sea and swish arrows about in the water. One *oko-jumu* (medicine-man) of the North Andaman is reputed to have stopped a big cyclone by taking a few pieces of *Anadendron paniculatum* and crushing them, and then diving into the sea and placing the crushed creeper under a stone. An *oko-jumu* who died while I was in the islands is supposed to have been able to stop a storm by similarly placing leaves and twigs of the *Ficus laccifera* (*reyko*) under a rock in the sea. 776 821 789

To complete the account of this part of the Andamanese beliefs it is necessary to quote what Mr Man writes about the tribes of the South Andaman. Mr Man describes *Puluga* as a "Supreme Being" and says that some of the beliefs of the Andamanese relating to him "approximate closely to the true 776

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756 791 have extraordinary powers. Hence a man who is an acknowledged *oko-jumu* is sure to receive a good share of the game caught by others, and presents of all kinds from those who seek his good-will.

756 791 828 787 755 As the name implies, and in whatever way his power may have been obtained, an *oko-jumu* is privileged to dream in a way that less favoured persons do not. In his dreams he can communicate with the spirits of the dead. In dreams, also, so the natives say, he is able to cause the illness of an enemy or to cure that of a friend.

By his communication with the spirits, in dreams, or in waking life, the *oko-jumu* acquires magical knowledge that he is able to turn to account in curing illness and in preventing bad weather. When a person is ill the *oko-jumu* is often consulted as to the best means of treating the patient. His treatment is often limited to the recommendation, or the application, of some one or other of the recognized remedies. He may undertake to dispel the spirits that are supposed to be the cause of the disease, which he does by addressing them and conjuring them to go away, or by the use of one or other of the substances and objects that are believed to have the power of keeping spirits at a distance. Sometimes the *oko-jumu* will promise to cure the patient by means of dreams. It is believed that in his dreams he can communicate with the spirits and can persuade them to help him to cure the sick person.

791 821 756 Besides their power of causing or curing sickness, the *oko-jumu* are credited with being able to control the weather. As has been shown, the Andamanese believe that the weather is under the control of two beings named *Biliku* and *Tarai*. There is, however, an alternative and contradictory belief, which is also held, that the weather is controlled by the spirits, and particularly by those of the sea. The means taken by magicians or others to prevent bad weather can be divided into two kinds according as they are directed against *Biliku* or *Tarai*, or against the spirits of the sea. As an example of the very simple rites which are performed for this purpose, two cases may be quoted. One of the *oko-jumu* of the Northern tribes, now dead, once stopped a very violent storm by crushing between two stones

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a piece of the *Anadendron paniculatum* and diving with it into the sea where he placed it under a rock on the reef. A more recent example is very similar. A man still living, named *Jire Pilečar*, who was, in a way, the successor of the man formerly mentioned, is said to have stopped a violent storm by using the leaves and bark of the *Ficus laccifera* in the same way, that is by crushing them and placing them under a rock in the sea. In both these cases it would seem that the rite was directed not against *Biliku* and *Tarai*, but against the *Jurua*.

Apart from his power to communicate directly with the spirits, the *oko-jumu* owes his position to a superior knowledge of the magical properties of common substances and objects. This knowledge he is supposed to obtain from the spirits. However, a lesser degree of knowledge on such matters is possessed by everybody. Thus in the treatment of sickness there are a number of magical remedies of which anyone can make use without consulting an *oko-jumu*.

A complete enumeration of all the things that are believed to possess magical properties is, of course, not possible, but the following notes refer to all the most important.

We may consider first of all the magical properties of mineral substances. One of the most important of these is red ochre. Yellow ochre, which is found in pockets in many parts of the islands, is collected and burnt, when it turns red, and the powder so obtained is either used by itself or is made into a paint with pig or turtle fat. The powder is mixed with water and taken internally. Red paint is applied to the throat and chest for coughs and colds and sore throats, and round the ear for ear-ache. When a man feels unwell he often smears red paint on his upper lip just below his nostrils. In this way, the natives say, the "smell" of the paint cures his sickness. The paint is sometimes used as a dressing for wounds or centipede bites. Its use for ornamenting the body on ceremonial occasions has already been noted in the last chapter.

In the North Andaman a soft red stone is found, called *talar*. This is used as a substitute for red paint. It is rubbed on the body, or it is powdered and the powder is mixed with water and taken internally.

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Thus the comparison of different versions confirms the interpretation here given. The legend expresses the negative social value of night as a period when social activity is diminished and the power of protection of the society therefore lessened. It does so by telling how the night first arose as the result of disobedience to a ritual prohibition, i.e., of meddling with the forces of nature. It traces the original cause yet further back to the anger of one of the ancestors, anger being itself a source of social disturbance. It passes on to express the social value of the dance, with its accompanying song, and exhibits the relation, within the system of social values, of dancing and darkness. Thus, although the manner of expression may differ, yet what is expressed is the same in both versions, and we are therefore justified in regarding this as the essential content of them.

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An exactly parallel explanation can be given of the Andaman notions relating to the moon. The social value of moonlight is due to the fact that it enables the natives to fish and catch turtle and dugong by night. A clear moonlight night affords the best opportunity for harpooning dugong. During the second quarter the light of the moon steadily increases, and the period of moonlight falls in the first part of the night. After the change to the third quarter the light steadily diminishes, and moreover there is a gradually increasing period of complete darkness at the beginning of the night. The natives do not care to get up in the middle of the night to go fishing or hunting turtle. Therefore the second quarter is the time when they undertake such expeditions, and after the change to the third quarter they abandon them largely or entirely, and if they do go out they have to depend on torches. Therefore we may say that during the second quarter the moon gives valuable help to the natives, but during the third quarter withdraws that help.

At the beginning of the third quarter the moon rises in the evening with a ruddy hue. The natives explain this red and swollen appearance by saying that the moon is angry. When a man does something that hurts or damages another it is generally (in Andamanese life) because he is angry. So to say that the moon is angry is equivalent to saying that he is damaging or hurting someone, as he is indeed damaging the society by with-

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drawing the light by which for the past week or so they have been able to capture fish and turtle. The phenomena of the change of the moon in so far as they affect the social life are represented as if they were the actions of a human being. We may describe this briefly by saying that the moon is personified, using that term in a special sense to be defined more exactly later. Amongst the Andamanese, as amongst ourselves, anger is associated with heat, and this explains why the red glow of the moon when he rises during the first few nights of the third quarter is regarded as the visible sign of his anger.

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Even the moon, however, is not to be expected to be angry without a cause. The natives say that the anger is due to some bright light having been visible at the time the moon rises. The personification is thus further elaborated. The moon gives the light by which fishing and turtle hunting at night are possible. This light has a positive social value, and its withdrawal is an evil. They therefore regard the moon as jealous, so jealous that if anyone makes use of an artificial light, as of a fire or torch or burning resin, the moon immediately is consumed with anger and withdraws the light that has been of so much use and has not been sufficiently appreciated. This belief is a means by which the value of the moonlight is recognized. Thus the beliefs about the moon can be interpreted in exactly the same way as the legend about night; both express, in accordance with the same psychological laws, the social values of natural phenomena.

I will next consider not a single legend but a number of different stories, running through all of which we can find a single major motive. I have recorded[1] three legends which relate, with some differences of detail, how in the beginning the ancestors had no fire, how fire was introduced by one of them, and how many of them, being burnt or frightened, were turned into animals of different kinds. In one version[2] the sea-eagle came into the camp of the ancestors and threw fire amongst them; whereby many of them being frightened were turned into animals. Another version is very similar, the chief actor, however, being the prawn[3]. In an *Akar-Bale* version *Dim-dori*, now

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[1] Pages 207 and 204. [2] Page 207. [3] *Ibid.*

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X182 132 776 violent storms (cyclones) are very rare. Between the rainy season proper and the cool season there is a period of six or eight weeks in which the weather is unsettled; the wind is variable; fine weather alternates with storms that are sometimes of terrific violence; waterspouts are frequent; it is at this season that violent cyclonic storms are likely to occur. This season is called by the Andamanese *Kimil* (*Gumul* of *Aka-Bea*). We have seen in the last chapter that the word *kimil* denotes a condition of social danger, or of contact with the power possessed by all things that can affect the life and safety of the society. It is obviously in this sense, and not as meaning "hot," that it is applied to the season in question, for the months of October and November are fairly cool, certainly very much cooler than February and March. We shall find that this is an important point in connection with the *Biliku* myth.

The life of the Andaman Islander is profoundly affected by the alternation of the seasons. There are, first of all, the violent cyclonic storms that occasionally occur. Such a storm may uproot the jungle for miles, making it impassable for years to come, and thus destroying some of the native hunting grounds. The wind is sometimes so violent as to tear every leaf from the trees in its path. While the storm lasts there is danger to the lives of the natives. An old man recounted to me how on the occasion of a violent cyclone he and the others of his village took refuge in the sea and on the open shore from the danger of falling trees, and remained there till the violence of the storm had abated. The usual name for a cyclone in *Aka-Jeru* is *toko-por*, [821] i.e. "falling wood" or "falling trees." Even if all the natives escape the danger of death or injury, there is still the extreme fear and discomfort of the experience. If a storm lasts for any length of time the natives, who are unable or afraid to go out hunting, have to do without food until it is over. Incidentally the storm may destroy their huts, canoes, and other property and thus cause loss that has to be made up by toil.

X182 132 221 The second important effect of the seasons on the life of the Andamanese is through the food supply. During the cool season, and the succeeding hot season, a number of vegetable foods, including the very important roots and some of the most

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prized fruits, are available. On the other hand, during these seasons the land animals are in poor condition. In the hot season, at any rate, lizards, snakes and the civet-cat are not eaten. Pigs are breeding and are in such poor condition that often a pig that has been killed is left in the jungle as being not good enough to eat. The hot season is pre-eminently the season of honey, which is so abundant that the natives are able to obtain much more than they can consume. In the rainy season there are few vegetable foods and very little honey, but on the other hand the jungle animals are in good condition and flesh food is abundant; fish are more plentiful in this season than during the dry weather. In the *Kimil* season (October and November) the natives add to their food supply two varieties of grub (the larvæ of the cicada and of a beetle) which are regarded as great delicacies. Roughly we can say that the rainy season is the season of flesh food, the *Kimil* season is the season of grubs, the cool season is the season of fruits and roots, and the hot season is the season of honey.

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By reference to the prevailing wind the year may be divided into two parts, the N.E. monsoon from November to May, and the S.W. monsoon from May to November.

I propose to show that the Andaman Islanders express the social value of the phenomena of the weather and the seasons, i.e., the way these phenomena affect the social life and the social sentiments, by means of legends and beliefs relating to the two mythical beings whom they call *Biliku* and *Tarai*. Using the word personification in a sense to be defined later in the chapter, we may say that the Andamanese personify the weather and the seasons in the persons of *Biliku* and *Tarai*. *Biliku* is associated with the N.E. monsoon; she lives in the N.E.; the wind from that quarter is called "the *Biliku* wind"; to *Biliku*, therefore, belong the cool and the hot seasons, these being the seasons of the N.E. monsoon. *Tarai* is associated with the S.W. monsoon; he lives in the S.W.; the wind from that quarter is called "the *Tarai* wind," or, in *Aka-Bea*, simply *Deria*; to *Tarai* therefore belongs the rainy season. It is possible to show that the Andaman Islanders associate with these two beings all the phenomena of the weather and the seasons, and are able to

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represent the changes of the latter as though they were the actions of human or anthropomorphic beings.

In the mass of beliefs and stories relating to *Biliku* and *Tarai* there are some elements on which there is absolute agreement in all the tribes of the Great Andaman Division. I propose to treat these as being the most important elements. There is absolute unanimity, for instance, as to the connection of *Biliku* and *Tarai* with the N.E. and the S.W. respectively, and with the winds that blow from these two points of the compass. Further, this belief does not conflict in any way with any other belief of the Andamanese. There is similar unanimity in the beliefs that *Biliku* is angry at the digging up of yams, and at the melting of bees'-wax. There are other matters on which the agreement is fairly general but not absolute. For instance, there is a common belief that it was *Biliku* who first discovered fire, but there are also legends as to the origin of fire in which *Biliku* does not figure. I propose to treat such elements as these as being of secondary importance. Finally there are other elements with regard to which the beliefs of different tribes are not in agreement. For instance, in the South Andaman *Puluga* is regarded as male, while in the North Andaman *Biliku* is female. I propose to regard such elements as being of only minor importance, i.e., as not being closely connected with the central notion or notions expressed in the myth.

Applying the strict method outlined above, we may begin by noting that there is complete unanimity in regard to the connection of *Biliku* and *Tarai* with the N.E. and the S.W. respectively, and therefore with the monsoons. No interpretation of the myth can be adequate unless it sets out from this fact. The connection is so firmly fixed that it appears in the names of the winds themselves[1]. Even in this matter of the winds, however, there is a slight difference in the detail of the beliefs in different tribes. In the North Andaman it would seem that only the two principal winds are recognized: the S.W. wind (more accurately W.S.W.) is called "the *Tarai*

[1] It appears also in geographical names. *Puluga-Tar-mugu*, meaning 'the Puluga front' is the name of a part of the Archipelago facing the N.E. and means 'the side facing Puluga.'

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wind" (not, be it noted, "the wind of *Tarai*"); the N.E. (or more accurately N.N.E.) wind is called "the *Biliku* wind." These two winds are by far the most important, as the former blows steadily throughout the rainy season and the latter blows with almost equal steadiness throughout a good part of the cool and hot seasons. In the *Aka-Bea* and *Akar-Bale* tribes the general belief seems to be precisely the same as in the North Andaman. Only the two principal winds are considered to be of importance and one is associated with *Deria* and the other with *Puluga*. In these two tribes, as in the North Andaman, practically no notice is taken of the existence of winds from other quarters. In the *A-Pučikwar* tribe there is a notable difference, of great importance to the true interpretation of the legend. There is a dual division of the winds; the S.W. wind is called *Teria*; the other winds (of which a number are recognized) are all called *Bilik*. Thus *Bilik* is a generic name for a number of winds, namely for all the northerly or easterly winds, including not only the N.E., but also the N.W. and S.E. winds. The S.W. wind is called by a simple name, *Teria*, or as it would be better rendered in English "the *Teria*." The other winds are called by compound names such as *Metepur Bilik*, *Koičo Bilik*, etc., which we can only translate as "the N.E. *Bilik*," "the East *Bilik*," etc.

Two things of importance are shown by the consideration of these facts. The first is that there is a sense in which it may be said that the Andaman Islanders personify the winds in the persons of *Biliku* and *Tarai*; they apply to the natural phenomenon a name which is also the name of a mythological person, and they apply it directly and not in a possessive form, i.e., they say "the *Bilik*" or "the *Biliku* wind" and not "*Biliku's* wind." The second is that only the S.W. wind is associated with *Tarai* and all the other winds are associated with *Biliku*.

The last point is one of considerable importance in the interpretation of the myth. If we divide the year by reference to the prevailing winds, then the rainy season, with the exception of its beginning and its end, belongs to the S.W. wind; the hot season (save its end) and the cool season may be regarded as belonging to the N.E. wind, though the wind may be variable in the hot season; there remain two portions of the year, at the

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change of the monsoon, when the wind is variable, which cannot be classified as belonging strictly to the S.W. or to the N.E. wind. The fact that all these variable winds are denoted in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe by the name *Bilik* shows that in this tribe they are all classified with the N.E. wind. In this way the year is divided into two slightly unequal parts, one belonging to *Teria* or *Tarai* including the whole of the rainy season except the end and the very beginning, the other belonging to *Bilik* (*Biliku*) including the *Kimil* season, the cool season, the hot season, and even the first few days of the rainy season. This strict division only appears in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe, but it will be shown that an approximation to the same notion is found in the other tribes.

There is general agreement in all the tribes in the belief that storms are due to *Biliku* or *Tarai*. Both of them send rain and thunder and lightning, but whenever mention is made in the legends of a violent storm it is always *Biliku* who is mentioned as causing it, and never by any chance *Tarai*. Thus, in regard to this matter of storms, it is evident that *Biliku* is more important than *Tarai*, and this is only one example of the preponderance of *Biliku* over her consort. This preponderance will need to be explained as one of the essentials of the myth[1].

We have already seen how the Andaman Islander represents any natural phenomenon having negative social value as though it were the result of the action of a person in anger, this being the one anti-social passion with which he is most familiar in his own life. Thus the withdrawing of the light of the moon after the full is explained as being due to the anger of the moon. The negative social value of a violent storm is obvious. In accordance with the general principles of his mythology the Andaman Islander therefore explains the storm as being due to the anger of a personal mythical being. But storms are intimately connected with the winds, so that it must be *Biliku* and *Tarai* (in whom the winds are personified) who are responsible for the storms. Further, in the Andamans, violent storms are very rare except at two special periods of the year, at the

[1] Although it is generally believed that storms (or more exactly, violent storms or cyclones) are the results of the anger of *Biliku*, yet there is a conflicting belief that storms are made by the spirits, particularly the spirits of the sea.

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change of the monsoon. This gives a further ground of association with *Biliku* and *Tarai* between whom the seasons are divided. We have seen that in classifying the winds the natives (of one tribe at any rate) associate with *Tarai* only the steady S.W. wind which brings not cyclones and violent storms but steady rain, while all the other winds are associated with *Biliku*. If this be so it is clear that a cyclone, with its wind veering from one quarter to another, must be the work of *Biliku*. Further, if the *Biliku* season be regarded as including all the periods of variable northerly and easterly winds as well as the period of the steady N.E., then we can say that it is only in the *Biliku* period that violent storms are likely to occur. It is evident therefore that an examination of the natural phenomena themselves gives us an adequate reason for the preponderance of *Biliku* over *Tarai* in the legends. This will be made even more evident as we proceed.

Another law of the Andaman mythology is that a person, such as the moon, is never angry without cause. There are a number of actions that are believed by the Andamanese to cause the anger of *Biliku*; of these there are three of extreme importance, all the others being certainly of much less importance. It is necessary, therefore, to examine these three carefully and find their meaning.

There is absolute agreement in all the tribes with regard to the belief that *Biliku* is angry and sends bad weather when bees'-wax is melted or burnt. The season of honey is the hot season from February to May. During the rainy season scarcely any honey is to be found and that only of the inferior (black) variety. It is clear therefore that honey belongs particularly to the *Biliku* portion of the year. During the hot season honey is abundant and large quantities are collected. As the natives make use of the wax, and as this is useless till it has been melted, this is the special season of the melting of bees'-wax. At the beginning of the season the *Biliku* wind blows calmly from the N.N.E. As the season draws to a close the wind becomes variable, uncertain, and in some years violent storms occur ushering in the rains of the S.W. monsoon. Year after year the wax-melting season comes to a close in stormy weather.

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Now stormy weather and the anger of *Biliku* are, for the Andaman Islander, one and the same thing, so that to say that the anger of *Biliku* follows the melting of bees'-wax is in one sense simply a statement of actual observable fact.

Another belief about which there is absolute unanimity in all parts of the Islands is that *Biliku* is angry when certain plants are cut down or dug up. These plants include some of the most valuable vegetable foods of the Andamanese, such as the yams and the pith of the *Caryota* palm. Amongst the roots and fruits associated with *Biliku* there are one or two that were not botanically identified. All of them, however, about which I was able to obtain any information whatever, are available as food during the cool and hot seasons, and either not at all or in very small quantities during the rainy season. On the other hand, of the vegetable foods that are available during the rainy season, not one is ever mentioned as being in any way connected with *Biliku*. Further, amongst all the foods of the cool and hot seasons only those are intimately connected with *Biliku* which begin to be available during the *Kimil* season. A few examples may be mentioned. The yams and other edible roots are not found at all in the rainy season, but the tubers begin to form in the *Kimil* season (October and November) and small quantities of these roots are available for food at that time. By the time the cool season has set in the roots become abundant, and they continue to be found until well on into the hot season. All these roots are regarded as being specially connected with *Biliku* and are spoken of as her foods. The same thing applies to the *Caryota sobolifera* of which the pith is eaten either raw or cooked. The pith begins to form in the *Kimil* season, and this highly prized food is available right through the cool season. The fruit of the *Cycas*, which is another of those belonging to *Biliku*, also begins to ripen at the beginning of the cool weather. As regards the *Entada scandens*, Kurz, in his *Burmese Flora*, mentions it as seeding in the "cold season." I neglected to take note of the relation of this plant to the seasons, but the statement of Kurz may be relied on. Thus it is seen that the vegetable foods that are associated with *Biliku* are those that begin to be available for food during the *Kimil* season and are

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abundant during the cool season. Now the *Kimil* season, which is really the opening of the N.E. or *Biliku* monsoon, is the season at which cyclonic storms are likely to occur. Here again therefore, as in the case of bees'-wax, there is a definite ground of association in familiar natural phenomena. Year after year, as these foods begin to ripen and to be eaten, the islands are visited with stormy weather, sometimes of exceptional violence. When the Andaman Islander says that the stormy weather which is the sign of the anger of *Biliku* follows the digging up of yams and the cutting down of the *Caryota* palm or the gathering of the seeds of the *Cycas* or *Entada*, he is stating what is an actual fact.

The case of these vegetable foods is in one way different from that of bees'-wax. The melting of the wax goes on for some weeks before the anger of *Biliku* is finally aroused, when storms come to punish the offenders, and the change of season cuts short the supply of honey. In the case of the roots, etc., it would seem that it is only the first step that counts. The danger lies in the beginning of the season. Once the anger of *Biliku* has burst forth the bad weather ceases, the danger is past, and weeks of fine weather ensue, during which the natives may eat freely of the foods in question without fear of consequences. In this connection considerable importance may be attached to a statement made to me on more than one occasion, to the effect that the most efficient way of stopping a storm is to go into the forest and destroy the plants that belong to *Biliku*, i.e., do the very things that make her angry. We may apply this to the events of the *Kimil* season. The natives begin to dig up yams and collect other vegetable foods, and thereupon *Biliku* becomes angry and stormy weather follows. All that the natives have to do is to show sufficient persistence in continuing to eat yams, etc., and the anger of *Biliku* is bound to subside and the stormy weather to cease.

There is a third belief that is generally accepted in all parts of the Great Andaman, that *Biliku* is angry if a cicada be killed, or if a noise be made while the cicada is singing in the morning or the evening. The interpretation of this belief is made difficult by the fact that there is also an association between the cicada and the day and night. Thus Mr Man states that the prohibition

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against making a noise at dawn (while the cicada is singing) is associated not with *Puluga* but with the sun[1].

The grub of the cicada is eaten during the *Kimil* season, and at no other time of the year. Here the association is simple enough. The killing of the cicada (grub) takes place only during a brief season, and this is the season when cyclones occur. However, the grub of a beetle is eaten at the same season and yet I never heard of any connection between *Biliku* and this other grub. Certainly if there is a belief in such a connection it is very much less important than the belief relating to the cicada. Further, there is the belief that if the imago of the cicada be killed or if a noise be made while the cicada is singing, *Biliku* will be angry and will send bad weather, which is obviously not simply the result of the custom of eating the grub of the cicada during the *Kimil* season.

The relation of the cicada to *Biliku* is almost certainly due to the connection of the insect with the seasons. Unfortunately, not then recognizing the importance of the matter, I did not, while in the Andamans, take particular note of the relation of the life-cycle of the cicada to the revolution of the seasons, and I am reluctant to trust to vague memories of matters to which I did not pay special attention. Mr Man states, apparently on the authority of a native, that during the cold and dry seasons the cicada is seldom seen (and is therefore presumably also seldom heard). What I believe to be the life-cycle of the insect is as follows. During the rainy season only the adult insects are to be found. They lay their eggs at some period during the rainy season, possibly towards the end. In October and November the eggs have developed into pupæ, and it is these that the natives eat; but apparently the adult insects, or some of them, still survive at this time and are to be seen and heard. By about December the last of the adult insects die out and the grubs have not yet attained the adult form, so that there is a period during which no adult insects are either seen or heard. It is probable that the new generation makes its first appearance in adult form as soon as the first rains of the rainy season begin.

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The essential point, on which we can base an interpretation of the myth, is that the cicada is not seen or heard during the fine weather (December to March). It probably, as stated above, makes its reappearance just at the period of the stormy weather that ushers in the rainy season. Similarly, it does not disappear until after the end of the stormy period of the *Kimil* season. (I have certainly heard and seen the insect in October, and to the best of my recollection in November also.) Thus the cicada is definitely associated with the part of the year including the rainy season and the two stormy periods at its beginning and end. I believe that this is the fundamental fact that explains the Andamanese beliefs about the connection of the insect with the weather.

I was told of a ceremony that was held at the end of the *Kimil* season in the *Akar-Bale* tribe (and possibly in other tribes also) the purpose of which was said to be to ensure fine weather for some months and which is called "Killing the cicada." The ceremony consists of doing the very thing that is believed to produce storms, viz., making a noise while the cicada is singing in the evening. As soon as the cicadæ begin to sing all the persons in camp make as much noise as they can by banging bamboos on the ground, striking the sounding-board, or hammering on the sides of canoes, thus making just the kinds of noise that are said to be most disliked by the cicada. According to the statement of my informant this ceremony results in "killing" all the cicadæ so that they are not heard again for many weeks, and while this silence lasts fine weather is assured. The meaning of this little ceremony is plain when we recall the fact that though the digging up of yams and the cutting down of the *Caryota* palm anger *Biliku* and result in storms yet sufficient persistence in these actions, and therefore in any others that are displeasing to *Biliku*, results in dispelling the bad weather. Thus it is seen that although the matter is a little more complicated, yet the belief in the connection of the cicada with *Biliku* and with bad weather can be explained on exactly the same lines as the beliefs about bees'-wax and vegetable foods. The fact that the same explanation can be given of the three most important prohibitions connected

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with *Biliku* gives a high degree of probability to the interpretation here offered. These three beliefs are the only ones of real importance. I am unable to explain the connection of *Biliku* with the species of fish, the bird and the two kinds of wood mentioned on page 156. In the North Andaman there is a definite association between *Biliku* and spiders, the generic name for "spider" being *biliku*. I believe that this could be explained on the same basis as the connection with the cicada, i.e., through the connection of spiders with the changes of the seasons, but as I unfortunately neglected to take note of the habits of the spiders of the Andamans I cannot speak with any certainty and therefore prefer not to enter into a discussion of the subject[1].

The explanation that I have to offer of these beliefs relating to *Biliku* and to the things that offend her is that they are simply the statement in a special form of observable facts of nature. The rainy season comes to an end, the wind becomes variable, yams and other vegetable products begin to ripen and are used for food, and stormy weather comes, some years bringing cyclones of exceptional violence. Then follows a period of steady N.E. winds with fine weather and abundance of vegetable foods, during which the noise of the cicada is not to be heard. Then comes the honey season, when everyone is busy collecting honey and melting bees'-wax. The wind becomes very variable, storms come, the fine weather comes to an end and the rainy season begins again. These facts affect the feelings of the Andaman Islander and he expresses his impressions by regarding all these happenings as if they were the actions of an anthropomorphic being. The vegetable products, the cicada, and the honey all belong to *Biliku*. When the yams are dug up she is angry, or in other words, storms occur; a storm

[1] The application of the name *biliku* to the spider is clearly a minor motive, and probably a late accretion. The name of the N.E. monsoon is the same in all the divisions of the Andamans about which we have information, with dialectic differences only. In the Little Andaman the form of the name is *Öluga*, and the same name is given to the monitor lizard. Presumably, therefore, there was originally one name throughout the Andamans for the N.E. monsoon (*Öluga*, *Puluga*, *Bilik*, *Biliko*, *Biliku*) and later this name was applied to the spider in the North Andaman and to the monitor lizard in the Little Andaman. It may be noted that the name of the monitor lizard varies from one language to another in the Great Andaman.

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is the anger of *Biliku*. The cessation of the song of the cicada removes one of the possible causes of the anger of *Biliku*, and therefore marks the period of fine weather. That anger appears once more when the natives busy themselves with melting bees'-wax.

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It may be noted that these beliefs about *Biliku* give an expression of the social value of honey and bees'-wax and of vegetable foods such as yams. The Andaman Islands provide few fruits containing natural sugar. Yet the natives are inordinately fond of sweet things; they greatly enjoy the sugar that they now obtain from the Settlement of Port Blair. Honey, which was almost their only sweet food in former times, was therefore very greatly valued. Apart from the yams and other foods associated with *Biliku* there are very few productions of the Andamans containing starch in a palatable form. To the native who has been living during the rainy season almost entirely on meat and fish, the starchy foods of the stormy season (yams, *Caryota*, etc.) are of great value, and they are very highly prized. Thus the foods associated with *Biliku* all have a high value.

We all know how the value of an object is increased if, in order to obtain it, we have to make some considerable effort or sacrifice, or put ourselves in danger of some evil. Reversing this mental process, the Andaman Islander expresses his sense of the value of honey and yams by the statement that to obtain them he must be prepared to risk the anger of *Biliku* with its results. It was shown in the last chapter that the value of food in general is expressed in the belief that all food is more or less dangerous to eat, and that ritual precautions must be observed if the danger is to be avoided. Here in the *Biliku* myth, we have a further example of the same sort of mental process, in relation not to all foods in general but to a few foods of special value. Yet another example may be given. Roast pork is highly relished by the natives, and they believe that the roasting of pork offends certain spirits of the sky and is therefore dangerous[1].

[1] It is to be noted that these tabus connected with *Biliku* are not absolute prohibitions; they are beliefs that if certain things are done *Biliku* will be angry (i.e., there may be storms); if you do these things you must risk the danger. It is exactly the same with the roasting of pork.

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Returning now to the subject of *Biliku* as the sender of cyclones, it is necessary for the argument, even at the risk of repetition, to show (1) that this is by far the most important attribute of *Biliku*, and (2) that it follows immediately from her connection with the N.E. monsoon.

Taking the second point first, we may note, in the first place, that while *Tarai* is associated with the steady S.W. wind which blows with very little variation for months at a time, *Biliku* is associated with the variable winds of the hot season. Now a characteristic of a cyclonic storm is the way in which the wind

The line represents the position of the Andaman Islands. The larger arrows show the direction in which the cyclonic disturbance is moving. The smaller arrows show the direction of the wind.

veers from one quarter to another. Further, as most of the cyclones that cross the Andamans travel from the south-east in a north-westerly direction, and the movement of the cyclone is in a counter-clockwise direction, the first wind of a cyclonic storm when it strikes the islands comes from the north-east. This may be seen from the accompanying diagram. It is only at the very end of the storm, when the storm centre has passed, that the wind blows from the south-west. Thus it is clear that the association of cyclones with *Biliku* and not with *Tarai* is determined by the nature of the phenomena which the *Biliku-Tarai* myth sets out to explain.

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That the most important attribute of *Biliku* is her connection with the cyclones is evident when we consider the legends in which she is mentioned. In most of the legends in which her name occurs[1] she is spoken of as being angry with the ancestors, and we know that a cyclone and the anger of *Biliku* are, for the Andaman Islander, one and the same thing. In some of the stories mention is made of a great storm that *Biliku* sent which nearly destroyed the world. All through the legends we find her pictured as a being whose anger is to be feared, who has the power to destroy human life and human property. *Tarai* is never mentioned in this way, for the rains of the south-west monsoon themselves have no such power.

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We are now in a position to compare the characters of *Biliku* and *Tarai* and explain their relative positions in the myth. The reason for the preponderance of *Biliku* lies in the fact that it is she who sends cyclones, while *Tarai* sends nothing more than heavy showers of rain. *Tarai* is never responsible for the destruction of life and property, whereas *Biliku* is. Thus the preponderance of *Biliku* follows from the essentials of the myth. Secondly, *Tarai* is constant, ever the same, whereas *Biliku* is changeable. The rainy season of one year is exactly like that of another, and during the time it lasts the weather is consistent throughout. On the contrary, one year the *Biliku* season brings a terrific storm, and another year it is much less violent, while, from day to day during certain parts of the *Biliku* season the weather is unsettled, so that you cannot tell what the morrow will bring with it. It is obvious that this uncertainty about the actions of *Biliku*, the fact that she cannot altogether be reckoned with, would tend to make her of greater importance in the eyes of the Andamanese than her consort *Tarai*.

Let us now consider the question of the sex of *Biliku*. On this matter there is a lack of agreement. In the North Andaman *Tarai* is declared to be male and *Biliku* female. It can readily be shown that this results from the position of *Biliku* and *Tarai*

[1] See, for instance, the Aka-Jeru legend on pages 197—198, the Aka-Kede on page 200 and that from the Akar-Bale tribe on pages 200—201, and also the legends on pages 207, 208.

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as regulating the seasons. *Tarai* rules over the rainy season, in which the chief food is the flesh of animals of the land and of the sea; it is the business of men to provide flesh-food. On the contrary *Biliku* rules over the seasons in which the chief foods are vegetable products of different kinds; it is the business of women to provide such foods. It is only men who go out hunting for pigs or turtle or who harpoon or shoot fish, and it is always the men who attend to the first part of the cooking of pig, turtle and dugong; it is the women who dig up the yams and collect the fruits and seeds, and it is the women also who cook them. There is a very real sense, then, in which flesh foods may be called the foods of men, and vegetable foods may be called the foods of women, and, since flesh foods are the foods of *Tarai* and vegetable foods are the foods of *Biliku*, there is a sound reason for calling *Tarai* male and *Biliku* female.

This way of thinking of *Biliku* as female is in harmony with her character as outlined above. Women (in the Andamans) are notoriously uncertain, changeable creatures. You can always reckon fairly well what a man will do, but not so with a woman. Moreover, when the Andaman Islander wishes to picture to himself a pair of closely associated beings, it is natural that he should compare them to the most closely associated couple with which he is familiar,—husband and wife. This tendency leads him to make the sun and moon man and wife in many of his legends, and it may well be expected to have its influence on the *Biliku* myth also.

In the South Andaman however, both *Puluga* and *Daria* are said to be male. It can be shown that this view is also appropriate in its way. The *Akar-Bale* say that *Puluga* and *Daria* were once friends, but have quarrelled and now live at opposite ends of the earth and are perpetually renewing their quarrel. *Daria* has things to himself for a few months (the S.W. monsoon) and sends his wind; then *Puluga* makes an attack on him; some weeks of unsettled weather ensue while they are fighting, until *Daria* is beaten and *Puluga* takes over the control of the weather and sends the N.E. wind. By and by, however, *Daria* shows himself again and there is another quarrel, with its unsettled and stormy weather, which ends in the

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defeat of *Puluga* and the reinstatement for a period of *Daria*. Even the bald language in which it is stated does not quite hide the poetical grandeur of this conception of the world as the arena of two battling giants in a never-ending quarrel. Those who have lived through a tropical cyclone with its wind changing from one quarter to another, its consummate violence, its sudden onslaught, its pause (that is felt to be merely a pause) as the centre of the disturbance reaches and passes you, and then its sudden renewal of the mad combat with the wind coming now from the opposite quarter, cannot but recognize in the *Akar-Bale* myth a successful attempt to describe such a storm in figurative language.

Such a combat could only be pictured by the Andamanese as taking place between two men, and the myth in this form therefore necessarily involves the belief that both *Puluga* and *Daria* are male. It is evident, therefore, that this view has some justification, that it does enable the Andaman Islander to express the feelings and impressions evoked in him by the phenomena of the weather. I venture to think, however, that the southern myth is not quite so satisfactory as the northern one, does not translate quite so well all the different features of the natural phenomena with which it deals[1].

A most important element of the myth is the connection of *Biliku* (*Puluga*) with fire. In all the tribes there are legends that represent *Biliku* as the first possessor of fire, which was, according to some versions, given by her to the ancestors, and according to others stolen from her by one of them. There can be no doubt that these legends owe their origin to the connection between *Biliku* the storm-sender and lightning.

There are several different beliefs about the lightning. According to one of these the lightning (*Ele*) and the thunder (*Korude*) are persons, who produce the phenomena of the same name. Another belief is that thunder and lightning are produced by *Biliku* and *Tarai*. On the whole, it would seem that

[1] In a paper in *Folk-lore*, vol. XX, 1909, I put forward the hypothesis that probably at one time all the tribes of the Andamans regarded *Biliku* (*Puluga*) as female, and *Tarai* (*Daria*) as male. I am still inclined to think that there is some evidence for this, but a discussion of what the Andamanese beliefs may have been in the past is entirely outside the scope of this chapter and is therefore omitted.

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the latter belief is the one which is most frequently present to the minds of the natives. A man seeing lightning in the sky will say, according to the season, the prevailing wind, etc., *Biliku čatobom*, or *Tarai čatobom*; "*Biliku* (or *Tarai*) is at work." There are different accounts, however, of the way in which *Biliku* makes the lightning. One belief is that it is a fire-brand flung by her through the sky; a second is that it is a mother-of-pearl shell (*be*) similarly flung; yet a third statement is that she produces the lightning by striking a pearl shell (*be*) on a red stone.

There is no doubt that the Andamanese regard lightning as fire; the charring of trees struck by it is sufficient to convince them of this. Thus lightning and the sun are the only two natural fires that they know. (With the relation of *Biliku* to the sun I shall deal later.) As the wielder of lightning *Biliku* thus becomes the possessor of fire. The simplest of the different beliefs, the one following immediately from the natural phenomena, would be, therefore, that which makes the lightning a fire-brand. This is, on the whole, the one that is most usually expressed, at any rate in the South Andaman.

The explanation of lightning as a shell depends not only upon the pearly lustre of this kind of shell, but also on other features of it. The shell in question (*be*) is used by women alone, and its use is confined to slicing yams and other vegetables in preparing them for food. Its association with *Biliku* therefore follows from the view of *Biliku* as female and as being especially associated with yams and other vegetable foods. Granting this fundamental connection, then the brightness of the shell, its keen edge and the way in which it can be made to skim through the air, will explain the statement that lightning is just such a shell thrown by *Biliku*. In the South Andaman, where *Puluga* is regarded as male, this belief about the pearl shell would be out of harmony with the rest of the myth, and, as we should expect, it is not found. However, the *Aka-Bea* word for lightning (*be-iŋa*, the *-iŋa* or *-ŋa* being a suffix) suggests that they may have had a similar belief in the past[1].

In the North Andaman the two views of lightning as a fire-brand and as a shell are both held, because they both, in

[1] The stem *be* seems to be connected with the idea of cutting.

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different ways, fit in well with the rest of the myth. There is yet a third view in which these two contradictory beliefs are, as it were, reconciled. This is that *Biliku* produces lightning by striking a pearl shell against a red stone. 182X 821 776

In the North Andaman the action of throwing a shell or a fire-brand is regarded as typical of *Biliku*; this is the way in which she is pictured by the native, and in which she would doubtless be portrayed if the Andamanese had a pictorial art. In the dance described in an earlier chapter, in which the dancer gave representations of various mythical beings, *Biliku* was represented by the dancer holding a shell in his hand and dancing round threatening to throw the shell at the spectators. 182X 776

The representation of *Biliku* or *Puluga* as throwing her lightning in the form of a fire-brand or a shell appears in several of the legends of the origin of fire, and in particular in the legend of which different versions are found in all parts of the islands that tells how the kingfisher stole fire from *Biliku* and how the latter flung a fire-brand or a shell at the thief.

The most usual form of the fire legend, and the only one that I ever heard, is that in which the fire is stolen. Mr Man has recorded a version in which *Puluga* is represented as *giving* the fire to the ancestors. Considerable importance attaches to this motive of the story as it reveals to us the way in which the Andamanese usually think of *Biliku* and of their own relation to her. She is not, so far as these stories go, a benefactress who by the invention of fire has earned the gratitude of men, but rather a person with whom the human society, both in the time of the ancestors and at the present day, is in a condition of opposition. Though *Biliku* had fire, yet she kept it for herself and it was only obtained from her by stealth. She was angry when her fire was stolen and tried to punish the offender.

This opposition between *Biliku* and the ancestors is shown in other legends. In some of the stories she is represented not as living with the ancestors, but as living on one side of a narrow strait while the ancestors lived on the other, as in the *Akar-Bale* and *A-Pučikwar* legends. She is thus separated from the ancestors in the minds of the natives. In the *Aka-Kede* legend the ancestors eat the foods that *Bilika* regards as

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Tomo who made it so. In Mr Man's account *Tomo* is degraded to the position of being merely the first man made by *Puluga*, but in the accounts that were given to me by the natives of the *Akar-Bale* and *A-Pučikwar* tribes *Tomo* was a rival of *Puluga*; sometimes one and sometimes the other was spoken of as being the supreme maker of all things. An *Akar-Bale* man of very high intelligence, who had been educated as a Christian, in trying to explain to me statements about *Tomo* made by another *Akar-Bale* who was regarded as an authority on the legends of his tribe, said that *Tomo* was the same thing to the *Akar-Bale* that God is to the Christian. When I asked him if it was not rather *Puluga* who was the Andaman equivalent of God, he said that some people might think so, but that according to the old man to whom I was talking it was *Tomo* and not *Puluga* who occupied the position[1].

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There is only one more point that needs to be discussed, and that is the connection of *Biliku* with the spirits. It is clear that *Biliku* and *Tarai* must be distinguished from the spirits (*Lau*), yet at the same time *Biliku* is brought into relation with the spirits by the existence of two alternative explanations of bad weather. One of the explanations is that storms are due to *Biliku*, while the other is that they are due to the spirits, particularly the spirits of the sea. Both these beliefs, contradictory as they seem, are held by the Andamanese. The connection of the spirits with the weather is due to the fact that

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[1] To complete the discussion of this part of the subject it would be necessary to deal with many points in the legends of the real meaning of which I do not feel satisfied. I have, for instance, given no explanation of the position of *Pęrjido* in the *Biliku-Tarai* myth, although this is probably an important matter. Nor have I traced to its source the connection of *Biliku* (with her net, and her hole, or cave, in which she shuts herself up to sleep and from which she comes out to bring rain and storm) with the spider. Besides *Tomo*, *Biliku* has yet another competitor for the position of control over the fine weather of the hot season, namely the snake, *or-čubi* (*wara-ǰobo*), which is regarded as being in some way the guardian of honey and of fine weather. There are legends that show the connection of this snake with honey (page 227) and the same connection is shown in the honey-eating ceremony (page 105). According to Mr Man, when the natives of the South Andaman see a dark cloud approaching and they do not wish it to rain they threaten *Puluga* that they will call up the *wara-ǰobo* to bite him. The snake, like other snakes, is only to be seen during the hot weather of the honey season. It may be remembered that it is from this snake that the pattern used in decorating the body with white clay is named.

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the weather is a thing that can limit the activity of the society, and we saw in the last chapter that there is a tendency to associate with the spirits of the dead all things that in any way interfere with the smooth progress of social life. When it is said that a storm can be stopped by swishing arrows in the sea, or by placing in the sea a piece of *Anadendron* creeper, it is to the spirits of the sea, who are afraid of arrows and of the *Anadendron*, that the storm is attributed, and not to *Biliku*.

In the *A-Pučikwar* tribe I found an association of *Bilik* with the spirits. One man of this tribe (a medicine-man or dreamer) stated that the *Bilik* are a distinct class of spirits, distinct from the *Lau* and the *Jurua*, yet similar to them. It is the *Bilik* who control the weather. Certain men, when they die, become not *Lau* or *Jurua*, but *Bilik*. Thus in one of his dreams that he related to me he met and conversed with the spirit of a deceased friend whom he spoke of as *Boičo Bilik*, *Boičo* having been his name when he was alive. A medicine-man is able to control the weather through his communication with the *Bilik* in dreams. In this tribe therefore we find a doctrine according to which *Bilik* is not the name of a single being but of a class of beings similar in essentials to the other two classes of spirits. It seemed to me possible that these beliefs are a comparatively late introduction by some of the medicine-men of the tribe. The *Boičo* about whom my informant *Tora* dreamed seemed to have had some part in the development of the doctrine. This does not, however, in the least detract from its value as affording us an insight into the beliefs of the Andamanese.

These beliefs clearly spring from an attempt to distinguish from one another the different northerly and easterly winds, each of the recognizable winds being regarded as a separate person, and from the merging together of the two contrary beliefs in the weather as regulated by spirits and by *Bilik* and *Teria*. The general system of beliefs about spirits as being responsible for all things that may affect human well-being inevitably leads to the notion that the weather is controlled by the spirits, and this is implied also in the belief that a medicine-man (whose power is derived from contact with the spirits) is also able to influence the weather to some extent. This doctrine, however,

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conflicts with the view of the weather and the seasons as controlled by *Biliku* and *Tarai*, who are not spirits but personifications of natural phenomena. It is perhaps this conflict between doctrines, both of them important and indeed necessary, that has led to the elaboration of the peculiar beliefs met with in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe. 182X 776 775 821

I have dealt with most of the more important details of the *Biliku-Tarai* myth, and have tried to show that the whole myth is an expression of the social value of the phenomena of the weather and the seasons. These phenomena affect the social life in certain definite ways and thereby become the objects of certain sentiments; these sentiments are expressed in the legends. *Biliku* and *Tarai* are personifications of the N.E. and S.W. monsoons; as such they are responsible for the weather; feelings awakened by the weather are therefore referred to *Biliku* and *Tarai*; thus the fear of a cyclone at certain periods of the year is expressed as a fear of the anger of *Biliku*. Since the time when men go in fear of storms is also the time when they are just beginning to dig up yams and eat them, the myth connects the anger of *Biliku* with the digging up of yams, and similarly in the cases of honey and the cicada. As *Biliku* is associated with vegetable foods, and these are things with which women chiefly have to do, *Biliku* (in the North Andaman) is regarded as female; *Tarai*, being associated with flesh foods, is male; the two are therefore conceived as wife and husband. As the maker of storms *Biliku* is responsible for the lightning and is therefore possessed of fire. She thus comes to be regarded as the first possessor of fire. This gives rise to stories of how the ancestors obtained their fire from *Biliku*, and as she is generally regarded as being hostile rather than friendly towards mankind, the stories relate how the fire was stolen from her. But besides being the maker of storms *Biliku* is also the dispenser of the good things of the season of the N.E. monsoon and when this aspect of the procession of the seasons is prominent before their minds the natives think of *Biliku* as a benefactress of mankind. As she is the possessor of fire, and as fire is the source of the life of the society, she comes to be regarded as herself the source of life, though there is an 182X 776

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372 by land or sea, is not confined to them, but is undertaken by those of either sex who have most leisure or are least burdened.

11. Probably nothing introduced by us so impressed them with the extent of our power and resources as *matches;* that we should be able to produce fire with such ease and by such means was not unnaturally regarded as evidence of our being superhumanly gifted.

Superstitions.—1. Fire is supposed to possess the power of
372 driving away evil spirits: when, therefore, at night they hear in
776 imagination the approach of the dreaded *.ē·rem-chà·gala,*[1] they throw burning logs into the jungle surrounding the encampment. Again, should any of the community have occasion to leave their huts at night, no matter how short the distance, he (or she) invariably takes some fire as a protection against any demons that may be in the vicinity; a torch is also taken if it be very dark at the time.

[821] 2. Of darkness they assert that it was instituted on account of the misconduct of two of their ancestors, as will shortly be mentioned.[2]

776 3. From fear of displeasing *mai·a .ō·gar-*[3] (Mr. Moon), during
784 the first few evenings of the third quarter, when he rises after
821 sundown, they preserve silence, cease from any work on which they may be engaged—even halting should they be travelling—and almost extinguish any light or fire which they may be burning. This is owing to the belief that he is jealous of attention being distracted to other objects than himself at such a time, or of any other light being employed than that which he has been graciously pleased to afford so abundantly. By the time the moon has ascended a few degrees, however, they restore their fires and resume their former occupations, as they consider they have then sufficiently complied with *mai·a .ō·gar-*'s wishes and requirements. The glowing aspect of the full moon on its first appearance above the horizon is supposed to indicate that *mai·a .ō·gar-* is enraged at finding some persons neglecting to observe these conciliatory measures; there is also an idea that, if he be greatly annoyed, he will punish them by withdrawing or diminishing the light of his countenance.

776 4. Regarding meteorolites they appear to possess no super-
821 stition. Shooting stars and meteors they view with apprehension, believing them to be lighted faggots hurled into the air by *.ē·rem-chà·gala* in order to ascertain the whereabouts of any unhappy wight in his vicinity; if, therefore, they happen to be away from

[1] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 12.
[2] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraph 31.
[3] Singing, dancing, and thumping on the sounding board at that hour are, however, not displeasing to him.

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their encampment when the phenomenon occurs, they invariably secrete themselves, at the bottom of a boat, for example, if fishing, and remain silent for a short time before venturing to resume their interrupted employment. 776 821

5. Between dawn and sunrise they will do no work, save what is noiseless, lest the sun should be offended, and cause an eclipse, storm, or other misfortune to overtake them. If, therefore, they have occasion to start on a journey or hunting expedition at so early an hour, they proceed as quietly as possible, and refrain from the practice, observed at other periods of the day, of testing the strength of their bow-strings, as the snapping noise caused thereby is one of those to which the sun objects. 784 821

6. They invariably partake of a meal soon after rising, as it is believed that no luck can attend any one who starts to his day's work on an empty stomach. 777 264

7. They dare not use the wood of the tree called *al·aba-* (the bark of which supplies the fibre used in making harpoon lines and turtle nets) for cooking turtle, for, as will be found elsewhere,[1] this is an act so abhorrent to *maiva .ō·gar-* that he visits the offenders with summary and condign punishment. 776

8. In tempestuous weather the leaves of the *Mimusops Indica* are constantly thrown on the fires, as the popping sounds thus produced are thought to have the effect of assuaging *Pū·luga-*'s fury and causing the weather to moderate. 821 776 [789]

9. When they see a dark cloud approaching at a time when rain would prove very inconvenient, as when hunting, travelling, &c., they advise *Pū·luga-* to divert its course by shouting "*wâ·ra-jō·bo kō·pke, kō·pke, kō·pke*" [*Wā·ra-jōbo*[2] will bite, bite, bite (you)]. If in spite of this a shower falls they imagine that *Pū·luga-* is undeterred by their warning.

10. This practice of menacing *Pū·luga-* is probably that to which Colonel Symes alluded when he wrote that "they confess the influence of a malignant Being, and, during the south-west monsoon, when tempests prevail with unusual violence, they deprecate his wrath by wild choruses."

11. Storms are regarded as indications of *Pū·luga-*'s anger; winds are his breath, and are caused to be blown by his will; when it thunders *Pū·luga-* is said to be growling at something which has annoyed him; and lightning, they say, is a burning log flung by him at the object of his wrath.

12. There is an idea current that if during the first half of the rainy season they eat the *Caryota sobolifera*, or pluck and eat the seeds of the *Entada pursatha*, or gather yams or other edible 821 776 262

[1] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraph 32.

[2] This snake, as already mentioned under "Medicine," appears to be the *Ophiophagus elaps*.

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821 roots, another deluge would be the consequence, for *Pū·luga-* is
776 supposed to require these for his own consumption at that period
262 of the year; the restriction, however, does not extend to the *fallen* seeds of the *Entada pursætha*, which may be collected and eaten at any time with impunity.

821 13. Another of the offences visited by *Pū·luga-* with storms
776 is the burning of beeswax,[1] the smell of which is said to be
789 peculiarly obnoxious to him. Owing to this belief it is a common practice secretly to burn wax when a person against whom they bear ill-will is engaged in fishing, hunting, or the like, the object being to spoil his sport and cause him as much discomfort as possible; hence arises the saying among them, when suddenly overtaken by a storm, that some one must be burning wax.

776 14. The rainbow is regarded as *.ē·rem-chàw·gala*'s dancing
821 or sounding board, which is only visible at certain times; its
787 appearance is said to betoken approaching sickness or death to one of their number, and is, therefore, inauspicious.[2]

823 15. There are no superstitions anent hills, valleys, rocks, &c.,
776 which, as stated in my last paper,[3] *Pū·luga-* is believed to have formed for some purpose of his own. The formation of creeks is attributed to a fortunate accident, the account of which being connected with their traditions must be reserved for that section.[4]

823 16. They imagine earthquakes to be caused by some mis-
775 chievous male spirits of their deceased ancestors, who, in their impatience at the delay in the resurrection, combine to shake the palm-tree on which they believe the earth to rest, in the hope thereby of destroying the cane bridge[5] which stretches between this world and heaven, and alone maintains the former in its present position. These selfish spirits are, however, said to be careful never to indulge in such practices during the dry months, as they imagine that, in consequence of the surface of the earth being then much cracked with heat, there would be considerable risk of its tumbling about their ears and crushing them instead of toppling over in one solid mass. They are said, therefore, never to play at earthquakes except during, or shortly after, the rainy season. But for the intervention of female spirits, who do their utmost to dissuade or prevent their male companions from continued enjoyment of this dangerous pastime, they are persuaded that there would be much cause for alarm on every occurrence of an earthquake.

775 17. They believe that every child which is conceived has had a

[1] *d'ja pid-* (*vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 4, footnote).
[2] The Chippeway Indians call it the dancing spirit (*vide* "Travels in the Interior of North America," by Maximilian, Prince of Wied).
[3] *Vide ante* "Topography," paragraph 3.
[4] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraph 13.
[5] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 25.

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776 those in pain or distress he is pitiful, and sometimes deigns to afford relief.

VI. He is the Judge from whom each soul receives its sentence after death, and, to *some* extent, the hope of escape from the torments of *.jer·eg-làr-mū·gu-* (regarding which anon) is said to affect their course of action in the present life.[1]

9. *Pū·luga-* is believed to live in a large stone house in the sky, with a wife whom he created for himself; she is green in appearance, and has two names, *chān·a .àw·lola* (Mother Fresh-water Shrimp), and *chān·a .pâ·lak-* (Mother Eel); by her he has a large family, all, except the eldest, being girls; these last, known as *mô·ro-win-* (sky spirits or angels), are said to be black in appearance, and, with their mother, amuse themselves from time to time by throwing fish and prawns into the streams and sea for the use of the inhabitants of the world. *Pū·luga-*'s son is called *.pīj-chô·r-*: he is regarded as a sort of archangel, and is alone permitted to live with his father, whose orders it is his duty to make known to the *mô·ro-win-*.

•[82] 10. *Pū·luga-* is said to eat and drink, and, during the dry months of the year, to pass much of his time in sleep, as is proved by his voice (thunder) being rarely heard at that season; he is the source whence they receive all their supplies of animals, birds, and turtles; when they anger him he comes out of his house and blows, and growls, and hurls burning faggots at them—in other words, visits their offences with violent thunderstorms and heavy squalls; except for this purpose he seldom leaves home, unless it be during the rains, when he descends to earth to provide himself with certain kinds of food; how often this happens they do not know since, now-a-days, he is invisible.

776 761 11. *Pū·luga-* never himself puts any one to death, but he objects so strongly to seeing a pig badly quartered and carved that he invariably points out those who offend him in this respect to a class of malevolent spirits called *.chôl-*, one of whom forthwith despatches the unfortunate individual.

776 761 753 12. *Pū·luga-* has no *authority* over the evil spirits, the most dreaded of which are *.ē·rem-chàw·gala*, *.jū·ru-win-*, and *.nī·la-*; they are self-created, and have existed from time immemorial. The first of these, the evil spirit of the woods, has a numerous progeny by his wife *chān·a .bad·gilola*, who remains at home with her daughters and younger children, while her husband and grown-up sons roam about the jungles with a lighted torch

[1] It is from regard to the fact that their beliefs on these points approximate so closely to the true faith concerning the Deity that I have adopted the English method of spelling all equivalents of "God" with an initial capital.

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16. While the Andamanese say that they are liable to be struck by *.ē·rem-chàu·gala* or *.jū·ru-win-* at any time or in any place, the *.chôl-* strike those only who offend them, and that during the day while they are stationary, this being necessitated by the distance from the earth of their abode, whence they hurl their darts: an invisible spear is the weapon they always use, and this is thrown with unerring aim at the head of their victim, and is invariably fatal. As these demons are considered especially dangerous on the hottest days, they are apparently held accountable for the deaths from sunstroke which happen from time to time.

776 821

17. The sun, *chān·a .bo·do-*, is the wife of the moon, *mai·a .ō·gar-*, and the stars, *.châ·to-*, which are of both sexes, are their children: the latter go to sleep during the day; the whole family have their meals near *Pū·luga-*'s house, but never enter it; *chān·a .bō·do-* is like fire and covered with thorns, but *mai·a .ō·gar-* is white skinned, and has two long tusks[1] and a big beard; their home is situated somewhere below the eastern horizon, and while the former, after setting, rests till dawn, the latter, probably in consequence of the cares of his numerous family, is obliged to keep very irregular hours. During their passage under the earth to their home, they are believed to afford the blessing of light to the unfortunate spirits in Hades, and also, while sleeping, to shed a "dim religious light" over that region: it is by *Pū·luga-*'s command that the celestial bodies, while crossing the sky, bestow their light.

18. The phenomena of the waning and waxing of the moon is explained by saying that they are occasioned by "his" applying a coating of cloud to his person by degrees, after the manner of their own use of *kòi·ob-* and *tâ·la-ōg-*,[2] and then gradually wiping it off.[3]

19. Reference has already been made to their superstition regarding the cause of a lunar eclipse, but in case *mai·a .ō·gar-* should be so ill-advised as permanently to withhold his light or render himself in other ways still more disagreeable, whenever the moon is eclipsed some persons at once seize their bows and twang them as rapidly as possible, thereby producing a rattling sound as if discharging a large number of arrows, while others commence at once sharpening their *râ·tà-*.[4] Of course this hostile demonstration is never lost upon the moon, who does not venture to hurt those who show themselves ready

[1] The horns of the crescent moon.

[2] *Vide* Appendix B, items 58 and 60.

[3] "The Eskimo say that the sun, which they regard as feminine, smears the face of her brother, the moon, with soot, when he presses his love upon her" (*vide* Peschel, p. 256).

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 2.

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to give him so uncomfortable a reception. Their immunity from harm on these occasions has given rise to some joking at the expense of the luminary in question, for, during the continuance of the eclipse, they shout in inviting tones to the hidden orb as follows:—*.ō·gar-, la den bal·ak ban lē·be ng'īdō·ati! dō·ati! dō·ati!*[1] (O moon, I will give you the seed of the *bal·ak!* show yourself! appear! appear!) 776 821

20. This seems to explain the custom which Colonel Symes describes as adoration to the sun and moon, for, as has been stated, no traces of worship or forms of religion, in the common acceptation of the term, exist among these tribes.

21. A solar eclipse alarms them too much to allow of their indulging in jests or threats, &c.: during the time it lasts they all remain silent and motionless, as if in momentary expectation of some calamity.

22. The world, exclusive of the sea, is declared to be flat and to rest on an immense palm-tree (*Caryota sobolifera*) called *bâ·rata-*, which stands in the midst of a jungle comprising the whole area under the earth. This jungle, *.châ·itâ·n-* (Hades), is a gloomy place, for, though visited in turn by the sun and moon, it can, in consequence of its situation, be only partially lighted: it is hither the *spirits* (*chàw·ga-*) of the departed are sent by *Pū·luga-* to await the Resurrection. [823] 775 772

23. No change takes place in *.châ·itâ·n-* in respect to growth or age; all remain as they were at the time of their departure from the earth, and the adults are represented as engaged in hunting, after a manner peculiar to disembodied spirits. In order to furnish them with sport the spirits of animals and birds are also sent to *.châ·itâ·n-*, but as there is no sea there, the *chàw·ga-* of fish and turtle remain in their native element and are preyed upon by *.jū·ru-win-*. The spirits (*chàw·ga-*) and souls (*ōt-yō·lo-*) of all children who die before they cease to be entirely dependent on their parents (*i.e.*, under six years of age) go to *.châ·itâ·n-*, and are placed under a *ràu-*[2] (*Ficus laccifera*) on the fruit of which they subsist. As none can quit *.châ·itâ·n-* who have once entered, they support their stories regarding it by a tradition that in ages long past an *ôko-paí·ad-*[3] was favoured in a dream with a vision of the regions and of the pursuits of the disembodied spirits.

24. Some of their legends, as will be seen elsewhere,[4] appear to bear out the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, as

[1] This is said derisively, for, although these seeds are largely consumed by the pigs, the aborigines themselves do not consider them fit for food.

[2] *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 17.

[3] *Vide ante* "Magic and Witchcraft," paragraph 1.

[4] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraphs 15, 16, 29.

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bō·do-la-lô·ringa-, from noon till 3 p.m.
bō·do-lâr-dī·yanga-, or, *elâr-di·yanga-*, } from 3 p.m. till 5 p.m. } afternoon.
dī·la-, from 5 p.m. till sunset.
bō·do-la-lô·tinga-, sunset.
elâ·kà-dàu·ya-, twilight.
elâr-yī·tinga-, after dark till midnight.
gū·rug-chàu-, midnight.

805

2. Of the property of the sun-dial they possess no knowledge, nor can they indicate short intervals of time, such as fractions of an hour, save by some such vague term as—"wait a little" (*tô·laba!*), "it will soon be finished" (*kan·ya!*), "it is close at hand" (*wai lag·iba!*).

3. As they have no method of numeration, it of course follows that they are unable to denote the number of lunations occurring during a solar year, which with them consists of three main divisions, viz.: *pâ·par-*, the cool season; *yē·re-bō·do-*, the hot season; and *gū·mul-*, the rainy season. These again are subdivided into twenty minor[1] seasons, named, for the most part, after various trees which, flowering at successive periods, afford the necessary sources of supply to the honey bees that are so numerous in these islands.

4. They have distinct terms for indicating the four phases of each lunation, *i.e.*: 821

ō·gar-dē·reka-yabā·-, new moon (lit., moon-baby-small);
ō·gar-châ·nag-, first quarter (lit., moon-big);
ō·gar-chàu-, full moon (lit., moon-body);
ō·yar-kī·nab-, last quarter (lit., moon-thin);

and that they further recognise the influence of this luminary upon the tides may be gathered from their words denoting high and low tide at full and new moon, viz.:

ō·gar-kâ·la-,[2] high tide at the springs at full moon.
yē·char-kâ·la-,[3] high tide at the springs at new moon.
ō·gar-pâ·di-,[4] low tide at the springs at full moon.
yē·char-pâ·di-, low tide at the springs at new moon.
târbō·rong-kâ·la-, flood tide at full and new moon (in the evening) from 3 to 9 p.m.
gū·mul-kâ·la-, flood tide at full and new moon (in the morning) from 3 to 9 a.m.
el·a-bū·nga-, or *kâ·la-bū·nga-*, flood tide.

[1] *Vide* Appendix H.
[2] Lit., moon-tide.
[3] Lit., dark-tide.
[4] *pâ·di* does not apparently occur alone, or in connection with any other word: its meaning may, therefore, be inferred from the context.

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821 *el a-ē·rnga-*, or *kâ·la-ē·rnga-*, ebb tide.
nô·ro-, neap tide.
tô·yâ-,[1] low tide at daybreak.

823 5. The four cardinal points of the compass are distinguished; the names indicating these are not derived from prevalent winds, but, as far as the east and west are concerned, have reference to the sun, the word for the former signifying "the appearing face place" (*elârmū·gu-*), and for the latter "the disappearing face place" (*târ-mū·gu-*); the term for south is the "separate place" (*el-iglā·-*), while the meaning and derivation of that denoting north (*elâr-jan·a-*) is unknown to the present inhabitants.

821 6. For the winds, too, they have distinctive names, viz.:

châl-jō·tama-, north-west wind.
Pū·luga-tâ-, north-east wind (lit., "The Creator His wind").
dē·ria-, south-west wind.
chī·la-tâ-, south-east wind.

Of these the second (*Pū·luga-tâ-*) only, now-a-days, possesses any special significance; it is called "The Creator's (or God's) wind," because it proceeds from that part of heaven where the connecting bridge[2] between this world and the next is supposed to be situated.

7. They identify three forms of clouds, and indicate them thus:

tô·wia-, cumulus.
ara-mū·ga-bar·nga-, stratus.
yūm-li-dī·ya-, nimbus.

8. Of all the stars and constellations Orion's belt alone is found to bear a name (*bē·la-*), but this is not to be wondered at, as they never venture upon any distant voyages, and do not therefore experience any necessity for studying the bearing of the various planets and constellations at different seasons, or for distinguishing them by name. Their astronomical observations have, however, extended to the discovery of the milky way, which they call *ig-yō·lowa-*[3], and poetically describe as the road used by the angels (*mô·rowin-*).[4]

439 **Trade, Exchangeable Values and Property.**—1. It is evident, from the accounts of various writers, that for many years prior to our present occupation, these islands were visited by trading vessels manned by Malays, Burmese, and Chinese, who were *said* to traffic with the Andamanese for edible birds'-nests and *béche de*

[1] *Vide post* "Hunting," paragraph 39 (footnote).
[2] *Vide ante* "Religious Beliefs," &c., paragraph 25.
[3] The Chippeways call the milky way "the path of the ghosts" (*vide* "Travels in the Interior of North America," by Maximilian, Prince of Wied).
[4] *Vide ante* "Religious Beliefs," &c., paragraph 9.

APPENDIX H.

LIST OF *Proper Names*, TOGETHER WITH A LIST OF THE "*Flower*" *Names* BORNE BY YOUNG WOMEN DURING MAIDENHOOD, AND UNTIL THEY BECOME MOTHERS, AND A LIST OF THE VARIOUS *Seasons*.

Proper names (*common to both sexes*).		"Flower" name.	Name of tree (or insect) in season.	Names of the various minor seasons.	Names of the principal seasons.	Remarks.
.bal·ta	.kŭt·tola	.chĭ·lipa ...	lĕ·kera-	lĕ·kera-wdb-[1] ...	pd·par-, also pd·par-wdb-	The "*pd·par-*" commences about the middle of November, and ends about the middle of February. It comprises the *cool season*.
.bŏ·ra	.lŏ·ra		chĭ·lip-	chĭ·lip-wdb- ...		[1] "*wdb*" signifies "season."
.bĕ·rebi	.lĭ·pa	.mŏ·da ...	pd-...	pd-wdb-		The "*yĕ·re-bŏ·do-*" comprises the *summer and autumn* of the year. Honey is abundant at the commencement of this season, during the whole course of which the principal fruit trees are in bearing. This season lasts about three months, viz., till about the middle of May.
bĭ·a	.lŏ·kola		jŏr-	jŏr-wdb-		[2] Lit., *season of abundance*.
.bĭ·ele	.mĕ·ba	.ŏ·ra	ŏ·ro-	ŏ·ro-wdb-		[3] This period is called "*lad·a-chau-*" (dirty body) owing to their practice of smearing their persons with the sap of a plant (*jĭ·ni-*) when engaged in removing a honeycomb from a hive swarming with bees.
.bĭ·ra	.mĕ·bola	.jĭ·dga ...	jĭ·dga-	jĭ·dga-wdb- ...	*yĕ·re-bŏ·do-*, also *rdp-wdb-*[2]	
.bĭ·rola	.ñgŏ·ngala		td·tib-	td·tib-wdb- ...		
.bŭ·lbala	.nid·li	.yĕ·re... ...	yĕ·re-	yĕ·re-wdb- ...	[3]	
.bŭ·rla	.pŭr·ula		bd·ja-	bd·ja-wdb- ...		
.bŭ·ñga	.pŏ·tya	.pd·taka	pd·tak-	pd·tak-wdb- ...		
.chŏ·rmila	.pŏ·wiola	.bal·ya	bai·la-	bai·la-wdb- ...		
.chĕ·tla	.pŭ·nga	.rĭ·che ...	rĭ·che-	rĭ·che-wdb- ...		This season embraces the (4) *td·la-tong dĕ·reka-* (lit., *fresh foliage*) or *spring*, and (5) *gŭ·mul-wdb-*. The former lasts about 3½ months, viz., till about the close of August. It comprises not only the Spring but the *first half* of the *rainy monsoon*. The latter (*gŭ·mul-wdb-*) lasts about 2½ months, viz., till about the middle of November, and comprises the *latter half* of the *rainy monsoon*. Among the articles of food eaten at this season are (6) the *bŭ·tu-* (a slug found in rotten logs of Gurjon wood) and (7) the *ŏi·yum-* (larva of the Great Capricornis beetle). The tails of the former are broken off and thrown away, hence *tŏ·pnga-* (breaking off).
.lŏ·ra	.ri·a		chd·dak-	chd·dak-wdb- ...	[4]	
.pŏ·lat	.ri·cla	.chd·gara	chd·langa- ...	chd·langa-wdb- ...		
.i·ra	.tŏ·ŭl	.chŭr·opa ...	bŭ·tu-[6]	tŏ·pnga-wdb- ...		
.i·wola	.tŭ·ra		chd·rap-	chd·rap-wdb- ...		
.jŭ·ro	.wŏ·i	.chen·ra ...	ŏi·yum-[7]	ŏi·yum - kŏ·pnga-wdb-	[5]	
.jŏ·plola	.wŏi·chola		chen·ara-	chen·ara-wdb- ...		
.kd·la	.wŏ·loga					
kĭ·ya	.yĕ·ga	.yŭ·lu ...	rŭr-	rŭr-wdb-		
			yŭ·lu-	yŭ·lu-wdb- ...		

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181 weakly or the helpless and to captives, kind to their wives and proud of their children, whom they often over-pet; but when angered cruel, jealous, treacherous and vindictive, and always unstable. They are bright and merry companions, talkative, inquisitive and restless, busy in their own pursuits, keen sportsmen and naturally independent, absorbed in the chase from sheer love of it and other physical occupations and not lustful, indecent or indecently abusive.

As the years advance they are apt to become intractable, masterful and quarrelsome. A people to like but not to trust. Exceedingly conservative and bound up in ancestral custom, not amenable to civilization, all the teaching of years bestowed on some of them having introduced no abstract ideas among the tribesmen, and changed no habit in practical matters affecting comfort, health, and mode of life. Irresponsibility is a characteristic, though instances of a keen sense of responsibility are not wanting. Several Andamanese can take charge of the steering of a large steam launch through dangerous channels, exercising then caution, daring and skill though not to an European extent, and the present dynamo-man of the electric lighting on Ross Island is an Andamanese, while the wire-man is a Nicobarese, both of whom exhibit the liveliest sense of their responsibilities, though a deep-rooted unconquerable fear of the dynamo and wires when at work. The Nicobarese shows, as is to be expected, the higher order of intellect. Another Andamanese was used by Portman for years as an accountant and kept his accounts in English accurately and well.

The intelligence of the women is good, though not as a rule equal to that of the men. In old age, however, they frequently exhibit a considerable mental capacity which is respected. Several women trained in a former local Mission Orphanage from early childhood have shown much mental aptitude and capacity, the "savagery" in them however only dying down as they grew older. They can read and write well, understand and speak English correctly, have acquired European habits completely, and possess much shrewdness and common sense: one has herself taught her Andamanese husband, the dynamo-man above mentioned, to read and write English and induced him to join the Government House Press as a compositor. She writes a well expressed and correctly spelt letter in English, and has a shrewd notion of the value of money. Such women, when the instability of youth is past, make good "ayas," as their men-kind make good waiters at table.

The highest general type of intelligence yet noticed is in the Jarawa tribe.

805 **Mental Capacities.**—The Andamanese divide the day by the position of
823 the sun and can roughly divide the night, though they have no idea of steering
821 by the sun or stars. The year is known by the three main seasons of the climate and the months rudely by the flowering and fruiting of trees of economic value to them. Tides are understood and carefully noted, a necessary accomplishment to a people largely living on shell-fish and navigating shallow tidal creeks and shores. They are aware of the connection of the phases of the moon with the tides and have names for the four phases of each lunation. They know the four quarters of the compass in reference to the daily position of the sun and have names for the four chief winds that blow (N. W., N. E., S. E., S. W.). They differentiate three kinds of clouds:—Cumulus, stratus, nimbus. The only constellation they have distinguished is Orion and they have discovered the Milky Way for which they have a name, and also call it "the way of the angels" (*marowin*, the daughter-messengers of Puluga).

576 **Social Emotions.**—The social emotions are not generally expressed. The Andamanese have no words for ordinary salutations, greeting or for expressing thanks. On meeting they stare at each other for a lengthened period in silence, which the younger breaks with a commonplace remark and then follows an eager telling of news, which an Andamanese always delights in hearing. Relatives however sit in each other's laps, huddled closely together at *meeting*, weeping loudly and demonstratively, and after a long separation this may last for hours. The Onges are less demonstrative and on such occasions shed a few silent tears only and caress each other with their hands. At *parting* they take each other by the hand and blow on it, exchanging sentences of conventional farewell.

Undemonstrative though they are, the Andamanese are readily roused to emotion, finding that difficulty in separating the real from the assumed observed

to them that I was able to find the various amphibia which subsequently proved to be new species. They know poisonous and non-poisonous snakes by sight and how to avoid being bitten. They could tell me which trees flowered and when, because they knew this affected the whereabouts and the quality of the honey, and they knew which flowers and roots had medicinal properties. The necessity, in accordance with their superstitions, of keeping their prey alive as long as possible has also given them a somewhat gruesome knowledge of anatomy and physiology. The call of food has also made them weather experts; they know which air currents and winds bring what animals, or cause them to vanish, and what game is likely to haunt what terrain. They could tell me where to find certain fish, or crustacea, or where certain roots or fruit in season were to be found.

The striking feature of their knowledge was that it did not merely relate to what was edible or inedible. Amphibia, reptiles and birds for example, they never eat under any circumstances; but they knew where to find them all for me, and they knew the bird migrations and how these related to the movements of the marine fauna.

Providentially, the exactitude of the Onges' botanical and zoological knowledge is matched by the magnitude of their superstitious fears. Were it not for this all the edible vegetation on the islands would have disappeared long ago as a result of their incredibly thoughtless destruction. The effect, therefore, is almost that of a purely involuntary, embryonic form of 'agriculture', contrasting strangely with their persisting, persistent and complete lack of interest in any formal care, however primitive. The Onges believe that the plants which produce edible roots and tubers belong to a spirit related to Eiuga, whose anger is aroused if he sees his plants being taken; his vengeance is quick and terrible.

There are on Little Andaman a number of creepers with edible fleshy roots, sometimes as thick as a man's wrist, sticking out horizontally at least fifty to sixty centimetres from the main stem, only just below the surface. They invariably grow in light soil, where there are no rocks, and are very easy for the Onges to reach with their digging sticks. These and the yams, sometimes as big as a football, which are to be found everywhere, the Onges have to steal from the spirit who owns them. The creepers themselves,

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776 out with a bow and arrow in his hand, and as he danced in front
535 of the spectators he pretended to shoot at them.

In another dance he represented *Ele*, the lightning. He sat on a stone that had been placed in the middle of the open space, swinging his arms to the time of the chorus, and every now and then shaking his leg.

This observation is an important one in several ways. Although I asked the man to repeat it, in order that I might make fuller notes and obtain explanations of many obscure points, and although he grudgingly said that he would, yet he did not do so. He was, moreover, very reserved over the matter, and not very willing to talk about his own performance.

I believe that the performance was an entirely exceptional affair. I never at any other time either saw or heard of one man or even several men, giving a dance for the amusement of others. I think that the whole thing was entirely the invention of the performer. He had given the same performance, or one very similar, at least once before the occasion on which I saw it.

We may now turn to the Andamanese beliefs relating to the soul and the life after death.

161 The vital principle is at different times identified by the
715 Andamanese with the pulse, the breath, with the blood and with
766 the fat, particularly the kidney-fat. Thus the body of a slain enemy is burnt so that the blood and fat may be consumed in smoke and ascend to the sky where they will no longer be a danger to those who have slain him.

822 The nearest approach to our notion of a soul that the natives
828 possess is their belief concerning the double or reflection seen in
774 a mirror. In the Northern tribes the word *ot-jumulo* means "reflection," and also "shadow," and is also nowadays applied to a photograph. The word *ot-jumu*, in the same languages, means "a dream" or "to dream." We may perhaps translate the word *ot-jumulo* as meaning "soul." In the *Aka-Bea* language *ot-yolo* is "reflection," while there is a different word, *ot-diya* or *ot-lere*, for "shadow," and neither of the words has any connection with the word "dream" which is *taraba*. Mr Man translates the word *ot-yolo* as "soul."

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that he should feel thus. A man who has been successful in the day's hunting, for example, is quite justified in having his face ornamented in this way, and it is on such occasions as this that the custom is observed.

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When a man is painted for a dance, or on any other ceremonial occasion, with white clay, he is also painted at the same time with red paint. In these instances we must suppose that the red paint serves the same purpose as the pattern of white clay with which it is combined, namely to make the decorated person pleasantly aware of his or her social value. Red paint is also used, however, in sickness, and on other occasions, as affording protection against evil, particularly evil from the spirit-world.

This double use of red paint is to be explained by reference to the colour symbolism of the Andaman Islanders. For them the colour red is pre-eminently the colour of blood and of fire. There is ample evidence of this which it is perhaps not necessary to state. Now blood is identified with the warmth of the body and with life; the blood and the fat are sometimes spoken of as the two vital principles. Fire, as I have already shown, is taken as a symbol of activity and of mental excitement. Thus the colour comes to be associated in the minds of the Andamanese with all euphoric conditions, with excitement, vitality, mental and bodily activity, and with energy or force in general. It is possible that this symbolism, which seems to be much the same in all divisions of mankind, has a psycho-physical basis in the stimulating dynamogenic power of sensations of redness.

When a person is sick he is in need of vitality, of energy, and so his body is daubed with the red paint that is a symbol of the things that he needs, and by a simple mental process he comes to believe that by applying the paint to his body he increases his energy and vitality, and so helps himself to get rid of the sickness. At a dance, or on other ceremonial occasions, it is required that the individual shall have a sense of his own value, and for this he must experience that sense of personal force and vitality that is produced, as we have seen, by the action of the dance. This effect is reinforced by the use of the red paint which is the symbol of that condition of energy and vitality that it is

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(for some special reason) necessary for him to feel. As the value of the individual depends upon his strength or force, the red paint is thus a suitable means of expressing the value of him on whose body it is painted, and really expresses, though by different means, exactly the same thing as the pattern of white clay with which it is combined. 182x 302 822

We are now in a position to understand the use of white clay and red paint in the purification of a homicide. This takes place at the end of a period of isolation, during which the man is entirely cut off from the social life, and lives in a condition of supposed extreme danger on account of the blood that he has shed. During this time he may not use his hands to touch food, and at the end his hands are purified by the application to them of red paint and white clay. It is clearly because these two substances are both of them in different ways symbols of conditions of well-being that magical virtue is ascribed to their use in this instance. It is perhaps worth while to recall that both red ochre and white clay are sometimes given internally as remedies against sickness.

For the sake of the argument it has been necessary to separate the two motives underlying the use of personal ornament, the desire for protection and the desire for display. But we now see that these two motives are very intimately related and are really both involved in every kind of ornament. All ornament in some way marks the relation of the individual to the society and to that force or power in the society to which he owes his well-being and happiness. When painting or ornament is used to give protection, it is, as we have seen, the protective power of the society itself that is appealed to, and what is expressed is the dependence of the individual on the society. When ornament or paint is used for display it is again the dependence on the society that is expressed, though in a different way and on occasions of a different kind. We have seen that scarification is also a means of marking the dependence of the individual on the society, and it is very important to note that the Andamanese sometimes explain it as due to the desire for display and sometimes to the need of protection (enabling the child to grow strong and so avoid the dangers of sickness), showing very clearly that there is some 182x 301 302 304

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776 821 It is along the rainbow that the spirits travel when they visit the earth. It is necessary to correct a statement by Mr Portman on this matter. In connection with the *Aka-Bea* word for the rainbow, *pidga-l'ar-čauga*, he says "The root *pidga* (a rainbow) must not be confounded with the root *pidga* 'a cane' or 'rattan.' The Andamanese have certain legends regarding the uses of the rainbow, and these have been hitherto understood as referring to 'canes.' *Pidga-l'ar-čauga* means 'the rainbow (bridge) by which the spirits (cross)'[1]." Mr Portman is in error. The word *pidga* means "cane" and the whole word means "the cane of the spirits." It is the whole word that is the name of the rainbow, and not the word *pidga*. An exactly similar compound name for the rainbow exists in each of the languages of the Great Andaman. The name of the particular species of large cane varies, being *pidga* in *Aka-Bea*, *peta* in *A-Pučikwar*, *pir* in *Aka-Jeru*, and so on. Apart from the fact that the natives themselves say that the rainbow is a "cane," Mr Portman would have us believe that in each of the different languages there are two exactly similar words, different in the different languages, one of which means "cane" and the other "rainbow," while there is no connection between the words. Thus *Aka-Bea* would have *pidga* meaning "a kind of cane" and *pidga* meaning "a rainbow." *Aka-Jeru* would have *pir* meaning "cane" and *pir* meaning "rainbow."

The rainbow is generally regarded as an evil omen, being believed to be a precursor of sickness. One *Aka-Jeru* statement is that it is made by a being called *Tolitoŋ* and that when it appears somebody will be ill.

776 823 The only explanation of the tides that I heard was to the effect that they are caused by a fish, a species of *Tetrodon*, called *čolmo* in *Aka-Jeru* and *pit* in *Aka-Kede*, which drinks up the water and then lets it out again.

The Andaman Islands are occasionally visited by earthquakes. An *Aka-Kede* account of how earthquakes are caused is that when a man dies he goes to the spirit world which is beneath the earth. The spirits hold a ceremony. My informant spoke of the ceremony as *Kimil*, which is the name of the

[1] Portman, *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman*, p. 328.

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initiation ceremonies. At this ceremony they have a dance similar to the peace-making dance described in the last chapter, but instead of erecting a screen such as is used in that ceremony, they make use of the rainbow. As they shake the rainbow in dancing this causes earthquakes. The ceremony which newly-arrived spirits have to undergo in the world after death is a *poṛoto kimil*, i.e., the initiate eats *poṛoto* (*Caryota sobolifera*). 776 823

Among the most important of the Andamanese beliefs are those relating to the weather and the seasons. These are under the control of two beings named *Biliku*, *Bilik* or *Puluga*, and *Tarai*, *Teriya*, or *Daria*. There are a certain number of points in which the statements of one informant may differ from those of another in connection with these two mythical beings, but there are also a certain number of points on which there is absolute unanimity in all the tribes of the Great Andaman. 776 821

The first belief in which there is entire unanimity is that of the connection of *Biliku* and *Tarai* with the two chief winds that are known in the Andamans. *Biliku* lives in the north-east and is connected with the north-east monsoon. *Tarai* lives in the south-west and is connected with the south-west monsoon. The connection is shown in the names of these winds, which are as follows :—

Language	N. E. Wind	S. W. Wind
Aka-Cari, *Aka-Bo*, *Aka-Kora*, *Aka-Jeru*	*Biliku boto*	*Tarai boto*
Oko-Juwoi, *Aka-Kol* and *A-Pucikwar*	*Bilik to*	*Teriya*
Akar-Bale	*Puluga toa*	*Daria*
Aka-Bea	*Puluga ta*	*Deria*

In the Northern tribes the word *boṭo* means "wind." *Biliku boṭo* must be translated "the *Biliku* wind," and *Tarai boṭo* is similarly "the *Tarai* wind." It would be incorrect to translate the name *Biliku boṭo* as "the wind of *Biliku*," for this would be rendered in *Aka-Jeru* by *Biliku ičo boṭo*. In *A-Pučikwar* the south-west wind is called *Teriya* simply, the name of the mythical being connected with the wind being used as the name of the wind itself, just as is the case with the name *Ele* (lightning). On the other hand the north-east wind is called not *Bilik* but *Bilik ṭo*. The same thing occurs also in the *Akar-Bale* and *Aka-Bea* languages.

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a piece of the *Anadendron paniculatum* and diving with it into the sea where he placed it under a rock on the reef. A more recent example is very similar. A man still living, named *Jire Pilečar*, who was, in a way, the successor of the man formerly mentioned, is said to have stopped a violent storm by using the leaves and bark of the *Ficus laccifera* in the same way, that is by crushing them and placing them under a rock in the sea. In both these cases it would seem that the rite was directed not against *Biliku* and *Tarai*, but against the *Jurua*. 791 821 756

Apart from his power to communicate directly with the spirits, the *oko-jumu* owes his position to a superior knowledge of the magical properties of common substances and objects. This knowledge he is supposed to obtain from the spirits. However, a lesser degree of knowledge on such matters is possessed by everybody. Thus in the treatment of sickness there are a number of magical remedies of which anyone can make use without consulting an *oko-jumu*. 756 791 [755]

A complete enumeration of all the things that are believed to possess magical properties is, of course, not possible, but the following notes refer to all the most important.

We may consider first of all the magical properties of mineral substances. One of the most important of these is red ochre. Yellow ochre, which is found in pockets in many parts of the islands, is collected and burnt, when it turns red, and the powder so obtained is either used by itself or is made into a paint with pig or turtle fat. The powder is mixed with water and taken internally. Red paint is applied to the throat and chest for coughs and colds and sore throats, and round the ear for ear-ache. When a man feels unwell he often smears red paint on his upper lip just below his nostrils. In this way, the natives say, the "smell" of the paint cures his sickness. The paint is sometimes used as a dressing for wounds or centipede bites. Its use for ornamenting the body on ceremonial occasions has already been noted in the last chapter. 755 278 823

In the North Andaman a soft red stone is found, called *talar*. This is used as a substitute for red paint. It is rubbed on the body, or it is powdered and the powder is mixed with water and taken internally.

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755 White clay (*tol-odu* in *Aka-Jeru*) is sometimes used medi-
278 cinally, both externally and internally. The commoner clay
•823 (*odu* in *Aka-Jeru*) is plastered on sores, and has the effect of keeping off flies, if it does nothing else.

An olive-coloured earth (called *čulya* in *Aka-Bea*), found in certain springs, is prized as a remedy. It is mixed with water and taken internally as a general remedy for all sorts of complaints.

824 Turning now to the magical properties of vegetable sub-
784 stances, there are a large number of these, and some of them have not been botanically identified.

The *Anadendron paniculatum* is a plant from which the Andamanese obtain a valuable fibre, which they use for their bow-strings, and for thread with which to make their arrows and harpoons. A number of magical properties are attributed to this
[753] plant. Rheumatism is supposed to be due to the "smell" of the plant getting into the system when the fibre is being prepared[1]. The "smell" of the green plant, or of the fibre until it has been thoroughly dried for some days, is believed to frighten away turtle. A man who has been preparing the fibre would not dream of joining a turtle-hunting expedition, for his presence in the canoe would be sufficient to drive away all the turtle. A turtle-hunting expedition would be a failure if a piece of the green creeper were in the canoe. A man who has been handling the plant may not cook turtle, for the meat would be "bad," i.e., uneatable. The same thing would happen if turtle meat accidentally came in contact with a piece of the plant. All this applies only to the green creeper, and not to the fibre after it has been properly prepared and dried. The fibre itself is used for binding the heads of turtle-harpoons, so it is evidently regarded as harmless.

If a piece of the *Anadendron* creeper were burnt in the fire the natives believe that it would drive all the turtle away from the neighbourhood, or, according to another statement, that there would be a great storm.

000 So far we have considered the properties of the plant only in

[1] In preparing the fibre, the skin or bark of the young shoots of the plant is torn off in strips and these are placed on the thigh and scraped with a *Cyrena* shell.

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use it is in the fully strung position, and at all other times it is kept in the half-strung position. 411

It is clear that the North Andaman bow depends on a principle that is not made use of in the South Andaman bow, which we may state by saying that if a piece of wood be subjected to the influence of heat and smoke while it is bent in one position it will acquire greater strength and elasticity to react against a strain that bends it in the opposite direction. When the bow is fully strung it is S-shaped. When it is drawn the greater part of the strain falls on the lower portion where it is curved outwards. It is this portion of the bow that is strengthened by seasoning. 411 823

The North Andaman bow is very much lighter than the South Andaman bow and is much more elastic. I always found it very difficult to shoot with a South Andaman bow, but on the other hand I found the North Andaman bow very easy to use. In drawing it only a slight pull is required in order to send an arrow with considerable velocity. The disadvantage of the northern bow is that, owing to its slighter build, it does not last very long, and is liable to be broken. However, it only takes a man a few days to make a new bow, string included, and the very definite superiority of the North Andaman bow over that of the South Andaman amply compensates for its shorter life. 411

Bows of exactly the same shape but of smaller dimensions are made in the North Andaman for boys, the length varying from about 90 cm. to about 120 cm. For very small boys toy bows of a different pattern are made. The bow is formed of a piece of wood about 90 cm. long and from 2 to 2·5 cm. broad in the middle. The section in the middle is convexo-convex, with a high degree of convexity on the outside and a much slighter convexity on the inside. The bow tapers to a point at each end, but it tapers more gradually at the top than at the bottom. The bow-string is a simple piece of string (two-ply) made of *Anadendron* fibre. It is tied to the lower end of the bow at a distance of 1·5 to 3 cm. from the end, and at the top it is tied at from 4 to 7 cm. from the end. The shape of a toy bow of this kind as seen from the side is shown in Fig. 14. It is not S-shaped, like the toy bow of the South Andaman previously described, but the curvature is asymmetrical.

I obtained a specimen of a toy bow made of bamboo. Unfortunately there was no string, but it was probably intended to be strung in the fashion of the North Andaman toy bow just described. The outer surface of the bamboo was the outside of the bow, with the result that in section the inner side of the bow was more convex than the outer

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133 2,400 feet, situated in North Andaman, and visible at a distance of 60 miles.

2nd. *Narcondam*,[1] a small hilly island, containing an extinct volcano, with an elevation of 2,330 feet, lying about 70 miles east of North Andaman.

3rd. *Barren Island*, 75 miles S.S.W. of *Narcondam*, and about 42 miles east of the nearest island of the Great Andaman group, from no portion of the coast of which is it visible. It contains an active volcano, the height of which is about 1,015 feet.

[501] 2. Until recent years[2] the first only of these was known to the aborigines, probably owing to the circumstance that they, at least the natives of Great Andaman, have never been seen to venture far out to sea in their frail and clumsy canoes. The name borne by this hill is *Pū·luga lâ·kà bang-* (*lit.* Creator his mouth), referring apparently to its size and inaccessibility, and to a large ravine running down its side. There is also a belief that Saddle Peak was the place of *Pū·luga-'s*[3] residence prior to the deluge.

823 825 3. The formation of rocks, valleys, hills, &c., they attribute to the will of *Pū·luga-*, but they assign the sources of the streams containing oxide of iron, *kòi·ob-chā·lnga-*, and the olive-coloured mineral, *chū·lnga-*, to the action of a poisonous snake, called *lâ·raba-*, well known to them.[4]

103 4. The names they give to the natural forms of land and water are as follows :—

Cape (point)—*tô·ko-chô·ronga-* [*chô·ronga-* = nose].
Isthmus—*tô·to-kī·nab-* [*kī·nab-* = waist].
Mountain—*bô·roin-*.
Valley—*pâ·rag-*.
Strait—*teg-pâ·rag-*.
Coast (shore)—*īgô·ra-* [*gō·ra-* = strong].
Fore-shore—*kē·wad-* and *bô·roga-*.
Island—*tàrchô·na-*.
Islet—*tōt-kai·cha-*.
Harbour—*elàrū·la-*.
Bay—*kō·bunga-*.
Creek—*jīg-*.[5]

[1] The probable derivation of this name will be given in Part II.

[2] Since amicable relations have been established with the South and Middle Andamanese, several members of these tribes have visited Barren Island by accompanying us in the station steamer The name by which it is now known to them is *mâla-tàrchô·na-* (*lit.*, Smoke Island), in allusion to the smoke which is almost always to be seen rising from the volcano, and which they account for by saying that it must be due to a fire which *Pū·luga-* kindled.

[3] *Pū·luga* represents to them The Creator. *Vide* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 7.

[4] *Vide post* "Superstitions," paragraph 21.

[5] The legendary belief regarding the formation of creeks will be found under "Mythology."

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802 **Arithmetic.**—1. The utter hopelessness of obtaining from the aborigines any correct idea of the population of the tribes individually and collectively will be readily understood when it is stated that the only numerals in the language are those for denoting "one" and "two," and that they have absolutely no word to express specifically any higher figures, but indulge in some such vague term as "several," "many," "numerous," "innumerable," which seem to convey to their minds an approximate idea of the number intended, but fail to satisfy the requirements of the statistician.[1]

2. When anxious to express a certain small number with exactness, as, for example, nine, the nose is tapped with the tips of the fingers in successive order, and, commencing with the little finger of either hand, "*ū·ba-tū·l-*," (one) is said; with the next finger "*īkpô·r-*" (two), after which with each successive finger "*an-kā·*" (and this) is uttered. When the forefinger of the second hand is reached both are held up, and, the thumb of the second hand being clenched, the necessary number of digits is exposed to view, whereupon the word "*àrdū·ru-*" (all) is pronounced.

3. If ten be the number in question—and this is the highest numeral they attempt to indicate by this or any other method—on reaching the thumb of the second hand, both hands, before being held up, are brought together and then is said, as in the former case, "*àrdū·ru-*."

4. To express "one," they hold up the forefinger of either hand and utter the word *ū·ba-tū·l-* or *ū·ba-dō·ga-;* to denote "two" they hold up the first two fingers and say "*īkpô·r-*."

5. The toes are never used in counting, nor are pebbles, grains, or notches in a stick ever so employed. When it is stated that only the more intelligent are in the habit of computing by even the primitive method I have here described, it is somewhat remarkable to find that their system of denoting ordinals is more comprehensive, as will be seen by reference to Appendix E.

•823 6. Before their comparatively recent acquaintance with us, they had not the faintest knowledge of the existence of even the

[1] With regard to human beings, to express a small number, say, from 10 to 20, *àrdū·ru-* would be used, while a somewhat greater number would be implied by the use of *jeg-chàu·-* (*lit.*, collected body), and a still greater assemblage, say of 50 persons, by *jī·baba*, beyond which number *at-ū·baba*, would be used. These words may be translated in a rising scale as follows:—

àrdū·ru-, several; *jeg-chàu·-*, many; *jī·baba*, very many; *at-ū·baba* (or *ū·baba*), innumerable.

As regards animals and inanimate objects the words *àrdū·ru-* implying many, and *ōt-ū·baba* (or *ū·baba*), innumerable, are generally used, and sometimes *jī·baba*, denoting very many.

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823 neighbouring coast of Burmah, much less of the world at large, and consequently imagined that their islands formed almost the entire terrene area, and that they themselves comprised the bulk of the inhabitants.

715 7. The few voyagers who from time to time ventured near their shores were regarded as deceased ancestors, who, by some dispensation, had been permitted to re-visit the earth, and who were supposed to live on some small island in the vicinity of their *ē·rema-*, *i.e.*, world. In confirmation of this may be cited the name by which natives of India are to this day called, viz., *chàw·gala* (*lit.* departed spirits).

103 **Etymology.**—1. From the following list of some of the numerous encampments of the natives of South Andaman,[1] it will be observed that the names are usually derived from some circumstance peculiar to the spot, or from some tree overshadowing the site:—

.tâ-bô·roga-, coral (*tâ-*), shore (*bô·roga-*).
.tigbang-, rock-hole, there being at that place a hole in a large rock through which a canoe can pass.
.tàrmū·gu-.[2] West (island).
.yū·kala-chàng-, grassy (*yū·kala-*), camp (*chàng-*).
.dū·mla-paicha-òng-, anchorage (*òng-*), in neighbourhood (*paicha-*), of the (*la*), *Dūm-* tree.
.lē·kera-barnga-, a row (*barnga-*) of *Lēkera-* trees.
.ū·dala lâr chū·lnga-, the spring (*chū·lnga-*), at the (*lâr*, *lit.* of the) *.ū·dala-* tree (*Pandanus verus*).
.chē·la- dôk·nga-, the dragging (*dôk·nga-*) of the ship (*chē·lewa-*). A ship was once wrecked there.
.būd lōt degranga-. Defeat camp; the defeat (*degranga-*) at the (*lōt*, *lit.* of the) camp (*būd-*). There was once a severe fight there.

2. There are a few place-names which are unintelligible to the present inhabitants, *e.g.*, *.lūrwa-*, *.tū·rubūn-*, though it is believed that they conveyed a meaning to former generations. Many of the names show an old, but unmistakable form of the present language, while others, again, might be judged to be of recent adoption, but they are not so in point of fact.

361 **Tribal Communities.**—1. It is no matter of surprise that, during the *first* years of our present occupation, when our acquaintance with the aborigines was so limited, we should

[1] A fairly complete list of the names of these encampments, and the meanings of the greater number of them, will be found in a short paper, entitled "Note on two Maps of the Andaman Islands," by E. H. Man and R. C. Temple, which was published in the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," 1880.

[2] *Vide* "Astronomy," paragraph 5. (*West*, the disappearing face place.)

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821 776 262 roots, another deluge would be the consequence, for *Pū·luga-* is supposed to require these for his own consumption at that period of the year; the restriction, however, does not extend to the *fallen* seeds of the *Entada pursætha*, which may be collected and eaten at any time with impunity.

821 776 789 13. Another of the offences visited by *Pū·luga-* with storms is the burning of beeswax,[1] the smell of which is said to be peculiarly obnoxious to him. Owing to this belief it is a common practice secretly to burn wax when a person against whom they bear ill-will is engaged in fishing, hunting, or the like, the object being to spoil his sport and cause him as much discomfort as possible; hence arises the saying among them, when suddenly overtaken by a storm, that some one must be burning wax.

776 821 787 14. The rainbow is regarded as *ē·rem-chàu·gala*'s dancing or sounding board, which is only visible at certain times; its appearance is said to betoken approaching sickness or death to one of their number, and is, therefore, inauspicious.[2]

823 776 15. There are no superstitions anent hills, valleys, rocks, &c., which, as stated in my last paper,[3] *Pū·luga-* is believed to have formed for some purpose of his own. The formation of creeks is attributed to a fortunate accident, the account of which being connected with their traditions must be reserved for that section.[4]

823 775 16. They imagine earthquakes to be caused by some mischievous male spirits of their deceased ancestors, who, in their impatience at the delay in the resurrection, combine to shake the palm-tree on which they believe the earth to rest, in the hope thereby of destroying the cane bridge[5] which stretches between this world and heaven, and alone maintains the former in its present position. These selfish spirits are, however, said to be careful never to indulge in such practices during the dry months, as they imagine that, in consequence of the surface of the earth being then much cracked with heat, there would be considerable risk of its tumbling about their ears and crushing them instead of toppling over in one solid mass. They are said, therefore, never to play at earthquakes except during, or shortly after, the rainy season. But for the intervention of female spirits, who do their utmost to dissuade or prevent their male companions from continued enjoyment of this dangerous pastime, they are persuaded that there would be much cause for alarm on every occurrence of an earthquake.

775 17. They believe that every child which is conceived has had a

[illegible] "Death and Burial," paragraph 4, footnote).

[2] The Chippeway Indians call it the dancing spirit (*vide* "Travels in the Interior of North America," by Maximilian, Prince of Wied).

[3] *Vide ante* "Topography," paragraph 3.

[4] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraph 13.

[5] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 25.

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to give him so uncomfortable a reception. Their immunity from harm on these occasions has given rise to some joking at the expense of the luminary in question, for, during the continuance of the eclipse, they shout in inviting tones to the hidden orb as follows:—*.ō·gar-, la den bal·ak ban lē·be ng'īdō·ati! dō·ati! dō·ati!*[1] (O moon, I will give you the seed of the *bal·ak!* show yourself! appear! appear!) 776 821

20. This seems to explain the custom which Colonel Symes describes as adoration to the sun and moon, for, as has been stated, no traces of worship or forms of religion, in the common acceptation of the term, exist among these tribes.

21. A solar eclipse alarms them too much to allow of their indulging in jests or threats, &c.: during the time it lasts they all remain silent and motionless, as if in momentary expectation of some calamity.

22. The world, exclusive of the sea, is declared to be flat and to rest on an immense palm-tree (*Caryota sobolifera*) called *bâ·rata-*, which stands in the midst of a jungle comprising the whole area under the earth. This jungle, *.châ·itâ·n-* (Hades), is a gloomy place, for, though visited in turn by the sun and moon, it can, in consequence of its situation, be only partially lighted: it is hither the *spirits* (*chàw·ga-*) of the departed are sent by *Pū·luga-* to await the Resurrection. [823] 775 772

23. No change takes place in *.châ·itâ·n-* in respect to growth or age; all remain as they were at the time of their departure from the earth, and the adults are represented as engaged in hunting, after a manner peculiar to disembodied spirits. In order to furnish them with sport the spirits of animals and birds are also sent to *.châ·itâ·n-*, but as there is no sea there, the *chàw·ga-* of fish and turtle remain in their native element and are preyed upon by *.jū·ru-win-*. The spirits (*chàw·ga-*) and souls (*ōt-yō·lo-*) of all children who die before they cease to be entirely dependent on their parents (*i.e.*, under six years of age) go to *.châ·itâ·n-*, and are placed under a *ràu-*[2] (*Ficus laccifera*) on the fruit of which they subsist. As none can quit *.châ·itâ·n-* who have once entered, they support their stories regarding it by a tradition that in ages long past an *ôko-pai·ad-*[3] was favoured in a dream with a vision of the regions and of the pursuits of the disembodied spirits.

24. Some of their legends, as will be seen elsewhere,[4] appear to bear out the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, as

[1] This is said derisively, for, although these seeds are largely consumed by the pigs, the aborigines themselves do not consider them fit for food.

[2] *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 17.

[3] *Vide ante* "Magic and Witchcraft," paragraph 1.

[4] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraphs 15, 16, 29.

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821 *el a-ē·rnga-*, or *kâ·la-ē·rnga-*, ebb tide.
nô·ro-, neap tide.
tô·ya-,[1] low tide at daybreak.

823 5. The four cardinal points of the compass are distinguished; the names indicating these are not derived from prevalent winds, but, as far as the east and west are concerned, have reference to the sun, the word for the former signifying "the appearing face place" (*elârmū·gu-*), and for the latter "the disappearing face place" (*târ-mū·gu-*); the term for south is the "separate place" (*el-iglā·-*), while the meaning and derivation of that denoting north (*elâr-jan·a-*) is unknown to the present inhabitants.

821 6. For the winds, too, they have distinctive names, viz.:

châl-jō·tama-, north-west wind.
Pū·luga-tâ-, north-east wind (lit., "The Creator His wind").
dē·ria-, south-west wind.
chī·la-tâ-, south-east wind.

Of these the second (*Pū·luga-tâ-*) only, now-a-days, possesses any special significance; it is called "The Creator's (or God's) wind," because it proceeds from that part of heaven where the connecting bridge[2] between this world and the next is supposed to be situated.

7. They identify three forms of clouds, and indicate them thus:

tô·wia-, cumulus.
ara-mū·ga-bar·nga-, stratus.
yūm-li-dī·ya-, nimbus.

8. Of all the stars and constellations Orion's belt alone is found to bear a name (*bē·la-*), but this is not to be wondered at, as they never venture upon any distant voyages, and do not therefore experience any necessity for studying the bearing of the various planets and constellations at different seasons, or for distinguishing them by name. Their astronomical observations have, however, extended to the discovery of the milky way, which they call *ig-yō·lowa-*[3], and poetically describe as the road used by the angels (*mô·rowin-*).[4]

434 **Trade, Exchangeable Values and Property.**—1. It is evident, from the accounts of various writers, that for many years prior to our present occupation, these islands were visited by trading vessels manned by Malays, Burmese, and Chinese, who were *said* to traffic with the Andamanese for edible birds'-nests and *béche de*

[1] *Vide post* "Hunting," paragraph 39 (footnote).
[2] *Vide ante* "Religious Beliefs," &c., paragraph 25.
[3] The Chippeways call the milky way "the path of the ghosts" (*vide* "Travels in the Interior of North America," by Maximilian, Prince of Wied).
[4] *Vide ante* "Religious Beliefs," &c., paragraph 9.

181 weakly or the helpless and to captives, kind to their wives and proud of their children, whom they often over-pet; but when angered cruel, jealous, treacherous and vindictive, and always unstable. They are bright and merry companions, talkative, inquisitive and restless, busy in their own pursuits, keen sportsmen and naturally independent, absorbed in the chase from sheer love of it and other physical occupations and not lustful, indecent or indecently abusive.

As the years advance they are apt to become intractable, masterful and quarrelsome. A people to like but not to trust. Exceedingly conservative and bound up in ancestral custom, not amenable to civilization, all the teaching of years bestowed on some of them having introduced no abstract ideas among the tribesmen, and changed no habit in practical matters affecting comfort, health, and mode of life. Irresponsibility is a characteristic, though instances of a keen sense of responsibility are not wanting. Several Andamanese can take charge of the steering of a large steam launch through dangerous channels, exercising then caution, daring and skill though not to an European extent, and the present dynamo-man of the electric lighting on Ross Island is an Andamanese, while the wire-man is a Nicobarese, both of whom exhibit the liveliest sense of their responsibilities, though a deep-rooted unconquerable fear of the dynamo and wires when at work. The Nicobarese shows, as is to be expected, the higher order of intellect. Another Andamanese was used by Portman for years as an accountant and kept his accounts in English accurately and well.

The intelligence of the women is good, though not as a rule equal to that of the men. In old age, however, they frequently exhibit a considerable mental capacity which is respected. Several women trained in a former local Mission Orphanage from early childhood have shown much mental aptitude and capacity, the "savagery" in them however only dying down as they grew older. They can read and write well, understand and speak English correctly, have acquired European habits completely, and possess much shrewdness and common sense: one has herself taught her Andamanese husband, the dynamo-man above mentioned, to read and write English and induced him to join the Government House Press as a compositor. She writes a well expressed and correctly spelt letter in English, and has a shrewd notion of the value of money. Such women, when the instability of youth is past, make good "ayas," as their men-kind make good waiters at table.

The highest general type of intelligence yet noticed is in the Jarawa tribe.

805 **Mental Capacities.**—The Andamanese divide the day by the position of the sun and can roughly divide the night, though they have no idea of steering
● 823 by the sun or stars. The year is known by the three main seasons of the climate and the months rudely by the flowering and fruiting of trees of economic
821 value to them. Tides are understood and carefully noted, a necessary accomplishment to a people largely living on shell-fish and navigating shallow tidal creeks and shores. They are aware of the connection of the phases of the moon with the tides and have names for the four phases of each lunation. They know the four quarters of the compass in reference to the daily position of the sun and have names for the four chief winds that blow (N. W., N. E., S. E., S. W.). They differentiate three kinds of clouds:—Cumulus, stratus, nimbus. The only constellation they have distinguished is Orion and they have discovered the Milky Way for which they have a name, and also call it "the way of the angels" (*mapowin*, the daughter-messengers of Puluga).

576 **Social Emotions.**—The social emotions are not generally expressed. The Andamanese have no words for ordinary salutations, greeting or for expressing thanks. On meeting they stare at each other for a lengthened period in silence, which the younger breaks with a commonplace remark and then follows an eager telling of news, which an Andamanese always delights in hearing. Relatives however sit in each other's laps, huddled closely together at *meeting*, weeping loudly and demonstratively, and after a long separation this may last for hours. The Onges are less demonstrative and on such occasions shed a few silent tears only and caress each other with their hands. At *parting* they take each other by the hand and blow on it, exchanging sentences of conventional farewell.

Undemonstrative though they are, the Andamanese are readily roused to emotion, finding that difficulty in separating the real from the assumed observed

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

documented the fact in a number of photographs. The purpose, however, is 751
purely hygienic: an unpainted body is, in their opinion, exposed to certain 302
illness. They explained this belief to me by saying that without paint the body becomes "hot". The men who travelled with me far from women were anxious every day to spread clay on face, chest and limbs, just to avoid "heat" or, in other words, fever. I thought of malaria, but they do not suffer from it. [162]
Of this I will speak later on.

Rough clay is applied daily, on infant bodies as well as on adults, for 751
health purposes. It is used to cure all kinds of sickness, together with ochre, 757
turtle fat and honey. Honey spread on wounds appears to hasten healing. [302]
Identical curative methods are employed in Oceania. They probably existed [854]
among the Tasmanians, and are still used in Australia by the aborigines. I [752]
found nothing of the kind in Africa, where honey is plentiful. The Onge consider [171]
clay, ochre, honey and turtle fat good for external and internal treatment alike [825]
both preventive and curative. Powdered bees' wax of a dark colour is often [317]
added. I saw mothers give their children, as a laxative, a number of pills made [386]
of similar ingredients. No bigger than common hazelnuts, the pills are red and greasy. In Onge forests I saw some small excavations, a few feet deep, made to extract the medicinal clay from special ground pockets. In its natural form the clay is light coloured, powdery and free of stones. When it is burnt the colour changes, assuming red, yellow, whitish or black shades according to the different qualities used, all believed to possess healing properties and to ensure hygienic colouring of the body. Mixed as described above, clay is used by the Onge in every circumstance from fever to snake or scorpion bite, constipation, breast infection in women, or post-delivery bleeding.

Belief in the medicinal properties of clay is as old as humanity itself. 757
Even among contemporary European peoples, notwithstanding severe criticism, 171
clay is still honoured as health-giving, not, I must say, on wholly foolish 823
grounds. The Onge, who smear their bodies constantly with clay, have the softest, most velvety skin that I ever saw anywhere in the world. Wounds [752]
spread with clay mixed with honey and fat leave negligible scars. The laxative and germ-killing action of clay is admitted by physicians in many countries, including Europe. It never causes infection. Geophagism has ancient origins, and we find it practiced by many modern populations. Children of every race and all young wild animals lick clay instinctively to absorb the mineral salts required by a developing organism. The Onge habit of using clay for healing purposes can be set, therefore, in a very wide frame.

Mental and nervous disorders are rare in Little Andaman. Few natives 164
are subject to epilepsy, an important matter for the Onge: they consider 828
such people as possessed by spirits who speak through their mouths, and [158]
respectfully question them as oracles. Several Onge chiefs, such as Chief [622]
Tehôtā of Tambō-ē-buiē, are apt to go into trances that have all the appearance [787]
of epileptic fits. They were elected chiefs on the strength of their epilepsy!

Constant exercise keeps eyesight and hearing extremely sharp in the 164
Onge. I saw no single case of myopia or presbyopia among the natives, nor 151

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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a certain number of recognized names from which a choice is usually made. A few examples from the North Andaman are :— 551

Ra-ṭot-betč	pig's hair.
Renya-čope	much baggage, or many possessions.
Poičo-tomo	the wood (literally flesh) of the *Sterculia* (*poičo*) tree.
Lau-tei	spirit blood.
Luremo	rope.
Remu-toi	a piece of iron.
Čokbi-čiro	turtle liver.
Tarenjek	angry.

During childhood boys and girls are addressed by either the birth-name or the nick-name.

When a girl reaches the age of puberty she receives a new name. This is one of a limited number of names, each of which is the name of a tree or plant. The name given to the girl is that of the tree or plant that is in flower at the time of her first menstruation. 551 553 824

There is a succession of trees and plants flowering one after another throughout the year. The natives describe the different parts of the year by reference to the plants in flower at the time. The plants selected as typical of the different seasons all have flowers from which the native bees make honey. Each of them has a distinctive scent and gives to the honey made from it a distinctive flavour. The flower-names are given below in *Aka-Bea* and *Aka-Jeru*.

Aka-Bea	Aka-Jeru	
Čilipa	*Čelibi*	From the middle of November to the middle of February.
Moda	*Mukui*	From the middle of February to the middle of May, in order.
Ora	*Okor*	
Jidga		
Yere	*Jeru*	
Pataka	*Botek*	
Balya	*Puliu*	
Reče	*Re*	From the middle of May to the end of August.
Čagara	*Čokoro*	
Čarapa	*Čarap*	September, October and the first half of November.
Čenra	*Torok?*	
Yulu	*Jili*	

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755 278 823 White clay (*tol-odu* in *Aka-Jeru*) is sometimes used medicinally, both externally and internally. The commoner clay (*odu* in *Aka-Jeru*) is plastered on sores, and has the effect of keeping off flies, if it does nothing else.

An olive-coloured earth (called *čulya* in *Aka-Bea*), found in certain springs, is prized as a remedy. It is mixed with water and taken internally as a general remedy for all sorts of complaints.

• 824 784 Turning now to the magical properties of vegetable substances, there are a large number of these, and some of them have not been botanically identified.

The *Anadendron paniculatum* is a plant from which the Andamanese obtain a valuable fibre, which they use for their bow-strings, and for thread with which to make their arrows and harpoons. A number of magical properties are attributed to this [753] plant. Rheumatism is supposed to be due to the "smell" of the plant getting into the system when the fibre is being prepared[1]. The "smell" of the green plant, or of the fibre until it has been thoroughly dried for some days, is believed to frighten away turtle. A man who has been preparing the fibre would not dream of joining a turtle-hunting expedition, for his presence in the canoe would be sufficient to drive away all the turtle. A turtle-hunting expedition would be a failure if a piece of the green creeper were in the canoe. A man who has been handling the plant may not cook turtle, for the meat would be "bad," i.e., uneatable. The same thing would happen if turtle meat accidentally came in contact with a piece of the plant. All this applies only to the green creeper, and not to the fibre after it has been properly prepared and dried. The fibre itself is used for binding the heads of turtle-harpoons, so it is evidently regarded as harmless.

If a piece of the *Anadendron* creeper were burnt in the fire the natives believe that it would drive all the turtle away from the neighbourhood, or, according to another statement, that there would be a great storm.

000 So far we have considered the properties of the plant only in

[1] In preparing the fibre, the skin or bark of the young shoots of the plant is torn off in strips and these are placed on the thigh and scraped with a *Cyrena* shell.

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so far we have considered the properties of the plant only in so far as they make it dangerous to handle. It has other and beneficial properties. It is said that a man swimming in waters infested with sharks would be safe from them if he had a piece of the *Anadendron* creeper with him, in his belt or necklace. The creeper is also supposed to preserve anyone who carries it from the attacks of the sea spirits (*Jurua*). 751 824

The *Hibiscus tiliaceus* is a small tree from which the natives obtain the fibre which they make into rope, used now for harpoon lines and in former times for turtle-nets. The leaves of this tree are believed to have the power of keeping away the spirits of the sea. They have no efficacy, however, against the spirits of the forest. Leaves of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus* are used in the turtle-eating ceremony described in the last chapter. For cooking turtle the only wood that may be used is the *Hibiscus*. If any other wood were used the meat would not be good. In this connection it is necessary to point out an error in the statements of Mr Man. He says that the wood of the *alaba* must never be used for cooking turtle, though it may be used for cooking pig, and that *Puluga* is angry if this commandment is not observed and sends either the sun or moon to punish the offender[1]. There is evidently an error here. The *alaba* is the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*. Mr Man identifies it with the *Melochia velutina*, but this is an error. Now the custom in connection with the *Hibiscus* (*alaba*) is not that it may not be used for cooking turtle, but that no other kind of wood must be used. It is difficult to see how Mr Man fell into the error, unless he mistook a statement regarding the *yolba* (*Anadendron paniculatum*) for a statement relating to *alaba* (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*). We have just seen that if the *Anadendron* comes in contact with turtle meat the meat will be bad, and that if it is burnt there will be a storm. 824 784

Another plant that provides fibre for thread is the *Gnetum edule*. There is a belief that the green creeper of this plant will drive away turtle, if a piece of it be taken in a canoe.

Magical properties are attributed to the *Ficus laccifera* tree. These trees are believed to be the home of the yet unborn souls of children. I was told in the North Andaman that if a tree of

[1] Man, *op. cit.* pp. 153 and 172.

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824 784 the species were cut there would be a storm. The bark of the aerial roots of the tree affords a fibre used in the Little Andaman for bow-strings, but only used in the Great Andaman for making personal ornaments. It is possible that some magical properties are attributed to the ornaments made from this fibre.

The *Pterocarpus dalbergioides* is one of the most striking trees of the Andamans. It has a very hard red wood, from which the natives make their sounding-boards. There is an obscure belief in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe (and possibly also in other tribes) that it is dangerous to look at the tree when it is in flower. I was twice told a story of how some people were affected by looking at the flowers, and either went mad or died. On one occasion my interpreter translated the words of my informant by saying "They saw the flowers, and went giddy, and they all went to hell (*ʃereg-ʃar-mugu*)." Men must be careful when the tree is in flower, not to look at it too long. In the North Andaman I was told that string games (*ʃipre*) must not be played when the *Pterocarpus* tree is in flower. They may be indulged in with safety at any other time of the year. (String games, according to one statement, were invented by the *Lau*, while another account attributes the invention to the crab.)

824 751 The *Tetranthera lanceæfolia* is a small tree from which the natives obtain the wood for the shafts of their pig arrows. The leaves of this tree are believed to have the power to keep away the spirits of the forest. They are used in the pig-eating ceremony described in the last chapter. The wood is shredded and made into plumes, and these plumes are believed to have magical properties. They are worn by a man who has killed another, and are believed to protect him from the vengeance of the spirit of the dead man.

824 278 757 A common remedy for sickness of different kinds is a small tree called *gugma* in *Aka-Bea*, which Mr Man identifies as being *Trigonostemon longifolius*. The leaves of this tree are made into a bed for the patient to lie upon. They are also crushed and rubbed over the patient's body, or he is made to inhale the odour of the crushed leaves. The natives say that it is the "smell" of the plant that possesses medical properties. The

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"smell" will drive away turtle, and leaves should therefore not be taken in a canoe. A man who has been handling the leaves would not go turtle-hunting. 824 278 757

Another remedy is a species of *Alpinia*. The leaves and stems of this plant are chewed and the juice swallowed for certain ailments. The plant is also used when taking honey. A man takes some of the leaves in his mouth and chews them well. Before taking the honeycomb he sprays the saliva from his mouth over and around it. He may also rub the chewed leaves over his body. The natives say that in this way they are able to prevent the bees from stinging them.

Magical properties are attributed to a number of plants that have not been botanically identified. Thus the leaves of a small tree called *tare* in *Aka-Jeru* are crushed and moistened with water and rubbed over the body as a remedy for illness. A strip of bark from the same tree is tied round the chest of a man with a pain in his chest. The bark of two trees called (in *Aka-Jeru*) *tip* and *laro* is crushed and moistened and rubbed over a sick man's body. The leaves of a plant called *pare* are crushed with water and the infusion is drunk by persons suffering from diarrhœa and abdominal pains. A creeper called *korotli* is crushed and tied round a limb in cases of snake-bite. The seeds of the *Entada scandens* are heated in the fire and applied (while hot) to such wounds as that from the tusk of a boar.

There are a certain number of trees and plants about which the natives say that any person cutting them will become blind. The names of four of these in *Aka-Jeru* are *jin*, *burut*, *deg*, and *mit*.

We may turn now to animals and animal substances. Magical properties are attributed to bees'-wax, particularly to black bees'-wax. In a case of pleurisy black bees'-wax was heated until it was soft, and then smeared over the man's chest. Bees'-wax is believed to keep away the spirits of the forest. 825 278 755

If a man be bitten by a snake and the snake be killed it is skinned and the inner surface of the skin is applied to the wound.

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harpoons and other hunting implements, and it can be shown that they do attribute to these implements and to the materials from which they are made powers of protection against evil. Moreover it is even possible to apply a quantitative test and show that the more important the place a thing occupies in the social life the greater is the degree of protective power attributed to it. Finally I shall be able to show that as different materials are used for special purposes so they are supposed to have certain special powers of protection against certain sorts of danger. Thus the hypothesis I have stated is capable of being as nearly demonstrated as is possible in such psychological enquiries as the one we are engaged in.

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A man carrying his bow and arrows is supposed to be less likely to fall a victim to the spirits than one who has no weapons with him. One way of stopping a violent storm is to go into the sea (storms being supposed to be due to the spirits of the sea) and swish the water about with arrows. The natives sometimes wear a necklace formed of short lengths of the bamboo shaft of a fish-arrow. All the examples of such necklaces that I met with had been made from an old arrow. I asked a native to make one for me, and although he could readily have made one from bamboo that had never served as an arrow he did not do so, but used the shaft of one of his arrows. Such a necklace may therefore be described as an arrow in such a form that it can be worn round the neck and thus carried continually without trouble. The protective power of the bow is at first sight not quite so evident, but the material used for the string is regarded as possessing protective power, and to this I shall return shortly.

The best demonstration of the truth of the explanation offered is to be found by considering the different vegetable fibres of which use is made. The most important of these are the *Anadendron paniculatum* (used for bow-strings and for fine string), the *Hibiscus tiliaceus* (used for rope) and the *Gnetum edule* (used for string, and inferior to the *Anadendron*). All these fibres are believed to possess power to keep away dangers, but there is a sort of specialisation in their use.

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The fibre of the *Hibiscus* is used mainly in the hunting of turtle and big fish. Consequently the tree itself from which the

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fibre is obtained is believed to possess the power of warding off all dangers connected with turtle and the sea. There is a custom that turtle flesh may only be cooked with wood of the *Hibiscus*, otherwise it will be uneatable. In the turtle-eating ceremony the initiate who, as we shall see later, is in a condition of danger by reason of having eaten turtle for the first time after a period of abstention, is seated on *Hibiscus* leaves and holds a bundle of the same leaves before him. At the same ceremony the leaves of this tree are used in the dance, and the initiate is given a skewer made from its wood with which to feed himself. If for any reason the leaves of the *Hibiscus* are not obtainable when the ceremony is performed those of the *Myristica longifolia* are used instead. Now this is the tree from which the natives always make their canoe paddles, which, like ropes of *Hibiscus* fibre, are used in hunting turtle. This specialisation is therefore easy to understand; the natives habitually make use of the *Hibiscus* and the *Myristica* in turtle-hunting; they use the intrinsic qualities of these trees in their actual struggles with turtle and large fish, and by means of these qualities they are able to succeed in overcoming their prey; they therefore come to believe that these trees possess special powers which not only enable them to conquer the turtle itself but also are able to protect them from the evil influences that they believe (for reasons to be explained later) result from the eating of its flesh.

This explanation is readily verified by considering an exactly parallel instance. In the pig-eating ceremony at initiation the leaves of the *Hibiscus* or the *Myristica* are not used, and are regarded as valueless. Paddles and ropes are of no use in hunting pigs. The leaves that are used in this ceremony are those of the *Tetranthera lancæfolia*. It is from this tree that are obtained the shafts of pig-arrows. Hence the relation of the tree to the pig is exactly parallel to that of the *Hibiscus* to turtle. It is by making use of the qualities of the wood that they are able to destroy the pig and so they believe that its leaves will enable them to destroy the dangers that result from the eating of the animal.

The leaves of the *Tetranthera* are also used, however, in the ceremony at a girl's first menstruation, and I cannot pass over this without an explanation. It is to be found in the fact that

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pig-arrows are used in fighting, so that the tree comes to have a special relation to the shedding of blood. Plumes of shredded *Tetranthera* wood (made from an old arrow-shaft) must be worn by a homicide during the period of "purification" as a protection against the dangers that are believed to threaten him because he has shed blood. The same plumes were formerly always carried in a dance preceding a fight, and at such times the natives used to rub their bows with the shredded wood in order to ensure success in battle. Thus it is clear that there is a special connection between this tree and the shedding of blood, due to the fact that pig-arrows, of which the shafts are made from it, are used in fighting as well as for killing pigs and other animals. It is probable that this is the explanation of the use of the leaves during the ceremony at a girl's first menstruation.

These examples afford a crucial test of the hypothesis here maintained. Not only is the protective power of these substances explicable by the fact that they are things on which the society depends in its daily life, but the special uses of each of them as amulets are only explicable when we consider the different uses to which they are put as materials.

The fibre of the *Anadendron paniculatum* is used for making thread, bow-strings, the cords of pig-arrows, and for binding the heads and barbs of harpoons and arrows. It has therefore no special relation to either pig or turtle. There is a belief, however, that the plant does possess special protective powers that make it efficacious against certain dangers coming from the sea. A piece of the plant tied round the neck or worn in the belt of a swimmer is believed to protect him from sharks and other dangerous fish. A piece of it crushed and placed in the sea is said to have stopped a violent storm on one occasion. Thus the *Anadendron* seems to possess a special power which makes it a source of protection against dangers from the sea. The same is true of the *Gnetum edule*, though, as this fibre is less valued than that of the *Anadendron*, it is not supposed to be so powerful in its effects. In regard to the specialisation in the use of these two plants as amulets it seems likely that it is due to a notion of opposition between the things of the forest and the things of the sea. The Andamanese live in a double environment; the jungle-

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dwellers live entirely in the forest and have dealings with forest things; they develop knowledge and powers that make them better woodsmen than the coast-dwellers. The latter live by the sea and are chiefly occupied with things of the sea, being skilled in the occupations of fishing and canoeing. There is thus a contrast or opposition between the life of the forest and the life of the shore that runs through all the social life, and I believe that it is this opposition which explains the belief that the *Anadendron* and the *Gnetum*, which are essentially forest things, are possessed of a quality that makes them contrary or opposed to all things of the sea.

X 182 751 824 301

Personal ornaments are made from the fibres that have been mentioned (*Hibiscus*, *Anadendron*, *Gnetum*), and we are justified, I think, in regarding such ornaments as being to some extent amulets. I purchased from a man in the Little Andaman a charm that was hanging round his neck, which he seemed to value highly. I imagined that it might contain a human bone, but when I had unwound the ornamental thread with which it was bound and opened out the covering of bark I found inside the parcel only a carefully folded length of rope made from *Hibiscus* fibre.

There is one fibre from which the natives of the Great Andaman make themselves ornaments, which they do not regularly use in any other way, namely that of the *Ficus laccifera*. We may perhaps regard this as a genuine and demonstrable example of a survival in custom. The natives of the Little Andaman, who, until their recent contact with those of the Great Andaman, did not know the use of the *Anadendron*, use the fibre of the *Ficus* for their bow-strings. We are justified in assuming, I believe, that the natives of the Great Andaman made a similar use of the same fibre before they had learnt to use the *Anadendron*. In those days much of the power that is now attributed to the *Anadendron*, because of its service as the material for bow-strings, must then have been attributed to the *Ficus*. When the substitution of the superior *Anadendron* fibre came about, the belief in the efficacy of the *Ficus* did not disappear, although the ground of the belief (if we may call it so) had ceased to exist. If this be so, then the present use of the *Ficus* fibre as an amulet

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is an example of survival. It may be noted that the qualities of the *Ficus* are supposed to be similar to those of the *Anadendron*. Thus while one medicine-man stopped a storm with *Anadendron*, another did the same thing on another occasion with *Ficus*.

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The above examples are sufficient to justify the generalisation that the Andamanese attribute protective power to all those substances on the strength and other qualities of which they rely in order to obtain their food or overcome their enemies. There are one or two other positive instances that have not been mentioned. Bees'-wax, which is used for waxing thread and bow-strings, is believed to have power to keep spirits away and to cure sickness. Cane, which is used by the natives for many different purposes, seems also to have its use as an amulet, for belts and other personal ornaments are made of pieces of cane attached to a length of rope.

182X 751

Negative instances are more difficult to discover. When I was in the Andamans I had not formulated the explanation that is offered here, and I therefore did not make any search for negative instances that might have afforded a means of testing the value of the hypothesis. I have no satisfactory evidence that protective power is attributed to iron, or to the shells that were formerly used, as iron now is, for the heads and barbs of arrows, but it is quite possible that I may have overlooked evidence that was really there. I do not think that any particular protective properties are attributed to such things as the materials from which baskets are made and the clay that is used for pottery. These things, however, may be regarded as luxuries rather than necessities; they are not of the same immediate service to the society in its fundamental activity (that of providing food) as are weapons and the materials used in them.

There are still two important kinds of amulets that remain to be considered. First, protective power is attributed to the bones of animals, which are made into personal ornaments; these cannot be dealt with until we have considered some of the beliefs relating to food. Secondly, a very high degree of protective power is attributed to human bones, but the discussion of this belief must wait till we have discovered the meaning of the funeral customs of the Andamanese.

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X/182 165 775 in the statements of the natives as to whether he becomes a spirit at once, immediately after the death, or whether he does so only after the flesh of the body has decayed. Both statements are sometimes made, but it seems common to think of the dead person during the period of mourning not as a spirit (*Lau*) but as a dead man (*empilo*). We may best express the ideas of the natives by saying that the process by which a man becomes a spirit is one that takes some months to complete, and is only ended when the bones are dug up. An interesting insight into their notions in this matter is afforded by a belief, about which unfortunately I have very scanty information, to the effect that when a man dies he is initiated into the world of the dead by a ceremony resembling the ceremonies by which a youth is initiated into manhood. In the statement of an *Aka-Kede* informant the ceremony was spoken of by the term *kimil*, which is generally used for the initiation ceremonies, and was described as a *pǫrǫto-kimil*, i.e., a ceremony in which the dead man ate *pǫrǫto* (*Caryota sobolifera*) in just the same way that a youth eats turtle (*čokbi*) at the *čokbi-kimil*. There is independent evidence that there is a special connection between the spirits of the dead and the *Caryota* palm[1].

X/182 824 784 The description of this ceremony (of initiation into the world of the dead) that was given to me stated that in it the shredded fibre named *kǫro* was used in just the same way as the leaves of the *Hibiscus* are used in the turtle-eating ceremony. Further, as in the peace-making ceremony men stand against a suspended cane from which depend bunches of this same *kǫro*, so in the initiation into the spirit world the initiate has to stand against the rainbow while the dancing spirits shake it and him. It is this shaking of the rainbow (according to my informant) that causes earthquakes. It may be recalled that the rainbow is regarded as a sort of bridge between this world and the spirit world, and that its name is "the spirit's cane," so that it would seem that it is regarded as like a cane with *kǫro* fibre suspended from it, such as is used in the peace-making ceremony.

The explanation of the use of this *kǫro* fibre was postponed earlier in the chapter, and may well be undertaken here. It serves

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as a sign that the spot where it is placed is tabu, or, in more precise terms, that the spot must be avoided because of the presence there of a force or power that makes things dangerous. This force is present at the grave of a dead man, and therefore the fibre is placed at the grave to mark the fact, while a bunch is similarly suspended at the entrance to a village that is deserted after a death. In the peace-making ceremony the members of the one party stand against a suspended cane to which are attached strips of the fibre. The meaning of this, I think, is that it thus forbids the members of the other party from attacking them. If a man were to leave the screen of *kgro*, he would, I believe, be liable to be killed by the enemy party; it is only as long as he stands against it with his arms outstretched that he is safe, because while there he is tabu.

182 X 824 784

How then does this belief in the fibre as a mark of tabu come about? The fibre is worn by the women of the Little Andaman to cover their pudenda, and it was formerly worn in this way by the women of the North Andaman. We may conclude that this was an old element in the Andaman culture dating back to the remote period when the inhabitants of the Little Andaman became separated from those of the Great Andaman. Now in a very special sense the sexual organs of women are tabu, and, without discussing the matter in detail, we may suppose that the Andaman Islander regards the genitals of women as a spot in which resides the same sort of force or power that makes the spirits, or the body of a dead man, dangerous. One point may be mentioned as throwing light on this subject, and helping forward the argument, namely that the natives of the North Andaman often use the expression *Lau-buku* (meaning literally "spirit-women" or "female spirits") to denote women collectively instead of the phrase that might be expected—*n'e-buku*. It would seem that by reason of their sex and the special ideas that are associated with it, women are regarded as having a very special relation with the world of spirits. We may conclude that the *kgro* fibre, being a convenient material for the purpose, was first used as a covering for the women, and in this way came to be used as a sign of tabu in general, or else that for some unknown reason the fibre was selected as a suitable material to mark any kind of tabu, and

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so came to be used both as a covering for women and also as a sign of warning at the grave and the village that has been visited by death[1].

To return from this digression to the question of the initiation of the dead man into the world of spirits, it is clear that since such ceremonies take time to accomplish there is a period during which the dead man is in an indeterminate position; he is no longer a member of the society of the living, and has not yet become a member of the society of the dead. As long as he is thus situated his relatives and friends are still attached to him, so that he still remains as it were in partial contact with the living. During this time the society is still suffering the ill effects of the death, and the process of readjustment by means of the customs of mourning is still taking place. At the end of it the dead man becomes completely absorbed in the spirit world, and as a spirit he has no more part in or influence over the social life than any other spirit, and the mourning is brought to a close by means of a ceremony.

This ceremony has two parts. One is the recovery of the bones and their reaggregation to the society, a rite which we may regard as the final settling of the dead man in his proper place. All that is left of him, who was once a source of strength to the community, who had once—as it is here expressed—a social value, are the bones, his name, and the memory of him that his friends retain. We may suppose that the bones still have something of the value that originally attached to their owner, and indeed it is evident that they have, for after they are recovered they are affectionately treasured as relics by the relatives. By the end of the period of mourning the painful feelings aroused by the death have died down, so that the dead man is now the object only of memories that are pleasant, or, at the worst, bittersweet. The bones, then, are visible evidences of the fact that the society has recovered from the disruptive shock of the death, and this is why they are dug up as soon as the recovery is complete, or rather in order to complete it, and are thereafter treasured.

[1] The brakes formed by the cane (*bido*) from the leaves of which the *koro* fibre is obtained seem to be regarded as lurking places of the spirits. The natives often speak of the *Biio-tee-lau* (*Calamus* leaf spirits).

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ever of any animal substances. Some of the more important fibres, with their uses and the methods of preparing them, are mentioned below. 283

The bark of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, which occurs in the beach vegetation in all parts of the islands, provides the Andamanese with one of their most important fibres. By the coast-dwellers of the Great and Little Andaman Divisions it is used for making rope. In the Great Andaman Division the rope made from it was formerly used for making turtle nets, and is now used for the lines of turtle harpoons, and for hawsers to attach a canoe either to a stone used as an anchor or to a tree. No other fibre is used for these purposes. The *Hibiscus* rope does not seem to be much affected by salt water. The forest-dwellers of the Great Andaman have less use for rope, and at the same time are not able to obtain so readily the *Hibiscus* fibre. What rope they do have is therefore obtained from the coast-dwellers or is made of some other fibre. In the Little Andaman the *Hibiscus* is regularly used for rope. It is also used for the short cord by which the detachable head of the pig-arrow is attached to the shaft. In the Great Andaman a strip of the bark of the *Hibiscus* is used for the sling in which children are carried. Strips of the bark are worn by the women of the Little Andaman across their shoulders and breasts, as a sort of ornament. 283 824

To obtain the fibre young straight shoots of about 120 cm. in length are cut from the tree, those free from gnarls, and having a smooth bark, being chosen. The bark (inner and outer layers) is peeled off in strips of from 1·5 to 3 cm. in width. The inner or liber layer is then separated from the outer layer of the bark, is well scraped with a *Cyrena* shell and dried in the sun or over a fire. When dry it is worked in the hands until the various layers of fibre separate one from another. It is then ready to be made into rope. The fibre is interlacing, and when freshly made is a lustrous greyish brown. After exposure to salt water it turns a dark brown.

Mr E. H. Man, in his work on the Andamans, speaks of the *Melochia velutina* as providing fibre for rope. This is an error. The tree to which Mr Man refers is the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*. It is extremely common on the shores of the islands, as it is in many other parts of the tropics. It is very easily identified, as it bears its characteristic yellow flowers for a long time every year. There is no doubt whatever that this is the tree from which the natives regularly obtain the fibre for the rope they use in turtle-hunting and fishing and in their canoes. Other writers, following Mr Man, have repeated his error in calling it

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the *Melochia velutina*, for example Sir Richard Temple and Mr Portman. In Mr Portman's collection of photographs in the British Museum there is a good photograph of a *Hibiscus tiliaceus* tree labelled "*Melochia velutina*." I looked carefully in the Andaman jungles for the *Melochia velutina* but was unable to find it, and I am quite certain that in any case, even if it be found there, it is not commonly used by the natives for rope.

The bark of a number of other trees provides fibre of which the natives occasionally make use. Amongst these are one or more species of *Sterculia* (*S. villosa* ?), and a tree that I identified somewhat doubtfully as *Grewia laevigata*. The coarse fibre of the liber layer of these trees may be made into rope by the same method as that employed in dealing with *Hibiscus tiliaceus*. Very little actual use is made of them however. A fibre which looks very like that obtained from one species of *Sterculia* is frequently used by the natives of the Little Andaman (and also by the Jarawa) for their personal ornaments. Mr Portman says that this fibre is obtained from the *Celtis cinnamonea*.

A species of *Hibiscus*, which I believe is *Hibiscus scandens*, growing in the jungles and not along the shore, provides a fibre that is prized by the natives of the Great Andaman tribes for making string or fine rope. The fibre is less easily obtained than that of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, but owing to its quality (it is not so interlacing) is capable of being made into finer rope and string. It is often made into string and then used for making netted bags. I did not find this fibre in use in the Little Andaman, but as it is not very often met with even in the Great Andaman, it may possibly be used in the Little Andaman.

There are several species of *Ficus* in the Andaman forests, and the natives know that they can obtain fibre from the bark of these trees. The only one that is regularly made use of is the *Ficus laccifera*. The natives of the Great Andaman Division use the bark of this tree for making their personal ornaments. In the Little Andaman it is used for bow-strings. A fibre called in the Little Andaman *ulu*, and said by Mr Portman to be obtained from the *Ficus hispida*, is used in that island, and by the Jarawa, for making personal ornaments.

The *Gnetum edule*, a climbing plant that is fairly common, is used in all parts of the Andamans for thread and string. The creeper is cut into short lengths at the nodes and is dried for a few days. The outer layer of bark is then scraped off with a *Cyrena* shell, and the liber layer beneath it is peeled off in fine strips and these are made into thread or string. This string is used in the Great Andaman Division for making

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netted bags and fishing nets. In the Little Andaman it is used for binding their arrows, as well as for netting. 824 283

The most valuable fibre of the Great Andaman tribes is that of the *Anadendron paniculatum*, which is used for string and thread and for bow-strings. Until recent times the method of preparing the fibre was not known to the natives of the Little Andaman, but they have now learnt it from the natives of the Great Andaman with whom they have been brought in contact, and the use of the fibre for string and thread is coming in amongst them.

The fibre is not easy to prepare. Long thin branches of the creeper are cut, which must be neither too young nor too old. To obtain these it is often necessary to climb up into high trees, for the *Anadendron* is a climbing plant. The creeper is cut into lengths of from 20 to 40 cm. The bark (inner and outer layers) is peeled off these in strips of from 7 to 10 mm. in width. A strip of the bark is taken and placed on the thigh, inner surface downwards, and is scraped with a *Cyrena* shell until the outer bark is entirely removed and the fibres remain clean and separate. These are dried in the sun or over a fire and, if not needed for immediate use, are stored for future occasion. The fibre is fine and of a light greyish brown colour. In its qualities it somewhat resembles ramie fibre. It is extremely strong.

There are a number of other trees and plants that are known by the natives to afford fibre, but they are not used, or if they are, it is extremely rarely.

The Andaman jungles have a number of different species of *Calamus*, and the canes or rattans of these are put to all sorts of uses, such as the making of baskets, the lashings and furnishings of canoes, and in building huts. In the Little Andaman one species of cane is used to provide the fibre for women's belts. The outer skin is removed and the remainder of the cane is divided into fine strips or threads. A bundle of these tied together constitutes the belt worn by the women of the Little Andaman. The outer sheath of the leaf-stem of the *Calamus tigrinus* is used by the natives of the Great Andaman Division for making mats. Lengths of the leaf-stem are cut and the outer skin is removed in strips of about 3 to 5 mm. in width. The still adhering pith is removed with a *Cyrena* shell, and the strips are dried in the sun and then made into mats. 824 285 [501] [291]

The leaf-stem of a species of palm is cut while green and is then shredded into long strips. The fibre thus obtained really consists of the leaflets of the young unopened leaves of the palm. It is used in the 824 291

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824 291 Little Andaman to make the tassel that women wear over the pudenda. The women of the North Andaman formerly wore a tassel of this fibre, but have now discontinued the custom, since their contact with the South Andaman. In the Great Andaman tribes this material has 824 important ceremonial uses. It is called *koro* in Aka-Jeru and *ara* in Aka-Bea, and has been frequently mentioned in this volume. A tassel of the fibre is suspended near the grave of a dead person and at the entrance of the village at which the death took place. In the North Andaman a suspended cane hung with a fringe of the fibre is erected for the peace-making ceremony. (See Plate XIX.)

Two plants that were not identified are used in the North Andaman for making baskets. The methods of preparing these will be described later.

824 291 The natives of the Great Andaman Division make use of the leaves of the *Pandanus Andamanensium* for making belts for women and ornaments that are worn on ceremonial occasions. These leaves do not seem to be used in the Little Andaman.

824 531 The pods of one or more species of *Dendrobium* are collected by the natives of both Great Andaman and Little Andaman. They are roasted in the fire, until the outer skin turns a bright yellow, and this is torn off in strips and used for ornamenting nets, baskets, rope, etc.

824 The above description includes all the more important vegetable substances used by the Andamanese for their rope, string, netting, and basket-work. There are many other substances that they might use if they wished, of the properties of which they are fully aware. Their knowledge of the trees and plants of the forests and of the peculiar properties of each is very extensive. They themselves say that they use only those that best serve their purposes.

283 The Andamanese make rope and string or thread, but in all cases it is only two-ply. Rope is made by men only, and is used for the lines of turtle harpoons, and was formerly used for turtle nets. The ropes made from *Hibiscus* fibre are very strong and durable, being quite as good as the best hempen ropes of the same diameter. In rope-making the *Hibiscus* or other fibre (*Sterculia* or *Grewia*) is taken and twisted into a long strand, either with the fingers, or on the thigh by rolling beneath the palm of the hand, short lengths of fibre being added until a single twisted strand of sufficient length and uniform thickness is produced. The middle of this strand is passed over a piece of wood held by the toes, one half of it being wound on to a reel (*kutobi* in Aka-Jeru) made by tying together crossways two pieces of cane or wood

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412 Bamboo tongs are made by bending double a piece split from a bamboo, and cutting the ends to the required shape. They are used for lifting from the fire anything too hot to be taken in the hand and are chiefly of service in cooking.

Digging sticks are made from various kinds of wood, being simply pointed at one or both ends. These sticks are not as a rule preserved, but made as required with an adze and thrown away after use. They are used for digging up edible roots.

222 227 Hooks for picking fruit, such as the *Artocarpus*, are made by attaching a small piece of wood to the end of a bamboo. Hooks for catching crabs are made from the wood of the *Rhizophora* by taking advantage of the natural form where a small branch joins a larger one.

352 824 The fan-shaped leaf of a *Licuala* palm is made use of in many ways. The edges of the leaflets are sewn together with fine strips of cane, and the sewn leaf is then used either as a sunshade or umbrella for protection from sunshine or rain, as a sleeping mat if the proper article be lacking, as a screen to make the roof or sides of a hut more wind or rain proof, as a wrapper for making objects of all sorts into bundles, and as a winding sheet for a corpse.

373 Torches are made from resin, which is broken into small pieces and wrapped up in leaves of a species of *Crinum* (? *lorifolium*), a few pieces of smouldering charcoal being added before it is tied up. The torch is then parcelled by marling with a strip of cane or a length of some tough creeper These resin torches are used in turtle-hunting and fishing expeditions on dark nights.

Other torches are made of fragments of rotten *Dipterocarpus* wood. They are used only in the village.

PERSONAL ORNAMENT; GREAT ANDAMAN.

291 At the present time the natives of the Great Andaman Division obtain from the Settlement of Port Blair cloth which both men and women wear round the loins. They also obtain beads from which they make necklaces.

The following is a list of the various personal ornaments made by the natives of the Great Andaman Division, and worn by them.

Rope girdle. Every man wears some sort of girdle round his waist, and this was formerly the only object that was constantly worn by men. The girdle may consist of a length of rope of *Hibiscus* fibre or a length of ornamental cord made by wrapping the yellow skin of

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possible are required before we can speak with certainty regarding the extent, limits, and conditions of heredity among this race; but it has been noticed that, as a general rule, they have excellent memories, especially on those subjects in which the intellects of their ancestors have been consciously or unconsciously exercised or cultivated in the savage state. The following passage will afford an illustration of the intelligence displayed by these people on such subjects. It is taken from the late Mr. Kurz's Report on the Vegetation of the Andaman Islands:—

"While I was in the Andamans I was in the habit of consulting people (convicts) from the most different parts of India for the native names of the plants. As a general result, I may state that the Burmans were best acquainted with the flora of the Andamans, but they are by no means equal to the Andamanese in accuracy and certainty of determination. While the Burmans were obliged continually to cut into the bark to recognise the trees, the Andamanese readily gave their names, and I could rely upon their statements, which was not the case at all with those of the Burmese."

16. Instances have been observed among them of individuals possessing strong wills and vivid powers of imagination: as a race they do not appear to be subject to trances, illusions, or somnambulism, but, like many other savages, they place implicit faith in dreams, shaping their conduct in superstitious conformity to the warning or advice supposed to have been conveyed therein.

Magic and Witchcraft.—1. There are, however, certain individuals in these tribes, known as *ôko-pai'ad-* (*lit.*, a dreamer), who are credited with the possession of supernatural powers—such as second sight, expressed by the term *àramū'ga-tâ'rabanga-*, —and of a mysterious influence over the fortunes and lives of their neighbours. It is thought that they can bring trouble, sickness, and death upon those who fail to evince their belief in them in some substantial form;[1] they thus generally manage to obtain the best of everything, for it is considered foolhardy to deny them, and they do not scruple to ask for any article to which they may take a fancy.

2. These quasi-seers are invariably of the male sex, and it sometimes even happens that a young boy is looked upon as a "coming" *ôko-pai'ad-*, their position being generally in the first instance attained by relating an extraordinary dream, the details

[1] This reminds one somewhat of the disease makers of Tanna (New Hebrides), who are supposed to cause disease and death by burning *nahak* (rubbish, principally refuse of food), and who are propitiated by continual presents. The practice of burning beeswax, in order to cause annoyance to an enemy, will be mentioned under "Superstitions," paragraph 13.

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372 **Fire.**—1. It would seem that the Andamanese, like the quondam aborigines of Tasmania, have always been ignorant of the art of producing fire.

2. The assertion[1] that these tribes when first discovered, assuming that this refers to either the second or ninth century,[2] were ignorant of the use of fire may or may not be correct; but if any faith can be placed in the traditions held by them on the subject, their acquaintance with it dates from no later period than the Creation![3]

3. The most satisfactory conjecture as to the source whence they first obtained fire appears to me to be based on the fact of there being two islands attached to the group, one of which (Barren Island) contains an active volcano, and the other (Narcondam Island[4]) a now extinct one.

4. Being strangers to any method of producing a flame, they naturally display much care and skill in the measures they adopt for avoiding such inconvenience as might be caused by the extinction of their fires.

5. Both when encamped and while journeying, the means employed are at once simple and effective. When they all leave an encampment with the intention of returning in a few days, besides taking with them one or more smouldering logs, wrapped in leaves if the weather be wet, they place a large burning log or faggot in some sheltered spot, where, owing to the character and condition of the wood invariably selected on these occasions, it smoulders for several days, and can be easily rekindled when required. Decayed pieces of the *Croton argyratus*, and two species of *Diospyros*,[5] and a fourth, called by them *chôr-*, but not yet identified, are chiefly used as fuel. As may be inferred, all labour of splitting and chopping is saved, as it is only necessary

[824]

[1] *Vide* Brown.

[2] *Vide* Part I (commencement).

[3] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraphs 5 and 6.

[4] Regarding this island, which is sometimes shown as Narkandam, Colonel Yule, in his "Marco Polo," writes as follows:—

"Abraham Roger tells us that the Coromandel Brahmins used to say that the *Rakshasas* or Demons had their abode 'on the Island of Andaman, lying on the route from Pulicat to Pegu,' and also that they were man-eaters. This would be very curious if it were a genuine old Brahminical *Saga*; but I fear it may have been gathered from the Arab seamen. Still it is remarkable that a strange weird looking island, which rises, covered with forest, a steep and regular volcanic cone, straight out of the deep sea to the eastward of the Andaman group, bears the name of *Narkandam* in which one cannot but recognise नरक, (*Narak*), 'Hell.' Can it be that in old times, but still contemporary with Hindu navigation, this volcano was active, and that some Brahmin St. Brandon recognised in it the mouth of Hell, congenial to the Rakshasas of the adjacent group?"

Colonel Yule adds: "I cannot trace any probable meaning of Andam, yet it looks as if *Narak-andám* and *Andám-dn* were akin."

[5] Bastard ebony or marble wood.

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251 implement, and all take a share in the feast.[1] Meat thus prepared will keep good for several days.

32. I alluded just now to their method of preparing the seeds
252 of the *Semecarpus* and *Artocarpus chaplasha* for consumption
251 during the rains; it is as follows:—The outer husk, or skin, having been removed, a quantity of the fruit is placed on a wooden platter, and each person present renders assistance by partially sucking (!) the various pieces, which, after this preliminary process, are half boiled in water, and then wrapped up in large bundles of leaves, and buried in moist soil; no mark is made over the spot, but there appears to be no fear of forgetting it, though several weeks usually elapse before the monsoon breaks, and these decaying deposits are dug up, when the smell, as may be supposed, is most offensive to all but those who are to the manner born; by them, however, strange to relate, it is evidently highly appreciated. The next stage through which the seeds have to pass consists in freeing them in water from the decaying matter, and drying them in the sun, or over the fire, where they are left in nets (*châ·panga-*[2]) or leaves until required for use, when they are again baked. With this exception no food is dried in the sun, nor is anything salted or intentionally smoked, though this last cannot fail to be, to some extent, the result of their mode of storing food, as described in the previous paragraph.

222 33. Besides the various fruits already mentioned as in season
137 during the dry months, yams and honey are very abundant; as their method of treating both fruits and yams has been already
824 described, it now remains for me to notice the ingenious way
825 in which they procure honey, and to name the special trees which, flowering in succession, afford ample material from whence the bees produce a more or less abundant store.

34. At the close of the monsoon one of the large jungle trees, called by them *rár-* (*Eugenia* sp.), comes into bloom, and though no honey is made from its flowers, it is said to act beneficially on the bees as a purgative, and to prepare them for the commencement of the honey season.[3] The *lē·kera-* (*Leguminosæ* sp.), blossoming a little later, is the first honey-yielding flower; the *dū·mla-*,[4] *chī·lib-* (? *Diospyros densiflora*), *ō·ro-* (*Chickrassia tabularis*), and *châ·dak-* (*Rubiaceæ*) coming next into season, enable the bees to produce large combs, but the finest are found after the *pū-* (*Semecarpus*), *bā·ji-* (*Sterculia* (!) *villosa*), *yē·re-* (*Sterculia* sp.), *jī·dya-*,[4] have

[1] *Vide post* "Hunting and Fishing," paragraphs 30 and 31.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 22.
[3] Hence *re·rke*, (to) clean.
[4] The botanical names of these have not as yet been ascertained.

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blossomed: this is considered the height of the honey season, and is called *lad·u chàu-*.[1] It appears that on moonlight nights just at this time the bees consume a great portion of their honey, so that the "junglees" declare it to be useless to go for combs, either by day or night, until the moon has sensibly waned.

35. When about to make a raid on the hives, the Andamanese procure a certain plant, believed to be of the *Alpinia* species, called *jī·ni-*, and having stripped off the leaves, chew the stem and smear the essence thus extracted over their bodies; the mouth is also filled with the same juice, and thus armed *cap-à-pie* they proceed to disperse the bees, who, on attempting to attack them, are at once repelled by the obnoxious odour of the *jī·ni-*, emitted in a fine spray from the mouths, and also attaching to the persons of their despoilers, who sometimes make further use of the chewed stalks of the offensive plant in driving off the last remaining defenders of the hive.

36. Small combs[2] of both the white and black honey are commonly obtainable till about September—*i.e.*, so long as the *Dipterocarpus lævis*, the *Pterocarpus dalbergioides*, and a few other trees continue to blossom.[3]

37. While I had charge of the homes (and probably ever since), a large sum was annually realised by the aborigines towards their support from the sale of honey thus obtained to the free residents at Port Blair. So much indeed did they collect that we were able to store it in barrels and bottles, and generally found we had sufficient to meet all demands until the approach of the following season.

Tabu.—1. Besides the articles of food from which all abstain during the *à·kà-yâp-*,[4] we have seen that there are certain fruits, edible roots, &c., which, in supposed obedience to *Pū·luga-*'s commands, are not gathered at prescribed seasons of the year,[5] and that mourners[6] (*à·kà-ōg-*) also deny themselves by refusing to partake of their favourite viands until after the *t'ī-tó·latnga-*;[7] but beyond these restrictions, which are of general application,

[1] *Vide* Appendix H.

[2] The combs produced from the blossoms of the under-mentioned trees—*i.e.*: *.tà·tib-* (*Croton arguratus*), *.bi·bi-* (*Terminalia* (?) *citrina*), and *.bàl·ya-* are much less plentiful, and they are smaller; this is also found to be the case with those made from the *chà·langa-* (*Pterocarpus dalbergioides*), *.mô·nag-* (*Messua ferrea*), *.ē·mej-* (*Terminalia bialata*), *.jà-* (*Gluta longipetiolata*), and *.pàb-* (*Lagerstræmia hypoleuca* (?) *regina*).

[3] As they are not, in their savage state, in the habit of storing honey, they are without any but the black honey during a great portion of the year.

[4] *Vide ante* "Initiatory Ceremonies," paragraphs 2 and 10.

[5] *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 12.

[6] If the mourners are *è·rem-tà·ya-* they abstain from pork, and if they are *àruó·to-* they abjure turtle (*vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 4).

[7] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 7.

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The only other weapon in use is the pig-spear
411 (*ĕrdū-tnga-*[1]), which is of comparatively recent introduction, its
[177] adoption being due to the abundance of iron obtainable for some time past by the *bōjig-ngīji-* and other tribes near our settlement at Port Blair.

6. To an untrained eye no difference is noticeable in the appearance of the weapons of similar style and construction, but the aborigines are quick in detecting individual peculiarities in the manner of knotting the strings of bows, arrows, &c.[2]

7. As has been remarked by General Pitt Rivers,[3] the bows of the Great Andaman tribes, especially those of the southern half, known to the islanders as the *bōjig kā'rama-*, resemble those in use in Mallicollo, one of the New Hebrides, and in New Ireland, being of a "peculiar flattened S-shaped form, curved towards the firer in the upper part as held in the hand, and to a slight extent the reverse way at the bottom."[4]

8. Except in the case of boys living on or near the coast,
• [824] whose toy bows are often made of the *Rhizophora conjugata*, the wood of the mangrove is rarely, if ever, used, and the bamboo *never*,[5] for they find that certain other trees,[6] are more suitable for their purpose.

9. No whalebone or sinews are used for the purpose of imparting additional elasticity to the bow, and no evidence is forthcoming to show that they ever applied poison to their arrow or spear-heads—in fact, the only poison known to them
[824] appears to be the *Nux vomica*, and this they merely avoid as a noxious or useless plamt.

10. It is true that certain passages in Dr. Mouat's book[7] convey a contrary impression, for, from the observations made during his short trip round the islands, he seems to have entertained no doubt that these savages habitually applied poison to their arrow-heads;[8] but, in the sense in which I understand his

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 9.

[2] For an example of this *vide ante* "Communications," &c., paragraph 6 (footnote).

[3] *Vide* Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. vii, p. 440.

[4] In the ethnographical department of the museum at Maidstone, I have lately observed a bow from Banks Island (New Hebrides), which bears a striking resemblance to the commonest form of the peculiar *bōjig* bow, for sketch of which see Plates II and VI.

[5] "Their weapons are bows and lances of iron-wood. The former are bamboo. . . ." (Grant vol. ii., p. 378.) [Their spears, at least those of Great Andaman, have never yet been seen by us made of iron-wood.—E. H. M.]

[6] *Vide* Appendix B, item 1.

[7] Pp. 324 and 336.

[8] It may be of interest too mention in this place a curious alleged fact which has been brought to my nottice by the petty officers and others connected with the homes, *i.e.*, that the wounds which are inflicted now-a-days by the iron-headed arrows of the Andamanese are not so painful or so liable to fester as they were formerly, and tthis they attribute to the fact that, while it has always been the practice of these savages when sharpening their blades to

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226 receding waves in the rocky hollows on the foreshore, and at the turn of the tide the men are usually to be seen standing up to their waists in water, or poling along the shore in their canoes, and shooting with their bows and arrows at the fish as they dart past.[1]

[824] 40. The seeds of a plant called *tō·rog-*[2] are sometimes crushed and thrown into creeks where fish and prawns are likely to be, as it has the effect of driving the fish from their hiding place, and leads to their easy capture in hand-nets held in position for the purpose.

41. In former times, and even now in the more distant communities, large nets of about 80 feet in length and 15 feet in depth, with meshes of several inches in diameter, were spread at the mouths of creeks for catching turtles and big fish; but since iron has been so easily obtained and canoes and harpoons have become more numerous, the *dryō·to-* usually capture their turtles, &c., by these means in preference to the older method, which entailed much labour in the manufacture. The following is the mode employed when nets are used:—one side is sunk by means of stones, and the other is kept up by floating sticks called *t'ā·lag-*, of the *al·aba-*[3] tree (*Melochia velutina*), to each of which a cane-leaf is attached; the ends are then drawn across such parts or creeks into which fish may easily be driven by beating the water with the bamboo shafts of their turtle spears. When any turtle or fish is driven into the net, the exact spot is at once indicated by the disturbance of one of the logs, with its tuft of leaves, whereupon they generally find little difficulty in despatching their captive.

502 **Navigation.**—1. It is a subject of surprise to all who, during the past fifteen or twenty years, have come in contact with the Andamanese, and have observed the style and capabilities of their canoes, to read the high encomiums that have been bestowed on the skill with which they are constructed, and to find that they are credited with such extraordinary speed as to distance easily a cutter, as well as a gig, manned respectively by picked crews of blue-jackets and Chinamen,[4] the former of whom "said, in their own usual exaggerated style of remark, they nearly killed

[1] The results obtained by the men are said to be inferior to those obtained by the women and children, but this is probably due to the large quantity of molluscs and crustaceans usually collected in the hand-nets.

[2] A species of *Lagerstrœmia*. This is similar to the custom among the Gaboon tribes described by Dr. Brown, who mentions that "at the Gaboon it is the leaves of a pretty leguminous plant, with yellow flowers . . . which is used. So rapid is the poison that if a handful of the bruised leaves are thrown into a pool the fish will almost immediately die and come to the surface."

[3] *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 7, and *post* "String," paragraph 1.

[4] *Vide* Mouat, pp. 315–321.

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285 **Basket-work.**—1. Among the few remaining industries of these savages on which I have a few words to say is that of basket-making: these baskets are invariably made from the best [824] specimens of the common cane called *pīdga-* which is similar to, if not identically the same as that ordinarily used by our basket-makers and chair-menders.

2. After removing the leaves, part of the cane is cut into lengths of 3½ or 4 feet, and the "skin" or cuticle is shredded off into strips ¼ or ½ inch wide; the remainder of the cane is split into as long pieces as possible, and the "skin" is cut into strips somewhat narrower than the others; shorter lengths of the canes form the "ribs" or "stakes," in and out of which the strips are woven or "slewed."

3. In order that the basket may stand steadily[1] it has always a "kick" like our bottles, and to construct this is of course the first object; when the stakes have been firmly secured in the centre, they are placed over a small hole scooped out of the ground, and the heel of the basket-maker is placed on them while the weaving is commenced; when it has been carried on to a breadth of 2 or 3 inches the heel is removed, the canes reversed, and the work proceeds in the ordinary way until within an inch of the required depth, where, for the sake of appearance, the interweaving is omitted: the handle is then formed out of a strip of the bark of the *Melochia velutina* (*al·aba-*); stripes of *tá·la-ōp-* and *kòi·ob-* are usually added by way of ornamentation;[2] no method of rendering them waterproof is known. Baskets are not converted into moulds for pottery; but sometimes, when travelling, earthen vessels are placed in a loose wicker casing, in order to protect them, and at the same time to facilitate their removal.

4. There is a marked difference[3] between the baskets made by the five *kōjig* tribes and those manufactured by the *yē·rewa-*; with the latter the work is more neatly finished, and the opening is small instead of being wide, as is the case among the former.[4]

5. Baskets are used for all sorts of purposes by men, women, and children, and, considering the rough usage to which they are subjected, last fairly well, for they seldom require to be renewed for several months: they are not used as strainers or colanders, the fine net (*chá·pungu-*) serving this purpose.

283 824 **String, &c.**—1. The Andamanese do not produce their stout cord (*bi·tōna-*), string (*bē·tma-lā-*), or twine (*mó·la-*), from animal

[1] The *yōrawa-* baskets are generally small at the base, and having no "kick" are not usually able to stand unless placed between logs of wood or other objects.

[2] The rim of these baskets is formed of a piece of *Urania micrantha* (*ó·rta-tat-*) round which one or more strips of the cane above described are neatly twined.

[3] The reader is referred to the excellent sketch of an Andamanese basket (*vide* Plate VII, fig. 17).

[4] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 14.

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substances, but from the bark fibres of trees and shrubs, known to them by the names of *al·aba-* (*Melochia velutina*), *pī·lita-* (*Gnetum edule*), and *yō·lba-* (*Anadendrum paniculatum*). The first of these is found growing near the shore, where it seldom attains a height of 20 feet; it is from fibre obtained from the bark of this tree that their cinctures (*bē·tma-bā*), harpoon-lines (*bē·tma-*), and turtle-nets (*yô·to-tē·pinga*) are manufactured. When any of the articles have to be made or replaced, it becomes the duty of some member of the male sex to procure a smooth clean branch—one which is also fairly straight and free from gnarls being preferred—and to remove the bark; the cellular integument is next scraped with a *Cyrena* shell (*ū·ta-*) until the fibres which it encloses are laid bare: these are then placed in the sun, or before a fire, to dry; when ready for use (*i.e.*, when thoroughly dry) the ropemaker ties several of the filaments to his toe and proceeds with his work by winding another strand spirally round them, adding a fresh length from time to time. When special strength or durability is needed, a coating of black wax (*tō·bul-pūd-*) is finally applied. The yarn thus produced is termed *bē·tma-mai·anga-*. When a long piece of this has been made (say 30 yards), a large portion of it is wound round the two cross-sticks forming the *kū·tegbo-*.[1] The operator, having then seated himself with legs outstretched, places a stick or cane between the big toes of his feet, and over this bar he passes the *kū·tegbo-*, thus enabling him to wind it continuously round the other half-length of the yarn, which, for convenience sake, he has previously placed by his right side, so that it is drawn behind his neck and over his left shoulder as the work proceeds. After the first foot or so of the cord has been thus made, the operator holds or clutches that portion with his toes. It will be understood that in employing the *kū·tegbo-* in the above manner, it becomes necessary at frequent intervals to unwind a certain quantity from that implement, in order to enable the work to progress. The cord thus made is called *bē·tma-*, and this it is of which their harpoon-lines and turtle-nets are made. The *bē·tma-bā-* (lit., small *bē·tma-*), mentioned above, is made in the same way, but of course less fibre and a smaller *kū·tegbo-* are used. 283 [824]

2. For making hand fishing-nets (*kūd-*) and sleeping-mats (*pār·ɛpa-*[2]), the fibre of the *Gnetum edule* (*pī·lita-*) is used; in the preparation and manufacture of these, women exclusively are concerned; the first process is to cut a number of the trailers into lengths which are determined by the distances between the knots and joints: these are held against the 283 286 [824]

[1] "The cord (used for large nets, &c.) possesses the valuable quality of hardening in the water" (*vide* Mouat, p. 326).

[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 65.

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283 286 thigh, and the cuticle is removed by means of the *Cyrena* shell; the underlying white fibres are left for a week or ten days in the sun until thoroughly dry, when they separate readily, and are easily worked up into fine or coarse twine, as may be required by the manipulator.

283 824 3. The fibre of the *Anodendron paniculatum* (*yō·lba-*) is chiefly used for making bowstrings, reticules (*châ·panga-*), necklaces, and twine for arrow fastenings; its manufacture is accordingly not restricted to either sex. When the bark has been stripped off, in lengths of 8 to 15 inches, the operator presses the inner portion upon his (or her) thigh, and then rapidly but carefully passes a *Cyrena* shell along the outer surface until the fibres alone remain; these are then, as in the previous cases, dried in the sun, or before a fire; when a sufficient supply of material has been thus obtained, it is made into fine twine or, if not required for immediate use, wrapped in leaves in order that it may be kept fresh. Although apparently free [262] from any obnoxious properties, this plant, as well as the fibres obtained therefrom, until it is converted into twine or bowstrings, is believed by the Andamanese to render the flesh of a turtle uneatable if placed near it; consequently this meat, when inadvertently so contaminated, is thrown away;[1] further, no one who has been collecting *yō·lba-*, or who has been engaged in preparing the fibre, can (for a period extending to three days) be allowed to cook a turtle, or even to accompany a party engaged [825] on a turtling expedition![2] Sharks and other dangerous fish are also credited with having so wholesome a horror or detestation of this plant (and also of *Cyrena* shells!) that the aborigines are in the habit of attaching some *yō·lba-*, or *Cyrena* shells (or both), to their cinctures as a safeguard when about to swim in parts believed to be infested by these creatures.

[531] 4. The yellow skin of the root of a certain orchid, called *râ-*, which is commonly found on trees near the shore, is often seen intertwined with their *yō·lba-* string, in personal ornaments, and occasionally in the decoration of weapons, but where strength is a requisite it is of course not used.

5. Bowstrings of *pī·lita-* and *yō·lba-* are made in the manner described in the manufacture of *al·ga-* rope, but ordinary string is made in the following manner:—a few of the prepared filaments are twisted into a yarn on the thigh with the palm of the hand; when two lengths have been obtained, they are together rolled into string of the desired strength, and beeswax is smeared over it to make assurance doubly sure.

6. Twine, made from the *yō·lba-*, is used in netting the fine chains (*râb-*[1]) and the reticules (*châ·panga-*[2]); for turtle-

[1] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 5, and Appendix B, item 42.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 22.

APPENDIX H.

LIST OF *Proper Names*, TOGETHER WITH A LIST OF THE "*Flower*" *Names* BORNE BY YOUNG WOMEN DURING MAIDENHOOD, AND UNTIL THEY BECOME MOTHERS, AND A LIST OF THE VARIOUS *Seasons*.

Proper names (*common to both sexes*).		"Flower" name.	Name of tree (or insect) in season.	Names of the various minor seasons.	Names of the principal seasons.	Remarks.
.bal·ta	.kăt·iola	.chĭ·lipa ...	lĕ·kera-	lĕ·kera-wdb-[1] ...	pd·par-, also pd·par-wdb-	The "*pd·par-*" commences about the middle of November, and ends about the middle of February. It comprises the *cool season*.
.bŏ·ra	.lŏ·ra		chĭ·lip-	chĭ·lip-wdb- ...		
.bĕ·rebi	.lĭ·pa	.mŏ·da ...	pd-...	pd-wdb-	ye·re-bŏ·do-, also rdp-wdb-[2]	[1] "*wdb*" signifies "season."
bĭ·a	.lŏ·kola		jŏr-	jŏr-wdb-		The "*ye·re-bŏ·do-*" comprises the *summer and autumn* of the year. Honey is abundant at the commencement of this season, during the whole course of which the principal fruit trees are in bearing. This season lasts about three months, *viz.*, till about the middle of May.
.bĭ·ele	.mĕ·ba	.ŏ·ra	ŏ·ro-	ŏ·ro-wdb-		[2] Lit., *season of abundance*.
.bĭ·ra	.mĕ·bola	.jĭ·dga ...	jĭ·dga-	jĭ·dga-wdb- ...		[3] This period is called "*lad·a-chdu-*" (dirty body) owing to their practice of smearing their persons with the sap of a plant (*jĭ·ni-*) when engaged in removing a honeycomb from a hive swarming with bees.
.bĭ·role	.ñgŏ·ngala		td·tib-	td·tib-wdb- ...		
.bŭ·lbula	.nid·lĭ	.yĕ·re... ...	yĕ·re-	yĕ·re-wdb- ... [3]		
.bŭ·rla	.păr·ila		bd·ja-	bd·ja-wdb- ...		
.bŭ·rŭga	.pĕ·tya	.pd·taka	pd·tak-	pd·tak-wdb- ...		
.chd·rmĭla	.pŏ·wiola	.bal·yal	bai·la-	bai·la-wdb- ...		
.chd·tla	.pŭ·nga	.rĭ·che ...	rĭ·che-	rĭ·che-wdb- ... [4]	gŭ·mul-	This season embraces the (4) *td·la-tŏng dĕ·reka-* (lit., *fresh foliage*) or *spring*, and (5) *gŭ·mul-wdb-*. The former lasts about 3½ months, viz., till about the close of August. It comprises not only the Spring but the *first half* of the *rainy monsoon*. The latter (*gŭ·mul-wdb-*) lasts about 2½ months, viz., till about the middle of November, and comprises the *latter half* of the *rainy monsoon*. Among the articles of food eaten at this season are (6) the *bŭ·tu-* (a slug found in rotten logs of Gurjon wood) and (7) the *ŏi·yum-* (larva of the Great Capricornis beetle). The tails of the former are broken off and thrown away, hence *tŏ·pnga-* (breaking off).
.dĕ·ra	.rĭ·la		chd·dak-	chd·dak-wdb- ...		
.gŏ·lat	.rĭ·ela	.chd·gara	chd·langa- ...	chd·langa-wdb- ...		
.I·ro	.tŏ·tol	.chăr·opa ...	bŭ·tu-[6]	tŏ·pnga-wdb- ... [5]		
.I·rola	.tŭ·ra		chd·rap-	chd·rap-wdb- ...		
.jăr·o	.wĕ·ri	.chen·ra ...	ŏi·yum-[7]	ŏi·yum-kŏ·pnga-wdb-		
.jŏ·plola	.wŏi·chola		chen·ara-	chen·ara-wdb- ...		
.kŏ·la	.wŏ·loga		rdr-	rdr-wdb-		
.kĭ·ya	.yĕ·ga	.yŭ·lu ...	yŭ·lu-	yŭ·lu-wdb- ...		

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APPENDIX L.

List of some of the Trees and Plants in the Andaman Jungles.

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Andamanese name.	Botanical name.[1]	Remarks.
á·bnga- (*a*)	Dillenia pilosa.	
ain·ya-	Dipterocarpus alatus ..	(Burm.) *Kanyin ngi.*
al·aba-	Melochia velutina ..	(*vide* Appendix B, item 66)
ám- (*a*) (*e*)	Calamus, sp. No. 1.	
á·para- (*d*) (*k*) .. .. Also *á·bad-*	Ptychosperma Kuhlii ..	
á·raga-	.. ..	(Hindi.) *Palawa.* (Burm.) *Bé·bia.*
á·raín- (*m*)	Dipterocarpus lævis ..	(Burm.) *Kanyin byu-*, Gurjon oil tree.
bad·a- (*o*)	Rhizophora conjugata ..	(Burm.) *Byňma.*
bad·ar- (*a*)	Sometia tomentosa (?)	
bai·la- (*a*) (*b*) . .	Terminalia procera ..	(Burm.) *Bambway byu.*
bá·ja- (*y*)	Sterculia (? villosa) ..	(Burm.) *Sabu-bani.*
bá·lak-	.. .. ..	*Vide* Part II, "Religious Beliefs," paragraph 19.
bal·ya-		
bá·rata- (*c*)	Carvota sobolifera.	
bá·taga- (*i*)	Ceriops Candolleana ..	(Burm.) *Madamá.*
bé·lu-	Natsatium herpestes.	
bé·ma-	Albizzia Lebbek (?) ..	(Burm.) *Kňk·ko*
bé·rekád-	Glycosinis pentaphylla.	
bé·rewi-	Claoxylon affine (?)	
bi·bi-	Terminalia (? citrina).	
bi·riga-	Planchonia valida ..	(Burm.) *Bambway ngi.*
bi·rtät-		
bi·tim-	Sophora sp.	
ból- (*v*)	Calamus sp. .. .	Ground rattan.
bó·ma-	Claoxylon sp.	
bó·rowa- (*u*)	Myristica longifolia ..	(Hindi.) *Jaiphal.* (Burm.) *Zá·dipho.*
bó·to-kó·ko- (*v*)	Sabia (?)	
búb-	Ancistrocladus extensus (?)	
bú·kura- (*i*)	Diospyros (?) nigricans ..	Bastard ebony, or marble wood (superior variety).
búr-		
bú·tu-	.. .. . .	Extensively used in the manufacture of arrows.
chá·b- (*a*)	.. ..	(Hindi.) *Badám.*
chá·dak-	Rubiaceæ.	
chág·e-	Paratropia venulosa.	
chai-	.. ..	Bows made from this tree.

[1] It has been chiefly owing to the kind assistance afforded by Dr. G. King, Superintendent of the Botanical Garden, Howrah (near Calcutta), that I have been able to ascertain the botanical names of so many of the trees in this list.

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Andamanese name.	Botanical name.	Remarks.
chaij- (*a*) (*b*)	Semecarpus anacardium	(Hindi.) *Bilâwa.*
châ·kan- (*b*)	Entada pursœtha.	
châ·langa- (*q*)	Pterocarpus dalbergioides	(Hindi.) *Sīsu.* (Burm.) *Padàuk.*
châm- (*j*)	Areca laxa of Hamilton (a variety of Areca triandra).	
châ·mti-	Cynometra polyandra.	
chàng·ta-	Calamus sp.	Leaves used in thatching huts, and for making the warning wreaths round a grave or deserted encampment.
châp-	Terminalia sp.	
châ·to-	Albizzia Lebbek (?) ..	(Hindi.) *Sīris.* (Burm.) *Tsīt.*
châu·ga-yū·anga-	Hopea odorata	(Burm.) *Thingâm-byū-.*
chē·nir-	Leea sambucina.	
chī·lib-	Diospyros densiflora (?)	
chō·ad-	.. ..	(Burm.) *Màukaràung.*
chō·bal-	Atalantia sp.	
chō·ngara- (*a*)		
chō·pa- (*a*)	Leguminosæ.	
chôb- (*a*)	Calamus sp. No. 2 ..	The fruit somewhat resembles a medlar in flavour.
chô·kuga-	Goniothalamus Griffithii.	
chô·lij-	Hypolytrum trinervium.	
chôr- (*i*)	Celtis cinnamomea.	
dâ·kar-tâ·la-	Hydnocarpus (?) ..	(Hindi.) ? *Lâl chīni.* (Burm.) ? *Chándu.*
dē·debla-	Xanthophyllum glaucum.	
dōd-	Myristica Irya	Sometimes used for paddle making.
dō·gota- (*a*) (*f*)	Mimusops Indica (or ? littoralis)	(Hindi.) *Mōwa.* (Burm.) *Kapāli thit.*
dū·mto- (*p*)	Guettarda speciosa.	
dū·mla-	.. ..	(Burm.) *Fishūm.*
dū·ra-	Barringtonia racemosa.	
elētâ·la-		
ē·mej- (*b*)	Terminalia bialata.	
eng·ara- (*a*)	.. ..	Wild plantain.
ē·repaid-tât-	Strychnos nux vomica.	
gâ·cho-		
gad-	Calophyllum spectabile.	
gel·dim- (*a*)	Leguminosæ sp.	
ger·eng- (*n*)	Bombax malabaricum ..	(Hindi.) *Sembal.* (Burm.) *Dīdu.*
gū·gma-	Trigonostemon longifolius	Leaves used medicinally as a febrifuge.
ī·til- (*b*)	Pandanus (?)	
jâ- (*a*)	Gluta longipetiolata ..	(Burm.) *Thip-pyū.*
jâ·la-	Rubiaceæ.	
jang·ma- (*a*)	Stephania hernandifolia.	

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Andamanese name.	Botanical name.	Remarks.
jʌ·dga		
jī·ni- (*a*)	Alpinia sp.	(*Vide* Part I "Medicine," para. 4, and Part III, "Food," para. 35.)
jór-	Odina Wodier	(Burm.) *Nubbhē.*
jū·laij- (*b*)	Dendrolobium umbellatum	
jū·mu- (*a*)	? Bruguiera gymnorhiza, *or* Rhizphora mucronata	(Burm.) *Byūbo.*
kâ·daka-	Ficus hispida.	
kai- (*a*)	Mangifera sylvatica ..	Wild mango.
kai·ta- (*a*) (*b*	Artocarpus chaplasha ..	(Hindi.) *Kathar.* (Burm.) *Toung-peng.*
kâ·pa- (*a*) (*h*)	Licuala (probably peltata)	
kär·ed- (*a*)	? Sterculia (*or* Sanadera Indica)	The fruit contains a nut which after being sucked is broken, when the *shell* is eaten and the *kernel* thrown away.
kär·ega- (*a*)	Diospyros sp.	
kô·kan- (*r*) ..	Pajanelia multijuga.	
kón- (*a*)	Diospyros sp.	
kô·rtâ·la-	Griffithia longiflora.	
kū·dnga-	One of the Rubiaceæ.	
kū·nra-	Dracontomelum sylvestre.	
lē·che-	Lactaria salubris ..	The fruit being large and round is often used as a moving target by being rolled along the ground or down a slope and shot at while in motion.
lē·kera-	Leguminosæ sp.	
lō-gaj- (*a*)	Angiopteris evecta.	
lō·koma-		
mâ·chal-	Atalantia sp.	
maïi·- (*x*)	Sterculia (?)	(Burm.) *Ank yenzà.*
máng- (*a*) (*b*) (*l*)	Pandanus Andamanensium.	(Hindi.) *Kēora.*
mô·nag-	Mesua ferrea	(Hindi.) *Sâl.* (Burm.) *Gangua.*
mót-	Heritiera littoralis.	
mū·twin- (*n*)	Anacardiaceæ.	
ngâ·tya- (*a*)	Bruguiera sp.	
ñgē·bēr- (*b*)	Cycas Rumphii.	
nyū·raimo-	Ficus sp. No. 1.	
ō·dag-	Eugenia sp.	
ō·dorma- (*a*)		
ō·li- (*a*)	Ficus (probably macrophylla).	
ō·lma-	.. ..	(Burm.) *Thisunūwe.*
ô·ro-	Chickrassia tabularis ..	(Burm.) *Ngâ·zu.*
ô·ropa- (*n*) (*b*) (*i*) .	Baccaurea sapida ..	(Hindi.) *Khatta phal.* (Burm.) *Kanazo.*
ô·rta-tāt- (*a*) (*g*)	Uvaria micrantha.	
pū- (*b*)	Semecarpus (?)	(Burm.) *Thikadoe.*

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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Andamanese name.	Botanical name.	Remarks.
pai·ma-	Clausena (probably Wallichii).	
pai·tla-(b)		
pâb-	Lagerstrœmia regina (? hypoleuca)	(Burm.) *Pima.*
pâr-	Leguminosæ sp.	
pâ·ra-		
pâ·rad-	Gramineæ.	
pâ·tag-	Meliosma simplicifolia ..	Leaves sometimes used as aprons by women (*vide dô·gota-*). The kernel of the seed is eaten.
pē·dag-		
pē·li- (a)	Gnetum scandens.	
pē·taing-	Memecylon varians	
pi·cha- (i)..	Diospyros sp.	Bastard ebony, or marble wood (inferior variety).
pi·dga- (w)	.. ..	Common cane.
pi·lita-	Gnetum edule	Fibre extensively used (*vide* Appendix B, item 65).
pi·rij-	Afzelia bijuga.	
pi·ti-	Derris scandens.	
pô- (t)	Bambusa Andamanica.	
pôr- (a)	Korthalsia (or Calamosagus) scaphigera.	
pô·rud-	probably Schmeidelia glabra	(Burm.) *Kimberlin.*
pû·a-	Bambusa	Used for making the shaft of the turtlespear, and for poling canoes.
pû·laiu- (b)	.. ..	(Burm.) *Ngâ·zu* sp. No. 1.
pû·lia- (b)..	Mucuna sp.	
pû·lka-	Memecylon (probably capitellatum).	
pû·ta- (b)	Nipa fruticans	Dhunny leaf palm.
râ-	Dendrobium secundum.	
râb-	Phœnix sp.	(Hindi.) *Kajûr.*
râr-	Eugenia (?)	(Hindi.) *Chandan.* (Burm.) *Tau-ngim.*
râu-	Ficus laccifera	(Hindi.) *Bargat.* (Burm.) *Ngiâu.*
rê·che-	Eugenia sp.	(Burm.) *Mai âmbu.*
reg lâ·kà chàl-	Polyalthia Jenkinsii.	
rî·di-	Bambusa (?)	Used for making the shafts of the *râ·tà-*, *fî·rlêd-*, and *tô·lbôd-* arrows.
rim- (s)	Celtis (*or* Gironniera) ..	(Burm.) *Tingâm.*
rô·toin-	Syzygium Jambolanum.	
tâ·langa-tât-	Antitaxis calocarpa ..	(Burm.) *Gangua ngee.*
tâ·lapa-	Terminalia trilata (?) ..	(Hindi.) *Chûglam.* (Burm.) ? *Ngâ·zu* sp. No. 2, or *Kyê na lin.*

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Andamanese name.	Botanical name.	Remarks.
tăn-.		
tâ·par-.	Erycibe coriaceæ.	
tâ·tib- (*a*) (*i*)	Croton argyratus (Blyth)	(Burm.) *Châunu.*
tĭ-		
tô·kal-	.. ..	(Burm.) *Kiâtalung.*
tôl-..	Amomum dealbatum (*or* sericeum).	
tŏp-	Barringtonia Asiatica.	
tŏ·ta-	.. ..	(Burm.) *Pyŭ.*
ŭd- (*b*)	Menispermaceæ.	
ŭ·dala-	Pandanus verus.	
ŭj- (*a*)	Tetranthera lanceæfolia ..	(*Vide* Appendix B, item 76.)
ŭl-..	Carapa obovata	(Burm.) *Penlĕong.*
ŭ·tara-	Maranta grandis (*or* Phrynium grande).	
wain·ya-		
wâ·nga-	Pterospermum acerifolium.	
wai·unga-	.. ..	(Hindi.) *Jungli saigon.* (Burm.) *Pûnu.*
wĭ·lima-	Podocarpus polystachia..	(Burm.) *Thit min.*
yâ·rla-		
yâtig·i-	Rubiaceæ.	
yĕ·re-r	Sterculia sp.	
yŏ·lba-	Anodendron paniculatum.	

Additional Notes.

(*a*) Fruit is eaten.
(*b*) Seed is eaten.
(*c*) Heart of the tree is eaten.
(*d*) Pulpy portion of spathe is eaten.
(*e*) Leaf stems used in manufacture of sleeping mats. Leaves used for thatching purposes.
(*f*) Leaves used by women as aprons (*ŏ·bunga-*); rotten logs used for fuel (see also "Superstitions," para. 8).
(*g*) Stem of this plant used for the frame and handle of the hand-net (*kŭd-*) (*vide* Appendix B, item 20).
(*h*) Leaves used for thatching, for screens (*vide* Appendix B, item 74), for bedding, for wrapping round corpse, for packing food for journey, &c., and prior to cooking.
(*i*) Rotten logs used for fuel.
(*j*) Used in manufacture of the foreshaft of the *râ·tâ-*, *tĭ·rlĕ·d-*, *tô·lbô·d-*, and *châm-* arrows (*vide* Appendix B, items 2, 3, 4, 8), and sometimes also the skewer.
(*k*) Leaves used for thatching and for bedding.
(*l*) Leaves used in the manufacture of articles of personal attire (*vide* Appendix B, items 25 and 28).
(*m*) The middle portion of rotten logs used for torches.
(*n*) Rarely used for making canoes.
(*o*) Used for adzes, sometimes for foreshafts of arrows, and for making children's bows.
(*p*) Leaves used for flooring of huts.
(*q*) Buttress-like slab roots used for making the sounding-boards employed when dancing.

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(*r*) Used for making canoes.
(*s*) Resin used in manufacture of *kâ·ngatâ-bŭj-* (*vide* Appendix B, item 62).
(*t*) Used in making the *gŏb-*, *kai-*, and sometimes the *tŏg-* (*vide* Appendix B, items 82, 80, and 10)
(*u*) Generally used for making paddles, and the leaves for bedding.
(*v*) Used for making shaft of hog-spear.
(*w*) Used for making baskets, f enings of adzes, turtle-spears, torches (*tŏ·ug-*), and of bundles; also for suspending buc ts, for stitching cracks in canoes, and in thatching.
(*x*) Used for making canoes; the resin is employed in making torches.
(*y*) Used for making canoes, pails, and eating trays.

APPENDIX M.

LIST OF SHELLS AND SHELL FISH COMMONLY KNOWN TO THE ANDAMANESE.

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Andamanese name.	Scientific name.[1]	Remarks.
bad la- (*a*)	Monodonta (? labeo).	
bad la- (*a*)	Delphinula laciniata.	
be-	Pecten (?) Indica	Scallop.
châ·pata- (*b*)	Pteroceras chiragra	Scorpion shell.
châ ga lŏt chŭ·kul-	Murex tribulus.	
chej- (also *chŭ·la-*)	Pinna (? squamosa)	Bouquet-holder shell.
chŭ·di- (*b*)	Pinna (?)	
ch kot-	? Conus eburneus.	
ch rom- (*a*)	Scolymus cornigerus.	
chŭ wai- (*a*)	Tridacna crocea.	
chŭ- (*a*)	Murex (? palma-rosæ)	Rose-bud shell.
ê·la-	Perna ephippium.	
gar·en-	Dentalium octogonum.	
gar en-ê·la- (*a*)	Turbo (?)	Top-shell.
ĭ na-ê·la- (*a*)	Nassa (? tœnia)	Dog-whelk.
jar awa la- (*a*)	Purpura Persica.	
jĭ·rka-ĭ-	Cyrena (?)	
jŏ·rol- (*b*)	Cerithiden telescopium.	
jŭ·ru-win lâ·kâ bang-	Solen vagina	Razor-fish.
kâ·mrŭj-	Trochus (? obeliscus).	
kâ·rada-	Arca granosa.	
kâ·nop- (*a*)	Tridacna squamosa.	
ki·do-	Turbo marmoratus	Is eaten by the *bal·awa-* tribe only.
ki·ga- (*a*)	Cassis glaucus	Helmet-shell.
mal lo- (*a*)	Venus (?)	
mar·ed- (*a*)	Venus meroë	Pattern-shot Venus.
mar·eno- (*a*)	Patella variabilis	Rock-limpet.

[1] To the Rev. T. L. J. Warneford, formerly chaplain at the Andamans, I am indebted for the classical names of many of the shells in this list.

(*a*) denotes those that are cooked and eaten.

(*b*) denotes those that are cooked and eaten by *married* persons only.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

now follow them, often ignoring their original significance and symbolism. Among the Onge, spirits are feared but not loved ; the same applies to God Himself. 775

The Onge bury their dead in trenches, no deeper than three feet. Earth is tightly packed over the graves in order to prevent exhalations. Full details on the subject of Onge burial customs appear in the book that I am writing about the Onge. I slept with the Onge in communal huts that contained fresh graves, without suffering any inconvenience from the smell of the corpses. This recalls the palaeolithic sepulchral caves, where man probably lived as the Onge live in their sepulchral huts today. 764

There are no latrines near Onge camps – whether permanent or temporary. Excrements are spread carelessly all around, lightly covered with leaves and earth. Flies lay eggs on them. The Onge's only precaution is not to defecate where drinking water might be found after rainfall. With so many opportunities for reproduction, in some places flies form such clouds as to impress the natives themselves. In the north of Little Andaman a creek was named after the flies : Bumila Creek, which means "fly creek". Smells also occasionally inspire geographical names : Tambe-ĕ-bùie, on the north-east coast of Little Andaman, means "the smelly place" in the Onge language. Flies, fleas and ticks are tolerated by the Onge who do not fight them. Fortunately, the hymenoptera collect flies for their nests, not, however, in quantities large enough to compete with the fertility of the species. 514 [112] 736 825 [109]

2. Clothing and personal care

The only garment worn by Little Andaman women is the *naquinĕghĕ*, a scanty grasslike apron covering the genitals. In addition, during menstrual periods, Onge women wear the *bataghĕ*, for hygienic purposes. This is a simple cluster of long, soft green leaves cut by the husband for his wife from special trees : Myristica longifolia and others. The only leaves used are those from the end of a stalk, a section of which is left attached to the leaves. The stalk is slipped under the *naquinĕghĕ*, while the long leaves are passed between the thighs to be fastened at the back above the buttocks. It is curious to see Onge women in such myristical attire. The *bataghĕ* is ethnographical news, new not only as regards the Andamans : it is an interesting indication of the hygienic measures employed by primitive people, and can probably be traced to prehistoric practices in analogous circumstances. The continental and insular regions nearest to the Andamans have retained no similar custom ; their only practice is the strict isolation of menstruating women. Among the Onge, on the other hand, they are allowed free circulation. Washing is unknown to the Onge ; they never wash their bodies intentionally. Brushing through the thick forest and diving into the sea or the river to collect food substitute adequately for washing. The Little Andaman forest is nearly always dripping ; moving among the trees, specially in the early morning, is equivalent to bathing. The contact of wet leaves when walking cleans the Onge's skin, for they go naked ; and as they constantly dive into the sea and rivers, they do not smell. Actually they give an impression of cleanliness – as opposed to many other dark-skinned 291 841 [824] [171] 515 [147]

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

841 resembling these practices in any other part of the world. Never hitherto
171 described, they should be carefully considered. This would require a lengthy description, for which there is no space here. We may recall that menstruating Onge women are allowed to circulate freely at all times. An interesting detail
[751] is that the *naquinēghē* of first menstruations are worn by relations around their neck as having health-giving properties. The women, as we know, use special
841 soft, long leaves, collected for them by their husbands, as absorbents. They
[824] are the leaves of Myristica longifolia or of Tretanthera lanceofolia both species serving the purpose. They are applied under the *naquinēghē* and drawn back
[834] between the legs to be secured above the buttocks. – Sexual intercourse is forbidden during the menstrual period even by the Onge : illness – a swelling
[753] of the arms or legs – would follow. A curious theory about the reason for menstruation in very young girls is that it is a result of previous sexual contacts stimulated by nose rubbing – the Onge substitute for kissing. They ignore the
842 unhygienic practice of kissing with the lips, and never even kiss their children. Only nose rubbing is practiced. The anatomical structure of the Onge nose, which almost totally lacks nasal bones and is very fleshy, may explain this transference of sensation from nearby regions, i. e. the lips.

844 Births take place in the forest and are surrounded by no hygienic precautions or disinfection as conceived by us. Clay is applied to stem puerperal bleeding, without provoking infection. The only assistant is the pregnant woman's husband, and sometimes one or two old women. Their ability equals that of a herdsman delivering his goat of a kid. No inconvenience arises, in either instance, from lack of precautions. – The tiny, tender and graceful bodies
[751] of Onge infants are smeared with ochre and light-coloured clay for hygienic purposes. This is done immediately after birth, and affords some protection against the teeming legions of mosquitos and ticks that plague Little Andaman. The infant is never washed in water, not even at the very moment of birth. The placenta is buried 30 or 40 cms deep, under the bed of naked branches upon which the mother delivered her baby.

842 An argument that deserves much attention concerns the possible link
143 between lack of hygiene and sterility among the Onge. A vast number of married couples have no offspring, thereby threatening their group with extinction. Consanguinity could be given as a cause : let us examine it. No doubt the Onge are related to each other as a consequence of long interbreeding in their island with no foreigners admitted. These conditions afford an ideal field for studying the effects of endogamy on man. Nowhere in the world, as far as I know, are a people so isolated as in Little Andaman. Inbreeding has existed at 100 % ever since remote times. In other words, the Onge would seem to be the most highly inbred human population known up to the present. Could this fact alone, aside from unhealthy habits, explain their present widespread sterility ? Special
174 studies on the subject should be undertaken, keeping in mind that the Onge have certainly inhabited Little Andaman for thousands of years, on the evidence of my excavations in their kitchen-middens.

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

123 The second trip was made on March 12th 1948. Our party included Mr. JOSEPH and Mr. POOVIAH[3], both Sub-divisional Officers of the forest department, one Burman bush police and four Andamanese with their two canoes tied behind our motor boat. We followed the same route from Long Island and, reaching Spike Island, we anchored at its northeastern corner. We came ashore in the canoes. The beach was small and rocky. Part of it was sheltered on one side by huge rocks behind which the Jarawa were known to waylay those approaching from the sea. So we landed very cautiously. Just at [501] the outskirts of the jungle we saw huge bundles of short bamboo lengths tied to [824] one another and piled up in a heap. It was a Jarawa raft. Near the bamboo pile were three crude paddles split from the spadix of the palm called *Nipa fruticans*. We were all the more careful in our approach.

[361] Soon we came upon a clearing in the jungle. There was no Jarawa, but all around we saw traces of a temporary halt of a large party. We counted nineteen [342] fireplaces. At a distance from the fireplaces we saw a small temporary hut [622] improvised out of the materials available on the spot. Two small shrubs were tied together on two sides to form the roof of the hut. The Andamanese identified it to have been made for the Jarawa chief and his wife. Household objects lay scattered about. Three bamboo cylinders, closed at one end by the natural node, were found next to three of the fireplaces. They are used for carrying water. A dark coloured modern glass bottle, probably acquired during a raid, was also found. One fireplace had a small compartment enclosed by a few wooden posts a few yards off. The Andamanese identified it as an enclosure for keeping a child at a safe distance from the fire. This was probably correct as there was also a baby sling made of bark, exactly similar to that used by the Onge for carrying a baby on its mother's back (VON EICKSTEDT, 1934, fig. 211). At one corner of a fireplace the shavings of an arrowshaft or a bow were seen and nearby was a flat round pebble, one end of which was broken like that of a scraper (fig. 3). This scraper showed marks of red ochre on it. Beneath a tree a circular mat, sewn out of three pieces of long triangular palm-like leaves was spread out, while on its branches was found a beautiful specimen of an unstrung bow. It appeared to have been recently prepared and

[415] [824] [412] [177] [415] [354] [417] [855] [854] [412] [412]

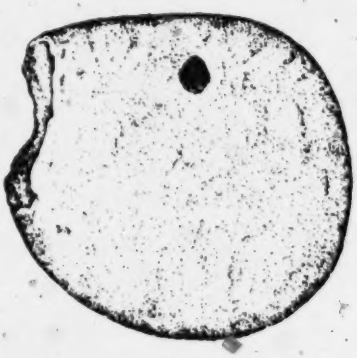

Fig. 3

[3] These two officers captured two Jarawa males, one adult and one boy, on October 19th 1948 on Spike Island. They were brought to Port Blair, wherefrom they managed to escape at night.

157 522 Western standards taciturn or sly, and the Negro peoples, who frequently manifest complete abandonment in their amusement. 157 522 83 Obscenities appear to be an unfailing source of amusement to the Onges, who indulge in them at every opportunity, even with strangers, and the obscene dances of the womenfolk are a continual source of pleasure. The exchange of obscenities is, indeed, a sign of friendship, and I found that vulgarity was invariably immensely successful in provoking hilarity; any subsequent negotiations were always peaceable and satisfactory.

302 [157] An extension of this vulgarity is an infantile vanity, not without sexual significance. The care with which their bodies are painted nearly every day is one aspect of this vanity; the more a wife loves her husband the more magnificent the designs she executes on him. [153] [151] [161] The paintings on their bodies reach a peak every two or three days, as the Onges fear illness and death if they are not newly daubed, and the face at least must be continually painted, with at least smears on the chest, arms and legs. A man returning from an exceptionally successful hunting trip is met by his wife with a specially unusual and elaborate design, which she carries out with great devotion. [123] During each of my visits to the island the Onges would rush up to show me their embellishments as soon as they were finished, and took a delight in standing in front of my camera, even though they had no idea what it was for.

304 [171] It is curious that unlike most primitive peoples, the Onges do not practise tattooing, which is one of the simplest ways, if not *the* simplest, in which such people satisfy their craving for physical [184] [302] admiration. The other Andamanese do, puncturing the skin with tiny slivers of obsidian or quartz, but the Onges paint with ochre instead. They love, too, to weave garlands of fruit, flowers and 301 824 leaves from the forest, returning to the camp laden with them, men and women alike, delighted with their own beauty. This divergence [184] of customs in peoples essentially of the same stock, but separated for long periods of time into endogamous isolates, is very remarkable.

838 An intense preoccupation with sexual attraction and activity has led to the prevalence of aberration. All the Onges have homosexual tendencies. I became aware of this during my first visit to Little Andaman on one of my longer expeditions, when I had taken only men with me, and on subsequent occasions I therefore allowed the men to bring their wives. The effect of long periods of absence on

sea itself, but to the rising and falling of the land with the recurring 133
movements. Even between 1951 and 1952 there was a noticeable alteration in the level of the north-east coast of Little Andaman, following an earthquake in July 1951; the Onges had to move the communal hut at Tambe-e-buiè further inland, because the sea, previously twenty metres away, had begun to come right up to the hut. In several places giant trees centuries old crashed to the ground, their roots left without any foothold as the level of the land fell suddenly all along the coast. If this can happen in one year, it is hardly surprising that what now appears as an archipelago is in reality a continuous mountain chain, its levels broken and rebroken over thousands of years till the islands became separated by the sea for good, their coasts so eroded that subsequent quakes have failed to reunite them.

It is highly unwise even to attempt a landing on Little Andaman 132
during the monsoons. Both the north-east monsoon in June and August and the south-west in November and January whip the seas up into a frenzy, but in late April and again in late September the sea is quite calm. Since both monsoons pass over vast tracts of sea, they become saturated with water vapour and bring torrential rains, not infrequently accompanied by hurricanes violent enough to strip all the leaves off the trees. After these storms the jungle, normally almost impenetrable, is made even more so by the tangle of fallen branches and the trunks of old trees torn up by the wind or the lightning. The lightning strikes the tallest trees, which may 132
smoulder for days on end without setting fire to the sodden forest, 372
so great is the humidity. I have often seen one of these flaming torches; the Onges, ignorant as they are of the art of making fire, take advantage of the phenomenon, as a continuous supply of burning wood is a necessity in a climate which is so damp and humid all the year round that matches become useless after twenty-four hours unless suitable precautions are taken.

Once on the island, virgin forest stretches endlessly before one 137
in undulating waves of treetops, black and terrifying. From the tops of the trees thousands of lianas hang everywhere, winding like snakes from trunk to trunk, forming an inextricable tangle, yet somehow always elegant, binding the entire forest into one dense mass. Many of the tree-trunks reach diameters unheard of in temperate climates. Some of them have hollow cavities, treasured by [824]
The Onges as hiding-places or temporary shelters.

137 the Onges as hiding-places or temporary shelters. In these cavities,
[136] which remain full of water right through the dry season, flourish a horde of amphibia, many hitherto unknown.

The great trees are sometimes so close together that it is literally impossible to pass between them, yet it is rare to find two of the same species next to each other, so great is the variety. Huge clumps of ferns are everywhere, hiding the roots of dying trees, hundreds of years old, and fallen trunks rotting on the ground. Some of the thicker and taller trees protect themselves from the monsoon gales by developing buttresses, usually four or six to a tree, which stand out from the trunk like right-angled triangles, with the apex about ten metres from the ground. If a blanket is stretched between the sloping sides of two of the buttresses one can improvise a shelter which is extremely comfortable by local standards, and both man and animals take advantage of this natural cover; I myself took shelter like this on many occasions. (They need to be treated with caution, however, as the local snakes have a predilection for siestas
824 in the darkest corners.) If a hard piece of wood is struck against one
202 of the buttresses it echoes hollowly, and the Andamanese often make use of them to transmit warning messages over considerable distances, using a form of code. A few beats can make every inhabitant within a wide radius vanish from sight, hastily making for the nearest hiding-place. It is hopeless to try and ferret them out once they have been warned, and there is always a risk of being killed by one of their arrows in the process.

123 Sometimes the Onges used to disappear suddenly for fun. The
[522] blackness of their skin is a great help in this, since even on the brightest afternoon it is intensified by the obscurity of the forest. One has a disturbing sensation of being entirely alone, yet knowing that dozens of pairs of eyes are watching as the Onges glide silently from trunk to trunk between the buttresses.

137 The whole island is a mass of knotted vegetation, and it is useless
484 to attempt to cut any form of lasting path, as the plants immediately
487 grow back. 'Walking' in the Andamans therefore means opening
[481] up a way with a hatchet, unless one adopts the rapid but exhausting Onge method of swinging over obstacles by the lianas. This is the kingdom of the epiphytes. The lianas cover their hosts as if determined to hide them, and clumps of orchids hang from nearly every trunk, although their flowers are unfortunately very small.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

137 chance landing of a tiny seed means inevitable death by strangulation and the new plant ends by covering its victim with its own leaves, rising above the wreck till it looks like an independent tree.

In another form this struggle between plant and plant goes on all over the Andamans. In many places, especially where the ground is flat, the foliage overhead kills the undergrowth by cutting off the light. The tops of the trees, thickened by the festoons of climbers growing over them, form a blanket high above the ground, keeping out the light in their own struggle to reach the sun. In the darkness below the vegetation is sparse and thin, and I took advantage of the fact many times on journeys on Little Andaman, and also on Bluff Island, Long Island and Great Andaman. On the steeper slopes, all thickly wooded, the sun penetrates more easily, however, and the undergrowth flourishes, particularly thorny plants, and the need to try and avoid being gashed always added considerably to the effort of struggling up the slopes.

There is one climber[1] which bears growths that have the appearance of halberds. I never succeeded in finding out the function or the purpose of these adornments. The plant is a liana of incredible length, which climbs from tree to tree right to the top, often over fifty metres up, to find the sun. Throughout its upward twists and turns the diameter of the stem remains the same, not more than five centimetres. From top to bottom it puts out shoots of varying lengths which hang straight down and it is on these that the halberds appear. Green at first, the growths dry almost to black. They are neither leaves nor spines and they have no apparent function but to grace the shoots that carry them. I measured some of the shoots which are very pliable; they taper a little, but are almost filiform, varying in size from half a metre to 1·2 metres long, with a diameter of three centimetres at the base. Around each of these shoots or spikes, the 'halberds' are arranged with absolute symmetry, in opposite pairs, each pair set at right angles to the previous pair. The 'wings' of the halberds are not more than three centimetres wide, and the overall length of each pair is about six centimetres.

824 312 Among the lianas are some valued by the islanders because they provide a clear liquid which has a pleasant, rather bitter, vegetable

[1] The author gives no name for this climber, which has been tentatively identified from the description as the rattan, or climbing palm.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

taste. The liquid content of these stems is so great that it makes them extremely heavy to carry. These lianas are very common all over the islands and anyone who knows them need never die of thirst. To get at the liquid one only has to break the stem and put it to one's mouth; if one puts a receptacle under the break, a litre or so of liquid can be obtained in a matter of minutes. When the first strangers came to the archipelago, the Andamanese watched them tear down parts of the forest, including these lianas, and tried in vain to protest at the vandalism. No one understood their protests, but they were right.

The forest abounds in trees whose fruits in season form an important source of food for the islanders. One is the so-called jackfruit, *Artocarpus communis*, which here grows wild, though various species are cultivated all over Asia. The fruits, which appear on the thickest branches as well as on the trunk, are smaller in the wild variety, rarely weighing more than thirty grams, but the yield is enormous and the islanders enjoy them for months, especially from March to May. The Onges call them *bulundanghe*, and roast them in hot ashes till the hard pulp and seeds are eatable; the latter, the size of a hazelnut but tougher, are the best part.

Another useful plant is the *Pandanus*, or screw-pine. On Little Andaman extensive areas are covered with nothing else, making progress very difficult owing to the twisting roots and the spines on the long, tough leaves. It seems to prefer the coastal areas, particularly the marshes, where it often grows into an impenetrable jungle. There are at least two species, one of which is gregarious. The other, which grows as isolated specimens, is longer leaved, with bigger fruits and stems like candelabra, standing up on an arch of roots, as though on stilts. With the leaves of this variety, fluted and easy to arrange like roof tiles, the Onges can quickly improvise a waterproof covering. The young leaves provide them with ornaments which they wear for their dances, while the pulp of the fruit, which looks rather like a pineapple, perfumed and delicately flavoured, is nutritious though somewhat stringy.

Along the coasts where there are no *Pandanus*, one very often sees something very different – mangroves. The islanders use the wood for their canoe floats, and for fixing pegs (see p. 122) and the supply is unlimited, as the growth and spread of the mangroves are assured by a number of factors which have made them one of the best

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

their arched vaults of roots, strong enough to bear a man's weight 137
without bending. In some places I had to travel hundreds of metres across them, clambering from arch to arch, before I could reach dry land and sweeter air (the air in the swamps is foul with the stench of dead fish, crustacea and debris of all kinds from the sea, caught in the network of roots). Among the roots swarm crabs of [136]
all kinds, including the blue crabs, while kingfishers and other brilliantly coloured birds dart gaily in after the easy prey.

Near the mangrove swamps, in the mouths of the rivers, giant 136
fronds of the Nipah palm stick up out of the water here and there. 137
The feathery fronds, standing several metres high, are used by the crabs to climb out of the water and tiny toad fish, (see p. 133) equipped with both gills for life under water and lungs for air breathing, like to cling to them for an airing when there are no stones handy. Every day these fascinating little creatures stay in the sun for hours before dropping back into the waters of the swamps and in some places they are everywhere, always ready to jump out of the water on to a convenient projection to have a look at what is going on.

The Andamans, with their luxurious growth of vegetation of all 137
kinds, are an ideal place to study plant dispersal. I have already mentioned the *Ficus* and the mangroves, but there are many other equally fascinating plants. Some used by the Onges for the production of fibres are widely distributed from India to Malaysia and the [283] [824]
Pacific. Among these are *Gnetum gnemon* and *G. macrocarpum*, generally spread by the doves which flourish undisturbed on Little Andaman. In April, when the winds come, swarms of curious elongated parachutes equipped with an air trap which causes their spinning flight are blown from *Pterocarpus dalbergoides*, which provides the well-known *padàk* wood. The weight of the seeds (the size of a pea) at the base of the parachutes and the effects of the air trap give them a horizontal, screwing flight which carries them far from the parent tree. I have seen these parachutes in the sea, hundreds of kilometres from the nearest land. Mathematically designed by Nature to trap the right amount of air, the tiny parachutes are barely ten centimetres long. Their efficiency is self-evident – *padàk* is one of the most widely spread trees in the archipelago, in the Nicobars and far beyond.

In the stagnant pools on Little Andaman I found a species of explosive fungus which closely resembles, if it is not in fact identical

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137 with, its European counterpart. The spores, attached to a plume barely visible to the naked eye but wonderfully constructed, are carried into the sky by the air currents rising from the pools in the hottest part of the day and travel considerable distances.

One could fill whole books with the botany of the islands but here I can record only a few examples. One I cannot leave out is a species of *ipomea*, or Morning Glory, which flourishes on the sandy beaches in the lee of the coral reefs. The local varieties are not climbers, but spread over the ground in a compact lattice of stems, fairly well able to withstand the onslaught of wind and water. They prevent coastal erosion, both by the protection which their covering of strong stems and leathery leaves provides and by holding fast loose pieces of coral. These *ipomeas* are found only in the Andamans, some with purplish flowers and others white. They surround the communal huts along the coast, carpeting every free inch of ground cleared by the Onges of other and more destructive vegetation. They make no attempt to cut down the *ipomea*, as the compact growth helps their canoes to slide up and down the beach.

[501] [824]

133 137 Along the coast of Little Andaman one sees rows of beautiful casuarinas (the Whistling Pine) especially a little to the north of Bugong Creek. From out at sea they stand against the skyline like rows of Italian cypress. They never reach the height of which they are capable, owing to the wind and the nature of the terrain; apart from a small stony, hilly area in the interior, of ancient continental origin, the island is really nothing more than a huge coral bank lying against these hills, which in the course of thousands of years has become covered with vegetal mould of no great depth. Trees are therefore forced to send their roots out horizontally, and the strong monsoon winds can easily uproot the tallest of them. After every storm one sees huge trunks lying on the ground, their wide net of roots sticking high into the air. Only a few of the giants in the interior manage to resist, protected by their neighbours. On Great Andaman, where there is more land of continental origin, deep rooting is possible and the forest presents a very different picture.

137 Much has already been written by others about the epiphytes, among them beautiful ferns and even more lovely orchids, which cling desperately to the trees in their struggle to reach the light. All are closely related to the flora of Burma, Malaysia, and Sumatra,

105 gathering society; it is extremely probable that a study of their daily life today is virtually equivalent to a study of their life as it was in ancient times.

231 241 177 So near are the Andamanese to their original state that they show no signs of ever having had any real agriculture. The Indian Government has tried in vain to induce the surviving Arioto to keep chickens by presenting them with birds and food for them; the gifts were accepted out of politeness, but there the matter ended. Among the remaining Negritos, however, particularly in the Philippines, there are noticeable signs of the awakening of some agricultural sense, even to the extent of some commerce, and regular attendance at markets. But on Little Andaman, for example, I saw in 1952 various ginger trees growing, brought there by some unknown means and at Entigheh there was also a pumpkin. In 1953 and subsequent years there were no pumpkins at all on the island, and although the gingers were still thriving they were clearly doing so by chance, without any attention from the Onges, who ate some of the small red fruit, and seemed to like the piquant flavour, but still showed no signs of wanting to perpetuate it. In several places both on the coast and inland I saw, too, clumps of the slender native bamboo, hardly planted intentionally; the ground sites of some huts now abandoned, like Bugheneh and Odadda, were covered in them. The inhabitants had apparently wanted to procure a supply of material for roofing mats, or the drying platforms used by a few groups, and so the plantations were completely stripped – and killed.

245 177 In order to plant coconut trees for the benefit of the islanders I had even to do the planting myself, so utterly ignorant were they of agricultural methods; we even had to do all the clearing of the undergrowth in a patch of forest, and prepare the ground. The Onges watched curiously but were quite uninterested. Why should they care for a tree for ten years to get its nuts when the island and seas around are teaming with food for the taking?

824 825 In their continual search for food the Onges have acquired botanical and zoological knowledge which seems almost innate, and they know of properties in plants and animals of which we are quite unaware. Nearly every day on Little Andaman I came across examples of this. I only had to draw a rough sketch of an animal and they knew at once where it could be found; it was only thanks

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to them that I was able to find the various amphibia which subsequently proved to be new species. They know poisonous and non-poisonous snakes by sight and how to avoid being bitten. They could tell me which trees flowered and when, because they knew this affected the whereabouts and the quality of the honey, and they knew which flowers and roots had medicinal properties. The necessity, in accordance with their superstitions, of keeping their prey alive as long as possible has also given them a somewhat gruesome knowledge of anatomy and physiology. The call of food has also made them weather experts; they know which air currents and winds bring what animals, or cause them to vanish, and what game is likely to haunt what terrain. They could tell me where to find certain fish, or crustacea, or where certain roots or fruit in season were to be found.

The striking feature of their knowledge was that it did not merely relate to what was edible or inedible. Amphibia, reptiles and birds for example, they never eat under any circumstances; but they knew where to find them all for me, and they knew the bird migrations and how these related to the movements of the marine fauna.

Providentially, the exactitude of the Onges' botanical and zoological knowledge is matched by the magnitude of their superstitious fears. Were it not for this all the edible vegetation on the islands would have disappeared long ago as a result of their incredibly thoughtless destruction. The effect, therefore, is almost that of a purely involuntary, embryonic form of 'agriculture', contrasting strangely with their persisting, persistent and complete lack of interest in any formal care, however primitive. The Onges believe that the plants which produce edible roots and tubers belong to a spirit related to Eiuga, whose anger is aroused if he sees his plants being taken; his vengeance is quick and terrible.

There are on Little Andaman a number of creepers with edible fleshy roots, sometimes as thick as a man's wrist, sticking out horizontally at least fifty to sixty centimetres from the main stem, only just below the surface. They invariably grow in light soil, where there are no rocks, and are very easy for the Onges to reach with their digging sticks. These and the yams, sometimes as big as a football, which are to be found everywhere, the Onges have to steal from the spirit who owns them. The creepers themselves,

222 784 776 824 twining up into the trees, and the shorter-stemmed yams, are never disturbed. The Onges merely dig down, at a respectful distance from the plant, certain of finding what they want. On no account must there be any signs of the theft for the spirit to see, so they quietly take off roots or tubers some way from the main stem and leave the rest, patting the earth down afterwards and covering the place with leaves. The guardian spirit, not, apparently, all-seeing, notices nothing, as the plant continues to flourish, improved by the root pruning. Everyone, guardian spirit and Onges alike, is happy.

[185] [114] This unconscious preservation may well be the result of a decree, in some remote past, by an Onge seer who realized the danger of killing off the entire plants and invented the guardian spirits as a deterrent. The Negritos still make similar use of roots and tubers; [171] Skeet and Blagden fifty years ago referred to the Semang eating poisonous wild yams, having removed the toxic substances.[1]

241 174 It is interesting that both in the past and even today a number of peoples at a very early stage of cultural development have progressed from the gathering of the wild yams of South-East Asia to the first signs of cultivation and agriculture. It is possible that they were the first plants ever to be cultivated by primitive Man, the Negritos with their digging sticks delving then as they do now; the genus is certainly a very ancient one, and some species, such as *Dioscorea alata*, may have spread from Asia to Africa and Oceania, and even to America, with the beginning of cultivation. But this is a stage of development which the peoples of the Andaman never reached.

412 [177] [222] The digging stick, the only implement the Onges have with which to get at the roots and tubers, has in recent times been affected, though to a very limited extent by the spread of iron. Only a few individuals possess a primitive iron tool, half a metre long, cylindrical in shape and usually not more than one and a half centimetres in diameter and flattened into a form of blade at one end. The vast majority still have only the age-old stick made of hard wood, hardly recognizable as a tool and crudely fashioned into a point at one end. This tool, so primitive that it can easily be mistaken for an odd

[1] It is interesting that the American Aborigines, especially in Brazil, do the same with manioc, but I saw nothing of this nature in the Andamans.

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night. Everything else stops. *Bulundangbe* are food enough, and even honey is left for the future; there will be larvae, and bees, and nests to come. Life is good!

Later come the large, heavy *Pandanus* (*Mane* to the Onges) but they are far less important. The whole fruit has hardly any smell, but immediately it is open it smells rather like a pineapple. The separate segments, actually carpals, each in its own skin, pineapple-coloured on the outside shading to a pale yellow, can be picked off one by one. Each carpal is rather like a pyramid, with the top towards the centre of the fruit, the base towards the outside, wrinkled and divided into cellules each containing an ovule. The edible part of the fruit is very small. In the Nicobars, where the huge cultivated variety can weigh anything up to two kilos, the women spend hours passing a string through and through the heavy sphere of orange pulp to comb out the short bristly fibres which damage the stomach. The Onges are not interested in such niceties! The smaller wild fruit is merely broken into pieces, ready for chewing. The result of all the chewing is hardly worth the effort; there is taste, and there is smell, but the food value is very small indeed, and even the Onges seem to realize it.

Much better are the *giogbene*, which ripen in February, and the *gbine* in mid-March. The *giogbene* are soft, red fruit, the size of a cherry but rather less rounded, hanging in bunches from the trunk and the larger branches of the tree. The green seed sprouts out of the end of the fruit, like a large bean, but is not eaten; the Onges cut it off, and eat only the pulpy fruit, raw. They love to make necklaces, twining the fruits with slender fibres into long garlands, even making some for me when I was with them, and return to the camp every night with long ropes hanging round their necks and from their arms.

Gbine are very different. From the outside they look like small medlars, covered with a leathery skin which is easy to crack off with one's teeth. The fruit itself has three segments, and is rather gelatinous, a little sour, but quite edible. The Indians with me liked them very much and ate so many that they developed severe indigestion – unlike the Onges, who ate far more with no ill effects.

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ground. Two parallel transverse poles of equal length, one front and one back, complete the frame, which is lashed together with the usual rush fibres. The roof consists of fresh *Pandanus* leaves, palms, or grass. It never actually touches the ground, and food refuse is thrown out from underneath it in the usual way, covering the ground round the shelter. 342 [824] [364]

The bed takes a little longer than the roof to put up, as a number of sticks have to be gathered to make the compact platform, raised about half a metre from the ground on four stout props driven into the ground, one at each corner, and a suitable trunk has to be found for the head-rest. Normally one bed takes an entire family – mother, father, children and dogs, all well packed on the platform with the inevitable fire beside. On rare occasions, when the shelter is intended purely for the menfolk on a hunting expedition, only one bed is prepared, but generally every hunter has his family with him. I have myself slept like this with the Onges on trips where the forest was too dense for any baggage to be carried. 513 352 [122]

As the kitchen-middens show (see p. 68), their permanent huts are, with very few exceptions, circular and are still extremely simple. The essential feature is the waterproof roof-mats, well overlapped, which form the enormous umbrella roof. From the outside the whole thing looks in danger of collapsing, but from the interior it is obviously safely held by a frame of poles, lashed with innumerable ties to stout uprights fixed firmly into the ground. No central pillar is needed, and when there is one it is only by chance; I saw very few on Little Andaman. There are no divisions into rooms or compartments – everything is open to the eyes of all the occupants of the beds. Most of these are arranged as the radii of a circle, fairly near the outer edge of the hut, the roof coming down so close to the ground that everyone sleeps with their heads towards the centre, but there may be some beds across the centre space. 342 [513] [352]

At the circumference the roof is only thirty to forty centimetres from the ground, the roofing mats being well lashed on to uprights in case of high winds, and one can wriggle in and out of the hut on one's stomach, crawling over the refuse thrown out through the convenient gap. There is always, however, a 'proper' entrance, where one edge of the roof-wall can be lifted up. At the top of the roof, on the lee side, one section can be propped open on poles, 342 [354]

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they may be, and the strays of the Andaman forests howl unceasingly. Even in the Onge encampments the dogs howl enough to wake their sleeping masters; the only way to stop the noise is for the Onges to forestall it by taking their dogs into the family bed, fleas and all. There ensues silence, warmth and more fleas! 231

Hunting weapons of the Andamanese, the Semang and the Aetà were originally made by all three peoples in a similar way, common to all the Negritos. None have any defensive weapons as such; their bows and arrows, never feathered, serve as arms as well as for hunting and fishing. Shields are unknown and spears, rare in the Andamans and among the Semang, are apparently no longer in use among the Aetà; where they exist they are usually mainly for hunting. All three peoples, however, have the arrow harpoon.[1] 171 411

Their bows are all clearly derived from the same source. In the Andamans, only the Onges and Jarawas have remained true to the original form, local variations arising at a later date, and they afford additional evidence in favour of Little Andaman being the original springboard from which the Negritos entered Great Andaman. 174 411 [184]

All the Negritos make their bows from one piece of wood stripped longitudinally from the living trunks of large trees such as *Mimusops littoralis* or *Pterocarpus dalbergoides*. After they have been left to season the strips are patiently fashioned into the required shape; for this the Onges use the shells of *Cyrena* (the freshwater species, which are tougher). The bows are straight, thicker in the middle and gradually tapering towards the ends, and are usually 1·6 metres long, although there are exceptions. The cross section is the same throughout the length of the bow, varying from three or four centimetres diameter at the centre to two and a half centimetres at the horns. The inner surface is so slightly curved as to be almost flat, while the back is markedly convex. The blunt horns end in a 'shoulder and neck' stop to take the string, the neck projecting about one and a half centimetres beyond the shoulders – enough to hold the bowstring. The shoulder is formed by strips of *Ficus* bark wound round the bow, or the yellow fibres of *Dendrobium*; one shoulder is invariably larger than the other. The string itself, made from long thin strips of *Ficus* bark twisted together, has a very narrow loop on one end and a larger one at the other; 411 [824] [237] [824] [783]

[1] See p. 86.

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becomes more complex; the upper horn is more pointed than the lower, and there is a difference between the upper and lower halves of the bow, as it is necessary to prevent the loops of the strings slipping on the bow. The bow string is made not from *Ficus* bark, as in the Onge bow, but from thin *Anadendron* fibres, twisted together and waxed with beeswax; it has the usual loop at each end, and the bow is strung with the help of the foot as in the simpler version. When strung, this type of bow becomes S-shaped as a result of the variations in elasticity arising from the spear-shape of the two halves, but when drawn it assumes the normal shape. The fact that it is easier to draw an S-bow than a single-curve one, without any loss of propulsive force, is an interesting mechanical point.

The bows are only strung when required for use, and in the normal way neither they nor the arrows are ever seen by outsiders; they disappear up into the roof of the communal hut, or into the bushes round the temporary camps. Even with friendly Onges I had to ask specifically to see them, or surprise their owners out hunting.

The external influences to which the Semang and Aetà have been subjected have been strong enough to make them to a large extent forget their original form of bow, which has however survived alongside a large number of cultural inovations. The differences, for example, between the upper and lower extremities of both bow and string have persisted, and the shoulder-and-neck stop (although this is now made by notching the bow-stave deeply) so that we may reasonably assume that a close study of the Onge bow will give us the essential characteristic of a very ancient form of the weapon. The greatest modification to the original form is the one which has been made on North Andaman, and in an attempt to improve the effect of separate curving of the two sections selected trees are deliberately trained for the purpose, the cut wood being seasoned slowly over heat and smoke, paying particular care to the parts which will take the greatest strain. As a result the 'give' in the bow is markedly increased. But even here no fundamental alteration has been made in the design of the weapon.

The Onge bow, therefore, represents the forerunner of the somewhat more highly evolved type (now dying out with their owners) on Great Andaman, and adds further support to the evidence for

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screams of a wild boar can be heard for hundreds of metres, drawing the hunters in from all sides, eager to take it alive. If it proves to be a large male, whose tusks can inflict appalling injuries, the hunters kill it at once with a spear or with a third type of arrow which has a long fixed head. This type of arrow, which does not differ greatly from those found in other parts of the world, is still used by some of the Andamanese against human enemies.

The shaft of the arrow harpoon is made preferably from *Tetranthera lancifolia*, very common all over the archipelago. The wood for the shafts has to be straight, very slender at one end, where a notch is cut half a centimetre deep to take the cord, and a little thicker at the other, which is hollowed out for about one centimetre to take the head of the weapon. Splitting of the wood at the ends is, as usual, prevented by binding the shaft with *gnetum* fibres, twisted into thread and waxed with beeswax.

The efficiency of the harpoon depends on the double-strand cord, extremely strong, made from *Hibiscus* fibres. One end is fixed on to the shaft, five centimetres from the point at which the foreshaft enters it, and the other to the foreshaft, two centimetres from the base, with a thirty-two centimetre loop of cord between the two fixings.

The harpoon blade, now made of iron, is eleven centimetres long and spear-shaped, ending in a series of barbs. The haft of the blade is bound tightly on to the short foreshaft, also eleven centimetres long, which is scraped thin at the end so that the haft can be bound on smoothly. The complete weapon mounted for use is about eighty-eight centimetres long overall in the Onges and Jarawas, and slightly shorter, about sixty-five centimetres, in the Arioto.

To prepare the harpoon for use the slack of the cord is wound firmly round the shaft, and the foreshaft with the blade attached is forced in. As the harpoon strikes, the shaft becomes detached and the victim, firmly held by the barbed arrow head, drags it along on the end of the cord until it catches in the undergrowth and holds the animal fast.

There is little difference between the arrow harpoons of Little Andaman and Great Andaman, and what difference there is affects only the dimensions, the type of cord, and the form of the barbs. The basic principle remains the same wherever it is found; all the Negritos, including the Semang and Aetà still use it, although these

171 184 411 two have added feathers, and poisoned tips, in imitation of neighbouring peoples.

184 411 114 22 [484] For the capture of large fish and animals such as turtles, dolphins and dugong, the Onges and Arioto use not the arrow harpoon but the spear harpoon. Brown saw none of these among the Onges he studied in Rutland, and consequently assumed its absence on Little Andaman. The Onges carry as little as possible on their sea voyages for the sake of speed, and would not therefore take spear harpoons (used only for marine hunting) with them on trips to Rutland, which they visit only for the purpose of hunting pigs and not to fish, or to hunt marine animals. They certainly have, and use, spear harpoons even today; I myself have been with the Onges and seen their harpoons used from the canoes. I had ample opportunity to admire both the effectiveness of the weapons and the accuracy of the throwers.

411 The greater structural and operational simplicity of the spear harpoon, in comparison with the arrow harpoon, leads one to suppose it the older of the two. Its cord is made of tough *Hibiscus* fibres, and with the aid of these and a straight shaft about six metres long and little over four centimetres in diameter, even the humblest of nails, seven centimetres long and three millimetres in diameter, can become the point of a spear harpoon. It is fixed into the shaft (usually of mangrove wood) which is hollowed out at the thinner end to take it, and with a cord up to a hundred metres long or more attached to the nail two centimetres from the head, the spear harpoon is ready for use – shaft, point and cord.

[283] [824]

411 225 When the harpoon is to be used for turtles, no barbs are needed, as the point is driven so firmly into the shell that blocks of wood have to be carried in the canoes to knock it out for re-use.

The harpoon throwers stand ready on the platform jutting out fore and aft of the canoes (see p. 122), the free end of the cord is tied to one of the booms to prevent it being jerked out of the canoe as the victim tries to escape, and the slack is coiled in the bottom of the canoe. The thrower holds the cord against the harpoon as he waits for the right moment and then throws. As the harpoon strikes, the point detaches from the shaft, which floats on the water till picked up – often to be used as a punt-pole in the shallow waters of the coral reefs as the canoe follows the victim, now held firmly on the end of the cord.

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sweet, and delicately flower-scented. No one waited for the climber 222
to reach the ground. With my men and the Onges the party numbered twenty-two in all, every one of them hungry. The log was thirty centimetres across, and besides the combs there was a good four inches of honey in the bottom, but even so I only managed to set aside two litres for the man who did all the work, before the combs had all disappeared and the remaining liquid as well. The whole lot was gone in a matter of minutes.

What puzzled me was how the bees were quietened. I knew from personal observation that both the varieties of bee on Little Andaman could and did sting badly, and I knew that the Onges I had watched had done nothing deliberately to avoid stings.

In Man, the olfactory sense can detect minute amounts of iodo- 222
form, for example, but we are completely insensitive to other sub- 824
stances strongly repellent to flies, mosquitoes and other insects. Some similar mechanism must also operate in the case of bees. The Onges cannot understand anything of this, but they must possess some age-old, almost intuitive and innate knowledge, which they apply unconsciously. At some time someone must have found that the juice of a certain plant they call *tonjoghe*, apparently inodorous, has the power of deterring bees, and this knowledge, handed down from generation to generation, is applied with delightful simplicity.

In the forests of Little Andaman there are bushes of *tonjoghe* everywhere, and the Onge who is to go after the honey simply grabs a handful of the leaves and stuffs them into his mouth. With some vigorous chewing they are quickly reduced to a greenish pulp, which is smeared all over the body, particularly the hair. Another huge mouthful chewed on the way up and spat at the bees to make quite sure that they will be deterred even to the point of failing to attack the unsmeared bystanders. I have myself tried the leaves, and like the Onges found them quite tasteless and odourless. The Onges say that the 'magic' was revealed by a seer, and it is a curious fact that of all the luxuriant vegetation on the island only this one plant is effective.

I am unfortunately not in a position to say definitely to what 137
species *tonjoghe* belongs. I took some plants to Port Blair, where 126
they were planted in the Governor's garden; unfortunately before they could flower the then Governor left, and a new gardener

They have neither incantations, amulets nor propitiating
signs to help them. Even the *marque de chasse* found on their arrow 227
heads had no major significance; in all probability they merely 789
served to indicate the best arrow and at most they served as a [782]
warning to the womenfolk not to touch them (it is interesting that I never saw any woman or child with a bow or an arrow). But this is as far as they go towards superstition, and its only effect is to enhance the division of duties between the sexes.

The Onges, unlike the Jarawas and Arioto, have never lost the 396
art of canoe making, and the building of a new canoe is an impor- [184]
tant matter. The selected tree, always one of the three species of [824]
Sterculia, is felled and then hollowed out slowly and laboriously with a rudimentary form of hatchet, the work often being done by one man alone. The weight of the felled trunk makes it necessary for the work to be done where it falls, but after much patient whittling away the resulting canoe is extremely light, with thin walls, though still not light enough to be carried to the water, never far away. A series of short logs are used as rollers in the age- [483]
old way and the builder's friends all gather to help clear a way through the undergrowth and prepare the rollers. Only a few are needed; all is soon ready and the Onges watch delightedly as the canoe glides away down to the shore. These canoe-ways often provided me with an easy path to the sea if I came upon them in the forest. Sometimes they led not to shore but to one of the many creeks, where salt water and marine fauna penetrate miles inland and make it easy for the Onges to launch their canoes from a point far from the sea.

The Onge canoe, hollowed out in one piece, is a survival of the 501
ancient canoes of the Neolithic age, found in Switzerland and else- 171
where in Europe. It survives in the Andamans, and through Oceania to the Americas, in northern Asia (notably among the Ainu) in south-west Asia, and even in south-east Africa.

The canoe has no distinction between bow and stern, and is 501
commonly navigated from either. At each end of the canoe a crude platform juts out, on which the harpoon throwers stand. Very careful attention is paid to the float, which is fragile, and is therefore kept on the lee side. The object of it is to prevent the canoe from capsizing, which it is otherwise very liable to do owing to its round keel, always left in the natural shape of the tree-trunk. I had some experiences of rough seas in one of these canoes

One danger is that as the wood dries
396 out small cracks will open up and let water through the end of the
[314] canoe; these the Onges stop with resin.

Then comes the decision which side of the trunk is to be the keel. Once this has been decided, the upper surface is chipped flat and the hollowing out of the centre section begins, leaving the flat platform at each end. The finished shell is often no more than three centimetres in thickness, increasing slightly under the end platforms to protect the ends of the canoe as they grate on the reefs.

The float and booms, which project considerably, are for obvious reasons attached after the canoe has been rolled to the water. The
[824] booms are made of heavy hard wood, but the float itself, made of *Hibiscus tiliacus* or *Sterculia villosa*, has to be not only light, so as to float, but soft, so that the fixing pegs can be driven in easily. These are set into the float in a series of triangles, held in securely by the expansion of the wet wood and the upward force of the sea. The free ends of the pegs are then lashed together in groups of three so that each triangular set becomes a pyramid. The outrigger booms are set parallel to each other; each runs right across the hull, firmly lashed into holes bored on each side of the canoe high in the gunwales, and extends at least three metres out on one side. The apex of each pyramid formed by the float pegs is lashed up to one of the booms, holding the float fast to the booms above it.

The canoes have no reinforcing ribs either inside or out, and because of their inherent fragility they are never left in the water; they are dragged up over specially cleared runways to the communal huts near the shore. There they are left lying in the sun among the Ipomeas.

[314] The direct heat dries them so rapidly that the wood invariably develops cracks, and the Onges resort patiently to their invariable remedy; resin is smeared over the cracks inside and out, and reinforced by a network of fibres laid on top, with a further layer of resin to seal them over.

[723] Once on shore the canoes are left lying till they are next wanted, but with everything ready; the invaluable *Nautilus* is ready to bale out, so too are the point, cord and shaft of the harpoon, the large flat stones on which fire is carried without damaging the craft, and the blocks of wood to knock the harpoons out of the turtle shells.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

I examined a number of canoes drawn up on the beach. They 501
varied in size from some eight to ten metres long, built to carry twenty people, to small single-manned craft three to four metres long, and there were some very small ones clearly intended to encourage the children to set out on their own. The very large canoes are, however, rare. The beam also varied considerably from some barely wide enough to admit a man's knees to others of one and a half metres or more.[1]

In the shallows, contrary to some assertions, paddles are never used; the booms would make alternate paddling extremely difficult. Reversed harpoon shafts are instead used as punt poles and oars, [824] usually made of *Myristica longifolia*, are used only in deep water. They are sometimes but not always lashed into the holes in the gunwale through which the booms pass. They are short, not more than 1·3 metres long and are always rowed forwards (obviously there would be a danger of stubbing a reef if the European style of rowing was used). Like the canoes, the oars vary somewhat in size. Very roughly made they consist of a handle ninety centimetres long and a forty-centimetre blade. The grip tapers almost to a point and increases gradually in diameter towards the blade, which is long, narrow, blunt-ended and flat-convex in section. Usually it is [237] merely roughly shaped with the Onges' crude hatchet, but occa- [412] sionally it is smoothed off with a sharp *Cyrena* shell. The helmsman and pilot stand on the two platforms, guiding the canoe with oars. As far as possible the rowers avoid the side bearing the outrigger mechanism; any deviation of course caused by the unilateral rowing is corrected by the two steersmen.

When they first launch a canoe the Onges decorate it with ochre 501
designs like those on their bodies and the hollowed logs used to 531
hold honey, although they are washed off as soon as the craft enters the water. As usual the men do all the work up to that point [462] and the women do the painting. The initial painting is the only [422] form of ornament on the canoes; there is not even a mark of owner- [126] ship, although each canoe is curiously enough recognized as the property of one man, despite the fact that everyone has helped to

[1] I am unable to agree with Brown that the Onge canoes are extremely small, that they have bow and stern, and that their floats are inefficient. My own experiences of travelling in the canoes has led me to the opinion that on these and other points Brown was wrong, possibly partly because he never actually visited Little Andaman. [114]

11: Ciprianí E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

in the division of all meat. Certain cuts are the property of the hunter, of his helpers, and of his relations and after them, in order, of the remaining members of the group; everyone knows his position in advance. Each portion is tied round with a reed fibre, which is allowed to dangle out over the top of the communal cooking-pot ready to haul the meat out when required.

In the case of pork the prized cut is one which comprises the kidneys and the surrounding fat; this fat is called *cian*,[1] and is very highly esteemed. Some authors (Brown, for example) have stated that turtles and pigs are always cut up with the head ritually pointing towards the sea as otherwise the meat would be considered inedible. This is certainly not the case on Little Andaman, and I have never seen any such directional ritual among any of the Negritos, all of whom practise division of meat according to a prescribed order of precedence. Turtles at any rate are slaughtered facing up the sloping beach simply because it is then easier to hold the beast from behind and avoid its bite. Ritual there is, but usually with a good practical basis.

More ritual attaches to the way in which the game is carried back to the camp, and the wood to be used for the cooking fire. Pigs, killed and gutted, are tied in ropes made of *Ficus laccifera* and carried somehow on the back of the victorious hunter. If it is not far to the camp he will not bother to tie up the snout and feet, but otherwise the front and back legs are tied, and one long cord joins both pairs to the snout – again a practical ritual, giving the hunter a more compact weight to carry.

Man, Portman, Brown and others all say that each type of game has to be cooked over a fire of a particular wood. My own observations showed that whereas the ritual of dissection is inviolable, the Onges always use the first wood that comes to hand, regardless of its source, taking as usual the line of least resistance. This is again in keeping with the tendency of primitive peoples to expend only the very minimum of energy to achieve their object. Their religious beliefs and superstitions are not carried to the limit, simply because

[1] It is interesting that in their very restricted world the Onges have few standards of comparison or words to express condemnation or approval, and this word *cian* is used as one of high praise, applied to inanimate objects, animals, and people alike. The precise qualities which are conveyed by the word are difficult to evaluate in the absence of fuller knowledge of the Onge language.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

252 their love of existing with as little effort as possible is paramount.
372 Since any wood is as good as the next for making a fire, the
824 spirits conveniently have nothing to say in the matter. In other
782 circumstances material considerations lead to quite the opposite
222 effect: when the Onges dig up roots or tubers they not only replace the earth, but cover the place with leaves, the ritual having the good practical objective of appeasing the spirits and ensuring further supplies.

171 The preservation of skulls for magical purposes or out of pure
224 superstition survives mainly in Asia and Oceania. In Asia it coincides with other beliefs which demand the killing of domestic animals by strangulation. I have seen this practised along the high reaches of the valley of the Brahmaputra, particularly among the Abor, and the Nagas, and in many other tribes to the south of Tibet and China, all of whom preserve skulls. Head-hunting, found throughout southern Asia, in the islands, and as far as Oceania, is also practised in the areas where animal skulls are preserved.

171 The preservation of animal skulls, particularly bear skulls, is still practised in mongoloid peoples as far as the north of Asia; apart from the Andamans and the Nicobars, human and animal bones are preserved in many parts of Indonesia and as far as New Guinea. In the corona of small islands along the west coast of Sumatra the custom coincides with many others, as well as with certain types of huts and canoes, all present in the Andamans and Nicobars. A good example are the huts raised up off the ground on stilts, common in the Nicobars, Nias, Engano, Mentawai and various parts of Indonesia. The single-boom canoes of these areas, quite apart from their general similarity of structure, all have certain identical features, even to the method of fixing the lateral float of green wood, with pointed hardwood pegs stuck in it like spills. This, again, cannot be due to chance; it must be the effect of a very ancient cultural diffusion, now surviving only in a few specific areas.

224 The skulls preserved by the Onges have one point of interest;
531 it is the duty of the wife to clean the trophies brought back by her
462 proud husband and then paint them lovingly with lines of ochre. After every successful hunting expedition the wives can be seen busily painting, while the husbands look on with satisfaction.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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"smell" will drive away turtle, and leaves should therefore not be taken in a canoe. A man who has been handling the leaves would not go turtle-hunting. 824 278 757

Another remedy is a species of *Alpinia*. The leaves and stems of this plant are chewed and the juice swallowed for certain ailments. The plant is also used when taking honey. A man takes some of the leaves in his mouth and chews them well. Before taking the honeycomb he sprays the saliva from his mouth over and around it. He may also rub the chewed leaves over his body. The natives say that in this way they are able to prevent the bees from stinging them.

Magical properties are attributed to a number of plants that have not been botanically identified. Thus the leaves of a small tree called *tare* in *Aka-Jeru* are crushed and moistened with water and rubbed over the body as a remedy for illness. A strip of bark from the same tree is tied round the chest of a man with a pain in his chest. The bark of two trees called (in *Aka-Jeru*) *tip* and *laro* is crushed and moistened and rubbed over a sick man's body. The leaves of a plant called *pare* are crushed with water and the infusion is drunk by persons suffering from diarrhœa and abdominal pains. A creeper called *korotli* is crushed and tied round a limb in cases of snake-bite. The seeds of the *Entada scandens* are heated in the fire and applied (while hot) to such wounds as that from the tusk of a boar.

There are a certain number of trees and plants about which the natives say that any person cutting them will become blind. The names of four of these in *Aka-Jeru* are *jin*, *burut*, *dey*, and *mit*.

We may turn now to animals and animal substances. Magical properties are attributed to bees'-wax, particularly to black bees'-wax. In a case of pleurisy black bees'-wax was heated until it was soft, and then smeared over the man's chest. Bees'-wax is believed to keep away the spirits of the forest. 825 278 755

If a man be bitten by a snake and the snake be killed it is skinned and the inner surface of the skin is applied to the wound.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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X 182 302

have seen that this interpretation explains the occasions on which such painting is used. To complete the argument it is necessary to consider the occasions on which the use of white clay is forbidden.

Those to whom this prohibition applies are (1) a youth or girl who is *aka-op*, i.e., who is abstaining from certain foods during the initiation period, (2) a mourner, (3) a homicide during the period of isolation, and (4) a person who is ill. All these persons are excluded from full participation in the active social life, and therefore the social value of each of them is diminished. It would obviously be wrong for a person in such a condition to express by decorating himself a social value that he did not at the time possess.

X 182 811 825 302

The occasions on which this style of painting is used or forbidden are thus all satisfactorily explained by our hypothesis. It remains to consider the nature of the painting itself, and how far it is an appropriate means of expression. To do this we must discuss very briefly some of the processes of symbolic thought of the Andamanese. Conditions of well-being (both individual and social) are associated in the minds of the Andamanese with fine weather, both directly (through physiological action) and indirectly (through the effect of fine weather on the social life). Hence *Tomo*, who, as we shall see in the next chapter, is a personification of fine weather, is a being who is connected with goodness and happiness. With fine weather, and therefore with individual and social well-being, the Andamanese associate brightness and whiteness (for which they have only one word) and any bright or light colour. The association of light and dark with euphoric and dysphoric conditions respectively has a psycho-physical basis, for it seems to be universal in human nature. Now the clay that the Andamanese call *tol-odu* is the whitest substance they know, and is for this reason fitted to be symbolical of conditions of well-being. Fine weather is associated, in the minds of the Andamanese with honey, because in the season of fine weather honey is plentiful, and is also associated for a similar reason with snakes. Sweetness itself is universally associated with pleasant things, again through a psycho-physical link. The Andamanese believe in a special con-

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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nection between honey and a species of large snake called *wara-jobo* or *or-čubi*[1], so that this snake comes to be representative of fine weather and sweetness and therefore generally of states of well-being. Now, throughout the Great Andaman the pattern in which white clay is painted on the body is called after this snake, and the zig-zags of which the pattern is composed may be supposed to be representative of the snake itself. When, therefore, a man paints himself with white clay in a pattern which he regards as representing the snake *wara-jobo*, it is evident that the painting is meant to express a condition of well-being, with which the snake itself, and whiteness, are, by a number of links, closely associated. This is not all, however. The Andamanese, we may not doubt, derive from the painted pattern an esthetic pleasure due to its rhythmical character, its shape as an arrangement of lines and spaces. Further it provides the pleasure that we obtain from a thing elegantly and skilfully made, and this explains why so much care is taken in the making of the pattern. This pleasure at what we may call the beauty of the pattern heightens the effect produced by its symbolic references. The real value of the pattern, its pleasure-giving quality, is transferred to the man on whose body it is executed. He himself is pleased with it, proud of it, and so becomes pleased with and proud of himself, for the pattern by being imprinted on his body becomes part of him. The sense of self attaches to it, as with us the sense of self attaches to our clothes.

It would be interesting to carry the analysis of the mental processes involved in all this a stage or two further, but enough has been said, I hope, to show that the nature of the painting with clay is appropriate to its use as marking or expressing value.

Patterns are sometimes painted with this same white clay on the face alone, such patterns being built up either of the zig-zags of the snake pattern, or of rhythmically arranged series of short lines. The use of such paintings is regulated by a sort of etiquette. By so having his face decorated a man expresses that he is pleased with himself, and obviously there are occasions on which it is appropriate and others on which it is inappropriate

[1] See p. 227.

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133 2,400 feet, situated in North Andaman, and visible at a distance of 60 miles.

2nd. *Narcondam,*[1] a small hilly island, containing an extinct volcano, with an elevation of 2,330 feet, lying about 70 miles east of North Andaman.

3rd. *Barren Island,* 75 miles S.S.W. of *Narcondam,* and about 42 miles east of the nearest island of the Great Andaman group, from no portion of the coast of which is it visible. It contains an active volcano, the height of which is about 1,015 feet.

[501] 2. Until recent years[2] the first only of these was known to the aborigines, probably owing to the circumstance that they, at least the natives of Great Andaman, have never been seen to venture far out to sea in their frail and clumsy canoes. The name borne by this hill is *Pū·luga là·kà bang-* (*lit.* Creator his mouth), referring apparently to its size and inaccessibility, and to a large ravine running down its side. There is also a belief that Saddle Peak was the place of *Pū·luga-*'s[3] residence prior to the deluge.

823 3. The formation of rocks, valleys, hills, &c., they attribute to
●825 the will of *Pū·luga-*, but they assign the sources of the streams containing oxide of iron, *kòi·ob-chū·lnga-*, and the olive-coloured mineral, *chū·lnga-*, to the action of a poisonous snake, called *là·raba-*, well known to them.[4]

103 4. The names they give to the natural forms of land and water are as follows :—

Cape (point)—*tô·ko-chô·ronga-* [*chô·ronga-* = nose].
Isthmus—*tô·to-kī·nab-* [*kī·nab-* = waist].
Mountain—*bô·roin-*.
Valley—*pâ·rag-*.
Strait—*teg-pâ·rag-*.
Coast (shore)—*īgô·ra-* [*gō·ra-* = strong].
Fore-shore—*kē·wad-* and *bô·roga-*.
Island—*tàrchô·na-*.
Islet—*tōt-kai·cha-*.
Harbour—*elàrū·la-*.
Bay—*kō·bungo-*.
Creek—*jīg-*.[5]

[1] The probable derivation of this name will be given in Part II.

[2] Since amicable relations have been established with the South and Middle Andamanese, several members of these tribes have visited Barren Island by accompanying us in the station steamer The name by which it is now known to them is *.môla-tàrchô·na-* (*lit.*, Smoke Island), in allusion to the smoke which is almost always to be seen rising from the volcano, and which they account for by saying that it must be due to a fire which *Pū·luga-* kindled.

[3] *Pū·luga* represents to them The Creator. *Vide* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 7.

[4] *Vide post* "Superstitions," paragraph 21.

[5] The legendary belief regarding the formation of creeks will be found under "Mythology."

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prior existence, but only as an infant. If a woman who has lost a baby is again about to become a mother, the name borne by the deceased is bestowed on the fœtus, in the expectation that it will prove to be the same child born again. Should it be found at birth that the babe is of the same sex as the one who died, the identity is considered to be sufficiently established, but if otherwise the deceased one is said to be under the *ràu-* (*Ficus laccifera*) in *.châ·itâ·n-* (Hades).[1] 775 [557]

18. They have no peculiar ideas in reference to yawning, hiccoughing, spitting, or eructating, and hissing[2] is unknown. 827

19. To sneeze is auspicious, and therefore regarded with favour. When any one sneezes the bystanders ask, "Who is thinking of you?" to which the person replies by naming some absent friend, or, should he be alone when he sneezes, he says, "Here I am at —— " (naming the place).

20. If they have a dream which they regard as bad, as, for instance, that a canoe was dashed on a reef, or that an accident occurred while pig-hunting, or even if, when awake, they hear two canoes bumping against each other while at anchor, they consider it essential to accept such as a warning, and act accordingly, viz., by taking steps to incur no risk of a misadventure: this is generally accomplished by remaining at home for two or three days. 787

21. A small striped snake, called *lâ·raba-*, is supposed to produce the streams of the red oxide of iron, *kòi·ob-chū·lnga-*, and olive-coloured clay, *chū·lnga-*, so much employed by them; the ground for the belief is the alleged fact that this snake, when disturbed, ejects from its tail a whitish fluid, which is of a deadly nature. They declare that the poison is such that it cannot be removed by washing or other means, and that it causes intense pain to the victim, who invariably dies within a few hours. 825

22. There is a small bird, not yet identified, called by them *pī·chrō·l-*, the meeting with which is looked upon as ominous of an approaching death in their midst. When a woodpecker is heard tapping on a tree he is said to be giving warning of the approach of *ū·chu-*,[3] so they proceed in fear and trembling until the danger is supposed to be past. The notes of the *pai-* and *ràtegi-* (two birds not yet identified) are regarded as a sign that there are enemies in the vicinity. When, therefore, either of these are heard, they at once retrace their steps, if they happen to be on the move, or, should they be in an encampment, they 787 825

[1] *Vide ante* "Proper Names," paragraph 1, and *post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraphs 22 and 23.

[2] This is accounted for by the absence of sibilants in their language (*vide* Appendix A).

[3] A legendary elephant, to be spoken of under "Mythology," paragraph 30.

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787 825 temporarily vacate their huts and remain on the alert with their weapons ready for immediate use. The cry of another bird, called *chē·ra-*, informs them of the approaching visit of a friend. Finally, if while travelling they hear the cawing of a crow, they say they must be near some occupied, or recently abandoned encampment. This belief is doubtless traceable to the fact that these birds are among the principal scavengers of their camping grounds.

776 23. It has been noticed that they will never whistle between sunset and sunrise, and the reason they give is that this sound, more than any other, attracts *ē·rem-chàw·gala* during those hours. When animals behave in an unaccountable manner, especially at night, it is said to be because they see this demon.

773 **Religious Beliefs and Demonology.**—1. I have several times mentioned the Supernatural Beings, *Pū·luga-* and *ē·rem-chàw·gala*, and must now enter more into detail regarding the beliefs held by the Andamanese concerning these and other spirits.

2. Though no forms of worship or religious rites are to be found among them, yet are there certain beliefs regarding powers of good and evil, the Creation, and of a world beyond the grave, which show that even these savages have traditions more or less approximating the truth, but whence derived will ever remain a mystery.

3. It is extremely improbable that their legends were the result of the teaching of missionaries or others who might be supposed to have landed on their shores in by-gone years; for not only have they no tradition of any foreigners having settled in their midst and intermarried with their ancestors, or even of having so far established amicable intercourse as to be able to acquire a knowledge of any one of their languages, but our own records, so far from differing from theirs on these points, tend clearly to show that, from the earliest times till so recently as 1858, these islanders have been more or less universally regarded as cannibals, in consequence of which they were much dreaded by all navigating the adjacent seas. The persistency with which they resisted with showers of arrows all attempts to land on their shores,[1] precludes the belief that any one, prior to our settlement,[2] would from choice have visited these islanders in the vain hope of reclaiming them from their savage state, and in order to teach them the Biblical, Mahomedan, or other versions of the Creation, Fall, Deluge, &c.; while it may surely be

[1] The probable cause of their hostility will be explained in a later section (*vide post* "Trade, &c.," paragraph 1).

[2] In 1870 an orphanage was established at Ross Island (Port Blair) for children of the aborigines, but it is very doubtful whether even the more intelligent of the inmates have obtained, much less retained, more than an elementary knowledge of the outline of the truths of Christianity.

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251 implement, and all take a share in the feast.[1] Meat thus prepared will keep good for several days.

32. I alluded just now to their method of preparing the seeds
252 of the *Semecarpus* and *Artocarpus chaplasha* for consumption
251 during the rains; it is as follows:—The outer husk, or skin, having been removed, a quantity of the fruit is placed on a wooden platter, and each person present renders assistance by partially sucking (!) the various pieces, which, after this preliminary process, are half boiled in water, and then wrapped up in large bundles of leaves, and buried in moist soil; no mark is made over the spot, but there appears to be no fear of forgetting it, though several weeks usually elapse before the monsoon breaks, and these decaying deposits are dug up, when the smell, as may be supposed, is most offensive to all but those who are to the manner born; by them, however, strange to relate, it is evidently highly appreciated. The next stage through which the seeds have to pass consists in freeing them in water from the decaying matter, and drying them in the sun, or over the fire, where they are left in nets (*châ·panga-*[2]) or leaves until required for use, when they are again baked. With this exception no food is dried in the sun, nor is anything salted or intentionally smoked, though this last cannot fail to be, to some extent, the result of their mode of storing food, as described in the previous paragraph.

222 33. Besides the various fruits already mentioned as in season
137 during the dry months, yams and honey are very abundant; as
824 their method of treating both fruits and yams has been already described, it now remains for me to notice the ingenious way
825 in which they procure honey, and to name the special trees which, flowering in succession, afford ample material from whence the bees produce a more or less abundant store.

34. At the close of the monsoon one of the large jungle trees, called by them *râr-* (*Eugenia* sp.), comes into bloom, and though no honey is made from its flowers, it is said to act beneficially on the bees as a purgative, and to prepare them for the commencement of the honey season.[3] The *lē·kera-* (*Leguminosæ* sp.), blossoming a little later, is the first honey-yielding flower; the *dū·mla-*,[4] *chī·lib-* (? *Diospyros densiflora*), *ō·ro-* (*Chickrassia tabularis*), and *châ·dak-* (*Rubiaceæ*) coming next into season, enable the bees to produce large combs, but the finest are found after the *pâ-* (*Semecarpus*), *bâ·ji-* (*Sterculia* (?) *villosa*), *yē·re-* (*Sterculia* sp.), *jī·dga-*,[4] have

[1] *Vide post* "Hunting and Fishing," paragraphs 30 and 31.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 22.
[3] Hence *re·rke*, (to) clean.
[4] The botanical names of these have not as yet been ascertained.

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blossomed: this is considered the height of the honey season, and is called *lad·u chàu-*.[1] It appears that on moonlight nights just at this time the bees consume a great portion of their honey, so that the "junglees" declare it to be useless to go for combs, either by day or night, until the moon has sensibly waned.

35. When about to make a raid on the hives, the Andamanese procure a certain plant, believed to be of the *Alpinia* species, called *jī·ni-*, and having stripped off the leaves, chew the stem and smear the essence thus extracted over their bodies; the mouth is also filled with the same juice, and thus armed *cap-à-pie* they proceed to disperse the bees, who, on attempting to attack them, are at once repelled by the obnoxious odour of the *jī·ni-*, emitted in a fine spray from the mouths, and also attaching to the persons of their despoilers, who sometimes make further use of the chewed stalks of the offensive plant in driving off the last remaining defenders of the hive.

36. Small combs[2] of both the white and black honey are commonly obtainable till about September—*i.e.*, so long as the *Dipterocarpus lævis*, the *Pterocarpus dalbergioides*, and a few other trees continue to blossom.[3]

37. While I had charge of the homes (and probably ever since), a large sum was annually realised by the aborigines towards their support from the sale of honey thus obtained to the free residents at Port Blair. So much indeed did they collect that we were able to store it in barrels and bottles, and generally found we had sufficient to meet all demands until the approach of the following season.

Tabu.—1. Besides the articles of food from which all abstain during the *à·kà-yâp-*,[4] we have seen that there are certain fruits, edible roots, &c., which, in supposed obedience to *Pū·luga-*'s commands, are not gathered at prescribed seasons of the year,[5] and that mourners[6] (*à·kà-ōg-*) also deny themselves by refusing to partake of their favourite viands until after the *t'ī-tó·latnga-*;[7] but beyond these restrictions, which are of general application,

[1] *Vide* Appendix H.

[2] The combs produced from the blossoms of the under-mentioned trees—*i.e.*: *.tà·tib-* (*Croton argyratus*), *.bi·bi-* (*Terminalia* (?) *citrina*), and *.bal·ya-* are much less plentiful, and they are smaller; this is also found to be the case with those made from the *.chà·langa-* (*Pterocarpus dalbergioides*), *.nô·nag-* (*Messua ferrea*), *.ē·mej-* (*Terminalia bialata*), *.jâ-* (*Gluta longipetiolata*), and *.pâb-* (*Lagerstræmia hypoleuca* (?) *regina*).

[3] As they are not, in their savage state, in the habit of storing honey, they are without any but the black honey during a great portion of the year.

[4] *Vide ante* "Initiatory Ceremonies," paragraphs 2 and 10.

[5] *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 12.

[6] If the mourners are *ē·rem-tà·ga-* they abstain from pork, and if they are *àryó·to-* they abjure turtle (*vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 4).

[7] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 7.

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remarks, I am persuaded that he has credited them with more intelligence on this point than they possess. 411

11. The origin of the belief appears to be traceable to the fact that they generally in former times tipped their arrow-heads with fish-bones,[1] more particularly the serrated tail-bone of the sting-ray, which, as is well known, is capable of inflicting a very serious wound in consequence of the liability of the fine brittle spikes to break off and remain in the flesh after the extraction of the arrow, thereby causing, in the majority of cases, bad ulcers, which, in the absence of skilful treatment, frequently resulted in the sufferer's death.[2] [825]

12. The maladroitness of strangers who have failed even to bend the Andamanese bows[3] has apparently been due to their having held the wrong end uppermost, for, so far from there being any difficulty in using even their strongest bows, it has been proved that after a little practice Europeans are able to compete almost on even terms with all but the few "crack" shots among the aborigines, provided at least that the object aimed at be stationary; but they less readily acquire the skill which the Andamanese display in rapid shooting, and in discharging the arrow with the full force of which it is capable.

13. The large bows (from 5½ to 7 feet long) are constructed chiefly for ornament and presentation to friends, and are seldom used except for shooting fish and pigs along the shore. The smaller kinds are preferred in jungle expeditions, and on most other occasions, as they are more convenient and also more easily replaced in case of accident, less time and trouble being required for their manufacture.

14. One of the chief drawbacks to the bows used by these tribes is that they cannot be fired in silence,[4] in consequence

moisten them with saliva, the inmates of the homes—who are those chiefly employed as jungle police—now eat *salt* with their food, which was never the case fifteen or twenty years ago. Whether, assuming the story to be true, the effect can be accounted for by the circumstance stated, or, as seems more probable, is due to the improvement in the physical condition of the convicts since the early days of the settlement, is a question for medical authorities to decide.

[1] Writing nearly a century ago, Colebrooke mentioned that "their arrows are headed with fish-bones, or the tusks of wild hogs; sometimes merely with a sharp bit of wood, hardened in the fire, but these are sufficiently destructive." [The *fibula* (*ar-pē'tí-*) of the pig was also used for the same purpose.]

[2] *Vide* footnote to Appendix B, item 53.

[3] *Vide* Mouat, p. 321. Had Dr. Mouat's remarks applied to the Little Andaman or other *järawa-* bows, which are of totally different construction (*vide* Plate VI), they would have been more readily understood, for even the aborigines of Great Andaman have experienced much difficulty in shooting with the few specimens of this weapon which have fallen into their hands; doubtless, therefore, much knack and practice, as well as strength, are needed in using them.

[4] From this defect the *järawa-* bow appears to be exempt which is easily

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283 thigh, and the cuticle is removed by means of the *Cyrena*
286 shell; the underlying white fibres are left for a week or ten days in the sun until thoroughly dry, when they separate readily, and are easily worked up into fine or coarse twine, as may be required by the manipulator.

283 3. The fibre of the *Anodendron paniculatum* (*yō·lba-*) is
824 chiefly used for making bowstrings, reticules (*chá·panga-*), necklaces, and twine for arrow fastenings; its manufacture is accordingly not restricted to either sex. When the bark has been stripped off, in lengths of 8 to 15 inches, the operator presses the inner portion upon his (or her) thigh, and then rapidly but carefully passes a *Cyrena* shell along the outer surface until the fibres alone remain; these are then, as in the previous cases, dried in the sun, or before a fire; when a sufficient supply of material has been thus obtained, it is made into fine twine or, if not required for immediate use, wrapped in leaves in order that it may be kept fresh. Although apparently free
[262] from any obnoxious properties, this plant, as well as the fibres obtained therefrom, until it is converted into twine or bowstrings, is believed by the Andamanese to render the flesh of a turtle uneatable if placed near it; consequently this meat, when inadvertently so contaminated, is thrown away; further, no one who has been collecting *yō·lba-*, or who has been engaged in preparing the fibre, can (for a period extending to three days) be allowed to cook a turtle, or even to accompany a party engaged
[845] on a turtling expedition! Sharks and other dangerous fish are also credited with having so wholesome a horror or detestation of this plant (and also of *Cyrena* shells!) that the aborigines are in the habit of attaching some *yō·lba-*, or *Cyrena* shells (or both), to their cinctures as a safeguard when about to swim in parts believed to be infested by these creatures.

[531] 4. The yellow skin of the root of a certain orchid, called *rá-*, which is commonly found on trees near the shore, is often seen intertwined with their *yō·lba-* string, in personal ornaments, and occasionally in the decoration of weapons, but where strength is a requisite it is of course not used.

5. Bowstrings of *pī·lita-* and *yō·lba-* are made in the manner described in the manufacture of *al·ga-* rope, but ordinary string is made in the following manner:—a few of the prepared filaments are twisted into a yarn on the thigh with the palm of the hand; when two lengths have been obtained, they are together rolled into string of the desired strength, and beeswax is smeared over it to make assurance doubly sure.

6. Twine, made from the *yō·lba-*, is used in netting the fine chains (*rāb-*[1]) and the reticules (*chá·panga-*[2]); for turtle-

[1] *Vide* "Death and Burial," paragraph 5, and Appendix B, item 42.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 22.

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(*r*) Used for making canoes.
(*s*) Resin used in manufacture of *kâ·ngatâ-bŭj-* (*vide* Appendix B, item 62).
(*t*) Used in making the *gŏb-*, *kai-*, and sometimes the *tŏg-* (*vide* Appendix B, items 82, 80, and 10).
(*u*) Generally used for making paddles, and the leaves for bedding.
(*v*) Used for making shaft of hog-spear.
(*w*) Used for making baskets, fastenings of adzes, turtle-spears, torches (*tŏ·ug-*), and of bundles; also for suspending buckets, for stitching cracks in canoes, and in thatching.
(*x*) Used for making canoes; the resin is employed in making torches.
(*y*) Used for making canoes, pails, and eating trays.

APPENDIX M.

LIST OF SHELLS AND SHELL FISH COMMONLY KNOWN TO THE ANDAMANESE.

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Andamanese name.	Scientific name.[1]	Remarks.
bad[illegible]la- (*a*)	Monodonta (? labeo).	
bad[illegible]ŏ·la- (*a*)	Delphinula laciniata.	
bo·[illegible]	Pecten (?) Indica	Scallop.
chá·pata- (*b*)	Pteroceras chiragra	Scorpion shell.
châu·ga lŏt chŭ·kul-	Murex tribulus.	
chej- (also *chŏ·la-*)	Pinna (? squamosa)	Bouquet-holder shell.
chi·di- (*b*)	Pinna (?)	
ch[illegible] kot[illegible]	? Conus eburneus.	
ch[illegible]rom- (*a*)	Scolymus cornigerus.	
chŏ·wai- (*a*)	Tridacna crocea.	
chŭ- (*a*)	Murex (? palma-rosæ)	Rose-bud shell.
ĕ·la-	Perna ephippium.	
gar·en-	Dentalium octogonum.	
gar·en-ŏ·la- (*a*)	Turbo (?)	Top-shell.
i·wa-ŏ·la- (*a*)	Nassa (? tœnia)	Dog-whelk.
jăr·awa [illegible]·la- (*a*)	Purpura Persica.	
jĭ·rkâ-ŭ-	Cyrena (?)	
jŏ·rol- (*b*)	Cerithidea telescopium.	
jŭ·ru-wia lâ·kâ bang-	Solen vagina	Razor-fish.
kâ·mrŭj-	Trochus (? obeliscus).	
kâ·rada-	Arca granosa.	
kŏ·nop- (*a*)	Tridacna squamosa.	
lĭ·do-	Turbo marmoratus	Is eaten by the *bal·awa-* tribe only.
lĭ·ta- (*a*)	Cassis glaucus	Helmet-shell.
mâl·to- (*a*)	Venus (?)	
mâ·red- (*a*)	Venus meroë	Pattern-shot Venus.
mâr·eno- (*a*)	Patella variabilis	Rock-limpet.

[1] To the Rev. T. L. J. Warneford, formerly chaplain at the Andamans, I am indebted for the classical names of many of the shells in this list.

(*a*) denotes those that are cooked and eaten.
(*b*) denotes those that are cooked and eaten by *married* persons only.

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Andamanese name.	Scientific name.	Remarks.
nyĕ·red-	Mitra adusta	Mitre-shell.
ŏ·do-	Nautilus (? zic-zac).	
ŏ·la- (*a*)	Cerithium (? nodulosum).	
ŏ·log-	Strombus (? pugilis).	
pai·dek- (*a*)	Arca (? barbata).	
pail- (*b*)	Mytilus smaragdinus ..	Sea-mussel.
pai·lta- (*b*)	Pharus (?)	
pâp-ŏ·la- (*a*)	Turbo porphyreticus.	
pĕ·te- (*a*)	Circe (?)	
pŏ·rma- (*a*)	Arca (?)	
·pŭ·luga làr ŏ·lang- ..	Dolium latelabris (? also galea).	
rĕ·keto-	Hemicardium unedo.	
rŏ·kta- (*b*)	Cyrena (?)	
tâ·ra-ŏ·la- (*a*)	Natica albumen.	
tai·lig-pŭ·nur-	Conus (? nobilis).	
teb- (*a*)	Bulla naucum	Bubble-shell.
tĕ·lim-	Cypræa Arabica	Cowry.
"	" Mauritiana.	
"	" Talpa.	
"	" Tigris.	
"	" Vitellus	
til-	Cassis Madagascariensis (? also tuberosa)	Queen-conch.
tòi·ña-	Ostrea (?)	Eaten many years ago but not now.
tĭ·a- (*a*)	Trochus Niloticus.	
ŭ- (*a*)	Cyrena (?)	
ŭ·chup-	Conus textile	Cone shell.
ŭ·yo-	? Turbinella pyrum, *or* Pyrula (? ficus)	Shank shell.
wal- (*b*)	Spondylus (?)	Thorny oyster.
wá·ngata- (*a*)	Arca (? granosa).	
wóp- (*b*)	Ostrea (?)	Oyster.
yá·dā làr ĕ te- (*a*) ..	Haliotis glabra (*also* " asininus)	Ear-shell.

Mr Subramanian of the Forest Department and Mr Majid's young son also 114
accompanied us. We reached Bumila Creek on the north eastern coast of the 123
Little Andaman at about 3 P.M. and having sighted an Andamanese hut we decided to anchor the launch there. The beach was about 2 miles from the place of anchorage. We took out a small boat and rowed to the beach and reached the hut at about 4 P.M. It was found to be abandoned but there were signs of human occupation and within a few yards a water-hole was [312] discovered. A broken canoe, with a single out-rigger was found close to the [501] hut (*see* Plate I, Fig. 1). Burnt coal and smouldering ashes in the centre of the hut showed that it was probably deserted by the Aborigines as soon as they had sighted us. After making a careful inspection of the place we returned to our launch and decided to anchor there for the night. Unfortunately the choppy sea and the strong current coming from the Bumila Creek tossed our small boat throughout the whole night, as a result of which all of us had an uncomfortable time.

We left southwards towards Hut Bay early in the morning and as we moved along the coast we sighted another Onge hut. This did not seem to be deserted as we saw a few people moving about. We decided to stop there and investigate. We took out a boat and moved towards the coast with such presents as we had brought from Port Blair on the advice of the Chief Commissioner. When we got near the coast, we left the boat and walked for about a furlong through coral beds finally reaching the shore. The hut was found [342] to be circular in shape and not too large, and was occupied by 2 adult females, [590] 1 adult male and a young boy. The adult male, *Ukla*, was the father of the 609
young boy and husband of the younger woman. The older woman was his 123
mother-in-law. These people appeared very friendly. We gave them presents 126
we had brought and took photographs and made drawings of their hut. In addition, full anthropometric measurements were taken by me and blood was taken from fingers for typing by Mr Sarkar. Ukla was able to speak a few Hindi words and we gathered that he had been to Port Blair and knew Mr Bonington, formerly of the Forest Department, Andaman Island. We found in front of the hut, hanging from a large tree 825
the skull and mandible of a Dugong (*see* Plate I, Figs. 3 & 4). We enquired 124
about its significance from Ukla, but unfortunately his knowledge of Hindi was not sufficient to explain it to us. We learned from him, however, that the name of the village was *Laito*. After making friendly gestures, we returned to 'Molly' and proceeded immediately towards Hut Bay. At about noon 501
time while we were having our lunch, we suddenly saw three outrigger canoes 609
(of single outrigger type) coming towards us, each carrying about 4 Onges. 122
We signalled to them and they came to our launch and tied their canoes with it and came on board. The men appeared to be friendly and not afraid of us. Our greatest difficulty, however, was language, as we could not make ourselves understood as none of the crew or any other member including Mr Subramaniam of the Forest Department knew that language. There was one man 55A
who seemed to occupy a position of authority among these men, and was [302] painted with red and yellow ochre on the forehead, arms and breast. The

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364 spot for centuries leads to the formation of kitchen-middens [1]. In the tempo-
[361] rary camps something similar happens: the only difference consists in the fact that rubbish dumps only accumulate at the back of the temporary shelters, as a consequence of their peculiar shape that I shall not describe here. These
[136] dumps are heaven-sent love nests for insects of many species, mostly flies of a metallic green colour. They follow the Onge from camp to camp and thrive on scraps from human meals. When travelling in Little Andaman I was unmistakably warned of the nearby presence of Onge camps by the appearance of those familiar living beings.

136 The filth that coats the floors of communal Onge huts offers an ideal
[356] breeding ground also for myriads of fleas. Dogs spread them all over Little Andaman. Owing to the fact that the communal huts are deserted for months at a time during the dry season, the fleas become hungry and assault human
123 beings vehemently whenever possible. When visiting empty communal huts I myself, and the persons with me, were plagued by such assaults. Fleas advanced suddenly from feet to head in thick, shimmering brown layers, covering first our legs. We were obliged to strip and douse ourselves with insect-repellents.
136 As for other parasites, including ticks and mosquitos, equally plentiful in Little
[825] Andaman, the Onge do not appear to be inconvenienced by them.

764 The communal huts are used for another purpose as well, unhygienic but of high ethnological interest: the interment of human corpses. When they die, the inmates are buried beneath their beds. In other words, communal huts are also cemeteries. Many human skeletons are found by digging under the beds. Until 1952 this fact was unknown about the Andaman Islanders although it is encountered in all Onge communal huts without exception. An analysis of
775 this custom led to further discoveries: the Onge wish to compel the spirit of a deceased person to remain close to the living as a protection, so they offer it the communal hut for an abode, the idea being that a spirit cannot wander far from the bones of its former body. A series of Onge practices point to this
[727] belief: felled enemies must be burned and reduced to ashes in order to render them harmless. Their hostile souls, according to the Onge, rise toward the sky in smoke as the bones are consumed. For the same reason, bones of relatives
[301] [765] are fashioned into necklaces. The most conspicuous of these is the *ibidanghe*, worn generally by women and young girls, which is made from a decorated
[751] human jawbone. The aim is to obtain the assistance of the departed relation in fighting illness and bad luck. Direction in hunting, fishing and even quar-
[777] relling is supposed to come from the dead kept close to the living. We can trace this belief on the connection between bones and souls to a remote origin:
[171] Southern Asia megaliths had, in my opinion, no other cause for offering shelter to spirits and promoting useful relations between the living and the dead. I reached this conclusion after studying the contemporary habits of Travancore mountain and other Indian tribes, particularly the Munda. In Nias we find traces of the same customs as among different peoples of Indonesia and Oceania, who

[1] I discussed this at the two international anthropological congresses of 1952 (Vienna) and 1956 (Philadelphia), and have more to say on the subject in my book about the Onge.

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now follow them, often ignoring their original significance and symbolism. Among the Onge, spirits are feared but not loved ; the same applies to God Himself. 775

The Onge bury their dead in trenches, no deeper than three feet. Earth is tightly packed over the graves in order to prevent exhalations. Full details on the subject of Onge burial customs appear in the book that I am writing about the Onge. I slept with the Onge in communal huts that contained fresh graves, without suffering any inconvenience from the smell of the corpses. This recalls the palaeolithic sepulchral caves, where man probably lived as the Onge live in their sepulchral huts today. 764

There are no latrines near Onge camps – whether permanent or temporary. Excrements are spread carelessly all around, lightly covered with leaves and earth. Flies lay eggs on them. The Onge's only precaution is not to defecate where drinking water might be found after rainfall. With so many opportunities for reproduction, in some places flies form such clouds as to impress the natives themselves. In the north of Little Andaman a creek was named after the flies : Bumila Creek, which means "fly creek". Smells also occasionally inspire geographical names : Tambe-é-bûie, on the north-east coast of Little Andaman, means "the smelly place" in the Onge language. Flies, fleas and ticks are tolerated by the Onge who do not fight them. Fortunately, the hymenoptera collect flies for their nests, not, however, in quantities large enough to compete with the fertility of the species. 514 [312] 736 825 [103]

2. Clothing and personal care

The only garment worn by Little Andaman women is the *naquinēghē*, a scanty grasslike apron covering the genitals. In addition, during menstrual periods, Onge women wear the *bataghē*, for hygienic purposes. This is a simple cluster of long, soft green leaves cut by the husband for his wife from special trees : Myristica longifolia and others. The only leaves used are those from the end of a stalk, a section of which is left attached to the leaves. The stalk is slipped under the *naquinēghē*, while the long leaves are passed between the thighs to be fastened at the back above the buttocks. It is curious to see Onge women in such myristical attire ! The *bataghē* is ethnographical news, new not only as regards the Andamans : it is an interesting indication of the hygienic measures employed by primitive people, and can probably be traced to prehistoric practices in analogous circumstances. The continental and insular regions nearest to the Andamans have retained no similar custom ; their only practice is the strict isolation of menstruating women. Among the Onge, on the other hand, they are allowed free circulation. Washing is unknown to the Onge : they never wash their bodies intentionally. Brushing through the thick forest and diving into the sea or the river to collect food substitute adequately for washing. The Little Andaman forest is nearly always dripping ; moving among the trees, specially in the early morning, is equivalent to bathing. The contact of wet leaves when walking cleans the Onge's skin, for they go naked ; and as they constantly dive into the sea and rivers, they do not smell. Actually they give an impression of cleanliness – as opposed to many other dark-skinned 291 841 [224] [171] 515 [147]

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ing edible matter ; furthermore, they don't care to take the trouble as food 251
is generally plentiful. We must also realize that they find salt repulsive. Even [263]
honey – so easily kept for many months – is disposed of, if possible, on the 264
very same day it is collected. Incredible quantities of this or other food may be 262
consumed for days and nights on end until everything disappears. Very few of the islanders care to vary their meat diet with an occasional diet of vegetables in order to disintoxicate the system ; yet nourishing yams and other roots [137]
grow wild and plentiful. They are so rich in carbohydrates that I preferred [123]
them to potatoes and rice. I may add that the Onge, on my request, brought me yams and roots that they were glad to barter with rice, tea and sugar – soon declared by their wise men to possess medicinal properties.

The Onge's stomach, intestines and general physiological equilibrium 147
suffer from lack of salt and such bad nutritional habits as those described. They damage the human body, together with unrestrained sexual activity.

One highly unhygienic custom of the Onge is the use, all over Little 264
Andaman, of peculiar sucking-sticks. These pass from mouth to mouth during 412
the frequent meat or honey orgies indulged in by the natives.

When boiling pork or turtle, a quantity of liquid fat floats on the surface of the broth. Though the Onge despise the broth, they don't like to waste [262]
the fat. So they devised an efficient solution : they suck the fat up by means of a wad of absorbent matter obtained by chewing the end of a fibrous stick selected among many species of trees in the forest. The end of the stick is chewed along a section of 5 cms, the remaining part – about 25 cms long and 2 cms thick – is used as a handle to prevent the fingers from burning.

In every Onge camp sucking-sticks are permanently in evidence owing [262]
to the inmates' frequent ingestion of liquid fat or honey. A second version of the sucking-stick consists in a narrow, cotton-like strip, up to 80 cms long, with only a small part of the original wood remaining. This serves as a handle for dipping the stick into a wooden barrel full of honey. In both instances the same tool passes for hours from mouth to mouth : from older people to greedy children, anxious to suck the coveted delicacy off the stick that has been dipped into the pot. The rapid spreading of epidemics, which often occur [164]
in the Andamans, is certainly encouraged by the use of these sucking-sticks. I found no reference to this practice in books on the Andaman Islands.

Everything they eat, particularly meat, the Onge consider as either 262
remedial or harmful. They are therefore chary of accepting proffered food 123
if it is unknown to them. When I brought 30 Onge to Port Blair to introduce them to Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD, President of the Indian Republic, they were troublesome about food. In Port Blair it was not as easy as in Little Andaman to procure whole pigs ; sometimes only pieces were available. The Andamanese Forest Department was quickly informed of the difficulty and kindly supplied the desired animals. In moments of shortage I tried to give the Onge cooked [775]
lamb, goat, chicken and pigeons ; they resolutely refused them as unhealthy. [825]
Birds are never eaten by the Onge, who consider them shelters for human souls

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262 and therefore dangerous to offend by cooking them. Luckily they accepted
123 fish of almost every description, and vegetables. To convince them of our
[975] good intentions concerning their food, at Port Blair an Onge observer was
[825] stationed permanently near the kitchen to watch the preparation of meals.
513 Nevertheless, within a few days all 30 Onge fell ill as a consequence of the
123 different food and climate. In their island they sleep, completely naked and uncovered, lying directly on beds made of rough branches. Their only precaution, as I mentioned before, is to keep a fire permanently burning close to the bed. This was not feasible in the rooms with wooden floors that were provided for them in Port Blair, and blankets did not avail. So the 30 Onge developed a fever and we were obliged to take them urgently back to Little Andaman, where they promptly recovered. The incident gave me a further opportunity to observe the curative methods of the Onge.

262 With regard to their care to avoid illness from food, I must point out the
114 fact that misleading information has been published on the subject even in reputed papers on the Andamans. I will discuss them in my Onge book, but I wish here to briefly stress a few points : the Onge, and the present residual coastal or forest Andamanese, refuse to eat – besides birds and fish such as shark, ray, eel or muraenae – some other animals such as paradoxurus, bats, rats, varanus and snakes. The contrary is affirmed in those papers. To quote the well-known book by A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN ("The Andaman Islanders", pp. 37, 91 and 389), all Andaman Islanders, including the Onge, consider the above-mentioned species edible. Varanus is supposed to be acceptable for its
[832] lustful habits that make of it an aphrodisiac. My direct and protracted experience both in Little and in Great Andaman compels me to state that such information is false. It is true, however, that the Andaman Islanders believe
261 they acquire some of the properties of their devoured victims. This occurs
252 only if the animals are cut up alive. Therefore turtles, pigs and dugongs are
[231] cruelly sectioned while still alive, and the Onge also believe that their health
266 and energy profit by it. Cannibalism may be founded on such beliefs, but it is
262 completely unknown to Andaman Islanders of all times and places. Young sucking-pigs are avoided, as food, by men, and even withheld from the dogs ; but the Onge are partial to other things which, in our opinion, are far worse : crickets, and the fat larvae of coleoptera that collect in tree trunks.

Without giving here a full list of the foods that are considered harmful or curative, I shall add just a few remarks on the subject. The healthiest, as well as the tastiest part of the pig is supposed to be the kidney and its surrounding fat. It is offered to old or distinguished people, as a sign of favour. As I
[888] helped the Onge, as much as possible, with gifts of tools and medicines, they
123 found it complimentary to name me after their favorite titbit, intending thereby
553 to honour me as a friend and healer. By such a name I came to be known in Little Andaman, and this made my work easier. In the Onge language the word for kidney fat is *cue-changhēghē* ; I was delighted with it, for it proclaimed the high esteem I was held in by my Onge friends.

262 Foods considered healthy by the Onge include honey, yams, several
751 succulent roots and the fat of turtle and dugong. Pteropus, a giant bat very
[825]

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common in the Andamans, said by RADCLIFFE-BROWN (p. 273) to be eaten 262 751 by the Andaman Islanders as a protection against rheumatism, is never killed. [825] For some superstitious reason the Onge are simply horrified at the thought of touching such an enormous flying bat. Among the fruits, those of a plant whose wood has such a revolting smell that it is known, in English, as "stool-tree", are believed to have exceptional protective properties for the human [137] body. The fruits themselves smell even worse than the wood, but this, to the Onge, makes them appetizing rather than disgusting. Concerning honey, and the many sugary fruits of the jungle that are available all the year round, 273 the Onge luckily ignore the simple method of distilling alcohol. No intoxicating drink reaches Little Andaman from the outer world, whereas in Great Andaman alcohol, together with imported syphilis, was one of the main causes of depopu- 164 lation. No syphilis appears as yet to have reached Little Andaman. This is also confirmed by the research carried out by Dr. HERMANN LEHMANN of London's [114] St. Bartholomew's Hospital, during February 1953 in my Onge camp in Labanare (north-east coast of Little Andaman).

II. Effects on the People's Lives

The islanders die young, specially the men. The majority of them succumb 165 before reaching the age of 20 ; most of the survivors die between 20 and 40 ; the rest – with a very few exceptions – before 50. Women, after marriage, follow a similar pattern : the death rate among women, however, is slightly different owing to a less corrosive sexual life. Some women may live to the age of sixty, but both sexes age soon, appearing older than their years when still in their twenties. The short Onge span of life recalls conditions which apparently prevailed among prehistoric and protohistoric men. Palaeolithic man died at an earlier age than modern man. The Onge today, in many respects, behaves as palaeolithic man behaved countless centuries ago. – Infant mortality is high ; the first five days of life are the most critical for the Onge, owing, in part, to the hard life led by mothers even during pregnancy, which [843] often causes functional damage to the placenta. Delivery is generally easy [844] and traumatic injury rarely occurs ; but premature births are common, and [845] so are malformations and other anomalies. Imperfect infants are quickly [847] eliminated by their parents. As a result, only a small number of children are allowed to grow up, but these appear normal. There are no blind and no deaf-and-dumb people in Little Andaman. I saw only two instances of in- [732] cipient lameness : in an unmarried boy of about twenty and in a young married woman. Only robust infants can survive.

The Onge, so careful about their food, are completely indifferent to 841 something else that is considered very harmful in continental and insular 171 regions close to the Andamans. There, menstruating women are often segregated and considered harmful to the entire community. Not so in Little Andaman, where the remedies applied in the circumstance are extremely primitive (cf. supra) and could probably be traced to palaeolithic man. I saw nothing

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documented the fact in a number of photographs. The purpose, however, is 751
purely hygienic . an unpainted body is, in their opinion, exposed to certain 302
illness. They explained this belief to me by saying that without paint the body becomes "hot". The men who travelled with me far from women were anxious every day to spread clay on face, chest and limbs, just to avoid "heat" or, in other words, fever. I thought of malaria, but they do not suffer from it. [162]
Of this I will speak later on.

Rough clay is applied daily, on infant bodies as well as on adults, for 751
health purposes. It is used to cure all kinds of sickness, together with ochre, 757
turtle fat and honey. Honey spread on wounds appears to hasten healing.
Identical curative methods are employed in Oceania. They probably existed [302]
among the Tasmanians, and are still used in Australia by the aborigines. I [854]
found nothing of the kind in Africa, where honey is plentiful. The Onge consider [752]
clay, ochre, honey and turtle fat good for external and internal treatment alike – 171
both preventive and curative. Powdered bees' wax of a dark colour is often
added. I saw mothers give their children, as a laxative, a number of pills made [825]
of similar ingredients. No bigger than common hazelnuts, the pills are red
and greasy. In Onge forests I saw some small excavations, a few feet deep, [317]
made to extract the medicinal clay from special ground pockets. In its natural
form the clay is light coloured, powdery and free of stones. When it is burnt [386]
the colour changes, assuming red, yellow, whitish or black shades according to the different qualities used, all believed to possess healing properties and to ensure hygienic colouring of the body. Mixed as described above, clay is used by the Onge in every circumstance from fever to snake or scorpion bite, constipation, breast infection in women, or post-delivery bleeding.

Belief in the medicinal properties of clay is as old as humanity itself. 757
Even among contemporary European peoples, notwithstanding severe criticism, 171
clay is still honoured as health-giving, not, I must say, on wholly foolish 823
grounds. The Onge, who smear their bodies constantly with clay, have the
softest, most velvety skin that I ever saw anywhere in the world. Wounds [752]
spread with clay mixed with honey and fat leave negligible scars. The laxative and germ-killing action of clay is admitted by physicians in many countries, including Europe. It never causes infection. Geophagism has ancient origins, and we find it practiced by many modern populations. Children of every race and all young wild animals lick clay instinctively to absorb the mineral salts required by a developing organism. The Onge habit of using clay for healing purposes can be set, therefore, in a very wide frame.

Mental and nervous disorders are rare in Little Andaman. Few natives 164
are subject to epilepsy – an important matter for the Onge : they consider 828
such people as possessed by spirits who speak through their mouths, and [158]
respectfully question them as oracles. Several Onge chiefs, such as Chief [622]
Tchôtā of Tambē-ē-buiē, are apt to go into trances that have all the appearance
of epileptic fits. They were elected chiefs on the strength of their epilepsy! [787]

Constant exercise keeps eyesight and hearing extremely sharp in the 164
Onge. I saw no single case of myopia or presbyopia among the natives, nor 151

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

the felling of the tree, chiselling the lumber and processing it further to give the shape of a canoe. Buckets of wood are also constructed by them from the softwood tree. Two types of baskets are made, the smaller ones are more well-finished than the bigger ones. The former is known as *toleoaga* and the later *tole-laya*. Such activities have introduced the use of dahs, chisels, and iron files among the Onges, from the iron pieces derived from the sea shores. The other important pieces of their craftsmanship are the beautiful weavings of fibre, tussel of yellow fibre used by the women in their front. However, the art of making the earthen pots has been completely forgotten.

The leisure in their lives has helped the development of some amount of aesthetic senses among the Onges. All the Onges men and women shave their heads with flakes of glass, obtained from the sea-borne glass bottles. The body of the Onges are also painted with white clay which save their skin from insect-bite while red paint serves medicinal purposes if some individual is having fever. In times of mourning, red orchre paint is a taboo.[1]

Early marriage is the custom. The widows are looked down upon by the society. Some incidents of widow murder and drowning are heard. In the married life, the husband is devoted to his wife and both the husband and wife work for collecting their food.

Dances and songs are in vogue and there are practically songs for every occasion and activity. Most of their songs are more plaintive than joyous.

There are three broad divisions of the Onges of the Little Andaman :

(1) *Giremeka-Gobeule* group inhabiting the northeastern coast of the island ;

(2) *Engakwale group* live in the interior of the islands ; and

(3) *Gireraragobeule group* live in the southern and western coasts of the islands.

In spite of all the limitations, the Onges have been considered as one of the happiest people of the world with plenty of food and water to eat and drink and with very few social cankers to fight with. But as is common to all other aborigines of the Andamans, a decline in their number is discernible.

The Sentinelese

The Sentinelese are the least known of all the aborigines of the Anda-

1 The Onge of the Little Andaman—A short guide book ; Anthropological Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

105 gathering society; it is extremely probable that a study of their daily life today is virtually equivalent to a study of their life as it was in ancient times.

231 241 177 So near are the Andamanese to their original state that they show no signs of ever having had any real agriculture. The Indian Government has tried in vain to induce the surviving Arioto to keep chickens by presenting them with birds and food for them; the gifts were accepted out of politeness, but there the matter ended. Among the remaining Negritos, however, particularly in the Philippines, there are noticeable signs of the awakening of some agricultural sense, even to the extent of some commerce, and regular attendance at markets. But on Little Andaman, for example, I saw in 1952 various ginger trees growing, brought there by some unknown means and at Entigheh there was also a pumpkin. In 1953 and subsequent years there were no pumpkins at all on the island, and although the gingers were still thriving they were clearly doing so by chance, without any attention from the Onges, who ate some of the small red fruit, and seemed to like the piquant flavour, but still showed no signs of wanting to perpetuate it. In several places both on the coast and inland I saw, too, clumps of the slender native bamboo, hardly planted intentionally; the ground sites of some huts now abandoned, like Bugheneh and Odadda, were covered in them. The inhabitants had apparently wanted to procure a supply of material for roofing mats, or the drying platforms used by a few groups, and so the plantations were completely stripped – and killed.

245 177 In order to plant coconut trees for the benefit of the islanders I had even to do the planting myself, so utterly ignorant were they of agricultural methods; we even had to do all the clearing of the undergrowth in a patch of forest, and prepare the ground. The Onges watched curiously but were quite uninterested. Why should they care for a tree for ten years to get its nuts when the island and seas around are teaming with food for the taking?

824 825 In their continual search for food the Onges have acquired botanical and zoological knowledge which seems almost innate, and they know of properties in plants and animals of which we are quite unaware. Nearly every day on Little Andaman I came across examples of this. I only had to draw a rough sketch of an animal and they knew at once where it could be found; it was only thanks

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

to them that I was able to find the various amphibia which subsequently proved to be new species. They know poisonous and non-poisonous snakes by sight and how to avoid being bitten. They could tell me which trees flowered and when, because they knew this affected the whereabouts and the quality of the honey, and they knew which flowers and roots had medicinal properties. The necessity, in accordance with their superstitions, of keeping their prey alive as long as possible has also given them a somewhat gruesome knowledge of anatomy and physiology. The call of food has also made them weather experts; they know which air currents and winds bring what animals, or cause them to vanish, and what game is likely to haunt what terrain. They could tell me where to find certain fish, or crustacea, or where certain roots or fruit in season were to be found.

The striking feature of their knowledge was that it did not merely relate to what was edible or inedible. Amphibia, reptiles and birds for example, they never eat under any circumstances; but they knew where to find them all for me, and they knew the bird migrations and how these related to the movements of the marine fauna.

Providentially, the exactitude of the Onges' botanical and zoological knowledge is matched by the magnitude of their superstitious fears. Were it not for this all the edible vegetation on the islands would have disappeared long ago as a result of their incredibly thoughtless destruction. The effect, therefore, is almost that of a purely involuntary, embryonic form of 'agriculture', contrasting strangely with their persisting, persistent and complete lack of interest in any formal care, however primitive. The Onges believe that the plants which produce edible roots and tubers belong to a spirit related to Eiuga, whose anger is aroused if he sees his plants being taken; his vengeance is quick and terrible.

There are on Little Andaman a number of creepers with edible fleshy roots, sometimes as thick as a man's wrist, sticking out horizontally at least fifty to sixty centimetres from the main stem, only just below the surface. They invariably grow in light soil, where there are no rocks, and are very easy for the Onges to reach with their digging sticks. These and the yams, sometimes as big as a football, which are to be found everywhere, the Onges have to steal from the spirit who owns them. The creepers themselves,

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

their hunting and fishing, or contacts with strangers, which are loudly chanted, accompanied by miming and dancing, during their nocturnal celebrations. One was sung and danced in my honour; Cendubai,[1] head of the Lulera hut, much struck by the sight of me in my hammock slung between two trees on nylon cords, delivered himself of a warning over the danger I was running using such thin cords. At the end of each 'verse' the refrain '*cué-cian-ghéghoéhée-chéle*' (he will hurt himself) repeated his fear of the cords breaking.

Hunting and fishing episodes are to the Onges less interesting than themes like my safety, because to them they lack the repetitive refrain. In their dances, on the other hand, they prefer something else, to us monotonous, but for them always new, and even exciting; more than anything they love to dance the stages of courtship to its culmination, with the help of words and extraordinarily (to Western eyes regrettably) vivid gestures.

Birds, to the Onges, harbour the spirits of the dead, and it is for this reason that they are never eaten, contrary to the assertions of Brown.[2] Similar fears extend to lizards, the jungle cats, bats, rats and snakes. I have confirmed this among both the Onges and the Arioto. The latter even refused to eat some fat pigeons which I offered them not knowing of the taboo; they accepted the gifts, but the pigeons were eventually eaten by my own men. And the Onges whom I took with me to Port Blair for a few days refused point blank to eat pigeon or chicken.

The spirits select the Onges' food for them, in the sense that they regard everything as edible or poisonous, according to whether the guardian spirit is benign or malevolent. Given the curious adaptability of the spirits and the intensely practical way in which they operate it is hardly surprising that their benevolence or malignity coincides remarkably well with those foods which tend to promote normal health!

[1] I was sorry to learn that Cendubai died suddenly in 1955 aged barely forty.

[2] Curiously enough, while the Onges' fears lead them to reject out of hand any food of animal origin which is unknown to them, the same does not apply to vegetable foods. They ate half-rotten fruit, which I offered them, even though they had never seen it before, and they clamoured for rice and tea, so much so that in order to prevent them becoming addicted to the rice, as so often happens when primitive peoples meet a new food, I insisted on receiving equal quantities of yams in exchange for the rice and very sweet tea, to slow down their demands.

151 regular exercise of the two faculties required by their existence in direct contact with the natural world; anyone, it is said, who lived such a life would preserve the same keenness of eye and ear. [164] Certainly I saw no myopia among the Onges, nor any of the eye infections common among other inhabitants of the tropics. With the naked eye they can pick out tiny craft far out to sea, or the small, narrow Onge canoes which I could hardly see with field-glasses, which makes me doubt whether constant exercise of the eyes can really be the full explanation of their power of vision. They can pick out quickly and accurately birds immobile among the dense leaves in the darkest part of the forest, invisible to me, even though I was used to looking for them and could see them when they moved. And from the ground they saw high in the trees tiny amphibia which I wanted to catch, after I had caught one by chance which had proved to be a new species. These amphibia, [126] perfect mimics, become almost invisible when they attach themselves to the bark of the trees, but the Onges pointed them out to me from a distance with absolute accuracy, and I was in fact able in 1954 to catch over two hundred in a week.[1]

825 151 114 The Onges can also pick out reptiles on the ground, or among the foliage, distinguishing with long practice the poisonous varieties which abound in the islands, and I found it very useful to send Onges ahead of me in the forest to look out for these snakes. When any of my Indians were bitten it was always because they thought they could do as well as the local scouts! The Onges themselves are, however, occasionally bitten, with serious consequences. One of them, aged twenty-five, climbed into a very high tree after honey, and unwittingly put his left hand on a snake hidden in the leaves, where it had climbed to search for birds' eggs. It bit just above the elbow, causing an alarming swelling of the arm with severe pain and fever. He was brought to me semi-conscious, with the whole limb swollen to the size of a rugby ball. The unfortunate [752] man's neck had been bound with the usual strands of *Ficus* bark, and not surprisingly he was groaning desperately, and clearly on the point of death.

752 123 The Onges have no specific remedies for snake bites, and their

[136] [1] These amphibia were examined in 1954 at the Institute of Zoology of the University of Genoa and given the name of *Kaloula baleata ghoshi*, in honour of Mr A. K. Ghosh, then Governor of the Andamans.

137 thought they were weeds and pulled them up. I never managed to
126 see the plant in flower in the wild state, as this occurs at the height of the rainy season, and as no final definition is possible in the absence of the flower it remains unidentified.

589 The Onges take full advantage of the plant's properties as a bee-
261 deterrent and in mid-March they eat honey, paint themselves, and dance, twenty-four hours a day. During these orgies I have seen a group of about sixty Onges demolish in a few days ten pigs and a dozen large, wooden vessels full of honey, with basket after basket of fish, caught every night by the women, who were apparently not in the least tired by the long daily treks into the forest after the honey. I can never look back on the Onges without a feeling of profound respect for their powers of digestion!

136
825 Yet another source of food for the islanders is the cicada. On Little
262 Andaman there are a few species a little larger than the European
[252] variety and others rather smaller. The Onges collect the pupae as
[222] they emerge from the ground, usually in the mornings, and roast them as a great treat. They are actually very clean insects, which develop slowly under the earth over a period of years sucking lymph from the roots of the trees. When they emerge from the ground the pupae become leathery, but this presents no problem to the indomitable teeth of the Onges. Inside the cicada chrysalids are a mass of delicate tissues, so white and clean that one can understand the Onges' predilection for them.

On Little Andaman the cicadas chirp intermittently, with long silences; most of the day one hears nothing of them and when they suddenly start up the Onges fall absolutely quiet, terrified of frightening them away and losing their chrysalids.[1] In a few moments the whole forest suddenly echoes with a chorus of cicadas, as they all start up as one and then, a minute later, fall silent. Their
825 intermittent chirping is not confined to the Andamans; it is a
136 feature of several species throughout southern Asia. At Golpahar when I was in the middle of the forest excavating kitchen-middens I heard cicadas start up every day at 6.30 p.m., and then stop until the following day. In the mountains of South India, on the slopes

[114] [1] The Onges do not seem to share the superstitions reported by Man and Brown among the Arioto, who appear to believe in fantastic connections between cicadas, the sun, and storms.

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of Pushpaghiri ('mountain of the flowers'), I saw workmen using the cicadas to mark the end of their shift, so regular were they in starting up. The whole valley echoed with their chirping for three minutes, and promptly at the signal everyone stopped work. 825 136

As well as cicada chrysalids, the Onges love the white larvae of the long-horned grasshoppers (Tettigonidae) which are common all over the island. They are the size of a man's finger and the larvae, like those of the cicadas, feed exclusively on vegetable matter and are very tasty. I have watched the Onges collecting them and managed to see something of the life cycle of the Longhorns. Both the larvae and the chrysalids live in cylindrical holes in trees, which the larvae bore out by eating at the wood. Before turning into a chrysalis the larva prepares the way out for the adult insect, which is less well adapted for gnawing. The chrysalids themselves seem determined to take up as little space as possible; as in all the Longhorns the future elytra are clearly visible on the creature's back, with the membranous wings, and the three pairs of legs are always curled up, with the first and second pairs very close to each other. The third pair is further away, clearly so as to balance the embryonic antennae. These are very long and spring from the sides of the head, passing down on either side of the thorax, between the first and second pairs of legs, to finish neatly coiled in front of the thorax, touching the elytra and the second pair of legs. Curled up like this into two or three coils, according to sex, the thread-like, whitish antennae look like intestinal worms inside the chrysalids. Each pair of legs lies motionless against the thorax, the feet touching in a precise line down the centre of the body. When the creature wakes from its long sleep, all the parts unfold, and the elytra and other external parts harden and colour according to the species. A new stage in the life cycle, shorter but more intense, has begun. [262] [222] 136

The Onges are not interested in the mole-crickets, but I found them fascinating. It is known that animals can find their nests or their usual haunts even if they are moved quite considerable distances away and deliberately confused, but the mechanism is not yet fully understood. It is likely that the same mechanism operates whether in the air, or on the ground, or below ground. The mole-cricket, for example digs long galleries underground and does not often come out into the open. The galleries are interconnected,

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the background rhythm of the woodpeckers tapping on the trunks. 136
I knew that they did this when seeking food, but it was the Onges, natural observers of wild life, who convinced me that the tapping could sometimes be unconnected with foraging. Wherever I camped there were always large trees nearby and with the aid of field glasses it was a simple matter to keep an eye on the woodpeckers, which varied in size from some smaller than our sparrows to others, brilliantly coloured and bigger than pigeons.

One persistent tapper on Little Andaman is a beautiful black woodpecker with a bright red tuft on its head, *Dryocopus martius*, also found in Asia and parts of Europe. I captured some that were [126] thirty-five centimetres long, bigger than any of the other local species. Another, equally common, was slightly smaller than our blackbird and a glorious chestnut colour all over. A little black and white one was even more numerous. I often saw a variety of *Dendrocopus major*, with black and white body, red tuft on the head and a striking crimson feather under the tail. Others were mainly green, always with the red tuft on the head.

All of them hammer on the tree-trunks with their beaks and it is not fully understood why they do so. Tapping in search of insects can be heard the year round and the sound is similar to that made when the nest is being hollowed out. The other form of tapping, true drumming in the musical sense of the word, is only heard in the mating season and is infinitely louder. The Onges connect this [825] sound with reproduction, although they have not grasped the connection between mating and birth. It can be heard over three hundred metres away, while the tapping for food or nest-building carries only for a short distance.

When the bird is breaking through the bark in search of food or hollowing out the nest, the beak usually strikes the trunk at an angle and at irregular intervals. The bird throws its whole strength into each blow, lifting its head right back every time to strike even harder with the next blow. The blows are usually struck first from the right, three or four in quick succession, and then three or four from the left, to dislodge a chip of bark or wood. When the woodpecker nears the larva he is after, still hidden under the bark, the blows may become perpendicular. In nest-building a hollow is cut out of wood, often seven or eight centimetres deep in the case of the larger species, and large enough in diameter to admit the bird. Then

136 the hole is enlarged downwards, still the same width, for thirty centimetres or so, to end in an oval cavity large enough to take the incubating female. In both cases all the tapping is done while the bird clings on to the trunk with its claws, which have reversible digits; it is balanced by the tail with its hard, bristle-tipped feathers.

The musical drumming during the mating season is rhythmic, and less violent. The bird selects a hollow trunk and will return to the same one for months. The beak strikes at the rate of about seven to ten blows per second and always in one place, so that no bark is chipped out. The sound diminishes in intensity from the first blow to the last, unlike the food- or nest-drumming. Like the cicada the bird uses its own body as a sound box to aid reverberation, filling itself with as much air as possible. As part of the flight mechanism, all birds have air cavities connected to their lungs and in the woodpecker the system is extremely well developed. These cavities help to increase the vibrations made by drumming on the wood. The head is held at the right angle to obtain the best reverberation (not the best angle for chipping out bark, as when the bird is looking for food), and the bird itself vibrates with the wood, absorbing the short sound-waves and increasing the resonance.

136 Although to the naturalist there is enough in the wild life of the
825 Andamans for endless studies of everything from cuckoos to par-
[261] rots, sea snakes, shells with their beautiful spiral patterns – and the wealth of material almost overwhelms one – it must be admitted that the Onges see all the beauty around them mainly in terms of food.

They will search for hours for the nests of the salangana or *Collocalia esculenta*, the swallow which builds well-known edible nests so greatly prized in many parts of the world. The bird secretes a gummy saliva, which hardens when exposed to the air, and it is of this that it builds its nest in caves near the sea, ejecting saliva on to the roof of the caves. The substance acts in Man as an aphrodisiac, which may account for the value placed upon swallows' nests in
136 China. The nests are found usually in the darkest parts of the caves, hanging from the roof, sometimes seven or eight in a bunch. It is not known why these swallows like to nest in the dark, or how they manage to find their own eggs and young when they return to the cave after foraging, or are driven away from the nest by intruders such as snakes. It seems on the face of it impossible for snakes to

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136 *fortispine*, uses a similar action on the larger bivalves. Its shell is equipped with a very effective form of tin-opener, which it keeps polished by vigorous rubbing.)

I watched a *Pterocera* attentively scrutinizing the hand holding it. After exploring it very carefully, the creature tried to free itself by beating violently with its foot, causing considerable pain. I held one by one of its protuberances, which was like a large right-angled hook. Suddenly, while my attention was held by a shoal of fish, I felt a sharp pain on the back of my hand. Taken by surprise, I watched the creature to try and discover what it had done. From a furrow at the base of one large front hook, a little to its left, I saw a tentacle emerge, able to turn in any direction, with a retractable eye at its tip. The eye, after a few exploratory movements, fixed its gaze on the place on my hand the creature intended to hit, and then the foot began to beat wildly on my hand, time and time again, causing a quite surprising degree of pain.

462 226 224 It is during the honey feasts, when the tides are exceptionally low and the seas calm, that the womenfolk come into prominence. While the men normally do all the hunting for game and large fish, using arrows and harpoons, the women, with their nets, catch the smaller fish in the rivers and marshes, and among the coral reefs at low tide. Their contribution to the everyday diet is by no means negligible, and during the season of very low tides their daily haul is tremendous.

262 825 The importance of fish to the Onges is shown by the fact that their word for it, *cioghe*, is also used to mean food in general, and clearly dates back to the time before the arrival of the pigs on the island, when fish and sea food in general was the basis of their diet. [251] So plentiful is it that even at the height of the season the most they do in the way of preserving anything for future use is to expose the fish to smoke in order to deter flies from laying eggs on it for a day or two.

462 226 Only on very rare occasions do the men help in the net-fishing, and then only when they can completely fill the canoes with fish very quickly. I saw it happen for the first time on 24 March 1953, in the great coral reef near Nachuge, just as it happens all over the island at this time of year, when the pilchard shoals are so far inshore that there are not enough canoes to hold the catch. As the

build it (when I wanted to acquire two for the new anthropological museum at Port Blair and the Indian Museum in Calcutta I had to bargain with the men recognized as the owners, although the price had to be distributed among all the members of the group).

The chief delight of the men on their fishing trips is the capture of a Giant Turtle. I have already described (p. 88) the spear harpoons which the Onges use to catch them. Once caught, the wretched animals are subjected to a form of vivisection utterly incomprehensible to the Western mind; they are literally cut up alive and the pieces thrown into the boiling cooking-pot. Nor have I ever witnessed anything so terrible as the way in which the Onges, in the absence of any suitable cooking vessel, or the materials for an earth oven, roast these turtles whole and alive over a slow fire. They seem totally unable to realize that animals can feel pain and laugh like children at the other atrocious tortures they unwittingly inflict not only on the turtles, but on every living thing that falls into their hands.

These marine turtles (as far as I was able to see there were no land turtles in the Andamans) yield a far greater amount of food than the dugong, and provide the islanders with both meat and eggs. Two species are common in the seas round the islands, *Chelonia virgata*, or the green turtle, and *Caretta imbricata*, which supplies the shells normally sold commercially. The Onges prefer the former, which are both meaty and more plentiful.

Turtle-hunting and egg-collecting is done by the menfolk. The method is very like that used for dugong and large fish, using the harpoon. Owing to their fear of the spirits abroad in the night, the Onges never go near the beaches between dusk and dawn, when it would be easy to take the turtles on land and immobilize them by turning them on their backs. They do know this trick, however, and use it when captured turtles (often weighing up to a hundredweight) are too heavy to carry in the canoe; the animals are turned on their backs and dumped on the beach ready to pick up later.

The Onges harpoon the turtles from canoes, preferably at night when the turtles are nearing the shore, which they never approach in the day time. When there is a moon the creatures are easily seen, and on dark nights the phosphorescence of the sea helps.

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emerge from the eggs and make their way towards the sea, led by 136
some unerring instinct, fresh predators are ready to pounce on them. Hungry gulls and fish, and the giant crabs, lie in wait and sometimes not one escapes.

But the annual survival of only ten young from each female would be enough to allay any fears for the extinction of the species and fortunately reproduction takes place several times a year, often four or five times, according to the Onges, mainly from March to September.

In the case of eggs which I protected and watched, incubation 136
lasted sixty to seventy days depending on the time of year. During 262
the whole of the incubation period the Onges regard them as edible, like the Bushmen of the Kalahari, whom I saw take and eat birds' eggs regardless of their age or state of development. The Onges even like the turtle embryos when cooked, and the other contents of the shell. Curiously enough, however long they are cooked the whites of turtle eggs never set, although the yolk does and is excellent. The Onges, as a sign of great respect, often gave [123]
me baskets full of the hard-boiled yolks.

Turtles, despite their peaceable appearance, are extremely agres- 136
sive, and will take on nearly anything they meet. Their battles are one of the most amusing things in the animal world. The males of the marine turtles rarely approach the shore, except to fight each other. This they do ferociously, biting at everything within reach, regardless of being bitten themselves, as the land turtles do in the mating season. The aim is to overturn one's enemy so that he is quite helpless, after which the winner ambles off, leaving the vanquished to his own devices (the trick is to get one's head under one's opponent's body and lever upwards). A turtle, once on its back, takes hours to right itself, which it can only do by accident, when its frantic wriggling and beating in the air with its legs hollows the sand away underneath its back so that it flops over the right way up.

One of the Onges' greatest enemies in their search for food is the crocodile, *teboirona*, as they call it. They have no means of fighting [825]
the creature, so they limit themselves to fearing it and building stories round it. On Little Andaman crocodiles are found only near Nachuge on the west coast, in the deep waters of Jackson Creek, *To-ggw*. There used to be numbers of them in a few places on Great

136 Andaman, in Yeratil Jig (near Port Anson, about fifteen miles from Long Island) in Diglipur (or Dilyapur) Creek, near Port Cornwallis, and in Wilima Jig,[1] but they are now extinct. In March 1952 the Onges had described the presence of crocodiles so clearly to me as to leave no doubt what they meant, and I soon received confirmation when I found their tracks on the sand about one kilometre from the mouth of Jackson Creek, on the right bank, and then saw some lying on the shore across the creek. Through my field glasses I saw small birds pecking between the teeth of the great wide-open jaws. As we approached they slid lazily into the sea, some reappearing a little later, their cavernous mouths rising vertically out of the water. Every day after that I saw them swimming quietly near the banks, and one afternoon my men and I between us saw over a dozen, near Nachuge, dozing in the mud or in the water.

[825] [198] The Onges assured me that crocodiles will come out of the water to a certain whistle. I got them to try it; the Onges whistled, and whistled again, but no crocodiles came!

237 321 276 172 Very different from the great turtles and the crocodiles, but equally important in the daily life of the Onges, are the crabs from which the islanders make their ancient and very characteristic pipes. They eat the crabs and use the claws to make the pipes, cutting them across the joint and boring a hole in the end, as they have done since time immemorial, to smoke aromatic leaves from the forest. Fragments of similar pipes, charred with use, appear in even the lowest strata of the kitchen-middens, dating back thousands of years and proving the antiquity of the smoking habit. Contrary to popular belief, smoking did not begin everywhere with the introduction of tobacco – in Asia at least men smoked thousands of years ago.

237 276 171 The claw pipes of the Onges have a groove cut round the end which goes into the mouth, so that the teeth can grip it better. I have seen identical pipes, with the same groove, in the Melville Islands, where there are many other signs of ethnographic connections with the Andamans. The canoes, for example, are identical with those of the Andamans; the peoples themselves, however, are today very different physically. [501] [142]

[165] [1] According to Portman a man was dragged into the water here on 11 May 1894 by a crocodile and killed; several similar incidents have occurred since.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Brown states that dugong skulls are found among the hunting trophies of the Andamanese. I can myself vouch for the fact that this is not the case among the Onges or the twenty-three surviving Arioto; both keep dugong jaws and long bones, but the skulls of only pigs and turtles. The Andamanese in general do not regard animal bones as having the same protective powers as human; the existence in the Andamans of any magical practices connected with either animal or human bones has not, in my view, been adequately proved. In the absence of such proof I feel unable to agree with the authors who assert that these practices do exist, and I am inclined to feel that the cultural level of the peoples of the Andamans is so low as to rule out the existence of magic or witchcraft in any form.

From the mass of data of all kinds I was able to collect on my trips to the Andamans, a general pattern emerges from which it is possible to draw substantial conclusions as to the cultural and somatic origins of the Onges and hence of the other peoples of the archipelago. To summarize these conclusions must inevitably involve some repetition of what has been said in previous chapters.

Taking first the people of the Nicobar Islands, the nearest geographically to the Andamanese, it is generally accepted that with the exception of the Shom-Pen of Great Nicobar the Nicobarese are culturally closely similar. Although there are no pure Negrito types in the Nicobars there are evident crosses, similar to those which appear in one area of Sumatra to the east, where a small Negrito component exists among a predominantly mongoloid type. This may well be the result of the Negritos having spread at one time over a very wide area and there is in fact cultural evidence in support of the suggestion.

The mongoloid somatic type of the Nicobars appears in the general shape and proportions of the body, skin colour, facial contours, and the hair, which is long and straight, unlike that of the Negritos. Both types, however, have scant body hair, and differ in this respect from the pygmies of Africa.

Although the size and skin colour of most Nicobarese is very different from the Onges, a few are strikingly like them in facial contours, size, and woolly hair. There are also legends of a people who lived in the Nicobars long ago, small, very black, with tight

171 way in which the spirits are invoked against enemies, involving
776 the use of some personal possession – an example is the invariable destruction of the used *naquinegbe*, or of hair after shaving. The same fear of the night induced by the idea of spirits walking abroad led to the making of torches from rolled palm leaves containing a mixture of embers and resin.

[262] From the Andamans to Oceania the chief spirit is generally imagined in the form of a giant lizard, living at the top of the sky
[825] and ruling the storms; none of the peoples who believe in him ever eat any lizard or lizard-like creature. All of them have the same
171 sexually suggestive dances, both male and female, sometimes in-
535 spired by the monitor or dragon-lizard, symbol of desire, and often
776 associated with miming and dramatic representations of real and
825 imaginary scenes. These dances, with their *joie de vivre*, are accompanied by the smoking of aromatic leaves in pipes which are fre-
171 quently made from natural objects such as the claws of crustacea.
276 The Onges in fact have since very ancient times used only this type
[535] as shown in the lower levels of the kitchen-middens dating back
[172] at least five thousand years. Everywhere, pipes of this kind are used indiscriminately by both sexes, passing from mouth to mouth. Pipes identical in every way with those of the Onges are found to the east of the archipelago, well into Oceania, and I have myself also seen them on Melville Island, north of Australia, always with the same notches for the teeth to grip. This undeniable evidence of the spread of identical pipes over so wide an area long before the possibility of European contacts cannot in my opinion be attributed other than to migration over vast distances in very ancient times.

171 Similar coincidences apply in the case of the arrow harpoon and
114 indeed harpoons in general. I cannot agree with Brown in his
411 assertion that the harpoon dates from the arrival of European influences, which brought the use of iron; the harpoon points made by long and patient working of *Tridacna* shells which I found in the kitchen-middens of the Andamans are in my view enough to refute the theory.

171 The canoes from which these harpoons are used, with the ab-
501 sence of distinction between bow and stern and the single float on the lee side, are extremely typical. They are identical in peoples which have been widely separated for a very long time and appear not only on the Andamans, and as far as Oceania, but also in North

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

the finger-tips and almost pink, with pale chocolate moons and 142
yellowish-brown palms and soles. In the adults the nails and soles of the feet remain pale, the palms being a little darker. The head, and the visible buccal and nasal epithelia, were almost black, and the gums were pink, as was the inside of the lips, with dark petecchiae, in adults very noticeable, at the base of the teeth and over the tongue and palate. The cheeks, however, were a reddish-brown, although the whole skin was already showing signs of darkening after twelve hours. Nasal cartilage was minimal, but that of the ears well-developed. The darkest area of skin were the forehead, eye sockets, lids, nipples and genitalia.

In general, therefore, the infant's skin was very slightly lighter [844]
than that of the adults, though before I could be sure of this I had [302]
to wash off the thick layer of ochre which is smeared over the un- [854]
washed infants immediately after birth. As the infants are extremely
carefully protected from the sun by 'umbrella' hats made of lobed [751]
palm leaves, the darkening, which is complete by the end of the first year, is clearly biological and is not effected by tanning. As, however, the Onges interchange or 'adopt' children freely, [597]
it was impossible to carry out any proper colorimetric observations.

I saw no albinos in the Onges, usually fairly common in dark- 143
skinned peoples. I saw several in Africa, with apparently normal 826
parents. Some African peoples destroy albinos at birth as they do [847]
those with deformities, and the Andamanese may do the same, as I saw little congenital deformity (see, however, p. 46). Fear of being [626]
held responsible for disasters which befall the group carries great weight, and it is possible that the two cases of abnormality which I did see did not manifest symptoms at birth. Twins, however, are [845]
clearly (and gladly) accepted, so eager are the Onges to have [842]
children.

It was already clear in the infant that it would have the somatic 142
characteristics common to all Negritos as regards the proportions of the body, the form and dimensions of the head, absence of prognathism, comparatively fine lips, nose and ears, black skin, and woolly hair, and would be well below 1·5 metres in height when fully grown. Above all, the Andamanese have a large forehead, very wide-angled jaw and large mouths, with the upper lips not invariably full, as in Negroes. Many Onges, in fact, have fine features,

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

•827 A hiccough is supposed to be the result of inadvertently swallowing a tree lizard, whose call rather resembles the sound of a person hiccoughing.

The condition popularly called "pins and needles" or described as an arm or leg "going to sleep" is believed by the Andamanese to be due to the bite of a rat. If a man wakes up in the night with one of his limbs benumbed in this way, he believes that a rat has bitten him while he slept.

The Andamanese say that the bite of a civet-cat (*Paradoxurus*) will produce cramp. I was once told that if a man eats the flesh of the civet-cat and then goes into the water he will become "lame." This means, I think, that he will have cramp, and so will be unable to swim.

278 The flesh and particularly the fat of the flying fox (*Pteropus*) is believed to be a remedy for rheumatism. An old man who was suffering from this ailment once asked me to shoot for him some of these bats, which he cooked and ate.

784 If turtle-fat be permitted to burn in the fire there will be a storm.

751 Mention has already been made of the magical value attri-
755 buted to human bones. They are esteemed as a means of driving away spirits, and therefore of curing or preventing sickness. A human jaw-bone was hanging in my hut in such a position that it could swing in the wind. The natives attributed to this the illness from which I and several of them were suffering at the time, and asked me to put the bone away in a basket, where it could not move.

Bones of animals are made into ornaments in the same way as human bones, and magical properties of a similar kind seem to be attributed to them.

755 Of other objects possessing magical properties the most
372 important is fire. Fire is believed to have the power of keeping away spirits of the sea and of the forest. A fire is always kept alight beside a sick man or woman. For dysentery stones are heated in a fire and the patient is required to defecate on to these.

000 In conclusion, mention must be made of one favourite remedy

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

prior existence, but only as an infant. If a woman who has lost a baby is again about to become a mother, the name borne by the deceased is bestowed on the fœtus, in the expectation that it will prove to be the same child born again. Should it be found at birth that the babe is of the same sex as the one who died, the identity is considered to be sufficiently established, but if otherwise the deceased one is said to be under the *ràu-* (*Ficus laccifera*) in *.châ·itâ·n-* (Hades).[1] 775 [557]

18. They have no peculiar ideas in reference to yawning, hiccoughing, spitting, or eructating, and hissing[2] is unknown. 827

19. To sneeze is auspicious, and therefore regarded with favour. When any one sneezes the bystanders ask, "Who is thinking of you?" to which the person replies by naming some absent friend, or, should he be alone when he sneezes, he says, "Here I am at —— " (naming the place).

20. If they have a dream which they regard as bad, as, for instance, that a canoe was dashed on a reef, or that an accident occurred while pig-hunting, or even if, when awake, they hear two canoes bumping against each other while at anchor, they consider it essential to accept such as a warning, and act accordingly, viz., by taking steps to incur no risk of a misadventure: this is generally accomplished by remaining at home for two or three days. 787

21. A small striped snake, called *lâ·raba-*, is supposed to produce the streams of the red oxide of iron, *kòi·ob-chū·lnga-*, and olive-coloured clay, *chū·lnga-*, so much employed by them; the ground for the belief is the alleged fact that this snake, when disturbed, ejects from its tail a whitish fluid, which is of a deadly nature. They declare that the poison is such that it cannot be removed by washing or other means, and that it causes intense pain to the victim, who invariably dies within a few hours. 825

22. There is a small bird, not yet identified, called by them *pī·chrō·l-*, the meeting with which is looked upon as ominous of an approaching death in their midst. When a woodpecker is heard tapping on a tree he is said to be giving warning of the approach of *ū·chu-*,[3] so they proceed in fear and trembling until the danger is supposed to be past. The notes of the *pai-* and *ràtegi-* (two birds not yet identified) are regarded as a sign that there are enemies in the vicinity. When, therefore, either of these are heard, they at once retrace their steps, if they happen to be on the move, or, should they be in an encampment, they 787 825

[1] *Vide ante* "Proper Names," paragraph 1, and *post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraphs 22 and 23.

[2] This is accounted for by the absence of sibilants in their language (*vide* Appendix A).

[3] A legendary elephant, to be spoken of under "Mythology," paragraph 30.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

3. Food

In the absence of men, women also are good at fishing inside the coral reefs. They do this with two small nets used together. Their catch generally consists of brilliantly coloured fish with yellow, red, green, blue, black and white stripes forming varied and attractive designs. The Onge eat all fish without discrimination. My Indian collaborators, on the other hand, considered the coloured fish dangerous to their health and refused to cook them ; the Sacred Vedas, in fact, advise the avoidance of brigthly hued fish and of fish without scales. I wanted to try both kinds, and found them perfectly palatable, tasty and harmless. 226 [462] 262 123

No tool, used for any purpose by the Onge, ever gets a cleaning. Cleanliness, I repeat, is unknown in Little Andaman. See how food is prepared and disposed of ! Care is taken only not to throw big pieces of meat intended for cooking directly on the bare ground ; but once it is cooked, food is treated with the utmost disregard for dirt, dust, cobwebs and other such things. It is usually left lying around on large leaves spread out for the purpose. The remains of the Onge's orgiastic meals are kept out of reach of the dogs on the ceiling of the huts, to be covered with flies when no fire is lit directly below. Sand and grit may get wedged annoyingly in the teeth, but not such impalpable things as dust or cobwebs. The use of unclean food is not repugnant to the Onge. The same can be said for water polluted by dogs drinking and bathing in it, or by the presence of putrefying carcases. In the west of Little Andaman I saw some Onge avidly drinking from pools of a blackish water with a revolting sulphurous smell. After thoroughly filtering and boiling it, I too used such water, for it was the only water available in the neighborhood. This caused no ill effects. My Indian men considered it perfectly healthy and invigorating, and drank it safely in its natural condition. 264 [252] [251] 271 123

The Onge eat with their unwashed fingers, without the help of tools. On rare occasions they use platters made of the flattened-out stems – or bracts – of *areca* palms. They sometimes carry these platters when travelling, but of course never wash them although they become coated in rancid, greasy filth. They soon assume a dark colour and a truly revolting appearance – aside from the awful smell. A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN's statement – that the Andamanese paint their bodies to neutralize the unpleasant smell of food that clings to them after their orgiastic feedings – shows only indirect knowledge of the life and manners of those people. Even the horrible flatulence that follows their pork orgies is not considered an inconvenience ; yet it is much more revolting than all the other body odours. 264 [415] 114 302 147 827

Although the Onge observe few hygienic precautions they do follow a number of medical practices, not all devoid of beneficial effects. Here are a few more remarks on their eating and drinking habits. For about six months of the year, between November and April, water is scarce in Little Andaman. Every kind of fresh water is then considered good by the Onge, regardless of whether it is a murky infusion of rotting leaves or afloat with the putrefied 751 312 271

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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776 out with a bow and arrow in his hand, and as he danced in front
535 of the spectators he pretended to shoot at them.

In another dance he represented *Ele*, the lightning. He sat on a stone that had been placed in the middle of the open space, swinging his arms to the time of the chorus, and every now and then shaking his leg.

This observation is an important one in several ways. Although I asked the man to repeat it, in order that I might make fuller notes and obtain explanations of many obscure points, and although he grudgingly said that he would, yet he did not do so. He was, moreover, very reserved over the matter, and not very willing to talk about his own performance.

I believe that the performance was an entirely exceptional affair. I never at any other time either saw or heard of one man or even several men, giving a dance for the amusement of others. I think that the whole thing was entirely the invention of the performer. He had given the same performance, or one very similar, at least once before the occasion on which I saw it.

We may now turn to the Andamanese beliefs relating to the soul and the life after death.

761 The vital principle is at different times identified by the
775 Andamanese with the pulse, the breath, with the blood and with
766 the fat, particularly the kidney-fat. Thus the body of a slain enemy is burnt so that the blood and fat may be consumed in smoke and ascend to the sky where they will no longer be a danger to those who have slain him.

822 The nearest approach to our notion of a soul that the natives
828 possess is their belief concerning the double or reflection seen in
774 a mirror. In the Northern tribes the word *ot-jumulo* means "reflection," and also "shadow," and is also nowadays applied to a photograph. The word *ot-jumu*, in the same languages, means "a dream" or "to dream." We may perhaps translate the word *ot-jumulo* as meaning "soul." In the *Aka-Bea* language *ot-yolo* is "reflection," while there is a different word, *ot-diya* or *ot-lere*, for "shadow," and neither of the words has any connection with the word "dream" which is *taraba*. Mr Man translates the word *ot-yolo* as "soul."

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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The fact that the wo . for dream and reflection, double or shadow are from the same root in the Northern languages is of interest. Dreams are sometimes explained by saying that the sleeper's double (*ot-jumulo*) has left his body and is wandering elsewhere. Dreams are regarded as being veridical, or at any rate, as having importance. One man told me how, in a dream the night before, his *ot-jumulo* had travelled from where we were to his own country and had there seen the death of the baby of a woman of his own tribe. He was fully convinced that the baby must really have died. 828 774

An Andamanese will never, or only with the very greatest reluctance, awaken another from sleep. One explanation of this that was given to me was that the *ot-jumulo* or double of the sleeper may be wandering far from his body, and to waken him suddenly might cause him to be ill. [513]

The principle on which dreams are interpreted is a very simple one. All unpleasant dreams are bad, all pleasant ones are good. The natives believe that sickness is often caused by dreams. A man in the early stages of an attack of fever, for instance, may have a bad dream. When the fever develops he explains it as due to the dream. If a man has a painful dream he will often not venture out of the camp the following day, but will stay at home until the effect has worn off. The natives believe that they can communicate in dreams with the spirits, but the power to do this regularly is the privilege of certain special individuals, known as *oko-jumu* (dreamers). However, an ordinary individual may occasionally have dreams of this kind. 787 828

I found that any attempt to study the dreams of such a people as the Andamanese is made very difficult by the fact that it is never possible to tell how far the original dream has been arranged and altered by the waking imagination. So far as my observations went the majority of dreams are either visual or motor, or both. Further reference to dreams will be made later in connection with magic.

When a man or woman dies the double (or as some of the natives explain it, the breath) leaves the body and becomes a spirit (*lau* or *čauga*). By death a man ceases to exist as a man, and begins a new existence as a spirit. 775

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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associated with *Puluga* or *Biliku*. All the versions that I heard, however, referred to the past and not to the future[1]. 775

The Andamanese speak of unconsciousness as "death," and regard a person who has been unconscious for some time as having been dead and returned to life again. I was once told that an old man in the village was "dead" and found him in a state of coma from which he recovered and lived for several days. There are stories of persons having returned to life even after they have been buried. One such tale was told me in the North Andaman. A man died and was buried. As his friends and relatives, after packing up their belongings, were leaving the camp in their canoes, the man's voice was heard calling. His wife and mother turned back and met him and took him in their canoe. He lived for some time after this and then he died and was buried again. Again the same thing happened, the dead man re-appearing just as they were setting off in their canoes from the camp that they were deserting on account of his death. Finally the man died a third time. When he was buried this time the men dug a very deep hole some distance from the camp, and then hurried back to the camp and hastily gathered up their belongings and left it. Nothing more was seen of the dead man, but when, after the lapse of some months, they went to dig up the bones, they found the mat and leaves and rope in which the corpse had been bound, but there were no bones. 761 828

Amongst the coast-dwellers of the North Andaman I found a belief that the soul of a dying man goes out with the ebbing tide. 761 775

There are, amongst the Andamanese, certain individuals who are distinguished from their fellows by the supposed possession of supernatural powers. These specially favoured persons 756 791

[1] It may be noted that in the Andamanese languages there is no future tense of the verb, and it is often very difficult to know whether a speaker is referring to the present or to the future. Further, although there is a past tense, a native often uses the present tense in a narrative relating to the past, so that a statement relating to the past and one relating to the future may have exactly the same grammatical form. Mr Ellis, writing in the *Journal of the Philological Society* (1882) from information supplied by Mr Man, gives a verbal suffix *-ngubo* denoting the future in the *Aka-Bea* language. Mr Portman points out that this is an error. (*Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman*, p. 88.)

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he is, by that adventure, endowed with the power that makes a 791
medicine-man. One man of the *Aka-Kọra* tribe was pointed out 761
to me as having obtained his powers in this way. It would seem 756
that during a serious illness he was unconscious for some twelve 775
hours or so, and his friends thought that he was dead. A medicine-man whom I met with in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe was said to have died and come to life again three times. Another man, whom I did not meet, was described to me as a great *oko-jumu*, and from the description given it seemed to me that he was subject to epileptic fits. As against this, however, Mr Man states that "epilepsy is a recognised form of malady, but the fits are not regarded in a superstitious light[1]."

Another way in which a man can acquire magical powers is 791
by direct communication with the spirits. A man who died a 756
few years ago was believed by the natives to have once met with 775
some spirits in the jungle, and to have acquired in this way the powers of an *oko-jumu*. He used to go off into the jungle by himself at intervals and hold communication with the spirits with whom he had made friends. From such a visit he had returned with his head decorated with shredded palm-leaf fibre (*kọro*) which had, so he said, been placed on him by the spirits. This man had a reputation as a powerful *oko-jumu*.

In a less degree the powers of an *oko-jumu* may be ob- 756
tained through dreams. It is believed that certain men have 791
the power of communicating with the spirits in dreams, and such 828
men are *oko-jumu*. If a man or boy experiences dreams that are 787
in any way extraordinary, particularly if, in his dreams he sees spirits, either the spirits of dead persons known to him when alive, or spirits of the forest or the sea, he may acquire in time the reputation of a medicine-man.

A man may claim some degree of magical power, and yet 756
his claims may not be recognized by others. Each *oko-jumu* 791
has to make his own reputation, and to sustain it when made. This he can only do by demonstrating his power to others. Once this reputation is his, he not only receives the respect of others but also makes a considerable personal profit. Every one is anxious to be on good terms with one who is believed to

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 83.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

756 have extraordinary powers. Hence a man who is an acknowledged
791 *oko-jumu* is sure to receive a good share of the game caught by others, and presents of all kinds from those who seek his good-will.

756 As the name implies, and in whatever way his power may have
791 been obtained, an *oko-jumu* is privileged to dream in a way that less favoured persons do not. In his dreams he can communicate
828 with the spirits of the dead. In dreams, also, so the natives say,
787 he is able to cause the illness of an enemy or to cure that of a friend.

755 By his communication with the spirits, in dreams, or in waking life, the *oko-jumu* acquires magical knowledge that he is able to turn to account in curing illness and in preventing bad weather. When a person is ill the *oko-jumu* is often consulted as to the best means of treating the patient. His treatment is often limited to the recommendation, or the application, of some one or other of the recognized remedies. He may undertake to dispel the spirits that are supposed to be the cause of the disease, which he does by addressing them and conjuring them to go away, or by the use of one or other of the substances and objects that are believed to have the power of keeping spirits at a distance. Sometimes the *oko-jumu* will promise to cure the patient by means of dreams. It is believed that in his dreams he can communicate with the spirits and can persuade them to help him to cure the sick person.

791 Besides their power of causing or curing sickness, the *oko-jumu* are credited with being able to control the weather.
821 As has been shown, the Andamanese believe that the weather is under the control of two beings named *Biliku* and *Tarai*. There
756 is, however, an alternative and contradictory belief, which is also held, that the weather is controlled by the spirits, and particularly by those of the sea. The means taken by magicians or others to prevent bad weather can be divided into two kinds according as they are directed against *Biliku* or *Tarai*, or against the spirits of the sea. As an example of the very simple rites which are performed for this purpose, two cases may be quoted. One of the *oko-jumu* of the Northern tribes, now dead, once stopped a very violent storm by crushing between two stones

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X 182 774 828

The Andaman Islander seems to regard the dream-world as a world of shadows or reflections, for he uses the same word to denote a shadow, a reflection in a mirror, and a dream (the stem *-jumu* in *Aka-Jeru*). Now when a man enters this shadow-world in sleep he is, as we have seen, conceived as coming into partial contact with the world of spirits. Hence the Andaman Islander believes that in dreams he may communicate with the spirits, that dreams may be a cause of sickness, and that in dreams a medicine-man can cause or cure sickness in his fellows. In this shadow-world the man himself becomes as it were a shadow, a mere reflection of himself; it is not he that lives and acts in his dreams but his *ot-jumulo*, his double, his shadow-self, or, as we might say, his soul. It is but a step from this to the representation of the spirit-world as a similar world of shadows and dream-shapes, and to the conclusion that when a man dies it is his *ot-jumulo* that becomes the spirit.

X 182 775

To summarise the argument, the belief in the world of spirits rests on the actual fact that a dead person continues to affect the society. As the effect is one of disorganisation, whereby the social sentiments are wounded, the dead are avoided and the spirits are regarded with fear. But as a recently dead person is still regarded with feelings of attachment by his friends, the resulting final attitude towards the spirits is ambivalent. By a simple step the spirits come to be regarded as the cause of sickness and death, and therefore as hostile to living men. Yet, as the beliefs about medicine-men show, it is possible for exceptional individuals to be on terms of friendship with the spirits. Finally, the dream-life affords a means by which the spirit-world may be represented in a simple and concrete manner. This last feature (the association of the spirits with dreams) I believe to be a secondary elaboration of the primary or fundamental belief which shows itself in the ritual of death and mourning, serving only to rationalise it and make it more concrete. This need of concrete representation of the spirit-world shows itself in other beliefs, in which may be seen the tendency to become self-contradictory that is often the mark of ideas that arise as the result of attempts to rationalise conative and affective impulses. The spirits are, on the one hand, as it were shadows or images

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Onge

documented the fact in a number of photographs. The purpose, however, is 751
purely hygienic . an unpainted body is, in their opinion, exposed to certain 302
illness. They explained this belief to me by saying that without paint the body
becomes "hot". The men who travelled with me far from women were anxious
every day to spread clay on face, chest and limbs, just to avoid "heat" or,
in other words, fever. I thought of malaria, but they do not suffer from it. [162]
Of this I will speak later on.

Rough clay is applied daily, on infant bodies as well as on adults, for 751
health purposes. It is used to cure all kinds of sickness, together with ochre, 757
turtle fat and honey. Honey spread on wounds appears to hasten healing. [302]
Identical curative methods are employed in Oceania. They probably existed [854]
among the Tasmanians, and are still used in Australia by the aborigines. I
found nothing of the kind in Africa, where honey is plentiful. The Onge consider [752]
clay, ochre, honey and turtle fat good for external and internal treatment alike
both preventive and curative. Powdered bees' wax of a dark colour is often [171]
added. I saw mothers give their children, as a laxative, a number of pills made [825]
of similar ingredients. No bigger than common hazelnuts, the pills are red
and greasy. In Onge forests I saw some small excavations, a few feet deep, [317]
made to extract the medicinal clay from special ground pockets. In its natural
form the clay is light coloured, powdery and free of stones. When it is burnt [386]
the colour changes, assuming red, yellow, whitish or black shades according to
the different qualities used, all believed to possess healing properties and to
ensure hygienic colouring of the body. Mixed as described above, clay is used
by the Onge in every circumstance from fever to snake or scorpion bite, consti-
pation, breast infection in women, or post-delivery bleeding.

Belief in the medicinal properties of clay is as old as humanity itself. 757
Even among contemporary European peoples, notwithstanding severe criticism, 171
clay is still honoured as health-giving, not, I must say, on wholly foolish 823
grounds. The Onge, who smear their bodies constantly with clay, have the
softest, most velvety skin that I ever saw anywhere in the world. Wounds [752]
spread with clay mixed with honey and fat leave negligible scars. The laxative
and germ-killing action of clay is admitted by physicians in many countries,
including Europe. It never causes infection. Geophagism has ancient origins,
and we find it practiced by many modern populations. Children of every race
and all young wild animals lick clay instinctively to absorb the mineral salts
required by a developing organism. The Onge habit of using clay for healing
purposes can be set, therefore, in a very wide frame.

Mental and nervous disorders are rare in Little Andaman. Few natives 164
are subject to epilepsy — an important matter for the Onge : they consider 828
such people as possessed by spirits who speak through their mouths, and [158]
respectfully question them as oracles. Several Onge chiefs, such as Chief [622]
Tchôtā of Tambē-ē-buiē, are apt to go into trances that have all the appearance
of epileptic fits. They were elected chiefs on the strength of their epilepsy! [787]

Constant exercise keeps eyesight and hearing extremely sharp in the 164
Onge. I saw no single case of myopia or presbyopia among the natives, nor 151

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

361 have failed to learn that there are permanent encampments and kitchen-middens in the heart of the jungles of Great Andaman; but, since it has been recently asserted in a paper[1] by one of the officers long resident at Port Blair, that, to quote his words, "No tribe of Negritos in the same stage of existence . . . . as the Andamanese could exist in the Andaman jungles," it is very necessary to expose his error, for repeated inquiries and personal observation prove the accuracy of the account given by one of the inhabitants of the interior of Middle Andaman, named *Wō·i*, that during the entire year the jungles afford them ample sustenance.[2]

●829 184 2. All the tribes with which we are acquainted possess terms denoting—1, a coastman; 2, a fisherman; 3, a creek man; and 4, a jungle-man; the two former being applied to those living by the shore, *àryô·to-*, and the two latter to those living inland, *ē·remtâ·ga-*, whose subsistence depends on the spontaneous products of the jungle, which they all agree in describing as amply sufficient for the support of many times their present population.

184 3. The coastmen are divided into two classes, viz., those who are chiefly employed in constructing canoes, turtle-lines, &c., and those who are engaged in fishing and turtling, but each acquires a certain knowledge of the duties of the other, and also of hunting the *Sus Andamanensis:* in the latter accomplishment, as well as in finding their way through trackless portions of the jungle, they are naturally surpassed by the natives of the interior, who display in these, as in other respects, all the dexterity and intelligence peculiar to savages similarly situated in other tropical regions.[3]

4. Although these two distinct sections (*àryô·to-* and *ē·remtâ·ga-*) still exist in a measure among the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*, as among the people of Middle Andaman, many of their more marked characteristics have become so blended or modified, in consequence of the establishment of the homes, that it is difficult in many cases to determine to which class certain individuals originally belonged. This, it will be understood, is because those of the *ē·remtâ·ga-*, who have accompanied parties of the coastmen in

[1] *Vide* "Proceedings Asiat. Soc. Bengal," July, 1876.

[2] With reference to the above, Mr. W. T. Blanford, F.R.S., remarked at the meeting at which the paper in question was read, that "it is very difficult for a civilised human being to understand how savages live, or even to conceive what a marvellous variety of animal and vegetable productions, on which savage man, at any rate, can subsist, are to be found in the forests of all tropical regions." He added, that it was his belief that "man could certainly find food wherever monkeys could exist."

[3] *Vide* "Physical Powers and Senses," paragraphs 5 and 6, and "Communications," &c., paragraphs 4 and 6.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

fishing and turtling expeditions, at one or other of the homes, for several years, have become sufficiently skilled in these pursuits to escape the ridicule of the genuine *àryô·to-*, while these in their turn have made themselves almost as well acquainted with the interior of the jungles as were the original occupants, from whom they are, therefore, scarcely distinguishable. 184

5. It will be of interest to note in this place the nicknames employed by the "junglees" and the coastmen when quizzing each other, as they serve to indicate the peculiarities which are held to be their distinguishing characteristics. The *ē·remtâ·ga-* sometimes chaffingly address an *àryô·to-* as *ēr-châ·tâknga-*,[1] *i.e.*, one who loses his way; *ēr-lō·inga-ba*, *i.e.*, one who cannot find his way in the jungle; or, *ūn-pâg-ī·knga-ba*, *i.e.*, one who cannot follow tracks; while the terms which the coastmen will, under similar circumstances, employ towards the jungle men are *ab-mūlwa-* and *gū·gma-tòng·-*, the first implying a deaf person, for only the practised ear of an *àryô·to-* can judge of the distance of a turtle so correctly as to be able to harpoon it in pitch darkness; the second meaning "leaf of the *Trigonostemon longifolius*," in allusion to the practice, current among the inland tribes,[2] of using these leaves for the cure of fever, but to which the *àryô·to-* rarely have recourse, as they believe the scent prevents turtles from approaching a canoe in which there are any persons who have recently employed this remedy. 184 829

6. The intermingling of the members of the inland and coast communities in and near our settlement has naturally resulted in such a marked modification of many of the characteristics which distinguish them in their primitive condition that, for reliable information respecting the same, it is necessary to seek among the more distant encampments, where similar influences have not as yet been at work. 184

7. Amongst those who have now for some years resided at the principal home at Port Blair, there is a young *ē·remtâ·ga-*, named *Wō·i*, of the *.ôko-jū·wai-* tribe, who, till the end of 1875, had been living in the depths of the Middle Andaman jungle, and who then, with a few others of his village, received a message from *mai·a .lī·pa*, chief of *.bàrlâ·kàbīl-*, an encampment on the coast, inviting them to accompany him in a trip he was about to make, by way of Port Mouat, for the purpose of seeing the officer in charge of the home, and procuring some presents from him. *Wō·i* and his friends gladly availed themselves of the opportunity of visiting what must have been to them a new 184 115

[1] By way of mock respect *mai·a* (*i.e.*, Mr.) is occasionally prefixed to these epithets when used in this way.

[2] *Vide* "Medicine," paragraph 2.

most striking of these is ambidexterity. This is the general rule in the Onges and also appears as a normal trait in the primitive peoples of Oceania, America and Asia. Another physical characteristic of the Onges, reported also in Tasmans and various peoples of Oceania, is the early onset of ageing in both sexes; in the Tasmans the women are rarely fertile after the age of thirty, and this is also probably the case with the Onges. Unlike the Tasmans, however, the Onges, though sharing their very black skin colour, have among other physical differences markedly scant body hair. A study of their blood groups by Dr H. Lehmann (see also Mourant) has moreover lent very considerable support to the external physical evidence in favour of a relationship between the Andamanese and the people of Oceania, both past and present.

From the anthropological point of view perhaps the most outstanding feature of all these peoples is that despite their extreme aggressiveness towards outsiders their corporate sense is such that they have no need of leaders to give orders. Rarely are there hereditary leaders; such as they are, their leaders are chosen on the basis of outstanding powers, such as supposed clairvoyance, as in the Andamanese.

The Andamanese themselves know nothing of their origins, lost in the mists of time, and it is for us to trace them, working back along the paths cleared by the anthropologist, the ethnographer and the archaeologist. They represent today the survival, almost unchanged, of a culture once to be found all over Oceania, spread thousands of years ago by canoes hardly different from those the Onges use today. They carried the unknown seamen from island to island, bearing with them a way of life which in the Andamans at least was never to change – a point of arrival, rather than of departure. Driven in on themselves by circumstances of geography just as other circumstances now unknown had driven them there originally, they have remained isolated, dwindling in numbers over the centuries, until they were discovered by the modern world. Their reception of outsiders, however they come and whoever they may be, is aggressive; consciously or unconsciously the Andamanese seek to preserve the only way of life they know. And who can be sure they are wrong?

No one could deny the demographic decadence of the islanders,

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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as a sign that the spot where it is placed is tabu, or, in more precise terms, that the spot must be avoided because of the presence there of a force or power that makes things dangerous. This force is present at the grave of a dead man, and therefore the fibre is placed at the grave to mark the fact, while a bunch is similarly suspended at the entrance to a village that is deserted after a death. In the peace-making ceremony the members of the one party stand against a suspended cane to which are attached strips of the fibre. The meaning of this, I think, is that it thus forbids the members of the other party from attacking them. If a man were to leave the screen of *koro*, he would, I believe, be liable to be killed by the enemy party; it is only as long as he stands against it with his arms outstretched that he is safe, because while there he is tabu. 182 X 824 784

How then does this belief in the fibre as a mark of tabu come about? The fibre is worn by the women of the Little Andaman to cover their pudenda, and it was formerly worn in this way by the women of the North Andaman. We may conclude that this was an old element in the Andaman culture dating back to the remote period when the inhabitants of the Little Andaman became separated from those of the Great Andaman. Now in a very special sense the sexual organs of women are tabu, and, without discussing the matter in detail, we may suppose that the Andaman Islander regards the genitals of women as a spot in which resides the same sort of force or power that makes the spirits, or the body of a dead man, dangerous. One point may be mentioned as throwing light on this subject, and helping forward the argument, namely that the natives of the North Andaman often use the expression *Lau-buku* (meaning literally "spirit-women" or "female spirits") to denote women collectively instead of the phrase that might be expected—*n'e-buku*. It would seem that by reason of their sex and the special ideas that are associated with it, women are regarded as having a very special relation with the world of spirits. We may conclude that the *koro* fibre, being a convenient material for the purpose, was first used as a covering for the women, and in this way came to be used as a sign of tabu in general, or else that for some unknown reason the fibre was selected as a suitable material to mark any kind of tabu, and 182 X 824 784 831

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so came to be used both as a covering for women and also as a sign of warning at the grave and the village that has been visited by death[1].

X 182 765 775

To return from this digression to the question of the initiation of the dead man into the world of spirits, it is clear that since such ceremonies take time to accomplish there is a period during which the dead man is in an indeterminate position; he is no longer a member of the society of the living, and has not yet become a member of the society of the dead. As long as he is thus situated his relatives and friends are still attached to him, so that he still remains as it were in partial contact with the living. During this time the society is still suffering the ill effects of the death, and the process of readjustment by means of the customs of mourning is still taking place. At the end of it the dead man becomes completely absorbed in the spirit world, and as a spirit he has no more part in or influence over the social life than any other spirit, and the mourning is brought to a close by means of a ceremony.

X 182 765

This ceremony has two parts. One is the recovery of the bones and their reaggregation to the society, a rite which we may regard as the final settling of the dead man in his proper place. All that is left of him, who was once a source of strength to the community, who had once—as it is here expressed—a social value, are the bones, his name, and the memory of him that his friends retain. We may suppose that the bones still have something of the value that originally attached to their owner, and indeed it is evident that they have, for after they are recovered they are affectionately treasured as relics by the relatives. By the end of the period of mourning the painful feelings aroused by the death have died down, so that the dead man is now the object only of memories that are pleasant, or, at the worst, bitter-sweet. The bones, then, are visible evidences of the fact that the society has recovered from the disruptive shock of the death, and this is why they are dug up as soon as the recovery is complete, or rather in order to complete it, and are thereafter treasured.

[1] The brakes formed by the cane (*bido*) from the leaves of which the *bero* fibre is obtained seem to be regarded as lurking places of the spirits. The natives often speak of the *Bido-tei-iau* (*Calamus* leaf spirits).

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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clay and red paint worn at a dance and after marriage and initiation is not only a means of display but is also protective. Both red paint and white clay are used to give protection in sickness, and they are similarly used in the purification of the hands of a homicide. Moreover we have seen, in reference to the word *ot-kimil*, that the dance is a condition of danger by reason of the contact it involves between the individual and the power of the society. The few days following an initiation ceremony are definitely believed to be a period of danger for the initiate, and during this time the pattern of white clay and red paint must not be washed off but must be allowed to wear off. By the time the last traces of the pattern have disappeared the danger is considered to be over. There is evidence that the first few days of marriage are regarded as a period of danger. It would seem that the natives do attribute to the painting with white clay and red paint some power of protection, but this is hidden under the importance of such painting as a means of display. 182x 302

Of the various ornaments that are worn on the body some would seem to be worn almost solely for purposes of display, because they are pleasing to the eye. Such are the necklaces and other ornaments of small shells. It would seem that the same motive is also responsible for the use of the yellow skin of the *Dendrobium* of which the Andamanese are so fond. The ornaments of netting and shell seem to be worn primarily for display, but it is quite possible that some protective power is attributed to them, as to the paintings of white clay with which they are regularly worn. The belts of *Pandanus* leaf that are worn by women are a mark of the sex, and the style of belt worn differs with the social status of the woman. They thus serve to exhibit the special social value of the woman in so far as it depends upon her sex and her social status, but I believe that the Andamanese attribute to the belt and to the apron of leaves worn with it a power of protection against the special dangers to which women are believed to be subject. Ths is suggested by the use of the *Pandanus* leaf in the ceremony at a girl's first menstruation[1]. I failed to discover any special ideas connected 182x 301

[1] I am unfortunately obliged to leave a big gap in this chapter and in the book, owing to my inability to discuss the Andamanese notions about sex. The natives of 831

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

X 182
301

with the ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf that are sometimes worn by both men and women at dances. The ornaments that are worn primarily for their protective power are those made of human and animal bones and those of pieces of canes or of fibres of *Hibiscus* or *Ficus*. These are always made decorative by the addition of shells and yellow *Dendrobium* skin, and therefore besides their primary function also serve as means of display.

It is clear then that in the various methods of ornamenting the body the two chief motives that we have considered are so combined that they can hardly be estimated separately, and it is this mingling of motives that has led us to the final understanding of the meaning and social function of bodily ornament. Each of the different kinds of ornament serves to make manifest the existence of some special relation between the individual and the society, and therefore of some special relation between him and that system of powers on which the welfare of the society and of the individual depends. One of the most important aspects of the relation of the individual to the society is his dependence upon it for his safety and well-being and this is revealed in all painting and ornament worn for protection. But the society not only protects the individual from danger; it is the direct source of his well-being; and this makes itself felt in the customary regulation by which the use of the more important ornaments used for display is confined to occasions on which it is quite clear that his happiness is directly due to the society, such as a dance or feast. Thus the customs relating to the ornamentation of the body are of the kind that I have here called ceremonial. They are means by which the society exercises on

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the Great Andaman at the present time show an unusual prudery in their conversation and dealings with white men, but there is good reason to suspect that this is due to the influence of officers who have been in charge of the Andaman Home in former years. At the present time all the men except a few of the oldest in remote parts are very careful never to appear before a white man without some covering although formerly they wore nothing. In their conversation in the presence of a white man they are careful to avoid reference to sexual matters. The men of the Little Andaman who have not come under the influence of the Andamanese Homes, still go naked and unashamed, and indulge in obscene gestures and jokes. At the time I was in the Andamans I failed to realise the very great importance of a thorough knowledge of the notions of a primitive people on matters of sex in any attempt to understand their customs, and therefore failed to make the necessary enquiries.

157 522 Western standards taciturn or sly, and the Negro peoples, who frequently manifest complete abandonment in their amusement. 157 522 831 Obscenities appear to be an unfailing source of amusement to the Onges, who indulge in them at every opportunity, even with strangers, and the obscene dances of the womenfolk are a continual source of pleasure. The exchange of obscenities is, indeed, a sign of friendship, and I found that vulgarity was invariably immensely successful in provoking hilarity; any subsequent negotiations were always peaceable and satisfactory.

302 [157] An extension of this vulgarity is an infantile vanity, not without sexual significance. The care with which their bodies are painted nearly every day is one aspect of this vanity; the more a wife loves her husband the more magnificent the designs she executes on him. [953] [951] [961] The paintings on their bodies reach a peak every two or three days, as the Onges fear illness and death if they are not newly daubed, and the face at least must be continually painted, with at least smears on the chest, arms and legs. A man returning from an exceptionally successful hunting trip is met by his wife with a specially unusual and elaborate design, which she carries out with great devotion. [123] During each of my visits to the island the Onges would rush up to show me their embellishments as soon as they were finished, and took a delight in standing in front of my camera, even though they had no idea what it was for.

304 [171] It is curious that unlike most primitive peoples, the Onges do not practise tattooing, which is one of the simplest ways, if not *the* simplest, in which such peoples satisfy their craving for physical [184] [302] admiration. The other Andamanese do, puncturing the skin with tiny slivers of obsidian or quartz, but the Onges paint with ochre instead. 301 824 They love, too, to weave garlands of fruit, flowers and leaves from the forest, returning to the camp laden with them, men and women alike, delighted with their own beauty. [184] This divergence of customs in peoples essentially of the same stock, but separated for long periods of time into endogamous isolates, is very remarkable.

838 An intense preoccupation with sexual attraction and activity has led to the prevalence of aberration. All the Onges have homosexual tendencies. I became aware of this during my first visit to Little Andaman on one of my longer expeditions, when I had taken only men with me, and on subsequent occasions I therefore allowed the men to bring their wives. The effect of long periods of absence on

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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X 182 302 764

realise that he has deserved their regard. So, to express their regard for the dead man they paint the inanimate body. Hence it is that the greater the esteem in which the dead man or woman is held, the greater is the care bestowed on the last painting.

We may conclude therefore that the painting of the body with white clay and the wearing of ornaments of *Dentalium* shell is a rite or ceremony by which the value of the individual to the society is expressed on appropriate occasions. We shall find confirmation of this later in the chapter.

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Before passing on to consider the meaning of other methods of decorating the body there is one matter that is worthy of mention. It is often assumed or stated that both personal ornament and dancing, amongst uncivilised peoples, are connected with sexual emotion. It is, of course, extremely difficult to disprove a statement of this sort. So far as the Andamanese are concerned I was unable to find any trace whatever of a definitely sexual element in either their dances or their personal adornment. It may be recalled that both men and women wear exactly the same ornaments on ceremonial occasions, and this is to some extent evidence that such have no sexual value. It is possible that some observers might see in the dance of the women (which is only performed on rare occasions) a suggestion of something of a sexual nature. I was unable to find that the natives themselves consider that there is anything suggestive of sex in either the dance of the men or that of the women. If it were true that the most important feature of the dance was that it appealed in some way to sexual feelings it is difficult to see how we are to explain the different occasions on which dancing takes place, as before a fight, at the end of mourning, etc., whereas these are adequately accounted for by the hypothesis that the dance is a method of expressing the unity and harmony of the society. Similarly the explanation of personal ornament as being connected with sexual feeling would fail to account for the occasions on which it is regarded as obligatory. There is therefore, I believe, no special connection between the dancing and personal ornament of the Andamanese and sexual feeling. It would still be possible to hold that there is a general

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connection of great importance between the affective dispositions underlying these and other customs and the complex affective disposition that we call the sex instinct. The nature of that connection, important as it is, lies outside the scope of this work.

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I remarked above that the explanation which I have given of the meaning of personal ornament does not apply to all the objects that the Andaman Islanders wear on their body, but only to certain of them. If an Andaman Islander be asked why he paints himself with white clay, or why he wears a belt or necklace of *Dentalium* shell he replies that he does so in order to look well; but if he be asked why he wears a string of human bones round his head or neck or waist, he gives quite a different answer, to the effect that he does so in order to protect himself from dangers of a special kind. According to circumstances he will say either that he is wearing the bones to cure himself of illness, or else that he wears them as a protection against spirits. Thus while some things are worn on the body in order to improve the personal appearance, and consequently, as explained above, to give the individual a sense of his own value, others are worn because they are believed to have a protective power, and thereby arouse in the person a sense of security. Exactly the some sort of protective power is attributed to things that cannot be worn on the body, such as fire, and it will therefore be convenient to consider together all the things that afford this kind of protection, whether they can be worn on the body or not.

The interpretation here offered is that the customs connected with this belief in the protective power of objects of various kinds are means by which is expressed and thereby maintained at the necessary degree of energy a very important social sentiment, which, for lack of a better term, I shall call the sentiment of dependence. In such a primitive society as that of the Andamans one of the most powerful means of maintaining the cohesion of the society and of enforcing that conformity to custom and tradition without which social life is impossible, is the recognition by the individual that for his security and well-being he depends entirely upon the society. Now for the Andaman Islander the society is not sufficiently concrete and particular

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

262 and therefore dangerous to offend by cooking them. Luckily they accepted
123 fish of almost every description, and vegetables. To convince them of our
[975] good intentions concerning their food, at Port Blair an Onge observer was
[825] stationed permanently near the kitchen to watch the preparation of meals.
513 Nevertheless, within a few days all 30 Onge fell ill as a consequence of the
123 different food and climate. In their island they sleep, completely naked and uncovered, lying directly on beds made of rough branches. Their only precaution, as I mentioned before, is to keep a fire permanently burning close to the bed. This was not feasible in the rooms with wooden floors that were provided for them in Port Blair, and blankets did not avail. So the 30 Onge developed a fever and we were obliged to take them urgently back to Little Andaman, where they promptly recovered. The incident gave me a further opportunity to observe the curative methods of the Onge.

262 With regard to their care to avoid illness from food, I must point out the
114 fact that misleading information has been published on the subject even in reputed papers on the Andamans. I will discuss them in my Onge book, but I wish here to briefly stress a few points : the Onge, and the present residual coastal or forest Andamanese, refuse to eat – besides birds and fish such as shark, ray, eel or muraenae – some other animals such as paradoxurus, bats, rats, varanus and snakes. The contrary is affirmed in those papers. To quote the well-known book by A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN ("The Andaman Islanders", pp. 37, 91 and 389), all Andaman Islanders, including the Onge, consider the above-mentioned species edible. Varanus is supposed to be acceptable for its
[832] lustful habits that make of it an aphrodisiac. My direct and protracted experience both in Little and in Great Andaman compels me to state that such information is false. It is true, however, that the Andaman Islanders believe
261 they acquire some of the properties of their devoured victims. This occurs
252 only if the animals are cut up alive. Therefore turtles, pigs and dugongs are
[231] cruelly sectioned while still alive, and the Onge also believe that their health
266 and energy profit by it. Cannibalism may be founded on such beliefs, but it is completely unknown to Andaman Islanders of all times and places. Young
262 sucking-pigs are avoided, as food, by men, and even withheld from the dogs ; but the Onge are partial to other things which, in our opinion, are far worse : crickets, and the fat larvae of coleoptera that collect in tree trunks.

Without giving here a full list of the foods that are considered harmful or curative, I shall add just a few remarks on the subject. The healthiest, as well as the tastiest part of the pig is supposed to be the kidney and its surrounding fat. It is offered to old or distinguished people, as a sign of favour. As I
[888] helped the Onge, as much as possible, with gifts of tools and medicines, they
123 found it complimentary to name me after their favorite titbit, intending thereby
553 to honour me as a friend and healer. By such a name I came to be known in Little Andaman, and this made my work easier. In the Onge language the word for kidney fat is *cue-changhêghê* ; I was delighted with it, for it proclaimed the high esteem I was held in by my Onge friends.

262 Foods considered healthy by the Onge include honey, yams, several
751 succulent roots and the fat of turtle and dugong. Pteropus, a giant bat very
[825]

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Onge

841 resembling these practices in any other part of the world. Never hitherto
171 described, they should be carefully considered. This would require a lengthy description, for which there is no space here. We may recall that menstruating Onge women are allowed to circulate freely at all times. An interesting detail
[751] is that the *naquinēghē* of first menstruations are worn by relations around their neck as having health-giving properties. The women, as we know, use special
841 soft, long leaves, collected for them by their husbands, as absorbents. They
[824] are the leaves of Myristica longifolia or of Tretanthera lanceofolia both species serving the purpose. They are applied under the *naquinēghē* and drawn back
[834] between the legs to be secured above the buttocks. – Sexual intercourse is forbidden during the menstrual period even by the Onge : illness – a swelling
[753] of the arms or legs – would follow. A curious theory about the reason for menstruation in very young girls is that it is a result of previous sexual contacts stimulated by nose rubbing – the Onge substitute for kissing. They ignore the
892 unhygienic practice of kissing with the lips, and never even kiss their children. Only nose rubbing is practiced. The anatomical structure of the Onge nose, which almost totally lacks nasal bones and is very fleshy, may explain this transference of sensation from nearby regions, i. e. the lips.

844 Births take place in the forest and are surrounded by no hygienic precautions or disinfection as conceived by us. Clay is applied to stem puerperal bleeding, without provoking infection. The only assistant is the pregnant woman's husband, and sometimes one or two old women. Their ability equals that of a herdsman delivering his goat of a kid. No inconvenience arises, in either instance, from lack of precautions. – The tiny, tender and graceful bodies
[751] of Onge infants are smeared with ochre and light-coloured clay for hygienic purposes. This is done immediately after birth, and affords some protection against the teeming legions of mosquitos and ticks that plague Little Andaman. The infant is never washed in water, not even at the very moment of birth. The placenta is buried 30 or 40 cms deep, under the bed of naked branches upon which the mother delivered her baby.

842 An argument that deserves much attention concerns the possible link
143 between lack of hygiene and sterility among the Onge. A vast number of married couples have no offspring, thereby threatening their group with extinction. Consanguinity could be given as a cause : let us examine it. No doubt the Onge are related to each other as a consequence of long interbreeding in their island with no foreigners admitted. These conditions afford an ideal field for studying the effects of endogamy on man. Nowhere in the world, as far as I know, are a people so isolated as in Little Andaman. Inbreeding has existed at 100 % ever since remote times. In other words, the Onge would seem to be the most highly inbred human population known up to the present. Could this fact alone, aside from unhealthy habits, explain their present widespread sterility ? Special
174 studies on the subject should be undertaken, keeping in mind that the Onge have certainly inhabited Little Andaman for thousands of years, on the evidence of my excavations in their kitchen-middens.

men naturally predisposed to the abnormality is enhanced by the 838
fact that the youngest and most attractive women are invariably
monopolized by the older men. So prevalent, indeed, is homo-
sexuality that one is obliged to regard it as a biological, and not as a
social or psychological abnormality. It is not, therefore, surprising [832]
to find that kissing is unknown; sexual excitement is aroused
instead by nose-rubbing.

None of the Onges have any sense of modesty. This is partly the 834
result of circumstances; privacy is impossible in the communal life 291
of the group. This is in marked contrast to the comical dignity 177
assumed during the last few years by the remaining Arioto women.
The government authorities decreed that they should be clothed,
and they immediately became so prudish that they refuse to bare
so much as an arm, and they thus present a considerable problem
to the anthropologist. Their menfolk, however, are clearly de-
lighted with this sudden modesty which was to me a somewhat *
pathetic parody, and a further example of Andamanese childish-

* [The remainder of this sentence has been left incomplete in the original text.--Analyst]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

head ornaments and religious ceremonies. In Oceania there is, too, the habit of changing personal names from time to time so prevalent among the Onges, and the existence of actual linguistic connections between Nicobarese, Andamanese, Semang, Aetà and peoples of Oceania have been demonstrated by experts. 174

Any differences which exist today are the result of centuries of contact with other peoples which the Semang and Aetà have experienced, unlike the Andamanese, who thus represent today the true Negritos. While life generally has changed somewhat over the centuries for the Semang and Aetà, certain typical facets of their culture have remained unaltered. Ritual cutting and distributing of game, the use of the arrow harpoon (always unfeathered) and the simple Onge-Negrito bow are still the same, despite the fact that the three groups have been separated for a very long time. Even the very absence of defensive weapons is a common feature; admittedly outside the Andamans arrows are poisoned and some may be feathered, but this is a recent and imitative innovation which is not found among the Andamanese, by virtue of their constant isolation. The persistence among the Onges of the simple bow tends to support the idea of Little Andaman as the first stage in the northward spread of the Negritos after they reached the island from Sumatra via the Nicobars. In Malacca the Semang have retained the same bow, as have the Aetà in the Philippines.

Among what may be termed similarities of physical habits is nose-rubbing as a sign of affection, found in the Andamans, in Oceania, and parts of Papuasia and Melanesia. In all these areas there is the same belief that pregnancy is due to entry of a spirit into the body, and the same habit of suckling children for as long as four years. Similar too throughout the area are the methods of 'curing' disease, such as smearing with ochre and heavy massage carried out beside a fire, swallowing of balls of ochre, and the 'smoking' of wounds, smeared with a mixture of ochre and honey. As protection from the sun or the rains (especially for the young children) crude umbrellas are made from giant palm leaves. 171 [832] [842] [843] [862] [755] [293]

There are no prayers or propitiatory sacrifices to ensure health and well being, but there is throughout the area the same concept of mysterious forces to be feared, evaded, or let loose against enemies – never loved. Generally they are thought of in terms of spirits, usually active at night. There is some divergence in the 171 776 [771] [782]

Endogamous life, or the habit of never washing even the female genital organs, cannot be the only cause of Andamanese sterility. Alcohol and venereal diseases such as syphilis may only be a complementary cause. The Onge's limited fertility probably derives from other factors besides their protracted and inceasingly strict endogamy. 842 [515] [582]

We can only remark that Onge women rarely become pregnant before 28 ; their fertility ceases around the age of 48. The high rate of sterility among Onge women after marriage (which generally takes place at the age of 14) is puzzling indeed. Of several childless couples that I studied in Little Andaman, the woman was under 28. There is hope of fertility after that age. It could so happen, for instance, in the case of two young Onge chiefs, Okkeggi and Chendubai, married to two sisters among the most beautiful and flourishing girls on the island : Ooaghēghē and Tocooaghēghē, both around 20. They never became pregnant, although menstruation was normal and they had plenty of sexual intercourse, even extra-marital. 842 147 [582] [837]

The delayed appearance of fertility in Andamanese women is probably connected with a general biological condition fostered by unhygienic habits. For instance : young Onge females have a high vagina acidity content that is certainly harmful to spermatozoa. It decreases with age, facilitating, we may suppose, fecundation. Vaginal washing would help, but the Onge women never recur to it. But this is only one side of the question. It is evidently urgent to do whatever is necessary to save the Onge from extinction. We must remember that civilized nations, through international agreements, are anxious to protect plant and animal species from disappearance. The same should be done for man, and equivalent international laws are needed. The Onge as a human group are on the verge of extinction ; but they still retain enough vitality to be rescued before they finally vanish into eternity. 147 515 161

Without enlarging here on the disorders of Onge sexual life and their dire effects also on the number of births, I wish to point out one more fact : Onge homosexuality as a normal occurrence. It is a plague in Little Andaman, helped by the regular physiological functions of both extremities of the digestive tube. The sexual tendencies that prevail in Little Andaman are a strong criticism of FREUD's theories on sexual life, but I will not discuss this here. I would rather say a few words about some opinions regarding the cause of Onge sterility that I heard expressed in the Andamans. Foreigners there ascribe it to the *naquinēghē* – the grass-like apron worn by women. Colonists believe that this garment leads to copulation from the rear, reducing the chances of fecundation. This idea is incorrect : the Onge never do this because the *naquinēghē* can be easily lifted as required, and pulled up over the abdomen. It is true that Onge women remove the *naquinēghē* only to replace it with a fresh one ; they wear it even when sleeping. Not for a single instant must women remain "undressed", for superstitious reasons. When a new *naquinēghē* is needed, the old one is furtively disposed of. Husband and wife repair secretely to a remote part of the forest, the woman slipping the new garment over her head before removing the old one, and burying the latter, which is quickly destroyed by white ants. The Onge believe that possession by a stranger of a worn 838 842 833 291 [513] [754]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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301 a position where it is not likely to get lost when running through the jungle, and where it is immediately accessible when wanted. The necklet also serves as a means of carrying bees'-wax, which is in constant use amongst the natives, a small ball of the wax being attached to one of the ends of the string of which the necklet is made.

291 As a rule, in everyday life, the men wear only a belt, or a belt and necklace. Those natives who visit the Settlement of 177 Port Blair have been required by the European officers to wear a strip of cloth over the genitals. It has now become the rule ●834 to wear such a loin cloth whenever they are in the neighbourhood of a European. This, however, is a modern custom, and in former times the men went freely with no covering whatever, as do the inhabitants of the Little Andaman at the present time. As showing the extent to which the natives have been influenced in this matter by outside opinion, it may be mentioned that at the present day many of the younger men, particularly those who have been brought up at Port Blair, regard it as very immodest to be seen without some covering over the genitals.

301 On ceremonial occasions, such as the dance at the end of mourning, or a big dance-meeting, the men put on a number of ornaments. A common costume on such occasions consists of a belt, necklace, bracelets, and garters of netting and *Dentalium* shell. A belt and necklace of this kind are to be seen in Plate V, and garters are worn by the woman in Plate IX. An alternative costume for men consists of a set of ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf (belt, chaplet, bracelets and garters), decorated with *Dentalium* and other shells. Garters of this kind are shown in Plate XII.

301 Other objects are worn by the natives for magical purposes. 755 Chief amongst these are the strings made of human bones which are worn to prevent and cure sickness. The bones are attached 751 to a length of rope, and this is generally decorated with shells or with *Dendrobium* skin. These strings of bones are worn most commonly as chaplets, necklaces or belts, but they may also be made into garters and bracelets. The bones of animals, such as pig, turtle, dugong, etc., are treated in exactly the same way

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

861 ment; they are early taught to be generous and self-denying, and the special object of the fasting period, regarding which I shall hope to speak to you on another occasion, seems to be to test the fortitude and powers of endurance of the lads and lasses before entering upon the cares and responsibilities of married
867 life. The duties of showing respect and hospitality to friends and visitors being impressed upon them from their early years, all guests are well treated; every attention is paid to their wants, the best food at their host's disposal is set before them, and, ere they take their leave, some tokens of regard or goodwill are bestowed, or, to speak more correctly, interchanged. Strangers visiting an encampment for the first time are welcomed if introduced by some mutual friend.[1]

834 8. It has been observed by ethnologists who have described certain other primitive races, that modesty and morality are not dependent on, or to be gauged by, the amount of covering which is deemed requisite by either sex. The Andamanese present another instance in point; and in the esteem in which they hold these virtues, and the self-respect which characterises their intercourse with each other, may even be said to compare favourably with that existing in certain ranks among civilised races.[2]

461 9. In the manufacture of their weapons, utensils, and other articles, they habitually display a remarkable amount of perseverance and industry, spending hour after hour in laboriously striking pieces of iron with a stone hammer for the purpose of forming spear or arrow-heads, or in improving the shape of a bow, &c., even though there be no necessity, immediate or prospective, to stimulate them to such efforts. The incentive is evidently a spirit of emulation, each one priding himself on being able to produce work which will excel, or at least compare not unfavourably with, that of his neighbours.

431 10. Selfishness is not among their characteristics, for they frequently make presents of the best that they possess, and do not reserve, much less make, weapons, &c., of superior workmanship for their own private use; at the same time it must be

[1] On seeing a stranger at a gathering, it would be asked: *ōl mij'a?* (who is he?) or, if the visitor be senior to the inquirer, *ōl mij'ola?* (who is that elder or chief?)

[2] Women are so modest that they will not renew their leaf aprons in the presence of one another, but retire to a secluded spot for this purpose; even when parting with one of their *ōōd-* appendages to a female friend the delicacy they manifest for the feelings of the bystanders in their mode of removing it almost amounts to prudishness. Coarse conversation appears to be of rare occurrence and to meet with little or no encouragement. Remarks on the personal appearance or peculiarities of friends or blood relatives are considered harmless, but if made in reference to a wife or husband would be regarded as indelicate and objectionable, and resented accordingly.

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881 continue to watch him carefully for two or three days, lest
262 harm should result from his recent feast, and also because they think evil spirits are not unlikely to do him some injury by taking advantage of his supposed helpless condition to make him deaf, or cause him to forget his way, and thus meet the fate which, on the faith of their traditions, they believe to have overtaken two of their antediluvian ancestors.[1]

881 6. All that has been said of youths in respect to the *yâ·dī-gū·mul-* applies equally to young women, except that matrons remove the novice's ornaments, and all but one or two of her
[834] *bōd*-s (waistbelts[2]), and her *ō·bunga-* (leaf apron[3]), which are left for the sake of decency. As, while performing the concluding dance, some difficulty is experienced in regard to the *ō·bunga-*, girls are provided on these occasions with a more substantial apron of leaves, so that the feelings of the most prudish are not violated.

7. The origin of the term *gū·mul-lē·ke* is obscure, and inquiries have failed to elicit any satisfactory explanation regarding it; the literal translation is "rainy-monsoon devour-does," and though the *yâ·dī-gū·mul-* is always celebrated at that season of the year, the term is also applied to the honey feast, which can only take place during the dry months. The same equivalents are found in the other tribal dialects, so that the peculiarity is not confined to the *bō·jig-ngī·ji-*. The only reasonable explanation offered is that the expression is in allusion to the sweaty (*gū·mar-*), or rain-like (*yūm-*), appearance of the novice when the melted fat or honey has been poured and smeared over his person.

881 8. Lengthened intercourse with the alien population in their
177 midst has naturally led to their occasionally betraying some
262 indifference in regard to customs, such as that above described; especially is this the case with those who have been brought up in the orphanage at Ross Island. A few years ago one of these youngsters, who had been named Martin, refused to accede to the wishes of his friends in the jungle home to which he had returned, and persisted in partaking of the articles of food proscribed to all of his age; as he happened shortly after to fall sick and die, they were fully persuaded that he had incurred his fate by failing to comply with the ancient rites and ceremonies as handed down by their fathers.

881 9. On the conclusion of the *yâ·dī-gū·mul-*, the youth is said to
262 be an *â·kà·gū·mul-*, and, as before stated, is addressed as *gū·ma*; but this is not the case with the girl, possibly because she, at

[1] *Vide* "Mythology," paragraph 23.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 25.
[3] *Vide* Appendix B, item 79.

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291 remove in some measure the impression that they are naked;[1] these appendages are not worn as symbols of rank or (if we except the *rō·gun-*) of status, and their manufacture devolves always upon the females of the community.

2. When fully attired[2] the men are seen with peculiar shredded bunches of *Pandanus* leaves attached to their knees and wrists (termed *tâ-chô·nga-* and *tô·go-chô·nga-*), and a folded Pandanus leaf round their heads (called *ij·i-gō·nga-*[3]), which, as well as the belt (*bōd-*[4]), is common to both sexes; if, however, they (*i.e.* the men) were denuded of one and all, they would be in no way distressed, and in point of fact, often, as while hunting, when perfect freedom of action is needed, they strip themselves of all except the *bōd-*, or other still lighter cincture, in which are inserted any portable objects, such as arrows and knives, that might be required at a moment's notice during the chase.

3. It is otherwise with women, who never[5] appear without an *ō·bunga-*,[6] or small apron of leaves, which is kept in position by the lowest *bōd-*; while men are usually content with one *bōd-* women almost invariably wear four or five, and have been seen with as many as eight round their waists: in addition to the *ō·bunga-* and *bōd-*s married women[7] wear the *rō·gun-*.

291 834 4. It seems probable that Colonel Colebrooke's remarks on the want of decency shown by the Andamanese women referred to the *yē·rewa-*,[8] or to the tribe we now know as *jâr·awa-*[9] for they alone answer to his description in going about perfectly nude: all my experience tends to prove that the females of the tribes of South Andaman are strikingly modest; indeed so particular are they

[1] As has been remarked by Peschel of other black-skinned races, their "dark colour almost removes the impression of nudity."

[462] [2] All ornaments are made by women, whether for themselves or their relatives. Sometimes at a "*jeg-*" (*vide* Games and Amusements) females exchange their girdles (*bōd-s*) and necklaces as keepsakes.

[3] They wear no head covering, but carry a large leaf screen (*kâ·pa-já·tnga-*) as a protection against sun and rain.

[4] For a complete list of personal ornaments, *vide* Appendix B, items 25 to 43.

[5] "Nudity prevails among both sexes of the Australians, the Andaman Islanders, sundry tribes on the White Nile, the Red Negroes of the Soudan, and the Bushmen, all of which tribes have as yet no sense of shame" (Peschel, p. 173).

[6] A description of these cinctures, aprons, &c., will be found at Appendix B, items 25 to 43.

[843] During pregnancy loose *bōd-s* (*bōd-lâr-gō·rob-*) are worn by women in lieu of the ordinary kind, which are tight fitting; the *rō·gun-* is also discarded when it becomes inconvenient: after the birth of the child both these cinctures are resumed, the former being fastened as tightly as possible for several days.

[8] *Vide* Appendix B, item 79 and footnote.

[9] The *jâr·awa-* women have hitherto been seen with only armlets and cinctures of string, to which a few short fibres were attached, obviously only for ornamental purposes.

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291 in this respect, that they will not remove or replace their
834 *ō·bunga-*[1] in the presence of any person, even though of their own sex.[2]

Tattooing.—1. With regard to the practice of tattooing,[3]—so
304 general among the eight tribes[4] of Great Andaman, and which, as Peschel remarks, "is only another substitute for raiment"—it has been erroneously asserted that its object is to "harden the skin against the stings of mosquitoes, sandflies, &c., and also for jungle travelling;" but so far from any such benefit being derived therefrom the aborigines aver that the skin becomes more sensitive after undergoing the ordeal, which is considered, primarily, as ornamental, and secondly, as proving the courage of the individual, and his (or her) power of enduring pain.

2. There are no special ceremonies connected with the operation, which, except in the northern tribes, is almost invariably performed by women, who, however, receive no remuneration, but rest satisfied with the honour of being considered competent to fulfil the task; all the sex are not equally skilled, and therefore, those who have gained distinction by former successes are, it may be said, the recognised practitioners, though no special status, or profit, in a material sense, is gained thereby.

304 3. Very few children[5] of either sex are allowed to remain
852 untattooed after about the eighth year, and the final operation is often not attempted until the sixteenth or eighteenth year, the process being carried on gradually during the intervening period.[6]

[443] 4. The instrument used on these occasions is a flake of quartz,
304 or, now-a-days, glass,[7] which is not "inserted in a stick," but held between the forefinger and thumb; the markings are found chiefly on the back, shoulders, nape of the neck, chest,

[1] The *ō·bunga-* is first worn by girls when they are about five or six years of age.

[2] *Vide ante* "Psychology and Morals," paragraph 8, and footnote.

[3] The legend explaining its supposed origin has been given in Part II (*vide* "Mythology," paragraph 26).

[4] So far as our present knowledge enables us to say, the *jär·awa-* do not tattoo or shave themselves (*vide* "Tribal Distribution," paragraph 2).

[5] Even in the homes the practice is still observed, and one strong-minded youth, *ī·ra-jō·do-*, who has hitherto declined to undergo the operation, which he has ventured to stigmatise as unnecessary, has earned for himself the (to them) unenviable designation of "*ab-lū·ta-*," *i.e.*, the "untattooed."

[6] The arms are generally the first part tattooed, and this is accomplished *prior* to the probationary period; the back is ornamented *during* the continuance of the fast and the chest, belly, legs, &c., *subsequently*. Sometimes an *á·kà-kâ daka-*, *i.e.*, a youth about 11–12, requests that he may be tattooed on his back and on the nape of his neck before attaining the usual age; such a request from a lad is considered manly, and, indeed, almost heroic, for ordinarily the painful operation is postponed until some years later.

[7] *Vide post* "Stone Implements," paragraphs 6 and 7.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

841 resembling these practices in any other part of the world. Never hitherto
171 described, they should be carefully considered. This would require a lengthy description, for which there is no space here. We may recall that menstruating Onge women are allowed to circulate freely at all times. An interesting detail
[751] is that the *naquinēghē* of first menstruations are worn by relations around their neck as having health-giving properties. The women, as we know, use special
841 soft, long leaves, collected for them by their husbands, as absorbents. They
[824] are the leaves of Myristica longifolia or of Tretanthera lanceofolia both species serving the purpose. They are applied under the *naquinēghē* and drawn back between the legs to be secured above the buttocks. – Sexual intercourse is
[834] forbidden during the menstrual period even by the Onge : illness – a swelling
[753] of the arms or legs – would follow. A curious theory about the reason for menstruation in very young girls is that it is a result of previous sexual contacts stimulated by nose rubbing – the Onge substitute for kissing. They ignore the
892 unhygienic practice of kissing with the lips, and never even kiss their children. Only nose rubbing is practiced. The anatomical structure of the Onge nose, which almost totally lacks nasal bones and is very fleshy, may explain this transference of sensation from nearby regions, i. e. the lips.

844 Births take place in the forest and are surrounded by no hygienic precautions or disinfection as conceived by us. Clay is applied to stem puerperal bleeding, without provoking infection. The only assistant is the pregnant woman's husband, and sometimes one or two old women. Their ability equals that of a herdsman delivering his goat of a kid. No inconvenience arises, in either instance, from lack of precautions. – The tiny, tender and graceful bodies
[751] of Onge infants are smeared with ochre and light-coloured clay for hygienic purposes. This is done immediately after birth, and affords some protection against the teeming legions of mosquitos and ticks that plague Little Andaman. The infant is never washed in water, not even at the very moment of birth. The placenta is buried 30 or 40 cms deep, under the bed of naked branches upon which the mother delivered her baby.

842 An argument that deserves much attention concerns the possible link
143 between lack of hygiene and sterility among the Onge. A vast number of married couples have no offspring, thereby threatening their group with extinction. Consanguinity could be given as a cause : let us examine it. No doubt the Onge are related to each other as a consequence of long interbreeding in their island with no foreigners admitted. These conditions afford an ideal field for studying the effects of endogamy on man. Nowhere in the world, as far as I know, are a people so isolated as in Little Andaman. Inbreeding has existed at 100 % ever since remote times. In other words, the Onge would seem to be the most highly inbred human population known up to the present. Could this fact alone, aside from unhealthy habits, explain their present widespread sterility ? Special
174 studies on the subject should be undertaken, keeping in mind that the Onge have certainly inhabited Little Andaman for thousands of years, on the evidence of my excavations in their kitchen-middens.

men naturally predisposed to the abnormality is enhanced by the 838
fact that the youngest and most attractive women are invariably monopolized by the older men. So prevalent, indeed, is homosexuality that one is obliged to regard it as a biological, and not as a social or psychological abnormality. It is not, therefore, surprising [832]
to find that kissing is unknown; sexual excitement is aroused instead by nose-rubbing.

None of the Onges have any sense of modesty. This is partly the 834
result of circumstances; privacy is impossible in the communal life 291
of the group. This is in marked contrast to the comical dignity 177
assumed during the last few years by the remaining Arioto women. The government authorities decreed that they should be clothed, and they immediately became so prudish that they refuse to bare so much as an arm, and they thus present a considerable problem to the anthropologist. Their menfolk, however, are clearly delighted with this sudden modesty which was to me a somewhat 2
pathetic parody, and a further example of Andamanese childish- ^

2 ^ [The remainder of this sentence has been left incomplete in the original text.--Analyst]

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he is permitted to marry:[1] although many remain single until they have undergone these various rites, it is considered almost as binding on those who marry before doing so, to comply with these time-honoured usages at some early opportunity. 881

Marriage.—1. It has been asserted that the "communal marriage,"[2] system prevails among them, and that "marriage is nothing more than taking a female slave,"[3] but so far from the contract being regarded as a merely temporary arrangement, to be set aside at the will of either party, no incompatibility of temper or other cause is allowed to dissolve the union, and, while bigamy, polygamy, polyandry, and divorce are unknown, conjugal fidelity till death is not the exception, but the rule, and matrimonial differences, which, however, occur but rarely, are easily settled with or without the intervention of friends. 581 586 837

2. It is undoubtedly true that breaches of morality have occasionally taken place among a few of the married persons who have resided for any length of time at Port Blair, but this is only what might be expected from constant association with the Indian convict attendants at the various homes; justice, however, demands that in judging of their moral characteristics we should consider those only who have been uninfluenced by the vices or virtues of alien races.

3. As in various other savage tribes, unchastity[4] is apparently universal among the unmarried of both sexes, and is indeed so entirely disregarded that no reproof is administered, even by the nearest relatives, to those who offend in this manner; notwithstanding this laxity, the girls are strikingly modest and child-like in their demeanour, and when married are good wives and models of constancy, while their husbands do not fall far short of them in this respect. It should, however, be mentioned, that the freedom which exists between the sexes prior to wedlock, is confined to those who are not within the prescribed limits of affinity, as their customs do not permit of the union of any who are known to be even distantly related;[5] the fact of our allowing first cousins to marry seems to them highly objection- 836 835

[1] They think highly of a man who defers marriage until he is of full age, and the reverse of a youngster who rushes into matrimony before attaining the mature (!) age of eighteen.

[2] "So absolutely closely allied are the Andaman Islanders in their moral as well as physical life to the lower animals, that it is said by an eminent scientific voyager (Sir Edward Belcher) that the man and woman remain together until the mother ceases to suckle the child, after which they separate as a matter of course, and each seeks a new partner" (Brown).

[3] *Vide* Wood.

[4] "A great many races of mankind are quite indifferent to juvenile unchastity, and only impose strict conduct on their women after marriage" (Peschel).

[5] "It is precisely nations in the most primitive stage which have the greatest abhorrence of incestuous marriages" (Peschel).

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835 836 able and immoral, which is turning the tables on us with a vengeance.[1]

836 584 4. In consequence of the lax code of morality prevailing among the unmarried, it not unfrequently happens that a marriage is brought about by the circumstance of the young woman being found *enceinte*. When this is the case, the guardians ascertain from her companions or herself who is the cause of her being in such a condition, and, whether it is an easy matter or not to decide this question with certainty, there never appears to be any difficulty in persuading the youth whom she names [848] as her lover to become her husband. It thus happens that children are very rarely born out of wedlock.

584 5 Parents and foster-parents have the power of betrothing their children in infancy, and though subsequently, during childhood, they may be parted, the contract must be fulfilled soon after they attain a marriageable age; it is even alleged that, like the Yorubas,[2] the Andamanese look upon a girl betrothed by her parents as so far a wife that with her prematrimonial unfaithfulness is accounted a crime.

6. As soon as the betrothal has been agreed upon, the girl is taken to the hut of her future father-in-law, or foster father-in-law, and the children remain together for several months, in order that the fact of their engagement may become generally known; after this the girl returns to her old home, or is adopted by one of her father's friends. Should either of the betrothed pair die young, the survivor is not called upon to take any part at the obsequies, and is at liberty to form another alliance.

607 7. Until a man attains middle age he evinces great shyness in the presence of the wife of a *younger* brother or cousin, and the feeling is invariably reciprocated; it is, however, otherwise in the case of the elder brother's (or cousin's) wife, who, moreover, should she be many years his senior, receives from him much of the respect accorded to a mother. In the first of the above cases all communications are made through a third person, though under no circumstances would marriage be permissible between them; while in the latter it is almost obligatory, unless the disparity between the ages be very great.

584 8. It is not customary for lovers to intimate their desire of being married, but it is the duty of the guardian, or, in the case of widows and widowers, of the chief of the community, to

[1] On reference to Appendix I, it will be found that the terms which are used to denote *half-brother* and *half-sister*, are also employed to denote *male* and *female cousins*, showing how close they regard the relationship.

[2] Farrer's "Primitive Manners and Customs," p. 201.

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602 developed system of terms denoting social status, so in the
601 social organisation of the Andamans there are very few special duties between relatives, and the conduct of persons to one another is chiefly determined by their respective social positions. This will become evident as we proceed, and it will thus be shown that there is a close connection between the way the natives denote relationships and the way in which their social life is affected by questions of relationship.

581 We have already seen that in the Andamanese social
594 organisation the family is of great importance. A family is constituted by a permanent union between one man and one woman. In one of its aspects this union is a sexual one. By marriage a man acquires the sole right to sexual congress with the woman who becomes his wife. At the same time it is the duty of a married man to avoid sexual relations with other
836 women whether married or unmarried. Promiscuous intercourse
584 between the sexes is the rule before marriage, and no harm is thought of it. The love affairs of the boys and girls are carried on in secret, but the older members of the camp are generally fully aware of all that goes on. What generally happens is that after a time a youth forms an attachment with some girl and a marriage between them results from their love affair.

It is impossible, at the present time, to discover exactly how
837 the Andamanese formerly regarded infidelity on the part of a wife or husband. In the Great Andaman there is great laxity in this matter at the present day. Quarrels sometimes arise when a husband discovers an intrigue between his wife and another man, but very often the husband seems to condone the adultery of his wife. Mr E. H. Man, writing on this subject, says that "conjugal fidelity till death is not the exception, but the rule," and adds, "It is undoubtedly true that breaches of morality have occasionally taken place among a few of the married persons who have resided for any length of time at Port Blair, but this is only what might be expected from constant association with the Indian convict attendants at the various homes; justice, however, demands that in judging of their moral characteristics we should consider only those who have been

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that the young are early instructed in the duties of hospitality, while the aged, the suffering, and the helpless are objects of special attention; that their moral code is not confined within these limits will be seen as I proceed.

4. The curious, but by no means uncommon,[1] savage custom of adoption prevails among them, from which, however, it must not be inferred that love of offspring is a characteristic in which they are at all deficient, for this is far from being the case.

5. It is said to be of rare occurrence to find any child above six or seven years of age residing with its parents, and this because it is considered a compliment and also a mark of friendship[2] for a married man, after paying a visit, to ask his hosts to allow him to adopt one of their children. The request is usually complied with, and thenceforth the child's home is with his (or her) foster-father (*mai-ōt-châ·tnga-*): though the parents in their turn adopt the children of other friends, they nevertheless pay continual visits to their own child, and occasionally ask permission (!) to take him (or her) away with them for a few days.

6. A man is entirely at liberty to please himself in the number of children he adopts, but he must treat them with kindness and consideration, and in every respect as his own sons and daughters, and they, on their part, render him filial affection and obedience.

7. It not unfrequently happens that in course of time permission to adopt a foster-child is sought by a friend of the *soi-disant* father, and is at once granted (unless any exceptional circumstance should render it personally inconvenient), without even the formality of a reference to the actual parents, who are merely informed of the change in order that they may be enabled to pay their periodical visits.

8. Foster-parents constantly manifest much opposition to any desire they may observe on the part of the lads they have brought up, to make a home for themselves, for the selfish reason that they are useful in a variety of ways, above all, when they have acquired skill in hunting, turtling, &c.; over the maidens little or no restraint is imposed, as their marriage entails but a trifling loss in a material sense on those who have reared them.

9. Human nature, however, is the same all the world over, and boys will be boys even in the Andaman jungles, so it is not surprising that, in spite of all the precautions taken by their

[1] *Vide* Lubbock, "On the Origin of Civilization," &c., p. 96.

[2] Whether this be the true explanation of its object and origin or not, there can be little doubt that it has the effect of greatly extending the intercourse between the members of the various encampments.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

572 597 836 584 seniors, a good deal of flirtation, and often something more, is carried on by the young people without arousing any suspicions as to their sentiments for one another, until the affair has become too serious to be broken off, and has to end, sooner or later, in their marriage and start in life on their own account. In some cases, when the guardians have reason to believe that a lad has, notwithstanding his assurances to the contrary, a *sub silentio* attachment, they adopt the following method for testing the truth of his asseveration; on a given day it is arranged by the friends of the suspected couple that they shall (without the knowledge of either) be painted respectively [302] with the red oxide of iron unguent, *kòi·ob-*, and the white clay *tâ·la-ōg-*, for, as they would not meet till night-fall, the risk of their discovering the trap laid for them is reduced to a minimum, while a glance on the following morning would suffice to betray them if guilty, and the guardians' object would be attained, for, from shame at his secret being known, and his falsehood exposed, the youth feels in honour bound to break off his connection with the girl, at least for some time.

582 597 **Relationships.**—1. In all the relations of life the question of propinquity is, in their eyes, of paramount importance, and marriage is only permissible between those who are known to be not even distantly connected, except by wedlock, with each other; so inexorable, indeed, is this rule, that it extends, and applies equally, to such as are related merely by the custom of adoption to which I have just referred.

[605] 601 2. A first cousin, actual or by adoption, is regarded as a half-brother or half-sister, as the case may be, and nephews and nieces almost as sons and daughters, while the terms used to denote a grandfather, grandmother, grandson, and grand-daughter are equally applied to indicate respectively a grand-uncle, grand-aunt, grand-nephew, and grand-niece.

3. Parents, when addressing, or referring to their children and not using their names, employ distinct terms, the father calling his son *dar ō·dire, i.e.*, he that has been begotten by me, and his daughter *dar ō·dire-pail-*; while the mother makes use of the word *dab ē·tire, i.e.*, he whom I have borne, for the former, and *dab ē·tire-pail-* for the latter; similarly, friends in speaking of children to their parents say respectively, *ngar ō·dire*, or *ngab ē·tire* (your son), *ngar ō·dire-pail-*, or *ngab ē·tire-pail-* (your daughter).[1]

4. Uncles and aunts on the father's are not distinguished from those on the mother's side; relationships are traced in both lines, and the system with reference to either sex is identical.

[1] Foster-parents employ the terms *dōt chá·tnga-* and *dōt chá·tnga-pail-* in referring to their adopted son and daughter respectively.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

he is permitted to marry:[1] although many remain single until they have undergone these various rites, it is considered almost as binding on those who marry before doing so, to comply with these time-honoured usages at some early opportunity.

Marriage.—1. It has been asserted that the "communal marriage,"[2] system prevails among them, and that "marriage is nothing more than taking a female slave,"[3] but so far from the contract being regarded as a merely temporary arrangement, to be set aside at the will of either party, no incompatibility of temper or other cause is allowed to dissolve the union, and, while bigamy, polygamy, polyandry, and divorce are unknown, conjugal fidelity till death is not the exception, but the rule, and matrimonial differences, which, however, occur but rarely, are easily settled with or without the intervention of friends.

2. It is undoubtedly true that breaches of morality have occasionally taken place among a few of the married persons who have resided for any length of time at Port Blair, but this is only what might be expected from constant association with the Indian convict attendants at the various homes; justice, however, demands that in judging of their moral characteristics we should consider those only who have been uninfluenced by the vices or virtues of alien races.

3. As in various other savage tribes, unchastity[4] is apparently universal among the unmarried of both sexes, and is indeed so entirely disregarded that no reproof is administered, even by the nearest relatives, to those who offend in this manner; notwithstanding this laxity, the girls are strikingly modest and child-like in their demeanour, and when married are good wives and models of constancy, while their husbands do not fall far short of them in this respect. It should, however, be mentioned, that the freedom which exists between the sexes prior to wedlock, is confined to those who are not within the prescribed limits of affinity, as their customs do not permit of the union of any who are known to be even distantly related;[5] the fact of our allowing first cousins to marry seems to them highly objection-

[1] They think highly of a man who defers marriage until he is of full age, and the reverse of a youngster who rushes into matrimony before attaining the mature (!) age of eighteen.

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[3] *Vide* Wood.

[4] "A great many races of mankind are quite indifferent to juvenile unchastity, and only impose strict conduct on their women after marriage" (Peschel).

[5] "It is precisely nations in the most primitive stage which have the greatest abhorrence of incestuous marriages" (Peschel).

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

835 836 able and immoral, which is turning the tables on us with a vengeance.[1]

836 584 4. In consequence of the lax code of morality prevailing among the unmarried, it not unfrequently happens that a marriage is brought about by the circumstance of the young woman being found *enceinte*. When this is the case, the guardians ascertain from her companions or herself who is the cause of her being in such a condition, and, whether it is an easy matter or not to decide this question with certainty, there never appears to be any difficulty in persuading the youth whom she names [848] as her lover to become her husband. It thus happens that children are very rarely born out of wedlock.

584 5. Parents and foster-parents have the power of betrothing their children in infancy, and though subsequently, during childhood, they may be parted, the contract must be fulfilled soon after they attain a marriageable age; it is even alleged that, like the Yorubas,[2] the Andamanese look upon a girl betrothed by her parents as so far a wife that with her prematrimonial unfaithfulness is accounted a crime.

6. As soon as the betrothal has been agreed upon, the girl is taken to the hut of her future father-in-law, or foster father-in-law, and the children remain together for several months, in order that the fact of their engagement may become generally known; after this the girl returns to her old home, or is adopted by one of her father's friends. Should either of the betrothed pair die young, the survivor is not called upon to take any part at the obsequies, and is at liberty to form another alliance.

607 7. Until a man attains middle age he evinces great shyness in the presence of the wife of a *younger* brother or cousin, and the feeling is invariably reciprocated; it is, however, otherwise in the case of the elder brother's (or cousin's) wife, who, moreover, should she be many years his senior, receives from him much of the respect accorded to a mother. In the first of the above cases all communications are made through a third person, though under no circumstances would marriage be permissible between them; while in the latter it is almost obligatory, unless the disparity between the ages be very great.

584 8. It is not customary for lovers to intimate their desire of being married, but it is the duty of the guardian, or, in the case of widows and widowers, of the chief of the community, to

[1] On reference to Appendix I, it will be found that the terms which are used to denote *half-brother* and *half-sister*, are also employed to denote *male* and *female cousins*, showing how close they regard the relationship.

[2] Farrer's "Primitive Manners and Customs," p. 201.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

602 developed system of terms denoting social status, so in the
601 social organisation of the Andamans there are very few special duties between relatives, and the conduct of persons to one another is chiefly determined by their respective social positions. This will become evident as we proceed, and it will thus be shown that there is a close connection between the way the natives denote relationships and the way in which their social life is affected by questions of relationship.

581 We have already seen that in the Andamanese social
594 organisation the family is of great importance. A family is constituted by a permanent union between one man and one woman. In one of its aspects this union is a sexual one. By marriage a man acquires the sole right to sexual congress with the woman who becomes his wife. At the same time it is the duty of a married man to avoid sexual relations with other women whether married or unmarried. Promiscuous intercourse
836 between the sexes is the rule before marriage, and no harm is
584 thought of it. The love affairs of the boys and girls are carried on in secret, but the older members of the camp are generally fully aware of all that goes on. What generally happens is that after a time a youth forms an attachment with some girl and a marriage between them results from their love affair.

• 537 It is impossible, at the present time, to discover exactly how the Andamanese formerly regarded infidelity on the part of a wife or husband. In the Great Andaman there is great laxity in this matter at the present day. Quarrels sometimes arise when a husband discovers an intrigue between his wife and another man, but very often the husband seems to condone the adultery of his wife. Mr E. H. Man, writing on this subject, says that "conjugal fidelity till death is not the exception, but the rule," and adds, "It is undoubtedly true that breaches of morality have occasionally taken place among a few of the married persons who have resided for any length of time at Port Blair, but this is only what might be expected from constant association with the Indian convict attendants at the various homes; justice, however, demands that in judging of their moral characteristics we should consider only those who have been

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

uninfluenced by the vices or virtues of alien races[1]." At the present time conjugal infidelity is very common and is lightly regarded. It is almost certain that the establishment of the Penal Settlement amongst them has affected their morals in this particular, but there does not seem to be any very satisfactory evidence that their former morality was quite so strict as Mr Man would have us believe. One piece of evidence in this matter is that the spread of syphilis, when it was first introduced amongst them seems to have been very rapid, and yet this was before many of the tribes had been very seriously affected by the Settlement. 837

Besides the special sexual relation between a husband and wife there is a special economic relation, if we may speak of it as such. The two share one hut between them, or one portion of a communal hut. It is the duty of the wife to provide the fire-wood and the water for cooking and drinking, and to cook the meals at the family fire. It is the duty of the husband to provide flesh food for himself and for his wife, while it is her duty to provide and prepare vegetable food. 594 581

A marriage is not regarded as fully consummated until the birth of a child. Mr Man states that the survivor of a childless couple is not looked upon as the chief mourner. A father who has been away from home greets his wife first on his return and then greets his other relatives; but if no child has been born to him a husband first greets his blood-relatives (father, mother, brothers, etc.) and only after that does he visit his wife. 581 576 851

The only regulation of marriage is on the basis of relationship. Marriage is forbidden between near *consanguinei*. The exact rules, in this matter, if indeed there be any exact rules, are difficult to discover. It is quite clear that a man would not be permitted to marry his sister or half-sister, nor his father's or mother's sister, nor his brother's or sister's daughter. The question is more difficult when it comes to the matter of cousins. In 1908 I only found one pair of first cousins who were married to one another, this being in the *Aka-Bo* tribe. The husband 582 605

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 135. He speaks of the wives as "models of constancy."

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

762 pound word (*ō·yun-lē·mar-tō·liganga-*) in order to express the nature of the act.

673 2. That they are not entirely devoid of moral consciousness may, I think, in some measure, be demonstrated by the fact of their possessing a word, *yū·bda-*, signifying sin or wrong doing, which is used in connection with falsehood, theft, grave assault, murder, adultery, and — burning wax (!),[1] which deeds are believed to anger *Pū·luga-*, the Creator, of whom more will be said hereafter.[2]

627 3. Cases of adultery in their own villages are said to be of rare occurrence. If detected, the injured husband would probably inflict condign punishment on the guilty parties, but at the risk of retaliation on the part of the male offender and his friends; there appears, however, to be an understanding, that the greater the provocation offered the less is the risk incurred of the injured person or his friends avenging the wrong, but no appeal to the chief for redress is ever made.

628 4. If an offence, such as an assault or theft, be committed by one or more members of another tribe during a visit or by stealth, it is regarded as premeditated, and generally resented as a tribal affair, resulting in a feud and more or less bloodshed.

5. Intercourse with Europeans and other foreigners has, it must be confessed, unhappily opened their eyes to the existence of some vices of which they had formerly no knowledge;[3] notably is this the case with regard to drunkenness, for, being, till the time they made our acquaintance, "blessed in the ignorance of spirituous liquors," they had no conception of its effects, and, to express an inebriate, have invented a word (*lē·lēkanga-*) signifying "staggerer." It must, however, be added, that in consequence of the extreme partiality for rum and other intoxicating drinks which they manifest, much care has to be taken to prevent them from gratifying the easily acquired taste.

Narcotics.—1. Prior to our advent they were also entirely ignorant of narcotics in any form; but one of the evil results of their intercourse with us has been the introduction of the practice of smoking, and so rapidly have they (both men and women) acquired the habit, that, when at a distance from the homes and unable to obtain tobacco, they have been seen to fill their short clay pipes, which, it is scarcely necessary to say, have been obtained from us, with *pán* leaves rather than endure entire deprivation.

[1] *Vide* "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xi, p. 288, and *post*, "Superstitions," paragraph 13.

[2] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs," paragraph 8.

[3] The crimes of abduction, rape, seduction, unnatural offences, &c., appear never to have been committed among them.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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000 establish friendly relations by means of the woman's cries we put off to the *Bess*, hove up anchor and stood out of the harbour.

I greatly regret that the necessity for shooting this man should have arisen and that it should have devolved upon me to do it; but from our Andamanese we learnt that the damaged man undoubtedly belonged to the same raiding party that, between two and three weeks before, murdered one of our convict petty officers while out in the forest looking after the garjan-oil collectors. They also told us they had frequently encountered him before, recognised him by his large moustache and that he was an absolutely implacably hostile villain. As our boat was, at the time of the attack, lying in shallow water, bows to the shore, and the crew had to stand on the thwarts to fend her off the coral knobs and were thereby terribly exposed, a speedy retreat, as well as being very impolitic, was impracticable. Two alternatives then remained, to allow the savages to fire into our crowded boat with the certainty of hitting some one, or forestalling them by shooting one of their number. Our Andamanese were certainly physically not the equals of the Jarawas, so that we could hardly rely on their shooting as well as their opponents and repelling the attack with their bows and arrows, hampered as they were for want of room and the necessity of looking after the boat. Moreover, we had ordered them not to display or even touch their weapons to provoke an attack and they had behaved with exemplary self-control in strictly obeying their orders, relying implicitly on the protection of the weapons in our hands. Had the three men fired simultaneously, as was their evident intent, into our midst, the arrows, coming from such different directions, must have hit some of us and a disaster would almost certainly have ensued. I need hardly say that the Andamanese in our boat desired the total extermination of their life-long enemies, the Jarawas, while those in the *Belle* were most indignant and aggrieved at not being permitted to land to share in the fight.

After leaving Port Campbell we steered south and at 4-30 dropped our anchor off the Mount Augusta Home in Port Mouat where we spent the night. One of the women in the home was overjoyed at hearing that a Jarawa had been injured, as they had ousted her tribe from their possessions in Port Campbell. The knowledge now imparted to the Jarawas that rifles can injure as well as make a noise, may save the lives of any mariners who chance to be shipwrecked on these coasts.

17th February 1901.—Left Port Mouat at dawn, 5-30, towing a large Andamanese canoe, a present for the Onges. To the south of Rutland Island the wind freshed considerably, the canoe upset and we were a good deal delayed by collecting the scattered oars, seats and steersmen and finally hoisting the canoe up to our rail. After anchoring the *Belle* between the Cinque Islands, taking Mr. Bonig and the Onges aboard, we left at 10 A.M. for Little Andaman, picking eight Onge women and two boys off South Cinque Island where they had been awaiting the return of their husbands from Port Blair. We reached Bumila Creek at 3 P.M., landed the Onges, planted some cocoanuts, explained and exhibited the effects of rifle fire to the people, saw their dances, gave them presents and left them happy and contented at 5 P.M. Bumila Creek we found well deserved its name, as crowds of flies settled on our boat and accompanied us back to the *Bess*. Several of the Onge women had large scars on their backs, many 6—8 inches in length, some women having four to eight such scars. These are said to be caused by cuts inflicted by their irate husbands to mark their displeasure at conjugal infidelity, which, to judge by the large proportion of scarred women, is not uncommon. After a very rough passage rendered difficult by the darkness of the night and the absence of a good compass, we anchored off Cinque Island at 8-30.

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000 *18th February 1901.*—Landed on south Cinque Island to collect specimens of the bare rocks which form such a marked feature of parts of Rutland and the Cinque Islands, returned to the *Bess* at 8-30, hove up anchor, left for Port Blair, and reached there 11-30 A.M.

Diary of Mr. H. H. D'Oyly, Third Assistant Superintendent, Port Blair, on the second tour round the Andaman Islands on Census duty from the 15th to the 18th February 1901.

15th February 1901.—Left Port Blair with Mr. E. H. Man, C.I.E., and Captain A. R. S. Anderson, I.M.S., in the steam launch *Bess* at 6 A.M., following close behind the steam launch *Belle* which was navigated by Mr. Bonig, Assistant Harbour Master, going north *viâ* Kyd Island. As the weather was bad for two or three days previously until last night, it was decided to reverse the original programme drawn up by the Chief Commissioner, so as to give time for the sea to calm down before attempting the passage to the Little Andaman. We stopped for half an hour at Kyd Island to question the people at the Andamanese Home there, where we went before in the first tour, and to leave some cocoanuts to be planted; then proceeded through Middle Strait to Kwangtung Harbour. No people were found on the way. At the village in the mouth of the Harbour, there were 51 people, counting women and children, collected according to directions given by Mr. Man, in the first tour, from the surrounding country. Details are given in the Census forms, to be submitted to the Chief Commissioner, at the end of the operations. Remained in this Harbour for the night.

16th February 1901.—Left Kwangtung Harbour at 6 A.M., the *Bess* following the *Belle*, and ran down the west coast of South Andaman to Port Campbell. In entering the port we blew the steam whistle several times before seeing any people on shore. At length when we had turned to run out of the port, about a dozen Andamanese including some women were seen walking fast along the shore from the mouth of the Harbour towards the interior. Our

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

Endogamous life, or the habit of never washing even the female genital organs, cannot be the only cause of Andamanese sterility. Alcohol and venereal diseases such as syphilis may only be a complementary cause. The Onge's limited fertility probably derives from other factors besides their protracted and inceasingly strict endogamy. 842 [515] [582]

We can only remark that Onge women rarely become pregnant before 28 ; their fertility ceases around the age of 48. The high rate of sterility among Onge women after marriage (which generally takes place at the age of 14) is puzzling indeed. Of several childless couples that I studied in Little Andaman, the woman was under 28. There is hope of fertility after that age. It could so happen, for instance, in the case of two young Onge chiefs, Okkeggi and Chendubai, married to two sisters among the most beautiful and flourishing girls on the island : Ooaghēghē and Tocooaghēghē, both around 20. They never became pregnant, although menstruation was normal and they had plenty of sexual intercourse, even extra-marital. 842 147 [582] [837]

The delayed appearance of fertility in Andamanese women is probably connected with a general biological condition fostered by unhygienic habits. For instance : young Onge females have a high vagina acidity content that is certainly harmful to spermatozoa. It decreases with age, facilitating, we may suppose, fecundation. Vaginal washing would help, but the Onge women never recur to it. But this is only one side of the question. It is evidently urgent to do whatever is necessary to save the Onge from extinction. We must remember that civilized nations, through international agreements, are anxious to protect plant and animal species from disappearance. The same should be done for man, and equivalent international laws are needed. The Onge as a human group are on the verge of extinction ; but they still retain enough vitality to be rescued before they finally vanish into eternity. 147 515 161

Without enlarging here on the disorders of Onge sexual life and their dire effects also on the number of births, I wish to point out one more fact : Onge homosexuality as a normal occurrence. It is a plague in Little Andaman, helped by the regular physiological functions of both extremities of the digestive tube. The sexual tendencies that prevail in Little Andaman are a strong criticism of FREUD's theories on sexual life, but I will not discuss this here. I would rather say a few words about some opinions regarding the cause of Onge sterility that I heard expressed in the Andamans. Foreigners there ascribe it to the *naquinēghē* – the grass-like apron worn by women. Colonists believe that this garment leads to copulation from the rear, reducing the chances of fecundation. This idea is incorrect : the Onge never do this because the *naquinēghē* can be easily lifted as required, and pulled up over the abdomen. It is true that Onge women remove the *naquinēghē* only to replace it with a fresh one ; they wear it even when sleeping. Not for a single instant must women remain "undressed", for superstitious reasons. When a new *naquinēghē* is needed, the old one is furtively disposed of. Husband and wife repair secretely to a remote part of the forest, the woman slipping the new garment over her head before removing the old one, and burying the latter, which is quickly destroyed by white ants. The Onge believe that possession by a stranger of a worn 838 842 833 291 [513] [754]

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622 groups of families. There is some spontaneous recognition of individuals as 'headmen' as a result of some generally accepted superiority of physique or discernment, but the concept goes no further than the giving of some weight to their views within the group.

13 MARRIAGE

595 The Onges are monogamous, like all peoples who have never progressed
837 beyond the stage of hunting and gathering, and adultery is virtually unknown. Marriage consists merely of the man taking possession of the
585 woman in the presence of the rest of the group, taking her by the hand to a new bed built for the occasion and allotted a place within the circle. The 'marriage' takes place in the late evening and is followed by frenzied dancing all night long by the light of the resin torches. The total absence
[174] of any form of ritual leads one to suppose isolation from a very early date indeed, but this cannot be more than conjecture.

14 BURIAL

172 The custom of burying the dead in caves still occupied by the living
174 apparently existed in the Palaeolithic era. The practice has continued to
764 the present time in the Andamans, where the dead are still buried under the family bed in the communal hut. It is known from Palaeolithic burials that even in that era objects were sometimes buried with the dead, and it is thus possible that the culture of the Andamans dates back to very early times.

15 EXHUMATION AND SECOND BURIAL

172
765 The custom of exhuming the bones of the dead and re-interring them after coloration (in this case with ochre) dates from the Palaeolithic era.

16 BONE NECKLACES

301 The custom of wearing necklaces of carpals, tarsals, phalanges and fragments of rib, is of extreme antiquity, and apart from the Andamans, has virtually disappeared.

17 RELIGION

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775 There is evidence that even in Palaeolithic times there existed a belief in
764 the survival of the spirit after death, and a fear of its return (hence the

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Endogamous life, or the habit of never washing even the female genital organs, cannot be the only cause of Andamanese sterility. Alcohol and venereal diseases such as syphilis may only be a complementary cause. The Onge's limited fertility probably derives from other factors besides their protracted and inceasingly strict endogamy. 842 [515] [582]

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The delayed appearance of fertility in Andamanese women is probably connected with a general biological condition fostered by unhygienic habits. For instance : young Onge females have a high vagina acidity content that is certainly harmful to spermatozoa. It decreases with age, facilitating, we may suppose, fecundation. Vaginal washing would help, but the Onge women never recur to it. But this is only one side of the question. It is evidently urgent to do whatever is necessary to save the Onge from extinction. We must remember that civilized nations, through international agreements, are anxious to protect plant and animal species from disappearance. The same should be done for man, and equivalent international laws are needed. The Onge as a human group are on the verge of extinction ; but they still retain enough vitality to be rescued before they finally vanish into eternity. 147 515 161

Without enlarging here on the disorders of Onge sexual life and their dire effects also on the number of births, I wish to point out one more fact : Onge homosexuality as a normal occurrence. It is a plague in Little Andaman, helped by the regular physiological functions of both extremities of the digestive tube. The sexual tendencies that prevail in Little Andaman are a strong criticism of FREUD's theories on sexual life, but I will not discuss this here. I would rather say a few words about some opinions regarding the cause of Onge sterility that I heard expressed in the Andamans. Foreigners there ascribe it to the *naquinēghē* – the grass-like apron worn by women. Colonists believe that this garment leads to copulation from the rear, reducing the chances of fecundation. This idea is incorrect : the Onge never do this because the *naquinēghē* can be easily lifted as required, and pulled up over the abdomen. It is true that Onge women remove the *naquinēghē* only to replace it with a fresh one ; they wear it even when sleeping. Not for a single instant must women remain "undressed", for superstitious reasons. When a new *naquinēghē* is needed, the old one is furtively disposed of. Husband and wife repair secretely to a remote part of the forest, the woman slipping the new garment over her head before removing the old one, and burying the latter, which is quickly destroyed by white ants. The Onge believe that possession by a stranger of a worn 838 842 833 291 [513] [754]

157 522 Western standards taciturn or sly, and the Negro peoples, who frequently manifest complete abandonment in their amusement. 157 522 83 Obscenities appear to be an unfailing source of amusement to the Onges, who indulge in them at every opportunity, even with strangers, and the obscene dances of the womenfolk are a continual source of pleasure. The exchange of obscenities is, indeed, a sign of friendship, and I found that vulgarity was invariably immensely successful in provoking hilarity; any subsequent negotiations were always peaceable and satisfactory.

302 [157] An extension of this vulgarity is an infantile vanity, not without sexual significance. The care with which their bodies are painted nearly every day is one aspect of this vanity; the more a wife loves her husband the more magnificent the designs she executes on him. [153] [151] [161] The paintings on their bodies reach a peak every two or three days, as the Onges fear illness and death if they are not newly daubed, and the face at least must be continually painted, with at least smears on the chest, arms and legs. A man returning from an exceptionally successful hunting trip is met by his wife with a specially unusual and elaborate design, which she carries out with great devotion. [123] During each of my visits to the island the Onges would rush up to show me their embellishments as soon as they were finished, and took a delight in standing in front of my camera, even though they had no idea what it was for.

304 [171] It is curious that unlike most primitive peoples, the Onges do not practise tattooing, which is one of the simplest ways, if not *the* simplest, in which such peoples satisfy their craving for physical [184] [302] admiration. The other Andamanese do, puncturing the skin with tiny slivers of obsidian or quartz, but the Onges paint with ochre instead. They love, too, to weave garlands of fruit, flowers and 301 824 leaves from the forest, returning to the camp laden with them, men and women alike, delighted with their own beauty. This divergence [184] of customs in peoples essentially of the same stock, but separated for long periods of time into endogamous isolates, is very remarkable.

838 An intense preoccupation with sexual attraction and activity has led to the prevalence of aberration. All the Onges have homosexual tendencies. I became aware of this during my first visit to Little Andaman on one of my longer expeditions, when I had taken only men with me, and on subsequent occasions I therefore allowed the men to bring their wives. The effect of long periods of absence on

men naturally predisposed to the abnormality is enhanced by the 838 fact that the youngest and most attractive women are invariably monopolized by the older men. So prevalent, indeed, is homosexuality that one is obliged to regard it as a biological, and not as a social or psychological abnormality. It is not, therefore, surprising [832] to find that kissing is unknown; sexual excitement is aroused instead by nose-rubbing.

None of the Onges have any sense of modesty. This is partly the 834 result of circumstances; privacy is impossible in the communal life 291 of the group. This is in marked contrast to the comical dignity 177 assumed during the last few years by the remaining Arioto women. The government authorities decreed that they should be clothed, and they immediately became so prudish that they refuse to bare so much as an arm, and they thus present a considerable problem to the anthropologist. Their menfolk, however, are clearly delighted with this sudden modesty which was to me a somewhat pathetic parody, and a further example of Andamanese childish- 1

1 [The remainder of this sentence has been left incomplete in the original text.--Analyst]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

881 184 After this ceremony the girl is said to be *aka-ndu-kolot*. For some time afterwards she must not have her head shaved, and she must not use red paint or white clay.

841 184 I was not able to learn much about the native ideas in connection with the menstrual function. According to the account given me by one informant I gathered that the girl's first menstrual discharge is supposed to be due to sexual intercourse. The man's breath goes into her nose and this produces the discharge. It is believed that if a man were to touch a girl during this period, either during the ceremony or for some time after it, his arm would swell up.

At every recurrence of the menstrual period a woman is required to abstain from eating certain foods. According to an *Akar-Bale* informant these are, in that tribe, pork, turtle, *Paradoxurus*, honey and yams. An *Aka-Čari* informant added to the above list dugong, monitor lizard, and the fish *komar*. If she ate any of these things at such a time she would be ill. This continues throughout her life till the climacteric. A menstruating woman is not required to leave the camp, as she is in many savage communities.

From the moment of the ceremony just described the girl enters a new condition which is denoted in the *Aka-Jeru* language by the word *aka-op* (*aka-yaba* in *Aka-Bea*). This word means that the person to whom it is applied is under certain ritual restrictions, chiefly concerned with foods that may not be eaten.

881 304 In the case of a boy there is no physiological event so clearly marked as there is in that of a girl. It rests with the relatives and friends to decide when the boy is to become *aka-op*. It would seem that in the Southern tribes there is no ceremony on this occasion. Among the Northern tribes the boy is made *aka-op* by means of a ceremony that consists of making the scars on his back that are customary in these tribes[1].

When the friends and relatives of a boy decide that he is old enough to have the incisions made in his back a dance is held in the evening, and the boy is required to dance through the

[1] Unfortunately I was not able to see this ceremony performed, and my information is therefore derived from the statements of the natives.

7 [See pp. 92-94, cat. 116 — Analyst]

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

now follow them, often ignoring their original significance and symbolism. Among the Onge, spirits are feared but not loved ; the same applies to God Himself. 775

The Onge bury their dead in trenches, no deeper than three feet. Earth is tightly packed over the graves in order to prevent exhalations. Full details on the subject of Onge burial customs appear in the book that I am writing about the Onge. I slept with the Onge in communal huts that contained fresh graves, without suffering any inconvenience from the smell of the corpses. This recalls the palaeolithic sepulchral caves, where man probably lived as the Onge live in their sepulchral huts today. 764

There are no latrines near Onge camps – whether permanent or temporary. Excrements are spread carelessly all around, lightly covered with leaves and earth. Flies lay eggs on them. The Onge's only precaution is not to defecate where drinking water might be found after rainfall. With so many opportunities for reproduction, in some places flies form such clouds as to impress the natives themselves. In the north of Little Andaman a creek was named after the flies : Bumila Creek, which means "fly creek". Smells also occasionally inspire geographical names : Tambe-é-bùie, on the north-east coast of Little Andaman, means "the smelly place" in the Onge language. Flies, fleas and ticks are tolerated by the Onge who do not fight them. Fortunately, the hymenoptera collect flies for their nests, not, however, in quantities large enough to compete with the fertility of the species. 514 [312] 786 825 [103]

2. Clothing and personal care

The only garment worn by Little Andaman women is the *naquinēghē*, a scanty grasslike apron covering the genitals. In addition, during menstrual periods, Onge women wear the *bataghē*, for hygienic purposes. This is a simple cluster of long, soft green leaves cut by the husband for his wife from special trees : Myristica longifolia and others. The only leaves used are those from the end of a stalk, a section of which is left attached to the leaves. The stalk is slipped under the *naquinēghē*, while the long leaves are passed between the thighs to be fastened at the back above the buttocks. It is curious to see Onge women in such myristical attire ! The *bataghē* is ethnographical news, new not only as regards the Andamans : it is an interesting indication of the hygienic measures employed by primitive people, and can probably be traced to prehistoric practices in analogous circumstances. The continental and insular regions nearest to the Andamans have retained no similar custom ; their only practice is the strict isolation of menstruating women. Among the Onge, on the other hand, they are allowed free circulation. Washing is unknown to the Onge : they never wash their bodies intentionally. Brushing through the thick forest and diving into the sea or the river to collect food substitute adequately for washing. The Little Andaman forest is nearly always dripping ; moving among the trees, specially in the early morning, is equivalent to bathing. The contact of wet leaves when walking cleans the Onge's skin, for they go naked ; and as they constantly dive into the sea and rivers, they do not smell. Actually they give an impression of cleanliness – as opposed to many other dark-skinned 291 841 [824] [171] 515 [147]

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

LIDIO CIPRIANI, Hygiene and Medical Practices among the Onge (Little Andaman)

Plate 1

271
291
302
412
415
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342
841

a) Onge communal hut.
b) Painted Onge woman drinking from a nautilus shell.
c) Woman with *bataghé* leaves.
d) Filter going from mouth to mouth.

[p. 488 (A)]

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

common in the Andamans, said by RADCLIFFE-BROWN (p. 273) to be eaten by the Andaman Islanders as a protection against rheumatism, is never killed. For some superstitious reason the Onge are simply horrified at the thought of touching such an enormous flying bat. Among the fruits, those of a plant whose wood has such a revolting smell that it is known, in English, as "stool-tree", are believed to have exceptional protective properties for the human body. The fruits themselves smell even worse than the wood, but this, to the Onge, makes them appetizing rather than disgusting. Concerning honey, and the many sugary fruits of the jungle that are available all the year round, the Onge luckily ignore the simple method of distilling alcohol. No intoxicating drink reaches Little Andaman from the outer world, whereas in Great Andaman alcohol, together with imported syphilis, was one of the main causes of depopulation. No syphilis appears as yet to have reached Little Andaman. This is also confirmed by the research carried out by Dr. HERMANN LEHMANN of London's St. Bartholomew's Hospital, during February 1953 in my Onge camp in Labanare (north-east coast of Little Andaman).

II. Effects on the People's Lives

The islanders die young, specially the men. The majority of them succumb before reaching the age of 20; most of the survivors die between 20 and 40; the rest – with a very few exceptions – before 50. Women, after marriage, follow a similar pattern: the death rate among women, however, is slightly different owing to a less corrosive sexual life. Some women may live to the age of sixty, but both sexes age soon, appearing older than their years when still in their twenties. The short Onge span of life recalls conditions which apparently prevailed among prehistoric and protohistoric men. Palaeolithic man died at an earlier age than modern man. The Onge today, in many respects, behaves as palaeolithic man behaved countless centuries ago. – Infant mortality is high; the first five days of life are the most critical for the Onge, owing, in part, to the hard life led by mothers even during pregnancy, which often causes functional damage to the placenta. Delivery is generally easy and traumatic injury rarely occurs; but premature births are common, and so are malformations and other anomalies. Imperfect infants are quickly eliminated by their parents. As a result, only a small number of children are allowed to grow up, but these appear normal. There are no blind and no deaf-and-dumb people in Little Andaman. I saw only two instances of incipient lameness: in an unmarried boy of about twenty and in a young married woman. Only robust infants can survive.

The Onge, so careful about their food, are completely indifferent to something else that is considered very harmful in continental and insular regions close to the Andamans. There, menstruating women are often segregated and considered harmful to the entire community. Not so in Little Andaman, where the remedies applied in the circumstance are extremely primitive (cf. supra) and could probably be traced to palaeolithic man. I saw nothing

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

841 resembling these practices in any other part of the world. Never hitherto
171 described, they should be carefully considered. This would require a lengthy description, for which there is no space here. We may recall that menstruating Onge women are allowed to circulate freely at all times. An interesting detail
[751] is that the *naquinēghē* of first menstruations are worn by relations around their neck as having health-giving properties. The women, as we know, use special
841 soft, long leaves, collected for them by their husbands, as absorbents. They
[824] are the leaves of Myristica longifolia or of Tretanthera lanceofolia both species serving the purpose. They are applied under the *naquinēghē* and drawn back between the legs to be secured above the buttocks. – Sexual intercourse is
[834] forbidden during the menstrual period even by the Onge : illness – a swelling
[753] of the arms or legs – would follow. A curious theory about the reason for menstruation in very young girls is that it is a result of previous sexual contacts stimulated by nose rubbing – the Onge substitute for kissing. They ignore the
892 unhygienic practice of kissing with the lips, and never even kiss their children. Only nose rubbing is practiced. The anatomical structure of the Onge nose, which almost totally lacks nasal bones and is very fleshy, may explain this transference of sensation from nearby regions, i. e. the lips.

844 Births take place in the forest and are surrounded by no hygienic precautions or disinfection as conceived by us. Clay is applied to stem puerperal bleeding, without provoking infection. The only assistant is the pregnant woman's husband, and sometimes one or two old women. Their ability equals that of a herdsman delivering his goat of a kid. No inconvenience arises, in either instance, from lack of precautions. – The tiny, tender and graceful bodies
[751] of Onge infants are smeared with ochre and light-coloured clay for hygienic purposes. This is done immediately after birth, and affords some protection against the teeming legions of mosquitos and ticks that plague Little Andaman. The infant is never washed in water, not even at the very moment of birth. The placenta is buried 30 or 40 cms deep, under the bed of naked branches upon which the mother delivered her baby.

842 An argument that deserves much attention concerns the possible link
143 between lack of hygiene and sterility among the Onge. A vast number of married couples have no offspring, thereby threatening their group with extinction. Consanguinity could be given as a cause : let us examine it. No doubt the Onge are related to each other as a consequence of long interbreeding in their island with no foreigners admitted. These conditions afford an ideal field for studying the effects of endogamy on man. Nowhere in the world, as far as I know, are a people so isolated as in Little Andaman. Inbreeding has existed at 100 % ever since remote times. In other words, the Onge would seem to be the most highly inbred human population known up to the present. Could this fact alone, aside from unhealthy habits, explain their present widespread sterility ? Special
174 studies on the subject should be undertaken, keeping in mind that the Onge have certainly inhabited Little Andaman for thousands of years, on the evidence of my excavations in their kitchen-middens.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

844 Her legs are flexed so that her knees may be clasped by her arms. The only manipulation is pressure exerted on the upper part of the abdomen by one of the attendant women. The umbilical cord is severed with a knife, formerly of cane or bamboo, but in these days of iron. The after-birth is buried in the jungle. The infant is washed and then scraped with a *Cyrena* shell. After a few days he (or she) is given a coating of clay (*odu*).

[846]

844 775 If a baby dies and within a year or two the mother again becomes pregnant, it is said that it is the same baby born again, and the name of the deceased child is given to it. Thus one woman had three children of the same name, the first two having died soon after birth. According to the native ideas this was really the same child born three times. It is only those who die in infancy that are thus reincarnated.

843 In the Northern tribes it is believed that a woman can tell the sex of her unborn child. If she feels it on the left side it is a male, because men hold the bow (the typical masculine implement) in the left hand. If she feels it on the right side it is a female, because it is in her right hand that a woman holds her fishing net.

•842 A married man who is childless and desires a child will wear a *čiba* (sling of bark used for carrying children) round his shoulders when he is sitting in camp. The *čiba* and the way it is used for carrying children may be seen in the photograph in Plate XIV. If a childless woman wishes to have a child she may catch, cook and eat a certain species of small frog.

842 775 At a place called *Tonmuket* in the North Andaman there is a spot to which it is said that women may resort if they wish to become pregnant. On the reef at this spot there are a large number of stones which, according to the legend, were once little children. The woman who desires a child walks out on to the reef when the tide is low and stands upon these stones. It is believed that one of the baby souls will enter her body and become incarnate[1].

[1] I could not obtain any definite legend about these stones, but one informant said that when *Biliku* got angry and destroyed the world (see later, Chap. IV) the children all became stones at this place.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

In the North Andaman there is some sort of association between the unborn souls of babies, the green pigeon and the *Ficus laccifera* tree. The same name, *Reyko*, is used to denote both the green pigeon and also the *Ficus laccifera*, of the fruit of which the pigeon is very fond. The belief of the natives is sometimes stated by saying that the souls of unborn children live in the *Ficus* trees, and that if a baby dies before it has been weaned its soul goes back to the tree. Another statement of the natives is that it is when the green pigeon is calling that the soul of a baby goes into its mother. The *Ficus* is to a certain extent tabu. I was told that the tree must not be cut or damaged. Nevertheless the natives do cut the tree in order to obtain the bark of the aerial roots from which they prepare a fibre that they use for making personal ornaments. There is no tabu in connection with the green pigeon, which may be killed and eaten. 842 775 784

In most primitive societies, if not in all, there are ritual or ceremonial observances in connection with the change by which a boy or girl becomes a man or woman. The ceremonies that are performed to mark this change are commonly spoken of in ethnological literature as "initiation ceremonies." The term is not perhaps the best that could be chosen, but usage has rendered it familiar. 000

The life of an Andaman Islander is divided into three well-marked periods, corresponding roughly with the physiological periods of childhood, adolescence, and maturity. The first period lasts from birth till about the advent of puberty; the second lasts from puberty till after marriage; the third extends from marriage to death. 561

During the period of childhood the boy or girl lives with his or her parents, or, in the later years of the period, with adopted parents, having a place in the family hut and a share in the family meal. A girl continues to live with her parents or with her adopted parents until she marries. When boys have finished growing, and have reached the condition of young men, they cease to live with their parents or adopted parents and, until they are married, they occupy a bachelors' hut of their own, and have their own meal. 858 882

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

not at the hands of their mothers, but of the male members of the tribe. 144 847

Reproduction.—1. Marriages never take place till both parties have attained maturity, and generally not till a few years later; the usual age of the bridegroom varies from 18 to 22, and of the bride from 16 to 20. The result of inquiries tends to show that there is a slight predominance of female over male births; three or four is the average number of children born of the same parents. The largest family known consisted of six, three only of whom attained maturity.[1] 582 163

2. Twins are rare, and as no instance can be recalled of both surviving infancy, notwithstanding all possible care being bestowed on them, they are not favourably regarded. No case of triplets has been known to occur.[2] Births out of wedlock are considered discreditable, and in the one known instance of the kind, the parents were married immediately after the event; no difference was made in the treatment which the child received.[2] 845 848

3. The limited fecundity of the women may in some measure be due to the circumstance that they never wean their babies, so long as they are able to suckle them, and it not unfrequently happens that the two youngest children are seen together at their mother's breast.[3] 853

4. The ill success in rearing their offspring is doubtless owing in most part to the injudicious management and petting which each of the mother's friends considers right to bestow on the infant. It is looked upon as a compliment for every woman who may be nursing, to relieve the mother of this duty at frequent intervals; it is, therefore, no matter of surprise that the little one ails and dies.

5. The proportion of deaths from violence and accident, is believed to amount to four or five per cent. 165

6. Barrenness is rare, as are also cases of stillborn children. No drugs or other contrivances are employed in order to increase or limit reproduction. 842

Abnormalities.—1. Excessive development of fat about the gluteal region is frequently observable among the adult women. 142

[1] It is said that more children are born during the rains than at any other season of the year.

[2] *Vide post* "Marriage," paragraph 5.

[3] On this subject Dr. Brander remarks as follows:—

"They mostly possess considerable mammary development, and the glands in many cases seem to be in a chronic state of functional activity. This may be due to the late period to which they suckle their young (even to three or four years), or to another purpose to which the milk is applied. . . ." (*vide post*, "Shaving.") [As will be seen from Plate II, fig. 1, the mammæ are periform rather than spherical: with the advance of years they become flaccid and elongated.] [853]

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

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and increasingly strict endogamy.

We can only remark that Onge women rarely become pregnant before 842
28 ; their fertility ceases around the age of 48. The high rate of sterility among 147
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6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

291 754 *naquinēghē* exposes the former owner to harm. Ill-disposed persons could use it for black magic practices. I collected specimens of this garment, all of them, however, brand-new – for the above-mentioned reason. To avoid trouble to the owner, nobody is allowed to touch the *naquinēghē*, which is worn in front of the vulva. To touch it is a deadly offence. Aside from the *naquinēghē*, Andaman 842 colonists attribute the natives' sterility to their abhorrence of salt. Another 263 opinion would have it that the lack of salt transforms human saliva into poison: the Jarawas, by spitting on their arrows render them poisonous. The absurdity of this belief is so evident that it requires no confutation. The Onge refuse to eat salt because they consider it unhealthy, or, to say the least, disgusting.

III. Illnesses and Onge Curative Methods

164 Few illnesses affect the Onge, but they succumb to those few with surprising speed. Often they become seriously ill for mysterious reasons and in spite of their robust appearance. Smallpox, tuberculosis and poliomyelitis are unknown in Little Andaman, although they sometimes strike in the nearby Nicobars. Measles broke out on the island on more than one occasion, killing off all the inhabitants of several communal huts, which I later found deserted and in ruins. With regard to syphilis, the Indian Census of 1931 quotes an old remark of PORTMAN's concerning a few individuals considered by him as infected. This was later denied.

Onge women are more resistant to illness than men. Wounds heal prompt- [752] ly in both sexes, without the aid of remedies. A few of the older men, however, had suppurating sores on their legs, slow to disappear even when disin- [123] fected and treated by me with European medicines. No similar sores were found on women. On the other hand, women suffer more than men from ringworm, mainly in the umbilical region. Nothing is done to rid them of it because the discomfort is slight. I suggested an Indian cure made with the leaves of the neem tree, or Melia azedarach, very common in Southern Asia where it is considered sacred. I imported the plant to Little Andaman, but [123] the Onge displayed no interest in it. I found a single instance of leucoderma, in a woman with whitish spots on her hands and lips. I could get no reliable information about the incidence of cancer, but it appears to be rare on the island. No baldness is to be seen in Little Andaman, and I found few traces of [142] greying hair, as the Onge die young. A transversal bregmatic furrow is noticeable [482] in all individuals, male and female, as a consequence of carrying loads hung from their heads by a strip of bark. The Onge start doing this in childhood. An artificial, unintentional deformation of the skull is the result of that uncomfortable habit.

751 For hygienic reasons the Little Andaman aborigines paint their bodies with 302 refined clay and ochre of various shades, mainly reddish. This gives the women occasion to embellish the bodies of their husbands with an endless variety of [386] geometrical designs. Every year I found changes in their patterns, and I

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

the finger-tips and almost pink, with pale chocolate moons and 142
yellowish-brown palms and soles. In the adults the nails and soles of the feet remain pale, the palms being a little darker. The head, and the visible buccal and nasal epithelia, were almost black, and the gums were pink, as was the inside of the lips, with dark petecchiae, in adults very noticeable, at the base of the teeth and over the tongue and palate. The cheeks, however, were a reddish-brown, although the whole skin was already showing signs of darkening after twelve hours. Nasal cartilage was minimal, but that of the ears well-developed. The darkest area of skin were the forehead, eye sockets, lids, nipples and genitalia.

In general, therefore, the infant's skin was very slightly lighter [844]
than that of the adults, though before I could be sure of this I had [302]
to wash off the thick layer of ochre which is smeared over the un- [854]
washed infants immediately after birth. As the infants are extremely [751]
carefully protected from the sun by 'umbrella' hats made of lobed palm leaves, the darkening, which is complete by the end of the first year, is clearly biological and is not effected by tanning. As, however, the Onges interchange or 'adopt' children freely, [597]
it was impossible to carry out any proper colorimetric observations.

I saw no albinos in the Onges, usually fairly common in dark- 143
skinned peoples. I saw several in Africa, with apparently normal 822
parents. Some African peoples destroy albinos at birth as they do [847]
those with deformities, and the Andamanese may do the same, as I saw little congenital deformity (see, however, p. 46). Fear of being [626]
held responsible for disasters which befall the group carries great weight, and it is possible that the two cases of abnormality which I did see did not manifest symptoms at birth. Twins, however, are [845]
clearly (and gladly) accepted, so eager are the Onges to have [842]
children.

It was already clear in the infant that it would have the somatic 142
characteristics common to all Negritos as regards the proportions of the body, the form and dimensions of the head, absence of prognathism, comparatively fine lips, nose and ears, black skin, and woolly hair, and would be well below 1·5 metres in height when fully grown. Above all, the Andamanese have a large forehead, very wide-angled jaw and large mouths, with the upper lips not invariably full, as in Negroes. Many Onges, in fact, have fine features,

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

CHAPTER FOUR

A Journey into Prehistory

842 The complete lack of hygiene of the Onges does not explain their disturbing lack of fertility. Nor can filth, smoking or loose living fully explain the sterility of the surviving Arioto.

There must be some other cause, and this in all probability is merely biological. One might call it the senescence of a race brought about by their total isolation for thousands of years, exacerbated by being broken into small endogamous units, all mutually hostile. This is not the opinion of all (the few) who have studied the Andamanese, and the problem remains to be investigated further.

262 184 842 In the Onges at least it cannot be a question of malnutrition, as I had ample opportunity of seeing during my visits to the island. Food is abundant, both the land and the sea offer an inexhaustible supply, even to the point of sustaining life, alone, if necessary, to all the Andamanese. The Jarawas are the exception. Forced away from the sea into the forests, they are dependent on one source of food, and it is therefore possible to make some attempt to calculate the maximum number of people which could be supported by their territory. In the case of the Onges, however, living amid luxuriant vegetation, with a rich source of sea food nearby, a given area can support a far higher population, and the same is true of the Jarawas cut off on North Sentinel.

The food of the Jarawas consists mainly of pork, with fresh-water fish (including some excellent carp) river molluscs and crustacea in large quantities, roots, tubers, wild fruits and honey. The Arioto, staying as they did in the coastal areas of Great Andaman, must have lived mainly off the sea.

175 161 842 262 The small population reported in the Andamans by visitors to the islands in the middle of the last century cannot therefore be

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

attributed to scarcity of food, nor can nutrition have had any effect on the demographic decadence. Strict endogamy over thousands of years, and fragmentation into smaller and smaller groups is perhaps a more likely explanation of the situation. The last stage has now been reached; the Arioto, for instance, who numbered six hundred and twenty-five in the 1901 census, had dwindled to twenty-three in 1955. In that year there were only two young children, a boy and a girl (of different parents) and the girl, about five years old, clearly had a Burmese father. The boy, however, named Sirake and then aged about eleven, intelligent and alert, with the very blue-black skin of the Andamanese and typical hair, may well be of pure stock. He is the only hope of continuing the ancient Arioto line, but this will be impossible unless a girl of pure stock is born shortly.

This seems unlikely. With the exception of these two couples, the Arioto appear to be sterile. I have myself seen their sorrow at being deprived of children, and one of them, named Moro, of fairly pure stock, told me of his grief. He took me to his wife, also of pure Andamanese origin, and externally as normal and healthy as her husband, but deserted by the spirits of fertility. Through no fault of their own, the cause probably lies in both of them.

In all the Andamanese, fertility seems always to have increased from the age of twenty-eight and to end by the age of forty-eight – in many cases thirty-eight, although since none of them know their age, owing to the absence of any form of counting, their deceptively youthful appearance makes assessment of age extremely difficult. I met only one woman who, as far as I could estimate, had borne seven children, and of these only three were still alive in 1954; the widespread custom by which children are transferred from one family to another, even during the period of lactation, to 'share' the enjoyment of them, made all the usual means of assessing the number of births virtually impossible. In a number of childless couples whom I saw on Little Andaman, the women are under twenty-eight and there is still hope of fertility, even if it is late. This could happen in the case of the wives of the two leaders Cocheggi and Cendubài; these two men married two sisters, among the healthiest and most beautiful women on the island, Vaghèghe and Tocuaghèghe, both under twenty-two. Neither of them has ever been pregnant, although both are apparently normal and

842 enjoy the active marital relationships necessary, according to their
163 husbands, to encourage the entry of the benevolent spirits which bring motherhood. The late onset of fertility in all Andamanese
842 women and perhaps in men as well[1] probably depends on mech-
163 anisms which have been operating for a very long time, affecting
165 the sex ratio at birth, and preferential infant mortality in one sex.
[123] By a combination of observation and deduction I was able to be
[124] reasonably certain that among the Onges at least more males are born than females. The disparity is reduced, though not eliminated, by a higher mortality rate in young males. Males thus remain in excess, making it difficult for some, possibly fertile, to find wives.

849 There are certain peoples – notably the Pitcairn Islanders – who
143 have arisen by repeated inbreeding for hundreds of years from a
161 very few individuals. It is clear from this example that genetic isolation and inbreeding cannot of themselves cause numerical, physical or mental decline of a population. The problem merits further investigation. Civilization has perhaps accused herself unjustly of causing the decline of primitive races, whereas she has in fact only hastened the disappearance of groups already heading for demographic decadence as the result of physiological factors which lie within the group itself, and which are consequently difficult to counteract. The intrinsic damage done by civilization as such has, in my opinion, been considerably exaggerated in some quarters.

Possibly because of the low birth rate the maternal instinct is
855 very highly developed in the women of the Andamans, even to the
597 point of 'adopting' children temporarily. These children are always given lavish affection, and are kept sometimes for years, or even permanently if the parents do not ask for them back. Given the language barrier, this custom makes census-taking difficult as childless couples happily declare adopted children as their own. Nabimbòi, with no children of her own, always had children with her, and it was only the fact that they differed from year to year that led me to suspect what was happening! One wonders whether the custom was not already common before outsiders first came to the Andamans, owing to the existence of a high incidence of sterility long before the arrival of civilization.

[1] There is some evidence of infertility in the men, but it is clear that this is of relatively minor importance.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

head ornaments and religious ceremonies. In Oceania there is, too, the habit of changing personal names from time to time so prevalent among the Onges, and the existence of actual linguistic connections between Nicobarese, Andamanese, Semang, Aetà and peoples of Oceania have been demonstrated by experts. 174

Any differences which exist today are the result of centuries of contact with other peoples which the Semang and Aetà have experienced, unlike the Andamanese, who thus represent today the true Negritos. While life generally has changed somewhat over the centuries for the Semang and Aetà, certain typical facets of their culture have remained unaltered. Ritual cutting and distributing of game, the use of the arrow harpoon (always unfeathered) and the simple Onge-Negrito bow are still the same, despite the fact that the three groups have been separated for a very long time. Even the very absence of defensive weapons is a common feature; admittedly outside the Andamans arrows are poisoned and some may be feathered, but this is a recent and imitative innovation which is not found among the Andamanese, by virtue of their constant isolation. The persistence among the Onges of the simple bow tends to support the idea of Little Andaman as the first stage in the northward spread of the Negritos after they reached the island from Sumatra via the Nicobars. In Malacca the Semang have retained the same bow, as have the Aetà in the Philippines.

Among what may be termed similarities of physical habits is nose-rubbing as a sign of affection, found in the Andamans, in Oceania, and parts of Papuasia and Melanesia. In all these areas there is the same belief that pregnancy is due to entry of a spirit into the body, and the same habit of suckling children for as long as four years. Similar too throughout the area are the methods of 'curing' disease, such as smearing with ochre and heavy massage carried out beside a fire, swallowing of balls of ochre, and the 'smoking' of wounds, smeared with a mixture of ochre and honey. As protection from the sun or the rains (especially for the young children) crude umbrellas are made from giant palm leaves. 171 [832] [842] [843] [862] [755] [293]

There are no prayers or propitiatory sacrifices to ensure health and well being, but there is throughout the area the same concept of mysterious forces to be feared, evaded, or let loose against enemies – never loved. Generally they are thought of in terms of spirits, usually active at night. There is some divergence in the 171 776 [771] [782]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

It is not pretended that this division of social customs into three different kinds is of any great or permanent value, and it is only introduced as an aid to the exposition of the customs of the Andamanese. It will be argued in a later chapter that many of the customs described in the present chapter have a common psychological basis. 000

Of any customs in connection with the birth of children I was able to learn very little, as no births at which I could be present occurred during my stay at the islands. Earlier writers have given very little information on this subject. 844 843 262

During the latter part of the period of pregnancy, and for about a month after the birth of the child, the mother and father must observe certain restrictions. In particular there are certain foods that they may not eat. The statements of different informants on this matter did not quite agree with each other, and it seems that there were slightly different rules in different tribes. According to an *Akar-Bale* informant the man and woman may not eat dugong, honey and yams; they may eat the flesh of small but not of full-grown pigs and turtle. An informant of one of the Northern tribes said that the woman may not eat full-grown pig, *Paradoxurus*, turtle, dugong, the fish *komar*, monitor lizard, honey and yams; her husband may eat these things but must carefully avoid eating certain fishes.

The natives give two different reasons for these rules. One is that if these foods be eaten by the parents the child will be ill. The other is that the parents themselves will be ill. The latter is the explanation most commonly offered.

The baby is named some time before it is born, and from that time the parents are not addressed or spoken of by name. For example, if the name chosen be *Rea*, the father will be spoken of as *Rea aka-mai* (Rea's father) instead of by his own name. The mother may be referred to as *Rea it-pet*, from the word *it-pet* meaning "belly." This practice is continued till some weeks after the birth, when the use of the names of the parents is once more resumed. 551 553

In child-birth the woman is assisted by the matrons of the camp. She is seated in her hut in the village on fresh leaves, and a piece of wood is placed at her back for her to lean against. 844

1: Radcliffe-Brown Σ-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

844 Her legs are flexed so that her knees may be clasped by her arms. The only manipulation is pressure exerted on the upper part of the abdomen by one of the attendant women. The umbilical cord is severed with a knife, formerly of cane or bamboo, but in these days of iron. The after-birth is buried in the jungle. The infant is washed and then scraped with a *Cyrena* shell. After a few days he (or she) is given a coating of clay (*oiu*).

[846]

844 If a baby dies and within a year or two the mother again becomes pregnant, it is said that it is the same baby born again, and the name of the deceased child is given to it. Thus one woman had three children of the same name, the first two having died soon after birth. According to the native ideas this was really the same child born three times. It is only those who die in infancy that are thus reincarnated.

775

843 In the Northern tribes it is believed that a woman can tell the sex of her unborn child. If she feels it on the left side it is a male, because men hold the bow (the typical masculine implement) in the left hand. If she feels it on the right side it is a female, because it is in her right hand that a woman holds her fishing net.

842 A married man who is childless and desires a child will wear a *čiba* (sling of bark used for carrying children) round his shoulders when he is sitting in camp. The *čiba* and the way it is used for carrying children may be seen in the photograph in Plate XIV. If a childless woman wishes to have a child she may catch, cook and eat a certain species of small frog.

842 At a place called *Tonmuket* in the North Andaman there is a spot to which it is said that women may resort if they wish to become pregnant. On the reef at this spot there are a large number of stones which, according to the legend, were once little children. The woman who desires a child walks out on to the reef when the tide is low and stands upon these stones. It is believed that one of the baby souls will enter her body and become incarnate[1].

775

[1] I could not obtain any definite legend about these stones, but one informant said that when *Biliku* got angry and destroyed the world (see later, Chap. IV) the children all became stones at this place.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

757
751 averting or curing illness; after recovery, no ceremonies of purification take place.

751 8. With respect to these necklaces of human bones, it should be stated that it is not considered necessary that the bones used for this purpose should have belonged to an adult, those of a child or of one long since dead, are considered equally efficacious; the belief is that they cure diseases, and shield the wearer in some measure from the machinations of evil spirits, through the intervention of the disembodied spirit, who is supposed to be gratified by, and aware of, the respect thus paid to his memory. Loose teeth obtained from human skulls and jaw bones, are sometimes strung together as necklaces, or, if too few for such a purpose, they are included among the pieces of bone which are broken up to form the *chàwga-tâ-*; turtle bones are also sometimes added under similar circumstances.

9. The skull and jawbone are carried, either separately or together, merely as mementoes, and are not accredited with any peculiar virtues.

843 10. During pregnancy, the women eat in moderation, but delight in as great a variety of food as possible, telling their husbands day by day what to procure for them;[1] they are also in the habit of taking as much active exercise as possible, as they believe it conduces to an easy *accouchement*, and the same reason is given for the custom, common among them, of consuming small quantities of *tâ'la-ōg-*[2] from time to time; but this practice may be traced with more probability to the fact that the appetite of persons in an anæmic condition is generally fanciful and depraved, such substances as "lime, chalk, or slate pencil being sometimes greedily devoured by them."

844 11. When about to be confined, the custom is for the husband, and some of the woman's female friends, to attend on her; she is placed in a sitting posture, the left leg is stretched out, and the right knee brought up, so as to enable her to clasp it with her arms. Her husband supports her back and presses her as desired, while her female friends hold a leaf screen, *kâ'pa-jâ'tnga-* over the lower part of her person, and assist her, to the best of their ability, in the delivery and in the removal of the after-birth; the umbilical cord is severed by means of a *Cyrena* shell (now a steel blade is often used), and when the infant has been washed in cold water, its skin is gently scraped with the shell. Publicity is not courted on these occasions, as has been asserted,[3] but all, save those whose services are required, continue
000 their occupations as usual. Soon after the delivery, some warm

[1] Further allusion to this subject will be made under "Tabu."
[2] *Vide* Appendix E, No. 58.
[3] *Vide* Mouat, p. 294.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

557 Andamanese is that they have no proper names, whereas their system of naming is, on the contrary, somewhat elaborate, and commences even prior to the child's birth.

2. When there is reason to expect an increase to the family,[1] the parents decide what name the child shall bear; as a compliment they not unfrequently select one which is borne by a relative, friend, or chief; and, since all their proper names[2] are common to both sexes,[3] no difficulty arises on this score.

551 881 3. In illustration of this let us suppose the name chosen in advance to be *.dô·ra*; should the infant prove to be a boy he is called *.dô·ra-ô·ta-*, or, if a girl, *.dô·ra-kâ·ta-*. These terms (*ô·ta-* and *kâ·ta-*[4]) are used only during the first two or three years, after which, until the period of puberty, the lad would be addressed as *.dô·ra-dâ·la-*, and the girl as *.dô·ra-pō·ilola* until she arrived at womanhood, when she is said to be *ūn-lâ·wi-* or *â·kà-lâ·wi-*, and receives a "flower" name[5] as a prefix to her proper or birth name. By this method they are apparently able to determine when their young women become marriageable. There are eighteen prescribed trees[6] which blossom in succession, and the "flower" name bestowed in each case is taken from the one which is in season when the girl attains maturity; if, for example, this should be about the end of August, when the *châ·la-ga-* (*Pterocarpus dalbergioides*) is in flower, *.dô·ra-pō·ilola* would become *.châ·gara*[7] *.dô·ra*, and this double name would cling

[1] When near her delivery a woman will sometimes be heard saying (assuming the name chosen for the yet unborn child to be *.wō·loga*): *.wō·loga dab-ō·jolike, Wō·loga* is fidgetting me, or *.wō·loga dab-ngô·towake, Wō·loga* is clawing me, or, *.wō·loga ô·to-yârke, Wō·loga* is ready. [During the period of pregnancy, both the woman and her husband are spoken of as *pīj-jā·bag-*, which signifies "bad hair;" the only explanation offered for the adoption of such a term is that it is in allusion to the tortu-

[843]

[2] These number forty. (*Vide* Appendix H.)

[3] A man calls a male namesake { if his senior, *mai a ting·la.* / if his equal or junior } *mar ting·la.*
" female " *chân ting·la.*
A man (or woman) calls a child of either sex bearing the same name } *âd ōt-ting-â·te-yâ·te-* (my-name-which-who).
A woman calls a male namesake { if her senior, *mai·a* (his name) *ting·la.* / if her equal or junior } *mar* (his name) *ting·la.*
" " female " if her senior, *chân ting·la.*
" " " " if her equal or junior } (her name) *ting-la.*
Signifying respectively the genitals of the male and female.

[5] Dr. Day writes: "Girls arriving at a marriageable age wear certain flowers to distinguish themselves by"; but, as a fact, the flower is neither worn nor gathered.

[6] Names of these will be found in Appendix H.

[7] Euphonic corruption of *.châ·la-ga-*.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

881 together, with open hands he splashes as much water as possible over himself and the bystanders, occasionally ducking his head under the surface as well. This is considered a safeguard or charm against *snakes*, and the on-lookers cry "*ô·to-ped·ike, kī·nig wâ·n-jō·bo lô·tike* (Go and splash yourself, or *Wâ·ra-jō·bo*[1] will get inside you), for they imagine that unless they go through this splashing performance, this snake will by some means enter their stomachs and so cause death.

881 14 The only difference between the sexes with respect to the
262 *â·ja-gū·mul-* is that with females it cannot take place until after
843 the birth of the first child; they are also required to abstain from honey during each subsequent pregnancy; in their case, too, a chief or elder (preferably a relative) officiates, and not a woman.

881 15 A year is generally allowed to elapse between the *yâ·dī-gū·mul-* and the *reg-jī·ri-gū·mul-*. When this final step is determined on, the friends and relatives of the *â·kà-yâ·b-* start on a pig hunt, and, if unsuccessful, the *gū·mul-* has to be postponed for, in the case of a young man, it is necessary that the ceremony be performed with a boar, while for females a sow must be procured.

16 When all is ready, and the party assembled, the chief presses the carcass of the boar heavily on the shoulders, back, and limbs of the young man as he sits on the ground,[2] silent and motionless, this is in token of his hereafter becoming, or proving himself to be, courageous and strong. The animal is then cut up, and when the fat has been melted, as in the previous cases, it is poured over the novice, and rubbed into his person; he is then fed with *reg-jī·ri-*, and if he makes signs for water it is given him, but, until the following day, he may not utter a word, rise, or even sleep. Two or three friends generally remain with him to attend to his requirements, which he makes known to them by gestures.

17. In the morning fresh leaves of a tree called *reg lâ·kà chàl-*—the fruit of which is much eaten by the *Sus And.*—are brought, and a quantity of them are placed in the hands of the youth, and some more in his waistbelt; he then rises and, as at the turtle feast, dances until fairly exhausted. During the month
[262] following the *reg-jī·ri-gū·mul-*, the young persons are called *â·ka-gō·i-*, *i.e.*, "one commencing to eat."

18. It should be added that, whatever may have been the intention and practice in former years, it is not necessary at the present day for a youth to undergo these several ordeals before

[1] This is believed to be the *Ophiophagus elaps.*

[2] In the case of the woman, the carcass of the sow is not pressed in this manner on her limbs or body.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

291 remove in some measure the impression that they are naked;[1] these appendages are not worn as symbols of rank or (if we except the *rō·gun-*) of status, and their manufacture devolves always upon the females of the community.

2. When fully attired[2] the men are seen with peculiar shredded bunches of *Pandanus* leaves attached to their knees and wrists (termed *tâ-chô·nga-* and *tô·go-chô·nga-*), and a folded Pandanus leaf round their heads (called *ij·i-gō·nga-*[3]), which, as well as the belt (*bōd-*[4]), is common to both sexes; if, however, they (*i.e.* the men) were denuded of one and all, they would be in no way distressed, and in point of fact, often, as while hunting, when perfect freedom of action is needed, they strip themselves of all except the *bōd-*, or other still lighter cincture, in which are inserted any portable objects, such as arrows and knives, that might be required at a moment's notice during the chase.

3. It is otherwise with women, who never[5] appear without an *ō·bunga-*,[6] or small apron of leaves, which is kept in position by the lowest *bōd-*; while men are usually content with one *bōd-* women almost invariably wear four or five, and have been seen with as many as eight round their waists: in addition to the *ō·bunga-* and *bōd-*s married women[7] wear the *rō·gun-*.

291 834 4. It seems probable that Colonel Colebrooke's remarks on the want of decency shown by the Andamanese women referred to the *yē·rewa-*,[8] or to the tribe we now know as *jār·awa-*[9] for they alone answer to his description in going about perfectly nude: all my experience tends to prove that the females of the tribes of South Andaman are strikingly modest; indeed so particular are they

[1] As has been remarked by Peschel of other black-skinned races, their "dark colour almost removes the impression of nudity."

[462] [2] All ornaments are made by women, whether for themselves or their relatives. Sometimes at a "*jeg-*" (*vide* Games and Amusements) females exchange their girdles (*bōd-*s) and necklaces as keepsakes.

[3] They wear no head covering, but carry a large leaf screen (*ká·pa-já·tnga-*) as a protection against sun and rain.

[4] For a complete list of personal ornaments, *vide* Appendix B, items 25 to 43.

[5] "Nudity prevails among both sexes of the Australians, the Andaman Islanders, sundry tribes on the White Nile, the Red Negroes of the Soudan, and the Bushmen, all of which tribes have as yet no sense of shame" (Peschel, p. 173).

[6] A description of these cinctures, aprons, &c., will be found at Appendix B, items 25 to 43.

[843] During pregnancy loose *bōd-*s (*bōd-lár-gō·rob-*) are worn by women in lieu of the ordinary kind, which are tight fitting; the *rō·gun-* is also discarded when it becomes inconvenient: after the birth of the child both these cinctures are resumed, the former being fastened as tightly as possible for several days.

[8] *Vide* Appendix B, item 7b and footnote.

[9] The *jār·awa-* women have hitherto been seen with only armlets and cinctures of string, to which a few short fibres were attached, obviously only for ornamental purposes.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

302 58. *tâ·la-ōg-*.[1] White clay, used mixed with water, for ornamental painting of the person and of various articles, *e.g.*, bows, baskets, buckets, trays, &c.: the work is done by women: when painting their relatives they spare no pains in executing neat designs with their finger-nails.

386

[462]

[843] [NOTE.—Women during pregnancy are in the habit of nibbling small quantities of this substance from time to time, in the belief that it is beneficial to their condition.]

59. *ōg-*. Common whitish-grey clay, lumps of which are found somewhat plentifully in various parts of the islands. It is used, mixed with water, for smearing over the body when the heat is oppressive.[2] A lump of it is placed on the top of the forehead as a symbol of bereavement, and kept there generally until the expiration of the mourning period.[3] It is also sometimes used by way of ornament on the person, by smearing the trunk and limbs with the wash and then, before it has had time to dry, passing the outspread finger-tips over the surface so as to form some pattern.[4]

60. *kòi·ob-*.[5] Red-ochre paint, which is made by mixing red oxide of iron, *ū·pla-* (*vide* next item), with some greasy substance, the fat of the pig or turtle, sometimes of the iguana, dugong, &c., and occasionally the oil of an almond, called *ē·mej-*, is used. This pigment is applied to the person either ornamentally or otherwise. It is accredited with hygienic properties,[6] and from its mode of application it can be readily determined whether the wearer is suffering or rejoicing. The nostrils and centre of the upper lip are occasionally painted with it, as the smell of the fat is agreeable to them.[7] Before a corpse is removed for burial it is smeared over the face and neck with this paint as a mark of respect, and in order to please the departed spirit.

[764]

61. *ū·pla-*. Red oxide of iron after it has been dried and baked. It is principally used in making the pigment described in the preceding paragraph. It is also employed in the manufacture of the red wax, called *kâ·ngatâ-būj-* (*vide* next item).

[462]

62. *kâ·ngatâ-būj-*. Red wax, generally prepared by men, composed of *ā·ja-pīd-*, *rim-*, and *ū·pla-* (items 56, 55, and 61); in the absence of the last-named ingredient *kòi·ob-* (item 60) is

[1] *Vide* Part III, "Painting," paragraph 7.
[2] *Vide* Part I, "Anatomy and Physiology," paragraph 5.
[3] *Vide* Part II, "Death and Burial," paragraphs 2, 6, 8, and footnote [1].
[4] *Vide* Part III, "Painting," paragraphs 5 and 6.
[5] *ū·pla-* is collected chiefly during the dry months; in its natural condition, as found, it is called *kòi·ob-ēk·ū·laga-*; in that condition it is applied to sores, and to the persons of fever patients; it is administered internally for coughs, fevers, &c. (*vide* Part I, "Medicine," paragraphs 4 and 5).
[6] *Vide* Part I, "Medicine," paragraph 2.
[7] *Vide* Part I, "Odour."

[758]

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

common in the Andamans, said by RADCLIFFE-BROWN (p. 273) to be eaten 262 751 by the Andaman Islanders as a protection against rheumatism, is never killed. For some superstitious reason the Onge are simply horrified at the thought [825] of touching such an enormous flying bat. Among the fruits, those of a plant whose wood has such a revolting smell that it is known, in English, as "stool-[137] tree", are believed to have exceptional protective properties for the human body. The fruits themselves smell even worse than the wood, but this, to the Onge, makes them appetizing rather than disgusting. Concerning honey, and the many sugary fruits of the jungle that are available all the year round, 273 the Onge luckily ignore the simple method of distilling alcohol. No intoxicating drink reaches Little Andaman from the outer world, whereas in Great Andaman alcohol, together with imported syphilis, was one of the main causes of depopu- 164 lation. No syphilis appears as yet to have reached Little Andaman. This is also confirmed by the research carried out by Dr. HERMANN LEHMANN of London's [114] St. Bartholomew's Hospital, during February 1953 in my Onge camp in Labanare (north-east coast of Little Andaman).

II. Effects on the People's Lives

The islanders die young, specially the men. The majority of them succumb 165 before reaching the age of 20; most of the survivors die between 20 and 40; the rest – with a very few exceptions – before 50. Women, after marriage, follow a similar pattern: the death rate among women, however, is slightly different owing to a less corrosive sexual life. Some women may live to the age of sixty, but both sexes age soon, appearing older than their years when still in their twenties. The short Onge span of life recalls conditions which apparently prevailed among prehistoric and protohistoric men. Palaeolithic man died at an earlier age than modern man. The Onge today, in many respects, behaves as palaeolithic man behaved countless centuries ago. – Infant mortality is high; the first five days of life are the most critical for the Onge, owing, in part, to the hard life led by mothers even during pregnancy, which [843] often causes functional damage to the placenta. Delivery is generally easy [844] and traumatic injury rarely occurs; but premature births are common, and [845] so are malformations and other anomalies. Imperfect infants are quickly [847] eliminated by their parents. As a result, only a small number of children are allowed to grow up, but these appear normal. There are no blind and no deaf-and-dumb people in Little Andaman. I saw only two instances of in- [732] cipient lameness: in an unmarried boy of about twenty and in a young married woman. Only robust infants can survive.

The Onge, so careful about their food, are completely indifferent to 841 something else that is considered very harmful in continental and insular 171 regions close to the Andamans. There, menstruating women are often segregated and considered harmful to the entire community. Not so in Little Andaman, where the remedies applied in the circumstance are extremely primitive (cf. supra) and could probably be traced to palaeolithic man. I saw nothing

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

14 to the arid climate) are among the most wrinkled people in the world.

142 At birth, the Onges are tiny, attractive little creatures, very
123 plump, but rarely over two and a half kilograms in males and two kilograms in females. I was very fortunate indeed in that I succeeded in persuading one young couple to let me examine their
[809] new-born child. Local superstition forbids a stranger looking on a child for any length of time, and even an Onge who does so is regarded with suspicion, so I had to be extremely cautious.

844 The infant was born on 30 March 1954, in the forest to the north
846 of Labanar. Like most deliveries, birth took place in the forest on
123 a bed improvised for the purpose, with only the father (on some occasions also the wife's mother) present, and the placenta was buried under the bed. The women recover very quickly;[1] after a few days they are fit for heavy work, returning to the group without any purification ceremonies, and this was no exception. After a
123 wealth of gifts I managed to examine the child on the morning of
142 31 March and again on 10, 13 and 14 April. After this mother and child vanished completely, and the father would give me only evasive replies, although only a few days before he had been willing to help me open some graves round Tambe-e-buiè, allowing me to remove the bones of nine Onges who had been dead for many years; superstition (or the women) overcame him on this occasion, however.

My examinations were all carried out in the presence of the mother and at least two of the older women, who were determined to prevent me touching the child.

142 The child, like all Onge babies, had no body hair; this persists throughout life, though some males have sparse moustaches. Its head was covered with a very fine, sparse down, not black like the adults, but already showing signs of the characteristic woolly texture. Dark reddish-brown, the hair becomes black and tightly curled during the first year of life. The eyelashes curl markedly in adults, but the hair of the eyebrows is virtually straight; in the infant the former were barely visible, and the latter completely absent.

The nails were strong and well formed, projecting a little beyond

[843] [1] Childbirth is normally very easy, but miscarriages are common, probably due to lack of vitality in the foetus.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

head ornaments and religious ceremonies. In Oceania there is, too, the habit of changing personal names from time to time so prevalent among the Onges, and the existence of actual linguistic connections between Nicobarese, Andamanese, Semang, Aetà and peoples of Oceania have been demonstrated by experts. 174

Any differences which exist today are the result of centuries of contact with other peoples which the Semang and Aetà have experienced, unlike the Andamanese, who thus represent today the true Negritos. While life generally has changed somewhat over the centuries for the Semang and Aetà, certain typical facets of their culture have remained unaltered. Ritual cutting and distributing of game, the use of the arrow harpoon (always unfeathered) and the simple Onge-Negrito bow are still the same, despite the fact that the three groups have been separated for a very long time. Even the very absence of defensive weapons is a common feature; admittedly outside the Andamans arrows are poisoned and some may be feathered, but this is a recent and imitative innovation which is not found among the Andamanese, by virtue of their constant isolation. The persistence among the Onges of the simple bow tends to support the idea of Little Andaman as the first stage in the northward spread of the Negritos after they reached the island from Sumatra via the Nicobars. In Malacca the Semang have retained the same bow, as have the Aetà in the Philippines.

Among what may be termed similarities of physical habits is nose-rubbing as a sign of affection, found in the Andamans, in Oceania, and parts of Papuasia and Melanesia. In all these areas there is the same belief that pregnancy is due to entry of a spirit into the body, and the same habit of suckling children for as long as four years. Similar too throughout the area are the methods of 'curing' disease, such as smearing with ochre and heavy massage carried out beside a fire, swallowing of balls of ochre, and the 'smoking' of wounds, smeared with a mixture of ochre and honey. As protection from the sun or the rains (especially for the young children) crude umbrellas are made from giant palm leaves. 171 [832] [842] [843] [862] [755] [293]

There are no prayers or propitiatory sacrifices to ensure health and well being, but there is throughout the area the same concept of mysterious forces to be feared, evaded, or let loose against enemies – never loved. Generally they are thought of in terms of spirits, usually active at night. There is some divergence in the 171 [776] [771] [782]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

It is not pretended that this division of social customs into three different kinds is of any great or permanent value, and it is only introduced as an aid to the exposition of the customs of the Andamanese. It will be argued in a later chapter that many of the customs described in the present chapter have a common psychological basis. 000

Of any customs in connection with the birth of children I was able to learn very little, as no births at which I could be present occurred during my stay at the islands. Earlier writers have given very little information on this subject. 844 843 262

During the latter part of the period of pregnancy, and for about a month after the birth of the child, the mother and father must observe certain restrictions. In particular there are certain foods that they may not eat. The statements of different informants on this matter did not quite agree with each other, and it seems that there were slightly different rules in different tribes. According to an *Akar-Bale* informant the man and woman may not eat dugong, honey and yams; they may eat the flesh of small but not of full-grown pigs and turtle. An informant of one of the Northern tribes said that the woman may not eat full-grown pig, *Paradoxurus*, turtle, dugong, the fish *komar*, monitor lizard, honey and yams; her husband may eat these things but must carefully avoid eating certain fishes.

The natives give two different reasons for these rules. One is that if these foods be eaten by the parents the child will be ill. The other is that the parents themselves will be ill. The latter is the explanation most commonly offered.

The baby is named some time before it is born, and from that time the parents are not addressed or spoken of by name. For example, if the name chosen be *Rea*, the father will be spoken of as *Rea aka-mai* (Rea's father) instead of by his own name. The mother may be referred to as *Rea it-pet*, from the word *it-pet* meaning "belly." This practice is continued till some weeks after the birth, when the use of the names of the parents is once more resumed. 551 553

In child-birth the woman is assisted by the matrons of the camp. She is seated in her hut in the village on fresh leaves, and a piece of wood is placed at her back for her to lean against. 844

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

844 Her legs are flexed so that her knees may be clasped by her arms. The only manipulation is pressure exerted on the upper part of the abdomen by one of the attendant women. The umbilical cord is severed with a knife, formerly of cane or bamboo, but in these days of iron. The after-birth is buried in the jungle. The infant is washed and then scraped with [846] a *Cyrena* shell. After a few days he (or she) is given a coating of clay (*odu*).

844 If a baby dies and within a year or two the mother again 775 becomes pregnant, it is said that it is the same baby born again, and the name of the deceased child is given to it. Thus one woman had three children of the same name, the first two having died soon after birth. According to the native ideas this was really the same child born three times. It is only those who die in infancy that are thus reincarnated.

843 In the Northern tribes it is believed that a woman can tell the sex of her unborn child. If she feels it on the left side it is a male, because men hold the bow (the typical masculine implement) in the left hand. If she feels it on the right side it is a female, because it is in her right hand that a woman holds her fishing net.

842 A married man who is childless and desires a child will wear a *čiba* (sling of bark used for carrying children) round his shoulders when he is sitting in camp. The *čiba* and the way it is used for carrying children may be seen in the photograph in Plate XIV. If a childless woman wishes to have a child she may catch, cook and eat a certain species of small frog.

842 At a place called *Tonmuket* in the North Andaman there is 775 a spot to which it is said that women may resort if they wish to become pregnant. On the reef at this spot there are a large number of stones which, according to the legend, were once little children. The woman who desires a child walks out on to the reef when the tide is low and stands upon these stones. It is believed that one of the baby souls will enter her body and become incarnate[1].

[1] I could not obtain any definite legend about these stones, but one informant said that when *Biliku* got angry and destroyed the world (see later, Chap. IV) the children all became stones at this place.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

757
751 averting or curing illness; after recovery, no ceremonies of purification take place.

751 8. With respect to these necklaces of human bones, it should be stated that it is not considered necessary that the bones used for this purpose should have belonged to an adult, those of a child or of one long since dead, are considered equally efficacious; the belief is that they cure diseases, and shield the wearer in some measure from the machinations of evil spirits, through the intervention of the disembodied spirit, who is supposed to be gratified by, and aware of, the respect thus paid to his memory. Loose teeth obtained from human skulls and jaw bones, are sometimes strung together as necklaces, or, if too few for such a purpose, they are included among the pieces of bone which are broken up to form the *chàwga-tâ-*; turtle bones are also sometimes added under similar circumstances.

9. The skull and jawbone are carried, either separately or together, merely as mementoes, and are not accredited with any peculiar virtues.

843 10. During pregnancy, the women eat in moderation, but delight in as great a variety of food as possible, telling their husbands day by day what to procure for them;[1] they are also in the habit of taking as much active exercise as possible, as they believe it conduces to an easy *accouchement*, and the same reason is given for the custom, common among them, of consuming small quantities of *tâ-la-ōg-*[2] from time to time; but this practice may be traced with more probability to the fact that the appetite of persons in an anæmic condition is generally fanciful and depraved, such substances as "lime, chalk, or slate pencil being sometimes greedily devoured by them."

844 11. When about to be confined, the custom is for the husband, and some of the woman's female friends, to attend on her; she is placed in a sitting posture, the left leg is stretched out, and the right knee brought up, so as to enable her to clasp it with her arms. Her husband supports her back and presses her as desired, while her female friends hold a leaf screen *kâ-pa-jâ-tnga-* over the lower part of her person, and assist her, to the best of their ability, in the delivery and in the removal of the after-birth; the umbilical cord is severed by means of a *Cyrena* shell (now a steel blade is often used), and when the infant has been washed in cold water, its skin is gently scraped with the shell. Publicity is not courted on these occasions, as has been asserted,[3] but all, save those whose services are required, continue
000 their occupations as usual. Soon after the delivery, some warm

[1] Further allusion to this subject will be made under "Tabu."
[2] *Vide* Appendix E, No. 58.
[3] *Vide* Mouat, p. 294.

164 Going a little further into detail, it has been noticed that malarial fevers are commonest in June, at the commencement of the monsoon and during heavy bursts of rain thereafter. Malarial fevers commence as usual in their intermittent form and prove fatal as remittent fever. Other zymotic fevers are uncommon, though the Andamanese will drink the filthiest water.

A short rainfall in the Andamans is usually accompanied by high dry winds and then is the high time of the chest diseases. But though the Andamanese are susceptible to bronchial catarrh, and though chronic bronchitis is common, it is not fatal; pneumonia is however extremely fatal. Pleurisy, hæmoptysis and phthisis are comparatively rare.

Abdominal diseases, though comparatively uncommon, are very fatal, diarrhœa, including probably dysentery, claiming most victims. Dyspepsia and colic are both common. In health the stools are regular but inclined to looseness. They have been likened to those of the lower mammals when in good health.

Of other diseases sunstroke is dreaded and always fatal. The brain and spinal cord are not often affected, though curvature of the spine is occasionally seen. Scurvy occurs at the seasons when vegetable diet, *i.e.*, such as fruits and roots afford, is too scanty. Elephantiasis occurs among the Onges, but is limited to the Little Andaman. Chronic muscular rheumatism occurs among the older people, leading to loss and withering of limbs. Ulcers, generally the result of wounds in the jungles, are common and, as with the immigrants, slow to heal. Abscesses are also common. Considering that personal uncleanliness is often extreme, skin diseases are curiously infrequent, except ringworm and exfoliated dermatitis, sometimes leading to destruction of finger and toe nails, due either to scurvy or exposure. [146]

164 Excluding malaria, endemic disease has not been recognised among the Andamanese, and the only epidemics that have been known to attack them are imported pneumonia (1868), syphilis (1876), measles (1877), and influenza (1892), in that order: unhappily with disastrous effect. Exposure to the sun and wind in the cleared spaces, the excessive use of tobacco and over-clothing, as results of contact with civilisation, are also said to have undermined their health as a body of human beings. Intoxicants are forbidden to them by local rules and are not easily or commonly procured by them. 177

755 **Medicine.**—The diseases which the Andamanese distinguish by name are malarial fever, catarrh, coughs and rheumatism. Phthisis and heart disease are recognised, but are spirit caused and so are all internal maladies, which of course are not understood. 758

Medicine and surgery are almost absent from the Andamanese purview. They will bleed on the forehead for fever and headache and round abscesses to alleviate pain. They scarify for rheumatism and internal pain as a last resort. Red ochre and various herbal concoctions are both swallowed and applied as all-healers, in which they have great faith. Certain leaves are sometimes applied to local affections and beds made of them for the sake of their supposed medicinal odour. Cinctures, sometimes of human bones, are used to alleviate pain, but no other charms are employed. Occasionally the diet is slightly changed to relieve illness and they are quick to avail themselves of the hospital provided for them. They are extremely afraid of European surgery and will tremble violently at the sight of the operating knife. They smear themselves with white clay and water against the heat of the sun and with red ochre and oil after dark as a protection against cold.

The sick are sympathetically and very kindly, but superstitiously, treated. There are no pregnancy customs and those at childbirth are sensible and without superstition, difficult delivery being practically unknown. [844]

Snakebite is uncommon and seldom fatal. Ligatures above the bite and scarifying are applied, both operations showing observation and common sense. Bites of centipedes, scorpions, leeches and ticks cause little inconvenience to the Andamanese, though very much to immigrants.

142 **Appearance.**—The figures of the men are muscular and well formed and generally pleasing; often a young man is distinctly good looking, for, though there is a tendency to prognathism, it is not commonly pronounced, while a straight and well formed nose and jaw, accompanied by superior intelligence

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

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The Onge, so careful about their food, are completely indifferent to something else that is considered very harmful in continental and insular regions close to the Andamans. There, menstruating women are often segregated and considered harmful to the entire community. Not so in Little Andaman, where the remedies applied in the circumstance are extremely primitive (cf. supra) and could probably be traced to palaeolithic man. I saw nothing

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841 resembling these practices in any other part of the world. Never hitherto
171 described, they should be carefully considered. This would require a lengthy description, for which there is no space here. We may recall that menstruating Onge women are allowed to circulate freely at all times. An interesting detail
[751] is that the *naquinēghē* of first menstruations are worn by relations around their neck as having health-giving properties. The women, as we know, use special
841 soft, long leaves, collected for them by their husbands, as absorbents. They
[824] are the leaves of Myristica longifolia or of Tretanthera lanceofolia both species serving the purpose. They are applied under the *naquinēghē* and drawn back
[834] between the legs to be secured above the buttocks. – Sexual intercourse is forbidden during the menstrual period even by the Onge : illness – a swelling
[753] of the arms or legs – would follow. A curious theory about the reason for menstruation in very young girls is that it is a result of previous sexual contacts stimulated by nose rubbing – the Onge substitute for kissing. They ignore the
892 unhygienic practice of kissing with the lips, and never even kiss their children. Only nose rubbing is practiced. The anatomical structure of the Onge nose, which almost totally lacks nasal bones and is very fleshy, may explain this transference of sensation from nearby regions, j. e. the lips.

● 844 Births take place in the forest and are surrounded by no hygienic precautions or disinfection as conceived by us. Clay is applied to stem puerperal bleeding, without provoking infection. The only assistant is the pregnant woman's husband, and sometimes one or two old women. Their ability equals that of a herdsman delivering his goat of a kid. No inconvenience arises, in either instance, from lack of precautions. – The tiny, tender and graceful bodies
[751] of Onge infants are smeared with ochre and light-coloured clay for hygienic purposes. This is done immediately after birth, and affords some protection against the teeming legions of mosquitos and ticks that plague Little Andaman. The infant is never washed in water, not even at the very moment of birth. The placenta is buried 30 or 40 cms deep, under the bed of naked branches upon which the mother delivered her baby.

842 An argument that deserves much attention concerns the possible link
143 between lack of hygiene and sterility among the Onge. A vast number of married couples have no offspring, thereby threatening their group with extinction. Consanguinity could be given as a cause : let us examine it. No doubt the Onge are related to each other as a consequence of long interbreeding in their island with no foreigners admitted. These conditions afford an ideal field for studying the effects of endogamy on man. Nowhere in the world, as far as I know, are a people so isolated as in Little Andaman. Inbreeding has existed at 100 % ever since remote times. In other words, the Onge would seem to be the most highly inbred human population known up to the present. Could this fact alone, aside from unhealthy habits, explain their present widespread sterility ? Special
174 studies on the subject should be undertaken, keeping in mind that the Onge have certainly inhabited Little Andaman for thousands of years, on the evidence of my excavations in their kitchen-middens.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

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Onges

the finger-tips and almost pink, with pale chocolate moons and 142
yellowish-brown palms and soles. In the adults the nails and soles of the feet remain pale, the palms being a little darker. The head, and the visible buccal and nasal epithelia, were almost black, and the gums were pink, as was the inside of the lips, with dark petecchiae, in adults very noticeable, at the base of the teeth and over the tongue and palate. The cheeks, however, were a reddish-brown, although the whole skin was already showing signs of darkening after twelve hours. Nasal cartilage was minimal, but that of the ears well-developed. The darkest area of skin were the forehead, eye sockets, lids, nipples and genitalia.

In general, therefore, the infant's skin was very slightly lighter [844]
than that of the adults, though before I could be sure of this I had [302]
to wash off the thick layer of ochre which is smeared over the un- [854]
washed infants immediately after birth. As the infants are extremely
carefully protected from the sun by 'umbrella' hats made of lobed [751]
palm leaves, the darkening, which is complete by the end of the first year, is clearly biological and is not effected by tanning. As, however, the Onges interchange or 'adopt' children freely, [597]
it was impossible to carry out any proper colorimetric observations.

I saw no albinos in the Onges, usually fairly common in dark- 143
skinned peoples. I saw several in Africa, with apparently normal 826
parents. Some African peoples destroy albinos at birth as they do [847]
those with deformities, and the Andamanese may do the same, as I saw little congenital deformity (see, however, p. 46). Fear of being [626]
held responsible for disasters which befall the group carries great weight, and it is possible that the two cases of abnormality which I did see did not manifest symptoms at birth. Twins, however, are [845]
clearly (and gladly) accepted, so eager are the Onges to have [842]
children.

It was already clear in the infant that it would have the somatic 142
characteristics common to all Negritos as regards the proportions of the body, the form and dimensions of the head, absence of prognathism, comparatively fine lips, nose and ears, black skin, and woolly hair, and would be well below 1·5 metres in height when fully grown. Above all, the Andamanese have a large forehead, very wide-angled jaw and large mouths, with the upper lips not invariably full, as in Negroes. Many Onges, in fact, have fine features,

THE ANDAMAN ISLANDERS

To truly primitive peoples like the Onges, European medical practices are fascinating. Men and women will refuse literally nothing once they are convinced of our intention to do them good and cure their ills. Although they have a rudimentary form of medicine, they recognize the superiority of European methods, and medical aid has therefore become our most powerful means of making contact with uncivilized peoples.

While I was busy trying to alleviate their ailments I became aware of the power which 'medicine' has over them, and I was also able to observe their own methods of dealing with their ills. Understandably, disease, death and birth are all attributed to particular supernatural beings, or to the spirits of the dead. They try not to offend these beings, but strive nevertheless, in their own way, at least to cure disease. Once primitive peoples see our methods they respect them, and are eager to be treated; strange though it all seems, they develop a blind faith in the omnipotence of the new ways.

There is little actual disease among the Onges and they have equally few vices. They are still unaware of the existence of alcohol, and have not learned how to ferment sugar substances, such as the honey in which the Little Andaman abounds. Tobacco is a recent introduction, and the Onges at once became wildly addicted to it; the tobacco leaves I had taken with me were in fact my best means of making my way peacefully into the island. A few Onges have acquired a supply of opium from Burmese and Chinese smugglers along the north coast, but instead of smoking it they seem to limit themselves to chewing it mixed with tobacco, and have fortunately no means of replenishing their stock.

Polio, tuberculosis, smallpox and cancer seem unknown, but for some unknown reason the islands have on a number of occasions been struck by disastrous epidemics of measles. These epidemics struck nearly every member of some of the communal huts, judging from survivors' reports, and the sites were afterwards abandoned, leaving the huts to be destroyed by termites.

The census of 1931 includes a personal observation by Portman of congenital syphilis in several Onges. This has since been proved wrong and in 1952 I found only one young man with nasal malformation possibly attributable to the disease, half-moon incisors, and abnormality of the skull and palate. I was not able to find him

dead were buried securely bound in a knee-to-chest position, still the custom among the Andamanese). The Onges go no further than this and the idea of a Lord of the Spirits who rules all things, although on Great Andaman there has been some progress towards more anthropomorphic concepts. The complete absence of any form of cult, prayer, representation, or votive offering cannot, I feel, be the result of cultural decline from a more advanced age; this would have resulted in gross distortion and illogical superstition, but not in complete absence of any 'religious' practices of any kind.

18 SACRIFICE

No sacrifices of any kind are practised in the Andamans, nor is there any concept of propitiation, although there is evidence that even in the late Palaeolithic era some form of ritual sacrifice was practised, at least in Europe and probably over a much wider area. One would assume from this, and from paragraph 17 above, that the Andamanese is an even older culture.

19 TABOOS

Although my own experiences among the Onges have led me to think that taboos do not exist, some authors have asserted (in my view wrongly) their existence on Great Andaman. It is not, however, possible to draw any reliable conclusions on this point.

20 CEREMONIAL

The complete absence of any form of ritual surrounding birth, the purification of women, initiation, etc., or evidence of any such ritual in the past, is striking, in view of the prevalence in all the surrounding areas of strictly observed ceremonial for many occasions. As in the case of religion, such complete absence can only mean that the Andamanese became isolated before the idea of ritual spread to the area.

21 MEASUREMENT

The Andamanese have no means of counting, and no words to express gradations of time or size; to them everything is either 'small' or 'big'. They take no interest in the passing of years, and have no idea of their own age. To them life is but the passing of the seasons and the harvests of game and fish and fruits that they bring. This utter lack of any sense

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

not at the hands of their mothers, but of the male members of the tribe. 144 847

Reproduction.—1. Marriages never take place till both parties have attained maturity, and generally not till a few years later; the usual age of the bridegroom varies from 18 to 22, and of the bride from 16 to 20. The result of inquiries tends to show that there is a slight predominance of female over male births; three or four is the average number of children born of the same parents. The largest family known consisted of six, three only of whom attained maturity.[1] 582 163

2. Twins are rare, and as no instance can be recalled of both surviving infancy, notwithstanding all possible care being bestowed on them, they are not favourably regarded. No case of triplets has been known to occur. Births out of wedlock are considered discreditable, and in the one known instance of the kind, the parents were married immediately after the event; no difference was made in the treatment which the child received.[2] 845 848

3. The limited fecundity of the women may in some measure be due to the circumstance that they never wean their babies, so long as they are able to suckle them, and it not unfrequently happens that the two youngest children are seen together at their mother's breast.[3] 853

4. The ill success in rearing their offspring is doubtless owing in most part to the injudicious management and petting which each of the mother's friends considers right to bestow on the infant. It is looked upon as a compliment for every woman who may be nursing, to relieve the mother of this duty at frequent intervals; it is, therefore, no matter of surprise that the little one ails and dies.

5. The proportion of deaths from violence and accident, is believed to amount to four or five per cent. 165

6. Barrenness is rare, as are also cases of stillborn children. No drugs or other contrivances are employed in order to increase or limit reproduction. 842

Abnormalities.—1. Excessive development of fat about the gluteal region is frequently observable among the adult women. 142

[1] It is said that more children are born during the rains than at any other season of the year.

[2] *Vide post* "Marriage," paragraph 4.

[3] On this subject Dr. Brander remarks as follows:—

"They mostly possess considerable mammary development, and the glands in many cases seem to be in a chronic state of functional activity. This may be due to the late period to which they suckle their young (even to three or four years), or to another purpose to which the milk is applied. . . ." (*vide post*, "Shaving.") [As will be seen from Plate II, fig. 1, the mammæ are pyriform rather than spherical: with the advance of years they become flaccid and elongated.] [853]

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

common in the Andamans, said by RADCLIFFE-BROWN (p. 273) to be eaten 262 751
by the Andaman Islanders as a protection against rheumatism, is never killed. [825]
For some superstitious reason the Onge are simply horrified at the thought of touching such an enormous flying bat. Among the fruits, those of a plant whose wood has such a revolting smell that it is known, in English, as "stool- [137]
tree", are believed to have exceptional protective properties for the human body. The fruits themselves smell even worse than the wood, but this, to the Onge, makes them appetizing rather than disgusting. Concerning honey, 273
and the many sugary fruits of the jungle that are available all the year round, the Onge luckily ignore the simple method of distilling alcohol. No intoxicating drink reaches Little Andaman from the outer world, whereas in Great Andaman alcohol, together with imported syphilis, was one of the main causes of depopu- 164
lation. No syphilis appears as yet to have reached Little Andaman. This is also confirmed by the research carried out by Dr. HERMANN LEHMANN of London's [114]
St. Bartholomew's Hospital, during February 1953 in my Onge camp in Labanare (north-east coast of Little Andaman).

II. Effects on the People's Lives

The islanders die young, specially the men. The majority of them succumb 165
before reaching the age of 20; most of the survivors die between 20 and 40; the rest – with a very few exceptions – before 50. Women, after marriage, follow a similar pattern: the death rate among women, however, is slightly different owing to a less corrosive sexual life. Some women may live to the age of sixty, but both sexes age soon, appearing older than their years when still in their twenties. The short Onge span of life recalls conditions which apparently prevailed among prehistoric and protohistoric men. Palaeolithic man died at an earlier age than modern man. The Onge today, in many respects, behaves as palaeolithic man behaved countless centuries ago. – Infant mortality is high; the first five days of life are the most critical for the Onge, [843]
owing, in part, to the hard life led by mothers even during pregnancy, which [844]
often causes functional damage to the placenta. Delivery is generally easy [845]
and traumatic injury rarely occurs; but premature births are common, and so are malformations and other anomalies. Imperfect infants are quickly [847]
eliminated by their parents. As a result, only a small number of children are allowed to grow up, but these appear normal. There are no blind and no [732]
deaf-and-dumb people in Little Andaman. I saw only two instances of incipient lameness: in an unmarried boy of about twenty and in a young married woman. Only robust infants can survive.

The Onge, so careful about their food, are completely indifferent to 841
something else that is considered very harmful in continental and insular 171
regions close to the Andamans. There, menstruating women are often segregated and considered harmful to the entire community. Not so in Little Andaman, where the remedies applied in the circumstance are extremely primitive (cf. supra) and could probably be traced to palaeolithic man. I saw nothing

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

the finger-tips and almost pink, with pale chocolate moons and 142
yellowish-brown palms and soles. In the adults the nails and soles of the feet remain pale, the palms being a little darker. The head, and the visible buccal and nasal epithelia, were almost black, and the gums were pink, as was the inside of the lips, with dark petecchiae, in adults very noticeable, at the base of the teeth and over the tongue and palate. The cheeks, however, were a reddish-brown, although the whole skin was already showing signs of darkening after twelve hours. Nasal cartilage was minimal, but that of the ears well-developed. The darkest area of skin were the forehead, eye sockets, lids, nipples and genitalia.

In general, therefore, the infant's skin was very slightly lighter [844]
than that of the adults, though before I could be sure of this I had [302]
to wash off the thick layer of ochre which is smeared over the un- [864]
washed infants immediately after birth. As the infants are extremely
carefully protected from the sun by 'umbrella' hats made of lobed [751]
palm leaves, the darkening, which is complete by the end of the first year, is clearly biological and is not effected by tanning. As, however, the Onges interchange or 'adopt' children freely, [597]
it was impossible to carry out any proper colorimetric observations.

I saw no albinos in the Onges, usually fairly common in dark- 143
skinned peoples. I saw several in Africa, with apparently normal 826
parents. Some African peoples destroy albinos at birth as they do [847]
those with deformities, and the Andamanese may do the same, as I
saw little congenital deformity (see, however, p. 46). Fear of being [626]
held responsible for disasters which befall the group carries great weight, and it is possible that the two cases of abnormality which I did see did not manifest symptoms at birth. Twins, however, are [845]
clearly (and gladly) accepted, so eager are the Onges to have [842]
children.

It was already clear in the infant that it would have the somatic 142
characteristics common to all Negritos as regards the proportions of the body, the form and dimensions of the head, absence of prognathism, comparatively fine lips, nose and ears, black skin, and woolly hair, and would be well below 1·5 metres in height when fully grown. Above all, the Andamanese have a large forehead, very wide-angled jaw and large mouths, with the upper lips not invariably full, as in Negroes. Many Onges, in fact, have fine features,

1: Radcliffe-Brown Σ-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

844 Her legs are flexed so that her knees may be clasped by her arms. The only manipulation is pressure exerted on the upper part of the abdomen by one of the attendant women. The umbilical cord is severed with a knife, formerly of cane or bamboo, but in these days of iron. The after-birth is buried in the jungle. The infant is washed and then scraped with [846] a *Cyrena* shell. After a few days he (or she) is given a coating of clay (*odiu*).

844 775 If a baby dies and within a year or two the mother again becomes pregnant, it is said that it is the same baby born again, and the name of the deceased child is given to it. Thus one woman had three children of the same name, the first two having died soon after birth. According to the native ideas this was really the same child born three times. It is only those who die in infancy that are thus reincarnated.

843 In the Northern tribes it is believed that a woman can tell the sex of her unborn child. If she feels it on the left side it is a male, because men hold the bow (the typical masculine implement) in the left hand. If she feels it on the right side it is a female, because it is in her right hand that a woman holds her fishing net.

842 A married man who is childless and desires a child will wear a *čiba* (sling of bark used for carrying children) round his shoulders when he is sitting in camp. The *čiba* and the way it is used for carrying children may be seen in the photograph in Plate XIV. If a childless woman wishes to have a child she may catch, cook and eat a certain species of small frog.

842 775 At a place called *Tonimuket* in the North Andaman there is a spot to which it is said that women may resort if they wish to become pregnant. On the reef at this spot there are a large number of stones which, according to the legend, were once little children. The woman who desires a child walks out on to the reef when the tide is low and stands upon these stones. It is believed that one of the baby souls will enter her body and become incarnate[1].

[1] I could not obtain any definite legend about these stones, but one informant said that when *Biliku* got angry and destroyed the world (see later, Chap. IV) the children all became stones at this place.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Soon after delivery, some warm water is given to the woman to drink; she is also fed with meat-gravy, and the water in which shell or other fish have been boiled; after a time, should she desire it, fish, shell-fish, yams, or fruit are given her, but no meat.[1] During the first two or three days, she remains in a sitting posture, propped up by articles arranged so as to form a couch. As might be supposed, from the active habits and unsophisticated manners of these people, their women rarely suffer much during labour and child-birth; in fact, no instances of difficult delivery are known.[2] 846

12. For ear-ache, head-ache, and tooth-ache, recourse is had, in the first instance, to the *chàwga-tâ-*, then to scarification, should the pain continue and cause swelling. 755

13. In cases of skin disease, they afford relief, at least from irritation, by applying to the parts affected a large smooth stone previously warmed over a fire. 757

14. When a wound is inflicted by a thorn, stone, shell, &c., hot water is poured over it from a *Cyrena* shell, which is then heated and applied to the part as hot as it can be borne; or, if the injury be slight, sea-bathing is prescribed, as it is said to expedite the healing process. In treating a boil, they scarify all round the swelling in order to reduce the inflammation, and afterwards bathe it with *chū·lnga-* "lotion." This substance is also taken internally when suffering from dysentery, while for diarrhœa they swallow small quantities of a whitish clay, called *kôtrē·o-*. 752 278

15. The *larvæ* of bees found attached to honeycombs is eaten to correct constipation, or, if in season, the fruits of two trees, *ô·ropa-* and *chôb-*, which are much relished, and not without reason. 757 278

16. Their method of treating a case of epilepsy is to sprinkle the patient with cold water, and then to scarify his brow. 757

17. When bitten by a snake (especially a venomous one), if they succeed in killing it, they cut it open, and apply the kidney fat to the wound, rubbing it in for some time; should they fail in capturing the reptile, a ligament is tied above the bite, and the surrounding flesh is scarified. Deaths from snake bites, though not unknown, are rare. The late chief of the Middle Strait community died in a few hours from the bite of a certain tree snake called *tâ·ga-jō·bo-*,[3] in September, 1878, and another 752

[1] During menstruation they abstain from pork, *Paradoxurus*, turtle, honey, and yams, and live upon certain varieties of fish, sour fruits, iguanas, and prawns.

[2] The custom known by the name of *couvade*, or the paternal lying-in, is quite unknown among the Andamanese.

[3] This snake is said to be the most deadly, after which the *lâ·raba-* and *wâ·ra-jō·bo-* are the most dreaded. The last appears to be the *Ophiophagus elaps*. Further allusion to the *lâ·raba-* and the *wâ·ra-jō·bo-* will be made under "Superstitions."

14 to the arid climate) are among the most wrinkled people in the world.

142 At birth, the Onges are tiny, attractive little creatures, very
123 plump, but rarely over two and a half kilograms in males and two kilograms in females. I was very fortunate indeed in that I succeeded in persuading one young couple to let me examine their
[609] new-born child. Local superstition forbids a stranger looking on a child for any length of time, and even an Onge who does so is regarded with suspicion, so I had to be extremely cautious.

844 The infant was born on 30 March 1954, in the forest to the north
846 of Labanar. Like most deliveries, birth took place in the forest on
123 a bed improvised for the purpose, with only the father (on some occasions also the wife's mother) present, and the placenta was buried under the bed. The women recover very quickly;[1] after a few days they are fit for heavy work, returning to the group without any purification ceremonies, and this was no exception. After a
123 wealth of gifts I managed to examine the child on the morning of
142 31 March and again on 10, 13 and 14 April. After this mother and child vanished completely, and the father would give me only evasive replies, although only a few days before he had been willing to help me open some graves round Tambe-e-buiè, allowing me to remove the bones of nine Onges who had been dead for many years; superstition (or the women) overcame him on this occasion, however.

My examinations were all carried out in the presence of the mother and at least two of the older women, who were determined to prevent me touching the child.

142 The child, like all Onge babies, had no body hair; this persists throughout life, though some males have sparse moustaches. Its head was covered with a very fine, sparse down, not black like the adults, but already showing signs of the characteristic woolly texture. Dark reddish-brown, the hair becomes black and tightly curled during the first year of life. The eyelashes curl markedly in adults, but the hair of the eyebrows is virtually straight; in the infant the former were barely visible, and the latter completely absent.

The nails were strong and well formed, projecting a little beyond

[843] [1] Childbirth is normally very easy, but miscarriages are common, probably due to lack of vitality in the foetus.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

141 hardly sufficient to admit of the inference, which might be drawn from the passage just quoted, and on which the incorrect theory might be based, as to their being of mixed descent. I would add that I observed, like Dr. Brander, that these differences are more noticeable among the males than among the females of the population.

144 **Crosses.**—1. In a footnote to his interesting paper on the Andamanese, Dr. Day mentions that "some have entirely smooth ●847 hair," and he suggests the probability of a portion of the race being of African origin or of mixed African descent.

2. With the exception of three children of mixed parentage,[1] none of whom survived more than seven or eight years, no examples are known of the existence of a cross-breed among these tribes; and, as none but these three children have been known to have had other than the frizzly hair which is one of the distinctive characteristics of the race, I have no doubt that Dr. Day either observed or was informed of, the peculiarity occurring in their case, and his remarks must, therefore, be taken as applying only to them.

3. Not only would it have been impossible for us to have continued so long in ignorance of the existence of any individuals of this race who differed so widely from their fellow countrymen as to have smooth hair, but additional evidence is afforded by the denial of the Andamanese to every inquiry instituted on this point.

4. Another statement has been published which is also calculated to mislead; it is as follows:—"I agree with Mr. F. Day that the chief of Rutland Island is probably a native of India."[2] The chief here referred to, by name *maia .bīʿela*, but generally called by us *mūnshī .bīʿela*[3] (*vide* Plate II, fig. 2), was one of the best known, as he certainly was the most useful of all our aboriginal acquaintances. He was not only a thorough, though superior, specimen of the race, but his parents were so well known to be of pure Andamanese blood that his intimates were surprised to learn that a doubt regarding the purity of his descent should even for a moment have been entertained, and certainly I, and others who have for many years been associated with the man and his friends, see no grounds for regarding their statements on this point with the least suspicion.

5. Judging from the exceptional cases above mentioned of a cross breed occurring among them, it seems improbable that the existence of a mixed race in their midst would be tolerated, for all three of the children met their death by violence or neglect,

[1] Hindoo fathers and Andamanese mothers.
[2] Dr. Dobson.
[3] He died of measles in April, 1877.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

144
not at the hands of their mothers, but of the male members of 847
the tribe.

Reproduction.—1. Marriages never take place till both parties 582
have attained maturity, and generally not till a few years later; 163
the usual age of the bridegroom varies from 18 to 22, and of the bride from 16 to 20. The result of inquiries tends to show that there is a slight predominance of female over male births; three or four is the average number of children born of the same parents. The largest family known consisted of six, three only of whom attained maturity.[1]

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stowed on them, they are not favourably regarded. No case of triplets has been known to occur. Births out of wedlock are considered discreditable, and in the one known instance of the kind, the parents were married immediately after the event; no difference was made in the treatment which the child received.[2]

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be due to the circumstance that they never wean their babies, so long as they are able to suckle them, and it not unfrequently happens that the two youngest children are seen together at their mother's breast.[3]

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arises from no want of consideration for the weaker vessel, but simply because, if unnecessarily encumbered, the men would be unable to shoot or pursue any animal which might cross their path.

7. Such training as the children receive is undertaken by their parents or guardians; in the case of boys it consists merely in providing them with miniature weapons suitable to their age, and instructing them in their use: as they advance in years they accompany the men in their hunting and fishing expeditions, and, being by nature intelligent and emulous, they speedily acquire sufficient skill to enable them to afford material assistance to their elders.

8. The girls, similarly, are taught by their mothers, or other female guardians, how to fulfil the various duties which are regarded as essentially pertaining to their sex, and which I have described in the foregoing.

9. It seems hardly necessary to add that the unnatural custom of infanticide is unknown to the Andamanese,[1] and though the mortality among infants is excessive,[2] it is traceable to no want of affection, but to the injudicious treatment and lavish attentions bestowed upon the little ones by their ignorant though well-intentioned elders.[3]

10. For the better security of their babies, when travelling, women are in the habit of hanging round their necks a string the ends of which have been previously fastened to the infant's wrists; the child being then placed in a *chīp-*,[4] cannot by any accident meet with a serious fall.

Attire.—1. Madame de Staël speaks of certain children being "*vêtu du climât:*" the same expressive remark may be applied to the Andamanese, for no clothing, as we understand the word, is worn by either sex; there are, however, certain so-called ornamental circlets, garters, bracelets, cinctures, and necklaces of bones,[5] wood, or shell, which are its substitute[6] and serve to

[1] The birth of a girl is usually as gratifying to the parents as that of a boy.

[2] *Vide ante* "Reproduction," paragraph 4.

[3] Dr. Day has correctly stated that "men and women seem equally fond of carrying the babies about; all pet them; when they cry for anything, they give it; and over-kindness early consigns the little one to the grave."

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 24.

[5] As far as we at present know, the *jārawa-* do not wear necklaces of bone, or the skulls of their deceased relatives. The males of this tribe wear round their heads, waists, knees, and arms, fringes of string attached to a cord or cane, which are called by the *bō·jig-agīji-*, *bē·ria-* (*vide* Plate IX, figs. 13, 13*a*, 13*b*).

[6] The relatives of a deceased person will commonly wear such of the ornaments as are in good condition, "in memoriam;" this is not, however, a distinguishing peculiarity, or one confined to savages.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
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carefully protected from the sun by 'umbrella' hats made of lobed palm leaves, the darkening, which is complete by the end of the first year, is clearly biological and is not effected by tanning. As, however, the Onges interchange or 'adopt' children freely, [597]
it was impossible to carry out any proper colorimetric observations.

I saw no albinos in the Onges, usually fairly common in dark- 143
skinned peoples. I saw several in Africa, with apparently normal 826
parents. Some African peoples destroy albinos at birth as they do [847]
those with deformities, and the Andamanese may do the same, as I saw little congenital deformity (see, however, p. 46). Fear of being [626]
held responsible for disasters which befall the group carries great weight, and it is possible that the two cases of abnormality which I did see did not manifest symptoms at birth. Twins, however, are [845]
clearly (and gladly) accepted, so eager are the Onges to have [842]
children.

It was already clear in the infant that it would have the somatic 142
characteristics common to all Negritos as regards the proportions of the body, the form and dimensions of the head, absence of prognathism, comparatively fine lips, nose and ears, black skin, and woolly hair, and would be well below 1·5 metres in height when fully grown. Above all, the Andamanese have a large forehead, very wide-angled jaw and large mouths, with the upper lips not invariably full, as in Negroes. Many Onges, in fact, have fine features,

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not at the hands of their mothers, but of the male members of the tribe. 144 847

Reproduction.—1. Marriages never take place till both parties have attained maturity, and generally not till a few years later; the usual age of the bridegroom varies from 18 to 22, and of the bride from 16 to 20. The result of inquiries tends to show that there is a slight predominance of female over male births; three or four is the average number of children born of the same parents. The largest family known consisted of six, three only of whom attained maturity.[1] 582 163

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4. The ill success in rearing their offspring is doubtless owing in most part to the injudicious management and petting which each of the mother's friends considers right to bestow on the infant. It is looked upon as a compliment for every woman who may be nursing, to relieve the mother of this duty at frequent intervals; it is, therefore, no matter of surprise that the little one ails and dies.

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6. Barrenness is rare, as are also cases of stillborn children. No drugs or other contrivances are employed in order to increase or limit reproduction. 842

Abnormalities.—1. Excessive development of fat about the gluteal region is frequently observable among the adult women. 142

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"They mostly possess considerable mammary development, and the glands in many cases seem to be in a chronic state of functional activity. This may be due to the late period to which they suckle their young (even to three or four years), or to another purpose to which the milk is applied. . . ." (*vide post*, "Sharing.") [As will be seen from Plate II, fig. 1, the mammæ are pyriform rather than spherical: with the advance of years they become flaccid and elongated.] [853]

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835 able and immoral, which is turning the tables on us with a
836 vengeance.[1]

836 4. In consequence of the lax code of morality prevailing among the unmarried, it not unfrequently happens that a
584 marriage is brought about by the circumstance of the young woman being found *enceinte*. When this is the case, the guardians ascertain from her companions or herself who is the cause of her being in such a condition, and, whether it is an easy matter or not to decide this question with certainty, there never appears to be any difficulty in persuading the youth whom she names
[848] as her lover to become her husband. It thus happens that children are very rarely born out of wedlock.

584 5. Parents and foster-parents have the power of betrothing their children in infancy, and though subsequently, during childhood, they may be parted, the contract must be fulfilled soon after they attain a marriageable age; it is even alleged that, like the Yorubas,[2] the Andamanese look upon a girl betrothed by her parents as so far a wife that with her prematrimonial unfaithfulness is accounted a crime.

6. As soon as the betrothal has been agreed upon, the girl is taken to the hut of her future father-in-law, or foster father-in-law, and the children remain together for several months, in order that the fact of their engagement may become generally known; after this the girl returns to her old home, or is adopted by one of her father's friends. Should either of the betrothed pair die young, the survivor is not called upon to take any part at the obsequies, and is at liberty to form another alliance.

607 7. Until a man attains middle age he evinces great shyness in the presence of the wife of a *younger* brother or cousin, and the feeling is invariably reciprocated; it is, however, otherwise in the case of the elder brother's (or cousin's) wife, who, moreover, should she be many years his senior, receives from him much of the respect accorded to a mother. In the first of the above cases all communications are made through a third person, though under no circumstances would marriage be permissible between them; while in the latter it is almost obligatory, unless the disparity between the ages be very great.

584 8. It is not customary for lovers to intimate their desire of being married, but it is the duty of the guardian, or, in the case of widows and widowers, of the chief of the community, to

[1] On reference to Appendix I, it will be found that the terms which are used to denote *half-brother* and *half-sister*, are also employed to denote *male* and *female cousins*, showing how close they regard the relationship.

[2] Farrer's "Primitive Manners and Customs," p. 201.

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uninfluenced by the vices or virtues of alien races[1]." At the present time conjugal infidelity is very common and is lightly regarded. It is almost certain that the establishment of the Penal Settlement amongst them has affected their morals in this particular, but there does not seem to be any very satisfactory evidence that their former morality was quite so strict as Mr Man would have us believe. One piece of evidence in this matter is that the spread of syphilis, when it was first introduced amongst them seems to have been very rapid, and yet this was before many of the tribes had been very seriously affected by the Settlement. 837

Besides the special sexual relation between a husband and wife there is a special economic relation, if we may speak of it as such. The two share one hut between them, or one portion of a communal hut. It is the duty of the wife to provide the fire-wood and the water for cooking and drinking, and to cook the meals at the family fire. It is the duty of the husband to provide flesh food for himself and for his wife, while it is her duty to provide and prepare vegetable food. 594 581

A marriage is not regarded as fully consummated until the birth of a child. Mr Man states that the survivor of a childless couple is not looked upon as the chief mourner. A father who has been away from home greets his wife first on his return and then greets his other relatives; but if no child has been born to him a husband first greets his blood-relatives (father, mother, brothers, etc.) and only after that does he visit his wife. 581 576 851

The only regulation of marriage is on the basis of relationship. Marriage is forbidden between near *consanguinei*. The exact rules, in this matter, if indeed there be any exact rules, are difficult to discover. It is quite clear that a man would not be permitted to marry his sister or half-sister, nor his father's or mother's sister, nor his brother's or sister's daughter. The question is more difficult when it comes to the matter of cousins. In 1908 I only found one pair of first cousins who were married to one another, this being in the *Aka-Bo* tribe. The husband 582 605

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 135. He speaks of the wives as "models of constancy."

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585 the newly married couple do not leave the encampment in order to get food, or anything else that they may require, as their friends consider it a duty or privilege to supply all their needs until the shyness, consequent on the marriage, has worn off.

[431] 12. Wedding presents being as much *de rigueur* among these savages as in Mayfair, the happy pair invariably find themselves enriched by their relatives and acquaintances with the various articles of ordinary use, such as nets, buckets, bows, arrows, &c. in honour of the event.

13. On the morning following the marriage the bridegroom's mother, or other near female relative, decorates his person by painting him with *tâ·la-ōg-*, while the bride is similarly ornamented by her friends. It often happens that a young couple will pass several days after their nuptials without exchanging a single word, and to such an extent do they carry their bashfulness that they even avoid looking at each other; in fact their conduct would lead a stranger to suppose that some serious quarrel had caused an estrangement.

[535] 14. When a few days have elapsed, and they are in some measure accustomed to the novelty of their position, they enter upon the duties of life, and conduct themselves like their neighbours: the marriage is then celebrated by a dance, in which all, save the bride and bridegroom, take part.

593 15. A certain amount of jealousy usually exists between
●851 young people during the first year of their married life;[1] indeed, complete confidence and genuine affection are never entirely established until they become parents or, at least, till the wife is found to be *enceinte*, and even their relationship to each other is not regarded as being so close *prior* to the birth of a child as it is *after* that event. Confirmatory evidence on this point will be given when describing the funeral rites,[2] where it will be noticed that the survivor of a childless couple is not looked upon as chief mourner.

587 16. There is no prohibition against second marriages, but
589 greater respect is entertained for those who show their love and esteem for the deceased by remaining single and leading chaste lives (*ō·yun-tē·mar-bar·minga-*). It is by no means unusual for a man, even though he be young at the time of his wife's death, to remain a widower[3] for her sake for many years, or even till death;

[1] It often happens that a man will not at first allow his wife to leave their hut at night for any purpose unless he accompanies her, professedly to protect her from dangers, spiritual and temporal, but in reality to satisfy himself that she has not made an assignation.

[2] *Vide* "Death and Burial," paragraph 20.

[3] It must, however, be admitted that as their customs allow of a widow or widower consorting with the unmarried of the opposite sex, a single life is not of necessity a virtuous one, or evidence of constancy and devotion to the memory of the dear departed.

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852 304 Every boy and girl has to undergo the operation of scarification. This is begun when the child is quite young, and a small portion of the body is operated on. The operation is repeated at intervals during childhood, until the whole body has been scarified. A small flake of quartz or glass is used, and a series of fine incisions are made in the skin. The usual method is to cover a small portion of the skin with a number of parallel rows of short cuts. The choice of the design (if it can be called such) rests entirely with the person who performs the operation, who is in all cases a woman. The incisions leave scars that can usually only be seen when close to the person. In the photograph of Plate XV a pattern of scars may be seen. In this case the incisions became infected and raised scars were produced, and it is for this reason that they are visible in the photograph. In ordinary cases raised scars are not produced and the scarification is hardly visible in a photograph.

The only reason that the natives give for this custom is either that it improves the personal appearance, or else that it helps to make the child grow strong.

881 In the case of a girl the period of childhood is brought to a close by a ceremony that takes place on the occasion of her first menstrual discharge. The ceremony I describe is that in use in the Northern tribes, but I believe that the ceremony of the Southern tribes is very similar. On the occurrence of the first menstrual discharge the girl tells her parents, who weep over her. She must then go and bathe in the sea for an hour [343] or two by herself. After that she goes back to her parents' hut or to a special shelter that is put up for the occasion. She is 881 not required to go away from the camp. All ornaments are 292 removed from her, only a single belt of *Pandanus* leaf being left, with an apron of *čainyo* leaves. Strips of *Pandanus* leaf are attached round her arms near the shoulders and round her wrists, and others are placed as bands crossing her chest from the shoulder to the waist on the opposite side, and crossing her abdomen from the iliac crest on the one side to the trochanter on the other. These are so attached that the long loose ends hang down at the girl's side. Bunches of leaves, either *čelmo* (*Tetranthera lancæfolia*) or, if these be not obtainable, *poramo* (*Myristica longifolia*) are

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291 in this respect, that they will not remove or replace their
834 *ō·bunga-*[1] in the presence of any person, even though of their own sex.[2]

Tattooing.—1. With regard to the practice of tattooing,[3]—so
304 general among the eight tribes[4] of Great Andaman, and which, as Peschel remarks, "is only another substitute for raiment"—it has been erroneously asserted that its object is to "harden the skin against the stings of mosquitoes, sandflies, &c., and also for jungle travelling;" but so far from any such benefit being derived therefrom the aborigines aver that the skin becomes more sensitive after undergoing the ordeal, which is considered, primarily, as ornamental, and secondly, as proving the courage of the individual, and his (or her) power of enduring pain.

2. There are no special ceremonies connected with the operation, which, except in the northern tribes, is almost invariably performed by women, who, however, receive no remuneration, but rest satisfied with the honour of being considered competent to fulfil the task; all the sex are not equally skilled, and therefore, those who have gained distinction by former successes are, it may be said, the recognised practitioners, though no special status, or profit, in a material sense, is gained thereby.

304 3. Very few children[5] of either sex are allowed to remain
852 untattooed after about the eighth year, and the final operation is often not attempted until the sixteenth or eighteenth year, the process being carried on gradually during the intervening period.[6]

[443] 4. The instrument used on these occasions is a flake of quartz,
304 or, now-a-days, glass,[7] which is not "inserted in a stick," but held between the forefinger and thumb; the markings are found chiefly on the back, shoulders, nape of the neck, chest,

[1] The *ō·bunga-* is first worn by girls when they are about five or six years of age.

[2] *Vide ante* "Psychology and Morals," paragraph 8, and footnote.

[3] The legend explaining its supposed origin has been given in Part II (*vide* "Mythology," paragraph 26).

[4] So far as our present knowledge enables us to say, the *jär·awa-* do not tattoo or shave themselves (*vide* "Tribal Distribution," paragraph 2).

[5] Even in the homes the practice is still observed, and one strong-minded youth, *ī·ra-jō·do-*, who has hitherto declined to undergo the operation, which he has ventured to stigmatise as unnecessary, has earned for himself the (to them) unenviable designation of "*ab-lū·ta-*," *i.e.*, the "untattooed."

[6] The arms are generally the first part tattooed, and this is accomplished *prior* to the probationary period; the back is ornamented *during* the continuance of the fast and the chest, belly, legs, &c., *subsequently*. Sometimes an *ā·kà·kā daka-*, *i.e.*, a youth about 11–12, requests that he may be tattooed on his back and on the nape of his neck before attaining the usual age; such a request from a lad is considered manly, and, indeed, almost heroic, for ordinarily the painful operation is postponed until some years later.

[7] *Vide post* "Stone Implements," paragraphs 6 and 7.

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304 sides, abdomen, and also on the upper part of the feet and back of the hands.

5. Cicatrices are often observed on the persons of both sexes, but these are due to scarification (*tū·pke*[1]), or some accidental circumstance whereby the cut has been obliterated, or has failed to heal in the same manner as the others forming the design.[2]

6. The *.ȧ·kà-.châ·riàr-*, *.ȧ·kà-jār·o-*, *.ȧ·kà-.ked·e-*, and *.ó·ko-jū·wai-*[3] are most given to tattooing their persons, and may be specially distinguished by three rows of cuts down the back and chest: these latter marks are ordinarily much fainter than the former. Though women do the greater part of this work, the three lines down the back are almost exclusively made by some male friend with the *ē·la-*,[4] or pig arrow; except the three lines in front, the women of these tribes have no special marks, but are covered, like the females of South Andaman, with small raised cuts, which are inflicted by their own sex, with the ordinary glass or quartz flake, and not with the *ē·la-*.

7. The *.ȧ·kà-.kół-* differ from the four tribes just mentioned, only in that they omit the centre row of the three down the back.

8. The *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*, *.bō·jig-yâb-*, and *.bal·awa-* are covered with plain tattooing consisting merely of perpendicular and horizontal incisions all over[5] the person, thus:

852 9. There is no distinction made in the mode of tattooing a 304 chief's child and the other children of the tribe; the marks have no special significance, being merely regarded as ornamental;

[1] *Vide ante* "Medicine," paragraphs 5, 6, 12, 16 and 17.

[2] They are not raised by producing "proud" flesh.

[3] Among these tribes the first and most severe operation consists in making the three rows down the back; during the time the wounds take to heal, the patient abstains from pork, in the belief that his recovery will thus be expedited. [262]

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 5.

[5] The special poss. pron. denoting the various parts of the body are also used, in connection with tattooing, to express the particular limb or member to which reference is intended; thus:—

ōt-yī tinga-	tattooing on chest or neck.	
ig-yī tinga-	"	arm, shoulder, or breast.
ar-yī tinga-	"	leg.
ab-yī tinga-	"	back body, or thigh.
ōng-yī tinga-	"	foot or hand.
ȧ·kà-yī tinga-	"	side.

[6] *Vide* Plate II. fig. 1. Where, however, it will be seen that they do not quite attain to the regularity in marking here represented by the printing press.

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no coloured pigments or other preparations are rubbed into the wounds, which are left to heal of themselves: before leaving this subject I would mention that the face is never tattooed. 304 852

Painting.—1. Besides the permanent tattooing decorations, these savages employ three kinds of pigments for the further adornment of their dusky persons; and from the mode of their application it can be at once ascertained whether the individual be sick, or sorry, or whether he has taken, or is about to take, part in a merry-making. 302

2. No distinction with regard to rank or sex is made in the designs executed, yet, though these are not very numerous, no two persons are ordinarily painted exactly in the same way, as the pattern traced may be in one case on the chest, in another on the arm, in a third on the face, and so on; a temporary restriction is, however, laid upon the unmarried, who are not permitted to use the paint to their necks, either by way of ornament, or to relieve their pains.[1]

3. We have seen that according to their traditions[2] this was one of the arts in which *Pū·luga-* instructed their first parents, and though temporarily lost after the Deluge it was revived by the accidental re-discovery of the necessary pigments: it may, therefore, be reasonably inferred that the practice is a very ancient one among these tribes.

4. The materials used are *ōg-*, *tâ·la-ōg-*, and *kòi·ob-*, which are applied, respectively, as a wash and in designs, more or less minute, with the nail or the tips of the fingers.

5. The first (*ōg-*), is a pale "whitish-grey" clay,[3] which is mixed with water and smeared thickly over the entire person with the palms of the hand, to denote mourning;[4] a lump of the same compound (*del·a-*) is also placed on the head at these times: hence the term *â·kà-ōg-*, a mourner.

6. After eating pork or turtle they are also in the habit of smearing *ōg-* over their bodies with their fingers, in the belief that it affects their breath, and that evil spirits will be unable to detect, and therefore will not be attracted to, them by the savoury smell of the food of which they have partaken. Again, when heated by travelling, or by hunting or dancing, they have recourse to the same wash, but in these cases it is applied thinly.[5] [57]

[1] *Vide ante* "Medicine," paragraph 2.

[2] *Vide ante* "Mythology," paragraphs 9 and 27.

[3] "I may remark that the natives far West . . . . when mourning for the dead, paint the whole of the body of a white or yellow colour; while in the East of New Guinea the natives for a similar event paint themselves with black" (*vide* paper by Signor S. M. D'Albertis: "Travels in New Guinea," Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. vi, p. 215.)

[4] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 2.

[5] *Vide* "Anatomy and Physiology," paragraph 5.

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587 It may be noted that this custom may conflict with the other custom, previously mentioned, that a woman objects to marrying a man younger than herself. In the case mentioned by Mr Man a young man was compelled to marry a woman who was considerably his senior[1].

I believe that, in connection with, or underlying this custom there was an objection against a widow marrying a man who was older than her former husband (and who would therefore be his *ot-otoatue*). I regret that I cannot speak with certainty on these matters.

854 We may turn now to the duties to one another of parents and children. During their infancy the children are in the care of the mother. Children are, however, such favourites with the Andamanese that a child is played with and petted and nursed not only by his own father and mother but by everyone in the village. A woman with an unweaned child will often give suck [853] to the children of other women. Babies are not weaned till they are three or four years old.

[482] Before the children can walk, they are carried about by the mother, and sometimes by the father or other persons, in a bark sling (called *čiba* in *Aka-Jeru*), which is shown in Plate XIV. 857 After they can walk the children generally accompany their mothers in their expeditions near the camp for firewood or vegetables. When they are not with their mothers they amuse themselves with games in the village or on the beach. All the children of the coast villages learn to swim when they are very young, in fact almost as soon as they learn to walk, and many of their games are conducted in the water.

868 When a boy reaches the age of five or six his father makes him a toy bow and arrows, and sometimes a toy canoe. From this time the boy begins to learn the occupations of men and begins to pick up knowledge about the animals and trees and fishes of his country. The girl, accompanying her mother on her expeditions to gather roots and seeds, or to catch fish or pick up molluscs on the reefs, learns what it is necessary for women to know.

855 Until the age of about eight to ten a child lives with his

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 139.

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abstentions and ceremonies does have a very powerful emotional effect on the youth or girl may be readily observed by an eye-witness; that their permanent effect is to create in his or her mind a number of sentiments that previously existed not at all or only in an undeveloped condition will be shown in the course of the present argument. 182X 881 262

Since in the life of the Andamans by far the most important social activity is the getting of food, and it is in connection with food that the social sentiments are most frequently called into action, it is therefore appropriate that it should be through his relation to food that the child should be taught his relation to the society, and thus have those sentiments implanted in him or brought to the necessary degree of strength. During his infancy the child is almost entirely unrestrained and acts with great comparative freedom. He does not realise, in any adequate manner, that the food with which he is freely provided (for children are the last to suffer hunger) is only obtained by skill and effort, nor does he realise that he will one day be required to labour to supply food for others. There follows a period of restraint, during which the growing boy or girl has to give up eating certain relished foods, and has to pass through a number of ceremonies, some of them painful, and all solemn and awe-inspiring. These restraints on the action of the individual are not imposed by one person, but by the whole society backed by the whole force of tradition. Through a series of years, just at what is, for physiological reasons, the most impressionable age, the individual learns to subordinate his own desires to the requirements of the society or of custom, as explained to him by his elders. He is thus impressed, in a forcible manner, with the importance of the moral law, and at the same time he is impressed with a sense of the social value of food. The ceremonies thus afford a moral education adapted to the requirements of life as it is lived in the Andamans. It would need a very lengthy analysis to show all the effects of the ceremonies on the emotional life of those who undergo them, and for the purpose of this chapter such an analysis is unnecessary. It will suffice merely to mention a few of the more important. As stated above, the ceremonies teach the boy or girl self-control or self-restraint, and they do so in relation to one of the two [853]

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not at the hands of their mothers, but of the male members of the tribe. 144 847

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4. The ill success in rearing their offspring is doubtless owing in most part to the injudicious management and petting which each of the mother's friends considers right to bestow on the infant. It is looked upon as a compliment for every woman who may be nursing, to relieve the mother of this duty at frequent intervals; it is, therefore, no matter of surprise that the little one ails and dies.

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"They mostly possess considerable mammary development, and the glands in many cases seem to be in a chronic state of functional activity. This may be due to the late period to which they suckle their young (even to three or four years), or to another purpose to which the milk is applied. . . ." (*vide post*, "Shaving.") [As will be seen from Plate II, fig. 1, the mammæ are pyriform rather than spherical: with the advance of years they become flaccid and elongated.] [853]

145 to about 60 to 65, if he reaches "old age." Except as to marriage at an ear-
582 lier age, about 18, these figures apply fairly to the women also, who, however, live somewhat longer than the men, retaining in old age both health and mental faculties.

163 **Reproduction.**—The marriages are infructuous, though barrenness is
[853] uncommon, a couple rarely producing families of even moderate size and many none at all. The child-bearing age is from 16 to 35; weaning is much delayed.

291 **Endurance.**—Left to themselves the Andamanese go stark naked and
147 with head uncovered, except that the women wear, as clothing and not ornament, one or more leaves in front and a bunch of leaves tied round the waist behind, or a tassel of leaves all round. Jarawas, however, of both sexes have been seen entirely naked. They dislike and fear cold, but not heat, though they avoid exposure to the sun; and being accustomed to gratify every sensation as it arises, they endure thirst, hunger, want of sleep, fatigue and bodily discomfort badly. Want of sleep, such as occurs at their dances for occasionally as much as
[482] four days and nights, exhausts them greatly. A man's load is 40 lbs. and his distance 15 miles for a day or two only. After that he will rest, whatever the urgency.

252 **Food.**—The food consists of fish, pork, turtle, iguana, "wild cat" (*para-*
262 *doxurus sp.*), shell-fish, turtle eggs, certain larvæ, and a great variety of fruit, seeds, roots, and honey, and is plentiful both by sea and land. They never starve, though they are habitually heavy eaters. The food is always cooked and commonly eaten very hot. As much as possible of an animal is eaten and the Andamanese, like most hunters, have found out the dietary value of tripe. The Andamanese are expert cooks and adept at preparing delicacies from parts of animals and fish.

142 **Skin.**—The skin, which is smooth, greasy and satiny, varies in colour from an intense sheeny black to a reddish brown on the unexposed parts and also on the collar bones, cheeks and other prominences of the body. Its general appearance has been likened to a "black-leaded stove." The scalp, the lips and nostrils are black, and there are black patches on the palate. The soles of the feet are brownish yellow. The Bojigngiji Group (South Andaman) are the darkest, and among the Onges parts of the face are a light reddish-brown. The Jarawas are distinctly fairer than the rest, the general colour being a deep reddish brown. Leucoderma occurs on the fingers and lips.

Hair.—The hair varies from a sooty black to dark and light brown, yellowish brown and red. The general appearance of it is sooty black or yellowish brown. Except on the head the hair is scanty, but not absent: on the head it grows in small rings, which give it the appearance of growing in tufts, though it is really closely and evenly distributed over the whole scalp. Limited baldness is un-
[302] known, but temporary general baldness after disease occurs with a weak growth of the hair afterwards. The hair is not shaved, except on the head and eye-
[145] brows, and each tribe has, with many fantastic individual variants, its own method of wearing it. It turns grey at about 40, but white hair is not common.

Shaving is "woman's work" and was performed by small flakes of quartz, but nowadays flakes from the kicks of glass bottles are substituted. It is effective and close, but a painful operation on an European's face, as I proved by personal experience many years ago.

Bodily Parts.—The mouth is large, the palate hard and highly arched, the lips well formed. The hands and feet are small and well made. The ears are small and well shaped, the eyes are generally dark to a very dark brown, bright, liquid and clear, but prominent with slightly elevated outer angles and become dulled with age. The teeth, in the young, except amongst the Onges, are white, good and on the whole free from disease. Those of the Onges are irregular and discoloured. As age advances the teeth generally lose their whiteness and become worn, but without much caries. The teeth are roughly used without any care whatever. Dentition is early.

164 **Diseases.**—The muscular strength of the Andamanese is great, but their vitality is nevertheless low, and the apparently robust quickly die after sickening

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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5 *Above* Mother feeding her baby from a Nautilus shell
6 *Right* The axe is one of the few primitive tools in use in the Andamans

[Facing P. 66, D]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

587 It may be noted that this custom may conflict with the other custom, previously mentioned, that a woman objects to marrying a man younger than herself. In the case mentioned by Mr Man a young man was compelled to marry a woman who was considerably his senior[1].

I believe that, in connection with, or underlying this custom there was an objection against a widow marrying a man who was older than her former husband (and who would therefore be his *ot-otoatue*). I regret that I cannot speak with certainty on these matters.

•854 We may turn now to the duties to one another of parents and children. During their infancy the children are in the care of the mother. Children are, however, such favourites with the Andamanese that a child is played with and petted and nursed not only by his own father and mother but by everyone in the village. A woman with an unweaned child will often give suck [853] to the children of other women. Babies are not weaned till they are three or four years old.

[482] Before the children can walk, they are carried about by the mother, and sometimes by the father or other persons, in a bark sling (called *čiba* in *Aka-J̌eru*), which is shown in Plate XIV. 857 After they can walk the children generally accompany their mothers in their expeditions near the camp for firewood or vegetables. When they are not with their mothers they amuse themselves with games in the village or on the beach. All the children of the coast villages learn to swim when they are very young, in fact almost as soon as they learn to walk, and many of their games are conducted in the water.

868 When a boy reaches the age of five or six his father makes him a toy bow and arrows, and sometimes a toy canoe. From this time the boy begins to learn the occupations of men and begins to pick up knowledge about the animals and trees and fishes of his country. The girl, accompanying her mother on her expeditions to gather roots and seeds, or to catch fish or pick up molluscs on the reefs, learns what it is necessary for women to know.

855 Until the age of about eight to ten a child lives with his

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 139.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE XIV

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A woman with her child

[p. 126A]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

arises from no want of consideration for the weaker vessel, but simply because, if unnecessarily encumbered, the men would be unable to shoot or pursue any animal which might cross their path.

7. Such training as the children receive is undertaken by their parents or guardians; in the case of boys it consists merely in providing them with miniature weapons suitable to their age, and instructing them in their use: as they advance in years they accompany the men in their hunting and fishing expeditions, and, being by nature intelligent and emulous, they speedily acquire sufficient skill to enable them to afford material assistance to their elders.

8. The girls, similarly, are taught by their mothers, or other female guardians, how to fulfil the various duties which are regarded as essentially pertaining to their sex, and which I have described in the foregoing.

9. It seems hardly necessary to add that the unnatural custom of infanticide is unknown to the Andamanese,[1] and though the mortality among infants is excessive,[2] it is traceable to no want of affection, but to the injudicious treatment and lavish attentions bestowed upon the little ones by their ignorant though well-intentioned elders.[3]

10. For the better security of their babies, when travelling, women are in the habit of hanging round their necks a string the ends of which have been previously fastened to the infant's wrists; the child being then placed in a *chīp-*,[4] cannot by any accident meet with a serious fall.

Attire.—1. Madame de Staël speaks of certain children being "*vêtu du climât:*" the same expressive remark may be applied to the Andamanese, for no clothing, as we understand the word, is worn by either sex; there are, however, certain so-called ornamental circlets, garters, bracelets, cinctures, and necklaces of bones,[5] wood, or shell, which are its substitute[6] and serve to

[1] The birth of a girl is usually as gratifying to the parents as that of a boy.

[2] *Vide ante* "Reproduction," paragraph 4.

[3] Dr. Day has correctly stated that "men and women seem equally fond of carrying the babies about; all pet them; when they cry for anything, they give it; and over-kindness early consigns the little one to the grave."

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 24.

[5] As far as we at present know, the *jār'awa-* do not wear necklaces of bone, or the skulls of their deceased relatives. The males of this tribe wear round their heads, waists, knees, and arms, fringes of string attached to a cord or cane, which are called by the *.bō'jig-ngī'ji-*, *bĕ'ria-* (*vide* Plate IX, figs. 13, 13*a*, 13*b*).

[6] The relatives of a deceased person will commonly wear such of the ornaments as are in good condition, "in memoriam;" this is not, however, a distinguishing peculiarity, or one confined to savages.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Plate C.

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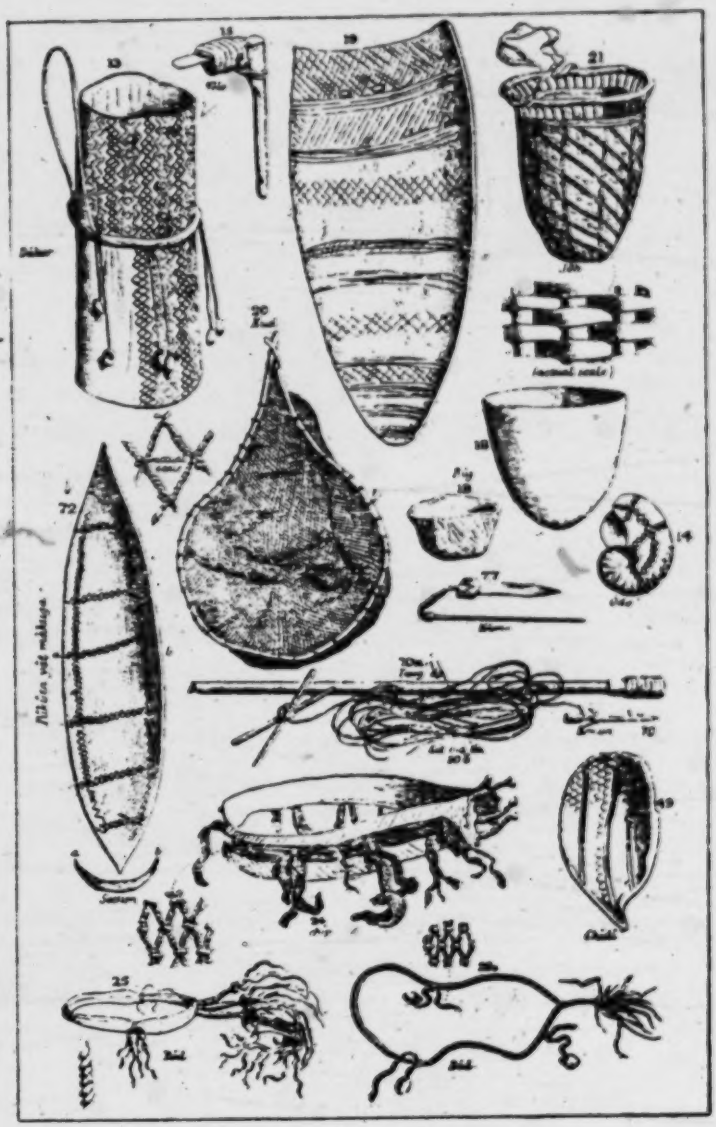

ANDAMANESE OBJECTS.

[facing p. 178]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

534 convex side is uppermost; the pointed end is stuck in the ground, and kept in position with one foot; a stone is then placed under the board to enable the performer to make more noise when keeping time, which he does by thumping or kicking the board with the heel of the other foot.

227 462 20. *kūd-*.[1] Hand fishing-net constructed from the prepared fibre of the *Gnetum edule* (Andam., *pīlita-*) by women and girls, who also by its means catch large quantities of fish and prawns, both in streams and among rocks along the coast at low tide. It is about the size of an ordinary butterfly-net; the frame is made of a length of a creeper known to them as *ōrta-tāt-*, the ends being bound together to form a handle.

285 462 21. *jōb-*.[2] Baskets used by all the Great Andaman tribes for carrying food and various other articles: they are generally made by women.[3]

[NOTE.—The baskets made by the *yārewa-* or North Andaman tribes, differ from those found among the *bōjig* tribes in having a wider base and a smaller mouth.[4]]

21*a*. The *jārawa-*[5] baskets differ from those in use among the Great Andaman tribes in having no firm base.

286 462 22. *chāpanga-*.[6] Netted reticules made and used by women for carrying small objects: the string used for this purpose is generally prepared from the fibre of the *Anadendrum paniculatum* (Andam., *yōlba-*, item 64), but as this is not always obtainable the less-valued fibre of the *Gnetum edule* (Andam., *pīlita-*) is sometimes employed as a substitute.

23. *pārepa-*.[7] Sleeping mat made by women of strips of a species of *Calamus* fastened securely in the ordinary manner with string made from the fibre of the *Gnetum edule* (Andam., *pīlita-*, item 65). When in use the rolled-up portion of these mats—which are generally 15 to 20 feet long—serves as a pillow.

23*a*. The *jārawa-*[8] sleeping mats hitherto found have always been of short lengths, but as wooden pillows similar to those in use among the Nicobarese have been found in their huts, it is probable that the specimens obtained represent full sized mats.

854 462 24. *chīp-*.[9] Sling or band made by women from the bark of

[1] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 18.
[2] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 17.
[3] *Vide* Part III, "Basket-work," paragraphs 2 and 3.
[4] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 14.
[5] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 14*a*.
[6] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 33.
[7] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 15.
[8] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 15*a*.
[9] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 25.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

the *Melochia velutina* (Andam., *al·aba-*), which is worn like a sash over one shoulder by women, and sometimes by men, when carrying infants.[1] 462 854

The plain specimens are called *chīp-lū·pa-*.

Those ornamented with netting *chīp-râ·b-*.

Those ornamented with shells *chīp-yâ·mnga-*.

25. *bōd-*.[2] Waistbelt made from the leaves of the young screw-pine (*Pandanus Andamanensium*); the bunch of leaves or tail is worn at the back. 291

[NOTE.—These specimens are of the kind worn by women and girls of the eight Great Andaman tribes; the females of the *jār·awa-* tribes appear to go entirely nude.]

25*a*. *bōd-*.[3] Waistbelts of similar description, but having a less bushy tail, are worn more or less generally by men and youths of the eight Great Andaman tribes.

26. *rō·gun-*.[4] Belt made from the leaves of the young screw-pine, which is worn by adult married women only.

27. *tâ-chô·nga-*.[5] Garters, which are frequently worn by men and youths: they are made in the same way as the *bōd-* (item 25.)

28. *tô·go-chô·nga-*.[6] Bracelets, also worn by men and youths, much resembling the last-named object.

29. *gar·en-pē·ta-*.[7] Ornamental waistbelt of *Dentalium octogonum*, which is worn occasionally by both sexes.

30. *bē·ria-*[8] *jār·awa-* waistbelts, necklets, and armlets, which are believed to be worn by men and youths only.

31. *ij·i-gō·nga-*.[9] Head-dress of Pandanus-leaf, worn occasionally by young men and women.

The following ten articles are worn by both sexes as ornaments either round the neck or head:— 301

32. *ī·na-ô·la-tâ-*[10]	..	made of fresh water-shells.
33. *pē·r-tâ-* ..	..	" cane or wood.
34. *yâ·dī-tâ-*[11]	..	" turtle bones.
35. *bai·an-tâ-*	..	" paradoxurus bones.
36. *dū·ku-tâ-*[12]	..	" iguana bones.

[1] *Vide* Part III, "Social Relations, &c.," paragraph 10.
[2] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 27.
[3] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 27*a*.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 29.
[5] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 9.
[6] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 8.
[7] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 35.
[8] *Vide* Plate IX, figs. 13, 13*a*, and 13*b*.
[9] *Vide* Plate IX, figs. 6 and 6*a*.
[10] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 42.
[11] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 38.
[12] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 40.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

documented the fact in a number of photographs. The purpose, however, is 751
purely hygienic . an unpainted body is, in their opinion, exposed to certain 302
illness. They explained this belief to me by saying that without paint the body becomes "hot". The men who travelled with me far from women were anxious every day to spread clay on face, chest and limbs, just to avoid "heat" or, in other words, fever. I thought of malaria, but they do not suffer from it. [162] Of this I will speak later on.

Rough clay is applied daily, on infant bodies as well as on adults, for 751
health purposes. It is used to cure all kinds of sickness, together with ochre, 757
turtle fat and honey. Honey spread on wounds appears to hasten healing. [302]
Identical curative methods are employed in Oceania. They probably existed [854]
among the Tasmanians, and are still used in Australia by the aborigines. I found nothing of the kind in Africa, where honey is plentiful. The Onge consider [752]
clay, ochre, honey and turtle fat good for external and internal treatment alike – both preventive and curative. Powdered bees' wax of a dark colour is often [171]
added. I saw mothers give their children, as a laxative, a number of pills made [825]
of similar ingredients. No bigger than common hazelnuts, the pills are red and greasy. In Onge forests I saw some small excavations, a few feet deep, [317]
made to extract the medicinal clay from special ground pockets. In its natural form the clay is light coloured, powdery and free of stones. When it is burnt [386]
the colour changes, assuming red, yellow, whitish or black shades according to the different qualities used, all believed to possess healing properties and to ensure hygienic colouring of the body. Mixed as described above, clay is used by the Onge in every circumstance from fever to snake or scorpion bite, constipation, breast infection in women, or post-delivery bleeding.

Belief in the medicinal properties of clay is as old as humanity itself. 757
Even among contemporary European peoples, notwithstanding severe criticism, 171
clay is still honoured as health-giving, not, I must say, on wholly foolish 823
grounds. The Onge, who smear their bodies constantly with clay, have the softest, most velvety skin that I ever saw anywhere in the world. Wounds [752]
spread with clay mixed with honey and fat leave negligible scars. The laxative and germ-killing action of clay is admitted by physicians in many countries, including Europe. It never causes infection. Geophagism has ancient origins, and we find it practiced by many modern populations. Children of every race and all young wild animals lick clay instinctively to absorb the mineral salts required by a developing organism. The Onge habit of using clay for healing purposes can be set, therefore, in a very wide frame.

Mental and nervous disorders are rare in Little Andaman. Few natives 164
are subject to epilepsy – an important matter for the Onge : they consider 828
such people as possessed by spirits who speak through their mouths, and [158]
respectfully question them as oracles. Several Onge chiefs, such as Chief [622]
Tchōtā of Tambē-ē-buiē, are apt to go into trances that have all the appearance [787]
of epileptic fits. They were elected chiefs on the strength of their epilepsy!

Constant exercise keeps eyesight and hearing extremely sharp in the 164
Onge. I saw no single case of myopia or presbyopia among the natives, nor 151

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

123 The second trip was made on March 12th 1948. Our party included Mr. JOSEPH and Mr. POOVIAH [2], both Sub-divisional Officers of the forest department, one Burman bush police and four Andamanese with their two canoes tied behind our motor boat. We followed the same route from Long Island and, reaching Spike Island, we anchored at its northeastern corner. We came ashore in the canoes. The beach was small and rocky. Part of it was sheltered on one side by huge rocks behind which the Jarawa were known to waylay those approaching from the sea. So we landed very cautiously. Just at [501] the outskirts of the jungle we saw huge bundles of short bamboo lengths tied to [824] one another and piled up in a heap. It was a Jarawa raft. Near the bamboo pile were three crude paddles split from the spadix of the palm called *Nipa fruticans*. We were all the more careful in our approach.

[361] Soon we came upon a clearing in the jungle. There was no Jarawa, but all around we saw traces of a temporary halt of a large party. We counted nineteen [342] fireplaces. At a distance from the fireplaces we saw a small temporary hut [622] improvised out of the materials available on the spot. Two small shrubs were tied together on two sides to form the roof of the hut. The Andamanese identified it to have been made for the Jarawa chief and his wife. Household objects lay scattered about. Three bamboo cylinders, closed at one end by the natural node, were found next to three of the fireplaces. They are used for carrying water. A dark coloured modern glass bottle, probably acquired during a raid, was also found. One fireplace had a small compartment enclosed by a few wooden posts a few yards off. The Andamanese identified it as an enclosure for keeping a child at a safe distance from the fire. This was probably correct as there was also a baby sling made of bark, exactly similar to that used by the Onge for carrying a baby on its mother's back (VON EICKSTEDT, 1934, fig. 211). At one corner of a fireplace the shavings of an arrowshaft or a bow were seen and nearby was a flat round pebble, one end of which was broken like that of a scraper (fig. 3). This scraper showed marks of red ochre on it. Beneath a tree a circular mat, sewn out of three pieces of long triangular palm-like leaves was spread out, while on its branches was found a beautiful specimen of an unstrung bow. It appeared to have been recently prepared and

[415] [824] [412] [177] [415] [354] [417] [855] [854] [412] [412]

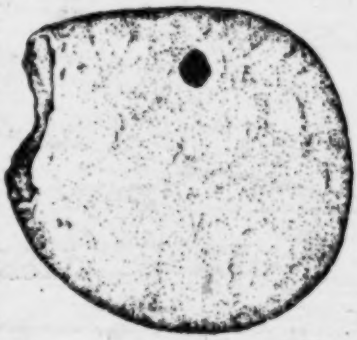

Fig. 3

[2] These two officers captured two Jarawa males, one adult and one boy, on October 19th 1948 on Spike Island. They were brought to Port Blair, wherefrom they managed to escape at night.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

the finger-tips and almost pink, with pale chocolate moons and 142
yellowish-brown palms and soles. In the adults the nails and soles of the feet remain pale, the palms being a little darker. The head, and the visible buccal and nasal epithelia, were almost black, and the gums were pink, as was the inside of the lips, with dark petecchiae, in adults very noticeable, at the base of the teeth and over the tongue and palate. The cheeks, however, were a reddish-brown, although the whole skin was already showing signs of darkening after twelve hours. Nasal cartilage was minimal, but that of the ears well-developed. The darkest area of skin were the forehead, eye sockets, lids, nipples and genitalia.

In general, therefore, the infant's skin was very slightly lighter [844]
than that of the adults, though before I could be sure of this I had [302]
to wash off the thick layer of ochre which is smeared over the un- [854]
washed infants immediately after birth. As the infants are extremely
carefully protected from the sun by 'umbrella' hats made of lobed [751]
palm leaves, the darkening, which is complete by the end of the first year, is clearly biological and is not effected by tanning. As, however, the Onges interchange or 'adopt' children freely, [597]
it was impossible to carry out any proper colorimetric observations.

I saw no albinos in the Onges, usually fairly common in dark- 143
skinned peoples. I saw several in Africa, with apparently normal 826
parents. Some African peoples destroy albinos at birth as they do [847]
those with deformities, and the Andamanese may do the same, as I
saw little congenital deformity (see, however, p. 46). Fear of being [626]
held responsible for disasters which befall the group carries great weight, and it is possible that the two cases of abnormality which I did see did not manifest symptoms at birth. Twins, however, are [845]
clearly (and gladly) accepted, so eager are the Onges to have [842]
children.

It was already clear in the infant that it would have the somatic 142
characteristics common to all Negritos as regards the proportions of the body, the form and dimensions of the head, absence of prognathism, comparatively fine lips, nose and ears, black skin, and woolly hair, and would be well below 1·5 metres in height when fully grown. Above all, the Andamanese have a large forehead, very wide-angled jaw and large mouths, with the upper lips not invariably full, as in Negroes. Many Onges, in fact, have fine features,

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

and the 'peppercorn' hair (disposed in tufts with bare areas) do 114 indeed recall the Bushmen, but superficial resemblances are not 142 enough to classify the two peoples as at all closely related. There is 144 an important difference between the two in the structure and cross-section of the hair. Hairs from the Onges which were examined in 142 Calcutta were remarkably uniform, indicating the racial purity of 144 the people, unlike those of the Arioto, which showed considerable variation in cross-section, from the almost circular straight hair of the Mongoloid type, to the flattened, almost remiform hair of the original Negritos.

Different, too, is the shape of the head; I have never seen in the Negritos the typical Bushmen head, with the prominent occiput, and I saw no Andamanese with the pseudo-mongoloid appearance of the eyes which occurs in Bushmen.

The hands and feet are also different. Among the Kung women of the northern Kalahari in particular I saw delicate hands with very long metacarpals and a very small thumb, the elongated metacarpals displacing the thumb towards the wrist. None of the Negritos appear to have anything resembling this; their hands are always rather broad. Moreover, the feet of the male Onges are nearly always flat while those of the women tend to turn in, recalling the small peoples of Indonesia and New Guinea, but not the Bushmen.

An interesting though not congenital abnormality in the Anda- 142 manese results from the carrying of weights slung from the head 482 from too early an age. Loads are always carried on their backs by a rope made of bark, the weight being taken on the forehead. The rope presses on the head in the region of the bregma and creates the so-called bregmatic furrow. This is more marked in females, as the women normally do most of the carrying. Even the children [854] travel on their parents' backs, hanging like parcels, until the age of five or six when they are old enough to follow the group on their own.

The Abor, a mongoloid people of small stature in the mountains 482 of North-West Assam, carry loads in the same way, but with no 142 resulting head furrow. The Andamanese have softer cranial bones, 147 and the result of load-bearing is therefore clearly visible. As it [171] occurs in both sexes, it is often hard if not impossible to determine sex from skulls if the pelvis is absent. The long bones are not of

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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1 The author with two adult islanders

[facing P. 66, A]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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5 *Above* Mother feeding her baby from a Nautilus shell
6 *Right* The axe is one of the few primitive tools in use in the Andamans

[Facing P. 66, D]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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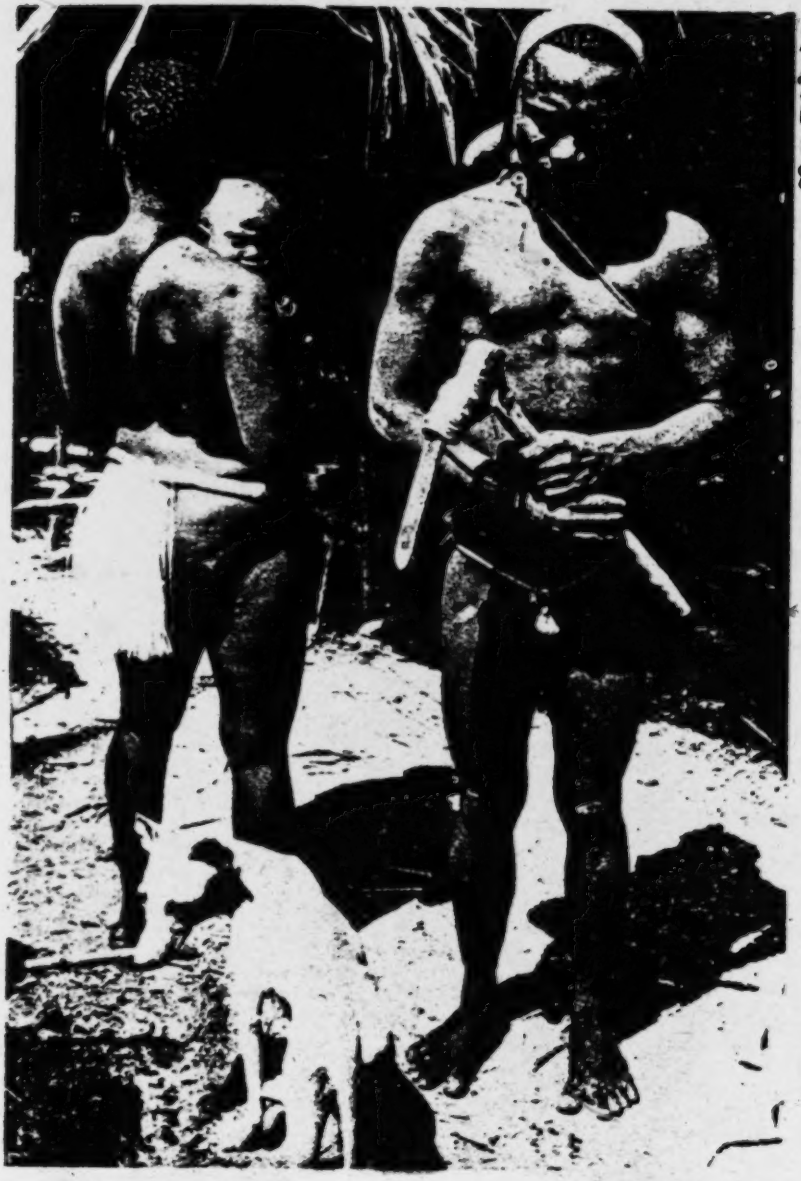

[facing P. 66, E]

/8 ... The axe is one of the few primitive tools in use in the Andamans/

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ.2 Andamans AZ.2

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[facing P. 66, I]

/13 Mother and child/

18: Kleiweg de Zwaan E-5 (1906-1910) 1925 OB1 Indonesia
Andamans AZ A

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Fig. 12. Mincopie Woman of the Andamans

Photo A. R. Brown.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

587 It may be noted that this custom may conflict with the other custom, previously mentioned, that a woman objects to marrying a man younger than herself. In the case mentioned by Mr Man a young man was compelled to marry a woman who was considerably his senior[1].

I believe that, in connection with, or underlying this custom there was an objection against a widow marrying a man who was older than her former husband (and who would therefore be his *ot-otoatue*). I regret that I cannot speak with certainty on these matters.

854 We may turn now to the duties to one another of parents and children. During their infancy the children are in the care of the mother. Children are, however, such favourites with the Andamanese that a child is played with and petted and nursed not only by his own father and mother but by everyone in the village. A woman with an unweaned child will often give suck [853] to the children of other women. Babies are not weaned till they are three or four years old.

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868 When a boy reaches the age of five or six his father makes him a toy bow and arrows, and sometimes a toy canoe. From this time the boy begins to learn the occupations of men and begins to pick up knowledge about the animals and trees and fishes of his country. The girl, accompanying her mother on her expeditions to gather roots and seeds, or to catch fish or pick up molluscs on the reefs, learns what it is necessary for women to know.

• 855 Until the age of about eight to ten a child lives with his

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 139.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

parents, having a place in the family hut, and a share of the family meal. The children are treated with extreme kindness, and are never punished, and hardly ever scolded. Should the parents die the children are adopted by friends or relatives, and such adopted children are treated by the foster-parents in exactly the same way as their own children. 855

At the age of ten, or a little before, a change is often brought about in the life of a child, owing to the custom of adoption. Mr Man writes of this custom as follows: 597

"It is said to be of rare occurrence to find any child above six or seven years of age residing with its parents, and this because it is considered a compliment and also a mark of friendship for a married man, after paying a visit, to ask his hosts to allow him to adopt one of their children. The request is usually complied with, and thenceforth the child's home is with his (or her) foster-father: though the parents in their turn adopt the children of other friends, they nevertheless pay continual visits to their own child, and occasionally ask permission (!) to take him (or her) away with them for a few days. A man is entirely at liberty to please himself in the number of children he adopts, but he must treat them with kindness and consideration, and in every respect as his own sons and daughters, and they, on their part, render him filial affection and obedience. It not unfrequently happens that in course of time permission to adopt a foster-child is sought by a friend of the *soi-disant* father, and is at once granted (unless any exceptional circumstance should render it personally inconvenient), without even the formality of a reference to the actual parents, who are merely informed of the change, in order that they may be enabled to pay their periodical visits[1]."

The above passage is quoted because Mr Man had better opportunities of observation in this matter than myself. At the present day there are not many children in the Andamans, and this is an obstacle in the way of this custom of adoption. From my own observation, however, I should put the age at which it is customary for children to be adopted at higher than six or seven. I found children of about seven or eight still

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 125.

123 The second trip was made on March 12th 1948. Our party included Mr. JOSEPH and Mr. POOVIAH[9], both Sub-divisional Officers of the forest department, one Burman bush police and four Andamanese with their two canoes tied behind our motor boat. We followed the same route from Long Island and, reaching Spike Island, we anchored at its northeastern corner. We came ashore in the canoes. The beach was small and rocky. Part of it was sheltered on one side by huge rocks behind which the Jarawa were known to waylay those approaching from the sea. So we landed very cautiously. Just at [501] the outskirts of the jungle we saw huge bundles of short bamboo lengths tied to [824] one another and piled up in a heap. It was a Jarawa raft. Near the bamboo pile were three crude paddles split from the spadix of the palm called *Nipa fruticans*. We were all the more careful in our approach.

[361] Soon we came upon a clearing in the jungle. There was no Jarawa, but all around we saw traces of a temporary halt of a large party. We counted nineteen [342] fireplaces. At a distance from the fireplaces we saw a small temporary hut [622] improvised out of the materials available on the spot. Two small shrubs were tied together on two sides to form the roof of the hut. The Andamanese identified it to have been made for the Jarawa chief and his wife. Household objects lay scattered about. Three bamboo cylinders, closed at one end by the [415] [824] natural node, were found next to three of the fireplaces. They are used for carrying water. A dark coloured modern glass bottle, probably acquired during a raid, was [412] ← also found. One fireplace had a [177] [415] → small compartment enclosed by a few wooden posts a few yards off. The Andamanese identified it as [354] [417] [855] → an enclosure for keeping a child at a safe distance from the fire. This was probably correct as there was also a baby sling made of bark, exactly similar to that used by the [854] → Onge for carrying a baby on its mother's back (VON EICKSTEDT, [412] 1934, fig. 211). At one corner of a fireplace the shavings of an arrowshaft or a bow were seen and nearby was a flat round pebble, one end of which was broken like that of a scraper (fig. 3). This scraper showed marks of red ochre [412] on it. Beneath a tree a circular mat, sewn out of three pieces of long triangular palm-like leaves was spread out, while on its branches was found a beautiful specimen of an unstrung bow. It appeared to have been recently prepared and

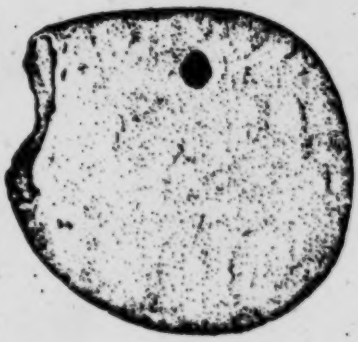

Fig. 3

[9] These two officers captured two Jarawa males, one adult and one boy, on October 19th 1948 on Spike Island. They were brought to Port Blair, wherefrom they managed to escape at night.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

attributed to scarcity of food, nor can nutrition have had any effect on the demographic decadence. Strict endogamy over thousands of years, and fragmentation into smaller and smaller groups is perhaps a more likely explanation of the situation. The last stage has now been reached; the Arioto, for instance, who numbered six hundred and twenty-five in the 1901 census, had dwindled to twenty-three in 1955. In that year there were only two young children, a boy and a girl (of different parents) and the girl, about five years old, clearly had a Burmese father. The boy, however, named Sirake and then aged about eleven, intelligent and alert, with the very blue-black skin of the Andamanese and typical hair, may well be of pure stock. He is the only hope of continuing the ancient Arioto line, but this will be impossible unless a girl of pure stock is born shortly.

This seems unlikely. With the exception of these two couples, the Arioto appear to be sterile. I have myself seen their sorrow at being deprived of children, and one of them, named Moro, of fairly pure stock, told me of his grief. He took me to his wife, also of pure Andamanese origin, and externally as normal and healthy as her husband, but deserted by the spirits of fertility. Through no fault of their own, the cause probably lies in both of them.

In all the Andamanese, fertility seems always to have increased from the age of twenty-eight and to end by the age of forty-eight – in many cases thirty-eight, although since none of them know their age, owing to the absence of any form of counting, their deceptively youthful appearance makes assessment of age extremely difficult. I met only one woman who, as far as I could estimate, had borne seven children, and of these only three were still alive in 1954; the widespread custom by which children are transferred from one family to another, even during the period of lactation, to 'share' the enjoyment of them, made all the usual means of assessing the number of births virtually impossible. In a number of childless couples whom I saw on Little Andaman, the women are under twenty-eight and there is still hope of fertility, even if it is late. This could happen in the case of the wives of the two leaders Cocheggi and Cendubài; these two men married two sisters, among the healthiest and most beautiful women on the island, Vaghèghe and Tocuaghèghe, both under twenty-two. Neither of them has ever been pregnant, although both are apparently normal and

11: Ciprianí E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

842 163 enjoy the active marital relationships necessary, according to their husbands, to encourage the entry of the benevolent spirits which bring motherhood. The late onset of fertility in all Andamanese 842 163 women and perhaps in men as well[1] probably depends on mechanisms which have been operating for a very long time, affecting 165 the sex ratio at birth, and preferential infant mortality in one sex. [123] [124] By a combination of observation and deduction I was able to be reasonably certain that among the Onges at least more males are born than females. The disparity is reduced, though not eliminated, by a higher mortality rate in young males. Males thus remain in excess, making it difficult for some, possibly fertile, to find wives.

842 143 161 There are certain peoples – notably the Pitcairn Islanders – who have arisen by repeated inbreeding for hundreds of years from a very few individuals. It is clear from this example that genetic isolation and inbreeding cannot of themselves cause numerical, physical or mental decline of a population. The problem merits further investigation. Civilization has perhaps accused herself unjustly of causing the decline of primitive races, whereas she has in fact only hastened the disappearance of groups already heading for demographic decadence as the result of physiological factors which lie within the group itself, and which are consequently difficult to counteract. The intrinsic damage done by civilization as such has, in my opinion, been considerably exaggerated in some quarters.

855 597 Possibly because of the low birth rate the maternal instinct is very highly developed in the women of the Andamans, even to the point of 'adopting' children temporarily. These children are always given lavish affection, and are kept sometimes for years, or even permanently if the parents do not ask for them back. Given the language barrier, this custom makes census-taking difficult as childless couples happily declare adopted children as their own. Nabimbòi, with no children of her own, always had children with her, and it was only the fact that they differed from year to year that led me to suspect what was happening! One wonders whether the custom was not already common before outsiders first came to the Andamans, owing to the existence of a high incidence of sterility long before the arrival of civilization.

[1] There is some evidence of infertility in the men, but it is clear that this is of relatively minor importance.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

587 It may be noted that this custom may conflict with the other custom, previously mentioned, that a woman objects to marrying a man younger than herself. In the case mentioned by Mr Man a young man was compelled to marry a woman who was considerably his senior[1].

I believe that, in connection with, or underlying this custom there was an objection against a widow marrying a man who was older than her former husband (and who would therefore be his *ot-otoatue*). I regret that I cannot speak with certainty on these matters.

854 We may turn now to the duties to one another of parents and children. During their infancy the children are in the care of the mother. Children are, however, such favourites with the Andamanese that a child is played with and petted and nursed not only by his own father and mother but by everyone in the village. A woman with an unweaned child will often give suck [853] to the children of other women. Babies are not weaned till they are three or four years old.

[482] Before the children can walk, they are carried about by the mother, and sometimes by the father or other persons, in a bark sling (called *čiba* in *Aka-Jeru*), which is shown in Plate XIV. •857 After they can walk the children generally accompany their mothers in their expeditions near the camp for firewood or vegetables. When they are not with their mothers they amuse themselves with games in the village or on the beach. All the children of the coast villages learn to swim when they are very young, in fact almost as soon as they learn to walk, and many of their games are conducted in the water.

868 When a boy reaches the age of five or six his father makes him a toy bow and arrows, and sometimes a toy canoe. From this time the boy begins to learn the occupations of men and begins to pick up knowledge about the animals and trees and fishes of his country. The girl, accompanying her mother on her expeditions to gather roots and seeds, or to catch fish or pick up molluscs on the reefs, learns what it is necessary for women to know.

855 Until the age of about eight to ten a child lives with his

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 139.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

In the North Andaman there is some sort of association between the unborn souls of babies, the green pigeon and the *Ficus laccifera* tree. The same name, *Renko*, is used to denote both the green pigeon and also the *Ficus laccifera*, of the fruit of which the pigeon is very fond. The belief of the natives is sometimes stated by saying that the souls of unborn children live in the *Ficus* trees, and that if a baby dies before it has been weaned its soul goes back to the tree. Another statement of the natives is that it is when the green pigeon is calling that the soul of a baby goes into its mother. The *Ficus* is to a certain extent tabu. I was told that the tree must not be cut or damaged. Nevertheless the natives do cut the tree in order to obtain the bark of the aerial roots from which they prepare a fibre that they use for making personal ornaments. There is no tabu in connection with the green pigeon, which may be killed and eaten. 842 775 784

In most primitive societies, if not in all, there are ritual or ceremonial observances in connection with the change by which a boy or girl becomes a man or woman. The ceremonies that are performed to mark this change are commonly spoken of in ethnological literature as "initiation ceremonies." The term is not perhaps the best that could be chosen, but usage has rendered it familiar. 000

The life of an Andaman Islander is divided into three well-marked periods, corresponding roughly with the physiological periods of childhood, adolescence, and maturity. The first period lasts from birth till about the advent of puberty; the second lasts from puberty till after marriage; the third extends from marriage to death. 561

During the period of childhood the boy or girl lives with his or her parents, or, in the later years of the period, with adopted parents, having a place in the family hut and a share in the family meal. A girl continues to live with her parents or with her adopted parents until she marries. When boys have finished growing, and have reached the condition of young men, they cease to live with their parents or adopted parents and, until they are married, they occupy a bachelors' hut of their own, and have their own meal. 858 882

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

reached the age when it is considered proper for a man to marry. In recent times at least one young man has refused to undergo the privations connected with the initiation ceremonies. This was of course a case of gross rebellion against the customs of the tribe, but there was no way of punishing him or of compelling him to conform, save by showing him that he was an object of contempt and ridicule to others. Probably such a refusal to conform to tribal customs could not have taken place before the British occupation of the islands. 183 626

Another class of wrong actions consists in the breaking of ritual prohibitions. There are, for example, as will be shown in a later chapter, a number of actions which it is believed may cause bad weather, such as burning bees'-wax or killing a cicada. There is, however, no punishment that can be meted out to any one who does any of these things. The punishment, if we may call it so, is a purely supernatural one, and it strikes not only the offender but every one else as well. In the legends of the Andamanese there are one or two stories related of how one of the ancestors, being angry, deliberately performed one of the forbidden actions and thus brought a storm that destroyed many human beings[1]. There are other ritual prohibitions the non-observance of which is supposed to bring its own punishment on the offender, who, it is believed, will be ill. 784 626

The medicine-men (*oko-jumu*) are credited with the power to work evil magic, and by its means to make other people ill, and even to kill them. A man suspected of evil magic might be liable to the vengeance of those who thought that they had been injured by him, but though the practice was regarded as reprehensible it does not seem that the society ever acted as a whole to punish a man suspected of it. 756

Children are reproved for improper behaviour, but they are never punished. During their years of infancy they are much spoilt, not only by their parents but by every one. During the period of adolescence every boy and girl has to undergo a somewhat severe discipline, to be described in a later chapter. 861 882

[1] See below, Chap. IV.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

occasion "they brought in some escaped convicts, whom, however, they first plundered, besides removing every bit of iron from the boat in which they had escaped. On being taxed with this they at first pleaded surprise, then said they would make restitution, and brought a canoe as an exchange for the mischief they had done to the government boat. At first this was not quite understood and the canoe was sent back, but they returned it next day, explaining that they desired it to be kept as a reimbursement for the injury they had done to the government boat, so no longer considered the canoe theirs." 577

4. As another example of the same kind:—when the present penal colony at Port Blair was first established, the aborigines were observed to refrain from shooting at any of the chain-gang prisoners, evidently judging that they at least could not be voluntary invaders of their territory, and to confine their hostility to the petty officers and others not in chains, till these at last, finding themselves in constant danger, sought and obtained permission to carry on their duties in fetters.[1]

5. Much mutual affection is displayed in their social relations, and, in their dealings with strangers, the same characteristic is observable when once a good understanding has been established.

6. It is a noteworthy trait, and one that deserves high commendation, that every care and consideration are paid by all classes to the very young, the weak, the aged, and the helpless, and these, being made special objects of interest and attention, invariably fare better in regard to the comforts and necessaries of daily life than any of the otherwise more fortunate members of the community. [388]

7. Andamanese children are reproved for being impudent and forward, but discipline is not enforced by corporal punish- 861

[1] It may not be unworthy of notice to record here yet another instance of generosity of disposition displayed by one of these savages. In January, 1877, a party of 24 *Bhil* convicts effected their escape: all but some 11 or 12 were soon re-captured. Those still at large proved desperate, showing by their murderous assault on some aborigines, who had unconsciously approached their hiding place in the jungle, that they were prepared to resist capture at all hazards. The chief "*mūnshī*" *.bi·ela* (*vide* Plate II, fig. 2) thereupon headed a party of his tribe and some policemen, and, in spite of the parched condition of the soil—it being then late in February—succeeded in tracking the runaways, who had penetrated several miles into an unfrequented part of the jungle. Refusing to surrender themselves they were attacked, with the result that all were either captured or shot down. On being asked by the Chief Commissioner what reward would be most acceptable for the service the aborigines had performed on this occasion, *.bi·ela* replied that he would prefer to anything else that the Chief Commissioner should remit the remaining portion of the six months' sentence passed on four members of a Middle Andaman tribe, who, a few months before, had been convicted of shooting, at Kyd Island, some Chinamen engaged in collecting edible birds' nests. The prisoners were almost unknown to *.bi·ela*, and their release, therefore, could no more have concerned him personally than did their punishment. His request was granted.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

●861 ment; they are early taught to be generous and self-denying, and the special object of the fasting period, regarding which I shall hope to speak to you on another occasion, seems to be to test the fortitude and powers of endurance of the lads and lasses before entering upon the cares and responsibilities of married 867 life. The duties of showing respect and hospitality to friends and visitors being impressed upon them from their early years, all guests are well treated; every attention is paid to their wants, the best food at their host's disposal is set before them, and, ere they take their leave, some tokens of regard or goodwill are bestowed, or, to speak more correctly, interchanged. Strangers visiting an encampment for the first time are welcomed if introduced by some mutual friend.[1]

834 8. It has been observed by ethnologists who have described certain other primitive races, that modesty and morality are not dependent on, or to be gauged by, the amount of covering which is deemed requisite by either sex. The Andamanese present another instance in point; and in the esteem in which they hold these virtues, and the self-respect which characterises their intercourse with each other, may even be said to compare favourably with that existing in certain ranks among civilised races.[2]

461 9. In the manufacture of their weapons, utensils, and other articles, they habitually display a remarkable amount of perseverance and industry, spending hour after hour in laboriously striking pieces of iron with a stone hammer for the purpose of forming spear or arrow-heads, or in improving the shape of a bow, &c., even though there be no necessity, immediate or prospective, to stimulate them to such efforts. The incentive is evidently a spirit of emulation, each one priding himself on being able to produce work which will excel, or at least compare not unfavourably with, that of his neighbours.

431 10. Selfishness is not among their characteristics, for they frequently make presents of the best that they possess, and do not reserve, much less make, weapons, &c., of superior workmanship for their own private use; at the same time it must be

[1] On seeing a stranger at a gathering, it would be asked: *ōl mij'a?* (who is he?) or, if the visitor be senior to the inquirer, *ōl mij'ola?* (who is that elder or chief?)

[2] Women are so modest that they will not renew their leaf aprons in the presence of one another, but retire to a secluded spot for this purpose; even when parting with one of their *bōd-* appendages to a female friend the delicacy they manifest for the feelings of the bystanders in their mode of removing it almost amounts to prudishness. Coarse conversation appears to be of rare occurrence and to meet with little or no encouragement. Remarks on the personal appearance or peculiarities of friends or blood relatives are considered harmless, but if made in reference to a wife or husband would be regarded as indelicate and objectionable, and resented accordingly.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

757 started slapping his hands on Toncootĕi's and exposing them intermittently to
372 the fire. All this lasted over a quarter of an hour. The patient was then made
123 to lie prone, with his legs spread out, to receive a foot massage as described above, for another quarter of an hour. Torso, feet and hands were worked over, with short pauses for artificial respiration by means of compression. Subsequently his back, and particularly the sacral region, was vigorously rubbed by willing hands and feet. Three men performed this operation. Toncootĕi was finally allowed to rest, between two fires kept burning all night. Sunrise found him alive, and the fever had abated, due, I think, to a good European laxative that I had persuaded him to take.

164 In March 1952, I witnessed a sad episode, followed by the death of
123 the patient, near my Labanare camp. A young mother was suffering from breast rhagades. Her baby was less than a month old, and she was also suckling
[862] another child, almost two years old, who had sharp teeth. It is a frequent
[597] kindly habit of the Onge to adopt babies ; and it is customary to breast-feed them up to the age of four. Some interesting consequences arise out of this habit, but I shall not analyze them here. A minor detail : since they are allowed to suckle when they wish and are weaned so late, Onge children do not indulge in thumb sucking. Considerable reactions are spontaneously established between the two terminal parts of the digestive tube – oral and anal, as though in physiological conflict. Once more I affirm that the evidence of Onge sexual
[864] behaviour positively denies Freudian theories with regard to the sexual life of children. Furthermore, young anthropoids and primitive people behave identically in this respect.

164 The adopted baby gave the young mother nipple wounds that became
123 infected and suppurated. For lack of proper care and in unhygienic surroundings, the infection spread to the rest of her body. I found her suffering terribly
752 from pain in the breast, muscular spasm and high fever. The Onge had applied their usual external remedies to her body, from head to foot. Very tight bandages of ficus bark, renewed three times a day, were wrapped arounds legs, arms, trunk and abdomen. Bright red ochre – rare in Little Andaman and considered more effective because of its brilliant colour – was painted onto the afflicted breast. The poor young woman looked at me hopefully. I suggested her immediate removal to Port Blair Hospital, and sent radio messages from my camp to the Chief Commissioner, Mr. A. K. GHOSH. He responded generously by ordering a ship to call for the patient, but the journey was useless because her relations were opposed to displacing her. In March 1952 my friendship with the Onge was only starting ; this will explain their refusal to follow my advice. Without proper care, in a place like Little Andaman, the patient died four days after my arrival at the camp.

756 Prescription of medicines and treatments such as those described above
[759] is not determined by specialists. Everybody submits to treatment, with general approval, convinced of its effectiveness. Witch doctors do not exist and perhaps never existed in the Andamans. Nothing, then, is known by the
755 Onge of the dances and exhibitions, commonly executed elsewhere for curative
757 purposes, that influence the patient on a psychobiological basis. As they have

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

head ornaments and religious ceremonies. In Oceania there is, too, the habit of changing personal names from time to time so prevalent among the Onges, and the existence of actual linguistic connections between Nicobarese, Andamanese, Semang, Aetà and peoples of Oceania have been demonstrated by experts. 174

Any differences which exist today are the result of centuries of contact with other peoples which the Semang and Aetà have experienced, unlike the Andamanese, who thus represent today the true Negritos. While life generally has changed somewhat over the centuries for the Semang and Aetà, certain typical facets of their culture have remained unaltered. Ritual cutting and distributing of game, the use of the arrow harpoon (always unfeathered) and the simple Onge-Negrito bow are still the same, despite the fact that the three groups have been separated for a very long time. Even the very absence of defensive weapons is a common feature; admittedly outside the Andamans arrows are poisoned and some may be feathered, but this is a recent and imitative innovation which is not found among the Andamanese, by virtue of their constant isolation. The persistence among the Onges of the simple bow tends to support the idea of Little Andaman as the first stage in the northward spread of the Negritos after they reached the island from Sumatra via the Nicobars. In Malacca the Semang have retained the same bow, as have the Aetà in the Philippines.

Among what may be termed similarities of physical habits is nose-rubbing as a sign of affection, found in the Andamans, in Oceania, and parts of Papuasia and Melanesia. In all these areas there is the same belief that pregnancy is due to entry of a spirit into the body, and the same habit of suckling children for as long as four years. Similar too throughout the area are the methods of 'curing' disease, such as smearing with ochre and heavy massage carried out beside a fire, swallowing of balls of ochre, and the 'smoking' of wounds, smeared with a mixture of ochre and honey. As protection from the sun or the rains (especially for the young children) crude umbrellas are made from giant palm leaves. 171 [832] [842] [843] [862] [755] [293]

There are no prayers or propitiatory sacrifices to ensure health and well being, but there is throughout the area the same concept of mysterious forces to be feared, evaded, or let loose against enemies – never loved. Generally they are thought of in terms of spirits, usually active at night. There is some divergence in the 171 [776] [771] [782]

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431 10. Selfishness is not among their characteristics, for they frequently make presents of the best that they possess, and do not reserve, much less make, weapons, &c., of superior workmanship for their own private use; at the same time it must be

[1] On seeing a stranger at a gathering, it would be asked: *ōl mij'a?* (who is he?) or, if the visitor be senior to the inquirer, *ōl mij'ola?* (who is that elder or chief?)

[2] Women are so modest that they will not renew their leaf aprons in the presence of one another, but retire to a secluded spot for this purpose; even when parting with one of their *ōōd-* appendages to a female friend the delicacy they manifest for the feelings of the bystanders in their mode of removing it almost amounts to prudishness. Coarse conversation appears to be of rare occurrence and to meet with little or no encouragement. Remarks on the personal appearance or peculiarities of friends or blood relatives are considered harmless, but if made in reference to a wife or husband would be regarded as indelicate and objectionable, and resented accordingly.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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587 It may be noted that this custom may conflict with the other custom, previously mentioned, that a woman objects to marrying a man younger than herself. In the case mentioned by Mr Man a young man was compelled to marry a woman who was considerably his senior[1].

I believe that, in connection with, or underlying this custom there was an objection against a widow marrying a man who was older than her former husband (and who would therefore be his *ot-otoatue*). I regret that I cannot speak with certainty on these matters.

854 We may turn now to the duties to one another of parents and children. During their infancy the children are in the care of the mother. Children are, however, such favourites with the Andamanese that a child is played with and petted and nursed not only by his own father and mother but by everyone in the village. A woman with an unweaned child will often give suck [853] to the children of other women. Babies are not weaned till they are three or four years old.

[482] Before the children can walk, they are carried about by the mother, and sometimes by the father or other persons, in a bark sling (called *čiba* in *Aka-J̌eru*), which is shown in Plate XIV. 857 After they can walk the children generally accompany their mothers in their expeditions near the camp for firewood or vegetables. When they are not with their mothers they amuse themselves with games in the village or on the beach. All the children of the coast villages learn to swim when they are very young, in fact almost as soon as they learn to walk, and many of their games are conducted in the water.

●868 When a boy reaches the age of five or six his father makes him a toy bow and arrows, and sometimes a toy canoe. From this time the boy begins to learn the occupations of men and begins to pick up knowledge about the animals and trees and fishes of his country. The girl, accompanying her mother on her expeditions to gather roots and seeds, or to catch fish or pick up molluscs on the reefs, learns what it is necessary for women to know.

855 Until the age of about eight to ten a child lives with his

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 139.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

arises from no want of consideration for the weaker vessel, but simply because, if unnecessarily encumbered, the men would be unable to shoot or pursue any animal which might cross their path. 462 562 484

7. Such training as the children receive is undertaken by their parents or guardians; in the case of boys it consists merely in providing them with miniature weapons suitable to their age, and instructing them in their use: as they advance in years they accompany the men in their hunting and fishing expeditions, and, being by nature intelligent and emulous, they speedily acquire sufficient skill to enable them to afford material assistance to their elders. 868

8. The girls, similarly, are taught by their mothers, or other female guardians, how to fulfil the various duties which are regarded as essentially pertaining to their sex, and which I have described in the foregoing.

9. It seems hardly necessary to add that the unnatural custom of infanticide is unknown to the Andamanese,[1] and though the mortality among infants is excessive,[2] it is traceable to no want of affection, but to the injudicious treatment and lavish attentions bestowed upon the little ones by their ignorant though well-intentioned elders.[3] 847

10. For the better security of their babies, when travelling, women are in the habit of hanging round their necks a string the ends of which have been previously fastened to the infant's wrists; the child being then placed in a *chīp-*,[4] cannot by any accident meet with a serious fall. 854

Attire.—1. Madame de Staël speaks of certain children being "*vêtu du climât:*" the same expressive remark may be applied to the Andamanese, for no clothing, as we understand the word, is worn by either sex; there are, however, certain so-called ornamental circlets, garters, bracelets, cinctures, and necklaces of bones,[5] wood, or shell, which are its substitute[6] and serve to 291

[1] The birth of a girl is usually as gratifying to the parents as that of a boy.

[2] *Vide ante* "Reproduction," paragraph 4.

[3] Dr. Day has correctly stated that "men and women seem equally fond of carrying the babies about; all pet them; when they cry for anything, they give it; and over-kindness early consigns the little one to the grave."

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 24.

[5] As far as we at present know, the *jārawa-* do not wear necklaces of bone, or the skulls of their deceased relatives. The males of this tribe wear round their heads, waists, knees, and arms, fringes of string attached to a cord or cane, which are called by the *.bō'jig-ngīji-*, *bē'ria-* (*vide* Plate IX, figs. 13, 13*a*, 13*b*).

[6] The relatives of a deceased person will commonly wear such of the ornaments as are in good condition, "in memoriam;" this is not, however, a distinguishing peculiarity, or one confined to savages.

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881 PUBERTY AND INITIATION--ideas, beliefs, and practices associated with first emissio seminis and first menstruation; rites of passage at or near puberty; prevalence of special initiation rites for each sex; ceremonial sponsors; function and purpose of ceremonial; mystery and seclusion; taboos; ordeals and tests; inculcation of secret lore; special instruction in sex life; ideas of death and rebirth; etc. See also:

Age at puberty 145
Mutilation 304
Masks 532
Bullroarers 534
Age-grades 561
Initiation into clubs and secret societies 575
Tests of marriageability 592
Artificial kin relationships 608
Concept of reincarnation 775
Taboos 794
Religious confirmation 796
Religious ceremonial 796
Menstruation 841
Sex training 864

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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597 living with their own parents. The usual age of adoption seemed to me to be from nine or ten years upwards.

A man and his wife adopt in this way children belonging to a local group other than their own. The adopted child lives with his or her foster-parents, having a place in their hut and a share of their meals. From about the age of ten children of both sexes begin to be of service to their parents or foster-parents in many ways. The foster-parents treat their adopted children in exactly the same way that they would treat their own children, and the children on the other hand show the same regard and affection to their foster-parents that they do to their own parents, and assist them in every way that they can. Their own parents come to visit them at regular intervals.

881 882 The period of childhood is brought to an end at about the age of puberty by certain ceremonies to be described in the next chapter. After the beginning of these ceremonies a boy ceases to live in the hut of his parents or his foster-parents, and must live with the young unmarried men and widowers in what has been called the bachelors' hut. From this time until he marries, his services are constantly required by his parents or by his foster-parents, and he is expected to obey them and help them in any way he can, It is only after his marriage that he becomes relatively independent and free to please himself in his own actions, and even then he is required to provide his parents or his foster-parents with food, and to serve them in any way they may need.

A girl, during the period between the beginning of the initiation ceremonies and her marriage, continues, at any rate, in some cases, and in these days, to live with her parents or with foster-parents. Mr Man states that the unmarried women and girls occupy a spinsters' hut similar to the bachelors' hut. It is possible that this was the former custom. I found instances of an unmarried girl occupying a place in the hut of a married couple who made use of her services and controlled her conduct, regarding her in the light of a foster-daughter. On one occasion I found two unmarried girls occupying a separate hut adjoining that of a married couple, who looked after the girls who occupied it.

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The position of an unmarried girl is very similar to that of an unmarried youth. She is required to help her elders, in particular either her parents or her foster-parents, i.e. the married couple under whose care she is for the time being. 881 882

After marriage a son continues to help his parents, providing them with food and seeing that they are comfortable. If either a man or a woman lives in a local group other than that of his or her parents, he or she pays frequent visits to them. 593

From the time that a youth or girl ceases to belong to the family household, his or her duties to the parents are really only the same in kind as the duties that every young man and woman owes to all the older men and women. Though there is no difference in kind, yet a man or woman is expected to show more affection and respect for his or her own parents than to other persons of the same social standing.

The only other relationship, besides that of husband and wife and that of parents and children, which exists inside the family, is that between children of the same parents. The conduct of brothers to one another depends on their respective ages. The younger is expected to give way to the elder, while the latter protects and looks after the former. The relation of sisters to one another is similar.

The duties of a man and woman to his or her relatives, other than those to parents, brothers and sisters. and even to some extent the duties to these near relatives, are not distinguishable in kind from the duties he or she owes to other persons who are not relatives. Thus a young married man owes certain duties to all the older married men of about the age of his father. These duties are the same in kind as those towards his own father and his foster-father, the only difference being that he must defer more to his own father than to other men, and must be more constant in his attentions to him. I could not discover any way in which a man distinguished, in his dealings with them, his father's brother from his mother's brother. They are both of them older men whom he must respect and to whom he must make presents of food. Similarly a father's sister is not distinguished, so far as I could discover, from a mother's sister. A man treats both of them in much the same way that he treats 602

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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mother of the man's wife on the other. In the *Akar-Bale* language such persons are said to be *aka-yat* to one another. A man or a woman will not have any immediate dealings with a person who is his *aka-yat*. He will not speak to him, and if they should meet or be sitting near to one another they would avoid looking at each other. On the other hand a man is constantly sending presents to his *aka-yat*. The natives say that two persons in this relation feel "shy" or "ashamed." (There is only one word in Andamanese for these two English words, *ot-jete* in *Aka-Jeru*.) The shyness begins at the moment when a marriage between their respective children is first discussed as a possibility, and lasts apparently till death. 601 602 [431]

As throwing a little light on this peculiar relation it may be mentioned that a similar relation exists between two men who have been through either the turtle-eating ceremony or the pig-eating ceremony (to be described in the next chapter) on the same occasion. Two such men will avoid any contact with one another, not speaking to nor looking at each other when they chance to meet, but on the other hand they will be constantly giving each other presents of all kinds, sending them through some third person. 608 881 [431]

The main features of the relationship system of the Andaman Islanders may be briefly summed up. The duties that one person owes to another are determined much less by their relation to one another by consanguinity and marriage, than by their respective ages and social status. Even within the family, which nevertheless is of importance, the duty of a child to a parent is very little different from his duty to any other person of the same age. There is very little of any special customs relating to conduct towards different kinds of relatives. Corresponding to this we find very few terms to denote relationships and a considerable development of the terms which denote age and social status. Thus a man's duties to his elder brother are much the same as those towards the other men of the same age, and we find that there is no word for "elder brother" but only a term by which a man distinguishes all the men of his own generation older than himself from those who are younger. Similarly there are no duties that a man owes to his father's 602

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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852 304 Every boy and girl has to undergo the operation of scarification. This is begun when the child is quite young, and a small portion of the body is operated on. The operation is repeated at intervals during childhood, until the whole body has been scarified. A small flake of quartz or glass is used, and a series of fine incisions are made in the skin. The usual method is to cover a small portion of the skin with a number of parallel rows of short cuts. The choice of the design (if it can be called such) rests entirely with the person who performs the operation, who is in all cases a woman. The incisions leave scars that can usually only be seen when close to the person. In the photograph of Plate XV a pattern of scars may be seen. In this case the incisions became infected and raised scars were produced, and it is for this reason that they are visible in the photograph. In ordinary cases raised scars are not produced and the scarification is hardly visible in a photograph.

The only reason that the natives give for this custom is either that it improves the personal appearance, or else that it helps to make the child grow strong.

• 881 In the case of a girl the period of childhood is brought to a close by a ceremony that takes place on the occasion of her first menstrual discharge. The ceremony I describe is that in use in the Northern tribes, but I believe that the ceremony of the Southern tribes is very similar. On the occurrence of the first menstrual discharge the girl tells her parents, who weep over her. She must then go and bathe in the sea for an hour [343] or two by herself. After that she goes back to her parents' hut or to a special shelter that is put up for the occasion. She is 881 not required to go away from the camp. All ornaments are 292 removed from her, only a single belt of *Pandanus* leaf being left, with an apron of *čainyo* leaves. Strips of *Pandanus* leaf are attached round her arms near the shoulders and round her wrists, and others are placed as bands crossing her chest from the shoulder to the waist on the opposite side, and crossing her abdomen from the iliac crest on the one side to the trochanter on the other. These are so attached that the long loose ends hang down at the girl's side. Bunches of leaves, either *čelmo* (*Tetranthera lancœfolia*) or, if these be not obtainable, *poramo* (*Myristica longifolia*) are

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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fastened beneath her belt before and behind. Other leaves of the same kind are placed for her to sit upon. The strips of *Pandanus* leaf and the bundle of leaves are visible in the photograph reproduced in Plate XVI. 881 292

Thus covered with leaves the girl[1] must sit in the hut allotted to her, with her legs doubled up beneath her and her arms folded. A piece of wood or bamboo is placed at her back for her to lean against, as she may not lie down. If she is cramped she may stretch one of her legs or one of her arms, but not both arms or both legs at the same time. To feed herself she may release one of her hands, but she must not take up the food with her fingers; a skewer of *čainyo* wood[1] is given her with which to feed herself. She may not speak nor sleep for 24 hours. Her wants are attended to by her parents and their friends, who sit near her to keep her from falling asleep. 881 784

The girl sits thus for three days. Early every morning she leaves the hut to bathe for an hour in the sea. At the end of the three days she resumes her life in the village. For a month following she must bathe in the sea every morning at dawn. [783]

During the ceremony and for a short time afterwards the girl is not addressed or spoken of by name, but is referred to as *Alebe* or *Toto*. The meaning of the first word is not known. *Toto* is the name of the species of *Pandanus* from which women's belts are made and the leaves of which are used in the ceremony. On the occasion of this ceremony the girl is given a new name, her "flower-name," and from this time till after the birth of her first child she is never addressed or spoken of by the name which she had as a child, but only by the name given to her at this ceremony. The name given is that of a plant or tree which is in flower at the time. If the ceremony takes place when the *jili* is in flower she is called *Jili*; if when the *jeru* is in flower she is named *Jeru*, and so on. These names will be mentioned again later in the present chapter. 881 784 551

[1] This is the plant (not identified) of which the leaves were, till recent times, worn by the women of the North Andaman to cover the pudenda. In the South Andaman the leaves of the *Mimusops littoralis* are in use for this purpose, and the Northern tribes have recently given up their own custom and adopted that of the South.

1 [On first menstruation – Analyst]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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881 184 After this ceremony the girl is said to be *aka-ndu-kolot*. For some time afterwards she must not have her head shaved, and she must not use red paint or white clay.

841 184 I was not able to learn much about the native ideas in connection with the menstrual function. According to the account given me by one informant I gathered that the girl's first menstrual discharge is supposed to be due to sexual intercourse. The man's breath goes into her nose and this produces the discharge. It is believed that if a man were to touch a girl during this period, either during the ceremony or for some time after it, his arm would swell up.

At every recurrence of the menstrual period a woman is required to abstain from eating certain foods. According to an *Akar-Bale* informant these are, in that tribe, pork, turtle, *Paradoxurus*, honey and yams. An *Aka-Čari* informant added to the above list dugong, monitor lizard, and the fish *komar*. If she ate any of these things at such a time she would be ill. This continues throughout her life till the climacteric. A menstruating woman is not required to leave the camp, as she is in many savage communities.

From the moment of the ceremony just described the girl enters a new condition which is denoted in the *Aka-Jeru* language by the word *aka-op* (*aka-yaba* in *Aka-Bea*). This word means that the person to whom it is applied is under certain ritual restrictions, chiefly concerned with foods that may not be eaten.

881 304 In the case of a boy there is no physiological event so clearly marked as there is in that of a girl. It rests with the relatives and friends to decide when the boy is to become *aka-op*. It would seem that in the Southern tribes there is no ceremony on this occasion. Among the Northern tribes the boy is made *aka-op* by means of a ceremony that consists of making the scars on his back that are customary in these tribes[1].

When the friends and relatives of a boy decide that he is old enough to have the incisions made in his back a dance is held in the evening, and the boy is required to dance through the

[1] Unfortunately I was not able to see this ceremony performed, and my information is therefore derived from the statements of the natives.

7 [See pp. 92-94, cat. 116 — Analyst]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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whole night till he is tired. As soon as morning breaks he is made to bathe in the sea for two hours or so. He is then seated in some convenient place, not in a hut. The boy kneels down and bends forward till his elbows rest on the ground in front. One of the older men takes a pig-arrow and with the sharpened blade makes a series of cuts on the boy's back. Each cut is horizontal, and they are arranged in three vertical rows, each row consisting of from 20 to 30 cuts. When the cutting is finished the boy sits up, with a fire at his back, until the bleeding stops. During the operation and for a few hours following it the boy must remain silent. There is no treatment of the wounds to produce raised scars. The scars are much more noticeable on some men than on others. 881 304

The boy does not receive a new name on this occasion, but for a few weeks his own name is dropped and he is addressed and spoken of as *Ejido*. From this time the boy is described as being *oko-taliŋ-kolot*, this being the masculine term corresponding to *aka-ndu-kolot* for girls. From the time the cuts are made on his back the boy becomes *aka-op* and is under certain restrictions as to what foods he may eat. [551]

When the wounds on his back are thoroughly healed similar cuts are made on his chest. I found a certain number of men who had no visible scars on their chests, but in the North Andaman every man has the three rows of scars on his back. Some of the women of the North Andaman have similar scars on their chests and a very few have them also on the back. These scars on women are not regularly made as part of the initiation ceremonies, and may be made after the woman has been married for some years.

During the period that a boy or girl is *aka-op* he or she is required by the customs of the tribe to abstain from eating certain foods. The exact rules in this matter differ from tribe to tribe. More particularly there are important differences between the coast-dwellers on the one hand and the jungle-dwellers on the other. The general principle, however, is in all cases the same. The boy (or girl) must abstain from all the chief foods of the people, and since he could not abstain from them all at one time without starving, he takes them in 881 262

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turn. It is in the order in which the different foods are forbidden that the chief differences occur.

In the *Aka-Čari* tribe of the North Andaman, where all are coast-dwellers, the boy or girl, during the first part of the *aka-op* period must not eat turtle, dugong, porpoise, *komar* (a fish), hawksbill turtle, the two kinds of edible grubs (*pata* and *čokele*), the monitor lizard, the flying fox (*Pteropus*), certain birds (perhaps all birds), certain shell-fish, the four varieties of mangrove seed (*kao*, *čimi*, *kabal* and *kaplo*), three edible roots (*mino*, *labo* and *mikulu*), and a large number of other vegetable foods, including *ḷoitok*, *poroto* (if cooked, but it may be eaten raw), *bijo*, *čorogo*, *celet*, *burog*, *bui*, *bakle*, *čo*, *čatali*, and *kata*. A certain number of fishes must be added to this list. This period is brought to a end by the turtle-eating ceremony which will be presently described. After this ceremony, turtle, which is one of the chief foods of the *Aka-Čari*, may be eaten, although certain parts of the turtle (such as the intestinal fat) are still forbidden, and the youth is also allowed to eat many of the other foods previously forbidden. On the other hand he is now required not to eat pork and a number of other foods both animal and vegetable. During this second period certain minor ceremonies take place, as for instance on the first occasion on which turtle's eggs are eaten. This period is brought to an end by the pig-eating ceremony. After that the youth is again free to eat pork. As turtle and pork are the two most important foods the ceremonies and observances in connection with these occupy a position of greater importance. After the pig-eating ceremony the youth is made free of one food after another, until some time after he is married he becomes free to partake of any of the foods available. In the case of some of the more important foods, such as honey, dugong, porpoise, the fish *komar*, etc., there is a sort of minor ceremony. The only ceremonies of any great importance in this tribe are the turtle-eating and the pig-eating ceremonies.

In the forest-dwelling communities of the North Andaman things are necessarily different. These people only eat such foods as turtle, dugong, etc. when they are visiting their friends on the coast. The three most important ceremonies amongst these people are the *ńyuri*-eating, the pig-eating and the

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honey-eating ceremonies. (The *ńyuri* is a fish that is found in the creeks.) According to my informants of the *Aka-Bo* tribe the foods that must be avoided during the first part of the abstention period are all species of fish found in inland creeks (*ńyuri*, *burto*, *bari*, *bol*, *kuato*), the monitor lizard, sucking-pig, two species of snake (*or-čubi* and *uluku-čubi*), a number of vegetable foods and also honey. After the *ńyuri*-eating ceremony the different kinds of fish mentioned may be eaten, but the youth or girl must then abstain from pork.

These examples, without entering into further details, will suffice to show what is the nature of the *aka-op* period. During that period the youth must abstain for a certain length of time from each one of the more important foods of his community. After a certain period of abstention he is permitted to eat the particular food. On each occasion of thus eating a food for the first time after the abstention, there are certain ritual customs that must be observed, and these customs are more important in some cases (such as pig, turtle and honey) than in others. In the case of some of the foods the only ritual observed is that the food must be given by an older man, who is himself free to eat it, that it must be eaten in silence, and that the man must be painted afterwards with clay (*odu*). In the case of pork and turtle, however, there are fairly elaborate ceremonies. The ceremonies are very similar in different parts of the islands. The description given below applies to the coast-dwellers of the North Andaman. In these communities the period of abstention from turtle and other foods begins in the case of a girl at the first menstruation, and in the case of a boy when his back is cut. It may last only one year or several years, according to circumstances, and is brought to a close by the turtle-eating ceremony. The details of this are exactly the same in the case of a girl and a boy.

When the older men decide that it is time for a boy who has been abstaining from turtle to be released from the restriction, a turtle-hunting expedition is arranged, and this is continued until a fair number of good turtle are captured. The best of these is selected, killed, and cooked. The youth is seated in a hut, either that of his parents, or one placed at his disposal by

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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a friend or one specially built[1]. All his ornaments are removed. (In the case of a girl one belt of *Pandanus* leaf is retained.) He is seated on leaves of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, or if these be not obtainable, on those of the *Myristica longifolia*, and a bundle of the same leaves is placed under his folded arms so as to cover his belly, while another bundle is placed at his back where there is some sort of rest provided for him to lean against. He must sit still with folded arms and with legs stretched out in front, the two big toes clasping each other. He sits facing towards the open sea, and a fire is placed near him, generally just beyond his feet.

Some man is chosen to take charge of the ceremony. This may be one of the older men of the community to which the youth belongs or a distinguished visitor, if there be any such present in the camp at the time. This man selects some of the meat and fat of the cooked turtle, placing them in a wooden dish. He comes to where the youth is seated, while the friends and relatives gather round. Taking some of the fat he rubs it first over the lips and then over the whole body of the youth, while the female relatives of the latter sit near and weep loudly. When the youth's body is thoroughly covered with fat the man who is performing the ceremony takes some burnt oxide of iron, such as is used for making red paint, and rubs it over the youth's whole body, except the hair of his head. He then takes a piece of turtle fat and places it in the youth's mouth, feeding him thus with a few mouthfuls which the youth eats in silence. At this point the weeping of the relatives is taken up again with renewed vigour and then gradually comes to an end. Having fed the youth the man then proceeds to massage him. He first stands behind him and placing his hands on his shoulders presses down on them with all his weight. Then he seizes a roll of flesh on each side of the youth's belly and shakes it up and down as though to shake down what has been eaten. The arms are next massaged and the wrists and knuckles are forcibly flexed so as to make the joints "crack." The legs are similarly massaged, either with the hands or with the feet, the performer

[1] There is no secrecy about any of the proceedings; the whole ceremony is performed in the village and may be witnessed by anybody.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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(in the latter case) standing on the outstretched legs of the youth and rolling the muscles beneath his feet[1]. The joints of the toes are forcibly bent with the hand to make them "crack" if possible. A mixture of clay (*odu*) and water has been prepared in a wooden dish. The performer dips his hands into this and spatters it over the youth's body from head to foot, either by holding his hands near the youth and clapping them together, or by jerking the clay off his fingers with a flicking motion. During the whole of these proceedings the youth sits passive and silent.

The first part of the ceremony is now over. The food tray containing turtle meat and fat, cut into small pieces, is placed beside the youth and he is provided with a skewer of the wood of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, as he may not touch the meat with his fingers. He must sit in the same position with legs outstretched and arms folded and surrounded with *Hibiscus* leaves. To feed himself he may unloose one arm, and when his legs are cramped he may double them up beneath him. He may not lie down nor speak nor sleep for 48 hours. During this period he may eat nothing but turtle and drink nothing but water[2]. The man in charge of the ceremony sits behind him and gives him instructions as to what foods he may and what he may not eat after the ceremony. Some of the men and women take it in turn to sit beside the youth, attending to his wants and talking or singing to keep him awake.

On the morning of the third day a belt and necklace are made of pieces of the creeper called *terkobito-balo*, i.e. "centipede creeper" (*Pothos scandens*), and these are placed round the youth's waist and neck. On this day he is permitted to sleep. Either on the same day, or early the next morning, he has a bath in the sea, to remove some of the red paint and clay, and he is then decorated with red paint made of red ochre and turtle fat, and with white clay (*tol-odu*). The red paint is put on in stripes over his body, and his ears are daubed with it. The white clay

[1] In the Southern tribes large stones are placed on the youth's thighs.

[2] In these days the natives are very fond of tea, which they obtain from the Andamanese Homes; during the ceremony described above the youth or girl is not permitted to drink tea.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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is put on in a zig-zag pattern to be described later, the lines of white clay alternating with those of red paint. This decoration is done by female relatives.

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Early on the morning of the fourth day, soon after daybreak, the whole village is astir. One of the older men takes his stand by the sounding-board used for marking time at dances, and the women sit down near him. The youth comes out from his hut and stands in the middle of the dancing ground, and five or six men stand round him in a circle, each of them facing towards the youth. Each of the men, including the youth, holds in each hand a bundle of twigs of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus* or, if such be not obtainable, of the *Myristica longifolia*. The man at the sounding-board sings a song, beating time with his foot, in the usual way, on the sounding-board, and at the chorus the women join in and mark the time by clapping their hands on their thighs. The song may be on any subject and is selected by the singer from his own repertory. A song referring to turtle-hunting is preferred. During the first song the dancers stand at their positions on the dancing ground, lifting up their leaf bundles at short intervals and bringing them down against their knees. The singer then commences a new song or repeats the former one, and when the song comes to an end the youth and those with him begin their dance. Each dancer flexes his hips so that his back is nearly horizontal. He raises his hands to the back of his neck so that the two bundles of leaves in his hands rest on his back. With knees flexed he leaps from the ground with both feet, keeping time to the beating of the sounding-board, which is about 144 beats to the minute. At the end of every eight jumps or so, the dancer brings his hands forwards, downwards and backwards, giving a vigorous sweep with the bundles of leaves, which scrape the ground at each side of his feet, and then brings back the bundles to their former position. They dance thus for 15 or 30 seconds and then pause to rest. The dance is repeated several times, until the youth is tired out. As the dance is extremely fatiguing this does not take long[1].

[1] I believe that the dance is intended to imitate the movement of a turtle as it swims through the water.

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The youth then returns to his hut and resumes his former position. He may now, if he wishes, talk to his friends and he may sleep. He must retain the bundles of *Hibiscus* leaves and the necklace and belt of *Pothos* leaves. The dance is sometimes repeated in the afternoon. It is in any case repeated on each of the two days following, and after that the youth resumes his ordinary life. For a week or two he may not touch a bow and arrow. The *Pothos* leaves are worn till they are faded and are then discarded. The paint on the body wears off and is not renewed, but his ears are kept painted with red paint. For some weeks the youth is supposed to be in an abnormal condition and is carefully watched by his friends. 881●

At the turtle-eating ceremony a new name is given to the youth. This name, however, never seems to be used afterwards either in speaking of or to the person to whom it belongs. A youth of the *Aka-J̌eru* tribe whose birth name was *Čop* (from a species of tree) and whose nick-name or second name was *Komar* (from a species of fish) had two new names given to him on the occasion of the turtle-eating ceremony, *Čokbi-čiro* (meaning turtle-liver) and *Pilečar* (high-tide). Neither of these names was ever used in addressing him. 881 553

The turtle-eating ceremony is called in the Northern tribes either *Čokbi-jo*, *Čokbi-kimil*, or *Kimil-jo*. The word *čokbi* means "turtle," and *jo* means "eating." The word *kimil* is more difficult to translate. With the prefix *ot-* or *er-* it means "hot" as in *T'ot-kimil-bom*, "I am hot." From the time of the commencement of the ceremony the youth or girl is said to be in a condition denoted by the word *aka-kimil*. During this time, i.e. during the ceremony and for some months afterwards, he or she is not addressed or spoken of by name but is referred to as "*Kimil*," the word being thus used as a term of address or a substitute for the personal name. A person who is in this condition is described as *aka-kimil-kolot*. (Before the ceremony the youth is *oko-taliŋ-kolot* and the girl is *aka-ndu-kolot*.) In the *Aka-Bea* tribe the turtle-eating ceremony is called *Yadi-gumul* or *Gumul-leke*, *yadi* being the word for "turtle" in that language, and *leke* being the equivalent of the *jo* of *Aka-J̌eru*, that is "eating." A youth or girl who is passing or has recently 881 [551]

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passed through the ceremony is said to be *aka-gumul*, and is addressed and spoken of, not by name, but by the term *Guma*[1].

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In the coast-dwelling communities of the Northern tribes, the youth or girl who has passed through the turtle-eating ceremony is thereafter free to eat turtle flesh (though not the liver nor the intestinal fat of the turtle) and a certain number of the other foods that were previously forbidden. On the other hand, he or she is now forbidden to eat pork and a number of other foods which previously were permitted. The period during which these new prohibitions are in force may last for a few months or for a year or even longer. It is, however, generally shorter than the first period of abstention from turtle. It is brought to an end by a pig-eating ceremony which is similar in many ways to the turtle-eating ceremony already described. A boar must be killed if the initiate be a youth, or a sow if it be a girl who is to go through the ceremony. The youth is seated in a hut on leaves of the *čelmo* (*Tetranthera*) and the carcase of the boar is brought and pressed upon the youth's shoulders and back by one of the men. The girl is not treated in this way. The pork is then cooked and the youth is first anointed and then fed with some of the fat. He is then rubbed with red ochre, massaged and splashed with clay, just as in the turtle-eating ceremony. He must sit silent with arms crossed, and covered with *Tetranthera* leaves for a day and a night. During this time he may only eat pork, and must not touch his food with his hands but must use a skewer of *Tetranthera* wood. On the following day he is decorated with white clay (*ṭol-odu*) and with red paint, and takes part in a dance. The dance is almost exactly the same as the dance on the occasion of the turtle-eating ceremony, the only differences being that instead of *Hibiscus* leaves those of the *Tetranthera* are used, and that the dancer does not leap with both feet from the ground, but raises one foot and stamps with it.

In the Northern tribes these are the two most important ceremonies. After the pig-eating ceremony the youth is free to eat pork and a certain number of previously forbidden foods.

[1] The meaning of the word *kimil* (or *gumul*) will be discussed in a later chapter.

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There remain a considerable number of foods, however, which he is still forbidden. In connection with each of these there is some sort of minor ceremony. The older men, when occasion arises, offer the youth or girl some of the forbidden food, first rubbing it over his or her mouth. The food is then eaten in silence. I only saw one such ceremony, when a man ate for the first time after his abstention the intestinal fat of the turtle. The man was about 24 years of age and had long since been through the chief ceremonies, and was married. The ceremony is perhaps more elaborate in the case of the similar first eating of honey, dugong and a few other foods. One after another of the food prohibitions is removed until the man or woman is free to eat anything. There is no regular order in which this takes place, as in each case it is determined by chance circumstances. The only order that is rigorously observed is that of the two chief ceremonies connected with pork and turtle. These two are the principal meat foods of the coast-dwellers.

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The above description applies strictly only to the coast-dwellers of the North Andaman (*Aka-Čari*, *Aka-Jeru* and *Aka-Kora*). I was not able to see any ceremonies performed by the jungle-dwellers. The old men of the *Aka-Bo* tribe told me that the period of abstention begins when a boy or girl is forbidden to eat the fish *ńyuri* (*Plotosus sp.* probably *P. arab*), and a certain number of other foods, not including pork. The first ceremony is the eating of the *ńyuri*. The boy or girl is seated on leaves (*kibir* or *tare* or *ra-čiro*) and bundles of these are placed in his belt before and behind. A belt of *Pandanus* leaf is worn by the boys at this ceremony as well as by the girls. The initiate sits with his legs doubled up beneath him, and is fed with the fish. The ceremony lasts only one day. There is no special dance, but the initiate joins in an ordinary dance at the end of the ceremony, being decorated for this purpose with white clay. After this ceremony the youth must abstain from pork and other foods. The pig-eating ceremony, which closes this period of abstention, lasts altogether for three or four days, the initiate remaining awake for one night. The leaves used are the same as those of the first (fish-eating) ceremony. The third important ceremony of these communities is the

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honey-eating. The initiate sits cross-legged and honey is rubbed over his or her shoulders and chest, and he or she is fed with it.

I was told by one of my informants that in the *Aka-Kede* tribe the pig-eating ceremony precedes the turtle-eating, but I could not obtain reliable information about the ceremonies of this tribe.

My informants of the *Akar-Bale* tribe, which consists of coast-dwelling communities only, told me that the period of abstention begins with turtle, honey, turtle's eggs, yams, and a number of fruits and seeds. This period lasts for three or four years. Then comes the turtle-eating ceremony, which is said to be similar in its details to that already described from the North Andaman. After this ceremony the initiate may not eat dugong, porpoise and a considerable number of fishes (including *Tetrodon sp.*, *Plotosus sp.*, *Anguilla bengalensis*, *Trygon bleekari*, *T. siphen*, *Urogymnus asperrimus*, *Carcharias gangeticus*, etc.). He must also abstain from turtle's eggs, pig, yams, honey, and certain fruits (e.g. *Artocarpus chaplasha*, *Mimusops littoralis*, *Baccaurea sapida*, etc.). A few months after the turtle-eating ceremony there is a minor ceremony of eating turtle's eggs, the eggs being eaten in silence and the meal followed by a dance. After another period follows the ceremony of eating pig's kidney-fat. Then, as opportunity occurs, the initiate eats dugong, honey and the other forbidden foods, one after another. The ceremony in each case is not elaborate except in connection with such important foods as dugong and honey.

Mr E. H. Man has given a description of the ceremonies of the *Aka-Bea* tribe, which shows that they are essentially similar to those of the North. He does not distinguish between the ceremonies of the *aryoto* (coast-dwellers) and those of the *eremtaga* (jungle-dwellers). He states that the fasting period (*aka-yaba*) is divided into three parts, the first ending with the *yadi-* (turtle) *gumul*, the second with the *aja-* (honey) *gumul*, and the third with the *reg-jiri-* (kidney-fat of pig) *gumul*.

As I was not able to witness the honey-eating ceremony, I venture to reproduce below the description that Mr Man gives of this ceremony as it is conducted in the *Aka-Bea* tribe.

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"When the honey fast is to be broken a quantity of honey-combs, according to the number assembled, are on the appointed day procured: the *aka-yab* being placed in the midst of the group, the chief or other elder goes to him with a large honey-comb wrapped in leaves; after helping the novice to a large mouthful, which he does by means of a bamboo or iron knife, he presents the remainder to him, and then leaves him to devour it in silence: this he does, not, however, by the ordinary method, for it is an essential part of the ceremony that he should not use his fingers to break off pieces, but eat it bear-fashion, by holding the comb up to his mouth and attacking it with his teeth and lips. After satisfying his present requirements, he wraps what is left of the comb in leaves for later consumption. The chief then takes another comb and anoints the youth by squeezing it over his head, rubbing the honey well into his body as it trickles down. The proceedings at this stage are interrupted by a bath, in order to remove all traces of the honey, which would otherwise be a source of considerable inconvenience by attracting ants. Beyond the observance of silence, and continued abstention from *reg-jiri* (pig's kidney-fat), the youth is under no special restrictions, being able to eat, drink and sleep as much as he pleases. Early the following morning the lad decorates himself with leaves of a species of *Alpinia*, called *jini*[1], and then, in the presence of his friends, goes into the sea (or, if he be an *eremtaga*, into a creek) up to his waist, where, locking his thumbs together, he splashes as much water as possible over himself and the by-standers, occasionally ducking his head under the surface as well. This is considered a safeguard or charm against *snakes*, and the onlookers cry "*ọto-pedike, kinig wara-jobo lọtike*" (Go and splash yourself, or *Wara-jobo*[2] will get inside you), for they imagine that unless they go through this splashing performance, this snake will by some means enter their stomachs and so cause death. The only difference between the sexes with respect to the *aja-gumul* is that with females it cannot take place until

[1] This plant is selected because it is associated with honey-gathering; its bitter sap, being extremely obnoxious to bees, is smeared over their persons when taking a comb, and enables them to escape scot free with their prize. (Note by Mr Man.)

[2] This is believed to be the *Ophiophagus elaps*. (Note by Mr Man.)

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881 262 after the birth of the first child; they are also required to abstain from honey during each subsequent pregnancy; and in their case, too, a chief or elder (preferably a relative) officiates, and not a woman[1]."

753 761 We may now proceed to the ritual customs connected with death and burial. In all the Great Andaman tribes disease and death are supposed to be due to the spirits of the jungle and the sea. The subject will be dealt with in the next chapter.

764 On the occurrence of a death the news quickly spreads through the camp, and all the women collect round the body and, sitting down, weep loudly until they are exhausted. The women then retire and the men come and weep over the corpse. All the adult members of the community then proceed to cover themselves with a wash of common clay smeared evenly over their bodies and limbs. This clay is of the kind called *odu* in *Aka-Jeru* and *og* in *Aka-Bea*. The nearer relatives and more intimate friends of the deceased also plaster some of the same clay on their heads.

Some of the women, generally, but not necessarily, relatives, remove any ornaments the dead person may have been wearing, shave the head and decorate the body. This decoration consists of lines of fine pattern in white clay alternating with bands of red paint. A band of red paint is placed across the upper lip passing from ear to ear and the ears themselves are smeared with the pigment. The greater the estimation in which the deceased person is held the greater is the care lavished upon this the last decoration.

Thus decorated the body is prepared for burial. The legs and arms are flexed so that the knees come up under the chin and the fists rest against the cheeks. A *Cyrena* shell (or sometimes in these days a steel knife) is placed in the closed hand. A sleeping mat is wrapped round the body, and over this a number of the large palm leaves known as *kobo* (*Aka-Jeru*) are arranged and the whole is made into a bundle and tied up with rope. Before the ropes are all tied the relatives of the dead person take their last farewell by gently blowing on the face of the corpse.

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 133.

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may be seen that in the first three instances of the rite of weeping (those in which the action is reciprocal) we have conditions in which social relations that have been interrupted are about to be renewed, and the rite serves as a ceremony of aggregation. 182X 765 201

Let us now consider the second variety of the rite, and first of all its meaning as part of the ceremony of marriage. By marriage the social bonds that have to that time united the bride and bridegroom to their respective relatives, particularly their female relatives such as mother, mother's sister, father's sister and adopted mother, are modified. The unmarried youth or girl is in a position of dependence upon his or her older relatives, and by the marriage this dependence is partly abolished. Whereas the principal duties of the bride were formerly those towards her mother and older female relatives, henceforth her chief duties in life will be towards her husband. The position of the bridegroom is similar, and it must be noted that his social relations with his male relatives are less affected by his marriage than those with his female relatives. Yet, though the ties that have bound the bride and bridegroom to their relatives are about to be modified or partially destroyed by the new ties of marriage with its new duties and rights they will still continue to exist in a weakened and changed condition. The rite of weeping is the expression of this. It serves to make real (by feeling), in those taking part in it, the presence of the social ties that are being modified. 182X 201 585

When the mother of the bride or bridegroom weeps at a marriage she feels that her son or daughter is being taken from her care. She has the sorrow of a partial separation and she consoles herself by expressing in the rite her continued feeling of tenderness and affection towards him in the new condition that he is entering upon. For her the chief result of the rite is to make her feel that her child is still an object of her affection, still bound to her by close ties, in spite of the fact that he or she is being taken from her care.

Exactly the same explanation holds with regard to the weeping at the initiation ceremonies. By these ceremonies the youth (or girl) is gradually withdrawn from a condition of dependence on his mother and older female relatives and is made an independent 182X 201 881

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member of the community. The initiation is a long process that is only completed by marriage. At every stage of the lengthy ceremonies therefore, the social ties that unite the initiate to these relatives are modified or weakened, and the rite of weeping is the means by which the significance of the change is impressed upon those taking part in it. For the mother the weeping expresses her resignation at her necessary loss, and acts as a consolation by making her feel that her son is still hers, though now being withdrawn from her care. For the boy the rite has a different meaning. He realises that he is no longer merely a child, dependent upon his mother, but is now entering upon manhood. His former feelings towards his mother must be modified. That he is being separated from her is, for him, the most important aspect of the matter, and therefore while she weeps he must give no sign of tenderness in return but must sit passive and silent. So also in the marriage ceremony, the rite serves to impress upon the young man and woman that they are, by reason of the new ties that they are forming with one another, severing their ties with their families.

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When a person dies the social bonds that unite him to the survivors are profoundly modified. They are not in an instant utterly destroyed, as we shall see better when we deal with the funeral and mourning customs, for the friends and relatives still feel towards the dead person that affection in which they held him when alive, and this has now become a source of deep grief. It is this affection still binding them to him that they express in the rite of weeping over the corpse. Here rite and natural expression of emotion coincide, but it must be noted that the weeping is obligatory, a matter of duty. In this instance, then, the rite is similar to that at marriage and initiation. The man is by death cut off from the society to which he belonged, and from association with his friends, but the latter still feel towards him that attachment that bound them together while he lived, and it is this attachment that they express when they embrace the lifeless corpse and weep over it.

There remains only one more instance of the rite to be considered. When the period of mourning for a dead person is over and the bones are recovered the modification in the relations

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We have not yet completed the study of the Andamanese beliefs about food. To do so we must examine the initiation ceremonies. I hope to show that these ceremonies are the means by which the society powerfully impresses upon the initiate the sense of the social value of food, and keeps the same sense alive in the minds of the spectators of the ceremony.

The position in the social life occupied by a child is different from that of an adult; the child is dependent upon and closely united to his parents, and is not an independent member of the community. To this difference in social position there corresponds a difference in the attitude of a person towards a child and towards an adult, and also a difference in the attitude of a child and that of an adult towards the society. As the child grows up a change takes place in his position in the social life, and this must be accompanied by a change in the emotional dispositions of the child himself in so far as these regulate his attitude towards the society, and by a change in the attitude towards the child of the other members of the group. The initiation ceremonies are the means by which these changes are brought about, and by which, therefore, the child is made an independent member of the society.

The ceremonies have two aspects according as we regard them from the point of view of the society or from that of the initiate. For the society they are to be described as the recognition of the change of status of the initiate, just as the marriage ceremony is the social recognition of the change of status by marriage. For the initiate they constitute a sort of moral or social education.

To fit a child for his proper place in the community he needs to be educated. Part of the process consists of learning how to hunt, how to make bows and arrows, and so on. This necessary knowledge he acquires gradually by imitation of his elders, in which he is guided and encouraged by them. But in addition to this he has to acquire those sentiments or emotional dispositions which regulate the conduct of members of the society and constitute morality. Part of this education in morality, this education of the sentiments, takes place gradually as the child grows up, less by any actual instruction than by processes of imitation and suggestion; but in this connection an extremely important part is played by the initiation ceremonies. That the long series of

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abstentions and ceremonies does have a very powerful emotional effect on the youth or girl may be readily observed by an eye-witness; that their permanent effect is to create in his or her mind a number of sentiments that previously existed not at all or only in an undeveloped condition will be shown in the course of the present argument. 182X 881 262

Since in the life of the Andamans by far the most important social activity is the getting of food, and it is in connection with food that the social sentiments are most frequently called into action, it is therefore appropriate that it should be through his relation to food that the child should be taught his relation to the society, and thus have those sentiments implanted in him or brought to the necessary degree of strength. During his infancy the child is almost entirely unrestrained and acts with great comparative freedom. He does not realise, in any adequate manner, that the food with which he is freely provided (for children are the last to suffer hunger) is only obtained by skill and effort, nor does he realise that he will one day be required to labour to supply food for others. There follows a period of restraint, during which the growing boy or girl has to give up eating certain relished foods, and has to pass through a number of ceremonies, some of them painful, and all solemn and awe-inspiring. These restraints on the action of the individual are not imposed by one person, but by the whole society backed by the whole force of tradition. Through a series of years, just at what is, for physiological reasons, the most impressionable age, the individual learns to subordinate his own desires to the requirements of the society or of custom, as explained to him by his elders. He is thus impressed, in a forcible manner, with the importance of the moral law, and at the same time he is impressed with a sense of the social value of food. The ceremonies thus afford a moral education adapted to the requirements of life as it is lived in the Andamans. It would need a very lengthy analysis to show all the effects of the ceremonies on the emotional life of those who undergo them, and for the purpose of this chapter such an analysis is unnecessary. It will suffice merely to mention a few of the more important. As stated above, the ceremonies teach the boy or girl self-control or self-restraint, and they do so in relation to one of the two [853]

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fundamental human instincts,—hunger. The cutting of the boy's back in the North Andaman gives a still sharper lesson in self-control in the endurance of pain. Secondly the ceremonies teach the initiate, for the first time in life, to view life and its duties and obligations seriously. The various ceremonies are all very solemn affairs for the initiate. Again, the growing boy or girl is made to feel very strongly the importance of conforming to the customs of the community to which he belongs, thus having implanted in his mind what is certainly one of the most powerful of the sentiments that regulate conduct in the Andamans. In this connection there may also be mentioned the respect for elders which is a most important element in the regulation of social life in all savage communities, and which is strongly impressed on the initiate throughout the ceremonies. And yet again, the ceremonies awaken and develop in the adolescent that fear of unseen danger which, as we shall see later, has a very important place in the mental life of the Andamanese and an important function in their moral life. Finally, the whole series of abstentions and ceremonies serves to develop in the mind of every new member of the society that sense of the social value of foods with which our argument has been concerned, which may be briefly described as being a realisation that food is a possession of the society, that not only the power to obtain food, but also the power to use it without danger is something that the individual owes to the society, and that the bestowal upon him of this power involves the acceptance on his part of corresponding obligations.

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We may say, to look at the matter under another aspect, that the initiation ceremonies teach the youth or girl to realise what is implied in being a member of the society by putting him or her during the period of adolescence in an exceptional position, and, as it were, outside the society. The youth is no longer a child and may not act as a child; but he is not yet an adult and may not act as adults do. He feels himself cut off, as it were, from the ordinary life of the group, having as yet no share in it. As a child he was not yet aware of what it means to be a member of a society, but now, by means of the ceremonies, his attention is directed to the society and its life, by his being placed in a position of isolation outside it. He begins to look forward to the

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time when he will take his proper place as an adult, and his share in the common life of the camp. At each step of the ceremonies he feels that he is brought a little closer, until at last he can feel himself a man amongst men. Thus he is brought to a consciousness of all that it must mean to him to be a member of the community; he is taught the significance and value of social communion.

Since the greater part of social life is the getting and eating of food, to place a person outside the social life would be to forbid him from partaking of the food that is obtained by the society and consumed by it. This, however, would result in his starvation. The same object is attained, however, by making the initiate abstain for a period from a number of the most important and relished foods, and then making him abstain for a second period from the others. This is not the only way however in which the initiate is cut off from social communion. A youth or girl who is *aka-op* is not permitted to dance, nor to be decorated with red paint and white clay. It is in the dance that the community expresses most completely its own unity. Being forbidden to join in the dance is therefore to be excluded from the common life. Painting the body with red paint and white clay is, as we have seen, a way of expressing that the individual is aware of his own position as a member of the group having the approval and good-will of his fellows. Thus these other prohibitions reinforce and supplement the prohibition against eating certain foods during the period of adolescence, and the consideration of them serves to confirm the interpretation just given. I believe that the *aka-op* is also forbidden to use *odu* clay as a sign of mourning, and if this be so it is of considerable significance, as will be evident after we have considered the meaning of this use of clay. Unfortunately I am not quite sure of the facts, and so the point must be left.

To discuss in detail all the features of these ceremonies would take much space. I propose therefore to take as typical of the others the ceremony of turtle-eating and to explain its various features. When this ceremony is performed the youth has been compelled for many months to abstain from eating turtle, and has thus learnt to realise the social value of food in general and

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of turtle in particular. He is now to have the same lesson impressed upon him in a different way. The previous part of his education has been the continuous action over a long period of a not very powerful emotion. He has had to sit quietly while others regaled themselves with turtle meat and to be satisfied with less tasty food. At times he has probably gone hungry because the only food in camp was of kinds that were forbidden to him. The ceremony he is now to go through acts by producing in the space of a few days a very intense emotional experience. We have seen that the sense of the social value of food takes the form of a belief that food is dangerous to eat, and that its dangers may only be avoided by ritual precautions. At the turtle-eating ceremony the initiate is eating turtle for the first time as an adult, and is therefore exposed to great danger which makes it necessary to guard him with every possible ritual precaution. This, at any rate, is what the initiate himself is made to feel, and it is through this that the ceremony has its emotional effects. The initiate is not, of course, himself possessed by a simple feeling of fear, though the emotional state of his mind is built up on the basis of the fear instinct. What he is about to do is a matter of great danger to himself, but at the same time the precautions that are to be taken are such as entirely to remedy that danger if they are properly observed. Thus what he experiences is an intense feeling of the importance and solemnity of the ritual in which he is to take part.

All the details of the ceremony are readily to be explained as so many different ways of warding off the danger that threatens the initiate. He is seated on leaves of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, which, as we have seen, possess special efficacy against dangers connected with turtle. Leaves of the same kind are placed under his arms so as to cover his belly, where, we may suppose, the danger is most intense. A fire is placed near him, between him and the open sea. It has already been shown that fire is believed to afford protection against dangers of this sort, and the appropriateness of the position is due to the fact that in this instance it is from the sea and the things of the sea that danger is to be feared. He may not feed himself with his fingers, but must use a skewer of *Hibiscus* wood. This is clearly only one more pre-

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caution against danger, though the ideas connected with it are somewhat obscure. At the beginning of the ceremony the initiate is fed with turtle by a man who conducts the ceremony and who represents the society, that latter fact being sometimes symbolised by his wearing round his shoulders a bark sling such as is used for carrying children. This means, I think, that it is the society that "gives" the food to the initiate, giving him at the same time the power to use it with safety. The older man hands on to the younger the right and the power to eat which he himself possesses. He makes himself responsible, as it were, for the action of the initiate. At one stage of the performance the initiate is rubbed over with red ochre. This is to be understood by recalling that red ochre and red paint are regarded by the natives as valuable remedies against sickness and against the spirits that cause sickness. Immediately afterwards the body of the initiate is spattered with *odu* clay. The use of this clay after eating food was explained as a method of avoiding the dangers supposed to result from eating such foods as turtle. It is clear that exactly the same explanation will apply to its use in the initiation ceremonies. I have not found a satisfactory explanation of the peculiar manner in which it is applied. That the youth is not allowed to sleep for the first two days of the ceremony will be explained later in the chapter, when it will be shown that sleep itself is regarded as a condition of danger.

A notable incident is that at the beginning of the ceremony the female relatives of the initiate are required by custom to come and weep over him. An explanation of this has already been given, but may well be repeated. At each stage of the initiation ceremonies the initiate is withdrawn from the position of dependence that the child necessarily occupies, and as children are, for the most part, under the care of their elder female relatives, the ceremonies result in a partial destruction of those bonds that unite the initiate to his mother or his foster-mother and her sisters or to his own elder sisters. The weeping of the female relatives is as it were a reaction against this lessening of solidarity. It is evident why the rite is necessarily one-sided. The female relatives need to feel that they are not being entirely cut off from the initiate, and so they affirm their attachment to him by weeping

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over him. On the other hand the important thing for the initiate himself is to feel that the bonds that united him as a child to the women who cared for him are now severed or modified ; he must no longer depend on them but must learn to depend on himself; hence it is necessary that he should not weep but should remain passive and as it were indifferent under the tears that are shed over him.

The last part of the ceremony consists of a dance, in which the youth dances in the middle surrounded by a ring of men. As we have seen that dancing is in general an affirmation of solidarity between those taking part, and an expression of the unity of the society, we may well regard this dance as an affirmation of the solidarity that now exists between the youth and the other dancers, who are representatives of the society of adults. There is something more in the dance than this however. I pointed out that one of the results of taking part in a dance is to produce in the individual an experience of increased personal force, and it is obvious that this is a very appropriate feeling for the initiate who, by his long abstention from turtle, and by the ceremony he has just been through, has acquired an increase of personal force, an addition to his social personality. Before the dance the initiate is decorated with white clay (the snake pattern) and red paint. I have explained this particular method of painting the body as being a means of expressing and so producing or reinforcing the feeling of elation accompanying the recognition by an individual of his own social value, of the fact that he has deserved and obtained the good-will and regard of his fellows. The youth who has been through the period of restraint and the ordeal of the ceremony has done his duty and has earned the approbation of his friends. It is for this reason that he alone of the dancers is decorated with the painting that serves to express or arouse the elation or self-satisfaction that it is right for him to feel. The painting is the mark of the increase in social value of the initiate brought about by the turtle-eating ceremony.

There is one aspect of the dance that may be mentioned as being of importance, and which will be referred to again later, namely that the movements seem to be in a way imitative of the

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movements of turtle in the water. The leaves used in the dance are those that possess magical efficacy against dangers from turtle.

I have not been able to satisfy myself as to the meaning of the belt and necklace of *Pothos scandens* worn by the initiate in the dance and for some days afterwards. It is probable that the clue to this lies in the resemblance of the leaves to the shape of a phallus, but I have no clear evidence that this is the real explanation, and therefore offer it as merely a surmise.

If the natives be asked the reason for these ceremonies they often reply that their purpose is to make the youth or girl grow up strong. By this word "strong" they seem to mean in the first instance able-bodied, skilful (in hunting, etc.) and above all able to avoid or resist disease. They believe that anyone who did not pass through the ceremonies would be certain to die at an early age, and they recall the instance of one young man who refused to submit to the ceremonies who died before reaching maturity. Now, since the danger that they fear in eating food is said to be sickness, we may translate their statement into other terms by saying that the purpose of the initiation ceremonies is to endow the initiate with the power to eat the dangerous foods with comparative safety.

It would seem that an infant, being completely dependent upon his parents, is protected by that dependence from the danger of foods, but the adult is only able to make use of food with safety by reason of the possession within himself of a special power with which it is the purpose of the initiation ceremonies to endow him. Each kind of food has its own kind of dangerous power, and therefore every individual needs to be endowed with the special power to avoid each kind of danger. For this reason there is a separate ceremony for each of the important kinds of food. Thus we see very clearly that, for the Andamanese, food, or the power to make use of food without danger, is essentially a possession of the society, and one function of the initiation ceremonies is to keep alive this sentiment.

But there is a further meaning, I think, lying behind the statement that the initiation ceremonies endow the youth or girl with strength. I have already argued that all the most

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important social sentiments are closely associated with the sense of the social value of food, and although the initiation ceremonies are chiefly concerned with food, that is only because that is the easiest way by which to get at the main system of social sentiments. So that behind the special meaning of the ceremonies with relation to food we must look for a more general meaning in relation to the social life in general. This may be conveniently stated by saying that the purpose of the ceremonies is to endow the individual with a social personality. By the social personality of a person I mean the sum of those qualities by which he is able to affect the society. It is, in other words, what gives him his social value. The social personality depends in the first place on the social status of the individual. A young child seems to be regarded as having no social personality. He is not an independent member of the society, and therefore has no immediate social value, no direct effect on the general social life. At any rate the social personality of a child is something very different from that of an adult. So, since the initiation ceremonies provide the passage from childhood to manhood or womanhood we may describe them as the means by which the society endows the child with an adult social personality.

But the social personality of an individual also depends on his personal qualities, his strength and intelligence, his skill as a hunter, and on his moral qualities, whether he is mean or generous, quarrelsome or good-tempered, and so on, for all these things help to determine the place he occupies in the social life and the effects he has upon it. Above all, the social personality depends upon the development in the individual of those sentiments by which the social life is regulated and by which the social cohesion is preserved. Now we have seen that the initiation ceremonies do serve to develop these sentiments in the mind of the initiate, and we may therefore say that in this respect also it is true that the initiation ceremonies serve to develop in the child the social personality of an adult.

The consideration of the initiation ceremonies has served to confirm the hypothesis that the Andamanese customs relating to food are all of them different modes of expressing the social value of foods. We have now to consider the nature of the

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dangers that are supposed to accrue from the eating of food if due precautions be not taken. One statement of the natives is that the danger they fear is sickness. Now sickness of all kinds is believed by the Andamanese to be caused by certain supernatural beings called *Lau* or *Čauga*,—the spirits of the dead; and further, we have seen that the danger connected with food is sometimes said to be the danger of an attack by the spirits. So that it is evident that to understand the meaning of the fear of foods it is first of all necessary to understand the notions they have about the spirits, and to do this we shall have to consider the various customs relating to death and burial.

For the society a death is the loss of one of its members, one of its constituent parts. A person occupies a definite position in society, has a certain share in the social life, is one of the supports of the network of social relations. His death constitutes a partial destruction of the social cohesion, the normal social life is disorganised, the social equilibrium is disturbed. After the death the society has to organise itself anew and reach a new condition of equilibrium. In reference to the small community of the Andamans we may translate the above statement into terms of personal feeling by saying that the death removes a person who was the object of feelings of affection and attachment on the part of others and is thus a direct offence against those sentiments in the survivors.

Though the dead man has ceased to exist as a member of the society, it is clear that he has by no means ceased to influence the society. On the contrary he has become the source of intense painful emotions. Where the affection that was felt towards him was previously a source of pleasure it now becomes a source of pain. Defining the "social personality" of an individual as being the sum of characteristics by which he has an effect upon the social life and therefore on the social sentiments of others, we may say that by death the social personality is not annihilated but undergoes a profound change, so that from being an object of pleasurable states of the social sentiments it becomes an object of painful states. This is expressed by the Andamanese by saying that by death a man or woman becomes a *Lau*.

The burial customs of the Andaman Islanders, however, are

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occasions. A consideration of the different instances will show, I think, that the name is always avoided whenever the owner is for any reason prevented from taking his or her usual place in the life of the society. At such times the social personality is as it were suppressed, and the name which represents it is therefore also suppressed. 182X 551

From the moment of her first menstruation to the date of her marriage, or more strictly to the date of her first parturition, the birth-name of a woman is dropped from use and she is called by her flower-name. A woman only attains her complete social personality as a mother. As a child she has not the power to become a mother. She acquires that power at her first menstruation and therefore from that time until this new virtue is actively exercised she is in a position in which one of her virtues, one of the qualities making up her social personality, is in abeyance. Therefore her name (her birth-name) is not used and she is given a temporary name in its place, a flower-name. She is, as it were, in blossom, and only when her body ripens to its fruit is she a complete woman. 182X 551 881

At certain stages of the initiation ceremonies the name of a youth or of a girl (the flower-name in this instance) is avoided for a certain period. Such occasions are during, and for some time after, any of the more important ceremonies, such as the cutting of the boy's back, the puberty ceremony of the girl, the turtle-eating and pig-eating ceremonies. After a boy's back is cut he is addressed and spoken of for some time as *Ejido*, his own name not being spoken. Similarly during and after the turtle-eating or the pig-eating ceremony he is addressed and spoken of by the name *Kimil*. The explanation of these customs is that at these times the initiate is in an abnormal position by reason of the ceremony that has taken place, and is not permitted to take an ordinary part in social life. After the initiation ceremony, for example, the youth is not permitted to handle a bow for some weeks (the bow being the typical masculine implement).

The names of a newly-married couple are avoided for a few days after their marriage. Marriage produces an important change in the social personality, and this change is expressed in the marriage ceremony, but all such changes take time, and it is some days at 182X 551 585

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X182 551 585 least before the married couple can be expected to have settled down in their new positions. For these days, therefore, their names are not used. The same sort of explanation will hold for the custom of dropping the names of a father and mother before and after the birth of a child, particularly the first born.

X182 551 ● 881 At the turtle-eating ceremony of the North Andaman coast-dwellers the youth is given a new name. It is possible that a girl is also given a new name at this time, and that another name is also given to the youth at the pig-eating ceremony, but on these points I neglected to make sufficient enquiry. The name given at the turtle-eating ceremony is never used and is not likely to be known except to those who were present at the ceremony, and therefore serves no such purpose as the flower-name of the girl. The giving of the name is simply the mark of the change of social personality brought about by the ceremony. The youth receives an addition to his personality and therefore receives an additional name. It is significant that all the names given at this ceremony have reference to the sea and to things of the sea, particularly to turtle, such as *Čokbi-čiro*, turtle-liver, *Čokbi-tci*, turtle-blood, etc.

X182 551 765 During the period of mourning, when, as we have seen, the mourner is withdrawn from the ordinary life of the society, his name is not used, showing that during this period his social personality is in a state of partial suppression. After the mourning period is over the mourner, when he resumes his social personality, resumes at the same time his name.

Now death is the most fundamental modification of the social personality that is possible and therefore the name of a person recently dead is strictly avoided. Death, however, does not destroy the social personality utterly and for ever, but produces in it a profound change, which begins at the death itself and is only completed at the end of and by means of the customs of mourning. After the mourning is over the virtues of the dead man affect the survivors through memory, and his bones form a precious possession of the community, thus constituting for him a new social value, a new personality. During the period of change, while the personality does not exist in the same form as before the death, but does not yet exist in the form in which

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551 Andamanese is that they have no proper names, whereas their system of naming is, on the contrary, somewhat elaborate, and commences even prior to the child's birth.

2. When there is reason to expect an increase to the family,[1] the parents decide what name the child shall bear; as a compliment they not unfrequently select one which is borne by a relative, friend, or chief; and, since all their proper names[2] are common to both sexes,[3] no difficulty arises on this score.

551 •881 3. In illustration of this let us suppose the name chosen in advance to be *.dô·ra*; should the infant prove to be a boy he is called *.dô·ra-ô·ta-*, or, if a girl, *.dô·ra-kâ·ta-*. These terms (*ô·ta-* and *kâ·ta-*[4]) are used only during the first two or three years, after which, until the period of puberty, the lad would be addressed as *.dô·ra-dâ·la-*, and the girl as *.dô·ra-pō·ilola* until she arrived at womanhood, when she is said to be *ūn-lâ·wi-* or *â·kà-lâ·wi-*, and receives a "flower" name[5] as a prefix to her proper or birth name. By this method they are apparently able to determine when their young women become marriageable. There are eighteen prescribed trees[6] which blossom in succession, and the "flower" name bestowed in each case is taken from the one which is in season when the girl attains maturity; if, for example, this should be about the end of August, when the *châ·langa-* (*Pterocarpus dalbergioides*) is in flower, *.dô·ra-pō·ilola* would become *.châ·yara*[7] *.dô·ra*, and this double name would cling

[1] When near her delivery a woman will sometimes be heard saying (assuming the name chosen for the yet unborn child to be *.wō·loga*): *.wō·loga dab-ō·jolike, Wō·loga* is fidgetting me, or *.wō·loga dab-ngō·towake, Wō·loga* is clawing me, or, *.wō·loga ô·to-yârke, Wō·loga* is ready. [During the period of pregnancy, both the woman and her husband are spoken of as *pīj-jā·bag-*, which signifies "bad hair;" the only explanation offered for the adoption of such a term is that it is in allusion to the fœtus.]

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[2] These number forty. (*Vide* Appendix H.)

[3] A man calls a male namesake { if his senior, *mai·a ting·la.* / if his equal or junior } *mar ting·la.*
" " female " *chán ting·la.*
A man (or woman) calls a child of either sex bearing the same name } *ád ōt-ting-â·te-yâ·te-* (my-name-which-who).
A woman calls a male namesake { if her senior, *mai·a* (his name) *ting·la.* / if her equal or junior } *mar* (his name) *ting·la.*
" " female " if her senior, *chán ting·la.*
" " " " if her equal or junior } (her name) *ting-la.*
signifying respectively the genitals of the male and female.

[4] Dr. Day writes: "Girls arriving at a marriageable age wear certain flowers to distinguish themselves by"; but, as a fact, the flower is neither worn nor gathered.

[5] Names of these will be found in Appendix H.

[7] Euphonic corruption of *.châ·langa-*.

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to the girl until she married and was a mother,[1] then the "flower" name would give way to the more dignified term *chān·a* (madam or mother) *.dô·ra;* if childless, a woman has generally to pass a few years of married life before she is called *chān·a*,[2] after which no further change is made in her name. 551 881

4. In consequence of this system, as it rarely happens that in one community two women are found bearing the same "flower" *and* birth names, there is little chance of confusion arising. 551

5. Since no equivalent custom exists with regard to men,[3] nicknames are given which generally indicate some personal peculiarity, as, for instance, *.bī·a-pâg-* (*Bī·a-*, foot, he having large feet), *.bal·a-jō·bo-* (*Bal·a-*, snake, he having lost a hand from a snake-bite), *.pū·nga-dâ·la* (*Pū·nga-*, good-looking), and so on. All these names cling to the bearer for life, especially if they refer to some physical deformity.

6. Seniors often address young married persons in a (to us) strange fashion, *i.e.*, calling the husband by the wife's name and prospective designation; for example, in speaking to a man whose name is *.ī·ra*, and who had married a woman called *.tū·ra*, they would say *chān·a .tū·ra;* if the wife were *enceinte* the child's name would be used beforehand to denote its parents; thus, assuming *.wō·loga* to be the name of the yet unborn child, the father would be called by that name, and the expectant mother *.wō·loga-būd-*[4] until after the birth of the infant, when, for several months, the former would still bear the same appellation among his seniors, but would receive from his juniors the more dignified title of *mai·a .wō·loga;* while the latter would be addressed by her seniors as *.wō·loga-ô·ta-* (or *kâ·ta-* in the case of her child being a girl), and by her juniors as *chān·a .wō·loga-ô·ta-* (or *kâ·ta-*).[5]

Initiatory Ceremonies.—1. On or soon after reaching puberty, the fast[6] which has been kept during the few previous years (or in some cases, months) is broken; and instead of the affix *dâ·la*, the prefix *gū·ma*[7] (denoting in this connection a neophyte or 551 881

[1] From the account given under "Marriage," paragraph 4, it will be inferred that in many cases she has not long to wait.

[2] *Vide* section on "Relationships," paragraph 6.

[3] In a few cases nicknames are bestowed on women.

[4] *būd-* signifies house, habitation.

[5] For further information on the subject of proper names and terms applied to men and women, *vide* sections on "Relationships" and "Initiatory Ceremonies," and Appendices I and K.

[6] *Vide* section on "Tabu."

[7] In Dr. Day's paper the following passage occurs:—"The youthful swain eats a peculiar kind of ray-fish termed *goom-dah*, which gives him the title to the appellation of *goo-mo*, signifying, 'a bachelor desirous of marrying.' Girls arriving at a marriageable age . . . . (*vide* footnote 5 on previous page). Before marrying, young men take a species of oath, after which they sit very still for several days, scarcely taking any food." Plausible as this explanation

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557 novice) is attached to the boy's birth-name; he is also addressed
881 as *mar*[1] *gū·ma* (master novice) if senior to, and alone with the speaker: this term *gū·ma* is retained until the lad is married and is a father, after which *mai·a*[2] (Mr.)—or, if a chief, *mai·ola*—is adopted in its place, and by this title he would be known for the rest of his life. A young chief, however, attains the honorary designation of *mai·a* as soon as the novitiate terminates.[3]

881 2. The *â·kà-yâ·p-*, or fasting period (during which turtle, honey,
262 pork, fish, and a few other favourite articles of food[4] are *choses défendues*), commences between the 11th and 13th year, and varies in length from one to five years; it is observed by both sexes, but lasts longer in the case of girls, with whom, indeed, it is not terminable till some time after matrimony. As an *â·kà-yâ·b-* makes up for these restrictions by eating a larger quantity of other food, he (or she) does not ordinarily suffer in physique during the probationary period. It does not rest with the youth or maiden to determine when he, or she, will resume eating the various articles above mentioned, but with the chief, who decides when each individual's powers of endurance and self-denial have been sufficiently tested. Exceptional cases are cited in which the probationer has expressed a desire to prolong the time of abstinence, it being a cause for boasting when the average period has been exceeded.

3. As at present understood, the *â·kà-yâ·p-* is regarded as a test of the endurance, or, more properly speaking, of the self-denial of young persons, and as affording evidence of their fitness and ability to support a family. It is divided into three periods: 1st, the *yâ·dī-* (turtle) *gū·mul-*; 2nd, the *â·ja-* (honey) *gū·mul-*; and 3rd, the *rēg-jī·ri-* (kidney-fat of pig) *gū·mul-*.[5]

4. When the youth is permitted, and agrees, to break his turtle fast, a feast is arranged by his friends, consisting entirely of that delicacy. The chief, or headman present, first boils in a pot (*būj-*[6]) a large piece of turtle-fat, which, when sufficiently cool, he

may appear, there is no connection between *gūm-*, a ray-fish, and *gū·ma* (a youth who has undergone his probationary fast); moreover, as mentioned in a foregoing section (*vide* "Proper Names"), marriageable young women do not derive their "flower" names in the manner here described; in point of fact, no such custom as "wearing flowers" is practised by any class.

[1] *Vide* section on "Relationships," paragraph 6.

[2] As with the term *chāu·a* among women, the title is not bestowed for several years if there be no child.

[3] Both before and after the *â·kà-yâ·p-* the individual is said to be *bō·tiga-*.

[4] These comprise the flesh of the iguana and paradoxurus, the larvæ of the Great Capricornis beetle (*òi·yum-*), and a smaller insect called *bū·tu-*.

[5] It will thus be seen that the *gū·mul-* answers very much to the Australian "bora," or ceremony of initiation into the privileges of manhood, spoken of by the Rev. W. Ridley in his Report on Australian Languages and Traditions (*vide* "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. ii, p. 269, 1873).

[6] *Vide* Appendix B, item 18.

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pours over the head of the lad, who remains seated and perfectly still in the midst of his friends while the oil streams over his body. The men present remove any ornaments that he may be wearing, and rub the grease into his person; the women and children meantime occupy themselves with crying, the idea being that, after abstaining from turtle for a long time, madness, illness, or even death, may result from partaking of it again.[1] After this the novice, who may not wash off the oil with which he has been anointed at least until late on the following day, is fed with the flesh of the turtle,[2] of which a certain quantity is reserved for his consumption on the ensuing two or three days, and the remainder is distributed among those assembled. He is then led to his hut and directed to sit cross-legged on a spot covered with leaves of the *Myristica longifolia*, with a support behind him against which he may lean. The turtle flesh, previously cooked and set apart for him, is deposited at his side, and one or more of his friends take it by turns to sit with him, it being their duty to enjoin silence, to supply his wants, and to prevent him from falling asleep by singing from time to time as the night wears away. The following morning his mother, sister, and other female relatives, come and weep[3] over him, and paint, first, his ears and the adjoining parts with *yâ·dī-kòi·ob-*, and afterwards his entire person with alternate stripes of this compound and *tâ·la·ōg-*. Some large leaves[4] made into two broom-like bundles are placed in his hands, and other leaves are placed in his waistbelt. Thus provided he rises and dances frantically,[5] swinging his arms at the same time, for an hour or more, while the women, who are seated with legs outstretched, keep time for him by slapping the hollow between their thighs with the palm of the right hand, which is held at the wrist by the other hand; the males look on, or, if they have gone through the ceremony themselves, accompany him in his performance.

5. After an hour or so, when, fatigued with his exertions, the youth stops dancing, the *yâ·dī-gū·mul-* is considered at an end, and the new *gū·ma* mingles with his friends, who, nevertheless,

[1] The same reason is given for the silence which the neophyte has to observe during this ceremony, as well as at the *á·ja-gū·mul-* and *reg-jī·ri-gū·mul-*

[2] He is then said to *gū·mul mäg·ke* (or *gū·mul lē·ke*), *i.e.*, to eat, or devour, the *gū·mul-*.

[3] The reason given for this demonstration of grief is that the youth has now entered upon an important epoch in his life, and is about to experience the trials and vicissitudes incidental thereto.

[4] The leaves of the *Myristica longifolia* (*hō·rowa-*) are usually selected on these occasions, apparently because this tree is associated with turtle-hunting, paddles being made of the wood.

[5] The step is a peculiar one, and is only seen on these occasions: the performer keeps his heels together and stamps on the ground, at the same time he swings his arms violently, holding in his hands the two leaf brooms.

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881 262 continue to watch him carefully for two or three days, lest harm should result from his recent feast, and also because they think evil spirits are not unlikely to do him some injury by taking advantage of his supposed helpless condition to make him deaf, or cause him to forget his way, and thus meet the fate which, on the faith of their traditions, they believe to have overtaken two of their antediluvian ancestors.[1]

881 6. All that has been said of youths in respect to the *yâ·dī-gū·mul-* applies equally to young women, except that matrons remove the novice's ornaments, and all but one or two of her [834] *bōd*-s (waistbelts[2]), and her *ō·bunga-* (leaf apron[3]), which are left for the sake of decency. As, while performing the concluding dance, some difficulty is experienced in regard to the *ō·bunga-*, girls are provided on these occasions with a more substantial apron of leaves, so that the feelings of the most prudish are not violated.

7. The origin of the term *gū·mul-lē·ke* is obscure, and inquiries have failed to elicit any satisfactory explanation regarding it; the literal translation is "rainy-monsoon devour-does," and though the *yâ·dī-gū·mul-* is always celebrated at that season of the year, the term is also applied to the honey feast, which can only take place during the dry months. The same equivalents are found in the other tribal dialects, so that the peculiarity is not confined to the *bō·jiq-ngī·ji-*. The only reasonable explanation offered is that the expression is in allusion to the sweaty (*gū·mar-*), or rain-like (*yūm-*), appearance of the novice when the melted fat or honey has been poured and smeared over his person.

881 177 262 8. Lengthened intercourse with the alien population in their midst has naturally led to their occasionally betraying some indifference in regard to customs, such as that above described; especially is this the case with those who have been brought up in the orphanage at Ross Island. A few years ago one of these youngsters, who had been named Martin, refused to accede to the wishes of his friends in the jungle home to which he had returned, and persisted in partaking of the articles of food proscribed to all of his age; as he happened shortly after to fall sick and die, they were fully persuaded that he had incurred his fate by failing to comply with the ancient rites and ceremonies as handed down by their fathers.

881 262 9. On the conclusion of the *yâ·dī-gū·mul-*, the youth is said to be an *â·kà·gū·mul-*, and, as before stated, is addressed as *gū·ma*; but this is not the case with the girl, possibly because she, at

[1] *Vide ante* "Mythology," paragraph 23.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 25.
[3] *Vide* Appendix B, item 79.

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this period of her life, receives a "flower" name,[1] and does not, therefore require any additional designation to denote that she has attained maturity. If more than one become *gū·ma* on the same day they call each other *gū·ma l'àrjō·pinga-*.[2] After the *yâ·dī-gū·mul-* turtles' eggs and the kidney-fat of the ray-fish and turtle may, at the bidding of the chief, be again eaten by the novice, and in the first ensuing dry season edible roots, and the heart of the *Caryota sobolifera* may be added to the bill of fare without further ceremony than the observance of strict silence on the first occasion of partaking of them.

10. Between the *yâ·dī-gū·mul-* and the *â·ja-gū·mul-* no fruit may be eaten by the novices, who have, moreover, to abstain till after the *reg-jī·ri-gū·mul-* from pig's flesh of any kind.

11. When the honey fast is to be broken, a quantity of honey-combs, according to the number assembled, are on the appointed day procured: the *â·kà-yâ·b-* being placed in the midst of the group, the chief or other elder goes to him with a large honey-comb wrapped in leaves; after helping the novice to a large mouthful, which he does by means of a bamboo or iron knife, he presents the remainder to him, and then leaves him to devour it in silence: this he does, not, however, by the ordinary method, for it is an essential part of the ceremony that he should not use his fingers to break off pieces, but eat it bear-fashion, by holding the comb up to his mouth and attacking it with his teeth and lips.[3] After satisfying his present requirements, he wraps what is left of the comb in leaves for later consumption.

12. The chief then takes another comb and anoints the youth by squeezing it over his head, rubbing the honey well into his body as it trickles down. The proceedings at this stage are interrupted by a bath, in order to remove all traces of the honey, which would otherwise be a source of considerable inconvenience by attracting ants. Beyond the observance of silence, and continued abstention from *reg-jī·ri-*, the youth is under no special restrictions, being able to eat, drink, and sleep as much as he pleases.

13. Early the following morning the lad decorates himself with leaves of a species of *Alpinia*, called *jī·ni-*,[4] and then, in the presence of his friends, goes into the sea (or, if he be an *ē·rem-tà·ya-*, into a creek) up to his waist, where, locking his thumbs

[1] *Vide ante* "Proper Names," paragraph 3.

[2] *àrjō·pike*, to share, or to be a partner with another.

[3] This mode of eating is termed *pai ke* (to use the lips), from *pai-*, the lip.

[4] This plant is selected because it is associated with honey-gathering; its bitter sap, being extremely obnoxious to bees, is smeared over their persons when taking a comb, and enables them to escape scot free with their prize (*vide post* "Food," paragraph 35).

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•881 together, with open hands he splashes as much water as possible over himself and the bystanders, occasionally ducking his head under the surface as well. This is considered a safeguard or charm against *snakes*, and the on-lookers cry "*ô·to-ped·ike, kî·nig wâ·ra-jō·bo lô·tike* (Go and splash yourself, or *Wâ·ra-jō·bo*[1] will get inside you), for they imagine that unless they go through this splashing performance, this snake will by some means enter their stomachs and so cause death.

881 262 843 14. The only difference between the sexes with respect to the *â·ja-gū·mul-* is that with females it cannot take place until after the birth of the first child; they are also required to abstain from honey during each subsequent pregnancy; in their case, too, a chief or elder (preferably a relative) officiates, and not a woman.

881 15. A year is generally allowed to elapse between the *yâ·dî-gū·mul-* and the *reg-jî·ri-gū·mul-*. When this final step is determined on, the friends and relatives of the *â·kà-yâ·b-* start on a pig hunt, and, if unsuccessful, the *gū·mul-* has to be postponed, for, in the case of a young man, it is necessary that the ceremony be performed with a boar, while for females a sow must be procured.

16. When all is ready, and the party assembled, the chief presses the carcass of the boar heavily on the shoulders, back, and limbs of the young man as he sits on the ground,[2] silent and motionless, this is in token of his hereafter becoming, or proving himself to be, courageous and strong. The animal is then cut up, and when the fat has been melted, as in the previous cases, it is poured over the novice, and rubbed into his person; he is then fed with *reg-jî·ri-*, and if he makes signs for water it is given him, but, until the following day, he may not utter a word, rise, or even sleep. Two or three friends generally remain with him to attend to his requirements, which he makes known to them by gestures.

17. In the morning fresh leaves of a tree called *reg lâ·kà châl-*—*the fruit of which* is much eaten by the *Sus And.*—are brought, and a quantity of them are placed in the hands of the youth, and some more in his waistbelt; he then rises and, as at the turtle feast, dances until fairly exhausted. During the month [262] following the *reg-jî·ri-gū·mul-*, the young persons are called *â·kà-gō·i-*, *i.e.*, "one commencing to eat."

18. It should be added that, whatever may have been the intention and practice in former years, it is not necessary at the present day for a youth to undergo these several ordeals before

[1] This is believed to be the *Ophiophagus elaps*.

[2] In the case of the woman, the carcass of the sow is not pressed in this manner on her limbs or body.

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he is permitted to marry:[1] although many remain single until they have undergone these various rites, it is considered almost as binding on those who marry before doing so, to comply with these time-honoured usages at some early opportunity. 881

Marriage.—1. It has been asserted that the "communal marriage,"[2] system prevails among them, and that "marriage is nothing more than taking a female slave,"[3] but so far from the contract being regarded as a merely temporary arrangement, to be set aside at the will of either party, no incompatibility of temper or other cause is allowed to dissolve the union, and, while bigamy, polygamy, polyandry, and divorce are unknown, conjugal fidelity till death is not the exception, but the rule, and matrimonial differences, which, however, occur but rarely, are easily settled with or without the intervention of friends. 581 586 837

2. It is undoubtedly true that breaches of morality have occasionally taken place among a few of the married persons who have resided for any length of time at Port Blair, but this is only what might be expected from constant association with the Indian convict attendants at the various homes; justice, however, demands that in judging of their moral characteristics we should consider those only who have been uninfluenced by the vices or virtues of alien races.

3. As in various other savage tribes, unchastity[4] is apparently universal among the unmarried of both sexes, and is indeed so entirely disregarded that no reproof is administered, even by the nearest relatives, to those who offend in this manner; notwithstanding this laxity, the girls are strikingly modest and child-like in their demeanour, and when married are good wives and models of constancy, while their husbands do not fall far short of them in this respect. It should, however, be mentioned, that the freedom which exists between the sexes prior to wedlock, is confined to those who are not within the prescribed limits of affinity, as their customs do not permit of the union of any who are known to be even distantly related; the fact of our allowing first cousins to marry seems to them highly objection- 836 835

[1] They think highly of a man who defers marriage until he is of full age, and the reverse of a youngster who rushes into matrimony before attaining the mature (!) age of eighteen.

[2] "So absolutely closely allied are the Andaman Islanders in their moral as well as physical life to the lower animals, that it is said by an eminent scientific voyager (Sir Edward Belcher) that the man and woman remain together until the mother ceases to suckle the child, after which they separate as a matter of course, and each seeks a new partner" (Brown).

[3] *Vide* Wood.

[4] "A great many races of mankind are quite indifferent to juvenile unchastity, and only impose strict conduct on their women after marriage" (Peschel).

[5] "It is precisely nations in the most primitive stage which have the greatest abhorrence of incestuous marriages" (Peschel).

APPENDIX II.

List of *Proper Names*, together with a List of the "*Flower*" *Names* borne by young women during maidenhood, and until they become mothers, and a List of the various *Seasons*.

Proper names (common to both sexes).		"Flower" name.	Name of tree (or insect) in season.	Names of the various minor seasons.	Names of the principal seasons.	Remarks.
kal'ta	*kil'tala*	*ahl'lipa* ...	*lil'kwa-* ...	*lil'kwa-ulib*[1] ...	*pâ'pur-*, also *pâ'pur-ulib-*	The "*pâ'pur-*" commences about the middle of November, and ends about the middle of February. It comprises the cool season.
kâ'wa	*kâ'wa*		*ahl'lip-* ...	*ahl'lip-ulib-* ...		
kâ'wâl	*lâ'pa*	*mâ'da* ...	*pâ-* ...	*pâ-ulib-* ...	*pâ'wâ-kâ'da-*, also *pâ'wâ-ulib-*[2]	[1] "*ulib*" signifies "season."
kâ'a	*kâ'kala*		*jâ-* ...	*jâ-ulib-* ...		The "*pâ'wâ-kâ'da-*" comprises the summer and autumn of the year. Honey is abundant at the commencement of this season, during the whole course of which the principal fruit trees are in bearing. This season lasts about three months, viz., till about the middle of May.
kâ'ola	*mâ'ka*	*âwa* ...	*âwa-* ...	*âwa-ulib-* ...		[2] Lit., season of abundance.
kâ'wa	*mâ'kala*	*jâ'ôga* ...	*jâ'ôga-* ...	*jâ'ôga-ulib-* ...		[3] This period is called "*kad'a-ôda-*" (dirty body) owing to their practice of smearing their persons with the sap of a plant (*jâ'ôa-*) when engaged in removing a beeycomb from a hive swarming with bees.
kâ'ôwâ	*kâ'ôgala*		*kâ'ôa-* ...	*kâ'ôa-ulib-* ...		
kâ'ôwâ	*mâ'ôl*	*pâ'wa* ...	*pâ'wa-* ...	*pâ'wa-ulib-* ...		
ka'wla	*pâ'wala*		*kâ'ja-* ...	*kâ'ja-ulib-* ...		
kâ'ôgâ	*pâ'ôga*	*pâ'kâka* ...	*pâ'kâk-* ...	*pâ'kâk-ulib-* ...		
châ'wâla	*pâ'wala*	*kâ'pa* ...	*kâ'pa-* ...	*kâ'pa-ulib-* ...		
châ'ôa	*pâ'wpa*	*ôâ'ôa* ...	*ôâ'ôa-* ...	*ôâ'ôa-ulib-* ...	*pâ'pulâ-*	This season embraces the (1) *kâ'ta-ôing-dâ'wâa-* (lit., *fresh fishings*) or *spring*, and (2) *pâ'wâl-ulib-*. The former lasts about 2½ months, viz., till about the close of August. It comprises not only the Spring but the *first half* of the rainy season. The latter (*pâ'wâl-ulib-*) lasts about 2½ months, viz., till about the middle of November, and comprises the *latter half* of the rainy season. Among the articles of food eaten at this season are (1) the *kâ'ta-* (a sting found in rotten logs of Gurjan wood) and (2) the *ôi'gum-* (larva of the Great Capricornis beetle). The tails of the former are broken off and thrown away, hence *kâ'pago-* (breaking off).
châ'ôa	*ôâ'ôa*		*châ'ôal-* ...	*châ'ôal-ulib-* ...		
kâ'o	*ôâ'o*	*châ'ôwa* ...	*châ'ôaga-* ...	*châ'ôaga-ulib-* ...		
ôâ'ôal	*ôâ'ôa*	*châ'ôpa* ...	*kâ'ta-*[3] ...	*kâ'pago-ulib-* ...		
ôâ'ôa	*kâ'o*		*châ'ôag-* ...	*châ'ôag-ulib-* ...		
jâ'o	*mâ'i*	*chaw'ôa* ...	*ôi'gum-*[3] ...	*ôi'gum-kâ'pago-ulib-*		
ôâ'ôal-	*mâ'ôkala*		*chaw'ôa-* ...	*chaw'ôa-ulib-* ...		
kâ'ôa	*mâ'ôpa*					
kâ'pa	*pâ'ôâ*	*pâ'ôa* ...	*ôâ'a-* ...	*ôâ'a-ulib-* ...		
			pâ'ôa- ...	*pâ'ôa-ulib-* ...		

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poral resurrection in a religious sense. There is much active faith in dreams, which sometimes control subsequent conduct and in the utterances of "wise men," dreamers of prophetic dreams, gifted with second sight and power to communicate with spirits and to bring about good and bad fortune, who practise an embryonic magic and witchcraft to such personal profit by means of good things tabued to themselves as these people appreciate. There are no oaths, covenants and ordeals, nor any forms of appeal to supernatural powers. 771

Puluga, who is fundamentally with some definiteness identifiable with the storm (*W'sleqa*) mixed up with ancestral chiefs, has so many attributes of the Deity that it is fair to translate the term by "God." He has a wife and a family of one son and many daughters. He transmits his orders through his son to his daughters, who are his messengers, the Morowin. He has no authority over the evil spirits and contents himself with pointing out offenders against himself to them. The two great evil, *i.e.*, harmful, spirits are Erem-chauga of the Forest and Juruwin of the Sea. Like Puluga both have wives and families. The minor evil spirits are Nila and a numerous class, the Chol, who are practically spirits of disease. The Sun is the wife of the Moon and the Stars are their children dwelling near Puluga, but there is no trace of sun-worship, though they twang their bows and "chaff" the moon during an eclipse, and a solar eclipse frightens them, keeping them silent.

The Andamanese idea of the soul arises out of his reflection in water and not out of his shadow which follows him about. His reflection is his spirit, which goes after death to another jungle world, Chaitan, under the earth, which is flat and supported on an immense palm tree. There the spirit repeats the life here, visits the earth occasionally and has a distinct tendency to transmigration into other beings and creatures. Every child conceived has had a prior existence and the theory of metempsychosis appears in many other superstitions, notably in naming a second child after a previous dead one, because the spirit of the former babe has been transferred to the present one, and in their recognising of all Natives of India and the Far East as *chauga*, or persons endowed with the spirits of their ancestors.

Superstitions.—The superstitions and mythology of the Andamanese are the direct outcome of their beliefs in relation to spirits. Thus, fire frightens Erem-chauga, so it is *sleqa* carried. They avoid offending the Sun and the Moon by silence at their rise. Puluga shows himself in storm, and so they appease him by throwing explosive leaves on the fire, and deter him by burning beeswax, because he does not like the smell. Earthquakes are the sport of the ancestors. There are lucky and unlucky actions, but not many, and a few omens and charms. Animals and birds are credited with human capacities, *e.g.*, convicts murdered by Jarawas have been found with heavy stones placed on them and stones have been found placed along their pathways. Every Andamanese knows that this is a warning to the birds not to tell the English that the men had been murdered and that the murderers had passed along the path in front.

Mythology.—The great bulk of the Andamanese mythology turns on Puluga and his doings with Tomo, the first ancestor, to whom and his wife he brought fire and taught all the arts and for whom he created everything. This line of belief is still alive and everything natural that is new is attributed to Puluga. Thus when the Andamanese were introduced to the volcano, Barren Island, on seeing the smoke from the top they at once christened it Molatarchona, Smoke Island, and said the fire was Puluga's. 773

The next most important element in the mythology is in the story of the cataclysm, which engulfed the islands and was of course caused by Puluga. It separated the population and destroyed the fire, which was afterwards stolen by Lamtut, the kingfisher, and restored to the people. The population previous to the cataclysm became the *chauga* or ghostly ancestors.

Other stories relate in a fanciful way the origin of customs, *e.g.*, tattooing and dancing, of the arts, articles of food, harmful spirits, and so on.

An important ethnological item in these stories is the constant presence of the ideas of metempsychosis and of metamorphosis into animals, fish, birds, stone and other objects in nature. Indeed the fauna chiefly known to the Andamanese are ancestors changed supernaturally into animals.

Initiatory Ceremonies.—There are rudimentary initiatory customs for both males and females, connected with arrival at puberty and marriageability 881

881 and pointing to a limited tabu. On reaching puberty or thereabouts, between 12 and 16 years of age, abstention from about 6 kinds of food, each in turn, is voluntarily commenced and continued for some years. At the end of each abstention there are a few ceremonies and some dancing and the youth of both sexes become "grown up." There is nothing else to mark this period beyond the application of an honorific name while it lasts, no secret to be communicated, no religious ceremony. In after-life, however, men who have gone through the initiatory period together will not fight, quarrel, nor call each other by name. They will assume great friendship, while avoiding each other with a mutual shyness. The women also practise a limited tabu as to food during menstruation and pregnancy. The idea of tabu does undoubtedly exist as to food and every man has his own tabued articles through life, which is, however, usually something observed to disagree with him in childhood or to be unpalatable.

264 576 There are also limitations as to sexual family relations. Only husband and wife can eat together. Widows and widowers, bachelors and maidens eat with their own sex only. A man may not address directly a married woman younger than himself or touch his wife's sister or the wife of a younger relative, and *vice versâ*.

302 304 The tattooing is partly ceremonial, as a test of courage and endurance of pain, and so is painting the body with clays, oils, etc. By the material and design is shown sickness, sorrow or festivity and the unmarried condition.

535 **Amusements.**—The great amusement of the Andamanese, indeed their chief object in life after the chase, is the formal evening or night dance, a curious monotonous performance accompanied by drumming the feet rythmically on a special sounding board, like a Crusader's shield and mistaken for a shield by several observers, singing a song more or less impromptu and of a compass limited to four semitones and the intermediate quarter tones, and clapping the hands on the thighs in unison. The dance takes place every evening whenever there are enough for it, and lasts for hours and all night at meetings of the tribes or septs for the purpose. It then becomes ceremonial and is continued for several nights in succession. Both sexes take allotted parts in it. This and turtle hunting are the only things which will keep the Andamanese awake al night long. There are five varieties of the dance among the tribes: that of the Onge-Jarawas being an entirely separate performance.

533 **Music.**—The Andamanese appreciate rhythm and time, but not pitch or tune. They sing in unison, but not in parts, and can neither sing in chorus nor repeat or even catch an air. The key in which a solo or chorus is started is quite accidental. They can be readily taught any dance step and can teach it themselves from observation.

Song.—Every man who respects himself is a composer of songs, always consisting of a solo and refrain, and sings without action or gesticulation and always to the same rhythm. The songs relate only to travel, sport and personal adventures, never to love, children and the usual objects of poetry, and very rarely to beliefs and superstition. The wording is enigmatic and excessively elliptic, the words themselves being in grammatical order, but shorn of all affixes as a rule. As in all poetry unusual words are employed. But clipped as the wording is and prosaic as the subjects are, the Andamanese are far from being unable to give a poetic turn to their phraseology and ideas. The women have lullabies for their babies.

524 **Games.**—The Andamanese are childishly fond of games and have an indigenous blind-man's-buff, leap-frog and hide-and-seek. Mock pig and turtle hunts, mock burials, and "ghost" hunts are favourite sports. Matches in swinging, swimming, throwing, skimming (ducks and drakes), shooting (archery), and wrestling are practised.

551 **Naming of Children and Adults.**—Every child is named for life after one of about twenty conventional names by the mother, of course without reference to sex, immediately upon pregnancy becoming evident, to which afterwards a nickname, varying occasionally as life proceeds, is added from personal peculiarities, deformities, disfigurements, or eccentricities and sometimes from flattery or reverence. Girls are also given "flower names" after one of sixteen selected trees which happen to be in flower at the time they reach puberty.

dead were buried securely bound in a knee-to-chest position, still the custom among the Andamanese). The Onges go no further than this and the idea of a Lord of the Spirits who rules all things, although on Great Andaman there has been some progress towards more anthropomorphic concepts. The complete absence of any form of cult, prayer, representation, or votive offering cannot, I feel, be the result of cultural decline from a more advanced age; this would have resulted in gross distortion and illogical superstition, but not in complete absence of any 'religious' practices of any kind.

18 SACRIFICE

No sacrifices of any kind are practised in the Andamans, nor is there any concept of propitiation, although there is evidence that even in the late Palaeolithic era some form of ritual sacrifice was practised, at least in Europe and probably over a much wider area. One would assume from this, and from paragraph 17 above, that the Andamanese is an even older culture.

19 TABOOS

Although my own experiences among the Onges have led me to think that taboos do not exist, some authors have asserted (in my view wrongly) their existence on Great Andaman. It is not, however, possible to draw any reliable conclusions on this point.

20 CEREMONIAL

The complete absence of any form of ritual surrounding birth, the purification of women, initiation, etc., or evidence of any such ritual in the past, is striking, in view of the prevalence in all the surrounding areas of strictly observed ceremonial for many occasions. As in the case of religion, such complete absence can only mean that the Andamanese became isolated before the idea of ritual spread to the area.

21 MEASUREMENT

The Andamanese have no means of counting, and no words to express gradations of time or size; to them everything is either 'small' or 'big'. They take no interest in the passing of years, and have no idea of their own age. To them life is but the passing of the seasons and the harvests of game and fish and fruits that they bring. This utter lack of any sense

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reached the age when it is considered proper for a man to marry. In recent times at least one young man has refused to undergo the privations connected with the initiation ceremonies. This was of course a case of gross rebellion against the customs of the tribe, but there was no way of punishing him or of compelling him to conform, save by showing him that he was an object of contempt and ridicule to others. Probably such a refusal to conform to tribal customs could not have taken place before the British occupation of the islands.

Another class of wrong actions consists in the breaking of ritual prohibitions. There are, for example, as will be shown in a later chapter, a number of actions which it is believed may cause bad weather, such as burning bees'-wax or killing a cicada. There is, however, no punishment that can be meted out to any one who does any of these things. The punishment, if we may call it so, is a purely supernatural one, and it strikes not only the offender but every one else as well. In the legends of the Andamanese there are one or two stories related of how one of the ancestors, being angry, deliberately performed one of the forbidden actions and thus brought a storm that destroyed many human beings[1]. There are other ritual prohibitions the non-observance of which is supposed to bring its own punishment on the offender, who, it is believed, will be ill.

The medicine-men (*oko-jumu*) are credited with the power to work evil magic, and by its means to make other people ill, and even to kill them. A man suspected of evil magic might be liable to the vengeance of those who thought that they had been injured by him, but though the practice was regarded as reprehensible it does not seem that the society ever acted as a whole to punish a man suspected of it.

Children are reproved for improper behaviour, but they are never punished. During their years of infancy they are much spoilt, not only by their parents but by every one. During the period of adolescence every boy and girl has to undergo a somewhat severe discipline, to be described in a later chapter.

[1] See below, Chap. IV.

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812 This probation, if it may be so called, is enforced by a unanimous public opinion. The discipline lasts until the man or woman is married and a parent, or if childless as so many now are, until he or she has settled down to a position of responsibility.

627 Thus, though the Andaman Islanders had a well developed social conscience, that is, a system of moral notions as to what is right and wrong, there was no such thing as the punishment of a crime by the society. If one person injured another it was left to the injured one to seek vengeance if he wished and if he dared. There were probably always some who would side with the criminal, their attachment to him overcoming their disapproval of his actions. The only painful result of anti-social 626 actions was the loss of the esteem of others. This in itself was a punishment that the Andamanese, with their great personal vanity, would feel keenly, and it was in most instances sufficient to prevent such actions. For the rest, good order depended largely on the influence of the more prominent men and women.

000 We have so far considered only the general regulation of conduct in the local group, without giving any attention to the more special regulations dependent on relationships by blood and by marriage. In all human societies there is a system of rights and duties regulating the conduct towards one another of persons who are related either by consanguinity or through marriage. In primitive societies these particular rights and duties occupy a position of preponderating importance, owing, no doubt, to the small number of persons with whom any single person comes into effective social contact. When a large proportion of the men and women with whom any person comes in contact are related to him, it is clear that relationship must count for a good deal in regulating the everyday life of the people.

Different societies have different systems of relationship. This means, not only that they attach different duties to particular relations, but also that they have different ways of reckoning the relationships themselves. The vast majority of primitive peoples have some one or other form of what is known to ethnologists

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living with their own parents. The usual age of adoption seemed to me to be from nine or ten years upwards.

A man and his wife adopt in this way children belonging to a local group other than their own. The adopted child lives with his or her foster-parents, having a place in their hut and a share of their meals. From about the age of ten children of both sexes begin to be of service to their parents or foster-parents in many ways. The foster-parents treat their adopted children in exactly the same way that they would treat their own children, and the children on the other hand show the same regard and affection to their foster-parents that they do to their own parents, and assist them in every way that they can. Their own parents come to visit them at regular intervals.

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The period of childhood is brought to an end at about the age of puberty by certain ceremonies to be described in the next chapter. After the beginning of these ceremonies a boy ceases to live in the hut of his parents or his foster-parents, and must live with the young unmarried men and widowers in what has been called the bachelors' hut. From this time until he marries, his services are constantly required by his parents or by his foster-parents, and he is expected to obey them and help them in any way he can. It is only after his marriage that he becomes relatively independent and free to please himself in his own actions, and even then he is required to provide his parents or his foster-parents with food, and to serve them in any way they may need.

A girl, during the period between the beginning of the initiation ceremonies and her marriage, continues, at any rate, in some cases, and in these days, to live with her parents or with foster-parents. Mr Man states that the unmarried women and girls occupy a spinsters' hut similar to the bachelors' hut. It is possible that this was the former custom. I found instances of an unmarried girl occupying a place in the hut of a married couple who made use of her services and controlled her conduct, regarding her in the light of a foster-daughter. On one occasion I found two unmarried girls occupying a separate hut adjoining that of a married couple, who looked after the girls who occupied it.

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The position of an unmarried girl is very similar to that of an unmarried youth. She is required to help her elders, in particular either her parents or her foster-parents, i.e. the married couple under whose care she is for the time being. 881 882

After marriage a son continues to help his parents, providing them with food and seeing that they are comfortable. If either a man or a woman lives in a local group other than that of his or her parents, he or she pays frequent visits to them. 593

From the time that a youth or girl ceases to belong to the family household, his or her duties to the parents are really only the same in kind as the duties that every young man and woman owes to all the older men and women. Though there is no difference in kind, yet a man or woman is expected to show more affection and respect for his or her own parents than to other persons of the same social standing.

The only other relationship, besides that of husband and wife and that of parents and children, which exists inside the family, is that between children of the same parents. The conduct of brothers to one another depends on their respective ages. The younger is expected to give way to the elder, while the latter protects and looks after the former. The relation of sisters to one another is similar.

The duties of a man and woman to his or her relatives, other than those to parents, brothers and sisters. and even to some extent the duties to these near relatives, are not distinguishable in kind from the duties he or she owes to other persons who are not relatives. Thus a young married man owes certain duties to all the older married men of about the age of his father. These duties are the same in kind as those towards his own father and his foster-father, the only difference being that he must defer more to his own father than to other men, and must be more constant in his attentions to him. I could not discover any way in which a man distinguished, in his dealings with them, his father's brother from his mother's brother. They are both of them older men whom he must respect and to whom he must make presents of food. Similarly a father's sister is not distinguished, so far as I could discover, from a mother's sister. A man treats both of them in much the same way that he treats 602

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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In the North Andaman there is some sort of association between the unborn souls of babies, the green pigeon and the *Ficus laccifera* tree. The same name, *Reyko*, is used to denote both the green pigeon and also the *Ficus laccifera*, of the fruit of which the pigeon is very fond. The belief of the natives is sometimes stated by saying that the souls of unborn children live in the *Ficus* trees, and that if a baby dies before it has been weaned its soul goes back to the tree. Another statement of the natives is that it is when the green pigeon is calling that the soul of a baby goes into its mother. The *Ficus* is to a certain extent tabu. I was told that the tree must not be cut or damaged. Nevertheless the natives do cut the tree in order to obtain the bark of the aerial roots from which they prepare a fibre that they use for making personal ornaments. There is no tabu in connection with the green pigeon, which may be killed and eaten. 842 775 784

In most primitive societies, if not in all, there are ritual or ceremonial observances in connection with the change by which a boy or girl becomes a man or woman. The ceremonies that are performed to mark this change are commonly spoken of in ethnological literature as "initiation ceremonies." The term is not perhaps the best that could be chosen, but usage has rendered it familiar. 000

The life of an Andaman Islander is divided into three well-marked periods, corresponding roughly with the physiological periods of childhood, adolescence, and maturity. The first period lasts from birth till about the advent of puberty; the second lasts from puberty till after marriage; the third extends from marriage to death. 561

During the period of childhood the boy or girl lives with his or her parents, or, in the later years of the period, with adopted parents, having a place in the family hut and a share in the family meal. A girl continues to live with her parents or with her adopted parents until she marries. When boys have finished growing, and have reached the condition of young men, they cease to live with their parents or adopted parents and, until they are married, they occupy a bachelors' hut of their own, and have their own meal. 858 882

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that the young are early instructed in the duties of hospitality, 000
while the aged, the suffering, and the helpless are objects of special attention; that their moral code is not confined within these limits will be seen as I proceed.

4. The curious, but by no means uncommon,[1] savage custom 597
of adoption prevails among them, from which, however, it must
not be inferred that love of offspring is a characteristic in which 572
they are at all deficient, for this is far from being the case.

5. It is said to be of rare occurrence to find any child above six or seven years of age residing with its parents, and this because it is considered a compliment and also a mark of friendship[2] for a married man, after paying a visit, to ask his hosts to allow him to adopt one of their children. The request is usually complied with, and thenceforth the child's home is with his (or her) foster-father (*mai-ōt-châ·tnga-*): though the parents in their turn adopt the children of other friends, they nevertheless pay continual visits to their own child, and occasionally ask permission (!) to take him (or her) away with them for a few days.

6. A man is entirely at liberty to please himself in the number of children he adopts, but he must treat them with kindness and consideration, and in every respect as his own sons and daughters, and they, on their part, render him filial affection and obedience.

7. It not unfrequently happens that in course of time permission to adopt a foster-child is sought by a friend of the *soi-disant* father, and is at once granted (unless any exceptional circumstance should render it personally inconvenient), without even the formality of a reference to the actual parents, who are merely informed of the change in order that they may be enabled to pay their periodical visits.

8. Foster-parents constantly manifest much opposition to any 597
desire they may observe on the part of the lads they have
brought up, to make a home for themselves, for the selfish 882
reason that they are useful in a variety of ways, above all, when
they have acquired skill in hunting, turtling, &c.; over the 572
maidens little or no restraint is imposed, as their marriage entails but a trifling loss in a material sense on those who have reared them.

9. Human nature, however, is the same all the world over, 597
and boys will be boys even in the Andaman jungles, so it is not 836
surprising that, in spite of all the precautions taken by their 584
572

[1] *Vide* Lubbock, "On the Origin of Civilization," &c., p. 96.

[2] Whether this be the true explanation of its object and origin or not, there can be little doubt that it has the effect of greatly extending the intercourse between the members of the various encampments.

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411 [177] 22. It is not found that they have any inclination to adopt civilised weapons or tools in lieu of their own, but they have not been slow to avail themselves of the facilities afforded them in recent years for substituting iron for shell, bone, and (?) stone,[1] in the manufacture of their various implements.

23. The blow-pipe, which is used so generally by the Negritos (*Semangs*) of the Malayan peninsula, finds no place among the weapons of these savages. Its absence may be readily accounted for, firstly by their ignorance of poison, or at least of any method of utilising such knowledge as any of them may possess, and secondly by the fact that they are so well able to supply all their wants with the implements already referred to in the foregoing, that their inventive faculty has not been sharpened by the pangs of hunger to devise other or more effective means of destruction. It may be added that slings, throwing sticks, clubs, bird-bolts, or blunt-headed arrows for stunning animals or birds, are likewise not in use among them.

[224] 24. Although the pig is the object of their chase in their hunting expeditions, they invariably take a few of their pointed arrows, preferably the *tŏrlbō·d-*, on the chance of coming across some smaller game, such as an iguana or paradoxurus.[2] To facilitate rapid shooting a man will often hold a number of arrows in the hand which grasps the bow.

[225] 25. From constant practice they are, as might be supposed, very skilful at shooting fish under water. Dr. Brander has correctly observed that "they seem intuitively to have calculated with great accuracy the difference of direction to be allowed for oblique aqueous refraction;" but these shots are almost always, if not invariably, made at a distance of a few yards only, and never so far as "30 yards,"[3] or "with three-pronged barbed arrows," such missiles being neither made nor used, at least by any of the Great Andaman tribes.[4]

883 224 26. Boys soon learn to practice at near objects with the small bows and arrows to which allusion has already been made, and many of them often contribute materially to the family larder by their early prowess. It is a common sight to see youths and children (and even their elders), when travelling, wantonly shoot at small passing objects, both on land and in the water, by way

[1] *Vide* Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi, p. 271.

[2] While these two animals are killed at all seasons of the year, the pig-hunts take place chiefly during the rains, when this animal is in excellent condition, and their diet, owing to the comparative scarcity of fruit and honey, less varied; even if with young the pig is not spared.

[3] The well-nigh impossibility of ever seeing from the shore or from a canoe a fish swimming at such a distance would sufficiently account for this.

[4] It is possible that Dr. Brander saw the *single* specimen of an arrow answering to this description which was obtained in 1880 from North Sentinel Island.

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of practice or to display their skill. No reproach is offered by the bystanders to one who wounds an animal without killing it. 883 224

27. Pigeons, waterfowl, ducks, and flying-foxes are sometimes shot, but never while on the wing, or when perched in such a position as to risk the recovery of the arrow.

28. In addition to the bows and arrows, their hunting gear consists generally of a hone (*tá·lag-*[1]), a *Cyrena* shell (*ū·ta-*[2]), an adze (*wō·lo-*[3]), and often now-a-days a spear (*ēr-dū·tnga-*[4]); sometimes a knife (*chó-* or *kó·no-*[5]) is also taken, but as the blade of the pig-arrow or spear can be made to serve this purpose, it is not regarded as an essential part of their equipment. 224 411

29. They employ no stratagems for deceiving or decoying game, nor do they prepare snares or pitfalls for it. 224

30. When unaccompanied by dogs the hunters usually follow the pig's tracks, evincing while doing so their accurate knowledge of its habits. Immediately the object of their search is sighted they endeavour to surround it as noiselessly as possible—taking no precautions, however, against approaching it from windward—and, finaly rushing forward and yelling vociferously, discharge their arrows. This practice of driving is generally adopted near the coast and in the vicinity of a belt of *Rhizophora conjugata* where the animals, becoming entangled among the roots or sinking into the soft soil, are easily captured or despatched. The ownership of the carcass is decided in favour of the person who inflicted the first serious wound, and he is exempt, if he please, from carrying home his prize or from any further trouble in connection with it; the cleaning, cooking, and quartering of the animal is undertaken by any one who chooses to volunteer his services, during which interval the day's adventures are narrated: those who have remained at home share equally with the hunters[6] in the spoil, for they are supposed to have been engaged in contributing to the general wants of the community.

31. There are, of course, some in every encampment who, from laziness or want of skill, are of very little use in this respect, but, since any ill-natured remarks at their expense would inevitably result in a more or less serious quarrel, they are rarely twitted with the circumstance, but are permitted to partake of the feast. [461]

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 52; also *post* "Stone Implements," paragraph 2.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 51; also *post* "Natural Forms, &c.," paragraph 1.
[3] *Vide* Appendix B, item 15; also *post* "Natural Forms, &c.," paragraph 2.
[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 9; also *ante* paragraph 5.
[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 77; also *post* "Natural Forms, &c.," paragraph 4.
[6] On the return of the hunting party the chief is apprised of the nature and amount of the "bags;" whatever is brought in by the married men is taken to their private huts and distributed as they please, but the spoils of the bachelors are at the disposal of the chief, and are distributed according to his orders.

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462 collects fruits and digs up roots with her digging stick; she catches prawns and crabs and small fish with her small fishing net; she provides the firewood and the water of the family and does the cooking (i.e. the family cooking, but not the common cooking, which is entirely done by men); she makes all such objects as baskets, nets of thread, and personal ornaments either for herself or her husband.

888 623 There is no organised government in an Andamanese village. The affairs of the community are regulated entirely by the older men and women. The younger members of the community are brought up to pay respect to their elders and to submit to them in many ways. It has already been shown how, in the distribution of food, the elders get the best share. When it is a question of shifting camp to some better hunting ground the opinion of the older men would weigh against that of the younger if they disagreed. It must not be thought, however, that the older men are tyrannical or selfish. I only once heard a young man complain of the older men getting so much the best of everything. The respect for seniority is kept alive partly by tradition and partly by the fact that the older men have had a greater experience than the younger. It could probably not be maintained if it regularly gave rise to any tyrannical treatment of the younger by the elder.

888 576 The respect for seniors is shown in the existence of special terms of address which men and women use when speaking to their elders. In the languages of the North Andaman there are two such terms, *Mai* or *Maia*, applied to men, with a meaning equivalent to "Sir," and *Mimi*, applied to women. These words may be used either alone or prefixed to the personal name of the person addressed. A younger man speaking to an older one whose name was *Bora* would address him either as *Mai* (Sir), or as *Maia Bora* (Sir Bora).

In the tribes of the South Andaman there are exactly similar terms. In the *Aka-Bea* tribe *Maia* or *Maiola* is used in addressing men and *Čana* or *Čanola* in speaking to women. In *Akar-Bale* the equivalent terms are *Da* and *In*. Besides these terms there is in these tribes another, *Mam*, *Mama* or *Mamola*, which may be used in speaking to either men or women, and which

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implies a higher degree of respect than *Maia* or *Čana*. In these tribes also there is a special way of showing respect by adding the suffix *-la* to the name of the person addressed, as *Bia*, *Biala*, *Woičo*, *Woičo-la*, etc. 888 576

In the legends of the Andamanese these titles are nearly always prefixed to the names of the legendary ancestors, as *Maia Putpu* and *Mimi Biliku* in *Aka-Jeru*, or *Da Duku* and *In Bain* in *Akar-Bale*. The moon is similarly spoken of as Sir Moon (*Maia Ogar* in *Aka-Bea*) and the sun as Lady Sun (*Čana Bodo*).

Besides the respect for seniority there is another important factor in the regulation of the social life, namely the respect for certain personal qualities. These qualities are skill in hunting and in warfare, generosity and kindness, and freedom from bad temper. A man possessing them inevitably acquires a position of influence in the community. His opinion on any subject carries more weight than that of another even older man. The younger men attach themselves to him, are anxious to please him by giving him any presents that they can, or by helping him in such work as cutting a canoe, and to join him in hunting parties or turtle expeditions. In each local group there was usually to be found one man who thus by his influence could control and direct others. Amongst the chief men of several friendly local groups it would generally happen that one of them, by reason of his personal qualities, would attain to a position of higher rank than the others. Younger men would be desirous of joining the local group to which he belonged. He would find himself popular and respected at the annual meetings of the different groups, and his influence would thus spread beyond the narrow limits of his own small community. 554 623 622

There was no special word to denote such men and distinguish them from others. In the languages of the North Andaman they were spoken of as *er-kuro* = "big."

Such men might perhaps be spoken of as "chiefs," but the term is somewhat misleading, as it makes us think of the organised chieftainship of other savage races.

The above statement is not quite in agreement with what has been written by Mr Man on the same subject, and what he 623 622

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occasion "they brought in some escaped convicts, whom, however, they first plundered, besides removing every bit of iron from the boat in which they had escaped. On being taxed with this they at first pleaded surprise, then said they would make restitution, and brought a canoe as an exchange for the mischief they had done to the government boat. At first this was not quite understood and the canoe was sent back, but they returned it next day, explaining that they desired it to be kept as a reimbursement for the injury they had done to the government boat, so no longer considered the canoe theirs." 577

4. As another example of the same kind :—when the present penal colony at Port Blair was first established, the aborigines were observed to refrain from shooting at any of the chain-gang prisoners, evidently judging that they at least could not be voluntary invaders of their territory, and to confine their hostility to the petty officers and others not in chains, till these at last, finding themselves in constant danger, sought and obtained permission to carry on their duties in fetters.[1]

5. Much mutual affection is displayed in their social relations, and, in their dealings with strangers, the same characteristic is observable when once a good understanding has been established.

6. It is a noteworthy trait, and one that deserves high commendation, that every care and consideration are paid by all classes to the very young, the weak, the aged, and the helpless, and these, being made special objects of interest and attention, invariably fare better in regard to the comforts and necessaries of daily life than any of the otherwise more fortunate members of the community. [388]

7. Andamanese children are reproved for being impudent and forward, but discipline is not enforced by corporal punish- 861

[1] It may not be unworthy of notice to record here yet another instance of generosity of disposition displayed by one of these savages. In January, 1877, a party of 24 *Bâtl* convicts effected their escape: all but some 11 or 12 were soon re-captured. Those still at large proved desperate, showing by their murderous assault on some aborigines, who had unconsciously approached their hiding place in the jungle, that they were prepared to resist capture at all hazards. The chief "*mâsâi*" *.bi'ela* (*vide* Plate II, fig. 2) thereupon headed a party of his tribe and some policemen, and, in spite of the parched condition of the soil—it being then late in February—succeeded in tracking the runaways, who had penetrated several miles into an unfrequented part of the jungle. Refusing to surrender themselves they were attacked, with the result that all were either captured or shot down. On being asked by the Chief Commissioner what reward would be most acceptable for the service the aborigines had performed on this occasion, *.bi'ela* replied that he would prefer to anything else that the Chief Commissioner should remit the remaining portion of the six months' sentence passed on four members of a Middle Andaman tribe, who, a few months before, had been convicted of shooting, at Kyd Island, some Chinamen engaged in collecting edible birds' nests. The prisoners were almost unknown to *.bi'ela*, and their release, therefore, could no more have concerned him personally than did their punishment. His request was granted.

372 they show much skill in so carrying smouldering logs with them by land or sea that they are not extinguished. Their ignorance of this fundamental requirement of civilization is shown in their fire-legend that fire was originally stolen from their deity Puluga and has never been allowed to become extinct since. Excepting guns, nothing has more impressed the Andamanese with European power and resources than the use of matches, *i.e.*, of making fire whenever required with ease.

342 In the Little Andaman and among the Jarawas of the South Andaman, large permanent huts for use in the wet season are built up of solid materials to 30 feet in height and 60 in breadth to hold the fires of 7 to 8 hunting parties, say 60 to 70 people, *i.e.*, they contain 7 to 8 fires with about 8 persons to each "fire." The Jarawa hunting camp is much the same as that of any other Andamanese and his great communal hut is built on the same principle as the larger huts of the other Andamanese.

The use of the flimsy hunting shelters and camp huts of the Andamanese is rendered possible in the wet and stormy weather so common in the Islands by the denseness of the jungle, which prevents the winds from reaching them even when close to the sea-beach and causes the rain to fall vertically upon them.

619 **Government.**—There is no idea of Government, but to each tribe and to each sept of it there is a recognised head, who has attained that position by
622 tacit agreement on account of some admitted superiority, mental or physical, and commands a limited respect and such obedience as the self interest of the other individual men of the tribe or sept dictates. There is a tendency to
[554] hereditary right in the natural selection of chiefs, but there is no social status that is not personally acquired. The social position of a chief's family follows that of the chief himself and admits of many privileges in the shape of tribal influence and immunity from drudgery. His wife is among women what he is
[888] among men and at his death, if a mother and not young, she retains his privileges. Age commands respect and the young are deferential to the elders. Offences, *i.e.*, murder, theft, adultery, mischief, assault, are punished by the
627 aggrieved party on his own account by injury to the body and property or by murder, without more active interference on the part of others than is consistent with their own safety, and without any fear of consequences except vengeance from the friends of the other side, and even this is usually avoided by disappearance till the short memory of the people has obliterated wrath.

421 Property is communal, as is all the land, and ideas as to individual possessions are but rudimentary, accompanied with an incipient tabu of the property belonging to a chief. An Andamanese will often readily part with ornaments to any one who asks for them. Theft, or the taking of property without leave, is only recognised as to things of absolute necessity, as arrows, pig's flesh, fire.
437 A very rude barter exists between tribes of the same group in regard to articles not locally obtainable or manufactured. This applies especially to cooking pots, which are made of a special clay found only in certain parts of the islands. The barter is really a gift of one article in expectation of another of assumed corresponding value in return, and a row if it is not forthcoming. The territory of other tribes is carefully respected without however there being any fixed boundaries.

562 The duties of men and women are clearly defined by custom, but not so as to make that of the women comparatively hard. The women have a tacitly acknowledged inferior position, but it is not such as to be marked or to leave them without influence.

771 **Religion.**—The religion is simple animism and consists of fear of the evil spirits of the wood, the sea, disease and ancestors, and of avoidance of acts traditionally displeasing to them, and this in spite of an abundance of mythological tales told in a confused, disjointed manner that is most instructive to the student of such things. There is neither ceremonial worship nor propitiation. There is an anthropomorphic deity, Puluga, the cause of all things, whom it is not, however, necessary to propitiate, though sins, *i.e.*, acts displeasing to him, are avoided for fear of damage to the products of the jungle. Puluga dwells now in the sky, but used to live on the top of Saddle Peak, their highest mountain. The Andamanese have an idea that the "soul" will go under the earth by an aerial bridge after death, but there is no heaven nor hell nor any idea of a cor-

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

262 and therefore dangerous to offend by cooking them. Luckily they accepted
123 fish of almost every description, and vegetables. To convince them of our
[975] good intentions concerning their food, at Port Blair an Onge observer was
[825] stationed permanently near the kitchen to watch the preparation of meals.
Nevertheless, within a few days all 30 Onge fell ill as a consequence of the
513 unfamiliar food and climate. In their island they sleep, completely naked and
123 uncovered, lying directly on beds made of rough branches. Their only precaution, as I mentioned before, is to keep a fire permanently burning close to the bed. This was not feasible in the rooms with wooden floors that were provided for them in Port Blair, and blankets did not avail. So the 30 Onge developed a fever and we were obliged to take them urgently back to Little Andaman, where they promptly recovered. The incident gave me a further opportunity to observe the curative methods of the Onge.

262 With regard to their care to avoid illness from food, I must point out the
114 fact that misleading information has been published on the subject even in reputed papers on the Andamans. I will discuss them in my Onge book, but I wish here to briefly stress a few points: the Onge, and the present residual coastal or forest Andamanese, refuse to eat – besides birds and fish such as shark, ray, eel or moraenae – some other animals such as paradoxurus, bats, rats, varanus and snakes. The contrary is affirmed in those papers. To quote the well-known book by A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN ("The Andaman Islanders", pp. 37, 91 and 309), all Andaman Islanders, including the Onge, consider the above-mentioned species edible. Varanus is supposed to be acceptable for its
[892] lustful habits that make of it an aphrodisiac. My direct and protracted experience both in Little and in Great Andaman compels me to state that such information is false. It is true, however, that the Andaman Islanders believe
261 they acquire some of the properties of their devoured victims. This occurs
252 only if the animals are cut up alive. Therefore turtles, pigs and dugongs are
[231] cruelly sectioned while still alive, and the Onge also believe that their health
266 and energy profit by it. Cannibalism may be founded on such beliefs, but it is
262 completely unknown to Andaman Islanders of all times and places. Young sucking-pigs are avoided, as food, by men, and even withheld from the dogs; but the Onge are partial to other things which, in our opinion, are far worse: crickets, and the fat larvae of coleoptera that collect in tree trunks.

Without giving here a full list of the foods that are considered harmful or curative, I shall add just a few remarks on the subject. The healthiest, as well as the tastiest part of the pig is supposed to be the kidney and its surrounding fat. It is offered to old or distinguished people, as a sign of favour. As I
[888] 123 helped the Onge, as much as possible, with gifts of tools and medicines, they
553 found it complimentary to name me after their favourite titbit, intending thereby to honour me as a friend and healer. By such a name I came to be known in Little Andaman, and this made my work easier. In the Onge language the word for kidney fat is *cur-chaugidgid*; I was delighted with it, for it proclaimed the high esteem I was held in by my Onge friends.

262 Foods considered healthy by the Onge include honey, yams, several
751 succulent roots and the fat of turtle and dugong. Pteropus, a giant but very
[125]